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SECOND EDITION

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SECOND EDITION

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Michael Berenbaum, *Executive Editor*

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PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION

In the past thirty-five years the *Encyclopaedia Judaica* has come to occupy a rarefied space in the world of Jewish learning. Authoritative, comprehensive, serious yet accessible, it graced the library shelves of scholars and rabbis, of the learned and the studious, and even of the would-be studious, consulted by the curious and the inquisitive, an important starting point for a journey of learning.

It also was that rare work in Jewish life and learning that covered controversy and yet was not controversial. It could not be identified with one school of thought, with one religious, political, or social perspective. Written by Zionists who believed ardently in Jewish peoplehood and the centrality of the land of Israel and the renascent State of Israel for the Jewish future, it also respected the many forms that Jewish life had taken. It performed its task admirably, sharing with the reader what was known and knowable in 1972, the year when it was first published. For a time through Year Books and Decennial volumes, it sought to update its readers on more recent learning, trends, and issues, and for the first time in 1997 it migrated to an electronic version with a wonderful search engine that freed the reader from taking volumes off the shelf and moving from the index to yet another volume.

So we understood as we embarked upon the task of updating the masterful work that much could be lost. We were also confident of what could be gained.

Why a new edition?

The answer is quite simple. Knowledge is dynamic, not static. Much has changed in the last thirty-five years.

Israel of 2006 is quite different from Israel of 1972, when Golda Meir was prime minister. Israel has faced two wars – the war of 1973 (Yom Kippur War) and the war in Lebanon – two Intifadas, the Camp David Accords, the withdrawal from Sinai, the Oslo Accords, the Disengagement, the rise of militant radical Islam, and so much more. Israel has become the home of almost half the world's Jewish population, absorbing Jews from the former Soviet Union, from Ethiopia, Argentina, France, and elsewhere. Soon a majority of the world's Jews will live in Israel, which has become a regional military superpower and a developed country in an increasingly globalized world. Israeli culture has been transformed and its institutions have evolved. Quite simply, the Israel described in 1972 is unrecognizable today.

The Soviet Union is no longer. Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia have become independent countries; so too have the Ukraine and many of the former Soviet Republics. Jewish life has been transformed by these changes. The Iron Curtain has fallen and thus the Jews of Poland and Hungary, of the Czech Republic and Slovakia live under different conditions; and their world – the possibilities of their world – has changed. East and West Germany have been reunited and the German Jewish community – which once lived with a fascinating past that had been eclipsed by its catastrophic recent history but had no discernible future – is now growing rapidly as it has become home to many Jewish immigrants from the former Soviet Union.

In the United States, Las Vegas and Phoenix are growing most rapidly as Jewish communities as tens of thousands of Jews have moved to these Sun Belt cities and built not only new homes but also new institutions and new environments. Southern Florida has become the third most populated area of Jewish settlement. In the rural South, where Jews had lived for a century or more, synagogues have become museums, thus marking the end of many small communities, while the Jewish population of Atlanta and Jewish life in Atlanta, Dallas, and Houston have expanded dramatically. Once Jewish Day Schools were the province of Orthodox Jews living in major cities. They can now be found wherever there is a significant Jewish population and they serve the entire spectrum of those interested in Jewish learning. In light of such developments, each entry on the fifty states had to be updated; so too the entries on each of the cities in which almost all of American Jews reside.

Religiously, American Jewry has evolved dramatically. Orthodoxy is no longer in danger of extinction but confident and self-sustaining. It is no longer characterized by loss but by gains, and modern Orthodoxy, which once appeared dominant, has been sliding to the right. Chabad has developed as a global presence to be encountered wherever Jews live, wherever Jews travel. It has endured the passing of the Rebbe, centralized charismatic leadership has been replaced by management and by the charisma and dedication of many individual leaders. It has endured a messianic crisis. Liberal forms of Judaism have become more diverse, more creative and more diffuse. New institutions for the training of rabbis have evolved and the neat tripartite division of Jews – Orthodox, Conservative and Reform – has become far more fascinating as multiple forms of Jewish identity and Jewish engagement have become available. Reconstructionist Judaism has created its own institutions; even the anti-institutional world of Renewal Judaism is creating institutions of its own with its own journals, its own publishing house and its own rabbinical and cantorial schools. Non-denominational rabbinical seminaries are flourishing. Rural Jews gather for conferences; Jewish life is alive and flourishing in cyberspace as well as real space, even as a more individualized and less institutionalized Jewish identity takes root.

American Jews live in a world with few barriers, with no glass ceilings. Their Jewishness is not regarded as a handicap but a privilege; highly individualized for many, celebrated or even ignored, it takes a variety of forms and expresses itself in many creative endeavors. The editors of this new edition of the *Encyclopaedia Judaica* are acutely conscious of these changes, both in the choice of individual entries and in the description of various Jewish communities. But along with this extraordinarily positive picture, American Jewry is in the decline numerically; simply put, American Jews are not reproducing, and the rate of intermarriage exceeds even the most alarming predictions of a generation ago. Survivalists are deeply concerned about survival, about the viability of the American Jewish community, in part because of the freedom it enjoys. And with freedom comes the easy freedom not to identify as a Jew, for one is not forced to identify as a Jew. One can embrace any number of other identities, professional and personal, without betrayal.

Yet there is a cross fertilization between Israel and the United States. American Jewish scholars spend sabbatical years in Israel, many have studied in Israel as part of their undergraduate and graduate training, and Israeli scholars spend significant time in the Diaspora. They read each other's work; they publish in each other's journals. Scholarly works initiated in Israel are published in English and American scholarship is read in Israel and often translated into Hebrew.

Thirty-five years ago the women's movement was just beginning and all rabbis were men. Feminist Studies as a discipline was but in its infancy and women were not considered by many an integral part of the Jewish community or the Jewish experience. Much has changed, and this new edition represents a deliberate attempt to include women and the experience of women within its pages; the inclusion was not for inclusion's sake but because we cannot understand Jews or the Jewish experience without understanding the role of Jewish women. Permit a simple example. An earlier entry on "Mikveh" considered Jewish religious teaching on the mikveh and its halakhic requirements. A woman's perspective was not included, which we now understand was a serious omission, one not repeated in this volume.

A new generation has arisen and, with each new generation, new scholarly questions are asked, new methodologies are employed. Thus, even though the giants of the last generation played an important role in editing the *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, extraordinary scholars such as Professors Gershom Scholem, Salo Baron, Menachem Stern, H.L. Ginzburg, and Cecil Roth among others, the fields they developed and in some cases pioneered have moved beyond them; their findings have been built upon, their methodologies refined, enhanced, expanded, and disputed, and the result transforms our understanding even of the fields they illuminated so masterfully a generation ago. We have endeavored to preserve much of their original writing, to add what must be added, to refine where refinement was in order and to change what must be changed with the passage of time. Thus, even while the masterful work of Gershom Scholem has been preserved in its entirety, the intellectual discussion he initiated has gone well beyond his work and his students and their students have begun to ask different questions and reach different conclusions, as is reflected in the second edition addendum to his classic Kabbalah entry. The presentation of the historicity of the Talmud *(*see below*)* takes cognizance of the important work of

Jacob Neusner and David Weiss Halivni and others as well as Saul Lieberman and Efraim Urbach.

The generation that created the first edition of the *Encyclopaedia Judaica* was primarily trained in Germany in the great institutions and the extraordinary culture of the Weimar Republic or at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, perhaps the greatest German university outside of Germany. Alas, that generation has passed. Many of the scholars who wrote for this edition were trained in the United States and, even if trained in Israel, were influenced by the dominance of American culture and American scholarship. Native-born Israel-trained scholars have written with brilliant competence. Historians dominated the first edition; in this new work, the approach of scholars even in the field of Judaic Studies is far more multi-disciplinary.

Entries written for the first edition had to be written differently for the second edition for their fields had evolved in the ensuing decades. Special treatment is accorded to the subject of Jewish Law (Mishpat Ivri) under the direction of Justice Menachem Elon, where it is now possible to examine the principles of Jewish religious law (*halahkah*) as they are reflected in the courts of a sovereign Jewish state. Elon, who had pioneered this field, has expanded his treatment of Jewish law as it has grown in the recent past, confronted new questions and grappled with issues unknown thirty-five years ago.

Certain dramatic changes have occurred within the most classical of fields of studies. As our Bible editor notes:

"Modern critical Bible study as it arose in the 19th century was often couched in terminology affirming that the Old Testament was inferior to the New Testament and that Judaism had been superseded by Christianity. Some notable Christian biblicists were also antisemites. As a result *Wissenschaft des Judentums*, 'the scientific study of Judaism,' neglected the critical study of the Bible. At Reform Judaism's Hebrew Union College and Conservative Judaism's Jewish Theological Seminary it took years before critical study of the Bible was fully embraced. Similarly, the Hebrew University of Jerusalem opened with a chair in biblical exegesis rather than Bible proper. To some extent the first edition of the *Encyclopaedia Judaica* retained this gingerly approach to Bible so that in contrast to most subject areas, apologetic writing was not always discouraged. By the 1990s the American and Israeli Jewish communities had reached a level of self-confidence and maturity that permitted even Orthodox scholars to participate fully in the critical study of the Hebrew Bible. In addition, the 20th century witnessed renewed interest in the great Bible commentators of medieval times. Largely neglected in early modern critical Bible scholarship, these commentaries, which anticipated modern 'discoveries' are regularly studied by contemporary Biblicists, Jewish and Christian." Critical literary studies of the Bible not only dissect the Bible by pointing to the sources of its composition, but consider it as an integrated whole which must be read as one work.

The editors of our Talmud division note that the past thirty years have seen a number of developments in talmudic studies, which required the significant revision of many of the first edition entries dealing with talmudic and midrashic literature. First of all, since the 1970s, we have been witness to a dramatic increase in the study of talmudic literature, not just within the rapidly expanding world of academic Judaic studies, but even more so among the public at large. Many new editions and translations in nearly all branches of talmudic and midrashic literature have been published, often accompanied by reliable and user-friendly commentaries. These in turn have opened up the study of the Mishnah, the Talmud, and other related texts to a wide audience of interested non-professional students. Many of the core entries in the previous edition of the *Encyclopaedia* were written with a pronounced bias toward the agenda of professional scholarship, and it has been one of our concerns both to widen this agenda and to provide the necessary foundation in order to make entries accessible to the public at large (see, for example, Mishnah and Talmud, Babylonian). At the same time two developments in academic scholarship have also had an impact on editorial policy. First of all, the application of modern critical historical methodology to the field of Aggadah and rabbinic biography has brought about no less than a revolution in the attitude toward talmudic and midrashic traditions concerning the lives and deeds of the rabbis (see Aggadah). This profound development has led to the revision of well over a hundred entries describing the lives of greater and lesser rabbinic figures (e.g. Eliezer ben Hyrcanus, Beruryah, Imma Shalom, Johanan ben Zakkai, Meir, Elisha ben Avuyah, Johanan ben Nappaḥa, etc.), while numerous traditional biographies of lesser rabbinic figures who have yet to be critically reexamined have been reproduced intact. Secondly, the increasing sophistication of critical and historical tools for the analysis of talmudic literature as a whole has brought about an equally profound revolution in our understanding of the internal historical development of this literature, and specifically of the relationships between parallel traditions found in the different finished talmudic works (see, for example, Tosefta; Talmud, Babylonian – The Bavli and the Extant Tannaitic Works, The Bavli and the Yerushalmi). The description and dating of the various talmudic compositions – Mishnah, Tosefta, the halakhic and aggadic Midrashim, the Babylonian and Jerusalem Talmudim – included in the earlier edition of the *Encyclopaedia* could not, of course, have taken these new developments into account. As a result, all of the entries dealing with this literature were reviewed, and in many cases (e.g. the Midrashei Halakhah) thoroughly revised.

Judaic Studies in the United States was limited thirty-five years ago. The Association of Jewish Studies had just been founded; its members knew each other. Positions were few. Membership has since then increased a hundredfold, and interest in Jewish Studies is wide throughout the Diaspora, as it has come to be seen as an essential component of Western civilization, though not just of Western civilization. American-trained Judaic Studies academics are on the faculty of every Israeli university, often holding distinguished chairs, so the cross fertilization of Israeli and American scholarship is a daily fact of life in both countries.

My own field of Holocaust Studies was but in its infancy thirty-five years ago. The scholars were mostly survivors or refugees writing of their experience. Many archives were closed, records were unavailable, many survivor memoirs had not yet been written and one could convene a meeting of the significant figures in the field in a conference room large enough for a dozen people. Holocaust Studies as a field could be confined to several paragraphs, a few major works, and an occasional conference. There was no major museum and no Holocaust educational resource centers, no sense of a "Holocaust industry." With the passage of time came the insights of time. There was a more personal intensity to the scholarly battles of the first generation, as many had lived through the events. The works of Bruno Bettelheim, who wrote of the infantalization of the victim; of Hannah Arendt, who condemned Jewish leadership in the Holocaust; and of Raul Hilberg, whose magisterial work minimized the role of Jewish resistance, severely stung. In response, other Jewish scholars fought back angrily, defensively, as if the pride of the living seemingly could be enhanced by a positive depiction of the conduct of the dead. In the past thirty-five years, records were declassified, documents from the former Soviet Union and elsewhere became available as so many archives were opened. Documents and copies of originals could be read in Washington, New York, and Jerusalem and not just Warsaw, Budapest, or Berlin. We have broadened our perspective and sought to come to terms with the dynamics of a growing field of study. And the contributions to this new edition reflect how much more is now known about an event that was in the immediate past thirty-five years ago.

From time to time, as we worked with the vastness of this material, colleagues and friends – especially our children – would ask what place an encyclopedia holds in the world of the web, where access to information is instantaneous and the web so vast. We have endeavored to preserve the sense of authority of the original edition – its reliability. We were mindful of the fact that this work would be consulted for years and years; thus, it is intended to be more than a snapshot of what is known at this time; its insights are meant to withstand the passage of time. Still, in a generation or two, when scholars and students want to know what was known in the first decade of the 21st century, who were the Jews, what they thought, how they lived, they will be able do no better than to consult this work and to understand its ramifications.

The *Encyclopaedia Judaica* grapples with Jews and Judaism, how Jews live, how they perceive themselves, how they encounter the world and shape the world they encounter. From medicine to mysticism, from resurgent Ḥasidism to renewal Judaism, from economics to science, from politics to art, music, theater, and cinema, even cartoons and comedy, sports and entertainment, we have endeavored to be comprehensive and creative.

Keter Publishing House and Macmillan Library Reference (an imprint of Thomson Gale), the publisher and distributor, respectively, of the first edition of the *Encyclopaedia Judaica,* initiated this project. Under the watchful eye of Peter Tomkins, Keter turned to the Jerusalem Publishing House, which has long been known for initiating encyclopedias in many languages all over the world, to organize the project. Frank Menchaca initiated this project for Macmillan, Hélène Potter was assigned to bring it to life. When Menchaca went on to even higher levels of management, Hélène Potter capably filled the vacuum. Jay Flynn has been entrusted with the all important task of bringing this work to completion.

The scope of a second edition of the *Encyclopaedia* was far too large to be covered by minor revisions and cosmetic updates – too much had changed, too much more had become known. In sum, as the project evolved, half of the original entries had to be changed; more than 2,650 were added.

Over time, it also became clear that an American editor would have to be added to the core staff, to work with Jerusalem-based editor-in-chief Fred Skolnik. Shlomo (Yosh) Gafni, president of the Jerusalem Publishing House (JPH), and his managing editor Rachel Gilon, were a source of guidance and wisdom, with the assistance of Leonardo Szichman, who executed the huge data control. JPH undertook the difficult task of coordinating this project with enormous energy, skill, and dedication. Fred Skolnik was indefatigable and so wonderfully skilled. Associated with the Judaica for 35 years, he was both its champion and the driving force in its enlargement and transformation.

The writers of the *Encyclopaedia* are many. They write with passion and confidence of the fields they know, of the persons, the ideas and the issues they describe. Many could write – and have written – volumes on their subjects. Here they were asked to be concise and precise, to write in a manner that reflected what is known, to avoid polemics, to be scrupulously fair. We have endeavored not only to furnish important details but also to present them in an interesting manner, knowing that, unlike the stuff of journalism, which will not be read tomorrow, this work will be read by many on many tomorrows. It has to endure the test of time.

This edition is a unique partnership. Initiated by Israelis, it brought together Israelis and Americans and scholars from many different countries and many spheres of learning. It took cognizance of the centrality of Israel in the contemporary Jewish world but also of the enduring life, creative vitality, and intensity of the Jewish experience in the Diaspora. It was mindful of the many forms that Jewish life has taken and the diverse ways in which Jews have contributed to their people and the world.

It has been built on a strong foundation; time and again the editors have come to appreciate how comprehensive and authoritative was the work of their predecessors. We have endeavored to take the work of our predecessors forward in the ongoing quest for knowledge and understanding of the Jewish experience.

Michael Berenbaum
Executive Editor

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GENERAL INTRODUCTION

The *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, first published in 1972, has a long history, antedated by a number of predecessors. The English-language *Jewish Encyclopedia*, the first complete work of this nature, appeared in New York at the beginning of the 20th century (its twelfth and final volume was published in 1906). This pioneering work summed up the state of Jewish scholarship and the condition of the Jewish world at the time. It was an extraordinary achievement – especially if one considers the relatively small numbers of the English-speaking and English-reading Jewish population at the time. It was able, however, to call upon the collaboration of Jewish scholars in many countries – in particular the representatives of the Wissenschaft des Judentums, the School of Scientific Jewish Scholarship, then at its height. There were aspects that it tended to overlook or underplay, such as the world of East European Jewry, Kabbalah and Ḥasidism, Yiddish language and literature, and the life and culture of the Jews in Muslim lands, but seen as a whole, it was a monumental work incorporating many entries which became classic statements on their subject. The 16-volume Russian Jewish encyclopedia *Yevreyskaya Entsiklopediya*, which also appeared before World War I, was well conceived and in some respects brilliantly edited. Particularly outstanding was its expertise on East European Jewish subjects. The 10-volume Hebrew *Oẓar Yisrael* (1924), an almost single-handed achievement by J.D. Eisenstein, was on a far smaller scale and had less rigorous standards, although in certain areas its articles presented useful material.

At the time of the revival of Jewish interest and learning in Germany after World War I, Jacob Klatzkin, Ismar Elbogen, and Nahum Goldmann planned a new encyclopedia in the German language. This was intended to incorporate the results of the intervening years of intensive scholarship and research, to reflect the intellectual attitudes which had become established during this period, and to correct certain imbalances found within the *Jewish Encyclopedia*. Klatzkin and Goldmann gathered a galaxy of scholars to produce a new work. This work – called *Encyclopaedia Judaica* – progressed notwithstanding the obstacles and difficulties of those troubled times, until the Nazis rose to power in Germany. Publication had to be suspended after Volume 10 (completing the letter L), leaving incomplete this last monument of the intellectual greatness of German Jewry. Under the same auspices, a Hebrew version – the *Eschkol* encyclopedia – appeared, but only two volumes were issued. Mention should also be made of the five-volume *Juedisches Lexikon*, edited by Georg Herlitz and Bruno Kirschner, published by the Juedischer Verlag in 1927–30. Although more modest in scope than the other works mentioned, it made a useful contribution to Jewish studies and also paid more attention than its predecessors to illustrative material.

In the five first years of World War II the *Universal Jewish Encyclopedia*, edited by Isaac Landman, was issued in the United States in 10 volumes. It was able to reflect the growing importance of U.S. Jewry and to take into account late developments, especially in American Jewish history and biography. It had considerable merits, but was not an ambitious work. Moreover the fact that it was published in a period of major transition in itself set a limit to its utility. It was, however, the *Universal Jewish Encyclopedia* which constituted the basis of the 10-volume Spanish-language *Enciclopedia Judaica Castellana* produced in Mexico between 1948 and 1951. The major contribution of this latter work lay in its original entries dealing with the development of Jewish life in Latin America.

After the establishment of the State of Israel, the Hebrew language *Encyclopaedia Hebraica* began to be published in Jerusalem by the Massada Publishing Company, directed by the Peli family. This was the first large-scale general encyclopedia in the Hebrew language – and naturally it emphasized the Jewish aspects of various subjects, some of them of high scholarly importance and in certain cases even pioneering studies in their field. But though it contains the elements of a Jewish encyclopedia, it was not – nor was it intended to be – a Jewish encyclopedia as such.

The Development of the Encyclopaedia Judaica

For many years, and especially since the cataclysmic events in Jewish history of the 1940s, the need had been felt for an entirely new Jewish encyclopedia, especially in the English language for English-speaking Jewry, who now accounted for about half of the Jews of the world. Furthermore the survivors of the editorial board of the German *Encyclopaedia Judaica* had always been determined that the Nazi attack on their work could not be accepted as a final defeat and that the unfinished publication must be completed. However, they too recognized that now only a relatively small proportion of the Jewish people had access to a work in German and that any new endeavor in this field must be, first and foremost, in English. Dr. Nahum Goldmann, the last active survivor of the original board of editors, had long had this objective.

Initial funding of the project was made possible through an allocation obtained by Dr. Goldmann from the German reparations fund earmarked for cultural purposes. The Rassco Company in Israel also became interested and provided some of the funds during the early stages. In the U.S., the *Encyclopaedia Judaica* Research Foundation was established to raise further support for the project.

During this early period, when the preliminary work was centered in the U.S., Prof. Benzion Netanyahu (father of Israeli Prime Minister Binyamin Netanyahu), then editor of the *Encyclopaedia Hebraica*, served as editor in chief. The main editorial offices were established in Philadelphia in 1963.

In 1965 Prof. Netanyahu was compelled through pressure of work to retire from his post, and the editorial center was transferred to Jerusalem. This move was regarded as advisable because Jerusalem had become the unquestioned pivot of Jewish studies in the world, with the greatest concentration of scholars in the subject as well as possessing unrivaled research facilities. Moreover it was now the home of Prof. Cecil Roth, who had been appointed to succeed Prof. Netanyahu as editor in chief.

The publishing responsibility was assumed by the Israel Program for Scientific Translations (at that time an Israel government corporation, later owned by CLAL Israel Investment Company Ltd.). The Israel Program for Scientific Translations had already begun diversifying its publishing program and subsequently set up the Keter Publishing House Ltd. under whose imprint the *Encyclopaedia* appeared. In the U.S. the *Encyclopaedia Judaica* also appeared for a limited time with the imprint of Macmillan under an agreement by which the Macmillan Company would distribute the *Encyclopaedia* in the Western Hemisphere. The financing of the *Encyclopaedia* during the five years of actual work in which it was produced in Israel was made possible initially by a generous loan from the United States government out of counterpart funds available in Israel at a nominal interest. This was supplemented by a considerable investment made by the publisher to bring the project to a successful conclusion.

Work started in earnest in 1967 and a period of five years was allocated for the completion of the entire *Encyclopaedia*. It was decided early on that with well-planned organization and by proper exploitation of technological advances it would be possible to achieve the highly desirable goal of publishing the entire *Encyclopaedia* at one time. This would obviate the time gap inevitable in works that appear gradually, avoid the frustration of having the first volumes of a series but not the continuation to which references are made, and make possible the simultaneous publication of an index volume which the editors saw as basic and indispensable to the whole work.

To complete the *Encyclopaedia* within the given time, it was decided to adopt the principle of maximum subdivision so as to involve the greatest number of editors and contributors. The subject matter was broken down into some 20 divisions and these were again subdivided into departments. Some divisions had only two or three departments, but others included many more – 35 in the history division and more than 70 in the division dealing with the participation of Jews in world culture.

The general flow of an entry was from the contributor to the departmental and divisional editors, then to the central office for translation (where necessary), checking, styling, transliterating and bibliographical verification, approval by the relevant associate editor and by the editors in chief, and then back to the contributor for his approval of the final version (in cases where substantial editorial changes had been inserted). Finally the entry was sent to the index department and then to press.

A number of outstanding scholars served as consulting editors. They advised the *Encyclopaedia* staff in their fields of specialization when requested, but did not bear any editorial responsibility. Nor did any departmental, divisional, or associate editor or deputy editor in chief have any editorial responsibility for the contents of the *Encyclopaedia* apart from those which were his own direct responsibility. The final responsibility for all entries rested with the editors in chief.

Dr. Geoffrey Wigoder was appointed deputy editor in chief and the various divisions were grouped into sections each headed by an associate editor. The associate editors – Prof. Louis Rabinowitz, Prof. Raphael Posner, Dr. Binyamin Eliav, and Mr. Simḥa Katz – together with the editor in chief and his deputy constituted the editorial board. After the death of Prof. Roth in 1970, Dr. Wigoder was appointed editor in chief. The New York office was headed by Dr. Frederick Lachman, who coordinated the departments and divisions whose editors were in North America. Working parallel with those preparing the text was the illustrations and graphics department headed by Mr. Moshe Shalvi. This complex administration was directed by Mrs. Rachel Sabbath. The immensity of the operation can best be illustrated by the fact that apart from the 300 editors and 1,800 contributors with whom contact was maintained, the *Encyclopaedia* employed an internal staff of 150 – not including those who worked on the printing and binding stages. The entire publishing operation was directed by Mr. Yitzhak Rischin, managing director of the Keter Publishing House Ltd.

The Year Books and Decennial Books

It was obvious on the publication of the *Encyclopaedia Judaica* that to maintain its usefulness a mechanism would have to be found to ensure that it remained up to date. The method chosen was the periodic publication of Year Books. These incorporated feature articles on subjects of current interest in the Jewish world as well as extensive photo spreads on relevant topics. Many entries were updated, notably the major countries of Jewish settlement which received special consideration in each volume. Moreover new entries were devoted to personalities, organizations, Jewish studies, and other items that had come into the news or to public attention since the publication of the *Encyclopaedia*.

The Yearbooks continued to be published by Keter Publishing Company and the editors included Rabbi Louis I. Rabinowitz, Professor Pinchas Peli, Dr. Geoffrey Wigoder, and Ms. Fern Seckbach.

In addition, two special Decennial books covering the decades preceding 1982 and 1992 were published, incorporating and supplementing Year Book material.

The CD-ROM Edition

The CD-ROM edition, appearing in 1997, included the complete text of the original 16-volume edition of the *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, as well as the subsequent Year Books and the Decennials published in 1982 and 1992. In the limited time allotted for the *Encyclopaedia Judaica* CD-ROM project, there was no possibility for updating the entire work. Rather, the entire content of the *Encyclopaedia Judaica* was reviewed editorially and items selected for update or expanded coverage, under the supervision of Dr. Geoffrey Wigoder, as editor in chief, together with Fern Seckbach, as deputy editor in chief.

The Second Edition

With the need acutely felt to bring the *Encyclopaedia* into the 21st century, it was now determined to produce a thoroughly revised and updated new edition of the *Encyclopaedia* with the accumulated material in the CD-ROM as its starting point. Accordingly, Thomson Gale signed a licensing agreement with the Keter Publishing House and work on the second edition commenced in August 2003. The project was concluded editorially in the first months of 2006, though last-minute emendations continued to be made until the *Encyclopaedia* went to press in the autumn of 2006. It employed over 50 divisional editors and around 1,200 contributors from all around the world.

To prepare the second edition all entries were systematically reviewed by the divisional editors to select those requiring updating, revision, or rewriting and to propose new entries. Those selected were assigned to the appropriate scholars and writers and the process culminated in the review and editing of all entries received from the contributors. At the end of the process, about half of the original entries had been revised and about 2,650 new entries were produced. In addition, around 30,000 new bibliographical items were added. In all, 4.7 million new words were written for the second edition.

Principles of Selection

An obvious problem in the compilation of any encyclopedia is the decision as to which entries are to be included and which excluded. For the first edition, guidelines were drawn up as a result of which certain subjects were earmarked for definite inclusion while others clearly fell short. But there is always a body of "borderline" entries which potentially could fall in either category. This problem becomes particularly sensitive when dealing with biographies of contemporaries. Which scholars receive entries and which do not? Where is the line to be drawn for rabbis or businessmen or lawyers or scientists?

The Editorial Board laid down general principles, but was fully aware of the potential risk of inconsistency. The Editorial Board considered the entire entry list and paid special attention to the "borderline" entries according to the principles of selection it determined.

Various methods and criteria were established. For example, editors were circumscribed by the word allocation. For example, the editors of the section on Jews in medicine listed many hundreds of Jews who had distinguished themselves in the field. They were asked to subdivide the list into those of major importance of whose inclusion there was no doubt; those who should appear if possible; and those who should at least be mentioned and characterized in the main entry. In this way, the maximum of names appear in the *Encyclopaedia*. But at the same time, it was obvious that along the borderline, different selections would be made by different experts. In certain categories, it is impracticable to talk about objective standards and an element of subjectivity must enter the final selection. This inevitably provides a happy hunting ground for discussion and criticism. However, it must be noted that the editors of this and any such work have no alternative in such instances but to rely on their judgment, formed after consultation with the expert editors and advisers in each field. With contemporary scholars, the tendency was to be more generous with the older generation, whose major work had been completed, and to be more selective with younger scholars who are in the process of producing their major works and where it is therefore more difficult to reach an assessment.

In some subjects, it was possible to fix objective criteria. For example when it came to U.S. Jewish communities, it was decided to include only those numbering more than 4,500 (although here too exceptions had to be made where the community has historical or other social importance). For places in Israel, it was decided that all municipalities would have their own entry as well as kibbutzim and moshavim which were in existence at the time of the establishment of the State in 1948. For those settlements founded subsequently, only those of special interest have their own entry. With regard to the kibbutzim, the process of "privatization" which most have undergone or are undergoing is not noted in each of the many kibbutz entries but rather discussed in general terms in the Kibbutz Movement entry.

In certain biographical entries a problem was to determine who was a Jew. The first principle adopted was that anyone born a Jew qualified for inclusion, even if he or she had subsequently converted or otherwise dissociated himself from Jewish life (where these facts are known, they are stated). The second principle was that a person with one Jewish parent would qualify for inclusion (with the relevant information stated) if he or she were sufficiently distinguished. A person whose Jewish origins were more remote would only be the subject of an entry in very unusual cases. However, a more generous attitude was taken in the case of Marranos, in view of the special circumstances surrounding their history.

A number of non-Jews are also the subject of entries in the *Encyclopaedia*. They have been included because of their relationship to Jewish life or culture (to avoid misunderstanding, the sign ° has been placed before their name at the head of the entry). These have been selected to ensure the completeness of the *Encyclopaedia*, for example in matters of history (e.g., Alexander the Great, Napoleon, Balfour, Stalin), philosophy and thought (e.g., Aristotle, Avicenna, Kant), or literature (e.g., Dante, Shakespeare, Goethe). In these cases, the entry concentrates only on those elements of the subject's life and thought which are of Jewish interest, and for a biography and assessment, the interested reader should refer to a general encyclopedia.

By and large the editors of the second edition have followed the above principles in selecting new subjects for inclusion in the *Encyclopaedia*. At the same time, given the widespread availability of perpetual Jewish calendars on the Internet, it was decided to omit this feature from the new edition. It was thought more beneficial to devote the space to additional text and such new features as the Thematic Outline (see below). On the whole, it has been the explicit aim of the editors to offer entries that the general as well as the specialized reader will expect to find in an encyclopedia of this nature.

Consistency

Notwithstanding all efforts, it has been impossible to maintain perfect consistency in the *Encyclopaedia Judaica*. For one thing, scholars who have written the entries have been allowed a certain latitude in incorporating their own conclusions and this leads occasionally to internal contradictions. For example there are differing views about biblical chronology. It is possible that a scholar writing on a king of ancient Israel may maintain a certain year to have been that of his death; another scholar writing about his successor may be of the view that he began to reign a few years earlier or later; while the author of the general survey of the period may give still different dates. Since the entire subject is a matter of conjecture and all scholars regard their own chronology as well founded, it is impossible to compel them to use dates with which they disagree. Wherever possible, such dates have been coordinated, but the editors are aware of such discrepancies, which must be seen against the differences of opinion among the scholars.

Similarly there can be inconsistencies regarding the transliteration of places and names. The name Leib represents the accepted English version of a Yiddish name; but many with that name who lived in German-speaking countries themselves wrote it Loeb, so that both forms are to be found in the *Encyclopaedia*. Accepted usage is followed in most cases, but there are many problems. In some instances, it is customary in English to anglicize names, such as those of foreign rulers: Empress Catherine – and not Yekaterina or Caterina; Frederick the Great – and not Friedrich; Victor Emmanuel – and not Vittorio Emmanuele. But usage differs in other instances: Christopher (not Cristóbal or Cristoforo) Columbus, but Johann (not John) Sebastian Bach, Leo (not Lev) Tolstoy, but Albrecht (not Albert) Duerer. Just as inconsistency occurs in general usage, so it occurs in specific Jewish contexts. It is common to adapt the better-known names into English and to write Salomon as Solomon or Josef as Joseph, but what about Salomone and Giuseppe? Biblical names have a familiar English form that has been accepted, but it would hardly be appropriate to anglicize Hebrew names in modern Israel and to refer to Moses Dayan.

Whether Slavic names should end with the form -ich, -icz, -itz, or -itch must depend on usage and not logic; and usage is sometimes confusing as, for example, when persons could have spelled their name according to German or Czech usage.

For a number of reasons (in part because of the ambiguity and interchangeability of the forms Aben and Ibn, but mainly because of the sheer weight of numbers) the *Encyclopaedia* has generally entered persons with quasi-surnames beginning with Ibn under the second name – but not in the case of accepted usage such as that of Abraham ibn Ezra who is always referred to as Ibn Ezra. Here too inconsistencies occur.

Problems have also arisen concerning the consistency of place names: the modern Slovakian town of Bratislava, for example, was famous in Jewish life as a center of scholarship as Pressburg, and is frequently referred to as such within a historical context. Both forms will therefore be found in the *Encyclopaedia*. In such instances the Index will prove an invaluable guide in coordinating the various references.

Certain concessions have led to inconsistencies with regard to Hebrew transliteration. Apart from the different systems that have been employed, common English usage has been taken into consideration in some cases. According to *Encyclopaedia* rules, the word for commandment should be transliterated *miẓvah* – but the spelling "bar mitzvah" has in fact passed into the English language as has "kibbutz" (not *kibbuẓ*) and matzah (or matzoh) and it is the accepted usage that has been adopted. Current Anglo-American usage refers, even in legislation, to ritually prepared food as "kosher" but in other contexts the term is transliterated according to Hebrew usage as *kasher*.

There are similar problems regarding the transliteration of terms in modern Hebrew which embody the "mobile *sheva*," which is normally not pronounced in the middle of a word in modern Hebrew. Thus the organization הִסְתַּדְּרוּת should be transliterated in accordance with the rules as *Histadderut*, but it is universally known as Histadrut. And then there are transliterations officially adopted by various bodies – the name of the Religious Zionist movement is Mizrachi by which it appears throughout the world, and so it appears in the *Encyclopaedia* even though according to the rules it should appear as *Mizraḥi*.

Inconsistencies also occur with regard to italicization. Foreign words are generally italicized – but not where they have become part of the English language, or are in German, French, Spanish, or Italian languages. But this too leads to anomalies. Yeshivah is now an English word and is not italicized; but the principal of a yeshivah is a *rosh yeshivah*, which is italicized. Ḥasidim have joyfully entered the English language, but their opponents, the *Mitnaggedim*, remain italicized outsiders.

Cross References and Glossary

The *Encyclopaedia* has been planned as a unit. To avoid unnecessary duplication, cross-references are made to complementary entries and the fullest treatment of any subject will be obtained by consulting both the cross-references given in any entry together with any other references listed under the subject in the Index. However, the *Encyclopaedia* has avoided a plethora of text cross-references which send the reader from volume to volume (such as Ribash see Midrash, Genesis Rabbah, Exodus Rabbah, etc.). Such information will be found by turning to the Index volume which gives all relevant references.

In the text, cross-references are indicated in two ways. The first is by the direct statement "See …" referring to entries that have directly relevant additional information. The second is by the use of an asterisk (*). The asterisk is placed before the word under which the entry appears. Thus "Abraham *ibn Ezra" indicates that further information related to that entry is to be looked for in the article on Ibn Ezra.

In occasional instances the asterisk has been used to refer the reader to an entry in the Index rather than an article in the text.

Generally speaking, asterisks indicate those further entries which, it is felt, throw additional light on the subject under discussion. For example, in the statement "Benjamin Cardozo was born in New York," there is no cross-reference to New York, both because it is unnecessary and because the entry on New York contains no supplementary information on Cardozo. But the first reference to New York in the entry on "United States" will have a cross-reference because the New York entry in many ways supplements the "United States" entry. Occasional exceptions have been made where some more obscure name or phrase is mentioned, the explanation of which would unduly complicate the text. In most cases, only the first reference to a subject receives a cross-reference, but on occasions it is repeated for special reasons.

It is inevitable in a work of this nature to use a considerable number of Hebrew and technical terms which may not be familiar to the general reader. To explain these on every occasion would make the work far too cumbersome. Therefore, where necessary the cross-reference is given. However, for the convenience of the reader a glossary has been prepared of the most frequently recurring Hebrew terms and specialized names. This glossary is printed at the front of Volume 1, before the start of the entries and at the end of the text in volumes 2 through 21.

Transliteration

For its basic transliteration from the Hebrew, the *Encyclopaedia* has adopted a simplified system. It has been devised with particular regard to the usages of the English-speaking reader. However, certain exceptions have been necessary:

a) The editors of the section dealing with Hebrew and Semitic languages felt that the *Encyclopaedia*'s simplified system could not convey all the nuances required in technical linguistic entries. All entries in this section use the transliteration adopted by the Academy of the Hebrew Language. However, to avoid inconsistencies in proper names, the basic system used in the rest of the *Encyclopaedia* has also been retained for names in these entries.

b) The editors of the Bible section felt the need for a few modifications in the *Encyclopaedia*'s system in order to convey certain nuances. To preserve the maximum unity, these have generally been added in parentheses after the usual transliteration, although in certain cases where it makes no difference to the ordinary reader (use of ṭ in place of t), only one form has been given.

c) Other forms of transliteration will be found in some of the musical notations. This is in accordance with the system that has been developed so as best to print Hebrew transliteration together with music.

d) As already mentioned, in a few instances, Hebrew words have become part of the English language and their spelling standardized. In such cases, the term must be regarded by now as an English word, and the spelling in Webster's New International Dictionary (Third Edition) has been followed.

See accompanying tables regarding transliteration for Hebrew, Arabic, Yiddish, Greek, and Russian.

Furthermore, certain English usages have been taken into account inasmuch as certain words and names have received accepted English forms—for example Koran (rather than Qur'an), Saladin (rather than Salaḥ al-Din). Often, in place of the umlaut in German names an "e" has been added after the accented vowel – thus Koenigsberg, not Königsberg.

Bibliographies

The bibliography available for an entry is integral to the treatment of the subject as a whole. On the basis of these references, the reader who wishes to pursue the subject in greater depth can turn to these basic books and articles.

For the first edition a principle of selectivity had to be adopted in view of the vast amount of material that had accumulated. It had to be be recognized that the German language, in which so much of Jewish research was written, had become inaccessible to most Jewish students. On the other hand, a considerable body of scientific publication on Jewish subjects had now become available in English while the corresponding literature in Hebrew had assumed vast proportions.

Preference was thus given to works in the English language provided they were of an adequate scientific standard. Moreover, where translations were available in English they were listed in some cases in preference to a (generally German) original. However, exceptions were made in some cases where the English translation did not represent the entire original (e.g., in some sections of Graetz's *History of the Jews*). Generally, only the most important and significant works are listed. Full bibliographies can usually be found in the works referred to and where there is a full bibliography on the subject in a work cited, this fact is mentioned.

Many problems were encountered in the course of compiling the bibliography of the first edition, not all of which found an ideal solution. For example, there is the problem of which edition to cite – the first or latest? A book can have its first edition in England in a different form than its first U.S. edition – and even have a different name for each; an article can appear in a periodical and be reprinted as part of a book; many volumes are now being reprinted photographically and are designated as "second editions" although – where no extra material is added – this is inaccurate.

The organization of the bibliographies (basically supplied by the authors) is also not consistent. An attempt was made to give precedence to the major works on the subject and to works in English, while generally speaking, books precede articles. However, in certain cases other arrangements (e.g., chronological) were followed. In the first edition, names of articles in periodicals were usually not listed for reasons of space, but the author and full details of the periodical served to direct the reader to the major studies in such publications. For the bibliographical updates in the second edition of the *Encyclopaedia*, the editors have endeavored to supply full article titles. Bibliographical items added to updated or revised first edition entries are preceded by the heading "Add. Bibliography" in bold face and appear immediately after the old bibliography where one exists, unless the latter is arranged by subtopic. Bibliographies of entries new to the second edition are simply headed "Bibliography."

The standard histories – Graetz, Dubnow, Baron – have not been cited for every article, but only in those cases where they provide material of special significance for the subject in hand. Similarly, regarding individual countries, the standard regional histories have been mentioned only when specially called for and the reader should remember that they must be consulted.

Most of the bibliographical checking for the first edition was done at the Jewish National and University Library, Jerusalem. The unrivaled richness of its collection made possible a thorough investigation of most subjects dealt with and most works cited, but there were cases when certain works or editions were not available and the facts given by the contributor could not be verified.

To make the bibliographies less unwieldy a large number of standard works are quoted by abbreviation. A full list of these abbreviations will be found at the front of Volume 1 of the *Encyclopaedia* and the back of volumes 2 through 21. Such works can be distinguished in the bibliographies by the fact that their titles are not italicized.

Biographical Entries

The title entry for an individual is given according to the name by which he or she was most commonly known. Other names by which a person was known or versions of the name are also in the Index, allowing direct access to the entry, where the alternative names appear in parentheses following the entry title.

Wherever possible, biographical entries are given under the surname if the person had one. Where a combined rendering has become accepted in Europe (e.g., Abenatar) this is followed in the *Encyclopaedia*. In the case of Spanish and Portuguese names (e.g., Texeira de Mattos, Mendes da Costa), accepted usage is followed even though the first component of these names is the basic part.

The place of birth and death are not always given. The reason is that the information given customarily is in many cases conjectural, in others irrelevant. Places of birth are usually mentioned in the text when these have been found to be verifiable. Place of death is not mentioned unless there is a specific reason for giving it. Generally, it can be assumed that a subject died in the place where the person is last mentioned as having resided. To keep the entries within allotted proportions, places of education have generally been omitted as have details concerning awards such as honorary degrees, visiting professorships, prizes (except for major ones such as the Nobel Prize and the Israel Prize), promotion details (e.g., for military figures only the last rank attained is usually given), etc. Though the second edition has been more liberal in this respect, the above principles have generally been followed.

Family Entries

A single entry often covers various members of the same family. This has been especially the case when there are a number of members of the family who are of sufficient interest to warrant a description but where space would not allow individual entries. In such cases the various members are generally treated in chronological order within the entry. It often occurs that in such families there are several members mentioned in the body of the entry but one or two members are of exceptional importance, warranting a separate entry. In this case they are listed with few details in their appropriate chronological context within the family entry, together with an asterisk indicating that they are the subject of separate entries.

In certain instances, two or more members of the same family have been combined into a single entry. There are also examples of composite entries of several people with the same name as in the case, for example, of biblical persons and places where a single entry covers more than one person or place of the same name. In all such cases, each individual subject can be traced through the Index, where an individual listing will be found. If the family name is not repeated in the article following a personal name, it is understood that the name is identical with that of the title entry.

Special Terminology

In a few instances, the *Encyclopaedia* staff had to make decisions regarding the adoption of basic terminology. One such term is "Holocaust" referring to the fate of the Jews resulting from Nazi policies, from 1933 to 1945. Another is "Mishpat Ivri," familiarly called "Jewish Law."

Another is the use of the term Ereẓ Israel. The name Palestine was specifically created by the Romans in order to invalidate the association of the Jewish people with the country they had formerly called Judea. The name Palestine was virtually unknown even when the country was under Muslim (as well as Crusader) rule. The *Encyclopaedia* therefore terms the country by its proper name Ereẓ Israel (literally, the Land of Israel) using the term "Palestine" only in certain contexts (especially with regard to the later Roman period and to the period of the British Mandate when it was the official name of the country). This applies as well to such historical West Bank cities as Hebron, Jericho, and Nablus (Shechem), which are accordingly defined as cities in Ereẓ Israel.

Israel, on the other hand, generally implies in these pages the modern State of Israel. Since the origins of a great part of Israeli institutions and life go back to the 1880s, for certain purposes the term Israel is used retrospectively to this seminal period. For example, the section of the comprehensive entry Israel (by far the largest in the *Encyclopaedia*) headed "State of Israel" covers not only the period from 1948 but also the pre-State period. Though according to official government usage, Israel (and not Israeli) is the adjective relating to Israel and Israeli is a citizen (or permanent resident) of the State of Israel, in most cases "Israeli" has been also used as an adjective in compliance with common usage.

Israel's wars, discussed in the context of Israel's history, are given their Israeli nomenclatures. Thus, for example, Six-Day War for the war of 1967 and Yom Kippur War for the war of 1973.

The *Encyclopaedia* uses the term Jerusalem Talmud rather than Palestinian Talmud because although the latter is more accurate (the work was not written or compiled in Jerusalem) the former conveys the traditional Jewish title *Talmud Yerushalmi*.

Place Names

The basic guide for the form of place names in the first edition was the *Columbia Lippincott Gazetteer of the World* (Columbia University Press, 1966) and where various alternatives are cited there, the preferred form has been adopted. For the sake of consistency the same guidelines have been used for the second edition. Place names occurring in the Bible are given according to *The Holy Scriptures* (according to the Masoretic text; The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1955). Other places in Israel are cited according to the *Encyclopaedia*'s rules of transliteration. This has led to some inconsistencies in cases where ancient and modern places (not always on the same site) have identical names. Thus readers will find that some towns mentioned in the Bible will begin with Beth (e.g., Beth Shean) but others not mentioned there will begin with Bet (Bet She'arim). There will be a similar problem with "En" and "Ein."

Another problem with place names is that in many instances, places had different names at different periods. The usage of the *Encyclopaedia* is that where a place is still in existence, the entry appears under its current name (in a very few cases, an exception has been made where the alternative name is so strong in Jewish tradition that any variant would look bizarre). Variants are given at the beginning of the entry on the place and all these variants are cited in their appropriate places in the Index. When place names occur in the body of entries, it has often been necessary to change the usage according to the period. For example it would be absurd to talk of a person in "Wroclaw" in the first half of the 20th century – he was in Breslau; a book in the 18th century was published in Constantinople, not Istanbul.

A special problem was posed by East European names not to be found in the gazetteer. Many Jews were born or lived in small places which had a reputation in the Jewish world but are not large enough to figure in Western works of reference. Such places were identified in standard atlases and where necessary the *Encyclopaedia*'s regular rules of transliteration for the appropriate language were followed.

A number of major geographical changes have occurred since the original edition of the *Encyclopaedia Judaica* appeared, notably the break-up of the Soviet Union, Yugoslavia, and Czechoslovakia and the reunification of Germany. The reader is advised to look under both the original and former names of these countries. Thus, the major history of many members of the Commonwealth of Independent States (formerly the U.S.S.R.) will be found under Russia and only developments since their independence are under their particular name. Appropriate cross-references will be found in the text.

Proper Names

Some of the problems relating to consistency in the use of proper names have already been mentioned. As noted, the tendency has been to anglicize first names where appropriate. This has been done even though in certain instances the person himself did not use the form. Thus a German Jew would have signed himself (probably in Hebrew letters) as Schlomo or Salomon but – as is customary in standard works of reference in English – these all appear as Solomon.

Every effort has been made to give the spelling of the surname as the person himself spelled it – even if this means that the more usual Berdichevski appears as Berdyczewski and Moshe Glikson appears as Gluecksohn, these being the forms they themselves used. However, problems remain. What about a person who never signed his name, as far as is known, in Latin characters? For example, if such a person's name was רבינוביץ, is it to be transliterated Rabinowitz, Rabbinowitz, Rabbinowicz, Rabbinovich, Rabinovitch, or by any other of the known transliterations, all of which are legitimate? There is no ready-made answer. In some instances, there are precedents to follow; in others, the precedent has to be invented. We are aware that consistency has not always proved possible. Sometimes an apparent inconsistency is deliberate. A man living in a German-speaking country would have written his name Hirsch. But for a man with this name in Eastern Europe there is no reason to use a German form of transliteration; in such instances the rules of Yiddish (or familiar English) transliteration have been followed and the name appears as Hirsh.

Dates

The Hebrew year begins in the fall, three months approximately (in recent centuries) before the Gregorian year. Where the Hebrew year is known (but not the exact date) the probability is that the Gregorian date corresponds to the last nine months rather than the first three months of the Hebrew year. So the *Encyclopaedia* has normally used, e.g., 1298 and not 1297/98 to correspond to the Hebrew year 5058, etc. Where, however, the exact Hebrew date is known, it is possible to be more precise. Where precision is significant the form 1527/28 is used; this implies that the event took place in the Hebrew year 5388 but the period of the year cannot be determined. Before the Gregorian reform of the calendar in 1587 the secular-Christian New Year was considered in most places to have been in March; the Gregorian reform established January 1st but this was adopted only gradually in Europe. The *Encyclopaedia Judaica* assumes, however, in most cases (in accordance with modern historical practice) the beginning of the new year in January, even before the Gregorian reform. To avoid unnecessary complications, account has not been taken of the ten- (to 12- or 13-) day discrepancy between the Gregorian and Julian calendars, which has continued in some areas until our own day. (The 1917 revolutions in Russia are mostly called the February and October Revolutions, although by Western calendars they occurred in March and November.)

Statistics

The whole area of Jewish demography is highly problematical and in many cases precise numbers cannot be determined. Only in recent decades have systematic attempts been made to determine Jewish statistics. Moreover, different criteria have been adopted in different places, and results will vary with such factors as whether any sort of Jewish definition appears in an official census, whether the particular community has been subject to a scientific analysis – and how one defines a Jew! Occasional discrepancies are inevitable. Moreover, in the case of France and the former Soviet Union the problem has proven to be particularly acute. In the former case this derives from the reluctance of community leaders to publicize Jewish population figures. In the latter case, figures vary widely depending on the body producing them and the criteria used. In both cases, other than for the largest communities where current information is available, older figures are often used rather than arbitrary or unsubstantiated later figures. For U.S. communities, the 2001 figures appearing in the *American Jewish Year Book* have been used in the *Encyclopaedia*'s standardized state maps, together with the 2000 U.S. Census figures for the general population, with later figures given in the text where available.

Alphabetization

Entries have been arranged (both in the body of the *Encyclopaedia* and in the Index) in strict alphabetical order – disregarding spaces and hyphens. The criterion is the order of the letters up to the first punctuation sign (comma, period, etc.). This makes for easy reference as well as facilitating the work of the computer.

For example, Ben-Gurion should be sought somewhere after Benghazi and before Benjamin; El Paso will be after Elephantine but before Elul.

The following elements are not considered in alphabetization: definite and indefinite articles; personal titles (e.g., Sir or Baron), with the exception of "Saint"; material that appears in parentheses; the ordinal number of a monarch or pope. In the event of absolutely identical title entries, the following order of precedence prevails: places, people, things. Where persons have identical names, the one who lived earlier comes first. Where the same name is used as a first and family name, entries of the first name precede those of the family name.

For example in looking for an ABRAHAM one would find the order:

ABRAHAM (the patriarch)
ABRAHAM (family name)
ABRAHAM, APOCALYPSE OF (the comma after Abraham acting as a caesura)
ABRAHAM, MAX
ABRAHAM ABELE BEN ABRAHAM SOLOMON (considered as a unit in the absence of a comma)
ABRAHAM A SANCTA CLARA
ABRAHAM BAR HIYYA
ABRAHAM BEN ALEXANDER (note that "bar" and "ben" are considered as spelt in full)
ABRAHAM HAYYIM BEN GEDALIA
ABRAHAMITES
ABRAHAM JOSHUA HESCHEL OF APTA

ABRAHAM (ben Aaron) OF BAGHDAD (note that variants in parentheses are ignored for alphabetization purposes)
ABRAHAM OF SARAGOSSA
ABRAHAMS
ABRAHAMS, ISRAEL
ABRAHAMS, SIR LIONEL (note that titles such as Sir and Lord are ignored for alphabetization purposes)
ABRAHAMS, MOSES
ABRAHAM'S BOSOM
ABRAHAMSEN, DAVID
ABRAHAM ẒEVI BEN ELEAZER

Style

Although basing itself on standard rule of style, the *Encyclopaedia* has in many cases had to establish its own rules to meet its own particular requirements. Spelling was based on Webster's Third International Dictionary, except for a number of specific Jewish and Hebrew words. Italicization is used in the text for non-English words and phrases. (See also section on Consistency.)

Familiar abbreviations of rabbinical authorities (e.g., Rif for Isaac Alfasi or Rashba for Solomon ben Adret) are generally not employed in the text but are used in bibliographical references in articles on rabbinical literature and Jewish law (see section on Abbreviations). The exception here is Rashi (Rabbi Solomon Yiẓḥaki) who is so universally known by his acronym that it would be unnecessarily pedantic to insist on his full name in usual references to him. In other cases, a decision had to be made with regard to the form regularly used; thus the *Encyclopaedia* uses Maimonides rather than Moses ben Maimon or Maimuni and Naḥmanides rather than Moses ben Naḥman. Here again the reader should consult the aliases appearing in the alphabetized Index.

Illustrations

Supplementing the text are over 600 tables, maps, charts, and archaeological plans including a full list of Jewish settlements in Israel and detailed chronologies of Jewish history and of the Holocaust period, as well as an eight-page full-color insert in each volume illustrating all facets of Jewish life in hundreds of photographs. A special section of Holocaust photographs follows the main Holocaust entry.

Signatures and Contributors

Authors' names generally appear at the end of each entry. Where different contributors have written sections of an entry, their names are found at the end of the section they have written. When two (or more) contributions have been merged into a single article a joint signature appears at the end of the entry. Contributions to the second edition are indicated by the words (2nd ed.) after the contributor's name. However, in cases where updates or revisions to a first edition entry are minor, or only new bibliography has been added (see Bibliographies above), the second edition contributor has generally not been cited, lest the mistaken impression be created that the entry was a joint effort. Furthermore, with the removal of the ubiquitous "ED." (for "Editor") signature from first edition entries produced by the EJ editorial staff, such entries are now unsigned, unless the second edition update or revision was significant enough to warrant its attribution to the second edition contributor alone.

Information on the authors (as of the date of writing the entry) can be found in the List of Contributors along with a list of all entries partially or entirely written by each author.

For the first edition the *Encyclopaedia Judaica* received permission to utilize entries appearing in two other encyclopedias in other languages – the German *Encyclopaedia Judaica* and the Hebrew *Encyclopaedia Hebraica*. Where contributors of such entries were living, the English version was sent to them for their approval and where received, the author's initial is given. In a few cases, for one reason or another, the author was not available or not prepared to check the English version; in such cases the entries are merely signed [*Encyclopedia Judaica* (Germany)] or [*Encyclopaedia Hebraica*] to indicate that the source is to be found in these works. For the second edition, permission was received to use material from two other sources: Yad Vashem's *Pinkasei Kehillot* and its English abridgment (*Encyclopedia of Jewish Communities Before and During the Holocaust*) and *The Shorter Jewish Encyclopedia in Russian* (*Kratkoy Evreyskoy Entsiklopedii*). Material from these sources was incorporated into entries written and generally signed by second edition contributors.

Index

One of the highlights of the *Encyclopaedia* is its comprehensive index, originally edited by Prof. Raphael Posner for the first edition. This provides the key which unlocks the *Encyclopaedia* so that each detail becomes readily available for consultation. Ordinarily, an encyclopedia can be consulted only through the alphabetical list of entries. In the case of the *Encyclopaedia Judaica* this would give the reader some 22,000 subjects. With the aid of the Index the option is expanded more than eightfold, and the reader can at once see where information on topics that have not received independent entries but have been treated under other headings can be found. In addition a subject can be followed through all aspects of its treatment in the *Encyclopaedia*. For example, if the reader is interested in Maimonides, he or she will discover not only that there is a major entry on Maimonides but that there are further extensive treatments of Maimonides' thought and work in dozens of other entries – such as the entry *Mishpat Ivri* (Jewish Law), Philosophy, Medicine, Aristotle, Attributes, etc.

The Index is an indispensable tool for the use of the *Encyclopaedia* and the editors recommend that the reader always start by turning to it. Only by consulting the Index will he or she grasp the full treatment of any subject. (Where a person can be referred to under various names or pseudonyms, the Index will guide the reader to the relevant entry.) In planning the *Encyclopaedia*, the editors endeavored to maintain an overview of the complete work and to avoid overlapping, as far as possible. Without the Index, the reader would not be aware of the carefully planned structure of each subject and might conclude that certain important facets had been omitted or overlooked or that in certain cases treatment was inadequate. But by referring to the Index the user will immediately find out under what heading each subject is treated and where the supplementary aspects are dealt with.

It should be noted that the captions to the illustrations have also been indexed. Thus, under Israel, the reader will find page references to all maps and tables in the entry. In this way, the reader has easy access to all the visual material in the *Encyclopaedia*.

For full details on the Index and its use, the reader is referred to the Introduction to the Index in the Index volume.

Thematic Outline

The Thematic Outline, at the front of the Index volume, is an entirely new feature listing all entries in the *Encyclopaedia* under their appropriate subject headings, more or less corresponding to the *Encyclopaedia*'s editorial divisions. Thus, for example, a typical heading of this kind would be "Canada," broken down into Main Entries, General Entries, Community Entries, and Biographical Entries. For the larger divisions (U.S., Israel, Germany, etc.) biographical entries are further subdivided into Public and Economic Life, Academic Life, Popular Culture, Art, Science, etc. Many entries will appear under more than one heading. Scientists, for example, will appear under both the country they are identified with (or more than one country in certain cases) and the Science heading. As definitions are sometimes not clearcut, the existence of an entry can always be checked against the Index.

The aim of the Thematic Outline is to provide at a glance a picture of what is contained in the *Encyclopaedia* as well as to serve as a teaching and research tool showing all the entries available on a given subject.

Conclusion

The preparation of the second edition of the *Encyclopaedia Judaica* was a labor of devotion and dedication on the part of those responsible. It is the product of the diligent work of many hundreds of participants making very special efforts to ensure its successful conclusion. In this, they have been motivated by an awareness of the historic and cultural value of this work and the significant role it can play in Jewish education and culture, in the spread of Jewish knowledge – which is such an urgent priority in the Jewish and non-Jewish world today – and in the closer linking of Israel with Jews as well as non-Jews the world over. The editors are aware that for objective reasons, they have not always attained the desired perfection and that, as is inevitable in any work of comparable size and scope, errors have crept in. But they feel that the final product, seen in its entirety, is indeed a historical contribution to Jewish culture with which they feel privileged to have been associated.

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Alexander Zvielli, Director, Jerusalem Post Archives, Jerusalem: HUMPHREY, HUBERT H.; LANDAU, MOSHE; SHAMGAR, MEIR; SUSSMAN, YOEL; WITKON, ALFRED

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ABBREVIATIONS

GENERAL ABBREVIATIONS

This list contains abbreviations used in the Encyclopaedia (apart from the standard ones, such as geographical abbreviations, points of compass, etc.). For names of organizations, institutions, etc., in abbreviation, see Index. For bibliographical abbreviations of books and authors in Rabbinical literature, see following lists.

*	Cross reference; i.e., an article is to be found under the word(s) immediately following the asterisk (*).
°	Before the title of an entry, indicates a non-Jew (post-biblical times).
‡	Indicates reconstructed forms.
>	The word following this sign is derived from the preceding one.
<	The word preceding this sign is derived from the following one.

ad loc.	*ad locum*, “at the place”; used in quotations of commentaries.
A.H.	*Anno Hegirae*, “in the year of Hegira,” i.e., according to the Muslim calendar.
Akk.	Addadian.
A.M.	*anno mundi*, “in the year (from the creation) of the world.”
anon.	anonymous.
Ar.	Arabic.
Aram.	Aramaic.
Ass.	Assyrian.
b.	born; *ben, bar.*
Bab.	Babylonian.
B.C.E.	Before Common Era (= B.C.).
bibl.	bibliography.
Bul.	Bulgarian.
c., ca.	Circa.
C.E.	Common Era (= A.D.).
cf.	*confer*, “compare.”
ch., chs.	chapter, chapters.
comp.	compiler, compiled by.
Cz.	Czech.
D	according to the documentary theory, the Deuteronomy document.
d.	died.
Dan.	Danish.
diss., dissert,	dissertation, thesis.
Du.	Dutch.
E.	according to the documentary theory, the Elohist document (i.e., using Elohim as the name of God) of the first five (or six) books of the Bible.
ed.	editor, edited, edition.
eds.	editors.
e.g.	*exempli gratia*, “for example.”
Eng.	English.
et al.	*et alibi*, “and elsewhere”; or *et alii*, “and others”; “others.”
f., ff.	and following page(s).
fig.	figure.
fl.	flourished.
fol., fols	folio(s).
Fr.	French.
Ger.	German.
Gr.	Greek.
Heb.	Hebrew.
Hg., Hung	Hungarian.
ibid	*Ibidem*, “in the same place.”
incl. bibl.	includes bibliography.
introd.	introduction.
It.	Italian.
J	according to the documentary theory, the Jahwist document (i.e., using YHWH as the name of God) of the first five (or six) books of the Bible.
Lat.	Latin.
lit.	literally.
Lith.	Lithuanian.
loc. cit.	*loco citato*, “in the [already] cited place.”
Ms., Mss.	Manuscript(s).
n.	note.
n.d.	no date (of publication).
no., nos	number(s).
Nov.	Novellae (Heb. *Ḥiddushim*).
n.p.	place of publication unknown.
op. cit.	*opere citato*, “in the previously mentioned work.”
P.	according to the documentary theory, the Priestly document of the first five (or six) books of the Bible.
p., pp.	page(s).
Pers.	Persian.
pl., pls.	plate(s).
Pol.	Polish.
Port.	Potuguese.
pt., pts.	part(s).
publ.	published.
R.	Rabbi or Rav (before names); in Midrash (after an abbreviation) – *Rabbah*.
r.	recto, the first side of a manuscript page.
Resp.	Responsa (Latin “answers,” Hebrew *She’elot u-Teshuvot* or *Teshuvot),* collections of rabbinic decisions.
rev.	revised.

Rom.	Romanian.
Rus(s).	Russian.
Slov.	Slovak.
Sp.	Spanish.
s.v.	*sub verbo, sub voce*, “under the (key) word.”
Sum	Sumerian.
summ.	Summary.
suppl.	supplement.
Swed.	Swedish.
tr., trans(l).	translator, translated, translation.
Turk.	Turkish.
Ukr.	Ukrainian.
v., vv.	*verso*. The second side of a manuscript page; also verse(s).
Yid.	Yiddish.

ABBREVIATIONS USED IN RABBINICAL LITERATURE

Adderet Eliyahu, Karaite treatise by Elijah b. Moses *Bashyazi.

Admat Kodesh, Resp. by Nissim Ḥayyim Moses b. Joseph Mizraḥi.

Aguddah, Sefer ha-, Nov. by *Alexander Suslin ha-Kohen.

Ahavat Ḥesed, compilation by *Israel Meir ha-Kohen.

Aliyyot de-Rabbenu Yonah, Nov. by *Jonah b. Avraham Gerondi.

Arukh ha-Shulḥan, codification by Jehiel Michel *Epstein.

Asayin (= positive precepts), subdivision of: (1) *Maimonides, *Sefer ha-Mitzvot;* (2) *Moses b. Jacob of Coucy, *Semag.*

Asefat Dinim, subdivision of *Sedei Ḥemed* by Ḥayyim Hezekiah *Medini, an encyclopaedia of precepts and responsa.

Asheri = *Asher b. Jehiel.

Aeret Ḥakhamim, by Baruch *Frankel-Teomim; pt, 1: Resp. to Sh. Ar.; pt2: Nov. to Talmud.

Ateret Zahav, subdivision of the *Levush*, a codification by Mordecai b. Abraham (Levush) *Jaffe; *Ateret Zahav* parallels Tur. YD.

Ateret Ẓevi, Comm. To Sh. Ar. by Ẓevi Hirsch b. Azriel.

Avir Ya'akov, Resp. by Jacob Avigdor.

Avkat Rokhel, Resp. by Joseph b. Ephraim *Caro.

Avnei Millu'im, Comm. to Sh. Ar., EH, by *Aryeh Loeb b. Joseph ha-Kohen.

Avnei Nezer, Resp. on Sh. Ar. by Abraham b. Ze'ev Nahum Bornstein of *Sochaczew.

Avodat Massa, Compilation of Tax Law by Yoasha Abraham Judah.

Azei ha-Levanon, Resp. by Judah Leib *Zirelson.

Ba'al ha-Tanya – *Shneur Zalman of Lyady.

Ba'ei Ḥayyei, Resp. by Ḥayyim b. Israel *Benveniste.

Ba'er Heitev, Comm. To Sh. Ar. The parts on OḤ and EH are by Judah b. Simeon *Ashkenazi, the parts on YD AND ḤM by *Zechariah Mendel b. Aryeh Leib. Printed in most editions of Sh. Ar.

Baḥ = Joel *Sirkes.

Baḥ, usual abbreviation for *Bayit Ḥadash*, a commentary on Tur by Joel *Sirkes; printed in most editions of Tur.

Bayit Ḥadash, see *Baḥ.*

Berab = Jacob Berab, also called Ri Berav.

Bedek ha-Bayit, by Joseph b. Ephraim *Caro, additions to his *Beit Yosef* (a comm. to Tur). Printed sometimes inside *Beit Yosef,* in smaller type. Appears in most editions of Tur.

Be'er ha-Golah, Commentary to Sh. Ar. By Moses b. Naphtali Hirsch *Rivkes; printed in most editions of Sh. Ar.

Be'er Mayim, Resp. by Raphael b. Abraham Manasseh Jacob.

Be'er Mayim Ḥayyim, Resp. by Samuel b. Ḥayyim *Vital.

Be'er Yiẓḥak, Resp. by Isaac Elhanan *Spector.

Beit ha-Beḥirah, Comm. to Talmud by Menahem b. Solomon *Meiri.

Beit Me'ir, Nov. on Sh. Ar. by Meir b. Judah Leib Posner.

Beit Shelomo, Resp. by Solomon b. Aaron Ḥason (the younger).

Beit Shemu'el, Comm. to Sh. Ar., EH, by *Samuel b. Uri Shraga Phoebus.

Beit Ya'akov, by Jacob b. Jacob Moses *Lorberbaum; pt.1: Nov. to Ket.; pt.2: Comm. to EH.

Beit Yisrael, collective name for the commentaries *Derishah, Perishah,* and *Be'urim* by Joshua b. Alexander ha-Kohen *Falk. See under the names of the commentaries.

Beit Yiẓḥak, Resp. by Isaac *Schmelkes.

Beit Yosef: (1) Comm. on Tur by Joseph b. Ephraim *Caro; printed in most editions of Tur; (2) Resp. by the same.

Ben Yehudah, Resp. by Abraham b. Judah Litsch (ליטש) Rosenbaum.

Bertinoro, Standard commentary to Mishnah by Obadiah *Bertinoro. Printed in most editions of the Mishnah.

[Be'urei] Ha-Gra, Comm. to Bible, Talmud, and Sh. Ar. By *Elijah b. Solomon Zalmon (Gaon of Vilna); printed in major editions of the mentioned works.

Be'urim, Glosses to Isserles *Darkhei Moshe* (a comm. on Tur) by Joshua b. Alexander ha-Kohen *Falk; printed in many editions of Tur.

Binyamin Ze'ev, Resp. by *Benjamin Ze'ev b. Mattathias of Arta.

Birkei Yosef, Nov. by Ḥayyim Joseph David *Azulai.

Ha-Buẓ ve-ha-Argaman, subdivision of the *Levush* (a codification by Mordecai b. Abraham (Levush) *Jaffe); *Ha-Buẓ ve-ha-Argaman* parallels Tur, EH.

Comm. = Commentary

Da'at Kohen, Resp. by Abraham Isaac ha-Kohen. *Kook.

Darkhei Moshe, Comm. on Tur Moses b. Israel *Isserles; printed in most editions of Tur.

Darkhei No'am, Resp. by *Mordecai b. Judah ha-Levi.

Darkhei Teshuvah, Nov. by Ẓevi *Shapiro; printed in the major editions of Sh. Ar.

De'ah ve-Haskel, Resp. by Obadiah Hadaya (see *Yaskil Avdi).*

Derashot Ran, Sermons by *Nissim b. Reuben Gerondi.
Derekh Ḥayyim, Comm. to *Avot* by *Judah Loew (Lob., Liwa) b. Bezalel (Maharal) of Prague.
Derishah, by Joshua b. Alexander ha-Kohen *Falk; additions to his *Perishah* (comm. on Tur); printed in many editions of Tur.
Derushei ha-Ẓelaḥ, Sermons, by Ezekiel b. Judah Halevi *Landau.
Devar Avraham, Resp. by Abraham *Shapira.
Devar Shemu'el, Resp. by Samuel *Aboab.
Devar Yehoshu'a, Resp. by Joshua Menahem b. Isaac Aryeh Ehrenberg.
Dikdukei Soferim, variae lections of the talmudic text by Raphael Nathan*Rabbinowicz.
Divrei Emet, Resp. by Isaac Bekhor David.
Divrei Ge'onim, Digest of responsa by Ḥayyim Aryeh b. Jeḥiel Ẓevi *Kahana.
Divrei Ḥamudot, Comm. on *Piskei ha-Rosh* by Yom Tov Lipmann b. Nathan ha-Levi *Heller; printed in major editions of the Talmud.
Divrei Ḥayyim several works by Ḥayyim *Halberstamm; if quoted alone refers to his Responsa.
Divrei Malkhi'el, Resp. by Malchiel Tenebaum.
Divrei Rivot, Resp. by Isaac b. Samuel *Adarbi.
Divrei Shemu'el, Resp. by Samuel Raphael Arditi.

Edut be-Ya'akov, Resp. by Jacob b. Abraham *Boton.
Edut bi-Yhosef, Resp. by Joseph b. Isaac *Almosnino.
Ein Ya'akov, Digest of talmudic *aggadot* by Jacob (Ibn) *Habib.
Ein Yiẓḥak, Resp. by Isaac Elhanan *Spector.
Ephraim of Lentshitz = Solomon *Luntschitz.
Erekh Leḥem, Nov. and glosses to Sh. Ar. by Jacob b. Abraham *Castro.
Eshkol, Sefer ha-, Digest of *halakhot* by *Abraham b. Isaac of Narbonne.
Et Sofer, Treatise on Law Court documents by Abraham b. Mordecai *Ankawa, in the 2nd vol. of his Resp. *Kerem Ḥamar.*
Etan ha-Ezraḥi, Resp. by Abraham b. Israel Jehiel (Shrenzl) *Rapaport.
Even ha-Ezel, Nov. to Maimonides' *Yad Ḥazakah* by Isser Zalman *Meltzer.
Even ha-Ezer, also called *Raban* of *Ẓafenat Pa'ne'aḥ,* rabbinical work with varied contents by *Eliezer b. Nathan of Mainz; not identical with the subdivision of Tur, Shulḥan Arukh, etc.
Ezrat Yehudah, Resp. by *Isaar Judah b. Nechemiah of Brisk.

Gan Eden, Karaite treatise by *Aaron b. Elijah of Nicomedia.
Gersonides = *Levi b. Gershom, also called Leo Hebraecus, or Ralbag.
Ginnat Veradim, Resp. by *Abraham b. Mordecai ha-Levi.

Haggahot, another name for *Rema.*
Haggahot Asheri, glosses to *Piskei ha-Rosh* by *Israel of Krems; printed in most Talmud editions.
Haggahot Maimuniyyot, Comm,. to Maimonides' Yad Ḥazakah by *Meir ha-Kohen; printed in most eds. of Yad.
Haggahot Mordekhai, glosses to *Mordekhai* by Samuel *Schlettstadt; printed in most editions of the Talmud after *Mordekhai.*
Haggahot ha-Rashash on Tosafot, annotations of Samuel *Strashun on the Tosafot (printed in major editions of the Talmud).
Ha-Gra = *Elijah b. Solomon Zalman (Gaon of Vilna).
Ha-Gra, Commentaries on Bible, Talmud, and Sh. Ar. respectively, by *Elijah b. Solomon Zalman (Gaon of Vilna); printed in major editions of the mentioned works.
Hai Gaon, Comm. = his comm. on Mishnah.
Ḥakham Ẓevi, Resp. by Ẓevi Hirsch b. Jacob *Ashkenazi.
Halakhot = Rif, *Halakhot.* Compilation and abstract of the Talmud by Isaac b. Jacob ha-Kohen *Alfasi; printed in most editions of the Talmud.
Halakhot Gedolot, compilation of *halakhot* from the Geonic period, arranged acc. to the Talmud. Here cited acc. to ed. Warsaw (1874). Author probably *Simeon Kayyara of Basra.
Halakhot Pesukot le-Rav Yehudai Ga'on compilation of *halakhot.*
Halakhot Pesukot min ha-Ge'onim, compilation of *halakhot* from the geonic period by different authors.
Ḥananel, Comm. to Talmud by *Hananel b. Ḥushi'el; printed in some editions of the Talmud.
Harei Besamim, Resp. by Aryeh Leib b. Isaac *Horowitz.
Ḥassidim, Sefer, Ethical maxims by *Judah b. Samuel he-Ḥasid.
Hassagot Rabad on Rif, Glosses on Rif, *Halakhot,* by *Abraham b. David of Posquières.
Hassagot Rabad [on Yad], Glosses on Maimonides, *Yad Ḥazakah,* by *Abraham b. David of Posquières.
Hassagot Ramban, Glosses by Naḥmanides on Maimonides' *Sefer ha-Mitzvot;* usually printed together with *Sefer ha-Mitzvot.*
Ḥatam Sofer = Moses *Sofer.
Ḥavvot Ya'ir, Resp. and varia by Jair Ḥayyim *Bacharach
Ḥayyim Or Zaru'a = *Ḥayyim (Eliezer) b. Isaac.
Ḥazon Ish = Abraham Isaiah *Karelitz.
Ḥazon Ish, Nov. by Abraham Isaiah *Karelitz
Ḥedvat Ya'akov, Resp. by Aryeh Judah Jacob b. David Dov Meisels (article under his father's name).
Heikhal Yiẓḥak, Resp. by Isaac ha-Levi *Herzog.
Ḥelkat Meḥokek, Comm. to Sh. Ar., by Moses b. Isaac Judah *Lima.
Ḥelkat Ya'akov, Resp. by Mordecai Jacob Breisch.
Ḥemdah Genuzah, , Resp. from the geonic period by different authors.
Ḥemdat Shelomo, Resp. by Solomon Zalman *Lipschitz.
Ḥida = Ḥayyim Joseph David *Azulai.
Ḥiddushei Halakhot ve-Aggadot, Nov. by Samuel Eliezer b. Judah ha-Levi *Edels.
Ḥikekei Lev, Resp. by Ḥayyim *Palaggi.
Ḥikrei Lev, Nov. to Sh. Ar. by Joseph Raphael b. Ḥayyim Joseph Ḥazzan (see article *Ḥazzan Family).
Hil. = Hilkhot … (e.g. *Hilkhot Shabbat).*
Ḥinnukh, Sefer ha-, List and explanation of precepts attributed (probably erroneously) to Aaron ha-Levi of Barcelona (see article **Ha-Ḥinnukh*).
Ḥok Ya'akov, Comm. to Hil. Pesaḥ in Sh. Ar., OḤ, by Jacob b. Joseph *Reicher.
Ḥokhmat Sehlomo (1), Glosses to Talmud, *Rashi* and Tosafot by Solomon b. Jehiel "Maharshal") *Luria; printed in many editions of the Talmud.
Ḥokhmat Sehlomo (2), Glosses and Nov. to Sh. Ar. by Solomon b. Judah Aaron *Kluger printed in many editions of Sh. Ar.
Ḥur, subdivision of the *Levush,* a codification by Mordecai b. Abraham (Levush) *Jaffe; *Hur* (or *Levush ha-Hur)* parallels Tur, OḤ, 242–697.
Ḥut ha-Meshullash, fourth part of the *Tashbeẓ* (Resp.), by Simeon b. Zemaḥ *Duran.

Ibn Ezra, Comm. to the Bible by Abraham *Ibn Ezra; printed in the major editions of the Bible *("Mikra'ot Gedolot").*
Imrei Yosher, Resp. by Meir b. Aaron Judah *Arik.
Ir Shushan, Subdivision of the *Levush,* a codification by Mordecai b. Abraham (Levush) *Jaffe; *Ir Shushan* parallels Tur, ḤM.
Israel of Bruna = Israel b. Ḥayyim *Bruna.
Ittur. Treatise on precepts by *Isaac b. Abba Mari of Marseilles.

Jacob Be Rab = *Be Rab.
Jacob b. Jacob Moses of Lissa = Jacob b. Jacob Moses *Lorberbaum.
Judah B. Simeon = Judah b. Simeon *Ashkenazi.
Judah Minz = Judah b. Eliezer ha-Levi *Minz.

Kappei Aharon, Resp. by Aaron Azriel.
Kehillat Ya'akov, Talmudic methodology, definitions etc. by Israel Jacob b. Yom Tov *Algazi.
Kelei Ḥemdah, Nov. and *pilpulim* by Meir Dan *Plotzki of Ostrova, arranged acc. to the Torah.
Keli Yakar, Annotations to the Torah by Solomon *Luntschitz.
Keneh Ḥokhmah, Sermons by Judah Loeb *Pochwitzer.
Keneset ha-Gedolah, Digest of *halakhot* by Ḥayyim b. Israel *Benveniste; subdivided into annotations to *Beit Yosef* and annotations to Tur.
Keneset Yisrael, Resp. by Ezekiel b. Abraham Katzenellenbogen (see article *Katzenellenbogen Family).
Kerem Ḥamar, Resp. and varia by Abraham b. Mordecai *Ankawa.
Kerem Shelmo. Resp. by Solomon b. Joseph *Amarillo.
Keritut, [Sefer], Methodology of the Talmud by *Samson b. Isaac of Chinon.
Kesef ha-Kedoshim, Comm. to Sh. Ar., ḤM, by Abraham *Wahrmann; printed in major editions of Sh. Ar.
Kesef Mishneh, Comm. to Maimonides, *Yad Ḥazakah,* by Joseph b. Ephraim *Caro; printed in most editions of *Yad Ḥazakah.*
Keẓot ha-Ḥoshen, Comm. to Sh. Ar., ḤM, by *Aryeh Loeb b. Joseph ha-Kohen; printed in major editions of Sh. Ar.
Kol Bo [*Sefer*], Anonymous collection of ritual rules; also called *Sefer ha-Likkutim.*
Kol Mevasser, Resp. by Meshullam *Rath.
Korban Aharon, Comm. to *Sifra* by Aaron b. Abraham *Ibn Ḥayyim; pt. 1 is called: *Middot Aharon.*
Korban Edah, Comm. to Jer. Talmud by David *Fraenkel; with additions: *Shiyyurei Korban;* printed in most editions of Jer. Talmud.
Kunteres ha-Kelalim, subdivision of *Sedei Ḥemed*, an encyclopaedia of precepts and responsa by Ḥayyim Hezekiah *Medini.
Kunteres ha-Semikhah, a treatise by *Levi b. Ḥabib; printed at the end of his responsa.
Kunteres Tikkun Olam, part of *Mispat Shalom* (Nov. by Shalom Mordecai b. Moses *Schwadron).

Lavin (negative precepts), subdivision of: (1) *Maimonides, *Sefer ha-Mitzvot;* (2) *Moses b. Jacob of Coucy, *Semag.*
Leḥem Mishneh, Comm. to Maimonides, *Yad Ḥazakah,* by Abraham [Ḥiyya] b. Moses *Boton; printed in most editions of *Yad Ḥazakah.*
Leḥem Rav, Resp. by Abraham [Ḥiyya] b. Moses *Boton.
Leket Yosher, Resp and varia by Israel b. Pethahiah *Isserlein, collected by *Joseph (Joselein) b. Moses.
Leo Hebraeus = *Levi b. Gershom, also called Ralbag or Gersonides.
Levush = Mordecai b. Abraham *Jaffe.
Levush [Malkhut], Codification by Mordecai b. Abraham (Levush) *Jaffe, with subdivisions: [*Levush ha-] Tekhelet* (parallels Tur OḤ 1–241); [*Levush ha-] Ḥur* (parallels Tur OḤ 242–697); [*Levush] Ateret Zahav* (parallels Tur YD); [*Levush ha-Buẓ ve-ha-Argaman* (parallels Tur EH); [*Levush] Ir Shushan* (parallels Tur ḤM); under the name *Levush* the author wrote also other works.
Li-Leshonot ha-Rambam, fifth part (nos. 1374–1700) of Resp. by *David b. Solomon ibn Abi Zimra (Radbaz).
Likkutim, Sefer ha-, another name for [*Sefer] Kol Bo*.

Ma'adanei Yom Tov, Comm. on *Piskei ha-Rosh* by Yom Tov Lipmann b. Nathan ha-Levi *Heller; printed in many editions of the Talmud.
Mabit = Moses b. Joseph *Trani.
Magen Avot, Comm. to *Avot* by Simeon b. Ẓemaḥ *Duran.
Magen Avraham, Comm. to Sh. Ar., OḤ, by Abraham Abele b. Ḥayyim ha-Levi *Gombiner; printed in many editions of Sh. Ar., OḤ.
Maggid Mishneh, Comm. to Maimonides, *Yad Ḥazakah,* by *Vidal Yom Tov of Tolosa; printed in most editions of the *Yad Ḥazakah.*
Maḥaneh Efrayim, Resp. and Nov., arranged acc. to Maimonides' *Yad Ḥazakah* , by Ephraim b. Aaron *Navon.
Maharai = Israel b. Pethahiah *Isserlein.
Maharal of Prague = *Judah Loew (Lob, Liwa), b. Bezalel.
Maharalbaḥ = *Levi b. Ḥabib.
Maharam Alashkar = Moses b. Isaac *Alashkar.
Maharam Alshekh = Moses b. Ḥayyim *Alashekh.
Maharam Mintz = Moses *Mintz.
Maharam of Lublin = *Meir b. Gedaliah of Lublin.
Maharam of Padua = Meir *Katzenellenbogen.
Maharam of Rothenburg = *Meir b. Baruch of Rothenburg.
Maharam Shik = Moses b. Joseph Schick.
Maharash Engel = Samuel b. Ze'ev Wolf Engel.
Maharashdam = Samuel b. Moses *Medina.
Maharḥash = Ḥayyim (ben) Shabbetai.
Mahari Basan = Jehiel b. Ḥayyim Basan.
Mahari b. Lev = Joseph ibn Lev.
Mahari'az = Jekuthiel Asher Zalman Ensil Zusmir.
Maharibal = *Joseph ibn Lev.
Mahariḥ = Jacob (Israel) *Ḥagiz.
Maharik = Joseph b. Solomon *Colon.
Maharikash = Jacob b. Abraham *Castro.
Maharil = Jacob b. Moses *Moellin.
Maharimat = Joseph b. Moses di Trani (not identical with the Maharit).
Maharit = Joseph b. Moses *Trani.
Maharitaẓ = Yom Tov b. Akiva Ẓahalon. (See article *Ẓahalon Family).
Maharsha = Samuel Eliezer b. Judah ha-Levi *Edels.
Maharshag = Simeon b. Judah Gruenfeld.
Maharshak = Samson b. Isaac of Chinon.
Maharshakh = *Solomon b. Abraham.
Maharshal = Solomon b. Jeḥiel *Luria.
Mahasham = Shalom Mordecai b. Moses *Sschwadron.
Maharyu = Jacob b. Judah *Weil.
Maḥazeh Avraham, Resp. by Abraham Nebagen v. Meir ha-Levi Steinberg.
Maḥazik Berakhah, Nov. by Ḥayyim Joseph David *Azulai.

*Maimonides = Moses b. Maimon, or Rambam.

*Malbim = Meir Loeb b. Jehiel Michael.

Malbim = Malbim's comm. to the Bible; printed in the major editions.

Malbushei Yom Tov, Nov. on *Levush*, OḤ, by Yom Tov Lipmann b. Nathan ha-Levi *Heller.

Mappah, another name for *Rema.*

Mareh ha-Panim, Comm. to Jer. Talmud by Moses b. Simeon *Margolies; printed in most editions of Jer. Talmud.

Margaliyyot ha-Yam, Nov. by Reuben *Margoliot.

Masat Binyamin, Resp. by Benjamin Aaron b. Abraham *Slonik

Mashbir, Ha- = *Joseph Samuel b. Isaac Rodi.

Massa Ḥayyim, Tax *halakhot* by Ḥayyim *Palaggi, with the subdivisions *Missim ve-Arnomiyyot* and *Torat ha-Minhagot.*

Massa Melekh, Compilation of Tax Law by Joseph b. Isaac *Ibn Ezra with concluding part *Ne'ilat She'arim.*

Matteh Asher, Resp. by Asher b. Emanuel Shalem.

Matteh Shimon, Digest of Resp. and Nov. to Tur and *Beit Yosef,* ḤM, by Mordecai Simeon b. Solomon.

Matteh Yosef, Resp. by Joseph b. Moses ha-Levi Nazir (see article under his father's name).

Mayim Amukkim, Resp. by Elijah b. Abraham *Mizraḥi.

Mayim Ḥayyim, Resp. by Ḥayyim b. Dov Beresh Rapaport.

Mayim Rabbim, , Resp. by Raphael *Meldola.

Me-Emek ha-Bakha, , Resp. by Simeon b. Jekuthiel Ephrati.

Me'irat Einayim, usual abbreviation: *Sma* (from: *Sefer Me'irat Einayim*); comm. to Sh. Ar. By Joshua b. Alexander ha-Kohen *Falk; printed in most editions of the Sh. Ar.

Melammed le-Ho'il, Resp. by David Ẓevi *Hoffmann.

Meisharim, [*Sefer*], Rabbinical treatise by *Jeroham b. Meshullam.

Meshiv Davar, Resp. by Naphtali Ẓevi Judah *Berlin.

Mi-Gei ha-Haregah, Resp. by Simeon b. Jekuthiel Ephrati.

Mi-Ma'amakim, Resp. by Ephraim Oshry.

Middot Aharon, first part of *Korban Aharon,* a comm. to *Sifra* by Aaron b. Abraham *Ibn Ḥayyim.

Migdal Oz, Comm. to Maimonides, *Yad Ḥazakah,* by *Ibn Gaon Shem Tov b. Abraham; printed in most editions of the *Yad Ḥazakah.*

Mikhtam le-David, Resp. by David Samuel b. Jacob *Pardo.

Mikkaḥ ve-ha-Mimkar, Sefer ha-, Rabbinical treatise by *Hai Gaon.

Milḥamot ha-Shem, Glosses to Rif, *Halakhot,* by *Naḥmanides.

Minḥat Ḥinnukh, Comm. to *Sefer ha-Ḥinnukh,* by Joseph b. Moses *Babad.

Minḥat Yiẓḥak, Resp. by Isaac Jacob b. Joseph Judah Weiss.

Misgeret ha-Shulḥan, Comm. to Sh. Ar., ḤM, by Benjamin Ze'ev Wolf b. Shabbetai; printed in most editions of Sh. Ar.

Mishkenot ha-Ro'im, Halakhot in alphabetical order by Uzziel Alshekh.

Mishnah Berurah, Comm. to Sh. Ar., OḤ, by *Israel Meir ha-Kohen.

Mishneh le-Melekh, Comm. to Maimonides, *Yad Ḥazakah,* by Judah *Rosanes; printed in most editions of *Yad Ḥazakah.*

Mishpat ha-Kohanim, Nov. to Sh. Ar., ḤM, by Jacob Moses *Lorberbaum, part of his *Netivot ha-Mishpat;* printed in major editions of Sh. Ar.

Mishpat Kohen, Resp. by Abraham Isaac ha-Kohen *Kook.

Mishpat Shalom, Nov. by Shalom Mordecai b. Moses *Schwadron; contains: *Kunteres Tikkun Olam.*

Mishpat u-Ẓedakah be-Ya'akov, Resp. by Jacob b. Reuben *Ibn Ẓur.

Mishpat ha-Urim, Comm. to Sh. Ar., ḤM by Jacob b. Jacob Moses *Lorberbaum, part of his *Netivot ha-Mishpat*; printed in major editons of Sh. Ar.

Mishpat Ẓedek, Resp. by *Melammed Meir b. Shem Tov.

Mishpatim Yesharim, Resp. by Raphael b. Mordecai *Berdugo.

Mishpetei Shemu'el, Resp. by Samuel b. Moses *Kalai (Kal'i).

Mishpetei ha-Tanna'im, Kunteres, Nov on *Levush,* OḤ by Yom Tov Lipmann b. Nathan ha-Levi *Heller.

Mishpetei Uzzi'el (Uziel), Resp. by Ben-Zion Meir Hai *Ouziel.

Missim ve-Arnoniyyot, Tax *halakhot* by Ḥayyim *Palaggi, a subdivision of his work *Massa Ḥayyim* on the same subject.

Mitzvot, Sefer ha-, Elucidation of precepts by *Maimonides; subdivided into *Lavin* (negative precepts) and *Asayin* (positive precepts).

Mitzvot Gadol, Sefer, Elucidation of precepts by *Moses b. Jacob of Coucy, subdivided into *Lavin* (negative precepts) and *Asayin* (positive precepts); the usual abbreviation is *Semag.*

Mitzvot Katan, Sefer, Elucidation of precepts by *Isaac b. Joseph of Corbeil; the usual, abbreviation is *Semak.*

Mo'adim u-Zemannim, Rabbinical treatises by Moses Sternbuch.

Modigliano, Joseph Samuel = *Joseph Samuel b. Isaac, Rodi (Ha-Mashbir).

Mordekhai (Mordecai), halakhic compilation by *Mordecai b. Hillel; printed in most editions of the Talmud after the texts.

Moses b. Maimon = *Maimonides, also called Rambam.

Moses b. Naḥman = Naḥmanides, also called Ramban.

Muram = Isaiah Menahem b. Isaac (from: Morenu R. Mendel).

Naḥal Yiẓḥak, Comm. on Sh. Ar., ḤM, by Isaac Elhanan *Spector.

Naḥalah li-Yhoshu'a, Resp. by Joshua Ẓunẓin.

Naḥalat Shivah, collection of legal forms by *Samuel b. David Moses ha-Levi.

*Naḥmanides = Moses b. Naḥman, also called Ramban.

Naẓiv = Naphtali Ẓevi Judah *Berlin.

Ne'eman Shemu'el, Resp. by Samuel Isaac *Modigilano.

Ne'ilat She'arim, concluding part of *Massa Melekh* (a work on Tax Law) by Joseph b. Isaac *Ibn Ezra, containing an exposition of customary law and subdivided into *Minhagei Issur* and *Minhagei Mamon.*

Ner Ma'aravi, Resp. by Jacob b. Malka.

Netivot ha-Mishpat, by Jacob b. Jacob Moses *Lorberbaum; subdivided into *Mishpat ha-Kohanim,* Nov. to Sh. Ar., ḤM, and *Mishpat ha-Urim,* a comm. on the same; printed in major editions of Sh. Ar.

Netivot Olam, Saying of the Sages by *Judah Loew (Lob, Liwa) b. Bezalel.

Nimmukei Menaḥem of Merseburg, Tax *halakhot* by the same, printed at the end of Resp. Maharyu.

Nimmukei Yosef, Comm. to Rif. *Halakhot,* by Joseph *Ḥabib (Ḥabiba); printed in many editions of the Talmud.

Noda bi-Yhudah, Resp. by Ezekiel b. Judah ha-Levi *Landau; there is a first collection *(Mahadura Kamma)* and a second collection *(Mahadura Tinyana).*

Nov. = Novellae, Ḥiddushim.

Ohel Moshe (1), Notes to Talmud, *Midrash Rabbah,* Yad, *Sifrei* and to several Resp., by Eleazar *Horowitz.

Ohel Moshe (2), Resp. by Moses Jonah Zweig.
Oholei Tam. Resp. by *Tam ibn Yaḥya Jacob b. David; printed in the rabbinical collection *Tummat Yesharim.*
Oholei Ya'akov, Resp. by Jacob de *Castro.
Or ha-Me'ir Resp by Judah Meir b. Jacob Samson Shapiro.
Or Same'aḥ, Comm. to Maimonides, *Yad Ḥazakah*, by *Meir Simḥah ha-Kohen of Dvinsk; printed in many editions of the *Yad Ḥazakah.*
Or Zaru'a [the father] = *Isaac b. Moses of Vienna.
Or Zaru'a [the son] = *Ḥayyim (Eliezer) b. Isaac.
Or Zaru'a, Nov. by *Isaac b. Moses of Vienna.
Orah, Sefer ha-, Compilation of ritual precepts by *Rashi.
Oraḥ la-Ẓaddik, Resp. by Abraham Ḥayyim Rodrigues.
Oẓar ha-Posekim, Digest of Responsa.

Paḥad Yiẓḥak, Rabbinical encyclopaedia by Isaac *Lampronti.
Panim Me'irot, Resp. by Meir b. Isaac *Eisenstadt.
Parashat Mordekhai, Resp. by Mordecai b. Abraham Naphtali *Banet.
Pe'at ha-Sadeh la-Dinim and Pe'at ha-Sadeh la-Kelalim, subdivisions of the *Sedei Ḥemed,* an encyclopaedia of precepts and responsa, by Ḥayyim Hezekaih *Medini.
Penei Moshe (1), Resp. by Moses *Benveniste.
Penei Moshe (2), Comm. to Jer. Talmud by Moses b. Simeon *Margolies; printed in most editions of the Jer. Talmud.
Penei Moshe (3), Comm. on the aggadic passages of 18 treatises of the Bab. and Jer. Talmud, by Moses b. Isaiah Katz.
Penei Yehoshu'a, Nov. by Jacob Joshua b. Ẓevi Hirsch *Falk.
Peri Ḥadash, Comm. on Sh. Ar. By Hezekiah da *Silva.
Perishah, Comm. on Tur by Joshua b. Alexander ha-Kohen *Falk; printed in major edition of Tur; forms together with *Derishah* and *Be'urim* (by the same author) the *Beit Yisrael.*
Pesakim u-Khetavim, 2nd part of the *Terumat ha-Deshen* by Israel b. Pethahiah *Isserlein' also called *Piskei Maharai.*
Pilpula Ḥarifta, Comm. to *Piskei ha-Rosh, Seder Nezikin,* by Yom Tov Lipmann b. Nathan ha-Levi *Heller; printed in major editions of the Talmud.
Piskei Maharai, see *Terumat ha-Deshen*, 2nd part; also called *Pesakim u-Khetavim.*
Piskei ha-Rosh, a compilation of *halakhot,* arranged on the Talmud, by *Asher b. Jehiel (Rosh); printed in major Talmud editions.
Pitḥei Teshuvah, Comm. to Sh. Ar. by Abraham Hirsch b. Jacob *Eisenstadt; printed in major editions of the Sh. Ar.

Rabad = *Abraham b. David of Posquières (Rabad III.).
Raban = *Eliezer b. Nathan of Mainz.
Raban, also called *Ẓafenat Pa'ne'aḥ* or *Even ha-Ezer,* see under the last name.
Rabi Abad = *Abraham b. Isaac of Narbonne.
Radad = David Dov. b. Aryeh Judah Jacob *Meisels.
Radam = Dov Berush b. Isaac Meisels.
Radbaz = *David b Solomon ibn Abi Ziumra.
Radbaz, Comm. to Maimonides, *Yad Ḥazakah,* by *David b. Solomon ibn Abi Zimra.
Ralbag = *Levi b. Gershom, also called Gersonides, or Leo Hebraeus.
Ralbag, Bible comm. by *Levi b. Gershon.
Rama [da Fano] = Menaḥem Azariah *Fano.
Ramah = Meir b. Todros [ha-Levi] *Abulafia.
Ramam = *Menaham of Merseburg.
Rambam = *Maimonides; real name: Moses b. Maimon.
Ramban = *Naḥmanides; real name Moses b. Naḥman.
Ramban, Comm. to Torah by *Naḥmanides; printed in major editions. ("Mikra'ot Gedolot").
Ran = *Nissim b. Reuben Gerondi.
Ran of Rif, Comm. on Rif, *Halakhot,* by Nissim b. Reuben Gerondi.
Ranaḥ = *Elijah b. Ḥayyim.
Rash = *Samson b. Abraham of Sens.
Rash, Comm. to Mishnah, by *Samson b. Abraham of Sens; printed in major Talmud editions.
Rashash = Samuel *Strashun.
Rashba = Solomon b. Abraham *Adret.
Rashba, Resp., see also; *Sefer Teshuvot ha-Rashba ha-Meyuḥasot le-ha-Ramban,* by Solomon b. Abraham *Adret.
Rashbad = Samuel b. David.
Rashbam = *Samuel b. Meir.
Rashbam = Comm. on Bible and Talmud by *Samuel b. Meir; printed in major editions of Bible and most editions of Talmud.
Rashbash = Solomon b. Simeon *Duran.
*Rashi = Solomon b. Isaac of Troyes.
Rashi, Comm. on Bible and Talmud by *Rashi; printed in almost all Bible and Talmud editions.
Raviah = Eliezer b. Joel ha-Levi.
Redak = David *Kimḥi.
Redak, Comm. to Bible by David *Kimḥi.
Redakh = *David b. Ḥayyim ha-Kohen of Corfu.
Re'em = Elijah b. Abraham *Mizraḥi.
Rema = Moses b. Israel *Isserles.
Rema, Glosses to Sh. Ar. by Moses b. Israel *Isserles; printed in almost all editions of the Sh. Ar. inside the text in Rashi type; also called *Mappah* or *Haggahot.*
Remek = Moses Kimḥi.
Remakh = Moses ha-Kohen mi-Lunel.
Reshakh = *Solomon b. Abraham; also called Maharshakh.
Resp. = Responsa, *She'elot u-Teshuvot.*
Ri Berav = *Berab.
Ri Escapa = Joseph b. Saul *Escapa.
Ri Migash = Joseph b. Meir ha-Levi *Ibn Migash.
Riba = Isaac b. Asher ha-Levi; Riba II (Riba ha-Baḥur) = his grandson with the same name.
Ribam = Isaac b. Mordecai (or: Isaac b. Meir).
Ribash = *Isaac b. Sheshet Perfet (or: Barfat).
Rid= *Isaiah b. Mali di Trani the Elder.
Ridbaz = Jacob David b. Ze'ev *Willowski.
Rif = Isaac b. Jacob ha-Kohen *Alfasi.
Rif, *Halakhot*, Compilation and abstract of the Talmud by Isaac b. Jacob ha-Kohen *Alfasi.
Ritba = Yom Tov b. Abraham *Ishbili.
Riẓbam = Isaac b. Mordecai.
Rosh = *Asher b. Jehiel, also called Asheri.
Rosh Mashbir, Resp. by *Joseph Samuel b. Isaac, Rodi.

Sedei Ḥemed, Encyclopaedia of precepts and responsa by Ḥayyim Ḥezekiah *Medini; subdivisions: *Asefat Dinim, Kunteres ha-Kelalim, Pe'at ha-Sadeh la-Dinim, Pe'at ha-Sadeh la-Kelalim.*
Semag, Usual abbreviation of *Sefer Mitzvot Gadol,* elucidation of precepts by *Moses b. Jacob of Coucy; subdivided into *Lavin* (negative precepts) *Asayin* (positive precepts).
Semak, Usual abbreviation of *Sefer Mitzvot Katan,* elucidation of precepts by *Isaac b. Joseph of Corbeil.

Sh. Ar. = *Shulḥan Arukh,* code by Joseph b. Ephraim *Caro.

Sha'ar Mishpat, Comm. to Sh. Ar., ḤM. By Israel Isser b. Ze'ev Wolf.

Sha'arei Shevu'ot, Treatise on the law of oaths by *David b. Saadiah; usually printed together with Rif, *Halakhot;* also called: *She'arim of R. Alfasi.*

Sha'arei Teshuvah, Collection of resp. from Geonic period, by different authors.

Sha'arei Uzzi'el, Rabbinical treatise by Ben-Zion Meir Ha *Ouziel.

Sha'arei Ẓedek, Collection of resp. from Geonic period, by different authors.

Shadal [or Shedal] = Samuel David *Luzzatto.

Shai la-Moreh, Resp. by Shabbetai Jonah.

Shakh, Usual abbreviation of *Siftei Kohen*, a comm. to Sh. Ar., YD and ḤM by *Shabbetai b. Meir ha-Kohen; printed in most editions of Sh. Ar.

Sha'ot-de-Rabbanan, Resp. by *Solomon b. Judah ha-Kohen.

She'arim of R. Alfasi see *Sha'arei Shevu'ot.*

Shedal, see Shadal.

She'elot u-Teshuvot ha-Ge'onim, Collection of resp. by different authors.

She'erit Yisrael, Resp. by Israel Ze'ev Mintzberg.

She'erit Yosef, Resp. by *Joseph b. Mordecai Gershon ha-Kohen.

She'ilat Yaveẓ, Resp. by Jacob *Emden (Yaveẓ).

She'iltot, Compilation arranged acc. to the Torah by *Aḥa (Aḥai) of Shabḥa.

Shem Aryeh, Resp. by Aryeh Leib *Lipschutz.

Shemesh Ẓedakah, Resp. by Samson *Morpurgo.

Shenei ha-Me'orot ha-Gedolim, Resp. by Elijah *Covo.

Shetarot, Sefer ha-, Collection of legal forms by *Judah b. Barzillai al-Bargeloni.

Shevut Ya'akov, Resp. by Jacob b. Joseph Reicher.

Shibbolei ha-Leket Compilation on ritual by Zedekiah b. Avraham *Anav.

Shiltei Gibborim, Comm. to Rif, *Halakhot,* by *Joshua Boaz b. Simeon; printed in major editions of the Talmud.

Shittah Mekubbeẓet, Compilation of talmudical commentaries by Bezalel *Ashkenazi.

Shivat Ẓiyyon, Resp. by Samuel b. Ezekiel *Landau.

Shiyyurei Korban, by David *Fraenkel; additions to his comm. to Jer. Talmud *Korban Edah;* both printed in most editions of Jer. Talmud.

Sho'el u-Meshiv, Resp. by Joseph Saul ha-Levi *Nathanson.

Sh[*ulḥan*] *Ar*[*ukh*] [of Ba'al ha-Tanya], Code by *Shneur Zalman of Lyady; not identical with the code by Joseph Caro.

Siftei Kohen, Comm. to Sh. Ar., YD and ḤM by *Shabbetai b. Meir ha-Kohen; printed in most editions of Sh. Ar.; usual abbreviation: *Shakh.*

Simḥat Yom Tov, Resp. by Tom Tov b. Jacob *Algazi.

Simlah Ḥadashah, Treatise on *Sheḥitah* by Alexander Sender b. Ephraim Zalman *Schor; see also *Tevu'ot Shor.*

Simeon b. Ẓemaḥ = Simeon b. Ẓemaḥ *Duran.

Sma, Comm. to Sh. Ar. by Joshua b. Alexander ha-Kohen *Falk; the full title is: *Sefer Me'irat Einayim;* printed in most editions of Sh. Ar.

Solomon b. Isaac ha-Levi = Solomon b. Isaac *Levy.

Solomon b. Isaac of Troyes = *Rashi.

Tal Orot, Rabbinical work with various contents, by Joseph ibn Gioia.

Tam, Rabbenu = *Tam Jacob b. Meir.

Tashbaẓ = Samson b. Zadok.

Tashbeẓ = Simeon b. Zemaḥ *Duran, sometimes also abbreviation for Samson b. Zadok, usually known as Tashbaẓ.

Tashbeẓ [*Sefer ha-*], Resp. by Simeon b. Ẓemaḥ *Duran; the fourth part of this work is called: *Ḥut ha-Meshullash.*

Taz, Usual abbreviation of *Turei Zahav,* comm., to Sh. Ar. by *David b. Samnuel ha-Levi; printed in most editions of Sh. Ar.

(Ha)-Tekhelet, subdivision of the *Levush* (a codification by Mordecai b. Abraham (Levush) *Jaffe); *Ha-Tekhelet* parallels Tur, OḤ 1-241.

Terumat ha-Deshen, by Israel b. Pethahiah *Isserlein; subdivided into a part containing responsa, and a second part called *Pesakim u-Khetavim* or *Piskei Maharai.*

Terumot, Sefer ha-, Compilation of *halakhot* by Samuel b. Isaac *Sardi.

Teshuvot Ba'alei ha-Tosafot, Collection of responsa by the Tosafists.

Teshjvot Ge'onei Mizraḥ u-Ma'aav, Collection of responsa.

Teshuvot ha-Geonim, Collection of responsa from Geonic period.

Teshuvot Ḥakhmei Provinzyah, Collection of responsa by different Provencal authors.

Teshuvot Ḥakhmei Ẓarefat ve-Loter, Collection of responsa by different French authors.

Teshuvot Maimuniyyot, Resp. pertaining to Maimonides' *Yad Ḥazakah;* printed in major editions of this work after the text; authorship uncertain.

Tevu'ot Shor, by Alexander Sender b. Ephraim Zalman *Schor, a comm. to his *Simlah Ḥadashah,* a work on *Sheḥitah.*

Tiferet Ẓevi, Resp. by Ẓevi Hirsch of the "AHW" Communities (Altona, Hamburg, Wandsbeck).

Tiktin, Judah b. Simeon = Judah b. Simeon *Ashkenazi.

Toledot Adam ve-Ḥavvah, Codification by *Jeroham b. Meshullam.

Torat Emet, Resp. by Aaron b. Joseph *Sasson.

Torat Ḥayyim, , Resp. by Ḥayyim (ben) Shabbetai.

Torat ha-Minhagot, subdivision of the *Massa Ḥayyim* (a work on tax law) by Ḥayyim *Palaggi, containing an exposition of customary law.

Tosafot Rid, Explanations to the Talmud and decisions by *Isaiah b. Mali di Trani the Elder.

Tosefot Yom Tov, comm. to Mishnah by Yom Tov Lipmann b. Nathan ha-Levi *Heller; printed in most editions of the Mishnah.

Tummim, subdivision of the comm. to Sh. Ar., ḤM, *Urim ve-Tummim* by Jonathan *Eybeschuetz; printed in the major editions of Sh. Ar.

Tur, usual abbreviation for the *Arba'ah Turim* of *Jacob b. Asher.

Turei Zahav, Comm. to Sh. Ar. by *David b. Samuel ha-Levi; printed in most editions of Sh. Ar.; usual abbreviation: *Taz.*

Urim, subdivision of the following.

Urim ve-Tummim, Comm. to Sh. Ar., ḤM, by Jonathan *Eybeschuetz; printed in the major editions of Sh. Ar.; subdivided in places into *Urim* and *Tummim.*

Vikku'aḥ Mayim Ḥayyim, Polemics against Isserles and Caro by Ḥayyim b. Bezalel.

Yad Malakhi, Methodological treatise by *Malachi b. Jacob ha-Kohen.

Yad Ramah, Nov. by Meir b. Todros [ha-Levi] *Abulafia.
Yakhin u-Vo'az, Resp. by Ẓemaḥ b. Solomon *Duran.
Yam ha-Gadol, Resp. by Jacob Moses *Toledano.
Yam shel Shelomo, Compilation arranged acc. to Talmud by Solomon b. Jehiel (Maharshal) *Luria.
Yashar, Sefer ha-, by *Tam, Jacob b. Meir (Rabbenu Tam); 1st pt.: Resp.; 2nd pt.: Nov.
Yaskil Avdi, Resp. by Obadiah Hadaya (printed together with his Resp. *De'ah ve-Haskel).*
Yaveẓ = Jacob *Emden.
Yehudah Ya'aleh, Resp. by Judah b. Israel *Aszod.
Yekar Tiferet, Comm. to Maimonides' *Yad Ḥazakah,*by David b. Solomon ibn Zimra, printed in most editions of *Yad Ḥazakah.*
Yere'im [*ha-Shalem*], [*Sefer*], Treatise on precepts by *Eliezer b. Samuel of Metz.
Yeshu'ot Ya'akov, Resp. by Jacob Meshullam b. Mordecai Ze'ev *Ornstein.
Yiẓhak Rei'aḥ, Resp. by Isaac b. Samuel Abendanan (see article *Abendanam Family).
Ẓafenat Pa'ne'aḥ (1), also called *Raban* or *Even ha-Ezer*, see under the last name.
Ẓafenat Pa'ne'aḥ (2), Resp. by Joseph *Rozin.
Zayit Ra'anan, Resp. by Moses Judah Leib b. Benjamin Auerbach.
Ẓeidah la-Derekh, Codification by *Menahem b. Aaron ibn Zerah.
Ẓedakah u-Mishpat, Resp. by Ẓedakah b. Saadiah Huẓin.
Zekan Aharon, Resp. by Elijah b. Benjamin ha-Levi.
Zekher Ẓaddik, Sermons by Eliezer *Katzenellenbogen.
Ẓemaḥ Ẓedek (1) Resp. by Menaham Mendel Shneersohn (see under *Shneersohn Family).
Zera Avraham, Resp. by Abraham b. David *Yiẓḥaki.
Zera Emet Resp. by *Ishmael b. Abaham Isaac ha-Kohen.
Ẓevi la-Ẓaddik, Resp. by Ẓevi Elimelech b. David Shapira.
Zikhron Yehudah, Resp. by *Judah b. Asher
Zikhron Yosef, Resp. by Joseph b. Menahem *Steinhardt.
Zikhronot, Sefer ha-, Sermons on several precepts by Samuel *Aboab.
Zikkaron la-Rishonim . . ., by Albert (Abraham Elijah) *Harkavy; contains in vol. 1 pt. 4 (1887) a collection of Geonic responsa.
Ẓiẓ Eliezer, Resp. by Eliezer Judah b. Jacob Gedaliah Waldenberg.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL ABBREVIATIONS

Bibliographies in English and other languages have been extensively updated, with English translations cited where available. In order to help the reader, the language of books or articles is given where not obvious from titles of books or names of periodicals. Titles of books and periodicals in languages with alphabets other than Latin, are given in transliteration, even where there is a title page in English. Titles of articles in periodicals are not given. Names of Hebrew and Yiddish periodicals well known in English-speaking countries or in Israel under their masthead in Latin characters are given in this form, even when contrary to transliteration rules. Names of authors writing in languages with non-Latin alphabets are given in their Latin alphabet form wherever known; otherwise the names are transliterated. Initials are generally not given for authors of articles in periodicals, except to avoid confusion. Non-abbreviated book titles and names of periodicals are printed in *italics*. Abbreviations are given in the list below.

AASOR	*Annual of the American School of Oriental Research* (1919ff.).
AB	*Analecta Biblica* (1952ff.).
Abel, Géog	F.-M. Abel, *Géographie de la Palestine,* 2 vols. (1933-38).
ABR	*Australian Biblical Review* (1951ff.).
Abr.	Philo, *De Abrahamo.*
Abrahams, Companion	I. Abrahams, *Companion to the Authorised Daily Prayer Book* (rev. ed. 1922).
Abramson, Merkazim	S. Abramson, *Ba-Merkazim u-va-Tefuẓot bi-Tekufat ha-Ge'onim* (1965).
Acts	Acts of the Apostles (New Testament).
ACUM	*Who is who in ACUM* [*Aguddat Kompozitorim u-Meḥabbrim*].
ADAJ	*Annual of the Department of Antiquities, Jordan* (1951ff.).
Adam	Adam and Eve (Pseudepigrapha).
ADB	*Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, 56 vols. (1875–1912).
Add. Esth.	The Addition to Esther (Apocrypha).
Adler, Prat Mus	1. Adler, *La pratique musicale savante dans quelques communautés juives en Europe au XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles,* 2 vols. (1966).
Adler-Davis	H.M. Adler and A. Davis (ed. and tr.), *Service of the Synagogue, a New Edition of the Festival Prayers with an English Translation in Prose and Verse,* 6 vols. (1905–06).
Aet.	Philo, *De Aeternitate Mundi.*
AFO	*Archiv fuer Orientforschung* (first two volumes under the name *Archiv fuer Keilschriftforschung)* (1923ff.).
Ag. Ber	*Aggadat Bereshit* (ed. Buber, 1902*).*
Agr.	Philo, *De Agricultura.*
Ag. Sam.	*Aggadat Samuel.*
Ag. Song	*Aggadat Shir ha-Shirim* (Schechter ed., 1896).
Aharoni, Ereẓ	Y. Aharoni, *Ereẓ Yisrael bi-Tekufat ha-Mikra: Geografyah Historit* (1962).
Aharoni, Land	Y. Aharoni, *Land of the Bible* (1966).

Ahikar	Ahikar (Pseudepigrapha).
AI	*Archives Israélites de France* (1840–1936).
AJA	*American Jewish Archives* (1948ff.).
AJHSP	*American Jewish Historical Society – Publications* (after vol. 50 = AJHSQ).
AJHSQ	*American Jewish Historical (*Society) *Quarterly* (before vol. 50 =AJHSP).
AJSLL	*American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literature* (1884–95 under the title *Hebraica,* since 1942 JNES).
AJYB	*American Jewish Year Book* (1899ff.).
AKM	Abhandlungen fuer die Kunde des Morgenlandes (series).
Albright, Arch	W.F. Albright, *Archaeology of Palestine* (rev. ed. 1960).
Albright, Arch Bib	W.F. Albright, *Archaeology of Palestine and the Bible* (1935^3*).*
Albright, Arch Rel	W.F. Albright, *Archaeology and the Religion of Israel* (1953^3*).*
Albright, Stone	W.F. Albright, *From the Stone Age to Christianity* (1957^2*).*
Alon, Meḥkarim	G. Alon, *Meḥkarim be-Toledot Yisrael bi-Ymei Bayit Sheni u-vi-Tekufat ha-Mishnah ve-ha Talmud,* 2 vols. (1957–58).
Alon, Toledot	G. Alon, *Toledot ha-Yehudim be-Ereẓ Yisrael bi-Tekufat ha-Mishnah ve-ha-Talmud,* I (1958^3), (1961^2).
ALOR	Alter Orient (series).
Alt, Kl Schr	A. Alt, *Kleine Schriften zur Geschichte des Volkes Israel,* 3 vols. (1953–59).
Alt, Landnahme	A. Alt, *Landnahme der Israeliten in Palaestina* (1925); also in Alt, Kl Schr, 1 (1953), 89–125.
Ant.	Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities* (Loeb Classics ed.).
AO	*Acta Orientalia* (1922ff.).
AOR	*Analecta Orientalia* (1931ff.).
AOS	American Oriental Series.
Apion	Josephus, *Against Apion* (Loeb Classics ed.).
Aq.	Aquila’s Greek translation of the Bible.
Ar.	*Arakhin* (talmudic tractate).
Artist.	Letter of Aristeas (Pseudepigrapha).
ARN^1	*Avot de-Rabbi Nathan,* version (1) ed. Schechter, 1887.
ARN^2	*Avot de-Rabbi Nathan,* version (2) ed. Schechter, 1945^2.
Aronius, Regesten	I. Aronius, *Regesten zur Geschichte der Juden im fraenkischen und deutschen Reiche bis zum Jahre 1273* (1902).
ARW	*Archiv fuer Religionswissenschaft* (1898–1941/42).
AS	*Assyrological Studies* (1931ff.).
Ashtor, Korot	E. Ashtor (Strauss), *Korot ha-Yehudim bi-Sefarad ha-Muslemit,* 1(1966^2), 2(1966).
Ashtor, Toledot	E. Ashtor (Strauss), *Toledot ha-Yehudim be-Miẓrayim ve-Suryah Taḥat Shilton ha-Mamlukim,* 3 vols. (1944–70).
Assaf, Ge’onim	S. Assaf, *Tekufat ha-Ge’onim ve-Sifrutah* (1955).
Assaf, Mekorot	S. Assaf, *Mekorot le-Toledot ha-Ḥinnukh be-Yisrael,* 4 vols. (1925–43).
Ass. Mos.	Assumption of Moses (Pseudepigrapha).
ATA	Alttestamentliche Abhandlungen (series).
ATANT	Abhandlungen zur Theologie des Alten und Neuen Testaments (series).
AUJW	*Allgemeine unabhaengige juedische Wochenzeitung* (till 1966 = AWJD).
AV	Authorized Version of the Bible.
Avad.	*Avadim* (post-talmudic tractate).
Avi-Yonah, Geog	M. Avi-Yonah, *Geografyah Historit shel Ereẓ Yisrael* (1962^3).
Avi-Yonah, Land	M. Avi-Yonah, *The Holy Land from the Persian to the Arab conquest (536 B.C. to A.D. 640)* (1960).
Avot	*Avot* (talmudic tractate).
Av. Zar.	*Avodah Zarah* (talmudic tractate).
AWJD	*Allgemeine Wochenzeitung der Juden in Deutschland* (since 1967 = AUJW).
AZDJ	*Allgemeine Zeitung des Judentums.*
Azulai	Ḥ.Y.D. Azulai, *Shem ha-Gedolim,* ed. by I.E. Benjacob, 2 pts. (1852) (and other editions).
BA	*Biblical Archaeologist* (1938ff.).
Bacher, Bab Amor	W. Bacher, *Agada der babylonischen Amoraeer* (1913^2).
Bacher, Pal Amor	W. Bacher, *Agada der palaestinensischen Amoraeer* (Heb. ed. *Aggadat Amora’ei Ereẓ Yisrael),* 2 vols. (1892–99).
Bacher, Tann	W. Bacher, *Agada der Tannaiten* (Heb. ed. *Aggadot ha-Tanna’im,* vol. 1, pt. 1 and 2 (1903); vol. 2 (1890).
Bacher, Trad	W. Bacher, *Tradition und Tradenten in den Schulen Palaestinas und Babyloniens* (1914).
Baer, Spain	Yitzhak (Fritz) Baer, *History of the Jews in Christian Spain,* 2 vols. (1961–66).
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Baer, Toledot	Yitzhak (Fritz) Baer*, Toledot ha-Yehudim bi-Sefarad ha-Noẓerit mi-Teḥillatan shel ha-Kehillot ad ha-Gerush,* 2 vols. (1959^2).
Baer, Urkunden	Yitzhak (Fritz) Baer, *Die Juden im christlichen Spanien,* 2 vols. (1929–36).
Baer S., Seder	S.I. Baer, *Seder Avodat Yisrael* (1868 and reprints*).*
BAIU	*Bulletin de l’Alliance Israélite Universelle* (1861–1913*).*
Baker, Biog Dict	*Baker’s Biographical Dictionary of Musicians,* revised by N. Slonimsky (1958^5; with Supplement 1965).
I Bar.	I Baruch (Apocrypha).
II Bar.	II Baruch (Pseudepigrapha).
III Bar.	III Baruch (Pseudepigrapha).
BAR	*Biblical Archaeology Review.*
Baron, Community	S.W. Baron, *The Jewish Community, its History and Structure to the American Revolution,* 3 vols. (1942).

Baron, Social	S.W. Baron, *Social and Religious History of the Jews,* 3 vols. (1937); enlarged, 1-2(1952^2), 3-14 (1957–69).
Barthélemy-Milik	D. Barthélemy and J.T. Milik, *Dead Sea Scrolls: Discoveries in the Judean Desert,* vol. 1 *Qumram Cave* I (1955).
BASOR	*Bulletin of the American School of Oriental Research.*
Bauer-Leander	H. Bauer and P. Leander, *Grammatik des Biblisch-Aramaeischen* (1927; repr. 1962).
BB	(1) *Bava Batra* (talmudic tractate). (2) *Biblische Beitraege* (1943ff.).
BBB	Bonner biblische Beitraege (series).
BBLA	*Beitraege zur biblischen Landes- und Altertumskunde* (until 1949–ZDPV).
BBSAJ	*Bulletin,* British School of Archaeology, Jerusalem (1922–25; after 1927 included in PEFQS).
BDASI	*Alon* (since 1948) or *Hadashot Arkhe’ologiyyot* (since 1961), bulletin of the Department of Antiquities of the State of Israel.
Begrich, Chronologie	J. Begrich, *Chronologie der Koenige von Israel und Juda* (1929).
Bek.	*Bekhorot* (talmudic tractate).
Bel	Bel and the Dragon (Apocrypha).
Benjacob, Oẓar	I.E. Benjacob, *Oẓar ha-Sefarim* (1880; repr. 1956).
Ben Sira	see Ecclus.
Ben-Yehuda, Millon	E. Ben-Yedhuda, *Millon ha-Lashon ha-Ivrit,* 16 vols (1908–59; repr. in 8 vols., 1959).
Benzinger, Archaeologie	I. Benzinger, *Hebraeische Archaeologie* (1927^3).
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Ben Zvi, Ereẓ Israel	I. Ben-Zvi, *Ereẓ Israel bi-Ymei ha-Shilton ha-Ottomani (*1955*).*
Ber.	*Berakhot* (talmudic tractate).
Beẓah	*Beẓah* (talmudic tractate).
BIES	Bulletin of the Israel Exploration Society, see below BJPES.
Bik.	*Bikkurim* (talmudic tractate).
BJCE	Bibliography of Jewish Communities in Europe, catalog at General Archives for the History of the Jewish People, Jerusalem.
BJPES	Bulletin of the Jewish Palestine Exploration Society – English name of the Hebrew periodical known as: 1. *Yedi’ot ha-Ḥevrah ha-Ivrit la-Ḥakirat Ereẓ Yisrael va-Attikoteha* (1933–1954); 2. *Yedi’ot ha-Ḥevrah la-Ḥakirat Ereẓ Yisrael va-Attikoteha* (1954–1962); 3. *Yedi’ot ba-Ḥakirat Ereẓ Yisrael va-Attikoteha* (1962ff.).
BJRL	*Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* (1914ff.).
BK	*Bava Kamma* (talmudic tractate).
BLBI	*Bulletin of the Leo Baeck Institute* (1957ff.).
BM	(1) *Bava Meẓia* (talmudic tractate). (2) *Beit Mikra* (1955/56ff.). (3) British Museum.
BO	*Bibbia e Oriente* (1959ff.).
Bondy-Dworský	G. Bondy and F. Dworský*, Regesten zur Geschichte der Juden in Boehmen, Maehren und Schlesien von 906 bis 1620,* 2 vols. (1906).
BOR	*Bibliotheca Orientalis* (1943ff.).
Borée, Ortsnamen	W. Borée *Die alten Ortsnamen Palaestinas* (1930).
Bousset, Religion	W. Bousset, *Die Religion des Judentums im neutestamentlichen Zeitalter* (1906^2).
Bousset-Gressmann	W. Bousset, *Die Religion des Judentums im spaethellenistischen Zeitalter* (1966^3).
BR	*Biblical Review* (1916–25).
BRCI	*Bulletin of the Research Council of Israel* (1951/52–1954/55; then divided).
BRE	*Biblical Research* (1956ff.).
BRF	*Bulletin of the Rabinowitz Fund for the Exploration of Ancient Synagogues* (1949ff.).
Briggs, Psalms	Ch. A. and E.G. Briggs*, Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Psalms,* 2 vols. (ICC, 1906–07).
Bright, Hist	J. Bright*, A History of Israel* (1959).
Brockelmann, Arab Lit	K. Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Literatur*, 2 vols. 1898–1902), supplement, 3 vols. (1937–42).
Bruell, Jahrbuecher	*Jahrbuecher fuer juedische Geschichte und Litteratur,* ed. by N. Bruell, Frankfurt (1874–90).
Brugmans-Frank	H. Brugmans and A. Frank (eds.), *Geschiedenis der Joden in Nederland* (1940).
BTS	*Bible et Terre Sainte* (1958ff.).
Bull, Index	S. Bull, *Index to Biographies of Contemporary Composers* (1964).
BW	*Biblical World* (1882–1920).
BWANT	*Beitraege zur Wissenschaft vom Alten und Neuen Testament* (1926ff.).
BZ	*Biblische Zeitschrift* (1903ff.).
BZAW	*Beihefte zur Zeitschrift fuer die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft,* supplement to ZAW (1896ff.).
BŻIH	*Biuletyn Zydowskiego Instytutu Historycznego* (1950ff.).
CAB	*Cahiers d’archéologie biblique* (1953ff.).
CAD	*The* [*Chicago*] *Assyrian Dictionary* (1956ff.).
CAH	*Cambridge Ancient History*, 12 vols. (1923–39)
CAH^2	*Cambridge Ancient History,* second edition, 14 vols. (1962–2005).
Calwer, Lexikon	*Calwer, Bibellexikon.*
Cant.	Canticles, usually given as Song (= Song of Songs).

Cantera-Millás, Inscripciones	F. Cantera and J.M. Millás, *Las Inscripciones Hebraicas de España* (1956).
CBQ	*Catholic Biblical Quarterly* (1939ff.).
CCARY	Central Conference of American Rabbis, *Yearbook* (1890/91ff.).
CD	*Damascus Document* from the Cairo *Genizah* (published by S. Schechter, *Fragments of a Zadokite Work*, 1910).
Charles, Apocrypha	R.H. Charles, *Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha . . .*, 2 vols. (1913; repr. 1963–66).
Cher.	Philo, *De Cherubim.*
I (or II) Chron.	Chronicles, book I and II (Bible).
CIG	*Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum.*
CIJ	*Corpus Inscriptionum Judaicarum,* 2 vols. (1936–52).
CIL	*Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum.*
CIS	*Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum* (1881ff.).
C.J.	Codex Justinianus.
Clermont-Ganneau, Arch	Ch. Clermont-Ganneau, *Archaeological Researches in Palestine*, 2 vols. (1896–99).
CNFI	*Christian News from Israel* (1949ff.).
Cod. Just.	Codex Justinianus.
Cod. Theod.	Codex Theodosinanus.
Col.	Epistle to the Colosssians (New Testament).
Conder, Survey	Palestine Exploration Fund, *Survey of Eastern Palestine*, vol. 1, pt. I (1889) = C.R. Conder, *Memoirs of the . . . Survey.*
Conder-Kitchener	Palestine Exploration Fund, *Survey of Western Palestine*, vol. 1, pts. 1-3 (1881–83) = C.R. Conder and H.H. Kitchener, *Memoirs.*
Conf.	Philo, *De Confusione Linguarum.*
Conforte, Kore	D. Conforte, *Kore ha-Dorot* (1842^{2}).
Cong.	Philo, *De Congressu Quaerendae Eruditionis Gratia.*
Cont.	Philo, *De Vita Contemplativa.*
I (or II) Cor.	Epistles to the Corinthians (New Testament).
Cowley, Aramic	A. Cowley, *Aramaic Papyri of the Fifth Century B.C.* (1923).
Colwey, Cat	A.E. Cowley, *A Concise Catalogue of the Hebrew Printed Books in the Bodleian Library* (1929).
CRB	*Cahiers de la Revue Biblique* (1964ff.).
Crowfoot-Kenyon	J.W. Crowfoot, K.M. Kenyon and E.L. Sukenik, *Buildings of Samaria* (1942).
C.T.	Codex Theodosianus.
DAB	*Dictionary of American Biography* (1928–58).
Daiches, Jews	S. Daiches, *Jews in Babylonia* (1910).
Dalman, Arbeit	G. Dalman, *Arbeit und Sitte in Palaestina*, 7 vols.in 8 (1928–42 repr. 1964).
Dan	Daniel (Bible).
Davidson, Oẓar	I. Davidson, *Oẓar ha-Shirah ve-ha-Piyyut,* 4 vols. (1924–33); Supplement in: HUCA, 12–13 (1937/38), 715–823.
DB	J. Hastings, *Dictionary of the Bible,* 4 vols. (1963^{2}).
DBI	F.G. Vigoureaux et al. (eds.), *Dictionnaire de la Bible,* 5 vols. in 10 (1912); Supplement, 8 vols. (1928–66)
Decal.	Philo, *De Decalogo.*
Dem.	*Demai* (talmudic tractate).
DER	*Derekh Ereẓ Rabbah* (post-talmudic tractate).
Derenbourg, Hist	J. Derenbourg *Essai sur l'histoire et la géographie de la Palestine* (1867).
Det.	Philo, *Quod deterius potiori insidiari solet.*
Deus	Philo, *Quod Deus immutabilis sit.*
Deut.	Deuteronomy (Bible).
Deut. R.	*Deuteronomy Rabbah.*
DEZ	*Derekh Ereẓ Zuta* (post-talmudic tractate).
DHGE	*Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques,* ed. by A. Baudrillart et al., 17 vols (1912–68).
Dik. Sof	*Dikdukei Soferim,* variae lections of the talmudic text by Raphael Nathan Rabbinovitz (16 vols., 1867–97).
Dinur, Golah	B. Dinur (Dinaburg), *Yisrael ba-Golah,* 2 vols. in 7 (1959–68) = vols. 5 and 6 of his *Toledot Yisrael,* second series.
Dinur, Haganah	B. Dinur (ed.), *Sefer Toledot ha-Haganah* (1954ff.).
Diringer, Iscr	D. Diringer, *Iscrizioni antico-ebraiche palestinesi* (1934).
Discoveries	*Discoveries in the Judean Desert* (1955ff.).
DNB	*Dictionary of National Biography,* 66 vols. (1921–222) with Supplements.
Dubnow, Divrei	S. Dubnow, *Divrei Yemei Am Olam,* 11 vols (1923–38 and further editions).
Dubnow, Ḥasidut	S. Dubnow, *Toledot ha-Ḥasidut* (1960^{2}).
Dubnow, Hist	S. Dubnow, *History of the Jews* (1967).
Dubnow, Hist Russ	S. Dubnow, *History of the Jews in Russia and Poland,* 3 vols. (1916 20).
Dubnow, Outline	S. Dubnow, *An Outline of Jewish History,* 3 vols. (1925–29).
Dubnow, Weltgesch	S. Dubnow, *Weltgeschichte des juedischen Volkes* 10 vols. (1925–29).
Dukes, Poesie	L. Dukes, *Zur Kenntnis der neuhebraeischen religioesen Poesie* (1842).
Dunlop, Khazars	D. H. Dunlop, *History of the Jewish Khazars* (1954).
EA	El Amarna Letters (edited by J.A. Knudtzon), *Die El-Amarna Tafel,* 2 vols. (1907 14).
EB	*Encyclopaedia Britannica.*
EBI	*Estudios biblicos* (1941ff.).
EBIB	T.K. Cheyne and J.S. Black, *Encyclopaedi Biblica,* 4 vols. (1899–1903).
Ebr.	Philo, *De Ebrietate.*
Eccles.	Ecclesiastes (Bible).
Eccles. R.	*Ecclesiastes Rabbah.*
Ecclus.	Ecclesiasticus or Wisdom of Ben Sira (or Sirach; Apocrypha).
Eduy.	*Eduyyot* (mishanic tractate).

EG	*Enẓiklopedyah shel Galuyyot* (1953ff.).
EH	*Even ha-Ezer.*
EHA	*Enẓiklopedyah la-Ḥafirot Arkheologiyyot be-Ereẓ Yisrael,* 2 vols. (1970).
EI	*Enzyklopaedie des Islams,* 4 vols. (1905–14). Supplement vol. (1938).
EIS	*Encyclopaedia of Islam,* 4 vols. (1913–36; repr. 1954–*68*).
EIS^2	*Encyclopaedia of Islam, second edition (1960–2000).*
Eisenstein, Dinim	J.D. Eisenstein, *Oẓar Dinim u-Minhagim* (1917; several reprints).
Eisenstein, Yisrael	J.D. Eisenstein, *Oẓar Yisrael* (10 vols, 1907–13; repr. with several additions 1951).
EIV	*Enẓiklopedyah Ivrit* (1949ff.).
EJ	*Encyclopaedia Judaica* (German, A-L only), 10 vols. (1928–34).
EJC	*Enciclopedia Judaica Castellana,* 10 vols. (1948–51).
Elbogen, Century	I Elbogen, *A Century of Jewish Life* (1960^2).
Elbogen, Gottesdienst	I Elbogen, *Der juedische Gottesdienst …* (1931^3, repr. 1962).
Elon, Mafte'aḥ	M. Elon (ed.), *Mafte'aḥ ha-She'elot ve-ha-Teshuvot ha-Rosh* (1965).
EM	*Enẓiklopedyah Mikra'it* (1950ff.).
I (or II) En.	I and II Enoch (Pseudepigrapha).
EncRel	*Encyclopedia of Religion*, 15 vols. (1987, 2005^2).
Eph.	Epistle to the Ephesians (New Testament).
Ephros, Cant	G. Ephros, *Cantorial Anthology,* 5 vols. (1929–57).
Ep. Jer.	Epistle of Jeremy (Apocrypha).
Epstein, Amora'im	J N. Epstein, *Mevo'ot le-Sifrut ha-Amora'im* (1962).
Epstein, Marriage	L M. Epstein, *Marriage Laws in the Bible and the Talmud* (1942).
Epstein, Mishnah	J. N. Epstein, *Mavo le-Nusaḥ ha-Mishnah,* 2 vols. (1964^2).
Epstein, Tanna'im	J. N. Epstein, *Mavo le-Sifruth ha-Tanna'im.* (1947).
ER	*Ecumenical Review.*
Er.	*Eruvin* (talmudic tractate).
ERE	*Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics,* 13 vols. (1908–26); reprinted.
ErIsr	*Eretz-Israel*, Israel Exploration Society.
I Esd.	I Esdras (Apocrypha) (= III Ezra).
II Esd.	II Esdras (Apocrypha) (= IV Ezra).
ESE	*Ephemeris fuer semitische Epigraphik*, ed. by M. Lidzbarski.
ESN	*Encyclopaedia Sefaradica Neerlandica,* 2 pts. (1949).
ESS	*Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences,* 15 vols. (1930–35); reprinted in 8 vols. (1948–49).
Esth.	Esther (Bible).
Est. R.	*Esther Rabbah.*
ET	*Enẓiklopedyah Talmudit* (1947ff.).
Eusebius, Onom.	E. Klostermann (ed.), *Das Onomastikon* (1904), Greek with Hieronymus' Latin translation.
Ex.	Exodus (Bible).
Ex. R.	*Exodus Rabbah.*
Exs	Philo, *De Exsecrationibus.*
EẒD	*Enẓiklopeday shel ha-Ẓiyyonut ha-Datit* (1951ff.).
Ezek.	Ezekiel (Bible).
Ezra	Ezra (Bible).
III Ezra	III Ezra (Pseudepigrapha).
IV Ezra	IV Ezra (Pseudepigrapha).
Feliks, Ha-Ẓome'aḥ	*J. Feliks, Ha-Ẓome'aḥ ve-ha-Ḥai ba-Mishnah* (1983).
Finkelstein, Middle Ages	L. Finkelstein, *Jewish Self-Government in the Middle Ages* (1924).
Fischel, Islam	W.J. Fischel, *Jews in the Economic and Political Life of Mediaeval Islam* (1937; reprint with introduction "The Court Jew in the Islamic World," 1969).
FJW	*Fuehrer durch die juedische Gemeindeverwaltung und Wohlfahrtspflege in Deutschland* (1927/28).
Frankel, Mevo	Z. Frankel, *Mevo ha-Yerushalmi* (1870; reprint 1967).
Frankel, Mishnah	Z. Frankel, *Darkhei ha-Mishnah* (1959^2; reprint 1959^2).
Frazer, Folk-Lore	J.G. Frazer, *Folk-Lore in the Old Testament*, 3 vols. (1918–19).
Frey, Corpus	J.-B. Frey, *Corpus Inscriptionum Iudaicarum*, 2 vols. (1936–52).
Friedmann, Lebensbilder	A. Friedmann, *Lebensbilder beruehmter Kantoren*, 3 vols. (1918–27).
FRLT	*Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments* (series) (1950ff.).
Frumkin-Rivlin	A.L. Frumkin and E. Rivlin, *Toledot Ḥakhmei Yerushalayim*, 3 vols. (1928–30), Supplement vol. (1930).
Fuenn, Keneset	S.J. Fuenn, *Keneset Yisrael,* 4 vols. (1887–90).
Fuerst, Bibliotheca	J. Fuerst, *Bibliotheca Judaica,* 2 vols. (1863; repr. 1960).
Fuerst, Karaeertum	J. Fuerst, *Geschichte des Karaeertums*, 3 vols. (1862–69).
Fug.	Philo, *De Fuga et Inventione.*
Gal.	Epistle to the Galatians (New Testament).
Galling, Reallexikon	K. Galling, *Biblisches Reallexikon* (1937).
Gardiner, Onomastica	A.H. Gardiner, *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica,* 3 vols. (1947).
Geiger, Mikra	A. Geiger, *Ha-Mikra ve-Targumav*, tr. by J.L. Baruch (1949).
Geiger, Urschrift	A. Geiger, *Urschrift und Uebersetzungen der Bibel* 1928^2).
Gen.	Genesis (Bible).
Gen. R.	*Genesis Rabbah.*
Ger.	*Gerim* (post-talmudic tractate).
Germ Jud	M. Brann, I. Elbogen, A. Freimann, and H. Tykocinski (eds.), *Germania Judaica,* vol. 1 (1917; repr. 1934 and 1963); vol. 2, in 2 pts. (1917–68), ed. by Z. Avneri.

GHAT	*Goettinger Handkommentar zum Alten Testament* (1917–22).
Ghirondi-Neppi	M.S. Ghirondi and G.H. Neppi, *Toledot Gedolei Yisrael u-Ge’onei Italyah … u-Ve’urim al Sefer Zekher Ẓaddikim li-Verakhah* . . .(1853), index in ZHB, 17 (1914), 171–83.
Gig.	Philo, *De Gigantibus.*
Ginzberg, Legends	L. Ginzberg, *Legends of the Jews,* 7 vols. (1909–38; and many reprints).
Git.	*Gittin* (talmudic tractate).
Glueck, Explorations	N. Gleuck, *Explorations in Eastern Palestine,* 2 vols. (1951).
Goell, Bibliography	Y. Goell, *Bibliography of Modern Hebrew Literature in English Translation* (1968).
Goodenough, Symbols	E.R. Goodenough, *Jewish Symbols in the Greco-Roman Period,* 13 vols. (1953–68).
Gordon, Textbook	C.H. Gordon, *Ugaritic Textbook* (1965; repr. 1967).
Graetz, Gesch	H. Graetz, *Geschichte der Juden* (last edition 1874–1908).
Graetz, Hist	H. Graetz, *History of the Jews*, 6 vols. (1891–1902).
Graetz, Psalmen	H. Graetz, *Kritischer Commentar zu den Psalmen*, 2 vols. in 1 (1882–83).
Graetz, Rabbinowitz	H. Graetz, *Divrei Yemei Yisrael*, tr. by S.P. Rabbinowitz. (1928 1929^{2}).
Gray, Names	G.B. Gray, *Studies in Hebrew Proper Names* (1896).
Gressmann, Bilder	H. Gressmann, *Altorientalische Bilder zum Alten Testament* (1927^{2}).
Gressmann, Texte	H. Gressmann, *Altorientalische Texte zum Alten Testament* (1926^{2}).
Gross, Gal Jud	H. Gross, *Gallia Judaica* (1897; repr. with add. 1969).
Grove, Dict	*Grove’s Dictionary of Music and Musicians,* ed. by E. Blum 9 vols. (1954^{5}) and suppl. (1961^{5}).
Guedemann, Gesch Erz	M. Guedemann, *Geschichte des Erziehungswesens und der Cultur der abendlaendischen Juden,* 3 vols. (1880–88).
Guedemann, Quellenschr	M. Guedemann, *Quellenschriften zur Geschichte des Unterrichts und der Erziehung bei den deutschen Juden* (1873, 1891).
Guide	Maimonides, *Guide of the Perplexed.*
Gulak, Oẓar	A. Gulak, *Oẓar ha-Shetarot ha-Nehugim be-Yisrael* (1926).
Gulak, Yesodei	A. Gulak, *Yesodei ha-Mishpat ha-Ivri, Seder Dinei Mamonot be-Yisrael, al pi Mekorot ha-Talmud ve-ha-Posekim*, 4 vols. (1922; repr. 1967).
Guttmann, Mafte’aḥ	M. Guttmann, *Mafte’aḥ ha-Talmud*, 3 vols. (1906–30).
Guttmann, Philosophies	J. Guttmann, *Philosophies of Judaism* (1964).
Hab.	*Habakkuk* (Bible).
Ḥag.	*Ḥagigah* (talmudic tractate).
Haggai	*Haggai* (Bible).
Ḥal.	*Ḥallah* (talmudic tractate).
Halevy, Dorot	I. Halevy, *Dorot ha-Rishonim,* 6 vols. (1897–1939).
Halpern, Pinkas	I. Halpern (Halperin), *Pinkas Va’ad Arba Araẓot* (1945).
Hananel-Eškenazi	A. Hananel and Eškenazi (eds.), *Fontes Hebraici ad res oeconomicas socialesque terrarum balcanicarum saeculo XVI pertinentes*, 2 vols, (1958–60; in Bulgarian).
HB	*Hebraeische Bibliographie* (1858–82).
Heb.	Epistle to the Hebrews (New Testament).
Heilprin, Dorot	J. Heilprin (Heilperin), *Seder ha-Dorot,* 3 vols. (1882; repr. 1956).
Her.	Philo, *Quis Rerum Divinarum Heres.*
Hertz, Prayer	J.H. Hertz (ed.), *Authorised Daily Prayer Book* (rev. ed. 1948; repr. 1963).
Herzog, Instit	I. Herzog, *The Main Institutions of Jewish Law,* 2 vols. (1936–39; repr. 1967).
Herzog-Hauck	J.J. Herzog and A. Hauch (eds.), *Real encycklopaedie fuer protestantische Theologie* (1896–1913^{3}).
HḤY	*Ha-Ẓofeh le-Ḥokhmat Yisrael* (first four volumes under the title *Ha-Ẓofeh me-Ereẓ Hagar)* (1910/11–13).
Hirschberg, Afrikah	H.Z. Hirschberg, *Toledot ha-Yehudim be-Afrikah ha-Zofonit*, 2 vols. (1965).
HJ	*Historia Judaica* (1938–61).
HL	*Das Heilige Land* (1857ff.)
ḤM	*Ḥoshen Mishpat.*
Hommel, Ueberliefer.	F. Hommel, *Die altisraelitische Ueberlieferung in inschriftlicher Beleuchtung* (1897).
Hor.	*Horayot* (talmudic tractate).
Horodezky, Ḥasidut	S.A. Horodezky, *Ha-Ḥasidut ve-ha-Ḥasidim,* 4 vols. (1923).
Horowitz, Ereẓ Yis	I.W. Horowitz, *Ereẓ Yisrael u-Shekhenoteha* (1923).
Hos.	Hosea (Bible).
HTR	*Harvard Theological Review* (1908ff.).
HUCA	*Hebrew Union College Annual* (1904; 1924ff.)
Ḥul.	*Ḥullin* (talmudic tractate).
Husik, Philosophy	I. Husik, *History of Medieval Jewish Philosophy* (1932^{2}).
Hyman, Toledot	A. Hyman, *Toledot Tanna’im ve-Amora’im* (1910; repr. 1964).
Ibn Daud, Tradition	Abraham Ibn Daud, *Sefer ha-Qabbalah – The Book of Tradition,* ed. and tr. By G.D. Cohen (1967).
ICC	International Critical Commentary on the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments (series, 1908ff.).
IDB	*Interpreter’s Dictionary of the Bible,* 4 vols. (1962).
Idelsohn, Litugy	A. Z. Idelsohn, *Jewish Liturgy and its Development* (1932; paperback repr. 1967)
Idelsohn, Melodien	A. Z. Idelsohn, *Hebraeisch-orientalischer Melodienschatz,* 10 vols. (1914 32).
Idelsohn, Music	A. Z. Idelsohn, *Jewish Music in its Historical Development* (1929; paperback repr. 1967).

IEJ	*Israel Exploration Journal* (1950ff.).
IESS	*International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences* (various eds.).
IG	*Inscriptiones Graecae,* ed. by the Prussian Academy.
IGYB	*Israel Government Year Book* (1949/50ff.).
ILR	*Israel Law Review* (1966ff.).
IMIT	*Izraelita Magyar Irodalmi Társulat Évkönyv* (1895 1948).
IMT	International Military Tribunal.
INB	*Israel Numismatic Bulletin* (1962–63).
INJ	*Israel Numismatic Journal* (1963ff.).
Ios	Philo, *De Iosepho.*
Isa.	Isaiah (Bible).
ITHL	Institute for the Translation of Hebrew Literature.
IZBG	*Internationale Zeitschriftenschau fuer Bibelwissenschaft und Grenzgebiete* (1951ff.).
JA	*Journal asiatique* (1822ff.).
James	Epistle of James (New Testament).
JAOS	*Journal of the American Oriental Society* (c. 1850ff.)
Jastrow, Dict	M. Jastrow, *Dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmud Babli and Yerushalmi, and the Midrashic literature,* 2 vols. (1886 1902 and reprints).
JBA	*Jewish Book Annual* (19242ff.).
JBL	*Journal of Biblical Literature* (1881ff.).
JBR	*Journal of Bible and Religion* (1933ff.).
JC	*Jewish Chronicle* (1841ff.).
JCS	*Journal of Cuneiform Studies* (1947ff.).
JE	*Jewish Encyclopedia,* 12 vols. (1901–05 several reprints).
Jer.	Jeremiah (Bible).
Jeremias, Alte Test	A. Jeremias, *Das Alte Testament im Lichte des alten Orients* 1930^4).
JGGJČ	*Jahrbuch der Gesellschaft fuer Geschichte der Juden in der Čechoslovakischen Republik* (1929–38).
JHSEM	Jewish Historical Society of England, *Miscellanies* (1925ff.).
JHSET	Jewish Historical Society of England, *Transactions* (1893ff.).
JJGL	*Jahrbuch fuer juedische Geschichte und Literatur* (Berlin) (1898–1938).
JJLG	*Jahrbuch derr juedische-literarischen Gesellschaft* (Frankfurt) (1903–32).
JJS	*Journal of Jewish Studies* (1948ff.).
JJSO	*Jewish Journal of Sociology* (1959ff.).
JJV	*Jahrbuch fuer juedische Volkskunde* (1898–1924).
JL	*Juedisches Lexikon,* 5 vols. (1927–30).
JMES	*Journal of the Middle East Society* (1947ff.).
JNES	*Journal of Near Eastern Studies* (continuation of AJSLL) (1942ff.).
J.N.U.L.	Jewish National and University Library.
Job	Job (Bible).
Joel	Joel (Bible).
John	Gospel according to John (New Testament).
I, II and III John	Epistles of John (New Testament).
Jos., Ant	Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities* (Loeb Classics ed.).
Jos. Apion	Josephus, *Against Apion* (Loeb Classics ed.).
Jos., index	*Josephus Works,* Loeb Classics ed., index of names.
Jos., Life	Josephus, *Life* (ed. Loeb Classics).
Jos, Wars	Josephus, *The Jewish Wars* (Loeb Classics ed.).
Josh.	Joshua (Bible).
JPESB	Jewish Palestine Exploration Society Bulletin, see BJPES.
JPESJ	Jewish Palestine Exploration Society Journal – Eng. Title of the Hebrew periodical *Kovez̥ ha-Ḥevrah ha-Ivrit la-Ḥakirat Erez̥ Yisrael va-Attikoteha.*
JPOS	*Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society* (1920–48).
JPS	Jewish Publication Society of America, *The Torah* (1962, 1967^2); *The Holy Scriptures* (1917).
JQR	*Jewish Quarterly Review* (1889ff.).
JR	*Journal of Religion* (1921ff.).
JRAS	*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1838ff.).
JHR	*Journal of Religious History* (1960/61ff.).
JSOS	*Jewish Social Studies* (1939ff.).
JSS	*Jouranl of Semitic Studies* (1956ff.).
JTS	*Journal of Theological Studies* (1900ff.).
JTSA	Jewish Theological Seminary of America (also abbreviated as JTS).
Jub.	Jubilees (Pseudepigrapha).
Judg.	Judges (Bible).
Judith	Book of Judith (Apocrypha).
Juster, Juifs	J. Juster, *Les Juifs dans l'Empire Romain,* 2 vols. (1914).
JYB	*Jewish Year Book* (1896ff.).
JZWL	*Juedische Zeitschift fuer Wissenschaft und Leben* (1862–75).
Kal.	*Kallah* (post-talmudic tractate).
Kal. R.	*Kallah Rabbati* (post-talmudic tractate).
Katz, England	*The Jews in the History of England, 1485-1850 (1994).*
Kaufmann, Schriften	D. Kaufmann, *Gesammelte Schriften,* 3 vols. (1908 15).
Kaufmann Y., Religion	Y. Kaufmann, *The Religion of Israel* (1960), abridged tr. of his *Toledot.*
Kaufmann Y., Toledot	Y. Kaufmann, *Toledot ha-Emunah ha-Yisre'elit,* 4 vols. (1937 57).
KAWJ	*Korrespondenzblatt des Vereins zur Gruendung und Erhaltung der Akademie fuer die Wissenschaft des Judentums* (1920 30).
Kayserling, Bibl	M. Kayserling, *Biblioteca Española-Portugueza-Judaica* (1880; repr. 1961).
Kelim	*Kelim* (mishnaic tractate).
Ker.	*Keritot* (talmudic tractate).
Ket.	*Ketubbot* (talmudic tractate).

Kid.	*Kiddushim* (talmudic tractate).
Kil.	*Kilayim* (talmudic tractate).
Kin.	*Kinnim* (mishnaic tractate).
Kisch, Germany	G. Kisch, *Jews in Medieval Germany* (1949).
Kittel, Gesch	R. Kittel, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel,* 3 vols. (1922–28).
Klausner, Bayit Sheni	J. Klausner, *Historyah shel ha-Bayit ha-Sheni,* 5 vols. (1950/512).
Klausner, Sifrut	J. Klausner, *Historyah shel haSifrut ha-Ivrit ha-Ḥadashah,* 6 vols. (1952–582).
Klein, corpus	S. Klein (ed.), *Juedisch-palaestinisches Corpus Inscriptionum* (1920).
Koehler-Baumgartner	L. Koehler and W. Baumgartner, *Lexicon in Veteris Testamenti libros* (1953).
Kohut, Arukh	H.J.A. Kohut (ed.), *Sefer he-Arukh ha-Shalem,* by Nathan b. Jehiel of Rome, 8 vols. (1876–92; Supplement by S. Krauss et al., 1936; repr. 1955).
Krauss, Tal Arch	S. Krauss, *Talmudische Archaeologie,* 3 vols. (1910–12; repr. 1966).
Kressel, Leksikon	G. Kressel, *Leksikon ha-Sifrut ha-Ivrit ba-Dorot ha-Aḥaronim,* 2 vols. (1965–67).
KS	*Kirjath Sepher* (1923/4ff.).
Kut.	*Kuttim* (post-talmudic tractate).

LA	Studium Biblicum Franciscanum, *Liber Annuus* (1951ff.).
L.A.	Philo, *Legum allegoriae.*
Lachower, Sifrut	F. Lachower, *Toledot ha-Sifrut ha-Ivrit ha-Ḥadashah,* 4 vols. (1947–48; several reprints).
Lam.	Lamentations (Bible).
Lam. R.	*Lamentations Rabbah.*
Landshuth, Ammudei	L. Landshuth, *Ammudei ha-Avodah* (1857–62; repr. with index, 1965).
Legat.	Philo, *De Legatione ad Caium.*
Lehmann, Nova Bibl	R.P. Lehmann, *Nova Bibliotheca Anglo-Judaica* (1961).
Lev.	Leviticus (Bible).
Lev. R.	*Leviticus Rabbah.*
Levy, Antologia	I. Levy, *Antologia de liturgia judeo-española* (1965ff.).
Levy J., Chald Targ	J. Levy, *Chaldaeisches Woerterbuch ueber die Targumim*, 2 vols. (1967–68; repr. 1959).
Levy J., Nuehebr Tal	J. Levy, *Neuhebraeisches und chaldaeisches Woerterbuch ueber die Talmudim . . .,* 4 vols. (1875–89; repr. 1963).
Lewin, Oẓar	Lewin, *Oẓar ha-Ge’onim,* 12 vols. (1928–43).
Lewysohn, Zool	L. Lewysohn, *Zoologie des Talmuds* (1858).
Lidzbarski, Handbuch	M. Lidzbarski, *Handbuch der nordsemitischen Epigraphik,* 2 vols (1898).
Life	Josephus, *Life* (Loeb Classis ed.).
LNYL	*Leksikon fun der Nayer Yidisher Literatur* (1956ff.).
Loew, Flora	I. Loew, *Die Flora der Juden,* 4 vols. (1924 34; repr. 1967).
LSI	*Laws of the State of Israel* (1948ff.).
Luckenbill, Records	D.D. Luckenbill, *Ancient Records of Assyria and Babylonia,* 2 vols. (1926).
Luke	Gospel according to Luke (New Testament)
LXX	Septuagint (Greek translation of the Bible).

Ma’as.	*Ma’aserot* (talmudic tractate).
Ma’as. Sh.	*Ma’ase Sheni* (talmudic tractate).
I, II, III, and IVMacc.	Maccabees, I, II, III (Apocrypha), IV (Pseudepigrapha).
Maimonides, Guide	Maimonides, *Guide of the Perplexed.*
Maim., Yad	Maimonides, *Mishneh Torah (Yad Ḥazakah).*
Maisler, Untersuchungen	B. Maisler (Mazar), *Untersuchungen zur alten Geschichte und Ethnographie Syriens und Palaestinas*, 1 (1930).
Mak.	*Makkot* (talmudic tractate).
Makhsh.	*Makhshrin* (mishnaic tractate).
Mal.	Malachi (Bible).
Mann, Egypt	J. Mann, *Jews in Egypt in Palestine under the Fatimid Caliphs,* 2 vols. (1920–22).
Mann, Texts	J. Mann, *Texts and Studies,* 2 vols (1931–35).
Mansi	G.D. Mansi, *Sacrorum Conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio,* 53 vols. in 60 (1901–27; repr. 1960).
Margalioth, Gedolei	M. Margalioth, *Enẓiklopedyah le-Toledot Gedolei Yisrael,* 4 vols. (1946–50).
Margalioth, Ḥakhmei	M. Margalioth, *Enẓiklopedyah le-Ḥakhmei ha-Talmud ve-ha-Ge’onim,* 2 vols. (1945).
Margalioth, Cat	G. Margalioth, *Catalogue of the Hebrew and Samaritan Manuscripts in the British Museum,* 4 vols. (1899–1935).
Mark	Gospel according to Mark (New Testament).
Mart. Isa.	Martyrdom of Isaiah (Pseudepigrapha).
Mas.	Masorah.
Matt.	Gospel according to Matthew (New Testameant).
Mayer, Art	L.A. Mayer, *Bibliography of Jewish Art* (1967).
MB	*Wochenzeitung* (formerly *Mitteilungsblatt*) *des Irgun Olej Merkas Europa* (1933ff.).
MEAH	*Miscelánea de estudios drabes y hebraicos* (1952ff.).
Meg.	Megillah (talmudic tractate).
Meg. Ta’an.	*Megillat Ta’anit* (in HUCA, 8 9 (1931–32), 318–51).
Me’il	*Me’ilah* (mishnaic tractate).
MEJ	*Middle East Journal* (1947ff.).
Mehk.	*Mekhilta de-R. Ishmael.*
Mekh. SbY	*Mekhilta de-R. Simeon bar Yoḥai.*
Men.	*Menaḥot* (talmudic tractate).
MER	*Middle East Record* (1960ff.).
Meyer, Gesch	E. Meyer*, Geschichte des Alterums*, 5 vols. in 9 (1925–58).
Meyer, Ursp	E. Meyer, *Urspring und Anfaenge des Christentums* (1921).
Mez.	*Mezuzah* (post-talmudic tractate).
MGADJ	*Mitteilungen des Gesamtarchivs der deutschen Juden* (1909–12).
MGG	*Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart,* 14 vols. (1949–68).

MGG^{2}	*Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart, 2nd edition (1994)*
MGH	*Monumenta Germaniae Historica* (1826ff.).
MGJV	*Mitteilungen der Gesellschaft fuer juedische Volkskunde* (1898–1929); title varies, see also JJV.
MGWJ	*Monatsschrift fuer Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums* (1851–1939).
MHJ	*Momumenta Hungariae Judaica,* 11 vols. (1903–67).
Michael, Or	H.Ḥ. Michael, *Or ha-Ḥayyim: Ḥakhmei Yisrael ve-Sifreihem,* ed. by S.Z. Ḥ. Halberstam and N. Ben-Menahem (1965^{2}).
Mid.	*Middot* (mishnaic tractate).
Mid. Ag.	*Midrash Aggadah.*
Mid. Hag.	*Midrash ha-Gadol.*
Mid. Job.	*Midrash Job.*
Mid. Jonah	*Midrash Jonah.*
Mid. Lek. Tov	*Midrash Lekaḥ Tov.*
Mid. Prov.	*Midrash Proverbs.*
Mid. Ps.	*Midrash Tehillim* (Eng tr. *The Midrash on Psalms* (JPS, 1959).
Mid. Sam.	*Midrash Samuel.*
Mid. Song	*Midrash Shir ha-Shirim.*
Mid. Tan.	*Midrash Tanna'im* on Deuteronomy.
Miége, Maroc	J.L. Miège, *Le Maroc et l'Europe,* 3 vols. (1961 62).
Mig.	Philo, *De Migratione Abrahami.*
Mik.	*Mikva'ot* (mishnaic tractate).
Milano, Bibliotheca	A. Milano, *Bibliotheca Historica Italo-Judaica* (1954); supplement for 1954–63 (1964); supplement for 1964–66 in RMI, 32 (1966).
Milano, Italia	A. Milano, *Storia degli Ebrei in Italia* (1963).
MIO	*Mitteilungen des Instituts fuer Orientforschung* 1953ff.).
Mish.	Mishnah.
MJ	*Le Monde Juif* (1946ff.).
MJC	see Neubauer, Chronicles.
MK	*Mo'ed Katan* (talmudic tractate).
MNDPV	*Mitteilungen und Nachrichten des deutschen Palaestinavereins* (1895–1912).
Mortara, Indice	M. Mortara, *Indice Alfabetico dei Rabbini e Scrittori Israeliti … in Italia …* (1886).
Mos	Philo, *De Vita Mosis.*
Moscati, Epig	S, Moscati, *Epigrafia ebaica antica* 1935–1950 (1951).
MT	Masoretic Text of the Bible.
Mueller, Musiker	[E.H. Mueller], *Deutsches Musiker-Lexikon* (1929)
Munk, Mélanges	S. Munk, *Mélanges de philosophie juive et arabe* (1859; repr. 1955).
Mut.	Philo, *De Mutatione Nominum.*
MWJ	*Magazin fuer die Wissenshaft des Judentums* (18745 93).
Nah.	Nahum (Bible).
Naz.	*Nazir* (talmudic tractate).
NDB	*Neue Deutsche Biographie* (1953ff.).
Ned.	*Nedarim* (talmudic tractate).
Neg.	*Nega'im* (mishnaic tractate).
Neh.	Nehemiah (Bible).
NG^{2}	*New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (2001).
Nuebauer, Cat	A. Neubauer, *Catalogue of the Hebrew Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library …,* 2 vols. (1886–1906).
Neubauer, Chronicles	A. Neubauer, *Mediaeval Jewish Chronicles,* 2 vols. (Heb., 1887–95; repr. 1965), Eng. title of *Seder ha-Ḥakhamim ve-Korot ha-Yamim.*
Neubauer, Géogr	A. Neubauer, *La géographie du Talmud* (1868).
Neuman, Spain	A.A. Neuman, *The Jews in Spain, their Social, Political, and Cultural Life During the Middle Ages,* 2 vols. (1942).
Neusner, Babylonia	J. Neusner, *History of the Jews in Babylonia,* 5 vols. 1965–70), 2nd revised printing 1969ff.).
Nid.	*Niddah* (talmudic tractate).
Noah	Fragment of Book of Noah (Pseudepigrapha).
Noth, Hist Isr	M. Noth, *History of Israel* (1958).
Noth, Personennamen	M. Noth, *Die israelitischen Personennamen. …* (1928).
Noth, Ueberlief	M. Noth, *Ueberlieferungsgeschichte des Pentateuchs* (1949).
Noth, Welt	M. Noth, *Die Welt des Alten Testaments* (1957^{3}).
Nowack, Lehrbuch	W. Nowack, *Lehrbuch der hebraeischen Archaeologie,* 2 vols (1894).
NT	New Testament.
Num.	Numbers (Bible).
Num R.	*Numbers Rabbah.*
Obad.	Obadiah (Bible).
ODNB online	*Oxford Dictionary of National Biography.*
OḤ	*Oraḥ Ḥayyim.*
Oho.	*Oholot* (mishnaic tractate).
Olmstead	H.T. Olmstead, *History of Palestine and Syria* (1931; repr. 1965).
OLZ	*Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* (1898ff.)
Onom.	Eusebius, *Onomasticon.*
Op.	Philo, *De Opificio Mundi.*
OPD	*Osef Piskei Din shel ha-Rabbanut ha-Rashit le-Ereẓ Yisrael, Bet ha-Din ha-Gadol le-Irurim* (1950).
Or.	*Orlah* (talmudic tractate).
Or. Sibyll.	Sibylline Oracles (Pseudepigrapha).
OS	*L'Orient Syrien* (1956ff.)
OTS	*Oudtestamentische Studien* (1942ff.).
PAAJR	*Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research* (1930ff.)
Pap 4QS^{e}	A papyrus exemplar of IQS.
Par.	*Parah* (mishnaic tractate).
Pauly-Wissowa	A.F. Pauly, *Realencyklopaedie der klassichen Alertumswissenschaft,* ed. by G. Wissowa et al. (1864ff.)

PD	*Piskei Din shel Bet ha-Mishpat ha-Elyon le-Yisrael* (1948ff.)
PDR	*Piskei Din shel Battei ha-Din ha-Rabbaniyyim be-Yisrael.*
PdRE	*Pirkei de-R. Eliezer* (Eng. tr. 1916. (1965^{2}).
PdRK	*Pesikta de-Rav Kahana.*
Pe'ah	*Pe'ah* (talmudic tractate).
Peake, Commentary	A.J. Peake (ed.), *Commentary on the Bible* (1919; rev. 1962).
Pedersen, Israel	J. Pedersen, *Israel, Its Life and Culture,* 4 vols. in 2 (1926–40).
PEFQS	*Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement* (1869–1937; since 1938–PEQ).
PEQ	*Palestine Exploration Quarterly* (until 1937 PEFQS; after 1927 includes BBSAJ).
Perles, Beitaege	J. Perles, *Beitraege zur rabbinischen Sprachund Alterthumskunde* (1893).
Pes.	*Pesaḥim* (talmudic tractate).
Pesh.	Peshitta (Syriac translation of the Bible).
Pesher Hab.	Commentary to Habakkuk from Qumran; see 1Qp Hab.
I and II Pet.	Epistles of Peter (New Testament).
Pfeiffer, Introd	R.H. Pfeiffer, *Introduction to the Old Testament* (1948).
PG	J.P. Migne (ed.), *Patrologia Graeca,* 161 vols. (1866–86).
Phil.	Epistle to the Philippians (New Testament).
Philem.	Epistle to the Philemon (New Testament).
PIASH	*Proceedings of the Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities* (1963/7ff.).
PJB	*Palaestinajahrbuch des deutschen evangelischen Institutes fuer Altertumswissenschaft,* Jerusalem (1905–1933).
PK	*Pinkas ha-Kehillot,* encyclopedia of Jewish communities, published in over 30 volumes by Yad Vashem from 1970 and arranged by countries, regions and localities. For 3-vol. English edition see Spector, *Jewish Life.*
PL	J.P. Migne (ed.), *Patrologia Latina* 221 vols. (1844–64).
Plant	Philo, *De Plantatione.*
PO	R. Graffin and F. Nau (eds.), *Patrologia Orientalis* (1903ff.)
Pool, Prayer	D. de Sola Pool, *Traditional Prayer Book for Sabbath and Festivals* (1960).
Post	Philo, *De Posteritate Caini.*
PR	*Pesikta Rabbati.*
Praem.	Philo, *De Praemiis et Poenis.*
Prawer, Ẓalbanim	J. Prawer, *Toledot Mamlekhet ha-Ẓalbanim be-Ereẓ Yisrael,* 2 vols. (1963).
Press, Ereẓ	I. Press, *Ereẓ-Yisrael, Enẓiklopedyah Topografit-Historit,* 4 vols. (1951–55).
Pritchard, Pictures	J.B. Pritchard (ed.), *Ancient Near East in Pictures* (1954, 1970).
Pritchard, Texts	J.B. Pritchard (ed.), *Ancient Near East Texts* … (1970^{3}).

Pr. Man.	Prayer of Manasses (Apocrypha).
Prob.	Philo, *Quod Omnis Probus Liber Sit.*
Prov.	Proverbs (Bible).
PS	*Palestinsky Sbornik* (Russ. (1881 1916, 1954ff).
Ps.	Psalms (Bible).
PSBA	*Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology* (1878–1918).
Ps. of Sol	Psalms of Solomon (Pseudepigrapha).
IQ Apoc	The *Genesis Apocryphon* from Qumran, cave one, ed. by N. Avigad and Y. Yadin (1956).
6QD	*Damascus Document* or *Sefer Berit Dammesk* from Qumran, cave six, ed. by M. Baillet, in RB, 63 (1956), 513–23 (see also CD).
QDAP	*Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities in Palestine* (1932ff.).
4QDeut. 32	Manuscript of Deuteronomy 32 from Qumran, cave four (ed. by P.W. Skehan, in BASOR, 136 (1954), 12–15).
4QEx^{a}	Exodus manuscript in Jewish script from Qumran, cave four.
4QEx$^{\alpha}$	Exodus manuscript in Paleo-Hebrew script from Qumran, cave four (partially ed. by P.W. Skehan, in JBL, 74 (1955), 182–7).
4QFlor	*Florilegium,* a miscellany from Qumran, cave four (ed. by J.M. Allegro, in JBL, 75 (1956), 176–77 and 77 (1958), 350–54).).
QGJD	*Quellen zur Geschichte der Juden in Deutschland* 1888–98).
IQH	*Thanksgiving Psalms* of *Hodayot* from Qumran, cave one (ed. by E.L. Sukenik and N. Avigad, *Oẓar ha-Megillot ha-Genuzot* (1954).
IQIs^{a}	Scroll of Isaiah from Qumran, cave one (ed. by N. Burrows et al., *Dead Sea Scrolls* …, 1 (1950).
IQIs^{b}	Scroll of Isaiah from Qumran, cave one (ed. E.L. Sukenik and N. Avigad, *Oẓar ha-Megillot ha-Genuzot* (1954).
IQM	The *War Scroll* or *Serekh ha-Milḥamah* (ed. by E.L. Sukenik and N. Avigad, *Oẓar ha-Megillot ha-Genuzot* (1954).
4QpNah	Commentary on Nahum from Qumran, cave four (partially ed. by J.M. Allegro, in JBL, 75 (1956), 89–95).
IQphyl	Phylacteries *(tefillin)* from Qumran, cave one (ed. by Y. Yadin, in *Eretz Israel,* 9 (1969), 60–85).
4Q Prayer of Nabonidus	A document from Qumran, cave four, belonging to a lost Daniel literature (ed. by J.T. Milik, in RB, 63 (1956), 407–15).
IQS	*Manual of Discipline* or *Serekh ha-Yaḥad* from Qumran, cave one (ed. by M. Burrows et al., *Dead Sea Scrolls* …, 2, pt. 2 (1951).

IQS^{a}	The *Rule of the Congregation or Serekh ha-Edah* from Qumran, cave one (ed. by Burrows et al., *Dead Sea Scrolls ...*, 1 (1950), under the abbreviation IQ28a).
IQS^{b}	*Blessings* or *Divrei Berakhot* from Qumran, cave one (ed. by Burrows et al., *Dead Sea Scrolls ...*, 1 (1950), under the abbreviation IQ28b).
4QSam^{a}	Manuscript of I and II Samuel from Qumran, cave four (partially ed. by F.M. Cross, in BASOR, 132 (1953), 15–26).
4QSam^{b}	Manuscript of I and II Samuel from Qumran, cave four (partially ed. by F.M. Cross, in JBL, 74 (1955), 147–72).
4QTestimonia	Sheet of Testimony from Qumran, cave four (ed. by J.M. Allegro, in JBL, 75 (1956), 174–87).).
4QT.Levi	*Testament of Levi* from Qumran, cave four (partially ed. by J.T. Milik, in RB, 62 (1955), 398–406).
Rabinovitz, Dik Sof	See Dik Sof.
RB	*Revue biblique* (1892ff.)
RBI	*Recherches bibliques* (1954ff.)
RCB	*Revista de cultura biblica* (São Paulo) (1957ff.)
Régné, Cat	J. Régné, *Catalogue des actes . . . des rois d’Aragon, concernant les Juifs* (1213–1327), in: REJ, vols. 60 70, 73, 75–78 (1910–24).
Reinach, Textes	T. Reinach, *Textes d’auteurs Grecs et Romains relatifs au Judaïsme* (1895; repr. 1963).
REJ	*Revue des études juives* (1880ff.).
Rejzen, Leksikon	Z. Rejzen, *Leksikon fun der Yidisher Literature,* 4 vols. (1927–29).
Renan, Ecrivains	A. Neubauer and E. Renan, *Les écrivains juifs français ...* (1893).
Renan, Rabbins	A. Neubauer and E. Renan, *Les rabbins français* (1877).
RES	*Revue des étude sémitiques et Babyloniaca* (1934–45).
Rev.	Revelation (New Testament).
RGG^{3}	*Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart,* 7 vols. (1957–65^{3}).
RH	*Rosh Ha-Shanah* (talmudic tractate).
RHJE	*Revue de l’histoire juive en Egypte* (1947ff.).
RHMH	*Revue d’histoire de la médecine hébraïque* (1948ff.).
RHPR	*Revue d’histoire et de philosophie religieuses* (1921ff.).
RHR	*Revue d’histoire des religions* (1880ff.).
RI	*Rivista Israelitica* (1904–12).
Riemann-Einstein	*Hugo Riemanns Musiklexikon,* ed. by A. Einstein (1929^{11}).
Riemann-Gurlitt	*Hugo Riemanns Musiklexikon,* ed. by W. Gurlitt (1959–67^{12}), Personenteil.
Rigg-Jenkinson, Exchequer	J.M. Rigg, H. Jenkinson and H.G. Richardson (eds.), *Calendar of the Pleas Rolls of the Exchequer of the Jews,* 4 vols. (1905–1970); cf. in each instance also J.M. Rigg (ed.), *Select Pleas ...* (1902).
RMI	*Rassegna Mensile di Israel* (1925ff.).
Rom.	Epistle to the Romans (New Testament).
Rosanes, Togarmah	S.A. Rosanes, *Divrei Yemei Yisrael be-Togarmah,* 6 vols. (1907–45), and in 3 vols. (1930–38^{2}).
Rosenbloom, Biogr Dict	J.R. Rosenbloom, *Biographical Dictionary of Early American Jews* (1960).
Roth, Art	C. Roth, *Jewish Art* (1961).
Roth, Dark Ages	C. Roth (ed.), *World History of the Jewish People,* second series, vol. 2, *Dark Ages* (1966).
Roth, England	C. Roth, *History of the Jews in England* (1964^{3}).
Roth, Italy	C. Roth, *History of the Jews in Italy* (1946).
Roth, Mag Bibl	C. Roth, *Magna Bibliotheca Anglo-Judaica* (1937).
Roth, Marranos	C. Roth, *History of the Marranos* (2nd rev. ed 1959; reprint 1966).
Rowley, Old Test	H.H. Rowley, *Old Testament and Modern Study* (1951; repr. 1961).
RS	*Revue sémitiques d’épigraphie et d’histoire ancienne* (1893/94ff.).
RSO	*Rivista degli studi orientali* (1907ff.).
RSV	Revised Standard Version of the Bible.
Rubinstein, Australia I	*H.L. Rubinstein, The Jews in Australia, A Thematic History, Vol. I (1991).*
Rubinstein, Australia II	*W.D. Rubinstein, The Jews in Australia, A Thematic History, Vol. II (1991).*
Ruth	Ruth (Bible).
Ruth R.	*Ruth Rabbah.*
RV	Revised Version of the Bible.
Sac.	Philo, *De Sacrificiis Abelis et Caini.*
Salfeld, Martyrol	S. Salfeld, *Martyrologium des Nuernberger Memorbuches* (1898).
I and II Sam.	Samuel, book I and II (Bible).
Sanh.	*Sanhedrin* (talmudic tractate).
SBA	Society of Biblical Archaeology.
SBB	*Studies in Bibliography and Booklore* (1953ff.).
SBE	*Semana Biblica Española.*
SBT	*Studies in Biblical Theology* (1951ff.).
SBU	*Svenskt Bibliskt Uppslogsvesk,* 2 vols. (1962–63^{2}).
Schirmann, Italyah	J.Ḥ. Schirmann, *Ha-Shirah ha-Ivrit be-Italyah* (1934).
Schirmann, Sefarad	J.Ḥ. Schirmann, *Ha-Shirah ha-Ivrit bi-Sefarad u-vi-Provence,* 2 vols. (1954–56).
Scholem, Mysticism	G. Scholem, *Major Trends in Jewish Mysticism* (rev. ed. 1946; paperback ed. with additional bibliography 1961).
Scholem, Shabbetai Ẓevi	G. Scholem, *Shabbetai Ẓevi ve-ha-Tenu’ah ha-Shabbeta’it bi-Ymei Ḥayyav,* 2 vols. (1967).
Schrader, Keilinschr	E. Schrader, *Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament* (1903^{3}).
Schuerer, Gesch	E. Schuerer, *Geschichte des juedischen Volkes im Zeitalter Jesu Christi,* 3 vols. and index-vol. (1901–11^{4}).

Schuerer, Hist	E. Schuerer, *History of the Jewish People in the Time of Jesus,* ed. by N.N. Glatzer, abridged paperback edition (1961).
Set. T.	*Sefer Torah* (post-talmudic tractate).
Sem.	*Semaḥot* (post-talmudic tractate).
Sendrey, Music	A. Sendrey, *Bibliography of Jewish Music* (1951).
SER	*Seder Eliyahu Rabbah.*
SEZ	*Seder Eliyahu Zuta.*
Shab	*Shabbat* (talmudic tractate).
Sh. Ar.	J. Caro Shulḥan Arukh. OḤ – *Oraḥ Ḥayyim* YD – *Yoreh De'ah* EH – *Even ha-Ezer* ḤM – *Ḥoshen Mishpat.*
Shek.	*Shekalim* (talmudic tractate).
Shev.	*Shevi'it* (talmudic tractate).
Shevu.	*Shevu'ot* (talmudic tractate).
Shunami, Bibl	S. Shunami, *Bibliography of Jewish Bibliographies* (1965^{2}).
Sif.	*Sifrei Deuteronomy.*
Sif. Num.	*Sifrei Numbers.*
Sifra	*Sifra* on Leviticus.
Sif. Zut.	*Sifrei Zuta.*
SIHM	Sources inédites de l'histoire du Maroc (series).
Silverman, Prayer	M. Silverman (ed.), *Sabbath and Festival Prayer Book* (1946).
Singer, Prayer	S. Singer *Authorised Daily Prayer Book* (1943^{17}).
Sob.	Philo, *De Sobrietate.*
Sof.	*Soferim* (post-talmudic tractate).
Som.	Philo, *De Somniis.*
Song	Song of Songs (Bible).
Song. Ch.	Song of the Three Children (Apocrypha).
Song R.	*Song of Songs Rabbah.*
SOR	*Seder Olam Rabbah.*
Sot.	*Sotah* (talmudic tractate).
SOZ	*Seder Olam Zuta.*
Spec.	Philo, *De Specialibus Legibus.*
Spector, Jewish Life	*S. Spector (ed.), Encyclopedia of Jewish Life Before and After the Holocaust (2001).*
Steinschneider, Arab lit	M. Steinschneider, *Die arabische Literatur der Juden* (1902).
Steinschneider, Cat Bod	M. Steinschneider, *Catalogus Librorum Hebraeorum in Bibliotheca Bodleiana,* 3 vols. (1852–60; reprints 1931 and 1964).
Steinschneider, Hanbuch	M. Steinschneider, *Bibliographisches Handbuch ueber die . . . Literatur fuer hebraeische Sprachkunde* (1859; repr. with additions 1937).
Steinschneider, Uebersetzungen	M. Steinschneider, *Die hebraeischen Uebersetzungen des Mittelalters* (1893).
Stern, Americans	M.H. Stern, *Americans of Jewish Descent* (1960).
van Straalen, Cat	S. van Straalen, *Catalogue of Hebrew Books in the British Museum Acquired During the Years 1868–1892* (1894).
Suárez Fernández, Docmentos	L. Suárez Fernández, *Documentos acerca de la expulsion de los Judios de España* (1964).
Suk.	*Sukkah* (talmudic tractate).
Sus.	Susanna (Apocrypha).
SY	*Sefer Yeẓirah.*
Sym.	Symmachus' Greek translation of the Bible.
SZNG	*Studien zur neueren Geschichte.*
Ta'an.	*Ta'anit* (talmudic tractate).
Tam.	*Tamid* (mishnaic tractate).
Tanḥ.	*Tanḥuma.*
Tanḥ. B.	*Tanḥuma.* Buber ed (1885).
Targ. Jon	Targum Jonathan (Aramaic version of the Prophets).
Targ. Onk.	Targum Onkelos (Aramaic version of the Pentateuch).
Targ. Yer.	Targum Yerushalmi.
TB	Babylonian Talmud or Talmud Bavli.
Tcherikover, Corpus	V. Tcherikover, A. Fuks, and M. Stern, *Corpus Papyrorum Judaicorum,* 3 vols. (1957–60).
Tef.	*Tefillin* (post-talmudic tractate).
Tem.	*Temurah* (mishnaic tractate).
Ter.	*Terumah* (talmudic tractate).
Test. Patr.	Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs (Pseudepigrapha). Ash. – Asher Ben. – Benjamin Dan – Dan Gad – Gad Iss. – Issachar Joseph – Joseph Judah – Judah Levi – Levi Naph. – Naphtali Reu. – Reuben Sim. – Simeon Zeb. – Zebulun.
I and II	Epistle to the Thessalonians (New Testament).
Thieme-Becker	U. Thieme and F. Becker (eds.), *Allgemeines Lexikon der bildenden Kuenstler von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart,* 37 vols. (1907–50).
Tidhar	D. Tidhar (ed.), *Enẓiklopedyah la-Ḥalutẓei ha-Yishuv u-Vonav* (1947ff.).
I and II Timothy	Epistles to Timothy (New Testament).
Tit.	Epistle to Titus (New Testament).
TJ	Jerusalem Talmud or Talmud Yerushalmi.
Tob.	Tobit (Apocrypha).
Toh.	*Tohorot* (mishnaic tractate).
Torczyner, Bundeslade	H. Torczyner, *Die Bundeslade und die Anfaenge der Religion Israels* (1930^{3}).
Tos.	*Tosafot.*
Tosef.	Tosefta.
Tristram, Nat Hist	H.B. Tristram, *Natural History of the Bible* (1877^{5}).
Tristram, Survey	Palestine Exploration Fund, *Survey of Western Palestine,* vol. 4 (1884) = *Fauna and Flora* by H.B. Tristram.
TS	*Terra Santa* (1943ff.).

TSBA	*Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archaeology* (1872–93).
TY	*Tevul Yom* (mishnaic tractate).
UBSB	United Bible Society, *Bulletin.*
UJE	*Universal Jewish Encyclopedia*, 10 vols. (1939–43).
Uk.	*Ukẓin* (mishnaic tractate).
Urbach, Tosafot	E.E. Urbach, *Ba'alei ha-Tosafot* (1957^{2}).
de Vaux, Anc Isr	R. de Vaux, *Ancient Israel: its Life and Institutions* (1961; paperback 1965).
de Vaux, Instit	R. de Vaux, *Institutions de l'Ancien Testament,* 2 vols. (1958 60).
Virt.	Philo, *De Virtutibus.*
Vogelstein, Chronology	M. Volgelstein, *Biblical Chronology (1944).*
Vogelstein-Rieger	H. Vogelstein and P. Rieger, *Geschichte der Juden in Rom,* 2 vols. (1895–96).
VT	*Vetus Testamentum* (1951ff.).
VTS	*Vetus Testamentum* Supplements (1953ff.).
Vulg.	Vulgate (Latin translation of the Bible).
Wars	Josephus, *The Jewish Wars.*
Watzinger, Denkmaeler	K. Watzinger, *Denkmaeler Palaestinas,* 2 vols. (1933–35).
Waxman, Literature	M. Waxman, *History of Jewish Literature,* 5 vols. (1960^{2}).
Weiss, Dor	I.H. Weiss, *Dor, Dor ve-Doreshav,* 5 vols. (1904^{4}).
Wellhausen, Proleg	J. Wellhausen, *Prolegomena zur Geschichte Israels* (1927^{6}).
WI	*Die Welt des Islams* (1913ff.).
Winniger, Biog	S. Wininger, *Grosse juedische National-Biographie ...,* 7 vols. (1925–36).
Wisd.	Wisdom of Solomon (Apocrypha)
WLB	*Wiener Library Bulletin* (1958ff.).
Wolf, Bibliotheca	J.C. Wolf, *Bibliotheca Hebraea*, 4 vols. (1715–33).
Wright, Bible	G.E. Wright, *Westminster Historical Atlas to the Bible* (1945).
Wright, Atlas	G.E. Wright, *The Bible and the Ancient Near East* (1961).
WWWJ	*Who's Who in the World Jewry* (New York, 1955, 1965^{2}).
WZJT	*Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift fuer juedische Theologie* (1835–37).
WZKM	*Wiener Zeitschrift fuer die Kunde des Morgenlandes* (1887ff.).
Yaari, Sheluḥei	A. Yaari, *Sheluḥei Ereẓ Yisrael* (1951).
Yad	Maimonides, *Mishneh Torah (Yad Ḥazakah).*
Yad	*Yadayim* (mishnaic tractate).
Yal.	*Yalkut Shimoni.*
Yal. Mak.	*Yalkut Makhiri.*
Yal. Reub.	*Yalkut Reubeni.*
YD	*Yoreh De'ah.*
YE	*Yevreyskaya Entsiklopediya,* 14 vols. (c. 1910).
Yev.	*Yevamot* (talmudic tractate).
YIVOA	*YIVO Annual of Jewish Social Studies* (1946ff.).
YLBI	*Year Book of the Leo Baeck Institute* (1956ff.).
YMḤEY	See BJPES.
YMḤSI	*Yedi'ot ha-Makhon le-Ḥeker ha-Shirah ha-Ivrit* (1935/36ff.).
YMMY	*Yedi'ot ha-Makhon le-Madda'ei ha-Yahadut* (1924/25ff.).
Yoma	*Yoma* (talmudic tractate).
ZA	*Zeitschrift fuer Assyriologie* (1886/87ff.).
Zav.	*Zavim* (mishnaic tractate).
ZAW	*Zeitschrift fuer die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde des nachbiblishchen Judentums* (1881ff.).
ZAWB	*Beihefte* (supplements) to ZAW.
ZDMG	*Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenlaendischen Gesellschaft* (1846ff.).
ZDPV	*Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palaestina-Vereins* (1878–1949; from 1949 = BBLA).
Zech.	Zechariah (Bible).
Zedner, Cat	J. Zedner, *Catalogue of Hebrew Books in the Library of the British Museum* (1867; repr. 1964).
Zeitlin, Bibliotheca	W. Zeitlin, *Bibliotheca Hebraica Post-Mendelssohniana* (1891–95).
Zeph.	Zephaniah (Bible).
Zev.	*Zevaḥim* (talmudic tractate).
ZGGJT	*Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft fuer die Geschichte der Juden in der Tschechoslowakei* (1930–38).
ZGJD	*Zeitschrift fuer die Geschichte der Juden in Deutschland* (1887–92).
ZHB	*Zeitschrift fuer hebraeische Bibliographie* (1896–1920).
Zinberg, Sifrut	I. Zinberg, *Toledot Sifrut Yisrael,* 6 vols. (1955–60).
Ẓiẓ.	*Ẓiẓit* (post-talmudic tractate).
ZNW	*Zeitschrift fuer die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft* (1901ff.).
ZS	*Zeitschrift fuer Semitistik und verwandte Gebiete* (1922ff.).
Zunz, Gesch	L. Zunz, *Zur Geschichte und Literatur* (1845).
Zunz, Gesch	L. Zunz, *Literaturgeschichte der synagogalen Poesie* (1865; Supplement, 1867; repr. 1966).
Zunz, Poesie	L. Zunz, *Synogogale Posie des Mittelalters,* ed. by Freimann (1920^{2}; repr. 1967).
Zunz, Ritus	L. Zunz, *Ritus des synagogalen Gottesdienstes* (1859; repr. 1967).
Zunz, Schr	L. Zunz, *Gesammelte Schriften,* 3 vols. (1875–76).
Zunz, Vortraege	L. Zunz, *Gottesdienstliche vortraege der Juden ...* 1892^{2}; repr. 1966).
Zunz-Albeck, Derashot	L. Zunz, *Ha-Derashot be-Yisrael*, Heb. Tr. of Zunz Vortraege by H. Albeck (1954^{2}).

TRANSLITERATION RULES

HEBREW AND SEMITIC LANGUAGES:

	General	*Scientific*
א	not transliterated[1]	ʾ
בּ	b	b
ב	v	v, ḇ
גּ	g	g
ג		ḡ
דּ	d	d
ד		ḏ
ה	h	h
ו	v – when not a vowel	w
ז	z	z
ח	ḥ	ḥ
ט	t	ṭ, t
י	y – when vowel and at end of words – i	y
כּ	k	k
כ, ך	kh	kh, ḵ
ל	l	ḻ
מ, ם	m	m
נ, ן	n	n
ס	s	s
ע	not transliterated[1]	ʿ
פּ	p	p
פ, ף	f	p, f, ph
צ, ץ	ẓ	ṣ, ẓ
ק	k	q, k
ר	r	r
שׁ	sh[2]	š
שׂ	s	ś, s
תּ	t	t
ת		ṯ
ג׳	dzh, J	ğ
ז׳	zh, J	ž
צ׳	ch	č
—ָ		å, o, ȯ (short) â, ā (long)
—ַ	a	a
—ֲ		a, ^{a}
—ֵ		e, ẹ, ē
—ֶ	e	æ, ä, ę
—ֱ		œ, ě, ^{e}
—ְ	only *sheva na* is transliterated	ə, ě, e; only *sheva na* transliterated
—ִ —ִי	i	i
—ֹ וֹ	o	o, o, o
—ֻ וּ	u	u, ŭ û, ū
—ֵי	ei; biblical e	
‡		reconstructed forms of words

1. The letters א and ע are not transliterated.
   An apostrophe (') between vowels indicates that they do not form a diphthong and are to be pronounced separately.
2. *Dagesh ḥazak* (forte) is indicated by doubling of the letter, except for the letter שׁ.
3. Names. Biblical names and biblical place names are rendered according to the Bible translation of the Jewish Publication Society of America. Post-biblical Hebrew names are transliterated; contemporary names are transliterated or rendered as used by the person. Place names are transliterated or rendered by the accepted spelling. Names and some words with an accepted English form are usually not transliterated.

YIDDISH

א	not transliterated
אַ	a
אָ	o
בּ	b
בֿ	v
ג	g
ד	d
ה	h
ו, וּ	u
וו	v
וי	oy
ז	z
זשׁ	zh
ח	kh
ט	t
טשׁ	tsh, ch
י	(consonant) y (vowel) i
יִ	i
יי	ey
ײַ	ay
כּ	k
כ, ך	kh
ל	l
מ, ם	m
נ, ן	n
ס	s
ע	e
פּ	p
פֿ, ף	f
צ, ץ	ts
ק	k
ר	r
שׁ	sh
שׂ	s
תּ	t
ת	s

1. Yiddish transliteration rendered according to U. Weinreich's Modern *English-Yiddish Yiddish-English* Dictionary.
2. Hebrew words in Yiddish are usually transliterated according to standard Yiddish pronunciation, e.g., חזנות = *khazones.*

LADINO

Ladino and Judeo-Spanish words written in Hebrew characters are transliterated phonetically, following the General Rules of Hebrew transliteration (see above) whenever the accepted spelling in Latin characters could not be ascertained.

ARABIC

ا ء	a[1]	ض	ḍ
ب	b	ط	ṭ
ت	t	ظ	ẓ
ث	th	ع	c
ج	j	غ	gh
ح	ḥ	ف	f
خ	kh	ق	q
د	d	ك	k
ذ	dh	ل	l
ر	r	م	m
ز	z	ن	n
س	s	ه	h
ش	sh	و	w
ص	ṣ	ي	y
ـَ	a	ـَا ى	ā
ـِ	i	ـِي	ī
ـُ	u	ـُو	ū
ـَو	aw	ـِـِّ	iyy[2]
ـَي	ay	ـُوّ	uww[2]

1. not indicated when initial
2. see note (f)

a) The EJ follows the *Columbia Lippincott Gazetteer* and the *Times Atlas* in transliteration of Arabic place names. Sites that appear in neither are transliterated according to the table above, and subject to the following notes.

b) The EJ follows the *Columbia Encyclopedia* in transliteration of Arabic names. Personal names that do not therein appear are transliterated according to the table above and subject to the following notes (e.g., Ali rather than ʿAlī, Suleiman rather than Sulayman).

c) The EJ follows the *Webster's Third International Dictionary, Unabridged* in transliteration of Arabic terms that have been integrated into the English language.

d) The term "Abu" will thus appear, usually in disregard of inflection.

e) Nunnation (end vowels, *tanwīn*) are dropped in transliteration.

f) Gemination (*tashdīd*) is indicated by the doubling of the geminated letter, unless an end letter, in which case the gemination is dropped.

g) The definitive article *al-* will always be thus transliterated, unless subject to one of the modifying notes (e.g., El-Arish rather than al-ʿArīsh; modification according to note (a)).

h) The Arabic transliteration disregards the Sun Letters (the antero-palatals (*al-Ḥurūf al-Shamsiyya*).

i) The *tā-marbūṭa* (o) is omitted in transliteration, unless in construct-stage (e.g., *Khirba* but *Khirbat Mishmish*).

These modifying notes may lead to various inconsistencies in the Arabic transliteration, but this policy has deliberately been adopted to gain smoother reading of Arabic terms and names.

GREEK

Ancient Greek	*Modern Greek*	*Greek Letters*
a	a	*Α; α; ᾳ*
b	v	*Β; β*
g	gh; g	*Γ; γ*
d	dh	*Δ; δ*
e	e	*Ε; ε*
z	z	*Ζ; ζ*
e; e	i	*Η; η; ῃ*
th	th	*Θ; θ*
i	i	*Ι; ι*
k	k; ky	*Κ; κ*
l	l	*Λ; λ*
m	m	*Μ; μ*
n	n	*Ν; ν*
x	x	*Ξ; ξ*
o	o	*Ο; ο*
p	p	*Π; π*
r; rh	r	*Ρ; ρ; ῥ*
s	s	*Σ; σ; ς*
t	t	*Τ; τ*
u; y	i	*Υ; υ*
ph	f	*Φ; φ*
ch	kh	*Χ; χ*
ps	ps	*Ψ; ψ*
o; ō	o	*Ω; ω; ῳ*
ai	e	*αι*
ei	i	*ει*
oi	i	*οι*
ui	i	*υι*
ou	ou	*ου*
eu	ev	*ευ*
eu; ēu	iv	*ηυ*
–	j	*τζ*
nt	d; nd	*ντ*
mp	b; mb	*μπ*
ngk	g	*γκ*
ng	ng	*νγ*
h	–	ʽ
–	–	ʼ
w	–	*ϝ*

RUSSIAN

А	A
Б	B
В	V
Г	G
Д	D
Е	E, Ye[1]
Ё	Yo, O[2]
Ж	Zh
З	Z
И	I
Й	Y[3]
К	K
Л	L
М	M
Н	N
О	O
П	P
Р	R
С	S
Т	T
У	U
Ф	F
Х	Kh
Ц	Ts
Ч	Ch
Ш	Sh
Щ	Shch
Ъ	omitted; see note [1]
Ы	Y
Ь	omitted; see note [1]
Э	E
Ю	Yu
Я	Ya

1. Ye at the beginning of a word; after all vowels except ***Ы***; and after ***Ъ*** and ***Ь***.
2. O after ***Ч***, ***Ш*** and ***Щ***.
3. Omitted after ***Ы***, and in names of people after ***И***.

A. Many first names have an accepted English or quasi-English form which has been preferred to transliteration.
B. Place names have been given according to the *Columbia Lippincott Gazeteer*.
C. Pre-revolutionary spelling has been ignored.
D. Other languages using the Cyrillic alphabet (e.g., Bulgarian, Ukrainian), inasmuch as they appear, have been phonetically transliterated in conformity with the principles of this table.

GLOSSARY

Asterisked terms have separate entries in the Encyclopaedia.

__Actions Committee__, early name of the Zionist General Council, the supreme institution of the World Zionist Organization in the interim between Congresses. The Zionist Executive's name was then the "Small Actions Committee."

*__Adar__, twelfth month of the Jewish religious year, sixth of the civil, approximating to February–March.

*__Aggadah__, name given to those sections of Talmud and Midrash containing homiletic expositions of the Bible, stories, legends, folklore, anecdotes, or maxims. In contradistinction to _*halakhah._

*__Agunah__, woman unable to remarry according to Jewish law, because of desertion by her husband or inability to accept presumption of death.

*__Aharonim__, later rabbinic authorities. In contradistinction to _*rishonim_ ("early ones").

__Ahavah__, liturgical poem inserted in the second benediction of the morning prayer _(*Ahavah Rabbah)_ of the festivals and/or special Sabbaths.

__Aktion__ (Ger.), operation involving the mass assembly, deportation, and murder of Jews by the Nazis during the *Holocaust.

*__Aliyah__, (1) being called to Reading of the Law in synagogue; (2) immigration to Ereẓ Israel; (3) one of the waves of immigration to Ereẓ Israel from the early 1880s.

*__Amidah__, main prayer recited at all services; also known as _Shemoneh Esreh_ and _Tefillah_.

*__Amora__ (pl. __amoraim__), title given to the Jewish scholars in Ereẓ Israel and Babylonia in the third to sixth centuries who were responsible for the _*Gemara_.

__Aravah__, the *willow; one of the *Four Species used on *Sukkot ("festival of Tabernacles") together with the _*etrog, hadas_, and _*lulav_.

*__Arvit__, evening prayer.

__Asarah be-Tevet__, fast on the 10th of Tevet commemorating the commencement of the siege of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar.

__Asefat ha-Nivḥarim__, representative assembly elected by Jews in Palestine during the period of the British Mandate (1920–48).

*__Ashkenaz__, name applied generally in medieval rabbinical literature to Germany.

*__Ashkenazi__ (pl. __Ashkenazim__), German or West-, Central-, or East-European Jew(s), as contrasted with *Sephardi(m).

*__Av__, fifth month of the Jewish religious year, eleventh of the civil, approximating to July–August.

*__Av bet din__, vice president of the supreme court (_bet din ha-gadol_) in Jerusalem during the Second Temple period; later, title given to communal rabbis as heads of the religious courts (see _*bet din_).

*__Badḥan__, jester, particularly at traditional Jewish weddings in Eastern Europe.

*__Bakkashah__ (Heb. "supplication"), type of petitionary prayer, mainly recited in the Sephardi rite on Rosh Ha-Shanah and the Day of Atonement.

__Bar__, "son of . . . "; frequently appearing in personal names.

*__Baraita__ (pl. __beraitot__), statement of _*tanna_ not found in *Mishnah.

*__Bar mitzvah__, ceremony marking the initiation of a boy at the age of 13 into the Jewish religious community.

__Ben__, "son of . . . ", frequently appearing in personal names.

__Berakhah__ (pl. __berakhot__), *benediction, blessing; formula of praise and thanksgiving.

*__Bet din__ (pl. __battei din__), rabbinic court of law.

*__Bet ha-midrash__, school for higher rabbinic learning; often attached to or serving as a synagogue.

*__Bilu__, first modern movement for pioneering and agricultural settlement in Ereẓ Israel, founded in 1882 at Kharkov, Russia.

*__Bund__, Jewish socialist party founded in Vilna in 1897, supporting Jewish national rights; Yiddishist, and anti-Zionist.

__Cohen__ (pl. __Cohanim__), see Kohen.

*__Conservative Judaism__, trend in Judaism developed in the United States in the 20th century which, while opposing extreme changes in traditional observances, permits certain modifications of _halakhah_ in response to the changing needs of the Jewish people.

*__Consistory__ (Fr. _consistoire_), governing body of a Jewish communal district in France and certain other countries.

*__Converso(s)__, term applied in Spain and Portugal to converted Jew(s), and sometimes more loosely to their descendants.

*__Crypto-Jew__, term applied to a person who although observing outwardly Christianity (or some other religion) was at heart a Jew and maintained Jewish observances as far as possible (see Converso; Marrano; Neofiti; New Christian; Jadīd al-Islām).

*__Dayyan__, member of rabbinic court.

__Decisor__, equivalent to the Hebrew _posek_ (pl. _*posekim_), the rabbi who gives the decision (_halakhah_) in Jewish law or practice.

*__Devekut__, "devotion"; attachment or adhesion to God; communion with God.

*__Diaspora__, Jews living in the "dispersion" outside Ereẓ Israel; area of Jewish settlement outside Ereẓ Israel.

__Din__, a law (both secular and religious), legal decision, or lawsuit.

__Divan, diwan__, collection of poems, especially in Hebrew, Arabic, or Persian.

__Dunam__, unit of land area (1,000 sq. m., c. ¼ acre), used in Israel.

__Einsatzgruppen__, mobile units of Nazi S.S. and S.D.; in U.S.S.R. and Serbia, mobile killing units.

*__Ein-Sof__, "without end"; "the infinite"; hidden, impersonal aspect of God; also used as a Divine Name.

*__Elul__, sixth month of the Jewish religious calendar, 12th of the civil, precedes the High Holiday season in the fall.

__Endloesung__, see *Final Solution.

*__Ereẓ Israel__, Land of Israel; Palestine.

*__Eruv__, technical term for rabbinical provision permitting the alleviation of certain restrictions.

*__Etrog__, citron; one of the *Four Species used on *Sukkot together with the _*lulav_, _hadas_, and _aravah_.

__Even ha-Ezer__, see Shulḥan Arukh.

*__Exilarch__, lay head of Jewish community in Babylonia (see also _resh galuta_), and elsewhere.

*__Final Solution__ (Ger. _Endloesung_), in Nazi terminology, the Nazi-planned mass murder and total annihilation of the Jews.

*__Gabbai__, official of a Jewish congregation; originally a charity collector.

*__Galut__, "exile"; the condition of the Jewish people in dispersion.

*****Gaon** (pl. **geonim**), head of academy in post-talmudic period, especially in Babylonia.

Gaonate, office of *gaon.

*****Gemara**, traditions, discussions, and rulings of the **amoraim*, commenting on and supplementing the *Mishnah, and forming part of the Babylonian and Palestinian Talmuds (see Talmud).

*****Gematria**, interpretation of Hebrew word according to the numerical value of its letters.

General Government, territory in Poland administered by a German civilian governor-general with headquarters in Cracow after the German occupation in World War II.

*****Genizah**, depository for sacred books. The best known was discovered in the synagogue of Fostat (old Cairo).

Get, bill of *divorce.

*****Ge'ullah**, hymn inserted after the **Shema* into the benediction of the morning prayer of the festivals and special Sabbaths.

*****Gilgul**, metempsychosis; transmigration of souls.

*****Golem**, automaton, especially in human form, created by magical means and endowed with life.

*****Ḥabad**, initials of *ḥokhmah, binah, da'at*: "wisdom, understanding, knowledge"; ḥasidic movement founded in Belorussia by *Shneur Zalman of Lyady.

Hadas, *myrtle; one of the *Four Species used on Sukkot together with the **etrog*, **lulav*, and *aravah*.

*****Haftarah** (pl. **haftarot**), designation of the portion from the prophetical books of the Bible recited after the synagogue reading from the Pentateuch on Sabbaths and holidays.

*****Haganah**, clandestine Jewish organization for armed self-defense in Ereẓ Israel under the British Mandate, which eventually evolved into a people's militia and became the basis for the Israel army.

*****Haggadah**, ritual recited in the home on *Passover eve at seder table.

Haham, title of chief rabbi of the Spanish and Portuguese congregations in London, England.

*****Hakham**, title of rabbi of *Sephardi congregation.

*****Hakham bashi**, title in the 15th century and modern times of the chief rabbi in the Ottoman Empire, residing in Constantinople (Istanbul), also applied to principal rabbis in provincial towns.

Hakhsharah ("preparation"), organized training in the Diaspora of pioneers for agricultural settlement in Ereẓ Israel.

*****Halakhah** (pl. **halakhot**), an accepted decision in rabbinic law. Also refers to those parts of the *Talmud concerned with legal matters. In contradistinction to **aggadah*.

Ḥaliẓah, biblically prescribed ceremony (Deut. 25:9–10) performed when a man refuses to marry his brother's childless widow, enabling her to remarry.

*****Hallel**, term referring to Psalms 113-18 in liturgical use.

*****Ḥalukkah**, system of financing the maintenance of Jewish communities in the holy cities of Ereẓ Israel by collections made abroad, mainly in the pre-Zionist era (see *kolel*).

Ḥalutz (pl. **ḥalutzim**), pioneer, especially in agriculture, in Ereẓ Israel.

Ḥalutziyyut, pioneering.

*****Ḥanukkah**, eight-day celebration commemorating the victory of *Judah Maccabee over the Syrian king *Antiochus Epiphanes and the subsequent rededication of the Temple.

Ḥasid, adherent of *Ḥasidism.

*****Ḥasidei Ashkenaz**, medieval pietist movement among the Jews of Germany.

*****Ḥasidism**, (1) religious revivalist movement of popular mysticism among Jews of Germany in the Middle Ages; (2) religious movement founded by *Israel ben Eliezer Ba'al Shem Tov in the first half of the 18th century.

*****Haskalah**, "enlightenment"; movement for spreading modern European culture among Jews c. 1750–1880. See *maskil*.

*****Havdalah**, ceremony marking the end of Sabbath or festival.

*****Ḥazzan**, precentor who intones the liturgy and leads the prayers in synagogue; in earlier times a synagogue official.

*****Ḥeder** (lit. "room"), school for teaching children Jewish religious observance.

Heikhalot, "palaces"; tradition in Jewish mysticism centering on mystical journeys through the heavenly spheres and palaces to the Divine Chariot (see Merkabah).

*****Ḥerem**, excommunication, imposed by rabbinical authorities for purposes of religious and/or communal discipline; originally, in biblical times, that which is separated from common use either because it was an abomination or because it was consecrated to God.

Ḥeshvan, see Marḥeshvan.

*****Ḥevra kaddisha**, title applied to charitable confraternity (**ḥevrah*), now generally limited to associations for burial of the dead.

*****Ḥibbat Zion**, see Ḥovevei Zion.

*****Histadrut** (abbr. For Heb. **Ha-Histadrut ha-Kelalit shel ha-Ovedim ha-Ivriyyim be-Ereẓ Israel**). Ereẓ Israel Jewish Labor Federation, founded in 1920; subsequently renamed Histadrut ha-Ovedim be-Ereẓ Israel.

*****Holocaust**, the organized mass persecution and annihilation of European Jewry by the Nazis (1933–1945).

*****Hoshana Rabba**, the seventh day of *Sukkot on which special observances are held.

Ḥoshen Mishpat, see Shulḥan Arukh.

Ḥovevei Zion, federation of *Ḥibbat Zion, early (pre-*Herzl) Zionist movement in Russia.

Illui, outstanding scholar or genius, especially a young prodigy in talmudic learning.

*****Iyyar**, second month of the Jewish religious year, eighth of the civil, approximating to April-May.

I.Ẓ.L. (initials of Heb. ***Irgun Ẓeva'i Le'ummi**; "National Military Organization"), underground Jewish organization in Ereẓ Israel founded in 1931, which engaged from 1937 in retaliatory acts against Arab attacks and later against the British mandatory authorities.

*****Jadīd al-Islām** (Ar.), a person practicing the Jewish religion in secret although outwardly observing Islām.

*****Jewish Legion**, Jewish units in British army during World War I.

*****Jihād** (Ar.), in Muslim religious law, holy war waged against infidels.

*****Judenrat** (Ger. "Jewish council"), council set up in Jewish communities and ghettos under the Nazis to execute their instructions.

*****Judenrein** (Ger. "clean of Jews"), in Nazi terminology the condition of a locality from which all Jews had been eliminated.

*****Kabbalah**, the Jewish mystical tradition:
Kabbala iyyunit, speculative Kabbalah;
Kabbala ma'asit, practical Kabbalah;
Kabbala nevu'it, prophetic Kabbalah.

Kabbalist, student of Kabbalah.

*****Kaddish**, liturgical doxology.

Kahal, Jewish congregation; among Ashkenazim, *kehillah*.

***Kalām** (Ar.), science of Muslim theology; adherents of the Kalām are called *mutakallimūn*.

***Karaite**, member of a Jewish sect originating in the eighth century which rejected rabbinic (*Rabbanite) Judaism and claimed to accept only Scripture as authoritative.

***Kasher**, ritually permissible food.

Kashrut, Jewish *dietary laws.

***Kavvanah**, "intention"; term denoting the spiritual concentration accompanying prayer and the performance of ritual or of a commandment.

***Kedushah**, main addition to the third blessing in the reader's repetition of the *Amidah* in which the public responds to the precentor's introduction.

Kefar, village; first part of name of many settlements in Israel.

Kehillah, congregation; see *kahal.*

Kelippah (pl. **kelippot**), "husk(s)"; mystical term denoting force(s) of evil.

***Keneset Yisrael**, comprehensive communal organization of the Jews in Palestine during the British Mandate.

Keri, variants in the masoretic (*masorah) text of the Bible between the spelling (*ketiv*) and its pronunciation (*keri*).

***Kerovah** (collective plural (corrupted) from **kerovez̩**), poem(s) incorporated into the **Amidah*.

Ketiv, see *keri*.

***Ketubbah**, marriage contract, stipulating husband's obligations to wife.

Kevuz̩ah, small commune of pioneers constituting an agricultural settlement in Erez̩ Israel (evolved later into *kibbutz).

***Kibbutz** (pl. **kibbutzim**), larger-size commune constituting a settlement in Erez̩ Israel based mainly on agriculture but engaging also in industry.

***Kiddush**, prayer of sanctification, recited over wine or bread on eve of Sabbaths and festivals.

***Kiddush ha-Shem**, term connoting martyrdom or act of strict integrity in support of Judaic principles.

***Kinah** (pl. **kinot**), lamentation dirge(s) for the Ninth of Av and other fast days.

***Kislev**, ninth month of the Jewish religious year, third of the civil, approximating to November-December.

Klaus, name given in Central and Eastern Europe to an institution, usually with synagogue attached, where *Talmud was studied perpetually by adults; applied by Ḥasidim to their synagogue ("*kloyz*").

***Knesset**, parliament of the State of Israel.

K(c)ohen (pl. **K(c)ohanim**), Jew(s) of priestly (Aaronide) descent.

***Kolel**, (1) community in Erez̩ Israel of persons from a particular country or locality, often supported by their fellow countrymen in the Diaspora; (2) institution for higher Torah study.

Kosher, see *kasher*.

***Kristallnacht** (Ger. "crystal night," meaning "night of broken glass"), organized destruction of synagogues, Jewish houses, and shops, accompanied by mass arrests of Jews, which took place in Germany and Austria under the Nazis on the night of Nov. 9–10, 1938.

***Lag ba-Omer**, 33rd (Heb. **lag**) day of the **Omer* period falling on the 18th of *Iyyar; a semi-holiday.

Leḥi (abbr. For Heb. ***Loḥamei Ḥerut Israel**, "Fighters for the Freedom of Israel"), radically anti-British armed underground organization in Palestine, founded in 1940 by dissidents from *I.Z.L.

Levir, husband's brother.

***Levirate marriage** (Heb. *yibbum*), marriage of childless widow (*yevamah*) by brother (*yavam*) of the deceased husband (in accordance with Deut. 25:5); release from such an obligation is effected through *ḥaliz̩ah*.

LHY, see Leḥi.

***Lulav**, palm branch; one of the *Four Species used on *Sukkot together with the **etrog*, *hadas*, and *aravah*.

***Ma'aravot**, hymns inserted into the evening prayer of the three festivals, Passover, Shavuot, and Sukkot.

Ma'ariv, evening prayer; also called **arvit*.

***Ma'barah**, transition camp; temporary settlement for newcomers in Israel during the period of mass immigration following 1948.

***Maftir**, reader of the concluding portion of the Pentateuchal section on Sabbaths and holidays in synagogue; reader of the portion of the prophetical books of the Bible (**haftarah*).

***Maggid**, popular preacher.

***Maḥzor** (pl. **maḥzorim**), festival prayer book.

***Mamzer**, bastard; according to Jewish law, the offspring of an incestuous relationship.

***Mandate, Palestine**, responsibility for the administration of Palestine conferred on Britain by the League of Nations in 1922; mandatory government: the British administration of Palestine.

***Maqāma** (Ar. pl. **maqamāt**), poetic form (rhymed prose) which, in its classical arrangement, has rigid rules of form and content.

***Marḥeshvan**, popularly called Ḥeshvan; eighth month of the Jewish religious year, second of the civil, approximating to October–November.

***Marrano(s)**, descendant(s) of Jew(s) in Spain and Portugal whose ancestors had been converted to Christianity under pressure but who secretly observed Jewish rituals.

Maskil (pl. **maskilim**), adherent of *Haskalah ("Enlightenment") movement.

***Masorah**, body of traditions regarding the correct spelling, writing, and reading of the Hebrew Bible.

Masorete, scholar of the masoretic tradition.

Masoretic, in accordance with the masorah.

Meliz̩ah, in Middle Ages, elegant style; modern usage, florid style using biblical or talmudic phraseology.

Mellah, *Jewish quarter in North African towns.

***Menorah**, candelabrum; seven-branched oil lamp used in the Tabernacle and Temple; also eight-branched candelabrum used on *Ḥanukkah.

Me'orah, hymn inserted into the first benediction of the morning prayer (*Yoz̩er ha-Me'orot*).

***Merkabah**, *merkavah*, "chariot"; mystical discipline associated with Ezekiel's vision of the Divine Throne-Chariot (Ezek. 1).

Meshullaḥ, emissary sent to conduct propaganda or raise funds for rabbinical academies or charitable institutions.

***Mezuzah** (pl. **mezuzot**), parchment scroll with selected Torah verses placed in container and affixed to gates and doorposts of houses occupied by Jews.

***Midrash**, method of interpreting Scripture to elucidate legal points (*Midrash Halakhah*) or to bring out lessons by stories or homiletics (*Midrash Aggadah*). Also the name for a collection of such rabbinic interpretations.

***Mikveh**, ritual bath.

***Minhag** (pl. **minhagim**), ritual custom(s); synagogal rite(s); especially of a specific sector of Jewry.

***Minḥah**, afternoon prayer; originally meal offering in Temple.

*__Minyan__, group of ten male adult Jews, the minimum required for communal prayer.

*__Mishnah__, earliest codification of Jewish Oral Law.

Mishnah (pl. **mishnayot**), subdivision of tractates of the Mishnah.

Mitnagged (pl. *__Mitnaggedim__), originally, opponents of *Ḥasidism in Eastern Europe.

*__Mitzvah__, biblical or rabbinic injunction; applied also to good or charitable deeds.

Mohel, official performing circumcisions.

*__Moshav__, smallholders' cooperative agricultural settlement in Israel, see moshav ovedim.

Moshavah, earliest type of Jewish village in modern Ereẓ Israel in which farming is conducted on individual farms mostly on privately owned land.

Moshav ovedim ("workers' moshav"), agricultural village in Israel whose inhabitants possess individual homes and holdings but cooperate in the purchase of equipment, sale of produce, mutual aid, etc.

*__Moshav shittufi__ ("collective moshav"), agricultural village in Israel whose members possess individual homesteads but where the agriculture and economy are conducted as a collective unit.

Mostegab (Ar.), poem with biblical verse at beginning of each stanza.

*__Muqaddam__ (Ar., pl. **muqaddamūn**), "leader," "head of the community."

*__Musaf__, additional service on Sabbath and festivals; originally the additional sacrifice offered in the Temple.

Musar, traditional ethical literature.

*__Musar movement__, ethical movement developing in the latter part of the 19th century among Orthodox Jewish groups in Lithuania; founded by R. Israel *Lipkin (Salanter).

*__Nagid__ (pl. **negidim**), title applied in Muslim (and some Christian) countries in the Middle Ages to a leader recognized by the state as head of the Jewish community.

Nakdan (pl. **nakdanim**), "punctuator"; scholar of the 9th to 14th centuries who provided biblical manuscripts with masoretic apparatus, vowels, and accents.

*__Nasi__ (pl. **nesi'im**), talmudic term for president of the Sanhedrin, who was also the spiritual head and later, political representative of the Jewish people; from second century a descendant of Hillel recognized by the Roman authorities as patriarch of the Jews. Now applied to the president of the State of Israel.

*__Negev__, the southern, mostly arid, area of Israel.

*__Ne'ilah__, concluding service on the *Day of Atonement.

Neofiti, term applied in southern Italy to converts to Christianity from Judaism and their descendants who were suspected of maintaining secret allegiance to Judaism.

*__Neology__; **Neolog**; **Neologism**, trend of *Reform Judaism in Hungary forming separate congregations after 1868.

*__Nevelah__ (lit. "carcass"), meat forbidden by the *dietary laws on account of the absence of, or defect in, the act of **sheḥitah* (ritual slaughter).

*__New Christians__, term applied especially in Spain and Portugal to converts from Judaism (and from Islam) and their descendants; "Half New Christian" designated a person one of whose parents was of full Jewish blood.

*__Niddah__ ("menstruous woman"), woman during the period of menstruation.

*__Nisan__, first month of the Jewish religious year, seventh of the civil, approximating to March-April.

Niẓoẓot, "sparks"; mystical term for sparks of the holy light imprisoned in all matter.

Nosaḥ (**nusaḥ**) "version"; (1) textual variant; (2) term applied to distinguish the various prayer rites, e.g., *nosaḥ Ashkenaz*; (3) the accepted tradition of synagogue melody.

*__Notarikon__, method of abbreviating Hebrew works or phrases by acronym.

Novella(e) (Heb. **ḥiddush* (*im*)), commentary on talmudic and later rabbinic subjects that derives new facts or principles from the implications of the text.

*__Nuremberg Laws__, Nazi laws excluding Jews from German citizenship, and imposing other restrictions.

Ofan, hymns inserted into a passage of the morning prayer.

*__Omer__, first sheaf cut during the barley harvest, offered in the Temple on the second day of Passover.

Omer, Counting of (Heb. *Sefirat ha-Omer*), 49 days counted from the day on which the *omer* was first offered in the Temple (according to the rabbis the 16th of Nisan, i.e., the second day of Passover) until the festival of Shavuot; now a period of semi-mourning.

Oraḥ Ḥayyim, see Shulḥan Arukh.

*__Orthodoxy__ (Orthodox Judaism), modern term for the strictly traditional sector of Jewry.

*__Pale of Settlement__, 25 provinces of czarist Russia where Jews were permitted permanent residence.

*__Palmaḥ__ (abbr. for Heb. *peluggot maḥaz*; "shock companies"), striking arm of the *Haganah.

*__Pardes__, medieval biblical exegesis giving the literal, allegorical, homiletical, and esoteric interpretations.

*__Parnas__, chief synagogue functionary, originally vested with both religious and administrative functions; subsequently an elected lay leader.

Partition plan(s), proposals for dividing Ereẓ Israel into autonomous areas.

Paytan, composer of **piyyut* (liturgical poetry).

*__Peel Commission__, British Royal Commission appointed by the British government in 1936 to inquire into the Palestine problem and make recommendations for its solution.

Pesaḥ, *Passover.

*__Pilpul__, in talmudic and rabbinic literature, a sharp dialectic used particularly by talmudists in Poland from the 16th century.

*__Pinkas__, community register or minute-book.

*__Piyyut__, (pl. **piyyutim**), Hebrew liturgical poetry.

*__Pizmon__, poem with refrain.

Posek (pl. *__posekim__), decisor; codifier or rabbinic scholar who pronounces decisions in disputes and on questions of Jewish law.

*__Prosbul__, legal method of overcoming the cancelation of debts with the advent of the *sabbatical year.

*__Purim__, festival held on Adar 14 or 15 in commemoration of the delivery of the Jews of Persia in the time of *Esther.

Rabban, honorific title higher than that of rabbi, applied to heads of the *Sanhedrin in mishnaic times.

*__Rabbanite__, adherent of rabbinic Judaism. In contradistinction to *Karaite.

Reb, rebbe, Yiddish form for rabbi, applied generally to a teacher or ḥasidic rabbi.

*__Reconstructionism__, trend in Jewish thought originating in the United States.

*__Reform Judaism__, trend in Judaism advocating modification of *Orthodoxy in conformity with the exigencies of contemporary life and thought.

Resh galuta, lay head of Babylonian Jewry (see exilarch).

Responsum (pl. ***responsa**), written opinion (*teshuvah*) given to question (*she'elah*) on aspects of Jewish law by qualified authorities; pl. collection of such queries and opinions in book form (*she'elot u-teshuvot*).

***Rishonim**, older rabbinical authorities. Distinguished from later authorities (**aḥaronim*).

***Rishon le-Zion**, title given to Sephardi chief rabbi of Ereẓ Israel.

***Rosh Ha-Shanah**, two-day holiday (one day in biblical and early mishnaic times) at the beginning of the month of *Tishri (September–October), traditionally the New Year.

Rosh Hodesh, *New Moon, marking the beginning of the Hebrew month.

Rosh Yeshivah, see *Yeshivah.

***R.S.H.A.** (initials of Ger. *Reichssicherheitshauptamt*: "Reich Security Main Office"), the central security department of the German Reich, formed in 1939, and combining the security police (Gestapo and Kripo) and the S.D.

***Sanhedrin**, the assembly of ordained scholars which functioned both as a supreme court and as a legislature before 70 C.E. In modern times the name was given to the body of representative Jews convoked by Napoleon in 1807.

***Savora** (pl. **savoraim**), name given to the Babylonian scholars of the period between the **amoraim* and the **geonim*, approximately 500–700 C.E.

S.D. (initials of Ger. *Sicherheitsdienst*: "security service"), security service of the *S.S. formed in 1932 as the sole intelligence organization of the Nazi party.

Seder, ceremony observed in the Jewish home on the first night of Passover (outside Ereẓ Israel first two nights), when the *Haggadah is recited.

***Sefer Torah**, manuscript scroll of the Pentateuch for public reading in synagogue.

***Sefirot, the ten**, the ten "Numbers"; mystical term denoting the ten spheres or emanations through which the Divine manifests itself; elements of the world; dimensions, primordial numbers.

Selektion (Ger.), (1) in ghettos and other Jewish settlements, the drawing up by Nazis of lists of deportees; (2) separation of incoming victims to concentration camps into two categories – those destined for immediate killing and those to be sent for forced labor.

Seliḥah (pl. ***seliḥot**), penitential prayer.

***Semikhah**, ordination conferring the title "rabbi" and permission to give decisions in matters of ritual and law.

Sephardi (pl. ***Sephardim**), Jew(s) of Spain and Portugal and their descendants, wherever resident, as contrasted with *Ashkenazi(m).

Shabbatean, adherent of the pseudo-messiah *Shabbetai Ẓevi (17th century).

Shaddai, name of God found frequently in the Bible and commonly translated "Almighty."

***Shaḥarit**, morning service.

Shali'aḥ (pl. **sheliḥim**), in Jewish law, messenger, agent; in modern times, an emissary from Ereẓ Israel to Jewish communities or organizations abroad for the purpose of fund-raising, organizing pioneer immigrants, education, etc.

Shalmonit, poetic meter introduced by the liturgical poet *Solomon ha-Bavli.

***Shammash**, synagogue beadle.

***Shavuot**, Pentecost; Festival of Weeks; second of the three annual pilgrim festivals, commemorating the receiving of the Torah at Mt. Sinai.

***Sheḥitah**, ritual slaughtering of animals.

***Shekhinah**, Divine Presence.

Shelishit, poem with three-line stanzas.

***Sheluḥei Ereẓ Israel** (or **shadarim**), emissaries from Ereẓ Israel.

***Shema** ([Yisrael]; "hear… [O Israel]," Deut. 6:4), Judaism's confession of faith, proclaiming the absolute unity of God.

Shemini Aẓeret, final festal day (in the Diaspora, final two days) at the conclusion of *Sukkot.

Shemittah, *Sabbatical year.

Sheniyyah, poem with two-line stanzas.

***Shephelah**, southern part of the coastal plain of Ereẓ Israel.

***Shevat**, eleventh month of the Jewish religious year, fifth of the civil, approximating to January–February.

***Shi'ur Komah**, Hebrew mystical work (c. eighth century) containing a physical description of God's dimensions; term denoting enormous spacial measurement used in speculations concerning the body of the **Shekhinah*.

Shivah, the "seven days" of *mourning following burial of a relative.

***Shofar**, horn of the ram (or any other ritually clean animal excepting the cow) sounded for the memorial blowing on *Rosh Ha-Shanah, and other occasions.

Shoḥet, person qualified to perform **sheḥitah*.

Shomer, *Ha-Shomer, organization of Jewish workers in Ereẓ Israel founded in 1909 to defend Jewish settlements.

***Shtadlan**, Jewish representative or negotiator with access to dignitaries of state, active at royal courts, etc.

***Shtetl**, Jewish small-town community in Eastern Europe.

***Shulḥan Arukh**, Joseph *Caro's code of Jewish law in four parts:
Oraḥ Ḥayyim, laws relating to prayers, Sabbath, festivals, and fasts;
Yoreh De'ah, dietary laws, etc;
Even ha-Ezer, laws dealing with women, marriage, etc;
Ḥoshen Mishpat, civil, criminal law, court procedure, etc.

Siddur, among Ashkenazim, the volume containing the daily prayers (in distinction to the **maḥzor* containing those for the festivals).

***Simḥat Torah**, holiday marking the completion in the synagogue of the annual cycle of reading the Pentateuch; in Ereẓ Israel observed on Shemini Aẓeret (outside Ereẓ Israel on the following day).

***Sinai Campaign**, brief campaign in October–November 1956 when Israel army reacted to Egyptian terrorist attacks and blockade by occupying the Sinai peninsula.

Sitra aḥra, "the other side" (of God); left side; the demoniac and satanic powers.

***Sivan**, third month of the Jewish religious year, ninth of the civil, approximating to May–June.

***Six-Day War**, rapid war in June 1967 when Israel reacted to Arab threats and blockade by defeating the Egyptian, Jordanian, and Syrian armies.

***S.S.** (initials of Ger. *Schutzstaffel*: "protection detachment"), Nazi formation established in 1925 which later became the "elite" organization of the Nazi Party and carried out central tasks in the "Final Solution."

***Status quo ante** community, community in Hungary retaining the status it had held before the convention of the General Jewish Congress there in 1868 and the resultant split in Hungarian Jewry.

***Sukkah**, booth or tabernacle erected for *Sukkot when, for seven days, religious Jews "dwell" or at least eat in the *sukkah* (Lev. 23:42).

***Sukkot**, festival of Tabernacles; last of the three pilgrim festivals, beginning on the 15th of Tishri.

Sūra (Ar.), chapter of the Koran.

Ta'anit Esther (Fast of *Esther), fast on the 13th of Adar, the day preceding Purim.

Takkanah (pl. ***takkanot**), regulation supplementing the law of the Torah; regulations governing the internal life of communities and congregations.

***Tallit (gadol)**, four-cornered prayer shawl with fringes (*ẓiẓit*) at each corner.

***Tallit katan**, garment with fringes (*ẓiẓit*) appended, worn by observant male Jews under their outer garments.

***Talmud**, "teaching"; compendium of discussion on the Mishnah by generations of scholars and jurists in many academies over a period of several centuries. The Jerusalem (or Palestinian) Talmud mainly contains the discussions of the Palestinian sages. The Babylonian Talmud incorporates the parallel discussion in the Babylonian academies.

Talmud torah, term generally applied to Jewish religious (and ultimately to talmudic) study; also to traditional Jewish religious public schools.

***Tammuz**, fourth month of the Jewish religious year, tenth of the civil, approximating to June-July.

Tanna (pl. ***tannaim**), rabbinic teacher of mishnaic period.

***Targum**, Aramaic translation of the Bible.

***Tefillin**, phylacteries, small leather cases containing passages from Scripture and affixed on the forehead and arm by male Jews during the recital of morning prayers.

Tell (Ar. "mound," "hillock"), ancient mound in the Middle East composed of remains of successive settlements.

***Terefah**, food that is not **kasher*, owing to a defect on the animal.

***Territorialism**, 20th century movement supporting the creation of an autonomous territory for Jewish mass-settlement outside Ereẓ Israel.

***Tevet**, tenth month of the Jewish religious year, fourth of the civil, approximating to December–January.

Tikkun ("restitution," "reintegration"), (1) order of service for certain occasions, mostly recited at night; (2) mystical term denoting restoration of the right order and true unity after the spiritual "catastrophe" which occurred in the cosmos.

Tishah be-Av, Ninth of *Av, fast day commemorating the destruction of the First and Second Temples.

***Tishri**, seventh month of the Jewish religious year, first of the civil, approximating to September–October.

Tokheḥah, reproof sections of the Pentateuch (Lev. 26 and Deut. 28); poem of reproof.

***Torah**, Pentateuch or the Pentateuchal scroll for reading in synagogue; entire body of traditional Jewish teaching and literature.

Tosafist, talmudic glossator, mainly French (12–14th centuries), bringing additions to the commentary by *Rashi.

***Tosafot**, glosses supplied by tosafist.

***Tosefta**, a collection of teachings and traditions of the *tannaim*, closely related to the Mishnah.

Tradent, person who hands down a talmudic statement on the name of his teacher or other earlier authority.

***Tu bi-Shevat**, the 15th day of Shevat, the New Year for Trees; date marking a dividing line for fruit tithing; in modern Israel celebrated as arbor day.

***Uganda Scheme**, plan suggested by the British government in 1903 to establish an autonomous Jewish settlement area in East Africa.

***Va'ad Le'ummi**, national council of the Jewish community in Ereẓ Israel during the period of the British *Mandate.

***Wannsee Conference**, Nazi conference held on Jan. 20, 1942, at which the planned annihilation of European Jewry was endorsed.

Waqf (Ar.), (1) a Muslim charitable pious foundation; (2) state lands and other property passed to the Muslim community for public welfare.

***War of Independence**, war of 1947–49 when the Jews of Israel fought off Arab invading armies and ensured the establishment of the new State.

***White Paper(s)**, report(s) issued by British government, frequently statements of policy, as issued in connection with Palestine during the *Mandate period.

***Wissenschaft des Judentums** (Ger. "Science of Judaism"), movement in Europe beginning in the 19th century for scientific study of Jewish history, religion, and literature.

***Yad Vashem**, Israel official authority for commemorating the *Holocaust in the Nazi era and Jewish resistance and heroism at that time.

Yeshivah (pl. ***yeshivot**), Jewish traditional academy devoted primarily to study of rabbinic literature; *rosh yeshivah*, head of the yeshivah.

YHWH, the letters of the holy name of God, the Tetragrammaton.

Yibbum, see levirate marriage.

Yiḥud, "union"; mystical term for intention which causes the union of God with the **Shekhinah*.

Yishuv, settlement; more specifically, the Jewish community of Ereẓ Israel in the pre-State period. The pre-Zionist community is generally designated the "old yishuv" and the community evolving from 1880, the "new yishuv."

Yom Kippur, Yom ha-Kippurim, *Day of Atonement, solemn fast day observed on the 10th of Tishri.

Yoreh De'ah, see Shulḥan Arukh.

Yoẓer, hymns inserted in the first benediction (*Yoẓer Or*) of the morning **Shema*.

***Ẓaddik**, person outstanding for his faith and piety; especially a ḥasidic rabbi or leader.

Ẓimẓum, "contraction"; mystical term denoting the process whereby God withdraws or contracts within Himself so leaving a primordial vacuum in which creation can take place; primordial exile or self-limitation of God.

***Zionist Commission (1918)**, commission appointed in 1918 by the British government to advise the British military authorities in Palestine on the implementation of the *Balfour Declaration.

Ẓyyonei Zion, the organized opposition to Herzl in connection with the *Uganda Scheme.

***Ẓiẓit**, fringes attached to the **tallit* and **tallit katan*.

***Zohar**, mystical commentary on the Pentateuch; main textbook of *Kabbalah.

Zulat, hymn inserted after the **Shema* in the morning service.

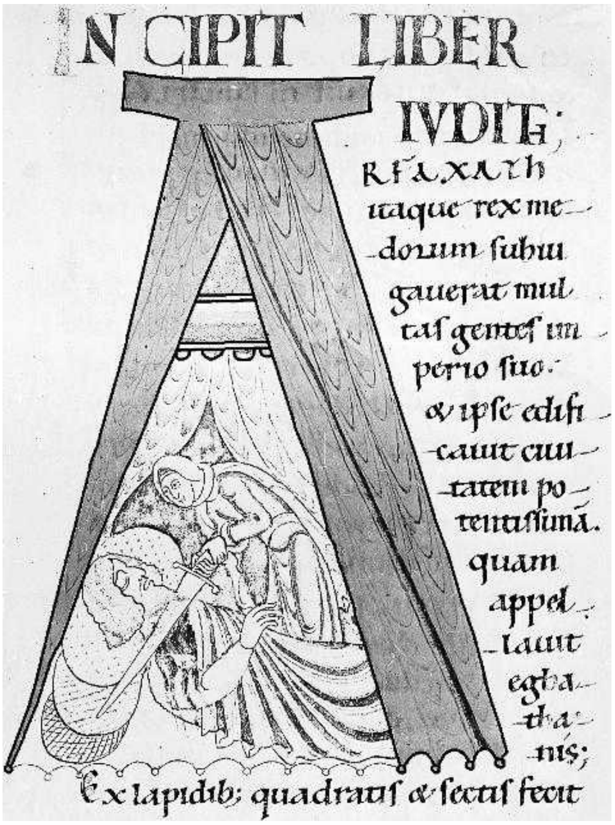

Initial "A" at the opening of the Book of Judith in a bible from Citeau, Eastern France, 1109, showing Judith decapitating Holofernes. Dijon, Bibliothèque Municipale, Ms. 14, fol. 158.

AA–ALP

AACHEN (**Aix-la-Chapelle**; in Jewish sources: אש, אכא, אייש), city on the German-Belgian border; former capital of the Carolingian Empire. The delegation sent by *Charlemagne to the caliph Harun al-Rashid in 797 included a Jew, Isaac, who probably acted as interpreter or guide, and subsequently reported back to Aachen. Jewish merchants were active in Aachen by about 820. A "Jews' street" is known to have existed from the 11th century. The Aachen community, which paid only 15 marks in tax to the emperor in 1241, cannot have been large. In 1349 the Jews were "given" to the count of Juelich, who received their taxes and authorized Jewish residence in Aachen. The Jews were expelled from Aachen in 1629, most settling in neighboring Burtscheid. However, Jewish moneylenders were again active in Aachen about ten years later. They were included in the municipal jurisdiction in 1777. Prior to the inauguration of a Jewish cemetery in 1823, the Jews of Aachen buried their dead in Vaals across the border in the Netherlands. In 1847 the community was organized under the Prussian Jewish Community Statute. A Jewish elementary school was founded in 1845. The synagogue, built in 1862, was destroyed in the 1938 *Kristallnacht.

The Jewish population had increased from 114 in 1816 to 1,345 by 1933. In 1939, after emigration and arrests, there were 782 Jews living in the city. Others subsequently managed to flee and the rest were deported between March 1942 and September 1944. After the war, there were 62 Jews in Aachen. A new synagogue and communal center were built at the expense of the German government in 1957. In 1966 the Jewish community of Aachen and environs numbered 163. As a result of the immigration of Jews from the former Soviet Union, the number of community members increased from 326 in 1989 to 1,434 in 2003. Another new synagogue and community center were inaugurated in 1995.

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AARGAU, canton of northern Switzerland. A few Jewish families are known to have lived there during the Middle Ages. From the 17th to the mid-19th centuries Aargau remained the sole area of permanent Jewish settlement in Switzerland; Jews lived in the two communities of *Endingen and Lengnau, and it was they who waged the struggle for Jewish *emancipation in Switzerland. In the 18th century Aargau Jews obtained rights of residence and movement; these were conferred by special safe conducts and letters of protection against the payment of high imposts, usually granted for a 16-year period. Jewish occupations were restricted to participation in the markets, the cattle and horse trade, peddling, and estate brokerage. Both communities possessed their own synagogues, sharing a cemetery and rabbi. The Jews in Aargau continued to pay the special taxes until their abolition by the Helvetic Republic in 1798. Rights of residence, trade, and ownership of real estate were granted to the Jews by the Helvetic government but were later revoked by the *Judengesetz* (Jews' Law) in 1809. The independent canton of Aargau was founded in 1798/1803. A law regularizing the status of the Jewish communities was passed in 1824 and, in conjunction with the General Education Act of 1835, regulated Jewish life and communal organization on the same principles as those governing similar non-Jewish institutions in the canton. In the 1850s two new synagogues were built, one in Endingen and one in Lengnau, and were later declared cantonal monuments. However, since the Jewish communities were not recognized as communities of local citizens, their members were debarred from canton citizenship. The Great Council of Canton Aargau authorized Jewish emancipation in 1862, but was bitterly opposed by the popular anti-Jewish movement and was subsequently repealed. The Jews of Aargau only obtained full rights of citizenship in 1878 after the Swiss federal parliament had intervened in their favor. Jews began to leave the region for other parts of Switzerland in the middle of the 19th century, their numbers dwindling from 1,562 in 1850 to 990 in 1900 and to 496 in 1950. In 1859 in the town of Baden a Jewish community was founded which built its synagogue in 1913 and erected a cemetery (1879). Between 1900 and the 1940s a small yeshivah was active under Rabbi Akiba Krausz. A Jewish Swiss Home for the Aged was established in Lengnau in 1903. At the turn of the 20th century services were sometimes held in the synagogues on Rosh Ḥodesh and for marriages. Aargau Jewish history came to public attention with the appointment of the first Jewish member of the Swiss governement, Ruth *Dreifuss. In 2000, 342 Jews lived in Aargau.

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[Florence Guggenheim-Gruenberg / Uri Kaufmann (2nd ed.)]

AARON (Heb. אַהֲרֹן), brother of *Moses and *Miriam; founder of the priesthood in Israel.

Biblical Information

Aaron belonged to the tribe of *Levi (Ex. 4:14) and was the elder son of *Amram and *Jochebed (*ibid.* 6:20; Num. 26:59; I Chron. 5:29; 23:13). He was senior to Moses by three years (Ex. 7:7), but younger than his sister (as may be inferred from Ex. 2:4). There is no narrative recounting Aaron's birth and nothing is known of his early life and upbringing. He apparently stayed in Egypt all the time Moses was in Midian and became known as an eloquent speaker (4:14). Aaron's marriage to Elisheba, daughter of Amminadab (6:23), allied him with one of the most distinguished families of the important tribe of Judah. His brother-in-law, Nahshon, was a chieftain of that tribe (Num. 1:7; 2:3; 7:12,17; 10:14) and a lineal ancestor of David (Ruth 4:19; I Chron. 2:10). The marital union thus symbolized the religio-political union of the two main hereditary institutions of ancient Israel, the house of David and the house of Aaron. Four sons were born of the marriage, Nadab, Abihu, Eleazar, and Ithamar (Ex. 6:23; 28:1; Num. 3:2; 26:60; I Chron. 5:29; 24:1).

The biblical narrative assigns Aaron a role subordinate to that of Moses. No mention is made of him in the initial theophany (Ex. 3:18; 4:12), and he is introduced into the events of the Exodus only because Moses resists the divine commission (4:14–16). He is to be Moses' spokesman ("prophet") to Israel (4:15–16) and to Pharaoh (7:1–2). He receives a revelation from God to go to meet Moses returning from Midian (4:27), and together the two brothers appear before the people, with Aaron performing his signs in their presence (4:28–30). Later, he performs wonders before Pharaoh. His rod turns into a serpent that swallows the serpent rods of the Egyptian magicians (7:9–12). In the ten plagues that befall the Egyptians, Aaron acts jointly with Moses in the first plague (7:19 ff.), operates alone only in the next two (8:1 ff., 12 ff.), is involved with Moses in the sixth and eighth (9:8 ff.; 10:3 ff.), and does not appear at all in the fifth and ninth (9:1–7; 10:21 ff.). For the rest, he is merely a passive associate of his brother. Although Aaron functions whenever the Egyptian magicians are present, it is significant that even where he plays an active role in performing the marvels, it is not by virtue of any innate ability or individual initiative, but solely by divine command mediated through Moses. Aaron's sons do not inherit either his wondrous powers or his potent rod. The secondary nature of Aaron's activities in the cycle of plagues is further demonstrated by the circumstance that he never speaks to Pharaoh alone and that only Moses actually entreats God to remove the plagues, although Pharaoh frequently addresses his request to both brothers (8:4, 8, 21, 25–26; 9:27 ff., 33; 10:16 ff.).

Strangely, Aaron plays no part at all in the events immediately attending the escape from Egypt, the crossing of the Red Sea, the victory hymns, and the water crisis at Marah (13:17; 16:1). He reappears again in connection with the incident of the manna (16:2–36), and at the battle with the Amalekites when, jointly with Hur, he supports Moses' hands stretched heavenward to ensure victory (17:10–13). Together with the elders of Israel, he participates in Jethro's sacrificial meal (18:12), but plays no role in the subsequent organization of the judicial administration. He does, however, again jointly with Hur, deputize for Moses in his judicial capacity while the latter goes up to the Mount of God to receive the Tablets (24:14). At the revelation at Sinai, Aaron again is a minor participant. He is distinguished from the "priests" and the people in being allowed to ascend the mount (19:24), but has the same status as his two sons, Nadab and Abihu, and the seventy elders of Israel in having to maintain a distance from Moses, although they all "see the God of Israel" and survive (24:1, 9ff.).

It was during his brother's prolonged absence on the mount that, yielding to popular insistence, he fashioned a golden calf that became a cause of apostasy (ch. 32). On the one hand, the text stresses the grave responsibility of Aaron in this incident. He makes no attempt to dissuade the would-be idolaters, but himself issues instructions, produces the molten image, builds an altar, and proclaims a religious festival (32:2–5). His culpability is thrice emphasized (32:2, 25, 35), and the contrast between his actions and the zealous fidelity of the tribe of Levi is apparent (32:26–29). On the one hand, God wanted to destroy Aaron, but he was saved by virtue of Moses' intercession on his behalf (Deut. 9:20). On the other hand, there is a perceptible tendency to de-emphasize Aaron's share in the episode. The initiative for the idol comes from the people who approach Aaron menacingly (Ex. 32:1). They, not he, identify the calf with a divinity (32:4). He does not participate in the worship and is not mentioned in God's indictment of the people (32:7ff.); nor is his name mentioned in Moses' intercession (32:11–14, 31–32). The making of the calf is attributed to the people (32:20; cf. Deut. 9:21) and is also described as though the particular bovine form emerged almost accidentally (Ex. 32:24). Despite Aaron's involvement, he was neither punished nor disqualified from the priesthood. The same inclination to play down Aaron's participation in the calf cult is present in the poetic version of the story (Ps. 106:19–22; cf. 106:16; Neh. 9:18).

When it comes to constructing the portable sanctuary, Aaron is conspicuously absent, but he and his sons are appointed priests and are consecrated into that office by Moses (Ex. 28–29; Lev. 8–9). During the ceremonies marking the investiture, his two sons, Nadab and Abihu, died mysteriously, a calamity that he bore in silent resignation (Lev. 10:1–3; Num. 3:4; 26:61; cf. I Chron. 24:2). Aaron's other two sons continued to serve in the priestly office (Num. 3:4; I Chron. 24:2) and Eleazar succeeded his father as high priest (Num. 20:25–28; Deut. 10:6; cf. Josh. 24:33). No reason is given for the selection of Aaron as the archetypal high priest and founder of a hereditary priesthood to the extent that "the house of Aaron" became synonymous with the only legitimate priestly line (see *Aaronides). After his induction as high priest, Aaron is no longer the attendant of Moses, nor does he occupy a position of secular authority, his activities being restricted to the area of the cult. Yet even here, it is Moses, not Aaron, who is the real founder of the cult and who generally receives the divine instructions relative to the priestly duties (cf. Lev. 6:1, 12, 17; et al.). It is to him, too, that the priests are answerable (cf. Lev. 10:16–20). But on one occasion Aaron corrected Moses' understanding of a sacrificial law (*ibid.*).

Nevertheless, Aaron undoubtedly held an outstanding position of leadership, as may be determined by the fact that God often addresses Moses and Aaron jointly (Ex. 9:8–10; 12:1, 43; Lev. 11:1; 13:1; 14:33; 15:1; et al.) and, sometimes, even Aaron alone (Lev. 10:8; Num. 18:1, 8). With Moses, Aaron shares the popular hostility to authority (Ex. 16:2–36; Num. 14:1–45; 16:3; 20:1–13). In the extra-pentateuchal literature his name is coupled with that of his brother as bearers of the divine mission (Josh. 24:5; I Sam. 12:6, 8; Micah 6:4; Ps. 77:21; 105:26; 106:16; cf. 99:6). Significantly, the period of national mourning at his death is the same as that for Moses (Num. 20:29; cf. Deut. 34:8) and throughout biblical literature the name Aaron remains unique to this one personality. A hint of friction between Moses and his brother is apparent from one narrative in which Aaron and his sister were involved in some act of opposition to Moses' prophetic preeminence. Probably because of priestly immunity he escaped divine punishment, but Miriam was stricken. At Aaron's behest, Moses successfully interceded with God on her behalf (Num. 12).

On another occasion, Aaron, together with Moses, was the target of a widespread insurrection against the monopoly of leadership. The exclusive priestly privileges of Aaron and his family against the challenge of Korah and his associates were upheld in a trial by ordeal, which led to the destruction of the rebels (Num. 16). This aroused the indignation of the people which, in turn, brought down upon them divine anger in the form of a plague. Through an incense offering, brought at Moses' directive, Aaron was able to make expiation for the people and to check the outbreak (Num. 17:1–15). This event necessitated a further vindication of Aaron's priestly preeminence. Twelve staffs, one from each tribe and each inscribed with the name of the tribal chieftain, were deposited in the Tent of Meeting. The following day, that of Levi, on which Aaron's name was written, sprouted blossoms and almonds. Henceforth, Aaron's staff lay in the Tent of Meeting as a witness to his unchallengeable priestly supremacy (17:16–26; cf. 20:8ff.). Further, the subordination of the Levites to Aaron and his sons and their respective duties and privileges in the service of the sanctuary were unequivocally defined (17:18).

Aaron died on the first day of the fifth month at the age of 123 years (33:38–39). The account of his passing is unusually detailed, doubtlessly due to the fact that it involved the all-important matter of priestly succession. The Israelites arrived at Mount Hor from Kadesh and, by divine decree, Aaron ascended the mount accompanied by Moses and Eleazar. The high priest was stripped of the garments of his office and his son was invested in his stead. Aaron then died on the summit of the mount and a 30-day mourning period was held by the entire community (20:22–29; cf. 33:37–38; Deut. 32:50). It should be noted that another tradition has the place of Aaron's death as Moserah (Deut. 10:6), which was seven stages behind Mount Hor in the wilderness wanderings (Num. 33:31–37). Like Moses, Aaron was not permitted to enter the promised land in punishment for disobeying the divine command in connection with the waters of Meribah (20:12, 24; 27:13–14; cf. Deut. 32:50–51), although no clear account of Aaron's role in that incident has been preserved (Num. 20:10). A poetic digest of the narrative mentions only Moses as suffering the consequences of the people's provocation (Ps. 106:32). No explanation for Aaron's death in the wilderness is given in either Numbers 33:37–38 or Deuteronomy 10:6, except that the latter passage follows the story of the golden calf and the sequence may possibly imply a connection between the two events.

Critical View

The difficulty of reconstructing a comprehensive biography and evaluation of Aaron is due to the meager and fragmentary nature of the data available. It is aggravated by the fact that the details are scattered over several originally independent sources which, in the form they have come down to us, represent an interweaving of various traditions. This explains the differences in approach, emphasis, and detail, outlined above. Moreover, consideration has to be given to the possibility that the picture of Aaron, the archetypal high priest, may well be the idealized retrojection of a later period, and that subsequent developments have influenced the narratives in the Pentateuch. While there is no unanimity among scholars of the source critical school as to the proper distribution of many passages among the different pentateuchal sources, especially in regard to those relating to J and E, there is a wide measure of agreement that in the original J and E documents Aaron was neither a priest nor a levite, and that he had no part in the narrative of the ten plagues. In fact, it is regarded as likely that J did not originally mention Aaron. To E is attributed the picture of Aaron as Miriam's brother, as Moses' attendant, as participating in the war with Amalek, Jethro's sacrifice, and the golden calf, as well as acting together with Miriam in opposition to Moses. The redactor who combined JE introduced the story of Aaron as a levite and as Moses' brother and spokesman and, possibly, portrayed him as assisting in the plagues. There is no agreement as to whether D originally mentioned Aaron, or as to the source of the few references to him in that document. To the P source is assigned the exalted image of Aaron as the archetypal and only legitimate levitical high priest, and a leader of the people. Here, too, is the source of the Aaronite genealogies and the notices of his age and his death.

[Nahum M. Sarna]

In the *Aggadah*

The many praises heaped on Aaron in the *aggadah* are due to the desire to minimize his guilt with regard to the sin of the golden calf and to explain why, despite it, he was worthy to be appointed high priest (see: Sif. Deut. 307).

Aaron had great love for Moses. He was completely free of envy and rejoiced in his success. Moses was reluctant to assume his call (Ex. 4:14), because Aaron had for long been the prophet and spokesman of the Jews in Egypt, and Moses was unwilling to supplant him, until God told him to assume the leadership. Far from resenting it, Aaron was glad. For this he was given the reward of wearing the holy breastplate (*Urim* and *Thummim*) upon his heart (Tanḥ. Ex. 27). Aaron is especially praised for his love of peace. Unlike Moses, whose attitude was "let the law bend the mountain" (i.e., the law must be applied), Aaron loved peace and pursued peace.

Aaron never reproached a person by telling him that he had sinned, but employed every stratagem in order to reconcile disputes (ARN^2 48) especially between man and wife (*ibid.*, emended text p. 50). According to one account this love for peace determined Aaron's attitude toward the golden calf. He could have put to death all those who worshiped it, as Moses did, but his love and compassion for the people prevented him. He regarded peaceful persuasion as the best way of inculcating love of the Torah, and thus Hillel declared: "Be of the disciples of Aaron, loving peace and pursuing peace, loving one's fellow men and bringing them nigh to the Torah" (Avot 1:12). For this behavior Aaron was chosen to be the high priest; God knew that his intentions were honorable (Ex. R. 37:2). According to other accounts Aaron agreed to make the golden calf after procrastinating as much as possible, because his life was threatened, and he feared the same fate as overtook Hur, who according to the Midrash, was assassinated by the people when he opposed them (Ex. R. 41:9; Sanh. 7a). Aaron's rod possessed the same miraculous powers as the staff of Moses and some aggadic sayings make them identical (Yal. Ps. 869). With it, Aaron brought about the first three of the Ten Plagues because the water of the Nile, that shielded Moses as an infant, should not suffer through Moses, by being turned into blood or bringing forth frogs, and the earth that afforded Moses protection when it concealed the slain Egyptian overseer (Ex. 2:12) should not bring forth lice by his action. Both the *aggadah* and Josephus emphasize the great spiritual strength of Aaron at the death of his two sons Nadab and Abihu; he saw his two "chickens" bathed in blood and kept silent (Lev. R. 20:4). "He withstood his ordeal with great courage because his soul was inured to every calamity" (Jos., Ant., 3:208). He did not question God's dealing with him, as Abraham did not when ordered to sacrifice his only son Isaac (Sifra 46a).

Aaron was one of those who died not on account of sin "but through the machinations of the serpent" (Sif. Deut. 338–9). When Aaron died "all the house of Israel" wept for him (Num. 20:29), while after the death of Moses, the stern leader who reprimanded them by harsh words, only part of the people, "the men," bewailed him (Sifra 45d).

[Elimelech Epstein Halevy]

In Christian Tradition

As the ancestor and founder of the one priesthood entitled to offer acceptable sacrifice to God, Aaron was taken as the type of Christ in the New Testament and later Christian tradition: he offers sacrifice, mediates between the people and God, and ministers in the Holy of Holies. The typology is developed especially in the *Epistle to the Hebrews* which stresses the superiority of Jesus' perfect sacrifice to the animal sacrifices of the Aaronic priesthood. Jesus, the high priest of the New Covenant, is foreshadowed by Aaron, the high priest of the Old Covenant, but Christ's priesthood, which is "after the order of

Melchizedek," supersedes and replaces the inferior priesthood of Aaron (see Heb. 5:2–5; 7:11–12; 8:23–27). Influenced by this distinction, the Mormons distinguished in their hierarchy between a lesser, Aaronic priesthood, and the office of high priest which is according to the order of Melchizedek.

[R.J. Zwi Werblowsky]

In the Koran and in Islamic Literature

Like some other biblical figures, Aaron (Arabic: Hārūn) only became known to Muhammad gradually. In the Koran (37:114–20), Moses and Aaron appear together as those who were redeemed (from Egyptian slavery) at the head of their people and to whom the Book was given. In 20:29–30, Moses requests, in a general way, that his brother Aaron be his helper (*wazīr*; cf. also 25:37; see below). In 26:12, he voices his fear that he might be inhibited and unable to speak. Finally, in 28:35 Moses prays to God: "Aaron is more eloquent than I am; send him to strengthen me." Just as the Midrash tries in various ways to exonerate Aaron from all blame in the incident of the golden calf, so the Koran account of that incident assigns him the role of an onlooker and administrator rather than that of chief participant, and attributes the actual making of the golden calf to one Samiri (20:96–7; perhaps meaning "a Samaritan"; see the detailed discussion by H. Speyer, pp. 329–32). The post-koranic Islamic legend describes, in a number of fanciful variations, how Moses demonstrated to the children of Israel that he had not killed his brother, as they suspected, but that he had died a natural death. The relationship of these legends to similar stories in the late Midrash still needs elucidation. An attempt to explain why Mary, the mother of Jesus, is addressed during her pregnancy as "sister of Aaron" (Koran 19:27–29, cf. Ex. 15:20) is made by H. Speyer (p. 243, where further literature is available). The Koran never mentions the fact that Aaron was the father of the priestly tribe of the Kohanim; the ancient biographer of Muhammad, however, was aware of this fact. The two main Jewish tribes in Medina, the Quraiẓa and *Naḍīr, were called *al-Kāhinān*, "the two priestly tribes." When Muhammad's Jewish spouse, Ṣafiyya, was insulted by one of the Prophet's other wives, he allegedly advised her to retort: "My father was Aaron and my uncle Moses." The word *wazīr,* by which Aaron's subordination to Moses is designated in the Koran, became the title "vizier," a kind of prime minister with wide or full powers in Islamic states.

[Shelomo Dov Goitein]

For Aaron in Art, see *Moses.

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AARON, ISRAEL (1859–1912), U.S. rabbi. Aaron was born in Lancaster, Pennsylvania, but at the age of 16 moved to Cincinnati to join the first class of students entering the Hebrew Union College. There was little in his background to suggest a rabbinical career. He attended public schools and his parents were immigrants from Hesse-Darmstadt, where his father had served as a junior officer in the military. In 1883, Aaron, together with Henry *Berkowitz, Joseph *Krauskopf, and David *Philipson, formed the first cohort of students to graduate from the new seminary. He later received a doctorate in divinity from the same institution. After graduating, Aaron served the synagogue in Fort Wayne, Indiana, for four years before assuming the pulpit of Temple Beth Zion in Buffalo, New York. Aaron thrived in this latter setting. He was a keen advocate of the reintroduction of congregational singing, seeking to extend the success of his own endeavors in Buffalo to the wider Reform movement. Aaron was also a scholar of medieval Jewry, writing about Muslim-Jewish relations during the Renaissance, and the Iberian Jewish community. As with many of his contemporaries in the Reform rabbinate, he was also active in the civic and cultural life of his city. Aaron was an immensely successful pulpit rabbi, overseeing both the building of a new temple and the enlargement of its membership. This new temple, designed by Edward Kent, an architect who later perished in the *Titanic* disaster, was also ill-omened for Aaron. Barely four days after a celebration organized by his congregation to honor his 25th year of service to Temple Beth Zion, Aaron died at age 52 of an ear infection. David Philipson, a lifelong friend, officiated at both services.

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[Adam Mendelsohn (2nd ed.)]

AARON BEN AMRAM (ninth–tenth centuries), court banker in Baghdad. Having built up a position of wealth and influence as private bankers, Aaron and his partner Joseph b. Phinehas were eventually accorded the official position of *jahbadh*, whose functions involved the collecting of state revenues, the issue of bills of exchange on behalf of the government, and long-term loans to the caliph's administration. At the same time, Aaron and his firm acted as private bankers for the vizier and other high officials, who transacted through them their sometimes shady business. The firm attracted the patronage of Jewish merchants, both in Baghdad, where there was a special banking quarter, and from the provinces of the Islamic empire, and beyond. Their banking transactions involved them deeply in international trade. The contributions of Diaspora communities to the upkeep of the talmudical academies in Babylonia were conveyed by letters of credit drawn on such banking houses as that of Aaron b. Amram and his partner. The influence which Aaron and his friends commanded in the Jewish community was commensurate with his position at court and in the economic life of the caliphate. Aaron sided with *Aaron b. Meir, the *gaon* in Ereẓ Israel, in his controversy with *Saadiah b. Joseph, over the supremacy of the Palestinian authorities in proclaiming the religious feasts. His sons and heirs, who inherited his official position and influence, enjoyed the confidence of Saadiah, who made use of their services in dealing with the government.

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[Walter Joseph Fischel]

AARON BEN BATASH (**Ben Senton-Ben Shem Tov**; **Hārūn al-Yahūdī**; d. 1465), vizier in Morocco. Aaron was a member of a family of Spanish origin who settled in *Fez. He served as banker and adviser to ʿAbd al-Ḥaqq, sultan of Morocco, later becoming his vizier. He appointed a relative, Saul b. Batash, intendant of the palace and chief of police. Aaron is mentioned as a scholar and writer. He imposed heavy taxes and was accused of distributing the revenue among his impoverished coreligionists. Anti-Jewish agitation by Muslim divines induced a mob attack on the Jewish quarter in Fez. The sultan and his vizier were assassinated in May 1465. (See *Morocco.)

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[David Corcos]

AARON BEN DAVID COHEN OF RAGUSA (d. 1656), rabbi and merchant in Ragusa (Dubrovnik). After studying in Venice, Aaron returned to his native city. There he engaged in commerce, his import and export business becoming the most important Jewish commercial house in the city. At the time of the blood accusation against Isaac Jesurun in 1622, Aaron and his father were arrested. In his will, Aaron gave his children guidance for moral behavior and regular study. He also provided for the publication of the *Zekan Aharon* (Venice, 1657), which included his own discourses on the Bible and those of his grandfather (and predecessor in the Ragusa rabbinate), Solomon Ohev (Oef), which were entitled *Shemen ha-Tov.* He appended an account of the blood accusation and a poem of thanksgiving for recital on the annual commemoration of the occurrence. This appendix was reprinted separately under the title *Ma'aseh Nissim* (Venice, 1798). The will, of unique interest for the history of Hebrew publishing, provided for the printing of 800 copies of the work of which 600 were to be exported.

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AARON BEN ELIJAH (1328?–1369), Karaite scholar, philosopher, and jurist. Aaron, who lived in Nicomedia (near present-day Izmir, in Turkish Asia Minor), was called Aaron the Younger to distinguish him from Aaron ben Joseph, or Aaron the Elder, who lived a century earlier. Aaron died in an epidemic, apparently in Constantinople.

Aaron's greatest work is a massive Hebrew trilogy of Karaite learning. The trilogy consists of *Eẓ Ḥayyim* ("Tree of Life"), dealing with philosophy of religion, composed in 1346; *Gan Eden* ("Garden of Eden"), dealing with Karaite law, composed in 1354; and *Keter Torah* ("Crown of the Law"), a commentary on the Pentateuch, written in 1362. According to Karaite tradition, Aaron wrote *Eẓ Ḥayyim* when he was 18 years old. This would place his birth in 1328, but it was probably earlier. The trilogy displays fully his great learning in both Karaite and Rabbanite literature. Aaron quotes of course the Karaite authorities, notably the 10th and 11th centuries Jerusalem scholars (his access to their Arabic writings was probably through Hebrew translations and abridgements). But he frequently quotes also the Talmud, Saadia, Rashi, Abraham Ibn Ezra, David Kimḥi, Maimonides, Naḥmanides, the earlier grammarians Judah ibn *Quraysh, Judah Ḥayyuj, Jonah ibn Janaḥ, and others. His Hebrew style, though tinted with arabisms, is clear and fluent.

Legal Teachings

As a jurist, Aaron followed mainly in the footsteps of his Karaite predecessors. He generally opposed any relaxation of the letter of scriptural law, even when it involved great exertion and hardship, except in cases of clear and evident danger to life. Yet on the other hand he accepted Jeshuah ben *Judah's reform of the Karaite law of incest, and rejected the excessive restrictions advocated by Karaite ascetics, such as the prohibition of eating meat in the Diaspora.

Biblical Exegesis

As a biblical commentator, Aaron followed the general Karaite policy of preferring the literal meaning of the biblical text, except where this meaning seemed to lead to conclusions that were blasphemous or illogical. However, this did not prevent him from indulging his philosophical bent by introducing allegorical and metaphorical interpretations where they seemed to him to be more suitable or advisable. His commentary on the Pentateuch has become the standard reference in all Karaite communities.

Philosophy

Aaron's *Eẓ Ḥayyim* was undoubtedly undertaken by him with the aim of creating a Karaite counterpart to *Maimonides' *Guide of the Perplexed*. Unlike Maimonides, Aaron did not venture to cut a new Aristotelian path for Karaite theological-philosophical thought. Instead, he remained attached to the *Muʿtazilite* philosophy (see *Kalam) which dominated his Karaite predecessors, as well as a number of pre-Maimonidean Rabbanite philosophers. Aaron is more orderly, clear, and logical than his Karaite forerunners, but he to a large extent rephrases what the latter had already said. Occasionally he avoids taking a definite stand on some points, and does not refrain from adopting some Aristotelian terminology and argumentation. Accordingly, and under the influence of Aaron b. Joseph, he attempted to forge some sort of reconciliation between traditional Karaite Kalamic positions, regarding it as his duty to stand by the tradition of his predecessors, and more Modern positions.

Although Aaron had to deal with religion in a rational fashion, he begins his philosophical work with a wholesale condemnation of the Greek philosophers and of their brainchild, philosophy, in general. The teachings of the *Muʿtazilite* "investigators" (the term "philosopher" is objectionable to Aaron), on the other hand, are in accord with Scripture (as interpreted by the Karaites), while most Rabbanite thinkers, particularly Maimonides, follow the philosophers and thus often run counter to the true principles of the Torah. Reason is the chief instrument of true knowledge, hence God exists, for His existence was deduced rationally already by the patriarch Abraham. God is one, and is neither corporeal nor characterized by any corporeal qualities. His attributes are both negative and positive – indeed every negation implies a positive assertion – and not exclusively negative, as asserted by Maimonides. His providence and justice extend to all creatures, both human and subhuman. His revelations were given to His prophets for transmission to mankind as a guide to righteous life. The world (i.e., matter) is not eternal (as the Aristotelians taught) but created – this is the chief proof of God's existence – and consequently natural law is not immutable. The universe is made up of indivisible atoms having no magnitude and not eternal, and creation signifies combination of atoms, while dissolution signifies their separation. The atomic theory of matter, rejected by the Aristotelians, is thus reasserted by Aaron. Anthropomorphic descriptions of God in the Bible must be interpreted allegorically. God is all-knowing, but man's will is free, hence no evil can be charged to God; though God foreknows that the wicked will choose evil, the blame is theirs, not God's. Free will necessarily involves retribution according to each man's deserts. Scriptural ordinances are divided into revelational, whose necessity is so sublime that it is beyond rational explanation; and rational, whose necessity is deducible by reason. Good and evil are inherently so, and are not so merely because God approves of the former and condemns the latter. His approval or condemnation simply assists man in recognizing what is good and what is evil. Divine chastisement is not always punishment for antecedent sin: in the case of a righteous person like Job it is a Divine favor intended to increase the sufferer's reward in the world to come. This explains the prosperity of the wicked and the misery of the righteous on earth. Besides, physical bliss is, at best, a base and fleeting enjoyment, hence a more sublime spiritual reward must be postulated in the hereafter. This serves as one of the evidences of the immortality of the soul and the resurrection of the dead. All these philosophical problems are treated with constant reference to, and mostly refutation of, the teachings of the Aristotelians, as set forth by Maimonides.

Aaron also composed a number of poems and hymns, some of which were included in the official Karaite liturgy. *Gan Eden* was published in Eupatoria, 1864 and 1866; Ramle 1972. *Eẓ Ḥayyim* was edited by Franz Delitzsch (Leipzig, 1841), and was re-edited, with an extensive commentary, by the Karaite scholar Simḥah Isaac Lutzky (Eupatoria, 1847). Extracts from these two works, in English translation, are found in L. Nemoy (ed.), *Karaite Anthology* (New Haven, 1952), 172–95, and most chapters of the latter in two Ph.D. dissertations mentioned below; *Keter Torah* was published in 1867 in Eupatoria; Ramle 1972.

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[Leon Nemoy]

AARON (Arnd) BEN ISAAC BENJAMIN WOLF (c. 1670–1721), rabbi in Germany; nephew and son-in-law of the court Jew Jost *Liebmann, who appointed him head of the yeshivah he founded in Berlin. In 1697 Aaron became deputy rabbi and in 1709 rabbi of Berlin. Berlin Jewry was then rent by internal strife in which Aaron supported Liebman's widow in her struggle for leadership of the community against the court Jew Markus Magnus. When in 1713 the Magnus faction prevailed, Aaron left Berlin to become rabbi of Frankfurt on the Oder, which had been detached from the Berlin rabbinate to enable him to officiate there. Aaron was suspected of Shabbatean sympathies. In 1713 he approbated two works by Nehemiah *Hayon.

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AARON BEN JACOB HA-KOHEN OF LUNEL (end of 13th and first half of 14th century), Provençal scholar. Despite his name, he was probably not from Lunel but from Narbonne, where his forefathers lived. In his well-known work *Orḥot Ḥayyim* he makes frequent mention of the customs of Narbonne and often cites the opinions of its scholars. Aaron's grandfather, David, wrote a work on the laws of *terefot* (*Orḥot Ḥayyim,* 2:420), and his great-grandfather, Isaac, was a pupil of *Abraham b. David of Posquières and wrote a commentary on the Jerusalem Talmud (Meiri, *Beit ha-Beḥirah* on *Avot*, ed. by B.Z. Prag (1964), 56). Aaron was among those exiled from France by Philip IV in 1306 and apparently reached Spain, subsequently proceeding to Majorca. *Orḥot Ḥayyim* is for the most part a compilation of *halakhot* taken verbatim from earlier halakhic works sometimes without indicating the source (e.g., extracts from Nathan b. Judah's *Ha-Maḥkim* and David

b. Levi's *Mikhtam*). It is a work of great importance and cites *halakhot* not found in any other source. Halakhic authorities esteemed it greatly, and it was cited by Jeroham b. Meshullam, Isaac b. Sheshet, Simeon Duran, Levi ibn Ḥabib, Joseph Caro, and others. Its sources are extremely varied. Though based on Maimonides, it contains statements of German, French, Provençal, and Spanish scholars. Some (Joseph Caro, Azulai, and others) consider the anonymous work *Kol Bo* (1490) to be an abbreviated version of *Orḥot Ḥayyim.* This view, however, is controverted by a comparison of the two works. Benjacob and S.D. Luzzatto are more correct in maintaining that *Kol Bo* is the *editio princeps* of *Orḥot Ḥayyim,* probably representing an early stage of that book, and antedating the three manuscripts mentioned below.

Part I of *Orḥot Hayyim* was first published in Spain before 1492, but no complete copy of it is extant (for part of the missing introduction see A. Freimann, *Thesaurus Typographiae Hebraicae* (1931) B37, 1–2). The existing edition first appeared in Florence in 1750, although the manuscript had already been sent for publication by Elijah Capsali of Candia to Meir of Padua in Venice in the middle of the 16th century (*Responsa Maharam Padua*, no. 77). The order of the *halakhot* is very similar to that of the *Tur, Oraḥ Ḥayyim* of *Jacob b. Asher, Aaron's younger contemporary. The *Tur* quickly gained wide acceptance at the expense of *Orḥot Ḥayyim.* Its second part, dealing with laws of marriage, damages, things ritually prescribed or permitted, and the like was published by M. Schlesinger in Berlin in 1902 from the Warsaw Communal Library Ms. (a copy of the Jerusalem Ms. of 1455) after a rather inadequate comparison with another earlier manuscript, now in the Montefiore Library, London. There are significant differences between these two manuscripts, and between a third (in the Guenzburg Collection, Moscow, copied in 1329) which was not used by Schlesinger and which represents the earliest version of the work, having been written apparently before Aaron went to Majorca, since it omits all the passages (at least 15) referring to that island and to Shem Tov Falkon, the local rabbi. It contains however 12 more chapters than the 73 in the printed version. These deal with faith, philosophy, messianic legends, paradise, hell, the natural sciences, the formulae for documents, and (in a lengthy chapter) the principle of intercalation. The date 1313, given in this chapter, shows that the manuscript was not composed before this date.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Benjacob, in: *Kerem Ḥemed,* 8 (1854), 167 ff.; Benjacob, Oẓar, 51, no. 984, 239, no. 118; S.D. Luzzatto, *Meged Yeraḥim,* 1 (1855), 5–10; idem, *Iggerot Shadal,* 8 (1892), 1232–40, no. 562; Gross, in: MGWJ, 18 (1869), 433–50, 531–41; Gross, Gal Jud, 290, 420; Zunz, Ritus, 31–32, 179–80; M. Schlesinger (ed.), *Sefer Orḥot Ḥayyim*, pt. 2 (1902), introd.; J. Freimann, in: *Ha-Eshkol,* 6 (1919), 107–9.

[Shlomoh Zalman Havlin]

AARON BEN JOSEPH HA-KOHEN SARGADO (also known as **Ḥalaf ibn Sargado**), *gaon* and head of the academy at Pumbedita, 942–60. His antagonist *Saadiah Gaon slanderously altered his Arabic first name, Ḥalaf, to read *Kelev* ("dog") and it appears in this erroneous form in the Hebrew translation of Nathan ha-Bavli's chronicle. No satisfactory explanation has yet been found for the surname Sargado.

The *gaon* Mevasser (916/7–925/6) appointed Aaron *resh kallah* ("head of the *kallah*") although he did not come from a family of scholars. He was the son-in-law of Bishr b. Aaron, one of Baghdad's wealthiest and most respected citizens. According to the tenth-century chronicler Nathan ha-Bavli, who does not seem to have admired Aaron, Aaron was very eloquent and erudite, but Saadiah was a much greater scholar and Aaron envied him for his superior learning. In the campaign against Saadiah, led by the exilarch David b. Zakkai, Aaron took the exilarch's side and attacked Saadiah in a malicious epistle. Upon the death of Gaon Ḥananiah (Ḥanina), the father of *Sherira Gaon, Aaron assumed the direction of the academy, although Amram b. Meswi, Sherira's uncle, who was the *av bet din*, was more deserving of the gaonate. Aaron was a self-righteous and willful person, and his term of office was marked by endless quarrels. Many years later a rival *gaon*, Nehemiah b. Kohen Ẓedek, was nominated, but he was unable to assert himself against Aaron who, according to Sherira, excelled him in scholarship. Sherira's son Hai, who later became *gaon*, was Aaron's pupil in his youth.

Only fragments of Aaron's literary work have been preserved; the *Teshuvot ha-Ge'onim* contain four responsa ascribed to him (*Ḥemdah Genuzah* (1863), no. 37–40, and *Rashi Pardes*, ed. by H.Y. Ehrenreich (1924), 118–22), but only one of these is definitely by Aaron. Another responsum by Aaron was published in *Jeschurun*, 12 (1925), 50–51. Sherira and Hai Gaon mention Aaron's interpretation of a passage in the tractate *Yevamot* in one of their legal opinions (L. Ginzberg, *Geonica*, 2 (1909), 67). Aaron also wrote an Arabic commentary on the Pentateuch, in the same style as that of his rival Saadiah. The few existing fragments are inadequate to judge the character of this work, or its relationship to Saadiah's exegesis. Aaron's commentary on Deuteronomy (beginning with the weekly portion *Shofetim*) is also mentioned. Fragments of his commentary on other parts of the Pentateuch are cited in Abraham Ibn Ezra's commentary on the Pentateuch. Maimonides mentions Aaron among the older Jewish scholars who opposed the view of the Greek philosophers that the universe is eternal.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: H. Malter, *Saadia Gaon* (Eng., 1921), 113–7, 126–82, 428; Neubauer, Chronicles, 1 (1965), 66; (1965), 80 ff.; Steinschneider, Arab Lit, 71; B. Lewin (ed.), *Iggeret Sherira Ga'on* (1921), 130–4; Mann, Texts, 1 (1931), index; idem, in: *Tarbiz*, 5 (1933/34), 174–5; idem, in: JQR, 11 (1920/21), 426; A. Harkavy, *Zikhron la-Rishonim*, 1, pt. 5 (1892), 222; S. Poznański, in: JQR, 13 (1922/23), 377–8; idem, in: *Ha-Goren*, 6 (1906), 63.

[Jacob Mann]

AARON BEN JOSEPH HA-LEVI (**HaRAH**, initials of his name **Ha-Rav Aharon ha**-Levi; c. 1235–1300), Spanish rabbi and halakhist. Aaron was a descendant of *Zerahiah b. Isaac ha-Levi. His principal teachers were his brother Phinehas and Moses b. Naḥman (*Naḥmanides). He had many disciples in his native Barcelona; the most famous was Yom Tov b. Abraham of Seville. In 1278 Aaron and Solomon b. Abraham *Adret were designated by Pedro III to settle a dispute in the community of Saragossa. In 1284, on the instructions of the king, he was appointed rabbi of that town for the purpose of ending the continuous dissensions in Saragossa. On Aaron's advice, the community enacted several important ordinances; some were vigorously contested both during his lifetime and in subsequent generations (Isaac b. Sheshet, Responsa, 388). After some time he returned to Barcelona where he apparently engaged in business. In 1286 he went to Toledo and remained there briefly. He returned to Barcelona.

Noted for his originality, Aaron would defer neither to the majority nor to the traditional authorities. At times, both he and Solomon b. Abraham Adret, who had many mutual disciples, were consulted on the same legal question, and answered jointly. Their personalities clashed and they often disagreed. On one occasion they requested French scholars to pronounce a final decision (Yom Tov b. Abraham of Seville, responsa, ed. by Y. Kafaḥ (1959), 79). When Adret published his *Torat ha-Bayit* ("Law of the House") Aaron wrote critical comments called *Bedek ha-Bayit* ("Repair of the House") which were printed together with the former work (Venice, 1608 and in all subsequent editions). His introduction and notes were written in an inoffensive and respectful tone. Adret hastily wrote a sharp rejoinder called *Mishmeret ha-Bayit* ("Guard of the House"), which was issued anonymously. However, Adret admits his authorship in one of his responsa. Most of his attacks were based on statements of the early legal authorities whom Aaron had ignored.

Aaron wrote several independent books. Of his novellae to the Talmud, only those to three tractates have survived – *Ketubbot* (Prague, 1734), *Beẓah* (published in the *Mareh ha-Ofannim* of Jacob Faitusi, Leghorn, 1810), and *Sukkah* (1962); the novellae on *Kiddushin* (1904) are erroneously ascribed to him. A large part of his novellae to *Shabbat* is preserved in the pseudo-R. Nissim commentary to this tractate. Of his commentaries on the *halakhot* of Alfasi, only those on tractates *Berakhot* and *Ta'anit* have survived (*Pekuddat ha-Leviyyim*, 1874; new edition M. Blau, 1957). In his preface Aaron mentioned that he wrote a short commentary on the Talmud called *Nezer ha-Kodesh* in which he gives the *halakhah* without the accompanying discussion. The work is no longer extant. Of his legal decisions, only his *Kelalei Yein Nesekh* on the prohibition of wine prepared by Gentiles (published as an appendix to Adret's *Avodat ha-Kodesh*, (Venice, 1602)), and *Hilkhot Niddah* (1967), have survived. The *Sefer ha-Hinnukh* of Aaron ha-Levi of Barcelona has been wrongly ascribed to him.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: J. Perles, *R. Salomo b. Abraham b. Adereth* (Ger., 1863), 62–63, n. 17; S. and N. Bamberger (eds.), *Pekuddat ha-Leviyyim* (1874), 5–10 (introd.); Michael, Or, no. 293; Graetz, Gesch, 8, pt. 2, 148–9; Gross, Gal Jud, 329–31, no. 20; Baer, Spain, 1 (1961), 224–5, 240, 418 n. 81; Shiloh, in: *Sinai*, 61 (1966/67), 291–7.

[Simha Assaf]

AARON BEN JOSEPH HA-ROFE ("the physician") "the Elder" (c. 1250–1320), *Karaite scholar and writer. Born apparently in Solkhat, Crimea. In 1279 he disputed there with the Rabbanites concerning the method of determining the New Moon of Tishri (see *Calendar). Apparently he also lived in Constantinople. The influence of the Talmud and Rabbanite scholars and philosophers is seen in his writings. His views were based on the Muslim *Kalām philosophical system, but he inclined toward Aristotelianism. In 1293 he completed his commentary on the Pentateuch, *Sefer ha-Mivḥar* (1835), widely used by the Karaites in the 14th and 15th centuries; several supercommentaries were written on it, the last, *Tirat Kesef*, by Joseph Solomon *Luzki. Usually preferring the plain meaning of the Bible, Aaron occasionally also uses aggadic interpretations, taken as a rule from *Rashi. He frequently quotes his Karaite and Rabbanite predecessors, notably *Abraham ibn Ezra. Aaron sometimes interpreted the *halakhah* of his sect leniently, for instance permitting Karaite residents of Jerusalem to eat meat; however this ruling was not accepted. He also disagreed with the "catenary" theory of forbidden marriage (*rikkuv*) which extended the laws against incest to extremely remote relationships, on the ground that it ran counter to the Karaite principle that no addition should be made to biblical injunctions. In these laws, he differed from the Rabbanites only in upholding the Karaite interdict of marrying one's niece. He may have preferred a permanent system of calendation instead the one based on lunar observation. Aaron also wrote commentaries on the Former Prophets and Isaiah 1–59 (*Mivḥar Yesharim*, 1836), and on Psalms 1–71 (several Mss. In Leyden and JTS, New York). He refers to an apparently lost commentary he wrote on Job. An unfinished Hebrew grammar (*Kelil Yofi*, printed Gozlow 1847), recognizably influenced by Jonah ibn *Janaḥ, was completed by Isaac b. Judah Tishbi. His polemics against Rabbanite practices and the *Kabbalah (entitled *Moreh Aharon* and *Sefer Mitzvot*) have not been preserved. Aaron's redaction of the Karaite liturgy remains the official order of Karaite service. He introduced into it *piyyutim* by Solomon ibn *Gabirol, Judah *Halevi, and *Abraham and Moses ibn *Ezra. Aaron himself wrote liturgical poems for Sabbaths and holy days, many of which have been included in the Karaite prayer book, notably those written according to the weekly reading of the Torah. A late commentary on these poems entitled *Tuv Ta'am*, has appeared in a non-critical edition (Ramle 2000). He had a marked influence upon later Karaite writers.

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Polliack (ed.), *Karaite Judaism: A Guide to Its History and Literary Sources*, (2003), index.

[Zvi Avneri]

AARON BEN JUDAH KUSDINI (or **Kosdani**, i.e., "**of Constantinopole**"; end of 12th century), Karaite scholar. Of his works only a responsum addressed to Solomon b. David, the Karaite *nasi* in Cairo, concerning the law of incest is known. In it Aaron reveals himself a zealous partisan of the highly restrictive catenary (*rikkuv*) theory of forbidden marriages favored by the early Karaite authorities. Solomon rejected his views. The responsum is quoted by Karaite writers, who call Aaron *ba'al ha-derashot* ("the author of homilies") but no homilies from his pen have as yet been found.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: A. Neubauer, *Aus der Petersburger Bibliothek* (1866), 55, 117; Mann, Texts, 2 (1935), 140–1, 291.

[Leon Nemoy]

AARON BEN MEIR BRISKER (d. 1807), Polish rabbinical scholar and author. Aaron's father was one of the leaders (*allufim*) of the Brest-Litovsk (Brisk) community and one of the signatories to a letter sent in 1752 to Jonathan Eybeschuetz, whom he supported in the dispute with Jacob *Emden. Aaron studied under Eleazar b. Eleazar Kallir, author of *Or Ḥadash.* He refused to accept a rabbinical position and devoted himself exclusively to his studies. Aaron was delegate to the conference of Jewish notables of Poland which assembled in Warsaw in 1791 to deliberate on the problems of Polish Jewry. He wrote *Minḥat Aharon*, novellae on tractate *Sanhedrin* (Novydvor, 1792) with an appendix entitled *Minḥah Belulah* containing responsa and talmudical treatises. Other responsa (*Anaf Eẓ Avot*) were included in *Mekor Mayim Ḥayyim* (1839) by his grandson Jacob Meir, whose father Ḥayyim had adopted the surname Padua. In his work Aaron shows himself a master of the casuistic method of Talmud study known as *pilpul.*

BIBLIOGRAPHY: D.T. Efrussi, *Toledot Anshei Shem* (1875), 50; A.L. Feinstein, *Ir Tehillah* (1886), 33, 37, 224; M. Wischnitzer, *Istoriya Yevreyskogo Naroda*, 11 (1914), 101; I.T. Eisenstadt and S. Wiener, *Da'at Kedoshim* (1898), 124f.; EG, 2 (1954), 153.

AARON BEN MESHULLAM OF LUNEL (d. c. 1210), one of the leading scholars of Lunel. He was the son of *Meshullam b. Jacob of Lunel. Aaron studied under *Abraham b. David of Posquières, with whom he subsequently corresponded. A book on the laws of *terefot* is attributed to him, but it is likely that this treatise is an extract from his work on the Talmud or on the *halakhot* of Alfasi on tractate *Ḥullin.* *Meshullam b. Moses, son of Aaron's sister, mentions these novellae of his uncle in his *Sefer ha-Hashlamah.* Aaron was expert in astronomy and the computation of the calendar and wrote a booklet comparing the Hebrew and Christian calendars. Judah b. Saul ibn *Tibbon, in his will, urges his son Samuel to study this subject with Aaron and to rely upon him and upon his brother Asher. Aaron was an admirer of Maimonides. In the controversy which arose following the criticism by Meir ha-Levi *Abulafia of Maimonides' views on resurrection, Aaron vigorously defended Maimonides in the name of the "sages of Lunel," lauding him as "Prince (*nasi*) and rabbi, unequaled in East or in West."

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Sefer ha-Hashlamah le-Seder Nezikin*, ed. by J. Lubetzky, 1 (1885), viii–x; Meir ha-Levi Abulafia, *Kitab al-Rasail*, ed. by J. Brill (1871), 25–40; Benedikt, in: *Sinai,* 33 (1953), 62–74; I. Twersky, *Rabad of Posquières* (1962), 251–3.

[Yehoshua Horowitz]

AARON BEN MOSES HA-LEVI (Horwitz) OF STAROSIELCE (1766–1828), leader of a dissenting group in the *Chabad branch of Lithuanian Ḥasidism. Born in Orshva Aaron was a descendant of the family of Isaiah Leib *Horwitz (Shelah; 1555–1630) and was considered both a brilliant interpreter of ḥasidic teachings and a prominent mystical innovator. He was the most prominent disciple of *Shneur Zalman of Lyady, founder of Chabad Ḥasidism (1745–1813), with whom he remained close friends for 30 years between 1783 and 1813. Personal and subsequently ideological disputes estranged him from Shneur Zalman's elder son and successor Dov Ber (see *Schneersohn, 1773–1827), who assumed Chabad leadership in a period of ensuing conflict. After Shneur Zalman's death in 1813, Aaron headed a major trend of Chabad which was marked and differentiated from the mainstream movement in questions concerning spiritual authority and ecstatic religious expression in prayer. While the importance of the intellectual approach to religious worship (*hitbonenut* in Chabad vocabulary) was accepted by all the followers of Shneur Zalman, the role of mystical rapture and the ecstatic-emotional approach, referring to communion with God known and as *devekut* or *hitpa'alut*, was intensely disputed. Dov Ber maintained a distinction between proper and improper states of ecstasy and stages of mystical rapture, claiming that his perception expressed his father's position. R. Aaron maintained, on the contrary, that he was the true follower of R. Shneur Zalman, who favored unrestricted exaltation in meditation and emotional prayer, which he considered conducive to love and reverence of God, a position which Dov Ber refused to accept. The debate is argued forcefully in the books of R. Aaron detailed below and the two tracts by R. Dov Ber – *Kuntres ha-Hitpa'alut* ("Tract on Ecstasy") and *Kuntres ha-Hitbonenut* ("Tract on Contemplation"). Aaron's most important works are (1) *Sha'arei ha-Yiḥud ve-ha-Emunah* (Shklov, 1820), a commentary completing the second (unfinished) part of the *Tanya*, the main work of Shneur Zalman; (2) *Sha'arei ha-Avodah* (Shklov, 1821) with a forward known as *petaḥ hateshuvah*, explaining and defending his approach, considered the true path set by Shneur Zalman; (3) *Avodat ha-Levi*, a compendium of sermons, letters, and miscellaneous works, published posthumously in 1842 in three volumes (Lemberg ed. and in 1866, Warsaw ed.). The composition of some of the most beautiful Ḥabad melodies is attributed to him. Although one of Aaron's sons attempted to continue his spiritual leadership in his court after his father death, most of his disciples left him to join the main Chabad movement led by Menahem Mendel of Lubavitch or other ḥasidic groups.

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[Adin Steinsaltz / Rachel Elior (2nd ed.)]

AARON BEN SAMUEL (c. 1620–1701), German rabbinical author. He is best known for his concordance *Beit Aharon* (Frankfurt on the Oder, 1690–91) in which he assembled all biblical passages cited or explained in the Talmud, the midrashim, and the many religious-philosophical, homiletic, and kabbalistic writings, with exact references for each quotation. The *Beit Aharon* is based on such works as *Aaron of Pesaro's *Toledot Aharon* (1581), Simeon b. Isaac ha-Levi's *Masoret ha-Mikra* (1572), and Jacob *Sasportas' *Toledot Ya'akov* (1652). It was published in the Vilna and Grodno edition of the Prophets and Hagiographa in 1780. An enlarged edition by Abraham David Lavat appeared under the title *Beit Aharon ve-Hosafot* (1880). Aaron's other works include *Sisra Torah* (a pun on the Ashkenazi pronunciation of "*Sitrei Torah*"), a homiletic commentary on Judges 4 and 5 (on Sisera and Jael); *Shalo'aḥ Manot*, a short commentary on the Babylonian Talmud; *Megillah* (both lost); and *Ḥibbur Masorah*, a midrashic commentary on the *masorah*. Some excerpts of the latter appeared as an appendix to the *Beit Aharon.* At the request of his wife Aaron translated into Yiddish the *Midrash Petirat Moshe* (Frankfurt on the Oder, 1693), which was popular among women in Poland and Russia. Aaron also wrote a commentary on **Perek Shirah* which appeared as an appendix to the Berlin prayer book (1701).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Michael, Or, no. 320.

[Jehuda Feliks]

AARON BEN SAMUEL (of Hergerhausen; 1665–c. 1732), author of *Liebliche Tefillah*, a volume of prayers and supplications in Yiddish. Aaron was an orphan supported by charity. Later he was a distiller of brandy for sale in his tavern. He had little schooling, but in 1709 he came to the conclusion that prayers should be recited in the current Jewish vernacular (Yiddish-Taitch) since the public was ignorant of Hebrew, and in pursuit of this aim published (Frankfurt a-M., 1709) his *Liebliche Tefillah* in that language and in his introduction urges that children be taught to pray in that language. It consists of selections from the Prayer Book, Psalms, and a number of personal supplications which include "a beautiful prayer for a servant or maid" and one "…for husband and wife that they live in harmony."

The book was completely forgotten but in 1846 Leopold Stein published an article in which he stated that some 20 years previously thousands of copies had been found in the attics of synagogues and buried. This gave rise to the statement that the book was placed under a ban of the rabbis because it advocated Reform, but despite intensive research no evidence of any such ban has been found and it is probable that the book simply did not take on.

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[Manfred Klarberg]

AARON BERECHIAH BEN MOSES OF MODENA (d. 1639), Italian kabbalistic writer and compiler. Aaron was a cousin on his mother's side of Leone *Modena. For the benefit of the pious members of his native Modena, Aaron compiled his *Ma'avar Yabbok* ("The Crossing of the Jabbok" (cf. Gen. 32:22), Venice, 1626, and often reprinted) comprising the readings, laws, and customs relating to the sick, deathbed, burial, and mourning rites. David Savivi of Siena published an abridged version under the title *Magen David* (Venice, 1676), and Samuel David b. Jehiel *Ottolengo, another entitled *Keri'ah Ne'emanah* (*ibid.*, 1715). Aaron also compiled *Ashmoret ha-Boker* ("The Morning Watch," Mantua, 1624; Venice, 1720), containing prayers and supplications for the use of the pious confraternity *Me'irei Shaḥar* in Modena, as well as *Me'il Ẓedakah* and *Bigdei Kodesh* (both Pisa, 1785), containing prayers and passages for study.

[Shmuel Ashkenazi]

AARON ḤAKIMAN (14th century), poet; lived in Baghdad. His prolific works include the incomplete *divan* presently in the Firkovich collection (*Catalog der hebraeischen und samaritanischen Handschriften*, 2 (1875), no. 72) in St. Petersburg; this contains a *kinah* on the persecution of the Jews of Baghdad in 1344 which describes the destruction of the city's synagogues and the desecration of Torah scrolls. Outstanding among the poems of the *divan* are those in honor of *resh galuta* Sar Shalom (b. Phinehas); also included are several brief *maqamas.* His poems demonstrate the author's expert knowledge of classical Spanish poetry and the Bible, but they lack originality.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: J.H. Schirmann, *Shirim Ḥadashim min ha-Genizah* (1966), 139–46.

[Abraham Meir Habermann]

AARONIDES, members of the *priesthood in Israel. The traditional view is that throughout its history the legitimate priesthood comprised only those members of the tribe of *Levi descended directly from *Aaron, the first *high priest. The notion is anticipated in the Pentateuch by the use of such phrases as "for all time" and "throughout the ages" in connection with legislation of concern to "Aaron and his sons" (Ex. 27:21; 28:43; 30:8, 10, 19–21; Lev. 6:11, 15; 7:34ff.; 10:15 et al.). It

Neh. 11: 11	I Chr 9: 10–11	I Chr 5: 28–41	Ezra 7: 1–3	I Chr 6: 35–38
		AARON	AARON	AARON
		ELEAZAR	ELEAZAR	ELEAZAR
		PHINEHAS	PHINEHAS	PHINEHAS
		ABISHUA	ABISHUA	ABISHUA
		BUKKI	BUKKI	BUKKI
		UZZI	UZZI	UZZI
		ZERAHIAH	ZERAHIAH	ZERAHIAH
		MERAITOH	MERAIOTH	MERAIOTH
			AZARIAH	
		AMARIAH	AMARIAH	AMARIAH
AHITUB	AHITUB	AHITUB	AHITUB	AHITUB
MERAIOTH	MERAIOTH			
ZADOK	ZADOK	ZADOK	ZADOK	ZADOK
		AHIMAAZ		AHIMAAZ
		AZARIAH		
		JOHANAN		
		AZARIAH		
		AMARIAH		
		AHITUB		
		ZADOK		
MESHULLAM	MESHULLAM	SHALLUM	SHALLUM	
HILKIAH	HILKIAH	HILKIAH	HILKIAH	
	AZARIAH	AZARIAH	AZARIAH	
SERAIAH		SERAIAH	SERAIAH	
		JEHOZADAK		
			EZRA	

Genealogies of the Aaronides.

is made explicit in the sharp distinction between the Aaronides and the other Levites who are made subordinate to them (Num. 3:10; 17:5; 18:1–7), and it is implicit in the designation of the priesthood in general by such terms as "the son(s) of Aaron" (Josh. 21:4, 10, 13, 19; Neh. 10:39; 12:47; I Chron. 6:39, 42; 12:27; 15:4; 23:28, 32; 24:1; cf. I Chron. 13:9; 26:28; 29:21; 31:19; 35:14), "the House of Aaron" (Ps. 115:10, 12; 118:3; 135:19), and, occasionally, simply "Aaron" (II Chron. 12:27; 27:17; cf. Ps. 133:2). This same situation is assumed by the chronicler in the classification of the priestly clans according to the lines of Eleazar and Ithamar, sons of Aaron (I Chron. 24:1–4). It is also reflected in the various genealogical lists of the high priests (Ezra 7:1–5; I Chron. 5:28–41; 6:35–38).

The Critical View

This picture of the history of the priesthood is regarded as an oversimplification of a very complex situation that can no longer be reconstructed with any degree of confidence. It is possible, however, to isolate the complexities. In the first place, the construction "sons of Aaron," in itself, like the terms "sons of Korah" and "sons of Asaph," may just as well refer to a professional class or guild as to blood kinship. That there were non-Aaronide priests, who were most likely incorporated into the Aaronide guild, may be inferred from the mention of priests prior to the Sinaitic revelation (Ex. 19:22, 24). Further, in the lifetime of Eleazar, son of Aaron, Joshua is said to have allotted 13 Canaanite cities with their pasture lands to the "sons of Aaron, the priests" (Josh. 21:19; cf. 21:4, 10, 13), an impossible situation unless the description "sons of Aaron" is not to be understood literally. Secondly, the exclusive priestly legitimacy of the Aaronides is characteristic of the P document, and is found elsewhere only in the book of Joshua and in the post-Exilic Nehemiah and Chronicles. It is not to be found in D, which seems to confer priestly status and privileges upon the entire tribe of Levi (Deut. 10:8–9, 18:6–7) and to postdate the selection of that tribe to the death of Aaron. Nor are the "sons of Aaron" mentioned in Judges, Samuel, Kings, or the prophets. Ezekiel never refers to them, only to the "levitical priests, the sons of Zadok" (Ezek. 40:46; 43:19; 44:15; cf. 48:11), without ever mentioning their Aaronic ancestry.

As to the clear differentiation between Aaronides and Levites, this may well argue against the historicity of the claim to an original levitical ancestry. One of the strands in the narrative of the revolt of Korah seems to reflect an Aaronide-Levite struggle for priestly prerogatives and to derive from a period before the levitical or Aaronic genealogizing of priests was effected (Num. 16; esp. 1 and 7–10). The same tension between the tribe of Levi and the Aaronides is apparent in the golden calf episode (Ex. 32:26–29). In this connection, it is regarded as significant that Aaron's son Eleazar was buried at Gibeah, a town in the hill country of Ephraim belonging to his son, the high priest Phinehas (Josh. 24:33). It was precisely the bull-cult, with which the name of Aaron was associated, that was a characteristic of the religion of northern Israel (I Kings 12:28–29). This suggests to some the possibility that the Aaronides were close to the Ephraimites and accounted for at least some of the priests of Beth-El (cf. *ibid.* 31; Judg. 20:26ff.). In this case, the description of Moses' brother as "Aaron the Levite" (Ex. 4:14) would be a later insertion into the text, it being in fact superfluous in its present context.

The post-Exilic genealogical lists of the Aaronide high priesthood present numerous problems. Missing entirely are the high priests Amariah (II Chron. 19:11), Jehoiada (II Kings 11:4; 12:10; II Chron. 23:1; 24:20), and Urijah (II Kings 16:10–11, 15). The registers of I Chronicles (5:29–41 and 6:35–38) both list Ahimaaz, but not Azariah, while that of Ezra (7:1–6) records the latter, but omits the former. All three lists, however, have 12 generations between Aaron and the building of Solomon's temple, which suggests schematization to accommodate the 480 years (or 12 40-year generations) supposed to have elapsed between the Exodus and the construction of the sanctuary (I Kings 6:1). Further, I Chronicles (5:36–41) presupposes exactly another 12 generations between Solomon and the first high priest after the Restoration, but the repetition of Amariah, Ahitub, and Zadok (*ibid.* 33–34, 37–38) is suspicious. The genealogy of Ezra from Aaron lists only four high priests between Zadok of Solomon's time and Ezra (Ezra 7:2). The fragmentary lists of I Chronicles (9:10–11) and Nehemiah (11:11) differ slightly from each other, and both vary from the other lists. Completely ignored in these genealogical tables is the line of Ithamar to which the Eli priesthood belonged. It is quite possible that the lists are interested only in the Zadokite high priests. At any rate, they cannot be used uncritically as source material for the history of the Aaronides.

Some scholars believe that the Aaronides constituted a priestly clan that had its origins in Egypt in pre-Mosaic times and very early embraced the new faith of Moses, anticipating in this respect the tribe of Levi. It used its prestige and influence among the people to gain support for Moses. This is regarded as being the real situation behind Exodus 4:14ff., 27–31. Further corroboration of this theory is seen in the fact that in contrast to the justification for the selection of the clan of Phinehas (Num. 25:10–13) and the tribe of Levi (Ex. 32:26–29; Num. 3:12–13, 41, 45; 8:13–17), no reason is given for the choice of Aaron. The priesthood seems to come naturally to him. Another link in the chain of evidence is found in I Sam. 2:27–28, which tells of the selection of the house of Eli, undoubtedly considered Aaronide (I Sam. 22:20; I Chron. 24:3), already in Egypt where it was the recipient of a divine revelation. No mention is made of any wilderness events or of the Levites. It is noted further that Egyptian names figure prominently in the Aaronide priesthood, viz., Hophni (I Sam. 1:3), Phinehas (Ex. 6:25; I Sam. 1:3), Putiel (Ex. 6:25), Pashhur (Jer. 20:1; 21:1; Ezra 2:38), and Hanamel (Jer. 32:7). At some period, and in circumstances that can no longer be determined, the Aaronide priesthood amalgamated with the Levites and became the dominant priestly family. Its great antiquity and prestige ultimately generated the pattern of Aaronic genealogizing.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Katzenstein, in: JBL, 81 (1962), 377–84; for further bibliography see *Aaron.

[Nahum M. Sarna]

AARON OF BAGHDAD (c. mid-ninth century), Babylonian scholar, described as the son of a certain R. Samuel, who lived in Jewish communities in southern Italy. In the sources he is referred to either as Aaron, or Abu Aaron, or Master Aaron (which might be a corrupted version of Abu Aaron). He met with several scholars in Oria, Lucca, and other communities, and many stories were told about his wisdom as well as his magical powers. His appearance is described in *Megillat *Aḥimaʿaz*, which is a literary chronicle of the *Kalonymus family in Italy, and in a document, written by Eliezer ben Judah of Worms in the second or third decade of the 13th century, tracing the history of the tradition of exegesis of prayers used by Eleazar and his teacher, *Judah b. Samuel he-Ḥasid. These two sources agree in attributing to Aaron, who is described by R. Eleazar as *av kol ha-sodot* ("father of all the secrets"), the transmission of certain doctrines and methods from the East to the West, to the Kalonymus family in Italy and Germany. As to the nature of these secrets, it is clear from *Megillat Aḥimaʿaẓ* that before the arrival of Aaron, Jewish scholars in Italy were studying early mystical, eastern works, especially the mysticism of the *Heikhalot* and *Merkabah.* Eleazar's words seem to prove that Aaron contributed to the Ashkenazi ḥasidic tradition of prayer exegesis. The stories in *Megillat Aḥimaʿaẓ* suggest that he may have transmitted some magical formulae, as magic was one of the fields of study (usually secret) of both the Italian and the Ashkenazi scholars. There is no evidence that Aaron contributed anything to the development of theological doctrines or mystical speculations in these areas. Nor is there proof that any known book was written by Aaron or contained a contribution by him. However, in the traditions of the Kalonymus family, Aaron serves as the link connecting its own western culture with the revered centers of learning in Babylonia of the geonic period.

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[Joseph Dan]

AARON OF LINCOLN (c. 1123–1186), English financier. Aaron probably went to England from France as an adult. His recorded transactions extended over a great part of England and his clients included bishops, earls, barons, and the king of Scotland. Aaron advanced money to the crown on the security of future county revenues ("ferm of the shires"), as well as to various ecclesiastical foundations, such as the Monastery of St. Alban's, for their ambitious building programs. Nine Cistercian abbeys owed him 6,400 marks for their acquisition of properties upon which he held mortgages. At one time Aaron worked in partnership with a rival Jewish financier, Le Brun of London. After Aaron's death, his vast estate, which might have totaled as much as £100,000, was seized by the king. A special branch of the exchequer, the *Scaccarium Aaronis*, was established and administered the estate until 1191. Some of his debts were later resold to his son Elias. Aaron had no connection with the ancient house in Lincoln which now bears his name.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: J.W.F. Hill, *Medieval Lincoln* (1948), 217–22; H.G. Richardson, *English Jewry under Angevin Kings* (1960), 247–53, passim; Roth, England, 15–17. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** ODNB online.

[Cecil Roth]

AARON OF NEUSTADT (**Blumlein**; d. 1421), rabbinical scholar of Krems (Lower Austria). Aaron was a brother-in-law of Abraham *Klausner. He was a student, and then a colleague of Sar Shalom of Vienna (Wiener-Neustadt), and also of Jacob (Jekel) of Eger, rabbi in Vienna. Aaron was rabbi in Wiener-Neustadt and then in Vienna. A halakhic controversy arose between Aaron and Jacob on the question of non-Jews supplying Jewish prisoners with food on the Sabbath, a practice permitted by Aaron (*Leket Yosher,* ed. by J. Freimann, 1 (1903), 64). Aaron's nephew and outstanding pupil was Israel b. Pethahiah *Isserlein, who often quotes his master's biblical and talmudic teachings, in his *Pesakim u-Khetavim* (1519) and in his *Be'urim* (1519). He refers, in particular, to *Hilkhot Niddah,* a halakhic compendium by Aaron. Among Aaron's famous followers were Jacob b. Moses *Moellin (Maharil) and Isaac Tyrnau, author of *Minhagim* (1566), all of whom quote him. During the Vienna persecutions of 1420 Aaron was imprisoned and suffered severe tortures, from which he died.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Michael, Or, no. 277; J. Freimann (ed.), *Leket Yosher,* 2 (1904), 20–21, no. 14; S. Eidelberg, *Jewish Life in Austria* (1962), index.

AARON OF PESARO (d. 1563), Italian lay scholar and bibliophile. A wealthy businessman of Novellara in northern Italy (not Nicolara, as in some works of reference), he later extended his interests to Gonzaga in the duchy of Mantua, where he was authorized to open a loan-bank in 1557. From a manuscript in his rich library the *Mirkevet ha-Mishneh* of Isaac Abrabanel was published in Sabionetta in 1551, the first Hebrew book printed there. His only known work is *Toledot Aharon*, a concordance of biblical passages cited in the Babylonian Talmud, arranged in the order of the Bible. After his death, his three sons, who succeeded him in his business, sent the manuscript of the work to the wandering Hebrew printer, Israel Ẓifroni, who published it at Freiburg in 1583–84, and Venice in 1591–92. Jacob *Sasportas appended to the work references from the Jerusalem Talmud (*Toledot Ya'akov,* Amsterdam, 1652) while Aaron b. Samuel added references from other rabbinic and kabbalistic works (*Beit Aharon*, Frankfurt on the Oder, 1690–91). *Toledot Aharon* is printed in abbreviated form in most editions of the rabbinic Bible.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: E. Castelli, *Banchi feneratizi ebraici nel Mantovano* (1959), 207; N. Ben-Menahem, *Be-Sha'arei Sefer* (1967), 17; A. Carlebach, in: *Sinai,* 62 (1967/68), 75ff.

[Alexander Carlebach]

AARON OF YORK (1190–1268), English financier, son of *Josce of York. Aaron was one of the wealthiest and most active English Jews living during the reign of Henry III. In 1241 his estate was valued for taxation at £40,000, an incredible sum. He was *Presbyter Judaeorum of English Jewry in 1236–43. During these years, as he complained to the chronicler Matthew Paris, he was compelled to pay the king over 30,000 marks; he relinquished the office and died impoverished. He was styled *nadiv* ("benefactor") in Hebrew, an indication that he was probably a patron of scholarship.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: M. Adler, *Jews of Medieval England* (1939), 127–73; Birnbaum, in: JHSET, 19 (1955–59), 199–205; H.G. Richardson, *English Jewry under Angevin Kings* (1960), passim; Roth, England, 48–49, passim. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** ODNB online.

[Cecil Roth]

AARON OF ZHITOMIR (d. 1817), ḥasidic preacher in Zhitomir and other communities in Russia. His homilies on the weekly portions (*parashiyyot*) were recorded by his pupil Levi of Zhitomir and published in *Toledot Aharon* (Berdichev, 1817). In these, Aaron refrains from learned commentary and teaches "morality and pursuit of the service of God." Particular emphasis is given to *devekut* or adhesion to God.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Horodezky, Ḥasidut, 2 (1953^4), 194–6; Y. Raphael, *Sefer ha-Ḥasidut* (1955^4), 221–5.

[Zvi Meir Rabinowitz]

AARON SAMUEL BEN MOSES SHALOM OF KREMENETS (d. c. 1620), rabbi and author. A pupil of *Ephraim Solomon b. Aaron Luntschits when the latter was rabbi at Lemberg, Aaron Samuel was forced to immigrate to Germany as a youth. Toward the end of 1606 he was preaching in Fuerth. In 1611 he was in Eibelstadt (not, as often stated, Eisenstadt), Lower Franconia, where he wrote an ethical treatise entitled *Nishmat Adam*, on the origin and essence of the soul, the purpose of human life, and divine retribution (Hanau, 1611; Wilmersdorf, 1732). In 1615 he became rabbi in Fulda, where he wrote an introduction and notes to a homily on the Decalogue by Baruch Axelrod (Hanau, 1616). In his *Nishmat Adam* he mentions three unpublished works on ethical and religio-philosophical problems (*Be'er Sheva, Or Torah,* and *Ein Mishpat*), as well as novellae to the Talmud, entitled *Kitvei Kodesh.*

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[Jakob Naphtali Hertz Simchoni]

AARON SAMUEL BEN NAPHTALI HERZ HA-KOHEN (1740–1814), Polish rabbi. He served as rabbi to the communities of Stefan, Ostrog, Yampol, and Belaya Tserkov. He was an ardent follower of *Dov Baer of Mezhirech and Phinehas Shapira of Korets and was influenced by them in his views on Ḥasidism. He collected extracts from their statements in his books, *Kodesh Hillulim* (Lemberg, 1864). His talmudic novellae and his responsa were destroyed by fire. Only *Kore me-Rosh*, a commentary on the *Midrash Rabbah*, of which a portion only (part of Genesis) has been published (Berdichev, 1811), and *Ve-Ẓivvah ha-Kohen*, an ethical will to his children preceded by an anthology of homiletical and esoteric thoughts (Belaya Tserkov, 1823; Jerusalem, 1953), have survived.

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[Yehoshua Horowitz]

AARON SELIG BEN MOSES OF ZOLKIEW (d. 1643), kabbalist. His father, Moses Hillel, was president of the Jewish community in Brest-Litovsk; his brother Samuel was a *parnas* ("delegate") in the Council of the Four Lands. Aaron wrote a compendium of the Zohar entitled *Ammudei Sheva* ("Sevenfold Pillars," Cracow, 1635), in five volumes, with an introduction. The work comprises (1) a commentary, glosses, and explanations of difficult words in the Zohar, based on the works of Meir ibn *Gabbai, Moses *Cordovero, Judah *Ḥayyat, Menahem *Recanati, Elijah de *Vidas, Shabbetai Sheftel *Horowitz, and on the notes to the Zohar by Menahem Tiktin in the margin of his copy; (2) sections from the Mantua edition of the Zohar of 1558–60 which are missing in the Cremona edition of 1558; (3) an index indicating where the various chapters of the Zohar are commented upon by the six authors mentioned above; (4) a similar index for the *Tikkunei Zohar;* (5) a list of 39 parallel passages in the Zohar with their variant readings. The last volume is extremely rare.

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[Isaak Dov Ber Markon]

AARON SIMEON BEN JACOB ABRAHAM OF COPENHAGEN (late 18th century), secretary of the Jewish community of Cologne. Aaron is known for his participation in the important controversy known as the *Cleves *get*. Having personal knowledge of the entire case from its inception, Aaron sought to reverse the decision of Tevele Hess of Mannheim and of the Frankfurt rabbinate who had declared the divorce invalid. In conjunction with Israel b. Eliezer Lipschuetz, he appealed to all rabbis of authority in Germany, Holland, and Poland to permit the divorced woman, Leah Gunzhausen, to remarry. The majority expressed agreement with his point of view. He collected expert opinions and published them under the title *Or ha-Yashar* (Amsterdam, 1769; reprinted Lemberg, 1902, with notes by Jekuthiel Zalman Schor entitled *Niẓoẓei Or*). Aaron also wrote *Bekhi Neharot*, a description of the flood at Bonn in 1784 (Amsterdam, 1784).

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[Heinrich Haim Brody]

AARONSOHN, family of pioneers in Ereẓ Israel. EFRAYIM FISHEL (1849–1939), one of the founders of Zikhron Ya'akov, was the father of the leaders of *Nili, AARON, ALEXANDER, and SARAH. Born in Falticeni, Romania, he went to Ereẓ Israel with his wife Malkah in 1882. He was a gifted farmer, which was an occupation he continued until the end of his long life.

AARON (1876–1919), agronomist, researcher, and founder of the Nili intelligence organization. Born in Romania, he was brought to Ereẓ Israel by his parents at the age of six and grew up in Zikhron Ya'akov. He was an unusual personality whose achievements and service to his people have not been fully appreciated.

His outstanding talents became evident from early childhood, and Baron Edmund de *Rothschild, the colony's patron, generously sponsored his academic education at universities in France, Germany, and the United States.

The experimental station in *Athlit, near Haifa, which Aaronsohn founded on his return to Palestine, was a pioneering venture. It was there that his discovery of the ancestry of the wheat grain established his international reputation as an agricultural scientist.

Aaronsohn's range of interests, however, far transcended his daily research. The social and political problems of his people always competed for his attention, but his greatest passion was for Palestine. His knowledge of the country and those adjacent to it, and of the habits of life of Jew and Arab, was unparalleled.

During World War I and afterwards, when he threw himself into the mainstream of Zionist political activity, this knowledge stood him in good stead, broadening his *Weltanschauung*. But Aaronsohn was not a popular leader. Though endowed with remarkable qualities, which put him head and shoulders above his contemporaries, his individualism operated against him. Temperamental and militant by nature, he was not an easy person to work with.

Aaronsohn's conviction that the Zionist enterprise could flourish best under British protection had matured as early as 1912–13, when he was in New York. He refrained from publishing his views lest they embarrass the Berlin-based Zionist leadership. However, the brutal expulsion of Russian Jews from Jaffa in December 1914 finally shattered his hope that a *modus vivendi* with the Turk was possible.

During 1915–16 Palestine and its adjacent countries were infested with locusts. Djemal Pasha, the commander of the Ottoman Fourth Army, found that the only specialist competent to organize chemical warfare against the plague was Aaronsohn. The latter's forthright manner and skill won the Pasha's confidence but the closer their relationship became, the more concerned Aaronsohn grew about the future of his people.

With the tragedy that had befallen the Armenians at the back of his mind, he feared that at the slightest provocation Djemal would not hesitate to put an end to Zionist colonization. He therefore reached the radical conclusion that unless Palestine was speedily conquered by the British, the prospect for the survival of the *Yishuv* was slender.

It was for this reason that he made his way, by devious means, to England, leaving behind him a well-organized network of espionage. His second objective was to elicit some assurances of British sympathy for Zionist aspirations. On neither count was he successful at this stage, but unwittingly he converted his interlocutors at Military Intelligence to his cause.

Among those who fell under Aaronsohn's spell should be mentioned: Major Walter Gribbon, the officer in charge of Turkish affairs at GHQ; his close assistant, Captain Charles Webster; and Sir Mark Sykes.

Forty years later Sir Charles Webster testified how much his sympathy for the Jewish national ideal had deepened as a result of his admiration for Aaronsohn and his career:

> It was he who gave me my first real contact with one of the Yishuv and I cannot forbear to mention how deep that impression was. It was made not only by the story of his great adventure during the war, but his unexampled knowledge of Palestine and his complete faith that this land could be made to blossom like the rose by Jewish skill and industry.

Such assurances were all the more important at that time because one of the arguments most frequently used was that it was quite impossible for Palestine to accommodate more than a fraction of the numbers which the Zionists claimed could be settled there.

Aaronsohn was equally successful in making converts among British officers both in political and military intelligence in Cairo, which he joined late in 1916. William Orsmsby-Gore, Wyndham Deedes, and Richard Meinerzhagen in particular, proved a source of strength to the Zionists.

Uppermost in Aaronsohn's mind was a swift invasion of Palestine, to crush the Turk and deliver the Yishuv from disaster. It was he who alerted world public opinion to the evacuation of the Jewish population of Jaffa/Tel Aviv in April 1917; a policy which if followed to its conclusion could have resulted in a catastrophe. Exasperated by the sluggish British military advance, Aaronsohn was convinced that if properly handled, a blitz on the Palestinian front was possible.

British Intelligence was faulty and, in spite of all efforts, very little news could be elicited about enemy movements. Even when some information did filter through, it was too stale to be of any use. By contrast, not only did Aaronsohn gather a great deal of information, but by re-establishing contact with his group in Zikhron Ya'akov, he was able to furnish first-hand reports on Turkish troop movements, morale, and conditions behind enemy lines. Moreover, with his well-trained mind, he was able to give useful advice to the British on other matters, including military questions, so much so that it was humorously commented among the General Staff that "Aaronsohn is running the GHQ." A co-author of the *Palestine Handbook*, an indispensable military guide, he was also invited to write for the prestigious *Arab Bulletin*.

It was not before the arrival of General *Allenby that full use was made of Aaronsohn's suggestions. Allenby based his Beersheba operation on exhaustive intelligence data provided by the Aaronsohn group from behind the Turkish lines, which pointed to that sector as the weakest link in the enemy's defenses and one where a British onslaught was least expected. Perhaps the most crucial information was that the wells in the region had been left untouched.

The British won a resounding victory but the Aaronsohn group was less fortunate. Their ring was uncovered by the Turkish authorities at the end of September. Eighteen months later Ormsby-Gore, paying tribute to the Aaronsohn family, wrote:

> They were … the most valuable nucleus of our intelligence service in Palestine during the war. Aaronsohn's sister was caught by the Turks and tortured to death, and the British Government owes a very deep debt of gratitude to the Aaronsohn family for all they did for us in the war … Nothing we can do for them … will repay the work they have done and what they have suffered for us.

General Macdonogh, the director of Military Intelligence, confirmed that Allenby's victory would not have been possible without the information supplied by the Aaronsohn group.

In Brigadier Gribbon's opinion it saved 30,000 British lives in the Palestine campaign. General Clayton considered the group's service "invaluable," while Allenby singled out Aaronsohn as the staff officer chiefly responsible for the formation of Field Intelligence behind the Turkish lines. Sir Mark Sykes acknowledged that it was Aaronsohn's idea of outflanking Gaza and capturing Beersheba by surprise that was the key to Allenby's success.

The Foreign Office, too, had formed a high opinion of him, and his presence in London in autumn 1917, when the Balfour Declaration was still in the balance, assisted in creating a favorable climate of opinion for the Zionist cause.

Aaronsohn made a valuable contribution to the work of the Zionist Commission in Palestine in 1918, and his expertise was eagerly sought by the British and Zionist delegations to the Paris Peace Conference.

On May 15, 1919, Aaronsohn died tragically when a military aircraft taking him from London to Paris crashed in the Channel.

[Isaiah Friedman (2nd ed.)]

ALEXANDER (1888–1948), one of the founders of Nili. In 1913 he founded a short-lived semi-clandestine group for sons of farmers, called Gidonim, in his birthplace Zikhron Ya'akov. A precursor of Nili, the group had as one of its purposes the defense of the settlement. In 1915 he went to Egypt as an emissary of Nili to establish contact with the British Command. From there he went to the U.S., where he was active as an anti-Turkish and pro-Ally propagandist, and wrote *With the Turks in Palestine* (1917), a book on his personal experiences, exposing the evils of Turkish rule. After World War I he founded and for a time headed *Benei Binyamin, an organization of second-generation farmers in Palestine. He contributed to the Jerusalem newspaper *Do'ar ha-Yom* and published his memoirs, as well as booklets on Nili and its members. During World War II he served with the British Intelligence Service in its operations against Germany.

SARAH (1890–1917), martyr heroine of Nili. Born and educated in Zikhron Ya'akov, she married Hayyim Abraham, a Bulgarian Jew, in 1914, and moved to Constantinople. Her married life was unhappy and, in 1915, during World War I, she returned to her family's home. En route, she passed through Anatolia and Syria, and was an eyewitness to the savage persecution of the Armenians by the Turkish authorities. On her return to Zikhron Ya'akov, her brother Aaron enlisted her into Nili's intelligence activities against Turkey. When he left the country, she supervised the agents' operations and relayed information to the British in Egypt. Later, she was responsible for receipt of the gold sent through the Nili organization for help to the *yishuv.* In April 1917 she secretly visited Egypt to consult with her brother Aaron and the British Command. Warning her of the danger that threatened her in Ereẓ Israel, they begged her to remain in Egypt, but she refused, and returned in June. In September, on learning that the espionage network had been uncovered by the Turkish authorities, she ordered its members to disperse, while she remained at home in Zikhron Ya'akov to avoid incriminating rumors, thus facilitating the escape of her fellow members. Arrested in her home on Oct. 1, 1917, she was subjected to brutal torture for four days, but disclosed nothing, and finally put an end to her suffering by shooting herself. In reverence to her memory, pilgrimages are made to her grave in Zikhron Ya'akov on the anniversary of her death.

[Yehuda Slutsky]

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AARONSOHN, MICHAEL (1896–1976), U.S. rabbi. Born in Baltimore, Aaronsohn attended the University of Cincinnati (B.A., 1923) and was ordained the same year at Hebrew Union College. When the U.S. entered World War I in April 1917, Aaronsohn, who was entitled to a clerical exemption from military service, enlisted the following month. When his parent expressed anxiety over his decision he wrote them that "as good Jews, you should [trust] in God implicitly … without a word of doubt or discouragement." Antisemitism in the U.S. was on the rise during the war and one of the most common accusations was that Jews shirked military service. Aaronsohn, who rose to the rank of battalion sergeant-major (he served with the 147th Infantry Regiment, 39th Division of the AEF), expressed disgust at Jewish draftees who claimed that they were ineligible for overseas duty because they were foreign born, telling his parents that "while I am a Jew and love everything that Judaism stands for, nevertheless I cannot stand for a hypocrite or a low down coward."

While attempting to pull a wounded comrade to safety during the Meuse-Argonne offensive (September 29, 1918), Aaronsohn was blinded by an artillery shell. After eight months at the Red Cross school for the blind he returned to Hebrew Union College and was able to complete his studies when the college hired his sister Dora to be his note taker. During his rabbinic career Aaronsohn promoted a number of causes associated with the mental and physically disabled, for example serving a term as president of the Hamilton County (Ohio) Council for Retarded Children. He was instrumental in founding the Jewish Braille Institute in 1931, which made Jewish texts such as the Bible and Talmud more widely accessible through a free monthly magazine called the *Jewish Braille Review.*

Aaronsohn also served as a chaplain to several organizations, such as the Disabled American Veterans and the Veterans of Foreign Wars. An active member of the Republican Party, he gave the invocation at the Republican National Convention in 1940 and unsuccessfully ran for Cincinnati City Council in 1949, where he campaigned for "a scientific system of taxation." Aaronsohn was the author of numerous articles and three books, including *Broken Lights* (1946), an autobiographical novel.

[Frederic Krome (2nd ed.)]

AARONSOHN, MOSES (1805–1875), preacher, rabbi, and scholar. Born in Salant, Lithuania, Aaronsohn was a preacher (*maggid*) in Eastern Europe (Vishtinetz, Brotski, and Mir) and was recognized for his scholarship by 1836, when he published *Pardes ha-Ḥokhmah*, a book of sermons. He later published *Pardes ha-Binah,* a book of sermons with responsa. Aaronsohn arrived in the United States c. 1860, living on the Lower East Side of Manhattan, where he held services in his home and was known as "The East Broadway Maggid." For four years, he served as a preacher in a number of established synagogues, including Chevrat Vizhaner and the Allen Street Beth Hamedrash, which had split from the Beis Medrash Hagadol. In 1864, he became the rabbi at Congregation Adath Yeshurun in New York City. He continued to write responsa and also included the opinions of those rabbis in Eastern Europe with whom he corresponded regarding contemporary halakhic issues.

Aaronsohn was a strong personality with definite opinions, which eventually erupted into major controversies. He attacked the scholarship and practices of two New York rabbis who were eminent talmudic scholars, Rabbi Abraham Joseph *Ash and Rabbi Judah Mittleman, calling into question divorces written by Rabbi Ash and the *kashrut* of the animals slaughtered under the supervision of Rabbi Mittleman – whom he accused of allowing improper bloodletting before *sheḥitah.* By 1873, when he criticized the *kashrut* of certain California wines, the hostility he created in the clergy caused him to be excommunicated by Ash and Mittleman, and he was forced to leave New York. For a time, he served as an itinerant preacher and finally settled in Chicago, where he died. His book on American responsa, *Matta'ei Mosheh,* was published posthumously in 1878 in Jerusalem.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Approbations in *Pardes ha-Binah* (1842); Z.H. Bernstein, *Yalkut Ma'aravi 1* (1904), 129–30; J.D. Eisenstein, *Oẓer Yisrael* (1907), 167; idem, *Oẓer Zikhronotai* (1929), 24; Y.Y. Greenwald, *Ha-Shoḥet ve-ha-Sheḥitah ba-Sifrut ha-Rabbanit* (1955), 6–10; M. Sherman, *Orthodox Judaism in America: A Biographical Dictionary and Sourcebook* (1996), 13–14.

[Jeanette Friedman (2nd ed.)]

AARONSON, LAZARUS LEONARD (1894–1966), English poet. A lecturer in economics at London University, Aaronson published several verse collections, including *Poems* (1933) and *The Homeward Journey* (1946). Aaronson dealt at length with his conversion in *Christ in the Synagogue* (1930) but remained preoccupied with his spiritual duality as a Jew and an Englishman in a late poem, "The Jew" (1956).

ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY: R. Dickson and S. MacDougall, "The Whitechapel Boys," in: *Jewish Quarterly*, 195 (Autumn 2004).

ABADAN, island and seaport located in the province of Khuzistan at the southwest corner of Iran on the left bank of Shatt al-Arab and about 60 km from the Persian Gulf. It grew into a big city because of its oil refinery. During World War II there were about 25,000 refinery employees out of a total population of 100,000. This was a period in which Abadan attracted a relatively large number of Jews from several cities in Iran, mainly from *Isfahan, *Bushire, *Shiraz, and *Kermanshah. According to one source (*Alam-e Yahud*), at this time there were 200 Jewish families (about 800 people) living in Abadan, some of whom were Iraqi Jews. In addition, it has been reported that 300 out of 1,700 foreign professional refinery employees were Palestinian Jews belonging to *Solel Boneh. For this reason, one may say that the post-Reza Shah (1925–41) *He-Ḥalutz movement and Zionist activities in Iran had, to some degree, their roots in the Jewish community of Abadan. Abadan played an important role in rescue missions of the Iraqi Jews during and after the independence of Israel. After the 1979 Islamic revolution, Jews began to leave the city. At the beginning of the 21st century there were few Jewish families living in Abadan, numbering fewer than 20 people.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: "Abadan," in: *Encyclopedia Iranica* (ed. E. Yarshater), 1 (1982), 51–57; *Alam-e Yahud*, 21 (Jan. 8, 1946), 362; Y. Yazdani, *Records on Iranian Jews' Immigration to Palestine, 1921–1951* (1996), 61, 67, 110.

[Amnon Netzer (2nd ed.)]

ABADDON (Heb. אֲבַדּוֹן; "place of destruction"). It is mentioned in the Wisdom literature of the Bible (Job 26:6; 28:22; 31:12; Prov. 15:11; Ps. 88:12); and it occurs also in the New Testament (Rev. 11:11) where, however, it is personified as the angel of the bottomless pit, whose name in Greek is "Apollyon" (Ἀπολλυων, "destroyer"). In the Talmud (Er. 19a) it is given as the second of the seven names of Gehenna (*Gehinnom), the proof verse being Psalms 88:12, while *Midrash Konen* makes it the actual second department of Gehenna.

ABARBANELL, LINA (1879–1963), star of European light opera and Broadway doyenne. Born in Berlin to a prominent Sephardi family active in the professional theater, Abarbanell debuted as Adele in the Berlin Court Opera's production of *Die Fledermaus* in 1904, at the age of 15. As a young woman, she toured European concert halls and theaters, establishing a career as a vocalist and actress. She won especial renown in the world of Viennese operetta, where luminaries of the scene, such as Franz Lehar and Oscar Straus, composed works for her. She spent a season in New York with the Metropolitan Grand Opera in 1905, appearing as Hänsel in the American premiere of Humperdinck's *Hänsel und Gretel*. Abarbanell and her husband, Edward Goldbeck, an editorialist and cultural commentator, and their young daughter settled in Chicago soon after, returning to New York after World War I.

In America, Abarbanell introduced the Viennese light musical repertoire to popular audiences and won fame and critical plaudits with starring roles in Lehar's *The Merry Widow*, among other works. A fashionable, graceful, and vivacious personality, she helped popularize songs and dances of the musicals and light operas in which she appeared. With her husband, she hosted a weekly salon in her Chicago home for European and American artists and writers. Abarbanell essentially supported the family through her theater career, seeing them through bankruptcy in 1921. After the death of her husband in 1934, she transformed herself from performer to producer and director. Her daughter Eva Goldbeck, a fiction writer and reviewer who published in periodicals such as the *New Republic*, died in 1935 at the age of 34. Abarbanell maintained a close relationship with her son-in-law, the composer Marc Blitzstein (*The Cradle Will Rock*), for the rest of her life. She established a successful second career as casting director for Blitzstein and others, in theater (*Porgy and Bess*) and in film (*Carmen Jones*), and remained actively involved in the theater world until her death from heart failure shortly after her 84th birthday.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: E.A. Gordon, *Mark the Music: The Life and Work of Marc Blitzstein* (1989); "Abarbanell, Lina," in: P.E. Hyman and D. Dash Moore (eds.), *Jewish Women in America: An Historical Encyclopedia*, 1 (1997), 3–4; *Variety Obituaries*, vol. 5 (1957–63).

[Emily Alice Katz (2nd ed.)]

ABBA (Heb. אַבָּא), Aramaic equivalent of the Hebrew (*av*, אָב; "father"). The term was in common use from the first century onward (cf. Mark 14:36). In the early centuries of the Christian era it was used in both Jewish and Christian sources in addressing God, and in talmudic times as a prefix to Hebrew names, probably to designate an esteemed scholar (cf. Abba Hilkiah, Abba Saul). K. *Kohler, however, was of the opinion that the title referred specifically to Essenes. Because of its honorable association, it was forbidden to call slaves by this name (Ber. 16b). It often occurs independently, sometimes perhaps as an abbreviation of Abraham. Its fusion with the prefix "*rav*" (for "rabbi") gave rise in Babylonia to the names "Rabbah," "Rava," and to their abbreviated forms, "Ba" and

"Va" in Palestine. It is a common name among Ashkenazi Jews in Eastern Europe and Israel, often used as an agnomen of Abraham. The word survives in European languages as an ecclesiastical designation (Abbas, Abt, Abbot), while in modern Hebrew it has largely displaced the Hebrew *av* as the popular term for "father."

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Klein, in: *Leshonenu*, 1 (1928/29), 326; Kohler, in: JQR, 13 (1900/01), 567–80 (but see Urbach, in: PIASH, 2, pt. 4 (1966), 17–36).

[Cecil Roth]

ABBA (Ba), two *amoraim* are known by this name.

(1) ABBA (late third and early fourth centuries), in his youth probably knew Rav and Samuel, the founders of rabbinic learning in Babylonia. He was, however, primarily a disciple of R. Huna and R. Judah, and frequently is mentioned together with their other disciples. Like R. Zeira, Abba ignored R. Judah's prohibition to leave Babylonia and emigrated to Ereẓ Israel (Ber. 24b). In Ereẓ Israel Abba was a close friend of R. Zeira and other Palestinian scholars. In Tiberias he studied with R. Johanan's chief disciples, R. Eleazar and Resh Lakish. After the death of Eleazar, leadership passed to R. Ammi and R. Assi, but Abba was considered equally great and was referred to in the Babylonian academies as "our teacher in the land of Israel" (Sanh. 17b). Abba dealt in silk (BK 117b) and became very wealthy. This enabled him to honor the Sabbath by buying 13 choice cuts from 13 butchers (Shab. 119a). A very charitable man, he never embarrassed the poor and would put money in his scarf which he would hang behind his back, so that the poor might take the money without him seeing their faces (Ket. 67b). He frequently revisited Babylonia, but always returned to Ereẓ Israel for the festivals. Thus he transmitted Babylonian teaching and traditions to Ereẓ Israel and vice versa (TJ, Shev. 10:2,39c; Ned. 8:1,40d; BM 107a). When the body of his teacher Huna was brought from Babylonia for burial, Abba eulogized him, saying "Our teacher deserved to have the *Shekhinah* rest upon him, were it not that he lived in Babylonia" (MK 25a). Influential in both *halakhah* and *aggadah*, Abba's teachings are found in the Babylonian and Palestinian Talmuds, as well as in the Midrash. (For a critical analysis of the traditions relating to the death and burial of Rav Huna, see S. Friedman, Historical Aggadah, pp. 146ff.)

(2) ABBA (THE LATER; fourth–fifth centuries), Palestinian *amora.* Abba went to Babylonia, probably during the anti-Jewish reaction following the death of *Julian the Apostate in 363 C.E. Abba is mentioned together with R. Ashi, to whom he transmitted the Palestinian tradition (BK 27b). He is also quoted as saying to R. Ashi: "You have derived teaching from this source, we derive it from a different one, as it is written: 'A land whose stones are iron' [Deut. 8:9], Do not read 'whose stones' [אֲבָנֶיהָ, *avaneha*] but rather 'whose builders' [בּוֹנֶיהָ, *boneha,* i.e., sages]", meaning that a scholar who is not as hard as iron is no scholar (Ta'an. 4a; cf. Bek. 55a). He is not mentioned in the Palestinian Talmud.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: (1) Bacher, Pal Amor; Hyman, Toledot, 3–8. (2) A. Harkavy (ed.), *Teshuvot ha-Ge'onim*, 4 (1887), no. 248; Halevy, Dorot, 2 (1923), 573–6; Hyman, Toledot, 9ff.

[Yitzhak Dov Gilat]

ABBA (**Rava**, **Rabbah**; eighth century), rabbinical scholar; disciple of *Yehudai Gaon and possibly also of *Aḥa of Shabḥa, the author of *She'iltot*. Abba is the author of *Halakhot Pesukot*, a juridical tract in the vein of *She'iltot* from which it apparently quotes. It was published in segments twice – first by S. Schechter and then by J.N. Epstein. A small monograph on the laws of phylacteries (probably part of a larger work), which has been attributed to Abba, was appended by *Asher b. Jehiel – who calls it the work of a *gaon* – to his own laws on the subject, under the title *Shimmusha Rabbah* ("Rabbah's Legal Practice"); it was printed in the Vilna edition of the Talmud in Asher's *Halakhot Ketannot* at the end of tractate *Menaḥot.* *Judah b. Barzillai pointed out that many of its utterances run counter to talmudic regulations, a phenomenon which he attributed to errors by pupils and copyists. Among Abba's best-known pupils was *Pirkoi b. Baboi.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: S. Schechter, in: *Festschrift … David Hoffmann* (1914), 261–6 (Heb. sect.); Baron, Social^2, 6 (1958), 339–40, n. 43, 356, n. 72; J.N. Epstein, in: *Madda'ei ha-Yahadut*, 2 (1927), 147–63.

[Meir Havazelet]

ABBA BAR AḤA (third century), *amora.* He was born in Ereẓ Israel and emigrated to Babylonia (TJ, Ber. 1:9,3d). Several *halakhot* are quoted by him in the Jerusalem Talmud in the name of "Rabbi" (Judah ha-Nasi) and in the Babylonian in that of "Rabbenu"; therefore he may have been a pupil of Judah ha-Nasi. In the Jerusalem Talmud (*loc. cit.*) Abba b. Aḥa is quoted as saying in the name of Rabbi (according to Ber. 49a, cf. Dik. Sof. 258, in the name of Rabbenu): "If one fails to mention 'covenant' [i.e., the phrase 'for Thy covenant which Thou has sealed in our flesh'] in the Blessing for the Land or 'the kingdom of the House of David' in the blessing 'who rebuildest Jerusalem' [both in the Grace after Meals], it must be repeated correctly." R. Ilai reports decisions in his name (Ber. 49a, et al.). He is the author of the statement, "The nature of this people [Israel] is incomprehensible. Approached on behalf of the golden calf, they contribute; approached on behalf of the tabernacle, they contribute toward it too" (TJ, Shek. 1.145d).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Hyman, Toledot, 15; Abraham Zacut, *Sefer Yuḥasin ha-Shalem* (1924^2), 99–100.

[Zvi Kaplan]

ABBA BAR AVINA (third century), Palestinian *amora*. He was also called Abba b. Binah, Abba b. Minah, or simply Buna. He was of Babylonian origin and studied there at the academy of *Rav (cf. TJ, Sanh. 3:3,21a) but later immigrated to Ereẓ Israel. Among his pupils were R. *Abba b. Zavda and R. Berechiah. Most of his sayings are quoted in the Jerusalem Talmud and in the Midrash (e.g., Lev. R. 20:12); he is mentioned only once in the Babylonian Talmud (Shab. 60b). Abba

b. Avina was consulted in legal questions (TJ, *ibid.*) and seems to have officiated as a judge (TJ, BM, 5:2,10a). He interpreted I Chronicles 22:14: "Behold in my straits I have prepared for the house of the Lord … etc." to teach that wealth does not matter before the Creator of the universe. A moving confession, composed by him, is quoted at the end of Jerusalem Talmud (Yoma 8:10,45c): "My God, I have sinned and done wicked things. I have persisted in my bad disposition and followed its direction. What I have done I will do no more. May it be Thy will, O Everlasting God, that Thou mayest blot out my iniquities, forgive all my transgressions, and pardon all my sins." The Palestinian *amora*, R. Ḥigrah, was his brother (TJ, Meg. 1:11,71c).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Bacher, Pal Amor; Hyman, Toledot, 14.

ABBA BAR KAHANA (late third century), Palestinian *amora*. It is possible that he was the son of Kahana the Babylonian, the pupil of Rav who immigrated to Ereẓ Israel. Abba quotes *halakhot* in the name of Ḥanina b. Ḥama and Ḥiyya b. Ashi (Shab. 121b; TJ, Ber. 6:6, 10d), but his talents lay largely in the realm of *aggadah* and, with his contemporary R. Levi, he was regarded as one of its greatest exponents (TJ, Ma'as. 3:10,5 la). Early aggadic traditions of leading *tannaim* such as *Eliezer b. Hyrcanus, *Simeon b. Yoḥai, *Judah b. Ilai, and *Phinehas b. Jair were known to Abba. Among his statements are "Such is the way of the righteous: they say little and do much" (Deut. R. 1:11) and "No serpent ever bites below unless it is incited from above … nor does a government persecute a man unless it is incited from above" (Eccles. R. 10:11). This statement probably reflects the persecutions of the Jews of his time, to which there may also be a reference in the observation "The removal of the ring by Ahasuerus [Esth. 3:10] was more effective than the 48 prophets and seven prophetesses who prophesied to Israel but were unable to lead Israel back to better ways" (Meg. 14a). His homiletical interpretations deal with biblical exegesis; he identifies anonymous biblical personalities (e.g., Dinah was the wife of Job: Gen. R. 19:12, etc.) as well as geographical sites whose location was not clear (Kid. 72a). He embellishes the biblical narrative with tales and *aggadot* (Gen. R. 78:16; Eccles. R. 2:5, etc.). His statements reflect the contemporary hardships and persecutions suffered by the Jews (Lev. R. 15:9). Abba expresses his expectation of redemption in the remark that "if you see the student benches in Ereẓ Israel filled with sectarians [Babylonians], look forward to the approaching steps of the Messiah" (Lam. R. 1:41); *ibid.*, ed. Buber, 39a, however reads "every day" (Heb. בכל יום) instead of "Babylonians" (Heb. בבליים).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Hyman, Toledot, 48–50; Bacher, Pal Amor; A. Marmorstein, in: *Jeschurun*, 13 (1926), 369 ff.

[Yitzhak Dov Gilat]

ABBA BAR MARTA (third and first half fourth centuries), Babylonian *amora*. Some suggest that he was named after his mother because she cured him as a child after he'd been bitten by a mad dog (Yoma 84a). He owed a debt to the exilarch and was seized by his men on a Sabbath. However, the exilarch set him free because he was a scholar (Shab. 121b). In another incident Abba b. Marta managed to outwit the exilarch's men who sought to hold him prisoner because of his debt (Yev. 120a). In another instance Abba b. Marta owed money to Rabbah, the head of the Pumbedita academy. He went to Rabbah with the intention of repaying his debt during the sabbatical year. Rabbah answered in accordance with the *halakhah*. "I cancel it." Abba b. Marta took the money back, instead of saying, as the procedure demanded, "Nevertheless, I insist…." Only after the intervention of Abbaye did he realize that he had not acted properly and repaid the debt (Git. 37b). Another contemporary scholar, Abba b. Menyamin (Menyomi, Benjamin) b. Ḥiyya, who expounded Mishnayot and asked a halakhic question of Huna b. Ḥiyya (Sot. 38b, Ḥul. 80a), is sometimes identified with Abba b. Marta.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Hyman, Toledot, 53; Bacher, Trad, 243.

[Moshe Beer]

ABBA BAR MEMEL (third and the beginning of the fourth centuries), Palestinian *amora*. Some scholars consider that Memel refers to his place of residence, Mamla or Malaḥ in Lower Galilee. He posed questions to R. Oshaya in Caesarea who may have been his teacher (TJ, BK 2:1, 2d). Eleazar b. Pedat, one of his eminent contemporaries, refers to Abba Memel as his master (Ket. 111a). He discussed halakhic problems with R. Ammi, R. Assi, R. Zeira, and others, and *halakhot* are quoted in his name by many Palestinian sages. He is the author of several principles concerning the interpretation of the biblical text. A *gezerah shavah* ("inference from a similarity of phrases in texts") may be established to confirm but not to invalidate a teaching. One may deduce a *kal va-ḥomer* (inference from minor to major) of one's accord, but not a *gezerah shavah*. An argument may be refuted on the basis of a *kal va-ḥomer,* but not on the basis of a *gezerah shavah* (TJ, Pes. 6:1, 33a). He also stated, "If I had someone who would agree with my view, I would permit … work to be done on the intermediate days of the festival. The reason why work is then prohibited is to enable people to eat and drink and study the Torah; but instead they eat and drink and engage in frivolity …" (TJ, MK 2:3, 81b).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Frankel, Mevo, 67a-b; Hyman, Toledot, 50–52; Bacher, Pal Amor.

[Yitzhak Dov Gilat]

ABBA BAR ZAVDA (third century), Palestinian *amora*. Abba studied in Babylonia, first under Rav and later under R. Huna. He returned to Ereẓ Israel, where he became one of the leading scholars at the yeshivah of Tiberias. He quotes *halakhot* in the name of the last of the *tannaim*: R. Simeon b. Ḥalafta, R. Judah ha-Nasi, and R. Ḥiyya as well as R. Ḥanina, R. Johanan, and Resh Lakish. After the deaths of R. Johanan and R. Eleazar b. Pedat, Abba b. Zavda became one of the most prominent sages in Ereẓ Israel. At the yeshivah of Tiberias he was given the honor of opening the lecture which Ammi and Assi closed (TJ, Sanh. 1:4, 18c). His humility is stressed by the sages (*ibid.*, 3:5, 21a). His saying, "A Jew, even though he sins, remains a Jew" (Sanh. 44a) is well known. In a sermon delivered on a public fast day, Abba b. Zavda called on those who wished to repent first to mend their evil ways, for "if a man holds an unclean reptile in his hand, he can never become clean, even though he bathes in the waters of Shiloaḥ or in the waters of creation" (TJ, Ta'an. 2:1; in TB, Ta'an. 16a, the statement with slight variations is ascribed to Abba b. Ahavah).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Hyman, Toledot, 43–44; Frankel, Mevo, 66b.

[Yitzhak Dov Gilat]

ABBA BAR ZEMINA (also **Zimna**, **Zimona**, **Zevina**; fourth century), Palestinian *amora*. His father was probably the Zemina who acted as "elder" of the Jews of Tyre (TJ, Bik. 3:3, 65d). Abba's principal teacher was Zeira. While working as a tailor in Rome, his employer offered him meat which had not been ritually slaughtered and threatened to kill him if he refused to eat it. When Abba chose death, his employer informed him that had he eaten, he would have killed him, saying, "if you are a Jew, be a Jew, if a Roman be a Roman" (TJ, Shev. 4:2, 35a-b). The statement, "if our predecessors were as angels, we are as men; if they were men, we are as donkeys," is quoted by Abba b. Zemina in the name of Zeira (TJ, Dem. 1:3, 21d; in Shabbat 112a, by Zeira in the name of Rabbah b. Zemina).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Frankel, Mevo, 56b-57; Bacher, Pal Amor; Hyman, Toledot, 44–45.

[Abraham Goldberg]

ABBA BEN ABBA HA-KOHEN (early third century), Babylonian scholar during the transition from the tannaitic to the amoraic period. Abba is overshadowed by his famous son Samuel, and therefore is always referred to in the Babylonian Talmud as "the father of Samuel" (cf. Beẓah 16b). He was a native of Nehardea and decided issues of Jewish law there (Ket. 23a). He subsequently emigrated to Palestine and continued his studies in the academy of R. Judah ha-Nasi (TJ, RH 3:6, 59a; TJ, BM 4:1, 9c). Even after his return to Babylon, he addressed halakhic inquiries to him and maintained contact with his grandson R. Judah Nesia. He was a colleague of R. Levi b. Sisi and their opinions are often cited together (Shab. 108b; MK 26b). Mention is made of a divine revelation granted to the two when they were studying Torah together in the ancient synagogue Shaf ve-Yativ in Nehardea (Meg. 29a). The Jerusalem Talmud (Ber. 2:8, 5c) quotes the funeral oration Abba delivered over his friend. When Rav returned to Babylon, he deferred to Abba by refusing to head the community during the latter's lifetime. Rav engaged in halakhic discussions with Abba, whom he highly respected (Ket. 51b). Abba derived his livelihood from trading in silk and also owned property. Highly charitable, he supported orphans and redeemed captives, and in all his actions attempted to go beyond the mere letter of the law.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Frankel, Mevo, 56ab; Hyman, Toledot, 11; Epstein, Mishnah, 211.

[Zvi Kaplan]

ABBA BENJAMIN, *tanna* of unknown date. Four aggadic statements are quoted in his name (Ber. 5b–6a). They include: "A person's prayer is heard [by God] only in the synagogue." "If two enter [a synagogue] to pray, and one of them finishes his prayers first, and leaves without waiting for the other, his prayers are torn up before his face." "If the eye had the power to see the demons, no creature would be able to endure them." He has been identified with Benjamin the Righteous who was in charge of a charity fund. Once, when the fund was depleted during a famine, he supported a woman and her seven sons from his own pocket. Later he became gravely ill and was about to die, whereupon the ministering angels addressed the Almighty: "Sovereign of the universe, Thou hast said that he who saves one soul is regarded as having saved the whole world. Shall Benjamin the Righteous who saved a woman and her seven sons die so young?" Immediately the decree against him was annulled and a further twenty-two years were added to his life (BB 11a).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Hyman, Toledot, s.v.

[Yitzhak Dov Gilat]

ABBA GULISH. Legendary figure mentioned in midrashic literature (Mid. Hag. to Ex. 2:16). Abba Gulish was a priest at a heathen temple in Damascus. However, on one occasion, when in great distress, he supplicated his idol without success. Disappointed with idol worship, he went to Tiberias where he converted to Judaism, zealously observing the precepts. He was there appointed overseer for the poor, but he embezzled the money entrusted to him and was punished by blindness, first of one eye and later of both. An object of contempt, he returned to Damascus where his former friends, regarding his blindness as a punishment for his apostasy, reproached him for his unfaithfulness. He thereupon assembled the people in the shrine for the ostensible purpose of apologizing to the idol, but instead he told them that an idol which is unable to see could not have punished him with blindness; it was the work of the omniscient God. As he descended from the dais, his sight was restored, as a result of which thousands of heathens became proselytes. It is not possible to determine whether there is any historical basis for this legend.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: S. Krauss, in: OLZ, 20 (1917), 110.

ABBA GURYON OF SIDON (second century), talmudic sage. Only two of his statements, both quoted in the name of other sages, have been preserved. One (Kid. 4:14) is "a man should not teach his son the occupation of an ass driver, camel driver, barber, sailor, shepherd, or tavern keeper, these being the trades of robbers." The second is contained in the introduction (ix) to a late Midrash on Esther known as *Midrash Abba Guryon* (ed. by S. Buber, 1886), taken apparently from *Esther Rabbah*. "With the increase of false judges, false witnesses increased; of informers, the wealth of violent men increased; of impudence, respect for human beings ceased; when the beloved children provoked their heavenly Father to anger, He set an arbitrary king over them." The "arbitrary king" is probably Domitian (89–96 C.E.) and the reference to "informers" may be reflected in the coin struck by his successor Nerva to commemorate the abolition of the calumny connected with the Jewish tax.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: S. Klein (ed.), *Sefer ha-Yishuv*, 1 (1939), 129; Hyman, Toledot, 302.

[Bialik Myron Lerner]

ABBA ḤILKIAH, according to the *aggadah* (Ta'an. 23a–b) a saint who lived in the first century C.E. Like many narratives concerning saints in the ancient world, Abba Ḥilkiah was famous for his miraculous ability to bring rain in times of drought (Kalmin, 212). The Talmud describes him not as a learned sage, but rather as a common worker to whom the sages turned in time of need. Once when a pair of scholars came to ask him to pray for rain, he was not at home, and they finally found him hoeing in a field. They greeted him, but he did not return their greeting. Toward evening he gathered wood for his fire, put the wood and his hoe on one shoulder and his cloak on the other. All the way home he wore shoes, but when he passed through water he removed them. When he approached thorns and thistles he raised up his garment. And so the story goes on describing his apparently eccentric behavior, which puzzled the two sages, who nevertheless followed him into his home. Without speaking to the sages he and his wife went up to roof and prayed, and his wife's prayer was answered first. Despite the disclaimers of the humble and saintly man, the sages thanked him for bringing the much needed rain. Before they left, they asked him about his puzzling behavior, and he explained how every element reflected some aspect of practical wisdom or ethical concern. For example his refusal to return their greeting was explained by the fact as a day laborer, he feared to take time off during his work hours lest by so doing he would be defrauding his employer. Similarly, he put the wood and his hoe on one shoulder and the cloak on the other because the cloak was borrowed, and the owner of the cloak had not given him permission to rest wood or a hoe on his cloak, and so on.

The story belongs to a genre of tales of the saints, common in the pagan and Christian world in antiquity. It is somewhat remarkable in the talmudic context because its hero, though not himself a sage, turns out to exemplify many of the most noble values which the sages admired, and was even capable of instructing the sages through his behavior regarding these values (Kalmin, 225–232).

In line with its principle of "creative historiography," the Talmud informs us that this saintly figure, Abba Ḥilkiah, was in fact the grandson (son of the son) of *Ḥoni ha-Me'aggel, the famous "rainmaker" mentioned in Mishnah Ta'an. 3:8. Similarly, the Talmud tells us that Ḥanan ha-Naḥbah, another saintly rainmaker who is the protagonist of the following story in Ta'an. 23b, was also the grandson (son of the daughter!) of Ḥoni.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Hyman, Toledot, s.v.; R. Kalmin, in: L.I. Levine (ed.), *Continuity and Change* (Hebrew) (2004), 210–232.

[Stephen G. Wald (2nd ed.)]

ABBAHU or **Avahu** (c. 300), usually counted a second generation Palestinian *amora*. He is often presented as the disciple of R. Johanan who purportedly called him "Abbahu my son." He also is said to have studied with Resh Lakish (See *Simeon b. Lakish) and *Eleazar b. Pedat. Abbahu most likely lived in Caesarea, then the center of Roman rule and of Palestinian Christianity. He seems to have been an important halakhic figure and his aggadic sayings are significant in the fields of religion, ethics, and philosophy. Abbahu is presented in rabbinic literature as learned in mathematics, rhetoric, and Greek, which, we are informed, he taught his daughters. Tradition also endows him with good looks and physical strength and great wealth. It is reported that the Romans "showed favor to his generation for his sake," perhaps a token of the great esteem in which they may have held him. His access to government circles may have given him a special position among his colleagues.

The Babylonian Talmud (Sot. 40a) tells us that Abbahu declined academic leadership in favor of *Abba of Acre because the latter was poor and debt ridden. This legend goes on to show Abbahu concealing his true reasons. Various passages also depict him in the following ways: He was a peacemaker even when others gave offense. He judged all men favorably and appreciated even a single merit of a sinner. He had special esteem for the scholars and taught that a scholar who had committed an offense deserving *niddui* ("the minor ban"), should be treated with consideration (TJ, MK 3:4, 81d). He enjoyed a position of honor in the community. He was an ordained judge, entitled to sit in judgment alone, but earned his livelihood in trade. He was apparently head of a group of scholars known as "the rabbis of Caesarea" and trained many outstanding disciples, among them the *amoraim* R. Jeremiah, R. *Jonah, and R. *Yose. He enacted ordinances, issued proclamations, and introduced usages such as the now accepted order of blowing the *shofar* on *Rosh Ha-Shanah* (RH 34a). Because of his position within the Jewish community and his connections with the authorities he made many official trips, both in Ereẓ Israel and abroad. On such occasions he always deferred respect to the customs of the local community.

His aphorisms include: "Where the penitent stand, the wholly righteous cannot reach" (Ber. 34b); "A man should never tyrannize his household" (Git. 7a); "Be among the persecuted rather than persecutors" (BK 93a); "The world endures only on account of the man who utterly abases himself" (Ḥul.

89a). A prayer ascribed to him reflects the times in which he lived: "May it be Thy will … to save us from the arrogance and harshness of the evil times which threaten to overtake the world" (TJ, Ber. 5:1, 8d).

With regard to Christianity he said, "If a man tells you 'I am God,' he is lying; 'I am the son of man,' he will eventually regret it; 'I shall go up to heaven,' he promises but will not fulfill" (TJ, Ta'an. 2:1,65b). Similarly he explained the verse (Isa. 44:6) "I am the first" means "I have no father"; "I am the last" means "I have no son"; "and beside me there is no God" means "I have no brother" (Ex. R. 29:5). It is stated in his name: "it was ordained [some say, in Usha] that 'Blessed be the name of His glorious kingdom for ever and ever' be recited in a loud voice-to offset any false charges by sectarians" (Pes. 56a; Rashi explains "lest they say that we add something improper in a low voice"). Abbahu isolated the Samaritan priests in his town from the Jewish community and decreed that they should be regarded as Gentiles in all ritual matters. When the Samaritans asked him "Your fathers found our food and wine acceptable, why not you?" he answered, "Your fathers did not corrupt their ways, but you have yours" (TJ, Av. Zar. 5:4, 44d).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Frankel, Mevo, 58b–60a; Weiss, Dor, 3 (1904^{4}), 91–93; Halevy, Dorot, 2 (1923), 350–6; Bacher, Pal Amor, 2; Hyman, Toledot, 62–71; S. Lieberman, *Greek in Jewish Palestine* (1942), 21–33; S. Klein (ed.), *Sefer ha-Yishuv*, 1 (1939), 145–8; Lachs, Samuel Tobias "Rabbi Abbahu and the minim," in: JQR, 60 (1970) 197–212; Perlitz, in: MGWJ, 36 (1887), 60–88; Alon, *Meḥkarim*, 2 (1958), 255–8. L.I. Levine, "R. Abbahu of Caesarea," in: *Smith IV* (1975) 56–76;

[Simha Assaf]

ABBA KOHEN BARDELA (second century), *tanna*. He is not mentioned in the Mishnah but is quoted by Abba Yose b. Ḥanin in the *Sifrei* (Deut. 2). Resh Lakish cites his views on several principles of the laws of acquisition; one is that within a public domain a person may acquire ownership of chattels in a radius of four cubits around him (BM 10a). One of his many aggadic statements is, "Woe to us for the day of judgment. Woe to us for the day of rebuke. Balaam was a wise man of the Gentiles, but could not withstand the rebuke of his ass [cf. Num. 22:30]. Joseph was the youngest of the tribes, but his brothers were unable to bear his rebuke [cf. Gen. 45:3]. When God will rebuke each one of us for what he is, how much less will we be able to bear it" (Gen. R. 93. 10).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Hyman, Toledot, 56; Bacher, Tann.

[Abraham Goldberg]

ABBA KOLON, legendary person mentioned in midrashic literature as the founder of a city, called "Rome-Babylon." It is related of him (Song R. 1:64): "On the day that Jeroboam, son of Nebat, installed the two golden calves, two huts were built in Rome, yet each time they were erected they collapsed. A wise man, Abba Kolon by name, was present. He told them that unless water from the Euphrates was mixed with the mortar, the buildings would not stand. He volunteered to fetch some and, disguised as a cooper, journeyed afar until he reached his destination. There he drew water from the Euphrates, brought it back and mixed it with the mortar. The huts now remained standing. Henceforth people would say: 'A city without Abba Kolon is unworthy of the name.'" They called this city Rome-Babylon. The moral of this *aggadah* is that Rome was founded as a result of the iniquities of the kings of Israel. According to one opinion the name, Abba Kolon, is derived from Deucalion in Greco-Roman mythology. According to another, he is identified with Ablaccon, a magician in the time of Emperor Tiberius, who is said to have saved the city of Antioch from inundation. It has also been suggested that there is a double allusion in this name: father of "a colony" and "of *kalon*" ("shame").

BIBLIOGRAPHY: S. Krauss, *Griechische und Lateinische Lehnwoerter im Talmud*, 2 (1899), s.v.; N. Bruell, in: *Jeschurun*, 7 (1871), 3 (Ger. section); Ginzberg, Legends, 6 (1959), 280.

ABBA MARI BEN ELIGDOR (**Sen Astruc de Noves** or **de Sen Negre**; 14th century), French philosopher, astronomer, physicist, talmudist, and exegete. Born in Noves near Avignon, about 1320 he resided in Salon where Samuel b. Judah of Marseilles studied astronomy under him. In 1335 the latter mentions his teacher as still alive and very old. According to the conjecture of Perles and Gross, he is to be identified with Abba Mari of Salon, whom *Kalonymus b. Kalonymus mentions as his teacher and whose refutation of the philosophic views contained in Joseph *Kaspi's *Sefer ha-Sod* is quoted by Kalonymus (Responsa 5, 11, 13). Isaac b. Jacob de Lattes states in his *Sha'arei Ẓiyyon* that Abba Mari wrote commentaries on various tractates of the Talmud "combining interpretation of the text with halakhic decisions," as well as a commentary on the Pentateuch, an exhaustive interpretation of the *Pirkei de-R. Eliezer*, and various treatises on logic, metaphysics, and science. Abba Mari's commentary on Job (and on the story of the Creation), which follows the spirit of the religious-philosophical speculations of Maimonides, is extant (Mss. in Parma, De' Rossi, no. 1372, and Rome, Vatican, no. 244). A philosophical commentary on the Song of Songs (Neubauer, Cat, 1 (1886), 794, no. 2282 and Ms. Cambridge, Schiller-Szinessy, 215) may also be ascribed to Abba Mari. He may also be the author of a commentary to the "Introduction" of Euclid's *Elements* which is to be found at the beginning of the Ms. Munich, no. 91. Graetz's assertion that Abba Mari was arrested in Beaucaire together with Samuel b. Judah of Marseilles is based on a misunderstanding.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Michael, Or, no. 2, and Berliner's addendum, 610; Renan, Ecrivains, 548–52; Gross, Gal Jud, 380, 389–91, 655, 657; idem, in: REJ, 4 (1882), 207; 9 (1884), 59; idem, in: MGWJ, 28 (1879), 471; HB, 21 (1881/82), 116ff.; Steinschneider, Uebersetzungen, 508, 543ff.; Munk, Mélanges, 489; J. Perles (ed.), *Kalonymos b. Kalonymos, Sendschreiben* … (1879), 10–11; I. Lattes, *Sha'arei Ẓiyyon*, ed. by S. Buber (1885), 76.

[Jakob Naphtali Hertz Simchoni]

ABBA MARI BEN ISAAC OF ST. GILLES (near Lunel, southern France; c. 1165), bailiff or agent of Count Raymond VI of Toulouse (*pakid ha-shilton Ramon*). He is mentioned by the 12th-century traveler *Benjamin of Tudela, who met him in St. Gilles. Possibly Abba Mari was the father of *Isaac b. Abba Mari, author of the legal codex *Ittur.*

BIBLIOGRAPHY: M.N. Adler (ed.), *Itinerary of Benjamin of Tudela* (1907), 4; Graetz, Hist, 3 (1949), 399; Gross, Gal Jud, 372, 651; Renan, Ecrivains, 520; S. Grayzel, *Church and the Jews* (1933), index.

ABBA MARI BEN MOSES BEN JOSEPH ASTRUC OF LUNEL (c. 1300), writer who opposed extreme rationalism. He especially attacked the spread of philosophical allegorization of Scripture in popular sermons and the use of astral magic for healing. Abba Mari lived in Montpellier where the dispute over Maimonides' *Guide of the Perplexed* had broken out as early as 1232–33 and where the controversy between the philosophical and the traditionalist schools of thought persisted up to the beginning of the 14th century. In order to counteract the rationalistic method of biblical exegesis, which in his view undermined belief, Abba Mari laid down three basic principles of Judaism: the existence, unity, and incorporeality of God; the creation of the world by God; and God's special providence. In his polemical work *Sefer ha-Yare'aḥ* (*yeraḥ* = "moon"; an allusion to his native city Lunel), Abba Mari interprets biblical sayings and stories from the point of view of these three principles. As the leader of the traditionalists in the struggle against their opponents, Abba Mari conducted a vehement propaganda campaign and attempted to induce Solomon b. Abraham *Adret of Barcelona and Kalonymos b. Todros to combine in taking steps against the "corrupters of the holy tradition" (see *Maimonidean controversy). Abba Mari did not succeed, however, in inducing Solomon b. Abraham Adret to oppose publicly the use of astral magic and was barely able to persuade him to join the opposition to allegoristic sermons. Ultimately Adret did join the struggle against rationalism.

After negotiations lasting three years, a 50-year ban was pronounced in the synagogue of Barcelona on the Sabbath before the Ninth of Av, July 1305, against all those who before their 25th birthday engaged in the study of science and of metaphysics. In a special letter to the Provençal communities, this anathema was extended to include those who indulged in rationalistic exegesis and the philosophic interpretation of the *aggadah*. Abba Mari's opponents, led by Jacob b. Machir ibn Tibbon of Montpellier, realizing that this movement was directed against the extreme rationalists, issued a counterban. Menahem *Meiri of Perpignan sent Abba Mari a sharp rejoinder, and *Jedaiah ha-Penini Bedersi addressed himself in a like manner to Adret. Abba Mari obtained rabbinic opinions concerning the ban and counter-ban and received many favorable comments on his position, among others from the rabbis of Toledo, headed by *Asher b. Jehiel. This controversy, however, came to an abrupt end when the Jews were expelled from France by Phillip the Fair in 1306. Abba Mari then moved to Arles and after that to Perpignan. His enemies sought to prevent his settling in that city. The leaders of the Jewish community, Samuel b. Asher and his son Moses, however, espoused his cause and befriended him. The letters and pamphlets of this controversy were collected by Abba Mari in his work *Minḥat Kena'ot* (Pressburg, 1838). The halakhic correspondence between Abba Mari and Adret is contained in the responsa of the latter – *She'elot u-Teshuvot ha-Rashba*, 1 (1480; no. 167, 825, in conjunction with no. 413, 424–28; for the correspondence with Asher b. Jehiel, see the latter's *Responsa* no. 24). Abba Mari wrote a *kinah* for the Ninth of Av as well as a commentary on a Purim song in Aramaic, composed by Isaac ibn Ghayyat (Venice, 1632). Presumably, the *piyyut*, published by S.D. Luzzatto in *Kerem Ḥemed* 4 (1839), 30, is also by Abba Mari (cf. Zunz, against this view, Lit Poesie, 537), and similarly the one written entirely in Aramaic, mentioned in *Naḥalat Shadal* 2 (1879), 4, but omitted in Davidson's *Oẓar.* J. *Jabez, at the end of his book *Or ha-Ḥayyim* (1554) includes excerpts from *Sefer ha-Yare'aḥ* without mentioning Abba Mari, but occasionally referring to the author as "one of the disciples of Ben Adret" (*Kerem Ḥemed*, 9 (1856), 47).

A critical edition of *Minḥat Kena'ot* and other pertinent responsa was published by Ḥayyim Zalman Dimitrowsky, in *Teshuvot ha-Rashba* (1990), vol. 2.

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[Jacob Freimann / Dov Schwartz (2nd ed.)]

ABBA OF AKKO (**Acre**; third–fourth centuries), Palestinian *amora*. Abba apparently served as a rabbi in Acre. None of his halakhic statements has been preserved. The Midrash (Gen. R. 15:7) quotes a solitary comment to the fact that "the tree of the knowledge of good and evil" (Gen. 2:9) was an *etrog* ("citron"). He was so humble that even when the *amora* (the official interpreter of the lecture) introduced into it his own explanation which differed from his, Abba did not protest (Sot. 40a). Since he was poor, his intimate friend R. Abbahu declined to be nominated as head of the yeshivah and instead proposed Abba for the position in order to provide him with a source of livelihood (*ibid.*, loc. cit.; see Rashi ad loc.).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Hyman, Toledot, 55–56; Bacher, Pal. Amor.

[Moshe Beer]

ABBA OSHAYA (**Hoshaya**) **OF TIRIAH** (a village in Galilee, near Nazareth), probably lived in Palestine during the fourth century C.E. (Gen. R. 58:2). None of his *halakhot* or *aggadot* has been preserved; but he was remembered for his piety. Abba Oshaya was a launderer who was meticulous in his work. According to the law the launderer could keep the few threads which detached themselves during the wash. Abba Oshaya however refrained from this practice (TJ, BK 10:11, 7c). Another incident tells of a queen who was bathing where Abba Oshaya worked. She lost her jewelry and relinquished all claim to it. Abba Oshaya, however, found it and insisted on returning it to her (TJ, BM 2:5, 8c). Because of his piety he was regarded as being especially beloved of God. The Midrash (Lev. R. 30:1) relates that "When Abba Oshaya died, his bed was seen floating in the air, and the people applied to him the verse 'If a man would give all the substance of his house for love' – the reference being to the love which God bestowed on Abba Oshaya of Tiriah – he would utterly be desposed" (Song 8:7). Abba Oshaya is an example of the influence which some scholars had, not as a result of their teaching, but on account of their exemplary lives. S. Liebermann, however, is of the opinion that Abba Oshaya the launderer is to be identified with the *tanna* "Isaiah of Tarichae" mentioned in *Tosafot* (BK 11:14) as a man of exceptional piety and not with the later *amora* (The Talmud of Caesarea, *Musaf le-Tarbiẓ*, 2 no. 4, p. 85 note 12).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Hyman, Toledot, 117; S. Klein (ed.), *Sefer ha-Yishuv*, 1 (1939), 73.

[Moshe Beer]

°**ABBAS I** (reigned 1588–1629), regarded as the mightiest king of the Safavid period (1501–1736). In 1598 he transferred his capital from Kazvin to *Isfahan, which he transformed into one of the most magnificent cities in the world by constructing monumental mosques and beautiful avenues and squares. He is mentioned as a great builder of roads and carvanserais, a renowned conqueror, an able organizer of the army, and an austere punisher of his opponents. He was famed for his cruel punishment of disloyal officers and, as a fanatical Muslim, was responsible for the assassination of several Jewish rabbis and for the forced conversion of many Jews in Isfahan and in other cities of Iran. His persecutions of the Jews of Iran are recorded in the Chronicle of Babai ben Lutf of Kashan, according to which there were three waves of forced conversion to Islam between 1613 and 1629, but many of the Jews returned to Judaism afterwards.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: N. Falsafi, *Zendegani-ye Shah Abbas Avval*, 5 vols. (1955–62); A. Netzer, "*Redifot u-Shemadot be-Toledot Yehudei Iran ba-Me'ah ha-17*," in: *Pe'amim* 6 (1980), 32–56; V.B. Moreen, *Iranian Jewry's Hour of Peril and Heroism* (1987); H. Levy, *Comprehensive History of the Jews of Iran* (1999), 302ff.

[Amnon Netzer (2nd ed.)]

°**ABBAS II** (reigned 1642–1666), son of Shah Ṣāfī; regarded, like his great-grandfather *Abbas I, as an able administrator and builder. Abbas II treated any kind of malfeasance with severe punishment. Iranian sources picture him as generally tolerant in religious matters, possibly because he allowed members of the Catholic orders in his empire freedom of action. This tolerance may have to do with his policy of establishing friendly relations with European states in order to win allies against Iran's most formidable enemy, the Ottoman Empire. He died at the age of 36 from alcoholism and syphilis. His cruel treatment of the Jews and forced conversions in many cities of Iran are narrated by *Babai ben Lutf of Kashan, who probably witnessed them. He reported a wave of forced conversions to Islam between 1656 and 1662, after which, however, many Jews returned to Judaism.

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[Amnon Netzer (2nd ed.)]

ABBAS, JUDAH BEN SAMUEL IBN, moderate rationalist author active sometime between the 13th and 15th centuries. Ibn Abbas' most important contribution was the rationalist-ethical and educational work *Ya'ir Nativ* ("He Will Light the Way"). Ibn Abbas also wrote a short book on ethics, *Mekor Ḥayyim* ("Fountain of Life"), and two other books which have not survived, *Me'ir Einayim* ("Light of the Eyes"), on the reasons for the commandments, and a commentary on Aristotle's *Organon*.

In *Ya'ir Nativ*, Ibn Abbas criticized the extremists on both sides of the controversy over philosophy. On the one hand, he criticized the extreme rationalists for their philosophical *antinomianism and for their laxity in, or even mocking, observance of the commandments. On the other hand, he was critical of the "talmudist" rabbis who studied only Talmud and not philosophy. He was thus a model of the moderate rationalism of the period. Ibn Abbas became famous for the curriculum of studies presented in *Ya'ir Nativ.* The curriculum was printed several times.

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[Dov Schwartz (2nd ed.)]

ABBAS (**Abenabez**, **Abenavez**), **MOSES BEN SAMUEL** (c. 1350–c. 1420), talmudist, poet, and communal leader in Saragossa, Spain. Moses was born in Tudela and studied under *Solomon b. Ḥasdai, settling in Saragossa after 1370. He was a close friend of the poet Solomon b. Meshullam *da Piera, with whom he corresponded in Hebrew and Spanish, and some of his poems have been included in collections of the latter's works. Moses was repeatedly elected to the office of *muqaddam*, or administrative officer, of the Saragossa community between 1380 and 1420, representing it at court for the first time in 1389. After the massacres of 1391 Moses did much to relieve the survivors. He represented Saragossa at the disputation of *Tortosa (1413–14).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Baer, Spain, index s.v. *Moses abn Abez;* Baer, Urkunden, index; M. Serrano y Sanz, *Orígenes de la dominación Española en América* (1918), 453 ff.; A. Pacios López, *La Disputa de Tortosa*, 1 (1957), index; S. ben Meshullam Dapiera, *Divan*, ed. by S. Bernstein, 1 (1943), xi, 38–40; S. ibn Verga, *Shevet Yehudah*, ed. by E. Shoḥat (1947), 95; A.M. Habermann, in: *Oẓar Yehudei Sefarad*, 7 (1964), 24–42.

ABBAS, MOSES JUDAH BEN MEIR (c. 1601–1671), talmudist, halakhist, and poet. Abbas came from a Spanish family which, after settling in Salonika, spread throughout Turkey. He himself was born in Salonika. From his youth onward Abbas endured poverty and illness. His rabbis were Mordecai Kalsy, Jonah Adelie, and Solomon (III) b. Isaac (Bet ha-Levi) *Levi. Appointed rabbi in Egypt, he founded a yeshivah and *talmud torah* from which he earned his living. To enlist the necessary financial support he traveled extensively, and wrote appeals to those towns he was unable to visit. In the last years of his life he was a rabbi of Rosetta, where, in about 1669, his house was plundered and he lost all his possessions. Abbas wrote many responsa, most of them in Rosetta, and some during his travels. Two volumes are still extant in manuscript. He wrote *Kisse Kavod* (now at Jews' College, London), a commentary on the minor tractates *Kallah, Soferim*, and *Semaḥot.* While still a youth, Abbas corresponded and exchanged poems with Jewish notables in Turkey. As a poet, he was superior to his contemporaries, but did not reach the heights of the Spanish school. He encouraged young poets, correcting their efforts and couching his replies in verse form. His poems, which employ the meter and language of the Spanish poets, express his sufferings and hopes. According to Conforte, Abbas compiled two volumes of poetry. Some of his secular poems were published by Wallenstein (see bibliography), but hundreds of his scattered poems are still in manuscript. In some of his poems, the name MaShYA (an abbreviation for MoShe Yehudah Abbas) appears as an acrostic.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: M. Benayahu, in: *Zion*, 12 (1946–47), 41–42; M. Wallenstein, in: *Melilah*, 1 (1944), 54–68; 2 (1946), 135–48; 3–4 (1950), 240–54.

ABBA SAUL, mid-second century *tanna*. Quoted frequently in the Mishnah and Tosefta, he was probably a disciple of R. Akiva (in view of the fact that he quotes several *halakhot* in his name; Tosef., Sanh. 12:10). Abba Saul was the colleague of R. Judah b. Ilai and R. Meir (Men. 11:5). He is not usually mentioned with other *tannaim,* nor are *halakhot* transmitted in his name by later *tannaim* (see *Abba Guryon). His terminology often differed from that normally used, not only in relation to burial tools (TJ, Shek. 8:2, 51a) but in other areas as well, so that, for example, one who was commonly called a *shetuki* ("one whose father is not known"), he calls *beduki* ("one requiring examination," Kid. 4:2). He often declared: "The rule is just the opposite" (Git. 5:4) indicating that his version of a tradition differed from that of other *tannaim.* Generally his opinion is quoted as an adjunct to a Mishnah (Sanh. 10:1; et al.). On the basis of these differences, it has been suggested that there was a different "Mishnah of Abba Saul," which Judah ha-Nasi had used. He transmitted traditions with regard to the pathology and growth of the human embryo (TJ, Nid. 3:3, 50d), and especially with regard to the structure and utensils of the Temple (Mid. 2:5; 5:4; Shek. 4:2; et al.). One of his few aggadic statements is his comment on "This is my God, and I will glorify Him" (Ex. 15:2), which he interpreted as meaning that man should strive to imitate God, endeavoring – like Him – to be gracious and merciful (Shab. 133b; Mekh., Shirah, 3). Later traditions suggest that his father's name may have been Nannos (ARN^1 29, 87; cf. Nid. 24b, 25b), and his mother's Imma Miriam (Ket. 87a). The Talmud describes him as "the baker for the family of Rabbi [Judah ha-Nasi]" (Pes. 34a), but in another place his occupation was given as a gravedigger (Nid. 24b) and he described prevailing burial customs, reporting how a grave was located in the rock at Beth-Horon (Nid. 61a).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Frankel, Mishnah, 186–7; I. Lewy, in: *Berichte der Hochschule fuer die Wissenschaft des Judenthums in Berlin* (1876); Hyman, Toledot, s.v.; Epstein, Tanna'im, 160–3.

[Bialik Myron Lerner]

ABBA SAUL BEN BATNIT (first century C.E.), mentioned a number of times in tannaitic sources. According to Beẓah 3:8, Abba Saul was a shopkeeper in Jerusalem who had the custom of filling his measuring vessels with oil and wine before a festival for the convenience of his customers. Praised for his honesty, the Tosefta (*ibid.*, 3:8) reports that he once brought as a gift to the Temple three hundred jars of oil which had accumulated from the drops left in the measuring vessels, to which he had no right. When he was ill and the sages came to visit him, he showed them his right hand, and exclaimed: "See this right hand which always gave honest measure" (TJ, Beẓah 3:9, 62b). His name is associated with a halakhic precedent at the end of Mishnah *Shabbat* (24:5), and Tosefta *Menaḥot* (13:21, Pes. 57a) mentions him in connection with a series of criticisms of the conduct of the high priestly class in the last decades of the Second Temple.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Hyman, Toledot, s.v.; A. Buechler, *Types of Jewish-Palestinian Piety* (1922), 203.

[Abraham Goldberg]

ABBASI (incorrectly **Akasi** and **Aksai**)**, JACOB BEN MOSES IBN** (second half of 13th century), Hebrew translator. Abbasi was born probably in Béziers in southern France, but he lived in *Huesca, Spain. There in 1297–98 he translated Maimonides' commentary on the third order of the Mishnah (*Nashim*) from the original Arabic into Hebrew. As he relates in his introduction, the Jews of Rome had sent an emissary, R. Simḥah, to Spain to obtain a translation of the Mishnah commentary; the emissary was directed to Huesca with recommendations from Solomon b. Abraham *Adret of Barcelona and other Spanish rabbinical authorities. The Huesca community agreed to provide translations of the first three orders of Maimonides' commentary, and commissioned the third to Abbasi with the assistance of Ḥayyim b. Solomon b. Baka, the physician.

In his introduction Abbasi set down his views on the relation of Judaism to philosophy. Citing Ecclesiastes 7:23, "… I said: 'I will get wisdom'; but it was far from me," he declared that the powers of man's mind are limited; neither philosophy nor natural science can reveal the essence of things. The Greek philosophers, whom Abbasi quotes, admitted this. Perfection can be achieved only by the study of the Torah and the observance of its commandments. There are secrets in prophecy that man cannot always penetrate, but the merit of divinely commanded action is evident and leads to deeper knowledge. Abbasi considered men in relation to the Torah in three categories: those who study and observe it, those who study but do not observe it, and those who observe but do not study it. He classified the commandments of the Torah in three categories as well; commandments involving the mind and the soul, commandments pertaining to the body, and commandments dealing with one's possessions. Abbasi continued his discussion describing the importance of the Oral Law as the indispensable and authoritative interpretation of Scripture; he explained the nature of Mishnah, *Gemara*, and certain works codifying the law, and stressed the importance of Maimonides' commentary for the understanding of the Mishnah and establishing *halakhah*. Thus, he praised the Jewish community of Rome for their initiative in commissioning the translation, which he considered of great importance for the future as well.

Abbasi wrote a short preface in which he explained the principles followed in his work, which for the most part are the same as those followed by other contemporary translators. He states that the translation is strictly literal; only rarely did he expand the text for clarity. He corrected obvious mistakes of transcription in the Arabic manuscript according to talmudic sources and Maimonides' other writings, but did not attempt to harmonize this commentary with Maimonides' *Mishneh Torah.* He also wrote a letter to Solomon b. Abraham Adret submitting his translation for approval. Abbasi's translation was included in the first edition of the complete Mishnah commentary (Naples, 1492), and after that often appeared in editions of the Mishnah and Talmud.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Steinschneider, Uebersetzungen, 924; idem, in: JQR, 11 (1898/99), 333; Vogelstein-Rieger, 420ff.; Gross, Gal Jud, 105.

ABBASIDS, second dynasty in Islam, ruling from 750 to 1258, mostly from their capital of Baghdad. At its height (eighth-ninth centuries) the Abbasid realm extended from Central Asia in the east through North Africa in the west. It thus encompassed virtually all the Jewish communities then known, save those in Europe.

The new dynasts came to power after some 50 years of clandestine revolutionary activity resulted in an open revolt (747–50). The ensuing conflict toppled the Umayyads (661–750), usurpers of the Prophet Muhammad's authority. The change of dynasty has long been regarded as a major watershed in the history of the Islamic state, albeit for different reasons.

Previous generations of Orientalists saw the rise of the Abbasids in the light of 19th century notions of nationalism and race and society. The emergence of the Abbasids was thus depicted as the culmination of a long struggle between the Syria-based "Arab" kingdom of the Umayyads and the conquered people of an Iranian empire that was shattered with the rise of Islam. The conflict was thus seen as being between a ruling institution predicated on the special privilege of a relatively small Arab/Muslim aristocracy and a more broadly defined coalition of forces whose ethnic origins were said to have been in the former Iranian provinces to the east, most especially the great land of *Khurasan. With that, there developed the seductive notion that Islamic government became increasingly Iranized under the Abbasids. In sum, it was believed that the Abbasid triumph heralded the creation of a new political and social order in which a narrowly defined ruling Arab society was replaced by a polity of more universal outlook and composition.

The traditional view has given way to a new consensus. Historians now stress the central role played by Arabs from the eastern provinces, particularly in leading the revolt. It is now believed that the struggle between the rebels and the Umayyads was not to restore an Iranian empire and civilization in Islamized garb, but to restore the pristine Islam of the Prophet's time under caliphs chosen from the House of the Prophet (Hashimites).

In any case, the Abbasid revolution was not a palace coup in which one family displaced another for reasons of personal aggrandizement only to see business continue as usual. A new age had dawned, or so the advocates of the regime claimed in hyperbolic language spiced with apocalyptical symbols. The Abbasid rulers adopted regnal titles suggesting that the messianic age was at hand and they were the chosen instruments of this manifest destiny. The messiah did not arrive but the new rulers altered the political and social landscape dramatically. With unexpected swiftness, the Abbasids redefined an Islamic state that had been founded on Arab privilege and beset by tribal xenophobia. They replaced it with a broadly based polity aspiring to universal outlook and recognition. Viewed as a whole, the deliberate restructuring of Abbasid society seems radical and far reaching. Whether one speaks of new networks of social relationships, a complete overhaul of the military from tribal to regionally based professional units, innovations in provincial administration that allowed for greater representation of non-family affiliates among the governors and sub-governors, or the creation of a highly centralized and massive bureaucracy that employed many non-Arabs, the changes instituted by the new regime represented an ambitious departure in the style and substance of rule hitherto known amongst the Muslims.

To legitimize these dramatic changes, the new ruling order built a magnificent capital at Baghdad in central Iraq. Never before had so grand a city been built. Completed in 766 as a glorified administrative complex, the city eventually grew to an urban area of some 7,000 hectares that was by all accounts densely populated throughout the eighth–tenth centuries. Population estimates vary, but a settlement of well over half a million is certainly possible. With the building of a second imperial center, Samarra, some 55 years later, the Abbasids completely altered the demographic landscape of Iraq, particularly the central region. The vast majority of the inhabitants now lived in major cities and towns, signifying a dramatic shift from agricultural hinterland to urban environment.

Although we lack firm evidence, we can surmise that the increasing urbanization saw a shift in the pattern of Jewish settlement in the region. Babylonian Jews, previously engaged in agriculture and small crafts, must have been attracted, like their Muslim and Christian neighbors, from the declining villages and small towns to the cities where the Abbasid rulers encouraged urban development and expanded commerce and trade. Jews thus became part of the changing economic environment, and eventually played a central role in long-distance trade throughout the Islamic world and beyond. In the ninth century, a group of Jewish merchants called Radhanites after a district in the vicinity of Baghdad traded from China to the Iberian Peninsula. Although business of this sort was not the archetypal Jewish profession, it was a métier to which they readily adapted and with communities of co-religionists dispersed throughout the Islamic world and in Europe, they were able to create an effective business network that included commerce, trade, and also banking.

In the tenth century, a number of Christian and Jewish bankers were employed by various Abbasid functionaries, including the caliphs in Baghdad. Their task was to manage the fortunes of state officials and of the caliph himself. One might ask to what extent the activities of the Jewish bankers in Baghdad had similar parallels elsewhere in the Islamic world. The contemporary Muslim geographer al-Muqaddasi reports that most of the bankers and moneychangers in Egypt were Jews. However, the broad picture of Jewish involvement in the financial transactions of the times has yet to be fully researched.

The Abbasid state could not sustain the political stability of its early decades. Civil war broke out towards the end of the eighth century and military revolts were common in the ninth. By the latter part of the tenth century, the Abbasid empire witnessed the loss of North Africa and Egypt to the *Fatimids, a Shiʿite dynasty that originated in North Africa. To the east, various petty dynasts recognized the suzerainty of the Abbasid caliphs but withheld the tax revenues for themselves. As a result, economic conditions declined throughout the truncated realm. Already in the ninth century, the state, strapped for revenues, confiscated vast wealth from rich Christians (and presumably Jews) and during the reign of the caliph al-Mutawakkil (847–61) went so far as to invoke the discriminatory legislation against the Christians and Jews that had long been Islamic law but was seldom put into effect.

With conditions deteriorating in the Abbasid heartland, many Jews migrated westward to Egypt, North Africa, and more distant lands. Their path was made easier by the relative tolerance they experienced in Egypt and North Africa. Slowly, the center of Jewish commercial activity as well as scholarly enterprise shifted westward. Abbasid Iraq, which had been the home of the *exilarchs and of the *geonim* (see *Gaon), the leading political and scholarly figures of world Jewry, as well as the seat of the great academies of Sura and Pumbedita, was forced to share its preeminence as a Jewish center with rapidly developing communities elsewhere.

Over the centuries the power of the caliphs declined although the empire itself, however truncated, was more or less kept intact. When Baghdad was conquered by the *Mongols in 1258, to all intents and purposes, the Abbasid caliphate came to an end. The Mongol conquest would seem to have created expectations of more relaxed times among Christians and Jews. But the conversion of the Mongols to Islam ended any hopes of dramatic change in the relations among the monotheists.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: J. Lassner, *The Shaping of ʿAbbasid Rule* (1980); idem, *Remembering the Middle East* (2000); S.D. Goitein and P. Sanders, *A Mediterranean Society,* 6 (1993), indices, s.v. Baghdad and Iraq.

[Jacob Lassner (2nd ed.)]

ABBA SIKRA (or **Sakkara**), talmudic name of one of the leaders in the defense of Jerusalem against the Romans in 66–70 C.E. "Abba Sikra" is regarded by some scholars as an epithet meaning "chief of the *Sicarii." Jastrow, however, believes the word *sikra* means "red paint" or the act of "leaping"; Sikr is also recorded as a name for Arabs. In the two parallel accounts of his activities, the Talmud (Git. 56a) calls him Abba Sikra whereas the Midrash (Lam. R. 1:5 no. 31), refers to him as Ben Batiaḥ, but there is no doubt that both refer to the same person. The Talmud calls him "chief of the *biryonim* in Jerusalem," seemingly in a deprecatory sense, since this term is frequently used in connection with robbers and brigands (Sanh. 37a; Ber. 10a). He is linked with two episodes; the burning of the storehouses in Jerusalem, and the smuggling of his uncle, Johanan b. Zakkai, out of the city during the siege. The burning is recorded in connection with a dispute between the sages and the *Zealots. The sages wished to sue for peace, while the latter wished to do battle with the Romans. No conclusion was reached; but Ben Batiaḥ, who was in charge of the storehouses in Jerusalem, burnt them all, to R. Johanan's distress. The resultant famine led R. Johanan to seek the assistance of Abba Sikra in his plan to leave the beleaguered city. Abba Sikra proposed that R. Johanan feign illness and then death. He accompanied the coffin, borne by Eliezer and Joshua, the disciples of R. Johanan, and prevented the guards at the gate from stabbing the body.

Bibliography: S.J.L. Rapoport, *Erekh Millin*, 1 (1852), 1; Derenbourg, Hist, 280; Guttmann, Mafte'ah, 1 (1906), 115; Klausner, Bayit Sheni, 5 (1951), 229–30; Alon, Meḥkarim, 1 (1957), 249–50. **Add. Bibliography:** T. Ilan, *Lexicon of Jewish Names in Late Antiquity. Part I: Palestine 330 BCE–200 CE* (2002), 397, s.v. Siqra.

[Lea Roth / Shimon Gibson (2nd ed.)]

ABBA UMANA (Heb. אַבָּא אוּמָנָה; fourth century C.E.), Babylonian bloodletter (hence his cognomen). Abba Umana was distinguished for his exceptional piety and, according to legend, daily received a greeting from the Heavenly Academy, a distinction accorded to Abbaye only once a week, and to Rava only once a year. Abbaye, grieved at not being considered as worthy as Abba Umana, was told: "You cannot do what Abba Umana does." In treating women, he conducted himself with the utmost modesty. In order not to put poor patients to shame, he arranged for his fee to be deposited in a place hidden from public view. He never accepted any remuneration from a scholar but instead would give him money to enable him to recuperate. Once Abbaye sent two sages to test him. Abba Umana gave them food and drink, and in the evening prepared mattresses for them. The following morning they took them to the market to sell. On meeting Abba Umana they asked him of what he suspected them. Abba Umana replied that when he missed the mattresses he assumed that they needed money for the redemption of captives. He refused to take the mattresses back, saying that he already devoted them to charity (Ta'an. 21b–22a).

Bibliography: Hyman, Toledot, 10.

ABBAYE (278–338 C.E.), Babylonian *amora* of the fourth generation; chief of scholars of *Pumbedita. Abbaye was of priestly descent and was reputed to be a descendant of *Eli, the high priest. His father, whose name apparently was Keilil (Zev. 118b), died before, and his mother, at his birth (Kid. 31b). He was raised by his uncle, *Rabbah b. Nahmani, and by a foster mother whom he frequently quoted, calling her "mother." His true name is not known. According to R. Sherira Gaon, he was called "Nahmani" after his paternal grandfather, and Abbaye, then, was a nickname. While he was still a child, his uncle recognized Abbaye's intellectual capacity, and endeavored to educate him appropriately (Ber. 33b). He continued his studies under R. Joseph who apparently succeeded Rabbah as the head of Pumbedita's circle of scholars. There is a legend that Abbaye later helped R. Joseph recall what he had forgotten as the result of illness. Abbaye debated legal points with the leading talmudic scholars of the day, such as Judah and *Ḥisda (Ta'an. 11b–12a). In his youth he was poor and watered his fields at night to enable him to study by day (Git. 60b), but later he employed tenant farmers (Ket. 60b) and traded in wine (Ber. 56a). Upon Joseph's death (333 C.E.), Abbaye succeeded him as head in Pumbedita and held this position for the rest of his life. Until relatively recently, most modern scholars presumed that his most prominent colleague was *Rava, and that their agreements ("Both Abbaye and Rava say …") and disagreements constituted a major element of the Talmud. Today the predominant view is that direct dialogues between Abbaye and Rava are extremely rare. Nearly all of their presumed dialogues, previously thought to form the backbone of the Babylonian Talmud, are, in fact, discussions between Abbaye and his teacher, Rabbah. This misapprehension resulted from the widespread confusion between the names Rava and Rabbah in the manuscripts and printed editions of the Talmud. Indeed, face-to-face contact between fourth generation Babylonian masters has now been shown to be generally infrequent, leading to the conclusion that they may have studied in disciple circles rather than academies. It seems that the editors of the Talmud in a later period gathered issues of law on which Abbaye and Rava's independently adduced positions contradicted. These contradictions were then hashed out by the anonymous editorial voice of the Talmud. However, actual historically authentic dispute dialogue between Abbaye and Rava is almost nonexistent. In the Talmud's discussions of their contradictory opinions, generally Rava's view was accepted as law; only in six instances did Abbaye's view prevail (BM 22b; etc.). The Talmudic term, "Discussions of Abbaye and Rava" became a general term appellation for the entire system of talmudic dialectics. Abbaye's method of halakhic study combined erudition with keen, logical analysis. Yet, in contrast to his colleague – Rava – he was said to have preferred to rely on transmitted knowledge rather than on independent reasoning (Er. 3a). Discovering similar principles underlying the opinions of various sages, Abbaye would formulate terse general rules and find support for his opinion and that of others in *baraitot*. He also classified difficult passages in earlier sources and included in his studies laws no longer in force (Zev. 44b). He had a large stock of popular sayings, which he prepared with "People say …." Some of his own remarks became popular maxims; among them, "Go outside and see what the people say …," i.e., follow popular tradition. Through his foster-mother he became familiar with remedies and justified their use by the rule that whatever is done for healing is not considered "ways of the Amorites" (i.e., pagan superstition; Shab. 67a). In the field of *aggadah*, Joseph's influence on Abbaye can be seen, but the former sometimes deferred to his pupil's exposition of a different verse. Abbaye was also responsible for reversing Joseph's negative attitude to the book of Ben Sira (Sanh. 100b). He took over *aggadot* and interpretations brought by Dimi from Ereẓ Israel to Babylon (Sanh. 44b). He was the first to discriminate explicitly between the plain contextual meaning of Scripture and its interpretation use for Midrash (Ḥul. 133a). Especially noteworthy is his quotation (from a *baraita*) of an exposition of the verse (Deut. 6:5): "And thou shalt love the Lord, thy God," meaning that "the Name of Heaven should be loved on account of you." One should study Scripture, learn halakhot, be apprenticed to a sage, and deal honorably with one's fellowmen. Then people will say "How pleasant are the ways of this person who has studied Torah, how proper his conduct" (Yoma 86a). In the discussion between the *tannaim* as to whether man should devote his time to the study of Torah to the exclusion of everything else (according to the view of Simeon b. Yoḥai) or whether one should study as well as live a productive life (the opinion of lshmael), Abbaye concurred with the latter (Ber. 35b). Whenever one of his disciples had completed a tractate he would arrange a feast for scholars, thus showing his appreciation and concern for his students (Shab. 188b–119a). He often stressed the importance of "A soft answer turning away wrath," and of promoting goodwill among men "so that one may be beloved above and well-liked below …" (Ber. 17a). His second wife, Ḥoma, who was the great-granddaughter of R. Judah, was famous for her beauty (Ket. 65a).

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[Ephraim Elimelech Urbach]

ABBAYE KASHISHA ("Abbaye the Elder"; c. 300), Babylonian *amora. He* is called "the elder" in order to differentiate him from the better known *Abbaye of a later generation. He taught and interpreted halakhic *beraitot* (Yev. 24a; Ket. 94a, 96b), but also dealt with aggadic topics (Shab. 56a). He compared dissension and controversy to "the planks of a bridge which at first are loose but ultimately become fixed in place through constant treading" (Sanh. 7a). The later Abbaye quotes a *baraita* transmitted by his namesake (Ket. 94a).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Hyman, Toledot, s.v.

[Abraham Goldberg]

ABBA YOSE BEN DOSTAI (**Dosai**; second century C.E.), Palestinian *tanna*. He is not mentioned in the Mishnah, but he transmitted halakhic statements in the names of R. *Eliezer and R. *Yose ha-Gelili (Tosef., Pe'ah 4:2; Ta'an. 2:6; cf. *Tosefta ki-Feshutah*. 1 (1955), 180, 5 (1962), 1080). He was a contemporary of *Yose b. Meshullam, and halakhic remarks are quoted jointly in their names (Tosef., Kelim, BK 6:18; Makhsh. 2:10). *Aggadot* dealing with the reconciliation of contradictory biblical passages are cited in his name by Judah ha-Nasi (Sif. Num. 42).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Bacher, Tann, 2 (1890), 388–9, 489; Hyman, Toledot, 720–1 Z.K.

ABBA YOSE (**Isi**) **BEN ḤANIN** (**Hanan**, **Johanan**; second half of first century C.E.), *tanna* who transmitted details of the number and location of the Temple court gates (Mid. 2:6) and the order of the Temple service (Tosef., Suk. 4:15). Several of his statements on *halakhah* have been preserved (Tosef., Er., end; Sif. Num. 8; Sot. 20b). He denounced the priestly families and their corrupt behavior: "Woe is me because of the house of Boethus, woe is me because of their staves! Woe is me because of the house of Kathros, woe is me because of their pens! Woe is me because of the house of Elhanan, woe is me because of their whisperings! Woe is me because of the house of Elisha, woe is me because of their fists! Woe is me because of the house of Ishmael b. Phabi, for they are high priests, and their sons are Temple treasurers, and their sons-in-law trustees, and their servants come and beat us with staves!" (Tosef., Men. 13:21; Pes. 57a). According to some later traditions (DEZ 9, end; cf. Sperber, DEZ, 152), Abba Yose transmitted an *aggadah* conveying the significance of the Temple, in the name of *Samuel ha-Katan: "This world is like the human eyeball. Its white typifies the ocean, which surrounds the world. Its black typifies the world. The pupil of the eye symbolizes Jerusalem. The image in the pupil of the eye symbolizes the Temple, may it speedily be rebuilt."

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Hyman, Toledot, 726; Epstein, Tanna'im, 47.

[Zvi Kaplan]

ABBELL, MAXWELL (1902–1957), U.S. communal worker, lawyer, businessman, and philanthropist. Abbell, who was born in Slonim, Poland, was taken to the U.S. at the age of three by his parents, who settled in Chelsea, Mass. Moving to Chicago, Abbell worked first for the Jewish Social Service Bureau, then as assistant executive director of the Jewish Charities of Chicago (1925–37). In 1937 he established his own accounting firm, and in 1944 he became senior partner of the law firm of Abbell and Schanfeld. He entered the real estate business as well, eventually establishing Abbell Hotels, a large nationwide chain, which he continued to manage until his death. Highly active in local and national Jewish life, Abbell was chairman of the Chicago College of Jewish Studies (1950–54), president of the United Synagogue of America (1950–53), and a founder of the World Council of Synagogues in 1957. His philanthropical activities were devoted mainly to the State of Israel and the Jewish Theological Seminary of America. In 1955 President Eisenhower appointed him chairman of the President's Committee on Government Employment Policy.

[Bernard Segal]

ABBOTT, BUD (**William Abbott**; 1895–1974), U.S. actor. Famous for playing the straight man in the legendary comedy duo "Abbott and Costello" with longtime partner Lou Costello, Abbott was born to Ringling Brothers' Circus performers in Asbury Park, New Jersey. After dropping out of school in 1909, he began working in carnivals and theaters around the U.S. Eventually he became the manager of the National Theater in Detroit, where he honed his skills playing the straight man alongside vaudeville performers Harry Steepe and Harry Evanson. In 1931, Abbott was working as a cashier at the Brooklyn Theater when he substituted for Lou Costello's usual straight man, who was ill, and what would become one of comedy's most celebrated teams was formed. The duo's first national exposure came in 1938, with an appearance on *The Kate Smith Hour* radio show that led to a contract with Universal the following year. In 1940, Abbott and Costello secured their place in comedic history with their unforgettable supporting role in Universal's *One Night in the Tropics*, in which they performed their signature "Who's on First?" routine. Abbott and Costello's first starring role with Universal came in the comedy *Buck Privates* (1941). The unexpected success of *Buck Privates* led to a string of starring roles in slapstick comedies such as *In the Navy* (1941), *Hold That Ghost* (1941), *Keep 'Em Flying* (1941), *Ride 'Em Cowboy* (1942), *Who Done It?* (1942), *Hit the Ice* (1943), and *In Society* (1944). The duo continued to rely upon their trademark fast-paced, cross-talking formula in more than a dozen other films throughout the latter half of the 1940s and into the early 1950s, when they also began to appear on the television shows *The Colgate Comedy Hour* (1951–54) and *The Abbott and Costello Show* (1952–54). In 1956, Abbott and Costello finally parted ways following an IRS investigation that left both men in dire financial straits. Abbott attempted to revive his career with a new partner, Candy Candido, during the 1960s but found little success. In his final performance, Abbott provided his own voice for the 1966 animated television series, *Abbott and Costello*.

[Walter Driver (2nd ed.)]

ABBREVIATIONS. The abbreviation of words originated in antiquity, probably soon after the alphabet developed from ideographic pictures. While originally rare, their use increased with the general growth in the transmission of ideas by writing. They relieved the shortage of space and precious writing materials, served the convenience of the scribe, and preserved a certain degree of secrecy. An abbreviation also obviated the constant repetition of the full Divine Name. Various methods of abbreviating evolved in the course of time and, when extensively used, they economized in space and materials, although occasionally causing confusion and misunderstandings.

Terminology

The expression *notarikon* (derived from the Greek term for stenography) occurs in the Mishnah (Shab. 12:5) and refers to the use of initial letters, dots, and dashes to indicate abbreviation. It is used in the Talmud to indicate memory devices and is one of the 32 *hermeneutics rules of the *aggadah* (H.G. Enelow (ed.), *Mishnat R. Eliezer* (1933), 39) and one of the most popular and frequently used. By the third century the terms *siman* (Heb. סִימָן; Gr. *sēmeion*) and *alef bet* (אָלֶף בֵּית) were current and applied to mnemonics, as in "Torah can only be acquired with [the aid of] mnemonic signs" (Er. 54b), while the Talmud also refers to *serugin* (סֵרוּגִין; Yoma 38a, etc.), a system of abbreviation called trellis-writing, whereby only the initial word or letter is used when quoting a biblical verse. This system has been found in Bible fragments recovered from the Cairo *Genizah. The term *rashei otiyyot* is found only in *Tanḥuma* (B., Ex. 54); *rashei tevot* first in *Tanḥuma Ha'azinu* 5; while the expression *sofei tevot* occurs in the post-talmudic masorah. The grammarian Elijah Levita (1468–1549) speaks of "… abbreviated, broken words, expressions written in *notarikon* and initials…."

History

As the Hebrews wrote at an early stage of their history, the early invention of abbreviations could be assumed. They appear on sixth-century Semitic inscriptions, fifth-century Aramaic documents, and on Samarian jar handles. To mark ownership, for Temple and other sacred purposes, such abbreviations were used well into talmudic times. Although not usually found in official manuscripts of the Bible, abbreviations appear in masoretic writings, Midrash, Mishnah, and Talmud, and they abound in post-tannaitic literature. It has been suggested that the translators of the Septuagint used a Hebrew text with abbreviations. It became one of the main concerns of the masoretic scholars to eliminate ambiguities caused by abbreviations, so that in printed Bibles there are generally no abbreviations; modern Bible commentators, however, while seeking to explain obscure passages, offer emendations suggesting that certain words are actually abbreviations (e.g., J.H. Greenstone in his commentary on Num. 23:3).

Abbreviations appear on Jewish *coins of the Jewish War (66–70) and the Bar Kokhba War (132–135; e.g., שָׁנָה ב׳ – שב׳, לְחֵרוּת – לחר); on documents recovered from the Dead Sea Caves and Masada; and on ossuaries of the talmudic period (e.g., יְחֶזְקִיָּה – יחזק). The Mishnah regularly uses them (e.g., רַבִּי – ר׳), as does the Talmud (see Pes. 102b–103a) in a discussion on the order of the blessings known as *yaknehaz* (יַקְנְהַ״ז). Rashi, commenting on Numbers 5:11ff. in *Gittin* 60a and *Yoma* 37b–38a, discusses various forms of abbreviations mentioned in the Talmuds. The mnemonic *simanim* were used to group together different *halakhot* with a common denominator such as authorship (e.g., *halakhot*, all by Abbaye, known as יעל קג״ם; BK 73a). Abbreviations were used extensively as formulas of the calendar system (e.g., לא אד״ו ראש, "Rosh Ha-Shanah cannot fall on Sundays, Wednesdays, or Fridays"). In the Middle Ages, the names of frequently quoted scholars and/or their works were abbreviated and made pronounceable, e.g., Rashi (R. Shelomo Yiẓḥaki), Rambam (R. Moses b. Maimon), Rosh (Rabbenu Asher). It was also the practice in the medieval and post-medieval periods to append eulogistic terms in abbreviated forms (e.g., נוֹחוֹ עֵדֶן – נ״ע, "he rests in paradise") or for martyrs (ה׳ יִקּוֹם דָּמוֹ – הי״ד, "may God avenge his blood"); among Sephardim ס״ט was used meaning סוֹפוֹ טוֹב ("may his end be good") and is applied to the living as well, standing for סְפָרַדִּי טָהוֹר, "of pure Sephardi descent." Current also were abbreviated eulogistic phrases in Spanish and Portuguese on tombstones, supplementing or replacing the traditional Hebrew. Abbreviations were also known in the communities of the Marrano Diaspora, e.g., Amsterdam, where there were transliterations into the Latin alphabet of accepted Hebrew abbreviations (e.g., K.K.T.T. – קָהָל קָדוֹשׁ תַּלְמוּד תּוֹרָה, "Holy Congregation Talmud Torah–" as an abbreviation for the Amsterdam Sephardi congregation). The use of abbreviations has continued to grow, particularly in all fields of Jewish scholarship. It has been estimated, for example, that in the *siddur* of Jacob *Emden there are approximately 1,700 abbreviations. Famous personalities continued to be called by an abbreviation such as the Ba'al Shem Tov (Besht, בֶּעשְׁ״ט) and Elijah of Vilna (הַגָּאוֹן ר׳ אֵלִיָּהוּ – הַגְרָ״א).

Since the 19th century some authors' initials have almost superseded their actual names (e.g., the poet Judah Leib *Gordon is commonly known as יַלַ״ג). The initials with which the historian and journalist Shneur Zalman Rubashov (later president of the State of Israel) signed his articles eventually became his Hebrew name (שַׁזַ״ר, *Shazar).

Many 19th- and 20th-century Jewish organizations and institutions have become known by their abbreviated titles, e.g., *Alliance Israélite Universelle (כָּל יִשְׂרָאֵל חֲבֵרִים – כִּיַ״ח); or the *Bilu pioneers (בִּיל״וּ for בֵּית יַעֲקֹב לְכוּ וְנֵלְכָה). The Ḥasidic movement emanating from Lubavitch is known by the initials of their motto Ḥabad (חָכְמָה, בִּינָה, דַּעַת – חַבַּ״ד, "wisdom, understanding, knowledge"). Jewish organizations have also taken names from non-Hebrew initials, such as HIAS and *WIZO. The habit of calling international bodies by their initials (e.g., UN, UNESCO, UNSCOP) has found an echo in the Hebrew אוּ״ם for אֻמּוֹת מְאֻחָדוֹת (United Nations). In Israel constant use is made of abbreviations (e.g., *Mapai, מִפְלֶגֶת פּוֹעֲלֵי אֶרֶץ יִשְׂרָאֵל – מַפָּא״י, "the Israel Labor Party"; Ẓahal, צְבָא הֲגַנָּה לְיִשְׂרָאֵל – צַהַ״ל, "Israel Defense Forces"). These groups have adopted abbreviations which have virtually become independent words. Military ranks, units, and equipment are expressed almost exclusively by abbreviations, and so are most public enterprises (e.g., *Tahal, תִּכְנוּן הַמַּיִם לְיִשְׂרָאֵל – תַּהַ״ל, "Water Planning for Israel"). A member of the Israeli parliament is abbreviated חֲבֵר כְּנֶסֶת – חַ״כ; a publisher מוֹצִיא לָאוֹר – מוֹ״ל; Land of Israel, אֶרֶץ יִשְׂרָאֵל – א״י; the rest of the world is חוּץ לָאָרֶץ – חוּ״ל. Cities with a compound name are often abbreviated (e.g., תֵּל אָבִיב – ת״א, Tel Aviv). Various methods have been used to indicate abbreviations and several types are distinguishable. By the Middle Ages various systems of dots and strokes were known. The modern method uses a single stroke if one word is abbreviated (e.g., מַסֶּכֶת – מס׳) and double strokes before the final letter of the abbreviation if there are more (e.g., הַקָּדוֹשׁ בָּרוּךְ הוּא – הקב״ה).

Types of Abbreviations

Two types of abbreviations are distinguishable. The first type is when one word is abbreviated: (1) *tevot mogzarot:* the end of the word is dropped (e.g., שֶׁנֶּאֱמַר – שנ׳); (2) *tevot nishbarot:* the middle of the word is dropped (e.g., אֶלָּא – אא); (3) *emẓa'ei tevot:* the middle letter represents a word (e.g., ה׳ for the Tetragrammaton); (4) *sofei tevot:* the beginning of the word is dropped (e.g., אֶבֶן – ן׳). The second type is when a group of words is abbreviated: (1) *rashei tevot:* the initial letters are used (e.g., אִם יִרְצֶה הַשֵּׁם – אי״ה); (2) two letters are used of one or several words (e.g., שְׁאֵלוֹת וּתְשׁוּבוֹת – שו״ת; אָדָם הָרִאשׁוֹן – אדה״ר); (3) when one of the words is very short, it is retained (e.g., שְׁוָא נָח – שנ״ח); (4) when an abbreviation is formed of a group of words, it may itself be divided (e.g., בָּרוּךְ אַתָּה ה׳ אֱלֹהֵינוּ מֶלֶךְ הָעוֹלָם אֲשֶׁר קִדְּשָׁנוּ בְּמִצְוֹתָיו וְצִוָּנוּ – בא״י אמ״ה אקב״ו). Such groups with the addition of vowels have often been rendered pronounceable (e.g., קוֹלִי, רֹאשׁ, עָרוֹב, שָׂשׂ, טוֹב, נִדְבוֹת – קְרַ״ע שָׂטָ״ן, initial letters of verses recited before the *shofar* is blown); (5) such abbreviations are really *acrostics. In large groups, words may be left unrepresented (e.g., in the abbreviation for the Ten Plagues, דְּצַ״ךְ עֲדַ״שׁ בְּאַחַ״ב, the Passover *Haggadah* omits the word מַכַּת before the ב standing for 6) ;(בְּכוֹרוֹת) *sofei tevot:* the abbreviation is formed by a combination of final letters (e.g., בָּרָא אֱלֹהִים לַעֲשׂוֹת – אמ״ת, see also no. 10); (7) *serugin* (trellis-writing): where only the initial word or letter is used when quoting a biblical verse; (8) *ẓeruf:* mystic combination of letters (see below); (9) combination of middle letters (e.g., תְּקִיעָה תְּרוּעָה תְּקִיעָה – קר״ק); (10) initial letters in reverse order (e.g., תְּהִלִּים מִשְׁלֵי אִיּוֹב – אמ״ת); (11) occasionally vernacular proper nouns and other words have been accepted and abbreviated in Hebrew (e.g., *Yahrzeit*, יאָהרצייט – י״צ).

Abbreviation of the Name of God

The name of God is probably the most often abbreviated word, due to its frequent appearance in Jewish writing and the reverence which is accorded it. It was abbreviated in antiquity, mishnaic, and talmudic times as ה׳ or י׳; in Targum Onkelos as ה׳ and ד׳; and in the Middle Ages it was represented by ה׳ and varying numbers of *yod*'s, *vav*'s, strokes, and dots, from which developed the use of *yod*'s. It has been estimated that there are over 80 substitutes for the Divine Name.

Abbreviation of Names

These are found in connection with euphemisms for the living and eulogies for the dead, in prayers, letters, etc. The Talmud (Git. 36a) reports that the *amoraim* Ḥisda and Hoshaya signed themselves ס׳ and ע׳, respectively, and other names were abbreviated in talmudic times (e.g, Resh Lakish for R. Simeon b. Lakish). In medieval times the names of famous rabbis were abbreviated, vowels added, and the resultant abbreviation pronounced (e.g., רַבִּי לֵוִי בֶּן גֵּרְשׁוֹם – רַלְבַּ״ג), a practice also adopted by and for later scholars and their families (e.g., בֶּן רַבִּי יְהוּדָה לֵוִי – בְּרִי״ל; רַבִּי מֹשֶׁה חַיִּים לוּצַטוֹ – רַמְחַ״ל). The general term for the talmudic sages was חֲכָמֵינוּ זִכְרוֹנָם לִבְרָכָה – חז״ל. In the emancipation period, when the Jews had to adopt surnames, Hebrew abbreviations often formed the basis of "secular" names (e.g., Baeck, בַּעַל קוֹרֵא – ב״ק or בְּנֵי קֹדֶשׁ). Ḥasidic leaders were referred to as אֲדוֹנֵנוּ מוֹרֵנוּ וְרַבֵּנוּ – אַדְמוֹ״ר. The name Katz (כֹּהֵן צֶדֶק – כַּ״ץ) stood for families of priestly descent, and Segal (סְגַן לְוִיָּה – סֶגַ״ל) for those of levite origin. On talmudic ossuaries the letters אָמֵן – א׳ and שָׁלוֹם – ש׳ appear after the name of the deceased, while on later tombstones תְּהִי נַפְשׁוֹ צְרוּרָה בִּצְרוֹר הַחַיִּים – תנצב״ה (see I Sam. 25:29), פֹּה נִקְבַּר – פ״נ, and פֹּה טָמוּן – פ״ט (meaning "here lies buried") are common. When referring in letters to deceased persons, it is customary to attach eulogistic abbreviations, such as הֲרֵינִי כַּפָּרַת מִשְׁכָּבוֹ – הכ״מ, used by children during the year of mourning (Kid. 31b; Sh. Ar., YD 240:9); זֵכֶר צַדִּיק לִבְרָכָה – זצ״ל, זִכְרוֹנוֹ לִבְרָכָה – ז״ל (Prov. 10:7); עָלָיו הַשָּׁלוֹם – ע״ה; in correspondence it became usual to prefix *letters and occasionally also printed matter and books with בְּעֶזְרַת ה׳ – בעז״ה, בע״ה, ב״ה ("With the help of God") or שִׁוִּיתִי ה׳ לְנֶגְדִּי תָּמִיד – שיל״ת ("I have set the Lord always before me"; Ps. 16:8). The addressee may be greeted with יִשְׁמְרֵהוּ צוּרוֹ וְגוֹאֲלוֹ – יצ״ו or נַטְרֵיה רַחֲמָנָא וּפַרְקֵיה – נר״ו, both meaning "May God protect him." The formula בְּחֵרֶם דְּרַבֵּנוּ גֵּרְשׁוֹם – בְּחַדְרַ״ג was used to affirm the secrecy of letters. The final greeting in the modern idiom is דְּרִישַׁת שָׁלוֹם – ד״ש and כ״ט or כָּל טוּב – כט״ס or כָּל טוּב סֶלָה.

Names of Towns

The letters יִבְנֶה עִיר אֱלֹהִים – יע״א ("May God's city be rebuilt," referring to Jerusalem) are appended after the name of any city; after the name of a city in Israel (תִּבָּנֶה וְתִכּוֹנֵן – ת״ו); and after mentioning Jerusalem (עִיר קָדְשֵׁנוּ תִּבָּנֶה וְתִכּוֹנֵן בִּמְהֵרָה בְּיָמֵינוּ אָמֵן – עיקת״ו בב״א or תִּבָּנֶה וְתִכּוֹנֵן בִּמְהֵרָה בְּיָמֵינוּ – תובב״א). The names of Diaspora towns mentioned in Hebrew writing are also abbreviated, e.g., שׂוּ״ם for Speyer, Worms, and Mainz; נַ״ש for Nikolsburg; פַּפַ״ם for Frankfurt on the Main; and אַה״וֹ for the triple community of Altona-Hamburg-Wandsbeck.

Book Titles

The best-known abbreviations for *book titles are those for the Hebrew Bible, תַּנַ״ךְ, composed of the initial letters of תּוֹרָה נְבִיאִים כְּתוּבִים, and שִׁשָּׁה סְדָרִים – ש״ס for the Babylonian Talmud. Some Jewish classics have become known by the abbreviated form of their titles, thus almost completely obscuring the author's name and book title; thus the שְׁנֵי לוּחוֹת הַבְּרִית of Isaiah b. Abraham *Horowitz is invariably referred to as the שְׁלָ״ה, as is its author. At the beginning of books frequently appear abbreviations such as ה׳ צְבָאוֹת עִמָּנוּ מִשְׂגָּב לָנוּ אֱלֹהֵי יַעֲקֹב סֶלָה – הצעמלאי״ס or עֶזְרִי מֵעִם ה׳ עוֹשֵׂה שָׁמַיִם וָאָרֶץ – עמ״י עש״ו, while the Ashkenazi Jews often end with תַּם וְנִשְׁלַם שֶׁבַח לְאֵל בּוֹרֵא עוֹלָם – תושלב״ע. In the Middle Ages manuscripts were often completed with בָּרוּךְ נוֹתֵן לַיָּעֵף כֹּחַ – בנל״כ, derived from lsa. 40:29 (see *Hebrew Book Titles; *Manuscripts).

In Kabbalah

In medieval kabbalistic literature a combination of letters was termed *ẓeruf otiyyot* (cf. Ber. 55a, etc.), while the term *gilgul* was introduced later. Abbreviations were used for frequently recurring concepts (e.g., אֵשׁ רוּחַ מַיִם עָפָר – ארמ״ע, "fire, wind, water, earth") and the *notarikon* פְּשַׁט רֶמֶז דְּרַשׁ סוֹד – פרד״ס ("plain, symbolic, homiletic, esoteric"), describing the four types of biblical hermeneutics. The spread of mysticism led to an increasing use of abbreviation similar to the talmudic *simanim* (e.g., בָּרָא רָקִיעַ שָׁמַיִם יָם תְּהוֹם – בְּרֵאשִׁית); such terms are considered as possessing particularly profound and secret qualities (see *Magic). Abbreviations also appear on *amulets.

Misunderstandings and Misinterpretations

The increasing and inconsistent use of abbreviations has inevitably led to occasional confusion and made the study of Hebrew texts more difficult, a fact recognized in the 16th century by Solomon Luria (*Yam shel Shelomo*, Hul. 6:6). Misinterpretations have occurred when ambiguous abbreviations were printed in full. In any case, difficulties arise when an abbreviation can be read in more than one way, so that, e.g., in a bibliographical context ד״ו could be read as דְּפוּס וְנִיצֵיאָה ("Printed in Venice"), or דְּפוּס וָורְשָׁה ("Printed in Warsaw"), or דְּפוּס וִילְנָה ("Printed in Vilna"), or דְּפוּס וִינָה ("Printed in Vienna"). Because of the risk of misrepresentation, no abbreviations may be used in a bill of divorce (Git. 36a and Sh. Ar., EH 126) or other religious documents. Misrepresentations have also occurred in the work of censors and Christian scholars (e.g., three *yod*'s have been taken to denote the trinity). Hebrew abbreviations have been found on Christian amulets, and Christian writers have used kabbalistic methods, such as regarding a complete word as *notarikon* (e.g., בָּרָא as בֵּן רוּחַ אָב). Because of the many obscurities in Hebrew writings, which Christian scholars were anxious to study, a guide to abbreviations was needed and it was a non-Jew, Johannes *Buxtorf the Elder, who produced the pioneer work *De Abbreviaturis Hebraicis* (1613). The first Jewish work of this kind, by Elijah *Levita, concentrated mainly on the masoretic ambiguities; lists of abbreviations were eventually added to Hebrew works and were followed by independent, comprehensive compilations. Of these, the following are the most important: J. Ezekiel, *Kethonet Yoseph: A Handbook of Hebrew Abbreviations* (Heb.–Eng., 1887); G.H. Haendler, *Erkhei ha-Notarikon* (1897); M. Heilprin, *Ha-Notarikon …* (1872, 1930); A. Stern, *Sefer Rashei Tevot* (1926); S. Chajes, *Ozar Beduyei ha-Shem* (pseudonyms; 1933); S. Ashkenazi and D. Jarden, *Oẓar Rashei Tevot …* (1965; 1978); S. Ashkenazi, *Mefa'ne'aḥ Ne'lamim* (1969); A. Steinsalz, *Rashei Tevot ve-Kizzurim be-Sifrut ha-Hasidut ve-ha-Kabbalah* (1968); U. Tadmor, *Ha-Notarikin ba-Ivrit ha-Yisre'elit, Leshonenu La-Am* 39, 225–57; Y. Ben-Tolila, *Ha-Iivrit ha-Medubberet, Leshonenu L-Aam* 40–41 (1990), 266–78.

[Ruth P. Lehmann]

Abbreviations in Jewish Folklore

Many abbreviations were misinterpreted (often quite intentionally) and caused misunderstandings which became part of the Jewish folklore. For example, the *Yaknehaz* abbreviation in the Passover *Haggadah*, denoting the order of the benedictions (*yayin, kiddush, ner, havdalah, zeman)*, was understood as the German *jag'n Has* ("hunt the hare") and pictures of a hare hunt accompany the relevant passage in the printed *Haggadah.* Many folk etymologies are based upon the notion that the obscure word is an abbreviation; so, e.g., the word *afikoman* is explained by the Yemenite *Haggadah* as an abbreviation of *egozim* ("nuts"), *perot* ("fruits"), *yayin* ("wine"), *keliyyot* ("parched grain"), *u-vasar* ("and meat"), *mayim* ("water"), *nerd* ("spices"). The abbreviation of *Akum* for *Oved Kokhavim u-Mazzalot* ("worshiper of the stars and constellations") was interpreted by antisemitic propaganda (Rohling) as *Oved Christum u-Miryam* ("Worshiper of Christ and Mary").

[Dov Noy]

Abbreviations in Learning

Many abbreviations were set up to help students memorize rules such as in Hebrew grammar or in *Halakhah*. Of this type are *bg"d kf"t*, *lmn"r*, in classifying Hebrew characters which show the same phonetic behavior, or *shemelakhto bina* to mark the group of 11 servile letters as against the other 11 letters that only appear as radicals. These are well known. Here and there can be found local acronyms, as in Tetouan (Morocco), where the word *romaḥ* based on "*wayiqqaḥ* ROMAḤ *beyado*" (Num. 25:7) was adapted to summarize the *halakhot* that deal with the conditions under which a *shofar*'s hole can be repaired: *rubbo* (if the greater part of the *shofar* was kept untouched), *mino* (the hole can only be filled with a material of the *shofar*'s type), *hazar* (the original sound of the *shofar* did not change after the repair).

[Aharon Maman (2nd ed.)]

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ʿABD AL-ḤAQQ AL-ISLĀMĪ (end of 14th century), Jewish convert to Islam. ʿAbd al-Ḥaqq was apparently a Moroccan Jew (the surname indicates a convert to Islam). We know next to nothing of his identity or his background. Towards the end of the 14th century, at the age of about 40, he converted to Islam. Sixteen years later he wrote a work in Arabic, *The Sword Extended in Refutation of the Rabbis of the Jews*, attacking the Jews and demonstrating the falsity of their beliefs. The text is an unsophisticated manual for disputations with Jews, and uses standard arguments of Islamic anti-Jewish polemic.

ʿAbd al-Haqq claims that the **dhimma*, or contract, between Islam and the Jews has been abrogated by the Jews themselves, as they are no longer genuine monotheists. Mistreatment of the prophets by Jews of biblical times shows this, as does the introduction of post-biblical feasts. The transmission of their Scriptures from early times cannot be trusted, and they have introduced falsifications into the texts, as can be seen from the presence of anthropomorphic passages in the Bible. The books of the Jews, in particular the biblical texts, he asserts, should thus be censored. Nonetheless, like other polemicists (e.g., *Samau'al al-Maghribī), ʿAbd al-Ḥaqq is able to claim authenticity for the biblical text when it agrees with his case, and, making use of knowledge from his Jewish background, he appeals to *gematria* to show that Muhammad and Mecca are referred to in the Bible – thus, in Genesis 12:9, where Abraham is said to have gone "towards the south," *ha-negbah* in Hebrew, ʿAbd al-Ḥaqq points out that the numerical value of the letters in this word, 65, is the same as that of the letters in the name of the city of *Mecca. By similar means he shows that king Ahab (in I Kings 20:6 and 22:35) was a believer in Muhammad.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: M. Perlmann, "Abd al-Ḥakk al-Islamī, a Jewish Convert," in: JQR, New Series 31, (1940/41), 171–91; E. Alfonso (ed. and trans., with intro. and notes), *Al-Sayf al-Mamdūd fī al-radd ʿala ahbār al-Yahūd. Espada extendida para refutar a los sabios judios* (1998).

[David J. Wasserstein (2nd ed.)]

ABDALLAH, YUSEF (late 19th–early 20th century), charlatan who revived messianic activity in Yemen in the 1890s. He began his activities no later than 1888 as the herald of the messiah. The leaders of the Jewish community in San'a, led by Ḥayyim *Ḥibshush, actively opposed him until they succeeded in persuading the police chief and the Turkish authorities in San'a to deport him from the city (1895) to the town of Shibām northwest of San'a, where he remained with little influence until his death. Abdallah struggled against his opponents by means of letters and poems. The latter-day discovery and publication of a three-page manuscript of his includes four poems which do not exhibit any extraordinary talent, being in fact trivial in comparison to run-of-the-mill Yemenite poetry. Surprisingly, its content is far from revealing messianic tendencies. It does not offer the slightest suggestion of his supposed status as a messiah, or as the messenger of the messiah. All that appears in the poetry in this respect is a plea for redemption and the hastening of the arrival of the messiah, motifs familiar in Hebrew poetry throughout the generations. What can be found there are complaints about his opponents in the Jewish community and the Turkish and Muslim authorities. As opposed to the negative picture described by Ḥibshush, Koraḥ and most scholars (apart from Nini) find no deviation from the Jewish tradition of messianic expectations and observance of religious law in the poems.

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[Yosef Tobi (2nd ed.)]

ABDALLAH IBN SABĀ' (also called **Ibn al-Sawdā**; seventh century), supposedly a Jew of south Arabian origin, and regarded as the founder of the Shiʿite sect (one of the two main branches of Islam) shortly after Muhammad's death. The reports by Arab historians concerning his role are contradictory and perhaps reflect the tendency to charge a Jew with partial responsibility for the internal feuds of the Islamic community. Abdallah asserted that Muhammad is the Messiah, who will appear a second time. Meanwhile, ʿAlī, the son-in-law of Muhammad, is his representative. After the assassination of ʿAlī (661), Abdallah allegedly denied that ʿAlī had died, asserting that the slain man was a demon who had taken on ʿAlī's features; ʿAlī himself was hiding among the clouds, and would return to earth later to establish the Kingdom of Justice. The doctrine that not ʿAlī, but someone of similar appearance, had been murdered, has its precedent in the teachings of a Christian sect which denied the crucifixion of Jesus, a belief which persists in the Christology of the *Koran (Sūra 4: 156). But the messianic concepts ascribed to Abdallah show traces of Jewish (two Messiahs) and Christian origin and differ from the messianic concepts which became generally recognized within the Shiʿa. In these, the Messiah (who was identical not with ʿAlī himself, but with one of his descendants) was hiding in a mountain in the vicinity of *Kūfa (in Iraq).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Friedlaender, in: ZA, 23 (1909), 296–327; 24 (1910), 1–46; Levi della Vida, in: RSO, 6 (1913), 504; C. van Arendonk, *De Opkomst van het Zaidietsche Imamaat.* (1919), 7; Hirschberg, in: *Vienna Jewish Theological Seminary Memorial Volume* (1946), 122–3; EIS^2, 1 (1960), 51 (includes bibliography).

[Josef Horovitz]

ABDALLAH IBN SALĀM (seventh century C.E.), one of Muhammad's Jewish followers. The name of his father, Salām, was used only among Jews in the Arabia of that time. Abdallah's family is usually regarded as belonging to the Banū *Qaynuqāʿ, one of the Jewish clans of Yathrib (Medina), although some associated it with the typically Arabic clan of the Zayd al-Lāt, which implies that they were under the protection of the latter. Abdallah is said to have been converted by Muhammad soon after the latter's arrival in Medina. When his former coreligionists told Muhammad "He [Abdallah] is our master and the son of our master" Muhammad invited them to follow Abdallah's example. The Jews refused, and only his immediate family, notably his aunt Khālida, embraced Islam. According to other versions, Abdallah's conversion occurred because of the strength of Muhammad's answers to his questions. Another account, which places Abdallah's conversion at a much later date, has more intrinsic plausibility. After Muhammad's death Abdallah was in the entourage of Caliph ʿUthmān and made a vain attempt to prevent his assassination. A year later he warned ʿAli against leaving Medina. If all the obviously legendary and biased accounts about Abdallah are eliminated, not much concrete information remains. His relationship to Ahmad ibn Abdallah ibn Salām, a translator of biblical writings, is unclear. Originally the Jewish scholars of Medina were presented as the questioners of Muhammad, and only later did Abdallah figure. The three questions ascribed to him form the core of the volume entitled *Questions of Abdallah ibn Salām*, first mentioned in 963, which is known in a number of adaptations as *A Thousand Questions*. Outside the context of this work Abdallah is repeatedly mentioned as the source for tales from biblical times. *Genizah* fragments have recently yielded a Jewish version of the Abdallah legend in which he appears as *Absalom.

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[Josef Horovitz]

°ABD AL-MĀLIK IBN MĀRWAN (ruled 685–705), *Umayyad caliph who restored the unity of the young Arab Empire after years of civil wars. ʿAbd al-Mālik built the Dome of the Rock and the al-Aqṣā Mosque in the Temple area in Jerusalem. The building of the Dome was an act of propaganda for the Muslim faith, partly directed against the still strong Christian community, as is proved by the inscriptions inside the Dome. The restoration of the Temple site to a state of splendor impressed mystically inclined Jewish circles. There is no information about the general situation of the Jews under ʿAbd al-Mālik's rule. According to the majority of sources the armed rising of the Jewish pseudo-messiah Abū ʿIsā of Isfahan was suppressed during his reign. The Jew Sumayr was master of the mint in Iraq during the monetary reforms of ʿAbd al-Mālik.

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[Shelomo Dov Goitein]

ABDON (Heb. עַבְדּוֹן), a name occurring in the Bible in several different contexts. (1) Abdon the son of Hillel, a minor judge, who came from a town in Ephraim, possibly to be identified with the village Faraʿata southwest of Shechem (Judg. 12:13–15). He "judged" Israel for eight years. The Bible states that "he had 40 sons and 30 grandsons, making 70 descendants who rode on 70 donkeys." This statement may be intended to indicate that Abdon and his descendants had widespread influence and wealth. (2) Abdon the son of Micah (II Chron. 34:20), probably corrupt for *Achbor the son of Micaiah (II Kings 22:12–14). (3) A Benjamite family (I Chron. 8:12, 30; 9:36).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Y. Kaufmann, *Sefer Shofetim* (1962), 234; M.Z. Segal, *Sifrei Shemu'el* (1964), 88; Noth, Personennamen, index; Hertzberg, in: *Theologische Literaturzeitung*, 79 (1954).

ABDUCTION (or **Manstealing;** Heb. גְּנֵבַת נֶפֶשׁ, *genevat nefesh*), stealing of a human being for capital gain. According to the Bible, abduction is a capital offense. "He who kidnaps a man – whether he has sold him or is still holding him – shall be put to death" (Ex. 21:16); and, "If a man is found to have kidnapped a fellow Israelite, enslaving him or selling him, that kidnapper shall die" (Deut. 24:7). The first passage appears to prohibit the abduction of any person, while the latter is confined to Israelites only; the first appears to outlaw any abduction, however motivated (cf. *Codex Hammurapi*, 14), while the latter requires either enslavement or sale as an essential element to constitute the offense. Talmudic law, in order to reconcile these conflicting scriptural texts or to render prosecution for this capital offense more difficult (or for both purposes), made the detention, the enslavement, and the sale of the abducted person all necessary elements of the offense, giving the Hebrew "and" (which in the translation quoted above is rendered as "or") its cumulative meaning (Sanh. 85b, 86a). Thus, abduction without detention or enslavement or sale, like enslavement or sale or detention without abduction, however morally reprehensible, was not punishable (even by *flogging), because none of these acts was in itself a completed offense. On the other hand, even the slightest, most harmless, and casual use of the abducted person would amount to "enslavement"; and as for the "sale," it does not matter that the sale of any human being (other than a slave) is legally void (BK 68b). In this context, any attempt at selling the person, by delivering him or her into the hands of a purchaser, would suffice. However, the attempted sale has to be proved in addition to the purchaser's custody, because giving away the abducted person as a gift would not be a "sale" even for this purpose (Rashba to BK 78b). The term rendered in the translation quoted above as "kidnap" is *ganov* ("steal"). The injunction of the Decalogue, "Thou shalt not steal" (Ex. 20:13), has been interpreted to refer to the stealing of persons rather than the stealing of chattels. The reason for this is both because the latter is proscribed elsewhere (Lev. 19:11), and because of the context of the command next to the interdictions of murder and adultery, both of which are capital offenses and offenses against the human person (Mekh. Mishpatim 5). It has been said that this interpretation reflects the abhorrence with which the talmudic jurists viewed this particular crime; alternatively, it has been maintained that the reliance on the general words "Thou shalt not steal" made the interdiction of manstealing applicable also to non-Jews and hence amounted to a repudiation of slave trading, which in other legal systems of the period was considered wholly legitimate.

There is no recorded instance of any prosecution for abduction – not, presumably, because no abductions occurred, but because it proved difficult, if not impossible, to find the required groups of *witnesses. These would have been required not only for each of the constituent elements of the offense, but also for the prescribed warnings that first had to be administered to the accused in respect of the abduction, the detention, the enslavement, and the sale, separately. The classical instance of abduction reported in the Bible is Joseph's sale into slavery (Gen. 37; cf. 40:15, "I was kidnapped from the land of the Hebrews"). In the Talmud there is a report from Alexandria that brides were abducted from under the canopy (BM 104a; Tosef. Ket. 4:9), not necessarily for enslavement or sale, but (as it appears from the context) for marriage to the abductors.

[Haim Hermann Cohn]

In Israeli Law

TRAFFICKING IN HUMAN BEINGS TO ENGAGE IN PROSTITUTION. At the beginning of 2000, in the framework of Amendment 56 of the Penal Law, provisions were enacted that prohibited trafficking in human beings for engagement in prostitution. Pursuant to this amendment, section 203A of the Penal Law established a maximum punishment of 16 years' imprisonment for anyone who "sells or purchases a person in order to engage him in prostitution or serving as a middleman in the selling or purchasing of a person for this purpose."

Trafficking in human beings has been prohibited since the very dawn of the history of Jewish Law, in the framework of the commandment of "Thou shall not steal" (Ex. 20:12; Deut. 5:16) and the prohibitions concerning abduction mentioned above. "Joseph's sale by his brothers was an ignominious episode of Jewish history and was regarded as having sealed the fate of the Ten Martyrs" (see Rubinstein). The Knesset's enactment of the aforementioned amendment was in accordance with Basic Law: Human Dignity and Freedom, sec. 2 of which states: "There shall be no violation of the life, body, or dignity of any person as such," while sec. 4 states that "All persons are entitled to protection of their life, body, and dignity."

Jewish Law's prohibition of abduction and the death penalty imposed on the abductor are only applicable upon the satisfaction of four cumulative conditions: an abduction of a human being; the abductee's detention in the abductor's premises; the abductee's enslavement by the abductor; and the abductee's subsequent sale to another (Maim., Yad, *Genevah* 9:2). Some of the *geonim* were lenient regarding the requirement that all four conditions be satisfied and convicted the abductor where he had abducted and sold, or abducted and enslaved (see in detail *Halakhah Berurah*, Sanh. 85b).

The Israeli legislator broadened the prohibition to include serving as a middleman, in addition to the elements of abduction, detention, and sale. Under Israeli Law both the abductor-seller and the buyer are equally culpable and share the same punishment, whereas under Jewish law the abductor is the sole offender. The need for deterrence led the Israeli legislator to broaden the circle of offenders, imposing criminal liability upon the seller, the middleman, and the buyer. With respect to punishment for trading in women, this facilitates punishment even if only some of those involved in the offense are actually caught, and even if the prime actor – the seller – is still at large (occasionally abroad) and hence difficult to capture. The Supreme Court stressed that the prohibition of trading in human beings is intended to prevent violations of human dignity, especially that of women sold for prostitution. Hence, section 203A of the Penal Law should be constructed broadly and applied to any transaction that results in a person being treated as property, be it by way of sale, day-hiring, borrowing, partnership, or any other creation of a proprietary connection to a person (Cr. A 11196/02 *Prodental v. State of Israel,* 57 (6) 40, per Justice Beinish).

CHILD ABDUCTION. The Hague Convention on the Civil Aspects of International Child Abduction was signed in 1980. In 1991, Israel incorporated the Convention's provisions into

Knesset legislation and empowered the Family Courts to enforce them. The goal of the Convention was to secure the prompt return of illegally abducted children to their countries of residence prior to their abduction.

We already find a claim of child abduction in the Bible, where Laban complains about Jacob's flight from Aram Naharaim together with his wives and children (i.e., Laban's daughters and grandchildren). Upon finding Jacob at Mt. Gilead, Laban cries: "What have you done, that you have cheated me, and carried away my daughters like captives of the sword. Why did you flee secretly, and cheat me, and did not tell me, so that I might have sent thee away with mirth and songs, with timbrel and lyre? And why did you not permit me to kiss my sons and my daughters farewell? Now you have done foolishly" (Gen. 31:26–28).

The Convention's point of departure is the provision that abduction is a violation of one of the parent's custodial rights, "under the law of the State in which the child was habitually resident immediately before the removal or the retention" of the child (Article 3(a) of the Convention). Consequently, cardinal importance attaches to the determination of where the minor's habitual place of residence was, prior to the abduction. In one of the judgments given in the Jerusalem District Court, an halakhic principle was invoked in order to determine the minor's customary place of residence. The minor's parents were observant Jews. The father – then resident with his family in Oxford while writing his doctoral thesis – did not observe the Second Day of Festivals ordinarily observed by Jews living outside Israel. His adherence to the Israeli custom in this respect led the Court to infer that the locus of his life had remained in Israel. Consequently, the child's removal to Israel could not be regarded as abduction (F.A. 575/04 (Jer.) *Anon. v. Anon.*). In reaching this conclusion the Court adduced extensive halakhic material, from the Talmud (TB Pes. 51a, 52), Maimonides (Yad, *Yom Tov* 8:2), Shulḥan Arukh (OḤ 493:3), and the responsa (Radbaz, 4:73).

The Convention provides that there may be a justification for not returning the child if "it finds that the child objects to being returned and has attained an age and degree of maturity at which it is appropriate to take account of its views" (Article 13 of Convention, concluding phrase). One of the judgments includes a comprehensive discussion of how to determine whether the child is of an age and level that justifies taking account of his views. The Court noted that "in the State of Israel, as a Jewish state, consideration is accorded to the Jewish heritage, where the matter concerns consideration for the children's wishes and the age at which the law gives effect to the expression of their position" (F.A. (Jer) 621/04 *Anon. v. Anon.*). One of the sources upon which the decision was based was the mishnah in *Niddah* 5:6. This mishnah states that vows made by a girl aged 12 are considered efficacious, while between the ages of 11 and 12 the girl's level of intellectual maturity and comprehension are "examined." In the case of boys, his standing vis-à-vis vows is examined between the ages of 12 and 13, while after age 13 his vows too are fully efficacious, like those of a girl at age 12. The Babylonian Talmud ad loc. states that "the Holy One Blessed be He endowed woman with greater wisdom than the man," in light of the fact that the girl reaches maturity before the boy (cf. *Torah Temimah*, Gen. 2:22, §48). The District Court concluded that in the case in question, two of the four daughters were capable of expressing their position – which was against returning to the United States and in favor of staying in Israel. This position was adopted in consideration of their age, which is the age at which an undertaking for a vow is binding under Jewish Law. As such it is also an age at which the Court can form its impression that their wishes are of a nature that ought to be respected, pursuant to Article 13 of the Convention

The very enactment of the Hague Convention Law in Israel may be viewed as the endorsement of a fundamental principle of Jewish Law, namely, that the child is not an object to be moved from country to country, and abducted by one parent against the wishes of the second parent; but an independent legal entity, vested with both standing and rights (see also *Parent and Child).

[Moshe Drori (2nd ed.)]

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°**ABDULLAH IBN HUSSEIN** (1882–1951), first king of the Hashemite Kingdom of *Jordan. Abdullah was born in Mecca, the second son of the *sharīf* Hussein ibn Ali, into the Hashemite family that traced its descent from the prophet Muhammad and had been rulers of Mecca from the 11th century C.E. He grew up in Constantinople, where he received the traditional education of a Muslim gentleman and became, in effect, his father's political secretary. After Hussein had been installed as emir of Mecca in 1908, Abdullah was instrumental in the secret negotiations with the British that resulted in the "Arab Revolt" of 1916 and in the Allies' recognition of Hussein as king of the Hejaz. Toward the end of 1920 Abdullah moved north with a Bedouin army with the avowed intent of restoring his brother Faisal, who had just been evicted by the French, to the throne of Syria. At a meeting in Jerusalem in March 1921, Winston *Churchill, then British colonial secretary, offered Abdullah the administration of Transjordan. Out of this tentative arrangement grew the emirate of Transjordan, with Abdullah as hereditary ruler, under the general terms of the British mandate over Palestine, which comprised Transjordan, but with the clauses pertaining to the Jewish National Home expressly deleted. The police of the emirate, soon styled the "Arab Legion," developed into a field force during World War II under John B. Glubb and took on a Bedouin character more and more. In 1946 a treaty with Britain awarded Abdullah formal independence, and he assumed the royal title forthwith. In 1948 the Arab Legion, with British connivance, occupied the greater part of Samaria and Judea (designated by the UN resolution of Nov. 29, 1947, as part of an independent Arab State). This was secured by Abdullah in the 1949 armistice with Israel, and he incorporated these territories into his kingdom, henceforth called Jordan. On July 20, 1951, Abdullah was assassinated as he left al-Aqṣā Mosque in Jerusalem. His murder was generally ascribed to revenge for his readiness to negotiate with Israel for the partition of Palestine and the annexation of its Arab sections. It was also the culmination of his long-standing feud with the Husseini family and its head Hajj Amīn, the former Mufti of Jerusalem.

Ever since he had arrived in Transjordan Abdullah had been dissatisfied with the barren, desolate piece of land allotted to him by the British and, from the outset, sought to expand his realm. His prime vision was of a multinational Hashemite Greater Syria, but as a pragmatist, he was ready to settle for Palestine or even for its Arab sections alone. Hence, even though Abdullah's published views of the Palestine problem did not deviate from those of Arab nationalists in general, his moderate style when addressing Westerners made them, if anything, more effective. In the Israeli War of Independence, the Arab Legion proved the most dangerous enemy Israel faced in the field. However, for much of the 30-year period of his political activity, Abdullah maintained secret contacts with Jewish leaders, assuring them of his readiness to cooperate on his own terms. The highlights of these contacts were an agreement in 1933 with the *Jewish Agency (subsequently disavowed by Abdullah) to lease about 70,000 dunams of crown land in the Jordan Valley and intermittent talks between Abdullah and certain Jewish leaders (prominent among whom were Golda *Meir and Eliyahu *Sasson) during the War of Independence. All these contacts were without tangible result, with the exception of the modifications in the 1949 armistice line with Jordan. Yet he continued his negotiations with Israel for a peace treaty or for a non-aggression pact until 1950. Abdullah was a confirmed Arab nationalist, but, self-possessed and of an ancient ruling family, he lacked that admixture of frustration and hatred that became a characteristic of the next generation's nationalism. Moreover, even before World War I, Arab nationalism had been welded to his vision of Hashemite aggrandizement, and this twin concept never lost its hold on him. Abdullah is best understood as an opportunistic politician, short-range realist, and dynastic dreamer, also in his dealings with the Jews of Ereẓ Israel. The 1950 annexation of Arab Palestine (the "West Bank") not only led to his eventual murder but also completely changed the nature and the future of Jordan. He wrote *Memoirs of King Abdullah of Transjordan* (English tr., 1950) and *My Memoirs Completed* (English tr., 1954).

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[Uriel Dann / Joseph Nevo (2nd ed.)]

°**ABDUL MEJID I** (1823–1861), 31st sultan of the Ottoman Empire; the elder son of Mahmud II and his favorite wife, Bezm-i ʿAlem. On November 3, 1839, four months after he ascended the throne, he proclaimed the *Hatt-i Sherif* of Gulhane, which inaugurated the Tanzimat period and in which he pledged the security of life, honor, and property for all the subjects of the empire. Following this, many reforms were undertaken to implement the contents of the edict. During his reign the Crimean War broke out (1853–56). Under the pressure of England and France, his allies in the war, the Porte abolished the poll tax (1855), which had been levied upon Jews and Christians since the Arab conquest. Instead, a tax called *Bedel-i Askeri* (substitute for military service) was levied from non-Muslim conscripts in lieu of military service. The crisis which led to the war brought the rise of a new generation of statesmen at the Porte, led by Ali and Fu'ad Pashas, who were more open toward the west than their predecessors. In February 1856, just before the war ended, the sultan proclaimed a new reform edict (the *Hatti-Humayun*) in which he granted civil and political equality for his non-Muslim subjects in breach of the Muslim Law (the *shariʿa*), which aroused much resentment among the Muslim majority. During Abdul Mejid's reign important reforms were undertaken in the army and in education (mainly to prepare government functionaries), in the currency, and above all in the administration of the provinces.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: S.J. Shaw & E.K. Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey*, 2 (1977), 55ff.; B. Abu-Manneh, *Studies on Islam and the Ottoman Empire in the 19th Century (1826–1876)* (2001), 73–97.

[Butrus Abu-Maneh (2nd ed.)]

ABÉCASSIS, ELIETTE (1969–), French writer. Born in Strasbourg to a Sephardi family of Moroccan origin, Eliette is the daughter of French thinker Armand Abécassis, author of *La pensée juive*. Deeply imbued with the religious atmosphere of her childhood, Eliette Abécassis, after completeing her studies in philosophy and literature at the prestigious Ecole Normale Supérieure, published her first novel in 1996. *Qumran*, a metaphysical and archaeological thriller, whose hero is a young Orthodox Jew and whose plot revolves around the famous Dead Sea Scrolls, was an instant bestseller. Her next two books were centered on the theme of evil and its contagion: *L'or et la cendre* (1997), a novel, and "Petite métaphysique du meurtre" (1998), an essay. To write the screenplay for Amos Gitai's Franco-Israeli film *Kaddosh*, Abécassis immersed herself for six months in the ultra-Orthodox Jerusalem neighborhood of Me'ah She'arim, an experience which, in addition to the screenplay, provided her with the plot of a novel, *La repudiée* (2000). She also directed a short film, *La nuit de noces* (2001).

[Dror Franck Sullaper (2nd ed.)]

ABEL (Heb. הֶבֶל), the second son of Adam and Eve, murdered by Cain, his older brother (Gen. 4:1–9). According to the biblical story, Abel was a shepherd and Cain worked the soil. Each brought an offering to the Lord from fruits of his labor. Abel's sacrifice was accepted by the Lord, but Cain's offering was rejected. Cain, in his jealousy, killed his brother. Explanations of this story are usually sought in a traditional conflict between agriculture and nomadism. Thus the preferential treatment accorded Abel's sacrifice is seen as reflecting a supposed pastoral ideal in Israel. The narrative, however, does not in any way support the existence of such an ideal, nor is there any denigration of farming. On the contrary, working the land seems to be considered man's natural occupation (Gen. 2:15). The antithesis between the brothers is therefore less one of occupations than of qualities of offerings. Whereas Cain's offering is described simply as "of the fruits of the soil," Abel is recorded as having brought "of the choicest of the firstlings of his flock." The story, however, seems to be abbreviated. It lacks any description of the initial motivation and the occasion for the sacrifices and it fails to give the reasons for the rejection of Cain's offering. Neither does it explain how the Lord's response became known to the brothers. The etymology of Abel's name is not clear. There may be some intended connection with *hevel* ("breath, vapor, futility"), symbolizing the tragic brevity of his life (cf., e.g., Eccles. 1:2), though for some reason the derivation of the name is not given, as is the case with Cain. There may also be some relation to the Akkadian *aplu* or *ablu* ("son"), parallel to the usage of the names *Adam and *Enosh.

For Abel in *aggadah*, see *Cain.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: N.M. Sarna, *Understanding Genesis* (1966), 28–32; E.A. Speiser, *Genesis* (1964), 29–33; U. Cassuto, *Mi-Adam ad No'aḥ* (1953), 131–9.

ABEL, AVEL (Heb. אָבֵל). (1) Name, appearing either alone or with the addition of a further indicative place-name, of many places in Ereẓ Israel and Syria. Four cities with this name are mentioned in the lists of Thutmose III. Its meaning is apparently "place of abundant water" (cf. Dan. 8:2–6, "stream"). (2) Avel was a town in ancient Ereẓ Israel which was situated at the origin of the aqueduct of Sepphoris in the mishnaic period (Er. 8:7; Tosef. Er. 9[6]:26). It is the present-day village of al-Rayna, about 3 mi. (5 km.) S.E. of *Sepphoris.

[Michael Avi-Yonah]

ABEL, ELIE (1920–2004), U.S. journalist. Born in Montreal, Canada, Abel received a bachelor's degree from McGill University and a master's degree in journalism from Columbia University (New York) in 1942. He began his career in journalism at the Windsor, Ontario, *Daily Star* and at the *Montreal Gazette*. During World War II he served in the Royal Canadian Air Force. Abel was correspondent in Europe for the North American Newspaper Alliance and also worked for the Overseas News Agency. In 1949, he joined the *New York Times* and served for ten years in Washington, Detroit, Europe, and India. In 1961, he moved into broadcasting, becoming a regular correspondent on the NBC evening news program *The Huntley-Brinkley Report*. During the 1960s, he covered the State Department and served as the network's London bureau chief and chief diplomatic correspondent. After working with the *Detroit News* and NBC, he was named dean of the Graduate School of Journalism at Columbia (1969–79). He then moved to Stanford University (1979–91), serving as chairman of the Communications Department from 1983 to 1986. He also served as Faculty Senate chair (1985–86) and directed the university's program in Washington, D.C. (1993).

Among his many accolades, Abel was awarded the Pulitzer Prize (1958), a Peabody Award (1967), and two Overseas Press Club awards (1969 and 1970). In 1998 he received the Grand Prize for Press Freedom of the Inter-American Press Association for his efforts to fight proposed regulation of journalists.

Abel wrote many books, articles, and reviews. His first book, *Missile Crisis,* appeared in 1966 and was considered the definitive text on the Cuban crisis for decades after its publication. Abel is quoted as saying, "How close we came to Armageddon I did not fully realize until I started researching this book." *Roots of Involvement: The U.S. in Asia 1784–1971*, which he wrote with Marvin *Kalb, was published in 1971. His book about Averell Harriman, *Special Envoy to Churchill and Stalin, 1941–1946*, which he co-authored with Harriman, was published in 1975. Abel's last book, *The Shattered Bloc: Behind the Upheaval in Eastern Europe*, was published in 1990.

[Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

ABEL, EMIL (1875–1958), Austrian physical chemist. He was born in Vienna, where in 1908 he became the first professor of physical chemistry at the Technische Hochschule and head of the Institute attached to the chair, and he established a large and vigorous school. In 1938 he was dismissed under the Nuremberg Laws and found refuge in England, where, until his retirement, he was in charge of the research laboratory of the Ever Ready Co. In an early series of brilliant papers on homogeneous catalysis, he insisted that "it is reactions which catalyse, not substances." Later he contributed many publications on the reactions which occur in the lead chamber process for making sulfuric acid. In England he worked on the basic mechanism of the dry battery cell and wrote on mechanisms based on electron transfer reactions.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: G.M. Schwab, in: *Zeitschrift fuer Elektrochemie*, 59 (1955), 591–2; P. Cross, *ibid.*, 62 (1958), 831–3; *Nature*, 181 (1958), 1765–66.

[Samuel Aaron Miller]

°**ABEL, LOUIS FELIX** (1878–1953), French archaeologist. Abel was born in Saint-Uze (Drome), France, joined the Dominican Order in 1898, and served as professor at the Ecole Biblique in Jerusalem from 1903 until his death. His principal work was *Géographie de la Palestine*, 2 vols. (1934), the first dealing with physical geography, and the second with political geography and topography. With L.H. *Vincent, he wrote *Jerusalem ancienne et nouvelle* (1912–14), regarded as one of the best monographs on Christian Jerusalem. He also collaborated with Vincent in monographs on Bethlehem, Emmaus, and Hebron. Toward the end of his life, Abel published his *Histoire de la Palestine*, 2 vols. (1952), covering the period from Alexander the Great to the Arab conquest. His other works include studies on the topography of the Hasmonean Wars, an account of travels in the Jordan Valley and in the Dead Sea area, as well as a grammar of the Septuagint and the New Testament.

[Michael Avi-Yonah]

°**ABELARD (Abaelard), PETER** (1079–1142), French philosopher and theologian. Abelard composed the *Dialogus inter Philosophum. Judaeum et Christianum* (1141; published in PL, 178 (1855), 1611–82). In it a Jew and a Christian, who accept revelation as adequate justification of their creed, are challenged by a philosopher, an Arab by nationality, who accepts only reason and natural law as a basis for the discussion. The dialogue does not offer a final conclusion, but this might possibly reflect the author's emphasis on the method of discussion rather than on its results. In the dialogue the Jew accepts belief in God's revelation as the only norm for faith and conduct; he asks the philosopher, who leads the debate, to prove that such an attitude contradicts reason. In doing so he expresses his people's confidence that God will finally fulfill the biblical promises of a blissful future and compensate them for their depressed position in contemporary society, which he describes in realistic detail. Being forced to pay for survival is an everyday experience for the Jews. In contemporary circumstances they were unable to earn a livelihood from agricultural property; they had to rely on profits from money lending, an occupation which made them more odious to their environment. In his reply the philosopher emphasizes the contrast between this situation and the promise of prosperity in this world, which the Bible holds out for loyal obedience. He concludes that either the Jews have not lived and acted in accordance with divine command or their Law is not the truth. The Christian, according to Abelard's description, although a believer in the authority of revelation, explains his belief in spiritual values as the *summun bonum* in philosophical terms. Abelard used the apologetic writers of the patristic age as his source, wishing to prove that his own attitude as a philosophical interpreter of Christianity corresponded to the classical tradition of the church. The contemporary Jew in his *Dialogus* takes the place of the defender of particular traditions – Jewish or pagan – as depicted in the ancient ecclesiastical treatises adopting philosophical argument; this presentation precludes the possibility that Abelard intended to report a contemporary exchange of arguments. His work is an apology for his own life, and its fictional character is pointed out by the description of the narrative as a dream. On the other hand, the whole design indicates that such conversations with Jews were not unusual in his time. Abelard indeed had some personal contact with Jews and was present when one interpreted the Book of Kings. Abelard's knowledge of Hebrew was restricted to the word lists contained in the biblical studies of St. Jerome. But the educational program of this church father inspired Abelard's recommendation to his former wife Heloise that she and the nuns under her charge learn Hebrew for a genuine understanding of Scripture.

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[Hans Liebeschutz]

ABEL-BETH-MAACAH (Heb. אָבֵל בֵּית־מַעֲכָה), also called **Abel-Maim** (II Chron. 16: 4) or simply **Abel** (II Sam. 20:18). It is the present Tell Abil (Abil al-Qamḥ) northeast of Kefar Giladi and south of Metullah. Pottery found on the surface of the tell dates to the Early Bronze Age and later periods. It may be one of the cities mentioned in the Egyptian Execration Texts (inscribed on figurines) from the early 18th century B.C.E. and is apparently also referred to in the list of cities (no. 92) captured by Thutmose III in Palestine and southern Syria in his first campaign (c. 1469 B.C.E.). In the 12th–11th centuries, it may have passed into the possession of the Danites when they settled in the north of the country, but it subsequently was considered part of (Beth-) Maacah, whose center comprised northern Golan and Bashan. In the days of David, it was a fortified place and "a city and a mother in Israel" (II Sam. 20:19) in which the rebel Sheba, the son of Bichri, was besieged when he fled from Joab's army. It was captured by the Arameans during the reign of Baasa, king of Israel (early ninth century) together with Ijon, Dan, and the rest of the northeastern part of the Israelite kingdom (I Kings 15:20; II Chron. 16:4). In the days of Pekah the son of Remaliah, Tiglath-Pileser III, king of Assyria, conquered all the eastern and northern parts of Israel and the capture of Abel-Beth-Maacah is specifically mentioned (II Kings 15:29). This event is also recorded in Assyrian inscriptions which describe this king's campaign of 733/32 B.C.E. and the annexation of the conquered areas to Assyria (these contain a reference to Abil (m) akka). The city was apparently included in the province of Megiddo. No subsequent mention is made of Abel-Beth-Maacah in ancient sources.

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B. Maisler (Mazar), in: *Bulletin des études historiques juives*, 1 (1946), 56; Aharoni, Land, passim.

[Michael Avi-Yonah]

ABELES, OTTO (1879–1945), author and Zionist worker in Austria and Holland. Abeles, who was born in Bruen (Brno), Moravia, was a founder of the Jewish students' organization Veritas. He was also a founder of the Zionist movement in Bohemia and Moravia. After completing his studies at the University of Vienna, he became legal advisor to the Austrian railways. Abeles contributed articles to the Zionist newspaper *Die *Welt* and other Zionist newspapers in German, and was an editor of the organ of the Zionist movement in Austria *Juedische Zeitung.* Together with Robert Stricker he founded the Zionist daily newspaper *Wiener Morgenzeitung*, working on its staff until 1926, when he became an emissary for *Keren Hayesod and traveled through Western Europe as a lecturer. From 1930 he was director of Keren Hayesod in Amsterdam. He was deported to Bergen-Belsen concentration camp, and died immediately after its liberation. Among his works are *Besuch in Eretz Yisrael* (1926), impressions of his first journey to Palestine; *Die Genesung* (1920), a book of poems; and *Zehn Juedinnen* (1931), a book about famous Jewish women. With L. Bato he edited the almanac *Juedischer Nationalkalender* (1915/16–1921/22).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Haolam* (Aug. 30, 1945 and Sept. 6, 1945); *Haaretz* (Aug. 24, 1945); *Davar* (Aug. 24, 1945).

[Getzel Kressel]

ABELES, SIMON (**Simele**; 1682–1694), alleged Christian martyr. The Jesuit chronicler John Eder relates that Simon, who was born into a Prague Jewish family, wanted to embrace Christianity at the age of 12. His father Lazar, a glover, was accused of having murdered him. During the investigation Lazar allegedly hanged himself in prison, and a fellow Jew, Loebel Kurtzhandel, was executed as his accomplice. Simon, although not baptized, was buried with honors in the Týn (Thein) church where his grave may still be seen.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Processus inquisitorius … Abeles* (1728); R.A. Novotńy, *Staropražské sensace* (1937), 13–15; Polák, in: *Ceskožidovský kalendář* (1912/13).

ABELIOVICH, LEV MOYSSEYEVICH (1912–1985), Belorussian composer. Born in Vilna, Abeliovich studied at the Warsaw Conservatory with Kazimierz Sikorski (composition) in 1935–39, and when the Nazis invaded Poland in 1939, he fled to Minsk and studied composition at the National Conservatory with Vasily Zolotarev, graduating in 1941. After World War II, he devoted himself to composition and was later engaged in the study of Belorussian folk music. His compositions include four symphonies (1962, 1964, 1967, and 1970); *Symphonic Pictures* (1958); *Heroic Poem* (1957); three sonatas and the two-book cycle *Frescoes* (1972) for piano; three sonatas for violin and piano; and chamber music and songs.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: NG^2, s.v.; N. Kalesnikava, *Lev Abeliovich* (1970); T.A. Dubkova, in: *Belarusskaya simfoniya* (1974), 162–87; N. Zarenok et al. (ed.), in: *Vopos kul'tur i iskusstva Belorussii* (1982), 23–8.

[Marina Rizarev (2nd ed.)]

ABELLA, ROSALIE SILBERMAN (1946–), jurist, Canadian Supreme Court justice. Rosalie Abella was born in a *displaced persons camp in Stuttgart, Germany. She migrated to Toronto with her family in 1950. Her father, Jacob Silberman, had been a lawyer in Poland but was admitted to Canada as a garment worker as part of a government labor importation scheme. Many of her family, including an older sibling, were murdered in the Holocaust. She grew up "with a passion for justice," and, as she explains, "As a Jew, I feel that, through the Holocaust, I have lost the right to stand silent in the face of injustice."

She studied classical piano at the Royal Conservatory of Music, remaining an accomplished pianist, and attended the University of Toronto, where she earned a law degree in 1970. She practiced civil and criminal litigation until 1976, when she was appointed to the Ontario Family Court, becoming the youngest, the first female, and the first pregnant Jewish judge in Canadian history. While on the Family Court she served on the Ontario Human Rights Commission (1975–80) and the Premier's Advisory Committee on Confederation (1977–82), chaired the Ontario Labour Relations Board (1984–89), and was sole commissioner for the Royal Commission on Equality in Employment (1983–84) in which she made "employment equity" a strategy for reducing employment barriers unfairly imposed by "race, gender or disability." "Employment equity" was subsequently implemented by the governments of Canada, New Zealand, Northern Ireland, and South Africa.

Leaving the Family Court in 1987, Abella became Boulton Visiting Professor at the McGill Law School (1988–92) and Distinguished Visiting Lecturer at the University of Toronto Law School (1989–92), chaired the Ontario Law Reform Commission (1989–92), and was director of the Institute for Research on Pubic Policy (1987–92). In 1992 she was appointed to the Ontario Court of Appeal, where she gained a reputation as a reform-minded judge and an internationally recognized expert on human rights. Believing that democracy is enhanced by an activist judiciary, Abella championed the Charter of Rights and Freedoms and participated in rulings extending the rights of Metis, racialized minorities, and gays. Sometimes regarded as controversial, she nevertheless finds it "unforgivable" for judges, in her words, "to exchange their independence for state approval" as happened during the Third Reich.

Abella served as a director of the International Commission of Jurists, the Canadian Institute for the Administration of Justice, and the McGill Institute for the Study of Canada, and she was a member of the Hebrew University International Board of Governors and the Committee on Conscience, U.S. Holocaust Memorial Council. She is a frequent and highly engaging speaker on equality issues and a committed promoter of Canadian culture. In 2004 she was elevated to the Supreme Court of Canada. The author or editor of four books and over 70 articles, Abella has received 20 honorary degrees, is a specially elected fellow of the Royal Society of Canada, and has been honored by the Canadian Bar Association, the International Commission of Jurists, and B'nai B'rith. She is married to the distinguished Canadian historian Irving Abella.

[James Walker (2nd ed.)]

ABELMANN, ILYA SOLOMOVITCH (1866–1898), Russian astronomer. Abelmann, who was born in Dvinsk, worked at several Russian observatories, mainly on the complex problems connected with the properties of meteor streams. He was concerned with the calculation of secular orbital perturbations exercised on these streams by the effects of planetary attraction. Abelmann was also well known for his efforts to spread the appreciation of astronomy, which he did through numerous popular articles.

[Arthur Beer]

ABEL-MAUL (Gr. ʾΑβελμαωυλ), a city cited in the apocalyptic work the Greek Testament of Levi 2:3, 5 as the place where Levi received a vision of the seven heavens. The name is the Greek form of the Hebrew "Abel-Meholah," mentioned in Judges 7:22 and in I Kings 4:12; 19:16. Abel-Meholah was situated in the mountains of Ephraim, a fact which calls into question the text of Testament of Levi 2:5 which associates it with the Sirion mountain ("the mountain of the shield," a false etymology from Shiryon). In the Dead Sea fragment of Testament of Levi, however, the place where Levi received the vision is Abel-Main, an alternate form of Abel-Maim, the name which replaced the earlier *Abel-Beth-Maacah (cf. I Kings 15:26, II Chron. 16:4). Abel-Maim is in fact situated in the very northern part of Palestine and could easily be connected with the Sirion, the Anti-Lebanon. The confusion in Greek Testament of Levi is evidently the translator's.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Milik, in: RB, 62 (1955), 398ff.; Charles, Apocrypha, 2 (1913), 304; Press, Ereẓ, 1 (1951), 5; Avi-Yonah, Land, 153, s.v. Abelmea.

[Michael E. Stone]

ABEL-MEHOLAH (Heb. אָבֵל מְחוֹלָה), ancient city in the Jordan Valley that was the birthplace of the prophet *Elisha (I Kings 19:16). Abel-Meholah also appears in the Bible as a place through which the Midianites passed in their flight from *Gideon (Judg. 7:22) and as part of Solomon's fifth administrative district, which comprised the towns of the Jezreel and Beth-Shean valleys (I Kings 4:12). Eusebius identified the place in the Onomasticon with Bethmaela, 10 (Roman) mi. south of Beth-Shean. Accordingly, it is generally accepted that Abel-Meholah lay west of the Jordan at the southern end of the Beth-Shean Valley, apparently in the neighborhood of ʿAyn al-Ḥilwa near the point where the Wadi al-Māliḥ enters the Jordan, perhaps Tell Abu Sifri or Tell Abu Sus. Glueck suggested locating it in Transjordan and to identify it with Tell al-Maqlūb, but this has not been generally accepted.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: N. Glueck, *River Jordan* (1946), 168ff.; idem, in: BASOR, 90 (1943), 9ff.; 91 (1943), 8, 15; idem, in: AASOR, 25–28 (1951), 211ff.; M. Naor, in: BJPES, 13 (1947), 89ff.; A. Alt, in: PJB, 24 (1928), 45, 99; 28 (1932), 39ff.; Abel, Geog, 2 (1938), 234; EM, s.v.; Aharoni, Land, 241, 278; Zobel, in: ZDPV, 82 (1966), 83–108; N. Zori, in: BIES, 31 (1967), 132–5.

[Michael Avi-Yonah]

ABEL SHITTIM or **SHITTIM** (Heb. אָבֵל הַשִּׁטִּים), a town in the plains of Moab where the Israelites camped before crossing the Jordan (Num. 33:49; Josh. 2:1, 3:1). Several noteworthy events are connected with the place and its surroundings. Here Balaam attempted to curse the tribes (Num. 22–24; Micah 6:5) and the Israelites sinned with the daughters of Moab and were punished by a plague (Num. 25). Abel-Shittim is also mentioned in later sources. Zeno (259 B.C.E.) purchased wheat there for his Egyptian master. It was a flourishing town during the period of the Second Temple, renowned for its fertile date groves and grain fields. Josephus mentions a town Abila 60 ris (about 7 mi.) from the Jordan (Jos., Ant., 4:1; 5:1). The early city has been identified by Glueck with Tell al-Hammām at the outlet of Wadi al-Kafrayn which runs from the Mountains of Moab to the Jordan Valley. Chalcolithic and Early Bronze Age I pottery and an abundance of potsherds from the Iron Ages I and II have been found on the tell. In the Hellenistic period, the inhabitants moved to a spot in the Jordan Valley to which they transferred the name of their previous settlement, today Khirbat al-Kafrayn. Captured by the Romans, Abel-Shittim escaped destruction during the Jewish War (66–70) and it was populated at least until the end of the Byzantine period.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Horowitz, Ereẓ Yis, s.v.; Press, Ereẓ, 1 (1951), 3; N. Glueck, *River Jordan* (1946), passim; idem, in: BASOR, 91 (1943), 13–18; idem, in: AASOR, 25–28 (1951), 371ff.; Abel, Geog, 2 (1938), 234. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** K. Prag, in: *Levant* 23 (1991), 55–66.

[Michael Avi-Yonah]

ABELSON, HAROLD HERBERT (1904–2003), U.S. educator. Born in New York, he began his teaching career at City College in 1924, advancing from assistant psychologist in the educational clinic to professor in 1948, and dean of the school of education in 1952. His book *The Art of Educational Research, Its Problems and Procedures* (1933), his articles, and his investigations and interest in personality development reflect his belief that educational research should proceed on the basis of scientific principles. In 1944 he was appointed consultant to the office of the Adjutant General and in 1962 became president of the Interstate Teacher Educational Conference. Other books by Abelson include *The Improvement of Intelligence Testing* (1927) and *Putting Knowledge to Use: Facilitating the Diffusion of Knowledge and the Implementation of Planned*

Change (with E.M. Glaser and K.N. Garrison, 1983). The CCNY School of Education has established the Abelson Award for Excellence in Research, which is given annually for the most creative use of educational measurement in the Graduate Research Project.

[Ronald E. Ohl / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

ABELSON, JOSHUA (1873–1940), English minister. Born in Merthyr Tydfil (Wales), Abelson was ordained at *Jews' College in London, and occupied pulpits in Cardiff and Bristol. He became principal of the Jewish theological preparatory school Aria College in Portsmouth, after which he was appointed minister to the United Hebrew Congregation of Leeds. Abelson's works include *The Immanence of God in Rabbinical Literature* (1912), in which he examined the theory of the *Shekhinah* in the rabbinic sources, and its connection with the later development of Jewish mysticism. This work was followed by *Jewish Mysticism* (1913), the earliest serious study of the subject in English. He assisted Chief Rabbi Joseph *Hertz in the editing of Hertz's Commentary on the Pentateuch, published in 1929–36.

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[*Encyclopaedia Judaica* (Germany)]

ABELSON, PAUL (1878–1953), U.S. labor arbitrator. Abelson, who was born in Kovno, Lithuania, immigrated to the United States at the age of 14. He studied at the City College of New York and Columbia University and in 1906 published *The Seven Liberal Arts: A Study in Medieval Culture.* Abelson was deeply interested in adult education for immigrants. He lectured in Yiddish for the New York City Board of Education (1902–09), headed programs for adult education at the Educational Alliance, helped establish the Madison House Settlement (1899), and edited the English–Yiddish *Encyclopedic Dictionary* (1915). Abelson's career as a labor arbitrator began in 1910. He was appointed to the staff established by the agreement that settled the New York cloakmakers' strike of that year. The settlement introduced the concept of arbitration into the ladies' garment trade, and a form of impartial adjudication subsequently marked labor-management relations in much of New York City's apparel industry. Abelson later held posts as an arbitrator in the fur, millinery, men's hat, hosiery, Jewish baking, and jewelry trades, among others. After the passage of the National Recovery Act (1933), Abelson was appointed by President Roosevelt as government representative on seven apparel trades boards. He often served as impartial chairman in early stages of arbitration agreements, and his decisions built the precedents and procedures that became the customary law in these industries. His impartiality and mastery of the detailed situation within each industry were instrumental in his success.

[Irwin Yellowitz]

ABENAES, SOLOMON (**Abenaish**, **Abenyaex**, **Aben-Ayesh**; Heb. **Even Yaish**; c. 1520–1603), Marrano statesman. Born as Alvaro Mendes to a Converso family of Tavira, Portugal, Abenaes made a fortune in India by farming the diamond mines of the kingdom of Narsinghgrah. Still ostensibly a Christian, he returned to Europe, becoming a knight of Santiago, and lived successively in Madrid, Florence, Paris, and London. When the Spaniards seized Portugal in 1580, he embraced the cause of the pretender to the Portuguese throne Dom Antonio, prior of Crato, and became one of his most active supporters. In 1585 he settled in Turkey where he reverted to Judaism under the name Solomon Abenaes. Because of his wealth, experience, and connections, he came to be highly regarded at the Turkish court, renewing the position of Joseph *Nasi, who had died in 1579. He farmed the Turkish customs revenue and was created duke of Mytilene, one of the largest Aegean islands. He succeeded in maintaining his position, notwithstanding constant intrigues, for some 20 years. Like Nasi he had an elaborate information service all over Europe which proved highly useful to the Turkish government. Above all, Abenaes devoted himself to the cause of an Anglo-Turkish alliance against Spain, as the support of the claims of Dom Antonio to the Portuguese throne depended on this. For this purpose he maintained close contact with the Marrano group in England, headed by Dr. Hector *Nuñez and the queen's physician Roderigo *Lopez, his relative by marriage. Through them Abenaes was able to bring the Turkish government the first news of the defeat of the Great Armada in 1588. At one time he put forward the audacious plan of establishing Dom Antonio in the Portuguese dominions in India, from where he would be able to sail with strong forces and gain control of Portugal itself. Dom Antonio proved, however, weak and vacillating, and Abenaes accordingly broke with him; Dom Antonio in turn accused him of treachery. In 1591 Abenaes sent a personal representative, Solomon Cormano, to London to present his case before the queen, and in 1592 Judah Ẓarefati (Serfatim), with the same object. The execution of Roderigo Lopez in 1594 on the charge of attempting to poison the queen did not seriously affect Abenaes' position nor did the intrigues against him in Constantinople by David Passy, his Jewish rival, instigated by Dom Antonio and the French ambassador.

Abenaes was one of the architects of the Anglo-Turkish alliance which stemmed the menacing advance of the Spanish power at the close of the 16th century.

Shortly after his arrival in Turkey Abenaes secured the renewal, in his own favor, of the grant of *Tiberias and seven adjoining townships that had originally been made to Nasi. His name is thus associated with this important attempt to reestablish an autonomous Jewish life in Ereẓ Israel. His son JACOB ABENAES (formerly Francisco Mendes) actually settled in Tiberias, but to his father's disappointment, instead of helping in political and administrative organization, spent his time in study.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: C. Roth, *The Duke of Naxos* (1948), 133–4, 205–16, 248–9; Wolf, in: JHSET, 11 (1924–27), 1–91; A. Galante, *Don Solomon Aben-Yaèche, Duc de Ételin* (1936).

[Cecil Roth]

ABENAFIA, JOSEPH (d. 1408), rabbi and physician. Abenafia, who was born in Catalonia, accompanied Martin I of Aragon to Sicily as his personal medical attendant and settled there in 1391. In 1396 he was appointed *dienchelele (*dayyan kelali*). In 1399 he petitioned the king on behalf of all the Sicilian communities about certain proposed reforms. In 1404 he was nominated examiner of Jewish medical practitioners. Probably because his activities were connected with the king's interests, they encountered opposition within the community and in 1406 the Palermo community asked to be exempted from his authority.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Roth, Italy, 236–8; Milano, ltalia, 176, 482, 624; Baer, Urkunden, 1 (1929), index; B. and G. Lagumina (eds.), *Codice diplomatico dei giudei di Sicilia*, 1 (1884).

[Attilio Milano]

ABENATAR MELO, DAVID (d. c. 1646), Marrano poet. Abenatar was born in the Iberian Peninsula, probably as Antonio Rodriguez Mello. He was arrested by the Inquisition and survived years of imprisonment and torture. After appearing as a penitent at an auto-de-fé, he escaped to Amsterdam and reverted to Judaism. In 1616 he was a founding member of the *talmud torah* (*Eẓ Ḥayyim*) society there and in the following year subsidized the publication of a prayer book in Spanish (*Orden de Roshasana y Kipur*); in 1622 he similarly printed a Passover *Haggadah*. In 1626 he published a remarkable translation of the Book of Psalms into Spanish verse (*Los CL. Psalmos de David: in lengua española en uarias rimas*) dedicated to "The Blessed God and the Holy Company of Israel and Judah, scattered through the world." The prologue contains an account of his sufferings. The work is more a paraphrase than a translation and contains several allusions to current events and the tyrannies of the Inquisition (cf. Psalm 30, at the end of which he mentions the auto-de-fé at which he himself appeared when 11 Judaizers were burned). He was probably the father of IMMANUEL ABENATAR MELO, *ḥazzan* of the Sephardi community of Rotterdam until 1682 and then of Amsterdam, and grandfather of DAVID ABENATAR MELO, member of the Yesiba de los Pintos and subsequently preacher and *ḥazzan* in Amsterdam. To the same family presumably belonged Diego Henriques Melo who, after trial by the Toledo Inquisition, escaped in 1618 to Amsterdam with his father, sister, and nephew.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: M. Kayserling, *Sephardim* (1859), 169 ff.; Kayserling, Bibl, 67–68; Roth, Marranos, 329–30, 397; M. Menéndez y Pelayo, *Historia de los heterodoxos españoles*, 2 (1956), 256–8; H.L. Bloom, *Jews of Amsterdam* (1937), 10; ESN, 8; S. Seeligmann, *Bibliographie en Historie* (Dutch, 1927), 50–57.

[Cecil Roth]

ABENDANA, Sephardi family, with members widely dispersed among the ex-Marrano communities of Northern Europe. The name Abendana is Arabic in origin, commonly written in Hebrew ן'דנא, אבן-דנא. Various branches of the family became differentiated by the cognomens Osorio, Belmonte, Naḥmias, Mendes (numerous in Hamburg), or, especially, de Brito. Isaac da Costa's statement that they were all descended from Heitor Mendes de Brito, who lived in Lisbon in the second half of the 16th century, is inaccurate. The Hamburg branch was founded by FERNANDO (Abraha) and MANOEL, sons of Manoel Pereira Coutinho of Lisbon whose five daughters were nuns at the convent of La Esperança. The earliest known member of the family in Amsterdam was Francisco Nuñez Pereira or Homem (d. 1625), who is reported to have arrived in Holland with the earliest (legendary) party of Marrano immigrants in 1598. Francisco entered the Jewish community under the name DAVID ABENDANA, after the death of his two sons, considered by his wife Justa (Abigail) to be the outcome of divine punishment for his sin in not having undergone circumcision. He was one of the founding members of the first Amsterdam synagogue. His son, IMMANUEL (1667), became *ḥazzan* of the community.

The family is also found at an early date in America. A DAVID ABENDANA lived in New York in 1681, and a MORDECAI ABENDANA died there in 1690.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: H. Kellenbenz, *Sephardim an der unteren Elbe* (1958), index (genealogical trees, 488 ff.); Roth, Marranos, 383; Rosenbloom, Biogr Dict; I. da Costa, *Noble Families among the Sephardic Jews* (1936), 83, 115–6, 144; Kayserling, Bibl., 1, 2; ESN, 8–10.

[Cecil Roth]

ABENDANA, ISAAC (c. 1640–c. 1710), scholar of Marrano origin, younger brother of Jacob b. Joseph *Abendana. In 1662 lsaac went to England, where from 1663 he taught Hebrew at Cambridge and prepared for the university a translation of the Mishnah into Latin, receiving much encouragement from the local scholars. The work was completed in 1671 but remained unpublished; the manuscript, in six quarto volumes, is preserved in the Cambridge University Library. During this time, Isaac had been selling Hebrew books and manuscripts to the Bodleian Library in Oxford, and he moved to that city in 1689, teaching Hebrew at Magdalen College and elsewhere. From 1692 to 1699 he published a series of annual Jewish almanacs for Christian use, with learned supplements which he collected and republished later in a single volume entitled *Discourses on the Ecclesiastical and Civil Policy of the Jews* (Oxford, 1706; 2nd ed., 1709). He was in correspondence with several outstanding English scholars, especially Ralph Cudworth, master of Christ's College and regius professor of Hebrew at Cambridge. There is no authority for the statement that he studied medicine in his youth.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Roth, Mag Bibl., 157–8, 330, 426.

[Cecil Roth]

ABENDANA, ISAAC SARDO (c. 1662–1709), diamond merchant. Abendana, who was originally from Holland, went to India from London in about 1702. He settled in Pulicat on the Coromandel Coast before moving to Fort St. George (Madras). In the records of the British East India Company there he is referred to as a freeman. As a diamond expert and jeweler his advice was much sought. Thomas Pitt, governor of Fort St. George, with whom he became friendly, also consulted him. Abendana's testament is described in the court records as written in "certain characters and other numerous abbreviations unknown to all of us," probably a reference to Hebrew. It stipulates that his widow was to remarry, if at all, only "in a city where there is a synagogue." She remarried a German Lutheran in 1712, and the ensuing litigation is detailed in the Madras Record Office.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: J.J. Cotton, *List of Inscriptions on Tombstones and Monuments in Madras* (1915), 123; D.A. Lehmann, *Alte Briefe aus Indien* (1965); W.J. Fischel, in: *Journal of Economic and Social History of the Orient*, 3 (1960), 191ff. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** M. Arbell, in: *Los Muestros*, 41 (2000), 12–13.

[Walter Joseph Fischel]

ABENDANA, JACOB BEN JOSEPH (1630–1685), biblical commentator and polemist, elder brother of Isaac *Abendana; probably born in Hamburg, of Portuguese parents. Together with Joshua Pardo and Imanuel Abenatar Melo he studied at the Academia de los Pintos in Rotterdam. In 1655 he became principal of the Maskil el Dal fraternity in Amsterdam, where he delivered a memorial address on the inquisitional martyr Abraham Nuñez Bernal. In 1658, after completing his studies, he was appointed *haham* in Amsterdam.

Around 1660 he was in contact with Adam Boreel, the continental Christian Hebraist of the circle dominated by John Dury and Samuel Hartlib, who commissioned him to translate the Mishnah into Spanish. The translation made by Abendana was used by later Christian scholars such as Surenhusius, but was never printed and is now regarded to be lost.

In 1660/1661, Jacob and Isaac published Solomon ibn Melekh's Bible commentary, *Mikhlol Yofi*, with a supercommentary, *Lekket Shikḥah* (3rd ed., 1965), on the Pentateuch, Joshua, and part of Judges (Vienna, 1818). The work was published with the approbations of Christian scholars, including the celebrated Johannes *Buxtorf of Basel. Jacob Abendana followed up his success with a Spanish translation of Judah Halevi's philosophical work *Kuzari* (published in Amsterdam, 1663, with a dedication to the British merchant-diplomat Sir William Davidson).

By the beginning of 1668, Jacob had joined his brother Isaac in England, and with him set about selling Hebrew books to a devoted clientele that included Henry Oldenburg, Robert Boyle, and Thomas Barlow of the Bodleian Library.

In 1681 Jacob became *haham* of the Spanish and Portuguese synagogue in London (which he had already visited in 1667–68). In that year he was host to Princess Anne, who came to the synagogue during Passover, the first occasion on which a member of the royal family visited the Jews at prayer.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: MGWJ, 9 (1860), 30ff.; Solomons, in: JHSET, 12 (1931), 21–24, 39–40; Samuel, *ibid.*, 14 (1939), 39ff.; ESN, s.v.; P.T. van Rooden and J.W. Wesselius, in: *Quaerendo*, 16 (1986) 110–30; D.S. Katz, in: *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 40 (1989), 28–52; idem, in: C.S. Nicholls (ed.), *The Dictionary of National Biography: Missing Persons* (1993), 2.

[Harm den Boer (2nd ed.)]

ABENDANAN (**Ibn Danan** or **Ibn Dannān**), Moroccan family of rabbis and scholars. The first known members of the family are ASASE, who emigrated from Morocco to Aragon in 1249, and MAIMON, who was apparently one of the refugees after the anti-Jewish massacres of 1391. Maimon went to Fez with his son MOSES, who became known as the "Rambam of Fez" and wrote many commentaries on the Talmud (which have remained in manuscript). In 1438, Moses was accused of attacking Islam and was sentenced to death; he narrowly escaped this fate, but was compelled to flee the country. It is likely that Maimon II, son of Moses, remained in Fez. His son (or grandson) Saadiah was born there. SAADIAH *IBN DANAN was a physician, halakhist, exegete, grammarian, lexicographer, philosopher, and poet. MAIMON, son of Saadiah, died a martyr's death before 1502 and was buried in Fez. His son SAMUEL (d. after 1566) was rabbi of Constantine (in Algeria), and was instrumental in passing important *takkanot.* According to tradition he was one of the 200 rabbis who ordained Joseph b. Ephraim *Caro. Samuel was the author of responsa and novellae, some of which were published in *Minḥat ha-Omer* (Djerba, 1950). His signature appears on numerous documents between 1526 and 1551, and he was the author of many interesting tales (J.M. Toledano, *Oẓar Genazim*, 1960, 13–16). SAADIAH II, the son (or grandson) of Samuel, participated in passing of *takkanot* between 1550 and 1578 and wrote a commentary on the Bible (still in manuscript). SAMUEL (1542–1621), his son, possessed an extensive knowledge of the local customs of the Jews of Maghreb and of the *takkanot* of Castile. He wrote many legal novellae and rulings as well as a history. SAADIAH III (d. 1680), the son of Samuel, was an *av bet din* and poet. He held discussions with Jacob b. Aaron *Sasportas (*Ohel Ya'akov* (1737), 2 and 3) and issued a number of *takkanot.* Some of his works are extant in manuscript. SAMUEL B. SAUL (1666–c. 1730) was the first editor of the Ibn Danan family chronicles and a history of the Jews of Fez. He is the supposed author of *Ahavat ha-Kadmonim* (edited Jerusalem, 1889), a prayer book according to the custom of Fez. SOLOMON (1848–1929) was an *av bet din*, halakhic authority, preacher, and kabbalist. During the last years of his life he was a member of the supreme *bet din* of appeal of Rabat. He was the author of the responsa *Asher li-Shelomo* (1901) and *Bikkesh Shelomo* (Casablanca, 1935). SAUL (1882– ?), son of Solomon, halakhist and Zionist, founded a Ḥibbat Zion society in Fez in 1910. In 1933 he was appointed *av bet din* of Mogador and

Marrakesh, and in 1949 chief rabbi of Morocco and head of the supreme *bet din* of appeal. In 1965 he resigned and settled in Israel. He published *Hagam Shaul,* responsa (Fez, 1959). From other branches of this family were descended a number of rabbis, among them SOLOMON BEN SAADIAH, 17th-century scholar and physician, and ISAAC (1880–1910), author of *Le-Yiẓḥak Rei'ah* (Leghorn, 1902).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Azulai, 2 (1852), 35, no. 55; Edelman, in: *Ḥemdah Genuzah*, 1 (1856), xvii–xxi; Neubauer, in: JA, 20 (1862), 256–61; A. Ankawa, in: *Kerem Ḥemed* (1869/71); Bacher, in: REJ, 41 (1900), 268–72; J. Ibn-Ẓur, *Mishpat u-Ẓedakah be-Ya'akov* (1894–1903), nos. 5, 40, 317; S. Ibn-Danan, *Sefer Asher li-Shelomo* (1906), pref.; J.M. Toledano, *Ner ha-Ma'arav* (1911), 44ff., 84ff., 103ff., 134ff.; J. Ben-Naim, *Malkhei Rabbanan* (1931), 83a, 96a, 100b–1b, 111a–b, 114b–5b, 123b–4b; Schirmann, Sefarad, 2 (1956), 665–6; Slouschz, in: *Sura*, 3 (1958), 165–91.

[David Obadia]

ABENMENASSE (also **Abinnaxim**) family of courtiers in Spain. SAMUEL ABENMENASSE, probably born in Valencia, was appointed by Pedro III of Aragon (1276–85) as his *alfaquim*, or physician and secretary for Arabic correspondence (thus being known as "Samuel Alfaquim"). He sometimes acted also as the king's personal emissary. About 1280 he was tax farmer of the *bailía* of *Játiva where he held most of his property. He took part in several expeditions of Pedro, accompanying him to Sicily in 1283, and by royal order was exempted from taxation (1280, 1284) and from the obligation to wear the Jewish *badge (1283). Samuel was subsequently imprisoned for financial offenses and in 1285 was dismissed from all his offices. It is doubtful whether he is the Samuel Alfaquim who went to Granada and Morocco in 1292 and 1294 as Aragonese envoy. Samuel's brother JUDAH (d. c. 1285) was active in affairs concerning the *bailía* of Játiva and vicinity. In 1282 he went to collect the tribute owed by the Muslims in Valencia. He was imprisoned in 1284 on charges of corruption.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Baer, Spain, 1 (1961), index, s. v. *Samuel Alfaquim;* Romano, in: *Homenaje a Millás-Vallicrosa*, 2 (1956), 251–92.

ABENSUR, family originating in Spain. After the expulsion in 1492 its members are found in Morocco, Italy, Amsterdam, and Hamburg, distinguished as scholars, diplomats, and merchants.

In Spain its members included DON JACOB (c. 1365); SAMUEL (c. 1413), one of the leaders of the community of Valladolid; and ISAAC (c. 1490), a notable of Trujillo.

The branch in Morocco was founded by MOSES (I) known as Abraham [*sic*] the Hebrew, a forced convert to Christianity who returned to Judaism in Fez in 1496. His descendants include ISAAC (d. 1605), a *dayyan* in Fez, murdered as a result of one of his decisions; he collaborated with ABRAHAM and SAMUEL in editing the Castilian communal ordinances. MOSES (II) of Salé (17th century), was author of liturgical poems, elegies, and kabbalistic works including *Me'arat Sedeh ha-Makhpelah* (1910). SHALOM (d. before 1717), Hebrew grammarian, was author of *Shir Ḥadash* (1892) and other works. JACOB REUBEN (b. 1673), born in Fez, was the most celebrated member of the family, also recognized as a rabbinical authority in Europe; he was the author of *Kinot* for the Ninth of Av and responsa, *Mishpat u-Ẓedakah be-Ya'akov* (2 vols., 1894; 1903). Part of his large collection of letters and responsa by writers in Spain and Jerusalem and early Spanish exiles in Morocco were published in *Kerem Ḥemed* (1869–71), and are a valuable source of information on Moroccan Jewry. ISAAC was appointed British consul in Morocco in 1818; SAMUEL (1840) was agent of Emir Abd-el-Kader in Tangiers; AARON (c. 1850) represented Denmark there and his son ISAAC was British delegate to the legislative assembly of Tangiers and for 30 years president of the community. ISAAC LEON (b. Eliezer b. Solomon ha-Sephardi) settled in Ancona, Italy, after 1500. The *bet din* in Rome reversed one of his decisions, and in 1546 published the discussions which followed. He was the author of *Sefer Megillat Ester* (Venice, 1592), a defense of the *Sefer ha-Mitzvot* of *Maimonides against the criticisms raised by *Naḥmanides.

Well known in the Amsterdam community were SOLOMON (d. 1620) and SAMUEL (d. 1665).

The Hamburg branch of the family was descended from the *Marrano Anrique Dias Millão who was burned at an auto-da-fé in Lisbon in 1609. Two of his sons reentered Judaism in Hamburg and took a prominent part in communal life. The elder, Paul de Millão, became known as MOSES, but for safety traded with the Iberian Peninsula under the name of Paul Direchsen. His elder son, JOSHUA (d. 1670), was a leader of the Hamburg community and was a personal acquaintance of Queen Christina of Sweden. The younger, DANIEL (d. 1711), became resident in Hamburg for the Polish crown, followed by his (?) son DAVID. JACOB, younger son of Joshua, was baptized in 1719, Louis XIV being his godfather. After dabbling in international politics and intrigues he became a French agent and assumed the name Louis. The family continued to be known in Hamburg until the 19th century.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: J. Scott, *Travels in Morocco and Algiers* (1842); JHSEM, 6 (1962), 1579; Baer, Urkunden, 2 (1936), 193, 275–7, 509; Hirschberg, Afrikah, 2 (1965), 273, 292; ESN, 183, 185; A.I. Laredo, *Memórias de un viejo Tangerino* (1935), 95, 96; H. Kellebenz, *Sephardim an der unteren Elbe* (1958), 400–17, passim; Z. Szajkowski, *Franco Judaica* (1962), nos. 1462–65.

[David Corcos]

ABENSUR, JACOB (1673–1753), Moroccan rabbi. Born in Fez, Abensur received a sound traditional education under Vidal *Sarfaty and Menahem *Serero, and among his fellow students was Judah ibn *Attar who later became Abensur's colleague on the *bet din* of Fez. He also studied grammar, astronomy and Kabbalah and cultivated poetry and song. In 1693 he was appointed registrar of the *bet din* of Fez, and in 1704 rabbi and head of the *bet din,* serving in this capacity for 30 years, and subsequently at Meknès for 11 years and seven at Tetuán. Abensur was the most illustrious rabbi of Morocco of his time. His extensive knowledge, his modesty, and his passion for justice and equality endeared him both to the intellectual elite and the ordinary people, but he incurred the enmity of some of his colleagues. In his old age, when the Jewish community of Fez was in decline as a result of famine and persecution, Jacob Abensur ordained five rabbis who constituted the "*Bet Din* of Five" and were responsible for the well-being of the community.

Abensur was consulted from far and wide on halakhic questions. Many of his responsa are scattered in the works of Moroccan rabbis; some of them have been collected and published under the title *Mishpat u-Ẓedekah be-Ya'akov* (2 vols., 1894; 1903). His *Et le-khol Ḥefeẓ* (1893), a voluminous collection of liturgical poetry, has been published. His other works have remained in manuscript form.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: H. Zafrani, *Les Juifs du Maroc* (1972).

[Haim Zafrani]

ABENVIVES (**Vives**), Spanish family, members of which were in the service of the kings of Aragon between 1267 and 1295. The most influential member VIVES BEN JOSEPH IBN VIVES owned estates throughout Aragon and Valencia. An excellent administrator, he brought law and order to the estates under his jurisdiction but became unpopular. In August 1270 several Jews and Muslims proffered complaints against him, alleging that he was a usurer and sodomite, but he was absolved by King James I. In 1271 the king commissioned Vives to suppress a Muslim rising in Valencia. Vives made frequent loans to the king, amounting to at least 45,600 sueldos between 1271 and 1276, and was granted several royal estates as pledges. He was removed from office after James' death in 1276. Other members of the family include ISAAC, who was a tax collector in 1283; SAMUEL, who was granted estates in the area of Alfandech and held several bailiwicks between 1282 and 1295; and JOSEPH, who lent money to the crown and was granted several castles, and held minor administrative posts between 1271 and 1284.

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[J. Lee Shneidman]

ABER, ADOLF (1893–1960), musicologist. Born in Apolda, Thuringia, Aber was assistant at the Institute of Musicology, Berlin, music critic of the *Leipziger Neueste Nachrichten* from 1919 to 1933, and also a partner in the music-publishing firm of Friedrich Hoffmeister. Among his many writings were *Studien zu J.S. Bachs Klavierkonzerten* (1913); *Handbuch der Musikliteratur* (1922); *Die Musik im Schauspiel* (1926); and short biographies of Bach, Beethoven, and Brahms. In 1933, he joined the British publisher Novello & Co. as a musicologist, where he edited the new catalog of the publishing house. Aber edited musical works by German composers and introduced England to the work of Fr. Joede, C. Bresgen, and Willhelm Rettch. In 1958, the German government awarded him for his work in disseminating German music in England and the Commonwealth countries.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: MGG^2.

[Israela Stein (2nd ed.)]

ABERDAM, ALFRED (1894–1963), painter and graphic artist. Aberdam was born in Krystonopol, East Galicia (now Chervonograd, Ukraine) and received a traditional Jewish education in a *ḥeder* while studying Hebrew with private teachers. In 1905–12 he lived in Lvov, where he finished high school. He decided to become an artist at the age of 14. At this time he came into contact with young Yiddish writers (Melech *Ravitch, Abraham Moshe *Fuks, and others) and with Zionist youth groups in Lvov. He attended their meetings and their lectures on Jewish artists. In 1913 he entered the Academy of Art in Munich, but unsatisfied with the conservative approach to art education there, he left for Paris and studied in private studios. At the beginning of World War I he was drafted into the Austrian army and was wounded and taken prisoner by the Russians. He was sent to Siberia and lived in Irkutsk and Krasnoyarsk, where he became acquainted with David Burliuk and other Russian futurists. In 1917 he was appointed people's commissar for the arts and inspector of the Irkutsk museum and organized an art school there. In 1920 he returned to Lvov. In 1921–22 he visited the Academy of Art in Cracow. In 1922–23 he lived in Berlin and visited the studio of Alexander Archipenko. From the end of 1923 he lived in Paris. In the 1920s and 1930s Aberdam's works were exhibited in salons and in private galleries. In this period he had three one-man shows. He maintained connections with Poland, showed his works in Polish exhibitions, and was a member of the *Plastycy Nowocześni* ("Contemporary Plastic Artists") group. During the Nazi occupation Aberdam had to live underground and could not continue his artistic work. In 1944 he took part in the organization of the Society of the Jewish Artists of Paris. In 1949 and 1952 he visited Israel and had one-man shows. His personal artistic manner reached its maturity in the late 1920s and with time he became one of the most illustrious representatives of the École de Paris. His favorite modes were still-lifes, landscapes, and genre scenes. He devoted a number of his works to the Holocaust (including *Deportation*, 1941–42, Ein Harod Art Museum, Israel).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: C. Aronson, *Scènes et visages de Montparnasse* (1963), 440–45; N. Nieszawer, Marie Boyé, and Paul Fogel, *Peintres Juifs à Paris, 1905–1939. École de Paris* (2000), 39–41.

[Hillel Kozovsky (2nd ed.)]

ABERDEEN, Scottish seaport, northeast of Edinburgh. In 1665 it was reported that a ship with sails of white satin had put into harbor with a large party of Jews, presumably on the way to join the pseudo-Messiah Shabbetai *Ẓevi in the Levant (A New Letter from Aberdeen in Scotland, Sent to a Person of Quality, etc., by R.R., London, 1665). Marischal College in Aberdeen was possibly the earliest British university to give degrees to Jews (Jacob de *Castro Sarmento, 1739, followed by Ralph *Schomberg; perhaps neither professed Judaism at the time). A small community was established in Aberdeen by Polish and Russian Jews in 1893, and in 1966 numbered approximately 85. The Library of Marischal College contains a magnificent Hebrew illuminated Bible manuscript of the Sephardi type, probably originating in Naples. In 2004 approximately 30 Jews resided in Aberdeen. A refurbished community center and synagogue opened in 1983.

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[Cecil Roth]

ABERLIN, RACHEL (2nd quarter of 16th century, Salonika (?)–1st quarter of 17th century, Damascus (?)). Aberlin is described as a mystic in *Sefer ha-Ḥezyonot* ("The Book of Visions"), the memoir of her contemporary R. Hayyim *Vital, the most prominent disciple of the greatest 16th century kabbalist, R. Isaac *Luria. Vital refers to "Rachel Aberlin" and "Rachel ha-Ashkenaziah" frequently in entries that provide rare insight into the mystical religiosity of early modern Jewish women in the period preceding Sabbateanism. He also refers to a "Rachel, sister of R. Judah Mishan," the kabbalist who ratified Vital's authority following Luria's death. Although the connection between Rachel Aberlin and R. Judah Mishan's sister cannot be established with certainty, Vital's references suggest such an identity.

Aberlin settled in Safed in 1564 with her husband, Judah, a wealthy man who led the Ashkenazi community there until his death in 1582. As a wealthy widow, Aberlin became the patron of some of the leading rabbinic figures in her community. We are told by Vital that she established a complex in Safed, where he lived with his family. Vital's references to Aberlin's presence in Jerusalem and Damascus during his years in those cities imply that the two had a close relationship for decades.

Aberlin is portrayed in *Sefer ha-Ḥezyonot* as a woman who regularly experienced mystical visions, from pillars of fire to Elijah the Prophet. She is said to have been "accustomed to seeing visions, demons, souls, and angels," as well as to have had clairvoyant abilities that were acknowledged by Vital, who affirmed that "most everything she says is correct." Aberlin seems to have been an important figure for other women in her community, who regarded her as a spiritual leader. Aberlin's position as the leader of a mystical sisterhood is also suggested by Vital's description of her intervention in a dramatic case of spirit possession involving a young woman in Damascus in 1609. Vital's numerous recollections of Aberlin evince his profound respect for her and her spiritual gifts. In a particularly striking example, Vital relates a dream that Aberlin shared with him in which she saw Vital sitting behind a desk covered with books, while behind him a large heap of straw burned with a radiant fire but was not consumed. Vital explained to Rachel that this vision was a manifestation of Obadiah 1:18, "And the house of Jacob shall be a fire … and the house of Esau for straw." Aberlin, still in her dream, responded, "You tell me the words of the verse as it is written, but I see that the matter is actual, in practice, and completely manifest." This dream demonstrates the distinction between the learned mysticism of the kabbalists and the visionary, ecstatic mysticism of their much less known female counterparts.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: J.H. Chajes, *Between Worlds: Dybbuks, Exorcists, and Early Modern Judaism* (2003); M.M. Faierstein, *Jewish Mystical Autobiographies: Book of Visions and Book of Secrets* (1999).

[J.H. Chajes (2nd ed.)]

ABIATHAR (Heb. אֶבְיָתָר; "the divine father excels"), son of *Ahimelech son of Ahitub of the priestly house of Eli of Shiloh (I Sam. 22:20 ff.). Abiathar was one of David's two chief priests. When the priests of the village of Nob were massacred by order of Saul because they had aided David, Abiathar alone escaped. He then reported the massacre to David, who asked him to join him as his priest. He brought with him an *ephod*, which was used by the priests as an oracle. David twice asked Abiathar to use the *ephod* to ascertain God's command (I Sam. 23:6, 9 ff.; 30:7 ff.). When David became king, Abiathar's line was established as the priestly line of the royal court along with *Zadok's (II Sam. 8:17). It has been suggested, therefore, that the listing of Ahimelech (Abimelech) son of Abiathar as David's priest (II Sam. 8:17; I Chron. 18:16) should be emended to read Abiathar son of Ahimelech, as in the Syriac version. During *Absalom's revolt David was forced to leave Jerusalem, but he sent Abiathar and Zadok there to inform him of the happenings in Absalom's court (II Sam. 15:25, 34 ff.). There they had freedom of movement and thus were able to deliver messages to David about the rebel's intrigues (II Sam. 17:15). Abiathar carried David's message of reconciliation to Amasa and the elders of Judah (II Sam. 19:12) and also served as David's counselor (II Sam. 15:27, 29; 17:15 ff.; 19:12 ff.; I Chron. 27:33–34). During the struggle for succession to David's throne, Abiathar supported *Adonijah (I Kings 1:7); hence Solomon, who was anointed by Zadok, banished Abiathar and his descendants to Anathoth and took away his privileges to act as priest in Jerusalem (I Kings 1:19, 25; 2:22, 26, 35). The prophet Jeremiah was descended from the priests of Anathoth and Jeremiah may have been a descendant of Abiathar (Jer. 1:1).

In the *Aggadah*

Abiathar was indirectly responsible for the continuation of the line of David. Had Abiathar not been saved from the massacre of the priests of Nob, there would have been no *Jehoiada to save the sole survivor of the Davidic line from the massacre instigated by *Athaliah (Sanh. 95b). Abiathar's replacement by Zadok as high priest is explained by the fact that the *Urim* and *Thummim* would not answer him when he consulted them (Sot. 48b). The Zohar (I 63b) illustrates his straitened circumstances thereafter (cf. I Kings 2:26) by the comment: "He who during David's lifetime lived in affluence and wealth, was reduced by Solomon to poverty."

BIBLIOGRAPHY: M. Cogan, *I Kings* [AB] (2000), 177–78.

ABIATHAR BEN ELIJAH HA-KOHEN (c. 1040–1110), last of the Palestinian *geonim*. Abiathar studied under his father ELIJAH B. SOLOMON, president of the Palestinian academy, from 1062 to 1083. A responsum of Elijah addressed to Meshullam b. Moses of Mainz in 1070 was signed also by Abiathar under the title "*ha-Revi'i*" ("the Fourth") implying that he was fourth in rank at the yeshivah. With the capture of Jerusalem by the Seljuks in 1071 and the transfer of the academy to Tyre, Abiathar was appointed "the Third," and later vice president of the academy (*av ha-yeshivah*). In 1081, while his father was still alive, he was appointed *gaon*. Abiathar was involved in a long and bitter controversy with David b. Daniel, the Egyptian exilarch and president of the Fostat (Cairo) Academy, who sought to extend his authority (as had his father *Daniel b. Azariah) over the Palestinian academy and community. Abiathar described this controversy in a "Scroll," published as "*Megillat Abiathar*" by S. Schechter (JQR 1901/02), in which he gave an account of his family's battle against the would-be usurpers. He forcefully defended the special rights of Ereẓ Israel over the Diaspora. "Ereẓ Israel is not called exile; how, then, can an exilarch wield authority over it?" At the beginning of the First Crusade (c. 1095), Abiathar was in Tripoli (Syria). Nothing is known about his last years.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: W. Bacher, in: JQR, 15 (1902/03), 79–96; Mann, Egypt, 1 (1920), 187–95; A. Kahane, *Sifrut ha-Historya ha-Yisre'elit*, 1 (1922), 160–2; Marcus, in: *Horeb*, 6 (1941), 27–40; S. Assaf and L. Meir (eds.), *Sefer ha-Yishuv*, 2 (1944), 39–40 (introd.); S. Goitein, in: KS, 31 (1955/56), 368–70; Braslavi-Braslavsky, in: *Eretz Israel*, 6 (1960), 168–73 (Heb. sect.); idem, in: *Tarbiz*, 32 (1962/63), 174–9.

[Simha Assaf]

°ABICHT, JOHANN GEORG (1672–1740), German Lutheran theologian and Hebraist. Abicht studied at Leipzig and at Jena, where he was professor of Hebrew (1702–16). In 1729 he became professor of theology at the University of Wittenberg. His main field of interest was Jewish history and literature and, particularly, rabbinical Bible commentaries, some of which he translated into Latin. His publications are a selection of the Bible commentaries of Rashi, Ibn Ezra, and others, entitled *Selecta Rabbinico-Philologica* (Leipzig, 1705), which included also parts of Maimonides' *Code*; and a Latin translation of Isaiah di Trani's commentary on Joshua (Leipzig, 1712). His interest in the problem of cantillation in the Bible is illustrated by his Latin translation of *Sha'ar ha-Neginot* included as *Porta Accentuum* in Ch. Ziegra's *Accentus Hebraeorum* (1715).

Abicht also wrote a study on the anonymous chronicle *Sefer ha-Yashar* (1732); *Methodus Linguae Sanctae* on Hebrew grammar (1718); studies on Joshua (*Disputationes librum Josuae,* 1714), on the Sabbath (*De lege Sabbathi*, 1731), on Jonah (*De Jona fugiente,* 1702), and on slavery (*De Servorum hebraerorum acquisitione et servitiis*, 1704); a commentary on Zechariah 10:7 (1704), and many other works.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: C.G. Joecher, *Allgemeines Gelehrten-Lexicon,* 1 (1750), 23 and Supplement 1 (1784), 53; NDB, 1 (1953), 19 ff.; Steinschneider, Cat Bod, 662; idem, in: ZHB, 1 (1896), 112.

ABIEZER (Heb. אֲבִיעֶזֶר; "my Father [God] is help," or "my Father [God] is hero"; variant **Iezer**, Heb. אִיעֶזֶר, Num. 26:30).

(1) A person and a tribal unit of the tribe of *Manasseh in three genealogical lists in the Bible and a clan in the story of *Gideon.

Iezer and the Iezerites head the list of six eponyms and clans, all sons of *Gilead son of *Machir son of Manasseh (Num. 26:29–33). These are depicted as the "rest" of the sons of Manasseh, including Abiezer, who received ten lots west of the Jordan (Josh. 17:1–6). A different genealogy for Manasseh appears in I Chronicles 7:14–19. Abiezer is represented as a person, not a clan, and is a brother of Ish-Hod and Mahlah, who is daughter of *Zelophehad in other lists. All three are children of Hammolecheth, sister of Gilead, but the text is obscure and there is no certainty as to whose sister she was.

The narrative account of the Book of *Judges attests the existence of the clan of the Abiezrites in the 12th century B.C.E. Joash, the father of Gideon, was surnamed "the Abiezrite" (Judg. 6:11) and his town was "*Ophrah of the Abiezrites" (Judg. 6:24, 8:32). Ophrah, a cultic center, has been located by most scholars at al-Ṭayyiba on the heights of Issachar and north of Beth-Shean. When Gideon blew the horn to gather the people, the clan of Abiezer was the first to answer the call. Evidence from another century for the settlement of the Abiezrites in another region is furnished by the *Samaria Ostraca, which contain names of localities and some districts (nos. 13, 28). The districts, among them Abiezer (אבעזר), are all known from the genealogical lists of Manasseh. Two place names mentioned in several ostraca as being connected with Abiezer are the town of Elmatan at Immātīn and Tetel (?) at al-Tell, which have been identified by W.F. *Albright. Both are south and west of Shechem. The biblical data and the epigraphic data about Abiezer have been regarded as evidence for the organic settlement of an ancient tribal unit in a group of adjoining towns. The tradition of the clan and its eponym were preserved, and the latter became the name of a district. The presence of Abiezer in two different regions may indicate a split of the clan during the process of settlement.

(2) Abiezer the Anathothite (from *Anathoth) was a member of "David's Mighty Men" or "the Thirty" (II Sam. 23:27; I Chron. 11:28). In I Chronicles 27:12 Abiezer the Anathothite is mentioned among the generals of the militia as being in charge of the ninth division for the ninth month.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: (1) Aharoni, Land, 315 ff.; EM, 5 (1968), 45 ff., s.v. Menasheh; Z. Kallai, *Naḥalot Shivtei Yisrael* (1967), 44, 144 ff., 355 ff. (2) Y. Yadin, in: J. Liver (ed.), *Historyah Ẓeva'it shel Ereẓ Yisrael…* (1965), 350 ff. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY**: (1) S. Ahituv, *Handbook of Ancient Hebrew Inscriptions* (1992), 173, 183.

[Hanna Weiner]

ABIGAIL (Heb. אֲבִיגַיִל), name of two women in the Bible. (1) ABIGAIL wife of Nabal the Carmelite (see *Carmel) and later of David. Abigail is described as both beautiful and sagacious (I Sam. 25:2). In return for "protecting" Nabal's property, David requested a gift of provisions. When Nabal refused, David decided to exact his reward by force. Abigail, apprised of David's approach with armed men, met David with food supplies and apologized for her husband's behavior which she described as the churlish act of a worthless man. David, greatly impressed with Abigail, accepted the food and left in peace. When Nabal died ten days later David wed Abigail. She bore him a son Chileab (I Sam. 3:3), called Daniel in I Chron. 3:1.

In the *Aggadah*

The Midrash is generous in praise of Abigail's beauty, wisdom, and power of prophecy. She is counted among the four women of surpassing beauty in the world (the others are Sarah, Rahab, and Esther), and it is reported that even the memory of her inspired lust (Meg. 15a). Her wisdom was apparent during her first meeting with David when, despite both her own concern for her husband's fate and David's rage, she calmly put a ritual question to him. When David replied that he could not investigate it until the morning, she suggested that the death sentence on her husband be similarly postponed. She met David's protest that Nabal was a rebel, with the retort: "You are not yet king" (*ibid.*). This conversation also revealed her powers of prophecy. The Holy Spirit was upon her when she told David "the soul of my lord shall be bound in the bundle of life" (Lam. R. 21:1); and she foretold David's sin with Bath-Sheba when saying (I Sam. 25:31), "That this shall be no grief unto thee (i.e., but another matter will)" (Meg. *ibid.*). However, her conduct in asking David "to remember thy handmaid" (I Sam. *ibid.*), is said to be unbecoming to a married woman. In the following verse she was therefore addressed by David as "Abigal" (i.e., without the letter *yod*), to indicate that she had shown herself unworthy of the letter with which the name of God begins (Sanh. 2:3).

(2) ABIGAIL daughter of NAHASH, sister of David and Zeruiah, mother of Amasa (II Sam. 17:25; I Chron. 2:16). Her husband was Jether the Ishmaelite (I Chron. 2:17) or Ithra the Jesraelite (II Sam. *ibid.*). (The medieval commentator David Kimḥi surmised that he was known by different names, depending on the area in which he lived.) Concerning her father's name, the Septuagint reads *Jesse instead of Nahash. A talmudic *baraita* also states that Nahash is Jesse (TJ, Yev. 8:3, 9c; Shab. 55). Thus, according to these traditions, Abigail would be David's sister on his father's side. In the Septuagint Abigail is written Abigaia. There is difficulty in explaining the meaning of the name. It is found on a Hebrew seal of the eighth or the seventh century B.C.E.: "To Abigail wife of Asijahu."

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Noth, Personennamen, index; **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** J. Kessler, in: CBQ, 62 (2000), 409–23; S. Japhet, *I & II Chronicles* (1993), 77.

ABI-ḤASIRA, family of kabbalists and pietists, most of whom lived in Morocco. SAMUEL (16th century), apparently of Moroccan origin, lived in Syria. He was renowned as a scholar of Talmud and practical Kabbalah. The first known member of the family in Morocco is MAKLOUF who lived in Dra. The local scholars wrote a special work (still in manuscript) on his eminence. AYYUSH and his two sons JACOB I and YAḤYA were all kabbalists. JACOB II BEN MASOUD (1807–1880) was a codifier and kabbalist, widely renowned for his great piety; people streamed to him to receive his blessings. Three times he tried to fulfill his dream of going to Ereẓ Israel, but the community and even the government stood in his way. In the end, however, he left despite their protestations. He succeeded in making his way as far as Damanhur, near Alexandria, but there he died and was buried. The anniversary of his death is commemorated in many communities. Jacob's works, almost all of which were published in Jerusalem, include *Doresh Tov* (1884); *Pittuḥei Ḥotam*, on the Torah (1885); *Yoru Mishpatekha*, responsa (1885); *Bigdei ha-Sered*, on the Passover *Haggadah* (1887, and Leghorn, 1890); *Ginzei ha-Melekh,* on Kabbalah (1889, 1961); *Maḥsof ha-Lavan,* on the Torah (1892); *Alef Binah*, on the alphabet (1893); *Ma'gelei Ẓedek* (1893); *Levonah Zakkah*, on the Talmud (1929); *Sha'arei Teshuvah* (1955); and *Yagil Ya'akov*, poems (Algiers, 1908; Jerusalem, 1962). DAVID, a kabbalist, was killed by a cannon shot at the instigation of the local *mukhtar* Mulai Muhammad in 1920. He wrote *Sekhel Tov* (2 vols., 1928) and *Petaḥ ha-Ohel* (3 vols., 1928). His brother ISAAC (1897–1970) emigrated to Israel in 1949, and the same year was appointed chief rabbi of Ramleh and district.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: J. Abi-Hasira, *Doresh Tov* (1884), introd. by A. Abi-Ḥasira; idem, *Ma'gelei Ẓedek* (1893), introd. by A. Abi-Ḥasira; Neubauer, Chronicles, 1 (1887), 152; J.M. Toledano, *Ner ha-Ma'arav* (1911), 211; E. Rivlin, *Rabbi Shemu'el Abi-Ḥasira* (1922); M.D. Gaon, *Yehudei ha-Mizraḥ be-Ereẓ Yisrael*, 2 (1938), 17; J. Ben-Naim, *Malkhei Rabbanan* (1931).

[David Obadia]

ABIHU (Heb. אֲבִיהוּא), second son of Aaron and Elisheba, daughter of Amminadab (Ex. 6:23; Num. 3:2, et al.). He is always mentioned together with his elder brother Nadab. He was anointed and ordained for the priesthood (Num. 3:3; cf. Ex. 28:1; I Chron. 24:1) and participated with his father, brother, Moses, and the elders in the rites accompanying the making of the covenant at the theophany at Sinai, on which occasion they "saw God" and ate a festive meal (Ex. 24:1–10). Although the exact function of Abihu in these rites is not specified, it is clear that the story represents a very ancient tradition, and that Abihu once played a definite, prominent, and positive role in the now lost history of the Israelite priesthood.

The death of Abihu occurred under mysterious circumstances. He was incinerated (although his clothes and those of his brother remained intact) together with Nadab, as the brothers offered "alien fire before the Lord" (Lev. 10:1–3; Num. 3:4; 26:61; cf. I Chron. 24:2). Aaron's cousins, Mishael and

Elẓaphan, were ordered to remove the bodies from the sacred precincts, and the customary mourning rites were suspended (Lev. 10:4–7). The precise nature of the incident is unclear, and neither the locale nor chronology is recorded. Some serious departure from the prescribed cultic ritual seems to be referred to. It has been suggested that they brought incense from outside the sacred area between the altar and the entrance to the Tent of Meeting. It was therefore impure. Abihu and his brother left no sons (Num. 3:4; I Chron. 24:2), and his priestly line was thus discontinued. Some scholars see behind the story of their deaths a forgotten tradition about inter-priestly rivalries and the elimination of two priestly houses. The name Abihu may be variously explained as meaning "the Father [God] is" (i.e., exists), "He [God] is Father," and "Father is He" (a surrogate for God).

For Abihu in Aggadah, see *Nadab.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Noth, Personennamen, 18, 70, 143; Moehlenbrink, in: ZAW, 52 (1934), 214–5; Y. Kaufmann, Toledot, 1 (1937), 542; de Vaux, Anc lsr, 397. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** M. Haran, in: J. Liver (ed.), *Sefer Segal* (1964), 33–41.

[Nahum M. Sarna]

ABIJAH (Heb. אֲבִיָּה; "YHW(H) is my father"), king of Judah c. 914–912 B.C.E.; son of *Rehoboam (on the identity of his mother, see *Asa). In Kings, where he is referred to throughout as Abijam, it is stated only that he followed the sinful ways of his father, and that he was at war with *Jeroboam, king of Israel, throughout his reign. The Book of Chronicles, however, for its own theological reasons, unhistorically depicts him as a pious king who succeeded in wresting a sizable slice of territory from Jeroboam (II Chron. 13:19). According to I Kings 15:19, it is likely that a political alliance existed between Abijah and *Ben-Hadad I, king of Aram-Damascus. Abijah had 14 wives, who bore 22 sons and 16 daughters (II Chron. 13:21). One source of information for the Chronicler on the reign of Abijah was the Midrash of the prophet Iddo (*ibid.* 13:22).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: S. Japhet, *I & II Chronicles* (1993), 697–700.

ABILEAH, ARIE (1885–1985), Israel pianist. Born in Russia, Abileah gave his first concert at the age of six. He studied at the Conservatory of Petersburg under Marie Benoit, Liadov, and Glazounov and completed his artistic training in Geneva with Stavenhagen. He appeared as accompanist of Joseph *Szigeti, Joseph *Achron, and Maurice Maréchal. In 1914 he was appointed chairman of the piano department at the Music Academy in Geneva, a position he held until 1922. He was active in 1922–26 as a piano teacher in Tel Aviv. During 1926–32 Abileah performed at concerts in Paris and New York. In 1932 he settled in Jerusalem where he was appointed professor at the Music Academy and, as chairman of the Musicians' Association, organized chamber music concert series. He made recordings for the Israel Broadcasting Authority.

[Ury Eppstein]

ABILENE, district in Coele-Syria, centered around the city of Abila (modern Suq on the Barada River, 16½ mi. (27 km.) N.W. of Damascus) and extending over the western slopes of Mt. Hermon. Originally part of the Iturean principality, it was held by the tetrarch Lysanias the Younger in the time of Tiberius (Luke 3:1). Gaius Caligula granted it to Agrippa I (Jos., Ant., 18:237) and after the latter's death, the tetrarchy was administered by Roman procurators (44–53 C.E.) until Claudius gave it to Agrippa II (Jos., Ant., 20:138) who ruled it until his death. The local legend connecting Abilene with Abel (al-Nabī Ābil) is spurious.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Schuerer, Gesch, 1 (1904^4), 716–21; Pauly-Wissowa, 9 (1916), 2379; Bickerman, in: EJ, s.v. *Abila, Abilene.*

[Michael Avi-Yonah]

ABIMELECH (Heb. אֲבִימֶלֶךְ; "the [Divine] Father is King" or "the [Divine] King is Father"), king of *Gerar, who appears in several incidents in connection with Abraham and Isaac. Each of these patriarchs, fearing for his personal safety, represents his wife as his sister. Sarah's honor is saved through a dream theophany in which Abimelech's life is threatened; timely detection of the subterfuge preserves Rebekah's virtue. In both instances the king's integrity is manifest and he is righteously indignant at the deceit (Gen. 20; 26:1–11). Abimelech is also involved with both patriarchs in quarrels over wells (21:25; 26:15–16, 18–21). In both events he is accompanied by Phicol, chief of his troops (21:22, 32; 26:26), and concludes treaties (21:27–32; 26:28–31). Also, Beer-Sheba figures on each occasion (21:31; 26:33). The detailed similarities between the two stories and the resemblances of both to that of Genesis 12:10–20 have generally led critical scholars to assign Genesis 20–21 to the E source and Genesis 12 and 26 to J, regarding all three narratives as variants of a single tradition.

The name is ancient, and attested in the form Abi-milki as the name of the King of Tyre in the 14th century B.C.E., but because the Philistine migrations to Canaan do not antedate 1100 B.C.E., the title "King of the Philistines" (26:1, 8; cf. 18 – not in E) must be viewed as an anachronism.

[Nahum M. Sarna]

In the *Aggadah*

Abimelech was referred to as a righteous Gentile (Mid. Ps. 34). His attempted seizure of Sarah is explained by the fact that he was childless, and that he hoped to be blessed with offspring by marrying such a pious woman (PdRE 26). Among his punishments for his sin were that ruffians entered his house, that boils erupted on his body (Gen. R. 64:9), and that his household became barren (BK 92a). Abimelech, however, clearly did not consider himself to be the only one at fault. According to the aggadic commentary on his words "Behold it is for thee a covering of the eyes" (Gen. 20:16), he said to Abraham "You covered my eyes (i.e., by saying that Sarah was your sister), therefore the son which you will beget will be of covered eyes (i.e., blind)." This prophecy was fulfilled in Isaac's old age (Gen. R. 52:12). The aggadic treatment of Isaac's relations with

Abimelech is briefer. It records that, although he had heard of Rebekah's great beauty, Abimelech remembered his previous punishment, and therefore left her alone (Ag. Ber. 20). However, once Isaac had become so wealthy that people kept saying: "Rather the dung of Isaac's mules, than Abimelech's gold and silver," he became jealous, and claimed that Isaac's wealth was derived from his favors (Gen. R. 64:7).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: J. Skinner, *Genesis* (ICC, 1930^2), s.v.; E.A. Speiser, *Genesis* (1964), s.v. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** C.S. Ehrlich, *The Philistines in Transition: A History from ca. 1000–730 BCE* (1996); S.D. Sperling, *The Original Torah* (1998), 21–22, 86–90.

ABIMELECH (for meaning, see previous entry), the male offspring of *Gideon the Abiezrite by his Shechemite concubine (Judg. 8:31). During the period of the Judges Abimelech became the ruler of Shechem through the support of his mother's family and the local oligarchy ("the lords of Shechem"; Judg. 9:2–3 et al.) who financed the hiring of a regiment of "worthless and reckless fellows" (9:4). With their aid, Abimelech murdered all but one of the 70 sons of Gideon (see *Jotham) in order to eliminate possible claims to the leadership of Shechem. He had reason for apprehension because of Gideon's special connections with this city. The Bible does not count Abimelech among the *Judges. He is not credited with having "saved" Israel. The placing of his story in the Book of Judges is apparently due to its connection with the traditions about the house of Gideon. At any rate, Abimelech maintained close ties with the Israelites, since he "ruled [not 'judged'] over Israel three years" (9:22). It is probable that the Manassites submitted to him because of his paternal lineage, though it is possible that he attained power solely by means of the support of his hired regiment. It would seem that Abimelech's connection with the Israelites did play a decisive role in contributing to his election as a ruler of Shechem. The preservation of normal relations with Israel was of vital importance to Canaanite Shechem which existed as a foreign enclave within the boundaries of the tribe of Manasseh. According to the narrative, the "lords of Shechem" acclaimed Abimelech "king" over them (9:6). However, all indications point to the fact that the title "king" was used because of the lack of a more appropriate term for the type of ruler that existed in various cities in Syria and Ereẓ Israel who performed the functions and exercised the authority of a king. A ruler of this kind was chosen by the municipal institutions. There is evidence that the ruler was dependent on the city's institutions, which guarded their own status and power. Other non-monarchal rulers governed in Shechem at different times: Hamor the Hivite, ruler of Shechem in the days of Jacob (Gen. 34:2), was "chief of the country"; Lab'ayu, chief of Shechem during the 14th century B.C.E., known from the el-Amarna letters, was another such example. In the course of time a conflict arose between Abimelech and the "lords of Shechem," who had chosen him as their leader (Judg. 9:23). It appears that he wished to increase his power at the expense of the local oligarchy. The appointment of Zebul, who was among Abimelech's most prominent supporters and who protected the latter's interests in Shechem as "the ruler of the city" (9:30), testifies to these aspirations. According to the Bible, the "lords of Shechem" placed "men in ambush against [Abimelech] on the mountain tops" (9:25) in order to prove his incompetence in the delicate area of security and to remove him from power. They even conspired with *Gaal son of Ebed (9:26), a non-local and non-Israelite personage, who headed an army of his own and who seduced the Shechemite population by underscoring the city's descent from Hamor the Hivite, its ancient founder (9:28–29). Possibly this reflects a split within the local population, part supporting Abimelech and part opposing him. Gaal apparently sought and found supporters among the Hivites (Horites) of Shechem, who were almost certainly a significant section of the city's population. It is a fact that Abimelech lost support precisely among the "lords of Shechem."

Since Abimelech had to be informed about the events in Shechem by Zebul's messengers (9:31), it would seem that he was not a permanent resident but lived outside the city proper. Abimelech hastened to Shechem and attacked Gaal and his confederates (9:39–40). Abimelech's supporters in Shechem drove Gaal from the city (9:41). The continuation of the story implies that Abimelech decided to turn the territory of Shechem into his private estate by conquest. He completely destroyed the city, slaughtered its inhabitants, and sowed it with salt (9:45). He then invested Thebez (9:50ff.). During the siege of the tower of Thebez he was mortally wounded by a millstone thrown down on him by a woman (9:53). Badly injured, he asked his armor bearer to slay him rather than let him die disgracefully at the hand of a woman (9:54). Although the story of Abimelech is episodic, it represents a shift in Israelite attitudes leading to the establishment of the monarchy. There is an obvious continuity between the Israelites' request that Gideon be king over them and Abimelech's status as ruler of Israel. Only the period of the consolidation of the monarchal concept in Israel separated Abimelech's rule from the anointing of Saul.

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[Hanoch Reviv]

ABINADAB (Heb. אֲבִינָדָב; "my [or "the"] Divine Father is generous"; the root נדב is a common element in West Semitic names), the father of Eleazar, Aḥio, and Uzzah, who resided in Kiriath-Jearim. The ark was brought to Abinadab's home after its wanderings in the Philistine cities and remained there for a period of 20 years. When David undertook to move the Ark by oxcart to Jerusalem (II Sam. 6:3–4; I Chron. 13:7), Abinadab's son Eleazar was appointed to guard the ark (I Sam. 7:1). Abinadab's two sons, Uzzah (perhaps identical with Eleazar) and Aḥio, marched the one beside or behind and the other in front of it. Josephus relates that Abinadab and his sons were Levites (Ant., 6:18; 7:79), a datum unsupported by other sources.

ABIOB, AARON (1535?–1605?), rabbi, preacher, and biblical commentator. Abiob studied under Samuel *Medina, the greatest halakhic authority of his time. He was appointed rabbi, first in Salonika and subsequently in Constantinople and Usküb. Although a recognized authority in *halakhah*, he would refer cases which he did not wish to decide to his teacher in Salonika. His responsa frequently are quoted in the responsa of Samuel Medina and in those of Solomon b. Abraham Ha-Kohen of Serei. He published *Shemen ha-Mor* (Salonika, 1601), a collection of novellae of other commentators and his own exposition of rabbinic dicta in connection with the Book of Esther. He compiled commentaries on the Pentateuch, called *Korban Aharon*, developed from the discourses he delivered on Sabbaths and festivals. The work was never published and the manuscript is no longer extant. His commentary on Psalms, *Beit Aharon*, was also unpublished. His son Solomon succeeded him as rabbi of Usküb.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Michael, Or, no. 266; Rosanes, Togarmah, 2 (1938), 127; 3 (1938), 74, 125; M.S. Goodblatt, *Jewish Life in Turkey in the 16th Century* (1952), 26; M. Molcho, in: *Sinai*, 41 (1957), 41.

ABIR (Abramovitz), DAVID (1922–), Israeli aerospace engineer. Abir, who was born in Kaunas, Lithuania, and came to Palestine in 1934, was chief instructor of the Aero clubs of Palestine, which included the aviation unit of the Palmaḥ (1943–46). He served in the Israel Air Force (1949–55) and was head of its engineering department in 1954–55. Abir was at the Haifa Technion from 1955 to 1972, serving as head of the department of mechanics in 1959–61 and then as dean (and professor) of the Faculty of Aeronautical Engineering (1962–64). He was employed at the British Aircraft Corporation, Bristol, U.K. (1964–65) as senior consulting assistant to the chief engineer on the Anglo-French Concorde supersonic aircraft project. Abir also worked (on leave from the Technion) at Israel Aircraft Industries Ltd., Engineering Division, in 1968–71, as director of advanced aircraft studies and chairman of research and development. He joined Tel Aviv University in 1972 as associate dean of the Faculty of Engineering (1972–80). Abir was deputy chairman of the Israel Space Agency, Ministry of Science and Technology (1983–87) and its director general in 1985–87. Abir was chairman of the National Committee for Space Research from 1972 and chairman of the National Committee on Data for Science and Technology from 1988, both at the Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities. He served as president (1990–94) of the International Committee on Data for Science and Technology (CODATA) of the International Council of Science (ICSU), Paris, France, and was a member of the Council of the International Committee on Space Research (COSPAR) of ICSU from 1972. He was a founding member of the Tel Aviv Academic College of Engineering (from 1996) and served as its deputy president for academic affairs (until 2002). Abir was a fellow of the Royal Aeronautical Society, London, U.K. (from 1965) and a member of the International Academy of Astronautics, Paris, France (from 1972). He contributed papers and articles and wrote and edited books and journals in the fields of aerospace and technology. He was active in the creation of Hebrew terminology in the aviation and related fields, in conjunction with the Israel *Academy of the Hebrew Language and other organizations.

[Samuel Aaron Miller / Bracha Rager (2nd ed.)]

ABISHAG THE SHUNAMMITE (Heb. אֲבִישַׁג; "the [Divine] Father (?)"; meaning unknown; of *Shunem), an unmarried girl who was chosen to serve as *sōkhenet* to King David. The term comes from a root *skn*, "attend to," "take care," and its noun forms can be applied to high officials in Hebrew (Is. 22:15) Abishag's role was of a lower status. She served as bed companion to David in the hope that her fresh beauty would induce some warmth in the old man (I Kings 1:1–4, 15), and as his housekeeper. The notice (1:4) that "the king knew her not" serves less to impute decrepitude to David than to inform the audience that there would be no other claimants to David's throne than Solomon and Adonijah. When Solomon became king, *Adonijah, whose life Solomon had spared although he knew him to be a dangerous rival, asked *Bath-Sheba, Solomon's mother, to intercede on his behalf for permission to marry Abishag. Solomon correctly interpreted this request for the former king's concubine as a bid for the throne (See II Sam 12:8; 16:20–23), and had Adonijah killed (I Kings 2:13–25). Some see in Abishag, who is described as "very fair" (I Kings 1:4), the Shulammite of the Song of Songs (Shulammite being regarded as the same as Shunammite).

In the *Aggadah*

The *aggadah* identifies Abishag as the Shunammite who gave hospitality to Elisha the prophet (PdRE 33). It relates that she was not half as beautiful as Sarah (Sanh. 39b). The fact that David did not make Abishag his legal wife is explained as due to his refusal to exceed the traditional number of wives (18) allowed to a king (Sanh. 22a, and Rashi, *ibid.*). Solomon's action is also vindicated on the grounds that the request made by Adonijah to be permitted to marry Abishag (I Kings 2:13 ff.) represented a true threat to Solomon's position, as it is only the king, and not a commoner, who is allowed to make use of the servants of the deceased king (Sanh. 22a).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Noth, Personennamen, index; Ginzberg, Legends, index. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** M. Cogan, *I Kings* (AB; 2000), 156; Z. Kallai, in: Z. Talshir (ed.), *Homage to Shmuel* (2002), 376–81.

[Elia Samuele Artom]

ABISHAI, the son of Zeruiah, brother of *Joab and *Asahel and nephew of David. Abishai was one of David's most loyal military officers. He was one of David's three mighty men and is credited with killing 300 people (II Sam. 23:18). Additionally, he is said to have been the head of this group, and according to some versions he was the head of the thirty heroes (II Sam. 23:18; I Chron. 11:20). Abishai was one of the three generals who defeated Ish-Bosheth, Saul's son, and Abner, the commander of Saul's army. After the battle Abner killed Asahel (II Sam. 2:18ff.). According to II Samuel 3:30, Abishai and his brother Joab eventually avenged their brother's death. However, the Septuagint apparently did not hold them responsible for this murder, reading *'arevu* ("lie in wait") instead of *haregu* ("killed") of the masoretic text. David, nevertheless, certainly thought both of them guilty (II Sam. 3:39). Abishai defeated the Canaanite confederation against David (II Sam. 10), and during Absalom's revolt he commanded one-third of David's forces (II Sam. 18:2). Additionally, he was instrumental in suppressing Sheba, the son of Bichri (II Sam. 20:6–10). He was also one of David's leading generals in other wars with the Philistines (II Sam. 21:15–17) and the Edomites (I Chron. 18:12); he rescued David at Nob from the threats of a Philistine giant, who has been referred to in some sources as Ishbibenob (II Sam. 21:16–17); and he was against the king's policy of making peace with his enemies (II Sam. 16:9–10, 19:23). Abishai's suggestion to kill Saul in his camp was refused by David (I Sam. 26:6ff.).

In the *Aggadah*

Abishai's rescue of David (II Sam. 21:16–17) illustrates his piety and valor. David had been enticed over the Philistine border by Satan and there seized by Ishbibenob, the brother of Goliath. This was miraculously revealed to Abishai while he was bathing in preparation for the Sabbath. He was aided in his search for David by the fact that the earth contracted under him. On his way he encountered and slew Orpah. When Ishbibenob saw him approaching, he planted his spear in the ground and threw David up in the air saying: "Let him fall on it and perish." Abishai, however, pronounced the Divine Name, and David remained suspended in the air until he descended safely in answer to a prayer of Abishai. Abishai and David foiled the final attack of the enraged giant by weakening him with taunts about his mother's death at Abishai's hands (Sanh. 95a). Abishai was equal to 70,000 men of Israel (Mid. Ps. 17:4).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: D. Schley, ABD 1:24–6.

ABITBOL, Moroccan family of rabbis, *dayyanim*, talmudists, and jurists, who led the community of Sefrou. Information about the Abitbol family is found in many Moroccan documents (responsa, collections of letters, etc.), mostly unpublished. The British Museum houses a bulky manuscript (Margoliouth, Cat, 4 (1935), 161, Or. 11, 114), entitled *Sefer Iggerot u-Meliẓot*, containing poems, but mainly the exchange of correspondence between Moroccan rabbis between 1760 and 1810. The manuscript contains valuable information on the history of Moroccan Jewry in general, and the Abitbol family of Sefrou in particular.

(1) SAUL JESHUA BEN ISAAC (c. 1740–1809), called Rav Shisha (the Hebrew initials of his name). Rav Shisha became rabbi and *dayyan* in Sefrou at the age of 18, and served for 50 years. His rabbinical decisions were honored in rabbinical courts in Morocco during and after his lifetime. His responsa were collected by his descendants and published in Jerusalem under the title *Avnei Shayish* (1930^1, 1934^2). The second volume also contained a collection of biblical and talmudic glosses, sermons, etc., entitled *Avnei Kodesh*, which are not his work, but that of another rabbi of Sefrou, Jekuthiel Michael Elbaz. The poet David Ḥasin composed two *piyyutim* to honor him and his son RAPHAEL (cf. *Tehillah le-David*, 1787). Jacob Berdugo mourned his death in a dirge (cf. *Kol Ya'akov*, 1844).

[Haim Zafrani]

(2) AMOR BEN SOLOMON (1782–1854), Moroccan scholar, codifier, and *dayyan*. Born in Sefrou, Abitbol maintained a yeshivah there at his own expense and supported needy scholars. Many communities turned to him with their halakhic problems. His voluminous library contained many rare manuscripts, among them hundreds of letters addressed to him and to his father from all parts of North Africa, particularly Morocco (Ms. British Museum no. Or. 11. 114; a second group is the Benayahu collection). These contain important information about valuable works and manuscripts. Some of his own and his father's responsa were published as *Minḥat ha-Omer* (1950). This volume includes a collection of his homilies, *Omer Man*, and 26 of his poems and elegies, including one *bakashah* in Arabic. Other responsa by him are scattered throughout the works of his Moroccan contemporaries. Some of his works are still in manuscript. His two sons, Ḥayyim Elijah and Raphael, were also well-known rabbinic scholars.

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ABI ZIMRA, ISAAC MANDIL BEN ABRAHAM (16th century), liturgical poet who lived in Algiers. His father Abraham b. Meir Abi Zimra, born in Malaga, author of some poetical compositions, came "from the bitter expulsion of 1492 to the city of Tlemcen" (Abraham Gavison, *Omer ha-Shikhḥah*, 1748, 134a). Abraham Gavison, who knew Isaac, called him "the great poet" (*ibid.*, 122b). Over 60 of Isaac's *piyyutim*, which were strongly influenced by Arabic poetry, are to be found in various manuscripts. Until recently, various communities in North Africa recited his poems. A complete edition of poems was prepared by H.J. Schirmann, but never published.

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[Abraham Meir Habermann]

ABKHAZIYA (formerly **Abkhaz Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic**), within Georgia, Transcaucasia, on the eastern shore of the Black Sea. Formerly part of the Ottoman Empire, Abkhaziya became a Russian protectorate in 1810. During the czarist regime, since it lay beyond the *Pale of Settlement, Abkhaziya was barred to Jews from European Russia. In 1846 Jewish artisans were given permission to live temporarily in Sukhum (now Sukhumi), the main city, and by 1897 there were 156 Jews. After the 1917 revolution the number of Jews in Abkhaziya increased considerably. The 1959 census recorded 3,332 Jews (0.8% of the total population), 3,124 living in urban settlements and 208 in rural. The majority were concentrated in Sukhumi and most of them were Georgian Jews (see *Georgia). A new synagogue with accommodation for 500 congregants was built in 1960, and a congregation was reported active in 1963. After the dismantling of the Soviet Union in the 1990s, Abkhaziya proclaimed independence and cessation from Georgia, leading to a war in 1993 that ended with the defeat of the Georgian army and Russian troops intervening and separating the belligerents. The war caused the Jews of Abkhaziya to leave, mostly for Israel. Abkhaziya is not recognized by other governments as an independent country. See also *Caucasus.

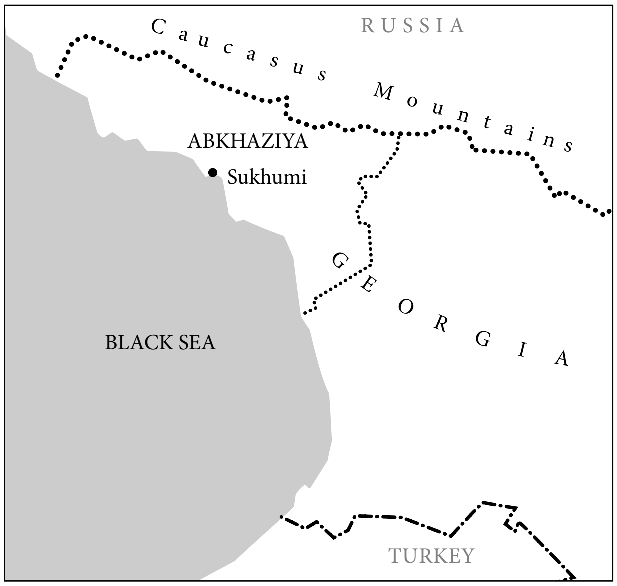

[Yehuda Slutsky / Shmuel Spector (2nd ed.)]

ABLUTION (Heb. טְבִילָה; "immersion"), act of washing performed to correct a condition of ritual impurity and restore the impure to a state of ritual purity. The ritually impure (or unclean) person is prohibited from performing certain functions and participating in certain rites. Ablution, following a withdrawal period and, in some cases, other special rituals, renders him again "clean" and permitted to perform those acts which his impurity had prevented. Ablution must not be confused with washing for the sake of cleanliness. This is evident from the requirement that the body be entirely clean before ablution (Maim., Yad, Mikva'ot 11:16), but there may nevertheless be some symbolic connection. The ablutions, as well as the impurities which they were deemed to remove, were decreed by biblical law, and understood by the rabbis in religious and not in hygienic or magical terms. This is shown by R. Johanan b. Zakkai's retort to his disciples who had questioned an explanation he gave to a non-Jew about ritual purity: "'The dead do not contaminate and the water does not purify.' It is a command (*gezeirah*) of God and we have no right to question it" (Num. R. 19:4).

Ablution is common to most ancient religions. Shintoists, Buddhists, and Hindus all recognize ablution as part of their ritual practice and there is ample evidence concerning its role in ancient Egypt and Greece (Herodotus, 2:37; Hesiod, *Opera et Dies*, 722). Most ancient peoples held doctrines about ritual impurity and ablution was the most common method of purification. In varying forms ablution is important to Christianity and Islam as well; this is hardly surprising since they are both post-Judaic religions. In Jewish history there have been several sects that have laid great stress on the importance of ablution. The *Essenes (Jos., Wars, 2:129, 149, 150) and the *Qumran community (Zadokite Document, 10:10ff.; 11:18ff. and other DSS texts) both insisted on frequent ablutions as did the Hemerobaptists mentioned by the Church Fathers. The *tovelei shaḥarit* ("morning bathers") mentioned in Tosefta *Yadayim* 2:20 perhaps may be identified with the latter but more likely were an extreme group within the general Pharisaic tradition (Ber. 22a; Rashi, ad loc.).

In the Jewish tradition there are three types of ablution according to the type of impurity involved: complete immersion, immersion of hands and feet, and immersion of hands only.

Complete Immersion

In the first type of ablution the person or article to be purified must undergo total immersion in either *mayim ḥayyim* ("live water"), i.e., a spring, river, or sea, or a **mikveh*, which is a body of water of at least 40 *se'ahs* (approx. 120 gallons) that has been brought together by natural means, not drawn. The person or article must be clean with nothing adhering (*ḥaẓiẓah*) to him or it, and must enter the water in such a manner that the water comes into contact with the entire area of the surface. According to law one such immersion is sufficient, but three have become customary. Total immersion is required for most cases of ritual impurity decreed in the Torah (see *Purity and Impurity, Ritual). Immersions were required especially of the priests since they had to be in a state of purity in order to participate in the Temple service or eat of the "holy" things. The high priest immersed himself five times during the service of the Day of Atonement. Other individuals had to be ritually pure even to enter the Temple. However, it became customary among the Pharisees to maintain a state of purity at all times, a fact from which their Hebrew name *Perushim* ("separated ones") may have developed (L. Finkelstein, *The Pharisees* (1962^3), 76 ff.; R.T. Herford, *The Pharisees* (1924), 31 ff.).

Total immersion also came to form part of the ceremony of *conversion to Judaism, although there is a difference of opinion concerning whether it is required for males in addition to circumcision, or in lieu of it (Yev. 46a). Since the destruction of the Temple, or shortly thereafter, the laws of impurity have been in abeyance. The reason is that the ashes of the *red heifer, which are indispensible for the purification ritual, are no longer available. Thus, everybody is now considered ritually impure. The only immersions still prescribed are those of the **niddah* and the proselyte, because these do not require the ashes of the red heifer and because the removal of the impurity concerned is necessary also for other than purely sacral purposes (entry into the Temple area, eating of "holy" things). The *niddah* is thereby permitted to have sexual relations and the proselyte is endowed with the full status of the Jew.

In addition to the cases mentioned in the Bible, the rabbis ordained that after any seminal discharge, whether or not resulting from copulation, total immersion is required in order to be ritually pure again for prayer or study of the Torah. Since this was a rabbinical institution, immersion in drawn water or even pouring nine *kav* (approx. 4½ gallons) of water over the body was considered sufficient. The ordinance was attributed to Ezra (BK 82a, b) but it did not find universal acceptance and was later officially abolished (Ber. 21b–22a; Maim., Yad, Keri'at Shema 4:8). Nevertheless, the pious still observe this ordinance. The observant also immerse themselves before the major festivals, particularly the Day of Atonement, and there are ḥasidic sects whose adherents immerse themselves on the eve of the Sabbath as well. The Reform movement, on the other hand, has entirely abolished the practice of ritual ablution. There was a custom in some communities to immerse the body after death in the *mikveh* as a final purification ritual. This practice was strongly discouraged by many rabbis, however, on the grounds that it discouraged women from attending the *mikveh*, when their attendance was required by biblical law. The most widespread custom is to wash the deceased with nine *kav* of water.

The immersion of the *niddah* and the proselyte require **kavvanah* ("intention") and the recitation of a benediction. The proselyte recites the benediction after the immersion because until then he cannot affirm the part which says "… God of our fathers … who has commanded us." Since ablution at its due time is a *mitzvah* it may be performed on the Sabbath, but not, nowadays, on the Ninth of Av or the Day of Atonement. Except for the *niddah* and the woman after childbirth whose immersion should take place after nightfall, all immersions take place during the day.

Vessels to be used for the preparation and consumption of food that are made of metal or glass (there is a difference of opinion concerning china and porcelain) and that are purchased from a non-Jew must be immersed in a *mikveh* before use. This immersion is to remove the "impurity of the Gentiles" (a conception which was introduced, perhaps, to discourage assimilation), and is different from the process of ritual cleansing by which used vessels are cleansed to remove non-kosher food which might have penetrated their walls. This immersion is also accompanied by a benediction.

Washing the Hands and Feet

This second type of ablution was a requirement for the priests before participating in the Temple service (Ex. 30:17 ff.).

Washing the Hands

This is by far the most widespread form of ablution. The method of washing is either by immersion up to the wrist or by pouring ¼ *log* (approx. ½ pint) of water over both hands from a receptacle with a wide mouth, the lip of which must be undamaged. The water should be poured over the whole hand up to the wrist, but is effective as long as the fingers are washed up to the second joint. The hands must be clean and without anything adhering to them; rings must be removed so that the water can reach the entire surface area. The water should not be hot or discolored and it is customary to perform the act by pouring water over each hand three times (Sh. Ar., OḤ 159, 1960, 161). The handwashing ritual is commonly known as *netilat yadayim*, a term whose source is not entirely clear. It has been suggested that *netilah* means "taking" and thus the expression would be "taking water to the hands," but the rabbinic interpretation is "lifting of the hands" and is associated with Psalms 134:2.

Washing the hands is a rabbinic ordinance to correct the condition of *tumat yadayim*, the impurity of the hands, which notion itself is of rabbinic origin. Among the biblical laws of purity washing the hands is mentioned only once (Lev. 15:11). According to one tradition "impurity of the hands" (and washing them as a means of purification) was instituted by King Solomon, while another has it that the disciples of Hillel and Shammai were responsible for it (Shab. 14a–b). It seems that the custom spread from the priests, who washed their hands before eating consecrated food, to the pious among the laity and finally became universal. The detailed regulations concerning "impurity of the hands" constitute one of the 18 ordinances adopted in accord with the opinion of the school of Shammai against the school of Hillel, and it met at first with considerable opposition. In order to establish the practice the rabbis warned of dire consequences for those who disregarded it, even going so far as to predict premature death (Shab. 62b; Sot. 4b). R. Akiva, who personally disapproved of the ordinance, nevertheless used the limited water allowed him in prison for this ablution rather than for drinking (Er. 21b). In the New Testament there are several references which suggest that Jesus and his disciples demonstrated their opposition to rabbinic authority by disregarding this ordinance (Mark 7:1; Matt 15:1; Luke 11:37).

The washing of the hands most observed today is that required before eating bread, although according to rabbinic sources washing after the meal before grace is considered at least of equal importance. The reason given for this latter washing is to remove any salt adhering to the fingers which could cause serious injury to the eyes (Er. 17b). It is possible that these washings derive from contemporary Roman table manners, and there is also mention of washing between courses (*mayim emẓa'iyyim*, Ḥul. 105a).

In modern times, priests have their hands washed by the Levites before they perform the ceremony of the Priestly Blessing during public prayer services. The laver thus has become the heraldic symbol for the Levites and often appears on their tombstones. Washing the hands is required on many other occasions, some of which are motivated by hygienic considerations and others by superstitious beliefs. A list of occasions for washing the hands was compiled by Samson b. Zadok in the 13th century: they include immediately on rising from sleep (in order to drive the evil spirits away), before prayer, after leaving the toilet, after touching one's shoes or parts of the body usually covered, and after leaving a cemetery (Tashbaẓ 276; Sh. Ar., OḤ 4:18).

The fact that ablution was so widespread in ancient religions and cultures makes it likely that the Jewish practice was influenced by contemporaneous cults. It is, however, difficult to ascertain the extent of this influence and it is possible that the rabbis were reacting against contemporary practices rather than imitating them. It is clear that, to the rabbis, the main purpose of any ablution was to become "holy" and the system they created was meant to keep the Jew conscious of this obligation. "'(God is the hope [Hebrew "*mikveh*"] of Israel)' (Jer. 17:13); just as the *mikveh* cleanses the impure so will God cleanse Israel" (Yom. 85b).

[Raphael Posner]

Women and Ablution

Immersion for women following menstruation and childbirth is a rabbinic, not a biblical, requirement. The halakhic regulations appear particularly in TB *Niddah,* which discusses the practical consequences for male ritual purity of women's menstrual and non-menstrual discharges. On the eighth "white day," following the cessation of menstrual flow, the wife must immerse in the *mikveh* (ritual bath) before marital relations can resume. Jewish girls were traditionally taught to comply strictly and promptly with the regulations connected with the *niddah* (the menstruating woman). Ablution, which took place only after the body and hair had been thoroughly cleansed, had to be complete. *Halakhah* demanded a single immersion but three became customary. Post-menstrual and post-partum women usually visited the *mikveh* at night, often accompanied by other women.

In the first half of the 20th century, female ritual ablution declined significantly in North America, even among nominally traditional families, despite Orthodox exhortations in sermons and written tracts on the spiritual and medical benefits of *taharat ha-mishpaḥah* (family purity regulations), as these laws came to be called. Factors militating against ritual immersion included disaffection of Americanized children of immigrants with their parents' Old World ways, the success of liberal forms of organized Judaism that did not advocate such ablutions, and the deterrent effect of ill-maintained and unhygienic *mikva'ot*. Many Jewish feminist writers of the late 20th century also condemned *taharat ha-mishpaḥah* regulations as archaic expressions of male anxiety about the biological processes of the female body that reinforced the predominant construction in rabbinic Judaism of women as other and lesser than men.

The 1980s and 1990s saw a resurgence in the numbers of Orthodox Jews and a new sympathy among non-Orthodox denominations for various previously discarded practices of traditional Judaism. In this era, positive new interpretations of ritual ablution developed, accompanied by construction of attractive modern *mikva'ot*. Orthodox advocates of *taharat ha-mishpaḥah* regulations praised the ways in which they enhanced the sanctity of marriage and human sexuality and extolled the feeling of personal renewal and rebirth that followed each immersion.

At the beginning of the 21st century, ritual ablution became a symbolic expression of a new spiritual beginning for both women and men in all branches of North American Jewish practice beyond the domain of *taharat ha-mishpaḥah*. In addition to conversion to Judaism, rituals developed incorporating *mikveh* immersion as part of bar mitzvah and bat mitzvah (coming of age); before Jewish holidays; prior to marriage; in cases of miscarriage, infertility, and illness; and following divorce, sexual assault, or other life-altering events. An indication of the probable long-term impact of this trend was the increased construction of *mikva'ot* by non-Orthodox communities.

[Judith R. Baskin (2nd ed.)]

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ABNER (Heb. אַבְנֵר, אֲבִינֵר), cousin of King *Saul and "captain of his host" (I Sam. 14:50–51); from I Chronicles 8:33 it would appear that Abner was Saul's uncle. At court he occupied the seat of honor next to Jonathan, the crown prince (I Sam. 20:25). In his conflict with Saul, David seems to have suspected Abner of plotting against him (24:10; 26:19). Abner did in fact accompany Saul in his pursuit of David, who taunted him with not guarding his master properly (26:16). After the death of Saul and three of his sons on Mount Gilboa, Abner made Saul's son *Ish-Bosheth king over Israel with his capital at *Mahanaim in Transjordan, while Judah broke away and elected David as their king in Hebron (II Sam. 2:8–11). During the subsequent warfare between Israel and Judah, Abner and his men were routed by David's captain, Joab, at the Pool of Gibeon; Abner killed Joab's younger brother Asahel, but reluctantly and in self-defense. He then made a moving appeal to Joab to stop the fratricidal combat (2:12–32). Abner was reproved by Ish-Bosheth for having lain with Rizpah, the daughter of Aiah, a concubine of King Saul, thus possibly betraying his own aspirations to the kingship (3:7). In his anger Abner communicated with David and conspired with "the Elders of Israel" and Saul's own tribe of Benjamin to offer David the crown of a reunited Israel (3:12 ff.). At Hebron he and his son were well received and entertained, while his enemy Joab was away (3:20). Abner promised to rally the entire nation around David. On his return Joab reproached David and warned him against Abner's intrigue. Without the king's knowledge he lured Abner back to Hebron and murdered him at the city's gate (3:30). In this act he also avenged Asahel's death and rid himself of a potential rival, as David had probably promised the chief captaincy to Abner in return for making him king over all Israel. Shocked by this treacherous deed, David cursed Joab and his house. He had Abner buried with full honors; his beautiful dirge and tribute to Abner, "A prince and a great man has fallen this day in Israel," became famous (3:31ff.). On his deathbed David charged his son Solomon to avenge Abner's murder (I Kings 2:5, 32). According to one tradition Abner's tomb is in Hebron near the cave of *Machpelah.

[Gustav Yaacob Ormann]

In the *Aggadah*

Abner, a giant of extraordinary strength (Eccles. R. 9:11) was the son of the Witch of En-Dor (PdRE 33). It was he who refuted Doeg's argument against the admission of Moabite women "in the assembly of the Lord" (see Deut. 23:4) and, supported by Samuel, he established the rule "a Moabite but not a Moabitess," thus enabling David to reign over Israel (Yev. 76b). Abner justified his slaying of Asahel as an action in self-defense, but since he could have merely wounded him, Abner deserved his violent death (Sanh. 49a). Although a pious man (Gen. R. 82:4) and a "lion in the law" (TJ Pe'ah 1:1, 16a) Abner was guilty of many misdeeds which warranted his death. It was in his favor that he had refused to obey Saul's command to kill the priests at Nob; but he should have intervened actively and prevented Saul from executing his bloody design (Sanh. 20a). Even if Abner could not have influenced the king in this matter (*ibid.*), he was guilty of having frustrated a reconciliation between David and Saul and of thinking little of human life (TJ Pe'ah 1:1, 16a). However he was right in espousing the cause of Saul's son Ish-Bosheth against David for he knew from tradition that God had promised two kings to the tribe of Benjamin, and it was therefore his duty to transmit the throne to the son of Saul the Benjaminite (Gen. R. 82:4).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Noth, Personennamen, 167; Bright, Hist, 169, 175–7; E. Auerbach, *Wueste und gelobtes Land*, 1 (1932), 221–4; Ginzberg, Legends, index, EM, 1 (1965), 59–60.

ABNER OF BURGOS (also **Alfonso of Valladolid** or **of Burgos**; c. 1270–1340), apostate and anti-Jewish polemicist. Abner was practicing as a physician in Burgos in 1295, at the time of the appearance of the false prophet in *Avila. Some of those who had been confused by miraculous portents they had witnessed came to Abner for medical advice. Their reports shook Abner's own faith in Judaism, which was already troubled by doubts. The phenomenon of the sufferings of the Jews in exile and of the righteous had long disturbed him, and he experienced visions which he was unable to interpret. Finding no solution in the Bible or the doctrines of the Jewish and Arab philosophers, he turned to the New Testament and the works of the Christian theologians. Abner wrestled with this problem for 25 years. Jewish scholars tried to restore his faith, but he eventually became converted to Christianity when he was about 50. Some time after his conversion, he sent his disciple, Isaac b. Joseph ibn *Pollegar (Pulgar), a copy of a pamphlet setting forth his messianic theories. Pulgar responded with a work which he circulated among the Jewish communities in Spain. Abner subsequently published a number of books and tracts written in Hebrew and directed to Jews. Some were later translated into Castilian under his supervision. He also engaged in his old age in oral disputes with Jewish scholars, including *Moses b. Joshua of Narbonne. In 1334 he tried to convince the elders of Toledo that they had erred in fixing the date of Passover.

Abner was among the first apostates to formulate an ideological justification for conversion. He rejected the rationalist interpretations of the Torah current in his day and avoided taking a stand on the *Kabbalah, which was known to him. The theological system which he propounded accepts predestination, identified with astrological influences, as well as philosophic determinism. The theories expressed in his *Iggeret ha-Gezerah* ("Epistle on Fate") combine astrology with the doctrine of fatalism of Muslim theologians and the Christology of Paul and Augustine. Abner found the answer to the problem of salvation – individual salvation as well as the salvation of all Christians, who alone truly deserved the name "Israel" – in the doctrines of the Trinity and Incarnation, which he tried to ascribe to Aristotle and the aggadic Midrashim (following Raymond *Martini's *Pugio Fidei).* He proposed harsh measures for dealing with the Jewish question, including conversionist preaching, isolation of the Jews from the Christian population, and stirring up mob violence. These proposals he justified by means of malicious allegations about the Talmud. Following the example of the Karaites, Abner alleged that the Talmud contained an evil "Ten Commandments." He employed Karaite arguments against the Talmud in addition to the criticisms of contemporary rationalists and did not shrink from publishing blatant forgeries. He repeated current slanders that the Jews displayed a hostile and unethical attitude toward Gentiles and gave them a sharper edge.

Some of Abner's works have not yet been published and others have been lost, including his *Milḥamot Adonai* ("Wars of the Lord") which he wrote in Hebrew and translated into

Castilian at the request of the Infanta Doña Blanca. Preserved in Castilian translation are Abner's major work *Moreh Ẓedek* ("Teacher of Righteousness"), under the title *Mostrador de Justicia,* and his tract *Minḥat Kena'ot* ("Offering of Zeal"), directed against Isaac Pulgar. In the original Hebrew are *Sefer Teshuvot li-Meḥaref* ("Refutation of the Blasphemer"), a reply to Pulgar and other minor polemics. Pulgar assembled his arguments against Abner in his *Ezer ha-Dat* ("Aid to Faith"), in which, as customary in the works of other polemicists, he quotes from Abner's writings. Ḥasdai *Crescas, in his *Or Adonai*, quotes whole passages from Abner's works in order to refute them. Subsequently, the apostates *Solomon ha-Levi of Burgos (Pablo de Santa María) and Joshua Lorki (Gerónimo de Santa Fe) drew upon Abner's arguments. In conjunction with the *Pugio Fidei* of Raymond Martini, Abner's writings served as source material for later polemics against Judaism in Spanish Christian literature in general.

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[Zvi Avneri]

ABOAB, Spanish family whose descendants remained prominent among the Sephardim of the Mediterranean world as well as in the ex-Marrano communities of Northern Europe. The origin of the name is obscure. The family produced many outstanding Jewish scholars in Spain (see Isaac Aboab, I and II). After the expulsion from Spain, it was found in North Africa, Turkey, Italy (where the form Aboaf became common), and elsewhere. Some members of the family, who fell victims to the forced conversion in Portugal in 1497, preserved the name in secret, resumed it when they reentered Judaism (sometimes with the addition of their baptismal surnames, e.g., Fonseca, Dias, Falleiro) and became outstanding in the communities of the Marrano Diaspora (see Samuel *Aboab, Isaac *Aboab de Fonseca). ABRAHAM, formerly Gonçalo Cardozo, who traded with the Iberian Peninsula under the name of Dionis Genis, was one of the deputies of the Jewish community of Amsterdam in 1638. ELIAS conducted a printing establishment there in 1643–44, and DANIEL SEMAH practiced medicine after graduating at Utrecht in 1667. DAVID, a convert, made his name in England by some pretentious publications, including *Remarks on Dr. Sharpe's Dissertations … concerning … Elohim and Berith* (London, 1751). He is possibly identical with the DAVID, born in Italy, who was excommunicated in Curaçao in 1746 after a bitter controversy with the rabbinate. Members of the family resident in Brazil in 1648–54 included MOSES, who later found his way to New York, where he is recorded in 1684. MOSES, formerly of Surinam, conducted learned religious discussions at Leghorn and elsewhere with the Christian scholar Veyssiere de la Croze, who described them in his *Entretiens sur divers sulets … de critique et religion* (Amsterdam, 1711?).

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[Cecil Roth]

ABOAB, IMMANUEL (c. 1555–1628), protagonist of Judaism among the Crypto-Jews. The little that is known about his life is derived from his major work *Nomologia,* and from his letters to many Crypto-Jews in Western Europe. He was born in Porto into a New Christian family, his father being Henrique Gomes (Isaac Aboab). After his father's death when he was quite young, he was brought up by his grandfather Duarte Dias (Abraham Aboab, son of Isaac *Aboab II "the last *gaon* of Castile"; see accompanying genealogical tree), who negotiated with the Portuguese authorities for the entrance of the Castilian refugees into the country and was subsequently a victim of the forced conversion of 1497; he mentioned his grandfather quite often. In 1585 Aboab escaped to Italy, where he professed Judaism and studied Hebrew literature. In 1597 he had a religious discussion with an Englishman at Pisa; at the time he was one of the *parnasim* of the community, where his signature appears on some of the ordinances in 1599; subsequently he was in Reggio Emilia (where he was in contact with the kabbalist Menahem Azariah da *Fano) and Ferrara, where he had a debate with a Christian scholar on the translations of the Bible, claiming that the Hebrew version is the authentic one. He then moved to Spoleto, and later to Venice, where he is said to have delivered a discourse on the loyalty of the Jewish people before Doge Marino Grimani and the Grand Council in 1603. Four years later he was at Corfu, where he appeared on important business before the Venetian commander Orazio del Monte, with whom he later carried on a correspondence on the nature of angels. He probably spent some time in North Africa and Amsterdam. In Venice he became the *ḥakham* of the Spanish and Portuguese community until his departure to Israel late in life with a party of 36 relatives to join his daughter Gracia, who maintained two academies, in Safed and Jerusalem, and was in charge of the money collected for the support of the scholars. Aboab was a vigorous defender of Judaism, especially among his fellow Marranos who, while skeptical of Christianity, did not appreciate Jewish tradition. In the last years of his life, he wrote a forceful letter to a Marrano friend in France urging him to return to Judaism. The letter was filled with learned arguments and illustrations from history and was used in manuscript by later scholars. His principal work was his *Nomologia o Discursos legales*, written in Spanish between 1615 and 1625 in Venice, a defense of the validity and divine origin of the Jewish tradition and the Oral Law, published posthumously by his heirs (Amsterdam, 1629; 2nd ed. by I. Lopes, *ibid.*, 1727). The title of the book, *Nomologia* ("The Theory of the Names") refers to the names of scholars from the days of Moses until his own time. The book was published at the persistent request of Sephardi Jews in Western Europe. Aboab claimed that the Written and Oral Laws were inseparable. Displaying a wide knowledge of Talmud and Kabbalah as well as Latin and secular learning, it includes much valuable historical information, especially about scholars who left Spain and Portugal after the expulsion. In chaper 29 Aboab conducted debates with two such Jews who denied the validity of the rabbinic traditions. His letters sent to Converso or ex-Converso acquaintances are a valuable source of information on the religious, theological, and social problems they encountered in Jewish communities where they settled. Aboab strongly criticized those who returned to the Iberian Peninsula after their difficult experience as Jews. His literary and religious projects were interrupted by his death in Jerusalem.

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[Cecil Roth / Yom Tov Assis (2nd ed.)]

ABOAB, ISAAC I (end of the 14th century), rabbinic author and preacher; probably lived in Spain. His father seems to have been called Abraham and may have been the Abraham Aboab to whom *Judah b. Asher of Toledo (d. 1349) addressed responsa (*Zikhron Yehudah*, 53a and 60a). After devoting most of his life to secular affairs Isaac turned to writing and preaching.

Isaac's fame rests upon his *Menorat ha-Ma'or* ("Candlestick of Light"), one of the most popular works of religious edification among the Jews in the Middle Ages. Written "for the ignorant and the learned, the foolish and the wise, the young and the old, for men and for women," the work has had over 70 editions and printings (1st ed. Constantinople, 1514; Jerusalem, 1961) and has been translated into Spanish, Ladino, Yiddish, and German. Moses b. Simeon Frankfort of Amsterdam, who translated the work into Yiddish and wrote a commentary on it (*Nefesh Yehudah*, Amsterdam, 1701 and many subsequent eds.), also edited a shorter version under the title of *Sheva Petilot* ("Seven Wicks," Amsterdam, 1721; Sudzilkow, 1836). The book became a handbook for preachers and served for public reading in synagogues when no preacher was available.

Isaac wrote his book, apart from its practical aim, to return *aggadah* to its rightful place. Complaining that, because of lack of order in the sources, *aggadah* had been neglected in favor of legal casuistry, he argues that *aggadah* is an essential part of rabbinic tradition, as necessary for man as *halakhah*. According to Isaac, the *aggadah* carried the same authoritative weight as halakhic rabbinic writings. Thus, the reader is expected to believe that the *aggadah* is true, just as the *halakhah* is true. It has been suggested that he wanted to provide a structured compilation of *aggadah*, similar to that which Maimonides, in his *Mishneh Torah*, had provided for the *halakhah*.

Developing the image of the seven-branched candlestick (cf. Num. 4:9), Isaac divides his work into seven *nerot* ("lamps"). These, in turn, are subdivided into main divisions, parts, and chapters. Using the three parts of Psalms 34:15 as general headings, he assigns the seven lamps to them in the following manner: (A) "Depart from evil," (1) guard against envy, lust, ambition; (2) be wary of sins attendant upon speech. (B) "Do good," (3) observance of *mitzvot* such as circumcision, rearing of children, prayer, festivals, honoring parents, founding a family, charity, justice; (4) study of Torah; (5) repentance. (C) "Seek peace and pursue it," (6) peace and love for fellowman; and (7) humility.

Sources

Into this rather loose framework lsaac fitted a wealth of aggadic material, culled from the Talmud and the vast midrashic literature. His use of passages from aggadic works now lost and the variants in the talmudic and midrashic texts he cites make the *Menorat ha-Ma'or* of great importance for establishing the text of the Talmud used in the Spanish-North African academies as distinct from that of the Franco-German school. Isaac is selective in using esoteric texts, and he fights shy of statements that may provoke doubt and heresy. While he agrees with Sherira Gaon that some of the sayings of the rabbis are imaginative exercises, he wants to limit their number. He contends that the great majority of aggadic statements are divinely inspired and, hence, beyond questioning. If they appear strange to us, it is because of our limited understanding. Isaac also quotes from the geonic literature, Alfasi, Rashi, the tosafists, Abraham Ibn Ezra, Maimonides, Abraham ibn Daud, Jacob Anatoli, Jonah of Gerona, Naḥmanides, Isaac ibn Latif, and Solomon b. Abraham Adret, the ritual compilations of Abraham b. Nathan of Lunel (*Ha-Manhig*) and (David) Abudarham, Baḥya's *Ḥovot ha-Levavot*, Joseph Gikatilla's *Sha'arei Orah*, Asher b. Jehiel, and Jacob b. Asher's *Tur.* He often neglects to name the author from whose work he quotes, and his materials are derived many times from secondhand sources.

Thought

The *Menorat ha-Ma'or* is above all an ethical religious treatise. When discussing religious practices such as circumcision or Sabbath and Festival observances, Aboab limits himself to their underlying reasons and general importance. In his speculative views he combines the teachings of Maimonides, whose *Mishneh Torah* and *Guide* he cites constantly, with the ideas of the teachers of Kabbalah, though the complete absence of quotations from the Zohar has puzzled some scholars. In contrast to Maimonides he postulates that God's individual providence for man is unconditional. Isaac recognizes the need for the study of general sciences, of which, according to him, the rabbis of old were masters, and he quotes Plato, Aristotle, and "the physicians who have recently emerged among

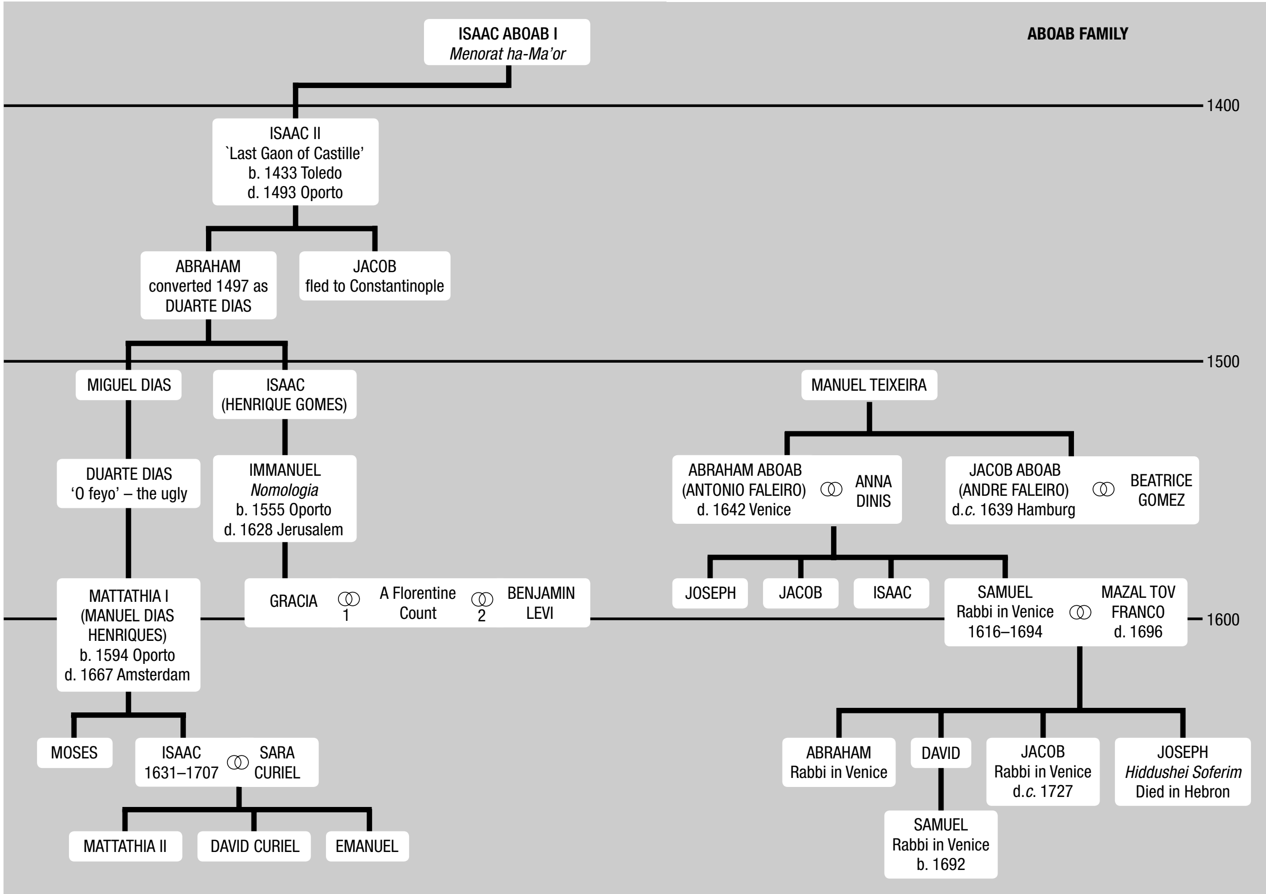
ABOAB FAMILY
ISAAC ABOAB I
Menorat ha-Ma'or
1400
ISAAC II
`Last Gaon of Castille'
b. 1433 Toledo
d. 1493 Oporto
ABRAHAM
converted 1497 as
DUARTE DIAS
JACOB
fled to Constantinople
1500
MIGUEL DIAS
ISAAC
(HENRIQUE GOMES)
MANUEL TEIXEIRA
DUARTE DIAS
'O feyo' – the ugly
IMMANUEL
Nomologia
b. 1555 Oporto
d. 1628 Jerusalem
ABRAHAM ABOAB
(ANTONIO FALEIRO)
d. 1642 Venice
ANNA
DINIS
JACOB ABOAB
(ANDRE FALEIRO)
d.*c.* 1639 Hamburg
BEATRICE
GOMEZ
MATTATHIA I
(MANUEL DIAS
HENRIQUES)
b. 1594 Oporto
d. 1667 Amsterdam
GRACIA
1
A Florentine
Count
2
BENJAMIN
LEVI
JOSEPH
JACOB
ISAAC
SAMUEL
Rabbi in Venice
1616–1694
MAZAL TOV
FRANCO
d. 1696
1600
MOSES
ISAAC
1631–1707
SARA
CURIEL
ABRAHAM
Rabbi in Venice
DAVID
JACOB
Rabbi in Venice
d.*c.* 1727
JOSEPH
Hiddushei Soferim
Died in Hebron
MATTATHIA II
DAVID CURIEL
EMANUEL
SAMUEL
Rabbi in Venice
b. 1692

the Gentiles." He also reflects the rabbis' ambivalent attitude to this world and the next: on the one hand, this world is merely a preparation for the next; on the other hand, the Jew must enjoy this world and the life given by God for serving Him and his fellowman.

Al-Nakawa's *Menorat-ha-Ma'or*

Ever since S. Schechter described the *Menorat-ha-Ma'or* of Israel Al-Nakawa (d. 1391; MGWJ, 34 (1885), 114–26, 234–40) and H.G. Enelow published it (1929–34), the relationship between the two books has interested scholars, with most of them inclining toward the dependence of Aboab on Al-Nakawa. Certain scholars contend that this would imply the post-dating of Aboab's work. The subjects discussed under their various headings are strikingly similar in the two works, but their arrangement is hardly more logical in one than in the other. In Aboab's *Menorat ha-Ma'or* the choice of title is justified by the plan, and the need for an ordered presentation of *aggadah* is explained in the "Introduction," whereas Al-Nakawa has nothing to say on this subject. (For the arguments in favor of the precedence of Al-Nakawa's work see Israel b. Joseph *Al-Nakawa.)

Other Works

In the "Introduction" Isaac mentions that he had written two halakhic works: *Aron ha-Edut* ("Ark of Testimony"), whose talmudic materials are arranged according to the Ten Commandments with the opinions of the *geonim* and later commentators in the margin; and *Lehem ha-Panim* ("Showbread"), devoted to prayers and blessings (unique manuscript in Schocken Library, Jerusalem).

The traditional portrait of Isaac Aboab is actually that of Isaac Aboab da Fonseca.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: A bibliography of editions and translations is found in the introduction to *Menorat ha-Ma'or,* ed. by Ben-Menaḥem (1953), 1–14; Zunz, Ritus, 204–10; S.A. Horodezky, in: *Ha-Goren*, 3 (1902), 5–29; H.G. Enelow, *Israel Al-Naqawa's "Menorat ha-Maor"* (1929), 17–22 (introd.); Efros, in: JQR, 9 (1918/19), 337–57; Levitan, *ibid.*, 11 (1920/21), 259–64; Davidson, ibid., 21 (1930/31), 461–8; Higger, *ibid.*, 27 (1936/37), 59–63; Waxman, Literature, 2 (1960^{2}), 282–7; Baer, Spain, index, s.v. *Isaac Abohab.*

[*Encyclopaedia Hebraica*]

ABOAB, ISAAC II (1433–1493), rabbinical scholar. Known as the "last *gaon* of Castile," Aboab was a disciple of Isaac *Canpanton and head of the Toledo Yeshivah. Joseph *Caro refers to him as one of the greatest scholars of his time. During the final years before the expulsion from Spain he headed a yeshivah in Guadalajara, where, in 1491, Isaac *Abrabanel studied with him. When the edict of expulsion was issued against the Jews of Spain in 1492, Aboab and other prominent Jews went to Portugal to negotiate with King João II regarding the admission of a number of Spanish exiles into his country. He and 30 other householders were authorized to settle in Oporto where he died seven months later; a eulogy was delivered by his pupil Abraham Zacuto. He had two sons: JACOB, who ultimately settled in Constantinople where he published in 1538 his father's *Nehar Pishon*, and ABRAHAM, one of the forced converts of 1497 who retained their Jewish loyalties in secret. Abraham adopted the name Duarte Dias, and many of his descendants returned to Judaism (see *Aboab Family). Isaac Aboab's published works include the following: (1) a supercommentary on Naḥmanides' commentary on the Pentateuch (Constantinople, 1525; Venice, 1548, etc.); (2) *Nehar Pishon*, homilies on the Pentateuch and other biblical books, edited by his son Jacob (Constantinople, 1538); (3) talmudic excursuses (*Shitot*) and novellae (those to *Beẓah* were published in the responsa of Moses Galante (Venice, 1608) and *Sefer Shitot ha-Kadmonim* (1959); those to *Bava Meẓia* are quoted by Bezalel Ashkenazi in his *Shitah Mekubbeẓet);* (4) responsa, appended to *Sheva Einayim* (Leghorn, 1745). Oxford and Cambridge manuscripts contain some of his novellae (on *Ketubbot* and *Kiddushin*), as well as homilies. A commentary on Jacob b. Asher's *Arba'ah Turim*, quoted and used by Joseph Caro and later authorities, and a commentary on Rashi (on the Pentateuch), as well as many responsa, are no longer extant.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Graetz, Gesch, 82 (c. 1900^{4}), 218, 330, 348; Weiss, Dor, 5 (1904^{4}); Loewenstein, in: MGWJ, 48 (1904), 663–6; Roth, in: JQR, 23 (1932/33), 121–62; A. Marx, *Studies in Jewish History and Booklore* (1944), 80, 85, 88–89, 431–2; idem, in: JQR, 20 (1907/08), 240–71 (add. and corr., *ibid.*, 2 (1911), 237–8).

[Zvi Avneri]

ABOAB, ISAAC DE MATTATHIAS (1631–1707), Dutch Sephardi scholar. His father Manuel Dias Henriques (1594–1667) was born in Oporto into a Marrano family, a descendant of Isaac *Aboab II. After escaping from the Inquisition in Mexico he reverted to Judaism as Mattathias Aboab in Amsterdam in 1626. Isaac was a wealthy East India merchant trading with Spain and Portugal under the assumed name of Dennis Jennis. Although not a rabbi, as generally stated, he patronized rabbinical works and was a prolific writer and copyist. His only published work is a brief handbook of moral conduct, first written for his son in Hebrew but published in Portuguese under the title of *Doutrina Particular* (Amsterdam, 1687, 1691, reprinted by M.B. Amzalak, Lisbon, 1925). He advised his son to read Spanish books from time to time for his entertainment. He also wrote (1685) a morality play (*Comedia*) on the life of Joseph, and compiled a history and genealogy of his own family.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Revah, in: *Boletim internacional de bibliografia lusobrasileira*, 2 (1961), 276–310 (full list of Aboab's writings); Kayserling, Bibl., 3–45, 55, 81, 110; C. Roth, in: JQR, 23 (1922/33), 122ff.; A. Rubens, *Jewish Iconography* (1954), 65–67; H.I. Bloom, *Jews of Amsterdam* (1937).

[Cecil Roth]

ABOAB, JACOB BEN SAMUEL (d. c. 1725), Venetian rabbi. He was the third son of Samuel Aboab, whom he succeeded as rabbi of Venice and whose biography he wrote (introduction to Samuel Aboab's responsa *Devar Shemu'el* (Venice, 1702)). He studied mathematics and astronomy and enjoyed a high repute for his extensive knowledge. Jacob's halakhic decisions are included in contemporary works. He corresponded with Christian scholars on biographical and bibliographical topics relating to Jewish literature. Among his correspondents were Christian Theophil Unger, a Silesian pastor, and the Frankfurt scholar Ludolf Hiob. An index to *Yalkut Shimoni* and a work on the ingredients of the incense of the sanctuary, both in manuscript, are ascribed to him. His responsum on the chanting of the Priestly Blessing is included in the collection *Meẓiẓ u-Meliẓ* (Venice, 1716), and a poem of his is appended to *Kehunnat Avraham* (Venice, 1719) by Abraham Cohen of Zante.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Zunz, Gesch, 245; S. Wiener, *Kohelet Moshe*, 2 (1897), 253ff.; Loewenstein, in: MGWJ, 48 (1904), 679–80, 689–701.

[Yehoshua Horowitz]

ABOAB, SAMUEL BEN ABRAHAM (1610–1694), Italian rabbi. Aboab was born in Hamburg, but at the age of 13 he was sent by his father to study in Venice under David Franco, whose daughter he later married. After serving as rabbi in Verona, he was appointed in 1650 to Venice. At the age of 80 he had to leave Venice for some unknown cause and wandered from place to place, until the authorities permitted him to return shortly before his death. Aboab was renowned for both his talmudic and general knowledge and was consulted by the greatest of his contemporaries. He had many disciples. Modest, humble, and of a charitable nature, he devoted himself with particular devotion to communal matters. He was responsible for obtaining financial support from Western Europe for the communities in Ereẓ Israel, and in 1643 collected funds for the ransoming of the Jews of Kremsier taken captive by the Swedes. Aboab was one of the most energetic opponents of the Shabbatean movement. At first he dealt with its followers with restraint, in the hope of avoiding a schism and the possible intervention of the secular authorities. Subsequently, however, he adopted a more rigorous attitude. When *Nathan of Gaza reached Venice in 1668, Samuel was among the rabbis of Venice who interrogated him on his beliefs and activities. His published works include *Devar Shemuel*, responsa (Venice, 1702) published by his son Jacob. It is prefaced by a biography and his ethical will to his sons, and has an appendix called *Zikkaron li-Venei Yisrael* on the investigation of Nathan of Gaza in 1667–68; *Sefer ha-Zikhronot* (Prague, between 1631 and 1651), contains ten principles on the fulfillment of the commandments. Two more of his works, *Mazkeret ha-Gittin* and *Tikkun Soferim*, exist in manuscript. Some of his letters were published by M. Benayahu (see bibliography). Two of his sons, Abraham and Jacob, succeeded him after his death. His other two sons were JOSEPH and DAVID. Joseph had acted as his deputy during his wanderings; eventually he settled in Ereẓ Israel. He wrote halakhic rulings on *Jacob b. Asher's *Arba'ah Turim* and died in Hebron.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Loewenstein, in: MGWJ, 48 (1904), 674–82; C. Roth, *Venice* (1930), 231–6; Sonne, in: *Ẓion*, 3 (1938), 145–52; Ya'ari, Sheluhei, 65, 277; Scholem, *Shabbatai Sevi* (1973), index; Benayahu, in: *Eretz Israel*, 3 (1954), 244–6 (Hebrew section); idem, in: *Sinai*, 34 (1953/54), 156–202; idem, in: *Yerushalayim*, 5 (1955), 136–86; idem, in: *Sefer Zikkaron … Solomon Sally Mayer* (1956), 17–47 (Hebrew section); idem, *Dor Eḥad ba-Areẓ* (1988).

[Abraham David]

ABOAB DA FONSECA, ISAAC (1605–1693), Dutch Sephardi rabbi. Aboab was born in Castro Daire, Portugal, of a Marrano family, as Simao da Fonseca, son of Alvaro da Fonseca *alias* David Aboab. He was brought as a child to St. Jean de Luz in France and then to Amsterdam, where he was given a Jewish upbringing; he was considered the outstanding pupil of R. Isaac *Uzziel. At the age of 21, Aboab was appointed *ḥakham* of the congregation Bet Israel. After the three Sephardi congregations in Amsterdam amalgamated in 1639, he was retained by the united community as senior assistant to R. Saul Levi *Morteira. In 1641, following the Dutch conquests in *Brazil, Aboab joined the Amsterdam Jews who established a community at *Recife (Pernambuco) as their *ḥakham*, thus becoming the first American rabbi. He continued for 13 years as the spiritual mainstay of the community. After the repulse of the Portuguese attack on the city in 1646, Aboab composed a thanksgiving narrative hymn describing the past sufferings, *Zekher Asiti le-Nifla'ot El* ("I made record of the mighty deeds of God"), the first known Hebrew composition in the New World that has been preserved. He also wrote here his Hebrew grammar, *Melekhet ha-Dikduk*, still unpublished, and a treatise on the Thirteen Articles of Faith, now untraceable. After the Portuguese victory in 1654, Aboab and other Jews returned to Amsterdam. Morteira having recently died, Aboab was appointed *ḥakham* as well as teacher in the *talmud torah*, principal of the yeshivah, and member of the *bet din*; in this capacity he was one of the signatories of the ban of excommunication issued against *Spinoza in 1656. Aboab became celebrated as a preacher, and some of his sermons and eulogies have been published. The Jesuit Antonio de Vieira, comparing him with his contemporary *Manasseh b. Israel, observed that Aboab knew what he said whereas the other said what he knew. It was a pulpit address delivered by Aboab in 1671 which prompted the construction of the magnificent synagogue of the Sephardi community in Amsterdam; he preached the first sermon in the new building on its dedication four years later. Along with most of the Amsterdam community, Aboab was an ardent supporter of *Shabbetai Ẓevi, and was one of the signatories of a letter of allegiance addressed to him in 1666; he also published *Viddui* ("Confession of Sins," Amsterdam, 1666). Aboab translated from Spanish into Hebrew the works of the kabbalist Abraham Cohen de *Herrera, *Beit Elohim* and *Sha'ar ha-Shamayim* (Amsterdam, 1655). His novellae on tractate *Kiddushin* and a work on reward and punishment entitled *Nishmat Ḥayyim* have not been published. His most ambitious production was a rendering of the Pentateuch in Spanish together with a commentary (*Parafrasis Commentada sobre el Pentateucho*, Amsterdam, 1688). Aboab died at the age of 88 on April 4, 1693. The bereavement of their spiritual guide was so keenly felt by Amsterdam Jewry that for many years the name of Aboab and the date of his death were incorporated in the engraved border of all marriage contracts issued by the community. The breadth of Aboab's interests in non-Hebrew as well as Hebrew literature is illustrated in the sale catalogue of his library which appeared shortly after his death, one of the earliest known in Hebrew bibliography.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Kayserling, Bibl, 4–5; idem, in: AJHSP, 5 (1897), 125ff.; I. Tishby (ed.), *Sefer Ẓiẓat Novel Ẓevi* (1954), index; Scholem, Shabbetai Ẓevi, index; A. Wiznitzer, *Jews in Colonial Brazil* (1960), index, s.v. *Fonseca, Isaac Aboab da;* idem, *Records of the Earliest Jewish Community in the New World* (1954), index; I.S. Emmanuel, in: AJA, 7 (1955), 24ff.; Silva Rosa, in: *Centraalblad voor Israelieten in Nederland*, 29 (1913); M. Narkiss, in: KS, 15 (1938/39), 489–90; A. Marx, *Studies in Jewish History and Booklore* (1944), 209–11; C. Roth, *Life of Menasseh ben Israel* (1934), index.

[Cecil Roth]

ABOMINATION. Three Hebrew words connote abomination: תּוֹעֵבָה (*toʿevah*), שֶׁקֶץ (*shekeẓ, sheqeẓ*) or שִׁקּוּץ (*shikkuẓ, shiqquẓ*), and פִּגּוּל (*piggul*); *toʿevah* is the most important of this group. It appears in the Bible 116 times as a noun and 23 times as a verb and has a wide variety of applications, ranging from food prohibitions (Deut. 14:3), idolatrous practices (Deut. 12:31; 13:15), and magic (Deut. 18:12) to sex offenses (Lev. 18:22ff.) and ethical wrongs (Deut. 25:14–16; Prov. 6:16–19). Common to all these usages is the notion of irregularity, that which offends the accepted order, ritual, or moral. It is incorrect to arrange the *toʿevah* passages according to an evolutionary scheme and thereby hope to demonstrate that the term took on ethical connotations only in post-Exilic times. For in Proverbs, where the setting is exclusively ethical and universal but never ritual or national, *toʿevah* occurs mainly in the oldest, i.e., pre-Exilic, passages of the book (18 times in ch. 10–29; 3 in the remaining chapter). Moreover, Ezekiel, who has no peer in ferreting out cultic sins, uses *toʿevah* as a generic term for all aberrations detestable to God, including purely ethical offenses (e.g., 18:12, 13, 24). Indeed, there is evidence that *toʿevah* originated not in the cult, and certainly not in prophecy, but in wisdom literature. This is shown not only by its clustering in the oldest levels of Proverbs but also in its earliest biblical occurrence where the expression *toʿavat Miẓrayim* (Gen. 43:32; 46:34; Ex. 8:22, ascribed to the J source) refers to specific contraventions of ancient Egyptian norms. Furthermore, Egyptian has a precise equivalent to *toʿevah*, and it occurs in similar contexts, e.g., "Thus arose the abomination of the swine for Horus' sake" (for a Canaanite-Phoenician parallel, note *tʿbt ʿštrt* – Tabnit of Sidon (third century B.C.E.) – in Pritchard, Texts, 505). Thus the sapiential background of the term in the ancient Near East is fully attested. True, *toʿevah* predominates in Deuteronomy (16 times) and Ezekiel (43 times), but both books are known to have borrowed terms from wisdom literature (cf. Deut. 25:13ff., and Prov. 11:1; 20:23) and transformed them to their ideological needs. The noun *sheqeẓ* is found in only four passages where it refers to tabooed animal flesh (e.g., Lev. 11:10–43). However, the verb שקץ, found seven times, is strictly a synonym of תעב (e.g., Deut. 7:26; the noun may also have had a similar range). *Shiqquẓ*, on the other hand, bears a very specific meaning: in each of its 28 occurrences it refers to illicit cult objects. *Piggul* is an even more precise, technical term denoting sacrificial flesh not eaten in the allotted time (Lev. 7:18; 19:7); though in nonlegal passages it seems to have a wider sense (Ezek. 4:14; cf. Isa. 65:4). According to the rabbis (Sifra 7:18, etc.) the flesh of a sacrifice was considered a *piggul* if the sacrificer, at the time of the sacrifice, had the intention of eating the flesh at a time later than the allotted time. Under these circumstances, the sacrifice was not considered accepted by God and even if the sacrificer ate of it in the alloted time he was still liable to the punishment of **karet,* i.e., the flesh was considered *piggul* by virtue of the intention of the sacrificer. This is an extension of the biblical text according to which he would be liable for punishment only if he ate it at the inappropriate time. The rabbis based their interpretation on the biblical passage "It shall not be acceptable" (Lev. 7:18). They reasoned: How could the Lord having already accepted the sacrifice then take back His acceptance after it was later eaten at the wrong time.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Humbert, in: ZAW, 72 (1960), 217–37.

[Jacob Milgrom]

ABOMINATION OF DESOLATION, literal translation of the Greek Βδέλυγμα ἐρημηώσεως (I Macc. 1:54). This in turn, evidently goes back to a Hebrew or Aramaic expression similar to *shiqquẓ shomen* ("desolate," i.e., horrified – for "horrifying" – "abomination"; Dan. 12:11). Similar, but grammatically difficult, are *ha-shiqquẓ meshomem*, "a horrifying abomination," (disregard the Hebrew definite article?; *ibid.* 11:31); *shiqquẓim meshomem*, "a horrifying abomination", disregarding the ending of the noun? (*ibid.* 9:27); and *ha-peshaʿ shomem*, "the horrifving offense" (*ibid.* 8:13). According to the Maccabees passage, it was something which was constructed (a form of the verb οἰκοδομέω) on the altar (of the Jerusalem sanctuary), at the command of *Antiochus IV Epiphanes, on the 15th day of Kislev (i.e., some time in December) of the year 167 B.C.E.; according to the Daniel passages, it was something that was set (a form of *ntn*) there. It was therefore evidently a divine symbol of some sort (a statue or betyl [sacred stone]), and its designation in Daniel and Maccabees would then seem to be a deliberate cacophemism for its official designation. According to II Maccabees 6:2, Antiochus ordered that the Temple at Jerusalem be renamed for Zeus Olympios – "Olympian Zeus." Since Olympus, the abode of the gods, is equated with heaven, and Zeus with the Syrian god "Lord of Heaven" – Phoenician Bʿal Shamem, Aramaic Be'el Shemain (see Bickerman) – it was actually Baal Shamem, "the Lord of Heaven," who was worshiped at the Jerusalem sanctuary during the persecution; and of this name, *Shomem*, best rendered "Horrifying Abomination," is a cacophemistic distortion.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: E. Bickerman, *Der Gott der Makkabaeer* (1937), 92–96.

[Harold Louis Ginsberg]

ABONY, town in Pest-Pilis-Solt-Kiskun county, Hungary, located southeast of Budapest. One Jew settled there in 1745; the census of 1767 mentions eight Jews. The Jewish population ranged from 233 in 1784 to 431 in 1930, reaching a peak of 912 in 1840. The Jewish community was organized in 1771 concurrently with the organization of a *Chevra Kadisha*. The community's first synagogue was built in 1775. The members of the community consisted of merchants, shopkeepers, artisans, peddlers and, starting in 1820, tenant farmers. From 1850 onward Jews were able to own land. A magnificent new synagogue was built in 1825 that was mentioned in a responsum by Moses *Sofer. A Jewish teacher was engaged for the community in 1788, and a Jewish school was opened in 1766 and moved to a separate building in 1855. In 1869 a Neolog community was established in town. It was in Abony that the Austro-Hungarian *kolel* of Jerusalem was established in 1863. Among the rabbis of Abony were Jacob Herczog (1837–57), author of *Pert Ya'akov* (1830); Isaac (Ignác) *Kunstadt (1862–82), author of *Lu'ah Eretz*, 1–2 (1886–87); Béla Vajda (1889–1901), author of a history of the local Jewish community; and Naphtali Blumgrund (1901–18). In April 1944, the Neolog community of 275 was led by Izsák Vadász.

According to the census of 1941, Abony had 315 Jewish inhabitants and 16 converts identified as Jews under the racial laws. Early in May 1944, the Jews were placed in a ghetto which also included the Jews from the following neighboring villages in Abony district: Jászkarajenö, Kocsér, Tószeg, Törtel, Újszász, and Zagyvarékas. After a few days, the Jews were transferred to the ghetto of Kecskemét, from where they were deported to Auschwitz in two transports on June 27 and 29. In 1946, Abony had a Jewish population of 56. Most of them left after the Communists took over in 1948 and especially after the Revolution of 1956. By 1959, their number was reduced to 19, and a few years later the community ceased to exist. The synagogue is preserved as a historic monument.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: B. Vajda, *A zsidók története Abonyban és vidékén* (1896). **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** Braham, Politics; *Zsido Lexikon* (1929), 3–4; PK Hungaryah, 127–28.

[Alexander Scheiber / Randolph Braham (2nd ed.)]

ABORTION. Abortion is defined as the artificial termination of a woman's pregnancy.

In the Biblical Period

A monetary penalty was imposed for causing abortion of a woman's fetus in the course of a quarrel, and the penalty of death if the woman's own death resulted therefrom. "And if men strive together, and hurt a woman with child, so that her fruit depart, and yet no harm follow – he shall be surely fined, according as the woman's husband shall lay upon him; and he shall pay as the judges determine. But if any harm follow – then thou shall give life for life" (Ex. 21:22–23). According to the Septuagint the term "harm" applied to the fetus and not to the woman, and a distinction is drawn between the abortion of a fetus which has not yet assumed complete shape – for which there is the monetary penalty – and the abortion of a fetus which has assumed complete shape – for which the penalty is "life for life." Philo (Spec., 3:108) specifically prescribes the imposition of the death penalty for causing an abortion, and the text is likewise construed in the Samaritan Targum and by a substantial number of Karaite commentators. A. *Geiger deduces from this the existence of an ancient law according to which (contrary to talmudic *halakhah*) the penalty for aborting a fetus of completed shape was death (*Ha-Mikra ve-Targumav*, 280–1, 343–4). The talmudic scholars, however, maintained that the word "harm" refers to the woman and not to the fetus, since the scriptural injunction, "He that smiteth a man so that he dieth, shall surely be put to death" (Ex. 21:12), did not apply to the killing of a fetus (Mekh. SbY, ed. Epstein-Melamed, 126; also Mekh. Mishpatim 8; Targ. Yer., Ex. 21:22–23; BK 42a). Similarly, Josephus states that a person who causes the abortion of a woman's fetus as a result of kicking her shall pay a fine for "diminishing the population," in addition to paying monetary compensation to the husband, and that such a person shall be put to death if the woman dies of the blow (Ant., 4:278). According to the laws of the ancient East (Sumer, Assyria, the Hittites), punishment for inflicting an aborting blow was monetary and sometimes even flagellation, but not death (except for one provision in Assyrian law concerning willful abortion, self-inflicted). In the Code of *Hammurapi (no. 209, 210) there is a parallel to the construction of the two quoted passages: "If a man strikes a woman [with child] causing her fruit to depart, he shall pay ten shekalim for her loss of child. If the woman should die, he who struck the blow shall be put to death."

In the Talmudic Period

In talmudic times, as in ancient **halakhah*, abortion was not considered a transgression unless the fetus was viable (*ben keyama*; Mekh. Mishpatim 4 and see Sanh. 84b and Nid. 44b; see Rashi; *ad loc.*), hence, even if an infant is only one day old, his killer is guilty of murder (Nid. 5:3). In the view of R. Ishmael, only a *Gentile, to whom some of the basic transgressions applied with greater stringency, incurred the death penalty for causing the loss of the fetus (Sanh. 57b). Thus abortion, although prohibited, does not constitute murder (Tos., Sanh. 59a; Ḥul. 33a). The scholars deduced the prohibition against abortion by an a fortiori argument from the laws concerning abstention from procreation, or onanism, or having sexual relations with one's wife when likely to harm the fetus in her womb – the perpetrator whereof being regarded as "a shedder of blood" (Yev. 62b; Nid. 13a and 31a; *Ḥavvat Ya'ir,* no. 31; *She'elat Yavez̦*, 1:43; *Mishpetei Uziel*, 3:46). This is apparently also the meaning of Josephus' statement that "the Law has commanded to raise all the children and prohibited women from aborting or destroying seed; a woman who does so shall be judged a murderess of children for she has caused a soul to be lost and the family of man to be diminished" (Apion, 2:202).

The Zohar explains that the basis of the prohibition against abortion is that "a person who kills the fetus in his wife's womb desecrates that which was built by the Holy One and His craftsmanship." Israel is praised because notwithstanding the decree, in Egypt, "every son that is born ye shall cast into the river" (Ex. 1:22), "there was found no single person to kill the fetus in the womb of the woman, much less after its birth. By virtue of this Israel went out of bondage" (Zohar, Ex., ed. Warsaw, 3b).

Abortion is permitted if the fetus endangers the mother's life. Thus, "if a woman travails to give birth [and it is feared she may die], one may sever the fetus from her womb and extract it, member by member, for her life takes precedence over his" (Oho. 7:6). This is the case only as long as the fetus has not emerged into the world, when it is not a life at all and "it may be killed and the mother saved" (Rashi and Meiri, Sanh. 72b). But, from the moment that the greater part of the fetus has emerged into the world – either its head only, or its greater part – it may not be touched, even if it endangers the mother's life: "*ein doḥin nefesh mi-penei nefesh*" ("one may not reject one life to save another" – Oho. and Sanh. *ibid.*). Even though one is enjoined to save a person who is being pursued, if necessary by killing the pursuer (see *Penal Law), the law distinguishes between a fetus which has emerged into the world and a "pursuer," since "she [the mother] is pursued from heaven" (Sanh. 72b) and moreover, "such is the way of the world" (Maim., Yad, Roz̦e'aḥ 1:9) and "one does not know whether the fetus is pursuing the mother, or the mother the fetus" (TJ Sanh. 8:9, 26c). However, when the mother's life is endangered, she herself may destroy the fetus – even if its greater part has emerged – "for even if in the eyes of others the law of a fetus is not as the law of a pursuer, the mother may yet regard the fetus as pursuing her" (Meiri, *ibid.*).

Contrary to the rule that a person is always fully liable for damage (*mu'ad le-olam*), whether inadvertently or willfully caused (BK 2:6, see *Penal Law, Torts), it was determined with regard to damage caused by abortion, that "he who with the leave of the *bet din* and does injury – is absolved if he does so inadvertently, but is liable if he does so willfully – this being for the good order of the world" (Tosef., Git. 4:7), for "if we do not absolve those who have acted inadvertently, they will refrain from carrying out the abortion and saving the mother" (*Tashbez̦*, pt. 3, no. 82; Minḥat Bik., Tosef., Git. 4:7).

In the Codes

Some authorities permit abortion only when there is danger to the life of the mother deriving from the fetus "because it is pursuing to kill her" (Maim. *loc. cit.*; Sh. Ar., ḤM 425:2), but permission to "abort the fetus which has not emerged into the world should not be facilitated [in order] to save [the mother] from illness deriving from an inflammation not connected with the pregnancy, or a poisonous fever … in these cases the fetus is not [per se] the cause of her illness" (*Paḥad Yiẓḥak*, s.v. *Nefalim*). Contrary to these opinions, the majority of the later authorities (*aḥaronim*) maintain that abortion should be permitted if it is necessary for the recuperation of the mother, even if there is no mortal danger attaching to the pregnancy and even if the mother's illness has not been directly caused by the fetus (Maharit, Resp. no. 99). Jacob *Emden permitted abortion "as long as the fetus has not emerged from the womb, even if not in order to save the mother's life, but only to save her from the harassment and great pain which the fetus causes her" (*She'elat Yaveẓ*, 1:43). A similar view was adopted by Benzion Meir Ḥai *Ouziel, namely that abortion is prohibited if merely intended for its own sake, but permitted "if intended to serve the mother's needs … even if not vital"; and who accordingly decided that abortion was permissible to save the mother from the deafness which would result, according to medical opinion, from her continued pregnancy (*Mishpetei Uziel, loc. cit.*). In the Kovno ghetto, at the time of the Holocaust, the Germans decreed that every Jewish woman falling pregnant shall be killed together with her fetus. As a result, in 1942 Rabbi Ephraim Oshry decided that an abortion was permissible in order to save a pregnant woman from the consequences of the decree (*Mi-Ma'amakim*, no. 20).

The permissibility of abortion has also been discussed in relation to a pregnancy resulting from a prohibited (i.e., adulterous) union (see *Ḥavvat Ya'ir, ibid.*). Jacob Emden permitted abortion to a married woman made pregnant through her adultery, since the offspring would be a *mamzer* (see **Mamzer*), but not to an unmarried woman who becomes pregnant, since the taint of bastardy does not attach to her offspring (*She'elat Yaveẓ, loc. cit.*, s.v. *Yuḥasin*). In a later responsum it was decided that abortion was prohibited even in the former case (*Leḥem ha-Panim*, last *Kunteres*, no. 19), but this decision was reversed by Ouziel, in deciding that in the case of bastardous offspring abortion was permissible at the hands of the mother herself (*Mishpetei Uziel*, 3, no. 47).

In recent years the question of the permissibility of an abortion has also been raised in cases where there is the fear that birth may be given to a child suffering from a mental or physical defect because of an illness, such as rubeola or measles, contracted by the mother or due to the aftereffects of drugs, such as thalidomide, taken by her. The general tendency is to uphold the prohibition against abortion in such cases, unless justified in the interests of the mother's health, which factor has, however, been deemed to extend to profound emotional or mental disturbance (see: Unterman, Zweig, in bibliography). An important factor in deciding whether or not an abortion should be permitted is the stage of the pregnancy: the shorter this period, the stronger are the considerations in favor of permitting abortion (*Ḥavvat Ya'ir* and *She'elat Yaveẓ, loc. cit.*; *Beit Shelomo*, ḤM 132).

Contemporary Authorities

Contemporary halakhic authorities adopted a strict approach towards the problem of abortion. R. Isser Yehuda *Unterman defined the abortion of a fetus as "tantamount to murder," subject to a biblical prohibition. R. Moses *Feinstein adopted a particularly strict approach. In his view, abortion would only be permitted if the doctors determined that there was a high probability that the mother would die were the pregnancy to be continued. Where the mother's life is not endangered, but the abortion is required for reasons of her health, or where the fetus suffers from Tay-Sachs disease, or Down's syndrome, abortion is prohibited, the prohibition being equal in severity to the prohibition of homicide. This is the case even if bringing the child into the world will cause intense suffering and distress, to both the newborn and his parents. According to R. Feinstein, the prohibition on abortion also applies where the pregnancy was the result of forbidden sexual relations, which would result in the birth of a *mamzer.*

Other halakhic authorities – foremost among them R. Eliezer *Waldenberg – continued the line of the accepted halakhic position whereby the killing of a fetus did not constitute homicide, being a prohibition by virtue of the reasons mentioned above. Moreover, according to the majority of authorities, the prohibition was of rabbinic origin. In the case of a fetus suffering from Tay-Sachs disease R. Waldenberg ruled: "it is permissible … to perform an abortion, even until the seventh month of her pregnancy, immediately upon its becoming absolutely clear that such a child will be born thus." In his ruling he relies inter alia on the responsa of *Maharit* (R. Joseph *Trani) and *She'elat Ya'veẓ* (R. Jacob *Emden), who permit abortion "even if not in order to save the mother's life, but only to save her from the harassment and the great pain that the fetus causes her" (see above). R. Waldenberg adds: "… Consequently, if there is a case in which the *halakhah* would permit abortion for a great need and in order to alleviate pain and distress, this would appear to be a classic one. Whether the suffering is physical or mental is irrelevant, since in many instances mental suffering is greater and more painful than physical distress" (*Ẓiẓ Eliezer*, 13:102). He also permitted the abortion of a fetus suffering from Down's syndrome. Quite frequently, however, the condition of such a child is far better than that of the child suffering from Tay-Sachs, both in terms of his chances of survival and in terms of his physical and mental condition. Accordingly, "From this [i.e., the general license in the case of Tay-Sachs disease] one cannot establish an explicit and general license to conduct an abortion upon discovering a case of Down's syndrome … until the facts pertaining to the results of the examination are known, and the rabbi deciding the case has thoroughly examined the mental condition of the couple" (*ibid.*, 14:101).

In the dispute between Rabbis Feinstein and Waldenberg relating to Maharit's responsum, which contradicts his own conclusion, R. Feinstein writes: "This responsum is to be ignored … for it is undoubtedly a forgery compiled by an errant disciple and ascribed to him" (p. 466); and regarding the responsum of R. Jacob Emden, which also contradicts his own conclusion, he claims that "… the argument lacks any cogency, even if it was written by as great a person as the *Ya'veẓ*" (p. 468). In concluding his responsum, R. Feinstein writes of "the need to rule strictly in light of the great laxity [in these matters] in the world and in Israel." Indeed, this position is both acceptable and common in the *halakhah*, but in similar cases the tendency has not been to reject the views of earlier authorities, or to rule that they were forged, but rather to rule stringently, beyond the letter of the law, due to the needs of the hour (see Waldenberg, *ibid.*, 14:6).

In the State of Israel

Abortion and attempted abortion were prohibited in the Criminal Law Ordinance of 1936 (based on English law), on pain of imprisonment (sec. 175). An amendment in 1966 to the above ordinance relieved the mother of criminal responsibility for a self-inflicted abortion, formerly also punishable (sec. 176). In this context, causing the death of a person in an attempt to perform an illegal abortion constituted manslaughter, for which the maximum penalty is life imprisonment. An abortion performed in good faith and in order to save the mother's life, or to prevent her suffering serious physical or mental injury, was not a punishable offense. Terms such as "endangerment of life" and "grievous harm or injury" were given a wide and liberal interpretation, even by the prosecution in considering whether or not to put offenders on trial.

The Penal Law Amendment (Termination of Pregnancy) 5737–1977 provided, inter alia, that "a gynecologist shall not bear criminal responsibility for interrupting a woman's pregnancy if the abortion was performed at a recognized medical institution and if, after having obtained the woman's informed consent, advance approval was given by a committee consisting of three members, two of whom are doctors (one of them an expert in gynecology), and the third a social worker." The law enumerates five cases in which the committee is permitted to approve an abortion: (1) the woman is under legally marriageable age (17 years old) or over 40; (2) the pregnancy is the result of prohibited relations or relations outside the framework of marriage; (3) the child is likely to have a physical or a mental defect; (4) continuance of the pregnancy is likely to endanger the woman's life or cause her physical or mental harm; (5) continuance of the pregnancy is likely to cause grave harm to the woman or her children owing to difficult family or social circumstances in which she finds herself and which prevail in her environment (§316). The fifth consideration was the subject of sharp controversy and was rejected inter alia by religious circles. They claimed that the cases in which abortion is halakhically permitted – even according to the most lenient authorities – are all included in the first four reasons. In the Penal Law Amendment adopted by the Knesset in December 1979, the fifth reason was revoked.

The Israeli Supreme Court has also dealt with the question of the husband's legal standing in an application for an abortion filed by his wife; that is, is the committee obliged to allow the husband to present his position regarding his wife's application? The opinions in the judgment were divided. The majority view (Justices Shamgar, Ben-Ito) was that the committee is under no obligation to hear the husband, although it is permitted to do so. According to the minority view (Justice Elon), the husband has the right to present his claims to the committee (other than in exceptional cases, e.g., where the husband is intoxicated and unable to participate in a balanced and intelligent consultation, or where the urgency of the matter precludes summoning the husband). According to this view, the husband's right to be heard by the committee is based on the rules of natural justice, that find expression in the rabbinic dictum: "There are three partners in a person: The Holy One blessed be He, his father and his mother" (Kid. 30b; Nid. 31a; C.A. 413/80 *Anon. v. Anon.*, P.D. 35 [3] 57). Elon further added (p. 89): "It is well known that in Jewish law no 'material' right of any kind was ever conferred upon the parents, even with respect to their own child who had already been born. The parents relation to their natural offspring is akin to a natural bond, and in describing this relationship, notions of legal ownership are both inadequate and offensive" (C.A. 488/97 *Anon. et al. v. Attorney General*, 32 (3), p. 429–30). This partnership is based on the deep and natural involvement of the parents in the fate of the fetus who is the fruit of their loins, and exists even where the parents are not married, and *a fortiori* is present when the parents are a married couple building their home and family. When the question of termination of a pregnancy arises, each of the two parents has a basic right – grounded in natural and elementary justice – to be heard and to express his or her feelings, prior to the adoption of any decision regarding the termination of the pregnancy and the destruction of the fetus.

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[Menachem Elon]

ABRABANEL, family in Italy. After the expulsion of the Jews from Spain, the three brothers, Isaac, Jacob, and Joseph, founders of the Italian family, settled in the kingdom of Naples. The family tree shows the relationships of the Italian Abrabanels. Because of their considerable wealth and capabilities the Abrabanel brothers reached a position of some power both in relation to the Naples authorities and their coreligionists. ISAAC was a financier, philosopher, and exegete; JACOB led the Jewish community in Naples; and JOSEPH dealt in grain and foodstuffs. All three were included among the 200 families exempted by the Spaniards when they expelled the Jews from the kingdom of Naples in 1511. Isaac had three sons, JUDAH (better known as the philosopher Leone Ebreo); JOSEPH, a noted physician who lived first in southern Italy where he treated the famous Spanish general Gonsalvo de Cordoba, then moved to Venice, and later to Ferrara where he died; and SAMUEL, who married his cousin BENVENIDA (See *Abrabanel, Benvenida), a woman of such talent that the Spanish viceroy in Naples, Don Pedro of Toledo, is said to have chosen her to teach his daughter Eleonora. Samuel, who commanded a capital of about 200,000 ducats, was such an able financier that Don Pedro used to seek his advice. When his father-in-law Jacob died, Samuel succeeded him as leader of the Naples community. In 1533, when Don Pedro issued a new edict expelling the Neapolitan Jews, Samuel managed to have the order suspended. However, his efforts were unavailing when the viceroy renewed the edict in 1540, and in the next year all the remaining Jews were compelled to leave the kingdom of Naples. Samuel now moved to Ferrara where he enjoyed the favor of the duke until his death. Benvenida continued her husband's loan-banking business with the support of her pupil Eleonora, now duchess of Tuscany, and extended it to Tuscany. To lighten her burden she took her sons JACOB and JUDAH and ISAAC, Samuel's natural son, into the management of the widespread business. Three years after Samuel's death in 1547, a struggle broke out over the inheritance among the three sons: Jacob and Judah (the recognized sons of Samuel and Benvenida) on the one hand and Isaac (the natural son) on the other. The struggle, which dealt with the legal validity of Samuel's will, involved some of the period's most famous rabbis: R. Meir b. Isaac Katzenellenbogen (Maharam), R. Jacob b. Azriel Diena of Reggio, R. Jacob Israel b. Finzi of Recanati, R. Samuel de Medina, R. Joseph b. David Ibn Lev, and R. Samuel b. Moses Kalai. The conflict was settled apparently by Maharam's arbitration in 1551. One of Benvenida's sons-in-law who became a partner in her business was JACOB, later private banker of Cosimo de' Medici, and his financial representative at Ferrara. Following Jacob's advice, Duke Cosimo invited Jews from the Levant to settle in Tuscany in 1551 to promote trade with the Near East, granting them favorable conditions. Members of the family living in Italy, especially Venice, after this period, Abraham (d. 1618), Joseph (d. 1603), and Veleida (d. 1616), were presumably descended from the Ferrara branch.

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[Attilio Milano / Cedric Cohen Skalli (2nd ed.)]

ABRABANEL, ABRAVANEL (Heb. אַבְּרַבַנְאֵל; inaccurately **Abarbanel**; before 1492 also **Abravaniel** and **Brabanel**), Sephardi family name. The name is apparently a diminutive of Abravan, a form of Abraham not unusual in Spain, where the "h" sound was commonly rendered by "f" or "v." The family, first mentioned about 1300, attained distinction in Spain in the 15th century. After 1492, Spanish exiles brought the name to Italy, North Africa, and Turkey. Members of the family who were baptized in Portugal at the time of the Forced Conversion of 1497 preserved the name in secret and revived it in the 17th century in the Sephardi communities of Amsterdam, London, and the New World. The family was also found in Poland and southern Russia. Of recent years Sephardi immigrants from the eastern Mediterranean area have reintroduced it into western countries. It is also common in Israel.

The first of the family who rose to eminence was JUDAH ABRABANEL of Córdoba (later of Seville), treasurer and tax-collector under Sancho IV (1284–95) and Ferdinand IV (1295–1312). In 1310 he and other Jews guaranteed the loans made to the crown of Castile to finance the siege of Algeciras. It is probable that he was *almoxarife* ("collector of revenues") of Castile. Another eminent member of the family was SAMUEL of Seville, of whom Menahem b. Zerah wrote that he was "intelligent, loved wise men, befriended them, was good to them and was eager to study whenever the stress of time permitted." He had great influence at the court of Castile. In 1388 he served as royal treasurer in Andalusia. During the anti-Jewish riots of 1391 he was converted to Christianity under the name of Juan Sanchez (de Sevilla) and was appointed comptroller in Castile. It is thought that a passage in a poem in the *Cancionero de Baena*, attributed to Alfonso Alvarez de

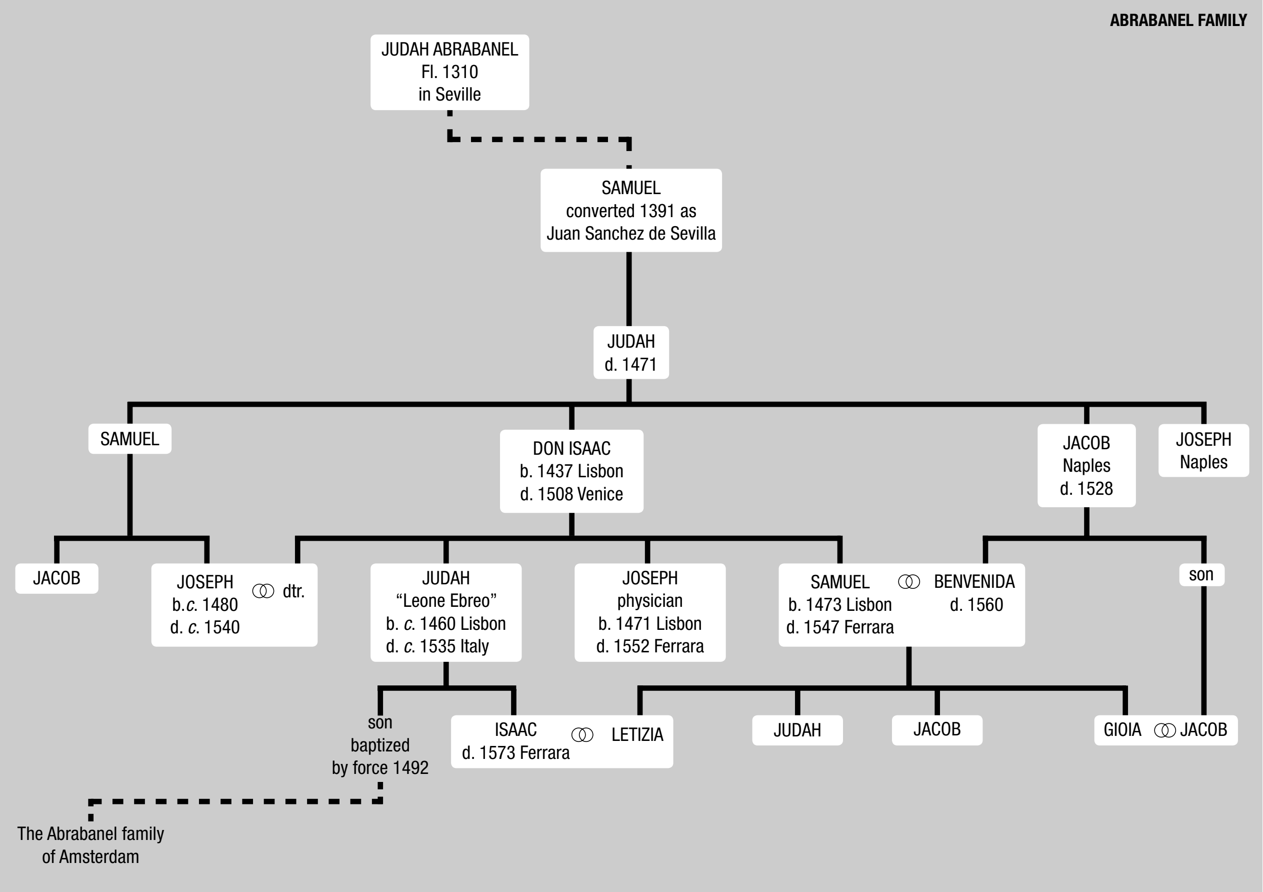
ABRABANEL FAMILY
JUDAH ABRABANEL Fl. 1310 in Seville
SAMUEL converted 1391 as Juan Sanchez de Sevilla
JUDAH d. 1471
SAMUEL
DON ISAAC b. 1437 Lisbon d. 1508 Venice
JACOB Naples d. 1528
JOSEPH Naples
JACOB
JOSEPH b.c. 1480 d. c. 1540
dtr.
JUDAH "Leone Ebreo" b. c. 1460 Lisbon d. c. 1535 Italy
JOSEPH physician b. 1471 Lisbon d. 1552 Ferrara
SAMUEL b. 1473 Lisbon d. 1547 Ferrara
BENVENIDA d. 1560
son
son baptized by force 1492
ISAAC d. 1573 Ferrara
LETIZIA
JUDAH
JACOB
GIOIA
JACOB
The Abrabanel family of Amsterdam

Villasandino, refers to him. He and his family apparently later fled to Portugal, where they reverted to Judaism and filled important governmental posts. His son, JUDAH (d. 1471), was in the financial service of the infante Ferdinand of Portugal, who by his will (1437) ordered the repayment to him of the vast sum of 506,000 reis blancs. Later he was apparently in the service of the duke of Braganza. His export business also brought him into trade relations with Flanders. He was father of Don Isaac *Abrabanel and grandfather of Judah *Abrabanel (Leone Ebreo) and Samuel *Abrabanel.

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[Cecil Roth]

ABRABANEL, BENVENIDA (also known as **Benvegnita**, **Bienvenita**; c. 1473–after 1560), one of the most influential and wealthiest Jewish women of early modern Italy. Benvenida was the daughter of Jacob Abrabanel (d. 1528), one of three brothers of Isaac *Abrabanel (1437–1508). She married Isaac's youngest son, Samuel (1473–1547), bringing a very large dowry. By 1492, Benvenida and much of the family had settled in Naples, where her father and then her husband led the Jewish community. Benvenida appears to have raised six children of her own along with an illegitimate son of Samuel's. One of her adult daughters lived in Lisbon, apparently as a Crypto-Jew, and was known for her charity and piety. Eleanora de Toledo (1522–1562), the second daughter of Pedro de Toledo, who became Viceroy of the Spanish rulers of Naples in 1532, was also raised in Benvenida's house. Benvenida was renowned for her religious observance and her generosity; she fasted daily and ransomed at least a thousand captives. In 1524–25, Benvenida became an enthusiastic supporter of the messianic pretender David *Reuveni (d. 1538); she sent him money three times, as well as an ancient silk banner with the Ten Commandments written in gold on both sides, and a Turkish gown of gold. In 1533, Benvenida and several Neapolitan princesses successfully petitioned Emperor Charles V to delay the expulsion of the Jews of Naples for ten years. The Abrabanels left Naples in 1541 when Jews were required to wear a badge, and ultimately settled in Ferrara, a major Sephardi refuge. Doña Gracia (*Nasi) Mendes (c. 1510–1569) settled in Ferrara in 1548; although it is not known if the two women ever met, the interests of their families did not always coincide. In 1555–56, when Doña Gracia attempted to persuade Ottoman Jewish merchants to boycott the papal port of Ancona, the Abrabanel family, particularly Benvenida's son Jacob, took the side of Ancona. Samuel Abrabanel died in 1547 leaving a will filed with and witnessed by Christians in which Benvenida was made general heir to all his movable and immovable property. Samuel's illegitimate son challenged the will on the rabbinic grounds that a woman cannot inherit; from 1550 to 1551, this became a major dispute among the rabbis of Italy and Turkey. Despite this controversy, Benvenida took over Samuel's business affairs, receiving permission from the Florentine authorities to open five banking establishments in Tuscany with her two sons, Jacob and Judah. Later she quarreled with Judah over his marriage and cut him off completely in 1553. Although Benvenida wielded great power, she herself left very few words in the historical record. Beyond a defense of women receiving gifts attributed to her, one folk remedy in her name is found in a British Library manuscript.

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[Howard Tzvi Adelman (2nd ed.)]

ABRABANEL, ISAAC BEN JUDAH (1437–1508), statesman, biblical exegete, and theologian. Offshoot of a distinguished Ibero-Jewish family, Abrabanel (the family name also appears as **Abravanel**, **Abarbanel**, **Bravanel**, etc.) spent 45 years in Portugal, then passed the nine years immediately prior to Spanish Jewry's 1492 expulsion in Castile. At that time an important figure at the court of Ferdinand and Isabella, he chose Italian exile over conversion to Christianity. He spent his remaining years in various centers in Italy where he composed most of his diverse literary corpus, a combination of prodigious biblical commentaries and involved theological tomes.

Like his father Judah, Abrabanel engaged successfully in both commerce and state finance while in Lisbon. After his father died he succeeded him as a leading financier at the court of King Alfonso v of Portugal. His importance at court was not restricted to his official sphere of activities. Of a loan to the state of 12,000,000 reals raised from both Jews and Christians in 1480, more than one-tenth was contributed by Abrabanel himself. When in 1471, 250 Jewish captives were brought to Portugal after the capture of Arcila and Tangier in North Africa by Alfonso v, Abrabanel was among those who headed the committee which was formed in Lisbon to raise the ransom money.

Abrabanel launched his literary career in Lisbon as well. In addition to a short philosophic essay entitled "The Forms of the Elements" (*Ẓurot ha-Yesodot*), he wrote his first work of biblical exegesis, a commentary on a challenging section in the Book of Exodus (*Ateret Zekenim* ("Crown of the Elders")), and began a commentary on the Book of Deuteronomy (*Mirkevet ha-Mishneh* ("Second Chariot")) as well as a work on prophecy (*Maḥazeh Shaddai* ("Vision of the Almighty")). He was also in touch with cultured Christian circles. His connections with members of the aristocracy were not founded only on business but also on the affinity of humanism. His letter of condolence to the count of Faro on the death of the latter's father, written in Portuguese, provides a striking example of this relationship.

The period of tranquillity in Lisbon ended with the death of Alfonso v in 1481. His heir, João ii (1481–1495), was determined to deprive the nobility of their power and to establish a centralized regime. The nobles, led by the king's brother-in-law, the duke of Bragança, and the count of Faro, rebelled against him, but the insurrection failed. Abrabanel was also suspected of conspiracy and forced to escape (1483). Although denying guilt, he was sentenced to death *in absentia* (1485). He evidently managed to transfer a substantial part of his fortune to Castile, and stayed there for a while in the little town of Segura de la Orden near the Portuguese border. Thereafter, Abrabanel quickly established himself as a leading financier and royal servant. By 1485, he had relocated to the Spanish heartland at Alcalá de Henares in order to oversee tax-farming operations for Cardinal Pedro González de Mendoza, the "third king of Spain." The initial total involved was the vast sum of 6,400,000 maravedis, with Abrabanel earning 118,500 maravedis per year as commission. As collateral he put up, without restriction, all that he owned. Abrabanel also supported the campaign of Ferdinand and Isabella against Granada, Islam's last Iberian citadel, offering extensive loans.

Ferdinand's and Isabella's signing of an order of expulsion against Jews in Spain and her possessions took Abrabanel by surprise. After the edict of expulsion had been signed, on March 31, 1492, Abrabanel was among those who tried in vain to obtain its revocation. Abrabanel relinquished his claim to certain sums of money which he had advanced to Ferdinand and Isabella against tax-farming revenues, which he had not yet managed to recover. In return he was allowed to take 1000 gold ducats and various gold and silver valuables out of the country with him (May 31, 1492).

Though occupied with worldly affairs, Abrabanel continued to pursue scholarship and produce works in Spain. Most notably, he composed commentaries on Joshua, Judges, and Samuel soon after arriving in Castile. Among other things, these commentaries attest to Abrabanel's novel approaches to questions concerning the authorship and origins of biblical books, some of which imply the impress of a humanist sense of historicity on his exegesis. Seen from this vantage-point, these commentaries offer perhaps the earliest example of Renaissance stimulus in works of Hebrew literature composed beyond Italy.

After the 1492 expulsion, Abrabanel passed two years in Naples. Here he completed his commentary on Kings (fall 1493). But he was again prevented from devoting his time to study for long, eventually coming to serve in the court of Alfonso II. Abrabanel tells of wealth recouped in Italy and renewed fame "akin to that of all of the magnates in the land." Abrabanel's fortunes turned again, however, when the French sacked Naples (1494). His library was destroyed. Before departing Naples, Abrabanel managed to complete a work on dogma (*Rosh Amanah* ("Principles of Faith")) structured around Maimonides' enumeration of 13 foundational principles of Judaism. Abrabanel now followed the royal family to Messina, remaining there until 1495. Subsequently he removed to Corfu where he began his commentaries on Isaiah and the Minor Prophets (summer 1495) and then to Monopoli (Apulia), where early in 1496 he completed the commentary on Deuteronomy which he had begun in Lisbon, as well as his commentaries on the Passover *Haggadah* (*Zevaḥ Pesaḥ*), and on *Avot* (*Naḥalat Avot*). Of the same period are his works expressing the hopes for redemption which at times explain contemporary events as messianic tribulations – *Ma'yenei Yeshu'ah, Yeshu'ot Meshiḥo*, and *Mashmi'a Yeshu'ah*. Two other works addressed the problem of the world's createdness, *Shamayim Ḥadashim* ("New Heavens") and *Mifalot Elohim* ("Wonders of the Lord"). In 1503, Abrabanel settled at last in Venice. He was engaged in negotiations between the Venetian senate and the kingdom of Portugal in that year, for a commercial treaty to regulate the spice trade. He now finished commentaries on Jeremiah and Ezekiel, Genesis and Exodus, and Leviticus and Numbers. In a reply to an enquiry from Saul ha-Kohen of Candia, he mentions that he was engaged in composing his book *Ẓedek Olamim*, on recompense and punishment, and *Lahakat ha-Nevi'im*, on prophecy (a new version of *Maḥazeh Shaddai* which had been lost in Naples), and in completing his commentary on Maimonides' *Guide of the Perplexed.* Abrabanel died in Venice and was buried in Padua. Owing to the destruction of the Jewish cemetery there during the wars in 1509, his grave is unknown.

[Zvi Avneri / Eric Lawee (2nd ed.)]

Abrabanel as Biblical Exegete

Though Abrabanel's writings traverse many fields, they mainly comprise works of scriptural interpretation. It was in his role as a biblical interpreter that Abrabanel was most emphatic about his originality as a writer.

In his general prologue to his commentaries on the Former Prophets, Abrabanel spelled out some of his main procedures and aims as an interpreter of Scripture. To ease the task of explaining biblical narratives, Abrabanel would "divide each of the books into pericopes." These would be smaller than the units devised by his 14th century Jewish predecessor, Gersonides, but larger than the ones fashioned by "the scholar Jerome, who translated Holy Writ for the Christians." Before explaining a pericope, he would raise questions or "doubts" about it. Overall, Abrabanel's interpretive aim was twofold: explanation of the verses "in the most satisfactory way possible" and exploration of "the conceptual problems embedded therein to their very end." In short, he would explore both Scripture's exegetical and doctrinal-theological dimensions. Abrabanel warns that such interpretation yields lengthy commentary. In his commentary on the Pentateuch these questions have no fixed number, sometimes amounting to over 40, but in his commentary to the Prophets he limits himself to six. Despite the marked artificiality of this method, Abrabanel states that he chose it as a means of initiating discussion and encouraging investigation.

Abrabanel's exegesis combines a quest for Scripture's contextual sense (*peshat*) with other levels of interpretation. His repeated and emphatic statements about the primacy of *peshat* notwithstanding, Abrabanel incorporates midrashim into his commentaries often and occasionally digresses into detailed explanations of them. At the same time, he says that he describes Rashi's overindulgence in midrashic interpretation as "evil and bitter." Like some *geonim* and Spanish interpreters before him, Abrabanel distinguishes rabbinic dicta that reflect a "received tradition," which he says are indubitably true and hence binding, from midrashim that reflect fallible human reasoning. The latter can be rejected. Abrabanel's criticisms of individual midrashim can be unusually blunt ("very unlikely," "evidently weak," and so forth) even as Abrabanel often uses Midrash as a vehicle to extract maximal insight and meaning from the biblical word.

Abrabanel's commentaries evince a dialogue with a wide variety of earlier commentators. The predecessor who most shaped his exegetical program was *Naḥmanides. Like this earlier Spanish scholar, Abrabanel devotes considerable attention to questions of scripture's literary structure and argues for the biblical text's chronological sequentiality wherever possible.

Abrabanel was ambivalent about philosophically oriented biblical interpretation as practiced by Maimonides and his rationalist successors. He vehemently fought the extreme rationalism of philosophical interpretation (for example in Joshua 10, Second Excursus) as well as interpretations based on philosophical allegory. At the same time he himself had recourse, especially in his commentary on the Pentateuch, to numerous interpretations based on philosophy, as when he interprets the paradise story. Abrabanel refers to kabbalistic interpretation only rarely.

At times, he points to errors and moral failings in the heroes of the Bible. For example, he criticizes certain actions of David and Solomon and points out some stylistic and linguistic defects of Jeremiah and Ezekiel.

Among the innovations in Abrabanel's exegesis are the following:

(1) His comparison of the social structure of society in biblical times with that of the European society in his day (for example, in dealing with the institution of monarchy, I Samuel 8). He had wide recourse to historical interpretation, particularly in his commentaries to the Major and Minor Prophets and to the Book of Daniel.

(2) Preoccupation with Christian exegesis. He disputed christological interpretations, but he did not hesitate to borrow from Christian writers when their interpretation seemed correct to him.

(3) His introductions to the books of the prophets, which are much more comprehensive than those of his predecessors. In them he deals with the content of the books, the division of the material, their authors and the time of their compilation, and also draws comparisons between the method and style of the various prophets. His investigations at once reflect the spirit of medieval scholasticism and incipient Renaissance humanism.

Abrabanel's commentaries were closely studied by a wide variety of later Jewish scholars, such as the 19th-century biblical interpreter Meir Loeb ben Jehiel Michael (*Malbim), as well as by many Christian thinkers from the 16th through 18th centuries, some of whom translated excerpts from his biblical commentaries into Latin.

[Avraham Grossman / Eric Lawee (2nd ed.)]

Abrabanel's Thought

The religious thought of Abrabanel appears in no single volume, but is distributed throughout his works. His religious teachings reflect ongoing dialogues with the major figures of earlier medieval Jewish theology, especially Maimonides. Abrabanel typically evaluates earlier views on a given issue, and then sets forth his own teachings. In doing so, he displays considerable philosophic depth and theological erudition. Among Abrabanel's main theological concerns were the world's creation, prophecy, history, politics, and eschatology.

CREATION. God's creation of the world *ex nihilo* stands as the Archimedean point of Abrabanel's religious thought. This view, which alone conforms to the teaching of the Torah, is also sustained by arguments from reason. Abrabanel refutes a number of competing cosmogonies influenced by different streams in ancient and medieval philosophy: the idea of the visible world's eternity, associated in the Middle Ages with Aristotle; the hypothesis of its creation from eternal matter, associated with Plato; and the doctrine of eternal creation. Abrabanel's teaching that God voluntarily created the world from nothing informs his understanding of the universe as a place ruled by God's infinite power in which the miracles of the Bible occurred according to their literal description.

PROPHECY. Prophecy is another cornerstone of Abrabanel's theology. The form in which Abrabanel discusses prophecy is influenced by the Aristotelian-Ptolemaic cosmology and the medieval Jewish philosophers who preceded him, particularly Maimonides. The influence of the latter was largely negative rather than positive, a stimulus that provoked a negative response, but which shaped the character of that response.

Abrabanel vigorously attacked the naturalistic view of prophecy and Judaism advanced by Maimonides, notably in his commentary on the *Guide* (2:32–45). According to this view, prophecy is a natural function of human beings that arises from an individual's achievement of moral, and especially intellectual, perfection. By contrast, Abrabanel argues that prophecy is an essentially supernatural phenomenon in which the prophet is chosen by God. As the miraculous creation of God, prophecy supplies insight that is qualitatively superior to natural or scientific knowledge: the latter is probable and refragable, whereas the former is certain and infallible.

HISTORY. Abrabanel bases his understanding of history upon the Scriptures, which has been established as a perfect source of truth. This is the history of the universe as well as of man. The foundation is the personal God who creates the universe *ex nihilo*. As such, the universe presents no pre-existent nature to limit the absolute power of God. Neither does God relinquish control over the universe to nature, which, intervening between God and man, exercises a mechanical providence over humanity. Abrabanel thus rejects the naturalism of Maimonides and his followers adopted from the Neoplatonized Aristotelianism of medieval science. What befalls man is directly attributable to God, human freedom, or supernatural beings. The major outlines of Abrabanel's theory of history correspond essentially with the rabbinic view. God created the universe according to a grand design which culminates in the salvation of righteous mankind and the vindication of Judaism. Adam was created by God and placed in Eden to realize his spiritual potentialities. Instead, he chose to disobey God by eating of the forbidden tree of knowledge. For this sin, Adam became subject to death and was condemned to live on an inhospitable earth. Ultimately, through Noah, Abraham, and Jacob, the people Israel was developed to continue God's plan of salvation. God exercised a special providence over them, revealing the Torah and giving them the land of Israel, which was perfectly suited for spiritual realization and the reception of prophecy. Yet the Jews sinned against God, and after the destruction of the First Temple were sent into exile, which will continue until the advent of the Messianic Age when the history of this universe will come to an end.

POLITICS. Some of Abrabanel's most trenchant ideas lie in the sphere of politics. The view of Abrabanel on government reflects his religious convictions. The need for the state is temporal, arising with the expulsion of Adam from Eden and ending in the Messianic Age. As a product of spiritual exile, no state is perfect, some are better than others, but none provides salvation. The best possible state serves the spiritual as well as the political needs of its people, as does the state based on the principles of Mosaic law. In his commentaries on Scripture, Abrabanel presents somewhat conflicting views of the optimum society. However, its basic structure along Mosaic lines is presented clearly in his comments upon Deuteronomy 16:18. Two legal systems are provided for, civil and ecclesiastical. The civil system consists of lower courts, a superior court, and the king; the ecclesiastical system consists of levites, priests, and prophets. The officials of the lower courts, which possessed municipal jurisdiction, were chosen by the people. The superior court or Sanhedrin, possessed national jurisdiction, and was appointed by the king, primarily from among the priests and levites. A significant feature of Abrabanel's political convictions generally is seen in this structure: the diffusion of political power. Abrabanel's distrust of concentrated authority is echoed in his intensely negative opinion of monarchy. He considered monarchy a demonstrable curse, and the insistence of ancient Israel upon human kings in place of God's (theocratic) sovereignty, a sin for which it paid dearly. Monarchy's inferiority as a form of government is demonstrable on philosophic and not only on scriptural grounds.

ESCHATOLOGY. Abrabanel produced a substantial eschatological corpus several years after his arrival in Italy. As part of an exhaustive study of the classical (biblical-rabbinic) and medieval Jewish eschatological tradition, he set forth a powerful messianic message that included a specific forecast for the end of days, or for major events anticipating it: the year 1503. Spain's expulsion of her Jews was one significant context for Abrabanel's messianic writings. Christian missionizing based on christological interpretation of biblical and rabbinic sources was another. Just how convinced Abrabanel was by his undeniably vivid apocalyptic rhetoric is hard to say.

Abrabanel's vision of the Messiah and of messianic times differs considerably from Maimonides' naturalistic one. The Messiah will possess superhuman perfection. The days of the Messiah will see miracles in abundance such as unprecedented agricultural fertility. At that time the Jews will be revenged on their enemies in extraordinary ways, the dispersed Jews will return to Israel, the resurrection and judgment will take place, and all Jews will live in Israel under the Messiah, whose rule will extend over all mankind. Though it is often said that Abrabanel's messianic speculations contributed significantly to the powerful messianic movements among the Jews in the 16th and 17th centuries, there is little evidence to support this claim.

[Alvin J. Reines / Eric Lawee (2nd ed.)]

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ABRABANEL, JUDAH (called **Leone Ebreo** or **Leo Hebraeus**; c. 1460–after 1523), physician, poet, and one of the foremost philosophers of the Renaissance. Abrabanel was born in Lisbon, the eldest son of Don Isaac *Abrabanel and was instructed by his father in Jewish studies and in Jewish and Arabic philosophy. He also studied medicine and is mentioned in the register of Lisbon physicians of 1483. When his father was forced to flee from Portugal, in 1483, Judah followed him. At the time of the expulsion of the Jews from Spain (1492), he secretly sent his one-year-old son to Portugal with his nurse, but King John II had the infant seized and baptized. This tragedy weighed heavily on Abrabanel for many years, as is evident from his frequently published poem "*Telunah al ha-Zeman*" ("Complaint against the Time"), composed in 1503. There is, however, reason to believe that the son ultimately returned to the religion of his people and to his family. Abrabanel later settled in Naples where he continued to practice medicine. The physician *Amatus Lusitanus reports that in 1566 he saw in Salonica a philosophical work on the harmony of the heavens which Abrabanel had composed for *Pico della Mirandola (d. 1494). This work is no longer extant. This indicates that he visited Florence (where Pico lived) at that time. His spiritual affinity with the circle of scholars of the Platonic Academy in Florence, particularly with its leading exponents Pico and Marsilio Ficino, may have originated in this visit. Some scholars, however, believe that the person for whom the book was meant was Pico's nephew (d. 1533).

Abrabanel was back in Naples in 1494. When the city was captured by the French in 1495, he went to Genoa, but he returned to Naples and in 1501 was teaching medicine and "astrology" at the university there. From then on, his name occurs in various documents as physician to the Spanish viceroy, Don Gonsalvo de Córdoba. On the title pages of the second (1541) and third (1545) editions of his *Dialoghi di Amore*, he is described as a convert to Christianity. This statement is lacking, however, in the first edition as well as in those subsequent to the third, even in the Latin version of 1564 with its elaborate dedication to a church dignitary. It is very likely, therefore, that it has no foundation in fact, and may have been added merely to stimulate the sale of the work or to emphasize its orthodoxy from the Christian standpoint. There are in fact some passages in the text in which the author speaks of himself as a Jew.

Judah Abrabanel was a skillful versifier, and apart from the elegy on his son's disappearance, he composed three short poems (c. 1504) commending his father's works, and another of 52 stanzas in memory of his father and extolling his commentary on the Latter Prophets (c. 1520). These were included in the printed editions. His reputation rests on his *Dialoghi di Amore*, first published in Rome in 1535. Mariano Lenzi, the editor, claims to have rescued the work "from the obscurity in which it was buried" after the author's death. The precise date of composition is uncertain. According to the author's statement in the text he had reached the middle of the Third Dialogue in 1502, but it is not known when he completed it. The Fourth Dialogue which Abrabanel intended to write never reached Lenzi, and it may never have been written. Almost certainly the book was written in Italian (the conjectures that it was composed in Hebrew or in Spanish are untenable). A Hebrew translation was made after 1660 by Joseph Baruch of Urbino; its style is cumbersome and difficult.

Philosophy

Following Plato's example, Abrabanel presented his ideas in the form of dialogues, of which there are three. The names of the dialogists, Philone and Sophia, who are depicted as platonic lovers, reflect Abrabanel's belief that love elevates to the pinnacle of wisdom. In the character of Sophia we find here the first female in Jewish and non-Jewish literature that is described as an active philosopher. The principal and central theme of the work, from which the discussion branches out in a number of directions, is love, which he regards as the source, the dominating and motivating force, and the loftiest goal of the universe. He investigates and expounds the nature of love and its operation in God, in matter and form, in the four elements, in the spheres, in the constellations, in the terrestrial world and all that it contains from man, his soul, his intellect, and senses, to animals, plants, and inanimate things. Thus, Abrabanel's discourse in the *Dialoghi* rises stage by stage to the bold concept which rounds out his theory, that the goal of love is not "possession," but the pleasure of the lover in his union with the idea of the beautiful and the good, embodied in the beloved. Hence, the sublime end of love, which fills the entire world as a supernal force, is the union of the creation and all creatures with that sublime beauty (which is at the same time sublime goodness and sublime intellect) which exists in God. Such a union, which constitutes an act of both will and intellect, the intellectual love of God (*amore intellettuale di Dio*), is desired and enjoyed also by God. This covenant of mutual love between the universe and its creator forges a mighty "circle of love" which sustains all components of the cosmos, from the outermost sphere to the rock within the earth, in one living, blessed movement, from God and to God. Out of this central theme there flows a remarkable stream of thoughts on many diverse subjects – reflections on religion, metaphysics, mysticism, ethics, aesthetics (especially valuable), logic, psychology, mythology, cosmology, astrology, and astronomy – a vision embracing the spiritual and material universe and its metaphysical goal. Original interpretations of biblical and rabbinic traditions as well as of Greek myths occupy a considerable place in these speculations. Abrabanel always endeavors to reconcile Jewish and Greek teachings, and the revered Plato and his school with Aristotle and his Arab commentators. Among the philosophers by whom he was influenced were *Maimonides and Ibn *Gabirol. The wealth and profundity of the ideas make the *Dialoghi* one of the most important works in metaphysics produced by the European Renaissance. The work had a widespread influence in its time. Twenty-five editions and printings (12 in Italian and 13 in various translations) appeared between 1535 and 1607, and between 1551 and about 1660 it was translated seven times into four languages (French, Latin, Spanish, and Hebrew). In its wake there appeared, especially in 16th century Italy, a large number of essays and dialogues on love, almost all of which borrowed basic ideas from Abrabanel's work. At the same time his unique concept of love permeated the lyrical poetry of the epoch in Italy, France, and Spain. His influence is discernible also in Michelangelo's *Sonnets* and Torquato Tasso's *Minturno.* Among the philosophers who were influenced by Abrabanel, mention should be made of Giordano Bruno and *Spinoza, whose small library contained the *Dialoghi.* But by the end of the 16th century the influence of the work had dwindled. R. Isaac *Alatrini of Modena incorporated various passages in his commentary on the Song of Songs, entitled *Kenaf Renanim*, preserved in manuscript in Oxford and elsewhere. Modern editions include a facsimile edited by C. Gebhardt with elaborate introduction and bibliography (*Bibliotheca Spinozana*, 3, 1929); an edition by Caramella in the series of Italian classics *Scrittori d'Italia* (1929); an anonymous early translation into Hebrew, sometimes ascribed to Leone *Modena (Lyck, 1871); and an English translation by F. Friedeberg-Seeley and Jean H. Barnes (1937). A new Hebrew translation, with an extensive introduction and notes, was published in Jerusalem in 1983 by M. Dorman.

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[Hiram Peri / Avraham Melamed (2nd ed.)]

ABRACADABRA, magic word or formula used mainly in folk medicine, as an incantation against fevers and inflammations. Several origins for the obscure word have been proposed, most of them regarding it as a derivative of an Aramaic demon-name, now unrecognizable. It occurs first in the writings of Severus Sammonicus, a gnostic physician of the second century C.E. In the same manner as Abracadabra, the name of Shabriri, the demon of blindness, and other magic words were used in Jewish magic, incantations, and amulets. An amulet still in use among some Oriental Jews utilizes a talmudic formula:

(Pes. 112a; Av. Zar. 12b)

SHABRIRI
ABRIRI
RIRI
RI

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[Dov Noy]

ABRAHAM (originally **Abram**; Heb. אַבְרָהָם, אַבְרָם), first patriarch of the people of Israel. The form "Abram" occurs in the Bible only in Genesis 11:26–17:5, Nehemiah 9:7, and I Chronicles 1:26. Otherwise, "Abraham" appears invariably, and the name is borne by no one else. No certain extra-biblical parallel exists. *A-ba-am-ra-ma, A-ba-ra-ma, A-ba-am-ra-am* occur in 19th-century B.C.E. Akkadian cuneiform texts. *Abrm* appears in Ugaritic (Gordon, *Ugaritic Textbook* (1965), pp. 286, 348, text 2095, line 4), but is most likely to be read *A-bi-ra-mì* (*Palais Royal d' Ugarit*, 3 (1955), p.20, text 15.63, line 1). There is no evidence that Abram is a shortened form of Abiram. As to the meaning of Abram, the first element is undoubtedly the common Semitic for "father"; the second could be derived from Akkadian *ra'âmu* ("to love") or from West-Semitic *rwm* ("to be high"). "He loved the father" or "father loves" is a far less likely meaning than "he is exalted with respect to father" i.e., he is of distinguished lineage. The meaning "exalted father" or "father is exalted," while less satisfactory, cannot be ruled out. No Hebrew derivation for Abraham exists. In Genesis 17:5 "the father of a multitude [of nations]" is a popular etymology, although it might possibly conceal an obsolete Hebrew cognate of Arabic *ruhâm*, "numerous." More likely, Abraham is a mere dialectic variant of Abram, representing the insertion of *h* in weak verbal stems, a phenomenon known from Aramaic and elsewhere.

The Biblical Data: Genesis 11:26–25:10

The main details of Abraham's life are recorded in Genesis 11:26–25:10. They do not form a continuous narrative but refer to a series of isolated incidents. Son of *Terah, Abraham was the tenth generation from Noah through the line of Shem (Gen. 11:10–26). His two brothers were Nahor and Haran. His wife was Sarai or *Sarah, a paternal half sister (11:29; 20:12). The family migrated from "Ur of the Chaldees" (11:31), the apparent birthplace of Abraham (11:28; 15:7; Neh. 9:7; cf. Josh. 24:2–3), heading for Canaan. It was during the stay at Haran that Abram, then aged 75, received the divine call and promise of nationhood in response to which he proceeded to Canaan together with his wife and nephew *Lot (Gen. 12:1–5). At Shechem he received a further promise of national territory and built an altar before continuing his wanderings in the region between Beth-El and Ai. In this area, too, he built an altar and invoked the divine name, thereafter journeying toward the Negev (12:6–9). (See Map: Abraham's Journeys.)

Driven by famine to Egypt, the patriarch represented his wife as his sister in order to avert personal danger. Sarah was taken to Pharaoh's palace, but released when the deception was uncovered as a result of divine visitations (12:10–20). Abraham returned to Canaan and resumed his peregrinations. At this time, Lot left the clan because of quarrels over pasturelands and departed (13:5–9). This incident was followed by a reiteration of the divine promises of nationhood and possession of the land (13:14–17). Abraham again built an altar, this time in Hebron (13:18). Abraham "the Hebrew" next appears in the role of military chief, described in terms of the ideal "noble warrior," leading a force of 318 retainers against an invading coalition of eastern kings who had captured Lot in plundering *Sodom and Gomorrah. The patriarch rescued his nephew and restored the booty. On his return he was blessed by *Melchizedek, priest-king of Salem, to whom he paid tithes. He refused, however, the offer by the king of Sodom of a share in the recovered spoils (ch. 14). Once again, Abraham received

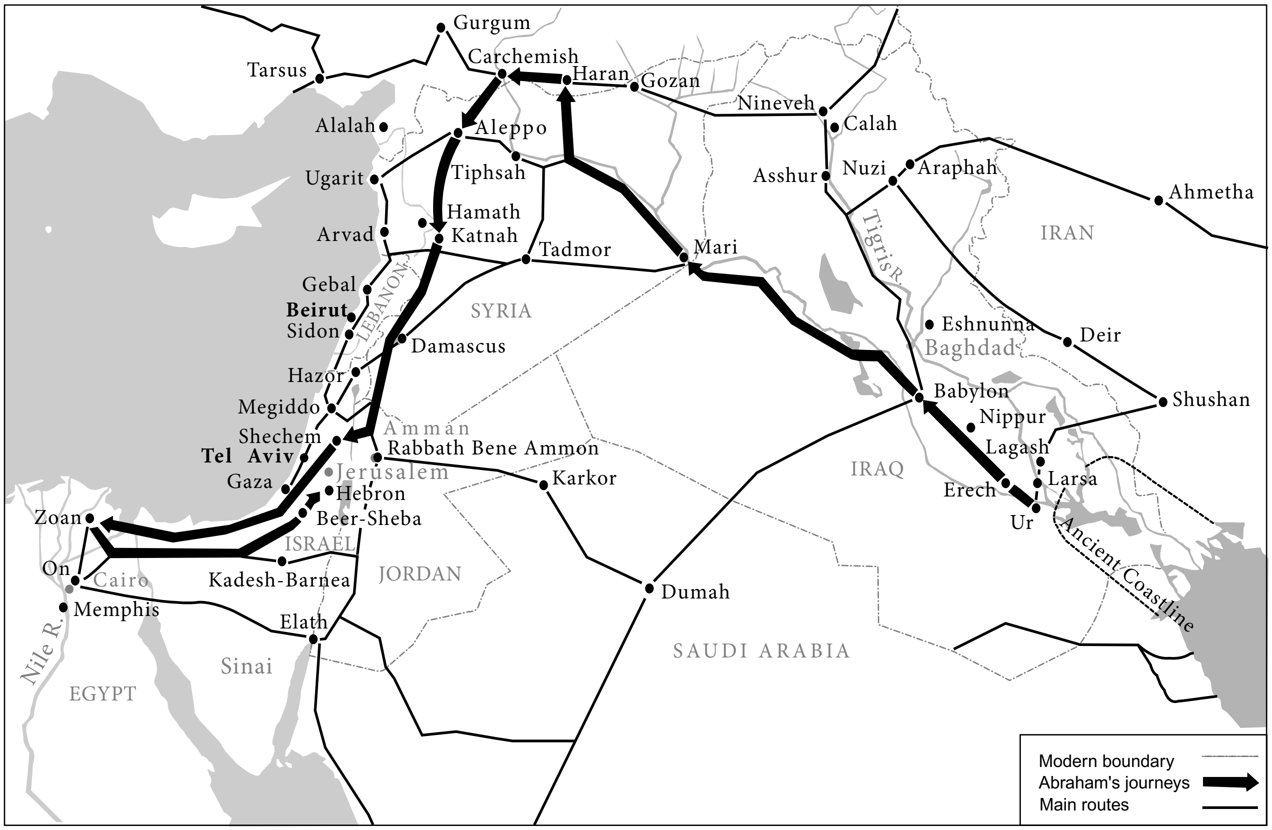
Gurgum
Tarsus
Carchemish
Haran
Gozan
Nineveh
Calah
Alalah
Aleppo
Ugarit
Tiphsah
Asshur
Nuzi
Araphah
Ahmetha
Arvad
Hamath
Katnah
Tadmor
Mari
IRAN
Gebal
Beirut
Sidon
LEBANON
SYRIA
Tigris R.
Damascus
Eshnunna
Baghdad
Deir
Hazor
Megiddo
Shechem
Tel Aviv
Amman
Rabbath Bene Ammon
Babylon
Nippur
Shushan
Gaza
Jerusalem
Hebron
Beer-Sheba
Karkor
IRAQ
Lagash
Larsa
Erech
Ur
Zoan
ISRAEL
On
Cairo
Kadesh-Barnea
JORDAN
Ancient Coastline
Memphis
Dumah
Elath
Nile R.
Sinai
SAUDI ARABIA
EGYPT
Modern boundary
Abraham's journeys
Main routes

Map showing route of Abraham's wanderings and other main routes of the ancient East.

confirmation of the divine promises, now sealed through an elaborate covenant ceremony (ch. 15).

Ten years had now elapsed since the first promise of abundant offspring, but Sarah remained childless. She therefore presented her maidservant *Hagar to her husband as a second wife. *Ishmael was born of the union, Abraham being then 86 years old (16:1ff.). The Bible is silent about the next 13 years. Then Scripture reports that God reaffirmed and strengthened the promise of a rich posterity. Abraham and Sarah were to beget "a multitude of nations" and kings would issue from them (17:1–8). It is at this point that their names were changed from Abram and Sarai to Abraham and Sarah, respectively (17:5, 15). In addition, the institution of *circumcision was ordained as an ineradicable token of the immutability of God's covenant with Abraham and his posterity (17:9–14). Sarah was explicitly promised a son to be called *Isaac, through whom the covenant would be maintained (17:16–19, 21). Abraham then performed circumcision on himself and on Ishmael, as well as upon all males in his household (17:23–27).

Alongside the terebinths of Mamre three messengers appeared to the patriarch who entertained them hospitably and learned from them of the impending birth of his son and heir (18:1–10). Sarah was amused by these tidings as had been Abraham earlier (18:12; cf. 17:17), but the Lord Himself confirmed their truth (18:14). He also revealed His decision to destroy Sodom and Gomorrah. Abraham pleaded for revocation of the sentence for the sake of an innocent nucleus that might be found therein. None such could apparently be found, although Lot was saved from the subsequent destruction through the merit of Abraham (18:16–19:29). The patriarch journeyed to the Negev area and settled between Kadesh and Shur. While in Gerar, he again passed off his wife as his sister. King *Abimelech took Sarah into his palace, but released her unharmed after being rebuked in a dream theophany (ch. 20). The time of fulfillment of the divine promise was now at hand. Sarah, aged 90 (17:17), bore the 100-year-old Abraham a son who was named Isaac (21:1–3, 5). This event, however, proved to be a cause of domestic disharmony. Sarah demanded the expulsion of Hagar and Ishmael. It was only divine intervention in favor of Sarah that persuaded the distressed Abraham to agree (21:9–21). At this time, at Abimelech's initiative, the patriarch concluded a pact of non-aggression, which also regulated the watering rights in the Beer-Sheba area. He subsequently spent considerable time in the land of the Philistines (21:22–34).

The climax of Abraham's life was the divine command to sacrifice Isaac in the land of Moriah (see **Akedah*). Abraham obeyed unhesitatingly and his hand was stayed only at the last moment by an angel. Having passed the supreme test of faith, the patriarch now received, for the last time, the divine blessing – the promise that his descendants would be as numerous as the stars of heaven and the sands on the seashore; they would seize the gates of their foes; all the nations of the earth would bless themselves by his progeny (22:1–19). Abraham's subsequent acts were concerned with winding up his affairs. The death of Sarah in Kiriath-Arba (Hebron) was the occasion for acquiring the cave of *Machpelah, as a family sepulcher, from Ephron the Hittite (ch. 23). Then, Abraham commissioned his senior servant to travel to Haran to find a wife for Isaac, the idea of a local Canaanite daughter-in-law being thoroughly repugnant to him (ch. 24). After Isaac's marriage to Rebekah, Abraham himself remarried. Several children were born of this marriage to Keturah, like Isaac and Ishmael the eponyms of nations. Thus was fulfilled the promise (Gen 17:4) that Abraham would be the father of many nations. However, he willed all his possessions to Isaac, gave his other sons gifts and sent them away to the land of the East. Abraham died at the age of 175 and was buried in the cave of Machpelah by Isaac and Ishmael (25:1–11).

The Biblical Data: In the Rest of the Bible

Mention of Abraham in the rest of the Bible is overwhelmingly in connection with the divine promises, and usually there is simultaneous reference to all three patriarchs. The few points of contact with the Abrahamic biography are mainly confined to the Book of Genesis (26:1; 35:27; 49:31), though the exodus from Ur and the change of name are mentioned in the late books (Neh. 9:7; cf. Josh. 24:2–3; I Chron. 1:26). A cryptic reference to Abraham's idolatrous ancestry is to be found in Joshua 24:2, while Isaiah (29:22) seems to cite some widely known tradition not otherwise recorded in the Bible. Abraham is called God's "servant" (Gen. 26:24; Ps. 105:6, 42) and "friend" (Isa. 41:8; II Chron. 20:7), and though the patriarch is not an ethnographic figure, Israel is called "the offspring of Abraham" (Isa. 41:8; Jer. 33:26; Ps. 105:6; II Chron. 20:7) and "the people of the God of Abraham" (Ps. 47:10). Surprisingly, "God of Abraham" as a generalized divine epithet appears only this once. Otherwise, Abraham is invariably associated with the other patriarchs in divine appellations.

The Image of Abraham

The picture that emerges from the biblical texts suggests a wealthy head of a large establishment, a semi-nomadic tent dweller (Gen. 12:8; et al.), whose peregrinations are confined mainly to the central hill country of Palestine and the Negev and who clings to the periphery of a few great urban centers. He possesses flocks, silver and gold, slaves (*ibid.* 12:5, 16, et al.), and a private army (14:14). He makes military alliances (14:13), has dealings with kings (12:15ff.; 14:18ff.; 17:22ff.; 21:22–32), and negotiates the purchase of land with city notables (23:2–20). Abraham is peace loving (13:8–9), magnanimous and principled in victory (14:22ff.), hospitable to strangers (18:1ff.), concerned for his fellowmen (18:23–33), obedient to God and his laws (26:5), and committed to transmitting to his posterity the ideals of justice and righteousness that he espouses (18:19). He is the very symbol of the God-fearing man (22:12) and the man of supreme faith (15:6; 22; Neh. 9:8). He is privy to divine decisions (Gen. 18:17; cf. Amos 3:7) and is also termed "a prophet" (Gen. 20:7) in that he can intercede with God on another's behalf (cf. Deut. 9:20; Jer. 7:16).

The Critical View

The disconnected and fragmentary nature of the narrative, as well as stylistic considerations, seem to point to a composition based on various oral traditions and written sources. Among followers of the documentary theory, there is a broad measure of agreement in respect of source division among JE and P, but little consensus as to the age and historic value of the material used by these sources. No external records have been found as yet that refer by name to Abraham or to any personage directly connected with him. In the absence of such synchronistic controls, and in the light of the difficulties of the biblical chronological data (see *Chronology), the place of the patriarch in the framework of history cannot be precisely determined. The attempts in the mid-20th century to marshal sociological and onomastic evidence from archeological discoveries at Nuzi, Mari, and elsewhere to provide a historical setting for Abraham in the second millennium B.C.E. have not withstood the test of time. Most alleged parallels between the Abrahamic stories have been shown to be faulty (e.g., wife-sister marriage), or not to be confined to a specific period in the second millennium (e.g., surrogate motherhood). Contemporary scholarship tends to see Abraham as a fictitious symbolic model of faith, as a figure who legitimates the claims of Israel to its land, and whose actions foreshadow the deeds of his children. Some of the tales of Abraham foreshadow the actions of Israelite kings, notably David (see *Patriarchs).

Whatever the age and source of the individual units, it is quite clear that in its present form the cycle of Abrahamic traditions is a unified and symmetrical historiographic composition. These traditions are encased within a framework of genealogies – the first listing the patriarch's ancestors (Gen. 11:10–32) and the second his descendants (25:1–18). The action opens and closes in a Mesopotamian setting (12:1–4; 24:4ff.). The first utterance of Abraham to God is an expression of doubt (15:2–8); his last is one of supreme confidence in the workings of divine providence (24:7). Finally, both the first and last communications from God to Abraham involve agonizing decisions and tests of faith, and they are cast in a strikingly similar literary mold: almost identical language is used in the case of both calls (12:1; 22:2); the exact destination is withheld in both cases; the motif of father parting with son is shared by each narrative; the tension of the drama is heightened by the accumulation of descriptive epithets (*ibid.*); in each instance Abraham builds an altar (12:8; 22:9); and in each he receives divine blessings of similar content (12:2–3; 22:17–18).

[Nahum M. Sarna / S. David Sperling (2nd ed.)]

In the *Aggadah*

In aggadic literature Abraham is regarded as having observed all the commandments (Yoma 28b; Kid. 4:14; et al.) even though they had not yet been revealed. He acted in strict conformity with the Oral Law: "No one occupied himself so much with the divine commandments as did Abraham" (Ned. 32a). He even muzzled his animals that they should not graze in the fields of others (Gen. R. 41:6). Abraham instituted the morning prayer (Ber. 26b), and the precepts of the **ẓiẓit* and **tefillin* originate from him (Mid. Hag. to Gen. 14:23). These statements probably constitute a polemic against Christian *antinomianism which was prevalent toward the end of the first century C.E. and which later maintained that the commandments of the Torah were a punishment inflicted upon Israel. Abraham's principal virtue was that he was the first to recognize God, which is variously stated to have taken place when he was one, three, ten, or 48 years old (Gen. R. 95:2; 64:4). His recognition of God sprang from the notion that every citadel must have a leader (*ibid.* 39:1). Abraham waged a strenuous battle in the cause of spreading the idea of monotheism and won over many converts. When he smashed the idols of his father, an idol manufacturer, King *Nimrod had him thrown into a fiery furnace from which he was delivered by the angel Gabriel (Pes. 118a).

Abraham became a priest (Gen. R. 55:6), after the priesthood was taken from Melchizedek and given to him (Ned. 32b; Gen. R. 46:5; et al.). He was one of the great prophets, with whom God spoke not in dreams or visions but while he was in full possession of his normal cognitive faculties. "God omitted no blessing in the world with which He did not bless him" (SER 6). Through coins bearing his image Abraham's fame spread (Gen. R. 39:11). Around his neck was hung a precious stone which brought masses flocking to him, for whoever looked on it was healed (BB 16b, et al.). He was granted the privilege of blessing others (Tanḥ. Lekh Lekha 5), and his blessing spread upon all who came into contact with him (Gen. R. 39:12). Renowned for his hospitality to strangers, he had open doors to his house on all four sides (Gen. R. 48:9) and himself waited on his guests, and taught them the Grace after Meals, thus bringing them to believe in God (*ibid.* 54:6). Because of his proselytizing activities, he is regarded as the father of all proselytes, who are given the patronymic Abraham.

Abraham was circumcised on the Day of Atonement by Shem the son of Noah, "and every year the Holy One, blessed be He, looks upon the blood of the covenant of our patriarch Abraham's circumcision and forgives all our sins" (PdRE 29). Circumcision was one of the ten trials wherewith Abraham was tried (see later) and by virtue of it he sits at the gate of hell and does not permit the circumcised to enter (Gen. R. 48:8). The phrase, "entry into the covenant of Abraham our father," used to this day for the ceremony of circumcision, is already found in the Damascus Document 12:11 (ed. Ch. Rabin, *Zadokite Documents* (1958^{2}), 60–61). According to an early tradition Abraham underwent ten trials (Avot 5:3) of which different lists are given in the Midrashim (ARN 33:2; Mid. Ps. to 18:25; 98; PdRE 26). In answer to the sectarians who sought thus to prove the weakness of Abraham's faith, the sages emphasized that it is only the righteous, who are certain to pass the test, who are tried (Gen. R. 55:1–2). "Lovingkindness is spread abroad" (Gen. R. 60:2) and the world and all therein are preserved because of Abraham's merit. The manna (Tanḥ. Buber, Ex. 34), victory in war (Gen. R. 39:16; Esth. R. 7:13), and general forgiveness of Israel's sins (Song R. 4:6) are ascribed to his merit. The dramatic description of Abraham's appeal to save the people of Sodom (Gen. 18:23–33) is given a new dimension in the Midrash, which compares his arguments with God to those of Job (Gen. R. 49:9). According to this Abraham employed a "cleaner" language than did Job (*ibid.*).

In this connection the Midrash emphasizes the extreme contrast between the basic hospitality of Abraham and the spurious "hospitality" of the people of Sodom (Ag. Ber. 25). It is of interest to note that the Akedah is regarded as more of a trial of Abraham than of Isaac. In a desire to compare the trial of Abraham with that of Job, the *aggadah* assigns to Satan a role in the drama of Abraham as well (Sanh. 89b). The disciples of Abraham have "a benign eye, a humble spirit and a lowly soul" (Avot 5:19). Abraham however is not regarded as beyond criticism. The Talmud states that "Abraham our father was punished and his descendants enslaved in Egypt" because he pressed scholars into military service (based on Gen. 14:14), went too far in testing God, and prevented men from "entering beneath the wings of the Divine Presence" (based on Gen. 14:21; Ned. 32a). Moreover, Abraham hesitated to circumcise himself, whereupon Mamre rebuked and encouraged him (Gen. R. 42:8). In a biting comment, Rava denied Abraham the right to intercede on behalf of his people: In time to come Israel will ask of God: "To whom shall we go – to Abraham to whom Thou didst say, 'Know of a surety that thy seed be a stranger in a land that is not theirs, and shall serve them; and they shall afflict them…' and yet he did not plead for mercy for us?" (Shab. 89b).

The prevailing Hellenistic outlook influenced the description of Abraham in the Apocrypha. He is the founder of a city and a legislator, the two principal functions of a great leader according to the Hellenistic concept, and his wisdom is described in extravagant terms. According to the Apocrypha his recognition of God stemmed from his knowledge of astronomy which he taught to the great men of his generation. Hence there developed the idea that Abraham was an expert in many and varied spheres. The Book of Jubilees even declares that he instructed men in the art of improved plowing, so as to conceal the seeds from the ravens (11: 18–24). His Babylonian origin is emphasized in conformity with the contemporary outlook which regarded that country as the cradle of mysticism. On the basis of Genesis 17:5 Abraham was deemed to be the progenitor of the Spartans too (I Macc. 12:20–22; II Macc. 5:9). The Testament of *Abraham and the Apocalypse of *Abraham are devoted to him. Philo deals with him in his *De Migratione Abrahami*, while extracts from Hellenistic Jewish writers about him have been preserved by Eusebius. In IV Macc. 14:20; 15:28 Abraham typifies the ability to withstand oppression. The background of this description of Abraham was the persecution of the Jews of Alexandria at that time.

[Israel Moses Ta-Shma]

In Jewish Philosophy

Over the generations, Jewish thinkers, from Philo Judaeus of Alexandia to Joseph *Soloveitchik and Yeshayahu *Leibowitz, have regarded Abraham as the archetypal believer, in accordance with the image of Abraham in the Hebrew Bible and Midrash: his origins in pagan environs (Josh. 24:2); the testimony of Genesis 15:6 that Abraham "believed in the Lord", and Abraham's absolute obedience to divine commandments, beginning with his leaving his homeland (Gen. 12:1) and culminating in his binding of his son Isaac (Gen. 22:2; see **Akedah*). In addition to this biblical image of Abraham, Jewish philosophers found in rabbinic Midrashim views of Abraham according to which he smashed the prevalent idols and came to believe in the one God (Gen. R. 38); Genesis 12:5 ("and the persons he had acquired in Haran") was interpreted to mean people Abraham converted (Gen. R. 39:14; cf. Targum Onkelos and Rashi to Gen. 12:5); and Genesis 34:12 ("He took him outside and said: Look at the sky") was understood as meaning that Abraham no longer had anything to do with astrology.

Eventually two paradigms evolved, in which the image of Abraham came to reflect two basic approaches to Jewish philosophy. According to the first school of thought, in which religion was understood rationally, Abraham was seen as a philosopher whose faith in God was the conclusion of scientific reasoning. According to the other school of thought, Abraham was seen as a believer whose faith and experience of divine revelation transcended his earlier philosophical or scientific speculation.

The first view of Abraham as a philosopher is found in Hellenistic Jewish literature. *Philo Judaeus of Alexandria described Abraham as an autodidact philosopher who concluded that God exists. Philo interpreted Abraham's wanderings and wars allegorically as a process of coming to know God (*De Abrahamo* 68). Philo's younger contemporary, the historian *Josephus Flavius, similarly attributed to Abraham the spreading of monotheism after he had rationally deduced the existence of God who cares providentially for human welfare (*Antiquities* I, 7:155–56) and who had instructed the Egyptians in the ancient Chaldean sciences, such as arithmetic and astronomy, which were later transmitted to the Greeks (*Antiquities*, 167–68).

This view of Abraham as a philosopher is also found in medieval Jewish thought. *Maimonides characterized Abraham as a natural philosopher who independently articulated the Aristotelian cosmological proof of an incorporeal unmoved mover of the heavenly sphere. Paradoxically, for Maimonides, in *Judah Halevi's famous phrase, the "God of Abraham" effectively was identified with the "God of Aristotle." During his wanderings from Mesopotamia to Canaan, Abraham then spread his concept of a transcendent God (Yad, Avodah Zarah 1:3; *Guide of the Perplexed* 3:29), and became "the father of the whole world by teaching them faith" (*Responsa*, ed. Blau, 293). Only Moses, "the father of all prophets" (Commentary on Mishnah Avot 4:4; *Guide of the Perplexed* 3:54) was of a higher rank than Abraham (Guide 2:45). It should be noted that, in Maimonides' view, prophecy itself was understood to be a thoroughly rational phenomenon (Commentary on Mishnah, Introduction to Sanhedrin ch. 10, sixth principle; see *Prophecy). Nevertheless, Maimonides states that Abraham and Moses prophetically grasped the supranatural understanding of creation *ex nihilo* and thus differed from the Aristotelian philosophic belief in the world's eternity (Guide 2:13, 17, 23).

The Hellenistic and medieval Jewish view of Abraham as philosopher is also found in modern Jewish thought. Nachman *Krochmal's *Guide of the Perplexed of the Time* pictures Abraham as a philosopher who deduced the teleological proof from design of God's existence and as the first monotheist who affirmed the "Absolute Spirit."

The other school of thought, which identifies Abraham as the first believer, is most clearly enunciated by *Judah Halevi, whose *Kuzari* (4:16) juxtaposes "the God of Abraham" (identified with the *Tetragrammaton) with "the God of Aristotle" (identified with the name *elohim*). "The God of Abraham" is the personal God of the Bible, who is loved and known through the direct experience called "taste" (Arab. *dhauq*; Heb. *ta'am*), whereas the impersonal "God of Aristotle," who is indifferent to the world and to human affairs, is known through rational speculation (Arab. *qiyas*; Heb. *hekesh*, *hakashah*). In Halevi's view, Abraham himself underwent a radical transformation in his life: after composing the *Sefer *Yeẓirah* in his early years as a philosopher, Abraham merited divine revelation and true faith, as a consequence of which he was prepared to obey any divine commandment (*Kuzari* 4:24–27). Halevi thus partially accepts the rationalist view of Abraham as a philosopher, but it was as a prophet, receiving divine revelation, and not as a natural philosopher, that Abraham attained his spiritual greatness.

Following Halevi, Isaac *Arama argued that philosophy and faith are unrelated. Philosophers know what can be demonstrated and deny whatever cannot be demonstrated, but reject the concept of "faith" (*Ḥazut Kashah* 3). Arama's works describe in detail the gradual progression of Abraham's faith, beginning with his transition from idolatry to a scientific-philosophic conclusion regarding the existence of one God (*Akedat Yiẓḥak* 16), which in turn led to practical application in loving *imitatio Dei*. Abraham's spiritual progression culminated in his religious faith in reward and punishment and in his fear of God, which were realized in his binding of his son Isaac as an expression of his absolute obedience to God (*Ḥazut Kashah* 3).

In the 20th century, Joseph Soloveitchik's *Lonely Man of Faith* (1965) presents a view of Abraham as dissatisfied with his early Mesopotamian contemplation of remote and alienating skies, which had led him to conclude that there is one God. As he progressed, Abraham needed personal revelation. In contrast with the view of Halevi and Arama, according to which Abraham passed from an earlier philosophic or scientific contemplative stage to prophetic receiving of divine revelation, or Soloveitchik's understanding of Abraham as undergoing a personal experience of revelation, Yeshayahu Leibowitz describes Abraham as reaching his faith as a result of a voluntary, religious decision and not as the conclusion of rational contemplation. Abraham, in Leibowitz's view, represents "faith for its own sake," namely an unreasoned obedience to the divine commandment, without any human benefit or expectation of reward.

Several Jewish thinkers have also dealt with Abraham's personality, including judging his questionable behavior in Egypt (Gen. 12) and Gerar (Gen. 20), when, fearing that he might be killed, he presented his wife Sarah as his sister. *Saadiah Gaon's *Book of Beliefs and Opinions* deals with the charge that Abraham lied, and justifies his behavior by suggesting that Abraham phrased his statement ambivalently, since "sister" could mean any relative, thus permitting his words to be interpreted as if they were true. Conversely, *Naḥmanides did not hesitate to criticize Abraham's behavior, not so much for his misleading words but for thereby leading the people to great sin and for causing his "righteous wife" to stumble (Commentary to Gen. 12:10, 20:12). Abraham's sin resulted from his insufficient trust in God's assistance. Isaac Arama's presentation (discussed above) of Abraham's gradual spiritual progress and the development of his personality attributed his behavior in these incidents to an early stage, when Abraham had not yet attained perfect faith in divine providence and utter trust in divine assistance (*Binding of Isaac* 16).

[Hannah Kasher (2nd ed.)]

In Christian Tradition

Next to Moses, Abraham is the Old Testament figure most frequently referred to in the New Testament, being mentioned 72 times. The Evangelists emphasize the physical descent of Jesus, from Abraham through David (Matt. 1:1, 2–17; Luke 3:34), but Christian tradition considers Abraham essentially in the spiritual sense as the father of all believers destined to inherit the divine promises. According to Paul (Rom. 4; Gal. 3:7–9), to the authors of the Epistle of James (2:21–23) and the Epistle to the Hebrews (11:8–10), Abraham, because of his "faith" (cf. Gen. 15:6, and see above), became the repository of the divine promises through whose seed all nations of the earth would ultimately be blessed (cf. Gen. 12:2–4). Hence all Christians, through their faith in the Messiah, are the children of Abraham to the extent that Abraham's righteousness because of his faith (and not because of his belief in the Law) is imparted to all believers in Jesus (Rom. 4:13–25). The *Church Fathers interpret the figure of Abraham in moral and typological terms. They emphasize his obedience to God in leaving his homeland (Ambrose), thus prefiguring the Apostles' following of Jesus (Augustine). His submission to God's will in all trials, even to the point of being prepared to sacrifice his son (see **Akedah*) has been taken as a prefiguration of the death of Jesus. The New Testament mentions once "*Abraham's bosom" (Luke 16:22) – a rabbinic term referring to the place of repose of the righteous in the hereafter. In the writings of *Luther and of the 19th-century philosopher S. Kierkegaard, Abraham figures as the paradigm of the man of faith whose total commitment to God is based not on reason but on pure faith.

In Islamic Tradition

"The [book] leaves of Abraham" are mentioned, together with those of Moses, in two of the older suras (87:19; 53:37) of the Koran. This indicates that Abraham was known to Muhammad as one of the fathers of the monotheistic belief from the beginning of the latter's career; however, Muhammad must have learned that Abraham did not promulgate a book. When Muhammad began to fill his suras with stories of the prophets, Abraham received a large share, mainly on the basis of material drawn from talmudic legends. Abraham, by his own reasoning, recognized that his Creator was God and not a shining star, the moon, or the sun. He smashed the idols of his father, was thrown into a furnace, was miraculously saved, and migrated to the Holy Land. Though long childless, he believed in God's promise of a son and, when a son was born to him, he was prepared to sacrifice him at God's command. It is remarkable that Ishmael, later so prominent in the Koran, does not appear in any connection with his father during the middle Meccan period, e.g., Sura 29:26, "We [God] gave him [Abraham] Isaac and Jacob, and bestowed on his posterity the gift of prophecy and the book." Also, 11:24, "We brought her [Sarah] the good tidings of Isaac and, after Isaac, Jacob" (cf. similar statements in 37:112–3 and 21:72). During this period, Ishmael is not treated as an individual in a story, but is merely mentioned as a name in a series of prophets and saints, together with such biblical personalities as Aaron, Job, or Elisha, i.e., far removed from Abraham. Just as there is no connection between Abraham and Ishmael, so there is none between Abraham and the building of the Kaaba, the sanctuary of Muhammad's native city, until late in Muhammad's prophetic career (e.g., Sura 2:118ff.).

There is also little doubt that, in one form or another, he heard the story of Abraham as the founder of the Holy Temple of Jerusalem, as told in the Book of Jubilees (22:23–4). The story goes back to II Chronicles 3:1, according to which Solomon built the Temple on the same Mount of Moriah on which Abraham was to sacrifice Isaac (Gen. 22:2). The Book of Jubilees elaborates the story and lets Abraham say that he has built this house in order to put his name on it in the country which God has given to him and to his posterity, and that it will be given to him (Jacob) and to his posterity forever. With the aid of the new material Muhammad constructed the ingenious theory that Abraham built the Kaaba together with his son Ishmael (2:121), father of the Arabs, and thus founded the religion of Islam, which he, Muhammad, promulgated among his own people. The very word Islam and the idea contained in it, namely that of complete dedication to God, is connected with the story of Abraham, e.g., Sura 2:125, "When God said to him [Abraham], 'dedicate yourself to God [*aslim*],' he said, 'I dedicate myself to the Lord of the Worlds.'" Or (22:77): "This is the religion of your father Abraham. He called you *muslimīn*," i.e., those who dedicate themselves to God. This expression goes back to Genesis 17:1 in the version of Targum *Onkelos, where Abraham is admonished by God to become *shelīm*, and the subsequent definition of a proselyte as one who dedicates himself to his Creator (*hishlīm aẓmo la-bore*; cf. Goldziher, in: M. Steinschneider, *Polemische und apologetische Literatur in arabischer Sprache* (1877), 266, n. 56). Muhammad emphatically states that Abraham was neither a Jew nor a Christian (Sura 2:140/134; 3:6760); this new knowledge did not lead him back to his original primitive universalism, but, on the contrary, made Islam, the religion of Abraham, father of the Arabs, exclusive, the "best religion" (3:110/106), prior in time, and therefore in quality, to all others.

The koranic story of Abraham, which contains many rabbinical legends, is fully covered by H. Speyer in *Die biblischen Erzaehlungen im Qoran* (1961, pp. 120–86; see also Moubarac in bibl.). The enormous expansion of these stories in Islamic religious, historical, and narrative literature has been researched by four generations of Jewish scholars, beginning with A. *Geiger (*Was hat Mohammed aus dem Judenthume aufgenommen*, 1833) up to B. Heller (especially in EJ, and in EIS^{2}, s.v. *Ibrāhīm*). These researches show that the legends had been spread in Arabia in very early times. *Umayya ibn Abī al-Salt, Muhammad's contemporary and rival, also knew the tales about Abraham.

[Shelomo Dov Goitein]

In Medieval Hebrew Literature

The various legends about Abraham scattered in midrashic literature formed the basis from which medieval Hebrew writers tried to construct a coherent story of his birth, his youth, and his recognition of the one God. The medieval story was written in a few versions. Three stories, published by A. *Jellinek in his *Beit ha-Midrash* (one long and detailed version and two short legends, see bibliography), are replete with motifs and elements which are not midrashic, but probably originated with the medieval authors. Abraham's recognition of the existence of only one God, which made him the first monotheist, and Abraham as a martyr, are the two principal recurring motifs. In the narratives centered around the first motif, Abraham was left in a cave immediately after birth because Nimrod, the god-king of Babylonia, who had had an astrological warning that a child would be born that year who would dethrone him, decreed that all male children be killed. In the cave the angel *Gabriel nursed Abraham, who within a few days could already walk and talk. Upon his return to his father's house, he began to spread monotheistic belief.

In the medieval work *Sefer ha-Yashar,* which renders the biblical stories in a medieval style (see *Fiction: The Retelling of Bible Stories), the story of Abraham, told in detail, is based both upon midrashic and medieval literatures, to which the anonymous author added details of his own. In one of the stories about Abraham known in the Middle Ages (the earliest version is found in 12th-century sources), Abraham in his youth went to study with Shem, the son of Noah. Together they made a *golem*, that is, a person out of earth and water who miraculously came to life. Such stories were later told about the prophet *Jeremiah and *Ben Sira, who claimed to be his grandson. This *golem* story is undoubtedly connected with another medieval belief about Abraham, mainly that he was the author of *Sefer Yeẓirah* ("Book of Creation"), one of the first cosmological writings in Hebrew, which was extensively used by Jewish mystics who saw it as a revelation of the mystical way in which the heavenly and earthly worlds were created. It was believed that proper use of the knowledge in *Sefer Yeẓirah* would also enable the mystics to create a *golem*, and that the work contained the process of reasoning that Abraham followed to establish the unity of God. To medieval philosophers and mystics, Abraham had been not only a person, but also a symbol. In the controversy that raged around the study of philosophy in Spain and in Provence at the beginning of the 14th century, the philosophers were accused of interpreting the story of Abraham and Sarah allegorically, through seeing the figures of Abraham and Sarah as personifications of the relationship between matter and form (according to Aristotelian philosophy). The kabbalists on the other hand, saw Abraham as a personification of *Ḥesed* ("loving-kindness"), the fourth of the Ten **Sefirot* (see *Kabbalah).

[Joseph Dan]

In the Arts

Early literary treatment of episodes in the life of Abraham in addition to the sacrifice of Isaac (see **Akedah*) have been found in medieval English miracle plays, such as the *Histories of Lot and Abraham*, and in the 15th-century French *Mistere du Viel Testament*, which deals with Abraham's complete life. The outstanding Renaissance work on the theme is one of a series of Italian religious dramas, the *Rappresentazione de Abram e di Sara sua moglie* (1556). The episode involving Hagar has also inspired some plays, notably *Hagar dans le desert* (1781) by the French Comtesse de Genlis, and a Dutch drama *Hagar* (1848) by the convert Isaac *da Costa, who saw in Hagar's return to Abraham's tent Islam's ultimate reconciliation with Christianity. The outstanding Jewish work of fiction based on the theme is *Yesod Olam* ("Foundation of the World") by Moses ben Mordecai *Zacuto. Based on midrashic sources, this play, dramatically insubstantial though it is, is significant by reason of its being one of the earliest plays to be written in Hebrew.

The story of Abraham has inspired greater creative endeavor in the pictorial arts. Scenes from the patriarch's life have been illustrated in paintings, sculpture, manuscript illuminations, and mosaics. Usually represented as a white-bearded old man, armed with a knife, Abraham was a favorite subject not only for Christian artists (as a prefiguration of Jesus), but also for Moslems. Two rare examples of cyclic treatment are the 12th-century mosaics in the cathedral of San Marco, Venice, and a set of 16th-century Flemish tapestries by Bernard van Orley. Varying combinations of important episodes are found in fifth-century mosaics in the church of Santa Maria Maggiore, Rome; in the sixth-century manuscript known as the Vienna Genesis; in the sixth-century mosaics in Ravenna; in the bronze doors of San Zeno, Verona, the altar of Verdun, and the frescoes of Saint-Savin, Poitou (all 12th century); and in Ghiberti's bronze doors at the Florence baptistry (15th century).

Episodes particularly favored by Christian artists were Abraham's encounter with Melchizedek, the visit of the three angels, and the *Akedah*. In the first, stress was laid on the dual significance of the scene, Abraham's offering of tithes to the priest-king symbolizing the presentation of gifts to the infant Jesus by the three Magi, and Melchizedek's offering of bread and wine to Abraham prefiguring the Eucharist. The Melchizedek episode appears in the works at Rome, Ravenna, and Poitou referred to above and in the 13th-century portal of Amiens cathedral, and it inspired Tintoretto's painting for the Scuola di San Rocco, Venice (16th century). Melchizedek is usually depicted wearing a crown and bearing a chalice, while Abraham is often shown as a knight in armor. The visit of the angels has been variously interpreted by Christian artists. In the eastern church the angels were seen as a prediction of the Trinity and there are many icons on this theme, notably the delicate painting by Andrei Rublev (1422), now in Moscow. In western countries, their announcement of the impending birth of Isaac was thought to prefigure the Annunciation, and this traditional medieval reading inspires the Rome mosaics, the Verdun altar, the doors of San Zeno, and the 12th-century Psalter of Saint Louis (Paris). From the 17th century onward this incident was taken as the archetype of hospitality, inspiring such post-Renaissance paintings as those of *Rembrandt (1636, now in Leningrad), Murillo, and the Tiepolos. The dismissal of Hagar – whom the Church took to prefigure the superseded "Old Law," Sarah symbolizing the New – was popular in the 17th century particularly with Dutch artists, mainly because it offered opportunities for domestic and emotionally dramatic scenes. The episode was thus exploited by Rubens, Rembrandt, Nicolaes Maes, and Jan Steen. A French artist of a later period who treated the same subject was Corot. A parable in the Gospel of Luke (16:22) was responsible for a quaint treatment of Abraham in representations of the Last Judgment on Gothic cathedrals such as Paris, Rheims, Bourges, and Bamberg. Here the saved souls are shown being gathered into "Abraham's bosom." Among modern Jewish artists, Chagall, who was particularly fascinated by the life of Abraham, painted many scenes from the patriarch's life story, including the circumcision of Isaac.

The most popular representation of Abraham in Jewish art was that showing the *Akedah*. This appears on the western wall of the *Dura-Europos synagogue of the third century C.E. This theme lent itself to representations in the continuous or narrative style, in which a sequence of events is represented without frame or formal interruptions, as in the mosaic floor of the *Bet Alfa (sixth century C.E.) synagogue. Other popular themes were the appearance of the three angels to Abraham and his condemnation to death through fire by Nimrod. An outstanding example of the latter is found in a British Museum illuminated manuscript (Ms. Add. 27210) where Abraham is rescued by two figures, not found in other illustrations. An elderly bearded male with outstretched arms is seen in the foreground, while in the background is an angel with clearly defined wings. It is improbable that both these figures represent angels as they appear of different age and complexion. The older figure may therefore represent God, a fact which would suggest a Christian illuminator.

[Helen Rosenau]

The story of Abraham provided the basis for several musical compositions from the late 18th century onward. The Hagar and Ishmael episode was the theme of oratorios, notably Scarlatti's *Agar et Ismaele esiliati* (1683) and Giovanni Battista Vitali's *Agar* (1671). Of the few works on the sojourn in Egypt, the oratorio *Sara in Egitto* (1708) probably holds the record among "pasticcios" – works in which several composers collaborated or were used – since the setting of the libretto was entrusted to no fewer than 24 composers. Schubert's first song, written in March 1811, was "*Hagars Klage.*" The only opera on this subtheme, *Agar au désert* (1806) by Etienne Nicolas Méhul, was never performed. Michael *Gnessin wrote an opera on Abraham's youth, during his visit to Ereẓ Israel in 1922. Prominent among the more specifically Jewish compositions are the Ladino (Judeo-Spanish) romances, *Cuando el Rey Nimrod, Abram Abinu*, and *En primero alabaremos,* which reflect the legend of Abraham's birth found in the *Sefer ha-Yashar*; some also mention the *Akedah*. The romanza *El Dios de cielo de Abraham* used to be sung in Tetuan, Morocco.

[Bathja Bayer]

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ABRAHAM, family of U.S. merchants. ABRAHAM ABRAHAM (1843–1911), son of a Bavarian immigrant, and Joseph Wechsler, himself an immigrant, established a dry goods store in Brooklyn, New York, in 1865. It became Brooklyn's largest department store, with six branches in metropolitan New York. On Wechsler's retirement in 1893 Abraham and the brothers Isidore and Nathan *Straus took over the firm, which they named Abraham & Straus. However, the *Straus' main interest remained focused on Macy's. Abraham's son-in-law, SIMON F. ROTHSCHILD (1861–1936), succeeded to the presidency of A. & S. in 1925, and from 1930 to 1936 was chairman of its board. Another son-in-law, CHARLES EDUARD BLUM (1863–1946), was president from 1930 to 1937 and board chairman from 1937 to 1946. In 1937 WALTER N. ROTHSCHILD (1892–1960), a grandson of Abraham Abraham and son of Simon F. Rothschild, became A. & S. president and served as board chairman from 1955 to 1960. Subsequently A. & S. became a unit in the chain known as Federated Department Stores, Inc. Abraham's great-grandson, and son of Walter N. Rothschild, WALTER N. ROTHSCHILD JR. (1920–2003), was president of A. & S. from 1963 to 1969. He served as chairman of the New York Urban Coalition from 1970 to 1973 and as chairman of the National Urban Coalition from 1973 to 1977. The family participated actively through all the generations in general and Jewish philanthropies but became remote from Jewish life.

[Hanns G. Reissner]

ABRAHAM, APOCALYPSE OF, a work of the second century C.E., extant only in the Slavonic version of a Greek translation of a presumably Hebrew original. Several variant forms of the Slavonic exist, including reworked versions in the medieval Eastern church sacred histories known as the *Palaiai*. The late Christian editing gives it a flavor which is strange to the Jewish reader. But only one interpolation can be identified as Christian and that not with certainty. Although translations of the book have been accessible to western scholars for 50 years, it is little known.

The book opens with a legend of Abraham's discovery of God (ch. 1–8), a theme well known from the *aggadah* and early Christian literature. This tells of Abraham's tragicomic adventures as an assistant in his father's business of making and selling idols, and culminates in his realization and recognition of the Creator. The legend concludes with a voice urging Abraham to leave his father's house, which is immediately destroyed by lightning.

A further heavenly call commands him to fast for 40 days and to offer the sacrifice described in Genesis 15:9. This leads to the main visionary section of the book. The angel Iaoel (Mss. Ioal, Iloel, etc.) appears (ch. 10–11) and leads him to the place of the sacrifice; the victims appear miraculously (ch. 12). The vulture (Gen. 15:11), later unmasked as Azazel, tells Abraham to flee the "holy heights" and to leave the angel (ch. 13). At the angel's bidding, Abraham refuses to listen to Azazel (ch. 14). The furnace (Gen. 15:17) appears, and angels carry up the sacrificial victims while the wings of the undivided dove serve to carry Abraham and his angelic guide to heaven (ch. 15).

Trembling, Abraham sees the Divine Glory (ch. 16), praises God, and prays for instruction (ch. 17). He is then enabled to contemplate the four-faced cherubim (ch. 18) and bidden to look down on the several lower heavens, which open under him. He observes the angels of the seventh and sixth heavens, and the stars in the fifth (ch. 19–20). The lower heavens remain undescribed, for he next sees an overall picture of the world (ch. 21). He also sees a great multitude of people, some on the right and some on the left. This is "the Creation." Those on the left are all the generations of mankind, those on the right, the chosen people (ch. 22). Next he is shown several scenes such as the Fall, the Temple, and its destruction (ch. 23–27), which form a condensed history of the world. As these are explained to him, he dares to ask some questions, such as "Why does God will (or permit) evil?" and "How long shall the suffering of the elect people last?" The rather obscure answers appear to contain an assertion of human free will (ch. 24). A computation of "eons" and "hours" is briefly sketched (ch. 28).

Finally (ch. 29) "a man" appears. He is worshipped by the heathen of the left side: from the right some revile him, others worship him. Azazel, who is contradictorily described both as coming from the left side and as a descendant of Abraham, also worships him. The "man's" function is "the remission for (?) the heathen in the last days," at which time the chosen people shall be tried by him. Although his description is followed by an eschatological prediction, he does not seem to be an instrument of the final deliverance. Abraham's vision ends with a statement about the "eon of righteousness" (ch. 29).

Back on earth he prays for further instruction, which he receives in the form of another prediction of the last things, including ten chastisements prepared for the heathen (ch. 30) and the salvation of the people at the hands of the elect one (ch. 31). There follows a short prediction of the Egyptian servitude and the deliverance – a paraphrase of Genesis 15:13–14 (ch. 32). This serves as the conclusion of the book, which thus fits neatly into the framework of a Midrash on Genesis 15.

The Jewish origin of the book cannot be doubted. The author's main concern, the nation's destiny, is discernible even in the peculiar passage about "the man." The most obvious and perhaps the correct explanation of this passage is to declare it a late Christian interpolation, yet "the man" does not fit the medieval Christian concept of Jesus. His function is not clearly messianic. This problematic passage therefore may have originated in some Judeo-Christian sect, which saw Jesus as precursor of the Messiah, or it may be Jewish, badly rewritten by an early Christian editor. Perhaps it reflects a Jewish view of Jesus as an apostle to the heathen, an explanation which would make it unique, and indeed startling.

The Apocalypse of Abraham is perhaps the last important product of the Apocalyptic movement. Possibly influenced by IV *Ezra, it reflects the plight of the Jews as the "people despised by the nations." However, the destruction of the Temple is not fresh in the author's memory. The characteristic, elaborate pseudepigraphic framework is missing and not all the extant recensions present it as a first-person account by Abraham. Within the tight framework of a simple version, the book successfully presents several important apocalyptic themes, including speculation about a transcendent God presiding over the heavens, a view of history as a sequence of periods, and an attempt to "compute the date of the end." Dualistic and deterministic tendencies are clearly present, but not strongly developed. There is, indeed, no special emphasis on any point of doctrine. The author, aiming at a restatement of ideas developed by his predecessors, is not too eager to break fresh ground. This impression, however, must be qualified by the possibility that the book has been abbreviated or badly edited, although it has survived as a remarkably complete literary unit.

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[Jacob Licht]

ABRAHAM, DAVID (1909–), Indian motion picture actor. Born in Bombay of a Bene Israel family, he used David as his professional name. Though trained in law, he took up acting in 1937 and subsequently appeared in over 100 Hindustani films, becoming widely known for his comedy roles. He toured the U.S. in 1952 as member of the Indian Film Delegation. Also active in the Indian Olympic Association, he was weight-lifting referee at the Olympic Games, Helsinki, 1952, and Fourth Maccabiah, Israel, 1953.

ABRAHAM, GERALD (1904–1988), British musicologist. Abraham was born in Newport, Isle of Wight. Although largely self-taught in the field, he became a highly respected authority on Russian music, learning Russian and Slavonic languages in the course of his work; he published three books devoted to Russian music. He also wrote *A Hundred Years of Music* (1938) and *Chopin's Musical Style* (1939), a small, serious scholarly work. He was employed by the BBC in various capacities, including assistant controller of music during 1935–47 and 1962–67.

Abraham was the first professor of music at Liverpool University, teaching there from 1947 to 1962, exposing his students to Russian music on an academic level. He was president of the Royal Music Association from 1969 to 1974, becoming a Commander of the Order of the British Empire in the latter year.

Among his publications were a collection of his essays, *Slavonic and Romantic Music* (1968), and the *Concise Oxford History of Music* (1979), in which the broad range of his interests was fully displayed. He edited monographs or symposia on Schubert, Schumann, Sibelius, Handel, Tchaikovsky, Borodin, and others, as well as the *New Oxford History of Music* (1955–86); he also served as chairman of the editorial board of the *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians.*

ABRAHAM, KARL (1877–1925), German psychoanalyst. Born in Bremen to religious parents, Abraham was Germany's first psychoanalyst and a major figure in both the organizational and scientific development of psychoanalysis. Abraham received his early clinical experience at a mental hospital in Dalldorf. He became acquainted with Freud's work through Bleuler and Jung in Zurich, and first met Freud in 1907. A deep friendship and professional alliance bound the two men until Abraham's death. Abraham's work covered almost every field of psychoanalysis, but his most significant contributions through pioneering studies were in the fields of libidinal development, character formation, the psychoses, and addiction. He investigated the effects of infantile sexuality and family relationships on the child's mental development, and drew a correlation between characteristic mental disorders and the problems at different stages of the child's mental development. Toward the end of his life, Abraham concentrated almost exclusively on manic-depressive psychosis, where he paralleled and deepened Freud's work. This work is written up in his paper of 1911 translated in 1927 as "Notes on the Psychoanalytic Investigation and Treatment of Manic-Depressive Insanity and Allied Conditions." Abraham related melancholia to regression to the oral level and to the loss of love and its patterning after mourning. Schizophrenia, too, is a regression from a traumatic situation to an early infantile level of development. Abraham was president of the Berlin Psychoanalytical Society from its founding until his death. He was also secretary (1922–24), and then president (1924–25), of the International Psychoanalytical Association. Most of his research work appears in his *Clinical Papers and Essays on Psychoanalysis* (1955) and his published correspondence with Freud in *A Psychoanalytic Dialogue* (1965).

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ABRAHAM, MAX (1875–1922), German theoretical electrophysicist. Born in Danzig, Abraham was an assistant to the physicist Max Planck. He worked in turn at Goettingen (1900), Cambridge (England), and in the U.S. In 1909 he became professor of mechanics in Milan, but in 1915 was expelled as an enemy alien. He then served in the German army. In 1919 he was appointed professor of physics at the Technische Hochschule Stuttgart. Abraham studied the dynamics of electrons, and his two-volume *Theorie der Elektrizitaet* went through eight editions between 1904 and 1930.

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[Samuel Aaron Miller]

ABRAHAM, OTHER BOOKS OF. In addition to the Apocalypse of Abraham, extant in Slavonic, and the Testament of Abraham, preserved in a number of versions, there are several references in the literature of the first centuries of this era to works attributed to Abraham. Among the apocryphal works included in the early Christian lists attributed to Pseudo-Athanasius and Nicephorus, there is a book entitled *Abraham.* Its length is given as 300 stichoi. Similar, unclear references may be found in Apostolic Constitution 6:16 and elsewhere. More significant is Epiphanius' account (Adversus Haereses 38:5) of the Sethian Gnostic sect as "composing certain books in the name of great men… of Abraham, which they say to be an apocalypse and is full of all sorts of wickedness." Origen refers to a book relating a contest between good and evil angels over the salvation or perdition of Abraham's soul (Homilies on Lk. 35). It has been suggested that this incident may be related to the weighing of the soul, whose good and evil deeds are of equal measure, as described in *Testamentum Abraham* (A, 12f.). Yet, it must be noted that these two stories are far from identical, and Origen is probably drawing on a different Abraham book. An Arabic *Life of Abraham* is mentioned by James (*Apoc. Anecd.* 2, 81). Armenian works called *The Story of Abraham, Isaac and Mambres, The Ten Temptations of Abraham, History of Abraham, Memorial of the Patriarchs Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob* and others exist in manuscripts (e.g., Erevan 569, 717, 1425 et al.), but have never been studied.

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[Michael E. Stone]

ABRAHAM, OTTO (1872–1926), ethnomusicologist. Born in Berlin, Abraham graduated in medicine at Berlin University in 1894 and thereafter dedicated himself to psychoacoustics and the physiology of music. From 1896 to 1905 he was assistant to Carl Stumpf (1868–1936) at the Berlin Institute of Psychology, and collaborated with E.M. von *Hornbostel in the establishment of the "Phonogrammarchiv" in 1900 which is known for its unique historical collections of music of the world. Abraham's work on tone perception was one of the pioneer studies in the psychology of music. His studies, mostly with Hornbostel, on the non-Western musical traditions and his suggested methods for transcribing this music put him among the founders of modern systematic ethnomusicology. Abraham introduced the first German attempt to record non-Western music. He recorded on wax cylinders a visiting Siamese court orchestra, music from South Africa and Japan, Armenian and Muslim songs, and Indian and Amerindian music. Between 1903 and 1906, Abraham and Hornbostel published important studies based on their tonometric measurements and transcriptions of those recorded examples. Among his articles are "Wahrnehmung kürzester Töne und Geräusche" (1898), "Studien Ueber das Tonsystem und die Musik der Japaner" (1902–3), "Phonographierte Tuerkische Melodien" (1904), "Phonographierte Indianermelodien aus Britisch-Colombia" (1906), "Zur Akustik des Knalles" (1919), and "Zur Psychologie der Tondistanz" (1926).

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[Israela Stein (2nd ed.)]

ABRAHAM, SAMUEL (d. 1792), merchant in Cochin. Abraham, who was probably of Polish birth, arrived in Cochin in about 1757 and served both the Dutch and English East India Companies. Abraham chiefly traded in timber for shipbuilding and to a lesser extent in paper, rice, pepper, and iron. He advanced large loans to the Dutch and English companies. With other leading Jewish merchants, he was entrusted with confidential diplomatic missions by the Dutch governor. His house was a meeting place for local princes, dignitaries, and merchants. Abraham established the first known contact between the Jews of Cochin and those of the Western Hemisphere with a Hebrew letter to the Jewish congregation of New York (c. 1790). It was accompanied by an outline history of the Jews in Malabar.

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[Walter Joseph Fischel]

ABRAHAM, TESTAMENT OF, apocryphal story of the death of Abraham. It is preserved in two Greek versions, the longer one being the more original. There are also Arabic, Coptic, Ethiopic, and Romanian versions. The book is part of an extensive literature of testaments and, in addition to the Testament of Abraham, there exist Testaments of Adam, Isaac, Jacob, the Twelve Patriarchs (sons of Jacob), Job, etc. The dependence of the book upon Jewish aggadic sources and the absence of Christian motifs with the exception of a possible influence of New Testament phraseology upon the actual wording show that the Testament of Abraham was composed by a Jew, writing in Greek, and was possibly based on a Hebrew (or Aramaic) original. The exact date of its composition is unknown. The book utilizes both Midrashim about Abraham and the *aggadah* about the death of Moses (see Assumption of *Moses). Thus, the reluctance of Abraham to accept his death from the hand of the archangel Michael is founded upon the narrative of Moses' death in Jewish sources. Finally Abraham is prepared to accept God's decision, if the angel will show him the whole universe. This wish is fulfilled and the author includes in his book interesting apocalyptic material. The heavenly judge is Abel, the son of Adam, because God wants humanity to be judged by a man (see *Son of Man). At the end, Abraham is killed by deception on the part of the Angel of Death.

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[David Flusser]

ABRAHAM ABELE BEN ABRAHAM SOLOMON (1764–1836), talmudic scholar in Lithuania. Abraham, who was known as Abele Poswoler, was a pupil of Solomon of Wilkomir. In his youth he became rabbi in Poswol (near Kovno) and in 1802 was appointed head of the Vilna *bet din*, a position which he held for 30 years. In 1835 he intervened in the dispute between the publishers of the Romm Talmud and those of the Slavuta Talmud. The Slavuta publishers had started their enterprise first and claimed that the Romm family had intruded on their domain. When the Jewry of Ereẓ Israel was in financial straits in 1822, Abraham appealed to the wealthy Jews of Poland and Lithuania to aid the *yishuv* but the appeal was of limited success. Abraham did not publish many responsa and talmudic novellae, but some were preserved in the works of his contemporaries. Of particular interest is the fact that Abraham, although a devout Jew, gave his approbation to the *Te'udah be-Yisrael* by Isaac Baer Levinsohn, one of the leading Russian *maskilim*.

His novellae and responsa appeared in a book called *Be'er Abraham* from a manuscript with the *Be'er ba-Sadeh* commentary by Rabbi Shmuel David Movshowitz (Jerusalem Institute, Jerusalem, 1980). The book contains a commentary on tractate *Berakhot*, novellae and halakhic rulings (from different books), and 112 responsa on different subjects in the four parts of the Shulḥan Arukh.

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[Yehoshua Horowitz]

ABRAHAM ABUSCH BEN ẒEVI HIRSCH (1700–1769), German rabbi and halakhist. He was also called Abraham Abusch Lissa and also Abusch Frankfurter, from the towns Lissa and Frankfurt where he served as rabbi, after having been rabbi of Mezhirech. After the interregnum brought about by the departure of Jacob Joshua *Falk, the community of Frankfurt approached him to become its rabbi. The community of Lissa was reluctant to part with him and only did so after much persuasion on the part of the communal leaders of Frankfurt. His pious and meek disposition and the stories of his charitable deeds became legendary. The name of Abraham Abusch is associated with a *cause célèbre,* "the *Cleves *get*" (divorce; see *Lipschuetz, Israel). Although several renowned rabbis approved the divorce Abraham persisted in his opinion that it was invalid. The members of his community supported him by enacting a regulation barring from the Frankfurt rabbinate anyone who had approved the divorce. For some time, he also held the important position of *parnas* or president of the "*Councils of the Lands." Although he was renowned as a talmudic scholar, few of his writings have survived. Several of his works appeared under the title *Birkat Avraham:* (1) novellae on five tractates of *Seder Mo'ed* (1881); (2) commentary on the Passover *Haggadah* (1887), with a supplement, *Maḥazeh Avraham* (1908); (3) a volume also known as *Kaneh Avraham* (1884), kabbalistic commentary on Genesis; (4) a commentary on *Berakhot* (1930); and (5) on Ruth (1934). He also wrote *Darkhei ha-Ḥayyim*, on remedies, medicines, and charms (1912). His ethical will was also published (1806).

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[Alexander Tobias]

°**ABRAHAM A SANCTA CLARA** (c. 1644–1709), Augustinian friar and anti-Jewish propagandist; court preacher in Vienna from 1677. His numerous sermons and tracts violently attacked the Jews along the traditional lines of popular anti-Jewish hatemongering. He charged the Jews with causing the plague by witchcraft, denounced them along with the devil as Christianity's worst enemy, and gave currency to the *host desecration libel. The coarse language and style of his sermons and tracts influenced the Viennese brand of *antisemitism (and its disseminators such as S. *Brunner, J. *Deckert, and K. *Lueger) and of *National Socialism.

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ABRAHAM BAR ḤIYYA (**Ḥayya**; d. c. 1136), Spanish philosopher, mathematician, astronomer, and translator. Little is known about Abraham's life apart from the fact that he lived in Barcelona. Two titles by which he was known provide clues to his public activity. One was *Savasorda*, a corruption of the Arabic *ṣāḥib-al-shurṭa*, originally meaning "captain of the bodyguard," but by Abraham's time denoting a functionary whose duties were both judiciary and civil, the exact scope of which can only be surmised. A court position was not unique for a Jew in Christian Spain at that time, and Abraham would have been useful for his mathematical and astronomical knowledge, his skill in surveying, and his linguistic abilities (he states in his writings that from his early youth he "gained honor before princes and royalty"). The other title, *nasi*, was not uncommon in Spanish Jewry and although in this instance also the exact significance is undetermined, it appears to denote an office within the Jewish community exercising a judiciary function with the power of imposing punishments and regulating communal taxation.

The only incident known from his life is a clash with his distinguished contemporary in Barcelona, *Judah b. Barzillai al-Bargeloni. This occurred at a wedding which Abraham insisted on postponing because the stars were not propitious, whereas Judah wished to proceed with the ceremony as he held astrological beliefs to be "a custom of the Chaldeans." At some period of his life Abraham visited France – perhaps Provence – which at that time was ruled by the count of Barcelona. It appears that this visit was connected with the problems of land surveying.

The dates and places of his birth and death are unknown. A manuscript dated 1136 refers to him as "of blessed memory" but this could be a later interpolation. However, Plato of Tivoli, who cites him as a collaborator in his translations up to 1136, does not mention Abraham in connection with a translation in 1138. As there is no evidence of his having lived subsequently, it has been assumed that he died c. 1136.

Philosophy

Concentrating on cosmogony, Abraham held that all things were first created in potentiality where they could be divided into matter, form, and not-being. In order to actualize them, God removed the not-being and joined form to matter. Matter is divided into pure matter and the dregs of matter, while form is divided into closed form and open form. The first stage in the process of creation is the emanation of a light from the closed form. This closed form is too pure to combine with matter and is identified with the form of angels, souls, etc. The light shines on the open form, qualifying it to combine with matter; one part of the open form combines with the pure matter and from this juncture the firmaments are created; the other part joins the dregs, thereby creating the four elements and the beings of the corporeal world. A further emanation of light over the firmament causes that form already attached to matter to change its place – and this brings about the creation of the moving stars; while a further emanation of light touches that matter which can change its form, and from this are formed all that fly, swim, and go. Man is the summit of creation, distinguished by his rational faculty. He has free will and can choose between the right way and sinning; if he sins, he still has the possibility of repentance. The way to repentance is always open, but the reward of eternal life is only for the God-fearing and God-acknowledging. All aspects of this world are transient and the important consideration is the world to come. The saintly individual lives an ascetic life in this world in order to be rewarded in the next. By observing the Torah, Israel obtains the reward of the world to come. Just as time had a beginning, so it must have an end and this will usher in the era of salvation when the wicked will be destroyed and only Israel and any others who accept the Torah will survive. Only Israel will be resurrected – the righteous to eternal life, the wicked to eternal justice.

Although points of similarity with other medieval thinkers are frequently discernible in Abraham's philosophical work, his writings contain an original admixture of Neoplatonic, Aristotelian, and rabbinic ideas, with original interpretations. He was sufficiently independent to reject philosophical for rabbinical theories when he deemed necessary, and his philosophy falls into no ready-made categories. He was one of the very first to write on scientific and philosophic subjects in Hebrew and many of the terms coined by him have passed into accepted Hebrew usage. His Hebrew is simple and lucid, similar in style to the later Midrashim.

Mathematical Works

Abraham was the author of the first encyclopedic work in Hebrew, *Yesodei ha-Tevunah u-Migdal ha-Emunah* ("Foundations of Understanding and Tower of Faith"). This was probably based on translations from the Arabic (it was published by Steinschneider in *Hebraetsche Bibliographie*, vol. 7, Sp. tr. by J.M. Millás Vallicrosa, 1952). Only sections have been preserved and these deal with geometry, arithmetic, optics, and music. He also wrote about mathematics in his *Ḥibbur ha-Meshiḥah ve-ha-Tishboret* ("Treatise on Mensuration and Calculation"; Sp. tr. by J.M. Millás Vallicrosa, 1931), the original object of which was to help French Jews in the measurement of their fields. This is the first Hebrew work to show that the area of a circle is πr^2 and is the first known work – after an Egyptian papyrus of the 18th century B.C.E. – to give the formula of a truncated pyramid. It was published by M. Guttmann (2 pts., 1912–13). Plato of Tivoli translated the work into Latin in 1145 as *Liber Embadorum* ("The Book of Areas") and this introduced Arabic trigonometry to the West. It was the chief source for the writings of the celebrated mathematician, Leonardo Fibonacci of Pisa.

Astronomical Works

Abraham's main astronomical work, known as *Ḥokhmat ha-Ḥizzayon*, consisted of two parts. The first part, *Ẓurat ha-Areẓ ve-Tavnit Kaddurei ha-Raki'a* ("Form of the Earth and Figure of the Celestial Spheres"), is a geography – "a short review of lands according to the seven climates" – which long remained the chief source of geographical knowledge among Jews (it was published by M. Jaffe and Jonathan b. Joseph in Offenbach, 1720; Sp. tr. by J.M. Millás Vallicrosa, 1956). The second part, *Ḥeshbon Mahalekhot ha-Kokhavim* ("Calculation of the Courses of the Stars"; with Sp. tr. by J.M. Millás Vallicrosa, 1959), was often quoted; it incorporates a complete section on intercalation. The whole work is probably the first exposition of the Ptolemaic system in Hebrew and was the first complete textbook on astronomy in that language.

Abraham further considered problems of intercalation in his *Sefer* (or *Sod*) *ha-Ibbur* ("Book of Intercalation"), which was written in 1122 "to enable the Jews to observe the festivals on the correct dates." This work explains the principles of intercalation and shows how to calculate the Hebrew and Arabic years (publ. by H. Filipowski, London, 1851). It was often quoted by later authorities and was accepted as authoritative. Mention should also be made of the astronomical and astrological tables compiled by Abraham which were also often quoted, although never published. They include reckonings for year-cycles, the New Moon, the Egyptian, Arabic, Roman, and Alexandrian years, etc.

Astrology and Eschatology

Another of Abraham's smaller compositions was his letter to Judah b. Barzillai al-Bargeloni, defending astrology in connection with the above-mentioned incident at the Barcelona wedding (publ. by Z. Schwarz, 1917). However, the main source of knowledge of Abraham's astrological views is to be found in *Megillat ha-Megalleh* ("Scroll of the Revealer"; publ. by A. Posnanski, 1924; Sp. tr. by J.M. Millás Vallicrosa, 1929). This is an eschatological book, the first by a European rabbi, written with the object of determining the end of time. After working out a correspondence between the seven days of Creation with seven eras of world history, Abraham came to the conclusion that redemption would come to the world in the year 1383 C.E. and resurrection in 1448. He adduces proofs from both the Bible and astrology. This work was of considerable influence, for example, on *Judah Halevi, whose theory of the transmission of the prophetic spirit derives from it, and on the kabbalists, particularly those of the German school. Most of *Abrabanel's astrological knowledge was derived from this work, parts of which were translated into Latin and French.

Knowledge of Abraham's philosophy is partly derived from this work but even more from his *Hegyon ha-Nefesh ha-Aẓuvah* (publ. by E. Freimann, Leipzig, 1860; Eng. tr. by G. Wigoder, "Meditation of the Sad Soul," 1969). This deals with creation, repentance, good and evil, and the saintly life. The emphasis is ethical, the approach is generally homiletical – based on the exposition of biblical passages – and it may have been designed for reading during the Ten Days of Penitence. It is less frequently quoted than Abraham's other works. A so-called "lost work" called *Geder Adam* is probably identical with *Hegyon ha-Nefesh.* Apart from his original compositions, Abraham collaborated in several of the translations made by Plato of Tivoli from Arabic to Latin. These played an important role in the transmission of Arabic scientific knowledge to Europe. There is also a translation of *De Horarum Electionibus*, a work on algebra by Ali ibn Aḥmad al-Imrānī made by Abraham; it is not known whether he did this on his own or in collaboration with Plato of Tivoli.

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Estúdios sobre la história de la ciencia española (1949), 219–26; Levey, in: Isis, 43 (1952), 257–64; idem, in: *Osiris*, 11 (1954), 50–64. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** S. Klein-Braslavy, "The Creation of Man and the Story of the Garden of Eden in the Thought of Abraham Bar Hiyya," in: I. Orpaz, N. Govrin, A. Kasher, B.Y. Michali, and Z. Malachi (eds.), *Professor Israel Efros – Poet and Philosopher* (1981), 203–29 (Heb.); T. Lévy, "Les débuts de la littérature mathématique hébraïque: la géométrie d'Abraham bar Hiyya (xie–xii^{es}.)," in: *Micrologus*, 9 (2001); *Gli Ebrei e le Scienze. The Jews and the Sciences* (2001), 35–64; M. Rubio, "The First Hebrew Encyclopedia of Science: Abraham Bar Hiyya's *Yesodei ha-Tevunah u-Migdal ha-Emunah*," in: S. Harvey (ed.), *The Medieval Hebrew Encyclopedias of Science and Philosophy* (2001), 140–53.

[Geoffrey Wigoder]

ABRAHAM BAR JACOB (c. 1669–1730), convert to Judaism who worked as a copper engraver in Amsterdam. Born in Germany, Abraham b. Jacob had been a Christian pastor in the Rhineland before converting to Judaism. He was particularly celebrated for his collaboration in the Amsterdam *Haggadah* of 1695 to which he contributed a series of engravings partly copied from the *Icones Biblicae* of Mattheus Merian of Basle and a map of Palestine with Hebrew lettering. This work set a new fashion in *Haggadot* and served as a model for more than 200 years. Abraham b. Jacob's other works include the title pages to Joseph b. Ephraim *Caro's Shulḥan Arukh (1697–98), Isaiah b. Abraham *Horowitz's *Shenei Luḥot ha-Berit* (1698), and Joseph b. Ḥayyim Sarfati's *Yad Yosef* (1700); an amulet for women in childbirth; and a wall calendar for 130 years with baroque illustrations. The engraving of a portrait of *ḥakham* Isaac *Aboab da Fonseca of Amsterdam, painted by Joseph b. Abraham, is also ascribed to him.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Wolf, Bibliotheca, 3 (1727), 39; Roth, Art, 444, 445, 521. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** A. Yaari, *Meḥkarei Sefer* (1958), 250–51; H. Brodsky, in *Jewish Art,* 19 (1993/4), 148–57; idem, in: *Journal of the Israel Map Collectors Society,* 13 (1996) 37–43.

ABRAHAM BEN ALEXANDER KATZ OF KALISK (**Kalisz**; 1741–1810), ḥasidic leader in Poland and Ereẓ Israel. He was a disciple of *Dov Baer of Mezhirech. According to ḥasidic tradition he first studied under *Elijah b. Solomon, the Gaon of Vilna. He joined the *Talk*, an ḥasidic conventicle whose precise nature is unknown. Abraham gave expression to the ḥasidic principle of serving God with fervor in a bizarre fashion, "turning somersaults in the streets and marketplaces" and ridiculing talmudic scholars. These exaggerated practices were among the reasons for the excommunication pronounced on the Ḥasidim by the rabbinical court of Vilna in 1772.

In 1777 Abraham immigrated to Ereẓ Israel with the group of Ḥasidim led by *Menahem Mendel of Vitebsk. He first settled in Safed and later in Tiberias, where he spent his last years. After the death of Menahem Mendel, Abraham succeeded him as head of the ḥasidic groups in Ereẓ Israel. His cordial relations with the founder of the Ḥabad movement, *Shneur Zalman, came to an end after the latter published his *Tanya* in 1796; Abraham expressed his disillusionment with Shneur Zalman's philosophical system, and Shneur Zalman, who was also treasurer of the fund in Russia, retaliated by stopping the flow of contributions. Abraham emphasized the importance of the ḥasidic group, independent of the authority of a *ẓaddik*. He believed in *dibbuk ḥaverim*, a close association between comrades who through contemplation and self-abnegation arrive together at a state of mystical ecstasy. His sayings and letters are collected in *Ḥesed le-Avraham* (1851) and *Iggerot Kodesh* (1927).

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ABRAHAM BEN ALEXANDER (**Axelrad**) **OF COLOGNE** (13th century), kabbalist. A disciple of R. *Eleazar b. Judah of Worms, he immigrated to Spain where he probably studied with the kabbalist R. Ezra. Solomon b. Abraham *Adret knew him personally in his youth, and tells of his extraordinary oratorical gifts, and the interesting material in his sermons (Responsa no. 548). Abraham wrote a treatise concerning the Tetragrammaton, *Keter Shem Tov*, in which he tried to achieve a synthesis between the mysticism of the Jewish pietists (Ḥasidim) in Germany based on combinations of letters and numbers, and the Kabbalah of the **Sefirot* (with which he had become acquainted in Provence or in Spain). His text is composed of a short summary of his system and represents a kind of cosmological symbolism that relies on the conclusion provided by Abraham *Ibn Ezra in his *Sefer ha-Shem*, as well as on the statements of the kabbalists R. Ezra and R. Azriel. The work, which is extant in numerous manuscripts, was first published independently in Amsterdam in 1810. It also appeared under the title *Ma'amar Peloni Almoni* in the collection of writings *Likkutim me-Rav Hai Gaon* (1798). A new edition was published by Jellinek (1853). In Samson b. Eliezer's work *Barukh she-Amar* (1795), *Keter Shem Tov* is attributed to Menahem Ashkenazi, another disciple of Eleazar of Worms. Benjacob is wrong in stating that there is another work entitled *Keter Shem Tov* by Abraham consisting of a mystic commentary to Psalms, Joshua, and Judges.

[Gershom Scholem]

In one of the manuscripts found in Jerusalem, *Keter Shem Tov* is entitled *Ma'amar be-Kabbalah Nevu'it*, a "Treatise on Prophetic Kabbalah," and this title indicates the role played by this Ashkenazi figure in transmitting certain Ashkenazi modes of thought to Barcelona, where Abraham *Abulafia's prophetic Kabbalah made its first step.

[Moshe Idel (2nd ed.)]

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ABRAHAM BEN AVIGDOR (d. 1542), rabbi and author. For 20 years, Abraham served as the rabbi of Prague. One of his pupils was Abraham Jaffe, the father of Mordecai *Jaffe. In 1534 Abraham and the famous *shtadlan* Joseph (Joselmann) of Rosheim framed 23 *takkanot* designed to adjudicate an inter-communal dispute in Bohemia and to restore harmony in the community. After the expulsion of the Jews from Bohemia in 1541, Abraham composed the *seliḥah* beginning "*Anna Elohei Avraham,*" recited in the Polish ritual on Yom Kippur. According to David *Gans, Abraham had a knowledge of "all the seven sciences." His works included (1) glosses on the *Tur Oraḥ Ḥayyim* by Jacob b. Asher, published in Prague and Augsburg both in 1540; (2) a supercommentary on Rashi's Bible commentary, quoted in the *Devek Tov* of Simeon Ossenburg, and in *Minḥat Yehudah* by Judah Leib b. Obadiah Eilenburg (1609); (3) decisions, quoted by Moses Isserles and Joel Sirkes.

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[Yehoshua Horowitz]

ABRAHAM BEN AZRIEL (13th century), liturgical commentator, one of the "Elders of Bohemia." Abraham was a disciple of the great German pietists, *Judah b. Samuel he-Ḥasid and *Eleazar b. Judah of Worms (Rokeah) as well as of *Baruch b. Isaac of Regensburg, the latter two being his chief teachers. *Isaac b. Moses Or Zaru'a was his disciple. About 1234 he wrote *Arugat ha-Bosem* ("Spice Garden"), a commentary on liturgical poems (edited by E.E. Urbach with commentary, 1939). The work reveals a comprehensive knowledge of every branch of Jewish learning: masoretic text and vocalization, exegesis and grammar, the halakhic and aggadic Midrashim, the two Talmuds and their early expositors, and philosophical and kabbalistic literature. All obscure references in the *piyyutim* are explained in great detail. As a result of its prolixity, the book did not have a wide circulation and is only rarely quoted in later literature. However, after Abraham *Berliner discovered the manuscript in the Vatican library, scholars realized its importance. Abraham's main sources are: Abraham Ibn Ezra, Eleazar Rokeaḥ, Judah Ḥayyuj, Judah b. Samuel he-Ḥasid, Joseph Kara, Jacob Tam, Moses of Taku, Rashi, Solomon Parḥon, Samuel b. Meir, Nathan b. Jehiel of Rome, and Maimonides. He was the first of the French and German scholars to make full use of the whole of Maimonides' work. The quotations in the book give an insight into the nature and character of many books no longer extant, by authorities such as Samuel b. Meir and Eleazar Rokeaḥ (who is mentioned by name more than 170 times) and by scholars whose names were previously unknown. Abraham was known for his critical insight and independence and did not hesitate to contradict his teacher, Eleazar Rokeaḥ. His quotations from the halakhic and aggadic literature, the *Tosefta*, and the Babylonian and Palestinian Talmuds are valuable, for there are many differences between his texts and those appearing in the printed editions.

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ABRAHAM BEN BENJAMIN ZE'EV BRISKER (d. 1700), Lithuanian author and preacher. After the decree of expulsion from Lithuania in 1655 Abraham went to Vienna, where he became a pupil of R. Shabbetai Sheftel *Horowitz. After the expulsion of the Jews from Vienna in 1670 Abraham returned to Brest Litovsk and continued his studies under R. Mordecai Guenzburg and R. Ẓevi Hirsch. At the end of his preface to *Zera Avraham* he described his tribulations: "Most of my days were spent in sorrow, and I studied under difficulties and in wandering." He mentions his intention "to immigrate to the Holy Land" which, however, he did not fulfill. He signed himself "*Alluf* Abraham" as one of the representatives of Brest Litovsk at the meeting of the *Council of the Lands in Lublin in 1683. Abraham is the author of *Asarah Ma'amarot*, a commentary on *Avot*, chapter 6 (Frankfurt on the Oder, 1680); *Zera Avraham,* which includes sermons on "the connection between the weekly portions, and other verses, Midrashim and commentaries according to a literal interpretation" (Sulzbach, 1685); and *Perush al Eser Atarot* – a kabbalistic work (Frankfurt on the Oder, 1968). In the preface to *Asarah Ma'amarot* he refers to his unpublished works *Berit Avraham* (a brief summary of the decisions of Shabbetai b. Meir ha-Kohen and *David b. Samuel ha-Levi on *Yoreh De'ah*) and *Ḥesed Avraham*, a kabbalistic commentary on the weekly scriptural portions.

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[Yehoshua Horowitz]

ABRAHAM BEN DANIEL (1511–1578), Italian rabbi and poet. Abraham, who was born in Modena, was employed as tutor by Jewish families in various Italian cities from 1530. Later, he became rabbi and preacher in Ferrara. He composed numerous religious and liturgical poems. According to his statement these numbered more than 5,000. Some poems deal with autobiographical occasions; others celebrate historical events (e.g., the false accusation against the Jews in Rome, 1555). Several are dedicated to his family and friends, or written as prayers for them. The poems which include elegies and **azharot* are almost all written in Hebrew, a few, in Aramaic. In 1553 he collected his liturgical and religious poems under the title, *Sefer ha-Yashar.* Later he prepared a second, larger collection in two volumes, now lost, entitled *Sefer ha-Yalkut* (this might, however, be the title of another work of his). A third collection (unless it is part of *Sefer ha-Yalkut*) is in the Montefiore Collection.

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(1901/02), 633; idem, *Descriptive Catalogue of the Hebrew Manuscripts of the Montefiore Library* (1904), 82; Fuenn, Keneset, 38; Davidson, Oẓar, 4 (1933), 357; Schirmann, Italyah, 243.

[Umberto (Moses David) Cassuto]

ABRAHAM BEN DAVID MAIMUNI (c. 1246–c. 1316), *nagid* of Egyptian Jewry. Abraham was the eldest son of R. David, the grandson of Maimonides. During his father's old age he shared the position of *nagid* with him for ten years. After his father's death he remained *nagid* and was successful in 1313 in convincing a large group of Karaites, among whom were some wealthy men and intellectuals, to return to Rabbanite Judaism.

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[Eliyahu Ashtor]

ABRAHAM BEN DAVID OF POSQUIÈRES (known as **Rabad**, i.e., **R**abbi **A**braham **B**en **D**avid; c. 1125–1198); talmudic authority in Provence. Abraham was born in Narbonne, and died in Posquières, a small city near Nîmes famous for the yeshivah he established there. He lived during a remarkable period of remarkable development of intellectual activity in southern France. His father-in-law, Abraham b. Isaac, who headed the rabbinical court in Narbonne, exerted considerable influence on Abraham ben David, whose brilliance he fully appreciated. Abraham studied with Moses b. Joseph and *Meshullam b. Jacob of Lunel, two of the most respected and influential scholars of the time. Meshullam encouraged the methodical transmission of the philosophic, scientific, and halakhic learning of Spanish Jews to French Jewry, and his influence on Abraham in this respect was great. It also seems safe to assume that the enlightened atmosphere of his circle widened the scope of Abraham's learning so that he developed into a keen and resourceful halakhist, undisputed master in his own field, and highly knowledgeable in developments in related areas (philosophy and philology). He encouraged Judah ibn Tibbon, who had translated the first chapter of Baḥya ibn Paquda's *Ḥovot ha-Levavot* at the request of Meshullam of Lunel, to complete the translation. Meshullam stimulated Abraham's literary creativity by having him compose a treatise (*Issur Mashehu*, in: S. Assaf, *Sifran shel Rishonim* (Jerusalem, 1935, 185–98; M. Hershler, Jerusalem, 1963)) on an important problem of Jewish ritual law.

A mature scholar, prominent in Montpellier and Nîmes, and a man of great wealth (it has been suggested that he dealt in textiles), he settled permanently in Posquières, except for a short period (1172–73) when he fled to Narbonne and Carcassonne as a result of hostility on the part of the local feudal lord. He founded and directed a school to which advanced students from all parts of Europe flocked and he provided for all the needs of indigent students out of his own pocket. Some of his students and close followers, *Abraham b. Nathan ha-Yarḥi, Isaac ha-Kohen, *Meir b. Isaac, *Jonathan b. David ha-Kohen of Lunel, Asher b. Saul of Lunel, and his own son *Isaac the Blind (of Posquières) became distinguished rabbis and authors in the principal Jewish communities of Provence, thus extending Abraham's influence and contributing to significant literary developments at the end of the 12th and the beginning of the 13th centuries. He himself asserted that his word was law in all Provence (*Temim De'im* (Lvov, 1812), 12a–b, no. 113). Scholars from Franco-Germany, Spain, North Africa, Italy, Palestine, and Slavic countries knew, studied, and respected him. *Naḥmanides describes his erudition and piety with great awe and Solomon b. Abraham *Adret says that Abraham revealed unfathomed depths of the law "as if from the mouth of Moses, and explained that which is difficult" (*Torat ha-Bayit, Beit ha-Nashim*, introduction).

Rabad's literary activity was original and many sided. His works may be classified under the headings of codes of rabbinic law, commentaries on various types of talmudic literature, responsa, homiletic discourses, and critical annotations and glosses (*hassagot*) on standard works of rabbinic literature. His writings are characterized by precision in textual study, persistence in tracing statements back to their original source, discovery of later interpolations, and logical analysis of problems. He was one of the most skillful practitioners of the critico-conceptual method of talmudic study – probing into the inner strata of talmudic logic, defining fundamental concepts, and formulating disparities as well as similarities among various passages in the light of conceptual analysis. As a result, abstract, complex concepts, which were discussed fragmentarily in numerous, unrelated sections of the Talmud, are for the first time defined with great vigor and precision. This critical methodology was the first clean break from the geonic method of Talmud study. By doing so, Rabad approached each rabbinic subject unaided by the wisdom of the previous generations. On the one hand, he viewed each subject as part of the greater talmudic whole; yet on the other hand, he only commented on what interested him. Thus, his commentaries may be described as annotatory rather than cursory, that is, closer to the tosafistic method of textual elucidation and analysis than the method of complete, terse textual commentary associated with Rashi or R. Hananel. Many of his theories and insights were endorsed and transmitted by subsequent generations of talmudists and incorporated into standard works of Jewish law up to the Shulḥan Arukh and its later commentaries. Indeed, his talmudic commentaries had an enormous impact on the next generation of talmudic scholars, notably *Naḥmanides and his disciple, Solomon ben Abraham *Adret. Even though they continued to quote him frequently, the scholarship and reputation of these and other scholars of the succeeding generations overshadowed Rabad's work. Rabad's talmudic commentaries firmly established his position among Jewish scholars. With the first publication of Rabad's *hassagot* alongside Maimonides' text of the *Mishneh Torah* in the early 16th century, Rabad's reputation shifted from that of commentator on the Talmud to commentator on the *Mishneh Torah*.

Some medieval writers, notably Ḥasdai Crescas (*Or Ado-*

nai, introduction) assert that Abraham wrote a commentary on the entire Talmud and Menahem b. Solomon *Meiri described him as "one of the greatest of the commentators" (*Beit ha-Beḥirah*, passim). Only sections of this imposing undertaking have been preserved and only two complete commentaries on *Bava Kamma* (Kaidan, 1940; Jerusalem, 1963^2) and *Avodah Zarah* (New York, 1960) have been published; sizable extracts are to be found in the *Shitah Mekubbeẓet* of Bezalel Ashkenazi and citations from it are quoted in the writings of the *rishonim*. His commentary and *tosafot* to the first two chapters of *Kiddushin* have been published by Wacholder, in: HUCA 37 (1966), Heb. sect. 65–90.

The most important of his codes, which included *Hilkhot Lulav, Ḥibbur Harsha'ot* (on power of attorney), and *Perush Yadayim*, is the *Ba'alei ha-Nefesh* (first edition Venice, 1602). A complete and better edition was published by Y. Kafaḥ (1964). In seven, close-knit chapters, Abraham formulated and discussed in great detail the laws relating to women. The last chapter of the work entitled *Sha'ar ha-Kedushah* ("the gate of holiness") describes the moral norms and pious dispositions which enable man to achieve self-control in sexual matters and to attain purity of heart and action. The common denominator of all his codes is their preoccupation with practical matters, unlike Maimonides, whose theoretical concept of codification necessitated the inclusion of all laws, even those of no practical value. Abraham's codes are predicated on exposition and commentary and provide complete source references.

Abraham wrote commentaries on the Mishnah, which had gradually become subservient to and assimilated in the Talmud as a unit of study, with the result that as late as the 12th century, commentaries on the Mishnah were rare and fragmentary. Abraham's full-fledged commentaries on *Eduyyot* and *Kinnim* (both published in the standard editions of the Talmud), two abstruse, academic treatises, were original and also very influential. (The commentary on *Tamid*, ascribed to Abraham, is not his.) At the beginning of the *Eduyyot* commentary he himself declared: "In all these matters I have nothing to fall back upon, neither a rabbi nor a teacher. I beseech the Creator to guide me correctly in this matter." Unlike Maimonides, who strove to distill the quintessence from intricate discussions, in order to render the Mishnah an independent subject of study, Abraham was interested primarily in interpreting those obscure sections of the Mishnah which had no further explanation in the Talmud, passing over those passages satisfactorily explained in the Talmud, merely giving cross references.

His commentaries on the tannaitic Midrashim are of special historic importance, because he was probably the first medieval scholar (but see *Hillel b. Eliakim of Greece) to have written exhaustive commentaries on these texts. While his commentaries on the *Mekhilta* and *Sifrei* are quoted, only the commentary on *Sifra* is extant (first edition Constantinople, 1523; scientifically edited by I.H. Weiss, Vienna, 1862). The commentary, which pays considerable attention to the nature and method of the *Sifra* and, therefore, to problems of talmudic hermeneutics, begins with an emphatic prologue on the necessity of tradition "in order to harass the opinions of the heretics (*minim*) who refuse to obey and believe."

The *hassagot*, critical scholia, with which his name is inextricably linked, were his last works. He composed copious *hassagot* on the *halakhot* of Alfasi, on the *Sefer ha-Maor* of *Zerahiah b. Isaac ha-Levi, and the *Mishneh Torah* of Maimonides. As the Hebrew term *hassagah* denotes, these glosses are both criticism and commentary, dissent and elaboration, stricture and supplement; they are not exclusively polemical, although the polemical emphasis varies in intensity and acuity from one to the other. The critique on Alfasi is mild and objective; that on Maimonides may be described as moderate, marred by occasional outbursts of intemperate invective; while that on Zerahiah ha-Levi is caustic and personal. Abraham began by reviewing Alfasi and taking exception to some of his halakhic interpretations and normative conclusions. In answer to his criticisms Naḥmanides wrote his *Sefer ha-Zekhut*. When the *Sefer ha-Maor* appeared, Abraham felt that Zerahiah ha-Levi had carried the criticism of Alfasi to unjustified lengths and that often Zerahiah was captious and carping for no good reason. Anticipating the more comprehensive refutation of Naḥmanides in *Milḥamot*, Abraham penned a sharp answer to the strictures of Zerahiah. He accused him, inter alia, of plagiarism, amateurishness, excessive reliance on Rashi and the French school, and general incompetence. The book, called *Katuv Sham*, was published in full for the first time in Jerusalem (1960–2). Extracts from it had been published previously in the Romm edition of the Talmud, and elsewhere. This work climaxes a lifetime process of mutual criticism and attack – the acrimonious exchange in *Divrei ha-Rivot* and Zerahiah's criticism of Abraham's *Ba'alei ha-Nefesh and Kinnim* commentary (*Sela ha-Maḥaloket*, latest edition, ed. Kafaḥ, 1964). Abraham's critique of Maimonides, written in cryptic and in a style often difficult to understand, became a standard companion of Maimonides' text (from the Constantinople edition, 1509). These *hassagot* are highly personal and unsystematic. Rabad does not comment on every aspect of each section of the entire *Mishneh Torah*. However, his glosses are very wide ranging, containing every conceivable form of annotation: criticism concerning interpretive matters, textual problems, local customs and the like, and many forms of commentary, listing the source, reconstructing Maimonides' explanation of a text, showing the derivative process followed by Maimonides in the formulation of a law, warding off possible criticism, and the like. Abraham claimed that Maimonides "intended to improve but did not improve, for he forsook the way of all authors and his cut and dried codification, without explanations and without references, approximated *ex cathedra* legislation too closely." Rabad's *hassagot* are not limited to points of law; he was quick to take Maimonides to task for his philosophical opinions as well. For instance, contrary to Maimonides' assertion that God is incorporeal and that to think of God as having a body makes one a heretic, Rabad claims that there "were many who were greater and better than him who followed this path due to what they saw in verses, and even more due to rabbinic homilies that confuse the mind" (see *Mishneh Torah*, Laws of Repentance 3:7). Later generations did not view this statement as disagreeing with Maimonides, but as recognition of the need to think of God in anthropomorphic terms.

Abraham wrote many responsa, some of them printed in *Tummat Yesharim* (Venice, 1622). A more complete compendium was issued by Y. Kafaḥ (1964). He wrote a few homilies, as testified by many *rishonim*, but only his homily on Rosh Ha-Shanah has been printed (London, 1955).

One type of literature, the kabbalistic, which came into prominence during his lifetime, is not represented in his writings. It is known, however, that he exerted formative influence upon it through his children, who, having learned mystical teachings from him, became literary leaders and guides in the emergent Kabbalah. Later kabbalistic writers such as Isaac of Acre, Shem Tov b. Gaon, and Menahem Recanati claimed Abraham as one of their own, worthy of receiving special revelation.

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[Isadore Twersky / David Derovan (2nd ed.)]

ABRAHAM BEN DOV OF MEZHIRECH (known as *ha-Malakh* ("the Angel"); 1741–1776), ḥasidic sage. A contemporary who watched Abraham on the Ninth of *Av bewail the destruction of the Temple, remarked: "Then I understood that it was not in vain that he was named by all 'the Angel,' for no man born of woman could have such power." A solitary ascetic who mainly concentrated on study of Kabbalah, Abraham did not emulate the tradition of popular aspects of Ḥasidism instituted by the Ba'al Shem Tov and by his father, considering them "too earthly." His ideal of the **ẓaddik* was directly opposed to the usual type of such ḥasidic leaders, being "one who is incapable of leading his contemporaries, one whom they would not tolerate because he is immersed in learning and unable to descend 'to the lowest grade' in order to lift up his generation." In his youth Abraham was a friend of *Shneur Zalman of Lyady with whom he studied Talmud and Kabbalah in Mezhirech. He was the author of a commentary on the Pentateuch *Ḥesed le-Avraham* (Czernowitz, 1851). His son, Shalom Shraga (1766–1803) of Prohobist, was the father of Israel of *Ruzhyn (Ryshyn), the first of the Ruzhyn dynasty.

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[Nachum Arieli]

ABRAHAM BEN ELIEZER HA-LEVI (called ha-Zaken; c. 1460–after 1528), kabbalist. Born in Spain, Abraham was a pupil of Isaac Gakon (in Toledo?). While still in Spain he wrote several kabbalistic treatises of which his *Masoret ha-Hokhmah* ("Tradition of Wisdom"), on the principles of the Kabbalah, has been preserved (KS, 2 (1925), 125–30; 7 (1931), 449–56). After the expulsion of the Jews from Spain in 1492, Abraham wandered through Italy, Greece, Turkey, and Egypt until about 1514 when he moved to Jerusalem with the school of the Egyptian *nagid*, R. Isaac ha-Kohen *Sholal. In Jerusalem, he was one of the most respected scholars of the yeshivah and became widely known through his literary and religious activities. A letter of his from the year 1528 deals with Beta Israel (*Koveẓ al Yad*, 4 (1888), 24). He presumably died soon afterward; in 1535, R. *David b. Solomon ibn Abi Zimra mentions him as someone long dead.

The expulsion of the Jews from Spain shocked Abraham deeply. His activities as an apocalyptic kabbalist probably date from the time of this national disaster. Like many of his contemporaries, such as Abraham *Zacuto, Isaac *Abrabanel, and others, he believed that the year 1524 would be the beginning of the messianic era, and that the Messiah himself would appear in 1530–31. He devoted himself to elaborating his conviction. He searched for proof in the Bible and the Talmud as well as in kabbalistic literature, and he tried to arouse the Jewish people to prepare for the coming deliverance through penitence. Abraham is one of the best stylists in kabbalistic literature. In 1508 in Greece he wrote the treatise *Mashreh Kitrin* ("Untier of Knots," 1510), with explanations of the Book of Daniel. This book, like all other works of Abraham, was ably written in the apocalyptic prophetic vein. Later he wrote *Ma'amar Perek Ḥelek*, an explanation of the talmudic statements on the messianic redemption at the end of the tractate *Sanhedrin.* In 1517, in Jerusalem, Abraham wrote his extensive commentary on the *Nevu'at ha-Yeled* ("The Child's Prophecy") in the same vein (still in manuscript). It is unlikely that Abraham was the author of the *Nevu'at ha-Yeled* itself. His commentary contains an apocalyptic survey of Jewish history, from the fall of the Second Temple to his own day. In 1521 he wrote *Iggeret Sod ha-Ge'ullah* ("The Epistle of the Mystery of Redemption") in which, following his views, he interpreted the statements of the *Zohar on redemption (also in manuscript). Abraham issued many calls to penitence, in one of which (1525) he expressed himself in detail on the appearance of Martin *Luther. Thus, he prepared the way for the coming activities of Solomon *Molcho. Various other kabbalistic writings of Abraham have been preserved: *Ma'amar ha-Yiḥud* ("Essay on the Unity of God"); *Megillat Amrafel* ("Scroll of Amraphel"), published in part in KS, 7 (1930–31), probably identical with his commentary on the Song of Songs; *Tiferet Adam* ("Glory of Man"); and *Livyat Ḥen* ("Chaplet of Grace"; the latter two not extant). His instructions (*hora'ah*) on the recitation of the prayer *Makhnisei Raḥamim* have been published as have his penitential prayers seeking the intercession of angels (*Kerem Ḥemed*, 9 (1856), 141ff.). Abraham is in no way to be linked with the kabbalistic work *Gallei Rezayya* nor is he the author of the apology of the Kabbalah, *Ohel Mo'ed* ("Tent of Meeting"). He has often been confused with other scholars of the same name, among them *Abraham b. Eliezer ha-Levi Berukhim.

[Gershom Scholem]

The writings and activity of this kabbalist have drawn substantial attention in scholarship in the last generation. Some of Abraham ha-Levi's kabbalistic views are close to theories found in the circle of kabbalists who produced the literature known as *Sefer ha-Meshiv*, and he preserved the earliest version of the famous legend about R. *Joseph della Reina's abortive attempt to bring about the advent of the Messiah. It seems that his messianic and magical concerns are also related to the tenor of this vast kabbalistic literature.

[Moshe Idel (2nd ed.)]

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ABRAHAM BEN ELIEZER HA-LEVI BERUKHIM (c. 1515–1593), pious ascetic and Safed kabbalist. Born in Morocco, he immigrated to Palestine probably before 1565. In Safed he joined Moses *Cordovero's circle and became a friend of Elijah de *Vidas. When Isaac *Luria went to Safed (late 1569), Abraham joined his school and was a member of its "fourth group." Ḥayyim *Vital had a great affection for him and in several places quotes kabbalistic sayings of Isaac Luria which he had heard from Abraham. Vital quotes Luria as saying that in the "origins of the souls of the Safed kabbalists," Abraham derived from the patriarch Jacob. Abraham was a visionary and ascetic, who preached piety and morality, and called for repentance. He was called the "great patron of the Sabbath" and he went out on Friday mornings to the markets and streets to urge the householders to hurry with the preparations for the Sabbath meals and close their shops early so that they would have time to purify themselves for the Sabbath. Almost nothing is known about his life. Many legends have been preserved about his piety and about Luria's affection for him. His *Tikkunei Shabbat* were printed at the end of *Reshit Hokhmah ha-Kaẓar* (Venice, 1600) and thereafter in numerous editions as a separate book. On the other hand, his *Ḥasidut*, containing the rules of pious behavior which he established for his group in Safed, circulated in manuscript even in the Diaspora, and was published by Solomon Schechter (*Studies in Judaism*, 2nd Series (1908), 297–9). He was the first editor and collector of articles of the *Zohar which had not been included in the Mantua edition of 1558–60; these were afterward published under the title *Zohar Ḥadash.* It is not clear whether he was the author of *Gallei Rezayya*, parts of which were published in his name (1812). It is probable that Tobiah ha-Levi, author of *Ḥen Tov*, was his son.

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ABRAHAM BEN ELIJAH OF VILNA (1750–1808), talmudic and midrashic scholar. Abraham received most of his education from his father *Elijah b. Solomon Zalman, "the Vilna Gaon." He acquired complete command of rabbinic literature and much general knowledge. He had a strikingly critical approach to history and literature. Even before *Zunz, Abraham investigated the nature and development of the Midrashim and had written a valuable introduction to his edition of *Midrash Aggadat Bereshit* (Vilna, 1802). His work *Rav Pe'alim* (1894), an alphabetical index of all the midrashic works known to him, contains critical observations on 130 Midrashim. Abraham wrote a universal geography, *Gevulot Ereẓ* ("The Earth's Boundaries," published anonymously, Berlin, 1821). He composed commentaries on several tractates of the Talmud and on *Midrash Rabbah*, glosses and notes to the Jerusalem Talmud, a book on weights and measures in the Talmud, another on place-names mentioned in Talmud and Midrash, and several other works, some unpublished. Abraham was active in communal affairs and was one of the *parnasim* of the Vilna Jewish community. Together with his brother, Judah Loeb, he published several of his father's works, and incorporated in them explanatory material from his father's oral teaching.

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[Simha Assaf]

ABRAHAM BEN ḤALFON (15th or 16th century), Hebrew poet in Yemen. His verse follows the genre of Spanish poetry in its meter, style, and content. Y. Tovi published his poems in 1991. Their subjects include moral and ethical exhortations, songs for weddings and circumcisions, religious verse, and hymns for special occasions and festivals. If he is identical with the person of the same name mentioned in the *Sefer ha-Musar* (pp. 46, 84, 151) of Zechariah Al-Dahri, he must have flourished in the 16th century, not in the 15th as was formerly believed.

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[Yehuda Ratzaby]

ABRAHAM BEN ḤAYYIM (**Heilprin**; d. 1762), leader of the Jewish community in Lublin city and province, Poland. Abraham b. Ḥayyim at times represented the Lublin community in the assemblies of the Council of Four Lands. From 1753 to 1757 he acted as *parnas* of the Council, an office previously held by his grandfather, Abraham Abele b. Israel Isser, and his son's father-in-law, the physician Abraham Isaac *Fortis (Ḥazak). During Abraham b. Ḥayyim's tenure, one of his sons, Moses Phinehas, acted as the *ne'eman* ("treasurer") of the Council of the Four Lands. Other members of his family served in several communities as rabbis or communal leaders. In the controversy that arose over the connection of Jonathan *Eybeshuetz with the *Shabbatean movement, Abraham and his son Jacob Ḥayyim of Lublin strongly supported Eybeshuetz. Abraham was described by contemporaries as "princely and munificent," but nothing is now known of his occupation. He died in Lublin at an advanced age. The Bet ha-Midrash de-Parnas Academy, which he founded, existed in Lublin until the destruction of the community during World War II.

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[Israel Halpern]

ABRAHAM BEN ḤAYYIM, THE DYER (**Dei Tintori**; 15th century), Italian pioneer of Hebrew printing from Pesaro. Though Abraham may have been active in Hebrew typecasting and printing by 1473, his name as a printer appeared for the first time in two books printed in *Ferrara in 1477 – Levi b. Gershom's commentary of Job and Jacob b. Asher's *Tur* (*Yoreh De'ah*), using the first 40 pages which Abraham *Conat had printed in *Mantua in 1476.

Five years later (1482) at *Bologna, Abraham printed a Pentateuch with Targum Onkelos and Rashi's commentary, probably the first printed book with vocalization and cantillation. In the colophon, the proofreader Joseph Ḥayyim praises Abraham as "unequaled in the realm of Hebrew printing and celebrated everywhere."

Israel Nathan *Soncino and his son Joshua Solomon secured Abraham's services for the work on the first printed Hebrew Bible – with vocalization and cantillation – which left the press at Soncino in February 1488. The edition of the Psalms, with R. David Kimḥi's commentary of 1477, and the Five Scrolls, with Rashi and with Abraham Ibn Ezra's commentary on Esther (1482–83?), may also have been printed by Abraham (see *Incunabula).

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ABRAHAM BEN HILLEL (**Ben Nissim**) **OF FOSTAT** (Egypt; d. 1223), scholar, poet, and physician. Abraham is probably identical with Abraham the Pious (he-Ḥasid or he-Ḥaver) referred to frequently by his friend Abraham b. Moses b. *Maimon in his writings. In 1167 Abraham b. Hillel, Maimonides, and other rabbis signed a *takkanah* to safeguard the observance of the laws of family purity in Egypt (Maimonides, *Teshuvot* (Responsa), ed. by A.H. Freimann (1934), 91–94). In 1196 Abraham wrote *Megillat Zuta*, describing satirically the exploits of an adventurer called *Zuta (and his son) who imposed himself repeatedly on the Jewish community of Egypt. *Megillat Zuta* is written in rhymed prose with a prologue and epilogue in metered verse. The number of manuscripts extant seems to attest the popularity of the work, which was first published by Neubauer (JQR, 8 (1896), 543ff.). Abraham and Josiah b. Moses verified a responsum by Jehiel (?) b. Eliakim Fostat, which deals with the controversy concerning the reference, in legal documents and during prayers, to the person of the reigning *nagid*. After Abraham's death his collection of books was put up for sale in the Palestinian synagogue of Fostat under the auspices of Abraham b. Moses b. Maimon. The library contained 75 medical works, about 30 Hebrew books, among them biblical books, works on Hebrew grammar, a copy of the Mishnah, part of a talmudic tractate, Maimonides' *Book of Precepts* and *Guide*, as well as several copies of Saadiah's *Siddur*.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: A. Wertheimer, *Ginzei Yerushalayim*, 1 (1896), 37ff.; Kahane, in: *Ha-Shilo'aḥ*, 15 (1905), 175ff.; Eppenstein, in: *Festschrift… I. Lewy* (Heb., 1911), 53; idem, in: *Festschrift… D. Hoffmann* (Heb., 1914), 131, 135ff.; Mann, Egypt, 1 (1920), 234–6; 2 (1928), 303ff., 327; Abrahams, in: *Jews College Jubilee Volume* (1906), 101ff.; A. Marx, *Studies in Jewish History and Booklore* (1944), 201–2; Goitein, in: *Tarbiz*, 32 (1962/63), 191–2.

[Jefim (Hayyim) Schirmann]

ABRAHAM BEN ISAAC (**Gerondi**; mid-13th century), *ḥazzan*, kabbalist, and *paytan* in Gerona (Spain). One of the greatest kabbalists of his time, he was a pupil of *Isaac the Blind from whom he learned the mystical intentions of the prayers according to the Kabbalah. Gerondi later enlarged on this teaching and introduced it into his own order of the prayers. Although his work *Kabbalah me-Inyan ha-Tefillah le-Rabbi Avraham* ("Tradition Concerning Prayer, According to R. Abraham") was not published until 1948 (see Scholem in bibl.), his contemporaries quote various ideas on the subject of prayer from it. *Naḥmanides held him in great esteem and tradition has it that he eulogized Abraham and offered a prayer in kabbalistic style by his grave. Abraham's hymn for the eve of Rosh Ha-Shanah, **Aḥot Ketannah* ("Little Sister"), which describes the sufferings of the Jewish people in exile, has become well known. It is as yet unclear whether other hymns signed Abraham b. Isaac Ḥazzan are wholly or in part his work, or whether they were composed by another writer of the same name.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: G. Scholem, *Reshit ha-Kabbalah* (1948), 128, 243–8; Schirmann, Sefarad, 2 (1956), 291–4, 692; Zunz, Poesie, 311, 410; Davidson, Oẓar, 4 (1933), 355.

[Jefim (Hayyim) Schirmann]

ABRAHAM BEN ISAAC BEN GARTON, first known Hebrew printer. He produced Rashi's commentary on the Pentateuch, completed at *Reggio Calabria on Feb. 17, 1475. Although this book bears the earliest date, it was not necessarily the first Hebrew book (see *Incunabula) printed, as it may have been preceded by others which have disappeared, or bear no date of publication. The only extant copy of the book, in the De' Rossi Collection in the Palatine Library, Parma, Italy, is slightly defective; it is in folio and contains 116 pages of 37 lines each. The text of this edition is significantly different from later ones. De' Rossi formerly owned another copy which was lost in transit. Abraham's country of origin is unknown, but it is conjectured that he came from Spain. No other book that came from his press is known.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: A.M. Habermann, *Toledot ha-Sefer ha-Ivri* (1945), 33, and illustration 9; D.W. Amram, *Makers of Hebrew Books in Italy* (1909), 24; C. Roth, *Jews in the Renaissance* (1959), 169–73; Pavoncello, in: *Klearchos* (Reggio di Calabria), 21–22 (1964), 53–57. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** P. Tishbi, in: *Kiryat Sefer*, 60 (1986), 865–69.

[Abraham Meir Habermann]

ABRAHAM BEN ISAAC HA-KOHEN BEN AL-FURAT (11th century), Egyptian physician and philanthropist. His father Isaac ha-Kohen b. al-Furat was a highly respected physician in Fostat (Old *Cairo) and his uncle Solomon ha-Kohen b. Joseph was the *gaon* in Palestine. Abraham held a high position in the government and was probably one of the court physicians. He may also have been president of the Jewish community; hence his honorary title ("prince of the community"). Apart from his general scholarship, Abraham also appears to have been learned in the Talmud. His erudition, nobility of character, and philanthropy are lauded in several poems and letters found in the Cairo *Genizah*.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Mann, Egypt, 1 (1920), 28, 83ff.; 2 (1922), 26, 54ff., 81ff., index; Mann, Texts, 2 (1935), 151; Goitein, in: HUCA, 34 (1963), 179.

[Jacob Mann]

ABRAHAM BEN ISAAC HA-KOHEN OF ZAMOŚĆ (18th century), Polish rabbi and author. Abraham served for a short period as head of the *bet din* in Tarlow, but, as he was extremely wealthy, he was able to resign his position and in 1754 returned to Zamość, his birthplace. There he occupied himself with both religious and secular studies. He knew German, Polish, and Latin. In 1753 he was a member of the Zamość delegation to the central committee session of the *Councils of the Lands, held at Jaroslav. In 1754 he participated in the conference held at Constantinov where he was a signatory to the ban passed there on the printers of the Sulzbach Talmud. From this time, he played an active role in Polish Jewish life and became widely known. In the *Emden-*Eybeschuetz dispute he opposed the official line of the Council of Four Lands which supported Eybeschuetz and he defended Jacob Emden (with whom he corresponded in 1759–60). He strove zealously against any mystical messianic and Shabbatean revival and signed the 1753/54 letters of protest against the Shabbateans. *Beit Abraham*, his book of responsa and talmudic novellae, was printed in 1753; the book contained also the novellae of his father Isaac b. Abraham ha-Kohen, as well as his own halakhic novellae, in an appendix called *Minḥah Belulah.*

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Preface to *Beit Abraham* (1753); J. Emden, *Sefer ha-Shimmush* (1758), 81a; Z. Horowitz, *Kitvei ha-Ge'onim* (1928), 138, no. 2; M. Tamari (ed.), *Zamość bi-Ge'onah u-ve-Shivrah* (1953), 41, 48–49; Halpern, Pinkas, index.

[Yehoshua Horowitz]

ABRAHAM BEN ISAAC OF GRANADA, Spanish kabbalist, putative author of *Berit Menuḥah* ("The Covenant of Rest"), one of the main works of the *Kabbalah. Nothing is known of his life or of the era to which he belongs. In the introduction to his commentary on *Sefer *Yeẓirah*, Moses *Botarel gives a long quotation from *Sefer ha-Berit* ("The Book of the Covenant") written by a scholar called Abraham b. Isaac of Granada. But both language and contents prove that this book was not written by the author of *Berit Menuḥah*, which was without doubt composed in Spain during the 14th century. It explains the innermost meaning of the vocalization of God's name in 26 different ways. However, only the first ten ways were printed, and this only in a very corrupt form (Amsterdam, 1648): Ḥ.J.D. *Azulai saw more than twice this number in a manuscript. The actual content of this work is very enigmatic as, in many respects, its symbolism and mysticism do not correspond with the conventional Kabbalah. The influence of Abraham *Abulafia's Kabbalah is recognizable but the language-and-letter-mysticism of Abulafia is combined with a complicated light-mysticism. Moreover, the book's aim was to provide a systematic basis for the so-called Practical Kabbalah. The few clear passages reveal the author as a profound thinker and visionary. In eight places, he quotes his own thought process as the words of "the learned Rabbi *Simeon bar Yoḥai," mostly in Aramaic. But these quotations are not to be found in the *Zohar, and in view of their style and contents do not belong there. The work was highly regarded by later kabbalists, especially by Moses *Cordovero and Isaac *Luria, who read their own thinking into Abraham's symbolism. Cordovero wrote a lengthy commentary on part of the book. Abraham quotes two more of his own works, *Megalleh ha-Ta'alumot* ("Revealing Hidden Things") and *Sefer ha-Gevurah* ("The Book of Power"), on the names of God and Practical Kabbalah. His *Ḥokhmat ha-Ẓeruf* ("Science of Letter Combinations"), 12 chapters in the spirit of Abulafia, is preserved in manuscript form (Margoliouth, Cat, no. 749, vi), but he is not the author of the *Sefer ha-Ḥeshek* ("The Book of Desire," *ibid.*, 748); Aaron *Marcus endeavored to prove that Abraham was identical with Abraham b. Isaac of Narbonne, author of *Eshkol*, and in doing so he tried to date the *Berit Menuḥah* two centuries earlier, however, his argument is not tenable.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Margoliouth, Cat, 3 (1935), 24–27; Jacob ha-Levi, *Kunteres She'elot u-Teshuvot min ha-Shamayim*, with commentary *Keset ha-Sofer* by A. Marcus (1895), 18–26; G. Scholem, in: *Soncino Blaetter (Festschrift Aron Freimann)* (1935), 54–55.

[Gershom Scholem]

ABRAHAM BEN ISAAC OF MONTPELLIER (d. c. 1315), talmudist of Provence, a contemporary of Menahem b. Solomon ha-*Meiri. Little is known of his life. He was born in Montpellier about 1250, and toward the end of his life settled in Carpentras. Abraham b. Isaac was known for his liberal outlook. When *Abba Mari Astruc wrote to him concerning the Maimonidean controversy and the proposed prohibition of the study of philosophy to anyone under 25 years old Abraham urged Abba Mari to desist from the controversy because freedom of thought and opinion should not be suppressed (*Minḥat Kena'ot*, 92). Abraham wrote a commentary on most of the Talmud, based principally on the views of Maimonides. He gives a brief commentary on the text in the style of Rashi; at the end of each topic he gives the practical *halakhah* derived from it. Only a minor part of this commentary has been published, including his commentary on *Kiddushin* appearing in the Romm 1880 edition of the Talmud (wrongly ascribed to Isaac of Dampierre) and those on *Yevamot, Nedarim*, and *Nazir* (New York, 1962). His commentaries to many other tractates were familiar to later scholars such as Moses *Alashkar and Menahem de *Lonzano, but they were not generally known. *David b. Ḥayyim ha-Kohen of Corfu wrote: "I have hitherto heard nothing of him as an authority" (Responsa, Bayit 5, Ḥeder 1), but at the end of that same responsum he added that he had come across the commentary "and I rejoiced greatly … he was an outstanding scholar." Some of Abraham's responsa are extant. In addition to those which appear at the end of his commentary to *Nazir* there are those which appear in *Teshuvot Ḥakhmei Provinzyah* (1967), ed. by A. Sofer. There is no evidence that he was related to *Solomon b. Abraham of Montpellier. It is strange that he does not mention in his works the names of any scholars after Moses b. Naḥman.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Avraham min ha-Har, *Perush al Massekhet Yevamot Nedarim ve-Nazir*, ed. by M.J. Blau (1962), preface; I. Lévi, in: REJ, 38 (1899), 102–22; Shatzmiler, in: Sefunot, 10 (1966), 17–18.

[Israel Moses Ta-Shma]

ABRAHAM BEN ISAAC OF NARBONNE (known as **Rabi Abad**; c. 1110–1179), talmudist and spiritual leader of Provence; author of *Sefer ha-Eshkol*, the first work of codification of the halakhic commentary of southern France, which served as a model for all subsequent compilations. Abraham was a student of *Isaac b. Merwan ha-Levi and *Meshullam b. Jacob of Lunel. It is probable that Joseph *Ibn Plat, too, was one of his teachers. Abraham aparently spent some time in Barcelona where, it seems, he also studied with *Judah b. Barzillai al-Bargeloni. He was *av bet din* in his native Narbonne, and his prestige was such that he was cited by the early scholars simply as "the Rabbi, *Av Bet Din*." *Benjamin of Tudela speaks of him as "principal of the yeshivah" in Narbonne. Among his renowned students were *Zerahiah ha-Levi and *Abraham b. David of Posquieres, who became his son-in-law. Abraham's halakhic compendium *Sefer ha-Eshkol* is an abridged version of the *Sefer ha-Ittim*, by Judah b. Barzillai al-Bargeloni, with additions from Rashi, R. Tam and his contemporaries, and Abraham himself. In the main, he omitted the geonic responsa and those of Alfasi. As most of the *Ittim* was lost, the *Eshkol* took on additional significance, in that it rescued a part, at least, of the extensive source material in the *Sefer ha-Ittim.* The very ambitious enterprise of excerpting Judah b. Barzillai al-Bargeloni's book was carried out with the support and under the inspiration of his teacher, Meshullam b. Jacob, who encouraged the introduction of Spanish *halakhah* and tradition into Narbonne. The *Eshkol* was first published by Ẓevi Benjamin *Auerbach (1869) with an introduction and commentary, but doubts about the authenticity of at least parts of Auerbach's manuscript were expressed by Shalom *Albeck. The ensuing controversy was inconclusive. Auerbach's manuscript is rich in additions, the exact origin of which is not clear. Although there are no grounds for accusing Auerbach of willfully tampering with the manuscript, the version of the *Eshkol* that Albeck had in hand is undoubtedly the authentic one. Albeck himself published part of the *Sefer ha-Eshkol* (with introductions and notes) and his son Hanokh *Albeck completed this edition (1935–38). Abraham played a vital role as the principal channel through which the Spanish traditions passed into Provence and from there to northern France. At the same time, he emphasized the local traditions of the "Elders of Narbonne," of which he also made great use. His eclecticism is clear from the fact that he also gave due consideration to north-French halakhic traditions, using his personal authority to decide between the various traditions. Abraham was the recipient of numerous queries. A collection of his responsa has been published (ed. Kafaḥ, Jerusalem, 1962) and another is extant in the Guenzburg Collection. Several of the responsa were published by S. Assaf in *Sifran shel Rishonim* (1935), and in *Sinai*, 11 (1947). He also wrote commentaries to the entire Talmud (except for the Order of *Kodashim*) which were quoted by his contemporaries and by later scholars, such as Zerahiah ha-Levi, *Naḥmanides, Solomon b. Abraham *Adret, and others, but only his commentary on the second half of the tractate *Bava Batra* is extant (in a Munich manuscript, a fragment of which was published in *Oẓar ha-Ḥayyim*, 12, 1936). The commentary resembles that of *Samuel b. Meir (Rashbam), which served, in a way, as a transition from Rashi's commentary to the novellae of the tosafists, except that Abraham makes greater use of the earlier commentators and quotes them verbatim. He also excerpted Judah b. Barzillai's *Sefer ha-Din.*

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Gross, in: MGWJ, 17 (1868), 241–55, 281–94; Assaf, in: *Madda'ei ha-Yahadut*, 2 (1926/27), 17; Benedikt, in: *Tarbiz*, 22 (1950/51), 101–5; I. Twersky, *Rabad of Posquières* (1962), 7–10.

[Simha Assaf]

ABRAHAM BEN ISRAEL OF BRODY (1749–1836), Italian kabbalist. He resided in Leghorn and Trieste but finally settled in Ferrara where he remained 30 years. He was known as an ascetic who frequently fasted an entire week and studied six days and nights consecutively. He would purchase rabbinic works and distribute them to needy scholars. It was believed in Ferrara that his profound piety more than once saved the Jewish community from disaster. Among his publications are *Likkutei Amarim* ("Gleanings," Zolkiev, 1802), which include a commentary on the *Pirkei Shirah* and extracts from kabbalistic works, and *Devar ha-Melekh* (Leghorn, 1805–08) on the 613 commandments.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Ghirondi-Neppi, 15; Fuenn, Keneset, 15.

[Nathan Michael Gelber]

ABRAHAM BEN JEHIEL MICHAL HA-KOHEN of Lask, Poland (d. c. 1800), kabbalist and rabbinical emissary. Abraham was renowned for his asceticism, fasting during the week and eating only on the Sabbath. He settled in Jerusalem shortly after 1770. Ten years later he returned to Europe as an emissary to collect funds on behalf of the rabbis of Jerusalem, and was then involved in a number of disputes with them regarding these collections. He traveled extensively and is known to have been in Nice for four years, in Ferrara (where he met Graziadio Neppi), Glogau, Berlin, and Warsaw. Wherever he went, he exhorted the Jewish community to repentance and good deeds and encouraged more intensive communal activity, including the building of synagogues. On his return to Jerusalem (1790) he was arrested and held ransom for the failure of the Jewish community to pay taxes. He died in prison, probably as a result of maltreatment. The best known of his kabbalistic works are *Ve-Ḥashav lo ha-Kohen* (1884), *Ve-Shav ha-Kohen* (Leghorn, 1788), *Beit Ya'akov* (Leghorn, 1792), *Ayin Panim ba-Torah* (Warsaw, 1797).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Yaari, Sheluḥei, 550, 553–6.

ABRAHAM BEN JOSEPH (Yoske) OF LISSA (Leszno; d. 1777), communal leader in Poland. Abraham, son of the rabbi of Zlotow, was apparently wealthy and engaged in trade. In the 1730s he represented *Great Poland on the *Councils of the Lands. He presided over the Council as *parnas* in 1739–43 and 1751–53. He also served as *ne'eman* ("treasurer") of the Council during his last term as *parnas* and later in the 1750s and 1760s. While *parnas*, Abraham attempted to arbitrate the dispute between Jonathan *Eybeschuetz and Jacob *Emden (to whom he was related by marriage). The Council of the Four Lands was drawn into this controversy which stirred the Jewish world. Abraham, who was then serving his second term as *parnas* of the Council, tried to settle the dispute without taking a definite side. His brothers, especially Moses, lived in Lissa and also took part in the leadership of the community. The family was renowned for its wealth, its strong principles, and its charitableness. The sources do not indicate their means of livelihood but it is likely that they were merchants.

ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY: Halpern, Pinkas; Y. Trunk, "*Leberur Emdato shel Abraham ben Yoske, Parnas Va'ad Arba Araẓot, be-Maḥloket bein Yonatan Eybeschuetz ve-Ya'akov Emden,*" in: *Zion*, 33 (1968), 174–79.

[Israel Halpern]

ABRAHAM BEN JOSIAH TROKI (1636–1687), Karaite poet and mystic; son of the physician Josiah b. Judah b. Aaron of Troki, Lithuania, who was a disciple of the famous Jewish scholar and kabbalist, Joseph Solomon *Delmedigo from Candia. According to A. *Firkovich, Abraham was the personal physician of King Jan III Sobieski of Poland and of Grand Duke Sigismund II. Abraham was one of the leaders of the Karaite communities of Lithuania and one of the signatories to the decisions of their assemblies.

His writings include (1) *Beit Avraham*, a collection of mystical treatises; (2) *Beit ha-Oẓar*, a medical work completed in 1672 (manuscript in St. Petersburg, Evr. I 733); (3) *Massa ha-Am*, seven treatises whose content is uncertain (according to J. *Fürst, they describe the condition of the Jews and Judaism); Firkovich reports that Abraham personally translated this work into Latin and sold it to the Dominican Order in Vilna; (4) *Pas Yed'a*, miscellaneous treatises (perhaps a 17th-century anti-Christian Rabbanite treatise *Pas Yed'a Katava*, written by Yehudah Briel, which Abraham owned or copied); (5) *Sefer Refu'ot* (manuscript in St. Petersburg, Evr. I 732), a medical work, also containing information on the history of the Jews in Lithuania; S. *Poznanski identifies this with a collection of medical prescriptions in Latin mentioned by Fürst and Firkovich; (6) three liturgical poems, one appearing in a Karaite prayer book (ed. Vilna, vol. 4, p. 102) and two in manuscript. Abraham is not to be confused with *Abraham b. Josiah Yerushalmi.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: E. Carmoly, *Histoire des médecins juifs* (1844), 187; I.M. Jost, *Geschichte der Israeliten*, 2 (1820), 371; A.B. Gottlober, *Bikkoret le-Toledot ha-Kara'im* (1865), 151–4; Finn, Keneset, 29; A. Neubauer, *Aus der Petersburger Bibliothek* (1866), 72, 128, 130; Fuerst, Karaeertum, 3 (1869), 30, 94, 168; Mann, Texts, 2 (1935), index, 1529.

[Jakob Naphtali Hertz Simchoni / Golda Akhiezer (2nd ed.)]

ABRAHAM BEN JOSIAH YERUSHALMI (c. 1685–after 1734), Karaite scholar, one of the most important authors in the Crimea, *ḥazzan* and teacher of Torah, from *Chufut-Kaleh. The agnomen Yerushalmi probably indicates that his father, Josiah, made the pilgrimage to Jerusalem. His religious philosophical treatise *Emunah Omen*, written in 1712 (pub. Eupatoria, 1846), dealt with the following subjects: the divine origin and eternity of the Torah; which religion is the true one, the Karaite or the Rabbanite?; does tradition permit Jews to study the secular sciences? Abraham defended the Karaite conception of the Torah, arguing that the differences between the rabbinic and Karaite views about fulfillment of the commandments are insignificant. He shows respect for the talmudic authorities and later Rabbanite scholars with whose work he was well acquainted. Although opposed to the study of secular sciences (except in the service of the Torah), Abraham was familiar with both Karaite and Rabbanite philosophical and scientific literature. Abraham's numerous other works include homiletical discourses, liturgical poetry incorporated in the Karaite prayer book, and *Sha'ol Sha'al* (Ms. St. Petersburg, Evr. II A 322), a treatise on the laws of ritual slaughter. Abraham was the grandfather of Benjamin b. Samuel *Aga.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Fuerst, Karaeertum, 3 (1869), 68–73; A. Geiger, *Nachgelassene Schriften*, 2 (1875), 351–7 (analysis of *Emunah Omen*); S. Poznański, in: *Ha-Goren*, 8 (1912), 58–75; Mann, Texts, 2 (1935), 1277–78. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** S. Poznanski, *Ha-Kara'i Avraham ben Yoshiyahu Yerushalmi* (1894).

[Jakob Naphtali Hertz Simchoni / Golda Akhiezer (2nd ed.)]

ABRAHAM BEN JUDAH BEN ABRAHAM (15th century), the "Elder," Karaite biblical exegete and liturgical poet of Constantinople. In his main work *Yesod Mikra*, a commentary of the Bible, Abraham quotes Rabbanite as well as Karaite authorities and refrains from polemics against the Rabbanites. It is preserved in two manuscripts (Jewish Theological Seminary and Leyden) both transcribed by his grandson Judah b. Elijah Tishbi (in 1511 and 1518, respectively). Fifteen liturgical poems by Abraham are included in the Karaite prayer book.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: M. Steinschneider, *Catalogue Leyden* (1858), nos. 1–5; Mann, Texts, 2 (1935), 1420–21; S. Poznański, in: *Yevreyskaya Entsiklopediya*, 1 (c. 1910), 291–2.

[Jakob Naphtali Hertz Simchoni]

ABRAHAM BEN JUDAH LEON (second half of 14th century), disciple of Ḥasdai *Crescas. Abraham came to Spain from his native Candia (Crete) sometime after 1375, the year in which he completed a Hebrew translation of Euclid's *Elements*. In 1378, he finished his quadripartite theological tome entitled *Even Shetiyyah* ("Foundation Stone") "in the house of my master … Don Ḥasdai Crescas." The nature of the relationship between this work and Crescas' teachings remains a matter of debate, though the two contain many similarities. Abraham's work is often called *Arba'ah Turim* ("Four Columns") on the basis of the title page of the lone manuscript in which it survives.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Sh. Rosenberg, "The *Arba'ah Turim* of Abraham bar Judah, Disciple of Don Ḥasdai Crescas" (Heb.), in: *Jerusalem Studies in Jewish Thought*, 3 (1983–84), 525–621; E. Lawee, "The Path to Felicity: Teachings and Tensions in *Even Shetiyyah* of Abraham ben Judah, Disciple of Hasdai Crescas," in: *Mediaeval Studies*, 59 (1997), 183–223.

[Eric Lawee (2nd ed.)]

ABRAHAM BEN MAZHIR (first half of the 12th century), head of the Damascus yeshivah. Abraham, the son of a prominent Damascus Jew, married into the family of Gaon Solomon ha-Kohen b. Elijah, founder of the Damascus yeshivah, a continuation of the Palestinian yeshivah. When Solomon ha-Kohen's son Maẓli'aḥ settled in Fostat, Abraham became the head of the yeshivah, and served in this capacity during the 1130s and 1140s.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Mann, Egypt, 1 (1920), 224ff.; Mann, Texts, 1 (1931), 250ff.

[Eliyahu Ashtor]

ABRAHAM BEN MORDECAI HA-LEVI (late 17th century), Egyptian rabbi and author. In 1684 Abraham succeeded his father as head of the Egyptian rabbinate. His son-in-law, the physician Ḥayyim b. Moses Tawil, published a collection of Abraham's responsa (arranged in the order of the four *Turim*) and a treatise on divorce entitled *Ginnat Veradim* (Constantinople, 1716–17) and *Ya'ir Netiv* (1718), respectively. In Venice, Abraham printed his father's responsa *Darkhei No'am* (1697–98), adding to it his own treatise on circumcision which involved him in a halakhic controversy with his contemporaries. He annulled the ban on reading *Peri Hadash* by *Hezekiah Da Silva – imposed by Egyptian rabbis in the previous generation. A collection of brief decisions and rules entitled *Gan ha-Melekh* was printed at the end of *Ginnat Veradim.* His remaining works, consisting of Bible commentaries, sermons, and eulogies, have remained in manuscript.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Michael, Or, no. 177; S.M. Chones, *Toledot ha-Posekim* (1929), 141; S. Rosanes, *Divrei Yemei Yisrael be-Togarmah*, 4 (1935), 379–81; Heilperin, in *Zion*, 1 (1936), 84, n. 2; Sonne, *ibid.*, 252–5.

[Yehoshua Horowitz]

ABRAHAM BEN MOSES BEN MAIMON (1186–1237), theologian, exegete, communal leader, mystical pietist, and physician. Little was known about him prior to the discovery of the Cairo *Genizah, which has preserved many of his writings, in part autographic. Born in Fustat, Egypt, on the Sabbath eve, the 28th of Sivan/June 1186, he was the only son of the great Jewish philosopher Moses *Maimonides (1135/8–1204). His mother was the sister of Ibn Almali, a royal secretary who had married Maimonides' only sister. He was an exceptionally gifted child as his father himself testifies:

> Of the affairs of this world I have no consolation, save in two things: preoccupation with my studies and the fact that God has bestowed upon my son Abraham, grace and blessings similar to those he gave to him whose name he bears [i.e. the Patriarch Abraham] … for, in addition to his being meek and humble towards his fellow men, he is endowed with excellent virtues, sharp intelligence and a kind nature. With the help of God, he will certainly gain renown amongst the great (Maimonides' letter to Joseph ben Judah, *Epistulae*, ed. D. Baneth, p.96).

He studied rabbinics, and possibly philosophy and medicine, with his father, who groomed him from childhood by having him attend his audience chamber. At his father's death in 1204, Abraham became leader of Egyptian Jewry at the tender age of 18. The mystical testament Maimonides supposedly addressed him is spurious. It was not until 1213 that he was appointed *nagid*, an office which became his descendants' privilege for almost two centuries. Following his appointment, a temporary controversy erupted among the Jews of Egypt over the practice of evoking his name in public prayer. As representative of the Jewish community to the Ayyubid government, he enjoyed personal relations with the Muslim authorities and men of letters, especially after he became court physician to the Ayyubid Sultan al-Malik al-Kamil (reg. 1218–38), Saladin's brother. His acquaintances include the Arab historian Ibn Abi Usaybi'a, who described him and his professional skills:

> Abu-l-Muna Ibrahim, son of the *ra'is* Musa ibn Maymun was born in Fostat, Egypt. A celebrated physician, learned in the art of medicine, and excellent in its practice, he was employed in the service of al-Malik al-Kamil Muhammad b. Abu Bakr b. Ayyub. He also came frequently from the palace to treat the sick in the al-Nasiri hospital in Cairo, where I met him in the year 631/1234 or 632/1235 while I was practicing there. I found him to be a tall sage, lean in body, of pleasant manners, refined speech, and distinguished in medicine. Ibrahîm, son of the *ra'is* Musa died in the year (…) and thirty and six hundred (*History of Physicians*, ed. Mueller, p. 118).

Despite the temporal and spiritual turmoil of the period, he proved to be an able administrator, a charismatic teacher, and an independant and influential scholar. Although he recognized the incompatibility of leadership and spiritual perfection, he was dedicated to his political vocation as a means of reversing religious decline. Abundant letters in the Genizah give witness to the multiple social and administrative chores to which he attended with the humility of a pietist and the determination of a leader. Hampered, as was his father, by pastoral responsibilities, he nonetheless produced notable works in six main areas: 1) responsa, 2) polemics, 3) exegesis, 4) theology, 5) *halakhah*, and 6) ethics. Despite their originality, his writings have survived in a fragmentary state. A unique letter, addressed in 1232 to R. Isaac b. Israel Ibn Shuwaykh, head of the Baghdad Academy, has preserved an autobiographical account of his literary activity:

> I have not yet had the leisure to complete the compositions begun after my father's demise, [namely] a detailed commentary on the Talmud and a work explaining the principles of the *Ḥibbur* [i.e. Maimonides' *Code*]. However, the Lord has assisted me in completing one work in the Arabic tongue, based on the principles of fear and love (of God), entitled *Compendium for the Servants of the Lord*. I have revised and almost entirely copied it, and part of it has been broadcast to distant lands. True enough I have begun the Torah commentary of which thou hast heard, and which I would have completed within a year or so were I to find relief from the sultan's service and other tasks. However, I can only devote to it short hours on odd days, for I have not yet finished revising the first composition stated to be almost complete, a small part remaining to be finished with Heaven's help. On this account I have covered only close to half the book of Genesis of the Torah commentary I am composing. When I shall have concluded the revision of [my] composition, of which the greater part is [already] finished, I shall endeavor with all my might to complete the Torah commentary and subsequently also a commentary on the Prophets and the Hagiographa, Heaven, willing. But 'the work is long' and the day and the workers are as described by Rabbi Tarfon (Avot 2: 15), and "there are many thoughts in a man's heart but the counsel of the Lord that shall stand" (Prov. 19:21) (Rosenblatt, 1:124–5)

Responsa

Numerous items have been discovered in the Genizah since the single manuscript of his responsa was published by A. Freimann, Jerusalem, 1937. As head of the Cairo Rabbinical Court, he corresponded on legal matters with countries as far flung as Yemen (Cf. Responsa, p. 107–36), Byzance (p. 93), and Provence (p. 1). These responsa afford an opportunity of assessing his important communal rôle. Their content discusses, among other things, problematic passages in his father's halakhic and philosophical writings, ritual matters and customs, exegetical remarks, and apostates, a concern in his time. Besides certain social ordinances (*takkanot*) he introduced, of special historical interest are his responsa concerning the burning of the *Guide for the Perplexed*, and specific pietist practices. Questioners include prominent scholars such as R. Solomon b. Asher of Provence, Me'ir b. Barukh, disciple of R. Abraham b. David of Posquières, and Joseph b. Gershom and R. Anatoli b. Joseph, both *dayyanim* from France who had settled in Alexandria.

Polemics

Some lenghtier responsa reply to the halakhic and philosophical detractors of his father's works, thereby strengthening Abraham's own prestige. In 1213 he composed in Arabic replies to Daniel Ibn al-Mashita's strictures on his father's *Book of Precepts* and *Code*, published as *Birkhat Avraham* (Lyck, 1865) and *Ma'aseh Nissim* (Paris, 1867). Later, Abraham declined when requested by his father's disciple Joseph Ibn Shimon to excommunicate Ibn al-Mashita for his discourteous remarks about Maimonides in his *Taqwim al-adyan* ('Redress of Religion') and his commentary on Ecclesiastes. Abraham's *Milḥamot ha-Shem* ("Wars of the Lord," ed. princeps Vilnius, 1821), written in Hebrew after 1235, in which he defends his father's eschatology, immaterial conception of the Godhead, rationalizing methods, and metaphorical interpretations, was singularly directed against the criticism of the rabbis of Provence, whom he accuses of a pagan anthropomorphism influenced by their Christian environment (see *Maimonidean Controversy). Interestingly, the text was interpretated mystically in the 16th century by Eliezer Eilenberg of the kabbalistic school of Abulafia.

Exegesis

Though Maimonides' philosophical writings set out to determine a proper understanding of problematic scriptural passages, his unfulfilled ambition to compose a complete biblical commentary was to be taken up by Abraham in Arabic. Of his proposed Bible commentary only that on Genesis and Exodus, completed in 1232, has survived. A disciple of the Andalusian rationalist school, he generally prefers literal meaning, though he is not adverse to *midrash*. He quotes the geonic and Spanish exegetes, especially Abraham Ibn Ezra, and even adduces the opinions of Rashi. Particularly noteworthy are comments cited in the names of his grandfather Maimun b. Joseph, and father, Moses Maimonides. He does admit moderate philosophical interpretation, adopting some of his father's doctrines, especially in connection with prophetic visions, which he calls "mysteries." The latter term he applies too to his own pietistic interpretations inspired by Sufi concepts and practices projected back into the patriarchal past. "His explications of the Bible and the Talmud are so graceful, so lucid, so persuasive that one is almost convinced that his *derash* is *peshat*, that his moralistic and pietist interpretation constitutes the literal meaning of the text" (S.D. Goitein). Despite its pleasant style, the commentary did not attain wide recognition, probably because it was not rendered into Hebrew, and has survived in a single manuscript, published, with a modern Hebrew translation, by E. Wiesenberg (London, 1958). Like his father, Abraham also applied metaphorical interpretations to the *midrash*. His *Ma'amar al Odot Derashot Ḥazal* (ed. Margaliot), twice translated into Hebrew, is an extract from his *Kifaya*.

Theology and Halakhah

Abraham's magnum opus *The Compendium for the Servants of the Lord* (in Arabic: *Kifayat al-abidin*; in Hebrew: *Ha-Maspik le-Ovedei ha-Shem*), completed *circa* 1232, is a sum of theology, *halakhah*, and ethics. Of the 10 original volumes unfortunately only a small, nonetheless substantial, portion has been preserved in various libraries. This loss deprives us of a definitive assessment of his approach to legal and ethical issues. Written in a lively and attractive Arabic, but at times repetitive and digressive, it circulated widely, reaching Provence in the West, and was read at least into the 18th century in the East. Abraham had been the first to institute as a central textbook of rabbinic study his father's *Mishneh Torah*, of which his own codified program of Jewish law and ethics, likewise referred to as the *Ḥibbur*, has been called an Arabic version. Although relying heavily upon it, both halakhically and structurally, the *Kifaya* is an independent work betraying a very definite shift in emphasis. Departing from his father's prescriptive mode, Abraham stresses, in a descriptive tone, the spiritual significance of the traditional Jewish precepts (*mitzvot*, divine commandments) and the "mysteries" they conceal, in much the same manner as al-Ghazali did in his classical Islamic summa, *Ihya ulum ad-din* ("Revival of the Religious Sciences"). While sharing his father's dedication to strict adherence to the intricacies of religious ritual, he is sometimes at variance with his father's rulings. After one such discrepancy, he writes:

> Had my father heard [my explanation], he would have admitted it just as he had ordained to admit the truth. Indeed, we always observed that he would agree even with his slightest pupil with what was right, despite the breadth of his knowledge, which never belied the breadth of his religious integrity (Dana, p. 71).

Following his father's distinction between the elite and the masses, he devotes its initial sections to the "common way," i.e. religious obligations incumbent upon the community as a whole, whereas the last sections, of a markedly pietistic tendency, expound the "special way," reserved for the elect few. Of particular interest are his ritual reforms set out in the chapters on prayer, which include such Islamic-influenced practices as ablution of the feet before worship, standing in ordered rows during prayer, kneeling and bowing, and raising the hands in supplication. Some of these had existed in Temple times but had been abandoned in reaction to Christian worship. Indeed, Abraham justified the adoption of Muslim customs and symbols as restorations of lost Jewish traditions, which, having fallen into oblivion, had been preserved by the Sufis. Using his prerogative as *nagid*, he endeavored to enforce these far-reaching measures. Although intended to improve the spiritual decorum of the synagogue, they were not to go unchallenged by the Egyptian establishment. Despite his office and family prestige, which considerably furthered the pietists' aims, his opponents, headed by the Nathanel and Sar Shalom families, who had presided over the Fostat Academy, even protested to the Sultan al-Malik al-Adil, accusing the Jewish pietists of "unlawful changes." Abraham retaliated with a memorandum signed by 200 of his followers, in which he states that his pietist practices were carried out solely in his private synagogue. He further replied to charges of "false ideas" and "gentile customs" in a special tract in defense of the pietists, whom he considers spiritually "superior to the scholars." His commentary on the Talmud and the work explaining the principles of the *Ḥibbur* (i.e., Maimonides' *Code*) have not survived.

Ethics

A large portion of the ethical chapters was published together with an English translation by S. Rosenblatt under the title *High Ways to Perfection*. Though in many respects he conducted himself – and indeed was considered – as the continuator and interpreter of Maimonides' doctrine, his personal style was markedly different. Though he repeatedly states that he lived according to his father's principles, he transferred the latter's elite intellectualist system to the ethical plane, molding it into a pietistic way of life rather than a philosophical one. In fact, Abraham expressed reservations about philosophy in his *Milḥamot ha-Shem*:

> Fools have imagined in their silliness that whoever engages in science is a heretic denying the Torah, and whoever studies philosophy follows their creed concerning the principles of the faith. Now we oppose their opinion that the world is preexistant with the belief of the Torah, refuting them with replies and proofs to clarify the creed of the Torah that the world is ad-

> ventitious and created … as our Sages enjoined us: "Be eager to learn Torah; know what answer to give to the unbeliever" (Avot 2:19). We act likewise towards all their opinions which contradict the faith of the Torah. But, for all that, we are not to contradict their belief in the unity of the Creator (p. 59).

While recognizing the superiority of scientific speculation over the passive performance of the Law, Abraham considers the esoteric accomplishment of the precepts to be superior to philosophy. Indeed, in the *Kifaya*, he states with a note of opposition, reminiscent of Juda Halevi:

> God has enabled [the true adherents of the Law who have grasped its secret meaning] to understand by means of His Law what the scientists and philosophers do not understand, and He has established for them, by means of His signs and miracles, proof for what the latter deny …

The pivotal difference being not one of theory but of practice, Abraham's foremost goal was to become a *ḥasid* rather than a *ḥakham*. While recognizing the importance of strict observance of religious law and of intellectual accomplishment, he insists more heavily on man's ethical achievements. In his day, the great spread of Islamic Sufi brotherhoods in Egypt constituted an immediate spiritual model. Under its sway, he tried to promote a form of pietism which earned him the epithet by which he is often referred to in later literature, Abraham *he-ḥasid* ("the Pious"). The *Kifaya* preaches an extreme form of Sufi-like ascetism, whereas Maimonides, though acknowledging in his *Commentary on Avot* the merit of self-mortification, rejects it in favor of the golden mean of temperance. The fourth and final section, presents the ethical stages of the "special way," modeled on the well- known stations (*maqamat*) of classical Sufi manuals: sincerity, mercy, generosity, gentleness humility, faith, contentedness, abstinence, mortification and solitude, whose mystical goal, *wusul* ("arrival"), culminated in the encounter with God and the certitude of his light. Entrance to the "path" is subject to an initiatory ritual such as the bestowal of a mantle, as Elijah did:

> By casting his cloak over [Elisha], Elijah hinted to him… that Elijah's spiritual perfection would be transferred to him and that he [Elisha] would attain the degree which he himself had attained. Thou art aware of the ways of the ancient saints [*awliya'*] of Israel, which are not or but little practised among our contemporaries, that have now become the practice of the Sufis of Islam, "on account of the iniquities of Israel", namely that the master invests the novice [*murid*] with a cloak [*khirqah*] as the latter is about to enter upon the mystical path [*tariq*]. "They have taken up thine own words" (Deuteronomy 33:3). This is why we moreover take over from them and emulate them in the wearing of sleeveless tunics and the like (Rosenblatt, 2: 266).

Abraham openly admires the Muslim Sufis, whose practices, he claims, ultimately derive from ancient Israelite custom. After having stated that the true dress of the ancient prophets of Israel was similar to the ragged garments (*muraqqa'at*) of the Sufis, he declares:

> Do not regard as unseemly our comparison of that [the true dress of the prophets] to the conduct of the Sufis, for the latter imitate the prophets [of Israel] and walk in their footsteps, not the prophets in theirs. (Rosenblatt, 2: 320).

He finds biblical counterparts for Sufi ascetic exercises such as combating sleep, solitary retreats in dark places, weeping, nightly vigils and daily fasts, as in the following passage:

> We see the Sufis of Islam also profess the discipline of mortification by combatting sleep. Perhaps such a practice is derived from the statement of David: 'I will not give sleep to mine eyes, nor slumber to mine eyelids' (Ps. 132:4) … Observe then these wonderful traditions and sigh with regret over how they have been transferred from us and appeared amongst a nation other than ours whereas they have disappeared in our midst. My soul shall weep in secret … because of the pride of Israel that was taken from them and bestowed upon the nations of the world (Rosenblatt, 2:322).

One of the most typical aspects of the Sufi path is the necessity of the spiritual guidance of an experienced teacher who has traversed all the stages of the path in order to initiate the spiritual wayfarer into its intricacies. Abraham sees the origin of this principle in the discipline of the ancient prophets:

> Know that generally in order for the Way to attain successfully its true goal [*wusul*], it must be pursued under the guidance [*taslik*] of a person who has already attained this goal, as it is said in the tradition: "Acquire a master" (Avot 1:6). The biblical accounts concerning masters and their disciples are well known; Joshua the servant of Moses was one of his disciples, who, having attained the goal, succeeded him. The prophets adopted the same conduct. Samuel's guide [*musallik*] was Eli, Elijah was that of Elisha, and Jeremiah that of Barukh son of Neriah. Moreover the "disciples of the prophets" were thus called because the prophets were their spiritual guides. This practice was adopted by other nations (the Sufis), who instituted in imitation of Jewish custom the relation between *shaykh* and servant, master and disciple … If the wayfarer is capable and remains faithful to instructions, he will attain his goal through the guidance of an accomplished master (Rosenblatt, 2: 422).

The denomination "the disciples of the prophets" is a key to the process of recovering from the Sufis the lost "prophetic discipline." Its restoration was a prerequisite to the return of prophecy itself, whose imminence was predicted by Maimonides. The absence of the final chapter of the *Kifaya* which dealt with the attainment of the ultimate goal (*wusul*), is an irretrievable loss.

Other Works

Abraham refers to other compositions now lost, such as a treatise on truth, and an explanation of the 26 premises of the introduction to the second part of the *Guide*. It has been shown that the *Kitab al-hawd* and the *Taj al-'arifin,* ascribed to him by the 17th century chronicler Sambari, probably belong to other authors. Some manuscripts erroneously attribute to him the *Sodot ha-Moreh* ("Secrets of the Guide"), in fact by Abraham *Abulafiia. His authorship of the folktale *Ma'aseh Yerushalmî* (Jerusalem, 1946), is unlikely.

Influence

Abraham was at the hub of a pietistic circle of a sectarian nature whose adepts were dissatisfied with formal religion. Partly inspired by Abraham Abu ar-Rabia (d. 1223), also known as *he-ḥasid*, whom he calls "our Master in the Way," this circle included Abraham Maimonides' father-in-law, Hananel ben Samuel, and his own son Ovadiah (1228–1265) author of the mystical *al-Maqala al-Hawdiyya* ("Treatise of the Pool"). Despite an enormous literary output, the movement did not engender a widespread community of ascetics similar to Sufism, probably because of the vehement opposition to Abraham's ritual reforms. Indeed, this opposition, as well as the movement's own elitist character seriously impeded its spread. With the general decline of Oriental Jewry, his Sufi-type Jewish pietism sank into oblivion, though some of its mystical elements were possibly absorbed into the nascent Kabbalah. However, the exegetical and ethical writings of several of his direct descendants perpetuated his tendency to temper Maimonides' spiritual ideology with Sufi mysticism. Later authorities, such as the 13th cent. Karaite Yefet b. Za'ir, *Sefer ha-Ḥinnukh*, Aaron ha-Yarḥi, R. *David ibn Abi Zimra, Moses al-Ashkar, Joseph *Caro, Abraham Ibn Migash, and Mas'ud *Rakah, utilize his works, which were still being read in the 18th century. Abraham Maimonides passed away on Monday, 18 Kislev, 1237. Eliezer b. Jacob ha-Bavli (*Diwan*, no. 199) composed an elegy for him in which he wrote:

> Who believed wholeheartedly in his Lord,
> Counted to him as righteousness?
> Who arose and, with the hand of reason, overthrew the idols of ignorance,
> Reducing its image to shivers?
> Who established in Memphis [= Egypt] an inn, opening its gates to wayfarers?
> Who bound upon the altar of understanding, like young lambs, the offspring of thought?
> With whom did his Lord make a covenant between the pieces, with flaming torches?
> 'Twas Abraham, who, the day of his demise, rent our hearts and inner parts.

Although his father's blessing of greatness had been fullfiled, Abraham's renown may have been greater still had he not been overshadowed by Maimonides' towering figure.

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[Paul Fenton (2nd ed.)]

ABRAHAM BEN MOSES HA-KOHEN HA-SEPHARDI (late 15th and early 16th centuries), Italian rabbi. A scion of a prominent priestly family in the Spanish city of Cuenca, Abraham went to Italy at about the age of 20 in the wake of the expulsion from Spain. He resided first in Ferrara, then moved to Bologna, where he was appointed rabbi. He became involved in the controversy concerning the litigation between Abraham Raphael Finzi of Bologna and Immanuel di Norzi of Ferrara. The former did not wish the case to be tried in Ferrara, because of Norzi's strong influence there. When R. Abraham *Minz insisted that the Ferrara court had jurisdiction, a controversy ensued. The rabbinical opinions expressed on both sides were published under the title *Piskei ha-Ga'on R. Liva mi-Ferrara ve-Rav Avraham Minz* (Venice, 1519), and included that of Abraham b. Moses. The dispute was brought before the rabbinical authorities of Poland, who agreed with Abraham b. Moses. His learning won particular praise from R. Jacob *Pollak, the father of Polish talmudic scholarship, and from R. Moses *Isserles (in his supplements to the *Sefer Yuḥasin*). Attacked by Minz as a "contentious priest" (cf. Hos. 4:4) and a "smooth-talking Sephardi," Abraham countered by deeming the abusive epithets titles of honor and stating at the same time that he had never previously had a dispute with anyone. The rest of his responsa, his commentary on the *She'iltot*, sermons, and comments on Rashi's commentary on the Pentateuch, remain unpublished. He published an edition of the *Sefer Ḥasidim* ("Book of the Pious") with an introduction and an index (Venice, 1538). His son-in-law, the husband of his daughter Paloma, was the historian Joseph ha-Kohen.

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[Jacob Haberman]

ABRAHAM BEN NATHAN (end 11th–beginning 12th century), talmudic scholar and *dayyan* in Fostat, where he was active in the first quarter of the 12th century. His father Nathan was the *av bet din* of the Palestinian academy (probably at Tyre). Abraham also lived in Ereẓ Israel toward the end of the 11th century and his signature is affixed to a document issued at Ramleh. In 1102, however, he was in Fostat, and his signature appears as the first on an attestation document. In a *genizah* document dated from 1116 Abraham is described as the "great, distinguished rabbi," and in letters he is addressed as "foundation stone and leader of the yeshivah" and "pride of the judges and support of the *nasi*"; he is also designated as *reish bei rabbanan* and *rosh ha-seder* (head of the academy). It is assumed that Abraham held the officially recognized office of *dayyan al-Yahud* ("judge of the Jews"), regarded by the authorities as the representative dignitary of the Jews second to the *nagid*.

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[Moshe Nahum Zobel]

ABRAHAM BEN NATHAN (**Abu Isḥāq Ibrahim ibn ʿAṭāʾ**; c. 1025), first *nagid* of the Jewish community of Kairouan. He was court physician to Badis, the viceroy of Tunisia, and to al-Muʿizz his son and successor, who became independent ruler. Abraham did much for the Jewish communities of North Africa. Two poems praising the *nagid* for his communal activities are extant. Isḥāq ibn Khalfon, the court poet, dedicated several of his poems to his benefactor. He was honored in a song of praise by R. *Hai Gaon. Abraham exchanged responsa with R. *Samuel b. Hophni, the *gaon* of Sura. The latter's son, R. Israel, dedicated a book on liturgical laws to him.

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[Simha Assaf / Abraham David (2nd ed.)]

ABRAHAM BEN NATHAN HA-YARHI (c. 1155–1215), Provençal talmudic scholar. His name "Ha-Yarḥi" is the Hebrew translation for "of Lunel" where he spent many years. He was born at Avignon and was related to *Isaac b. Abba Mari. He studied with the scholars of Lunel, with Abraham b. David of Posquières, and in Dampierre in northern France, under the tosafist Isaac the Elder, and other scholars of his circle. Abraham wandered through many countries, and visited Toledo, Spain, in 1194. Later he settled there and apparently became a member of the rabbinical court (before 1204). He left Toledo again, went to France, and returned to Spain in 1211.

During his travels Abraham made a point of "observing the customs of every country and every city" and noted that "they [the Jews] varied in their religious practices and that they were divided into 70 languages." He recorded various customs, particularly concerning prayer and other synagogue usages, in a book which he called *Manhig Olam* known popularly as *Sefer ha-Manhig* (Constantinople, 1519; republished by A.N. Goldberg, Berlin, 1855). This work has come down in a corrupt form. Chapters and paragraphs are omitted and the printed text contains many mistakes. Various attempts have been made (by Freimann, Toledano, and Raphael) to correct it and fill some of the lacunae. The correct text however has been preserved in the manuscripts. In this book he describes the customs of both southern and northern France, of Germany, England, and Spain. His literary sources include the Talmuds and the Midrashim, the works and responsa of the *Geonim* and the writings of French, Spanish, and other scholars. This work is the first book of *minhagim* (local customs) written in Europe. Its explicit purpose was to show that there is a halakhic basis for every *minhag*. The need for such a compilation was mainly the result of the spread of the halakhic works of the Spanish authorities in Provence, which took place at that time and caused confusion and misunderstanding at both places (see Asher b. Saul). Abraham also wrote a commentary to *Massekhet Kallah Rabbati* (Tiberias [Jerusalem], 1906; JQR, 24 [see bibliography]) and *Maḥazik ha-Bedek* on the laws of ritual slaughtering and forbidden foods (lost). Some of Abraham's responsa are preserved (S.A. Wertheimer, *Ginzei Yerushalayim*, 1 (1896), 19–32).

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ABRAHAM BEN N… HA-BAGHDADI (10th century), communal leader in Babylonia. Information on Abraham is to be found in the poems of praise dedicated to him by one Abraham ha-Kohen, who seems to have been his secretary. He held a military command under the caliph and was a protector of the Jewish community. The reopening of the yeshivah of *Sura about 988 is attributed to him. He also maintained friendly relations with *Hai Gaon. There is reason to believe that Abraham ha-Baghdadi was a member of the *Netira family; he was possibly the son of Netira II and the grandson of Sahl, who was the son of Netira I. One of his sons was named Sahl, probably after his great-grandfather.

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[Abraham David (2nd ed.)]

ABRAHAM BEN SAMUEL HE-ḤASID (**of Speyer**; 12th century), rabbi and liturgical poet, the brother of R. *Judah b. Samuel he-Ḥasid. Abraham b. Samuel and *Judah b. Kalonymus, together with R. Shemariah b. Mordecai, later constituted the *bet din* of *Speyer, and are referred to as "the wise men of Speyer." *Eliezer b. Nathan of Mainz describes Abraham as "the sun of our orphaned age." Abraham's retort to a baptized Jew is recorded in the *Sefer Nizzaḥon.* In contrast to his father and brother, who were both famous for their mysticism and pietism, Abraham was known for his exoteric teachings and only slight traces of esoteric ideas can be found in his writings. Abraham wrote four elegies in which he described Jewish suffering during the first two Crusades (1096 and 1147).

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[Jacob Freimann]

ABRAHAM BEN SAMUEL OF DREUX (second half of 13th century), rabbinical scholar in northwestern France. Abraham was the chief spokesman in a religious disputation in Paris with Paul, a Spanish "cordelier" (conceivably to be identified with Pablo *Christiani) under the reign of Philip the Bold (1270–85). He evidently wrote a commentary on the Book of Daniel, from which was derived an explanation of Daniel 9:24 mentioned in the record of the controversy. It was formerly thought he came from Dreux.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Neubauer, in: JQR, 5 (1892/93), 713ff.; J. Rosenthal, in: *Aresheth*, 2 (1960), 145.

ABRAHAM BEN SHABBETAI HA-KOHEN (1670–1729), poet, physician, artist, and philosopher. Born in Crete when the island was under Venetian rule, he studied medicine and philosophy at the University of Padua and then practiced on the island of Zante. He was the author of *Kehunnat Avraham* (Venice, 1719), a paraphrase of portions of Psalms in rhymed verse in various meters, to which was appended *Benei Keturah*, a similar paraphrase of *Pirkei Shirah.* The title page of the book is followed by an engraved self-portrait of the author, who was also probably responsible for other engravings in the book. He also published a volume of homilies on the Pentateuch, *Kevod Ḥakhamim* (Venice, 1700).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Ghirondi-Neppi, 32, no. 76; A. Rubens, *Jewish Iconography* (1954), no. 2006.

[Cecil Roth]

ABRAHAM BEN SIMEON OF WORMS (15th century), pseudonym of the unknown author of a supposedly comprehensive guide to "the divine magic" according to the Kabbalah, especially the conjuration of the Guardian Angel who presides over every man's spiritual life. The author tells at length the story of his life and describes his wanderings that began in the year 1409 and lasted for decades. He lists the heroic deeds which he accomplished with magic devices. The author alleges that he wrote the book for his young son Lamech. The book is found in numerous German, French, and English manuscripts, dating from the 16th to the 18th centuries. Part of it was translated (c. 1700) into Hebrew under the name *Segullat Melakhim* ("Treasure of Kings"). The book was no doubt written originally in German, although the author claims it to be a translation from Hebrew. The question of its authorship, whether Jewish or Christian, is a matter of dispute. The general style of the book shows the author's knowledge of Hebrew. The work may well have been written by a Jew, with the passages with clearly Christian content added later. It may also have been written by a Christian kabbalist who had read the writings of *Pico della Mirandola and Johannes *Reuchlin. The German version was printed at the beginning of the 19th century, bearing, however, the date 1725. The book has had great influence among those interested in the occult in England and France since the end of the 19th century. In its English version (1898) it is attributed to Abra Melin "The Mage," which is but a corruption of the name Abramelin, mentioned as the main teacher of the author. Abramelin seems to be taken from Abraham Elymas, the latter being the name of a magician mentioned in the Acts of the Apostles. The magic material in the book is essentially of Jewish origin, and constitutes one of the main channels of Jewish influence on late Christian magic. The German and the French–English versions differ considerably.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Michael, Or, no. 257; Steinschneider, Uebersetzungen, 907ff.; Benjacob, Ozar, s.v. *Segullat Melakhim;* G. Scholem, *Bibliographia Kabbalistica* (1927), 2.

[Gershom Scholem]

ABRAHAM BEN SOLOMON (c. 1400), Oriental biblical exegete, possibly from Yemen. His commentary on the Bible is written in Arabic, but contains some Hebrew excerpts. He makes use of very early midrashic sources, some otherwise unknown, quotes "Simeon b. Yoḥai in the Zohar," and draws upon authorities who preceded him, primarily Saadiah Gaon, Jonah ibn Janaḥ, Nathan b. Jehiel, Tanhum b. Joseph Yerushalmi, and David Kimḥi. In his commentary, Abraham draws linguistic parallels between Arabic, Aramaic, and Hebrew, and includes details of the life of Jews and Arabs in the Orient. Parts of his commentary, known as *Midrash Alẓi'ani*, written about 1422, are extant in various Yemenite manuscripts in Jerusalem, Oxford, and London. The British Museum manuscript, copied in 1513, contains his commentary on the Early Prophets, while a Bodleian manuscript, comprising three volumes, includes that on the Early Prophets, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: M. Steinschneider, in: HB, 19 (1879), 131–6; 20 (1880), 7–12, 39–40, 61–65; Steinschneider, Arab Lit, 248; G. Karpeles, *Geschichte der juedischen Literatur*, 2 (1886), 771; J. Ratzaby, in: KS, 28 (1952/53), 267; S. Greidi, in: KS, 33 (1957/58), 112.

[Yehoshua Horowitz]

ABRAHAM BEN SOLOMON OF SAINT MAXIMIN (15th century), French physician. César Nostradamus praises Abraham as a scholar, philosopher, and physician of Provence (*Histoire et Chronologie de Provence* (1624), 618). It was probably Abraham and other Jewish physicians who drew the attention of René of Anjou, count of Provence (1409–1480), to the deplorable situation of the Jews in his kingdom. René issued a decree in 1454, which lessened the hardships brought about by the proclamation of Charles II forcing all Jews to wear the wheel-shaped badge. It also confirmed the right of Jews to practice medicine. René set an example by making Abraham his personal physician and exempting him from all taxes levied on Jews. It has been suggested that Abraham may be identical with Abraham Avigdor II (1433–1488) of Marseilles (REJ, 6–7 (1883), 294). Gottheil (EJ, 1 (1928), 120) adds that Abraham might be the son of Solomon b. Abraham Avigdor I, the translator.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Steinschneider, Uebersetzungen, 643; G.B. Depping, *Les Juifs dans le Moyen-Age* (1839), 206, 335; Hildefinger, in: REJ, 47 (1903), 232; 48 (1904), 70–75, 265; Kahn, *ibid.*, 39 (1899), 95–112; E. Wickersheimer, *Dictionnaire Biographique des Médecins en France au Moyen-Age* (1936), 5–6; H. Friedenwald, *Jews and Medicine*, 2 (1944), 689.

[Isidore Simon]

ABRAHAM BEN SOLOMON OF TORRUTIEL (b. 1482), chronicler. Born in Spain, after the Expulsion of 1492 he was brought to Fez by his 70-year-old father, Solomon of Torrutiel, an expert in Talmud and a pupil of R. Isaac *Canpanton. In Fez he participated actively in the life of the Jewish community. In 1510 he wrote his Hebrew chronicle, probably not preserved in its entirety. As he indicates in the introduction, his plan was to continue the *Sefer ha-Kabbalah* of Abraham *Ibn Daud. In the first part of his book he gives additions to that work, including some Jewish sages not enumerated by Ibn Daud. In the second part he continues the history of Jewish scholars and scholarship up to 1463, in his own time. The third section is a chronicle of Spanish kings seen from a Jewish perspective, followed by the history of the expulsion of the Jews from Spain and their establishment first in Portugal and later on in Fez, until 1510.

In his introduction he speaks of his intention to include in his book the prognostications of Abraham *Zacuto. From this and other indications it has been concluded that Abraham used for his chronicle the works of Abraham Zacuto (*Sefer Yuḥasin*) and Joseph b. *Ẓaddik of Arévalo. Detailed analysis of the three works shows all used the same Hebrew source, consisting of a chronology of Jewish scholars and a scanty summary of a well-known Spanish world chronicle. Abraham also mentions traditions which are not found in the works of the other two authors. Particularly valuable are his notes on the fate of the Spanish exiles, based on his personal eyewitness observations. The work, first published in Neubauer's Chronicles (V. 101ff.), has appeared in a Spanish translation by J. Bages (Granada, 1921). He seems to be also the author of a kabbalistic work, *Avnei Zikkaron*, translated into Spanish by F. Cantera (1928).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: F. Baer, *Untersuchungen ueber Quellen und Kompositionen des Schebet Jehuda* (1936), 28; Roth, in: *Sefarad*, 9 (1949), 450. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** A. David, *Shetei Khronikot Ivriyot mi-Dor Gerush Sefarad* (1979), for Joseph b. Ẓaddik of Arévalo; *El libro de la cábala de Abraham ben Salomon de Torrutiel*, tr. F. Cantera (1928); Y. Moreno (tr.), *Dos crónicas hispanohebreas del siglo XV* (1992).

[*Encyclopaedia Hebraica* / Angel Saenz-Badillos (2nd ed.)]

ABRAHAM DOV BAER OF OVRUCH (d. 1840), rabbi and ḥasidic leader in the Ukraine. Abraham succeeded his father David as rabbi of Khmelnik. He subsequently became rabbi in Ovruch and Zhitomir. He was a devoted disciple of Nahum of Chernobyl, and after Nahum's death kept in contact with his son Mordecai. Abraham Dov went to Ereẓ Israel in 1831, settling in Safed, where he became leader of the Ḥasidim. During the calamities which struck Safed at that time, caused by Druze attacks and an earthquake, Abraham organized relief and encouraged the people to remain. His teachings are recorded in his book *Bat Avin* (Jerusalem, 1847).

[Adin Steinsaltz]

ABRAHAM EL-BARCHILON, fiscal agent of Sancho IV of Castile, 1284–95. Abraham was born in Toledo. His close connection with Don Lope de Haro, a grandee of Sancho's court, helped to augment his influence. After holding various fiscal offices, Sancho leased him his principal state revenues, including the prerogative to mint gold coins, the collection of the debts of Jewish creditors, receipts from fines and penalties imposed for fiscal offenses, export duties, and the arrears of all the taxes farmed during the reign of Sancho's father, Alfonso X. Abraham was also authorized to regain for the Crown all alienated estates. A series of documents of 1287–88 dealing with this matter bears his signature in Hebrew. Abraham continued in office even after Lope de Haro's execution in 1289, now working in partnership with the poet Todros Halevi.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Baer, Spain, 1 (1961), 131–3; Baer, Urkunden, 1, pt. 2 (1936), 72–77, 89ff.; Neuman, Spain, 2 (1942), 245ff., 338.

ABRAHAM GAON (tenth century), head of the Palestinian yeshivah. Abraham was a great-grandson of the *gaon* *Aaron b. Meir who was involved with *Saadiah in the calendar controversy of 921–22. The view that Abraham was the founder of the Palestinian gaonate has been shown to be untenable, since this gaonate existed at least a century before Abraham and its supremacy was then recognized by its Babylonian counterpart. Manuscripts of genealogical tables mentioning Abraham refer to four of his sons. One of them, Aaron, became the successor to his father's successor, Josiah, *av bet din*. Isaac was "third man" (i.e., next in rank to the *av bet din*) under Abraham's immediate successor, Joseph ha-Kohen, i.e., while Meir was head of the academy (*rosh ha-seder*), probably in Egypt.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: S. Poznański, *Babylonische Geonim…* (1914), 4–5, 84, 97; Mann, Egypt, 1 (1920), 71, no. 6; S. Assaf and L.A. Mayer (eds.), *Sefer ha-Yishuv*, 2 (1944), 89, 127; Abramson, Merkazim, 31, 32.

ABRAHAM GERSHON OF KUTOW (d. c. 1760), ḥasid, talmudic scholar, and kabbalist. He was probably born in Kutow (Kuty), Ukraine, where his father was rabbi. He was the brother-in-law of *Israel b. Eliezer Ba'al Shem Tov. As a youth, he moved to Brody where he continued to study at a *klaus*. According to ḥasidic tradition, Abraham resented his sister's marriage to the Ba'al Shem Tov and at first slighted him, but later became one of his most ardent disciples. In 1747 he went to Ereẓ Israel, intending to spread the teachings of Ḥasidism there, settling first in Hebron and later in Jerusalem. He formed especially close ties with the Sephardi scholars in Jerusalem and in other countries. The correspondence between him and Israel Ba'al Shem Tov is an important source of information for the beginnings of the ḥasidic movement. According to a tradition transmitted by R. Israel of Kuznitz,

R. Abraham Gershon told the Besht how ideal prayer is connected to a divestment of corporeality and the speech of the *Shekhinah* from the throat of the person who prays.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Horodezky, Ḥasidut, index.

[Adin Steinsaltz / Moshe Idel (2nd ed.)]

ABRAHAM HA-BAVLI (apparently early 11th century), grammarian. Abraham ha-Bavli is mentioned by Abraham Ibn Ezra and Jacob b. Meir (Rabbenu Tam). His *Sefer ha-Shorashim* ("Book of Roots"), only part of which has been published (1863), deals with roots of one to four letters, interchanges in the order of the root letters, homonymic roots, and an elision or interchange of one of the root letters for another letter. Some scholars mistakenly identify him with the Karaite grammarian David b. Abraham *Alfasi.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: A. Neubauer, in: *Journal Asiatique*, 2 (1863), 195. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** A. Maman, *Comparative Semitic Philology in the Middle Ages from Saadia Gaon to Ibn Barun (10th–12th cent.)* (2004).

[Meir Medan]

ABRAHAM HA-LEVI (15th century), leader of the Jerusalem community. Abraham went on a mission to the Mediterranean islands and Italy in 1455, two years after the Turkish capture of Constantinople. The capture had aroused many messianic hopes among Jews in Jerusalem. These hopes were strengthened by the tales told by pilgrims from Babylonia, Persia, and Yemen. They told of a war in Ethiopia against the Christians, an earthquake in Jerusalem which uncovered remains of the First Temple, the expulsion of the Franciscans from Mount Zion, and the dream of an aged Babylonian kabbalist to the effect that the "Prince" (Guardian Angel) of Israel would overcome the "Prince" of Edom (Rome). Abraham also appealed for help in maintaining the holy places of Jerusalem. In the course of his mission he arrived at Corfu, then under Venetian rule. There he was denounced to the authorities, who destroyed his credentials. Abraham's letters are an important source for the history of the Jewish community in Jerusalem in the 15th century.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: A. Neubauer, in: *Kobez al Jad*, 4 (1888), 45–50; A.Yaari, *Iggerot Ereẓ Yisrael* (1943), 88–89; Yaari, Sheluḥei, 211–2.

[Avraham Yaari]

ABRAHAM ḤAYYIM BEN GEDALIAH (1750–1816), Galician rabbi. Abraham studied under his father Gedaliah b. Benjamin Wolf, who was *av bet din* in Zloczow. He was a disciple of *Dov Baer the "Maggid of Mezhirech," *Jacob Joseph of Polonnoye, and *Jehiel Michel of Zloczow. He was also a pupil of the two brothers: Samuel Shmelka Horowitz of Nikolsburg and Phinehas Levi Horowitz, his first father-in-law. When Issachar Baer (his father-in-law by his second marriage) immigrated to Ereẓ Israel, Abraham Ḥayyim succeeded him as *av bet din* of Zloczow. He was a brilliant exegete and facile writer, possessed of an easy, graceful style, and is referred to as a "learned exponent of ḥasidic thought." His *Oraḥ Ḥayyim* (Zolkiew, 1817) on the Bible is a treasury of thoughts and sayings of the ḥasidic rabbis. It was published posthumously by his stepson, Joseph Azriel b. Ḥayyim Aryeh Leibush, with an introduction by Ephraim Zalman Margolioth, who praises his piety and charity and gives biographical details. Abraham Ḥayyim wrote a commentary on *Pirkei Avot*, *Peri Ḥayyim* (1873), and a commentary on the *Haggadah*, under the same name (1873).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: A. Walden, *Shem ha-Gedolim he-Ḥadash*, 2 (1864), 4a, no. 73; S. Buber, *Kiryah Nisgavah* (1903), 20–21, s.v. *Gedaliah;* Y. Raphael, *Sefer ha-Ḥasidut* (1947), 67.

[Mordecai Ben-Yehezkiel]

ABRAHAMITES (also "**Nový Bydžov-Israelites**"), Bohemian judaizing sect, a product of the Counter-Reformation. They revered the Old Testament, rejected the Trinity, abstained from pork, and rested on Saturday; some members practiced circumcision. The existence of the sect became known to the authorities in 1747 in the region of *Nový Bydžov. A commission of inquiry was then appointed and proceedings were instituted against 60 Abrahamites, which lasted until 1748, when the leader, Jan Pita, a tailor, and three others were executed. As Pita admitted to having had contact with Nový Bydžov Jews, one of them, R. Mendel, was burnt at the stake (1750) after separate proceedings; others of the accused Jews adopted Catholicism. The sect continued clandestinely until the patent of toleration of non-Catholics was issued in 1781, when the Abrahamites came into the open. However, since they refused to comply with an official injunction to declare themselves either Christian or Jewish, they were deported to garrisons on the Hungarian border and the men forced into military service. The sect subsequently disintegrated.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Prokěs, in JGGJČ, 8 (1936), 147–308; *Dr. Blochs Wochenschrift* (1903), 476–7, 509–11; J. Moštik, *Sekta tak zvaných israelitů severovýchodních čechách* (1938).

ABRAHAM JOSHUA HESCHEL OF APTA (**Opatow**; d. 1825), Polish ḥasidic *ẓaddik, known as "the Rabbi of Apta." He was the disciple of *Elimelech of Lyzhansk (Lezhaisk) and possibly also of the *maggid* *Jehiel Michel of Zloczow (Zolocher). He served as rabbi of the communities of Kolbuszowa Apta (Opatow) from 1809 to 1813 and Jassy (Moldavia), in 1813–14 settling in Medzibozh (Podolia), where he lived until his death. Abraham strongly opposed the *maskilim* in Brody for disseminating what he considered heretical ideas among Russian Jewry. Following the discriminatory legislation passed by Czar *Alexander I, depriving Jewish contractors (arendars) and taverners of their livelihood, Abraham and Isaac of Radzivilow ordered a public fast. As president of the Volhynian *kolel*, he was active in fundraising for the community in Ereẓ Israel. Acknowledged as an authority by many *ẓaddikim* in his old age, Abraham was called upon to excommunicate deviationists in the controversy between the Bratslav and

*Przysucha (Pshiskha) Ḥasidim, and did his best to promote unity and peace in the ḥasidic camp.

Abraham left instructions that his sole epitaph should be *Ohev Yisrael* (a lover of Israel), a description by which he is remembered among the Ḥasidim. The problems of Jewish leadership and care for his people exercised his imagination, and he would recount fantastic "reminiscences" about the events he said that he had witnessed in former incarnations as high priest, a king of Israel, *nasi*, and exilarch. His revelations were regarded by the Hasidim as mysteries of the type experienced by *Rabbah b. Bar Ḥana. A religious ecstatic, he delivered homilies on Sabbaths and festivals emphasizing love of the Creator and the importance of cleaving (**devekut*) to Him. He exerted a wide popular influence. His adherents believed that the violent gestures with which he accompanied the sermons denoted *hitpashetut ha-gashmiyyut* (the shedding of bodily existence). One of Abraham Joshua Heschel's contemporaries recounts that "in the midst of the meal, when the spirit was upon him, he cried out in a loud and dolorous voice and gesticulated; his head fell back almost to his heels, and all the people who sat round the sacred table… trembled and feared… and he started to relate secrets of the Torah and hidden mysteries; he opened his saintly mouth and spoke with great fervor; his face was [like] a torch, he raised his voice in ecstasy." Nevertheless, Abraham Joshua Heschel concentrated on the system of practical Ẓaddikism and held that the *ẓaddik* "through his wisdom lifts up Israel to bind them to heaven and to bring prosperity, blessing, and life from the source of blessings." His works include *Torat Emet* (Lemberg, 1854) and *Ohev Yisrael* (Zhitomir, 1863).

Abraham's son ISAAC MEIR (d. 1855) succeeded his father as *ẓaddik* of Medzibozh, later moving to nearby Zinkov. His grandson MESHULLAM ZUSSIA (d. 1886) was also *ẓaddik* in Zinkov; he edited his grandfather's sermons, *Ohev Yisrael.* His descendants continued to be revered as *ẓaddikim* in various places in Podolia (Krolevets, Kopycznce, Ternopol).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: L.I. Newman, *Hasidic Anthology* (1934), index, s.v. *Apter*: M. Buber, *Tales of the Hasidim*, 2 (1948), 107–22; A. Berger, *Eser Orot* (1910), 102–25; M. Guttmann, *Mi-Gibborei ha-Ḥasidut*, 1 (1953), 172, 232; Dubnow, Ḥasidut, 1 (1930), 314–5; Horodezky, Ḥasidut, 2 (1923), 177–88; idem, in: *Tarbiz*, 27 (1957/58), 372–9; Haberman, in: YIVO *Bletter,* 39 (1955), 278–83.

[Avraham Rubinstein]

ABRAHAM JUDAEUS BOHEMUS (**Abraham of Bohemia**; d. 1533), banker and tax collector. Abraham first served as banker to Ladislas II, king of Hungary and Bohemia. He emigrated to Poland in about 1495 and settled in *Cracow. Armed with recommendations from Ladislas and Maximilian I of Germany, he soon became banker to the Polish king Alexander Jagellonski and later to Sigismund I. In 1512 Sigismund appointed him collector of the taxes paid by the Jews in Greater Poland and Masovia, and in 1514 the office was extended to include the Jews throughout Poland. The king warned the Jews, and especially the rabbis, to cooperate with him and not to interfere with him by excommunicating him, or in any other way. Abraham was several times acknowledged to be under the sole jurisdiction of the king. Abraham used his influence to act as **shtadlan* at the royal court for his fellow Jews. Sigismund had to remind the Jews of Cracow to pay the promised 200 florins to Abraham "for defending them against accusations brought up against them." In 1518 Abraham was granted freedom of commerce and banking in all Poland. According to tradition he was the father (or grandfather) of Mordecai *Jaffe.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: M. Balaban, *Dzieje Żydów Krakowie i na Kazimierzu (1304–1808)*, 1 (1912), 61–65, 353; M. Bersohn, *Dyplomataryusz 1388–1782* (1910), nos. 492, 493.

ABRAHAM OF BEJA (second half of 15th century), Portuguese traveler and linguist. He was apparently also a Hebrew scholar and styled "rabbi" for that reason. In 1485 King João II of Portugal sent João Perez of Covilhão across Africa to investigate the country of the mythical Christian king Prester John, and to discover the land route to India. Impressed by Abraham's knowledge of languages, King João sent him across the Mediterranean to join up with the expedition together with another Jew, Joseph Capatiero, who already had travel experience in the East. In due course he linked up with Perez in Egypt and continued with him as far as Ormuz in India. At that point he was left to return westward by the caravan route, via Damascus and Aleppo.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: F. da Ficalho, *Viagens de Pedro Covilhan* (1898); H.H. Hart, *Sea Road to the Indies* (1952), 43–78; J. Mendes dos Remedios, *Os Judeus em Portugal*, 1 (1895), 248–9.

[Cecil Roth]

ABRAHAM OF SARAGOSSA (early ninth century), merchant in Muslim Spain who traded mostly with the Franks and eventually settled in the Frankish kingdom. There he received (around 835) a *privilegium* from Louis the Pious, one of the three extant privileges granted to Jewish merchants by a Carolingian monarch. It became the standard for succeeding privileges, including the following aspects: court oaths and trial procedures, services and representation, right to trade, and imperial protection. According to this privilege, Abraham entrusted himself to the emperor in a manner similar to a royal vassal.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Roth, Dark Ages, index; Ashtor, Korot, 1 (1966^2), 188; Baron, Social^2, 4 (1957), 48–50; MGH, *Formulae Merowingici et Karolini Aevi* (1882), 325, no. 52.

ABRAHAM OF SARTEANO (late 15th century), Italian Hebrew poet. Abraham was born in Sarteano, Tuscany. He wrote a poem of 50 tercets entitled "*Sone ha-Nashim*" ("The Woman Hater") in which he denounces women, drawing examples from the Bible, from rabbinic legends, and from Greek and Roman history and mythology. The poem aroused a spirited literary controversy over the merit of women which continued into the 16th century. Abraham's remarks were challenged by Avigdor Fano in *Ozer Nashim* and by Elijah *Genazzano in *Meliẓot.*

BIBLIOGRAPHY: H.J. Schirmann, *Ha-Maḥazeh ha-Ivri ha-Rishon* (1965^2), 122 ff.; Schirmann, Italyah, 210–5; Neubauer, in: *Israelietische Letterbode*, 10 (1884–85), 98–101; Steinschneider, *ibid.*, 12 (1886–87), 55–56; Davidson, Oẓar, 1 (1924), 184, n. 1825.

[Jefim (Hayyim) Schirmann]

ABRAHAMS, family of English rabbis and scholars. ABRAHAM SUZMAN (c. 1801–1880) migrated from Poland to England in 1837, becoming principal *shoḥet* in London in 1839. He spent the end of his life in Palestine. He wrote an autobiography *Zekhor le-Avraham* (1860). His son BARNETT (1831–1863) was the *dayyan* of the Sephardi community in London (although himself an Ashkenazi) and was appointed principal of Jews' College in 1856. A graduate of University College, London, he was the first English rabbi to hold a British university degree. He died at the age of only 32 of acute rheumatism. Barnett's three sons, Joseph, Moses, and Israel, devoted their lives to serving the Jewish community. JOSEPH (1855–1938) was rabbi in Melhourne, Australia, from 1883 to 1923 and rabbi emeritus from 1924 until his death. He helped found the United Jewish Education Board of Victoria and was its president (1896–1901). He wrote a number of monographs on Jewish subjects, the most important one being *The Sources of Midrash Echah Rabba* (Berlin, 1883). MOSES (1860–1919) was the minister of the Jewish community of Leeds. He was the author of *Aquila's Greek Version of the Hebrew Bible* (1919). Israel *Abrahams was a noted scholar.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: P. Abrahams, in: JHSET, 21 (1962–67), 243–60 (on Abraham). **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** ODNB online; H.L. Rubinstein, Australia I, index.

[Cecil Roth]

ABRAHAMS, family of English athletes. SIR ADOLPHE ABRAHAMS (1883–1967), physician and author, studied at Cambridge, where he was sculling champion (1904–05). During World War I he was a major in the Royal Medical Corps and subsequently held several important medical posts in London hospitals. He was also medical officer in charge of the British Olympic teams from 1912 until 1948, president of the British Association of Sports and Medicine, and a fellow of the Royal Society of Medicine. His many publications included: *The Photography of Moving Objects* (1910); *Indigestion* (1920); *Woman – Man's Equal?* (1954); and two books written with his brother, Harold: *Training for Athletes* (1928) and *Training for Health and Athletics* (1936).

SIR SIDNEY ("SOLLY") ABRAHAMS (1885–1957), British colonial official, brother of Adolphe and Harold. Born in Birmingham, he studied at Cambridge and entered the British Colonial Service, becoming town magistrate in Zanzibar (1915), advocate general, Baghdad (1920), attorney general of Zanzibar (1922), chief justice of Uganda (1933–34), Tanganyika (1934–36), and Ceylon (1936–39). A noted athlete, he represented Cambridge in the long jump (1904–06) and the 100-yard dash (1906), and competed for Great Britain in the 100-meter race and long jump in the 1906 Olympics, finishing fifth in the long jump with a leap of 6.21 meters. He also competed in the long jump at the 1912 Olympics, finishing in 11th place with a jump of 6.72 meters, just shy of 22-feet. Sidney was elected president in 1947 of Britain's oldest athletic club, the London Athletic Club, becoming the first Jew to hold the post.

HAROLD MAURICE ABRAHAMS (1899–1978), athlete and lawyer who became the first European to win an Olympic sprint title when he won the 100-meter dash in 1924. Born in Bedford, he began racing at the age of eight following his brother Solly, and at the age of 12 won his first 100-yard race in 14.0 seconds. He won the English public schools' 100-yard dash and long jump titles in 1918. He studied at Cambridge, where he won eight victories against Oxford in the 100-yard, 440-yard, and long jump from 1920 to 1923. Harold was also the president of the university's Athletic Club.

At the 1920 Antwerp Olympics, Harold was a member of the sixth place 4 × 100-meter team, but failed to advance past the preliminary heats in the sprints or long jump. In 1924 Harold established a British long jump record of 24 feet, 2½ inches, a record that stood for the next 32 years. Six months before the 1924 Games, Harold hired a personal coach, Sam Mussabini, thus becoming the first British amateur to pay for a personal trainer. At the 1924 Olympics, he won a silver medal in the 4 × 100-meter (41.2), and finished in sixth place in the 200-meter finals. For the 100-meter final, his key British rival, Eric Liddell, withdrew from the competition because it was held on Sunday and Liddell was a devout Christian. Facing his main competition against Americans Jackson Scholz and Charles Paddock – the 1920 gold medallist and world-record holder – Harold surprised everyone by winning the gold medal in 10.6 seconds.

Soon after his Olympic triumph of 1924, he suffered an injury while long jumping and retired from international athletics. He remained a prominent figure in the athletics world however, and was captain of the British Olympic team (1928) and chairman of the British Amateur Athletic Board from 1968 to 1975. He also reported on athletics for English press and radio. During World War II, he served in the Ministry of Economic Warfare, was head of the statistics section (1941–42), and in 1946 became an assistant secretary at the Ministry of Town Planning. He became one of the most famous Olympic athletes in history with the release of the film *Chariots of Fire* in 1981, which told of the struggles of Harold, Liddell, and Mussabini.

Philip Noel-Baker, Britain's 1912 Olympic captain and a Nobel Prize winner, wrote of Harold in 1948: "I have always believed that Harold Abrahams was the only European sprinter who could have run with Jesse Owens, Ralph Metcalfe, and the other great sprinters from the U.S. He was in their class, not only because of natural gifts – his magnificent physique, his splendid racing temperament, his flair for the big occasion – but because he understood athletics, and had given more brainpower and more willpower to the subject than any other runner of his day."

Harold wrote several books, including *Sprinting* (1925), *Athletics* (1926), *The Olympic Games, 1896–1952*, and *The Rome Olympiad* (1960).

[Elli Wohlgelernter (2nd ed.)]

ABRAHAMS, ABRAHAM (also known as **Abraham ben Naphtali Tang**; d. 1792), English scholar; grandson of the Prague *dayyan* Abraham Taussig Neu-Greschel (d. 1699) and like his grandfather signed himself with the Hebrew initials טנ"ג (*TNG*) and therefore generally known as Tang. Apparently born and brought up in London, Abrahams was well-grounded in Jewish and secular studies. In 1772 under the pseudonym "A Primitive Hebrew" he published an English translation of the mishnaic tractate *Avot* including *Maimonides' commentary and observations of his own. He also wrote two parallel mystical commentaries in Hebrew on Ecclesiastes (1773, unpublished), which include a concise account of classical mythology, with quotations from Ovid, Vergil, and Seneca. A Hebrew treatise (unpublished) attempts to establish the politico-historical setting of the talmudic reference to the "sages of Athens" (Bek. 8b). Abrahams also translated into Hebrew William Congreve's *Mourning Bride* (1768, Ms. in Jews' College, London). He had some ability as a scribe and copied and illuminated a Passover *Haggadah* (now in the Jewish Museum, London). He was a pronounced English patriot and a political radical.

Another ABRAHAM ABRAHAMS (d. 1813) criticized the tax system in Hampstead in the *Book of Assessment* (1811), the earliest work of this type by an English Jew.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: C. Roth, in: *Essays… I. Brodie* (Eng. vol., 1967), 368–72; Schirmann, in: *Scripta Hierosolymitana*, 19 (1967), 3–15; JC (Dec. 19, 1884); Neubauer, Cat, nos. 7, 9, 32, 35. Dan Ruderman, *Jewish Enlightenment in an English Key: Anglo-Jewry's Construction of Modern Jewish Thought* (2000), index. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** ODNB online.

[Cecil Roth]

ABRAHAMS, ABRAHAM (1897–1955), English author, editor, and Zionist leader. Abrahams was head of the Jewish Telegraphic Agency's New York Bureau in 1933 and editor of *The Jewish Standard* from 1940 to 1948, after which he took an increasingly active part in the strengthening of the Zionist Revisionist Movement. For a time he was political secretary of the Revisionist Party in England. Abrahams published *Poems* (1932) and *Background of Unrest* (1945); his wife, Rachael Beth-Zion Abrahams, was also a writer and journalist.

ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY: J.B. Schectman, *Fighter and Prophet: The Jabotinsky Story – The Last Years* (1961), index.

ABRAHAMS, ABRAHAM ISAAC (1720–1796), religious official and merchant, who was known throughout the American Colonies as a *mohel* and Hebrew teacher. He spent most of his life in New York City. The Congregation Shearith Israel directed him to "keep a publick school in the *ḥebra* [community hall] to teach the Hebrew language, and translate the same into English, also to teach English Reading, Writing and Cyphering." He was "rabbi" of the congregation from 1761 and *ḥazzan* from 1766. In addition to his religious duties, he was a distiller, snuff maker, tobacconist, and merchant, and was elected a constable in New York City in 1753.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: J.R. Marcus, *American Jewry, Documents, 18th Century* (1959), index; Rosenbloom, Biogr Dict, s.v.

[Leo Hershkowitz]

ABRAHAMS, GERALD (1907–1980), British lawyer, chess master, and writer on chess. Abrahams was born in Liverpool. At 18 he developed the "Abrahams Defense" adopted by many noted players. He won several championships in Britain and prizes in international master tournaments. His books include *Teach Yourself Chess* (1948); *The Chess Mind* (1951); *Technique in Chess* (1961); and *Let's Look at Israel* (1966). Abrahams also wrote several original works on Jewish identity, including *The Jewish Mind* (1961), and many works on law.

[William D. Rubinstein (2nd ed.)]

ABRAHAMS, ISAAC (1756–1832?), physician. He was the first Jewish graduate of Columbia (Kings) College, receiving an A.B. degree from that institution in 1774. At commencement he delivered a Latin oration "On Concord." After 1786 Abrahams took up permanent residence in New York where he became involved in the affairs of the synagogue, as he previously had done in Philadelphia and Baltimore. He served as president of the Congregation Shearith Israel in 1801. There is some difficulty in an exact identification since there was at least one other contemporary of the same name.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: H. Morrison, *Early Jewish Physicians in America* (1928), index; Rosenbloom, Biogr, Dict.

[Leo Hershkowitz]

ABRAHAMS, ISRAEL (1858–1925), English scholar. In 1902 he was appointed reader in rabbinic and talmudic literature at Cambridge, succeeding Solomon *Schechter. He played a considerable role in the university, both personal and scholastic, and had some distinguished non-Jewish pupils. For many years his home was the focus of university Jewish life. His influence was greater, however, as a writer than as a teacher, and over many years he was the chief exponent of Jewish scholarship in England. Although in some respects a popularizer, even his most ephemeral writings were nevertheless distinguished by their scholarship, just as his most learned writings did not lack charm. He was also one of the founders of and most devoted workers for the *Jewish Historical Society of England and similar bodies. In religion, he favored extreme reform and was the intellectual bulwark of the Jewish Religious Union when it was established in 1902, and of the Liberal Jewish Synagogue which developed out of it. Though not ordained as rabbi or minister, he was a frequent lay preacher. His most important works were his *Jewish Life in the Middle Ages* (1896; 2nd ed. by C. Roth based on author's materials, 1932); *Studies in Pharisaism and the Gospels* (2 vols., 1917–24); *Hebrew Ethical Wills* (2 vols., 1926); notes to the *Authorized Daily Prayer Book* edited by his father-in-law, S. Singer (1914); and numerous collections of essays on Jewish literature. His weekly literary causeries and reviews over the signature I.A. were for many years a feature of the **Jewish Chronicle,* and when in 1919 the anti-Zionist *Jewish Guardian* was founded, he was among its literary mainstays. Nevertheless, he was an ardent advocate of the establishment of a Jewish university in Jerusalem, even as early as 1908 when he visited Ereẓ Israel (cf. *Jewish Chronicle*, Feb. 28, 1908). He edited the **Jewish Quarterly Review*, from its establishment in 1888 down to 1908, in association with his friend, collaborator, and supporter Claude G. *Montefiore. Abrahams was an ardent champion of Britain, viewing it as more favorable to its Jews than any other European country.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Jewish Studies in Memory of Israel Abrahams* (1927), incl. bibl.; A.M. Hyamson, *Israel Abrahams: a Memoir* (1940); idem, *Jew's College: 1855–1955* (1955), 27–28, 31–32, 43–44, 70–71; H.M.J. Loewe, *Israel Abrahams… a Biographical Sketch* (1944); idem, in: AJYB, 28 (1926/27), 219–34; Montefiore, in: JHSET, 11 (1924–27), 239–46; S. Levy, in: JHSEM, 3 (1937), 41ff. (bibl.).

[Cecil Roth]

ABRAHAMS, ISRAEL (1903–1973), South African rabbi and scholar. Born in Vilna and educated at Jews' College and London University, he was rabbi in London and Manchester before going to South Africa in 1937 as chief rabbi of the Cape Town Hebrew Congregation. In 1951 he became chief rabbi of the United Council of Hebrew Congregations of the Cape. From 1938 he held the chair of Hebrew at Cape Town University. He retired in 1967 and settled in Israel. An eloquent speaker, he held high office in all important communal institutions in Cape Town and was especially active in promoting the Zionist movement and Jewish education. He was a consulting editor to the *Encyclopaedia Judaica*. His major scholarly work was his translation into English of *Cassuto's Hebrew commentaries: *Documentary Hypothesis* (1961); *The Book of Genesis*, 2 pts: *From Adam to Noah* (1961) and *From Noah to Abraham* (1964); *Exodus* (1967); and *The Goddess Anath* (1970); he also translated tractate *Hagigah* for the *Soncino Talmud* (1938). His other writings include: a history of Cape Jewry, *The Birth of a Community* (1955); *Pathways in Judaism* (1968); and *Living Waters* (1968).

[Lewis Sowden]

ABRAHAMS, IVOR (1935–), British sculptor. Abrahams was born in Wigan, England, and studied in London. He was later apprenticed to a bronze foundry and worked as a display artist before becoming a teacher of sculpture in 1960; between 1960 and 1970 he lectured at a number of British art schools. His sculpture was always informal, using unusual, non-sculptural materials. His first one-man exhibition was in 1962, but it was not until 1970 that he established his reputation when he held his first exhibition in New York. He subsequently exhibited his work regularly in America, London, and Europe. His three-dimensional prints, incorporating collage techniques, won him international fame. Abrahams is represented in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, Bibliotheque Nationale, Paris, Boymans Museum, Rotterdam, and other public collections throughout the world. In 1991 he was elected to the Royal Academy.

[Charles Samuel Spencer]

ABRAHAMS, SIR LIONEL (1869–1919), English civil servant and Anglo-Jewish historian, nephew of Israel *Abrahams. A graduate of Balliol College, Oxford, in 1902 Abrahams became financial secretary for India, in which capacity he successfully reorganized the Indian currency. In 1912 he was appointed assistant undersecretary of state for India. As an Oxford student, he wrote *The Expulsion of the Jews from England in 1290* (1895). He contributed a number of important studies on the medieval period to the Transactions of the Jewish Historical Society of England. He was president of the society from 1916 to 1918. In 1912 he became involved in what became known as the "Indian Silver Case," in which accusations were made that a Jewish merchant bank in London had improperly suggested that an order for silver required by the Indian government be placed with its firm. As a result, antisemitic innuendos about Abrahams and others were made in sections of Britain's press, but those named were cleared of any wrongdoing by a House of Commons Select Committee.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: P.H. Emden, *Jews of Britain* (1943), 145–6; JHSET, index; *The Times* (Dec. 1, 1919); JC (Dec. 12, 1919). **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** ODNB online.

[Cecil Roth / William D. Rubinstein (2nd ed.)]

ABRAHAMS, NICOLAI CHRISTIAN LEVIN (1798–1870), Danish author and literary scholar. After graduating from the University of Copenhagen, Abrahams taught there from 1829 and became professor of French literature after his baptism in 1832. Abrahams, who helped to popularize French culture in Denmark, published a *Description des manuscrits français du Moyen-Age de la Bibliothèque Royale de Copenhague* (1844). His autobiography, *Meddelelser af mit liv* (1876), appeared posthumously.

ABRAHAM'S BOSOM, designation in the New Testament (Luke 16:22–31) of the abode of the blessed souls of the pious and poor in the other world (compare IV Macc. 13:17; Matt. 8:11, where all three patriarchs, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, are enumerated as those in whose company the pious souls dwell). The Hebrew expression *be-ḥeiko shel Avraham* ("in Abraham's bosom") is mentioned in aggadic literature (e.g., PR 43:180b) dealing with the martyrdom of Miriam (*Hannah) and her seven sons. She urges her youngest child to die for the sanctification of God's name, saying: "O my son, do you wish that all thy brethren sit in Abraham's bosom, except you?" Abraham's bosom is mentioned also in *Midrash ha-Gadol* to Genesis (ed. Margulies (1947), 206) and in the Talmud (Kid. 72b) where it probably refers to the covenant of Abraham (see also PdRK (1868), 25b, S. Buber's emendation). In Christian mythology, Abraham's bosom stands also for the abode in the netherworld of the unbaptized children and for purgatory, from where, after punishment, Abraham conducts the purified souls into paradise. This notion is hinted at in the talmudic passage (Er. 19a) which describes Abraham as shielding from punishment in hell all those who have not effaced the sign of circumcision (compare also, Gen. R. 48:8). Whether Abraham's bosom is the abode of bliss, or, on the contrary, a place in Gehenna, it expresses the popular Jewish belief about Abraham as the warden in paradise and protector of the meritorious souls in the other world.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: H.L. Strack and P. Billerbeck, *Kommentar zum Neuen Testament aus Talmud und Midrash*, 2 (1924), 225–7.

ABRAHAMSEN, DAVID (1903–2002), U.S. criminologist and psychiatrist. Born in Trondheim, Norway, Abrahamsen worked in Oslo and London. In 1940 he moved to the United States, where from 1948 to 1952 he served as director of scientific research at Sing Sing Prison. He was research associate at Columbia University's College of Physicians and Surgeons from 1944 to 1953 and founded the university's Forum for the Study and Prevention of Crime. In 1966 he was appointed medical and psychiatric director of the Foundation for the Prevention of Addictive Diseases. Abrahamsen taught at Columbia University, Yale Law School, the New York School of Social Work, and the New School for Social Research, New York.

While he wrote several books on psychological themes – *Men Mind and Power* (1945); *The Road to Emotional Maturity* (1958); *The Emotional Care of Your Child* (1969) – Abrahamsen's works are principally devoted to criminological subjects. They include *Crime and the Human Mind* (1944); *Study of 102 Sex Offenders at Sing Sing Prison* (1950); *Who Are the Guilty? – A Study of Education and Crime* (1952); *The Psychology of Crime* (1960); "Study of Lee Harvey Oswald: Psychological Capability of Murder," in: *New York Academy of Medicine Bulletin*, 43 (1967), 861–88; *Our Violent Society* (1970); *The Murdering Mind* (1973); *The Mind of the Accused: A Psychiatrist in the Courtroom* (1983); *Confessions of Son of Sam* (1985); *Murder and Madness: The Secret Life of Jack the Ripper* (1992); and *Nixon vs. Nixon: An Emotional Tragedy* (1997). Abrahamsen's interest in Jewish life is seen in *Jeger Jode* ("I Am a Jew," 1935), a cultural and humanitarian document about the life of Jews and their contribution to culture.

In 1982 he donated a large collection of his papers to Columbia University's Rare Book and Manuscript Library, dating from 1902 to 1981. The papers relate primarily to the research and interviews he conducted while writing *Nixon vs. Nixon* and to his close relationship and correspondence with convicted multiple murderer David Berkowitz. There are more than 140 letters to Abrahamsen from Berkowitz, aka "Son of Sam," who murdered a succession of young people in New York City in the mid-1970s. The papers also reflect Abrahamsen's interest in other famous crimes, such as the Leopold/Loeb kidnapping and murder of Bobby Franks, and in politics (particularly Adlai Stevenson's 1952 campaign).

[Zvi Hermon / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

ABRAHAM ẒEVI BEN ELEAZAR (1780–1828), rabbi and *posek* in Poland. In his youth he lived in Piotrkow near Lodz, where he studied under his grandfather, Solomon b. Jehiel Michel, and Moses, the *av bet din*. In 1800 he served as rabbi of Pilica, and later, before 1819, as *av bet din* of Piotrkow. In formulating his rulings Abraham Ẓevi utilized the *pilpul* method employed in the *Urim ve-Tummim* of Jonathan *Eybeschuetz, the *Noda bi-Yhudah* of Ezekiel *Landau, and the *Hafla'ah* of Phinehas *Horowitz. He gave his rabbinical works the general title *Efod Zahav*, but designated each by a special name. The only two that have been published are *Berit Avraham* (Dyhernfurth, 1819), responsa on sections of the Shulḥan Arukh, and *Gufei Halakhot* (pt. 1, Lodz, 1911), novellae to the tractates *Shabbat, Pesaḥim*, and *Ketubbot.* Remaining in manuscript form are *Ma'alot Yuḥasin*, novellae to the *Even ha-Ezer; Halva'at Ḥen*, novellae on the *halakhot* concerning usury; pt. 2 of his *Gufei Halakhot* containing novellae on the rulings of the great *posekim;* and *Pa'amonei Zahav*, his sermons.

ABRAHÃO, COJE (16th century), agent and diplomat in the service of the Portuguese viceroys in *Goa, India, from 1575 to 1594; Abrahão's full name and personal background are unknown. That he played a leading role in the affairs of Portuguese India is attested to by numerous letters preserved in the Portuguese historical archives in Goa. These letters praise him for his trustworthiness and reliability, and the continual reference to him as "Coje Abrahão Judeo" shows his Jewish identity. Abrahão was entrusted with important diplomatic missions to the rulers of the kingdom of Bijapur, and accompanied the ambassador of Shah Yusuf Ali Adil of Bijapur on a diplomatic mission to Portugal in 1575. As a reward for his services, King Sebastian of Portugal granted Abrahão a pension in 1576. In 1582, on behalf of Portugal, he was attestor to a peace treaty with the shah.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Fischel, in: JQR, 47 (1956/57), 37ff.; P. Pissurlencar (ed.), *Agentes da diplomacia portuguêsa na India* (1952), 551–6.

[Walter Joseph Fischel]

ABRAM, MORRIS BERTHOLD (1918–2000), U.S. attorney, civic leader, second president of Brandeis University. Abram was born in Fitzgerald, Ga. Following service as a major in Air

Force Intelligence during World War II, Abram was counsel in the U.S. prosecution staff at the Nuremberg Trials (1946), then assistant to the director for the Marshall Plan (1948). As counsel for the Anti-Defamation League in the South (from 1955), as well as member of several civic committees, Abram led a prolonged fight against the Georgia county unit election system, which culminated in a 1963 Supreme Court ruling known as the one-man one-vote principle. Abram was appointed the first general counsel of the Peace Corps by President Kennedy, later serving in several positions in the United Nations, to which he was appointed by Presidents Kennedy and Johnson. He was an appointee of three additional presidents – Jimmy *Carter, Ronald *Reagan, and George H.W. *Bush. He led U.S. delegations to numerous international meetings, including the United Nations Commission on Human Rights and the former Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, and was a former vice chair of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights.

As president of the American Jewish Committee, 1963 to 1968, Abram led talks on Catholic-Jewish relations with Pope Paul. He was president of Brandeis University from 1968 to 1970. He served as chairman of the National Conference on Soviet Jewry (NCSJ) from 1983 until 1988, at the peak of the movement to free Soviet Jews. During that period, he also served for three years as chairman of the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations. Under President Bush, he served as U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations in Geneva and founded United Nations Watch following his term as ambassador. He was a president of the American Jewish Committee, chairman of the United Negro College Fund, and chairman of the board of Cardozo Law School.

For many years he was a senior partner at the law firm of Paul, Weiss, Rifkind, Wharton & Garrison. Abram published *The Day Is Short* in 1982, in which he reviewed his career and his battle with an acute form of leukemia.

[Burton Berinsky / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

ABRAMOVICH, ROMAN ARKADYEVICH (1966–), Russian billionaire of Jewish origin. Abramovich was born in Saratov of a non-Jewish mother who died soon after giving birth to him, and later defined himself as "Ukrainian." His father, Arkady Nahimovich, who worked at the Siktivkar economic council (*sovnarkhoz*), died in an accident when he was four years old. Abramovich was then adopted by his uncle Abram and lived with the family in Moscow, where he finished his secondary schooling. According to Abramovich, he graduated later from the Gubkin Institute of Oil and Gas. After the fall of Communism, Abramovich became active in business, taking over control of the Sibneft (Siberian oil) company after his mentor Boris *Berezovsky, who brought him into Yeltsin's inner circle, fled the country in the wake of a criminal investigation. Abramovich also owned 50% of Rusal (Russia's biggest aluminum company) and 26% of Aeroflot. In December 1999 he was elected deputy of the State Duma from the Chukotsk Autonomous Region. In December 2000 he was elected governor of the region.

In 2003 Abramovich bought London's Chelsea soccer club. He also owned the Russian Avangard Omsk ice hockey team. In 2003 he was included in *Fortune* magazine's list of the world's richest men under 40, with his personal wealth estimated at $8.3 billion. In the same year *Forbes* also included Abramovich in its list of billionaires, placing his wealth at $5.7 billion.

[Naftali Prat (2nd ed.)]

ABRAMOVITSH, SHOLEM YANKEV (**Jacob**, also **Mendele Moykher Sforim**; 1835 or 1836–1917), Hebrew and Yiddish writer, often called the "grandfather" of modern Judaic literature. Abramovitsh was born in Kapulia (Kopyl), near Minsk; he lived in Berdichev from 1858 to 1869 and subsequently in Zhitomir. In 1881 he was appointed principal of the *talmud torah* in Odessa, a position he held until 1916 – except for two years spent in Geneva, Switzerland, following his traumatic experience of the 1905 pogroms. Abramovitsh's long life spanned several periods in the development of Jewish society in Eastern Europe: the *Haskalah and the period of reform under Czar *Alexander II, the aftermath of the 1881 pogroms, *Ḥibbat Zion, the Socialism of the *Bund, and Zionism.

Abramovitsh began his literary career as a Hebrew essayist and fiction writer but soon turned to Yiddish. With five short novels written between 1864 and 1878, he laid the foundation for modern Yiddish fiction. In 1886, he returned to Hebrew with a series of short stories that literary historians have often viewed as a seminal contribution to the revival of modern Hebrew literature. He also expanded his early Yiddish works and translated them into Hebrew. As an integral member of the Jewish intelligentsia in Odessa, Abramovitsh was in contact with the Yiddish writer *Sholem Aleichem, with the historian Simon *Dubnow, and with Hebrew writers such as Ḥ.N. *Bialik, Y.Ḥ. *Rawnitzki, and *Aḥad Ha-Am.

Readers and critics have often referred to Abramovitsh as "Mendele Moykher Sforim" ("Mendele the Book Peddler"), yet Dan Miron showed in *A Traveler Disguised* (1973; 1996) that this is misleading. First appearing in 1864 and evolving in Yiddish and Hebrew over the next half century, Mendele is a character or persona in Abramovitsh's works. Hence it is inaccurate to use the designation as if it were simply the author's pen name. Abramovitsh seems to have created the Mendele persona as a way of reaching a broad readership. Instead of speaking from above, as did many Hebrew *maskilim*, he uses the folksy Mendele as his mouthpiece. Sometimes the enlightened Abramovitsh employs irony at the expense of the more naïve Mendele. The Jubilee editions of his complete works, in both Hebrew (1909–12) and Yiddish (1911–13), try to circumvent this problem by having it both ways, using a title followed by a parenthesis: *Ale verk fun Mendele Moykher Sforim* (*S.Y. Abramovitsh*).

Abramovitsh was the son of Ḥayyim Moyshe Broyde, a prosperous and respected man who was one of the outstanding talmudic scholars in the small town of Kapulia. Situated in the Minsk province of Czarist Russia (now Belarus), this *shtetl* was culturally associated with Jewish Lithuania ("Lita"). Hence Abramovitsh was schooled in the prevailing Lithuanian rabbinic style, with emphasis on the Hebrew Bible, its Aramaic translation, and the Talmud. He received an unusually rigorous *ḥeder* education from a talented *melammed* (teacher) named Yose Rubens; according to Abramovitsh's own account, during his years at *ḥeder* he memorized most of the Hebrew Bible. Instructed by Rubens until the age of 11, Abramovitsh was impressed by his artistic abilities as a wood carver. Following the death of his father in about 1849, Abramovitsh studied at yeshivot in Timkovitz, Slutsk, and Vilna. After two years in Slutsk he returned to live with his mother, now remarried and living in the picturesque village of Mielnik, which was surrounded by a forest. His experiences there may be reflected in his story "*Dos Tosefos-Yontev Kelbl*" ("The Calf," 1911), in which a yeshivah boy returns home and becomes engrossed by the world of nature. At about the age of 17, Abramovitsh wrote his first Hebrew poetry, consisting of odes to nature in the neo-Biblical style known as *meliẓah*.

Abramovitsh later traveled south with an aunt in an effort to find her husband, who had fled his creditors when his business failed. Their resourceful guide, Avreml Khromoi (Abraham the Lame), regaled them with stories about the better life that awaited them in Volhynia. Avreml did not travel by the shortest route but made as many stops as possible to collect charity. The difficult experiences during these circuitous travels became the impetus for Abramovitsh's greatest Yiddish novel, *Fishke der Krumer* ("Fishke the Lame," 1869/1888). At the end of their journeys Abramovitsh settled in Kamenets-Podolski, where he was briefly married to a mentally ill woman. There he also met the maskilic author Avraham-Ber Gottlober, probably his model for the impoverished writer Herr Gutmann in *Dos Kleyne Mentshele* ("The Little Man," 1864). Although Gottlober was not impressed by the juvenile Hebrew verses that the young Abramovitsh showed him, he recognized his talent. As a teacher at the government school for Jewish boys, Gottlober was able to direct Abramovitsh's studies and introduce him to the wider world of literature, mathematics, and science. With the assistance of Gottlober's daughters, Abramovitsh learned German and Russian, passed a teacher's examination, and taught at the Kamenets-Podolski government school in 1856–58. During that time education became the subject of his first publication, "*Mikhtav al Devar ha-Ḥinukh*" ("A Letter on Education," 1857), published with Gottlober's help in the Hebrew journal *Ha-Maggid*.

Abramovitsh married Pessie Levin in 1858 and moved with her to Berdichev, supported by his father-in-law, while he continued his autodidactic education and literary activities. Berdichev was heavily populated by ḥasidim, which led Abramovitsh into conflict with a form of Jewish life that he had seldom encountered in the north, except during his studies in Timkovitz. His fiction, in which a town resembling Berdichev is called "Glupsk" (= a town of fools), expressed his hostility toward the Jewish community leaders. In *Dos Vintshfingerl* ("The Wishing-Ring"), he mocked ḥasidic resistance to modernization: "The ḥasidim were not pleased, because Gutmann dressed like a German. And when the floor of the school was washed, they became furious. 'What's the meaning of this? To do such a thing in a school! What's this, washing off the mud that our ancestors left behind?!'" (1865, p. 7).

In 1860 Abramovitsh published his first book, a collection of Hebrew essays entitled *Mishpat Shalom* ("The Judgment of Peace," alluding to the author's name), which included a translated article on whether corporeal punishment of children is permissible. A cause of much subsequent debate was his lead essay, "*Kilkul ha-Minim*" ("The Confusion of Gender"), which critiqued a work by Eliezer Zweifel. He occupied himself with natural sciences and began to translate Harald Othmar Lenz's *Gemeinnützige Naturgeschichte* ("Natural History for General Use," 1835–39), which appeared in Hebrew as *Sefer Toledot ha-Teva* ("The Book of Natural History," 3 vols., 1862–73). This project reflected his concern that Jews were not sufficiently educated in matters of science and nature, yet it achieved limited results because the audience for secular Hebrew writing was small. Abramovitsh's first Hebrew novel, *Limdu Heitev* ("Learn to Do Well") was published in Warsaw in 1862. The Russian title page calls it "a novel in the pure Hebrew language," which shows Abramovitsh's early adherence to the literary principles of the Berlin Enlightenment, including a strong preference for the supposedly "pure language" (*leshon ẓaḥ*) of the biblical prophets. Because he emulated that allusive, ornamental style, his early Hebrew writings were derivative and aesthetically unremarkable. He revised his short novel and published it under the new title *Ha-Avot ve-ha-Banim* ("Fathers and Children," 1868), alluding to the 1862 novel of the same title by Ivan Turgenev.

Prospects for advances in the Jews' material conditions and educational privileges improved in the 1860s under Alexander II. At that time, Abramovitsh followed the maskilic bent in the didactic goals of his fiction: according to his 1889 autobiographical account in Nahum *Sokolow's *Sefer Zikkaron*, "I said to myself, here I am observing the ways of our people and seeking to give them stories from a Jewish source in the Holy Tongue, yet most of them do not even know this language and speak Yiddish. What good does a writer do with all of his toil and ideas if he is not useful to his people? This question – for whom do I toil? – gave me no rest and brought me into great confusion."

In November 1864, serialization of Abramovitsh's *Dos Kleyne Mentshele* ("The Little Man"), to which many scholars trace the beginning of modern Yiddish literature, began in *Kol Mevasser* ("A Heralding Voice" – the Yiddish supplement to *Ha-Meliẓ*, edited by Alexander Tsederboym (*Zederbaum)). The book was reprinted in 1865 with the subtitle: *Oder a Lebensbashraybung fun Yitzhok Avrom Takif* ("Or, a Life-description by the Powerful Man Isaac Abraham"). While no author's name appeared on the title page, Abramovitsh hinted at his identity by attributing the book to "a man" (*ish*, Aleph-Yod-

Shin, Abramovitsh's initials in reverse). Such anonymity was a common stratagem among Yiddish authors, both because their political views often drew censure and because Yiddish writing was held in low esteem.

Abramovitsh raged against the complacent rich who, as he wrote in a letter to Lev Binshtok, "rest in the shadow of money." His own financial circumstances were especially difficult around 1866, when he published his second collection of Hebrew essays, *Ein Mishpat* ("Fountain of Judgment") and the second volume of *Sefer Toledot ha-Teva*, for which he drew terminology from talmudic sources and in this respect influenced modern Hebrew usage. Some critics believe that his descriptions of nature and animal behavior anticipate his later fiction.

At a time when modern Yiddish theater was still in its infancy, Abramovitsh wrote the play *Di Takse* ("The Tax," 1869; it bore the ironic subtitle: *Oder di Bande Shtot Baley Toyves*, "Or, the Gang of City Benefactors"). Written in order to advance his reformist goals, it is more successful as social criticism than as drama. He had encountered widespread corruption among the community leaders of Berdichev and depicted the wrongdoings of these false benefactors in a transparent satire. According to one account, the powerful men of Berdichev forced Abramovitsh to leave the town after his satiric portrayal was published. Abramovitsh then moved to Zhitomir, where he studied at the Rabbinical Institute. Since this school educated many young Jewish men seeking higher education, and not only would-be rabbis, it was not unusual that Abramovitsh ended his studies there without receiving a degree.

In the 1870s, Abramovitsh experimented with writing Yiddish verse, favoring outmoded tetrameter and pentameter couplets. His poetic efforts ranged from an allegorical poem about the Jewish people, "Yudl" (1875), to traditional Judaic literature. He wrote Yiddish translations of Sabbath songs called *Zmires Yisroel* ("Songs of Israel," 1875) and compiled nature hymns in a Yiddish adaptation of the ḥasidic *Perek Shirah* (1875). He planned to translate the prayer book and the Psalms into Yiddish, but this project remained unfinished and only fragments are extant. In contrast to the German *maskilim*, Abramovitsh (like Mendel Lefin) recognized the importance of reaching common Yiddish readers in their mother tongue while also combating the influence of the *Tsene-Rene* with its archaic language and heavy reliance on midrashic elaborations.

One of Abramovitsh's most widely read books was his allegorical novel, *Di Klyatshe; Oder Tsar Baley Khayim* ("The Nag; or, Cruelty to Animals," 1873). Its epigraph quotes from Song of Songs 1:9, which Abramovitsh expands in Yiddish: "To my mare among Pharaoh's chariots I compare you – People of Israel." During the period of reform between 1856 and 1881, the number of Jews at Russian high schools and universities increased from about 1% to over 10% of the total population of students. Yet Isrolik, a typical boy who has received a traditional Jewish education, runs into difficulties because of his unfamiliarity with subjects such as history and Slavic folklore. As he becomes mentally imbalanced, Isrolik hallucinates about meeting a talking horse and trying to improve her lot. Her sufferings are "as old as the Jewish exile," because she represents the fate of the Jewish people.

Unlike most of Abramovitsh's fiction, which concentrates on Jewish life in the impoverished *shtetlekh* in the Pale of Settlement, *Di Klyatshe* presents a wider panorama of Czarist Russia, with special attention to relations among antisemites and Jews; hooligans who torment the nag obviously represent antisemites. There is even a critique of the well-intentioned *maskilim*, when Isrolik reads aloud his letter to a benevolent society – an oblique representation of the Society for the Spread of Enlightenment (OPE). The nag refers to the ornamental, pseudo-biblical Hebrew style when she responds bitterly: "*Melitza, melitza, melitza!*" She rightly doubts whether any practical results will ensue from Isrolik's highfalutin rhetoric. Yet *Di Klyatshe* was a bold political allegory: in one of his nightmarish fantasies, for instance, Ashmodai – the King of the Demons – seems to represent the Czar.

Kitser Masoes Binyomen Hashlishi ("The Brief Travels of Benjamin the Third," 1878) centers on a pair of hapless, would-be explorers, Benjamin and Senderl, who somewhat resemble Cervantes' Don Quixote and Sancho Panza. Instead of depicting a petty nobleman who has read too many chivalric romances and acts as if he inhabits one, Abramovitsh portrays Benjamin as a Jew who has read too many narratives about travel to the Holy Land. Abramovitsh attacks the impracticality and worldly ignorance of Benjamin and his sidekick Senderl, because they are stereotypical traditional Jews whose life experience consists almost exclusively of Torah study. Benjamin's provisions for travel consist of little more than his prayer book, prayer shawl, and *tefillin*; only Senderl has the sense to bring food. Their wives are market women who eke out a meager living and dominate their families. Toward the end of the book, Abramovitsh takes aim at the horrific phenomenon of *khappers* (press-gangs) who kidnap Jews for induction into the Czar's army; in this comic account, however, Benjamin and Senderl are discharged because they prove to be more trouble than they are worth.

A reprint of *Dos Kleyne Mentshele* (1879) brought to a close the most productive period of Abramovitsh's Yiddish writing. The comparatively optimistic period of reform begun in 1855 by Alexander II, the so-called "Liberator Czar," had ended abruptly with his assassination in 1881 – followed by anti-Jewish pogroms and a period of reaction during which the conditions for Yiddish publishing also changed. During the same period Abramovitsh experienced personal and family troubles. His daughter Rashel, a talented art student, died in St. Petersburg, while his son Meir (Mikhail), a Russian poet, was exiled for political activism and later converted to Christianity. Abramovitsh described his malaise in a letter to Lev Binshtok on January 16, 1880: "As soon as I take up the pen, I feel an overwhelming heaviness: my hands are bound as if by magical chains" (see *Dos Mendele Bukh*, 107). On June 5, 1884, he wrote to another friend that "the misfortunes of the recent period have turned my heart into stone, so that my tongue has not allowed me to speak and my hands have not allowed me to write a word" (*ibid.*, 128). For several years he produced no major works in Yiddish. Subsequently, in 1886–1896, as part of the movement to revive Hebrew, he devoted much of his creative energy to writing Hebrew short fiction.

In 1888, Sholem Aleichem sought out Abramovitsh, hoping to include his writings in the anthology he was editing, *Di Folksbibliotek* ("The Jewish Popular Library"). Their correspondence quickly assumed an intimate tone, with Sholem Aleichem referring to Abramovitsh as "Grandfather," while Abramovitsh referred to Sholem Aleichem as "Grandson" – although their difference in age was only 23 years. At first Abramovitsh was evasive, complaining of insufficient time because of his work as principal of the Odessa Talmud Torah, but he did contribute the first two parts of the expanded and quite altered version of *Dos Vintshfingerl* ("The Wishing-Ring," 1888–89). This narrative of Hershele's impoverished childhood in Kabtsansk ("Beggarsville"), replete with irony and satire, still shows traces of nostalgia for *shtetl* life.

Although Abramovitsh had continued publishing sporadically in Hebrew throughout the 1870s, he devoted this decade mainly to writing in Yiddish. He returned to Hebrew with the story, "*Be-Seter Ra'am*" ("In the Secret Place of Thunder," 1886–87), his first Hebrew belletristic work since 1868. Hebrew became Abramovitsh's literary focus in the 1890s, when in addition to publishing Hebrew short fiction he began translating his Yiddish novels. One of his most successful Hebrew stories is "*Shem ve-Yefet ba-Aggalah*" ("Shem and Japheth on the Train," 1890), in which Mendele the Book Peddler abandons his horse and carriage and travels in a third-class train compartment. There he meets Moyshe the Tailor, a latter-day Moses who has no Torah to offer beyond stratagems for the survival of the oppressed.

Following a decade in which Abramovitsh printed his Hebrew short fiction, 1896–97 saw the publication of Hebrew versions of *Masa'ot Benyamin ha-Shlishi* ("Travels of Benjamin the Third") and *Be-Emek ha-Bakhah* ("In the Vale of Tears"). A few years later, Ḥ.N. Bialik translated the first eight chapters of *Fishke der krumer* ("Fishke the Lame") as *Sefer ha-Kabeẓanim: Nun Kefufah* ("The Book of Beggars: A Crooked Letter *Nun*," 1901), but Abramovitsh was not satisfied. For the most part Abramovitsh translated or adapted his own works into Hebrew. In the late novel *Shloyme, Reb Khayims* ("Solomon, Ḥayyim's Son") – or, in Hebrew, *Ba-Yamim ha-Hem* ("In Those Days") – Abramovitsh is less satiric than in his early works.

Critical Assessment

Abramovitsh records the plight of Russian Jewry suffering tyranny and hate from without and exploitation by the Jewish upper classes from within. In some works Abramovitsh continues the Haskalah tradition of satirizing folk beliefs (e.g., in *Fishke der Krumer* and *Kitser Masoes Binyomin ha-Shlishi*). Elsewhere he evokes the intimate experiences of Jewish childhood, as in works such as the late verion of *Dos Vintshfingerl* and the autobiographical novel *Shloyme, Reb Khayims*. Many of his characters are drawn from Jewish life in the towns and cities of Belorussia and Lithuania, where he spent his childhood, while other works portray characters from Volhynia and southern Russia, with the action taking place in Berdichev, Zhitomir, Odessa, and other towns in the Jewish Pale of Settlement. Following a Russian tradition, Abramovitsh uses fictitious place names that satirically describe the qualities of their inhabitants – such as "Glupsk," the town of fools modeled on Berdichev; "Tsviatshits," a town of hypocrisy; "Tuneyadevka," suggesting parasitism; and "Kabtsansk," or Paupersville. Although Abramovitsh was immersed in Judaic traditions, he also was influenced by European fiction, as reflected in his parody of *Don Quixote* (in *Kitser Masoes Binyomin ha-Shlishi*). His *Dos Kleyne Mentshele* ("The Little Man") and *Fishke der Krumer* ("Fishke the Lame") reflect the Russian satiric tradition of Gogol and Saltykov-Shchedrin as well as the picaresque novel of authors such as Henry Fielding. He adopted some typical patterns of the sentimental adventure story in *Fishke der Krumer,* in which surprising coincidences occur. Based on that novel, Chaver-Paver wrote a screenplay and Edgar Ulmer directed the powerful Yiddish film *Fishke der Krumer* (known in English as "The Light Ahead," 1939).

Although Abramovitsh began writing in Yiddish for the practical purpose of reaching a larger reading public, he eventually came to regard his work in Yiddish to be of intrinsic artistic value in its own right. Abramovitsh's style is an effective instrument for satire and irony, especially when it is deliberately incongruous: phrases originally expressing the sacred are applied to the profane, and the reverse. In a 1907 letter to Y.Ḥ. Rawnitzki, for example, Abramovitsh alluded to the Creation story when he recalled his original goal: "Let us create a Hebrew style that will be lively, speaking clearly and precisely, the way people do in our time and place, and let its soul be Jewish." In many of the prefaces to his novels, Mendele Moykher Sforim uses mock prayers that begin, "Praised be the Creator…," and then turn into attacks on corruption. Abramovitsh's traditional narrators – such as Mendele Moykher Sforim, Isaac Abraham Takif, or Alter Yaknoz – provide Abramovitsh with many opportunities for ironic play and enable him to achieve artistic distance from his story.

Abramovitsh's Hebrew style went through a number of stages. In the 1860s he was still under the influence of Abraham *Mapu's neo-biblical rhetoric, particularly in his early Hebrew stories. Abramovitsh carried on the tradition of expanding the Hebrew language, as introduced by Haskalah writers such as Isaac *Satanow, Menahem Mendel (Lefin) Levin, and Joseph *Perl, whose style absorbed elements of Mishnaic Hebrew, medieval philosophical literature, and ḥasidic literature influenced by spoken Yiddish. Abramovitsh's process of creating a synthetic Hebrew style composed of many historical layers reached its peak after 1886. On the occasion of Abramovitsh's 75th birthday, in 1910–11, Ḥ.N. Bialik asserted that Abramovitsh was the "creator of the *nusaḥ*," which he described as a new synthesis drawing from many historical layers of Hebrew. According to Bialik, Abramovitsh's *nusaḥ* had already become the dominant style in Hebrew literature. Many 20th century critics accepted Bialik's view, although some writers such as Y.Ḥ. *Brenner countered with a kind of anti-*nusaḥ*. In any event, Abramovitsh contributed to greater fluidity in Hebrew style by moving beyond the more rigid biblical *meliẓah* of his predecessors.

Abramovitsh wrote in both Yiddish and Hebrew throughout his career, which led to a productive interaction between his writings in these languages. Simon Dubnow made an important observation on Abramovitsh's bilingual creativity: when he "had the Yiddish original of the first parts of *Dos Vintshfingerl* in front of him, he made the Hebrew translation – or more precisely, the reworking – masterfully and without any difficulties. When it came to writing more without the Yiddish original, however, he sensed that it would not go smoothly. One cannot create content and language at the same time, but only one after the other; one must create the content first, in the language of the life that is portrayed in the artwork. On this foundation, then, he could build the style of the revived Hebrew language (*Fun "Zhargon" tsu Yidish* ("From 'Jargon' to Yiddish"), 1929, p. 46). In his striving for artistic perfection, Abramovitsh continually reworked his novels and stories, enlarging and polishing them. The later versions of his works, and particularly the Jubilee Edition, moderated his satiric stance; he also diminished the pro-Enlightenment propaganda that was present in early works such as *Dos Vinshfingerl*. During the process of bilingual recreation, in later adaptations of his works, Abramovitsh introduced important variations in content and style. He did not merely translate his works from Yiddish into Hebrew but rather reinvented them.

Abramovitsh is rightly remembered for his descriptions of nature, his trenchant satire, and his sympathetic portrayals of the poor. The lack of natural descriptions in Judaic literature prior to Abramovitsh is legendary. Abramovitsh's narrator Mendele, however, pays great attention to the natural world. Satire had been a common literary device among the *maskilim* writing in German and Hebrew, and Abramovitsh became the most powerful satiric author in Yiddish letters. Because his basic ideology was that of the Jewish Enlightenment, Abramovitsh continued writing in a satiric vein even after the political setbacks of 1881. Later in life, in part because of his position at the *talmud torah* in Odessa, Abramovitsh tempered his critiques. Beyond his satiric impulses, Abramovitsh shows ample sympathy toward the underclass and unusual sensitivity to the plight of poor Jewish boys.

Abramovitsh's Yiddish and Hebrew writings attracted attention from the start, but critical interest in them grew especially in the 1880s, after he had published his major Yiddish works. This interest increased early in the 20th century as Abramovitsh's Hebrew fiction won admiration, on the one hand, and drew reserved and even negative reaction on the other. From an ideological point of view, critics have been interested in his attitude toward the Ḥibbat Zion movement and his stand on the social problems of the oppressed multitudes in Russia. Readers have sometimes seen Abramovitsh as a preacher, loyal to his people and calling for a radical change in Diaspora life. Other critics such as David Frishman stressed the documentary character of Abramovitsh's descriptions of the *shtetl*, which might someday serve as a historical testimony to the Jewish way of life in the 19th century. Some other critics have thought that his harsh portrayals of *shtetl* life give a distorted image of Jewish existence there. While critics have admired his descriptions of nature and his epic achievement in recreating Jewish *shtetl* types, they have occasionally argued that – because he uses exaggeration and grotesque caricature – Abramovitsh inadequately represents the lives of individuals.

A unique source of information about Abramovitsh's formative years is an essay in the Russian-Jewish journal *Voskhod* ("Sunrise," 1884), by his childhood friend Yehuda-Leyb (Lev) Binshtok. Also essential are Abramovitsh's essay "*Reshimot le-Toledotai*" ("My Life Story," in Nahum Sokolov's *Sefer Zikkaron,* 1889) and his many letters contained in *Dos Mendele Bukh* ("The Mendele Book," ed. Nakhman Mayzel, 1959). A fictionalized account of Abramovitsh's childhood may be found in his autobiographical novel *Shloyme Reb Khayims*, which appeared serially in Yiddish starting in 1899 (printed in book form, 1911); in Hebrew, the autobiographical novel appeared as *Ba-Yamim ha-Hem* ("In Those Days," starting with the *Petikhtah*, 1894; printed in book form, 1911).

On the occasion of Abramovitsh's 75th birthday and in celebration of his wide popularity based on 50 years of writing, the Jubilee editions of his works were published in 1909–11 (Hebrew, in three volumes) and in 1911–13 (Yiddish, in 16 volumes). Some important studies of Abramovitsh are by Shmuel Niger (1936), Meir Viner (1946), Gershon Shaked (1965), and Dan Miron (1973). In English, Ken Frieden (1995) gives an overview of his life and work and interprets his major fiction in relation to the other classic Yiddish writers – Sholem Aleichem and I.L. Peretz. In a new vein, Naomi Seidman (1997) discusses gender issues in Abramovitsh's writing.

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[Ken Frieden (2nd ed.)]

ABRAMOVITZ, MAX (1908–2004), U.S. architect, born in Chicago. From 1947 to 1952 Abramovitz was deputy director of the Planning Office of the United Nations. He was partner in the firm of Harrison & Abramovitz, which built the United Nations Secretariat, New York (1950). The design incorporated the ideas of an international panel of architects that included Le Corbusier and Oscar Niemeyer. This construction, the east and west sides of which were faced almost entirely with glass, proved a prototype of later buildings. His firm specialized in office buildings such as the Alcoa Building, Pittsburgh (1953), and the Socony Mobil Building, New York (1956), in which story-high metal units were used for the curtain walls. He also worked on projects of Jewish interest. These include Temple Beth-Zion, Buffalo, N.Y., and the Hillel Foundations on the campuses of the University of Illinois (1951) and of Northwestern University (1952). His three chapels (Protestant, Catholic, Jewish) at Brandeis University (1954) expressed the harmony and equality of the three faiths as represented on the campus, while at the same time respecting their differences. The chapels were similar structures placed around a pool. In 1963 Abramovitz built the new Philharmonic Hall, New York. The facade features two superimposed rows of concrete shafts softened with flattened vaults. It has been regarded as an example of American "neoclassicism." In 1973 Philharmonic Hall was renamed Avery Fisher Hall. Located at the northern end of the Lincoln Center Plaza, the concert hall is home to the New York Philharmonic Orchestra and can seat an audience of more than 2,700. The Plaza, built in 1964–65 by Harrison & Abramovitz, was rebuilt in 1984–85 by Lew Davis and renamed Paul Milstein Plaza in 1997. Abramovitz's auditorium of the University of Illinois at Urbana (1964) is a vast saucer dome surrounded by a circulation gallery that can accommodate more than 18,000 spectators.

The Empire State Plaza in Albany, N.Y., considered one of the most ambitious urban renewal projects in modern U.S. history, was designed by Harrison & Abramovitz and built between 1965 and 1979. The government complex consists of ten buildings set on a six-story platform, which forms the plaza.

ABRAMOVITZ, MOSES (1912–2000), U.S. economist. Born in New York City, he was an instructor at Harvard (1936–38) and from 1938 to 1940 a member of the staff of the National Bureau of Economic Research. In 1940 he began teaching at Columbia but interrupted his work during World War II to serve as the principal economist of the War Production Board and the Office of Strategic Services. He spent the final year of the war as a lieutenant in the U.S. Army, and with the close of the conflict was appointed economic adviser to the U.S. representative on the Allied Commission on Reparations. In 1946 he resumed his teaching at Columbia but left in 1948 for Stanford University. He taught at Stanford for almost 30 years, taking leave only during 1962–63 to work as economic adviser to the secretary-general of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development in Paris. He served as chair from 1963 to 1965 and from 1971 to 1974. During his tenure at Stanford and after his retirement, he gained international admiration and renown for his fundamental insights and pioneering contributions to the study of long-term economic growth. His main fields of interest were economic history and development and business cycles.

Abramovitz served as president of the American Economic Association (1979–80), the Western Economic Association (1988–89), and the Economic History Association (1992–93). His publications include *An Approach to a Price Theory for a Changing Economy* (1939); *Inventories and Business Cycles* (1950); with Vera Eliasberg, *The Growth of Public Employment in Great Britain* (1957); *Evidences of Long Swings in Aggregate Construction since the Civil War* (1964); and *Thinking About Growth and Other Essays* (1989). Abramovitz's article "Catching Up, Forging Ahead, and Falling Behind" (1986) is one of the most frequently cited papers ever published by the *Journal of Economic History*.

[Joachim O. Ronall / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

ABRAMOWICZ, DINA (1909–2000), librarian and specialist on Yiddish studies and on Jewish history and culture in Eastern Europe. Born in Vilna, she was raised in a Russian-speaking home with strong family ties to the Haskalah, the Yiddish-speaking intelligentsia, and the Bund. Abramowicz was educated in Yiddish and Polish schools, including a Polish gymnasium, and she received an M.A. in philosophy and Polish literature from Stefan Batory University in Vilna (1936). From 1939 to 1941 she was assistant to the head librarian of the Jewish Central Children's Library of Vilna, and during the Nazi occupation she worked in the Vilna Ghetto Library. Most of the library's books had previously belonged to the Hevrah Mefitse Haskalah, in whose former building it was housed. Abramowicz escaped the ghetto before its liquidation and from 1943 until liberation in 1944 she served in a Jewish partisan unit. Abramowicz immigrated to the United States in 1946, where she was reunited with her father, who had been there since 1939. Her mother perished in Treblinka in 1943, and her younger sister survived the war in France. In America, Abramowicz resumed her career as a librarian at the *YIVO Institute for Jewish Research, where she served as assistant librarian (1947–62), head librarian (1962–87), and senior reference librarian (1987–2000). Under Abramowicz's leadership the YIVO Library grew into one of the largest and most important repositories of printed Judaica, especially in her areas of specialization: Yiddish language and literature (including children's literature), Jewish history and culture in Eastern Europe, and the Holocaust. Abramowicz was assiduous in her efforts to acquire new and unusual publications for the library. She supervised the absorption of much of the prewar Vilna YIVO library after it was recovered in Europe and brought to New York. In addition, she published book reviews, topical articles, annual lists of new Yiddish books, and bibliographies of translations from Yiddish into English, and she co-edited a collection of essays on 19th- and early 20th-century Lithuanian Jewry, *Profiles of a Lost World: Memoirs of East European Jewish Life before World War II* (1999) with her father Hirsz Abramowicz. Abramowicz's contributions as reference librarian and cultural gatekeeper were particularly noteworthy, and she received awards from several national library associations and Jewish organizations. Over the years she provided in-depth consultations to thousands of researchers, including novelists, scholars, filmmakers, journalists, and genealogists. Through her personal experiences, professional training, intellectual engagement, and longevity, Abramowicz came to personify the legacy of Eastern European Jewish civilization. She died in New York City.

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[Zachary M. Baker (2nd ed.)]

ABRAMOWITZ, BINA (**Fuchs**; 1865–1953), Yiddish actress. At the age of 14, Bina Fuchs joined the chorus of Mogulesko's company in Odessa and later acted with Naphtali Goldfaden's troupe, being typecast in "mother" roles. After her marriage to Max Abramowitz, the couple toured Russia giving concerts, and in 1886 accompanied Mogulesko to the U.S. In New York she played with various Yiddish companies, including Maurice Schwartz's at the Jewish Art Theater. She created many roles in Jacob Gordin's plays. Abramowitz also appeared in films made in the U.S. They include the silent movie *Broken Hearts* (1926), directed by Maurice Schwartz, and the Yiddish-language films *The Unfortunate Bride* (1932) and *Yiskor* (1933).

[Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

ABRAMOWITZ, DOV BAER (1860–1926), U.S. rabbi, religious Zionist leader, and founding member of the Union of Orthodox Rabbis of America. Abramowitz was born in Lithuania but made *aliyah* together with his parents as a young boy. He was educated at the Eẓ Ḥayyim yeshivah in Jerusalem and appointed as a district rabbi in the city after receiving ordination in 1885. Abramowitz left Israel for America in 1894, moving first to Philadelphia, and later to New York City, where he served as the rabbi of Congregation Mishkan Israel. He quickly became a prominent figure in the Orthodox community, admired for both his scholarship and his leadership abilities. While in New York, he published a text on the Jewish marriage code, a collection of sermons, and a multi-volume study of Jewish law as well as editing a short-lived scholarly journal. He also joined with Moses Matlin and Judah Bernstein to push for the establishment of a seminary to train English-speaking rabbis to serve American pulpits. The Rabbi Isaac Elchanan Yeshiva, the product of their combined labors, was founded in 1897. Five years later, he joined with a group of other immigrant rabbis who had received their ordination at yeshivot in Europe and Palestine to form the Union of Orthodox Rabbis of America (Agudat ha-Rabbonim). Abramowitz moved to St. Louis, Missouri, in 1906 after accepting an offer to become head of the city's *bet din*. This position provided Abramowitz with the status and time to pursue a variety of initiatives close to his heart. A passionate proponent of religious Zionism, Abramowitz campaigned on behalf of the Mizrachi movement, starting its first American office in 1910 and encouraging its expansion. Abramowitz was appointed as the president of the American Mizrachi at its founding in 1914. During World War I his focus shifted to easing the plight of the embattled Jewish communities of Eastern Europe. Abramowitz collected money for the Central Relief Committee, the organization established to rally the often fractious American Jewish community on behalf of their beleaguered brethren caught between opposing armies on the Eastern Front. Following the war, Abramowitz returned to his Zionist activities, founding an organization to support emissaries who visited America to raise funds for Palestine. After over 25 years in America, Abramowitz returned to settle in Palestine in 1921. Among his writings are *Dat Yisrael* (1897–1905), *Ketav ha-Dat* (1900), and *Kuntres Sefer Ketubbah* (1900).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: M. Sherman, *Orthodox Judaism in America: A Biographical Dictionary and Sourcebook* (1996); *Universal Jewish Encyclopedia* (1948).

[Adam Mendelsohn (2nd ed.)]

ABRAMOWITZ, EMIL (1864–1922), physician, one of the first Social Democrats in Russia. Abramowitz was born in Grodno and studied in France. He was active in the movement in Minsk and Kiev in the 1880s. His wide education, personal warmth, and persuasiveness as an exponent of socialism enabled him to influence numerous workers. The program he drew up for workers' circles was followed for a long time in the Jewish labor movement. Abramowitz was imprisoned for his political activities and spent many years in exile in Siberia, where he gained a reputation for his cultural activities and dedication to the medical profession. During World War I he served as an army doctor; in 1919 he was again imprisoned, as a Menshevik. The letters he wrote between 1914 and 1917 reveal concern over the fate of Russian Jewry and pessimism as to its future.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Deyateli Revolyutsionnogo Dvizheniya v Rossii (Bio-Bibliograficheskiy slovar)*, s.v.; E. Tcherikower, *Historishe Shriftn*, 3 (1939), 410 ff.

[Moshe Mishkinsky]

ABRAMOWITZ, GRIGORI (pseudonyms: **Ẓevi Abrahami**, **W. Farbman**, and **Michael Farbman**; 1880?–1933), Zionist socialist, publisher, and journalist. Born in Odessa, Russia, Abramowitz studied in Munich and Zurich where he became an active Zionist. At first sharing the ideology of the *Democratic Fraction, he later joined the Zionist socialist group

"Ḥerut" in Zurich. As a supporter of the project for Jewish colonization in *Uganda, Abramowitz wrote a series of articles on "Zionism and the Uganda question" in the Zionist organ *Yevreyskaya* (Zhizn, 1905). For the *Zionist Socialist Workers Party he wrote on Jewish emigration and the economy. After withdrawing from public activities, Abramowitz founded a book-publishing firm. He lived in England from 1915 and while there contributed to English and American journals as an expert on Soviet affairs. His books include *After Lenin* (1924) and *Five-Year Plan* (1931). He founded the *European Year Book* in 1926.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: JC (June 2, 1933).

[Moshe Mishkinsky]

ABRAMOWITZ, HERMAN (1880–1947), Canadian rabbi. Born in Lithuania, Abramowitz moved to New York City with his family in 1890. He received a B.A. from the City College of New York (CCNY) in 1900 and was ordained at the *Jewish Theological Seminary (JTS) two years later. He was appointed rabbi at Montreal's Shaar Hashomayim synagogue in 1902, where he served until his death 44 years later. In 1907 he was also the first student to earn a D.H.L. at JTS.

Although Abramowitz initially felt some discomfort about being outside the United States (and later reminisced that his departure from New York for Montreal "was like pioneering on distant foreign fields") he grew to embrace his congregation and Canadian Jewry. He was regarded an effective, dignified, and caring spiritual leader. Many of his sermons were reprinted in the English-language Canadian Jewish press. He encouraged the congregational Sunday school and lay involvement in the synagogue. Abramowitz was also involved in Jewish communal life outside the synagogue. In his first decade in Montreal, he visited western farm colonies in Quebec and western Canada as a representative of the *Jewish Colonization Association. He was instrumental in raising funds for TB patients at Montreal's Mount Sinai Hospital, and in 1913 he was an expert witness on the Talmud in a law suit against the Quebec notary and journalist Plamondon, who delivered a speech (subsequently printed) accusing Jews of the *blood libel.

With the outbreak of WWI, Abramowitz served as chaplain to the Jewish soldiers in Canada. He held the rank of captain. In the interwar period, he was on the board of the Federation of Jewish Philanthropies of Montreal, the Montreal Talmud Torah, and the Montreal General Hospital. During WWII, although suffering from failing health, he chaired the Religious Welfare Committee of Canadian Jewish Congress. Abramowitz also left his mark on Conservative Judaism. In 1926 he was elected president of the *United Synagogue of America, the first person from outside the United States.

During Abramowitz's tenure, Shaar Hashomayim became the congregation of Montreal's "uptown" elite. His congregants included the wealthiest members of the community, including factory owners at odds with their Jewish workers. This may have led to suspicion of Abramowitz by the Jewish masses. Over time, however, he seems to have earned the respect of many of the "downtown" Jews and the Yiddish journalist B.G. *Sack wrote a heartfelt obituary in the Yiddish daily, the *Kanader Adler*.

[Richard Menkis (2nd ed.)]

ABRAMOWITZ (Rein), RAPHAEL (1880–1963), socialist leader and writer. He was born in Dvinsk, Latvia, and from 1899 took part in the activities of the illegal student movement in Riga, where he joined the *Bund in 1901. An outstanding speaker, prolific writer, and energetic organizer, he was speedily recognized as one of the chief spokesmen of the second generation of Bund leaders. In 1903–04, he was active in the "colonies" of the Russian students in Liège and Zurich. In 1905 he was elected a member of the central committee of the Bund and in 1906 became a member of the central committee of the Russian Social Democratic Workers' Party. During the Russian Revolution of 1905, Abramowitz was the Bund candidate for the second Russian *Duma. He was arrested several times for his socialist activities and exiled to Siberia in 1910 but in 1911 succeeded in escaping abroad. Abramowitz returned to Russia in 1917, and played a leading role as a Menshevik representative, notably in the All-Russian Central Executive Committee of the Soviet. After the October Revolution, he and Julius *Martov were included in the Menshevik faction which for a while believed that gradual democratization of the Bolshevik regime was possible. He opposed a contemplated merger of the Bund with the Communist Party and was among the founders of a separate "Social-Democratic Bund" (April 1920). At the end of 1920 Abramowitz went to Berlin, where the following year he and Martov founded the Menshevist organ *Sotsialistitcheskiy Vestnik*, which he continued to edit until shortly before his death. Between 1923 and 1929 he was a leading member of the executive of the Socialist International. Abramowitz moved to Paris in 1939 and in 1940 succeeded in reaching New York.

Abramowitz was a contributor to the Yiddish Socialist *Jewish Daily Forward* and the monthly *Zukunft*, and a founder and editor of the Yiddish *Algemayne Entsiklopedye* (1934–50), and of *The Jewish People, Past and Present* (1946–55). He edited the laborite *Modern Review* (New York, 1947–50). His books include *Lerbukh tsu der Geshikhte fun Yisroel* (in collaboration with A. Menes, 1923); *Der Teror gegen di Sotsialisten in Rusland un in Gruzye* (in collaboration with Tsereteli and Sukhomolin, Yiddish, 1925; translated into French, German, and Dutch); two volumes of memoirs, *In Tsvay Revolutsyes* (1944) and *The Soviet Revolution, 1917–1939* (1962).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: LNYL, 1 (1956), 12–16; *Sotsialistitcheskiy Vestnik*, 43 (1963), nos. 3–4, 26–28.

[Leon Shapiro]

ABRAMS, "CAL" (**Calvin Ross**; 1924–1997), U.S. baseball player, lifetime .269 hitter over eight seasons, with 433 hits, 32 home runs, 257 runs, and 138 RBIs. Born in Philadelphia to Russian immigrant parents, he moved with his family to Brooklyn when he was a child. Having grown up in Brooklyn in the shadow of Ebbets Field, Abrams fulfilled a life-long dream when he signed with the Brooklyn Dodgers after graduating from James Madison High School. But after two weeks in the minor leagues he was drafted into the army, where he served four years. Abrams spent three years in the minor leagues, winning the Southern Association championship with Mobile in 1947 while hitting .336. Abrams, who batted and threw left-handed, played for the Brooklyn Dodgers (1949–52), Cincinnati Reds (1952), Pittsburgh Pirates (1953–54), Baltimore Orioles (1954–55), and Chicago White Sox (1955), and had a perfect fielding percentage in three different seasons, 1950, 1952, and 1956. Abrams is best remembered for one of the most famous plays in Dodger franchise history. In the final game of the 1950 season, with the Dodgers one game behind the Philadelphia Phillies in the pennant race, Abrams tried to score from second with two out in the bottom of the ninth of a 1–1 game on a hit by Duke Snider, but Abrams, who had been waved home by third base coach Milt Stock, was thrown out by the Phillies' Richie Ashburn. Had Cal scored, the Dodgers would have won the game and forced a playoff with the Phillies for the pennant. Dick Sisler hit a three-run home run in the top of the tenth to win the game – and the pennant – for Philadelphia. It was the closest Abrams ever got to the postseason. Dodgers fans vilified Abrams for years but he was defended by both Ashburn and Phillies pitcher Robin Roberts for the play, who agreed with many others who said Abrams should not have been sent home by Stock.

[Elli Wohlgelernter (2nd ed.)]

ABRAMS, CHARLES (1901–1970), U.S. housing and urban planning expert, lawyer, and author. Abrams, who was born in Vilna, was taken to the U.S. in 1904. Admitted to the New York bar in 1923, Abrams became involved in housing and urban development both as a property owner and lawyer during the 1920s and 1930s when he campaigned for the preservation of Greenwich Village's historic streets and buildings. He laid the groundwork for U.S. public housing laws and, in the course of his career, held housing posts on the city, state, national, and international levels. These included counsel to the New York City Housing Authority (1934–37), and leader of, and adviser to, several UN housing missions, mostly to underdeveloped countries. Abrams was a state vice chairman of the New York State Liberal Party in the 1940s. From 1955 to 1959 Abrams was chairman of the New York State Commission Against Discrimination and a member of Governor Harriman's cabinet. In 1965 he chaired the committee whose recommendations led to the creation of the New York City Housing and Development Administration.

Abrams lectured in housing and economics at the New School for Social Research (1936–60), and chaired both Columbia University's city planning department (1965) and its division of urban planning (1965–68).

As housing columnist for the *New York Post* (1947–49), Abrams vigorously exposed real estate abuses and inadequacies in city, state, and federal housing policies. His books include: *Revolution in Land* (1937); *Future of Housing* (1946); *Forbidden Neighbors* (1955); and *Man's Struggle for Shelter* (1964).

ABRAMS, ELLIOTT (1948–), U.S. neoconservative political figure. After graduating from Harvard Law School in 1973, Abrams worked in corporate law but quickly decided to pursue a career in politics and public service instead. Abrams volunteered in Senator Henry "Scoop" Jackson's 1972 bid for the Democratic Party's presidential nomination, and in 1975, when Abrams was looking to get into politics, Jackson offered him a campaign staff position.

After Jackson lost the presidential nomination to Jimmy Carter, Abrams remained in Washington, D.C., where he became chief legal counsel to newly elected Senator Daniel P. Moynihan (Dem., N.Y.), another outspoken advocate of U.S. interventionism, and eventually became Moynihan's chief of staff.

During these years, the Democratic Party, under the auspices of President Carter, softened its stance on the Soviet Union. Carter was accused by hawks of "giving up too much" in arms control negotiations with the Soviet Union. A minor *coup d'etat* ensued among several Jewish Democrats who had worked for Senator Jackson: Elliott *Abrams, Richard *Perle, Doug Feith, and Paul Wolfowitz switched to the Republican Party, supported Ronald Reagan in 1980, and began to espouse a political-intellectual ideology known as neoconservatism.

Abrams was assistant undersecretary of inter-American affairs at the time of the Contras affair involving the illicit sale of weapons to Iran and the channeling of the receipts to the Contras. When he was called to testify before Congress, he claimed to have had no knowledge of any illegal activities. A later Independent Counsel investigation alleged that he had lied to Congress. He pleaded guilty to two counts of withholding information from Congress. On November 15, 1991, the presiding judge, Aubrey E. Robinson, sentenced Abrams to two years probation and 100 hours of community service. On December 24, 1992, outgoing President George H.W. Bush granted Abrams a full pardon amid much controversy.

From 1989 to 2002, Abrams wrote and worked for a number of research and public policy organizations. He was a senior fellow at the Hudson Institute, a member of the Council on Foreign Relations, and a member of the National Advisory Council of the American Jewish Committee. He also served as president of the Ethics and Public Policy Center. In 2002, Abrams returned to public life. The younger President George W. Bush appointed Abrams to the post of senior director of the National Security Council, with responsibilities for the Middle East, a position that did not require the Senate confirmation that he was unlikely to get.

Abrams was also the author of three books: *Undue Process* (1993), a scathing critique of the Office of Independent Counsel; *Security and Sacrifice* (1995), which urges an aggressive U.S. foreign policy; and *Faith or Fear: How Jews Can Survive in Christian America* (1997), which argues that American Jewry would fare far better if it adopted conservative values and alliances, particularly with the Christian right. It was written with a grant from a prominent Conservative Foundation.

[Yehuda Martin Hausman (2nd ed.)]

ABRAMS, FLOYD M. (1936–), U.S. lawyer. Abrams, who was born in New York, graduated from Cornell University and Yale Law School and achieved fame as the nation's most prominent defender of the rights of the press under the First Amendment, arguing many important cases before the United States Supreme Court. At the law firm of Cahill, Gordon & Reindel, he argued more First Amendment and media cases before the Supreme Court than any lawyer in United States history. Perhaps his most important case involved the *New York Times*, which acquired a secret history of the United States policy in Vietnam from the administrations of Harry S. Truman through Lyndon B. Johnson in 1967, and begin printing it on June 13, 1971 (the war in Vietnam was still going on at the time). Abrams was co-counsel for the *Times* as the administration of Richard M. Nixon sought to enjoin the *Times* from printing the archive on grounds of national security. In a lower court decision, the government was able to bar the paper from printing the stories. The *Times* agreed to suspend publication while it awaited a decision in the Supreme Court. It was the first time in American history that the government exercised a prior restraint on the press. But the *Times* eventually prevailed. The case reached the Supreme Court, which decided by a 6–3 vote that the government's case against releasing the material was not compelling and allowed the series to be printed. Over the years Abrams represented virtually every major media organization in First Amendment-related cases: CNN, ABC, NBC, CBS, *Time, Business Week, The Nation*, and *Reader's Digest*, among others. Abrams was also counsel to the Brooklyn Museum in its legal battle with Mayor Rudolph Giuliani, who sought to close an art exhibition he considered blasphemous and in poor taste. In addition to his legal representation, Abrams was chairman of several American Bar Association committees on freedom of speech and of the press. He served as a visiting lecturer at Yale Law School and William J. Brennan Jr. Visiting Professor of First Amendment Law at the Columbia University Graduate School of Journalism.

[Stewart Kampel (2nd ed.)]

ABRAMS, MEYER H. (1912–), U.S. literary critic and scholar. Born in Long Branch, New Jersey, Abrams was educated at Harvard University, where he earned his bachelor's and master's degrees and, in 1940, his doctorate. He also studied at Cambridge University in 1934 and 1935 with I.A. Richards, author of *Coleridge on Imagination* (1934). Regarded as one of the most influential critics of Romantic literature, Abrams first established his reputation with his 1953 work *The Mirror and the Lamp: Romantic Theory and the Critical Tradition.* Here Abrams defines Romanticism in terms of its "expressive orientation." He characterizes 18th-century literature as a mirror, or "reflector," which seeks to faithfully reflect the exterior world; 19th-century literature, on the other hand, is a lamp, or "projector," which seeks to illuminate and express the inner life of the artist. With this metaphor, Abrams is considered to have created a significant definition of English Romanticism, one that profoundly affected subsequent studies.

In his later work, *Natural Supernaturalism: Tradition and Revolution in Romantic Literature* (1971), Abrams links English and German Romanticism to a Judeo-Christian conception of man's fall, redemption, and return to paradise, and he uses Wordsworth's "The Recluse" as the exemplar of his theory. Critical reception to *Natural Supernaturalism* was mixed, with Deconstructionists and New Historicists challenging its authority. Abrams's 1989 work, *Doing Things with Texts: Essays in Criticism and Critical Theory*, which includes previously published essays, addresses these critiques and further elaborates his literary theory.

During his long career at Cornell University, beginning in 1938, Meyer Abrams established a reputation as an esteemed Jewish scholar in a field previously dominated by non-Jewish academics. Professor emeritus at Cornell from 1983, Abrams is the recipient of numerous honors and awards, including a Ford Foundation fellowship in 1953, Guggenheim fellowships in 1958 and 1960, the James Russell Lowell Prize from the Modern Language Association of America in 1972 for *Natural Supernaturalism*, and the Award for Literature from the American Academy and Institute of Arts and Letters in 1990. He served as general editor of *The Norton Anthology of English Literature* (1962 and subsequent editions; founding editor emeritus of the 2005 edition) and was named a fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences and the American Philosophical Society.

[Dorothy Bauhoff (2nd ed.)]

ABRAMS, ROBERT (1938–), U.S. politician, attorney general of New York. Abrams received his B.A. from Columbia College in 1960 and graduated from New York University School of Law in 1963. In 1965, he was elected at the age of 27 to the first of three terms in the New York State Assembly. In 1978, he ran a successful campaign for attorney general of New York State, becoming the first Democrat to hold the position in 40 years. As attorney general, he commanded one of the largest law offices in the nation, overseeing 1,200 employees, including 475 attorneys in 14 different locations throughout the State of New York. Abrams remained attorney general for 15 years. He is credited with altering New York's abortion law, prosecuting organized crime figures, implementing environmental protection laws, and protecting victims' rights (particularly abused children).

A leader among U.S. attorney generals, Abrams served as president of the National Association of Attorney Generals. His colleagues also awarded him the Wyman Award as an outstanding attorney general. In 1992, Abrams ran against incumbent Senator Alphonse D'amato, losing by 1.2 percentage points. Married to an observant Jewish woman, he would not campaign or work on Friday evening or Sabbath morning, and considered it a professional requirement to be more lax Saturday afternoon. Subsequently he worked as an attorney for the law firm Strook & Strook & Lavan LLP in New York.

[Yehuda Martin Hausman (2nd ed.)]

ABRAMSKY, YEḤEZKEL (1886–1976), talmudic scholar. Abramsky was born in Lithuania. He studied at the yeshivot of Telz, Mir, and Slobodka as well as under Ḥayyim *Soloveichik of Brisk. He achieved a reputation as a profound talmudic scholar and active communal worker. During World War I and the Russian Revolution he wandered in Russia and applied himself to learning, lecturing, and strengthening religious life. He was appointed rabbi of Slutsk and Smolensk. In 1928 Abramsky and S.J. Zevin published *Yagdil Torah*, a periodical dedicated to strengthening Torah study in the unfavorable conditions of the Soviet Union. It was probably the last Jewish religious periodical published in the Soviet Union for nearly 60 years. In 1930 he was arrested as a "counter-revolutionary." Abramsky was sentenced to hard labor in Siberia, but, after two years, his wife and friends succeeded in obtaining his release. He went to London, where he was appointed rabbi of the Machzike Hadath congregation, and subsequently became *dayyan* of the London *bet din*. He became a British subject in 1937. In London, his strong personality was largely responsible for the influence of traditional Orthodoxy in the official community. He was appointed a member of the Moeẓet Gedolei ha-Torah of *Agudat Israel. In 1951 he retired and took up residence in Jerusalem, where he became a significant figure in the yeshivah world. Abramsky wrote *Divrei Mamonot* (1939) and *Ereẓ Yisrael* (1945), but his scholarly fame rests on his *Ḥazon Yeḥezkel*, a 24-volume commentary on the Tosefta, with his novellae (first volume, 1925). In 1955 he was awarded the Israel Prize. Several of his responsa were published in London (1937). In Israel he was recognized as a rabbi of great stature, and his funeral in Jerusalem was attended by an estimated 40,000 mourners.

ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY: ODNB online.

[Mordechai Hacohen]

ABRAMSON, 18th–19th century family of German medalists and engravers.

JACOB ABRAHAM (1723–1800), born in Poland, worked in the mints of Berlin, Stettin, Koenigsberg, and Dresden. In 1752, Frederick II of Prussia appointed him medalist at the Berlin mint. Abraham struck 33 commemorative medals, among them one in memory of Moses *Mendelssohn. His son, ABRAHAM (1754–1811), studied with his father and with Tassaert at the Berlin Kunstakademie. Working at first with his father but after 1784 on his own, he produced a series of medals depicting German scholars. The first medal, of Moses Mendelssohn, which he did with his father, was followed by many others including Lessing and Kant. He worked as his father's assistant from 1771, but was appointed royal medalist in 1782 and in this function cut mainly mint dies and worked at portrait medals in wax; after 1786 he exhibited them at the Kunstakademie. Aided by a government grant, he made a tour of Vienna, Venice, and Rome from 1788 to 1792. Beside his work for the mint Abraham received government commissions for commemorative medals and wax portraits. He also executed work for Russia and several German states, among them a medal to celebrate Jewish emancipation in Westphalia in 1808. Abraham also did private work, such as medals of Markus *Herz (1803), and Daniel *Itzig (1793). His signature was Abr, A/S, N, or sometimes just A. Of his lapidary work only a carnelian with the portrait of Frederick William II is known. In 1792 Abramson was member of the Berlin Akademie der Kuenste and of other similar bodies.

His brother, MICHAEL JACOB (1750–1825), was also an engraver. He exhibited after 1787 at the Berlin Kunstakademie but apparently later emigrated to Scandinavia. His works include a copper-plate engraving of Ẓevi Hirsch *Levin, chief rabbi of Berlin (1798). It is suspected but unconfirmed that he was baptized. HIRSCH (d. 1800), another son of Jacob, also worked as an engraver at the Berlin mint.

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ABRAMSON, JERRY EDWIN (1946–), U.S. politician. Born in Louisville, Kentucky, Abramson graduated from Indiana University (1968). After having served in the U.S. Army between 1969 and 1971, for which he received a medal for meritorious service, he returned to law school and was graduated from Georgetown School of Law in 1973. He then entered private practice with Greenbaum, Doll, and McDonald, where he became a partner and immediately became active in Democratic politics, first as a member of the Board of Alderman and later as general counsel to Kentucky Governor John Y. Brown. He was elected mayor of Louisville in 1986, a position he held for 12 years. A national leader, he was president of the U.S. Conference of Mayors in 1993–94 and vice chair of the Democratic Platform Committee when his fellow southerner Bill Clinton ran for president in 1992. He chaired the Clinton reelection efforts for Kentucky. After being barred for reelection by term limits, Abramson became mayor once again after the government of Louisville had been regionalized, serving from 2003 as Louisville metro mayor.

[Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

ABRAMSON, JESSE (1904–1979), U.S. sportswriter. Known as the leading track and field writer in the U.S., Abramson was the first person from the media to be elected to the National Track & Field Hall of Fame, in 1981. He witnessed every Olympics from 1928 until 1976, as a reporter for the *New*

York Herald Tribune, for the *International Herald-Tribune* in 1972, and as foreign press liaison at the 1968 and 1976 Games. His obituary in the *New York Times* noted: "Colleagues called him 'The Brain,' in recognition of his profound knowledge of track and his phenomenal memory for detail." Abramson was honored with the Grantland Rice Award of the Sportsmen Brotherhood, the James J. Walker Award for service to boxing, and the career achievement award from the New York Track Writers Association. He was a founder and long-time president of the N.Y. Track Writers Association, which presents the annual Jesse Abramson Award to the outstanding athlete of the year. Abramson also reported on football and boxing, serving as president of the New York Football Writers Association, and was awarded the Boxing Writers' Association of America Nat Fleischer Memorial Award for Excellence in Boxing Journalism in 1976.

[Elli Wohlgelernter (2nd ed.)]

ABRAMSON, SHRAGA (1915–1996), rabbinic scholar. Born in Ciechanowiec, in the district of Bialystok, Poland, he received rabbinic ordination in 1936, in which year he immigrated to Ereẓ Israel where he continued his education in various yeshivot and at the Hebrew University. He served on the faculty of the Jewish Theological Seminary in New York from 1952 until 1958, the final year as associate professor. From 1958 he was professor of Talmud, Geonica, and *rishonim* at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem. His scholarly contributions are to be found in the areas of Talmud, Geonica, rabbinic Hebrew, biblical exegesis and interpretation in the Middle Ages, medieval Hebrew poetry and literature, and medieval Hebrew philology. They are noteworthy for their erudition in talmudic and rabbinic literature and their disciplined scientific research methods. His main field, however, is Geonica to which he has made important contributions. He was awarded the Israel Prize for Jewish studies in 1974.

His most important published work was *R. Nissim Ga'on* (Heb., 1965). Among his earlier works are critical editions of R. Samuel ha-Nagid, *Ben Mishlei* (1948) and *Ben Kohelet* (1953). His other published works include *Massekhet Avodah Zarah* (1957), a publication of a manuscript of the tractate *Avodah Zarah* of the Babylonian Talmud; *Massekhet Bava Batra* (1958), a Hebrew translation of the tractate *Bava Batra* of the Babylonian Talmud; *Ba-Merkazim u-va-Tefuẓot bi-Tekufat ha-Ge'onim* (1965), on the geonic period; *Bi-Leshon Kodemim* (1965), a study in medieval Hebrew poetry; and *Sheloshah Sefarim shel R. Yehudah ibn Bala'am.*

[Israel Francus]

ABRASS, OSIAS (**Joshua**; 1829–1883), Russian *ḥazzan* and synagogue composer. He was born in Berdichev and became known as "Pitshe Odesser" ("The Mite from Odessa") when as a boy he gained fame for his soprano solos in the choir of his teacher, Bezalel Shulsinger in Odessa. Abrass also studied with *Sulzer in Vienna. He was *ḥazzan* and choir leader in Tarnopol in 1840 and in Lvov in 1842. In 1858 he became chief *ḥazzan* in the Odessa synagogue, the largest in Russia. Abrass' phenomenal vocal performance as well as his contributions to synagogal choir music enhanced the fame of this synagogue and set new standards in Eastern European liturgical singing. His sole printed work was *Simrat-Joh; Gottesdienstliehe Gesaenge der Israeliten* (1874) for cantor and choir. His virtuosity in coloratura was compared with that of Adelina Patti, the great soprano, as exemplified by his "Simrat-Joh" No. 27, or the following "ornamental extension" of the note E-flat (*ibid.* No. 32):

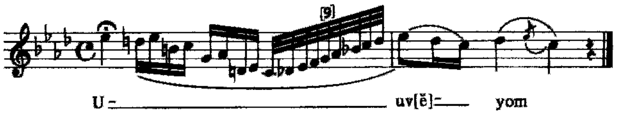

Abrass' 39 published compositions may be judged best as a further attempt to connect the traditional *meshorerim* style with Western choral music. He uses chordal harmony, effects learned from Rossini (No. 10), and even fugato technique (No. 18) only to embellish a basically monodic melody. See also G. Ephros, *Cantorial Anthology*, 1 (1919), no. 51.

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[Hanoch Avenary]

ABRAVANEL, MAURICE (**de**) (1903–1993), conductor. Born in Salonika, Abravanel studied at Lausanne University, and in Zurich and Berlin. He began his career in 1924 as conductor at the Zwickau Municipal Theater. Before leaving Germany in 1933, he had already conducted at the Berlin Opera, and subsequently he conducted ballet performances in Paris, London, and at the Rome Opera. He toured Australia with the British National Opera Company before moving to the United States in 1936, where he conducted at the Metropolitan (1936) and in Chicago (1940–41). In 1946, he conducted musicals such as *Weill's *Lady in the Dark* for a season on Broadway. In 1947, he became conductor of the Utah State Symphony Orchestra at Salt Lake City, which he made into one of the most adventurous and remarkable musical bodies in the United States based in a small city. Abravanel was also a professor at the University of Utah.

[Max Loppert (2nd ed.)]

ABRECH (or **Abrek**; Heb. אַבְרֵךְ, *avrekh*), probably a command or a title. After deputizing Joseph, Pharaoh "had him ride in the chariot of his second-in-command, and they cried before him, 'Abrek!'" (Gen. 41:43; cf. the Persian ceremony in Esth. 6:11). The exact meaning of the word is uncertain. One view equates the word with Egyptian *ʾib-r.k*, "attention!" or "have a care." A difficulty according to this view is that the singular suffix *k* appears where one would expect the plural suffix *tn.* Another view (reminiscent of the ancient Jewish derivation from *brk* ("kneel")) notes that *brk* (borrowed from Semitic) means "render homage" in Egyptian and that the initial *alef* of *Abrek* may possibly be equated with the Egyptian imperative prefix ʾ; proponents of this interpretation therefore translate "kneel!" or "render homage!" This command is similar to the later Egyptian command of homage "to the ground! to the ground!" Both kneeling and complete prostration as acts of homage are represented in Egyptian art. Others take the word as a title, citing the Akkadian *abarakku*, "chief steward of a private or royal household" (I.J. Gelb et al., *The Chicago Assyrian Dictionary*, vol. 1, pt. 1, pp. 32–5); note Gen. 41:40a: "You shall be in charge of my house…." None of these views is free of difficulty, and the question remains open.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: T. Lambdin, in: JAOS, 73 (1953), 146; J. Vergote, *Joseph en Egypte* (1959), 135ff., 151.

[Jeffrey Howard Tigay]

ABSABAN, SOLOMON (d. 1592), scholar of Safed and disciple of Isaac *Luria. Solomon was a friend and contemporary of Moses *Alshekh and studied under Joseph *Caro. It is probable that, like Alshekh, he was among those ordained by Caro. From 1562 his signature appeared on letters and decisions together with those of Joseph Caro and Moses di *Trani. In 1571 he joined them in excommunicating the physician Daoud, an opponent of Joseph *Nasi. In a manuscript responsum (Oxford, 832, n. 23) his signature appears at the head of the list of leading rabbis of Safed. Absaban taught in the talmudic academies of Safed, where Jacob *Abulafia was among his students. In 1582 he served as *av bet din* of Safed. Absaban associated with the mystics there, and was a friend of Eleazar b. Moses *Azikri, who referred to him as distinguished in wisdom, piety, and holiness. Ultimately he settled in Damascus where he presided over the yeshivah until his death.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Conforte, Kore, 39a, 40a, 41b, 43a; Neubauer, Chronicles, 1 (1887), 151.

ABSALOM (Heb. אַבְשָׁלוֹם, אַבְשָׁלֹם, אֲבִישָׁלוֹם), third son of *David, born during his reign in Hebron, probably about 1007/06 B.C.E.

In the Bible

Absalom was the son of Maacah, the daughter of King Talmai of Geshur. When his half brother Amnon dishonored his full sister Tamar (II Sam. 13:1–20), he considered himself the avenger of her honor and ordered Amnon killed at a shearing feast on his estate, to which he had invited all the king's sons (*ibid.* 13:23–29). Fearing David's wrath, he took refuge at the court of his grandfather, probably a vassal-king of David by that time (c. 987 B.C.E.). Meanwhile, *Joab took up his cause with the king and obtained David's permission for Absalom to return to Jerusalem without fear of punishment; later a full reconciliation was effected between the two (*ibid.* 14:33; c. 983 B.C.E.).

Probably David's second son, Chileab (II Sam. 3:3) or Daniel (I Chron. 3:1), either died young or was mentally or physically handicapped, because it was Absalom, the next oldest son of David, who was the most obvious candidate for the succession. He was a handsome man of prepossessing appearance, a glib tongue, and winning manners (II Sam. 14:25; 15:2–6), and seems to have gained a great deal of popularity among the common people as well. Though strong headed and willful, he knew how to bide his time in order to achieve his desires (cf. *ibid.* 13:20) and how to work for that end (cf. *ibid.* 14:28–30).

Considering these qualities, it is difficult to understand what induced him to plot a revolt against his father (c. 979 B.C.E.); but since there was no strict law that David's successor must be his oldest living son, perhaps Absalom was worried by the influence of David's favorite wife Bath-Sheba and the possibility that David might, as he eventually did, proclaim his oldest son by her his successor.

Be that as it may, the plot was carefully planned at Hebron (cf. II Sam. 15:7). The revolt seems to have enjoyed wide support in Judah, which was perhaps offended by the old king's refusal to show any palpable preference for his own tribesmen, as well as among other Israelite tribes, who were dissatisfied with the gradual bureaucratization of the kingdom and the curtailment of tribal rights.

David retreated with his immediate entourage – bodyguards (the *gibborim*), foreign mercenaries (the Cherethites and Pelethites), 600 Gittites, and some of the people who remained loyal to him – to Transjordan. At the same time, he took care to leave a "fifth columnist" in Jerusalem in the person of *Hushai the Archite, and with him two intelligence messengers, *Ahimaaz and Jonathan, the sons of the two high priests. Hushai succeeded in persuading Absalom to reject his adviser *Ahithophel's sensible proposal to pursue the old king and defeat him before he could find further support. In the subsequent battle in Transjordan (in the forest of Ephraim) Absalom's tribal levees proved no match for David's veteran mercenaries under Ittai the Gittite, who was supported by the loyal Israelites under Joab and Abishai. Absalom was caught by his head in a thick tree and killed on Joab's orders, which contravened the express command of David to spare his life (II Sam. 18:9). The king's mourning for his son almost cost him the support of his loyal troops (*ibid.* 19:1–9).

Absalom had no son, which prompted him to erect a memorial monument for himself (*ibid.* 18:18; cf. however *ibid.* 14:27); he apparently had a daughter, Maacah, who was named for his mother and who later married her cousin *Rehoboam and became the latter's favorite queen and mother of the heir-apparent *Abijam.

[*Encyclopaedia Hebraica*]

In the *Aggadah*

Although the Bible stated that it was by his head and not specifically by his hair that Absalom was caught, the rabbis assume that it was by his hair and make of his death a homily on false ambition, unfilial conduct, and poetic justice. Of the perfect physical qualities ascribed to Adam, Absalom is regarded as having inherited his hair (*Pirkei Rabbenu ha-Kadosh*, in L. Grueenhut, *Likkutim*, 3 (1899), 72). It grew so luxuriantly that although he had taken the Nazirite vow prohibiting the cutting of the hair, he was permitted to trim it from time to time (Nazir 5a). It was his hair, in which he gloried, which brought about his death (Sotah 1:8). He was caught "in the heart of a tree" (II Sam. 18:14). "But did one ever hear of a tree having a heart. This turn of phrase teaches that when a man becomes so heartless as to make war on his own father, nature takes on a heart to avenge the deed" (Mekh. Shirata 6). So unforgivable was his conduct that he is enumerated among those who have no share in the world to come (Sanh. 103b). In *Exodus Rabbah* 1:1 he is cited as one of the exemplars of "spare the rod and spoil the child." His abode is in hell where he is in charge of ten heathen nations (A. Jellinek, *Beit ha-Midrash*, 2 (1938), 50) but David's lament saved him from the extreme penalties of hell (Sot. 10b).

[Louis Isaac Rabinowitz]

In Folklore

In Jewish folk sayings and in Palestinian legends clustered around the Pillar of Absalom (Yad Avshalom) in the Kidron Valley of Jerusalem, rebellious Absalom serves as an example of punishments inflicted upon sons transgressing the Fifth Commandment. According to the report from Jerusalem (1666) of a French Christian pilgrim (Bernardin Surius), the inhabitants of Jerusalem used to bring their children to the tomb of Absalom to shout and throw stones at it, stressing the end of wicked children who did not revere their parents.

[Dov Noy]

In the Arts

In Western literature Absalom has been regarded as a symbol of manly beauty. The subject inspired a medieval mystery play and several Elizabethan dramas. George Peele's *The Love of King David and Fair Bethsabe* (1599) deals at length with Absalom's rebellion, which is blamed on David's illicit love affair with Bath-Sheba, and in tune with the bloodthirsty taste of the era shows the unfortunate prince, suspended by his hair from a tree, being done to death by Joab. John Dryden's *Absalom and Achithophel* (1681), a political satire in verse, presents Charles II as David, Charles' illegitimate son the Duke of Monmouth as Absalom, and Lord Shaftesbury as the false counselor Ahithophel. Some 20th-century works based on this theme are *Absalom* (1920), a translation of a Japanese play by Torahiko Kōri; Howard Spring's novel *O Absalom* (1938; later reissued in the U.S.A. as *My Son, My Son*); and William Faulkner's novel *Absalom, Absalom* (1936).

Some artists in the late Middle Ages interpreted Absalom's death as a prefiguration of the Crucifixion. Parts of the story occasionally appear in illuminated manuscripts, such as the Winchester Bible, a French *Bible moralisée* (1250) now in Toledo, and the 14th-century Anglo-Norman Queen Mary's Psalter (British Museum), which illustrates most of the biblical narrative. Absalom's end also appears in an Italian 15th-century pavement mosaic in Siena Cathedral. *The Reconciliation of David and Absalom* (1642) was painted by *Rembrandt. The Pillar of Absalom (Yad Avshalom), which stands on the traditional site of Absalom's burial place, is one of several sepulchral monuments in the Kidron Valley, Jerusalem, that date from the Second Temple and Roman periods. The monument is executed in the late Hellenistic style, however, and its link with Absalom does not predate the 16th century.

David's lament for Absalom has inspired a number of composers, notably Heinrich Schuetz, whose motet for bass solo and trombone quartet *Fili mi Absalon* (in *Symphoniae Sacrae* vol. 1 (1629), no. 13) is a masterly work. No less poignant is *Lugebat David Absalon: Absalon fili mi*, a four-voice motet by Josquin des Prés, written a century earlier. In the 16th century Jacob Hand (Gallus) arranged a notable setting of the lament. A number of oratorios, mainly of the 18th century, describe Absalom's rebellion and death. A recent composition is *David Weeps for Absalom* (1947), a work for voice and piano by David *Diamond. The Judeo-Spanish song "Triste estaba el Rey David" (arranged for choir by Joaquín Rodrigo, 1950), tells the story of Absalom's rebellion in romantic form.

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ABSALOM (1) Judah Maccabaeus' ambassador in 164 B.C.E. (II Macc. 11:17). (2) The father of Mattathias and Jonathan, who both held high commands during the Maccabean wars (I Macc. 11:70 and 13:11; Jos., Ant., 13:161, 202). (3) The younger son of John Hyrcanus I. Upon the death of his father, Absalom was imprisoned by his brother Aristobulus I and released when Alexander Yannai ascended the throne. He played a prominent part in the defense of Jerusalem against Pompey, but was captured by him (Jos., Ant., 14:71; cf. Wars, 1:154). (4) Jewish partisan leader at the beginning of the Roman War. He was associated with the Sicarii leader *Menahem b. Judah, and called by Josephus "his most eminent supporter in his tyranny." When *Eleazar son of Ananias, the captain of the

Temple, turned against Menahem and assassinated him, Absalom shared his fate (Jos., Wars, 2:448). Because of his views regarding the Zealots and Qumran, Cecil *Roth identified him with the Absalom mentioned in the *Pesher* ("Commentary") on Habakkuk found at Qumran (1 QpHab), but few scholars would accept this. (5) The name Absalom appears on an ossuary from Givat ha-Mivtar and in a tomb inscription from Silwan, both dated to before 70 C.E. The name "abshi," perhaps an abbreviation of Absalom, appears in a deed on papyrus of 131 C.E. from Wadi Muraba'at. (6) A Late Hellenistic tomb monument named after Absalom, David's rebellious son (II Sam. 3:3), is situated in the Kidron Valley, west of the Temple Mount, in Jerusalem. The style of the tomb, which shows Orientalizing architectural influences, suggests a first century B.C.E. date for the time it was hewn. Recent work on this monument by J. Zias and E. Puech has brought to light a Byzantine inscription in Greek next to the entrance to the tomb which refers not to Absalom but to the father of John the Baptist. It reads: "This is the tomb of Zachariah, martyr, very pious priest, father of John."

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[Abraham Schalit and Cecil Roth / Shimon Gibson (2nd ed.)]

ABSALOM, MONUMENT OF. Situated in the Kidron Valley, close to the Temple Mount in Jerusalem, are a number of monumental rock-hewn tombs of which one has been attributed by tradition to Absalom in reference to II Samuel 18:18, where it is stated that Absalom set up for himself a "pillar" in the King's Valley. In Arabic it is known as "Tantour Firaoun" (pharaoh's crown). This monument is a prominent feature in the topography of Jerusalem and was frequently commented upon by travelers and pilgrims since medieval times. The monument is freestanding and the lower part was rock-cut, whereas the upper part – hat-like in appearance – was built out of finely carved ashlars in a local architectural style utilizing Hellenistic features. The monument has been studied by many scholars since the 19th century: C. Clermont-Ganneau dug there, H. Vincent made a detailed study, and a substantial study of this and the other funerary monuments in the Kidron Valley was made by N. Avigad in the 1950s. Excavations around the foot of the monument were made by E. Oren in the 1970s, but the results remain unpublished. Probably the best short descriptions appear in guidebooks published by K. Prag and J. Murphy-O'Connor. Access to the entrance to the inner tomb chamber is from the south. The entrance led to a rock-hewn chamber which was originally square with a bench within an *arcosolium* on the west side, with a ceiling with a sunken panel decorated with a central wreath and four circles in relief, and with a fine carved cornice along the junction between ceiling and walls. The style of the monument suggests a date late in the Early Roman period, i.e., the first century C.E., contrary to some scholars who have suggested a date in the first century B.C.E. The internal chamber underwent major changes in the Byzantine period, 4th–6th centuries C.E., and it was probably converted into a reclusive cell for a Byzantine monk. Above the entrance to the tomb are faint Greek inscriptions which were first recorded by J. Zias in 2000. According to Emile Puech, one of these inscriptions is of Byzantine age and mentions Zacharias, father of John the Baptist: "This is the tomb of Zachariah, martyr, very pious priest, father of John." The adjacent complex of tomb chambers associated with the monument contained a chapel and was held to mark the graves of St. Zacharias, St. Simeon, and St. James (the first bishop of Jerusalem) in the 12th century. Traces of medieval wall paintings are visible on some of the chamber walls. Within the interior chamber of the monument itself is a late medieval three-line Hebrew inscription ("Shamsi ben … [unclear]" – incorrectly read by Dalman in 1914) which was probably incised by a Jewish traveler to Jerusalem. In the 19th century a bridge for a road crossing over the Kidron Valley existed in front of the funerary monument and is evident in old photographs (e.g., F. Bedford, 1862).

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[Shimon Gibson (2nd ed.)]

ABSALON (1964–1993), Israeli sculptor. Absalon was born in Ashdod as Meir Eshel and adopted the name Absalon when he arrived in Paris in the late 1980s. He won his reputation as an artist from the 1:1 scale architectural models that he constructed of idealized living units. These wooden models, painted white, demonstrate an obsession with order, arrangement, and containment, and have associations both of protective shelters and monastic cells. His sculptures are reminiscent of the works of the Russian constructivists, the Dutch De Stijl, and Le Corbusier. His last exhibition was of *Six Cellules* in Paris in 1993. Absalon died of AIDS at the age of 28.

[Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

ABSE, DANNIE (1923–), English poet. Abse was born in Cardiff. After four years in the Royal Air Force in World War II he qualified as a doctor. From 1947 to 1954 he edited and published the magazine *Poetry and Poverty.* Although his work included fiction and drama, he was primarily a poet. Abse has thought deeply about the Holocaust, and his challenge to God to explain Himself to man (in "The Abandoned") is in the Hebraic tradition. His verse collections include *After Every Green Thing* (1949); *Walking Under Water* (1952); *Tenants of the House* (1957); *Poems. Golders Green* (1962); *Selected Poems* (1963); and *Small Desperation* (1968). He wrote two novels, *Ash on a Young Man's Sleeve* (1954) and *Some Corner of an English Field* (1956); and two dramas, *Fire in Heaven* (1956) and *Three Questor Plays* (1967). Abse's *White Coat; Purple Coat: Col-*

lected Poems 1948–1988 appeared in 1991. He has also written two volumes of autobiography, published in 1974 and 2001. His brother LEO ABSE (1917–) was a Labour member of the British Parliament for a Welsh seat from 1958 until 1997. He introduced bills liberalizing legislation governing homosexuality (1967) and divorce (1968). A solicitor, Leo Abse wrote "psychobiographies" of British politicians Margaret Thatcher and Tony Blair.

[Jon Silkin / William D. Rubinstein (2nd ed.)]

ABT, ISAAC ARTHUR (1867–1955), U.S. pediatrician. Abt, who was born in Wilmington, Illinois, served as professor of pediatrics at Northwestern University (1897–1902), Rush Medical College (1902–08), and again at Northwestern from 1908. He was the first president of the American Academy of Pediatrics (1931). Abt wrote prolifically on clinical, social, and experimental subjects in the field of pediatrics and wrote an encyclopedic eight-volume work *Pediatrics* (1923–36). The section dealing with nutritional disturbances in infancy is of particular significance. He was the first American pediatrician to use protein milk in the treatment of diarrhea in infants. His work *The Baby's Food* was published in 1917.

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[Suessmann Muntner]

ABTERODE (**Abedroth**, **Aptrod**), **DAVID BEN MOSES ELIAKIM** (d. 1728), rabbinic author. Apparently he was born at Abterode near Frankfurt where he served as *dayyan.* He wrote a commentary on *Sefer Ḥasidim* and glosses on liturgical poems. All his manuscripts were destroyed in the great fire of Frankfurt in 1711. His son Solomon (Zalman) rewrote from memory the commentary on *Sefer Ḥasidim* and published it together with the text (1724); other editions contain an abridged version of the commentary only. Jacob Emden criticized the commentary (*She'elot Ya'veẓ*, 1:160), which Joseph David *Sinzheim, the author's great-grandson, defended in his book *Yad David* (1799), 28d (on Shab. 81a).

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[Yehoshua Horowitz]

ABTSHUK, AVRAHAM (**Avrom**; 1897–1937), Soviet Yiddish writer and critic. Born in Lutsk, Volhynia, he lived in Kiev after 1921. In the late 1920s and 1930s he was associated with the Jewish Research Institute of the Ukrainian Academy of Science in Kiev. In 1926 he began contributing short stories to the Kharkov-based literary journal *Di Royte Velt* and is best known for *Hershl Shamay* (1929; part 2, 1934), an occasionally humorous narrative which deals with the industrialization of Jewish workers under the Soviets. Abtshuk's *Etyudn un Materyaln tsu der Geshikhte fun der Yidisher Literatur-Bavegung in F.S.R.R.* ("Studies and Materials for the History of the Yiddish Literature Movement in Soviet Russia," 1934) is important both as a document and as a source of documents; it contains minutes, letters, and resolutions of Yiddish literary groups in Kiev, Moscow, Kharkov, and Minsk. Abtshuk was associate editor of the proletarian writers' periodical *Prolit* (1928–32) and its successor *Farmest* (1933–37). Accused of Trotskyist tendencies and Jewish nationalism, allegedly evident in *Hershl Shamay*, he perished during the Stalinist "purges."

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[Leonard Prager / Gennady Estraikh (2nd ed.)]

ABU, Arabic word meaning "father of" used in personal names. Jews living in Islamic countries followed the Arab custom, and addressed one another by their *kunya* (Arabic, "nickname"). Originally, the *kunya* contained the word *abu*, and the name of a son of the person concerned, normally that of the eldest, e.g., a man whose son's name was Zayd, was called Abu Zayd. If there was no son in the family, this could not apply but, nonetheless, imaginary *kunyas* developed, and these predominated among Jews. Thus, persons called Abraham were often addressed as *Abu Isḥāq* ("Father of Isaac") or Jacob was known as *Abu Yūsuf* (Joseph) instead of Jacob. The reverse procedure was even more common. Since it was customary to call a child after his grandfather, the *kunya* often contained the names of the father of the biblical or other historical personality after whom the man was named. As the father of Moses was Amram (Arabic *ʿImrān*), as *Abu ʿImrān.* The word *abu* also denotes "possessor," especially of a certain quality. Well-known examples of this use are *Abu-al-ʿĀfiya* ("possessor of health") from which the family name *Abulafia is derived. The honorifics preferred by Jews were generally those expressive of abstract notions, both in the singular and plural, e.g., *Abu al-Saʿd* ("happiness") and *Abu al-Barakāt* ("blessings"). This might be compared to the Hebrew equivalents *Avi-Musar* (father of ethics, moral, moralist) and *Aḥi-Musar* (brother of ethics) used in Hebrew poetry. Sometimes two *kunyas* were given, one at birth and another added on some special occasion, such as recovery from a dangerous illness. Biblical and talmudic names were connected with *kunyas* believed to be of the same or similar meaning.

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ABU AL-FAḌL HASDAY (late tenth century), Spanish scholar. According to the 13th-century Arab biographer Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, Abu al-Faḍl, who lived in Saragossa, was a member of a distinguished Andalusian Jewish family of priestly descent. He was competent in medicine, philosophy, arithmetic, and music. He had a good knowledge of both Arabic and Hebrew. Moses ibn Ezra refers to Abu al-Faḍl as one who "acquired knowledge in all branches of science, was accomplished in philosophy, and well versed in Hebrew and Arabic poetry and prose."

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[Amnon Shiloah]

ABU AL-FARAJ HARUN IBN AL-FARAJ (Heb. **Aaron b. Jeshuʿa**; Jerusalem, first half of 11th century), Karaite grammarian, lexicographer and exegete. Abu al-Faraj accepted the Greek theory (which reached him through Arabic channels) that language is an artificial product of human convention and is governed by the laws of logic. His method and terminology draw heavily on Arab linguists. He held that all forms of the Hebrew verb are based on the infinitive, and made a detailed study of the particle. He also pioneered the investigation of biblical Aramaic grammar in its relationship to Hebrew, as well as comparative treatment of Hebrew, Aramaic, and Arabic. He followed strictly the principle of bi-literal roots. The works of Abu al-Faraj became well known among Rabbanite scholars of Spain, who refer to him at times simply as "the Jerusalemite Grammarian." All his writings are in Judeo-Arabic. They include *Al-Kitāb al-Mushtamil*, on the roots and formations of the Hebrew language (mss. in St. Petersburg; among them the copy made in 1112 for the *gaon* Elijah b. Abiathar) of which chapter 8 treats Aramaic grammar; *Al-Kitāb al-Kāfī*, a digest of the former, published by G. Khan, M. Angeles Gallego, and J. Olszowy-Schlanger as *The Karaite tradition of Hebrew Grammatical Thought in Its Classical Form: A Critical Edition and English Translation of al-Kitāb al- kāfī fī al-luga al-ʾIbrāniyya by Abu al-Faraj Hārūn ibn al-Faraj*, Leiden 2003; *Sharḥ al-Alfāẓ*, an Arabic translation of selected verses or clauses in the Bible, with explanatory notes, arranged in the order of the Bible; and a commentary on the Pentateuch in Arabic, said to be an abridgement (*talkhīṣ*) of that of *Joseph b. Noah, who was his teacher. Even though an abridgement, it is quite extensive; most of it survived in several fragmentary mss. in St. Petersburg. Another important contribution was his work on the phonetics of biblical Hebrew according to the Tiberian tradition and the rules of cantillation of the biblical text, entitled *Hidāyat al-Qāri* ("The Guide of the Reader"). Until quite recently it was ascribed to various other authors. The importance of the work lies in its uniqueness as a source for the living tradition in 11th-century Ereẓ Israel. The work was written in a long and short version. Of the former only short fragments have survived, while most of the latter was published in a critical annotated edition by I. Eldar (Jerusalem 1994). Various Hebrew and Judeo-Arabic adaptations had been circulating in the Middle Ages in Europe and the Near East, one of them a paraphrase by the Byzantine Karaite Joseph ha-Qustandini (11th century?), entitled *Adat Devorim*.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Steinschneider, Arab Lit, no. 48; W. Bacher, *Die Anfaenge der hebraeischen Grammatik* (1895), 155ff.; H. Hirschfeld, *Literary History of Hebrew Grammarians and Lexicographers* (1926), 50ff.; Bacher, in: REJ, 30 (1895), 232–56; Poznański, *ibid.*, 33 (1896), 24–39, 197–218; 46 (1908), 42–69; idem, in: JQR, 18 (1927/28), 11; S.L. Skoss, *Arabic Commentary of Ali ben Suleiman on Genesis* (1928), 11–27. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** G. Khan, in: M. Polliack (ed.), *Karaite Judaism: A Guide to Its History and Literary Sources* (2003), 291–318; A. Maman, *Comparative Semitic Philology in the Middle Ages: From Saʿadiah Gaon to Ibn Barun (10th–12th c.)* (2004), 375–80 and passim.

[Samuel Miklos Stern / Haggai Ben-Shammai (2nd ed.)]

ABU AL-FAT (Samaritan **Abi-Afeta Ban Ab-Ḥisdah**; 14th century), author of a Samaritan chronicle in Arabic, *Kitāb al-Tarĭkh* ("Annals"). Born in Damascus of the Danati family, which was renowned for its scholars and scribes, Abu al-Fat went on a pilgrimage to Nablus in 1352. He was invited by the high priest Phinehas b. Joseph to write the history of his people from the creation of the world to his own time. Only in 1355, on a second visit to Nablus, was he able to start this undertaking. He brought with him three fragmentary chronicles in Hebrew and a *Silsila* (chain), i.e., a genealogical list of the Samaritan high priests beginning with *Aaron (Moses' brother) that came from the home of the high priest in Damascus; this was presumably the *Tolidah* (see *Samaritans, Language and Literature). The high priest in Nablus put at his disposal a number of chronicles in Hebrew and Arabic, among which was the still extant Samaritan *Book of Joshu* in Arabic. Another work in the otherwise unknown chronicle of Ẓadakah was rejected by Abu al-Fat as unreliable.

The 14th century was a time of revival for the Samaritan community in Nablus, and Abu al-Fat sought to make use of the scanty and dispersed source material still existing in his time before it might be lost. Like all medieval chronicles, his work contains much legendary material. The dating is not always accurate. Abu al-Fat wrote in Middle Arabic, and his language is colored by many Hebraisms, showing his dependence on the Pentateuch and in some places on other Hebrew scriptures. The occasional use of elegant Arabic rhetorical figures reveals that he was also versed in Arabic literature. Abu al-Fat's *Annals* end at the time of Muhammad, but, in accordance with Samaritan practice, various manuscripts were extended by later scribes. R. Payne-Smith began to edit the Arabic text together with a literal English translation (in M. Heidenheim's *Deutsche Vierteljahrschrift fuer englisch-theologische Forschung und Kritik* (1863), 303–35, 431–59), but discontinued his work with the appearance of E. Vilmar's scholarly edition *Abulfathi Annales Samaritani* (Gotha, 1865). Vilmar added a detailed introduction and short notes in Latin.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: A.E. Cowley, *Samaritan Liturgy*, 2 (1909), xix; J.A. Montgomery, *Samaritans* (1907, repr. 1968), 305–7; M. Gaster, *Samaritans…* (1925), 3, 99, 156–7; I. Ben-Zvi, *Sefer ha-Shomeronim* (1935), Samaritans (1964), 46.

[Ayala Loewenstamm]

ABU AL-ḤASAN OF TYRE (Samaritan **Ab-Ḥisda Aẓẓuri**; c. 11th century), Samaritan halakhist, exegete, and liturgical writer of priestly origin. His surname Aẓẓuri may designate his origin from either the Syrian town Ẓor (Tyre) or the village Zorta near Nablus. The first translation of the Samaritan Pentateuch into Arabic is ascribed to him; it was revised two centuries later by Abu Saʿīd (see *Samaritans, Language and Literature). His chief work, written in Arabic and called *Kitāb al-Tabbākh* ("Book of the Cook" or "Book of the Druggist," and called by the Samaritans themselves "Book of the Meat") is a compendium of oral law dealing with many aspects of Samaritan practice and belief. It includes many polemical passages against the Jews – *Rabbanites and Karaites alike – and against some Christian and Muslim tenets. His halakhic decisions are still valid in the Samaritan community.

Three of Abu al-Ḥasan's exegetical treatises in Arabic are extant: *Sharḥ Ašrat Addēbārem*, a commentary on the Ten Commandments (John Rylands Library, Manchester, Gaster Collection, Ms. 1929); a commentary on "*Ha'azinu*" (Deut. 32), known also as *al-Khuṭba al-Jāmiʿa* ("The General Sermon," *ibid.*, Gaster Collection, Ms. 1813); and *Kitāb al-Maʿād* ("Book of Resurrection"; Bodeleian Library, Oxford, Ms. Hunt. 350). In the last he adduces proofs from the Pentateuch for the Samaritan belief in the day of vengeance and recompense (Deut. 32:35) and for the rising of the dead from the dust of their graves. Verses from "*Ha'azinu*" form an important part of these proofs. As the above manuscripts are included in some copies of *Kitāb al-Ṭabbākh*, as parts of the entire compendium, it remains questionable whether they originally belonged to the compendium and later became independent works under the influence of copyists and scribes, or vice versa. Abu al-Ḥasan also became known as a liturgical writer. His hymns are composed in Hebrew and in 11th-century Aramaic.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: J.A. Montgomery, *Samaritans* (1907, repr. 1968), 293, 298; A.E. Cowley, *Samaritan Liturgy* (1909), 70, 79–81; 2 (1909), 869, 875; J. MacDonald, *Theology of the Samaritans* (1964), index; P.R. Weis in: BJRL, 30 (1946–47), 144–56; 33 (1950–51), 131–7; M. Gaster in: EIS, 4 (1934), 3–5 (Supplement); idem, *Samaritans…* (1925), 151–2; Z. Ben-Ḥayyim, *Ivrit ve-Aramit Nusaḥ Shomeron*, 1 (1957), 35 (introd.); 3, pt. 2 (1967), 17, 277–80; A.S. Halkin, in: *Leshonenu*, 32 (1968), 208–46.

[Ayala Loewenstamm]

ABU AL-MUNAJJĀ SOLOMON BEN SHAYA (12th century), government official in Egypt. His Hebrew name was Solomon b. Shaya and he was also known as *Sanīʿ al Dawla* ("The Noble [exalted] of the State"). Abu al-Munajjā was responsible for the administration of several districts in eastern Egypt and became famous for digging an irrigation canal (1113–18) which greatly benefited agriculture. The vizier al-Afḍal, the regent, was jealous of him because the canal was called *Baḥr Abu al-Munajjā* (the canal of Abu al-Munajjā) and the regent wanted it to bear his name. The enemies of the Jews defamed him with the result that he was exiled to Alexandria and imprisoned without a trial. After several years he freed himself by a ruse. Among the *genizah* fragments were found poems in his honor which recount the story of his case until he was finally reinstated. He is described as a benefactor of the Jews. According to Arab authors, Abu al-Munajjā was the ancestor of a family of physicians, Banu al-Safīr, mostly converts to Islam who served as the court physicians of the Egyptian rulers.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: A. al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ 1*, 71ff., 487ff.; Ibn Doukmak, *Description de l'Egypte* (1893), 47; Mann, Egypt, 1 (1920), 215–7; 2 (1922), 264–9; Fischel, Islam, 87–88, n.4.

[Eliyahu Ashtor]

ABU AWEIGILA (Ar. **Abu ʿAweiqila**), strategic position in eastern Sinai, about 19 road mi. (30 road km.) W. of *Niẓanah. Situated near the course of Wadi el-Arish, at a road fork connected with el-Arish in the northwest and with Ismailiya in the west, it was a battlefield in the 1948, 1956, and 1967 wars. In one of the last battles of the War of Independence Israeli forces drove the Egyptians from ʿAslūj (near *Revivim) through Niẓana to Abu Aweigila, and from there moved on in the direction of el-Arish. During the Sinai Campaign the capture of the stronghold ultimately decided the outcome of the war. Before the Six-Day War (June 1967) the Egyptians extended their fortifications for many kilometers to all sides of Abu Aweigila and stationed a division in the area. The capture of the position enabled the Israeli Army to break through to the entire Sinai Peninsula.

[Efraim Orni]

ABUDARHAM (Heb. **אבודרהם**; also **Abudarhan**, **Abudarhen**, **Abudaram**, **Abudaran**; Ar. "father of coins" meaning "the rich man"), Spanish family. DAVID BEN SOLOMON ABUDARHAM constructed in the 13th century the synagogue of Almaliquin in Toledo, apparently identical with the Abudarham synagogue destroyed in the riots of 1391. He was probably the grandfather of the liturgical scholar David b. Joseph *Abudarham. Another DAVID ABUDARHAM in the same period was a tax farmer in Toledo: when tax assessment was assigned to the Jewish communities of Castile in 1290, it was decided that in case of dispute David was to render final decision. After the expulsion from Spain in 1492 the family was scattered throughout Italy and North Africa. MOSES and ISAAC ABUDARHAM gave hospitality to David *Reuveni in Rome in 1524. JUDAH ABUDARHAM, a fugitive from the Inquisition, became purveyor to the Portuguese in Agadir. After 1541 the family settled in Tetuan where it long provided the community with spiritual and political leaders. Another JUDAH ABUDARHAM was among the founders of the Gibraltar community; one of the Gibraltar synagogues, founded in 1820, still bears the family name. A third JUDAH ABUDARHAM represented France in Tetuan for 30 years.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Baer, Spain, 1 (1961), 214; Baer, Urkunden, index; Roth, in: JQR, 39 (1948/49), 132; Steinschneider, *ibid.*, 10 (1897/98), 130; Kaufmann, in: REJ, 38 (1899), 254; I.Benwalid, *Va-Yomer Yiẓḥak*

(1855), 182a–187a; J.M.Toledano, *Ner ha-Ma'arav* (1911), 158, 192, 200; Miège, Maroc, 2 (1961), 107, 174, 547; Millás Vallicrosa, in: A. González Palencia, *Los mozárabes de Toledo en los siglos* XII *y* XIII, 3 (1928), 563–95.

[Zvi Avneri and David Corcos]

ABUDARHAM, DAVID BEN JOSEPH (14th century), liturgical commentator in Spain, author of *Sefer Abudarham*, written in 1340 in Seville. Abudarham came from a distinguished family, and apparently an earlier namesake was a communal leader in Toledo. Abudarham was moved to write his book, like *Asher b. Saul of Lunel before him, because "the customs connected with prayer have become varied from one country to another, and most of the people do not understand the words of the prayers, nor do they know the correct ritual procedures and the reasons for them." The book is based on the Talmud and the decisions of the *geonim*, and on the early and later commentators. It abounds in source material of Spanish, Provencal, French, and Ashkenazi origins, not all of which has otherwise survived. Abudarham made extensive use of the prayer book of Saadiah Gaon, and it seems he was the last to see and use an original of this book. He also utilized the *Manhig* of *Abraham b. Nathan ha-Yarḥi of Lunel and the *Minhagot* of Asher b. Saul, the legal dicta of *Asher b. Jehiel, and the *Turim*. Some scholars think he was a disciple of *Jacob b. Asher, author of the *Turim*. Abudarham commented upon the prayers in great detail and traced the variations in custom in different countries. He included a commentary on the Passover *Haggadah*, rules of intercalation, the order of weekly pentateuchal readings and *haftarot* for the entire year, and calendrical and astronomical tables. Abudarham appended to his book rules governing benedictions, dividing them into nine sections, along with their interpretation and explanation. His book was first published in Lisbon in 1490 and has since been republished frequently. H.J. Ehrenreich began an edition of it in Klausenberg in 1927, based upon a different manuscript together with an extensive commentary, but did not complete it. An edition, known as *Abudarham ha-Shalem* with variant readings, according to the same manuscript, introduction, and supercommentary, by S.A. Wertheimer, was published in Jerusalem (1959, 1963) by his grandson. However, a comprehensive critical edition of this book is still lacking. Abudarham also wrote a commentary on liturgy for the Day of Atonement ascribed to *Yose b. Yose, as well as on other liturgical poems (published under the title of *Tashlum Abudarham*).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Michael, Or, no. 729; A.L. Prinz (ed.), *Tashlum Abudarham* (1900), introd.; Ḥ. Tchernowitz, *Toledot ha-Posekim*, 2 (1947), 247–50; A.J. Wertheimer (ed.), *Abudarham ha-Shalem* (1963^2), introd., 393–6.

[Zvi Avneri]

ABU GHOSH, Israeli Arab village in the Judean Hills 8 mi. (13 km.) W. of Jerusalem. Its area consists of 1 sq. mi. (2.5 sq. km.). In 1968 Abu Ghosh had a population of 1,710, 98% of them Muslims, and the rest Christians. In 2003 the population was 5,200. In 1992 the village received municipal council status. The village's agricultural economy was based on grain and vegetables, vines, olives, and deciduous fruit. Income levels were about half the national average in 2004.

Biblical *Kiriath-Jearim lies within its boundaries. Its name from the Arab conquest (seventh century) was Qaryat al-ʿInab ("Borough of the Grapevine"). The name Abu Ghosh stems from a high-handed 17th-century sheikh of Circassian origin, who controlled the region and whose heirs imposed a toll on every traveler to and from Jerusalem, until an end was put to the extortions at the time of the Egyptian governor Ibrahim Pasha, around 1835. After the establishment of the nearby kibbutzim *Kiryat Anavim (1920) and *Ma'aleh ha-Ḥamishah (1938), relations between the villagers and Jews were friendly and remained so in the Israeli War of Independence. Some of the villagers cooperated with the *Haganah and with *Loḥamei Ḥerut Israel. Abu Ghosh has a Catholic monastery and a convent. The village includes a well-preserved crusader church built at the spot around 1142 because the site was then held to be *Emmaus of the New Testament. The church was partially destroyed in 1187 and rebuilt by the French government in 1899. It is under the guardianship of the Lazarist Fathers. A stone inserted in its wall bears the imprint of the Roman Tenth Legion (*Fretensis*), apparently stationed here in the first century C.E. The Josephine Convent of the Ark, built in 1924, stands supposedly on the site of the house of *Abinadab (II Sam. 6). From 1957, an annual music festival was held in the village. Nearby is Aqua Bella (Heb. Ein Ḥemed), a partially destroyed 12th-century crusader monastery, which has been made into a national park.

[Abraham J. Brawer / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

ABU ʿIMRĀN AL-TIFLĪSĪ (**Abu ʿImram Mūsā al-Ẓafārānī**), founder of a Jewish religious sect in the ninth century. He emigrated from Iraq to *Tiflis, in Georgia, hence the designation al-Tiflīsī. Information about him is to be found in the writings of his Karaite opponents, among them, al-Kirkisānī. Al-Tiflīsī developed his own *halakhah*. While agreeing with accepted Karaite views, such as the Karaite dating of the Feast of Weeks and the prohibitions of the marriage of first cousins and eating the tail fat of sheep, he devised his own method of determining the occurrence of *Rosh Ḥodesh* ("New Moon"). According to *Japheth b. Ali ha-Levi, a tenth-century Karaite, al-Tiflīsī rejected the doctrine of resurrection. This, however, is doubtful, for his other opponents would have attacked al-Tiflīsī for such a deviation. The sect of Tiflisites survived several generations after the death of its founder, as evidenced by Judah Hadassi's 12th-century *Eshkol ha-Kofer*.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Nemoy, in: HUCA, 7 (1930), 389; S. Pinsker, *Likkutei Kadmoniyyot*, 1 (1860), 26; Z. Ankori, *Karaites in Byzantium* (1959), 369–71.

[Eliyahu Ashtor]

ABU ʿĪSĀ, ISAAC BEN JACOB AL-IṢFAHĪNĪ, founder of a Jewish sect in Persia, the first to be formed after the destruction of the Second Temple. Abu ʿĪsā was also called Obadiah, evidently an honorific bestowed on him by his admirers. According to the Karaite scholar al-*Kirkisānī, Abu ʿĪsā lived during the reign of Caliph ʿAbd al-Malik ibn *Marwān (685–705); the Arabic historian Shahrastāni places him during the reigns of the Umayyad caliph Marwān ibn Muhammad (744–50) and al-Mansur (754–75). The latter period seems correct because the religious and political ferment in the Islamic world during the eighth century forms the suitable background for the establishment of the sect. Abu ʿĪsā proclaimed himself a prophet and herald of the Messiah. He led a revolt against the Muslims, and many Persian Jews rallied behind him. After several years the rebellion was suppressed. His army was defeated by the Muslims near the ancient city of Rhagae (present-day Rai) southeast of Teheran, and Abu ʿĪsā himself was killed. His followers did not believe that he was dead but rather that he had entered a cave and disappeared. According to another tradition, he placed his followers in a circle which he drew with a myrtle branch and they remained beyond reach of the enemy. Only Abu ʿĪsā rode out of the area and dealt the Muslims a mighty blow single-handedly. He afterward went to the "Sons of Moses" beyond the desert to prophesy to them. The sect which Abu ʿĪsā founded, known as the Isunians or Isfahanians, still existed in the time of al-Kirkisānī (c. 930), who found about 20 adherents in Damascus. The movement launched by his disciple *Yudghan and the early activities of *Anan b. David reflect the influence of Abu ʿĪsā's teachings. His followers maintained that Abu ʿĪsā had been an illiterate tailor who wrote his books through prophetic inspiration. He taught that five prophets, among them Jesus and Muhammad, preceded the coming of the Messiah and that he himself was the final harbinger. Basing himself on Psalm 119:164 ("Seven times daily do I praise Thee"), he ordained seven daily prayers for his followers, but did not reject recitation of the **Shema* and the *Amidah* or observance of the holy days as practiced by *Rabbanites. The latter regarded the Isunians as legitimate Jews in all respects. That the Isunians tended to be stringent is evidenced in their prohibition of meat and wine and their ban on divorce.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Friedlaender, in: JQR, 1 (1910/11), 203ff.; 2 (1911/12), 481ff.; Nemoy, in: HUCA, 7 (1930), 328, 382–3; Poznański, in: *Reshumot*, 1 (1925), 209–13; A.Z. Aešcoly, *Ha-Tenuʿot ha-Meshiḥiyyot be-Yisrael*, 1 (1956), 100–2, 117–26; Dinur, Golah, 228–31.

[Zvi Avneri]

ABUKARA, ABRAHAM BEN MOSES (d. 1879), Tunisian rabbi. Abukara was probably the grandson of Abraham Abukara (d. 1817), one of the scholars of Tunis, who in 1803 signed a regulation introducing uniformity in various religious practices. A profound scholar, Abraham wrote a commentary and novellae on the Shulḥan Arukh, *Yoreh De'ah*, in four parts. The first part, *Beit ha-Safek* (on the laws in case of "doubt"), was published by his relative Jacob b. Elijah Abukara, who added an introduction under the title *Ben Avraham* (Leghorn, 1882). The other parts were lost. Jacob also published the *Issur ve-Hetter* of *Jeroham b. Meshullam from a manuscript in the collection of Abraham, together with *Ben Avraham*.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: D. Cazès, *Notes bibliographiques sur la littérature juive-tunisienne* (1893), 29–32; B. Wachstein, *Mafte'aḥ ha-Hespedim*, 1 (1922), 3; Hirschberg, Afrikah, 2 (1965), 135; Ta-Shema, in: *Sinai*, 64 (1969).

ABULAFIA (Heb. אַבּוּלְעֲפְּיָה; Arabic for "father of health"; also **Abulaffia**, **Abulefia**, **Abualefia**, **Abu Alafia**, etc.), widespread and influential family, members of which were rabbis, poets, statesmen, and communal leaders in Spain. After the expulsion of the Jews from Spain the name became common in some Oriental countries. A distinguished rabbinical family was established in Palestine and Syria after Ḥayyim ben Moses (?) Abulafia moved from Smyrna to Tiberias. The most important Spanish branch, centered in Toledo from the 12th century, were levites and generally called Levi (Arabic Al-lavi) Abulafia, etc. The epitaphs of many members of the family, sometimes obsequiously phrased, are preserved; they included (beside those subsequently mentioned in individual articles) the physician Moses ben Meir (1255); Joseph ben Meir, rabbi in Seville, perhaps his grandson (1341); the communal leaders and royal officials Meir ben Joseph, Samuel, and Meir ben Solomon (victims of the Black Death, 1349–50); and Samuel ben Meir (1380). Samuel Abolafia of Almeria was in charge of the commissariat for the Catholic monarchs during the campaign against Granada in 1484. The New Christian magistrate Juan Fernandez Abolafia participated in the plot against the *Inquisition in Seville and was a victim of the first *auto-da-fé there in 1481. Joseph David Abulafia (I) (d. 1823), was *av bet din* in Tiberias before 1798 and later rabbi in Damascus. He signed letters of introduction for the emissaries of Tiberias as did his grandson Joseph David Abulafia (II) (d. 1898), who was also rabbi in Tiberias. Moses and Jacob Abulafia were among the Jews arrested in Damascus in 1840 in connection with the *Damascus blood libel: the former, designated as a rabbi, informed against his coreligionists. Isaac Abulafia was rabbi in Damascus (1876–88). In Italy in modern times the name was rendered as Bolaffio, Bolaffi, etc. It is said that the first Jew to settle in Spain in the modern period was an Abulafia from Tunis.

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[Cecil Roth]

ABULAFIA, ABRAHAM BEN SAMUEL (1240–after 1291), founder of the prophetic Kabbalah. Born in Saragossa, Spain, Abulafia moved to Tudela in his childhood and studied with his father until the latter's death in 1258. In 1260 he left Spain for the Land of Israel in search for the legendary *Sambatyon river. However, the war between the Mongols and Mamluks in 1260 caused his return to Europe, via Greece. He studied in the early 1260s in Capua with R. Hillel of Verona, concentrating basically the *Guide of the Perplexed*, and then returned to Spain. In 1270 he began to study a particular kind of Kabbalah in Barcelona, whose most important representative was Barukh Togarmi, and received a revelation with messianic overtones. He soon left for Castile, where he disseminated his prophetic Kabbalah among figures like R. *Moses of Burgos and R. Joseph *Gikatilla. Some time around 1275 he taught the *Guide of the Perplexed* and his Kabbalah in a few cities in Greece and in 1279 he made his way through Trani to Capua, where he taught four young students. In the summer of 1280 he arrived in Rome and attempted to see the Pope Nicholas III in order to discuss his vision of Judaism as a mystical religion. This meeting was part of a messianic scheme. However, the pope died suddenly and Abulafia was imprisoned for some weeks and then left for Messina, Sicily. There he was active for a decade (1281–91) and had several students as well as some in Palermo. Around 1285 a polemic commenced between him and R. Solomon ben Abraham ibn *Adret of Barcelona concerning Abulafia's claims that he was a prophet and messiah. This controversy was one of the principal reasons for the exclusion of Abulafia's Kabbalah from the Spanish schools.

Abulafia's literary activity spans the years 1271–91 and consists of several dozen books, treatises on grammar, and poems. He wrote many commentaries: three on the *Guide of the Perplexed* – *Sefer ha-Ge'ulah* (1273), *Sefer Ḥayyei ha-Nefesh*, and *Sefer Sitrei Torah* (1280); on *Sefer Yeẓirah*: – *Oẓar Eden Ganuz*, (1285/6), *Gan Na`ul*, and a third untitled; and a commentary on the Pentateuch – *Sefer-MafteḥOt ha-Torah* (1289). More influential are his handbooks, teaching how to achieve the prophectic experience: *Ḥayyei ha-Olam ha-Ba* (1280), *Or ha-Sekhel*, *Sefer ha-Ḥeshek*, and *Imrei Shefer* (1291). Of special importance for understanding his messianology are his "prophetic books" written between 1279 (Patras) and 1288 (Messina), where revelations including apocalyptic imagery and scenes are interpreted as pointing to spiritual processes of inner redemption. The spiritualized understanding of the concepts of messianism and redemption as an intellectual development represents a major contribution of the messianic ideas in Judaism. As part of his messianic propensity, Abulafia become an intense disseminator of his Kabbalah, orally and in written form, trying to convince both Jews and Christians.

In his first treatises, *Get ha-Shemot* and *Mafte'aḥ ha-Re`ayon*, Abulafia describes a linguistic type of Kabbalah similar to the early writings of R. Joseph Gikatilla. In his later writings, the founder of prophetic Kabbalah produces a synthesis between Maimonides' Neoaristotelian understanding of prophecy as the result of the transformation of the intellectual influx into a linguistic message and techniques to reach such experiences by means of combinations of letters and their pronunciation, breathing exercises, contemplation of parts of the body, movements of the head and hands, and concentration exercises. Some of the elements of those techniques stem from commentaries on *Sefer Yeẓirah* of Ashkenazi origin, while others reflect influences of Yoga, Sufism, and hesychasm. He called his Kabbalah "the Kabbalah of names," that is, of divine names, being a way to reach what he called the prophetic experience, or "prophetic Kabbalah," as the ultimate aims of his way: unitive and revelatory experiences. In his writings expressions of what is known as the *unio mystica* of the human and the supernal intellects may be discerned. Much less concerned with the theosophy of his contemporary kabbalists, who were interested in theories of ten hypostatic *sefirot*, some of which he described as worse than the Christian belief in the trinity, Abulafia depicted the supernal realm, especially the cosmic Agent Intellect, in linguistic terms, as speech and letters.

In his later books, Abulafia repeatedly elaborated upon a system of seven paths of interpretation, which he used sometimes in his commentary on the Pentateuch, which starts with the plain sense, includes also allegorical interpretation, and culminates in interpretations of the discrete letters, the latter conceived of as the path to prophecy. Abulafia developed a sophisticated theory of language, which assumes that Hebrew represents not so much the language as written or spoken as the principles of all languages, namely the ideal sounds and the combinations between them. Thus, Hebrew as an ideal language emcompasses all the other languages. This theory of language might have influenced *Dante Alighieri. In his writings Abulafia uses Greek, Latin, Italian, Arabic, Tatar, and Basconian words for purpose of gematria.

Abulafia's Kabbalah inspired a series of writings which can be described as part of his prophetic Kabbalah, namely, as striving to attain extreme forms of mystical experiences. The most important among them are the anonymous *Sefer ha-Ẓeruf* (translated into Latin for *Pico), *Sefer Ner Elohim*, and *Sefer Sha`arei Ẓedek* by R. Nathan ben Saadiah Harar, who influenced the Kabbalah of R. *Isaac of Acre. The impact of Abulafia is evident in an anonymous epistle attributed to Maimonides; R. Reuven Ẓarfati, a kabbalist active in 14th century Italy; Abraham *Shalom, Johanan *Alemanno, Judah *Albotini, and Joseph ibn Zagyah; Moses *Cordovero and Ḥayyim *Vital's influential *Sha`arei Kedushah*; *Shabbetai Ẓevi, Joseph *Hamiẓ, Phinehas Elijah Horowitz, and *Menahem Mendel of Shklov.

Extant in many manuscripts, Abulafia's writings were not printed by kabbalists, most of whom banned his brand of Kabbalah, and only by chance introduced in their writings a few short and anonymous fragments. Scholarship started with an analysis of his manuscript writings by M.H. Landauer, who attributed the book of the *Zohar* to him. A. Jellinek refuted this attribution and compiled the first comprehensive list of Abulafia's writings, publishing three of Abulafia's shorter treatises (two epistles, printed in 1853/4, and *Sefer ha-Ot* in 1887), while Amnon Gross, published 13 volumes, which include most of Abulafia's book and those of his students' books (Jerusalem, 1999–2004). Major contributions to the analysis of Abulafia's thought and that of his school have been made by Gershom Scholem and Chaim Wirszubski. Some of Abulafia's treatises were translated into Latin and Italian in the circle of Pico della Mirandola, mostly by Flavius Mithridates, and Pico's vision of Kabbalah was significantly influenced by his views. This is the case also with Francesco Giogio Veneto's *De Harmonia Mundi*. Abulafia's life inspired a series of literary works such poems by Ivan Goll, Moses Feinstein, and Nathaniel Tarn; Umberto Eco's novel *Foucault's Pendulum*; and a George-Elie Bereby's play; in art, Abraham Pincas's paintings and Bruriah Finkel's sculptures; and several musical pieces.

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[Moshe Idel (2nd ed.)]

ABULAFIA (Bolaffi), EZEKIEL (Hezekiah) DAVID BEN MORDECAI (18th century), Italian scholar and poet. His family originated in Aquileia, but he himself lived first in Leghorn and then in Trieste, where he married the daughter of R. Isaac Formiggini. He began to write at the age of 13, but his early compositions (including an elegy on the victims of the disaster in the Mantua ghetto in 1776) were lost. His only published work was *Ben Zekunim* (1793). The first part, entitled *Yesod Olam*, is an introduction to the Talmud for young people, based on the *Halikhot Olam* of *Jeshua b. Joseph ha-Levi. The final section quotes commendatory statements on the Talmud by gentile scholars such as *Galatinus and *Basnage. The second part, *Mizmor le-David*, contains miscellaneous poems and elegies, revealing a fair knowledge of classical mythology and literature, and closes with patriotic poems, e.g., on the educational reforms of Emperor Joseph II. The preface embodies a vigorous vindication of the Hebrew language. An early work on Psalms, *Shiggayon le-David*, has been lost.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Schirmann, Italyah, 461–2; A.M. Habermann, *Mivḥar ha-Shirah ha-Ivrit*, 2 (1965), 148–50.

[Cecil Roth]

ABULAFIA, ḤAYYIM BEN DAVID (c. 1700–1775), rabbi and codifier. Abulafia, a grandson of Ḥayyim ben Jacob Abulafia, was born either in Jerusalem or in Smyrna. He studied under Isaac *Rappaport, author of *Battei Kehunnah*. About 1740 he was appointed rabbi of Larissa (Greece). Among his many pupils was Joseph Naḥmoli, author of *Ashdot ha-Pisgah*. In 1755, as a result of tribulations suffered by the community, he left for Salonika, where he apparently remained, acting as *av bet din*, until 1761. In that year the Sephardi rabbi of Amsterdam, Isaac ibn Dana de Brito, died and Abulafia was invited to succeed him. But Jacob Saul, the rabbi of Smyrna, died at the same time and, when Abulafia was invited to fill his position, he accepted the invitation. Many of Abulafia's halakhic decisions are found in the works of Turkish scholars, who often sought his approbation for their works. Most of his own works were destroyed in the great fire of Smyrna of 1772 – including the major part of a large work on the *Sefer Mitzvot Gadol* of Moses of Coucy. Part of it was published posthumously together with his responsa *Nishmat Ḥayyim* (Salonika, 1806). Parts of his works were printed with the above-mentioned *Ashdot ha-Pisgah* (1790). Ḥayyim *Modai, his successor in the Smyrna rabbinate, was his pupil.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: M. Benayahu, in: *Horeb*, 10 (1947/48), 27–34; I.S. Emmanuel, *Maẓẓevot Saloniki*, 1 (1963).

ABULAFIA, ḤAYYIM BEN JACOB (I) (1580–1668), Palestinian talmudist, known as the First. After studying in Safed, Abulafia was ordained by his father in about 1618. In 1628 Abulafia settled in Jerusalem and later moved to Hebron, where despite his advanced age he directed the yeshivah. He was one of the leading rabbis of his era. In 1651–52 Abulafia was a central figure in the controversy over the election of a new rabbi of the Hebron community and went to Cairo to enlist the support of the influential Raphael Joseph, head of Egyptian Jewry, and arrange a compromise. When Nathan of Gaza began his propaganda in support of Shabbetai Zevi, Abulafia adopted a negative attitude similar to that of his father toward the visions of Ḥayyim *Vital. Although he was skeptical, he wished to avoid open conflict, and did not threaten excommunication as did his father in the case of the latter. In 1666 he was one of the delegation of four who went to Gaza on behalf of the Constantinople community to investigate the authenticity of Nathan's prophecies, and about this time he returned to live in Jerusalem. His grandson was Ḥayyim ben Jacob *Abulafia (II), who renewed Jewish settlement in Tiberias in 1740.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: M. Benayahu, *Rabbi Ḥayyim Yosef David Azulai* (1959), 293–302; Ben-Zvi, Eretz; Scholem, Shabbetai Ẓevi, 221, 228, 511. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** M.D. Gaon, *Yehudei ha-Mizraḥ be-Ereẓ Yisrael*, 2 (1938), 7.

ABULAFIA, ḤAYYIM BEN JACOB (II) (c. 1660–1744), rabbi, known as the Second. He is grandson of Hayyim ben Jacob *Abulafia the First. About 1666 the Abulafia family moved from Hebron to Jerusalem, where Hayyim studied with Moses Galante and others. In 1699 he went on a mission to Salonika, and in 1712 he served as rabbi in Smyrna and in 1718 in Safed where he remained until 1721, when he was reappointed rabbi of Smyrna, living there for almost 20 years.

Abulafia believed in the imminence of the messianic era and considered the restoration of *Tiberias, which had been in ruins for almost 70 years, a necessary prerequisite to it. Sheikh Dahir al-ʿAmr, the ruler of Galilee, invited him to "come up and take possession of the land." In 1740 he moved from Smyrna to Tiberias. Despite his advanced age, Abulafia began rebuilding the city, and he sent his sons and sons-in-law abroad to enlist aid for the restoration. According to diverse legends, he planted gardens, vineyards, and fields, and built a glorious synagogue and *bet midrash*, a bathhouse, a press for sesame oil, stores for market day, established the Rabbi Meir Baal Haness Fund, and sent his two sons on missions abroad to collect money; he also built houses and courtyards for his fellow Jews.

In 1742–43 war broke out between Suleiman, pasha of Damascus, and Dahir. Abulafia encouraged the Jews to remain in Tiberias and gave full support to the sheikh. In the two campaigns, which ensued – the first of which ended on the 4th of Kislev 1743 and the second ending with the death of Suleiman on the 5th of Elul – the sheikh was victorious. Abulafia declared these two dates as holidays, which the Jews of Tiberias continued to observe annually. He died in Tiberias on the 16th of Nisan 5504.

Abulafia was a prolific author, but only those of his works which he published while in Smyrna have appeared in print: (1) *Yashresh Ya'akov* (1729), on the *Ein Ya'akov*; (2) *Mikra'ei Kodesh* (1729), on the laws of Passover, on Esther, homilies, and novellae on the Talmud and Maimonides; (3) *Eẓ ha-Hayyim* (1729), on the weekly portions; (4) *Yosef Lekaḥ*, pt. one on Genesis and Exodus; pt. two on Leviticus (1730); pt. three on Numbers and Deuteronomy (1732); (5) *Shevut Ya'akov* (1734), on the *Ein Ya'akov*; (6) *Ḥanan Elohim* (1737), on the Pentateuch, appended to *Hayyim va-Ḥesed*, by his grandfather, Isaac Nissim b. Gamil.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: L. Kopf, in: KS, 39 (1964), 273–9; Ben Zvi, Eretz Israel, index; M. Benayahu, ed. *Zimrat ha-Areẓ* (1946), intro. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** M.D. Gaon, *Yehudei ha-Mizraḥ be-Ereẓ Yisrael*, 2 (1938), 7.

ABULAFIA, ḤAYYIM NISSIM BEN ISAAC (1775–1861), rabbi and communal worker, known also, from the initial letters of his name, as "Ḥana." Born in Tiberias, he succeeded his father as the head of the Jews of Tiberias. He was for a short time rabbi of Damascus. After the defeat of the Egyptian commander *Ibrahim Pasha by the Turks (1840), when some of the Arab sheikhs began to seize control of the villages and towns abandoned by the Egyptians and oppressed and maltreated their Jewish inhabitants, Abulafia asked the commander of the Turkish forces in Sidon (Saida) and Tripoli to take action to stop these acts. The latter immediately had instructions dispatched to the governor of Safed forbidding persecution of the Jews. Toward the end of his life Abulafia moved to Jerusalem and, in 1854, he was elected *rishon le-Zion* succeeding Isaac *Covo. In Jerusalem he supported Ludwig August *Frankl in the founding of the Laemel school. His writings have remained in manuscript, except for individual responsa published in the works of his contemporaries.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Frumkin-Rivlin, 3 (1929), 279–81; M.D. Gaon, *Yehudei ha-Mizraḥ be-Ereẓ Yisrael*, 2 (1937), 7–8; Yaari, Sheluḥei, index, s.v.; J.M. Toledano, *Oẓar Genazim* (1960), index; I. Ben Zvi, *Meḥkarim u-Mekorot* (1966), index (*Ketavim*, vol. 3).

[Abraham David]

ABULAFIA, ISAAC (d. 1764), talmudist and emissary for Ereẓ Israel. Abulafia was the son of Ḥayyim ben Moses (?) Abulafia. He immigrated with his father to Tiberias in 1740. Active in the rebuilding of Tiberias, he went in 1743 as an emissary for this purpose to Damascus and probably to other places as well. He was appointed by his father to succeed him as rabbi and as leader of the community of Tiberias, and held these offices for 20 years. In 1764 he was appointed by the leaders of the Jerusalem community as a member of a delegation that went to Constantinople to have Raḥamim ha-Kohen removed from office as representative of "Pekidei Ereẓ Israel be-Kushta" ("The Representatives of the Land of Israel in Constantinople"). On hearing that Raḥamim had already been officially appointed, some of the delegates thought it useless to proceed with the journey. Isaac, however, went to Constantinople and argued the case before Jacob Zonana, head of the "Pekidei Ereẓ Israel," but Zonana justified the appointment. Isaac was the author of *Paḥad Yiẓḥak* (Moscow Ms. Guenzburg, 29), a comprehensive commentary on the *Sefer Yere'im* of *Eliezer b. Samuel of Metz. One of his responsa was published in the *Neḥpeh be-Khesef* (1768) of Jonah Navon (pt. 1, ḤM, 81a).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: M. Benayahu, *Rabbi Ḥ.Y.D. Azulai* (Heb., 1959), 389–90.

ABULAFIA, ISAAC BEN MOSES (1824–1910), rabbi and halakhist. Abulafia, who was born in Tiberias, was rabbi of Damascus from c. 1877. His authoritarian attitude and his habit of making independent halakhic decisions roused the opposition of the other rabbis and of the communal leaders of Damascus, who united in an attempt to remove him from his position. In 1896 they turned to Moses ha-Levi, the *ḥakham bashi*, in Constantinople, who acceded to their request by appointing Solomon Eliezer Alfandari rabbi of Damascus. The two rabbis did not at first cooperate with each other. Later, however, Alfandari brought Abulafia into the sphere of his activities. Toward the end of his life Abulafia acted as rabbi in Tyre. From there he moved to Jerusalem, and finally to Tiberias, where he died. An outstanding halakhic scholar, his responsa *Penei Yiẓḥak* were published in six volumes (1871–1906). Some scholars, especially Shalom Ḥai Gagin of Jerusalem, were critical of the first volume, and Abulafia wrote *Lev Nishbar* (1878) in reply to his critics.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Ben-Zvi, in: *Oẓar Yehudei Sefarad*, 6 (1963), 7–16.

ABULAFIA, JACOB BEN SOLOMON (1550?–1622?), Damascus rabbi. Abulafia, the grandson of Jacob b. Moses *Berab, studied under Solomon *Absaban and under Moses Besodo – apparently in Damascus – together with Yom Tov *Ẓahalon. There is evidence that he may have been friendly with Isaac *Luria. It is known that he was in Safed in 1589. In 1593 he was serving as rabbi of the Spanish congregation in Damascus. About 1599 he received ordination (*semikhah*) – together with seven other great scholars of Safed – from Jacob (II) *Berab; Abulafia was definitely in Safed in the summer of 1599. He again visited there in the summer of 1609, returning to Damascus that same year. He ordained his closest pupil Josiah *Pinto about 1617, apparently in Safed. His relationship with Ḥayyim *Vital was extremely strained. Abulafia had no faith in Vital's visions, and mocked his approach to Kabbalah. The tension between them reached its peak in 1609. Abulafia was primarily a halakhist, but he also wrote expository homilies on the Pentateuch. Some of his responsa and novellae on the Pentateuch appear in the works of his contemporaries. Ḥ.Y.D. *Azulai saw a large manuscript volume of his responsa.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Azulai, 1 (1852), 85, no. 202; Judah Aryeh di Modena, *Ari Nohem*, ed. by N.S. Leibovitz (1929), 80; Ḥ. Vital, *Sefer ha-Ḥezyonot*, ed. by A.Z. Aescoly (1954), 24ff., 91–129; M. Benayahu, in: *Sefer Yovel … Y. Baer* (1960), 253, 257, 260–1, 266–7.

ABULAFIA, MEIR (1170?–1244), talmudic commentator, thinker, and poet; the most renowned Spanish rabbi of the first half of the 13th century. His only son Judah died in 1226, but his grandchildren and great-grandchildren through his daughters lived in Toledo about a century after his death. Meir himself and his family carried the title *nasi*, and the whole family was connected by marriage with the foremost families of Toledo. In his youth, Abulafia went from Burgos to Toledo where he spent the rest of his life. It seems that as early as 1204 he was a member of the Toledo *bet din*, together with Meir ibn Migash and *Abraham b. Nathan ha-Yarḥi. He played an important part in the organization of the communities in Spain, especially that of Toledo, where he instituted many religious regulations.

Abulafia's literary activity spans four general areas: *halakhah*, masorah, the controversy over Maimonides' opinion on the subject of resurrection, and Hebrew poetry. His greatest though least known work is his extensive commentary, which covered about half the Talmud. This commentary, unique both in quantity and in quality, may be considered the summation and the conclusion of the talmudic school of the Spanish rabbis, and Abulafia its last representative (his younger contemporary and countryman *Naḥmanides brought an end to the local traditional method by his introduction of the tosafists' method of study from Germany and France). In his book, originally named *Sefer Peratei Peratin* ("Book of Minute Details"), Abulafia goes into the smallest details of each subject, attempting to extract from his explanations the maximum of practical rules. Its rapid disappearance may be attributed to its relative verbosity, as well as to the preference shown for the books of Naḥmanides. The work is written entirely in Aramaic, in the style of the *geonim* and Isaac *Alfasi, and all decisions are presented with confidence. Abulafia never mentions his teachers and rarely his predecessors by name, but he does draw upon and even quote (though anonymously) the early Spanish rabbis. Most of Abulafia's specific references are to the *geonim*, especially to *Hai and *Sherira, and he refers as well to Alfasi, *Hananel, Joseph *Ibn Migash, *Rashi, *Maimonides, and Jacob *Tam. His knowledge of the teachings of the French and German talmudists is evidently limited. His work presents many old Spanish versions of the Talmud which are of special importance. Only two parts have hitherto been published (under the name *Yad Ramah*) – those dealing with the tractates *Bava Batra* and *Sanhedrin* (Salonika, 1790–98). However, manuscripts of his commentaries to many other tractates (none of which is extant) were known to the rabbis in earlier generations. Thus a great part of his commentary on the tractate *Horayot* is included in *Azulai's *Sha'ar Yosef* on the tractate *Avot*, in Samuel Uceda's *Midrash Shemu'el* (1579), and on the tractates of *Nezikin*, in Bezalel *Ashkenazi's *Shitah Mekubbeẓet*. He is quoted a great deal anonymously in Menahem ha-Meiri's commentaries on the Talmud.

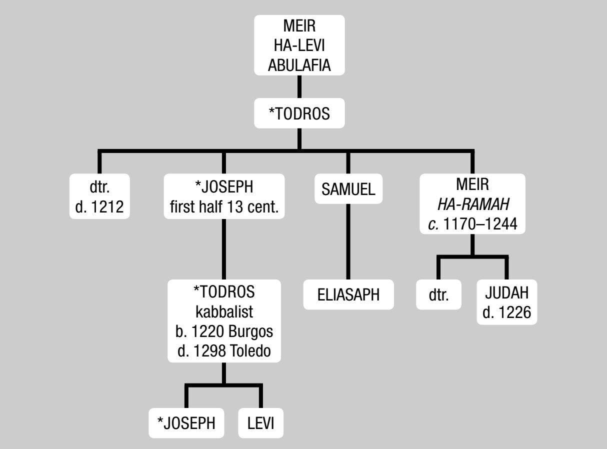

After H. *Brody, in YMHSI, 2(1936), 6

Even from his own time, the study of Abulafia's work was limited because of the penetration into Spain of the tosafists' method of learning. Surprisingly, however, *Asher b. Jehiel of Toledo, a scholar of German origin, considered Abulafia the decisive local authority and he, his pupils (among them Jehoram and Abraham ibn Ismael), and his sons, especially *Jacob b. Asher, author of the *Turim*, studied his teachings, a great part of the *Turim* being based upon them. There were two editions of Abulafia's work, one longer than the other. The shorter edition came first, and not the reverse, as is generally held. Examples of both editions are extant. The existing commentary to *Bava Batra* is from the longer edition and that to *Sanhedrin* from the shorter one. In the longer edition Abulafia first explains all the Mishnayot, and only then the talmudic discussion. Of the hundreds of responsa which Abulafia wrote, only an incomplete collection of about 70 paragraphs is available. They are included in the *Or Ẓaddikim* (Salonika, 1799). Many of his responsa are scattered in the literature of the *rishonim* and others were inserted in the *Turim.* Other collections of responsa attributed to him in the rabbinical literature are not his.

His work *Masoret Seyag la-Torah* (Florence, 1750) dealt with research, based on old manuscripts, into the traditional text of the Scriptures, and, for a long time, influenced laws governing the writing of scrolls of the Torah. Menahem ha-

Meiri's *Kiryat Sefer* on the same subject is based on Abulafia's version. For many generations there existed in Spain scrolls of the Torah which were allegedly copied from the one Abulafia wrote for his own use. Abulafia wrote a scroll of the *Sefer Torah* as a master copy (mastercodex) and it achieved great fame both in Germany and in the countries of North Africa. "A great and outstanding rabbi, distinguished in wisdom," R. Samuel ben Jacob came especially from Germany to Toledo in order to make a copy of this scroll in 1250 and another copy was made in 1273 in Burgos by R. Isaac ben Solomon of Morocco. Additional copies were made in Spain and Provence from the earlier copies until 1410. The *Masoret Seyag la-Torah* also attained a remarkable popularity and Abraham ibn Ḥassan, one of the exiles of Spain, related that R. Isaac de Leon, who was one of the outstanding *posekim* in the generation before the Expulsion, issued instructions that all scrolls of the Torah in Spain were to be corrected according to the rules laid down in the *Masoret*.

The great importance of this work was equally recognized in later generations, and such distinguished scholars as Menahem ben Judah de *Lonzano in his *Or Torah*, Jedidiah Solomon *Norzi in his *Minhat Shai*, and Solomon ben Joseph *Ganzfried in his *Keset Ha-Sofer* laid down that the defective and *plene* spellings in a *Sefer Torah* were to be in accordance with this copy of Abulafia.

Nevertheless the extant copy, the first work of Abulafia to be published (Florence, 1750), is faulty and incomplete and also includes later additions. For instance, the *Likkutei ha-Masoret* and the *Tikkunei Soferim* as well as the list of *Petuḥot* and *Setumot* in the Torah, which are printed at the end of the volume, are not by Abulafia. They represent Ashkenazi traditions which were compiled according to the *Tikkun Sefer Torah* of Yom Tov Lipmann *Muelhausen which was recently discovered in manuscript and subsequently published. These traditions were added to the *Masoret* during the 16th century. On the other hand, the original book included references to the Talmud and halakhic discussions which were omitted from many of the manuscripts, and from the published edition. These changes explain the numerous discrepancies between the existing *Masoret* and the masoretic views of Abulafia as reflected in the *Kiryat Sefer* of Ha-Meiri, which are based on Abulafia's master copy. Abulafia also took special pains to explain the correct way of writing the scriptural portion of *Ha'azinu*, as set forth in an authenticated manuscript of Maimonides' *Yad ha-Ḥazakah*, which he received from Samuel ibn *Tibbon. His comments in this regard are important for establishing the authenticity of the manuscript copy of the Bible known as the Aleppo Codex.

Abulafia is best known for his controversy with Maimonides over the doctrine of resurrection. Maimonides' views on this subject seemed heretical to him. Abulafia, in spite of his youth, publicly denounced them, and was the first in Europe to do so during Maimonides' lifetime. His accusations were mainly in the form of letters to the rabbis of southern France, especially the "sages of Lunel," who held Maimonides in great esteem and strongly defended his views. The whole correspondence, which also included an exchange of letters with the rabbis of northern France, did not bring the hoped for result and was a great disappointment to Abulafia. Thirty years later, when the controversy was renewed, he was asked by Naḥmanides to take part in it again, but remembering his earlier failure, he refused. Much of the correspondence, edited by Abulafia, was published as *Kitāb al-Rasa'il* (Paris, 1871). Abulafia's conception of resurrection, far from being an abstract philosophy, is based upon the traditional belief, according to which the words of the rabbis on the subject are taken in their literal sense. Notwithstanding this (and contrary to Graetz's opinion), Abulafia possessed a wide knowledge of the Hebrew and Arabic philosophy of his time. In his work are mentioned the *ḥakhmei ha-tushiyyah* ("philosophers") and their opinions concerning the creation of man, the nature of the "heavenly host" (angels), and the like (see his instructive words on Sanh. 38b concerning "Adam was a heretic"). Those of his pupils who are known by name are principally philosophers and translators of works on astronomy and natural sciences from Arabic into Hebrew. Among them are Isaac Israeli (II), author of *Yesod Olam*, and Judah b. Solomon, author of *Midrashei ha-Ḥokhmah* (Ms.). In his correspondence with the rabbis of Provence, Abulafia objected to many of the decisions rendered by Maimonides in his *Yad ha-Ḥazakah*. Some of his *hassagot* ("criticisms"), like those of Abraham b. David, were printed at the side of Maimonides' text. A collection of these, on the tractate *Sanhedrin*, was published by Y. Ha-Levy Lipshitz in *Sanhedrei Gedolah* (1968), but there are many errors in his introduction. Although Abulafia opposed many of Maimonides' opinions and beliefs and resented the exaggerated respect which the rabbis of Provence accorded him, he held Maimonides in great esteem. In his work on *Sanhedrin*, which (in chapter *Ḥelek*) contains quotations from *Kitāb al-Rasā'il*, Maimonides is one of the few rabbis mentioned by name. After Maimonides' death Abulafia wrote a long elegy on him (published together with his *piyyutim*). A collection of Abulafia's letters (and a small number of his poems), published by Brody in 1936, reveals Abulafia to have been acquainted with the poetry of earlier Spanish Jews and to have been influenced by Moses Ibn Ezra in his meter, rhyme, and construction.

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[Israel Moses Ta-Shma]

ABULAFIA, SAMUEL BEN MEIR HA-LEVI (c. 1320–1361), Spanish financier, communal leader, and philanthropist. Abulafia's generosity provided a number of Jewish communities in Castile with synagogues, including the magnificent one still standing in Toledo (later the Church of El Tránsito) with florid Hebrew inscriptions in his honor. The synagogue was built by his order in 1357. This splendid synagogue was the best illustration of the status of Castilian Jewry in general, and of his prestigious position in particular. He was versatile in the Torah and was known as an observant Jew. At first steward of the estates of the king's tutor Don Juan Alfonso de Albuquerque, Abulafia later became treasurer and adviser of Pedro the Cruel of Castile. Many royal documents are signed by him in Hebrew with his seal, containing a castle, the emblem of Castile. During the revolt of the grandees in 1354 he was one of Pedro's principal supporters. Abulafia did much to reinforce the power of the monarchy in its struggle against the nobility by improving the financial state of the kingdom. He ordered an inquiry into the activities of the tax farmers and appointed in their place reliable persons, who were often his own relatives or other Jews; in addition he confiscated the property of the rebel nobles and amassed considerable wealth in two of the royal fortresses. He also served as a diplomat, being sent in 1358 to Portugal to negotiate a political agreement between the two kingdoms. In 1360 Pedro suddenly ordered Abulafia's arrest, whereupon he was brought to Seville and there tortured to death. His enormous fortune was confiscated, as well as that of his relatives. Samuel's imposing residence in Toledo, which still stands, is today the El Greco museum.

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[Zvi Avneri]

ABULAFIA, SAMUEL HA-LEVI (13th century), scientist and engineer employed by King Alfonso X of Castile (1252–84). Abulafia constructed a water clock for Alfonso and translated for him from the Arabic a manual on the manufacture and uses of the candle clock, *Fábrica y usos del Relox de la Candela.* He also perfected hoisting devices and wrote a treatise about them, still extant in manuscript.

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[Zvi Avneri]

ABULAFIA, TODROS BEN JOSEPH HA-LEVI (c. 1220–1298), Spanish rabbi and kabbalist. Rabbi Todros ben Joseph ha-Levi was born in Burgos, Spain, and died in Toledo. The Abulafia family was famous and respected in Spain. His uncle, Rabbi Meir ha-Levi *Abulafia, was the "exilarch" of Spanish Jewry and widely known for his war against the Rambam (*Maimonides) and his writings. Todros, who lived during the reign of Fernando III and Alphonso X, owed his great prominence to his wisdom and wealth, and like his uncle became the head of Castilian Jewry.

The sources portray Todros, on the one hand, as a public figure and a national-religious leader, a person of wide horizons, well versed in halakhic and midrashic literature and an occasional poet. On the other hand, he is also seen as an experienced courtier who found his way to the hearts of the king and queen. He is thought to be one of the first kabbalists in Spain, and one can learn from his writings how the basic concepts of the Kabbalah were formed. Above all, he was a model to his generation of modesty and purity. His life symbolized the absolute negation of his generation's penchant for the ways of the knight and the promiscuity of the king's court.

He spent his youth in Burgos. There he became friendly with Rabbi Moses ben Simeon, who was the disciple of the brother rabbis Jacob and Isaac of Soraya, and it would seem that Todros heard from his friend some of what Rabbi Moses had learned from Kabbalah teachers.

During his days in Toledo, Todros rose to a lofty position. King Alfonso X welcomed him to his court and made him one of his retinue on his voyage to France in 1275. Todros stayed with the queen in Perpignan, where he met the poet Abraham Badrashi (Bedersi). The meeting produced an exchange of rhymed letters and messages. (Some of the poems were published in the book *Segulot Melakhim*, Amsterdam, 1768; others are in manuscript form, British Museum ADD 27,168 930; Vienna manuscript 111).

In Toledo, Todros began his period of creativity. He wrote on halakhic and moral issues related to life and the affairs of his day. He did his utmost to free Jews who had been arrested on the king's orders (1281). At the same time he reacted furiously to serious violations of religious commandments and morality in Jewish society, threatening with imprisonment and excommunication those who would break the laws. (His sermon on changing evil ways is incorporated in his book *Zikkaron Li-Yehudah*, 1846). Apart from his public activity, the kabbalistic writings of Todros reveal him as a mystic, a kabbalist who preserves traditions and ideas and attempts, by fusing the various schools of Kabbalah (Gerona Kabbalah and Castilian Kabbalah), to bridge the gaps between the kabbalists of his day. His first book, *Sha'ar ha-Razim* (edition of M. Kushnir Oron, Jerusalem, 1989) is a kabbalistic interpretation of verse 19 of Psalms. In this book one perceives the hesitancy of the author, who is afraid of divulging secrets. The book was written as a letter replying to his friend Rabbi Moses of Burgos. In fact, the book may be viewed as an interpretative work, a kind of summing-up of the various traditions in Kabbalah as known by Todros, who attempts to fuse them through his interpretation

His second book, *Oẓar ha-Kavod* (Warsaw, 1879), written late in his life, is an interpretation of talmudic legends. As in *Sha'ar ha-Razim*, in this book too the author's personality shines through. He gathers together different traditions and fuses them through the style of his writing, fusing mainly the writings of the Ḥasidei Ashkenaz, the letters of the *Ḥug ha-Iyyun*, and the Ismaili-Gnostic tradition with the traditions of the Gerona and the Castilian kabbalists. In both books one finds echoes of the concepts, themes, and ideas of the secret teachings that a generation later became the foundations of Kabbalah. Todros is thus important as a preserver of traditions who passed them on to the next generation. Thanks to his writings, it is often possible to understand the secrets hinted at in the writings of his teachers, the Castillian kabbalists, as well the mystical tradition in Spain and its crystallization during its early generations. (In addition to these two books, he may have written an interpretation of Chapter 1 of Ezekiel, which is mentioned in the writings of kabbalists but has not been found.)

Todros belongs to that circle of kabbalists called by Gershom *Scholem "the Gnostic kabbalists." Rabbi Todros emphasizes in his writings the uniqueness of that circle and its method in the wide frame of Kabbalah and kabbalists of his day.

Todros was considered a uniquely exemplary figure, who may have served, as Y. Libbes believes (*Keiẓad Nitḥabber Sefer ha-Zohar*), as a model for the depiction of Rabbi *Simeon Bar Yokhai in *Sefer ha-Zohar.* References to him may be found in the poems of Todros ben Judah (the kabbalist's nephew) and in the writings of Isaac ben Latif, Abraham Badrashi, and Isaac Albalag (in his book *Tikkun ha-De'ot*, p. 101).

His son Joseph was a friend of the kabbalist *Moses de Leon, who was thought to be the author of *Sefer ha-Zohar*, an attribution rejected by present-day scholars, who see him as just one its authors. Joseph received from de Leon copies of parts of *Sefer ha-Zohar.*

[Michal Oron (2nd ed.)]

ABULAFIA, TODROS BEN JUDAH HA-LEVI (1247–after 1298), Hebrew poet. He was born in Toledo and spent most of his life there. Todros was a member of a well-known family of the city, although his kinships with other Abulafias, such as Meir *Abulafia, or with "the Rav," Todros ben Joseph *Abulafia, are not completely clear. The branch of his own family was probably not very rich, and he had to search for a job serving the richest members of the Jewish community. He accompanied Don Isaac b. Don Solomon Zadok (Don Çaq de la Maleha; see *Ibn Zadok) on his travels, collecting taxes. He shared in his diversions and, apparently through his influence, was brought in touch with the royal court. In his presentation before the royal court, he offered to King Alfonso the Wise a goblet with an engraved Hebrew poem.

In his youth Abulafia composed numerous poems in honor of Jewish notables close to the court of Alfonso x of Castile and later Sancho iv, Solomon Ibn Zadok and his son Isaac, the rabbi Todros ben Joseph Abulafia and his son Joseph, etc., and even to persons of the royal family. He divided his time between poetry and finance and succeeded at both. In common with others of his class at that period, his morals were lax and he had many liaisons with non-Jewish women. He was among the Jews of Castile arrested by royal order in January 1281, in connection with the revolts of Don Sancho, the son of the King, which had as a consequence the sentence of death for Don Çaq de la Maleha. In prison he wrote many poems which seem to indicate a change in outlook, although none of them expresses contrition for his past behavior. After the release of the prisoners, with the impact of their misfortune still fresh in their minds, the rabbi Todros ben Joseph Abulafia called upon his kinsmen to repent and demanded that all those who continued to consort with Muslim or Christian women be excommunicated. The poet himself, however, did not alter his own conduct nor did he see in it any contradiction of his religious views.

After great effort Abulafia succeeded in regaining his status at court; in 1289 he is mentioned among the men of affairs in the service of Sancho iv, and some years later headed a group of Jewish financiers who received important monopolies. The last certain date mentioned in his poems is 1298.

Abulafia was a prolific writer. His *Gan ha-Meshalim ve-ha-Ḥidot* ("Garden of Apologues and Saws," the *diwan* collected by himself, adding Arabic headings) contains more than 1,000 poems; it was published by M. Gaster in 1926 (as a facsimile of the manuscript), and in three volumes by D. Yellin (1934–37): an extensive selection appears in Schirmann's anthology *Ha-Shirah ha-Ivrit bi-Sefarad u-vi-Provence*, 2 (1956), 413–48, 694. There are very different opinions on his virtues as a poet and on the value of his literary production. Although the themes, technique, and genres of his poems continue the classical traditions of Andalusian Hebrew literature, he lived in a post-classical period with clear signs of mannerism and a tendency to virtuosity. His poetry can be called epigonal in its search for surprising elements, plays on words, trivia, vulgar language, etc. For some scholars, most of Abulafia's poems seem repetitive and superficial, although they are valuable for the historical material they contain and for the interesting relation to the general literature of the times that is revealed, for example, polemical verses, poems on spiritual love, etc. Without denying the interest of these poems as historical documents, many with an autobiographical character, they also show clear signs of the high literary qualities of their author. In some poems he appears wholly familiar with Andalusian conventions, trying to overcome them in a very sophisticated way. Writing in a different environment, and in accordance with the sociological and cultural changes of the Jewish communities in Castile, Todros imitated the Andalusian models, genres, motifs, and conventions, adapting them to the new tendencies of the time not only in Hebrew but also in Romance literature. Renouncing Hebrew-Arabic formalism, and being in contact with the life of the Castilian Court and its literary preferences, Abulafia followed the realistic tendencies of his time.

It is true that some of his poems may be seen as a low variety of literary texts in comparison with high literary compositions. Few of the Judeo-Spanish poets wrote about themselves as candidly as Abulafia, even on matters which were likely to arouse the resentment of his readers. The poet was able to deride even the physical defects of his opponents using an equivocal language. Following Romance patterns, like that of the *tensones*, Todros discusses with other poets, like Pinḥas, in a tone varying between the festive and the serious, which of them is better qualified to write poetry. It is a display of skill in the use of language and verse, trying to show subtleness in praising the speaker's own poetry and ridiculing the adversary with the kind of invectives that sometimes clearly enter the realm of obscenity. The tone is not of bitterness nor has it any tragic greatness; the poets are just mocking each other and trying to overcome the adversary with a sophisticated play on words. On other occasions, he maintained literary correspondence at a higher level with other poets of his time. Todros dedicated long series of poems to notable Jewish courtiers of his time, like "the Rav," or Solomon Ibn Zadok; the series are divided into sections, on different Andalusian topics, preceded by Arabic and Hebrew introductions, showing the ability of the poet to adapt the classical genres to the praise of the distinguished courtiers.

His "girdle" poems (47 *muwashshahāt*) are very interesting, particularly due to the *kharajāt* preserved in them, in old Spanish, Hebrew, and Arabic.

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[Jefim (Hayyim) Schirmann / Angel Saenz-Badillos (2nd ed.)]

ABULKER (**Aboulker** = **Abu I-Khayr**), Algerian family, whose members attained rabbinical and communal distinction. ISSAC BEN SAMUEL (I) (late 15th–early 16th centuries), scholar, astronomer, and translator. Expelled from Spain in 1492, Abulker settled in Padua, Italy, where in 1496 he completed his Hebrew commentary on the "Extracts of the Almagest" of al-Farghani. According to some modern authors this commentary is actually only a copy of the work of an earlier Jewish astronomer, Moses Ḥandali. Some time later Abulker translated from Latin into Hebrew under the title of *Sefer ha-Moladot* the *Liber de Nativitatibus*, originally written in Arabic by al-Ḥasibi (on the appearance of the new moon). He also translated into Hebrew the *Liber Completus*, a Latin translation (Venice, 1485) by Petrus of Reggio of *Ahkām al-Nujum* by the famous 12th-century Tunisian astronomer Ali ibn Abi al-Rijal (Abenragel). When ISAAC BEN SAMUEL ABULKER (II), the rabbi of Algiers, denounced the abuses of Joseph Bacri, the latter depicted Abulker as a troublemaker and the bey had Abulker and six other Jewish notables beheaded in 1815. His son SAMUEL and his grandson ISAAC (III) were leaders of Algerian Jewry in the 19th century. The son of the latter, HENRI-SAMUEL (1876–1957), professor of medicine and head of Algerian Jewry, formed and presided over the Algerian Zionist Federation and worked vigorously for organizations which fought antisemitism. As head of the wartime Resistance, he secretly collaborated with the Allies to assist the American landing in Algiers on Nov. 7–8, 1942. His son JOSÉ (b. 1920), a professor of neurosurgery in Paris, was the leader of the Resistance forces which occupied Algiers, thus facilitating the landing.

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[David Corcos]

ABULRABI (**Abu al Rabi**), **AARON** (also called **Aldabi** or **Alrabi**; first half of the 15th century), Sicilian-born biblical exegete, theologian, and polemicist. Born in Catania in Aragonese Sicily, Abulrabi became an itinerant scholar whose travels took him to Italy, Turkey, Alexandria, Damascus, Jerusalem, and Kaffa on the Black Sea. Along the way he engaged in intra- and interreligious discussion and dispute. He describes an exchange with an unnamed pope and his cardinals in Rome in which he refuted the Christian curialists' suggestion that the tabernacle cherubs reflected "the craft of talismans," thereby breaching biblical prohibitions on "other gods" and the manufacture of "graven images." He also reports debates with a Karaite scholar in Jerusalem and various Christian interlocutors.

The only witness to Abulrabi's life and thought is a tome that combines Torah commentary with supercommentary on Rashi's *Commentary on the Torah*. The work postdates 1446 in the version that has come down. At its outset, Abulrabi states that he will focus on Rashi's words inasmuch as they were "mostly hewn from the eminent [rabbinic] oaks of old." At times, Abulrabi issues sharp criticisms of Midrashim in a forthright manner almost without precedent in Rabbanite literature. Abulrabi's work was printed together with the supercommentaries on Rashi of Samuel Almosnino, Jacob Canizal, and Moses *Albelda under the title *Perushim le-Rashi* (Constantinople, 1525). In his commentary, Abulrabi mentions that he wrote the following other works: *Sefer ha-Meyasher,* on Hebrew grammar; *Sefer Matteh Aharon*, a polemical work; and three apparently theological studies: *Nezer ha-Kodesh; Sefer ha-Nefesh*; and *Sefer Peraḥ ha-Elohut*. In the course of his commentary, he quotes philosophic and kabbalistic sources, though rarely by name. He also quotes his father, learned brothers Shalom, Baruch, Moses, Jacob, and his father-in-law Moses *Gabbai, who, like Abulrabi, composed a supercommentary on Rashi's *Commentary on the Torah*.

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[Judah M. Rosenthal / Eric Lawee (2nd ed.)]

ABUN (also **Abuna**, **Bun**), a variation of the Aramaic name "Abba," common in Palestine, France, and Spain. Several scholars and poets by this name were known in the Middle Ages, but there is little information available about them. (1) The father of a Palestinian liturgical poet, Eleazar, whose style and method are similar to those of Kallir, was called both Abun and Bun. (2) The grandfather of the Franco-German liturgical poet Simeon b. Isaac bore the name Abun, also Abuna. A native of Le Mans, France (it is conceivable that (Le) Mans is in fact a corruption of Mainz), who lived at the end of the ninth century, he may be the one to whom Solomon *Luria refers in his responsum 29 (Lublin, 1575): "R. Abun who excels in Torah, wisdom, wealth, and in all the innermost secrets, expounding every letter in 49 different ways." Some scholars identify him with Abun, a physician who was head of a school for medicine in Narbonne, some of whose disciples taught medicine in Montpellier. (3) A Spanish poet by the name Abun b. Sharada lived around the 11th century, first in Lucena and then in Seville. His poems were praised by his contemporaries as well as by later writers. Solomon ibn *Gabirol mentions him in his poems alongside *Menahem b. Saruk, *Dunash b. Labrat, and *Samuel ha-Nagid (*Shirei Shelomo ibn Gabirol*, ed. by Ḥ.N. Bialik and Y.H. Ravnitzky, 1 (1928^{2}), 65, no. 28). He is also mentioned in Moses *Ibn Ezra's *Shirat Yisrael* (ed. by B. Halper (1924), 69) and in Judah *Al-Ḥarizi's *Taḥkemoni* (ed. by A. Kaminka (1899), 40). From Moses Ibn Ezra it can be gathered that the poems of Abun were no longer current in his day and it seems evident that even he did not see them. (4) A Spanish scholar and philanthropist of the 12th century, to whom Moses Ibn Ezra addressed many poems and about whom he composed several lamentations on his death, calling him "*Rabbana Abun,*" "*Ha-Gevir*" ("the Magnate"), and "Abun, the words of whose mouth were like a watercourse in a dry land." (5) A Spanish liturgical poet known from five poems written in the spirit and style of early *paytanim* of Spain. He may be the Abun b. R. Saul also known as "the pious R. Abun of Majorca."

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[Abraham Meir Habermann]

ABU SAʿD AL-TUSTARĪ (d. 1048), Egyptian financier and courtier. Muslim sources refer to him as Abū Saʿd b. Sahl al-Tustari (i.e., from Tustar (Shustar) in southwestern Persia). In Jewish sources he appears as Abraham b. Yashar. Abū Saʿd was primarily a dealer in precious objects and jewels, while his brother Abū Naṣr Fadl (*Ḥesed* in Hebrew) was a banker. Abū Saʿd sold to the Caliph al-Ẓāhir (1021–36) a female black slave, who gave birth to the later Caliph al-Mustanṣir. When at the age of seven the boy succeeded his father, his mother exercised great influence in the affairs of state, and Abū Saʿd was one of her advisers. He utilized his position at court to help the Jews of Egypt and Syria, then under the rule of the Fatimid caliphs. Rabbanites as well as Karaites turned to him for help. Hence, scholars disputed to which community he belonged. Abū Saʿd was murdered in 1048 by hired assassins of Ṣadaka b. Yūsuf al-Falāḥī, a Jewish convert to Islam, who had been appointed vizier on Abū Saʿd's recommendations. Abū Saʿd's brother Abū Naṣr, court financier and community representative, was also assassinated.

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[Eliyahu Ashtor]

ABYAḌ, YIḤYA BEN SHALOM (1873–1935), student friend of R. Yiḥya *Kāfaḥ; among the heads of the Dor De'ah ("generation of wisdom") movement in Yemen. Abyaḍ was renowned as a biblical scholar and as an expert in astronomy and natural medicine. His medical treatment acquired popular acclaim and many sick people, both Jews and Muslims, came to him for help, and he was noted for treating people free of charge. Abyaḍ was head of the Maswari synagogue in San'a and taught Torah to the Jewish public; nonetheless, he earned his livelihood as a silver- and goldsmith. His ornaments were distinguished by their artistic delicacy. After the death of the chief rabbi, Yiḥya Isaac, in 1932, the community heads appointed him successor. However dissident groups and violent factions prevailed, and the rabbi's health was soon undermined.

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[Yehuda Ratzaby]

ABZARDIEL (**Abazardiel**, **Abenzardel**, **Azardel**), **MOSES** (d. c. 1354), secretary to King Alfonso XI of Castile. A learned rabbinical scholar, Moses served for some time as *dayyan* in *Toledo. His signature appears in Latin characters in royal documents dealing with finance and taxes between 1331 and 1339. Its absence from later royal records may be related to the anti-Jewish reaction in Castile. Presumably he is the "R. Moses, the chief scribe of the king" mentioned by Ibn Verga in his *Shevet Yehudah* (ed. by Shochat (1947), 53 ff.). He is probably identical with the Moses b. Joseph Abi Zardil commemorated on an elaborate tombstone in Toledo.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Baer, Urkunden, 1, pt. 2 (1963), 142–4, 159; Baer, Spain, 1 (1961), 327, 356, 358 ff.; Cantera-Millás, Inscripciones, 54–58; Zelson, in: JQR, 19 (1928/29), 145 ff.

ABZUG, BELLA SAVITZKY (1920–1998), U.S. social activist, politician, and advocate for women's rights. Abzug was born in the Bronx, New York, to a religious, immigrant family. Her father, Emanuel Savitzky, a butcher, then salesman, died when Bella was 13, and her mother, Esther, became the family breadwinner. Abzug attended Walton High, an all-girls public school. Active as a teenager in the Labor Zionist group Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir, she studied Hebrew at the Florence Marshall Hebrew High, continuing her studies at the Jewish Theological Seminary. She taught Hebrew and Jewish history at a Bronx Jewish Center. In 1938, Abzug enrolled in Hunter College, where she led demonstrations against fascism. Graduating in 1942, she worked for a defense contractor, then entered Columbia University Law School on scholarship. One of only a few women in her class, she became an editor of the *Columbia Law Review*. Midway through law school, she married Martin Abzug; the couple had two daughters. Following graduation, Abzug opened her own law firm, specializing in labor union and civil liberties work.

In 1961, Abzug helped found Women's Strike for Peace and served as its national legislative and political director. An early opponent of the Vietnam War, she founded the Coalition for a Democratic Alternative and helped to organize the Dump-Johnson campaign. She won election to Congress from Manhattan's 19th Congressional District in 1970, becoming one of 12 women in the House, the first elected on a woman's rights/peace platform. In 1971, she co-founded the National Women's Political Caucus. Returned to the House twice more, Abzug's major legislation included the Equal Credit Act, Social Security for homemakers, family planning, abortion rights, Title IX regulations, the Freedom of Information Act, the Right to Privacy Act, the "Government in the Sunshine" Law, and the Water Pollution Act. The first to call for President Nixon's impeachment during the Watergate scandal, she conducted inquiries into covert and illegal activities of the CIA and FBI. Abzug also sponsored pioneering legislation to permit the free emigration of Soviet Jewry, and was a leading supporter of economic and military aid to Israel. In 1975, she led the fight to condemn the UN General Assembly's resolution equating Zionism with racism, and played a leading role in condemning anti-Zionist and anti-Jewish attacks at international feminist conferences in Mexico and Copenhagen.

In 1976, Abzug left the House to run for the Senate from New York but lost to Daniel Patrick Moynihan in a four-way race. In 1977, she presided over the first National Women's Conference in Houston. With colleagues in 1980, she established WOMEN USA; a decade later she co-founded and co-chaired the Women's Economic Development Organization (WEDO), an international advocacy group supporting women's empowerment, economic development, and environmental security. Her books included *Bella Abzug's Guide to Political Power for Women* (1984), written with Mim Kelber.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: J. Antler, *The Journey Home: How Jewish Women Shaped Modern America* (1997); J. Nies, *Nine Women: Portraits from an American Radical Tradition* (2002).

[Joyce Antler (2nd ed.)]

ACACIA (Heb. שִׁטָּה, *shittah*), a tree of Israel considered to be identical to the *shittah* tree. In the past it was extensively used for construction. Today it is planted to beautify the arid regions of Israel. Acacia-wood is mentioned repeatedly (Ex. 25–27) as the sole wood used in the construction of the Tabernacle. The word also appears as several biblical place names: Shittim near Gilgal (Num. 25:1; etc.); "And all the brooks of Judah … shall water the valley of Shittim" (Joel 4:18); and Beth-Shittah near Beisan (Judg. 7:22). According to Isaiah, acacia trees would line the path of the returning exiles, and would make the wasteland bloom at the time of redemption (Isa. 4:19). There is almost universal agreement that the *shittah* is to be identified with the acacia. Several species of the tree grow in Israel, mostly in the wadis of the Judean desert and in the southern Negev. It is thorny and has leaves compounded of small leaflets. The yellow flowers are small and grow in globular clusters. It is not tall; its trunk is thin and generally bent sideways. It is therefore somewhat difficult to identify this tree with the *shittah* from which the Tabernacle boards "a cubit and a half the breadth of each" (Ex. 26:16) were cut. Noting this difficulty, the Midrash already asked the question: Where in the desert were our forefathers able to find acacia-wood? One solution suggests that the trees were brought from Migdal Ẓevo'aya in the Jordan Valley near the mouth of the Yarmuk and that a small forest existed there (Gen. R. 94:4). Regarded as holy, its trees were not cut down by the local inhabitants. At present, a small grove of *Acacia albida*, tall trees with thick trunks, which, in contrast to the other species in Israel, grows only in non-desert regions, stands there. This species must have been the "acacia-wood standing up," i.e., with an erect trunk, which provided the wood for the Tabernacle and its accessories. This tropical tree, too, would transform the desert, according to Isaiah, in contrast to the other varieties of acacia which had always grown in the dry regions. This wood is very hard, but light. It does not absorb moisture and so its volume remains constant. It is, therefore, most suitable for construction and was used in shipbuilding.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: J. Feliks, *Olam ha-Ẓome'aḥ ha-Mikra'i* (1968^{2}); Loew, Flora, 2 (1924), 377ff; Dalman, Arbeit, 7 (1942), 32ff.

[Jehuda Feliks]

ACADEMIES IN BABYLONIA AND EREẒ ISRAEL.

Designations

The talmudic term for an academy, yeshivah (lit., "sitting"), derives from the fixed order of seating assigned to the sages and their pupils who regularly participated in the activities of the academy. Occasionally the term meant not an academy but the private activity of studying the Torah (Nid. 70b). There are several synonyms for yeshivah, such as *bet ha-midrash* (lit., "the house of study"), *bet din* (lit. "the house of law"), *bet din gadol* (lit. "the great house of law"), and *metivta* (or *motva*) *rabba* (lit. "the great session"; Bek. 5b). In Babylonia the expression *metivta*, the literal Aramaic rendering of yeshivah, was used.

As for *bet va'ad* (lit. "meeting place"), this refers specifically to the yeshivah (*bet din*) of the *nasi* in Ereẓ Israel.

History of the Academy in the Second Temple Period

According to the *aggadah*, the biblical patriarchs and their sons studied in a yeshivah. There was one in existence, too, during the Egyptian bondage, as also during the forty years of wandering in the wilderness (Yoma 28b; et al.). But the first reference to "yeshivah" as a place of study occurs apparently in the appendix to Ecclesiasticus 51:29: "Let my soul rejoice in my sitting (yeshivah), and be ye not ashamed with my song." The expression "in my sitting," in parallelism with "my song," would seem to point to the ethical and wise maxims which Ben Sira taught in his school, and not to halakhic subjects. But since Ben Sira declares in the same chapter (verse 23), "Turn unto me, ye unlearned, and dwell in my house of learning" (*bet ha-midrash*), it is very probable that yeshivah and *bet ha-midrash* are synonyms for a school. More than a century later, Hillel the Elder said: "The more Torah, the more life; the more yeshivah, the more wisdom" (Avot 2, 7). There is no detailed information extant on the academies of Hillel and Shammai, nor on the arrangements relating to the discussions and studies prevailing in them. There is, however, information on the discussions of these two sages and their pupils on halakhic subjects. For example, "When grapes are being vintaged for the vat (i.e., for making wine), Shammai holds that they are susceptible of becoming unclean, while Hillel maintains that they are not.… A sword was planted in the *bet ha-midrash* and it was proclaimed: 'He who would enter, let him enter, but he who would depart, let him not depart' (so as to be present when a vote was taken). And on that day Hillel sat in submission before Shammai, like one of the pupils" (Shab. 17a). There were extremely bitter controversies on *halakhah* between the pupils of Hillel and those of Shammai which, on one occasion, ended in bloodshed (TJ, Shab. 1:7, 3c). There were halakhic discussions in the *bet ha-midrash* that continued inconclusively for years (Er. 13b). On one occasion the *halakhah* was decided in accordance with Hillel's view, outside the academy, in the courtyard of the Temple Mount (Tosef., Ḥag. 2:11; TJ, Beẓah 2:4, 61c). Generally, however, the *halakhah* was decided within the academy, after thorough consideration and discussion, by finally "taking a vote and deciding" according to the opinion of the majority.

The *tannaim* regarded the Great Sanhedrin, which had its seat in the Chamber of Hewn Stone, as a yeshivah (Mid. 5:4; Sanh. 32b) "from which Torah goes forth to all Israel" (Sif. Deut. 152). R. Ishmael relates "when a man brings the tithe of the poor to the Temple, he enters the Chamber of Hewn Stone and sees the sages and their pupils sitting and engaging in the study of the Torah, whereupon his heart prompts him to study the Torah" (Mid. Tan. to 14:22). In a like manner, Yose b. Ḥalafta (of Sepphoris, who flourished in the middle of the second century C.E.) described the functions, procedures, and religious authority of this central institution: "… The *bet din* in the Chamber of Hewn Stone, though comprised of 71 members, may function with as few as 23. If one must go out, and sees that there are not 23, he remains. There they sit from the time of the daily burnt-offering of the morning until the time of the daily burnt-offering of the afternoon. On Sabbaths and festivals they enter the *bet ha-midrash* on the Temple Mount only. If a question was asked, and they had heard (the answer), they gave it; if not, they took a vote. If the majority held it to be levitically unclean, they declared it unclean; if the majority held it to be levitically clean, they declared it clean. From there the *halakhah* goes forth and spreads in Israel.… And from there they send and examine whoever is a sage and humble, pious, of unblemished reputation, and one in whom the spirit of his fellow-men takes delight, and make him a **dayyan* in his town. After he has been made a *dayyan* in his town, they promote him and give him a seat in the *Ḥel* ("a place within the Temple area"), and from there they promote him and give him a seat in the Chamber of Hewn Stone. And there they sit and examine the pedigree of the priesthood and the pedigree of the levites" (Tosef., Sanh. 7:1). Although the participation of pupils in the debates was a characteristic feature of the academies, when it came to arriving at a decision, only their teachers, and not they, voted (*ibid.*, 7:2).

The question has been raised as to whether an institution similar to the academy of the Pharisaic sages existed among other sects. C. Rabin (*Qumran Studies* (1957), 103ff.) regards the term *moshav* ("session") or *moshav ha-rabbim* ("the public session") in the Dead Sea Scrolls as referring to an academic-juridical institution, analogous to the academy mentioned in rabbinic literature, which met from time to time.

The Pupils at the Academies in the Second Temple Period

In rabbinic literature, information about the pupils who studied in the academies is extremely sparse. One *aggadah* relates of Hillel in his student days that "once, when he found nothing from which he could earn some money, the guard of the *bet ha-midrash* (who usually received half of what Hillel earned) would not allow him to enter. He climbed up and sat upon the skylight to hear the words of God from Shemaiah and Avtalyon" (Yoma 35b). It is further related that "Shammai and Hillel did not teach the Torah for remuneration" (Mid. Ps. to 15:6). In the appendix to Ecclesiasticus 51:23–25 it is stated: "Turn unto me, ye unlearned, and dwell in my house of learning.… Buy wisdom for yourselves without money." Hillel, of whom it is said that "he drew his fellow-men near to the Torah" (Avot 1:12), had 80 pupils and "the least among all of them was Johanan b. Zakkai" (BB 134a). On the subject of accepting pupils there was a divergence of opinion between Hillel and Shammai: "Bet Shammai maintain that one should only teach a person who is wise and humble, of a good pedigree, and rich (some read "worthy"), and Bet Hillel declare that one should teach every person, for there were many sinners in Israel who were attracted by the study of the Torah and from whom there came forth righteous, pious, and worthy men" (ARN^1 3, 14).

There is no information extant on academies for the study of the Torah outside of Jerusalem, except for an account of Johanan b. Zakkai, who spent some time in Galilee, where scarcely any pupils or householders sought instruction from him (TJ, Shab. 16:8, 15d). One who wished to study had to leave his home and go to Jerusalem, and this naturally imposed a burden on the poor, who for years had to live away from their homes in order to spend the major part of the day in the company of their teachers, listening to their halakhic discussions, to their decisions, and to what took place in the academy, this being the accepted manner of the study of the Torah, known as "attendance on scholars." It is recorded of Eliezer b. Hyrcanus, that he left his father's home, went to Jerusalem, where he studied under Johanan b. Zakkai, and suffered from hunger, as he received no support from his father (ARN^1 6; ARN^2 13, 30–1). Pupils also went from abroad to study the Torah in Jerusalem. They included Nehemiah of Bet Deli, who went from Babylonia and studied under Gamaliel the Elder (Yev. 16:7), and Saul of Tarsus, i.e., Paul, who went from Cilicia in Asia Minor (Acts 22:3). There were no written halakhic works available, for in general the principle was observed that "words which are transmitted orally are not permitted to be recited from writing" (Git. 60b).

From the Destruction of the Second Temple to the Close of the Mishnah

After the destruction of the Second Temple, several academies were established simultaneously. This is attested by a *baraita* (Sanh. 32b) which enumerates the academies and their heads, as follows: Johanan b. Zakkai at Beror Ḥayil, Gamaliel at Jabneh, Eliezer at Lydda, and Joshua at Peki'in. In the next generation there were Akiva at Bene-Berak, and Ḥanina b. Teradyon at Siknin, and these were followed by Yose at Sepphoris, Mattiah b. Ḥeresh in Rome, Judah b. Bathyra at Nisibis (in Mesopotamia), and Hananiah, the nephew of R. Joshua b. Hananiah, in Babylonia. The list, though incomplete, testifies to the founding of academies both in and outside Ereẓ Israel during the second century C.E. (See Map: Main Academies.) It concludes with a reference to the academy at Bet She'arim, headed by Judah ha-Nasi, which, because of the unique nature of his position and of the religious authority with which he was invested, was apparently the only one in his day, although after his death, academies were again established simultaneously at Tiberias, Caesarea, and Lydda.

The Function and Authority of the Academies

On the assembly of the sages at Jabneh after the destruction of the Second Temple there is the following statement: "When the sages assembled at the academy of Johanan b. Zakkai at Jabneh, they said: 'A time will come when a man will seek one of the laws of the Torah and not find it, one of the rabbinic laws and not find it.'… They said: 'Let us begin from Hillel and Shammai …'" (Tosef., Eduy. 1:). Hence, the sages began to receive "testimonies" from those who had survived the war against the Romans. They scrutinized these, arrived at a decision, and laid down the *halakhah*. At that time the arrangement of halakhic collections according to subject matter received renewed and fruitful impetus. The center of religious authority was the Great Academy, in whose activities the **nasi* took part and over which he presided when not engaged in public affairs. In this *bet din* the new moon was proclaimed, as was the intercalation of the year (RH 2:8–9; Eduy. 7:7), the fixing of a uniform *calendar for Ereẓ Israel and the Diaspora contributing greatly to the preservation of national unity. Here, too, matters relating to the liturgy (Ber. 28b), and religious questions which were of public concern and on which no general agreement had hitherto been reached, were finally decided. In this central institution, 71 sages sat (Sanh. 1:6) when it was necessary to decide on basic halakhic matters affecting the people of Ereẓ Israel as a whole – matters such as the levitical uncleanness of hands through touching sacred scrolls, etc. (Yad. 3:5; 4:2). The following description of the proceedings of the Sanhedrin may well have applied to the central academy at Jabneh: "The Sanhedrin sat in a semicircle so that its members might see one another, and two judges' scribes stood before them, one on the right and one on the left, and wrote down the arguments of those in favor of acquittal and of those in favor of conviction.… In front of them sat three rows of scholars, each of whom knew his proper place. If they needed to ordain another judge, they ordained one from the first row, whereupon one from the second row moved up to the first, and one from the third row to the second. A member of the public was chosen and given a seat in the third row. He did not occupy the seat of the first scholar but one suitable for him" (Sanh. 4:3–4). The discussions in the Sanhedrin were thus conducted in public in the presence of pupils and of members of the community. In this way the pupils had learned the Torah in the days of the Second Temple. Both in Ereẓ Israel and in Babylonia, a *bet din* was always an integral part of an academy. The order of discussion was as follows: If several matters of law came up, only one would be dealt with on one day (Tosef., Sanh. 7:2). "No vote is taken on two matters simultaneously, but votes are taken separately and questions put separately" (Tosef., Neg. 1:11). At the end of the discussions a vote was taken, where necessary, such as in cases where "one prohibits and one permits, one declares levitically unclean and one clean, and all say: We have not heard a tradition concerning this – in such instances a vote is taken" (Tosef., Sanh. 7:2). The Tosefta also describes procedural details and ceremonial arrangements customary in the academies in Ereẓ Israel in tannaitic times.

Information on the academies in Ereẓ Israel and Babylonia in the Days of the Amoraim is more detailed than on the preceding period, Generally, the *amoraim* adopted the arrangements and methods of instruction of their academies from the *tannaim*.

The Rosh Yeshivah and his Assistants

The *rosh yeshivah* – the head of the academy – would "sit and expound" and convey his remarks to the *meturgeman* ("inter-

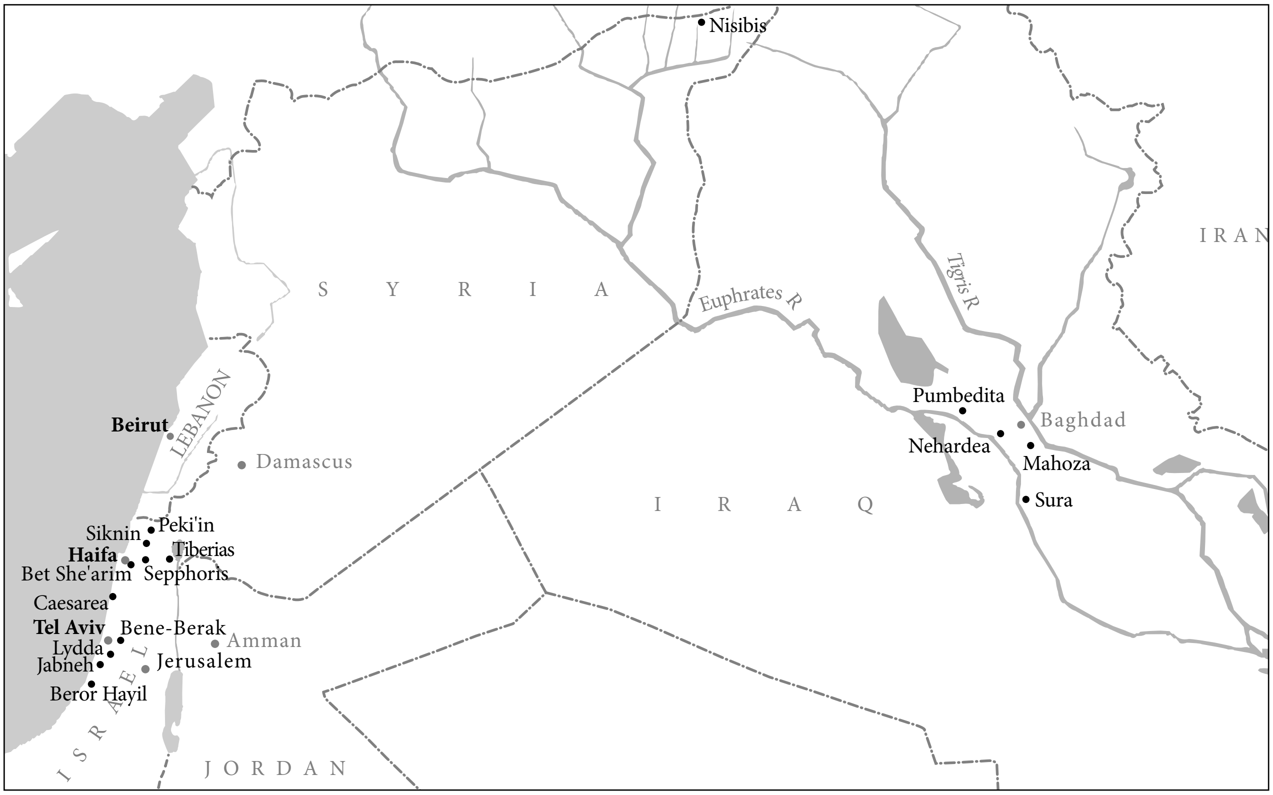

Map showing the main academies in Babylonia and Ereẓ Israel.

preter"; Ber. 27b), also called an **amora*. Where the audience was large, the *rosh yeshivah* would be assisted by numerous *amoraim* (Ket. 106a). Since all the pupils did not immediately grasp what was said, the outstanding pupils would repeat and explain the lesson (BK 117a, and Rashi, *ibid.*; Ta'an. 8a, Rashi). After they understood it, the pupils would repeat the lesson orally (Er. 54b). It is possible that the sages permanently attached to an academy prepared the pupils for the *rosh yeshivah*'s forthcoming lecture by teaching them the Mishnayot (see Meg. 28b; cf. Hor. 12a: Mesharsheya's statement). The *rosh yeshivah* gave his lectures, at least in the large academies, in the morning and in the evening (Shab. 136b), the pupils spending the rest of the day in reviewing the lecture and perhaps also in preparing for the next one. These outstanding pupils were called *reishei kallah* ("the leaders of the rows"), possibly because of the permanent seating arrangements at the academy. Mention is made of seven rows of pupils, graded according to their knowledge, the first row being occupied by the outstanding pupils (BK 117a) and so on, There is also a reference to 24 rows of pupils (Meg. 28b), the youngest pupils occupying seats behind the fixed rows (Ḥul. 137b).

The *rosh yeshivah* was also assisted by a *tanna*, distinguished by his exceptional knowledge of the "Mishnah of the *Tannaim*" and of the Oral Law in general, which he memorized by constant repetition, the Oral Law generally not having been written down (Git. 60b). The services of the *tanna* were often required in the academy for the quoting of tannaitic statements, his remarks being cited in the Babylonian Talmud, usually after the introductory formula: "A *tanna* taught before rabbi so-and-so." In general the *tanna*'s knowledge was mechanical and not rooted in an especially profound understanding of the material; in consequence the sages, especially in Babylonia (Meg. 28b), did not have a particularly high opinion of them.

The Election of a Rosh Yeshivah

A *rosh yeshivah* was generally appointed by the sages of the academy both in Ereẓ Israel (Sot. 40a) and in Babylonia (Ber. 64a). Sometimes several candidates would compete for the position, the ability to make an irrefutable statement serving as the criterion for election (Hor. 14a).

The Academies in Babylonia in the Days of the Amoraim

The beginnings of the central academies in Babylonia are associated with Rav at *Sura and Samuel at *Nehardea. Each headed a famous school which possessed central religious authority in the Babylonian Diaspora. The academy at Sura flourished almost 800 years; that at Nehardea was destroyed at the end of the '50s of the third century C.E. and was succeeded by a number of academies, finally settling in *Pumbedita, where it survived, with intermissions, until about the middle of the 11th century C.E. (See Map: Main Academies). The principal innovation of the Babylonian academies was the institution of the *yarḥei kallah* (months of *kallah), the assembly of the Babylonian sages at one of the leading academies in the months of Adar and Elul, when they discussed a prescribed tractate which they had studied during the preceding five months. A detailed description of the arrangements of study during the *yarḥei kallah* is given by R. Nathan ha-Bavli in *Seder Olam Zuta* (ed. Neubauer, 87–88). Although this account relates to the middle of the tenth century C.E. similar arrangements were presumably already in vogue in the days of the *amoraim*.

The Aim of the Studies in the Academies

The studies in the academies were designed to produce scholars who would be conversant in all fields of the Oral Law and who could derive from the existing *halakhah* laws applicable to new situations (see Rav's statement and the discussion in Ḥul. 9a).

The Method of Study

The pupils participated actively in the *rosh yeshivah*'s lectures, as well as in the halakhic discussions in the formulation of the law, the students' religious responsibility in this connection being duly stressed (Sanh. 7b). It was the duty of the pupils to raise objections when they believed their teacher to have erred in judgment (Shevu. 31a) and students even contested legal decisions of the *rosh yeshivah* (Ket. 51a). The *rosh yeshivah* often called in his students when deciding in cases of ritual law (Ḥul. 45b), when examining a slaughterer's knife (*ibid.*, 17b), or when dealing with questions concerning the ritual fitness of an animal (*ibid.*, 44a–b), and similar questions. From time to time the *rosh yeshivah* would test his pupils in their knowledge and understanding of the *halakhah* (Er. 76a; Ḥul. 113a).

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[Moshe Beer]

ACADEMY OF THE HEBREW LANGUAGE, Israeli institution that is the supreme authority on the Hebrew language. Established by the Knesset in accordance with the "Law for the Supreme Institute for the Hebrew Language, 1953," it succeeded the Hebrew Language Committee (*Va'ad ha-Lashon ha-Ivrit*) inaugurated in Jerusalem in 1890. In 1889 a group calling itself "Safah Berurah" had been formed, with the object of "spreading the Hebrew language and speech among people in all walks of life." This group elected the Committee, the first members of which were Eliezer *Ben-Yehuda, David *Yellin, R. Ḥayyim *Hirschenson, and A.M. *Luncz. Initially the Committee devoted itself to establishing Hebrew terms needed for daily use and to creating a uniform pronunciation for Hebrew speech to replace the then current variety of pronunciations. After only one year of existence, organizational problems disrupted the Committee's activities, but in 1903 at the Teachers' Conference in Zikhron Ya'akov, it was reconvened with an enlarged membership, and thereafter held regular monthly meetings.

In *Principles of the Committee's Activities*, drafted by Ben-Yehuda, its purpose was declared to be: (1) "To prepare the Hebrew language for use as a spoken language in all facets of life – in the home, school, public life, business, industry, fine arts, and in the sciences." (2) "To preserve the Oriental qualities of the language and its distinctive form, in the pronunciation of the consonants, in word structure and in style, and to add the flexibility necessary to enable it fully to express contemporary human thought."

The sources used by the Committee were Hebrew literary vocabulary of all periods; Aramaic, provided it was given Hebrew forms; Hebrew roots from which new forms could develop; and Semitic roots, especially Arabic. Non-Semitic words found in the sources were used only if they already had a Hebrew form or had been absorbed into the language and were in common use.

Scientific problems of linguistic principle were discussed in the *Zikhronot* ("Records of the Committee on Language"). In 1912, the Committee was recognized by the Teachers' Organization and the Committee for the Propagation of Hebrew as "the final authority in authorizing and choosing new words." In a lecture given at the convention of the Organization for Hebrew Language and Culture in Vienna in 1913 (published in *Zikhronot*, 4 (1914)), David Yellin defined the Committee as not merely a factory for new words, as its opponents alleged, but the highest authority for all matters of language, encouraging the coordinated work of all Hebrew linguists and writers. At the 11th Zionist Congress (1913), M. *Ussishkin proposed a resolution authorizing the Committee "to serve as the center of the renaissance and development of the Hebrew language" and urging the Zionist General Council to give it the necessary moral aid and material assistance. After World War I, the beginning of the British Mandate and the Jewish National Home, Hebrew became an official language in Palestine. The Committee, which had been largely inactive during the war, now felt an obligation to expand the program of the Language Committee far beyond its previous range. Practical linguistics and the supply of new words were to be increased, and it engaged in language research, intended to lay the scientific foundations for the practical work.

With an increased membership, the Committee met frequently, establishing and publishing professional terminology. To prepare for the establishment of the Haifa Technion and the Hebrew University, as well as to facilitate the development of trade and industry, work in the various subjects was divided among subcommittees, consisting of members of the Committee and experts in the particular field. These met in Jerusalem, Tel Aviv, and Haifa, referring their findings to other specialists in the field as well as to all members of the Language Committee. After final approval, lists were published in the Hebrew Language Committee's quarterly, *Leshonenu*, or in a special dictionary.

The Sephardi pronunciation was established as the standard for spoken Hebrew and instruction in the schools. Rules of spelling were established: grammatical when the writing was vocalized and "full" (*plene*) in unvocalized writing. Rules of punctuation were determined, and doubtful matters of grammar clarified. While developments in technology and the sciences forced the committees on terminology to include many non-Semitic words in the Hebrew dictionary, the formation of verbs from foreign words was deliberately restricted because, while nouns are easily assimilated into Hebrew, verbs are not. Nevertheless, the formation of verbs such as טַלְפֵּן (*talpen*, "telephone") and גַּלְוֵן (*galven*, "galvanize") proved unavoidable. Grammatical nouns encountered certain scholarly and practical obstacles: the establishment of spelling rules was long delayed by disputes between adherents of biblical spelling and those of the "full" spelling current in post-biblical literature.

The law adopted by the Knesset in 1953 established the Academy and defined its function as the "development of Hebrew, based on the study of the language in its various periods and branches." The maximum number of members is 23. Well-known scholars in various fields of Jewish and Hebrew studies were appointed as members of the Academy, together with practicing writers, and a number of advisory and honorary members were invited to join them. N.H. *Tur-Sinai was chosen to be president of the Academy, a position he held until 1973. Subsequent presidents were Ze'ev Ben *Ḥayyim (1973–1981), Joshua *Blau (1981–1988), and Moshe Bar-Asher (1988–).

The supreme body within the Academy is the plenum, to which linguistic problems discussed in the various committees are referred for final discussion and approval. The plenum meets five or six times a year. The committees on terminology hold weekly or biweekly meetings attended by at least two members from the Academy as well as by specialists in the areas under discussion. Scientific secretaries assemble the available linguistic material in each area, which is then checked against literary sources and decisions already taken in other areas. After discussion, the secretary collates the material and transmits it to all Academy members and to further specialists in the field, who are entitled to comment on, or take issue with, the committee's findings. The material is finally presented to the plenum for discussion, authorization, and publication, either in the *Zikhronot ha-Akademyah* or in the series of technical dictionaries, originally instituted by the Hebrew Language Committee. Among dictionaries published in recent years are those on electronics, chemistry, molecular biology, psychology, library science, diplomacy, medicine, and home economics. Committees on terminology are at work in the fields of banking, law, sociology, nomenclature of plants, and artificial intelligence. The Haifa office for technical terminology is a joint body of the Academy and the Technion. Committees on grammar and spelling follow a similar work pattern, but since the problems in this area are complex, there are usually greater differences of opinion and theory, centering, as a rule, on the conflict between the dictates of historical grammar and those of living speech and practical teaching. Language forms created outside the Academy, whether originating in foreign influence, in slang, or in the language of children, also demand a clear decision by the Academy.

A practical problem over which the Academy, in common with its predecessor, has labored for many years, is the determining of Hebrew spelling. Hebrew writing is mostly consonantal, the vowels being represented by vocalization signs. This spelling, inadequate in the past, is even more so in the present, since the vowels are rarely indicated either in script or in print. The spelling used in the past generations, which substitutes *matres lectionis* for vowels, is incomplete (although it is called "full"), lacks uniformity, and is not universally accepted. The rules for unvocalized spelling, established by the Hebrew Language Committee, were never generally accepted and various systems have been retained. In 1968, after prolonged debate, the Academy decided to maintain two modes of spelling: one vocalized according to all the established grammatical rules, the other an unvocalized spelling in accordance with the rules of the Hebrew Language Committee. A related question is how to transliterate Hebrew into Latin letters in such a way that the non-Hebrew reader is able to pronounce the name as it is said in Hebrew, and after much discussion, a system was approved. In addition, rules have been determined for the transliteration of foreign names into Hebrew as well as for transliteration from Arabic into Hebrew. Rules have also been established for vocalization of foreign words. New rules for Hebrew punctuation were approved in 1993. The Academy assists public bodies requiring linguistic guidance, such as the National Committee on Names, scientific projects, the state broadcasting system, etc.

Academy decisions are published either as technical dictionaries, in lists of terms, or as collections of rules in the annual *Zikhronot ha-Akademyah la-Lashon ha-Ivrit.* A special project of the Academy is the *Historical Dictionary of the Hebrew Language*, begun in 1954 by an editorial board headed by Z. Ben-Ḥayyim, planned to include all Hebrew words and their uses from the earliest sources until the present. Preparatory work on material from tannaitic literature, the Talmud, and Midrash has been completed. Work continues on readying ancient *piyyut*, geonic, Karaite, and North African literature, and modern Hebrew literature (dating from 1750). The historical dictionary project is fully computerized and applies programs especially adapted to the dictionary's requirements. In 1994 the Academy established the "Masie Institute" to bring the Academy closer to the public and for research into the history of the revival of Hebrew in Israel and the Diaspora from its earliest stages to the establishment of the State of Israel. The publications of the Committee and of the Academy are *Zikhronot* for the years 1920–28, vol. 5 edited by J. Klausner, vol. 6 by S. Ben-Zion, D. Yellin, and A. Ẓifroni. Afterwards the committee decisions were published in *Leshonenu* (see below) up to 1954. Then, when the Academy was established, a new series of *Zikhronot* was commenced under the name of

Zikhronot ha-Akademia la-Lashon ha-Ivrit: vols. 1–2 (1954–55), 3–4 (1956–57), 5 (1958), 6 (1959), 7–8 (1960–61), 9 (1962), 10–11 (1963–64), 12 (1965), 13 (1966), 14 (1967), 15 (1968), 16 (1969), 17 (1970), 18 (1971), 19–20 (1972–73), and 21–24 (1974–77) of the new series were probably edited by Meir Medan, but no name of an editor is specified; vols. 25–27 (1978–80), 28–30 (1981–83) and 31–34 (1984–87) were edited by Y. Yannai; 35–37 (1988–90) by Y. Yannai and J. Ofer; 38–40 (1991–93) and 41–43 (1994–96) by J. Ofer; and vol. 44–46 (1997–99) by D. Barak. *Leshonenu*, a quarterly, was edited by A. Ẓifroni (1929–34, five volumes) and N.H. Torczyner (*Tur-Sinai) from 1934 to 1954. These continued under the auspices of the Academy and were edited by Z. Ben-Ḥayyim from 1955 to 1965, by E. Kutscher from 1965 to 1971, by S. Abramson from 1972 to 1980, by Y. Blau from 1981 to 1999, and from 2000 by M. Bar-Asher. *Leshonenu la-Am*, popular pamphlets on matters of language, consist of six pamphlets edited by A. Avrunin, M. Ezraḥi, and I. Pereẓ (and more regularly from 1949 to date, a few pamphlets a year). There is also a series of technical dictionaries. The Academy's lexical innovations used to be disseminated among the public through *Lemad Leshonkha* ("Learn Your Language") pages published bimonthly, and since 1989 in the framework of a regular newsletter called *Aqaddem.* Among the most important recent publications are the *Ma'agarim* CD which includes all the sources of the ancient period, the critical edition of the *Talmud Yerushalmi* according to the Leiden MS, and the second part of *Sefer ha-Mekorot* (the Book of Sources) for the North African Hebrew literature from 1391 to date (1,941 pages).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Ben-Ḥayyim, in: *Ariel*, 13 (1966), 14–20 (Eng.); *Zikhronot Va'ad ha-Lashon (ha-Ivrit)*, 1–3 (1912–13; second printing in one volume, 1929); 4 (1914); 5 (1921); 6 (1928); Yellin, in: *Leshonenu*, 10 (1940), 269–77; Klausner, *ibid.*, 278–89; 16 (1949), 250–67; 18 (1953), 227–38; *Zikhronot ha-Akademyah la-Lashon ha-Ivrit*, 46 vols. (1954–99); S. Eisenstadt, *Sefatenu ha-Ivrit ha-Ḥayyah* (1967); Ben-Ḥayyim, in: *Leshonenu*, 23 (1959), 102–23; for bibliography see *Leshonenu*, index vol. for vols. 1–25 (1967), 70–72.

[Meir Medan]

ACADEMY ON HIGH. In rabbinic tradition, a heavenly body of scholars. Post-mishnaic (talmudic and midrashic) literature speaks of an Academy on High, for which two terms are used: "*Yeshivah shel Ma'lah*" ("Academy on High") and "*Metivta de-Raki'a*" ("Academy of the Sky"). It is clear from *Bava Mezia* 86a that the two terms are identical. Generally speaking, the Academy on High has the same features as an earthly academy. Scholars continue their studies and debates there; therefore the death of a sage is expressed as a summons to the Academy on High (BM 86a). Very daringly, the Almighty Himself is made to participate in its debates and is not even an absolute authority. One of His rulings is contested by all the other scholars, and a human, Rabbah b. Nahamani, is especially summoned from earth (i.e., to die) for a final decision, which he gives before he dies. Although his ruling concurs with that of the Almighty, it is given independently.

Every day God gives a new interpretation of the Torah (Gen. R. 49:2), and He cites the opinions of various scholars (Ḥag. 15b). He also instructs young children who died before they could study (Av. Zar. 3b; however, the Academy on High is not mentioned there). The most surprising of all students is *Asmodeus, the king of the demons, who is depicted as studying daily in both the heavenly and the earthly academies (Git. 68a). Admission to the Academy on High is automatic for scholars (Eccl. R. 5:11, no. 5), although it may be denied for certain reasons (Ber. 18b). Others may enjoy the privilege for particularly meritorious deeds. These include teaching Torah to a neighbor's son (BM 85a) and assisting scholars to study by promoting their commercial ventures (Pes. 53b).

Greetings were sent from this Academy to people who were still alive. Abbaye received these once a week on the eve of the Sabbath. Rava, his contemporary, was greeted once a year, on the eve of the Day of Atonement. However, a certain *Abba Umana ("the bloodletter") was privileged to receive greetings daily because of the due proprieties which he observed when bleeding women patients. Scholars have their definite places there, according to rank. The great *amora* Johanan was not deemed worthy of sitting next to Ḥiyya (BM 85b). They sit in a semi-circle, like the Sanhedrin on earth (Eccles. R. 1:11, no. 1). Nothing suggests that this academy is identical with paradise. On the Day of Atonement, before *Kol Nidrei*, the permission of the Academy on High is invoked to hold the Service together with "transgressors." It is also invoked in the prayer recited before changing the name of a sick person, see *Seder Berakhot* (Amsterdam, 1687), 259 ff.

[Harry Freedman]

In Kabbalah

The Zohar makes a clear distinction between the two terms "Academy of Heaven" and "Academy on High." The former is headed by *Metatron and the latter by God Himself (II, 273b; III, 163a, 192a, 197b, 241b, etc.). Promotion from one academy to the other is mentioned, as are some academy heads in certain departments of the heavenly academy, e.g., "the Academy of Moses", "the Academy of Aaron." A long section in the portion *Shelaḥ Lekha* (III, 162ff.) is devoted to a description of the imaginary wanderings of *Simeon b. Yoḥai in these academies and his meeting with the head of the Academy of Heaven. The place of Metatron in the Zohar is taken in the Testament of Rabbi Eliezer the Great, composed by the author of the Zohar himself, by Rav Gaddiel Na'ar, who forms the subject of a special legend (Seder Gan Eden, *Beit Midrash* of Jellinek, III, 136). In order to distinguish between the two academies, *Midrash ha-Ne'lam* on Ruth (Zohar Ḥadash, 84a) changed the term "Academy of Heaven" which occurs in the Talmud (Ber. 12b) to "Academy on High." Legendary motifs concerning the Heavenly Academy which occur in the Talmud were completely remolded in the Zohar, especially in the story of R. Ḥiyya's ascent to the Academy of Heaven (Zohar I, 4a). The *Messiah seems also to come into this academy at certain times so as to study the Torah with the sages of the academy.

[Gershom Scholem]

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Ginzberg, Legends, index s.v. *Academy*, and *Heavenly Academy;* G. Scholem, in: *Le-Agnon Shai* (1959), 290–305.

AÇAN, MOSES DE TARREGA (Zaragua?; c. 1300), Catalan poet. Moses Açan, whose true name was probably Moses Nathan (Naçan), is known for his verse treatise in Catalan on chess. The introduction begins with an account of the Creation, stressing man's obligation to worship God the Creator. It ends with an explanation of the rules of chess and a condemnation of other games, especially card playing. The work was translated into Castilian by a Jew or Jewish convert in 1350; a manuscript copy was preserved in El Escorial. He seems to be also the author of a collection of 58 short poems of ethical content, *Toẓa'ot Ḥayyim*, published by Menahem ben Yehuda de Lonzano in 1618. Their originality and literary value are not very high. In the acrostic he calls himself Moses Ben-Netanel Bar-Solomon. He could also be identical with one of the notable Jews of the Crown of Aragon who signed the *takkanot* in Barcelona on 1354.

The author has been also identified with the Moses b. Joseph Açan who at Cuenca in 1271 warned King Alfonso x of a conspiracy of the Castilian nobles led by the Infante Felipe, but this identification is unfounded.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: J. Amador de los Ríos, *Estudios sobre los Judíos de España* (1848), 289ff.; Kayserling, Bibl, 8. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** F. Baer, *Die Juden in christlichen Spanien* (1929), 306, 339, 359; Schirmann, Sefarad, 541–43; Schirmann-Fleischer, *The History of Hebrew Poetry in Christian Spain and Southern France* (1997), 569–70; V. Keats, *Chess among the Jews,* 3 (1995), 65–70.

[Kenneth R. Scholberg / Angel Saenz-Badillos (2nd ed.)]

ACE, GOODMAN (1899–1982), U.S. humorist. Born in Kansas City, Mo., as Goodman Aiskowitz, he was an actor, comedian, and writer who supplied dozens of performers with funny things to say but also became well known for the malapropisms he provided for his wife on a nationally heard radio program that ran from 1930 to 1945. At his peak Ace was probably the highest-paid writer in television. The son of a haberdasher, he got his first job as a hat salesman. He shifted quickly to newspaper writing and became a columnist on the *Journal Post*. Seeking to supplement his salary as a columnist and theater and film reviewer, he did extra work commenting on films for a radio station. After he finished a 15-minute program, the station manager asked him and his wife Jane, who happened to be at the station, to stay on the air because the performers for the next segment had not yet shown up. The ad-lib show proved so popular that the Aces were hired to do two programs a week. By 1931 they had moved to the CBS network. Over the air the quips and bon mots seemed to flow effortlessly, but Ace had carefully composed each misused expression for Jane Ace. She died in 1974. Ace wrote for performers as diverse as Danny *Kaye, Perry Como, Sid *Caesar, Milton *Berle, and Bob Newhart.

[Stewart Kampel (2nd ed.)]

ACHAN (Heb. עָכָן), sacrilegious transgressor from the tribe of Judah, son of Carmi, son of Zabdi, son of Zerah. In the time of Joshua, Achan violated the **ḥerem* imposed on Jericho and was subsequently executed (Josh. 7). Despite the ban on spoils from Jericho, Achan misappropriated a fine *shinar* mantle, 200 shekels of silver, and a wedge (lit. "tongue") of 50 shekels' weight and buried them in the ground under his tent. The Israelites were defeated in an attempt to take *Ai because of the trespass of the *ḥerem*. Lots were cast to determine who was responsible and Achan was indicated. On the principle of collective responsibility the people had been punished for the transgression of this one man, since Achan's sin was ascribed to all of Israel (Josh. 7:1, 11). Achan confessed his sin publicly before God and Israel (Josh. 7:20–21). Another example of collective responsibility is that he was stoned with all his family in the valley of *Achor ("troubling"), where the articles he had taken were burned and a great mound of stones was raised over him. The word *achor* is a play on the name Achan. In I Chronicles 2:7 he is actually called "Achar, the troubler of Israel."

The story of Achan may be an amalgam from two different sources. The first half of Joshua 7:25 reads "and they stoned him," while the second half says "and they stoned them," which is not only a duplication but employs a different Hebrew verb for "to stone." The story is widely regarded as an independent, Judean, etiological narrative, explaining the origin of the name valley of Achor and the presence there of a big pile of stones (Josh. 7:26). According to Y. Kaufmann, however, it belongs to a class of biblical legal literature which illustrated rulings by example. These were actual cases decided on the spot and the story preserved the result of the case (e.g., Lev. 10:1–7, 12–20; 24:10–23; Num. 9:6–44; 27:1–11; 36:1–12; I Sam. 30:22–25).

In the *Aggadah*

Achan was a hardened criminal whose sins (previous to stealing the spoil from Jericho) included desecration of the Sabbath, obliterating the signs of his circumcision, and adultery (Sanh. 44a). Nevertheless, he is one of the three men who, by their confessions, lost this world, and gained the world to come (ARN version B, 4–5:3). When his fellow tribesmen were willing to espouse his cause to the extent of slaying one group after another in Israel, Achan said to himself: "Any man who preserves one life in Israel is as though he had preserved the entire world… It is better that I should confess than be responsible for a calamity" (Num. R. 23:6). His confession was a victory over his evil inclinations. "The Lord shall trouble thee this day" (Josh. 7:25), implied: "This day thou art troubled, but thou wilt not be troubled in the world to come" (Lev. E. 9:1 and Sanh. 6:2).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: de Vaux, Anc. Isr., index, s.v. *Akan* and *Ḥerem*; Y. Kaufmann, *Sefer Yehoshu'a* (1959), 116–7; Malamat, in: *Sefer ha-Yovel… Y. Kaufmann* (1960), 149ff. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** S. Stern, *The Biblical Herem* (1991); S. Ahituv, *Joshua* (1995), 121–29.

ACHBOR (Heb. עַכְבּוֹר), the name of two biblical figures. (1) Achbor was the father of Baal-Hanan, king of Edom (Gen. 36:38–39; I Chron. 1:49). Some scholars maintain that the father's name is not Achbor, but a duplication of Beor (Gen. 36:32), because the king's native city is not given (as in all the other cases, rather than their father's name). Nonetheless, there is no doubt that the name existed. It can denote a mouse (*akhbar*), as it is normal for biblical persons to bear animal names. Furthermore, there may also be a cultic connotation for this name, as is proved by the discovery of sacrificial mice (cf. also the golden mice in I Sam. 6:4, 5, 11), and the reference in Isaiah 66:17 to a non-Yahwistic cultic practice in which mice were eaten. This is in addition to the preservation of a tradition by Maimonides that the Horites sacrificed mice. It is further interesting to note that a seal bearing the words "Hananyahu ben Akhbor" was found in Jerusalem.

(2) Achbor, the son of Micaiah, was one of the men sent by King Josiah to consult the prophetess *Huldah (II Kings 22:12–14; in II Chron. 34:20, he is called *Abdon, probably a corruption of Achbor). On the mission he is believed to have represented the pro-Egyptian families, who were influential in the last days of the Kingdom of Judah (see *Ahikam). His son, *Elnathan, was one of the ministers in the time of Jehoiakim (Jer. 26:22; 36:12). Possibly "*K-[-]iahu* son of Elnathan," an army officer mentioned in one o f the Lachish ostraca (no. 3, 1.15), was Achbor's grandson in the time of Zedekiah.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Albright, in: JBL, 51 (1932), 79–80; Yeivin, in: *Tarbiz*, 12 (1940/41), 253, 255.

ACHISH (Heb. אָכִישׁ), *Philistine king of *Gath, mentioned at the end of Saul's reign. In I Samuel 27:2, his father's name is given as Maoch. Achish's realm was extensive and included the city of Ziklag and its environs (I Sam. 27:6). Fugitives from Judah often sought shelter in his land because of its proximity to Judah (I Kings 2:39–40). At first Achish refused *David permission to stay in his territory, possibly to avoid becoming embroiled in a political conflict with Saul (I Sam. 21:11ff.). After a company of several hundred men, however, had gathered around David, Achish welcomed him and even allocated to him the Ziklag region (I Sam. 27). It is possible that David took his first steps in royal administration when he was in the kingdom of Gath.

In the Septuagint Achish is called Akchous, Agchous, Agchis. If the late readings reflect some early tradition, it would seem almost certain that the original form of the name was Achush or Akkush, which corresponds or is related to Ikusu, the name of one of the kings of Ekron in the days of Esarhaddon and Ashurbanipal, now attested to in a monumental inscription from Ekron. The name Achish is not Semitic in form, and some scholars have related it to Agchioses, the name of a king in the neighborhood of Troy who lived around the time of the Trojan War (*Iliad*, 2:819; 20:239; et al.). The fact that the form *Agchisis* is not Greek supports the theory that Achish and *Agchisis* may have had a common origin. Since the name *Akhshan* is found in an Egyptian list as the name of a son of Kaphtor (*Keftiu*), it is plausible to assume that the form "Achish" stems from the same group of peoples to which the Philistines belonged. But it is also conceivable that the name is Horite, because the combination of sounds in "Achish" is possible in Horite. J. Naveh has argued that Achish was an appellative employed as a throne name.

A king of Gath called Achish is also referred to in the fourth year of Solomon's rule; he is called "Achish son of Maacah" (I Kings 2:39). Perhaps there were two kings by this name; Achish son of Maoch, the predecessor, and Achish son of Maacah, the successor of an intermediate king called Maacah.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Mazar, in: PIASH, vol. 1, no. 7 (1964), 1ff. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** V. Sasson, in: UF 29 (1997), 627–39; J. Naveh, in: BASOR 310 (1998), 35–37; A. Demsky, in: BAR 24, 5 (1998), 53–58.

[Joshua Gutmann]

ACHOR, VALLEY OF (Heb. עֵמֶק עָכוֹר), site near Jericho where *Achan was stoned to death for helping himself to some of the forbidden booty taken from Jericho (Josh. 7:24–26). Achor is mentioned in Joshua (15:7) as being located on the border of Judah and Benjamin, between Debir and Adummim. Both Hosea (2:17) and Isaiah (65:10) predicted that in time to come this valley would cease to be a desert. Achor figures in the *Copper Scroll from the Dead Sea as the site of vast hidden treasures. Eusebius (Onom. 18:17–20) located it north of Jericho in the direction of Galgala, and it has been placed by most scholars in or near Wadi el-Qelt, or farther north at the large Wadi Nuwei'imeh. A more recent suggestion is al-Buqei'ah, a large plain in the Judean Desert southwest of Jericho.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Abel, Geog, 2 (1938), 48; Milik, in: RB, 66 (1959), 331–2; Noth, in: ZDPV, 71 (1955), 1–59; M. Baillet et al., *Discoveries in the Judaean Desert*, 3 (1962), 262ff.; J.M. Allegro, *Treasure of the Copper Scroll* (1960), 64–68; Wolff, in: ZDPV, 70 (1954), 76–81; Muilenburg, in: BASOR, 140 (1955), 11–19.

[Michael Avi-Yonah]

ACHRON, JOSEPH (1886–1943), composer and violinist. Achron made his debut at the age of eight, touring Russia as a prodigy violinist. He studied with *Auer and Liadow at St. Petersburg, and later taught at the Kharkov Conservatory (1913–18). Achron began his composing career by writing light music. His association in St. Petersburg with the group of Jewish writers and musicians who founded the Society for Jewish Folk Music brought about a change in musical interests, and manifested itself in his *Hebrew Melody* (1911). After attempting to settle in Berlin (1918–22) and Palestine (1924), he went to New York in 1925. There he wrote music for Yiddish plays and was commissioned to compose *Evening Service for the Sabbath* for Temple Emanu-El (1932). In 1934 he moved to Hollywood, wrote film music, but continued serious composition. Achron's work shows the stresses resulting from his double role as a performing musician and a composer. He composed more than 80 works, including violin sonatas and concertos, *Symphonic Variations and Sonata on the Folk Song "El Yivneh ha-Galil"* (1915), *Concerto for Piano Alone* (1941), *Golem Suite* (1932), *Sextet for Woodwinds* (1942), and incidental music to plays by *Goldfaden, *Shalom Aleichem, Peretz, and Sholem *Asch. The bulk of his manuscripts is preserved in the National and University Library, Jerusalem.

ISIDOR (1892–1948), brother of Joseph, born in Warsaw, was a pianist and composer. He studied in St. Petersburg and toured Europe and the U.S., where he settled in 1922.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: A. Weisser, *Modern Renaissance of Jewish Music* (1954), 81–91; P. Gradenwitz, *Musikgeschichte Israels* (1961), 160; J. Stutschewsky, *Mein Weg zur juedischen Musik* (1935), 24ff.; Sendrey, Music, index; P. Moddel, *Joseph Achron* (Eng., 1966).

ACHSAH (Heb. עַכְסָה; probably "anklet," cf. Isa. 3:18), the daughter of *Caleb, the son of Jephunneh. Achsah's father announced that he would give her in marriage to the man who would capture Kiriath-Sepher (later called *Debir; modern Tell Beit Mirsim). *Othniel, son of Kenaz, the latter apparently a younger brother of Caleb (Caleb and Kenaz both being the sons of the Kenizzite Jephunneh), took Kiriath-Sepher and married Achsah (Jos. 15:16–17; Judg. 1:12–13). Apparently because Othniel desired a dowry in addition to the girl (whom her father had "given away as Negeb Land" [i.e., without dowry], see Kaufmann ad loc.), she asked her father for a piece of property known as Upper and Lower Springs and Caleb acceded to her request (Jos. 15:18–19; Judg. 1:14–15). This story is told in connection with the apportionment of land to the families of the tribe of Judah (Josh. *ibid.*; Judg. *ibid.*). Caleb, according to the critical view, represents a tribe or group of families (cf. I Sam. 25:2–3) that was incorporated into Judah. The detailed story intended to describe the settlement of Othniel and the families of Kenaz in a Calebite region. Furthermore, the story brings to light the relations between the families of Caleb and that of Kenaz (probably both Hurrians).

The name Achsah is derived from the root עכס (cf. Isa. 3:18; Prov. 7:22), meaning to reverse, tie backward, hence anklet, bangle.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Noth, Personennamen, 223. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** J. Stamm, in, SVT16 ת (FS Baumgartmerl 1967), 328; Y. Amit, *Judges* (1999), 35–36.

ACHSHAPH (**Akhshaf**; Heb. אַכְשָׁף), ancient Canaanite town, usually mentioned together with Acre in Egyptian documents from the Middle and New Kingdoms (cf. the Execration Texts of early 18th century B.C.E.), the list of cities conquered by Thutmosis III (c. 1469 B.C.E.), the El-Amarna letters (14th century B.C.E.), and the Papyrus Anastasi (13th century B.C.E.). It was in the territory allotted to Asher in the period of the Israelite conquest (Josh. 19:25). The king of Achshaph is listed among the 31 kings who fought Joshua (*ibid.* 12:20); he participated in the battle at the Waters of Merom (*ibid.* 11:1). The various sources indicate a location in the southern part of the Plain of Acre, perhaps one of the more prominent of its many ancient tells: Tell Kisan 6 mi. (10 km.) S.E. of Acre, or Khirbet al-Harbaj, E. of Haifa near Kefar Ḥasidim.

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[Michael Avi-Yonah]

ACHZIB (Heb. אַכְזִיב). The name may mean "charming," "delightful." (1) Ancient Canaanite harbor town north of Acre near the cliff called "the ladder of Tyre." North of the village is a tell in which potsherds dating from and after the Early Bronze Age have been found. According to Joshua 19:29 and Judges 1:31, Achzib belonged to the tribe of Asher, but it did not come under the effective control of the Israelites, as the Canaanites continued to occupy it. A large number of tombs from the period of the Israelite monarchy have been discovered south and east of the tell. *Sennacherib captured Achzib from the king of Tyre in 701 B.C.E. In the period of the Second Temple, Achzib is mentioned (in the Greek form Ekdippa) as a road station, 9 Roman mi. north of Ptolemais (Acre., Jos., Wars, 1:257; Pliny, 19). A Roman milestone has been found on the site, on the Acre–Antioch road, in addition to many Roman tombs. In the mishnaic period, Achzib, then called also Kheziv (Gesiv in the Palestinian Talmud), was considered a part of Erez Israel and its inhabitants were bound by all the biblical laws pertaining to the sabbatical and jubilee years, priestly dues, and tithes (Shev. 6:1; 4:6; Hal. 4:8; 2:6; Tosef. Oho. 18:14). Achzib occupied an important position as a base-camp for the Crusader armies and was known as Casal Imbert after the knight who held it. The Arab geographers of the Middle Ages (Ibn Jubayr, 307; Yaqut, 2:964; Idrisi, 2) refer to it as al-Zib, a fortified village. Until 1948 the site was occupied by the Arab village of al-Zib, 9 mi. (15 km.) north of Acre. Nearby is the kibbutz *Gesher ha-Ziv whose name was partly inspired by the ancient city. In excavations conducted in 1941–44 and 1959–64, fortifications and occupational levels were discovered beginning with the Middle Bronze Age II (first half of the second millennium B.C.E.) to the Roman period and also from the Crusader period and Middle Ages. Most of the tombs investigated were Phoenician (tenth to seventh centuries B.C.E.); others were from the Persian and Roman periods. The tombs were rock-hewn and also contained pottery, figurines, scarabs, and bronze and silver jewelry. Four tombstones were especially significant, being engraved with the name of the deceased; and in one instance, with his occupation (metal worker). A Phoenician inscription on the shoulder of a jar mentions Adonimelekh.

(2) A city of the biblical period in the Shephelah of Judah, between Keilah and Mareshah (Josh. 15:44; Micah 1:14–15) also called Chezib (Gen. 38:5). It is mentioned by Eusebius (Onom. 172:6) as Chasbi near Adullam, a reference which would confirm its proposed identification with Tell al-Bayḍā (today Lavnin) west of Adullam.

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[Michael Avi-Yonah]

ACKERMAN, GARY (1942–), U.S. congressman. Ackerman was born in Brooklyn and raised in Queens, New York. His parents, Max and Eva (Barnett) Ackerman, were the children of East European immigrants. Ackerman was educated in the New York public school system and graduated from Queens College. Following his graduation, Ackerman spent four years teaching junior high school. In 1970, when his wife gave birth to the first of their three daughters, Ackerman petitioned the New York Board of Education for an unpaid leave of absence. He was turned down; under the then existing policy, maternity leave was solely for women. In what was to become a forerunner of the Federal Family Leave Act, Ackerman successfully sued the Board of Education in a landmark case, which established the right of either parent to claim such leave.

At the end of his unpaid leave, Ackerman left teaching in order to start a weekly newspaper, the *Flushing Tribune*, eventually renamed the *Queen's Tribune*. Ackerman was elected as a Democrat to the New York State Senate in 1978 and to the United States Congress in a special election held in 1983 to fill the unexpired term of the late Benjamin Rosenthal. During his more than 20 years in Congress, Ackerman has been a forthright supporter of Israel. As a member of the House Committee on International Relations, Ackerman has traveled the globe extensively. He was one of the first members of Congress to draw attention to the rescue of Soviet and Ethiopian Jews. He has long made it a practice to go to synagogue in every country he visits.

A celebrated character on Capitol Hill, who always wears a white carnation in his lapel and lives on a houseboat docked in the Potomac River, Ackerman is perhaps best known for being the co-founder (along with New York Senator Charles *Schumer) of an informal group known as "The Congressional Minyan." Ackerman's *minyan* is a group of Jewish legislators and staff members who gather several times a month in the Congressman's office to study Torah and Talmud with a rabbi he flies in from New York City. Once a year, Ackerman also hosts an annual "Taste of New York" gathering on Capitol Hill, which features Jewish food and waiters imported from New York. Widely popular with his largely Jewish constituency, Ackerman has been reelected every two years since 1984 by wide margins.

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[Kurt Stone (2nd ed.)]

ACKERMAN, NATHAN WARD (1908–1971), U.S. psychiatrist, born in Russia. Ackerman joined the Menninger Clinic in Topeka, Kansas, and became the chief psychiatrist of the Child Guidance Clinic in 1937. In 1957 he established the Family Mental Health Clinic in New York City and began teaching at Columbia University. He was a clinical professor of psychiatry at Columbia, chief psychiatrist of the Child Guidance Institute of the Jewish Board of Guardians, and supervising psychiatrist of the Family Mental Health Clinic of the Jewish Family Service, New York.

Ackerman held that the family unit is the crucial link between individual personality and the social and cultural milieu, that psychiatric abnormality in a child is at times an expression of disturbed emotional relations in the entire family, and that cure requires therapy of the conflicts and relations of the family group as such. His astute ability to understand the overall organization of families enabled him to look beyond the behavioral interactions of families and into the hearts and minds of each family member. He used his strong will and provocative style of intervening to uncover the family's defenses and allow their feelings, hopes, and desires to surface. Committed to sharing his ideas and theoretical approach with other professionals in the field, he published *The Unity of the Family* and *Family Diagnosis: An Approach to the Preschool Child* (1938), both of which inspired the family therapy movement. Together with Don Jackson, he founded the first family therapy journal, *Family Process* (1960), which is still a leading journal of ideas in the field today.

Ackerman opened the Family Institute in New York City in 1960, which was later renamed The Ackerman Institute for Family Therapy. A nonprofit institution, its twofold mission was to develop innovative and effective models of treatment for families in trouble and to train clinicians to implement these models.

On behalf of the American Jewish Committee, Ackerman was coauthor of *Anti-Semitism and Emotional Disorder* (1950). On family therapy he wrote numerous articles in professional journals; the books *The Psychodynamics of Family Life* (1958), *Treating the Troubled Family* (1966), *Expanding Theory and Practice in Family Therapy* (1967), and *Family Process* (1970); and edited several anthologies, such as *Family Therapy in Transition* (1971). He also coauthored with Marie Jahoda *Anti-Semitism and Emotional Disorder, a Psychoanalytic Interpretation* (1950). His selected papers were published in *The Strength of Family Therapy* (1982).

[Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

ACKERMAN, PAULA HERSKOVITZ (1893–1989), first woman to assume spiritual leadership of a U.S. mainstream Jewish congregation. Born in Pensacola, Florida, Ackerman was active in the Reform movement throughout her life. Graduating as high school valedictorian in 1911, she received a scholarship to Sophie Newcomb College, which she declined for personal and family reasons. To supplement her family's income, she became a private music instructor and high school math and Latin teacher. She also taught at Temple Beth-El, the Reform congregation to which her family belonged, leading its congregational choir as well. In 1919 she married Dr. William Ackerman, the rabbi of Temple Beth-El; the couple left Pensacola for a better-paying rabbinic position in Natchez, Mississippi, and in 1922 moved on with their 15-month-old son, Billy, to Meridian, Mississippi. During her husband's tenure as rabbi of Temple Beth Israel in Meridian, Ackerman taught preconfirmation classes and led worship services when her husband was ill or out of town. Initially hesitant when the congregation invited her to succeed her husband as rabbi following his death in 1950, she accepted the position when the congregation received informal permission from Maurice *Eisendrath, president of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations. Ackerman viewed this invitation as a divine call to service and an opportunity "to plant a seed for enlarged activity for the Jewish woman." Soon after, Eisendrath withdrew his approval, maintaining that he had become convinced that congregational leaders unqualified to discharge full rabbinical duties would create more problems than they would solve. However, the synagogue's leadership upheld the appointment, declaring that "practically all of the members of our congregation believe she is qualified, and we want her." Paula Ackerman served as Temple Beth Israel's spiritual leader from January 1951 through the fall of 1953; she conducted services, preached, taught, and officiated at weddings, funerals, and conversions. Attracting international attention from the press, she erroneously was labeled "America's first Lady Rabbi." After retirement, she remained active on city, state, and national religious and cultural boards and traveled throughout the U.S., lecturing on religious themes. In 1962, she briefly served as spiritual leader of Temple Beth-El in Pensacola until a new rabbi could be found. In 1986 the Union of American Hebrew Congregations formally recognized her pioneering contribution to Jewish communal life at a special ceremony held at The Temple in Atlanta.

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[Ellen M. Umansky (2nd ed.)]

ACKERMAN, SHABTAI (1914–), *ḥazzan*. Ackerman was born in Kishinev (Bessarabia). He sang in synagogue choirs from his childhood on. He studied cantorial liturgy under David Roitman, David Moshe Steinberg, and Abraham Kalechnik, and led the services at the Kishinev synagogue. Wounded by the Nazis in World War II, he nevertheless succeeded in escaping to Russia. In 1945 he conducted services in the Great Synagogue in Moscow and then returned to Romania, where he was cantor in the Baron Rothschild synagogue and Ahavat Achim in Bucharest. In 1950 he moved to Israel and served in the Beth El synagogue, Tel Aviv, and from 1952 to 1954 he was chief cantor in the Great Synagogue of Tel Aviv. At the same time he was chairman of the Israel Cantors' Association. From 1955 to 1982 he was cantor of the Beth Abraham Hillel Moses synagogue in Detroit. From 1983 he was cantor of Temple Beth Israel in Deerfield Beach, Florida. The Shabtai Ackerman Scholarship Fund was established in his name. In 1985 he became chairman of the Florida Cantors Association. His recordings include *Songs of the Ages – Cantorial Masterpieces*.

[Akiva Zimmerman]

ACKORD, ELIAS (d. 1811), physician, born in Mogilev (White Russia). Ackord, who studied medicine in Berlin, received his medical diploma in 1788 in St. Petersburg. From 1789 he served as an army doctor in Kiev and in Wasilkov, and subsequently practiced as a civilian. Interested in the reform of Jewish conditions in Poland, Ackord translated an anonymous pamphlet, *Die Juden oder die nothwendige Reformation der Juden in der Republik Polen* (1786), from Polish into German, urging the necessity of improving the status of Polish Jewry. Ackord recorded with satisfaction that he, a native of Poland, was able to translate the work into German. He attacked and amended several of the writer's conclusions, stating that they were insulting to the Jews. He denied the author's assertion that Jews opposed secular learning, adding that they had been prevented from receiving a higher education. His arguments reflect the influence of the school of Moses Mendelssohn and the scholars of the Haskalah.

ACOSTA, CHRISTOBAL (1515–1580), Marrano physician and botanist. Acosta's father, probably born a Jew and a victim of the Forced Conversion in Portugal in 1497, emigrated first to one of the Portuguese fortresses in North Africa and then to Mozambique, where Acosta was born. He studied in Portugal, qualified as a physician, and in this capacity accompanied the Portuguese viceroy Luis de Ataïde in 1568 to India, where he spent many years in medical practice. In 1569–71 he was a physician at the Royal Hospital in Cochin. Later he undertook many long and arduous journeys, suffering shipwreck, captivity, and many hardships in Persia, China, Arabia, and North Africa. The trips were for the purpose of studying natural history. On his return he settled down in Burgos (Spain) where he spent the rest of his life. Acosta's main interest in his travels was the study of the medicinal plants of the East Indies. His great work on the subject was *Tractado de las drogas y medicinas de las Indias Orientales con sus Plantas debuscadas al vivo.* This treatise was originally published in Burgos in 1578, and describes 69 plants and other sources of medicines, with illustrations of 46 plants and their roots. Acosta was undoubtedly influenced by Garcia da *Orta, whom he knew in India, but he revealed originality in his reproduction of certain plants from nature. Acosta's *Tractado de las drogas* was translated into Latin, Italian, and French. There is no evidence that Acosta had any Jewish leanings, despite his ancestry; and indeed he wrote two works which breathe a spirit of Catholic piety: *Tractado en contra y pro de la vida solitaria*, and *Tractado en loor de las mujeres de la caridad* (both Venice, 1592). In the latter work, Acosta describes himself as "Cristobal Acosta Affricano."

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[Isidore Simon]

ACOSTA, ISAAC (**Yhsak**; d. 1728), French Sephardi rabbi. Probably a native of Amsterdam, Acosta became *ḥazzan* of the Jewish community of Peyrehorade, near Bayonne, formed by Marrano fugitives from the Iberian Peninsula. His *Historia Sacra Real* (1691), dedicated to the wardens of the community, is one of the earliest manifestations of Judaism in this place. Later (apparently after an interlude in Biarritz) he succeeded R. Ḥayyim de Mercado as *ḥakham* at Bayonne, where he composed his handbook for the administration of the last rites to the dying, *Vía de Salvación* (1709; reprinted by M. Kaplan, Bayonne, 1874), and his major work, *Conjeturas Sagradas* (Leyden, 1722), a commentary in Spanish on the Early Prophets, based on the classical Hebrew commentators and the Midrash.

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[Cecil Roth]

ACOSTA, JOAN D' (17th–18th centuries), court jester of Czar Peter I of Russia, descended from a Portuguese Marrano family. After prolonged wanderings in Western Europe, he settled in Hamburg as a broker and from there reached the new Russian capital, St. Petersburg. His quick wit and command of many European languages brought him to court, and in 1714 he was appointed court jester. At the time this was a position of some importance, since it was the jester's function to ridicule the customs of the old Russian society, in order to facilitate transition to a western European mode of life. D'Acosta had a wide knowledge of the Scriptures and the Czar enjoyed conversing with him on theological subjects. D'Acosta reached an old age and also served as jester at the court of the czarina Anna.

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[Yehuda Slutsky]

ACQUI, town in Piedmont, Italy. Jews began to settle in Acqui, then in the independent marquisate of Montferrat, during the 15th century. The Gonzaga dynasty, which ruled from 1536, was at first kindly disposed toward the Jews, failing to comply with the Papal order to confiscate the Talmud in 1553, and in 1562 protecting them from mob violence. Later its attitude became influenced by Counter-Reformation trends and in 1570 the Jews in Acqui were ordered to wear the Jewish *badge and live apart from Christians. Both the war fought in 1612–31 and the plague of 1630 were disastrous for the Jews of Acqui. The only loan bank then allowed failed in 1614. In 1630 Jewish property was pillaged. Conditions improved under the Gonzaga-Nevers dynasty. However, from 1708, under the rule of the House of Savoy, conditions again deteriorated. In 1731, the 41 Jewish families were restricted to living in a ghetto, although they were permitted to maintain loanbanks. A further source of livelihood was the textile industry, some Jews in Acqui owning silk or cotton mills. The ghetto became heavily overcrowded when the Jews of Monastero had to move there in 1737. By the end of the 18th century, their position had improved markedly, although as late as 1789 Jews were debarred from appearing in public on feast days. When the French Republican armies entered Acqui in 1796, Abraham Azariah (Bonaiut) Ottolenghi, later the rabbi, zealously took up the revolutionary cause. Disorders followed the French retreat, however, and the Ottolenghi family in particular suffered. Jews were excluded from attending public schools in Acqui for some time after they had been permitted to do so in most of Piedmont. At the beginning of the 19th century the Jewish population numbered about 700. In 1848 the Jews were emancipated and the ghetto abolished. The Jewish population, which numbered only 500 in 1870, decreased to 200 by 1899, and 50 a generation later. By the late 1960s there were no Jews living in Acqui. Rabbis of Acqui include Joshua Ben-Zion *Segré (18th century) and several members of the Ottolenghi family. The old synagogue was demolished, together with the ghetto, in 1881, and a new one constructed in the Via Jona Ottolenghi, which still stands.

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[Attilio Milano]

ACQUISITION (Heb. קִנְיָן; **kinyan**) the act whereby a person voluntarily obtains legal rights. In Jewish law almost all kinds of rights, whether proprietary (*jus in rem*) or contractual (*jus in personam*; see *Obligations), can be voluntarily acquired only by way of *kinyan*. Acquisition of rights by way of *kinyan* can be divided into three groups:

(1) Acquiring ownership over ownerless property (*hefker*) such as animals, fish in river or ocean, and lost property which the owner has abandoned hope of finding; (2) rights over property which has an owner, acquisition being by way of sale or gift. Acquisition of ownerless property (original acquisition) is called in the Talmud, *ein da'at aḥeret maknah* (literally "when no other mind conveys title") and acquisition

from a previous owner (derivative acquisition) is called *da'at aḥeret maknah* ("another mind conveys title"). In this latter group are also included lesser rights than ownership (*jura in re aliena*) such as a lease or an easement; (3) contractual or personal rights such as debts, or the hiring of workmen, the acquisition of which also depends upon "another mind conveying the right."

In the case of original acquisition the formalities of acquiring title are to demonstrate that the property is in unrestricted possession of the person acquiring it, meaning that he has the ability and intent to use it whenever he wishes to do so, which includes the power to prevent others from interfering with that use. The *halakhah* enumerates, according to objective tests, the acts by which people would usually recognize that the property is in the possession of the acquirer. Consequently, the list of recognized forms of original acquisition is a closed one.

With regard to derivative acquisition, however, the function of *kinyan* is not to demonstrate that it has passed into the possession of the person acquiring it, but that the alienator and the acquirer had determined to conclude the transaction. In fact, the party acquiring title performs the *kinyan*, and the alienator expresses his approval orally. The sole reason for a formal *kinyan* is that a mere oral agreement may not be taken seriously and might enable the parties to withdraw from the proposed transaction. For this reason derivative acquisition can be effected in a greater variety of ways than original acquisition; when the parties derive mutual benefit from the transaction showing that they have wholeheartedly reached an agreement to conclude it, no formal *kinyan* is even required (R. Johanan, BM 94a). For the same reason an acquisition is valid if done in a mode customary among local merchants even though different from the talmudic *kinyanim* (Sh. Ar., ḤM 201:2). Since in the case of derivative acquisition the *kinyan* serves not to show possession but to indicate that the parties made up their minds to conclude the transaction, it can also be used for creation of contractual rights, such as a duty to sell something which is not yet in existence (*davar she-lo ba la-olam*) – even though one cannot effect transfer of a non-existent object (see *Assignment; Sh. Ar., ḤM 60:6). The acquisition of rights requires "intention" on the part of the acquirer. The statement in the Talmud (BM 11a) that "a person's premises acquire for him without his knowledge" (see below) must therefore be taken to refer to the acquisition of such an object as the owner of the premises would have desired to acquire had he known of its presence there, and it must, by the same token, be property which is usually found there (Tos. to BB 54a).

There are general modes of *kinyan* which apply to both original and derivative acquisition, and others which apply only to derivative acquisition by way of sale and gift. Under the first class come:

(1) Kinyan Ḥaẓer

("Acquisition through one's courtyard"). A person's premises "acquire" for him such movable property as comes into it. Since, as stated, the property must be within his possession and control, such premises, in order to "acquire" on his behalf, must be fenced in, or "he stands at the side thereof" guarding what is in it (BM 11a), or that others keep away from the premises for any other reason (*ibid.* 102a). Consequently a shopkeeper does not acquire property lost in his shop, if it is in a place to which customers have access, but only if it is in a place to which he alone has access (Maim. Yad, Gezelah, 16:4). Nor does a person acquire anything in premises to which the public has access (Novellae Rashba to BM 25b). Similarly, a man's premises do not acquire fledglings because they can fly away (BM 11a) or chattels which may be blown away (Git. 79a). Similarly, treasure hidden in the ground, even of guarded premises, belongs to the finder (BM 25b) and not to the owner of the ground because the owner is not likely to find it because it is hidden, and therefore he has no control of it. The *ḥaẓer* need not necessarily be immovable property; the same rule applied to utensils if their owner had the right to leave them in a certain place where they would not be removed (BB 85a). It follows that a person's animal cannot acquire for him since it is a "moving courtyard" (Git. 21a) and may wander beyond its owner's care, On the other hand, a boat would "acquire" for its owner fish which leap into it (BM 9b) since it is property guarded by its owner. With regard to derivative acquisition, since there is no need to demonstrate that the property is in the possession of its acquirer, even an unguarded *ḥaẓer* can acquire according to one opinion (BM 11b).

(2) Arba Ammot

("Four cubits"). The area round a person having a radius of four cubits is regarded as having the same properties as a *ḥaẓer*, providing that he is in a place where he has control over the article (BM 10b). There seems to be a difference between the Babylonian and the Jerusalem Talmuds with regard to *kinyan* by *arba ammot*. According to the former it acquires even without an express formula on the individual's part, unless he has clearly stated or indicated that he does not wish to acquire and the Talmud refers to it as applying only to original acquisitions. The Jerusalem Talmud, on the other hand, requires an express declaration on his part that his *arba ammot* shall acquire the article for him (Elijah of Vilna to TJ, Pe'ah 4:2) and makes this rule apply also to derivative acquisition. Opinions differ as to the capacity of minors to acquire by *kinyan ḥaẓer* or *arba ammot* (BM 11a).

(3) Hagbahah ("lifting"), Meshikhah ("pulling") and Mesirah ("transfer")

Movable objects are acquired by *hagbahah* in the case of articles which can be lifted without difficulty; where they are too heavy, or can be raised only with difficulty, *meshikhah* takes its place (BB 86a). Both serve to demonstrate that the article thereby comes into the acquirer's possession, and is guarded for him as in his *ḥaẓer.* The article may be raised merely by the force of his body (Tos. to BK 98a). There is a difference of opinion as to whether it must be lifted one handsbreadth or three (Tos. to Kid., 26a). *Meshikhah*, applying to an animal, can be effected by striking or calling it so that it comes to one (BB 75a) or by leading or riding it (BM 8b). The prevailing opinion is that *meshikhah* applies only in premises owned by both parties or in a side street (BB 76b), but not in a public place. According to one opinion, however, it is effective in a public thoroughfare as well (TJ, Kid. 1:4, Tos. to BK 79a). The above-mentioned methods of *kinyan* apply both to original and derivative acquisition, but in cases of derivative acquisition the express permission of the alienator to the acquirer to perform *kinyan* is an indispensable element in the *kinyan* (BK 52a; BB 53a). These methods of *kinyan* apply also to personal obligations, such as those of a bailee (Tos. to BK 79a) or an artisan for his work (BM 48a; see *Labor Law). *Mesirah* consists of grasping at the object to be acquired (BB 75b) and the term *mesirah* indicates that it is done at the behest of the transferor (Tos. to *ibid.*) Since it does not demonstrate intention to control the subject matter which is a necessary element of possession, it applies only to derivative acquisition. It is employed where *meshikhah* is ineffective, i.e., in a public place or in an *ḥaẓer* not belonging to either party.

(4) Ḥazakah

Whereas all the foregoing modes of acquisition apply to movables only, in the case of immovable property acquisition is by an act of *ḥazakah* (Kid. 26a) which consists of any act usually done by an owner, such as fencing, opening a gateway or locking the premises (BB 42a), or weeding or hoeing (*ibid.*, 54a), or putting down a mattress to sleep there (*ibid.*, 53b). In general, any improvement of the land is regarded as an act usually done by the owner (Maim. Yad, Mekhirah, 1:8). Such an act as preventing floodwaters from inundating a field, however, would not constitute a *ḥazakah* as it could be regarded simply as a voluntary neighborly act (BB 53a). There is a difference of opinion as to whether merely traversing the land is acquiring as it constitutes an act usually done by the owner (BB 100a). With regard to a sale or gift, the land acquired by the *ḥazakah* includes everything stipulated by the parties (Sh. Ar, ḤM 192:12); with regard to ownerless property, it includes only such part as is patently seen to be in his possession (*ibid.* 275:3–9). As with *meshikhah*, in the case of derivative acquisition the alienator must specifically instruct the acquirer to take possession, or otherwise indicate his consent (BK 52a; BB 53a). There are forms of acquisition by *ḥazakah* which apply either to original or to derivative acquisition, but not to both (Sh. Ar., ḤM 275:12–13). (For the *ḥazakah* established by three years' possession which is a method of proof and does not come within the category of *kinyan*, see **Ḥazakah*).

The following methods of *kinyan* apply to derivative acquisitions only because they do not demonstrate possession but rather the intention of the parties to conclude the transaction:

(5) Kinyan Kesef

("Acquisition by money"). The transfer by the purchaser to the seller of the agreed monetary price of the article. R. Johanan is of the view that in strict law this mode of *kinyan* applies both to movables and immovables, and with regard to derivative acquisition the *kinyan* was done by paying money only and not by *hagbahah* and *meshikhah*. But it was enacted that instead of paying money *meshikhah* should be necessary, since if the object remains in the possession of the transferor he may not guard it against being destroyed by fire or other dangers (BM 47a). Similarly, the need for a deed (*shetar*) was added in the case of immovables (Kid. 26a). The Jerusalem Talmud (Kid. 1:5) indicates other modes of *kinyan* with regard to immovables, one based on the removal of a shoe as mentioned in Ruth 4:7, and the other being **keẓaẓah*, without any indication of the period when those modes were practiced. But *kesef, shetar*, and *ḥazakah* alone remained. However, even though, since tannaitic times, neither movables nor immovables were acquired solely by *kinyan kesef*, the sale of immovables was not regarded as completed until the money had passed, though it could be paid to a third party according to the seller's instructions (Kid. 7a). Where only part of the purchase money is paid, the balance being postponed by the transferor in the form of a loan, even if only implicitly and without the loan being expressly stated, the part payment concludes the transaction, unless it is clear from the conduct of the transferor that this part payment did not complete the transaction, even if *kinyan* took place (BM 77b). *Kinyan kesef* is already mentioned in the Bible (Gen. 23; Jer. 32:6–15).

(6) Kinyan Shetar

("Acquisition by deed"). In *kinyan shetar* the deed is not just evidence of the act of acquisition but constitutes the act of acquisition itself (*shetar kinyan*, Sh. Ar., ḤM 191:2). The vendor writes on paper or other material "my field is given (or sold) to you" and the receipt of that deed by the purchaser establishes his title even in the absence of witnesses (*ibid.*, l). Movables cannot be acquired by *shetar. Kinyan shetar* is already mentioned in the Bible (Jer. 32).

(7) Ḥalifin ("barter"), Kinyan Sudar ("Kinyan of the Kerchief")

The exchange of property is as effective as the payment of money in establishing acquisition, even if the two objects exchanged are not of equal value. Thus, if the alienator draws to him an article owned by the acquirer the transaction is affected. *Ḥalifin* cannot however be effected by current coinage since this would constitute *kinyan kesef*, which depends upon the monetary value (see BM 45b). Out of this there developed the act of acquisition called *kinyan sudar*, which is therefore also called *kinyan ḥalifin* (Kid, 6b; et al.). The kerchief (*sudar*) is merely pulled by the acquirer and can then be returned to the owner (*ibid.*, Ned. 48b). This mode of acquisition being very easy to perform in all kinds of situations, it became so prevalent that it is referred to simply as *kinyan* (cf. Git. 14a;

BM 94a; BB 3a). The origin of *kinyan sudar* may be traced to Ruth 4:7. Throughout the tannaitic period it is never expressly mentioned. It is first mentioned at the beginning of the amoraic period in the dispute as to whether, as in the case of barter proper, the *sudar* must belong to the acquirer, or to the alienator (BM 47a); the former view prevailed. Apparently, because of the simplicity of this mode of acquisition, this *kinyan* is not regarded as completed even after the ceremony, as long as the parties are still talking about the deal (BB 114a).

(8) Aggav Karka

("The acquisition of movables incidental to land.") Movables may be acquired as an adjunct to land, the act of *kinyan* being performed only with regard to the land (Kid. 26a). It probably originated in the acquisition of a courtyard with everything contained therein (cf. Tosef., BB 2:13) or similar cases as field, olive press, etc. subsequently being extended to apply to everything belonging to them (cf. BB 78a), even if not actually there at the time of the transaction, and finally to all movables of unlimited amount being sold incidentally to any immovable property, even if they do not have any connection whatever with it (Kid. 26b). Thus the movables did not have to be assembled (*ibid.* 26a–b) except in the case of slaves (BK 12a). The final development was to acquire movables as an adjunct to an unspecified piece of land (Sh. Ar., ḤM 202:7 gloss) and the land could be acquired by sale and the movables as a gift, and conversely. As a facile mode of acquiring movables, not necessitating the presence of the parties on the site, it was in operation for long periods, In the geonic period the "four cubits in Ereẓ Israel" which every Jew theoretically owns, was made the basis of a practice whereby an agent could be appointed to recover a deposit or a debt, *aggav karka*, of these four cubits (Maim. Yad, Sheluḥin, 3:7).

(9) Usage and Custom

Generally speaking, any custom adopted by the local merchants as a mode of acquisition is valid according to Jewish law (Sh. Ar., ḤM 201:2), since it fulfills the principle that the purpose of the *kinyan* is to bring about the decision of the parties to conclude the transaction. Conversely, when a once accepted mode of acquisition fell into desuetude it could no longer be employed (cf. C. Albeck, *Shishah Sidrei Mishnah, Seder Nashim* (1958), 410–12; addenda to Kid. 1:4–5). The Babylonian Talmud mentions the custom of wine-merchants marking the barrels they had purchased (BM 74a), and in post-talmudic times three such customs prevalent among Christians were adopted since they fulfilled the same function as "affixing a mark" (Sh. Ar., ḤM 201:2). They are (a) the handshake (*Teki'at kaf*) mentioned in Proverbs 6:1 as a form of giving surety (*Piskei ha-Rosh*, BM 74a in the name of "R.H.," probably the tosafist Ḥayyim Cohen and not R. Hananel, who expressed a contrary view; see *Or Zaru'a*, BM 231). Some authorities even regarded a handshake as the equivalent of an oath (*Mordekhai* to Shevu. 757) but others regarded it as an act of acquisition (for the parallel among Christians see *Palmata, Handschlag*); (b) the handing over of a coin by the purchaser to the vendor, which was originally a medieval Christian custom (Arrha, earnest money); and (c) handing over a key – the vendor hands to the purchaser the key of the premises where the merchandise is housed. Handing over a key is mentioned in the Babylonian Talmud (BK 52a; Tos. to *ibid.*), but only as the authorization by the alienator for the acquirer to make the *kinyan ḥazakah* and in the Jerusalem Talmud as a mode of derivative acquisition of the building (*Mareh ha-Panim* to Kid. 1:4). As a mode of acquiring movables it was a Christian custom (*Traditio clavium*; see B. Cohen, *Jewish and Roman Law*, 2 (1966), 538–56), Present day rabbinical courts have applied the principle of regarding local custom as valid; thus the transfer of immovable property through registration in the Land Registry is a valid *kinyan* in Jewish Law (PDR, 1:283).

(10) Acquisition with No Formal Act

Where it is clear that the parties concerned decide a transaction to their mutual benefit and satisfaction a formal *kinyan* is not essential (see Ket. 102b; Git. 14a; BM 94a; BB 176b; cf. Maim. Yad, Mekhirah, 5:11). This rule obtains generally with regard to personal obligations but can include rights in *rem* (see BB 106b and *Haggahot ha-Rashash* on Tos. Bek. 18b). This principle was extended in the post-talmudic period (Hai Gaon, in *Ḥemdah Genuzah*, no. 135; responsa Meir of Rothenburg, ed. Prague, 941; responsa Ribash 476; Sh. Ar., ḤM 176:4). For other modes of acquisition see *Admission, *Assignment, *Confiscation and Expropriation, **Hefker*, **Hekdesh*, *Succession, *Theft, and Robbery.

In the state of Israel, sale is governed by the Law of Sale, 1968, based on the uniform international draft (Hague, 1964); gift is governed by the Law of Gift, 1968; and the acquisition of immovables by the Land Law, 1969. Ownership, in the case of sale, passes by way of offer and acceptance and, in case of gift, by delivery of the property. Transfer of title to land becomes valid only on registration in the Land Registry. Contractual obligations are created by agreement between the parties in any manner whatever. Legislation vests ownership of all unowned property in the state, which cannot therefore be originally acquired.

[Shalom Albeck]

Legal Acts Which Do Not Require a Kinyan

Further to the above discussion regarding the requirement of a *kinyan* in order to give force to a legal act, it should be noted that as of the 13th century, we find the legal principle that any legal transaction undertaken by the public is valid even in the absence of a formal *kinyan*, "Any thing that is done by the public does not require a *kinyan*, [even] in a situation in which an individual would require a *kinyan*" (Responsa Maharam of Rothenburg, cited in *Mordekhai*, *Bava Meẓia*, #457–458). This new principle was applied to various categories of legal transactions, such as employer-employee relations, guarantees and gifts, and other legal matters to which the public is a party (see Responsa Maharam b. Reb Barukh (Prague), 38;

Responsa Ribash, §476; Sh. Ar., ḤM 163. 6 (Rema); 204.9; Responsa *Mayim Amukkim*; Responsa *Ra'anah* – Rabbi Eliahu b. Rabbi Hayyim, §63). The established and accepted rule was that "whatever the leaders of the community agree to do has validity without a *kinyan*" (Responsa Rosh, Kelal 6.19, 21). This distinction between the *kinyan* of an individual and the *kinyan* of the public or its representatives also affected the application of other basic requirements normally applying to the *kinyan*. Thus, a public authority has full authority to acquire or transfer something not yet in existence; despite the general rule of Jewish law that "*asmakhta* does not convey title" (see *Asmakhta), the acts of a public authority are valid even where performed by way of *asmakhta* (Responsa *Mayim Amukim*, op cit.; Responsa *Mabit* 3. 228; see *Contract, Law of Obligations").

The above-cited sources served as a basis for the Supreme Court's ruling, given by Justice Elon, regarding the heightened requirement of good faith imposed on the public authority in its actions performed within the realm of the law (HC 376/81, *Lugassi v. Minister of Communications*, 36(2) *PD* 449). Additional sources are cited further on in the decision (pp. 465–471; see *Public Authority and Administrative Law).

An additional category in which there is no need for a *kinyan* in order to give force to a legal act is the area of wills (see *Succession). Generally speaking, a will must be accompanied by a *kinyan* in order to prove the finality of the decision and to give it legal force. However, in the case of a will made on a deathbed (the will of a *shekhiv me-ra*) – that is, one made by a person who is ill and in danger of dying, or a healthy person in a situation causing him to regard himself as facing death – the will is valid even without a *kinyan*, because we assume that, due to the unique circumstances involved in its making, it was performed as a final decision (Maimonides, Yad, Zekhiyah u-matanah 8.2, 4, 24, 26.)

In an Israeli Supreme Court decision in the *Koenig* case (FH 80/40 *Koenig v. Cohen*, 36(3) PD 701), Justice Menahem Elon held that this halakhic rule should determine the interpretation of Section 23 of the Succession Law, 5725–1964. Section 23 utilizes the Talmudic term "*shekhiv me-ra*" (Lit: moribund] in referring to a person making a will when on the point of death:

> A person who is a *shekhiv me-ra* or who under the circumstances reasonably regards himself as facing death may make an oral will before two witnesses who understand his language.

Justice Elon ruled that Section 23's use of the Talmudic term *shekhiv me-ra* indicates the origin of the law in the Jewish law regarding a deathbed will, and hence the applicability of the Jewish Law regarding the deathbed will *(= ẓava'at shekhiv me-ra).* The decision in the Koenig case dealt with a case in which a woman left a will made on a piece of paper without a date and signature just before she killed herself. The justices disagreed regarding the legal validity of the will, and Justice Elon contended that the will should be seen as a deathbed will and hence should be considered valid, notwithstanding its deficiencies and flaws (*ibid*, pp. 733–38.)

Alternative Explanation of the Essence of Kinyan Sudar

According to another view, *kinyan sudar* is not a derivative of *kinyan halifin* (barter), i.e., the exchange of property, but derives rather from the institution of surety (see *Suretyship). The transaction takes effect when the conveyor of title, or the obligatee, undertakes to bind himself (*meshabed nafsho*) (BM 47a). In other words: he places himself in the "position" of a purchaser, conveyor of title, debtor, worker, etc., in accordance with the legal action for purpose of which *kinyan sudar* is performed.

[Menachem Elon (2nd ed.)]

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ACRA, THE (from the Greek *akros*, "high"), fortress established in Jerusalem on a site in close proximity to the Jewish Temple in 167 B.C.E. by Antiochus Epiphanes in order to keep the Jewish population of the city in subjection. It seems to have replaced another Hellenistic citadel (*acropolis*) used as the administrative center for the *eparchos*, who was responsible for maintaining public order and collecting revenues from the inhabitants, but little information about this place is known except that it was the place to which Menelaus fled when the fortifications of the city were breached by Jason (II Macc. 4:27, 5:5). It was also mentioned in the Letter of Aristeas (2nd century B.C.E.) as situated "in a very lofty spot and [it] is fortified with many towers, which have been built up to the very top with immense stones, with the object, as we were informed, of guarding the Temple precincts …" The exact topographical situation of the subsequent Seleucid Acra is also unclear. It was built in 167 B.C.E. following the destruction of the city by Antiochus IV and was in use until it was dismantled by Simon or Jonathan at the time of the construction of the "First Wall" fortifications of Jerusalem c. 140 B.C.E. During the Maccabean revolt the Acra was regarded as a symbol of wickedness and inequity overshadowing the Temple of the pious. Various attempts were made by Judah Maccabee and the Hasmonean Jonathan to oust the Greeks from their stronghold, with success eventually falling to Simon (I Macc. 13:49–50) on the 23 Iyyar of 142 (Meg. Ta'an., 2) and it was he who subsequently had it leveled. Josephus Flavius in his writings (Ant., 12:252, 13:215; Wars, 1:39, 5:138, 253, 6:392) pointed to the Acra as situated in the Lower City, i.e., in the area of the southeastern hill (the "City of David"), at the same time indicating that it was higher than the adjacent Temple Mount which therefore allowed the Greek garrison to control the activities in the area of the Temple. Scholars regarded the situation of the Acra as suggested by Josephus unsustainable on both topographical and archaeological grounds, since the Lower City area had always been substantially lower than the uppermost part of the Temple Mount area, and also because excavations in the City of David area had not brought to light remains of a separate Hellenistic fortress. Hence, alternative locations for the Seleucid Acra were sought by scholars – on the Ophel, at the southeast corner of the Temple Mount, north of the Temple Mount, and at various places on the Western Hill – none of which could be proven archaeologically. Of these the Ophel seems to be the most likely location since it was situated within the area of the northern extension of the "City of David" in the Lower City and also because it was a topographical prominence which could very well have supported a building or tower that easily might have reached the level of the adjacent Temple Mount, i.e., a height of 60–100 ft. (20–30 m.).

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ACRABA, place on the edge of the desert in the eastern Samaria mountains. Acraba is a site with archaeological remains from the Roman and Byzantine periods. The site has not been excavated but surveys conducted there in the 19th century by V. Guérin, C.F. Tyrwhitt-Drake, and C. Clermont-Ganneau revealed the remains of numerous ancient buildings, including a church, Greek inscriptions, cisterns, an open reservoir (*birkeh*), and a number of burial caves. The site was inhabited during the Late Hellenistic period by Idumeans, Samaritans, and Jews. The site was apparently part of a toparchy that was established in the area during the Hellenistic period. First mentioned in I Macc. 5:3 and Judith 7:18, the town was later conquered by Hyrcanus and added to the territory of Judea. It was a Jewish village during the First and Second Jewish Revolts and was subsequently transferred to the dominion of the city of Neapolis [= Shechem]. Acrabbeim was mentioned by Eusebius (*Onom*. 14) as situated on the "boundary of Judea toward the east, belonging to the tribe of Judah. There is a town by this name nine miles (15 km.) from Neapolis to the east heading down toward the Jordan, on the way to Jericho across the toparchy called Acrabattene." The site appears on the Madaba map of the mid-sixth century C.E. with the Greek inscription: "Akrabim, now Akrabittine." Two Monophysite monasteries may have existed at the site according to a sixth century C.E. epistle, one was dedicated to St. Stephen and the other was founded by a certain Abbot Titus. The village still exists today (ʿAqraba) and is inhabited by Moslems – the mosque is apparently situated above the remains of a church.

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[Shimon Gibson (2nd ed.)]

ACRE (Heb. עַכּוֹ, **Acco**, **Akko**; Ar. عَكَّا *ʿAkkā*; Ptolemais; **St. Jean d'Acre**) coastal city in northern Israel situated on a promontory at the northern end of the Bay of Haifa, 14 mi. (23 km.) north of Haifa, in the Acre Coastal Plain.

Ancient Acre

Ancient Acre is first mentioned in the Egyptian Execration Texts (c. 1800 B.C.E.) and it appears after the battle of Megiddo in the list of cities conquered by Thutmose III (c. 1468 B.C.E.). In the El-Amarna letters, the king of Acre, Zurata, and later his son, Zutana, appear as rivals of Megiddo and together with the king of Achshaph, as allies of Jerusalem. Acre is also mentioned in the lists of Seti I and Rameses II. The Greeks later derived the name Acre – a Semitic word – from the Greek *akē* ("healing") and connected it with the legend of Heracles. During the reign of Ptolemy II, the name of the city was changed to Ptolemais, by which it was known until the Arab conquest.

The geographic position of Acre made its occupation vital to every army waging campaign in Syria and Ereẓ Israel. It was allotted to the tribe of Asher which, however, could not subdue it (Judg. 1:31) and it remained an independent Phoenician city. It submitted to the Assyrian king Sennacherib (701 B.C.E.) but revolted against Ashurbanipal who took revenge on the city in about 650 B.C.E.

Under Persian rule Acre served as an important military and naval base in the campaigns against Egypt. Coinage of Tyrian *staters* began there in 350 B.C.E. Alexander's conquest of Syria and the fall of Tyre in 332 B.C.E. enhanced Acre's position as is evidenced by the gold and silver coins struck there. In 312 B.C.E. Ptolemy I razed its fortifications during his retreat from Antigonus but he reoccupied the city 11 years later. An association of loyal "Antiochenes" was founded in Acre when the city became Seleucid. The city was hostile to the neighboring Jews in Galilee, and Simeon the Hasmonean had to beat off its attacks (164 B.C.E.). His brother Jonathan was treacherously taken prisoner in Acre by the usurper Tryphon in 143 B.C.E. After the overthrow of the latter five years later, the town was held by Antiochus VII Sidetes, who bestowed upon it the titles "holy and inviolable" and was in turn honored by it in inscriptions. After his death Acre became virtually independent, although it acknowledged the nominal suzerainty of various Ptolemaic rulers. It resisted all attacks of Alexander Yannai (Jos., Ant. 13:2), although it lost the Carmel region to him. From Cleopatra Selene, Acre passed to Tigranes, king of Armenia (until 71 B.C.E.) and became Roman with Pompey's occupation of the country, Caesar landed there in 48–47 B.C.E. and his visit marked a new era for the city. Herod later made it his base for the conquest of his kingdom (39 B.C.E.). At the outbreak of the Jewish War in 66 C.E. the inhabitants massacred 2,000 of the Jewish population. The following year Acre became Vespasian's base of operations against Galilee. Nero then settled veterans of four legions (3rd, 5th, 10th, 12th) there and made it a Roman colony: Colonia Claudia Ptolemais Germanica. As a harbor, Acre was by now overshadowed by Herod's new port of *Caesarea. Its rights were augmented by the emperor Heliogabalus and its independent coinage continued until 268 C.E. A Christian community lived in Acre from the time of the apostle Paul (Acts 21:7).

The Roman city of Ptolemais which stretched far beyond the present Old City, extended around Tell al-Fukhar, which was the site of Phoenician Acre up to the Hellenistic period. Excavations were conducted at Tell al-Fukhar by M. Dothan between 1973 and 1979. Early Bronze I remains were found on bedrock and were fairly sparse, with wall remnants, floors, and several pits. It is possible that at the end of this period the sea level rose and the site was temporarily inundated. Substantial fortifications were uncovered dating from the Middle Bronze Age II A–B, including a 60 ft. (18 m.) stretch of rampart of solid clay and earth surmounted by a wall. Remains of a two-story brick citadel were also exposed. These defenses surrounded the mound on all sides, save the south where it was protected by the swamps of the nearby Naaman River. A gate was uncovered to the southwest, with three chambers and three pairs of asymmetrical pilasters. The citadel was destroyed towards the end of the 18th century B.C.E. Large buildings and numerous finds (including bronze *Reshef* figurines) were discovered at the site dating from the Late Bronze I–II indicating that it was a well-planned city, even though it apparently lacked defenses. Although there are some signs of occupation at the site circa 1200 B.C.E., perhaps by some of the "Sea Peoples," very little was found that could be associated with the subsequent 11th–9th centuries B.C.E. Based on the archaeological finds, the city evidently revived and flourished during the eighth and seventh centuries B.C.E., and evidence of public buildings built of ashlars was unearthed at the site. One of these buildings was destroyed apparently by Sennacherib towards the end of the eighth century B.C.E. A cache of small silver ingots belongs to this level. The Persian period was one of the most important phases in the development of Acre as an administrative and commercial center, probably from the time of Cambyses onwards. Subsequently, Acre became an important naval center of importance to both Egypt and Persia. Among the finds from this period on the tell were cultic figurines in a pit and two ostraca bearing Phoenician inscriptions, and many Greek artifacts including Attic wares, suggesting that Greek merchants and Phoenicians lived side by side in this specific part of Acre.

Acre had two harbors, one northwest of the present port, with the other south of it. The center of Hellenistic Akke/Ptolemais moved towards the harbors and away from the tell. Numerous buildings and fortifications have been unearthed. Finds include large quantities of stamped amphora handles, indicating that wine was imported from Rhodes, Cos, and Thasos. In later Roman times, the Jewish and Samaritan quarters were also situated near the Old Port. Despite the fact that the town was considered as being strictly outside the halakhic boundaries of the Holy Land (cf. Git. 2a), the Jews re-established their community there after the war against Rome because it was the most convenient port for Galilee (although they buried their dead outside the city and within the halakhic boundaries of Ereẓ Israel at the foot of Mt. Carmel and later in Kefar Yasif up to the 19th century). It served as a port of embarkation for the Patriarchs (and other rabbis) traveling to Rome and as a home port for their commercial fleet. Rabbi *Gamaliel II visited a bath dedicated to Aphrodite in Acre (Av. Zar. 3:4). Its fair was one of the three most famous in Ereẓ Israel (TJ, Av. Zar. 1:4, 39d) and its fisheries gave rise to the saying "to bring fish to Acre" as an equivalent of the modern "bringing coals to Newcastle." According to both Josephus and Pliny, glass was discovered in its vicinity, in the sands of the Belus River (Na'aman) which were used for glass manufacture throughout antiquity. In Byzantine times Acre was the seat of a bishopric in the archdiocese of Tyre and had a large Samaritan community. In 614 C.E. it was taken, according to one source, by Jews allied with the Persian invaders of the Byzantine Empire; the Persians evacuated it 14 years later and Byzantine rule was restored. Shortly thereafter, however, in 636 C.E., it fell to the Arabs and resumed its original name, which had been preserved by the Jews, as can be seen from Talmudic sources.

[Michael Avi-Yonah / Shimon Gibson (2nd ed.)]

Medieval Period

Letters in the Cairo *Genizah* refer to *kehal Akko* ("the congregation of Acre") and *rasheha* ("its leaders"). In the second half of the 11th century R. Moses ibn Kashkil, known as a scholar in many fields, arrived in Acre from Mahdiah, N. Africa. In 1104 Acre was captured by Baldwin I, Crusader king of Jerusalem. It was lost by the Crusaders in 1187 and recaptured in 1191 when the city became the Crusader capital. In 1165 *Maimonides had paid a short visit to the town and later corresponded with the local *dayyan*, Japheth b. Elijah. In 1170 *Ben-

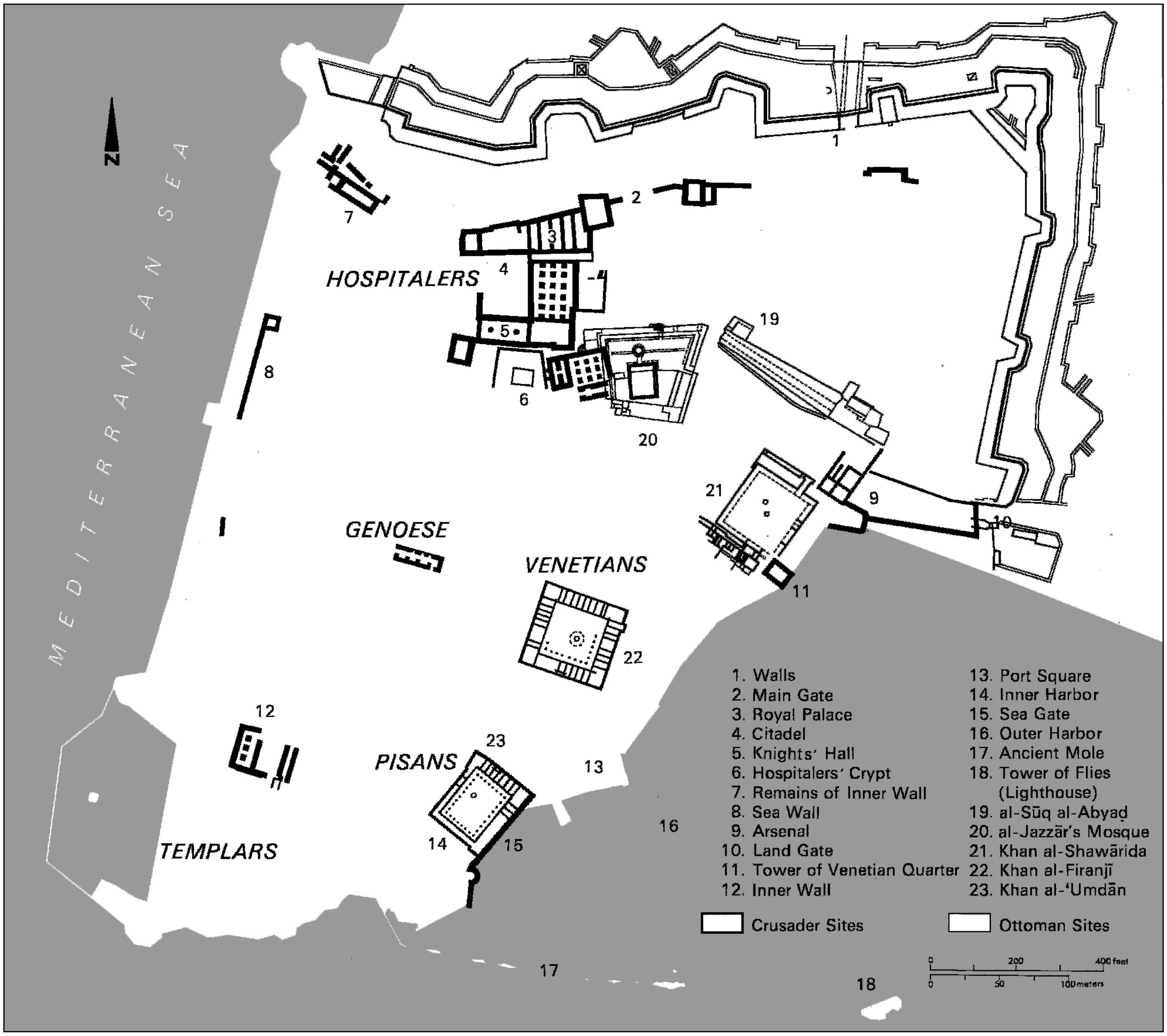
N
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
HOSPITALERS
GENOESE
VENETIANS
PISANS
TEMPLARS
1. Walls
2. Main Gate
3. Royal Palace
4. Citadel
5. Knights' Hall
6. Hospitalers' Crypt
7. Remains of Inner Wall
8. Sea Wall
9. Arsenal
10. Land Gate
11. Tower of Venetian Quarter
12. Inner Wall
13. Port Square
14. Inner Harbor
15. Sea Gate
16. Outer Harbor
17. Ancient Mole
18. Tower of Flies (Lighthouse)
19. al-Sūq al-Abyaḍ
20. al-Jazzār's Mosque
21. Khan al-Shawārida
22. Khan al-Firanjī
23. Khan al-ʿUmdān
Crusader Sites
Ottoman Sites
0 200 400 feet
0 50 100 meters

Plan of Acre showing Crusader and Ottoman sites.

jamin of Tudela found 200 Jews in Acre and lists the names of the leading scholars, R. Zadok, R. Japheth, and R. Jonah. *Pethahiah of Regensburg (c. 1175) also mentions in a short sentence Jews in the town. During this period Acre served as the port of disembarkation for both pilgrims and immigrants to Palestine. The Jewish community presumably received an impetus with the arrival of 300 rabbis from France and England in 1211. Among those who settled in the town were the scholars *Samuel b. Samson and his son, R. Jacob ha-Katan, Jonathan b. Jacob ha-Kohen of Lunel, and *Samson b. Abraham of Sens. Another event that stimulated both the quantitative and qualitative development of the community was the arrival in 1260 of R. *Jehiel b. Joseph of Paris, his son, and 300 of his pupils. Upon their arrival he founded a yeshivah, known as Midrash ha-Gadol de Paris, where he taught many pupils. There is also information that at about this time the scholars of Ereẓ Israel and Babylon addressed their questions on religious matters to "the scholars of Acre." The town became a center of study and attracted many scholars. R. Abraham *Abulafia lived there for a while and *Naḥmanides, who first settled in Jerusalem, moved to Acre, where he died in 1270. In the late 13th century, R. Solomon Petit taught in a yeshivah in Acre. In 1291 the town was conquered and destroyed by the Mamluks, led by al-Malik al-Ashraf who massacred Christian and Jewish inhabitants. Only a few managed to escape. After the Ottoman conquest in 1516 Acre again regained its importance as a port, and Jews gradually began to return. However, the settlement in Acre in the mid-16th century was small and impoverished. It may be assumed that Acre Jewry served as a link between the Jews of Galilee and the Mediterranean countries, and traded with Sidon, Aleppo, and Jerusalem. A letter dated 1741 states that there were over 100 Jewish householders. Moses Ḥayyim *Luzzatto died there of the plague in 1747. The revival of Acre as an important administrative and economic center was connected with the activities of the pashas Ẓahir al-ʿAmr and Aḥmad al-Jazzār. In 1750 Acre fell into the hands of al-ʿAmr, and in 1775 it became the capital of the *vilayet* of Sidon under Aḥmad al-Jazzār. *Simḥah of Zalozhtsy (1764–65) notes that the Jewish settlement was small and poor. Abbé Giovanni Mariti (1767) records that the Jews had a synagogue but were not allowed to enlarge it. Al-Jazzār fortified the town, using large numbers of forced laborers, and built markets, inns (*khān*), and a water supply. He developed Acre into a political and military center strong enough to deter Napoleon, who in 1799 unsuccessfully besieged Acre. The British fleet under Sir Sidney Smith helped al-Jazzār to defend the city and Napoleon's failure here marked the collapse of his Middle Eastern expeditions. In 1816 the traveler J.S. Buckingham stated that the Jews of Acre constituted a quarter of the population, had two synagogues, and were led by Ḥayyim *Farḥi. Farḥi was highly respected by the authorities; his influence was decisive in Acre, and extended down as far as the Jaffa region. He was killed by Abdallah, the ruler of Acre. The census of 1839, requested by Sir Moses *Montefiore, listed 233 Jews; and the 1849 census, 181 Jews. Most were poor and lived in the eastern and northern parts of the town. In 1856 there were only 120 Jews, and in 1886, 140. In the mid-19th century the Jews of Acre worked as peddlers and artisans, but many were without means of support.

[Natan Efrati]

Modern Acre

Acre stagnated and its shallow harbor was unfit for modern shipping. In the first decade of the 20th century, however, the Turks lifted the prohibition on building outside the Old City walls, and a new city quarter came into being on the north side, laid out with straight, and sometimes broad, roads. Although its population reached its lowest ebb before World War I, the town slowly started growing after its occupation by British forces (September 1918). There was always a Jewish population in Acre, residing alongside the Arab-Muslim, Christian, and Bahai inhabitants.

The Jewish residents, who numbered 350 in 1936, abandoned the town when the Arab riots broke out that year. During the British Mandate the fortress of al-Jazzār served as a prison in which political prisoners were also held (members of the Jerusalem *Haganah, with Vladimir *Jabotinsky, in 1920; members of the Haganah and other underground organizations in 1936–39; a group of Haganah commanders, with Moshe *Carmel and Moshe *Dayan in 1939–41). Jewish underground fighters, among them Shelomo *Ben-Yosef, and Arab rioters were executed there. This fortress was attacked by the *Irgun Ẓeva'i Le'umi in 1947.

During the early months of the War of Independence (1948), Acre served as an Arab base for operations against Jewish settlements further north and for a planned attack on Haifa. On May 13, 1948, however, Acre was stormed by Haganah forces and was included in the State of Israel, together with all of Western Galilee. Those of its Arab inhabitants who remained were, from the end of 1948, joined by Jewish immigrants. Acre's population grew from 12,000 between 1953 and 1955 to 32,800 (including 8,450 non-Jews) in 1967 and 45,800 in 2002 (76% Jews, 22% Muslims, 2% Christians). At the beginning of the 21st century, most of the Arab residents lived in the Old City, while the Jewish population was concentrated to the north and east of it. The quarter east of the Old City (and of the Nahariyyah highway) was built shortly after 1948. The expansion to the north and northeast took place later, while an industrial zone took shape on the dunes south of Acre, with the installations of the industrial company called "Steel City" at its southern extremity on the Haifa Bay beach. Acre itself became an industrial center. The Steel City factories closed down during the 1990s but were replaced by others, including the Tambour paint factory and a pipe plant. The municipal area now extended over 4 sq. mi. (10 sq. km.).

Acre serves most of Western Galilee in trade and administration matters, being the center of the Acre sub-district as it had been during the British Mandate. Included in its municipal area are a government Experimental Agricultural Station (founded under the British Mandate) and the Berit Aḥim (Kefar Philadelphia) youth village. Acre is an important Muslim center, its al-Jazzār Mosque being the largest within Israel's pre-1967 borders. Together with Haifa, it is also the world center of the *Bahai faith. There are churches of several denominations (Roman Catholic, Maronite, Melkite), and a considerable number of synagogues.

Efforts were made to preserve the Oriental character of the Old City and to excavate and repair its remains. The crypt of the citadel (the refectorium of the order of St. John) was cleared, and a municipal museum, with Crusader and Arab antiquities, was established in the old Turkish bath. Excavations outside the city wall have uncovered extensive Hellenistic and Roman cemeteries and the remains of a temple with a dedication to Antiochus VII. The ancient remains in the Old City date mainly from the Ottoman period. These include the double wall of the city, the citadel, two caravanserais – the Khān alʿUmdān and Khān al Firanji – and the mosque and bath built by al-Jazzār. A few remains of the Crusader period are still visible in the Burj al-Sultan and the sea wall. The Old City of Acre is a major tourist attraction, and in 2002 UNESCO declared it a world cultural preservation site. Since the 1980s a fringe theater festival has been held in the Old City every Sukkot.

[Efraim Orni / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

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°**ACRO, PSEUDO-**, a scholium to Horace which from the 16th century was ascribed to Acro, a second-century commentator. The actual author is unknown. The Jewish interest in the work is contained in a note on *Horace's *Satires* I, 9, 70, which states that since Moses was born circumcised, he wanted all the Jews to follow suit so that he would not be unique.

[Jacob Petroff]

ACROSTICS (**and Alphabetizing Compositions**). A literary style in which successive or alternating verses, or clusters of verses, begin with the letters of the alphabet in sequence.

Bible

Biblical literature has preserved, in complete or truncated form, 14 alphabetizing compositions. Except for one (Nah. 1), they are restricted to the Hagiographa (Ps. 9–10, 25, 34, 37, 111, 112, 119, 145; Prov. 31:10–31; Lam. 1–4). Complete acrostics occur in the conventional order in Psalms 111, 112, 119; Proverbs 31:10–31; and Lamentations 1, as well as, with a curious but unexplained variant transposition of *ayin* and *pe*, in Lamentations 2:16–17, 3:46–51, 4:16–17. While the possibility of textual dislocation cannot be entirely ruled out here, the successive repetition of the irregularity makes it a less likely solution, particularly in view of the identical phenomenon behind the Greek version of Proverbs 31:25–26, and apparently in the original forms of Psalms 34:16–17 (*ẓa'aku*, v. 18 now has a remote subject) and Psalms 10:7–8c (cf. also Hebrew Ecclus. 51:23–25). In the case of four psalms the acrostic arrangement is impaired. Psalm 25 omits *vav* and *kof*, duplicates *resh*, and adds an extra *pe* at the end. Psalm 34, too, lacks *vav* and has supernumerary *pe*. The *ayin* is missing in Psalm 37, and the *nun* in Psalms 9–10 (originally a unity) and Nahum 1 are unmistakable torsos of originally alphabetic compositions, but are too mutilated to permit reconstruction in full.

The types of alphabetic structure vary. By far the most frequent is when the initial successive letters head each full verse (Ps. 25, 34, 115; Prov. 31:10–31; Lam. 1, 2, 4). Sometimes they begin alternate verses (Ps. 9–10 [?], 37) and sometimes each half verse (Ps. 111; 112; Nah. 1 [?]). The most sophisticated and elaborate arrangement appears in Psalm 119 and Lamentations 3 in which each stanza comprises eight verses in the former and three verses in the latter, all commencing with the same letter. The impact of the acrostic principle is also present in Lamentations 5 with its 22 verses, even though no abecediary is used. Whatever the age of the individual alphabetic compositions, it is clear that the phenomenon cannot be used as a criterion for the dating of biblical texts. The word and sentence acrostic is found in at least five works in Akkadian literature. Although the only two dated examples come from the seventh and sixth centuries B.C.E., there is no reason to doubt that the principle was not in vogue in Mesopotamia much earlier. Moreover, since the traditional order of the alphabetic signs is now known to have been fixed no later than the 14th century B.C.E., there is every likelihood of its early employment in Israel in literary compositions.

It is not possible to decide what considerations influenced the choice of this particular device. Sometimes it seems to provide a connecting link between variations upon a single theme. At other times it apparently serves to impose an external order and system upon material that lacks inner coherence or logical development. Frequently, it must have been used as a mnemonic aid in a pedagogic or didactic context as well as in a cultic-liturgical situation. For instance, it would be particularly suited to the rote recitation of moralistic instruction, divine attributes, and hymns of praise and thanksgiving. A magical or mystical purpose can be ruled out in the biblical period, but purely aesthetic considerations might occasionally have been at work. Finally, it is not at all improbable that the arrangement of literary material in alphabetic sequence from beginning to end would signify the striving for comprehensiveness in the expression of an emotion or idea.

[Nahum M. Sarna]

Post-Biblical

In later usage the letters, syllables, or words are arranged in such a way that their combinations have meaning independent of their meaning in the general context (and not necessarily alphabetically). There are three main types of acrostics: *Akrostikhon* – in the narrowest meaning of the word, when the letters (or syllables or words) that are to be joined are consistently found at the beginning of each line, verse, sentence, or paragraph; *Telestikhon* – when they are at the end; *Mezostikhon* – when they are in the middle. With regard to content there are two types of acrostic. One is alphabetic when the first letters (or last in *telestikhon*, etc.) of each line (or verse, etc.) combine to produce the alphabet or the alphabet in reverse (in Hebrew called *tashrak* תשר״ק) or regular and reverse in turn (*atbash*, אתב״ש; *atbaḥ* אטב״ח; *tashab* תאש״ב) and the like. There are also variations, e.g., entire works in which every word begins with the same letter. The other is an acrostic of words, in which the combinations produce a word or complete sentence.

Originally, the acrostic fulfilled several important functions. It simplified learning by heart and prevented mistakes, deletions, and additions. Furthermore, it preserved the name of the author, which often appeared as an acrostic. One Midrash (PR 46) attributes an acrostic to Moses: "And Moses came and they began (Psalm 92) with the letters of his name מִזְמוֹר שִׁיר [לְיוֹם] הַשַּׁבָּת." According to another Midrash (Song R. 1:7), Solomon composed an alphabetic acrostic. On the other hand, the view (appearing in the *Pesikta Rabbati*) that the Bible also contains acrostics of words is doubtful. Following the model of the Bible are the acrostics in The Wisdom of Ben Sira (li, 36–54; although somewhat corrupted).

It is not known whether there was a special Hebrew name for the acrostic. In a later period it was called a *siman* ("sign"), and then a *ḥatimah* ("signature"). Alphabetic acrostics had names which were derived from the Greek ἀλφαβητάρια (e.g., Eccles. R. 7:7, 18; in the parallel in Ruth R. 6:6 mistakenly *Alfanterin* (אַלְפַּנְתְּרִין), and especially: Alfa Beta, Alfabeta, etc.). Under Arabic influence alphabetic acrostics began to be called *fibetim* (singular: *fibeta*), dropping the first syllable which was thought to be the (Arabic) definite article (al-). These foreign names may indicate that the acrostics in prayers and *piyyutim* were not a direct continuation of biblical acrostics but were influenced by those which had become part of Roman, Byzantine, Syrian, and Arabic literature (though in certain aspects it was the Hebrew *piyyut* that influenced the Syrian and Byzantine and not the reverse). In any event the acrostic in its different forms is often found in the prayers and *piyyutim*. An alphabetic prayer is found in the tractate *Soferim* (19:9). Other examples are the prayers: "אֵל בָּרוּךְ גְּדוֹל דֵּעָה" (Alphabet), and "תִּכַּנְתָּ [or: תִּקַּנְתָּ] שַׁבָּת רָצִיתָ קָרְבְּנוֹתֶיהָ..." (*Tashrak*) and others. The *paytanim*, beginning with Yose b. Yose, Yannai, Kallir, R. Saadiah Gaon, and others, employed acrostics, which became increasingly longer and more complicated. The letters of the alphabet were repeated in differing and unusual combinations. The names of the *paytanim*, their fathers, place of residence, pseudonyms, often combined with blessings, verses from the Bible, etc., were woven into the *piyyut* in acrostic form. The poets of Spain, Solomon ibn Gabirol, Judah Halevi, Abraham Ibn Ezra, and others, followed the *paytanim* in this, especially in their liturgical poetry. The acrostic found its way into prose writing, especially rhymed prose, letters, introductions to various works, etc. An example is the beginning of the famous letter of Ḥisdai ibn Shaprut to the king of the Khazars which was written at his behest by Menahem b. Saruk. The introduction of R. Shabbetai Donnolo to his *Sefer Ḥakhmoni* includes the acrostic "שַׁבְּתַי בַּר אַבְרָהָם, חֲזָק הוּא דוֹנוֹלוֹ הַנּוֹלַד מֵאוֹרַס [i.e., Oria]". In the Middle Ages, and even later, entire works were composed in which every word began with the same letter. The most famous of these is "*Elef Alfin*" ("A thousand *alefs*"), attributed to Abraham Bedersi. A common form of acrostic is when the initial letters of the first few words of a work spell the name of God. Kabbalistic literature considered acrostics, like all combinations of letters and syllables, to be important. The use of acrostics, already criticized by R. Isaac Arama in the 15th century, has continued to the present but only as a diversion.

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[Yehuda Arye Klausner]

ACSÁDY, IGNÁC (1845–1906), Hungarian historian and writer. Born in Nagy-Károly, Acsády took his doctorate of philosophy in Budapest. He wrote many novels and plays and was a regular contributor to the Hungarian press. His main importance lies, however, in the field of historiography. Acsády's work as an historian is marked by his anti-feudal and progressive views. In his novel *Fridényi bankja* ("Fridenyi's Bank," 1882; new edition: 1968) he criticized the dominant role of money in the contemporary world. His liberal outlook is also stressed in his *A magyar birodalom története* ("History of the Hungarian Empire"), and especially in his most important work *A magyar jobbágyság története* ("History of Hungarian Serfhood"), which was translated into Slovakian and Russian. Acsády's main interests were economic conditions in the 16th and 17th centuries and the fate of the common people. He advised the Jews to unite with the peasants against the antisemitism of the lower and middle classes, and he fought constantly for equal rights for the Jews of Hungary. In 1883 he published *Jewish and Non-Jewish Hungarians after the Emancipation*, and in 1894 he helped to found the Hungarian Jewish Literary Society. After World War II a street in Budapest was named after him and a plaque dedicated in his memory.

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[Alexander Scheiber]

ACTION FRANÇAISE, French royalist and antisemitic movement formed after the *Dreyfus affair, mainly active between 1896 and 1939. The doctrine of its principal theorist Charles *Maurras, termed "integral nationalism," was the radical expression of the conception of organic national unity. Prominent among its leaders were the writer Léon *Daudet, and the historian Jacques Bainville. The party organ, also named *L'Action française*, was established as a daily in 1908. The Action Française took pride in having reactivated antisemitism in France, alleging that the Jews were one of the principal agents of national disintegration and economic and moral corruption. They were part of an evil plot hatched by a would-be "confederation of the Four Estates," which, beside the Jews, included Protestants, Freemasons, and foreigners in general. These were allegedly using the slogans of liberty and revolution to mask mercenary interests and the political fragmentation of national life by the parties. The Action Française waged scurrilous campaigns against economic enterprises. It hence attacked *métèques* ("foreigners") according to Maurras' formula "not to divide, but to define." The Semite in particular was singled out as basically barbarian; to combat him was a proof of incorruptibility and concern with national interests. Even so, the Action Française rejected the idea of racist antisemitism as absurd.

The importance of the Action Française lies in the respectability of some of its leaders and the influence they exercised on certain circles of French officers between the two world wars. The antisemitic legislation enacted by the Vichy government after the fall of France in World War II was directly inspired by ideas of the Action Française and its program of excluding the Jew from French society and politics. The last issue of *L'Action française* appeared in Lyons in August 1944. Its spirit has been kept alive by Fascist-inclined and racist publications, such as the weeklies *Aspect de la France, Rivarol*, and *La Nation française*.

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ACZÉL, TAMÁS (1921–1994), Hungarian author and journalist. Aczél wrote the prizewinning novel *A szabadság árnyékában* ("In the Shadow of Freedom," 1948). A member of the circle of Imre Nagy, he fled to Paris after the suppression of the 1956 revolution and edited the radical emigrant periodical *Irodalmi Ujság*.

ADA, townlet in Vojvodina, Serbia, until 1920 in (Austro-) Hungary. Jews came there from German-speaking areas; they also spoke Yiddish and later Hungarian. They were allowed to settle in the late 17th century in order to repopulate the southern provinces devastated during the Turkish wars, but were forbidden to use Hebrew or Yiddish in official documents, testaments, and *pinkasim*. The first rabbis were Aaron Acker (d. 1837) and Jacob Heilprin. During the 1848–49 troubles, when Serbia sent volunteers to help the Slav populations in Hungary, a Serbian troop occupied Ada and took 60 Jews – including Rabbi Heilprin – to Senta where they were all murdered. Ada remained one of the dozen or so Orthodox communities along the Thissa River following the split between the Neologist majority and Orthodox minority in 1868/69. They maintained *talmud torah* schools and formed an Association of Orthodox Communities that worked in close cooperation with the Neologist Federation of Jewish Communties in Belgrade. The synagogue was built in 1896. In 1925 there were 452 Jews in Ada, but many left for bigger towns. During World War II Ada was occupied by Hungary and a concentration camp was established there. Of its 350 Jews in 1940, only 59 remained after the war, when the community was temporarily reestablished. Most subsequently left for Israel.

[Zvi Loker (2nd ed.)]

ADADI, ABRAHAM ḤAYYIM BEN MASOUD ḤAI (1801–1874), halakhic authority and kabbalist. Born in Tripoli and orphaned at an early age, Abraham was raised by his grandfather, Nathan Adadi, an outstanding scholar. In 1818 the family emigrated to Safed, where Adadi studied and was occasionally required to travel abroad as an emissary of the community. While in Leghorn in 1837 he heard of the great earthquake in Safed, and therefore changed his plans and returned to Tripoli, where he served as rabbi and *dayyan* and maintained a *bet midrash*. Some time after 1865, Adadi returned to Safed, remaining there for the rest of his life. Adadi paid particular attention to the local *minhagim* ("customs"), especially of Tripoli and Safed, and also of places he visited. His books incorporate much historical information, particularly about Tripoli. In this he was doubtless influenced by Abraham *Ḥalfon, his greatest Tripolitanian contemporary. Adadi's works include: *Ha-Shomer Emet* (Leghorn, 1849), primarily *halakhot* and customs concerning Torah scrolls; *Va-Yikra Avraham* (Leghorn, 1865), responsa, etc.; *Zeh ha-Kelal* on talmudic methodology; and *Makom she-Nahagu*, customs omitted from *Ha-Shomer Emet*. The rest of his works, including talmudic novellae and sermons, are still in manuscript (Ben-Zvi Institute, Jerusalem). An original poem in praise of Safed appears at the beginning of his *Ha-Shomer Emet*.

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ADAH (Heb. עָדָה; "ornament" or [according to the Arabic] "morning"; cf. Heb. personal names: Adaiah, Adiel), name of wife of *Lamech and wife of *Esau. Adah was one of the two wives of Lamech (Gen. 4:19–20). To her and to his other wife Zillah, Lamech recited his song (Gen. 4:23ff.). Her children, *Jabal and *Jubal, were the first to practice, respectively, pastoral pursuits and music, thus inaugurating a new stage of human progress. Her importance for the genealogy in Genesis 4 is derived from this fact, because Lamech's wives are the only women mentioned there. In the account in Genesis 5:28ff. there is no mention of Adah, Zillah, and their children. Noah, the firstborn of Lamech, appears instead, together with other sons and daughters, whose names are not mentioned.

Adah was the wife of Esau (Gen. 36:2) and the daughter of Elon (but cf. Gen. 26:34, where the daughter of Elon, who married Esau, is Basemath). Esau, who is also called *Edom (*ibid.* 36:1), and was probably the patriarch of Edom, married Adah, a Hittite, who was a native of Canaan. This account provides information on a Hittite element in Edom, a fact unknown from other sources, except in connection with other wives of Esau (Judith and Basemath, Gen. 26:34; cf. 28:9). Nonetheless, this information is difficult to fit in. On the other hand, Adah's Canaanite origin is probable, due to the wide range of nationalities included in the term Canaan. Adah was the mother of Eliphaz and his children, who were

**allufim* and counted as her descendants (Gen. 36:11–12, 15–16) rather than those of Lamech.

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ADALBERG, SAMUEL (1868–1939), Polish literary historian and folklorist. Born in Warsaw, Adalberg studied in a number of European capitals. His main work, a compendium of Polish proverbs, sayings, and proverbial phrases, *Księg przysłów, przypowieści i wyrażeń przysłówiowych polskich* (1889–94), remains the most extensive collection ever made in this field. Its 40,000 entries include both folk proverbs and quotations from major Polish writers of the 16th to 18th centuries that have become proverbs. For this work Adalberg was rewarded with membership of the philological section of the Cracow Academy of Science. He also translated and annotated 580 Yiddish proverbs drawn from the collection of Ignatz *Bernstein. This was published in the Polish ethnographical journal *Wisła* (vol. 4, 1890) and was also issued as a separate booklet. From 1918 Adalberg was an adviser on Jewish matters to the Polish Ministry of Education and Religious Affairs, and was thus able to do much for Jewish communal and educational institutions. He committed suicide when the Nazis occupied Warsaw.

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[Dov Noy]

ADAM (אָדָם), the first man and progenitor of the human race. The Documentary Hypothesis distinguishes two conflicting stories about the making of man in Scripture (for a contrary view, see U. Cassuto, *From Adam to Noah*, pp. 71ff.). In the first account of Creation in the Bible (attributed by critics to the Priestly narration; Gen. 1) Adam was created in God's image (verse 27), as the climax of a series of Divine creative acts, and was given dominion over the rest of creation (verses 28–30). In the second story (attributed by critics to the J or Yahwist strand; Gen. 2–3), after the completion of heaven and earth, God fashioned "the man" (*ha-adam*) from dust of the ground (*ha-adamah*), breathed life into his nostrils, and placed him in the Garden of Eden to be caretaker. Permission was given to eat freely from any tree of the Garden except, under penalty of death, from the Tree of Knowledge of Good and Bad. In order that the man might not be alone but would have appropriate aid, God formed the various animals and had the man determine what they should be called. The man gave names to all the animals, but found among them no suitable help. God then put the man to sleep, extracted one of his ribs, and fashioned it into a woman, and presented her to the man who found her eminently satisfactory and congenial. The naked pair had no feeling of shame until the serpent seduced the woman to eat the fruit of the forbidden tree. The woman shared the fruit with her husband with the result that they became aware of their nakedness and hid from God. As punishment for this transgression, the serpent was condemned to crawl on its belly and eat dust. The woman was sentenced to the pangs of childbirth, a craving for her man, and subjection to him. The man, for his part, for listening to his wife and for violating the prohibition, was destined to toil and sweat in order to wrest a bare living from an accursed and hostile soil until his return to the dust whence he came. Perpetual enmity was established between snake and man. God then made skin tunics (better: "tunics for the skin") and clothed the man and woman. The man had now become like one of the divine beings "knowing good and bad" (Gen. 3:22, i.e., everything; cf. Gen. 31:24; Lev. 5:4; II Sam. 13:22; Isa. 41:23). To keep the man from taking and eating of the Tree of Life and thereby acquiring the other quality that distinguished the divine beings, immortality, God expelled him from the Garden of Eden and barred access to the Tree of Life by means of the *cherubim and the flaming sword. Next one reads that "the man" had experience of his wife *Eve, who bore him *Cain and later *Abel (Gen. 4:1–2), and further on that "Adam," at the age of 130 years, sired *Seth by his wife (4:25; 5:3), after which he lived on for another eight centuries without report of further events, except that he "begot sons and daughters" and died at the age of 930 (5:4–5).

The presence of the article before the word *adam* in Genesis 2:7–4:1 militates against construing it as a proper name. However, in 4:25, and also in 5:1–5, the article is dropped and the word becomes Adam. The masorah takes advantage of the ambiguity of the consonantal spelling (*l'ʾdm*) which can mean "to/for the man" or "to/for Adam," depending on the vocalization, to introduce the proper name Adam into Genesis 2:20 and 3:17, 21, contrary to the import of the passage. Similarly, the Septuagint and Vulgate begin at Genesis 2:19 to translate *ha-adam* as the proper name Adam.

The only further mention of Adam in the Bible occurs in the genealogical table of I Chronicles 1:1. It is moot whether *adam* in *ke-adam* of Hosea 6:7 and Job 31:33, and *benei adam* of Deuteronomy 32:8, is to be taken as the proper name. In the apocryphal books, however, there are several probable allusions to Adam and the creation story (Ecclus. 17:1; 49:16; Tob. 8:6; Wisd. Sol. 2:23; 9:2; 10:1).

The etymology of the word *adam* is ambiguous. The feminine form *adamah* designates the ground or soil, and the play on the two forms *adam* and *adamah* in Genesis 2:7 suggests for *adam* the meaning "earthling." The root אדם (*ʾdm*) is also connected with the color "red," which might apply to the color of the soil from which man was formed. The word *adamu* is used in Akkadian for "blood," *adamatu* for "black blood" in pathological conditions, and the plural *adamātu* for "dark, red earth [used as dye]." The word *admu/atmu* ("child") probably has no relation to *adam* but is rather to be connected with a root *wtm* and related to Hebrew *yatom* ("orphan"). In Old South Arabic *ʾdm* has the meaning "serf." The occurrence of *ʾdm* as the apparent theophorous element in few personal names such as *ʿbd ʾdm* ("servant of *ʾdm*"; MT, Obed-Edom, II Sam. 6:10ff.), suggests a deity *ʾdm*, but there is little additional direct evidence for this. In an Akkadian synonym list the word *adamu* is equivalent to an "important, noble person." The personal names *A-da-mu, A-dam-u* also appear in Old Akkadian and Old Babylonian (*Chicago Assyrian Dictionary*, 1, part 1 (1964), 95, s.v. adamu B; cf. also W. von Soden, *Akkadisches Handwoerterbuch*, 1 (1965), 10).

[Marvin H. Pope]

In the *Aggadah*

Adam was formed from a mixture of water and earth, as is implied in Genesis 2:7. According to Greek mythology too, Prometheus formed men from water and earth (Apollodorus, 1:7, 1); and Hesiod (*Opera et Dies*, 61) relates that Hephaestus kneaded earth and water and made woman. The ancient Egyptians also believed that "man was formed from miry and swampy land" (Diodorus 1:43, 2).

There is no reference in the existing texts of the Septuagint to the statement of the *aggadah* (Mekh. 60:14) that the translators of the Bible changed Genesis 1:26 from the plural "Let us make man in our image, after *our* likeness," to "I will make man in my likeness and image" in order to remove any suggestion of anthropomorphic polytheism. The aggadists were actually more concerned with possible polytheistic interpretations than with the suggestion of anthropomorphism, the belief in anthropomorphism being widespread in both Hellenistic and philosophical works (e.g., among the Epicureans). In any event, many of the aggadists attempted to remove these anthropomorphisms. Some of them explain, "in His image" as meaning "with the dignity of his Maker" (see Tanh. Pekudei 2; Gen. R. 11:2).

In the creation of the universe, whatever was created later had dominion over what preceded it, and Adam and Eve were "created after everything in order to have dominion over everything" (Gen. R. 19:4). They were "created last in order that they should rule over all creation… and that all creatures should fear them and be under their control" (Num. R. 12:4). The subjection of the creatures is also greatly stressed in Adam 37–39; *Apocalypsis Mosis*, 10–12. Another reason for man's being created last was "that he should immediately enter the banqueting hall (everything having already been prepared for him). The matter may be likened to an emperor's building a palace, consecrating it, preparing the feast, and only then inviting the guests" (Tosef. Sanh. 8:9). On the other hand, Adam was created last, so that "should he become conceited, he could be told, 'The gnat was created before you'" (*ibid.* 8:8). Adam alone, of all living things, was created "to stand upright like the ministering angels" (Gen. R. 8:11; cf. Ḥag. 16a). Both Adam and Eve were created "fully developed… Adam and Eve were created as adults 20 years of age" (Gen. R. 14:7). In fact, everything created, "the sun and the moon, the stars and the planets, all were created fully developed, all the works of creation being brought into existence in their completed state" (Num. R. 12:8). The same opinion was held by Philo and by a number of Greek and Roman scholars (Dion Chrysostomus, 36:59).

Thales, "father of philosophers," used to say, "Every thing that exists is very beautiful, being the work of God" (Diogenes Laertius, 1:35). In the same vein, Philo maintained (Op., 47:136–41) that Adam was a perfect creature. The aggadists exalt the beauty of Adam, saying, "The ball of Adam's heel outshone the glory of the sun: how much more so the brightness of his face" for "Adam was created for the service of the Holy One, and the orb of the sun for the service of mankind" (PdRK 101).

The rabbis interpret Genesis 1:27 to mean that Adam was created as a hermaphrodite (Er. 18a; Gen. R. 8:1; cf. also Jub. 2:14; 3:8). He was created on New Year's Day, the first of Tishri, and all that is related of him occurred on that very day. In the first hour his dust was assembled; in the second he was rough-hewn; in the third his limbs were articulated; in the fourth the soul was breathed into him; in the fifth he stood erect; in the sixth he gave names to all creatures; in the seventh Eve was brought to him; in the eighth they begot Cain and Abel; in the ninth they were forbidden to eat of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil; in the tenth they sinned; in the eleventh sentence was passed; and in the twelfth they were driven out of Eden (Sanh. 38b; cf. also Lev. R. 29:1).

When Adam was to be created, the angels were consulted. Some favored his creation for the love and mercy he would show; others were opposed to it because of the falsehood and strife he would stir up. In the end, the Holy One decided to create man (Gen. R. 8:5; Mid. Ps. to 1:22). The angels were filled with such awe at his creation that they wished to worship him, whereupon Adam pointed upward (PdRE 10; Tanh. Pekudei 3), or, according to another version, God caused a deep sleep to fall upon him and the angels realized his limitations (Gen. R. 8:10). All the angels were ordered to bow down to him and they did so, all except *Satan, who was hurled into the abyss and conceived a lasting hatred for Adam (PdRE 13). This myth of Satan's fall is to be found in the Apocryphal books, e.g., Adam 12–17.

It is characteristic of the book of Genesis that it gives the history of its principals up to a certain stage in their lives and then leaves them, taking up the story of their successors. Likewise, in the case of Adam, the Bible gives his story up to his expulsion from the Garden of Eden, and then deals with the succeeding generations, though Adam lived on for many years. No account is given of how Adam familiarized himself with the strange new world, which lacked those ideal conditions to which he had been accustomed. The *aggadah*, to some extent, attempts to fill the gap. It relates that "when the sun set (after he was driven out) darkness began to fall. Adam was terrified… thinking, 'The serpent will come to bite me.' The Holy One made available for him two flints (or, two stones) which he struck, one against the other, producing light" (Pes. 54a; Gen. R. 11:2). This subject is also dealt with by *Adam and Eve* 2:1, which relates that "the Lord God sent diverse seeds by Michael the archangel and gave them to Adam and showed him how to work and till the ground that they might have fruit, by which they and their generations might live." This is greatly developed in the Christian Adam books, the *Cave of Treasures* and the *Conflict of Adam and Eve*. This *aggadah* also hints at the answer to another question, how human civilization developed. This theme, especially the origin of light, the catalyst of all human development, greatly occupied Greek scholars. According to other *aggadot*, darkness itself and the seasonal change to winter terrified Adam until he became familiar with the order of the universe – sunset and sunrise, long days and short days (Av. Zar. 8a).

When Adam sinned, he lost his splendor. As a result of his sin, all things lost their perfection "though they had been created in their fullness," (Gen. R. 11:2; 12:6). Like Philo, the aggadists held that the beauty of the generations was slowly diminishing. All other people "compared to Sarah, are like apes compared to a man; Sarah compared with Eve, is like an ape compared to man, as was Eve compared to Adam" (BB 58a).

Satan selected the serpent as his tool because of its being the most subtle of beasts and the nearest to man in form, having been endowed with hands and feet (Gen. R. 19:1; 20:5). With regard to the identification of the tree of good and evil, the vine, the wheat, the citron, and the fig are suggested. According to this last view, it was because the fig tree had served as the source of Adam's sin that it subsequently provided him with the leaves to cover his nakedness, the consciousness of which was the direct result of that sin (Ber. 40a; Gen. R. 15:7; compare the Syriac *Apocalypse of Adam* (ed., Renan; 1853), 32). Adam was sent forth from the Garden of Eden in this world; whether he was also sent forth from the Eden of the next world is disputed (Gen. R. 21:7). With Adam's sin, the divine presence withdrew from this world, returning only with the building of the Tabernacle (PdRK 1). Adam learnt of the power of repentance from Cain. When Cain said to him, "I repented and have been forgiven," Adam beat his face and cried out, "So great is the power of repentance and I knew it not." Whereupon he sang the 90th Psalm, the Midrash interpreting its second verse as, "It is good to make confession to the Lord" (Gen. R. 22:13). In the *Life of Adam and Eve*, however, Adam and Eve's repentance after the expulsion from the garden is described at length (Adam 1–11). Adam was given the Noachian Laws (Sanh. 56b) and was enjoined to observe the Sabbath (Mid. Ps. to 92:6). He would have been given the whole Torah if he had not sinned (Gen. R. 24:5; 21:7). He was the first to pray for rain (Ḥul. 60b) and to offer sacrifice (Av. Zar. 8a). During the time he was separated from his wife, before he begot Seth, he gave birth to demons (Er. 18b; Gen. R. 20:11). The Zohar (7:34; 3:19) states that *Lilith, a demon, was the wife of Adam before the creation of Eve.

[Elimelech Epstein Halevy]

Medieval Jewish Philosophy

In Hellenistic and medieval Jewish philosophy Adam is often regarded as a prototype of mankind, and Genesis 2:8–3:24, interpreted as an allegory on the human condition. In spite of their predominant interest in the allegorical interpretation of the creation of Adam and his stay in the Garden of Eden, most Jewish philosophers appear to accept the historicity of the biblical account. For them the biblical story of Adam has both a literal and allegorical meaning.

Philo, following a Platonic model, sees in the twofold account of the creation of Adam a description of the creation of two distinct men, the heavenly man, created in the image of God (Gen. 1:27), and the earthly man, formed out of the dust of the earth (Gen. 2:7). The heavenly man is incorporeal. The earthly man is a composite of corporeal and incorporeal elements, of body and mind (Philo, I L.A. 12). Philo maintains that it is the mind of man and not his body which is in the image of God (Philo, Op. 23). The earthly Adam excelled all subsequent men both in intellectual ability and physical appearance, and attained the "very limit of human happiness" (Philo, Op. 3). But Adam did not remain forever at this level. Through eating from the forbidden tree of the knowledge of good and evil he brought upon himself a "life of mortality and wretchedness in lieu of that of immortality and bliss" (Philo, Op. 53). Philo interprets the eating from the forbidden tree allegorically as the indulgence in physical pleasures. Because Adam succumbed to his physical passions, his understanding descended from the higher level of knowledge to the lower level of opinion. While Philo at times does accept the literal interpretation of certain elements in the story, he generally rejects the literal meaning entirely and interprets all the elements of the story allegorically. Adam becomes the symbolic representation of mind; Eve, the representation of sense-perception; the serpent, the representation of passion; and the tree of knowledge, the representation of prudence or opinion. Though Philo did not exert any direct influence upon the medieval Jewish philosophers, there are many similarities between his conception of *Adam ha-Rishon* and that of medieval Jewish philosophy. The similarities in the descriptions of the perfections of the first man may have their origin in the midrashic descriptions of Adam, while the similarities in the interpretation of his sin probably result from the philosophic concerns common to Philo and the medievals.

*Judah Halevi maintains that Adam was perfect in body and mind. In addition to the loftiest intellect ever possessed by a human being, Adam was endowed with the "divine power" (*ha-ko'aḥ ha-Elohi*), that special faculty which, according to Halevi, enables man to achieve communion with God. This "divine power," passed down through various descendants of Adam to the people of Israel, is that which distinguishes the people of Israel from all other peoples (*Kuzari*, 1:95).

*Maimonides explains that when the Bible records that Adam was created "in the image of God" it refers to the creation of the human intellect, man's defining characteristic, which resembles the divine intellect, rather than to the creation of the body. Unlike Halevi, Maimonides believes that communion with God can be achieved through the development of the intellect, and that no special faculty is necessary. Thus, Maimonides emphasizes the intellectual perfection of Adam. Before the sin Adam's intellect was developed to its fullest capacity, and he devoted himself entirely to the contemplation of the truths of physics and metaphysics. Adam's sin consisted in his turning away from contemplation to indulge in physical pleasures to which he was drawn by his imagination and desires. As a result of his sin, Adam became occupied with controlling his appetites, and consequently his capacity for contemplation was impaired. His practical reason which before the sin had lain dormant was now activated, and he began to acquire practical rather than theoretical knowledge, a knowledge of values rather than of facts, of good and evil rather than of truth and falsehood, and of ethics and politics rather than of physics and metaphysics. It is clear that for Maimonides practical wisdom is inferior to theoretical wisdom, and that, therefore, the activation of Adam's practical reason at the expense of his theoretical reason was a punishment (*Guide*, 1:2).

Maimonides interprets various Midrashim on the story of Adam and the Garden of Eden allegorically in accordance with his interpretation of Adam's sin as the succumbing to physical passion. The Midrash describes the serpent as a camel ridden by Samael. According to Maimonides the serpent represents the imaginative faculty, while Samael, or the evil inclination, represents the appetitive faculty. Maimonides suggests that in the midrashic description of the tree of life in *Genesis Rabbah* 15:6 the tree represents physics and its branches metaphysics. The tree of knowledge, on the other hand, represents ethics or practical wisdom rather than physics and metaphysics. Instead of eating from the tree of life, i.e., devoting himself to the study of physics and metaphysics which would have enabled him to attain immortality, Adam ate from the forbidden tree; he followed his imagination and succumbed to his passions, thereby impairing his capacity for the contemplation of truth, and acquiring the capacity for the acquisition of a knowledge of ethics (*Guide*, 2:30).

Joseph *Albo maintains that Adam, as the prototype of mankind, is the choicest of all the creatures of the sublunar world and the purpose of the creation because he is the only creature that has a knowledge of God. All other creatures exist for his sake, and he has a dominion over them. Albo, too, interprets the story of the Garden of Eden allegorically, regarding it as a "symbolic allusion to man's fortune in the world" (*Sefer ha-Ikkarim*, 1:11). In his interpretation Adam represents mankind; the Garden of Eden, the world; the tree of life, the Torah; and the serpent, the evil inclination. The placing of Adam in the garden, in the midst of which stands the tree of life, symbolizes the fact that man is placed in the world in order to observe the commandments of the Torah. In the banishment of Adam from the Garden of Eden after he ate from the forbidden tree Albo sees an allusion to the punishment that will befall man if he disobeys the Divine commandments.

[David Kadosh / Adela Wolfe]

In Christian Tradition

Adam as the progenitor of the human race and as the type of humanity as such, plays a far greater role in Christian theological thought than in classical Judaism, since the former uses the account in Genesis 1–2 (and especially the story of Adam's sin and expulsion from Paradise) as a basis for its doctrine of man and his relation to God. Endowed with many extraordinary qualities as the crown of God's creation (e.g., perfect righteousness, sanctifying grace, absence of concupiscence, viz. evil inclination, immortality, etc.), he lost these at his fall ("original sin") and transmitted his fallen and corrupted nature to all his posterity. Only by the coming of Jesus, the "Second Adam," was humanity restored to its original grandeur and perfection "for as in Adam all die, even so in Christ shall all be made alive" (I Cor. 15:22). As the heavenly Adam succeeded the earthly Adam, so humanity of the flesh will become a spiritual humanity (I Cor. 15:44–49). The teaching of Paul greatly influenced Augustine and later Calvin in their formulations of the doctrine on original sin, implying as it does the innate corruption of human nature.

According to one Christian tradition, Adam is buried not in the Machpelah cave at Hebron but under the Calvary in the Holy Sepulcher, Jerusalem, so that the redemptive blood of Jesus shed at the crucifixion, flowed on his grave. In the Greek Orthodox Church a feast in honor of the parents of humanity, Adam and Eve, is kept on the Sunday preceding Christmas.

In Islamic Legend

Adam is more favorably presented in the Koran than in the Bible. The Adamic legend, as Muhammad related it, is as follows: Allah created Adam to become his regent (caliph) on earth (Sura 2:28) and made a covenant with him (Sura 20:114; cf. Hos. 6:7 and Sanh. 38b). At first the angels opposed it, fearing that man would evoke evil and bloodshed. However, Allah endowed Adam with the knowledge of the names of all things. The angels, who do not know these names, recognize Adam's superiority and pay him homage. Only Iblīs (Gr. *diábolos*, the Devil) revolts, claiming that he who is born of fire should not bow before one who is born of dust, whereupon Allah expels Iblīs from Paradise. Adam and Eve are forbidden to eat the fruit of a tree, but *Šayṭān* (Satan) appears and whispers in their ears: Allah has forbidden this tree to you, so that you will not live eternally like the angels (Sura 7:19). They eat from the tree, become aware of their nakedness, and cover themselves with the leaves of Eden. Allah proclaims eternal enmity between Man and Satan. Then Adam repents for his sin.

*Geiger recognized that the concept that God had consulted the angels and that voices had been raised against the creation of man belongs to an old *aggadah* (Sanh. 38a–b; Gen. R. 8:1). The fact that the Koran knew nothing of the serpent but placed Satan in its place points perhaps to Christian influence. Umayya ibn Abi'l-Salt, Muhammad's contemporary, knew of the serpent in connection with Adam's disobedience, but not the Satan.

Later Muslim interpreters and collectors of legends completed the story of the Koran from the Bible, *aggadah*, and their own poetic elaboration: Allah sent his angels, Gabriel and Michael, down to Earth in order to fetch dust for the creation of man; but the Earth rejected them and the Angel of Death forcibly took dust from the surface (surface of the earth in Arabic, *Adīm*, thus Adam). Adam was created from red, white, and black dust – hence the various skin colorings of mankind. The dust for the head came from the Ḥaram in Mecca; the chest, the sanctuary in Jerusalem; the loins, Yemen; the feet, Ḥejāz; the right hand, the East; and the left hand, the West. For a long time the body was lifeless and without a soul. Suddenly the spirit penetrated the body, Adam sneezed and exclaimed with the angels, "Praise be to Allah."

The notion of the homogeneity of the human race, as expressed in the legend which says that dust was gathered from the whole Earth to create Adam's body, is found in the Talmud (Sanh. 38a). Rav, however, suggested the following: dust was taken for the body from Babylon; the head, Ereẓ Israel; and the remaining limbs, the rest of the countries (Sanh. 38b). The idea that in the beginning Adam lay still as a figure of clay without a soul (golem), also originates from an *aggadah* (bibliography and interpretation in Bacher, Pal Amor, 2 (1896), 50–51; in addition, Mid. Hag. to Gen. 2:7). The *aggadah* and the Islamic legend both share the belief that God was the first couple's "best man," and that the forbidden fruit was wheat. This is the reason why Gabriel taught Adam agriculture: wheat banished man from Paradise, but wheat also introduced him to the earthly world. The *aggadah* is interested in calculating just how the hours of Adam's first day were spent (Sanh. 38b). That Adam did not stay an entire day in Paradise is derived from Psalms 49:13: "But man abides ["spends the night"] not in honor." According to the Islamic legend, Adam foresaw the future generations and their prophets. In the *aggadah* there is also a most impressive description of how one generation after the other – with its great men and sages – file past Adam (Sanh. 38b; Av. Zar. 5a; ARN 31:91; Gen. R. 24:2; PR 23:115).

Nor is there any doubt as to the reciprocity between the Islamic legend and the late Midrash. Thus, for instance, the specific statement that Adam was formed from red, white, and black earth – hence the differences in the complexion of mankind – is a further development of both the late *aggadah* (Targ. Yer., Gen. 2:7; PdRE 11) and the Islamic legend. The Koran (2:28–32) recognizes Adam's superior status in that he knew the names of the creatures and things. Familiar is the Islamic oath: "By Allah who taught the names to Adam" (see Gen. R. 17:4). *Pirkei de-R. Eliezer* 16 says – under Islamic influence – that Samael came to Eden riding on the serpent; what the serpent said, all came from Samael (similar, Mid. Hag. to Gen. 3:1–5). The following example appears to be significant concerning the mutual influence of *aggadah* and Islamic legend: *Genesis Rabbah* 19:8 cites Genesis 2:17: "On the day on which you eat from it, you will die," in connection with Psalms 90:10: "The number of our years is seventy," and thus interprets: "One Lord's Day, that is, 1,000 years [Ps. 90:4] was allotted to Adam, but he only lived 930 years and gave 70 years to each of his descendants." *Pirkei de-R. Eliezer* 19 relates that Adam gave 70 years of his life to David. According to Tabari (1:156), Adam let David have 40 of his own years.

[Bernard Heller]

Illuminated Manuscripts

Adam and Eve often appear in illuminated manuscripts, especially in the scenes of the Temptation and the period after the Fall. Among them is the Hebrew manuscript (British Museum Add. 11639), where the serpent is shown with a human face. This indicates the influence of the Jewish legend, which relates that before the Temptation of Eve, the serpent had wings, hands, and feet and was the size of a camel. Other illustrations are more conventional in examples such as the British Museum *Haggadah* (Ms. Or. 2884) and the *Haggadah* of Sarajevo, but it is interesting to note that the non-Jewish manuscripts such as Octateuch in Istanbul (Serail, Codex 8), a Bible Moralisée in the British Museum (Add. 15248), and Hugo van der Goes' diptych in Vienna are influenced by this Jewish legendary approach.

[Helen Rosenau]

In the Arts

The story of Adam and Eve is frequently exploited in Western literature because of its theological association with the Christian doctrine of Original Sin. The oldest surviving treatment is the 12th-century Anglo-Norman *Jeu d'Adam*. In medieval English, French, and Spanish miracle plays Adam is represented as a precursor of Jesus. An early Protestant interpretation was *Der farend Schueler im Paradeiss* (1550), a comedy by the German dramatist and poet Hans Sachs. The drama *L'Adamo* (1613), by the Italian actor-playwright Giambattista Andreini, probably influenced the English Puritan John *Milton, whose *Paradise Lost* (1667) depicts Adam as a free agent overcome by Satan, but sustained by his belief in ultimate redemption. This post-medieval conception of the first man also permeates two Dutch works, the *Adamus Exul* (1601) of Hugo Grotius (Hugo de Groot) and *Adam in Ballingschap* ("Adam in Exile," 1664) by Joost van den Vondel. Milton's epic poem was dramatized by John Dryden as *The State of Innocence, and Fall of Man* (1677), while a Rousseauesque yearning for an imagined Golden Age appears in the drama *Der Tod Adams* (1757) by the German poet F.G. Klopstock.

Some later plays on this theme are *Az ember tragédiája* ("The Tragedy of Man," 1862) by the Hungarian writer Imre Madách; *Adam Stvořitel* ("Adam the Creator," 1927) by the Czech authors Josef and Karel Čapek; *Nobodaddy* (1925) by the American writer Archibald Macleish; and the first part of G.B. Shaw's *Back to Methuselah* (1921). The English writer C.M. Doughty based his "sacred drama" *Adam Cast Forth* (1908) on a Judeo-Arabian legend; while Arno *Nadel wrote his play *Adam* (1917) on the basis of a fragment by S. *An-ski.

In the sphere of art there are early treatments of the Adam and Eve theme in second-century frescoes at Naples and in the Christian chapel at *Dura-Europos in Syria, as well as on Roman sarcophagi. There are also representations in medieval mosaics and in metal and in both Christian manuscripts and Jewish *Haggadot* of the Middle Ages. Scenes from the creation of Adam to the expulsion from Eden were much favored by medieval artists and early sculptures include the reclining Eve by the 12th-century French sculptor Gislebertus, and a pair of gaunt figures at Bamberg Cathedral in Germany (c. 1235).

In the 15th century the reawakening feeling for the beauty of the human body gave artists an opportunity to depict the nude within the framework of religious art, particularly in Renaissance Italy. Masaccio's fresco in the Brancacci Chapel in Santa Maria del Carmine in Florence (1427) shows Adam and Eve leaving the Garden of Eden with their faces buried in their hands in a striking gesture of despair. In the best-known representation of the theme, Michelangelo's *The Creation of Adam* (1511) in the Sistine Chapel in the Vatican, the newly created man reclines on a rock while the Creator sweeps by with the heavenly host. Other treatments are those of Raphael and Tintoretto, and Titian's robustly sensual *Fall* (1570) in the Prado, Madrid. Adam and Eve were also represented by various masters of the Flemish, Dutch, and German schools, notably the brothers Van Eyck, Albrecht Duerer, Hieronymus Bosch, Lucas Cranach, and Hugo van der Goes. In the painting *The Spring* by the French artist Nicolas Poussin (1660–64), Adam and Eve are seen in a peaceful landscape resembling a vast park (in the Louvre, Paris). A century later the theme inspired a watercolor by William *Blake, while Marc *Chagall painted a *Creation*, a *Paradise*, and an *Expulsion from Eden*, all remarkable for their iridescent colors. Two modern examples are Rodin's *Eve* (1881) for his *Gates of Hell*, and Jacob *Epstein's heroic and deliberately primitive *Adam* (1938).

The earliest musical work of any distinction based on the Bible story is the opera by the German composer, J.A. Theile, *Der erschaffene, gefallene und wieder aufgerichtete Mensch* (1678). There have been many librettos based on Milton's *Paradise Lost* and on its Continental imitations, notably Klopstock's *Der Tod Adams*, which was set to music as *La Mort d'Adam* (1809) by the French composer J.-F. Lesueur. Anton *Rubinstein's first oratorio, *Das verlorene Paradies* (1858), and E. Bossi's Italian *"poema sinfonico-vocale," Il paradiso perduto* (1903), were both based on Milton's epic. Two interesting French compositions were F. David's *L'Eden* (1848) and Jules Massenet's stage music for the *"mystère" Ève* (1875). The American composer Everett Helm's *Adam and Eve* (1951) is a modern adaptation of a 12th-century mystery play.

See also: *Creation in the Arts.

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ADAM (Heb. אָדָם), city on the eastern bank of the Jordan River mentioned in Joshua 3:16 as the place where the Jordan ceased flowing at the time of the Israelite crossing. It also appears in the inscriptions of Pharaoh Shishak (10th century B.C.E.). King Solomon's foundries were in the vicinity of Adam (I Kings 7:46; II Chron. 4:17). The place is perhaps also mentioned in Hosea 6:7 and Psalms 68:19, 78:60, and 83:11 as an ancient site of worship.

The ford that was situated during ancient times at Adam is marked on the *Madaba Map and is still found at a place the Arabs call Damiyeh on the road from Shechem to Gilead and Moab. It is south of the confluence of the Jabbok and the Jordan on the one side and north of the mouth of Wadi Fariah on the other. On the small Tell el-Damiyeh near the ford, potsherds from the Canaanite and Israelite periods (Late Bronze to Iron Age I–II) as well as from the Roman and Byzantine periods have been found.

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[Michael Avi-Yonah]

ADAM, Jewish monthly literary journal in the Romanian language. The first number of *Adam* was published in Bucharest on April 15, 1929. The journal was subsequently published for 12 years, until July 1940, in book form. Its founder and director was the writer and publicist I. *Ludo (Isac Iacovitz). He edited the review until 1936, when he left Romania temporarily and sold it to Miron Grindea and Idov Cohn. They continued publication until their emigration from Romania, Miron Grindea to England (where he published a new review under the same name in London in English) and Idov Cohn (Cohen) to Palestine. *Adam* was a successful publication, reflecting the personality of its editor, Ludo, who wrote most of the articles.

He succeeded in attracting various contributors, intellectuals with various outlooks, among them Felix *Aderca, Ury *Benador, F. Brunea-Fox, Ion Calugaru, Avraham *Feller, Benjamin Fundoianu, Jacob Gropper, Rabbi M.A. Halevy, Michael *Landau, Theodor Loewenstein, Marius *Mircu, Chief Rabbi Jacob Niemirower, Eugen *Relgis, and A.L. *Zissu. Some of them (as well as others) served their literary apprenticeship at *Adam*. It was a review that refused to surrender to the ghetto mentality and also attracted non-Jewish contributors, among whom the best known were Tudor Arghezi, Gala Galaction, Eugen Lovinescu, and N.D. Cocea. *Adam* also featured many illustrations, including work by Victor *Brauner, Marcel *Jancu, M.H. *Maxy, Jules *Perachim, and Reuven *Rubin. *Adam* also engaged in polemics. Its basic idea was that Jewish-Romanian writers, before they could be Romanian writers, must be Jewish writers. In 1939, *Adam* published a yearbook on the occasion of its tenth anniversary.

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[Lucian-Zeev Herscovici (2nd ed.)]

ADAM, LAJOS (**Louis**; 1879–1946), Hungarian physician. His appointment in 1927 as assistant professor at the University of Budapest aroused violent opposition in antisemitic circles, but in 1930 he was appointed full professor and director of the surgical clinic. In 1946 he became *Rector Magnificus*. His contribution to the technique of local anesthesia was of great importance. Among other books he wrote *A heli érzéstelenités kéMzikoenyve* ("The Handbook of Local Anesthesia").

ADAM, OTHER BOOKS OF, apocryphal books which contain Christian reworkings of the Jewish Adam legend, some of which include valuable ancient traditions. These books are in addition to the *Life of Adam and Eve* (see *Book of the Life of *Adam and Eve*). In early lists several works, presumably in Greek, are mentioned. The most prominent of these are *Apocalypse, Penitence, Testament*, and *Life*. The *Apocalypse*, quoted in *Epistle of Barnabas* 2:10, deals with Adam's penitence. A horarium and some other texts, also connected with repentance and cited by Georgius Cedrenus (*Historiarum compendium* 1:18), appear in a second Greek form, as well as in Syriac (R. Graffin (ed.), *Patrologia Syriaca*, 2, pt. 1 (1907), 1319–37), where they are quoted as being from the *Testament*. This Syriac version mentions the *Cave of Treasures*, connecting it with various Eastern books. A long passage attributed to the *Life of Adam* is preserved by Georgius Syncellus (ed. Dundorff, p. 5ff.). This passage is related to material found in Jubilees 3:1–11. The *Cave of Treasures*, a Syriac work, also deals with the story of Adam. A central feature of this work is a cave of treasures, in which Adam lived and was buried, and from which he was taken into the Ark by Noah to be reburied at Golgotha. The book also exists in Arabic (D.M. Gibson, *Apocrypha Arabica* (1901), Eng. and Arab.).

The Ethiopic *Book of Adam and Eve* is also a Christian composition, having much in common with the *Cave of Treasures*, including the burial tradition. Armenian books connected with the Adam story include *The Death of Adam, History of Adam's Expulsion from Paradise, History of Cain and Abel, Adam's Sons*, and *Concerning the Good Tidings of Seth*. Other unpublished Adam books also exist. These writings are certainly not Gnostic, as Preuschen maintained. They are early although it is impossible to give a precise date. There are Georgian translations of the *Cave of Treasures*, the *Life*, and other Adam books. There are also some texts in Arabic, including an Arabic version of the Ethiopic Adam book. Epiphanius (*Panarion* 26) quotes a Gnostic composition, and a Gnostic Coptic Adam Apocalypse is found among the Nag Hammadi texts.

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[Michael E. Stone]

ADAM AND EVE, BOOK OF THE LIFE OF, apocryphal work dealing with Adam's life and death. It has been preserved in Greek, Latin, and Slavonic versions differing considerably from one another. General considerations point to composition in Palestine between 100 B.C.E. and 200 C.E.

The Greek version, known erroneously as the *Apocalypsis Moysis*, begins with the expulsion from Paradise, and relates the story of the death of Abel, the birth of Seth, Adam's illness, and the journey of Eve and Seth to Paradise in search of oil from the tree of life to ease Adam's suffering. Adam dies and he is buried in the third heaven by the angels. Six days later Eve dies and Seth is instructed regarding burial and mourning.

The Latin version is known as the *Vita Adae et Evae*. Its main part roughly corresponds to the Greek text, but there are some omissions and additions. The most extensive and important addition precedes the material found in the Greek version. It tells how Adam and Eve, finding life outside Paradise difficult, decide to entreat God for nourishment and propose to do penance by standing in water; Eve in the Tigris for 37 days and Adam in the Jordan for 40. By a trick, the Devil induces Eve to end her penance before the designated time.

The Slavonic version follows the Greek closely, although it shortens some passages. It also includes the main addition of the Latin in a different form and not at the beginning of the book, but as a part of Eve's account of the Fall. According to the Slavonic version, Adam and Eve, expelled from Paradise, beg God for nourishment and are given the seventh part of Paradise. Adam begins plowing, but the Devil prevents him from continuing until Adam acknowledges his lordship over Adam and the earth. To trick the Devil, Adam writes: "I and my children belong to whoever is Lord of the earth." There follows the story of the penance of Adam and Eve, as found in the Latin, but with the significant difference that Eve withstands the Devil's blandishments and completes her penance. The rest of the addition is missing.

The religious spirit expressed in the *Book of Adam and Eve* is somber and somewhat pessimistic. It illuminates many minor points of theological interest, but presents no clear and central doctrine. Only the resurrection and final judgment are taught repeatedly and emphatically. Angels are represented as important, but there is no speculation about them and none about the End of Days. The simpler Greek version, which is mildly dualistic, also teaches a distinction of body and soul. There is no doctrine of original sin in the Christian (or Qumranic) sense. Adam is considered perfect; Eve is morally weak, but not wicked. She loves and obeys Adam and repeatedly deplores her own shortcomings. There is also a mild halakhic interest in the matter of burial. The additional material contained in the Latin version stresses Eve's weakness and the wickedness of the Devil, and actually teaches that there was a second temptation, which Adam withstood. This part is more speculative, and is concerned with man's struggle against the Devil and with the origin of evil. The penance by water shows a marked tendency toward asceticism, which might be a modification of an earlier tendency, emphasizing the importance of purity.

The work cannot be assigned to any known or definable sector or movement in Judaism. There are similarities both with apocalyptic writing (Enoch, Jubilees) and with the rabbinic *aggadah*, but none of these is sufficiently close or precise to indicate identity of teaching. The simpler Greek version is closer to the mainstream of Judaism. The story of Adam and Eve's penance and second temptation displays a unique development of ancient Jewish thought. A book of Adam (*Sifra de-Adam ha-Rishon*) is mentioned in *Bava Meẓia* 85b; but this work must have been different from the *Book of Adam and Eve*.

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[Jacob Licht]

ADAM BA'AL SHEM, a legendary figure about whom various tales have been collected in small Yiddish pamphlets published in Prague and in Amsterdam in the 17th century. They relate the miracles performed before Emperor Maximilian II by a kabbalist, whose historical existence has not been verified. According to these tales, Adam Ba'al Shem was born and was buried in Bingen near Worms; however his permanent place of residence was Prague. The stories about him were popular and used by the compiler of *Shivḥei ha-Besht* (Berdichev, 1815) who transformed Adam Ba'al Shem into an esoteric kabbalist in Poland who died close to the birth or in the childhood of *Israel b. Eliezer Ba'al Shem Tov, the founder of Ḥasidism. Ḥasidic legend attributed to him writings on the mystery of Kabbalah which he commanded his son to give to Israel Ba'al Shem Tov. Apparently, the earlier figure of a German Jewish folktale (Adam Ba'al Shem) was combined in ḥasidic legend with that of the Shabbatean prophet Heshel Ẓoref, who died in Cracow around the time of Israel Ba'al Shem Tov's birth. Heshel's work, *Sefer ha-Ẓoref*, on the mysteries of Shabbatean Kabbalah, undoubtedly reached the Ba'al Shem Tov who ordered them to be copied by his disciple Shabbetai of Raschkow. Copies of the copy were preserved in the courts of several *ẓaddikim*. The Ḥasidim were not aware of the Shabbatean character of these works, but several legends spread about their contents. The author of *Shivḥei ha-Besht* or the creators of the legends about the Ba'al Shem Tov modified the character of these writings and attributed them to Adam Ba'al Shem. An unfounded assumption seeks to identify Adam Ba'al Shem with a Russian Christian of German origin, called Adam Zerneikov, who supposedly had contact with the father of Israel Ba'al Shem Tov.

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[Gershom Scholem]

ADAMIT (Heb. אֲדָמִית), kibbutz in northern Israel, on the Lebanese border. Adamit, affiliated with Kibbutz Arẓi (Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir), was founded in 1958, following completion of a serpentine road to secure the access to its small mountain plateau. Most of the settlers were Israel-born and the economy was based on orchards, vineyards, and livestock. In 2004 its population was 106. The name "Adamit" derives from the Arabic "Idmith", but is also reminiscent of the biblical town of Adami (Josh. 19:33), assumed to have been located in the vicinity.

[Efraim Orni]

ADAM KADMON (**Primordial Man**), kabbalistic concept. The Gnostics inferred from the verse "Let us make man in our image" (Gen. 1:26) that the physical Adam was created in the image of a spiritual entity also called Adam. The early *Kabbalah speaks of *adam elyon* ("supreme man"; in the Zohar the corresponding Aramaic is *adam di-l'ela* or *adam ila'ah*). The term sometimes represents the totality of the Divine emanation in the ten **Sefirot* ("spheres") and sometimes in a single *Sefirah* such as *Keter* ("crown"), *Ḥokhmah* ("wisdom"), or *Tiferet* ("beauty"). The term "*Adam Kadmon*" is first found in *Sod Yedi'at ha-Meẓi'ut*, an early 13th-century kabbalistic treatise. In the *Tikkunei Zohar*, the Divine Wisdom is called *Adam ha-*

Gadol ("The Great Man"). The spiritual man is hinted at in the verse "a likeness as the appearance of a man" (Ezek. 1:26) which the prophet Ezekiel saw in the vision of the divine chariot. The letters of the Tetragrammaton (see Names of *God) when spelled out in full have the numerical value of 45, as do the letters of the word Adam. In this fact support was found for the revelation of God in the form of a spiritual man (*Midrash Ruth Ne'elam* in the Zohar). In contrast to the First Man Adam, this spiritual man is called in the Zohar proper the *adam kadma'ah ila'ah* ("primordial supreme man"), and in *Tikkunei Zohar* he is called *Adam Kadmon* ("primordial man") or *Adam Kadmon le-khol ha-kedumim* ("prototype of primordial man"). In the Kabbalah of Isaac *Luria, great importance and new significance is given to *Adam Kadmon.* There *Adam Kadmon* signifies the worlds of light which, after the retraction of the light of **Ein-Sof* ("The Infinite"), emanated into primeval space. This *Adam Kadmon* is the most sublime manifestation of the Deity that is to some extent accessible to human meditation. It ranks higher in this system than all four worlds: *Aẓilut* ("emanation"), *Beri'ah* ("creation"), *Yeẓirah* ("formation"), and *Asiyyah* ("making"). The portrayal of this *Adam Kadmon* and his mysteries, and in particular the description of the lights which flow from his ears, mouth, nose, and eyes plays an important role in Ḥayyim *Vital's *Ez Ḥayyim* and in other kabbalistic works of the Lurianic school. Through this theory the mystical anthropomorphism of the school becomes crystallized. This anthropomorphic figure recurs in all the stages and in all the worlds. Consequently there is an *adam de-veriah* ("man of creation"), *adam di-yzirah* ("man of formation"), and an *adam de-asiyyah* ("man of making"). In contrast to *Adam Kadmon*, who is from the holy emanation, stands Satan, from the world of iniquity. In the *Tikkunei Zohar*, and subsequently in the Lurianic Kabbalah, Satan is called *adam beliyya'al* ("evil man"). In the Lurianic Kabbalah, there is no relationship between *Adam Kadmon*, which is the light which transcends all other lights, and the *Messiah. Such a connection was made only in the system of the extreme Shabbateans, who believed in the divinity of the Messiah and regarded *Shabbetai Ẓevi as the incarnation of *Adam Kadmon.* (He figures as such in a number of poems of the sect of the *Doenmeh.)

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[Gershom Scholem]

ADAMS, ARLIN MARVIN (1921–), U.S. jurist, public servant, and legal educator. Born in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, Adams worked for a produce distributor during the Depression to pay for college at Temple University. When he graduated first in his class in 1941, the chair of the political science department took him by trolley to the University of Pennsylvania, where he obtained a full scholarship for the young man by declaring to the law school registrar: "He is the best that we've ever had."

A day after Pearl Harbor, Adams volunteered for the Navy, received a commission, and in 1942 was sent to the north Pacific. After the war, he resumed his studies at Penn, where he served as editor-in-chief of the law review and graduated second in his class in 1947. He completed a clerkship with Horace Stern, probably Pennsylvania's greatest chief justice, and then joined Philadelphia's premier law firm, Schnader, Harrison, Segal and Lewis. Adams earned a reputation as a brilliant, yet humble attorney, and after only three years he became the youngest associate in the firm's history to make partner. At this time, he also earned an M.A. in economics from Temple and Penn.

In 1963, Adams joined Governor William Scranton's cabinet. As Pennsylvania's secretary of public welfare (1963–66), he instituted a medical program for indigents that anticipated Medicaid and developed educational training for poor children that became the prototype for the federal Head Start program. Scranton described Adams as "the ablest and most effective secretary of welfare that this Commonwealth has ever known."

When President Nixon nominated Adams for a seat on the United States Court of Appeals for the Third Circuit, the Senate unanimously approved the selection without holding any hearings. Adams served 18 years on the court (1969–87), earning the highest praise and ensuring himself a place alongside scholar-judges such as Learned Hand and Benjamin *Cardozo. As with Hand, appointment to the United States Supreme Court eluded Adams, although he was three times on the short list for selection to the High Court. While Adams wrote landmark opinions in several areas, his most enduring legacy came in decisions involving the First Amendment religion clauses. His erudite, careful opinions possessed a Burkian quality, striking a balance between the nation's commitment to institutional separation between church and state and recognition of a vital role for religion in public life. In a concurring opinion in *Malnak v. Yogi* (1979), Adams led the way in defining "religion" for constitutional purposes, fashioning a three-part test that widely influenced courts in America and in other nations.

In 1987, the indefatigable Adams returned to the Schnader firm, where he continued to accept major public duties, most notably as independent counsel (1990–95) to investigate irregularities in President Reagan's Department of Housing and Urban Development and as trustee in the New Era proceedings (1995), then the largest non-profit bankruptcy case in U.S. history. Adams achieved unparalleled results in both cases, securing 16 criminal convictions or guilty pleas in the HUD scandal and obtaining a collection rate of over 90 percent in New Era, thereby saving numerous charities from financial ruin.

Throughout his life, Adams faithfully served academia, the community, and his religion. He held positions as chairman of Penn Law School's Board of Overseers (1985–92); president of the American Philosophical Society (1993–96), founded in 1743 by Benjamin Franklin; and president of Kneseth Israel, one of Philadelphia's oldest synagogues. For almost three decades, Adams taught a Freedom of Religion seminar at Penn Law School. The course inspired Adams to write numerous articles and *A Nation Dedicated to Religious Liberty*, a groundbreaking book that resurrected William Penn as a champion of religious freedom and asserted that the core value of the religion clauses was religious liberty, not separation of church and state.

In 2004, Penn Law School recognized "a lifetime of dedicated public service" by endowing a chair in constitutional law in his name. When he received the esteemed Philadelphia Award in 1997, Justice Sandra Day O'Connor said: "[Adams] has accomplished more in his lifetime than a hundred ordinary heroes combined. … He saw that the rule of law had to be administered with a spirit of compassion and a caring for those in need."

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[Charles J. Emmerich (2nd ed.)]

ADAMS, FRANKLIN PIERCE (1881–1960), U.S. newspaper columnist known by his byline "F.P.A." and noted for his wit and erudition. Born in Chicago, he started his daily column "The Conning Tower" in the New York *Tribune* in 1914. It appeared successively in the *World*, the *Herald-Tribune*, and the *Post*.

A member of the illustrious Algonquin Round Table, Adams lunched every day in the 1920s and 1930s at a round table at New York City's Algonquin Hotel with a group of some of the most brilliant writers of that period. They traded quips and critiques, many of them still repeated today. The group was formed at the suggestion of Dorothy *Parker, who was living in the Algonquin Hotel at the time. There was no formal membership, so people came and went, but the primary early members included Parker, Adams, Robert Benchley, Alexander Woollcott, George S. *Kaufman, Edna *Ferber, and Harpo *Marx. Others visited as well, including actors and entertainers such as Douglas Fairbanks, George *Gershwin, Irving *Berlin, Jascha *Heifitz, Moss *Hart, Budd *Schulberg, and Oscar *Hammerstein. But most of the Round Table members were critics. Outspoken and outrageous, they would exchange ideas and gossip, which found their way into Adams' "Conning Tower" column in the *Tribune* the next day. Though society columns referred to them as the Algonquin Round Table, they called themselves the Vicious Circle. "By force of character," observed drama critic Brooks Atkinson, "they changed the nature of American comedy and established the tastes of a new period in the arts and theater."

Adams' epigrams, verse, and parodies were reprinted extensively, and his weekly *Diary of Our Own Samuel Pepys* is regarded as historical source material. His appearances on *Information Please* on radio and TV (1939–52) had a large following.

[Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

°**ADAMS, HANNAH** (1755–1831), considered the first American woman professional writer. Hannah Adams' early interest in religion led to her *Dictionary of All Religions and Religious Denominations* (1817^4), a superficial compilation, but significant for the sympathetic tone of the article on Jews. In a later, more careful work, *History of the Jews from the Destruction of Jerusalem to the Present Time* (1812), she relied on contemporary historical and demographic information prepared by Jewish correspondents. The chapter concerning the Jews in the New World is of particular interest, and has been reprinted and translated into German and Hebrew.

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[Joseph L. Blau]

°**ADAMS, JOHN** (1735–1826), first vice president (1789–97) and second president (1797–1801) of the United States. Adams, a champion of religious freedom and separation of church and state, was also a fervent admirer of the Old Testament in the tradition of his New England ancestors, and a Judeophile. In a letter written to Mordecai Manuel *Noah in 1818 he remarked: "I wish your nation may be admitted to all the privileges of citizens in every country of the world. This country has done much. I wish it may do more, and annul every narrow idea in religion, government and commerce." In the course of his lengthy correspondence with Thomas Jefferson during the last two decades of his life, Adams exhibited a steady interest in the religious philosophy of the Jews. He advocated that Hebraic studies become part of a classical education, and in a codicil to his will four years before his death he bequeathed land for the erection of a school in which he expressed the hope that Hebrew would be taught together with Latin and Greek. In a characteristic attack on Voltaire's derogatory attitude toward the Bible and the Jewish people, he wrote to his friend Judge Francis Adrian van der Kemp in 1808: "How is it possible this old fellow should represent the Hebrews in such a contemptible light? They are the most glorious Nation that ever inhabited this Earth. The Romans and their Empire were but a Bauble in comparison of the Jews. They have given Religion to three quarters of the Globe and have influenced the affairs of Mankind more, and more happily than any other Nation, ancient or modern."

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[Isidore S. Meyer]

ADAMS, THEODORE L. (1915–1984), U.S. rabbi. Adams was the epitome of the emerging modern Orthodox rabbis in America during much of the 20th century. Born in Bangor, Maine, he was the son of the town *shoḥet*. His pious immigrant parents sent their son to New York for a proper Jewish education. After studying at Yeshiva Torah Vodaath, he went to Yeshiva College (B.A., 1936) and continued for *semikhah* at

Yeshiva's Rabbi Isaac Elchanan Theological Seminary (1938). He occupied pulpits in Congregation Mt. Sinai in Jersey City and Congregation Ohab Zedek in Manhattan. In these he transformed the congregations from their old-style European immigrant milieu into modern Orthodoxy.

With a commanding presence dressed in self-confidence, he attracted the attention of many Jewish causes. His rabbinic colleagues elected him to the presidencies of the *Rabbinical Council of America and the interdenominational *Synagogue Council of America. In his later years, he earned a Ph.D. in Jewish education and joined the staff of *Touro College.

[Jeanette Friedman (2nd ed.)]

ADANI, DAVID BEN AMRAM (13th or 14th century), Yemenite rabbi and scholar. An ancient source calls him "David b. Amram, the *nagid* from the city of Aden." It is not clear whether the title referred to David or his father. **Nagid*, however, was a title borne by the leader of the Jewish community of Aden from the 12th century. Adani was a renowned scribe whose copies of the Pentateuch were much sought after because of their exactness. He is the compiler of the **Midrash ha-Gadol*.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: HB, 20 (1880), 135ff.; Steinschneider, Arab Lit, no. 205, n. 2.

[Yehuda Ratzaby]

ADANI, DAVID BEN YESHA HA-LEVI (15th century), Yemenite commentator on Maimonides. His works include Arabic glossaries which explain difficult phrases in Maimonides' *Mishneh Torah* and a commentary on the Mishnah.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Y. Ratzaby, in: KS, 28 (1952/53), 276.

[Yehuda Ratzaby]

ADANI, MAHALAL (originally **Mahallal ben Shalom ben Jacob**; 1883–1950), Yemenite scholar and industrialist. His wife, Hannah, was the daughter of Judah Moses, president of the Aden Jewish community (1922–24). Mahalal was a singular figure in the Aden Jewish community, being both learned and an entrepreneur. He obtained his general and Jewish education auto-didactically and set up factories for cigarettes and ice. Mahalal visited Ereẓ Israel in 1895 and 1903, and after fulfilling a central role in strengthening the community's connections with the Zionist movement and in establishing a modern educational system, he finally immigrated to Ereẓ Israel in 1930. Adani continued his business activities in Ereẓ Israel but devoted most of his time to the study of religious, philosophical, and historical texts. He left behind dozens of handwritten essays, including commentaries on most of the biblical books; an interpretation of Rabbi *Kook's *Orot ha-Kodesh*; and a philosophical novel entitled *Rayon Ru'aḥ*. During his lifetime he published only two books: *Or ha-Ḥozer* (1940) on Ecclesiastes and *Bein Aden ve-Teiman* ("Between Aden and Yemen," 1947, 1988^2), which was edited by D. Sadan. From 1988 his books were brought to press by Y. Tobi. These include his commentaries: *Job* (1993); *Song of Songs, Proverbs, and Ecclesiastes* (1997); *Psalms, Pirkei Avot, Ruth, Lamentations, and Esther* (1998); *Ha-Nefesh ha-Ḥayyah* and *Ru'aḥ ha-Kodesh* (2001); and *Pirkei Mikra* (2004).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Y. Tobi, in: Mahalal ha-Adani, *Bein Aden ve-Teiman*, II, 357–424, 479–513.

[Yosef Tobi (2nd ed.)]

ADANI, MIZRAḤI SHALOM (second half of 19th century), kabbalist and scholar. The appellation Mizraḥi was given to Adani because of his eastern Yemenite origin. In manhood he immigrated to Jerusalem where he joined the kabbalistic circle of the *bet ha-midrash* Bet El. He wrote *Sukkat Shalom* ("Tabernacle of Peace," 1891), novellae on the tractate *Bava Kamma*, the introduction to which contains a description of his adventures on his way to Ereẓ Israel; and *Shelom Yerushalayim* ("The Peace of Jerusalem," 1899), novellae on the *Eẓ Ḥayyim* of R. Ḥayyim *Vital, as well as some others on the kabbalistic writings of R. Shalom *Sharabi. He used a wealth of sources, the Babylonian and Jerusalem Talmuds, the halakhic authorities, and the responsa literature.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Y. Ratzaby, in: KS, 28 (1952/53), 269, no. 81, 398, no. 193.

[Yehuda Ratzaby]

ADANI, SAADIAH BEN DAVID (**Saʿid ibn Daud**, known also as **al-Yamanī al-Rabbānī**; 15th century), talmudist. Adani lived in Damascus, Aleppo, and Safed. His works, written in Judeo-Arabic, deal with subjects studied in the Yemenite communities: Midrash, *halakhah*, and lunar intercalation. *Najāt al-Ghāriqīn* ("The Salvation of the Drowning") and *Zafenat Paneʿaḥ* ("Deciphering Mysteries") are aggadic and halakhic commentaries on the Pentateuch and the Sabbath readings from the Prophets. At the request of students Saadiah wrote a commentary on Maimonides' *Mishneh Torah*. Adani used the form of catechism popular among the Jews of Yemen. He prepared an Arabic calendar entitled *al-Jādwalavn* which contains a philosophic poem. In his writings, he shows familiarity with the practices of Yemenite Jewry, although he did not live there. It is noteworthy that this 15th century Yemenite scholar could state: "Thank God the belief in *shedim* ('demons and devils') has ceased, like other superstitions and magical practices. I have enlarged on this matter only because most European Jews and some also in these countries still cling to many preposterous beliefs."

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Steinschneider, Arab Lit, 202; S. Assaf, in: KS, 22 (1945/46), 240–4.

[Yehuda Ratzaby]

ADANI, SAMUEL BEN JOSEPH (**Yeshua**; 1863–?), author. Adani's grandfather, R. Yeshua, was the head of the Jewish rabbinical court in Aden and his mother's grandfather, R. Shilo, was a member of it. In 1878 he married the granddaughter of Menaḥem Mansur, then head of the Jewish court. Adani was a great scholar and studied the Kabbalah with Aden's rabbis. He visited Ereẓ Israel in 1899 and 1902. His book *Naḥalat Yosef* (Jerusalem, 1906) is the most important work of Adenese scholarship. This work is to some extent an encyclopedia in two parts: (a) General instruction in Jewish tradition – Hebrew grammar, *halakhah,* angelology, paradise, astronomy, etc. Though the author asserts that enlightenment does not threaten tradition, he takes a definite position against the Jewish philosophers and educators in the new age, who prefer the conclusions of research and Aristotelian views to Jewish tradition (1, 14, 70a–77b). On the other hand, he opposes those who presume to be too strict with the laws of Judaism (1, 15, 77a–85b). (b) The traditions of Adenese Jewry during the year and the life cycle, an account of his family, a description of his visits to Ereẓ Israel, and riddles and jokes as well as his poetry. The chapter about his family is the main source on the Aden community in the 19th century.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: R. Ahroni, *Yehudei Aden* (1991), 188–95; idem, *The Jews of the British Crown Colony of Aden* (1994), 170–72.

[Yosef Tobi (2nd ed.)]

ADAR (Heb. אֲדָר), the post-Exilic name (of Assyrian origin) of the 12th month in the Jewish year. Occurring in Assyrian inscriptions and also in Hebrew and Aramaic biblical records (Esth. 3:7 with seven parallels; Ezra 6:15), it is held to be identical with the first element in the compound proper name *Adrammelech of a patricidal son of *Sennacherib (II Kings 19:37; Isa. 37:38) and of the Molech-like idol worshiped by the Sepharvite ancestors of the Samaritans (II Kings 17:31). The zodiacal sign of this month is Pisces. In some years an extra month is added to the year (see *Calendar) which is called Adar *Sheni* ("Second Adar" or *ve*-Adar – so vocalized against a firm rule in Hebrew vocalization). In such years the original month is called Adar *Rishon* ("First Adar"). The addition of a second Adar raises problems with regard to the celebration of *bar mitzvah and the observance of **Yahrzeit* and the recitation of **Kaddish*. The law is as follows: A boy born in Adar of a regular year but whose 13th year is a leap year celebrates his bar mitzvah in Adar II (Sh. Ar., OḤ 55:10). For a person deceased in Adar of a regular year, the *Yahrzeit* in a leap year is observed in Adar I; there are, however, conflicting opinions in this and it is suggested that *Kaddish* be recited also in Adar II (*ibid.* 568:7). In the present fixed Jewish calendar, the month consists of 29 days in regular years while in leap years Adar I consists of 30 days and Adar II of 29 days. The first day of Adar (of Adar II in a leap year) never falls on Sunday, Tuesday, or Thursday. In the 20th century Adar in its earliest occurrence extends from February 12 to March 11 or 12 and in its latest from March 2 to 30 while the 59 days of Adar I with Adar II extend from February 2 to March 31 or April 1 at the earliest and from February 11 to April 9 or 10 at the latest.

Memorable days in Adar (Adar II in leap years) comprise: (a) The Four Special Sabbaths (*Shekalim* may be read on the Sabbath before Adar I and *ha-Ḥodesh* on Nisan 1, but invariably Sabbaths *Zakhor* and *Parah* fall in Adar). (b) The seventh of Adar, the anniversary of the death of Moses as calculated from Deuteronomy 34:8 and Joshua 1:11; 3:2; and 4:19, observed as a fast (Meg. Ta'an. 13, ed. Neubauer). According to tradition Adar 7 was also the date of Moses' birth (see *Adar, the Seventh of). (c, d) Adar 9 and 24 once observed as fasts (*ibid.*) commemorating the fateful controversies between the Schools of Shammai and Hillel (Shab. 17a) and the leprosy which befell King Uzziah (II Kings 15:5; II Chron. 26:19–21). (e) Nicanor Day on Adar 13 at first observed as a feast commemorating the Hasmonean victory over the Syrian general Nicanor (I Macc. 7:49; II Macc. 15:36; Meg. Ta'an. 12) and subsequently observed as the Fast of *Esther preliminary to Purim (*Piskei ha-Rosh*, Meg. 1:1). (f, g) *Purim and Shushan Purim on Adar 14–15. (h) The 16th of Adar was not to be a day of mourning for on that day they commenced to build the walls of Jerusalem (Meg. Ta'an. 12); by order of Nehemiah or perhaps under the Maccabees. (i) The 17th was a feast commemorating the miraculous escape of the Sages of Israel from their Herodian or Roman enemies. (j) The 20th was a feast day because on that day Onias (*Ḥoni ha-Me'aggel) effected deliverance from a drought (*ibid.*). These invest the whole month with a joyful character, hence the talmudic ruling "When Adar comes in, gladness is increased" (Ta'an. 29a).

[Ephraim Jehudah Wiesenberg]

ADAR, THE SEVENTH OF, anniversary of both the birth and death of Moses according to talmudic tradition (Meg. 13b; Kid. 38a, etc.). The date is derived from a comparison of biblical dates (Deut. 34:8; Josh. 1:11; 3:3; 4:19; Jos., Ant., 4:327, gives the first day of Adar as the day of Moses' death). In Oriental communities it became a day of fasting and commemoration for the pious because of the belief that a spark of the soul of Moses is found in every righteous person. In medieval Egypt the date signaled a central event in the life of the community. During the preceding Hanukkah, messengers were sent to all Jews in the area to invite them to come to celebrations at the ancient synagogue in the village of *Dumuh near Cairo which, according to tradition, was erected 40 years before the destruction of the First Temple on the spot where Moses had prayed before going to Pharaoh. The seventh of Adar was a day of prayer and supplication. The eighth was a day of celebration, apparently of a "carnival" nature. To insure the serious aspect of the festivities, the rabbis of Egypt enacted certain prohibitions. Women must be accompanied by their husband, brother, or grown son; men and women were separated in seating; dancing, singing, and the putting on of plays or "shadow shows" (a sort of puppet show) were forbidden. While this observance was later discontinued, Sephardi Jews still light candles for the "ascension of the souls of the righteous" on the seventh of Adar. Some communities recite special *piyyutim* on this date and also on Simḥat Torah, when the biblical account of Moses' death is read in the synagogue. Among these are "Cry! O Jochebed, with a bitter, hard voice!

Sinai, Sinai, where is Moses?!" (Davidson, Oẓar, 4 (1933), 371); "Be graceful to us, O Lord because of the merit of Moses" (*ibid.*, 3 (1930), 416); and "Happy art thou, O Mount Abarim, over all the high mountains" (*ibid.*, 1 (1924), 8446). In 17th-century Turkey and Italy (and later also in Northern Egypt) it became customary in some circles to observe this date as a fast day, and to recite portions from a special *tikkun* (selected passages from Scripture, Mishnah, and Zohar), compiled by Samuel *Aboab of Venice. In Eastern and Central Europe, as well as in the United States, this day was observed by the members of the *ḥevra kaddisha* as a fast day which was terminated by a special banquet at which new members were admitted and a new board elected. After the *Minḥah* service in the synagogue, the rabbis used to eulogize Moses and all famous rabbis and Jewish scholars who had passed away during the preceding year. The day is still widely celebrated in Orthodox communities. In Israel, it has been officially designated as the day for commemorating the death of Israeli soldiers whose last resting place is unknown.

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ADAR, ZVI (1917–1991), Israel educator. Adar was born in Petaḥ Tikvah and became a teacher at the Bet ha-Kerem teachers' seminary in Jerusalem (1938–53). He subsequently taught at the School of Education at the Hebrew University where he became a professor. He interested himself in the speculative aspects involved with Jewish identity in the past and its meaning in the present, transmitting his thoughts to the younger generation through the medium of education. He wrote extensively, his most important work being *Ha-Arakhim ha-Ḥinnukhiyyim shel ha-Tanakh* (1954; *Humanistic Values in the Bible*, 1968). In this work Adar attempted to use literary analysis to reveal the educational values in the biblical narrative. As the Bible was one of the main subjects of instruction in the Israel educational system Adar tried to show how the Bible could be used as a means for character education. He also wrote *The Book of Genesis: An Introduction to the Biblical Word* (1990). He was one of the editors of the *Enẓiklopedyah Ḥinnukhit* (1961–69). He also wrote *Ha-Mikẓo ot ha-Humanistim ba-Ḥinnukh ha-Tikhon* (1969), and on Jewish education in Israel and the U.S. in his book *Ha-Ḥinnukh ha-Yehudi be-Yisrael u-ve-Arẓot ha-Berit* (1970; *Jewish Education in Israel and the United States*, 1977). In 1969 he was appointed dean of the faculty of humanities at the Hebrew University.

ADARBI, ISAAC BEN SAMUEL (1510?–1584?), rabbi and halakhic authority. Adarbi was preacher of the congregation of Lisbon Jews in Salonika and later rabbi of the Congregation Shalom, Salonika (before 1554). He was a disciple of Joseph *Taitaẓak (whose novellae he published as an appendix to his own work) and was a colleague of Samuel b. Moses de Medina. His efforts to unite the various Salonikan communities were reflected in his *Divrei Shalom* (Salonika, 1580), a collection of 30 of his sermons. He appended homiletic comments to the Pentateuch, some chapters of which (on Exodus) are preserved in the Guenzburg Manuscripts (Moscow) No. 158. Four hundred and thirty of his responsa were published in *Divrei Rivot* (Salonika, 1581; republished Venice, 1587; Sudzilkon, 1833). These responsa show that he was a halakhist of distinction, fearless in his judgments, and often differing in his decisions from Samuel de Medina, who in his turn attributed hostile personal motives to Adarbi (Responsa Maharashdam, ḤM No. 40). Nevertheless, they approved each other's halakhic rulings.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Benjacob, Oẓar, 106, no. 121, 130; Rosanes, Togarmah, 2 (1938), 102; I.S. Emmanuel, *Histoire des Israélites de Salonique*, 1 (1936), 184–5; idem, *Maẓẓevot Saloniki*, 1 (1963), 159–60; M.S. Goodblatt, *Jewish Life in Turkey in the 16th Century* (1952), 18, passim.

[Abraham Hirsch Rabinowitz]

ADASA (Heb. חֲדָשָׁה, *Ḥadashah*). (1) A village on a small hill strategically overlooking the Beth-Horon road close to the place of Judah Maccabee's final victory over Nicanor. Nicanor fell in the battle and his army fled toward Gazera/Gezer (I Macc. 7:39–40, 45; cf. Elasa which is probably a scribal error for Adasa in II Macc. 14:6). The town is mentioned in the Mishnah as a place with 50 inhabitants, or with three courtyards and two households (Er. 5:6). It is the present-day Khirbet 'Adasa, a little more than 5 mi. (9 km.) north of Jerusalem. The site has not been excavated, but visible archaeological remains include the remains of a settlement with scattered Herodian, Roman, and Byzantine pottery, rock-hewn caves, and agricultural features round about. This site is not to be confused with another Khirbet 'Adasa north of Jerusalem, situated immediately to the northeast of Tell el-Ful, mentioned by some scholars, which has remains that only date back to Mamluk times. Yet another Khirbet 'Adasa is situated west of Gibeon (el-Jib), but the remains there are primarily of the Byzantine period. (2) Ḥadashah/Adasa is also the name of a town in the Shephelah of Judah. It is mentioned in Joshua 15:37 and located close to Migdal-Gad and Zenan. Since Lachish and Eglon are referred to in the same district, Adasa's location should probably be sought in southwest Judah. However, no convincing suggestion has thus far been proposed for the site. Eusebius (26:1) situated Adasa of Joshua 15:37 at a totally different location, close to Gophna (Jifna), but Jerome (27:1) rightly expressed his doubts about this identification.

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[Shimon Gibson (2nd ed.)]

ADASKIN, MURRAY (1905–2002), Canadian violinist, conductor, composer, teacher. Adaskin was born in Toronto of Russian immigrant parents. He studied music in Toronto and while still in his teens became a violinist with the Toronto Symphony Orchestra (1923–36). He played with the Banff Springs Trio (1932–41) and Toronto Trio (1938–52). Adaskin was a major figure in the decentralization of Canadian concert music. From the 1930s to 1950s, he toured the country with his wife, Frances James, Canada's leading soprano, and both were pioneers in disseminating contemporary music by radio broadcasting.

After studying composition with John Weinzweig (1944) and, in Santa Barbara and Aspen with Charles Jones (1949–51) and Darius Milhaud (1949–53), Adaskin was appointed to the University of Saskatchewan (1952–72). There he served as head of music and composer-in-residence and conducted the Saskatoon Symphony Orchestra (SSO). In 1973, he moved to Victoria, where he continued to compose and teach violin and composition.

A leader in postwar cultural nationalism, Adaskin insisted that the SSO commission Canadian works annually and based many of his own pieces on Canada's landscape and early history as well as its First Nations' traditions. A conservative modernist, Adaskin's neo-classic works also include music on Jewish themes. His *T'filat Shalom* (1973) was commissioned by the father of Adaskin's violin student Jeff Krolik who premiered the piece in Jerusalem.

A founding member of the Canadian League of Composers, Adaskin served on the Canada Council (1966–69) and was named an Officer of the Order of Canada (1980).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: G. Lazarevich, *The Musical World of Frances James and Murray Adaskin* (1988).

[Jay Rahn (2nd ed.)]

ADASS JESHURUN, ADASS JISROEL, originally the breakaway (*Austritt*) minority of Orthodox congregations in Germany in the mid-19th century (see *Neo-Orthodoxy). These congregations dissociated themselves on religious grounds from the unitary congregations established by state law in which the majority tended toward *Reform Judaism. Their main aim was to safeguard strict adherence to Jewish law. The Hebrew terms *Adass* (or *Adat*, *Adath*) *Jeshurun* and *Adass Jisroel*, meaning "congregation of Jeshurun" and "congregation of Israel," were chosen by these congregations to express their conviction that, even if in the minority, they were the "true Israel." The names were cherished for their socioreligious connotations by Orthodox groups in the West where Reform Judaism was widespread. The Israelitische Religionsgesellschaft of Frankfurt on the Main, with Samson Raphael *Hirsch as rabbi, called itself Adass Jeshurun from 1851, as did a similar community in Cologne from 1867. The congregation founded in Berlin in 1869, the first rabbi of which was Azriel *Hildesheimer, and one in Koenigsberg in 1913, chose the name Adass Jisroel. The Berlin Adass Jisroel established its own educational network. Between 1890 and 1903 there was an Adass Jeshurun congregation in Belfast, composed of immigrants from Russia. In England, the strictly Orthodox congregation which grew out of the north London *bet ha-midrash* (1909) was called Adath Yisroel. After 1933, immigrants from Germany, loyal to the concept of Adass Jisroel, formed a congregation in northwest London; Manchester has both an Adass Jeshurun and an Adass Jisroel synagogue. Such communities have also been formed in various places in the United States, the best-known in Washington Heights, New York City. Others exist in Canada, Australia, South Africa, and Israel. The names have also been used by other groups, e.g., by the Reform Adass Jeshurun in Amsterdam in 1796. The synagogue of an Adas Israel congregation in Louisville, Ky., was consecrated in 1849.

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[Alexander Carlebach]

ADDA BAR AHAVAH (**Aḥavah**).

(1) Babylonian *amora* of the third century. He was born on the day R. Judah ha-Nasi died (Kid. 72a–b; Gen. R. 58:2). A distinguished pupil of Rav, he twice rent his garments in mourning for Rav's death; the second time, when he realized that there was now no authority to consult on halakhic matters (Ber. 42b–43a). His main interest centered on *halakhah*, which is reported in his name by the leading sages of his day. He was extremely pious and reputed to work miracles; his contemporaries were convinced that in his company no hurt would befall them (Ta'an. 20b). During a drought his prayers for rain were answered immediately (TJ, Ta'an. 3:13, 67a). When asked by the sages how he had attained a ripe old age, he replied: "No one ever came to synagogue before me, or remained behind when I left. I have not walked four cubits without meditating on the Torah, and never in an unclean place. I have not indulged in regular sleep. I have not disturbed my colleagues at the academy, nor called any of them by a nickname. I have not rejoiced at a colleague's misfortune, nor gone to sleep with an angry thought against a colleague. I have not gone in the market place to anyone who owed me money, nor ever lost my temper at home" (TJ, Ta'an. 3:13, 67a; cf. Ta'an. 20b). Another dictum is: "One who has sinned and confesses his sin but is unrepentant is to be compared to a person who holds in his hand an unclean insect. Even though he immerses himself in all the waters of the world, nothing avails him" (Ta'an. 16a). In TJ, Ta'anit 2:1, 65a this statement with slight variations is ascribed to Abba b. Zavda. A work entitled *Baraita* (*Tekufah*) *de-Rav Adda* dealing with the principles of intercalation is ascribed to Adda. It is no longer extant, but it was still known in the 14th century (Zunz-Albeck, Derashot 274).

(2) Babylonian *amora* of the fourth century. A favorite pupil of Rava who called him "my son," he esteemed his teacher so highly that he said to his colleagues: "Instead of

gnawing bones under Abbaye, you should rather eat fat meat under Rava" (BB 22a), Many of the rabbis blamed themselves for his premature death because of their treatment of him (*ibid.*).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Hyman, Toledot, 102–3; Frankel, Mevo, 61b.

[Yitzhak Dov Gilat]

ADDIR BI-MELUKHAH (Heb. אַדִּיר בִּמְלוּכָה; "Mighty in Kingship"), acrostical hymn recited toward the close of the Passover *seder* in the Ashkenazi and some other rites. It enumerates various attributes of God in the first two lines of each strophe, followed by a list of the various types of angels and the praises which they voice.

The hymn is first found in German manuscripts of the early 13th century and was probably written in Germany about that time.

In the *Eẓ Ḥayyim* of the 13th-century Jacob Ḥazzan of London (edited by I. Brodie, 1 (1960), 332), an additional stanza gives the acrostic Jacob, and conceivably this author wrote the poem.

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ADDIR HU (Heb. אַדִּיר הוּא; "Mighty is He"), a hymn in the form of an alphabetic acrostic enumerating the qualities of God (mighty, blessed, great), and imploring Him to rebuild the Temple, a prayer which is repeated in the refrain:

"Speedily, speedily/In our days, and soon to come;/ Build, O God! Build, O God/ Build Thy house speedily."

Addir Hu is one of several hymns added to the Passover *Haggadah* in the Middle Ages to be chanted after the conclusion of the formal part of the *seder* service according to the Ashkenazi rite. Since the 16th century *Addir Hu* appears in printed texts. A Judeo-German version recited by Ashkenazi Jews was first printed in Gershom b. Solomon ha-Kohen's *Haggadah* (Prague, 1527). Because of the refrain in that version (*Bau dein Tempel shire*) the Jews of southern and western Germany called the *seder* night "*Baunacht*" and the celebrating of the *seder* "*bauen,*" i.e., to build. In the Avignon *Maḥzor* (1775) it is recited on all festivals.

[Ernst Daniel Goldschmidt]

Music

Only in the Ashkenazi tradition is *Addir Hu* given greater prominence than the other *Haggadah* songs. It is sung to basically the same tune in all Jewish homes, and this is used in the synagogue as a musical motif of the festival. The music appeared in print as early as 1644 but may be even older, since one of its variants is in a Shtayger scale with a diminished seventh. In the 18th century it was often quoted in cantorial Passover compositions. In the synagogue, the tune is used in various parts of the service, including the **Hallel*, the **Kaddish* over the Scroll of the Law, and the Priestly Benediction. The domestic versions introduce many variations, abbreviations, and distortions characteristic of folk music.

[Hanoch Avenary]

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ADEL (**Hodel**), only daughter of *Israel b. Eliezer Ba'al Shem Tov. Ḥasidim recall her name with veneration and she figures in many ḥasidic legends. She cared for her father on his sickbed. Her husband Jehiel Ashkenazi was honored by contemporary Ḥasidim and by his father-in-law. The couple earned their living from the store which she supervised. She was the mother of the *ẓaddikim* *Moses Ḥayyim Ephraim of Sudylkow and *Baruch of Medzibezh. Her daughter, Feige, the wife of Simhah b. Nahman of Gorodenka (Horodenca), was the mother of *Naḥman of Bratslav who said of his grandmother that "all the *ẓaddikim* believed her to be endowed with Divine Inspiration, and a woman of great perception."

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[Mordecai Ben-Yehezkiel]

ADELAIDE, capital of South Australia, established in 1836. Among its first settlers were a number of Jews engaged in commerce and sheep farming. Joseph Barrow Montefiore, a cousin of Sir Moses *Montefiore, who became in 1832 the first president of the Sydney Synagogue, lived in Adelaide at the time of the founding of the synagogue there. Local Jewish life was stimulated after 1838 by Emanuel Solomon from Sydney, who organized religious services on the New Year and the Day of Atonement and in 1845 successfully applied to the government for land for a cemetery. In 1847 Eliezer Levi Montefiore sought state support for Jewish religious institutions. In 1848 there were 58 Jews living in Adelaide, and the first congregation was organized with Judah Moss Solomon as its president. J.B. Montefiore gave addresses in English during the High Holidays. The first synagogue, used also as a schoolroom, was opened in 1850 and the present one, adjoining it, in 1870, when the community numbered 435. A.T. *Boas was invited to act as minister in 1870 and served for nearly half a century. Vabian Louis *Solomon, son of Judah Moss Solomon, was premier of the colony for a brief period in 1898. The community declined considerably in numbers after World War I, but there was a subsequent increase, especially with the emigration of Jews from Egypt after the mid-1950s. Since the 1960s the Jewish population of Adelaide has numbered about 1,200, although, unlike most other Jewish communities in Australia, there has been a decline in population in recent years. In 2001, according to the Australian census, 979 persons declared themselves to be Jewish by religion. An Orthodox and a Liberal synagogue operated. There were no other organized Jewish communities in South Australia apart from Adelaide, where the South Australian Board of Deputies had its headquarters.

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[Israel Porush / William D. Rubinstein (2nd ed.)]

ADELANTADOS (singular **Adelantado** or **Adelantatus**), one of the designations applied in documents of Christian *Spain to the *parnasim*, elective members of the Jewish community board who were invested with executive authority. They are sometimes referred to in Castile as *viejos* (Heb. *zekenim;* "elders") or *muquddāmin*, in Catalonia as *fideles* (Heb. *ne'manin*; "trustees"), and in Aragon and Navarre both as *muqaddāmin* and as *jurados.*

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Neuman, Spain, index s.v. *mukkadmin.*

ADELKIND, ISRAEL CORNELIUS (16th century), Italian printer. Adelkind was the son of a German immigrant who settled in Padua. He worked in the publishing house of Daniel *Bomberg in Venice from the time of its establishment, except for intervals at other Venetian publishers, such as Dei Farri (1544; where one of his brothers and later his son Daniel also worked) and Giustiniani (1549–52). Adelkind greatly admired the Bomberg family, adding the name of Daniel Bomberg's father, Cornelius, to his own, and named his son after Daniel himself.

Adelkind supervised the publication of the first editions of the two Talmuds (1520–23), which Bomberg printed, and the *Midrash Rabbah* (1554) printed jointly by Bomberg and Giustiniani. In 1553 the printer Tobias Foa invited Adelkind to manage a printing press in Sabbioneta and, in particular, to supervise the publication of the Talmud. However, a ban was imposed on the Talmud in 1553 after only a few tractates had appeared. Nevertheless, he remained with the firm until 1555 and took part in the publication of other works. He also printed books in Judeo-German, e.g., Elijah Levita's translation of the Psalms (1545). The statement of a Christian contemporary that Adelkind was converted to Christianity is questionable.

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[Abraham Meir Habermann]

ADELMAN, URI (1958–2004), Israeli writer. Adelman studied and later taught musicology at Tel Aviv University, wrote for the stage and for television, and published four books on computers. His reputation rests on four thrillers, all of them bestsellers, which combine wit, erudition, and suspense. The first, "Concerto for Spy and Orchestra" (1993), intertwines espionage and musicology within the confines of the Pravoslav church in Jerusalem. "Lost and Found" (1998) was followed by "Tropic of Venus" (2000), a story of love and mysterious identities which won Israel's Golden Book Prize. Adelman's last novel, published shortly before his sudden death, is entitled *Sha'ot Metot* ("Dead Hours"), a thriller played out against the background of the Intifada, in which a young surgeon who wishes to save lives finds himself accused of homicide.

WEBSITE: www.ithl.org.il.

[Anat Feinberg (2nd ed.)]

ADELSON, HOWARD LAURENCE (1925–2003), U.S. medieval historian. Born in New York, Adelson taught at Princeton, served with the U.S. Air Force in the Korean War, and then joined the faculty of City College, New York. He began teaching economic history, early medieval history, and ancient and medieval numismatics in 1954 and remained there for nearly 50 years. He developed the Ph.D. program in medieval history at the Graduate Center at City University of New York (1969). He was also an officer of the National Committee on American Foreign Policy.

An ardent Zionist active in Jewish affairs, he served, from 1994, as co-chair of American Academics for Israel's Future; was on the Board of Governors of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem; chaired the Academic Affairs Committee of the University's Rothenberg International School; and, in the last ten years of his life, was chairman of the Anna Sobel Levy Foundation, which supports junior U.S. military officers studying Israel. For more than 20 years he wrote a weekly column for the *Jewish Press* that had a large following. Adelson was active as well in the American Numismatic Society and did research in medieval economic history and political thought. Among his achievements was the discovery, by analyzing the movement of coins, that there had been trade between the eastern and western halves of the Byzantine Empire. Adelson's books include: *Light Weight Solidi and Byzantine Trade during the Sixth and Seventh Centuries* (1957); *The American Numismatic Society 1858–1958* (1958); and *Medieval Commerce* (1962).

[Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

ADELSTEIN-ROZEANU, ANGELICA (1921–2006), Romanian table tennis player; considered the greatest female table tennis player in history, winning 18 world titles, including six straight singles championships from 1950 to 1955. Born in Bucharest, Romania, Adelstein-Rozeanu was the first Romanian woman to win a world title in any sport. She began playing at the age of nine and won her first title in competitive play at the age of 12. She won the Romanian National Women's Championship in 1936 at age 15 and won it every year until 1957 excluding the war years. In addition to her run of individual world titles, she picked up seven gold medals in women's and mixed doubles between 1950 and 1956 and helped Romania win the team championship in 1950, 1951, 1953, 1955, and 1956. Adelstein-Rozeanu served as president of the Romanian Table Tennis Commission from 1950 to 1960, and in 1954 was awarded the Merited Master of Sport, the highest sports distinction in Romania. She also received four Order of Work honors from her government. Adelstein-Rozeanu moved to Israel in 1960, where she won the Maccabiah Games Table Tennis Championship in 1961 and the Israeli national championship in 1960–1962.

[Elli Wohlgelernter (2nd ed.)]

ADEN, port and city in S.W. Arabia, now part of the Federation of South Arabia, possibly identical with the Eden referred to in Ezekiel 27:23. Aden had a medieval Jewish community of great importance for the history of Jewish letters. It reached its peak during the 12th century. About 150 letters and documents written in, sent to, or concerning Aden were found in the Cairo *Genizah*. In addition, Yemenite Jews of that period communicated with other Jewish communities via Aden. By the end of the 11th century there was a "representative of the merchants" in Aden, Abu Ali Hasan (Heb. Japheth) ibn Bundar (probably a name of Persian origin). He bore the Hebrew title *sar ha-kehillot* ("chief of the congregations"), which indicates that he was head of the Jewish communities of both Aden and *Yemen. His son, *Maḍmūn, was "*nagid* of the Land of Yemen."

In addition to business and family ties, there were communal and religious relations between the Jews of Aden and practically all the Jewish communities of the Islamic empire. "Aden and India" formed one juridical diocese: the Jewish merchants and craftsmen of about 20 different ports of India and Ceylon were under the jurisdiction of the rabbinical court of Aden. In Yemen itself the authority of the court of Aden extended as far as Saʿda, the northernmost important Jewish community of the country. In turn, the rabbinical court of Aden regarded itself subordinate to that of the Egyptian capital, which had been instituted by the head of the Palestinian academy. In a letter addressed in 1153 to Old Cairo, the rabbis of Aden describe themselves as authorized by their exilarch and their *nagid*, but add that they acknowledge their "masters in Egypt" as an authority higher than themselves (see Strauss (Ashtor), in *Zion*, 4 (1939), 226, 231).

Conflict of Religious Authority

Because of relations with both Iraq and Palestine-Egypt, the Jewish community of Aden was drawn into the rivalry between the respective Jewish authorities. The dissensions of the Old Cairo community were transmitted to Aden, where they erupted in the spring of 1134. On the Sabbath before Passover that year, a scholarly Jew from Saʿda was asked to lead the community in prayer. Following his home custom and the written instructions of the *nagid* Maḍmūn, he mentioned both the exilarch and the Palestinian *gaon* in his sermon. However, the Old Cairo opponents of Maẓli'aḥ, who happened to be present, objected; and a cousin of the exilarch, recognized as his representative, forced the scholar from Saʿda to recant his error publicly. After Passover the merchants from North Africa and Egypt who went to Aden – most of them ardent followers of the Palestinian *gaon* – gathered around Ḥalfon b. Nethanel Dimyati, known in Hebrew literature as an intimate friend of the poet Judah Halevi. The followers of Maẓli'aḥ even threatened to apply to the Fatimid authorities to settle the dispute, but did not carry out the threat.

It is known that at the end of the 11th or the beginning of the 12th century the Jews of Aden contributed regularly to the upkeep of the academies of Iraq (see Goitein, in *Tarbiz*, 31 (1961/62), 363). Maḍmūn and other well-to-do merchants of Aden also sent regular contributions consisting partly of money and partly of precious Oriental spices and clothes to the *gaon* and members of the rabbinical court in Old Cairo.

The Jews of Aden and Yemen submitted religious queries to the scholars of Egypt even before the time of Maimonides. For example, Maḍmūn once sent *gaon* Maẓli'aḥ a set of translucent Chinese porcelain accompanied by the religious query, often repeated in later sources, whether china should be regarded ritually as glass or pottery. Isaac b. Samuel ha-Sephardi, one of the two chief judges of Old Cairo between 1095–1127, sent responsa to Yemen, which, like Maimonides' letters to Yemen, were certainly sent via Aden. (See the article on **nagid* for the later *negidim* of Aden and Yemen.)

The Aden tradition of contributing to the academies of Iraq and Palestine was extended to that of *Maimonides. A very large donation for it is indicated in a letter sent from Aden. Abraham, Maimonides' son and successor, answered queries addressed to him by the scholars of Aden.

Adani and Yemenite Jews

The impressive number of chiefs of congregations and *negidim* of Aden in the 11th and 12th centuries and later may be misleading: these notables did not exercise authority over the Jews of Yemen throughout the whole period. Despite the close connection between the Jews of Aden and those of inner Yemen, there were tangible differences between them, and they were referred to as "Adani" and "Yemeni," respectively, when traveling abroad. In the 12th century Adanis were found in Egypt and as far west as Mamsa in Morocco (cf. DIT, no. 109 (= manuscript Cambridge, T.-S., 12. 1905), Yosef al-ʿAdanī al-Mamsāwī).

There were also Karaites in Aden. They tried to gain adherents to their beliefs, and the poems of Abraham Yiju in honor of Maḍmūn b. Japheth credit him with crushing their efforts. Disputations with Karaites are reflected in Yemenite writings of that period.

The Importance of Aden for Hebrew Literature

The Jews of Aden were ardent collectors of books. Maḍmūn b.

David in his letter of July 1202 asked to have the medical treatises of Maimonides and other useful books sent to him; he specifically requested copies written on good paper and in a clear hand. The Jews of Aden were such avid bibliophiles that the Egyptian India traveler Ḥalfon b. Nethanel went there for books that he could not get elsewhere (DIT, no. 246). Many of the most important literary creations written in Hebrew, such as the poems of Judah Halevi and Moses ibn Ezra, have been preserved in manuscripts found in Yemen. The *Midrash ha-Gadol* of David *Adani shows that he possessed an exceptionally rich, specialized library, containing works that have not yet been found in their entirety elsewhere.

Most of the letters from Aden, consisting predominantly of business correspondence, are in Arabic, which was in those days the *lingua franca* of commerce throughout the Islamic world and beyond. However, the often very long Hebrew poems appended to these letters, as well as the personal letters written in Hebrew, prove that their writers were well versed in Hebrew literature and inclined toward the midrashic style and the *piyyut*.

Jewish Tombstones

A great many tombstones with Hebrew inscriptions were found in Aden. Some are preserved in the British Museum and many more in museums in Aden, but most of them have become known through rubbings and photographs made of tombs still *in situ*. The oldest inscriptions are from the 12th century; and those referring to persons mentioned also in the *genizah* documents are of particular interest. There are others from the 13th and 14th centuries and a great number from the 16th through the 18th. The wording in the older inscriptions is extremely modest and concise, while the later ones are occasionally more elaborate. In the tombstones of women, as a rule, the names of their fathers, but not those of their husbands, are indicated, even when the woman concerned was described as an *ishah ḥashuvah* ("an important lady"). (The comprehensive study of the subject by H.P. Chajes in the *Sitzungsberichte* of the Viennese Academy of Sciences, 147 (1904), no. 3, was complemented by additional material published by I. Ben-Zvi, in *Tarbiz*, 22 (1952/53), 198ff.; E. Subar, in JQR, 49 (1959), 301ff.; S.A. Birnbaum, in JSS, 6 (1961), 95ff.; and by the critical survey by S.D. Goitein, in JSS, 7 (1962), 81–84.)

Aden remained a busy port and its Jewish community prospered well into the 16th century. Despite a decline in Jewish participation in the India trade, Jewish Mediterranean merchants continued to frequent Aden, and scholars called Adani and known to have lived in Aden made considerable contributions. The replacement of a local dynasty by the Ottoman Turks in 1538 did not adversely affect the fortunes of the Jews of Aden. A Muslim book of legal opinions from the beginning of the Ottoman period gives the number of Jewish male taxpayers as 7,000. Since taxes customarily were paid for boys at the age of nine approximately, this number of taxpayers indicates the existence of about 3,000 Jewish families in Aden. In the 18th century, when the India trade was at its lowest ebb and the tribal sultan of Laḥj ruled it, Aden fell into utter decay.

[Shelomo Dov Goitein]

Modern Period

A new chapter in the history of Aden Jewry, as part of the political and economic changes in Aden itself, began with the conquest of the port and city from the Sultan of Laḥj by the British captain S.B. Haines in 1839, supposedly in response to the aggressive action of the sultan against a British ship anchored next to Aden. In fact, the conquest of the port was intended to assure a safe place to anchor and fuel for British ships arriving from the Mediterranean basin via the Red Sea and Aden on their way to India. In 1839 the population of Aden was only 600, 250 of them Jewish and 50 Banyans (Indians). Soon after the British had occupied Aden, the governor abrogated the Jews' status as a protected community (**dhimmī*) and restored discriminatory laws in accordance with Islamic tradition (*Ghiyār*). This was done despite the sultan's explicit orders. Haines' reports describe the delighted reaction of the Jews to the British conquest as do the later accounts of the Jewish sources: Y. Sappir, S.D. Karasso, and M. ha-Adani. As a result of the occupation, the economic development of Aden took wing, especially after the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869. As a consequence, a profound transformation occurred in the economic structure of Aden's Jewry from traditional handcrafts to various kinds of commerce. Particularly prominent was the Moses (Messa) family, whose head, Menahem Moses (d. 1864), was the president of the community. This family became very wealthy, especially as suppliers to the British army and its administration in Aden, which trusted the Jewish merchants more than the Muslim ones. The Moses family continued to be the social and economic leaders of Aden Jewry in the next two generations, particularly Menahem Moses' son, Banin (d. 1922), who succeeded his father as the head of the family and president of the community.

Because of the equal rights enjoyed by the Jews and the access to the outside world, Aden became attractive to Yemenite Jews. Many Jews emigrated to Aden as refugees escaping Yemen and the deteriorating political situation that particularly affected Jews and merchants. Jewish ship passengers and emissaries stopped at Aden and some decided to settle there. The number of Jews in Aden in 1860 was 1,500 and, by 1945, 4,500 Jews inhabited the city. In this way the Aden community took on a somewhat "international" character somewhat different from that of Yemen Jewry. Aden became the entry port to Yemen. Leaders of the local community, such as Moses Hanoch ha-Levi from the Caucasus and Banin Moses looked out for the well-being of Yemenite Jews and the refugees passing through Aden on their way to Ereẓ Israel. Banin Moses even supported educational and outreach institutions of various Diaspora communities in Jerusalem and many of the emissaries from Ereẓ Israel used to apply to him for contributions.

The profound political and economic changes did not result in social and cultural change. The Moses family, and especially Banin Moses, who held the economic reins of the community, virtually controlled single-handedly the social and religious administration of the community. He stymied all innovation, such as the establishment of modern schools and cooperation with the Zionist movement. As a result, a professional class of Jews did not come into being in Aden. Only after the death in 1924 of Judah Moses, the third family president, did a new family president, Selim (1924–38), another son of Menahem Moses, establish a modern educational system for girls and boys and strengthen the connections with the Zionist movement in Ereẓ Israel. His partner in these activities was Mahalal *Adani. In this way the young generation – women as well as men – acquired a modern Zionist Hebrew education; however, none continued on to higher education. Neither did the small Hebrew printing press established in Aden in 1891 become a milestone in the cultural development of the community, as only a small number of religious books were printed there for the needs of religious life: various liturgical books and rules for ritual slaughter.

The abrogation of the status of the Jews as a protected community led to a deterioration in relations with the Muslim majority, heightened by the conflict with the Arabs in Ereẓ Israel. Even though the Jewish community in Aden grew in numbers, the growth of the Muslim community was incomparably larger. As opposed to their relative size at the start of the British occupation in 1839, when they constituted approximately half the population, at this stage they became just a small religious minority. Apart from individual Muslim attacks against Jews, a large-scale attack on the Jewish quarter occurred in 1932 and continued for a few days. The Jewish stores were pillaged, many Jews were beaten, and the "Farḥi" synagogue was desecrated. The British police showed its indifference by doing little to punish the attackers. Following these incidents, Aden Jewry no longer felt safe and immigration to Ereẓ Israel became an alternative. Simultaneously, the Islamic nationalist movement began to develop in Aden, seeking to end the British occupation. The situation of the Jews further deteriorated after the riots in Ereẓ Israel in 1936–39. However, Yemenite and Aden Jews faced difficulties in immigrating to Israel because of British Mandate policy, which limited the number of certificates to Palestine.

In contrast to the declining political and economic situation, educational and social activities increased among the young generation in Aden thanks to the numerous emissaries arriving from Ereẓ Israel. These emissaries included Yemenite and Aden Jews who had already moved to Israel such as Yosef ben David, Ovadia Tuvia, Binyamin Ratzabi, and Shimon Sha'er (Avizemer). These activities were not approved of by the traditional Jewish religious authorities, which caused tension between them and the younger rebellious generation. But social change was nipped in the bud as Arab violence was stepped up following the UN decision to establish a Jewish state in Palestine. In the new pogroms, which continued for three days with no British intervention, nearly a hundred Jews were killed in Aden and the nearby city of Sheikh ʿUthmān. Others were injured, two Jewish schools were burned down, and most Jewish stores and small businesses were pillaged. The Jewish community lost all at once its economic underpinning and its faith in the British government. An investigating committee initiated by the British government did little to improve the financial and mental state of the Jews. Most of them preferred to immigrate to Israel with the founding of the Jewish state. Out of a population of 4,500, only 1,100 remained in 1946. In the mid-1950s, 830 lived there, a small minority among the 135,000 members of the Muslim community. The number of Jews diminished further in the course of the following years when their political situation worsened due to the tension between Israel and the Arab states and the radicalism of the Islamic nationalist Arab movement in Aden and its struggle against the British occupation. The 1958 incidents are an example of this trend: Jews were attacked in their synagogues, cars were destroyed, and an attempt was made to burn the Jewish school. With Britain's departure after the Six-Day War in June 1967, many of the Jews who still lived in Aden left. In the following November an independent state was established in Aden. The remnants of the Jewish community arrived partly in Israel and partly in London, leaving their belongings and institutions behind them. The Jews who immigrated to London as British citizens joined the members of the community who had moved there several years earlier. This strengthened the Aden community in London, which still retains its religious traditions.

[Yosef Tobi (2nd ed.)]

Folklore

The folklore of the Jews of Aden was strongly influenced and dominated by that of the Jews of *Yemen. This was especially evident in their narrative lore. Among the unrelated local customs: The *tallit* ("mandīl") was worn with green silk edges; a goat was slaughtered and placed under the bed of a mother in childbirth; on the first day of the seven-day wedding celebration a heifer was slaughtered. These animal sacrifices were also practiced by neighboring non-Jewish tribes, and it is doubtful whether they stem directly from ancient Jewish traditions.

[Dov Noy]

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°**ADENAUER, KONRAD** (1876–1967), first chancellor of the postwar German Federal Republic. Son of a Catholic official in the Cologne law courts, Adenauer was elected in 1906 to the city council of Cologne on behalf of the Center (Catholic) Party, and in 1917 became mayor of the city, a post which he held until he was dismissed by the Nazis in March 1933. Jewish friends helped him financially during the Nazi period. Adenauer was twice arrested by the Gestapo and escaped from a Nazi prison shortly before the Rhineland was occupied by the Allies. In 1949 Adenauer emerged as leader of the new party, the Christian Democratic Union, and was elected chancellor of the Federal Republic. He was instrumental in gaining its full sovereignty in 1955. Prompted not only by political motives but also by his own deep feelings, Adenauer tried to open lines of communication with the Jewish people and the State of Israel. His offer of financial assistance coincided with the initiative of the Israel government and of Jewish organizations which, immediately after the war, demanded restitution and compensation from the Allies and later from both the East and West German governments. In 1952, after the *Reparation Agreements with Israel and the Jewish organizations were signed in Luxembourg, Adenauer proposed to establish full diplomatic relations with Israel, but was refused. Despite the opposition to the financial commitment in reparations and compensation by influential groups both in his own party and outside, Adenauer realized both its moral importance and its political advantage for Germany. In 1960 he met with the Israeli prime minister David *Ben-Gurion in New York and promised to continue financial aid to Israel after the end of the reparation commitment. Later, he declared himself ready to supply arms to Israel. He changed his mind on the establishment of diplomatic relations, however, because he feared that it might result in Arab recognition of East Germany. (See Israel Relations with *Germany.) In 1966, three years after his resignation from the post of chancellor, Adenauer visited Israel as a guest of the Israeli government. He devoted a chapter in his memoirs (*Erinnerungen*, 3 vols., 1965–67; in English *Memoirs*, 1, 1966) to his relationship with Israel and with world Jewry.

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[Shlomo Aronson]

ADENI, SOLOMON BAR JOSHUA (1567–1625?), commentator on the Mishnah. In 1571 he immigrated with his father, a *ḥakham* in San'a, Yemen, and his family to Safed, where he studied under David Amarillo. In 1577–78 Adeni's father moved to Jerusalem. After his father's death (1582) Adeni, then in difficult circumstances, was cared for and supported by R. Moses b. Jacob Alḥāmi. Alḥāmi continued, until his death, to support Solomon, who arranged Adeni's marriage in 1590. In about 1582 Adeni entered the yeshivah of the kabbalist Ḥayyim *Vital, but later studied under others as well, among them Bezalel *Ashkenazi, who came to Jerusalem. Studying in seclusion, he wrote annotations in the margins of the Mishnah, and as these increased, he abbreviated them. It was apparently after the death of Bezalel Ashkenazi that Adeni settled in Hebron, where he earned a meager living as a schoolteacher. His wife, daughter, and two sons died in 1600, apparently from a plague. His eight children from a second marriage all died in childhood from epidemics and diseases.

Adeni's commentary on the Mishnah, *Melekhet Shelomo*, was intended to encompass the entire Torah, explain the Talmuds, and to concentrate their commentaries and halakhic discussions in one place. The importance of the work is twofold: (1) to determine the clearest text of the Mishnah; and (2) to explain the Mishnah according to primary sources by his own method.

Adeni made use of many manuscripts of the Mishnah and the foremost rabbinic authorities then available in Ereẓ Israel. Adeni's method is remarkably accurate. He checked his quotations from primary sources. If the original text was not available, he noted from whom he copied his citation. His commentaries are the closest to the literal meaning of the Mishnah. He comments on the biographies of rabbis and he illustrates the orders *Zera'im* and *Tohorot* with many illustrations, and corrects the classical mishnaic commentators. He opened his comments with the words "the compiler states" and when he differed with a scholar, he modestly wrote, "And to me, a layman, it seems my humble opinion…."

Because of these attributes his work became an indispensable commentary for study of the Mishnah. In addition, it is an important source for philologists. Yom Tov Heller's commentary on the Mishnah, *Tosafot Yom Tov* (Prague, 1585–87) appeared after Adeni had finished his work. However, praising Heller's work highly, Adeni included selections from it when his book was published. Despite its importance the commentary was printed for the first time only in 1905. Adeni also produced some of Bezalel Ashkenazi's glosses and commentaries on the Mishnah and the Talmud in a work called *Binyan Shelomo le-Ḥokhmat Beẓalel.*

Another work equally important, but less famous because it was lost in manuscript, is *Divrei Emet*, glosses on the Bible. Ḥ.J.D. *Azulai saw this manuscript in Jerusalem and used it extensively in his work on the Bible, *Ḥomat Anakh.*

Little is known about Adeni's later life. The last information about him dates from 1625.

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ADERCA, FELIX (**Froim Zeilig**; 1891–1962), Romanian novelist and journalist. Born in Puiesti (near Vaslui) and educated in Craiova, Aderca made his literary debut with volumes of poetry. The titles of the first two reflect his early preoccupation with feeling and harmony: *Motive și simfonii* ("Motifs and Symphonies," 1910) and *Fragmente și romanțe* ("Fragments and Romances," 1912). Then came the cold, cerebral period of *Reverii sculptate* ("Sculptured Reveries," 1912) and *Prin lentile* *negre* ("Through Black Lenses," 1912), finally emerging into the sensuality of *Stihuri venerice* ("Erotic Poems," 1915). Eroticism was to become the keynote of Aderca's first novels. *Moartea unei republici roșii* ("The Death of a Red Republic," 1924) gave expression to his deep humanitarianism and pacificism. The reconstruction of the tragic atmosphere in Romania in World War I in *1916* represents not only Aderca's outstanding work but is regarded as one of the best war books ever written. Two of his novels are distinctly Kafkaesque in form: *Aventurile domnului Ionel Lăcustă Termidor* ("The Adventures of Mr. Ionel Lacusta Termidor," 1932) and *Revolte*. The latter, written in 1938 but only published in 1945, is a series of sketches lampooning legal procedures.

Ebullient and argumentative, Aderca was a prolific journalist. His interviews with men of ideas, collected in *Mărturia unei generatii* ("Testimony of a Generation," 1929), introduced a new genre into Romanian literature. In his youth, Aderca contributed to various Romanian Jewish publications (*Ha-Tikvah, Lumea evree,* and *Adam*) and showed some attachment to Judaism and Zionism. He also published hundreds of articles about antisemitism. Aderca translated into Romanian books dealing with Jewish themes, among them the trilogy of Sholem Asch. Aderca believed in the idea of symbiosis between his Judaism and the Romanian language and culture. Persecuted during the Holocaust period (1938–44), he worked as a librarian in the Jewish community of Bucharest. He was unpopular with the Communist regime after World War II and from 1947 was allowed to publish virtually nothing but instructional literature for young people. One of his last works was a monograph on Constantin Dobrogeanu-Gherea (1948), the Russian-Jewish refugee literary critic and sociologist who promoted socialist theories in Romania. Some of Aderca's literary works were republished in the "liberalization" period (after 1965), but most of them were republished only after the collapse of the Communist regime in Romania (1989). Fragments of his works were translated into Hebrew in Israel.

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[Dora Litani-Littman / Lucian-Zeev Herscovici (2nd ed.)]

ADIABENE, district in the upper Tigris region. During most of the Hellenistic period Adiabene was a vassal kingdom within the Parthian Empire. From 36 to 60 C.E. Adiabene was ruled by Izates, son of King *Monobaz and Queen *Helena. By that time the small kingdom had attained a measure of power and influence within the Parthian Empire, and it was Izates who restored the deposed Parthian king Artabanus III to his throne. For this, Izates was granted the extensive territory of Nisibis and its surroundings, and proceeded to play an important part in the dynastic struggles within Parthia after the death of Artabanus III.

Before he became king, both Izates and his mother Helena had been converted to Judaism. As a youth, Izates had been sent to Charax Spasinu (capital of the kingdom of Charakene, between the Tigris and the Euphrates) and it was there that he came under the influence of a Jewish merchant named *Ananias. At the same time, Helena had been converted by another Jew, and when Izates returned to Adiabene he was determined to complete his own conversion by undergoing circumcision. Against the wishes of Helena and Ananias the rite was performed, for Izates had been convinced by another Jew, a Galilean named Eleazar, that failure to do so would be considered "the greatest offense against the law and thereby against God." This story, as it appears in Josephus (Ant., 20:34ff.), bears an interesting resemblance to the account given in the Midrash (Gen. R. 46:11). Monobaz and Izates were sitting and reading the book of Genesis; when they came to the verse "ye shall be circumcised," they began to weep, and secretly had themselves circumcised. "When their mother learned of this she went and told their father: 'A sore has broken out on our sons' flesh, and the physician has ordered circumcision.'" The king then gave his consent to what had already been performed.

After their conversion the Adiabenian rulers were quick to establish strong ties with the Jews of Palestine. Appreciation of their generosity toward the population and the Temple is expressed in a variety of talmudic sources. "King Monobaz (older brother and successor to Izates) made of gold all the handles for the vessels used on the Day of Atonement. His mother Helena set a golden candlestick over the door of the Sanctuary. He also donated a golden tablet on which the paragraph of the Suspected Adulteress was written" (Yoma 3:10; cf. Tosef. *ibid.* 2:3; TJ *ibid.* 3:8, 41a; TB *ibid.* 37a–b). Josephus reports that when Queen Helena visited Jerusalem (c. 46 C.E.) the journey greatly benefited the inhabitants, who were suffering from severe famine. Helena sent her attendants to Alexandria and Cyprus to procure grain and dried figs, which were distributed forthwith to the needy. "She left a very great name that will be famous forever among all our people for her benefaction. When her son Izates learned of the famine, he likewise sent a great sum of money to leaders of the Jerusalemites" (Jos., Ant., 20:49ff.). The Mishnah (Naz. 3:6) connects Helena's pilgrimage to Palestine with a Nazarite vow she took. With regard to the famine, the Talmud relates that King Monobaz dissipated all his treasures and those of his ancestors in years of scarcity. When reproached by members of the court for squandering his money, Monobaz replied: "My fathers stored up below and I am storing up above," i.e., in heaven (BB 11a; see also Tosef. Pe'ah 4:18; TJ *ibid.* 1:1, 15b). This piety is praised in other sources as well. Although there is no need to affix a *mezuzah* to a temporary abode, "the house of King Monobaz used to do so when staying at a hostel, merely in remembrance of the *mezuzah*" (Tosef. Meg. 4:30; Men. 32b). While in Judea, Helena erected a large *sukkah* in Lydda for the Feast of Tabernacles, and it was frequented by the rabbis (Tosef. Suk. 1:1).

The allegiance of the Adiabenians to the Jewish State was again proved during the Roman War of 66–70 in which the royal family took an active part. Josephus comments that "in the Jewish ranks the most distinguished for valor were Monobaz and Cenedaeus, kinsmen of Monobaz, king of Adiabene" (Jos., Wars, 2:520).

By the late second century C.E., Judaism must have been firmly established in Adiabene. Christianity, which usually spread in existing Jewish communities, was accepted in Adiabene without difficulty.

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[Isaiah Gafni]

ADJIMAN, family in Constantinople. Some members held important positions at the court of Ottoman sultans in the 18th and early 19th centuries. Some Adjimans were purveyors and treasurers of the Janissaries and therefore were called by the titles *Ocak Bazergani* ("Merchant to the Corps") or *Ocak Sarrafi* ("Banker to the Corps"). The bazergans must have ranked among the most prominent figures in the Istanbul markets, conducting large-scale transactions. They were also known as philanthropists.

BARUCH ADJIMAN was the first rich man of the family in Istanbul. He settled in Jerusalem and died there in 1744. His two sons, Yeshaya Adjiman (d. 1751–2) and Eliya Adjiman, remained in Istanbul. His daughter was married to David Zonana.

ELIYA ADJIMAN was one of the wealthiest persons in the Jewish community and a philanthropist who helped Rabbi Ezra *Malkhi during his visit to Istanbul in 1755. His sons were Baruch, Abraham, and David Adjiman. He was *ocak bazergani* in 1770.

YESHAYA ADJIMAN died in 1751 or 1752 and like his brother was one of the wealthiest Jews in Istanbul. His sons were Baruch (first mentioned in 1755 and last information from 1791/2 or 1803) and Jacob, who is mentioned in the years 1755 and 1769/70.

BARUCH ADJIMAN was *ocak bazergani* from 1766–68 to 1782. It is not clear if he was the son of Eliya or of Yeshaya, as each had sons named Baruch. He was a wealthy man and a philanthropist in Istanbul. Jewish and Ottoman sources tell about his financial difficulties during the war between the Ottoman Empire and Russia (1768–74) and also in 1777. He left many debts. There is also a document from the year 1791/2 in which Baruch, son of Yeshaya Adjiman, signed his name as *Pakid Ereẓ Israel* in Istanbul.

Another YESHAYA ADJIMAN signed his name as *Pakid Yerushalayim* in Istanbul. There are documents which deal with his assistance in 1820 in building a hotel in Jaffa for pilgrims to the Jewish festivals. He was the last Jewish *ocak bazergani*, serving from c. 1820 until he was executed with Bekhor Isaac *Carmona in 1826. An elegy was written in their memory.

ABRAHAM ADJIMAN was appointed a member of parliament in Istanbul in 1877–78. He served as the head of the Jewish community in Istanbul in 1880 but, following a dispute in which he was involved, he ceased to occupy his office. The dispute was between Adjiman and Nissim bar Nathan, who declared that Adjiman had wished to do harm to the rabbis, wishing to control the meat tax, which the rabbis opposed. In response Adjiman did not pay the chief rabbi his salary.

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[Abraham Haim / Leah Bornstein-Makovetsky (2nd ed.)]

ADLER, family originally from *Frankfurt. There are different theories as to the origin of the family name. According to one, the early members of the family lived in a house bearing the sign of an eagle (Ger. *Adler*). The main branch, whose members were kohanim, i.e., of priestly stock, traced its descent to Simeon Kayyara (see **Halakhot Gedolot*), the presumed author of the *Yalkut Shimoni.* The first outstanding member of the family was the kabbalist Nathan B. Simeon *Adler (1741–1800), whose pedigree may be traced back to an earlier Nathan Adler of the beginning of the 18th century. MARCUS (MORDECHAI; d. 1843), served as *dayyan* in Frankfurt and subsequently for 25 years as rabbi of Hanover. He had six children, most noted of whom was Nathan Marcus *Adler (1803–1890) who became the chief rabbi of the Ashkenazi congregations of Great Britain in 1848. He was succeeded by his second son, Hermann Naphtali *Adler (1839–1911). Nathan Marcus' eldest son, MARCUS NATHAN ADLER (1837–1911), mathematician and educator, was active in England in Jewish communal life and published a critical edition and translation of the *Travels of Benjamin of Tudela* (1907, reprinted 1964); a half-brother Elkan Nathan *Adler (1861–1946), Nathan's youngest son, was an outstanding Hebrew bibliophile. Marcus Nathan's son HERBERT MARCUS (b. 1876), a lawyer, was director of Jewish education in London. Hermann's daughter NETTIE (1869–1950), a social worker and educator, wrote articles on child welfare.

A second Adler family, unconnected with the Frankfurt family (above), originated in Worms. The first known, ISAAC ADLER (d. 1823), served as rabbi in Worms from 1810. One of his sons, Samuel *Adler (1809–1891), was rabbi in New York. Samuel's son, Felix *Adler (1851–1933), was founder of the *Ethical Culture movement.

[Cecil Roth]

ADLER, U.S. theatrical family. The founder was JACOB ADLER (1855–1926), one of the leading Jewish actor-managers of his time, and a reformer of the early Yiddish theater. Born in Odessa, he first acted with amateurs, and in 1879 joined one

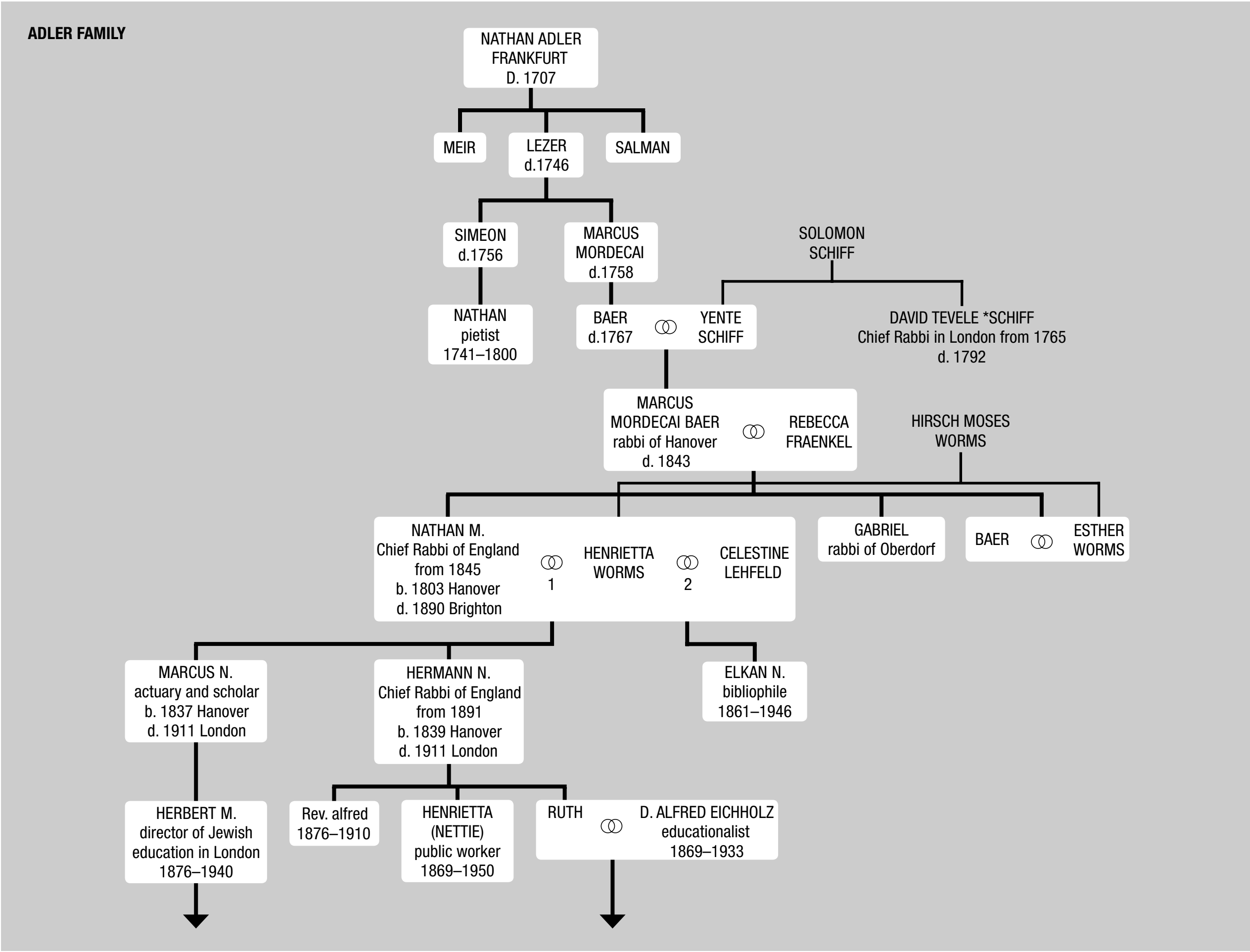

ADLER FAMILY

NATHAN ADLER FRANKFURT D. 1707
MEIR
LEZER d.1746
SALMAN
SIMEON d.1756
MARCUS MORDECAI d.1758
SOLOMON SCHIFF
NATHAN pietist 1741–1800
BAER d.1767
YENTE SCHIFF
DAVID TEVELE *SCHIFF Chief Rabbi in London from 1765 d. 1792
MARCUS MORDECAI BAER rabbi of Hanover d. 1843
REBECCA FRAENKEL
HIRSCH MOSES WORMS
NATHAN M. Chief Rabbi of England from 1845 b. 1803 Hanover d. 1890 Brighton
1
HENRIETTA WORMS
2
CELESTINE LEHFELD
GABRIEL rabbi of Oberdorf
BAER
ESTHER WORMS
MARCUS N. actuary and scholar b. 1837 Hanover d. 1911 London
HERMANN N. Chief Rabbi of England from 1891 b. 1839 Hanover d. 1911 London
ELKAN N. bibliophile 1861–1946
HERBERT M. director of Jewish education in London 1876–1940
Rev. alfred 1876–1910
HENRIETTA (NETTIE) public worker 1869–1950
RUTH
D. ALFRED EICHHOLZ educationalist 1869–1933

of Abraham *Goldfaden's touring companies. Good looks assured him early success in young-lover roles and he continued touring until the Czarist prohibition of Yiddish theater in 1883 forced him to leave Russia. In London, he appeared with his second wife, Dinah Lipna, in melodramas and in Gutzkow's *Uriel Acosta*. Success brought him invitations from New York, but he remained in London until disaster struck the Jewish Theater at the Prince's Club in January 1887 when a false cry of "Fire" caused a stampede and the death of 17 people. Arriving in the U.S., he found himself crowded out of New York and he could play only in Chicago. He returned to Europe on a tour which included Warsaw, Lodz, Lemberg, and London, and which made his reputation as a dynamic actor of striking personality. Returning to New York in 1890, he opened at Poole's Theater with a play that failed, but he quickly followed it with *Moshele Soldat* ("Soldier Moshele") which was an immediate success and made him an idol of the Yiddish theater.

As an actor, Adler was often criticized as stagy, but he could always captivate an audience and he displayed remarkable power in heroic roles. He was dissatisfied with the melodramas and operettas then in vogue, and looked for plays that gave him dramatic scope. He found them in the work of Jacob *Gordin, a serious writer whose plays other actors had rejected. The two produced Gordin's *Siberia* (1891) and inaugurated what has been called the "golden epoch" of the Yiddish theater. They followed this success with Gordin's *The Great Socialist, Der Yidisher King Lear,* and *Der Vilder Mensh.* In these productions, Adler achieved a triumph which was capped by his appearance as Shylock in Shakespeare's *The Merchant of Venice*, 1893, playing in Yiddish while the rest of the cast played in English.

In ensuing years, Adler controlled various theaters such as The People's and the Grand, where his children often performed with him. He interspersed serious plays with melodramas. After World War I, now almost a legendary figure, he went on brief tours, appeared in the film *Michael Strogoff,* and was portrayed in a Broadway play, *Cafe Crown*, which satirized his flamboyant way of life and his large family. Illness made his later appearances infrequent, but he never lost his glamour for the Jewish public. His memoirs, serialized in Yiddish in *Die Varheit*, mostly between 1916 and 1919, appeared for the first time in English in 1999 as *A Life on the Stage*. In it he describes his tempestuous actor's life in the Ukraine and the pogroms he barely escaped.

SARA ADLER (LEVITSKY; c. 1858–1953), Adler's third wife, played opposite her husband and became associated with his pioneering work. She appeared in hundreds of plays, most notably as Katusha Maslova in Gordin's adaptation of Leo Tolstoy's *Resurrection*, which established her reputation as a great star of the Yiddish stage. Her autobiography, *My Life*, was serialized in the Yiddish daily *Forward* (New York, 1937–39).

CELIA (1889–1979), daughter of Jacob Adler and Dinah Lipna, appeared at the age of nine with her father in *Der Yidisher King Lear.* In 1919 she joined Maurice *Schwartz's Yiddish Art Theater, directed her own repertory company, 1925–1926, with Samuel Goldenberg, and in 1937 appeared in the Yiddish film, *Vu iz Mayn Kind?* Of the children of Jacob and Sara Adler, FRANCES (1892–1964) toured America in Yiddish repertory. JULIA (1899–1995) played Jessica to her father's Shylock, following this with roles in Jacob Gordin's plays. Stella *Adler (1902–1992) acted on the English-speaking stage and became a founding member of the New York Group Theater and a renowned acting teacher. LUTHER (1903–1985) was a noted actor on the New York and London stage and in motion pictures. His successes included Ben Hecht's drama of Israel *A Flag is Born*, Clifford Odets' *Golden Boy*, and Arthur Miller's *A View From the Bridge.* He also played Tevye in *Fiddler on the Roof*, the musical based on stories by *Shalom Aleichem.

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ADLER, ALEXANDRE (1950–), French historian and journalist. After completing his studies in history, he specialized in the former Soviet Union and the Middle East and quickly became one of the most eminent French experts in geopolitics. A professor in higher military education on behalf of the French Ministry of Defense, Adler is mainly known for his contributions to newspapers, news magazines, and radio and television. He was the editorial director of the weekly *Courrier International* and a regular columnist for the conservative daily *Le Figaro*. In addition, he helped found *Proche-Orient Info*, a website devoted to Middle East affairs and committed to the fight against new forms of racism and antisemitism, and was appointed adviser to the chairman of the Representative Council of Jewish Institutions of France (CRIF). Adler published several books, among them *J'ai vu finir le monde ancien* (2002), an essay on the consequences of the terror attacks on the World Trade Center, and *L'Odyssée Américaine* (2004), a reflection on the evolution of American behavior in international affairs.

[Dror Franck Sullaper (2nd ed.)]

ADLER, ALFRED (1870–1937), Austrian psychiatrist. He was the founder of individual psychology, a theory of personality and method of psychotherapy based on the concepts of unity, self-determination, and future-orientation of man. His views were opposed to the elementaristic and mechanistic views of man which prevailed at that time. Born in Vienna, Adler qualified at the university there in 1895. After his marriage he adopted Protestantism, a small minority denomination in Austria at that time, considering it the most liberal religion. Adler's theories were set forth in such a manner as to be understandable and useful to a wide audience, including especially teachers and counselors. He himself established many child-guidance clinics. In 1902 Freud invited Adler to participate in his discussion group which had weekly meetings in Vienna. In 1910 Adler was elected the president of the Vienna Psychoanalytic Society, which grew out of the informal discussion group. In 1911 he resigned from the society as a consequence of his new theoretical views and established his own society and journal. From 1926 on Adler visited the United States regularly and eventually settled in New York where he was professor of medical psychology at the Long Island Medical College. He died while on a lecture tour in Scotland.

Primary in Adler's system is the conception that the organism, growing from a single cell, remains biologically and psychologically a unit. All partial processes such as drives, perception, memory, and dreaming are subordinated to the whole. Adler called this unitary process the individual's style of life. A unitary concept of man requires one overall motivating force. For Adler it is a striving to overcome and compensate for inferiorities directed toward a goal of superiority or success, which the individual creates quite uniquely. Though the goal may take on strange forms, it always includes maintenance of self-esteem. The individual, however, cannot be considered apart from society. The three important life problems, occupational, social, and sexual, are all actually social and require a well developed "social interest" for a successful solution. Thus the individual's goals will include social usefulness corresponding to the ideals of the community. Neurotic, psychotic, sociopathic, addictive, suicidal, and sexually deviant personalities are all failures in life because of an underdeveloped social interest and strong inferiority feelings. The role of the psychotherapist is to raise the patient's self-esteem through encouragement, illuminate his mistakes in lifestyle, and strengthen his social interest. In this way a cognitive reorganization is produced and the patient directed toward more socially useful behavior. Birth order (among siblings), dreams, and early recollections are used by the therapist in diagnosing the patient's lifestyle.

Interest in Adler's psychology increased with the gain in the humanistic conception of man, which he pioneered. Adlerian societies exist in numerous European countries, in the United States, where the *Journal of Individual Psychology* is published, and in Israel. A government supported Adlerian institute was established in Tel Aviv to train school psychologists, counselors, and teachers.

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phies and indices. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** T. Weiss-Rosmarin, in: *Individual Psychology*, 46 (1990), 108–18.

[Heinz L. Ansbacher]

ADLER, CHARLES (1899–1980), U.S engineer and inventor. A life-long resident of Baltimore, Maryland, Adler began his career as an inventor at 14, receiving a patent on an electric automotive brake. After attending Johns Hopkins University, he served briefly in the army during World War I and in 1919 became associated with the Maryland and Pennsylvania Railroad. In 1928 he developed and installed the first traffic-actuated signal light (actuated by the sound of a car horn). In 1937 he became a consultant to the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, continuing to invent safety and signal devices for automobiles, trains, and aircraft. He was granted over 60 U.S. patents for devices in general use. He was a member of the Maryland Traffic Safety Commission from 1952 until his death.

[Bracha Rager (2nd ed.)]

ADLER, CYRUS (1863–1940), U.S. Jewish scholar and public worker. Adler was born in Van Buren, Arkansas, son of a cotton planter. In 1867, upon his father's death, Adler and his family moved to Philadelphia, where they lived with Mrs. Adler's brother, David Sulzberger. They were members of the Sephardi Congregation Mikveh Israel, and its atmosphere, together with the influence of Adler's uncle and his cousin, Mayer *Sulzberger, did much to shape Cyrus Adler's religious traditionalism and devotion to scholarship. Graduating from the University of Pennsylvania in 1883, Adler thereafter studied Assyriology under Paul *Haupt at Johns Hopkins University. He taught Semitics at the university, becoming assistant professor in 1890. Meanwhile, he had joined the Smithsonian Institution, and became librarian there in 1892. Two years before, he had been sent to the Orient as special commissioner of the Columbian Exposition.

Adler took part in the founding of the *Jewish Publication Society of America (1888), serving as chairman of its various committees throughout his life. He was responsible for the establishment of the Society's Hebrew press. Adler was also a founder of the *American Jewish Historical Society (1892), and its president for more than 20 years. He edited the first seven volumes of the *American Jewish Yearbook* (1899–1905; the last two vols. with H. Szold) and was a departmental editor of *The Jewish Encyclopedia* (1901–06).

Adler played an active role in reorganizing the *Jewish Theological Seminary of America under the presidency of Solomon *Schechter. He was president of the Board of Trustees from 1902 to 1905, dividing his time between the Seminary and the Smithsonian. When Schechter died, he became acting president (1915), taking office permanently in 1924. Adler maintained the academic standards set by Schechter, and was responsible for erecting the Seminary's new buildings. He was one of the founders of the *United Synagogue of America (1913) and served as its president. In 1908 Adler was elected president of *Dropsie College, conducting its affairs and those of the Seminary simultaneously. Together with Schechter he had taken over the editorship of the **Jewish Quarterly Review* (1910) on behalf of Dropsie College, and after Schechter's death served as sole editor (1916–40).

Adler was one of the founders of the *American Jewish Committee (1906). He became chairman of its executive board in 1915 and in 1919 represented the Committee at the Paris Peace Conference. Appointed president of the Committee in 1929, Adler, by then aging, had to face the bitterness of the economic depression, followed by the rise of Nazism. Adler frequently found himself in opposition to the leaders of American Zionism, but he took part in the *Jewish Agency for Palestine.

Adler's success lay in his ability to bridge worlds which early in the 20th century had little common ground. An observant Jew, knowledgeable in the field of Jewish scholarship, he was also familiar and respected in the world of American government and scholarship. Adler was a tireless worker and a scrupulous and constructive administrator. He was able to interpret the needs of traditional-minded Jews to the men of wealth in American Jewry. His style allowed little scope for public display of emotion, and this, combined with his aloofness from Zionism, limited his relations to those with whom he was closest in his observance of Judaism.

He wrote a *Descriptive Catalogue of a Collection of Objects of Jewish Ceremonial Deposited in the U.S. National Museum by Hadji Ephraim Benguiat* (1901), with index, *I Have Considered the Days* (1941), and *Lectures, Selected Papers, Addresses* (1933), which contains a bibliography of his writings and addresses.

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[Sefton D. Temkin]

ADLER, DANKMAR (1844–1900), U.S. architect and engineer. Adler was born in Stadtlengsfeld, Germany, the son of Rabbi Liebmann Adler (1812–1892). He was taken to the U.S. at an early age and was trained at American universities. During the Civil War he practiced as an engineer and later built up a successful architectural practice in Chicago. In 1879 Louis Sullivan (1856–1924) joined the firm and in 1881 became a partner. Adler and Sullivan are credited with introducing a completely new concept of office architecture and this found its expression in the steel-framed skyscraper. Their first framed building (Chicago, 1887) was a commercial building called the Auditorium and was later acquired by Roosevelt University. Together they designed more than a hundred structures, including the transportation building at the Chicago Columbian Exposition in 1893, and two impressive skyscrapers: the Wainwright Building in St. Louis, Missouri, and the Prudential

Building in Buffalo, New York. They were responsible for the Kehillath Anshe Maariv in Chicago, where Adler's father had become rabbi in 1861. Here, too, they broke with tradition. Believing that form follows function, they made the facade of this synagogue secondary to the tall roof that covered the main body of the hall. The Adler-Sullivan partnership was dissolved in 1895 and neither architect did any distinguished work after that. It was in their office that Frank Lloyd Wright (1869–1959), one of America's greatest architects, was trained.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: H. Morrison, *Louis Sullivan* (1962^2), 283–93; Roth, Art, 749–50.

ADLER, DAVID BARUCH (1826–1878), Danish banker and politician. The banking firm of D.B. Adler and Co., which Adler founded in 1850, promoted the establishment of an independent modern credit system in Denmark. He was among the founders of the Privatbank (1857), remaining a director until 1866, and helped to launch the Kjøbenhavns Handelsbank in 1873. He negotiated foreign loans on behalf of the government, and was a founder member of the Copenhagen Chamber of Commerce. Adler entered politics as a Liberal and Free Trader, and became a member of parliament, city councilor, and member of the Board of Representatives (*Repraesentantskabet*) of the Jewish community. He encouraged Danish art and industry, and gave generously to charity. One of his daughters was the educationalist Hanna Adler, and another, Ellen, was the mother of Niels *Bohr.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Dansk biografisk leksikon*, 1 (1933).

[Julius Margolinsky]

ADLER, ELKAN NATHAN (1861–1946), Anglo-Jewish bibliophile, collector, and author. Adler, the son of Chief Rabbi Nathan Marcus *Adler, was a lawyer by profession and had unusual opportunities to travel under favorable conditions and to build up a remarkable library. He was among the first persons to realize the importance of the Cairo *Genizah*. He visited Egypt in 1888 and 1895–96 and brought back approximately 25,000 fragments from the *Genizah*. His library ultimately included about 4,500 manuscripts of which he published a summary *Catalogue of Hebrew Manuscripts in the Collection of E.N. Adler* (1921). He also had a collection of some 30,000 printed books in Judaica and in general fields. In order to make good the embezzlements of a business associate he sold his library in 1923 to the Jewish Theological Seminary of America in New York and the duplicates of the printed books (including many incunabula) to the Hebrew Union College in Cincinnati, thus helping to raise both of these libraries to positions of significance. By an agreement made at that time, the manuscripts that he subsequently collected passed after his death to the Jewish Theological Seminary. Adler's published writings were mainly based on his travels and on materials in his own collection. Among them are *About Hebrew Manuscripts* (1905), a collection of bibliographical essays; *A Gazetteer of Hebrew Printing* (1917); *Jews in Many Lands* (1905); *Auto de Fé and Jew* (1908); *History of the Jews of London* (1930); *Jewish Travellers* (1930, repr. 1966); and articles on the Samaritans and on the Egyptian and Persian Jews. Adler played an active role in English-Jewish communal affairs, especially as regards educational and overseas matters, and was an early member of the Hovevei Zion in England. His personal archives are at the library of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Essays… E.N. Adler* (JHSEM, 4–5 (1942–48), includes his bibliography); *Register of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America* (1923); JC (May 4, 1923, Sept. 20, 1946); *United Synagogue Recorder*, 3 (1923); E.C.R. Marmorstein, *Scholarly Life of E.N. Adler* (1962); M. Ettinghausen, *Rare Books and Royal Collections* (1966).

[Cecil Roth]

ADLER, ELMER (1884–1962), U.S. publisher and bibliophile. In 1922 Adler established Pynson Printers in New York City and began to produce books noted for excellent design and craftsmanship. A cofounder of Random House, he printed its first publication, a limited edition of Voltaire's *Candide* with illustrations by Rockwell Kent.

From 1930 to World War II, he published and edited the *Colophon*, a quarterly in book form for bibliophiles. A few issues appeared in 1948 as the *New Colophon*.

In 1940 Adler dissolved the Pynson Printers, presented his magnificent library of printing and printing history to Princeton University, joined its library staff, and organized a department of graphic arts. He retired from Princeton in 1952 and moved to San Juan, Puerto Rico. Here he built up another outstanding printing arts library and museum for the university.

[Israel Soifer]

ADLER, EMANUEL PHILIP (1872–1949), U.S. newspaper publisher, born in Chicago. He began his career in Iowa and rose to be president of Lee Syndicate Newspapers, controlling ten dailies in Iowa, Illinois, Nebraska, Missouri, and Wisconsin. He founded the Tri–City Federated Jewish Charities in 1921 and organized the Jewish Community Office to act for Jewish organizations in Davenport, Des Moines, and Sioux City, Iowa. His son, Philip David Adler, later publisher of the *Davenport Times*, issued a book about him (1932) written by A.M. Brayton.

ADLER, FELIX (1851–1933), U.S. philosopher and educator. Adler was born in Germany, the son of the Reform rabbi Samuel *Adler. He studied at Columbia University and preached as a rabbi at Temple Emanu-el in New York, but was too rationalistic to accept Judaism in any traditional sense. In 1874 he accepted a professorship in Hebrew and Oriental literature established at Cornell. Two years later he founded the Society for Ethical Culture, which advocated an ethic apart from any religion or dogma. The Society gained support mainly among intellectuals in America and abroad. Adler worked for various social causes such as maternal and child welfare, vocational training schools, medical care for the poor, labor problems, and civic reform. In 1883 he founded the first U.S. group for child study. Adler was appointed professor of social ethics at Columbia in 1902. His main writings include *Creed and Deed* (1877); *Moral Instruction of Children* (1892); *Prayer and Worship* (1894); *An Ethical Philosophy of Life* (1918), which is partly autobiographical; and *The Reconstruction of the Spiritual Ideal* (1924; The Hibbert Lectures). He was an editor of the *International Journal of Ethics.*

BIBLIOGRAPHY: H. Simonhoff, *Saga of American Jewry from 1865–1914* (1959), 178–85; H. Cohen, *They Builded Better Than They Knew* (1946), 32–40; H. Neumann, *Spokesmen for Ethical Religion* (1951), 3–62.

[Richard H. Popkin]

ADLER, FRIEDRICH (1878–1942), German designer of arts and crafts. Born in Laupheim, Southern Germany, Adler went to Munich to study at the Royal School for Applied Arts at the age of 16. In the world of Munich art nouveau Adler was especially influenced by the artist Hermann Obrist. In order to break with Wilhelminian traditions, Obrist propagated a reform concept of cultural policy and art related to the art nouveau movement. In 1902 Adler continued his studies at the newly founded Debschitz School in Munich, where he became a teacher in 1903. The aim of the school was to intensify the contact between artists and manufacturers in the applied arts. Adler taught the technique of working in stucco and of edifice sculpture. From 1907 to 1933 he taught at the Hamburg School for Applied Arts, where he was appointed professor in 1927. When he lost his position after the National Socialist takeover in 1933, Adler continued to offer private lessons to Jewish students. From 1935 he took an active part in the Hamburg Jewish Cultural Union (*Juedischer Kulturbund*). In July 1942 he was deported to Auschwitz and apparently murdered there in the same year. Adler's work was multifaceted and his creations and designs were shown in several exhibitions such as the International Exhibition for Modern and Decorative Arts in Turin (1902) and the world exposition in Brussels (1910). His principal fields of activity were handcrafted work and the design of furniture and metal objects especially made of tin. During the exhibition of the German *Werkbund* in Cologne in 1914 he met with universal approval for his concept of a synagogue building and for his Jewish ceremonial objects. The latter were fine silver objects in the style of art nouveau and were manufactured by the famous Heilbronn company for silverware Peter Bruckmann & Sons. Only a few of these ritual objects have survived, such as a magnificent Passover set made of silver, ivory, and glass from 1913/14 and an Eternal Light from the same year (both in the Spertus Museum, Chicago).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Spurensuche: Friedrich Adler zwischen Jugendstil und Art Déco* (Muenchner Stadtmuseum (Catalogue, 1994).

[Philipp Zschommler (2nd ed.)]

ADLER, FRIEDRICH (1879–1960), prominent figure in the Austrian labor movement and secretary of the Socialist International. The son of Victor *Adler, he was born in Vienna, studied physics in Switzerland, and lectured at Zurich University. Adler, who was baptized at the age of seven and later renounced Christianity, had no religion. Adler returned to Austria at the age of 32 and entered active political life. During World War I he attacked the policy of the Austrian government and criticized his own Socialist party for supporting it. In order to awaken the public conscience against the horrors of war he shot and killed Count Sturgkh, the prime minister, in a Vienna restaurant on October 21, 1916, and was sentenced to death. His sentence was commuted to 18 years imprisonment, and, under the amnesty which followed the fall of the monarchy in 1918, he was released. Adler was one of the founders of the left-wing International Working Union of Socialist Parties in 1921. From 1923 to 1939 he acted as secretary of the Labor and Socialist International. During World War II he lived in the United States but returned to Europe after the defeat of Germany. While he had many contacts with Zionist Socialists and although he had a Jewish marriage, he believed in assimilation and opposed Jewish national aspirations.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: J. Braunthal, *Victor und Friedrich Adler* (1965). **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** *Biographisches Handbuch der deutschsprachigen Emigration*, 1 (1980), 6–7, incl. bibl.; R. Ardelt, *Friedrich Adler. Probleme einer Persönlichkeitsentwicklung um die Jahrhundertwende* (1984).

[Robert Weltsch]

ADLER, GEORG (1863–1908), German economist and economic historian. Born in Posen, Adler taught at the universities of Berlin, Basle, and Kiel, and became professor of political economy at Freiburg. While in Basle, in 1894, he drafted the first law on workmen's unemployment insurance at the request of the Swiss government. He nevertheless considered the labor movement as necessary for social reform. A follower of the German historical school of economists, he advocated moderate socialism and bitterly opposed the revolutionary socialism of Karl *Marx. He remained a protagonist of social insurance and of international legislation for the protection of labor. His works include *Die Geschichte der ersten sozial-politischen Arbeiterbewegung in Deutschland* (1885); *Die Grundlagen der Karl Marx'schen Kritik der bestehenden Volkswirtschaft* (1887); and *Geschichte des Sozialismus und Kommunismus* (1899).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: NDB, 1 (1953), 69.

[Joachim O. Ronall]

ADLER, GUIDO (1855–1941), Austrian musicologist; one of the founders of modern musicology. Born at Eibenschitz (Moravia), he was appointed lecturer in musicology at Vienna University in 1881. He was a founder and editor of the *Vierteljahrsschrift fuer Musikwissenschaft* (1884–94) and in 1898 succeeded his former teacher, Eduard Hanslick, as professor of music history at Vienna, a position he held until his retirement in 1927. Adler made Vienna one of the leading centers of musicological training and research. The International Society of Musicology, founded upon his initiative, elected him its honorary president in 1927. He was editor-in-chief of *Denkmaeler der Tonkunst in Oesterreich*, which he had founded in 1894, but was removed from this position by the Nazis in 1938. He remained in Vienna until his death. His work contributed much to the development of musicological discipline. Important publications are his *Richard Wagner* (1904), *Gustav Mahler* (1916), and the *Handbuch der Musikgeschichte* (1924), which he edited.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: MGG, s.v.; P. Nettl, in: *Musica*, 15 (1961), 97, Ger.; *Guido Adler… Festschrift* (1930); Sendrey, Music, index.

[Judith Cohen]

ADLER, HARRY CLAY (1865–1940), U.S. newspaper executive. Adler was born in Philadelphia. He was chairman of the board and general manager of the *Chattanooga Times* from 1901, a paper owned by his brother-in-law, Adolph S. *Ochs, who later became publisher of the *New York Times.* When Ochs went to New York, Adler, already an executive on the paper, was appointed general manager, a position he held for 30 years. He served as chairman of the southern division of the Associated Press from 1917 to 1922, and was considered the "father" of Chattanooga's commission form of government. Adler used the editorial columns of his newspaper, and the Citizens' League which he organized, to campaign against the policies of the entrenched political machine until it was overthrown. He was active in charities and for three years was a president of the Mizpah Congregation in Chattanooga.

[Stewart Kampel (2nd ed.)]

ADLER, HERMANN (**Naphtali**; 1839–1911), British chief rabbi, son of Nathan Marcus *Adler. Born in Hanover, Hermann Adler was taken to London as a child, when his father became British chief rabbi, and was educated at University College School and at University College, London, where he graduated with a B.A. in 1854. Adler was thus one of the first British rabbis to receive a middle-class secular education in England. He continued his studies in Prague under Rabbi S.J. *Rappaport, where he was ordained as a rabbi in 1862. Adler went on to receive a doctoral degree from Leipzig University, his thesis being on (of all things) Druidism. In 1863 he became principal of *Jews' College, and in 1864 minister of Bayswater Synagogue in the West End of London. After 1879 he deputized as delegate chief rabbi for his father who was ill and was elected to succeed him in 1891. Adler followed and developed the tradition set by his father, combining Orthodoxy with organizational ability, as well as having a firm feeling for the dignity of his office. He was largely instrumental in securing general recognition of the chief rabbi as the main representative of English Jewry, taking his place alongside the heads of other religious communities on public occasions. Opposed to the ideas of Theodor *Herzl, in 1897 Adler termed political Zionism an "egregious blunder," although he had previously visited Palestine and been active in the Ḥovevei Zion movement. His period of office coincided with the great Russo-Jewish influx into the British Isles. This created a large "foreign" element in the community, whose confidence he did not gain. Despite periods of friction, Adler succeeded in maintaining his position as chief rabbi of Anglo-Jewry as a whole, the *Reform and *Sephardi communities being satisfied to be formally represented by him on public occasions. In the relatively small Anglo-Jewish community of the second half of the 19th century, with its integration into non-Jewish society and its painfully achieved balance, Adler saw a sort of self-contained "National Jewish Church," led on the lay side by the head of the Rothschild family and on the ecclesiastical by the Adlers, as the Jewish equivalent of the Anglican or Catholic hierarchy; Hermann Adler even imitated the Anglican episcopal garb. Hence they were seriously perturbed by the influx of Eastern European refugee immigrants from 1882 onward, which disturbed the delicate balance of the community. In politics, Adler was an avowed Tory and supported the Boer War. Adler published historical and other studies and numerous sermons, as well as preliminary studies for an edition of the *Ez̦ Ḥayyim* by the 13th century scholar *Jacob b. Judah Ḥazzan of London. A selection of his sermons was published under the title *Anglo-Jewish Memories* (London, 1909). Adler's career is evidence of how comprehensively the acculturated section of Anglo-Jewry had adapted to Britain and had been accepted by its "Establishment."

BIBLIOGRAPHY: C. Roth, in: L. Jung (ed.), *Jewish Leaders, 1750–1940* (1953), 475–90; L.P. Gartner, *Jewish Immigrant in England, 1870–1914* (1960), 114–6, 209–10; Schischa, in: J.M. Shaftesley (ed.), *Remember the Days* (1966), 241–77; Roth, Mag Bibl, index; H.A. Simons, in: *Judaism*, 18 (1969), 223–31. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** ODNB online; G. Alderman, *Modern British Jewry* (1992), index.

[Cecil Roth]

ADLER, HERMANN (pseudonym **Z̦evi Nesher**; 1911–), German-language poet, essayist, and playwright. Adler was born in Deutsch-Diószeg, near Pressburg (Bratislava), but grew up in Nuremberg and after graduating from a teachers' seminary at Wuerzburg taught in Landeshut (Kamienna Gora), Silesia. He returned to Czechoslovakia in 1934 and enlisted in 1939 in the Czechoslovak Legion in Poland. During World War II, he joined the Jewish resistance movement in Lithuania and Poland, playing an active part in the ghetto uprisings in Vilna and Warsaw. He escaped to Budapest, but was later deported to Bergen-Belsen, from which he was subsequently released, taking up residence in Switzerland, where he remained. His experiences of Nazi brutality on the one hand and of human dignity and heroism on the other were reflected in several gripping books, partly factual reporting, partly poetic crystallization, such as *Ostra Brama, Legende aus der Zeit des grossen Untergangs* (1945), Ostra Brama being the name of a Catholic monastery near Vilna where a number of Jews were hidden and rescued; *Gesänge aus der Stadt des Todes* (1945); *Ballade der Gekreuzigten, Auferstandenen, Verachteten* (1945).

Among other books which Adler wrote on the fate of the Jews during the Holocaust, and religious poetry, are *Fieberworte von Verdammnis und Erloesung* (1948) and *Bilder nach dem Buche der Verheissung* (1950). He frequently chose the medium of radio and television. One of his TV plays (which won a prize from the Zweites Deutsches Fernsehen) was *Feldwebel Anton Schmidt*, the story of a German sergeant who during the occupation of Vilna had helped Adler to organize the escape of Jews who joined up with the Jewish resistance movement elsewhere. Schmidt, who was subsequently arrested and sentenced to death by the Nazis, is also referred to in his *Ostra Brama.* The significance of Adler's descriptions of the Holocaust for Christian readers was stressed by the Swiss-Catholic historian and theologian Karl *Thieme in his epilogue to his selection from Adler's writings (*Vater … vergib! Gedichte aus dem Ghetto*, 1950).

Writing more often on psychological themes in later years, Adler published *Judentum und Psychotherapie* (1958) and *Handbuch der tiefenpsychologischen Symbolik: Ein Lexikon der Symbolik mit Lesetexten und Index* (1968). He also translated Itzhak *Katzenelson's Warsaw Ghetto epic *Dos Lid fun Oysgehargetn Yidishn Folk* from Yiddish into German (*Das Lied vom letzten Juden*, 1951). Of his own works, *Gesaenge aus der Stadt des Todes* appeared in Hebrew and Dutch translations.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Israelitisches Wochenblattfuer die Schweiz* (Oct. 8, 1971); D. Stern, *Werke jüdischer Autoren deutscher Sprache* (1967).

[Erich Gottgetreu]

ADLER, HUGO CHAIM (1894–1955), cantor and composer. Born in Antwerp, Adler served as a chorister to Yossele *Rosenblatt in Hamburg. He officiated as cantor in Mannheim, 1921–39, studied composition with Ernst *Toch, and was strongly influenced by the modern musical idiom. The *Juedisches Lehrhaus* of Franz *Rosenzweig in Frankfurt helped to shape his thoughts and he set to music some of Rosenzweig's Hebrew hymns. Adler adopted the idea of the musical *Lehrstueck*, an ethical-political cantata first realized by Brecht and Hindemith, and composed a Maccabean cantata *Licht und Volk* (performed in 1931) and *Balak und Bileam* (1934). The performance of his *Akedah* was prevented by the Kristallnacht pogrom of November 1938. After his escape to the U.S. he was appointed cantor in Worcester, Massachusetts. There he reshaped the music of the service and composed music for complete liturgies as well as many short pieces and the cantatas *Parable of Persecution* (1946), *Behold the Jew*, and *Jona* (1943). Adler's importance rests upon his skill in replacing 19th-century additions to synagogue song by a lucid contemporary idiom and striving, in his cantatas, for a collective musical expression of Jewish consciousness.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Sendrey, Music, indexes; *American Hazan*, 2, no. 1 (1956); Fromm, in: *Jewish Music Notes* (Fall 1956), 3–4.

[Hanoch Avenary]

ADLER, ISRAEL (1925–), Israeli musicologist and librarian. Born in Berlin, Adler immigrated to Palestine in 1937 and studied at yeshivot. From 1949 to 1963 he studied in Paris with Solange Corbin at the Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes and J. Chailley at the Institut de Musicologie. In 1963 he took a doctorat de 3ème cycle with a dissertation on the music of Jewish communities in 17th- and 18th-century Europe. He was the head of the Hebraic Judaic Section of the Bibliothèque Nationale from 1950 to 1963. He returned to Israel in 1963, and became head of the music department of the Jewish National and University Library in Jerusalem. He founded and was director of the Jewish music research center at the Hebrew University from 1963 to 1969 and 1971 to 1994, and was chief editor of *Yuval*, the record of its studies. In 1964 he founded the National Sound Archives as part of the music department of the National Library and in 1967 he founded the Israel Musicological Society. From 1969 to 1971 Adler was director of the Jewish National and University Library. In 1971 he was appointed associate professor at Tel Aviv University and in 1973 he joined the Department of Musicology at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. From 1967 he was a member of the RISM committee and vice president of the Association Internationale des Bibliothèques Musicales (1974–77). He was a guest lecturer at numerous European and North and South American universities. Among his publications are *La pratique musicale savante dans quelques communautés juives en Europe aux XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles*, 2 vols. (1966); *Musical Life and Traditions of the Portuguese Jewish Community of Amsterdam in the XVIIIth Century* (Jerusalem, 1974); *Hebrew Writings Concerning Music in Manuscripts and Printed Books from Geonic Times up to 1800*, RISM, B/IX/2 (1975); "Three Musical Ceremonies for Hoshana Rabba at Casale Monferrato (1732–1733, 1735)," in: *Yuval*, 5 (1986), 51–137; *Hebrew Notated Manuscript Sources up to circa 1840: A Descriptive and Thematic Catalogue, With a Checklist of Printed Sources* (Munich, 1989); *The Study of Jewish Music: A Bibliographical Guide* (Jerusalem, 1995).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Grove online; MGG².

[Gila Flam (2nd ed.)]

ADLER, JACOB (1872?–1974), Yiddish poet and humorist, often writing as **B. Kovner**. Adler was born in Dinov, Austria-Hungary (now Dynow, Poland), but in 1894 immigrated to the United States where he worked in sweatshops, agitated for socialism, and wrote nostalgic poems about the "old country" for various journals, especially his mentor David Pinski's *Der Arbeter.* These poems were collected in his first volume, *Zikhroynes fun Mayn Haym* ("Memories of My Home," 1907), with an introduction by Pinski. They are full of nostalgia for the Jewish milieu of his childhood, which he views as carefree and idyllic, despite its poverty: the festive Sabbaths and holidays, spent in the sweet comfort of the synagogue; the pure yearnings of first love; the final, sad parting from family and birthplace. The volume ends with a lament for himself, sick and weak though young, his life ebbing away in an alien land. He sought relief from the misery of existence in sardonic humor, contributing under various pseudonyms to the popular humorous periodicals *Der Groyse Kundes* and *Der Kibetser,* and co-editing *Der Yidisher Gazlen* with Moyshe Nadir. In 1911, Abraham Cahan, editor of *Forverts*, invited him to join his staff and assigned him the pseudonym of B. Kovner, thus enabling him to exchange a former pseudonym "Der Galitsiyaner" for a new identity as a "Litvak." Kovner's humorous feuilletons immediately became a success and his characters, such as the shrewish busybody Yente Telebende, her henpecked husband Mendl, Moyshe Kapoyer, and Peyshe the Farmer soon became household names in American Yiddish homes. His anecdotes and witticisms circulated widely. His characters inspired many songs and stage routines. Many of Adler's humorous sketches were collected in six Yiddish volumes between 1914 and 1933 and two in English translation (*Laugh, Jew, Laugh*, 1936, and *Cheerful Moments*, 1940). His *Lider* ("Poems," 2 vols., 1924), which appeared at the height of his fame, revealed the sadness and loneliness of the humorist. These poems were grouped into cycles with such titles as "Alone" and "Between Gray Walls." Even the few poems designated as humorous were bitterly satiric. He continued to write prolifically until his late nineties.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Rejzen, *Leksikon*, 1 (1928), 42–44; LNYL, 1 (1956), 24f.; M. Nadir, *Teg fun Mayne Teg* (1935), 220–273; H. Rogoff, *Der Gayst fun "Forverts"* (1954), 257–259.

[Sol Liptzin / Ben Furnish (2nd ed.)]

ADLER, JANKEL (**Jacob**; 1895–1949), painter, graphic artist, and art critic. Adler was born in Tuszyn, near Łodz. As a child, he received a traditional Jewish education. In 1912, living with his uncle in Belgrade, he worked in the post office and studied to become an etcher. In 1913, he moved to Germany and settled in Barmen (now Wuppertal), where he was employed as a textile worker and shop assistant. From 1916, he attended the local school of applied arts (Kunstgewerbschule), where his tutor was Gustav Wiethuechter. In 1917–18, Adler got to know many young German intellectuals, writers, and modernist artists and became close to the "Das Junge Rheinland" artistic group, who were seeking ways for a renewal of German art. While interested in modernist trends in European culture and establishing ties within the German artistic community, Adler never lost touch with his national roots. His works, starting from the earliest ones, always treated Jewish themes quite distinctly. By way of example, his still-lifes of this period incorporate images of Jewish ritual objects bearing symbolic significance. In 1918, Adler returned to Poland. Together with other young Jewish artists, he took part in the exhibition arranged by the Artistic Society of Łodz. His desire to express national self-awareness in contemporary art forms brought him close to young Jewish artists in Łodz who were pursuing the same goal. This circle formed "Yung Yiddish," a group that brought together Yiddish writers and modernist artists. Adler was among its founders; he took an active part in its performances and published his poems and etchings in its anthologies. In 1919, he displayed his works at the Jewish Kultur-Liga exhibition in Białystok. His works of this period are executed in an expressionist style incorporating elements of cubism and are characterized by ecstatic pathos and use of Jewish mystic symbols (as in *My Parents*, 1919; Muzeum Sztuki, Łodz). In 1920, Adler returned to Germany and for some time resided in Berlin, where he established close contacts both with German radical avant-garde artists and Jewish artistic circles, among them Marc *Chagall, Elsa Lasker-Schueler, and Henryk *Berlewi, with whom he collaborated. Later, Adler returned to Barmen and in 1920–21 participated in events organized by Dadaist and other avant-garde groups from Duesseldorf and Cologne. He continued maintaining close contacts with Poland and the Jewish modernist artistic movement there. He illustrated two collections of Yiddish poetry published in Łodz in 1921, one of them being *Peril oifn brik* by Moshe *Broderzon, the founder and artistic standard-bearer of the "Yung Yiddish" group. At the International Artistic Exhibition in Duesseldorf, he represented Polish artists. Together with Berlewi, he represented East European Jewish artists and was active in organizing the Congress of the Union of Progressive International Artists (Duesseldorf, May 29–31, 1922) and signing the Union's manifesto. He showed his works at the International Exhibition of Revolutionary Artists in Berlin. In 1922, Adler joined the "Das Junge Rheinland" group and from 1923 participated in "Novembergruppe" exhibitions. After "Das Junge Rheinland" split, Adler became the leader of the "Rheinland" group. In 1924, he took part in the First General German Art Exhibition in the U.S.S.R. He executed monumental murals for the Duesseldorf Planetarium in 1925–26. In the late 1920s, Adler frequently visited Poland, where several of his solo exhibitions took place. Being a prominent figure in German avant-garde art, he unambiguously called himself a "Jewish artist" in his interviews to the Polish and German press. In his publications and statements of the 1920s and 1930s, Adler formulated his own idea of "contemporary Jewish art," which, in his view, should express the striving for "creating new forms" which he believed to be inherent in Judaism and connected to ḥasidic humanistic mysticism. During the 1920s and the early 1930s, his individual artistic manner crystallized, organically combining elements of cubism, primitivism, expressionism, and "Neue Sachlichkeit." At the same time, he often incorporated images of Jews, Jewish inscriptions, and kabbalistic symbols into his compositions. In 1933, when the Nazis came to power in Germany, Adler moved to France. In 1935–37 he lived in Poland and had two solo exhibitions in Warsaw and Łodz. In 1937, Adler's works were withdrawn from German museums as embodiments of "degenerate art." Several of them were shown at "Entartete Kunst" and "Der ewige Jude." In 1937, Adler moved to France; when the country was occupied by Germans in 1940, he fled to the south where he joined the Polish Army. After the Battle of Dunkirk, he was evacuated together with other Polish soldiers to Glasgow, Scotland, and was discharged due to poor health. From 1941, he lived in London, where he was among the initiators of artistic events presenting artists who had fled continental Europe. In addition, he was active in the Ohel club in London, where Jewish intellectuals and artists congregated. Adler's works from the mid-1930s and especially in the 1940s are characterized by a complete rejection of figurative manner and transition to symbolic abstraction. A number of his works created in this period treated "Jewish themes" and reflect his understanding of the Holocaust (as in *Two Rabbis*, 1942; Museum of Modern Art, New York). In 1946–47, Adler's solo exhibitions were on display in London, Dublin, Paris, an d New York.

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[Hillel Kozovsky (2nd ed.)]

ADLER, JOSEPH (1878–1938), U.S. rabbi, scholar, and educationist. Adler was born in Kletzk, Lithuania, and immigrated to America in 1909 after failing in the wood-product industry. His extensive religious education – including stints in yeshivot in Nesvizh, Minsk, Mir, Slobodka, Kovno, and Aishishok as well as rabbinical ordination – probably provided him with little preparation for the cutthroat lumber business, but served him well in the New World. His studies were not confined solely to religious subjects, as he also acquired a familiarity with Russian and Hebrew literature. After arriving in New York City, Adler served as rabbi in a succession of Orthodox synagogues. He joined the Agudat ha-Rabbonim, an organization whose membership was limited to European-trained rabbis. Adler was also active in the religious Zionist movement, directing the Downtown Keren ha-Yesod and becoming an office bearer in the Mizrachi Organization of America. Concerned with the religious laxity of many of his fellow immigrants, he became one of the organizers of the Jewish Sabbath Alliance, an initiative aimed at fostering Sabbath observance within the New York Jewish community. Similar motives most likely inspired his participation in the development of the system of Orthodox religious education. Adler was appointed in 1923 by Shraga Feivel *Mendlowitz, a pioneer of religious day school education in America, as a Talmud teacher at Yeshivah Torah ve-Da'at in Brooklyn. While the school and its later imitators maintained a traditional focus and approach to textual study, Mendlowitz sought to produce a generation of religiously educated American Jews, not train future religious functionaries. In 1931, Adler became the Talmud teacher and principal of Mesivta Tipheret Jerusalem, a yeshivah on the Lower East Side for young men who wanted to combine yeshivah studies during the daytime with evening university classes. This yeshivah was part of an expanding network of religious schools that were established in the interwar and postwar periods by a resurgent Orthodox movement. He held this position until his death.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *American Jewish Year Book*, 41 (1939–1940); J. Sarna, *American Judaism: A History* (2004); M. Sherman, *Orthodox Judaism in America: A Biographical Dictionary and Sourcebook* (1996); *Who's Who in American Jewry* (1926).

[Adam Mendelsohn (2nd ed.)]

ADLER, JULES (1865–1952), French artist. A prolific painter of landscapes, Adler was better known for his urban and industrial scenes such as *The Strike*, *The Factory Interior,* and *Towing the Barge*. These works reveal his socialist outlook and his keen interest in social problems. Adler was regarded as a leading member of the realist school of painting. His son Jean (1899–1944), a painter of promise and integrity, was killed by the Nazis.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Roth, Art, 581–2.

[Edouard Roditi]

ADLER, JULIUS OCHS (1892–1955), U.S. newspaperman and soldier. Adler was born in Chattanooga, Tenn. He graduated from Princeton University and then joined the staff of the *New York Times*, published by his uncle, Adolph *Ochs. At the same time he enrolled as a citizen-soldier. Before World War I he was in the cavalry, but he transferred to the infantry on the outbreak of war. Adler was gassed while commanding a battalion on the Western Front. During World War II he commanded the 77th Infantry Division which was responsible for the defense of the Hawaiian Islands from 1941 to 1944. In 1948 he was promoted to major-general in the reserve. Meanwhile, Adler became vice president of the *New York Times*, and after a number of years he became the paper's general manager (1935). He was also publisher of the *Chattanooga Times.* In 1945 Adler was one of 17 newspaper executives invited by General Eisenhower to visit the liberated concentration camps and he wrote a series of moving and dramatic articles on them for the *New York Times.* In 1954 he was appointed chairman of the National Security Training Commission, and later headed a commission supervising the building of a combat-ready reserve through a modified form of universal military training.

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[Irving Rosenthal]

ADLER, LARRY (1914–2001), harmonica (mouth organ) player. Born in Baltimore, Adler won the Maryland Harmonica Championship at the age of 13. He first performed in revues and films, developing the technique of the 12-hole chromatic harmonica. He worked in England from 1934 to 1939, with many prominent jazz musicians. In 1939 he made his debut as a concert soloist with the Sydney Symphony Orchestra. In 1940, determined to read music, he studied with Ernst Toch.

During World War II Adler joined the dancer Paul Draper touring for U.S. organizations abroad. On his return to the U.S. in 1959, he embarked on a career as a concert performer appearing as a soloist with leading symphony orchestras. Adler was acknowledged as the first harmonica player who elevated the instrument to concert status. His repertoire included arrangements of classical works, and famous composers wrote for him such as Darius *Milhaud, R. Vaughan Williams, Gordon Jacob, and Malcolm Arnold. Adler toured extensively and broadcast frequently on radio and television. He appeared in films and composed scores for the cinema, such as *Genevieve* and *A High Wind in Jamaica.*

In 1988 Adler was made a fellow of Yale University. His CD *The Glory of Gershwin* earned him a place in the Guinness Book of Records as the oldest artist to reach the British pop charts. He also recorded as a pianist and singer and published several books, including *How I Play* (1936), *Harmonica Favorites* (1944), the autobiography *It Ain't Necessarily So* (1984), and *Have I Ever Told You* (2001).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Grove online, s.v.; *Baker's Biographical Dictionary* (1997).

[Naama Ramot (2nd ed.)]

ADLER, LAZARUS LEVI (1810–1886), German rabbi and pedagogue. Adler's education included intensive Talmud study in Gelnhausen (Hesse-Nassau) and Wuerzburg and secular studies culminating in a doctorate from the University of Erlangen in 1833. In 1852 Adler became district rabbi of the province of Hesse-Kassel and retained this post until his retirement to Wiesbaden in 1883. Adler represented the more conservative branch of the Reform movement in Germany. While a consistent advocate of religious and educational progress, he opposed measures, such as the abolition of circumcision, which he felt would create an unbridgeable gulf between factions of the Jewish community. He was president of the Kassel rabbinical conference (1868) and an important participant in the German-Jewish synods of Leipzig (1869) and Augsburg (1871). From 1837 to 1839 Adler published *Die Synagoge*, a periodical containing sermons, popular historical studies, and essays dealing with contemporary Jewish issues. His final religious position is presented in *Hillel und Schamai* (1878).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: M. Kayserling (ed.), *Bibliothek juedischer Kanzelredner*, 2 (1870), 222–5.

[Michael A. Meyer]

ADLER, LIEBMAN (1812–1892), U.S. rabbi. Born in the town of Lengsfeld in the Grand Duchy of Saxe-Weimar, Adler received his education at the Jewish high school in Frankfurt and later trained at the teachers' seminary in Weimar. He taught at the synagogue school in Lengsfeld until 1854, immigrating to America in his early forties. Adler served as rabbi at Temple Bethel in Detroit before assuming the pulpit of Kehillath Anshe Maarabh in Chicago in 1861. His arrival coincided with a period of dissension within the German congregation over the introduction of liturgical reforms. A self-styled "orthodox reformer," Adler proved to be a perfect fit for the divided congregation, able to act as a mediator between the younger reform-minded generation and older traditionalist immigrants. Under his stewardship, the synagogue gradually adopted reformist innovations. Adler served the congregation for over 20 years, earning the adoration of its membership. He delivered sermons in German until 1872, when the congregation hired a minister able to preach in English. During the Civil War, he spoke out forcefully against slavery. Adler was a regular contributor to the German-language Jewish press in America. He also published three volumes of sermons in German. The Jewish Publication Society printed a collection of his sermons in translation in 1893.

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[Adam Mendelsohn (2nd ed.)]

ADLER, MAX (1866–1952), U.S. merchant-executive, musician, and philanthropist, who provided the money for America's first planetarium. Born in Elgin, Illinois, Adler as a child revealed remarkable talent for the violin. After receiving instruction in Elgin and Chicago, he was sent in 1884 to study at the Royal Conservatory in Berlin. Upon his return to the United States in 1888, he joined Boston's Mendelssohn Quintet as violinist and manager. In 1897, in response to the invitation of his brother-in-law, Julius *Rosenwald, president of Sears, Roebuck and Company, Adler left the concert platform to supervise the firm's music department. He rose rapidly to a vice presidency and membership on the board of directors. His enthusiasm for music never waned, and among his many philanthropic acts was the assistance he gave promising young musicians. His principal philanthropy was his gift to Chicago in 1930 of the Adler Planetarium and Astronomical Museum.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: P.D. Bregstone, *Chicago and its Jews* (1933); H.J. Smith, *Chicago's Great Century, 1833–1933* (1933).

[Morton Mayer Berman]

ADLER, MAX (1873–1937), Austrian socialist theoretician. Adler studied law at the university of his native Vienna, where he was professor of sociology from 1920. He joined the socialist movement in his youth and was a Social-Democratic deputy in the Austrian parliament for more than twenty years.

In his first major work, *Kausalitaet und Teleologie im Streite um die Wissenschaft* (1904), as well as in such later writings as *Das Soziologische in Kants Erkenntnis-Kritik* (1924) and *Kant und der Marxismus* (1925), he considers society and social phenomena not only as products of social interaction, but also as *a priori* concepts of the human mind. The social nature of consciousness brings about actual sociation and societal development. Using this theory as a basis, he formulated a dynamic proletarian (as opposed to a static bourgeois) sociology, and epistemologically clarified the materialistic conception of history. He attempted to fortify the dialectic elements in Marxism with the principles of idealistic philosophy. These ideas are worked out in *Marxistische Probleme* (1913), *Wegweiser-Studien zur Geistegeschichte des Sozialismus* (1914), *Die Staalsauffassung des Marxismus* (1922), *Marx als Denker* (2nd ed. 1925), *Lehrbuch der materialistisehen Geschichtsauffassung* (1930–32), and *Das Raetsel der Gesellschaft* (1936). His book *Neue Menschen* (1926) was translated into Hebrew under the title *Anshei ha-Maḥteret* (1931).

Adler's combination of philosophical idealism and socioeconomic realism led him to a deterministic interpretation of Marxism and to revisionism in socialist politics. He warned that the ruling classes would be likely to abandon parliamentary democracy as soon as class antagonisms became intensified and that a revolutionary posture of the unified Socialist movement was therefore necessary. This position is clarified in his book *Politische oder soziale Demokratie* (1926).

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[Werner J. Cahnman]

ADLER, MICHAEL (1868–1944), English minister and historian. Born into an immigrant Russian-Jewish family, he later adopted the name Adler. In 1890 he was appointed minister of the newly founded Hammersmith Synagogue in London and was for many years minister of the Central Synagogue. In World War I he served as senior Jewish chaplain to the armed forces, receiving a medal for his efforts. He was also chairman of the Jewish Central Lads' Brigade. He published, mainly in the *Transactions of the Jewish Historical Society of England* (of which he was president, 1934–36), a number of fundamental essays on the history of the Jews in England in the Middle Ages, based largely on documentary sources. Many of these were republished in his *The Jews of Medieval England* (1939). He also published two Hebrew grammars and edited *British Jewry, Book of Honour* (1922) on the service of the English Jews in World War I.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: JHSET, 15 (1946), 191–4; M. Adler, *History of the Hammersmith Synagogue* (1950), 9–13 (memoir by A. Barnett); *The Times* (Oct. 2, 1944); JC (Oct. 6, 1944).

[Cecil Roth]

ADLER, MORITZ (1826–1902), Hungarian painter. Born in Budapest, Adler studied in Munich and in Paris. On his return to Hungary, he settled in Budapest. Adler's reputation was created with his painting *Memento Mori* (1852). A meticulous artist, he was popular as a painter of genre and still life, and made portraits of many eminent Hungarians of his time. His *Apotheosis of Baron Joseph Eötvös* pays tribute to this champion of the emancipation of Hungary's Jews.

ADLER, MORRIS (1906–1966), U.S. Conservative rabbi. Adler, son of a rabbi, was born in Slutzk, Russia, and was brought to the U.S. in 1913. After serving in Buffalo, N.Y., Rabbi Adler accepted the pulpit of Shaare Zedek in Detroit, Mich. (1938), where, except for his chaplaincy (1943–46), he remained for the rest of his life. Under Rabbi Adler's leadership the congregation grew into one of the largest in the world, and he was considered by many to be the leading spokesman of the Detroit Jewish community. He was especially devoted to the field of adult Jewish education, on which he lectured and wrote extensively. A friend of labor leader Walter Reuther, Rabbi Adler served as chairman of the Public Review Board of the United Auto Workers (1957–66) and was a member of the Michigan Fair Election Practices Commission and the Labor-Management Citizens' Committee. He was a member of the Governor's Commission on Higher Education (1963–66). Positions he held in the Jewish world included chairmanship of the B'nai B'rith Adult Jewish Education Commission (1963–66) and various offices in the Rabbinical Assembly. He wrote *Great Passages from the Torah* (1947) for adult Jewish study, and *World of the Talmud* (1958). He also edited the *Jewish Heritage Reader* (with Lily Edelman, 1965).

He was killed during Sabbath services in his synagogue by a mentally ill youth. The day of his funeral was declared by Governor George Romney a day of mourning in the state of Michigan. A collection of his writings, compiled by his widow Goldie Adler and Lily Edelman, *May I Have a Word With You*, appeared in 1967. A second posthumous volume, *The Voice Still Speaks: Message of Torah for Contemporary Man* (ed. Jacob Chinitz), appeared in 1969.

[Alvin Kass]

ADLER, MORTIMER JEROME (1902–2001), U.S. philosopher and educator. Born in New York, Adler studied and later taught psychology at Columbia. From 1927 to 1929 he was assistant director of the People's Institute in New York. In 1930, he was appointed associate professor of philosophy of law at the University of Chicago (full professor in 1942), where he was active in curriculum reform. In 1952 he became director of the Institute for Philosophical Research in Chicago. Adler opposed John Dewey's influence in education, and advocated studying the great books of the Western tradition. While he continued his educational reforms on a more conservative basis, the concept of seminars on "great books" and "great ideas" continued to become integrated into programs at other educational institutions. In 1952, his work in this area culminated in the publication of the *Great Books of the Western World* by the Encyclopaedia Britannica company in 54 volumes (1945–52), with R.M. Hutchins.

Adler helped found the Institute for Philosophical Research and the Aspen Institute. He taught business leaders the classics at the Aspen Institute for more than 40 years. He was also on the board of the Ford Foundation and the Board of Editors of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, where his influence was clearly felt in its policies and programs. He was also the co-founder, along with Max Weismann, of the Center for the Study of Great Ideas.

In 1977, Adler published an autobiography entitled *Philosopher at Large*, which was later followed by another account entitled *A Second Look in the Rearview Mirror: Further Autobiographical Reflections of a Philosopher at Large* (1992). He spent a lifetime making philosophy's greatest texts accessible to everyone. Throughout his teaching career, he remained devoted to helping those outside academia educate themselves further. According to Adler, no one, no matter how old, should stop learning. He wrote more than 20 books after the age of 70, and at the age of 95 was working on his 60th, *The New Technology: Servant or Master?*

Adler's main works include *Art and Prudence* (1937); *St. Thomas and the Gentiles* (1938); *How to Read a Book* (1940); *A Dialectic of Morals* (1941); *The Capitalist Manifesto* (with L. Kelso, 1958); *Great Ideas from the Great Books* (1961); *The Conditions of Philosophy* (1966); *The Difference of Man and the Difference It Makes* (1968); *Reforming Education: The Opening of the American Mind* (1977); *The Time of Our Lives: Ethics of Common Sense* (1970); *Aristotle for Everybody: Difficult Thought Made Easy* (1980); *The Paideia Proposal: An Educational Manifesto* (1982); *The Angels and Us* (1982); *Six Great Ideas* (1984); *A Vision of the Future: Twelve Ideas for a Better Life and a Better Society* (1984); *Ten Philosophical Mistakes* (1985); *How to Speak / How to Listen* (1985); *A Guidebook to Learning: For a Lifelong Pursuit of Wisdom* (1986); *Truth in Religion: The Plurality of Religions and the Unity of Truth* (1990); *How to Think about God: A Guide for the 20th-Century Pagan* (1991); *Desires, Right & Wrong: The Ethics of Enough* (1991); and *Adler's Philosophical Dictionary: 125 Key Terms for the Philosopher's Lexicon* (1995).

A self-described pagan for most of his life, Adler converted to Christianity in 1984 and was baptized by an Episcopalian priest. In 1999, he converted to Roman Catholicism.

[Richard H. Popkin / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

ADLER, NATHAN BEN SIMEON HA-KOHEN (1741–1800), German rabbi. Born into a distinguished family in Frankfurt, Adler was a student of Tevele David *Schiff, and became known as an "*illui*" (an extraordinarily talented student of Talmud). In addition to talmudic subjects, he studied the natural sciences and Hebrew and Aramaic grammar. At the age of 20 he had achieved a reputation for his scholarship and piety. He founded a yeshivah which drew students from many cities. His students included Seckel Loeb *Wormser, Mendel *Kargau, and Moses *Sofer. Adler was especially attracted to practical Kabbalah. He gathered a congregation in his home and conducted the services from the prayer book of Isaac *Luria, employing the Sephardi pronunciation he had learned from R. Ḥayyim Modai of Jerusalem who had been his houseguest for several years. Adler even had the priestly blessing recited daily, and departed from accepted practices in other particulars. He was especially stringent in regard to laws relating to ritual slaughter and the dietary laws. Although he was careful not to cite the Zohar or to canvass disciples for his views, there was considerable friction between his followers and the community leaders. Nevertheless, his profound learning and impeccable conduct were universally acknowledged. In 1779, his followers excommunicated one of the members of the Frankfurt community. Adler was summoned to the *bet din* to account for this presumptuous act. He refused to appear, and in consequence a resolution was passed and proclaimed in the synagogues, forbidding him to conduct services in his house, forbidding any member of the community from participating in these services, and threatening transgressors with excommunication. Adler ignored the order, whereupon a statement was issued by the rabbis and communal leaders of Frankfurt, signed by Phinehas *Horowitz. It threatened to place Adler under a ban which would prevent him from fulfilling any rabbinic functions and withdraw his right to decide on religious matters. The decision was referred to the civil authorities and approved by them, and Adler was obliged to submit. A temporary truce resulted when Adler was invited to accept the post of rabbi of Boskowitz in Moravia (1782). His devoted follower, Moses Sofer, decided not to abandon his master, and Adler encouraged him to accompany him. Eighteen years later, in his eulogy on Adler, Sofer declared, "I ran after him for 100 miles, forsaking my mother's house, and the home in which I was born." On their way, they passed through Prague where they were received with great honor by Ezekiel *Landau. Adler, however, was not happy in Boskowitz, and after three years a dispute broke out between him and the community as a result of his attempt to introduce regulations regarding *terefot* which were more stringent than those hitherto in use. As a result he was obliged to leave the city. He and Sofer reached Vienna in the spring of 1785, but eventually Adler returned to Frankfurt, while Sofer settled in Prossnitz. In Frankfurt Adler reopened his yeshivah and reconvened his congregation. No action was taken by the community, but, in 1789, two of his students were punished by the communal leaders for alarming the community with accounts of their dreams. Adler and his disciples placed great significance on heavenly signs, miracles, and especially dreams. Adler himself was well-known for his dreams. As part of his kabbalistic life style, he was in constant search of divine revelation and prophetic visions. The excommunication pronounced ten years earlier against Adler and his *dayyan*, R. Lazer Wallase (the maternal grandfather of Abraham *Geiger), was renewed. About that time an anonymous polemical pamphlet entitled *Ma'asei Ta'atu'im* (1790) appeared in Frankfurt, describing the practices of the Ḥasidim who were attracted to Adler. The author of the brochure, a certain Loeb Wetzler, who wrote in the style of the early Haskalah, claimed that the Ḥasidim had devised new laws. Adler's community did deviate from common practice in the areas of prayer, asceticism, and wearing two sets of *tefillin* instead of the usual one, all based on their study of Kabbalah. The added strictures of law, the asceticism, and the life style based on Kabbalah were very close to similar practices of the nascent ḥasidic communities developing in Eastern Europe during the same period. To a certain extent the opposition to these "deviant" practices was motivated by a resurgence of interest in the Shabbatean movement that occurred at the same time. The excommunication on Adler was removed on the 11th of Elul 1800, only three weeks before his death. The eulogy was delivered by R. Phinehas Horowitz, *av bet din* of Frankfurt. Adler left no writings except some brief notes, based on explanations he had heard from Tevele David Schiff. He wrote these in the margins of his copy of the Mishnah. Some, on *Berakhot* and tractates of the order *Zera'im*, were published by R. Ẓevi Benjamin Auerbach under the title *Mishnat Rabbi Nathan* (1862). Some of Adler's views on *halakhah* and *aggadah* and his *minhagim* were published in Moses Sofer's *Ḥatam Sofer* and *Torat Moshe* (1906^{2}). Adler's method in teaching the Oral Law was original. He took the Mishnah as his starting point, gave the results of the discussion of the *Gemara* on it, and then pointed out the various stages in the development of the *halakhah* as it appears in the works of the early codifiers, particularly Maimonides and Alfasi.

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[Zvi Avneri / David Derovan (2nd ed.)]

ADLER, NATHAN MARCUS (1803–1890), British chief rabbi. Nathan Adler was born in Hanover, then under the British crown, and was educated in Germany. He became rabbi of Oldenburg in 1829 and succeeded his father, Marcus Baer Adler, at Hanover the following year. In 1844 he was elected chief rabbi of the United Hebrew Congregations of the British Empire in succession to Solomon *Hirschel. He was chosen by a representative gathering of national delegates, and not, as with his predecessors, by the London Great Synagogue alone. S.R. *Hirsch was among the other candidates. During his 45 years of office the Anglo-Jewish community developed its modern features, which Adler did much to shape. His firm but enlightened orthodoxy was coupled with a strong and attractive personality. Adler was largely responsible for the failure of the *Reform movement, established in England shortly before his arrival, to make much headway there. His wide-ranging and ambitious conception of his office was made clear in his *Laws and Regulations for all the Ashkenazi Synagogues in the British Empire*, issued in 1847. He was mainly responsible for the establishment of *Jews' College in 1855 and was a moving spirit in the organization of the Jewish Board of Guardians in 1859. In 1866 he took the first steps toward the creation of the *United Synagogue. His pastoral tours and visits to provincial communities made his influence felt throughout the country, and he was also able to secure recognition of his authority in the British colonies. Adler regarded Anglo-Orthodoxy as lax compared with the Continent and therefore in need of central direction. Outside the community he was regarded as the official representative and public spokesman for Judaism. Ill health curtailed his activity after 1879, when his son Hermann *Adler was appointed delegate chief rabbi. His principal literary work is *Netinah la-Ger*, a Hebrew commentary on the Targum *Onkelos (Vilna, 1875; published in numerous editions). His *Ahavat Yonatan*, a commentary on the Targum Jonathan, remains in manuscript (JTSA, Ms. Adler, 1173). Adler enjoyed an international reputation for his scholarship. He greatly strengthened the position of the chief rabbi.

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[Cecil Roth]

ADLER, PAUL (1878–1946), German author. Adler studied law in his native Prague and served for a short time as a judge. He moved to France and Italy and finally settled in Hellerau, an artists' community near Dresden. He joined the "Hellerau Circle," inspired by the publisher Jacob Hegner, who gathered about him neoromantic and expressionist authors, the exponents of an esoteric, religious mysticism. Adler was coeditor of *Neue Blaetter*, the circle's periodical. In 1933, he returned to Czechoslovakia and survived the Nazi occupation in hiding. Adler's best known legendary tales, collected in *Elohim* (1914), teem with fantastic characters, and anticipate those of Franz *Kafka. *Elohim's* giants, angels, and titans combine the symbolism of the Talmud, of Christianity, and of paganism. Adler's two major novels were *Naemlich* (1915) and *Die Zauberfloete* (1916); here he interpreted creation as a work of destruction. In later years he became interested in Japanese literature and collaborated in a monograph, *Japanische Literatur* (1925).

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[Rudolf Kayser]

ADLER, POLLY (**Pearl**; 1900–1962), U.S. author and owner of bordellos. The eldest of nine children of Gertrude Koval and Morris Adler, a tailor, Pearl Adler hoped to complete gymnasium studies in her native Belorussia. However, her father sent her to America to prepare the way for the immigration of the rest of the family. On her own in New York, she was raped at 17 by a sweatshop foreman and resorted to an abortion. Alienated from relatives, she learned to support herself in the sex industry, a survival necessity followed by a significant number of Jewish female immigrants from Eastern Europe. Unsuccessful in legitimate undertakings, Adler became a madam, operating a series of increasingly upscale brothels catering to gangsters and the fashionable upper classes. She retired in 1943 to Burbank, California, where she completed high school and enrolled in college courses. Her notoriety as the classic American madam, "a feisty, albeit disreputable, victor over adversity," was sealed by the publication of her popular memoir, *A House Is Not a Home* (1953) and its film version (1964).

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[Judith R. Baskin (2nd ed.)]

ADLER, RENATA (1938–), U.S. journalist, novelist, and film critic. Born in Milan, Italy, Adler graduated from Bryn Mawr College in 1959; the Sorbonne in 1961; Harvard University in 1962; and Yale University Law School. Trained as a journalist, Adler worked intermittently for 20 years at the *New Yorker* magazine. Hired in her twenties by the legendary editor William *Shawn, she reported from Vietnam; from Selma, Ala., a civil rights hot spot; and from the Middle East. Her first two books were collections of essays and reviews written on assignment for that magazine and for the *New York Times,* where she worked, still in her twenties, for 18 months as a film critic, at a time when film became a serious intellectual, artistic, and political pursuit. Her generally negative reviews so angered the movie-making industry that in 1968 United Artists took out a full-page ad in the *New York Times* denouncing her. Strom Thurmond attacked her on the floor of the Senate for her critique of the John Wayne film *The Green Berets*.

She returned to the *New Yorker* and was promptly sent to report on the civil war in Biafra. Then she went to Washington, where she was hired by the House Committee investigating the Watergate scandal to write speeches for the chairman, Representative Peter Rodino. In 1969, she turned to writing short stories. Her early work surfaced in the *New Yorker,* and she eventually collected and reshaped much of this short fiction into an award-winning first novel, *Speedboat*, a collection of short paragraphs offering snippets of narrative, sometimes presented randomly. Essentially Adler was creating a disturbing portrait of urban life. The critics, however, were unimpressed. The literary controversy was rekindled in 1983 with her second novel, *Pitch Dark*, an autobiographical story about a young woman running from her relationship with a married man. It was similar in style to her first novel, with a skeletal plot and observations arranged haphazardly.

Her legal training was reflected in her 1986 book, an exhaustive investigation into shoddy news reporting practices, *Reckless Disregard: Westmoreland v. CBS et al.; Sharon v. Time.* It dealt with Ariel Sharon's libel suit against *Time* for its reporting of the Sabra and Shatila massacre in Lebanon and Westmoreland's suit against CBS for accusing him of deception in estimating North Vietnamese troop strengths. Adler accused the defendants of refusing to acknowledge even the possibility of error and their lawyers with having displayed "a concerted disregard for the fundamental goals of truth and accuracy." CBS tried to get the book suppressed; the network was unsuccessful and the manuscript was published without change.

In the late 1980s, Adler became a single mother by adopting a baby and wrote little. Her critique of the venerated *New Yorker* film critic Pauline *Kael, published in the *New York Review of Books*, was particularly noteworthy for the viciousness of her attack. In 1999, she published *Gone: The Last Days of the New Yorker,* a critique of the magazine after it changed ownership and editors. In 2001 came *Canaries in the Mineshaft: Essays on Politics and Media.* She also contributed articles and short stories, sometimes under the pseudonym Brett Daniels, to the magazines *National Review, Vanity Fair, Harper's Bazaar, Commentary*, and *Atlantic*. She was a member of the editorial board of *American Scholar* from 1969 to 1975. She was a Guggenheim Fellow in 1973–74, won first prize in the O. Henry Short Story Awards in 1974, won the American Academy and Institute of Arts and Letters Award in 1976, and the Ernest Hemingway Prize in 1976 for the best first novel. She taught at several universities and was a member of PEN and the National Academy of Arts and Letters.

[Stewart Kampel (2nd ed.)]

ADLER, RICHARD (1921–), U.S. composer, lyricist. Bronx-born Adler, the son of a classical pianist-teacher, Clarence Adler, graduated from the University of North Carolina and served as a lieutenant (JG.) in the U.S. Navy during World War II before concentrating on composing. He began collaborating with Jerry Ross, also Bronx-born and Jewish, in 1950 and had a popular success with the song "Rags to Riches." But their first Broadway musical, *The Pajama Game,* in 1954, brought them recognition for the way the songs worked with the plot and for their integration of American speech idioms. The show, about a labor-union conflict and the threat of a strike in a pajama factory, was directed by the venerable George Abbott and also launched the career of Harold *Prince as a producer and established Bob Fosse as a major choreographer. Jerome *Robbins was hired as a backup in case Fosse did not work out. The show had hit songs like "Hernando's Hideaway," "Hey There," and "Steam Heat." The next year Adler and Ross gave Broadway *Damn Yankees*, a musical comedy version of the Faust story, with such songs as "Whatever Lola Wants" and "(You Gotta Have) Heart." But Ross died that year, at the age of 29, of a bronchial infection and Adler began to work alone.

Adler had little commercial success with Broadway musicals in the 1960s and 1970s but his symphonic works, including "Yellowstone Overture"; "Wilderness Suite," commissioned by the Interior Department for full orchestra to celebrate the wilderness park lands; and "The Lady Remembers," commissioned by the Statue of Liberty / Ellis Island Foundation to celebrate the statue's centennial, also for full orchestra; and his ballets were performed widely and won awards. He also achieved success at composing musical commercials ("Let Hertz Put You in the Driver's Seat") and earned himself the sobriquet "king of the jingles." Adler was also called on to produce shows to mark celebrations and stage entertainments for inaugural galas. Perhaps his most celebrated show was produced on May 19, 1962, when Marilyn *Monroe sang "Happy Birthday" to President John F. Kennedy during a birthday salute at Madison Square Garden. Adler won two Tony (theater) awards and four Pulitzer Prize nominations; he was a member of the Songwriter's Hall of Fame.

In later years, Adler turned to a form of meditation called Siddha Yoga, which he said helped him deal with the grief when his son died of cancer at the age of 30 and when he himself battled throat cancer.

[Stewart Kampel (2nd ed.)]

ADLER, SAMUEL (1809–1891), rabbi and pioneer of the Reform movement. Adler, born in Worms, was the son of Rabbi Isaac Adler, who gave him his early education. He received a traditional education at the Frankfurt Yeshivah and studied privately with Rabbi Jacob Bamberger. He also received a secular education at the University of Bonn and Giessen, where he studied philosophy and especially Hegel under Joseph Hillebrand. He officiated as preacher and assistant rabbi at Worms, and in 1842 was appointed rabbi of the Alzey (Rhenish Hesse) district. Adler was one of the early protagonists of Reform and took part in the rabbinical conferences of 1844–46 (see *Reform Judaism). He worked strenuously for the improvement of Jewish education and the removal of legal disabilities affecting Jews. He believed that rituals had to be changed to fit contemporary circumstance and worked on improving the status of women in Jewish education and in prayer. In 1857 Adler went to America as rabbi of Congregation Emanu-el in New York, succeeding Leo *Merzbacher. A classic reformer, he rejected supernatural revelation and the authority of the law. He omitted references to the return to Zion in the prayer book and during the parts of the service that were not devotional, head covering was removed at Emanu-El. He published a revised edition of its prayer book in 1860, and in 1865 helped form a theological seminary under the auspices of his congregation. He was also one of the founders of the Hebrew Orphan Asylum. Adler's interests were scholarly, and he appears to have exercised little influence on the community. In 1874 his congregation resolved on his retirement and appointed him rabbi emeritus. When the Central Conference of American Rabbis was established (1889), Adler was made honorary president. Among his publications are *A Guide to Instruction in Israelite Religion* (1864) and a selection of his writings, *Kobez al Jad,* was published privately (1886). An English translation of Adler's memoirs was published privately by A.G. Sanborn (1967). His son Felix was presumed to be his successor but left the rabbinate to found the Ethical Culture Society and therefore take his father's ideas to the next stage of their evolution where the particularity of Jews and Judaism are no longer necessary.

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[Sefton D. Temkin / Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

ADLER, SAMUEL M. (1898–1979), U.S. painter. Born in New York City, Adler began drawing as a child. His parents saw the life of an artist as a challenge and thus did not encourage his interest. Nonetheless, at the age of 13 – several years earlier than typical admissions – Adler began artistic training at the National Academy of Design in New York. A talented violinist as well, he supported himself by playing in various venues, from weddings to symphonies. Before graduation Adler left the Academy, dedicating himself to music full time.

In 1933 Adler returned to painting. His first one-man show was not until mid life, when he had a 1948 exhibition at the Joseph Luyber Galleries in New York. This exhibition showed only his current work as two years previously he had destroyed all but two of his paintings. Overnight, critics lauded Adler as an important contemporary artist. Within the year he was teaching art at New York University and from this period on his works were displayed at, and acquired by, various venues in New York and elsewhere.

While Adler grew up with little religious training, he turned to depictions of the Jewish experience when he entered the art world. He created dozens of paintings of rabbis, including *White Rabbi* (1951), which shows a young rabbi in a *tallit* and *kippah* standing in front of Sabbath candles. In this work, and others, one can see the influence of Amadeo *Modigliani's simplified, symmetrical approach to the human figure. Adler always kept the human form at the center of his art, even as he moved away from representational painting to more abstract collages.

Adler discussed his view of Jewish art in a 1964 public lecture: "I believe in a dimension in every work of art that lies beyond the measurables, an inexplicable, a quality of life we call presence, that cannot be construed as either Jewish or Christian."

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[Samantha Baskind (2nd ed.)]

ADLER, SAUL AARON (1895–1966), Israeli physician and parasitologist. Adler was born in Karelitz, Russia, but was taken to England as a child of five. He studied medicine at Leeds University and specialized in tropical medicine at the University of Liverpool. During World War I he served as a doctor and pathologist with the British armies on the Iraqi front. Between 1921 and 1924 he did research on malaria in Sierra Leone. In 1924 he made his home in Jerusalem and joined the staff of the Hebrew University Medical School. Four years later he was appointed professor and director of the Parasitological Institute of the university. Adler translated Darwin's *Origin of Species* into Hebrew.

Under the auspices of the British Royal Society, he organized a number of scientific expeditions in the countries and islands of the Mediterranean. He specialized in the etiology and pathology of tropical diseases, the ways in which parasites pathogenic to man and animals are spread, and the immunology of protozoan infections. Adler introduced the Syrian golden hamster (brought to the Hebrew University from Aleppo by Israel *Aharoni) into experimental medicine. His work on malaria, cattle fever, leprosy, and dysentery, and his pioneer research into the Leishmania diseases (the Jericho and kala-azar groups) and their carriers, the sandflies, won him an international reputation. In 1933 Adler was awarded the Chalmers Gold Medal of the Royal Society of Tropical Medicine and Hygiene for his work on the transmission of kala-azar by the sandfly. In 1957 he was made a Fellow of the Royal Society.

[Meir Yoeli]

ADLER, SELIG (1909–1984), U.S. historian. Born in Baltimore, Maryland, Adler graduated from the University of Buffalo in 1931. He was appointed to the history faculty of the University of Buffalo in 1938 and subsequently named Samuel Paul Capen Professor of American History at the State University of New York at Buffalo in 1959. He specialized in American diplomatic and American Jewish history. His *Isolationist Impulse* (1957) is a study of isolationist thinking in the United States between the two World Wars. *American Foreign Policy Between the Wars* (1965) is a judicious, widely accepted account of that contentious subject. *From Ararat to Suburbia: A History of the Jewish Community of Buffalo* (with Thomas E. Connolly; 1960) is one of the most extensive and exact histories of any Jewish community. He was also the archivist for the Buffalo Jewish community archives that bear his name, which are located in the Butler Library at Buffalo State College. Active in Jewish communal and cultural affairs, Adler was a member of the New York Kosher Law Advisory Board and of the executive board of the American Jewish Historical Society.

[Lloyd P. Gartner / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

ADLER, SHALOM BEN MENAHEM (1847–1899), rabbi and author. Adler was educated in the home of his uncle R. Hillel *Lichtenstein. In 1869 Adler was appointed rabbi of Szerednye (now Sered, Slovakia), a position he occupied for 30 years until his death. His *Rav Shalom*, published posthumously by his son-in-law Elijah Sternhell (1902), is distinguished for its inspiring homilies and beautiful style. His unpublished works include novellae on the Talmud and responsa. His three sons were all rabbis: Menahem Judah, his successor; Phinehas, the rabbi of Radvancz; and Joab, the rabbi of Tapoly-Hanusfalva, who was born in 1880 and killed by the Nazis.

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[Naphtali Ben-Menahem]

ADLER, STELLA (1901–1992), U.S. actress and acting teacher. An exponent of Method acting and probably the leading American teacher of her craft, Adler was born into a celebrated acting family rooted in the Yiddish theater (see *Adler). She made her stage debut at four, appeared in nearly 200 plays, and occasionally directed productions. She also shaped the careers of thousands of performers at the Stella Adler Conservatory of Acting, which she founded in Manhattan in 1949 and where she taught for decades.

Born in Manhattan, the youngest daughter of Jacob Adler and the former Sara Levitzky, Russian immigrants who led the Independent Yiddish Art Company, Stella had five siblings, and they all became actors, notably Luther. Her parents were the leading classical Yiddish stage tragedians in the United States. Stella started on the stage in 1905 at the Grand Street Theater on the Lower East Side in Manhattan. She played both girls' and boys' roles and then ingénues in a variety of classical and contemporary plays over ten years in the United States, Europe, and South America, performing in vaudeville and the Yiddish theater. She won acclaim as the leading lady of Maurice *Schwartz, but she sought more versatility. Her work schedule allowed little time for formal schooling.

She was introduced to the Method theories of Konstantin Stanislavsky, the legendary Moscow Art Theater actor and director, in 1925 when she took courses at the American Laboratory Theater school, founded by Richard Boleslavski and Maria Ouspenskaya, former members of the Moscow troupe. Adler's most frenetic years were with the Group Theater, a cooperative ensemble dedicated to reinvigorating the theater with plays about important contemporary topics. The Group, founded by Harold *Clurman (whom she married in 1943), Lee *Strasberg and Cheryl Crawford, also believed in a theater that would probe the depths of the soul. Both aspects appealed to her and she joined in 1931. She won high praise for performances in such realistic dramas as *Success Story* by John Howard Lawson and two seminal Clifford *Odets plays, *Awake and Sing!* and *Paradise Lost.* She was also hailed for directing the touring company of Odets' *Golden Boy.* Recalling her years with the company, she deplored a dearth of good roles for women in "a man's theater aimed at plays for men." But she credited the company with evoking in her an idealism that shaped her later career. "I knew that I had it in me to be more creative, had much more to give to people," she said. "It was the Group Theater that gave me my life."

Before the Method revolutionized American theater, classical acting instruction had focused on developing external talents. Method acting was the first systematized training that also developed internal abilities, sensory, psychological, and emotional. Strasberg, who headed the Actors Studio until his death in 1982, rooted his view on what Stanislavsky stressed in his early career. Adler went to Paris and studied intensively with Stanislavsky for five weeks in 1934. She found he had revised his theories to stress that the actor should create by imagination rather than by memory and that the key to success was "truth, truth in the circumstances of the play." She instructed: "Your talent is your imagination. The rest is lice." She was a stern taskmaster, believing that a teacher's job is to agitate as well as inspire. She demanded craftsmanship and self-awareness, calling it the key to an actor's sense of fulfillment. When students failed to understand roles, she acted them out, insisting: "You can't be boring. Life is boring. The weather is boring. Actors must not be boring."

She appeared in three films: *Love on Toast* (1938), *Shadow of the Thin Man,* and *My Girl Tisa* (1948). Her later stage roles included a fiery lion tamer in a 1946 revival of *He Who Gets Slapped* and in London an eccentric mother in a black comedy, *Oh Dad, Poor Dad, Mama's Hung You in the Closet and I'm Feeling So Sad,* in 1961. She restated her theories in *Stella Adler on Acting*, published by Bantam Books in 1988. For her students, who included Marlon Brando, Robert De Niro, Warren Beatty, and Candice Bergen, she was both the toughest critic and the most profound inspiration, saying: "You act with your soul. That's why you all want to be actors, because your souls are not used up by life."

[Stewart Kampel (2nd ed.)]

ADLER, VICTOR (1852–1918), pioneer and leader of the Austrian Social-Democratic party and a prominent figure in the international labor movement. Born in Prague, Adler was taken as a child to Vienna where his father became a rich man and, two years before his death, embraced Catholicism. A physician by profession, Adler devoted his life to the cause of the working class. His greatest political victory was the granting of universal suffrage by the Imperial Government in 1905. He was a member of the Austrian parliament from 1905 to 1918 and foreign minister in the Socialist government of 1918. Adler was a victim of antisemitic agitation and suffered from the ambivalent attitude to Jews on the part of his colleagues at school and university. After his marriage he converted to Christianity "to save his children from embarrassment." During his long political life he was always conscious of his origin but avoided taking a clear stand on Jewish issues. He opposed a debate on antisemitism at a congress of the Socialist International in Brussels in 1891. In later life, free from any religious affiliations, Adler refused to acknowledge the specific problems of the Jewish proletariat and opposed the idea of Jewish nationhood.

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[Schneier Zalman Levenberg]

ADLERBLUM, NIMA (1881–1974), author and philosopher. Adlerblum, a daughter of Ḥayyim *Hirschensohn, was born in Jerusalem but left the city with her parents when she was about 11, moving to Turkey and later to the United States. She studied in Paris and subsequently at Columbia University, where she became closely associated with John Dewey. Her doctoral thesis, *A Study of Gersonides in His Proper Perspective* (Columbia University Press, 1926), was actually a call for a new approach to Jewish philosophy, which she felt was wrongly assessed by being viewed in its relation to other contemporary philosophies, maintaining that its true main thrust could be detected only when it was examined within its own environment. This conception, she argued, was best expressed by *Judah Halevi (1075–1145) who, in his *Kuzari*, maintained that Judaism had its own spiritual ideas and ideals, which were intimately bound with the historic experience of the Jewish people. Her attitude coincided with John Dewey's philosophical theory that the value of abstract thinking depended on its concern with living experience and its fruitful application to life, but her views were challenged and criticized by many scholars.

In her *A Perspective of Jewish Life Through Its Festivals* (1930) she further expounded her philosophical theory of Judaism, and in her *Elan Vital of the Jewish Woman* (1934) she stressed that woman's sensitivity in certain areas was vital and would enrich Jewish scholarship when it was opened up to them. She also published philosophical treatises on medieval Jewish thinkers. Adlerblum served on the international committee for spreading the teaching of John Dewey (outside America), was a member of the American Philosophical Association, and a life fellow of the International Institute of Arts and Letters. She was active in Hadassah from its inception, serving on its National Board from 1922 to 1935.

After an absence of 80 years she returned to Israel. A number of her articles on the vivid impact of her childhood in Jerusalem on her thinking were included in *The Jewish Heritage Series* edited by Rabbi Leo Jung (New York).

[Penina Peli (2nd ed.)]

ADLER-RUDEL, SALOMON (1894–1975), social worker. He was born in Czernowitz, Austro-Hungary (now Ukraine). Adler-Rudel was director of the Welfare Organization of Eastern Jews in Berlin (1919–30) and was active in developing welfare services for Jewish migrants from Eastern Europe. As director of the Berlin Jewish community's department of productive welfare from 1930 to 1934, he contributed to programs to reduce dependence and to increase self-support among welfare cases. From 1926 to 1929 he served as editor of the *Juedische Arbeits – und Wanderfuersorge.* When the Nazis came to power, he moved to London where he was administrator of the *Central British Fund (1936–45). During World War II, he was prominent in rescue activities of Jews from Europe. After the war he settled in Ereẓ Israel and was director of the Jewish Agency's department of international relations. In this capacity, he prepared agreements with the International Refugee Organization and other international migration bodies for the transfer to Israel of the "hard-core" cases in the European Displaced Persons Camps. From 1958 he was director of the *Leo Baeck Institute for German Jews in Jerusalem. In 1959 he published *Ostjuden in Deutschland 1880–1940*.

[Jacob Neusner]

ADLIVANKIN, SAMUIL (1897–1966), painter and graphic artist. Adlivankin was born in Tatarsk, Mogilev province, Russia. As a child, he received a traditional Jewish education. In 1912–17, he studied at the Odessa Art School. In 1916, he became a member of the Odessa Association of Independent Artists and participated in their exhibitions. In 1918–19, Adlivankin studied at the Moscow Free Art Workshops, where his tutor was V. Tatlin (1885–1953). In the constructivist works created by Adlivankin in 1919–20, Tatlin's influence is clearly manifested. In 1921–23 he joined the New Painters' Society (NOZH) and showed his work at its 1921 exhibition in Moscow. His works of this period feature scenes of everyday Soviet life, treated ironically or satirically and executed in the expressionist manner, sometimes incorporating elements of primitivism. In 1923–28, Adlivankin drew caricatures for various magazines and worked on political posters together with V. Mayakovsky. In the late 1920s he worked for a number of film studios and made set designs for several productions. In the early 1930s, he made several trips to Jewish agricultural communities in the Crimea and Ukraine that inspired several works portraying the life of Jewish kolkhozes and showed them at the exhibition dedicated specifically to this theme, which took place in Moscow in 1936. In the notorious, overtly antisemitic campaign launched in 1949 against "cosmopolitism," Adlivankin, together with other Soviet culture figures who happened to be ethnic Jews, was subjected to severe criticism and distanced from public cultural life until the mid-1950s: his works were not accepted for exhibits, he received no commissions, etc. The first and only one-man exhibition in his lifetime was held in 1961 in Moscow.

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[Hillel Kazovsky (2nd ed.)]

ADLOYADA (Heb. עַדְלָיָדַע; Aramaic עַד דְלָא יָדַע), Purim carnival. The name is derived from the rabbinic saying (Meg. 7b) that one should revel on Purim until one no longer knows (*ad de-lo yada*) the difference between "Blessed be Mordecai" and "Cursed be Haman." The first *Adloyada* was held in Tel Aviv (1912) and spread to other communities in Israel. It is celebrated by carnival processions with decorated floats through the main streets, accompanied by bands.

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ADMISSION, legal concept applying both to debts and facts. Formal admission by a defendant is regarded as equal to "the evidence of a hundred witnesses" (BM 3b). This admission had to be a formal one, before duly appointed witnesses, or before the court, or in writing. When the denial of having received a loan is proved to be false, this is regarded as tantamount to an admission that it has not been repaid. Admissions were originally regarded as irrevocable, but in order to alleviate hardships caused by hasty admissions, the Talmud evolved two causes for their revocation; a plea that the person making the admission had not been serious, or that he had had a special reason for making the admission. When partial admission has been made, the admission is accepted and he is bound to take an oath with regard to the remainder. Admissions can also apply to procedural matters; e.g., on the part of a party to an action that he has no witnesses, in which case he cannot subsequently call one.

The formal admission of a debt, or of facts from which any liability may be inferred, is in civil cases the best evidence of such liability (Git. 40b, 64a; Kid. 65b). The requirements of formality may be met: (1) by making the admission before two competent witnesses, expressly requested to hear and witness the admission (Sanh. 29a); (2) by way of pleading before the court, whether as plaintiff or defendant (Sh. Ar., ḤM 81:22); (3) in writing (*ibid.*, 17); (4) through any of the recognized modes of *kinyan* ("*acquisition" *ibid.*); (5) on oath or the "symbolic shaking of hands by the two parties… which is the equivalent of an oath" (*ibid.*, 28; Herzog, Instit, 2 (1939), 103).

While generally the admission must be explicit, in an action for the recovery of a loan, the denial of the loan would amount to an admission of nonpayment which is implicit in the denial (BB 6a; Shevu. 38b); on proof of the loan, the defendant will then be bound by his admission that he has not repaid it. Conversely, where a plaintiff claims that the defendant owes him a certain species of goods without reserving his right to claim also some other species, he is deemed to have admitted that the defendant owes him only the species claimed and no other, and any admission by the defendant that he does owe another species than that claimed, will not avail the plaintiff (BK 35b). The general rule in a conflict between two contradictory admissions is that the explicit prevails over the implicit and the negative (e.g., "I have not acquired property"") over the positive (e.g., "I have transferred my property"; Tosef., BB 10:1; Git. 40b), but an admission presumed to stem from the knowledge of the relevant facts prevails over one possibly made in ignorance of those facts (cf. BB 149a).

As formal admissions were originally irrevocable, they were widely used as a means of creating new liabilities, as distinguished from the mere acknowledgment of already existing ones. Even though recognized as factually false admissions, they were held to bind the person making them (BB 149a), whether by way of gratuitously incurring a new and enforceable obligation (Ket. 101a–102b; Maim. Yad, Mekhirah, 11:15), or by way of transfer (*kinyan*). The property concerned thus passes from the owner to the person now admitted by him to have acquired it from him, the concurrence of the beneficiary not being required as he was only benefiting by the admission (Git. 40b; Maim. Yad, Zekhiyyah, 4:12). Admissions of this nonprocedural variety are also termed *udita* or *odaita*.

With a view to alleviating hardships caused by precipitate admissions, talmudic jurists evolved two *pleas for having them revoked: the plea of feigning (*hashta'ah*) and the plea of satiation (*hasba'ah*). Where a man, not of his own accord but in reply to a question or demand, made an admission, and on being sued maintained that he had not been serious about it and that the admission was not true, an oath would be administered to him to the effect that he had not intended to admit the debt and that he did not in fact owe it (Sanh. 29b). Similarly, a statement of a person that he had admitted debts owed by him, only for the purpose of ostensibly reducing his assets so as not to appear rich was accepted (Sanh. 29b). Neither plea is valid against admissions made in court, or in writing, or by *kinyan*, or on oath (Sh. Ar., ḤM 81). As to admissions made in writing, some scholars hold that so long as the deed has not been delivered to the creditor, the admittor may plead that he was not serious or that he wrote it in order to appear poor (Sh. Ar., ḤM 65:22 and Isserles to Sh. Ar., ḤM 81:17). A dying man is presumed not to be frivolous on his deathbed, and his admissions are irrevocable (Sanh. 29b), so are admissions made by his debtors in his favor and presence while he is dying (Isserles *ibid.*, 81:2). The public (the community) must be presumed neither to make rash admissions nor to be interested in appearing without means, hence none of the pleas is available against admissions made by or on behalf of the public (lsserles *ibid.*, 81:1). Where only part of a claim is admitted, the admittor will be adjudged to the extent of his admission and be required to take the oath that he does not owe the remainder (Shevu. 7:1). This rule is based on the presumption that no debtor has the temerity to deny his debt falsely in the face of his creditor (Shev. 42b; BM 3a), a presumption which, curiously enough, does not necessarily apply to a debtor denying the whole (as distinguished from a part) of the debt. Where the whole is denied, the oath is administered to the defendant upon the presumption that a plaintiff will not normally abuse the process of the court (Shev. 40b). Where the defendant satisfies the admitted portion of the claim without adjudication, the claim is deemed to be for the nonadmitted portion only and to be denied in whole (BM 4a, 4b). While a part admission must fit the subject matter of the claim (Shev. 38b), it need not necessarily fit the cause of action; thus, the admission of a deposit might fit the claim on a loan (Sh. Ar., Ḥ.M. 88:19). The claim of the whole must precede the admission of the part, the admittor who is not yet a defendant being regarded as a volunteer returning a lost object (Sh. Ar., ḤM 75:3). An admission is not allowed to prejudice the admittor's creditors: the holder of a bill may not be heard to admit that he has no claim on it, or the possessor of chattel that they belong to somebody else, so as to deprive his creditors of an attachable asset (Kid. 65b; Ket. 19a). Admissions need not relate to substantive liabilities, but may be procedural in nature: thus a party may admit that he has no witnesses to prove a particular fact, and he will not then be allowed to call a witness to prove it, lest the witness be suborned (Sanh. 31a); or, having once admitted a particular witness to be untrustworthy, he will not later be able to rely on his testimony (Ket. 44a). Admissions could be accepted for one purpose and rejected for another, e.g., the admission of a wrongful act would be inadmissible as a *confession in criminal or quasi-criminal proceedings, but could afford the basis for awarding damages in a civil suit. This rule is found to have been applied to larceny (BM 37a; see *Theft and Robbery), to the seduction of women (Ket. 41a; see *Rape), to arson (Solomon b. Abraham Adret, resp. 2:231), to *usury (*ibid.*), to embezzlement (see *Theft and Robbery), and to breach of trust (Isserles to Sh. Ar., ḤM 388:8; Yom Tov b. Abraham Ishbili, Ket. 72a); a wife admitting her adultery was held to lose, on the strength of her admission, any claim to maintenance or other monetary benefits, but not her status as a married woman, thus incurring no liability to be divorced or punished (Maim. Yad, Ishut, 24:18). An early authority posed the question whether the injunction, "you shall have one standard of law" (Lev. 24:22), should not be read to prohibit any distinction between civil and criminal law with regard to admissions; the answer is in the negative, because in civil causes it is said: "He shall pay"; but in criminal cases it is said: "He shall die" (Tosef. Shevu. 3:8).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Z. Frankel, *Der gerichtliche Beweis nach mosaisch-talmudischem Rechte* (1846), 127–30, 336–58; M. Bloch, *Die Civilprocess-Ordnung nach mosaisch-rabbinischem Rechte* (1882), 41–43; Gulak, Yesodei, 2 (1922), 44–47; 4 (1922), 78–84; Gulak, Oẓar, 211–3; Karl, in: *Ha-Mishpat ha-Ivri*, 3 (1927/28), 95–98; Herzog, Instit, 1 (1936), 196–200, 268; 2 (1939), 42, 44, 94–97; ET, 1 (19513), 116–7, 253–4, 267–8; 8 (1957), 404–31; J.J. Rabinowitz, *Jewish Law* (1956), 257–63. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** B. Lifshitz, *Obligation and Acquisition in Jewish Law* (1988).

[Haim Hermann Cohn]

ADMON (Gorochov), YEDIDYAH (1897–1982), Israeli composer. Admon, who was born in Yekaterinoslav, Ukraine, went to Ereẓ Israel in 1906. From 1923 to 1927 he studied theory of music and composition in the U.S. In 1927 he returned to Palestine and in the same year published his first songs, among them the popular "Gamal Gemali" (Camel Driver's Song). In 1930 he went to Paris to study with Nadia Boulanger, the French music teacher. For several years Admon was director of the Israeli Performing Rights Society (ACUM). After spending 13 years in America, he returned to Israel in 1968. Admon was a pioneer in the field of Israeli song. He was one of the first Israeli composers, and one of the earliest to create a new style which served, often subconsciously, as a model for other composers. This style blends four elements: the music of the Oriental Jewish communities, especially the Yemenite and Persian; Arab music; ḥasidic music; and Bible cantillation. The result is an absolute organic unity. The rhythm of the Hebrew language is also an important factor in Admon's music. He was awarded the Israel Prize for the arts in 1974. His work includes music for the theater – *Bar Kokhba; Michal, Daughter of Saul*; and *Jeremiah* – for piano and violin, and a symphonic poem, *The Song of Deborah.*

BIBLIOGRAPHY: P. Gradenwitz, *Music and Musicians in Israel* (1959^2), index.

[Herzl Shmueli]

ADMON BEN GADDAI, one of the few civil law judges in Jerusalem whose name is mentioned in talmudic literature (Ket. 13:1–9; TB, Ket. 105a). Admon probably lived in the latter days of the Second Temple, as three of the seven *halakhot* in his name are supported in the Mishnah by R. *Gamaliel the Elder. Admon and his colleagues received a salary of 99 maneh (1 maneh = 100 denarii) from the Temple treasury. However, due to early variants in mishnaic tradition regarding Admon's title, his precise judicial function is not clear. He is referred to as either one of the *dayyanei gezerot* (דַּיָּנֵי גְזֵרוֹת "decree judges") or one of the *dayyanei gezelot* (דַּיָּנֵי גְזֵלוֹת "robbery judges"). On this and similar changes of the Hebrew letters ר and ל see Epstein, *Tarbiz*, 1 (1930), n. 3, 131–2.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Frankel, Mishnah, 63–65; Weiss, Dor, 1 (1904^4), 181ff.; A. Buechler, *Das grosse Synhedrion in Jerusalem* (1902), 111–4.

[Isaiah Gafni]

ADMONI, VLADIMIR GRIGORYEVICH (1909–1993), Soviet Russian literary and linguistic scholar. A professor at the Pedagogical Institute of Leningrad, he specialized in Germanic and Norwegian languages and literature and in the theory of literary translation. He wrote monographs on Ibsen (1956) and Thomas Mann (1960; in collaboration with T.I. Silman) and on problems of German syntax (1955). He also translated and edited the standard Russian version of the works of Ibsen (4 vols., 1956–58). During the 1964 trial of the young Leningrad Jewish poet Yosif *Brodski, Admoni, who testified for the defense, was ridiculed by the presiding Soviet judge for his "strange-sounding" (i.e., Jewish) name.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Y. Brodski, *Stikhotvoreniya i poemy* (1965); *Kratkaya literaturnaya entsiklopediya*, 1 (1962), 88.

[Maurice Friedberg]

ADMOR (Heb. אדמו״ר; plur., *Admorim*), the title by which ḥasidic rabbis are known. The term is an abbreviation of the Hebrew words *Adonenu, Morenu, ve-Rabenu* ("our lord, teacher, and master").

ADOLPHUS, English family, known in the synagogue as Bira. Its members included JACOB ADOLPHUS, stockholder in the Bank of England (late 17th century), founder member of the London Ashkenazi Synagogue. Among his sons were: SIMON, a physician, who was admitted to the University of Halle at the request of Frederick William I of Prussia on condition that he did not practice there, and MOSES (b. c. 1690), who married Abigail, daughter of Benjamin *Levy, founder of the London Ashkenazi community. In his 56th year he matriculated at the University of Leiden, Holland, in philosophy and literature, along with his son SIMHAH (Joy, 1714–1760), who graduated in medicine and subsequently practiced in Cleves, Germany (1748–56) where he headed the Jewish community. Joy Adolphus published *Histoire des Diables Modernes* (London, 1763; Cleves, 1770, 1771), satirizing the political and social scene, and dedicated the book to Frederick the Great, whom he is said to have served as personal physician. Another son of Moses was MICHAEL or MEIR (died 1785), prominent in London communal life, and as warden of the Great Synagogue, one of the original members of the *Board of Deputies of British Jews. JOHN (1768–1845), historian and lawyer, grandson of Joy, was author of *History of England from the Accession of King George III to the Conclusion of Peace in 1783* (3 vols., London, 1802). His mother was Christian and he was out of touch with the Jewish community. However, he was caricatured by Cruikshank as a Jew. Originally a solicitor, he became a barrister in 1807 and achieved notable success at the bar. His son, JOHN LEYCESTER ADOLPHUS (1794–1862), educated at Oxford, was a barrister and literary critic. He became a close friend of Sir Walter Scott. There was also an Adolphus family in America in the colonial period, founded by ISAAC (died 1774) who came to New York from Bonn, Germany, about 1750. Another family of this name was established in Jamaica not later than 1733, its most eminent member being Major General Sir JACOB ADOLPHUS (1775–1845), inspector general of army hospitals.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: P. Emden, *Jews of Britain* (1943), 62; C. Roth, *History of the Great Synagogue* (1950), 160–3; Roth, Mag Bibl, index; E. Henderson, *Recollections of John Adolphus* (1871); F. Baer, *Protokollbuch der Land udenschaft des Herzogtums Kleve* (1922), 63, 122; Stern, Americans, 5; J.P. Andrade, *Record of Jews in Jamaica* (1941), 148–9, 207–8; Rubens, in: JHSET, 19 (1955–59), 25; Roth, in: JHSEM, 4 (1942), 106–7; A. Rubens, *Anglo-Jewish Portraits* (1935), 2–4. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** ODNB online.

[Cecil Roth]

ADONAI, ADONAI, EL RAḤUM VE-ḤANNUN (Heb. יְהוָה, יְהוָה, אֵל רַחוּם וְחַנּוּן; "The Lord, The Lord, God, merciful and gracious"; Ex. 34:6–7), initial words of the Thirteen Attributes of God. Based upon a talmudic saying that God Himself revealed this formula to Moses as being effective for obtaining Divine Pardon (RH 17b), it is recited on the following occasions:

(1) in the *Seliḥot* of the month of Elul, during the *Ten Days of Penitence, and on fast days including the Day of Atonement when it is preceded by the *piyyutim* "*El Melekh Yoshev*" or "*El Erekh Appayim*";

(2) before removing the Torah scrolls from the Ark on Rosh Ha-Shanah, the Day of Atonement, and the three Pilgrim festivals (Ashkenazi rite);

(3) at the opening of the *piyyut* attributed to *Amittai (II) which is recited on the fifth day of *Seliḥot*, on the Day of Atonement, and on Mondays and Thursdays (Ashkenazi rite);

(4) at the morning and afternoon prayers before *Taḥanun* (mostly Sephardi rite);

(5) during prayers in an emergency situation, e.g., for a critically ill person. In the liturgical recital of the Thirteen Attributes the final words *lo yenakkeh* ("He does not remit all punishment"; Ex. 34:7) are omitted.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Zunz, Ritus, 408; Elbogen, Gottesdienst, 222; Davidson, Oẓar, 1 (1929), 31, no. 629.

ADONI-BEZEK (Heb. אֲדוֹנִי בֶזֶק; "the lord [of the city] of Bezek"), Canaanite ruler in the early stages of the Hebrew conquest of Canaan (Judg. 1:1–7) and probably leader of an anti-Israelite coalition formed by "the Canaanites and the Perizzites." The allies gathered at *Bezek and forced the tribe of Judah, together with Simeon, to take defensive action. The coalition was defeated at Bezek and retreated eastward towards Jerusalem. The tribe of Judah pursued and captured Adoni-Bezek and mutilated him. He was brought to Jerusalem where he died.

Adoni-Bezek is most likely a title since, as a personal name, the second element would refer to a place or a god. However, a city as a component in biblical proper names is without analogy and a deity Bezek is not otherwise attested. The name is most likely a corruption of *Adoni-Zedek (cf. Josh. 10:1ff.).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Y. Amit, *Judges* (1999), 32.

ADONIJAH (Heb. אֲדֹנִיָּה, אֲדֹנִיָּהוּ; "YHWH is my lord"), fourth son of King David by his wife Haggith of Hebron (II Sam. 3:2ff.; I Chron. 3:1ff.). I Kings 1:5–6 notes that his father had not disciplined him. After the death of his brothers Amnon, Absalom, and, presumably, Chileab, Adonijah conducted himself as heir apparent (I Kings 1:5–6). When David was on his deathbed, Adonijah attempted to seize power in order to forestall succession by *Solomon. In this he was supported by such veteran courtiers of David as *Joab and *Abiathar, and by many members of the royal family and the courtiers of the tribe of Judah (*ibid.* 7). Zadok the priest, Nathan the prophet, and others who had risen to prominence more recently, sided with Solomon (*ibid.* 8). Under Nathan's influence, David ordered that Solomon should be anointed king in his own lifetime, in accordance with his promise to Bath-Sheba (*ibid.* 10ff.). At first Solomon took no action against his brother (*ibid.* 50–53), but after David's death, when Adonijah wished to marry *Abishag the Shunammite, his father's concubine, Solomon correctly interpreted this as a bid for the throne and had him executed (*ibid.* 2:13ff.).

Other biblical figures of the same name were Adonijah a Levite who, with other Levites, priests, and princes, taught in the cities of Judah during the reign of Jehoshaphat (II Chron. 17:8); and Adonijah, one of the leaders who signed the covenant in the days of Nehemiah (Neh. 10:17).

[*Encyclopaedia Hebraica*]

In the *Aggadah*

Adonijah was one of those who "set their eyes upon that which was not proper for them; what they sought was not granted to them; and what they possessed was taken from them" (Sot. 9b). The biblical verse "and he [Adonijah] was born after Absalom" (I Kings 1:6) is interpreted to mean that, although the two were of different mothers, they are mentioned together since Adonijah acted in the same way as Absalom in rebelling against the king (BB 109b). The extent of his rebellion is illustrated in the aggadic tradition that he even tried the crown on his head (Sanh. 21b) and according to Rashi (loc. cit.), it would not fit. The importance and danger of Adonijah's rebellion is emphasized by the teaching that, although Solomon succeeded to the throne by the law of inheritance, he was ceremoniously anointed in order to counteract Adonijah's claim (Mid. Tan. 106).

ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY: M. Cogan, *I Kings* (2000), 164–68.

ADONIM BEN NISAN HA-LEVI (c. 1000), *paytan* and rabbi. Adonim, who served as a rabbi in Fez, Morocco, was among the first to use Arabic-Spanish metrics in his writings. Only a few of his *piyyutim* have survived, among them the lamentation "*Bekhu, Immi Benei Immi*"; the *reshut* to *Parshat ha-Ḥodesh* (see Special *Sabbaths) "*Areshet Sefatenu Petaḥ Hodayot*"; and the *seliḥot* "*Eli Hashiveni me-Anaḥah u-Mehumah*" and "*Ro'eh Yisrael Ezon Enkat Ẓonekha.*" His *piyyutim* excel in their fine poetic language and their originality. Several philosophical concepts which were discussed in intellectual circles in his days find expression in his works.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: S. Pinsker, *Likkutei Kadmoniyyot* (1860), 56–57, 105–7; Fuenn, Keneset, 72; Scheiber, in: *A. Marx Jubilee Volume* (1950), 539–42; Zulay, in: *Sinai*, 29 (1951), 24–34.

[Abraham Meir Habermann]

ADONIRAM (or **Adoram**, **Hadoram**; Heb. אֲדֹנִירָם, אֲדֹרָם, הֲדֹרָם; "the Lord / my Lord is exalted"), son of Abda. Adoniram is described in a list of King David's officials from the later years of David's reign (II Sam. 20:24) as the minister "in charge of forced labor." He continued in the same office during Solomon's reign (I Kings 4:6) and was in charge of the levy of all Israel sent to *Lebanon to cut lumber (I Kings 5:27–28). During the first year of *Rehoboam, Adoniram was sent to face the discontented and revolting assembly at Shechem (12:1–19). The people, for whom he no doubt personified the detested corvée, stoned him to death (12:18). B. Mazar (Maisler) has suggested that Adoniram was of foreign origin, as the institution of forced labor was adopted by the Israelite monarchy from Canaanite patterns, and that it was only natural to appoint a Canaanite official as its head. The names of Adoniram and his father support the view of his Canaanite origin, since *ad* is synonymous with *ab* (*av* – father – in West-Semitic languages), while "Abda" is an abbreviated theophorical name found in Phoenician inscriptions. Some scholars believe that the lengthly tenure assigned by the Bible to Adoniram's office is due to chronological confusion.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Mendelsohn, in: BASOR, no. 85 (1942), 14ff.; Maisler (Mazar), in: *Leshonenu*, 15 (1947), 38–39; idem, in: BJPES, 13 (1947), 108; de Vaux, Anc Isr, 128–9, 144ff.; EM, 1 (1965), 116–7. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** M. Cogan, *I Kings* (2000), 204.

[Hanna Weiner]

ADONI-ZEDEK (Heb. אֲדֹנִי צֶדֶק; "[the god] Zedek [the god of justice] is lord" or, "my Lord is righteousness"), king of *Jerusalem at the time of the Israelite conquest of Canaan (Josh. 10:1–3). Adoni-Zedek was the leader of a coalition together with four of the neighboring *Amorite cities – Hebron, Jarmuth, Lachish, and Eglon. The coalition was formed as a reaction to the conclusion of a covenant between the Israelites and the *Gibeonites as well as to the conquest of *Ai by the Israelites, who threatened the region and the sovereignty of the city-states over this area. The members of the coalition attacked Gibeon. The Gibeonites, however, solicited the aid of Joshua, who preferred to fight against the Amorites in an open area. The Amorites were defeated at Gibeon, and, finding no alternative route of escape, retreated to Beth-Horon where their pursuers routed them with the help of a hailstorm; the five allied kings hid in a cave at Makkedah but were found and killed. Nothing is said about the capture of Jerusalem, although its king had lost his life; a reduction of Jerusalem's influence, however, did result from the war.

It is apparent that Jerusalem was an important city-state at the time, as is clear not only from this biblical passage but also from the *El-Amarna letters (14th century B.C.E.). Six of these letters, sent by the king of Jerusalem (Abdi-Ḥepa) to the pharaoh of Egypt, warrant the conclusion that Jerusalem (and Shechem) controlled the hill country of Judah and Ephraim and ruled over "the land of Jerusalem" (Pritchard, Texts, 487–9). Adoni-Zedek is unknown from other sources, but he fits well into the above picture of pre-Israelite Jerusalem. Some identify him with *Adoni-Bezek (Judg. 1:5–7), because the Septuagint reads Adoni-Bezek in place of the masoretic Adoni-Zedek.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Noth, Personennamen, 114, 161ff.; idem, in: PJB, 33 (1937), 23–26; idem, *Das Buch Josua* (1953^{2}), 60–63; Yeivin, in: *Ma'arakhot*, 26–27 (1945), 63; Albright, in: JBL, 54 (1935), 193, n. 66; Levy, in: HUCA, 18 (1943–44), 435. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** B. Batto, in: DDD, 929–34.

ADON OLAM (Heb. אֲדוֹן עוֹלָם; "Lord of the World"), rhymed liturgical hymn in 12 verses (in the Ashkenazi rite) extolling the eternity and unity of God and expressing man's absolute trust in His providence. The Sephardi rite has 16 verses. The author is unknown, though it has been attributed to Solomon ibn *Gabirol (11th century). It may, however, be much older and stem from Babylonia. The hymn has appeared as part of the liturgy since the 14th century in the German rite and has spread to almost every rite and community. It was incorporated into the initial section of the *Shaḥarit* Service, but it has been suggested on the basis of the penultimate line that it originally formed the conclusion of the Night Prayers where it also still appears. Its main place now is at the conclusion of the Sabbath and festival *Musaf* Service (with the Sephardim even on the Day of Atonement) and of the **Kol Nidrei* Service. *Adon Olam* has become a popular hymn. In Morocco it serves as a wedding song and it is also recited by those present at a deathbed. The hymn has been translated several times into English verse, among others by George Borrow in his *Lavengro* (reprinted in Hertz, Prayer, p. 1005) and by Israel Zangwill (reprinted *ibid.*, 7, 9), and into other European languages.

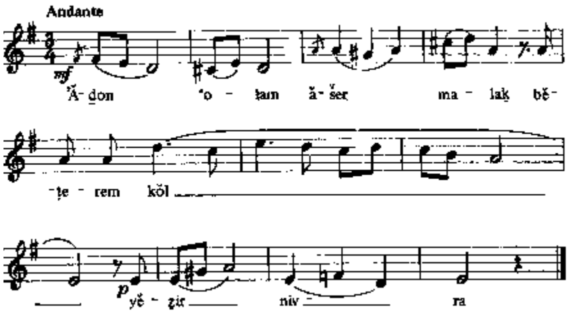
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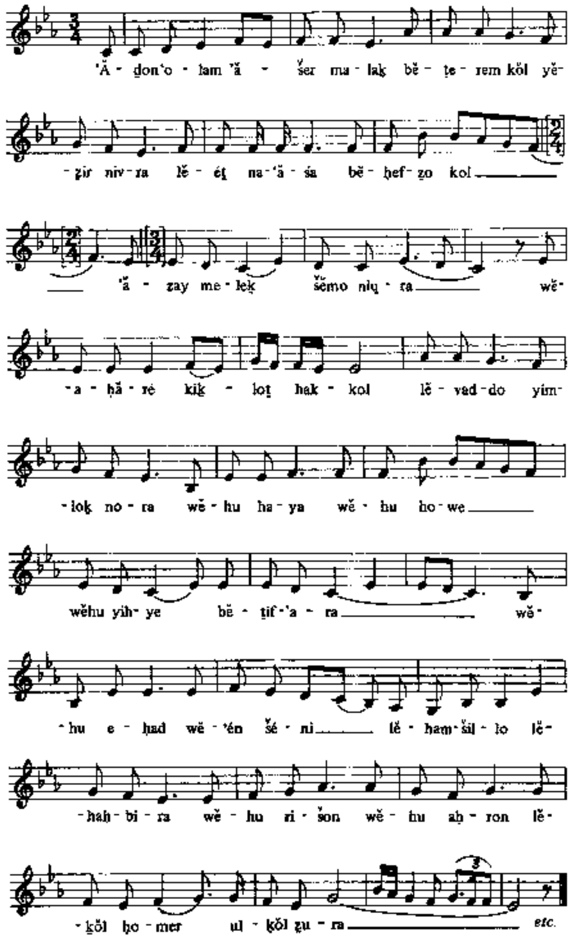
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ʾă-zay me-lek šĕmo niq-ra wĕ-
-a-ḥă-re kik-lot hak-kol lĕ-vad-do yim-
-lok no-ra wĕ-hu ha-ya wĕ-hu ho-we
wĕhu yih-ye bĕ-tif-ʾa-ra wĕ-
-hu e-ḥad wĕ-ʾen šé-ni lĕ-ham-šil-lo lĕ-
-hah-bi-ra wĕ-hu ri-šon wĕ-hu aḥ-ron lĕ-
-kŏl ḥo-mer ul-kŏl ẓu-ra etc.

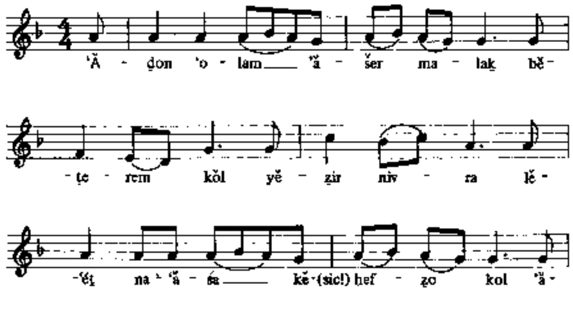
ʾĂ-don ʿo-lam ʾă-šer ma-lak bĕ-
-ṭe-rem kŏl yĕ-ẓir niv-ra lĕ-
-ʿet na-ʿă-śa kĕ-(sic!) hef-ẓo kol ʾă-

Music

Adon Olam is generally sung by the congregation. In the Ashkenazi tradition it is also sometimes rendered by the cantor on certain festive occasions, and then the melody is adapted to the *nosaḥ* of the section of the prayer into which it is incorporated. The great number of melodies for *Adon Olam* includes both individual settings, and borrowings from Jewish and Gentile sources. Ex. 3, from Djerba, is a North African "general" melody for *piyyutim*. Two versions from Germany in Idelsohn (Melodien, 7 (1932), nos. 59 and 336) both borrow the western Ashkenazi melody of *Omnam Ken*, while no. 346a is a German folk tune. A melody from Tangiers (I. Levy, *Antologia*, 1 (1965), no. 96) is the tune of the Romance *Esta Rahel la estimoza.* The composed or adapted tunes are mostly based upon a strict measure of four or three beats, both equally suitable for conforming to the *ḥazak*-meter of the text – one short and three longs. The melody is sung in many schools in Israel at the end of the pupils' morning prayer (in 4/4 measure; cf. the same, in 3/4 measure, YE, vol. 1, p. 514). Salamone de' *Rossi included an eight-voice composition of *Adon Olam* in his *Ha-Shirim Asher li-Shelomo* (Venice, 1622/23).

[Avigdor Herzog]

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ADOPTION, taking another's child as one's own.

Alleged Cases of Adoption in the Bible

The evidence for adoption in the Bible is so equivocal that some have denied it was practiced in the biblical period.

(A) GENESIS 15:2–3. Being childless, Abram complains that *Eliezer, his servant, will be his heir. Since in the ancient Near East only relatives, normally sons, could inherit, Abram had probably adopted, or contemplated adopting, Eliezer. This passage is illuminated by the ancient Near Eastern practice of childless couples adopting a son, sometimes a slave, to serve them in their lifetime and bury and mourn them when they die, in return for which the adopted son is designated their heir. If a natural child should subsequently be born to the couple, he would be chief heir and the adopted son would be second to him.

(B) GENESIS 16:2 and 30:3. Because of their barrenness, Sarai and Rachel give their servant girls to Abram and Jacob as concubines, hoping to "have children" (lit. "be built up") through the concubines. These words are taken as an expression of intention to adopt the children born of the husbands and concubines. Rachel's subsequent statement, "God… has given me a son" (30:6) seems to favor this view. A marriage contract from *Nuzi stipulates that in a similar case the mistress "shall have authority over the offspring." That the sons of Jacob's concubines share in his estate is said to presuppose their adoption. Bilhah's giving birth on (or perhaps "onto") Rachel's knees (30:3; cf. 50:23) is believed to be an adoption ceremony similar to one practiced by ancient European and Asiatic peoples among whom placing a child on a man's knees signified variously acknowledgment, legitimation, and adoption. Such an adoption by a mistress of the offspring of her husband and her slave-girl would not be unparalleled in the ancient Near East (see J. van Seters, JBL, 87 (1968), 404–7), but other considerations argue that this did not, in fact, take place in the episodes under consideration. Elsewhere in the Bible the sons of Bilhah and Zilpah are viewed only as the sons of these concubines, never of the mistresses (e.g., 21:10, 13; 33:2, 6–7; 35:23–26). Rachel's statement "God… has given me a son" reflects not necessarily adoption but Rachel's ownership of the child's mother, Bilhah (cf. Ex. 21:4, and especially the later Aramaic usage in Pritchard, Texts^3, 548a plus n. 5). The concubines' sons sharing in Jacob's estate does not presuppose adoption by Rachel and Leah because the sons are Jacob's by blood and require only his recognition to inherit (cf. *The Code of Hammurapi*, 170–1). Finally the alleged adoption ceremony must be interpreted otherwise. Placing a child on the knees is known from elsewhere in the ancient Near East (see I.J. Gelb et al., *The Chicago Assyrian Dictionary*, vol. 2 (1965), 256, s.v. *birku*; H. Hoffner, JNES, 27 (1968), 199–201). Outside of cases which signify divine protection and/or nursing, but not adoption (cf. T. Jacobsen, JNES, 2 (1943), 119–21), the knees upon which the child is placed are almost always those of its natural parent or grandparent. It seems to signify nothing more than affectionate play or welcoming into the family, sometimes combined with naming. (Only once, in the Hurrian Tale of the Cow and the Fisherman (J. Friedrich, *Zeitschrift fuer Assyriologie*, 49 (1950), 232–3 ll. 38ff.), does placing on the lap occur in an apparently adoptive context, but even there it is not clear that the ceremony is part of the adoption.) Some construe the ceremony as an act of legitimation, but no legal significance of any sort is immediately apparent. Significantly, the one unequivocal adoption ceremony in the Bible (Gen. 48:5–6) does not involve placing the child on the knees (Gen. 48:12 is from a different document and simply reflects the children's position during Jacob's embrace, between, not on, his knees). Furthermore, Genesis 30:3 speaks not of placing but of giving birth on Rachel's knees. This more likely reflects the position taken in antiquity by a woman during childbirth, straddling the knees of an attendant (another woman or at times her own husband) upon whose knees the emerging child was received (cf. perhaps Job 3:12). Perhaps Rachel attended Bilhah herself in order to cure, in a sympathetic-magical way, her own infertility (cf. 30:18, which may imply that Rachel, too, had been aiming ultimately at her own fertility), much like the practice of barren Arab women in modern times of being present at other women's deliveries. Genesis 50:23 (see below) must imply Joseph's assistance at his great-grandchildren's birth; or, if taken to mean simply that the children were placed upon his knees immediately after birth, it would imply a sort of welcoming or naming ceremony.

(C) GENESIS 29–31. It is widely held that Jacob was adopted by the originally sonless Laban, on the analogy of a Nuzi contract in which a sonless man adopts a son, makes him his heir, and gives him his daughter as a wife. This in itself is not compelling, but the document adds that, unless sons are later born to the adopter, the adopted son will also inherit his household gods. This passage, it is argued, illuminates Rachel's theft of Laban's household gods (31:19), and herein lies the strength of the adoption theory. But M. Greenberg (JBL, 81 (1962), 239–48) cast doubt upon the supposed explanation of Rachel's theft, thus depriving the adoption theory of its most convincing feature. In addition, the Bible itself not only fails to speak of adoption but pictures Jacob as Laban's employee.

(D) GENESIS 48:5–6. Near the end of his life Jacob, recalling God's promise of Canaan for his descendants, announces to Joseph: "Your two sons who were born to you … before I came to you in Egypt, shall be mine; Ephraim and Manasseh shall be mine, as Reuben and Simeon are"; subsequent sons of Joseph will (according to the most common interpretation of the difficult v. 6), for the purposes of inheritance, be reckoned as sons of Ephraim and Manasseh. In view of the context – note particularly that grandsons, not outsiders, are involved – many believe that this adoption involves inheritance alone, and is not an adoption in the full sense. (M. David compares the classical *adoptio mortis causa.*) This belief is strengthened by the almost unanimous view that this episode is intended etiologically to explain why the descendants of Joseph held, in historical times, two tribal allotments, the territories of Ephraim and Manasseh.

(E) GENESIS 50:23. "The children of Machir son of Manasseh were likewise born on Joseph's knees" is said to reflect an adoption ceremony. To the objections listed above (b), it may be added that unlike (d), Joseph's adoption of Machir's children would explain nothing in Israel's later history and would be etiologically pointless.

(F) EXODUS 2:10. "Moses became her [= Pharaoh's daughter's] son." Some, however, interpret this as fosterage.

(G) LEVITICUS 18:9. A "sister… born outside the household" could mean an adopted sister, but most commentators interpret it as an illegitimate sister or one born of another marriage of the mother.

(H) JUDGES 11:1ff. S. Feigin argued that Gilead must have adopted Jephthah or else the question of his inheriting could never have arisen. But since Jephthah was already Gilead's son, the passage implies, at most, legitimation, not adoption.

(I) RUTH 4:16–17. Naomi's placing of the child of Ruth and Boaz in her bosom and the neighbors' declaration "a son is born to Naomi" are said to imply adoption by Naomi. But the very purpose of Ruth's marriage to Boaz was, from the legal viewpoint, to engender a son who would be accounted to Ruth's dead husband (see Deut. 25:6 and Gen. 38:8–9) and bear his name (Ruth 4:10). Adoption by Naomi, even though she was the deceased's mother, would frustrate that purpose. The text says that Naomi became the child's nurse, not his mother. The child is legally Naomi's grandson and the neighbors' words are best taken as referring to this.

(J) ESTHER 2:7, 15. Mordecai adopted his orphaned cousin Hadassah. (This case, too, is taken by some as rather one of fosterage.) This possible case of adoption among Jews living under Persian rule is paralleled by a case among the Jews living in the Persian military garrison at Elephantine, Egypt, in the fifth century C.E. (E. Kraeling, *The Brooklyn Museum Aramaic Papyri* (1953), no. 8).

(K) EZRA 2:61 (= Nehemiah 7:63). One or more priests married descendants of Barzillai the Gileadite and "were called by their name." This may imply adoption into the family of Barzillai.

(L) EZRA 10:44. Several Israelites married foreign women. The second half of the verse, unintelligible as it stands, ends with "and they placed/established children." S. Feigin, on the basis of similar Greek expressions and textual emendation, viewed this as a case of adoption. Since the passage is obviously corrupt (the Greek text of Esdras reads differently), no conclusions can be drawn from it, though Feigin's interpretation is not necessarily ruled out.

(M) I CHRONICLES 2:35–41. Since the slave Jarha (approximately a contemporary of David according to the genealogy) married his master's daughter, he was certainly manumitted and, quite likely, was adopted by his master; otherwise, his descendants would not have been listed in the Judahite genealogy.

(N) In addition to the above possible cases, one might see a sort of posthumous adoption in the ascription of the first son born of the levirate marriage (Gen. 38:8–9; Deut. 25:6; Ruth 4) to the dead brother. The child is possibly to be called "A son of B [the deceased]"; in this way he preserves the deceased's name (Deut. 25:6–7; Ruth 4:5) and presumably inherits his property.

SUMMARY. Of the most plausible cases above, two (A, D) are from the Patriarchal period, one reflects Egyptian practice (F), and another the practice of Persian Jews of the Exilic or post-Exilic period (J). From the pre-Exilic period there is a possible case alleged by the Chronicler to have taken place in the time of David (M), one or two other remotely possible cases (G) and (K), the latter from the late pre-Exilic or Exilic period) and the "posthumous adoption" involved in levirate marriage (N). The evidence for adoption in the pre-Exilic period is thus meager. The possibility that adoption was practiced in this period cannot be excluded, especially since contemporary legal documents are lacking. Nevertheless, it seems that if adoption played any role at all in Israelite family institutions, it was an insignificant one. It may be that the tribal consciousness of the Israelites did not favor the creation of artificial family ties and that the practice of polygamy obviated some of the need for adoption. For the post-Exilic per-iod in Palestine there is no reliable evidence for adoption at all.

Adoption as a Metaphor

(A) GOD AND ISRAEL. The relationship between God and Israel is often likened to that of father and son (Ex. 4:22; Deut. 8:5; 14:1). Usually there is no indication that this is meant in an adoptive sense, but this may be the sense of Jeremiah 3:19; 31:8; and Hosea 11:1. (B) IN KINGSHIP. The idea that the king is the son of a god occurs in Canaanite (Pritchard, Texts, 147–8) and other ancient Near Eastern sources. In Israel – which borrowed the very institution of kingship from its neighbors (I Sam. 8:5, 20) – this idea could not be accepted literally; biblical references to the king as God's son therefore seem intended in an adoptive sense. Several are reminiscent of ancient Near Eastern adoption contracts. Thus, Psalms 2:7–8 contains a declaration, "You are my son," a typical date formula "this day" (the next phrase, "I have born you," may reflect the conception of adoption as a new birth), and a promise of inheritance (an empire); II Samuel 17:7 contains a promise of inheritance (an enduring dynasty), a declaration of adoption, and a statement of the father's right to discipline the adoptive son (cf. Ps. 89:27ff.; I Chron. 17:13; 22:10; 28:6).

Since the divine adoption of kings was not known in the ancient Near East, and the very institution of adoption was rare – if at all existent – in Israel, the question arises as to where the model for these metaphors was found. According to M. Weinfeld (JAOS, 90 (1970)) the answer is found in the covenants made by God with David and Israel. These are essentially covenants of grant, a legal form which is widespread in the ancient Near East. In some of these a donor adopts the donee and the grant takes the form of an inheritance. Thus in the biblical metaphor God's adoption of David serves as the legal basis for the grant of the dynasty and empire, and God's adoption of Israel underlies the grant of a land (Jer. 3:19; also noted by S. Paul). According to Y. Muffs, the pattern of the covenant in the Priestly Document (P) is modeled on adoption by redemption from slavery (cf. Ex. 6:6–8). In later times adoption was used metaphorically in the Pauline epistles to refer variously to Israel's election (Rom. 9:4), to the believers who were redeemed from spiritual bondage by Jesus (Rom. 8:15; Eph. 1:5; Gal. 4:5), and to the final eschatological redemption from bondage (Rom. 8:21–23). Whether Paul modeled the metaphor on biblical or post-biblical, ancient Near Eastern, or Roman legal sources is debated.

[Jeffrey Howard Tigay]

Later Jewish Law

Adoption is not known as a legal institution in Jewish law. According to *halakhah* the personal status of parent and child is based on the natural family relationship only and there is no recognized way of creating this status artificially by a legal act or fiction. However, Jewish law does provide for consequences essentially similar to those caused by adoption to be created by legal means. These consequences are the right and obligation of a person to assume responsibility for (a) a child's physical and mental welfare and (b) his financial position, including matters of inheritance and maintenance. The legal means of achieving this result are (1) by the appointment of the adopter as a "guardian" (see **Apotropos*) of the child, with exclusive authority to care for the latter's personal welfare, including his upbringing, education, and determination of his place of abode; and (2) by entrusting the administration of the child's property to the adopter. The latter undertaking to be accountable to the child and, at his own expense and without any right of recourse, would assume all such financial obligations as are imposed by law on natural parents vis-à-vis their children. Thus, the child is for all practical purposes placed in the same position toward his adoptors as he would otherwise be toward his natural parents, since all matters of education, maintenance, upbringing, and financial administration are taken care of (Ket. 101b; Maim., Yad, Ishut, 23:17–18; and Sh. Ar., EH 114 and Tur *ibid.*, Sh. Ar., ḤM 60:2–5; 207:20–21; PDR, 3 (n.d.), 109–125). On the death of the adopter, his heirs would be obliged to continue to maintain the "adopted" child out of the former's estate, the said undertaking having created a legal debt to be satisfied as any other debt (Sh. Ar., ḤM 60:4).

Indeed, in principle neither the rights of the child toward his natural parents, nor their obligations toward him are in any way affected by the method of "adoption" described above; but in fact, the result approximated very closely to what is generally understood as adoption in the full sense of the word. The primary question in matters of adoption is the extent to which the natural parents are to be deprived of, and the adoptive parents vested with, the rights and obligations to look after the child's welfare. This is in accordance with the rule that determined that in all matters concerning a child, his welfare and interests are the overriding considerations always to be regarded as decisive (Responsa Rashba, attributed to Naḥmanides, 38; Responsa Radbaz, 1:123; Responsa Samuel di Modena, EH 123; Sh. Ar., EH 82, *Pitḥei Teshuvah* 7).

Even without private adoption, the court, as the "father of all orphans," has the power to order the removal of a child from his parents' custody, if this is considered necessary for his welfare (see **Apotropos*). So far as his pecuniary rights are concerned, the child, by virtue of his adopters' legal undertakings toward him, acquires an additional debtor, since his natural parents are not released from their own obligations imposed on them by law, i.e., until the age of six. Furthermore, the natural parents continue to be liable for the basic needs of their child from the age of six, to the extent that such needs are not or cannot be satisfied by the adopter; the continuation of this liability is based on *Dinei Ẓedakah* – the duty to give charity (see *Parent & Child; PDR, 3 (n.d.), 170–6; 4 (n.d.), 3–8).

With regard to right of inheritance, which according to *halakhah* is recognized as existing between a child and his natural parents only, the matter can be dealt with by means of testamentary disposition, whereby the adopter makes provision in his will for such portion of his estate to devolve on the child as the latter would have gotten by law had the former been his natural parent (see Civil Case 85/49, in: *Pesakim shel Beit ha-Mishpat ha-Elyon u-Vattei ha-Mishpat ha-Meḥoziyyim be-Yisrael*, 1 (1948/49), 343–8). In accordance with the rule that "Scripture looks upon one who brings up an orphan as if he had begotten him" (Sanh. 19b; Meg. 13a), there is no halakhic objection to the adopter calling the "adopted" child his son and the latter calling the former his father (Sanh. *ibid.*, based on II Sam. 21:8). Hence, provisions in documents in which these appellations are used by either party, where the adopter has no natural children and/or the child has no natural parent, may be taken as intended by the one to favor the other, according to the general tenor of the document (Sh. Ar., EH 19, *Pitḥei Teshuvah*, 3; ḤM 42:15; Responsa Ḥatam Sofer, EH 76). Since the legal acts mentioned above bring about no actual change in personal status, they do not affect the laws of marriage and divorce, so far as they might concern any of the parties involved.

In Israel

In the State of Israel, until 1981, adoption was governed by the Adoption of Children Law, 5720/1960, which empowered the district court and, with the consent of all the parties concerned, the rabbinical court, to grant an adoption order in respect of any person under the age of 18 years, provided that the prospective adopter was at least 18 years older than the prospective adoptee and the court were satisfied that the matter was in the best interests of the adoptee. Such an order had the effect of severing all family ties between the child and his natural parents. On the other hand, such a court order created new family ties between the adopter and the child to the same extent as are legally recognized as existing between natural parents and their child – unless the order was restricted or conditional in some respect. Thus, an adoption order would generally confer rights of intestate succession on the adoptee, who would henceforth also bear his adopter's name. However, the order did not affect the consequences of the blood relationship between the adoptee and his natural parents, so that the prohibitions and permissions of marriage and divorce continued to apply. On the other hand, adoption as such does not create such new prohibitions or permissions between the adopted and the adoptive family. There was no legal adoption of persons over the age of 18 years.

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In 1981 the Knesset repealed the Adoption of Children Law, 5720/1960 and enacted in its stead the Adoption of Children Law, 5741/1981 (hereinafter – the Law), empowering the Family Court to issue adoption orders. The Law and its subsequent amendments provide for two substantively different modes of adoption. The first is local adoption, in which the Child Welfare Authority – a branch of the Welfare Ministry – functions as an adoption agency: it determines the adoptive parents' eligibility and even initiates adoption proceedings of the minor in the court, by way of special welfare officers for adoption. Proceedings to declare a minor adoptable can only be initiated by these welfare officers. The Child Welfare Authority is similarly responsible for the removal of a child from the custody of his natural parents against their wishes, for purposes of adoption. Occasionally, and under special circumstances, even prior to the child being declared adoptable the Authority may hand over the child "to a person who has agreed to receive him into his house with a view to adopting him" (§12 (c) of the Law). The second mode is that of "intercountry" (i.e., international) adoption, in which the adoption is undertaken by non-profit organizations under the supervision of a "central authority," i.e., the Child Welfare Authority.

The difference between the two kinds of adoption is as follows: local adoption also involves numerous cases in which the biological parents do not consent to hand their child over for adoption, in which case, quite naturally, the identity of the adoptive parents is withheld (closed adoption) to protect the adopted child from potential harm at the hands of his natural parents. In international adoption, the adoption is the product of negotiations between the prospective adoptive parents and the natural family. Under the Law, the rabbinical court is also permitted to issue adoption orders with the consent of all the parties, i.e., the parents (or adoptive parents, respectively) and the minor (when the case concerns a minor above the age of nine) or with the consent of the attorney general (in cases of a minor below nine). Even in those cases in which the rabbinical court has jurisdiction pursuant to the parties' consent, it is nevertheless obliged to comply with all the provisions of the law (§27).

The arrangements for international adoption were transformed when the law was amended in 1996, in accordance with the format of the Hague Convention on Protection of Children and Co-operation in Respect of Intercountry Adoption, which Israel ratified in 1993. Together with the incorporation of the Convention's provisions in the Law, the legislature also addressed a particular problem, unique to the State of Israel by virtue of its Jewish character. Under section 5 of the Law: "The adopter shall be of the same religion as the adoptee." How then can a Jewish family receive an adoption order for a non-Jewish child, brought to Israel from abroad? The legislature resolved this problem by amending section 13A of the Capacity and Guardianship Law, 5722/1962, which now provides that the court may give an instruction for the minor's religious conversion "to the religion of the person who provided for the minor with the intention of adopting him, during the six months that preceded the filing of the application for conversion."

In addition to the court's authorization, the minor who is a candidate for adoption must undergo a conversion process; according to the *halakhah,* a minor who is to be converted must be ritually immersed for conversion through the authority of the *bet din.* This is so, "because it [the conversion] is a benefit to him" (Ketubot 11a). The Israeli rabbinical courts have avoided converting minors who are candidates for adoption when the prospective adoptive parents will not provide him/her with an education based upon religious observance.

The case law of the Israel Supreme Court on adoption (given by Deputy President Menachem *Elon) emphasized the extensive impact of Jewish law on actual adoption procedures. The Law provides that "the adoption shall not affect any legal prohibition or permission as to marriage or divorce" (§16(c)); accordingly, the Adoption Register may be inspected by a marriage registrar in the course of carrying out his official function (§30 (2)). In doing so he raises the legal "veil" separating the adopted child from his natural family in order to establish the "legitimacy of his pedigree"; in other words, to prevent marriages between a brother and sister, etc. Furthermore, an adoption performed "for the benefit of the adoptee" does not represent the optimal solution, and preference should be given to the other arrangements, which do not sever the child from his natural family, despite their defective parental capacity. "Adoption is not intended as a punishment for the natural parents… we punish by confiscating property; we punish by denying freedom, but we do not punish by taking children away" (C.A. 3063/90 P.D. 45 (5) 837, 848), save for cases in which there is unequivocal, objective proof that the parents are incapable of raising their children.

As a rule, there is no discussion of the "child's best interests" until after examination as to whether there is any statutory ground for "removing the child from the natural guardianship of his parents and placing him in the home of the adopters" (H.C. 243/88 *Konsols v. Turgeman*, 45 (5) P.D. 837, 848). For the same reason, all possible efforts should be made to avoid ordering that the adoption of the minor be a "closed" adoption, which separates the minor from his natural identity. Indeed, in its capacity as the "father of minors," the court is commanded to "ensure the welfare and the future of the minor" and order that he be severed from his natural family – but this, only done when the court is convinced that leaving the minor with his family, or placing him with a foster family or in an "open adoption" will cause him terrible suffering due to his parents' incompetence (Elon, in the following judgments: C.A. 310/82, 37 (4) P.D. 421; C.A. 3763/92, 47 (1) P.D. 869). Similarly, the court will order the Child Welfare Service to seriously consider a request from the natural family that their child be given to "a family belonging to their own religious community, that maintains a religious lifestyle" (C.A. 3063/90 45 (3) 837) and, in exceptional circumstances, consider assenting to the parents' request that their child be adopted by their relatives who have no children of their own. This is in accordance with the prevalent custom in a number of Jewish communities whereby "when a couple belonging to the extended family is childless, another couple in the family, blessed with children, gives one of them to the couple that was denied their own offspring, and the latter can adopt and raise the child, as if he was their own child" (C.A. 568/80 35 (3) 701, 702).

Where the question arose of severing an adoptee minor from the religion of his natural parents, Justice Elon raised another consideration for withholding authorization of an adoption performed against the natural parents' wishes, or with their coerced consent: "We remember the battles fought by Jewish families and institutions in order to restore Jewish children to their families and religion. Prior to being sent to the death camps and gas chambers these families placed their children with Christians to care for them and raise them. It is befitting that we emulate their conduct in similar situations, when the tables are turned and the context is no longer the death camps but rather gangs of avaricious criminals" (the case of the "Brazilian girl" who was abducted from her natural mother; H.C. 243/88, 45 (2) P.D. 652).

In describing the character of the institution of adoption, its interpretation and implementation by the Israeli judiciary, Justice Elon further stated:

> I wholeheartedly agree that we must not hinder the development of the institution of adoption, having regard primarily for its crucial importance in locating a warm and secure home and a loving, devoted family for children who have suffered at the hands of fate. In pursuing this important goal we must also ensure the totality of the adoptive parents' rights and obligations in their relations with the adopted child. However, we must not ignore our principal and basic obligation, which is to maintain, promote and preserve the earliest and most fundamental social unit in human history: the natural family, its descendants, offshoots and progeny, the unit which always has, does, and always will continue to guarantee the survival of human society. This is certainly the case when dealing with the history of the Jewish family, in which the family unit, in both the immediate and extended sense, was the central pillar that guaranteed Jewish survival and continuity. This principle applies *a fortiori* in our times, in which the institution of the natural family has encountered tumultuous upheavals and frequent crises, which have weakened its capacity to function. (C.A. 488/77, 32 (3) P.D. 421 434)

And, in another decision:

> Tearing a child away from his biological parents is more difficult than splitting the Red Sea. The same applies to all decisions concerning a minor's adoption; all the more so in a case such as the one confronting us, in which the children are no longer infants and know their parents and their siblings. But as a court that is the "father of all minors," it is our responsibility to ensure their welfare and their best interests. It is incumbent upon us to find them a home in which they will merit love and warmth, physical well-being and spiritual tranquility, and all of the basic, elementary needs that they are not receiving in the home of their biological parents. (C.A. 658/88, 43 (4) P.D. 468, p. 477)

[Yisrael Gilat (2nd ed.)]

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ADORAIM (Heb. אֲדוֹרַיִם), ancient city of Judah, southwest of Hebron. It appears in the Bible only in the list of cities fortified by Solomon's son, *Rehoboam (II Chron. 11:9). Adoraim (Adoram) is also mentioned in the Book of Jubilees 38:8–9. In the Hellenistic period, when it was known as Adora, it was one of the chief cities of Idumea; the Ptolemaic official Zeno visited it in 259 B.C.E. (Zeno papyri, 76). The city is also mentioned in I Maccabees 13:20 in connection with the campaigns of the Hasmonean *Jonathan and his adversary Tryphon in 143 B.C.E. It was later captured by John Hyrcanus together with Marisa and the whole of Idumea (Jos., Wars, 1:63; Ant., 13:257). The Roman proconsul Gabinius (d. 48/7 B.C.E.) chose it as the seat of one of his *synhedria* ("councils"; Jos., Ant., 14:91) and it retained its Jewish character until the end of the Bar Kokhba War (135 C.E.). The site is occupied by the twin villages of Dūrā al-'Arajān, 5 mi. (8 km.) south west of Hebron, situated on a plateau overlooking the coastal plain, with a population of 10,000.

[Michael Avi-Yonah]

Modern Period

The name Adoraim also describes a ridge of the Hebron Hills. Most of the ridge, including the site of ancient Adoraim, remained until 1967 on the Jordanian side of the 1949 armistice lines. However, the name Adoraim was given in the middle 1950s to a specially planned region in the Judean Foothills under Israel control between the Bet Guvrin–Hebron road and Kibbutz.

[Efraim Orni]

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ADORNO, THEODOR W. (1903–1969), German philosopher, sociologist, composer. As a sociologist (in conjunction with Max *Horkheimer et al.) he developed the Critical Theory of society (the so-called Frankfurt School project) and published treatises in the fields of literary and cultural criticism. As a composer he produced over 30 musical works in various genres.

After completing his academic studies in philosophy, psychology, sociology, and musical sciences in Frankfurt/Main in 1925, Adorno took composition lessons with Alban Berg in Vienna – an education he had begun (with Bernhard Sekles) when he was still a high school student. Alongside his studies with Berg he also published numerous musical reviews. In 1931 he qualified as a university professor in philosophy and took up a chair in philosophy at the Johann Wolfgang Goethe Universität of Frankfurt/Main. During this time Adorno was most strongly influenced by Walter *Benjamin and particularly by his notion that language preserves historical truth. When the National Socialists came to power, he was deprived of his chair. Adorno had always considered his Jewish descent (his father was Jewish and Adorno's last name was Wiesengrund-Adorno until his mid-forties) to be unimportant but the race laws introduced by the Nazis made him into an outsider. This turning point in his life and his personal experience of having an outsider status in society generated a politically accentuated intellectualism. In the period 1934–49 he lived as an emigré – initially in England (Oxford) and then in the United States (New York and Los Angeles). During this period he wrote major philosophical and sociological works, most of which were published after his return to Germany (October 1949): *The Philosophy of Modern Music* (1949), *Dialectic of Enlightenment* (1947), *The Authoritarian Personality* (1950), *Minima Moralia* (1951), and *Against Epistemology: Meta-Critique – Studies in Husserl and the Phenomenological Antinomics* (1956).

Teaching philosophy and sociology in the 1960s, Adorno made a name for himself not only as an extremely successful university lecturer and public intellectual but also as the director of the Institute of Social Research in Frankfurt, gaining fame for such publications as *What Does It Mean: Working Up the Past* (1959) and *Education after Auschwitz* (1967).

Adorno's critical stance towards the world and the negativism of his social criticism resulted from his personal experience of sustained horror: Exposure to the monstrous cruelty of the Nazi genocide was the guiding moral force behind his philosophical theory of society and its ultimate source. His intellectuality resided in his ability to maintain the tension between opposing phenomena instead of synthesizing or harmonizing the differences. The individual experience of acknowledging the uniqueness of the Other crystallized into a fundamental concept which Adorno brought to bear in seeking a decent social order: "living one's difference without fear."

In the 1960s Adorno published a volume on Gustav Mahler (1960), three volumes of *Notes on Literature* (1965–68), and his main philosophical opus, *Negative Dialectics* (1968). During this decade he was given the German Critics' Award for Literature and for his 60th birthday the city of Frankfurt/Main bestowed the Goethe Medal on him. His *Aesthetic Theory* was published posthumously. In addition to a large number of letters he exchanged with contemporaries, his *Complete Works* comprise his musical compositions, 20 volumes of collected writings, and the equally comprehensive posthumous writings (Suhrkamp Verlag).

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[Stefan Müller-Doohm (2nd ed.)]

ADRAMMELECH (Heb. אַדְרַמֶּלֶךְ). (1) A deity named Adrammelech was worshiped, together with *Anammelech, by the people of *Sepharvaim (II Kings 17:31), possibly Assyrian Saparrê, who settled in Samaria after its destruction in 722 B.C.E. No Assyrian or Babylonian deity is known by the name Adrammelech. Inscriptions from Gozan (Tell Ḥalaf on the Khabur, beginning of the ninth century B.C.E.) were once thought to attest the name of a god Adad-Milki. Accordingly, it was suggested to correct Adrammelech to Adadmelech assuming the common graphic confusion of *dalet* and *resh*. But the reading Adad-Milki in the Gozan inscriptions themselves now seems questionable. The element *melech* in the name is probably the Hebrew word for king, so Addir-Melech, "the glorious one is king," is a possibility. At the same time Addir-Molech, "glorious is (the god) Molech" (see *Moloch), cannot be ruled out.

(2) According to the received Hebrew text, Adrammelech was the name of a son of *Sennacherib, king of Assyria (II Kings 19:37; Isa. 37:38). Together with his brother *Sharezer, Adrammelech murdered his father in the temple of Nisroch and escaped to the land of *Ararat (cf. II Chron. 32:21). Abydenus (Eusebius, *Armenia Chronicle*, ed. Schoene, 1:35) gives the name of the murderer as Adramelus. That reading is now confirmed by cuneiform evidence that gives the regicide's name as Arda-Mulissi, "servant of Mulissu," Mulissu being the neo-Assyrian name of the goddess Ninlil. In turn we may correct the Hebrew to ארדמלס.

The biblical description of Sennacherib's murder is given in relation to the Assyrian defeat near Jerusalem (II Kings 19:36–37; Isa. 37:37–38; cf. II Chron. 32:21). In point of fact, many years elapsed between Sennacherib's campaign in Phoenicia and Ereẓ Israel (c. 701 B.C.E.) and his death (681 B.C.E.), but the Bible telescopes these events to show that the prophecy of Isaiah about Sennacherib (II Kings 19:7; Isa. 37:7) was fulfilled.

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[Yuval Kamrat / S. David Sperling (2nd ed.)]

ADRET, MOSES IBN (d. 1772), rabbinic scholar of Smyrna. Ḥ.J.D. *Azulai described Adret as an eminent and saintly scholar with extensive knowledge in rabbinic literature, endowed with a keen intellect and a phenomenal memory. Adret often took an independent and critical stand against older authorities. Twelve of his works, listed by Azulai, include novellae on the major part of the Talmud, notes on the Mishnah, *Maimonides' code, *Asher b. Jehiel's compendium, and *Jacob b. Asher's *Arba'ah Turim*, as well as responsa, and Bible commentaries. Only *Berakh Moshe*, novellae on various Talmud tractates, has been published (Salonika, 1802). His *Torat Moshe* (commentary on the Mishnah) was supposed to have appeared in Leghorn, but has not survived. Responsa by Adret were incorporated in E. Malki's collection *Ein Mishpat* (Constantinople, 1770, YD, nos. 7, 8, 9, 10). In responsum no. 10 Adret boasted of his complete mastery of the whole range of talmudic sources and the various halakhic works he had composed to justify his stand in his protracted dispute with Malki, who speaks sarcastically of Adret's vaunted piety and modesty (*ibid.*, no. 11).

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ADRET, SOLOMON BEN ABRAHAM (known from his initials as **RaShBa**, **R**av **Sh**lomo **B**en **A**braham; c. 1235–c. 1310), Spanish rabbi and one of the foremost Jewish scholars of his time, whose influence has remained to this day. Adret belonged to a well-to-do family of Barcelona where he lived all his life. His principal teacher was Jonah b. Abraham *Gerondi and Adret always refers to him as "my teacher." He also studied under Naḥmanides, being considered one of his outstanding students and principal exponent of his "school" in the interpretation of the Talmud.

While still young, Adret engaged extensively in financial transactions, and the king of Aragon was among his debtors. After a few years he withdrew from business and accepted the position of rabbi in Barcelona, which he held for more than 40 years. Adret was recognized as the leading figure in Spanish Jewry before he was 40 and his opinions carried weight far beyond the frontiers of Spain. He was a man of great accomplishments, strong character, and incorruptible judgment. Not long after he entered upon his office as rabbi, he vigorously defended an orphan against leading court Jews and the powerful Christian nobles who supported them. Yet, he was a humble man, with a warm, sensitive heart. Pedro III of Aragon submitted to him for adjudication of a number of complicated cases that had arisen between Jews of different communities. Against his will, the case of an informer belonging to an aristocratic family was assigned to him for trial by order of the king: he sentenced the man to death. Three years later the relatives of the condemned man appealed the verdict. Adret referred the case to *Meir b. Baruch of Rothenburg, the foremost rabbinic authority in Germany, who sustained the verdict.

Questions were addressed to Adret from all parts of the Jewish world including Germany, France, Bohemia, Sicily, Crete, Morocco, Algiers, Palestine, and Portugal. The communities gathered his responsa into special collections and kept them as a source of guidance. He explained the most abstruse matters in clear and simple terms. Many of his responsa deal with the clarification of problematic biblical passages, and some of them touch on questions of philosophy and the fundamentals of religion. Altogether Adret wrote thousands of responsa (3,500 have been printed). One responsum, written a few days before his death, is signed by his son. Adret's responsa constitute a primary source of information for the history of the Jews of his period and, to some extent, also for general history. When Maimonides' grandson David was denounced to the Sultan of Egypt, Adret collected 25,000 dinars from the Spanish community to secure his release. Similarly when the Rome community wished to translate Maimonides' commentary on the Mishnah into Hebrew, Adret secured the necessary manuscripts and translators, one of whom testified, "It is because of the awe with which our master inspires us, that we have persisted in our undertaking."

Adret acquired a considerable knowledge of Roman law and local Spanish legal practice. He played a vital role in providing the legal basis for the structure of the Jewish community and its institutions, and many of his responsa are devoted to communal matters and to the activities of rabbinic courts. He defended the rights of the Jewish communities and opposed all attempts at arbitrary control and recourse to non-Jewish tribunals. That Adret was considered by his contemporaries to be one of the outstanding authorities of the generation is obvious from the efforts that Abba Mari *Astruc made to enlist his support in the campaign for the preservation of the traditional way of study and traditional values against the philosophical school. These efforts ultimately culminated in a ban (see below). The correspondence on the subject was included by Astruc in his *Minḥat Kenaot* (Pressburg, 1838).

Adret had a considerable knowledge of philosophy and was well-versed in the scientific literature of his day, although he headed the movement against the spreading of these subjects among the masses. To an opponent of a ban on secular studies he wrote: "You seem to think that we have no share in (secular) wisdom… This is not the case… for we know these lofty sciences and we are aware of their nature" (Abba Mari b. Moses of Lunel, *Minḥat Kena'ot* (1838), 43). He defended Maimonides in the second attack directed against his writings in France and in Palestine. He opposed both the allegorical method of interpreting the Bible that was then prevalent among the rationalists in southern France and in Spain, and the extreme mystical tendency which was making headway in Spain, and he strongly attacked the activities of Abraham *Abulafia. He also took precautions against those who denied the Divine origin of the Torah and forsook its study for that of the sciences. In the bitter conflict which flared up in the communities of southern France, Adret was on the side of the traditionalists. There were extremists who wished to prohibit the study of the sciences completely; in the text of the ban which they suggested to Adret they proposed that such studies be prohibited until the age of 30. However, Adret, in the famous ban he proclaimed in Barcelona in 1305, adopted a middle course. He permitted the study of physics and metaphysics from the age of 25, put no restriction at all on the study of astronomy and medicine, and sanctioned the reading of Maimonides' works. In the end the communities in southern France resisted Adret's ban. In part, their resistance stemmed from the efforts of Philip the Fair (1285–1314) to unite all of France. Since rabbinic bans required authorization from the State, the acceptance of a ban originating in Spain might have been viewed as treason by the French crown.

Adret took up arms also, both in oral and written disputes, against detractors of Judaism, such as Raymond *Martini and his work *Pugio fidei*. Adret replied to this in a special work in which he defended the eternity of the Torah and the value of its practical commandments. In his responsa (4, 187) he gave details of a disputation he had with a leading Christian scholar. He wrote a book refuting the attacks of the 11th-century Mohammedan scholar, Aḥmad ibn Ḥazm (published by Perles, 1863). A variety of reasons have been suggested as to why Adret wrote his attack on ibn Ḥazm. They include the fact that Christian polemicists drew many of their arguments from ibn Ḥazm's tract, that Adret's book served to bolster the communities of Jews under Muslim rule, and that Adret was fearful that ibn Ḥazm's biblical criticisms might be accepted.

Collections of the responsa of Adret are extant today. They pose a difficult literary problem. The first collection was printed in Rome before 1480 and the second, of which only a few copies remain, in Constantinople in 1516. In 1908 (on the front page incorrectly 1868) these two collections were reprinted in Warsaw, and the editor called them "Part 7" of the responsa of Adret. An additional collection, containing 1255 responsa, was printed in Bologna in 1539. It is this which is referred to as the Responsa of Adret "Part 1." The so-called "Part 2" containing 405 responsa, called *Toledot Adam*, was published in Leghorn in 1657, and "Part 3" with 488 responsa, also in Leghorn, in 1788. "Part 4" was published in Salonika in 1803 and "Part 5" in Leghorn in 1825. "Part 6" was published together with the 1908 Warsaw edition previously mentioned. Many of the responsa are not the work of Adret, but of other scholars whose responsa the copyists collected together with his. On the other hand, most of the responsa in the collection attributed to Naḥmanides (Venice, 1519) are the work of Adret. These collections, amounting to a few thousand responsa, contain many responsa identical in wording and context. A critical edition of Adret's responsa, which should facilitate identification and determine authorship, is a primary scholastic need and is still lacking.

Adret headed a yeshivah to which students flocked, even from Germany (Responsa 1,395) and other countries. Among his distinguished students were *Yom Tov b. Abraham of Seville, Shem Tov *Ibn Gaon, and *Bahya b. Asher. According to Adret, his academy housed valuable manuscripts of the Talmud brought from the Babylonian academies or which had been checked in the academies of Kairouan. It appears that he composed his famous novellae to the Talmud in connection with his lectures to his students. His novellae to 17 tractates of the Talmud have been published: *Berakhot* (Venice, 1523); *Shabbat* (Constantinople, 1720); *Eruvin* (Warsaw, 1895); *Beẓah* (Lemberg, 1847); *Rosh Ha-Shanah* (in part, Constantinople, 1720, and in a complete, critical edition, 1961); *Megillah* (Constantinople, 1720; complete edition, 1956); *Yevamot* (Constantinople, 1720); *Gittin* (Venice, 1523); *Kiddushin* (Constantinople, 1717); *Nedarim* (*ibid.*, 1720); *Bava Kamma* (*ibid.*, 1720); *Bava Mezia* (in part, Jerusalem, 1931); *Bava Batra* (*ibid.*, 1957);

Shevu'ot (Salonika, 1729, and in full, Jerusalem, 1965); *Avodah Zarah* (in part in Jerusalem, 1966); *Hullin* (Venice, 1523); *Niddah* (Altona, 1797 and a complete edition, Jerusalem, 1938). The novellae to *Menahot* are not his, and the novellae to *Ketubbot* ascribed to him are actually by Naḥmanides. *Ketubbot* and *Nazir* are still in manuscript. In his novellae, Adret was greatly influenced by Naḥmanides' method, a synthesis of the methods of French scholars and of the early Spanish authorities such as Joseph *Ibn Migash and his colleagues. He carried, however, Nahmanides' methods to their extreme, establishing the French school in Spain, though there exist strong literal ties between the two methods. The novellae enjoyed a wide circulation; they have gone through many editions and are still extensively consulted by students of the Talmud.

Adret also devoted much time to commenting on the *aggadot* in the Talmud and wrote a special work on the subject (*Ḥiddushei Aggadot ha-Shas*, Tel Aviv, 1966). In his commentaries, Adret followed the methods of inquiry of the moderate Spanish scholars; the influence of Maimonides' Guide is also evident. It is evident from many places in his works that Adret interested himself in Kabbalah and even acquired great knowledge of it. In this he resembled his teacher Naḥmanides. On the other hand it appears that he did his best to conceal his opinions on the subject. However it is significant that most of his pupils wrote commentaries to the mystical part of Naḥmanides' commentary on the Pentateuch, many of them still in manuscript.

Beside his responsa and novellae, Adret wrote two legal manuals. The more important, *Torat ha-Bayit*, deals with most of the ritual observances, such as ritual slaughter, forbidden foods, gentile wine, and the laws of *niddah* (Venice, 1607), together with *Sha'ar ha-Mayim* – laws of *mikveh* (first published in Budapest, 1930, and again in Jerusalem, 1963). The book is divided into seven parts, is written with great profundity and perception, and embodies detailed halakhic discussions. He reviews the methods of his predecessors, raises and meets objections, refutes and corroborates, decides among opposing views, and advances his own opinion. For practical purposes of guidance, he wrote a compendium of the larger work, *Torat ha-Bayit ha-Kaẓer* (Cremona, 1566). Aaron ha-Levi of Barcelona (see **Ha-Ḥinnukh*), a fellow townsman and old friend of the author, wrote many critical notes on this book in his *Bedek ha-Bayit*. Although Aaron ha-Levi in his introduction and criticisms wrote in a respectful tone, Adret felt offended and wrote in reply his *Mishmeret ha-Bayit* (all included in the 1608 Venice edition) which was issued anonymously and contained no clue to the author's identity. It purports to have been written by a scholar solicitous of Adret's honor. However, in one of his responsa Adret revealed that he was the author. Adret's refutations are written in a pungent style reminiscent of *Abraham b. David of Posquières' strictures on Maimonides, and in this book he reveals himself as a doughty polemicist.

Adret's *Avodat ha-Kodesh* on the laws of the Sabbath and the festivals is also extant. It appeared in two versions, one complete and the other abridged. The former has not yet been published, while the latter was published in Venice in 1602. He also wrote *Piskei Ḥallah* (Constantinople, 1516) on the laws relating to **Ḥallah*.

The changes in rabbinic study in Spain started by Naḥmanides were finally effected by Adret. His responsa have at all times been highly influential and were a major source of the Shulḥan Arukh.

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[Simha Assaf / David Derovan (2nd ed.)]

ADRIEL (Heb. אַדְרִיאֵל; "God is my help"), son of Barzillai the Meholathite; the husband of *Merab, the daughter of Saul (I Sam. 18:19). Saul pledged his daughter Merab to David; however, when the time came to fulfill his promise, he gave her to Adriel. Critics have suggested that the name Michal in II Samuel 21:8 is an error for Merab (which is read by the Lucianic recension of the Septuagint and by the Peshitta). David handed over the five sons of Adriel and Merab to the Gibeonites for impalement (II Sam. 21:8–10).

ADULLAM (Heb. עֲדֻלָּם), city in Judah in biblical times. It was originally a Canaanite town, the seat of Hirah the Adullamite (friend and father-in-law of Judah (Gen. 38:1, 12, 20)). Adullam's king was defeated by Joshua and the city is mentioned together with 13 others as belonging to the second district of Judah (Josh. 12:15; 5:35). This region contained many caves which could offer refuge to outlaws. In one of these, David hid after fleeing from Saul, and it served as his headquarters for a time during his war with the Philistines (I Sam. 22:1). It was there that the three "mighty men" brought David water from the well at Beth-Lehem (II Sam. 23:13; I Chron. 11:15ff.; Jos., Ant., 6:247). Rehoboam included Adullam in his line of fortifications beside Soco in the valley of Elah (II Chron. 11:7). After the return from Babylonian exile it is mentioned in Nehemiah 11:30 among the places inhabited by Jews. It remained a Jewish town in Hasmonean times (II Macc. 12:38, cf. I Macc. 5:59–60); Judah the Maccabee withdrew to Adullam after his battle against Gorgias near Marissa (Mareshah) in 163 B.C.E. Eusebius (Onom., 24:21) describes fourth-century Adullam as a large village, 10 Roman mi. east of Eleutheropolis (Bet Guvrin). It has been identified with al-Sheikh Madhkūr, 9 mi. (15 km.) northeast of Bet Guvrin. The name Adulam may have survived in Khirbat ʾId al-Māʾ (or Miyeh) in the vicinity of that tell.

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[Michael Avi-Yonah]

ADULLAM REGION (Heb. חֶבֶל עֲדֻלָּם), settlement region in southern Israel, N.W. and W. of the Hebron Hills, comprising over 100,000 dunams (25,000 acres). Geographically, it belongs partly to the Judean Hills and partly to the Shephelah. The name was chosen because the assumed site of ancient *Adullam lies in the center of this region. After the principle of comprehensive regional planning had been adopted by the relevant authorities in the mid-1950s, the area was first included in the *Lachish Region (which eventually became the prototype of all such planning). After 1957, however, the Adullam Region was treated as a separate area, as conditions there were much more difficult and land reclamation had to precede all settlement activity. The Jewish National Fund, therefore, assumed responsibility for the first stage of the urgent development of this border region. In the project, three clusters of villages were arranged around the "rural centers" of Ẓur Hadassah in the northeast, Neveh Mikha'el in the center, and Li-On (later renamed Sarigim) in the southwest. New villages were founded in the framework of the regional plan (e.g., Avi'ezer, Roglit (later united with Neveh Mikha'el), Adderet, Givat Yeshayahu, Ẓafririm), and earlier settlements in adjoining areas (e.g., Netiv ha-Lamed He, Bet Guvrin, Mevo Beitar, Matta, Bar Giora, and Neḥushah) were included in the project. Farming land was reclaimed by terracing and stone clearing, and by drainage of soil in small valleys. The water supply was greatly improved by drilling of deep wells in and near the region. The actual development of villages and their farming branches was carried out by the Jewish Agency's Agricultural Settlement Department. In the higher northeastern part of the region with its limestone rocks, terra rossa soils, and its cool and relatively wet climate, deciduous fruit and grapevines became important factors in the local economy, and poultry breeding constituted a main source of income. In the lower southwest parts with their broader valleys and deeper rendzina or alluvial soils, the economy was based on field crops (wheat, cotton, sunflowers, sorghum, etc.) as well as tobacco, vegetables, sheep, and cattle. In 1968 a road was built connecting Neveh Mikha'el with the reestablished *Gush Eẓyon bloc. At the beginning of the 21st century the region included 16 moshavim, a kibbutz, and two rural communities, reaching a population of approximately 8,000. The economy of the region developed to include wine and olive oil production, citrus groves, fruit orchards, cotton, and flowers. In addition to farming, many of the settlers earned their livelihoods in the tourist industry.

[Efraim Orni / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

ADULTERY (Heb. נִאוּף, *ni'uf*; sometimes, loosely, זְנוּת, *zenut*; זְנוּנִים, *zenunim*; lit. "fornication, whoredom"). Voluntary sexual intercourse between a married woman, or one engaged by payment of the brideprice, and a man other than her husband.

Biblical Period

The extramarital intercourse of a married man is not *per se* a crime in biblical or later Jewish law. This distinction stems from the economic aspect of Israelite marriage: the wife was the husband's possession (of a special sort, see *Marriage), and adultery constituted a violation of the husband's exclusive right to her; the wife, as the husband's possession, had no such right to him. Adultery is prohibited in the Decalogue (Ex. 20:13; Deut. 5:17), where it is listed between murder and theft (cf. Jer. 7:9; Ezek. 16:38; Hos. 4:2; Ps. 50:18; Prov. 6:30ff.; Job 24:14–15) among offenses against one's fellow. Like all sexual wrongs, it defiles those who commit it (Lev. 18:20; Num. 5:13). It is termed "(the) great sin" in Genesis 20:9 and in Egyptian and Ugaritic texts (cf. *[ha]-ʿAverah*, "[the] transgression," for sexual crimes in rabbinic texts, e.g., Av. Zar. 3a). Its gravity is underscored by its being punishable by the death penalty for both the man and the woman (Lev. 20:10; Deut. 22:22). Stoning by the public, a procedure often prescribed for crimes felt to threaten the well-being of the nation as a whole, among which were sexual crimes (Lev. 18:24–27; 20:22; Deut. 24:4; cf. Jer. 3:1–2), is mentioned in Deuteronomy 22:24; cf. Ezekiel 16:40; 23:46–47 (cf. John 8:3–7). Other punishments are reflected in non-legal texts. Burning is mentioned in Gen. 38:24 (cf. Lev. 21:9). Stripping, known in ancient Near Eastern divorce procedure, is reflected in the metaphor of Hos. 2:5 and mentioned in Ezekiel 16:37, 39; 23:26. The mutilation mentioned in Ezekiel 16:39; 23:25 does not seem to reflect Israelite practice, but rather the legal traditions of Mesopotamia, where Ezekiel lived (cf. 23:24: "[the nations] shall judge you according to their laws," and, cf. *The Middle Assyrian Laws*, 15 in Pritchard, Texts, 181; the same punishment for adulteresses in Egypt is attested by Diodorus Siculus, *Bibliotheca,* 1:18, according to G.A. Cooke, *The Book of Ezekiel*, 254).

Other ancient Near Eastern law collections also prescribe the death penalty for adulterers, but, treating adultery as an offense against the husband alone, permit the aggrieved husband to waive or mitigate the punishment (*The Code of Hammurapi*, 129, in: Pritchard, Texts, 171; *The Middle Assyrian Laws,* 14–16, in: Pritchard, Texts, 181; The *Hittite Laws*, 197–98, in: Pritchard, Texts, 196). Biblical law allows no such mitigation. Because the marriage bond is divinely sanctioned (cf. Mal. 2:14; Prov. 2:17) and the prohibition of adultery is of divine origin, God as well as the husband is offended by adultery (cf. Gen. 20:6; 39:8–9; Ps. 51:6), and an offense against God cannot be pardoned by man. Mesopotamian religious literature also views adultery as offensive to the gods, but, unlike the situation in Israel, this religious conception is not reflected in Mesopotamian legal literature.

Whether the severe provisions of the law were actually carried out in biblical times cannot be ascertained. Proverbs 6:23–35, warning of the harm and disgrace which will befall the adulterer, and Job. 31:11, which terms adultery "an assessable transgression" (E.A. Speiser, JBL, 82 (1963), pp. 301–306) seem to assume that the crime could be composed monetarily at the husband's discretion. But whether passages from the wisdom literature, with its strong international literary ties, reflect actual practice in Israel is a moot question.

As in other cases (see M. Greenberg, IDB, 1 (1962), 739), here too, biblical law distinguishes between intentional and unintentional acts. In the Priestly Code, the final clause in Numbers 5:13 (lit. "she was not caught"; cf. the use of the word in Deut. 22:28) may mean that a woman who has had extramarital intercourse is guilty only if she was not forced. In the Deuteronomic Code (Deuteronomy 22:23–27), the presumption of consent on the part of the engaged girl is treated: If in the open country where no help would be available in response to a cry from the girl, she is presumed to have been forced and only her attacker is executed; if the crime occurred in the city, where help would presumably have been afforded her had she cried out, she is presumed to have consented, and is stoned with her paramour. No such presumptive distinction is made in this passage regarding the married woman: she and her lover must die in any case (Deut. 22:22; unlike *The Hittite Laws*, 197, in: Pritchard, Texts, 196, which makes this very distinction for married women). According to J.J. Finkelstein (JAOS, 86 (1966), 366ff.; JCS, 22 (1968–9), 13), the absence of such a distinction may reflect reality: the experience of daily life may have shown that married women who had had extramarital intercourse were likely to have been seeking sexual experience. While payment of a brideprice established a marriage tie constitutive of adultery, the "designation" of a slave woman to marry a man (free women are engaged by brideprice while slave women are designated for marriage by their masters; cf. Ex. 21:8) does not establish such a tie before the woman has been redeemed or freed. Hence a designated slave woman and her paramour are not executed, but the paramour must pay an indemnity and bring a guilt offering (Lev. 19:20–22). The question of the slave woman's consent is not raised in the law, presumably because she is not a legal person and her consent is legally immaterial.

Evidence for prosecution of adultery is scant in the Bible. Some passages suggest the husband's initiative in prosecuting (Num. 5:11–31; cf. Prov. 6:32–35), while another might be construed as reflecting public initiative (Deut. 22:22; cf. Sus. 28–41, 60ff.). None of these passages is decisive. If a husband in a fit of jealousy but without evidence suspects his wife of adultery, the case is turned over to God (by means of the "ritual for cases of jealousy," Num. 5:11–31; see *Ordeal of Jealousy) for decision and, where the wife is guilty, for punishment.

IN NARRATIVE, PROPHETIC, AND WISDOM LITERATURE. The theme of adultery appears in several biblical narratives. Abraham's and Isaac's wives were taken or nearly taken by foreigners who believed them to be the patriarchs' sisters (Gen. 12:10–20; 20:2ff.; 26:6–11), but Genesis 20:4 and 26:10 deny that any sexual contact took place. It is noteworthy that these passages seem to assume that these foreigners would sooner commit murder than adultery, "the great sin." Tamar's fornication (Gen. 38) might be viewed as technically adulterous, since she had already been assigned for Shelah. Potiphar's wife attempted to seduce Joseph, who refused to sin against his master and against God (Gen. 39:7–12). David committed adultery with Bath-Sheba, wife of Uriah the Hittite (II Sam. 11). The narrative about Hosea's marriage (Hos. 1) describes Hosea's wife as adulterous, but this is probably a legendary motif of the sort typical in third-person prophetic narratives (see *Hosea).

Adultery is one of the crimes with which the prophets, particularly Hosea (4:2; etc.) and Jeremiah (7:9; 23:10, 14; etc.), charged Israel. The adultery and ravishing of wives is mentioned among threatened punishments (Deut. 28:30; Amos 7:17).

The book of Proverbs warns extensively against the seductions of the adulterous woman (2:16–19; 5:1–14; 6:24–35; 7:5–27; cf. 30:20). She is a gadabout (a frequent description of promiscuous women in the ancient Near East: cf. Gen. 34:1; *The Code of Hammurapi*, 141, 143, in: Pritchard, Texts, 172; J.J. Finkelstein, JAOS, 86 (1966), 363, with nn. 28–29), rarely found in her own home (Prov. 7:11–12). She uses a smooth tongue to lure the foolish – like oxen to the slaughter – to her bed (2:16; 5:3; 6:24; 7:13ff.). Adulterers seek the protection of darkness (7:9; cf. Job 24:15; Eccles. 23:18). The adulterer is more foolish than a thief, who will at least escape with his life (Prov. 6:30ff.). Wisdom warns (6:20ff.; 7:4ff.) that traffic with the adulterous woman leads inevitably to loss of wealth (5:9–10) and life (2:18–19; 5:5; 6:32–35; 7:22–23, 26–27). One ought to "drink water from his own cistern" (5:15) and not from another's.

AS A METAPHOR FOR IDOLATRY. The exclusive loyalty which Israel must give God is analagous to the exclusive fidelity a wife owes her husband. Thus, Israelite religion seized upon the metaphor of marriage to express Israel's relationship with God and already in early texts employed language from the sphere of adultery to describe worship of other gods: Israel "goes a-whoring" (*zanah*) after other gods (Ex. 34:16; Num. 15:39–40) and YHWH, the "impassioned" or "jealous" (*qanna*) God, becomes "wrought up," or "jealous" (*qanna*) over Israel (Ex. 20:5; 34:14; Deut. 5:9; cf. Num. 5:14); idolatry, like adultery, was described as "great sin" (Ex. 32:21, 30–31; II Kings 17:21). Later prophets, especially the author of Hosea 1–3 and after him Jeremiah (2:23; 3:1ff.) and Ezekiel (16:1ff.; 23:1ff.), gave the metaphor full and explicit expression.

[Jeffrey Howard Tigay]

In Jewish Law

It appears that originally it was the husband's right to punish his adulterous wife himself (cf. the story of Judah – ordering even his daughter-in-law to be burned: Gen. 38:24) and that he could take the law into his own hands even against the adulterer (cf. Prov 6:34). It was only when adultery was elevated to the rank of a grave offense against God as well that the husband was required to resort to the priests or to the courts. Yet, so far as the adulterer was concerned, it is probable that he could always buy himself off by paying to the husband a sum of money by way of compensation: *compounding was not prohibited for adultery (cf. Prov. 6:35) as it was for murder (Num. 35:31). Where sufficient evidence was available both of the act of adultery (Mak. 7a) and of the adulterer and the adulteress having first each been duly warned (Sanh. 41a), both would be liable to the death penalty. The trial reported in the apocryphal book of *Susannah (37–41) was held without any evidence being adduced of a previous warning having been administered, either because the book predates the mishnaic law to this effect, or because the warning appeared irrelevant to the point of the story. No particular mode of execution is prescribed in the Bible, but talmudical law (Sifra 9:11) prescribed strangulation as being the most humane mode of *capital punishment (Sanh. 52b et al.). An older tradition appears to be that the punishment for adultery was stoning: the lighter offenses of the unvirginal bride (Deut. 22:21) and of the betrothed woman and her adulterer (Deut. 22:24) were punished by stoning, and the severer offense of adultery would certainly not have carried a lighter punishment. Stoning of adulteresses is moreover vouched for in prophetic allegories (e.g., Ezek. 6:38–40) and is described in the New Testament as commanded by the Law of Moses (John 8:5). In the aggravated case of adultery by a priest's daughter, the adulteress was burned (Lev. 21:9), while the adulterer remained liable to strangulation (Sif. 5:19). Burning is provided for another similar offense (Lev. 20:14) and is also found in prophetic allegory (e.g., Ezek. 23:25; Nah. 3:15). Where the woman was a slave "designated" for another man, the punishment was not death (Lev. 19:20), but he had to bring a sacrifice (*ibid.* 21:7), while she was flogged (Ker. 11a). Where insufficient evidence was available (the nature of the offense being such as usually took place in secret: cf. Job 24:15), a husband was entitled to have his wife, whom he suspected of adultery, subjected to the *ordeal of the waters of bitterness (Num 5:12–31). If found guilty, her punishment was a kind of talio, she being made to suffer with those organs of her body with which she had sinned (Sot. 1:7). One of the features of the ordeal was that the woman's hair was "loosened" (Num. 5:18), that is, disarranged (except, according to R. Judah, if her hair was very beautiful: Sot. 1:5). This disarrangement of the hair (usually covered and concealed) may be the origin of the later punishment of shaving a woman's head – more particularly in cases where lesser misconduct, and not the act of adultery, could be proved against her. Other punishments meted out to adulteresses in post-talmudic times included death, both by strangulation (hanging) and by burning, imprisonment, and, commonly, public flogging.

[Haim Hermann Cohn]

Maimonides rules that "if a woman has, while married to her husband, committed adultery unwittingly or under duress, she is permitted to him…" (Yad *Ishut* 24:19). Adultery committed under duress is rape, and is dealt with at length in the relevant entry (see *Rape). The question is what defines "inadvertent adultery" in this context and how it is adapted to the modern legal categories of mistake of law and mistake of fact.

ADULTERY DUE TO MISTAKE OF FACT. In a situation where a woman thought that the man with whom she engaged in sexual relations was her husband, but was in fact another man, the *halakhah* regards the act as "inadvertent" or, in contemporary terminology – a mistake of fact. The Mishnah (Yeb. 3:10) deals with a case in which two men betrothed two women and, at the time of marriage, they exchanged the women between themselves. The Mishnah rules that in such a case, where the parties acted unwittingly and unintentionally (see TB Yeb. 33b where it explains that the term "[they were] exchanged" indicates that the exchange was inadvertent), all four parties involved must bring sin offerings, because they unwittingly violated the prohibition against relations with a married woman. However, the original couples are permitted to continue living together as man and wife (following an initial separation of three months in order to enable determination of the biological father in the event of pregnancy). The halakhic ruling is that "at all events they are permitted to one another after three months, for they are considered to have acted under duress because they were mistakenly exchanged" (*Yam shel Shlomo,* to Yebamot, ch.3, §17).

Another source dealing with adultery as the result of a mistake of fact was based on an actual case, recorded in TB *Nedarim* 91a–b. A woman informed her husband that they had conducted sexual relations on the previous night. The husband expressed astonishment; denying that this had taken place. The woman responded that apparently she had sexual relations with one of the spice sellers, mistakenly assuming that it was her husband. R. Naḥman rules that the woman was not to be believed, for "perhaps she set her eyes on another" and made up the story, so that she could receive a divorce from her husband. He explains that this case concerned the wife of a kohen (priest) who would be forbidden to her husband even in the event of rape. Had the case involved the wife of an Israelite "since even according to her words she believed he was her husband, then there is no greater duress than that – and when there was duress regarding one of Israelite descent, she is permitted."

What follows from these sources is that adultery resulting from mistake of fact is governed by the law of duress, and therefore the law of adultery, including the prohibition of the woman to her husband, does not apply.

ADULTERY RESULTING FROM IGNORANCE OF THE LAW. The responsa literature contains a number of responsa discussing the question of how to view adultery when it resulted from a mistake in the law (i.e., ignorance of the law). One case dealt with by Rashba concerned a woman who had accepted a ring from a man to whom she had been introduced during a meal, and a few years later she married another man. Rashba ruled that she is considered an adulteress, and is prohibited to both of them. In his responsum, he discusses the claim that the woman was unaware that she was married to the first man, and that the adultery was therefore the result of a mistake. He wrote as follows: "Should it be claimed that she was under duress because she did not know that she was forbidden to marry – this is incorrect, for she ought to have verified the matter, and in any case where she did not examine, she is prohibited to both of them … But what kind of duress was there that she could rely upon in order to marry? For if so [were we to accept this claim], we would permit all women who had committed adultery, by saying: she believed that she had not become prohibited by this action. And the matter is clear" (Resp. *Rashba*, 1:1189).

When R. Joseph Colon (Maharik) was asked how to judge a woman "who had intentionally committed adultery while married to her husband, and did not know whether the act was forbidden: should it be regarded as an unintentional act?" His response was: "In my humble opinion, she cannot be permitted to her husband under the law applying to one who acted inadvertently, because she intended to betray her husband, and committed adultery while still married to him" (Resp. *Maharik*, 168). He based his position on Numbers 5:12: "If any man's wife go aside and commit a trespass against him" – in other words: the trespass is against the husband and not against the law (or, in Maharik's language, against God). There is no requirement that the woman actually intend to commit the sin of adultery; it is sufficient that she betrays her husband. Maharik offers the following explanation of the aforementioned passage from Maimonides – that the woman who commits adultery inadvertently is permitted to her husband – "this is only applicable where the mistake relates to the act of adultery, and was not a mistake regarding the prohibition itself, for the reason that her adultery is not considered to have been inadvertent is that she intended to commit adultery, but was unaware of the prohibition. What case would be deemed as inadvertent adultery? One in which she thought that it was her husband, as in the case mentioned in *Nedarim* 91."

These responsa were codified in later halakhic literature (see *Beit Yosef* on *Tur* EH 115, s.v. *u-mishum hakhi; Rema*, to *Sh. Ar.* EH 178.3; *Yam shel Shlomo*, Yeb. 3:17). The subject was the source of further discussion in subsequent responsa literature (see *Leḥem Yehudah* of R. Judah Eish, *Hilkhot Ishut* 24; Hida, *Ḥayyim She'al,* 2: 48).

In a judgment given in Israel, by the Ashkelon Regional Rabbinical Court (8 PDR 184) the aforementioned conception was accepted: namely, the distinction between a mistake of fact, which constitutes a defense with respect to adultery, and a legal-halakhic mistake – ignorance of the *halakhah* – which cannot exempt the woman from the consequences of the act of adultery. In the case in question, the Rabbinical Court ruled that the parties must divorce, and a few months later the *get* was given. It was proven to the court that the woman and another man had engaged in sexual relations after a divorce judgment had been given, believing that once a divorce judgment had been issued there was no longer any prohibition involved, even though they knew that the *get* had not yet been given. The Rabbinical Court based its ruling on the aforementioned responsa of Rashba and Maharik (as well as additional halakhic sources). The woman and the man, with whom she had become pregnant during the intermediate period between the divorce ruling and the *get*, were forbidden to marry each other, in accordance with the law that an adulterous woman is forbidden both to her husband and to her lover.

Summing up the position of Jewish law – which is also the positive law of the State of Israel in this area – adultery under duress is not considered adultery. As for adultery resulting from a mistake, a distinction is drawn between a mistake in fact, which is regarded as a case of duress, and hence not in the category of adultery, and a legal-halakhic mistake – i.e., ignorance of the prohibition on adultery, or of the law that only a *get* terminates the marriage; neither of the variants of the latter category will be regarded as duress. A woman engaging in sexual relations with another man under such circumstances is deemed an adulteress, and as such forbidden both to her husband and to her lover.

[Moshe Drori (2nd ed.)]

Family Aspects

See **Mamzer*; *Divorce; *Husband and Wife.

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ADVERTISING. In few modern industries have Jews had greater influence than in advertising, and this applies particularly in America. It has even been suggested that Jewish advertising men are responsible for the wide scope and shape of the modern advertising agency. Though the use of advertising began after the Civil War of 1865, until the beginning of the 20th century, business concerns wishing to promote the sale of their goods or services developed their own programs and even wrote their own copy. The existing agencies were thus brokers in media space. This was the pattern when Albert D. Lasker, often called the father of modern advertising, joined the Chicago agency of Lord and Thomas in 1898. He soon realized that by providing first-rate copywriters, who were creative, imaginative artists, the agency could be of far greater help to the client than by just offering the service of selling him space for his advertisements. In 1904, when only 24 years of age, he became a partner in the firm and by 1912, Lasker became the sole owner of Lord and Thomas. He built it in three decades into one of the best known and most respected advertising agencies in America.

Milton H. Biow may be regarded as the man who molded the advertising agency into a form which would meet the requirements of modern business. He began in 1918 with a one-man business and in the four decades of its existence, it became one of the largest and best known agencies both in the United States and abroad. Biow's agency was credited with being the first to use radio and television "spots" for short advertisements. This era saw the development of the partnership agencies. One of these, Grey Advertising, was founded in 1917 by 18-year-old Lawrence Valenstein. Later he formed a three-man partnership with two men he had taken into his employment, Arthur C. Fatt and Herbert D. Strauss. Each of the three was successively president of the company. All three believed advertising to be an important ingredient in the wider activity of marketing, and the firm played a leading part in developing the system of creating a demand for a product before introducing it to the market. In 1936 the agency started Grey Matter, a newsletter of merchandising comment and interpretation, which was widely read both by the advertising industry and by business generally. By the late 1960s the agency was one of the most successful with branches in Canada, Japan, and a number of European countries.

Two former directors of Grey Advertising, William *Bernbach and a non-Jew, Ned Doyle, joined with Maxwell Dane in 1949 to form another three-man partnership, Doyle, Dane, Bernbach, which developed rapidly. Bernbach may well be regarded as the successor to Lasker, Biow, and the Grey partners, becoming the leader of the "creative revolution" that was sweeping across Madison Avenue, the New York center of American advertising. Bernbach began to use copy in which advertisers spoke to the public in low-keyed, even self-deprecating terms. This new approach of intelligent subtlety was quickly and widely emulated. In 1955 Norman B. Norman and a number of his associates in the agency firm of William H. Weintraub and Co. bought control of the agency and changed its name to Norman, Craig, and Kummel. They soon expanded its business by the use of the "empathy" formula, which Norman described as "emotional advertising" aimed at having the reader find himself inside the advertisement.

Other Jews who have made important contributions to advertising are Julian Koenig and Frederic S. Papert (1926) who founded Papert, Koenig, and Lois; Maxwell B. Sackheim (d. 1982), an expert in mail order advertising; David Altman, of Altman, Stoller, and Chalk, specialist in fashion advertising; Ernest Dichter, a psychologist who founded the Institute for Motivational Research; Stanley Arnold, sales promotion consultant; and Monroe Green, an advertising vice president of the *New York Times.* Green was largely responsible for building the *New York Times Sunday Magazine* into a powerful combination of trade and consumer publication. In the 1920s and 1930s Jews in advertising were mainly relegated to media or market research jobs, and had no part in front office, account-management, or contact functions. But the skill and accomplishments of many of them opened the gates to Jews and other members of minorities, in a profession that had been restricted to gentiles for decades. Among the Jews who rose to prominence in the American advertising industry in more recent years were Carl *Spielvogel, who later became United States ambassador to Slovakia; Donny Deutsch, who sold his agency for many millions and began a career in television; and Linda Kaplan Thaler, whose creativity started with advertising jingles and expanded into a flourishing, multifaceted agency.

It was not until the 20th century after World War II, that Jews rose to prominence in advertising in Britain. The multiplicity of media used in modern advertising called for creative ability and Jews found outlets for their skills in this profession. Jewish agencies include Caplan's Advertising, Progress Advertising, and Richard Cope and Partners. Probably the best-known contemporary British advertising agency is Saatchi & Saatchi, founded by the two *Saatchi brothers. In general, however, Jews play only a limited role in British advertising.

On the continent of Europe advertising developed slowly until after World War I when the growth of methods of communication was rapid, but Jewish participation was brought to an abrupt close by the Nazi Holocaust. Since World War II expanding American agencies and to some degree British agencies have extended their operations to the continent to compete with their European counterparts and it is here that Jews have begun to play a creative role.

In Israel

There was little organized advertising in Mandatory Palestine. The first advertising agency was set up in Jerusalem in 1922 by Benjamin Levinson, who was followed by a handful of others. Several more modern agencies were established by newcomers from Germany in 1933–39. Large-scale advertising started only with the rapid development of industry and the creation of a growing consumers' market in Israel, especially after the Sinai Campaign (1956). Today, Israeli advertising is indistinguishable in its methods and pervasiveness from advertising in any other Western-style consumer society.

The favorite medium is still the daily press: In 2003 Israel's newspapers received 53% of advertising revenues ($293 million). Next came television with 33% and radio with 7%. Internet advertising, the new frontier, had a modest 2%. The Israel Advertising Association, established in 1934, has 60 agencies as members.

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[Jack Barbash]

AELIA CAPITOLINA, name given to the rebuilt city of Jerusalem by the Romans in 135 C.E. Following the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans in 70 C.E. the city remained in ruins except for the camp (*castrum*) of the Tenth Legion (Fretensis), which was situated in the area of the Upper City and within the ruins of the Praetorium (the old palace of Herod the Great), protected, according to the first-century historian Josephus (War, 7, 1:1) by remnants of the city wall and towers on the northwest edge of the city. Although Jews were banished from the city (except apparently during the Ninth of *Av), some Jewish peasants still lived in the countryside, and remains of houses (with stone vessels) have been found immediately north of Jerusalem (close to Tell el-Ful). Following the disastrous *Bar Kokhba Revolt, the emperor *Hadrian began rebuilding Jerusalem, from 135 C.E., naming it after himself (Aelius Hadrianus) and the god Jupiter Capitolinus. Some scholars believe that an impetus for the breakout of the Bar Kokhba revolt was the pagan construction activities in the city, but archaeological finds would appear to indicate that most of the principal building activities there (including those on the Temple Mount) took place only after the revolt had been quashed and when a colony was already established there. Jews were no longer allowed access to the city and it was populated by foreigners and settled Roman veterans. Aelia (approximately 120 acres in size) rapidly took on the character of a pagan city with special gates, civic centers (*demosia*), bathhouses, latrines, sanctuaries, and shrines, and pagan equestrian statues were even set up on the Temple Mount. The whereabouts of the Capitoline Temple is debated, with some scholars placing it in the area of the present Church of the Holy Sepulcher, while others suggest situating it in the area of the destroyed *Antonia Fortress on the north side of the Temple Mount. Shrines to Aphrodite and Serapis are also known. Most of the building activities took place in the northern sectors of the Old City of today (in the Christian and Moslem Quarters), and around the southwestern foot of the Temple Mount. The city remained unfortified until after the Tenth Legion had been transferred to Aila (Eloth), with a fortification wall built in the third century around the northern part of the city only. The name Aelia was perpetuated in the Early Islamic period as *Ilia*.

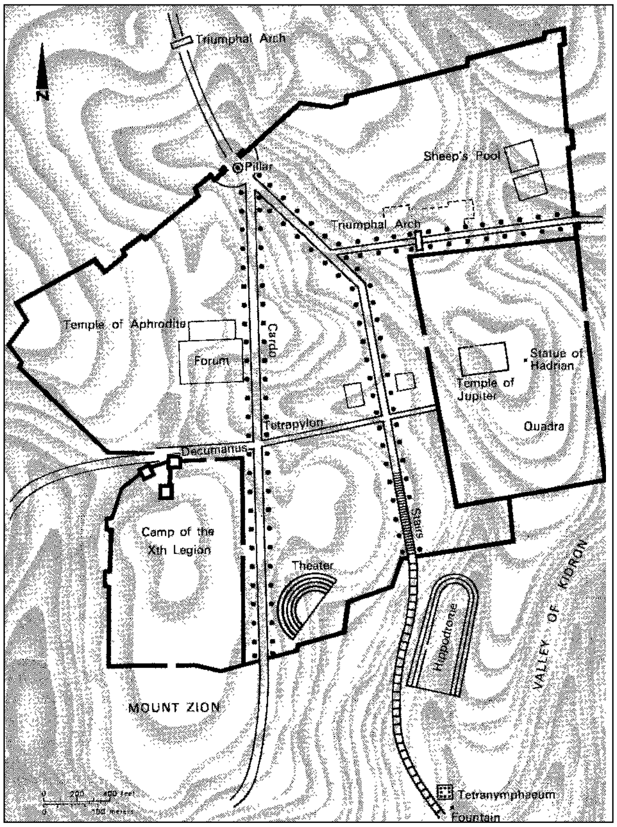

Aelia Capitolina.

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[Shimon Gibson (2nd ed.)]

°**AELIAN** (**Claudius Aelianus**; c. 170–235 C.E.), Greek sophist. Aelian mentions the Jews in several places. In *Varia Historia*, 12, 35, he includes the Jewish Sibyls (see *Apocalypse) in a list of *Sibylline oracles. In his *De Natura Animalium*, 6, 17, he tells of a snake enamored of a girl in Judea during the reign of Herod. He also mentions the deer on Mount Carmel.

AERONAUTICS, AVIATION, AND ASTRONAUTICS. An early contribution by a Jew to aviation was the cigar-shaped airship with an aluminum framework designed in 1892 by the Zagreb timber merchant David *Schwarz. His designs were sold to Count Zeppelin, who carried them through to produce the airship known as the "Zeppelin." Another pioneer of flight-theory was Josef *Popper (1838–1921), who as early as 1888 considered the problems of flight-theory in his *Flugtechnik.* The development of French aviation was furthered by Henri *Deutsch de la Meurthe (1846–1919), who donated the first prize won by the Brazilian Santos-Dumont in October 1901 for flying an airship around the Eiffel Tower. After establishing an experimental aeronautics station at Sartrouville, Deutsch founded the Aeronautic Institute at Saint-Cyr in 1909. His daughter Suzanne (1892–1937) continued his work. In 1901 Arthur *Berson, director of the Prussian Aeronautical Observatory and a major personality in contemporary investigations of the upper atmosphere, navigated a balloon to what was then a record height of 35,100 feet (10,700 meters), and in 1908 he made a flight over the equator in East Africa at great heights. Other Jewish aviation pioneers were Emile *Berliner, the first man to make lightweight revolving-cylinder internal-combustion engines and to equip airplanes with them; Eduard *Rumpler, whose "*Rumplertaube*" was used by Germany in World War I; August Goldschmidt of Vienna, an inventor of a novel type of balloon in 1911; the Russian pilot Vseuolod Abramovich, who held the world record in 1912; Fred Melchior of Sweden, an expert pilot who won many awards; Arthur L. *Welsh, U.S. aviation instructor and test pilot, who died in 1912 while testing a new load-carrying military biplane; Ellis Dunitz (1888–1913), chief instructor in the German Naval Air Service; Victor Betman, winner in 1914 of the speed flight between Vienna and Budapest; Arthur Landmann of Germany, holder of the world endurance record for 1914; and Leonino Da Zara, the father of Italian aeronautics.

Interwar Period

Marcel Bloch (later *Dassault) became a major aircraft manufacturer in France from the period between the two world wars. Harry F. Guggenheim (see *Guggenheim Family) was a U.S. pilot in World War I, and later a lieutenant-commander in the U.S. Navy (and U.S. ambassador to Cuba). His father, Daniel Guggenheim, established the Guggenheim Foundation, at that time the leading private organization in the aeronautics field, and in 1925 he created a pioneer school of aeronautics at New York University. Still active after World War I, Emile Berliner, with the help of his son Henry Adler *Berliner, designed and built three different kinds of helicopters (1919–26). Karl Arnstein was chief construction engineer with the Zeppelin Company; in 1924 one of his airships flew the Atlantic. With the coming of the Nazis he left Germany for America, and from 1934 was employed by the Goodyear-Zeppelin Corporation as chief engineer and vice president. Among the many airships he designed were the dirigibles "Los Angeles" and "Akron," which were used by the U.S. Navy. America's first civilian superintendent of airmail was Captain Benjamin B. Lipsner, and Harold Zinn of Savannah was the first flying mail carrier in North and South Carolina. Sergeant Benjamin Roth was the mechanic in the aeronautic squad in the Byrd expedition to the Antarctic in the 1920s. Professor Aldo Pontremoli, head of the department of physics at the University of Milan, was in charge of meteorological research in the 1928 Italian expedition to the North Pole, an expedition which cost him his life. Charles A. Levine (1897–1991) was the first flight passenger over the Atlantic. In 1927 he traveled 3,903 mi. (6,295 km. – a world record at the time) from New York to Eisleben, Germany. Levine himself financed this pioneer flight. In 1930 the Viennese Robert Kronfeld created a world record by gliding 93 mi. (150 km.) and in 1931 he won the London *Daily Mail* prize by gliding over the English Channel. Jewish women pilots included Mildred Kauffman of Kansas City, Peggy Salaman of England (winner of the third prize in the King's Cup Race in 1931 who established a record in the same year by her flight from England to Cape Town with Gordon Score), and Lena Bernstein of France. A number of Jews were also academic authorities on aerodynamics.

Postwar Aeronautics

Sir Ben *Lockspeiser was deputy director at the British Ministry of Aircraft Production in the critical years of the war from 1941. In France, René Bloch was director of aviation in the French Navy and later in the Ministry of Defense. Erich Schatzki was a pilot and then chief engineer of Lufthansa in pre-Nazi days, and an early general manager of Israel's El Al. Benedict Cohn was head aerodynamicist for the Boeing Company, and Benjamin Pinkel headed the Rand Corporation's aero-astronautical department. Richard Shevell (1920–2000) helped design the DC-10 at Douglas Aircraft and taught aeronautics at Stanford.

Astronautics

Jews were involved in the activities of the National Advisory Council for Aeronautics in the U.S.A., and many are concerned with some aspect or other of its successor organization, the National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA), which operates the U.S. astronautical program. Three directors of large divisions of NASA were Abe *Silverstein (Lewis Research Center), Abraham Hyatt (program planning and evaluation), and Leonard Jaffe (Communications Systems of Satellites). Daniel Saul *Goldin was the longest-serving director of NASA (1992–2001). Astronaut Jeffrey *Hoffman (1944–) participated in five space missions in the 1980s and 1990s. Two Jewish astronauts who met tragic ends were Judith *Resnik, who died on January 28, 1986, on a space shuttle mission when her Challenger spacecraft blew up on launch, and the Israeli Ilan *Ramon, lost on re-entry in the Columbia mission of January 16–February 1, 2003.

Little is known of the personalities involved in the technical management of the Soviet space program. While it is quite likely that some of them are of Jewish origin, this cannot actually be proved. However, the Soviet cosmonaut Lieutenant-Colonel Boris Volynov, commander of spaceship "Soyuz-5" which in January 1969 performed the first link-up in space with a transfer of cosmonauts from one spaceship to another, was reported to be Jewish.

[Samuel Aaron Miller]

AESCOLY (Weintraub), AARON ZE'EV (1901–1948), Hebrew writer, historian, and ethnologist. Aescoly studied in

Berlin, Liège, and Paris, where for a short time he taught at the Ecole Nationale des Langues Orientales Vivantes. In 1925 he immigrated to Palestine, although he did scholarly research in Paris from 1925 to 1930 and from 1937 to 1939. From 1939 he directed the I. Epstein Training College for kindergarten teachers which he had founded. During World War II he served in the British Army and, as chaplain, in the Jewish Brigade. Aescoly's contributions to Jewish scholarship cover a wide field. In the introduction to his critical edition of *Sippur David Reuveni* ("Story of David Reuveni," 1940), and in a number of other studies, he dealt with messianic movements. His edition of Ḥayyim Vital's *Sefer ha-Ḥezyonot* (1954) and his *Ha-Tenuot ha-Meshiḥiyyot be-Yisrael* ("Messianic Movements in Israel," 1956) were both published posthumously. His ethnological writings include *Geza ha-Adam* ("The Human Race," 1956^{2}), *Yisrael* (1953^{2}), and a number of studies on the *Beta Israel (*Sefer ha-Falashim*, 1943; *Ḥabash*, 1936; *Recueil de textes falashas*, 1951). Aescoly's historical studies include *Ha-Emanẓipazyah ha-Yehudit, Ha-Mahpekhah ha-Ẓarefatit u-Malkhut Napoleon* ("Jewish Emancipation, the French Revolution and the Reign of Napoleon," 1952); a history of his native community of Lodz (1948); and an edition of S. Luzzatto's book on the Jews of Venice (published with D. Lattes' translation, 1951). On literature he wrote *Ma'amar ha-Sifrut* (1941) and translated writings of Lao-Tse (1937). He also edited S.D. Luzzatto's *Yesodei ha-Torah* (1947).

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AFENDOPOLO, CALEB BEN ELIJAH (1464?–1525), Karaite scholar and poet. Born probably in Adrianople, he lived most of his life in the village of Kramariya near *Constantinople, and ultimately in *Belgrade where he died. A pupil of his brother-in-law, Elijah *Bashyazi, Afendopolo remained an Orthodox Karaite of the school of *Aaron b. Elijah of Nicomedia, although he was on friendly terms with several Rabbanite scholars. He acquired much of his knowledge of arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, and Greek-Arabic philosophy, including the works of Maimonides, from the Rabbanite Mordecai *Comtino, and learned modern languages, such as Italian, Greek, and Arabic. Maimonides' views on the messianic era and on the purpose of the commandments proved a formative influence. Afendopolo taught and wrote on a variety of subjects. Most of his numerous treatises remain in manuscript, now in various collections, and often treat diverse unrelated topics.

While surpassing his Karaite contemporaries in the depth and breadth of his scientific studies, Afendopolo lacked originality. A talented eclectic, he mastered the wealth of past and contemporary scholarly material at his disposal, and his writings are a valuable source of reference concerning scholars and works whose existence would otherwise remain unknown. He owned an extensive library of original manuscripts as well as copies he made himself. His works include (1) an unfinished supplement to *Adderet Eliyahu* by Elijah Bashyazi (1532); (2) *Iggeret ha-Maspeket*, on dietary and other laws; (3) *Patshegen Ketav ha-Dat*, on the reading of the Pentateuch and *haftarot;* (4) *Asarah Ma'amarot*, sermons reflecting his religious views (fragments are included in *Dod Mordekhai* by *Mordecai b. Nisan ha-Zaken, Hamburg, 1714); (5) indices to *Ez Ḥayyim* by Aaron b. Elijah and to *Eshkol ha-Kofer* by Judah b. Elijah *Hadassi; (6) *Avner ben Ner*, a discourse on ethics in the style of the Arabic *maqāmāt;* (7) *Gan ha-Melekh*, poetry and prose, containing autobiographical and historical details as well as two elegies on the expulsion of the Jews from Lithuania in 1495; (8) *Mikhlal Yofi*, on the principles of astronomy, withrelation to the calculation of the calendar (9) liturgical poems, included in the Karaite prayer book; (10) a commentary on the Nicomachean arithmetic; (11) *Gal Einai*, on astronomy (known only by the title); and (12) *Iggeret Maspeket*, mainly a glossary of astronomical terminology.

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[Moshe Nahum Zobel]

°AFFONSO. Name of several kings of Portugal. AFFONSO HENRIQUES (1139–1185), the first king of Portugal, continued the relatively tolerant policy to the Jews of his Castilian forebears, giving the Jews autonomy in civil as well as criminal cases. His *almoxarife* or treasurer was Yaḥia ibn Ya'ish, to whom he granted considerable privileges. His grandson, AFFONSO II (1211–1223), also had Jews in his employment in responsible offices, though he confirmed the anti-Jewish provisions of the *Lateran Council of 1215 and endorsed the resolutions passed by the Cortes at Coimbra encouraging baptisms. AFFONSO III (1245/8–1279) on the other hand, almost systematically disregarding many ecclesiastical restrictions against the Jews, employed them widely in the financial administration, and reorganized the internal affairs of the Jews of the kingdom. He was responsible, among other matters, for the organization of the office of chief rabbi (*Arraby moor) of Portugal, with its far-reaching powers. AFFONSO IV (1325–1357) was unfavorably disposed toward the Jews, enforced the wearing of the Jewish *badge, and restricted the right of emigration for any person of property. AFFONSO V (1438–1481) relaxed the enforcement of the anti-Jewish regulations. He is memorable for having in his service Isaac *Abrabanel and Joseph ibn Yaḥia, with whom he is said to have had learned discussions on science and philosophy. He attempted with only qualified success to suppress the anti-Jewish riots of 1449 and punish the ringleaders. In his compilation of laws, collected under the title *Ordenações Affonsinas*, the regulations concerning the Jews occupy a prominent place (book 2). In an edict of 1468, while renewing the restriction of the Jews to their judíarias, he permitted them to do business at the fairs elsewhere.

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[Cecil Roth]

AFGHANISTAN, Muslim state in central Asia (**Khorasan** or **Khurasan** in medieval Muslim and Hebrew sources).

History

Early Karaite and Rabbanite biblical commentators regarded Khorasan as a location of the lost *Ten Tribes. Afghanistan annals also trace the Hebrew origin of some of the Afghan tribes, in particular the Durrani, the Yussafzai, and the Afridi, to King *Saul (Talut). This belief appears in the 17th-century Afghan chronicle *Makhzan-i-Afghān,* and some British travelers in the 19th century spread the tradition. Because of its remoteness from the Jewish center in Babylonia, persons unwanted by the Jewish leadership, such as counter-candidates for the exilarchate (see *Exilarch), often went to live in or were exiled to Afghanistan.

Medieval sources mention several Jewish centers in Afghanistan, of which *Balkh was the most important. A Jewish community in Ghazni is recorded in Muslim sources, indicating that Jews were living there in the tenth and eleventh centuries. A Jew named Isaac, an agent of Sultan Mahmud (ruled 998–1030), was assigned to administer the sultan's lead mines and to melt ore for him. According to Hebrew sources, vast numbers of Jews lived in Ghazni but while their figures are not reliable, Moses *Ibn Ezra (1080) mentions over 40,000 Jews paying tribute in Ghazni and *Benjamin of Tudela (c. 1170) describes "Ghazni the great city on the River Gozan, where there are about 80,000 [8,000 in a variant manuscript] Jews…." In Hebrew literature the River Gozan was identified with Ghazni in Khorasan from the assertion of Judah *Ibn Bal'am that "the River of Gozan is that river flowing through the city of Ghazni which is today the capital of Khorasan."

A Jewish community in Firoz Koh, capital of the medieval rulers of Ghūr or Ghuristan, situated halfway between Herat and Kabul, is mentioned in *Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī,* a chronicle written in Persian (completed around 1260) by al-Jūzjānī. This is the first literary reference to Jews in the capital of the Ghūrids. About 20 recently discovered stone tablets, with Persian and Hebrew inscriptions dating from 1115 to 1215, confirm the existence of a Jewish community there. The Mongol invasion in 1222 annihilated Firoz Koh and its Jewish community.

Arab geographers of the tenth century (Ibn Ḥawqal, Iṣṭakhrī) also refer to Kabul and Kandahar as Jewish settlements. An inscription on a tombstone from the vicinity of Kabul dated 1365, erected in memory of a Moses b. Ephraim Bezalel, apparently a high official, indicates the continuous existence of a Jewish settlement there.

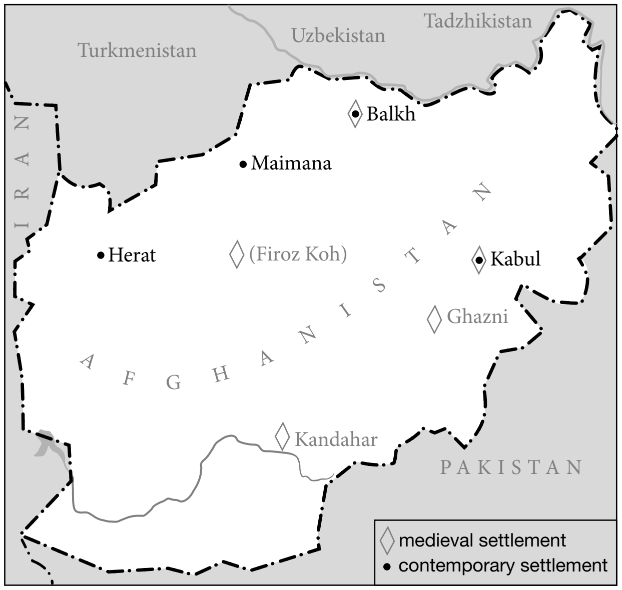

Map of Afghanistan showing places of Jewish settlement in the Middle Ages and modern times.

The Mongol invasion, epidemics, and continuous warfare made inroads into Jewish communities in Afghanistan throughout the centuries, and little is known about them until the 19th century when they are mentioned in connection with the flight of the **anusim* of Meshed after the forced conversions in 1839. Many of the refugees fled to Afghanistan, Turkestan, and Bokhara, settling in Herat, Maimana, Kabul, and other places with Jewish communities, where they helped to enrich the stagnating cultural life. Nineteenth-century travelers (*Wolff, *Vámbery, *Neumark, and others) state that the Jewish communities of Afghanistan were largely composed of these Meshed Jews. Mattathias Garji of Herat confirmed: "Our forefathers used to live in Meshed under Persian rule but in consequence of the persecutions to which they were subjected came to Herat to live under Afghan rule." The language spoken by Afghan Jews is not the Pushtu of their surroundings but a *Judeo-Persian dialect in which they have produced fine liturgical and religious poetry. Their literary merit was recognized when Afghan Jews moved to Ereẓ Israel toward the end of the 19th century. Scholars of Afghanistan families such as Garji and Shaul of Herat published Judeo-Persian commentaries on the Bible, Psalms, *piyyutim*, and other works, at the Judeo-Persian printing press established in Jerusalem at the beginning of the 20th century. The Jews of Afghanistan did not benefit from the activities of European Jewish organizations. Economically, their situation in the last century was not unfavorable; they traded in skins, carpets, and antiquities.

[Walter Joseph Fischel]

Recent Years

Approximately 5,000 Jews were living in Afghanistan in 1948. Of these, about 300 remained in 1969. They were concentrated in Kabul, Balkh, and mainly Herat. (See Map: Jews in Afghanistan.) Jews were banished from other towns after the assassination of King Nādir Shāh in 1933. Though not forced to live in separate quarters, Jews did so and in Balkh they even closed the ghetto gates at night. A campaign against Jews began in 1933. They were forbidden to leave a town without a permit. They had to pay a yearly poll tax and from 1952, when the Military Service Law ceased to apply to Jews, they had to pay ransoms for exemptions from the service (called *ḥarbiyya*). Government service and government schools were closed to Jews, and certain livelihoods forbidden to them. Consequently, most Jews only received a *ḥeder* education. There were only a few wealthy families, the rest being poverty-stricken and mostly employed as tailors and shoemakers. Until 1950 Afghan Jews were forbidden to leave the country. However, between June 1948 and June 1950, 459 Afghan Jews went to Israel. Most of them had fled the country in 1944, and lived in Iran or India until the establishment of the State of Israel. Jews were only allowed to emigrate from Afghanistan from the end of 1951. By 1967, 4,000 had gone to Israel. No Zionist activity was permitted, and no emissaries from Israel could reach Afghanistan. There was a *ḥevrah* ("community council") in each of the three towns in which Jews lived. The *ḥevrah* was composed of the heads of families; it cared for the needy, and dealt with burials. The *ḥevrah* sometimes meted out punishments, including excommunication. The head of the community (called *kalāntar*) represented the community in dealings with the authorities, and was responsible for the payment of taxes.

According to the *New York Times*, one Jew remained in Afghanistan in 2005.

[Haim J. Cohen]

Folklore

A survey of local Jewish-Afghan folk tales and customs reveals the influence of both Meshed (Jewish-Persian) and local non-Jewish traditions. This is especially true of customs relating to the year cycle and life cycle. The existence of several unique customs, such as the presence of "Elijah's rod" at childbirth, and several folk cures and charms are to be similarly explained. Jewish-Afghan folk tales have been collected from local narrators in Israel and are preserved in the Israel Folk Tale Archives. A sample selection of 12 tales from the repertoire of an outstanding narrator, Raphael Yehoshua, was published in 1969, accompanied by extensive notes and a rich bibliography.

[Dov Noy]

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AFIA, AARON (16th century), Sephardi physician and philosopher in practice in Salonika. With wide linguistic and scientific knowledge, he collaborated in the Hebrew translation by *Daniel b. Perahyah of the "Perpetual Almanac" of Abraham *Zacuto (Salonika, 1543), and in Moses *Almosnino's still unpublished version of the "Treatise on the Sphere" by Johannes de Sacrobosco and other works. His own treatise on the nature of the soul (*Opiniones sacadas de los philosophos sobre la alma…*) was appended to *Los dialogos de Amor* (Venice, 1568), the Spanish translation of Judah *Abrabanel's (Leone Ebreo) "Dialogues of Love." Afia was friendly with the great physician *Amatus Lusitanus, who records (Centuria 7, 24th cure) how they discussed together with a colleague recently arrived from Portugal the source of laughter, which Afia, following Aristotle, placed in the heart. Afia is a remarkable exemplification of the fashion in which European culture in its broadest sense continued to flourish for a time among the descendants of the exiles from Spain.

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AFIKE JEHUDA (Heb. אֲפִיקֵי יְהוּדָה), society for the "advancement of study of Judaism and of religious consciousness," founded in Prague in 1869 on the initiative of Samuel Freund, and named in memory of Judah Teweles. It supported the *talmud torah* (until taken over by the community in 1879), and Teweles' yeshivah. The society organized lectures (to which women were admitted from 1879) by outstanding scholars and published them, mainly in the two anniversary volumes, *Afike Jehuda Festschrift* (1909 and 1930). A project initiated in 1919 by the society to publish a Jewish biographical lexicon did not materialize. The society continued to exist until the German occupation of Prague in 1939.

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AFIKIM (Heb. אֲפִיקִים; "stream courses," referring to the Jordan and the Yarmuk Rivers), kibbutz in the central Jordan Valley, in Israel. Afikim, affiliated with Iḥud ha-Kevuzot ve-ha-Kibbutzim, was founded in 1932 by pioneer youth from Soviet Russia, who were among the last organized groups able to leave that country in the 1920s. In 1967 Afikim had 1,290 inhabitants from many countries, making it one of the largest communal settlements in Israel. In 2002 its population was 1,030. In addition to engaging in intensive farming (irrigated field crops, fodder, milch cattle, poultry, carp ponds, bananas, dates, grapefruit), the kibbutz economy was based on a large plywood factory, producing principally for export. It also became a partner in the nearby factory for cellotex and similar materials. The prehistoric site of al-'Ubaydiyya is situated near the kibbutz.

[Efraim Orni]

AFIKOMAN (Heb. אֲפִּיקוֹמָן), name of a portion of *mazzah* (unleavened bread) eaten at the conclusion of the Passover evening meal. In most traditions, early in the evening, the person conducting the *seder* breaks the middle of the three *mazzot* into two pieces, putting away the larger portion, designated as *afikoman*, for consumption at the conclusion of the meal. Some Yemenites, who use only two *mazzot*, break off a part of the lower *mazzah* just at the beginning of the meal. The word *afikoman*, of Greek origin but uncertain etymology, probably refers to the aftermeal songs and entertainment (cf. TJ, Pes. 10:8, 37d), accompanied by drinking, which was common after festive meals in ancient times. The Mishnah states: "One may not add *afikoman* after the paschal meal" (Pes. 10:8), for the paschal meal was not to be followed by customary revelry (Pes. 119b–120a). This ruling was later understood to mean that the paschal lamb should be the last food eaten during the evening and, after the cessation of the paschal sacrifice, *mazzah* replaced it as the last food eaten during the evening. This *mazzah* is first referred to as *afikoman* in medieval times (cf. *Maḥzor Vitry*). This *afikoman* has become a symbolic reminder of the paschal sacrifice.

In many Ashkenazi communities it is customary for the children present to attempt to "steal" the *afikoman* from the person leading the *seder* (who therefore tries to "hide" it from them). A favorite time for such a "theft" is while the leader is washing his hands before the meal, and the "ransom" is usually the promise of presents. The custom encourages the children to keep awake during the *seder* (see Pes. 109a). This practice of stealing the *afikoman* is, however, nearly unknown in Sephardi Jewish communities.

It became a folk custom to preserve a piece of the *afikoman* as a protection against either harm or the "evil eye," or as an aid to longevity. The power attributed to this piece of *mazzah* is based on the assumption, in the realm of folklore rather than law, that its importance during the *seder* endows it with a special sanctity. Thus, Jews from Iran, Afghanistan, Salonika, Kurdistan, and Bukhara keep a portion of the *afikoman* in their pockets or houses throughout the year for good luck. In some places, pregnant women carry it together with salt and coral pieces, while during their delivery they hold some of the *afikoman* in their hand. Another belief is that this special *mazzah*, if kept for seven years, can stop a flood if thrown into the turbulent river, and the use of the *afikoman* together with a certain biblical verse is even thought capable of quieting the sea. At the *seder* Kurdi Jews tie this *mazzah* to the arm of one of their sons with this blessing: "May you so tie the *ketubbah* to the arm of your bride." Sephardi Jews in Hebron had a similar practice. In Baghdad someone with the *afikoman* used to leave the *seder* and return disguised as a traveler. The leader would ask him, "Where are you from?" to which he would answer, "Egypt," and "Where are you going?" to which he would reply, "Jerusalem." In Djerba, the person conducting the *seder* used to give the *afikoman* to one of the family, who tied it on his shoulder and went to visit relatives and neighbors to forecast the coming of the Messiah.

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[Dov Noy / Joseph Tabory (2nd ed.)]

AFRICA. The propinquity of the land of Israel to the African continent profoundly influenced the history of the Jewish people. Two of the patriarchs went down to *Egypt; the sojourn of the children of Israel in that land left an indelible impression on the history of their descendants; and the Exodus from Egypt and the theophany at Sinai, in the desert between Africa and Asia, marked the beginning of the specific history of the Hebrew people. Later, in the time of the judges and the monarchy, Palestine was periodically occupied by the Egyptian pharaohs, especially after Thutmose III, in their attempts to extend their influence northward. Important Egyptian archaeological remains have been found throughout Ereẓ Israel, testifying to indubitable Egyptian influences in the background, literature, and language of the Bible. After the destruction of the First Temple in 586 B.C.E. some of the survivors took refuge in Egypt and the Jewish military colony at *Elephantine; ample records which survive from the Persian period seem to have originated at about this time. This settlement at Elephantine marked the beginning of the extension of Jewish influences toward the interior of the continent, and in all probability it was not the only colony of its kind.

Intensive Jewish settlement in Africa began after the conquests of Alexander the Great in the fourth century B.C.E. For the next hundred years or more, Ereẓ Israel was intermittently under the rule of the Egyptian Ptolemies, alternating with the Syrian Seleucids; the country naturally gravitated toward Africa economically as well as politically. Moreover, in the course of their periodic campaigns north of the Sinai Peninsula the Ptolemies deported some elements of the local population to the central provinces of their empire, or brought there prisoners of war as slaves. According to ancient tradition, Alexander had specifically invited Jews to settle in his newly founded city of *Alexandria, and it is certain that early in its history they formed a considerable proportion of its population. Before long, Alexandria became a great center of Jewish

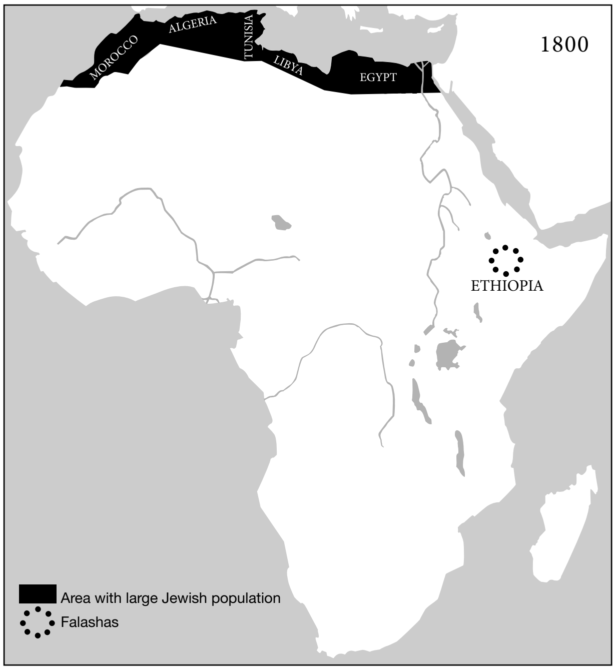
1800
MOROCCO
ALGERIA
TUNISIA
LIBYA
EGYPT
ETHIOPIA
Area with large Jewish population
Falashas

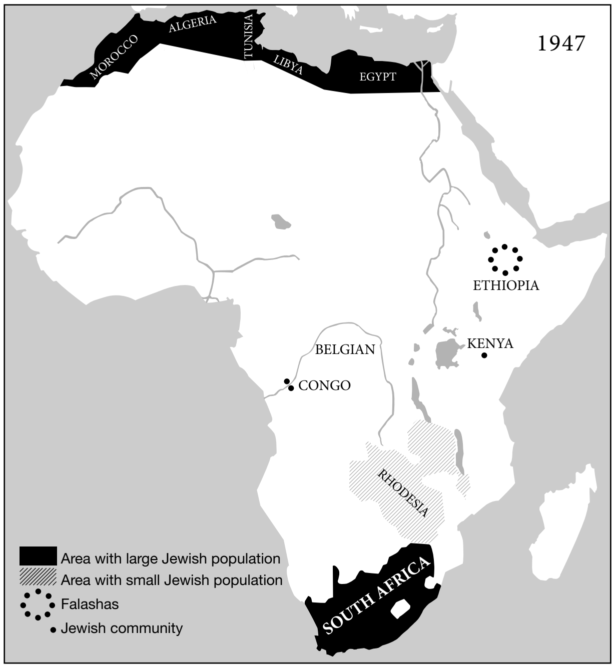
1947
MOROCCO
ALGERIA
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RHODESIA
SOUTH AFRICA
Area with large Jewish population
Area with small Jewish population
Falashas
Jewish community

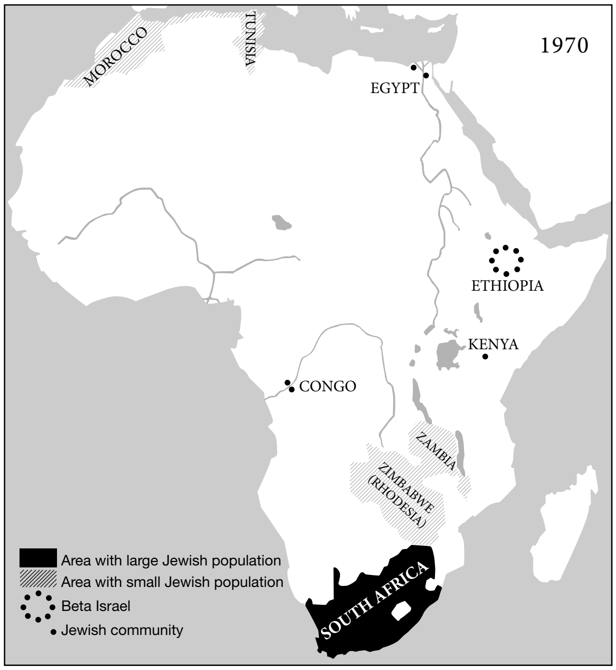
1970
MOROCCO
TUNISIA
EGYPT
ETHIOPIA
KENYA
CONGO
ZAMBIA
ZIMBABWE (RHODESIA)
SOUTH AFRICA
Area with large Jewish population
Area with small Jewish population
Beta Israel
Jewish community

Main concentrations of Jewish population on the African continent at different periods.

culture expressed in the Greek language and largely in terms of Greek civilization culminating in the *Septuagint translation of the Bible and in the allegorical writings of *Philo. It is significant that inscriptions found near Alexandria provide the earliest positive evidence of the existence of the synagogue as an institution. From Egypt the Jewish settlement spread westward along the North African coast reaching *Cyrene at least as early as the second century B.C.E. According to some scholars, Palestinian Hebrews had reached further west long before this, as early as the days of the First Temple, accompanying and helping the *Phoenicians in their expeditions and playing an important role in the establishment of the Punic colonies, including *Carthage itself. It is further suggested that these settlers had a considerable influence in the interior of Africa and were ultimately responsible for the vaguely Jewish ideas and practices that may still be discerned in certain areas. In any case, in the Roman imperial period there were Jewish settlements throughout the Roman provinces as far west as the Strait of Gibraltar. In some areas the Jewish colonies were of great numerical importance and were able to play an independent political role. In Egypt the friction between the Alexandrian Jewish colony and its neighbors was so marked that it developed into a perpetual problem and seems almost to have anticipated the 19th-century antisemitic movement. After the fall of Jerusalem in 70 C.E, *Zealot or Sicarii fugitives from the Palestinian campaigns fled to Egypt, where they instigated a widespread revolt among the Jewish population. The rebels succeeded in dominating large stretches of the countryside, though they were unable to capture the fortified cities. A similar revolt on a smaller scale, about which less information has survived, seems to have occurred simultaneously in Cyrene.

Although swiftly subdued by the Romans, these outbursts were soon followed by the Great Revolt of 115–7 all along the North African coast, at least as far as Cyrene, as well as in Cyprus and Mesopotamia. This revolt, organized apparently by some directing spirit of real genius, momentarily achieved sweeping success, with the insurgents dominating Cyrene and large tracts of the Egyptian countryside. It was, however, bloodily suppressed, and the Jewish settlements in the area of revolt never fully recovered from this blow. When Christianity was adopted as the official religion of the Roman Empire, Judaism was at a further disadvantage. Force as well as blandishment was exerted against the Jews; there were bloody anti-Jewish riots in Alexandria, and the significance of North African Jewry for a time waned almost to vanishing point. When in the sixth century the Byzantines reoccupied the former Roman provinces of North Africa, organized Jewish life was systematically suppressed. On the other hand, Jewish influence during the preceding period had not been restricted to the coastal strip, or to persons of Jewish birth. There is some evidence that suggests conscious proselytizing efforts by the Jews in the African interior, or at least extensive imitation of Jewish rites and beliefs there. Traditions of Jewish origin and traces of Jewish practice are to be found among Berber tribes and black peoples well into the continent and it may well be that the *Beta Israel of Ethiopia survive as testimony to a proselytizing activity that once attained considerable proportions. The curious tales told in the ninth century by the Jewish traveler *Eldad ha-Dani of independent Jewish tribes apparently in the African interior, may be a romanticization of what he had actually seen and experienced. The Arab invasions of the seventh century seem to have found only very small scattered Jewish communities along the African coast. The story of the "Jewish" Berber queen Dahiya al-Kahina seems to be largely legendary although it may be that at that time a woman ruled over a Judaizing Berber tribe. After the Arab conquest these communities were revived and probably reinforced by new immigrants, mainly from Asia, who accompanied the Arab conquerors, or who came to take advantage of the new economic opportunities. The new communities were completely Arabized in language and social life; hardly an echo or trace of the previous Greco-Roman Jewish culture can be discerned among them. The newly founded city of Fostat (Old *Cairo) became the largest Jewish center in Egypt; further west *Kairouan in *Tunisia was of primary importance and, indeed, from the eighth to the 11th centuries was perhaps the greatest center of rabbinic culture outside Babylonia. The documents found in the Cairo *Genizah* make possible a reconstruction of the economic, social, and religious life of the Jews throughout this area in graphic detail. It is significant that in the ninth century *Saadiah Gaon, who may be credited with the revitalization of Jewish scholarship in Mesopotamia, was born, and apparently educated, in the Fayyum district of Egypt. The work of the physician and philosopher Isaac *Israeli, who lived in Kairouan, typified the contribution that the Jews of this area made to contemporary science.The condition of the Jews in Africa under Muslim rule was generally favorable, subject to the usual discriminatory provisions of the Islamic code, which were sporadically enforced; there was a surge of violent persecution in Egypt in the early 11th century, but it was an isolated episode. The triumph of the fanatical, unitarian *Almohad rulers in the 12th century proved disastrous to the Jews; the practice of Judaism was prohibited in *Morocco and the neighboring lands, and they were forcibly converted to Islam. The result was that for a long time Judaism could be observed only in clandestine circumstances. A considerable number of Jews, including the family of Moses *Maimonides, migrated east, making Egypt a major center of Jewish cultural life. After the Almohad domination ended, Jewish life in northwest Africa recovered slowly, but on a restricted and culturally retrograde scale. The wave of massacres and expulsions in Spain and the Balearic Islands in 1391 resulted in a large migration across the Strait of Gibraltar; first there were refugees from these onslaughts and later, on a larger scale, those who had been baptized by force and now desired to revert to Judaism. Thus, especially in the coastal towns of what was later called *Algeria, alongside the old established, quasi-native "Berber" communities, fresh "Spanish" colonies with their own rites and traditions and of a far higher cultural standard arose. The number of Spanish (and later Portuguese) fugitives reaching Africa, primarily Morocco, again increased after the expulsion from Spain in 1492. Their sufferings at the hands of marauders and rapacious local rulers were sometimes appalling. However, in the end they were able to adjust themselves, and henceforth a well-organized Spanish-speaking community, observing the religious regulations provided by "**takkanot* of Castile," dominated Jewish life as far east as Algiers. Further along the Mediterranean coast and in the interior (exceptin the largest towns), the Spanish element was less significant.

The Jews generally continued to live under the universal Muslim code, in many places compulsorily confined to the Jewish quarter, their lives hemmed in by discriminatory regulations. They were often compelled to wear a distinctive garb, they had to show respect to Muslims in the street, and they were excluded from certain occupations. On the other hand they were at least allowed to reside at will, except in one or two "holy" cities such as Kairouan, and the periodic Christian incursions on the coastal towns frequently entailed disaster for them. In the ports especially, the Jews played an economic role of great importance, and, with their linguistic versatility, were the principal intermediaries for transactions with European merchants. Occasionally, Jews were dispatched as ambassadors or envoys to the European powers. Sometimes, a person of outstanding ability would become minister of finance or even vizier, wielding much influence until the disastrous fall which was generally in store for him, sometimes involving his coreligionists as a body.

This description characterizes the history of the Jews almost throughout the Barbary States from the 16th century until well into the 19th. Conditions were somewhat but not conspicuously better in the areas farther east, particularly in Egypt, especially after the establishment of Turkish rule at the beginning of the 16th century. It was only with the introduction of European influences, beginning in Algeria in 1830 and culminating in Morocco and Tripolitania after 1912, that the North African Jews were relieved to a great extent of their medieval status. Nevertheless, except in Egypt and some coastal towns, the process of modernization within the communities was slow. On the other hand, in the upper classes the outward occidentalization of the Jews in language and social life became very marked, while the French administration in Algeria formally recognized the Jews as a European element, the *Crémieux decree in 1870 giving Algerian Jews French nationality.

Meanwhile occidental Jews had established themselves in areas of European settlement at the southernmost tip of the African continent. Isolated settlers are recorded here in the early 19th century; a community largely of English origin was founded in *Cape Town in 1841, spreading from there to other places. The Kimberley diamond field, which opened in the 1860s, was a considerable stimulus to new settlement. With the discovery of gold in Transvaal in the 1880s many Jews emigrated there from Eastern Europe, founding important communities in and around *Johannesburg. After World War I, immigration, especially from Lithuania, assumed relatively large proportions, and the *South African Jewish community of some 100,000 was among the most affluent in the world. From South Africa the Jewish settlement spread northward into Rhodesia (*Zimbabwe), as soon as that territory was opened up in the 1890s. During the period between World War I and World War II there was a Sephardi influx as well, mainly from Rhodes, which spread to the Belgian *Congo. There were also small European Jewish colonies in the British East African territories, joined by immigrants from Egypt and even Yemen.

The Vichy regime in France during World War II brought a temporary setback in Jewish status in the French-dominated areas of North Africa and the revocation of the Crémieux decree. The subsequent Nazi military occupation had distressing, although not enduring, consequences. The European withdrawal from Africa after World War II, coupled with economic changes in that continent, profoundly affected the Jewish communities, all the more so with the wave of anti-Jewish feeling that spread throughout the Arab world after the foundation of the State of Israel. A large portion of the Jewish community of Tunis and almost the whole Jewish community of Algeria left (mostly for France) when the French period of domination ended. The changed circumstances resulted in the migration also of the Jews of Egypt and Cyrenaica, in great part to Israel. *Aliyah* to Israel, immigration to France, and other countries also reduced the Jewish settlement in Morocco, numerically the largest in Africa, to one-fifth of its former number, approximately 50,000 in 1969; political conditions there did not deteriorate formally. The only part of the continent in which the Jewish communities did not initially diminish was South Africa, although gradually with the end of apartheid the community dropped significantly in numbers. By 2005 the community had fallen to about 75,000 with some 1,800 Jews a year emigrating to other countries largely because of the dramatic rise in violent crime.

The most remarkable example of Black Judaizing movements is to be found in South Africa and Zimbabwe among the *Lemba tribe, and there are similar movements throughout the continent which range from movements which depend on perceived shared origins – sometimes invoking the myth of the *Ten Lost Tribes of Israel – to movements of conversion such as the *Bayudaya in Uganda.

The establishment of the State of Israel brought a renewal of the movement to bring the *Beta Israel of Ethiopia into closer relations with world Jewry. The State of Israel also established cordial relations with the emergent African states, entering into diplomatic relations with them and sending economic, military, and agricultural experts to assist them in solving their problems (see *Israel, Historical Survey, Internal Aid and Cooperation). However, under pressure from the Arabs after the Yom Kippur War of 1973, 29 African countries broke off diplomatic relations with Israel, though in the course of the years, starting with the Democratic Republic of the Congo (formerly Zaire) in 1982, most reestablished relations.

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[Cecil Roth]

AFRICA, NORTH: MUSICAL TRADITIONS. Geographically, North Africa (the countries of the Maghreb, i.e., Morocco, Tunisia, Algeria, and Libya) belongs to Africa, but culturally it is a part of the Islamic world. Some scholars have set up a twofold division of the entire area: the musical culture of the coastal region and that of the interior, roughly corresponding to "urban" and "rural," or "Andalusian" (i.e., Spanish-influenced) and "Berber" (i.e., autochthonous) music. Neither of these areas however, is homogeneous, and there are sometimes considerable differences in musical style between one coastal or interior district and another. North Africa is therefore a musical crossways of many traditions: old Mediterranean, Berber, Bedouin, Near Eastern (including Turkish, and recently Egyptian), Andalusian (or "Moorish"), and Saharan. Not all of these are present at the same place and time, and often one is faced with stylistic blends, which are difficult to define.

The Jews, historically among the oldest elements of the population, have taken an active part in each stage of the area's musical history. They have also preserved more elements from older traditions, with the conservation typical of "fringe cultures," and, in addition, have absorbed still other outside influences through factors in their own history. Both before and after the appearance of Islam there was close and permanent contact with Palestinian, Babylonian, and Egyptian Jewry. During the *reconquista* and after the expulsion of the Jews from Spain, Spanish, Portuguese, and later also Italian Jews settled in North Africa. The musical usages of the immigrants were influenced by the local ones and influenced them in return. This blending of styles and openness to influence has remained typical of North African Jewish music.

Thus, the musical traditions and practices of the North African Jews represent a conglomerate of a variety of old and new, sacred and secular, folk and art, local and shared musical styles. One can also add the advent of recent innovative stylistic blends representing the attempt to modernize the old tradition. Interestingly, talented Jewish musicians in all four countries were intimately involved in the creation and promotion of the new styles. As a rule, one can state that the musical traditions and practices of the North African Jews are interconnected in various ways with those of the non-Jewish environment. However, comparisons between the Jewish and non-Jewish musical styles are particularly difficult to make, since each is in itself a complex of historical and cultural entities, not to mention the serious obstacles characterizing any other oral tradition – the lack of musical documents and the lack of accuracy in oral transmission. This makes it impossible to state what derives from a Jewish and what from an Arab source. Nevertheless, one can speak of certain specific traits.

It seems nevertheless that the distinguishing traits should be essentially sought in the linguistic, thematic, and functional particularities. First and foremost are the musical rendering of biblical readings and prayers, and the singing of liturgical Hebrew poems, *piyyuṭim*, written by the most famous poets of the Jewish people as well as by locally distinguished ones. These include hymns of praise, supplications, lamentations, and the celebration of holidays. The French specialist in Moroccan music, Alexis Chottin, mentions the remarkable fact that when Hebrew texts are adapted to replace the original, they maintain the Arab metric and prosody, which, he points out, is not translation. In addition to the setting of the borrowed melodies to Hebrew texts, this type of arrangement usually leads to melodic and rhythmical changes, so their functional use in Jewish-specific circumstances may be considered as factor highlighting their Jewishness. A special category of bilingual poetry called *maṭrūz* (combined Hebrew and Arab verses and strophes) should also be noted. The question of Jewishness in the Oriental music appeared in connection with the intriguing phenomenon which arose from the broad-based ethnic movement of the 1980s in Israel. Challenging the widely held belief that Oriental musical traditions have a folk and indigenous background, representatives of the latter responded by arguing that the erudite mystical-religious ceremonial music known as **bakkashot*, should be placed on the same level as western classical music.

The singing of *bakkashot* and *piyyuṭim* always refers to North African classical music, which, itself, is identified with the Andalusian compound and multi-sectional form of the *nūba* in all of the African centers. Established in Spain, the basic components and characteristics of the Andalusian *nūba* have survived in the major traditions of Fez, Tlemcen, Algier, and Tunis where they are called respectively: *āla*, *gharnāṭī*, *ṣanʿa*, and *ma'lūf*. Some differences notwithstanding, they are very similar in spirit and structure. The individual *nūba* is named after the mode or *ṭab*'ʿ (nature or temperament); for example *nūba dīl*, *nūba raṣd*, etc. The overall physiognomy of the *nūba* in all centers is more or less alike: it comprises an instrumental prelude or preludes and a series of pre-composed vocal pieces that represent autonomous phases of the *nūba*, each having its own set of poetic texts as well as melodic and rhythmic characteristics. Most of the poems sung in this repertory consist of *muwashshaḥāt* and free-measured pieces that intersperse the various phases. The overall structure as well as the individual phases are governed not only by modal unity but also by rhythmic acceleration that reaches its peak toward the end of the *nūba*.

Morocco

Travelers who record their impressions usually display exceptional intellectual curiosity and their observations can supply important evidence. By an extraordinary coincidence, three different travelers recorded their impressions of wedding ceremonies held in the same community of Tangier: the Jewish Italian writer Samuel *Romanelli in 1787; the French painter Delacroix in 1832; and the French author Alexandre Dumas in 1832. All three travelers describe Jewish women dancing, and the traditional group of three musicians, which accompanies the dancing and singing: the *ʿūd* (the classical Arab short-necked lute), the *kamanja* (short-necked bowed lute) or the modern violin which has come to be its substitute, the *darbūka* (pottery vessel-drum) or the *ṭār* (frame drum). The *kamanja* or violin is played in the medieval fashion, with the body of the instrument resting on the knee. Delacroix, who also recorded in his journal that the Jewish musicians of Mogador were the best in all Morocco, depicted this traditional ensemble along with a dancer. Romanelli records that the instrumentalists, poet-singers, and preachers were remunerated in two ways. In the synagogue, the intended payment was only announced out loud, but outside the synagogue the coins were immediately put on the instrument or on the performer's breast.

Jewish musicians also distinguished themselves as entertainers in local gentile society, either in company with Muslim musicians or as special "Jewish bands." One folktale tells how such a Jewish ensemble was commanded to give a concert before the sultan on the Ninth of Av (see *Av, Ninth of). Since they could not refuse to appear, they played the melodies of the traditional **kinot,* and henceforth were known as "The Singers of Woe."

The art of the *payṭan* (religious poet, and by extension, singer of religious poetry) is also rooted strongly in the Andalusian tradition. In almost every synagogue there is a *payṭan* in addition to the *ḥazzan*. His principal task is to sing prayers such as *Nishmat* and **Kedushah,* and all the *piyyuṭim*. A *payṭan* may take part in the performance of the *bakkashot,* but not every *payṭan* possesses the necessary knowledge for this special art, so that a vocally and musically gifted layman will often function as the "leader" there. Since the *bakkashot* were performed early on Sabbath mornings, the instrumental part is completely avoided. As a result, the singers evolved the habit of adding passages sung to the syllables *na na na* in which the role of the accompanying instrument is thus imitated. These syllables and the wealth of vocalizes (textless ornamented phrases) is in fact a remarkable feature of the North African art of singing. When the *bakkashot* and *piyyuṭim* are sung on a weekday, they are usually accompanied by the traditional instrumental ensemble.

In the realm of folk music one should mention the folk tradition of group performance, especially in the Atlas Mountain regions, often in the form of women's ensembles. Their music and dances are not different from those of the Berber tribes.

Music plays an important role in the pilgrimage festivals at the numerous *hillulot* (sing. **hillula*). It marks and enhances the celebration of a revered public figure and the mass pilgrimage to the site of his burial, which, in some cases, is venerated by both Jews and Muslims. The ritual of sainthood is deeply entrenched in all strata of the people.

A special Moroccan custom is the *taḥdīd,* a ceremony conducted the night before circumcision when it is believed that the newborn, subject, prior to circumcision, to harm by evil forces, is at the highest vulnerability. In this event a sword is used to banish the evil spirits while a selection of appropriate biblical verses is chanted.

Another well-known celebration marked by singing and dancing is the **Maimuna* (which has been transferred to Israel). At these gatherings many original creations of the *qaṣīda* type can be heard. The *qaṣīda*, a popular song in Hebrew or in the vernacular, is sung both by the educated and the lower classes. Some *qaṣīda* songs are anonymous and well-known poets created others. In the framework of the *bakkashot* were introduced dozens of *qaṣīdas* composed by local poets borrowing their tunes from Arab *qaṣīdas.* Their texts include praises of the saints, ethical and religious subjects, and comments on historical and present or recent events. They are sung with or without accompaniment, and the tunes are mostly adaptations of well-known melodies. Such *qaṣīda* songs are found in all North African countries. One of the most talented poets of this genre was David Elkayim (1851–1940), and among the most celebrated *payṭanim* were David Ḥasin (1727–1792), David Iflah, and David *Buzaglo (1903–1975).

Tunisia

The first and earliest documents focusing on the eternal debate concerning the permissibility of music are the two responsa of *Hai Gaon to questions addressed by representatives of Tunisian Jewry. One of them, perhaps addressed to the community of *Kairouan, forbids the *ḥazzanim* to sing poems in the "language of the Ishmaelites," even at banquets. Another one, often quoted in later literature, is addressed to the community of *Gabès, and discusses whether the traditional prohibition (Git. 7:1) against singing with instrumental accompaniment and which restricts all secular songs in memory of the destruction of the Temple also applies to wedding celebrations. Hai Gaon approved of singing pious hymns of praise on such occasions, but secular Arab love songs were strictly forbidden, even without accompaniment; "and so to what you have mentioned … that women play the drums and dance [at such festivities], if this is done in public there is nothing more grave; and even if they … only sing, this is most unseemly and forbidden." The free and unsegregated participation of women singers in wedding festivities, family rejoicings, pilgrimages to saints' tombs, and their prominence as professional mourners, were probably related to similar usages in Berber society and have survived until the present.

The Tunisian term *laʿb* (lit. amusement but used for dancing) is mentioned in two **Genizah* documents: in one, the birth of a boy in Fostat, Egypt, is celebrated with *laʿb* by his family at Mahdia in Tunisia; in another, a poor Tunisian teacher alludes, surprisingly, to *laʿb* at the burial of his son.

In proximity to Gabès lay the famous Island of *Djerba, home to a quite old Jewish community. It was there that in 1929 Robert *Lachmann carried on important fieldwork research with the hope of disclosing in their liturgical cantillation older stratum of Jewish music. His important analytical study of this tradition was published after his premature death (see Bibl.).

The output of *piyyuṭim* and songs the Jewish poets wrote in Hebrew and Judeo-Arabic is considerable and played an important educative and socio-cultural role. They cover numerous song genres and themes related to Jewish life.

Toward the end of the 19th century and during the first decades of the 20th Jewish musicians played an essential role in the indigenous cultural reform movement as well as in the crystallization of a new musical style. They were involved in the growth of the cinematographic and record industries and the introduction of the modern Egyptian musical style, and distinguished by the remarkable involvement of numerous talented female musicians. Some of those female musicians established their own café-concert halls, which attracted numerous Jewish and non-Jewish music fans. Leila Sfez, who owned a popular café-concert hall, was the aunt of the legendary actress and singer Ḥbiba Msika, whose tragic premature death was the subject of a film produced by the Tunisian Slama Bachar. Interestingly, the first records of Tunisian music, published in 1908, included the interpretations of the Jewish female musicians: Louisa the Tunisian, and the sisters Semama, Fritna, and Ḥbiba Darmon.

In an article dedicated to Jewish musicians published in 1960, the Tunisian author ʿAlī Jandubī warmly extolled the valuable contribution they made to Tunisian music and musical life. He mentions the special skills of many famous

Jewish female and male musicians, including a few of Libyan origin. Among the famous singers and instrumentalists he mentions are Isaac, Abraham Tibshi, Khaylu al-Sghir, Mridakh Slama and his son Sousou, Gaston Bsiri, Ḥbiba Msika, and Raoul Journo.

In 1928, the Jerusalemite cantor, *payṭan*, and composer Asher Mizraḥi arrived in Tunis, staying until 1967, the year of his return to Israel. He soon became a dominant figure, particularly in the realm of synagogal and paraliturgical music, thus enriching the musical life of the community.

Algeria

Following the riots against the Jews in Spain in 1391, a wave of refugees found shelter in Algeria. Among the newcomers was the rabbinic authority, philosopher, and kabbalist Simeon ben Tzemaḥ *Duran (b. Majorca, 1361), who was elected chief rabbi of Algeria in 1408 and died in 1444. Duran was the author of a comprehensive book, *Magen Avot*, which deals with religious philosophy and diverse sciences, including an important section on the science of music. In addition to generalities he wrote on music, its nature and influence, the bulk of his exposition concerns the biblical accents, which are "genera of melodies," extolling their importance for the understanding of biblical texts and their rhetoric-musical meanings. Regarding the melodies used for the *piyyuṭim*, he tends to admit that they were adopted from other nations.

We find years later interesting and unique evidence of the involvement of Jewish musicians in indigenous music. It occurs in the book of a young Russian pianist, Alexandre Christianowitch (1835–1874): *Esquisse historique de la musique arabe*, published in 1863. The author, an officer in the czar's navy, was compelled, for reasons of health, to stay in Algiers. For two years he did research on the local classical music. He reports that his first encounter with indigenous music took place in a Moorish café-concert hall where he heard a group of Jewish musicians, and that later on his Muslim mentor was critical concerning the authenticity of the classical music played by the Jews. This is, however, not the case in recent Muslim sources, which, on the contrary, warmly extol the role played by Jewish musicians such as Maalem Benfarachou, Laho Seror, and Mouzinou in the preservation of the old classical Andalusian tradition. This approach characterizes in particular the book of Algerian musicologist Nadya Buzar-Kasbadji: *L'Émergence artistique algérienne au XXe siècle* (published in 1988). The first chapter of this book is, to a large extent, dedicated to the Jewish musician Edmond Nathan Yafil. The author describes him as "an outstanding personage who has been the pivotal actor in an artistic Renaissance movement wherein Arab-Andalusian music constituted the leaven." She adds that Yafil remained faithful to the Arab-Andalusian tradition, which connected Jews and Arabs, endowing them with a feeling of common identity. Yafil also founded in 1911 the al-Moutribiyya music society, most of whose members were Jewish musicians.

Like their Moroccan, Tunisian, and Libyan Jewish colleagues who immigrated to France, Jewish Algerian musicians pursued a successful career in their new environment, often in close collaboration with non-Jews. This is, for instance, the case with the blind female singer and *'ud* player Sultana Da'ud, alias "Reinette l'Oranaise," who, after she achieved remarkable success in Algeria, continued to be admired by her numerous fans in France for her expressive and poignant art. Samples of her repertory were issued in several cassettes and CDs. Another example is the recent comeback of the popular singer Enrico Massias to the classical music of Algeria. This occurred after the assassination of his master and father-in-law, the celebrated Jewish musician Raymond Leiris.

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[Amnon Shiloah (2nd ed.)]

AFRICAN JEWISH CONGRESS. The African Jewish Congress was founded in 1992 as a representative coordinating body for the Jewish communities in Sub-Saharan African countries. Its main aims are (a) to enable smaller Jewish communities to establish and maintain contact with larger Jewish communities, which in turn provide them with access to various facilities, and (b) to give Africa and African Jews a voice in international Jewry through a properly constituted forum. The establishment of the AJC was made possible by the demise of white minority rule in South Africa, which ended South Africa's isolation on the international stage and enabled its large Jewish community to take the lead in setting up a representative body for African Jewry. The AJC has its head offices in *Johannesburg, *South Africa, located within the administrative structure of the South African Jewish Board of Deputies (SAJBD) and is affiliated to the *World Jewish Congress. The main professional officer of the AJC is its spiritual leader, who regularly travels to the affiliated countries to, amongst other things, officiate at religious services and life-cycle events, visit individual Jews living in isolated areas, and oversee the maintenance of Jewish cemeteries. Rabbi Moshe Silberhaft has fulfilled this role since the organization's creation while founder-member Mervyn Smith, a former national president of the SAJBD, has served as its president and represented the organization at the World Jewish Congress. The AJC holds annual meetings on a rotational basis in the various affiliate countries. These include Botswana, Democratic Republic of the *Congo (Zaire), *Kenya, Lesotho, *Madagascar, Malawi, *Mauritius, Mozambique, Namibia, South Africa, Swaziland, Tanzania, *Uganda, *Zambia, and *Zimbabwe.

[David Saks (2nd ed.)]

AFTALION, ALBERT (1874–1956), economist, born in Bulgaria. Aftalion acquired distinction through his work on the theory of crises, which he attributed to cyclic trends in economic growth. His teaching at the universities of Lille and Paris reflected the influence of the economic theories of the Viennese school. His work represents an analysis of the events of the interwar period, an examination of French inflation from 1919 to 1924, and the movements of gold and international currency in relation to the balance of payments. Aftalion's writings include *Les crises périodiques de surproduction* (1913), *La valeur de la monnaie dans l'économie contemporaine* (1948^{3}), *L'or et sa distribution mondiae* (1932), *L'équilibre dans les relations economiques internationales* (1937), and *L'or et la monnaie, leur valeur. Les mouvements de l'or* (1938).

[Joachim O. Ronall]

AFTERLIFE. Judaism has always maintained a belief in an afterlife, but the forms which this belief has assumed and the modes in which it has been expressed have varied greatly and differed from period to period. Thus even today several distinct conceptions about the fate of man after death, relating to the immortality of the soul, the resurrection of the dead, and the nature of the world to come after the messianic redemption, exist side by side within Judaism. Though these conceptions are interwoven no generally accepted theological system exists concerning their interrelationship.

In the Bible

The Bible is comparatively inexplicit on the fate of the individual after death. It would seem that the dead go down to *Sheol, a kind of Hades, where they live an ethereal, shadowy existence (Num. 16:33; Ps. 6:6; Isa. 38:18). It is also said that Enoch "walked with God, and he was not; for God took him" (Gen. 5:24); and that Elijah is carried heavenward in a chariot of fire (II Kings 2:11). Even the fullest passage on the subject, the necromantic incident concerning the dead prophet Samuel at En-Dor, where his spirit is raised from the dead by a witch at the behest of Saul, does little to throw light on the matter (1 Sam. 28:8ff.). The one point which does emerge clearly from the above passages is that there existed a belief in an afterlife of one form or another. (For a full discussion see Pedersen, *Israel*, 1–2 (1926), 460ff. A more critical view may be found in G. von Rad, *Old Testament Theology,* 2 vols., 1962.) Though the talmudic rabbis claimed there were many allusions to the subject in the Bible (cf. Sanh. 90b–91a), the first explicit biblical formulation of the doctrine of the resurrection of the dead occurs in the book of Daniel, in the following passage:

"Many of them that sleep in the dust of the earth shall awake, some to everlasting life, and some to reproaches and everlasting abhorrence" (Dan. 12:2; see also Isa. 26:19; Ezek. 37:1ff.).

In Second Temple Literature

In the eschatology of the apocryphal literature of the Second Temple period, the idea of heavenly immortality, either vouchsafed for all Israel or for the righteous alone, vies with the resurrection of the dead as the dominant theme. Thus IV Maccabees, for instance, though on the whole tending toward Pharisaism in its theology, promises everlasting life with God to those Jewish martyrs who preferred death to the violation of His Torah, but is silent on the subject of resurrection. II Maccabees, on the other hand, figures the latter prominently (cf. II Macc. 7:14, 23; IV Macc. 9:8; 17:5, 18). The doctrine was, however, stressed by sectarian groups and is vividly expressed in the New Testament. For Philo the doctrine of the resurrection is subservient to that of the immortality of the soul and is seen by him as a figurative way of referring to the latter. The individual soul, which is imprisoned in the body here on earth, returns, if it is the soul of a righteous man, to its home in God; the wicked suffer eternal death (see H.A. Wolfson, *Philo*, 2 vols. (1947–48); index, s.v. *Soul, Resurrection).*

In Talmud and Midrash

When a man dies his soul leaves his body, but for the first 12 months it retains a temporary relationship to it, coming and going until the body has disintegrated. Thus the prophet Samuel was able to be raised from the dead within the first year of his demise. This year remains a purgatorial period for the soul, or according to another view only for the wicked soul, after which the righteous go to paradise, *Gan Eden*, and the wicked to hell, *Geihinnom* (Gehinnom; Shab. 152b–153a; Tanh. Va-Yikra 8). The actual condition of the soul after death is unclear. Some descriptions imply that it is quiescent, the souls of the righteous are "hidden under the Throne of Glory" (Shab. 152b), while others seem to ascribe to the dead full consciousness (Ex. R. 52:3; Tanh. Ki Tissa 33; Ket. 77h, 104a; Ber. 18b–19a). The Midrash even says, "The only difference between the living and the dead is the power of speech" (PR 12:46). There is also a whole series of disputes about how much the dead know of the world they leave behind (Ber. 18b).

In the days of the messianic redemption the soul returns to the dust, which is subsequently reconstituted as this body when the individual is resurrected. It is somewhat unclear whether the resurrection is for the righteous alone, or whether the wicked too will be temporarily resurrected only to be judged and destroyed, their souls' ashes being scattered under the feet of the righteous. A view supporting the doctrine of eternal damnation is found, but this is disputed by the claim, "There will be no Gehinnom in future times" (RH 17a; Tos. to RH 16b; BM 58b; Ned. 8b and Ran, *ibid.*; Av. Zar. 3b). The doctrine of the *resurrection is a cornerstone of rabbinic eschatology, and separated the Pharisee from his Sadducean opponent. The Talmud goes to considerable lengths to show how the resurrection is hinted at in various biblical passages, and excludes those who deny this doctrine from any portion in the world to come (Sanh. 10:1; Sanh. 90b–91a; Jos., Wars, 2:162ff.). The messianic reign is conceived of as a political and physical Utopia, though there is considerable dispute about this matter (Ber. 34b; Shab. 63a; and the glosses of Rashi). At its end will be the world to come (*olam ha-ba*), when the righteous will sit in glory and enjoy the splendor of the Divine Presence in a world of purely spiritual bliss (Ber. 17a). About this eschatological culminating point the rabbis are somewhat reticent, and content themselves with the verse "Eye hath not seen, O God, beside Thee" (Isa. 64:3; Ber. 34b), i.e., none but God can have a conception of the matter. In the world to come the Divine Presence itself will illuminate the world. (For a general discussion see "The Doctrine of the Resurrection of the Dead in Rabbinic Theology" by A. Marmorstein in *Studies in Jewish Theology,* 1950.)

In Medieval Jewish Philosophy

The medieval Jewish philosophers brought conceptual and systematic thought to bear on the more imagist rabbinic eschatology, and one major problem they faced was to integrate the notions of immortality and resurrection. *Saadiah Gaon was perhaps the most successful among them, since he conceived of the state of the reunited soul and body after the resurrection as one of spiritual bliss (*Book of Beliefs and Opinions,* 9:5). Due to the nature of Greek psychology, however, the emphasis among the other Jewish philosophers, both Platonist and Aristotelian, is on the soul's immortality – the resurrection being added only because of doctrinal considerations. It is clear in the case of *Maimonides, for instance, that the immortality of the soul is paramount (*Guide*, 2:27; 3:54). Though he makes the belief in the resurrection, rather than in the immortality of the disembodied soul, one of his fundamental principles of Jewish faith (cf. Mishnah, Sanhedrin, introd. to Helek), it is only the latter which has meaning in terms of his philosophical system. Indeed the resurrection does not figure in the *Guide of the Perplexed* at all.

In general the neoplatonists saw the soul's journey as an ascent toward the Godhead, and its beatitude as a purely spiritual bliss involving knowledge of God and spiritual beings and some form of communion with them. Their negative attitude toward the flesh, in favor of the spirit, left no room for a resurrection theology of any substance. The Jewish Aristotelians, who thought of the acquired intellect as the immortal part of man, saw immortality in terms of the intellectual contemplation of God. Some of the Jewish Aristotelians held that in their immortal state the souls of all men are one; while others maintained that immortality is individual. This emphasis on salvation through intellectual attainment was the subject of considerable criticism. Crescas, for example, claimed that it was the love of God, rather than knowledge of Him, which was of primary soteriological import (*Or Adonai*, 3:3).

In Kabbalistic Literature

Kabbalistic eschatology, more systematic than its rabbinic predecessor, is, if anything, more complex in structure and varied as between the several kabbalistic subsystems. The soul is conceived of as divided into several parts, whose origin is in Divine Emanation, and is incarnated here on earth with a specific task to fulfill. The soul of the wicked, i.e., of he who has failed in his assigned task, is punished and purified in hell or is reincarnated again (**gilgul*) to complete its unfinished work. In certain cases, however, the wicked soul is denied even hell or reincarnation and is exiled without the possibility of finding rest. Much of the literature is devoted to detailing the various stages of ascent and descent of the soul and its parts. (For a discussion of the various kabbalistic systems, and the variety of views held, see G. Scholem, *Major Trends in Jewish Mysticism*, particularly ch. 6.)

In Modern Jewish Thought

Orthodox Judaism has, throughout, maintained both a belief in the future resurrection of the dead as part of the messianic redemption, and also a belief in some form of immortality of the soul after death. The former figures in the liturgy at a number of points, including the morning prayer (Hertz, Prayer, 18), expressing the believer's trust that God will return his soul to his body in time to come. It is also a central motif of the second benediction of the **Amidah* (*ibid.*, 134). The belief in the soul's survival after death is implicit in the various prayers said in memory of the dead and in the mourner's custom of reciting the *Kaddish* (*ibid.*, 1106–09, and 212, 269–71). Reform Judaism has, however, given up any literal belief in the future resurrection of the dead. Reform theology concerns itself solely with the belief in a spiritual life after death and has modified the relevant liturgical passages accordingly.

AFULAH (Heb. עֲפוּלָה; עִיר יִזְרְעֶאל, **Ir Yizre'el**), city in the Jezreel Valley, Israel. It lies at the foot of both the southwestern and northwestern slopes of Givat ha-Moreh and received municipal status in 1972. Afulah was founded in 1925 by the American Zion Commonwealth, which planned to make the town the urban center of the Jewish settlements in the Jezreel Valley. Old Afulah's location on a highway and railroad crossroads (N. and N.W. to Nazareth and to Haifa, N.E. to Tiberias, S.E. to Beth-Shean, S. to Jenin and Nablus, S.W. to Megiddo and Haderah) was seen as a promising asset. The hopes attached to Afulah, however, only materialized to a small degree, because the kibbutzim and moshavim of the valley rarely used its facilities, except for the regional hospital of Kuppat Ḥolim (the first in the country). Instead they developed their own services or preferred to use those of Haifa. In addition, the speculative sale of building plots to absentee, mostly overseas, proprietors hampered the town's development. In 1948 Afulah had a population of 2,500.

After the establishment of the State of Israel, however, many immigrants were housed in Afulah, and a new section, Afulah Illit (Upper Afulah), was laid out at a distance of 1.8–3.1 mi. (3–5 km.) from the older part of the town on Givat ha-Moreh, climbing to about 984 ft. (300 m.) above sea level. Industries – principally textile as well as a sugar refinery and a plastics factory – were opened in the city, which became the seat of the Jezreel subdistrict, its territory extending over 11 sq. mi. (28.6 sq. km.). The population of Afulah grew to approximately 17,000 in the late 1960s and 38,500 in 2002. Among the city's residents are recent immigrants from the former Soviet Union, Latin America, and Ethiopia.

The name Afulah, preserved by a small Arab village al-'Afula (which lay at the site until World War I), may come from the Canaanite-Hebrew root *ofel* ("fortress tower"), possibly mentioned in the list of Thutmose III. In excavations carried out at the ancient tell of Afulah, remnants of the Middle and Late Canaanite and Early Israelite periods were discovered. A settlement of the transition period from the Chalcolithic to the Early Bronze Ages (c. 32nd century B.C.E.) was discovered in the vicinity. Near the site of the present-day town Napoleon's army defeated the Turks in 1799. The place became a station on the narrow-gauge railway built in 1905, from Haifa to Damascus, and a second railway was laid from Afulah to Jenin and Nablus in 1913. The former ceased operating in 1948, and the latter in 1936.

[Efraim Orni / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

AGA, family name of Crimean Karaites, originating in the title given to the holder of an important office (Turk.). The first person to go under this name was Samuel ben Abraham (1717–1770), the son of *Abraham ben Josiah Yerushalmi, the prominent Karaite scholar of the Crimea. Samuel lived in Chufut-Kale and was the leader of its community, also known by the title *rosh ha-golah* (exilarch). He was a "court Jew" in the court of Tatar Khan Qirim Giray, who appointed Samuel to mint coins for the Khanate in 1768. Samuel protected the interests of his community before the officials. He wrote a number of liturgical poems and some of them were included in the Karaite *siddurs*. Unknown persons murdered him on his way from Bakhchisarai, the capital of the Khanate, near Chufut-Kale. He had three sons: Eliezer, Benjamin, and Simḥah.

His son BENJAMIN AGA (d. 1824) was a leader and intercessor for the community of Chufut-Kale. He also was appointed to mint coins for the Khanate in the court by the new Khan, Shahin Giray. In 1781 Benjamin leased the custom duties on the sale of wine. He became one of the Khan's unofficial court advisers. Like his father, he protected his community's interests. In 1777 he succeeded in annulling a harmful decree of Devlet Giray, the pretender to the Khan's throne, who falsely accused the Karaites of stealing the Khan's money. Benjamin corresponded with Karaite leaders of Poland, Lithuania, Constantinople, and Jerusalem and financially supported their communities in times of distress. Following the Russian annexation of the Crimea he continued to serve as the official head of the community and to represent it before the Russian authorities. In 1795 Benjamin was chosen together with two other community leaders of the Crimean Karaites to travel to St. Petersburg on a special mission to the government. Their delegation won exemption for Crimean Karaites from the double taxation imposed on all the Jews of the Russian Empire, and to secure other rights, such as the purchase of immovable property. In 1806 Benjamin reestablished, together with his brother Simḥah, a publishing house in Chufut-Kale. Benjamin was an expert in Karaite *halakhah* and an authority on the Karaite calendar.

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[Golda Akhiezer (2nd ed.)]

AGADATI (Kaushanski), BARUCH (1895–1975), dancer, visual artist, filmmaker, and cultural animateur. Agadati was born in Bessarabia (Russia). As a teenager, he arrived in Jerusalem and enrolled in the Bezalel Academy for Fine Arts, founded and run by the sculptor Boris *Shatz. He was then one of many students from abroad (mainly Russia) who enrolled before World War I in Bezalel or in the Herzliyyah Gymnasium in Tel Aviv. In the summer of 1914 when WWI broke out, Agadati was visiting his parents abroad and could not return for the next term.

In Odessa he studied visual arts as well as ballet. At the age of 18 he became soloist of the ballet company of the municipal theater there. He was interested in Jewish culture and prepared a series of cartoon portraits of types of men of the *shtetl* which he performed with great success.

Agadati returned to Ereẓ Israel in 1919. After a few months he began to perform what he called concerts, dancing solos with the accompaniment of a piano. He was deeply influenced by the "constructivist" abstract painting style prevalent in Russia at the time, making his movements slow but powerful, sculptural, and cubistic, and designing his own costumes in abstract forms. He soon added new "portraits in movement" to his *shtetl* characters, such as an effeminate Arab dandy from Jaffe and a Yemenite agricultural worker from Petaḥ Tikvah.

In the mid-1920s he published a book on "The Hebrew Dance," calligraphically handwritten in a limited edition of only 100 copies, with many photos and illustrations. He also began organizing Purim balls, which developed into the Tel Aviv *Adloyada – a procession of floats and much dancing.

Every year Agadati would tour in Europe, to great critical acclaim. His attitude to the musical accompaniment was radically new: sometimes he would let his accompanist play the music and only after the end of the music would he dance in silence – to the music he had just heard. In 1929 he decided to go a step further and composed a dance to be performed in total silence – an approach used many decades later by Jerome *Robbins (in *Moves*) and Merce Cunningham. In 1929, however, the audience was unprepared for such a radical experimental approach and after Agadati finished the performance there was no applause. Agadati felt he had lost contact with his audience and decided to stop dancing altogether.

He turned to films and directed and produced (with others) the first Hebrew-speaking movie. He also returned to painting. His wooden shack in Tel Aviv became the unofficial center of modernist artists active in Ereẓ Israel in the 1930s and 1940s. "Agadati's Shack" was later torn down by small-minded municipal officials.

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[Giora Manor (2nd ed.)]

AGADIR, Atlantic seaport and important tourist resort in southwestern Morocco; the site of the ancient Roman Portus Risadir. It lies near the Haha province and the Sous, the latter region having served in past centuries as an important marketplace (*suq*) on the fringes of the Sahara Desert. Because Agadir was strategically located on both the Atlantic seaboard and near the Sous Valley, it became a vital trade depot for European and local merchants. Important caravans passed through Agadir into the Sous from the earliest times to the 19th century. They brought African slaves, gold dust from western Sudan, and ostrich feathers from the southern Sahara Desert. Textile products and leatherwork from *Marrakesh also found their way to the Sous through Agadir, as did European medicines and guns.

In the latter half of the 15th and early 16th centuries the Portuguese penetrated Morocco – then ruled by the Wattasid dynasty – and took control of the coastal areas. In 1505, they occupied Agadir and held on to it until 1541, when the new Saʿdian kings of the Sous, who then founded the Moroccan Sharifian Saʿdi dynasty, liberated the city. Under the Portuguese occupation and subsequently, Agadir and the Sous attracted Genoese merchants who traded in Sudanese gold and in local products like wax, hides, gum, and indigo.

Agadir's importance as a trade/transit route reached its zenith in the 1760s. Until then the trade activities of the local merchants, many of whom were Jews, gained considerable support in Moroccan ruling circles. In 1764, however, that city lost out to the new port of Essaouira (*Mogador), which was constructed by the Sharifian Alawite sultanate with the aim of replacing Agadir as the outlet for the Sous trade. Essaouira then became the most important port in Morocco until the end of the 19th century.

To attract merchants from different parts of Morocco to Essaouira, including Jewish entrepreneurs, known as *tujjar al-sulṭān* ("Sultan's merchants"), the *makhzan* (governmental administration) built, or allowed the merchants to build, houses, extended credit, and lowered customs duties for the new arrivals. Not only did prominent Jewish merchants from Agadir relocate to Essaouira, moving their businesses to the new town, other members of the Jewish community settled there permanently.

Agadir captured the attention of European diplomacy during the colonial period, as Morocco was about to be divided into French and Spanish protectorates. At the time, local Moroccan opposition culminated in revolts against the French. France responded by sending an occupation force to *Fez in May 1911. Germany, which then regarded itself as a serious contender for influence inside Morocco, saw in French aggression an effort to curtail Moroccan independence and sought to challenge it. In a veritable show of force and under the pretext of "protecting our interests and the safety of our citizens," the Germans dispatched the gunboat *Panther* to the shores of Agadir (July 1911). It was done with the clear intent of pressuring France to reduce her territorial aspirations in Morocco to a minimum. In November, a Franco-German accord was signed. The agreement stipulated that the Germans would not oppose the imposition of a French protectorate over Morocco in return for some French sub-Saharan territories to be ceded to Germany. Two years later the French were in full control over Agadir.

Under the French Protectorate (1912–56), growth in Agadir began with the construction of a major port (1914), the development of the Sous plain, and exploitation of inland mineral resources as well as the fishing and fishing-canning industries. After the 1930s, the French turned Agadir into an attractive tourist resort and encouraged extensive urbanization, laying the groundwork for modern infrastructures.

Agadir has also known tragedies. Early in March 1960 two earthquakes, killing 12,000 people, destroyed the city. Among those killed were several hundred persons belonging to Agadir's 2000-strong Jewish community, buried under the rubble of the collapsed buildings. As many as 800 Jewish survivors were lodged temporarily at an army base on the outskirts of *Casablanca. After prolonged negotiations with the authorities, the Casablanca Jewish community took many refugees into their homes. Orphans whose parents were killed in the earthquake were adopted by Casablanca's leading families. A new central city, including an international airport, was built in the 1960s to the south of the old town, linked by road with *Safi and *Marrakesh. As many as 110,000 people subsequently lived in Agadir; few among them were Jews.

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[Michael M. Laskier (2nd ed.)]

AGAG (Heb. אֲגַג), the name of an *Amalekite king who was captured by *Saul (1 Sam. 15). By sparing Agag's life Saul disobeyed *Samuel's order to annihilate the Amalekites. This occasioned the final break between Samuel and Saul. Later Samuel killed Agag at Gilgal "before the Lord" (*ibid.* 33).

One of Balaam's oracles sets Israel's king "higher than Agag" (Num. 24:7). The Septuagint adds "Agag" as the subject of another short oracle (*ibid.* 23). The name may have served as a recurrent designation for Amalekite chieftains or a clan.

Agagite (Heb. אֲגָגִי) is the gentilic name of *Haman, in the *Scroll of Esther (3:1; 10:8, 5, etc.). It connects the archenemy of the Jews in Persia with the Amalekites. It has been suggested that designation of Haman as an Agagite sounds legendary. It may represent a nickname, applied to this persecutor of the Jews because the Amalekites are denounced as the archenemy of Israel in the Torah (Deut. 25:17–19). Some scholars prefer the Septuagint's reading: Βουγαιος ("Bugaean" instead of "Agagite"), a Persian gentile name, *baga*, meaning "God."

[Hanna Weiner]

In the *Aggadah*

Agag's death came too late. Had he been killed by Saul during the course of the battle, a later generation of Jews would have been spared the troubles caused by Haman. It is taught that in the short span of time between the war and the execution of Agag, he became the ancestor of Haman (SER 20). The delay is attributed to the powers of persuasion of Doeg the Edomite over Saul. He argued that the law prohibits the slaying of an animal and its young on the same day. How much less permissible was it to destroy old and young at one time (Mid. Ps. 52:4).

When Agag was eventually sentenced to death, it was according to heathen, and not Jewish, law. Thus, there were no witnesses to his crime, and he was given no warning of his punishment (PdRK 3:6).

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ÁGAI, ADOLF (**A. Rosenzweig**; 1836–1916), Hungarian novelist, editor, and physician. Born in Jánoshalma, Ágai was the son of a prominent physician. After studying medicine in Vienna, he accepted a hospital appointment in Budapest. He also turned to writing, and his features in Budapest dailies, written under the pen-name "Porzó," were extremely popular. In 1868 Ágai abandoned medicine when he began the publication of a successful satirical weekly, *Borsszem Jankó.* Three years later he launched and became editor of the first long-lived Hungarian children's newspaper, *Kis Lap* ("Little Paper"), which appeared until 1904. Although he was opposed to Zionism, Ágai contributed to Herzl's Zionist journal, *Die Welt.* In his essays, he frequently depicts scenes from provincial Jewish life, based on memories of his childhood. Collections of his feuilletons are included in *Porzó tarcalevelei* ("Porzo's Feuilletons," 1876) and *Utazás Peströl Budapestre* ("Trip from Pest to Budapest," 1908). His collected novels appeared under the title *Igaz történet* ("True Story," 1893).

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[Jeno Zsoldos]

AGAM, YAACOV (1928–), Israeli painter and sculptor. Born Ya'akov Gibstein in Rishon le-Zion to an Orthodox Jewish family. His father, a rabbi, sent him to religious schools. Agam was arrested in 1945 by the British on suspicion of being a member of the Jewish underground and kept in prison for 18 months. He received his professional training at the Bezalel Academy of Arts and Design in Jerusalem under the influence of his modernist teacher Mordecai *Ardon. Agam continued his art studies in Zurich with Johannes Itten and at the Atelier d'Art Abstrait in Paris. In 1953 he had his first one-man show at the Galerie Craven, in Paris, where he presented his preliminary Kinetic Art. These works went under the general title of "Transformable Pictures" and characterized his style during the 1970s (*Pace of Time*, 1970, Tel Aviv Museum of Art). The works featured parallel triangles painted with abstract forms. Through the movement of the spectator the views changed and the kinetic quality of the work came to the fore. Agam said that his interest in concepts of time derived from Jewish spirituality, in which the world is seen as involved in a perpetual dynamism.

With his kinetic sculpture the spectator was required to be more active, to touch and move the sculpture's components. More than once Agam referred to these works in the terminology of the world of games. The images appearing in them were mostly derived from Jewish symbolism (*The Hundred Gates*, 1972, President's Residence, Jerusalem). Over the years, Agam enlarged his repertoire of works. His involvement with the environment was expressed through his decoration of building facades and interiors. His famous kinetic fountain combining water, fire, and music altogether, is a very impressive and complex piece of art (*Fire and Water*, 1986, Dizengoff Square, Tel Aviv).

In 1996 Agam was awarded the UNESCO Prize for Education on his didactic plan for combining art and science.

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[Ronit Steinberg (2nd ed.)]

°**AGATHARCHIDES OF CNIDUS** (second century B.C.E.), Hellenistic historian and scholar. A native of Cnidus, Agatharchides lived in Egypt (Alexandria) during the reigns of Ptolemy VI Philomater (181–145) and Ptolemy VII Euergetes (145–116). His principal works are a history of Asia in ten books and a history of Europe in 49 books, neither of which is extant. There is no evidence that he referred to Jews very much in his work, except for a passage quoted twice by Josephus (Apion, 1:205–11; Ant. Jud., 12:5–6) referring to the "superstition" of the Jewish defenders of Jerusalem which prevented them from fighting on the Sabbath: "The people known as Jews … have a custom of abstaining from work every seventh day; on those occasions they neither bear arms nor take any agricultural operations in hand, nor engage in any other form of public service, but pray with outstretched hands in the temples until the evening."

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[Shimon Gibson (2nd ed.)]

AGDE (Heb. אקדי or אגדי), town 13 mi. (20 km.) E. of *Béziers in southern France. Jews are mentioned in Canon 40 promulgated by the Council of Agde held by the church there in 506. By the middle of the 13th century Jews had settled permanently in Agde under the jurisdiction of the bishop. The majority of these became liable to the crown tax in 1278. The Jews of Agde buried their dead in the cemetery of nearby Béziers. After the general expulsion of the Jews from the Kingdom of France in 1306, some of the Agde community found refuge in Perpignan and *Carpentras, then not under French suzerainty. At the beginning of World War II about 2,000 Jewish refugees from Austria and Germany were sent to a forced labor camp near Agde, the number increasing to 3,000 after the Franco-German armistice in June 1940. Most of them were deported on Aug. 24, 1942.

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[Bernhard Blumenkranz]

AGE AND THE AGED.

Old Age

IN THE BIBLE. Extreme longevity is attributed to the Fathers of Mankind (e.g., Methusaleh, 969 years) and the Fathers of the Israelite People (Abraham, 175; Isaac, 180; Jacob, 147; Moses, 120). By some, Genesis 6:3 is taken to mean that God has set a limit of 120 years to human life (Ḥizzekuni, cf. Ibn Ezra); in accord with this notion is the popular Jewish reckoning of a long life. However, sober reality is reflected in Psalms 90:10: "The days of our years are 70 years, and if by reason of strength, 80 years." The Bible regards longevity (Isa. 65:20; Zech. 8:4; Ps. 92:15), a long life followed by death at "a good old age" (Gen. 15:15; et al.), as a blessing; whereas the opposite is regarded as a curse (I Sam. 2:31–32). Long life is promised as a reward for observing certain commandments (Ex. 20:12; Deut. 22:7; 25:15), or for obeying the Law as a whole (Deut. 6:2). But there are also some grim descriptions of old age (II Sam. 19:33–38). Especially instructive are the descriptions of old age in Ecclesiastes (12:1–7) in which old age is "the calamitous days" in which a man takes no pleasures. It may be noted that a similar view of old age can be found in the Epic of Gilgamesh (See *Flood). A realistic observation prompted the moving prayer: "Do not throw me away in the time of old age; when my strength is failing me, do not forsake me" (Ps. 71:9).

The experience of the aged caused the belief that old age and wisdom went together (Job. 12:12; cf. ibid., 20). Nevertheless, the Book of Job also stresses that there are young men who are wiser than old men (Job 32:6ff.; Eccles. 4:13). The Bible enjoins respect for the aged: "You shall rise before the aged and show deference to the old" (Lev. 19:32). This was probably the custom throughout the whole ancient Middle East (Ahikar 2:61). Consideration for old age and its disabilities is mentioned frequently in the Bible. Disrespect for the aged was regarded as a sign of a corrupt generation (Isa. 3:5). Ruthlessness toward the aged is a manifestation of extreme harshness by an enemy: "… who will show the old no regard" (Deut. 28:50); "Upon the old man you made your yoke very heavy" (Isa. 47:6); and "He has shown no favor to the elders" (Lam. 4:16; cf. 5:12). The actual chronological age of a man was not an absolute factor in regard to the disabilities of old age; thus, Samuel says of himself "I have grown old and gray" (I Sam. 12:2) when he is only 52. And King David is described as "very old" (I Kings 1:15) when he was 70. There are few descriptions of the physical signs of old age in the Bible: that of Isaac when his eyes were dim (Gen. 27); that of the manner of Eli's fall, "because the man was old and heavy" (I Sam. 4:18); and Barzillai's deafness (II Sam. 14:33–38). By contrast with these descriptions, there are idyllic descriptions of old age: "There shall yet be old men and women in the public squares of Jerusalem" alongside "boys and girls playing in her public squares" (Zech. 8:4). The biological process of aging is seen as the depletion of the body's "natural heat" as, for instance, in the case of King David. ("King David was now old, advanced in years; and though they covered him with bedclothes, he did not feel warm" (I Kings 1:1)). This view was a basic premise with Galen and was accepted by preceding generations almost until modern times.

Ecclesiastes (12:1–6) gives an outstanding description of old age. Later geriatric literature was based on this section. Many Jewish commentators found biological symbolism in its details and in the 16th to 18th centuries John Smith and others also explained these verses in medical terms. In its crisp and concentrated metaphorical style, Ecclesiastes contains one of the most striking descriptions in world literature of the infirmities of old age. It appears to be entirely expressive of the state of mind and view of life of an aging or old man, and it was thus interpreted by the sages. King Solomon, who in his youth is supposed to have written The Song of Songs, in his maturity Proverbs, and in his old age Ecclesiastes, was regarded by them as a symbol of the changes which take place in the being and in the experiences of a man in the course of his life: "When a man is young, he quotes poetry; when he matures, he quotes proverbs; when he grows old he speaks of futilities …" (Song R. 1:10). Similarly, A. Schopenhauer states, "Only in his 70th year does a man understand the full meaning of the [second] verse of Ecclesiastes." In the Second Temple era old age was regarded as a blessing and the aged as worthy of respect (Eccles. 8:9; II Macc. 6:23, 27; IV Macc. 5:4ff.; 7:13–15). Yet it was stressed, that not the number of years was important but wisdom and honesty (Wisdom of Solomon 4:8–9, 16). Ben Sira (30:24) recognized that anxiety ages a man, while in the Book of Jubilees (23:11) premature aging accompanied by mental confusion is caused by sin. That is why in the Dead Sea Sect nobody above 60 years of age could act as judge (Damascus Covenant X:7–10); yet in general the Sect and the Essenes respected old men (Manual of Discipline VI:8; Philo, Prob. 81, 87; Josephus, Wars, 2:9–10).

RABBINIC PERIOD. According to the Talmud, old age (*ziknah*) begins at 60, ripe old age (*seivah*, "grey hairs") at 70 (Avot 5:21), though oldness may appear prematurely (Shab. 152a; Eruv. 56a; Tanḥ., Ḥayyei Sarah 2). Like Ecclesiastes, the rabbis viewed the later years of life as unattractive (Shab. 151b); the old resemble apes (Lam. R. 1:2), they cannot reason (Shab. 89b). The afflictions of the old are described, as in Ecclesiastes, metaphorically: "The rocks have grown tall, the near have become [too] distant [to visit], two [legs] have become three [with a cane], and the peacemaker of the house has ceased [to function as such]." So it is said, "Youth is a crown of roses; old age a crown of [heavy] willow rods" (Shab. 152a). A man must pray that in his later years "his eyes may see, his mouth eat, his legs walk, for in old age all powers fail" (Tanḥ, Mi-Keẓ 10).

There are some rare instances of praise for oldness itself. R. Simeon b. Eleazar valued the advice of the old: "If the old say 'tear down' and the children 'build' – tear down, for the 'destruction' of the old is construction; the 'construction' of the young, destruction" (Meg. 31b). According to R. Johanan, only elders sat in the Sanhedrin (Sanh. 17a). These statements reflect the ancient view that age, with its experience, is a guarantee of wisdom, and without age there is no understanding. The general opinion, however, is that with age comes loss of intellectual capacity. Elisha b. Avuyah said, "What does learning when old resemble? It is like writing on blotted-out paper" (Avot 4:20). Oldness itself is not a virtue – wisdom and knowledge of Torah determine its value (Kin. 3:15). Even the opinions of the old were not universally preferred to those of the young. When R. Abbahu claimed authority in a given dispute due to his age, R. Jeremiah answered, "Is the matter decided by age? – It is decided by reason" (BB 102b). Targum Onkelos also reflected this view when translating "You shall rise before the aged" (Lev. 19:32) as "Arise before those knowledgeable in Torah." The rabbis held that even a young scholar is called *zaken* ("elder") and should be honored, while no honor is due the ignorant or sinful, though old (Sifra, Kedoshim, 7:12). However, Isi b. Judah differed: "'You shall rise before the aged' – all the aged"; R. Johanan agreed, even concerning gentile elders; but R. Naḥman and Rav did not act in this manner (Kid. 32b–33a). According to Maimonides, one must honor the exceedingly old, even if they are not wise, by rising (Yad, Talmud Torah 6:9).

An age limit existed, past which one was not to hold a responsible position. Already in biblical times, the levites' service in the Tabernacle was limited: "At the age of 50, they shall retire from the work force and serve no more" (Lev. 8:25–26). The retired could do less strenuous work, either assisting their fellows, or guarding. In talmudic times, it was forbidden – for psychological reasons – to have the very old serve as Sanhedrin members (Sanh. 36b. Maim., Yad, Sanhedrin 2:3). In kabbalistic literature and tradition, those well-versed in mystic knowledge are represented as aged; many of the names in the Zohar are followed by "elder" (*saba*).

[Moshe David Herr]

Care of the Aged

In the society of ancient Israel the aged and elderly were highly respected, and accorded a central position in family life and the tribal structure. This continued after a national organization based on kingship was adopted. This attitude is essentially linked with the biblical precept enjoining fear and honor of, and obedience to father and mother (*kibbud av va-em*, cf. Lev. 19:3, 32). Barbarism in an alien nation is described by denouncing it as one "that shall not regard the person of the old" (Deut. 28:50). A state of anarchy in Israel is characterized by the fact that "the child shall behave insolently against the aged" (Isa. 3:5; 47:6). The term "elders" appears throughout the Bible, Mishnah, and Talmud as a synonym or designation for judges, leaders, or sages. The Jewish image of the aged was therefore originally one denoting leadership and rule. Of course, physical facts asserted themselves and horror of weakness and senility was frequently acknowledged. In talmudic times the problem of earning a livelihood in old age was faced: "Every profession in the world is of help to a man only in his youth, but in his old age he is exposed to hunger" (Kid. 82b). Respect alone was of little assistance to the aged in the changed circumstances of late antiquity and the transformation which society had undergone. However, no attempt was made to issue specific regulations or create institutions to help the aged or care for them as such. If not living among the family, as was customary, destitute aged people were treated as part of the general social problem created by poverty and weakness and the precepts concerning *charity and alms giving (*ẓedakah*) applied to them. Thus, although old age was originally invested with strength and majesty, people of the lower strata of society who had lost the support and care provided by the family underwent much suffering, if not humiliation, in their old age. The transition from the position of the powerful elder to that of an aged pauper requiring special assistance outside the frame of the family is an outcome of the heritage of Judaic-Muslim-Christian civilization.

IN THE MIDDLE AGES. The aged are singled out in medieval Jewish ethical works and general halakhic regulations (*takkanot*) as worthy objects for special charity and tender treatment. In the 11th century *Rashi defined the age requiring assistance as "when I shall be 60 or 70" (commentary to Ps. 71:17). Persecutions and massacres in the Middle Ages led to the breakup of families, and large-scale migrations brought additional suffering for the aged. A resolution passed at the Council of Lithuania (see *Council of the Lands) in 1650, after the *Chmielnicki massacres, stressed the duty to support "… in any case married and unmarried women and old persons" and reflects the breakup of the family under catastrophe. About the same date, the Jewish community in Rome introduced care of the aged as one of the four divisions of its charitable activity. A home for the aged was founded in Amsterdam by the Sephardi community in 1749.

EIGHTEENTH TO NINETEENTH CENTURIES. From the second half of the 18th century the need for introducing special treatment and care of the aged was felt more strongly in Jewish societies which were beginning to experience the breakup of the traditional family cohesion. These were more prepared to view old age as a social problem separate from poverty. In this period the time-honored concept of respect for the aged began to combine with new feelings of estrangement between the generations together with compassion and understanding for the weakness of the old as part of social responsibility. Thus an increasing number of Jewish foundations to care for the aged were established. The *Mishenet Zekenim* ("Support of the Aged") society, established in Hamburg in 1796, made weekly provision for the needy aged. An old-age home was founded in Berlin in 1829, and in 1839 the Hamburg community set aside a building for old men and women where they received lodging, support, and clothing. The Frankfurt community founded a home in 1844 for men and women aged over 60 without means of support. A Viennese family donated several houses for accommodating aged Jews of the community. The number of Jewish homes for the aged increased from the middle of the 19th century, as social care of the aged developed. By the present century most large communities in Europe included a home for the aged (often called *Moshav Zekenim*) among their welfare institutions. In 1938, there were in Germany 67 homes for the aged with 3,568 beds.

The revolutionary changes in society affecting the general attitude toward the aged and provisions for their welfare which began at the end of the 19th century are deepening and becoming increasingly pronounced and complicated. Among general factors responsible for this change are the modern appreciation of youth and understanding of its specific psychological and social needs, coupled with a corresponding understanding of the needs of the old, their psychology and social requirements; the demographic changes, first throughout the western world and later in other countries, resulting from birth control on the one hand and the prolongation of life expectancy on the other; and the introduction of pension laws and schemes as the problems of the aged emerge as a political factor in appealing to electorates with an increasing percentage of aged persons.

CONTEMPORARY PERIOD. In addition, factors specific to Jewish society are the huge emigration from Europe from the end of the 19th century, the Nazi Holocaust, and forced emigration from Arab countries in the Near East and North Africa after the creation of the State of Israel. The impact of these general changes is most clearly seen in the main Jewish centers of today, and in the experiments currently being attempted to solve the problems to which they have given rise.

U.S. CARE FOR AGED. In the United States, the cultural and social estrangement that developed between "second-" or "third-generation" Jews and their "first-generation" immigrant parents and grandparents inevitably strained the close, tightly knit Jewish family life that was a legacy of Europe. The first homes of the aged, therefore, often tended to be institutions of "last resort." Care of the aged in America was also originally hindered by a resistance to paid social workers. Similarly, family agencies displayed a reluctance to deal with the aged. Over the years this pattern has significantly altered so that care for the aged is largely in professional hands. Family agencies served about 20,000 persons aged 60 and over in their homes in 1966.

The general tendency in the United States is to avoid employing terms or arrangements traditionally linked with old age and care for the aged; aged persons are referred to as "senior citizens," for whom "towns" and "resorts" have been established. Emphasis has been placed on providing services to enable the aged to remain in their communities where they can retain the satisfactions of normal community life. At the same time experiments to meet the specific needs and inclinations of the aged are made while attempting to provide them with accommodation apart from the family. This trend is gaining ground in Jewish society. The concept of institutional care for the aged has changed from one of a permanent retreat to a resource to be used as needed.

IN ISRAEL. Two basically different traditional patterns of family life are encountered: the Oriental in families from the Near East and North Africa, and the European in families from Europe and the United States. The Oriental family has retained much more of the traditional veneration for the aged and is much less influenced by the modern attitude toward youth than the western family. However, the mass exodus from the Arab countries created a problem of care for the aged in families who have been broken up by forced migration. Thus, the traditional Oriental family also encountered modern problems concerning its old people in Israel. Provision also had to be made for the survivors of the Nazi Holocaust and concentration camps. The combined problems of abandonment, physical weakness, illness, premature aging, and old age were dealt with by the *Malben organization, founded and maintained by the *American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee and its institutions. In addition, a new social phenomenon in Israel was that of family life in the kibbutz, which had specific problems concerning aging and the relationship between the generations. Although the kibbutz provided collective support and care of the individual member irrespective of his family status, health, or psychological problems, the strain on the aged and the aging was particularly great since it was a society originally created by the senior members themselves, founded on the ideal of physical labor and appreciation of the supreme and eternal value of youth.

In this framework the spiritual and psychological side of aging is present in its "pure form," i.e., separate from the usual physical and material problems.

In Israel in 1964, 5.5% of the male population and 5.9% of the female population were aged over 65 (the age of retirement). The majority were living within the family or independently. About 7,500 old persons were in special institutions. These consisted of the traditional old-age homes (*moshav zekenim*) and the more modern living centers for the aged, of which there are different forms. By the early 2000s, 10% of Israel's population was aged over 65, with 250,000 Israelis aged over 75. The consequence has been a great strain on public facilities and a proliferation of upscale retirement homes and the fashion of employing live-in Filipino caretakers among the well-to-do. The care of the aged in 21st century Israel therefore fully reflected the economic imbalances that prevailed in the country. The poor among the aged have become a marginal group barely able to survive.

[Haim Hillel Ben-Sasson]

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AGEN, capital of the Lot-et-Garonne department, southwestern France. A charter of 1263 specifies the charges imposed on Jewish residents in Agen for all articles brought into the city, in addition to dues they owed to the bishop. In 1309 (not 1250, as stated by U. Robert) the seneschal of Agen was directed to seize copies of the Talmud and other Jewish works, probably left behind after the general expulsion of the Jews in 1306. A number of Jews returned to Agen in 1315 and perished in the *Pastoureaux massacres of 1320. The "Rue des Juifs," first documented in 1342, certainly existed earlier. Remains of the synagogue were still visible in the 16th century. In 1968 the Jewish community in Agen, which consisted of approximately 500 persons, mostly immigrants from North Africa, had a synagogue and community center.

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[Bernhard Blumenkranz]

AGENCY, legal concept whereby the lawful acts of someone authorized by, and acting on behalf of, another are as effective as if performed by the principal; recognized in Jewish law from ancient times. A basic concept in the Talmud is that "a man's agent is as himself," i.e., that a man is bound by the acts of his duly constituted agent as if he himself had acted. Throughout the ages Jewish law developed a complex and sophisticated civil law of commerce and finance in which the law of agency played an important part, being the subject of many talmudic discussions and halakhic rulings. For example, the contrary principle was enacted that there can be no agency to do a wrongful act; the sender is not held accountable for the deeds of his agents. The law also laid down rules governing the manner of constituting an agency, its limitations, its mode of execution, and its revocation or termination. The appointment, competence, and powers of an agent are also dealt with. Because of their contractual aspects, agency was also recognized in matters of marriage and divorce, whereby an agent could legally acquire a wife for his principal or effectively deliver to her a bill of divorce on his principal's behalf. Generally the Jewish law of agency was developed to meet the social and commercial needs of the community as it constantly changed from age to age; therefore it was inclined to be more flexible and adaptable than some other legal subjects, which, consequently, did not always enjoy the same degree of contemporary relevance. In the State of Israel agency is a matter of civil law and is governed by a principal statute of 1965.

Details

As a result of agency, the possible field of legal activity is extended beyond the normal physical and other limitations.

The concept of agency was not recognized in ancient legal systems. Only in the later stages of Roman law did agency achieve a limited form of recognition – a phenomenon ascribed to the powerful status of the Roman *pater-familias* ("family head") on whose behalf all acquisitions by his kinsmen or servants were made in any event, thus obviating any urgent need for developing a doctrine of agency. In Jewish law the principle of agency was, however, already recognized in ancient times. While there is no express scriptural provision for it, the *tannaim* applied the doctrine of agency in various halakhic fields, i.e., to the laws of *mamonot* ("commercial law"), *terumah* ("heave offering"), sacrifices, divorce, and betrothal, and established the rule that "a man's agent is as himself" (*Sheliḥo shel adam kemoto*). According to the Tosefta (Kid. 4:1), Bet Shammai and Bet Hillel agreed that a person appointed to carry out a specific mandate is disqualified from acting as a witness in a case involving such mandate, whereas amoraic sources quote a tannaitic tradition to the opposite effect (Kid. 43a) and the talmudic *halakhah* was decided accordingly. The agent is not regarded as the principal, in the full sense of the term "as himself," since the agent is competent to testify with regard to the subject matter of his mandate in circumstances where the principal is disqualified from being a witness.

CRIMINAL LAW. In this field a contrary rule was laid down, namely, that "there can be no agent to do a wrong" (*Ein shali'aḥ li-devar averah;* Kid. 42b). The reasoning behind the rule is derived in answer to the hypothetical question: "Whose words does one obey? Those of the master" (i.e., the Almighty) "or of the pupil" (i.e., the mandator)? The legal import of the rule is that the agent himself is the transgressor, and liable, whereas the principal is exempt in respect of any transgression committed by the agent in execution of the former's mandate. There is, on the other hand, a tradition that a person who says to his agent, "Go forth and kill that soul!" (Kid. 43a), is personally liable, but the *halakhah* was decided to the effect that "in all matters a person's agent is 'as himself' except with regard to wrongdoing …" (Isserles to Sh. Ar., ḤM 182:1). However, the scholars laid down that in three fields the doctrine of agency applied also to transgression: (1) misappropriation of a deposit (*sheliḥut yad*); (2) slaughtering and selling (of stolen animals – see *Theft and Robbery); and (3) conversion of consecrated property (see **Hekdesh*) to profane use (*me'ilah*).

In addition to these three specifically excepted cases, there are also a number of general exceptions to the rule that there can be no agent to do a wrongful act. According to the *amora* Ravina, the rule does not apply if the prohibition does not extend to the agent himself, e.g., where a priest commissions an Israelite to celebrate *kiddushin* with a divorcee on the priest's behalf (a marriage prohibited to a priest). Similarly, the *amora* Samma is of the opinion that an agency is constituted when the agent, in committing transgression, fails to act of his own free will; e.g., when he is unaware that his act amounts to a transgression (BM 10b; Isserles to Sh. Ar., ḤM 182:1 and 348:8). Furthermore, an agency to do a wrong is constituted whenever an agent delegated to commit a wrong must be presumed likely to execute his assignment because he is known to commit such wrongs (Sh. Ar., ḤM 388:15, gloss; see also Siftei Kohen, *ibid.*, 67 for a contrary opinion). Whenever the law recognizes agency in the commission of a wrong, the agent himself will be liable (Siftei Kohen sub. sec. 4 to Sh. Ar., ḤM 292; see also Netivot ha-Mishpat to Sh. Ar., ḤM 348:4).

LIMITATIONS. The rabbis of the Talmud, relying on the scriptural text, excluded the operation of the maxim that a person's agent is as himself in certain instances (TJ, Kid. 2:1; Yev. 101b). Some of the *posekim* exclude agency when the mandate cannot be carried out at the time of the agent's appointment (Darkhei Moshe to Tur, ḤM 182:1, based on Naz. 12b); but others differ (Responsa Maharit 2:23; Arukh ha-Shulḥan to Sh. Ar., ḤM *ibid.*). On the question of the husband's competence to annul the vows of his wife on the day of hearing them (Num. 30:9), the rabbis decided that it would not be the same if the vows were heard by an agent, and that the latter was not competent to annul them since "the appointment of an agent is not appropriate to a passive act" (*be-midi de-mi-meila;* Ned. 72b). Similarly, there can be no agency with regard to a precept (*mitzvah*) which one is personally obliged to perform, such as laying *tefillin* or sitting in a **sukkah* (Tos. to Kid. 42b). So, too, the rabbinical enactment permitting *assignment of debt by way of *ma'amad sheloshtan*, has been interpreted as requiring the participation of the parties themselves and the assignor could not appoint an agent for this purpose (Sh. Ar., ḤM 126:20). Some scholars hold that an agent can not deliver an oath on behalf of his principal (Responsa, *Noda bi-Yhudah*, first series, YD 67 and last series YD 147).

It is not a requirement of agency that the manner of carrying out the mandate should be specifically detailed; the principal may grant his agent a degree of discretion, e.g., in celebrating *kiddushin* on his principal's behalf, an agent may be authorized to treat either with a specific woman or with one of a larger group (Maim., Yad, *Ishut* 3:14). Or, the principal can instruct his agent, "Go and purchase for me a field which you consider suitable," in which case the choice of the field is left to the full discretion of the agent. To be properly constituted, agency requires that the parties thereto are both legally competent and it was laid down that *einam benei da'at* ("persons who lack proper understanding," i.e., *Ḥeresh*, *shoteh*, *ve-katan* ("deaf-mutes, idiots, and minors")) were disqualified from acting as either principal or agent (Git. 23a; Sh. Ar., ḤM 188:2).

APPOINTMENT AND POWERS. It appears from tannaitic and amoraic sources, neither of which specifically discuss the manner of appointing an agent, that such appointment may be done orally. The *halakhah* was so decided, it being held that there was no need for a formal *kinyan* (see Modes of *Acquisition). In various places it nevertheless became the practice to assign by way of a formal *kinyan.* This was partly due to the influence of an analogous procedure in certain matters where an act of *kinyan* was required by law, such as the appointment of an agent in a lawsuit or for the purposes of agency in divorce – although the *kinyan* is not essential to the underlying agency itself but rather for the purpose of *bittul moda'ah* (see **Ones*). It was also due in part to the desire of the parties to express in a formal act that the decision to conclude an agency was a serious one, and not one undertaken irresponsibly (Maim., Mekhirah 1, 12–12).

The agent is required to act strictly within the scope of his mandate, and if he exceeds his authority, all his actions are rendered null and void. The same result follows if the agent errs in any detail of his mandate, since the latter is appointed "to uphold and not to depart from the mandate" (Maim., Yad, *Sheluḥin* 1:3, Sh. Ar., ḤM 182:2). The possible consequences of a complete nullification can, however, be averted by especially stipulating for such a contingency (Maim. and Sh. Ar., *ibid.*). Thus it became the practice for a condition of this kind to be inserted in written instruments (see Hai Gaon, *Sefer ha-Shetarot*, 65–67).

Some authorities went so far as to hold that even in the absence of such a condition, there was a presumption – if the mandate were carried out – that the principal had authorized the agent to "uphold and to depart from the mandate," unless the contrary could be proved by the principal (Sh. Ar., ḤM 182:4). An agent who departs from the terms of his mandate and deals with a third party without disclosing that he is acting as an agent, will be liable for his actions (Maim., *Sheluḥin* 2:4; Sh. Ar., 182:2 and 6).

REVOCATION. The mandate of the agent may be revoked by the principal. The Talmud records a dispute between the Palestinian *amoraim*, Johanan and Resh Lakish, as to whether or not revocation can be done orally (TJ, Ter. 3:4, 42a and Git 4:1, 45c; see also Kid. 59a), and the *halakhah* was decided in favor of such revocation. Where a formal *kinyan* accompanies the agent's appointment, some take the view that the "act" of *kinyan* cannot be revoked orally, but the general opinion is in favor of it. In order to prevent the principal from withdrawing his agent's mandate, it became customary to submit the former to an oath to this effect. This procedure normally served as an effective deterrent, but if, despite the oath, the principal revoked it, the revocation is effective. Agency is also terminated upon the death of the principal.

It was recognized that a revocable mandate could prejudice a third party who was unaware of it, e.g., a debtor who paid his debt to the creditor's agent would continue to be indebted to the creditor or his heirs if it subsequently transpired that the agent's mandate had previously been revoked. It was determined, on various grounds, that in such circumstances the debtor would be released from his obligation. Isaac b. Abba Mari expressed the opinion that a defendent who received a deed of authorization from the agent, would suffer no damage even if it later transpired that the mandate had been revoked (*Sefer ha-Ittur, harsha'ah*). Abraham b. David of Posquières justified the debtors release on the ground that the creditor's revocation of the mandate was tantamount to negligence. Later the above rule was justified on the further ground that, even if by the laws of agency the defendant had dealt with a person who was no agent, the transaction was nevertheless afforded legal validity by virtue of the laws of suretyship (Arukh ha-Shulḥan to Sh. Ar., ḤM 122:2).

BROKERAGE. On the question of the agent's failure to observe the terms of his mandate, Jewish law distinguishes between an agent who acts in a voluntary capacity (*shali'a*) and one who does so for payment called a *sarsur* ("broker" or "factor,") e.g., one who receives property for the purposes of sale, the latter being required to make good any consequent loss to the principal. Maimonides adds that in a case where the broker sells property at less than the authorized price, the purchaser must restore the goods to the owner if he knows that it was being sold by a broker on behalf of the true owner (*ibid.*, 2:6; and see Sh. Ar., ḤM 185:1). Similarly, in case of theft or loss the liability of the broker is equal to that of a bailee for reward (Maim. and Sh. Ar., *ibid.*). An agent may not purchase for himself the property which he has been authorized to sell, even at the authorized selling price (Sh. Ar., *ibid*).

NON-PERFORMANCE OR IMPROPER PERFORMANCE BY THE AGENT. The principal has no claim for pecuniary compensation against an agent who relinquishes his appointment without fulfilling his mandate (Sh. Ar., *ibid.*, 183:1). However, one opinion says that the principal has a claim for "loss of profits" against an agent who acts for payment, e.g., for the profits likely to have been earned by the principal had the mandate been properly carried out (Netivot ha-Mishpat to Sh. Ar., *ibid., Be'urim*, 1).

When the agent is given money by his principal in order to purchase property, and such property is purchased by the agent for himself with his own money the transaction is valid, "although the agent is a rascal," but the transaction will be for the benefit of the principal if the agent purchased for himself with the money of the principal (Sh. Ar., *ibid.*, and Isserles).

AGENCY FOR THE RECOVERY OF DEBTS. (See *Attorney). The appointment of an agent for the recovery at law of a debt owing to a claimant, is the subject of particular problems. The rabbis of *Nehardea decided (BK 70a) that the claimant's representative must be equipped with an "instrument of permission" (*ketav harsha'ah*, "power of attorney"), bearing the following written instruction by the claimant: "Go and take legal action to acquire title and secure for yourself." Unless this is done the defendant may plead that the representative has no standing in the matter. The possibility of a plea of this nature arises from the talmudic principle that a creditor's representative cannot seize property in settlement of a debt owing to his principal, if there are additional creditors (Ket. 84b). This principle was construed at the commencement of the geonic period as applying whether the action of the agent is likely to prejudice other creditors, or merely the debtor or himself (She'iltot *de-Rav Aḥai Ga'on*, 150). Another explanation offered for the aforesaid plea is the possible suspicion that the mandate was no longer in force, because of the principal's death or because it had been revoked by him. The aforesaid wording of the authorizing instrument rendered the agent a party to the legal proceedings, which in turn gave rise to the fear that the agent would keep whatever he recovered for himself. It therefore became customary at first to supplement the authorization with a further formality such as the principal's declaration before witnesses that he was appointing the agent as his representative (Hal. Gedolot, BK 88, col. 3), and in other ways. Gradually these additional measures were abandoned, and the instrument of authorization itself was accepted – without further formality – as constituting the agent a party, along with the defendant, to the proceedings and at the same time as safeguarding the rights of the principal (Temim De'im, 61; Or Zaru'a, BK 4:300). Since, according to the abovementioned wording of the authorization, or power of attorney, the principal in effect assigned (*hakna'ah*) to the agent the subject matter of the power of attorney, it was impossible – according to talmudic *halakhah* – for such power of attorney to relate to matters which could not validly be assigned. Thus the rabbis of Nehardea decided that no power of attorney could be written relating to movables, in respect of which the defendant denied the claim. In the post-talmudic period these restrictions were removed – by way of interpretation, custom and rabbinical enactment – and Jacob b. *Asher records the practice of giving a power of attorney unrestricted as to subject matter (Tur., ḤM 123:2). A convenient act of *kinyan* employed to accompany the authorization, was assignment of the subject matter of the claim *aggav karka* (incidental to land; see Modes of *Acquisition).

In the geonic period, when most Jews had ceased to be landowners, it became necessary to find ways of employing the method of *kinyan aggav karka*, making it applicable to those who possessed no landed property. Thus arose the custom of assignment by way of **arba ammot be-Ereẓ Israel* ("four cubits of land" which every Jew was considered to own in Ereẓ Israel; Responsum Nahshon Gaon, Responsa Geonica, ed. 1929, p. 31; see Modes of *Acquisition). In post-geonic times, diminishing reliance was placed on this method, and Maimonides was of the opinion that an assignment (i.e., power of attorney) so effected was not binding on the debtor (Yad, Sheluḥin 3:7). In Germany and France it became customary to rely on *hoda'ah* (i.e., an admission by the principal that he owned land; see *Admission; Modes of *Acquisition). Naḥmanides suggested *kinyan* or assignment incidental to a synagogue seat or a place in the cemetery, common to all (Novellae to BB 44b) and further modes of assignment are discussed by other scholars.

ACQUISITION OF PROPERTY THROUGH A THIRD PARTY OTHER THAN AN APPOINTED AGENT. This may arise through an application of the rule that "a benefit may be conferred on a person in his absence" (Eruv. 7:11). Thus A may acquire property from B on behalf of C without the latter's knowledge, if this is to his benefit – for instance, a gift. C becomes the owner of the property as soon as A's acquisition thereof is complete, unless C, upon hearing of the matter, rejects such ownership, in which event the transaction is void ab initio (Maim., Yad, Zekhiyyah, 3:2; Sh. Ar., ḤM 243:1; see also Modes of *Acquisition).

In the State of Israel the laws of agency are governed by the "Agency Law, 5725–1965," which confirms the doctrine that "a man's agent is as himself" and further provides that the actions of the agent, including his knowledge and intention, are binding on and benefit the principal – as the case may be (sec. 2).

[Nahum Rakover]

Legal Acts that Are Not a Subject for Agency

There are certain acts that by definition cannot be an object of agency and others in which it is the law that proscribes their performance by way of an agent.

AN ACT WHICH BY DEFINITION REQUIRES PERSONAL PERFORMANCE. In principle, any legal or religious act can be performed by way of an agent, provided that performance of the act is not also its purpose. This is the case, for example, with the betrothal of a woman, in which giving the money is not the goal as such, but is rather a means for altering the woman's status from that of an unmarried woman to that of a married woman. However, when the actual performance of the act is also the goal, such as donning *tefillin* or dwelling in the *sukkah*, such an act cannot be an object of agency (Responsa, *Iggerot Moshe*, EH. 1 #156).

AN ACT WHICH BY LAW REQUIRES PERSONAL PERFORMANCE. By way of example, the law does not permit the agent to act on the principal's behalf when his act involves the violation of third party rights (Ket. 84b; Piskei ha-Rosh, Gittin, 1:13). There are certain acts regarding which opinions are divided as to whether the law permits their performance by way of an agent, such as the abandonment of an asset (Bet Yosef, OH. 434:4; cf. Commentary of Gra (Vilna Gaon) *ibid*); an undertaking (Netivot ha-Mishpat, 45:2. cf. *Keẓot ha-Ḥoshen*, *ibid.* 2); admission (Resp. Ribash, 392, cf. Resp. Maharshdam, HM, 439); oath (summary of positions in Resp. Maharsham, 5:26).

"THERE IS NO AGENCY FOR [THE COMMISSION OF] AN OFFENSE." The codifiers disputed the legal import of this rule. According to some, this rule is exclusively relevant in the criminal realm. In other words: One does not punish a person for an offence committed by another person operating as his agent, despite the fact that in the civil sense the legal consequences of the act are the same as they would have been had the principal performed it himself (*Netivot ha-Mishpat* 182:1). On the other hand, there is a view that extends this rule to the civil dimension too, arguing that a prohibited action performed by an agent also lacks any legal effect on the civil level too, because by definition the act was not a subject of agency (Resp. *Nodah bi-Yehudah*, 1st ed., EH, 64, 75).

The halakhic authorities disputed the applicatory scope of the rule "there is no agency for [the commission of] an offence". According to Rabbina, there can be agency for an offence wherever the agent "does not incur liability" ("*eino bar hiuva*") (BM 10b). In reliance on this view, there are authorities who rule that there can be agency for an offence wherever the agent does not hesitate over whether to obey the teacher (= God) or the student (the principal) and the principal can rely on him to perform the agency, as in the case in which the agent acts on the basis of a mistake (*shogeg*) (Rema, ḤM, 182:1, and 348; and see Sema, *ibid.*).

According to R.Sama, the possibility of agency for an offense is restricted to cases in which the agent does not exercise free will or discretion regarding whether or not to commit the act. In reliance on this view, other authorities ruled that can be agency for the commission of an offence in cases in which the agent acted under duress. However, other authorities dispute this view too, and in their opinion the denial of agency for an offence even applies where an act is committed under duress, because the agent's act itself is nonetheless volitional, hence the principal will not incur liability. On the other hand, the agent too is exempted from liability for the same act by force of the rule in Jewish Law, that a person acting under duress is exempt from liability (Resp. *Nodah bi-Yehudah*, 1st ed., EH, 75; *ibid.*, 80:16).

LEGAL CAPACITY. Apart from the disqualification of the deaf, the mute, and minor from serving as an agent or a principal, there is also a requirement that the agent and his principal be of the same religious identity, even for the performance of a legal action which is not of a religious character, such as purchasing and selling. As such, one who is not Jewish (*ben brit*) is disqualified from serving as the agent of another Jewish person, or as his principal (Bavli, Kiddushin 41a). However, these restrictions were only established in relation to agency for the performance of a legal act, but where it concerns the performance of a material act (*nuntius*), even if that act has legal ramifications, such as the paying of debt, nothing prevents its performance by one who is not Jewish (Resp. Ḥattam Sofer, OḤ 201).

DIGRESSION FROM AUTHORIZATION AND DAMAGE TO THE PRINCIPAL'S INTERESTS. If the agent fundamentally digresses from the terms of his authorization, his action is invalid *ab initio* (Maim, Yad. Hilkhot Sheluḥin ve-Shutafim, 1:2). If he discharged his agency in a manner that harms the economic interests of the principal, his agency can be annulled by the principal, who may claim "I sent you to repair and not to damage" (Maim, Yad. Hilkhot Sheluḥin ve-Shutafim, 1:2–3; Sh. Ar. ḤM, 182:2–3, 6). As a rule, regardless of whether the agency was invalidated *ab initio* or annulled by the principal, the third party must restore to the situation to what it was initially.

On the other hand, there are cases in which even if the agent digressed from his authorization, or harmed the principal's interests, it is impossible to invalidate his actions in respect of a third party or to return to the original situation. In these cases the agent must indemnify the principal for the damage he caused. For example: Where the agent did not present himself as an agent in his dealings with a third party, in other words, where the agency was hidden (Maim, Yad. Hilkhot Sheluḥin ve-Shutafim, 2:4; Sh. Ar. ḤM, 182:2); where the principal does not succeed in proving that the agency was only for the purpose of repairing and not to damage (Sh. Ar. ḤM, 182:6, and Sema *ibid.,* s.10); and according to some authorities, where the agent intentionally mislead the third party into thinking that he was acting under authorization (*Shitah Mekubeẓet*, BM 74b, in the name of the Ra'abad).

In this context, the liability of an unpaid agent does not differ from that of a paid agent (a middelman) (Sema., ḤM 185:1: "For even when not paid, the agent is liable when he digresses"), however, if the agent has possession of the principal's asset, then the liability imposed on him is that of a paid bailee, if he was a paid agent; and of an unpaid *bailee if he was an unpaid agent.

Secondary Agency

An agent can appoint a secondary agent, whose action will directly credit and obligate the principal (Kid. 41a), provided that the principal himself has no opposition (to the appointment) and the agency itself is not defined as 'words' (*mili*). There is a dispute regarding the precise definition of the concept '*mili*', but all agree that an action defined as *mili* is one that does not achieve a legally valid result. For example, an agent for the writing of a *get* (divorce bill) cannot appoint a secondary agent, because the actual writing of a *get* has no legal consequences (Mordechai, Gittin, 420)

The death of the principle agent does not annul the secondary agency (Git. 29b). From this it may be inferred that the secondary agent operates as the extended arm of the principal. Even so, it is still disputed whether the main principal can annul the agency of the secondary agent (Taz, EH 26, and on the other hand, Keẓot ha-Ḥoshen, 188:2)

The Decisions of the Israel Supreme Court

The provisions of Jewish law regarding agency served as a basis for the decision of the Israel Supreme Court in the case of *Moverman* (CA 604/77 *Moverman v. Segal*, PD 32(3) 85). In that case the Court was required to make a determination regarding the validity of an agreement that the executor of an estate made with a woman who was designated as a beneficiary of the estate. The agreement provided for a waiver of the woman's rights under the will in exchange for the receipt of a fixed monthly payment from the executor of the estate. The Court found that the agreement contained a number of legal flaws, such as a suspicion that the executor of the estate exerted undue influence on the woman prior to her signing the agreement. The Court (Justice Menachem Elon) did not rely on that suspicion as the only reason for invalidating the agreement, and ruled that according to Jewish law, a transaction that the executor of an estate carries out regarding the estate for his personal needs, requires prior approval by the court, and if the executor did not take steps to obtain such approval prior to carrying out the transaction, the court must engage in a "thorough examination of the reasonableness and fairness of the transaction, *vis-à-vis* the estate and the beneficiary (*ibid.*, p. 97). The Court ruled on the question from the perspective of the laws of agency:

> The question of invalidating a legal transaction because of a suspicion of conflict of interest has been dealt with thoroughly in Jewish law … regarding the sale of the object of the agency … 'an agent cannot buy it for himself even for the price at which the owner has authorized him to sell it' (Sh. Ar., ḤM, 185:2).

According to the view of some of the sages … the reason is one of suspicion, in other words, a conflict of interest between his acting on behalf of the principal and his acting on his own behalf (see, *e.g.*, Beit Yosef on the Tur, ḤM. ibid.; Prisha on the Tur, ḤM 175:30, and Bach. *ibid*; *Sema*, Sh. Ar. ḤM 175:26).

According to the view of other sages, the flaw inherent in an agent buying for himself is rooted in the fact that in such a case there has been no transfer from one domain to another:

'For an agent cannot buy for himself, even at the price that the owner has authorized him to sell it, inasmuch as he was made an agent to sell the land to a client, but he cannot authorize himself to buy it for himself, for a man cannot sell to himself; for the definition of a sale is the transfer of the object from one domain to another, and this hasn't left his domain insofar as he is acting in place of the owner' (Tur, ḤM, 185.3, in the name of *Rashba*)" (*Ibid*, p. 98).

In accordance with the above, in addition to a similar conclusion that is arrived at from the perspective of the laws of inheritance and guardianship in Jewish Law (see under Apotropos), Justice Elon rules that the validity of the transaction that the executor has carried out for himself with regard the estate that he is administering is contingent upon the prior approval of the court. Because no such approval was given, the transaction is subject to judicial review and the court must "examine the nature and the essence of the transaction from the perspective of what is in the best interests of the beneficiary" (*ibid*, p. 101).

[Michael Wygoda (2nd ed.)]

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AGGADAH or **HAGGADAH** (Heb. אַגָּדָה, הַגָּדָה; "narrative"), one of the two primary components of rabbinic tradition, the other being *halakhah*, usually translated as "Jewish Law" (see: Kadushin, *The Rabbinic Mind*, 59f.). The term *aggadah* itself is notoriously difficult to define, and it has become the custom among scholars to define *aggadah* by means of negation – as the non-halakhic component of rabbinic tradition (Fraenkel, *Midrash and Aggadah*, 20). While fair enough, one must be careful in adopting this approach not to define the parallel term *halakhah* too narrowly. The *halakhah* of the rabbinic tradition can be described in part as a system of laws, but not infrequently it also has the character of a personal moral and spiritual discipline. It can be expressed in the form of concrete judgments about specific cases, but also in rules involving varying degrees of abstraction and generality. Talmudic tradition often uses stories to express a *halakhah*. This is obviously so when the story reports an explicit legal precedent. But it may also be true when a story merely describes the behavior of a notable sage, if it is understood that this behavior is worthy of imitation. Despite the varied forms in which the *halakhah* is expressed, the rules, judgments and precedents included in talmudic literature all have one thing in common: they all categorize specific forms of behavior and well defined areas of experience in line with formal dichotomies, such as "permissible" or "forbidden," "pure" or "impure," "holy" and "profane," etc. *Aggadah*, on the other hand, investigates and interprets the *meaning*, the *values*, and the *ideas* which underlie the specific distinctions which govern religious life. In line with the accepted tendency to define *aggadah* as "that which is not *halakhah*," one could say that the relation between *aggadah* and *halakhah* is similar to the relation between theory and practice, between idea and application, and, in the area of ethics, between character and behavior.

[Stephen G. Wald (2nd ed.)]

The aggadah is first and foremost the creation of Palestinian Jewry, from the time of the Second Temple to the end of the talmudic period. Throughout that time, Palestine was the meeting ground of different religions and cultures as well as the field of violent political clashes. Its Jewry, confronted incessantly by bitter struggles with a variety of foes from within and without, evolved in the *aggadah* an ingenious instrument for deriving guidance from the Torah, for educating the people, strengthening their faith, and bolstering their pride and courage. Though much aggadic material has been preserved in the Babylonian Talmud, it, too, is predominantly of Palestinian origin, as are all the older Midrashim. The contribution of Babylonian Jewry in the field of *aggadah*, although often reworking earlier Palestinian aggadic themes, often achieves new levels of imagination and originality, frequently striking, engaging, and earthy. Sometimes a "mere" linguistic clarification can be the occasion for developing and elaborating a fragmentary tradition in new and unexpected directions (see: Friedman, *BT Bava Meẓi'a VI*, *Commentary*, 148).

According to Bacher the word *haggadah* is derived from the expression *higgid* (or *maggid*) *ha-katuv*, "Scripture related [or relates]," with which an aggadic discourse often opened. However, the *aggadah* did not always derive from biblical exegesis, but often arose independently of it. The word *aggadah* is rather to be understood as meaning simply "relating," i.e., events which have occurred, and in *Sotah* 7b *"devarim shel aggadah"* is used in this sense (cf. B. Lifshitz, *The Jewish Law Yearbook*, 22, 233–328, and the debate between Lifshitz and J. Fraenkel in *Netuim*, 11–12 (2004), 63–91). The important consideration here is the "telling," the narration, the wording, the style. The "telling," in this instance *aggadah*, however, is designed to touch the human heart (Yoma 75a), "so that one should recognize Him who created the world, and so cling to His ways" (Sif. Deut. 49). Its purpose is "to bring Heaven down to earth and to elevate man to Heaven" (Zunz).

Content and Form

The *aggadah* comprehends a great variety of forms and content. It includes narrative, legends, doctrines, admonitions to ethical conduct and good behavior, words of encouragement and comfort, and expressions of hope for future redemption. Its forms and modes of expression are as rich and colorful as its content. Parables and allegories, metaphors and terse maxims; lyrics, dirges, and prayers, biting satire and fierce polemic, idyllic tales and tense dramatic dialogues, hyperboles and plays on words, permutations of letters, calculations of their arithmetical values (*gematria*) or their employment as initials of other words (*notarikon*) – all are found in the *aggadah*. "Whatever the imagination can invent is found in the *aggadah*, with one exception: 'mockery and frivolity'" (Zunz), the purpose always being to teach man the ways of God. The *aggadah*'s variegated contents and multiplicity of forms can be accounted for by a consideration of its sources and its manner of growth.

The Folkloristic Aggadah

Although the aggadic literature as known is an expression of the ideas and feelings of the *tannaim* and *amoraim*, in many instances it merely adapted ancient material to its needs. Ready at hand were myths dating back to biblical times, popular legends of national heroes – patriarchs, prophets, and kings – and fanciful stories, some the product of the Jewish imagination and "wisdom," and others remnants of the folklore treasury of nearby and faraway peoples, which had become judaized in the course of time. The sages, however, were interested in establishing a connection between the current, popular *aggadah* and the Bible. Many *aggadot* seem to stem solely from Bible exegesis or a penetrating examination of the text; yet modern scholarship has been able to determine the place and time of their origin and so to separate the original layers from the later additions of the sages. The study of the epic literature of the ancient Orient, the apocrypha, and the legends of other peoples has helped greatly in this regard, as the following instances show. "R. Judah stated in the name of *Rav: 'When the Holy One blessed be He sought to build the world, He said to the Prince of the Sea "Open your mouth and swallow all the waters in the world." He said to Him "Master of the World, it is enough that I should retain my own." Immediately He struck him with his foot and he died, as it is said: "He breaks the sea with His power; with His understanding He smites through *Rahab"'" (BB 74b). Similar statements (Ginzberg, Legends Jews, 5 (1925), 17–18, 26–27) are merely the traditional myths of the revolt of the sea which were preserved in popular memory, and which parallel, fundamentally, the Mesopotamian myth of the war of the god creator against Tiamat, and Canaanite legends recorded in the Ugaritic inscriptions (Cassuto, in: *Keneset*, 8 (1943), 141–2).

It is related in a *baraita* that when an accused adulteress was being summoned to confess, she was reminded of biblical parallels for confession, as when not only *Judah but *Reuben too, "confessed and were not ashamed" (Sot. 7b; Sif. Deut. 35:5). With regard to Reuben this is not evident from the biblical narrative itself, but in the Talmud it is derived from the text by homiletical exegesis, by comparing it with the passage, "May Reuben live and not die.… And this he said for Judah" (Deut. 33:6–7; Sot. *ibid.*). The details of the story, however, appear in the apocryphal Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs (Reu. 3). The influence of universal folklore on the *aggadah* is especially evident in the proverbs and fables. Late talmudic and post-talmudic sources ascribe to *Hillel the knowledge of the "conversations of trees and clouds, and of the beasts and animals" (Sof. 16:9), an element common to the folklore of all peoples. Another relatively late tradition (Suk. 28a) states that his pupil, Johanan b. Zakkai, knew the parables of laundrymen and fox fables. The *amora*, Johanan, related that R. Meir had known 300 fox fables. On the other hand, there is no confirmation from tannaitic sources for this claim, and it seems that the real "hero" of this tradition is the early *amora*, Bar Kappara, whose talents in this field may have been transferred to the earlier figure R. Meir by the *aggadah* (see: Friedman, The Talmudic Parable, 28). For his own part Johanan states that he himself knew only three such fables (concerning which he quotes only three biblical verses): "The fathers have eaten sour grapes, and the children's teeth are set on edge" (Ezek. 18:2); "Just balances, just weights" (Lev. 19:36); "The righteous is delivered out of trouble" (Prov. 11:8). The Talmud (Sanh. 38b–39a) takes it for granted that the fables to which these verses correspond were known to all. When *Hai Gaon was asked to expatiate upon Johanan's statement, he said: "Know that these fables contain moral lessons which are presented as if they emanated from the mouths of the beasts of the fields, like the writings of the Hindus which are called *Kitab Kalila wa-Dimna* and which contain moral lessons, wise sayings, and metaphors in the forms of animal fables. As for these fables of R. Meir, each was attached to a biblical verse which expressed a similar idea. So the story would be told: 'It happened that a lion caught a fox and wanted to eat it. The fox said to him: What do I possess that can appease your appetite …'" (B.M. Levin, *Oẓar ha-Ge'onim*, 6, pt. 2, on *Sukkah* (1934), 31–32).

A more Jewish version of the fable is quoted by Rashi (in Sanh. 39a). Sometimes only the proverb or moral teaching is given, the story itself being known from Aesop or from Indian fables. At other times only the title of the story is mentioned: "Said R. Ammi: 'Come and see how great are the men of faith. From what is this derived? – from the incident of the weasel and the well. If it is so with one who trusts a weasel and a well, how much more so with one who trusts in God'" (Ta'an. 8a and Rashi *ibid.*). Yet other stories which were widely known among all peoples have no known earlier source than the *aggadah*. Although these are recorded as incidents in the lives of the sages, they have a folk origin (PdRK 7 – the story about R. Simeon b. Yohai – this tale of the wise farmer's daughter has spread among the Germanic, Slavic, and Romanian peoples). "The Jews may well be described as the great disseminators of folklore. Many a legend that originated in Egypt or Babylonia was appropriated by the European peoples, and many a European fairy tale found its way to Asia through the medium of the Jews, who on their long wanderings from the East to the West, and back from the West to the East, brought the products of Oriental fancies to the occidental nations, and the creations of occidental imagination to the Oriental peoples" (Ginzberg, Legends Jews, 5 (1925), vii).

The Discourse

From the earliest times the public reading from the Torah and the prophetic books occupied a prominent place in the synagogue service (BK 82a; TJ, Meg. 1:1, 70b). "They read in the book, in the Law of God, distinctly; and they gave the sense and caused them to understand the reading" (Neh. 8:8). At the conclusion of the reading, an exposition adapted to the level of the listeners would be delivered. This exposition contained the seeds of the *derashah* or discourse, which may be regarded as a continuation of the activities of the prophets "who reproved in the gates" (Isa. 29:21; Amos 5:10). The ordinance requiring the appropriate exposition to be delivered before the festivals was regarded as of the greatest antiquity, the sages asserting: "Moses ordained that Israel should enquire and expound concerning the Festivals" (Sif. Num. 66). Philo mentions the discourse many times (*De Somniis* 2:127; *Apologia* 7:12). On the Sabbath that Paul came to Antioch, after the Torah and *haftarah* reading, the congregants turned to him and asked him whether he wished to preach (Acts 13:14–15). Gamaliel, Joshua, Eleazar b. Azariah, and Akiva delivered discourses in Rome (Ex. R. 30:9). There is also an account of Akiva's address in the town of Ginzak in Media (Gen. R. 33:5). These discourses were delivered to the common people, in some instances gentiles being present in the audience. "At the time the elder sits and discourses, many strangers become proselytes" (Song R. 4:2). The "words of admonition" spoken on fast days were none other than a *derashah* (Ta'an. 2:1; Tosef., Ta'an. 1:8). Addresses were also delivered on the occasion of family joys and sorrows (Ket. 8b). People flocked to these addresses (Sot. 40a), and enjoyed listening to them. It was accurately said: "'The delights of the sons of man' – these are the *aggadot*, which are Scripture's delight" (Eccl. R. 2:8). The *aggadah* eventually became the core of the discourse, the preacher utilizing the occasion to point to the virtues and faults of his audience, to voice their feelings and aspirations, to scrutinize the events of the time, and to judge their deeds and those of their enemies. Whatever he had to say would be linked to the portion of Scripture they had just heard. At times it is difficult to determine whether the biblical exegesis is the source of the aggadic idea or whether the idea was read into the Scriptural passage. This, however, is immaterial. The spirit of the Bible pulsates in these *derashot*. Only individuals permeated with this spirit, in whom the words of the Bible had become alive, could relate their thoughts and feelings so closely to the text as to emerge with an exegesis and aggadic idea which seem, at times, to have arisen simultaneously. This total involvement with Scripture also explains why, despite the wide differences in the form, style and content of aggadic literature, and the vast distances in time and often in space which it spanned, no radical differences in its essential nature are perceivable.

In addition to its role in the public address, *aggadah* was studied and taught in the academies. Periods of instruction and study would be enlivened by aggadic interludes. When R. Zeira, on one occasion, was not up to delivering a halakhic discourse, he was besought, "Let the Master deliver an aggadic exposition," the latter requiring less exertion (Ta'an. 7a). The exegesis of some word in the course of a halakhic investigation would often lead to an aggadic discourse (BB 78b). The wording of a *halakhah* would sometimes recall a popular maxim (BK 92b). Obviously the aggadic expositions of the sages in the academies were subsequently made use of by popular preachers, just as those of the public sermons found their way back to the academies. The *aggadah* is a fusion of both.

Aggadic Methods

The freedom of interpretation allowed to the *aggadah* is given expression in the 32 hermeneutical principles included in the *Baraita of the Thirty-two Rules attributed to Eliezer b. Yose the Galilean (appearing in the printed editions of the Babylonian Talmud after the tractate *Berakhot* and in *Mishnat Rabbi Eliezer* (ed. by H.G. Enelow (1933), 10ff.)), but probably post-talmudic in its present formulation. Some of these principles are the same as those used in halakhic exposition, such as the seven principles of Hillel and the thirteen of R. Ishmael. Others are either exclusively or generally intended for the *aggadah*. Not invented by the sages, they closely resemble the exegetical methods used by the Greek orators and the grammarians of the ancient world (see: Lieberman, Hellenism). The talmudic sages employed these principles in finding scriptural allusions to and support for their ideas and in holding the attention and interest of their audiences. To personify the relationship between God and the people of Israel, the talmudic sages like the interpreters of Homer, from Anaxagoras onward, and like Philo of Alexandria, used parables as allegories. The *aggadah* knows of no conflict between literal and figurative explanations. The verb "*pashat*" is used both in reference to the plain or literal meaning (*peshat*) and to interpretations which are obviously homiletic (*derash*). Only toward the end of the amoraic period does the rule appear: "A verse cannot depart from its plain meaning" (Shab. 63a; Yev. 11b; cf. Bacher, *Exegetische Terminologie der Juedischen Traditions literatur*, 2 (1905), 170–3; R. Loewe in: *Papers of the Institute of Jewish Studies, London* (1964), 140–85) and a distinction was thus established between the two. (See also *Midrash.)

The Structure and Style of the Discourse

The *derashot* or discourses of the *tannaim* and *amoraim* have rarely come down in their original form. Ideas that were once coherent are now separated and scattered. In the extant Talmuds they are fragmented, joined with other elements, and removed from their original order. To the words of the early expositors the remarks of the later sages on the same topic have been added. Most evidence on the arrangement of the addresses dates back to amoraic times. The Talmud states that R. Meir would devote one third of his discourse to *halakhah*, one third to *aggadah*, and the rest to parables (Sanh. 38b). Since the discourses were based primarily on the weekly Torah and *haftarah* readings, some preachers would link elements from both. Indeed, the linking together of verses from all three divisions of the Bible and the exposition of Torah verses through verses in the other books was an integral part of the discourse. The Midrash relates that "R. Eliezer and R. Joshua … sat and occupied themselves with Torah … and they linked (the correct reading is *horzin*) words of the Torah to the Prophets, and of the Prophets to the Hagiographa …" (TJ, Hag. 2:1, 77b; cf. Lev. R. 16:4).

A striking feature of most extant Midrashim is the proem or introduction (*petiḥah*). A verse from a remote source, usually the Hagiographa or the later Prophets, is adduced. This verse is then interpreted and eventually associated with the section to be expounded, at which point the preacher concludes by repeating the original verse. In some aggadic Midrashim, a series of proems (*petiḥot*) serve as introductions to the systematic exposition of an entire portion of the Torah. Although it seems that each *petiḥah* served as the introduction to a specific sermon, some were, very likely, complete sermons in themselves (Heinemann, in: *Fourth World Congress of Jewish Studies*, 1968). Vestiges of such sermons as delivered by the *tannaim* have been preserved. The *petiḥah*, though primarily an expository instrument, also served the purpose of emphasizing the unity of the Bible.

It was customary to conclude aggadic discourses with words of comfort. The sages took note that "all the prophets began with words of reproof and ended with words of comfort" (PdRK ed. Mandelbaum, 238). Sometimes the conclusion of the discourse flowed naturally from the content of the discourse; sometimes it was a deliberate addition. There are many stylistic resemblances between the *derashah* and the stoic and cynic diatribe, both being rich in dramatic description, anecdote, and antithesis. In these discourses, dialogues are created within the context of biblical events, e.g., "The Egyptians said, 'Let us flee from the face of Israel.' The wicked and foolish among them said: 'Shall we flee from before the afflicted and degraded people? Shall we flee from before Israel?' The wise among them replied: 'Let us indeed flee from the face of Israel'" (Mekh., Be-Shalaḥ, 8).

The aggadic expositors focused their attention upon topics of everyday life, not hesitating to color their remarks with popular maxims, some translated from Greek to Aramaic while others were retained in the original. Aggadic homilies, often faithful reflections of actual customs and institutions of the Roman Empire, are rich in analogy: "This may be compared to a king …" "To a prince …" and the like.

Two styles may be discerned in the *aggadah*, one simple and the other ornate. In the first, the folklore basis is clearly evident. There is no striving after refinement; no embellishment is added and the language itself is sharp, and even coarse. In the second, the refined and the pleasant, the arresting and the attractive, are consciously sought after. In most aggadic works both styles are indiscriminately represented. Points of contact between the *heikhalot* literature and rabbinic sources may occasionally be detected in the Talmuds and Midrashim (see: G. Scholem, *Jewish Gnosticism, Merkabah Mysticism and Talmudic Tradition* (1962), 23–27), as well as rudiments of poetry (Mirsky in: YMHSI, 7 (1958), 1–129). The tannaitic homilies may be seen as representing the first stirring of the **piyyut* style, the later *amoraim* refining and polishing until the *piyyut* form was finally assumed (see: Mirsky, *ibid.*, passim).

Historical Aggadah

This category consists of additions and supplements to the Bible narrative and ancient *aggadot* preserved among the people, some dating back to Bible times themselves. Incidents and deeds only hinted at in Scripture serve as the kernels of dramatic accounts. Minor biblical figures become leading heroes. Biblical heroes become prototypes, for instance Abraham is the archetype of all proselytizers, Esau the fashioner of violence and deceit. In aggadic history, the limitations of space and time are transcended and anachronisms abound. Shem and Eber, for example, founded academies (*battei midrash*) where Jacob studied Torah (Gen. R. 63:9). Biblical heroes and their deeds are freed from the restraining bonds of time, the aggadic authors striving to discover in them meaning for their own and for their subsequent generations. The verse: "The voice is the voice of Jacob but the hands are the hands of Esau" is seen as the contrast not only between Jacob and Esau but also between their descendants, Israel and Rome, for "the deeds of the fathers are a sign to the children." In the *aggadah* can be found side by side a tendency to clear national heroes of all guilt, to exalt and glorify the nation and its past, and harsh criticism of even the patriarchs and the prophets. What is more, these two attitudes do not necessarily represent opposing views of different sages, but may even appear in the dicta of the same rabbi. Yet there is no contradiction or lack of consistency. For when they spoke of the past, their eyes were fixed on the present. Just as they desired to comfort and encourage by their words of praise, so were their critical observations intended to reprove and chastise. Yet their attitude to the present did not always determine their outlook on the past (see: Urbach, in: *Molad* (1961), 368–74). Aggadic literature even preserved stories and legends which were "foreign growths in the vineyards of Israel." Some of these had traveled far before reaching the Jewish people; others were the creations of propagandizing sects and parties now extinct. Later generations, while still maintaining their fierce hatred of the sects, accepted vestiges of their doctrines without being aware of their origins. Parallels in the apocryphal literature, in Philo and Josephus, and in the early Church Fathers attest to the antiquity of *aggadot* of this type. In the course of time the historical *aggadah* was expanded. To the portrayal of the history of Israel in the distant past, was added a description of the sufferings and disasters and the gratifications and consolations of the present. Alongside the stories of Bible heroes, biographical details of the *tannaim* and *amoraim*, their deeds, virtues, conduct, and manners, were introduced. With the obvious pleasure taken by the aggadists in the actual telling of a story, it must not be forgotten that their principal motive was not to create works of art, but to aid man, to instruct him "to know how to fear God and walk in His ways."

Doctrines

Systematic philosophies or theological doctrines are not to be found in the *aggadah* (see: Kadushin, *The Rabbinic Mind*, 280–81). Nevertheless, numerous attempts are made to provide well considered, if fragmentary, answers to questions concerning God, His attributes, the secret of Divine Providence, His rule over man and creation, the nature of idolatry, the source, character, and purpose of human existence, the relationship of man to God and to the world, the problem of the righteous and the wicked, reward and punishment, the position of the Jews among the gentile nations, the mission of the Jews, the Messianic era, and the world-to-come. It is true that the esoteric doctrine of "what is above and below; what came before and will come afterward" only concerned the elect, who were bold enough to enter the world of mysticism and to occupy themselves with the "Creation" and "Chariot" chapters of the Bible (Gen. 1 and Ezek. 1), but many esoteric teachings became part and parcel of the *aggadah*. The older works of the *aggadah* are also the most ancient sources of Jewish mysticism (Urbach, in: *Studies in Mysticism and Religion Presented to G. Scholem* (1967), Heb. sect. 1–28).

On all other topics most of the *tannaim* and *amoraim* expressed their views freely. There is hardly a generation which did not submit contradictory solutions to the problems mentioned above. To mention a few examples: Bet Shammai and Bet Hillel differed on whether the heavens or the earth were created first. Four generations later, R. Simeon delivered his opinion: both were created simultaneously, like a pot and its lid (Gen. R. 1:15). The *amora*, Resh Lakish, differs and offers a compromise: "When they were created, He created heaven first and afterward the earth; when He stretched them forth, He stretched forth the earth first and afterward the heaven" (Hag. 12a).

Again, in respect to proselytes, the Talmud contrasts Shammai's impatience with them to the well known patience of Hillel (Shab. 31a). These opposing attitudes are ascribed to *amoraim* as well. R. Eleazar, in the third century, declared: "God dispersed the Jews among the nations only that proselytes should join them" (Pes. 87b). R. Ḥelbo, a generation later, made the biting remark: "Proselytes are as hard for Israel to endure as a scab (*sappaḥat*), as it is written (Isa. 14:1): 'And the stranger shall join himself with them, and they shall cleave (*nispaḥ*) to the house of Jacob'" (Yev. 47b).

The verse, "This book of the law shall not depart out of thy mouth all the days of thy life" (Josh. 1:8) was interpreted by R. Ishmael to mean "Make them follow the way of the world" i.e., engage in normal occupations. Simeon b. Yoḥai objected: "Is it possible that man should plow in the proper season, sow in the proper season, reap in the harvest season? What will happen to the Torah? But when Israel obeys the will of the All-Present, its chores are performed by others." On this, the *amora* Abbaye commented: "Many followed the advice of Ishmael and it worked well, of Simeon b. Yoḥai and failed." Abbaye's colleague, Rava, forbade the sages to gather at the academy during the harvest seasons (Ber. 35b).

R. Eliezer and R. Joshua disagreed as to whether the redemption of Israel is conditional upon its repentance, the controversy reappearing in a different version several generations later, between Rav and Samuel. "Rav said: 'All predestined dates have passed. Everything now depends on repentance and good deeds.' Samuel said: 'It is sufficient for the mourner to keep his period of mourning'" (i.e., they will be redeemed even without repentance; Sanh. 97b). Special emphasis was given to those *derashot* dealing with the Messiah, the world to come, resurrection, the redemption of Israel and of the world. Here too, controversies abound, some sages adopting the apocalyptic trend and others a more realistic approach. All, however, share a common conviction – the eventual triumph of the Jewish people over all their sufferings, and the ultimate victory of Judaism over all the world's evils and abominations. All that has been said in this regard revolves around two poles: the nation and its land, on the one hand, and the universal, the perfection of the world on the other. It would be surprising if aggadic literature, which grew over a period of over 1,000 years in lands of different religions and cultures, did not bear the imprint of time and place. Foreign languages (Greek in Ereẓ Israel, Persian in Babylonia) enriched the Hebrew and Aramaic vocabularies; elements of Platonic, Stoic, and Pythagorean philosophies, and concepts which had gained currency in the prevalent Hellenistic culture infiltrated into the *aggadah*. Political and religious events also influenced trends of beliefs and doctrines in certain areas of the *aggadah*. On certain issues of religious thought, there were many-sided polemics which persisted for many generations. The later sages revived the discussions of the problems from the changed perspective of their own times (Urbach, in: *Y. Kaufmann Jubilee Volume* (1960), Heb. sect., 122–48) with even greater vigor and boldness. The editors of the *aggadah* collected the various views pro and con, and left them side by side, since in their opinion all were "the words of the living God." The ethical doctrines in the *aggadah*, the teaching and preaching of virtuous conduct to the public, clearly reflect not only the views and opinions of the sages who strove for human betterment, but also the political, social, and cultural environment of the generations to whom they addressed themselves. They brought all classes, without prejudice, under critical review. Even the sages themselves were not spared. The spiritual trends and the various sects, whether they remained within the Jewish fold or abandoned it, left their impress on the *aggadah*. Stories, interpretations of verses, and many dicta are eminently polemics against Sadducean, Gnostic, Christian, and especially Judeo-Christian sects. The aggadic sages rebut the charges of emperors, various heretics, and even philosophers against the Torah – and then go over to the attack.

Whatever the Jewish people, including its sages, scribes, teachers, and preachers, thought or felt during a period of more than 1,000 years is reflected in the *aggadah*. Later generations found in this great treasury the expression of their own deepest feelings. On the one hand they derived support and proofs for their views and concepts, and on the other, they were able, when necessary, to declare that the aggadic view contrary to their own was not binding, or that it constituted a foreign addition. The attitudes of scholars and rabbis toward the *aggadah* – its literary or free interpretation, its evaluation as binding doctrine or as imaginative, literary creation – differed widely at various periods in history. Even after the *aggadah* had ceased to grow and other modes of creative expression had replaced it (i.e., *piyyut*, philosophy, Kabbalah), it remained a perennial source of inspiration and insight.

The Aggadists

Although most of the masters of the *aggadah* excelled in *halakhah* as well, there were sages, *tannaim*, and *amoraim*, who specialized in *aggadah*. Although it was said of Akiva that he "composed halakhic and aggadic interpretations" (TJ, Shek. 5:1, 48c), the Talmud ascribes to one of his contemporaries, Eleazar b. Azariah, a negative evaluation of his expertise in *aggadah*: "Akiva, what have you to do with the *aggadah*? Cease your talk, and turn to the laws of *Nega'im* and *Oholot*" (Hag. 14a). R. Tarfon is reported to have said of R. Ishmael: "He is a great scholar and expert in homiletic exposition" (MK 28b). R. Johanan stated in the name of R. Eleazar b. R. Simeon, "Wherever you find the words of R. Eleazar b. R. Yose the Galilean, shape your ear like a funnel" (Hul. 89a). Among the Palestinian *amoraim* were many masters of the *aggadah*; R. Jonathan, R. Samuel b. Naḥman, R. Isaac Nappaḥa, R. Levi, R. Abba b. Kahana, R. Berechiah, and R. Tanḥuma are especially famous as aggadists. Some of them apparently, are referred to by the collective name, *rabbanan de-aggadeta* ("the rabbis of the *aggadah*," TJ, Ma'as. 1:2, 48d; TJ, Yev. 4:2, 5c). They were not immune to criticism, however. It is told of R. Ze'ira that he used to rebuke the aggadic expositors, calling them "magician scribes" and characterizing their interpretations as turning over and over and conveying nothing (TJ, Ma'as. 3:9, 51a). R. Johanan's thrust, "There is a tradition transmitted by my fathers not to teach *aggadah* to a Babylonian or a southerner since they are uncouth and not learned in Torah" (TJ, Pes. 5:3, 32a; Pes. 62b), is no more than a rejoinder to remarks such as those expressed by R. Ze'ira.

[*Encyclopaedia Hebraica*]

Women in Aggadah

The many aggadic images of females and the feminine offer a complex, nuanced portrait of women. Through midrashic expansions of biblical narratives and rounding out of biblical characters, biblical women are given a voice, albeit a voice filtered through the minds of men. In *aggadah*, one hears Sarah protesting her imprisonment in the house of Pharaoh (Gen. Rab. 41:2), Leah praying that her last child will be a daughter (b. Ber. 60a), and Rachel describing how she assisted her father in his deception of Jacob in order to protect her sister from embarrassment (Lam. Rab. Proem 24). Biblical women, like their male counterparts, are constructed in *aggadah* as paradigms and models for all Jews; thus Tamar's willingness to be burnt unless Judah identified his seal, staff and cord serves to teach that "it is better that a person throw himself into a fiery furnace than shame his fellow in public" (b. Ber. 43b). The range of *aggadah* illustrates that there is no monolithic rabbinic view of women; classical *aggadah* includes both accolades and sharp critiques. While the women of the generation of the Exodus are praised for their faith and devotion (*Midrash Tanhuma* Pinhas 7), Eve is blamed for "corrupting Adam" and "extinguishing his soul" (Gen. Rab. 17:8). Just as there are *aggadot* that praise the good qualities of the matriarchs, so too there are *aggadot* that highlight their shortcomings. In many *aggadot* that describe some aspect of the relationship between God and the people Israel, Israel is portrayed in the feminine. When God is compared in parables to a "flesh and blood king," Israel may be portrayed as the king's consort or his daughter. These parables are used to describe the divine-human relationship as one marked by love, anger, betrayal and reunion. The use of the feminine to symbolize Israel is inconsistent; parables are equally likely to characterize Israel as God's son. It would be incorrect to read the emotional turmoil of the king-parables as an indication of rabbinic dislike of women or as a critique on family life among the ancient rabbis. Instead, these *aggadot* demonstrate the rabbis' willingness to identify, as part of collective Israel, with the feminine. Scholars who have attempted to compare or contrast attitudes toward women in *halakhah* and *aggadah* have drawn no clear-cut conclusions. At times, aggadic traditions attempt to explain or justify women's legal status and obligations. Some discussions of the three commandments especially associated with women (separation of dough, separation during menstruation, and lighting the Sabbath lights) describe these responsibilities as punishment or atonement for the shortcomings of Eve (Gen. Rab. 17:8). In other cases, *aggadah* may serve to soften or critique a law that touches on the lives of women, as in the case of divorce (Gittin 35a).

[Dvora E. Weisberg (2nd ed.)]

WOMEN'S OTHERNESS. Although aggadic views about women vary, they are generally based on the conviction of women's essential alterity from men. "Women are a separate people" (Shabbat 62a) asserts the predominant supposition that the physical characteristics, innate capacities, and social functions of females are inherently dissimilar and generally less valued than those of males. Niddah 31b points out that males are welcomed at birth because of their physical potential for generativity and because they enter the covenant through circumcision. Females, on the other hand, are not a cause for celebration; they are empty wombs requiring male insemination, their birth delays their parents' resumption of sexual relations by an additional week, and their menstruation requires them to be separated from their husbands for almost half of each month. Woman's otherness is said to originate in the secondary nature of her creation. The final segment of Niddah 31b suggests that the preferred position for sexual intercourse is that in which the man, on top, looks towards his origins in the earth (i.e., to the cosmic substance from which God created him) while the woman, facing upward, looks toward the man from whose body she was created. The assumption that the initial human creation was a solitary male from whose body a woman was subsequently built is the view that most commonly appears in the rabbinic *aggadah* (e.g., Ketubbot 8a; Gen. Rab. 18:2). Several extended aggadic narratives catalog and justify a series of female disabilities as consequences of the lesser nature of female creation and the first woman's subsequent deleterious moral choices (Gen. Rab. 17:8; ARN B 9; Eruvin 100b). Aggadic passages reflect anxiety regarding women's sexual unreliability; unaccompanied women in the public sphere are suspect and may be divorced (Ketubbot 7:6; Gittin 90b); women gathering in groups are connected with witchcraft (Pesaḥim 8:7; Avot 2:7; Pesaḥim 110a, 111a). Having to wear a veil outside of the domestic sphere (Sotah 3:8) is seen as a female burden connected with guilt and shame (Gen. Rab. 17:8; Eruvin 100b); ARN B 9 comments: "In the same way Eve disgraced herself and caused her daughters to cover their heads." A woman who remains veiled even within the home is truly pious and will be rewarded (Yoma 47a). Foreign women, like Hagar (Gen. 16–21) and Cozbi (Num. 25), are usually understood to exemplify unrestrained sexuality and ill will towards Israel and are represented with particular hostility in aggadic sources (*Gen. Rab.* 53:13–14; Me'ilah 17b; b. Sanhedrin 82a; Num. Rab. 21:3). Rahab, the noble harlot of Joshua 2 and 5:25, and Ruth, the Moabite ancestress of King David, are among the few women from outside the Israelite community who are praised, essentially because each is understood to have joined herself to the community of Israel through faith and marriage (Zevahim 116a–b; Megillah 14b; Sifre Num. 78; Ruth Rab. 2:1).

[Judith R. Baskin (2nd ed.)]

The Aggadah in Modern Scholarship

Leopold *Zunz's classic work, *Die Gottesdienstlichen Vortraege der Juden* (1832), marks the beginning of modern research in the field of *aggadah*. Ever since then, scholars, prominent among them Nachman *Krochmal, S. *Rapoport, S. *Buber, A.H. *Weiss, A. *Epstein M. *Friedmann, J. *Theodor, W. *Bacher, H. *Albeck, and I. *Heinemann, have concentrated on three tasks: (1) to publish critical and corrected editions and also such material as was still in manuscript, (2) to compile the aggadic treasury in some systematic form; and (3) to examine the contents, ideas, and methods of the midrashim and thus to determine the dates of the various works. An especially significant and original contribution was made by Bacher, who gathered and arranged in chronological order, the aggadic material of all the *tannaim* and *amoraim*, thus making the aggadic creation of each sage accessible, and enabling us to assess his particular approach and "world of ideas." Bacher's works: *Die Agadah der Tannaiten* (1878) and *Die Agadah der Palaestinensischen Amoraeer* (1892–99) were published in German and translated into Hebrew. Louis *Ginzberg, in his *Legends of the Jews* (1909–38), arranged the *aggadot* around a chronology of biblical personalities and events. His collection is extraordinarily rich and broad in scope, and his notes and explanations are a gold mine of information on the history of the *aggadah*, especially in its relation to the Apocrypha and Patristic Literature. The *Sefer ha-Aggadah* of *Bialik and *Rawnitzki is a popular work which has achieved a very wide circulation. It includes most of the important branches of the *aggadah*, (in Hebrew translation, where the sources are in Aramaic). The first section is arranged in chronological order, the second, according to topics. The compilers found it necessary to graft versions to one another, and also to omit material offensive to the modern reader. A subject index is appended to the work. First published in 1910, the *Sefer ha-Aggadah* has gone through eighteen impressions, including an enlarged edition published in 1936.

[*Encyclopaedia Hebraica*]

Later Studies

Since the 1970s, when literary theory emerged as a burgeoning field of interest, intersecting with other areas of inquiry, studies in *aggadah* have been marked by an increasing awareness of its literary features. Scholars, primarily in North America, but also in Israel, have come to pay less attention to the historical veracity of aggadic texts, and to focus their attention more on the "literariness" of classical rabbinic texts. Underlying this new trend in the study of *aggadah* is the notion that rabbinic stories not only reflect beliefs, values, and customs, but also possess the earmarks of literature and should thus be examined in light literary motifs, themes, and structure. Many contemporary scholars are thus no longer interested, for example, in how a story about a certain rabbi may be utilized in constructing his historical biography. Instead, rabbinic narratives are analyzed in terms of their literary quality. At the same time, however, they are regarded as artifacts that function as conveyors and mediators of rabbinic culture. The historical import of narratives is therefore undiminished to the extent that they yield insight into the milieu of those who recorded, transmitted and lived by them.

The following is a précis of some of the many works that have affected contemporary studies of *aggadah*.

Neusner's *The Development of a Legend* has proven to be a turning point in the field of rabbinics. Here he methodically demonstrates how stories depicting the life of Rabbi Johanan Ben Zakkai evolved into what is considered the "normative tradition," and how they tell us more about those who produced the narratives or deemed them authoritative than about the actual personage. Rather than viewing the corpus of rabbinic literature as monolithic, Neusner's source and form-critical analyses highlighted the importance of the diachronic, as well as structural aspects of rabbinic texts. More fundamentally, his work called attention to the need to explore basic assumptions about the nature of rabbinic literature. Neusner's underlying assumptions, shared by his compatriots in biblical studies – Hebrew Scriptures and New Testament – provided the basis for much future study in rabbinics.

Advancements in literary studies and theory attracted such scholars as Boyarin and Stern, whose work exemplify the interdisciplinary approach to *aggadah* and Midrash that broadly speaking characterizes the general trend in North American research into rabbinics today. Boyarin's *Intertextuality and the Reading of Midrash*, dealing primarily and explicitly with Midrash through a postmodern critical lens, is a significant contribution to the field of academic rabbinic research. Here Boyarin discusses rabbinic interpretation as discourse that is historically and ideologically situated. Through a study of the *Mekhilta* and its use of quotations, he illustrates how rabbinic interpretation is both the continuation and disruption of tradition. Although the work does not deal with *aggadah* per se, it provides a methodological framework for analyzing rabbinic narratives, and as such it has been regarded by many scholars as groundbreaking. Stern's *Parables in Midrash* is an in-depth analysis of the function of the *mashal* (parable) in rabbinic literature that explores its compositional and exegetical techniques, its rhetoric and role in midrashic discourse. Stern draws the conclusion that parables about kings constitute the preeminent form of narrative in rabbinic texts. Although he emphasizes the *mashal*, Stern also examines other literary forms such as the *petiḥta* (the proem of the homiletic Midrash), and the *ma'aseh* (reportage). Stern's later work, *Midrash and Theory*, investigates rabbinic texts theoretically and deals squarely with the impact of literary criticism on rabbinic exegesis. Kugel's *In Potiphar's House* examines a series of stories that elaborate on the Joseph narrative in Genesis. Here he traces the development of *aggadah vis-a-vis* traditions found in sources as diverse as early Christian writing, *piyyut*, and the Qur'an, in light of the manner by which exegetical motifs are created and evolve. In addition to examining the historical development of rabbinic narratives, in the final chapter of his book, "Nine Theses," he reflects on several aspects of Midrash and *aggadah*, and formulates general conclusions about the workings of early biblical exegesis. Kugel's *The Bible as it Was*, an expansive collection of biblical interpretation, also contributes significantly to the study of rabbinic narratives in so far as it offers erudite commentary on the ancient interpretive traditions, and elucidates how they in turn gave rise to crucial transformations in the meaning of a biblical story.

Talmudic scholars, such as Kalmin and Rubenstein, have focused on the study of *aggadah* in the Talmud. In *The Sage in Jewish Society of Late Antiquity*, Kalmin compares stories produced more or less at the same time but in different locations. By doing so, he demonstrates how the differences between Babylonian and Palestinian rabbinic social structures help explain distinctions between depictions of biblical heroes in aggadic texts. In the same vein of attempting to read narratives for their cultural significance, in *Talmudic Stories: Narrative Art, Composition and Culture*, Rubenstein closely examines six talmudic stories with an eye toward both literary aspects and cultural contexts.

Israeli scholarship has also contributed to the study of *aggadah* from a literary and interdisciplinary perspective. First and foremost, the comprehensive works of Isaac Heinemann (*Darkhei Ha-Aggadah*) and Jonah Fraenkel (*Darkhei Ha-Aggadah ve-Ha-Midrash* and *Midrash ve-Aggadah*) have shaped the ways in which generations of Israeli scholars and students have approached and understood the aggadic literature (see below). Dov Noy, whose folkloristic approach in general, and his listing of rabbinic folkloric motifs, *Motif Index of Talmudic-Midrashic Literature*, in particular, signaled a serious shift in the study of *aggadah*. These scholars in turn paved the way for a new generation of scholars whose are deeply engaged in aggadic studies. Noteworthy Israeli contributors to literary analysis of *aggadah* include Ofra Meir, who examines the relationship between rabbinic biblical exegesis and narrative from a literary perspective, Avigdor Shinan, who engages the nexus between *aggadah* and *targum*, Galit Hasan-Rokem, who approaches the study of rabbinic folktales from a cultural poetics perspective, and Joshua Levinson, who examines rabbinic narrative expansion and reformulation of biblical stories in the light of contemporary critical literary theory.

[Carol Bakhos (2nd ed.)]

The tendency toward interdisciplinary methodology and theoretical generalization described above has for the past two decades been accompanied by a parallel and probably related tendency toward the erosion of accepted and authoritative cultural canons in both literary and religious studies. While primarily characteristic of North American scholarship, these trends have also had their followers in Israel (see above). Nevertheless, it would be fair to say that in many Israeli circles the classical literature of the *aggadah* has largely retained its canonical status as well as much of its cultural and (for some) its religious authority. As a result, the fundamental assumption underlying much study and research into the aggadic literature in Israel (and similar Hebrew language research outside of Israel) is that the study of aggadic texts in their original languages (Hebrew and Aramaic) and the detailed explication of the form and content of these texts are fully justified for their own sake, and are of interest to a wide audience of professional and non-professional students. This assumption has shaped much of the direction and focus of recent Israeli studies of the *aggadah*.

By the early 1970s Israeli scholarship had already produced a number of seminal works in the field of *aggadah*. First of all, Zunz's *Gottesdienstlichen Vortraege* had been translated into Hebrew, and richly annotated and updated by Hanoch Albeck (1946) thus placing a fairly comprehensive, reliable and accessible introduction to aggadic literature in the hand of every student. Second, Isaac Heineman published in 1950 (second edition 1954) his revolutionary typology of the rabbinic *aggadah*, *Darkhei ha-Aggadah*, which provided a detailed description of the methods of rabbinic aggadic under two general headings: "creative historiography" and "creative philology". The significance of this work lay in focusing the reader's attention for the first time on the ways in which the rabbis actually interpreted biblical texts and narratives, thus largely replacing the age-old polemical and apologetic discussions of how the rabbis "should have" interpreted the scripture. Thirdly, Ephraim Urbach published in 1969 his monumental work, *Ḥazal* (translated: *The Sages: Their Concepts and Beliefs*, 1987), which restated the entire theological, ethical, and eschatological content of the world of the *aggadah* in a modern format easily accessible to student and scholar alike. By 1970 the student of *aggadah* also possessed, in addition to the classic critical edition of *Genesis Rabbah*, begun by Theodor and finished by Albeck, critical editions of Levitcus Rabbah (M. Margulies) and *Pesikta de-Rav Kahana* (B. Mandelbaum), comprising, together with *aggadah* in the Talmudim, the basic corpus of the classical amoraic aggadic literature. Viewing aggadic literature as an integral part of talmudic rabbinic literature as a whole, the work of J.N. Epstein, H. Albeck, and S. Lieberman was seen to have laid firm foundations for the historical and philological analysis of the textual traditions in which the literature of the *aggadah* was preserved.

Without a doubt, the most important Israeli figure in the study of *aggadah* for most of the last three decades has been Jonah Fraenkel. One cannot overestimate the profound and pervasive impact of Fraenkel's work, both as a scholar and as a teacher. His influence is in some ways even stronger today, despite the fact that many of his former students have moved in new and different directions. This is due to the publication of his two comprehensive and synthetic works, *Darkhei ha-Aggadah ve-ha-Midrash* (1996) and *Midrash ve-Aggadah* (1996), which have appealed to a wide audience, and are not limited to a small circle of professional scholars. Similarly the recent publication of *Sippur ha-Aggadah – Aḥdut shel Tokhen ve-Ẓurah* (2001) has made many of his classic studies, along with a number of new articles, easily accessible to the general public. Aside from popularizing the fruits of modern research into the *aggadah*, Fraenkel's own contribution lies in two areas. First of all, building upon the work of Isaac Heinemann, Fraenkel further developed and elaborated the typology of the *aggadah* viewed from the perspective of the isolated act of rabbinic scriptural interpretation. More importantly, however, Fraenkel described and analyzed the macro-forms in which these interpretations are imbedded: the expanded biblical narrative, narratives relating to the talmudic sages themselves, the parable, the aggadic *memra* (amoraic statement), etc. Moreover, he shows the articulation and explication of these forms, understood in the light of modern literary theory, to be essential to the appreciation of the ideational content of the *aggadah* itself, thus continuing the work of his teacher, Ephraim Urbach. In one respect, however, Fraenkel made a clear break with Urbach's methodolology, a point which he has repeatedly emphasized. Urbach tended to compare and contrast parallel versions of a given tradition, and after philological and higher-critical analysis to posit a reconstructed original, which he then used as the basis for his analysis. Fraenkel's insistence on the unity of form and content in each and every version of a tradition led him to reject Urbach's approach and to refrain from conflating – and even from comparing – alternative versions of a tradition, basing his exposition on a detailed and exhaustive analysis of data present in a given talmudic text.

At the same time the scholarly tradition of Epstein, Albeck, and Lieberman has not been ignored. Scholars such as Jacob Elbaum, Menahem Kister, Chaim Milikowsky, Avigdor Shinan, Menachem Hirshman, Joseph Tabory, Paul Mandel, Menachem Kahana, M.B. Lerner, and Hananel Mack have written hundreds of studies both analyzing particular passages and addressing broader critical and methodological issues. Most of these scholars are also deeply involved in long term projects of preparing the next generation of critical editions and commentaries on the classical and post classical aggadic works. Shamma Friedman's work on the historical *aggadah* of the Bablylonian Talmud is noteworthy, because, on the one hand, it provides a radical alternative to one of Fraenkel's most fundamental notions, and, on the other hand, it may also be seen as complementary to Fraenkel's approach as a whole.

Friedman has produced a series of studies concerning a wide range of topics within the field of talmudic research, treating both *halakhah* and *aggadah*, and frequently of the reciprocal relation between them. One theme runs through all these studies: the notion of "development" or "evolution" – that later talmudic scholars often self-consciously reinterpreted and reformulated earlier versions of a given tradition. Applying the results of these studies to the historical *aggadot* of the Babylonian Talmud, Friedman has shown that the elaborate and colorful descriptions of events in the lives of both the *tannaim* and the more significant *amoraim* do not reflect ancient and independent traditions, but rather are the product of a synthetic literary process of deliberate and considered editorial revision. While Jacob Neusner deserves credit as a pioneer in this field of research, Friedman's exacting philological and higher-critical studies allow one to go beyond the largely negative conclusions of Neusner and his school, and to proceed to the positive task of reconstructing the substantial and formal considerations which went into this elaborate process of editorial revision. Stories originally told of one sage are transferred to another. Several independent and fragmentary traditions are combined into an extended and integrated whole, whose narrative and ideational aims far transcend the relatively limited scope of the original sources.

On the one hand Friedman's method contrasts with Fraenkel's emphasis on viewing each text as an integral whole – and studying it in isolation from other parallel versions of the tradition. On the other hand Friedman's comparative and developmental analysis of parallel traditions also represents an equally explicit rejection of conflating parallel texts, in that it demands a rigorous distinction and demarking of the boundaries between parallel traditions, in order to determine the causal and interpretive links which hold between them.

[Stephen G. Wald (2nd ed.)]

In Islam

Aggadic Bible tales and views were disseminated in pre-Islamic *Arabia by Jews. A. *Geiger first showed in his pioneering treatise *Was hat Mohammed aus dem Judenthume aufgenommen?* (1833) that the *aggadah* had an important bearing on the shaping of ideas about Allah and the history of mankind held by *Muhammad and the hanifs, his monotheistic-minded contemporaries (cf. e.g., Koran 22, 32; 30, 79; 98, 4). In the *Koran Muhammad preferred to use vague expressions, often avoiding the mention of names of biblical personalities or even changing them. The earliest commentators endeavored to explain such passages and tales, which they did with the help of the *aggadah*. Muslim authors prepared special books called *Qiṣaṣ Al-Anbiya* ("Legends of the Prophets"), something similar to later *Midrashim, in which aggadic tales from the Bible – which also for the Muslim includes the New Testament – have been gathered. (For further information see: *Bible (in Islam); *Koran; and sections on biblical personalities (such as Abraham) in Islam.)

[Haïm Z'ew Hirschberg]

Aggadah in Illuminated Manuscripts

Recent investigations have revealed that many aggadic motifs appear in the illuminations of Christian Old Testaments, such as the sixth-century *Vienna Genesis*, the seventh-century *Ashburnham Pentateuch*, and the 11th/12th-century Byzantine *Octateuchs*. These manuscripts are all assumed to be based on lost earlier models. The appearance of these aggadic motifs has led some scholars to put forward the theory that an ancient illustrated Jewish manuscript tradition served as inspirations for the Christian manuscripts. This theory is not conclusive, as no illustrated Jewish manuscripts are known before the ninth century. In addition, knowledge of early Christian biblical illuminations is very limited, since the earliest preserved Christian Old Testament manuscripts date from the sixth century. Furthermore, the writings of the Church Fathers incorporated many aggadic motifs which may have inspired the Christian aggadic illustrations.

Aggadic motifs in the *Vienna Genesis* include the accounts of how Joseph encounters the angel Gabriel on his way to find his brethren, Potiphar's wife visits Joseph in prison; and Asenath, Joseph's wife, is present at Jacob's blessing.

In the *Ashburnham Pentateuch* Adam and Eve build a hut after their expulsion; the giants drown during the flood; Rebekah inquires at the academy of Shem and Eber; Joseph and his brothers dine together at the same table in Egypt; and The Angel of Death slays the Egyptian firstborn. In the Octateuchs, the serpent walks upright in the Garden of Eden; Lamech kills Cain and Tubal-Cain; the raven sent out by Noah feeds on human carcass: and God, Himself, intervenes in the sacrifice of Isaac. Some other legends appearing in manuscripts are: Nimrod casting Abraham into the fiery furnace; Pharaoh's daughter, bathing in the nude, finds Moses; the test of Moses, Moses' imprisonment, and his wedding to Zipporah; Pharaoh bathing in the blood of Jewish children; Mount Sinai hovering over the children of Israel; the legendary throne of Solomon; and Mordecai stepping on Haman's back and Haman's daughter emptying a chamberpot on her father. C.O. Nordström has pointed out many Jewish legends in Byzantine, Spanish, and French art, mainly in the life of Moses, and his miracles. In his book on the Alba Bible he refers to many aggadic motifs in this very important manuscript. For a critical analysis of this book, see *The Art Bulletin*, 51 (1969), 91–96.

[Joseph Gutmann]

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AGGADAT BERESHIT (Heb. אַגָּדַת בְּרֵאשִׁית), an *aggadic* Midrash to the Book of Genesis. In the Oxford manuscript (see below) the book is called *Seder Eliyahu Rabbah*, while in the Middle Ages it was cited under the names *Tanna devei Eliyahu* and *Ḥuppat Eliyahu*; the name *Aggadat Bereshit* first appearing in the first printed edition. *Aggadat Bereshit* is a homiletical Midrash constructed in a unique manner. It consists of 83 (or 84) sections in cycles of three, the first interpreting a verse from Genesis, the second a verse from the Prophets, and the third a verse from Psalms. The verse from Genesis is in general the beginning of the weekly scriptural reading according to the triennial cycle which was in vogue in Ereẓ Israel in early times. The verse from the Prophets is usually from the *haftarah* and that from Psalms also has a relevance to the portion of the Law and the *haftarah* (some scholars think it was taken from a chapter of Psalms read on that particular Sabbath). Both the beginning of the Midrash (which in its present state starts in Gen. 6:5) and its end (the last section of the Psalms) are missing. Each section has a proem of the classical type which begins: "This is what Scripture tells us," i.e., opening with a verse not of the portion expounded and finally connected with the verse at the beginning of the portion expounded. However, the introduction, like the Midrash proper, shows signs of relatively late composition. The sections on the Pentateuch are longer than those on the Prophets, and the sections on Psalms the shortest of all, consisting, in general, only of the introduction. The language of the Midrash is late mishnaic Hebrew; there are some Greek words. *Aggadat Bereshit* is a collection of homilies from different sources. The editor made use of early Midrashim of the *amoraim* and also of many Midrashim of the **Tanhuma-Yelammedenu* type. This factor – together with its Aramaic-free Hebrew, pseudographic sayings, signs of late style and terminology, and an explicit polemic against Christianity (27 and 31) – would appear to place its date of editing at about the tenth century. *Aggadat Bereshit* was first published at the end of the *Shetei Yadot* (Venice, 1618) of Menahem di *Lonzano. After this it was republished in Vilna, 1802, by *Abraham b. Elijah of Vilna, and frequently thereafter. In 1903 S. Buber collated the first printed edition with an Oxford manuscript and published a critical edition with introduction and notes.

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[Moshe David Herr]

AGHLABIDS (known as **Banū al-Aghlab**), Arab Muslim dynasty that ruled Ifriqiyya (modern-day *Tunisia and eastern *Algeria) from 800 to 909. Its rulers were princes commonly referred to as *amīrs*. It was subject to the *Abbasid caliphs of Baghdad but was in fact independent. The capital city was *Kairouan (al-Qayrawān) in Tunisia. During the ninth century Kairouan civilization flourished, its capital becoming one of the largest Maghrebi commercial centers. The *amīrs* invested funds in public works to conserve and distribute water, contributing to the prosperity of their country. Their fleet was supreme in parts of the Mediterranean and their corsairs captured ships at sea. Captured persons and property were subsequently redeemed for profit. The Aghlabids also gained temporary control over Sicily, Malta, and Corsica.

The data on the Jews of this principality are scant. It is known, however, that the Jews of Kairouan began to expand and prosper under the Aghlabid *amīrs*. They fostered and preserved intimate and strong bonds with the Babylonian *geonim* and the Jewish communities of Palestine and Egypt. A medical school existed in Kairouan. One of its noted teachers was Isaac *Israeli, the physician to the last Aghlabid *amīr* Ziyādat Allah III.

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[Michael M. Laskier (2nd ed.)]

AGHMATI, ZECHARIAH BEN JUDAH (late 12th and early 13th centuries), North African talmudist. He apparently came from Agmat in southern Morocco. His name has only recently become known, and there are hardly any data on his life and work. Aghmati wrote a comprehensive work, *Sefer ha-Ner,* on the *halakhot* of *Alfasi. He uses geonic material extensively and quotes statements of *Baruch b. Samuel of Aleppo, *Hananel, Isaac *Ibn Ghayyat and Joseph *Ibn Migash, for which *Sefer ha-Ner* is sometimes the sole source. The book also quotes from other early scholars, among them Ashkenazi luminaries, such as Rashi and *Gershom b. Judah. The variant versions of the Talmud quoted by Aghmati are of great importance. The author himself seldom introduces his own opinion. His commentaries on the tractates *Berakhot* (Jerusalem, 1958), *Bava Kamma, Bava Meẓia*, and *Bava Batra* (London, 1961, facsimile edition) have been published, while those on *Shabbat* and *Eruvin* are still in manuscript. His book was probably completed between 1188 and 1190.

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[Israel Moses Ta-Shma]

AGMON (Bistritski), NATHAN (1896–1980), Israeli dramatist and publicist. He began his literary career while still in Russia, publishing articles of literary criticism in Hebrew journals. In 1920 he arrived in Palestine, and from 1922 until his retirement in 1952 worked in the central office of the Jewish National Fund in Jerusalem, directing its Youth and Information Departments. His early writings in Palestine described life in collective agricultural settlements. Among the first original Hebrew dramatists to be presented on the Palestinian stage, his first play *Yehudah Ish-Keriyyot* ("Judas Iscariot") was published in 1930. In 1931 he wrote *Shabbetai Ẓevi*, which was produced by the Ohel Theater in 1936. Messianism, which he considers a symbol of humanity's struggle to achieve a just society, is the central motif in his dramas, especially the two above-mentioned plays. He also published articles and books on South American Jewry and on Zionism. His collected plays appeared in 1960 in three volumes. In 1964 Agmon published a philosophical work, *Ḥazon Adam* ("Human Vision"); his autobiography, *Be-Sod ha-Mitos* ("Knowing the Secret of the Myth"), appeared in 1980.

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[Getzel Kressel]

AGMON, SHMUEL (1922–), Israeli mathematician. Born in Tel Aviv, Agmon is the son of writer Nathan *Agmon (Bistritski). He received his doctorate from the University of Paris in 1949. His work focused on the theory of partial differential equations of elliptic type and on spectral and scattering theory of Schrodinger operations. He was a member of the Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities from 1964 and received the Rothschild Prize in mathematics in 1959 and the Israel Prize in exact sciences in 1991.

AGNON, SHMUEL YOSEF (Czaczkes, Samuel Josef; 1888–1970), Hebrew writer; Nobel Laureate in literature. One of the central figures in modern Hebrew fiction, his works deal with major contemporary spiritual concerns: the disintegration of traditional ways of life, the loss of faith, and the subsequent loss of identity. His many tales about pious Jews are an artistic attempt to recapture a waning tradition. He was born in Buczacz, Galicia, where his father, an erudite follower of the Ḥasidic *rebbe* of Chortkov, was a fur merchant. Rabbinic and Ḥasidic traditions as well as general European culture influenced the home. Agnon's education was mainly private and irregular. He studied the Talmud and the works of Maimonides with his father; read much of the literature of the Galician *maskilim;* and studied Ḥasidic literature in the synagogue of the Chortkov Ḥasidim. He learned German from Mendelssohn's translation of the Pentateuch (the *Biur*) as well as from a tutor and read books from his mother's small German library, where he also found German translations of Scandinavian writers. He began writing at the age of eight in Hebrew and in Yiddish. In 1903 he published his first work, a Yiddish poem on Joseph Della Reina and a rhymed "*haskamah*" (preface) in Hebrew to Ẓevi Judah Gelbard's *Minḥat Yehudah.* In 1904 he began to publish regularly, first poetry and then prose, in *Ha-Miẓpeh*, edited in Cracow by S.M. Laser, who continually encouraged him. In 1906 and 1907, he also contributed several poems and stories in Yiddish, primarily to *Der Juedische Wecker,* which appeared in his own town. Up to his departure from Buczacz he published some 70 pieces in both languages – poems, stories, essays, addresses, etc., that were occasionally signed Czaczkes but more often appeared under a pseudonym. His most comprehensive Yiddish work of that period, *Toytn-Tants* (1911), attests to the development of his literary talent and to a definite affinity with German neo-romanticism. But once he left Buczacz, he no longer wrote in Yiddish.

When Agnon left for Ereẓ Israel, in 1908, he was already a well-known young author. His emigration removed him from *shtetl* life, which no longer answered his spiritual needs and placed him in the midst of a new and evolving creative Hebrew literary center. However, he was atypical of the pioneers of the Second Aliyah; those who espoused the "conquest of labor" considered him bourgeois, while the Russian Jews scorned him as a Galician. He supported himself by tutoring and occasional literary efforts. He also worked intermittently in a number of clerical positions and resided in both Jaffa and in Jerusalem. While he abandoned his religious practices during these years, he was not completely identified with the modernism of the new settlers. On the contrary, he was charmed by the old *yishuv* and was drawn more and more to Jerusalem, where the Jewish historical milieu nurtured his creative imagination. In "*Agunot*" ("Forsaken Wives"), his first story published in Palestine during the Jaffa period (*Ha-Omer,* Fall 1908), he first used the pseudonym "Agnon"; and in 1924 it became his official family name. Many other stories followed (appearing mostly in *Ha-Poel ha-Ẓa'ir*). Although most of his works from this period are unknown, those few that were later republished, such as "*Agunot*," were radically reedited by Agnon. One of his stories, "*Ve-Hayah he-Akov le-Mishor,*" was republished separately by J.H. Brenner (1912) and became his first book. Like many of his youthful contemporaries, Agnon was drawn to Germany. Arriving in midsummer of 1912, he remained there until the fall of 1924. His presence in Germany during those years was a major influence on Zionist youth, who found in him a change from the accepted circle of Hebrew writers in Germany, who were contemptuous of Agnon and his style. During his first years in Germany he supported himself by tutoring and by editing for the *Juedischer Verlag* with Aaron Eliasberg. Finally he met the wealthy businessman S. *Schocken who became his admirer, supporter, and publisher. In Berlin and Leipzig he associated with Jewish scholars and Zionist officials. He read widely in German and French (in German translation) literature and expanded his knowledge of Judaica. He also began to acquire and collect valuable and rare Hebrew books. Some of his stories, in the German translation of M. Strauss, appeared in Martin Buber's journal, *Der Jude*, and spread his fame among German Jews. The most productive of Agnon's creative years in Germany were spent in Wiesbaden and Bad Homburg near Frankfurt. He was unburdened by the quest for livelihood: during the inflationary years he lived quite comfortably, as did other Hebrew writers of that day, due to the support of A. Stybel. In Homburg he was a member of a circle of Hebrew writers. He also began to prepare with M. Buber a collection of Ḥasidic stories and lore. However, this radiant period ended in 1924, when fire swept his home and destroyed most of his books and manuscripts, including *Bi-Ẓeror ha-Ḥayyim* ("In the Bond of Life," whose imminent publication by Stybel had already been announced), a long novel depicting the flow of modern Jewish history against an autobiographical background. The destruction by fire of his writings makes it difficult to assess the scope of his creativity in this crucial period. However, a scrutiny of the other published works of that time and of some published subsequently reveals several basic facts: (1) Most of the stories are set in Poland in the world of pious Jews (new versions of stories of the Jaffa-Jerusalem period appear, as do other distinctive works such as "*Bi-Ne'areinu u-vi-Zekeneinu,*" *"Ovadyah Ba'al Mum,"* and "*Bi-Demi Yameha*"). (2) In most stories of this period Agnon's characteristic style approximates that of the world depicted: the Hebrew of the pietistic books of the last centuries whose linguistic structure is influenced by Yiddish. (3) Because of the suspension of many Hebrew publishing ventures in Europe during World War I, Agnon published no Hebrew stories during the early war years, although some appeared at that time in German translation. (4) He had already acquired a circle of readers who eagerly read three collections of his stories: *Sippurei Ma'asiyyot* (1921), *Be-Sod Yesharim* (1921), and *Al Kappot ha-Manul* (1922).

In 1924, Agnon returned to Palestine and settled in Jerusalem. In the riots of 1929, his home in the Talpiyyot suburb was plundered and many books and rare manuscripts dealing with the history of the Jewish settlement in Palestine were destroyed.

The first edition of Agnon's collected works in four volumes (1931) included selected stories published until mid-1929, as well as the second version of *Hakhnasat Kallah* (*The Bridal Canopy,* 1937), which had been lengthened to a novel. This folk-epic was recognized as one of the cornerstones of modern Hebrew literature, and the entire collection established Agnon as one of its central figures. The impression of Agnon as a pietistic writer was enhanced by the collection of stories *Be-Shuvah va-Naḥat* (1935) and strengthened by two non-fiction collections: *Yamim Noraim* (1938; *Days of Awe*, 1948), an anthology of High Holiday traditions; and *Sefer, Sofer ve-Sippur* (1938), about books and writers. Even the novel *Sippur Pashut* (1935; *A Simple Story*, 1985), which is set at the close of the previous century and depicts the clash between the older and younger generations, did not openly convey to the readers the profound tension which underlies Agnon's "serenity." A cycle of five stories called *Sefer ha-Ma'asim* was published in 1932, followed a year later by *Pat Shelemah* (*A Whole Loaf*, 1956). Readers were astounded by the nightmarish environment of these short works of fiction which artistically articulated the confusion of the author standing on the threshold between the new world and the old. The eradication of boundaries between fantasy and reality, the inner monologue, and the perplexing environment exist also in "*Panim Aḥerot*" (1933), "*Afar Ereẓ Yisrael,*" and "*Ba-Ya'ar u-va-Ir.*" These stories were collected only in 1941 in *Ellu ve-Ellu.* In addition, in the 1930s three narratives appeared which subsequently became the nucleus of *Temol Shilshom* ("*Rabbi Geronim Yekum Purkan*" in 1931; "*Tehillato shel Yiẓḥak*" in 1934; "*Balak*" in 1935). In spite of this evidence of the darker side of Agnon, the critics and readers were not attuned to this new mode until the early 1940s. Agnon rose to a new level of artistic creativity in his book *Ore'aḥ Natah Lalun*, which was originally published in serial form in *Haaretz* (Oct. 18, 1938, to April 7, 1939) and then appeared in his collected works (1939; *A Guest for the Night*, 1968). In this novel an anonymous narrator visits his town in Galicia after an absence of many years and witnesses its desolation. Although the factual core of the story was Agnon's short visit to Buczacz in 1930, the novel mirrors the hopelessness and spiritual desolation of the Jewish world in that decade in Europe and in Palestine. A grotesquely nightmarish scene of the city is presented: its synagogues are empty; its people are shattered; and its society, generally, is moribund. Although Agnon was directly motivated to write this novel by the events of the 1930s, it is noteworthy that even in his youthful writings he envisioned his town as a "city of the dead." At times the narrative technique of *Ore'aḥ Natah Lalun* is similar to that of *Sefer ha-Ma'asim* where the despair is often recorded by shocking portrayals. Thus, at the onset of the 1940s, the readers learned to react not only to Agnon's story of the lives of the pious but also to a wide variety of subjects and narrative techniques. Critics such as G. Krojanker, B. *Kurzweil, and Dov *Sadan began to give Agnon the interpretation he merited. They demonstrated that, however indirectly, his works were concerned with the deep psychological and philosophical problems of the generation. His greatest novel, *Temol Shilshom*, made its appearance in 1945 (*Only Yesterday*, 2000). The setting and time of this work are in Palestine in the days of the Second Aliyah, but its spirit parallels the period in which it was written, the years of the Holocaust. The novel focuses upon an unsophisticated pioneer, who returns to the ways of his forebears, but after being bitten by a mad dog, dies a meaningless death. The complex situations and interlocking motifs of his novel, as well as its moral concern, marked a new peak in Hebrew fiction.

Agnon collected some of his stories in two volumes, *Samukh ve-Nireh* (1951) and *Ad Hennah* (1952); re-edited *Hakhnasat Kallah, Ore'aḥ Natah Lalun*, and *Temol Shilshom*; and, in 1953, published the second edition of his collected works in seven volumes (an eighth volume, *Ha-Esh ve-ha-Eẓim,* was published in 1962). However many stories were omitted, including *Shirah*, a novel set in the academic community in Jerusalem (see below). With the publication of this last edition, the scope of his writings could be evaluated for the first time: novels, folktales, and "existentialist" stories. Following the appearance of the 1953 edition, Agnon published about half a dozen new short works every year, mainly in the Israeli newspaper *Haaretz*, the majority of them dealing with Buczacz. As separate books he published *Attem Re'item*, a collection of rabbinic commentaries related to the revelation at Sinai (1959), and *Sifreihem shel Ẓaddikim*, tales of the Ba'al Shem Tov and his disciples (1961). The modern nightmarish theme is evidenced during these years, by the stories "*Ad Olam*" (1954; "Forevermore," 1961), "*Hadom ve-Kisse*" (1958), "*Ha-Neshikah ha-Rishonah*" (1963), and "*Le-Aḥar ha-Se'udah*" (1963). Agnon received many awards including the Israel Prize (in 1954 and 1958). The crowning honor was the Nobel Prize for literature (1966), the first granted to a Hebrew writer.

[Arnold J. Band]

Posthumous Publications and Works on Agnon

Since Agnon's death many volumes of his literary remains, prepared for publication by his daughter, Emunah Yaron, have appeared. These volumes include stories which appeared during Agnon's lifetime, but which were not included in editions of his collected writings.

Shirah (1971; *Shira*, 1989) is a novel about Manfred Herbst, a lecturer in Byzantine history at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem. Approaching middle age, and the father of two grown daughters, Herbst is torn between his affection and loyalty to his devoted wife, who has just borne him a third daughter, and his passion for the nurse Shirah. The novel unfolds in Jerusalem of the 1930s and 1940s.

Ir u-Melo'ah ("The City and the Fullness Thereof," 1973) is a collection of tales about Buczacz, Agnon's native city. The stories cover 600 years of life in the city and are, in effect, the history of Poland and its Jews.

Ba-Ḥanuto shel Mar Lublin ("In Mr. Lublin's Shop," 1974) is an account of Agnon's years in Leipzig during World War I. A rich gallery of personalities from all strata of the population, both Jewish and German, passes before our eyes.

Lifnim min ha-Ḥomah ("Within the City's Wall," 1975) comprises four major stories. The first, the title story, demonstrates in poetic style Agnon's deep attachment to Jerusalem; the second, *Kisui ha-Dam* ("The Blood Screen"), is replete with incidents that occur within and beyond the land of Israel; the third, *Hadom ve-Kisse* ("The Footstool and the Chair"), is a mythological account of the author's birth and his previous life; the last story in the volume, *Le-Aḥar ha-Se'udah* ("After the Feast"), in which Agnon describes his own departure from the world, represents the apex of his writings.

Me-Aẓmi el Aẓmi ("By Myself for Myself," 1976) is a collection of Agnon's articles, speeches, and sundry other matters, while *Pitḥei Devarim* ("Opening Remarks," 1977) is a volume of stories, most of which were previously unpublished. *Sefer, Sofer, ve-Sippur* ("The Book, the Writer, the Tale," 1978) is an expanded version of the 1938 edition with new material.

In 1977 the Hebrew University issued a volume of stories and poems of juvenilia written by Agnon in Yiddish, entitled *Shmuel Yosef Agnon, Yiddish Work.* It consists of stories and poems that appeared in various periodicals from 1903 to 1912, i.e., from when he was 15 years old until he settled in Ereẓ Israel, and it contains an extensive introductory chapter in Yiddish by Dov Sadan.

Korot Bateinu ("History of Our Families," 1979) contains two stories, one about Jewish family life in Galicia and the other tracing the history of Agnon's own family beginning with the Middle Ages, interweaving imagination and historical truth. *Esterlein Yekirati* ("Estherle My Dear," 1983) contains the correspondence between Agnon and his wife, Esther, in the years 1924–1931. *Sefer ha-Otiyyot* (*Agnon's Alef Bet*, 1998) is an abecedary in verse written in 1919 at the behest of the Culture Committee of the Zionist Organization and for some reason never published. The manuscript was a late discovery.

Takhrikh shel Sippurim ("A Shroud of Stories," 1984) contains stories published in periodicals in Agnon's lifetime as well as some found among his literary remains, mostly about the life of the Jews in Poland and Ereẓ Israel. Another two, about the Jews of Germany, were added for the 1989 printing: "*Gabriella*" and "*Leregel Iskav*" ("For Business Reasons").

Sippurei ha-Besht ("Tales of the Ba'al Shem Tov," 1987) was part of the Codex Ḥasidicum planned by Agnon and Buber when Agnon was still in Germany. It was ready for press in 1924 but was destroyed in the fire in Agnon's Bad Homburg home. The present volume was put together by Emuna Yaron and her husband from material in the literary remains.

S.Y. Agnon – S.Z. Schocken, Ḥillufei Iggerot 1916–1959 (1991) is the correspondence between Agnon and his publisher. *Attem Re'item* (*Present at Sinai*, 1994) adds new material to the 1959 edition. *Mi-Sod Ḥakhamim* ("From the Circles of the Wise," 2002) contains the correspondence of Agnon with Brenner, Y. *Lachower, Sadan, and Berl Katznelson.

Also appearing were two volumes of *Kovetz Agnon*, edited by Reuven Mirkin, Dan Laor, Rafael Weiser, and Emuna Yaron and containing, among other writings, unpublished chapters of *Shirah,* a 1909 story called "*Be'erah shel Miriam o Keta'im mi-Ḥayyei Enosh*" ("Miriam's Well, or Chapters from Human Life"), and chapters from *Sefer Ma'asim* not included in the original edition. In addition, there are letters to Martin Buber from the years 1909–24 and correspondence between Agnon and Hanokh *Yalon as well as essays on Agnon.

Dramatizations of Agnon's work have proliferated. Habimah presented *Hakhnasat Kallah* (*The Bridal Canopy*); the Cameri Theater performed *Ve-Hayah he-Akov le-Mishor* ("And the Crooked Shall Be Made Straight"); and the Khan Theater of Jerusalem staged *Ha-Rofe u-Gerushato* ("The Doctor and His Divorcee"), *Panim Aḥerot* ("Metamorphosis"), and *Bi-Demi Yameha* ("In the Prime of Life").

In 1980 Habimah Theater produced *Sippur Pashut* and Orna Porat's Youth and Children's Theater adapted five of Agnon's stories for the stage. *Shirah* and *Esterlein Yekirati* have also been put on stage, a number of stories have been adapted for the screen ("*Farnheim*," "*Ma'aseh ha-Oz*," etc.), and two films have been made about Agnon's life.

After Agnon's death the author's family donated his private archives to the Hebrew University. They include manuscripts and drafts of most of his works, his published writings in all existing editions, and translations of his works into numerous languages. The archives also contain everything that has been written about Agnon: books, essays, and articles as well as letters written by and to Agnon, and a collection of photographs and photocopies. The material is kept up-to-date and an annual evening of study of Agnon's work has been held. It also issued a book: *Anthology of Shai Agnon, Research and Documents on His Work* edited by Gershon Shaked and Raphael Weiser (1978). In 1982, the Jerusalem Municipality opened Agnon's Talpiyyot home to the public. The library was catalogued and researchers can consult the books. Various activities focusing on Agnon and his work are held in the house for schoolchildren and adults.

A complete bibliography of Agnon's works was published by Yohanan Arnon in 1971 as well as a comprehensive bibliography of books and articles on his works by Dr. Yonah David (1972). After Agnon's death, critical studies of his work gained new momentum, taking a new turn. Arnold Band, in his book *Nostalgia and Nightmare*, opened new vistas in analyzing Agnon's work by examining his stories in their various versions, although Dov Sadan previously used this method of analysis on some of the stories. The bibliography at the end of Band's book contributed greatly to the study of Agnon in that it was the first comprehensive bibliography of Agnon's work from its early beginning up to 1967. Agnon has been translated into 34 languages, including Persian, Chinese, and Mongolian, and written about critically in dozens of books and well over a thousand articles and essays. In 1996, the Institute for the Translation of Hebrew Literature issued a bibliography of his work in translation, including selected publications about Agnon and his writing.

[Emuna Yaron (2nd ed.)]

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°**AGOBARD** (779–840), archbishop of Lyons from 814. Agobard, who was born in Spain, was canonized by the Catholic Church. His metropolitan province included some of the most important Jewish settlements in Western Europe. A prolific writer and active church leader, he sharply opposed the Jews, both in his deeds and in his writings, out of religious, political, and social motives. Six of Agobard's pamphlets are devoted to the Jewish question: (1) *Epistula de baptizandis Hebraeis* ("On the Baptism [of the children] of Jews"); (2) *De baptismo judaicorum mancipiorum* ("On the Baptism of Jewish-owned Slaves"); (3) *Contra praeceptum impium de baptismo judaicorum mancipiorum* ("Against an Impious Precept Concerning the Baptism of Jewish-owned Slaves"); (4) *De insolentia Judaeorum* ("On the Insolence of the Jews"); (5) *De judaicis superstitionibus* ("On the Superstitions of the Jews"); (6) De *eavendo convictu et societate judaica* ("On the Necessity of Avoiding Association with Jews"). His writings are of interest not only as the earliest outspoken anti-Jewish document of the Carolingian period, but even more because of the comprehensive nature of his attacks on the various aspects of Jewish life. In 820 Agobard attempted to convert by force Jewish children in Lyons as well as in Chalon, Macon, and Vienne. From his letter to Emperor Louis the Pious in justification of his efforts, it appears that the imperial authorities had previously protected Jews against this design. The problem of the religious adherence of pagan slaves owned by Jewish merchants was raised by Agobard. He complained that the way to the Christian faith was closed to them because, in contrast to the principles of canon law regarding Christian slaves, the church was not given jurisdiction over pagan slaves. His attempt to exert ecclesiastical influence in such cases, however, was frustrated by the intervention of the *missi dominici* (plenipotentiary emissaries of the emperor). Agobard also attempted to preach a trade boycott of staples of wine and meat brought to market by Jewish landowners. His writings contain information about the influence that Jewish preachers had over some Christians. To counterbalance intellectual sympathy with the religious activities of the synagogue, Agobard took up the theme of Jewish superstition as a topic of controversy. He maintained that the Jews were falsifying their own tradition by mythological interpretations of the Bible and urged the severance of existing social contacts between Christians and Jews. His pupil Amulo continued his anti-Jewish policy and propaganda.

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AGORANOMOS, inspector of market transactions in Greek cities. This office was imported into Ereẓ Israel during the Hellenistic period and existed during the whole Roman period. The *agoranomos* supervised the making of weights and measures, the quality of goods and the transactions between buyers and sellers. The sources give no indication as to whether he regulated matters between employee and employer, as was the case in Hellenistic cities. Several inscribed lead and stone weights (from Maresha, Scythopolis, Ashdod, Tiberias, Gaza, and Jerusalem), as well as a standard of measures for liquids (from Maresha), are the material evidence of the responsibility of this office in regard to weights and measures during the Hellenistic, Herodian, and Roman periods. In Jerusalem, the controversy between Onias, the high priest, and Simeon in regard to the office of the *agoranomia* was one of the causes of the civil war in the early 70s of the second century B.C.E. (II Macc. 3:4ff.). This episode may refer to the responsibility of the *agoranomos* levying the taxes of the Temple. The authority to appoint the *agoranomos* was apparently vested in the high priest, and later in the king: the known weights of the Herodian period are dated according to the regnal years of Herod the Great, Herod Antipas, Agrippas I, and Agrippas II. According to Josephus the tetrarch Herod Antipas appointed Agrippa I as *agoranomos* of Tiberias before he was appointed king by Caius Caligula in order to provide him with an income (Ant., 18:149). Josephus also refers to the *agora* in Jerusalem, where the *agoranomos* probably sat (Ant., 14:335; Wars, 1:251). There are several rabbinic sources that provide evidence about the office of the *agoranomos*. However, the word was variously altered: *agronimon*, *agardemis/agardemin*, *hagronimos*, *igranamin,* and so on. Interestingly, although the Old Testament refers to the obligation of using accurate weights and measures, nothing is known about how this law was enforced, or about the persons responsible for it, before the Hellenistic period. In Jerusalem, before 70 C.E., the holder of this office had authority only over measures, but in Babylon he could also fix the prices of commodities (Tosef., BM 6:14; BB 89a; TJ, *ibid.* 5:11). In Babylon the appointment of this official in the cities, where commerce was concentrated in Jewish hands, was a function of the exilarch. For some time Rav filled this role. The *agoranomos* had authority to inspect merchandise such as wine or bread in order to evaluate its quality. When the *agoranomos* appeared in the marketplace, merchants would sometimes hide and the shopkeepers would lock their doors for fear of punishment. The importance of the *agoranomos* is attested by a passage (Lev. R. 1:8) which notes that a king, on visiting a province, would first discuss matters with the *agoranomos*. The name of the office seems to have been translated from the third century C.E. on as *ba'al ha-shuk*, and also assimilated with the office of *logistes* (accountant), itself translated as *khashban*. Other offices related to the management of the supply on the market of Greek cities are evidenced in rabbinic sources: the *astynome*, a parallel to the *agoranome* (TJ, Ma'aser Sheni 5:2, *istononsin*), and the *sitones*, supplying the grain (*ibid.* 4:1, *khatonaya/sitonaya*).

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[Menahem Stern / Gérald Finkielsztejn (2nd ed.)]

AGRAMUNT, town in northeast Spain, belonging to the former county of Urgel. Jews living in Agramunt in the 13th century were liable to the same fiscal duties as the Christian townspeople but were also obliged to pay taxes to the count of Urgel and the king of Aragon. In 1272 Solomon b. Abraham *Adret was appointed arbitrator of a disagreement between the Agramunt and *Lérida communities. The infant Alfonso received permission to settle 40 Jewish families in Agramunt in 1316. Agramunt was a cultural center. Ezra b. Solomon b. Gatiño (see *Gatigno) completed his glosses on Abraham *Ibn Ezra's biblical commentary there in 1372. In the early 15th century Solomon *Bonafed corresponded with friends in Agramunt. Shealtiel Isaac Bonafos practiced as a physician there toward the end of the 1420s. A tombstone with a Hebrew inscription, probably of the 13th century, is preserved in Agramunt. In the 1980s one of the streets traditionally known as the medieval Jewish quarter was renamed carrer del Call.

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AGRANAT, SHIMON (1906–1992), third president of the Supreme Court of Israel. Agranat, who was born in Louisville, Kentucky, went to Palestine in 1930, and settled in Haifa, where he entered private law practice. He was appointed a magistrate in 1940 and president of the Haifa District Court in 1948. In 1950 Agranat was appointed justice of the Supreme Court, becoming its deputy president in 1960 and president in 1965, retiring from the position in 1976. From 1954 until 1960 he was visiting professor of criminal law at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem, and, from 1960 to 1966, president of the court of the World Zionist Organization. He wrote *Dinei Oneshin* ("Penal Law," 1960). Agranat was awarded the Israel Prize in 1968. In November 1973 he was appointed chairman of a commission (named the Agranat Commision) to investigate and report on the civil and military aspects of the *Yom Kippur War. Its findings led to the resignation of Chief of Staff David *Elazar, and though it exonerated government leaders for the country's lack of preparedness, Prime Minister Golda *Meir subsequently resigned as well.

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[Edwin Samuel, Second Viscount Samuel]

AGRARIAN LEAGUE (in German "**Bund der Landwirte**"), extreme conservative German organization for the defense of agrarian interests, formed in 1893. Its membership included most of the Protestant farmers and farm laborers in the period of the German *Kaiserreich*. Ideologically, the League constituted a bridge between the tenets of Christian German nationalism ("Das Christliche Deutschtum") and romantic and racialist tendencies. It was outspokenly antisemitic, although in a religious rather than a racialist sense. This did not prevent it from cooperating with the racialist antisemites of the Berlin Movement (Berliner Bewegung, see *Antisemitism). Non-Christians were explicitly excluded from the League by its program. The League waged a campaign against what it considered the three enemies of the "true Germany: the Liberals, the Social Democrats, and the Jews." In 1921, the Agrarian League was united with other agrarian associations in the Reichslandbund, which took part in the "national opposition" against the Weimar Republic. From 1931 on, the Reichslandbund supported Hitler's National Socialist Party.

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[Marcus Pyka (2nd ed.)]

AGRAT BAT MAHALATH, "Queen of the Demons" in talmudic legend. It was taught that "a person should not go out alone at night, on Wednesdays and Sabbaths, because Agrat bat Mahalath and 180,000 destroying angels go forth, and each has permission to wreak destruction independently." Ḥanina b. Dosa limited her power to these nights; Abbaye further reduced it (Pes. 112b). Another authority states that the following sentence, whispered repeatedly, is effective against witchcraft: "Agrat bat Mahalath came and caused the death, by arrows, of [two other female demons,] Asya and Belusia" (Pes. 111a; see *Ein Ya'akov* version). According to *Numbers Rabbah* 12:3: "Thou shalt not be afraid of the terror by night" (Ps. 91:5), refers to Agrat bat Mahalath and her chariot. Some scholars hold that Agrat bat Mahalath is identical with *Lilith. The view that the name "Agrat" is derived from the Persian "A(n)gra," meaning enemy or demon, and Mahalath from the root *mḥl* (מחל; "dance") meaning therefore "the dancing witch," has been shown to be without foundation. The kabbalists identify Mahalath with the daughter of Ishmael (Gen. 28:9), who gave birth to demons and evil spirits. The midrashic source for this is now lost (cf. Maharsha Pes. 112b).

For recent views of the meaning of the name "Agrat," see Sokoloff (*Dictionary of Jewish Babylonian Aramaic*), pp. 110a and 233b. The name also occurs in Jewish magic amulets; see Shaked and Naveh, pp. 78–81. For Agrat bat Mahalath in the Zohar, see Margaliot, p. 205.

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[Israel Moses Ta-Shma / Stephen Wald (2nd ed.)]

AGREST, DIANA (1945–), architect. Agrest was born in Buenos Aires and received her degree in architecture from the University of Buenos Aires in 1967. She studied in France with Roland Barthes, known for his work in semiotics. Agrest and Mario *Gandelsonas, her husband, together designed a trio of apartment houses in Buenos Aires (1977) that responded to modern tradition but also explored issues such as scale, typology, and material within the classical traditions and contemporary conditions within the city. Agrest came to New York in 1971, where she became a fellow of the Institute of Architecture and Urban Studies (1972–84). She taught at Cooper Union for the Advancement of Science and Architecture, New York, where she was an adjunct professor from 1976, and at Columbia University. She was a worldwide lecturer and also taught at Princeton and Yale universities. Her theoretical ideas are expressed in a wide variety of publications such as *Skyline* and *Oppositions*. Her books include: *Architecture from Without*, *Theoretical Framing for a Critical Practice* (1991), and *The Sex of Architecture* (1996). These volumes explore the symbolic performance of architecture in relation to the urban condition, the formal and ideological development of building types, the relationship between architecture and other visual discourses, including film, and, most uniquely, the position of gender and body in Western architecture. In 1980 she went into partnership with Mario Gandelsonas to form the firm A & G Development Consultants, Inc. The firm became a leader in a field which refines late modernism with semiotics and Freudian theories. A & G also designed office and apartment interiors, including furniture. A Park Avenue apartment interior (c. 1990) used materials such as pink marble, granite, and exotic woods combined in a geometric severe design. The firm built an unusual house, *Villa Amore*, in Sagaponack, Long Island, New York. It is made up of a cluster of buildings designed to reflect farmland that is fast becoming tracts for housing. The 8,000-sq. ft. home, completed in 1991, built partly on stilts, connects by walkways to other components. The master bath is a glass cylinder and there is a waterfall and a pool. In 2000, the firm completed the Melrose Community Center in a low-income neighborhood in the Bronx, New York. It was designed to accommodate the 3,000 youngsters who live in neighboring housing projects. The main low building is oval-shaped and the exterior is silver and red. These colors continue in the interior of the building. The 14,000-sq.ft. building took six years to complete and contains a full-size basketball court, a dark room, a restaurant-style kitchen, and a computer lab.

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[Betty R. Rubenstein (2nd ed.)]

AGRICULTURAL LAND-MANAGEMENT METHODS AND IMPLEMENTS IN ANCIENT EREẒ ISRAEL. Ereẓ Israel is a small country with a topographically fragmented territory, each geographical region having a distinctive character of its own. These regions include: the coastal plain, the lowlands, the hilly country, the inland valleys, the north-south rift valley, and the arid and desert areas. The whole of the country, excluding the desert regions, has an area of a little over 10,000 sq. miles (26,000 sq. km.) and it has been estimated that of this only 2,500 sq. miles (6,544 sq. km.) are capable of cultivation. The country's semi-tropical climate, with a hot and dry season (between April and October) and a cold season with an unpredictable rainfall (between November and March), its varying altitudes, terrain, and soils, all imposed limitations on the type of land management which could be undertaken in the different parts of the country. There were very few springs of water, so dry farming was practiced in most parts. Agriculture in semi-arid regions, for instance the Negev, depended entirely on run-off irrigation. As a result, certain regions were suited for the cultivation of grain crops, others for fruits and vegetables, and some for animal husbandry. The writer of Deuteronomy was under no illusion regarding the restricted agricultural potential of the land. Speaking to the People of Israel before the entrance to Canaan, Moses said: "For the land, whither thou goest in to possess it, is not as the Land of Egypt, from whence ye came out, where thou sowest thy seed, and wateredst it with thy foot, as a garden of herbs. But the land, whither ye go to possess it, is a land of hills and valleys, and drinketh of the rain of heaven" (Deut. 11:10–11).

While the geographical fragmentation of the country would seem to encourage political and cultural regionalism, the diversity of the economic pursuits within the country resulted inevitably in heightened commercial interaction between people from one part of the country and the other, rather than isolationism. During the Bronze and Iron ages, more than 50 percent of the population in Ereẓ Israel were agriculturalists living in the countryside. The rest lived in towns or small cities and dealt primarily with administrative and commercial and industrial activities. Almost all farmers lived in small villages or hamlets, since the isolated farmstead was not known until the eighth century B.C.E. In the vicinity of these settlements they established fields and grew their crops and orchards. Numerous agricultural land-management techniques and implements were used over the millennia. By the Byzantine period (sixth to seventh centuries C.E.) crop yields appear to have reached levels that have only been approached in modern times.

Topographical

In ancient times the rural countryside was divided into vineyards and olive groves, arable fields, orchard plantations, vegetable gardens, and areas of public land given over to pasture and industrial activities (e.g., lime and charcoal burning, and stone quarrying). Topographically, the vineyards and olive groves were more suited to sloping ground or to the highlands. Vines are unable to grow with ease above 2750 ft. (900 m.) above sea level. Olives are also said to be difficult to grow above 2450 ft. (800 m.) or below 1225 ft. (400 m.). However, olive presses have been found on Mount Hermon at sites with elevations up to 3,300 ft. (1000 m), as at Kafr Dura. Olive trees could even be grown in areas with an annual rainfall of only c. 200–300 mm., as in northern Africa. Grain was best adapted to the plains, the broad valleys, and some of the internal valleys. Vegetables and certain types of fruit trees were grown in areas with access to permanent sources of water, springs, wells, or cisterns.

The location of many fields reflect traditional answers to the problems of the natural environment. Hence, field boundary walls were established along the same lines as those built thousands of years earlier, simply because they were the most topographically convenient. North-facing slopes were particularly favored for the establishment of new fields and this is because they were less exposed to the sun and their soils were able to retain moisture for longer. The size and shape of fields was usually affected by the steepness of the ground, with smaller and narrower fields on extremely steep slopes. The appearance of the field could also be dictated by the rockiness of the terrain. In Samaria and in the Modi'in foothills, for example, vines and olive trees were cultivated in "boxlike" pockets of deep soil scattered in certain areas of rocky outcrops. Whether or not the field was used for arable purposes or for fruit trees would very much depend on the type of soil available, the rockiness of the ground, aspect, drainage, and so forth. The position of natural sources of water used for irrigation, whether a spring or well, would have an effect on the location, shape and function of nearby fields.

Land Management

Agricultural fields and their crops are mentioned in a number of ancient written sources, principally the Bible and the early Jewish writings from the Roman period. Information about fields may also be found in some of the Classical sources, but these are usually not directly relevant to Ereẓ Israel. A smaller amount of information may also be derived from ancient inscriptions and various other epigraphic materials.

The Bible contains a wealth of information about agricultural practices and the landscapes of the country during the Iron Age II period, although some of the passages may contain strands of information relating to earlier periods. Each town and village had its own surrounding territory of fields and common land. Most of the agricultural land was in private ownership and the family inheritance was referred to as the *naḥalah* or *aḥuzah*. Royal estates also existed and *oẓarot* ("storehouses") were built in the fields (I Chron. 27:25). Landmarks were set up between the various plots of land. The general term for cultivated land was *sadeh* (Lev. 27:16). The word was used to designate cultivated pieces of land next to the towns as well as open areas used for pasturage. The area of land which could be plowed with a pair or team of oxen during the course of a single day was referred to as the *ẓemed sadeh* (I Kings 19:19). A *ma'anah* was half of that area (I Sam. 14:4). The *kerem* referred to vineyards and olive groves (*kerem zayit*, Judg. 15:5). Mixed fruit trees were grown in the *gan* or *ginnah*, usually next to the houses (Song 5:1; 6:2; 14:12), or in the *pardes* (Song 14:13). Plantations of fruit trees (the *mattah*) were grown further afield and were sometimes irrigated (Ezek. 31:4).

Isaiah 5:1–8 has a description of terraced fields being prepared for a vineyard: the vegetation was uprooted (*'zq*), stones were cleared (*sql*) and then stone fences and an observation tower were built: "My well-beloved hath a vineyard in a very fruitful hill. And he fenced it, and gathered out the stones thereof, and planted it with the choicest vine, and built a tower in the midst of it, and also made a winepress therein: and he looked that it should bring forth grapes…" (Isa. 5:1–2). A subsequent verse (5:5) implies that the stone fence (*gader*) surrounding the terraced unit was surmounted by a thorny hedge. This was used to protect the grapes from animals and also from people walking along the *mishol ha-keramim*, the "path between the vineyards" (Num. 22:24). Some of the terraced slopes were not plowed but dug with hoes (Isa. 12:11). The heaps of stone visible in the terraced areas are referred to in Hosea 12:11 as the *gallim* ("heaps") "in the furrows of the fields" and in Micah 1:6 as the *ai* ("pile") in the field.

It has been suggested that one of the terms used in the Bible for terraces (especially for vineyards but also for orchards) is *sadmot* (II Kings 23:4; Jer. 31:40; Deut. 32:32; Isa. 16:8). Hence, Habakkuk 3:17 should perhaps now be read as follows: "The fig tree does not blossom/ There is no produce on the vines/ The yield of the olive fails/ The *shadmot* ("terraces") do not produce food." The *shdmt* are also mentioned in two Late Bronze Age Ugaritic texts. The first, CTA 23: 8–11, is rendered: "Let them fell him [the god Mot] on the terrace like a vine." The second, CTA 2.1.43, is a damaged text and the context is not as clear. Another suggestion that has been made is that *gbi* (Jer. 39:10; 52:16) was an alternative word for "terrace" and that *yogevim* referred to the workers/owners of irrigated terraces. This seems unlikely and the reference is probably to the vats of winepresses located in vineyards (cf. King 1993, 159). Additional references to terraces in the Bible include the *meromei sadeh* mentioned in the premonarchic Song of Deborah (Judg. 5:18) and the *sadeh teromot* in David's Elegy for Saul and Jonathan (II Sam. 1:21), both of which seem to refer to "built fields" on hillslopes. Terraces are more commonly referred to as *madregot*, and in Ezekiel 38:20 it is written: "…and the mountains shall be thrown down, and the *madregot* ('terraces') shall fall, and every wall shall fall to the ground." (cf. sing. *madregah* mentioned in Song of Songs 2:14).

The surfaces of fields were fertilized with manure, household rubbish, and ashes. Strict laws existed about fallowing land on the seventh year (Ex. 23:11). Roads are mentioned passing next to vineyards and fields of wheat (Deut. 19:14; Num. 22:30). Fields were sometimes expropriated and given by the ruler as presents to his supporters (I Sam. 8:14; 22:7). The process of buying a field was described in Jeremiah 32:44: "Men shall buy fields for money and subscribe evidences, and seal them, and take witnesses in the land of Benjamin, and in the places about Jerusalem…" Recent archaeological evidence indicates that during the Iron II period, specifically from the eighth century B.C.E., there was an unprecedented expansion of agricultural territory with extensive terracing in the highlands. Terracing later spread into the Negev and Judean Deserts. Similarly, various biblical passages indicate a hunger for land during the course of the Divided Monarchy with the break-up of family inheritances and the creation of large estates owned by rich landlords. These landlords were cursed in Isaiah 5:8, where it is said that "woe unto them that join house to house, that lay field (*sadeh*) to field, till there be no place (left)…." Micah 2:2 spoke out against those who "…covet fields, and take them by violence…."

Fields were frequently mentioned in early Jewish sources from the Roman period. Fields were of different sizes, from the small plot known as the *beit roba* (approximately 336 sq. ft. 32 sq. m.) to the *bet se'ah* which had an area of 940 sq. yds. (784 sq. m.). The agricultural holding, the *bet kor,* was about 23.5 dunam in size, but most peasants probably had holdings of a much greater size than this. Boundaries for fields were sometimes indicated by a road, a path, a *wadi* – bed, an expanse of water, or even a water channel (Pe'ah 2:1–3). Much information is provided in these sources about the surface treatment of fields (plowing, manuring, and fallowing) and their yields. The depth of plowing achieved during this period was mentioned in *Bava Kamma* (2:5) as 3 *tephaḥim* (about 11 in., or 27 cm.) which is far greater than the maximum depth of 8 in. (20 cm.) known from recent traditional farming. This indicates that either a heavier form of plow was used or that the line of the furrows was plowed twice over to achieve the required depth. An area plowed during one day with a yoke of animals was known as *bet hafarash*. Fields with different types of soils were known by different names, for example *sadeh madrin* and *sadeh kaskasin*. Fields were even established on the summit of hills where the soil was so thin that "the oxen cannot pass over with the plow" and they had to be cultivated with mattocks (Pe'ah 2:2). The yield of a field was frequently estimated while the crop was still standing. The land of an orchard could belong to one person and the trees to another (see Pe'ah 3:4), a practice which still existed at the beginning of the 20th century. A distinction was made between fields used for dry-farming (*bet ba'al*) and for irrigation (*bet selaḥin*).

There were two kinds of gardens in Ereẓ Israel during antiquity: the horticultural garden and the decorative garden. There is no evidence that a combination of the two ever existed. Vegetable gardens were usually located near a source of water, a spring or a cistern. Important archaeological evidence for irrigated garden plots has come to light during the investigation of Byzantine monasteries in the Judean Desert and elsewhere. Decorative gardens and groves of trees probably existed adjacent to temples and palaces from very early times, but direct archaeological evidence is still lacking. For the later periods, remains of decorative gardens have been discovered at the Herodian palace complex at Jericho. Plants and bushes were planted in ceramic pots with holes in their sides. Similar pots were found in the first-century gardens at Pompeii and in the second-century gardens at Hadrian's villa at Tivoli. Planting pots with holes in their sides are mentioned in Demai 5:10 and in connection with a vineyard in Kilayim 7:8. Cucumbers are said to have been grown in planting pots made of cattle-dung and unfired clay. The latter also had round holes in their sides, the size of which is debated in Ukẓin 2:9–10, "How great should be the hole?" the answer being, "such that a small root can come out."

Very few ancient epigraphic finds have been made concerning agricultural land management in Ereẓ Israel. Most of the inscriptions and documents which have been found deal with matters of economic administration and only very indirectly with work in agricultural fields. However, some evidence does exist and a number of examples will be given. The Gezer calendar is probably one of the earliest and most interesting of the documents preserved relating to agricultural activities. It lists information about the activities which needed to be undertaken at different points during the agricultural year. The text was clearly written by an inexperienced hand, perhaps by an apprentice scribe, and can be dated to the end of the 10th century B.C.E. Information on fields exist in a number of other Iron Age inscriptions. For example, the Tel Siran inscription from Jordan, dated to c. 600 B.C.E. which mentions a vineyard (*krm*) and gardens (*gnt*).

A larger amount of material exists for the Roman and Byzantine periods. Interesting information on agricultural plots in the lower Dead Sea region has emerged from the Babatha archive, deposited in c. 132 C.E. in a cave in the Judean Desert. The largest of the plots owned by Babatha measured 20 *bet seahs* or 12.5 dunam. One of the Greek papyri (BB 21) deals with the sale of a date crop and indicates the names of three orchards in the area of Maoza from which the dates came: the Pherora orchard, the Nikarkos orchard, and the Molkhaios orchard. Another document (BB 16) is the land registration for four other groves of palm trees owned by Babatha at Maoza. Two of them are described as extending down towards the Dead Sea. For each grove an identifying name was given, the size of the grove, the taxes paid on it and the names of lands or features abutting the groves.

An important batch of non-literary papyri dating from the sixth and seventh centuries C.E. came to light during the Colt expedition to Auja Hafir (Nessana) in the central Negev.

They include a vast amount of information on the agricultural lands belonging to the settlement, on sown land, vineyards, gardens, reservoirs, water channels, rights to water, and data on crops of wheat, barley, *aracus*, olives, and dates.

Terracing

Very little is known about the earliest forms of agricultural terracing in the highlands of Ereẓ Israel. It seems reasonable to assume that the technology of creating flat areas on hillsides by building walls and leveling fills was invented by various rural groups acting in cooperation at a local level, in different parts of the Levant and at different times. Hence, various centers of origin for terrace construction may have existed, with Ereẓ Israel being one of them. Incipient forms of terracing, such as soil held in place by logs of wood, by rows of wooden stakes, or piled rocks, would be very difficult to detect in the archaeological record. It was probably recognized early on that obstructions placed across a stream channel would eventually help towards stopping the movement of eroded soils and would induce a process of alluviation. Early slope terracing may have taken place initially in the lower parts of hills with newer terraces later being built further up the slopes. Another suggestion which has been made is that the natural steplike appearance of many of the slopes in the highlands, with thin layers of chalky marl interposed between limestone or dolomite strata, may have prompted man's first attempts at terracing. However, no evidence supports the assumption made by some investigators that the earliest terraces with stone walls must have been crudely executed, low in height, and built on relatively slight slopes. Indeed, the earliest terrace found at Sataf, which is of Early Bronze Age date (late fourth millennium B.C.E.), was relatively well constructed and was built on a very steep slope. It has also been suggested that the origins of terracing should be sought in the marginal semi-arid regions of the Near East. The suggestion is that the "channel-bottom, weir terrace" type was possibly the earliest form of terrace. However, terracing in the Negev and in the Judean Desert cannot be shown to be older than the Iron Age II (seventh century B.C.E.), even though flood farming itself existed in the Negev from as early as the Chalcolithic or Early Bronze Age. Studies of New World terracing have also shown that the earliest terraced sites must have been in the *less* arid areas first.

Another important point which needs to be taken into account is that the idea of creating leveled areas on hillslopes for agricultural purposes is not dissimilar from the basic technology of architectural terracing or slope stabilization. At settlement sites in Ereẓ Israel, architectural terracing can be traced back to as early as the Natufian period. A system of four architectural terraces supporting 13 hut dwellings, are known from the Natufian site of Nahal Oren. These terraces were 80 ft. (24 m.) in length and 6–17 ft. (2–5 m.) in breadth, and their retaining walls were built of field stones. At many Early Bronze Age sites, architectural terracing supported houses and other structures on the slopes of hills. Examples of EB architectural terracing are known from Tel Yarmut, Tell el-'Umeiri, and sites in the Wadi el-Hasa. Architectural terracing continued to be used throughout the rest of the Bronze Age. At Jerusalem, a remarkable series of architectural terraces were unearthed by Kenyon on the east slopes of the City of David, probably dating from the very beginning of the Iron Age. Since the technology of architectural terracing in Ereẓ Israel can be traced back to late prehistoric times, it is possible to assume that terracing for agricultural purposes likewise had a similar antiquity in the hilly areas of the country.

Archaeological evidence indicates that terracing was introduced into the highlands of Ereẓ Israel at the beginning of the Early Bronze Age. It is not surprising that the earliest known use of terracing in the highlands should coincide with the introduction of plow agriculture in that area. However, terracing was clearly only practiced on a limited scale during the Early Bronze Age and as late as the eighth century B.C.E. No evidence supports the theory that the early Israelites (or Proto-Israelites) were responsible for inventing or introducing terracing into the highlands during the early Iron Age. They simply made use of an existing technology without any special adaptations or innovations. This refutes the stand taken by some scholars who have suggested, without any supporting evidence, that terracing prior to the early Iron Age was "unsystematic." Archaeological work has shown that the major expansion of terracing in the highlands took place at a number of times over a period spanning some 1600 years, from the Iron Age II (eighth century B.C.E.) to the *Abbasid period, with cycles of contraction operating in the landscape at intervals of between 250 and 350 years. A decline in the use of the terraced areas appears to have set in around 750 C.E. and apart from some signs of renewed terracing activities during the *Mamluk and *Ottoman periods, especially in areas of irrigated terraces, this decline continued until the present century.

Demarcation of Agricultural Territory

The demarcation of agricultural territory was quite frequently referred to in biblical passages. The boundary, or territory, was referred to as *gevulah*. In Deuteronomy 19:14 the injunction is that "thou shalt not remove thy neighbour's *gevul* (landmark), which they of old time have set in thine inheritance…" (see also Prov. 22:28). The practice of tampering with landmarks, especially with those in the "fields of the fatherless" – abandoned fields – was apparently prevalent during the Iron Age, and if caught the perpetrator was cursed and punished (Deut. 27:17; Job 24:2; Prov. 23:10). The physical appearance of these "landmarks" is unknown but they were probably permanent and immovable. A boundary stone at the edge of a field of grain is depicted in a New Kingdom tomb painting from Egypt. These boundary markers were often swept away by the inundations of the Nile and had to be replaced by reference to documented cadastration. This problem did not exist in Ereẓ Israel, but markers could be moved during disputes between neighboring farmers. There is no evidence, however, to suggest that the exact locations of the markers were documented in any way. Josephus, writing in the late first century

C.E., warned: "Let it not be permitted to displace boundary marks, whether of your own land or of the land of others with whom you are at peace; beware of uprooting as it were a stone by God's decree laid firm before eternity." (Ant. IV, 8:18).

Very little archaeological evidence exists for the demarcation of territory in Ereẓ Israel during ancient times. Hence, there are difficulties in defining the extent of cultivation and pastureland belonging to a settlement at any given period. But some evidence does exist. The lands of *Gezer, for example, were marked out during the late second or early first century B.C.E. with inscribed boundary stones. Some of these markers also refer to the adjoining estates of Alkios, Alexa, and Archelaus. Boundary stones are known to have been set up to delimit taxable properties between cities, towns, and villages in the Roman provinces. Inscribed boundary stones delimiting agricultural territories, dating from the time of Diocletian (late third century), have been found in the Hauran, the western Golan, and in the Huleh Valley.

Less information exists on the use of stones or markers to demarcate the ownership over lands of a specific farm or individual plots of land. The more permanent type probably took the form of prominent natural rocks, ancient trees, large piles of stones, posts, fences, or walls (see Or. 16:5). Boundary markers in the form of monoliths were found along roads bordering areas of fields in Samaria and Modi'in and dated to the Hellenistic and Roman periods. In *Bava Batra* (4:8) it is stated that "if a man sold a field he has sold also the [boundary] stones that are necessary to it."

Temporary markers made of piles of stones were the easiest to create and they can be seen all over areas of ancient and traditional field systems. In the highlands near Jerusalem such landmarks were known in Arabic as *rassem* or *hejar et-tuhm*. The latter term was also used for the pile of stones located at both ends of a cultivation strip in the plains. One commentator of the 19th century noted that the lands of the Sharon were marked out with small lumps of stone. Mark Twain in his description of agriculture in the Lebanon (1869) wrote that he saw "rude piles of stones standing near the roadside at intervals, and recognized the custom of marking boundaries which obtained in Jacob's time. There were no walls, no fences, no hedges – nothing to secure a man's possessions but these random heaps of stones." Wilson in 1906 reports that to mark off two plots a double furrow was driven between them and piles of stones were set up at short intervals within the furrow. These piles were usually quite small.

Care has to be taken not to identify all stone piles seen in the fields as markers delimiting ownership. Many of the larger piles in the fields are clearance heaps of surplus stones (see Shev. 2:3; 4:1). Others covered the ruins of ancient structures and this was referred to in Oho. 15:7. The remains of numerous structures were found beneath piles of stones during archaeological surveys around Jerusalem. Some of these may have been memorial heaps, for example the large stone pile (*gal avanim*) mentioned as having been erected over the place where Achan was stoned and set on fire (Josh. 7:26). A group of large stone piles investigated in southwestern Jerusalem, dating from the Iron II, may have been memorials of this sort, or perhaps they were connected with harvest rites since agricultural installations, including a wine press, are known in their immediate vicinity. Many piles of stones on the top of hills were perhaps connected with peasant rituals, and Rabbi *Akiba (second century C.E.) warned that "wheresoever thou findest a high mountain or a lofty hill and a green tree, know that an idol is there!" (Av. Zar. 3:5). Aborted fetuses were sometimes buried within cairns (Oho. 16:12). At the beginning of this century, stone cairns (*rujm*) were being set up at sites where murders had taken place. A stone heap of this kind was known in Arabic as *meshad*, i.e., a "witness."

All individual fields were originally marked out in one way or another, even if only in a very rudimentary fashion. It was only then that the clearing and plowing of the land could begin. All agricultural work carried out with plows or with hoes produce scarps or banks of soil along the edges of the plots being prepared for cultivation. Loose stones from the surface of the field, which are a hindrance to plowing procedures, would have been thrown to the edges of the plots, thus creating boundary lines of low piled stones. In areas where there was very little competition for the land, this way of marking out the plot was clearly sufficient. Alternatively the plot of land could be marked out with a ditch (which had to be at least 3 ft. (0.93 m.) deep and about 1 ft. (0.37 m.) wide according to Kilayim 4:1). Ridged or dug-out boundaries of this sort may be detectable on the ground but field boundaries made out of perishable materials, such as piled logs of wood or reeds, will usually not be archaeologically evident.

In areas where there was pressure on the land or where there was a possibility of disputes between neighboring farmers, a proper system of field boundaries became necessary. Such fences tended to be built of stone where rocky outcrops were available to the farmer. In areas where stone was not freely available, especially in the plains and in the broad valleys, the field boundary was probably defined by a furrow in the ground, a wooden fence, a row of fruit trees (see Or. 1:1), or a thorny hedge. Archaeological evidence for such boundaries is rarely found. Stone fences, however, survive quite well and traces can still be seen in many parts of the country, as well as in the arid areas of the Negev and Judean Deserts.

Thorny hedges are referred to in various biblical passages. In the Parable of Jotham there is mention of plots of fruit trees edged by the *atad* bush which, if unattended, would easily grow wild (Judg. 9:15). It has been suggested that this was the thorny bush (*Lycium europaeum*) which still grows in the Kisuphim area where it originally was used during the Byzantine period as a hedge around fields. The *mesukat hedek* (identified as *Solanum incanum L.*) is another type of thorny hedge, sometimes mentioned in association with stone walls (Isa. 5:5; Prov. 15:19; Hos. 2:6). Hedges surrounding fields were also mentioned in the Mishnah (BK 3:2). The hedge was referred to as the *hasav* in TB, BB 55a. The thorny bush *Sarcopeteria spinosum* is presently used by traditional farmers as a hedge around cultivated fields. The practice of surrounding fields with cactus bushes (Arabic *sabreh*) dates back only to the Ottoman period when the cactus was first introduced into Ereẓ Israel. In the 19th century, rectangular fields were cleared within the woodland of northern Golan, leaving rows of oak trees standing as boundaries between the various plots.

Stone fences were usually built to a height of about 3 ft. (1 m. and with an average width of over 2 ft. (0.75 m.). This wall (known in Arabic as *jedar*) was built without the use of mortar. It has been estimated that a modern builder could construct a dry-stone wall around 15 ft. (4.5 to 5 m.) in length, 1.5 ft. (0.50 m.) thick and 4 ft. (1.4 m.) high (using 115 cu. ft. – 3.3 cu. m.) of stone) in the space of one working day. Principally the walls served to keep animals (dogs, foxes, and jackals) away from the crops. Frequently the tops of such walls were reinforced with a thorny bush (*netsh* in Arabic; usually this was the *Poterium spinosum* in the central highlands). The bush would project a few inches beyond the upper edge of the wall and was kept in place with the weight of a few stones. Repairs to these walls were always made in time for the period leading up to the vintage. In the Bible, the stone fence around a vineyard is referred to as the *gader avanim* (Prov. 24: 31; cf. Isa. 5:5; Ps. 62:4). Special builders known as *goderim* were employed for the task of building stone fences (cf. Ezek. 22:30).

The stone fence was also known as a *gader* among Jewish farmers in the Roman and Byzantine periods (Matt. 21:33; Pe'ah 2:3; Oho. 17:3). The *hayis* apparently referred to the secondary partition wall in the field systems and the *gader* to the main enclosure wall. The boundary path between two plots of land was referred to as the *mesar* (TJ, Kid. 1:5). It was apparently not customary to build stone fences in the flat lands of wide valleys (BB 1:2). The minimum measurements that this fence had to have according to the Mishnah, was a height of 3 ft. (0.93 m.) and a width of 1 ft. (0.37 m.) (Kil. 2:8). If it was less than this height then it could be regarded as a "quarry" and its stones dismantled and taken away. However, its foundations (to a height of about 4 in. (10 cm.) always had to be left intact (see Shev. 3:6). The boundary markers were set up outside the line of the fence so that if the wall collapsed the farmer still could claim ownership over the place and the fallen stones. However, in the case of two separately owned plots of land, the boundary stones were set up on either side and if the wall collapsed then the stones belonged to both of the farmers (BB 1:2). Ditches were sometimes dug along the foot of the fences (BB 7:4) and in a vineyard a border 7.35 ft. (2.24 m.) wide was left uncultivated between the fence and the vines (Kil. 6:1).

The use of stone fences around fields has been found dating back to the period of the Iron Age II. The fact that they have not yet been found does not mean, however, that stone fences were not built during earlier periods as well. Iron Age stone fences have been documented at sites in the Judean Hills, but fewer in Samaria. A possibility to consider is that stone fences around fields may originally have been derived from the type of stone walls used to surround animal pens, for example those from the Iron Age I which are known from Mount Ebal and Giloh.

Roads can be most useful in outlining the borders of agricultural lands or in separating one group of fields from another, particularly in defining the extent of fields which were not in any other way demarcated with stone fences. Three types of roads are known from the rural countryside of Ereẓ Israel: highways, regional roads, and local rural roads. A border of about 25 ft. (8 m.) was left uncultivated on either side of the highway, which was of no prescribed width (BK 6:4). The local roads were the access routes which linked the farms and villages with their fields and areas of pasture. They also gave farmers access to the regional roads leading to the market settlements. Produce would have been conveyed to market using beasts of burden. Wheeled transport was rarely used as roads were too narrow and stony. Most local roads extended between sites with prominent water sources (such as springs) and served as "corridors" between blocks of fields. Cisterns and wells are frequently found alongside both types of roads. High walls built of stone were erected on either side of roads, to separate the public space from the agricultural land. They prevented animals from entering unattended fields and damaging crops, especially the flocks of sheep and goats which were shepherded along these roads from the animal pens next to the settlement to the area given over to pasture which was usually located some distance away. The walls also served to discourage passing travelers from entering the fields and picking fruit during the harvest seasons.

Natural "gates," or private roads, led from the local roads into the field systems. Local roads were either for public use or were under private ownership and a clear distinction was made between the two during Roman times (see Pe'ah 2:1 and Kil. 4:7). A private road (*derekh ha-yaḥid*) was prescribed as having a width of about 6.5 ft. (2 m.) and a public road (*derekh ha-rabbim*) a width of about 25 ft (8 m.) (BB 6:7). A road ending at a cistern, lime kiln, cave, or wine press was usually a private road (Toh. 6:6). In some cases blocks of fields may be observed laid out within a pre-existing network of local roads. When such roads can be dated, they can then provide a *terminus ante quem* date for the field systems. Datable roads when encroached on by field systems will provide a *terminus post quem* date. Bowen (1961) wrote that the "integration of fields with any trackway leading into a settlement seems the best assurance of contemporary relationship, or at least in some phase, though the individual fields might of course have suffered considerable subsequent alteration and not necessary be characteristic of the period of the settlement."

Shape and Size of Fields

Agricultural fields in Ereẓ Israel were usually very small and approximately rectangular. There were, of course, exceptions to the rule as well as regional and local variations. The fields in the flat areas of the plains and broad valleys were on the whole proportionally larger and more rectangular than the fields located on sloping ground. Fields in extremely rocky terrain were even smaller in size. The shape of an individual field on sloping ground was quite often determined by topographical and lithological factors. The edges of the fields were either defined by natural features (such as a *wadi*, a gully, rocky outcrops, etc.) or by man-made boundaries (such as stone markers, stone fences, or terrace walls). The size of the fields also depended on the type of farming technology available to the farmer. Plowed land was always larger than land cultivated only with hoes. This was also true of the digging and clearing equipment which were essential in the highlands for clearing stones, breaking up the ground, and flattening the field surfaces. Different sized fields are to be found in the areas around the villages. Some of this may be the result of the fragmentation of land owing to the division of property at different times. The fields associated with farms, however, appear to have been much more uniform in size and were sometimes part of integral systems that were quite well defined. Compared to the fields used for dry farming, irrigated plots of land tended to be smaller and extremely regulated, with flatter surfaces and well-defined boundaries.

Fields also tended to be of rectangular shape because they were easier to measure for the purpose of estimating surface area or the quantity of crops grown in them. Measuring lines (*kavei ha-middah*) or cords (*ḥevelim*) are mentioned in a number of biblical passages referring to the measuring of lands and fields for the purpose of division (II Sam. 8:2; Isa. 34:17; Jer. 31:39; Micah 2:4–5; Amos 7:17; Ezek. 47:3; Ps. 16:6). The "line" or "cord" had knots at specified intervals along its length. The measurement of the distance between the knots of the biblical cord is unknown. Perhaps it was the length of the *kaneh* ("measuring reed") mentioned in Ezekiel 40, which was used for measuring small areas and expanses. A tax assessor who is seen measuring standing crops with a knotted cord to determine the yield was skillfully depicted in a painting on the wall of a New Kingdom tomb in Egypt. The knotted cord is shown extended horizontally across the top of the crops and held between the assessor and his assistant. A roll of additional cord is shown slung across the assessor's left shoulder.

In Roman Ereẓ Israel, land which was to be sold had first to be "measured by the line" (BB 7:2–3; see also the methods of measuring differently shaped fields as explained by Columella V, 1,13–2, 10). It is reported that the farmers of Beth Namer "used to reap their crops by measuring-line and leave *pe'ah* (gleanings) from every furrow" (Pe'ah 4:5). The division of agricultural land by surveying is mentioned in one of the Nessana papyri (*P. Ness.* 58) dating from the late seventh century. Measuring cords are also mentioned in a passage from *Pirkei de-Rabbi Eliezer,* dated to between the eighth and early ninth century, which deals with the Muslim conquest of Ereẓ Israel in the seventh century C.E. It says that the conquerors will "measure the land with ropes, and make the cemetery into a dunghill where the flock rests, and they will measure them and from them unto the tops of the mountains …." The knotted cord during the Roman and Byzantine periods was probably marked out with a measuring rod of a standard size used in Ereẓ Israel (cf. Kel. 7:6), perhaps identical to the *orgua* or *kalamos* measures. An iron measuring rod, five cubits in length and dating to the seventh century, has been discovered during excavations at an ecclesiastical farm at Shelomi in Western Galilee. This rod may have been a *kalamos* measure of 11 *spithamai*, 8.5 ft. (257.4 cm.) Long cords for the purpose of measuring village lands for taxation purposes were still used by the Ottomans in the 19th century. In Southern Ereẓ Israel, lands were divided up with a measuring line (*ḥavaleh*) before plowing. This line was made of goat's hair and was a little more than one centimeter thick.

The earliest archaeological evidence for the general appearance of the layout of field systems in Ereẓ Israel dates from the Iron Age II. This may have been the period during which widespread field systems were first laid out as blocks of rectangular-shaped plots on high ground and along the valleys. In some areas, it would appear that these blocks of fields developed piecemeal, but in the highlands and in the semi-arid regions a number of these systems appear to have been planned in advance. However, it is only during the Roman and Byzantine periods that fields were laid out in a specific pattern in different parts of Ereẓ Israel and Syria. Some even follow Roman land-partition principals.

The size of the individual field used for arable purposes during antiquity was usually the area of land which could be plowed with a yoke of oxen during the course of one day's work. According to Bava Batra (1:6) the practical size of sown ground in dry farming was an area of 11,000 sq. ft. (1,176 sq. m.) (but according to R. Judah – 2nd century C.E. – this could be reduced to as little as 5,500 sq. ft. (588 sq. m.). The size of plots used as vegetable gardens and vineyards were even smaller. The size of plots were apparently progressively reduced in the course of the third and fourth centuries. In Samaria, at Khirbet Buraq most individual plots were between 1 and 7.5 dunam in size, with the largest not exceeding 15 dunam. The size of individual plots is in fact not helpful in an attempt to reconstruct the area of smallholdings, since most families in the Roman period would have owned more than several plots and these could very easily have been scattered. Furthermore, a family could also have controlled areas of pasture and woodland outside the field system.

Various suggestions have been put forward regarding the size of the lands cultivated by the individual peasant smallholder in Roman and Byzantine Ereẓ Israel. As a result of his archaeological surveys in Samaria, Dar has estimated the size of the typical family holding around a number of Byzantine village sites at between 25 and 45 dunam (note that four dunam are the equivalent to one acre). At Khirbet Buraq the holdings were estimated at 25 dunam each and around Qarawat bene Hassan at between 39.7 and 45.6 dunam in size. These figures do not take into account the possibility of the scattered ownership of land. At sites in the Galilee, holdings averaged between 6 and 11 dunam and around Nablus between 15 and 18 dunam (compare these figures with the average of

16 dunam for a block of enclosed fields noted by some scholars for the Galilee).

In a study of the economy of Roman Ereẓ Israel, Safrai proposed that an average family of four individuals, practicing subsistence agriculture, would have required lands covering an area of approximately 11 dunam (or 13.7 dunam for a family of five). However, with the burden of taxes and the need for outside purchases a minimum of 20 dunam seemed to him to be a far more realistic figure. Safrai's figures are based on calculations regarding the possible harvest yields of plots used for the cultivation of wheat, olives, figs, grapes, and legumes. However, such yields could have varied quite substantially from one part of the country to another, depending on the type of soils available, location and precipitation levels.

Broshi in another study has suggested that a family of five needed an area of 50 dunam for subsistence, a figure which seems quite reasonable compared to estimates of the sizes of traditional holdings during recent times. This also fits well with the estimated minimum requirement of 20 iugera (= 50 dunam) for a farm in Roman Italy which cultivated land with the plow and kept animals. However, Broshi does not believe that manuring was carried out in the sown areas and so in antiquity the smaller areas did not produce yields which were any greater than those of traditional agriculture of the 19th century.

A number of ancient sources exist dealing with the question of the size of the peasant holding in antiquity (note the following equivalents are used here: 25 dunam = 2.5 hectare = 10 iugera = 20 plethra). In his *Historia Ecclesiastica* (III, 20:1), Eusebius mentions Judas's nephews cultivating an area of 39 plethra (= 48.7 dunam). Thus each farmer would have had a holding of about 24 dunam. Talmudic sources also contribute much information, but more about the quantity of yields and the measurement of individual plots of land than about the size of the individual holding. Additional figures are available regarding the sizes of holdings in other ancient Mediterranean countries and Egypt. Apparently the smallest and largest allocation of land in Roman Italy was from 2 iugera (= 2.5 dunam) to 200 iugera (= 5,000 dunam) or more. Since 2 iugera was clearly insufficient to support a family even on a subsistence level, this allotment must have been additional to areas used for pasturage. In 133 B.C.E., allotments for the poor in Italy measured between 10–30 iugera (= 25–75 dunam). In Greece, in the Metaponto area, plots varied between 48 and 530 dunam, with 50 percent of these totaling about 138 dunam in size. In Egypt, the average property size varied during the mid-fourth century: 76 iugera (190 dunam) at Hermopolis and 37 iugera (92.5 dunam) at Antinoöpolis).

The above figures make it quite clear that there are many difficulties in estimating the size of the average small peasant holding in antiquity, prior to the Abassid period when there was a general decline in the agricultural productivity of the land lasting until modern times. However, the size of a holding will have differed considerably from one type of environment to another, with larger holdings in the more rugged environments having poorer soils, and smaller allotments in the flat fertile plains and internal valleys where there was much more pressure on the land. At times when there was a serious fragmentation of holdings, with lands being absorbed by larger estates, such as during the 3rd–4th centuries C.E., there would have been pressure on privately owned ancestral holdings and these would naturally become smaller with individual fields being sold off piecemeal. The size of the holding also depended on the type of agricultural regime being practiced and whether or not it included the replenishment of soil fertility with proper manuring and fallowing procedures. The lack of such procedures could well have restricted the size of the areas being cultivated. Finally, the minimum size of a subsistence holding will differ considerably between one which had to support a family and one which supported an extended family. Furthermore, a peasant farmer could have held more than one holding. The attempts made by Dar and Safrai to divide up the fields surrounding ancient villages into holdings of theoretical sizes, seems to be fundamentally flawed when one considers the evidence regarding the lands owned by Rabbi Yohanan in the 3rd century, whose fields were not concentrated at one location at all but scattered at different locations in the countryside between Tiberias and Sepphoris.

However, the existence of such problems should not mean that scholars should abandon the attempt to delimit the minimum size of peasant holdings in Ereẓ Israel during the different periods. The maximum cultivable land in Ereẓ Israel in 1931 amounted to 6.54 million dunam which, subdivided by the population number of 600,000 for that general period, provides an average of 11 dunam of land per inhabitant. This figure can be compared favorably with Broshi's suggested 10 dunam of land per individual in antiquity. However, two facts need to be taken into consideration regarding the 1931 figure: first, not all the population at that time were involved in agriculture and, secondly, a large percentage of the available cultivable land was not necessarily being cultivated. For example, records show that up to 55 percent of the hills around Nablus-Tulkarm had neglected terraces in the Mandate period. Hence, a more realistic minimum of 5 dunam per individual seems likely. A family of five would therefore have had a holding of approximately 25 dunam or more. Hence, the suggested size of a peasant holding in Ereẓ Israel during the time preceding the Abassid period, i.e., before 750 C.E., probably varied considerably between 25 and 50 dunam.

It is interesting to compare these figures with information known about the size of the average smallholding in different parts of the Near East during more recent times. An average of 50 dunam per peasant family has been estimated according to figures taken from an Ottoman census of 1909, for the lands in the three sanjaqs of Jerusalem, Nablus and Acre; 85 percent of landowners from Hebron cultivated areas ranging between 1–20 dunam. The sizes of average holdings in three present-day agricultural villages in the Zarqa River basin in Jordan range between 19 and 68 dunam. In Syria, however, a peasant holding in an area of dry farming was much larger, averaging 50–70 dunam. At Episkopi in Cyprus, the village was estimated to have had a total of 10,000 dunam of land and a maximum population of 700 individuals; thus a holding for a family of five would have averaged at about 71.5 dunam. At Ashvan in Anatolia the total landholding per family averaged 122 dunam but 40 dunam of this was used for pasturage.

The systematic study of field systems during archaeological work, combined with a critical examination of evidence gathered from a variety of sources, provides very important information on the history of rural land management in different parts of Ereẓ Israel. One of the major problems in establishing a typology of field systems for Ereẓ Israel is that the best evidence comes from hilly areas and from the marginal semi-arid areas, and it is questionable whether these patterns were also the same in areas of flat land. While the tenurial organization of land cannot be worked out solely from the archaeological remains of the fields themselves, the archaeological work is able to provide historians with empirical data on the appearance and extent of ancient field systems of different periods. In some field systems the evidence points to continuity, with the position of boundaries being respected and retained from period to period. In some cases substantial changes have occurred and this may have been the result of the dispossession of lands, new property relationships, or new forms of exploitation.

Dating fields is still an acute problem for archaeologists. One scholar wrote in 1984 in a pessimistic vein that in his opinion "it is very rarely possible to attribute an ancient agricultural field or system of old terraces to a specific period." Research in the 1990s and early 2000s shows that this is no longer the case and methods of landscape archaeology enable scholars to disentangle field systems belonging to several periods. The first step, of course, is to evaluate the degree of association between a system of fields and adjacent villages and farms, and the network of communications (paths, roads, etc.). Field boundaries and their relationships with earlier features, from dolmens to earlier fields, must be examined. Some of these earlier features may have been respected or dismantled. The extent of a field system also needs to be determined. It is not always an easy task to establish where one system stops and another starts. Attempts should also be made to examine patterns of field boundaries and the stages of construction of stone fences defined through structural analysis. Some field systems are of an aggregate pattern and others may have a planned parcelation arrangement with a more rectilinear design. Some systems are responsive to the local terrain, others are not. Ancient boundaries are frequently "fossilized" in modern boundaries. A comprehensive study subsequently needs to be made of sherd scatters located next to the settlements, around cisterns, wine and oil presses, alongside the edges of fields and across the field surfaces. Many of these sherd scatters may turn out to be the result of ancient manuring practices. This will provide the surveyor with a general idea as to the date of the fields which are being examined. The excavation of test pits within the settlement and next to the various features seen within the area of the fields, can serve as a "control" over the results from the survey. The overall results will show whether or not there has been cultural continuity or discontinuity within a given landscape of agricultural fields.

Recent work has shown that a variety of ancient land-management systems were operating in different parts of Ereẓ Israel in antiquity. These reflect the many different ways that the rural population responded to environmental and climatic constraints. The quality of these responses depended on the level of social and economic organization achieved by the different farming communities and on the level of farming technologies available to them. The tactics of village communities differed considerably from those of individual farmers, and this had a clear effect on the general layout of fields in a landscape. The earliest known evidence for the imposition of a regular and widespread cultivation pattern in Ereẓ Israel can be dated to the Iron II period. The parcelation of land was consolidated during the Hellenistic to Roman periods. Thereafter, areas of field systems expanded and in time, particularly during the Byzantine and Umayyad periods, became much more complex and fragmented than before.

Today, the shape and character of fields in Ereẓ Israel have changed dramatically. Mechanized equipment now allows for the cultivation of extremely large tracts in areas of flat land. Terraces can be cut into the slopes of hills with bulldozers and soil can be transported by truck from one place to another. The use of artificial fertilizers has meant that fields no longer need to lie fallow and yields can be constantly high. A wide variety of weeds, however, are thus being banished to the margins of fields and complete wildlife habitats are being destroyed. Large areas of fields in the traditional landscape have already been eradicated. Their boundaries and fences have now been erased forever and can only be seen in aerial photographs. The morphology of the agricultural landscape is no longer the same and the growing of cash crops has replaced the economic variability of ancient times. While it is sad to observe the rapidly disappearing traditional landscapes, harvests in Israel, the West Bank, and Jordan are now much greater and more plentiful than they ever were in antiquity and this can only be to the advantage of the local farmers of today.

Manuring Procedures

In ancient Ereẓ Israel, an enormous amount of effort was dedicated to the proper organic fertilization of fields and periodic fallowing. The archaeological evidence for ancient manuring is represented by the very large quantities of sherds which can be found scattered in the fields all over the country. In many cases they represent frequent farming procedures undertaken to improve the fertility of the soil, especially in areas where frequent cropping was undertaken with very little fallowing. The fertilizers and manure had to have the right composition of potassium, phosphorus, lime, magnesium and nitrogen, allowing for the proper growth of the crops in the fields.

Fertilizers and manure of all sorts were extremely valued in antiquity as soil-improving agents. The most frequently-used manure was the dung of cattle, sheep and goats which was collected from the mangers and animal pens and distributed in the fields with household rubbish. The term *domen* was used in the Bible when referring to manure left in the field as an organic fertilizer (II Kings 9:37; Ps. 83:11; Jer. 9:21). When animal dung was mixed wet with straw, it was known as *madmena* (Isa. 25:10). Household rubbish and sherds were probably added to the dung while wet and this would have helped break down the dung before being scattered in the fields. Human excrement was not apparently used and was clearly forbidden by Jewish custom, unlike in China where human faeces, diluted and fermented, was one of the principal manuring agents used in the fields. However, ashes (*efer*: cf. Ezek. 28:18) and burnt ashes from animal sacrifices (*deshen*: cf. Isa. 34:7) were probably used. This was certainly the case during the Roman period when ashes of a sacrificed animal were "sold to gardeners as manure" (Yoma 5:6). A dove-raising industry existed in Ereẓ Israel in the Hellenistic and Roman periods and is represented by the discovery of numerous *columbaria* caves and structures. The dove droppings from these *columbaria* were highly sought after especially for fertilizing valuable garden plants. The rule was that *columbaria* had to be located at a distance of 25 m. from the farm or village (BB 2:5). Organic waste materials such as the cakes resulting from the pressing of olives, were pulverized and then added to the compost heaps which were then later scattered on the orchards and gardens. In Roman times, an importance was attributed to fertilization procedures with organic materials and compost produced from organic waste (BK 3:3; Shev. 2:14, etc.). The importance of fertilizer is shown by the comparison of dung to precious stones (Sanh. 59b). Blood (Yoma 5:6), ash, and fine sand (Tosef., Shab. 8:9) were all used. Sheep droppings were applied by enclosing the flock in a temporary fold ("*sahar*"). The enclosure would be set up for some time and then be moved from place to place in the field (Tosef., Shev. 2:15, 19).

Manure was used in orchards, gardens, and sown fields. The best time to manure the fields was after the first rains in time for the winter crops and in the spring for the summer crops. The rains softened the ground as well as the manure itself. In irrigated areas, manuring was continued throughout the year. Manure was distributed to the fields in special baskets (known in Latin as *sirpeas*; cf. Kel. 19:10; 24:9) which were loaded on beasts of burden. It has been estimated that 235 cu. ft. (6.7 cu. m.) of manure were used per dunam of land. The manure was first deposited in heaps in the field and was then scattered by a process of plowing or hoeing (cf. Shev. 3:1–4). Seeds from weeds could sometimes get into the soil of a field through animal dung and this was something which concerned Jewish farmers during the Roman period (Kil. 5:7). A field that had undergone manuring was known as a *bet ha-zevalim*. Movable enclosures were sometimes set up in the fields to help localize the dung of grazing animals. In dry soil, manures could effect the movement of water between the surface of the ground and the subsoil, and so manures had to be only lightly covered. But care had to be taken to make sure that the manure was dug in properly, since unrotted manure could burn crops (White 1970: 129). Manure was heaped around individual trees and then dug in. In Luke 13:8 reference is made to the manuring of a fig tree so that it should bear fruit.

Broshi has suggested that manure was mainly used in orchards and gardens during the Roman and Byzantine periods and not at all in the fields that were used for the growing of grain. The claim has also been made that because of pressure on the land only one third of it was actually allowed to lie fallow during that period, but this would have been contrary to the Jewish rulings of the time (BM 9:7). The true extent of the manuring practices at that time is clearly demonstrated by the enormous distribution of sherd scatters in areas used for the growing of grain across the country. Manuring at a distance of more than a mile (1.5 to 2 km.) from the village would probably have been uneconomical without the use of carts.

The phenomenon of sherd scatters representing manuring regimes is known from ancient fields investigated in many of the Mediterranean lands, from Spain to Greece, and as well as in other parts of the world. Various methods have now been developed for the study of the distribution of sherd scatters within agricultural lands and around settlements. In Ereẓ Israel, organic household, and courtyard rubbish was gathered and used as a fertilizer for the fields, and this rubbish frequently included broken pottery. Household refuse was sometimes mixed with animal manure to make it easier to scatter in the fields. In Samaria, sherds have been found in the fields around Qarawat bene Hassan, up to 2–3 km. from the village center, as well as around Khirbet Buraq and in other fields. Sherd distributions have also been studied in the fields around agricultural settlements in the Golan. Soil was sometimes taken from the ruins of ancient sites and scattered on the fields as a fertilizing agent. Archaeologically, this is known only from sites with plots used for irrigation purposes, as at Sataf west of Jerusalem.

In the Ottoman period sown fields were very rarely manured and in many areas this eventually resulted in the substantial exhaustion of the land during the 19th century and the early part of the 20th century. Manure was mainly kept for use in vegetable gardens and some orchards, or dried and used for fuel. However, Baldensperger in 1907 does mention the manuring not just of orchards but also of sown ground. Karmon and Shmueli have also pointed out that unlike other parts of the country, the regular manuring of terraced plots was being carried out around Hebron until the 1970s. Reifenberg in 1947 complained that organic manure was often very badly handled in Ereẓ Israel: "the heaps being exposed not only to the intense sun but also to the torrential winter rains. The dung is very often left for weeks in small heaps on the field instead of being plowed in as quickly as possible."

Irrigation

Although Ereẓ Israel was described as possessing "brooks of water, of foundations and depths, springing forth in valleys and hills" (Deut. 8:7), the reality is that there were very few permanent sources of water that could be used for agricultural purposes, namely a number of perennial rivers, and springs and wells, and mostly what local farmers could rely on was winter rainwater (Deut. 11.10–11); otherwise their lands would remain dry (forlorn like "the garden that hath no water," Isa. 1:30). The few permanent sources of water that did exist were therefore exploited to the fullest and the danger of drought was always present (Deut. 11:17). Water rights and ownership of access to water led to serious disputes in antiquity (e.g., the disputes with the Philistines regarding wells of water, Gen. 21:25; 26:15–22). Rabbinic legislation covered many aspects of the distribution of water among those who shared in water rights. "Water turns" were assigned (MK 11b) to those entitled to use the supply. Some individuals were compelled to buy or lease seasonal rights (TJ, MK 1:2, 80b). Many biblical passages make use of the well, spring, and river as symbols of abundance and security (Isa. 58:11; Jer. 31:11). Orchards, too, grow better when partially irrigated. Hence the comparison made between the person who puts his trust in God to "a tree planted by streams of water" (Jer. 14:8; Ps. 1:3).

Irrigation methods were many and diverse. In those parts rich in rivers and springs, as in the Jordan and Ḥuleh valleys, water flowed into the fields by gravitation and was directed through channels dug with shovels or pressed down by foot (cf. Deut. 11:10). Trees were similarly irrigated (Ezek. 17:7; Song 5:13): a shallow pit dug around a tree was filled with water, which would sink deep into the ground and moisten the roots (Kal. R. 3:52, 4). However, mechanical means were sometimes needed to lift water into the fields. The most simple of containers was the *deli* ("pitcher") of earthenware or metal attached to a rope or chain (Shab. 15:2; Kel. 14:3). A similar utensil was the *ḥavit* or jug, which was also used for water drawing (Mak, 2:1). A larger device for lifting water was the *kilon* of mishnaic times (Makhsh.. 4:9, etc.), which was also frequently depicted in ancient Egyptian and Babylonian representations; it has survived up to the present time in the traditional agricultural practices of Egypt (known there in Arabic as the *shaduf*). It consists of a vertical pillar on which a long horizontal bar is placed. To the one extremity of the bar, a jug is attached by rope or pole, while the other extremity is weighted down by a stone to balance and facilitate the raising of the full container. Herodotus described the Egyptian use of this device (Gr. κηλωνήιον, "keloneion"; cf. *History* 1:139). The bucket wheel was used at wells for irrigation and was turned by a horse, mule, or ox. Water was conveyed to the fields by conduits on high stone walls, sometimes arched. Examples of waterwheels used to raise water from rivers and wells of the "Persian" type with ceramic jars attached to them (*antila*), are known in Ereẓ Israel dating back to the Roman period. The *antila* is essentially a vertical wheel to which earthenware pitchers or wooden containers are attached. An animal rotates a shaft whose attached, wooden-toothed gear in turn engages the wheel to which the drawing pails are tied. According to the *halakhah*, water drawn by an *antila* invalidates a *mikveh*, since the waters are separated from their source during the process. The Tosefta (Makhsh. 3:4; Mik. 4:2) designates another vessel, the "*kevulin*" or "*keḥulin*" whose use does not invalidate the *mikveh*, since the water is not detached from its source during the operation. This *keḥulin* (Lat. *cochlea*, "snail") consists of an Archimedean screw in a pipe. The screw, turned by an animal, forces the water to rise. Strabo (17:807) reported that water for the Roman camps was drawn from the Nile by means of κοχλίαι.The *galgal* or *gullah* described in Ecclesiastes (12:6), with a wheel turning an axle to which a pail or two were attached by rope or chain, may have been an earlier type of *antila* device. Such a device was frequently mentioned as μηχανή ἀντλοῦσα (i.e., "drawing machine") in Hellenistic Egyptian papyri. Evidence of its use has been found in the south of Israel in a Byzantine Greek inscription that reads: "This excellence too of μηχανή, the glorious father Helarion invented." The horizontal waterwheel may have been developed in the Upper Galilee during the second century B.C.E., but clear archaeological evidence for this is still lacking. The large upright wheel operated by water power (*na'urah* in Arabic) was first developed in Syria, the most famous examples being those at Hama. It was later introduced into Ereẓ Israel, where it was used to draw water from some of the perennial rivers and is referred to in the *halakhah* as a device with "self-drawn water from the sea or river" (Tosef., Mik. 4:2, so in correct texts). The Jerusalem Talmud designates this instrument by the name "*agatargatkaya*" (TJ, MK 1:2, 80b), which is related to the Greek term καταρράκτης, "cataract" or "waterfall." It refers to the cataract effect created by the water-driven wheel. In addition to these water wheels, underground *Qanat* systems were constructed to exploit the shallow groundwater in the arid basins of the Arabah and the lower Jordan Valley. Examples of these systems have been surveyed by Porath, who has suggested, on the basis of his fieldwork, that the knowledge of *qanat* construction may have been introduced into the region from Iran either during the late fourth century B.C.E. or (and this seems much more likely) during the Umayyad period in the seventh century C.E. However, the use of these chain wells did not last beyond the Abassid period.

The most important source of water in the hilly regions are the springs, and an estimated 800 exist in Ereẓ Israel. In ancient times the lands adjacent to the springs were mainly used for irrigation purposes. Only a handful of these springs, namely the Dan, Yarkon, and Na'aman springs, have a flow of more than one cubic meter of water per second. A little more than 40 produce a volume of between 100,000 and 1,000 liters per second. The rest produce much smaller amounts of water, sometimes as little as one liter per minute. Irrigated plots of land tended to be located fairly close to routes giving ease of access for those conveying their produce (such as vegetables) to the markets or back to the village or farm. Irrigated plots tended to be fairly close to the settlement for security reasons.

Most springs in the hills of Ereẓ Israel had various installations attached to them, including flow tunnels and large water-storage pools. The irrigated fields were located below the pools and water was conveyed to the fields along channels by a process of gravitation (it would "leave higher ground and go to the lower," Ta'an. 7a). Each terrace area received water once every cycle of specified number of days, according to the size of the terraces owned. Spring-irrigated lands have been investigated during archaeological surveys in Samaria and in the Judean Hills. Spring-irrigated system of terraces have been investigated at Ain Yael, Sataf, and Suba.

Artificially watered or irrigated fields were frequently mentioned in the Mishnah. Irrigated land was known as *bet ha-selahin* to distinguish it from the areas of rain-fed land known as *bet ba'al*. The smallest irrigated allotment was between 350 and 700 sq. ft (32.5 and 65 sq. m.) (BB). It is interesting to compare this with the allotment of 1 dunam of irrigated terraced land which every family farms in present-day Battir. Title over irrigated lands was given to anyone who could prove three years undisputed possession (BB 3:1). The surface of the irrigated field was divided up into square plots of about 5 × 5 sq. ft. (0.56 × 0.56 m.), separated one from the other by an earthen border (*gubal*) about 4 in. (10 cm) in height (Kil. 3:1). Irrigated plots were heavily manured and the frequent manuring of beds of cucumbers and other vegetables was mentioned in Shevi'it 2:2. Soil taken from ancient ruined sites was frequently used to top-up and fertilize irrigated fields. The furrow or channel which brought water to these plots had a width and depth of about 10 cm wide and 10 cm deep (Kil. 3:2). Channels led from tree to tree (MK 1:3). In large areas of irrigated lands, small plastered tanks were frequently built at the end of the main irrigation channels. Because of evaporation rates, these small tanks were the first to be filled with water: "The cistern nearest to a water-channel is filled first – in the interests of peace" (Git. 5:8). It was only then that the plots between the spring and the tanks could be directly irrigated from the main channel. Springs in areas of irrigated fields were known to suddenly dry up (BM 9:2). A distinction was made in *Mo'ed Katan* 1:1 between old springs and "newly flowing springs."

Irrigation plots were frequently established next to aqueducts leading from the springs. Plots of land irrigated in this fashion existed next to the aqueduct which led water to the settlement of Na'aran in the Golan. An interesting Greek inscription of Justinianic date was found near the principal aqueduct leading to Jerusalem. It prohibited the use of the land on either side of it, up to 15 ft. (4.6 m.), for cultivation purposes. This was to prevent water from being siphoning off for irrigation. This prohibition reminds one of the ban in Roman Ereẓ Israel regarding the cultivation of plots of land on either side of highways.

Cistern irrigation was also practiced in Ereẓ Israel and dates back at least to the Iron Age (e.g., Isa. 27:3). Vines watered by irrigation are mentioned in a field with furrows (*arugot*) in Ezekiel 17:5–7. Cistern-irrigated plots are mentioned in Jewish sources of the Roman period (see MK 1:1;) and in Pe'ah 5:3 a field was irrigated "with a pitcher." Cistern-irrigated plots of land have been investigated by Dar at a number of sites in Samaria (1986a, 200–2). A cistern in an orchard is mentioned in one of the Nessana papyri (Kraemer 1958).

Traditional irrigation in Ereẓ Israel clearly perpetuates ancient practices as Dalman was able to show in his publications. Many of the Arabic toponyms in Ereẓ Israel are linked to the word *ain* ("spring") indicating the importance of the spring even when it was located a few kilometers away from the settlement. Descriptions of traditional spring-irrigated plots and watering procedures were frequently published by 19th and early 20th century travelers. Water was divided up for irrigation either by degrees or by hours. General research on irrigation has been carried out by Avitsur and at springs in the terraced Judean Hills by Ron. The irrigated areas investigated by Ron comprised only 0.6 percent of the total of the terraced areas west of Jerusalem. This percentage is probably true for all of the terraced areas of the hills of Ereẓ Israel.

Installations and Implements

Associated with each system of ancient agricultural fields, in addition to the villages and farms, are the remains of solitary structures, towers, caves, cisterns, *columbaria*, wine and oil presses, threshing floors, and animal pens. Pools for steeping flax and fig-drying installations are also mentioned in the sources. Many of these features were linked by roads and paths. Near them were lime kilns and quarries.

The existence of rural towers in areas of terraced fields has been frequently commented on by travelers and scholars since the 19th century. A detailed study of these structures was carried out by Ron in the terraced zones of the Judean Hills. Approximately 50 percent of these stone towers were associated with vineyards and 39 percent with orchards. In general terms, the layout of the tower resembled the organized space of the traditional village house, with the lower area serving for storage and the upper part for habitation. Towers were usually located at a distance of 500 meters and up to a kilometer from the village or according to Wilson writing in 1906 up to 6 or 8 km. from the village. The interior was perfect for the cool storage of agricultural produce, since its temperature was 8 to 13 degrees cooler than outside it. Water cisterns and wine presses were frequently found next to the towers. Ron believes that these towers indicate private family ownership of land with cultivation taking place in small plots, thus reflecting a traditional subsistence economy. A detailed study of towers associated with fields in Samaria dating from Hellenistic and Roman times was made by Dar. Similar structures have been examined in terraced areas around Jerusalem, some of them dating back to the Iron Age II. Additional tower-like structures in areas of terracing, also dating from the Iron Age II, have been examined in the Tell el-'Umeiri area in Jordan, to the southwest of Amman. This kind of structure should perhaps be identified with the stone-tower (*migdal*) mentioned in Isaiah 5:2. Additional structures located in fields are mentioned in the Mishnah, including "cone-shaped huts, watch booths, and summer huts" (Ma'as. 3:7; cf. Kil. 5:3). The sale of a field also meant the sale of the watchman's hut and its stones, unless it was made of perishable materials and "if it was not fastened down with clay" (BB 4:9). The differences between these ancient structures and the more recent ones are not as outstanding as Dar believes. Dar argues that these structures differ architecturally, with the ancient examples built of hewn stone without built stairs and with the recent examples built of surplus stone cleared from the fields. The ancient towers, however, could easily have been supplied with wooden ladders and this would have given them a much better defensive edge than having built stairs. Furthermore, surveys around Jerusalem have shown that many of the traditional towers were in fact built of stone supplied from quarries and not cleared from fields at all. The similarities between the ancient and traditional towers are much greater: both sets of towers were located in fields at a distance from the settlement, they had cool interiors suitable for storing agricultural produce and they could have been used as watchtowers during the harvest seasons. In antiquity, the social standing of the farmer was probably indicated by the size and appearance of the tower. Even some of the more recent towers can be quite imposing. Extremely flimsy structures could also be erected in the fields during harvest times, such as the traditional structures in the fields near Beth Shean (Dalman 1932, Pls. 12–13). The Bible refers to temporary structures of this sort; the *melunah* in an irrigated plot of cucumbers and the *sukkah* in a vineyard (Isa. 1:8; 4:6; 24:20).

Fenced-off animal pens are frequently found adjacent to field systems, since arable farmers in Ereẓ Israel usually also kept stock. These were grazed on the common lands and on arable fields when fallow. At harvest the crops were protected by tethering animals or keeping them within fenced enclosures. The study of animal pens is instructive in regard to the relationship in antiquity between livestock to arable activity in a given landscape.

The excavation of rural sites, such as farms and villages, has brought to light the remains of agricultural installations, farming equipment, and food-processing equipment. These provide information on the level of technology and farming methods available to the farmers at different periods. Indirectly they also provide information on what was grown in some of the surrounding fields. Agricultural installations may include wine and oil presses, and large flour mills. The dating of a specific type of installation within a settlement can help towards dating similar installations found associated with the fields outside a settlement. Important studies of wine and oil presses have been undertaken in recent years by various scholars, notably by Frankel. Examples of farming equipment may include digging sticks, plows, mattocks, hoes, sickles, pruning knives, and so forth. These may be compared with traditional farming equipment used in Ereẓ Israel (see, for instance, the work of Avitzur and more recently by Ayalon). Examples of food-processing equipment may include pestles and mortars, querns, rotary mills, and so forth.

[Shimon Gibson (2nd ed.)]

Plowing

The light plow (or ard) was one of the most important farming implements used in the fields of Ereẓ Israel for the breaking up of ground and preparing it for cultivation. The introduction of this implement into Ereẓ Israel at the end of the fourth millennium BCE. probably had a revolutionary effect on the appearance of the earliest fields and the size of the average plot probably increased considerably (the earliest evidence for plowing in the Near East are the plow marks dating to the fourth millennium B.C.E. which were found at Susa A, and the Uruk pictograms of plows which date from the late fourth millennium B.C.E.).

Traditional plowing helps to understand the ancient procedures. Proper plowing ensured a successful harvest. Before plowing was commenced, especially in a mountainous area, the plots were cleared of stone with the use of a hoe or mattock (in a process known in Arabic as *naqb*). The manner in which the plot of land was plowed has been described by a number of different authorities, among them Wilson, Turkowski, and Avitzur. This operation had to be undertaken properly to ensure a successful harvest, otherwise the crop could be ruined (Job 4:8). Continuous plowing of the entire field was never attempted. Instead, the area was divided into separate plots (each plot known in Arabic as a *ma'anah*) usually one-third or one-fourth of a *faddan* and with a length of between 90 and 120 ft. (27 and 36 m.). According to Wilson, a furrow (Arabic *tilm*) was first run on the ground "and others plowed parallel to this, until a piece of ground of that length and about half the breadth is finished; then a similar piece is plowed next; and so on until the whole is completed." Not only the type of plow but also the type of draft animal used for the plowing could affect the overall depth of the resulting furrows. The maximum depth of plow in modern times was 8 in. (20 cm.) according to Dalman. In antiquity the plowpoint penetrated the soil to a depth of three handbreadths (Gen. R. 31; BB 12:2), i.e., 27 cm., and this helped to maintain the overall fertility of the land (TJ, Ta'an. 4:8, 68b).

The relatively small area plowed by the farmer per day in antiquity has been estimated by Feliks (see *Agriculture) to be about 1,170 sq. m. (cf. Tosef., BM 11:9), which is about one third of what is usually covered using traditional Arab methods of plowing. The prophet Isaiah noted that the soil had to be plowed twice before it was sown: the first time to expose the soil to the penetration of rainwater, and the second to level the ground for the planting (Isa. 28:24). The Mishnah, however, enumerates four separate plowings: one in the summer, after the harvest, in the form of broad lines or plots that were set far apart (referred to as the "furrows of *pati'aḥ*" in the language of the Mishnah; Kil. 2:6). The second plowing took place after the first rains, and then, too, the furrows were not placed close together. Spaces were left intentionally between the furrows to prevent torrential downpours from eroding the soil. In this way each field would have the appearance of alternate furrows and ridges ("*gedudim*" in the Bible). Rain leveled the ground and was soaked into it. The Psalmist (45:11) prayed for a good year in which rain would soak into the soil and level the "*gedudim*" in the ground. Following this, the main deep plowing was commenced in which the furrows were placed close together (the "*shiddud*" of the Bible) and in this way the soil was ready for sowing. Finally, the fourth plowing was undertaken in order to cover the seed itself (Tosef., Kil. 1:15).

To preserve the fertility of the soil, a rotation system was practiced in which land was sown and left to fallow alternately. In the fallow year, the field was plowed five to seven times to rid it of noxious weeds and to restore its fertility. These plowings were called "*tiyyuv*" or "*nir*" (Tosef., Shev. 3:10; Men. 85a). A well-plowed field attracted attention owing to its cleanness (Avot 3:7). It was not easy for the farmer to adapt himself to this cycle, since it meant he was only able to plant his field during three years out of seven, the seventh (*shevi'it*) being the Sabbatical year (Mekh. de-Kaspa 20), but he knew that this was the only way to ensure continuous, abundant harvests. Only artificially-fertilized fields may be plowed year after year with fairly good results.

The plow used in antiquity was not essentially different from that used in traditional Arab farming, except that the earlier implement was sturdier and was capable of penetrating deeper into the soil. The main parts of the plow were made of wood with the plowshare (biblical "*et*"; talmudic "*yated*" or "*kankan*") made of metal (bronze in earlier times; later of iron). Numerous examples of such implements have been uncovered in archaeological excavations in Israel. The metal part was funnel-shaped, ending in a sharp point. The plowshare was attached to the sharp wooden tailpiece ("*ḥerev*") which in turn was joined to the "knee" ("*borekh*") and was tied to the handle, a long pole ("*yaẓul*") attached to the yoke (see Kelim 21:2).

The plowman depressed the handle with one hand. In the other he held a long staff or goad ("*malmad ha-bakar*"), one end of which held a nail and was used to goad the oxen and hold them in line, while the other end was shaped like a shovel and served to clean the plow ("*maḥareshet*" in the Bible; "*ḥarḥur*" in talmudic literature; see I Sam. 13:21; Kelim 13:3). The oxen were tied to the plow by the yoke, which was a pole (the biblical "*motaḥ*") placed on the neck of the ox or cow. To yoke a pair of oxen, an additional pole was drawn under their necks while pegs ("*simyonim*") joined the two poles together and thereby enclosed the heads of the oxen in frames. A broken pole could not be repaired, and the animal would have to be released. Hence breaking the yoke symbolized liberation (Jer. 2:20, etc.). Generally the yoke was made of wood; only in exceptional cases was it made of metal, so accordingly an "iron yoke" represented abnormal or tyrannical oppression (Deut. 28:48). A single ox was tied to his yoke by ropes ("*moserot*," "*aguddot motah*"). The snapping of these bonds, too, became a metaphor for liberation (Jer. 2:20; Isa. 68:6).

A sturdy strain of oxen capable of bearing a double-poled yoke was used for plowing. Evidence points to the Zebu oxen, capable of sustained exertion, as being in common use in Talmudic times. The Torah regards the ox and the donkey as plowing animals (Deut. 22:10), and Isaiah mentions the use of donkeys for tilling the soil (30:24). Rabbinic literature, however, names only the ox and the cow as plowing animals.

Sowing and Planting

The main crops were the winter grains, which were planted at various times prior to the rains, and especially following the first rain. Usually the farmer spaced his sowing activities at intervals over the winter season as a protective measure (cf. Eccles. 11:6), for if he planted all his crops together, a single adverse natural phenomenon could ruin them all at one blow. The normal planting season lasted from Tishri (October) to the end of Tevet (December; Tosef., Ta'an. 1:7). In some instances, planting also took place in Shevat (January), as was the practice with the barley for the *Omer* offering (Men. 8:2).

A distinguishing feature of local agriculture in Roman times was the small quantity of seed sown per unit of land, approximately 4–8 kg. of grain per 1,000 sq. m. (Tosef., Kil. 1:16). This is much less than the average amount planted in traditional Arab farming. This probably explains the meaning of the saying: "Thou shalt carry out much seed into the field and shalt gather little in" (Deut. 28:38). The yield of an Arab farmer is 3–4 times the amount of seed, while the Jewish farmer during Roman times reaped 30 or 40 fold, sometimes even obtaining a harvest of "a hundred measures" (BM 105b; Pes. 87b; see also Matt. 13:8; Varro, Rerum *Rusticarum Libri*, 1:44). These high yields were a result of rational and intensive methods of cultivation.

Hoeing and Weeding

The usual cycle in crop cultivation was plowing, planting, hoeing (TJ, Shek. 68:4), with the last activity designed to remove noxious weeds. The main implement involved, the "*ma'ader,*" is somewhat different from the modern hoe. It consisted of two sticks tied together by a cord (Tosef., Kelim, BB 1:8) to form an acute angle. At the end of the shorter stick, a metal "tooth" was inserted (Kelim 13:2). Such hoes frequently appear in Egyptian drawings. For deeper plowing and hoeing, the *kardom* (Peah, 6:4; Kelim 29:7; cf. *ibid.*, 13:3) was used. An implement resembling the modern hoe, the *magrefah*, served for moving earth or fruit (Gen. R. 16; Kelim 13:4). The *ma'ader* was used for digging in mountain areas which could not be successfully plowed (Isa. 7:25; Peah 2:2). The process of deep digging to prepare the earth for saplings was known as "*izzuk*" (Isa. 5:2; cf. Sif. Deut. 355).

Harvesting

No special importance was ascribed to summer planting in ancient times. *Kaẓir* applied to winter crops. There were two such harvests: first, the early ripening of the grain, the various types of *barley; later, the *wheat and rice-wheat harvest

(Ex. 9:31). At Passover, the *Omer* of barley was offered (Lev. 23:10; cf. II Sam. 21:9; II Kings 4:42). The Gezer calendar also lists the barley as the first of the cereal harvests. Before the *Omer* was offered, the new season's grain was not to be eaten (Lev. 23:14). Only in the Jericho Valley, was harvesting permitted before Passover (Men.10:8). Seven weeks later, the wheat harvest began with the offering of "the two loaves of bread" (Lev. 23:17).

At harvest time, the climate in Israel is hot and dry. More than once the reaper was felled by sunstroke (cf. II Kings 4:18–20; Judith 8:2–3). He rose early to take advantage of the cool, morning hours (Prov. 10:6), and he had to work quickly to avoid plunder, pests and the scattering of the grains. He sought, in addition to his family, to employ hired hands. The division of labor is depicted in the Book of Ruth. A supervisor would watch the workers. Girls were occupied with gleaning and also in making sheaves. The owner supplied part of the food to his workers, namely bread dipped in vinegar. Only the wicked who exploited their workers failed to provide food (Job 24:10–11).

Even though the work was backbreaking, it was performed to the accompaniment of joyous shouts (Ps. 126:5–6; Isa. 9:2). The poor, who gathered their gifts, also contributed to the festive atmosphere. Sometimes, joy would be absent and especially when the land was afflicted by drought (Deut. 11:17, etc.) or when an enemy had attacked the reapers and pillaged the harvest (Isa. 16:7).

Various implements were used during the harvesting procedures. The "*Ḥermesh*" (Deut. 16:9) and "*maggal*" (Jer. 2:16) are two such implements mentioned in the Bible. The latter is the usual term appearing in rabbinic literature, and it is almost certain that the two names signify the same object, the sickle. The scythe, the long handle of which was grasped with both hands, was not known in ancient Ereẓ Israel. The sickle had a short handle, in which there was inserted a curved blade with its short teeth bent backward. (Ḥul. 7:2). Archaeological excavations in Israel have uncovered flint, bone, bronze and iron sickles. Some sickles extend back in time to the Natufian and Neolithic periods. When harvesting, the reaper grasped the stalks in his left hand. In his right he held the sickle, which he would "send out" (Joel 4:14) and pull back, so severing the stalk (Isa. 17:5; Ps. 129:7). When his left hand was full, he would lay the grain on the ground in united bundles ("*ẓavitim*"; Ruth 2:16) or else tie them together with a straw ("*kerikhiot*"; Men. 10:9). The small heaps (*ẓevatim* or *kerikhot*) laid along the harvested rows would be gathered up by the sheaf-binder and held in his bosom ("*Ḥoẓen*"; Ps. 129:7). They were then put together in larger bundles, which had no fixed size, fluctuating between three and 30 pints (½ and 17 liters) of kernels (Pe'ah 6:6). The bundles were left lying on the ground or else tied together in sheaves (Gen. 37:7–8; BM 22a). The next step, which took place once the grain was dry, consisted of collecting the grain in a large stack ("*gadish*"). An alternative practice was to heap the grain in various types of stacks to hasten or retard the drying process as desired (Pe'ah 5:8). This stacking was the final destination of the grain prior to its being transported to the *goren* or threshing floor.

The *goren* stood close to the city or village (I Kings 22:10). To prevent the chaff from being blown into houses, the rabbis ruled that the threshing floor should not be nearer than 50 cubits (i.e., approximately 25 metres) from the city (BB 2:8). The location could neither be on high ground nor exposed to strong winds which would scatter the grains during winnowing (Ruth R. 5). Usually, the threshing floor was in a broad public place. It was surrounded by a fence of thornbushes (Sot. 13a). Trampling (Jer. 51:35) and sprinkling water hardened and leveled the floor. Then the grain was brought and spread out in a circle. During the threshing, the straw and ears were pounded to separate the kernels from the husks. This could be accomplished in several ways. A wooden board, about 0.70 m. wide and 1.20 m. or more long, was used. Its underside was set with stones, mainly of basalt (sometimes of flint), so that when dragged by a pair of oxen, the board would separate the grain. The device, the *morag*, is still used in traditional Arab farming (Arabic "*norg*"). Since this tool was only adopted much later in Greece and Rome, some scholars have suggested that it might have been an invention of the farmer in Ereẓ Israel. This assumption may explain the exclamation of Isaiah (end of ch. 28): "This also cometh from the Lord of hosts; wonderful is His counsel and great His wisdom," for in the preceding verses the prophet enumerates the threshing tools then in use: the *ḥaruẓ*, i.e., the *morag ḥaruẓ* (*ibid.* 41:15), the normal *morag* with saw-like strips of iron in addition to the stones set in it. Isaiah also referred to the "*ofan agalah*" and "*galgal agalah*" ("cartwheels") which were stone wheels or iron discs sharpened like saws, examples of which are still extant among the Arab farmers of today. The last type of tool was introduced into Hellenistic Egypt and Rome. The chronicler of Roman agriculture called it "*plostellum poenicum*" (Varro, *Rerum Rusticarum Libri*, 1:52). In contrast to mechanical means, another threshing method was the running of several oxen tied together ("*revekah*"; Tosef., Par. 2:3) over the grains. Seemingly other animals were also used in this type of threshing, for the rabbis interpreted the Pentateuchal prohibition against muzzling an ox while threshing (Deut. 25:4) to include other animals as well (BK 5:7). The heavy implements described above were suitable for wheat and legumes. More delicate grains were normally threshed with a stick (Isa. *ibid.*) as were smaller quantities of wheat (Judg. 6:11; Ruth 2:17). While the threshing was in progress, additional quantities of grain would constantly be thrown in the path of the threshers by means of a wooden-pronged implement resembling a pitchfork ("*eter*"; Tosef., Uk. 1:5).

Winnowing

Threshing separated the three components of the grain: kernels, chopped straw, and chaff. Winnowing, which consisted of throwing the threshed substances into the wind, caused the lighter elements to be carried away while the heavier kernels fell into a heap. The implement used for this process, the *mizreh* (Isa. 30:24), resembled a pitchfork with broad prongs. Following this the kernels would be thrown up by means of a shovel-like implement, the *raḥat* (cf. Tanh. to Isa. *ibid.*). Once this operation was over, the stack was considered to be complete. The farmer would measure its size (Haggai 2:16) and stand guard over it until it was transferred to the barn (Ruth 3:7).

The chopped straw left over from the winnowing was kept as livestock feed or compost, or was used as an additive in mortar. The chaff was useless except for making fire (Gen. R. 83:3). Yet even after the final winnowing, the kernel heaps still retained waste matter. The grains would then be shaken horizontally in a sieve ("*kevarah*"), a round device, to whose bottom a fiber net was attached. The heavier waste would fall through the threads, and the lighter material gathered on top of the kernels. The top waste would constantly be removed, until only the clean kernels remained within the sieve (cf. Amos 9:9; Ma'as 15:6). The kernels were then milled or crushed, and further cleaned with the aid of sieves with perforations of various sizes, depending on the required size of the finished product (Avot 5:15).

[Jehuda Feliks / Shimon Gibson (2nd ed.)]

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AGRICULTURE. This entry is arranged according to the following outline:

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- **In Prehistory**
- **From the Beginning of the Bronze Age to the Conquest of Joshua**
- **Early Israelite**
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IN THE LAND OF ISRAEL

The study of the history of ancient agriculture in the Land of Israel has been the focus of a great amount of research in recent decades. Much more data is now available as a result of an intensification of data-collection and the use of new methodologies during archaeological excavations and surveys, especially in regard to the development of rural settlements (villages, hamlets and farms) and their landscapes (fields, terraces, access routes to markets), and the technology of agricultural implements (digging tools, ground stone objects) and installations (wine and oil presses). The intensive gathering of plant and wood remains at sites using flotation procedures has helped to enlarge knowledge about the variety of cultivations and fruits trees available during different archaeological periods. Botanical remains are frequently found on the floors of houses and storage buildings, on the surfaces of courtyards, in fire-pits and in silos. Inventories of crops are thus produced and this helps towards a reconstruction of agrarian practices and dietary patterns. Further insights into the history of agriculture have also emerged as a result of inter-disciplinary work with geomorphologists, agronomists, and botanists. The analysis of Phytoliths – fossilized mineral particles produced biogenetically within plants – under microscope, has been found to be useful in the study of cultivated cereals. Palynological studies have also contributed to the investigation of landscape changes and the overall effect humans have on their environment, though usually only on a regional scale. Pollen studies are less helpful in elucidating changes on a micro-environmental level. Pollen cores have hitherto been taken from the Dead Sea and from the Sea of Galilee.

For a survey of agricultural methods and the conclusions of recent archaeological research, see preceding entry.

[Shimon Gibson (2nd ed.)]

In Prehistory

Some archaeologists date the beginnings of agriculture in Palestine to the Mesolithic period, when the Natufian culture made its appearance with its bone and flint artifacts, some of which have survived to the present day. In the Kabara caves on Mt. Carmel, a flint sickle with its handle shaped to represent a fawn's head has been found. To that same period belong the sickles, mortars, and pestles which have been discovered in other localities in Palestine. According to these scholars, all these artifacts indicate the cultivation of cereals. According to others, however, these utensils were used merely to reap and mill wild grain. Archaeological finds testifying to soil cultivation and cattle raising become more numerous in the Neolithic Age, the period of caves and huts, agricultural implements, and cleaving tools. All these are evidence of settled communities which produced and stored food. To this period, likewise, belong excavated, prehistoric locations such as the Abu Uzbah cave on Mt. Carmel, the Neolithic cave near Sha'ar ha-Golan in the Jordan Valley and the lower strata of Jericho. In the Chalcolithic period, the transition between the Neolithic and the Bronze Age (4000 B.C.E.), agricultural settlements in the valleys, especially in the proximity of water sources, increased. Settlements were established in the plains of Moab (N.E. of the Dead Sea) where the Telleilat el-Asul (Ghassul) were found – mounds covering simple buildings, grain storages, agricultural implements, and artisans' tools made of calcareous or flint stone. By the later Chalcolithic period copper vessels like those found in Tel Abu-Matar near Beersheba appeared. In this area and at nearby Khirbet al-Bitar, excavations have unearthed ricewheat (*Triticum dicoccum*), einkorn (*Triticum monococcum*), two-rowed barley (*Hordeum distichum*), and lentils (*Lens esculenta Moench*). Elsewhere, olive and date kernels, grape seeds, and pomegranate rinds have been discovered.

From the Beginning of the Bronze Age to the Conquest of Joshua

This period includes the early (3000 B.C.E.), middle (until 1550 B.C.E.), and part of the late Bronze Age. The earliest literary evidence of local agricultural activity is provided by an inscription on the grave of the Egyptian officer Weni, who conducted a military expedition in Palestine during the reign of Pepi I (beginning of 24th century B.C.E.) "The army returned in peace after smiting the country of the sand dwellers [the inhabitants of the coastal plain]… after he had cut down its figs and vines." At that time the King's Highway running along the coastal plain and through the Jezreel and Jordan valleys became increasingly important, and many settlements were established along its length. Settlements were also founded in the south of the Judean mountains, for example at Tell Beit-Mirsim, apparently the biblical Debir. The Sanehat Scroll (20th century B.C.E.) described the travels in Palestine of this Egyptian officer and the document proves that, in the southern regions of the country, there were settlements which supported themselves by farming and cattle raising. Evidence of many settlements during the 18th century B.C.E. is furnished by the Egyptian "Execration Texts." During the Hyksos occupation, the Habiru, apparently the Hebrew tribes of the patriarchal era, are first mentioned. They were nomads who did not establish any permanent settlements. Some occupied the marginal grasslands and occasionally sowed there. Thus Isaac planted in the Naḥal Gerar region "in that year," and, as a result of plentiful rain fall, reaped a "hundredfold" harvest (Gen. 26:12). Other scriptural references suggest that the land was closely settled and highly valued at this time. Abraham's and Lot's shepherds quarreled with each other while the "Canaanite and Perizzite dwelt then in the land" (Gen. 13:7). For a burial plot he wanted to purchase, Abraham had to pay Ephron, the Hittite, the full price (*ibid.*, ch. 23), and Jacob similarly had to pay a large sum for the section of the field in Shechem where he pitched his tents (*ibid.*, 33:19). The depiction at the Temple of Amon of Thutmose's expeditions in Palestine (c. 1478 B.C.E.) and his famous victory at Megiddo includes reliefs of the plants he brought from Palestine (the Karnak "Botanical Garden"). An inscription states that "the amount of harvest brought… from the Maket [plain of Jezreel] was 280,000 heqt of corn [150,000 bushels] beside what was reaped and taken by the king's soldiers."

Early Israelite

In contrast to scriptural references, external evidence on the state of local agriculture just before and after the Israelite conquest is rather meager. Yet from all sources, the incontrovertible fact emerges that no radical climatic changes occurred. Huntington's theory of the country becoming increasingly arid from the biblical time until today must, therefore, be rejected. It is not supported by any examination of the sources or archaeological discovery. These indicate that the areas sown and planted then coincide with the regions watered by rain or irrigation today. An intensively farmed, settled area existed in the irrigated regions of the Jordan Valley and another along the Mediterranean coast (where the annual precipitation exceeds 300 mm.), but there were no stable agricultural settlements in the northern Negev. The land there was cultivated once in several years, when plentiful rainfall would yield abundant harvests. The southern Negev and Arabah were waste, except for desert oases and irrigation projects where waters flowing down from the mountains were collected in dams. Such projects were limited during the kingdom, but increased in the Nabatean era (see below). The condition of afforestation was no different then than at the beginning of Jewish colonization in modern times. Forest and woods spread over the hill and rocky regions which were difficult to cultivate and in areas where the lack of security made soil cultivation and the erection of agricultural installations too hazardous. The "vines and figs" of the regions bordering the routes of the traversing armies were pillaged. This explains the presence of woods in the Naḥal Iron (Wadi ʿArah) district mentioned in the expedition of Thutmose III (and later the "large forest" on the Sharon Plain mentioned by Strabo). Broad forests also extended along the north and northeast boundaries of the country – in Gilead, Bashan, and the Lebanon. There, in the vegetation along the Jordan and in the deserts, lurked wild beasts (see Fauna of *Israel). During the intervals when the land lay desolate, animals would invade the ruins where forests had begun to grow. Several times the scriptural warning against the danger of a too rapid military conquest had been issued "thou mayest not consume them too quickly, lest the beasts of the field increase upon thee" (Deut. 7:22; Ex. 23:29; Num. 26:12). Having wandered in the desert for many years, the children of Israel were unfamiliar with local conditions and could hardly have been expected to succeed in mastering the intensive farming which obtained, for the most part, in the newly conquered territory. Furthermore, the neglect caused by wars and conquest had temporarily devastated large farming tracts, and these had been overrun by natural forests – a condition later recalled in Isaiah 18:9. Scrub and woods became widespread, and farmland degenerated into pasture (cf. *ibid.*, 7:28).

During the transition period, the children of Israel, presumably, were primarily engaged in tending flocks, as in patriarchal days. The Song of Deborah yields no trace of extensive occupation with agriculture, even though the soil was tilled. The tribe of Reuben is described as living "among the sheepfolds, to hear the pipings of the flocks" (Judg. 5:16). Scripture also testifies to the existence of broad grazing lands in Gilead, and Bashan in Transjordan, the areas settled by the tribes of Reuben and Gad and half the tribe of Manasseh, all of whom owned much livestock (Num. 32; Deut. 3:19; Josh. 1:14). Although the Bible does portray the land of Canaan as "flowing with milk and honey" (date syrup), no conclusions can be drawn from this expression as to the relative importance of grazing land ("milk") as opposed to soil cultivation ("honey"). Livestock was raised to a limited extent in the border grassland regions and deserts, or was fed on the stubble of the grain fields and the stalks of the vegetable gardens. During the period of the conquest, sheep and cattle were also grazed in the forests which had covered the farm lands. The talmudic sages undoubtedly relied on an ancient tradition when they included, among the ordinances enacted by *Joshua, one permitting the grazing of flocks in the wooded areas (BK 81a).

The agricultural prosperity of Israel, however, is determined by the rainfall. This fact is emphasized already in the Bible which praises the country as a land that "drinketh water as the rain of heaven cometh down" (Deut. 11:10–11), in contrast to Egypt which was irrigated. This blessing, however, also entails the danger, repeated several times in the Bible and rabbinical literature, that, on account of sin, rainfall could be withheld, with drought and famine resulting. Although the country is described as "a land of brooks of water, of fountains and depths springing forth in valleys and hills" (*ibid.*, 8:7), there is no evidence that in ancient times there were more than the hundreds of small springs and the few moderate and large fountains which now exist. Scripture praises the plain of the Jordan as "well watered," and so it is, even today (Gen. 14:10).

Either through experience or by borrowing the agricultural skills of the indigenous population, the Israelites gradually mastered the cultivation of the soil. The Talmud describes their predecessors as "well versed in the cultivation of the land," saying, "Fill this amount with olives; fill this amount with vines," and interprets their names accordingly: "Hori they that smelled the earth; Hivi they that tasted the earth like a serpent" (Shab. 85a). Even the spies admitted that Israel was a land "flowing with milk and honey and this is its fruit" (Num. 13). The Pentateuch states that the conquerors would enter a land with a highly developed agriculture, fertile soil, and established agricultural installations (Deut. 6:11). Special reference is made to hill cultivation where terraced fields were planted with vines and fruit trees and contained water cisterns, oil and wine presses, and tanks. Since the Canaanites had not yet been ousted from the fertile valleys, the wheat fields were not available to the Israelites (Judg. 1:19, 27–36).

Hill cultivation is intensive by nature; land holdings are small, and knowledge and experience are needed for such farming to yield a livelihood. These conditions apparently explain why the descendants of Joseph (Ephraim and half the tribe of Manasseh) complained to Joshua that the mountain of Ephraim was too small to maintain them. Joshua advised them to go to the forests of Gilead and Bashan (the land of the Perizzites and Rephaim), fell the trees, and settle there; upon the assumption that in securing the dominating heights, they would succeed in dislodging the Canaanites from the valleys (Josh. 17:14–18). Clearing the forests was by no means easy, and was not yet completed in the reign of David, for this region included the "Forest of Ephraim" where the armies of David and Absalom fought each other (II Sam. 18:6–8). The Israelites did gradually succeed not only in mastering agricultural skills but also in organizing permanent town and village settlements. The nomads, enemies of the Israelites from the desert period, now envied the successful Israelite colonization. Together with their flocks, they raided Israelite territory and plundered the fields. Between each wave, the Israelites harvested their fields in haste and stored the produce in hidden receptacles (Judg. 6:2). Rather than use an exposed threshing floor, Gideon was forced to thresh his harvested wheat in a barn where fleeces were dried (*ibid.*, 6:37–40). He was a well-to-do farmer, owning cattle and sheep, vines, and wheat fields. The ordinary Israelite farmer, however, seems to have been poor. His main diet consisted of barley, and consequently the children of Israel were contemptuously represented in the Midianite soldier's dream as a "cake of barley bread" baked on coals (*ibid.*, 7:13).

The state of agriculture at this time may be deduced from the laws of land inheritance in the Pentateuch, and the descriptions of the settlement of the tribes, the divisions of parcels of land among the various families, and the procedure of redeeming estates recounted in the Book of Ruth. These sources reveal Hebrew agriculture as based on the small single family holding. It depicts an idyllic prosperous village life, although workers were only hired at harvest time, and even the wealthy Boaz personally supervised the stacking of the grain after the winnowing. In the course of time, however, a poor, landless class arose – as Scripture itself had foreseen: "the poor shall never cease out of the land" (Deut. 25:11). The unfortunates were the recipients of the gifts to the poor: the gleanings, the forgotten sheaves, the corners of the fields, the poor tithe. To the priests and levites, the heave offerings and tithes were given. The Book of Ruth reflects this, as well as the redeeming of fields to insure the continuity of family ties with the land. This almost sacred bond tying the Hebrew farmer to his inherited land was characteristic of Israel agriculture in every period. Here, too, is a reason for the speedy recovery of the local agriculture after every period of desolation. It should also be noted that the Israelite farmer always maintained a distinctly high cultural level. This fact is attested to by the "*Gezer Calendar", which gives a succinct but comprehensive account of the annual cycle of seasonal agricultural occupations. If the conjecture is correct that this calendar was a lesson transcribed by a boy, it is evidence that formal instruction in agriculture was imparted during the period of the Judges. The Hebrews also acquired agricultural techniques from their neighbors, as may be deduced from Shamgar the son of Anath's smiting the Philistines with an ox goad (Judg. 3:31) – not the primitive implement made entirely of wood, but one with a metal nail knocked through one end, and a metal spade attached to the other. In later sources, the *dorban* (also an ox goad) is mentioned as one of the few metal implements the Hebrews were allowed to take to the Philistines to be repaired and sharpened, metal work being prohibited to the Israelites lest they fashion arms to war upon their Philistine overlords (I Sam. 13:19–22). It appears that the children of Israel adopted agricultural skills and the use of the new types of implements brought by the Philistines who invaded the country in the 13th century from the Aegean islands, and who settled in the southern coastal region and the lowlands of Judah. Their main gainful occupation was farming. Although they were the enemies of the Hebrews, they nevertheless refrained from attacking the farms on the hills and in the valleys. A period of agricultural stability ensued. This period provides the background for the Book of Ruth.

The Period of the First Temple

Israelite agriculture was based, as has been shown, on the autarchic family farm. With the rise of the monarchy, this order was threatened with collapse. Samuel warned the assembled people: "He (the king) will take your fields and your vineyards, and your olive yards, even the best of them, and give them to his servants" (I Sam. 8–14), but it is doubtful if the prediction came true. Although David owned royal estates over which he appointed officials (I Chron. 27:26–29), they were apparently conquered and annexed territories, or else previously unworked areas which were developed by royal initiative. In the days of Solomon, boundaries were extended, and officials "who provided victuals for the king and his household" (I Kings 4:7) administered the royal estates. Agriculture prospered, and the memory of that condition was perpetuated in Scripture: "Judah and Israel dwelt safely, every man under his vine and fig tree from Dan to Beer-Sheba…" (*ibid.*, 5:5). Uzziah, king of Judah, is called "lover of husbandry," and was noted for owning fields and vineyards, and for building "towers in the wilderness and hewing out many cisterns" (II Chron. 26:10). Evidence corroborating this statement has been found in recent times through the excavation in the Negev hill region of an agricultural settlement, irrigated by an accumulation of rain water flowing down from the mountains. Settlements of this type were, apparently, guard posts and supply stations along the Negev caravan routes. In those days agriculture and agronomy reached their peak and were described by Isaiah as wisdom emanating from God, Who had taught the sons of man excellent methods of plowing and reaping (Isa. 28:23–29). It is noteworthy that these verses mention threshing implements which appeared only many generations later in Egypt and Rome. After the death of Uzziah security deteriorated and a decline set in among the Hebrew settlements in the lowlands. Against this background, Isaiah prophesied better days to come, when settlements would extend through the lowlands, when the farmer would sow his irrigated fields near the springs, and the shepherd tend his flocks without interference (*ibid.*, 32:19–20).

The story of Naboth's vineyard, which was coveted by King Ahab, who wished to convert it into a vegetable garden, reflects agricultural conditions in the Northern Kingdom. Whereas the Jewish king respected the sanctity of a paternal inheritance to an Israel farmer, Queen Jezebel, a Sidonian princess, could not appreciate it (I Kings 21). With the passage of time, apparently, the poor and its widows and orphans were, in increasing numbers, likewise evicted from their holdings, and the prophet denounced those "who join house to house, that lay field to field" (Isa. 5:68). Nevertheless, in the main, the right of inheritance to patriarchal estates was upheld. When Jerusalem was actually under siege, Jeremiah, exercising his right of redemption, bought a plot of land (32:7–12). The remarkable agricultural prosperity of the land of Israel during the First Temple period is indicated in Ezekiel 27:17, which lists the exports of Judah and Israel to the market of Tyre as wheat of Minnith (probably a place in Transjordan), "pannag" (which cannot be clearly identified), honey, oil, and balm. With the destruction of the Kingdom of Israel at the end of the eighth century B.C.E. Samaria was denuded of its Israelite population, and repopulated by the nations the King of Assyria transported from other districts of his empire. The new inhabitants – later called Samaritans and in the Talmud, "Kutim" – failed to farm their land properly. Perhaps the lions that attacked them (II Kings 17:25–27) had found a lair in the forests which encroached on neglected farms. There is no further information on conditions in Galilee. Some Israelites must have remained, since Hezekiah communicated with them (II Chron. 30), and Josiah extended his domain over them (*ibid.*, 34:6). A few biblical passages point to persisting desolation, and a prophecy predicted the restoration of cultivation in Samaria (Jer. 31:5).

The Period of the Return and the Second Temple

Having destroyed the Temple, Nebuzaradan left "the poorest of the land to be vinedressers and husbandmen" (II Kings 25:12), apparently tenant farmers or hired workers of the royal estates. He may also have left behind those familiar with local methods in order to prevent the further deterioration of the farms by unskilled and inexperienced labor. The impoverished Jews and the foreigners who settled in abandoned Jewish territory could not, however, maintain the terraced hill farms and orchards. When the exiles returned, they found the land forsaken and desolate. They proceeded to repair the terraces, to restore the agricultural installations and to plant vines and fruit trees. Yet, due to their ignorance of how to exploit the rain water for hill cultivation, they failed to establish viable farms. Somewhat later, conditions improved. Farming prospered, and the prophet Malachi regarded the changed situation as a manifestation of God's love for His people. Desolate Edom is contrasted with prospering Judah (1:2–3). From the books of Ezra and Nehemiah it appears, however, that this optimism was premature, particularly in view of the ensuing moral degeneration. Poor farmers were evicted from their lands by the rich, and a new landowning class emerged. The new conditions loosened the bonds of devotion tying the farmer to his patrimony, and Jewish agriculture suffered. Now the foreigners, who had been forced to restore the lands seized from the Israelites, began to raise their heads. They obtained employment from the new owners and were often able to buy back the lands they had forfeited. Fields, vineyards, and orchards were neglected, and the woods again spread. From these trees, the Jews were enjoined to cut branches and build tabernacles (Neh. 8:15). As a result of the social and agrarian reforms instituted by Ezra and Nehemiah the Jewish population became more securely settled. Although a significant portion of the land still belonged to the king of Persia, the Jewish settlement broke through its boundaries by extending northward toward Galilee. The meager historical source material for the period includes the Book of Judith, assigned to the early fourth century (the period of Artaxerxes II, 404–359 B.C.E.). The setting of the hook is the hills overlooking Jezreel, and the Jewish settlements mentioned as existing in the vicinity (Judith 7:3–13) apparently formed the link between the inhabited areas of Judea and the colonies that flourished in Galilee in later generations.

The level of Jewish agriculture in the Hellenistic period is not altogether clear. The author of the *Letter of *Aristeas* (pars. 112–118: early third century B.C.E.) praised the agricultural productivity of the country and the great "diligence of its farmers. The country is plentifully wooded with numerous olive trees and rich in cereals and vegetables and also in vines and honey. Date palms and other fruit trees are beyond reckoning among them." He apparently exaggerated the extent of the irrigated areas and the importance of the Jordan River as a water source. He similarly referred to large parcels of land – "each a holder of one hundred auroura lots" – about 275,000 square meters. Perhaps he wanted to draw an analogy between the Nile and the Jordan, comparing the small lots of Judah with the large holdings of Egypt. Had Ereẓ Israel been as densely populated as he claimed, the landholding of each family must have been much smaller than he estimated. His assertion might, however, indicate the growth of the landowning class on the one hand and a landless class on the other, conditions that arose soon after the return of the Babylonian exiles. The book of Ben Sira stresses such a contrast between the classes. In the *Zeno papyri (259 B.C.E.), Syria and Palestine are described as exporters of agricultural produce: grain, oil, and wine.

The Hasmonean Period

A period of further consolidation and expansion of Jewish settlement. The Hasmonean revolt relied mainly on the farmers, who received their just reward once the war had been won when many Gentile holdings fell into their hands. The farmers adhered closely to the Torah, especially to the precepts pertaining to the land, such as the year of release. Josephus relates (Wars, 1:54–66) that John Hyrcanus was forced to raise his siege of Ptolemy's stronghold because of the scarcity of food occasioned by the sabbatical year. During the reign of Alexander Yannai the Hasmonean kingdom reached the peak of its expansion, Jewish colonization of Galilee increased, and it became the largest center of Jewish population outside of Judea.

The Mishnaic and Talmudic Period

Began a generation before the destruction of the Temple and ends at the time of the division of the Roman empire. Josephus describes an abundance and fertility in the land at the end of the Second Temple period. He lavishes praise on Galilee in particular where "the land is so rich in soil and pasturage and produces such a variety of trees, that even the most indolent are tempted by these facilities to devote themselves to agriculture. In fact every inch of soil has been cultivated by the inhabitants; there is not a parcel of wasteland. The towns, too, are thickly distributed and even the villages, thanks to the fertility of the soil, are all so densely populated that the smallest of them contains above fifteen thousand inhabitants" (Jos., Wars, 3:42–43). The last number is an obvious exaggeration, especially in view of the number of villages in Galilee, which he elsewhere puts at 204 (Jos., Life, 235). He also describes Samaria and Judea: "Both regions consist of hills and plains, yield a light and fertile soil for agriculture, are well wooded, and abound in fruits, both wild and cultivated… But the surest testimony to the virtues and thriving conditions of the two countries is that both have a dense population"; but he is less enthusiastic about Transjordan which "is for the most part desert and rugged and too wild to bring tender fruits to maturity." Yet, he continues, even there, there were "tracts of finer soil which are productive of every species of crop, country watered by torrents descending from mountains and springs" (Wars 3:44–50). He praises the valley of Gennasereth where "there is not a plant which its fertile soil refuses to produce" – both those "which delight in the most wintry climate" and those which "thrive on heat," and concludes that "Nature had taken pride in this assembly, by a tour de force of the most discordant species in a single spot" (*ibid.*, 3:517–18). With equal enthusiasm Josephus regarded the valley of Jericho and the plentiful spring of Elisha which waters it. There grow "the most charming and luxuriant parks. Of the date palms watered by it there are numerous varieties differing in flavor … here too grow the juicy balsam, the most precious of all local products, the henna shrubs and myrrh trees so that it would be no misnomer to describe this place as divine" (*ibid.*, 4:468ff.). Similar praise of the date palms of Jericho are found in the nature studies of Pliny, who gives the names and characteristics of the varieties of dates which were export items (*Historia Naturalis*, 13:9). He also mentions the balsam groves of Jericho and En-Gedi, and writes parenthetically: "But to all the other odors that of balsam is considered preferable, a plant that has only been bestowed by Nature upon the land of Judea. In former times it was cultivated in two gardens only, both of which belonged to kings of that country.… The Jews vented their rage upon this shrub just as they were in the habit of doing against their own lives, while, on the other hand, the Romans protected it; indeed combats have taken place before now in defense of a shrub … the fifth year after the conquest of Judea, these cuttings with the suckers were sold for the price of 800,000 sesterces" (*ibid.*, 12:25, 24).

On account of the density of the population, holdings were quite small. The typical size may be estimated from Eusebius's account (*Historiae Eccleseastiea*, 3:20, 1ff.) of the two grandsons of Judah, brother of Jesus, who declared to the Roman government that they derived their sustenance from an area of 39 plethra (34,000 m^2.) which they cultivated with their own hands, from which it follows that the average family derived its livelihood from 17,000 m^2. Several passages in talmudic literature refer to the unit *bet kor* or 30 *se'ah* (about 23,000 m^2 in area) as a large field and a substantial inheritance (e.g., Mekh., *Be-Shallaḥ*, 87–88). On the other hand, some individuals at the close of the Second Temple period possessed immense fortunes. Among them was the almost legendary R. Eleazar b. Ḥarsum (Kid. 49b), a high priest, "of whom it was said that his father had left him 1,000 cities, yet he would wander from place to place to study Torah" (Yoma 35b). These cities were razed during the Bar Kokhba War (TJ, Ta'an. 4:8, 69a)

In those times, the state of agriculture fluctuated constantly in accordance with the policies of the Roman conquerors. Josephus relates that, after the destruction, Titus issued a decree expropriating Jewish landholdings which he ordered sold or leased out (Wars, 5:421). At first these lands were acquired mainly by Gentiles who leased the plots to the former Jewish owners, and these later tried to buy back their land. To assure the restoration of the lands to their former Jewish owners, the talmudic sages enacted ordinances forbidding competition and speculation in land (BB 9:4; TJ, Ket. 2:1, 26b; Git. 52a, et al.). On the other hand, a class of extremely wealthy landowners emerged at that time like the *nasi* dynasty, R. Eliezer b. Azariah, and others, who had acquired heirless estates from the Roman government. Asked what constituted a wealthy person, their contemporary R. Tarfon answered: "Whoever owns 100 vineyards, 100 fields, and 100 slaves to work them" (Shab. 25b). The response, it should be noted, is one of the isolated instances in rabbinic literature which refers to the employment of slave labor in agriculture (see also TJ, Yev. 8:1, 8d). Gentile (there were no Jewish) slaves were chiefly employed in housework and urban domestic services, whereas agriculture was the province of farmers, tenants, lessors, and hired workers. In the first years following the destruction, Gentiles still possessed and also worked many former Jewish farms. Rabbinic literature alludes to this situation in the gloomy *baraita:* "For seven years the Gentiles held vintage in the vineyards soaked with Israel's blood without fertilizing" (Git. 57a). With the passage of time, however, the Jewish population resettled on the farms and regained ownership. Natural increase forced the size of each family's holding to decrease, the average now being four-five *bet se'ah*, i.e., 3,000–3,500 m^2. of field crops, the area known as *bet ha-peras* (Oho. 17:2 – in Latin: *forus).* Plots of this size are mentioned in deeds of sale dating from the time of Bar Kokhba, found in Wadi Murabbaʿat in the desert of Judah (Benoit, Milik, de Vaux, *Les grottes de Murabaat, pp.* 155ff.). These documents speak of the sale of "an area where five *se'ah* of wheat can be sown." Presumably an area of 3,500 m^2 sufficed to supply the cereal needs of a family. In addition the farmer owned vines and orchards. Executed during Bar Kokhba's rebellion, these deeds prove that even in the thick of war, Jews continued to buy and sell land.

The rebellion and its aftermath seriously affected Jewish agriculture. Certain localities were utterly devastated, "since Hadrian had come and destroyed the country" (TJ, Pe'ah 7:1, 20a). Especially in Judea, where the Roman government took possession of the lands of the thousands of war dead, the desolation was great. In the words of the *aggadah*: "Hadrian owned a large vineyard, 18 *mil* square, and he surrounded it with a fence of the slain of Bethar" (Lam. R. 2:2, no. 4). Galilee, too, sustained heavy damage. Before "the times became troubled," the area had been so densely populated that R. Simeon b. Yoḥai found a way of measuring the distances between the villages so that not one was beyond the Sabbath range (2,000 cubits) of its nearest neighbor (TJ, Er. 5:1, 22b–c). Its olive groves had previously been so numerous that one "dipped one's feet in oil" there, yet later "olives [were] not normally found there" (TJ, Pe'ah, 7:1, 20a). Oppressive decrees and heavy taxes jeopardized the existence, both physical and spiritual, of the farmer. Before the revolt, Simeon b. Yoḥai, the disciple of Akiva, was particularly interested in the religious precepts applying to land; after it, he complained: "Is that possible? If a person plows in the plowing season and reaps in the reaping season… what is to become of the Torah?" (Ber. 35a). The suggested solution was employment in trade and in crafts in the city. Yet once again, agriculture recovered. Jewish settlement expanded and even penetrated to the northern coastal regions (Tosef., Kil. 2:16).

Further increases in population led to further decrease in the size of family holdings. In the next generation there is a conflict of opinion as to what constituted the minimum size of land divisible among heirs. The majority of sages held it to be a plot large enough to provide each heir with one and a half *bet se'ah* (1,176 m^2.) while Judah regarded a field even half that size as divisible among heirs (BB 7:6; Tosef., BM 11:9). Normally a single owner would have several fields of this size, yet there were cases where an individual farmer had to subsist on an even smaller plot of land. A certain Samaritan reportedly drew his sustenance from a field a *bet se'ah* in area (784 m^2; Ket. 112a).

The period from the disciples of Akiva until the third amoraic generation (middle of second century to end of third century C.E.), was both spiritually and physically one of the most productive periods of all times. It saw an unprecedented progress in agriculture. Highly cultured, the Jewish farmer did not allow himself to stagnate and he was always ready to adopt new techniques and to experiment with new strains (see *Agricultural Methods). Many *aggadot* celebrate the abundance and fertility of the land of Israel at the time, and mention grape clusters as large as oxen; mustard as tall as fig trees; two radishes being a full load for a camel; turnips large enough to constitute a fox's den; a peach large enough to feed a man and his animal to satiety, etc. Certain localities were designated as the referent in "the land of milk and honey," as for instance, sixteen *mil* around Sepphoris in Galilee and the vicinities of Lydda and Ono (see Meg. 6a; Ket. 111b; TJ, Pe'ah 7:4, 20a–b).

Depression set in at the end of R. Johanan's lifetime. "In his days, the world changed" (TJ, Pe'ah 7:4, 20a), either through natural causes (BM 105h) or else through Roman taxation. In any event the lot of the farmer became progressively worse. Farmers had, in earlier times, most strictly observed the prescriptions of the sabbatical year; now they became more lax (Sanh. 26a). Previously "one was not supposed to raise sheep and goats" in the land of Israel; now Johanan advocated sheep raising (Ḥul. 84a). It had obviously become increasingly difficult for the Jewish farmer to be self-supporting. In principle, R. Eliezer, who had previously laid down that whoever did not own land was no man, now came to the cruel realization that there was no occupation less distinguished than agriculture. Only those farmers close to the rulers could maintain themselves, and he therefore concluded: "Land was only given to the powerful" (Yev. 63a; Sanh. 58b).

An exodus from village to city ensued in which the process of the displacement of the Jewish farmer began. Gentiles replaced them to such an extent, that the question arose as to whether most of the land of Palestine was in Gentile or Jewish hands. The new owners neither felt an attachment to the land nor possessed the skills of their predecessors. Especially in the hill regions, lands were now abandoned or turned into pastures, and once more the forests began to encroach on the deserted farms.

The Byzantine-Muslim Period

Under Byzantine rule, the situation hardly improved. However there is evidence, even for that time, of the existence of Jewish settlements in the Valley of Jezreel and in the Negev, as well, where remains of exquisite ancient synagogues are visible (Bet Alfa, Nirim, etc.). The Nabatean agriculture which flourished in the Negev mountain area is also noteworthy. This people had developed a highly perfected system of gathering runoff water and so irrigating arid, desolate regions. With the Moslem conquest, many Byzantine lands were laid waste, the owners fleeing or killed. These lands became state property and were leased out to tenant farmers. The Muhammadan rulers were totally ignorant of agriculture and their heavy taxes drove the owners from the land. Here and there, especially in Galilee, some Jewish settlements persevered. Later, there was an improvement. By the 11th century Ramleh figs had become an important export item, and cotton, sugar cane, and indigo plants were cultivated.

The Crusader conquest wreaked further damage on local agriculture. The Franks, who took possession, farmed large tracts extensively, using a combination of European and local techniques. The village population became serfs indentured to the land. There is almost no information available on Judea at that time. It is known, however, that Jews suffered less than the Muslim population at the hands of the crusaders. There is mention of Jewish settlements in Galilee (Gischala (Gush Ḥalav), Alma, Kefar Baram, etc.) where the population engaged mainly in handicrafts and trade. Little is known of Jews in Palestine in the time of the Mamluks. At the end of the 14th century, Jews expelled from France settled in Ereẓ Israel, among them Estori Parḥi, whose work *Kaftor va-Feraḥ* describes the country and its agriculture. The author made his home in Beth-Shean, an area where Jews were living, as they did too, in Safed, Gischala, Lydda, Ramleh, and Gaza.

A marked improvement in agriculture and an increase in population occurred under Ottoman rule, at the end of the 16th century. Jews were engaged in the manufacture of finished products from agricultural raw materials: wine, textiles, and dyeing. They lived in Ein Zeitim, Biriyyah, Peki'in, Kefar Kanna, and elsewhere. In the 17th century the Jews in the villages were harassed by both Bedouin tribes and government soldiers; the population there consequently declined. Dahir al-Amr who ruled over Galilee in the 1740s encouraged the settlement of fallahin, and Jews also came to live in the region, in villages like Kefar Yasif and Shefaram. After his death, another period of decline ensued. Only at the end of the 19th century was there noticeable improvement. The Jewish population increased, and Sir Moses Montefiore among others formulated plans for settling Jews on the land. The Mikveh Israel agricultural school was founded in 1870 and a little later the first Jewish colonies, Moẓa and Petaḥ Tikvah sprang up. In 1881, the American consul in Jerusalem noted that 1,000 Jewish families were earning their livelihood from agriculture. Colonization gained new strength from the First Aliyah in 1882, and from then and until today the extent of Jewish agricultural settlement has been constantly expanding (see *Israel, State of: Agriculture).

[Jehuda Feliks]

IN BABYLON

The Jews in Babylonia enjoyed a considerable measure of internal autonomy under the rule of the *Exilarch, who was almost a tributary monarch; consequently the agricultural customs and usages appertaining to the land of Israel obtained in Jewish Babylonia and it is specifically stated that the ten enactments traditionally attributed to Joshua to protect the sometimes conflicting rights of cattle owners, farmers, and the ordinary public, obtained also in Babylon (BK 81b). On the other hand it was clearly laid down that when the civil law conflicted with Jewish law in these matters the former prevailed (cf. BB 55a). During the whole of the period of the *amoraim* and their successors the **savoraim*, i.e., from the third to the eighth centuries, the economy of Babylonia was essentially an agricultural one. From the end of the fifth century onward however, that agricultural economy gradually changed to a money one, and by the eighth century the latter prevailed. This important change is reflected in the **takkanah* enacted by R. Huna ha-Levi b. Isaac and R. Manasseh b. Joseph, the *geonim* of Pumbedita, together with their colleague Bebai of Sura, between 785 and 788 C.E. whereby the previous law that a widow could claim her *ketubbah* only on the landed property of her husband was changed to enable her to claim on his movable property also. Generally speaking the agricultural conditions in Babylonia were similar to those of Ereẓ Israel, with the result that the Babylonian *amoraim* found little difficulty in applying the rules laid down in the Mishnah, which reflects conditions in Ereẓ Israel, to those of their own country. Nevertheless, there were distinct differences, some of which are herewith noted. The land was more fertile than that of Ereẓ Israel. Situated between the Euphrates and the Tigris, and intersected with numerous tributaries and man-made canals, there was an abundant water supply which was largely independent of rain, and on the verse of Jeremiah 51:13 "thou that dwellest upon many waters, abundant in treasures" the Palestinian *amora* *Hoshaiah commented "Why are the granaries of Babylonia always filled with grain? Because there is an abundance of water," while the Babylonian Rav commented, "Babylonia is rich, because the harvest is gathered even when there is no rain" (Ta'an. 10a). Where in Ereẓ Israel prayers for the relief of drought were characteristic, in Babylonia public prayers were offered against the peril of floods, and were even offered up on their behalf by their coreligionists in Ereẓ Israel (Ta'an. 22b). The climate was also distinctly better than in Ereẓ Israel (RH 20a). As a result Jewish Babylonia enjoyed exceptional fertility and the Euphrates is made to say "I cause plants to grow in 30 days and vegetables in three days" (Gen. R. 16:3). The date palm was the most characteristic of the trees of Babylonia. It grew luxuriously and extensively. Rav stated that their abundance enabled the Jews of Babylonia to find an easy livelihood there (Ta'an. 29b) and Ulla, of Ereẓ Israel on a visit to Babylon, remarked that "the reason God exiled the Jews to Babylonia was that, having plentiful dates for food, they could devote themselves to the study of Torah" (Pes. 87b). At the time of the emperor Julian (361–63 C.E.) the whole of Mesene as far as the Persian Gulf was like one huge palm grove. The olive, which was one of the staple commodities of Ereẓ Israel, did not flourish to any large extent in Babylonia. From a non-talmudic source it is learnt that it began to be more extensively cultivated in the fourth century but in the early period its place, both for lighting and for food, was taken by sesame oil. Thus when R. Tarfon wished to limit the oil for the Sabbath lamp to olive oil (Shab. 2:2) Johanan b. Nuri protested, "If so, what shall the Babylonians do, who have only sesame oil" (Shab. 26a), and so characteristic was this difference that whereas "oil" without any qualification was taken in Ereẓ Israel to refer to olive oil, in Babylonia it was taken to refer to sesame (Ned. 53a). Cotton seed oil was also in common use (Shab. 21a). Hemp, which had to be imported into Ereẓ Israel (Kil. 9:7), at least in mishnaic times (in the amoraic period it seems to have been successfully cultivated; cf. TJ, Kil. 32d) was grown extensively in Babylonia and cloth made from it was common and cheaper than linen (BM 51a). It was also used for ropes (Ket. 67a). A plant unique in Babylonia, as compared with Israel, was the cuscuta from which beer was manufactured. In some parts of the country it was regarded as the national drink as wine was in Ereẓ Israel (Pes. 8a); R. Papa was a brewer (Pes. 113a). Where pepper was regarded as the most exotic of plants in Ereẓ Israel (cf. Suk. 35a), it was freely grown in Babylonia, as was ginger (Ber. 36b; Shab. 141a).

Livestock

Despite the agricultural fertility of Babylonia, it would appear that the rearing and breeding of "small cattle"; sheep and goats, was even more profitable in Babylonia. Thus it is given as good counsel that one should sell one's fields to invest the proceeds in flocks, but not vice versa, and R. Ḥisda refers to the wealth this occupation brings to those who engage in it (Ḥul. 84a–b). From a statement that one should clothe himself with the wool of his own sheep and drink the milk of his own sheep and goats (*ibid.*), it would appear that every householder had a few, and there is other evidence that the tendency was for small individual flocks. Cows and oxen were bred both for plowing and for slaughter (Naz. 31b). The ass was used for riding and the mule for transport (BM 97a). Horses were apparently used only for military purposes (Av. Zar. 16a; Rashi to Pes. 113a). Camels were also used for travel and the dromedary, the "flying camel," is mentioned as a means of rapid transport (Mak. 5a). All the common domestic birds, chicken, ducks, and geese were extensively raised (cf. Beẓ. 24a) as was the breeding of pigeons (BB 23b), and the Jews of Babylonia were skilled agriculturists (BB 80a). Fish were abundant in the rivers and lakes of Babylonia and there is extensive reference to the various methods of catching them (see Newman, pp. 136–40).

[Louis Isaac Rabinowitz]

IN THE MIDDLE AGES

Ideals

The transition of the Jews in the Diaspora to an urban population mainly constituted of merchants and artisans began from about the end of the eighth century. Yet Jews continued to regard agriculture as the ideal and most important Jewish occupation, the basis of the way of life and social ethics emerging from the Bible and permeating the whole of talmudic literature. In 13th-century Germany the Jewish moralist *Eleazar b. Judah b. Kalonymus of Worms, in describing the primary, divinely ordained state of society, relates that God "created the world so that all shall live in pleasantness, that all shall be equal, that one shall not lord it over the other, that all shall cultivate the land …" However, "when warriors multiplied, and every man relied on his might, when they left off cultivating the land and turned to robbery, He brought down on them the Flood" (*Ḥokhmat ha-Nefefesh*, 22b). The utopian agricultural society is here described as being destroyed by knightly feudal behavior which brought divine retribution on the world. Ideals of this kind continued to persist and have inspired the return to the soil in Zionism and related attempts at Jewish colonization in modern times.

History

The place of agriculture in Jewish economic and social life steadily diminished from the fourth century. Increasingly severe edicts were issued by Christian emperors prohibiting Jews from keeping slaves, first applying to Christian slaves only and then to all slaves. These restrictions obviated any large-scale Jewish agricultural undertakings by depriving them of workers. The church also developed the conception that Jews should be denied any positions of authority or honor. This attitude later automatically excluded Jews from the feudal structure based on land ownership and the social structure which it combined. In these conditions, Jews were only fit for the lowest rank of serfs, but the religious and moral aspects of such a position made this impossible for all practical purposes.

Under Islamic administrations, both Jewish and Christian farmers bore the additional burden of a special land tax, the *Kharaj*, and suffered from a policy by which the produce delivered in land taxes was excessively undervalued. In Iraq, where there was a large concentration of Jews engaged in agriculture, they suffered from the general neglect of irrigation in the first two generations of Muslim rule. On the other hand, urban life and trading as an occupation were respected in Islamic society; they were a powerful attraction in the Caliphate, in particular to the Jew who wanted to escape oppressive discrimination in the villages. From the second half of the ninth century, the cultural milieux of the great Muslim cities like Baghdad drew increasing numbers of the population. The expansion of the Caliphate and the diversification of its economy provided growing opportunities for Jews in urban occupations. Additionally, the requirements of organized religion formed a further incentive to urbanization for the majority of Jews.

Thus from the end of the eighth century agriculture became a marginal Jewish occupation in both Christian and Muslim lands. However, Jews continued as farmers wherever legal and social conditions permitted. Large groups of Jewish farmers are known in North Africa in the ninth century. They are mentioned in connection with irrigation, gardening, viticulture, and the commercial production of cheese (which is known to have been stamped with the word *berakhah*, "blessing"). Livestock breeding was apparently an unimportant branch in Jewish agriculture. In Egypt in the 12th century Jews entrusted cattle or sheep to non-Jews to be raised for meat. Similarly, they frequently handed over fields, vineyards, orchards, and gardens to Gentile sharecroppers, although Jewish *bustāni* (gardeners) are mentioned in documents of the Cairo **Genizah*. They perhaps worked in "the orchard of the synagogue of the Palestinians" in Old Cairo (Fostat). While cheese making and beekeeping by Jews have a large place in the *Genizah* records, they are overshadowed by the production of wine. Naturally "pressers" of grapes are mentioned, although these probably worked only on a seasonal basis. Another agricultural specialist frequently mentioned in the *Genizah* from the 11th to the 13th centuries was the *sukkari*, the manufacturer and seller of sugar, which was produced mostly from cane but sometimes from raisins or dates. In western North Africa (the Maghreb) Jews owned cultivated land in the villages and city outskirts. Some of the tales of R. *Nissim b. Jacob of Kairouan (first half of the 11th century) have a rural or semirural setting and are probably located in North Africa (cf. Hirschberg in bibliography).

After the Muslim conquest of Spain in 711, Jews there gradually entered the agrarian sphere taking advantage of changes such as the apportionment of land, liquidation sales, or the expropriation of rebels. Andalusia attracted a stream of immigrants from North Africa, including numerous Jews who were often skilled farmers. These possibly constituted the majority of Jewish landowners and peasants mentioned there in tenth-century records. Problems concerning cornfields and orchards are dealt with at length in the Spanish rabbinical responsa of the period, which also mention technical innovations, for instance pumping methods. The Jewish *karram* (winegrower) had to see to every aspect of viticulture, from amelioration of the soil to grape pressing. After the Spanish territories passed to Christian rule, Jews continued to engage in agriculture. In Leon and Castile, Aragon and Catalonia, Jews are often recorded as settlers and developers of newly occupied areas, frequently in collaboration with the monasteries. Jews owned large tracts of land, in particular near the towns, since many members of the Jewish upper strata participated in the parcellation and recolonization of lands captured from the Muslims during the Christian Reconquest from the 12th century on. Some Jewish smallholders cultivated their own plots: fields and pastures, orchards and gardens are mentioned. Jews also employed hired labor. Some dealt in livestock and agricultural products, or engaged in crafts based on agricultural materials, such as hides and fibers. It is not known whether the raw material for the important Spanish-Jewish silk industry was produced locally or bought from Sicilian Jews.

In Italy, Jewish economic activity was not subjected to legal restrictions until the 16th century, but the majority of Jews there lived in the cities. However, their (probably uninterrupted) presence in rural areas, particularly in central and southern Italy, is evidenced. Jews were among the first to cultivate the mulberry in Italy, and the flourishing silk industry was largely controlled by Jews. In Sicily Jews owned and cultivated vineyards and olive groves. Some excelled in cultivating the date palm; Frederick II gave certain Jews the stewardship of his private grove. Beside these farmers there were Jewish fishermen. Sicilian Jews also owned land or herds which were looked after by non-Jews on a sharecropping basis. Many Jews in Sicily in the 13th and 14th centuries were engaged in commerce or crafts based on agriculture.

In southern France, especially in Provence, conditions were similar to those in Spain and Italy. Great Jewish *allodia* are mentioned in the early Middle Ages, some near Narbonne are recalled in a legendary context. In the greater part of medieval France and Germany, however, the Jews who engaged in agriculture were the exception rather than the rule. In the time of Charlemagne (eighth–ninth centuries), some Jews still farmed large tracts of land. In suitable regions Jews are found specializing in viticulture, fruit growing, and dairy farming. These capital intensive and semi urban branches of agriculture could be combined with commercial activities. In addition, while vineyards or orchards required expert supervision, they did not demand continual labor, so that even scholars like *Rashi and Jacob *Tam could grow grapes for a living while devoting time to study.

In the Balkans and Greece, *Benjamin of Tudela (mid-12th century) found a Jewish community of 200 (families?) in Crissa, engaged in agriculture, and another near Mount Parnassus. Further east, Jewish farmers were already found in the tenth century. On the northern shores of the Black Sea they introduced advanced techniques of plowing and perhaps also new irrigation methods, and rice growing. Rice was in fact widely grown in the Volga region under the *Khazars, but was discontinued after their downfall.

In Eastern Europe, Jews turned to the countryside more frequently from the 14th century. When expelled from many of the cities, they settled on the estates of the nobility and in villages. The transition was also due to their increasing connection with the growing and sale of wine (see *Wine and Liquor Trade). In Lithuania, Jewish settlement in the towns was early combined with agricultural activity. Thus Grand Duke Witold granted the Jews of Grodno in 1389 the right to "use the sown pasture land which they hold now or may acquire in the future, paying to our treasury the same as the gentile citizens." With the development of the **arenda* ("leasehold") system and trade in agricultural products, the Jews in Poland-Lithuania became increasingly involved in agriculture as leaseholders of agricultural assets, for instance of distilleries or mills, or as administrators of the rural estates; they also dealt in everything pertaining to agriculture and supplied the needs of both peasants and landlords. The Jewish leaseholder (*arendar*) of agricultural assets on a large scale gradually developed into a kind of capitalist farmer, entering agriculture by providing capital and business management. The large number of small-scale *arendars* also became increasingly involved in village life and affairs. Not only the many Jews living near or in the villages, but also those in the small Jewish townships that became characteristic of Polish and Lithuanian Jewry owned vegetable gardens and orchards near their houses. Their livelihood and way of life was closely bound up with peasant life and activities. However, the number of Jews who may be classified as belonging to the agricultural sector at any given time in the period remains a moot point. These connections to a certain degree enabled the renewal of Jewish agriculture in modern times. It is safe to generalize that the greater part of Eastern European Jewry was conditioned by semirural environment until well into the 19th century.

TRADE IN AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTS: MIDDLE AGES AND MODERN TIMES. In the early Middle Ages Jewish international trade mainly consisted of commerce in agricultural products from the Far and Middle East destined for luxury consumption in Western Europe. Jewish merchants traded in *spices at least from the sixth century (see *Radanites), and also in dyestuffs (see *Dyeing). Conducted on a large scale, this trade was naturally based on the contacts established by Jews in the Orient with local producers and merchants. Information from the end of the tenth century shows extensive activity in this sphere by Jewish merchants from Egypt, Tunisia, and Syria. During the 11th and 12th centuries trading in agricultural products was carried on by Jews in all the Mediterranean countries, either as individual enterprises or, when on a larger scale, frequently in partnerships, which sometimes also included Muslim merchants. The trade included sugar exported from Egypt, and dried fruits, especially from Syria, as well as condiments, dyes, oil, cheese, and wines throughout the area.

The small Jewish merchants at that time included peddlers who acted as intermediaries between the rural producers and the city. In the Near East as well as in the more backward European countries they traded their goods for agricultural products which they sold at the urban markets. Jews living in the Aegean islands of Byzantium sometimes leased the state revenues from the trade in grain and wines. Attempts to oust Jews from dealing in wines, grain, and other foodstuffs were made in France and Germany in the eighth and ninth centuries, for instance by the Synod of Frankfurt in 794. Bishop *Agobard complained that the Jews of Lyons in his day dealt in wines and meat. Jews owned vineyards and dealt in wines in France up to the 12th century. In England, the *Statutum de judeismo* of 1275, after forbidding the Jews to engage in moneylending, authorized them to practice trades and crafts. A large number of wealthy Jews therefore turned to trade in grain and wool. While the Jewish merchants of Bristol, Canterbury, Exeter, and Hereford mainly dealt in grain, those of Lincoln, Norwich, and Oxford were wool merchants. In the states of Christian Spain, the Jewish trade in agricultural products was widely developed, and in some places ordinances regulating this trade were issued by the local communities. In Portugal in the 14th century the authorities restricted the activities of Jewish peddlers and traders who bought honey, oil, and wax from the mountain villages and sold these commodities in the cities.

Even when moneylending became the paramount Jewish economic activity in Western Europe the Jews in the West continued to deal in agricultural products, in particular in wines, wool, and grain, frequently in combination with their loan activities. This is attested in the responsa literature of the period. In the 15th century many Jews in the southeastern parts of the German Empire acted as middlemen in buying the products of the villages and landed estates (*Gut*) and selling them to the towns. Buying up, and especially horse-trading, became the specialties of Jews in *Bavaria and Franconia, in which they continued to engage well into modern times. The Jewish peddler later found in the United States was continuing a traditional Jewish occupation in Germany and Eastern Europe. However, the anti-Jewish enactments passed by the church frequently succeeded in preventing Jews from trading in agricultural products. The bull issued by Pope Paul IV in 1555 included a provision prohibiting Jews from dealing in grain. In Venice the *ricondotta* of 1777 prohibited Jews from trading in grain and foodstuffs. With the economic development of Western Europe after the great geographical discoveries of the 15th and 16th centuries, *Poland-*Lithuania became the chief supplier of agricultural products, cattle, and forest produce to the West. Up to the time of the partitions of Poland at the end of the 18th century Jews took a considerable part in the extraction and sale of the agricultural produce on which the arenda system was based, and thus became associated with the export trade to the West, using both the river and land routes. In the late 17th and during the 18th centuries the role of the *Court Jews as victuallers to the armies of the Hapsburg Empire and princes of Germany was largely facilitated by their contacts with Jews in Poland-Lithuania who provided the necessary supplies. The financial success of Jews in this field often became the basis for the accumulation of large capital, as instanced by the career of S. *Zbitkower. Trade in cattle, and especially oxen, was one of the most important branches of the export trade in which Jews took part from the 16th century. It entailed the driving of cattle from Eastern Europe to the West, then the best way of transporting meat. The major part of the herd was bought in Moldavia; the cattle were fattened for a time in the Ukraine, and with the additions bought there were driven to Silesia, West Germany, and France. Jewish dealers sold part of their cattle at the large fairs in Brzeg on the Oder. After the partitions of Poland and up to the present century, the traditional Jewish trade in agricultural products continued, despite attempts by the Russian authorities to expel the Jews from the villages. In the **shtetls* of the *Pale of Settlement in *Belorussia, *Volhynia, and the *Ukraine the small-scale Jewish trader would buy goods from the peasants on market days, or through itinerant peddlers and dealers, and sell the village products in bulk to the larger Jewish merchants, who then exported them to Germany. In consequence, trade in essential agricultural products used in industry, such as bristles, flax, and hemp, was almost a Jewish monopoly in this area during the period. Identical in structure was the grain trade in Galicia and Poland in the 19th century, in which the *Dorfgaenger* or *Dorfgeher* were engaged. The Jewish traders traveled from village to village, visiting markets and fairs in the small towns where they bought grain and also cattle, despite official attempts to prohibit them from doing so.

The grain trade of Poland became almost exclusively a Jewish preserve during the 19th century. Many Jewish firms dealt in grain, and Jews also acted as the agents for German and French firms, some also in Jewish ownership. There were 36,907 Jews occupied in the grain trade in Poland in 1897, i.e., 6.9% of the Jewish merchants living in this area. Of the 224 grain merchants in business in Warsaw in 1867, 214 were Jews. In 1873, five Jews became members of the constituent committee of the Corn Exchange in Warsaw. Jewish grain dealers were also prominent during the establishment of the state grain stores in Prussia, Silesia, and Galicia in the 18th century. Jewish contractors undertook to provide approximately 74% of the grain during the shortage in Galicia in 1785–86. Several communities in East Prussia and Latvia, such as those of Koenigsberg and Riga, owe their origin and development to the expansion of Jewish interests in the grain trade. In the 18th century the bulk of the grain exported by the land route from Poland to Silesia was concentrated in Jewish hands. In Lithuania, Jews who exported grain to Silesia bought colonial goods in Breslau, which they supplied to the Lithuanian towns. A large part of the wine export trade of Hungary, which in the 18th and 19th centuries went largely to Poland, Ukraine, and Czechoslovakia, was in Jewish hands. The wine merchants sometimes organized armed caravans to defend the transports from marauders. Between the two world wars a large number of Jews in Poland and the Baltic States continued to engage in the trade in agricultural products, from peddling to large-scale export business, although attempts were made on a governmental level to oust the Jews from this economic sector and, through the creation of state-subsidized agricultural cooperatives, to all but eliminate Jews from trading with the local agriculturists. Thus from the end of the Middle Ages Jews played an important role – and, in many regions, a pioneering one – in the development of trade between manor and village on the one hand and the city on the other, an essential factor in the rise of modern economy.

[Jacob Goldberg]

IN MODERN EUROPE

In the modern period, Jews in Europe developed direct contact with agriculture in various ways. Jewish businessmen in Western Europe entered the agricultural sphere as part of their share in the development of capitalist economy. Many of the merchants owning plantations in the West Indies, especially of sugar cane, were Jews. In continental Europe from the late 18th century Jewish merchant bankers frequently branched out into mining and industry, and also into forestry and capitalist farming. This type of activity, chiefly financial and commercial at least in origin, for example sugar beet growing, was developed by a significant number of Jews in southern Germany in the first half of the 19th century and in Russia in the second half of the century. The number of such pioneer businessmen who were actively involved in farm management by the end of the 19th century cannot be ascertained. Apparently at least in Galicia, Slovakia, and Romania, the class of Jewish capitalist owners or tenants of agricultural lands or assets had become quite large by 1900, and was directly concerned with farming.

It was in Eastern Europe that the movement to settle numbers of Jews on the land took place. From the middle of the 19th century the rapid growth of population and deteriorating economic conditions in Russia forced many of the Jews there out of their traditional occupations. A large minority turned to agriculture, chiefly the suburban type of dairy and truck farming. By doing so, the small-scale Jewish farmer could remain in the same locality, avoid the difficulties of obtaining larger areas of land, and concentrate on intensive cultivation of commercial crops.

Already from the 18th century the population increase and economic impoverishment combined with new ideologies which envisioned a more "natural" mode of existence for the Jews to press for changes in Jewish social life. The theoreticians proposed alterations in the Jewish occupational structure with the aim of achieving a more balanced Jewish social stratification. This, they considered, would make Jews less open to the attacks of antisemites who condemned Jews for their pursuit of "non-productive" economic activities (see *History, Jewish Medieval and Modern; *Haskalah, *Antisemitism; *Zionism). Various schemes were proposed on both governmental and private initiative for the "productivization" of the Jewish masses and included plans for Jewish agricultural settlement. These were either confined to the country concerned, or combined programs for emigration and colonization with broader social and political issues. Among these the most notable are the Zionist movement and the projects of Baron *Hirsch, as well as the *Birobidzhan scheme.

Jewish researchers estimate that the number of Jewish agriculturalists of all types in Eastern Europe reached a maximum of between 400,000 and 500,000 in the early 1930s, i.e., forming up to 6% of the total Jewish population there. They varied both in the form of agricultural organization and the type of farming undertaken. They included the Jewish shepherds in the Carpathian mountains, beekeepers, owners of milch cows, or vegetable growers in the small Galician and Bessarabian towns, and the mixed farming colonists in Ukraine. Although the Jewish output was insignificant in the total agricultural sector, Jews took an important part and even predominated in certain branches. In northern Poland, Jewish farmers predominated in vegetable growing, including hotbed crops, notably cucumbers. In certain districts in Poland and Bessarabia, tobacco was practically a Jewish speciality.

The recent development of a Jewish agricultural sector has undergone many vicissitudes both in direction and scope, through ideological and political changes, both within Jewish society and in the attitudes of the environing societies and states. These are revealed in the history of the Zionist movement in Ereẓ Israel and of the settlements in *Crimea and Birobidzhan. The greatest interruptions were caused by the Russian revolution of 1917 and the British Mandate in Palestine.

Ukraine

Although proposals for Jewish agricultural colonization were aired in Austria and Prussia at the end of the 18th century, the first substantial attempts to carry out such a scheme were initiated by the czarist government in 1807. They were commenced in the governments of Kherson and Yekaterinoslav as part of renewed efforts by the government to colonize the steppe and at the same time to assimilate the Jews, to remove them from the villages and townships of the Ukraine Pale of Settlement, and to make them less "parasitical." A total of 38 villages, each with 100 to 300 family farms were founded in these areas. Some were given Hebrew names, such as Nahar-Tov and Sedei Menuḥah. According to Russian official data, these 38 villages included almost 7,000 farms with 42,000 inhabitants in 1913. The average area of the holding was 11.8 *desyatines* (about 32 acres).

The Jewish settlements in the Ukraine suffered severely after World War I during the revolution and the civil war, but most were reconstructed with aid from Jewish organizations such as ORT and ICA. In 1924 additional villages, now with Yiddish names such as Blumenfeld and Frayland, were founded, partly by younger members of the old settlements. In 1927 there were 35,000 Jews living in 48 villages in the Ukraine, farming a total of about 250,000 acres.

At first confined to grain production, the colonies in the Ukraine later diversified their output by introducing livestock and fodder, vegetables, and fruits. After the war the production of irrigated crops, notably grapes, was much increased, and cooperative dairies were set up. Loans and instructors supplied by ICA and ORT assisted these developments, which resulted in well established prosperous communities of a pronounced Jewish and rural character. In the late 1920s the Soviet government allocated additional land for Jewish settlements. Around the existing core there developed three administrative districts with a majority of Jewish farmers: Kalinindorf, Nay-Zlatopol, and Stalindorf. The Ukraine thus harbored the largest concentration of Jewish agriculturalists in Europe, who had their own schools, a newspaper (*Der Stalindorfer Emes*), and a Yiddish theater. The new villages, numbering over 50, were based on mechanized cooperative farming, with more livestock and acreage per family than previously. Machinery and instruction were supplied partly by the government and partly by ICA. Two further sections of Jewish settlement developed in the Ukraine in the 1920s, in the vicinity of Odessa and in the district of Pervomaysk. After economic changes villages and agricultural suburbs comprising several thousands of Jewish families grew up in these two districts. The movement of Jews to the soil in the southern Ukraine received a renewed impetus in 1928–30 with the Soviet drive for collectivization.

Belorussia

The czarist regulations of 1835 provided a legal basis for Jewish colonies within the Pale of Settlement. These western Russian provinces, which then included Lithuania and Volhynia, provided many of the settlers of the Ukraine and also saw the growth of a similar Jewish agricultural sector themselves. However the climate and soil in the west were much less favorable. Settlement was more scattered and land tenure less uniform. At the beginning of the 20th century there were 258 Jewish settlements in the western provinces, with almost 6,000 farms and 36,000 inhabitants. These villages each had a maximum of 40 family units, farming an average of 18 acres. On government land a unit might comprise 30 acres, but on land privately leased or purchased they ranged from 5 to 13 acres. This compelled intensification (an average of two cows per unit was high for these regions) and search for supplementary employment. Tillage remained according to local technique on a three-year rotation. Technical and living standards improved from the beginning of the 20th century, due to the aid furnished by ORT and ICA. In these conditions, the settlers in the area who overcame the initial hardships never reached prosperity, but developed a specific Jewish rural way of life in which they took pride.

After the war most of these villages remained in the USSR. All had suffered severely from the years of fighting in World War I and the revolution of 1917. In the early 1920s thousands of Belorussians, including Jews, were driven by hunger to become farmers. The Jews tended to prefer suburban lots, but collectives received higher land quotas. In the collective, it was also easier to maintain Jewish cohesion and cling to some vestiges of Jewish religious life. Thus, about 40% of the 2,300 families who settled on the land before 1925 were members of collective groups. The movement, encouraged by allocation of public land, continued until 1929. There was then a total of 9,100 Jewish farmer families in Belorussia, with 58,500 members and 170,000 acres. Most of these specialized in dairy farming, preferring fodder crops to grains, and many kept orchards and gardens. The introduction of tractors facilitated the replacement of draft horses by dairy cattle. In the Mogilev and Bobruisk districts the majority of Jewish agriculturalists were individual farmers living on the fringes of the small towns, receiving aid from ORT. Collectives predominated in the Minsk district; they received government assistance and later became kolkhozes. Many of the Jewish kolkhozes eventually merged with non-Jewish ones and lost their Jewish identity (see also *Birobidzhan and *Crimea).

Poland

The dissolution of the state toward the end of the 18th century, combined with efforts to reform Polish society and political life, invested the attempts to turn Jews to agriculture with an importance and attention far beyond their real scope. Even so, there were considerable achievements, for which the initiative came from various sources, including the upper circles of Jewish society, enlightened members of the Polish gentry, and Russian governmental circles. They succeeded in bringing the movement for settling Jews on the land to public attention, and in developing Jewish village life. By the middle of the 19th century there were about 30,000 Jews living from agriculture in the central districts of Poland. Ten Jewish villages were considered models for the surrounding areas.

After World War I, Poland inherited the Lithuanian and Volhynian areas of Belorussia, where there were 1,400 Jewish farms. About half were in the northern section, only one-third of the farms had less than 15 acres each; in the more fertile south the majority were small-scale units. Especially in the early 1920s, additional Jewish families turned to farming in northern Poland, settling in areas adjacent to established units as well as in new locations. The new settlers were all tenants, and in this respect were worse off economically than their forerunners. They concentrated in the small towns and city suburbs rather than in the villages, specializing in truck farming, notably of cucumbers; from the suburbs of Vilna and other cities they marketed hotbed vegetables as far as Warsaw. Near Grodno, Jews specialized in tobacco growing. In the mid-1930s there were close to 2,900 Jewish farm units in 142 locations in northeastern Poland, with approximately 60,000 acres. In Volhynia, 940 units in 20-odd locations farmed an additional 11,000 acres.

In Galicia, entirely different conditions had prevailed under Austrian rule. Here the Jewish agricultural sector comprised three classes: large landlords; tenants and agents; farm hands and smallholders. According to Austrian data of 1902, out of 2,430 large land- and forest-owners, 438 Jews owned a total of over 750,000 acres. Generally these were absentee owners: merchants, bankers, and industrialists, but some were actively concerned with farm management, and a few made a name for themselves as proficient farmers. Below the two upper classes, a stratum of Jewish subagents and even farm hands had developed. However, the majority of East Galician Jewish agriculturists were village shopkeepers, who also each owned a small plot. On part he grew vegetables and fodder; the rest he let to his non-Jewish neighbor. With the development of rural cooperative stores, however, many such shopkeepers were forced toward the end of the 19th century to turn to these plots as their chief source of livelihood. The agricultural society of Jewish landlords: as well as Baron Hirsch's foundation, supported the movement to agriculture and encouraged marketing and dairy cooperatives. The 1921 census records 48,000 Jewish earners as at least partially subsisting on agriculture.

Developments in the interwar period, particularly after 1929, caused a renewed movement of Galician Jews to agriculture. In 1932 ICA opened a central agency in Lvov, and at the same time grass root initiative culminated in the foundation of YILAG ("Yidishe Landvirtshaftlikhe Gezelshaft": Jewish Agricultural Society). The credit facilities, education, and instruction provided by these two organizations encouraged modernization and cooperation. YILAG published the monthly *Der Yidisher Landvirt* from 1933 to 1939. In 1933 there were already eight Jewish farming cooperatives and 12 cooperative dairies in Galicia, with a total membership of 1,400. The dairies processed 4½ million liters of milk annually. Dairy farming was quite profitable in the hill regions, where natural pasture enabled a family to keep up to five milch cows if the problems of marketing could be solved. The cooperatives therefore developed transportation as well as processing facilities, and branched out into retailing. Eventually six shops (four in Lvov alone) for dairy and poultry products under the name "Ḥemah" ("butter" in Hebrew) became very popular with the Jewish urban customer.

After World War II, Jewish survivors of the Holocaust, of whom some had been farmers before the war, settled in villages in the districts formerly in Germany. ORT renewed its activity in Poland and undertook the vocational guidance of the new farmers. Various educational projects were started. However, the whole movement was short-lived, and most participants soon left the soil (and the country).

Romania

The various sections of Romania differ greatly in their geography and history. In Bukovina, Austrian rule created social and political conditions similar to those of Galicia, with an accordingly similar structure of the Jewish agricultural sector. Of the small-scale farmers, who numbered 2,000 families before 1914, many owned their holdings, which averaged five to 25 acres. However, only approximately 500 families survived on the land after World War I, and these were completely impoverished. In the 1930s their reconstruction was planned and financed by ICA, based on dairy or sugar-beet farming. In Bessarabia, early settlements had been part of the czarist projects, especially from 1850. Additional villages and scattered farms brought the number of Jewish farmers up to perhaps 5,500 families in the late 1920s. Of special interest in this region were the tobacco growers, who worked diminutive plots with effort and skill. Although well known for the high yield of their land and the quality of the leaves they produced, the Jewish tobacco growers could still barely subsist because of high rents and fluctuating prices. Before 1914, over 90% of the tobacco growers in Bessarabia had been Jews; they continued to predominate in the inter-war period. There were also many Jewish winegrowers in Bessarabia working under similar conditions, and with like success. Mixed farming, with much maize, was also represented in the Jewish sector. In the Carpathian Maramures, part of which belonged to Romania and part to Czechoslovakia in the inter-war period, numerous extremely poor Jews, perhaps numbering up to 60,000, gained a subsistence from cattle and sheep, with some supplementary orchards and beehives. Dairies were set up there by ICA in the 1930s.

The process of the return of Jews in Europe to the countryside and villages from the towns is in part due to an intensification of the historical and economic trends which began in the later Middle Ages. However, the driving forces both from within Jewry itself and outside it have been mainly ideological and political.

[Shimshon Tapuach]

IN THE UNITED STATES

As indicated in colonial records, there were individual Jewish landowners and farmers early in the 18th century. The first attempt to establish a Jewish farm community, however, dates back to the 1820s, when Mordecai Manuel *Noah received permission to found his model community of Ararat in the Niagara River region of New York. During the same period, Moses Elias *Levy settled Jews on a Florida tract, and by 1837, 13 families launched the Sholem farm colony in Wawarsing, New York. Within five years the last were forced to disperse, partly because of depressed economic conditions. There were other isolated instances of Jewish farmers, including some in California, throughout the century.

By 1881, however, with the beginning of massive Jewish immigration from Eastern Europe, group settlement received a major impetus. Many of the newcomers were imbued with the agrarian idealism of the *Am Olam, stressing the nobility of farm labor as the most honest of occupations; a few had experience as agriculturalists in Russia. At the same time, the relatively small American Jewish community hoped to develop among the immigrants a healthy yeoman class, away from the cities; it became increasingly sensitive also to anti-immigration sentiment stemming not only from nativist elements, but also from the new urban working class. In a rural setting, philanthropy would combine with self help to absorb the newcomers. Such settlement efforts were aided by the *Alliance Israélite Universelle, and a number of new American organizations: at first the Hebrew Emigrant Aid Society (1882–83), then the Baron de Hirsch *Fund (1891–) and its subsidiary, the *Jewish Agricultural Society (1900–). A score of colonies were established in areas ranging from the swampy bayous of Louisiana to the dry prairies of Kansas and the Dakotas, as far northwest as Oregon; within a few years all failed for such reasons as poor site selection, floods, droughts, factionalism, insect blight, and always inadequate experience and financing. In the East, however, the settlements ringing *Vineland, N.J. (1882), and the all-Jewish town of Woodbine, N.J. (1891), survived into the 20th century. Their staples were vegetables, especially sweet potatoes and small fruits.

Early in the 20th century, both Vineland and Woodbine unfurled the banner of "Chickenville," joined later by Jewish farm communities in Toms River and Farmingdale, N.J. Thereby, the poultry industry was able to absorb Jewish immigrants in the 1930s, and beyond World War II, with new centers in the Lakewood, N.J. area, Colchester, Manchester, and Danielson, Conn., and Petaluma, Calif. (north of San Francisco). New York's Jewish farmers, especially throughout Sullivan and Ulster counties, have been well represented since the turn of the century in the poultry industry, dairying, vegetables, and resort facilities. In Connecticut, Jewish farmers specialized in dairying also, as well as tobacco and potatoes; others pioneered in the famed potato industry of Aroostook County, Maine.

Some notable contributions stand out: in the area of education, the Baron de Hirsch Agricultural School (Woodbine, N.J.) and the National Farm School (Doylestown, P.A.), both pioneering institutions. Also, Jewish farmers founded cooperatives for joint marketing, especially of poultry and eggs, purchase of feed and fertilizer, insurance, and comprehensive community service programs.

At the end of World War II, there were about 20,000 Jewish farm families with perhaps fewer than half that number by the late 1960s, mainly because of trends which led to a decline of American agriculture generally down to only five percent of the total population. Jews continued to be represented in all branches of American agriculture, whether citrus in Florida or vegetables in California's Imperial Valley, but the number of Jews in agriculture continued to decline in the last third of the 20th century as the overall number of Americans engaged in agriculture dropped further to fewer than 2.5 percent.

[Joseph Brandes]

IN CANADA

Canada's vast and underpopulated expanses of fertile land were hardly known to the Jews in czarist Russia and other countries who were seeking asylum. Thus, despite Canada's favorable attitude to immigration, only a small segment of the Jewish emigrants from Europe went to Canada. The first attempt to establish Jewish agricultural settlement in Canada was made in 1884 (after a two year delay mainly due to the government's refusal to assign land for the Jews when they first arrived) when a small group tried to farm 560 acres mear Moosomin, Saskatchewan. Their experiment ended in failure after five years of struggle. A few years later, the Young Men's Hebrew Benevolent Society of Montreal approached Baron de Hirsch to assist Jewish immigrants in Canada, as he did the immigrants in the U.S.A., and soon afterward the *Jewish Colonization Association (ICA) established a special Canadian committee for the promotion of agricultural settlement among the Jewish immigrants. With the beginning of large-scale Jewish immigration to Canada in the 1880s some Jews wished to become farmers under the government's homestead policy. Because of the belief that Jews would not make good farmers the government tended to discourage Jewish group-land settlement. Nevertheless between 1884 and 1910 some 17 Jewish farm settlements were started, mostly in western Canada with the help of the Jewish Colonization Association. Among the best known are Oxbow and Wapella (1888), Hirsch (1892), Lipton (1901), Edinbridge and Sonnenfeld (1906), and Rumsey (1908). Five or six of these settlements lasted for half a century or longer.

By 1920 the population in those settlements reached 3,500, while their annual produce totaled over $1,000,000 It has been estimated that Jewish farmers in Canada produced enough wheat in the 1930s to feed the entire population of Canada. Some 200,000 acres were allocated for grain and the farmers' assets were valued at $7,000,000. The Jewish settlers, new arrivals from Ukraine, Romania, or Lithuania, had almost no training in agriculture, nor any knowledge of the environment, so that their achievement was considerable. Despite the extremely difficult climatic conditions in the prairies, which are covered with snow for eight or nine months of the year, the small and isolated communities maintained strong Jewish cultural activity, often using their last means to bring over itinerant Hebrew teachers for the homesteads. Sometimes a teacher would stay with one family for a whole winter. The younger generation went to study at the colleges of the prairie cities of Winnipeg, Regina, Saskatoon, Edmonton, and Calgary. In time, they became doctors, lawyers, agronomists, and businessmen and settled in town. When the government imposed immigration quotas, the settlements began to suffer manpower shortages and the aging parents, no longer able to carry the burden of isolation, loneliness, and hard work, gradually joined their children in the cities. Some farmsteads fell into decay and were sold; others are still owned by the descendants of the original settlers. Only individual Jewish families have remained on farms, especially those in the proximity of the cities.

IN LATIN AMERICA

Jewish agriculture in Latin America was concentrated in three separate regions during various periods. The first region, the plantation area, was located in the northeast of the continent and in the Caribbean Islands. From the beginning of the 16th century – only a few years after the discovery of *Brazil – *New Christians were engaged in exploiting the resources of the Brazil tree and exporting its products to Europe. The same group most probably brought the cultivation of sugar from Madeira to Brazil. From that time on, Marranos played a leading role in the development of the sugar cane and sugar refinery industries at Engenhos. In the middle of the 17th century, after the Dutch rule ended and the Portuguese took over, Jews engaged in the cultivation of sugarcane (and possibly other branches of agriculture) in the Caribbean Islands, especially in the areas of the Guiana that remained under Dutch rule. In Surinam, the memory of this period of Jewish agricultural settlement has been preserved in the name of a village, Joden Savanne.

In the wake of mass immigration by Russian Jews toward the end of the 19th century, new and large agricultural settlements were established in the grain and beef areas of southeastern Latin America. The widespread development of agriculture in the Argentinean *pampas* and the large-scale immigration campaign that the government conducted in Europe brought the settlement project of Baron de Hirsch to Argentina. Even though the Hirsch project did not fulfill the expectations of its founder, i.e., to concentrate hundreds of thousands of Jewish settlers in a compact and autonomous area, the total area of the project's agricultural land amounted during its peak period (1925) to 617,468 hectares (1,525,146 acres). The total Jewish agricultural population in the five provinces reached 33,135, of whom 20,382 were farmers and their families and the rest were hired laborers and artisans etc. in 1925 (see *Argentina, Agricultural Settlement).

In 1903 the Jewish Colonization Association (ICA) began to develop additional agricultural settlements in Rio Grande do Sul, southern Brazil. One hundred thousand hectares (247,000 acres) were acquired and two settlements were established that encompassed several agricultural centers. This Brazilian project was never consolidated (see *Brazil, Agricultural Settlement). Attempts at agricultural settlement in Uruguay on government-owned land in 1914 and on private land in 1938–39 were also unsuccessful (see *Uruguay).

The persecution of the Jews in Germany during the 1930s and the limitations imposed upon immigration by the governments of Argentina and Brazil led to additional experiments in Jewish agricultural settlement in other geographical areas, mainly in the Andes. Of all these attempts only one, the settlement of Sosua, which was established with the support of the *American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee in the Dominican Republic, partially succeeded.

[Haim Avni]

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AGRIGENTO (**Girgenti**), town in Sicily. The Jewish community of Agrigento dates to classical antiquity, as attested by a tombstone found there, perhaps of the fifth century. In 598, during the pontificate of *Gregory the Great, a number of Jews were converted to Christianity. The community continued to exist throughout the period of Muslim domination and Girgenti is mentioned in a letter from the Cairo ***Genizah* c. 1060. The Jewish community is recorded in 1254 when the revenues from the Jews were taxed in favor of the church. *Faraj da Agrigento was one of the most active translators employed by Charles of Anjou in Naples. In 1397 the Jews of Agrigento had to equip a force of 200 foot soldiers for one of King Martin I of Aragon's military expeditions. In 1426 the citizens of Agrigento petitioned unsuccessfully for royal permission to enforce anti-Jewish measures. In 1476 King John II ordered that the money bequeathed by Solomon Anello to promote Hebrew learning in Agrigento be given instead to Guglielmo Raimondo Moncada (alias Flavius Mithridates), a Sicilian Jewish convert to Christianity. Among the reasons cited was the accusation that Jewish schools in the city taught calumnies against the Christian faith, alluding to the spread of a certain Hebrew book among Sicilian Jews. This book is thought to have been *Toledot Yeshu* ("The Life of Jesus"), a medieval pseudo-history of the life of Jesus. Anello's heirs contested the decision but in the end the school was closed down and the revenues were assigned to Moncada. In 1477 a compromise was reached and the Jews of Agrigento were ordered to provide Moncada a house in Palermo instead of the school building in their city. That same year the heirs of Solomon Anello finally succeeded in repossessing some of the books and estate. At the time of the expulsion of the Jews from territory under Spanish rule in 1492 the municipal treasurer was imprisoned for speculation at Jewish expense.

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[Cecil Roth / Nadia Zeldes (2nd ed.)]

AGRIPPA I (10 B.C.E.–44 C.E.), tetrarch of Batanea (the Bashan) and Galilee, 37–41 C.E., and king of Judea, 41–44 C.E.; grandson of *Herod and *Mariamne the Hasmonean, and son of *Aristobulus and *Berenice. Agrippa was educated in Rome with other princes at court, and became friendly with Drusus, son of the emperor Tiberius. After a period of dissipation he became saddled with debts, and in 23 C.E. had to return home and he stayed on the family estates in Idumea. He was subsequently appointed *agoranomos* ("market overseer") in Tiberias by his brother-in-law, the tetrarch Herod *Antipas. After a quarrel with Antipas, he went to Syria, where he again became involved in debts, and to escape from his creditors went to Rome where he became friendly with Gaius, later the emperor Caligula. While drunk, however, he was caught off guard expressing a wish that Caligula were emperor instead of Tiberius, and was sent to prison for his indiscretion. Caligula on his accession released Agrippa and appointed him to the tetrarchies of *Herod Phillipus and Lysanias consisting of Bashan-Trachonitis, Gaulanitis, Argob, and Abel, with the title of king. In 39 C.E. he was granted the tetrarchy of Herod Antipas, who had been exiled by Caligula, consisting of Galilee, Tiberias, Sepphoris, and Perea. During this period Agrippa used his connections in Rome to intercede with Caligula on behalf of the Jews. They wished Caligula to retract an order to erect his statue in the Temple in Jerusalem. Shortly afterward Caligula was murdered. Agrippa, who was in Rome at the time, was among those who supported the succession of Claudius. He was rewarded in 41 C.E. by the addition of Samaria and Judea to the area under his rule. The event was celebrated with great ceremony, and an official covenant of friendship was concluded between Agrippa and Claudius, the deed of the covenant being placed in the Capitol. With the acquisition of these territories, Agrippa now reigned over the whole area of his grandfather Herod's kingdom and the procuratorship of Judea was temporarily suspended.

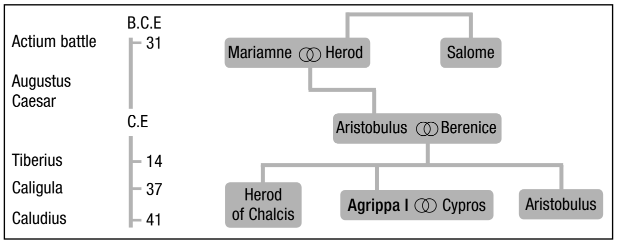

There was little to differentiate Agrippa's foreign policy as a client king of Rome from that of other Hellenistic monarchs. Agrippa gave financial help to foreign cities, and built several public buildings, including a theater and amphitheater in Berytus (Beirut). Because of his connections with Rome, Agrippa was regarded as the leading vassal king of the East, and once managed to bring several other kings together in Tiberias. The meeting was broken up by Marsus, the governor of Syria, possibly because he suspected a conspiracy with the king of Parthia.

The three years of Agrippa's reign were a period of relief and benefit for the Jewish people of Judea. The residents of Jerusalem were exempted from the impost on houses. Agrippa also made an attempt to fortify the walls of the city, until prevented by Marsus. He omitted the patronymic "Herod" from coins minted for him and followed a markedly pro-Jewish policy when he was required to arbitrate disputes between Jews and non-Jews, as in a dispute with the citizens of Dor (Dora). He was also mindful of the welfare of Jews in the Diaspora. His most important achievement was the attainment of an edict of privileges for the Jews of Alexandria from Claudius.

Agrippa made frequent changes in the appointment of the high priest. He was highly sympathetic to the *Pharisees and was careful to observe Jewish precepts. He married his daughters to Jewish notables, and withdrew his consent to the wedding of one daughter to Antiochus, king of Commagene, when the latter refused to be circumcised. His close association with the Pharisees is attested in the statement of Josephus that "his permanent residence was Jerusalem, where he enjoyed living, and he scrupulously observed the ancestral laws." Apparently, it is Agrippa I who is referred to in the Mishnah which points out that when celebrating the festival of the first fruits, "even King Agrippa carried the basket [of fruits] on his shoulder" (Bik. 3:4). He is also apparently mentioned in *Sotah* 7:8 which states that contemporary rabbinical sages accorded him particular regard when he made a special point of standing up to read the Torah, even though it was permissible for a king to do so while seated. When he reached the passage, "one from among thy brethren shalt thou set a king over thee; thou mayest not put a foreigner over thee," his eyes filled with tears, since he was not of pure Jewish descent. The sages, however, called out, "Agrippa, you are our brother! You are our brother!" Agrippa died suddenly when in Caesarea, possibly as a result of poisoning by the Romans who feared his popularity with the population. After his death, Judea reverted to the status of a Roman procuratorship.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Jos., Wars, 1:552; 2:178–83; 11:206–20; Ant., 18:142–204, 228–55, 289–301; 19:278–361; Sehuerer, Gesch, I (1901^{4}), 549–64; Klausner, Bayit Sheni, 4 (1950^{2}), 287–305; Dubnow, Hist, I (1967), 728–57.

[Edna Elazary]

AGRIPPA II (**Marcus Julius** or **Herod Agrippa II**; 28–92 C.E.), last king of the Herodian line; son of Agrippa I. Like his father he was educated in Rome and he was there when he learnt of his father's death. The emperor Claudius refused to let him succeed on account of his youth. His uncle, *Herod II of Chalcis, died in the year 48 and Agrippa received this small kingdom two years later. Agrippa's coins indicate that he reckoned his reign from the year 50. During his reign he was accorded the title "king" although at no time was he king of Judea as his father had been. Claudius entrusted to him the supervision of the Temple in Jerusalem and gave him the right to appoint the high priest. In 54 his rule over Chalcis was brought to an end; he was compensated with the tetrarchy of Lysanias which consisted of Bashan-Trachonitis and Gaulanitis and with the administration of the province of Varus. From then on he was one of the most important rulers in the eastern part of the Roman Empire. During Nero's reign his borders were extended once again. In 61 he received parts of Galilee including Tiberias and two towns in Transjordan. The dates of these events are recorded on the king's coins, which, in his non-Jewish territories, bore his likeness. At the Jewish revolt against Rome in 66, Agrippa was in Alexandria. He hurried back to Jerusalem to try to convince the people of their helplessness against the power of Rome. His mission failed and he supported Rome in the war that ensued. He fought in Vespasian's campaign and was slightly wounded in an engagement near Gamala. In 68, on receiving the news of Nero's death, he set sail with Titus for Rome. On the way they heard of the murder of the new emperor Galba. Titus immediately returned to his father while Agrippa journeyed on to Rome. When Vespasian was proclaimed emperor, he sent word to Agrippa, who left Rome furtively and offered his services to the new emperor. Vespasian granted him new estates which appear to have been in the north. Agrippa's kingdom was populated mostly by non-Jews, but his attitude toward Judaism was different from that of his forefathers. At least while he was in Judea he showed a superficial respect for Jewish religious practices; some scholars even claim that he was the Agrippa whose attachment to Judaism was praised by the rabbis. According to the New Testament he showed an indifferent attitude toward the spread of Christianity (Acts 25–26). His promotion of Hellenistic culture is attested by a number of inscriptions. There were rumors that Agrippa had incestuous relations with his sister *Berenice (cf. Juvenal, Satires, 6:156), but this may have been merely Roman gossip based on the fact that Berenice lived for some years in her brother's house.

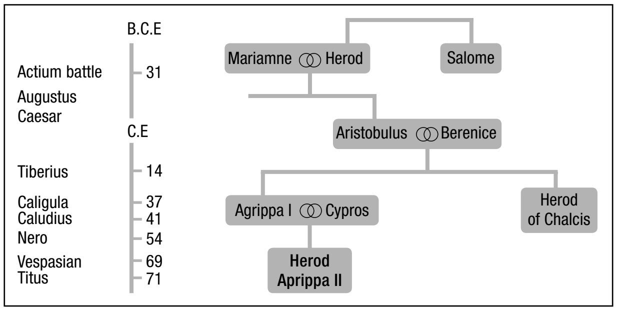

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Schuerer, Gesch, I (1904^{4}); A.H.M. Jones, *The Herods of Judaea* (1938), 217–22, 231–5, 237–42, 249–59, passim.

[Abraham Schalit]

AGRIPPA, CAIUS JULIUS, governor of the Roman province of Asia (late first century C.E.). Agrippa's father, a King Alexander, is possibly the Alexander referred to by Josephus (Ant., 18:139 ff.) as a great-grandson of Herod and Mariamne. This Alexander married Jotape, daughter of Antiochus of Commagene, and was appointed king of Cetis(?) (ησιοδος, amended by A. Wilhelm (*Archaeologisch-Epigraphische Mittheilungen…*, 17 (1894), 5) into κητιδος) in Cilicia by Vespasian. His offspring, apparently including Agrippa, "abandoned from birth the observance of Judaism and adopted the Greek way of life" (Greek inscriptions in the British Museum, 3, sect. 2,187).

Bibliography: B. Curtius (T. Mommsen), in: *Hermes*, 4 (Ger., 1870), 190; Schuerer. Gesch, 1 (1901^4), 561, n. 41.

[Isaiah Gafni]

°AGRIPPA, MARCUS VIPSANIUS (63–12 B.C.E.), Roman general and statesman, devoted friend and son-in-law of the emperor Augustus. Agrippa was appointed governor of the eastern provinces, which he ruled (until 21 B.C.E.) from Mytilene, on the island of Lesbos. During his stay there, Agrippa was visited by Herod; this was the beginning of a long friendship between the two men. Agrippa was eventually named heir to Augustus. When Agrippa returned to Asia Minor in 16 B.C.E., Herod invited him to visit his kingdom, and the next year the Roman general was received with great enthusiasm in Jerusalem. In the spring of 14 B.C.E. Herod, who was in command of a fleet, offered assistance to Agrippa in his planned expedition to the Bosphorus. This expedition did not take place, however, and instead the two allies traveled together through a great part of Asia Minor. When, in the course of this journey, the Jews of Ionia complained to Agrippa regarding an attempt by the Greeks to infringe their civic and religious rights, the Roman regent, probably under Herod's influence, upheld them. Their relationship was summed up by Josephus: "He [Herod] stood in Caesar's affection next after Agrippa, and in Agrippa's, next after Caesar." In 13 B.C.E. Herod sent his son Antipater to Rome, entrusting him to Agrippa so that he might gain Caesar's friendship. The following year, however, Agrippa died.

Bibliography: Jos., Wars, 1:400, 416; Jos., Ant., 12:125–7; 15:318, 350–61; 16:12–62, 86, 141, 157, 167–73; 17:229; Philo, *De Legatione ad Gaium*, 291; Schuerer, Gesch, index; M. Reinhold, *Marcus Agrippa* (Eng., 1933); Pauly-Wissowa, 2nd series, 16 (1961), 1226–75.

[Isaiah Gafni]

AGRIPPINA, station in the line of beacons kindled during the period of the Second Temple, northward from the Mount of Olives to announce the time for reciting blessings during the *New Moon period: "… from Sarteba to Agrippina and from Agrippina to Hauran…" (RH 2:4). Gropina, the usual reading found in the Mishnah, is a corruption of the name. It is probable that Agrippina was included in the network of fortifications erected by Josephus in 66–67 C.E. Dalman suggested identifying Agrippina with the ruins of Kawkab al-Hawā’ (now Kokhav ha-Yarden, the Crusader Belvoir) in the Beth-Shean district, 975 ft. (297 m.) high. Impressive ruins of the Crusader castle of Belvoir, built in the 12th century by the order of Knights Hospitallers and captured by Saladin in 1189, have been restored by the Israel Parks Authority. Stones used for the construction of the fortress were taken from various sources, including dismantled ancient buildings from the Byzantine period. One of these stones probably came from a synagogue and it has a carved depiction of a seven-branched *menorah* between two arches (*aediculae*) and an Aramaic dedicatory inscription.

Bibliography: Conder-Kitchener, 2 (1882), 117; Dalman, in PJB, 18–19 (1923), 43ff.; Avi-Yonah, in: I-EJ. 3 (1953), 95; J. Schwartz, *Tevu’ot ha-Areẓ* (1900^3). **Add. Bibliography:** Y. Tsafrir, L. Di Segni, and J. Green, *Tabula Imperii Romani. Iudaea – Palaestina. Maps and Gazetteer.* (1994), 168–69.

[Michael Avi-Yonah / Shimon Gibson (2nd ed.)]

AGRON (Agronsky), GERSHON (1894–1959), Israeli journalist and mayor of Jerusalem. Agron was born in Mena, Ukraine, and was brought to the United States as a child. During World War I he served with the *Jewish Legion in Palestine. In 1920–21 he was employed by the Zionist Commission press bureau. From 1921 to 1924 Agron was editor of the Jewish Telegraphic Agency and correspondent for international press agencies, for the London *Times*, and for the *Manchester Guardian*. In 1932 he founded the English-language daily *Palestine Post* (from 1950 *The *Jerusalem Post*), which served to convey Zionist aspirations to the British in Palestine and provided the local population with news from outside Palestine, especially from the Middle East. An emissary for the Zionist Organization on several occasions, Agron was a member of the Jewish Agency delegation to the UN conference at San Francisco in 1945. He was director of the Israel Government Information Services from 1949 to 1951. As mayor of Jerusalem from 1955 to 1959, Agron was instrumental in the expansion and development of the new city. His diaries and letters appear in *Asir ha-Ne’emanut* ("Prisoner of Trustworthiness," 1964), published by S. Shapiro.

Bibliography: Tidhar, 2 (1947), 960f.; H.M. Sachar, *Aliyah: The Peoples of Israel* (1961), 39–70.

[Semah Cecil Hyman]

AGUD(D)AT HA-SOẒYALISTIM HA-IVRIM ("Hebrew Socialist Union"), first Jewish socialist workers' organization; founded in London, England, functioning from May to December 1876. Its 38 members were workers, mainly tailors and cabinetmakers, mostly from Russia. The leading founder and secretary of the union was A.S. *Liebermann. His closest associate was V. Smirnov, secretary of the revolutionary Russian periodical *Vpered* ("Forward"). Lazarus Goldenberg was an active member. The minutes book was written in Yiddish, the statutes also in Hebrew. The aim of the Union was to spread socialist ideas among Jewish workers, to organize them to fight "oppressors," and to establish contact with other workers' organizations. The Union's attempts to establish Jewish trade unions failed. Some of its members with cosmopolitan leanings questioned the existence of the Union as a specifically Jewish organization, while others, such as Liebermann and L. Weiner, from the socialist circles of Vilna, believed in the right of Jewish workers to appear as Jews independently. In their opinion, the purpose of the London Union was to encourage similar organizations in all the Diaspora. The Union met with opposition from the leaders of the London Jewish community, and the *Jewish Chronicle* even accused it of missionary intent. This pressure and internal dissension led to its dissolution. Some of its members later became active in the Jewish workers' movement in England.

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[Moshe Mishkinsky]

AGUDAT ISRAEL (Heb. אֲגֻדַּת יִשְׂרָאֵל; "Union" or "Association" of Israel), world Jewish movement and political party seeking to preserve *Orthodoxy by adherence to **halakhah* as the principle governing Jewish life and society. The ideal on which Jewish life should be modeled, in the view of Agudat Israel, is embodied in the social and religious institutions, the way of life and mores, that obtained in the Diaspora centers in Eastern and Central Europe in the 19th century. Its geographical and linguistic orientation made it automatically a purely Ashkenazi movement. The formation of an organized movement and political party to achieve these aims was itself an innovation. It was deemed necessary to present a viable counterforce to the advances made by assimilation and *Reform trends, and by *Zionism, the *Bund, and autonomism in Jewry. The establishment of a movement was discussed in 1909 by members of the German *neo-Orthodox group, but internal dissension in the Orthodox camp delayed it for three years. The final impetus was given when the tenth Zionist Congress decided to include cultural activities in its program, thereby recognizing a secular Jewish culture coexistent with the religious. Some members of the *Mizrachi party left the Zionist movement and joined the founders of Agudat Israel in an assembly held in May 1912 at Kattowitz in Upper Silesia.

Agudat Israel was constituted of three groups reflecting German neo-Orthodoxy, Hungarian Orthodoxy, and the Orthodox Jewries in Poland and Lithuania. These differed in political and social outlook, and in their opinions on cultural and organizational matters. A major divergence was the attitude to general European culture, society, and mores, which German Orthodoxy accepted. They also disagreed about whether to remain part of the main Jewish communal unit or to form separate Orthodox communities, and whether Jews should adopt the language of the state or adhere to *Yiddish. Their attitude toward Zionism was also a moot point.

Branches of Agudat Israel were established throughout the Ashkenazi world. Later it developed a youth movement (Ẓe'irei Agudat Israel) and a women's movement (Neshei Agudat Israel) in several countries. In Germany the "Ezra" youth movement was affiliated with it. The labor movement that formed within Agudat Israel separated from the parent body after disagreement on national, social, and religious issues (see *Po'alei Agudat Israel).

Within its ranks, Agudat Israel presented a spectrum of the attitudes which had influenced its creation. Particularly acute was the question of secular education. Some of the initiators of the Kattowitz conference tried to achieve a synthesis by formulating the principle: "The East shall give of its Torah learning to the West, and the West of its culture to the East," Western culture referring to the Western European, German-style, middle class type. This program was contested sharply by the Eastern European sector of Agudat Israel, who claimed that the only plausible basis for unity was maintenance of the status quo; each group should retain its way of life without change. This solution was contained in 18 clauses presented by Ḥayyim *Soloveichik, rabbi of Brest-Litovsk, as a condition of the participation of Polish and Lithuanian rabbis in the movement.

In regard to Zionism, Agudat Israel was created partly by groups who consistently opposed any attempt to revive Jewish nationhood in Ereẓ Israel through human agency. This they compared with a rebellious attempt by a disbanded regiment to resume its identity and hoist its banner without the express permission of its commander. The secularist elements in the nascent Hebrew culture added to Agudist resentment of Zionism. The **ẓaddikim* of Eastern Europe (*Ḥasidism) regarded the influence of Zionism on the youth, and its negative revolutionary view of Diaspora existence (see **Galut*), as religiously and socially destructive. Agudat Israel, therefore, maintained an ambivalent attitude toward renewed settlement in Ereẓ Israel, mainly because of its opposition to the Zionist movement. The Agudists resented the cooperation of religious with non-religious Jews within the Zionist movement on the basis of national unity, and unequivocally resisted the creation of a secular Jewish society in the Holy Land. Most Agudists considered that the way of life and culture gradually taking shape in the modern settlements in Ereẓ Israel, and propagated by Zionist educational and cultural activities, were subverting and destroying the only true Jewish way of life, upheld by religious families and communities in the Diaspora. The revival of Hebrew as a secular language seemed a sacrilege. With regard to sponsoring independent settlement in Ereẓ Israel, Agudists were already divided at the Kattowitz conference. Gradually, however, there emerged an opinion which after the *Holocaust apparently became the ideological basis of the organization in Israel. Ereẓ Israel should figure at the center of their program, which should, according to the Agudist leader Isaac *Breuer, aim at "uniting all the people of Israel under the rule of the Torah, in all aspects of political, economic, and spiritual life of the People of Israel in the Land of Israel."

The constituents of Agudat Israel were united in their aim to reestablish the authority of the prominent rabbis as the supreme institution of Jewry. This was a basic ideal, even if views were divided on the qualifications for leadership. German members considered secular academic qualifications acceptable, while Eastern European members demanded exclusively rabbinical qualifications. However, the agreement on the overall objective, to give expression to rabbinical authority on all matters, was reflected in the structure and central institutions of the new party, providing them with a unique pattern. The Agudat Israel central institutions as eventually established are, in order of formal importance:

(1) The *Mo'ezet Gedolei ha-Torah* ("Council of Torah Sages") in 1964 numbered 15 rabbis, all halakhic authorities, chosen on the basis of preeminence in talmudic learning. There are no defined criteria whereby its members are appointed. The number of members of the council is not predetermined. The council ensures, at least, in theory, that no activity will be undertaken by Agudat Israel without the consent of representatives of halakhic authority. The decisions of the Council of Torah Sages are accepted as legal verdicts, and the details of their consultations are secret. In 1964 the party declared officially: "The absolute obedience to the Council of Torah Sages gave Agudat Israel its specific character; even its opponents cannot avoid seeing that it is the only movement obedient absolutely to a supreme spiritual-Torah authority."

(2) *Kenesiyyah ha-Gedolah* ("Great Assembly"), "the highest (political) authority of the association," is composed of representatives of the local branches of Agudat Israel. Each 200 members may elect a representative to the Great Assembly. The first two Great Assemblies were held in Vienna in 1923 and 1929.

(3) *Central World Council*, or Presidium, is elected by the Great Assembly.

(4) *The World Executive Committee.* Before World War II the strongest numerically and most active politically of the branches of Agudat Israel was in Poland. This was partly because of the support given to the movement by the ḥasidic *ẓaddikim*, in particular by the dynasty of Gur. Its local political aims and strength were reflected in the Jewish representation in the Polish *Sejm* (parliament) and the Agudist achievements in the elections. In 1919 Agudat Israel presented an independent slate, obtaining 92,293 votes, and returning two deputies to the *Sejm*. In 1922 it joined the "*Minorities bloc" with the Zionists (see *Gruenbaum, Yizḥak), returning six deputies (to the *Sejm*) and two senators. In 1928 it formed jointly with the *Folkspartei* and the merchants' organization the list of the "general Jewish national bloc"; this list, affiliated to the government list, obtained 183,998 votes, but no seat; the sole Agudat Israel deputy was returned from the government list. In 1930, on the same affiliation, it obtained 155,403 votes and one seat; an additional deputy was returned from the government list and one senator. In 1935 one deputy was returned and one appointed by the president of the state; in 1938 two deputies were returned. From 1933 onward some leaders, in particular J. Rosenheim in Germany and Harry Goodman in England, spoke in the name of Agudat Israel on many political issues.

The educational activities of Agudat Israel, conducted in many countries, concerned Orthodox schools and educational institutions. In Eastern Europe and Ereẓ Israel these were mainly *talmud torah* institutions and yeshivot. Later, it maintained the Bet Ya'akov network of elementary and high schools for girls. From 1953 the Agudat Israel party in Israel supervised schools of the "independent educational network," mainly *talmud torah* schools, which refused to be included in the general educational state network (see *Israel, Education). The educational enterprises of Agudat Israel are supported by the *Keren ha-Torah* ("Torah Fund"), founded by the movement.

After the rise to power of the Nazis in Germany the policy of Agudat Israel to Zionist settlement in Palestine changed fundamentally. The third Great Assembly, held at Marienbad in September 1937, was influenced by the pressure of political events in Palestine and the Diaspora. It discussed anew its attitude toward the eventual creation of a Jewish state and cooperation with the Zionists. Ideologically the strict stand prevailed: "A Jewish State can only be founded on the law of the Torah being recognized according to the Torah. A Jewish State not founded on and governed by Torah principles… cannot possibly call itself a Jewish state." But Agudat Israel took part in the St. James Palace Conference convened by the British government early in 1939. The Agudists coordinated their policies there with those of the Zionist Organization.

The numerical strength of Agudat Israel was seriously impaired by the Holocaust. By the end of World War II the movement in Eastern Europe was all but annihilated. Most of its members were living in Ereẓ Israel, although some eventually immigrated to the United States and Western Europe. At the meeting of the Central World Council at Marienbad in August 1947, three centers for the movement were established: in Jerusalem, New York, and London.

Agudat Israel cooperated with the Zionist Organization in extending help to Diaspora Jewry. In practice it completely identified itself with the Zionist demand for the establishment of a Jewish state. Faithful to its basic principles, Agudat Israel, nevertheless, hesitated to recognize a secular Jewish state. However, on the strength of assurances given in a letter from the *Jewish Agency in June 1947 that the status quo in matters of religion would be observed, Agudat Israel was prepared to join the provisional council of the State of Israel. The fourth Great Assembly, held in Jerusalem in 1954, slightly altered the structure of the leadership, adding a World Executive. The next Great Assembly was also held in Israel in 1964. By that time Israeli representatives predominated in the Agudat Israel central institutions.

Agudat Israel in Ereẓ Israel

In Ereẓ Israel Agudat Israel was founded in 1912, but was inactive in public life until July 1919, when it was refounded in Jerusalem by members of the extreme Orthodox faction who were fanatically opposed to Zionism.

From 1919 until 1935, under the leadership of Moshe *Blau, Agudat Israel was completely identified with the ultra-Orthodox community. The principle guiding its activities was the achievement of complete social and political separation from the community organized under the auspices of the Zionist Movement. Agudat Israel fought bitterly to avoid being included in the officially recognized framework of the Jewish population of Palestine (*Keneset Yisrael*) and obtained the right for those who so wished to cease to belong to it. They established separate rabbinical institutions, under the leadership of R. Hayyim Yosef *Sonnenfeld, which operated alongside the chief rabbinate headed by R. Abraham Isaac *Kook. Under the leadership of Jacob Israel de Haan (1922–24), Agudat Israel in Palestine attempted to achieve a *modus vivendi* with the Arab nationalists. However, this policy was discontinued after de Haan's assassination by the *Haganah, for subversive activities (1924). The relentless personal attack carried on by Agudat Israel against Rabbi Kook violently antagonized most of the growing *yishuv.* Other Agudist leaders, notably Isaac Breuer and Pinḥas *Kohn, managed through political action with the British authorities and the *League of Nations to prevent the unification of the Jewish community in Palestine within a single organizational framework. They thus obtained official recognition of the separation of the settlers of the "old *yishuv,*" from the *Keneset Yisrael*, or organized Jewish community, and the competence of the *Va'ad Le'ummi ("National Council of the Jews for Palestine"). An attempt made by Agudat Israel to establish an agricultural settlement, Maḥaneh Israel, failed, mainly through lack of funds.

In 1935 the waves of emigration from Poland and Germany brought with them a different type of Agudat Israel member, who wanted to integrate economically and, to a certain extent, even politically into the new *yishuv.* This brought about a fundamental change in the structure, aims, and political activities of Agudat Israel in Palestine. In February 1935 a delegation arrived from the movement's headquarters in Poland, which reorganized the Agudat Israel administration in Palestine and established an agency to deal with matters of immigration and absorption and to negotiate with outside bodies. This agency represented immigrants from Poland and Germany, the members of the Orthodox workers' organization Po'alei Agudat Israel, and members from the old *yishuv*. The latter lost its dominance in the party, and the ultra-Orthodox community separated from Agudat Israel (see *Neturei Karta*). Even before this, however (in the late 1920s), Agudat Israel had begun to cooperate with the official *yishuv* institutions, particularly in the municipalities. This tendency was now increased, mainly among Po'alei Agudat Israel.

The Peel Commission recommendations on the establishment of a Jewish state in part of Palestine (July 1937) caused a heated debate in Agudat Israel in Palestine. In principle, all rejected the idea of a secular Jewish state, but opinions were divided as to whether, in view of the existing plight of European Jewry, the idea should be rejected entirely, or whether, should such a state be established, its inhabitants might not return to the religious fold. Almost all the representatives of the old *yishuv* in Agudat Israel rejected the idea of a Jewish state. The representatives of the immigrants from Germany were divided in their opinions. The immigrants from Poland and Po'alei Agudat Israel tended to accept the idea of a Jewish State.

From 1940 to 1947 Agudat Israel cooperated with the national Jewish institutions, and also had a special committee to coordinate policies regarding the British authorities. In April 1940, the leader of Agudat Israel in Poland, the ḥasidic rabbi of the Gur dynasty (the "Gerer *Rebbe*"), and his son-in-law, Yiẓḥak Meir Levin, arrived in Palestine, and a new drive was launched for active participation in the life of the *yishuv*. The influence of the Polish immigrants in Agudat Israel greatly increased.

When Agudat Israel joined those who demanded a Jewish state, it received representation in the Provisional Council of State (Mo'eẓet ha-Medinah) which signed the Declaration of Independence.

Agudat Israel became a political party when the State of Israel was founded in 1948 and has been represented in all national and municipal bodies. Its leader, Rabbi Y.M. Levin, was minister of social welfare from 1949 to 1952. In all these institutions Agudat Israel fought for the observance of the *halakhah* in public life. Its principal campaigns have been in the field of education and, in 1953, after the educational "trends" were abolished and a unified school system established under the law of compulsory free education, Agudat Israel organized an independent school system of its own. It has also achieved the exemption of "religious" girls and of yeshivah students from military service.

Immigration after the establishment of the State of Israel resulted in increased power for the "Hungarian element" in Agudat Israel, and the "Polish hegemony" was somewhat weakened. About the time of the establishment of the State, friction increased between Agudat Israel and Po'alei Agudat Israel; at the elections to the Second Knesset the two parties submitted separate lists of candidates, and separated com-

Agudat Israel in the Knesset

	Votes	Percentage	Seats
2nd Knesset, 1951	13,999	2.01	3
3rd Knesset, 1955[1]	39,836	4.67	6
4th Knesset, 1959[1]	45,559	4.70	6
5th Knesset, 1961	37,178	3.69	4
6th Knesset, 1965	39,795	3.30	4
7th Knesset, 1969	44,002	3.22	4
8th Knesset, 1973[2]	60,012	3.80	15
9th Knesset, 1977	58,652	3.30	4
10th Knesset, 1981	72,132	3.73	4
11th Knesset, 1984	36,079	1.70	2
12th Knesset, 1988	102,714	4.50	5
13th Knesset, 1992[3]	86,167	3.30	4
14th Knesset, 1996[3]	98,657	3.30	4
15th Knesset, 1999[3]	125,741	3.70	5
16th Knesset, 2003[3]	133,087	4.30	5

[1] Together with Po'alei Agudat Israel in Torah Religious Front.

[2] Together with NRP.

[3] Together with Degel ha-Torah in Yahadut ha-Torah.

pletely in 1960, when Po'alei Agudat Israel joined the government.

In the elections to the First *Knesset in 1949, Agudat Israel and Po'alei Agudat Israel joined with the *Mizrachi and *Ha-Po'el ha-Mizrachi parties to form a "Religious Front." This front gained third place in the distribution of seats in the Knesset. For subsequent elections, see Table: Agudat Israel.

[Menachem Friedman]

In the United States

The world organization attempted to establish an American branch in 1922 but without success, though it did establish a youth section. Agudat Israel of America was actually founded in 1939. It received considerable impetus from the arrival in the U.S. in 1941 of R. Aaron *Kotler, who was a member of the supreme rabbinical council of the world organization. He enjoyed a preeminent position among Orthodox rabbis and was devoted to the ideal of establishing institutions for exclusively Orthodox interests. Agudat Israel also drew support from the well-organized Adath Jeshurun (Breuer) community of Washington Heights, N.Y., which transplanted the traditions of German "Austritt-Orthodoxie," and from certain ḥasidic rabbis. Agudat Israel of America was active in rescue work among the Jews of Europe during and after World War II. It opposed the participation of other Orthodox bodies in roof organizations which include non-Orthodox elements. It supported federal aid to parochial education. Agudat Israel has divisions for children, girls, and youth, including camps serving thousands of youngsters. It also has a job training program called COPE, a job placement division, and a housing program, is an active lobbyist at all levels of government, and maintains full-time regional offices, including one in Washington. In 1952 it began the publication of a monthly *Dos Yidishe Vort*, and in 1963 of an English monthly, the *Jewish Observer*.

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AGUDDAT AḤIM (Heb. אֲגֻדַּת אַחִים; "The Brotherhood"), assimilationist organization formed in *Galicia in 1880. They were one of two opposite trends of orientation among Jews advocating assimilation in Galicia, then under Austrian administration and torn by national conflicts. One group, represented by the Shomer Israel, established in 1869, favored Jewish adoption of German culture; the members of the Aguddat Aḥim were motivated by feelings of Polish patriotism and desired to assimilate into Polish social and cultural life. In 1880 a group of Jewish intelligentsia and students established Aguddat Aḥim to promote Polish assimilation, and expressed its views in a new Polish-language newspaper, *Ojczyzna* ("Homeland"), edited by Nathan *Loewenstein with Alfred *Nossig among its first contributors. Aguddat Aḥim was active in the political and journalistic spheres and also among the Jewish youth in schools and universities. By 1884, however, the hopes that Jews would be accepted in Polish national life were shaken by an increase in antisemitism among the Poles and reports of pogroms in Warsaw. The counsel of despair now voiced in *Ojczyzna* stated that for Jews the only alternatives were conversion to Christianity or migration to Ereẓ Israel. A number of active members of Aguddat Aḥim abandoned all thoughts of assimilation, rallied to *Zionism, and the organization was dissolved.

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[Moshe Landau]

AGUILAR, DIEGO D' (**Moses Lopez Pereira**; c. 1699–1759), Marrano financier. D'Aguilar, born in Portugal, where his father held the tobacco monopoly, went in 1722 via London to Vienna, where he reverted to Judaism. In Austria he reorganized the state tobacco monopoly, which he held from 1723 until 1739 for an annual payment of seven million florins. In 1726 d'Aguilar was made a baron and subsequently privy councillor. He helped to raise large loans for the Imperial treasury – the amount for 1732 was ten million florins – and advanced the empress 300,000 florins for rebuilding Schoenbrunn Castle. D'Aguilar used his influence at court to assist the Jews. In 1742, in conjunction with Issachar Berush *Eskeles, he succeeded in preventing the expulsion of the Jews from *Moravia. He was also at the center of the negotiations to prevent their expulsion from *Prague in 1744. He helped the Mantua community in 1752, organized relief for the Belgrade community after a destructive fire, and collected funds for Ereẓ Israel. He is said to have prevented the expulsion of the Jews from Vienna by contacting the sultan. D'Aguilar founded the "Turkish (i.e., Sephardi) congregations in Vienna and *Timisoara.

When the Spanish government asked for his extradition for trial by the Inquisition as a Judaizer, Aguilar moved in 1757 with his 14 children to London. There he took an active part in the life of the Sephardi community. His eldest son, EPHRAIM LOPEZ PEREIRA (1739–1802), second Baron D'Aguilar, was also active for a time in London Jewish communal life. Later he became notorious as an eccentric and miser, and proprietor of what became known as "Starvation Farm." Another son, JOSEPH (d. 1774), severed his connection with Judaism, entered the army, and was progenitor of an important English military family, including General Sir GEORGE CHARLES (1784–1855), who commanded in the Chinese War (1841–42), and General Sir CHARLES LAWRENCE (1821–1912).

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[Meir Lamed]

AGUILAR, EMANUEL ABRAHAM (1824–1904), British pianist and composer. Born in London, he was the brother of the novelist, Grace *Aguilar. Aguilar received his musical education at Frankfurt, and his early compositions were performed there with success. In 1848 he gave a concert with the Gewandhaus Orchestra of Leipzig, and then returned to London, where he devoted himself to teaching. He gave annual piano recitals of classical works, especially those of Beethoven. His own compositions include two operas, three symphonies, three cantatas, chamber and piano music, and a set of preparatory pieces for Bach's "Well Tempered Clavier." Aguilar noted down the melodies of the Amsterdam Sephardi tradition as sung by David Aaron De *Sola, and arranged the harmonizations for De Sola's *Ancient Melodies of the Liturgy of the Spanish and Portuguese Jews* (London, 1857, 1931^{2}).

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[Bathja Bayer]

AGUILAR, GRACE (1816–1847), English author of Portuguese Marrano extraction, who wrote a number of novels on Jewish themes and some religious works addressed primarily to Jewish women. Her first book was a volume of poems, *The Magic Wreath*, which she published anonymously when she was only 19. Her truly creative period, however, began in 1842, and in the five years until her death at the age of 31 her literary output was remarkable, particularly because at the same time, although very ill, she was helping her mother run a private school at Hackney (outside London). Most of Grace Aguilar's books were not published until after her death. Her novel *Home Influence* (1847), "a tale for mothers and daughters," and its sequel, *Mother's Recompense* (1851), had considerable success, but it was *The Days of Bruce* (1852), a romance set in 14th-century Scotland, that made her famous. The best known of her Jewish novels was *The Vale of Cedars* (1850), a romantic, highly idealized picture of the Marranos in Spain. Twice translated into German and twice into Hebrew, it long retained popularity. She also wrote stories and sketches based on Jewish life and family traditions. In a more serious vein, she translated from French the apologetic work of the ex-Marrano, *Orobio de Castro, *Israel Defended* (1838). She herself wrote *The Spirit of Judaism: In Defense of Her Faith and Its Professors* (1842), and *The Jewish Faith* (1846). The latter took the form of letters addressed to a friend wavering in her religious conviction. Her *Women of Israel* (1845) was a series of biographical sketches of biblical characters, intended to arouse the pride of young Jews in their heritage. Grace Aguilar was one of the first English Jews to attempt to write a history of the Jews in England; it appeared in *Chambers' Miscellany* (1847). She died while on a visit to Germany. Her collected works, in eight volumes, appeared in 1861. In recent years there has been a considerable revival of interest in Aguilar, who wrote from the unusual, marginal position of a female Jewish intellectual in Victorian Britain. A collection of her selected writings was published in 2003, edited by Michael Galchinsky.

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[Cecil Roth]

AGUILAR, MOSES RAPHAEL D' (d. 1679), Dutch rabbi and scholar. He went to Brazil from Amsterdam in 1641 with other members of his family (including his nephew, the martyr Isaac de *Castro Tartas) and became rabbi-*ḥazzan*, probably in the Magen Avraham congregation of Mauricia (adjoining Recife). On his return to Amsterdam he opened a private school, and was subsequently (1659) engaged to fill Manasseh ben Israel's place in the Etz Hayyim seminary. He wrote some 20 books, but only two were published in his lifetime – a Hebrew grammar for school use (*Epitome da Grammatica hebrayca*, Leiden, 1660; Amsterdam, 1661^{2}), and *Dinim de Sechitá y Bedicá* (Amsterdam, 1681). His work on the immortality of the soul, *Tratado da Immortalidade da Alma*, was published by M. de Jong (Coimbra, 1935). The auction catalogue of his rich library (Amsterdam, 1680) is one of the earliest known in Jewish bibliography.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Imanuel, in: AJA, 14 (1962), 59–61; A. Wiznitzer, *Jews in Colonial Brazil* (1960), 171; ESN, 22–23; C. Gebhardt, *Uriel da Costa* (1922), 250–3.

[Cecil Roth]

AGUILAR DE CAMPÓO, fortress-town in Castile, district of Palencia, northern Spain. The earliest evidence of a Jewish settlement is furnished in the lease of a flour mill in 1187 witnessed by 17 Jews, including two blacksmiths. In the 13th century it was a medium-sized community, with 15 families or about 70 Jews. The farming and other revenues in the districts were in the hands of Don Çaq de la Maleha (*Ibn Ẓadok) and his associates. The taxes paid by the Jewish community in 1290 amounted to 10,718 maravedis. In 1311 the Infant Pedro confirmed the rights of the convent of Santa Maria to tithes and the dues of porteria paid by the Jews; these were reconfirmed in 1370, although the Jewish community had been decimated by English soldiery during the civil war in 1367. The community in Aguilar apparently continued to exist until the expulsion of the Jews from Spain in 1492. Over one of the gates of the city, Puerta de Reinosa, there is a long inscription in Judeo-Castilian (i.e., Spanish in Hebrew characters, almost unique among the Spanish Jewish inscriptions) testifying that the tower was constructed by Don Çaq (Isaac) son of Solomon ibn Malak(e) and his wife Bellida in 1380. The inscription is unique from the historical and linguistic points of view. Fourteenth-century documents speak of the location of the Jewish quarter. It seems very likely that the *juderia* was in what is now known as Tobalina Street. A new Jewish quarter was established towards the end of the 15th century.

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AGUINIS, MARCOS (1935–), Argentinean writer. Born in Cordoba, Argentina, Aguinis received a Ph.D. in neurosurgery, studied psychoanalysis, and worked as a therapist while devoting himself to literature. Following the democratization process in Argentina (1983), Aguinis became a highly regarded intellectual engaged in public affairs as well as in the local Jewish community. During the first government after the military regime, he was elected undersecretary of culture; two years later he was appointed personal counselor to President Alfonsin, with a rank equivalent to undersecretary of state. For many years Aguinis was also a councilor in the *DAIA.

Aguinis' books deal with Jewish themes: Crypto Jews, the Holocaust, antisemitism, Christianity, and the struggle for democracy and cultural pluralism in Argentina. His most famous historical novel, *La Gesta del Marrano* (1992), deals with Francisco Maldonado de Silva, a Converso physician who lived in Concepción (Chile) and was burned at the stake in Lima in 1639. The book was conceived as a paean on freedom, reaching a broad audience because it dealt with the common fate of Jews, converts, blacks, and indigenous people in the Spanish Catholic Colonial America.

Drawing on historical events of the Nazi era, the novel *La matriz del infierno* (1997) ranges from the rise of National Socialism in Germany to the nationalist and authoritarian political culture of Argentina during the 1930s. It emphasizes the cultural and spiritual contradiction between Nazism and the Jewish outlook as well as the attitude of the Christian Church to the Holocaust. While in his early novel *La Cruz Invertida* (1970) Aguinis contrasted sharply the position of the progressive priests affiliated to the Latin American liberation theology movement and the conservatism of the Church hierarchy, in *La matriz del infierno* almost all the Argentinean priests are silent about Hitler's crimes. This novel contributed to the critical debate among Christians and members of other creeds on the hypocrisy and contradictory attitude of the ecclesiastic hierarchy.

Aguinis' later novel *Los Iluminados* (2000) deals with globalization and U.S. fundamentalist groups and their connection to international drug trafficking.

Other literary works of Aguinis deal with central contemporary issues in Latin America, such as the problem of violence and Argentine authoritarianism. *La conspiracion de los idiotas* (1979) is an incisive criticism of the Argentinean military mind and its obsession with conspiracy theories. Written towards the end of the last military dictatorship, it tells the story of an allegedly subversive colony of handicapped and Downs Syndrome patients, alluding to the paranoid prejudices of the authoritarian figure who believes in imaginary enemies.

Aguinis wrote two courageous letters addressed to an unnamed general in essay form: *Carta esperanzada a un General* (1983) after the Falkland War and *Nueva carta esperanzada a un General* (1996). Both books analyze the circumstances in which Argentineans made their transition to democracy. Among other books that focused on Argentina's plight are *Cantata de los diablos* (1972), *Un pais de novela. Viaje hacia la mentalidad de los argentinos* (1988), and *Elogio de la culpa* (1993).

Aguinis' fiction and essays attempt to demythologize history and memory; surprisingly his first novel, *Refugiados* (1969), conceived before the Six-Day War, gave early and keen insight into the Israel-Palestine conflict; on the other hand, the characters of his short stories collected in *Operativo Siesta* (1978) and *Importancia por contacto* (1983) move through biblical tales and Jewish history in search of identity.

Aguinis fiction and essays, based primarily on ideas, address a broad audience by exploring the emotions, sensibilities, and behavior of Jews and non-Jews alike. In many cases, the most compelling characters in his literary oeuvre symbolize the plight of Argentina and of the Jews in its midst.

[Leonardo Senkman (2nd ed.)]

AGUNAH (Heb. עֲגוּנָה; lit. "tied," cf. Ruth 1:13), married woman who for whatsoever reason is separated from her husband and cannot remarry, either because she cannot obtain a divorce from him (see *Divorce), or because it is unknown whether he is still alive. The term is also applied to a *yevamah* ("a levirate widow"; see *Levirate Marriage), if she cannot obtain *ḥaliẓah* from the levir or if it is unknown whether he is still alive (Git. 26b, 33a; Yev. 94a; and *Posekim*). The problem of the *agunah* is one of the most complex in halakhic discussions and is treated in great detail in halakhic literature (no less than six volumes of *Oẓar ha-Posekim* are devoted to it – see bibliography).

Essence of the Problem

The *halakhah* prescribes that a marriage can only be dissolved by divorce or the death of either spouse. According to Jewish law, divorce is effected not by decree of the court, but by the parties themselves, i.e., by the husband's delivery of a *get* ("bill of divorce") to his wife (see *Divorce). Hence the absence of the husband or his willful refusal to deliver the *get* precludes any possibility of a divorce. Similarly the mere disappearance of the husband, where there is no proof of his death, is not sufficient for a declaration by the court to the effect that a wife is a widow and her marriage thus dissolved. The husband, on the other hand, is unaffected by *aginut*, i.e., by his wife's refusal to accept the *get* or her disappearance without trace, since in such a case under certain conditions the law affords him the possibility of receiving *hetter nissu'in* ("permission to contract an additional marriage"; see *Bigamy). In most cases of *agunot* the question is whether or not the husband is still alive. Such cases result, for instance, from uncertainty about the husband's fate caused by conditions of war or persecution – particularly in recent times as a result of the Nazi Holocaust, but the problem can also arise, for example, if the husband suffers from chronic mental illness making him legally incapable of giving a *get* or simply if he willfully refuses to do so.

Rabbinical scholars have permitted many relaxations in the general laws of evidence in order to relieve the hardships suffered by the *agunah*. On the other hand great care was always taken to avoid the risk that permission may inadvertently be given for a married woman to contract a second marriage that would be adulterous and result in any children from such a second marriage being *mamzerim* (see **Mamzer*). Achieving both these ends, i.e., to enable the *agunah* to remarry while ensuring that an adulterous union does not result, is the object of intensive discussion in the laws of the *agunah*.

Mode of Proof (of the Husband's Death)

It is a basic rule of *halakhah* that facts are to be determined on the testimony of two witnesses (see *Evidence). However, the Mishnah already attributes to R. Gamaliel the Elder the *takkanah* that when a husband is missing because of war, and his fate is unknown, the wife may be permitted to remarry on the testimony of only one witness to his death (Yev. 16:7). Although somewhat later R. Eliezer and R. Joshua disagreed with this ruling, at the time of R. Gamaliel of Jabneh it was again determined (*ibid.*) not only that one witness was sufficient but also that hearsay evidence might be admitted, as well as the evidence of a woman, a slave, a handmaiden, or a relative (which classes were otherwise legally incompetent as witnesses). The legal explanation given for these far-reaching rules is that it is to be presumed that a person will not give false testimony on a matter which is likely to come to light, since the husband, if still alive, will undoubtedly reappear sooner or later (Yev. 93b; Maim., Yad, Gerushin 12:15). Moreover, it may be assumed that the wife herself will endeavor to make sure of her husband's death before remarrying, since she will become prohibited to both men if it later transpires that her first husband is still alive, and her other rights, especially pecuniary ones, will be affected too (v. infra; Yev. 87b; Sh. Ar., EH 17:3, 56). Another reason given is that a relaxation of the law is appropriate in times of danger, the possibility that a woman may remain an *agunah* being deemed to be such a time of danger (Yev. 88a, 122a and Rashi *ibid.*; see also **Takkanot*).

An *agunah* may also be permitted to remarry on the strength of her testimony alone as to her husband's death, when she is known to have lived in harmony with her first husband and his absence is not due to war conditions, for the reason, already mentioned, that certainly she has made careful inquiries herself before seeking to contract another marriage (Yev. 93b, 114b–116, and *Posekim*). On the other hand, five categories of women are incompetent to testify as to the husband's death, including his mother and his daughter by another marriage, since it is feared, in view of their customary hatred of the wife, that they are likely to deliver false evidence, so that she should remarry and thus become prohibited to her first husband if it should later transpire that he is still alive (Yev. 117a and *Posekim*).

Similarly, an *agunah* may be relieved of her disability on the unsolicited statement of an apostate Jew (see *Apostasy) or a non-Jew, as to her husband's death; for instance, if during a casual conversation they happened to say, "it is a pity that so and so is dead, he was a fine man," or, "as we were walking together, he suddenly dropped dead," or the like (Yev. 121b–122a; Maim.; *ibid.* 13:11; Sh. Ar., EH 17:14). For the purpose of permitting an *agunah* to remarry it is sufficient if written documents exist that testify to the husband's death (Sh. Ar., EH 17:11). The *halakhah* originally considered documents emanating from non-Jewish authorities as insufficient to permit an *agunah* to remarry (Maim., Yad, Gerushin 13:28; Sh. Ar., EH 17:14), but according to the opinion of most *posekim*, this *halakhah* does not apply to present-day non-Jewish authorities, whose documents, such as death certificates, etc., may be relied on (see, e.g., Ḥatam Sofer, responsa EH 1:43).

Subject-Matter of the Proof

The *halakhah*, while striving to be lenient as possible in the method of proving the husband's death, imposes strict requirements concerning the nature of the evidence with regard to the husband's death, lest a woman still married may thus be permitted to marry another man (Maim. *ibid.* 15: Sh. Ar., EH 17:29). The identity must be established of the person whose death it is sought to determine and there exist most detailed rules in order to establish it with the maximum amount of certainty under the circumstances. Thus evidence as to circumstances from which death would be likely to result in a majority of cases is not considered as sufficient proof of death itself since it may be merely the opinion of the witness that the husband is dead, but not testimony as to the fact of death. Hence, the wife will not be permitted to remarry on the strength of evidence to the effect that her husband was seen to fall into the sea and drown in "water having no end" (i.e., where one can see only the sea but not its surroundings) when his death was not actually seen to have taken place, since he may have been rescued. If, however, the witness testifies that he was later present at the funeral of the husband or some other clear evidence of death, for example, that an identifiable limb was found at the place of drowning, it is accepted as evidence of death. On the other hand the death of the husband will be accepted as having been sufficiently proved and the *agunah* will be permitted to remarry on the strength thereof if there is evidence that he drowned in water "having an end" (i.e., that one can see its surroundings); and the witness stayed long enough at the scene "for the victim's life to depart," without seeing him rise to the surface (Yev. 120–121; Maim. *ibid.* 15–27; Sh. Ar., EH 17–42, esp. 32).

Agunah in the Case of a Civil Marriage

A deserted wife who, practically speaking, has no prospects of obtaining a *get* from her husband, but was married in a civil ceremony only (see Civil *Marriage), may in certain circumstances be declared by the court to have never entered a marriage and thus be permitted to marry another man without need of a *get* from her first husband. The court will reach this conclusion particularly if the wife is able to prove that her first husband expressly refused to marry her in a religious ceremony, declaring thus by implication that he did not wish to create the status of a marriage according to Jewish law (Resp. *Melammed Leho'il*, EH 20).

Mitzvah to Permit *Agunot* to Remarry

Finding a way for permitting an *agunah* to remarry is deemed a great *mitzvah* (Responsa Asheri, 51:2). Indeed, an onerous application of the law, without justification, and in cases where there is no suspicion of deception, is regarded not only as a failure to perform a *mitzvah*, but even as a transgression (Responsa Maimonides, ed. Freiman, 159; Sh. Ar., EH 17:21, Isserles). However, in view of the danger of legalizing a possibly adulterous union, it is customary for an *agunah* to be permitted to remarry only after consultation with, and consent having been obtained from, other leading scholars (Sh. Ar. *ibid.* 34; Isserles and other commentators).

Consequences of Remarriage

An *agunah* who remarries, after permission is granted by the court, is generally entitled to the payment of her **ketubbah* (Yev. 116b; 117a; Maim., Yad, Ishut 16:31; Sh. Ar., *ibid.* 43, 44). If an *agunah* remarries after permission has been given, and then her first husband reappears, her legal position is that of an *eshet ish* "a married woman" who has married another man, thus becoming prohibited to both men (see *Adultery). Accordingly, she requires a *get* from both, and any children born to her of her second husband will be *mamzerim* according to biblical law. Any children born to her from a union with her first husband, after he takes her back but prior to her having received a *get* from her second husband, will also be *mamzerim*, but only according to rabbinical law. In such event she is not entitled to her *ketubbah* from either husband (Yev. 87b; Maim., Yad, Gerushin 10:5, 7; Sh. Ar., EH 17:56).

Proposals for Precautions to Avoid a Woman's Becoming an *Agunah*

In view of the unhappy straits in which an *agunah* is likely to find herself, ways were sought already in early times of taking precautions against such an eventuality. Thus it was customary for anyone "going to wars of the House of David, to write a bill of divorce for his wife" (Ket. 9b and Rashi and Tos. *ibid.*). This *get* was a conditional one, i.e., becoming effective only should the husband not return from war until a specified date, whereupon the wife would become a divorcee and be entitled to marry another man without having to undergo a levirate marriage or *Ḥaliẓah* (Sh. Ar., EH 143). In certain countries this practice is adopted even in present times by those going to war, but complications may ensue; since the rules and the consequences of a *get* of this nature are beset with halakhic problems (Sh. Ar., *ibid.*), particularly when the husband is a *kohen*, since his wife will be a divorcee if he fails to return by the specified date, and by law he must not thereafter remarry her (See *Marriages, Prohibited). One of the solutions suggested was for the husband to grant his wife an unconditional divorce, save that each promises to remarry the other upon the husband's return from war. This, however, would not avail a *kohen* for the reasons mentioned. Furthermore, in the event of the wife's refusal to keep her promise upon her husband's return, the question may arise whether on the strength of the *get* she is free to marry another man, because of the reasonable possibility that the husband intended that the *get* be conditional, i.e., to be of effect only in the event of his failure to return from the war (see above). On this question there is a wide difference of opinion on the part of the authorities without any unanimity being reached (see S.J. Zevin, in bibliography). Another solution proposed, has been the stipulation of a condition at the time of the marriage to the effect that in certain circumstances the marriage should be considered retroactively void, for instance if the husband should fail, without his wife's permission, to return to her after a long absence of specified duration and should refuse, despite her demand, to grant her a *get*; or if he should die childless, leaving a brother who refuses to fulfill the obligations of a levir, etc. (see, for instance, *Ḥatam Sofer,* EH 1:111). This approach also presents formidable halakhic difficulties and was not generally accepted by the majority of the *posekim* (see Freimann, Kahana, and Berkovits, in bibliography). A wife who is on bad terms with her husband and can prove the likelihood of her becoming an *agunah*, may possibly obtain an injunction from the court restraining her husband from traveling abroad without granting her a conditional *get*, as mentioned above.

It was also sought to avoid the disability of an *agunah* by the enactment of a *takkanah* by halakhic scholars to the effect that the *kiddushin* should be deemed annulled retroactively upon the happening or non-fulfillment of certain specified conditions, such as the husband being missing or his willful refusal to grant a *get*. But this *takkanah*, based on the rule that "a man takes a woman under the conditions laid down by the rabbis… and the rabbis may annul his marriage" (Git. 33a), has rarely been employed since the 14th century. In recent times it has been suggested that halakhic scholars should adopt one or other of these procedures in order to solve certain problems relating to *agunah* (see Freimann, Silberg (in the court decision cited in bibliography), and Elon, in bibliography).

In the State of Israel

The question of permitting an *agunah* to remarry, being a matter of marriage and divorce, falls under the exclusive jurisdiction of the rabbinical courts with regard to Jews who are nationals or residents of the State, in terms of the Rabbinical Courts Jurisdiction (Marriage and Divorce) Law, 5713/1953 (sec. 1), which courts deal with the matter in accordance with the *halakhah*. The provisions of the Declaration of Death Law, 5712/1952 (enacted to meet consequences of the Nazi Holocaust), empowering the Jerusalem District Court under certain conditions to make a declaration as to a person's death, has no bearing on the problem of an *agunah*, since "a declaration of death constituting evidence by virtue of this Law, shall not affect the provisions of law as to the dissolution of marriage" (see *ibid*., 17).

[Ben-Zion (Benno) Schereschewsky]

A New Approach

Numerous approaches have been suggested in an effort to find a suitable solution to the problem of the *agunah*, based on the enormous range of materials and sources in which even the experienced scholar may find it difficult to orient himself.

Discussion of the issue of *agunot* first appears during the tannaitic period, but has continued until today. This issue is a classic example of how the world of *halakhah* operates: an interplay of innovation and tradition in legal decisions, the existence of truths that in one sense are absolute, and in another sense contingent upon exigencies of time and place, and the fine balance between the law and the judge. Hence, it is highly instructive as an indicator of the way in which social and historical realities integrate in the formulation of *halakhah*, underscoring the reflections, doubts, and debates, the application of far-reaching and far-sighted solutions on the one hand and the search for direction toward such solutions on the other.

According to Jewish law, just as the marital bond is created by the actions of the two individuals involved, so too divorce can only be effected by their complementary and reciprocal actions, namely by the husband giving, and the wife accepting, the *get* (bill of divorce). And just as *kiddushin* is a voluntary act performed by the two spouses, so too the act of divorce (at least since the *ḥerem* issued by Rabbenu Gershom at the end of the tenth century) must be performed voluntarily by both spouses. Thus, according to *halakhah*, a couple is not actually divorced by virtue of the decision of a court that decides on their divorce. When the court (*bet din*), in response to irrevocable discord between the couple, rules that they must divorce, it merely declares that the couple must carry out the act of divorce, by giving and receiving a *get*; the decision of the court itself does not effect the divorce. In other words, the decision is not *constitutive*, as it is in most contemporary legal systems, but rather *declarative*, informing the couple of their obligation to divorce.

This fundamental difference between divorce in Jewish law and in other legal systems has certain advantages. For example, in Jewish law the divorce can be the product of a mutual agreement, with neither of the spouses being required to show any grounds for divorce, as was the case in most legal systems, and as is still the case in some until today. However, this difference also creates difficulties, as when one of the couple is not able, in the sense of legal capacity, or not willing, to take part in the giving and receiving of the *get*: not able – when one of the spouses suffers from a mental illness that renders him legally incompetent, or when the husband is absent (whether voluntarily or not); not willing – when he (or she) is capable of giving or receiving the *get*, yet refuses to do so, whether in order to extort money from the spouse, or to otherwise abuse her or to take revenge upon her. In all these instances it is the wife who is worse off, since she becomes an *agunah* (a chained woman), unable to remarry so long as the death of her husband has not been proven (should he have disappeared), or until he gives her a *get* (where he is alive, but is either mentally incapacitated or has refused to give the *get*). Should she marry or have sexual relations, any children born to her will be *mamzerim* (misbegotten), who are unable to marry other Jews. These severe consequences do not ensue in the case of a husband whose wife is unable or unwilling to accept the *get*, neither in terms of the status of his children (born to him from another woman while he is still married) nor in terms of his potential marriage to another woman. Indeed, permission may be granted for him to remarry, should his wife unlawfully refuse to accept the *get*.

In terms of solutions to the problem of *agunot*, a distinction must be drawn between the various circumstances that can lead to the woman's becoming an *agunah*. The cases in which the husband is missing as a result of war, natural disaster, or other similar circumstances, are usually solved by halakhic authorities and scholars within a reasonable amount of time. Their solutions are based on the principle that "in the case of *agunot* [i.e., in order to prevent a woman from becoming or remaining an *agunah*] the Sages were lenient." In accordance with this principle, for example, the Sages significantly relaxed the level of proof required to ascertain the husband's death. Testimony that would otherwise be unacceptable – whether emanating from a heavenly voice, hearsay, or the like – could be utilized by the court to free a woman from the shackles of being an *agunah*. Relying upon this principle, all the *agunot* from Israel's wars in recent decades were permitted to remarry, as were the wives of the sailors who disappeared when the Israeli submarine *Dakar* sank without a trace in 1967, in accordance with a halakhic decision of late Chief Rabbi Shelomo *Goren. In this latter case, there was almost no evidence available to indicate the fate of the crew; nonetheless, within a very short time none of these women was left an *agunah*.

ISSUES THAT ARE DIFFICULT TO RESOLVE. Difficulties arise in regard to those cases where there is no doubt that the husband is alive, but in which he is incapable or refuses to give the *get*. Cases in which the husband refuses to give the *get*, in order to extort money or take revenge, etc., are both the most difficult and the most numerous. These problems are particularly widespread and serious in countries outside Israel, where there is a legal option for civil marriage and divorce. A civil court may rule that the couple is divorced, but from the halakhic perspective, the woman may not remarry unless her husband gives her a *get*, and husbands often exploit this situation in order to extort money or other concessions from their wives. Again, from the halakhic perspective, there is no parallel limitation on the husband who wishes to remarry. In an attempt to solve this problem, a number of solutions have been proposed. In the United States, for example, proposals were made for the addition of an appropriate clause in the standard *ketubbah* (marriage settlement document), or the introduction of state legislation which prevents the husband from marrying another woman so long as he has not removed any obstacle to the remarriage of his wife, from who he is already civilly divorced.

The principal method proposed by halakhic authorities to relieve the problem of *agunot* was that of *annulment* of the marriage. This approach was first discussed at the time of the *tannaim*, on the basis of the principle that "anyone who betroths [a woman] does so subject to the conditions laid down by the rabbis, and the rabbis have the power to annul the betrothal," if it "was effected improperly" or "in deviation from the conditions laid down by the rabbis." This approach was initially widely used, but later its use decreased significantly, particularly as a result of historical changes in Jewish life – the dispersion of Jews throughout the Diaspora and, in certain countries, among various Jewish centers, as well as the ideological and cultural schisms that arose with the onset of the Emancipation.

Before discussing the particulars of this subject, mention should be made of an additional approach, which has not been given sufficient consideration: namely, *kiddushei ta'ut* ("erroneous betrothal"). There is a difference between solving the problem of *agunot* by annulling the marriage – that is, in which the marriage is itself binding, but the *bet din* annuls it and permits the couple to marry – and solving the problem of *agunot* by utilizing the principle of "*kiddushei ta'ut*," meaning that the marriage itself was never in effect, thereby obviating the need for its annulment. This distinction may be of value in the search for a speedier solution for the distress of contemporary *agunot.* Examples of use of the principle of *kiddushei ta'ut* to permit *agunot* to remarry can be found in the responsa of R. Simḥah of Speyer, one of the outstanding sages of Ashkenazi Jewry at the end of 12th century; of R. Simeon b. Ẓemaḥ *Duran (Algiers, 14th century); in the reasoning of R. Joseph Dov *Soloveichik, one of the leading scholars of 19th century Lithuanian Jewry; and in the responsa of R. Moses *Feinstein, a leading halakhic authority of our own generation. (For research regarding this approach see Hacohen, *The Tears of the Oppressed*, in the bibliography. This approach may provide a partial solution to the problem of *agunot.*)

As stated above, the main overall solution to the problem of *agunot*, particularly in view of contemporary needs, is that of annulment of marriage. Of particular importance in this context are the reasons that led to the almost total rejection of this solution; on the basis of a close analysis of these reasons, and in light of the establishment of the State of Israel, it may now be possible to return to this solution.

ANNULMENT OF MARRIAGE – PROBLEMS AND ANALYSIS. From the 12th century we have the report of R. Eliezer b. Nathan of Mainz concerning an incident involving a fraudulent marriage. No explicit enactment regulating the manner of effecting a marriage was applicable to the case and the halakhic authorities disagreed as to whether it was possible to invalidate the marriage (*Rabban*, EH 3, fol. 47b). The authorities of Worms and Speyer sought to annul the marriage of the first husband in reliance on the talmudic statement "that it was effected improperly." However, this was not the view of the halakhic authorities of Mainz, who argued that since the completion of the Talmud, the post-talmudic authorities do not have a power to annul such a marriage. This was also the view of one of their contemporaries – Rabbenu Tam – who argued that even the *geonim* lacked the authority to annul such marriages (*Sefer ha-Yashar,* R. Tam, Responsa Section, Rosenthal ed., §24).

In the 13th century, Asheri and Rashba made an important distinction in regard to annulment of marriages (*Rosh*, 35.1; 35.2; *Rashba*, 1 §§1026, 1162, 1185). Under this distinction, the post-talmudic halakhic authorities do not have the general power to annul a marriage on the grounds that "it was effected improperly" or that it was entered into "subject to the conditions laid down by the rabbis"; but if an enactment explicitly states that a marriage in violation of its provisions will be annulled, then the marriage is invalid.

> If the communities, or each individual community, should wish to erect a legislative safeguard against these unfortunate occurrences, let them all jointly adopt an enactment fully confiscating, whether permanently or for a fixed period, any money given [to effect a marriage] to any woman of their community(ies), unless the woman willingly accepts it with the consent of her father or in the presence of whomever they wish.
>
> Every enactment – whether by a particular community or a group of communities – that expropriates the money given to effect a marriage is thus fully valid; and consequently a marriage that does not fulfill the conditions set forth in the enactment is void.

Rabbenu Jeroham (14th century, France) also held this view:

> Every community has the power to adopt an enactment and to agree that any marriage effected in the presence of fewer than ten persons is invalid; and it may also establish other similar conditions that all who marry do so subject to the conditions established by the residents of the community" (*Toledot Adam ve-Ḥavvah*, Sec. *Ḥavvah*, XXII, 4).

In the 14th century, a substantial change occurred in the attitude adopted by the halakhic authorities regarding the actual exercise of legislative power to annul a marriage. We have already noted a certain reluctance on the part of Rashba, who initially ruled that the matter required further consideration but subsequently gave a definitive ruling permitting an enactment for the annulment of marriages. Some time later, even graver doubts were raised by R. *Isaac b. Sheshet Perfet (Ribash), who made his consent to validate such an enactment conditional upon "the approbation of all the halakhic authorities of the region," as a means of dividing the responsibility for the decision among as many halakhic authorities as possible (*Ribash* §399).

Furthermore, according to Ribash the principle that "all who marry do so subject to the conditions laid down by the rabbis" can be broadened and applied to conditions laid down by the community:

> In addition, even if we had to resort to the rationale that "all who marry do so subject to the conditions laid down by the rabbis" to justify every annulment of marriage, we may also state that all who marry do so subject to the conditions laid down by the community in its enactments, given that we have already accepted that all those who marry without any express stipulations as to the terms of marriage do so in accordance with the customs of the town…. Thus, we reach the conclusion that the community may adopt such an enactment, and a marriage that contravenes a communal enactment is invalid, and no divorce is necessary."

This was Ribash's rendition of the law in theory. "However, as to its practical application, I tend to view the matter strictly; and I would not rely on my own opinion (i.e., in view of the gravity of the matter) to declare that she needs no divorce to be free [to remarry], unless all the halakhic authorities of the region concurred, so that only a 'chip of the beam' should reach me [i.e., that I do not take upon myself the full responsibility, but only part of it]."

Ribash did not yet make an absolute distinction between the theoretical authority to adopt an enactment annulling a marriage, and the practical exercise of that authority. The qualification introduced by Ribash was only that such legislation requires the approval of all the halakhic authorities of the region. However, the position expressed by his younger contemporary, Rashbaz (Simeon b. Ẓemaḥ Duran), was far more adamant – namely, that an enactment nullifying a marriage should never be applied in practice. His ultimate justification for the strict ruling was "the gravity of sexual matters" (*Tashbez*, 2 §5).

Rashbaz states unequivocally that in terms of the "essence" of the *halakhah*, the existing authority to annul a marriage derives from the principle of *hefker bet din hefker* [the bet din's authority to expropriate money] and he emphasizes that the authority to annul a marriage rests in every competent court and in every generation. But this is only on a theoretical level. On a practical level a strict approach should be adopted regarding marriage because of the gravity of improper sexual unions, and hence this authority should not be exercised (see also *Tashbez,* 1, §133).

This same view and rationale are echoed in a responsum by Rashbaz's grandson, the second Rashbash (R. Simeon b. Solomon *Duran), at the end of the 15th and the beginning of the 16th centuries (*Yakhin u-Bo'az* 2, §20).

During the same period (towards the turn of the 16th century) we also hear of the first detailed explanation for the phenomenon of the growing inclination to abstain from exercising regulative power to annul marriages that are halakhically valid. This trend was explained by R. Moses *Alashkar, who was active at that time in Spain, in Egypt, and later on in the Land of Israel. First, he made it quite clear that the halakhic authorities and the community have the power to adopt an enactment by which a marriage entered into in violation of their regulations is void. However, he further ruled that, as opposed to enactments in other areas of Jewish Law, where there is nothing to prevent each community from fully exercising the legislative authority vested in them, the adoption of far-reaching enactments with regard to the annulment of marriage are not permitted – mainly for reasons of general legal policy – unless the enactments are adopted by all or at least most of the communities in a particular country. Maharam Alashkar pointed out that in this ruling he was following in the footsteps of Ribash, who also required that the enactment be adopted by all of the communities in the region. However, Maharam Alashkar explained this requirement within the particular context of marriage and divorce law (*Maharam Alashkar,* §48).

The fact that an enactment was only adopted by a particular community and not by all the communities – or at least a majority of them – prevented Maharam Alashkar from approving the enactment and declaring it valid. While Jewish Law confers legislative authority to a local community, and even to a tradesmen's association, it is not proper to "take a lenient approach" to marriages "valid according to the Torah" purely on the basis of one community's enactment. This is so, because local legislation in matters of marriage and divorce creates a serious danger of degeneracy and of making a mockery of the entire institution of marriage. An enactment of one community clearly does not bind a member of any other community. Consequently, if a member of another community marries a woman in violation of the enactment, the marriage will be valid (since we apply the law of the husband's community), while if a member of the community that adopted the enactment marries a woman in violation of the enactment, the woman will not be married, and is permitted to marry someone else without a divorce. This kind of situation is intolerable in terms of the integrity and stability of the institutions of marriage and family!

An interesting example of this significant change in the legislative trend regarding enactments dealing with annulment of marriages is the difference between two enactments, adopted approximately 100 years apart in the very same location – the community of the Castilian exiles in *Fez. The first enactment, adopted in 1494, reads as follows (*Kerem Ḥemer,* 2, *Takkanah* §1; for the Fez enactments, see *Ha-Mishpat ha-Ivri*, p. 652):

> No Jewish man shall betroth any Jewish woman other than in the presence of ten persons among whom there is either a scholar of the community (who receives his wages from the community treasury) or a local judge; the same applies to their entering under the *ḥuppah.* If it is done in any other manner, the marriage is void *ab initio.*

One hundred years later, a new enactment was adopted in Fez, similarly requiring that a betrothal take place in the presence of ten persons. However, this enactment contained a substantial change in the sanction imposed on the violator of the enactment; while he is subject to punishment and fines, the marriage itself is considered valid and is not annulled. Instead, the husband is compelled to give a divorce (*Keremember, Takkanah* §34; the latter enactment was adopted in 1592).

In reality, in the 16th and even in the 17th century enactments were still being adopted in various communities in Italy and elsewhere prohibiting the celebration of marriages in the presence of fewer than ten persons and explicitly stating that a marriage in violation of the enactment is void *ab initio* (see for example the Casalli enactment of 1571; a similar enactment was adopted in Corfu in 1652). However, the overwhelming majority of halakhic authorities refused to endorse the practice of annulment of marriages and it appears that these particular enactments were never actually applied (*Naḥalat Ya'akov* §57; the responsum was written in 1615).

It is highly noteworthy that as late as the 18th and 19th centuries, legislation was enacted in the Jewish centers of the Eastern countries, requiring marriages to be celebrated in the presence of ten persons and a rabbi, and providing for annulment as a sanction for violation.

In the middle of the 18th century in Damascus, Syria, an enactment of this kind was adopted by the halakhic authorities together with the communal leaders, led by R. Mordecai Galante. The full text of the *takkanah* was preserved (*Berekh Moshe* by Moses Galante, the son of Mordecai Galante, §33). It states that "in order to remove the stumbling blocks placed by deceivers" they enacted that:

> No Jewish man marry any woman, except in the presence of ten Jewish persons, including the rabbi who is the teacher of Torah and who the community recognize as judges … and two individuals from among the communal leaders and officials are also to be included among these ten persons. This, our enactment and decree, shall be in effect from this day forward until the day of the coming of the Righteous Teacher, the Messiah of the God of Jacob … and if any man shall intentionally marry in secret in the presence of two witnesses and not in the presence of ten Jewish persons, as mentioned above … his marriage will have no effect and we annul his marriage by way of absolute expropriation like the court of Ravina and R. Ashi, which had the power to expropriate a person's property.

In the middle of the 19th century this enactment was reaffirmed and fortified by the scholars and leaders of the Damascus community, led by Isaac *Abulafia (in his *Penei Yiẓḥak*, EH, §16; p. 94d).

> In our community there is an earlier enactment … that no man marry in the presence of two witnesses, unless the rabbi or his representative consents and ten persons are present, two of whom must be communal leaders … and that if any man shall intentionally marry in secret in the presence of two witnesses … not only shall he be labeled a transgressor, but his marriage is annulled by the rabbis and the money given to effect the *Kiddushin* is completely expropriated under principle of *hefker bet din hefker* like the court of Ravina and R. Ashi, which had the power to expropriate property … In as much as an incident occurred within the past three years, we have reenacted this legislation and proclaimed it publicly with full force and effect, with all transgressors being made subject to excommunication and ban as is known.

There were disputes among the halakhic authorities regarding the interpretation, validity, and applicability of this enactment (see Freimann, *Seder Kiddushin ve-Nissu'in*, 286 ff.). As a fundamental ruling regarding the manner of establishing the *halakhah* and adopting enactments, it was sharply criticized by R. Shalom Moses Hai Gagin, of Jerusalem:

> This is an astounding opinion in which the author states that he saw in the code books that it is permissible to adopt an enactment at variance with the rulings of R. Joseph Caro, even to the point of leniency concerning a prohibition contained in the Torah; to date he has not revealed the identity of this authority to us. This is nothing more than his own view, and his own unsupported opinion. It cannot possibly be contended that the world's great scholars ever gathered together and agreed to rule contrary to R. Joseph Caro, the author of the Shulḥan Arukh, even in a single particular (*Yismaḥ Lev,* EH, §15).

According to R. Gagin, the enactment was only intended to annul a marriage in rare and exceptional cases (e.g., in which there were additional defects, or in special cases in which there was a problem of *iggun*).

In his responsum relating this matter, R. Isaac Abulafia strongly defended his position regarding the power to adopt such an enactment:

> What should I say in response to that author who is wise in his own eyes… who compares those who have studied and gained wisdom to ignorant reed cutters? [i.e., who compare people who have studied extensively to ignorant reed cutters; see Sanh. 33a] For the fundamental question, namely, whether a court and a community may enact legislation to annul a marriage that is valid according to the Torah, has been extensively discussed by the *rishonim*, i.e., Ribash and Rashbez, and by other leading authorities, who proved directly on the basis of several talmudic passages that enactments annulling a marriage regarded by the Torah as valid can be adopted on the basis of two sound and fully articulated reasons: (1) that all who marry do so subject to the conditions laid down by the rabbis, and the rabbis annul this marriage; and (2) that pursuant to the principle of *hefker bet din hefker,* the court has sufficient authority to exercise the power of expropriation….

> This being so, there is here an a *fortiori* inference: since they have the power to annul a marriage that is completely and clearly valid under the law of the Torah, as stated above, then *a fortiori,* in order to erect a safeguard, they may also adopt an enactment that is contrary to R. Joseph Caro on this particular point, and may instead follow the authorities who disagree with him. If they possess the power to annul and dissolve a marriage that is valid according to the Torah, they must certainly have the authority to adopt an enactment that contravenes the strict view of R. Joseph Caro, for otherwise, what have the halakhic authorities accomplished with their enactment? The matter is simple and clear and beyond all doubt (*Lev Nishbar* §3, 15a).

It should be emphasized that many of the leading halakhic scholars in the Eastern countries shared this view and ruled accordingly, that the halakhic authorities have the power to annul marriages by way of an enactment (in another context, see Elon, "The Uniqueness of Halakhah," in the bibliography):

> The question arose again in its full gravity, during the second half of the 19th century, when it was determined in Algerian law that it was obligatory to conduct a civil marriage ceremony prior to conducting *ḥuppah* and *kiddushin,* and that in the absence of the civil ceremony the couple would not be considered married in accordance with the laws of the State. This change carried tremendous potential for abuse by which the husband could cause his wife to become an *agunah*; for if they had been married under religious law without the marriage having been preceded by a civil ceremony, then he could then legally marry another woman. Alternatively, if the woman who had the status of a married woman, went and married another person, she would thereby blemish the status of her children from the second husband. In order to prevent mishaps of this nature and the like, the Algerian rabbis turned to one of the great halakhic authorities of Turkey, R. Chaim Palagi, from Ismir, who proposed, in view of the increasing numbers of cases in which woman were chained to the marital bond and the attendant danger of *mamzerut*, that they adopt a enactment for the annulment of marriages effected without there having been a prior civil marriage ceremony. Some time later, a similar enactment for the annulment of marriages was adopted in Algeria by R. Elijah Ḥazan, and he was supported by the halakhic authorities of Tunis and Constantine and others too. There were other authorities who did not approve of the annulment of marriages, and refused to adopt this kind of enactment in their own locations. Among these was R. David Moeati, one of the Algerian rabbis. The dispute continued between other halakhic authorities as well. R. Ḥayyim Bleich, an eminent rabbi from Tlemecen, Algeria, wrote a special treatise supporting the idea of annulment of marriages under these circumstances, even after the consummation of marriage (see Freimann, *Seder Kiddushin ve-Nissu'in*, 334–37). It would appear that the majority of the halakhic authorities supported the adoption of this enactment and ruled accordingly, and it served as the basis for annulment of marriages in the Egyptian communities (Freimann, 337–44; see further in Elon, *ibid.*, 34–35, *infra*).

Our discussion shows that in Ashkenazi Jewry, following the period of R. Moses *Isserles, one of the leading halakhic authorities of the 16th century, enactments were no longer made for the annulment of marriages as a solution for the problem of *agunot.* The position accepted by the Ashkenazi authorities was that they did not have the power to adopt enactments for the annulment of marriages, in view of the considerations dealt with above. Among Oriental Jewry, on the other hand, this practice continued, alongside intensified discussion of the need and the possibility of annulling marriages by appropriate enactments. In a number of locations in the Oriental Diaspora these enactments were actually put into practice, surviving until this very day. The phenomenon has invariably been the subject of incisive and often stormy discussions, and has remained on the public agenda, and some of the halakhic authorities did not recoil from adopting the enactments which in their view were both necessary and appropriate.

THE CENTRALITY OF THE LAND OF ISRAEL AND THE STATE OF ISRAEL – THE KEY TO THE SOLUTION OF THE PROBLEM OF AGUNOT. It would appear that the great historic transformation of the condition of the Jewish people wrought by the restoration of Jewish sovereignty (a transformation unparalleled in its magnitude in the entire course of Jewish history) could and should lead to a change in the trend of refraining from the exercise of halakhic legislative authority. The reasons for this were the fragmentation and dispersal of local communal legislation, and the absence of a central authority for the Jewish people in its entirety. Accordingly, the new reality of ingathering and unification should serve as an impetus for the renewed resumption and exercise of legislative authority and for the emergence of a central authority, which can adopt legislation applicable to the Jewish people in its entirety. The halakhic center in the State of Israel should be the main Jewish center, exercising halakhic hegemony over the entire Jewish dispersion. In that capacity, it is authorized to reassume the authority to adopt enactments which, from the time of their adoption or over time, would become the legacy of the Jewish people wherever it be. The new historical reality ought to give rise to a new halakhic reality, the central innovation of which will lie in the restoration of the "crown" to its ancient glory. This new situation both warrants and demands the renewal of the full scope of creative legislative activity in all branches of Jewish law, including marital law, in order to strive to perfect the world of *halakhah* and the world of the Jewish people. (A proposal in this spirit for a solution of the problem of *agunot* was made by Prof. Abraham Chaim Freimann, *Seder Kiddushin ve-Nissu'in*, 397).

In the State of Israel, as the center of the Jewish world, marriages and divorces of all Jewish men and women are effected, pursuant to the State Law, in accordance with the conditions stipulated by its halakhic authorities and scholars.

Our discussion until now indicates that the dearth of practical application of enactments for *agunot* and for annulments of marriage in the larger portion of Jewish communities in the Jewish dispersion is rooted in the historical phenomenon of the fragmentation into numerous centers and different communities, a phenomenon that gave rise to a multiplicity of halakhic practices. We find more and more cases in which the enactment was accepted and practiced in one particular center, or even in one particular community. As the fragmentation increased, it increasingly precluded any possibility of annulment of marriages. The situation was one in which there could be two couples, one belonging to a community that had adopted an enactment for the annulment of marriage and the other to a community which had not adopted that enactment. As a result, one could no longer claim that marriage was effected in accordance with the conditions stipulated by the rabbis, because there was no single set of conditions of the rabbis: rather there were two different systems, which alternated from center to center and from community to community. This point was made and reiterated in the responsa of the halakhic authorities just examined.

Needless to say, these enactments ought to be made by the rabbis and scholars of the State of Israel, the center of the Jewish world. However, such enactments need to be adopted in consultation and coordination with Jewish scholars and halakhic authorities from the entire Jewish world. Consequently, anyone who marries would be doing so in accordance with the enactments made by the authorities of the Land of Israel, in the State of Israel. There would thus be one enactment for the entire Jewish people. The factor of centrality thus both accommodates and compels the renewed adoption of an enactment for *agunot* that would unshackle Jewish women both in the State of Israel and in all the centers the world over.

PEACE AS A CONSIDERATION IN JEWISH LAW. In our discussion of an enactment for the annulment of marriages as a solution for the plight of *agunot*, the consideration of *peace* was one of the considerations that periodically arose, either as a compelling reason for finding a solution or as the means for finding such a solution. Indeed, it plays a unique function in the discussions of the halakhic authorities in the context of enactments for *agunot.*

Halakhic authorities derived this principle from the verse in Proverbs 3:17: "Her ways are ways of pleasantness and all her paths are peace." This verse describes the virtues of wisdom, and in the Jewish tradition it serves to extol the Torah and those who study it. It was further established as a general guideline for the manner of interpretation of the rules of Jewish Law in all its various fields, and as the purpose and goal of the entire world of Jewish Law. In the world of the halakhic authorities, "the ways of pleasantness" and the "paths of peace" were integrated into a single principle, each aspect complementing the other, with the emphasis alternately placed on either "pleasantness" or "peace." This integrated principle was the source of a variety of rulings in all areas of *halakhah*, chief among them being family law. (See *Maharsha*, end of Yeb. 122b; Maim., Yad, *Megillah ve-Hannukah* 4:12–14.)

A SIGNIFICANT THOUGH PARTIAL SOLUTION: A MODERN APPLICATION OF RABBENU TAM'S *HARḤAKOT*. We concluded our above discussion of the subject of *agunot* with the expectation that the resolution of this difficult and painful problem would be found by resorting to the creative utilization of the tool of annulment of marriage, which would be examined, discussed, and applied from the center of the Jewish people in the Land of Israel in the State of Israel. It is interesting to note that the first steps towards a solution to the problem of *agunot* have already been taken. We refer here to the efficient, variegated, and specific use of a special law, in a manner that induces the husband to immediately comply with the decisions and judgments that obligate him to release his wife from the chains of her *agginut*.

As we observed, the predominant view in the vast majority of Jewish centers was the proscription of physical coercion as a means of forcing the husband to give his wife a *get*, except for certain exceptional cases: "We should be strict in not using coercion by way of physical coercion, so that the *get* does not become a '*coerced get*' [one given under physical compulsion, against the husband's will and thus invalid]" (*Rama* Sh. Ar., EH 154.21). On the topic of physical coercion as a means of forcing the husband to give a *get*, see the entry *Divorce and its conclusion: "Enforcement of Divorce in the State of Israel." This strict ruling frequently gave rise to problems of *agginut* and the halakhic authorities searched for halakhic and social remedies to this serious problem.

The method proposed by Rabbenu Tam (one of the leading 12th century Tosafists) was based on ostracizing the recalcitrant husband who refused to give the *get* to his wife, cutting him off from communal life and severing all contact with him. In other words: "they are not permitted to talk to him, do business with him, host him, feed him, provide him with drink, accompany him and visit him when he is ill … we will separate from him" (*Sefer ha-Yashar* §24). Physical coercion or other kinds of harm (such as imprisonment, etc.) are forbidden, because in those cases the husband's consent to give a *get* may stem from his inability to withstand the physical pressure and not because he has consented to give a *get.* The social sanctions, by prohibiting any contact with him, are insufficient as a means of forcing him to grant a *get*, for from a physical perspective he is capable of bearing the pressures of denial of contact with him. Accordingly, if he deigns to give his wife the *get*, it may be presumed that he does so willingly.

Notably, resort to this kind of sanction in the judgments of rabbinical courts in the State of Israel has been extremely rare. Two factors may explain this. Firstly, the "fear of instruction" of the halakhic authorities echoes the view of a number of *posekim* who ruled that these sanctions constitute coercion and are therefore only permitted in the rare cases in which coercion is permitted. The second factor is that the sanctions referred to in the aforementioned sources were utilized primarily in order to ostracize and exclude the husband from communal religious life, limiting its effectiveness to those cases in which the husband belonged to that particular community.

Moreover, the economic aspect of abstaining from any financial and commercial dealings with the husband would be unlikely to be particularly effective in the contemporary reality. It would therefore seem that the idea and the principle of the sanctions, as they should be applied in the current reality, require application and execution by the authorities of the State, exercising its legally conferred power over its entire citizenry.

Sanctions (Exclusionary Measures) in Legislation of the Knesset

This method has in fact been proposed by researchers and various judicial and governmental circles. A halakhic dialogue has begun regarding the possibility of utilizing tools wielded by the State authorities, and whether the use of such tools does not constitute "coercion," if only because the exclusion from participation in communal life and the possibility of coercion is only permitted in certain exceptional cases, as stated above. The proposals became memorandums, discussions, draft laws, and culminated in the formulation of a list of "exclusionary (shunning) measures" which received expression in the Knesset legislation under the Rabbinical Courts Law (Upholding Divorce Rulings), 5755–1995. Since its adoption a number of amendments have been introduced on an almost annual basis.

Under this law (§1) if a certain period of time has passed since the decision of the Rabbinical Court ruling that the husband must give a *get* to his wife, and the husband has not upheld the judgment:

The Rabbinical Court may, in a restrictive order, impinge on the rights enumerated below, in full or in part, for such period and under such conditions as it may prescribe:

(1) To leave the country;

(2) To receive an Israeli passport or *laissez passer* pursuant to the Passports Law, 5712–1952, to hold them or extend their validity, provided that they retain their validity for purposes of returning to Israel;

(3) To receive, hold or renew a driver's license;

(4) To be appointed, elected or to serve in a statutory position or a position in an inspected body within the meaning of the State Comptroller Law 5718–1958 [Consolidated Version];

(5) To deal in a profession the occupation in which is regulated by Law, or to operate an enterprise which requires a legal license or permit;

(6) To open, or hold a bank account or to draw checks on a bank account, by determining that he is a restricted customer within the meaning of the Checks Without Cover Law, 5741–1981.

While the historical source of these provisions lies in the "Sanctions (*harḥakot*) of Rabbeinu Tam," their ramifications extend far further afield. The order issued is a "restrictive order" affecting the possibility of leaving the country, receiving a passport, driver's license, appointment to official positions, occupation in a profession, opening and maintaining a bank account, and being imprisoned in solitary confinement for a prescribed number of days. Restrictions of this nature may for the most part be regarded as violations of the basic rights in accordance with the Basic Laws: Human Dignity and Freedom, and Freedom of Occupation (e.g., freedom of movement, freedom of occupation, right to property). At the same time, they are of tremendous importance in the promotion of a solution to the problem of *agunot* in the world of *halakhah* and as part of the world of *halakhah*. The restrictions imposed here by the legislator, whose values are those of a Jewish and democratic state, are a continuation of the exclusionary measures, established in the halakhah of the 12th century, and named after one of its most eminent leaders and authorities, the noted Tosafist, Rabbenu Tam. Mention should be made here of an interesting correspondence relating to the application of this Law, cited in the Report of the State Comptroller, Justice Eliezer Goldberg (Annual Report 54B, 2003, and accounts for fiscal year of 2002, pp. 515–23), under the heading "Rabbinical Courts." In the response submitted by the director of the Rabbinical Courts to the State Comptroller's Office, it states that "a *mesurevet get* (wife whose husband has refused to give a *get*) is defined by the Rabbinical Court as a wife whose husband was obligated to give her a *get*, and has still not given it to her after 30 days." In accordance with this definition, there are only 200 *mesuravot get*. This led to a proposal of the State Comptroller that the Rabbinical Court should initiate the issue of a restrictive order even if the judgment itself did not stipulate that the husband was obligated to give his wife a *get*, but only stipulated that the Rabbinical Court recommends or suggests that the husband give his wife a *get*. This is in accordance with the Law itself which states (section 1 (b)): "For purposes of this section, it is immaterial if the judgment used the wording of coercion, obligation, *mitzvah* (positive precept), suggestion, or any other wording"; and this would result in a decrease in the numbers of *agunot*. The president of the Rabbinical Court replied that "should it be necessary," the Rabbinical Court would adopt this kind of initiative (*ibid.*, 521–23).

We are once again confronted by the social role filled by the State of Israel, as an esteemed, venerable, and sovereign legislative authority, in both the development of *halakhah* and the resolution of halakhic problems that arise in its framework.

This law contributed significantly to a solution of the *agunot* problem. For further details regarding its provisions, see the entry on Divorce, especially the concluding section, "Enforcement of Divorce in the State of Israel." Admittedly, the problem remains to be completely and satisfactorily resolved – for the Jews in the State of Israel, and certainly for Jews living in the countries of the Diaspora, to whom the provisions of the law dealing with compliance with judgments do not apply. Nonetheless, the partial promotion of a solution, as embodied in the provisions of the law, is still of great significance in the anchoring of the values of the State of Israel as a Jewish and democratic state, in accordance with the provisions of the purpose section of the Basic Laws.

As stated, the Law of the Knesset is just a beginning, albeit an important one, for the solution of the problem of *agu-*

not. The need exists, and it is incumbent upon us to aspire to a complete resolution of the *agunot* problem. Such a solution exists in the form of annulment of marriages, which could be effected by the adoption of an enactment in the center of the Jewish world in the Land of Israel, with the cooperation and assistance of halakhic authorities from Jewish communities all over the world. To be sure, the halakhic world is divided regarding the issue of the authority of the rabbis to annul marriages in this manner, but this has always been the case. Moreover, this was the situation in the period immediately preceding our period, in a location quite close to ours. I refer here to the dispute between the two great halakhic authorities, R.I. Abulafia and R.C. Ganin, during the 19th century in the Jewish center of Damascus, in Syria, the neighbor of Israel (see *supra*). Accordingly, if there was a dispute regarding the enactment that originated in Damascus in Syria, then an enactment issuing from Jerusalem, in the Land of Israel in the State of Israel, which constitute the center of the Jewish world, should certainly be proposed, accepted, and applied in practice in order to free Jewish women from the chains and suffering of being *agunot.*

In conclusion, it should be noted that the issue of a wife's *agginut* occasionally arises in judicial deliberations, not in relation to the *agginut* per se, but rather in the context of adjudication of other legal matters, such as the amount of damages owing to a widow whose husband died through his employer's negligence, the issue of an extradition order against a husband for a crime committed in another country, and the like. (See Elon, C.A. 110/80 *Gabbai v. Willis,* 36 (1) P.D. 449; C.A. *Aloni v. Minister of Justice*, 41 (2) P.D. 1; H.C. 644/79 *Guttman v. Tel-Aviv Jaffa Regional Rabbinical Court*, 34 (1) P.D. p. 443–50; H.C. 822/88 *Rozensweig v. Attorney General,* 42 (4) P.D. p. 761–59.)

[Menachem Elon (2nd ed.)]

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AGURSKY, MIKHAIL (1933–1991), Russian historian and activist. Agursky was born in Moscow, the son of Shmuel Agursky, a noted Soviet party activist and historian of the revolutionary movement who was arrested in 1938 and exiled to Kazakhstan for five years. Mikhail received his Ph.D. in the field of cybernetics in 1969. He took part in the civil rights movements in the U.S.S.R. and in Samizdat (self-publishing), contributing to the anthology *Iz pod glyb* ("From the Underground"). In 1975 he emigrated to Israel and worked at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. In 1979 he received a doctorate from the University of Paris for his thesis "The National-Bolshevist Ideology," which was published in Paris in Russian in 1980. He also wrote "The Soviet Golem" (Russ., 1983), *Third Rome: National Bolshevism in the U.S.S.R.* (1987), "Trade Relations between the Soviet Union and the Countries of the Middle East" (Heb., 1990), and with Margaret Shklovski the anthology "Literary Heritage; Gorky and the Jewish Question" (Russ., 1986).

[Shmuel Spector (2nd ed.)]

AGURSKY, SAMUEL (1884–c. 1948), Communist author. Agursky, who was born in Grodno, joined the Bund and fled Russia in 1905 because of his involvement in revolutionary activities. He eventually went to the United States and contributed to the Jewish anarchist press. He returned to Russia in 1917 and helped found the Jewish section of the Communist Party *Yevsektsiya. In 1919, when deputizing for S. *Dimanstein, the commissar for Jewish affairs, Agursky issued an order closing the Jewish communal institutions. He wrote on the history of the Jewish labor movement and edited collections of historical and literary works. He disappeared at the time of the 1948 anti-Jewish purges. Agursky's writings include *Der Yidisher Arbeter in der Komunistisher Bavegung, 1917–1925* ("The Jewish Worker in the Communist Movement, 1917–25," 1926); *Di Yidishe Komisaryaten un di Yidishe Komu-*

nistishe Sektsies, 1918–1921 ("The Jewish Commissariats and the Jewish Communist Sections, 1918–21," 1928).

[Yehuda Slutsky]

AGUR SON OF JAKEH (Heb. אָגוּר בִּן־יָקֶה), an otherwise unknown figure mentioned in the enigmatic title to Proverbs 30:1–33. Possibly the title refers only to the first 14 verses since the Septuagint separates these two sections, placing the first between Proverbs 24:22 and 23 and the second following Proverbs 24:33. It was already pointed out by Rabbenu *Tam (Jacob b. Meir) that the *aluqah* ((ל)עֲלוּקָה; "*leech*") in Proverbs 30:15 may refer to a different sage with the name Alukah (in the category of names such as Nahash ("serpent"), Parosh ("flea"), etc.); hence the second section is to be attributed to another sage, Alukah. This assumption is borne out by the marked difference in content between the two sections, the first being in the nature of an ethical admonitory disquisition (in the spirit of Job 42:2), while the second consists mainly of numerical aphorisms. It has been suggested that ha-Massa (המשא) in Proverbs 30:1 should be amended to ha-Massa'i (המשאי; "the Massaite"), since Proverbs 31:1ff. is attributed to the mother of a king of Massa (cf. Gen. 25:14; I Chron. 1:30), one of the *Kenite peoples whose wisdom the Israelites admired.

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[Michael V. Fox]

AGUS, IRVING ABRAHAM (1910–1984), U.S. educator and scholar; brother of Jacob *Agus. Agus was born in Swislocz, Poland, and studied at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem (1926–27), and at Dropsie College (1937). He served as educational director in Memphis, Tenn. (1939–45), dean of the Harry Fischel Research School in Talmud (Jerusalem, 1947–49), and principal of the Akiba Academy in Philadelphia (1949–51). From 1951 he was professor of Jewish history at Yeshiva University. Using responsa literature as a primary historical source, Agus wrote extensively on Jewish life in the Middle Ages. Among his works are *Rabbi Meir of Rothenburg* (2 vols., 1947), describing Jewish life in 13th-century Germany, and *Teshuvot Ba'alei ha-Tosafot*, an edition of previously unpublished responsa by the Tosafists (1954). His later writings concentrated on Jewish communal life in pre-Crusade Europe, showing that the Franco-German Jews, though a small group, were able to preserve talmudic traditions by their great devotion to study and observance of Judaism. In *Urban Civilization in Pre-Crusade Europe* (2 vols., 1965) Agus credits these Ashkenazi Jewish communities, which excelled in commercial ventures, with providing the prototype of town life and organization in Catholic Europe.

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[Simcha Berkowitz]

AGUS, JACOB B. (1911–1986), U.S. rabbi and philosopher. Agus (Agushewitz) was born into a distinguished rabbinical family in the *shtetl* of Sislevitch (Swislocz), situated in the Grodno Dubornik region of Poland. After receiving tutoring at home and in the local *ḥeder*, he joined his older brothers as a student at the Mizrachi-linked Takhemoni yeshivah in Bialystok.

In 1925 the Agushewitzes migrated to Palestine. Unfortunately, the economic conditions and the religious life of the *yishuv* were not favorable and in 1927 the Agushewitz family moved again, this time to America, where Jacob's father, R. Judah Leib, had relocated a year earlier to fill the position of rabbi in an East Side New York synagogue.

The family settled in Boro Park (Brooklyn) and Jacob attended the high school connected with Yeshiva University. After completing high school, he continued both his rabbinical and secular studies at the newly established Yeshiva University. He received his rabbinical ordination (**semikhah*) in 1933. After two further years of intensive rabbinical study, he received the traditional *yoreh yoreh yaddin yaddin semikhah* in 1935.

In 1935 Agus took his first full-time rabbinical position in Norfolk, Virginia. One year later he left Norfolk for Harvard University, where he enrolled in the graduate program in philosophy. At Harvard, his two main teachers were Professor Harry A. Wolfson and Professor Ernest Hocking. Agus' doctoral dissertation was published in 1940 under the title *Modern Philosophies of Judaism.* It critically examined the thought of the influential German triumvirate of Hermann *Cohen, Franz *Rosenzweig, and Martin *Buber, as well as the work of Mordecai *Kaplan, who in 1934 had published the classic *Judaism as a Civilization.*

While in the Boston area, Agus paid his way by taking on a rabbinical position in Cambridge and he continued his rabbinical learning with R. Joseph *Soloveitchik.

At Harvard, for the first time in his life, Agus encountered serious, even intense, criticism of traditional Judaism. In response, he decided to devote much of his energy for the rest of his life to explicating, disseminating, and defending the ethical and humanistic values embodied in the Jewish tradition, and in particular, how these values were interpreted by its intellectual and philosophical elites.

After receiving his doctorate from Harvard, Agus accepted the post of rabbi at the Agudas Achim Congregation in Chicago. Though the congregation permitted mixed seating, it was still considered an Orthodox synagogue. In this freer midwestern environment, removed from the yeshivah world of his student days, the orthodoxy of Yeshiva University, and the intensity of Jewish Boston, Agus began to have doubts about the intellectual claims and dogmatic premises of Orthodox Judaism. In particular, he began to redefine the meaning of *halakhah* and its relationship to reason and independent ethical norms.

In 1943, disenchanted with his Chicago pulpit, Agus accepted a call to Dayton, Ohio. During this period he also attempted to gather support for an agenda of change and halakhic reform at the Orthodox Rabbinical Council of America (RCA) convention in 1944 and 1945. When this failed he decided to break decisively with the organized Orthodox community and its institutions. He officially broke with the RCA in 1946–47 and joined instead the Conservative movement's Rabbinical Assembly. In this new context he became a powerful presence and an agent of change, serving on the Committee on Jewish Law and Standards for nearly 40 years, until his death.

In 1950, R. Agus accepted the position of rabbi at the newly formed Conservative congregation Beth El in Baltimore. A small congregation of some 50 families when he arrived, it grew over his three decades as its rabbi into a major congregation. During this period Agus also continued his scholarly work. He was a regular contributor to a variety of Jewish periodicals, such as the *Menorah Journal, Judaism, Midstream,* and *The Reconstructionist,* and he served on several of their editorial boards. He also occasionally published in Hebrew journals. At the same time, he began to teach at Johns Hopkins University in an adjunct capacity, to lecture at B'nai B'rith institutes, and to speak at colleges and seminaries around the country. In 1959 he published his well-known study *The Evolution of Jewish Thought,* an outgrowth of his lectures.

Beginning in 1968 Agus, while continuing his rabbinical duties in Baltimore, accepted a joint appointment as professor of rabbinic civilization at the new Reconstructionist Rabbinical College in Philadelphia and at Temple University. In addition, he worked with the American Jewish Committee at both the local and the national level on various communal issues, with the Synagogue Council of America on Jewish-Christian issues, with a host of Jewish communal agencies, and he was active in Jewish-Christian dialogue in the hope of reducing antisemitism and helping to restructure the Christian understanding of Jews and Judaism.

Among Agus' writings are *Modern Philosophies of Judaism* (1941); *Banner of Jerusalem* (1946), a study of the life and thought of R. Abraham Isaac *Kook; *Guideposts in Modern Judaism* (1954); *The Meaning of Jewish History* (2 vols., 1963); *The Vision and the Way* (1966); *Dialogue and Tradition* (1969); and *The Jewish Quest* (1983). Agus also published a volume on Judaism as part of the Catholic Theological Encyclopedia and served as a consultant to Arnold Toynbee on Jewish matters. Some of his letters to Toynbee are printed in Toynbee's "*Reconsiderations*," the 12th volume of his *Study of History.*

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[Steven T. Katz (2nd ed.)]

AḤA (**Aḥai**; fourth century), Palestinian *amora*. Born in Lydda, Aḥa studied *halakhah* under R. *Yose b. Hanina and *aggadah* under R. *Tanḥum b. Ḥiyya, and transmitted the teachings of most of the contemporary Palestinian authorities. He is extensively quoted in the Jerusalem Talmud, but seldom in the Babylonian. His younger colleagues called him "the Light of Israel" (TJ, Shab. 6:9, 8c). His statement that "the Temple will be rebuilt before the reestablishment of the Davidic dynasty" possibly refers to his hopes for the rebuilding of the Temple by the Emperor *Julian the Apostate. Aḥa declared that "The Divine Presence (*Shekhinah*) never departed from the Western Wall of the Temple." An anti-Christian polemical note can be detected in some of his discourses, of which a typical example is: "'There is one that is alone; there is none other…' (Eccles. 4:8)… this refers to God, as it is written, 'The Lord is our God, the Lord is One,' 'there is none other' – i.e., He has no partner in His world; nor does He have a son or a brother." After the *Musaf* sermon on the Day of Atonement he would announce that whoever had children should go and give them food and drink (TJ, Yoma 6:4, 43d). He furthermore declared that anyone who inflicted excessive corporal punishment on a pupil should be excommunicated (TJ, MK 3:1, 81d). It is related that on the day of his death stars were visible at noontime (TJ, Av. Zar. 3:1, 42c).

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[Mordecai Margaliot]

AHAB (Heb. אַחְאָב; "paternal uncle"), son of *Omri and king of Israel (I Kings 16:29–22:40). Ahab reigned over the Israelite kingdom in Samaria for 22 years (c. 874–852 B.C.E.).

Foreign Affairs

Ahab continued his father's policy in the cultivation of peaceful and friendly relations with the kingdom of Judah in the south and with that of Phoenicia in the north. The pact with Judah was sealed with the marriage of *Athaliah, who was either Ahab's sister or his daughter, and *Jehoram son of King Jehoshaphat of Judah (II Kings 8:18; II Chron. 18:1). The alliance between the Israelite kingdom and Tyre was also a continuation of the policy initiated by his father Omri. From the economic viewpoint the two states were complementary. The economy of Tyre and Sidon was based on trade and manufacture, whereas Israel owed her wealth to agricultural produce. Thus, Tyre supplied Israel with the products of her industries and with technical skills, chiefly in the spheres of building and skilled craftsmanship (see *Samaria). In return Israel supplied agricultural products (cf. I Kings 5:21–25; 9:10–11; Ezek. 27:17).

The triangular alliance among Judah, Israel, and Tyre had important economic implications, since these three states constituted a geographic unit extending from the Mediterranean in the northwest, to the desert and the Red Sea in the southeast. Tyre marketed her produce on the main trade routes, which passed through Israel and Judah, to the Arabian Peninsula and Egypt. Israel and Judah benefited from the levying of customs tolls on the caravans that made their way from the Arabian Peninsula northward to Philistia and Phoenicia, and vice versa. This alliance did not have the power to alleviate the political and military pressure exerted on Israel by Da-

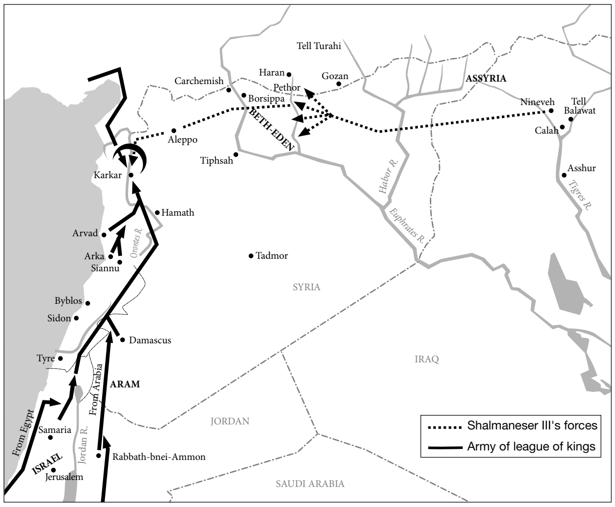

The Battle of Karkar, 853 B.C.E., to which Ahab contributed 2,000 chariots and 10,000 infantry.

mascus, which had already been her most formidable enemy in the time of *Asa. The threat from Damascus had increased greatly in the period of the house of Omri. *Ben-Hadad, king of Damascus, was neither satisfied with the conquest of areas in north Transjordan nor prepared to make do with the bazaars of the Damascus merchants in Samaria, but aimed at imposing his rule on the whole kingdom, intending to make its king one of the several vassal rulers who owed him fealty (I Kings 20:1–6).

In the biblical account three wars are mentioned between Ahab and the Arameans, although it is not precisely clear when the first two took place. In the first confrontation (20:1–22), Ben-Hadad succeeded, together with 32 vassal kings, in penetrating into the heart of the Israelite kingdom, and even laid siege to Samaria. It is conceivable that the serious economic plight of the kingdom (17:1–16), which was the result of a period of severe drought and scarcity, facilitated Ben-Hadad's speedy penetration into the very heart of Israelite territory. However, he did not succeed in conquering Samaria. Ben-Hadad's insulting demand from the Israelite king (20:3–6) and his arrogant attitude to the people and their king (20:10) caused the unification of the people under Ahab's rule and a surge of national enthusiasm which was shared by the prophets (20:13–14, 28). The defeat inflicted on Ben-Hadad in this confrontation by Ahab warded off the immediate danger but did not remove the long-term threat to Samaria's security. Thus, one year later (20:22, 26), Ben-Hadad once again prepared his troops for battle, assembling them on this occasion at *Aphek. Ahab's second victory drastically altered the power equilibrium between the two states. Ben-Hadad not only restored the Israelite cities which had previously fallen into his possession but even granted Israelite merchants monopolistic trading rights in Damascus (20:34).

According to the biblical evidence, the third and final war was preceded by a three-year period during which there was no friction between Aram and Israel (22:1). Certain scholars connect this period of calm in the relations between the two states with what is related in the inscription of Shalmaneser III, king of Assyria, concerning his battle at Karkar in Syria in the sixth year of his reign (853 B.C.E.) against an alliance of 12 kings of Syria and Israel. Hadadezer, king of Aram, Irḫuleni, king of Hamath, and Ahab, king of Israel (Akk. *A-ḫa-ab-bu māt Sir-'i-la-a-ia*) stood at the head of the alliance. The greater Assyrian threat forced the states of Syria and Israel to lay aside their internal feuds and unite in a political and military alliance capable of combating the danger of Assyrian aggression. Ahab's status among the allies and his part in the war was prominent. He was given third place in the list of allies, immediately after Hadadezer and Irḫuleni, and he himself is said to have provided 2,000 chariots, more than half the total number. In addition, Ahab contributed 10,000 infantry to the battle array. Shalmaneser III claimed that he defeated these allies, but the evidence indicates that if the Assyrian king was not defeated, then, at the very least, the battle ended in a stalemate. With the removal of the Assyrian threat from Israel there was a considerable increase in the internal conflicts among the local powers. The Aramean-lsraelite conflict caused the revolt of Mesha, king of Moab (see *Mesha Stele), a vassal who paid an annual tribute to the king of Israel. However, it is not certain whether Mesha had already freed himself of Israelite rule in Ahab's lifetime, or whether he succeeded in doing so only after his death (Mesha Stele, 7–8; II Kings 1:1; 3:4–5).

Damascus and Samaria did not reach an agreement concerning the disputed area in north Transjordan. Ahab, with the support of King *Jehoshaphat of Judah, set out for Ramoth-Gilead with the intention of restoring it to Israelite rule. Ahab, for some unknown reason, on this occasion chose to disguise himself as a soldier in the ranks. It is hard to believe that this action was prompted merely by fear, since Ahab's behavior, from the moment he was lethally wounded by an arrow to his death later in the evening of the same day, demonstrated his courage and his hope that the battle would not end in defeat for Israel (I Kings 22). The description of Ahab's death in battle in I Kings 22:34–38 is inconsistent with the notice in v. 40 (*ibid.*) that he "slept with his ancestors," which is otherwise used only of peaceful death, and points to originally separate accounts.

Internal Affairs

Ahab's foreign policy brought about vast changes in the economy of the Israelite kingdom, both in helping to strengthen the administration and in increasing the state's military potential. Ahab completed the building of the city Samaria, including the acropolis and the royal palace within it, and surrounded the city with a strong, high wall. In the same way, Ahab saw to the fortification of additional cities, such as Jericho (I Kings 16:34). Archaeological evidence shows that other cities, such as Hazor, Shechem, and Megiddo, expanded in the reign of Ahab and their outer, defensive walls were reinforced. It would seem that the "stables" excavated at Megiddo served Ahab's chariot troops. In the various regions ("provinces") he appointed army officers (20:14–15) who were responsible for the security of the province and for the farming of taxes. The widespread fortification of cities, beautiful palaces with ivory ornamentation (22:39), the "Samarian" pottery, easily distinguishable for its high quality craftsmanship and artistic level, and the imported luxury goods, all indicate a period of economic prosperity. Ahab's chariots, mentioned in the inscription of Shalmaneser III, and also the stables which were excavated at Megiddo, suggest that the kingdom of Israel benefited not only from the Arabian trade conducted along the main arteries of the trade routes which crossed the territories of Judah and Israel but also from the chariot and horse trading between Egypt and Anatolia (cf. 10:28–29). However, the judgment of the author of the Books of Kings on Ahab is very harsh, because of the affair of *Naboth the Jezreelite (I Kings 21) and because of the establishment of the cult of the Tyrian Baal in Samaria. Ahab coveted the vineyard of Naboth the Jezreelite and offered to buy it or to exchange it for another (21:1–2), but Naboth was unwilling to give up his family inheritance (cf. Lev. 25:14–28). According to the biblical account Ahab accepted Naboth's refusal, but his wife *Jezebel arranged to have Naboth accused falsely of insulting God and Naboth was tried and executed and his property was confiscated by the king's treasury. The Naboth episode was symptomatic of the internal frictions under the rule of the house of Omri. It illustrates the ruthless conduct of the ruling class and the frequently cruel eviction of the small farmer from his land.

The wars with Aram and the years of drought which beset the country obviously caused great hardship to the small farmers, who were reduced to debt and were later compelled to give up their land or even to sell their children into slavery for want of funds to clear their obligations (cf. II Kings 4:1). On the other hand, economic prosperity brought great wealth to the nobility and to the rich merchants who engaged in barter with the traders from Tyre. The introduction of a chariot force created a new military aristocracy, structurally opposed to the framework of a patriarchal tribal society. By entrusting authority to the army commanders in the "provinces," Ahab dealt a hard blow to the clan leaders ("the elders of Israel"). Sooner or later an effective opposition was bound to rise against the ruling class, an opposition which would be composed naturally of all those elements which had suffered from and had been embittered by Ahab's rule. This opposition movement was championed by the prophets, led by the prophet *Elijah from Gilead.

Just as the deception in the Naboth incident was contrived by Jezebel, who represents the Phoenician element in the house of Omri, so the cult of Baal from Tyre penetrated into Samaria as a result of Jezebel's efforts to implant Phoenician culture in Israel. From reading the biblical account one has the impression that the worship of Baal and Asherah constituted a grave danger to the Israelite cult (I Kings 16:31–33). A sanctuary was built to Baal in the center of Samaria. Some 450 priests of Baal and 400 prophets of Asherah enjoyed royal protection and ate at Jezebel's table (I Kings 18:19; II Kings 10:21). Mt. Carmel, lying on the border between Israel and Phoenicia, was the site of the impressive altar of Baal, whereas the altar of the Lord was destroyed (I Kings 18:30). The cult of Baal involved the persecution of the faithful followers of God and his prophets (18:4, 13), among whom was Elijah, who symbolized the uncompromising fighter against tyrannical rule and its crimes on the one hand, and the cult of Baal on the other (18:17–41; 19:10–14; 21:17–24). Ahab himself was not a zealous follower of Baal (his children bore Yahwistic names) and did not deny all the ancient Israelite traditions. On the one hand, he believed in what the Israelite prophets said, consulted with them before military campaigns, and even showed submission and repented after the prophet's rebuke concerning the murder of Naboth (18:46; 20:13–14, 28; 21:27–29; 22:16–18). But, on the other hand, Ahab granted freedom of action and unlimited authority to Jezebel in all administrative spheres. The biblical historiographer, who culled most of his information concerning Ahab's reign from the biographical literature on the prophets and the miracles they performed (cf. II Kings 8:4), condemned Ahab for not showing any resistance to Jezebel's incitement (I Kings 21:25), and because, in his opinion, Ahab bore the responsibility for his wife's deeds. It also must be observed that then, as now, political opposition may be couched in religious terms, and vice versa.

[Bustanay Oded]

In the *Aggadah*

Ahab was one of the three or four kings who have no portion in the world to come (Sanh. 10:2). Over the gates of Samaria, he placed the inscription, "Ahab denies the God of Israel." Influenced by Jezebel, he became such an enthusiastic idolater that he left no hilltop in Israel without an idol before which he bowed, and he substituted the names of idols for the Divine Name in the Torah. Nevertheless, Ahab possessed some redeeming features. He was generous in support of scholars and revered the Torah (Sanh. 102b). As a reward for the honor he gave to the Torah, written in the 22 letters of the alphabet, Ahab was permitted to reign for 22 years (*ibid.*). According to R. Levi (TJ Ta'an. 4:2, 68a; Gen. R. 98:8), a genealogical table of Jerusalem mentioned that Ben Kovesin (or Bet Koveshin) was one of the descendants of Ahab. Although it is difficult to determine the trustworthiness of this tradition, it does indicate that the attitude of the rabbis toward Ahab was not completely unfavorable.

Ahab was so wealthy that each of his 70 (or 140) children had both summer and winter palaces (Esth. R. 1:12). He is said to have ruled over the whole world and his dominion extended over 252 (or 232; SER 9) kingdoms (Esth. R. 1:5). His merits might have outweighed his sins, had it not been for the killing of Naboth. On his death, 36,000 mourning warriors marched before his bier (BK 17a).

[Harold Louis Ginsberg]

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AHAB (Heb. אַחְאָב), son of Kolaiah, a false prophet in Babylon. He was among the persons exiled from Judah to Babylonia by Nebuchadnezzar together with King Joiachin. He and Zedekiah son of Maaseiah purported to be prophets and stirred up unrest among the exiles (Jer. 29:21ff.). Jeremiah asserts that they were also guilty of adultery, a phenomenon not unknown among fanatics in his (23:14) and other ages. Jeremiah predicted that their death by burning at Nebuchadnezzar's command would become a standard by which people would curse (29:22).

[Harold Louis Ginsberg]

AḤA BAR ḤANINA (c. 300 C.E.), Palestinian teacher. He came from the "south," i.e., Lydda, and when he moved to Galilee, he took with him much of the halakhic tradition which he had acquired there from R. *Joshua b. Levi (Suk. 54a). In Tiberias he studied under R. Assi from whom he received the tradition of R. Johanan (Sanh. 42a) and also received instruction from Abbahu. The Aḥa mentioned in the Talmud without patronymic is often Aḥa b. Ḥanina. R. Naḥman, one of the great Babylonian teachers, relies on Aḥa b. Ḥanina, and often takes his opinion into account (Er. 64a). Despite his Palestinian origin, his teachings are found mostly in the Babylonian Talmud. Some scholars maintain that he visited Babylonia and studied under R. Huna. An aggadist, he particularly inveighed against slander (Ar. 15b). Aḥa attached great importance to the study of the Torah even under difficult economic circumstances such as he himself experienced (Sot. 49a). He emphasized the importance of congregational prayer and of performing good deeds, especially visiting the sick (Ber. 8a), and he said "he who visits the sick removes one-sixtieth of their suffering" (Ber. 8a; Ned. 39b).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Hyman, Toledot, s.v.; Bacher, Pal Amor.

[Zvi Kaplan]

AḤA BAR RAV (end fourth century and beginning fifth century C.E.), Babylonian *amora*. He was a pupil of Ravina I. Many of his opinions were reported by his grandson R. Mešariyya, who belonged to the school of the *savoraim. The quotations in the Talmud reveal the wide gamut of halakhic problems in which Aḥa was interested. He disputed with Ravina with regard to ritual slaughter (Ḥul. 33a), about liability for damages (Sanh. 76b), and concerning the right of a firstborn to a double portion of the inheritance, including loans due to the deceased (BB 124b).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Hyman, Toledot, s.v.

AḤA BEN JACOB (c. 300 C.E.), Babylonian *amora*. He was a disciple of Huna and older contemporary of Abbaye and Rava. He taught in the city of Paphunia (Epiphania), near Pumbedita (Kid. 35a). Aḥa held discussions with R. *Naḥman, and although the latter was unable to answer his questions (cf. BK 40a), he often cites Naḥman as his authority (BB 52a). He also held discussions with Abbaye and Rava (Hor. 6b; Ḥul. 10b) and took issue with Ḥisda (cf. Beẓah 33b). His differences of opinion with Rava extended also to the *aggadah* (Shab. 87b). Nevertheless, Rava had great respect for him and praised him as "a great man" (BK 40a). On one occasion Aḥa asserted that "Satan and Peninnah had as their true intent the service of God." At this point, the talmudic story continues, Satan appeared and in gratitude kissed Aḥa's feet (BB 16a). Several other talmudic stories concerning Aḥa also involve Satan (cf. TJ, Shab. 2:3, 5b; Suk. 38a; Men. 62a). A tendency toward mysticism can be detected in several of his statements (Ḥag. 13a; 13b, etc.).

In addition to his reputation as a scholar he was famous for his piety. Miracles are attributed to him and a story is told of his exorcising a demon (Kid. 29b). Miraculous events are also related regarding his death (BB 14a). His son (Kid. 29b) and grandson (Sot. 49a), both named Jacob, were also scholars.

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[Zvi Kaplan]

AḤAD HA-AM (**Asher Hirsch Ginsberg**; 1856–1927), Hebrew essayist, thinker, and leader of *Ḥibbat Zion movement. Aḥad Ha-Am was born in Skvira, Kiev Province in Russia. He received a traditional Jewish education in the home of his father, a Ḥasid who was a wealthy village merchant. He studied Talmud and medieval philosophy with a private teacher, and was deeply influenced by Maimonides' *Guide to the Perplexed.* He read the literature of the Haskalah, and studied Russian, German, French, English, and Latin – independently. After his marriage in 1873, he continued his studies, particularly philosophy and science, at home. He tried several times to enter a university, but family obligations and his unwillingness to meet certain formal requirements disrupted his academic plans and he remained self-taught. As a result of powerful rationalist tendencies he first gave up Ḥasidism and then abandoned all religious faith.

In 1884 he settled in Odessa, an important center of Hebrew literature and Ḥibbat Zion. He remained there, with brief intervals, until 1907, coming into contact with its foremost authors and communal figures. In Odessa he was drawn into public affairs as a member of the Ḥovevei Zion Committee under Leon *Pinsker's leadership. His first important article, *Lo Zeh ha-Derekh* (1889, *The Wrong Way*, 1962), vigorously criticized the Ḥovevei Zion's policy of immediate settlement in Ereẓ Israel and advocated instead educational work as the groundwork for more dedicated and purposeful settlement. Written under the pseudonym Aḥad Ha-Am ("One of the

People"), the controversial essay made its author famous and unintentionally propelled him into intensive literary activity. His articles, most of which were published in *Ha-Meliẓ*, all dealt with subjects connected with Judaism, the settlement of Ereẓ Israel, and Ḥibbat Ẓion. At this time, the secret order of *Benei Moshe, which sought to realize the ideas expressed in his first article, was founded with Aḥad Ha-Am as its spiritual leader. The order existed for eight years, during which his literary activity was directly or indirectly connected with its work (*Nissayon she-Lo Hiẓli'aḥ;* "An Unsuccessful Attempt").

In 1891 Aḥad Ha-Am visited Ereẓ Israel and summed up his impressions in *Emet me-Ereẓ Yisrael* ("Truth from Ereẓ Israel"), a strongly critical survey of the economic, social, and spiritual aspects of the Jewish settlements. In 1893 he paid a second visit, and published similar criticisms. To foster the educational work which he considered a prior condition for settlement, he planned an encyclopedia on Jews and Judaism (*Oẓar ha-Yahadut*) which he hoped would encourage Jewish studies and revitalize Jewish thought. Although this effort failed, he acquired great influence as manager of the Aḥi'asaf publishing house and editor of the monthly **Ha-Shilo'aḥ* – posts which he assumed in 1896. *Ha-Shilo'aḥ*, the most important organ of Zionism and Hebrew literature in Eastern Europe, served a broad Jewish readership, contributed to the development of modern Hebrew literature, and provided Aḥad Ha-Am with a platform for a series of historic controversies. Immediately after the magazine was founded, a debate broke out between himself and "the young men" (M.J. *Berdyczewski, O. *Thon, and M. *Ehrenpreis), who sought to encourage the writing of Hebrew literature in all phases of life, and bring about a transformation of values in Jewish culture. Aḥad Ha-Am, however, feared that writing that was not specifically Jewish was premature and might lead to the severance of Jewish cultural continuity. He instead advocated concentration on Jewish problems and Jewish scholarship (*Li-She'elat ha-Sifrut ha-Ivrit;* "On the Question of Hebrew Literature").

This controversy – characteristic then of the clashing tendencies in Hebrew literature – was followed by the great debate on the political Zionism of *Herzl and *Nordau, in the wake of the First Zionist Congress at Basel. The realistic and pessimistic Aḥad Ha-Am was wary lest an extensive and premature campaign would end in failure and disappointment. He had no faith in the efficacy of Herzlian diplomacy and was troubled by the estrangement of Herzl and Nordau from Jewish values and culture. He accused them of neglecting cultural work which he regarded as paramount, and through which he hoped to prepare the people for Zionism and protect them against cultural sterility and assimilation (*Ha-Ẓiyyonut ha-Medinit;* "Political Zionism"). In 1900, after visiting Ereẓ Israel again, he took part in the Ḥovevei Zion delegation to Baron Edmond de *Rothschild in Paris. His articles severely criticized the Baron's officials in Palestine, their dictatorial attitude, the ensuing degeneration among the settlers, and the neglect of national values in the education system of the *Alliance Israélite Universelle (*Battei ha-Sefer be-Yafo* ("The Schools in Jaffa") and *Ha-Yishuv ve-Epitropsav* ("The Yishuv and its Patrons")). The question of Hebrew national education and assimilation in the West also occupied much of his attention at the time.

In 1903 Aḥad Ha-Am retired from the time-consuming editorship of *Ha-Shilo'aḥ* and took up a post with the Wissotzky tea firm, intending to devote himself to his neglected literary pursuits. However, he continued his public activities. Following the Kishinev pogroms, he encouraged Jewish self-defense and after the Sixth Zionist Congress, intervened vigorously in the debate on the Uganda Plan, which he regarded as a natural consequence of the detachment of political Zionism from Jewish values. At the conclusion of this debate he devoted himself to writing on subjects not directly connected with current events. He apparently hoped to expound his theories in a comprehensive and systematic form, and wrote a number of essays on these lines (*Moshe, Basar va-Ruaḥ, Shilton ha-Sekhel;* Eng. ed. 1962), but failing health and perhaps inner obstacles prevented him from achieving his aim.

In 1907, after a private visit to Ereẓ Israel, he moved to London where he continued his public activity. He played a role in obtaining the *Balfour Declaration, yet was not overwhelmed by the Zionist movement's enthusiasm following the Declaration. Aḥad Ha-Am perceived its limitations, especially in connection with the Arab question (see, on the Arabs, the Introduction to the 1905 edition of *Al Parashat Derakhim*), and evidently had a better appreciation of its true significance than his colleagues. During this period, his literary work was much diminished.

In 1922 he settled in Ereẓ Israel, where he remained until his death. He completed his four-volume collected essays started in 1895, *Al Parashat Derakhim*, dictated several chapters of memoirs, and edited his letters (6 vols. (1923–25), and in a more comprehensive edition, edited by L. Simon and Y. Pogravinsky (1957–60)).

A self-confessed stranger to literature, Aḥad Ha-Am entered it by chance; in time, however, he developed a carefully chiseled, lucid, and precise style, a desire for consistency, and a profound sense of responsibility. His failure to systemize his teachings in a comprehensive work may have been the result of lack of time, or of his reluctance to undertake a great task. His natural skepticism and his lack of confidence, governed to a considerable extent by the limitations of education and character, also led him to recoil in the face of the audacity of the "young authors" and the daring of political Zionism. His estimation of himself, then, as an occasional writer, was correct. His articles, including even those based on an all-embracing world outlook, are basically the responsible reactions to contemporary problems of a pragmatic thinker, deeply devoted to his aims, but considerably influenced in his arguments by varying conditions and circumstances. This was largely the consequence of the fact that Aḥad Ha-Am owed his ideas to incompatible sources: positivism and idealism, but never succeeded in working out systematically the relation between the two. Nevertheless, they are historically significant and express the self-questioning of the generation that brought about a momentous change of direction in Jewish history. Aḥad Ha-Am's reservations concerning political Zionism, the immediate settlement of Ereẓ Israel, and the Zionist movement's elation regarding the Balfour Declaration were primarily based upon his misgivings about the tendency to haste which is characteristic of every mass messianic awakening. Aḥad Ha-Am feared that Zionism might have the same end as other such movements in Jewish history that led to despair and disastrous disintegration (*Ha-Bokhim;* "They Who Weep"). He may never have believed wholeheartedly in the reality of the Zionist solution, even on the limited scale of his own definition. He clearly saw the political and economic problems and felt that they could not be overcome.

In his very first article *Lo Zeh ha-Derekh* he ascribed the difficulties of Jewish settlement in Ereẓ Israel to the weakness of the national consciousness among the Jews. A great enterprise demands a readiness on the part of the masses to sacrifice their private advantage for the sake of the community, but as a result of dispersion and the distress of exile, the Jews had not grown accustomed to such altruism. When they came to the homeland, they expected rapid economic success and immediately gave way to despair when this was not forthcoming. Hence, he believed, the pace of settlement should be slowed down, and be preceded by intensive education to prepare the people for self-sacrifice and to strengthen its national consciousness. In other words, the decisive test should be postponed indefinitely, on the implied assumption that the work of preparation for the realization of the aim would in itself constitute a partial solution. It would not, indeed, solve what Aḥad Ha-Am defined as "the question of the Jews," namely, the economic, social, and political problems of the Jewish masses. In any case, he felt that Zionism would not solve these problems. On the other hand, it could solve what he defined as "the question of Judaism"; that is, it could create a new type of Jew, proud of his Jewishness and deeply rooted in it, thus ensuring the continuation of the spiritual creativity of Judaism and the Jews' devotion to their people.

These pragmatic considerations are the starting-point for a first theoretical analysis of the question: What is the nature and the source of the national consciousness? How is it weakened and how can it be strengthened? It is characteristic, again, of Aḥad Ha-Am's pragmatic method that, despite his sensitivity to the weak national consciousness among the Jews, he did not study the cultural and historical bases for such national consciousness, but assumed its existence as a natural fact. When the Jews of Germany, France, and Britain asked "Why do we have to remain Jews?" Aḥad Ha-Am replied that the question was not legitimate. Just as a man does not ask why he has to be a particular individual, so the Jew cannot ask why he must remain a Jew; this is a given fact that cannot be changed by volition. On the assumption that nationality is naturally acquired, he builds a characteristic analogy between the "individual ego" and the "national ego," which represents the nation's collective identity and embraces all individuals throughout the generations. He did not systematically explain this concept, but his intention is suggested in his distinction between a person's attitude toward his people and toward humanity. The latter is "abstract;" a person rationally understands the unity of all men, recognizes his bonds with them, and his moral duty toward them. But this abstraction is not sufficient to arouse his love for the individual as such. The attitude to the nation is "tangible," that is, emotional. It is not derived from thought, but from a natural, biological impulse. Every individual carries from birth a sense of belonging to the group into which he was born; the family, tribe, or nationality, which is the foundation of his existence (*Ha-Adam ba-Ohel;* "Man in his Tent"). The "national ego" is, therefore, anchored in the "individual ego."

This leads to a second analogy, found in many of Aḥad Ha-Am's essays (*Ḥeshbon ha-Nefesh* (*Summa Summartum*, 1962)). The individual acts, as Darwin taught, in obedience to the "will to live." This is an elemental impulse that needs no justification; it is a given fact. The nation also acts through its own "will to live." However, this means that each individual aspires to exist with his nation and to maintain its existence; in this sense the "national will to live" is an outcome of the individual will to live." Moreover, under natural conditions the individual regards the survival of the nation as taking precedence over his own survival, because the nation is his biological base and will continue to exist even after the death of the individual. Hence, the individual naturally regards himself as an ephemeral cell in an organism that existed before him and will continue to exist after he is gone. In his desire to survive, he wishes to perpetuate his people, and through the same impulse he will be prepared, in time of need, to sacrifice his personal survival for that of the nation.

Aḥad Ha-Am asked how this natural feeling has been weakened among the Jews. How have they arrived at a situation in which they prefer their personal survival to the survival of their people? And he responded that this is a result of the unnatural conditions of exile. On the one hand, it is apparently caused by social, political, and economic distress, factors not deeply probed by Aḥad Ha-Am, no doubt because he did not regard Zionism as a solution for such problems. On the other hand, he analyzed the spiritual situation of Judaism in modern times, which he presented without enquiry or proof, as an independent cause of the weakening of the Jews' national consciousness. This weakening he ascribed to two causes: first, the paralysis of the spiritual creative powers of traditional Judaism in the Diaspora, which had become enslaved to the written word (*Ha-Torah she-ba-Lev;* "Torah of the Heart") and, second, the tremendous force of Europe's vibrant and creative culture. While the educated young Jew admired and identified with European culture, he despised the heritage of his fathers and could not identify with it. If Jews wished to halt this process, they must revive the creative power of traditional Judaism and combat the Jewish intellectual's self-deprecation in the face of European culture, in order to revive his identification with his pride in his heritage (*Ha-Musar ha-Le'ummi;* "National Morality").

Aḥad Ha-Am did not probe why such an effort should be made. He assumed the existence of the national feeling, if only in a weak and distorted form, both in the souls of the zealots of a petrified tradition and also in those of the assimilationists. In denying this national feeling, or its obligations, he felt that assimilationists denied themselves and were living in "slavery in the midst of freedom," as well as in moral and spiritual distress. Only when they returned to a complete life in the midst of their people would they return to themselves (*Avdut be-Tokh Ḥerut;* "Slavery in Freedom," 1962). But what was it that really bound the Jewish intellectual to his heritage? Aḥad Ha-Am tried to discover this bond in the primary impulse of "the national will to existence." This will not only demands loyalty to the heritage of Judaism but directly molds its specific content. Thus, Aḥad Ha-Am thought he could arouse the devotees of tradition to adapt it to the new conditions, as a duty derived from these values themselves, and persuade those Jews who had assimilationist tendencies to recognize the vital bond between themselves and their people's heritage. In general he argued (as in *Avar ve-Atid;* "Past and Future," 1962) that since the "ego" is a combination of past and future, and the suppression of one of these dimensions suppresses the "ego," therefore every Jew, if he is loyal to himself, must keep faith with the past but adapt its values to the needs of survival in the future. He tried to show in detail (in *Mukdam u-Me'uḥar ba-Ḥayyim*; "Precession and Succession in Life") that even the specific values of the Jewish faith, such as monotheism or the messianic vision, are only functions of the national will to existence, for they can be cherished in an existential attachment to the past and concurrently adapted to the thoughtways of an adherent of modern European culture, in an attempt to perpetuate the national existence.

In this way, Aḥad Ha-Am expressed his ambivalent attitude to tradition, an attitude characteristic of the generation that received a traditional education in childhood but discarded tradition upon reaching maturity. He identified himself with the tradition as an inseparable part of his cultural personality; that is, his memories. But he could no longer define his world outlook and his way of life in its terms. He therefore exchanged the belief that certain values were absolute imperatives for an emotional attachment to such values, and sought in them a reflection of his attitude to them. At the same time, Aḥad Ha-Am did not ignore the difficulties caused by this ambivalence. Asserting that certain values are part of the ancient heritage which maintained the nation in the past, he realized, was insufficient to ensure a positive attitude to them in the present. If we seek to guarantee the nation's survival in the future, we must identify ourselves with the values of its heritage for their own sake. Thus, Aḥad Ha-Am sought those values with which the Jewish intellectual could directly identify himself. While in some essays he based the national bond on the "will to live" of the "national ego" in terms drawn from positivism, in others (such as *Moshe* and *Ha-Musar ha-Le'ummi*), he based the national bond with Judaism on a specific ideal in terms drawn from idealist philosophy. The ideal of Judaism is the ideal of absolute justice, which is "the quest for truth in action," and which was revealed in prophecy. The inner content of the Jewish faith is pure morality, which Judaism bequeathed to European culture and to which it remained faithful in all its historical metamorphoses.

The contradiction between this concept and the previous one is obvious, and they have only one common denominator, the pragmatic considerations which underlie both. Aḥad Ha-Am's purpose in these essays was not to define the essence of Judaism in general, but to seek those values with which the Jewish intellectual could identify and of which he could be proud. He was therefore able, as it were, to go back on his own statements and in several essays (such as *Al Shetei ha-Se'ipim*; "Two Domains") declare that the essence of Judaism is absolute monotheism, and not undiluted morality. He adopted this attitude during his dispute with Liberal Judaism, which displayed tendencies to assimilation on the assumption of an identity between the ethical ideal of Judaism and that of modern European humanism. To the extent that this identity did not lead to the preservation of the national uniqueness but blurred its identity, he repudiated it and made a new start in his search for the characteristic values of Judaism.

The same degree of ambivalence is revealed in Aḥad Ha-Am's attitude to the *halakhah*. For pragmatic reasons he found it convenient not to deal with this question, but his general statements about the petrified tradition aroused strong reactions even from rabbis who were favorable to Ḥibbat Zion. He therefore had to consider the question of *halakhah* in the hope of maintaining a *modus vivendi* between the religious and secular wings of Judaism (*Divrei Shalom;* "Words of Peace"). This *modus vivendi* was based, of course, on the assumption that both sides were concerned for the continued existence of the Jewish people as a people with a distinct spiritual identity, and regarded the return to Zion as the solution. On this basis the debate on the content of Judaism could be postponed to the distant future. But it was clear that the secular and religious wings had certain expectations of each other. Aḥad Ha-Am's problem was to formulate these expectations without immediately destroying the basis common to both wings. Hence, he rejected Reform by an unqualified acceptance of the Orthodox view, without examining the arguments of the reformers on their merits, arguing that the words of the Torah could not be taken as divine commands and then corrected according to human understanding; the correction undermined the fundamental assumption of religion and thus made itself superfluous. On the other hand, however, Aḥad Ha-Am could not abandon his demand for changes in the *halakhah* in order to adapt it to the way of life of the modern Jew; nor could he conceal the fact that changes in the *halakhah* had indeed taken place in the past. He found the solution in a historical formula: religion is subject not to reform but to development. In other words those who introduce changes in it do not do so deliberately, as reformers. Instead, after their world view has changed and under the influence of contemporary conditions, they interpret tradition as if they had planned to uphold those things they consider true and obligatory. Aḥad Ha-Am therefore believed that the influence of life in Ereẓ Israel would lead to the development of religion, and there would no longer be any need to directly demand changes in the *halakhah.*

In their new framework Jewish social and cultural life would be enriched and broadened and the very existence of the Jews as members of one nation would not be endangered.

There were several foundations for Aḥad Ha-Am's version of practical Zionism: his distrust of an impetuous and premature attempt to carry out a great enterprise; his disbelief in the reality of the Zionist program as a solution to the Jewish problem; and the aspiration to solve the problem of Judaism by reviving its unfettered spiritual creativity and strengthening the Jews' identification with their reinvigorated heritage (*Dr. Pinsker u-Maḥbarto*; "Pinsker and his Brochure" in: *Federation of American Zionists*, 1911, and *Teḥiyyat ha-Ru'aḥ*; "The Spiritual Revival," 1962). He did not present the vision of the ingathering of the exiles in Ereẓ Israel even as an ultimate long-term goal. Most of the Jewish people would continue to exist in exile, on the assumption that its social and economic situation would ultimately improve and it would achieve equality of civic rights. In any case, the solution to the "question of the Jews" should be sought, in his view, in the lands of the Diaspora. Those who were troubled by "the question of Judaism" would settle in Ereẓ Israel, where they would maintain a Jewish State which would serve as a "spiritual center" for the Diaspora. Its independent society, which would be entirely Jewish, would constitute a focus of emotional identification with Judaism, and the spiritual values that would be created in Ereẓ Israel would nourish all parts of the people and ensure its continued existence and unity. After the Balfour Declaration, Aḥad Ha-Am presented another argument for his limited program; consideration for the national rights of the Palestine Arabs.

Aḥad Ha-Am's works not only influenced his disciples and admirers, but also prompted debates and criticism which fertilized modern Jewish thought to the extent that every stream in Zionism has been influenced by the challenge of his writings. After the establishment of the State of Israel, his doctrines, both political and theoretical, were submitted to renewed criticism, but his essays are still studied and are an influential factor in Jewish thought both in the Diaspora and Israel. One of the most influential authors and thinkers of his generation, his articles and essays constitute one of the major achievements of modern Hebrew literature.

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[Eliezer Schweid]

AḤAI (**Aḥa**; late fifth and early sixth century), Babylonian scholar of the period of transition between the *amoraim* and the *savoraim*, at the time of the final redaction of the Talmud. Since most of his statements aim at resolving problems or clarifying matters in their more or less final form, they are generally prefaced by such distinctive formulae as פריך ("he raised an objection") and פשית ("he explained"). He is mentioned together with other *savoraim* (Ḥul. 59b; Ta'an. 18b). Sages of Ereẓ Israel wrote to their colleagues in Babylonia, "Give heed to the opinion of R. Aḥai, for he enlightens the eyes of the Diaspora" (Ḥul., loc. cit.). *The Epistle of *Sherira Gaon* (ed. Lewin, 38) refers to three *savoraim* named Aḥai or Aḥa: Aḥa of Bei Ḥattim (a place near Nehardea), Aḥai b. Huna who died in 505 C.E., and Aḥa the son of Rabbah b. Abbuha who died on the Day of Atonement in 510 C.E. Aḥai without a cognomen is probably Aḥai b. Huna.

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[Alter Hilewitz]

AḤAI BEN JOSIAH (end of second century), Babylonian halakhist at the close of the tannaitic period. His father Josiah was a pupil of R. Ishmael. Aḥai's statements are quoted several times in the halakhic Midrashim of the school of Ishmael, the *Mekhilta* on Exodus and the *Sifre* on Numbers. Toward the end of Judah ha-Nasi's life Aḥai placed the inhabitants of a certain town in Babylonia under the ban because they had desecrated the Sabbath (Kid. 72a). Among Aḥai's adages are "He who gazes at a woman is bound to come to sin, and he who looks even at a woman's heel will have unworthy children" (Ned. 20a); "He who buys grain in the market is like an infant whose mother has died and who is taken from one wet nurse to another, but is never satisfied… But he who eats of his own produce is like an infant raised at his mother's breast" (ARN^{1}, 31). He applied the verse "Thou shalt not deliver unto his master a bondman" (Deut. 23:16) to a slave who escaped from another land to Ereẓ Israel (Git. 45a). It is assumed that he established the yeshivah in Ḥuzal in Babylonia, known after his death as "the school of Aḥai," which was famous in the early third century and became the nucleus of Rav's yeshivah (TJ, Av. Zar. 4:1, 43d; Ma'as. 4:6, 51c)

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[Eliezer Margaliot]

AḤA (**Aḥai**) **OF SHABḤA** (680–752), scholar of the Pumbedita yeshivah in the geonic period and author of *She'iltot* ("Questions"). He came from Shabḥa, which is adjacent to Basra. When a vacancy occurred in the geonate of Pumbedita a few years before the death of Aḥa, the exilarch Solomon b. Ḥasdai appointed Natronai Kahana b. Emunah of Baghdad, a pupil of Aḥa, as *gaon* (748). Incensed at this slight, Aḥa left Babylonia (c. 750) and settled in Palestine. His departure deeply affected his contemporaries and many followed him.

By the next generation a considerable number of Babylonian Jews were settled in Palestine. In many places they even built separate synagogues following the Babylonian ritual. The *She'iltot* (always so called, and not by the more correct name *She'elata*), was the first book written after the close of the Talmud to be attributed to its author. Much of its subject matter is very old, even antedating the final redaction of the Talmud. There are statements in the *She'iltot* that do not appear in the Talmud or which are there in a different version. It also contains "reversed discussions" (i.e., where the statements of the disputants are reversed, contradictory, or different from those in the standard texts). Other portions belong to the period of the *savoraim* and of the first *geonim*. A number of decisions cited by the *geonim* as the tradition of "many generations" or which refer to "earliest authorities" are verbally reproduced in the *She'iltot.* Even the legal terminology is identical with that of the legal decisions of the *savoraim* as transmitted by the *geonim.* Nevertheless, apart from his quotation of the decisions of other authorities, it can be assumed that some of the halakhic decisions are his own.

Both in content and in form, *She'iltot* is unique in Jewish literature. It is unlike midrashic literature since its halakhic elements exceed its aggadic. However, it has some similarity to *Midrash Yelammedenu* in that both deal with *halakhah* derived from Scripture. It is also without parallel in the literature of the Codes, being arranged neither according to subject matter nor according to the sequence of the sections in which the Pentateuch is divided. Aḥa's method is to connect decisions of the Oral Law with the Written Law. The connections are often original and even surprising, though sometimes unconvincing. Often he bases a legal decision not upon its halakhic source in the Torah but on its narrative portion. The laws of theft and robbery, for example, are based on Genesis 6:13: "And the earth is filled of violence because of them." For the laws of the study of the Torah he finds a passage in the section of *Lekh Lekha.* In the section *Va-Yiggash*, which tells of the famine in Egypt, the author launches a remarkable attack on hoarders and profiteers: "And he who acts thus shall obtain no forgiveness." *She'iltot* thus concerns itself not only with the ritual commandments but also with the "duties of the heart," the ethical obligations required of man. Time and again he denounces unethical conduct and praises high moral standards; some of the *she'iltot* are elevating ethical discourses. The book is written in Aramaic; had it been translated into good Hebrew, it would doubtless have enjoyed wide popularity. Various scholars agree that the *She'iltot* consists of sermons delivered during ordinary Sabbaths as well as on the *Shabbta de-Rigla* (the first Sabbath of the academic term, a month before Sukkot) and during the Sabbaths of the **kallah* months. It was almost certainly the custom during the geonic era to give the *she'ilta* form of sermon in the synagogue of the yeshivah. Some assert that both types of lecture (the *metivta* and the *perek*) delivered at the Babylonian academies remained in the archives of the academy and only during the geonic period were they copied and edited. (See *Academies in Babylonia and Palestine.) The chapters included in *She'iltot* are those on which discourses were delivered by the *amoraim* before the close of the Talmud and during the early geonic period. According to this opinion the *She'iltot* contain such discourses which were assembled and edited by Aḥa (Mirsky).

Each *she'ilta* is divided into four parts. The first serves as a general introduction to the subject, speaks of the value and significance of the particular commandments, and serves as a preparation for the question that is to be discussed. The second part is always introduced with the words: "but it is necessary that you learn," or in an abridged form: "but it is necessary," followed by the question. Then comes the third part, the homiletical part, which begins: "Praised be the Lord, who has given us the Torah and the commandments through our teacher Moses to instruct the people of Israel," after which the preacher proceeds from subject to subject. The fourth part is introduced by the formula: "With respect to the question I have set before you…," and then answers the question propounded in the second part. Some assume that the lecture was called "*she'ilta*" because its most important part is the question and its solution. However, not all the *she'iltot* have come down in their complete form: in most of them the third part is missing. One *she'ilta* is to be found in the Talmud itself (Shab. 30a) and it appears that this pattern of public sermon is ancient.

Many scholars have dealt with the question of whether Aḥa wrote the book of *She'iltot* while he was still in Babylonia or after his immigration to Palestine. Some are of the opinion that Aḥa began it in Babylonia and completed it in Palestine. There are indications which point to its having been written in both countries. According to Weiss, Graetz, and Poznanski, the *She'iltot* was compiled in Babylonia. L. Ginzberg, basing himself upon linguistic evidence, thought that the book was compiled in Palestine. On the other hand, J.N. Epstein concluded that its language is the Aramaic of the Talmud with the special nuances of the Aramaic of the *geonim*, and that therefore it was probably compiled in Babylonia. One problem still inadequately investigated is the extent to which the *She'iltot* makes use of the Jerusalem Talmud. Some scholars (Ratner and Reifmann) maintain that this is a major source. Poznański, on the other hand, points to only seven passages definitely taken from the Jerusalem Talmud. Ginzberg and Kaminka refute much of the evidence supporting the view that the *She'iltot* made use of the Jerusalem Talmud.

The *She'iltot* has come down in a fragmentary and defective form. In its extant state it contains 171 *she'iltot*, some repeated twice or even three times, some fragmentary. Tchernowitz has endeavored to explain the unusual repetitions on the assumption that the *She'iltot* was directed against the Karaites who were making considerable progress at that time. Aḥa's sermons deal particularly with those commandments which the Karaites disregarded, particularly those of rabbinic provenance. In various manuscripts, especially in the Cairo *Genizah*, there are *she'iltot* and parts of *she'iltot* not to be found in the extant editions. Excerpts of *she'iltot* are to be found also in the *Halakhot Gedolot* and in several other sources. Some scholars think that *Halakhot Gedolot* was composed before the *She'iltot*, whereas others maintain the opposite view, holding that *Halakhot Gedolot* drew upon the *She'iltot. Halakhot Pesukot* is also considered to be later than the *She'iltot.* It seems probable that after the publication of *She'iltot*, the *geonim* continued to preach *she'iltot* orally and that these formed the basis of the *Halakhot Pesukot* which were later compiled by the disciples of Yehudai Gaon. Special mention should be made of the book *Ve-Hizhir,* apparently written in Palestine in the tenth century, which contains a large number of *she'iltot.* A whole literature of *she'iltot* then grew up which used Aḥa's book as a prototype. The *rishonim* also made great use of the *She'iltot.*

She'iltot was first published in Venice in 1566. Other editions worthy of mention are (1) *She'iltot* with the commentaries *She'ilat Shalom* and *Rishon le-Ẓiyyon*, by Isaiah Berlin Pick (1786); (2) with the commentary *To'afot Re'em* of Isaac Pardo (1811); (3) with *Ha'amek She'elah* of Naphtali Ẓevi Judah *Berlin, considered the most complete commentary (1861–67; 2nd edition, with additions and supplements, 1947–52); (4) with the commentary *Rekaḥ Mordekhai* of Eliezer Mordecai Keneg (1940); (5) a new edition with a voluminous introduction, commentary, and *variae lectiones*, published by S.K. Mirsky (*Genesis and Exodus*, in 3 vols., 1959–63). Mirsky mentions 11 manuscripts of *She'iltot* and 4 commentaries which have never been published.

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[Simha Assaf / Yehoshua Horowitz]

AHARON, EZRA (1903–1995), composer, *'ud* player, and singer. Aharon was born in Baghdad, where he acquired a sound reputation as a versatile musician and a leading virtuoso and composer. The His Master's Voice and Baidaphon companies recorded many of his compositions. He was selected by the Iraqi authorities to head a group of musicians to represent his country at the First International Congress of Arab Music held in Cairo in 1932. The delegation comprised six Jewish instrumentalists plus a vocalist who was a Muslim. The participants in the Congress, including the composers Bartok and Hindemith and the musicologists Robert *Lachmann, Curt *Sachs, and H.G. Farmer, chose Aharon as the best musician present. He came to Palestine in 1934 and settled in Jerusalem, where a year later a group of notables, including Professor David *Yellin, future second president of Israel Izhak *Ben-Zvi, the renowned educator David Avisar, his great supporter Robert Lachmann, and others, established in his honor a special society for the promotion of Israeli Oriental song. When the first radio station was established in Jerusalem in 1936 by the British Mandatory government, he was selected by composer Karl *Salomon to head a special section of Jewish Oriental music. After the establishment of the state, Aharon founded and directed an Oriental ensemble at *Kol Israel*. He composed 270 Hebrew songs including synagogal *piyyutim,* melodies set to poems of famous medieval and contemporary Hebrew poets, such as *Bialik, *Tchernichowsky, *Shimoni, and Sh. *Shalom, as well as about 200 instrumental and vocal Arabic pieces, which represent a landmark in the history of Palestinian and Judeo-Arabic music. In the performance of his Hebrew compositions he appeared together with Western and Oriental musicians; Arabs and Jewish Oriental musicians played and sang his Arabic compositions. Written scores exist for a great portion of his works.

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[Amnon Shiloah (2nd ed.)]

AHARONI, ISRAEL (1882–1946), Ereẓ Israel naturalist and zoologist. Aharoni was born in Vidzy, near Vilna, and studied at the University of Prague. In 1904 he settled in Jerusalem, where he taught French and German in a Sephardi *talmud torah*, and later, Hebrew in the newly founded *Bezalel School of Art. Aharoni's interest in zoology led him to begin a natural history museum and he was among the first settlers in Ereẓ Israel to study the local fauna. His zoological explorations extended over all of Palestine, parts of Syria, and the Arabian Peninsula. In 1924 Aharoni became a staff member of the new Institute of Natural History of Palestine. In the following years he wrote extensively on local birds and made a survey of the mammals of Palestine. Over 30 new species of mammals, birds, and insects were named in his honor. In 1930 he made an expedition to Syria, from which he returned with a pregnant female golden hamster. From the progeny of this single animal a colony was established at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. The golden hamster proved to be a useful subject for biological and medical research and thousands of hamsters, all offspring of Aharoni's original animal, were provided to laboratories all over the world. Aharoni was custodian of the Zoological Museum and taught at the Hebrew University. He influenced the development of biology in Palestine through his pioneering fieldwork, his university teaching, and his textbook, *Torat ha-Ḥai* ("Animal Life," 1930).

[Mordecai L. Gabriel]

AHARONI, YOḤANAN (1919–1976), Israeli archaeologist. Aharoni, born in Germany, settled in Palestine in 1933 and was a member of kibbutz Allonim from 1938 to 1947. From 1948 to 1950 he served in the Israeli Army. He was inspector in Galilee for the Department of Antiquities from 1950 to 1955. An archaeological survey conducted by him in Upper Galilee shed new light on the early Israelite settlement during the Early Iron Age. Among his activities during that period were the first explorations in the caves of the Judean Desert, a preliminary archaeological survey of *Masada, and excavations at Kedesh in Galilee and Tel Ḥarashim near Peki'in in Upper Galilee. Aharoni served for four seasons as a staff archaeologist on the *Hazor expedition. He became a research fellow at the Hebrew University and rose to the rank of associate professor (1966). At *Ramat Raḥel he uncovered the remains of an impressive Judean citadel. Aharoni also participated in two seasons of intensive exploration of the caves in the Judean Desert (1960–61). From 1963 to 1967 he conducted five seasons of excavation on the Iron Age fortress at Tel *Arad. Subsequently, Aharoni investigated the small temple at *Lachish for comparisons with that at Arad and found there an older Israelite shrine. In 1968 he became chairman of the department of ancient Near Eastern studies at Tel Aviv University and director of the Institute for Archaeology. In 1969 he commenced the excavation of Tel Be'er Sheva (Tell el-Sabï), the site of the biblical *Beer-Sheba. Besides his numerous articles in the field of historical geography, he wrote *Hitnaḥalut Shivtei Yisrael ba-Galil ha-Elyon* (1967) on the settlement of Israelite tribes in Upper Galilee, and the comprehensive study *Ereẓ Yisrael bi-Tekufat ha-Mikra* (1962; *The Land of the Bible*, 1967). His Hebrew work, *Atlas Karta bi-Tekufat ha-Mikra* (Jerusalem, 1964), was combined with a complementary work by M. Avi-Yonah to form *The Macmillan Bible Atlas* (New York, 1968). Aharoni was joint editor of the *Encyclopaedia Judaica*'s department on the historical geography of Ereẓ Israel.

[Anson Rainey]

AḤARONIM (Heb. אַחֲרוֹנִים; lit. "the later" [authorities]), a term used to designate the later rabbinic authorities, in contrast to the **rishonim*, the earlier authorities. Although scholars differ as to the exact chronological dividing line between the two, some antedating it to as early as the period of the *tosafists (12–13th century) and others to the appearance of the *Sha'arei Dura* of Isaac ben Meir *Dueren (beginning of 14th century), the general consensus of opinion is that the period of the *rishonim* ends with the death of Israel *Isserlein (1460) and that of the *aḥaronim* begins with the appearance of the *Shulḥan Arukh of Joseph *Caro with the additions of Moses *Isserles (1525–1572). Caro in his monumental work *Beit Yosef*, of which the Shulḥan Arukh is a codified digest, had taken into consideration the works of all his predecessors, but had tended to ignore the decisions of the Ashkenazi *posekim* of Germany and Poland since the appearance of the *Arba'ah Turim* of *Jacob b. Asher, and this omission was filled by Isserles. It is therefore a fitting point at which to commence the later period.

As a result of the introduction of the method of **pilpul* by R. Jacob *Pollack (d. 1530) and the increasing study of Torah in Poland, the desire to discover new interpretations and to raise problems in the Talmud and resolve them by means of *pilpul* became particularly vigorous in that country, and the second half of the 16th century saw the appearance of some of the greatest *aḥaronim* and commentators of the Talmud and gave a powerful impetus to the study of Torah in Poland.

R. Solomon b. Jehiel *Luria (the Maharshal; 1510–1573) opposed the *Beit Yosef* and the Shulḥan Arukh on the same grounds as Isserles. Relying on the Talmud itself as the only source for halakhic ruling he established in each case the *halakhah* of the Talmud and after comparing the different views of all the *posekim* decided the *halakhah* only as it reflected the statement of the Talmud itself. In his *Yam shel Shelomo*, he took care to determine the correct version of the talmudic text; his *Ḥokhmat Shelomo* comprises annotations on the Talmud, Rashi, and the *tosafot*. To the same era belong R. Abraham b. Moses di *Boton (1545–1588), author of the *Leḥem Mishneh*, and R. Bezalel *Ashkenazi (d. 1592), author of the *Shitah Mekubbeẓet*, covering most tractates of the Talmud and giving the explanations of the *rishonim* to the topics of the Talmud. He also compiled responsa. Others are R. Solomon b. Abraham ha-Kohen (the Maharshakh; d. 1602), one of the greatest rabbis of Turkey and author of four volumes of responsa, to the first of which is appended explanations of and novellae to Maimonides' *Yad*; R. Jacob b. Abraham *Castro (the Maharikas; 1525–1610), author of *Erekh Leḥem* on the four parts of the Shulḥan Arukh, regarded as the basis for halakhic decision by the rabbis of Ereẓ Israel and Egypt; and R. Elijah b. *Ḥayyim (Maharanaḥ; 1530–1610), author of *Teshuvot ha-Ranah.*

17th Century

The opposition to the Shulḥan Arukh was continued by R. Mordecai *Jaffe (1530–1612), author of the *Levushim* (issued 1590–1599), which summarizes the *halakhah*, explaining the reasons, sources, and grounds for deciding between the divergent views of different *posekim*, but taking a stand against the prolixity of the *Beit Yosef* on the one hand and the exceptional brevity of the Shulḥan Arukh on the other. He, too, relies in the main upon the views of the Ashkenazi and Polish scholars, and in this respect also opposes Caro's tendency to decide in favor of the view of the Sephardim; R. Joseph b. Moses *Trani (Maharit; 1568–1639), who compiled commentaries to most tractates of the Talmud, to Maimonides' *Yad*, and to the *Turim*; also R. Joshua *Falk b. Alexander ha-Kohen (the Sema; d. 1614), author of the *Derishah u-Perishah* and the *Sefer Me'irat Einayim* (Sema), endeavored to explain the *Tur* and the Shulḥan Arukh at length and to supplement those laws whose sources and reasons are not given in the Shulḥan Arukh, attempting at the same time to compromise between Caro and Isserles. The method of R. Meir b. Gedaliah *Lublin (Maharam of Lublin; 1558–1616) was to penetrate deeply into the meaning of the Talmud and the *tosafot*, the final decision being based on examination of the talmudic sources and the early *posekim*, which caused him to oppose basing halakhic decisions upon the Shulḥan Arukh. His best-known book, *Me'ir Einei Ḥakhamim*, consists of novellae and interpretations of the Talmud. R. Benjamin Aaron *Slonik (d. 1620), a distinguished pupil of Isserles and the colleague of the "Sema," the "Levush," and Meir of Lublin, compiled the responsa *Masat Binyamin* (1633) and was regarded in his generation as an outstanding *posek*. Another contemporary of the Maharam, Samuel Eliezer b. Judah *Edels (the Maharsha; 1555–1631), penetrated deeply into the plain meaning of the Talmud and the *tosafot*. His opposition to the Shulḥan Arukh is not so obvious, since he does not deal with halakhic rulings. Despite this he complains about those "who give halakhic rulings from the Shulḥan Arukh without knowing the reason for each matter." He compiled *Ḥiddushei Halakhot* (2 pts.; 1612–1621) and *Ḥiddushei Aggadot* (2 pts.; 1627–1631). This latter work makes the Maharsha's commentaries different from most others. Maharsha endeavors to understand the often cryptic *aggadot* through allegorical and symbolic interpretations. The *Shenei Luḥot ha-Berit* of R. Isaiah b. Abraham ha-Levi *Horowitz (the Shelah; 1560–1632) contains laws following the order of the festivals, an enumeration of the 613 commandments (see *Commandments, the 613), and their reasons. *Halakhah* is only a small portion of the *Shenei Luḥot ha-Berit*. This encyclopedic work includes philosophy, Kabbalah, biblical and talmudic interpretations as well as ethics (*musar*) and discussions of talmudic methodology. His son, R. Shabbetai Sheftel (1590–1660), was the author of the *Sefer Vavei ha-Ammudim*, appended to his father's work. R. Nathan Nata b. Solomon *Spira (1585–1633) published novellae to the *Hilkhot ha-Rif* entitled *Ḥiddushei Anshei Shem* (1720). R. Meir b. Jacob ha-Kohen *Schiff (Maharam Schiff; 1608–1644) compiled novellae to the whole Talmud and the *Turim*, of which only those to five tractates were published under the title *Ḥiddushei Halakhot* (1741; 1747). R. Joel b. Samuel *Sirkes (the Baḥ; d. 1640) was aware, as was the Sema, that the *Beit Yosef* could not explain the *Tur* in a sufficiently satisfactory manner because its main purpose was to arrive at halakhic decisions and, in consequence, in his *Bayit Ḥadash* wrote "an extensive commentary on the *Tur* having at the same time the aim of restoring it to its former authority and glory in *halakhah* in order thereby to diminish" the value of the Shulḥan Arukh. One of the greatest scholars of Salonika, a great *posek* and one of the greatest responders, was R. *Ḥayyim Shabbetai (Maharḥash; 1557–1647). R. *Joshua Hoeschel b. Joseph of Cracow (d. 1648) endeavored in his *Meginnei Shelomo* (1715) to defend the views of Rashi against the criticism of the tosafists. A colleague of the Baḥ, R. Eliezer b. Samuel Ḥasid Ashkenazi, who was one of the rabbis of the Council of Four Lands, wrote halakhic *pilpulim* into his *Dammesek Eliezer* (1646), which were utilized by Ḥayyim *Benveniste in his *Keneset ha-Gedolah*. R. Yom Tov Lipmann *Heller (1579–1654), author of the *Tosafot Yom Tov*, also opposed the Shulḥan Arukh, his aim being to make the Mishnah the basis for authoritative *halakhah*, taking into consideration the early and later commentators and *posekim*. He compiled an extensive commentary in two parts on the Rosh: (1) *Ma'adanei Melekh* and (2) *Leḥem Ḥamudot*. R. Moses b. Isaac Judah *Lima (d. 1658) made a summary in his commentary *Ḥelkat Meḥokek* on the Shulḥan Arukh, *Even ha-Ezer*, which is based upon a comparison of talmudic sources and the views of the *rishonim* with the Shulḥan Arukh, while emphasizing the method of *pilpul*. There are extant from R. *Joshua Hoeschel b. Jacob, known popularly as the "Rebbi Reb Hoeschel" (d. 1663), halakhic novellae to tractate *Bava Kamma* and novellae on the *Sefer Mitzvot Gadol*. Two commentators on the Shulḥan Arukh, known from their works as the Taz and the Shakh, through whom the Shulḥan Arukh attained its most developed state and widespread acceptance, were active during the period of the *Chmielnicki pogroms of 1648: R. *David b. Samuel ha-Levi (the Taz; 1586–1667) intended through his commentary *Turei Zahav* to restore authoritative decision to its proper place, arriving at the definitive *halakhah* through comparing the different views in order to arrive at a final decision, yet in his eyes the Shulḥan Arukh was the decisive halakhic ruling. In 1978, C. Chavel published a definitive edition of the Taz's novellae on Rashi's commentary on the Pentateuch. R. *Shabetai b. Meir ha-Kohen (Shakh; 1621–1663) in his *Siftei Kohen* explains the Shulḥan Arukh and decides between its author and Isserles, striving at the same time to harmonize their views. In the *Siftei Kohen* on the *Ḥoshen Mishpat* he summarizes the views of all the *rishonim* and *aḥaronim*, trenchantly criticizing and negating the existing views and laying down new legal principles. R. Menahem Mendel b. Abraham *Krochmal (1600–1661), a disciple of both the Baḥ and the Taz, is the author of the noted responsa *Ẓemaḥ Ẓedek* (1675) on the four parts of the Shulḥan Arukh.

In the generation of the Shakh there was in Poland-Lithuania, particularly in Vilna, a concentration of outstanding Torah scholars. R. *Hillel b. Naphtali Ẓevi (1615–1690) compiled the novellae *Beit Hillel* (1691) on the Shulḥan Arukh, *Yoreh De'ah* and *Even ha-Ezer*. R. Moses b. Naphtali Hirsch *Rivkes of Vilna (second half of the 17th century) compiled the *Be'er ha-Golah* (1662), giving the talmudic sources of the laws of the Shulḥan Arukh, in Maimonides' *Yad*, and in the works of the *rishonim*. R. *Ephraim b. Jacob ha-Kohen (1616–1678) wrote the well-known responsa *Sha'ar Efrayim*. R. Aaron Samuel b. Israel *Koidonover (Maharshak; 1624–1676) wrote the novellae *Birkat ha-Ẓevaḥ* (1669). R. *Samuel b. Uri Shraga Phoebus (mid 17th cen.) was the author of the commentary *Beit Shemu'el* (1689) to the *Even ha-Ezer*. R. Ḥayyim b. Israel Benveniste (1603–1673) in his *Keneset ha-Gedolah* gave a digest of the particulars of all new decisions cited in the responsa of outstanding *aḥaronim* from the time of Joseph Caro to his own time. This work, the first after the Shulḥan Arukh to assemble an anthology of responsa, was accepted in Sephardi and Ashkenazi rabbinical circles as an authoritative work that could be relied upon for practical rulings. Of other responsa anthologies mention must be made of the *Panim Ḥadashot* (1651) of Isaac b. Abraham Hayyim *Jesurun (d. 1655) and the *Leket ha-Kemaḥ* of R. Moses *Ḥagiz (1672–1751). R. Aaron *Alfandari (1690?–1774) in his *Yad Aharon* supplements the *Keneset ha-Gedolah* from works not in the possession of Benveniste. He also wrote *Mirkevet ha-Mishneh*, novellae to Maimonides' *Yad*.

The following authoritative commentaries to the *Oraḥ Ḥayyim* should be noted: the *Olat ha-Tamid* (1681) of Samuel b. Joseph of Cracow, and especially the *Magen Abraham* (1692) of Abraham Abele b. Ḥayyim ha-Levi *Gombiner (1637–1683), who endeavored to arrive at a compromise between Caro's rulings and the amendments of Isserles, and in whose eyes the Shulḥan Arukh was the final authority; Gershon b. Isaac *Ashkenazi (Ulif; d. 1693), compiler of the responsa *Avodat ha-Gershuni* (1699) and *Ḥiddushei ha-Gershuni* (1710), notes and novellae to the Shulḥan Arukh, is known for his strictness in laws of marriage; Jair Ḥayyim Bacharach (1638–1701), whose reputation rests on his responsa *Havvat Ya'ir* (1699) and was opposed to *pilpul*; Aryeh Leib *Gunzberg (1640–1718), author of the responsa *Sha'agat Aryeh, Sha'agat Aryeh ha-Ḥadashot*, and novellae to tractates of the Talmud. Among the rabbis of Jerusalem in that generation were: Moses b. Jonathan *Galante (1620–1689), author of *Ẓevaḥ ha-Shelamim* (1698) and *Korban Ḥagigah* (1709); Moses b. Solomon ibn *Ḥabib (1654–1696), author of novellae to tractates of the Talmud and of *Get Pashut* (1719). *Peri Ḥadash* (1692), a commentary compiled by *Hezekiah b. David Da Silva (1659–1698), added to the Shulḥan Arukh and contains pungent criticism of the *posekim*, including Caro himself. Abraham b. Saul *Broda (1650–1717) wrote novellae on talmudic tractates entitled *Eshel Avraham* and *Toledot Avraham.* Elijah b. Benjamin Wolf *Shapira (1660–1712) was the author of *Eliyahu Rabbah*, novellae on the *Sefer ha-Levush.* Ẓevi Hirsch b. Jacob *Ashkenazi (Ḥakham Ẓevi; 1600–1718) published in 1712 his responsa, novellae, and comments. His son, Jacob *Emden (1698–1776), compiled *Mor u-Kezi'ah*, comments and novellae to the *Oraḥ Ḥayyim*. Jacob Emden also wrote an extensive commentary on the prayer book as well as various philosophical works. Samuel b. Joseph Shattin ha-Kohen (Maharshashakh; d. 1719), an outstanding German scholar, published *Kos ha-Yeshu'ot* (1711), novellae to the tractates of the order *Nezikin.* Judah *Rosanes (d. 1727), one of the greatest Turkish scholars, achieved fame with his *Mishneh la-Melekh* (1731), novellae on the *Yad*, and *Al Parashat Derakhim* (1728). Jacob b. Joseph *Reischer (d. 1733) compiled the commentaries *Minḥat Ya'akov, Shevut Ya'akov,* and *Ḥok le-Ya'akov* on the Shulḥan Arukh. Most of the halakhic works, novellae, and responsa of David *Oppenheim (1664–1736), famed for his large library, remain in manuscript. Alexander Sender b. Ephraim Zalman *Schor (d. 1737) was the author of *Simlah Ḥadashah* (1733), rulings in the laws of *sheḥitah* and *terefot* together with a pilpulistic commentary *Tevu'ot Shor* that became an authoritative source on matters pertaining to *sheḥitah.* Elazar Rokeaḥ of Brody (d. 1741) compiled *Arba Turei Even* (1789), novellae to the *Yad* and the *Tur.* A contemporary of the *Peri Ḥadash*, Hayyim b. Moses *Attar (1696–1743), author of the Or *ha-Ḥayyim* on the Pentateuch, wrote *Peri To'ar,* a commentary on the *Yoreh De'ah*, in which he defends the *Tur, Beit Yosef*, and all *rishonim* from the criticisms of the *Peri Ḥadash.*

18th Century

Among outstanding *aḥaronim* in the 18th century are Meir b. Isaac *Eisenstadt (Maharam Esh; 1670–1744), author of *Panim Me'irot* (3 pts.; 1710–1738); and Isaac Hezekiah b. Samuel *Lampronti (1679–1756), author of the halakhic encyclopaedia *Paḥad Yiẓḥak*. The *Yad Malakhi* (1767) of his contemporary *Malachi b. Jacob ha-Kohen is a methodology of the Talmud and *posekim* in three parts. Jacob Joshua b. Ẓevi Hirsch *Falk (1680–1756) achieved fame with his extensive talmudic work *Penei Yehoshuah* (4 pts.). Nethanel b. Naphtali Ẓevi *Weil (1687–1769) was the author of *Korban Netanel* (1755), a commentary of the *Rosh* of Asher b. Jehiel to the orders *Mo'ed* and *Nashim*, and of *Netiv Ḥayyim,* notes to the *Oraḥ Ḥayyim*. Aryeh Loeb b. Saul *Loewenstamm (1690–1755) of Amsterdam republished the responsa of Moses Isserles (1711), adding to it *Kunteres Aḥaron*, parallels from the responsa of the Maharshal. Jonathan *Eybeschuetz (1690–1764) wrote the pilpulistic and acute commentaries *Kereti u-Peleti* (1763) to the *Yoreh De'ah* and *Urim ve-Tummin* (1775) to the *Ḥoshen Mishpat*. Ẓedakah b.Saadiah *Ḥoẓin of Baghdad (1699–1773) published novellae to all four parts of the Shulḥan Arukh. Among the works of Judah b. Isaac *Ayash (1700–1760), an Algerian scholar who settled in Ereẓ Israel during his last years, known also to German and Polish scholars, are *Leḥem Yehudah* on Maimonides' *Yad* and the responsa *Beit Yehudah.* Eliezer b. Samuel De *Avila (1714–1761), a great Moroccan scholar, compiled *Magen Gibborim*, novellae to talmudic tractates, and *Milḥemet Mitzvah* (1805) on the sources of *halakhot* in the Talmud and *posekim.*

Exceptional prominence was achieved by Ezekiel b. Judah ha-Levi *Landau (1713–1793), the author of the *Noda bi-Yehudah*, who in his novellae established new halakhic rulings. Solomon b. Moses *Chelm (1717–1781) became known through his *Mirkevet ha-Mishneh* in which he defends Maimonides from the strictures of *Abraham b. David of Posquieres (the Rabad), at the same time explaining the views of Maimonides and the commentators on the *Yad.* David Samuel b. Jacob *Pardo (1718–1790) is known through his *Shoshannim le-David* on the Mishnah and *Hasdei David* on the Tosefta. Meir *Margoliouth's (d. 1790) responsa *Me'ir Netivim* reflect the precarious basis of Jewish life in Poland and Lithuania.

Samuel b. Nathan ha-Levi of Kalin's (1720–1806) *Maḥaẓit ha-Shekel* (1807) is a commentary on the *Magen Avraham* to the *Oraḥ Ḥayyim* and on the *Shakh* to *Yoreh De'ah Hilkhot Meliḥah.* One of the most prominent personalities among *aḥaronim* in the 18th century is *Elijah b. Solomon Zalman, the Gaon of Vilna (ha-Gera; 1720–1797). In his commentary on the Shulḥan Arukh he stresses the connection between its decisions and the primary sources in the two Talmuds; when explaining the talmudic view the Gaon indicates his sources at the same time as he examines the different versions and determines the talmudic text. Noted for its terse style, the Gaon's commentary on the Shulḥan Arukh reflects his outstanding scholarship and genius. Ḥayyim Joseph David *Azulai (the Ḥida; 1724–1806) wrote halakhic laws and responsa, as well as the *Shem ha-Gedolim*, a comprehensive compilation of Jewish authors and their works up to that time. In 1771, about a century after the publication of the Shakh and the Taz, Joseph *Teomim (1727–1792) published his commentary *Peri*

Megadim, whose main purpose was to comment on them, adding new laws he had collected and laying down halakhic principles. Another well-known commentary is the *Levushei Serad* to *Oraḥ Ḥayyim* and *Yoreh De'ah* of David Solomon Eibeschutz of Soroki (Safed, 1809). Pinḥas ha-Levi *Horowitz of Frankfurt on Main (1730–1805) became known from his *Sefer Hafla'ah* and *Sefer ha-Makneh.* In his well-known commentary *Keẓot ha-Ḥoshen* on *Ḥoshen ha-Mishpat*, Aryeh Leib b. Joseph ha-Kohen *Heller (1745–1813) used the method of *pilpul*, at the same time stressing the need for rational understanding. Particular note should be taken of *Shneur Zalman of Lyady (1747–1812), the founder of Ḥabad Ḥasidism and author of the *Tanya*, who prepared for his ḥasidic followers a new Shulḥan Arukh which was issued in five parts in 1864. Abraham b. Samuel *Alkalai (1749–1811) wrote *Zekhor le-Avraham* on the *Turim*, which was relied on by halakhic authorities in Ereẓ Israel. Ḥayyim b. Isaac *Volozhiner (1749–1821), the distinguished disciple of the Gaon of Vilna and founder of the Volozhin Yeshivah, continued the latter's method of shunning *pilpul* and stressing the literal and straightforward meaning in *halakhah*. The vast majority of his writings were destroyed by fire at the end of his life, leaving us with only a small number of responsa and his philosophical work, *Nefesh ha-Ḥayyim.* Meshullam *Igra (1752–1802), an outstanding Galician and Hungarian scholar, compiled *Igra Ramah* on the orders of *Mo'ed* and *Nashim*, and responsa. Mordecai b. Abraham *Banet (1753–1829) wrote *Be'ur Mordekhai*, novellae on the *Sefer ha-Mitzvot* of the *Mordekhai*, as well as other novellae. Jacob *Lorbeerbaum of Lissa (1760–1832), in his commentary *Netivot ha-Mishpat* on the *Ḥoshen ha-Mishpat*, summarized the sources of the *halakhah*, while his *Ḥavvat Da'at* to the *Yoreh De'ah* is of decisive importance for halakhic ruling. The following Yemenite rabbis living in the second half of the 18th century should be noted: Yaḥya b. Joseph *Saliḥ, *av bet din* in San'a and author of the responsa *Pe'ullat Ẓaddik* dealing with the practical problem of Yemenite Jews; David b. Shalom *Mizraḥi (1696–1771) and his son Yiḥya (1734–1809) in San'a wrote the responsa *Revid ha-Zahav* (1955) on *Oraḥ Ḥayyim* and *Yoreh De'ah* on the customs of Yemenite Jews.

19th Century

Of the most notable 19th century scholars, the following deserve mention: Joshua Heschel b. Isaac *Babad (1754–1838), author of the responsa *Sefer Yehoshua* (1829); Baruch b. Joshua Ezekiel Feiwel *Fraenkel-Teomim (1760–1828), known from his *Barukh Ta'am*; one of the greatest *aḥaronim* in this period was Akiva b. Moses *Eger (1761–1837), famous for his novellae, his *Gilyon ha-Shas*, and responsa; Moses b. Samuel *Sofer (Ḥatam Sofer; 1762–1839), known by his responsa, novellae on the Talmud, and Pentateuch commentary; Abraham Samuel Benjamin *Sofer, author of *Ketav Sofer,* son of the Ḥatam Sofer, and his son Simḥah Bunem, author of *Shevet Sofer*; *Israel b. Samuel Ashkenazi of Shklov (d. 1839), author of *Pe'at ha-Shulḥan* on laws connected with Ereẓ Israel that were not dealt with by Caro in his Shulḥan Arukh; Ephraim Zalman *Margolioth (1760–1828), author of *Beit Efrayim* on all four parts of the Shulḥan Arukh, *Sha'arei Teshuvah*, and *Pitḥei Teshuvah*; Abraham b. Gedaliah *Tiktin (1764–1821), author of *Petaḥ ha-Bayit* on the Talmud and Shulḥan Arukh; Jacob Meshullam *Ornstein (1775–1839), author of *Yeshu'ot Ya'akov*; Israel b. Gedaliah *Lipschutz (1782–1861), famous for his *Tiferet Yisrael* commentary on the Mishnah; Solomon b. Judah Aaron *Kluger (Maharshak; 1783–1869) wrote novellae on the Shulḥan Arukh and compiled works on *halakhah* and *aggadah*; Menahem Mendel Schneersohn of Lubavitch (1789–1866), author of the responsa *Ẓemaḥ Ẓedek*; Ḥayyim b. Leibush *Halberstam, the ḥasidic rabbi of Zanz (1793–1876), author of the responsa *Divrei Ḥayyim*, characterized by its blending of scholarship and Ḥasidism; Judah b. Israel *Aszod (1794–1866), outstanding Hungarian rabbi, became widely known through his *She'elot u-Teshuvot Maharia* and *Ḥiddushei Maharia*; Jacob b. Aaron *Ettlinger (1798–1871), known from responsa *Binyan Ẓiyyon* (1868), his *Arukh la-Ner,* novellae to tractates of the Talmud, and his *Bikkurei Ya'akov*; Isaac Meir Alter of Gur (1799–1866), known for his *Ḥiddushei ha-Rim* and *She'elot u-Teshuvot ha-Rim*; Samuel b. Joseph *Strashun (1794–1872) wrote *haggahot* (notes) to the Talmud; Joseph *Babad (1800–1875) became famous through his *Minḥat Ḥinnukh* (1869), extensively used especially among yeshivah students, its main aim being not to determine the *halakhah* but to stimulate further study by raising new problems. The *Minḥat Ḥinnukh* is an extensive commentary of the medieval work, *Sefer ha-Ḥinnukh*. Mention must be made of the abridgments of the Shulḥan Arukh by Abraham *Danzig (1748–1820) in his *Ḥayyei Adam* and *Ḥokhmat Adam* and by Solomon *Ganzfried (1804–1886) in his *Kitzur Shulḥan Arukh*; Zevi Hirsch b. Meir *Chajes (1805–1855) wrote the *Darkhei Hora'ah* and *Mevo ha-Talmud* (1845) on talmudic methodology, the responsa *Maharaz* (1849), and notes and novellae on most tractates of the Talmud; Moses b. Joseph *Schick (Maharam Schick; 1807–1879), a Hungarian *posek*, author of about 1,000 responsa; Joseph Saul *Nathanson of Lemberg (1810–1875), the *posek* of his generation, who opposed *pilpul;* David Dov *Meisels (1814–1876), known from his responsa *Ha-Radad* on *Oraḥ Ḥayyim* and *Even ha-Ezer* (1903); Naphtali Ẓevi Judah *Berlin (the Neẓiv; 1817–1893) of Volozhin, author of *Ha'amek Davar* on the Pentateuch and *Ha'amek She'elah* on the *She'iltot* of R. Aḥai; Moses Joshua Judah Leib *Diskin (Maharil Diskin; 1817–1898), the rabbi of Brest-Litovsk, who served as rabbi of Jerusalem from 1877, compiled *Torat Ohel Moshe* and responsa; Jacob Saul b. Eliezer Jeroham *Elyashar (1817–1906), Sephardi chief rabbi of Ereẓ Israel wrote thousands of responsa in answer to inquiries; Isaac Elhanan b. Israel *Spektor of Kovno (1817–1896), author of the responsa *Be'er Yizḥak, Naḥal Yizḥak* on the *Ḥoshen ha-Mishpat*, and the responsa *Ein Yizḥak*; Joseph Baer *Soloveichik of Volozhin (1820–1892) wrote the novellae *Beit ha-Levi* and responsa with the same title; Shalom b. Yaḥya *Ḥabshush (1825–1905), *dayyan* and head of a yeshivah in San'a, published novellae and comments on the laws of *sheḥitah* and *terefot*; Isaac Judah b. Hayyim Samuel

*Schmelkes (1828–1906) of Lemberg is known for his responsa *Beit Yizḥak* in six volumes; Jehiel Michael *Epstein's (1829–1908) *Arukh ha-Shulḥan* aims at bringing some of the rulings of the Shulḥan Arukh up to date; he also wrote *Arukh ha-Shulḥan le-Atid*; Shalom Mordecai b. Moses *Shvadron (1835–1911), known as Maharsham, whose genius is reflected in the seven volumes of his responsa; Abraham Bornstein of *Sochaczew (1839–1910), author of the responsa *Avnei Nezer* on the Shulḥan Arukh; Isaac Jacob *Reines (1839–1915), who in his *Ḥotam Tokhnit* and *Urim Gedolim* eschewed *pilpul* and introduced a purely logical approach to *halakhah.* Of noted commentators on the Jerusalem Talmud in the 18th–19th centuries, mention must be made of *Elijah b. Loeb of Fulda (Raf; d. 1725); David b. Naphtali Hirsch *Fraenkel (1707–1762), author of the *Korban ha-Edah*; Moses b. Simeon *Margoliot (1710–1781), author of the commentary *Penei Moshe*; Jacob David b. Ze'ev *Willowski (Ridbaz; 1845–1913), who settled in Safed in his last years and whose commentary on the Jerusalem Talmud and his responsa are regarded as classics.

Among Oriental *aḥaronim* the following are worthy of note: Hayyim *Palache (1788–1869) of Smyrna, author of 26 books, including the responsa *Lev Ḥayyim* and comments on the Shulḥan Arukh; *Joseph Ḥayyim b. Elijah Al-Ḥakam (1833–1909) of Baghdad, a great *posek* known from his Ben *Yehoyaddah* and *Ben Ish Ḥai,* which embrace *halakhah, aggadah*, and homiletics.

20th Century

Until 1933 the study of Torah was centered in the great and famous yeshivot of Eastern Europe – Poland, Lithuania, Hungary, and Czechoslovakia. During that period centers of Torah also began to be established in the United States. From 1933 on, and following World War II, as a consequence of the liquidation of these centers, the center of spiritual life passed to the United States and Israel, and some scholars immigrated to these new centers during the latter part of their lives: *Meir Simḥah ha-Kohen of Dvinsk (1843–1926), author of the *Or Same'aḥ* on Maimonides' *Yad* and *Meshekh Ḥokhmah* on the Pentateuch; Zevi Hirsch *Shapira of Munkacz (1850–1913), author of *Darkhei Teshuvah* on the Shulḥan Arukh, and his son Ḥayyim Eleazar (1872–1937), author of the responsa *Minhat Elazar*; Elijah b. Naphtali Herz *Klatzkin (1852–1932); Hayyim b. Joseph Dov *Soloveichik (Ḥayyim Brisker; 1853–1918), who wrote novellae on tractates of the Talmud and the *Yad* and devised a new system of talmudic dialectics, and his son Isaac Ze'ev (1886–1960); Joseph *Rozin ("the Rogachover"; 1858–1936), known from his responsa *Zafenat Pa'ne'aḥ* and commentary on the Pentateuch with the same title; *Israel Meir ha-Kohen (Ḥafez Ḥayyim; 1853–1933), author of the *Ḥafez Ḥayyim*, dealing with the laws of slander and gossip, and *Mishnah Berurah* on the first section of the Shulḥan Arukh. The *Mishnah Berurah* rapidly became the most widely accepted work of *halakhah* among Ashkenazi Jewry since the publication of the Shulḥan Arukh. Moses Samuel *Glasner (1856–1924), who compiled *Dor Revi'i* and *Shevivei Esh* on the Pentateuch; Joseph b. Judah *Engel (1859–1920), whose works on *halakhah, aggadah*, and Kabbalah are arranged in an encyclopedic manner, in most cases alphabetically; Judah Leib *Zirelson (1860–1941) of Kishinev, author of the responsa *Aẓei Levanon, Gevul Yehudah, Lev Yehudah*; Ḥayyim Ozer *Grodzinski (1863–1940), author of the responsa *Avi'ezer* (3 pts.); Abraham Isaac ha-Kohen *Kook (1865–1935), author of the novellae and responsa *Mishpat Kohen* and *Iggerot ha-Re'ayah*; the Galician rabbi Menahem Munish b. Joshua Heschel *Babad (1865–1938), author of the responsa *Ḥavaẓẓelet ha-Sharon*; Zalman b. Ben-Zion *Sorotzkin (1881–1966), author of the responsa *Moznayim le-Mishpat* and *Oznayim la-Torah* on the Pentateuch; Ben Zion Meir Ḥai *Ouziel (1880–1953), Sephardi chief rabbi (*rishon le-Zion*) and author of the responsa *Mishpetei Ouziel, Sha'arei Ouziel, Mikhmannei Ouziel*; Isaac ha-Levi b. Joel *Herzog (1888–1959), Ashkenazi chief rabbi of Israel, wrote *Divrei Yizḥak* (1921), *Torat ha-Ohel* (1948) on Maimonides' *Hilkhot Sanhedrin*, and the responsa *Heikhal Yizḥak* (1960; 1967) on *Even ha-Ezer,* in which he also discusses problems arising from the Holocaust and the establishment of the State of Israel; Dov Berish b. Jacob *Wiedenfeld (1881–1965) of Trzebinia, Galicia, author of the responsa *Dover Meisharim* (2 pts.; 1958); Moshe Avigdor *Amiel (1883–1946), chief rabbi of Tel Aviv, published *Darkhei Moshe, Ha-Middot le- Ḥeker ha-Halakhah*; Menahem Zemba (1883–1943), outstanding Polish talmudist of the last generation whose works reflect a blending of acumen and erudition combined with logic and profundity, was the author of the responsa *Zera Avraham* (1920), *Oẓar ha-Sifrei* (1929), *Oẓar ha-Sifra* (1960); Jehiel Jacob *Weinberg (1885–1966), author of the responsa *Seridei Esh* (4 vols.; 1961–1969) on practical problems arising in recent generations; Moses Mordecai *Epstein (1866–1934), author of *Levushei Mordekhai*, novellae and expositions on topics in tractates *Zevaḥim* and *Menaḥot*; Baruch Ber *Leibowitz (1866–1939), author of *Birkat Shemu'el* on tractates of the Talmud; Isser Zalman *Meltzer (1870–1954), author of *Even ha-Ezel* in eight parts; Ẓevi Pesaḥ *Frank (1873–1960), chief rabbi of Jerusalem, who followed the methods of Isaac Elhanan Spektor and Samuel Salant; Elḥanan Bunim *Wasserman (1875–1941), who followed a middle path between *pilpul* and erudition, stressing the decisions of the *rishonim*; Meshullam *Rath (1875–1963), a member of the Israel chief rabbinate council, author of the responsa *Kol Mevasser*; Avraham Yeshayahu *Karelitz (Ḥazon Ish; 1879–1954) published 23 volumes entitled *Ḥazon Ish* (the first in 1911); his novellae and *halakhot* embrace the whole Talmud and all four parts of the Shulḥan Arukh. Karelitz had an enormous impact on the *halakhah* of the latter half of the 20th century, especially in Israel. Reuven *Katz (1880–1963), rabbi of Petaḥ Tikvah, author of the responsa *Degel Re'uven* and *Duda'ei Re'uven;* Isser Yehuda *Unterman (1886–1976), who, with the object of consolidating practical *halakhah*, established a methodological theory of talmudic research, wrote *Shevet Yehudah* on halakhic problems; Ovadiah Hadayah (1893–1969) wrote *Yaskil Avdi* in six parts; Moses *Feinstein (d. 1986) of the U.S., author of the responsa

Iggerot Moshe and the accepted *posek* of Orthodox American Jewry during the second half of the 20th century; Isaac *Nissim (d. 1981), chief rabbi of Israel and *rishon le-Zion*, published his responsa in his *Yein ha-Tov*; Eliezer Judah b. Jacob Gedaliah Waldenberg (b. 1917), *dayyan* in Jerusalem, is the author of *Ẓiẓ Eli'ezer*; Shlomo Goren (d. 1994), chief rabbi of Israel, published, among others, *Yerushalmi ha-Meforash* (1961), and *Torat ha-Mo'adim* (1964); Ovadiah *Yosef (b. 1920), Sephardi chief rabbi of Israel, is the author of the volumes *Yabbi'a Omer* published in Jerusalem between 1954 and 1969.

The *aḥaronim* laid down many rules for *halakhah*. The fundamental principle is to take care to act in accordance with the decisions of the Shulḥan Arukh. Some have insisted that those giving authoritative rulings from the Shulḥan Arukh must know their sources in the Talmud (Maharsha to Sot. 22a, s.v. *ary*). On the other hand the author of the *Pitḥei Teshuvah* holds that after the addition of the well-known commentaries such as the *Taz, Shakh*, and *Magen Avraham* it is permitted to rule from the Shulḥan Arukh itself (*Yoreh De'ah* 242:8). In the view of many *aḥaronim* the authoritative works are to be regarded as "our teachers" and anyone failing to take them into consideration in deciding the *halakhah* is regarded as guilty of "giving a (different) halakhic decision in the presence of his teacher" (*Peri Megadim*, beginning OH, section 3).

There is a well-known rule that *halakhah* may not be learned from the *aggadah* and the Midrashim (*Tosefot Yom Tov*, Ber. 5:4; *Noda bi-Yhudah*, 2nd ed., *Yoreh De'ah*, no. 161), but one may derive from them a custom being practiced by Jews (*Noda bi-Yhuda*, ibid.). On the other hand, several *aḥaronim* hold that where the *aggadot* and Midrashim do not contradict the Talmud but merely add to it they may be relied upon (*Mayim Ḥayyim* of the *Peri Ḥadash*, no. 128; *Shevut Ya'akov*, pt. 2, no. 178).

The novellae of the *aḥaronim* reflect a tendency to *pilpul* and to expand the subjects under discussion with the object of arriving at new halakhic rulings. The conclusions arrived at by outstanding *aḥaronim* are accepted as new halakhic rulings.

The responsa of *aḥaronim* discuss a variety of different problems occasioned by the times. These topics reflect local and temporal conditions: World War I, the condition of Jews in the world after it, World War II, the Holocaust, the establishment of the State of Israel – all these raised problems which are dealt with by the great *aḥaronim* with the object of finding solutions in conformity with the *halakhah*. Indeed, their contribution to our understanding of the Babylonian and Jerusalem Talmuds cannot be underestimated. Throughout the last five centuries the *aḥaronim* advanced our knowledge and comprehension of Jewish law, while constantly and rigorously applying it to everyday life. The decision process in Jewish law in the 21st century is not complete without careful consultation with all previous sources, including those of the *aḥaronim*.

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[Yehoshua Horowitz / David Derovan (2nd ed.)]

AHARONOV, YAKIR (1932–), Israeli physicist. Aharonov was born in the Haifa suburb of Kiryat Ḥayyim and received his B.Sc. from the Haifa Technion (1956). While working under Professor Boehm on his doctorate at Bristol University in England in 1959, Aharonov discovered the Aharonov-Boehm Effect, essential to quantum theory and of far-reaching impact on modern physics. After receiving his Ph.D. from Bristol University (1960), he taught at Brandeis University (1960–61) and Yeshiva University (1964–67) in the U.S. From 1973 he held a joint position as professor of theoretical physics at Tel Aviv University and at the University of South Carolina. Aharonov is a fellow of the American Physical Society, a member of the Israel National Academy of Science, and a member of the U.S. National Academy of Sciences. Prizes and awards include the Rothschild Prize in physics (1984), the Elliot Cresson Medal (1991), and the Wolf Prize in physics (1998). In 1989 he was awarded the Israel Prize in physics.

[Fern Lee Seckbach and Ruth Rossing (2nd ed.)]

AHARONOVITCH, YOSEF (1877–1937), writer, editor, and Palestinian labor leader. Aharonovitch, who was born in Kirovka, in the Ukraine, acquired his general education in Odessa. On his way to Ereẓ Israel, he was a Hebrew teacher in Brody, Galicia, where he also established a youth movement, Ḥalutzei Zion. He arrived in Ereẓ Israel in 1906, and worked as a laborer and watchman in the Nes Ẓiyyonah and Reḥovot orange groves. A year later he became editor of *Ha-Po'el ha-Ẓa'ir*, the first journal of the Palestinian labor movement. During World War I Aharonovitch was exiled to Egypt, where he edited the anthology *Ba-Nekhar* ("On Foreign Soil") in Alexandria in 1918. After the war he returned to his editorial work in Palestine and to public life. Aharonovitch retired from *Ha-Po'el ha-Ẓa'ir* in 1922 to become director of Bank ha-Po'alim ("The Workers' Bank") in Tel Aviv. A leader of the Jewish community in Palestine, the Zionist movement, the Ha-Po'el ha-Ẓa'ir Party, and later Mapai, he helped to formulate the ideology and practical character of the Palestinian labor movement through his articles, speeches, and personal example. Aharonovitch believed in adapting to a dynamic new reality without being chained to dogmas and beliefs. He proposed that practical agricultural and industrial work should be carried out by Jews, and that the concerted efforts of pioneers were needed to prepare the ground for mass immigration. He crusaded for integrity in public life and efficiency in the country's social and economic institutions. His articles appeared in numerous newspapers and journals, including *Ma'barot, Davar, Moznayim, Ha-Olam, Ha-Yom, Ha-Ḥinnukh,* and *Haaretz.*

His pseudonyms included Temidi, Y.A., and Ben Sarah. In the last two years of his life he was chairman of the Hebrew Writers' Association. Two volumes of his selected articles, *Kitvei Yosef Aharonovitch*, were published in 1941 by his wife, the novelist Devorah *Baron, and Eliezer Shoḥat.

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[Israel Cohen]

AHASUERUS (Heb. אֲחַשְׁוֵרוֹשׁ), king of Persia, who according to the Book of Esther ruled from India to Ethiopia (see Book of *Esther; *Artaxerxes).

In the Aggadah

Ahasuerus generally is portrayed as vacillating, lacking in character, and easily swayed. But the positive aspects of his personality are also emphasized. He is depicted as one of the few kings in history who ruled over the entire earth (Meg. 11a; Targ. Sheni to Esth. 1:2). Before his death Nebuchadnezzar had placed all the treasures of the world he had looted in a ship, and sunk it in the Euphrates to prevent anyone finding them. God, however, had revealed their location to Cyrus when He gave orders that the Temple was to be rebuilt. Ahasuerus' great wealth derived from this treasure. But he neither succeeded in sitting on Solomon's throne nor in erecting a similar one (*Midrash Abba Guryon*). It was through Esther's influence that he appointed *Mordecai as his counselor, for she told Ahasuerus that whereas his predecessors, Nebuchadnezzar and Belshazzar, had consulted prophets, he invariably turned for advice to ordinary mortals. Ahasuerus is said to have desecrated the Temple vessels and priestly robes at the feast he made for all the provinces of his kingdom even though he knew what had happened to Belshazzar for such conduct (Meg. 11b). Other *aggadot* declare that his hatred of Israel exceeded Haman's but he feared he might suffer a fate similar to that of the other enemies of the Jews.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Guttmann, Mafte'aḥ; Ginzberg, Legends, index.

[Joshua Gutmann]

AHASUERUS-XERXES (Heb. אחשורש; Aram. Papyri חשי(א)רש; Dura Synagogue חשורש; Old Persian *Xšayāršā*; Gr. Ξερξης). If one ignores the vowels, the biblical consonantal text is a close approximation of the king's name. The Persian king known to the Greeks as Xerxes I (reigned 486–465 B.C.E.) was the son of *Darius I. As soon as he ascended the throne, Xerxes was confronted by a revolt in Egypt. At the same time, the enemies of Judah apparently tried to incite him against its inhabitants (Ezra 4:6). After reducing Egypt "to a worse state of servitude than it was in under Darius" and crushing another revolt in Babylon, he attempted a more ambitious undertaking, the subjugation of Greece. After the disastrous outcome of this adventure, which took place between the third and seventh years of his reign, Xerxes settled down to a life of self-indulgence, reflected in the account of Ahasuerus in the *Scroll of Esther, which agrees with the Greek authors in its conception, or even caricature, of life at the Persian court. Ahasuerus is represented in the Book of Daniel as the father of *Darius the Mede (Dan. 9:1) and, in one recension of the Book of Tobit, as allied with Nebuchadnezzar at the capture of Nineveh (Tob. 14:15). Since Nineveh was actually captured (in 612 B.C.E.) by kings Cyaxares of Media and Nabopolassar of Babylon, it is natural to surmise that later generations confused Cyaxares with Ahasuerus-Xerxes just as they confused Nabopolassar with Nebuchadnezzar. The Book of Esther does not mention the death of Xerxes in a bloody court coup.

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[Isaiah Gafni / Harold Louis Ginsberg]

AHAVAH RABBAH (Heb. אַהֲבָה רַבָּה; "With great love"); **AHAVAT OLAM** (Heb. אַהֲבַת עוֹלָם; "Everlasting love"), two versions of the second of the two benedictions preceding the recitation of the *Shema* in the morning and evening services. In the Talmud there is a difference of opinion as to which is the correct version (Ber. 11b) and a *baraita* is quoted which definitely favors *Ahavah Rabbah.* This controversy continued even into medieval times (see Levin, Oẓar, vol. 1, p. 29; ET, vol. 4, p. 391). As a compromise decision *Ahavah Rabbah* was adopted for the morning service and the other for the evening (Tos., MG Ber.). The Sephardi and Italian rites, however, only have *Ahavat Olam.* It is not clear whether the difference between the two versions was limited to the opening formula or whether it extended to the content. From the prayer book of *Saadiah Gaon it would appear that the former is the case. In their present form the two prayers have the same basic theme, but they differ considerably in presentation, and *Ahavah Rabbah* is much the longer and the more complex of the two. Both benedictions tell of God's love as the explanation for Israel's receiving the Torah. The prayers introduce the *Shema* which is basically a Torah reading – and promise, in consequence, continual preoccupation with its study and observance. In both, God is besought to continue bestowing His love on His people, but in *Ahavah Rabbah* the idea of the election of Israel is stressed. *Ahavat Olam* ends, "Blessed art Thou, O Lord, Who lovest His people Israel," whereas *Ahavah Rabbah* closes with "Who has chosen His people Israel in love." The Mishnah (Tam. 5:1), as interpreted in the *Gemara* (Ber. 11b–12a), records that *Ahavah Rabbah* was the benediction with which the priestly prayer service in the Temple commenced. According to the *halakhah* (Sh. Ar., OḤ 47:7) either of the two can serve as a substitute for the **Birkat ha-Torah*, the blessing to be recited before study.

In the Middle Ages various *piyyutim* were composed for insertion into *Ahavah Rabbah* and *Ahavat Olam* on festivals. Those for the latter are still recited in some synagogues. Both benedictions appear with minor textual variations in the different rites; *Ahavat Olam* much less, however, than *Ahavah Rabbah*. The Reform ritual has retained the traditional text of the former but has abbreviated the latter considerably, omitting the messianic passages. *Ahavat Olam* has been set to music by Mombach and others, and forms part of the repertoire of most synagogue choirs.

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[Raphael Posner]

AHAZ (Heb. אָחָז, a diminutive of יְהוֹאָחָז, as shown by the reference to him as *Ya-u-ha-zi* in cuneiform (the inscription of Tiglath-Pileser iii), meaning "YHWH holds fast"), king of Judah (743–727 B.C.E.), son of *Jotham and father of *Hezekiah. Ahaz succeeded to the throne at the age of 20 and ruled for 16 years. It seems, however, that he ruled alone for seven years only, sharing the first nine years with his father as regent for his grandfather *Uzziah (785–733 B.C.E.), who was incapacitated by a terrible skin disease. Ahaz apparently refused to join the anti-Assyrian alliance of Aram, northern Israel, the Philistines, and others, no doubt believing Assyrian power to be irresistible. This refusal led to the "Syro-Ephraimite war" of 733, when Israel and Aram invaded Judah (ii Kings 15:37; ii Chron. 28:5ff.), carried off many captives, and planned to conquer Judah and to set up, under a certain Ben Tabeel, a regime favorable to an anti-Assyrian alliance (for a different motivation, see H.L. Ginsberg in Bibliography). In the course of the war Ahaz lost control over the Negev and the western slopes of the Judean hills to the Philistines (ii Chron. 28:18), and of Elath to the Edomites (ii Kings 16:6).

Ahaz turned for help to the Assyrian Tiglath-Pileser iii whose suzerainty he, or Uzziah, had probably recognized one or more years previously. Tiglath-Pileser thereupon advanced against Aram and Israel. Ahaz went to Damascus to pay homage to the victor; from there he sent instructions to the high priest Uriah to introduce Aramean (Assyrian?) cults into the Temple in Jerusalem and, in particular, to build an altar modeled on an (Assyrian type?) altar he had seen in Damascus. Later, he himself made sacrifices on this altar (ii Kings 16:7ff.). Ahaz made other far-reaching changes in the Temple and, besides despoiling the Temple treasury and his own, melted down some of the Temple vessels for his tribute to the Assyrian king. He also installed a sundial in the Temple (ii Kings 20:11). Of his ministers, the names of Shebna, the steward (?; Isa. 22:15), and Eshna, "servant of Ahaz," are known, the latter from a recently discovered seal (see: EM, 1 (1950), 207). More recently, a seal impression reading "belonging to Ahaz (son of) Yehotam, King of Judah" was published.

Ahaz, accused of practicing ancient Canaanite cults, such as the Moloch fire rite, is one of the kings who did evil in the eyes of the Lord (ii Kings 16:3–4). According to ii Kings, Ahaz was buried in the royal vault in the City of David, but according to ii Chronicles, merely in Jerusalem. In the Talmud (Pes. 56a) his son Hezekiah is commended for giving Ahaz a pauper's funeral as an atonement for Ahaz' sins and in order to disassociate himself from his father's religious policies. Although Ahaz' own record was tarnished, the rabbis credited him with having been the son and father of righteous kings as well as having accepted Uzziah's reproof, which secured him a share in the world to come (Sanh. 104a).

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AHAZIAH (Heb. אֲחַזְיָה, אֲחַזְיָהוּ; "YHWH holds firm"), the name of two biblical kings.

(1) Son of *Ahab, king of Israel (c. 853–852 B.C.E.). The biblical account of his two-year reign (i Kings 22:52–ii Kings 1:18) faults Ahaziah for following his father and mother in sponsoring the cult of the Tyrian Baal, inquiring of Baal-Zebub of Philistine Ekron in addition to his maintenance of the calf-cult initiated by Jeroboam i. The defeat of the army of Israel and the death of Ahab in the war with the Arameans (853 B.C.E.) encouraged *Mesha, king of Moab, to free himself from Israelite suzerainty and to engage in war with Ahaziah. Apparently the Ammonites also gained their freedom at that time (ii Chron. 20:1). The traditional alliance between the house of Omri and Judah suffered when *Jehoshaphat, king of Judah, refused partnership in the maritime commercial venture organized at the port of Ezion-Geber which was proposed by the king of Israel (i Kings 22:49–50; see, however, ii Chron. 20:35–37). In the second year of his reign Ahaziah was severely injured in a fall from the window of an upper story of his palace and sent to ask for an oracle of Baal-Zebub, god of Ekron. *Elijah reproved him for this act and prophesied that he would die (ii Kings 1:2ff.). Given the fantastic elements in the chapter, i.e., repeated fire from heaven called down by the prophet, we might do well to explain the account of Ahaziah's deeds as a theological justification for his brief reign and premature death. Ahaziah left no sons and was succeeded on the throne by his brother Jehoram.

(2) The son of *Jehoram, king of Judah, and *Athaliah, daughter (or sister) of Ahab, king of Israel. Ahaziah ascended the throne at the age of 22 and reigned for one year over Judah (c. 842–841 B.C.E.; ii Kings 8:25ff.). His name is misspelled "Johoahaz" in ii Chronicles 21:16–17 and "Azariah" in ii Chronicles 22:6. He followed his mother Athaliah in all matters relating to the cult. The political alliance with the dynasty of Omri was revived and he and his uncle or cousin King Jehoram of Israel went to war against Ḥazael, king of Aram (ii Kings 8:28–29; ii Chron. 22:5–6). Jehoram was wounded in

the battle, and Ahaziah visited him in Jezreel. Because of this kinship and friendship, *Jehu killed him as well as Jehoram (II Kings 9:27–28; II Chron. 22:9).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Bright, Hist, 223ff., 232–4; Yeivin, in: JQR, 50 (1959/60), 219ff.; EM, 1 (1965), 210–1. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** M. Cogan and H. Tadmor, *II Kings* (AB; 1988), 21–28, 98–100; W. Thiel, in: ABD, 1, 107–9.

AḤDUT HA-AVODAH, Zionist Socialist Labor Party in Palestine founded in 1919. First steps toward its formation were taken in 1918 by soldiers of the *Jewish Legion at Tell el Kabir, Egypt, where many Palestinian Jewish workers and members of *Po'alei Zion from America were serving as volunteers in the Jewish battalions of the British Army. The majority of the volunteers belonged to an influential non-party group, led by Berl *Katznelson and Shemuel *Yavneeli, and to Po'alei Zion, led by Izhak *Ben-Zvi and David *Ben-Gurion. There were also a few volunteers who were leading members of the other Labor Party, *Ha-Po'el ha-Ẓa'ir, among them Levi Shkolnik (*Eshkol) and Abraham Haft, although their party objected to participation in the Legion. In February 1919, a conference of Po'alei Zion unanimously called for unity, but a Ha-Po'el ha-Ẓa'ir conference rejected the proposal. Immediately afterward, at Petaḥ Tikvah, a conference of the Agricultural Workers' Union, which included members of both parties, voted 48 to 12 for the establishment of a workers' federation to be responsible for all political, economic, and cultural activities, and for settlement on the land. Most Ha-Po'el ha-Ẓa'ir members did not join, but established separate labor exchanges and a separate agricultural settlement center. A founding conference resulting from the agricultural workers' decision was elected by 1,871 workers, with 47 rural delegates, 15 urban, and 19 representing the legionnaires from abroad. It met shortly afterward and decided to establish the Zionist Socialist Federation of the Workers of Ereẓ Israel, Aḥdut ha-Avodah, as an autonomous body, comprising all workers and members of the professions living solely from their labor without exploiting others. It was to participate in the World Zionist Organization and the Socialist International; to organize the provision of work, cooperative supplies, vocational training, and general education; to protect the workers' dignity and interests; and to enhance the creative capacity of the working class. Aḥdut ha-Avodah aspired, through organized mass immigration, to mold the life of the Jewish people in Ereẓ Israel as a commonwealth of free and equal workers living on its labor, controlling its property, and arranging its distribution of work, its economy, and its culture. Only a minority of Ha-Po'el ha-Ẓa'ir members joined, and, in order to avoid competition in labor matters, both groups agreed to establish the General Federation of Jewish Workers in Ereẓ Israel (*Histadrut), which was founded in December 1920. Aḥdut ha-Avodah became dominant in the Histadrut, of which Ben-Gurion was elected secretary-general. It also became dominant in the Elected Assembly of the *yishuv*, but continued to aim at complete workers' unity. After prolonged negotiations, Aḥdut ha-Avodah and Ha-Po'el ha-Ẓa'ir merged in 1930 to form Mifleget Po'alei Ereẓ Israel (*Mapai).

[David Ben-Gurion]

A study of Aḥdut ha-Avodah, *Aḥdut ha-Avodah ha-Historit,* by Jonathan Shapiro (1975) traces the consolidation of the party out of various factions and how the veteran leadership from the Second Aliyah period kept the reins of power in their hands. Shapiro attributes the party's organizational strength to its social and ideological roots going back to the Jewish experience in Russia.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: G. Kressel, *Mafte'aḥ la-Kunteres, 1919–1945* (1945).

AḤDUT HA-AVODAH, the name of several publications issued by the different labor movements in Ereẓ Israel at various times. (1) The first such periodical was published in 1919, a few months prior to the formation of the Aḥdut ha-Avodah Party, under the editorship of B. *Katznelson. It dealt with the ideology of the new party, labor questions, and contemporary problems of the *yishuv*. (2) After the Aḥdut ha-Avodah Party merged with *Ha-Po'el ha-Ẓa'ir in 1930 to form *Mapai, an anthology was published under the title *Aḥdut ha-Avodah* (2 vols., 1929–32). It contained articles on all aspects of Jewish life in Ereẓ Israel and in the Diaspora – political, economic, and social – by different leaders of the Aḥdut ha-Avodah Party. The editors were B. Katznelson, Shaul *Avigur, and Mordecai Senir. (3) A new social literary monthly, *Aḥdut ha-Avodah*, was established in 1930 and edited by C. *Arlosoroff. It continued until 1932. (4) A number of works, collections of articles, published by Mapai appeared under the same name between 1943 and 1946. (5) When Aḥdut ha-Avodah left Mapai to form a separate party in 1944, it published the weekly *Ha-Tenu'ah le-Aḥdut ha-Avodah* (abbreviated to *Le-Aḥdut ha-Avodah*). It ceased to exist on Jan. 22, 1946, when Aḥdut ha-Avodah merged with *Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir to form Mifleget ha-Po'alim ha-Me'uḥedet (*Mapam).

[Getzel Kressel]

AḤDUT HA-AVODAH–PO'ALEI ZION ("Unity of Labor–Workers of Zion"), Zionist Socialist Party established in 1946. *Aḥdut ha-Avodah emerged as an independent party in 1944 after a faction in Mapai calling itself *Si'ah Bet* (B Faction) seceded from it because of its objections to the policies of the *Histadrut leadership. In 1946 it united with the left-wing Po'alei Zion, assuming the name Aḥdut ha-Avodah–Po'alei Zion. In 1948 the new party joined with Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir to form *Mapam and ran within its framework in the elections to the First and Second Knessets. In August 1954, due to ideological differences set against the background of antisemitic "show trials" in Moscow and Prague, it resumed its independence. Aḥdut ha-Avodah–Po'alei Zion ran independently in the elections to the Third, Fourth, and Fifth Knessets, winning ten, seven, and eight seats, respectively. In the elections to the Sixth Knesset it ran on a single list – the Alignment – with *Mapai, and in 1968 it united with Mapai and *Rafi to form the *Israel Labor Party.

The core group of the party membership was made up of members of Ha-Kibbutz ha-Me'uḥad (see *Kibbutz), and among its best-known leaders were Yitzḥak *Tabenkin, Yigal *Allon, Yisrael *Galili, and Yitzḥak *Ben-Aharon. Throughout its independent existence the party was radical in its Zionist and social outlook, advocating a Jewish state with full rights for the Arab minority within what later came to be known as "Greater Israel." It opposed the various partition plans and, during the *War of Independence, demanded that the IDF occupy the whole territory of Eretz Israel within the boundaries of the British Mandate. Both in 1949 and again in 1957, following the *Sinai Campaign, it opposed the withdrawal of the IDF from the Sinai Peninsula, unless the Arab states accepted a peace settlement.

During World War II Aḥdut ha-Avodah–Po'alei Zion favored not only participation of Jewish youth in the British Army, but also the establishment of an underground military force under the sole authority of the *Haganah. Its members played an important role in the foundation and leadership of the *Palmaḥ. It advocated a comprehensive struggle against the British Mandatory regime, the organization of large-scale clandestine immigration, settlement in areas forbidden to Jewish settlement, and, after the war, sabotage operations against British installations in Palestine. However, it objected to acts of personal terror, such as those practiced by the two dissident underground organizations I.Ẓ.L. (*Irgun Ẓeva'i Le'ummi) and Leḥi (*Loḥamei Ḥerut Israel), though it objected to cooperation between the Haganah and the Mandatory police in the apprehension of members of these organizations, advocating instead their detention in Haganah undercover prisons.

The party adopted the philosophy of "scientific socialism," containing distinctly Marxist elements, but advocated "Zionist socialism" unfettered by any international, ideological, or organizational authority. Although sympathetic to the social experiment in the Soviet Union, it rejected the dictatorial regime in that country, and criticized manifestations of violence and persecution in it as well as its policy toward the Jews and Zionism. At the same time it maintained ties with other left-wing socialist movements and groups around the world. Aḥdut ha-Avodah opposed David *Ben-Gurion's policy of rapprochement with West Germany.

From 1959 until 1965 Aḥdut ha-Avodah–Po'alei Zion was a member of governments led by Ben-Gurion and Levi *Eshkol. It was also an active member of the Histadrut leadership, advocating the preservation of the Histadrut's independence, and the maintenance of full ideological and organizational democracy within it. After the establishment of the Labor Party, one of its leaders, Yitzḥak Ben-Aharon, served as secretary general of the Histadrut in the years 1969–73. In 1954 it started publishing a Hebrew daily, *Lamerhav,* that survived until 1971, and for a while after 1967 it published a Yiddish weekly, *Folksblat.*

[Susan Hattis Rolef (2nd ed.)]

AḤERIM (Heb. אֲחֵרִים; lit. "others"), a pseudonym for sages whose teachings are quoted anonymously in the tannaitic literature. According to the Talmud (Hor. 13b, 14a), *aḥerim* was used as a pseudonym for R. *Meir so that his teachings would not be propounded under his name in the *bet ha-midrash* – this, in punishment for his attempt, together with R. *Nathan, to assail the dignity and authority of the *nasi*, *Simeon b. Gamaliel II, and to remove him from office. The punishment, however, did not remain in force very long, the Talmud continuing that on one occasion Judah ha-Nasi, son of Simeon b. Gamaliel II, was teaching a certain Mishnah to his son Simeon with the words, "*aḥerim* say," whereupon Simeon said to his father, "Who are they whose waters we drink but whose names we do not mention?" at which Judah deferred to his son's opinion and in place of "*aḥerim* say" stated explicitly, "On Rabbi Meir's behalf it is said" (*ibid.*). In point of fact, in the Mishnah, which Judah edited, the expression "*aḥerim* say" does not occur. The tosafists, however, have pointed out the difficulty in the identification of "*aḥerim*" with Meir, for in many passages the words "*aḥerim* say" occur in opposition to Meir's view. One tosafist suggested that only those teachings which Meir received from his teacher, *Elisha b. Avuyah, later called *Aḥer,* were introduced under this pseudonym. The tosafists themselves, however, found this explanation unsatisfactory, and suggested instead that those opinions which he changed after he was punished and referred to as *aḥerim* are cited under this pseudonym, while his earlier views appear under his own name (Tos., Sot. 12a).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Hyman, Toledot, 138.

[Zvi Kaplan]

AHIJAH (Heb. אֲחִיָּה; "my [or the] brother is YHWH"), son of *Ahitub, priest of the house of Eli (I Sam. 14:3). Ahijah was apparently the chief priest in Shiloh during the reign of Saul (cf. Jos., Ant., 4:107), although his name does not appear in the list of chief priests in I Chronicles 6:50–55 and in Ezra 7:2–5. Several scholars identify Ahijah with *Ahimelech, son of Ahitub, who served as priest of Nob in Saul's days, assuming that the name Ahijah is the short form of Ahimelech or that the element *melekh* ("King") in his name was replaced by the divine name.

When Saul fought against the Philistines at Michmas, Ahijah wore an ephod (I Sam. 14:3). According to I Samuel 14:18, Ahijah served before the Ark of God; however, according to the same chapter, verse 3 (and also according to the LXX; *Baraita di-Melekhet ha-Mishkan*, 6 [and cf. Ish Shalom's ed., p. 44]; Ibn Ezra's commentary to Ex. 28:6 – all referring to I Sam. 14:18), "ephod" is to be read (instead of "ark"). Furthermore, only the ephod (and not the ark) is mentioned in the Bible as having been used for consulting the divine will (cf. the consultation by means of the ephod in I Sam. 23:9; 30:7). Ahijah may also have been the priest who inquired of God first whether to advance against the Philistines and then, upon failing to obtain a response, provoked God's displeasure (I Sam. 14:36 ff.).

AHIJAH THE SHILONITE (Heb. אֲחִיָּה הַשִּׁלֹנִי), Israelite prophet during the latter part of Solomon's reign and during the concurrent reigns of *Rehoboam and *Jeroboam. Jeroboam son of Nebat of Zeredah (which, according to the Septuagint, I Kings 12:24, was near Shiloh), enjoyed the support of Ahijah, whose main antagonism against Solomon was due to the tolerance shown by the king to foreign cults. At a secret meeting with Jeroboam outside Jerusalem he tore Jeroboam's new garment (or his own – the text is ambiguous) into 12 pieces as a symbol of the 12 tribes and gave him ten. The kingdom of Israel would be divided; only one other tribe (Benjamin), beside Judah, would remain loyal to the House of David (*ibid.* 11:29–39). Not improbably, Ahijah expected Jeroboam to restore the ancient central sanctuary of his native Shiloh. When Jeroboam, instead, set up golden calves in sanctuaries at Beth-El and Dan, the estrangement between him and Ahijah became inevitable. When Jeroboam's son Abijah fell ill, the king who no longer dared to face the old seer, by now almost blind, sent his wife in disguise to inquire about the child's fate. He not only foretold her son's death but predicted a dire end for the House of Jeroboam (*ibid.* 14:1–18).

In II Chronicles 9:29 Ahijah, in accordance with the Chronicler's practice, is cited, along with the other two prophets who were active in the reign of Solomon, as an author of the books of Kings' account of Solomon's reign.

In rabbinic tradition, Ahijah was a Levite at Shiloh. He was the sixth of seven men whose lifetimes following one another encompass all time (BB 121b) and is given a life span of more than 500 years. (On this basis Maimonides, in the introduction to his Code, makes him an important link in the early tradition of the Oral Law.) Ahijah was reputed to be a great master of the secret lore (Kabbalah), and ḥasidic legend makes him a teacher of *Israel Ba'al Shem Tov. He is said to have died a martyr's death at the hands of Abijah, son of Rehoboam and king of Judah.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Bright, Hist, 208 ff.; Kaufmann, Religion, 270 ff.; J. Morgenstern, *Amos Studies*, 1 (1941), 202 ff.; E. Auerbach, *Wueste und gelobtes Land*, 2 (1936), index; Yeivin, in: *Sefer Dinaburg* (1949), 30 ff.; Caquot, in: *Semitica*, 11 (1961), 17–27 (Fr.); Ginzberg, Legends, 4 (1913), 180.

AHIKAM (Heb. אֲחִיקָם; "the divine kinsman has risen [for battle]"), son of *Shaphan and father of *Gedaliah, a high royal official. Ahikam was one of the men sent by King Josiah to the prophetess *Huldah (II Kings 22:12, 14; II Chron. 34:20). Later, during the reign of Jehoiakim, when Jeremiah prophesied the destruction of Jerusalem, Ahikam used his influence to protect Jeremiah from death (Jer. 26:24).

Ahikam was a member of one of the most influential pro-Babylonian families in the last days of the Judean Kingdom. Shaphan, his father, was the scribe of Josiah (II Kings 22:3 ff. et al.); his brother Elasah was one of the men sent to Babylon by Zedekiah who brought the letter written by Jeremiah to the elders in exile (Jer. 29:1–3); his brother *Jaazaniah is mentioned in Ezekiel 8:11 among the elders of Jerusalem; and his son Gedaliah was appointed governor of Judah after the destruction of Jerusalem (Jer. 40:5–6). A seal impression published recently appears to bear his name.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: K.L. Tallqvist, *Assyrian Personal Names* (1914), 16; C.H. Gordon, *Ugaritic Grammar* (1940), 41; Virolleaud, in: *Revue d'assyrologie*, 15–16 (1940), 30, 34; Cassuto, in: *Orientalia*, 16 (1941), 473 (It.); Yeivin, in: *Tarbiz*, 12 (1940/41), 255. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** R. Deutsch, *Messages from the Past* (1999), no. 25.

AHIKAR, BOOK OF, a folk work, apparently already widespread in Aramaic-speaking lands during the period of Assyrian rule. It was evidently well-known among the Jewish colonists in southern Egypt during the fifth century B.C.E. and at the beginning of the twentieth century the major part of an Aramaic text of the work was discovered among the documents of the Jewish community of *Elephantine. Greek writers were likewise acquainted with its contents. The book has survived in several versions: Syriac, Arabic, Ethiopic, Armenian, Turkish, and Slavonic. These texts bear a fundamental similarity to the ancient Elephantine version. It may be subdivided into two parts: (1) the life of *Ahikar; (2) the sayings uttered for the benefit of Nadan, his adopted son.

Ahikar the Wise, the hero of the work, is mentioned in the apocryphal book of Tobit as one of the exiles of the Ten Tribes. He purportedly attained high rank, being appointed chief cupbearer, keeper of the royal signet, and chief administrator during the reigns of Sennacherib and Esarhaddon. In his later years, realizing that he would leave no offspring, he adopted his sister's son Nadan and groomed him for a high office at court. Ahikar's instructions to Nadan in preparation for this position are couched in the form of epigrams. Ahikar, however, ultimately convinced that his protegé was not equal to the task, disowned him. Nadan thereupon slandered Ahikar before the king. When this accusation was proved false, Nadan was handed over to Ahikar who imprisoned him near the gateway to his home. Thereafter, whenever Ahikar passed by this place, he uttered words of reproof to his former adopted son. These remarks, presented as aphorisms, comprise the last section of the Book of Ahikar. Both the contents and aim of the work indicate its Aramean-Assyrian milieu. In

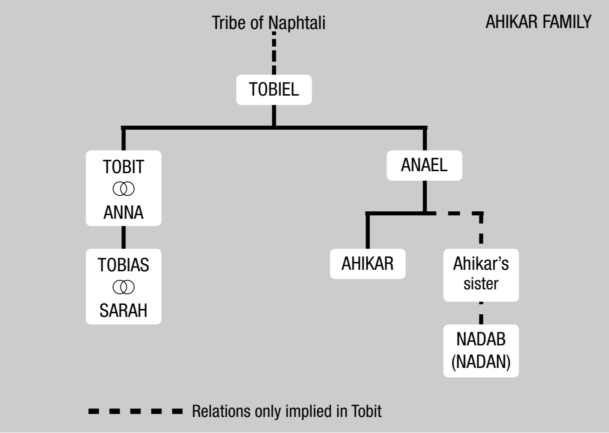

textual format, it resembles Job, which also contains not only wisdom sayings, but also events associated with the hero of the tale. Also similar to Ahikar is Proverbs 31:1: "The words of King Lemuel"; which, though presently comprising only the apothegmatic section, may well originally have contained biographical data concerning Lemuel. Works along these lines were not unknown among the peoples of antiquity and in Israel too, the Wisdom literature did not fail to take ideas from non-Israelite sources. However, the Book of Ahikar, despite its dissemination and popularity among the Jews, left no imprint upon Hebrew literature. The reason may be that its many pagan features remain unblurred, even in late editions belonging to the Christian era. A profounder cause, however, is the fact that a spirit of total submissiveness to and awe of human rulers pervades the work to such an extent that their edicts and promulgations are regarded as inviolable law. This note of self-negation before a king of flesh and blood, which is of the very essence of the work, was entirely alien to the Jewish spirit.

[Joshua Gutmann]

Ahikar

Although the Book of Ahikar did not exert any direct influence on Jewish literature, Ahikar himself was assimilated in Jewish sources. Chapter 14:10 states that Ahikar raised Nadab (i.e., Nadan) and refers to the slander story described in the Book. According to 1:21–22, Ahikar is Tobias' cousin, son of Tobit's brother Anael. Chapter 11:18 raises textual problems, but the reading of the Codex Sinaiticus (Nadab), which makes both Ahikar and Nadab cousins of Tobias, is not impossible. Strictly speaking Nadab would be his second cousin.

The Jews made this hero of the pagan Wisdom tale into a pious Jew of the tribe of Naphtali, an instance of how they adopted and reused international Wisdom traditions. The transformation of Ahikar into an exiled Israelite was accompanied, in Tobit 14:10, by emphasis on the vindication of righteousness in the relationship between Ahikar and Nadab. Ahikar was also mentioned in Hellenistic literature and in a variety of later sources. Ahikar is now known from Babylonian sources as the court sage in the time of King Sennacherib.

[Michael E. Stone]

BIBLIOGRAPHY: A. Yellin, *Sefer Aḥikar he-Ḥakham* (1938); R.Harris, et al., *Story of Ahikar from Syriac, Arabic, Armenian, etc.* (1898); Cowley, Aramaic, 204–48; Charles, Apocrypha, 2 (1913), 715–84; J.B. Pritchard (ed.), *The Ancient Near East* (1958), 245–49.

AHIMAAZ (Heb. אֲחִימַעַץ; "the [or my] brother is counselor[?]"), name of three biblical personalities.

(1) Father-in-law of King Saul (I Sam. 14:50).

(2) Son of the priest *Zadok. When David fled Jerusalem because of the revolt of *Absalom, Ahimaaz, together with Jonathan, the son of David's other priest Abiathar, remained just outside the city. A messenger of their fathers delivered information about the rebels' plans to them, which they conveyed to David (II Sam. 15:27–36; 17:15–22). Later, being a swift runner, he overtook and passed the messenger who was to report the outcome of the battle with Absalom to David. He thus reported the defeat of the rebels, but left to the messenger the unenviable task of informing the king that Absalom had been killed (*ibid.* 18:19–32).

(3) A son-in-law of Solomon, his prefect over the district of Naphtali (I Kings 4:15). Some identify him with Ahimaaz the son of Zadok (above). If that conjecture is correct, it is likely that his prefectship was bestowed on him because he was debarred from the priesthood, possibly because of a defect acquired in combat. According to I Chronicles 5:34–36, Azariah the great-grandson of Ahimaaz succeeded Zadok as a priest in Solomon's Temple, but it seems that the verses are corrupt and this Azariah is Ahimaaz' son. The name Ahimaaz probably also appears on a signet ring discovered at Tell Zakariyeh (ancient Azekah). It has not been satisfactorily explained. The name Maaz occurs in I Chronicles 2:27.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: M.Z. Segal, *Sifrei Shemu'el* (1956), index, s.v.; Katzenstein, in: JBL, 31 (1962), 311ff.; Diringer, Iscrizioni, 120–1. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** H. Tawil, in: Beit Mikra, 44 (1999), 372–84.

AHIMAAZ BEN PALTIEL (b. 1017), chronicler and poet of Capua, south Italy. In 1054 when he removed to Oria, the place of origin of his family, he compiled *Megillat Yuḥasin* ("The Scroll of Genealogies"), also known as *Megillat Aḥima'aẓ* ("The Ahimaaz Scroll" or the "Chronicle of Ahimaaz"). It describes in rhymed prose the genealogy of his family from the ninth century to his own time. The Ahimaaz family counted among its members prominent personalities, who had been

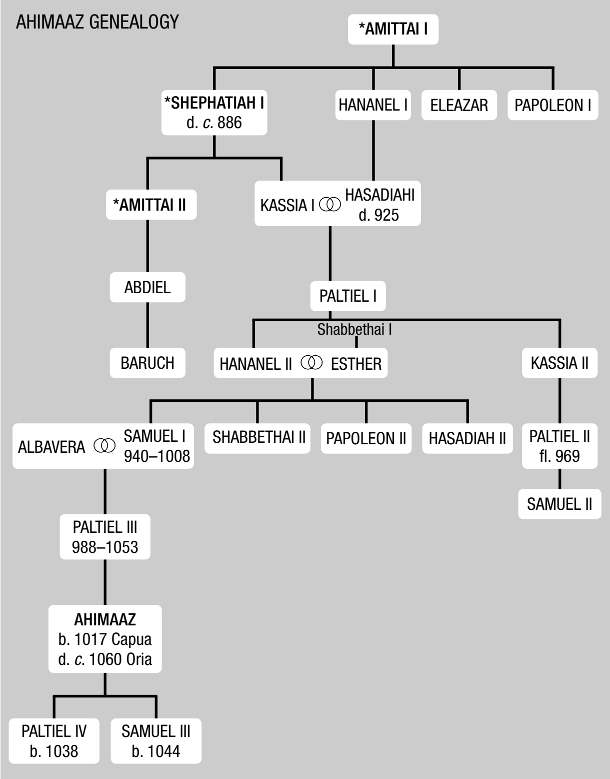

leaders of their generations in the different communities of Italy, as well as in North Africa, e.g., Shephatiah, Amittai b. Shephatiah, Paltiel. They actively participated in some of the most important events in these countries. *Megillat Aḥima'aẓ* is consequently a significant Jewish historical source covering several periods and countries. Apart from historical data, it includes legends and fantastic tales and, despite some inaccuracies, it is a reliable historical document. The one known manuscript is in the library of Toledo Cathedral, where it was discovered by A. Neubauer in 1895. It has since been edited several times; the edition by B. Klar appeared in 1944 (second edition, M. Spitzer, 1974). Ahimaaz also composed a poem in honor of the *nagid* *Paltiel (included in the Scroll) and a number of *piyyutim*. A photograph of the manuscript was published in 1964 in Jerusalem. In 1965, the text of the manuscript was published with a concordance: *Megillat Aḥima'aẓ Me'ubbedet u-Muggeshet ke-Ḥomer le-Millon*, edited by R. Mirkin with the assistance of I. Yeivin and G.B. Tsarfati. There is an English translation by M. Salzman (1924, 1966) and an Italian one by C. Colafemmina (2001).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: B. Klar (ed.), *Megillat Aḥima'aẓ* (1944), 139–56, postscript; Klar, in: *Sinai*, 22 (1947/48), 243–8; Kaufmann, Schriften, 3 (1915), 1–55 (appeared in MGWJ, 40 (1896), 462ff.); Waxman, Literature, 1 (1960), 425–7; Roth, Dark Ages, 104, 251; Neubauer, Chronicles, index. s.v. *Aḥima'aẓ*. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** Bonfil, *Tra due Mondi* (1996), 67–133.

[Jefim (Hayyim) Schirmann]

AHIMAN, SHESHAI, TALMAI, the sons of *Anak, who were said to have inhabited *Hebron when the spies sent by Moses reconnoitered Canaan (Num. 13:22). Their names have not been identified with certainty. Ahiman may be Semitic, while Kempinsky and Hess regard Sheshai and Talmai as Hurrian. The sons of Anak are described as *Nephilim (*ibid.* 13:33), a term probably indicating extraordinary stature and power (cf. Gen. 6:4). In Deuteronomy 2:21 (cf. Deut. 1:28) the Anakim are described as "great, numerous, and tall." Traditions about an ancient giant race were apparently current in Israel, Amon, and Moab (see *Og, *Rephaim).

According to Joshua 15:13–14, *Caleb attacked Ahiman, Sheshai, and Talmai and dispossessed them (cf. Judg. 1:20). Another passage credits the tribe of Judah with the victory over the three brothers (Judg. 1:10). Finally, according to Joshua 11:21–22, Joshua annihilated the Anakites. The name Ahiman occurs as well in I Chronicles 9:17 and in three epigraphs: a jug from *Elephantine, one seal from Megiddo, and another of unknown provenance. Talmai is also the name of a king of Geshur in northern Transjordan who was a contemporary of David.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: C.F. Burney, *The Book of Judges* (1920), 9–10; Mazar, in: *Sefer Dinaburg* (1949), 321; EM, 1 (1965), 218–9 (incl. bibl.). **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** A. Kempinsky, in: EM, 8, 575–76; R. Hess, in: CBQ, 58 (1996), 205–14; B. Levine, *Numbers 1–20* (AB; 1993), 355.

[Hanna Weiner]

AḤIMEIR, ABBA (pseud. of **Abba Shaul Heisinovitch**; 1898–1962), journalist and writer, Revisionist leader in Palestine. Aḥimeir was born in Dolgi near Bobruisk, Belorussia, studied at the Herzlia High School in Tel Aviv (1912–14) and returned to Russia where he became a member of *Ẓe'irei Zion. After World War I he studied history at the universities of Liège and Vienna. On his return to Palestine in 1924, he joined *Ha-Po'el ha-Ẓa'ir, but his views gradually underwent a change to extreme opposition to both communism and socialism. In 1928 he joined the *Revisionists and advocated active opposition to the Mandatory government. He was the first to organize illegal public action in Palestine, and as a result was arrested several times from 1930 onward. When Chaim *Arlosoroff was murdered in June 1933, Aḥimeir was accused of plotting the murder, an accusation which he vehemently denied. After spending a year in prison, he was cleared by a court of appeals before defense witnesses had been called. He was nevertheless detained in prison, charged with organizing Berit ha-Biryonim, an underground group formed for the purpose of fighting British policy in Palestine, and sentenced to a further 18 months' imprisonment. Aḥimeir's views contributed to the ideological basis of the *Irgun Ẓeva'i Le'ummi and *Loḥamei Ḥerut Israel underground movements. He wrote numerous articles, many of them violently polemical. His impressions of prison life appeared as a book, with the punning title *Reportazhah shel Baḥur "Yeshivah"* ("Report by an Inmate," 1946). His views on the problems of Judaism and Zionism are set down in *Im Keri'at ha-Gever* ("When the Cock Crows," 1958) and *Judaica* (Heb., 1961). After Aḥimeir's death a committee was formed to publish his works under the title *Ketavim Nivḥarim* ("Selected Works").

AHIMELECH (Heb. אֲחִימֶלֶךְ; "[the divine] brother is king" or "the Melech [deity] is my brother"), name of three biblical figures.

(1) Ahimelech, son of Ahitub, was a member of the priestly family of *Eli, who served in the Temple of *Nob (I Sam. 21–22). Ahimelech has been identified with *Ahijah, son of Ahitub, who is also mentioned in the time of Saul and who acted as a priest in Saul's war with the Philistines (14:3, 18). Ahimelech probably founded the Temple of Nob after the destruction of *Shiloh by the Philistines in the time of Samuel. He served as the high priest in Nob, and "85 persons that wear linen ephods" were under his charge (22:16–18).

When David escaped from Saul, he first came to Nob where Ahimelech provided him with bread and with the sword of Goliath, which was kept in the Temple (21:1–10, 22:10–15). *Doeg the Edomite informed Saul about it and stated that Ahimelech "inquired of the Lord" for David (22:10), for which Ahimelech (22:15) excused himself by pointing out that it was not the first time, for he had always understood that David was Saul's trusted revenger. Saul, however, put to death Ahimelech and the rest of the priests of Nob. One son of Ahimelech, *Abiathar, escaped and joined David.

(2) Ahimelech, son of Abiathar, was probably the grandson of the former. He is mentioned as a priest, together with Ẓadok, son of Ahitub, in one of the lists of David's officials (II Sam. 8:17). In a parallel list he is called Abimelech (I Chron. 18:16; possibly a scribal error, as testified by some Mss. of the MT, as well as by the Vulg.). In the lists of David's officials in II Samuel 20:25, and I Chronicles 26:24, as well as in the historical narratives, only Abiathar and Zadok are mentioned as high priests. Therefore, scholars doubted the historicity of Ahimelech and emended the text in II Samuel 8:17 to read "Ẓadok and Abiathar son of Ahimelech son of Ahitub."

(3) Ahimelech the Hittite was one of the men who joined David when David fled from Saul (I Sam. 26:6). He was probably one of David's warriors, as he is mentioned with *Abishai b. Zeruiah. Ahimelech was only one of many foreigners who attached themselves to David, although most of the others joined David after he was made king.

[Yuval Kamrat]

In the *Aggadah*

Ahimelech would not allow David to partake of the sanctified shewbread, until David pleaded that he was in danger of starvation (Men. 95b). The dispute between Ahimelech and Saul (I Sam. 22:12–19) was based on Ahimelech's action in consulting the Urim and Thummim on David's behalf. Saul maintained that it was a capital offense, since it was a privilege reserved for the king, while Ahimelech maintained that, when affairs of state were involved, the privilege was a universal one, and certainly applied to David, in his position as a general of the army. Abner and Amasa supported Ahimelech's argument, but Doeg did not, and Saul therefore placed upon him the task of killing Ahimelech (Yal. 131).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: (1) Yeivin, in: *Sefer Dinaburg* (1949), 30ff.; W.W.S. von Baudissin, *Kyrios als ottesname*, 3 (1929), 97ff.; Albright, Arch Rel, 202; (2) Moehlenbrink, in: ZAW, 52 (1934), 204–5; Rowley, in: JBL, 58 (1939), 113ff.; (3) Maisler, Untersuchungen, 78.

AHITHOPHEL (Heb. אֲחִיתֹפֶל) **THE GILONITE** (i.e., of the Judean town of Giloh), adviser of King *David (II Sam. 15:12; I Chron. 27:33–34): "Now, in those days, advice from Ahithophel was like an oracle from God" (II Sam. 16:23). Ahithophel was the only one of David's inner council who joined *Absalom in his revolt against his father (15:12). His defection was a source of great anxiety to David (15:31), and prompted him to charge *Hushai the Archite with counteracting Ahithophel's counsel (15:34; 16:15ff.). On Ahithophel's advice Absalom took possession of David's concubines, thus demonstrating that the breach between him and his father was final (16:21). Ahithophel further proposed that he himself should pick 12,000 men and pursue David so as to overwhelm him at the nadir of his strength (17:1–3). Hushai, however, persuaded Absalom to muster a vast army before attempting to battle with such formidable adversaries as David and his professional warriors. Ahithophel, realizing that the respite afforded to David would be fatal to Absalom and his supporters, returned home and committed suicide (17:23).

A juxtaposition of II Samuel 11:3 and 23:34 suggests that Bath-Sheba, the wife of Uriah, whom David debauched, was a granddaughter of Ahithophel. This act of David could thus be the motive for Ahithophel's defection (cf. Sanh. 101b).

The meaning of the name is doubtful. It may be a theophoric combination, the *ophel* ("folly") being a pejorative substitute for the name of a Canaanite god (see *Euphemism); but in Deuteronomy 1:1, it is the name of a place (Tophel).

[Jacob Elbaum]

In the *Aggadah*

The rabbis rank Ahithophel and Balaam as the two greatest sages, the former of Israel and the latter of the Gentiles. Both, however, died in dishonor because of their lack of humility and of gratitude to God for the divine gift of wisdom (Num. R. 22:7). Ahithophel's inciting of Absalom to rebel against his father, King David, was in order to gain the throne himself, since he mistakenly regarded prophecies of royal destiny concerning his granddaughter, Bath-Sheba, to apply to himself (Sanh. 101b). The name of "Ahithophel" is interpreted as "brother of prayer" (Heb. *aḥi tefillah*), referring to the fact that he composed three new prayers daily (TJ Ber. 4:3, 8a). Socrates was said to have been his disciple (Moses Isserles, *Torat ha-Olah* 1:11, quoting an old source). He was 33 years old when he took his life, and he was one of those who have no share in the world to come (Sanh. 10:2).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: S. Yeivin, *Meḥkarim be-Toledot Yisrael ve-Arẓo* (1950), 201–2; Noth, Personennamen, index; Bright, Hist, 188; Ginzberg, Legends, 4 (1913), 94–97. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** D. Daube, in: VT, 48 (1998), 315–25.

AHITUB (Heb. אֲחִיטוּב, אֲחִטוּב; "the [my] (divine) brother is good"), priest, son of Phinehas, the son of *Eli; brother of Ichabod and father of Ahimelech and Ahijah, who lived during Saul's reign (I Sam. 14:3; 22:9, 11–12, 20). The Bible gives no details about Ahitub, and it is not clear whether he survived the destruction of Shiloh and continued to officiate as priest or died together with his family in the war against the Philistines (cf. Ps. 78:64). Some scholars assume that Ahitub settled in Nob, made it a priestly town, and officiated there over 85 priests (I Sam. 22:18) until his son *Ahimelech succeeded him. In II Samuel 8:17 and I Chronicles 18:16 he is named as father of *Zadok, but this may be an attempt to link the priestly Zadokite line with the legitimate Aaronide line of Shiloh (cf. I Chron. 5:33–34; 6:37–38). It is doubtful, however, whether the Ahitub mentioned in the line of priests (*ibid.* 5:37–38; 9:11) refers to the same man. In the last cited verse he is called "the ruler [*nagid*] of the House of God."

The name Aḥṭb is found in an ancient Egyptian inscription (12–18 dynasties); Aḫūṭāb and Aḫūṭābū appear in Akkadian; and Ahūṭāb on an Elephantine ostracon.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: de Vaux, Anc Isr, 127–8, 372–5; Yeivin, in: *Sefer Dinaburg* (1949), 45ff.; EM, 1 (1965), 215–6 (incl. bibl.). **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** S. Japhet, *I & II Chronicles* (1993), 351–52.

AHITUB BEN ISAAC (late 13th century), rabbi and physician in Palermo. Ahitub's father was a rabbi and physician; his brother David was a physician. He became known while still a young man for his philosophic and scientific learning. When the kabbalist Abraham *Abulafia went to Sicily to win adherents for his teaching, Solomon b. Abraham *Adret of Barcelona communicated with Ahitub in order to enlist his support in his controversy against Abulafia.

Ahitub was the author of *Maḥberet ha-Tene*, a poem resembling the *Maḥberet ha-Tofet ve ha-Eden* of *Immanuel of Rome. In this allegorical work he describes his journey to Paradise where he went to discover the right way of life. There he enjoyed the food of the blessed, and when he returned to earth he brought with him some of the waters of Paradise. These he used to water his garden which then yielded delicious fruits. The first of these he placed in a basket (*tene*), consecrated them to God, and then offered the fruits to anyone who wished to taste them. The number of these fruits was 13, representing the 13 *Articles of Faith. Ahitub's work was incorporated in the *Sefer ha-Tadir* of Moses b. Jekuthiel de Rossi who added a *piyyut* on the articles of faith. This *piyyut* was published twice (A. Freimann, in ZHB, 10 (1906), 172; Hirschfeld, in JQR, 5 (1914/15), 540).

Ahitub also translated Maimonides' *Treatise on Logic* from the Arabic into Hebrew. This translation was still known in the 16th century, and its variant readings were recorded in the margins of some copies of the first edition of another Hebrew translation of the work, this one by Moses ibn *Tibbon. Ahitub's translation was forgotten until a manuscript of it was found and published by Chamizer. An edition of the translation appears in Maimonides' *Treatise on Logic* (ed. by I. Efros (1938), 67–100; cf. Eng. section, 8–9ff.).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Zunz, Gesch, 515–6; Guedemann, Gesch Erz, 2 (1888), 202–3; Kaufmann, Schriften, 2 (1915), 236; ZHB, 10 (1906), 95, 171–5; 11 (1907), 159; Margoliouth, Cat, 3 (1965), 394; Chamizer, in: *Judaica, Festschrift zu Hermann Cohens 70 Geburtstag* (1912), 423–56; JQR, 5 (1914/15), 532–3, 540; 7 (1916/17), 128; 11 (1920/21), 309–11; Schirmann, in: YMḤSI, 1 (1933), 123–47; J. Klatzkin, *Oẓar ha-Munaḥim…*, 1 (1926), 107–8.

[Umberto (Moses David) Cassuto]

AHLAB (Heb. אַחְלָב), Canaanite city allotted to the tribe of Asher, which, however, was unable to conquer it at the beginning of the Israelite settlement (Judg. 1:31). This is apparently the same city of Asher which appears in the form *me-Ḥevel* (מֵחֶבֶל; "from Hebel"; Josh. 19:29). According to the Septuagint, this form is an error for Meheleb and it is mentioned as Maḥalliba in Sennacherib's account of his campaign in 701 B.C.E. between Zarephath (Zaribtu) and Ushu (mainland Tyre). Ahlab is identified with Khirbet el-Maḥalib, on the Lebanese coast, 3½ mi. (6 km.) north of Tyre and approximately 1 mi. (2 km.) south of the mouth of the Litani River.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: EM, s.v.; Abel, Geog, 2 (1938), 67, 384; Pritchard, Texts, 287; Aharoni, Land, index.

[Yohanan Aharoni]

AHL AL-KITĀB (Ar. "The People of the Book"), name of the Jews, Christians, and Sabeans (al Ṣābdʾa) in the Koran (Sura 3:110; 4:152; et al.) because they possess a *kitāb*, i.e., a holy book containing a revelation of God's word. Pre-Islamic Arabic poetry refers to Jewish and Christian Scripture. It especially dwells on the *Zabūr*, a holy book – whose origin is from the word *mizmor* ("psalm") – which Muhammad knew as given to David (Sura 17:15), i.e., the Book of Psalms. Muhammad frequently mentions the *tawrā* (the Torah, possibly the entire Bible) revealed to the Israelites (e.g., Sura 3:58, 87; 48:29) which contains clear allusions to Muhammad's appearance (Sura 7:156; 33:44; 48:4). He also is acquainted with the *Injīl* (Evangelium, the Gospels), a term which covers the entire New Testament. Muhammad emphasizes that the *Injīl* confirms the statements of the Torah (Sura 5:50; cf. 48:29; 57:27). He does not specify the holy book of the Sabeans although he mentions them three times in the Koran (Sura 2:59; 5:72; 22:17), along with the Jews and the Christians, and promises them their part in salvation. According to the Arabs, Muhammad meant the Mandeans, a Judeo-Christian sect whose believers lived in Babylonia. In the early period of his mission, Muhammad related positively to the *Ahl al-Kitāb* and their teachings. But his attitude changed as a result of the disappointment in his hope of persuading them to accept his faith. Then Muhammad accused them of intentionally falsifying the Torah or at least distorting its interpretation (Sura 2:70; 3:64, 72, 73; cf. 5:16; 6:91). Despite this, Muhammad determined that the *Ahl al-Kitāb*, as the authors of holy books, deserve special treatment, and because they had agreed to pay the *jizya* ("poll tax"), the command to fight against them was not enforced (Sura 9:29). Since the *Ahl al-Kitāb* fulfilled this condition, they became the *Ahl al-Dhimma* ("protected people"; see *Dhimmī). In a later period this position caused the *Ḥarrān* ("star worshipers") who called themselves Sabeans and the Persians, who believed in Zoroastrianism and relied on their holy book, to merit inclusion in the term *Ahl al-Kitāb.*

As a result of their belief in the books of divine revelation, the *Ahl al-Kitāb* enjoyed a favored status in Islam. A Muslim is permitted to intermarry with their women and to eat what they have slaughtered. On the other hand, the accusations of Muhammad as to falsifications of Scripture and distorted interpretations caused the creation of an extensive polemical literature and disputations which at times actually poisoned the relations between the adherents of the different religions.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: M. Steinschneider, *Polemische und apologetische Literatur in Arabischer Sprache* (1877), 320–9; M. Perlmann, in: JQR, 37 (1940/41), 171–91; H. Lammens, *L'Islam, croyances et institutions* (1941), 28–31; H.Z. Hirschberg, *Yisrael ba-Arav* (1946), 114–5; E. Strauss, in: *Sefer ha-Zikaron le-Veit ha-Midrash le-Rabbanim be-Vina* (1946), 182–97; P.K. Hitti, *History of the Arabs* (1960), 143–4, 233. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** G. Vajda, in: EIS^2, 1, 264–66 (incl. bibl.).

[Haim Z'ew Hirschberg]

AHLEM, village near Hanover, known for its Jewish horticultural school, the first of its type in Germany. The school was founded in 1893 by the Jewish philanthropist Moritz Alexander Simon and was open to all suitable Jewish applicants, regardless of ideological affiliation. It trained hundreds of Jewish youths as agriculturalists and skilled workers. The three-year curriculum included agricultural subjects, especially horticulture, in addition to general subjects taught in secondary schools. On its foundation boys from the age of 14 were admitted; from 1903 to the 1920s girls over 16 were accepted for vocational training and home economics, and subsequently horticulture. A boarding school and elementary school for children between the ages of eight and 13 were added. In 1933 the number of pupils totaled approximately 50, but increased to 120 between 1936 and 1938. The school was authorized by the Nazis as a center for vocational training for Jewish youth intending to emigrate and was permitted to issue graduation certificates. Between 1933 and 1939 about 300 pupils graduated from Ahlem, and some of them emigrated to Ereẓ Israel. Even before the closure of the school in July 1942, Ahlem was made an assembly point for the deportation of Jews by the Gestapo. Between December 1941 and February 1945, more than 2,400 Jews of the Hanover and Halberstadt region were deported from Ahlem to Riga, Theresienstadt, Warsaw, and Auschwitz. For a short time, the tradition of the *Gartenbauschule* was revived and a kibbutz was established by Holocaust survivors in Ahlem in 1945.

ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY: F. Homeyer, *Beitrag zur Geschichte der Gartenbauschule Ahlem 1893–1979* (1980).

[Mordechai Eliav / Stefan Rohrbacher (2nd ed.)]

°**AHLWARDT, HERMANN** (1846–1914), German publicist and antisemitic politician. In 1893, when headmaster of a primary school in Berlin, Ahlwardt was dismissed for embezzling money collected from the pupils. He made antisemitism his profession and used it as a political springboard. His first work, *Der Verzweiflungskampf der arischen Voelker mit dem Judentum* ("The Last Stand of the Aryan Peoples against Judaism," 1890–92), described an alleged Jewish world conspiracy. Its second part, "The Oath of a Jew" (*Der Eid eines Judens*), included slander against G. von *Bleichroeder, a leading Jewish banker. Prosecution followed and Ahlwardt was sentenced to four months' imprisonment. He was hardly out of prison when he published another defamatory leaflet *Judenflinten* ("Jewish Rifles"), claiming that the guns supplied to the German Army by a Jewish manufacturer were defective. However, Ahlwardt was saved from serving a second sentence by parliamentary immunity, as he had been elected in 1892 to the Reichstag as member for Arnswalde-Friedeberg (Brandenburg) on the platform propounded to the peasants there that their misery was due to "the Jews and the Junkers." His pamphlets (no less than ten of which appeared in 1892) were assisted by the press and Roman Catholic clergy, with the result that antisemitic rioting, the burning of the synagogue at Neustettin, and the revival of ritual murder accusations ensued. To the embarrassment of his own party, the Conservatives, Ahlwardt occupied the time of the Reichstag with his slanderous "revelations" about the Jews. He continued to hold his seat there until the Reichstag was dissolved in 1893 when he was immediately imprisoned for libel. In spite of this and the opposition of the Conservatives he was reelected by the same constituencies and held his seat until 1902. He was sentenced for blackmail in 1909 and died unnoticed.

ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY: P. Pulzer, *The Rise of Political Anti-Semitism in Germany and Austria* (1988^{2}); C. Jahr, in: LBIYB, 48 (2003), 67–85.

AHMADNAGAR, capital of the former kingdom of the Niẓām Shah dynasty on the west coast of India. Under Burhān Niẓām Shah I (1510–53), a Shi'a Muslim, it became a center of Hindu-Muslim culture and learning. Among the scholars attracted to his court and enjoying its atmosphere of complete religious tolerance were some Marranos from Portugal, including Sancho Pirez, who became a favorite of the king and was a friend of Garcia *d'Orta. Garcia refers in his *Colloquia* (no. 26) to "Jews in the territory of Nizamuluco [Niẓām Shah]." A Jewish settlement also existed in the port of the kingdom, Chaul (now Revanda).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: R. Shyam, *Kingdom of Ahmadnagar* (1966).

[Walter Joseph Fischel]

AḤOT KETANNAH (Heb. אָחוֹת קְטַנָּה; "Little Sister"), name of a hymn for Rosh Ha-Shanah. It was composed by Abraham Ḥazzan Gerondi, a writer of devotional hymns, who flourished about the middle of the 13th century in southern France. The poem consists of eight metrical stanzas of four to five lines, each ending with the refrain *Tikhleh shanah ve-kileloteha* ("May this year with its curses end"). The last stanza ends *Taḥel shanah u-virekhoteha* ("May the year and its blessings begin"). The acrostic gives the name of the author "Abram Ḥazzan." The opening words of the hymn are taken from Song of Songs 8:8 "We have a little sister" and refer to the traditional allegorical interpretation of the Song of Songs. The poem evokes Israel's sufferings in exile and implores God's mercy "to fortify the song of the daughter and to strengthen her longing to be close to her lover." At first adopted into the Sephardi ritual, where it is recited before the evening prayer of Rosh Ha-Shanah, the poem was subsequently adopted in the Ashkenazi and Yemenite rites, especially in kabbalistic circles.

[Meir Ydit]

Music

Aḥot Ketannah is sung either by the entire congregation, or by the cantor alone with the congregation joining in the refrain. The melody is uniform throughout the Sephardi Diaspora, with only slight local variations, and may therefore belong to the common pre-expulsion stock. Notated examples may be found in Idelsohn, Melodien, 1, no. 93; 2, no. 48 (mus. ex. 1); 3, nos. 43, 46, 175; 4, nos. 185, 186 (mus. ex. 2), 187, 192; 5, no. 159; Levy, Antologia, 2, nos. 93–101; F. Consolo, *Sefer Shirei Yis-*

rael (1890), 125; E. Aguilar and D.A. de Sola, *Sephardi Melodies* (1857, 1931), no. 26; O. Camhy, *Liturgie Sepharadie* (1959), nos. 63, 64; Cremieu, J.S. and M., *Chants hébraïques… de l'ancien Comtat Venaissin* (1885), no. 1.

[Avigdor Herzog]

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Zunz, Lit Poesie, 140.

AHRWEILER (Heb. ארוילרא), small German town near Bonn. There was a considerable Jewish community in Ahrweiler in the 13th century, some of its members owning houses in Cologne. In the 14th century the Jews of Ahrweiler dealt in salt and wine. The community suffered during the *Black Death massacres of 1348. The physician and exegete Baruch b. Samson ("Meister Bendel") lived in Ahrweiler in the 15th century. Among the rabbis of Ahrweiler were Ḥayyim b. Johanan Treves (d. 1598), who also officiated as **Landrabbiner* for the territory of the Electorate of Cologne, and his son-in-law Isaac b. Ḥayyim. A notable family which adopted the name "Ahrweiler" included among its members the Frankfurt *dayyan* Hirz Ahrweiler (d. 1679) and his son Mattathias, rabbi of Heidelberg (d. 1729). The small Ahrweiler community of modern times numbered only 4 Jews in 1808; 28 in 1849; 65 in 1900 (1% of the total population); and 31 in 1933. It maintained a cemetery and synagogue built in 1894. The synagogue was burned and desecrated on **Kristallnacht* (Nov. 9–10, 1938); the last Jews were deported from Ahrweiler in July 1942.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Salfeld, Martyrol, 273, 287; Germ Jud, 2 (1968), 3–4. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** H. Warnecke, *Die Ahrweiler Synagoge. Ein Beispiel jüdisch-deutscher Geschichte im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert* (1983); B. Klein, in: F.G. Zehnder (ed.), *Hirt und Herde. Religiosität und Frömmigkeit im Rheinland des 18. Jahrhunderts* (2000), 251–78.

AHWAZ, capital of the Persian province of Khuzistan. Ahwaz was called Be-Ḥozai in the Talmud (Ta'an. 23; Pes. 50; Gitt. 89; Ḥull 95). Several *amoraim* originated from the city, including R. Aḥa, R. Ḥanina, and R. Avram Ḥoza'ah. As a junction between Babylonia and Persia, Ahwaz was an important medieval center for the eastern trade, with a flourishing Jewish population. Two Jews in the service of Caliph al-Muqtadir, Joseph b. Phinehas and Aaron b. Amram, were tax farmers for the province, owning real estate and a bazaar there which yielded a considerable income. They rose to the position of court bankers. The revenue from Ahwaz province is mentioned as security for a large loan they advanced to the government. Ahwaz remained a center of Jewish commercial activities throughout the Middle Ages, as attested by correspondence between Jewish merchants in Ahwaz with associates in *Fez and *Cairo. One of the earliest indications that Jewish merchants in Khuzistan used the Persian language is a Judeo-Persian law report, dated around 1021, found near Ahwaz.

As in *Abadan, Ahwaz became one of the first centers of Zionist activitiy in Iran beginning with the occupation of the southern region by the British Army (Sept. 1941). During this period there were 300 Jews in Ahwaz, constituting 70 families, many of them immigrants from Iraq and from other cities like *Isfahan, *Shiraz, *Kashan, Arak, and *Kermanshah. The majority were merchants, mainly in the textile trade. There were five wealthy families in Ahwaz; the rest belonged to the middle class. There were two synagogues, one belonging to Jews of Iraqi origin and the other to Persian-speaking Jews. After 1948, many Jews immigrated to Israel and to *Teheran. The majority of the Jews of Ahwaz left the city after the Islamic Revolution (1979). At the beginning of the 21st century, there were fewer than five families living there.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Fischel, Islam, index; S.D. Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society*, 1 (1967), index. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** *Alam-e Yahud,* 16 (Nov. 20, 1945), 285; ibid., 22 (Jan. 15, 1946), 379; B.-Z. Eshel, *Yishuvei ha-Yehudim be-Babel be-Tekufat ha-Talmud* (1979), 58–59; A. Netzer, "*Yahudiyānei Iran dar avāset-e qarn-e bistom*," in: *Shofar,* 244 (June 2001), 23.

[Walter Joseph Fischel / Amnon Netzer (2nd ed.)]

AI or **HA-AI** (עַי, הָעַי; in the Samaritan version of Gen. 12:15 called Ayna; in Jos., Ant. 5:35 – Naian), place in Ereẓ Israel. It is mentioned together with Beth-El as near the site where Abraham pitched his tent (Gen. 12:8; 13:3). In Joshua 7:2, it is located beside Beth-Aven, east of Beth-El. Ai was the second Canaanite city which Joshua attacked (Josh. 7–8). After the first attempt to capture the city had miscarried because of the sin of *Achan, the king of Ai and his army were defeated in an ambush and the city was left in ruins (see also Josh. 12:9). Although the old site of Ai remained abandoned, an Israelite city with a similar name arose nearby. Isaiah mentioned Aiath (עַיַּת – Isa. 10:28) as the first of the cities occupied by the Assyrians in their march on Jerusalem, before Michmas and Geba. In the post-Exilic period, returnees from Ai are mentioned together with people from Beth-El (Ezra 2:28; Neh. 7:32) and Aijah (עַיָּה) appears as a city of Benjamin (Neh. 11:31). Most scholars identify the ancient city with et-Tell near Deir Dibwan, c. 1 mi. (2 km.) southwest of Beth-El. Excavations at the site carried out in 1933–35 by Judith Marquet-Krause were renewed in 1964 by J.A. Callaway. The city was found to have been inhabited in the Early Bronze Age from c. 3000 B.C.E. Several massive stone walls were discovered as well as a sanctuary containing sacrificial objects and a palace with a large hall, the roof of which was supported by wooden pillars on stone bases. The city was destroyed not later than in the 24th century B.C.E. and remained in ruins until the 13th or 12th century B.C.E. when a small short-lived Israelite village was established there. This discovery indicates that in the time of Joshua, the site was a waste (also implied by the name Ai, literally, "ruin"). Scholars explain the discrepancy in various ways. Some consider the narrative of the conquest of Ai contained in the book of Joshua an etiological story that developed in order to explain the ancient ruins of the city and its fortifications. Others assume that the story of Ai was confused with that of nearby Beth-El which evidently was captured during the 13th century. Others dispute the identification without, however, being able to propose another suitable site. Khirbet Ḥaiyan,

c. 1 mi. (2 km.) south of et-Tell, has been suggested as the site of the later city; the only pottery found there, however, dates from the Roman and later periods.

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[Michael Avi-Yonah]

AIBU

(1) Babylonian sage who flourished in the transitional period from the *tannaim* to the *amoraim* (late second – early third century C.E.). The father of *Rav and the brother of Ḥiyya (Pes. 4a; Sanh. 5a), he studied in Ereẓ Israel, where he frequently visited Eleazar b. Zadok, whose customs and halakhic decisions he quotes (Suk. 44b).

(2) The son of Rav, who told him "I have labored with you in *halakhah*, but without success. Come and I will teach you worldly wisdom" (Pes. 113a).

(3) The grandson of Rav (Suk. 44b), and a frequent visitor to his home.

(4) *Amora* and prominent aggadist (late third – early fourth century C.E.). While he transmitted some halakhic statements in the name of Yannai (Ket. 54b; Kid. 19a; et al.), he was mainly interested in *aggadah*, quoting the aggadic interpretations of *tannaim* and *amoraim* such as R. Meir (Mid. Ps. 101, end), R. Eliezer b. R. Yose ha-Gelili (Tanḥ. B., No'aḥ, 24, 53), and R. Johanan (Gen. R. 82, 5). His aggadic comments, popular among homilists, were frequently quoted by them, especially by R. Yudan b. Simeon (*ibid.*, 73:3; Mid. Ps. 24:11; et al.), R. Huna, R. Phinehas, and R. Berechiah. One of his aggadic maxims is "No man departs from this world with half his desires realized. If he has a hundred, he wants two hundred, and if he has two hundred, he wants four hundred" (Eccl. R. 1:13).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Bacher, Pal Amor; Hyman, Toledot, 138.

[Zvi Kaplan]

AICHINGER, ILSE (1921–), Austrian writer and lyricist, and author of radio plays. One of twin daughters born to a Jewish physician and a teacher, Aichinger spent her childhood in Linz and after the early divorce of her parents moved to Vienna. There she and her maternal relatives were confronted with the persecution of the Nazi regime. In her first publication, *Aufruf zum Mißtrauen* (1946), she cautioned against what she perceived to be a new and dangerous self-confidence in Austria after the collapse of Nazi rule. At an early age, she had expressed an interest in studying medicine, but she was unable to do so because of the Nuremberg Laws. At the end of World War II, she was able to pursue her interest in medicine, but dropped out of university in 1948 to complete her first novel, *Die groessere Hoffnung* (1948). The novel explores the angst and suffering of both the Jews and their pursuers during the Third Reich. The text reflects Aichinger's commitment to the weak and skepticism about the German language. After 1950, she was employed as a reader at the S. Fischer publishing house. In 1953 she married Guenter Eich, whom she had met at a conference of the "Gruppe 47," where she received an award for her *Spiegelgeschichte*. This is a piece of literary prose that narrates a reversed life with the attempt to unlearn everything including language and thus postulating silence. Aichinger's collection of narratives *Rede unter dem Galgen* was also published in 1953. In these narratives she examines a range of human emotions, including angst, alienation, paradox, and ambivalence. Aichingers lyric and narrative texts increasingly show the reduction of linguistic means focusing on subjectivity, thereby blending reality and dream, inner and outer world. Examples of these themes can be found in *Eliza Eliza* (1965), *Schlechte Woerter* (1976), *Verschenkter Rat* (1978) or *Kleist, Moos, Fasane* (1984). Aichinger also published a number of radio plays, including *Knoepfe* (1953), *Besuch im Pfarrhaus* (1962), *Auckland* (1970), and the radio dialog *Belvedere* (1995). These radio plays illustrate existential borderline experiences between assimilation and resistance. A later publication is *Film und Verhaengnis: Blitzlichter auf ein Leben* (2001), notes on films and photography which turn a spotlight on the cultural life of Vienna between 1921 and 1945.

Aichinger's awards over the years include the Nelly Sachs-Preis, the Georg Trakl-Preis, the Franz Kafka-Preis, and the Joseph-Breitbach-Preis. She was a member of the Deutsche Akademie fuerr Sprache und Dichtung, the Akademie der Kuenste Berlin, and the Bayerische Akademie der Schoenen Künste.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: B. Thums, "*Den Ankuenften nicht glauben wahr sind die Abschiede*": *Mythos, Gedaechtnis und Mystik in der Prosa Ilse Aichingers* (2000); K. Bartsch, *Ilse Aichinger* (1993); S. Moser, *Ilse Aichinger. Leben und Werk* (1990); G. Lindemann, *Ilse Aichinger* (1988); D. Lorenz, *Ilse Aichinger* (1981).

[Ann-Kristin Koch (2nd ed.)]

AIJALON (**Ayyalon**) (Heb. אַיָּלוֹן; "place of deer"). (1) City situated in a broad valley (valley of Aijalon) which is one of the approaches to the Judean Hills. Volcanic activity occurring in the area in the latest geological period left some basalt traces and the hot springs found at *Emmaus in ancient times. Potsherds found on a large tell, about 3 mi. (5 km.) north of Bab-al-Wad, show continuous occupation from the Late Bronze Age onward. The village of Yalu is built on the tell.

The El-Amarna letters indicate that the region was included within the kingdom of Gezer in the 15th and 14th centuries, B.C.E. This kingdom was on hostile terms with Jerusalem, whose ruler Puti-Hepa complained that his caravans were being robbed in the valley of Aijalon ("Yaluna," EA, 287). In a letter to Amenhotep IV (EA, 273), the queen of the city of Zaphon (?) reports that the Habiru attacked the two sons of Milkilu, king of Gezer, in Ayaluna (Aijalon) and in Ṣarha

(Zorah). Joshua referred to the valley of Aijalon in connection with his defeat of the Amorites. Joshua asked for a miracle to prevent the sun from setting so that the Israelites could avenge themselves on the Amorites. Joshua said: "Sun, stand thou still upon Gibeon; and thou, Moon, in the valley of Aijalon" (Josh. 10:12). The city is included in the tribal area of Dan (Josh. 19:42) and in the list of levitical cities (Josh. 21:24; I Chron. 6:54), but the Danites were unable to subject the Amorites, and later the region came under the influence of the "house of Joseph" (Ephraim; Judg. 1:34–35). The valley became a field of battle between the tribes of Dan, Ephraim, Judah, and Benjamin on the one side and the Amorites and Philistines on the other (I Chron. 7:21; 8:6). The region was finally conquered by the Israelites under David. Aijalon is included in Solomon's second administrative district under "the son of Deker" (I Kings 4:9). With the division of the kingdom, the valley remained within the kingdom of Judah, in the territory of Benjamin, and Rehoboam fortified it as part of his defense system of Jerusalem (II Chron. 11:10). It is mentioned in the list of cities (no. 26) captured by Shishak, king of Egypt, in about 924 B.C.E. and the Philistines also captured it during the reign of Ahaz but held it only briefly (II Chron. 28:18). There is no reference to Aijalon during the Second Temple period. The valley was located on the route taken by Cestius Gallus, the governor of Syria, in his campaign against Jerusalem in 66 C.E. (Jos., Wars, 2:513–6). In Byzantine times, Aijalon is mentioned as *Ialo,* a name which is preserved in the present-day Arab village of Yalu.

In 637 C.E., Aijalon was the headquarters of the Arab armies which suffered heavily at Emmaus. The region was badly damaged in an 11th-century earthquake. During the Crusades it was once again a battlefield and a fort was built there by the Crusaders (today *Latrun). It was also a scene of fighting during Allenby's campaign in 1917 and in the War of Independence (1948) a prolonged battle was fought in the region over the roads leading to Jerusalem. After the War of Independence, a few Israeli settlements were established in the region. These were considered border settlements, and during the 1950s they were under terrorist attack. In 1967 the whole area was occupied by the Israel Defense Forces, and the Arab inhabitants fled to Ramallah. In 1976 a large park was established on the deserted land of the Arab villages.

(2) Town in the territory of Zebulun where the judge, Elon, was buried (Judg. 12:12). Its location is unknown.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: G.A. Smith, *Historical Geography of the Holy Land* (1931^{25}), 210–14, 250ff.; Abel, Geog, 1 (1933), 399; 2 (1938), 240ff.; Aharoni, Land, index; EM, s.v.

AIKEN, HENRY DAVID (1912–1982), U.S. philosopher. Aiken was born in Portland, Oregon, and taught at the universities of Columbia, Washington, Harvard (1946–65), and Brandeis (1965–80), specializing in ethics, esthetics, and the history of philosophy. He was influenced by the British analytic movement, by the American naturalists – especially Santayana, and by David Hume's moral and political writings, some of which he edited. Among the works he wrote are *The Age of Ideology* (1957), selections including a commentary on 19th-century thought; *Reason and Conduct* (1962), a collection of essays in moral philosophy; and *Predicament of the University* (1971).

[Richard H. Popkin]

AIKHENVALD YULI ISAYEVICH (1872–1928), Russian literary critic and essayist. An opponent of the dominant school of social criticism, he made his name as a major exponent of the subjective, impressionist approach. His works include *Pushkin* (1908), *Etyudy O zapadnykh pisatelyakh* ("Studies of Western Writers," 1910), *Siluety russkikh pisateley* ("Outlines of Russian Writers," 3 vols. (1906–1910)), and *Spor o Belinskom* ("The Belinski Controversy," 1914), an appraisal of Vissarion Belinski, the first Russian to view literary criticism as a molder of public opinion. In 1922 Aikhenvald and a number of other non-communist intellectuals were expelled from the U.S.S.R. He was killed in a streetcar accident in Berlin.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Istoriya russkoy kritiki*, 2 (1958), 424–5; G. Struve, *Russkaya literatura v izgnanii* (1956).

[Maurice Friedberg]

AIMÉE, ANOUK (**Françoise Dreyfus**; 1932–), French actress. Starting her film career as a teenager and the daughter of actress Geneviève Sorya, the Paris-born Aimée gained the attention of the French public in 1957 in the film *Les Mauvaises Rencontres*. In Federico Fellini's *La Dolce Vita* (1960), and *8½* (1963), she was cast in roles reflecting modern boredom and world-weariness. She was nominated for an Academy Award as best actress for her part in Lelouch's *A Man and a Woman* (1966). Among her more than 80 films are *Justine* (1969), *The Appointment* (1970), *Salto nel Vuoto* (Cannes Award for Best Actress, 1980), *Un Homme et une Femme: 20 Ans deja* (1986), *Il y a des jours…et des lunes* (1990), and Robert Altman's *Ready to Wear* (1994). She was married to the actor Albert Finney from 1970 to 1978.

[Jonathan Licht]

°AINSWORTH, HENRY (1569–1622), English Bible scholar. Ainsworth was educated at Cambridge and already knew Hebrew when, as an adherent of the Brownist sect (later called Congregationalists), he went into exile in Amsterdam. He served there as a teacher (1596–1610) in the independent English Church, and subsequently as its minister. Through Jewish contacts in Amsterdam he improved his Hebrew knowledge, the considerable extent of which is reflected in his writings. These include *Silk or Wool in the High Priest's Ephod…* (London, 1605); an English version, with annotations, of Psalms (Amsterdam, 1612), which was adopted by the Puritans of New England until they produced their own in 1640; and *Annotations* to the Pentateuch, with Psalms and Song of Songs (1616–27). This work, which includes rabbinic material, was translated into Dutch in 1690 and into German in 1692; Song of Songs in English meter in 1623. Ainsworth's *Annotations* were used two and a half centuries later by the revisers of the English Bible. He was considered one of the finest English Hebraists of his time.

ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY: ODNB online.

[Raphael Loewe]

AISH HATORAH, outreach organization based in Jerusalem, Israel, and housed in a building facing the Western Wall, directly above the plaza. It was founded by American-born rabbi Noah Weinberger in 1974. Weinberger had grown up on Manhattan's Lower East Side, where he was raised in an Orthodox home and was proud of his mother's involvement in the establishment of the Esther Schoenfeld Beth Jacob School for Girls. He saw his mission as fighting assimilation and answering the question, "Why be Jewish?" His strategy involved the use of high technology and powerful and media-savvy business executives and celebrities to help send out his institution's message. It operates 26 full-time branches and offers programs in 80 cities, representing 17 countries on five continents and attended by 100,000 people annually in addition to the 4,500 students who study at Aish Jerusalem every year. Over 175 people have graduated from the rabbinic program and have gone to North America to do outreach work.

Aish Programs

DISCOVERY. A one-day program that explores the rational basis for Jewish belief and practice. More than 100,000 people worldwide have attended the Discovery program. Guest hosts for these seminars have included American entertainers Ed *Asner, Kirk *Douglas, Elliot *Gould, Joel *Grey, and Jason *Alexander. Aish instructors conduct hundreds of related seminars in cities around the world, including Johannesburg, London, Sydney, Melbourne, Santiago, and Jerusalem, as well as in 45 U.S. cities for university campuses, Jewish community centers, and Reform, Conservative, and Orthodox synagogues.

THE EXECUTIVE LEARNING PROGRAM. Successful men and women of all ages participate in individually designed personal study programs in their homes and offices. With limited free time, and often with limited background in Judaism, hundreds of busy executives find a way to fit Torah study into their active lives. Among those who participate are Robert Hormats, vice chairman of Goldman-Sachs International, and Michael Goldstein, CEO of Toys R Us.

THE ISRAEL EXPERIENCE. The 4,500 people participating in Aish Jerusalem programs in Israel attend the Discovery Seminar; the one-month Essentials for men or JEWEL for women; introductory programs; and the Jerusalem Fellowships. The latter was founded in 1985 by senators Daniel Patrick Moynihan and Arlen Spector. The program combines touring Israel, studying Judaism, and meeting Israel's top leadership from across the political spectrum.

EYAHT COLLEGE OF JEWISH STUDIES FOR WOMEN. Rebbetzin Denah Weinberg founded the school in 1990 to empower Jewish women.

THE RUSSIAN PROGRAM. This reaches over 50,000 people in the Former Soviet Union (FSU), plus another 3.5 million viewers through its popular television series. In Moscow, Aish runs the Intellectual Cafe, a bimonthly seminar teaching Talmud to beginners through a logic game. Aish-FSU has four permanent branches, including one accredited college.

In Israel, Aish created a social action organization, AVIV, which provides legal, medical, and social services to aid Russian Jews after they make *aliyah*. Aish has also created a series for Radio Reka, the immigrant radio station that has 200,000 listeners in Israel and one million in Russia.

HIGH TECH AND JERUSALEM FUND MISSIONS TO ISRAEL. The Albert Einstein High Tech Mission brings leaders of hi-tech industry to Israel to meet their peers and explore potential investments, strategic partnerships, and spirituality in the Holy Land. Companies who have participated include the founders, CEOs, or presidents of AOL, Infospace, Ness, National Semiconductor, Computer Associates, IDT, Drugstore.com, ZDNet, StarTek, Net2Phone, The Red Herring, Draper Fisher Jurvetson, Scient, Disney Internet, Akamai, and ATT.com.

THE THEODOR HERZL MISSION. Co-sponsored with the mayor of Jerusalem, it brings world leaders from across the world to Israel for one week. Participants have included Lady Margaret Thatcher, U.S. senators John Kerry, Harry Reid, and Joseph Biden, former House speaker Newt Gingrich, former U.S. Ambassador to the UN Jeanne Kirkpatrick, Congressman Peter Deutsch, Governors Tom Ridge (PA) and Christine Whitman (NJ), philanthropist Carroll Petrie, Elie Wiesel, Alan Dershowitz, Barry Sternlicht, chairman of Starwood Hotels, the world's largest hotel company, Starbuck's Howard Schultz, and Accuweather president Joel Meyer.

THE CAPITAL CAMPAIGN. Aish HaTorah is building a hi-tech Jewish education center incorporating state of the art Internet, video, computer, and satellite hook-ups. The Kirk Douglas Theater, dedicated by the Hollywood legend, will present a film about the Jewish contribution to humanity. Aish also acquired several sites in the Old City, projected for use as classrooms, dormitories, and offices.

AISH.COM. With its 1,000,000 hits a year, the site is user-friendly, hi-speed, and full of information and contact numbers about all of its programs.

[Jeanette Friedman (2nd ed.)]

AI T'IEN (b. c. 1545), Chinese Jew through whom detailed knowledge of Chinese Jewry first reached the Western world at the beginning of the 17th century. Ai T'ien was born in *Kaifeng, Honan province, and obtained his licentiate in Chinese classics as a minor school official (*chü-jên*) in 1573. In 1605 he went to Peking to seek employment, which led to his eventual appointment at Yangchow. While in Peking, in June 1605, he visited the Italian Jesuit missionary, Matteo Ricci. Ai gave Ricci a detailed account of his own family and the status of the Jewish community in Kaifeng, as well as the relationship of the Jews with the local Muslims and Nestorian Christians. Ricci came to the conclusion that the community in Kaifeng were of Jewish descent and sent this information in a letter dated July 26, 1605, to the general of the Jesuit order in Rome. This was the first report to reach Europe concerning the existence of Jews in China, and a document of primary importance for Chinese Jewish history.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: W.C. White, Chinese Jews (1966^2), pt. 1, 11, 31–37; pt. 2, 144; pt. 3, 110–2.

[Rudolf Loewenthal]

AIX-EN-PROVENCE (Heb. אייגש or אייגייש), town in the Bouches-du-Rhône department, southern France. The first reference to the presence of Jews in Aix-en-Provence dates from about 1283. They then owned a synagogue and a cemetery situated at Bourg St.-Saveur, which was under the jurisdiction of the archbishop. In 1299 they contributed to the annual tax paid to the count by the Jews of Provence. The Jewish population in 1341 numbered 1,205 (about 1/11 of the total), occupying 203 houses, mainly on the Rue Verrerie (called Rue de la Juiverie until 1811); not far from there the du Puits-Juif still exists (probably the public well in this street gave rise to the legend that the Jews owned a medicinal spring). A synagogue was situated on the corner of the Rue Vivaut and Rue Verrerie, and another (1354) in the lower town. In 1341 King Robert of Anjou attempted to set up a compulsory Jewish quarter, but notwithstanding repeated injunctions it had evidently failed to materialize by 1403. The community in Aix was administered by at least two syndics. The Jews did not have to pay taxes to the municipality since they contributed to the annual tax paid by the Jews of Provence to the crown. The contributions of Aix Jewry amounted to 16% of the total in 1420, and to over 25% in 1446.

By letters patent of Sept. 25, 1435, Jews were prohibited from practicing brokerage, and were obliged to wear the Jewish *badge. These restrictions followed the anti-Jewish riots, which had taken place in 1430, when nine Jews were killed, many were injured and 74 were forcefully baptized. A general amnesty was subsequently granted to the inhabitants of Aix. The position of the Jews in Aix was ameliorated when, in 1454 King René of Anjou allowed them to employ Christian servants, reduced the size of the badge, and exempted Jews from wearing it while traveling.

When in 1481 Provence passed to France, Louis XI confirmed the privileges formerly enjoyed by the Jews of Aix and Marseilles. Aix Jewry again suffered disaster, however, when on May 10, 1484, they were attacked by bands of marauders from the Dauphiné and Auvergne and the highlands of Provence. The raids were repeated intermittently until 1486. In that year, the Aix municipality asked Charles VIII to expel the Jews. The general decree of expulsion, issued in 1498, became effective in 1501. The Parliament of Provence reissued the prohibition on Jews settling in Aix in 1760, 1768, and 1787.

In cultural matters, the Aix community took a prominent part in the *Maimonidean controversy that divided Jewish scholars. The Jews of Aix were mentioned by the Provencal poet Isaac b. Abraham ha-Gorni who criticized them for their inhospitable attitude toward strangers.

Shortly after 1789 nine Jewish families from Avignon settled in Aix-en-Provence. The Jewish population numbered 169 in 1809 and 258 in 1872 (out of a total population of 29,000), dwindling to 214 in 1900. In the mid-19th century Aix was the center in which the former traditions of the *Comtat Venaissin communities were most faithfully preserved, largely through the activities of members of the *Milhaud and *Crémieux families. In 1829, the Hebrew book by Moses Crémieux *Ho'il Moshe Be'er* was printed in Aix by François Gigia.

The census conducted by the Vichy government in May 1941 recorded 33 Jewish families living in Aix. When the Germans entered the unoccupied zone in November 1942, 2,000 Jewish refugees from Germany and Eastern Europe were sent to Aix. Most of them were quartered in the nearby camp of Milles. In May 1943, following the roundup of Jews by the Germans in southern France, almost all the Jews in Aix were arrested and interned at *Drancy. They were subsequently deported to Germany and most perished in the Holocaust.

[Bernhard Blumenkranz]

Modern Times

The community practically disappeared during the years immediately following World War II. All the archives of the community disappeared during World War II. As the synagogue that was inaugurated in 1840 was no longer used for worship, it was sold in 1952 and became a Protestant church. The prayer books were distributed among several neighboring communities. The synagogue's centenary could not be celebrated in 1940, but Darius *Milhaud, a native of Aix and great-grandson of the community's president when the synagogue was built, composed a cantata for the occasion, *Crown of Glory*, based on three poems by Ibn *Gabirol and on prayers from the *Comtat Venaissin. The arrival of North African Jews after 1956 created a new community. In 1967 there were about 1,000 Jews living in Aix-en-Provence. As of 1987, the population was said to be 3,000. The rabbi and the rite of the synagogue are North African. The community is administered by a council called the Association Culturelle Israélite, which is affiliated with the Consistoire Centrale de France. An attempt was made to torch the synagogue on the afternoon of Yom Kippur, October 9, 2000.

[Gilbert Lazard]

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AIZENBERG, NINA (1902–1974), Russian painter, graphic artist, and stage designer. Aizenberg was born in Moscow. In 1918–24, she studied in Moscow at the High Arts and Technical Workshops (VHUTEMAS). From 1924, she worked as a stage designer for several Moscow theaters. In 1926, Aizenberg became the principal stage-designer for the Blue Robe (*Sinyaa Bluza*), a propaganda-variety theater, where she developed a novel approach to designing sets and costumes. This approach, based on constructivist theater techniques, made possible quick in set and costume changes through the artful use of basic components in various combinations. In 1928–30, Aizenberg was a member of the Association of Decorative Artists, in 1930–32 she joined October group, which united artists working in the constructivist manner and adherents of "industrial art." In the early 1930s, she was active in the festive design of Moscow's streets on holidays marking the events of the Revolution. From the mid-1920s through the 1930s, she regularly showed her work at set design and decorative art exhibits in Moscow and Leningrad. In 1938–41, she executed designs for sports parades and rallies. In 1940–50, Aizenberg worked as a set designer for various theaters in Russia and other Soviet republics. She executed a series of landscape paintings in the 1950s. The first and only solo exhibition in her lifetime took place in 1964 in Moscow.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Nina Aizenberg: 40 Years in Theatre.* Exh. Cat. Moscow (1964) (Rus.); *Nina Aizenberg: Transformations. Russian Avant-Garde Costume and Stage Design* (Jerusalem, 1991); N. Van Norman Baer (ed.), *Theatre in Revolution. Russian Avant-Garde Stage Design 1913–193,* Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco (1992), 74, 191; J.E. Bowlt, *The Artists of Russian Theatre: 1880–1930* (Moscow, 1994), 13–16 (Rus.).

[Hillel Kazovsky (2nd ed.)]

AIZMAN, DAVID YAKOLEVICH (1869–1922), Russian writer. He studied painting in Odessa and Paris, but in his early thirties turned to literature. Aizman wrote a great deal about the Jewish poor, in a style reminiscent of Maxim *Gorki. In such short stories as "Ob odnom zlodeyanii" ("About a Crime," 1902), "Zemlyaki" ("Fellow-countrymen," 1903), and "Savan" ("The Shroud," 1903) as well as in the play *Ternovy kust* ("The Blackthorn Bush," 1907), Aizman portrayed revolutionary-minded Jewish intellectuals and their persecution by the Czarist police. His later work bears the imprint of Russian Symbolist prose, e.g., the short story "Utro Anchla" (1906), the novella "Krovavy razliv" ("Bloody Deluge," 1908), and the fantastic dream "Svetly bog" ("The Radiant God," 1914). Although he was very popular in his day – an eight-volume edition of his works was published in Russia in 1911–1919 – Aizman's stories last appeared in the U.S.S.R. in 1926, and by the second half of the century his name was almost totally forgotten.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Kratkaya literaturnaya entsiklopediya*, 1 (1962), 108–9.

[Maurice Friedberg]

AKABA, Jordanian port on the northeastern corner of the Gulf of Eilat. Due to freshwater wells in the vicinity, it has constituted, since antiquity, an oasis in an otherwise hot desert devoid of life. Under Roman rule it was called Aelana, and an army post was stationed there. In the early Arab period, the town had an important Jewish community. In the tenth century, Akaba was a large port, and the Crusaders made it a key position in their outer defense line. In the 12th century, however, the town began to decline and remained little more than a wayfarers' station on the pilgrims' road to Mecca. A change came in 1906 when the border between Egypt and the Ottoman Empire was demarked along the Rafah-Taba line (following a British-Ottoman encounter known as the "Akaba Incident"). Once again Akaba became the focus of international interest in World War I when the Hashemite Arab Army under Amir Feisal and T.E. *Lawrence conquered it from the Turks on July 7, 1917. They made it their headquarters from which raids into Transjordan and Syria were organized. Akaba was also the meeting place of Amir Feisal with Chaim *Weizmann in June 1918. Administratively Akaba belonged to the Ottoman province of Hijaz and, after WWI, to the Hashemite Kingdom of Hijaz. When the Saudis ousted the Hashemites in 1925, the British annexed Akaba (and its neighboring district of Maʿān) to the Emirate of Transjordan. Under the Mandate the British built a harbor there, but the place remained of minor importance until the end of Israel's *War of Independence (1948) when it became Jordan's only outlet to the sea. In the 1950s, the port was enlarged and the highway to Maʿān and ʿAmmān improved. In 1961 a deep-water port was inaugurated, and installations for the storing and loading of phosphates and for the discharge of oil were built. The port's annual capacity was increased to 600,000 tons, the number of ships calling rose from 173 in 1954 to 667 in 1966, and the tonnage of goods handled rose from 92,000 to 1,200,000. In 1965 following a Jordanian-Saudi territorial-exchange agreement, Jordan was given a 25-km.-long coastline south of Akaba which contributed to the development of the town and of its harbor. In 1972 an international airport was opened and a railroad later connected Akaba with the north. During the Iran-Iraq War (1980–88) and the Iranian blockade of Iraq's seaports, Akaba became the main lifeline of the Iraqi economy and war machine and most of the country's imports and exports went through its harbor (18,000 out of the 30,000 containers passed through Akaba in 1982 originating in or destined for Iraq). During the 1980s the harbor was greatly expanded with Iraqi financial aid, reaching an annual capacity of over six million tons. In 2002 the town numbered 70,000 inhabitants (as opposed to 11,000 in 1967). Its economy was based on port services, foreign and internal tourism, fishing, and some farming. Following the Jordanian-Israeli peace accord of 1994, the Akaba Special Economic Zone (ASEZ) was founded to offer economic incentives and business opportunities to encourage job-creating foreign investments.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: T.E. Lawrence, *Seven Pillars of Wisdom* (1935), index. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** R. Wilson (ed.), *Politics and Economy in Jordan* (1991).

[Shlomo Hasson / Joseph Nevo (2nd ed.)]

AKADEMIE FUER DIE WISSENSCHAFT DES JUDENTUMS, academy founded in Berlin in 1919 for the furtherance of Jewish scholarship and the encouragement of young scholars and the publication of their work. The idea of such an academy had been mooted by Franz *Rosenzweig in his seminal open letter ("Zeit ist's," 1917; "It is time" in *On Jewish Learning* (1965)) to his teacher Hermann *Cohen, who took it up enthusiastically. The academy was to be in two parts: an academy in the accepted sense, with members and corresponding members, and a research institute which, by giving grants to younger scholars, would enable them to pursue their work in the various divisions of study, such as Talmud, history, Hebrew literature and language, philosophy, Kabbalah, economics, etc. From the original plan, only the research institute materialized; its first director was E. *Taeubler, who was succeeded by Julius *Guttmann. The academy made itself responsible for a number of publications, such as the continuation of Theodor and Albeck's edition of *Genesis Rabbah* (1912–32, repr. 1965), Hermann Cohen's *Juedische Schriften* (3 vols., 1924) and his philosophical writings (2 vols., 1928), and a bicentenary edition of the works of Moses *Mendelssohn, which was planned for 16 volumes, but only seven appeared (1929–38). The academy's *Korrespondenzblatt* with annual reports appeared from 1919 to 1930. For some time the academy also shared responsibility for the *Zeitschrift fuer Demographie und Statistik der Juden.* A *Festschrift* was published in 1929 to celebrate its tenth anniversary. Its work came to an end in 1934.

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[Alexander Carlebach]

AKAVYA (Yakobovits), AVRAHAM ARYEH LEIB (1882–1964), Polish-born Hebrew and Yiddish writer and editor. After the publication of his first story in David Frischmann's *Ha-Dor* (1901), Akavya became a steady contributor to the Hebrew press and literary periodicals. He also wrote stories and novels in Yiddish, and translated from Yiddish to Hebrew. Akavya edited several Yiddish weeklies, the Hebrew daily *Ha-Boker* (with D. Frischmann (1909)), the biweekly for youth *Shibbolim,* and (after World War I) *Ha-Ẓefirah* and *Ha-Yom.* He went to Palestine in 1935 and was an editor of the short *Massadah* encyclopedia and later the chief editor of the *Yizre'el* encyclopedia. He devoted many years of research to the Hebrew calendar and published various books on the subject.

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[Getzel Kressel]

AKAVYAH BEN MAHALALEL (first century C.E.), member of the Sanhedrin. He engaged in a dispute with *Ḥanina Segan ha-Kohanim and *Dosa b. Harkinas (Neg. 1:4) and the three are mentioned consecutively in *Avot de-Rabbi Nathan* (Version A, 19–21). Akavyah was offered the position of *av bet din* on condition that he renounce four of his decisions in which he disagreed with the majority but he declined, declaring: "It is better for me to be called a fool all my days than that I should become even for one hour a wicked man in the sight of God; and that men should say, 'He withdrew his opinions for the sake of getting power'" (Eduy. 5:6). Three of these dissenting opinions appear in the Mishnah (Neg. 5:3; Nid. 2:6; Bek. 3:4). A fourth, concerning the administration of the water of bitterness to a proselyte or emancipated slave suspected of infidelity to her spouse, indirectly resulted in Akavyah's excommunication. After testimony had been adduced in the name of Shemaiah and Avtalyon, he scornfully remarked, '*Degma hishkuha*,' i.e., "they made her drink in simulation only," or, as explained by others, "men who were like her (i.e., proselytes or descendants of proselytes) made her drink" Eduy., *ibid.*). Although he did not retract his statements before his death, Akavyah admonished his son to accept the opinion of the majority. His son's entreaty, "Commend me to your colleagues," elicited the reply: "Your own deeds will bring your commendation or your rejection" (Eduy. 5:7). According to the Mishnah Akavyah died while still under the ban of excommunication, and the *bet din* stoned his coffin (*ibid.*, 6). R. Kahana considered him a "rebellious elder," but he was not executed because he based his opinions on tradition (Sanh. 88a). Judah b. Ilai (Eduy., *ibid.*) and Judah b. Bathyra (Sif. Num. 105), however, denied that Akavyah was put under a ban. The former declared, "God forbid that (we would think that) Akavyah was excommunicated, for the Temple court was never closed in the face of any man in Israel so great in wisdom and in fear of sin as Akavyah b. Mahalalel." Akvayah's maxim, "Reflect upon three things and you will not come within the power of sin: know whence you came, whither you are going, and before whom you are destined to give account" (Avot 3:1; cf. ARN^{1}, 29), illustrates his own stress on ethical conduct.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Mendelsohn, in: REJ, 41 (1900), 31–44; Marmorstein, *ibid.*, 81 (1925), 181–7; Hoenig, in: *Studies and Essays in Honor of A.Neuman* (1962), 291–8; Alon, *Meḥkarim.* 1 (1957), 115–20; J. Brand, in: *Minḥah li-Yhudah* (Zlotnick) (1950), 5–9, 19.

[Bialik Myron Lerner]

°AKBAR THE GREAT (**Akbar Abū al-Fatḥ Jalāl al-Dīn Muhammad**; 1542–1605), Moghul emperor in India. Akbar's subjects were permitted a remarkable degree of religious tolerance and freedom. The emperor tried to build a bridge of understanding between Hindus and Muslims and to create a new eclectic religion of pure theism ("tauḥīd Ilāhū" or "Dīn Ilāhī"). He collected translations of the holy books of all faiths, and held regular religious disputations in his palace at Fatehpur Sikri, near Agra. The participants also included Jews, probably from Persia, Afghanistan, or Khurasan, as well as Hindus, Jains, Zoroastrians, and Jesuits. The presence of Jews is reliably reported by Moghul court historians, by the Jesuit traveler A. Monserrate, and by the author of the *Dabistan.* A synagogue (*kenisa*) also existed in the Moghul realm according to the English traveler, Sir Thomas Roe (1616). Akbar's interest in the translation of holy books brought the famous Florentine traveler and scholar Giambattista Vecchietti to Agra. Vecchietti had collected many ancient *Judeo-Persian biblical translations during his journeys in Persia, and while a guest of Akbar, he transliterated the Judeo-Persian manuscript of the Psalms into Persian script.

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[Walter Joseph Fischel / David Shulman (2nd ed.)]

AKDAMUT MILLIN (Heb. אַקְדָּמוּת מִלִּין; "Introduction"), opening words of an Aramaic poem by R. Meir b. Isaac Nehorai. The poem was recited in the synagogue on Shavuot as an introduction to the Aramaic translation (*targum*) of Exodus 19–20 (the theophany at Mount Sinai). Exodus 19:1 was read aloud in Hebrew, "*Akdamut Millin*" was then read, followed by the next few verses in the Hebrew, and after that the same verses in Aramaic. The remainder of the reading was finished in the same sequence: two to three verses of the Hebrew text followed by the Aramaic translation of the preceding verses. The recitation of "*Akdamut Millin*" now generally precedes the Reading of the Torah, in deference to the objections of later halakhic authorities against interrupting the Reading of the Torah (cf. *Magen David* to Sh. Ar., OḤ 494), particularly since it is no longer customary to read the Aramaic translation. The poem consists of 90 acrostic lines forming a double alphabet followed by the author's name. It praises God as creator and lawgiver, expatiates on Israel's fidelity to God despite all sufferings and temptations, and ends with a description of the apocalyptic events at the end of days and the future glory of Israel. The poem is recited in the Ashkenazi rite only. A similar work by the same author, introducing the reading of the Aramaic version of the Song of Moses (Ex. 15:1–10) on the seventh day of Passover, is found in some medieval manuscripts. "*Akdamut Millin*" has been translated into English in various prayer books, notably by Joseph Marcus (Silverman, Prayer, 185–8) and Raphael Loewe (*Service of the Synagogue*, London, 1954, 210). There are also several versions of the "*Akdamut*" in Hebrew (see *Sefer ha-Mo'adim*, 3 (1950), 141–4). A similar poem, "*Yeẓiv Pitgam,*" is recited on the second day of Shavuot before the reading of the *haftarah*. In East European folk tradition the origin of the poem is connected with the widespread legend that R. Meir b. Isaac saved the Jewish community of Worms by invoking the help of a miraculous emissary of the Ten Lost Tribes from across the *Sambatyon. In many versions of the legend, extant in manuscripts and still alive in oral tradition, the hero is identified with R. *Meir Ba'al ha-Nes, and the "*Akdamut*" *piyyut* celebrates a victory over the Jew-baiters.

[Ernst Daniel Goldschmidt]

Music

The poem has been given two musical settings which have become well-known in Ashkenazi synagogues. One of these can claim great antiquity by its psalmodic style of recitation; the simple but expressive declamation suits the narrative character of the poem. Its identity in the Western and Eastern branches of the Ashkenazi rite, and its use for the *Kiddush* and other prayers, indicates its age. Another melody is found only in the West, and apparently is of a later date, although its motives were already incorporated in cantorial works of 1744 and 1796. Moreover, this second tune serves as a motto theme of the Feast of Weeks and is applied in the **Hallel*, the *Priestly Blessing, and other prayer texts.

[Hanoch Avenary]

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Davidson, Oẓar, 1 (1924), no. 7314; Elbogen, Gottesdienst, 191; Idelsohn, Music, 156; Fishman, in: *Ha-Tor,* 3, no. 25–26 (1923), 11; Zunz-Albeck, Derashot; Zunz, Lit Poesie, 151; J.-T. Lewinski, *Sefer ha-Mo'adim,* 3 (1950), 135–60; ZDMG, 54 (1900), 118; Rivkind, in: *Yivo Filologische Schriftn*, 3 (1929), 1–42, 599–605; M. Kosover and A.G. Duker, *Minḥah le-Yizḥak* (New York, 1949), no. 59. MUSIC: A. Friedmann, *Der synagogale Gesang* (1908), 80; Idelsohn, Melodien, 6, pt. 1 (1932), nos. 236, 247, 250, 255–7; EJ.

AKEDAH (ʿ**Aqedah**; Heb. עֲקֵדָה, lit. "binding (of Isaac)"), the Pentateuchal narrative (Gen. 22:1–19) describing God's command to *Abraham to offer *Isaac, the son of his old age, as a sacrifice. Obedient to the command, Abraham takes Isaac to the place of sacrifice and binds him (*va-ya'akod*, Gen. 22:9, a word found nowhere else in the Bible in the active, conjugative form) on the altar. The angel of the Lord then bids Abraham to stay his hand and a ram is offered in Isaac's stead. The *Akedah* became in Jewish thought the supreme example of self-sacrifice in obedience to God's will and the symbol of Jewish martyrdom throughout the ages.

Critical View

The *Akedah* narrative is generally attributed to source E (which uses *'Elohim* as the Divine Name) with glosses by the Redactor (R, hence also the use of the Tetragrammaton); or to source J (in which the Divine Name is the Tetragrammaton) which may have made use of E material (Peake's *Commentary on the Bible* (1962), 193). The original intent of the narrative has been understood by the critics either as an etiological legend explaining why the custom of child sacrifice was modified in a certain sanctuary by the substitution of a ram (Gunkel), or as a protest against human sacrifice (Skinner, *Genesis* (1910), 331–2). The name Moriah ("land of Moriah," Gen. 22:2) occurs elsewhere (II Chron. 3:1) as the name of the Temple site; hence the Jewish tradition that the Temple was built on the spot at which the *Akedah* took place. There is no further reference to the *Akedah* in the Bible.

The *Akedah* influenced both Christian and Islamic thought. In early Christian doctrine, the sacrifice of Isaac is used as a type for the sacrifice of Jesus (see Tertullian, *Adversus Marcionem*, 3:18; Clement of Alexandria, *Paedogogica*, 1:5, 1; Schoeps, in: JBL, 65 (1946), 385–92). In Islam, the *Akedah* is held up for admiration (Koran 37:97–111), but the more accepted opinion is that it was Ishmael, Abraham's other son and the progenitor of the Arabs, who was bound on the altar and that the whole episode took place before Isaac's birth. The *Akedah* has been a favorite theme in religious art for centuries.

In Jewish Life and Literature

In the early rabbinic period, reference was made to Abraham's sacrifice in prayers of intercession. The Mishnah (Ta'an. 2:4) records that on public fast days the reader recited: "May He that answered Abraham our father on Mount Moriah answer you and hearken to the voice of your crying this day." The Mishnah also states (Ta'an. 2:1) that on fast days, ashes were placed on the Ark and on the heads of the *nasi* and the *av bet din;* a later teacher explained (Ta'an. 16a) that this was a reminder of the "ashes of Isaac." In the *Zikhronot* ("Remembrance") prayers of Rosh Ha-Shanah, there is an appeal to God to remember the *Akedah:* "Remember unto us, O Lord our God, the covenant and the lovingkindness and the oath which Thou swore unto Abraham our father on Mount Moriah: and consider the binding with which Abraham our father bound his son Isaac on the altar, how he suppressed his compassion in order to perform Thy will with a perfect heart. So may Thy compassion overbear Thine anger against us; in Thy great goodness may Thy great wrath turn aside from Thy people, Thy city, and Thine inheritance." One of the explanations given for the sounding of the *shofar* ("ram's horn") on Rosh Ha-Shanah is as a reminder of the ram substituted for Isaac (RH 16a). The story of the *Akedah* is the Pentateuchal reading on the second day of Rosh Ha-Shanah (Meg. 31a). During the Middle Ages, a number of penitential hymns took the *Akedah* for their theme and indeed a whole style of *piyyut* is known by this name. Pious Jews recited the *Akedah* passage daily (Tur., OḤ. 1) and, following this custom, the passage is printed in many prayer books as part of the early morning service.

In Rabbinic Literature

The *Akedah* was spoken of as the last of the ten trials to which Abraham was subjected (Avot 5:3; Ginzberg, Legends, 5 (1925), 218, note 52) and was considered as the prototype of the readiness for martyrdom. "Support me with fires" (homiletical interpretation of Song 2:5) is said to refer to the fire of Abraham and that of Hananiah, Mishael, and Azariah (Dan. 3:12–23; PdRK 101b); this particular association is probably due to the fact that both cases illustrate not actual martyrdom but the readiness for it. On the other hand, numerous instances of real martyrdom were also compared to the *Akedah*, sometimes to the disadvantage of the latter. Thus in the story of the "Woman and her Seven Sons," every one of whom suffered death by torture rather than bow to the idol, the widow enjoins her sons: "Go and tell Father Abraham: Let not your heart swell with pride! You built one altar, but I have built seven altars and on them have offered up my seven sons. What is more: Yours was a trial; mine was an accomplished fact!" (Yal. Deut. 26). In the parallel passage in the Babylonian Talmud (Git. 57b), the widow's admonition is softened through the omission of the second half of the first sentence and the last sentence.

In legal literature, the *Akedah* served as a paradigm for the right of a prophet to demand the temporal suspension of a law. Isaac obeyed his father and made ready to become the victim of what would normally have been considered a murder, but Abraham, as an established prophet, could be relied upon that this was really God's will (Sanh. 89b). The opinion is found in the Midrash (Gen. R. 56:8) that Isaac was 37 years old at the time of the *Akedah.* Abraham *Ibn Ezra (commentary on Gen. 22:4) rejects this as contrary to the plain meaning of the narrative in which Isaac is old enough to carry the wood but young enough to be docile. Ibn Ezra (commentary on Gen. 22:19) also quotes an opinion that Abraham actually did kill Isaac (hence there is no reference to Isaac returning home with his father), and he was later resurrected from the dead. Ibn Ezra rejects this as completely contrary to the biblical text. Shalom *Spiegel has demonstrated, however, that such views enjoyed a wide circulation and occasionally found expression in medieval writings, possibly in order to deny that the sacrifice of Isaac was in any way less than that of Jesus; or as a reflection of actual conditions in the Middle Ages when the real martyrdom of Jewish communities demanded a more tragic model than that of a mere intended sacrifice. It was known in those days for parents to kill their children, and then themselves, when threatened by the Crusaders. Geiger (JZWL, 10 (1872), 166ff.) suggests that interpretations of Isaac's sacrifice as a means of atonement for his descendants were influenced by Christian doctrine. In rabbinic literature, tensions can be generally observed between the need to emphasize the significance of the *Akedah* and, at the same time, to preserve the prophetic protest against human sacrifice. Thus, on Jeremiah 19:5 the comment is made: "which I commanded not" – this refers to the sacrifice of the son of Mesha, the king of Moab (II Kings 3:27); "nor spake it" – this refers to the daughter of Jephthah (Judg. 11:31); "neither came it to my mind" – this refers to the sacrifice of Isaac, the son of Abraham (Ta'an. 4a).

In Religious Thought

A theme of such dramatic power as the *Akedah* has attracted a rich variety of comment. Philo (*De Abrahamo*, 177–99) defends the greatness of Abraham against hostile criticism that would belittle his achievement. These critics point out that many others in the history of mankind have offered themselves and their children for a cause in which they believed – the barbarians, for instance, whose Moloch worship was explicitly forbidden by Moses, and Indian women who gladly practice Suttee. Philo argues, however, that Abraham's sacrifice was unprecedented in that he was not governed by motives of custom, honor, or fear, but solely by the love of God. Philo (*ibid.*, 200–7) also gives an allegorical interpretation of the incident: Isaac means "laughter"; and the devout soul feels a duty to offer up its joy which belongs to God. God, however, in His mercy, refuses to allow the surrender to be complete and allows the soul to retain its joy. Worship is the most perfect expression of that joy.

Medieval thinkers were disturbed at the idea of God's testing Abraham, as if the purpose of the *Akedah* were to provide God with information He did not previously possess. According to Maimonides (Guide 3:24), the words "God tested Abraham" do not mean that God put him through a test but that He made the example of Abraham serve as a test case of the extreme limits of the love and fear of God. "For now I know that you fear God" (Gen. 22:12) means that God has made known to all men how far man is obliged to go in fearing Him. According to Naḥmanides (ed. by C.B. Chavel, 1 (1959), 125–6), the *Akedah* focuses on the problem of reconciling God's foreknowledge with human free will. God knew how Abraham would behave, but from Abraham's point of view, the test was real since he had to be rewarded not only for his potential willingness to obey, but for actually complying. *Sforno's elaboration of this thought (commentary to Gen. 22:1) is that Abraham had to transcend his own love of God by converting it from the potential to the actual, in order to resemble God whose goodness is always actual, the aim of creation being that man imitates his Creator.

The mystics add their own ideas to the *Akedah* theme. In the Zohar (Gen. 119b), the patriarchs on earth represent the various potencies (*sefirot*) in the divine realm: Abraham the Divine Lovingkindness, Isaac the Divine Power, and Jacob the Harmonizing Principle. Abraham is obliged to display severity in being willing to sacrifice his son, contrary to his own special nature as the "pillar of lovingkindness," and thus set in motion the process by which fire is united with water, mercy with judgment, so that the way can be paved for the emergence of complete harmony between the two in Jacob. This mirrors the processes in the divine realm by which God's mercy is united with His judgment so that the world can endure. The Ḥasidim read various subtleties of their own into the ancient story. One version states that Abraham and Isaac knew, in their heart of hearts, that the actual sacrifice would not be demanded but they went through the motions to demonstrate that they would have obeyed had it been God's will (*Elimelech of Lyzhansk, *No'am Elimelech* on Gen. 22:7). The true lover of God carries out even those religious obligations which are personally pleasant to him solely out of the love of God. Abraham obeyed the second command not to kill Isaac solely for this and for no other reason (Levi Isaac b. Meir, *Kedushat Levi* on Gen. 22:6). Another version is that when God wishes to test a man, He must first remove from him the light of full comprehension of the Divine, otherwise the trial will be incomplete. Abraham was ready to obey even in this state of "dryness of soul" (Israel b. Shabbetai of Kozienice, *Avodat Yisrael* on Gen. 22:14). The lesser Divine Name Elohim is, therefore, used at the beginning of the narrative, and not the Tetragrammaton, to denote that the vision in which the command was given was lacking in clarity. Abraham's greatness consisted in his refusal to allow his natural love for his son to permit him to interpret the ambiguous command as other than a command to sacrifice (Mordecai Joseph b. Jacob Leiner of Izbica, *Mei ha-Shilo'aḥ* on Gen. 22:7).

To the moralists (*ba'alei ha-musar*) the *Akedah* was a fertile text for the inculcation of religious and ethical values. For Isaiah *Horowitz (*Shenei Luḥot ha-Berit, Va-Yera*, end), the *Akedah* teaches that everything must be sacrificed to God, if needs be; how much more, then, must man be willing to give up his lusts for God. Moreover, whenever man has an opportunity of doing good, or refraining from evil, he should reflect that perhaps God is testing him at that moment as He tested Abraham.

The best-known treatment of the *Akedah* theme in general literature is that of Søren Kierkegaard (*Fear and Trembling*). Kierkegaard sees Abraham as the "knight of faith" who differs from the "ethical man"; for the latter the moral law is universal and it has a categorical claim to obedience; the "knight of faith," however, knows also of the higher obligation laid upon him as a free individual in his relationship to his God and this may involve him in a "teleological suspension of the ethical." Abraham is called upon to renounce for God all that he holds precious, including the ethical ideal to which he subscribes and which he has constantly taught. Consequently, Abraham did not know what duty had been imposed on him: to obey God's command or his ethical obligation? According to Kierkegaard, this tension between these two conflicting obligations is what characterized Abraham as a "knight of faith." Kierkegaard was the first thinker to posit the believer's doubts as the characteristic of religious life itself. Kierkegaard's position has been criticized by various Jewish thinkers.

Milton *Steinberg (*Anatomy of Faith* (1960), 147), rejected Kierkegaard's view as "unmitigated sacrilege. Which indeed is the true point of the *Akedah*, missed so perversely by Kierkegaard. While it was a merit in Abraham to be willing to sacrifice his only son to his God, it was God's nature and merit that He would not accept an immoral tribute. And it was His purpose, among other things, to establish that truth." Other thinkers such as J.B. Soloveitchik have found the Kierkegaardian insights fully compatible with Judaism. Ernst Simon (in *Conservative Judaism*, 12 (spring 1958), 15–19) believes that a middle position between the two is possible. Judaism is an ethical religion and would never in fact demand a teleological suspension of the ethical. Abraham is, therefore, ordered to stay his hand. The original command to sacrifice Isaac is a warning against too complete an identification of religion with naturalistic ethics.

Y. *Leibowitz went further than Kierkegaard by suggesting that the believer has the obligation to overcome his ethical duty and unconditionally obey the divine command. Leibowitz thus regarded the *Akedah* as a paradigm of religious life, a position unusual in Jewish thought, which generally maintains that the divine command is not opposed to ethical duty.

Kalonymus Shapira, the rabbi of Piaseczno, maintained that the meaning of the *Akedah* is that the divine command itself determines morality, thus adopting the "divine command morality" prevalent in Christian literature. He wrote:

> The nations of the world, even the best of them, think that the truth is a thing in itself, and that God commanded truth because the truth is intrinsically True…. Not so Israel, who say "You God are truth"… and we have no truth beside Him, and all the truth found in the world is there only because God wished it and commanded it…Stealing is forbidden because the God of truth has commanded it… When God ordered Abraham to sacrifice his son Isaac, it was true to sacrifice him and, had God not said later "neither do anything to him" it would have been true to slaughter him. (K. Shapira, *Esh Kodesh*, Jerusalem, 1960, 68)

Shapira's unusual position is an attempt to deal with the problem of theodicy in light of the horrors of the *Shoah. His exceptional treatment of the *Akedah* thus demonstrates that Jewish thought generally did not incorporate the theory of "divine command morality." The *Akedah* thus became a basis for justifying sacrifice and devotion, but because of the centrality of morality to Jewish tradition in general, and specifically to halakhah, it was only with Soloveitchik and Leibowitz that the *Akedah* became a paradigm of religious life itself.

[Louis Jacobs / Avi Sagi (2nd ed.)]

In Israeli Culture

The *akedah* myth is used by Israeli society to understand itself. Moshe Shamir, a leading writer from the founders' generation called the *akedah* "the story of our generation" (*Be-Kulmus Mahir* ("Quick Notes"), 1960, p. 332). Changes in the attitudes to this myth point to shifts in the ways Israeli society approaches the meaning of its existence.

Two basic attitudes can be discerned in relation to the *akedah*. Whereas the first views the *akedah* as the deepest symbol of modern Israeli existence, epitomizing the Zionist revolution and the sacrifices it exacted, the second rejects both the myth and its implications.

The *akedah* myth has been sanctified by many Israeli writers. Uri Zevi Greenberg writes: "Let that day come…/ when my father will rise from his grave with the resurrection of the dead/ and God will command him as the people commanded Abraham./ To bind his only son: to be an offering – /… let that day come in my life! I believe it will."(Uri Zevi Greenberg, "*Korban Shaharit*" ("Morning Offering"), in: *Sulam* 1972 (13), pp. 145–147).

When speaking of the Zionist experience, Abraham Shlonsky writes, "Father/ take off your *tallit* and *tefillin* today/… and take your son on a distant lane/ to mount Moriah" ("*Hulin*" ("Worldliness"), in: A. Shlonsky, *Ketavim* [Writings], vol. 2, (1954), p. 136). Hayyim Gouri writes of Isaac's descendants being "born with a knife in their hearts." (H. Gouri, "*Yerushah*" ("Heritage"), in: *Shoshanat Ha-Ruhot* ("Compass-Rose"), 1966). The relationship between Abraham and Isaac is also transformed in modern Hebrew literature. Contrary to the passive figure of the biblical story, the Isaac of Israeli literature is an active hero who initiates the *akedah*. Modern literature also lays greater emphasis than the biblical text on intergenerational cooperation, as if no rift divided the fathers offering the sacrifice from their sons. Isaac becomes the paradigmatic Zionist pioneer, representing an entire generation: rather than being passive victims, the modern Isaacs assume responsibility for their destiny and sacrifice themselves on the altar of national renaissance.

In the 1967 Six-Day War, when for the first time the generation of founders were too old to fight, and the post-independence generation of their children fought in their place, the *akedah* remained a powerful symbol, at least for some. The post-war collection of interviews, *The Seventh Day: Soldiers Talk About the Six-Day War* (Hebrew: *Siaḥ Loḥamim*, 1967; English, 1970) records a father who said: "We do knowingly bring our boys up to volunteer for combat units…. These are moments when a man is given a greater insight into Isaac's sacrifice. Kierkegaard asked what Abraham did that night. What did he think about? … He had a whole night to think…. It's a question that touches on the very meaning of human existence. The Bible says nothing about it… For us, that night lasted six days" (p. 202).

Conversely, doubts about the *akedah* myth already began to surface soon after independence. In the central work about the War of Independence, by S. Yizhar, we read: "There is no evading the *akedah*… I hate our father Abraham, who binds Isaac. What right does he have over Isaac? Let him bind himself. I hate the God who sent him and closed all paths, leaving only that of the *akedah*. I hate the fact that Isaac serves merely as a test between Abraham and his God… (S. Yizhar, *Yemei Ziklag* ("The Days of Ziklag"), 1958, vol. 2, p. 804).

After the Six-Day War, a gradual change in attitude towards the *akedah* evolved. In 1968, about 10 years after the publication of Yizhar's novel, Habimah Theater staged a play by Yigal Mossinsohn where Shimshon, a blinded officer, thinks of his life in terms of an *akedah* (Yigal Mossinsohn, *Shimshon Katsin be-Ẓahal, O Requiem le-Ereẓ Pelishtim* ("Samson the IDF officer, or Requiem to the Land of the Philistines)). Mossinsohn states his wish to be released from this "grand" myth. In his view, fathers and sons are jointly responsible for the *akedah*, which must end. In its place, Mossinsohn-Shimshon expects to lead a normal life when "my children… will no longer know war."

In May 1970, Habimah Theater staged a play by Hanoch Levin. ("*Malkat Ha-Ambatyah*" ("Queen of the Bath"), in: H. Levin, *Mah Ikhpat la-Ẓippor* ("What Does it Matter to the Bird?"), 1987). The play deals with the sons' profound contempt for their parents and, in a passage called "*Akedah*," Abraham and Isaac engage in a rather mundane and sarcastic dialogue, conveying deep disdain for the parents who believe that they, rather than their sons, are the victims of the sacrifice. In the poem "Dear father, when you stand on my grave," which follows the "*Akedah*" dialogue, Levin writes, "And do not say that you've brought a sacrifice,/ because I was the one who brought the sacrifice,/… dear father, when you stand on my grave/ old and weary and very lonesome,/ and when you see how they lay my body to rest – / ask for my forgiveness, father" (p. 92).

The weariness and pain of the *akedah* come to the fore after the Yom Kippur war. Thus, for instance, Menahem Heyd writes: "And there was no ram – / and Isaac in the thicket.// And the angel did not say lay not/ and we – / our son, our only son, Isaac." ("*Yiẓhak Halakh le-Har Moriah*" ("Isaac Went to Mount Moriah"), *Yedi'oth Aharonot*, December 28, 1973.) The pain is particularly intense because no ram came to replace Isaac. Many poets report this feeling – the miracle failed.

In Yariv Ben Aharon's roman à clef – *Peleg* (1993) about the sons' generation, the *akedah* becomes the litmus test of the relations between fathers and sons: the fathers will not be satisfied with less than the sons' sacrifice (p. 116). The covenant of secular Zionists with their land forced the actual sacrifice of their children, and the *akedah* no longer symbolized an act of faith but an expression of the deep bond with the land. Ben Aharon blames the parents for the secular distortion of the religious symbol and desires to restore its religious connotations. He thereby seeks to bring about a quasi-religious renaissance, in the tradition of A.D. Gordon, and rejects the prevalent secular overtones of Zionist culture, where the *akedah* served to justify the death of the sons.

Protests against the *akedah* myth gained strength after the Lebanon War. Yehudah Amihai speaks of a plot to sacrifice the sons: "The true hero of the *akedah* was the ram" (Y. Amihai, "*Ha-Gibor ha-Amiti shel Ha-Akedah*" ("The True Hero of the Sacrifice"), in: *She'at Hesed* [("The Hour of Grace") 1983). Replacing the two heroic figures, Abraham and Isaac, with an antihero – the ram – is part of a trend seeking to moderate the dramatic overtones characteristic of Israeli life. The hero is not the one involved in purposeful action, but rather the one confronted with a tragic situation and unable to understand the forces that have led to it.

A poem by Yitzhak Laor offers the most poignant expression of this protest: "To pity the offering?… To trust a father like that? Let him kill him first. Let him slam his father/ his only father Abraham/ in jail in the poorhouse in the cellar of the house just so/ he will not slay./ Remember what your father did to your brother Ishmael (Y. Laor, "*Ha-Metumtam ha-Zeh Yiẓhak*" ("This Fool, Isaac"), in: *Rak ha-Guf Zokher* ("Only the Body Remembers"; 1985), p. 70).

Yizhar had adopted the *akedah* story but had pointed an accusing finger at the fathers, while Mossinsohn longed for release from its oppressive weight. Laor now blames the sons' compliance, their willingness to die rather than refuse. He rejects the narrative: the sons should have remembered the cruelty of the founding fathers, father Abraham, and their immoral behavior toward Ishmael, the Arabs. This poem exposes a deep breach between fathers and sons, between founders and followers. To a large extent, it also entails a rejection of the entire Zionist ethos.

[Avi Sagi (2nd ed.)]

In the Arts

Among Christian writers and artists the biblical account of Abraham's readiness to sacrifice Isaac was interpreted as a foretelling of the crucifixion of Jesus. A parallel was drawn between the two stories: Abraham was God the Father sacrificing his "only begotten son"; Isaac himself carrying the wood to the altar was Jesus bearing his cross; while the ram actually sacrificed represented the crucified savior. In Western literature the episode occurs from the Middle Ages onward in various dramatic forms and in different countries. It figures in all the important English miracle play cycles and in an early work of the Eastern Church, the Cretan *Sacrifice of Abraham* (1159), where God's design is revealed, but the ram escapes slaughter. An example of the Italian *sacre rappresentazioni* is Feo Belcari's *Abramo e Isacco* (1449), while there is a more austere treatment in the 16th-century Spanish *Auto del sacrificio de Abraham*. The theme enjoyed special popularity among Protestants. Théodore de Bèza (Beza), the French humanist and reformer who was a close associate of Calvin in Geneva, gave his drama *Abraham sacrifiant* (1550) the conventional form of a mystery. It was notable for some revolutionary undertones, however, Abraham appearing as a stern Huguenot, humanized by love for his son. This play was widely translated and often reprinted. In the 17th century, the German dramatist Christian Weise wrote the play *Die Opferung Isaacs* (1680). Among the strict Protestants of the 18th century there were two Swiss German authors who dealt with the episode. Johann Jacob Bodmer wrote *Abraham* (1778), and Johann Kaspar Lavater the religious drama *Abraham und Isaak* (1776). Adele Wiseman's *The Sacrifice* (1956) transposes the story to a modern Canadian setting.

Jewish artists portrayed the *Akedah* in some synagogues of the early centuries of the current era, notably at *Dura-Europos (third century) and *Bet Alfa (sixth century). In both cases the hand of God was depicted as stretching forth to restrain Abraham from sacrificing his son. This is in direct conflict with the biblical text (Gen. 22:11), which states that he was restrained by the voice of an angel. Later Jewish sources are French and German Hebrew Bibles of the late 13th century, the 14th-century Spanish Sarajevo *Haggadah,* and a 15th-century Italian *mahzor,* which contains pictures illustrating the Aramaic *piyyutim* on the Ten Commandments recited on the festival of Shavuot. The illustration of the sacrifice of Isaac accompanies the fifth Commandment, and Isaac's willingness to follow his father is seen as an example of filial piety. There are early Christian representations of the story in the third-century Roman catacomb of Priscilla, in the Vatican grottos, and in glass, ivory, and jewels. Later examples have been found in the cathedrals of Chartres and Verona, and in churches elsewhere. During the early Renaissance, Donatello and Ghiberti produced work on the theme, as did Andrea del Sarto, Sodoma, Titian, Beccafumi, and Cranach later in the 16th century. Caravaggio gave it emotionally realistic treatment, and *Rembrandt depicted the angel's intervention in a painting of 1635 and in an etching in which the angel grips Abraham's arm with one hand and protects Isaac's face with the other. Guardi and Tiepolo treated the subject with the 18th-century lightness.

The melody of the Judeo-German *Akedah* poem, which was used for liturgical, religious, and historical songs in both Hebrew and German, is shown by the indication *be-niggun Akedah* (i.e., to be sung "to the *Akedah* tune"). The melody is first mentioned by Jacob *Moellin (*Sefer Maharil,* 49b). Another similar indication – *be-niggun "Juedischer Stamm"* – refers to the same tune. No notation of this time has been found so far, but A.Z. Idelsohn suggested that it was identical with the liturgical *Akedot* of the old west-Ashkenazi tradition. In European music there are at least 50 works on the sacrifice of Isaac, mostly oratorios. As in literature and art, the *Akedah* is often linked with the Crucifixion, Metastasio have stated this explicitly in the textbook title of his libretto *Isacco, figura del Redentore* (1740). The Viennese court oratorio owes its inception and style to the Emperor Leopold I's "sepolcro" *Il sacrificio d'Abramo* (1660), which was performed in the court church during Passion Week. Many eminent 18th-century musicians composed settings for Metastasio's libretto which was originally written for the Viennese court. Popular German oratorios include J.H. Rolle's *Abraham auf Moria* (1776) and M. Blumner's *Abraham* (1859–60). In Poland the biblical story inspired an opera by Chopin's teacher, Ks. J. Elsner (1827), and an oratorio by W. Sowński (1805–1880). In Abraham *Goldfaden's Yiddish "biblical operetta" *Akeydas Yitskhok* (1897), the *Akedah* itself figures only near the end of the work. Hugo Adler wrote an *Akedah* (1938), based on the Buber-Rosenzweig German translation of the Bible and on selections from the Midrash and *Akedot piyyutim,* which was modeled on the classical oratorio. Igor Stravinsky's *Akedat Yizhak* (Abraham and Isaac), a "sacred ballad" for baritone and chamber orchestra set to a Hebrew text, was first performed in Jerusalem in 1964.

See also: *Abraham in the Arts and, *Isaac in the Arts.

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AKERLOF, GEORGE A. (1940–), U.S. economist, Nobel Prize laureate. Born in New Haven, Connecticut, where his father was a member of the Yale faculty, Akerlof earned his bachelor's degree from Yale University in 1962 and his doctorate from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology in 1966. Akerlof's father, who was born in Sweden, was a chemist; his mother's family was of German-Jewish descent. His maternal grandfather established the first clinic in cardiology in the United States at Johns Hopkins, though he was later denied tenure there, according to Akerlof, because of his Jewish identity.

After receiving his doctorate, Akerlof joined the Economics Department of the University of California, Berkeley, where he began work on his landmark study "The Market for 'Lemons,'" for which he would later win the Nobel Prize for economics (in 2001), though it was initially rejected for publication by academic journals. In 1967 and 1968 he was a visiting professor at the Indian Statistical Institute in New Delhi, and then returned to Berkeley. From 1978 to 1980 he was Cassel Professor of Economics with Respect to Money and Banking at the London School of Economics. He subsequently served as Koshland Professor of Economics at Berkeley.

"The Market for 'Lemons': Quality Uncertainty and the Market Mechanism" was published in the *Quarterly Journal of Economics* in 1970. In this study of the role of asymmetric information in the market, Akerlof demonstrates how markets malfunction when buyers and sellers operate under different information, as in the example of used cars commonly called "lemons." The work had applications in other areas, such as health insurance, employment contracts, and financial markets. In *Efficiency Wage Models of the Labor Market (1986),* coauthored with his wife, Janet Yellen, Akerlof and Yellen propose rationales for the efficiency wage hypothesis, in which employers pay more than the market-clearing wage, contradicting neoclassical economic theory. Yellen later served as chair of the U.S. Council of Economic Advisors under President Bill Clinton.

Akerlof served as senior staff economist with the Council of Economic Advisors in 1973 and 1974 and was visiting research economist for the Federal Reserve System Board of Governors from 1977 to 1978. A member of the board of editors of the *Quarterly Journal of Economics* in 1983 and of the *American Economic Review* from 1983 to 1990, he was named a senior fellow of the Brookings Institution in 1994 and served on the board of directors of the National Bureau of Economic Research in 1997. In 2001 Akerlof shared the Nobel Prize for economics with A. Michael Spence and Joseph E. Stiglitz for their contributions to analyses of markets with asymmetric information.

[Dorothy Bauhoff (2nd ed.)]

AKHBAREI/ACCHABARON (Heb. עַכְבָּרֵי; modern Akbara), village in Upper Galilee possibly mentioned in the inscriptions relating to the campaigns of Tiglath-pilesar III (eighth century B.C.E.) near the line of fortifications erected by Josephus in 66 C.E. (Jos., Wars, 2:573; idem, Life, 37, 188). Eleazar, son of Simeon b. Yoḥai, died there, and when the people of Biri proposed removing his body to Meron, the inhabitants of Akhbarei objected (BM 84b). The *amoraim* Hananiah b. Akbari and Yose b. Avin lived there and Rabbi Yannai established a *bet midrash* with his pupils supporting themselves from agriculture. According to tradition the burial places of Yannai, Nehorai, and Dostai were pointed out at the site (*Kaftor va-Feraḥ*, 11, 47a). According to one source (Eccles. R. 2:8) pheasants were raised there. A Jewish community still existed in Akhbarei in the 11th century, but in 1522 the Jewish traveler Moses Bassola found its synagogue – referred to in Arabic by the locals as "*el-kenisah*" – in ruins. The remains of the synagogue were identified by Z. Ilan and subsequently partly excavated by E. Damati in 1988. Walls of houses, tombs, cisterns, and oil presses are also known from the site. It is identified with the Arab village of Akbara (now deserted), situated on a high cliff 3 mi. (5 km.) south of Safed, which used to cultivate olives, fruit, and tobacco.

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[Michael Avi-Yonah / Shimon Gibson (2nd ed.)]

AKHENATON or **AKHENATEN** (**Amenophis IV**; c. 1367–1350 B.C.E. or 1350–1334), Egyptian pharaoh. Son of *Amenophis III and one of the most controversial figures in Egyptian history, Akhenaton has been credited, with justification, as the earliest monotheist in history. When Akhenaton came to the throne, after the wars of the 18th-dynasty kings in Asia had ceased, the most important and most powerful deity in Egypt was Amun-Re, and his was the most powerful priesthood. Second to Amun was the cult of the sun god Re in his various manifestations. Amun-Re had given victory to Egypt's pharaohs. They, in turn, showed their gratitude with wealth and endowments to the Amun-Re priesthood. Fostering the cult of a minor manifestation of the sun god Aton, Akhenaton made a complete break with the Amun cult, eventually going so far as to ban it and persecute its adherents. He abandoned his given name Amenophis, "Amun-is-satisfied," for Akhenaton, "He-who-is-useful to the sun-disc," or "Glorified-spirit-of-the-sun-disk." Although the king's actions had social and economic ramifications, and clearly weakened the Amun-Re priestshood as well as the priesthoods and cults of the other gods, it would be inaccurate to see his religious revolution as a pretext. Akhenaton broke sharply with the past, suppressed the cults of all the ancient gods, and championed a dehistoricized god of light and time. His solar deity was the creator of what would later be called "the universe," its sustainer and the mirror image of pharaonic monarchy. Akhenaton's iconoclasm extended beyond the elimination of images of deity and ridding the cult of myth. He even had the hieroglyphic script purged of its anthropomorphisms and theriomorphisms (images of gods in animal form) and did away with the world of The Beyond. Akhenaton's iconography reduced the sun to a solar disk, the Aton/Aten. Some scholars point to the fact that only Akhenaton and his wife worshipped the Aton, while the king himself was worshipped by the people, as proof that that the teachings of the king did not amount to true monotheism. But it might be more productive to compare Akhenaton's role to that of Jesus as the door to the Father in Christianity (Ephesians 3:4) and to a lesser extent, to that of the **Ẓaddik* as the mediator between God and humanity in Ḥasidism. As the army sided with the king, Akhenaton's revolution temporarily succeeded. The capital was transferred from Thebes to Akhetaton (modern El-Amarna), Amun-Re was suppressed, and the Aton became the paramount deity of Egypt. After Akhenaton's death, the old religious order triumphed and Atonism was vigorously stamped out.

Akhenaton's capital at Amarna was not only the center of a vigorous naturalistic art that broke with tradition in subject matter, though not in form or canon, but was also the site where the Amarna tablets, some 380 cuneiform texts, mostly letters, representing a portion of the foreign archives of the Egyptian court, were found. When first studied, these texts, the most important contemporary sources for Egypt's foreign policy toward Palestine and Syria, presented a picture of the empire's decline due to Akhenaton's indolence and pacificism. The threat of a Hittite invasion, the raids of *Habiru nomads, and treason on the part of the Egyptian vassals all seemed to be ignored by the Egyptian court. This was not the case, however. Egypt's main interest was to keep the trade routes to Mesopotamia open, and only incidentally to keep the tenuous peace. When Egyptian interests were really threatened, action was taken. There is even evidence in the Amarna Letters that Akhenaton was planning a campaign in Asia at the time of his death (see also *Tell el-Amarna). Forty years later the only mention of him in an Egyptian text is as "that criminal of Akhenaton."

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[Alan Richard Schulman / S. David Sperling (2nd ed.)]

AKIROV, ALFRED (1941–), Israeli entrpreneur. Akirov built a business empire ranging from real estate and hotels to high-tech, securing his position as one of the country's leading businessman, known for his determination and sound business instincts. He was born in Iraq in 1941 and immigrated in his childhood to Israel with his parents. He started working in construction in the family business and then struck out on his own. After a couple of business ventures, including participation in the acquisition of the Arkia Airline and a textile company, he set up his own holding company, Elrov, in 1978.

The company, which was listed on the Tel Aviv Stock Exchange in 1983, was active in two core businesses: real estate and technology and communication. Akirov demonstrated his expertise in the property business by building some of Israel's best-known development projects, including the Europe Building and the Opera Tower in Tel Aviv. The company also built and owns several large shopping malls in Israel's central area.

As the Israeli economy entered its worst economic recession in 2000, Elrov shifted part of its focus to overseas activity and the company acquired commercial centers in Switzerland, England, France, and the United States.

Akirov won fame with the building of the David Citadel, Jerusalem's most luxurious hotel, overlooking the walls of the capital's Old City. Plans to develop a nearby $150 million project, known as the Mamilla project, which included an upscale residential and business area, ran into difficulties after a long dispute with the municipality of Jerusalem.

Elrov also invested, through its Technorov subsidiary, in some of Israel's most promising high-tech start-ups and venture capital funds. However, the burst of the high-tech bubble in 2000 forced the company to write off much of its investment.

[Dan Gerstenfeld (2nd ed.)]

AKIVA (c. 50–135 C.E.), one of the most outstanding *tannaim*, probably the foremost scholar of his age. A teacher and martyr, he exercised a decisive influence in the development of the *halakhah*. A history of Akiva's scholarly activities – his relations to his teachers, R. Eliezer b. Hyrcanus, R. Joshua b. Hananiah, Rabban Gamaliel II, and to his disciples, R. *Meir, R. *Simeon b. Yoḥai, R. *Yose b. Ḥalafta, R. *Eleazar b. Shammua, and R. *Nehemiah – would be virtually identical to a history of tannaitic literature itself. The content of Akiva's teaching is preserved for us in the many traditions transmitted and interpreted by his students, which make up the vast majority of the material included in the Mishnah, the Tosefta, and the *Midreshei Halakhah*. Later tradition regarded Akiva as "one of the fathers of the world" (TJ, Shek. 3:1, 47b), and credited him with systematizing the *halakhot* and the *aggadot* (TJ, Shek. 5:1, 48c).

In the eyes of later storytellers, the period of the *tannaim* was a heroic age, and even the slightest scrap of information about the least of the *tannaim* can develop in the later *aggadah* into a tale of epic proportions. In the case of truly significant and heroic figures, like R. Akiva, this process of literary expansion and elaboration is inevitable. The resulting legends relating to Akiva's life and death are well known (see bibliography below), and we will summarize a few of them in outline here:

The Bavli tells that in his early years Akiva was not only unlearned, an *am ha-areẓ*, but also a bitter enemy of scholars: "When I was an *am ha-areẓ* I said, 'Had I a scholar in my power, I would maul him like an ass'" (Pes. 49b). Of relatively humble parentage (Ber. 27b), Akiva was employed as a shepherd in his early years by (Bar) Kalba Savu'a, one of the wealthiest men in Jerusalem (Ned. 50a; Ket. 62b). The latter's opposition to his daughter Rachel's marriage to Akiva led him to cut them both off. Abandoned to extreme poverty, Rachel once even sold her hair for food. Rachel made her marriage to Akiva conditional upon his devoting himself to Torah study. Leaving his wife behind, Akiva was away from home for 12 years (according to *Avot de-Rabbi Nathan* – 13 years). The Talmud relates that when Akiva, accompanied by 12,000 students, returned home after an absence of 12 years he overheard his wife telling a neighbor that she would willingly wait another 12 years if within that time he could increase his learning twofold. Hearing this, he left without revealing himself to her, and returned 12 years later with 24,000 students. Later in his career, Akiva was imprisoned by the Romans for openly teaching the Torah in defiance of their edict (Sanh. 12a). When Pappos b. Judah urged him to desist from studying and teaching in view of the Roman decree making it a capital offense, he answered with the parable of the fox which urged a fish to come up on dry land to escape the fisherman's net. The fish answered "'If we are afraid in the element in which we live, how much more should we be afraid when we are out of that element. We should then surely die.' So it is with us with regard to the study of the Torah, which is 'thy life and the length of thy days'" (Ber. 61b). He was not immediately executed and was reportedly allowed visitors (Pes. 112a; but cf. TJ, Yev. 12:5, 12d). Akiva was subsequently tortured to death by the Romans by having his flesh torn from his body with "iron combs." He bore his sufferings with fortitude, welcoming his martyrdom as a unique opportunity of fulfilling the precept, "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart and with all thy soul … even if you must pay for it with your life" (Ber. 61b).

Akiva also played a significant role in narratives which centered on the other great figures of his time. When R. Eliezer b. Hyrcanus was excommunicated, it was Akiva who was chosen to break the news to him (BM 59b). In the controversy between Rabban Gamaliel II and R. Joshua, Akiva attempted to effect a reconciliation between them (Ber. 27b–28c; cf. RH 2:9).

Granting the literary and religious power of these legends, the modern critical reader must approach them with care. Take, for example, the tradition, brought above, which ascribes to Akiva in his early years a bitter hatred and antagonism toward rabbinic scholars. This tradition appears in the Bavli as part of an extended collection of similar traditions (Pes. 49a–b), ascribed to various rabbinic scholars from the Land of Israel in the 2nd and 3rd centuries. S. Wald has shown (Pesaḥim III, 211–239) that this entire talmudic passage is a product of late tendentious revision of earlier sources, reflecting the antagonism between later Babylonian sages and their real or imagined interlocutors – *ame ha-areẓ* in their terminology. With regard to R. Akiva himself, this source must be viewed as pseudoepigraphic at best, and can neither be ascribed to him in any historical sense, nor can it be reconciled with other traditional accounts of his early life. For example, in the Talmud Yerushalmi (Naz. 7:1, 66a) we hear a very different story: "R. Akiva said: This is how I became a disciple of the sages. Once I was walking by the way and I came across a dead body [*met mitzvah*]. I carried it for four miles until I came to a cemetery and buried it. When I came to R. Yehoshua and R. Eliezer I told them what I had done. They told me: ‘For every step you took, it is as if you spilled blood.’ I said: ‘If in a case where I intended to do good, I was found guilty, in a case where I did not intend to do good, I most certainly will be found guilty!’ From that moment on, I became a disciple of the sages.” The fact that Akiva in this story, while still an *am ha-areẓ,* both sought and expected the approval of the two sages who would in the future be his closest teachers, clearly contradicts the notion that at this stage in his life he both hated and held the sages in contempt.

Admittedly, we have no clear and compelling reason to accept the Yerushalmi’s version of events as historically accurate. Nevertheless the very fact that it gives us an alternative version of how Akiva “became a disciple of the sages” raises questions – at the very least – about the historical reliability of the Bavli’s story about Kalba Savu’a and his daughter. These traditions have themselves been the subject of intense study, most recently by S. Friedman, who traced the evolution of these stories within the Babylonian rabbinic tradition. Given the number and complexity of the traditions surrounding the figure of R. Akiva, it will in all likelihood be some time before it will be possible to evaluate their relative historical value and the religious, social, and literary tendencies imbedded in them.

Among the early traditions ascribed to Akiva in the Mishnah, we find him affirming the ideas of free will and God’s omniscience, “Everything is foreseen, and free will is given” (Avot 3:15). He taught that a sinner achieves atonement by immersion in God’s mercy, just as impurity is removed by the immersion in the waters of a *mikveh* (Yoma 8:9). Akiva is reported to have said: “Beloved is a man in that he was created in the image [of God]” (Avot 3:18), and held that “Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself” is the most fundamental principle of the Torah (Sifra, Kedoshim, Ch. 4:13). Akiva’s insistence that the Song of Songs be regarded as an integral part of the canon – “All the Writings are holy; but the Song of Songs is Holy of Holies” (Yad, 3:5) – may be related to his mystical interests (Lieberman, *Mishnat Shir ha-Shirim*). According to Tosefta *Hagigah* (2:2), Akiva received instruction in the mystical traditions concerning the divine *merkavah* from R. Joshua, who himself received these traditions from R. Johanan b. Zakkai. In addition, R. Akiva is counted as one of the four sages who “entered the *pardes*,” and was the only one of the four who “ascended in peace and descended in peace,” i.e., participated in this mystical experience and emerged unharmed. As a result of these traditions, R. Akiva became the protagonist of *Heikhalot Zuṭarti*, one of the earlier works of the *heikhalot* literature, imparting instructions to the initiate concerning the dangers involved in ascending to heaven and concerning the techniques necessary for evading these dangers.

For Akiva’s method of midrashic interpretation of scripture, and the school of *Midrash Halakhah* which bears his name, **Midrashei Halkhah.*

See also *Bar Kochba.

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[Harry Freedman / Stephen G. Wald (2nd ed.)]

AKIVA BAER BEN JOSEPH (**Simeon Akiva Baer**; 17th century), talmudist and kabbalist. Akiva was among the Jews who were expelled from Vienna in 1670. He thereafter wandered through the whole of Bohemia and parts of Germany, earning his living by teaching Talmud and delivering lectures in the synagogue on the Sabbath. He interrupted his travels when he was elected rabbi of Burgpreppach, in Bavaria. There Akiva wrote a kabbalistic commentary on daily prayers entitled *Avodat ha-Bore* (“The Worship of the Creator,” 1688), comprised of five parts, each beginning with one of the letters of his name (A.K.I.B.A.). This work met with success and was published three times. A new commentary for the Sabbath and holidays was added to the third edition. Akiva interrupted his travels a second time to become rabbi of Zeckendorf, near Bamberg. There he met the leader of the community, Seligman Levi Meir, with whom he composed a short encyclopedia to *Midrash Rabbah*, which was published under the title *Pi Shenayim* (“A Double Share,” 1702). He remained in Zeckendorf six years. From there Akiva was called to Schnaitach, which at that time had a large Jewish community. There he was imprisoned during a riot. After his release, Akiva became rabbi of Gunzenhausen and, finally, second rabbi of Ansbach. He was the author of two works in Yiddish, which had even a wider circulation than his Hebrew works, namely: *Abbir Ya’akov* (“The Mighty [God] of Jacob,” 1700), a collection of legends from the Zohar and from the *Midrash ha-Ne’elam* about the patriarchs, based on the first 47 chapters of Genesis; “*Ma’asei Adonai*” (“The Deeds of the Lord”), a collection of wondrous stories from the Zohar, from the works of Isaac Luria, and from other kabbalistic books.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Steinschneider, Cat Bod, 2612, no. 7210; Benjacob, Oẓar, 2, no. 22; 427, no. 12; 457, no. 69.

[*Encyclopaedia Judaica* (Germany)]

AKIVA BEN MENAHEM HA-KOHEN OF OFEN (Buda; second half of 15th century), Hungarian financial expert and scholar in Buda. After Jacob *Mendel, Akiva was the most influential Jew at the court of King Matthias I of Hungary (1458–90). Epitaphs of members of the family (in Prague) refer to him as *nasi* and “head of the entire Diaspora.” In 1496 Akiva was still living in Buda. Later forced to leave Hungary as a result of the slanderous allegations of jealous Hungarian magnates, he settled in Prague where he established a yeshivah. Akiva had 12 sons and 13 daughters, 12 of whom married *kohanim* (priests). When on holidays 25 members of his family pronounced the priestly blessing, they were considered to fulfill an interpretation of Numbers 6:23: "Thus (Heb. *koh* the numerical equivalent of the letters being 25) shall ye bless…."

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[Alexander Scheiber]

AKKAD (Heb. אַכַּד), one of the capital cities of *Nimrod in Shinar (Sumer), according to the "table of nations" (Gen. 10:9–10). In the cuneiform sources, Akkad (Sumerian Agade or Aggide) refers to both a city and a country in northern Babylonia which first flourished as the seat of the "(Old) Akkadian" kings in the Sargonic period (c. 3380–3200 B.C.E.). The city's exact location is still unknown, but it must have been situated on the (ancient) Euphrates, upstream from Nippur and not far from Babylon. According to tradition, it was founded by Sargon, a Semite who began his career at the court of the city of Kish. He assumed a name characteristic of a usurper (Sargon literally: "the king is legitimate") and the title "king of Kish." In this he was followed by his sons Rimush and Manishtusu. His grandson Naram-Sin assumed new titles and dignities and seems to have brought the Akkadian Empire to new heights, but in so doing he overreached himself. By the end of his reign, the rapid decline of the empire had begun. Later Sumerian tradition attributed this to Naram-Sin's sins against the Temple of Enlil at Nippur, but modern scholarship tends to attribute it to the increasing inroads of the barbarian Gutians from the eastern highlands. Under Naram-Sin's son, Shar-kali-sharri, Akkadian rule was progressively restricted, as the more modest title of "King of Akkad" attests. The decline and fall of the dynasty left a deep impression on the country: Naram-Sin was turned into a stereotype of the unfortunate ruler in later literature, and the "end of Agade" became not only a fixed point for subsequent chronology but also a typecase for omens and prophecies.

While the destruction of the city of Akkad was complete, the name of the country survived into later periods. The geographical expression "[land of] Sumer and [land of] Akkad" came to designate the central axis of Sumero-Akkadian political hegemony; i.e., the areas lying respectively northwest and southeast of Nippur. The kings who held that religious and cultural capital therefore assumed the title "king of Sumer and Akkad." They tended to replace it, or from Hammurapi on even to supplement it, with the loftier title of "king of the four quarters [of the world]" when to these two central lands they added the rule of the western and eastern lands, Amurru and Elam (see *Sumerians). From Middle Babylonian times on (1500–1000), the noun Akkad was used in the cuneiform sources as a virtual synonym for Babylonia.

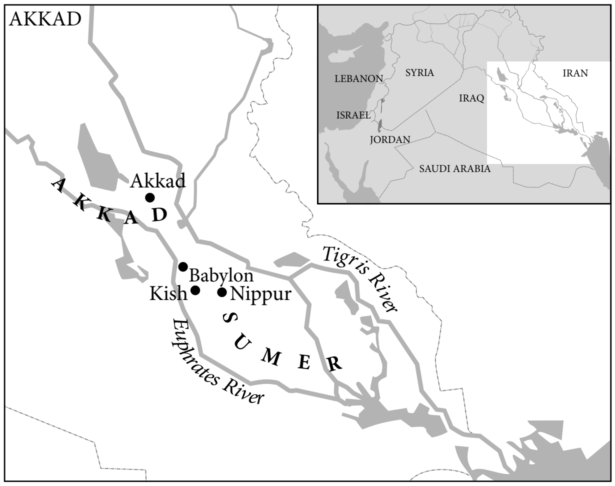

The adjective "Akkadian" was used in various senses by the ancients: originally it designated the Semitic speakers and speech of Mesopotamia as distinguished from the Sumerian, then the older Semitic stratum as distinguished from the more recent Semitic arrivals of *Amorite speech, and finally Babylonian as distinguished from Assyrian. In modern terminology, *Akkadian is used as a collective term for all the East Semitic dialects of Mesopotamia.

Which of these meanings best applies to the "Akkad" of Genesis 10:10 can only be answered in the context of the entire Nimrod pericope (Gen. 10:8–12) and of the identification of Nimrod. Probably the figure of Nimrod combines features pertaining to several heroic kings of the Mesopotamian historic tradition, from Gilgamesh of Uruk to Tukulti-Ninurta I of Assur (see E.A. Speiser). However, the reference to Akkad as one of his first or capital cities points to the Old Akkadian period, and to its two principal monarchs, Sargon and Naram-Sin. Both were central figures of Mesopotamian historiography, and Naram-Sin in particular introduced the title of "mighty [man]" into the Mesopotamian titulary. Genesis 10:8 may reflect this innovation.

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[William W. Hallo]

AKKADIAN LANGUAGE. Akkadian is the designation for a group of closely related East Semitic dialects current in Mesopotamia from the early third millennium until the Christian era. Closely connected to it is Eblaite, the language found at Tell Maradikh (ancient Ebla) in northern Syria.

The name is derived from *akkadūm*, the relative adjective of *a.ga.dé* = *Akkad (biblical אַכַּד), the capital of the Sargonic Empire (c. 2400 B.C.E.). It is not known what the speakers of

East Semitic in Mesopotamia called themselves or their speech prior to this period. The available textual evidence does not show any marked dialectical discontinuity between the pre-Sargonic and the Sargonic periods. The earliest textual occurrence is from the first dynasty of Ur (c. 2600 B.C.E.) and the latest from the first century C.E. The dialectical history of Akkadian can be schematically represented as follows:

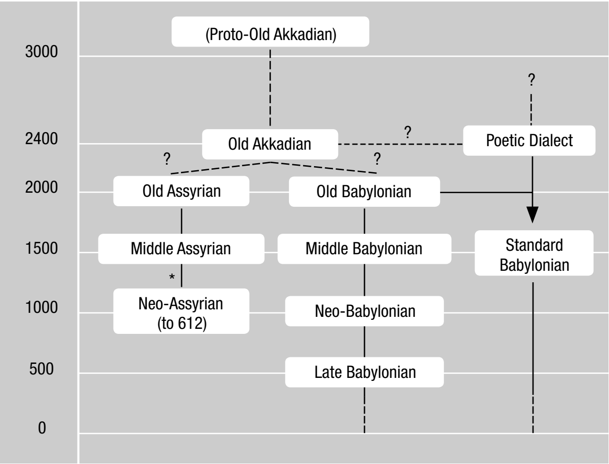

* Linear development uncertain

The Old Akkadian corpus consists of royal inscriptions, economic documents, letters, and the occasional literary text from the pre-Sargonic, Sargonic, and Ur III periods (to c. 2000 B.C.E.). These texts, in particular the royal inscriptions, are in large measure known from Old Babylonian copies, products of the Nippur scribal school in southern Babylonia. Most of the other original material also comes from this region, but texts have been found further afield: in *Elam, northern Syria, and eastern Anatolia (Asia *Minor). It is not clear whether Old Akkadian is the parent of the later Akkadian dialects. While some obvious phonologic and morphologic isoglosses would seem to indicate that Old Assyrian is the descendant of Old Akkadian, the latter in other, more basic aspects, has much in common with Old Babylonian. However, both Old Assyrian and Old Babylonian may have evolved from other unknown and undocumented dialects. (On this point see M. Hilgert, "New Perspectives in the Study of Third Millennium Akkadian," *Cuneiform Digital Library Journal,* 4 (2003), 1–14.)

Assyrian

Old Assyrian is mainly known from letters and economic documents excavated in eastern Anatolia, chiefly in the lower city at Kultepe (ancient Kaniš) where an Assyrian mercantile colony (*kārum*) was located at the beginning of the second millennium. The corpus includes a small number of royal inscriptions and about a dozen literary texts, including some incantations; a few of the texts originated in *Assur and other north Mesopotamian sites, such as Nuzi.

The best known Middle Assyrian document is the so-called "Middle Assyrian laws" from Assur, dating from the middle and second half of the second millennium B.C.E. Economic and legal documents and letters are also attested.

Neo-Assyrian texts consist for the most part of letters and economic documents with a few literary texts. Documents written in this dialect come to an abrupt end with the destruction of Nineveh and other cities in 612 B.C.E. and the complete collapse of the Assyrian Empire shortly thereafter. It should be noted that the Neo-Assyrian royal inscriptions are written in Standard Babylonian, as are the inscriptions of the dynasties ruling southern Babylonia in the first millennium B.C.E. The relative absence of legal material from the private sector seems to be due to an increasing use of Aramaic.

Babylonian

Old Babylonian is richly documented in large numbers of letters, economic records, state and legal documents, including the Code of Hammurapi, royal inscriptions, and a sizable corpus of literary texts consisting of hymns and various types of lyric and epic poetry. Several dialects, some showing substrate influence, can be discerned: a southern and northern dialect in Babylonia, a northeast dialect centered in the *Diyalah region, and provincial dialects such as those from Susa and *Mari. Literary texts are generally written in a poetic register (formally called "dialect") which exhibits archaic forms and syntax. This poetic dialect, the so-called "hymnic-epic dialect," could be either a survival of an earlier stage of the language or an older dialect with close affinities to Old Akkadian in a restricted stereotyped use. Post-Old Babylonian Akkadian literature from all centers is usually written in a linguistic register which is an artificial literary offshoot of Old Babylonian, and is influenced by archaic forms current in the older poetic dialect, called Standard Babylonian. Standard Babylonian was cultivated by the scribes for literary purposes from the middle of the second millennium and through the first millennium B.C.E. until Akkadian ceased to be used. Standard Babylonian suppressed literary creativity in local dialects, e.g., Assyrian, but it tends to show a strong influence of the locally spoken tongue.

Middle Babylonian is attested in letters, economic and official documents, and a few literary documents. While the size of the corpus of Middle Babylonian texts found in Mesopotamia proper is moderate, geographically this dialect (and variations of it) is the most widely spread and was used all over western Asia during the second millennium B.C.E. The Akkadian material from the archives of Bogazköy and Ras Shamra (*Ugarit) are written in local forms of Middle Babylonian, as are the letters of El *Amarna found in Egypt, which, however, originated in Anatolia, Syria, Palestine, and Mesopotamia. The wide diffusion of Akkadian during the period was due to its use as a diplomatic language.

Neo-Babylonian is likewise represented mainly by a large corpus of non-literary sources, especially letters and economic documents. The use of the last surviving "living" dialect, Late Babylonian, petered out completely during the Seleucid period. Standard Babylonian continued to be in use in the temple scriptoria, in the transmission of canonical compositions, and in the compilation of astronomical texts which are the last remnant of the Mesopotamian tradition. The latest datable text so far recognized is an astronomical almanac written in 385 Seleucid era (74/75 C.E.).

Phonology

Akkadian is written with signs which apparently were originally devised for Sumerian. The application of the Sumerian system to Akkadian resulted in a mixed method of writing: on the one hand with logograms and, on the other, with syllables of the type *vC, Cv*, or *CvC* (*C* = consonant; *v* = vowel). The phonemic system and structure of Sumerian is radically different from that of Akkadian and the writing system consequently presented inadequacies which were only partially overcome during the long history of writing Akkadian. A phonological interpretation is likewise hindered due to a tendency toward historic writing.

VOWELS. The vocalic phonemes represented are the long and short *a, i, u, e. E* does not seem to be original but is derived from *a* or *i;* e.g., *ilqaʾ* > *ilqe* ("he took"), while *i* tends to become *e*, especially in Assyrian, and the etymologically long *ī* became *ē* already in Old Babylonian times. Rare mixed writings, e.g., *ma-ru-iṣ* (Old Babylonian; "is sick"), have been used in attempts to demonstrate other vowel qualities, in this case the *u-i* sequence being taken as representing ʉ. Greek transcriptions from the Seleucid period which reflect the pronunciation of Late Babylonian represent *u* by *o*, e.g., οζον = *uzun* ("ear of"), and *ū* by *ω*, e.g., νωρ = *nūr* ("light of"). Diphthongs are monophthongized, e.g., ‡*ayn-* > *īn-* ("eye"), ‡*mawt-* > *mūt* ("death"). (The double dagger, ‡, indicates the reconstructed form.) Pseudo-diphthongs, such as Old Babylonian *nawrum* ("bright"), probably represent *nawirum.* A basic characteristic of the Assyrian dialects is the vowel harmony operative with short unaccented *a* in an open syllable which assimilates progressively, e.g., *awutum* (nominative singular), *awitim* (genitive singular), *awatam* (accusative singular; "word"); in Babylonian: *awatum, awatim, awatam.* Vowel length is phonemic, e.g., *šarratum* ("queen"), *šarrātum* ("queens").

CONSONANTS. The considerable reduction in consonants characteristic of Akkadian (and of later forms of other Semitic languages, such as Hebrew and Aramaic), as compared to the theoretically reconstructed consonant phonemes of Proto-Semitic, or those of other Semitic languages such as Ugaritic or Arabic, is already evident in Old Akkadian. By the time of the earliest written Akkadian, the dentals *ḏ, ṭ* and *ḍ* had shifted to *z, ṣ*, and *ṣ* respectively, while *ṯ* was on its way to *š̱* but in Old Akkadian is distinguished graphically from etymological *š* and *ś*.

The laryngeals for the most part merged with ʾ or disappeared (Sumerian substrate influence?), compensating with the lengthening of the vowel and apophony, e.g., ‡*baʿlum* > *bēlum* ("lord"), although in Assyrian and some Babylonian dialects this process is not complete. In Old Akkadian ʾ and *ḥ* are at least partially distinct as shown by such writings as *ra-si-im* = *raʾšim*, later *rēšim* (genitive singular of "head") and the special use of the sign *É* as in *il-qa- É* = ‡*ilqaḥ* ("he took," cf. Sumerian É.GAL > Akkadian *ekallum* > Hebrew היכל). The influence of intrusive West Semitic dialects is reflected in doublets, e.g., Old Babylonian *ḫadannum* for *adannum* ("fixed time," *ʿdn*), Neo-Assyrian *ḫannū* for *annū* ("this," *hn-*). (On laryngals see L. Kogan, "*g in Akkadian," UF, 33 (2001), 263–98.)

Of the various phonological changes affecting consonants as a result of environmental conditioning two should be mentioned. In the nominal patterns *mapras* and *mupras* (except in certain nominal forms, e.g., the participle of the verb of the derived themes; see below) of roots containing a labial phoneme, *m* dissimilates to *n* (Barth's Law), e.g., ‡*markabtum* > *narkabtum* ("chariot"). Likewise, in any given root one of two emphatics dissimilate, viz, *ṣ* > *s* (very rare), q > k, ṭ > t – in this order of stability (Geers' Law), e.g., ‡*ṣabātuṃ* >*ṣabātum* ("to seize"), ‡*qaṣābu* > *kaṣābu* ("to cut away").

Initial *w* disappeared already in Old Babylonian, e.g., *warḫu* (Old Babylonian), *arḫu* (post-Old Babylonian; "month"). In Assyrian, *wa-* > *(wu >) u*, e.g., *warḫum* > *urḫum.* Babylonian intervocalic *-w-* > *-m-*, e.g., *awīlum* > *amīlum* ("man"). In Assyrian, *wa-* > *wu* > *u*, e.g., *warhum* > *urhum.* Babylonian *dēq* ("is good"). On the other hand, intervocalic *-m-* in Late Babylonian > *w* or ʾ, e.g., *Šamaš* > ‡*Š(a)w(a)š* ("the sun god" (from Aramaic transcriptions); cf. CAYH for *šamē* ("of heaven") in Seleucid Greek transcriptions; cf. Hebrew סיון (< *Simānu*). Survival of the *y* is limited.

Morphology

PRONOUNS. Akkadian shows a rich range of bound and unbound pronominal forms, especially personal pronouns. In the third person, the distinctive element is *š*, where West Semitic, for example, has *h*, e.g., *šu* ("he"), *ši* ("she"). Unbound pronominal forms distinguish three case forms: nominative, genitive/accusative, dative, e.g., *anāku, yāti, yāši* ("I"), respectively, and in bound forms genitive, dative, and accusative, e.g., *bēlī* ("my lord"), *išpur-šunūšim* ("he sent to them"), *išpur-šunūti* ("he sent them"), respectively where it can be seen that in the plural at least *-š-* is characteristic of the dative and *-t-* of the accusative. The dative pronouns are a strong isogloss between Old Akkadian and Old Babylonian. They are restricted in Old Assyrian where the genitive-accusative forms function as datives; dative forms appear regularly from Middle Assyrian on. There is also a possessive pronominal adjective, e.g., *yāʾum* ("mine"). Of the various *deixis* forms, *annūm* ("this") and *ullum* ("that") can be cited, but many dialect words and forms for the near and far *deixis* also occur. In addition, the third person unbound pronoun can be used anaphorically, e.g., *awīlum šu* ("that man"). Interrogatives include *mannum* ("who") and *mīnum* ("what"), *ayyum* ("which [one]") and *mā* ("what") in older dialects. The indefinite pronoun is *mamman* (< ‡*man-man*). A true relative pronoun is found only in Old Akkadian: *šu, ši, ša*, fem. *šat*, plural *šūt, šāt.* Old Assyrian has some of these forms in personal names but in later dialects they occur residually in stereotyped phrases, mostly literary. The particle *ša* serves as an all-purpose relative, in both nominal and verbal phrases, e.g., *bitum ša rēdim* ("the soldiers house") and *ša īpušu* ("which he made"). (On this see G. Deutscher, "The Akkadian Relative Clauses in Cross-Linguistic Perspective," ZA, 92 (2002), 86–105.)

NOUNS AND ADJECTIVES. Nouns and adjectives show structural patterning as in other Semitic languages, e.g., *parrāsum* as an "occupational" pattern, e.g., *dayyānum* ("judge") or *qarrādum* ("warrior"); and *maprasum* indicating instrument or place, e.g., *maškanum* ("depot"; cf. Barth's Law above).

Formally, there are two genders, masculine (zero marker) and feminine (*at* marker). There are three numbers: singular, plural, and dual. Mimation in the singular of both genders and in the plural feminine, and nunation in the dual are regular until the end of the Old Babylonian and Old Assyrian periods. The singular is triptotically declined forming a nominative, accusative, and genitive in the earlier periods, yielding later to a binary opposition of nominative/accusative and genitive. The plural and dual are diptotic. Traces of a productive dual, nominal, and verbal, are evident in Old Akkadian but by post-Old Akkadian times it has become virtually vestigial, surviving mostly in set words and phrases.

The vocative is expressed by a stressed form with zero ending in the singular, e.g., *eṭel* (< ‡*eṭel*, "O, youth"), *kalab* (< ‡*kalb*, "O, dog"). Plural vocatives seem to coincide with the nominative forms. The morphology of the adjective differs from that of the noun uniquely in that the masculine plural exhibits the morphemes *-ūtu(m)* for the nominative and *-ūti(m)* for the oblique cases, e.g., *šarrū rabūtum* ("the great kings"). The construct case of the noun is a short form with the case markers removed or reduced, e.g., *bēl bītim* ("the householder"), *ilšu* ("his god"), *mārat awīlim* ("man's daughter"), *ilū mātim* ("the gods of the land"). The noun or adjective, used as a predicate, can be declined with the bound suffix personal forms, those of the first and second person showing affinity to the personal pronouns, e.g., *šarrāku* ("I am king"), *lū awīlāt* ("be a man!"), while the third person shows gender and plural affixes only, e.g., *libbašu ṭāb* ("he is satisfied"), *Ištar rigmam ṭābat* ("Ištar, sweet of voice"). Feminine nouns are declined in the stative without the feminine marker, e.g., *gašrāte malkāti* (< *malkatum) šumūki ṣirū* ("You [Ištar] are powerful, you are a princess, your names are majestic").

PREPOSITIONS AND CONJUNCTIONS. Prepositions govern the genitive ease of nouns, e.g, *alpam kīma alpim* ("[he will replace] ox for ox"), and most prepositions can also function as conjunctions in which case the verb appears in the subjunctive, e.g., *kīma ērubu* ("when/as soon as he entered"). It should be noted that *ina* ("in"), *ana* ("to") and *ištu* ("from") suppleted the common Semitic prepositions *b,(')l,* and *mn* respectively at a preliterate stage of Akkadian.

OTHER PARTICLES. Common negations are *lā* and *ul*, e.g., *lā iddinūšum* ("they did not give him"), *ul aššat* ("she is not a wife"), *lā kittum* ("untruth"). Conjunctives are *u*, "and," "or," e.g., *bēl šamē u erṣetim* ("Lord of heaven and earth"), and the enclitic *-ma* used post-verbally as a sentence conjunctive, e.g., *ul itārma… ul uššab* ("he shall not return and take his seat [as judge]"). After nominal or pronominal forms, it forms a stressed predicate (cleft sentence), e.g., *adi máti* ("until when"), *adi matīma* ("until when is it that – ?"), *umma Ḫammurapīma* ("thus Hammurapi," introductory formula in letters), *šūma ilikšu illak* ("it is he who will perform the [feudal] service").

Umma, with or without the enclitic *-mi*, or in the Assyrian dialects *mā*, introduces direct speech. A strong interrogative tone can be indicated by vowel lengthening, e.g., *ina bītika mannum biri anākū bariākū* ("who in your household goes hungry? Should I go hungry?"). Unreal statements are indicated by the enclitic *-man*. Conditional sentences are introduced by *šumma* (or *šumma-man* for unreal conditions) with the verb in the indicative.

ADVERBIAL CONSTRUCTIONS. In adverbial constructions the accusative is often used, e.g., *imittam* ("to the right"). Among the adverbial formatives are the locative-adverbial in *-um/ū* which with nouns functions sequentially as a case, *libbu/libbum = ina libbim, libbuššu* < *-umšu* ("in it"), and is used as an adverbial formative, e.g., *balum* ("without"). The locative terminative affixes *-iš* in the meaning "to," e.g., *ašriš* ("to the place") and adverbially as in *elīš* ("above," "upward").

VERBS. BASIC PATTERNS. All tenses of the verb are prefixed forms: *iprus* ("he cut") preterite, *iparras* ("he cuts") present-future with characteristic doubling of the middle root radical, and, unique to Akkadian, *iptaras* ("he has cut / will have cut") perfect, a syntactically conditioned stressed or consequential form, e.g., *dayyānum dīnam idīn… warkānumma dīnšu īteni* ("the judge passed judgment but afterward changed his verdict") or as a future perfect, e.g., *inūma issanqūnikkum* ("When they will have reached you…"). The imperative can be derived from the preterite base, e.g., *pursus* (< ‡*prus*), imperative singular (cf. below). The precative is formed by the proclitic particle *lu* + preterite for the third person singular and plural and *i* + preterite for the first person plural, e.g., *lipuš* < *lu* + *ipuš* ("let him do"), *lubluṭ* <*lu*+*abluṭ* ("may I stay alive"), *i nillik* ("let us go"). Contracted forms in Assyrian differ. Other moods include the indicative in main or independent clauses having gender and plural suffixes, the subjunctive in *-u* (Assyrian also in *-ni*, also affixed to non-verbal forms) in subordinated clauses, e.g., *ša īpušu* ("which he did"). In Babylonia affixes of the subjunctive and ventive are mutually exclusive. Unique to Akkadian, and of a different character, is the *ventive*, or *allative*, indicating motion toward the speaker or focus of action, e.g., *illik* ("he came"), *illikam* ("he came here"). The base form participle is patterned *pārisum* (cf. Hebrew *qal* active participle), while other themes (~ Hebrew *binyanim*) have *mu-* prefix forms. There is no passive participle, but the verbal adjective of each theme is a partial semantic surrogate. The verbal adjective, used in the predicative form, is declined (the stative) with bound suffix pronominal forms, as with the predicative state of nouns (cf. above). In form, then, the stative bears great resemblance to the West Semitic perfect and the old perfective in Egyptian. In meaning the stative generally indicates the resultant state indicated by the action of the verb in its finite forms, e.g., *maška labiš* ("he is/was clothed in a skin").

Various pronominal morphemes are prefixed to the finite forms of the verb to indicate the person. The plural number is indicated in the second and third person by suffixes. Old Akkadian, Assyrian, and, less commonly, the poetic dialect distinguish the third person feminine singular while in Babylonian the masculine form serves both.

THEMES (~ HEBREW *BINYANIM*). In common with other Semitic languages, semantic nuances can be given to the verb by a system of themes or forms exhibiting characteristic structures. The basic forms are commonly four in number, though rarer types can also be demonstrated. The basic verb theme is termed *G* (~ Hebrew *qal*) and contains verbs with both stative, e.g., *(w)arāqum* ("to be/become pale") and fientive (transitive) meaning, e.g., *ṣabātum* ("to seize"). Verbs show various tense vowels between the second and third root radicals in the present-future and preterite: *a – u, a – a, i – i*, and *u – u*. The characteristic vowel of the perfect is the same as that of the present, thus *iparras* ("he cuts"), *iptaras* ("he has cut"), *iprus* ("he cut").

The *D* theme (~ Hebrew *piʿel*) is characterized by the doubling of the middle root radical and, in common with the *Š* theme, it employs a different set of pronominal prefixes than *G*, and shows a characteristic *a – i* alternation between the tense vowel of the present and preterite. The perfect here goes with the preterite in the choice of tense vowel, thus *uparras, uptarris, uparris*. In meaning the *D* can be factitive, especially with stative verbs, e.g., *dummuqum* ("to make good"; *damāqum*, "to be good"); causative, e.g., *lummudu* ("to teach"; *lamādu*, "to learn"); estimative, e.g., *q/gullulu* ("to treat disparagingly"; *qalālu*, "to be/become insufficient"); iterative, e.g, *sullūm* ("to pray"), *quʾʾum* ("to wait"). The *D* also serves as a denominating theme, e.g., *ṣullulu* ("to roof over"; *ṣulūlu*, "roof") and more rarely indicates plurality of object, or subject.

The *Š* theme (Hebrew *hiphʿil*) is so termed after the *-š(a)-* morpheme placed before the first root radical. Thus, *ušapras, uštapris, ušapris* have the same tense vowel alternation as in *D* and of the nuances conveyed by this theme the main one is causative, e.g., *šūṣūm* ("to bring out"; *waṣūm*, "to go out"). An internal *Š* indicates entry into a state or condition of some duration, e.g., *šulburum* ("to grow old"), *šumšūm* ("to spend the night").

In the *N* theme, an *n(a)* morpheme is placed before the first root radical. Like in the *G* theme, various tense vowels are shown, and these can be correlated with those of the *G*. For *parāsum*, the forms are *ipparras* (< ‡*inparras), ittapras* (< ‡*intapras), ipparis* (< ‡*inparis*). The *N* theme is commonly a passive to the *G*, e.g., *napšurum* ("to be untied, absolved, explained"). Other nuances are reflexive, e.g., *nalbušum* ("to get dressed") and related middle meanings, e.g., *naplusum* ("to look [benignly] upon"). Stative verbs take on an ingressive meaning, e.g., *nabšūm* ("to come into being"; *bašūm*, "to be").

Within each theme occur forms with *-ta* and *tan/tana-* infixes. The *t* forms (*Gt, Dt, Št, Nt*) with the *-ta-* infixes give a reciprocal or separative meaning, e.g., *imtalkū* (["the judges] consulted together"), *ittalak* ("he went off"). Some *t* forms coincide with perfect forms making the latter difficult to recognize. The *tn* forms (*Gtn, Dtn, Štn, Ntn*) with a *-tan/tana-* infix give a durative or iterative force, e.g., *ittanallak* ("he walks around/back and forth"), *imtanaqqutū* ("[the stars] fall down [from heaven]").

Akkadian lacks a developed series of parallel passive themes. The *G* theme shows no trace of such related forms. Here the *N* theme serves as passive. In the *D* theme, some *t* forms, identical with other *t* forms of the *D* theme, have a passive or middle nuance, e.g., *utellulum* ("to become clean, cleanse oneself"; *elēlum*, "to be clean"; *ullulum*, "to cleanse"), *eleppam uṭṭebbe uša libbiša uḫtalliq* ("he subsequently sank the boat and thereby caused the loss of its cargo") as against *mātī… uḫtalliq* ("my country has been destroyed"). Likewise, in the *Š* theme, *t* forms can have a passive or middle meaning. Compare *šeʾam kī maṣi tuštaddin* (perfect; "how much grain have you brought in?") and *šeʾum ša uštaddinu* ("grain which was brought in"). These *t* forms are termed *Št1* in distinction to a rarer non-passive *t* form, *Št2*, which has a unique present, e.g., *lā tuštallapat* ("you are not to touch").

WEAK VERBS. There are several classes of "weak" verbs. *Primae Aleph* has two groups, those without apophony, e.g., *akālum* ("to eat"), and those with, e.g, *epēšum* ("to do"). The vowel coloring is generally a function of the underlying laryngeal, although some forms show a strong *aleph*. The basic phonological change here is that *vʾ* > *v¯*; thus, ‡*iʾpuš* preterite (pattern *iprus*) > *īpuš* ("he made"), and similarly throughout the paradigm. *Mediae Aleph* also have "*a*" and "e" classes. They further differentiate in a strong *aleph* group, e.g., *išʾal* ("he asked") and a *ā/ē* group which decline like vocalic roots (see below), but crossovers are not uncommon. *Primae Nun* is characterized by the assimilation of the *N* root element to a following consonant, e.g., *iddin* < ‡*indin* ("he gave"). In *Primae Waw* initial or intervocalic *w* goes to ʾ or *m* in post-Old Babylonian times, e.g., *walādum* > *alādum* ("to give birth"). In fientive verbs *vw* > *uw* > *ū*, e.g., ‡*iwsib* > *uwsib* > *ūšib* ("he sat"). Statives behave like *Primae Yod*, e.g., *īqer* (not *ūqer* < ‡*iwqer*; note that the occurrence of the initial or final *y* is very restricted in historic Akkadian and these verbs generally behave like *Primae Aleph* with the apophony of *a* >*e*). Both fientive and stative verbs have *Primae Yod* type *Š* forms, e.g., *ušēšib* ("he seated" as if < ‡*usayšib), ušūšib* type forms (< *ušawšīb*) occurring only rarely in poetic dialect (but note Neo-Assyrian *ittušib*, Babylonian *ittašab* ("he sat")).

Vocalic roots ("hollow verbs" *Mediae Waw/Yod*) are of the pattern *CvC*, where the middle radical has to be considered as a long vowel: *ū, i, ā*, or *ē* (secondary). In the *G* present-future and in the present-future and preterite of the *D*, the suffixing of vocalic morphemes induces reduction of the theme vowel – middle root radical and gemination of the third root radical, e.g., *ikān* ("he is upright"), *ikunnū* ("they are upright"). In Assyrian uncontracted forms are usual, thus *ikūan*. The last major division of weak verbs is the *Tertiae Infirmae*. These are final *-u*, e.g., *iḫdu* ("he was happy"); final *-i, iqbi* ("he spoke"); final *-a, ikla* ("he withheld"); and final *-e, išme* ("he heard"). These vowels are *anceps* and are long when followed by bound morphemes, e.g., *iqbi*, but *iqbīšum* ("he told him"). Two main groups of quadrilateral verbs occur of the type C^1 C^2 C^3 C^4 in the *Š* and *N* themes, e.g., *nabalkutum* ("to jump over"), *šubalkutum* ("to cause to jump over, overturn"), including a weak class, e.g, *naparkū* ("to be idle, unemployed"). A third type is of the pattern *Š* C^1 C^2 C^2 where C^2 is *l* or *r*, e.g., *šuḫarrurum* ("to be deathly still").

It should be noted that the normal position of the Akkadian verb in the sentence is at the end (unlike its nearest Semitic relatives) and this is most likely due to the influence of Sumerian, where the verb is similarly placed.

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[Aaron Shaffer]

AKKUM (Heb. עַכּוּ״ם), abbreviation consisting of the initial letters of עֲבוֹדַת כּוֹכָבִים וּמַזָּלוֹת ("worship of stars and planets") or עוֹבְדֵי כּוֹכָבִים וּמַזָּלוֹת ("worshipers of stars and planets"). It was originally applied to the Chaldean star worshipers but it was later extended to apply to all idolaters and forms of idolatry. This word is not found at all in the oldest editions of the Mishnah, Talmud, the Yad of Maimonides, or the Shulḥan Arukh. Most editions of these works have a note to the effect that the laws against *Akkum* refer only to ancient idolaters and not to Christians.

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AKLAR MORDECAI BEN RAPHAEL (1856–1936), rabbi and author; member of the Persian **anusim* community who professed Judaism in secret. Aklar, who was born in *Meshed, Persia, was known as a Muslim by the name of "Mulla Murad." Aklar succeeded his father as the secret rabbi of the *anusim* community in Meshed. He immigrated to Jerusalem in 1927 and there continued to serve as the spiritual leader of the Meshed and Bukharian communities. His Judeo-Persian renderings of liturgical works, translated in Jerusalem, are a major contribution to this literature. They include *Avodat ha-Tamid* (1908), *Olat Shabbat* (1910), *Seliḥot* (1927), *Piyyutim for the Holidays* (1928), and the Passover *Haggadah* (1930). In his Judeo-Persian prayer book he incorporated a Hebrew poem by Solomon b. Mashi'aḥ, describing the tragic events which led to the forced conversion of the community in Meshed in 1839. His unfinished manuscripts include translations from the writings of Maimonides, and Saadiah Gaon, of the *azharot* of Solomon ibn Gabirol, parts of the Koran, and memoirs.

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[Walter Joseph Fischel]

AKNIN, JOSEPH BEN JUDAH BEN JACOB IBN (c. 1150–1220), philosopher and poet. Aknin was born in Barcelona, Spain. Probably as a result of the Almohad persecutions, he, or perhaps his father, moved to North Africa, presumably Fez, Morocco. He remained there until his death, not withstanding his ardent wish to go elsewhere so that he could practice Judaism openly. That he felt guilty about living as a Crypto-Jew is evident from a discussion in which he passed harsh judgment on forced converts. He and Maimonides met each other during the latter's sojourn in Fez and Aknin wrote a sad couplet on the sage's departure for Egypt. However, he must not be identified or confused with Joseph b. Judah ibn *Shim'on, a disciple of Maimonides, who eventually was wrongly called "ibn Aknin." Little else is known of Aknin's life. He may have been a physician by profession – he certainly was adept in the subject. Nothing is known of his family life or descendants.

Aknin is the author of a number of works:

(1) *Sefer Ḥukkim u-Mishpatim*, no longer extant, was a book of laws divided into treatises, the first of which dealt with doctrines and beliefs. It may have been modeled on Maimonides' *Mishneh Torah*, although, unlike this work, it limited itself to laws still practiced by the Jews of the time. He spoke of it as "my major work."

(2) *Risālat al-ibānah fi uṣūl al-diyānah* ("Clarification of the Fundamentals of Faith") is also no longer extant. Nevertheless, it is known from a passage cited in another work that this work engaged in a discussion of man's freedom.

(3) *Ma'amar al ha-Middot ve-ha-Mishkalot* is an anonymous medieval Hebrew translation of an Arabic work by Aknin, entitled *maqāla le-Rabbenu Yehosef ben Aknin Zal fima'ri fat Kammiyyāb al-maqādīr al-madhkūrafi Torah she-bi-khetav ve-Torah she-be'al peh.* The Arabic original is extant in manuscript in the Bodleian Library (Ms. Poc. 186; cf. Steinschneider, Arab Lit, 230–1); the Hebrew translation of

the work was published in *Ginzei Nistarot* (ed. by J. Kobak, 3 (1872), 185–200). The introduction states: "It is my purpose to gather all that is scattered in [the] Mishnah and Talmud on coins, weights, measurements, boundaries, and time, and compare it with present-day standards."

(4) *Mevo ha-Talmud*, written in Hebrew and divided into 12 chapters, concerns "principles which a person must know if he desires to become skilled in talmudic lore." It was published under the title *Einleitung in den Talmud* with an introduction by H. Graetz in *Festschrift… Zacharias *Frankel* (Breslau, 1871; repr. 1967).

(5) *Ṭibb al-Nufūs al-Salīma wa-Muʿālajat al-Nufūs al-Alīma* ("The Hygiene of Healthy Souls and the Therapy of Ailing Souls") is an ethical compilation written in Arabic. After a lengthy introductory chapter, in which Aknin offers his views on the composition of the soul and the functions of its three parts, and in which he explains his beliefs regarding the afterlife of both the righteous and the wicked, he turns to an examination of such themes as speech and silence, keeping a secret, filial piety, food and drink, the true goods in life, and so forth. He urges moderation in all areas with a clear suggestion of the futility of material self-indulgence and the gain of spiritual and religious pursuit. Every section opens with a statement of the right course, supported by rabbinic references and followed in many instances by epigrams and sayings culled from classical and Arabic studies. Chapter 26, which deals with "the trials and tribulations which afflict us," reviews the oppressive laws of Abu Yūsuf Yaʿqūb al-Mansūr, one of the Almohad rulers (cf. Halkin in bibl.). Chapter 27, on "the disciplines of teacher and student," lists the |necessary qualification of the instructor, the conditions required of a good student, and the curriculum of study. Until the age of 30, the student should be concerned with traditional Jewish lore, which he should master to such a degree that he will be able to hold his ground when apparent difficulties and challenges seem to impugn the validity of tradition. The rest of his life should be devoted to the cultivation of logic, music, mathematics, mechanics, and metaphysics. This chapter was published in its Arabic original and a German translation by M. Guedemann, in his *Das judische Unterrichtswesen waehrend der spanisch arabischen Periode* (1873, pp. 43–138, and appendix pp. 1–57); and in Hebrew by S. Epstein, in: *Sefer ha-Yovel… N. Sokolow* (1904, pp. 371–88).

(6) *Sefer ha-Musar,* written in Hebrew, is a commentary on the mishnaic tractate *Pirkei Avot.* In it Aknin follows Maimonides' commentary on this tract, and although he does not follow it slavishly, the latter's influence is obvious. Interested in psychology and ethics, he dwells particularly on statements that deal with conduct, beliefs, and dispositions. He often develops as part of his exposition lengthy discussions on the constitution of the soul, man's responsibility for his actions, miracles in a world governed by natural laws, creation, and other metaphysical issues. The work was edited by W. Bacher as *Sefer Musar* (1910).

(7) *Inkishāf al-asrār wa-ṭuhūr al-anwār* ("The Divulgence of Mysteries and the Appearance of Lights") is a commentary in Arabic on the Song of Songs. The work starts from the premise that it would be preposterous to believe that the wise King Solomon would compose a love story or indulge in erotic banter: the book bears such an external character simply as a pedagogic expedient to attract the young. According to his interpretation, the Song of Songs is a description of the mutual craving of the rational soul and the active intellect and the obstacles in the path of their union. Aknin boasts that no one preceded him in this approach to an interpretation of the Song of Songs. In fact, although Maimonides plainly offered a general explanation of the book along these lines, Aknin was the first to work out the theme in detail in a complete commentary. In his commentary he offers a tripartite explanation of each verse: first, what he calls the exoteric sense, that is, an explanation of the grammatical forms and of the plain meaning, but he avoids the introduction of the erotic aspect; second, what he calls the rabbinic interpretation, an explanation concerned with the fate of Israel, its tragedy, and its hopes (this is the most widely accepted allegorical interpretation, which is drawn from various literary compilations, mainly Midrashim on the Song of Songs); and third, the endowment of each word in the verse under discussion with implications of physiology, psychology, logic, and philosophy, which Aknin consistently opens with the phrase "and according to my conception." This work was edited and translated into Hebrew by A.S. Halkin as *Hitgallut ha-Sodot ve-Hofaʾat ha-Meʾorot* (1964).

Aknin is typical of a group of intellectuals in the Jewish community under Islam that was impressed with the learning and doctrines of Greek and Hindu origin cultivated by Muslim intellectuals. However, he saw no conflict between his religious and secular learning. He was certain of the validity of his Jewish beliefs and way of life, and he was convinced that the ultimate goals of his Jewish and secular learning were identical. Aknin did not leave a mark on his peers in his or later generations, and his influence, evidently, was very limited.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: A.S. Halkin, in: PAAJR, 14 (1944), 25–147; idem, in: *Alexander Marx Jubilee Volume* (1950), 389–424; idem, in: *Joshua Starr Memorial Volume* (1953), 101–10; idem, in: *Sefer ha-Yovel… Ẓevi Wolfson* (1965), 93–111; Guttmann, Philosophies, 188–90.

[Abraham Solomon Halkin]

AKRA, town in Iraqi Kurdistan, known as Ekron among Jews. There was an ancient Jewish community in Akra. In the 19th century between 300 and 500 Jews seem to have been living there. According to the official census of 1930, about 1,000 persons of a total population of approximately 19,000 were Jews. They spoke Aramaic-Jebelic and were engaged in agriculture, whitewashing, goldsmithery, the perfume trade, and in commerce generally. Many of the orchards of the district belonged to Jews. The community was centered around its synagogue. In 1950 the Jews were attacked by their Kurdish neighbors and many of them were injured; after this incident they immigrated to Israel.

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[Abraham Haim]

AKRISH, ISAAC BEN ABRAHAM (b. 1530), talmudic scholar, traveler, and publisher. Son of a Spanish exile, who went to Salonika after having lived in Naples, Akrish, despite his lameness, traveled extensively throughout his life. His special interest was in manuscripts which he attempted to save from destruction. Arriving in Egypt about 1548, he was engaged by *David b. Solomon ibn Abi Zimra, the head of Egyptian Jewry, to teach his grandchildren. Whatever he earned he spent in purchasing manuscripts, and devoted his time to copying those in Ibn Zimra's library. In 1554, on his way to Candia, his books were confiscated by the Venetian authorities in the wake of the recent edict against the Talmud. Succeeding in rescuing his books, he apparently traveled to Constantinople and then in 1562 back to Egypt. Later he returned to Constantinople where patrons such as Don Joseph *Nasi and Esther *Kiera helped him to engage scribes to copy manuscripts. In 1569 a fire destroyed most of his books. He left Constantinople for Kastoria where he lived for four years in poverty.

Akrish then began publishing books and documents he had collected during his travels. Three such collections, which are of great importance, were published in Constantinople between 1575 and 1578 without title pages or specific titles. The first (republ. as *Kovez Vikkuḥim*, 1844) contained *Iggeret Ogeret*, a collection of polemical writings, including Profiat *Duran's famous letter, *Al Tehi ka-Avotekha*, the polemical letter of Shem Tov ibn *Falaquera, and *Kunteres Ḥibbut ha-Kever* by Akrish himself. The second collection (1607^3) contains several important items about the Ten Lost Tribes, the letter of *Hisdai ibn Shaprut to the king of the *Khazars, and *Ma'aseh Beit David bi-Ymei Malkhut Paras*, which is the story of *Bustanai. The Khazar correspondence was published by Akrish to "strengthen the people in order that they should believe firmly that the Jews have a kingdom and dominion."

The third collection of three commentaries on the Song of Songs by *Saadiah, Joseph ibn Caspi, and an unknown author, possibly Jacob Provençal, were annotated and corrected by Akrish himself. He also wrote *Ḥeshbon ha-Adam im Kono* (published with *Kunteres Ḥibbut ha-Kever* in *Sar Shalom* by Shalom b. Shemariah ha-Sephardi, Mantua, 1560?).

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AKRON, industrial city in northeast Ohio. Akron is Ohio's fifth largest city, with a population of 217,074 (2000 census). German Jewish merchants settled in Akron prior to the Civil War, but the first congregation, the American Hebrew Association – known today as Temple Israel (Reform) – was founded in 1865. The community grew slowly until it received an influx of settlers from Eastern Europe in the 1880s. Engaging in the clothing business, cigar making, and other small businesses, the Jewish population reached a peak of 7,500 in the 1930s. In 2005, there were approximately 3,500 Jews in Akron and its suburbs with five congregations: Anshe Sfard/Revere Road (Orthodox, founded 1915), Chabad of Akron (Orthodox, 1986), Beth El Congregation (Conservative, 1946), Temple Beth Shalom (Reform, 1977), and Temple Israel (Reform, 1965). The Jewish Community Board of Akron, founded in 1935 as the Federation of Jewish Charities, announced in 2004 that its director would also lead the Jewish Federation of Canton, Ohio, a neighboring city with a Jewish population of approximately 1,200. The Jewish Community Board offers support to the Shaw Jewish Community Center, the Jewish Family Service, the Jerome Lippman Day School, and the *Akron Jewish News*. It also provides funding for campus services to Kent State University, the University of Akron, and Hiram College. Noted Akron residents were Judith A. *Resnik (1949–1986), a NASA astronaut who perished in the explosion of the orbiter *Challenger,* and Jerome Lippman (1913–2005) who invented a heavy-duty waterless hand soap during World War II.

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[Jane Avner (2nd ed.)]

AKZIN, BENJAMIN (1904–1985), constitutional lawyer and political scientist. Akzin was born in Riga, Latvia, received doctorates from the universities of Vienna and Paris, lectured in various American universities, and was a Library of Congress expert on matters of law and international relations. He went to Israel in 1949 and joined the faculty of the Hebrew University as professor of constitutional law and political science and served as dean of the law faculty in 1951–54, 1956–58, and 1961–63. Akzin was an early supporter of the Revisionist Party and from 1936–41 was head of the political division of the New Zionist Organization. From 1945 to 1947 he served as political advisor and then as secretary of the Zionist Emergency Committee in the United States. Akzin wrote numerous political and scholarly articles as well as the following books: *Problémes fondamentaux du droit international publique* (1929); *New States and International Organizations* (1955); *Torat ha-Mishtarim* (1963); *State and Nation* (1964); *Sugyot be-Mishpat u-ve-Medina'ut* (1966). Akzin was founder and first editor of the *Israel Law Review.* He was awarded the Israel Prize in law for 1967.

Akzin served as rector and acting president of the Haifa University from 1969 to 1972. He was elected honorary president of the World Federation of UN Associations, and of the Political Science Association of Israel, and was president of the Council of Friendship Associations between Israel and foreign countries.

In 1975 his *Be-Ayin Boḥenet* ("Looking at the Passing Scene") was published.

ALABAMA, state in the southeastern region of the United States. In 2005 its population was estimated at 4,447,100, with a Jewish population of about 9,000. The largest Jewish communities were *Birmingham, with approximately 5,300 Jews; Montgomery, the state capital, with approximately 1,300; and Mobile, with 1,100. There were four Jewish federations in the state, and one periodical, the twice-monthly *Deep South Jewish Voice.*

While Jewish traders are known to have been active in Alabama as early as 1757, and a number of Jews lived in Mobile in the 1760s under British rule, it was not until the 1820s that the first permanent Alabama Jewish community was established in Mobile. Abram (Abraham) Mordecai, a Pennsylvania-born Jew who had settled in central Alabama by 1785 and established the state's first cotton gin near Montgomery, was made a key character in Albert James Pickett's *History of Alabama* (1851), and became a legend in Southern folklore.

The largest antebellum Jewish settlement was in Mobile, where sufficient Jews established themselves to purchase a cemetery in 1841. Previous Jewish graves dating back to 1829 are suitably marked in the oldest, non-sectarian Protestant graveyard in town. Congregation Shaarai Shomayim u-Maskil el Dol was chartered on Jan. 25, 1844. Israel I. Jones (1810–1877), a London Jew who arrived early in the 1830s, was president of the congregation for most of his life; one of his daughters married the well-known New Orleans rabbi, James Koppel Gutheim (1817–1886). An auctioneer and tobacco merchant, Jones was active in politics, served as an alderman, was president of the Mobile Musical Association, and introduced streetcars to Mobile.

A welfare society, the Chevra Mevaker Cholim, was organized in Montgomery on Nov. 17, 1846, by 12 German Jewish immigrants including Emanuel *Lehman, uncle of Herbert H. *Lehman. The society conducted services, purchased a cemetery, and on June 3, 1849, with 30 members transformed itself into Congregation Kahl Montgomery. The mobility of immigrant Jews and the tentativeness of their settlement is indicated by the constitutional provision of Kahl Montgomery that "four members shall be sufficient to continue the Society, but should there be only three members, the Society shall be dissolved." The congregation is now called Temple Beth Or, and its first building, built in 1862 with seed money from Judah Touro, is the oldest synagogue building in the state. It now houses a church.

Other communities were established where trails met rivers, such as at Claiborne. That community was defunct by the 1870s, after it was bypassed by the railroad.

During the Civil War more than 130 Alabama Jews served in the Confederate Army, and in 1861, when 13 of them enlisted as a group in the Twelfth Alabama Regiment, Mobile Jews held a special service. James K. Gutheim, however, went to Montgomery as an exile rather than take the oath of allegiance to the United States after New Orleans' occupation by federal forces. He served in Montgomery and in nearby towns until the end of the Civil War. Judah P. *Benjamin lived in Montgomery during his tenure as attorney general of the Confederacy, and the last soldier killed in the defense of Mobile was a Jew from South Carolina. The congregations in Mobile and Montgomery, like virtually all of the older Southern congregations, turned to Reform following the Civil War, joined the Union of American Hebrew Congregations after its creation in 1873, and were served by graduates of the Hebrew Union College.

Eastern European immigrants began to arrive in Alabama towns early in the 1870s. They were treated with a combination of philanthropic generosity and social aloofness, which persisted longer in tradition-conscious southern communities than in the northern communities. These immigrants created their own Orthodox congregations in Mobile, Montgomery, and Birmingham, most of which joined the Conservative movement following World War II.

Jewish merchants were found in most Alabama towns of any size, with synagogues springing up in small mining towns like West Blocton and Bessemer, and larger cities like Selma. Immigrants often began selling house to house, saving enough money to buy a cart, then rent a storefront.

The town of Sheffield was founded in 1884 by a land company that included the Moses brothers of Montgomery. Falkville was named for Louis Faulk, who was the first merchant and postmaster, and Saks was established for area tenant farmers by Joseph Saks, founder of a clothing store in Anniston.

Before World War II, many Alabama communities faced shrinking populations, intermarriage on the part of the children and grandchildren of the older settlers, gradual acculturation by the children of the new immigrants, and slow disintegration of traditional Jewish loyalties. But European antisemitism in the 1930s and the sudden influx of Jewish soldiers to many southern towns during World War II, when great camps and air bases were established in the area, brought a return of Jewish consciousness to many disappearing communities. Many northern Jews also came to places like the University of Alabama after finding themselves shut out of northern universities by Jewish quotas. Many Jewish scholars who fled Nazi Germany were similarly shunned by prestigious northern universities and found employment in southern historically black colleges in places like Tuskegee. Scorned in Nazi Germany because they were Jews, they found themselves comparatively well treated in the South because they were white and yet they worked with disadvantaged and persecuted

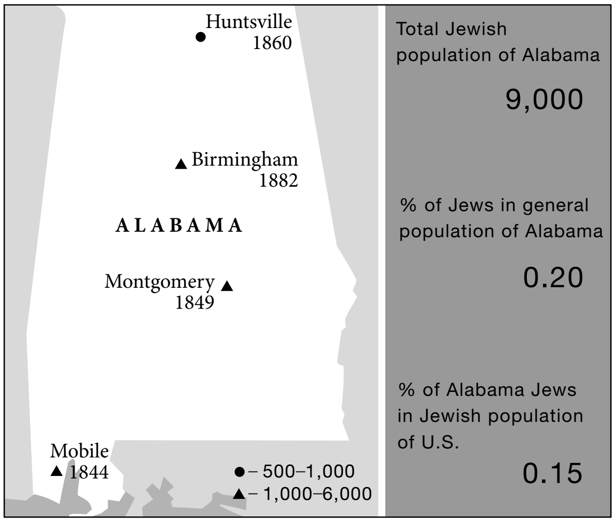
Huntsville
1860
Birmingham
1882
ALABAMA
Montgomery
1849
Mobile
1844
● – 500–1,000
▲ – 1,000–6,000
Total Jewish population of Alabama
9,000
% of Jews in general population of Alabama
0.20
% of Alabama Jews in Jewish population of U.S.
0.15

Jewish communities in Alabama and dates of establishment. Population figures 2001.

black students for whom their race rather than religion was the defining identity. In the post-World War II period, new synagogues were built in the suburbs in Mobile, Montgomery, and elsewhere, and Jewish community life revived with the younger generation of Jews.

In 1943, the Alabama Legislature became the first American governmental body to pass a resolution supporting the establishment of a Jewish state in Palestine.

During the 1950s and 1960s, while there was a significant revival of interest in Judaism, there was also a recurrence of antisemitic attacks on Jews, including the firebombing of Beth Israel in Gadsden and the attempted 1958 bombing of Birmingham's Beth-El. Segregationist politicians called integration a "Communist-Jewish conspiracy," leading many in the Jewish community who were sympathetic to the civil rights movement to work behind the scenes so the movement would not lose legitimacy in the eyes of whites. An overwhelming percentage of northern whites who came to the region to work for civil rights were Jews, causing resentment by southern Jews who were trying to balance a delicate situation and who had to live with any backlash provoked by their northern co-religionists.

Many northern Jews were among the Freedom Riders who were attacked by white supremacists in Anniston and Birmingham, and Rabbi Abraham Joshua *Heschel was among the Jewish figures who marched with Dr. Martin Luther King in Montgomery in 1965.

By the 1960s, smaller Jewish communities in the state began to die out as children and grandchildren of the original Jewish immigrants went off to college, became professionals, and chose not to return to their family businesses. Congregations in places like Demopolis and Jasper closed as the Jewish population aged and shrank.

Larger communities, and those connected to university towns, continued to have a stable population. The days of the Jewish country club were gone, but the 1990s saw Mobile's Conservative Ahavas Chesed move to the suburbs, and a new congregation in Auburn. Almost all of Birmingham's Jewish institutions also expanded greatly or were rebuilt in the 1990s. The state's Gulf Coast is now also seen as a prime destination for retirees who do not want to go to South Florida.

While for many outside the region, the 1960s painted a picture of the South as being a hostile home for Jews, overt antisemitic incidents were rare. The 1990s saw some bruising church-state battles, but in general Jews were respected as "God's chosen people" by the largely evangelical population of the state. In 1995, Governor Fob James paid tribute to Israel in his inauguration, with the singing of "*Hatikvah*" and the blowing of the *shofar* by a Jerusalem rabbi. In 1999, Don Siegelman, a Catholic, was elected governor, making his wife, Lori, the state's first Jewish First Lady. The University of Alabama has a well-endowed and well respected Judaic Studies program and the University of Alabama Press has an impressive list of Judaic publications, including the first English translation of Franz Rosenzweig's *The Star of Redemption* and Arthur D. Green's *Tormented Master.*

[Bertram Wallace Korn / Lawrence Brook (2nd ed.)]

ALABARCH (Gr. ἀλαβάρχης), title designating office-holders appointed to the fiscal administration in Egypt and other countries in the Roman and Byzantine periods. Since reference is made to the office being held by two wealthy Jewish notables of Alexandria (*Alexander Lysimachus and *Demetrius, the second husband of Princess Mariamne, daughter of Agrippa I, cf. Jos., Ant., 20:147), some historians have identified it as that of the head of the Jewish community (*ethnarch). The title is mentioned, however, in several sources without any Jewish connection.

Many scholars regard this office as identical with the arabarchs (cf. Cicero, *Adversus Atticum* 2:17; Juvenal, *Saturae* 1:130), the letters "l" and "r" (λ, ρ) being interchanged through dissimilation. These arabarchs were Roman officials who were responsible for the collection of imposts from incoming and outgoing vessels from the eastern ("Arabian") bank of the Nile; Wilcken (*Griechische Ostraka,* 1 (1899), 350–1) and Dittenberger quote a document which includes a tariff of the contractors who farmed the harbor dues paid to the arabarchs. Josephus (Apion, 2:64) mentions that the Jews received from Ptolemy (?) the "wardship of the river," and it is therefore possible that Alexander Lysimachus and Demetrius held this office.

According to a less acceptable opinion, the word is a hybrid of the Greek *archō* and the Semitic root *ʿarab* (ערב) meaning "to barter" (cf. Ezek. 27:9) and the title therefore designates an official of the mercantile tax administration (V. Burr, *Tiberius Julius Alexander*, Ger., 1955, 16, n.4, 87 ff.).

The suggestion of Rostovtzeff that the alabarch was responsible for the collection of specific Jewish taxes is untenable, since such taxes were not imposed until the time of Vespasian (69–70 C.E.) and until then, they paid ordinary taxation to the usual tax collectors.

It seems that the alabarch exercised different functions in different localities and periods and there is no definite information as to their precise functions.

The title does not occur in the Talmud but it has been suggested that the variant reading אפרכוס found in some texts to explain the "*Avrekh*" of Genesis 41:43 (Sifrei Deut. 1:1; Yalkut Shimoni 1:792) is a corruption of "Abarchus = Alabarchus" (see Mid. Tan. to 1:1).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Schuerer, Gesch, 3 (1907^4), 132, no. 42; W. Dittenberger, *Orientis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae*, 2 (1905), 255f., 258, no. 570, 413–9, no. 674; M. Rostovtzeff, in: *Yale Classical Studies*, 2 (1931), 49ff.; Graetz, Gesch, 3 (1905^3), 631–51; idem, in: MGWJ, 25 (1876), 209–24, 308–20; Lesquier, in: *Revue Archéologique*, 6 (1917), 94ff.; idem, *L'armée romaine d'Egypte* (1918), 432ff.; Baron, Social, 1 (1952^2), 409–10, no. 16; Tcherikover, Corpus, 1 (1957), 49, n.4.

[Abraham Schalit]

ALAGÓN, town near Saragossa, northeastern Spain. There is evidence that Jews were living in Alagón while the area was still under Muslim rule. Shortly after the reconquest in 1119 Christians began to buy land from the Jewish residents. In her testament of 1208 Queen Sancha of Aragon bequeathed a number of Alagón Jews to the convent of Sigena. The expulsion of six butchers from the town by the community board resulted in a *cause célèbre* in the 1280s. In 1283 the infante Alfonso ordered that a representative gathering for the allocation of the annual tax in the *collecta* of *Saragossa should be held each year in Alagón. Its proximity to Saragossa apparently saved Alagón during the massacres throughout Spain in 1391. A list of accounts from 1403 to 1408 includes the names of Jewish notables, and charitable societies (*cofraías*) as well as *Conversos. The community ceased to exist with the expulsion of Spanish Jewry in 1492.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Baer, Spain, 1 (1961), 140, 430; Baer, Urkunden, 1 (1929), index; Ashtor, Korot, 2 (1966), 165–6; Cacigas, in: *Sefarad*, 6 (1946), 74–78; Piles, *ibid.*, 10 (1950), 87–89, 367; J. Ma. Lacarra, *Documentos para el estudio de la Reconquista del Valle del Ebro* (second series, 1949), index.

ALALAKH (**Alalach**, **Alalah**), ancient city situated south of Lake Antiochia, near the bend of the Orontes River in Turkey; now Tell Atshana. The site was excavated by the English archaeologist Sir Leonard Woolley in 1937–39 and in 1946–49. Mesopotamian documents mentioning Alalakh and its kings and archaeological finds have added greatly to the understanding of the history of this city and its importance in the area west of the Euphrates during the first half of the second millennium B.C.E. Alalakh sheds indirect light on the Syro-Palestinian context of biblical *realia*. The most important finds for ancient Near Eastern studies are the 450 clay tablets written in Akkadian. These tablets are from the royal archives of the city and are with minor exceptions from two periods: an early archive from Stratum VII dating from the 18th century B.C.E. and a later archive from Stratum IV from the 15th century. The archives contain a few international treaties and many administrative, economic, and legal documents. They throw light upon the history of Alalakh, its royal and administrative organization, social strata, mode of life, and ethnic origins, and on the economic activity of its inhabitants during these two periods. Of special importance to scholarship is the possibility of tracing the development of a city-state and of understanding the political, ethnic, economic, and social development of Alalakh from the 18th to the 15th centuries B.C.E. In addition to the documents, a statue of a king inscribed with the history of Idrimi (who ruled in Alalakh approximately at the end of the first half of the second millenium B.C.E.) was found. The inscription consists of a narrative which differs in tone and content from the ordinary run of *res gestae* in the ancient Near East, though it closely resembles biblical narratives. Some of its details are reminiscent of the history of David during his premonarchial period, a fact that indicates the widespread prevalence of certain literary motifs in the biographical style of the books of Samuel. These epigraphic finds are part of the ever-growing corpus of documents from the Fertile Crescent that shed light on linguistic, economic, social, and ethnic conditions in pre-Israelite Palestine and on the ancient Near Eastern origins of Israel's institutions (law, customs, government) and spiritual culture. Thus Alalakh furnishes fresh evidence added to that of *Nuzi and *Ugarit for the right of a father to determine which of his sons should be considered the eldest, disregarding the custom of primogeniture. According to this right, Abraham could prefer Isaac over Ishmael (Gen. 21:10ff.), and Ephraim could be elected in the place of Manasseh, Joseph's elder son (*ibid.* 48:13ff.). Jacob's seven additional years of work to earn the right to marry Rachel (*ibid.* 29:18, 27) may also find its parallel in marriage contracts from Alalakh. One of the conditions of such contracts is the option given to a husband to marry a second wife if the first fails to bear children for seven years. In other spheres, mention should be made of the contribution of the international treaties from Alalakh regulating, inter alia, the extradition of escapees from one country to another. This may contribute to the understanding of the extradition of the two servants of *Shimei by Achish, king of Gath (I Kings 2:39ff.), suggesting the possibility of a similar treaty between Solomon and Achish (but cf. Deut. 23:16–17). There is also an illustration from another document of the manner in which Jezebel acquired for Ahab the property of Naboth the Jezereelite (I Kings 21:8ff.). It is clear from the document in question, that the king had the right to confiscate the property of a rebel or a person guilty of a crime against the king and executed for this reason.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: D.J. Wiseman, *The Alalakh Tablets* (1953); idem, in: D. Winton Thomas (ed.), *Archaeology and Old Testament Study* (1967), 119–35; S. Smith, *The Statue of Idri-mi* (1949); C. Fensham, in: JBL, 79 (1960), 59–60; G. Buccellati, in: BO, 4 (1962), 95–96; W.F. Albright, in: BASOR, 118 (1950), 14–15; I. Mendelsohn, *ibid.*, 156 (1959), 38ff.; S. Loewenstamm, in: IEJ, 6 (1956), 225; M. Tsevat, in: HUCA, 29 (1959), 125ff. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** M. Astour, in: ABD, 2, 42–45.

[Hanoch Reviv]

ALAMAH (**Helam**), city in Gilead in which Jews were besieged at the beginning of the Hasmonean revolt (I Macc. 5:26). It is generally identified with ʿAlama, on the banks of Wādi al-Ghār, 40 mi. (60 km.) east of the Sea of Galilee, but archaeological investigations have not yet been undertaken there.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Abel, Geog, 2 (1938), 241. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** M. Avi-Yonah, *Gazetteer of Roman Palestine* (1976), 64; R. Dussaud, *Topographie historique de la Syrie antique et médiévale* (1927), 334, 384.

[Michael Avi-Yonah]

ALAMANI, AARON HE-ḤAVER BEN YESHU'AH (commonly known as "Ben Zion" and also "Alluf-Zion"; 12th century), rabbinical judge, physician, and poet. He was born probably in Jerusalem, at the end of the 11th century, and lived for many years in Alexandria, Egypt. When *Judah Halevi went to Alexandria in 1140, he stayed at Alamani's house and became friendly with him. Judah Halevi respected him greatly, composed songs of friendship to him and his children, and continued his relations with the family after leaving Alexandria. Apparently Aaron's name as a poet had been known to Judah Halevi even before he left Spain. More than 30 of his liturgical hymns and poems are now known, all influenced by Hebrew poetry in Spain. It is also possible that certain *piyyutim* where only the name Aaron appears were composed by him. His sons, Yeshu'ah and Zadok, were also poets.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Zunz, Lit Poesie, 328f., 537; Fuenn, Keneset, 83; Brody, in: ZHB, 6 (1902), 18–24; Schirmann, in: YMḤSI, 6 (1945), 265–88; Abramson, in: YMḤSI, 7 (1958), 165, 168, 179–80; Davidson, Oẓar, 4 (1933), 359f.

[Abraham Meir Habermann]

ALAMI, SOLOMON (c. 1370–1420), Spanish moralist. Alami's family name was apparently Ibn Laḥmish (or Naḥish); possibly he was called Alami because he was blind (the meaning of the word in Arabic). He fled from Spain to Portugal during the persecutions of 1391. There he composed in 1415 his *Iggeret ha-Musar,* also published under the title *Iggeret ha-Tokhaḥah ve-ha-Emunah* ("Epistle of Reproof and Faith"), which has gone through 18 editions (the last ed. by A.M. Habermann, 1946). It is written in rhyming prose and is divided into five sections, corresponding to the five senses. Alami was inspired to write it by the "perplexity which has plagued me these 24 years: Why does God seek to destroy us each generation?" and by his final conviction that "we ourselves have dug the pit into which we have fallen." He criticizes acidly the various classes of Spanish Jewry, exposing the moral shortcomings of the court Jews, tax farmers, philosophers, and rabbis as well as the common people. Alami believed that the upper classes were mainly responsible for the catastrophe that had befallen Spanish Jewry. The court Jews had betrayed the office which they had attained by the will of Providence; "their eyes and their hearts were turned only to selfish gain, to inherit dwellings that were not theirs in the lands of their enemies… to shift the burden of taxation from themselves to the poor… By their evil ways they became obnoxious to their enemies… and they were driven from the courts of kings and princes… and later not a single Jew remained who had access to the king to seek the good of his people and speak on their behalf." The rabbis "showed favoritism in the law and did not reprimand the people for base conduct." They prided themselves on their empty interpretations and boasted of their secular knowledge. The common people were dishonest in their dealings with the Gentiles: "We dealt with them falsely and dishonestly, and we robbed them through unjust practices, until they despised us and held us to be thieves and liars, fornicators and a gang of traitors, so that every vile and shameful occupation is identified with the Jews." Alami contrasted the lack of decorum in synagogues with the behavior of Christians at prayer. He advocated physical labor, personal cleanliness, and modesty. Concerning forced conversions, he urged the Jews to abandon their homes rather than abjure their faith: "When pagans rise up against you to force you to desert God, to drive you from His inheritance, leave the land of your birth and your father's house for any land you may find where you may observe His law."

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Baer, Spain, 2 (1966), 239–42, 484, n. 55; Steinschneider, in: JQR, 11 (1898/99), 456; Zunz, Schr, 2 (1876), 177–82.

[Azriel Shochat]

°**ALARIC II** (485–507), Visigothic king. Alaric II was a strong and prudent ruler of the Visigoths, who had established themselves in Spain and southern France on the breakdown of the western Roman Empire. The Visigoths had adopted Arian Christianity, a form which their orthodox Roman subjects hated as heretical. Probably because of this the rulers were inclined to favor their Jewish subjects, though the only known details are what can be culled from the Visigothic laws. In 506 Alaric issued a shortened compendium of the Roman *Codex Theodosianus* of the middle of the fifth century, known as the *Breviarium Alaricianse.* In this the laws affecting Jews were reduced from over 50 to 10, omitting many which were contradictory. Those forbidding violence against Jews were also omitted, not from anti-Jewish feeling, but as unnecessary. Jews were still basically Roman citizens, but the exceptions to their equality with other citizens remained though no new restrictions were added. The only privilege allowed them was freedom from court action on their holy days. They were excluded from honors, but had to bear all the burdens of public life. They were refused any authority over Christians or the purchase of Christian slaves, and those they inherited they were not allowed to circumcise. They were punished if they molested a Jew who sought baptism, and their clergy enjoyed no immunities.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: J. Parkes, *Conflict of the Church and the Synagogue* (1934), 317ff., 351ff.

[James W. Parkes]

ĀL-ASĀṬĪR (Ar. الاساطير), Samaritan work in Aramaic of unknown authorship, date, and provenance ascribed by the Samaritans themselves to Moses. Written in the form of a chronicle, the work is a legendary account of 26 generations from Adam to Moses. The story is focused on the four patriarchs – Adam, Noah, Abraham, and Moses – the "Fundamentals of the World." The book is divided into 12 chapters. The first ten, from Adam to Israel's victory over the Midianites, span a period of 2,800 years according to Samaritan chronology. The first half of the 11th chapter contains a description of the borders of the Holy Land that has still not been satisfactorily explained. The last part consists of prophecies about the future of the world until the advent of the *taheb* ("the restorer"; see Religion of *Samaritans). The composition of the book gives the impression that it was written by one hand without interpolations. In some places its genealogical lists and chronological data conflict with those found in the Pentateuch or in other Samaritan chronicles, but these discrepancies may well have been caused by the inaccuracy of copyists. The title of the work, *al-Asāṭīr,* is Arabic and means legends or tales, as in the Koranic expression *asāṭīr al-Awwalīn* ("the Legends of the Ancients"). This fact in itself is not proof of the late origin of the book, as the title may have been a later addition. No express mention of *al-Asāṭīr* is found in the list of source material enumerated by *Abu al-Fatḥ in the introduction to his *Annal*, but it might be included in the summarizing expression "some histories." The language of the book, influenced by the Arabic language and Muslim terminology, is difficult to understand. Although the narrative may contain many old midrashic motifs, it could not have been composed before the end of the tenth–the beginning of the 11th century C.E., when Aramaic was still used in the Samaritan community but Arabic had already begun to supersede it. The author seems familiar with the geography of northern Ereẓ Israel and Syria and probably lived in this region, where large Samaritan communities then flourished in Acre, Tyre, and Damascus. Ismāʿīl al-Rumayḥī was the first to attribute the composition of *al-Asāṭīr* to Moses in his *Molad Moshe* (beginning of the 16th century). The work is often cited in the Bible commentary of Muslim al-Danāfi (who attributes it once to Adam) and Ibrahim al-Ayya (17th, 18th centuries, respectively). The book is not highly esteemed by the modern Samaritan community. There exist a translation into Arabic and one into Samaritan modern Hebrew (see Language and Literature of *Samaritans) called *Pitron.* M. Gaster edited the book together with the *Pitron.* He translated it into English, and appended a commentary (*The Asatir, The Samaritan Book of the Secrets of Moses*, 1927). An edition with Hebrew translation and commentary was published by Z. Ben-Ḥayyim (*Tarbiz*, 14 (1942/43), 104–25, 174–90; 15 (1943/44) 71–87).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: J. Macdonald, *Theology of the Samaritans* (1964), 44.

[Ayala Loewenstamm]

ALASHKAR, JOSEPH BEN MOSES (c. 1500), rabbinical author and Hebrew poet. A victim of the expulsion from Spain in 1492, Alashkar settled in Tlemcen (Algeria) where he became the head of a yeshivah. He was a fertile writer, but none of his works was published. They include (1) *Avrekh*, commentaries on Rashi; (2) *Edut bi-Yhosef*, commentary on the laws of ritual slaughter in Maimonides' *Code;* (3) *Mirkevet ha-Mishneh*, on *Pirkei Avot*; (4) *Refu'at ha-Nefesh*, religious ethics.

In addition, he wrote poems and books in verse form, among them a paraphrase of the tractate *Avot*, verses on the 70 kinds of *terefah*, two poems in honor of his contemporary and fellow countryman, Solomon b. Simeon *Duran, as well as several religious odes and hymns.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Carmoly, in: *Oẓar Neḥmad*, 3 (1860), 105–10; Fuenn, Keneset, 456; Davidson, Oẓar, 4 (1933), 400.

ALASHKAR, MOSES BEN ISAAC (1466–1542), talmudist and liturgical poet. Alashkar, who was born in Spain, studied in his youth with R. Samuel Valensi in Zamora. In 1492, when the Jews were expelled from Spain, Alashkar sailed to North Africa. On board he was kept below deck with other Jewish refugees, and nearly drowned when the ship foundered. He wrote a poem, "*Be-Mah Akaddem*," inspired by this experience. Alashkar settled in Tunisia, but when the Spaniards landed in North Africa in 1510 and part of the Jewish population made prisoner, Alashkar fled. He resettled in Patras, Greece, where he established a yeshivah. Alashkar later immigrated to Egypt, and in 1522 became *dayyan* in Cairo, where he distinguished himself as a talmudist. His halakhic decisions were widely cited; he also corresponded with most of the outstanding rabbis, e.g., Elijah *Capsali, *Levi b. Ḥabib, and Jacob *Berab. Alashkar was involved in halakhic disputes with Samuel b. *Sid and Jacob Berab. In a poem and in a letter to Levi b. Ḥabib, Alashkar complained about the hostility toward him in Cairo. The dissensions eventually led to his departure to Jerusalem, where he died.

Alashkar was well versed in Arabic, and studied the responsa written by earlier scholars, especially Maimonides. He also studied Abraham b. Moses b. Maimon's *al-Kifāya* and Samuel b. Hophni ha-Kohen Gaon's *al-Aḥkām.* That Alashkar knew Kabbalah is apparent from his kabbalistic explanations cited by Samuel Uceda in his *Midrash Shemu'el*, and in several of Alashkar's liturgical poems. Alashkar, however, was opposed to the diffusion of secret lore and mysticism.

Though generally conciliatory and moderate in polemics, occasionally Alashkar severely criticized halakhic statements that seemed untenable to him. Once he even accused his close friend, Levi b. Ḥabib, of making a statement contrary to common sense (Responsa, no. 41). Similarly, he rejected opinions by Joseph *Colon, *Jacob b. Asher, and Joseph *Albo. The editors of Alashkar's responsa mitigated or deleted several statements directed against Berab. Alashkar's responsa, 121 in number, were first published in Venice in 1554. Appended to the responsa are five liturgical poems by Alashkar, printed also with two others in Y. Zarki's anthology *Yefeh Nof* (Sabionetta, 1575).

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[Samuel Abba Horodezky]

ALASHKAR, SOLOMON (16th century), leader *(çelebi)* of Egyptian Jewry, who was also known by his title *muʿallim* ("master"). Alashkar was a wealthy trader and philanthropist who supported scholars and yeshivot in Ereẓ Israel and Egypt. In the 1560s a fierce feud broke out between him and R. Jacob ibn Tibbon, one of the foremost Egyptian rabbis, who insulted Alashkar. Rabbis Joseph *Caro, Moses di *Trani, and Israel de *Curiel, all of Safed, were asked to make peace between them, but failed. Alashkar was one of those who helped to subsidize publication of the Shulḥan Arukh (Venice, 1565). When his fortunes changed and he was unable to meet his debts to the governor of Egypt, Hussein Pasha, the latter ordered Alashkar's execution (1583?); but he was saved because the governor himself was killed and, according to Joseph *Sambari, Alashkar recovered financially.

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[Abraham David]

ALASKA, state of the U.S. located in far northwest North America. Jews first came to Alaska in sizable numbers during the Gold Rush of the late 1890s, when they set up general merchandise stores, law offices and mining operations. After the Gold Rush subsided, some Jews remained in the cities. From the 1940s to the 1970s, most of the Jewish population consisted of military personnel. Due to construction of the Alaskan Pipeline in the mid-1970s and the resultant growth of the oil industry, the population grew. Subsequently, Alaska attracted Jews seeking a quieter lifestyle. From 1970 to 2001, the population increased dramatically, going from 190 to 3,400. Today, over three-quarters of the Jewish population resides in the three largest cities. Anchorage, Fairbanks and Juneau had populations of 1,600, 500 and 300, respectively, in 1994. Smaller communities exist in Sitka, Homer, Ketchikan, Soldotna, Kenai, Haines and Bethel.

The first Jews came to Alaska with the Russian explorer Vitus Bering. In the period of Russian rule, the Jews of Alaska were trappers and traders. In the 1850s and 1860s, San Francisco Jews developed extensive commercial ties with the Russian-American Company in Alaska, and many Jewish fur traders visited regularly. Shortly after the United States purchased Alaska from Russia in 1867, Jewish traders, miners, fur dealers, and merchants arrived from San Francisco to probe the new territory.

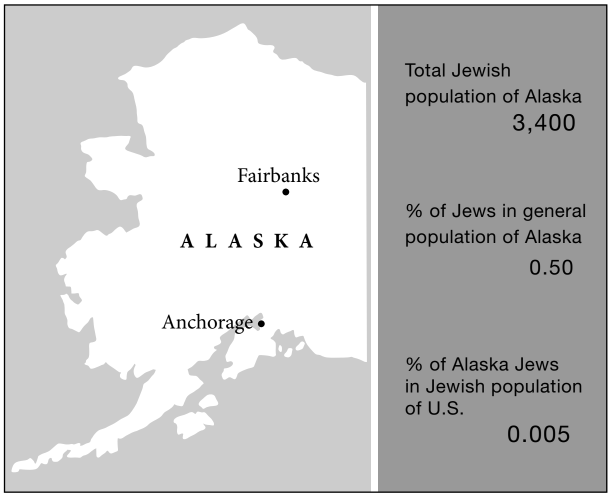
Fairbanks
ALASKA
Anchorage
Total Jewish population of Alaska
3,400
% of Jews in general population of Alaska
0.50
% of Alaska Jews in Jewish population of U.S.
0.005

Jewish population 2001.

Lewis Gerstle and Louis Sloss, San Francisco merchants, founded the Alaska Commercial Company in 1868. The company developed steamboat transportation and financed some of Alaska's first mining ventures.

As many as 200 Jews lived in the Klondike at the height of the gold rush. Dawson City, in the Yukon Territory, was site of the region's first Jewish services (1898). The small Jewish section of Klondike's cemetery Bet Chaim was established 1902 and later restored in 1998 through the efforts of the Jewish Historical Society of the Yukon. During the Nome gold boom of 1900, a Jewish congregation was initiated when some sixty Jews attended Rosh Ha-Shanah services. In 1901, the congregation established the state's first Jewish organization, the Hebrew Benevolent Society. The isolated community declined after WWI.

Polish immigrant Solomon Ripinsky arrived in 1884. His various occupations echo those of other Jewish pioneers: law clerk, teacher, trading post operator, postmaster, notary, lawyer, elected convention delegate, and U.S. Commissioner. Mt. Ripinsky in Haines is named for him.

The first Jewish settlers of Juneau were Robert Gottstein and his wife (1885). Their son Jacob came to Anchorage at its founding in 1915. He established a trading and warehouse business, the J.B. Gottstein Company, that later combined with Carr's Grocery to form Carr-Gottstein, Inc., at one time the largest private employer in Alaska.

In 1904, a group of fortune hunters and businessmen in Fairbanks organized a congregation and a year later acquired a cemetery that is still the only Jewish burial ground in Alaska. The congregation became Congregation Bikkur Cholim in 1908, holding services at the home of Lithuanian Jew Robert Bloom, a congregation founder who had arrived in the Klondike in 1898 and served as the Yukon's first lay rabbi for nearly half a century. He was chairman of Alaska's Jewish Welfare Board, instrumental in the establishment of an Air Force base in Alaska, a founder of the University of Alaska (1918) and a charter member of its Board of Regents. Jessie Spiro Bloom established the Fairbanks kindergarten and first Alaskan Girl Scout chapter (1925). The First Jewish Congregation of Fairbanks was established in 1980 at the Army post chapel. Renamed Or HaTzafon (Light of the North), the congregation is affiliated with the Reform movement.

Around Anchorage, Orthodox, Conservative, and Reform Jewish chaplains at Elmendorf Air Force Base rotated tours of duty from the early 1940s to mid 1980s. Reform Congregation Beth Sholom was established in 1958 and its current synagogue built in 1982. From 1984 to 2000, Rabbi Harry L. Rosenfeld was Beth Sholom's rabbi. Alaska's first Chabad Center and only Orthodox congregation, Shomrei Ohr, was established in 1991 by Chabad emissaries Rabbi Yossi and Esty Greenberg.

In Juneau, the Reform Juneau Jewish Community (JJC) operates in public locations and members' homes. In 2004, the congregation purchased a former community center to serve as the home for a future synagogue and Jewish school.

From the time Jews first settled in Alaska, they have been prominent in political life. The first mayor of Anchorage was Leopold David; several years later Zachary Loussac served in the same capacity. In 1958, when Alaska was approved for statehood, Ernest *Gruening, a former territorial governor, was elected as a United States senator. From 1965 to 1997, Jay A. Rabinowitz was a justice on the Alaska Supreme Court, serving four terms as Chief Justice. Avrum M. Gross served as Attorney General from 1974 to 1980. Jews currently make up 5% of the State Legislature and the Anchorage Municipal Assembly.

The television drama "Northern Exposure" (1990–1995) featured a Jewish doctor, Joel Fleischman, among the inhabitants of a fictitious Alaskan town.

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[Joy Katzen-Gutherie and Joel Reisman (2nd ed.)]

ALATINO (**Alatini**), Italian family of physicians and scholars from Spoleto (Umbria). JEHIEL REHABIYAH (VITALE) ALATINO was physician to Pope Julius III (1550–55) and to the cardinal of Urbino. His half-brother, MOSES AMRAM (d. 1605), a celebrated physician, translated into Latin the paraphrase by Themistius of Aristotle's lost work *De Coelo* (Venice, 1574) from a Hebrew manuscript, and Galen's commentary on Hippocrates' *De aere, aquis et locis* from Hebrew into Latin (anonymously, Paris, 1679). When the Jews were expelled from the minor centers of the papal states in 1569, Moses left Spoleto. He settled in Ferrara, and then in Venice, where he died. Moses' son AZRIEL PETHAHIAH (BONAIUTO), also a physician, assisted his father in his later translation. In 1617 Azriel, who had remained in Ferrara after his father's departure, was compelled to conduct a public disputation there with the Jesuit Alfonso Caracciolo, in the presence of 2,000 persons. He defended the Jewish view concerning the eternity of the Jewish Law, and argued that Jesus did not fulfill the essential prerequisites of the Messiah. Azriel's account of the disputation, *Vikku'aḥ al Niẓḥiyyut ha-Torah* ("Debate on the Eternity of the Law"), was first published by Jarè (1875). In 1624 he was a member of a delegation sent to the papal legate in a futile attempt to prevent the establishment of a ghetto at Ferrara. He wrote *Torat ha-Mukẓeh* (unpublished). His views were liberal; he supported Leone *Modena's argument permitting Jews to go bareheaded. Recently, it has been suggested by scholars that Angelo Alatini, the author of the pastoral drama *I Trionfi,* published in Venice in 1611, was probably a member of this family, and should not be confused with the almost homonymous Angelo Alatrini, whose Italian verse translation of Hebrew liturgical texts was published in the book *L'Angelica Tromba* (Venice, 1628).

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[Cecil Roth]

ALATON, ISHAK (1927–), industrialist. Born in Istanbul, Alaton graduated from Lycée Saint-Michel in 1946. After his military service he worked in Sweden in 1951–53 as an engineering trainee. In 1954 he founded the Alarko Company together with his associate Üzeyir *Garih. Over a period spanning some 50 years Alarko Holdings has grown into a group of 22 independent companies working in the fields of contracting in Turkey and abroad, building and operating hydroelectric and thermal power plants and airconditioning equipment, as well as operating in the fields of tourism and real estate development. Alaton was honored by the King of Sweden in 1993 with the Nordstjaernan (North Star) first degree. He is the vice chairman of the board of TESEV (Turkish Economic and Social Studies Foundation), a non-government organization, and honorary consul of the Republic of South Africa. His *Görüş ve Öneriler* was published in 2000.

[Rifat Bali (2nd ed.)]

ALATRI, SAMUEL (1805–1889), Italian politician and communal leader. Born in Rome, he joined the council of the Jewish community in 1828 and served on it throughout his life, eventually becoming president. On his many missions abroad he met leading Jews, especially in England and France, who encouraged him to conduct a struggle for the rights of his fellow Jews in Rome, in which he was to persevere for many decades. He took a keen interest in education, studying foreign institutions and applying the experience he gained for the benefit of Jewish institutions of learning in Rome. Alatri was chosen as spokesman of the annual deputation of the Rome community permitted to wait on Pope Gregory XVI. A gifted orator, he impressed the reactionary pope and gained enough influence with him to effect remedies in individual cases of distress. With the accession of Pius IX, who at first showed liberal tendencies, Alatri also entered general public life and was appointed a director of the papal bank. In 1849, when Rome was declared a republic and was besieged by French troops, Alatri was a member of the city's defense committee. In 1870, when King Victor Emmanuel put an end to the pope's temporal power and a plebiscite was held in Rome which advocated the incorporation of the city into the kingdom of Italy, Alatri was a member of the commission which handed the king the favorable results. The new status of the city also brought about the long-hoped-for change in the situation of the Jews there. Alatri was later elected to parliament and was appointed to regularize the state budget. Many of his speeches appeared in print, among them the outstanding address he delivered to mark the opening of the rabbinical seminary in Rome (1887).

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ALATRINI (or **Alatrino**), Italian family originating in Alatri in central Italy and later dispersed throughout the country. Its members were known from the 14th century as copyists of Hebrew manuscripts, and from the 15th century as authors.

MATTATHIAS BEN ABRAHAM ALATRINI (16th century), of Città di Castello, was author of a commentary (unpublished) on the *Beḥinat Olam* of *Jedaiah ha-Penini, completed in 1562–63. ISAAC BEN ABRAHAM (16th–17th century), grandson of Mattathias, was active in Cingoli and Modena, where in 1621 he was authorized by the duke to teach Hebrew to Christians. He wrote *Kenaf Renanim*, a commentary on the Song of Songs in five parts (unpublished), in which he quotes passages from the *Dialoghi di Amore* of Leone Ebreo (Judah *Abrabanel). There also exists a Hebrew dictionary of philosophical terms with Italian translations, either composed by him or compiled from his works. JOHANAN JUDAH BEN SALOMON (fl. 2nd half of 16th century) was an early Jewish author in Italian and a poet in Hebrew. He wrote *L'angelica tromba* (Ferrara, 1589), an Italian version in "*terza rima*" (the poetic meter of Dante's *Divina Commedia*) of three *seliḥot*, to which he added some "Sonetti spirituali" (spiritual sonnets). The book was translated into Hebrew by Alatrini's grandson Natan Jedidiah of Orvieto, with the title *Barekhi nafshi* (1628). His Hebrew poems belong to the genre of *tokheḥah* and praise of friends (Abraham Yagel, Barukh ha-Cohen). One *tokheḥah* is translated by the author into Italian. He is perhaps identical with Angelo Alatrini (c. 1534–before 1611), of Città di Castello, early Jewish author in Italian. He wrote *I Trionfi* (Venice, 1611), a pastoral fable, completed in Ferrara in 1575 and seen through the press by Leon *Modena, who added a sonnet in Petrarchian style. *I Trionfi* follows an arcadian model, with moral purposes and characters drawn from Latin mythology; but it also contains sections written in a more popular style, with obscene allusions.

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[Cecil Roth / Alessandro Guetta (2nd ed.)

AL-AVANI, ISAAC (early 13th century), poet who lived in Baghdad. The satirist Al-Ḥarizi called Al-Avani a rich man whose poetry was poor, and who paid heavily to be made head of the academy. He wrote that Al-Avani (literally "vessel") had no value: "his song is bare, crude earthenware," and the answer to any inquiry about Al-Avani's poetry should be, "Behold it is hidden among the vessels" (I Sam. 10:22). Al-Ḥarizi's harsh judgment was unjust. Al-Avani's only extant poem, a *muwashshaḥ* ("girdle poem") on friendship, *Aḥar ha-Ẓevi Zanu Ra'yonai*, compares favorably with the best of its genre. In view of Al-Ḥarizi's unfair appraisal of Al-Avani's poetry, the statement concerning the purchase of his position must also be questioned.

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[Heinrich Haim Brody]

ALAWIDS (Ar. **ʿAlawiyyūn**), dynasty of sharifs, i.e., noble descendants of the prophet Muhammad, by his daughter Fāṭima and her husband, Ali ibn Abu Ṭālib, his cousin. It rose to power in *Morocco in the middle of the 17th century and continues to reign there. The dynasty claims to be descended from Hasan, the elder son of Muhammad, and it is therefore called Alawids of the Hasan branch. These sharifs came from Arab countries and settled in the Tāfīlālt region, in southeastern Morocco, as early as the 13th century; thus, they are also called Filālī (or Hilālī). The rise of the Alawids to power in the 17th century was connected with riots and uprisings which broke out in the country at the end of the reign of the

Saÿdis, about whom much is also related in Jewish chronicles. These chronicles, *Divrei ha-Yamim*, based on the family of Ibn Danān, *Kisse ha-Melakhim* by Raphael Moses Elbaz, and *Yaḥas Fas* by Abner Zarfaty, devote ample space to the events of the time and to a description of the sharifs. Historians consider al-Rashīd (1660–72) as the true founder of the dynasty; one of the famous Alawids was the sharif Ismail (1672–1727), a controversial figure. Arabic sources view him as the one who established the dynasty, an energetic ruler who succeeded in uniting and consolidating the state and introducing order and security. In contrast, the contemporary European sources emphasize Ismail's cruelty to his subjects and to Christian captives. According to them, no one in the history of the Maghreb spilled innocent blood as he did. Jewish courtiers and officials such as Daniel Toledano, Joseph Maymeran, Moses Abenatar, Abraham b. Quiqui, and others (see *Morocco) surrounded Ismail. European diplomatic reports and contemporary travelogues supply rich material which stresses the great part of these Jews in the relations with European countries. After Ismail's death there were 30 years of riots and uprisings in the country (1727–57) when the sons of Ismail fought each other over the distribution of the inheritance and rule over Meknes, the capital. The entire population suffered and only with the accession of Muhammad ibn ʿAbdallah (1757–90) was the country pacified. However, immediately after his death, the reign of terror of his son Yazīd (1790–92) began. The latter vented his anger on Jews and Christians, particularly on Spaniards, and maintained friendly relations only with the British, as his mother (or her mother) was English. Disunity prevailed and his brothers proclaimed themselves kings, one in the southwest, and the other in the southeast. The situation of the Jews during that time is described by S. *Romanelli in *Massa be-Arav.*

In the 19th century a certain relaxation in the relations between the rulers and the population took place, while in contrast, tension mounted with the neighbors across the border, the French ruling in Algeria and the Spaniards who for hundreds of years held a series of cities on the Mediterranean coast of Morocco (Ceuta, Mellila) and hoped to expand their authority in the north. As is usual during times of troubles and wars, the Jews were the major victims, both during the Franco-Moroccan war (1844–45) and the Spanish-Moroccan war (1859–60). Indeed, in 1864 the sharif Moulay Muhammad (1859–73) gave Sir Moses *Montefiore an audience and promised him that his government would be concerned with the civil rights and protection of the Jews. He even issued a royal edict, Ẓahīr, in that spirit whose proclamations and instructions were in effect only on paper. In 1863 the *capitulations treaty was signed between France and Morocco. Belgium, Sardinia, the United States, England, and Sweden were also party to this agreement which influenced the improvement of the situation of the Jews in Morocco who had succeeded in various ways to be included in its framework. The Madrid Convention in 1880 expanded the application of the capitulations to additional countries and decided on lengthy and comprehensive commentaries to its items (chapters). This clearly contained the reduction of Moroccan independence and sovereignty.

From 1873 to 1912 the Alawid sharifs made desperate attempts to preserve the integrity of their kingdom and protect it from imperialist aspirations of the European countries, particularly France who sought to annex Morocco to its overseas empire after it had extended its protection over Tunisia in 1881. The reign of Hasan (1873–94) and ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz constituted an unceasing decline of sharif rule. The sharif ʿAbd al-Ḥāfiẓ (1909–13) was compelled to sign a treaty with France on March 30, 1912, according to which France received most of Morocco as its protectorate. A similar treaty was signed at the end of the same year with Spain, whose share of the loot included the northern region of Morocco extending along the Mediterranean coast. ʿAbd al-Ḥāfiẓ relinquished the throne and his brother Moulay Yusuf (1913–26), who was prepared to cooperate with the authorities of the protectorate powers, ruled in his stead. His son Muhammad v (1926–61) became king at the age of 18. He possessed a great deal of diplomatic talent and helped France during the difficult period of World War ii. In addition, he opposed the racist policy of the Vichy government and announced his personal protection of the Jews in his country. He was removed in 1953, apparently by political opponents in his country who enthroned one of his relatives, Sīdī Muhammad ibn ʿArafa. Muhammad spent two years in exile and was returned to his country with great honor in 1955 and continued to rule. After his death his son Hasan (1961–1999) became king.

King Hasan's regime was characterized by the tightening of internal control and a military buildup. He oppressed his political opponents and tried to unify the country. He also fought against the Polisario resistance in southern Morocco. King Hasan's attitude toward Moroccan Jews was favorable. Under his regime most Jews left the country during the "Yachin Operation" (1961–64). Jews who remained in Morocco lived safely and could practice their religion and continue their economic activity. The Israeli secret services helped King Hasan to build his own secret services. In addition, Hasan headed the Jerusalem committee of the Arab League. His contribution to the peace process in the Middle East was of great importance. Moroccan Jews in Israel, France, and Morocco also helped Israeli leaders make contact with the palace.

King Mohamed vi, Hasan's son, took over at a very young age. He quickly began to introduce some reforms with regard to democratic processes and women's rights. Thus, he released political prisoners and authorized expatriates, such as Abraham Zarfaty, a Moroccan Jewish communist and syndicalist, to return to Morocco. The country was open to Israeli tourists but diplomatic relations were broken off because of the Intifada. Mohamed vi found in Morocco a small Jewish community of not over 7,000 people, most of them in Casablanca and enjoying Jewish communal life.

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[Haïm Z'ew Hirschberg / Haim Saadoun (2nd ed.)]

ALBA, JACOB DI (late 16th–early 17th century), preacher and rabbi in Florence. *Toledot Ya'akov* (Venice, 1609) is a collection of his sermons. In the introduction, he gives details of his life, mentioning that he had traveled for many years and lived for a long time in Constantinople, before being appointed preacher of the Jewish community of Florence. The structural basis of his homilies is to begin with a biblical verse, then to quote a passage from the Talmud or the Midrash which often is only slightly connected to the verse, the exordium to the body of the homily in which he raises a number of rhetorical questions regarding the talmudic passage, and the main part of the sermon in which the questions are answered. His method is in the tradition of R. Moses *Alshekh, the famous preacher of Safed. The book is arranged according to the weekly pentateuchal readings and includes references to the various festivals in relation to the nearest Sabbath; there are no special sermons for the holy days. Some of the readings are discussed in two different sermons. Though Jacob availed himself of certain philosophical terms in his sermons, he was not oriented toward philosophical preaching; nor was he influenced by the Kabbalah. His sermons usually are in the regular rabbinic tradition.

ALBA DE TORMES, city in the province of Salamanca, Spain. A charter, granted by Alfonso VII of Castile in 1140, takes into detailed consideration the relation of Jews to Christians. Both population groups were made equal in civil juridical matters; litigation between Christians and Jews was to take place in the synagogue; less indemnity was to be paid for the murder of a Jew, while a Jewish murderer of a Christian was to be put to death and his goods confiscated. The charter of Alba is one of the oldest Spanish *fueros* to fix the rate of interest on Jewish loans. A Hebrew chronicle records persecutions in the kingdom of Leon in 1230 in which Alba Jewry also suffered. The testament of Don Judah, a wealthy Jew of Alba (1410), indicates the existence of local usages governing the laws of inheritance, in addition to the Jewish laws. A satirical play in verse was written in the 15th century by the *bachilmer* Juan de Trasmiera about the members of the Jewish community in Alba, who brought a suit against a dog which bit them. It mentions the names of various Jews and their occupations, as well as of Conversos who were called as witnesses to the dog's attacks, and employs vivacious expressions which were in current use. The dog was sentenced to be hanged, but freed itself from the gallows and bit the onlookers, while the Jews stayed away from Alba until the dog had died. The satire reflects the popular prejudices of the period. The community existed until 1492.

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ALBAHARI, DAVID (1948–), Yugoslav author and translator. Born in Pec, Albahari graduated from Teachers College in Belgrade and settled in Zemun as a freelance writer of short stories and novels. His prose interweaves abstraction and reality, the lyric and the fantastic. He has edited literary magazines and translated literature from English, and is a member of the PEN club, the writers' union of Serbia, and the president of the Federation of Jewish Communities of Yugoslavia. His books include the collected short stories *Family Time* (1973), *Ordinary Tales* (1978), *Description of Death* (1982), and *Simplicity* (1988); the novels *The Judge Dimitrievich* (1982), *Shock in the Shed* (1984), and *Zinc;* and the anthology *Contemporary World Short Stories* (1982), in two volumes. Some of his stories and novels have been translated into Hebrew, English, Hungarian, and other languages. In 1993 he was elected president of the Federation of Jewish Communities in Belgrade, but in 1994 he resigned and immigrated to Canada. He settled in Calgary, continuing to produce new books in the Serbo-Croat language, among them *Enticement* (1996), *The Snowman* (1997), and *Goetz and Meyer* (1999).

[Eugen Werber / Zvi Loker (2nd ed.)]

ALBA IULIA (in the Roman period **Apulum**; Hung. **Gyulafehérvár**; medieval Latin **Alba Carolina**; Ger. **Karlsburg**, also **Weyssenburg**; referred to in Yiddish and Hebrew sources by the German name **Karlsburg**; in Ladino sources **Carlosburg**), city in Transylvania. Alba Iulia was the seat of residence of the princes of Transylvania in the 16th and 17th centuries; for several centuries it was administered by Hungary but was incorporated into Romania after World War I. The Jews there, originally Sephardim, benefited from the patronage of the princes of Transylvania. A Hebrew document of 1591 mentions a *bet din* there. In 1623 Prince Bethlen Gábor granted the Jews of Alba Iulia a liberal charter of residential and commercial privileges, framed at the insistence of Abraham Szasza, a Jewish physician from Constantinople, who had been invited to settle there. The privileges were endorsed by the National Assembly in 1627. However in the code *Approbatae Constitutiones* passed by the National Assembly in 1653, Jewish residence in Transylvania remained restricted to Alba Iulia. Prince Apaffi Mihñly I reaffirmed Jewish privileges in 1673 after anti-Jewish outbreaks had occurred. The charter was renewed a number of times. The Christian Hebraist, János Apáczai Csere (1625–1659), was active in Alba Iulia and recommended the inclusion of Hebrew in the senior school curriculum. Data in a census of 1735 show that the Jews then living in Alba Iulia originated from Poland, Turkey, Moldavia, Wallachia, Hungary, Moravia, and Belgrade. But during the 18th century the number of Jews living there decreased very sharply as a result of Rakoczi's rebellion; only after the return of the region to peaceful conditions did the number of Jews begin to increase again. From that period the Ashkenazi element became increasingly predominant. Alba Iulia was regarded as the Jewish "capital" of Transylvania. The *shofet* (judge) of the community was styled the "head of the Jewish people of the region." Between 1754 and 1868 the rabbi of the congregation held the title "rabbi of Karlsburg and chief rabbi of the state." The first known chief rabbi was the Sephardi *ḥakham* Abraham Isaac Russo (d. 1738). Best known was Ezekiel *Panet, who officiated in Alba Iulia between 1823 and 1845. The last chief rabbi to officiate was Abraham Friedman (1879). Until the emancipation of the Jews in Austria-Hungary in 1867 their entire religious life developed under the strict control and censorship of the Roman-Catholic bishop of the region. After the religious schism in Hungarian Jewry in 1867 the Alba Iulia congregation remained within the *status quo ante faction. An Orthodox congregation was formed in 1908, and in 1932 it was joined by the original congregation of Alba Iulia, which had until then adhered to its status quo position. The *pinkas* (minute book) of the community for the period 1736–1835, written in a mixture of Hebrew, Yiddish, Judeo-Spanish, German, Hungarian, and Romanian, has been preserved. The *Neolog rite of the Hungarian Jews was almost entirely absent in this city. A Jewish newspaper, the *Siebenbuerger Israelit*, was published in 1883 for a short time. In the 17th century there were about 100 Jews living in Alba Iulia; in 1754, 54 taxpayers; in 1891, 1,357 persons; in 1910, 1,586 (out of a total population of 11,616); in 1920, 1,770 (out of 9,645); and in 1930, 1,558 (out of 12,282). As the area became a hotbed of the antisemitic *Iron Guard, conditions for Jews became difficult. In 1938 a bomb exploded in one of the synagogues. All the property of the community was confiscated in 1941, and the men were seized for forced labor. The Jewish population of Alba Iulia increased during World War II, however, as Jews were sent there from the surrounding areas by the authorities. Heavy fighting in 1944 caused an additional influx. The maximum figure was 2,070 in 1947. This was considerably diminished by emigration in the 1960s. At the outset of the 21st century the number of Jews living in Alba Iulia was very small, as it was in all of Transylvania and Romania.

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[Yehouda Marton / Paul Schveiger (2nd ed.)]

ALBALA, DAVID (1886–1942), Jewish and Zionist leader in Serbia and Yugoslavia. Albala was born in Belgrade, studied medicine at the University of Vienna, and practiced in Belgrade. In 1903 he founded Gideon, the first Zionist youth association in Belgrade. In 1917 he served on the Serbian delegation to the U.S. that attempted to gain support for the country, which had been conquered by the armies of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. While in the U.S. he advocated enlistment of Jews into the *Jewish Legion, and obtained an official letter of sympathy and support for the political aims of Zionism from the Serbian foreign minister in the U.S. (Dec. 27, 1917). After World War I he was a leading figure of Yugoslav Jewry and its Zionist movement. In 1935 he visited Palestine and established a forest in memory of King Alexander of Yugoslavia. At the outbreak of World War II he was sent to Washington on behalf of the Yugoslav government.

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[Getzel Kressel]

ALBALAG, ISAAC (13th century), translator and philosopher. Albalag probably lived in Catalonia. In 1292, Albalag composed the only work of his which has come down, a Hebrew version of al-*Ghazālī's *Magāsidal-Falāsifa* (Hebrew, *Kavvanot* or *De'ot ha-Filosofim*), with a prologue and 75 more or less elaborate notes to which he gave the special title *Tikkun ha-De'ot.* In this independent addition to his translation, Albalag sought not so much to elucidate the basic text as to subject it to a critical evaluation, for the real purpose of his annotated translation was to determine the respective roles of revelation and philosophy in the speculations of the intellectual Jew.

According to Albalag, philosophy is identical with Aristotle's teachings as interpreted by *Averroes. This affirmation necessarily placed him in direct opposition to *Avicenna and to *Maimonides, an opposition to which he often gives expression. Yet, although he is closely dependent upon Averroes, he does not follow him blindly, or in all matters. According to Albalag, four fundamental beliefs are common to revelation (Torah) and to philosophy: the existence of God, reward and punishment, the soul's survival of physical death, and Providence. (It should be noted that rejection of the eternity of the universe is not listed among these beliefs.) Revelation addresses itself to the mass of believers in terms which are within their power of comprehension. An appropriate allegorical exegesis can always extract philosophical truths from the Torah; thus, Albalag interprets the first two chapters of Genesis (*Ma'aseh Bereshit*) in the sense of eternal *creation, though he does say that such exegesis does not yield absolute certitude. Albalag does not deny that the Torah, which is above all a "political" book, a guide for life designed to ensure good order in human society, contains truths inaccessible to human reason. However, those truths, described as "prophetic," are of as little interest to the common man, whose welfare is assured by obedience to the letter of the Law, as to the intellectual who is capable of attaining through philosophy the truths necessary for the beatitude of his immortal soul. Albalag seems to acknowledge some sort of individual immortality (see Immortality of *Soul); at any rate, he does not follow Averroes in the latter's radical doctrine of the total fusion of the disembodied rational souls with the Active *Intellect. As for the vaunted "tradition" of the esoterics, it has, according to Albalag, no serious claims to authenticity. Even though he speaks in respectful terms of three contemporary kabbalists (*Isaac b. Jacob ha-Kohen, Todros b. Joseph *Abulafia, and *Moses b. Solomon b. Simeon of Burgos), it is precisely the demonology which was so dear to them that he discards. In those cases where allegorical exegesis fails to resolve the contradiction between the indisputable facts of scriptural faith and the results of philosophic speculation, there is no alternative but to acknowledge each in its own sphere, namely, the truth laid down by the revealed text and the contrary truth irrefutably established by rational demonstration. Albalag's line of thought and his vocabulary (truth imposed by way of nature, truth believed by way of miracle) indicate with great plausibility the influence of contemporary Latin Averroists who were accused of professing the theory of the "double truth." In the final analysis it is, however, doubtful whether Albalag would have granted full validity to a truth which was not exclusively rational, at least in the case of any man who was not a prophet. One of Albalag's notes on the part of al-Ghazālī *Magāsid* devoted to logic, which is in some of the manuscripts, was borrowed from a certain Abner, who could only have been *Abner of Burgos.

Although later Jewish philosophers and theologians made frequent use of Albalag's translation of al-Ghazālī, *Tikkun ha-De'ot* brought him, except for the praises of his younger contemporary Isaac b. Joseph ibn Pollegar, nothing but censure and abuse on the part of the kabbalists, such as Shem Tov *Ibn Shem Tov, and the fideist opponents of Aristotelian philosophy in the 15th century, such as Abraham *Shalom and Isaac *Abrabanel. Nevertheless, his work was eagerly copied and undoubtedly read with interest in the Jewish intellectual circles of southern Italy and Greece during the same century. Beginning with the 16th century, however, his name and work were almost forgotten. They owe their emergence in the history of Jewish thought to the researches of J.H. *Schorr who published extracts of the *Tikkun ha-De'ot.*

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[Georges Vajda]

ALBALIA, BARUCH BEN ISAAC (1077–1126), Spanish judge and head of a yeshivah in Córdoba; son of Isaac *Albalia. Born in Seville, he went to Lucena after his father's death (when he was 17 years old) in fulfillment of his father's express wish, in order to get R. Isaac *Alfasi to drop the hostility he had long harbored toward his father, and to be accepted as a student in Alfasi's academy. He studied there nine years, together with Joseph *Ibn Migash. After the death of Alfasi, Albalia became judge and head of the yeshivah in Córdoba. Among his many disciples was his nephew Abraham *Ibn Daud. Albalia was well versed in Greco-Arabic philosophy. Among his friends, he counted *Judah Halevi, and Moses Ibn Ezra. There is a play on words in one of Halevi's poems (*Divan*, ed. by H. Brody, 1 (1935), 120): "His name is 'Baruch' [blessed], and he, like his name, is blessed, and all who bless themselves with his name, are, in turn, blessed," apparently alluding to Albalia and testifying to his influence on Spanish Jewish intellectuals. On his death Moses Ibn Ezra eulogized him in a poem beginning with the verse: "*Einot Tehom Hemmah ve-lo-Einayim*" (*Shirei ha-Ḥol.*, ed. by H. Brody (1935), 92) and Judah Halevi did the same in a poem beginning "*Mar la-Am Yikre'u Aẓarah*" (*Selected Poems*, ed. Brody (1946), with English translation, 82).

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[Zvi Avneri]

ALBALIA, ISAAC BEN BARUCH (1035–1094), Spanish astronomer and talmudist. Isaac was born in Córdoba. According to *Ibn Daud, in his youth he had a great Jewish scholar, R. Perigors from France, as a teacher. He was also close to R. Samuel ben Joseph ha-Nagid, and later to the latter's son *Jehoseph ben Samuel ha-Nagid, to whom in 1065 he dedicated his calendrical work *Maḥberet Sod ha-Ibbur* ("The Secret of Intercalation"). After the disastrous death of Jehoseph ha-Nagid (1066), R. Isaac spent great sums of money in reassembling the family library which had been scattered. In 1069 al-Muʿtamid, king of Seville, appointed him to his retinue as court astrologer, and also as rabbi and **nasi* over the Jews in his realm. R. Isaac used his influence at court to improve the status of the Jews of the kingdom. Isaac was renowned for his great erudition, both in general and in Jewish studies. At the age of 30, he began to write his *Kuppat ha-Rokhelim* ("Spice-Peddlers' Basket"), a commentary on difficult passages in the Talmud, but did not complete it. R. Moses *Ibn Ezra refers to him as a "poet and grand stylist" (*Shirat Yis-*

rael, ed. by B.Z. Halper (1924), 72). Two of Albalia's responsa have been preserved: one on the laws of *ẓiẓit* in *Abraham b. David of Posquières' *Temim De'im*, no. 224, and one in Arabic in *Toratam shel Rishonim* (ed. by Ch. M. Horowitz, 2 (1881), 36–38). He died in Granada.

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[Zvi Avneri]

ALBANIA, Balkan state (bordering Serbia and Montenegro (formerly Republic of Yugoslavia), Macedonia, and Greece) on the eastern shores of the Adriatic Sea; from 1478 to 1913 under the sovereignty of Turkey.

*Benjamin of Tudela heard of people living in the region, evidently Wallachians, toward the end of the 12th century: "They are not strong in the faith of the Nazarenes and call each other by Jewish names, and some say that they are Jews." Jewish settlements were founded at the beginning of the 16th century in the Albanian seaports by exiles from Spain, who were joined by refugees from other areas. There were sizeable trading communities at Berat, Durazzo, Elbassan, and Valona: here there were Castilian, Catalonian, Sicilian, Portuguese, and Apulian synagogues.

In 1673 Shabbetai Ẓevi was exiled by the sultan to Albania, dying in Dulcigno. In 1685, during the Turkish-Venetian War, members of the Valona community fled to Berat. Those who remained were taken prisoner, including Nehemiah *Ḥayon. Between 1788 and 1822 Jews suffered from the extortions of Ali Pasha. The Jewish minorities were accused of collaborating to suppress the rebels during the Albanian revolt in 1911.

After World War I only a small number of Jews were living in Albania, in Koritsa (1927). According to a 1930 census, there were 204 Jewish inhabitants in Albania. The Albanian community was granted official recognition on April 2, 1937. In 1939, some families from Austria and Germany took refuge in Tirana and Durazzo.

[Simon Marcus]

The Holocaust Period

In July 1940 all Jews were ordered to transfer to Berat, Lushnje, and Fier. Nine months later, during the battle between Greece and Italy in April 1941, when part of Yugoslavia was annexed to Albania, an additional 120 Jewish refugees from Serbia, Croatia, and Macedonia arrived there. In addition, 350 Jewish prisoners of war were brought in from Montenegro. Jewish refugees were well treated by the native population. The local community in Kavaje assisted 200 Jewish refugees. In 1942 refugees from Pristina were transferred to Berat and protected there.

In September 1943 after the change in the Italian government and the German domination of Italy, Albania came under German control and the situation of the Jews deteriorated dramatically. Some Jews fled to the partisans. Others obtained false papers. Albanian bureaucrats gave identity papers to many Jews of Kavaje so they could go to Tirana and hide there and in 1944 the governors of Albania refused to cooperate in submitting a list to the Germans of all the Jews.

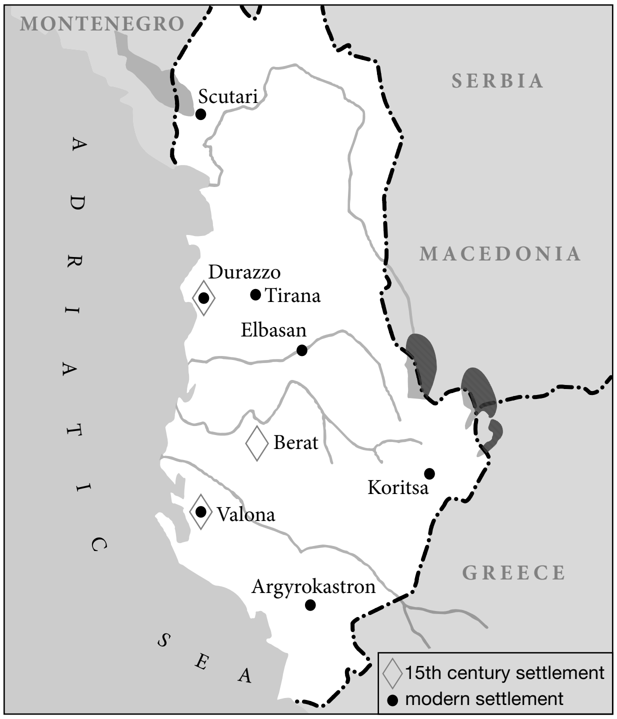

Cities in Albania known to have had Jewish inhabitants.

In all, 600 Jews were saved from the Holocaust. Only six Jews from Shkoder were arrested and sent to a camp in Pristina. No Jews were turned over to the Germans.

Modern Period

After World War II until the collapse of Communism in 1990, the community, numbering 200–300, was completely cut off from the Jewish world. All religion was strictly outlawed and there was no communal life, no rabbi, and no Jewish educational facilities. In 1991 almost the entire community was airlifted to Israel. Relations between Albania and Israel were subsequently normalized, with an agricultural cooperation agreement signed in 1999 and Israeli aid accepted for the Kosavar refugees there. Efforts were made by the Joint to revive community life among the few dozen remaining Jews, nearly all in the capital, Tirana. A synagogue still existed in Valona (Vlore) but was no longer in use.

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ALBANY, capital of the state of New York, 150 miles north of New York City; population, 95,000 (2004); estimated Jewish population, 12,000–13,000 with half living in suburbs but members of Albany congregations. Public records indicate the presence of Jews as early as 1658. Asser Levy owned property, obtained burgher's rights, and lived in Albany in the 1650s. Other early Jewish merchants and traders who resided in Albany included Jacob Lucena, Hayman Levy, Jonas Phillips, Asher Levy, Levi Solomons and Levi Solomons (II). The second Solomons, who lived with his family in Albany in the early 19th century, started a chocolate and snuff business and belonged to New York's Shearith Israel.

A Jewish community emerged in the 1830s as immigrants from Bavaria and Posen arrived in Albany. German-speaking Jews organized Congregation Beth El in 1838. By 1841, the congregation had bought a burial ground and purchased its first synagogue building. Divisions over language and ritual led to the founding of Beth El Jacob in 1841 by Jews of Polish origin. After acquiring property for a synagogue and separate burial grounds, the congregation built a new synagogue in 1847. Prominent Gentiles including Mayor William Parmalee attended the dedication of Beth El Jacob on April 28, 1848. Isaac Mayer *Wise arrived in the United States from Bohemia and became Albany's first rabbi when he took over leadership of Beth El in 1846. He was the teacher at the congregation's Hebrew school, then one of only four in the United States. Wise's advocacy of changes in ritual split the congregation with the famous confrontation at the Rosh Ha-Shanah service on September 7, 1850. Synagogue officers prevented him from taking out the Torah scrolls, a fight ensued, and Wise and members of the congregation were arrested. By October 11, 1850, Wise and 77 supporters had organized Anshe Emeth, the fourth Reform congregation in the United States. Members of all three congregations were poor and worked as peddlers, tinsmiths, tailors, or middlemen. About 800 Jews lived in Albany in 1860.

By the 1880s, the arrival of Jews from the Russian Empire expanded the Jewish population to 3,000. Further immigration of Russian- and Polish-speaking Jews increased the community to 4,000 in 1900 and 10,000 in the 1920s. Assimilation and Americanization led to the merger of Beth El and Anshe Emeth in 1885 to form Beth Emeth, the only Reform congregation in Albany. Rabbi Wise returned to Albany in 1889 to dedicate the synagogue for the combined congregation. Recent immigrants, while Orthodox, did not feel comfortable in Beth El Jacob and formed a separate congregation, Sons of Abraham, in 1882. In 1902 another group of Russian Jews split off and established the United Brethren Society, as a separate congregation that followed a ḥasidic prayer book, and the congregation incorporated in 1905.

From the 1830s to about 1950, the South End, especially the area around South Pearl Street, remained a Jewish neighborhood with kosher meat markets, restaurants, Jewish-owned businesses, synagogues, and communal institutions. As Albany expanded in the early 1900s Jewish residents moved "up the hill" and started new congregations in the Pine Hills and Delaware neighborhoods. Ohav Shalom, the first Conservative congregation, began in 1911, and purchased property for a synagogue in 1922. Another group of Jews in Pine Hills began to meet at Schwartz's Mansion and became Tifereth Israel in 1936. Sons of Israel, a third Conservative congregation, began in the 1930s, and constructed a synagogue in 1935.

The passing of the immigrant generation, Americanization, and suburbanization led to a relocation and reorganization of the synagogues. The Orthodox synagogues merged with the United Brethren Society, joining Beth El Jacob in 1959, and Beth El Jacob merged with Sons of Abraham in 1974 to form Beth Abraham-Jacob. The combined congregation dedicated a new synagogue in 1991. A small group of Orthodox Jews sought to create an informal religious community, and established a *shtibl*, a small house of prayer, Shomray Torah, in 1965. Reform Congregation Beth Emeth built a new synagogue in 1957. A split within the congregation created a new Reform congregation, Bnai Sholom, in 1971, and the new congregation dedicated its own synagogue in 1979. Two Conservative congregations merged in 1949 as Tifereth Israel, and Sons of Israel joined to build a new synagogue, dedicated as Temple Israel in 1956, which was led for a generation by Rabbi Herman Kieval and produced rabbis and scholars. A Hebrew-speaking day camp, Camp Givah, was perhaps the only one in the United States at the time. Ohav Shalom remained separate and dedicated a new building in 1964. Starting in November 1991 Jews seeking an informal and egalitarian community created the Havurah Minyan of the Capital District, following Conservative ritual. In 1995, Ohav Shalom voted to become equalitarian in worship and ritual life. While the Jewish community increasingly resides in the suburbs, synagogues and the Albany Jewish Community Center remain in the city. This led ḥasidic Jews to establish Chabad houses in Albany, Delmar, Guilderland, and, in December 2004, in Colonie.

Jewish residents organized social, fraternal, mutual aid, and self-defense institutions. In 1843 the Society for Brotherly Love became the first mutual aid and burial society. Congregations started burial societies and in 1855 merged their mutual aid groups into the Hebrew Benevolent Society. Merger with the Jewish Home Society led to the Albany Jewish Social Service in 1931, now Jewish Family Services. It aided Jewish refugees in the 1930s, Holocaust survivors in the 1940s and 1950s, and from 1988 it resettled 1,300 Soviet Jews, the latest Jewish immigrants to the Albany area. State government workers and scholars working at the local universities including State University of New York at Albany are a distinct component of the current Jewish community.

B'nai B'rith opened a German-speaking chapter in 1853, but an English-language chapter, the Gideon Lodge, began in 1870 and replaced the German language branch by 1910. A women's organization, United Order of True Sisters, started a chapter in 1857, and is still active. Concern for the elderly poor led to the Jewish Home Society in 1875, which merged with Daughters of Sarah in 1941, and in the 1970s they built a new facility in Albany. Gideon Lodge joined with the Albany

Jewish Community Council to build senior citizen housing, Bnai Brith Parkview Apartments, which opened in 1973, and Congregation Ohav Shalom built senior citizen housing next to their synagogue in 1974.

In the early 2000s Jewish educational institutions included the Orthodox Maimonides Hebrew Day School. Combining Jewish and secular education is Bet Shraga Hebrew Academy, which is named after a Jewish educator and not a prominent donor – the brilliant and dynamic Jewish educator Philip "Shraga" Arian, who served as the educational director at Temple Israel, opened in 1963. Responding to the antisemitism of the 1930s and activities of the German-American Bund, local veterans formed the Jewish War Veterans in 1935, and it remains a local veterans organization concerned with patriotism, education, and antisemitism. Starting in 1938 local Jewish groups created the Albany Jewish Community Council, now the Jewish Federation of Northeastern New York, to combat antisemitism, coordinate among Jewish organizations, and represent the community. The Holocaust Survivors and Friends Education Center raises public awareness of the Holocaust, especially in public schools. Starting out in the Hebrew Institute in 1915, the YMHA and YWHA merged into the Jewish Community Center in 1925. Formally incorporated in 1926, the JCC gradually replaced the Hebrew Institute as a meeting place for Jewish groups and as a center for recreational activities. The JCC built its current headquarters and recreational center in 1960. The variety of Jewish institutions peaked in about 1915, when there were anarchist, socialist, Zionist, and Yiddish-language benevolent societies in Albany. Today's synagogues and organizations reflect the ongoing tensions between assimilation and retention of Jewish identity and religious practice. While probably half of Albany's Jewish community actually resides in suburbs, synagogues have not followed the pattern in other Jewish communities and relocated to the suburbs. All the congregations have relocated but remain within the city of Albany. Finally, the resettlement of 1,300 Soviet Jews in the Capital District since 1988 represents the most significant Jewish immigration into the Albany area since the early 1920s.

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[Harvey Strum (2nd ed.)]

ALBARADANI, JOSEPH (tenth century), liturgical poet and chief *ḥazzan* in the Great Synagogue of Baghdad. The surname is derived from a suburb of Baghdad called Baradan. The fact that his liturgical poems were composed to correspond with the annual Torah reading cycle (and not with the triennial one current at the time in Ereẓ Israel) supports the view that he was of Babylonian origin. Many of Joseph's poems are preserved in all the large *genizah* collections but only a few specimens have appeared in print. Beside the *kerovot* for the Torah readings, Joseph composed several short *masdar* poems (introductions, at a later period called *reshuyyot*). Strangely enough, some of these were included in the Sicilian liturgical collection, *Ḥizzunim.* He was succeeded as *ḥazzan* by his son Nahum ha-Ḥazzan, who was a friend of the *geonim* *Sherira, *Hai b. Sherira, and *Samuel b. Hophni. In 999 he went on an official mission to Kairouan from where he was to continue on his way to Spain. However, Hai Gaon ordered him back in 1006 in order to take over the post of his late father. He, too, was the author of liturgical poems. Nahum was in turn succeeded by his son Solomon al-Baradani as *ḥazzan* and *paytan*.

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[Jefim (Hayyim) Schirmann]

AL-BARGELONI (i.e. "of Barcelona")**, ISAAC BEN REUBEN** (b. 1043), Spanish talmudist and liturgical poet. In a *genizah* fragment Al-Bargeloni is described as a pupil of *Ḥanokh b. Moses and must, therefore, have studied for some time in Córdoba. His permanent residence was the coastal city of Denia, where he was presumably active as a *dayyan* until his death. *Naḥmanides was one of his descendants. Abraham *Ibn Daud extols his learning, including him among the four distinguished contemporaries of Isaac Alfasi, also called Isaac. Moses *Ibn Ezra and *Al-Ḥarizi praise his poetical talent, especially his ingenuity in interpolating biblical verses into his poems. This skill is particularly manifest in Isaac's *azharot*, in which all 145 strophes end with a biblical quotation. The *azharot* have been included in most North African rites published since 1655 and have been frequently published, both alone and together with those of Solomon ibn *Gabirol. Of Isaac's other poems there are extant two introductions to the *azharot*, two *tokheḥot* (one unpublished), two *mi-khamokha*, and an *ahavah.* His halakhic works consist of commentaries to single tractates of the Talmud (not preserved), and a translation from Arabic to Hebrew of *Hai Gaon's *Sefer ha-Mikkaḥ ve-ha-Mimkar* made in 1078. According to Simeon b. Ẓemaḥ *Duran (Responsa 1:15), *Judah b. Barzillai al-Bargeloni was Isaac's pupil.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Rapoport, in: *Bikkurei ha-Ittim*, 10 (1829), 191; Mann, in: REJ, 74 (1922), 157–9; Davidson, Oẓar, 4 (1933), 418; J.H. Schirmann, *Shirim Ḥadashim min ha-Genizah* (1966), 196–200; Ibn Daud, Tradition, index.

ALBARRACÍN, Spanish city near Teruel in Aragon. Jews were living there in the 12th century. The *fuero* (charter), granted to Albarracín by the local overlord about 1220, includes regulations governing the legal status and economic activities of the Jews. In 1391 the municipal council attempted to compel the Jews to submit to its legislation, but the king opposed this move. The Jews of Albarracín suffered in the anti-Jewish riots in *Spain that year; in 1392 the gate of the Jewish quarter was broken down and several of the inhabitants were massacred. There is evidence that the Jews in Albarracín maintained their communal organization, social identity, and economic activities until the expulsion. Albarracín was among the communities which requested of Juan II in 1458 to ratify new communal regulations. The community was permitted to levy a *cisa* tax on foodstuffs and was released from a series of other taxes; the procedure regarding oaths was changed. Between 1484 and 1486 an Inquisitional tribunal operated in Albarracín, but for the most part the trials of the local Conversos took place in Teruel. The expulsion of the Jews from Albarracín, among other communities, was ordered in May 1486. The Jews were granted three months in which to comply; in July the king advised *Torquemada to grant them an additional six months. At the time of the general expulsion from Spain in 1492, however, some Jews were still apparently living in Albarracín and the aged rabbi Solomon urged his congregation to accept exile rather than conversion to Christianity.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Baer, Spain, 2 (1966), index; Baer, Urkunden, 1 (1929), index; González Palencia, *Anuario de la historia del derecho español*, 8 (1931), 479ff; Piles Ros, in: *Sefarad*, 7 (1947), 355ff; 10 (1950), 89.

[Haim Beinart]

ALBAZ, MOSES BEN MAIMON (16th century), Moroccan kabbalist. Albaz, who lived in Tarrodant, was the author of *Heikhal Kodesh*, which he began writing in 1575. It is an interpretation of the prayers in the kabbalistic idiom, based mainly on the Zohar and Menahem *Recanati's works. The manuscript was owned by R. Jacob *Sasportas, who published it with the annotations of R. Aaron ha-Sab'uni of Salé (1653). His work *Sod Kaf-Bet Otiyyot* is preserved in the copy by R. Joseph b. Solomon ibn Mussa (London, Jews' College, Montefiore Ms. 335).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Azulai, 2 (1852), no. 55, s.v. *Heikhal Kodesh;* G. Scholem, in: KS, 6 (1929/30), 276, 457; J. Ben-Naim, *Malkhei Rabbanan* (1931), 95b.

AL-BAẒAK, MAẒLI'AḤ BEN ELIJAH IBN (11th century), *dayyan* in Sicily. Maẓli'aḥ was a pupil of *Hai Gaon in Pumbedita and later he apparently migrated to Sicily where he was appointed *dayyan.* *Nathan b. Jehiel, author of the *Arukh*, was his pupil and it is quite likely that the explanations of Arabic and Persian terms appearing in Nathan's work were derived from his teacher. Maẓli'aḥ wrote a letter in Arabic to Samuel ha-Nagid, concerning Hai Gaon, of which fragments only are extant. One fragment has a commentary by Hai Gaon to Psalms 103:5, and in another it is stated that Hai Gaon, with a view to seeking a correct interpretation of Psalms 141:5, sent Maẓli'aḥ to the Nestorian patriarch, who showed him the Syriac version. On a journey to Europe – or on some other occasion – Maẓli'aḥ stopped over in Ereẓ Israel, when he acted as a judge in a civil dispute in Ramleh.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Steinschneider, Arab Lit, 132; idem, *Gesammelte Schriften*, 1 (1925), 67, n. 87; Mann, in: JQR, 9 (1918/19), 151; Vogelstein-Rieger, 1 (1896), 358; Neubauer, in: *Israelitische Letterbode*, 2 (1876–77), 177; Lewin, in: *Ginzei Kedem*, 3 (1925), 67–68; Assaf, in: KS, 2 (1925/26), 184; Krauss, in: HHY, 11 (1927), 204–5.

[Umberto (Moses David) Cassuto]

ALBECK, family of talmudic scholars.

SHALOM (1858–1920), talmudic and rabbinic scholar, born and educated in Warsaw. Though he earned his living in business, Albeck gained distinction as an astute scholar. His *Mishpeḥot Soferim* (pt. 1, 1903), a biographical encyclopedia of the *tannaim* and *amoraim*, only covered a small part of the letter *alef.* Albeck also began to publish the *Even ha-Ezer* of *Eliezer b. Nathan, together with an introduction and commentary (pt. 1, 1904); and the *Sefer ha-Eshkol* of *Abraham b. Isaac of Narbonne, with an introduction and notes (pt. 1, 1910), completed by his son Ḥanokh (1935–8). Albeck's questioning of the authenticity of the earlier edition of this work by Z.B. *Auerbach gave rise to a keen literary polemic. Albeck also planned to publish the Babylonian Talmud with variant readings on the basis of manuscripts and with a modern commentary, but only a specimen was published, *Moda'ah Talmud Bavli* (1913). A critical study of the writings of *Judah b. Barzillai al-Bargeloni appeared in *Festschrift… Israel Lewy* (1911).

His son ḤANOKH (Chanokh; 1890–1972), talmudic scholar, studied at the Theological Seminary and the University of Vienna, became research scholar at the *Akademie fuer die Wissenschaft des Judentums in Berlin (1920) and lecturer in Talmud at the *Hochschule fuer die Wissenschaft des Judentums (1926). In 1936 he immigrated to Ereẓ Israel and was professor of Talmud at the Hebrew University, until 1956. Albeck's work covers almost all areas of talmudic research. In his studies on tannaitic literature, he came to the conclusion that the editors (not only of tannaitic literature, but also of the Talmud) compiled their materials without adapting, abridging, or reworking them, as their only objective was to collect scattered materials. This first attempt to offer a comprehensive solution to the various problems arising out of the study of talmudic literature provoked a keen controversy, not yet settled. In Albeck's opinion, as opposed to that of David *Hoffmann, the principal differences between the two types of halakhic Midrashim stem from divergent redactions. Albeck even set out to prove that both the *Tosefta and the halakhic Midrashim, as they are known, were unknown to the two Talmuds. In his work on the *halakhah* in the Book of Jubilees Albeck argued that it does not stem from any of the three known sects (Pharisees, Sadducees, or Essenes), but that it originated in the circles of another sect, the "Circle of

*Enoch," and shows affinity to the *halakhah* of the *Damascus Covenant. These conclusions have assumed special importance since the discovery of the *Dead Sea Scrolls. After the death of J. *Theodor, Albeck completed the publication of the latter's monumental critical edition of *Genesis Rabbah* and he wrote the comprehensive introduction as well. This work is a striking example of an extremely accurate critical edition. Albeck also edited the Hebrew translation of Zunz's *Gottesdienstliche Vortraege*, adding a great amount of new material. His major works are an edition of *Meiri's *Beit ha-Beḥirah* on *Yevamot* (1922); *Untersuchungen ueber die Redaktion der Mischna* (1923); *Genesis Rabbah* (1926–36); *Untersuchungen ueber die halakischen Midrashim* (1927); *Das Buch der Jubilaeen und die Halacha* (1930); *Ha-Eshkol* by Abraham b. Isaac, 1-2 (1935–38); *Bereshit Rabbati* (1940); *Meḥkarim bi-Veraita ve-Tosefta* (1944); *Ha-Derashot be-Yisrael*, Zunz's work (1947); *The Mishnah* (with introductions, commentary, and notes; 1952–59); *Mavo la-Mishnah* (1959); *Mavo la-Talmudim*, 1 (1969). Beside his major works, he also wrote many scholarly essays in Hebrew and German.

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[Moshe David Herr]

ALBELDA, MOSES BEN JACOB (1500–before 1583), rabbi and philosopher. It is likely that Moses Albelda was born in Spain, and that he was the grandson of a Moses Albelda who settled in Salonika. He lived a life of hardship and wandering. He states that he acted as both *dayyan* and *rosh yeshivah*. He was rabbi of Arta (Greece) in 1534, and later of Valona (Albania). His sons, Judah and Abraham, went to considerable trouble to publish their father's works. These are characterized by a distinctive style and are eminently readable. His commentary and biblical expositions are mainly philosophical. His sermonic works are *Reshit Da'at* (Venice, 1583), discourses on philosophical themes and rabbinical dicta; *Sha'arei Dimah (ibid.*, 1586), on such varied themes as Providence, the vicissitudes of the times, the death of the righteous, and the destruction of the Temple. His biblical works are in two parts, the first, *Olat Tamid* (*ibid.*, 1601), exegetical, and the second, *Darash Moshe* (*ibid.*, 1603) homiletical. These works mention a number of others that he wrote, including commentaries on Joshua, Esther, and Samuel, and on Maimonides' *Guide* and *Sefer ha-Mitzvot*.

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ALBERSTEIN, HAVA (1946–), Israeli singer and composer. Born in Stettin (Poland), Alberstein came to Israel with her parents in 1951. She started singing and accompanying herself on the guitar while still at school. During her military service she performed as soloist in army bases throughout the country. Upon completion of her military service she began performing in concerts and for several years played the guitar while singing, but in 1971 she started appearing with a small ensemble and without her guitar, thus demonstrating her dramatic ability on stage. She then began writing her own lyrics. The songs in her 1986 album *The Immigrants* incorporated autobiographic elements and a measure of criticism of Israeli society. She expressed her political views in such songs as "The Magician," "Ḥad Gadya," and others. In "Ḥad Gadya" she changed the words of the traditional song to liken Israeli soldiers to devouring animals during the Intifada, which led to a storm of protest and a radio ban on the song. In 1988 she began composing her own music as well and produced the album *The Need for a Word, the Need for Silence*. In 1992 she recorded her first album in English, *The Man I Love*, following it by a number of others, notably one with the Klezmatics Band in 1998. With over 50 albums to her credit, Alberstein frequently performed abroad and is considered a major Israeli singer. She is notable in the field of children's songs and is considered one of the greatest singers of Yiddish songs, with some ten albums. She received the Kinnor David Prize several times as well as the Manger Prize.

[Nathan Shahar (2nd ed.)]

ALBERT, MARV (**Marv Philip Aufrichtig**; 1941–), U.S. television and radio sportscaster, member of the Basketball Hall of Fame. Albert was born in Manhattan Beach, Brooklyn, New York, the son of a grocer, and grew up there with his brothers, Al and Steve, both of whom also became professional broadcasters. The three brothers started practicing in their youth, staging a "contest" between the two family hamsters and doing the play-by-play of the Hamster Olympics. Albert worked on Howard *Cosell's national radio show as a teenager and then with Marty *Glickman at WCBS Radio when he was in college. Albert attended Syracuse University from 1960 to 1962 and graduated from New York University in 1965. Glickman gave Albert his start in broadcasting, allowing him to broadcast his first New York Knicks basketball game on radio on January 27, 1963, at age 22. He broadcast the Knicks full time on radio from the 1967–68 season through the 1985–86 season. He also broadcast the Knicks on television, but was dismissed after he criticized the team's poor play on-air in 2004.

Albert was the radio voice of the New York Rangers hockey team, beginning with his first game on March 13, 1963, and full time from 1965–66 to 1996–97. He later broadcast NBA basketball, NFL football, college basketball, boxing, NHL all-star games, and baseball studio and pre-game shows for the NBC network from 1979 to 1998. He also broadcast basketball for the TNT network and was the voice of Monday Night Football on Westwood One Radio/CBS Radio Sports. Prior to joining NBC, Albert was the radio voice of the New York Giants football team from 1973 to 1976, and for 13 years was the sports anchor for Ch. 4/WNBC-TV.

Albert became the focus of a media frenzy in 1997 when he pleaded guilty to a misdemeanor assault charge amid embarrassing allegations about his sex life. As a consequence he was forced to leave broadcasting, but was rehired by the MSG and Turner networks in 1998 and NBC in 1999. He was hired in 2005 to handle play-by-play duties for the New Jersey Nets beginning in the 2005–6 season. Albert, whose iconic catchphrase is an emphatic "Yes!" punctuating a jump shot in basketball, has won six Cable Ace Awards for Outstanding Play-By-Play Announcer, three New York Emmy awards as Outstanding On-Camera Personality, and was named New York State Sportscaster of the Year an unprecedented 20 times. In 1997 he was awarded the Curt Gowdy Media Award by the Naismith Memorial Basketball Hall of Fame.

Albert played himself in a number of films and is the author of *Krazy about the Knicks* (1971), *Ranger Fever* (1973), *Marv Albert's Sports Quiz Book* (1976), *Yesss!: Marv Albert On Sportscasting* (1979), and *I'd Love To But I Have a Game* (1993).

[Elli Wohlgelernter (2nd ed.)]

ALBERT, MILDRED ELIZABETH LEVINE (1905–1991), international fashion consultant, educator, lecturer, columnist, and radio and television personality. Albert was the youngest of four children of Thomas Levine and Elizabeth Sugarman. Born in Russia, she emigrated with her family, who settled in Roxbury, Massachusetts. While a student at the Sargent School of Physical Education (now part of Boston University), Mildred Levine met her future husband, James Albert. The couple married in 1928 and had three children. A teacher of art, dance, and literature at Florence Street Settlement House in the South End of Boston, Albert also taught posture at Massachusetts General Hospital and was sought out to give private lessons in good posture and proper etiquette to daughters of prominent Boston families. In the 1930s she established the Academie Moderne, a finishing school for young women that combined lessons on poise, grace, and good speaking skills with exposure to museums and cultural events. In 1944, Albert co-founded the Hart Model Agency and Promotions, Inc. with Muriel Williams Hart and her husband, Francis Hart; during those years she began covering major designer fashion shows as Boston's "First Lady of Fashion." Albert sold the school and the agency in 1981, but remained dean emeritus to the school and consultant to the agency. From the 1930s through the 1970s, Albert hosted weekly radio programs on fashion and beauty. She continued fashion show coverage on the CBS *Good Day Show* into the 1980s, and late in life as a reporter for the *Tab* newspapers. Although not religiously observant, Albert identified strongly with Jewish history and culture. She shared her name and money as a generous philanthropist, co-coordinating fashion shows for various charities; she served on the board of the Hebrew Teachers College in Boston in the 1920s and 1930s. Albert was the recipient of numerous awards, including the State of Israel Bonds 35th Anniversary Award in 1983; in 1990 Boston's Mayor Flynn declared "Mildred Albert Day" to honor the city's "official Grande Dame." Albert's papers are located at the Schlesinger Library of Radcliffe College.

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[Sara Alpern (2nd ed.)]

ALBERTA, province in Western Canada. Alberta boasts Canada's fourth largest provincial population, with over 3.2 million people (July 2004). Its two major cities are Edmonton, the provincial capital, with approximately 5,500 Jews, and Calgary, home of the Canadian oil industry, with 8,200 Jews.

Although the province's nearly 15,400 Jews live primarily in the main cities of Edmonton and Calgary, the Jewish presence in Alberta was not always so overwhelmingly urban. Prior to the creation of Alberta in 1905, Jews were found in villages, towns, and on farms around the region. The earliest record of a Jew in Alberta was that of a gold prospector in Fort Edmund. The Hudson Bay factor's journal reads: "September 15, 1869 – Mr. Silverman (a Jew) and a party of four Americans and a Negro started for Fort Benton today." Other Jewish traders and merchants also visited the region from Montana Territory.

Permanent settlement in the region did not take place until the 1880s when two significant historical developments coincided: the extension of the Canadian Pacific Railway into Western Canada (it reached Calgary in 1883) and the terrible pogroms against East European Jews following *Alexander III's ascension to the throne in 1881. In 1882, around 150 Russian Jews worked on the CPR's railway gang, laying 100 miles of track to Medicine Hat. It was reported that they kept the Sabbath, ate kosher food, had a Torah scroll for services, and were directed by a Yiddish-speaking foreman.

The first permanent Jewish residents, in what became Alberta, were brothers, Jacob Lyon Diamond and William Diamond. In 1888, Jacob Diamond moved to Calgary and worked as a pawnbroker and traded liquor and hides. Although historical sources differ slightly over the timetable of William's arrival in Calgary and Edmonton, it seems that he opened a tailor shop in Calgary in 1892. The brothers initiated the first formal Jewish service for the High Holidays in 1894 and founded many of the Calgary community's institutions, such as its cemetery in 1904. Jacob Diamond established Calgary's first synagogue, Beth Jacob, in 1911. In Edmonton, Abe Cristall opened a liquor store soon after his arrival to the city in 1893. William Diamond was instrumental in establishing the first Jewish religious council in Alberta in 1906, a year after his move to Edmonton. Hyman Goldstick, the province's first full-time Jewish religious leader, moved to Edmonton from Toronto in 1906 and served Calgary, Edmonton, and smaller surrounding Jewish communities.

Recognizing the need to populate the West, Canada's high commissioner in London, Sir Alexander Galt, convinced the prime minister, Sir John A. Macdonald, that the Russian Jewish refugees could serve a useful purpose, colonizing the West as farmers. Alberta's first Jewish farming settlements developed in 1893 at Pine Lake and near Fort Macleod. The Jewish community at Pine Lake, numbering 70, was the largest in the region at the time. By 1895, the difficult conditions, inexperience, and lack of Jewish communal institutions contributed to the decline of this settlement and a smaller settlement near Fort Macleod. In 1901, there were 242 Jews in the region.

A decade passed before there was another serious attempt made at Jewish agricultural settlement. Settlements were established at Trochu, Rumsey, and Sibbald in 1905, 1906, and 1911, respectively. Living conditions improved after the arrival of the Canadian Northern Railway in 1910 and families joined the male settlers and opened businesses in the railway villages. In Rumsey, Jews occupied important positions within the wider community as justices of the peace and school trustees. The *Jewish Colonization Association, an international organization supported by Jewish philanthropists like Moses *Montefiore, provided settlers with loans for reuniting farm families and financial support for communal essentials like kosher food, religious services, and education. The Canadian government provided little, if any, support to the Jewish settlers. During the heyday of Jewish farming in Alberta, up to 70 Jewish families were operating farms around Rumsey and Sibbald. In 1914, the 100-person Jewish community of the Montefiore colony near Sibbald built a synagogue and hired a rabbi. As was the case everywhere, the Depression in the 1930s had a devastating effect on the Jewish colonists and by World War II few Jewish farmers remained at Rumsey or Sibbald. By the war's end, the Jewish presence in rural Alberta was virtually non-existent.

But for all the efforts at agricultural settlement, Jews tended to concentrate in urban areas where there were economic opportunities as merchants, traders, and peddlers. By 1911, there were 1,207 Jews in the province, with more than half of them in the two major cities (604 in Calgary and 171 in Edmonton). Aside from Edmonton and Calgary, larger Jewish communities were also established in Lethbridge (home to the third largest Jewish community in Alberta) and Medicine Hat. As it took many years for these communities to acquire a synagogue building, services were conducted for years in people's homes. In the small town of Vegreville, Jews lived harmoniously with the town's Ukrainian and French Canadian residents and were active in municipal life. The Jewish presence in small towns and cities in Alberta, however, gradually disappeared due to the richer Jewish communal life and better economic opportunities available in Edmonton and Calgary.

After World War I, Canada briefly opened its doors to immigration. In 1921, the Canadian census found 3,186 Jews in Alberta. By 1930, however, the number of Jews admitted to the country was in decline as a result of growing immigration restriction. Nevertheless, the number of Jews in the province grew by almost 15 percent between 1921 and 1931, largely due to migration of Jews from Manitoba and Saskatchewan. In 1931, 92 percent of Alberta's 3,700 Jews lived in urban settings.

Alberta's Jewish population grew slowly through the war years and into the postwar era but prosperity in the 1970s led to a significant increase in the number of Jews in the province, primarily in Edmonton and Calgary. With that growth came the development of large Jewish community centers and Reform temples in both cities. Serving Calgary and Edmonton, the *Jewish Star* was published between 1980 and 1990. Since then, the *Jewish Free Press* serves the Calgary Jewish community and *Edmonton Jewish Life* and *Edmonton Jewish News* serve Edmonton. Jews in both cities also established community day schools.

Although the early Jewish community in Alberta faced antisemitism, and antisemitism was a fact of life in the Canadian government's immigration policy until after World War II, it has not been very pronounced in the major cities of Alberta. Jews in Alberta did not face enrollment quotas in professional schools as did Jews in Manitoba, Ontario, and Quebec. Discrimination was not blatant and organized in Alberta but existed at an informal level, for instance with social clubs. There was the exception of the Social Credit Party which took power in 1935. The victory gave antisemitic politicians a platform from which to spout their views and appeal to their largely rural support base. Major Douglas, the party's founder, blamed the Jews for Alberta's hard times during the 1930s and while Premier William Aberhardt publicly spoke against antisemitism, his personal writings and social circle, including Henry Ford, belied an ambivalent, if not, negative attitude.

A case that received wide attention was that of James Keegstra, a high school teacher in the town of Eckville, Alberta. In 1984, Keegstra was charged with unlawfully promoting hatred against an identifiable group, in violation of the Canadian Criminal Code, through his anti-Jewish statements, e.g., calling Jews "barbaric," "manipulative," and "sadistic," and claiming that Jews "created the Holocaust to gain sympathy." His defense lawyer, known for defending neo-Nazis and Holocaust deniers like Ernst Zundel, argued that the Criminal Code violated Keegstra's Charter right to freedom of expression. The case went all the way to the Supreme Court, which in a 4–3 decision ruled against Keegstra and maintained that Criminal Code Section 319(2) constituted a reasonable limit on freedom of expression, noting "there is obviously a rational connection between restricting hate propaganda and fostering harmonious social relations between Canadians."

Despite the infamy of the Keegstra case in Alberta, Alberta's Jewish population has found the province to be a secure and prosperous home. Jews in Alberta have risen to prominence in important and prestigious leadership roles in the larger community. Sheldon Chumir, a well-known Calgary lawyer, Rhodes scholar, and Liberal politician, was twice elected to the Alberta Legislature. Calgary was also home to Canada's first female chief of police, Christine Silverberg. In September 2001 a Jew was appointed president and vice chancellor of the University of Calgary, and, in October 2004 Edmonton elected a Jewish mayor, Stephen Mandel. The Edmonton Symphony was founded by Abe Fratkin and the Canadian Football League's Edmonton Eskimos was also founded by Jews. Jews have played a vital role in the arts in Alberta – Shoctor founding the Citadel Theatre in Edmonton and contributing significantly to Calgary's Centre for the Performing Arts.

As with many other North American communities, in the final decades of the 20th century, two newer Jewish groups have joined the primarily Ashkenazi established Jewish community in Alberta, Israelis and Russians. Reform, Conservative, Orthodox, and Ḥabad denominations of Judaism all have a presence in Alberta, although the majority of Alberta's Jews are non-Orthodox.

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[Aliza Craimer (2nd ed.)]

ALBERTI-IRSA (also known as **Albertirsa**), twin cities in the Monor district of Pest-Pilis-Solt Kiskun county, Hungary. Jews first settled there in 1746. In 1770 there were 13 Jewish residents in Alberti and 95 in Irsa, mainly occupied as merchants, tailors, tavern owners, distillers, and bookbinders. The communal regulations (*takkanot*) date from 1772. The *chevra kadisha* was organized by Rabbi Abraham Pressburger in 1784. A synagogue was built in 1809, and a *talmud torah* in 1804; a Jewish elementary school was opened in 1851. The participation of the community in the Hungarian struggle for independence in 1848–49 cost it an indemnity of 1,200 gulden, levied by the Austrian authorities. Many of the Jewish residents left Alberti-Irsa after 1850, when Hungarian Jews were permitted freedom of movement. The community constituted itself as a Status Quo community in February 1881, although a number of Jews organized themselves as an Orthodox congregation. The two were consolidated in 1889 by Rabbi Zsigmond Büchler. In 1929 the congregation had 250 members, including those of the other communities in the district. The rabbis of Alberti-Irsa include Abraham Pressburger, author of *Even ha-Ot* (Prague, 1793); Amram Rosenbaum (1814–26); Hayyim Kittsee (1829–40), head of a large yeshivah and author of the responsa, *Ozar Hayyim* (1913); Jónás Bernfeld (1853–72); and Zsigmond Büchler (1886–1941).

According to the census of 1941, Irsa had a Jewish population of 124 (1.7% of the total), and Alberti of 21 (0.5%). In addition the twin towns had one and six converts, respectively, who were identified as Jews under the racial laws. The status quo congregation of the twin cities, led by Rabbi Imre Blau, had 92 members in 1941. After Blau was drafted into a forced labor service company in 1942, the community came under the leadership of Rabbi István Székely. After the German occupation of Hungary on March 19, 1944, Rabbi Székely was appointed head of the local Jewish Council. The 149 Jews of the twin cities were first concentrated in a local ghetto that was established in the so-called Fodor lumber yard and in the "Singer building." They were later transferred to the ghetto of Monor from where they were deported to Auschwitz in early July 1944. The community numbered 14 in 1968, but ceased to exist a few years later.

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[Alexander Scheiber / Randolph Braham (2nd ed.)]

°ALBERTUS MAGNUS (about 1200–1280), German scholastic philosopher and theologian. He was a key figure at the rising University of Paris and in the schools of the Dominican Order, especially in Cologne. Among his students was Thomas *Aquinas. Although he belonged to the group of scholars that witnessed the condemnation of the Talmud in 1248, he was interested in Jewish literature and never attempted to hide his reliance on *Maimonides as a mediator between philosophy and Bible. Occasionally, he referred to Maimonides and Isaac *Israeli, the compiler of neo-Platonic doctrines, as men who frivolously adapted philosophy to Jewish law. However, "Rabbi Moyses'" ("Maimonides") discussions on the limits within which peripatetic cosmology may be accepted by a believer in divine creation as described in Genesis had a very positive meaning for a Dominican who was introducing the whole of Aristotle's system into the orbit of ecclesiastical learning. For his own attempt at synthesis Albertus was inclined to combine Aristotelianism with neo-Platonic ideas; therefore Avencebrol's (Ibn *Gabirol's) *Fons vitae* was an important text for him. He did not know, however, that this author was a Jew of great renown.

During the latter half of the 13th century friars began using information from Maimonides' *Dux neutrorum* (*Guide of the Perplexed*) for their exegetical work. Albertus shared this trend, following Maimonides in his interpretation of the Book of Job as a philosophical treatise on the relation of divine providence and human suffering. Parts of Albertus' works were known to late medieval Jewish philosophers through Hebrew translations.

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[Hans Liebeschutz]

ALBI, town in France. The church council held at Albi in 1254 issued a number of canons (63–70) embodying anti-Jewish restrictive measures. One or two Jewish families resided in Albi toward the end of the 13th century. A few settled there after 1315 without authorization from the local authorities. In 1320 several were massacred by the *Pastoureaux. Subsequently Jews were only permitted to enter Albi in transit on payment of a toll of 12 deniers. In 1967 there were approximately 70 Jews in Albi, mainly of North African origin.

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[Bernhard Blumenkranz]

ALBIGENSES, generic name, deriving from the city of Albi, loosely applied to a number of Christian heretical sects which developed in Provence and south France in the 12th century, the term being used especially in connection with Cathari. Knowledge of their precise doctrines is vague, being derived mainly from the vilifications of their Roman Catholic opponents, now partly reinforced by the information embodied in Inquisitional trials. The Roman Catholic Church suspected that some of these heresies were deliberately stimulated by the Jews. This is out of the question, especially as in most cases the sectarian doctrines embodied dualistic elements which were even further removed from Judaism than those of normative Christianity. On the other hand, some of the allied bodies, such as the "Passagi" and "Circumcisi," had an Old Testament basis and can be characterized as Judaizing sects (see *Judaizers). Some of the other sectaries also apparently studied Hebrew in order to have a better understanding of the Old Testament, and personal relations between Albigenses and Jews seem to have been relatively cordial, this fact itself adding to the suspicions and animosities of the church. The Cathari accused the Roman Catholic Church of corruption, ritualistic pomp, and superficiality. Seeing them as a challenge to its power, the Church in return condemned them as Manicheans and Church Judaizers. However, though the Cathari rejected image worship, maintained certain prohibitions on the consumption of meat, and denied that Jesus was God, their theology and ritual contained a variety of contradictory elements. In fact, their attitude toward Judaism and the Old Testament was clearly hostile, as is borne out by the records of the Inquisition and the contemporary chronicles which cannot be suspected of a Catharistic bias. Jewish law was rejected by the Cathari as evil, because the "devil in the shape of a calf" (*diabolus in forma vituli*) had given it to them. Judaism as a whole was held to be an emanation of the material, visible, and consequently evil God.

Catharist hostility toward Judaism on the theological level, however, was not reflected on the social and cultural plane. Jews were held in high esteem in the French Midi, where their status was probably the best in Europe. Cities like Albi, Béziers, Carcassonne, Toulouse, Lunel, Montpellier, Marseilles, Beaucaire, and Nîmes, which were most affected by the heresy, also had large Jewish populations. Concomitantly, rulers of the Midi openly favored both Albigenses and Jews, whom they appointed to important functions in the fiscal administration. Roger II, of Béziers, probably a Cathar himself, intermittently appointed Jews to the office of bailiff (*bailli*), a tradition apparently carried on by his son Raymond-Roger. Count Raymond VI of Toulouse, patron of Provençal poetry and tolerant of Catharism, generally favored Jews and employed Abba Mari b. Isaac of St. Gilles as one of his officials. In granting privileges to the Jews, the princes were motivated by reasons more powerful than mere sympathy. Owing to their commercial activity Jews often were a considerable source of revenue and some princes were in debt to them. More generally, the degree of independence of thought in Provence and the good will displayed to one another by Christians and Jews are probably explained by the fact that the whole region was then exposed to a wide range of outside influences which made it an island of civilization and tolerance, far removed from medieval obscurantism.

The situation which thus obtained in Provence Jewish prosperity expanding in the midst of heresy was doubly intolerable to the established church. In 1195, at the Council of Montpellier it was decreed that anyone who allowed Jews (or Muslims) to exercise public office would be excommunicated. In 1209, Pope *Innocent III (1198–1216) ordered the Cistercians to preach a crusade against the Albigenses (January 1209). An army of monks, fanatics, and nobles marched into southern France. It was headed by Arnold of Citeaux, Cardinal Bertrand, and the rapacious Simon de Montfort, King Philip II of France having refused to lead the enterprise. The first stage of the operation ended with the capitulation of Raymond VI of Toulouse. In June 1209, at Montélimar, he and his nobles pledged themselves by oath "to forever removing the Jews from all administration and office, not ever to restore them, nor to accept other Jews for any office… nor use their council against Christians, nor… to permit them to employ Christians, men or women, in their homes as servants." Next the Crusaders took Béziers and Carcassone (July/August 1209), defended by young Raymond-Roger. Twenty thousand Christians and 200 Jews were massacred at Béziers. Many others were carried away as captives. In September 1209 the Council of Avignon decreed that "the Jews should be restrained from the exaction of usury by excommunicating those Christians who enter into commercial relations with them… and that the Jews be compelled to remit what they had gained through usury. We also prohibit them… to presume to work in public on the Sundays or festivals. Nor shall they eat meat on days of abstinence." Seven years later the wife of Simon de Montfort emulated her consort by having all the Jews of Toulouse arrested. Children under age were promptly baptized, but the adults resisted conversion and were eventually set free.

The Albigensian Crusade came to an end in 1229 with the Treaty of Paris, which destroyed the power of the princes in the south. The remaining adherents of Catharism were left to the care of the Inquisition, which dealt them a final blow by setting up a collective stake at Montségur (1245).

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Cathares ou Albigeois (1849); H.C. Lea, *History of Inquisition in the Middle Ages* (1958); J.M. O'Brien, in: *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 10 (1967/68), 215–20.

°ALBINUS, LUCCEIUS, Roman procurator of Judea, 62–64 C.E. During the brief interval between the death of his predecessor Festus and his arrival, the high priest *Anan son of Anan summoned the Sanhedrin and sentenced James, the brother of Jesus, to death. Thereupon delegations were sent to Agrippa II and even to Albinus, then on his way from Alexandria, to protest against Anan's illegal act, since he had no authority to convene the Sanhedrin without the procurator's consent (Jos., Ant., 20:197–203). Josephus depicts Albinus as unusually rapacious. He increased the burden of taxes and released prisoners only on payment of a ransom (Jos., Wars, 2:272–3). Under Albinus the *Sicarii intensified their activities and when they were unable to ransom their followers they would seize some of the leading citizens and make their release dependent upon that of their members held prisoner by Albinus. Thus Ananias, the high priest, was constrained to persuade Albinus to release ten Sicarii in exchange for his son, Eleazar's secretary, kidnapped by them (Jos., Ant., 20:208–9). Josephus relates that several years before the destruction of the Second Temple, portents foretold its approaching doom. Among them was a farmer, Jesus, the son of Ananias, who day and night proclaimed the coming destruction by crying out: "A voice from the east, a voice from the west, a voice from the four winds, a voice against Jerusalem and the sanctuary, a voice against the bridegroom and the bride, a voice against all the people." Brought before Albinus, Jesus unceasingly repeated his dirge, even under torture. Albinus concluded that he was mad and sent him away (Jos., Wars, 6:300–5). Signs of the imminent outbreak of hostilities were probably evident in the days of Albinus, who, in 64 C.E., was succeeded by Florus, the last procurator of Judea.

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[Lea Roth]

ALBO, JOSEPH (15th century), Jewish philosopher in Christian Spain. Albo participated in the famous Jewish-Christian disputation at *Tortosa and San-Mateo (1413–14) as a representative of the Jewish community of Daroca and wrote a theological-philosophical treatise by the name of *Book of Principles* (Heb. *Sefer ha-Ikkarim*). Albo's *Ikkarim* has become one of the most famous compositions of medieval Jewish thought and was translated into Latin, English, German, Russian, and Italian (part A only).

Little is known about Albo's life. The general opinion regarding the dates of his birth and death (1380–1444) is based on assumptions rather than on historical documents or facts. Albo was born, presumably, in the Crown of Aragon, where he studied with Ḥasdai *Crescas of Saragossa, to whom he refers in his book as his teacher (*Ikkarim*, 1, 26; 3, 16; cf. *Book of Principles*, 1, ed. Husik, Philadelphia, 1929, vol. 1, p. 200, 1, 18; vol. 3, p. 148, 1, 9). According to Albo's own words, he moved to Soria in the Crown of Castile, very possibly following the destruction of his community at Daroca (1415), and there he completed his major treatise (*Ikkarim*, intro.; cf. *Principles*, vol. 1, p. 37, 2, 1–2). Historical documents indicate that Albo was a social as well as a religious leader in both Daroca and Soria. His judgment was requested, for instance, in matters of family quarrels as well as in halakhic questions. It also seems that he was a physician and that he understood, apart from the Hebrew language in which he wrote his philosophical treatise, both Spanish and Latin. Whether or not he could read Arabic is an unresolved question.

A survey of Albo's written work shows, quite interestingly, that the *Ikkarim* was not his sole publication. Several researchers claim that Albo also wrote a polemical treatise in Spanish by the name of *The One* (Heb. *Ha-Eḥad*). Others attribute to Albo a composition called *One Hundred Pages* (Heb. *Me'ah Dapin*) that deals with the dogmas of faith. Finally, two other short compositions attributed to Albo are still available only in manuscripts: (a) Commentary to Maimonides' *Treatise on Logic*; (b) notes on Maimonides' Thirteen Principles.

Sefer ha-Ikkarim

CHRONOLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL BACKGROUND. Nevertheless, Albo's major contribution to the history of Jewish philosophy lies in his *Sefer ha-Ikkarim*. Another aspect of the uncertainty surrounding Albo's biography is the difference of opinions regarding the exact year in which he completed the writing of this book (e. g. 1424, 1425, 1428, and a more cautious opinion stating only that it could not have been before 1415). The prevailing opinion among scholars seems to be, however, that it was completed by the year 1425.

Important chronological information concerning the composition process of the *Ikkarim* can be drawn from Albo's retrospective comment at the end of part A of his book. Albo notes that his initial intention was to discuss exclusively the doctrine of religious dogmas, an aim that was fulfilled in the course of part A alone. However, later on, at the request of a group of people who presumably had read his original work, he decided to expand his discussion of these matters and, consequently, to add three more parts to the first (*Ikkarim*, 1, 26; cf. *Principles*, vol. 1, p. 203, 2, 1–9). In light of this remark several scholars have concluded that part A of the *Ikkarim* was, and henceforth should be treated as, a work Albo had written independently of the final version of the whole book. The question as to the year in which part A of the *Ikkarim* was actually written in its first version remains open. Scholars addressing this issue are mainly divided with regard to the question of whether it was written before Albo's immigration from Aragon to Castile and before the Tortosa disputation, namely, many years before the completion of the entire composition, or not, namely, a relatively short period of time before the book's completion. Differences between part A and parts B–D of the book with regard to both style and content can be considered to favor the former point of view.

After considering the narrow chronological aspect of the composition stages of the *Ikkarim*, the broader historical one should also be taken into account. Two historical-cultural circumstances can be pointed to as sources of influence on Albo's theoretical activity: (1) Massive, rapidly growing, and multidimensional pressure exerted by the Christian church upon the Jews in northern Spain to encourage them to convert to Christianity. (2) Internal dissension within the Jewish theological camp between rationalistic thinkers on the one hand and conservative and kabbalistic thinkers on the other hand. It should be noted that these motifs have been highlighted in the research that has been conducted on Jewish thought in 15th-century Spain in general.

CONTENTS AND CHARACTERISTICS. As indicated above, the *Ikkarim* is divided into four parts. Part A presents Albo's dogmatic system, namely the system of the main beliefs in what he calls "Divine Law." That system is divided into three hierarchic categories: (a) fundamental principles (Heb. *Ikkarim*), (b) derivative principles (Heb. *Shorashim*), and (c) obligatory dogmas (Heb. *Anafim*). Denying one of the fundamental or the derivative principles, Albo claims, is equivalent to heresy, but not the denial of one of the obligatory dogmas, which is considered by him merely a religious sin.

According to Albo there are three fundamental principles of "Divine Law": (1) the existence of God, (2) divine revelation, and (3) reward and punishment. The remaining three parts of the *Ikkarim* (parts B–D) address these principles, respectively.

Part B discusses the first fundamental principle in Albo's list, namely the existence of God, and its four derivative principles which are God's unity, incorporeality, independence of time, and absence of defects. The main theme of part B is the doctrine of the divine attributes, yet attention should also be drawn to Albo's interesting critical discussion of Maimonides' philosophical proofs for the existence of God (*Ikkarim*, 2, 4–5; cf. *Principles*, vol. 2, pp. 26–35).

Part C discusses the second fundamental principle, namely divine revelation, and its two derivative principles, which are prophecy and the authenticity of the messenger of "Divine Law." Other important issues discussed in the framework of part C are the question of ultimate human felicity, the Law of Moses and its commandments, and finally the religious duties of fear and love of God.

Part D discusses the third fundamental principle, namely reward and punishment, and its two derivative principles, which are God's knowledge and providence. In the course of this part Albo addresses the problem of evil and offers interesting analyses of two major religious phenomena, prayer and repentance. In the sequel Albo discusses extensively the doctrines of reward and punishment in the hereafter, resurrection of the dead, and the messiah.

Thus, the *Ikkarim* offers a systematic, detailed, and broad examination of the cornerstones of religious philosophy in general, and of Jewish thought in particular. To be precise, this book offers a summation of medieval Jewish thought as it appears from the abundance and divergence of its philosophical and theological sources. The Jewish thinkers who seem to have had the greatest influence on Albo's thought are *Maimonides, *Naḥmanides, *Nissim of Gerona, Ḥasdai Crescas, and Simeon ben Ẓemaḥ *Duran. Albo was also familiar with kabbalistic sources and views on the one hand and with works of non-Jewish philosophers, such as *Aristotle, *Avicenna, *Averroës, and Thomas *Aquinas, on the other.

These qualities of the *Ikkarim*, in addition to its plain language, have contributed to its popularity within divergent Jewish and non-Jewish circles. The *Ikkarim* was one of the first philosophical treatises to be printed (1485), and in the following two centuries it was twice commented on, first by Jacob Koppelmann (*Ohel Ya'akov*, 1584), then by Gedaliah Lipschuetz (*Ez̧ Shatul*, 1618). Moreover, Albo's name is mentioned in the works of later Jewish philosophers, medieval as well as modern, and references to his book can be found in their writings. Such thinkers are, for example, Isaac *Arama, Isaac *Abrabanel, *Spinoza, and Moses *Mendelssohn. Lastly, Christian theologians in the 16th and 17th centuries used the *Ikkarim* in order to promote their polemical purposes.

A last remark should be made in regard to the research conducted on Albo's thought during the last 150 years. This research has taken three main courses: (1) an exposure of the philosophical sources of the *Ikkarim*, (2) a discussion of the historical circumstances in which Albo's theoretical activity took place, and (3) an examination of Albo's theological opinions.

Until recently researchers shared the general agreement that Albo was not an original thinker, but rather an eclectic one. Correspondingly, the *Ikkarim* was mainly considered a popular homiletic and encyclopedic treatise that lacked originality and philosophic profundity. This approach to Albo's work emphasized especially his polemical and apologetic interests in the light of the massive Christian spiritual as well as physical attacks on the Jews of his time and place.

An alternative approach to Albo's work wishes to supplement the analysis of his philosophy as such with an analysis of his philosophical "art of writing." In other words, it views the *Ikkarim* as not merely a compendium of views randomly put together but as a composition that was written purposefully and meticulously as an esoteric work, very much like Maimonides' in his *Guide for the Perplexed*. Albo intentionally expresses certain points of view on the exoteric, outer level, of the book and conceals other, opposing ones on its esoteric, inner level. It should be mentioned that this approach to Albo's thought is primarily supported by his opening remarks in part b of the *Ikkarim*, where he indicated that the book contains deliberate contradictions and therefore should be carefully read (*Ikkarim*, 2, opening; cf. *Principles*, vol. 2, pp. 1–4).

Albo's treatise indeed hardly displays any significant theoretical novelty. However, researchers of both camps point to one discussion that reflects some originality, that is, the discussion of the different kinds of "Law," namely "Divine," "Human," and "Natural" (*Ikkarim*, 1, 5–8; cf. *Principles*, vol. 1, pp. 70–92). They assert that Albo was probably the first Jewish thinker to use the political concept of "Natural Law" in his book, possibly under the influence of Thomas Aquinas. Another discussion that points to an original approach to a familiar subject is the one regarding the meaning of human love of God (*Ikkarim*, 3, 35–37; cf. *Principles*, vol. 3, pp. 316–51). This discussion has influenced several later Jewish thinkers who addressed the issue.

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[Dror Ehrlich (2nd ed.)]

ALBORAYCOS. One of the insulting names applied to converted Jews in Spain in the 15th century. An anti-Converso work, the *Libro del Alborayque*, apparently from the north of Spain (c. 1488), derives the term from the name of the marvelous mount of Muhammad, al-Burāq. Just as the steed was neither horse nor mule, male nor female, so the insincere converts were not Jews, Muslims, or Christians. The work specifies 20 characteristics of al-Burāq and applies each of them to the Conversos.

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[Kenneth R. Scholberg]

ALBOTINI (Albutaini), JUDAH BEN MOSES (d. 1519), kabbalist and commentator on *Maimonides' writings. His father was a scholar in Lisbon. Albotini was one of the "Members of the Yeshivah of Jerusalem" and, in 1509, signed with them an ordinance to exempt scholars from taxes. He succeeded Jacob of Triel as head of the Jerusalem yeshivah, and as such was also head of the Jerusalem rabbis. Albotini was the author of several halakhic and kabbalistic books, all of which have remained in manuscript. His main work is the *Yesod Mishneh Torah* on Maimonides. The book includes the notation and explanation of the sources which preceded Maimonides. It discusses the foundation of every *halakhah* and the manner in which it was substantiated by Maimonides. Albotini held that the critics of Maimonides made strange and superfluous suppositions because Maimonides' sources were not accessible to them. He, however, had several sources and manuscripts which were not available to them. Of special interest in his work are the introductions (*derushim*) which encompass subjects treated by Maimonides. He discusses these extensively in the place where they are first mentioned, analyzes the problems, explains the practical issues, and sums up the subject matter. In addition to the manuscripts of homiletical commentaries on *halakhah* and *aggadah* and the ancient authors, he also possessed the correct manuscripts of the *Mishneh Torah* and chose, according to them, the correct version. In 1518–19, he completed his commentary on Maimonides' *Sefer ha-Madda, Sefer Ahavah*, and *Sefer Zemannim* (British Museum, Ms. Add. 19.783). However, from *Sefer Nashim*, Albotini explained only the laws of marriage and a number of chapters from the laws of divorce (Ms. Deinard 398, J.T.S., Schechter collection, New York). Three additional books on Maimonides, now lost, are (1) *Moreh ha-Mishnah*, which proposed to explain the veracity of his commentary on the Mishnah; (2) *Sefer Yeshu'ot*, on *Seder Nezikin*; Albotini intended to include rulings on money matters by R. Isaac *Alfasi, Maimonides, *Sefer Mitzvot Gadol*, and *Tur Ḥoshen Mishpat*; (3) a commentary on Maimonides' commentary on the *Mishnah*, or more precisely, on the division of the *Tumot* (uncleannesses) in the introduction to *Seder Tohorot* (order of cleannesses). Albotini wrote this book in Jerusalem in 1501. *Sullam ha-Aliyyah* ("The Ladder of Ascent"), a manual for contemplative mystics, is his only known kabbalistic work. Albotini was attracted by Abraham *Abulafia's prophetic kabbalism and by his doctrine of combinations (*ẓeruf*).

Another work called *Mar'ot Elohim* ("Visions of God"), which probably dealt with *Ma'aseh Bereshit* (esoteric doctrine of the creation) and with *Ma'aseh Merkavah* (mystic speculations on the celestial chariot) is mentioned in *Yesod Mishneh Torah*. At the beginning of the latter there are also some chapters dealing with kabbalistic subjects: *Derush ha-Havayah, Derush Hishtalshelut ha-Nimẓa'im*, and *Derush ha-Nefesh*, which constitute an introduction to *Hilkhot Yesodei ha-Torah*.

Albotini's book reflects the cumulative impact of the various layers of ecstatic Kabbalah: Abulafia's *Or ha-Sekhel*, R. Nathan ben Saadiah's *Sha'arei Ẓedek*, and R. Isaac of Acre. *Sullam ha-Aliyyah* was printed by E.Y. Porush in Jerusalem, 1989.

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°**ALBRIGHT, WILLIAM FOXWELL** (1891–1971), U.S. biblical archaeologist and Semitics scholar. The son of Methodist missionaries, Albright studied at Johns Hopkins University, earning his doctorate under Paul Haupt. In 1929, he became professor of Semitic languages at Hopkins. He directed the American School of Oriental Research in Jerusalem, 1920–29 and 1933–36. Albright's excavations in Ereẓ Israel include Gibeath-Shaul (Tell al-Fūl), 1922–23, 1933; Adar and Bāb al-Dhrāʿ in Moab in 1924 and 1933; *Beth-El in 1927 and 1934; and Petra in 1935. His main achievement in field work was the excavation of Tell Beit Mirsim (the biblical Debir?), which he directed in 1926, 1928, 1930, and 1932. He also participated in the University of California expedition to Sinai (1947–48) and was chief archaeologist of expeditions of the American Foundation for the Study of Man at Wadi Bayḥān (Beihan), Hajar Bin Humayd, and Timnaʿ in Arabia (1950–51). His main publications (apart from over 1,500 articles) are *From the Stone Age to Christianity* (1940; 1946^2); *Archaeology and the Religion of Israel* (1942); *The Archaeology of Palestine* (1949); and *The Excavation of Tell Beit Mirsim* (1932–43). In this last work, Albright laid the foundations for the scientific ceramic chronology of the Canaanite and Israelite periods in Ereẓ Israel: his philological and topographical studies solved some of the most difficult problems in Egyptian and Semitic philology and in the identification of places. In his approach to biblical history (*The Biblical Period from Abram to Ezra* (1949), New *Horizons in Biblical Research* (1966), and *Archaeology, Historical Analogy, and Early Biblical Tradition* (1966)), Albright was a theologically conservative scholar, dating the Patriarchs to the first half of the second millennium on the basis of his intensive study of the Near Eastern background of the period; similarly he assigned the composition of the historical books of the Bible known as the "Former Prophets" to the 13th–10th centuries B.C.E. and most of the Psalms to the pre-Exilic period. Albright was one of the first scholars to authenticate the *Dead Sea Scrolls. His students include most of the prominent archaeologists of the later 20th and early 21st century in the United States and Israel, among them G.E. Wright, N. Glueck, and B. Maisler (Mazar). He also trained such eminent biblicists and Semiticists as J. Bright, F.M. Cross, D.N. Freedman, and W. Moran. Albright was the foremost biblical archaeologist of modern times, combining a devotion to evangelical Christianity with a scientific approach to the problems of archaeology and the Bible. While many of his broad syntheses of the Bible with archaeology came under criticism beginning in the 1970s, Albright must be credited for providing the very framework within which such criticism could occur. Likewise, his work on many aspects of Semitic philology remains invaluable.

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[Michael Avi-Yonah]

ALBU, SIR GEORGE (1857–1935), South African mining magnate and financier. Born in Berlin, Albu in 1876 joined his brother Leopold as a diamond broker in South Africa and became prominent in Kimberley and later on in the Johannesburg goldfields. He opposed Kruger's restrictive policies but denounced the Jameson Raid of 1895, aimed at the overthrow of the administration. In 1887 he formed the company of G. and L. Albu which, reorganized as the General Mining and Finance Corporation in 1895, controlled some of the largest gold-producing properties on the Rand. Albu introduced innovations in goldmining techniques. He supported Jewish institutions, including the Johannesburg Hebrew High School. In 1912 he was made a baronet. His daughter, Margaret, married Bishop Wilfrid Parker of Pretoria in 1933.

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ALBU, ISIDOR (1837–1903), German physician and public health specialist. Albu was born in Berlin and graduated from Berlin University in 1864. His work was devoted primarily to problems of social hygiene, medical statistics, and epidemiology, and his writings included *Mortality in Berlin, Studies on Cholera, Typhoid and Smallpox in Berlin*, and *Typhus und Grundwassergang in Berlin* (1877). His major work was the authorized summary of the rules laid down by Riant in *Leçons d'Hygiène* (1874). This work became a widely used handbook of general, personal, and public hygiene. Albu was responsible for the establishment of eye clinics in Berlin and other cities of Germany. In 1882 he went to Iran where he became professor of medicine at the University of Teheran and personal physician to the shah, Nāṣir al-Dīn.

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[Nathan Koren]

ALBUM, SIMON HIRSCH (1849–1921), U.S. rabbi. Album was born in Tazitz, Lithuania, and studied at the Volozhin yeshivah where he received his ordination. After spending much of his early career working as a rabbi in Russia, Album immigrated to America in 1891. He settled in Chicago and assumed the pulpit of the new Mishna Ugemoro Synagogue, which served the substantial immigrant community. He held this pulpit until his death, overseeing the growth of the congregation and the opening of a second satellite synagogue. Despite his successes as a scholar, communal leader, and congregational rabbi, Album's tenure was not entirely untroubled. His involvement in a number of intra-communal squabbles suggests a difficult personality and penchant for feuding. The most serious of these confrontations occurred in 1903 after Jacob David *Willowski was invited to Chicago to serve as the chief rabbi of a collection of allied synagogues. Willowski quickly set out to establish oversight and control of the *kashrut* supervision of Chicago's vast abattoirs. This move angered Album, who shortly before had secured an arrangement to act as the sole supervisor for the *shoḥatim* working at the major packing plants that supplied much of America's centrally slaughtered meat. Bridling at this perceived affront, and probably resentful of his rival's status, Album published a polemic that vilified Willowsky. The ugly public dispute that followed created friction and divisions within the immigrant community, eventually degenerating into a violent confrontation in a synagogue between supporters of the two men. The bickering subsided when Jacob Willowski resigned his post and left Chicago for Palestine. Among Album's writings are *Divrei Emet* (1904–12), *Meḥa'ah Geluyah* (1910), and *Teshuvah al Ḥanutat ha-Metim* (1916).

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[Adam Mendelsohn (2nd ed.)]

ALBUQUERQUE, city in New Mexico. Available documentation dates a village of Alburquerque (the first "r" was later dropped) from 1706. The comparatively lush land adjacent to the Rio Grande River to the west of the Sandia Mountains in central New Mexico and 60 miles south of Santa Fe proved to be an attractive point for settlement for Spanish newcomers from Mexico. A number of Indian pueblos already existed there. American military occupation after 1846 and the territorial status accorded New Mexico in the United States allowed Americans to join the existing Hispanic and Indian population.

Jews were among the early American traders to the area. As early as 1852 Simon Rosenstein was operating a store on the plaza – now called Old Town – and possessed real estate in 1850. He married a Hispanic woman and may have been the first Jew divorced in New Mexico in 1866.

In 1880 the Atcheson, Topeka and Santa Fe railroad created a railroad depot and yards over a mile from the old plaza, which became a focal point for New Albuquerque and New Mexico. By 1883, some 25 Jewish males formed the first Jewish organization in Albuquerque and New Mexico, a chapter of B'nai B'rith. They were young, mostly single, and all were merchants or clerks. By 1896 their number had nearly tripled; and the group, although still young, showed maturation through marriage and the creation of families. As a result, Albuquerque's Jews created a congregation in 1897, the second in the Territory after Congregation Montefore in Las Vegas. It was named Congregation Albert, the name acquired through auction to the highest bidder by Alfred Grunsfeld in honor of his father. It adhered to Reform practice. This Congregation is now the oldest in the state. In 1921 a more traditional Conservative congregation formed under the name B'nai Israel.

Although Albuquerque was the largest city in the state before World War II, the Cold War provided great impetus to its further growth. As a result of the whole area's isolation and open spaces Albuquerque became a center for atomic research and attendant industries and the site for numerous military bases. With a population of 35,000 in 1940 the city grew to 200,000 by 1960. By 2000 it had 448,000.

The increase of Jewish population in Albuquerque outmatched the city's general growth. In 1940 the estimate of Jewish numbers was 450 – over one-third of the state's total Jewish persons. In 2000 the estimate was 7,500, perhaps 70 percent of the state's Jews.

The social character of the Jewish population changed dramatically after World War II. Scientists, doctors, attorneys, and faculty became quite common, gradually matching shopkeepers. A survey carried out in 1977 counted more than 100 Jewish faculty members at the University of New Mexico in the city. In the last decades of the 20th century Jewish women joined the ranks of professions in rapidly increasing numbers. However, Jewish-owned businesses – new and old – continued to exist and prosper.

Jewish residents have long participated in the political life of the community. The first mayor of an incorporated Albuquerque in 1885 was Henry N. Jaffa. Mike Mandell followed him in 1890. Jews continued to serve on various local commissions after World War II. In the late 1980s, Steve Schiff, a former district attorney and a Republican, was elected to the United States House of Representatives and served until his death in 1998.

Their increasingly varied social character gave witness to Jews assuming an ever-broadening range of important roles. Home builder Sam Hoffman constructed large housing developments in the early postwar era until his death in 1959. Architect Max Flatow, who arrived in 1947, contributed some of the city's tallest modern structures and the College of Education complex at the University of New Mexico. From 1985 to 1992 Neil Stulberg conducted the New Mexico Symphony Orchestra in the city.

In the latter decades of the 20th century all dimensions of activity broadened. In religious organization Chavurat Hamidbar was formed in 1973 and Nahalat Shalom (Renewal Independent) came into existence under Rabbi Lynn Gottlieb in 1983. In the early 1990s Chabad made its presence known.

In addition, secular organizations grew up after World War II with an eye to aiding Jewish refugees and supporting Israel as well as seeking to aid a growing number of elderly and to educate Jewish children. By the end of the century a well-developed Jewish Community Council and a splendid campus placed Albuquerque in the category of middle-sized Jewish communities in the United States.

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[Henry J. Tobias (2nd ed.)]

ALCALÁ DE HENARES (Heb. אלקלעא), city in Castile, central Spain. Under Muslim rule Jews lived in Alcalá. After Alcalá was captured from the Moors in 1118, the Jews were granted equal municipal rights with Christians regarding residence, evidence, and criminal compensation. At the end of the 13th century the community was rather small. It grew immensely, as the Jews' taxes indicate. The annual tax paid by the Jews of Alcalá to the Crown, amounting to 8,000 *maravedis*, was granted by Henry II in 1366 to the archbishop. It seems that during the 1391 massacres the Jews there did not suffer persecution. In 1395, 19 Jews protested in the synagogue against the nomination of the archbishop's physician Maestre Pedro, a convert from Judaism, as judge of appeals for the Jews of the archdiocese. The Jews of Alcalá were derided in a late 14th-century satire by the *Converso Pedro Ferrús, entitled *Cancionero de Baena*, depicting a wanderer who entered the synagogue seeking lodging for the night and was scared out of his wits by the inhospitable congregation. The community dwindled after the wave of massacres which swept Spain in 1391, but was later renewed. In the course of the 15th century the community grew constantly to become one of the largest in central Castile. In the 1474 distribution of taxes Alcalá was the third highest paying community in the district of Toledo. There were about 200 Jewish families then. For a short while, Isaac Abravanel lived there. Conversos continued to visit the city's synagogues, as suggested by the Marrano poet Pedro Ferrús; many were tried by the *Inquisition. Hebrew studies at the University of Alcalá were encouraged by Cardinal Francisco *Ximenes de Cisneros in the early 16th century, and the "Complutensian Polyglot" edition of the Bible was compiled under his patronage. Some important Hebraists, such as the Converso Alfonso de Zamora, worked there.

The location of the Jewish quarter of Alcalá de Henares is well known. It was within the area defined by the streets Mayor, Santiago, Imagen, and Cervantes. In Mayor Street it extended in both directions. We know also about two synagogues in Alcalá: the Mayor was at the back of No 10 in Carmen Calzado Street. The other synagogue was in Santiago Street.

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ALCALAY (Alkalaj), ISAAC (1882–1978), rabbi. Born in Sofia, he studied at the Vienna Rabbinical Seminary and in 1909 was appointed chief rabbi of Serbia. While occupying this post he served as emissary of the Serbian government (1915–18), visiting the U.S. in 1918 on a mission on behalf of Serbian Jewry (which he described in the *American Jewish Year Book*, vol. 20, pp. 75–87; later published separately). In 1923 he founded the Rabbinical Federation of Yugoslavia and became its first president, helping to edit its annual *Jevrejski Almanah* (cf. volumes for 1920–30). In 1923 he was elected chief rabbi of Yugoslavia by King Alexander, a position of political importance at the time (see *Yugoslavia). He continued his activities abroad, attending the first Sephardi Congress (held at Vienna in 1925), where he was elected vice president of the World Sephardi Federation. When King Alexander made him a senator, Alcalay was the only Jew to sit in the Yugoslavian Upper House (1930–38). Until the Holocaust, Chief Rabbi Alcalay was a central figure and a unifying force for Yugoslav Jewry. He fled the country when the Germans occupied Yugoslavia in 1941 and, after a short stay in Palestine, settled in the U.S. in 1942, where he served as rabbi of the Sephardi community of New York. He later unified and organized the Sephardi communities there and became the chief rabbi of the Central Sephardic Jewish Community of America in 1943. He published a study on travels of Jews through the Balkans at the end of the 18th and beginning of the 19th centuries (1928). In 1970, Alcalay was awarded a medal by Yeshiva University of New York. In 1971, on the occasion of his 90th birthday, the Association of Yugoslav Jews in the U.S. issued a souvenir journal in his honor.

ALCALAY, REUVEN (1907–1976), Hebrew lexicographer and translator. Alcalay was born in Jerusalem and graduated from the Hebrew Teachers' College there. He entered government service during the Mandatory period and was translator-in-chief and superintendent of the Government Press Office from 1920 to 1948. On the establishment of the State, he served as deputy-director of the Government Information Office and from 1948 to 1951 was editor of the *Israel Government Year Book*. Alcalay translated many books from English into Hebrew, but his major achievement was in the field of lexicography, where his publications include the *Complete Hebrew–English Dictionary*, 4 vols. (1958); the *Complete English–Hebrew Dictionary*, 4 vols. (1963); the *Complete Hebrew Dictionary*, 3 vols. (1968–71), which contains hundreds of words coined by him for modern concepts; and *Words of the Wise* (1968), an anthology of Hebrew (and Yiddish) proverbs.

ALCAN, ALKAN, name of several French families, possibly deriving from Elkanah:

Alphonse *Alkan (1809–1889), Parisian printer, bibliographer, and author of works on printing and illustration.

MICHEL ALCAN (1811–1877), politician, engineer, and author of works on textile technology. He was born in Donnelay and afterward lived in Paris. He took an active part in the 1830 and 1848 revolutions in France, and was elected to the National Assembly, where he sided with the left wing (the Mountain).

MOŸSE ALCAN (1817–1869), publisher and poet. He lived in Metz, where he was a member of the Jewish consistory. FÉLIX (1841–1925), Moÿse's son, was a publisher and scholar. He lectured on mathematics before entering the publishing business of his father in Metz. He later founded his own firm in Paris, which from 1880 specialized in producing textbooks, mainly on philosophy.

ALCAÑIZ, city in Aragon, Spain, subject to the Order of *Calatrava. The jurisdiction of the order also extended to the 30 Jewish families living in Alcañiz. Several families, formerly scattered in the surrounding villages, joined the community in 1380. In 1383 Pedro IV exempted the Jews of Alcañiz from having to attend missionary disputations with apostates. During the massacres of 1391, the infant Martín ordered that the Jews in Alcañiz should be protected. At the beginning of the 15th century the Jews of Alcañiz achieved some prosperity and a certain level of Jewish leaning. *Astruc ha-Levi of Alcañiz was a protagonist in the disputation of *Tortosa, 1413–14. Alcañiz was also the home of Joshua Halorki, a learned Jew who became Jerónimo de Santa Fe and the instigator of the disputation of Tortosa, which proved disastrous to the Jewish community. Most of its members converted to Christianity. After this only 15 families in Alcañiz and its environs adhered to Judaism, and probably fewer at the time of the expulsion of 1492. In the 15th century the Jewish quarter was enclosed and its gates locked at night.

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ALCASTIEL, JOSEPH, Spanish kabbalist, who lived in Játiva, Aragon, at the time of the expulsion of the Jews in 1492. While there is no evidence that Alcastiel was among the exiles he is indeed mentioned by R. Isaac ha-Kohen of Játiva, an expellee from Valencia. A recently published treatise contains Alcastiel's responsa to 18 questions purportedly asked by Judah *Ḥayyat, although it is not known that Alcastiel ever lived in Italy or knew Ḥayyat: Ḥayyat does not mention him in his writings nor do his writings show the influence of Alcastiel's work. On the other hand, Alcastiel's ideas, distinguished by their originality and insight, influenced other important kabbalists in the generation after the expulsion from Spain, such as Meir ibn *Gabbai, Solomon ha-Levi *Alkabeẓ, Moses *Cordovero, and, almost certainly, Isaac *Luria. According to one account, these responsa were written at Játiva in 1482. The treatise entitled *Ma'amar Mufla al ha-Tanninim* ("Wondrous Treatise on the Sea Monsters"; Ambrosian Library, Milan, Ms. 62/12) is ascribed to *Ha-Ḥakham ha-Elohi Alcastilo* ("the divine scholar Alcastilo"). Judging by its content and style, the author of this was Joseph Alcastiel and not Joseph b. Samuel of Catalonia as suggested in the catalog.

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[Efraim Gottlieb]

ALCEH, MATILDE (1923–1967), Turkish poet. Born in Istanbul, she contributed poems to various periodicals, including the daily *Cumhuriyet*, and also published some translations. The collection *Mart* ("The Gull," 1953) contained some of her characteristic lyrical verse. The only Turkish woman poet of Jewish birth, she married a Muslim and died in a car accident in Yugoslavia.

[Shmuel Moreh]

ALCHEMY, ancient art that was the origin of chemistry. The Jewish association with alchemy dates from ancient times. Zosimos, a fifth-century Greek historian, states that the Jews acquired the secrets of the "sacred craft" of the Egyptians and the knowledge of the "power of gold" which derives from it by dishonest means, and they imparted the knowledge of alchemy to the rest of the world. In ancient Greek manuscripts, which contain lists of writings on alchemy, a number of alchemic and magic writings are attributed to Moses; one work is ascribed to *Hoshea, king of Israel. *Bezalel was also considered a proficient alchemist on the basis of Exodus 31:1–5. The author of the above-mentioned writings was, most probably, Moses of Alexandria, a famous alchemist, which would explain why they were later ascribed to Moses the Lawgiver; in any case it seems certain that the author was a Jew since his writings show traces of Jewish monotheism and other Jewish beliefs.

Toward the end of the Middle Ages, and later, the connection between alchemy and the Bible and Prophets was strengthened in the view of Christian alchemists who despaired of finding the philosopher's stone by natural means and sought to attain it by the grace of God who reveals His secret only to His faithful. The alchemists believed, therefore, that the patriarchs, the prophets, and the kings of Israel possessed the secret of the "stone." Gerhard Dorn (end of 16th century) contended that the whole art of alchemy was contained in the verse, "God made the firmament" (Gen. 1:7). Michael

Maier, the physician of Rudolf II, and chief exponent of the Rosicrucian order in Germany in the 17th century, found its basis in the verse, "the spirit of God hovered over the face of the waters" (Gen. 1:2), "the waters" being mercury. Aegidius Guthmann of Augsburg wrote a lengthy "alchemical" interpretation of the first verses of Genesis. Tubal-Cain, who lived before the Flood, was considered the father of alchemy since it was said of him that he was "the forger of every cutting instrument of brass and iron" (Gen. 4:22). These alchemists particularly singled out the name Mehetabel, the daughter of Matred, the daughter of Me-Zahab (Gen. 36:39). The name Me-Zahab ("waters of gold") was interpreted to mean that he knew how to produce drinkable gold (*aurum potabile*); and Mehetabel possibly reminded them of the Greek *metabole* (μεταβολή), "transmutation." Abraham *Ibn Ezra heard this interpretation of Me-Zahab and remarked in his commentary: "Others say it refers to those said to make gold out of brass, but this is nonsense."

The first men mentioned in Genesis would not have, according to the alchemists, reached such old age, had they not made use of the *elixir vitae.* They also contended that "Abram was very rich in cattle, in silver, and in gold" (Gen. 13:2) because he learned the secret of alchemy from Hermes in Egypt. All the patriarchs, as well as Judah, wore the philosopher's stone on their bodies. Moses was, however, according to them, the first and foremost among the biblical experts. As late as the 18th century, an alchemist wrote a book: *Urim und Tumim von Moses, Handleitung vom grossen Propheten und Feldherrn zum Weisenstein (*"Oracles of Moses, a Guide to the Philosopher's Stone by the Great Prophet and General,*"* Nuremberg, 1737). King David was considered an expert alchemist, since he could only have raised "a hundred thousand talents of gold, and a thousand talents of silver" for the building of the "house of the Lord" (I Chron. 22:14) by alchemical means. Further support for this assumption was adduced from the fact that David bequeathed to his son, Solomon, *millu'im avnei-pukh* ("stones to be set, glistening stones," *ibid.* 29:2) which are the philosopher's stones. Solomon learned the secret from his father, and was, therefore, able to provide "silver and gold to be in Jerusalem as stones" (II Chron. 1:15). According to the story quoted by Johanan Alemanno (in his *Sefer ha-Likkutim* ("Collectanea"; from the Arab alchemist Abu Aflaḥ of Syracuse)), supposedly originally found in the esoteric *Sefer ha-Maẓpun*, ascribed to King Solomon, the "precious stone" with which the Queen of Sheba presented Solomon (I Kings 10:2) was none other than the philosopher's stone which she had inherited from her first husband, Sman (who was a great Nabatean sage). The Queen of Sheba's aim was to test King Solomon's wisdom, but he already knew the secret and recognized the stone immediately (cf. I.S. *Reggio, in *Kerem Ḥemed*, 2 (1836), 48–50).

The prophet Elijah, also considered a great expert in alchemy, is frequently mentioned by the Christian alchemists, and some of their writings bear his name. Jewish influence is evident from the fact that they too contend that Elijah would, on his return to earth, provide the answer to all the unsolved problems. The prophet Isaiah was also considered to have been an expert, on the basis of the verses: "I will set thy stones in fair colors [*pukh*] and lay thy foundations with sapphires" (Isa. 54:11) and "For brass I will bring gold, and for iron I will bring silver" (Isa. 60:17). The adepts also include the prophets Elisha, Ezekiel, Zechariah, Malachi (the first verses in chapter three of the book of Malachi were interpreted in an alchemic and Christological manner), Daniel, and Ezra. The names of Job's three daughters, Jemimah, Keziah, and Keren-Happuch were also interpreted in a religious and alchemic spirit.

Alchemy and Kabbalah

Alchemy and the *Kabbalah were closely linked in the Middle Ages. A kabbalistic outline is found in the early alchemist manuscript of Saint Mark (11th century) called *Solomon's Labyrinth.* The wandering German alchemist, Salomon Trismosin, boasted that he drew his knowledge from kabbalistic writings which had been translated into Arabic. His great disciple, Paracelsus, maintained that expert knowledge of Kabbalah was an essential prerequisite for studying alchemy. However, neither he nor his master had more than a superficial knowledge of the Kabbalah, if any at all, although both talked about it a great deal. Paracelsus even based his strange theories on it, i.e., that of the creation of a *golem, a homunculus, through alchemy. The lesser Christian alchemists, especially the religious ones, following his example, also tended to make use of the Kabbalah for their purposes, though most had no knowledge of it. When, at the beginning of the 17th century, alchemy took a religious, mystical turn (in particular with the rise of the Rosicrucians), the prestige and influence of the Kabbalah became even more widespread; alchemy and Kabbalah became synonymous among Christians. This identification was generally speaking groundless. While many kabbalists undoubtedly accepted alchemy as a fact, the interests and symbol systems of Kabbalah and alchemy respectively were utterly different. Nevertheless occasional – albeit relatively insignifican – mutual influences are evident, and traces of alchemical lore are to be found in the *Zohar. The saying "through the gaze of the sun and its power, dust evolves and grows gold" (Zohar, 1:249–50) agrees with Artephius' theory that the metals grow like plants, but whereas the plants are composed of water and dust, the metals are composed of sulphur and mercury; the heat of the sun's rays penetrates the earth and combines with these elements to form gold, the metal of the sun. Simeon *Labi, the commentator on the Zohar, interprets this saying in his *Ketem Paz* in a definitely alchemical manner and states that the kabbalists call gold, "sun," and silver, "moon." The following saying (Zohar, 2:148a), bears an even stronger alchemical influence: "The heavenly gold is bright and shines in the eyes … and whoever clings to it when it descends into the lower world, conceals it within himself and for this reason it is also closed gold (*zahav sagur*), for it is not seen by the eye which does not possess it; but the gold of the earth is 'lower gold' and is easier to discover." The alchemical theory is even clearer in the passage following the one just quoted: "…. when silver thus reaches its fulfillment it becomes gold; we find, then, that silver transforms itself into gold and when this happens, it attains the stage of perfection." Hence, it is clear that the author of the Zohar not only believed in the transmutation of metals, but that he also adopted the alchemical theory of perfect and imperfect metals, as well as the belief that when silver is transformed into gold it reaches a higher grade of perfection.

*Moses b. Shem Tov de Leon, in his *Shekel ha-Kodesh* (London (1911), 118–22), also uses the language of the alchemists: "Copper is red and this generates the nature [*teva*, or *ẓeva*, "color"] of both, for those who know the craft [*melakhah*] make out of it the nature [color] of gold and silver." According to the alchemical teachings, copper too has the faculty of direct transformation into gold (without having to go through the intermediary stage of silver). It is true that the Zohar does not include mercury in the list of metals for the *Merkabah (*merkavah;* "divine chariot"; Zohar, 2:423–4), which has the greatest importance in alchemy, but this is possibly because, in common with Jābir (eighth century alchemist and physician), the Zohar did not consider mercury to be a metal at all but a spirit (*pneuma*). Ḥayyim *Vital, who at an earlier stage in his career took a lively interest in alchemy, lists mercury among the seven metals. Abraham b. Mordecai *Azulai (1570–1643) quotes Vital in the last part of *Ḥesed le-Avraham* (1863) that the seven metals correspond to the seven *Sefirot* ("degrees of divine emanation"), from *Ḥesed* to *Malkhut*, "hence, mercury corresponds to the seventh planet *kokhav* ['Mercury']… and it is already known to you that *Yesod* [one of the *Sefirot*] is also called *El Ḥai* ['the Living God'] and it corresponds to *Kesef Ḥai* ['Quick-Silver']." Mercury is allocated to *Sefirah Yesod*, because it is the basic element in all metals and in its ideal form is the basic element in the philosopher's stone, just as *El Ḥai* is the foundation of the universe. Ḥayyim Vital studied alchemy. This is shown in the following passage in *Shivḥei Rabbi Ḥayyim Vital* (1826): "He [Isaac *Luria] also told me that he saw inscribed on my forehead the verse: 'And to devise skillful works, to work in gold and in silver and in brass' [Ex. 35:32], an allusion to the two-and-a-half years during which I forsook the study of the Torah and pursued alchemy." Ḥ.J.D. *Azulai speaks of the philosopher's stone in his *Midbar Kedemot* (Lemberg, 1869, fol. 19), and calls it *esev* ("weed") as it was also called by the alchemists (and as it is called in other kabbalistic writings as well as in Hebrew manuscripts dealing with alchemy). Numerous prescriptions for the making of gold are found in books of practical Kabbalah (*Nifla'im Ma'asekha*, Leghorn (1881), s.v. *zahav*); these were probably taken from the writings of Jewish as well as gentile alchemists.

The influence of the Kabbalah on alchemy was greater than that of alchemy on Kabbalah, especially after the latter was diffused in Christian circles by *Pico della Mirandola, *Reuchlin, *Galatinus, and others. Some of the Christian alchemists adopted the theory of the ten *Sefirot* as well as the doctrine of the secrets of letters obtained by *ẓerufim* ("combinations") and *gematriot* and made them a basis for the Work of Holiness. Some used to inscribe on the melting-pot Hebrew and Syriac words copied from kabbalistic writings or words obtained by the above-mentioned methods. (The combination of letters was supposed to bring about the combination of metals.) The use of kabbalistic methods is also found in the book *Ars Magna*, attributed to Raymond Lull. Christian *Knorr von Rosenroth was one of the alchemists who had a real knowledge of Kabbalah. His *Cabbala denudata* (1677) contains translations of passages from the Zohar as well as lengthy quotations from *Esh Meẓaref*, a book on alchemy written in a kabbalistic spirit, which is probably a translation of a Hebrew manuscript. The author of *Esh Meẓaref* explains the relation of the metals to the *Sefirot* and quotes extensively from the Zohar; he too relates mercury to the *Sefirah Yesod.* He also quotes from another Jewish alchemist, Mordecai, who found a way to produce artificial silver by means of a four-month-long process. It is probable that this alchemist was Mordecai the son of Leone *Modena who transformed lead into silver and died as a result of his experiments (*Ḥayyei Yehudah* (Kiev, 1912), 33). Under the influence of Knorr von Rosenroth's work, a whole literature of kabbalistic alchemy was created. The book *Or Nogah* is particularly noteworthy. It was written in Hebrew and German and printed in Vienna, 1747. Its author, Aloisius Wiener, a nobleman of the Sonnenfels family, was a baptized Jew and an expert in Kabbalah, called "Lipmann Berlin" before his conversion.

The number of Jews who practiced the art of alchemy was apparently relatively small; however, the state of knowledge on this point is incomplete. It seems that the Jews of Egypt, particularly Alexandria, many of whom were gold- and silversmiths, during the Greek and Roman periods, were devotees of alchemy, magic, and *demonology (Suk. 51b). Zosimos testified that the "true teachings about the Great Art" were to be found only in "the writings and books of the Jews." However, the conclusion at which De Pauw arrived 150 years ago, namely that the Jews were the creators of alchemy, is incorrect. Alchemy is neither a Jewish science nor a Jewish art. The Jews were engaged in it in the same measure as they were engaged in other secular trades and fields of knowledge. However, the fact that in 1545 Martin *Luther warned Archduke Joachim II of Brandenburg against alchemy with which the Jews dealt indicates that he shared the general belief concerning the close connection between alchemy and Judaism.

In some alchemic writings the philosopher's stone is symbolized as a circle enclosing a hexagonal star ("the star of David"): the circle alludes to the kabbalistic **Ein-Sof* ("Infinite"); the triangle which points upward represents the element fire; and the one which points downward the element water. Fire and water together constitute heaven (*shamayim* = *esh* + *mayim*). From the 17th century, this was used by alchemists to symbolize the primeval matter out of which the main element of the philosopher's stone, philosophic mercury, the "quintessence," is extracted.

Jewish Personalities in Alchemy

In the Egyptian-Greek period one of the greatest alchemists was a woman known as "Mary the Jewess" (Maria Hebraea). According to Lippmann, she lived in the first century C.E. Her name and works are often mentioned in alchemic literature. According to Zosimos she was greatly skilled in alchemy and invented numerous ovens and boiling and distilling devices out of metal, clay, and glass. She even taught how to plaster them with the "philosopher's clay." The most important among her ovens, the *kerotakis* (also called "Mary's oven"), served to liquefy solids and to separate, through sublimation, the evaporable parts from the non-evaporable ones. Its main use, however, was for the preparation of the so-called "divine water" (a combination of sulfuric acid used to "bleach" metals). Mary also discovered the water, sand, and oil baths, vessels which even today are indispensable in any chemical laboratory. Mary is also the first to mention hydrochloric acid and one may therefore assume that she discovered it. The following esoteric saying, paralleled in kabbalistic writings, is ascribed to her: "Two are one, three and four are one, one will become two, two will become three." Another strange saying which excludes non-Jews from dealing with alchemy is also attributed to her: "Do not touch [the philosopher's stone with your hands]; you are not of our stock, you are not of Abraham's bosom." There is no doubt that she really existed and was famous in her time. Zosimos identified her with Miriam the prophetess, the sister of Moses; the Christian alchemists, who were eager to add the luster of biblical sanctity to their art, called her by this very name: "Maria Prophetissa, Moysis Soror."

Khalid b. Jasikhi (Calid Hebraeus) was an Arabian Jew and writer. He was revered by the Arab alchemists, who considered him to be the first alchemist of the Arabic period. Steinschneider, however, believes that he was an Arab. Artephius, the great alchemist of the 12th century, "before whom there lived no other expert equal to him" was a baptized Jew according to the author of *Keren ha-Pukh.* Artephius is said to have brought the creation of the philosopher's stone to perfection. He wrote three books on alchemy "whose importance is invaluable." In one of them, he relates that he wrote his work at the age of 1,025 years (thus supporting the belief that the philosopher's stone brings long life). Some scholars believe that Artephius was an Arab. However, the fact that he did not write anything in Arabic (all his works are written in Latin), seems to belie this contention.

At the beginning of the Christian period in alchemy (13th century), Jacobus Aranicus, a Jewish alchemist living in France, taught alchemy to the Christian scholar Vincent de Beauvais. Later (in the 15th century; according to Lippmann, the 17th century), two Dutch Jews became famed as alchemists: Isaac and his son John Isaac, both called "Hollandus," since their family name was unknown. The father was a diamond cutter and his son a physician. They led solitary lives and became famous only posthumously, through the works which they left behind; some authors consider them equal to Basilius Valentinus. They knew how to prepare "royal water" out of nitrate and sea-salt, as well as the "spirit of urine" (ammonia), and produced artificial gems. In the first quarter of the 18th century, a strange Jewish adept named Benjamin Jesse lived in Hamburg. His name became known only after his death, when a complete laboratory was discovered in a locked room of his house.

It is most probable that there were other Jewish alchemists in the Middle Ages as well as in the later period, particularly among the physicians and naturalists of the Spanish and Renaissance periods. It is certain that more books on alchemy have been written than have survived, partly because they were lost and partly because their authors hid behind the names of famous predecessors. It seems that among kabbalists, too, there were quite a number of alchemists, beside those already mentioned. The Jews of Morocco were particularly assiduous in their study and practice of alchemy, even into recent times. According to G. Scholem's testimony, a Jewish kabbalist from Morocco who was also an alchemist still lived in Jerusalem early in the 20th century. Baruch *Spinoza, though not a practitioner of alchemy, was nevertheless keenly interested in it.

While alchemic literature runs into thousands of volumes, there is no original work in this field in Hebrew literature. It seems, therefore, that Jewish adepts did not write their works in Hebrew. However, information on alchemy is scattered in the Hebrew works of several medieval and later authors. Hebrew authors referred to alchemy (*alkimiyyah*) as *melakhah* ("craft"), or *ḥokhmat ha-ẓerifah* ("the art of refining"). Among the Jewish scholars who in one way or another had some relation to alchemy, one should add the following: *Baḥya b. Joseph ibn Paquda, who in his *Ḥovot ha-Levavot* (beginning of chapter *Bittaḥon*) describes the ways of life and work of the alchemists, and apparently had no doubt about the truth of alchemy. Abraham Ibn Ezra also believed in alchemy as may be inferred from his commentary on the burning of the golden calf (Ex. 32:20): "for there is a thing which, when thrown into the fire together with the gold, it burns and becomes black and it will never become gold again; and this has been tried and it is true." *Maimonides knew some of the writings of Hermes (*Guide of the Perplexed*, ed. by S. Pines (1963), 521) but considered them to be nonsense. He does not even mention alchemy. Nevertheless, *Iggeret ha-Sodot* was later attributed to him; in this he allegedly explains to his disciple Joseph ibn *Aknin the secrets of alchemy in *Sha'ar ha-Shamayim* (Venice, 1547, section 2). Johanan Alemanno, who introduced Pico della Mirandola (who was interested in alchemy) to the Kabbalah, believed in alchemy, and mentioned it in *Sefer ha-Likkutim* and in *Ḥeshek Shelomo* (Leghorn, 1790). Abraham b. David Portaleone wrote a book in which alchemy is discussed, called *De aurodialogi tres* (Venice, 1584). Judah Loew b. Bezalel of Prague, a devotee of alchemy, was summoned to the alchemist King Rudolf II. According to the stories which circulated, they discussed the mysteries of alchemy.

Leone Modena recounts in his book *Ḥayyei Yehudah* that he and his son Mordecai dealt in alchemy for a profit. According to Modena, they began to do so on the advice of the physician, Abraham di Cammeo, who was rabbi in Rome, and himself an alchemist. Shemaiah, the uncle of Modena, was killed as a result of his alchemic activities. Modena's disciple, Joseph Solomon *Delmedigo, considered alchemy a very superior art (*Maẓref la-Ḥokhmah* (Warsaw, 1890), 49; see below). In 1640 Benjamin Mussafia, the author of *Musaf he-Arukh* and physician at the Danish court, published a Latin letter on alchemy, entitled *Mei Zahav*, in which he brings examples from the Talmud and Midrash (Yoma 44b; Ex. R. 35; and Song R. 3, etc.) to prove both the truth of alchemy, and the fact that the sages of the Talmud and Midrash practiced this craft. The majority of his quotations do not really prove anything. However, the saying by the disciples of Judah on "refined gold" (*zahav mezukkak*) that "it is buried for seven years in dung and it comes out refined" (Song R. 3:17) reminds one of the methods employed by the alchemists; similarly, the expression "gold that bears fruit" (*zahav she-oseh perot, ibid.*) most likely is derived from alchemy.

Among the great scholars of modern times, Jonathan *Eybeschuetz believed in alchemy (*Ya'arot Devash*, 1 (1779), passim); his opponent, Jacob *Emden, doubted it. "I wish to know whether that science [i.e., alchemy] is still thriving and whether those things have been proved beyond doubt" (*She'ilat Ya'veẓ* (Altona, 1739), 1, note 41).

Among the Jewish scholars who deny the truth of alchemy, one should cite *Judah Halevi who mentions alchemy disparagingly in *Kuzari*. Judah b. Solomon ha-Kohen ibn Matka, in his encyclopedia, *Midrash Ḥokhmah*, says that alchemy is "empty talk" and refers to alchemists by quoting the verse: "he that keepeth company with harlots wasteth his substance" (Prov. 29:3). Simeon b. Ẓemaḥ *Duran states in *Magen Avot* (pt. 2 (Leghorn, 1785), 10, 71) that "the craft of alchemy" is an error; "many got involved in it and wasted their lives but none ever succeeded in it." An important Hebrew manuscript on alchemy is preserved in the Berlin Staatsbibliothek; judging by its contents it cannot be earlier than the 17th century and its author is possibly Joseph Solomon Delmedigo. A second important Hebrew manuscript on alchemy, which includes a catalogue of alchemic literature, is found in the Gaster Library, now in the British Museum; it probably dates from the second half of the 15th century.

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[Bernard Suler]

ALCIMUS (Hellenized form of the Hebrew name **Jakim** or **Eliakim**), high priest 162–160 (or 159) B.C.E. Alcimus was a member of a high-priestly family and was the nephew of *Yose b. Joezer of Zeredah. When Demetrius I Soter ascended the Seleucid throne, Alcimus came to him to complain of the persecution of the Hellenists by Judah Maccabee and his followers, and he suggested that the king appoint him high priest, promising to be faithful to the Seleucids and to oppose Judah and his faction. Demetrius appointed him and sent him back to Judea, accompanied by Syrian troops under the command of Bacchides. At first, the *Hassideans supported him because he was of high-priestly stock, while Judah's faction opposed him because he had arrived with foreign troops. Alcimus had barely secured his position in Judea, when he arrested 60 Hassideans and put them to death. This act aroused popular indignation, and when Bacchides and his soldiers left Judea, Alcimus was driven from Jerusalem by Judah and his supporters. He returned to Demetrius, and once more asked for military support. The king sent a new army against Judah Maccabee, this time under the command of *Nicanor. Judah defeated Nicanor in battle twice, Nicanor being killed in the second battle. Demetrius again sent Bacchides against Judah, and this time the Jewish leader was defeated and killed. Alcimus returned to Judea and ruled with Syrian help. He broke into the *soreg* (one of the approaches to the Temple) in order to remove the wall which non-Jews were forbidden to pass. The *soreg* was breached in 13 places, and the Hassideans were infuriated. Alcimus' sudden death was interpreted by the people as an act of divine retribution.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: I Macc. 7:5–25; 9:1–2, 54–57; Jos., Ant., 12:385–6, 391–7, 413; 20:235; Middot, 2:3; Gen R. 55:22; Klausner, Bayit Sheni, index, s.v. *Yakim*; Graetz, Hist, 1 (1949), 482–508; Schuerer, Hist, 39 ff., 44 ff.

[Abraham Schalit]

ALCOLEA (Heb. אלקוליא) **De Cinca**, town in Aragon. In 1320 the infante Alfonso gave special privileges to Jews settling there. They were exempt from taxation other than a substantial house tax. Problems regarding the communal taxes are discussed (c. 1380) in the responsa of R. *Isaac b. Sheshet. Isaac, son of R. Vidal de Tolosa, who lived in Alcolea, disputed the assessment and was denounced to the countess. The community broke up in 1414 in the aftermath of the disputation of *Tortosa.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Baer, Spain, 2 (1966), 83; Baer, Studien, 146, 189 ff.; del Arco, in: *Sefarad*, 7 (1947), 281.

ALCONIÈRE, THEODORE (**Herman Cohn**; 1797–1865), Hungarian painter. Alconière received his training in Vienna and then spent some years in Rome, where he acquired his dramatic romantic style. While in Italy he was appointed court portraitist to the duke of Parma. In 1848 he moved to Hungary, where he painted many equestrian portraits of the nobility and scenes from everyday life. After 1850 he lived mainly in Vienna. Impoverished, he began supporting himself by the production of humorous lithographs and even took to counterfeiting banknotes. However, his conscience troubled him and instead of circulating the money, he handed himself over to the police. He died two years later in a Vienna hospital. Alconière was the most distinguished Jewish painter among the first generation of Hungarian nationalists.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Roth, Art, 555–6.

ALCONSTANTINI, family of Jewish courtiers in 13th-century Aragon probably originating from Constantine, North Africa. Naḥmanides refers to them disapprovingly as "the Ishmaelites of the court." Many members of the family were hated by the ordinary Jews for their arrogance and lack of sensitivity to the social problems of their community. The first members to attain importance were the brothers BAḤYA (Baḥi'el, Bafi'el) and SOLOMON of Saragossa. By 1229 the two brothers were already in receipt of crown grants from James I of Aragon – the revenues from the local dyeing vats and two pounds of mutton daily from the Jewish slaughterhouse. In the same year Baḥya, who was Arabic interpreter to the court, was sent to Majorca with the count of Roussillon to conduct negotiations for the surrender of the Muslims. Baḥya also took part in Jewish communal affairs and in 1232 signed the counterban against the group who had banned the study of *Maimonides. The overweening ambitions of the two brothers to attain the position of supreme judicial authority (*dayyan*) in Aragonese Jewry were frustrated by Judah de la Cavallería, the royal *baile*. *Naḥmanides also opposed the claims of the family to have one of its members appointed as rabbi and judge of Aragonese Jewry. However, Baḥya continued his diplomatic activities. During the distribution of the lands of the conquered territories in the 1260s he received grants of large estates. In 1240 Solomon held a village and fortress near Tarragona and the revenues from some Catalonian knights.

Of Baḥya's two sons, MOSES and SOLOMON, the former was by far the more active and important. The two brothers appear in the sources from 1264. Moses was appointed *baile* of Saragossa from 1276 until the end of 1278; he succeeded the late Judah de la Cavallería, of a family that was Alconstantini's staunchest opponent. As *baile* of Saragossa he was much involved in the collection of the salt tax in Aragon. In the years 1280–81 Moses was the *baile* of the city of Valencia. Even before his campaign for the conquest of Sicily had begun, Pedro III gave in to the growing anti-Jewish pressure of the clergy and the nobility. Moses was the last Jew in the royal service to be dismissed from office. He was thrown into prison and brought to trial, in which he almost lost his life. The trial was the result of unpaid debts which he incurred during his work for the king. He was greatly disliked by Jews and Christians for his unscrupulous conduct.

Moses was also deeply involved in the affairs of the Jewish community. Members of the Alconstantini family were at constant odds with the community and its leading members, first and foremost Judah de la Cavallería. Solomon Alconstantini was appointed one of the three magistrates (*berurim*) of the Saragossa community in 1271. Moses was implicated, with Meir b. Eleazar, in beating up R. *Yom Tov Ishbili for having delivered a legal opinion to the royal clerk on the feuds of the local great families.

The Alconstantini family was still aspiring to the office of chief justice and "crown rabbi" of the kingdom in 1294, and the queen of Castile applied to James II of Aragon with the request that Solomon Alconstantini be confirmed in this office. James, however, refused, on the ground that the privileges granted to the family had lapsed during the reigns of his predecessors: "for great damage and destruction has been suffered by all the Jews in our kingdom, and it would be unreasonable that for the sake of one Jew we should thereby lose all the others."

In the 14th century the Alconstantini family declined from its former eminence. Some physicians of this name are mentioned as living in Aragon. SOLOMON (early 14th century), probably a descendant of the family, was the author of *Megalleh Amukot*. Enoch B. Solomon *Al-Constantini was the author of philosophical works. An Alconstantini represented the *Huesca community in the disputation of *Tortosa (1413–14). After the expulsion from Spain, members of the Alconstantini family are found in Turkey. Later, they moved to Ancona, where the name assumed the Italian form, Constantini. Some of them were rabbis and community leaders in Ancona during the 17th and 18th centuries. When the French conquered Ancona (1797) SANSONE was one of the three Jews elected to the city council.

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[Haim Beinart / Yom Tov Assis (2nd ed.)]

AL-CONSTANTINI, ENOCH BEN SOLOMON (c. 1370), physician and philosopher. His work *Mar'ot Elohim* ("Divine Visions") is extant in almost 30 manuscripts (described in the edition by C. Sirat in *Eshel Be'er-Sheva* (1976), 120–99).

The book is divided into three chapters, preceded by an introduction. The first chapter interprets Isaiah 1:1–6; the second Ezekiel 1:1–20; the third, Zechariah 10. The exegesis is entirely philosophical and deals with the separate intelligences, the spheres, and the human intellect. Al-Constantini was influenced by Maimonides, Al-Fārābī, Avicenna, Averroes, Samuel ibn Tibbon, Moses of Narbonne, Levi b. Abraham, and Solomon ibn Gabirol (in the abridged version of Gabirol's *Mekor Ḥayyim*, the *Likkutim* by Shem Tov ibn Falquera). A Bodleian manuscript (Opp. 585) of Al-Constantini's work contains glosses by Menahem Kara.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: L. Gruenhut, in: *Festschrift … A. Harkavy* (1908), 403–430; C. Sirat, in: REJ, 121 (1962), 247–354.

[Colette Sirat (2nd ed.)]

ALCORSONO (אלכרסאני, כרסאנו, כראסאנו), **JUDAH BEN JOSEPH** (14th century), Moroccan theological scholar. For unknown reasons he was put in prison where he wrote *Aron ha-Edut* ("Ark of Testimony") on such subjects as *Ma'aseh Bereshit* and *Ma'aseh Merkavah*, the story of the Garden of Eden, providence, prophecy, and Satan's dispute with God (Job, chs. 1 and 2). The work is divided into 22 chapters corresponding to the number of letters in the Hebrew alphabet.

Manuscripts of the work are preserved in several libraries; one has been annotated by Moses *Ḥagiz. In Saadiah b. Maimun *Ibn Danan's *Ma'amar al Seder ha-Dorot*, Alcorsono is mentioned as an astrologer (Z.H. Edelman (ed.), *Ḥemdah Genuzah*, (1855), 30).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Ghirondi-Neppi, 196; Michael, Or, no. 1007; Benjacob, Oẓar, 49, no. 963.

ALCOTT, AMY (1956–), professional golfer, member of the LPGA and World Golf Hall of Fame. Born in Kansas City, Missouri, Alcott grew up in Los Angeles, where she began playing golf as an eight year old putting toward sprinkler heads. She won the United States Golf Association juniors championship in 1973, two years before joining the Ladies Professional Golf Association (LPGA) shortly after her 19th birthday. Alcott proceeded to win the third professional tournament she entered, the 1975 Orange Blossom Classic, which set a record for the fastest career win, and was subsequently named the tour's rookie of the year. She went on to win 29 professional tournaments, including five majors: the Peter Jackson Classic in 1979, the U.S. Women's Open in 1980, and the Nabisco Dinah Shore in 1983, 1988, and 1991. Alcott set a one-round tournament record of 65 when she won the 1984 Lady Keystone Open and tied the tour record of winning at least one tournament in 12 straight years. She shot her fifth career hole-in-one in 2001. Alcott was named Golf Magazine's Player of the Year in 1980 and was awarded the LPGA's Founders Cup in 1986, designed to recognize altruistic contributions to the betterment of society by a member. She wrote *Guide to Women's Golf* (1991) and produced the instruction video *Winning at Golf with Amy Alcott* (1991).

[Elli Wohlgelernter (2nd ed.)]

°**ALCUIN** (**Albinus Flaccus**; c. 735–804), educator and tutor of Charlemagne from 781. Born in York, he was educated in a school where one of his teachers had been a student of Bede. Author of several books and educational manuals, Alcuin's exegetical works make frequent reference to commentaries on scripture by Jewish scholars; his knowledge of them derives from the works of *Jerome. He was present at a religious disputation between a Christian scholar and a Jew in Pavia, Italy, held between 750 and 760.

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[Bernhard Blumenkranz / Shimon Gibson (2nd ed.)]

ALDABI, MEIR BEN ISAAC (c. 1310–c. 1360), religious philosopher, with strong leanings toward the Kabbalah. Aldabi was a grandson of *Asher b. Jehiel. As a young man he received a comprehensive education in biblical and rabbinic literature, and afterward he turned to philosophical and scientific studies. In 1348 he apparently left his native Toledo and settled in Jerusalem, where, in 1360, he finished his long contemplated work, *Shevilei Emunah* ("Paths of Faith"). It was first published in Riva di Trento, 1518.

Aldabi was moved to write his book by the belief, prevalent in the Middle Ages, that the Greek philosophers (especially Plato and Aristotle) derived the essentials of their knowledge from Jewish sources. He determined to assemble the fragments of ancient Jewish wisdom scattered throughout the various works of the philosophers and natural scientists and to trace them back to their original sources. Actually, as stated in the introduction, the book is merely a compilation of subjects and theories, some of them translated by him from foreign languages, and culled from different works. The various subjects are not arranged systematically but are presented in random sequence. He borrowed mainly from Hebrew literature and to some extent, particularly in the fields of medicine and astronomy, from Arabic literature. His philosophy is based largely on that of *Maimonides, his ethics on that of *Baḥya b. Joseph ibn Paquda, and his theology on that of *Naḥmanides and his circle. The influence of the last is particularly evident in Aldabi's predilection for Kabbalah which he ties in with his rationalist philosophy. He relies on the encyclopedic *Sha'ar ha-Shamayim* of his predecessor Gershon b. Solomon of Arles, and for his psychological theories he uses the views of Joseph ibn *Ẓaddik and *Hillel b. Samuel of Verona. Aldabi's book is divided into ten "paths" (*netivot*) in which he treats (1) the existence and unity of God, His names, and divine attributes both from a philosophic and a kabbalistic point of view; (2) the creation of the world, geography and astronomy, and the elements; (3) the creation of man and family life (part of this section is taken, without acknowledgment, from the *Iggeret ha-Kodesh* of Naḥmanides); (4) embryology, anatomy, and human physiology (a digest of the accepted theories on anatomy and physiology in medieval medicine, presented on the basis of the comparison between the microcosm and macrocosm); (5) rules for physical and "spiritual" hygiene (on the nature of anger, joy, and the like); (6) the nature and the faculties of the soul; (7) religious observances as defined by the Torah and rabbinic tradition; (8) the uninterrupted chain of the Oral Law from Moses to the Talmud; (9) reward and punishment and metempsychosis; and finally (10) the redemption of Israel, resurrection, and the world to come.

The last two chapters are based largely on the opinions of Naḥmanides and Solomon b. Abraham *Adret.

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[Meir Hillel Ben-Shammai]

ALDANOV, MARK (pseudonym of **Mark Aleksandrovich Landau**; 1889–1957), Russian novelist. Aldanov was born in Kiev and trained as a chemist and lawyer. He left Russia in 1919 and settled in France. During World War II he lived in the United States, but eventually returned to Europe and died in Nice. A writer of exceptional erudition and sophistication, Aldanov excelled in the historical novel – a genre in which he had few peers in Russian literature. He also wrote other prose works including several treatises on the philosophy of history. He is best remembered for his tetralogy *Myslitel* ("The Thinker"), a work set in Russia and Western Europe during the Napoleonic era. Aldanov's novel *Desyataya simfoniya* (1931; *The Tenth Symphony*, 1948) is based on the life of Beethoven; and *Nachalo kontsa* (1936–42; *The Fifth Seal*, 1943) depicts Europe on the eve of World War II. Aldanov was singularly successful in blending historical and fictitious characters and events, but unlike so many other Russian novelists – especially Tolstoy in *War and Peace* – he erected his historical scaffolding merely as a support for the fictional structure. This did not, however, discourage his tendency to devote more time to historical research than to pruning his own work. Aldanov also differed from Tolstoy in believing that the fate of men and nations was shaped not by laws but by historical accident. His writing shows a partiality for paradox and a fondness for a pose of ironic detachment. His novels were translated into many languages but, unlike those of some of his émigré colleagues, were unobtainable in the U.S.S.R. A staunch anti-Communist, Aldanov remained a liberal Russian intellectual, retaining only tenuous links with his Jewish heritage.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: G. Struve, *Russkaya literatura v izgnanii*, (1956).

[Maurice Friedberg]

ALDEMA, GIL (1928–), Israeli musician and composer. Aldema's father, Abraham Eisenstein (Aldema), was active in the early Israeli satirical theater. Gil Aldema studied piano and violin. Among his teachers were Menashe Rabina and Paul *Ben-Haim. During his army service he was wounded. Later he studied at the Jerusalem Music Academy and directed folk singing activities. In 1952 he became a music teacher and composed his early songs. In 1957 he went to the U.S. to study music and worked as a music arranger for the Carmon Dance Company. From the 1960s to the 1980s he worked at Kol Israel (Israel Broadcasting Authority) as a musical director of light music. Aldema is known for his work and arrangements for choirs such as Rinat, Cameran, and others. He composed many songs, such as "*Ana Halakh Dodekh*," "*Ashirah li-Yediday*," "*Zemer Ikkarim*," "*Maḥol Dayyagim*," and more, which were published in *Ẓiyyunei ha-Derekh* (1979), *Maḥberet Mezameret* (1981), *Shir le-Elef Arisot* (1983), and *Menifah Kolit* (2000). Among his awards are the AKUM Prize for his contribution to Israeli folk music (1984) and the Israel Prize for Israeli folk songs (2004).

[Gila Flam (2nd ed.)]

ALDERMAN, GEOFFREY (1944–), British historian. An Oxford graduate, Geoffrey Alderman was professor of politics and contemporary history at Middlesex University in London and later vice president of American Intercontinental University in London. One of the best-known historians of the Jewish community in Britain, Alderman is the author of *Modern British Jewry* (1992), a sophisticated and deeply researched history of the Anglo-Jewish community since 1858; *The Jewish Community in British Politics* (1983); *London Jewry and London Politics, 1889–1986* (1989); a history of the right-wing Orthodox, *Federation of Synagogues, 1887–1987* (1987); and other works. In recent years he has written an often controversial weekly column in the *Jewish Chronicle* newspaper, which generally reflects his Orthodox Zionist viewpoint.

[William D. Rubinstein (2nd ed.)]

°ALDO MANUZIO (1449–1515). Italian humanist, Hebraist, and printer. In 1494 he set up a printing press in Venice which soon became famous. Printing Greek and Latin grammatical works, he appended to several of them the first printed Hebrew grammar for Christian students (*Introductio perbrevis in linguam hebraicam*, date of foreword 1501). This was reprinted separately eight times by Aldo himself under a slightly different title (a facsimile reprint was published in 1927). Aldo also printed Leone Ebreo's (Judah *Abrabanel) *Dialoghi di Amore* (1544, 1545) calling him a convert to Christianity. The type is very similar to that used by Gershom *Soncino. This led to a rather acrimonious competition between the two great printers.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Dukes, in: REJ, 1 (1880), 150ff.; C. Roth, *Jews in the Renaissance* (1959), 142, 181, 224; A. Marx, *Studies in Jewish History and Booklore* (1944), index, s.v. *Aldus Manucius;* M. Marx, in: HUCA, 11 (1936), 445–6.

ALDRICH, ROBERT (1918–1983), U.S. director, producer. Born in Cranston, Rhode Island, to a prominent East Coast family, Aldrich departed from family tradition to become one of Hollywood's most provocative filmmakers. After attending the University of Virginia, where he played football and studied economics, Aldrich began his film career as a production clerk for RKO at the onset of WWII. Aldrich quickly became an assistant director and spent the rest of the decade learning from esteemed directors such as Lewis Milestone, Joseph Losey, Abraham Polonsky, and Charlie Chaplin. Aldrich made his directorial feature film debut in 1953 with *The Big Leaguer.* The following year, he made his directorial breakthrough with the western *Apache* featuring Burt Lancaster as a pacifist Native American warrior in a film that presaged Aldrich's career-long exploration of violence and morality. Aldrich solidified his reputation as a director with *Vera Cruz* (1954), another western starring Lancaster, this time opposite Gary Cooper, as the two men vied for gold in Mexico. Aldrich's distinctive style continued to crystallize in two provocative film-noir features, *Kiss Me Deadly* (1955) and *The Big Knife* (1955), both of which earned him critical acclaim in Europe. After a series of disappointing films in the late 1950s, Aldrich rejuvenated his career with *What Ever Happened to Baby Jane?* (1962), for which Bette Davis won the Academy Award for Best Actress. Aldrich's turbulent career was marked by two more highlights, *The Dirty Dozen*, the highest grossing film of 1967, and the popular prison film *The Longest Yard* (1974), starring Burt Reynolds. Aldrich served as president of the Director's Guild of America from 1975 to 1979, during which he successfully lobbied for increased creative authority for directors.

[Walter Driver (2nd ed.)]

ALDROPHE, ALFRED-PHILIBERT (1834–1895), French architect. Born in Paris, Aldrophe designed the French buildings at the international exhibitions (1855, 1867). He designed the synagogues in the Rue de la Victoire and at Versailles. He also built private homes in Paris including that of Baron Gustave de *Rothschild. He erected several important monuments in the Père-Lachaise cemetery.

ALDUBI, ABRAHAM BEN MOSES BEN ISMAIL (14th century), Spanish talmudist. Aldubi studied under Solomon b. Abraham *Adret and was the teacher of *Jeroham b. Meshullam. The whole of his *Seder Avodah bi-Keẓarah*, dealing with the Day of Atonement service in the Temple, was incorporated by Jeroham in his *Toledot Adam ve-Ḥavvah*. Aldubi's book *Ḥiddushim ve-Shitah* to *Bava Batra* is mentioned in the responsa of Moses b. Isaac Alashkar (1554), and one of his responsa is printed in the *Zikhron Yehudah* (1846) of Judah the son of *Asher b. Jehiel.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Jeroham b. Meshullam, *Issur ve-Hetter* (1960), introd.; D. Cassel, in: *Zikhron Yehudah (b. Rosh)* (1846); Michael, Or, 15, no. 54; A. Freimann, in: JJLG, 12 (1918), 278, 284.

[Zvi Avneri]

ALECHINSKY, PIERRE (1927–), Belgian painter. Alechinsky was leader of the CoBrA group of artists, formed in Brussels, which fostered a spontaneous approach to painting and opposed social realism on the one hand and a calculated abstraction on the other. Alechinsky's works have been described as "explosive." They are characterized by a sense of perpetual movement and flux in which incomplete forms appear and dissolve. Alechinsky studied at the Ecole Nationale d'Architecture et des Arts Décoratifs in Brussels. In 1951 he moved to Paris, joining other members of the CoBrA group. Later he visited Japan, where he made a film on Japanese calligraphy. Alechinsky exhibited at the Venice and São Paulo Biennales.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: F.C. Legrand, in: *Quadrum*, 11 (Fr., 1961), 123–32; J. Putman, in: *L'Oeil*, (Nov., 1966), 36–42.

ʾALEF (Heb. אָלֶף ;א), first letter of the Hebrew alphabet; its numerical value is 1. It is a plosive laryngal consonant, pronounced according to the vowel it carries. The earliest clear representation of the *ʾalef* is to be found in the Proto-Sinaitic inscriptions of C. 1500 B.C.E. This acrophonic pictograph of an ox-head (*ʾalp*) 𓃾 develops through the Proto-Arabic 𐪑 and South Arabic 𐩱 into the Ethiopic አ on the one hand, and through the Proto-Canaanite 𐤀 and 𐤀 into the tenth–ninth centuries B.C.E. classical Phoenician *ʾalef* 𐤀 on the other hand. The Ugaritic consonantal cuneiform script of the 14th century B.C.E. has three ʾalef signs: 𐎀 (ʾa), 𐎛 (ʾi), and 𐎜 (ʾu). About 800 B.C.E. the Greeks borrowed the Phoenician *ʾalef* and used it as a vowel (*alpha*). They altered its stance and turned it into A, a shape which was adopted by Latin, among other scripts. While the Phoenician *ʾalef* underwent its own evolution (𐤀 – fifth century B.C.E., 𐤀 – Punic, 𐤀 – Neo-Punic), the Hebrew and the Aramaic scripts, which derived from Phoenician, developed it as follows: in seventh century B.C.E. Hebrew, along with the cursive forms 𐤀 and 𐤀 there existed a formal one: 𐤀. The latter survived in the Paleo-Hebrew Dead Sea Scrolls and its variations occur on Jewish coins as 𐤀, 𐤀 and in late Samaritan as ࠀ. The development of the Aramaic cursive *ʾalef* in the seventh and sixth centuries B.C.E. was 𐡀 → 𐡀 → 𐡀 → 𐡀; and in the fifth century B.C.E., it reached its classical form 𐡀. The latter is the ancestor of the first letters of many alphabets which developed from the third century B.C.E. onward. They include: Nabatean: 𐢀 → 𐢀 → 𐢀 → 𐢁 → ا. The last form, which occurs in the first century C.E. documents found near the Dead Sea, indicates the date when the Arabic *ʾalif* was fixed. The Palmyrene 𐡠 turned into the Syriac ܐ (Estrangela), but in other Syriac systems it is a vertical stroke resembling the Arabic. The Jewish (square Hebrew) *ʾalef* preserved the shape of its Aramaic ancestor. Although there is a tendency to curve the left leg – as in Nabatean and Palmyrene, e.g., the Nash Papyrus – the straight-legged *ʾalef* א prevails. The Jewish cursive forms of the time of the Herodian dynasty א, א disappeared apparently after the period of Bar Kokhba. The Jewish formal *ʾalef* did not change its basic shape during the following period. In the cursive styles of the various Jewish local systems the left leg became the main stroke – א; so it is in the Ashkenazic cursive from which stems the modern cursive *ʾalef* א, א. See *Alphabet, Hebrew.

[Joseph Naveh]

Alef in *Aggadah* and Folklore

The *alef* is more personified than any of the other Hebrew letters. Praised is its humility, which is reflected in the fact that it did not ask God to be the means of creation nor that the Bible be started with it (the Bible begins with the second letter of the alphabet *bet*). The *alef* was rewarded by starting the Decalogue (אָנֹכִי, *Anokhi*; "I") and by denoting the highest number, אֶלֶף (*elef*, "thousand"). The three letters (א, ל, ף) which constitute the *alef* have been interpreted according to different homiletic means such as the **notarikon* אֶפְתַּח לָשׁוֹן פֶּה (*eftaḥ leshon peh;* "I shall open the tongue (and) mouth") which is the opening phrase of God's proclamation: "I shall open the tongue (and) mouth of all people to praise Me, or to study, and teach" (*Midrash Alfa Beta de-Rabbi Akiva* in A. Jellinek, *Beit ha-Midrash*, 3 (1938²), 12–14; cf. the use of the root אלף in Job 33:33). Since *alef* is the initial letter of God's name at the time of Creation (אֱלֹהִים, *Elohim* in Gen. 1:1) and of the three words alluding to His Ineffable Name (אֶהְיֶה אֲשֶׁר אֶהְיֶה in Ex. 3:14), it is fundamental in Hebrew inscriptions in *amulets and letter magic. Similarly, the letter "A" is to be found at the end of the European magic-formulistic inscriptions belonging to the "abracadabra" type. The expression "from *alef* to *tav*" (Shab. 55a and Av. Zar 4a) corresponding to that of "Alpha and Omega" (Rev. 1:8 and 22:13) denotes complete integration.

[Dov Noy]

BIBLIOGRAPHY: F. Dornseiff, *Das Alphabet in Mystik und Magic* (1925^2); Ginzberg, Legends, 7 (1938), 24; D. Neuman, *Motif-index to the Talmudic-Midrashic Literature* (1954), 311, no. D 1273. 4; S. Thompson, *Index of Folk-Literature*, 2 (1956^2), 162, no. D 1273. 6.

ALEGRE, ABRAHAM BEN SOLOMON (1560–1652), rabbi and scholar of Constantinople. Ḥayyim *Alfandari in his *Maggid me-Reshit* records Alegre's controversy on a halakhic issue (responsa 4, 5). His own responsa were published together with those of Jacob Shalem Ashkenazi (Sephardi emissary of Jerusalem), in Salonika in 1793. Alegre is more widely known by the title of his extensive commentary on Maimonides' *Sefer ha-Mitzvot, Lev Same'aḥ*, (Constantinople, 1652), printed in the Israeli edition of the *Mishneh Torah* (vol. 1, 1962). In this work, which took 40 years to complete, Alegre analyzes the 14 principles defined by Maimonides in the introduction to his *Sefer ha-Mitzvot* and those on which he based the enumeration and classification of the *mitzvot.* He particularly justifies Maimonides against the strictures of Naḥmanides on the *Sefer ha-Mitzvot.* His son-in-law, Levi Teglio, in a foreword to the *Lev Same'aḥ.* states that Alegre wrote a homiletical work and a book of responsa.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Azulai, s.v. *Abraham Alegre;* Michael, Or, no. 238; Rosanes, Togarmah, 3 (1938), 128; Fuenn, Keneset, 10.

[Abraham Hirsch Rabinowitz]

ALEINU LE-SHABBE'AḤ (Heb. עָלֵינוּ לְשַׁבֵּחַ; "It is our duty to praise [the Lord of all things]"), prayer now recited at the conclusion of the statutory services. Originally it introduced the *Malkhuyyot* section of the Rosh Ha-Shanah additional service in which the kingship of God is proclaimed and where it is recited with great solemnity. Its theological importance secured for it, from the 12th century at least, a special place in the daily order of service (*Maḥzor Vitry,* p. 75); first at the conclusion of the morning service and later at the end of the other two daily services as well (*Kol Bo*, no. 16). As with some other prayers, it was taken over from the New Year liturgy into the additional service of the Day of Atonement.

The style of *Aleinu* is that of the early *piyyut*, composed of short lines, each comprising about four words, with a marked rhythm and parallelism. It is one of the most sublime of Jewish prayers, written in exalted language.

It is referred to as *Teki'ata de-Vei Rav* ("The *Shofar* Service of *Rav") and it has therefore been ascribed to this third-century Babylonian teacher (TJ RH 1:3, 57a; cf. Av. Zar. 1:2, 39c). But the *Aleinu* may be considerably older. According to one popular tradition, it was composed by Joshua (*Arugat ha-Bosem*, ed. by E.E. Urbach, 3 (1962), 468–71); according

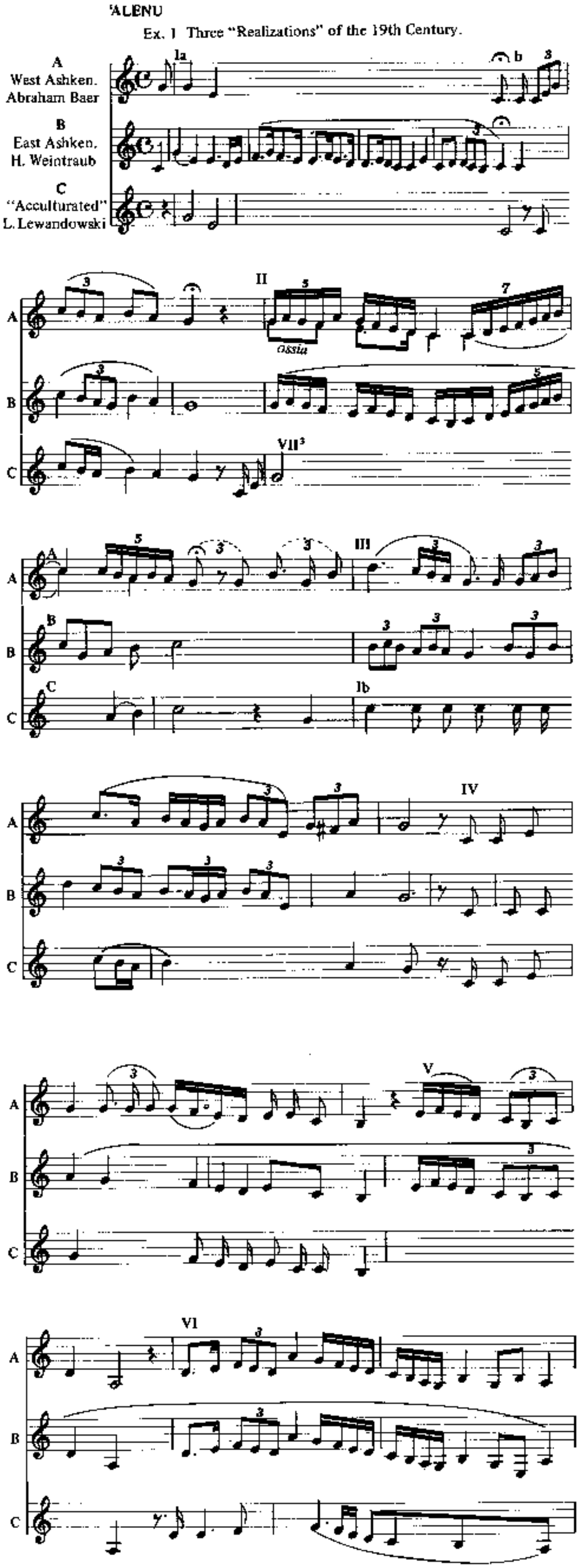
'ALENU
Ex. 1 Three "Realizations" of the 19th Century.
A West Ashken. Abraham Baer
B East Ashken. H. Weintraub
C "Acculturated" L. Lewandowski
Ia
b
II
ossia
VII³
Ib
III
IV
V
VI

to another, it was written by the Men of the Great Assembly during the period of the Second Temple (Manasseh Ben Israel, *Vindiciae*, vol. 4, p. 2). There are good reasons for placing it within that period, because there is no mention of the Temple restoration in the prayer while there is reference in it to the Temple practice of prostration. Prostration during *Aleinu* is still customary in the Ashkenazi rite in most communities on Rosh Ha-Shanah and on the Day of Atonement, while in the other services the congregants bow when reciting the words "we bend the knee…." The description of God as the "King of the kings of kings" may be due to Persian influence, since the Persians described their king as "the king of kings" (cf. Dan. 2:37). It has been suggested that the prayer has its origin in early *Merkabah mysticism; a version of *Aleinu* was recently found among hymns used by the early mystics (see bibliography).

Contents

The main theme of the prayer is the kingdom of God. In the first part, God is praised for having singled out the people of Israel from other nations, for Israel worships the One God while others worship idols. The second paragraph expresses the fervent hope for the coming of the kingdom of God, and the universal ideal of a united mankind which will recognize the only true God, and of "a world perfected under the kingship of the Almighty." The juxtaposition of the two paragraphs provides a coherent theology connecting the idea of a chosen people (Israel) with the challenge that such distinctiveness has for its purpose, religious union and the perfection of mankind under the kingdom of God.

Censorship

In the Middle Ages the prayer was censored by Christians as containing an implied insult to Christianity. They claimed that the verse "for they prostrate themselves before vanity and emptiness and pray to a God that saveth not" was a reference to Jesus. Pesaḥ Peter, a 14th-century Bohemian apostate, spitefully alleged a connection between the numerical value of the Hebrew word וָרִיק (*va-rik*; "and emptiness") and יֵשׁוּ (*Yeshu*; the name of Christ). The elder *Buxtorf (16th century) and *Eisenmenger (17th century) and others repeated the charge; and Jewish apologists from Lippmann Muelhausen (15th century) to Manasseh Ben Israel and Moses Mendelssohn were at pains to refute it. However, the 13th-century *Arugat ha-Bosem* by Abraham b. Azriel does mention a tradition that the numerical value of לַהֶבֶל וָרִיק (*la-hevel va-rik*; "vanity and emptiness") equals יֵשׁוּ וּמְחַמַּד (*Yeshu u-Muḥammad*; Jesus and Muhammad). Some ecclesiastical censors also deleted the previous passage: "Who did not make our portion like theirs, nor our lot like that of all their multitude." Eisenmenger refers to the custom of spitting at the offending word which he interprets as an additional insult to Christianity. This was, no doubt, a popular gesture suggested by the double meaning of *rik* ("emptiness" and "spittle"). In view of this accusation, rabbis such as Isaiah Horowitz discouraged the indecorous practice. (The popular Yiddish phrase, *er kummt tsum oysshpayen* ("he comes at the spitting") came, therefore, to describe someone who arrived at a service as late as the concluding *Aleinu.*) The censors remained adamant even when it was pointed out that the offending phrase is found in Isaiah (30:7; 45:20), that the *Aleinu* prayer is probably pre-Christian, and that if Rav was the author, it was composed in a non-Christian country. The line had to be removed from Ashkenazi prayer books. In 1703 its recital was prohibited in Prussia. The edict, which provided for police enforcement, was renewed in 1716 and 1750. Even earlier, some communities omitted or changed the offending lines as an act of self-censorship (e.g., by replacing *she-hem*, "for they [prostrate themselves before vanity]," with *she-hayu*, "for they used to…"). The Sephardim – especially in Oriental countries – retained the full text and it has now been restored to some prayer books of the Ashkenazi rite as well.

The Blois Tragedy

*Ephraim of Bonn tells how the Jews of *Blois, martyred in 1171, went to their death chanting *Aleinu* to a soul-stirring melody which "at the outset… was subdued, but at the close was mighty." The messianic theme of the second paragraph would have made it especially significant for the Jew in the tragic moments of his history, and it takes its place with the *Shema* as a declaration of faith. Its introduction into the daily service may have been an act of defiance when Christian pressure was on the increase.

Reform Usage

In the Reform liturgy the prayer, with some modifications, has retained its importance and is called the "Adoration." The Ark is opened and the congregation bows as the words "we bow and prostrate ourselves" are recited.

Music

The *Aleinu* of the **Musaf* prayer of the Penitential Feasts is notable, in Ashkenazi tradition, for its music; the Sephardi and eastern communities sing it to one of their regular prayer modes. A musical peculiarity was claimed for the Ashkenazi tune as early as 1171, when it was sung by the martyrs of Blois (Neubauer-Stern, p. 68, 202). Its written tradition, however, dates from the 18th and 19th centuries. The Ashkenazi *Aleinu* belongs to the class of unchangeable **Mi-Sinai* tunes. Thus, it cannot be traced back to a definite archetype, but only to a basic concept or musical idea which is executed differently in every performance.

The *Aleinu* tune consists of seven melodic sentences or "themes" (see Music Example), always produced in the same order. Four of them, nos. I, IV, V, and VI, are virtually invariable in outline; the others, especially the final themes III and VII, are frequently changed. The *Aleinu* has several themes in common with other *Mi-Sinai* tunes: IV, V, VI, and VII^3 recur, in the same order, in the *Avot* Benediction; II, V, and VII^2 are known from the **Kol Nidrei*. Apart from mere ornamental elaboration and minor variants, three main patterns of melodic realization can be distinguished: (1) the predominant version (Examples 1A and 1B), known to both western and eastern Ashkenazi communities. This is well on the way to major tonality which gradually replaces the original mode (featuring a diminished seventh). Cantors from Russia often omitted some of the themes, except 1 and 5, replacing them by repetitions. This points to a western-Ashkenazi origin for the tune. (2) "Acculturated" versions (such as Example 1C) came into being in the mid-19th century. They feature drastic reduction of coloraturas and decided major tonality. (3) A presently obsolete, expanded version was current in the 18th and early 19th century. It is excessively ornate, and may be regarded as a cantorial development of or a "fantasia" on the traditional tune. Many of its extended vocalizations and trumpet flourishes represent a musical illustration of certain mystical intentions (*kavvanot*) connected with the prayer. An old theory proposes a relationship between the tune of *Aleinu* and the Sanctus of the Roman Mass IX. Since the latter, however, is not dated earlier than the 14th century, no conclusions can be drawn from the slight similarity between the two tunes.

[Hanoch Avenary]

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°**ALEKSANDER JAGIELLONCZYK** (1461–1506), grand duke of Lithuania 1492–1501, king of Poland 1501–06. In 1495 Aleksander expelled the Jews from Lithuania. The young prince may also have been indoctrinated by his rabidly anti-Jewish mentor Jan *Dlugosz. Aleksander would also have found it convenient to confiscate the property of the exiles to finance his wars against Russia. When elected king of Poland, however, Aleksander's attitude toward the Jews was more tolerant. In 1503 he allowed the exiled Lithuanian Jews to return. The Polish code, compiled by his chancellor Jan Laski (1506), includes the former grants of privileges accorded to Polish Jewry, but with the preamble that their incorporation is "to protect the citizenry from the Jews."

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[Nathan Michael Gelber]

ALEKSANDRIYA, small town in Rovno district, Volhynia, Ukraine. The Jews settled there before the *Chmielnicki uprising (1648–50) and suffered at the hands of the Cossacks. Few Jews lived there until 1700, when they were obliged to pay a 350-zloty head tax. The community grew rapidly in the 19th century. In 1847 it numbered 728 and in 1897, 2,154 (out of a total population of 3,189). Jews built a sugar refinery, textile factories, and a sawmill, and rented flour mills from Count Lubomirski. The community maintained a school, a club, and a Hebrew library. The Zionist movement was very popular there. The Hebrew Tarbut school founded in 1917 served as a model for most of the towns of Volhynia. The Jewish population numbered 1,700 in 1939. During Soviet rule in 1939–41 all Jewish political parties, organizations, and cultural institutions were closed and the economy was nationalized. The Germans occupied Aleksandriya on June 29, 1941, and in the following days pillaged Jewish property and burned down the synagogues with the help of local peasants. On July 31, 85 Jews were executed. On September 22, 1942 about 1,000 Jews, including women, children, and the aged, were taken to the forest at Swiaty and murdered. Fifty Jews returned to the town after the war but soon left for Palestine.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Yalkut Volin*, 1 (1945), 15; 4 (1947), 24; Eisenstein-Keshev, in: *Fun Noentn Over*, 4 (1959), 191–231.

[Shmuel Spector (2nd ed.)]

ALEKSANDRIYA (originally **Becha**), town in Kirovograd district, Ukraine. The first Jews settled in Aleksandriya at the end of the 18th century. In 1864 they numbered 2,474, and in 1897, 3,735 (26% of the total population). In 1910 the community had five synagogues, a *talmud torah* and a communal school, and 11 *ḥadarim* with 230 pupils. The main occupation of the Jews in Aleksandriya was garment manufacturing. In a pogrom on April 23, 1882, Jewish shops and homes were pillaged. On the Day of Atonement of 1904 (September 6), three Jews were killed and several injured in a pogrom. During the civil war of 1919–20, the Jews in Aleksandriya endured great suffering, Aleksandriya being the headquarters of Ataman Grigoryev, leader of the Ukrainian pogrom bands. They were also attacked by Denikin's "White" army. In 1926 the Jewish population in Aleksandriya numbered 4,595 (23% of the total). During the Soviet period most of the Jews worked as artisans in cooperatives. The central Chabad synagogue was still operating in the early 1930s. The Jewish population declined to 1,420 persons in 1939 (total population 19,755). Aleksandriya was occupied by the Germans on August 6, 1941. They murdered 463 males on September 19, and over 300 on August 29. In all, 2,572 were murdered, including Jews from the surrounding area.

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[Shmuel Spector (2nd ed.)]

ALEKSANDROW (**Danziger**), influential dynasty of ḥasidic rabbis in Poland active from the second half of the 19th century (see *Ḥasidism). Their "court" was at *Aleksandrow Lodzki (Yid. Alexander), a small town near Lodz. In contrast to the Ḥasidim of Góra-Kalwaria (Yid. Ger), the Aleksandrow Ḥasidim generally did not take part in Jewish party politics in Poland.

The founder of the dynasty, SHRAGA FEIVEL DANZIGER (d. 1849) of Grójec (Yid. Gryce), was rabbi in the small towns of Sierpc, Gąbin, and Maków; Shraga succeeded his *rebbe*, R. Isaac of Warka. His son, JEHIEL, the disciple of Isaac of Warka, settled in Aleksandrow and made it the seat of the "court." Jehiel's son, JERAHMEEL ISRAEL ISAAC (1853–1910), was the outstanding member of the dynasty. He was learned in a wide variety of subjects and had a keen intellect, and was beloved by the Ḥasidim. A natural leader, Jerahmeel would question his followers about their circumstances and advise them accordingly, consoling, encouraging, and reproving. He had a small circle of learned disciples, but also provided moral guidance to all his followers. He wrote *Yismaḥ Yisrael* (1911). Jerahmeel's brother and his successor was SAMUEL ẒEVI (d. 1925). The last rabbi of the line, ISAAC MENAHEM (1880–1943), established a network of Aleksandrow yeshivot in various places. He perished in the concentration camp at *Treblinka. He wrote *Akedat Yiẓḥak* (1953). After the war, JUDAH MOSES TIEHBERG, Jehiel's grandson, head of a yeshivah in Bene-Berak, was declared "Aleksandrow Rabbi." He wrote *Kedushat Yiẓḥak* (1952) on the Aleksandrow dynasty.

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[Zvi Meir Rabinowitz]

ALEKSANDROW LODZKI, town in central Poland, founded in 1818. The first Jewish residents were under the jurisdiction of the Lutomiersk *kahal*, but an independent community was established in 1830 by Jews who came from Lutomiersk. In 1826 the governor of the Polish Congress Kingdom granted the community a privilege permitting them to reside and acquire property in specified areas of the town. The Jewish population of Aleksandrow Lodzki numbered around 1,000 in the 1850s; 1,673 (27.9% of the total population) in 1879; 3,061 (24.1%) in 1909; and 2,635 (31.9%) in 1921.

Holocaust Period

In 1939 there were 3,500 Jews in Aleksandrow, comprising one-third of the total population. The German army occupied the town on Sept. 7, 1939, and on the following day set the main synagogue afire and forced the Jews to burn the Torah scrolls which were found in private homes. There were several cases of *kiddush ha-Shem* when Jews sacrificed their lives while trying to save the sacred books. Kidnapping of Jews in the streets, open robbery, and the imposition of ever higher ransoms continued until the end of 1939. In this period the famous "court" of the Aleksandrow zaddik (Danziger) was liquidated. All Jews of Aleksandrow were expelled to Glowno (in the Generalgouvernement) on Dec. 27, 1939. Some of them remained there and the others were deported to other towns of the Generalgouvernement. The Jewish cemetery of Aleksandrow was plowed up and turned into a park.

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ALEMÁN, MATEO (1547–c. 1615), Spanish novelist of "New Christian" descent. He studied medicine at Salamanca and Alcalá. Always poverty-stricken, he was several times imprisoned for debt. *Conversos were forbidden to leave Spain, but Alemán secured permission by means of a bribe and arrived in the New World in 1608. Alemán's fame rests on one great work, the *Guzman de Alfarache*, the first part of which was published in 1599, the second in 1604. This is a picaresque novel marked by a skillful fusion of narrative and didactic elements. The picaresque genre was introduced in 1554 with an anonymous work called *La vida de Lazarus de Tormes ....* The bitterness expressed in the novel has been ascribed to its author's position as a Converso, one of whose ancestors was burned in an auto-da-fé, while some have suggested that it may merely reflect Alemán's personal disillusionment. In the novel Alemán contrasts the nobility that has possessions and power with the "ignobility" that lacks lineage and respectability. He died in Mexico.

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[Kenneth R. Scholberg / Yom Tov Assis (2nd ed.)]

ALEMANNO, JOHANAN BEN ISAAC (1435/8–after 1504), philosopher, kabbalist and biblical exegete. A descendant of an Ashkenazi family expelled from France, his father married an Aragonese Jewess, and the family came to Italy because of his grandfather's (Elijah) mission to the Pope.

Alemanno himself was born in Mantua and was reared in Florence in the house of Jehiel of *Pisa, where he acquired a thorough education in several disciplines, especially philosophy. Later he taught in various cities in Italy. At the age of 35 he settled in Mantua where he was among the guests of Luigi lII Gonzaga, and studied with R. Yehudah Messer Leon. In 1488 he returned to Florence, where he again stayed with the family of Jehiel of Pisa until they left Florence in 1497. In the house of this patron Alemanno spent some quiet years and was able to complete the works he had begun and to embark on new ones. The most important of these works are the following:

(1) *Ḥeshek Shelomo*, a philosophical commentary on the Song of Songs, which Alemanno began at the age of 30. In 1488 he read portions of his manuscript to Giovanni *Pico della Mirandola who urged him to complete it. The work, thus far never printed in its entirety, is extant in manuscripts (Bodle-

ian, 1535, British Museum 227, Ms. Moscow-Guensburg). A substantial part of Alemanno's introduction to it was published by Jacob Baruch under the title *Sha'ar ha-Heshek* (Leghorn, 1790) in a very imperfect edition, which was reprinted in Halberstadt (c. 1862) without change. In addition, some fragments of the work were published in various places. The introduction constitutes almost half of the book, and opens with a lengthy section, *Shir ha-Ma'alot li-Shelomo*, glorifying King Solomon, as a philosopher, Kabbalist and magician. Alemanno goes on to discuss the content, character, form, and significance of the Song of Songs. In his opinion, the book in its simple sense treats of earthly love, although allegorically Solomon sought to depict divine love.

(2) *Einei ha-ʿEdah* an unfinished philosophic-kabbalistic commentary on the Pentateuch still in manuscripts. The general line of thought resembles that of the *Ḥeshek Shelomo.*

(3) *Ḥei ha-Olamim* is Alemanno's chief work, on which he labored from 1470 until 1503. One manuscript is found in the library of the Jewish community of Mantua, and another in the Jewish Theological Seminary (Rab. 1586). The work deals with the problem of how man may attain eternal life and rise to communion with God. The introduction prescribes a twofold method of instruction to be followed by every teacher: for the masses, a simple method readily understandable to all; and for the learned and informed, a logical one calculated to remove doubt. In this work Alemanno makes use of both methods. He introduces two characters, the *Meliẓ Yosher al-Leshono* ("the felicitous interpreter") who presents each subject in succinct and simple words; and the *Dover Emet bi-Levavo* ("one who speaks the truth in his heart") who engages in elaborate proofs. The author charts the career of the ideal man; he describes man's physical life from conception to maturity and indicates the preparations one should undertake at every stage of his life to attain perfection. Then he discusses man's spiritual development through the perfection of his moral and intellectual capacities. The final goal is the attainment of the perfect love of God and union with Him. The work constitutes an encyclopedia of the knowledge of Alemanno's time.

(4) *Likkutim* are various notes and reflections, among them, those of the years 1478 and 1504, which Alemanno had intended to later incorporate into his other work. It is extant in manuscript (Bodleian 2234). The material preserved in this compilation reflects the wide scope of his reading and his acquaintance with philosophical, Kabbalistic, magical and astrological traditions of Spanish extraction, and they serve as the main source of inspiration for his later works.

Alemanno often mentions a work of his entitled *Ha-Me'assef*; perhaps the reference is to the *Likkutim*. (The name *Likkutim* was originally used by Abraham Joseph Solomon Graziano in the 17th century.) Alemanno presumably wrote annotations to the *Ḥai ben Yoktan* by Abu Bakr ibn Tufayl found in manuscript (Munich 59). Another work by Alemanno, *Zeh Kol ha-Adam*, is also occasionally mentioned; it is probably identical with *Ḥai ha-Olamim*. In addition, he probably wrote *Pekah Ko'ah*, which has been lost. The works *Melekhet Muskelet* – a book of magic translated from Greek into Latin and extant only in some Hebrew fragments from the circle of Alemanno – and *Peri Megadim* have been erroneously ascribed to him. Alemanno was well-versed in Greek and Arabic-Jewish philosophy and familiar with the Latin literature of antiquity and the Middle Ages. His erudition and writings were held in such high regard in his day that a scholar such as Pico della Mirandola wished to become his student in Hebrew literature. The hypothesis that Alemanno was the same person as Dattilo or Mithridates, both of whom moved in the circle of Pico della Mirandola, is unfounded. Alemanno's son Isaac was the teacher of Giovanni Francesco, the nephew of Pico della Mirandola. Alemanno influenced a series of Jewish Italian thinkers, more notably R. Isaac de Lattes and R. Abraham Yagel.

Alemanno was well-acquainted with Italian Jewish Kabbalah: mostly Abraham Abulafia's prophetic Kabbalah, and Menahem Recanati's writings, and he was part of a revival of interest in this lore evident among Jews and Christian in the Florentine Renaissance. He conceived magic as a high form of activity, even higher than Kabbalah, and described it as *Ḥokhmah ruḥanit*, "the spiritual lore". He studied a number of Jewish and other type of magical books, like *Sefer ha-Levanah* and a *Sefer Raziel* translated from Latin, and resorted to astro-magic views, under the impact of the tradition of Abraham ibn Ezra and his many commentators in 14th–early 15th century Spain, whose writings he often quotes. This synthesis between Kabbalah and magic is evident also in Pico della Mirandola's thought. The affinities between Alemanno's thought and that of his Florentine Christian contemporaries still waits for detailed investigations. It is possible that Alemanno arrived in Jerusalem in 1522.

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[Umberto (Moses David) Cassuto / Moshe Idel (2nd ed.)]

ALEPPO (Ar. **Ḥalab**; called by the Jews **Aram-Ẓoba** (**Aram Ẓova**)), second-largest city in Syria and the center of northern Syria. The Hebrew form of Aleppo (Ḥaleb) is, according to a legend quoted by the 12th-century traveler, *Pethahiah of Regensburg, derived from the tradition that Abraham pastured his sheep on the mountain of Aleppo and distributed their milk (*ḥalav*) to the poor on its slopes. According to Jewish tradition, mentioned by Rabbi Abraham Dayyan, the beginning of the community was in the era of Joab ben Ẓeruiah, the conqueror of the city in the time of King David, who also built the great synagogue. There are also other non-Jewish traditions which confirm the existence of the community in the Greek period. It would seem that the establishment of the Jewish community was in this period. Jewish settlement there has continued uninterruptedly since Roman times. The ancient section of the great synagogue was built in the form of a basilica with three stoae during the Byzantine period; an inscription on it dates from 834. The Jews lived in a separate quarter before the Muslim conquest in 636. They lived separately during the Muslim period in the northeastern area of the city. The most ancient synagogue, named Kanisat Mutakal, was built in the fourth century and was located in the Parafara quarter in the northeastern region of the city. It is the oldest Jewish building in the city. During the Muslim period the Jewish quarter was named Mahal al-Yahud. In the Seljuk period the Jewish quarter was spread over a large area of the walled city. On the south it bordered on the market street, on the west the castle, on the east the Dār Al-Bbatih food merchandise area, and on the north the wall and the Jewish gate (Bab al-Yahud). This latter gate was named from the end of the 12th century Bab al-Naṣr (Victory Gate). In the anarchic period (1023–79) it seems that there were also Jews who lived outside the Jewish quarter. A document from the 12th century deals with a Jewish building in the market street. There was also a synagogue located in a new suburb outside the walls.

*Saadiah Gaon was in Aleppo in 921 and it is said that he found Jewish scholars there. In the 11th century learned rabbis led a well-ordered community. R. Baruch b. Isaac was its leader at the end of the 11th century: fragments of his commentary on the *Gemara* as well as responsa have been found in the *genizah*. Apparently the *rosh kehillot* ("head of communities"), i.e., a leader common to the various communities of Jews (such as Babylonians, Palestinians, etc.), represented all Jews before the Muslim authorities. The leader of the community of Aleppo during the years 1015–29 was Jacob ben Joseph, who came to Aleppo from Fustat and served there as *dayyan*. He was also the *dayyan* responsible for the other communities in the region and received the title *rosh kala* from the Babylonian academy. He also had in Aleppo a *bet midrash* and had students from various countries. His successor in the 1030s was Jacob ben Isaac, who served as the *dayyan* of the Aleppo community. He died c. 1036. His successor as *dayyan* was Tamim ben Toviah. His grandson Tamim ben Toviah is known from another document dated 1189. A famous rabbi of the community, Barukh ben Isaac, served as *dayyan* in Aleppo from the 1180s. In the 1190s he headed a *bet midrash* and students gathered there around his son Joseph. Rabbi Barukh gave the proselyte Obadiah, who came to his *bet midrash*, a recommendation to the Jewish communities. Rabbi Barukh was known also as a significant halakhic *posek*, and as a Talmud *parshan*, too, and his commentaries were cited by scholars from Aleppo. He was busy also in public affairs.

The community seems to have had close contacts with Palestine, and heads of Palestinian yeshivot visited Aleppo. In the second half of the 12th century the great yeshivah of Baghdad was in contact with Aleppo. R. Zechariah b. Barachel, a disciple of the *gaon* *Samuel b. Ali of Baghdad, was appointed to head Aleppo's *bet din*. The scholars of Aleppo also exchanged letters with *Maimonides; R. *Joseph b. Aknin, Maimonides' disciple, lived in Aleppo at that time. We identify this scholar with the leader of the community in the 12th century, Joseph b. Judah Ibn Simeon. This scholar was a merchant who traveled to India and other lands and later returned to Aleppo, bought a big estate outside the city, and founded on it a *bet midrash*. He was also the court physician of Al-Malik Al-Tahir. Maimonides wrote that the Jews of Aleppo were very sociable, sat in taverns, and listened to music. In the castle of the city, ancient Jewish tombstones from the years 1148 and 1217–31 survived. With the inclusion of the town in Nūr al-Dīn's (Noureddin) kingdom in 1146, security improved. *Benjamin of Tudela estimated in 1173 the number of Jews in Aleppo as 5,000 (according to the best-preserved manuscript versions, but according to another manuscript the number was only 1,500). Community leaders such as R. Moses Alcostandini, R. Israel, and R. Shet appear in the letters of the Gaon *Samuel ben Ali. After *Saladin's death, Aleppo became the capital of an independent kingdom and until the middle of the 13th century the city enjoyed security and prosperity which the Jews shared. In 1217, Judah *Al-Ḥarizi visited Aleppo and reported that there were several Jewish scholars, physicians, and government officials active there at the time. He noted the names of R. Samuel, who was a scribe in the court, and the physician Eleazar. Among other persons cited by him were R. Azaryahu, a descendant of the exilarch; R Samuel b. Nissim (*ḥakham* Nasnot), who was the head of the local academy; R. Yeshuah; R. Yachun; Shemarya and his sons Muvkhar and Obadiah; R. Joseph, the son of Ḥisdai; R. Samuel, who was the king's scribe; and the physician Hananiah b. Bezalel. Al-

Ḥarizi died in Aleppo in December 1225. A famous scholar who lived in Aleppo during the 13th or 14th century was R. Judah *Al-Madari, who wrote commentaries on the *Gemara*. In 1014 Muslims plundered and destroyed Jewish and Christian houses. The great synagogue was under the authority of the Ereẓ Israel *gaon*, and the small synagogue was under the authority of Babylonian *geonim*. In the *Seljuk period only two synagogues survived in the city. In the *Ayyubid period the Muslim authorities converted synagogues into mosques. In the days of al-Malik al-Tahir the Jewish cemetery and the Jewish gate were destroyed. Muslims used Jewish tombstones to reconstruct the castle. Throughout the Muslim period the Jewish community in Aleppo had considerable autonomy and organized institutions.

The Mongol conquest (1260) led to the slaughter of Jews, but the central synagogue, untouched by the invaders, offered asylum to many. The same year, the Mamluks defeated the Mongols and ruled over Syria until the beginning of the 16th century. Aleppo, their stronghold in northern Syria, contained a large garrison which brought further prosperity to the community. There were several wealthy merchants, officials, craftsmen, and outstanding scholars among the Aleppo Jews. The rich community maintained educational institutions and scholars. The growth of Muslim intolerance under rulers from Cairo and Damascus and the periodical publication of discriminatory laws against non-Muslims had their effect on the life of the community. In 1327, the synagogue was turned into a mosque with the approval of the sultan of Cairo and its name became the Al-Hayyat ("Snake") mosque. In the 13th century a group of *Karaites lived in Aleppo, but they disappeared in the following centuries. The end of the 14th century saw a power struggle between opposing factions of the leaders of the Mamluks and heavy taxes were imposed on the civilian population. In 1400, Tamerlane captured Aleppo with much bloodshed and destruction. Many Jews were killed and enslaved. The community gradually overcame this disaster and in the second half of the 15th century Aleppo Jews again traded with India and scholars resumed their learned activities. In the Mamluk period (1260–1517) the Jews lived in the old quarter and were active as merchants. Between 1375 and 1399 R. David, the son of Joshua, the *nagid* of Egypt, settled in Aleppo. The *nasi* of the community c. 1471 was Joseph b. Zadka b. Yishai b. Yoshiyahu. R. Obadiah of *Bertinoro pointed out in 1488 that the Jews of Aleppo had a good income. According to a census, 233 Jewish families lived there during 1570–90, but the real number was probably higher.

At the beginning of the 16th century exiles from Spain started to arrive in Aleppo, among them outstanding rabbis. They established a separate community although sharing the general institutions with the *musta'arbim* (Orientals). The Jewish population increased markedly; the great synagogue (called, "the Yellow") could no longer accommodate all the congregation and in the second half of the 15th century an additional (eastern) wing was added where the Sephardim prayed. The leaders of the *Musta'arab* congregation were members of the Dayyan family until the 19th century – in the 16th century: Moses and Saadiah Dayyan; in the 17th: Mordecai, Nathan, and Joseph Dayyan; in the 18th: Nathan, Mordecai (d. 1733), Samuel (d. 1722), Joseph, and Mordecai (d. 1774) Dayyan. The communal leader of the *Musta'arab* congregation during the 16th century was the *sheikh al-yahud*. The spiritual and intellectual leadership of the community gradually passed to the Sephardim, and important rabbis include R. Solomon Atartoros in the middle of the 16th century and after him R. Abraham b. Asher of Safed, R. Moses Chalaz, R. Eliezer b. Yoḥai, and R. Moses Halevi Ibn Alkabaz, R. Samuel b. Abraham *Laniado, his son, R. Abraham (who officiated until 1623), and his grandson, R. Solomon. In the 16th century disputes broke out between the *Musta'arab* and the Sephardi congregations, but later the relations between them improved and they lived peacefully. The leader of the community in the beginning of the 18th century was Samuel Rigwan. Other famous rabbis in the 18th century were Joseph Abadi, Samuel Deweik Hacohen (d. 1732), Samuel Pinto (d. 1714), Mordecai Asban, Judah Kazin, Zadka Hutzin, Gabriel Hacohen, Yeshayah Dabah, Michael Harari, David Laniado, Ḥayyim Ataya, Elijah Laniado, Isaac Antibi, Yeshayah Ataya, Ezrz Zaig, and Isaac Beracha. Famous scholars in the city in the same time period were the brothers Joseph (d. 1736) and Yom Tov Safsaya. From the end of the 17th century an academy (yeshivah) operated in Aleppo. In 1730 R. Eliya Silvera founded a Midrash Silvera and the first head of this institution was R. Yeshayah Dabah (d. 1772). R. Samuel Pinto was head of a *bet midrash* in the first half of the 18th century. Many of the above scholars wrote books on rabbinic subjects, most of them printed in Italy. In the 17th century significant Jewish manuscripts from Aleppo were bought in France and Britain. After the Ottoman conquest in 1517, constant contacts were established with the great communities in Constantinople and the other towns in Turkey, as were trade links with them and with Persia and India. Contacts with the Jews of Palestine were also close, and the influence of the Safed kabbalists was marked. Shabbateanism found many adherents in Aleppo, especially R. Solomon Laniado and R. Nathan Dayyan, R. Moses Galante and Daniel Pinto, and after *Shabbetai's apostasy, *Nathan of Gaza went to Aleppo and continued his activities there. In 1684 R. Solomon Laniado wrote a letter as the rabbi of the two congregations.

The traveler Texieira estimated c. 1600 the Jewish population of the city at about 1,000 families, many of them wealthy. According to the census of 1672 there lived in the city 380 Jews who paid the *jizya*, most of them *musta'arabs* and 73 of Spanish origin. In 1695 there were 875 Jewish families. The Jews numbered about 5% of the city's population in the Ottoman period. In 1803 the traveler Taylor estimated that there were only 3,000 Jews in the city.

In 1700, R. Moses b. Raphael Harari of Salonika was rabbi of Aleppo. He died in 1729. At that time, European Jews from France and Italy also settled in Aleppo; they participated in the extensive trade between Persia and southern Europe in which Aleppo served as an important station. These merchants, called *Francos, enjoyed the protection of the consuls of the European powers and this created antagonism in the community. The Francos liberally supported communal institutions, but refused to pay the regular taxes and did not recognize the authority of the community. R. Samuel Laniado II, rabbi of Aleppo in the first half of the 18th century, strongly demanded that the Francos have the same obligations as all other Jews in Aleppo and that all the rules should bind them. In the second half of the 18th century the dispute flared up again when the chief rabbi, Raphael Solomon (b. Samuel) Laniado, tried to compel the Francos to accept the rules of the community and was opposed by R. Judah Kazin, who defended the Francos; the latter, in protest, ceased to take part in public prayers. The dispute had a social background, since the Francos were wealthy and learned and were attached to the ideas and customs they brought from Europe. At the end of the 18th century, with the decline of trade between Aleppo and Persia, the number of Francos dwindled. The prominent families among the Francos included Ergas, Altaretz, Almida, Ancona, Belilius, Lubergon, Lopez, Lucena, Marini, Sithon, Selviera, Sinioro, Faro, Piccotto, Caravaglli, Rodrigez, and Rivero. There were also Jewish translators employed by the European consuls. The Ottoman authorities attempted to extort money from the Jewish translators by putting pressure on the Jewish community. The Jewish community, however, refused to release these translators from paying their share of the communal taxes.

From the 1520s until the mid-17th century, Jews as well as Christians filled the post of *emini gümrük*, that is, the chief officer of the local customs house charged with the collection of receipts. Many Jews died in the plagues which occurred during the Ottoman period. Many scholars in the community created halakhic literature, especially responsa, codes, homiletics, exegesis of the Bible, and liturgy. There were also rabbis who created kabbalistic literature. Many of these scholars settled in Ereẓ Israel.

Between 1841 and 1860 three *blood libels occurred in Aleppo. In June 1853 the Greek-Catholic patriarch accused the Jews of Aleppo of kidnapping a Christian boy for ritual purposes. Despite the tension between Jews and Christians in the city, the Picciotto family helped the latter. Only a few Jewish students studied in the Christian schools. In 1854 the rabbis of Aleppo declared a *ḥerem* (boycott) on any relations with the Protestant missionaries who tried to proselytize Jews. From 1798 until the end of the 19th century several European states appointed European Jews who had settled in Aleppo as their consular representatives. The first was Raphael Picciotto, who was appointed in 1798 consul of Austria and Toscana, and other members of his family were later appointed consuls of other states. Another Raphael Picciotto was consul of Russia and Prussia between 1840 and 1880; the consul of Austria-Toscana was Elijah Picciotto and after his death in 1848 his son Moses inherited this office. The consul of Holland was Daniel Picciotto and of Belgium Hillel Picciotto. The consul of Persia was Joseph Picciotto and of Denmark Moses Picciotto, of Sweden and Norway Joseph Picciotto, and of the U.S. Hillel Picciotto. In the 18th century many local Jews acquired French or British citizenship. Until 1878 the French consul's attitude to Jews was negative, following the policy set by the consul Bertrand during his years in Aleppo (1862–78), but from 1878 the policy was changed by the consul Destree. British consuls protected the Jews of Aleppo throughout the century.

The *ḥakham bashi* in Aleppo was the supreme spiritual authority and from the 1870s there were two chief rabbis. The chief rabbi in 1858–69 was Hayyim Lebton, and after his death Saul Duwek (d. 1874), Mennaseh Sithon (1874–76), and Aaron Sheweika in the year 1880. The later rabbis were Moses Hacohen and Moses Sewid. The Francos established in the 18th century two schools for orphans and poor children. A great yeshivah was active. In 1862 the *vali* imprisoned R. Raphael Kazin, and freed him only under the order not to establish a Reform community in Aleppo. In 1865 a book by R. Elijah b. Amozeg of Leghorn, *Am le-Mikra*, was burned in Aleppo. In 1868 the first Jew was appointed to the *meclis* (city council) of Aleppo. From 1858 on Jews officiated in the mercantile court of law in Aleppo. In 1847, 3,500 Jews lived in the city, and in 1881, 10,200. During most of the Ottoman period Aleppo had the largest Jewish community in Syria. The majority of its Jews belonged to the middle class and were known as diligent merchants and agents. The local government, the European consuls who lived in the city, and the European agents of the trading companies recognized the economic power of Aleppo's Jews. A few Jews also had roles in the administration of the *Vilayet* of Aleppo, for the most part as tax collectors, custom officers, and **sarrafs*, some earning vast amounts from these positions in addition to their own businesses.

In the first half of the 19th century, the status of the community declined both economically and culturally. At the same time hostilities erupted between the various religious communities in Syria. The opening of the Suez Canal in 1869 greatly affected the international trade of the Jewish merchants of Aleppo. In 1875, a blood libel was spread about the Jews of Aleppo; however, the missing Armenian boy, whose absence had provided the charge, was found in a nearby village. In 1869 the *Alliance Israélite Universelle established a school for boys with 68 students from the wealthy families and 15 children from needy families, but most of the latter left the school. In 1873 the school was closed and in 1874 it was reopened. In 1872 the Alliance established a school for girls, with 20–30 students, utilizing European teaching methods. It was closed and reopened a few times and only in the 1890s did it operate at full capacity. In 1865 Abraham Sasson and his sons set up a printing house in Aleppo, one of the sons having learned the craft in Leghorn. In 1887 Isaiah Dayyan established another printing press with the help of H.P. Kohen from Jerusalem. Two years later they had to cease operation, not being able to obtain a government license. The license was obtained in 1896 and printing resumed and continued until World War I. Having learned the craft with Eliezer *Ben-Yehuda in Jerusalem, Ezra Ḥayyim Jouegati of Damascus set up and operated a press from 1910 to 1933. Another printing press was founded by Ezra Bijo in 1924 and continued until 1925. Altogether, approximately 70 books were printed in Aleppo, mostly works by local scholars, ancient manuscripts found locally, and prayer books of the local rite. From the 1850s immigrants from Aleppo settled in Western cities like Manchester and opened firms there. The immigration of Jews from Aleppo to other countries and to Ereẓ Israel was limited until the 1870s and the majority of the immigrants settled in Egypt, but in the 1880s and 1890s it grew and became a flood as thousands traveled to North and South America. The immigrants wished to improve their socio-economic circumstances. Many Jews from Aleppo emigrated to Beirut as well from the middle of the 19th century until the 1940s. After World War I there were over 6,000 Jews in Aleppo. The wealthy moved from the Jewish quarter, which was surrounded by a wall, to new quarters. However, the link with Jewish culture was not severed; traditional learning was not neglected and a few hundred immigrated to Palestine. In 1931 there were 7,500 Jews in Aleppo, of whom 3,000–3,500 were poor laborers. In particular among the others were merchants and brokers, and some 20 Jews were wealthy and had big firms while five or six were bankers.

There are descriptions from the years 1931 and 1934 of the impoverishment of Aleppo Jewry. Most of the immigrants to Ereẓ Israel were needy. In the 1940s many Jews immigrated through *"illegal" immigration (*Aliyah Bet*). In the year 1944, in the wake of the deteriorating political and economic situation of the community, 510 emigrated from Aleppo to Ereẓ Israel. In 1945 many children and young men immigrated to Ereẓ Israel. The police accused the leader of the community of Aleppo, Rachmo Nechmad, of aiding the secret immigration to Ereẓ Israel. Among the scholars of the first half of the 20th century were R. Ezra Abadi, R. Abraham Salem, R. David Moses Sithon, R. Elijah Lopez, R. Judah Ataya, R. Abraham Isaac Dewik, and R. Isaac Shehibar.

[Eliyahu Ashtor / Leah Bornstein-Makovetsky (2nd ed.)]

In 1947, Aleppo had a Jewish community of about 10,000. In an outbreak of violence against the Jews in December 1947, all the synagogues were destroyed and about 6,000 Jews fled the city. Many of them secretly crossed the frontier into Turkey or Lebanon, where they settled, or continued to Israel, Europe, or America. On December 1, 1947, anti-Jewish riots broke out in the Jewish quarter of Aleppo. About 150 buildings, 50 shops and offices, ten synagogues and five schools were damaged; 160 old Torah scrolls from the Baḥsīta synagogue were burned. The leaders of the community preserved the famous *Keter Aram Ẓova*. Thanks to their efforts most of the scroll arrived in Israel. In November 1947 the Jewish Telegraph Agency reported that 22 Jews from Aleppo had been arrested when they tried to pass the frontier between Lebanon and Israel. There are other reports about many Jews from Aleppo who tried to escape to Israel. The Jews also suffered under the reign of Colonel Adib Shishakli (1949–54). The principal leaders of the community in 1953/1954 were Chief Rabbi Moses Mizrachi, who was 90 years old, R. Zaʿafrani, and Selim Duek. The latter was a wealthy merchant who had relations with the local authorities. According to a report by the president of the Beirut community in 1959, around 2,000 Jews lived in Aleppo then. The 1,000 Jews living in Aleppo in 1968 resided in two quarters: Baḥsīta, the old quarter; and Jamīliyya, founded after World War I. Muslims, who had moved into these quarters after the departure of the Jewish residents, occasionally assaulted their Jewish neighbors and several cases of murder were recorded. The four schools of the Alliance Israélite Universelle were closed by the government in 1950, and thereafter most of the children studied at a religious elementary school (*talmud torah*). As the community dwindled, this school was also closed, and some Jewish children studied at Christian schools. A special prayer-custom, the Aram-Ẓobah rite, existed in Aleppo (its prayer book was printed in Venice, 1523–27). In July 1967 Jewish teachers were dismissed and degrading regulations against the Jews were issued by the government. In that year only 1,500 Jews were living in Aleppo. The Jews of Aleppo in the last generation tried to maintain their Jewish identity. They published lectures by Edmond M. Cohen, which were distributed at great risk in the 1970s and 1980s. This was the last book produced by the remnants of the community.

Aleppo immigrants in Buenos Aires in the 1920s, under the leadership of R. Saul Sithon Dabbah, lived traditionally, as in Aleppo. During the 1930s, integration into the life of Argentina increased and with it came a decline in religious and ethnic identity. This trend reversed itself after one more generation, under the guidance of R. Isaac Shehebar.

[Hayyim J. Cohen / Leah Bornstein-Makovetsky (2nd ed.)]

Musical Tradition

Syrian Jewry and, particularly, the community of Aleppo long enjoyed a reputation as lovers of music and singing. In the course of eight centuries, they developed a characteristic style in their liturgical and related activities. As early as the 13th century, the Spanish Hebrew poet Judah *Al-Ḥarizi, referring to Syrian personalities, mentioned the cantor R. Daniel and said his performance conquered "the hearts of the holy people by his delightful song" (*Taḥkemoni*, 46). From about the same time we have evidence concerning the adoption and singing in Aleppo of the Arabic poetical strophic genre called *muwashshaḥ* (Hebrew *shir ezor*) invented in Andalusia by the beginning of the 10th century. This new genre, soon after its creation, gained great favor and knew wide circulation. One can infer from the question concerning its singing addressed by the Jews of Aleppo to Maimonides that it was already then popular among them and that it probably provoked the dissatisfaction of the rabbinical authorities. Their question was whether the singing of Arabic *muwashshaḥāt* (plur. of *muwashshaḥ*) with instrumental accompaniment was permitted. The question probably implied secular and/or paraliturgical singing.

Almost all the chants and hymns sung outside the formal religious service were the work of distinguished Aleppo rabbis such as Moses Laniado, Raphael Antebi, Jacob and Mordecai Abbadi, and Mordecai Levaton, who were poets as well as composers. Some of them may have modeled themselves on the poet Israel *Najara of Damascus who was highly esteemed by composers of the period. This encouragement of the art of singing by the rabbis found strong support in R. Mordecai Abbadi's introduction to a book of *bakkashot* (Sephardi hymns), *Mikra Kodesh*, published in 1873. The melodic style of Aleppo belongs to the Arabian-Turco-Persian musical family, but also shows other influences, mainly those of Sephardi Jews. Both in prayers and other songs, the **maqām* style (melodic pattern) and elaboration prevail. For each Sabbath or festival prayer there is an appropriate *maqām*, and the various *zemirot* (hymns) also conform to the *maqām* pattern.

The Aleppan musical tradition was instrumental in the evolution of the Sephardi-Jerusalemite style, which currently dominates the entire realm of the liturgical and paraliturgical in many Oriental communities in Israel. It probably started with the singing of *bakkashot* and its fascinating dissemination and wide adoption by many immigrant groups. The establishment of formal cantorial training seminaries in the last decades certainly was determinant in consolidating the style toward which most of the generation of the Israeli-born Oriental cantors inclined.

See also *Bakkashah.

[Amnon Shiloah (2nd ed.)]

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ALÈS (or **Alez**; until 1926, **Alais**; אֲלִיץ in Hebrew sources), town in Provence, S.E. France. There was a Jewish community there in the Middle Ages. Solomon b. Abraham *Adret refers in a responsum to a custom followed in the communities "between Narbonne and Alais." The text of the oath used by Alès Jewry is mentioned in the *Coutumes d'Alais*, the costumal of Alès, for 1216–92. In the mid-13th century Jacob b. Judah in the *migdal Aloẓ*, apparently the citadel of Alès, copied the Hebrew translation of Maimonides' Arabic epistle on astrology addressed to the sages of Montpellier. The physician Jacob ha-Levi, who wrote a medical treatise *Makkel Shaked* in 1300 (Bod. Ms. 2142), also lived in Alès. After their expulsion from the kingdom of France in 1306, the Jews of Alès took refuge in Provence and the Comtat Venaissin.

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[Bernhard Blumenkranz]

ALESSANDRIA, town in northern Italy. The first known Jewish settler in Alessandria was Abraham, son of Joseph Vitale de Sacerdoti (Cohen), who opened a loan bank in or about 1490. The subsequent history of the community, to modern times, continued to center around, and to a great degree consisted of, the record of his descendants, later known by the name Vitale. In 1550, it was proposed to expel the Jews from the Duchy of Milan, which since 1535 had been under Spanish rule. Simone (Samuel) Vitale thereupon went to Madrid and secured authorization for two families to reside in the city.

When the Jews were finally expelled from the Duchy of Milan in 1590, he again traveled to Spain and received permission to remain in Alessandria in consideration of the large sum owed him by the government. Thereafter, the community was concentrated around the Vitale family, whose approval had to be obtained by all newcomers before they could settle there. Of the 230 Jews living in Alessandria in 1684, 170 were members of the Vitale family; in 1761, out of 60 households, 36 bore this name. The wealthier members of the community were engaged in the manufacture of textiles and silks; their mills gave employment to many Christians. General conditions remained unchanged when Alessandria passed to the House of Savoy in 1708. The administration of the community remained distinct from that of Piedmont Jewry. The ghetto was established in 1724. In 1761, the Jewish population amounted to 420 persons, the Vitale family having lost the right to approve the newcomers. From the 18th century, the rabbinate became an almost hereditary office held by the family of Levi (de) Veali. The Jews of Alessandria, with the rest of Italian Jewry, enjoyed temporary civic emancipation during the period of French influence in Italy in 1796–1814. Subsequently, there was a sharp reaction. In 1837, Alessandria Jewry was again restricted to the ghetto, although its gates were not renewed. At a wedding celebration in 1835, an overcrowded house in the area collapsed, killing 42 persons, including 17 Christian guests and R. Matassia b. Moses Zacut Levi de Veali. Although from 1848 the Jews of Alessandria enjoyed complete emancipation, many of them were attracted to the larger cities. Between 1900 and 1938, the total of Jewish residents decreased from 868 to 101 according to Mussolini's census.

[Cecil Roth]

Holocaust Period

Starting in 1938, the Jews suffered under the regime's anti-Jewish laws, but the final phase of persecution began only at the end of November 1943, after Minister of the Interior Buffarini Guidi ordered all provincial chiefs to send all Jews to the "appropriate concentration camps." During the night of December 13, supporters of the German-imposed Italian Social Republic attacked the synagogue in the via Milano, destroying or stealing the silver objects. Books and precious manuscripts were burned in a great bonfire in Piazza Rattazzi that same evening. Also in December, 11 Jews from Alessandria were arrested and sent to Fossoli, from where they left for Auschwitz in February 1944; another six were seized by the Germans in the spring of 1944. The roundups continued in two other important old Jewish communities in the province of Alessandria. Twelve people were deported from Acqui, including the entire impoverished family of Arturo Bachi. Eighteen people were deported from Casale. In all, 48 Jews were deported from the entire province of Alessandria.

[Alberto Cavaglion (2nd ed.)]

After the war 168 Jews lived within the community, but their number decreased to 90 by 1969. At the turn of the 20th century Alessandria no longer operated a Jewish community and was under the jurisdiction of the community of Turin, as were all other nonfunctioning communities of Piedmont (Asti, Carmagnola, Cherasco, Cuneo, Mondovì, Saluzzo, and Ivrea).

[Manuela Consonni (2nd ed.)]

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ALEXANDER (c. 36–7 B.C.E.), son of *Herod and *Mariamne. As Herod's heir presumptive, Alexander was educated in Rome with his younger brother Aristobulus from c. 23–17 B.C.E. On his return to Judea he married Glaphyra, the daughter of Archelaus, king of Cappadocia. His arrival aroused the fears of those members of Herod's retinue who had been responsible for the death of Mariamne, for they assumed Alexander would avenge his mother's death. *Salome – who had been chiefly to blame – incited the king against Alexander, insinuating that he and his brother intended to take revenge on him for their mother's death. Influenced by these slanders, Herod recalled *Antipater, his son by his first marriage, to support him. In 12 B.C.E. the king took both princes with him to Italy to arraign them before Augustus on charges of conspiracy. At their meeting in Aquileia, the emperor managed to effect a reconciliation between the father and the sons. However, the intrigues against the princes continued, and relations with their father deteriorated irrevocably. Alexander was put in irons and his life threatened. As a result of the intervention of Archelaus, Herod was pacified and Alexander released. The machinations against him continued, however. This time it was the Spartan Eurycles, a guest at Herod's court, who incited the king against him after accepting a bribe from Antipater. Herod then suspected two men of plotting with Alexander to kill him. Alexander was again imprisoned, to-

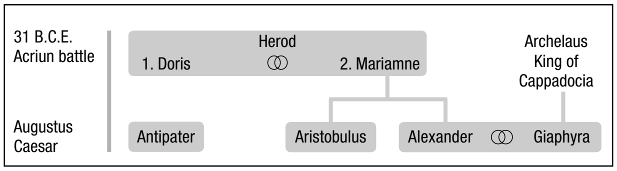

gether with his brother. After Alexander confessed that they wanted to escape to Italy to take refuge from their accusers, Herod again lodged a complaint about his sons' conduct to Augustus. The emperor granted Herod permission to judge them as he saw fit, but advised him to try them in a court composed of Roman well-wishers and officials. The trial took place in Berytus (Beirut). Alexander and his brother were sentenced to death and sent to Caesarea. There a commander of the garrison, Tiro, a veteran in Herod's service, attempted to gain them a reprieve. His plea that if the executions took place riots would erupt only served to incense Herod further. Tiro was put to death together with other friends of Alexander. The two brothers were brought to Sebaste (Samaria) where they were executed by strangling.

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[Abraham Schalit]

°**ALEXANDER**, name of seven popes. The following are the most significant for Jewish history:

ALEXANDER II, reigned 1061–73, consistently followed the policy set by Pope *Gregory the Great at the end of the sixth century of applying suasion rather than force to convert Jews. When the Christian reconquest of the Iberian peninsula began in earnest, he urged the bishops of Spain to continue defending the Jews against attack by native and foreign soldiers, especially the unruly bands of French knights who had joined the Christian armies against the Muslims. He wrote in the same vein to Berengar, viscount of Narbonne, and to Wifred, its bishop, in 1063. In 1065 Alexander issued a strong warning to the prince of Benevento, in southern Italy, who was using force to convert the Jews.

ALEXANDER III, reigned 1159–81, reissued the *bull *Sicut Judaeis* protecting Jews against physical injury and interference with their religious rites. He objected when the Jews in Bourges, France, erected a synagogue which was not only new, but also higher than a neighboring church. The Third Lateran Council, which met in 1179, prohibited Christians from serving in Jewish homes; urged the secular authorities not to confiscate the property of converts from Judaism lest, being impoverished, they reverted to their former faith; and requested the civil courts to admit the testimony of Christians in lawsuits involving Jews. The pope also objected to Jews having the right to cite a cleric before a secular court. Because of prevailing conditions in Europe, most of these restrictive measures were not enforced for a long time, but they eventually found their way into the *Corpus Iuris Canonici* of 1580, the official collection of church law. The possibility that the pope would urge the council to force the Jews to wear a distinguishing *badge was averted, perhaps through the influence of Jehiel, grandson of *Nathan b. Jehiel, the compiler of the *Arukh*, who held a high post in the papal household.

ALEXANDER IV, reigned 1254–61, reissued the bull *Sicut Judaeis* in 1255. During the bitter struggle of the papacy against the imperial Hohenstaufen family, he granted letters of protection to a number of Roman Jewish army suppliers, exempting them from having to pay extra tolls on the roads. That this did not represent a generally favorable attitude is evident from his other pronouncements. Alexander IV insistently enforced the wearing of the distinguishing Jewish badge and the confiscation of the Talmud. The pope commended Louis IX of France and Count Thibaut of Champagne (who was also king of Navarre) for having taken away from the Jews sums which had presumably been gained through usury. He granted them the right to use such money for "pious purposes" (1258). In a letter addressed to several churchmen, the pope expressed horror that certain clerics had left church articles with the Jews as pledges for their debts.

ALEXANDER V, reigned 1409–10, was elected by the Council of Pisa in a vain effort to end the schism within the church. He shared the superstitions of his day, blaming the division within the church on bad Christians and on Jewish magicians. The Jews, he asserted, corrupted the world by consulting the Talmud and practicing usury.

ALEXANDER VI (BORGIA), reigned 1492–1503, displayed an ambivalent attitude toward the Jews. Where personal gain or the exigencies of diplomacy made it desirable, he was harsh; but where he was free to use his good sense, he showed understanding and humanity. After the expulsion of the Jews from Spain and Portugal, he permitted *Marranos to continue residing in the environs of Rome. When, however, King Ferdinand of *Spain protested, alleging that the pope's leniency encouraged their flight from Spain, Alexander compelled the refugees publicly to reaffirm their Christian loyalty. Even so, he appears to have profited financially from his refusal to take more extreme measures. While the pope reduced the size, and therefore the prominence, of the distinguishing Jewish badge, he lengthened the distance of the disgraceful annual races in Rome in which Jewish participants had to run naked, so as to be able to watch them from his residence at Castle St. Angelo. He imposed on the Jews an additional tribute of 5% for three years, to help defray the expenses of the Turkish War. Alexander treated favorably the Jews he employed as his personal physicians; one of these Bonet *Lattes, dedicated to him his book on astronomy.

ALEXANDER VII, reigned 1651–67. His policy toward the Jews was primarily motivated by zeal for making converts. Though he did not apply force, he frequently applied indirect compulsion. Residence in the ghetto was strictly regulated, and the entire Jewish community was held responsible for the rental of an apartment vacated by a convert or through the death of its occupant in the recent plague, for Jews were not permitted to own property even within the ghetto (1658). Christian contact with Jews was assiduously discouraged. In 1659 Jews were prohibited from teaching or learning under Christians. To be the servant of a Jew was a punishable offense.

The one improvement in the Jewish situation under Alexander VII was the abolition, in the last year of his papacy, of the shameful annual races (cf. Alexander VI).

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[Solomon Grayzel]

°**ALEXANDER**, name of three Russian czars.

ALEXANDER I, czar of Russia 1801–25. Alexander I's character and actions were to a large extent shaped by the vicissitudes he experienced in his struggle against *Napoleon. His ties with Metternich and the Holy Alliance were a result of his reaction against the spirit of the French Revolution; Alexander activated and joined the Alliance as "the gendarme of Europe" after Napoleon's downfall. When Alexander ascended the throne, Russian policy toward the large Jewish population living in former Polish territory, constituting the so-called Jewish question, had already been under active consideration for some time in government circles. In November 1802 Alexander appointed a committee to consider all aspects of the Jewish question in Russia. Some of its members were his personal friends and, like Alexander at that stage, harbored liberal ideas. The committee's report was approved by Alexander and promulgated in 1804 as the Jewish Statute. It was the first comprehensive piece of Russian legislation to deal with Jewish affairs. The statute, as well as subsequent legislative and administrative measures concerning the Jews taken during Alexander's reign, was based upon the assumption that the Jews were a parasitic element, an undesired legacy bequeathed by the defunct Polish state. The policy underlying the statute, therefore, was that the Jews must be directed toward employment in productive occupations, such as agriculture and industry. On the other hand the native population, especially the peasants in areas that had formerly belonged to Poland, had to be protected from alleged Jewish exploitation and influence. At the same time measures should be taken to raise the Jews from what was considered their debased cultural condition by encouraging secular education and *assimilation into the Russian Christian social and cultural environment. A program of repression and restrictions was therefore embodied in the statute, which imposed limitations on Jewish residence, occupations, and land tenure. The full brunt of the legislation was partially averted during the Napoleonic Wars, when the Russian government was concerned that the Jewish population might be driven to help the French, but the measures were resumed with even greater force after the war. The efforts of the English missionary Lewis *Way to induce Alexander to grant the Jews emancipation had no practical results. Alexander, at this time inclining to pietism and mysticism, initiated a policy intended to promote the conversion of the Jews to Christianity. In 1817 a "Society of Israelitic Christians" was founded and placed under the czar's personal patronage.

ALEXANDER II, czar of Russia 1855–81. Developments in Russia under Alexander II and the measures he adopted were a result of the harsh legacy of the reign of his father *Nicholas I, the aftermath of the Crimean War, and his attitude toward the rising revolutionary movement in Russia. Alexander's accession raised great expectations among the Jewish as well as the Russian population. The Jews hoped for a change in the oppressive policies pursued by Nicholas I. The abolition in 1856 of the special system of recruiting Jews for the army (see *Cantonists) appeared as a good omen. Alexander, however, was firmly opposed to the abolition of the Pale of *Settlement restricting Jewish residence. The basic Russian policy toward the Jews, which aimed to "reeducate" them and make them "useful members" of the state (see Alexander I), underwent no change during his reign. Alexander II, however, attempted to promote their "improvement," and ultimate "fusion" with the Russian people, by extending the rights of certain groups within the Jewish population. These, by virtue of either their economic situation or education, were considered free of "Jewish fanaticism." His policy was also dictated by the demands of the Russian economy which could utilize Jewish capital and skill for its development. Alexander accordingly approved certain reforms to alleviate conditions for the Jews. In particular, the restrictions applying to rights of residence and entry into government service were eased for merchants of "the first guild" (i.e., wealthy merchants), university graduates, and artisans. All these partial and limited concessions were kept within the bounds personally prescribed by Alexander. In the last decade of his reign, when revolutionary tension mounted, the anti-Jewish oppressive policy again intensified. Nevertheless, Alexander was remembered by the Jews as a friendly and enlightened ruler. His assassination on March 13, 1881, brought this relatively liberal interlude to an end and initiated a period of violent reaction.

ALEXANDER III, czar of Russia 1881–94. The reign of Alexander III was dominated by the rising tide of the revolutionary movement in Russia, in which Jewish youth took an increasing part. Ascending the throne after his father Alexander II's assassination, Alexander III was determined to suppress all liberal tendencies and maintain an autocracy. The czar's teacher, Konstantin *Pobedonostsev, procurator-general of the Holy Synod (the supreme authority of the Russian Orthodox Church), a fanatic reactionary, became the most powerful figure in the state. The first organized *pogrom against Jews was perpetrated in Yelizavetgrad (today *Kirovograd), in southern Russia, in April 1881. It was followed by a series of similar outbreaks of anti-Jewish violence in the course of 1881–84. Alexander and his government accepted the theory that the pogroms stemmed from the inherent hatred of the indigenous population for the Jews because of their "economic domination." This led to the conclusion that the indigenous population must be shielded "against the harmful activity of the Jews."

The "Temporary Regulations" of May 3, 1882 (see *May Laws) followed. These prohibited Jews from resettling in the villages or from holding real estate outside the urban areas, and authorized the village communities to oust the Jews already settled among them. These measures were succeeded by partial expulsions of "illegal" Jewish settlers from the interior of Russia, and in 1891 by the eviction of about one-half of the Jewish population from Moscow. Admission of the Jews to the bar was temporarily halted in 1889, and their participation in local government was curbed in 1892. A *numerus clausus*, restricting the proportion of Jews allowed to enter secondary schools and universities to between 3% and 10% of the admission total, was imposed in 1887. This policy was adopted by Alexander in the face of the majority report of the governmental commission under the chairmanship of Count Pahlen, sitting between 1883 and 1888, which was opposed to a regressive policy and counseled "a graduated system of emancipatory and equalizing laws." Alexander was ready to support the planned Jewish emigration from Russia suggested to the Russian government by Baron Maurice de *Hirsch.

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ALEXANDER, English family of printers.

ALEXANDER ALEXANDER (d. 1807?), pioneer of the Hebrew press in London with Benedict Meyers (Hebrew: Jost) of Halberstadt. In 1770 Alexander and Meyers produced an edition of the Ashkenazi prayer book with English translation; the list of subscribers included many non-Jews. This was followed by a *Haggadah* in two editions, Sephardi and Ashkenazi. Originally Alexander did not do the actual printing himself. He produced many liturgical works, including the complete liturgy according to the Sephardi and Ashkenazi rites with slovenly executed English translations (1773), as well as a Pentateuch with translation (1785). In 1772 he began to issue a series of annual pocket calendars. His son LEVY (JUDAH LEIB; 1754–1853) also printed Hebrew and English works for many years, reproducing several of his father's editions. Failing to secure for one of these the patronage of Chief Rabbi Solomon *Hirschel, he published a number of scurrilous attacks on him ("The Axe laid to the root, or, Ignorance and Superstition evident in the character of the Rev. S. Hirschel," 1808; "A Critique of the Hebrew Thanksgiving prayers … on Thursday the 7th of July … With an anecdote of the humorous sermon delivered by the High Priest the Rev. Solomon Hirschel… for the occasion," 1814). He continued the attack on the wrappings of his edition of the festival prayers issued in parts from 1808–15. His own writings include a reply to the proposals of J. *Van Oven on the problem of the Jewish poor (1802), and an English grammar in rhyme (1833). His *Memoirs of the Life and Commercial Connections of the Late Benjamin Goldsmid of Roehampton* (1808) contains piquant details of contemporary Jewish life in London.

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[Cecil Roth]

ALEXANDER, ABRAHAM (**Senior**; 1743–1816), Revolutionary War officer, U.S. Custom House auditor, and *ḥazzan* of Charleston's Beth Elohim Congregation (1764–84). Born and educated in London, Alexander, the son of Joseph Raphael Alexander, immigrated to Charleston, South Carolina, before the American Revolution. He served for many years as a volunteer lay minister (known then as *ḥazzan*). A Hebrew scholar and scribe, he wrote, in his own hand, a prayer book for the High Holy Days "according to the custom of the Sephardim" (1805). During the Revolution, when Charleston fell to the British in 1780, he surrendered at first, along with the rest of the population, but soon afterward left the city to join patriot forces in the backcountry. After he was commissioned a lieutenant of the dragoons, his regiment's guerilla fighting helped drive the British from the Carolinas. Alexander, a widower, in 1784 married Ann Sarah Huguenin Irby, a widow of French Huguenot affiliation. Intermarriage was unusual for the times, especially since he was a strict adherent to Orthodox Judaism. Yet before their marriage she became a devout Jewess, one of the earliest converts of American Jewish history; apparently, however, he resigned his position as *ḥazzan* of the congregation. Alexander entered the service of the new federal government at Charleston's U.S. Custom House, as clerk in 1802 and then as auditor until his retirement in 1813. An active Mason, he is notable in Masonic history as one of 11 founders and the first secretary-general of the Supreme Council, 33rd Degree, Scottish Rite Masonry ("mother council of the world"), which was founded in Charleston in 1801.

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[Thomas J. Tobias]

ALEXANDER, BEATRICE (1895–1990), founder of the Madame Alexander Doll Company and one of the best-known U.S. female entrepreneurs. Alexander was born in Brooklyn, N.Y., to Hannah Pepper, a widow. When Beatrice was a toddler, her mother married another Russian immigrant, Maurice Alexander; the couple went on to have three more daughters. Beatrice always considered Alexander, who established the first doll hospital in the United States, as her real father. She learned the craft of dollmaking in her father's shop where she observed both the fragility of the china dolls of that era and their importance to children. The contrast between the wealth of many of Maurice's customers and the poverty of the neighborhood made a deep impression on her and she became determined to achieve a better future. Alexander's early surroundings also accustomed her to seeing women contributing to the family economy; her mother worked with her husband in his shop, as well as having full responsibility for the home. In 1915, a few weeks after serving as high school valedictorian, Alexander married Philip Behrman, who later joined her in managing the Madame Alexander Doll Company. The couple had one daughter, Mildred, who grew up in the business, as did her son, William Alexander Birnbaum, company president until 1994.

"Madame Alexander" began her career during World War I when the decrease in imported dolls from Europe created a shortage. Her first project was the "Red Cross Nurse" rag doll. In the 1920s she formally created one of the largest doll manufacturing companies in the United States. The Madame Alexander Doll Company has created more than 5,000 different dolls, often based on literary figures and Disney characters, as well as real people. Madame Alexander dolls, known for their high quality and artistry, are on permanent display at a number of museums worldwide and have received numerous awards. In 1986, Beatrice Alexander was honored with the Doll of the Year Lifetime Achievement Award.

Alexander, who began to withdraw from the business in the 1970s, was a well-known philanthropist, supporting American and Zionist causes. A trustee of the Women's League for Israel, Alexander gave particular support to projects benefiting children.

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[Judith R. Baskin (2nd ed.)]

ALEXANDER, BERNARD (1872–1935), South African lawyer and communal worker. Born in the province of Poznan (Poland), Alexander went to South Africa as a child. In 1903 he helped to establish the Jewish Board of Deputies of the Transvaal and Natal; he was its president when, in 1912, the South African Jewish Board of Deputies was founded, with the Transvaal Board as one of its constituents. He became vice president and from 1916 to 1927 was president of the South African Board. Alexander took a leading part in congregational activities and Jewish institutions in Johannesburg. During his chairmanship of the Jewish War Victims' Fund (1915–25), it raised more than £500,000 for Jewish war relief. Alexander was a member of the Johannesburg City Council and served on civic and educational bodies. As solicitor to the Paramount Chief of Swaziland, he headed (1929) a mission to the British government on behalf of its people.

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[Louis Hotz]

ALEXANDER, FRANZ (1891–1964), U.S. psychoanalyst, criminologist, and author. Alexander was born in Budapest and studied medicine there. During World War I, he served in the Austro-Hungarian Army at a bacteriological field laboratory. After the war he did postgraduate work at the psychiatric hospital of the University of Berlin. With the establishment of Berlin's Institute for Psychoanalysis in 1921, he became its first student and stayed on there for ten years as clinical associate and lecturer. During that period he formulated his ideas for his first book: *Die Psychoanalyse der Gesamtpersoenlichkeit* (1927). Early in his career as a psychiatrist Alexander became convinced that the vital approach of psychoanalysis should be the exploration of the human mind to lead men and women to more constructive and satisfying fulfillment in their lives. His research provided much understanding about "psychosomatic specificity" tracing such psychosomatic symptoms as peptic ulcer to their origin in childhood neurotic conflict, and "dream pairs" showing how dreams occur in complementary pairs to produce wish fulfillment. Alexander also made many attempts to shorten therapy through use of the patient's transference relationship with his or her therapist. His famous work *Der Verbrecher und seine Richter* (1929; *The Criminal, the Judge and the Public*, 1931), written with H. Staub, a lawyer, led to an invitation to teach at the University of Chicago. Here he established the world's first university chair in psychoanalysis. From 1931 to 1932, Alexander was research associate in criminology at the Judge Baker Foundation in Boston. He incorporated his findings in his book, *The Roots of Crime* (1935), written with William Healy. In 1932 he established and became director of the Chicago Institute for Psychoanalysis. From 1938 to 1956 he was also professor of psychiatry at the University of Illinois. In 1956 he was appointed head of the new psychiatric department of Mt. Sinai Hospital in Los Angeles and professor of psychiatry at the University of Southern California. Among the many high posts he occupied were president of the American Psychoanalytical Association, president of the American Society for Research in Psychosomatic Medicine, and president of the Academy of Psychoanalysis. He was one of the founding editors of the professional journal *Psychosomatic Medicine* (1939). His other books include *The Western Mind in Transition* (1960); *The Scope of Psychoanalysis* (1961); and *Psychosomatic Specificity* (1968).

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[Zvi Hermon]

ALEXANDER, HAIM (**Heinz**; 1915–), composer and pianist. Alexander was born in Berlin. In 1936, following the ascent of the Nazis to power, he settled in Jerusalem and studied with Stefan Wolpe and Joseph *Tal at the Palestine Conservatory. He was one of the founders of the Academy of Music in Jerusalem (later the Rubin Academy), where he was professor until his retirement. He also lectured at the musicology department of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, at the

University of Pennsylvania, at the Jacques Dalcroze Institute, Geneva, and at NYU. A versatile musician and superb improviser, he taught piano, harpsichord, improvisation, theory, and composition. Like all other Jewish composers who emigrated from Central Europe in the 1930s, Alexander established his own personal response to the dialectics of the ideological pressure of the Zionist vision of the East and the internal pressure to retain and absorb the great European heritage. He was always alert and open to new ideas and influences. In the 1950s Alexander attended avant-garde seminars in Darmstadt and added the serial technique to his rich vocabulary, such as in *Patterns* (1965) for piano, while still retaining his penchant for lyrical, tuneful writing in the *Nature Songs* (1988). In 1971 Alexander undertook a large-scale project of transcribing traditional songs kept at the Jerusalem Sound Archives, many of which he later arranged for various ensembles. He published a textbook *Improvisation Am Clavier,* with two cassettes (Schott, 1987). His large output includes many choral works, songs for voice and chamber ensembles such as the cycle *Ba-Olam* ("In the World,"1976), orchestral works such as the Piano Concerto, chamber works, and many compositions for piano.

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[Jehoash Hirshberg (2nd ed.)]

ALEXANDER, JASON (1959–), U.S. actor and entertainer. Born in Newark, N.J., as Jay Scott Greenspan, Alexander starred in 180 episodes, over nine years, of the wildly popular situation comedy *Seinfeld,* starring Jerry *Seinfeld. Alexander portrayed the hapless George Costanza, a "schlepp" partly based on the show's co-creator, Larry *David. Costanza, neurotic, devious, and unscrupulous, was one of the more memorable characters in television series history.

Although he was short, chubby and began to grow bald at an early age, Alexander had such a commanding stage presence that he was invariably cast as the star in school plays, in roles ranging from romantic leads to elderly character parts. He won a scholarship to Boston University's drama department and at 20 was cast in the Stephen *Sondheim Broadway musical *Merrily We Roll Along*, but the show closed shortly after it opened. Alexander left college soon thereafter to pursue his acting career. He got his first film role in *The Burning*, produced by Harvey *Weinstein, in 1981 and three years later he played four roles in the Broadway musical *The Rink.* He created the role of Stanley Jerome in Neil *Simon's semi-autobiographical play *Broadway Bound* and then took on a starring role in *Jerome Robbins' Broadway*, for which he won the Tony, Drama Desk, and Outer Circle Critics awards as best actor in a musical.

Alexander's voice appeared in a number of animated features, including *Aladdin, The Return to Jafar,* and *The Hunchback of Notre Dame*. In 1997 he played an AIDS-afflicted drag queen who finds romance in the movie *Love! Valour! Compassion!* He also got a lead role in the Los Angeles stage version of *The Producers*.

After *Seinfeld,* for which he won six Emmy nominations, four Golden Globe nominations, and other honors, Alexander starred as a self-help guru in a television series, *Bob Patterson*, but it was quickly canceled. In 2004 he starred in another situation comedy, *Listen-Up*, based on the life of a sportswriter. He also made a quick, highly publicized trip to Israel to air his views about the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

[Stewart Kampel (2nd ed.)]

ALEXANDER, KOBI (1952–), Israeli high-tech entrepreneur. Alexander was born in Tel Aviv. He served as an intelligence officer in the army. In 1977 he graduated in economics from the Hebrew University of Jerusalem and in 1980 he received an M.B.A. degree from New York University. In 1980–81 he worked as an economic consultant for several international corporations. In 1982 he and his two partners, Boaz Misholi and Yehiam Yemini, established Efrat Future Technology Inc. in 1984, after the development of the firm's first product, Tadiran joined the partnership and later on a group of American investors joined as well. In 1986 Comverse USA was established, the mother company of Efrat. In 1987 Efrat took big losses, its stock failed, and Yemini retired. In 1988 Alexander moved to New York and succeeded in stabilizing the firm and bringing it back to profitability. Efrat employed 1,500 workers with a turnover of $300 million dollars a year and is a leading firm in the field of software and systems enabling network-based multimedia enhanced communication services. Alexander is the chairman, president, and CEO of Efrat. In 1997 Comverse and Boston Technologies were merged, and Alexander became the head of a firm with revenues of over $1 billion a year He also served as a director of the venture fund established by Comverse and George Soros.

[Dan Gerstenfeld (2nd ed.)]

ALEXANDER, MICHAEL SOLOMON (1799–1845), the first Anglican bishop in Jerusalem. After an Orthodox Jewish upbringing, in 1820 Alexander left his native Germany for England, where as Michael Solomon Pollack he served as *ḥazzan* and *shoḥet* to the small communities in Norwich (1820–21), Nottingham (1821–23), and Plymouth (1823–25). Coming into contact with Christian missionaries, he was converted to Christianity in 1825. Alexander then moved to Dublin, where he taught Hebrew, was ordained, and where, in 1827, he was appointed to a curacy. Later he was sent as a missionary to Danzig by the London Society for the Promotion of Christianity among the Jews. In 1830 he returned to London in the service of the society. From 1832 to 1841 he was professor of Hebrew and rabbinics at King's College, London. He collaborated with Alexander McCaul in Hebrew translations of the New Testament and the Anglican liturgy. In August 1840 he, with other converts, signed a protest against the *Damascus blood libel. When, on the withdrawal of *Muhammad Ali from Palestine, it was decided to establish an Anglican and Lutheran bishopric in Jerusalem under the auspices of Great

Britain and Prussia, with missionary as well as political objectives, Alexander was appointed the first incumbent (November 1841). Although the British consul, on the instructions of the Foreign Office, did not support his missionary activities, Alexander zealously carried out the duties of his office as he conceived them, visiting Egypt, Syria, Iraq, and Abyssinia, which were included in his diocese. He died while on one of his visits to Egypt; his body was brought back to Jerusalem where he was buried in the Christian cemetery on Mt. Zion. His tombstone bears a long inscription in Hebrew, English, Greek, and German. His published works include *The Hope of Israel*, a lecture (1831); *The Glory of Mount Zion*, a sermon (1839); and *The Flower Fadeth* and *Memoir of Sarah Jane Isabella Wolff… eldest daughter of… M.S. Alexander* (1841).

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[Cecil Roth]

ALEXANDER, MORRIS (1877–1946), South African lawyer and politician. Alexander went to South Africa from East Prussia as a child. He practiced law in Cape Town and soon became involved in politics and in Jewish communal affairs. He played a leading part in the formation of the Cape Jewish Board of Deputies (1904) and was its president and most active figure until its merger with the South African Board of Deputies (1912), thereafter serving as vice president of the United South African Board and chairman of its Cape Committee until 1933. As a Jewish spokesman in matters of immigration and naturalization, Alexander was largely instrumental in having Yiddish recognized as a European language in the immigrant's literacy test (1906). He was elected to Parliament in 1908 and for 35 years was known as a champion of the Indian and Colored communities against discriminatory laws. He was an active Zionist and was a lay preacher to the Cape Town New Congregation. His first wife, Ruth, was the daughter of Solomon *Schechter. His second wife, Enid, wrote his biography *Morris Alexander* (1957). The large collection of Alexander's papers – documents covering his entire life – are housed in the University of Cape Town.

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ALEXANDER, MOSES (1853–1932), first Jewish governor of an American state. Alexander, who was born in Obrigheim, Germany, immigrated to America in 1867. He became mayor of Chillicothe, Missouri (1887), and moved to Idaho around 1891. A successful businessman, he was elected mayor of Boise in 1897 and served two terms. As the Democratic governor of Idaho, serving for two terms (1915–19), Alexander achieved great popularity in his own state and elsewhere, earning a reputation for wit, eloquence, and progressivism. He secured legislation on behalf of workmen's compensation, the state highway system, irrigation, reclamation and waterway systems, and prohibition. He also rallied Idaho around Woodrow Wilson's call to enter World War I, and he supported the women's suffrage movement.

He helped organize and lead the first synagogue in Idaho. The town of Alexander, Idaho, is named for him.

To commemorate his achievements, the Idaho State Historical Society in Boise installed the Moses Alexander Collection to highlight this American success story. The exhibition's 80 cubic feet of material, dating from 1876 to 1987, sheds light on the role Alexander played in shaping Idaho's business, political, and religious communities. The collection includes original and carbon copy correspondence, telegrams, newspaper clippings, speeches, videos, photographs, scrapbooks, fiscal records, and court proceedings, as well as assorted printed material such as blueprints, maps, and certificates that are supplementary to the correspondence.

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[Robert E. Levinson / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

ALEXANDER, MURIEL (1884–1975), South African actress and producer. Born in Exeter, England, Muriel Alexander was a member in 1904 of the first class held at Tree's Academy, London, which later became the Royal Academy of Dramatic Art. She won a scholarship and acted in Sir Henry Tree's company at His Majesty's. Settling in South Africa after World War I, she founded the Johannesburg Repertory Players, which had a predominantly Jewish membership and directed them for many years. In 1960 they renamed their theater The Alexander.

ALEXANDER, SAMUEL (1859–1938), British philosopher. His family originated in Alsace and he was born in Australia. From 1882 to 1893 he taught at Oxford as a fellow of Lincoln College, being the first Jew appointed to a college fellowship in an English university. From 1894 to 1924 he was a professor of philosophy in Manchester. In 1930 he was made a member of the Order of Merit, the highest honor in British intellectual life. Alexander also participated in Anglo-Jewish communal life and was a member of the academic council of the Hebrew University. Alexander was the principal exponent of metaphysical realism in England. In his view, metaphysics is a descriptive science, which elucidates the most universal levels of reality. There are various levels in the unfolding of reality, each of which is rooted in the one preceding it and emerges from it. The most important of these emergent levels which have thus far manifested themselves are those of matter, the physical-chemical life, and mind. However, the creative potential of the cosmic order has not ceased – the next level to evolve will be that of "deity." The relationship of "deity" to mind will be of the same order as that of mind to matter and of matter to space-time. The impending advent of "deity" in the process of emergent evolution is evidenced by the existence of religious consciousness. Deity is the goal of the ever-advancing craving – perhaps asymptotic – for it. His doctrines have much in common with those held by Alexander's friends and contemporaries, A.N. Whitehead and Lloyd Morgan. In his later life, Alexander turned to the study of aesthetics in which he found much substantiation for his views on the cosmic order. The most original and characteristic portion of his work in metaphysics is the recognition of the reality of time, change, process, and the concept of "point-instants" as ultimate units of reality. The "pragmatic deduction" of the categories (i.e., categories of reality, not of thought) is found in the second part of his book *Space, Time and Deity* (2 vols., 1920). His most lasting contribution to epistemology is his elaborate distinction between "contemplation" of an experience and the "enjoyment" of it: the objective awareness of an "-ed" and the subjective "non-accusative" enjoying self-awareness of an "-ing." Many modern philosophers not otherwise in sympathy with Alexander's realistic metaphysics owe to him this celebrated distinction. His other major writings are *Moral Order and Progress* (1889); *Locke* (1908); *The Foundation of Realism* (1914); *Spinoza and Time* (1921); *Beauty and Other Forms of Value* (1933); *Philosophical and Literary Pieces* (edited 1939).

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[Leon Roth]

°**ALEXANDER BALAS**, king of Syria, 150–146 B.C.E. According to Diodorus and Strabo, Balas was his original name before he assumed the cognomen Alexander. Many of his contemporaries state that Alexander Balas was a native of Smyrna, of lowly parentage, but he pretended to be the son of Antiochus IV Epiphanes and claimed the throne of his alleged father in opposition to Demetrius I Soter. Alexander was supported by Attalus II of Pergamum and was recognized by Ptolemy VI Philometor of Egypt. The Romans, inclined to encourage the disturbances in Syria, also allowed Alexander's adherents freedom of action. In 153 B.C.E., Alexander led an army of mercenaries against Demetrius. The pretender's first act was to win Jonathan the Hasmonean to his side by appointing him high priest and leader of the Jews. Demetrius fell in battle, and Alexander assumed the throne in 150. To strengthen his position in Syria he married Ptolemy's daughter. However, when he conspired against him, Ptolemy withdrew his support and allied himself with Demetrius II, son of the late king, who now laid claim to his father's throne. In the ensuing battle between Alexander and Ptolemy on the River Oenoparas near Antioch, Alexander was defeated and Ptolemy mortally wounded. Alexander took refuge with the Arab chieftain Zabeilus, who slew him and sent his head to Ptolemy who had not yet died from his wounds.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: I Macc. 10:1ff., 15ff.; 11:1ff.; Jos., Ant., 13:35ff., 58ff., 80ff., 103ff.; Klausner, Bayit Sheni, 3 (1950^2), 54–59; A. Bouché-Leclercq, *Histoire des Séleucides*, 1 (1913), 338ff.; Schuerer, Gesch, 1 (1901^4), 227ff.

[Abraham Schalit]

ALEXANDER THE FALSE, impostor who pretended to be the son of Herod and Mariamne. According to Josephus, after Herod's death in 4 B.C.E., there appeared "a young man, Jewish by birth but brought up in the city of Sidon by a Roman freedman" who "on the strength of a certain physical resemblance passed himself off as the Prince Alexander, whom Herod had put to death." He successfully deceived several Jewish communities on his way to Rome, but when he arrived there, he was unmasked by the emperor Augustus; Celadus, a freedman who had known the real Alexander, informed the emperor of the deception. The impostor's life was spared, however, and he became an oarsman in the imperial galleys.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Jos., Wars, 2:101–10; Jos., Ant., 17:324–38; Klausner, Bayit Sheni, 4 (1950^2), 177–8.

[Isaiah Gafni]

°**ALEXANDER THE GREAT** (356–323 B.C.E.), king of Macedonia who conquered most of the Near East and Asia. A legend preserved in Josephus (Ant., 11:329ff.) tells that when Alexander was besieging Tyre, Sanballat, the leader of the Samaritans, came to him at the head of 8,000 men. Alexander received him in a friendly manner and acceded to his request that he be allowed to build a temple on Mount Gerizim, where Sanballat's son-in-law Manasseh would serve as high priest. According to this legend, Alexander demanded of the high priest, Jaddus (Jaddua), the surrender of Jerusalem and of the Jewish people, and when the latter refused on the grounds that he had sworn loyalty to Darius, Alexander marched on Jerusalem at the head of his army to punish the panic-stricken Jews. However, Jaddus succeeded in calming the Jews by making it known that he had a revelation in a dream that no harm would befall the city and the Temple. On the following day Jaddus set out with the chief priests, the elders, and the leading citizens, and awaited Alexander's arrival at Ẓofim, to the north of Jerusalem. When Alexander saw the high priest he prostrated himself before him, telling his men that Jaddus had appeared to him in a dream and informed him that he would defeat the Persian king. Alexander then went up to the Temple, offered a sacrifice, and granted the Jews extensive privileges. When the Samaritans heard of the success of the Jews they invited Alexander to visit their temple on Mount Gerizim on his return from Egypt. Their efforts, however, proved unsuccessful.

A similar story, but with different names for the high priest and the meeting place, occurs in the Talmud: "The twenty-fifth [of Tevet] is the day of Mount Gerizim, on which no public mourning is permitted, it being the day on which the Cutheans [i.e., the Samaritans] requested the House of our God from Alexander of Macedonia in order to destroy it and he granted it to them. People came and informed Simeon the Just. What did he do? He put on his priestly garments, and he and some of the nobles of Israel who carried burning torches in their hands walked all night, some on one side, others on the other, until dawn. When dawn rose he [Alexander] said to them: 'Who are these?'

They answered: 'The Jews who rebelled against you.' When he reached Antipatris and the sun shone, they met. On seeing Simeon the Just, Alexander descended from his chariot and prostrated himself.

[They] said to him: 'Should a great king like you prostrate yourself before this Jew?'

He answered: 'The image of this man wins my battles for me.'

He said to the Jews: 'Why have you come?'

They replied: 'Is it possible that star-worshipers should mislead you into destroying the House in which prayers are said for you and your kingdom that it may never be destroyed!'

'To whom are you referring?'

'To the Cutheans who stand before you.'

'They are delivered into your hands.'

At once they pierced the heel of the Cutheans, tied them to the tails of their horses and dragged them over thorns and thistles, until they came to Mount Gerizim, which they plowed and sowed with vetch, even as the Cutheans had planned to do with the House of our God" (Yoma 69a).

The legend in Josephus ascribes to Alexander things which are highly improbable. After the battle at Issus, Alexander set out hurriedly for Egypt in order to dislodge the Persians from the Mediterranean coast. The siege of Tyre was protracted and Alexander had no time to turn aside from his main route in order to visit a city as unimportant as Jerusalem was then, or the Jews, who were a small nation. It is obvious that Alexander advanced with his army along the coast and did not then visit the interior of the country, although undoubtedly he did so in the spring of 331 B.C.E. The Roman writer Curtius Rufus relates that when Alexander was in Egypt the news reached him that the Samaritans had rebelled and had consigned Andromachus, the Macedonian governor of Samaria, to the flames. Alexander hurried to Samaria, reestablished order with an iron hand, and stationed Macedonians there. On this occasion Alexander probably visited the Samaritan temple on Mount Gerizim, a visit which would not have been friendly (as is evidenced by the discoveries of the remains of Samaritan fugitives in the caves of Wadi Daliyeh (see F.R. Cross in bibl.). The Jews in Jerusalem presumably rejoiced at the reversal of the Samaritans and tried to appear before Alexander as a people loyal to him and to his rule, in which purpose they doubtlessly succeeded. An intimation of this success may be gleaned from the legendary account that Alexander granted to the Jews special privileges not only in Jerusalem but in the Diaspora as well. Nonetheless, there is no basis for assuming that he visited the Temple in Jerusalem, for had he done so, such an important event would assuredly have been referred to in the Talmud, which contains many stories about Alexander of Macedonia (Tam. 31b–32b). It may be reasonably assumed, however, that the Jews approached Alexander before his journey to Samaria to correct any false impression he may have had, fearing that he might confuse them with the Samaritans and include them in their punishment. This is clearly reflected in the above-mentioned *aggadah*, which gives the place of the meeting as Antipatris. Although this name does not fit in with the time of Alexander, the Talmud is most probably preserving an authentic popular tradition (Antipatris was on the main route along which an army had to pass when marching from north to south). The *aggadah*, however, is not precise in naming Simeon the Just as the officiating high priest at that time. As for the Jews' destroying Samaria on that occasion, the allusion is probably to its destruction by the Jews in the days of John Hyrcanus.

[Abraham Schalit]

In the *Aggadah*

The legends about Alexander of Macedonia do not so much portray his historical image, as describe the Greeks as a whole, as they were known to the peoples of the East, including the Jews. According to Plato (*Republic*, 435–6), the love of knowledge is characteristic of the Greeks and the love of money and possessions, mainly of the Phoenicians and the Egyptians. According to the *aggadah*, however, the heart of the Greek is torn by two conflicting desires: a craving for money and a hankering after knowledge; for while the Greek loves gold, he also longs to observe people and their customs, to become acquainted with new countries and new manners, thus increasing his knowledge. He delights in proclaiming the latter desire, and he attempts to conceal the former. He is deeply humiliated when he finds that he has failed to do so, as was the lot of Alexander upon his visit to King Kaẓya for the assumed purpose of observing his administration of justice (TJ BM 2:5, 8c). The disdain of the people of the East for the rapacious Greek conquerors is a conspicuous feature of the *aggadah*, which describes Alexander's visit to the country of the Amazons (Tam. 32a). The aggadic account of Alexander's wish to enter the Holy of Holies and of the sage who dissuaded him from doing so (Gen. R. 61:7) was intended to demonstrate to the Jews that the sword is not always the most effective weapon against enemies like Alexander; moderation and discretion, guarded compromise and the exploitation of an enemy's weakness, courage and strength of spirit, often accomplish what the sword cannot. One *aggadah* in which the personality of the Macedonian king bears a close resemblance to the historical Alexander, reports a discussion between him and the elders of the south country (Tam. 31b–32a). Here he is featured as a typical Greek philosopher, bent upon learning from every man and from every nation, inquiring into every purpose, seeking precise definitions of concepts.

[Elimelech Epstein Halevy]

In Medieval Hebrew Literature

Stories about Alexander were included in Hebrew literature throughout the Middle Ages. They may be divided into two categories: (1) Stories describing his wisdom and high moral standards, reflecting the belief that as a pupil of Aristotle he had to be a philosopher. As early as the 11th century, Solomon ibn *Gabirol included such a story in his ethical work, *Tikkun Middot ha-Nefesh.* This practice was imitated by most medieval Hebrew moralists. Stories about him and epigrams attributed to him are found in Arabic works translated into Hebrew, e.g., *Musrei ha-Filosofim* by Ḥunain ibn Isḥaq and the pseudo-Aristotelian *Sod ha-Sodot.* (2) The medieval romance, the *Gests of Alexander,* was known in Hebrew, and published in many versions. This work, which originated in Hellenistic literature, is known in Greek as the *Pseudo-Callisthenes*; it was written around 300 C.E. by an anonymous Alexandrian author. According to W. van Bekkum, one of the recensions of the Greek text was believed to have been done by a Jew who added new elements taken from Josephus and the rabbinic literature, but Trumpf has proven that it was written by a Christian author who used the Septuagint. Some of the Hebrew versions seem to draw upon the *Pseudo-Callisthenes*, but most of them are based on the Latin version, the *Historia de proeliis Alexandri Magni*, a recension of the Latin translation by Archpresbyter Leo of Naples (mid-10th century). It seems that at least one version was translated into Hebrew from the Arabic, itself a translation of the Latin version. There are five printed versions of the Hebrew text of the *Gests of Alexander* (and others in manuscript):

(a) In the 12th century a version of this work was included in the *Josippon (written 200 years earlier) and became in this way part of Hebrew historical literature.

(b) Israel Lévi printed a version from an Arabic translation attributed to Samuel ibn Tibbon, based on the Latin *Historia de proeliis.* It was a deficient edition of the Ms. Héb. 671.5 in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, of the *Sefer Toledot Alexander* (*Kovez al Jad*, 2 (1886), 1–82). A critical edition of the same manuscript was published, with English translation, by Wout Jac. van Bekkum: *A Hebrew Alexander Romance according to Ms. Héb. 671,5 Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale* (Groningen, Styx Publications, 1994). According to the editor, there is a tendency to cleanse the Hebrew text of mention of paganism and idolatry in the Latin text, although some of the pagan names still remain.

(c) Wout Jac. van Bekkum also published the first critical edition of the Alexander Romance according to another London Ms.: *A Hebrew Alexander Romance according to Ms. London Jews' College no. 145* (Leuven, Uitgeverij Peeters en Departement Oriëntalistik, 1992). This manuscript is also based on the Latin translation by Leo of Naples, but it represents a different version of the Hebrew translation, with its own characteristics.

(d) I.J. Kazis printed a Hebrew version (1962) based on the Paris manuscript Ms. Héb. 750.3, translated by Immanuel b. Jacob *Bonfils (mid-14th century) from the same Latin text of the *Historia de proeliis*, which was compiled from other sources as well.

(e) Another version, printed also by I. Lévi (in: *Festschrift… Steinschneider* (1896), 142–63), based on the Ms. 53 of the Estense Library in Modena, seems to be unrelated to the Latin text; Lévi conjectured that this version may be derived directly from the Greek *Pseudo-Callisthenes.* Its story is more imaginative and fanciful than that of the other versions, and has sometimes parallels with texts in the Talmud and Midrash. Two more manuscripts have, according to W. van Bekkum, a similar nature: Ms. Héb. D.11 from the Bodleian Library, Oxford, and another one from Damascus.

Besides being popular as a novel, the *Gests of Alexander,* constructed from hundreds of stories which can exist independently, was also used in Hebrew literature as a source for short stories. The name of the hero, Alexander, is often omitted and only the plot proves its origin in this romance (e.g., *Sefer Ḥasidim*, 379).

[Joseph Dan / Angel Saenz-Badillos (2nd ed.)]

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ALEXANDER LYSIMACHUS (Gr. Ἀλέξανδρος Λυσίμαχος), a leader of the Jewish community in Alexandria, Egypt, in the first century C.E., and a member of one of the most illustrious and wealthy Alexandrian Jewish families. Alexander was the brother of *Philo of Alexandria and the father of *Tiberius Julius Alexander and Marcus Julius Alexander. He served as *alabarch during the reigns of Tiberius and Claudius. He was imprisoned by Caligula, but Claudius released him and restored him to office. Alexander also served the younger Antonia, Claudius' mother, as procurator of her large estates in Egypt. When Marcus Julius Agrippa was on his way to Rome, he visited Alexandria and asked Alexander for a loan; Alexander lent the sum to Agrippa's wife *Cypros. He made a gift to the Temple, plating its gates with gold and silver.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Jos., Ant., 18:159–60; 19:276; 20:100; Jos., Wars, 5:205; A. Fuks, in: *Zion*, 13 (1948), 15–17; Schuerer, Gesch, 1 (1904^4), 567; 2 (1907^4), 64; 3 (1909^4), 64, 132, 134; V. Burr, *Tiberius Julius Alexander* (Ger., 1955).

[Abraham Schalit]

°**ALEXANDER OF APHRODISIAS** (end of second century–beginning of third century C.E.), Greek philosopher, commentator on the writings of *Aristotle, and author of independent works. Alexander was important for his systematization of Aristotle's thought and for the formulation of a number of distinct doctrines, especially in psychology. A number of his commentaries and independent works were translated into Arabic, and the views contained in them became an important part of medieval Islamic and Jewish Aristotelianism. The first book of Alexander's *On the Soul* was translated into Hebrew by Samuel ben Judah of Marseilles from the Arabic translation made by Ḥunain ibn Isḥaq. This translation, which contains brief annotations, was completed in 1323 in Murça and a revised version of it was finished in 1339–40 in Montùlimar.

Alexander, it was commonly thought, wrote a second book in psychology, called *Treatise on the Intellect*, and it circulated in Arabic translation. Averroes wrote a commentary to this work that was translated into Hebrew and is extant in manuscript only with the supercommentaries of *Moses b. Joshua of Narbonne (1344) and Joseph b. Shem Tov *Ibn Shem Tov (1454). H.A. Davidson edited the Averroean portions of the commentary themselves, without these supercommentaries, in 1988.

*Maimonides' estimation of Alexander may be gathered from a famous letter which he wrote to Samuel ibn *Tibbon. Evaluating the philosophical literature of the day, Maimonides advises his translator that for a correct understanding of Aristotle's teachings he should read, beside the commentaries of *Themistius and Averroes, also those of Alexander (A. Marx, in JQR, 25 (1934/35), 378). Maimonides used works by Alexander in the composition of his *Guide*, and Alexander's views formed part of Maimonides' own brand of Aristotelianism (for details see S. Pines, "Translator's Introduction," *Guide of the Perplexed* (1963), IXIV–IXXV). Maimonides cites Alexander as his source for his discussion of the factors which prevent man from discovering the truth (Guide 1:31), for his account of the celestial motions and intelligences (2:3), for his knowledge of the views of certain Greek philosophers (2:13), and for his discussion of God's knowledge (3:16). Alexander may also have influenced Maimonides' views on religion and political history, particularly the view that God used "wily graciousness" in bringing man from inferior forms of worship to more adequate ones (3:32).

Of special importance for Jewish philosophers was Alexander's doctrine of the intellect, discussed in detail particularly by *Gersonides (*Wars of the Lord*, Book 1). Aristotle's views (especially *De Anima* 3:5) were rather enigmatic. Central to Aristotle's discussion was the distinction between the agent intellect (*nous poietikos*) and the passive intellect (*nous pathetikos*). Interpreting Aristotle's views, Alexander held that the agent intellect did not form part of the individual human soul, but was identical with the intellect of God; while the passive intellect belonged to the soul as a mere predisposition or ability for thought. The passive intellect was also called material or hylic intellect (*nous hylikos*), and when actualized by the agent intellect became the acquired intellect (*nous epiktetos*) or intellect in habit (*nous kath'hexin*). The passive intellect, according to Alexander, being part of the individual human soul, is, like it, mortal; only the acquired intellect is immortal, insofar as the objects of its thought are the immaterial beings, in particular, God. While Alexander's doctrine of the intellect was more precise than that of Aristotle, it contained enough ambiguities to give rise to further refinements on the part of Islamic and Jewish philosophers.

Jewish, as Islamic, philosophers accepted Alexander's notion of the agent intellect, but instead of identifying it with God, they identified it with the lowest of the celestial intelligences, which, on the one hand, governs the sublunar world, and, on the other, is a causal agent in the production of human knowledge (see also *cosmology). The agent intellect is also important to Jewish Aristotelians for its roles in the production of prophecy. While there was general agreement about the nature of the agent intellect, there was disagreement about the nature of the passive one. Alexander's acquired intellect became a commonplace in Jewish philosophy, though the medievals refined this notion by distinguishing between the intellect in actuality, and the acquired intellect. Medieval philosophers disagreed about the exact nature of the acquired intellect, but it became important for their doctrine of the immortality of the *soul and the world to come (for details see *Intellect, Doctrines of).

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[Julius Guttmann / Alfred L. Ivry (2nd ed.)]

°**ALEXANDER OF HALES** (d. 1245), English scholastic philosopher and theologian. Alexander joined the Franciscan order after 1230, while teaching at the Faculty of Divinity in Paris. Since he did not complete his comprehensive work, *Summa universae theologiae* (4 vols., 1481–82; 1924–48), which was first edited by his pupils, the extent of his responsibility for the attitudes and opinions expressed in it, and according to which his personal character has been traced, remains controversial. The section on Jews in Christian society confirms the ecclesiastical tradition of restricted toleration. The existence of the Jewish people serves as lasting witness to the origins of Christianity; their conversion at the end of days, according to the teaching of St. Paul, will mean the conclusion of mankind's salvation. Therefore, a definite distinction is drawn between the believers in the Old Testament and the Saracens, who then occupied the Holy Land. Obviously, this remark had a topical relevance in the period when Louis IX was preparing another Crusade. Jewish blasphemies against Christ must be severely punished, if made in public, but not more severely than those committed by Christians. Books containing such utterances must be burned.

Alexander's *Summa* originated at a time when the Talmud and post-biblical Jewish literature were under attack. Thus, although the *Summa* uses *Maimonides' *Dux neutrorum (Guide of the Perplexed)* as a source of philosophical doctrine, especially in the discussion of cosmological questions, the author was reticent in identifying the source of his doctrines. Jacob Guttmann found Maimonides mentioned only twice, although soon afterward his name became a household word among the masters of the schools. Most striking is the use of Maimonides' reflections on the meaning of biblical commandments, intended to affirm the Old Testament's character as divine revelation, in opposition to the dualistic theories of contemporary heretics. In this context "Rabbi Moyses Judaeus" is mentioned by name with his differentiation of *judicia* and *caerimonialia.* This interest in the teachings of the third book of the *Dux (Guide)* prepared the way for *Aquinas' interpretation of Deuteronomy as the model of his social theory. Alexander was also influenced by Ibn *Gabirol (Avicebron), although he does not mention this philosopher by name.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: J. Guttmann, *Die Scholastik des XIII. Jahrhunderts in ihren Beziehungen zum Judenthum und zur juedischen Literatur* (1902), 32–46; idem, in: REJ, 19 (1889), 224–34.

[Hans Liebeschutz]

°**ALEXANDER POLYHISTOR** (first century B.C.E.), Greek scholar. Alexander was born in Miletus in Asia Minor. He was taken prisoner by the Romans, but was later freed, and continued to live in Italy as a Roman citizen until his death (c. 35 B.C.E.). He was called Polyhistor (very learned) because of the wide variety of subjects on which he wrote. His works included three volumes on Egypt, one on Rome, and a work entitled "Concerning the Jews." This last work reflects the growing Roman interest in the Jewish people at the time of Pompey's conquest of Judea. Lengthy fragments from this work have been preserved by *Eusebius (*Praeparatio evangelica*, 9), and by Clement of Alexandria. From these it seems apparent that he combined relevant excerpts from Jewish, Samaritan, and gentile writers and reproduced them in indirect speech. Thus, valuable fragments of the writings of Hellenistic-Jewish authors have been preserved of which nothing would otherwise be known. Alexander cites the historians *Aristeas, *Demetrius, *Eupolemus, and *Artapanus, the tragic poet *Ezekiel, the epic poets *Theodotus and *Philo the Elder, as well as non-Jewish writers such as the historian Timochares, author of "The History of Antiochus," and *Apollonius Molon.

It seems that Alexander made little original contribution to the subject. In his works he made indiscriminate use of traditions both favorable and hostile to the Jews. He also dealt with the Jews in other works. In his book on Rome he states that a Jewish woman named Moso wrote the Law of the Hebrews, i.e., the Torah (see Suidas, s.v. ᾿Αλέξανδρος ὁ Μιλήσιος). Although Alexander was fully aware of the Jewish tradition concerning Moses, he appears to have seen nothing wrong in quoting a conflicting tradition from a non-Jewish source. His explanation that Judea was named after one of Semirasis' sons must have been taken from a similar source (quoted in Stephanus Byzantinus' exposition on Judea).

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[Menahem Stern]

ALEXANDER SON OF ARISTOBULUS II (d. 49 B.C.E.), one of the last of the *Hasmoneans. Alexander, eldest son of Aristobulus II, was the son-in-law of *Hyrcanus II. His wife, *Alexandra, was the mother of *Mariamne, wife of *Herod the Great. As a result of the struggle between Aristobulus II and Hyrcanus II for the throne of Judea, Alexander was sent by Pompey in 63 B.C.E. as a captive to Rome – with his father and the rest of his family. He escaped on the way and returned to Judea, where he succeeded in mustering an army of 10,000 infantry and 1,500 cavalry, and in occupying the strongholds of Alexandreion, Hyrcania, and Machaerus. *Gabinius, recently arrived in Syria as proconsul, collected a force to oppose him and sent his adjutant Mark Anthony ahead. Anthony equipped an additional Jewish contingent under the Jewish commanders Peitholaus and Malichus. Gabinius defeated Alexander's army in the vicinity of Jerusalem, and the remnant fled to Alexandreion. Besieging the fortress, Gabinius promised Alexander his freedom and an amnesty for his troops if he surrendered. His mother also pleaded with Alexander to accept this condition and he left Alexandreion which was then razed to the ground by Gabinius. Gabinius thereupon introduced a much more stringent administrative system than was in force earlier.

Alexander rebelled a second time in 55 B.C.E., when Gabinius was in Egypt. He again mustered a large force and began to drive the Romans from Judea. Gabinius returned and immediately advanced to meet Alexander. He employed *Antipater to persuade Alexander's army to desert to Hyrcanus. Alexander, however, still had thirty thousand men left and he met in battle the armies of Gabinius and Hyrcanus at

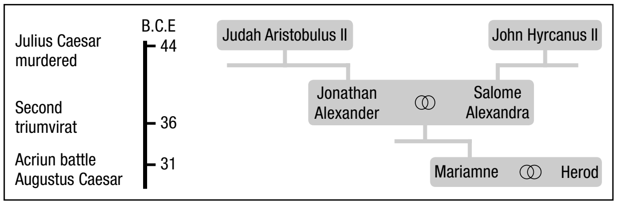

Mt. Tabor and was defeated. The defeat shattered Alexander's resources. Antipater, however, succeeded in effecting a reconciliation between Alexander and Hyrcanus, by arranging a marriage between Alexander and Hyrcanus' daughter Alexandra, which might eventually enable Alexander to become high priest. When civil war broke out in Rome between Julius Caesar and Pompey in 49 B.C.E., Pompey ordered his father-in-law Q. Caecilius Metellus Scipio, then proconsul in Syria, to put Alexander to death in Antiochia.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Jos., Ant., 14:80–125; Jos., Wars, 1:160–85; A.H.M. Jones, *The Herods of Judaea* (1938); Klausner, Bayit Sheni, 3 (1950²), 236ff.; Schuerer, Gesch, 1 (1901⁴), 338ff.; Graetz, Gesch, 3 (1905⁵), 166–7, 171ff.; A.Schalit, *Hordos ha-Melekh* (1964³), 26ff.

[Abraham Schalit]

ALEXANDER SUSLIN HA-KOHEN OF FRANKFURT (d. 1349), German talmudic scholar. Alexander was born in Erfurt and taught there as well as in Worms, Cologne, and Frankfurt. Although he was apparently still in Frankfurt in 1345 he sometime toward the end of his life resettled in Erfurt where he died a martyr's death. He is the last of the early German halakhic authorities. Alexander's fame rests upon his *Aguddah* (Cracow, 1571; photostatic copy 1958; critical annotated edition, Jerusalem, 1966–), a collection of halakhic decisions derived from talmudic discussions and arranged in the order of the tractates of the Talmud. It includes novellae (his own as well as those of some of his predecessors), and a commentary and collection of *halakhot* to the minor tractates and to the Mishnayot of the orders *Zera'im* and *Tohorot.* The language is very concise and it can be seen that he wrote it in great haste, under the stress of the expulsions and persecutions of his time. Indeed the purpose of the book is to give halakhic rulings in a concise form, ignoring differences of opinion, for a generation which was harassed and persecuted. His sources are *Mordecai b. Hillel ha-Kohen and *Aher b. Jehiel, and they often have to be consulted in order to understand him. The *Aguddah* was published in 1571 from a defective and faulty manuscript by Joseph ha-Kohen, brother-in-law of Moses *Isserles, who attempted to correct the text, but with only partial success. A digest, called *Ḥiddushei Aguddah*, compiled by Jacob Weil, was published as an appendix to his responsa (Venice, 1523), and has been frequently reprinted. *Aguddah* on the order of *Nezikin*, with notes by J.H. Sonnenfeld, came out in Jerusalem, 1899. The later halakhic authorities attached great value to his works; Jacob ha-Levi Moellin and Moses Isserles (in his glosses to the Shulḥan Arukh) in particular regarded his decisions as authoritative, and quote from him, although they were aware of his sources. He was eulogized in a dirge *Ẓiyyon Arayyavekh Bekhi* (published in the addenda to Landshut's *Ammudei ha-Avodah* (p. III–IV)).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Abramson, in: *Sinai*, 58 (1956), 188–91; M. Horovitz, *Frankfurter Rabbinen*, 1 (1892), vii, 9.

ALEXANDER SUSSKIND BEN MOSES OF GRODNO (d. 1793), Lithuanian kabbalist. Alexander lived a secluded life in Grodno, never engaging in light conversation so as not to be deterred from study and prayer. Many stories were told about him. According to a well-substantiated one, several days before Passover in 1790, a Jewish victim of a blood libel was sentenced to death unless he agreed to convert. Alexander, afraid the condemned man would be unable to withstand the ordeal, obtained permission to visit him in prison, and persuaded him to choose martyrdom. The execution was scheduled for the second day of Shavuot; on that day Alexander left the synagogue in the middle of the service for the place of execution, heard the condemned man recite the prayer of martyrdom, said "Amen," and returned to the synagogue, reciting the memorial prayer for the martyr's soul. The second incident relates that Alexander was imprisoned in a German town for soliciting money for the Jews of Ereẓ Israel, as it was illegal to send money out of Germany. On being freed, he immediately resumed collecting, ignoring the danger involved.

Alexander's most important work, *Yesod ve-Shoresh ha-Avodah* (Novy Dvor, 1782; corrected edition, Jerusalem, 1959), a book of ethics, touches upon many aspects of Jewish life. It is divided into 12 sections, the final section *Sha'ar ha-Kolel*, concluding with an account of the coming of the Messiah. According to the author, the basis of divine worship is love of God and love of the Jewish people. Alexander emphasizes that a Jew must be grieved at the contempt in which the God of Israel and the people of Israel are held among the Gentiles, who persecute the chosen people and then ask mockingly, "Where is your God?" He speaks often and with great sorrow of the desolation of the holy city of Jerusalem and of Ereẓ Israel and extols "the greatness of the virtue of living in the Land of Israel." In Alexander's view, the essence of observance is intent (*kavvanah*); the deed alone, without intention, is meaningless. For this reason, he insisted on clear and meticulous enunciation of each word in prayer, giving many examples of how words are distorted in the course of praying. He also laid down a specific order of study: Talmud, *musar,* literature, and then Kabbalah. He emphasizes the need for study of the geography of the Bible.

Alexander was rigid in the matter of religious observance, threatening violators with severe retribution in the hereafter. He asked every Jew to resign himself to "the four forms of capital punishment of the *bet din*" and in his will he ordered that upon his death his body be subjected to stoning. Yet the central theme of his work is "worship the Lord in joy." His ideas make Alexander's writings closely akin to the basic tenets of Ḥasidism and *Naḥman of Bratslav said of him, "he was a Ḥasid even before there was Ḥasidism." In annotated prayer books, especially in those of the Sephardi rite, his *Kavvanot ha-Pashtiyyut*, the "intent" of the text of the prayers as set forth in the *Yesod ve-Shoresh ha-Avodah*, is appended to most of the prayers. He was deeply revered and as long as there was a Jewish community in Grodno, men and women went to pray at his grave. Descendants of his family who originally went by the name of Braz (initials for Benei Rabbi Alexander Zusskind) later assumed the name Braudes.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: S.A. Friedenstein, *Ir Gibborim* (1880), 62–63; A. Susskind b. Moses, *Ẓavva'ah*, ed. by A.L. Miller (1927), 5–8 (introd.); J. Klausner, *Darki Likrat ha-Ge'ullah ve-ha-Teḥiyyah* (1945), 9–10, 84; Klausner, Sifrut, 5 (1955^{2}), 347; idem, in: *Sefer Assaf* (1953), 427–32; Benjacob, Oẓar, 226, no. 319, 506, no. 40.

[Joseph Gedaliah Klausner]

ALEXANDER THE ZEALOT, joint leader, with *Eleazar b. Dinai, of an armed band of Jews during the administration of the Roman procurator Ventidius *Cumanus (48–52 C.E.). They led a punitive expedition after a group of Galilean Jewish pilgrims had been murdered while passing through Samaria on their way to Jerusalem to celebrate one of the festivals. Cumanus, bribed by the Samaritans, took no steps to punish the guilty parties. The Jews thereupon abandoned the celebration of the festival and, under the leadership of Alexander and Eleazar, attacked several Samaritan villages, "massacred the inhabitants without distinction of age and burnt the villages." After a show of force by Cumanus and entreaties by the Jewish leaders of Jerusalem the armed bands dispersed, the zealots returning to their former strongholds in Judea.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Jos., Wars, 2:232ff.; Jos., Ant., 20:118–24, Schuerer, Gesch, 1 (1901^{4}), 569ff.

[Isaiah Gafni]

ALEXANDRA, Hasmonean princess, daughter of *Aristobulus II, king of Judea. Captured by Pompey, Alexandra was brought to Rome in 63 B.C.E. together with her father, her two sisters, and her brother *Antigonus II. The family was released in 56 B.C.E. and returned to Jerusalem. After the death of her father in 49 B.C.E., Alexandra was sent with Antigonus and her two sisters to Chalcis in Lebanon at the invitation of its ruler, Ptolemy, the son of Mennaeus. Alexandra married Ptolemy's son, Philippion. But Ptolemy, jealous of his son, executed him, and then married Alexandra himself. Nothing more is known of her.

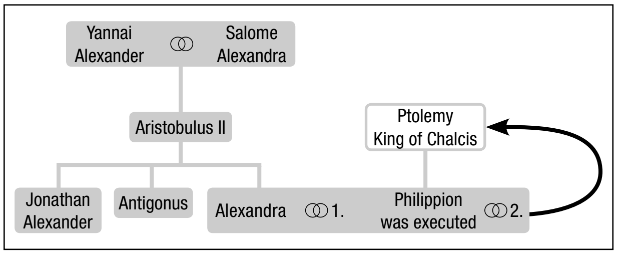

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Jos., Ant., 14:79, 126; A. Schalit, *Hordos ha-Melekh* (1964^{3}), 29; Klausner, Bayit Sheni, 3 (1950^{2}), 226; Schuerer, Gesch, 1 (1901^{4}), 300.

[Abraham Schalit]

ALEXANDRA (d. 28 B.C.E.), daughter of *Hyrcanus II; wife of *Alexander, the son of Aristobulus II; and mother of Aristobulus III and of *Mariamne, Herod's wife. Alexandra regarded Herod's appointment of the Babylonian (or Egyptian) Ananel (Hananel) to the high priesthood as a violation of the Hasmonean family's right of succession to the office and attempted to secure it for her son Aristobulus. Though Herod acceded to her request, he was unable to forgive her, and did not allow her to leave the palace. When Alexandra tried to escape with her son, Herod foiled the attempt. He then affected a reconciliation. When, however, her son was drowned in a swimming pool, Alexandra accused Herod before Cleopatra of engineering his death and asked her to have Mark Antony charge Herod with the murder. Herod was summoned to Laodicea, but cleared himself by bribery.

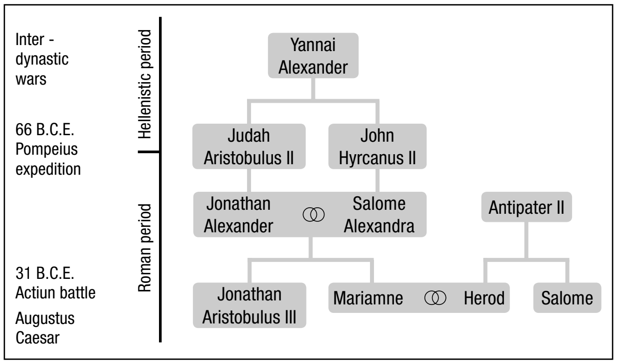

After the battle of Actium (31 B.C.E.), it seemed certain that Herod could not escape punishment, since he had sided with Antony against Octavian (Augustus). When Herod returned from a meeting with Octavian with added honors, Herod's sister Salome, Queen Mariamne's implacable enemy, slandered her and Alexandra to her brother, and Mariamne was condemned to death for treason. According to Josephus' biased account, Alexandra escaped the same fate by dishonorably accusing her condemned daughter of disloyalty to her husband. Her own fate was not long delayed. After Mariamne's death Herod fell ill and appeared likely to die. Alexandra, thinking that her opportunity had now come, attempted to obtain control of the two fortresses in Jerusalem. When this was reported to Herod, he ordered her immediate execution. With Alexandra's death, the last member of the Hasmonean dynasty to play an active role in history disappeared. Alexandra cannot be considered exceptionally sagacious or gifted with insight into Herod's character. In all, she seemed to resemble her grandfather Alexander Yannai; she was courageous, but lacked flexibility and guile, and hence was no match for Herod.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Jos., Ant., 15:23, 80, 232ff., 247ff.; Klausner, Bayit Sheni, 4 (1950^{2}), 12ff.; Graetz, Gesch, 3 (1905^{5}), 186, 199ff., 216ff.; Schuerer, Gesch, 1 (1901), 378ff., 386; H. Willrich, *Das Haus des Herodes* (1929), 48ff.; A.H.M. Jones, *The Herods of Judaea* (1938), 52ff., 58, 61; A. Schalit, *Hordos ha-Melekh* (1964^{3}), index; Pauly-Wissowa, suppl. 3 (1918), 79.

[Abraham Schalit]

ALEXANDRI (**Alexandrah**, **Alexandrai**, **Alexandros**; third century), Palestinian *amora*. He was a leading aggadist of his day. Many of the scholars who quote Alexandri belong to the *amoraim* who centered around the academy at Lydda. It is therefore probable that Alexandri came from Lydda. It is related that he used to go about the streets of the town urging people to perform good deeds. He once entered the marketplace and called out: "Who wants life?" When the people answered him affirmatively he responded by quoting the verse: "Who is the man that desireth life … Keep thy tongue from evil, and thy lips from speaking guile. Depart from evil and do good; Seek peace and pursue it" (Ps. 34:13–15; Av. Zar. 19b). Many of Alexandri's homiletical dissertations are based on the book of Psalms. "Break Thou the arm of the wicked" (Ps. 10:15) is quoted by him as an indictment of profiteering. From Psalms 16:10 he derived that whoever hears himself reviled and does not resent it deserves to be called pious (*ḥasid*). He also said: "When man uses a broken vessel he is ashamed of it, but not so God. All the instruments of His service are broken vessels, as it is said: 'The Lord is nigh unto them that are of a broken heart' (Ps. 34:19); or 'Who healeth the broken in heart'" (Ps. 147:3, PR 25:158b).

He customarily concluded his daily prayers: "Sovereign of the Universe, it is known full well to Thee that it is our desire to perform Thy will, and what prevents us? The yeast in the dough (i.e., the evil inclination which acts as a fermenting and corrupting agent) and subjection to foreign rule. May it be Thy will to deliver us from their hand, so that we may be enabled to perform the statutes of Thy will with a perfect heart" (Ber. 17a).

No details of his life are known, except that his statement "The world is darkened for him whose wife has died in his days" (Sanh. 22a) may have had a personal application. Scholars by the name of Alexandri b. Haggai (b. Ḥagra, b. Ḥadrin), Alexandri "Kerovah" ("the hymnologist"), and Alexandri de-Zaddika ("the Just"), are mentioned in isolated talmudic passages and one of these may be identical with this Alexandri.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Hyman, Toledot, s.v.; Bacher, Pal Amor, index.

[Yitzhak Dov Gilat]

ALEXANDRIA, city in northern *Egypt.

Ancient Period

Jews settled in Alexandria at the beginning of the third century B.C.E. (according to Josephus, already in the time of Alexander the Great). At first they dwelt in the eastern sector of the city, near the sea; but during the Roman era, two of its five quarters (particularly the fourth (= "Delta") quarter) were inhabited by Jews, and synagogues existed in every part of the city. The Jews of Alexandria engaged in various crafts and in commerce. They included some who were extremely wealthy (moneylenders, merchants, *alabarchs), but the majority were artisans. From the legal aspect, the Jews formed an autonomous community at whose head stood at first its respected leaders, afterward – the ethnarchs, and from the days of Augustus, a council of 71 elders. According to Strabo, the ethnarch was responsible for the general conduct of Jewish affairs in the city, particularly in legal matters and the drawing up of documents. Among the communal institutions worthy of mention were the *bet din* and the "archion" (i.e., the office for drawing up documents). The central synagogue, famous for its size and splendor, may have been the "double colonnade" (*diopelostion*) of Alexandria mentioned in the Talmud (Suk. 51b; Tosef. 4:6), though some think it was merely a large meeting place for artisans. During the Ptolemaic period relations between the Jews and the government were, in general, good. Only twice, in 145 and in 88 B.C.E., did insignificant clashes occur, seemingly with a political background. Many of the Jews even acquired citizenship in the city. The position of the Jews deteriorated at the beginning of the Roman era. Rome sought to distinguish between the Greeks, the citizens of the city to whom all rights were granted, and the Egyptians, upon whom a poll tax was imposed and who were considered a subject people. The Jews energetically began to seek citizenship rights, for only thus could they attain the status of the privileged Greeks. Meanwhile, however, *antisemitism had taken deep root. The Alexandrians vehemently opposed the entry of Jews into the ranks of the citizens. In 38 C.E., during the reign of *Caligula, serious riots broke out against the Jews. Although antisemitic propaganda had paved the way for them, the riots themselves became possible as a result of the attitude of the Roman governor, Flaccus. Many Jews were murdered, their notables were publicly scourged, synagogues were defiled and closed, and all the Jews were confined to one quarter of the city. On Caligula's death, the Jews armed themselves and after receiving support from their fellow Jews in Egypt and Ereẓ Israel fell upon the Greeks. The revolt was suppressed by the Romans. The emperor Claudius restored to the Jews of Alexandria the religious and national rights of which they had been deprived at the time of the riots, but forbade them to claim any extension of their citizenship rights. In 66 C.E., influenced by the outbreak of the war in Ereẓ Israel, the Jews of Alexandria rebelled against Rome. The revolt was crushed by *Tiberius Julius Alexander and 50,000 Jews were killed (Jos., Wars, 2:497). During the widespread rebellion of Jews in the Roman Empire in 115–117 C.E. the Jews of Alexandria again suffered, the great synagogue going up in flames. As a consequence of these revolts, the economic situation of the community was undermined and its population diminished. See also *Diaspora.

[Avigdor (Victor) Tcherikover]

Alexandrians in Jerusalem

During the period of the Second Temple the Jews of Alexandria were represented in Jerusalem by a sizable community. References to this community, while not numerous, can be divided into two distinct categories: (1) The Alexandrian community as a separate congregation. According to Acts 6:9, the apostles in Jerusalem were opposed by "certain of the synagogue, which is called the synagogue of the Libertines and Cyrenians and Alexandrians, and of them of Cilicia and of Asia." The Alexandrian synagogue and congregation are mentioned in talmudic sources as well: "Eleazar b. Zadok bought a synagogue of the Alexandrians in Jerusalem" (Tosef. Meg. 3:6;

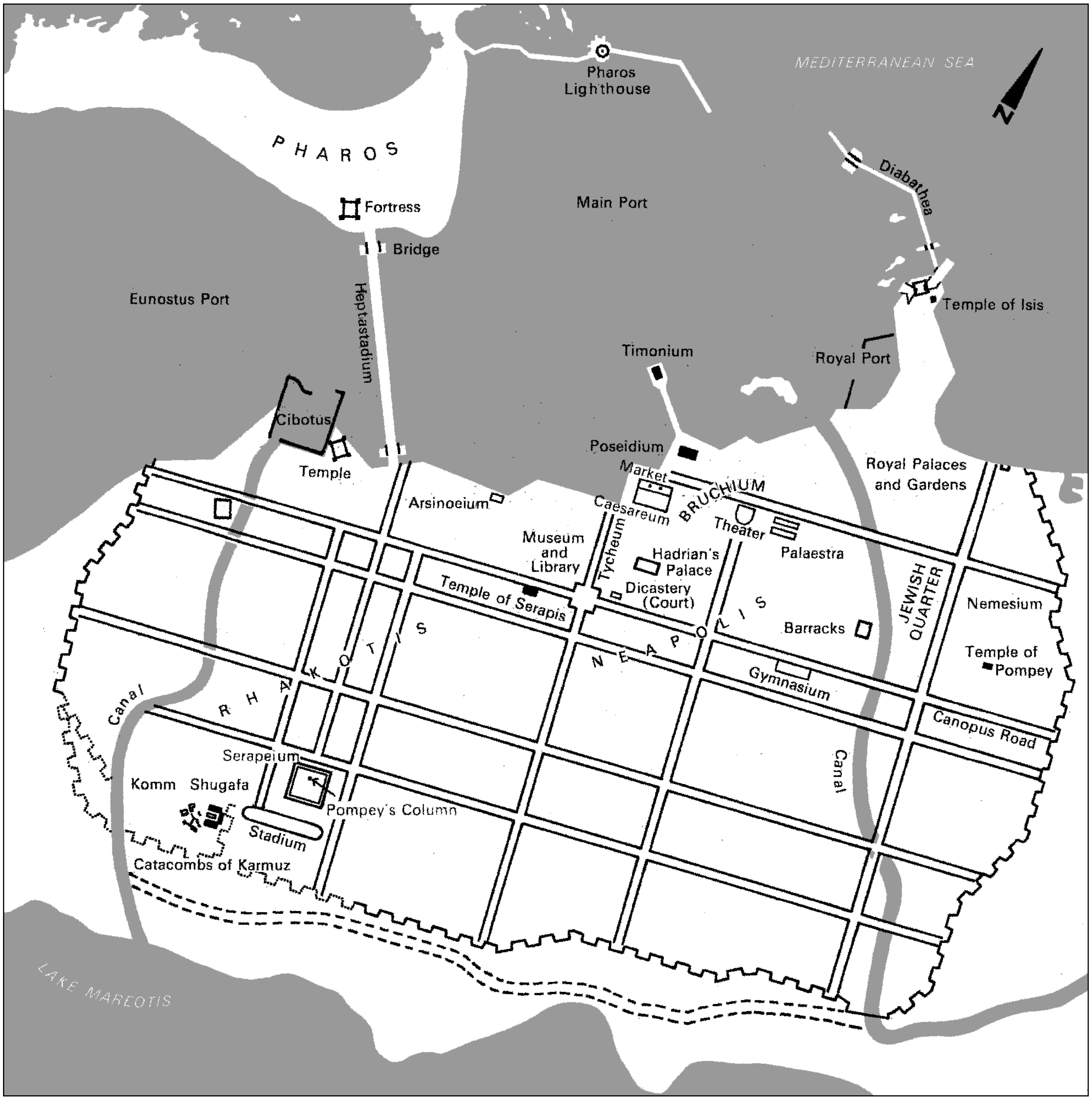
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
N
Pharos Lighthouse
PHAROS
Fortress
Bridge
Main Port
Diabathea
Temple of Isis
Eunostus Port
Heptastadium
Timonium
Royal Port
Cibotus
Temple
Poseidium
Market
BRUCHIUM
Royal Palaces and Gardens
Arsinoeium
Caesareum
Theater
Palaestra
Museum and Library
Tycheum
Hadrian's Palace
Dicastery (Court)
Temple of Serapis
JEWISH QUARTER
Nemesium
RHAKOTIS
NEAPOLIS
Barracks
Temple of Pompey
Gymnasium
Canopus Road
Canal
Canal
Serapeium
Komm Shugafa
Pompey's Column
Stadium
Catacombs of Karmuz
LAKE MAREOTIS

Alexandria in early Christian times.

cf. TJ Meg. 3:1, 73d). (2) References to particular Alexandrians. During Herod's reign several prominent Alexandrian Jewish families lived in Jerusalem. One was that of the priest Boethus whose son Simeon was appointed high priest by Herod. Another family of high priests, the "House of Phabi," was likewise of Jewish-Egyptian origin, although it is not certain whether they came from Alexandria. According to *Parah* 3:5, Ḥanamel the high priest, who had been appointed by Herod in place of Aristobulus the Hasmonean, was an Egyptian, also probably from Alexandria. "*Nicanor's Gate" in the Temple was named after another famous Alexandrian Jew. Rabbinic sources describe at length the miracles surrounding him and the gates he brought from Alexandria (Mid. 1:4; 2:3; Yoma 3:10; Yoma 38a). In 1902 the family tomb of Nicanor was discovered in a cave just north of Jerusalem. The inscription found there reads: "The bones of the sons of Nicanor the Alexandrian who built the gates. Nicanor Alexa."

[Isaiah Gafni]

Jewish Culture

The Greek-speaking Jews of Alexandria were familiar with the works of the ancient Greek poets and philosophers and acknowledged their universal appeal. They would not, however, give up their own religion, nor could they accept the prevailing Hellenistic culture with its polytheistic foundations and pagan practice. Thus they came to create their own version of Hellenistic culture. They contended that Greek philosophy had derived its concepts from Jewish sources and that there was no contradiction between the two systems of thought. On the other hand, they also gave Judaism an interpretation of their own, turning the Jewish concept of God into an abstraction and His relationship to the world into a subject of metaphysical speculation. Alexandrine Jewish philosophers stressed the universal aspects of Jewish law and the prophets, de-emphasized the national Jewish aspects of Jewish religion, and sought to provide rational motives for Jewish religious practice. In this manner they sought not only to defend themselves against the onslaught of the prevailing pagan culture, but also to spread monotheism and respect for the high moral and ethical values of Judaism. The basis of Jewish-Hellenistic literature was the Septuagint, the Greek translation of the Bible, which was to become the cornerstone of a new world culture (see *Bible: Greek translations). The apologetic tendency of Jewish-Hellenistic culture is clearly discernible in the Septuagint. Alexandrine Jewish literature sought to express the concepts of the Jewish-Hellenistic culture and to propagate these concepts among Jews and Gentiles. Among these Jewish writers there were poets, playwrights, and historians; but it was the philosophers who made a lasting contribution. *Philo of Alexandria was the greatest among them, but also the last of any significance. After him, Alexandrine Jewish culture declined. See also *Hellenism.

Byzantine Period

By the beginning of the Byzantine era, the Jewish population had again increased, but suffered from the persecutions of the Christian Church. In 414, in the days of the patriarch Cyril, the Jews were expelled from the city but appear to have returned after some time since it contained an appreciable Jewish population when it was conquered by the Muslims.

Arab Period

According to Arabic sources, there were about 400,000 Jews in Alexandria at the time of its conquest by the Arabs (642), but 70,000 had left during the siege. These figures are greatly exaggerated, but they indicate that in the seventh century there was still a large Jewish community. Under the rule of the caliphs the community declined, both demographically and culturally. J. *Mann concluded from a *genizah* document of the 11th century that there were 300 Jewish families in Alexandria, but this seems improbable. The same is true for the statement of *Benjamin of Tudela, who visited the town in about 1170 and speaks of 3,000 Jews living there. In any case, throughout the Middle Ages there was a well-organized Jewish community there with rabbis and scholars. Various documents of the Cairo *Genizah* mention the name of Mauhub ha-Ḥazzan b. Aaron ha-Ḥazzan, a *dayyan* of the community in about 1070–80. In the middle of the 12th century Aaron He-Ḥaver Ben Yeshuʿah *Alamani, physician and composer of *piyyutim*, was the spiritual head of the Alexandrian Jews. Contemporary with *Maimonides (late 12th century) were the *dayyanim* Phinehas b. Meshullam, originally from Byzantium, and *Anatoli b. Joseph from southern France, and contemporary with Abraham the son of *Maimonides was the *dayyan* Joseph b. Gershom, also a French Jew. In this period the community of Alexandria maintained close relations with the Jews of Cairo and other cities of Egypt, to whom they applied frequently for help in ransoming Jews captured by pirates. A letter of 1028 mentions this situation; it also praises Nethanel b. Eleazar ha-Kohen, who had been helpful in the building of a synagogue, apparently the synagogue of the congregation of Palestinians that may have been destroyed during the persecution of the non-Muslims by the Fatimid caliph al-Ḥākim (c. 996–1021). In addition to this synagogue there was a smaller one, attested to in various medieval sources that mention two synagogues of Alexandria, one of them called "small." The Jews of Alexandria were engaged in the international trade centered in their city, and some of them held government posts.

Mamluk and Ottoman Periods

Under the rule of the Mamluk sultans (1250–1517), the Jewish population of Alexandria declined further, as did the general population. *Meshullam of Volterra, who visited it in 1481, found 60 Jewish families, but reported that the old men remembered the time when the community numbered 4,000. Although this figure is doubtless an exaggeration, it nevertheless testifies to the numerical decrease of the community in the later Middle Ages. In 1488 Obadiah of Bertinoro found 25 Jewish families in Alexandria. Many Spanish exiles, including merchants, scholars, and rabbis settled there in the 14th–15th centuries. The historian *Sambari (17th century) mentions among the rabbis of Alexandria at the end of the 16th century Moses b. Sason, Joseph Sagish, and Baruch b. Ḥabib. With the spread of the plague in 1602 most of the Jews left and did not return. After the Cossack persecutions of 1648–49 (see *Chmielnicki) some refugees from the Ukraine settled in Alexandria. During the 1660s the rabbi of the city was Joshua of Mantua, who became an ardent follower of *Shabbetai Ẓevi. In 1700 Jewish fishermen from *Rosetta (Rashīd) moved to Alexandria and formed a Jewish quarter near the seashore, and in the second half of the 18th century more groups of fishermen from Rosetta, *Damietta, and Cairo joined them; this Jewish quarter was destroyed by an earthquake. At the end of the 18th century the community was very small and it suffered greatly during the French conquest. Napoleon imposed heavy fines on the Jews and ordered the ancient synagogue, associated with the prophet Elijah, to be destroyed. In the first half of the 19th century under the rule of Muhammad ʿAli there was a new period of prosperity. The development of commerce brought great wealth to the Jews, as to the other merchants in the town; the community was reorganized and established schools, hospitals, and various associations. From 1871 to 1878 the Jewry of Alexandria was divided and existed as two separate communities. Among the rabbis of Alexandria in modern times were the descendants of the Israel family from Rhodes: Elijah, Moses, and Jedidiah Israel (served 1802–30), and Solomon Ḥazzan (1830–56), Moses Israel Ḥazzan (1856–63), and Bekhor Elijah Ḥazzan (1888–1908). As a result of immigration from Italy, particularly from Leghorn, the upper class of the community became to some extent Italianized. Rabbis from Italy included Raphael della Pergola (1910–23), formerly of Gorizia, and David *Prato (1926–37). Later rabbis were M. *Ventura and Aharon Angel. During World War I many Jews from Palestine who were not Ottoman citizens were exiled to Alexandria. In 1915 their leaders decided, under the influence of *Jabotinsky and *Trumpeldor, to form Jewish battalions to fight on the side of the Allies; the Zion Mule Corps was also organized in Alexandria.

[Eliyahu Ashtor]

Modern Times

In 1937, 24,690 Jews were living in Alexandria and in 1947, 21,128. The latter figure included 243 Karaites, who, unlike those of Cairo, were members of the Jewish community council. Ashkenazi Jews were also members of the council. According to the 1947 census, 59.1% of Alexandrian Jews were merchants, and 18.5% were artisans. Upon the outbreak of the Israeli War of Independence in 1948, several Jews were placed in detention camps, such as that at Abukir. Most of the detainees were released before 1950. There were several assaults on the Jewish community by the local population, including the throwing of a bomb into a synagogue in July 1951. With *Nasser's accession to power in February 1954, many Jews were arrested on charges of *Zionism, communism, and currency smuggling. After the *Sinai Campaign (1956), thousands of Jews were banished from the city, while others left voluntarily when the Alexandrian stock exchange ceased to function. The 1960 census showed that only 2,760 Jews remained. After the *Six-Day War of June 1967, about 350 Jews, including Chief Rabbi Nafusi, were interned in the Abu Za'bal detention camp, known for its severe conditions. Some of them were released before the end of 1967. The numbers dwindled rapidly; by 1970 very few remained and in 2005 just a few dozen, mostly elderly people.

[Haim J. Cohen]

Hebrew Press

The first Hebrew press of Alexandria was founded in 1862 by Solomon Ottolenghi from Leghorn. In its first year, it printed three books. A second attempt to found a Hebrew press in Alexandria was made in 1865. Nathan *Amram, chief rabbi of Alexandria, brought two printers from Jerusalem, Michael Cohen and Joel Moses Salomon, to print his own works. However, these printers only produced two books, returning to Jerusalem when the second was only half finished. A more successful Hebrew press was established in 1873 by Faraj Ḥayyim Mizraḥi, who came from Persia; his press continued to operate until his death in 1913, and his sons maintained it until 1916. Altogether, over 40 books were printed. In 1907 Jacob b. Attar from Meknés, Morocco, founded another press, which produced several dozen books. Apart from these main printing houses, from 1920 on the city had several small presses, each producing one or two books. A total of over 100 books for Jews were printed in Alexandria, most of them in Hebrew, the others in Judeo-Arabic and Ladino. Most of them were works by eminent Egyptian rabbis, prayer books, and textbooks.

[Avraham Yaari]

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ALEXANDRIAN MARTYRS, ACTS OF, genre of patriotic Alexandrian literature containing heavy overtones of antisemitism. This is known also as the "Acts of the Pagan Martyrs" (mistakenly, since the martyrdom has nothing to do with religion). Fragments of this literature were first published at the end of the 19th century. At that time the fragments were understood to be of a strictly official nature, in effect the protocols of numerous trials of Alexandrian representatives before the Roman Caesars. These missions would inevitably end in the execution of the delegates, thus arousing further the Alexandrians' hatred both of the emperor and his presumed allies, the Jews, although a number of specimens make no mention of their part in the proceedings. With the publication of additional fragments, this view was modified, and it is now accepted that "this genre has nothing to do with official documents, and the protocol form… is merely a literary disguise" (Tcherikover, Corpus, 2 (1960), 56).

The background for the various trials covers a period of 150 years. The earliest embassy is associated with *Caligula (37–41), the latest (*Acta Appiani*) probably refers to the emperor Commodus (180–192). However, the most widely discussed fragments are those belonging to the *Acta Isidori et Lamponis* (for literature see *ibid.*, 66–67). Isidoros, the head of the gymnasium of Alexandria, launched a vigorous attack against the Jewish king *Agrippa I, and summoned him before the court of Claudius. The dialogue between the emperor and Isidoros is heated. At one point Claudius refers to Isidoros as "the son of a girl-musician" (i.e., a woman of loose morals) whereupon the latter immediately rebuts: "I am neither a slave nor a girl-musician's son, but gymnasiarch of the glorious city of Alexandria. But you are the cast-off son of the Jewess Salome!" (*ibid.*, 80f.). Isidoros and his colleague Lampon were immediately sentenced to death. The trial probably took place in 41 C.E. (although many scholars favor 53), for in that year a series of debates on Jewish civic rights came before Claudius. It would be mistaken, however, to conclude from this document that all the Acts were aimed solely at arousing anti-Jewish sentiment. Tcherikover has shown clearly that antisemitism in the Acts "plays a secondary part only, the major theme of the work being the clash between the Alexandrians and Rome." The author's main purpose was to ridicule the Roman emperors, and for this purpose it was often sufficient to allude to the alleged cordial understanding between the emperors and the Jews.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: H.A. Musurillo, *The Acts of the Pagan Martyrs* (1954); Tcherikover, Corpus, 2 (1960), 55–107 nos. 154–9.

[Isaiah Gafni]

ALEXAS, friend of Herod the Great (37–4 B.C.E.) and husband of Herod's sister, Salome. Herod forced Salome to marry Alexas, after threatening her with open enmity if she refused. Apparently Alexas was among the dignitaries who became powerful under the patronage of the new Judean dynasty. According to Josephus, Herod gave Alexas instructions about the procedure to be followed after his death. Alexas seems to have wielded sufficient authority to secure the release of the prisoners whom Herod had ordered to be executed on the news of his death to insure that the nation would mourn. But the whole story is probably a malevolent legend without foundation. Alexas had a son named after him, but with the surname Helcias. This son, known as Helcias the "Elder" or "Great" (ὁ μέγας), was apparently among the important members of the house of Herod. He is also referred to as "Helcias the Prefect" (Ant., 19:353). By the third generation, the house of Alexas had already obtained Roman citizenship, for Helcias' son was named *Julius Archelaus. Josephus states that he was "well versed in Greek learning," and Archelaus was therefore among the first to receive the historian's works (Apion, 1:51).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Jos., Wars, 1:566, 660, 666; Jos., Ant., 17:10, 175, 193–4; 18:138; Stern, in: *Tarbiz*, 35 (1965/66), 243–5.

[Isaiah Gafni]

ALEXEYEV, ALEXANDER (1820–after 1886), apostate and Christian propagandist. He was born Wolf Nachlas into a ḥasidic family in Nezarinetz, Podolia, and became a Christian after his impressment into the Russian army. During his army service Alexeyev was made a noncommissioned officer for his zeal in persuading Jewish child conscripts to convert to Christianity. Later he became paralyzed and was discharged. Alexeyev was subsequently appointed to attend the *Saratov blood libel case (1853) as an expert. He wrote a pamphlet entitled "Do Jews Use Christian Blood for Religious Purposes?" (1886), which boldly defends the Jews against this particular accusation. Other writings, however, aimed at winning Jewish converts, attacked the Talmud and the rabbis in crude terms which made an impact at the time.

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ALFALAS, MOSES (late 16th century), preacher, lived in Tetuan, Spanish Morocco. Alfalas, in common with R. *Judah Loew of Prague, employed philosophical terms in his preaching, without retaining their accepted meaning. Many of his sermons were delivered in Salonika, and he probably lived there some time. His printed works are *Ho'il Moshe* (1597), 13 chapters of homiletic treatment of the midrashic sayings that refer to the meaning of the Torah and the relationship between Israel and the Torah; *Ba Gad* (printed together with the above), which contains seven chapters of homilies explaining the significance of the *milah* ("circumcision"); *Va-Yakhel Moshe* (1597), 25 homilies which he had preached in Venice, Salonika, Tetuan and other towns, including some homilies written by his students under his supervision. All three books include an index of contents and sources, compiled by Samuel ibn Dysoss.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Steinschneider, Cat Bod, 1769 no. 6428.

ALFANDARI, family originating in Andalusia, Spain, and claiming descent from the family of Bezalel of the tribe of Judah. After the Expulsion (1492) the family spread throughout the Turkish Empire and France. For many generations they were among the major scholars and communal leaders of Constantinople, Brusa (Bursa), Smyrna, Egypt, and Ereẓ Israel. The first member of the family of whom there is knowledge is ISAAC B. JUDAH, who died in Toledo (1241). JACOB B. SOLOMON of Valencia and Solomon Zarẓah translated *Sefer ha-Aẓamim*, attributed to Abraham *Ibn Ezra, from Arabic into Hebrew. The name "Alfandery" was known in 1506 both in Paris and in Avignon, and, in 1558, in Lyons. Variants are "Alfandaric" and "Alfandrec." Members of the family lived in Egypt immediately after the Expulsion from Spain at the end of the 15th century; they were primarily merchants. A 1515 document from Cairo mentions the merchant DAVID ALFANDARI. ISAAC, who traveled to Yemen on business, also lived there. Later, several members of this family immigrated to Egypt from Portugal, while some Marrano members of the family remained in Portugal. OBADIAH (mid-17th century), apparently a member of the Egyptian branch of the family, was the last marketer for the woolen industry in Safed, where he was known as "chief of the artisans." His business failed as a result of the exorbitant demands made upon him by the authorities in Safed, he left for Egypt, and it was on a journey from Egypt that he was robbed and murdered (c. 1661). JACOB (second half of 16th century), a noted scholar of the Turkish branch, was the father of two well-known rabbis, Ḥayyim and Shabbetai. ḤAYYIM (the Elder; 1588–1640) was a noted scholar, communal leader, and *dayyan* in Constantinople, his birthplace. He wrote a great number of responsa, four of which were in the possession of his grandson, Ḥayyim b. Isaac. Among his correspondents was Jacob di Trani. He also wrote commentaries to most of the talmudic tractates, as well as novellae on the Tur of Jacob b. Asher, but these have not survived. SHABBETAI, born c. 1590, achieved fame as a scholar in his youth, and corresponded with two of Safed's great scholars, *Ḥiyya Rofe and Yom Tov *Ẓahalon, with whom he developed close ties upon their visit to Constantinople. Ḥayyim the Elder's son JACOB *ALFANDARI was one of the leading scholars of Constantinople. Ḥayyim's other son, ISAAC RAPHAEL (c. 1622–c. 1687), studied under Joseph Trani and about 1665 was appointed rabbi of one of the congregations in Brusa, a position he held until his death. Isaac Raphael, whom A.M. Cardoso met in Brusa in 1681, is purported by the latter to have expressed his belief in Shabbetai Ẓevi to him, but this testimony is spurious. Isaac Raphael wrote many responsa and corresponded with Ḥayyim *Benveniste, who lauded him highly. His son Ḥayyim b. Issac *Alfandari was a noted scholar. ELIJAH B. JACOB ALFANDARI (1670?–1717), rabbi and halakhic authority, was *av bet din* in Constantinople, where he was born and died. He fought Shabbateanism. His works include *Seder Eliyahu Rabbah ve-Zuta* (1719) on the laws of *agunah* and *Mikhtav me-Eliyahu* (1723), on the laws of divorce. Approximately at the same time there were in Salonika two scholars, both among the most distinguished of Solomon b. Isaac ha-Levi's pupils: MOSES ALFANDARI, scholar and pietist, and his brother ISAAC.

ḤAYYIM ALFANDARI, known as "Rabbenu" to distinguish him from the Elder, was a rabbi in Jerusalem. In 1758 he was included among the members of Judah Navon's *bet midrash*, "Damesek Eliezer." He was also one of a delegation of the seven rabbis including Ḥ.J.D. *Azulai sent on a special mission to Constantinople (but getting no farther than Egypt) to oust the official representative of Jerusalem's "*Va'ad Pekidei Ereẓ Israel*." JOSEPH ALFANDARI (d. 1867), a *dayyan* and preacher in Constantinople, studied under Isaac *Attia, author of *Rov Dagan*. He wrote *Porat Yosef* (1868), responsa to which he appended his teacher's responsa, and talmudic novellae, and *Va-Yikra Yosef* (1877), homilies with some responsa.

SOLOMON B. ḤAYYIM ALFANDARY (d. 1773), rabbi and *dayyan* in Constantinople, signed documents and halakhic decisions along with the other rabbis of the community from 1746 to 1764. He later became chief rabbi. His two sons, who also served as rabbis in Constantinople, were RAPHAEL HEZEKIAH ḤAYYIM and ABRAHAM.

FERNAND ALFANDARY (1837–1910), a judge, was appointed to the Court de Cassation in Paris (1894).

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ALFANDARI, AARON BEN MOSES (1690?–1774), rabbi and author. He taught at the yeshivah of Smyrna, where he served as *dayyan.* About 1757 he settled in Hebron where he was appointed chief rabbi. He wrote *Yad Aharon*, an attempt to bring Ḥayyim *Benveniste's *Keneset ha-Gedolah* up to date by including later decisions as well as sources not available to Benveniste. He also added his own decisions, as well as a work on the methodology of the Talmud. The volume on *Oraḥ Ḥayyim* was published in Smyrna in 1735; on *Even ha-Ezer* in two volumes in 1756–66. The one to *Yoreh De'ah* and the uncompleted manuscript on *Ḥoshen Mishpat* were destroyed in the great Smyrna fire of 1743. He also wrote *Mirkevet ha-Mishneh*, a commentary on Maimonides' *Yad Ḥazakah;* most of it was destroyed in the same fire and only the first part was published (1755).

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ALFANDARI, ḤAYYIM BEN ISAAC RAPHAEL (c. 1660–1733), kabbalist and rabbi. He lived at Brusa, Turkey, where in 1681 he met Abraham Miguel *Cardozo [Cardoso]. According to the latter's testimony, Alfandari later came to him in Constantinople for esoteric study and believed in Cardoso's concept of the Divinity. For this reason Alfandari quarreled with Samuel *Primo, the rabbi of the Adrianople community. He was summoned before the scholars of Constantinople (c. 1683) and warned to disassociate himself from Cardoso's circle. On this occasion he denied belonging to Cardoso's circle and accused the latter of belief in the Trinity. Later Alfandari became an extreme Shabbatean. He signed his name "Ḥayyim Ẓevi," called himself "Messiah," and gathered a group of followers in Constantinople. Cardoso accused them of desecrating the Sabbath and eating forbidden food. In 1696 Alfandari settled in Jerusalem as head of the community *(resh mata).* He was active in public affairs and presided over a yeshivah. At one time he resided in Egypt, where he studied Isaac *Luria's writings which were in the possession of Moses Vital, grandson of Ḥayyim *Vital. He also lived in Safed, where he wrote a booklet called *Kedusha de-Vei Shimshei* (printed in J. Kasabi's *Rav Yosef*). By 1710 he had returned to Constantinople where, in 1714, he was a signatory to the excommunication of Nehemiah *Ḥayon during the controversy on *Oz le-Elohim* (1713). In 1717, however, Alfandari was Ḥayon's envoy and delivered letters of the scholars of Hebron and Salonika to the rabbis of Constantinople, and in 1718 he tried to reconcile Ḥayon with Naphtali *Katz. In 1722 his name appeared first on the list of the Safed scholars confirming Daniel Kapsuto's credentials as emissary. He returned to Constantinople, and died there. He wrote *Esh Dat* (1718), homilies on the Torah, and at the end of that work, *Muẓẓal me-Esh* by his uncle Jacob; and *Maggid me-Reshit*, a collection of responsa by his grandfather Ḥayyim the Elder, which closes with *Derekh ha-Kodesh* (1710). Alfandari's kabbalistic works have not survived.

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ALFANDARI, JACOB (c. 1620–1695), halakhic writer and preacher, the oldest son of Ḥayyim Alfandari the Elder, one of the leading scholars of Constantinople. Alfandari, who studied under his father, taught at a yeshivah. His disciples included Jacob Sasson. According to Abraham Miguel Cardoso, he urged his devotees not to accept the teaching of Shabbetai Ẓevi. He wrote many responsa, but most of his writings were destroyed in a fire in Constantinople. Some were rescued and published by his nephew Ḥayyim b. Isaac Alfandari, under the title *Muẓẓal me-Esh* ("Saved from Fire"; appended to his *Esh Dat*, Constantinople, 1718). Another portion, also published under the same title, was incorporated in Joseph Kasabi's responsa *Rav Yosef* (Constantinople, 1736), which was edited by Kasabi's pupil Jacob b. Judah Alfandari, grandson of the author. The responsa that he sent in reply to his brother Isaac Raphael's inquiries were published in *Maggid me-Reshit* (1660–74). A book of his sermons was in the possession of his nephew, Ḥayyim b. Isaac Raphael, who, in his *Esh Dat*, frequently cites homiletical expositions in his uncle's name. His rhetorical style, which is replete with rabbinical sayings, caused Ḥayyim Joseph David Azulai to call him "the father of rhetoric." His grandson Jacob was a prominent disciple of Ḥayyim b. Isaac Alfandari, and wrote an introduction to *Mikhtav me-Eliyahu* by Elijah Alfandari (1723).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Ghirondi-Neppi, 180 (but the mention of a book on the Torah in manuscript may refer to a work by another scholar of the same name).

ALFANDARI, SOLOMON ELIEZER BEN JACOB, known as **Mercado** or **Maharsha** (**M**oreinu **ha-R**av **Sh**elomo **E**liezer; 1826 or 1829–1930), rabbinic authority. Alfandari was born in Constantinople. When he was about 25, he headed the yeshivah founded by a certain Foa, a wealthy resident of Constantinople, and among his pupils were many who subsequently became important rabbis. At the age of 30, he was elected a member of the general religious council (*Majlis*) of Constantinople. During the sultanate of Abdul Ḥamid, Alfandari opposed the conscription of Jews into the Turkish army, on the grounds that such conscription constituted interference with their religious practice, in violation of an agreement made by the Spanish exiles with the Turkish authorities as a condition for their settling in Turkey in the late 15th century. The order of conscription was finally rescinded. Alfandari was later appointed chief rabbi of Damascus, and from 1904 to 1918 served as chief rabbi of Safed. In 1926 he settled in Jerusalem.

Regarded as one of the great scholars of his time, Alfandari was accepted by both Sephardim and Ashkenazim and despite his exceptional firmness, his responsa and rulings were honored without demur. During the last years of his life, he was visited by Ḥayyim Eleazar Shapira, rabbi of the Munkacs Ḥasidim, who was deeply impressed by his personality. After his death, the Ḥasidim of Munkacs dedicated to his memory *Masot Yerushalayim* (1931), a hymn in his praise. Some of Alfandari's responsa were published in the periodical *Torah mi-Ẓiyyon*, in the *Kanah Avraham* of Abraham Ḥai Amozag, and in the works of his contemporaries. A few of his responsa were published by Isaac *Nissim, under the title *She'elot u-Teshuvot Maharsha* (1932). His remaining works are still in manuscript.

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[Abraham David]

ALFASI, family of Tunisian rabbis that originated in Fez, Morocco. MASʿUD RAPHAEL ALFASI (1700?–1774), halakhist and kabbalist. Born in Fez or Tunis, he studied in the latter under Ẓemaḥ Ẓarefati, Abraham Tayyib, and Isaac Lumbroso. He established a great yeshivah in Tunis that has continued to bear his name to this day, and served as chief rabbi there from 1741 until his death. His writings included a large work on Maimonides' *Yad* patterned on Judah *Rosanes' *Mishneh la-Melekh* (1731), and a commentary to the Talmud. *Mishḥa de-Ravevata* (2 vols., Leghorn, 1805) is a commentary on the Shulḥan Arukh and includes responsa. His homilies on the Pentateuch and for Sabbath and holy days are extant in manuscript (Ben-Zvi Institute, no. 713); his grandchildren came into possession of a work on the Zohar, the *Idrot*, and Isaac *Luria's kabbalistic works (see edition of *Zohar,* Leghorn, 1872). SOLOMON BEN MASʿUD RAPHAEL ALFASI (1721–1801), his son, succeeded his father as rabbi of Tunis. His work on the Shulḥan Arukh as well as his responsa are included in the second volume of his father's *Mishḥa de-Ravevata. Keruv Mimeshaḥ* (Leghorn, 1858) includes novellae on the Talmud and on Maimonides' Yad as well as a talmudic methodology. Alfasi was renowned as a pietist and a wonderworker; many miraculous tales were told about him. His brother ḤAYYIM BEN MASʿUD RAPHAEL (1756–1783) wrote novellae on the Shulḥan Arukh – entitled *Ḥiddushei Maharḥa* – which were included in his father's *Mishḥa de-Ravevata* (1805) and in his brother's *Keruv Mimeshaḥ.*

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ALFASI, DAVID BEN ABRAHAM (Ar. **Abu Suleiman Dāʾūd ibn Ibrahim Al-Fāsī**; tenth century), Karaite grammarian and commentator. Alfasi, who came from Fez, Morocco, spent a number of years in Ereẓ Israel where he composed a Hebrew-Arabic lexicon of the Bible (*Kitāb Jāmiʿ al-Alfāẓ*). The dictionary is extant in both a long and a short version, which was published in a critical edition by Skoss (see bibl.). The exact relationship between the two is not clear yet and needs further investigation. The dictionary consists of 22 chapters, one for each letter of the Hebrew alphabet. The entries are arranged according to the principle of bi-literal roots. He cites the translations of Onkelos and Jonathan b. Uzziel by name or refers to them as *al-Targum, al-Suryānī*, or *al-Mutarjim.* He also quotes the Mishnah and the Talmud, the masorah and the Rabbanite *siddur.* Alfasi mentions *Saadiah twice as "*al-Fayyūmī*," but he frequently uses and criticizes his commentaries without mentioning his name. He often designates the Bible *al-Qurʾān* or *al-Kitāb* (the Scriptures) and the Jewish scholars, *al-Rabbānīn* or *al-Rabbūnīn*, as was customary among Karaite authors. Alfasi's dictionary is one of the earliest and most important for the investigation of the history of Hebrew philology. The author reveals a fine sense for language and a profound, and, for his time, comprehensive, knowledge of ancient Hebrew linguistics. One of the important aspects of the dictionary is the comparative one: He quotes numerous parallels between biblical Hebrew and Aramaic, Arabic (both literary and spoken), and mishnaic Hebrew, many of which tally with those found in the *Risāla* of Judah b. Quraysh (whom the author does not mention), and many which have been accepted by present-day philologists. Alfasi explains many roots by metathesis or permutation of letters. He follows the Tiberian systems and the Palestinian grammarians as to the masoretic text, vocalization, and accents. The dictionary contains a wealth of information pertaining to early Karaite Bible exegesis as well as historical and material conditions in Ereẓ Israel in Alfasi's time. Compendia of the short version were compiled successively by *Levi b. Japheth, Eli b. Israel, and *Ali b. Suleiman (and were incorporated by Skoss in the apparatus of his edition). Alfasi's commentaries on the Psalms and the Song of Songs have not been preserved.

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[Solomon Leon Skoss]

ALFASI, ISAAC BEN JACOB (known as **Rif**; 1013–1103), author of the most important code prior to the *Mishneh Torah* of Maimonides. In a sense, Alfasi brought the geonic period to a close. The last of the Babylonian *geonim*, Hai Gaon, died when Alfasi was 25 years old. Alfasi himself was called "gaon" by several early halakhic authorities. *Judah b. Barzillai al-Bargeloni sometimes refers to him simply as "the Gaon." Alfasi was a native of Qal'at Ḥammad near Constantine, in Algeria, and is therefore sometimes called "ha-Kala'i." According to Abraham ibn David, Alfasi studied in Kairouan under both *Nissim ben Jacob and *Hananel b. Ḥushi'el, but nowhere does Alfasi mention them as his teachers.

After a period of study in Kairouan, Alfasi settled in Fez (hence his surname "Alfasi" or Rif, initials of **R**. **I**saac **F**asi). He remained there until 1088, when, in his 75th year, he was denounced to the government by enemies and was forced to flee to Spain. After a few months in Cordova he moved to Lucena, where he remained until his death. Shortly after his arrival in Lucena, he became head of the yeshivah (1089), following the death of Isaac b. Judah ibn Ghayyat. The most famous of his many students were Joseph *Ibn Migash, *Judah Halevi, Ephraim of Qal'at Ḥammad, and Baruch b. Isaac ibn *Albalia. Before his death, Alfasi designated Ibn Migash as his successor, even though his own son, Jacob, was a distinguished scholar. His death was mourned in dirges by various poets, among them Moses Ibn Ezra. Another, hitherto regarded as by Judah Halevi, is now attributed by Abramson to Joseph ibn Sahl. In his *Shirat Yisrael*, Moses Ibn Ezra praised Alfasi, describing him as a man unsurpassed in keenness of intellect, whose wisdom was deep beyond compare, whose pen was swift, outdistancing that of any rival, and whose equal in intensity of religious feeling could scarcely be found. Alfasi dedicated his life to the study of the Talmud and its dissemination among the masses. Long before he came to Spain, his intellectual stand was decided and he was not influenced by the cultural life of Spain.

Hundreds of Alfasi's responsa have survived. Many of them were written while he was still in Fez, the majority in Arabic. In character and in style, Alfasi's responsa are still close to those of the Babylonian *geonim*. Alfasi's fame however rests on his great work *Sefer ha-Halakhot* (or *Halakhot Rabbati*). In the composition of this work Alfasi had a two fold purpose: (1) extracting all the halakhic material from the Talmud, ascertaining the decision, and providing a comprehensive compendium for ready reference; (2) preparing an essential summary of the Talmud, thereby facilitating its study. Concerning the first purpose Alfasi confined himself to those portions of the Talmud which were still operative and practiced, and excluded those of only academic importance. His code, therefore, covers the three orders, *Mo'ed, Nashim*, and *Nezikin* and the individual tractates *Berakhot* and *Ḥullin*. Even here Alfasi omitted entire chapters, such as the laws of the Paschal sacrifice (in the tractate *Pesaḥim*) and all that portion of the tractate *Yoma* which deals with the Temple Service on the Day of Atonement. Alfasi arranged laws scattered throughout the orders *Kodashim* and *Tohorot* which retain their relevance such as the laws of the Torah scroll, *mezuzah*, and *tefillin*, under the special title of *Halakhot Ketannot. Sefer ha-Halakhot* deals with 24 tractates of the Talmud.

Alfasi's quotations from the Talmud are often longer than necessary for the mere determination of a decision; often he explains the cited passage. For the most part, his explanations are brief, and in several instances discernible only when compared with the talmudic text. He comments at some length on instances where the *geonim* differed in their interpretations, discussing the different views and giving his own interpretation. Such treatment at times mars the structure. Alfasi himself apologized for it in several places. On the other hand these extended comments greatly enhanced the value of the book.

To a certain extent Alfasi models himself on the *Halakhot Gedolot*, but Alfasi's book is much superior. The halakhic material is three or four times that in the *Halakhot Gedolot*; the aggadic material is even more. Alfasi exercises greater freedom in the handling of his material, and in the placement of certain discussions, often assembling into one place statements dealing with a specific subject but scattered throughout the Talmud. For example, he assembles all discussions on the scope and definition of censure and reproof at the end of chapter two of tractate *Shabbat*. Similarly he arranges the discussions of the *Gemara* relevant to many Mishnayot. He first quotes the discussions which bear directly on the Mishnah, then those which have a loose bearing on it, and finally those which have some association with it in terms of subject matter. Alfasi cites all the material from the Talmud necessary to establish the argument for each law and for every opinion, whereas the *Halakhot Gedolot*, for the most part, quotes only the law itself. Alfasi's sources are varied, but usually he does not identify them. In addition to the Babylonian Talmud and the geonic literature, he uses especially the *She'iltot* of *Aḥa of Shabḥa, *Halakhot Pesukot, Halakhot Gedolot*, Hai Gaon's responsa and commentary, and Hananel b. Ḥushi'el, upon whom most of his book is based and which he mostly copies. Other sources are an anonymous *Sefer Metivot*, Nissim Gaon's works, the *Hilkheta Gavrata* of Samuel ha-Nagid, and *Ḥefeẓ b. Yaẓli'aḥ. Nevertheless, Alfasi only dealt with those laws which originated in the Talmud. Alfasi also dealt with the *aggadah* in the Talmud which had been almost completely ignored by all the codifiers before him. He included those *aggadot* which taught good conduct and moral behavior, paving the way for all later codifiers. Alfasi's book is thus a source of considerable value for the *aggadah* also, and justly deserves the name "*Talmud Katan*" ("Little Talmud") given to it.

The *Sefer ha-Halakhot* was first published in Constantinople (1509), and this edition is now very rare (it was published in Jerusalem in 1969). The second edition (which was published in Venice, 1521) has many addenda from various glosses, thus altering the form of the book. All the later editions up to the Vilna Romm edition (1880–86) were based upon the Venice edition. The Vilna edition was compared with the first edition but is an eclectic version and so only enhanced the confusion. A complete and scientific edition – based on ancient prints, manuscripts, and *genizah* fragments – is still lacking. The Pressburg edition (1836) includes pseudo-Alfasi on *Nedarim*. An important aspect of the *Halakhot* is Alfasi's numerous revisions of what he had already written "and ordered to be corrected." These corrections were partly due to criticism, especially from his pupil Ephraim. This is attested to by various *rishonim* (e.g., *Ba'al ha-Ma'or* by Zerahiah ha-Levi to Sanh. 28b): "It seems that because of this Alfasi changed his opinion and ordered the erasure of what he had written on the subject… and the substitution of the corrected form… as you can find in some of the copies," and as Alfasi himself comments (A.A. Harkavy (ed.), *Koveẓ Teshuvot ha-Ge'onim* (1887), p. 327). His corrections have not always been included in the different manuscripts, and this accounts for the many variants in the versions of his book.

Jewish scholars of later generations were unstinting in their admiration of Alfasi and his book. Maimonides wrote "The *Halakhot* of the great rabbi, our teacher Isaac, of blessed memory, has superseded all these works (geonic codes)…for it contains all the decisions and laws which we need in our day… and, except for a few *halakhot*, not exceeding ten, his decisions are unassailable." Nevertheless, in one of his responsa Maimonides wrote that he differed from Alfasi in about 30 instances. In a letter to his disciple Joseph b. Judah, he advised him to make Alfasi's *Halakhot* his major study; and Maimonides himself taught it to his students. *Isaac b. Samuel ha-Zaken said of him: "A man will toil in vain to produce such a work, unless the spirit of God rest upon him" (introduction to *Menahem b. Aaron ibn Zerah's *Ẓeidah la-Derekh*, Ferrara, 1554). *Abraham b. David of Posquières, who tended to be severely critical of other authors, wrote of him: "I would rely on the words of Alfasi even if he should say that right is left." Even Alfasi's critics, and those who commented upon or supplemented his writings, never set out to find flaws in his work, but merely to correct whenever they deemed necessary; for they recognized the great usefulness of the book and wanted to see it used more widely. It was recounted that Jacob of Marvège, a tosafist, inquired in a dream whether the law concerning a certain case was according to the *geonim* or according to Alfasi; he received an answer from heaven: "And I shall establish my covenant with Isaac" (Gen. 17:21). Menahem ha-*Meiri always referred to Alfasi as "the greatest of codifiers." Joseph *Caro regarded Alfasi as the first among the three pillars of learning upon whom the house of Israel rests (Alfasi, Maimonides, and Asher b. Jehiel), and upon whose authority he determined the laws in his Shulḥan Arukh. Thus Alfasi's influence pervades Jewish code-literature up to modern times. At the close of the Middle Ages, when the Talmud was banned in Italy, Alfasi's work was expressly exempted, so that between the 16th and 19th centuries it was a principal subject of study among Italian Jews.

There is an extensive literature of commentary on Alfasi, some in amplification, others in condensation of his works. Among his critics and commentators were some of the greatest talmudic scholars, such as Ephraim his pupil, Zerahiah ha-Levi, *Abraham b. David, *Jonathan b. David ha-Kohen of Lunel, *Naḥmanides, *Meshullam b. Moses of Beziers, Aaron ha-Levi of Barcelona (see *Ha-Ḥinnukh), *Samuel b. Meir, Jacob *Tam, *Nissim b. Reuben Gerondi, and Joseph ibn Ḥaviva, author of *Nimmukei Yosef*. Almost all of them were scholars of Spain and Southern France, for in these countries, especially the former, the *Halakhot* was studied even more than the Talmud itself. More often than not, these commentators amplified, updated, and extended the discussion of Alfasi's themes rather than actually commenting on his text. A commentary on Alfasi to *Ḥullin* by an anonymous Yemenite scholar of the 12th century (1960), attests to the wide popularity of this work. The vast literature that was produced about Alfasi further testifies to the high regard in which he was held by subsequent generations.

In addition to the critics and commentators to Alfasi there is a ramified literature including works not really dependent upon Alfasi, but which follow his method of arrangement rather than that of the Talmud. The most eminent are those of Asher b. Jehiel and Mordecai b. Hillel, though the latter does not mention Alfasi at all. There are other books which include the whole of Alfasi and which expand his work with parallels and references to his sources and responsa. The most important of these is *Sefer ha-Ittim* of Judah al-Bargeloni.

Over 300 of his responsa, translated into Hebrew, have been collected and published (first edition Leghorn, 1781). Over 150 were published in their original Arabic with a Hebrew translation by A.A. Harkavy in *Kovez Teshuvot ha-Ge'onim* (1887), most of them having previously been included in the Leghorn edition. Another edition (*Ginzei Kedem*, 4 vols. (1930), 38–49), based upon the Oxford manuscript, was published by B.M. Lewin. Most of these responsa too are included in the Leghorn edition with some changes (cf. also *Kohelet Moshe* of S.A. Wertheimer, 1899). Another collection of Alfasi's responsa was edited by Z. Byednowitz (1934). Most of these are included in the previous editions. All these responsa were republished by Z. Leiter (1954). Many of Alfasi's responsa are still extant in manuscript. Variae lectiones based upon manuscripts were published by A. Sofer in his *Teshuvot Ḥakhmei Provinzyah* (1967). Many of Alfasi's responsa are scattered throughout the works of the early halakhic scholars, such as Judah al-Bargeloni, in the books of those who used his works, including *Isaac b. Abba Mari, Baruch b. Isaac, and Judah *Almadari's commentary on Alfasi's *Sefer ha-Halakhot*. Several of Alfasi's responsa are to be found in the famous collection of Maimonides' responsa, *Pe'er ha-Dor,* Leipzig, 1859, nos. 182–208.

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[Simha Assaf / Israel Moses Ta-Shma]

ALFEI MENASHEH (Heb. אַלְפֵי מְנַשֶּׁה), urban community in western Samaria, close to central Israel. The settlement is located on a hill, 1,082 ft. (330 m.) above sea level, and has an area of 1.8 sq. mi (4.6 sq. km.). In 1981 Ezer *Weizman, then secretary of defense, and Ariel *Sharon, secretary of agriculture, initiated the "seven star" plan to establish seven settlements at strategic points near the borders of Judea and Samaria. In 1983 the first settlers arrived at Alfei Menasheh. At the beginning, the community was part of the regional council of Samaria. In 1985 it received municipal council status. In the following years it came under terrorist attack. In 1987, in one such attack, the Moses family was decimated: the mother and one of the children were killed and the father and two other children severely injured. Between 1987 and 1989, three additional terror incidents rocked the community. The precarious security situation served to curtail the settlement's development, but in the 1990s it recovered and new neighborhoods were built. In 2002 its population was 5,250. The name of the settlement derives from Deuteronomy 33:17, which speaks of "the thousands of Manasseh."

[Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

ALFEROV, ZHORES I. (1930–), Russian Nobel laureate in physics. Alferov was born in Vitebsk, U.S.S.R. (now Vitsyebsk, Belarus), and graduated with a degree in physics (1952) from the Lenin Electrotechnical Institute in Leningrad (now St. Petersburg). From 1953 he was a staff member of the Ioffe Physico-Technical Institute in St. Petersburg, where he obtained his D.Sc. in physics and mathematics (1970) and which he directed from 1987. His academic appointments included dean of the Faculty of Physics and Technology at St. Petersburg Technical University. His main research interests concerned the theory and practical applications of semiconductors. He was awarded the Nobel Prize for physics (2000) jointly with Herbert Kroemer and Jack S. Kilby for his contributions to the double heterostructure concept. His research is of fundamental importance to the development of electronics, lasers, solar power usage, and communication technology. His honors include membership in the Russian (formerly U.S.S.R.) Academy of Sciences (1972), of which he was vice president from 1989, and the Lenin Prize of the U.S.S.R. (1972).

[Michael Denman (2nd ed.)]

ALFES (Alfas), BENZION (1850–1940), Yiddish and Hebrew writer. Born in Vilna, Alfes settled in Palestine in 1924; his earlier attempt to do so in 1871 had failed for family reasons. In Vilna he worked as a proofreader and for many years managed his wife's stocking factory. Alfes devoted his life to religious education, and was one of the few writers of his time who attempted to stem the secularizing drift of the Haskalah and its successor ideologies by writing religious literary works in Yiddish and Hebrew in a modern, popular style. He reacted to the late-19th-century proliferation of secular novels with his Yiddish *Ma'aseh Alfes* ("Alfes' Story"), published serially starting in 1900. The work consists of ethical and moralistic love tales in which he cast traditional allegorical and didactic elements in epistolary form. The work went through 12 editions and became a household name. Alfes also translated many religious Hebrew works into Yiddish (e.g., Gerondi's *Sha'arei Teshuvah* and Maimonides' *Ẓavva'at ha-Rambam*), and edited several works of other authors. Many of Alfes' commentaries were included in liturgical texts. At the age of 90, he wrote his autobiography, *Toledot ve-Zikhronot* (published posthumously in 1941).

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[Leonard Prager]

°**ALFONSO**, name of many Spanish sovereigns. Of special significance in Jewish history were the following:

Kings of Aragon

ALFONSO I (1104–34; "the Battler"). After capturing Tudela from the Moors in 1114, he permitted Jews who had fled during the fighting to return to the city. ALFONSO II (1162–96). He employed a number of Jews as stewards or physicians. ALFONSO V (1416–58). In 1414, as infante, he intervened on behalf of the *Saragossa community, which had been ordered to send a delegation of representatives to the papal court at the time of the disputation of *Tortosa. Alfonso asked the pope for a postponement until the Jewish leaders could complete their seasonal duties in the community. As king, in 1424, Alfonso confirmed a ban prohibiting the establishment of a Jewish community in Barcelona.

Kings of Castile and Leon

Alfonso VI (1072–1109). After the capture of *Toledo from the Muslims in 1085, Alfonso permitted the Jews to remain in their quarter (*judería*), and granted residence rights to Jews seeking refuge there. He also appointed Jews to important state posts. Thus, Joseph b. *Ferrizuel (Cidellus), became royal physician. ALFONSO VII (1126–57). Like his father, Alfonso VI, he also appointed Jews to high positions; Judah ibn Ezra was his *almoxarife* ("collector of revenues") and in 1147 was in charge of *Calatrava, a stronghold on the Muslim border, where Jewish refugees from the *Almohad persecutions were welcomed. ALFONSO VIII (1158–1214), had a number of Jewish courtiers. He also settled Jews in frontier garrison towns, with complete autonomy within their fortified quarters. ALFONSO X (1252–84; "the Wise"). He was a patron of scholarship, and several Jewish translators and scientists, such as Isaac ibn Sid (Don Çaf) and Judah b. Moses ha-Kohen, worked under his auspices. Notable among their productions were the Alfonsine Tables *Libros del saber de astronomía*, one of the important scientific achievements of the reign. The code known as the *Siete Partidas* was produced under Alfonso's auspices, though not enforced until the following century. While this guaranteed the Jews physical security and rights of worship, it ordered the enforcement under the severest penalties of the conventional restrictions on the Jews, like the wearing of the Jewish *badge, and authorized judicial prosecution of the Jews for ritual murder (see *Blood Libel). Toward the end of his reign, Alfonso's attitude to the Jews changed for the worse. In 1279 he had all the Jewish tax-farmers imprisoned. In January 1281, he ordered the wholesale arrest of the Jews while they were attending synagogue on the Sabbath and demanded a ransom of 4,380,000 gold *maravedis* for their release. ALFONSO XI (1312–50). Although Jewish officials, such as Don Yuçaf (Joseph) de *Ecija, attended his court, his policy toward the Jews was often influenced or directed by the church or by anti-Jewish courtiers, such as Gonzalo Martinez de Oviedo. In 1348 Alfonso prohibited moneylending by Jews, but the Cortes revoked the decree in 1351.

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°**ALFONSO DE ESPINA** (or **de Spina**, **D'espina**; second half of 15th century), principal originator of the Spanish Inquisition and its ideological and methodological program. Few details are known about his life. A Franciscan friar, possibly of Jewish birth or descent, he became rector of the University of Salamanca, and was confessor of the powerful Alvaro de Luna. Espina's most important work is *Fortalitium fidei contra Judeos, Saracenos et alios Christianae fidei inimicos*, written in 1458–59 and circulated in 1460. It was frequently printed (Nuremberg [1485–98], Lyons [1511]). The title, "Fortress of the Faith to give comfort to believers and defend the holy faith," indicates his object. The *Fortalitium fidei* consists of five sections, divided into chapters (*Considerationes*) and subdivided into *Haereses* ("heresies"); the second and third sections, *De bello hereticorum* and *De bello Judeorum*, contain his original views. The second section furnishes minute particulars of the sins committed by Jewish converts to Christianity (see *Conversos) and the means they adopted to continue observance of Mosaic Law. This seems for the most part to be based on accurate observation and is supported by various historical sources, including the Inquisitional records. Espina derived his knowledge of Jewish matters from his predecessors, such as Raymond *Martini and *Abner of Burgos, as well as from first-hand information. He recommends the establishment of an Inquisition in Spain and a detailed program. In the third section, tales about the *blood libel are revived. Here Espina explicitly suggests expelling the Jews from Spain, on the lines of the expulsion from England in 1290, implying that since England had managed to exist without the Jews, Spain could do likewise. The only way in which Spain can be converted into a truly Christian state, Espina states in this hate-obsessed work, is by extirpating the "Jewish heresy," expelling the Jews, and conquering the Muslims remaining on its soil.

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[Haim Beinart]

ALFONSO DE OROPESA (d. 1468), head of the Geronimite Order in Spain, said to have been of Jewish descent. In the early 1460s clashes took place in the cities of Castile between the ex-Jews who had adopted Catholicism (*Conversos) and their opponents among the Old Christian population. Alfonso now advised King Henry IV to take measures to supervise the Conversos and punish backsliders to Judaism. The king authorized him to execute his relatively moderate program, and Alfonso then conducted the investigation in Toledo and its environs for an entire year, imposing what he considered were adequate penalties. In 1465 Alfonso completed his *Lumen ad Revelationem Gentium* ("to prove the unity of all the faithful"), in which he explained his plan for the solution of the problem of both the Conversos and the Jews.

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[Zvi Avneri]

ALFONSO OF ZAMORA (c. 1474–1544), Spanish scholar. He was the son of Juan de Zamora, apparently one of the exiles of 1492 who subsequently returned to Spain, father and son being baptized together in 1506. Alfonso, who had received an adequate Jewish education before baptism, became professor of Hebrew at Salamanca, one of the European universities where Hebrew studies had been established by a decree of the Council of Vienna in 1311–12. He published in Latin an introduction to Hebrew grammar, dictionaries, and contributions to Bible study as well as a conversionist letter to the Jews of Rome (Alcalá de Henares, 1526). Alfonso is mainly remembered for his participation in the pioneering Complutensian Polyglot edition of the Bible, in the preparation of which he worked for some 15 years.

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[Cecil Roth]

°**ALFONSUS BONIHOMINIS** (**Buenhombre**; d. 1353), Spanish Dominican, born in Cuenca or Toledo. From a stay in Morocco, where he had been imprisoned, Alfonsus claimed to have brought back the Arabic original of the *De adventu Messiae*, an anti-Jewish epistle allegedly written by one Samuel of Fez. He said that he had translated this text in Paris in 1339. Known as the "Epistola Samuelis Maroccani," it was later translated into several languages and widely circulated in Europe. In fact, it seems that he himself was the author, drawing largely from another tract in Arabic written by a Jewish convert to Islam, *Samau'al b. Judah ibn Abbas, probably with the intent of presenting it as a Christian rather than a Muslim polemic. Alfonsus also translated another Arabic treatise by Samuel (or possibly wrote it himself): *Disputatio Abutalib Saraceni et Samuelis Judaei quae fides praecellat: christianorum, an iudeorum, an saracenorum* (Ms. Madrid Nac. 4402, fol. 103–10), a disputation between a Saracen and a Jew.

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[Bernhard Blumenkranz]

ALGAZI, family which flourished between the 16th and 19th centuries in Turkey, Crete, Ereẓ Israel, and Egypt, and produced a large number of rabbis, kabbalists, and authors. Its members include (1) ABRAHAM BEN MOSES (1560?–before 1640), born in Constantinople, son-in-law of Joseph Benveniste de *Segovia, a pupil of Isaac Luria. A renowned talmudic scholar, he corresponded with the greatest of his contemporaries. After 1600, he resided on the island of *Chios and in Brusa (now *Bursa), Turkey, where he headed the community until his death. (NISSIM) SOLOMON *ALGAZI, Ḥayyim, Moses, and Joseph were his sons. (2) ḤAYYIM BEN ABRAHAM (?) (1614–before 1668), a Turkish scholar who studied under Joseph di *Trani and Abraham *Shalom in Constantinople, where he later headed his own yeshivah. He was the son-in-law of Judah ibn Ya'ish. His uncompleted commentary, *Netivot Mishpat*, to the *Meisharim* of Jehoram b. *Meshullam was published in Constantinople in 1669. His manuscript responsa and homilies were lost. (3) MOSES BEN ABRAHAM (d. before 1671) was one of the scholars of Bursa. Some of his novellae were published in his grandfather Joseph de Segovia's work, *Dovev Siftei Yeshenim* (Smyrna, 1671) to which was appended his booklet, *Sefat Emet*. (4) YOM TOV BEN (NISSIM) SOLOMON (d. 1727), a poet, lived in Constantinople. Letters and poems from his correspondence with the rabbi-poet Aaron de Toledo are extant. ISRAEL JACOB B. YOM TOV *ALGAZI was his son. (5) ABRAHAM BEN (NISSIM) SOLOMON (d. 1700), one of the scholars of Smyrna, edited his father's *Shema Shelomo* (Smyrna, 1659). (6) ḤAYYIM BEN MENAHEM (1640?–1710?), grandson of R. Ḥayyim Alfandari the Elder, was born in Smyrna. He studied under (Nissim) Solomon and Aaron *Lapapa. He served as rabbi of Rhodes and, after his son Abraham's death, returned to Smyrna. One of his students, Meir Danon, edited and published his *Ba'ei Ḥayyei* (Constantinople, 1712), novellae on Jacob b. Asher's *Turim*, on the Talmud, and on problems in Maimonides' *Mishneh Torah*. His manuscript homilies were lost. (7) NISSIM JACOB BEN ḤAYYIM SOLOMON, one of the scholars of Constantinople, settled in Safed. He visited Salonika in 1731 as emissary for Safed, returning by 1736. He is the author of responsa and novellae on Maimonides' *Mishneh Torah* (Ms. in Benayahu Collection). (8) SOLOMON BEN ABRAHAM *ALGAZI (1673–1762) was rabbi and codifier. (9) ISAAC BEN ABRAHAM (17th century), rabbi of Chios, studied under Ḥayyim *Benveniste, author of the *Keneset ha-Gedolah*, and (Nissim) Solomon Algazi. At the age of 17, he wrote *Doresh Tov*, a book of homilies. His manuscript responsa are in the Guenzburg collection in Moscow (no. 400). Some of his responsa were published with those of Ḥayyim Benveniste, *Ba'ei Ḥayyei*. (10) YOM TOV B. JACOB *ALGAZI (1727–1802) was a kabbalist and master of *halakhah*. (11) ḤAYYIM ISAAC (d. 1814) was chief rabbi of Smyrna in the late 18th century. (12) JUDAH, a rabbi in Smyrna, visited Ereẓ Israel. His commentary to Maimonides' *Mishneh Torah*, explanations of talmudic discussions, and homilies were published together as *Sha'ar Yehudah* (Salonika, 1805). Some of his manuscript works were lost. (13) MOSES BEN JOSEPH (1764–1840), a grandson of Solomon b. Abraham (8), was born and died in Cairo; in 1830, he was appointed chief rabbi of Egypt. That same year, with Adolphe *Crémieux's aid, he founded a modern school to which he also admitted Karaites. In 1840, he helped liberate the victims of the *Damascus blood libel. He was succeeded by his son Joseph.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Azulai, 1 (1852), 163, no. 23; M. Benayahu, *Rabbi Ḥ.Y.D. Azulai* (Heb., 1959), 571, no. 39 (on Solomon II b. Abraham).

ALGAZI, ISAAC BEN SOLOMON (1882–1964), Turkish Sephardi *ḥazzan* and composer. Algazi, who was born in Izmir, at an early age joined the "Maftirim Choir" led by his father, himself a noted *ḥazzan* and author of religious poetry. He served as a teacher at the *talmud torah* and later as *ḥazzan* in his native town. He also became proficient in Turkish art music and for many years arranged special courses for the members of his community; A. Hemsi and other musicians were among his pupils. Algazi was a noted performer of classical Turkish music and adapted some to Hebrew texts which he himself translated. In 1923 he was appointed *ḥazzan* and music instructor at the "Italian" synagogue at Galata (Istanbul), which had a long tradition of musical activity. In 1930 Algazi became associated with the Jewish newspaper *La voz de Oriente*. In 1933 he went to Paris, but settled finally in Montevideo (Uruguay) where he was prominent in Sephardi congregation activities. Algazi's abilities as a composer and adapter were combined with a pleasant, flexible voice and a highly distinguished performing style. He imparted a Turkish influence to Eastern synagogue song. The sole printed work ("adaptation") of Algazi connects five *piyyutim* to form a Turkish "Fassil" (Suite), with each piece following a different rhythmical pattern ("uzul"). This work was published as *Extrait du Fassil Husseini des chants juifs orientaux… adapté sous le contrôle de M. Isaac Algazi* (1924–25).

As is usual with Eastern music, most of Algazi's compositions and arrangements were transmitted orally, but several have been recorded (collection of Israel Broadcasting Authority, Jerusalem). Some of his outstanding works which survive in oral tradition are: *The Song of Deborah*; *Ha-Ben Yakkir Li Efrayim*; *Kiddush*; *Seliḥot*; two "*Peshrev*" for choir, to Hebrew texts; songs of the Ladino Folklore. A selection of Isaac Algazi's poetry has been published in: *Shirei Yisrael be-Ereẓ ha-Kedem* (1921).

In addition to his main interest in Sephardi music, Algazi also devoted himself to the dissemination of Judaism and wrote two works in Spanish, *El judaismo, religion de amor* (Buenos Aires, 1945) and *La Sabiduría Hebrea* (Montevideo, 1949).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: M.D. Gaon, *Yehudei ha-Mizraḥ be-Ereẓ Yisrael*, 2 (1938), 43; Morguez-Algranti, in: *El Tiempo* (Tel Aviv, Oct. 20, 1964), 3–4.

[Hanoch Avenary]

ALGAZI, ISRAEL JACOB BEN YOM TOV (1680–1756), halakhic scholar and kabbalist, grandson of both (Nissim) Solomon *Algazi and Joseph *Ḥazzan. Probably born in Smyrna, Algazi lived in Safed, and for a few years, prior to 1730, in Smyrna. He was a member of a closed circle of kabbalists headed by Jacob Vilna. Algazi copied and published *Ḥemdat Yamim* (Smyrna, 1731–32), with many of his own glosses. By 1737 he was in Jerusalem and, a year later, dedicated "Neveh Shalom Berit Avraham," a yeshivah founded there for him. Algazi became head of Bet El, a *bet midrash* for pietists, and was consequently known as "the pietist rabbi." His was the first signature on the constitution of the kabbalistic group Ahavat Shalom. Algazi was appointed chief rabbi upon the death of his colleague, Isaac ha-Kohen (1755), but he died the following year. One of the most productive scholars of his time, he wrote many halakhic and homiletic works including *Emet le-Ya'akov* (Constantinople, 1764) on the laws of Torah scrolls; *Ara de-Rabbanan* (*ibid.*, 1745), reprinted with Judah Ayyash's commentary; *Afra de-Ara* (Leghorn, 1783), a methodology for Talmud and codes; *Ḥug ha-Areẓ* (Jerusalem, 1910; with addenda, 1927), on the laws of Purim; *Ne'ot Ya'akov* (Smyrna, 1767); *Kehillat Ya'akov* (Salonika, 1786), a methodology; *Shalmei Ẓibbur* and *Shalmei Ḥagigah* (Salonika, 1790), on the laws of prayer and blessings; sermons Part 1, *Shema Ya'akov* (Constantinople, 1745); and Part 2; *She'erit Ya'akov* (*ibid.*, 1751). Some of his works still survive in manuscript form. Ḥ.J.D. *Azulai, an acquaintance, condensed and completed Algazi's work, *Emet le-Ya'akov*, which he published under the title *Le-David Emet* (1786).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: M. Benayahu, *Rabbi Ḥ.Y.D. Azulai* (Heb., 1959), 351ff.

ALGAZI, LEON (**Yehudah**; 1890–1971), conductor, composer, and collector of Jewish music. Algazi, who was born in Romania, studied music in Vienna and Paris, and graduated from the Ecole Rabbinique de France. From his early studies with Abraham *Idelsohn, he acquired an interest in Jewish folklore and tradition. For many years, he taught at the Ecole de Liturgie et de Pédagogie in Paris. From 1929 he presented a weekly program of Jewish music on the French radio, and in 1937 became conductor at the Rue de la Victoire Synagogue. He helped to establish the "Mizmor" section of the Salabert publishing house, taught Jewish music at the Schola Cantorum (1936–40), and in 1961 was elected director of music for the temples of the Paris Consistoire. Among Algazi's many compositions of liturgical and folkloristic character are *Service sacré pour le samedi matin et pour le vendredi soir* (New

York, 1955), orchestral suites, psalms, harmonizations of traditional songs, and incidental music for the cinema and the theater. He published one extemely valuable collection, *Chants séphardis* (London, 1958). He also wrote essays on Jewish music in many scholarly publications.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Sendrey, Music, nos. 488, 2901, 6275, 9121.

[Hanoch Avenary]

ALGAZI, (Nissim) SOLOMON BEN ABRAHAM (1610?–c. 1683), rabbi. Algazi, the grandson of Joseph de Segovia *Benveniste, was born in Borsa. He studied under his father and the poet Joseph Ganso, as well as Joseph Sasson and Meir de *Boton at their yeshivah in Gallipoli. Algazi settled in Jerusalem in 1635, but was in Smyrna in 1646 – apparently in order to publish some of his works. Here he remained and was considered one of the city's outstanding scholars. He founded a *bet midrash* whose students included his son-in-law, Aaron *Lapapa, and Ḥayyim b. Menahem Algazi, later rabbi of Rhodes. Algazi opposed *Shabbetai Ẓevi and his followers; together with his son-in-law and other scholars, he excommunicated Shabbetai Ẓevi and stated that he deserved the death penalty. Compelled to flee and hide outside the city, when Shabbetai Ẓevi's apostasy became known (1666) he returned to Smyrna and resumed his position. Algazi assumed the additional name Nissim on recovering from a serious illness contracted during his travels. He returned to Jerusalem about 1670, and by 1673 was head of the local *bet din*. Algazi achieved a reputation for his saintliness and was reputed as a miracle worker.

Among his many works are *Yavin Shemu'ah* (Venice, 1639), a commentary to the *Halikhot Olam* of *Jeshua b. Joseph and to *Sefer Kelalei ha-Talmud* of Joseph *Caro with additions entitled *Halikhot Eli* (Smyrna, 1663); *Gufei Halakhot* (*ibid.*, 1675); *Ahavat Olam* (Constantinople, 1642), the first of four volumes of homiletics; *Razuf Ahavah* and *Appiryon Shelomo* (Verona, 1649), a commentary to the homiletical passages of the tosafists; *Ta'avah la-Einayim* (Salonika, 1655), an elucidation of difficult talmudic passages in the *Ein Ya'akov* of Jacob *Ibn Ḥabib, with the addition of passages omitted by him; and *Leḥem Setarim*, on the tractate *Avodah Zarah* (Venice, 1664); his *Ziknat Shelomo*, a commentary on the *Ittur* of *Isaac b. Abba Mari, was never published.

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[Abraham David]

ALGAZI, SOLOMON BEN ABRAHAM (1673–1762), rabbi and halakhist. Algazi, who was apparently born in Jerusalem, was the half brother of Ḥayyim b. Moses *Abulafia, who restored the Jewish settlement in Tiberias.

Algazi was a pupil of Hezekiah da Silva. He served in the *bet din* of Abraham Yiẓḥaki, and taught in his yeshivah. One of his outstanding pupils was Judah Navon, author of *Kiryat Melekh Rav*. In 1728 Algazi immigrated to Cairo, where he also served in the *bet din* and c. 1740 was elected chief rabbi of Egypt. Algazi rescinded the resolution of the Egyptian rabbis not to study the *Peri Hadash* of da Silva which was made on the ground that he differed in several instances from Maimonides and other leading halakhists; all Algazi's decisions were based on da Silva. He also wrote responsa and a book on Maimonides, now lost but which was seen by Ḥayyim Joseph David *Azulai in 1753.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Azulai, 1 (1852), no. 23; M. Benayahu, *Rabbi Ḥ.Y.D. Azulai* (Heb., 1959), 571.

ALGAZI, YOM TOV BEN ISRAEL JACOB (1727–1802), kabbalist and halakhist. He studied with his father and was a close friend of Ḥ.J.D. *Azulai. Both studied under R. Jonah *Navon and R. Shalom *Sharabi. Algazi was a member of the Ahavat Shalom group of kabbalists and signed its articles of association in 1754, 1758, and 1759. He was a member of *bet ha-midrash* Neveh Shalom and of Bet El. R. Shalom Sharabi succeeded Algazi's father as head of the kabbalists' yeshivah, but Yom Tov Algazi administered it. Following R. Sharabi's death in 1782 he was elected rabbi and *dayyan* and in c. 1777 he became *rishon le-Zion*. The period of his office was a difficult one for the Jews of Jerusalem who were vexed by the authorities. Algazi's leadership, influence, and fame in the Diaspora were of help to the community. In 1764 he accompanied R. Abraham b. Asher and Ḥ.J.D. Azulai on a mission, on behalf of the Pekidei Ereẓ Israel be-Kushta ("Agents for Ereẓ Israel in Constantinople"). From 1770 to 1775 he was sent on other missions from Jerusalem to Constantinople, Adrianople, and Belgrade. He traveled in Italy, France, Holland, Germany, and Poland and returned to Jerusalem (1777) via Italy and Smyrna. He appointed his son Jacob a *parnas* of the Hebron community (1787). As the debts of the Hebron community increased, Algazi and his son endured a most difficult period (1793–95). Both father and son were in danger of imprisonment. Creditors became violent and Jacob Algazi was badly beaten up. In the month of Elul 1795, Algazi went to Constantinople and within three months collected a large sum of money for Hebron; he also conducted a large collection in Smyrna and Salonika. However, before he returned to Jerusalem, his son died (1796) from the blows which he had received. His works are distinguished by their sharpness and depth. They are *Hilkhot Yom Tov*, printed with the Vilna Talmud, on *Hilkhot Bekhorot ve-Ḥallah* by *Naḥmanides, which he found in a manuscript in Italy (1795); *Simḥat Yom Tov*, responsa (1794); *Kedushat Yom Tov*, responsa and sermons (1843); *Get Mekushar,* studies on the marriage contract, in *Ne'ot Ya'akov* (1767), 24–79.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: A. Rivlin, in: *Zion*, 5 (1933), 131–40, supplement; Ya'ari, Sheluḥei, 535–40; M. Benayahu, *Rabbi Ḥ.Y.D. Azulai* (Heb., 1959), 353–4.

ALGERIA (Central Maghreb; Ar. **al-Jazā'ir**), modern designation for the central part of North Africa, bordered by *Morocco on the west and *Tunisia on the east. Resistance

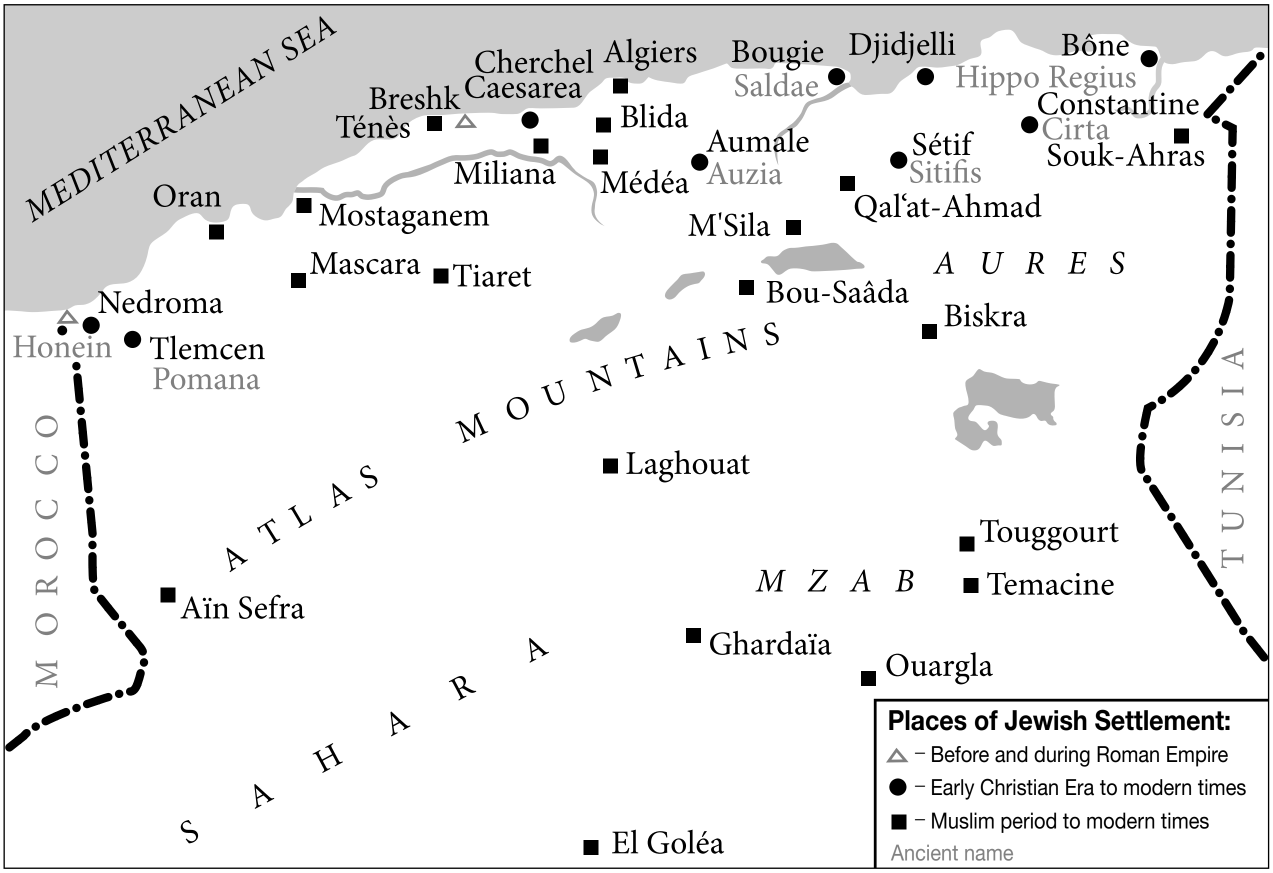
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
Cherchel
Caesarea
Algiers
Bougie
Saldae
Djidjelli
Bône
Hippo Regius
Constantine
Cirta
Breshk
Ténès
Blida
Miliana
Médéa
Aumale
Auzia
Sétif
Sitifis
Souk-Ahras
Oran
Mostaganem
Qalʿat-Ahmad
M'Sila
Mascara
Tiaret
Bou-Saâda
AURES
Nedroma
Honein
Tlemcen
Pomana
Biskra
ATLAS MOUNTAINS
Laghouat
MOROCCO
TUNISIA
Touggourt
MZAB
Temacine
Aïn Sefra
Ghardaïa
Ouargla
SAHARA
El Goléa
Places of Jewish Settlement:
– Before and during Roman Empire
– Early Christian Era to modern times
– Muslim period to modern times
Ancient name

Places of Jewish settlement in Algeria.

against the Arab invasion in the seventh century was organized first near Biskra and later in the Aurès mountains, where the **kāhina* (an epithet meaning priestess), the "queen" of the Judeo-Berber tribe Jarawa, won brilliant victories. With the death of the *kāhina* in 693 came the collapse of *Berber independence. Most of the Jarawa adopted Islam, others escaped to the west and south reinforcing the Jewish elements there. Oriental Jews, who followed in the wake of the Arab armies in large numbers, rebuilt the old destroyed communities of Algeria. The Jews in the urban centers, such as Mejana or Mesila, were Rabbanites; so also were the Jews in the capitals of the various Berber kingdoms – Ashir, Tahert (Tiaret), where the philologist R. *Judah ibn Quraysh lived, *Tlemcen, and *Qalʿat Ḥammād, where R. Isaac *Alfasi was probably born. These communities were in contact with the communities of *Fez in the west and *Kairouan in the east, and even with the *geonim* of Babylonia and Palestine. It is partly through them that the teachings of the academies of *Sura and *Pumbedita, and later of Kairouan, spread to Morocco, and from there to Spain. Thus, the influence of these communities on the intellectual and religious development of the Jews of Spain can be seen. The teachings of the sages were spread to the area north of the Sahara Desert from Gabès, Tunisia, to Sijilmassa (in the Ziz Valley), Morocco, by traveling merchants. The Jewish tribes of the region of Wargha were *Karaites. They were nomad warriors. Their descendants were called "Bahusim" and remained in the eastern part of Algeria up to modern times. In the tenth century, a Jew named Abu al-Faraj instigated an important revolt against the Zirid sovereigns of the Berber tribes in the Setif region. Defeated, he was tortured to death in 989.

Apart from the fact that the community of *Tlemcen was destroyed, almost nothing is known about Algerian Jews during the rule of the Almohads in the 12th and 13th centuries. In any case, after that period of disorder the Jewish population of Algeria was considerably diminished. In the 13th and 14th centuries some Jewish merchants residing in Algeria had regular contacts with other countries, particularly with Catalonia, and these ties served to keep open channels of communication with the more developed Jewish communities. Jews of Languedoc and even Marseilles lived in Bougie, the Algerian harbor town, from 1248. Tlemcen, gate to the Mediterranean and a final station on the Sudanese gold route, known as the "Jewish Road," had a small but lively community, which was sustained by the rich Jewish merchants of Barcelona, Valencia, Tortosa, and Majorca. Most of these merchants were actually natives of the Maghreb and particularly favored by the kings of Aragon, who relied on them as essential to their prosperity. Their relatives had remained in the Maghreb, settling at *Algiers, Cherchel, Tenes, Mostaganem, and Tlemcen. At that time there was a continuous emigration of Muslims from the Christian kingdoms of Spain to Africa and they were assisted by the Jews in Spain. This was the very remunerative business of the great Jewish African-Spanish family Alatzar (also al-ʿAzār), in particular. The Jewish merchants of the central Maghreb had many trade activities, including the slave trade, so important at the time. However, they traded chiefly in Sudanese gold. Many traded with the Balearic Islands using their own ships.

The Christian kings of Spain appointed many Jews as their ambassadors to the Muslim courts. In that capacity Abraham and Samuel *Bengalil, Judas "Abenhatens," and the *alfaquim* ("physician") *Bondavin made their first visit to Tlemcen in 1286. In 1305 Solomon b. Zequi of Majorca was chosen to settle a dispute with the town of Breshk. These experts in North African diplomacy, as well as the wealthy merchants in the country, were exceptions among the mass of Algerian Jewry, whose level of culture was very low. Largely because of them and the possibility of communication with the important economic centers which they represented, many Spanish refugees of 1391 chose Algeria as their haven. They emigrated in continuous groups from Catalonia and the Balearic Islands. They were favorably received by the Muslim authorities, in particular by the Ziyanid princes. In contrast, their relations with the local Jews, who had at first received them fraternally, later became tense. Their numbers gave rise to fear of competition in their professions. Differences in ritual, language, customs, and above all social conceptions, caused conflicts between the two communities. The Sephardi Jews asserted themselves by their intellectual superiority, financial means, and skills. The older community resisted the attempt of the newcomers to dominate communal life. However, there were refugee leaders who were able to mitigate the conflicts between the two groups. The learning and dedication of the new immigrants renewed the moral and religious life of Algerian Jewry. Their talent in organizational activities strengthened the Jewish institutions of Algeria.

R. Ephraim Ankawa reestablished the community of Tlemcen; the eminent talmudic authorities R. *Isaac b. Sheshet Perfet (*Ribash*), R. Simeon b. Ẓemaḥ *Duran (*Rashbaẓ*), and the latter's descendants were mainly responsible for Algiers becoming a religious and intellectual center. The communities of *Honein, *Oran, Mostaganem, Miliana, Médéa, Tenès, Breshk, *Bougie, *Bône, and *Constantine, although dependent on Algiers, also became centers of Jewish learning under the leadership of the rabbis Amram Merovas Ephrati, Samuel Ḥalawa, the brothers Najjār, and others.

Very few of the Spanish exiles of 1492 came to Algeria. The only city that attracted them was Tlemcen, which they reached by way of Oran. It has been said, however, that the loss of Granada, Spain, in 1492 by the Muslims had grave repercussions for the Jews in Algeria. In cases such as that of the Muslim preacher al-Maghillī, resentment was expressed in violent tirades against the Jews. The prosperous and powerful communities of Tlemcen and, in particular, Tuat were destroyed some years later as a result of such agitation. Just after these events, the Spanish occupation of Oran (1509–1708) and Bougie (1509–55), resulted in Jewish property being pillaged and the Jews themselves sold as slaves. Finally, however, some influential families such as Jacob *Cansino, Jacob b. Aaron, and *Sasportas convinced the Spaniards in Oran that their Arab policy would best be served by accepting a Jewish community in Oran. In the 17th and 18th centuries, descendants of Marranos and Jews from Leghorn, Italy, settled in Algeria, especially Algiers. Among the first who arrived were the Lousada, Alvarenga, Zacuto, Molco, and dela Rosa families; among the later ones were the Soliman, *Busnach, *Bouchara, *Bacri, Lealtad, and *Delmar families. They played an important role in ransoming Christian captives for European governments, and their commercial activities enriched the country.

The "refugees of 1391" had stimulated Algerian trade and brought prosperity to remote communities. They exported ostrich feathers from Mzab and African gold from Tuat, as well as burnooses, rugs, cereals, wool, and pelts to Europe, while European products were in turn sold in Africa by the same merchants. At that time the Jews owned estates, slaves, and flocks. In the regions subject to a central power, the Jews paid the **jizya*, the tax levied on all non-Muslims. Their rabbis were exempted from it, as were the merchants, mainly descendants of *megorashim*, because they paid customs on their imports. The native Jews were thus in an inferior position. Moreover, the *megorashim* had a separate quarter, synagogue, and even cemetery. Their dress was also different from that of the native Jews; they continued this distinction by wearing berets or hoods. Thus, they were called *ba'alei ha-kappus* or *kabbusiyyin*, in contrast to the *ba'alei ha-miẓnefet*, native Jews who wore turbans.

The organization of the communities that was established in the 14th century was in effect until 1830. At the head of each community was a *Sheikh al-Yahūd*, or *Zaken ha-Yehudim*, called also **muqaddam*, who was appointed by the Muslim authorities. His powers were discretionary, tempered only by protests of the rabbis. A prison and the police were at his disposal for punishing and carrying out the sentences of the *bet din*. He also named the officers (*gedolei ha-kahal, ziknei ha-kahal*) who were charged with the collection and administration of charity funds, and the management of the synagogue and charitable institutions. The Judeo-Spanish groups chose their officers (*ne'emanim*) themselves. The rabbinical courts were composed of three judges chosen and paid by the community. Only civil disputes were brought to them; they had no jurisdiction in criminal matters.

Although the rabbinical courts were available to Algerian Jews, they tended more and more to turn to Muslim civil courts. To discourage this practice the rabbis were able to threaten, and indeed put into effect, decrees of excommunication. On questions of *minhag*, however, the rabbis were often compelled to approve the local custom followed by African Jews. Some later practices originated in *takkanot*. The *haskamot*, agreements over administrative regulations, also legalized local practices. The particular regulations of each community gave it a certain individuality that it jealously preserved for future generations. This resulted in collections of *minhagim*, prayers, and liturgy (*piyyutim*), the work of local rabbis, written either in Hebrew or Judeo-Arabic. The communities of Tlemcen, Oran, and Algiers each had its own *maḥzor*. Sometimes the synagogues of the same town even had different liturgies. Thus, in the 18th century the community of Algiers was convulsed by disputes over liturgy.

Jewish-Muslim relations were, on the whole, good. It was only occasionally that outbursts of fanaticism gave rise to local persecutions. In certain towns it was accepted that at such times the mosques, although forbidden to infidels, should serve as a refuge to the Jews. The religious Muslim leaders sometimes helped them; for example, the *marabout* (Muslim holy man) of Blida, southwest of Algiers, stopped a pogrom and forced the plunderers to return their booty.

Generally, from the 16th century the situation of the southern Jews was better than that of their coreligionists in the centers under Turkish domination. The Turks were the ruling class who had come to exploit the country, and they treated the natives, both Muslims and Jews, roughly. Most Jews, living in separate quarters, were at their mercy. They increased the restrictions imposed on Jews in Islamic countries more through greed than fanaticism. On the other hand, the "sovereign" days, chosen by the Janissaries, and the beys, governors of provinces, humored the upper-class Jews, from among whom they chose their counselors, physicians, financiers, and diplomats. The Muslim rulers charged these diplomats with the difficult assignment of maintaining relations with European Powers, a task that was complicated by the pirate raids on European ships, condoned by the Algerian rulers. It was usually the wealthy and influential Jews originally from Leghorn, the *Gorenim* who received these assignments. Their high positions could not, however, protect them against the violence of the Janissaries who resented the favors the Jews received from the bey. The assassination in 1805 of the bey's chief aide, the powerful Naphtali Busnach, was followed by the only massacre of Jews to take place in Algiers.

The French government had accumulated enormous debts to the Bacri and Busnach families, relatives and partners, who had been delivering grain to France for them since the end of the 18th century. These unpaid debts were the cause of diplomatic incidents that resulted in the French conquest of Algiers in 1830. The French conquest opened a new era for the 30,000 Jews of Algeria. In the beginning the communities were allowed to continue their self-government, and the rabbis continued to administer justice. But this autonomous structure was soon overturned. Rabbinical justice was deprecated and jurisdiction of the Jews passed to the French tribunals. The *muqaddam*, who had previously headed each Jewish community, was replaced by a deputy mayor. These reforms did not give rise to any protests on the part of the Jewish population, as they retained their previous legal status. However, the changes caused some to leave: many European Jews returned to Leghorn, and the middle class, small tradesmen, and craftsmen emigrated to Morocco and Tunisia. On the other hand, Moroccan and Tunisian Jews, attracted by new conditions, immigrated into Algeria. There was also a movement of Jews from the south toward the centers and the port towns.

The Jews under French Rule

French colonialism lasted from 1830 to 1962. The duration of colonialism, the presence of French settlers, the involvement of French Jewry, and the impact of the changes in the country, its people, and its Jews shaped Jewish community history during this period. The cornerstones of the period were the establishment of the consistorial organization in 1845, the naturalization of the Jews in 1870, World War II and its impact (1939–45), and the decolonization processes from 1954 to 1962. The modernization process of Algerian Jewry was the most complete in the Muslim world; Jews became French citizens and dissociated themselves from Muslim society. It is not surprising that at the end of the colonial area most Algerian Jews continued their life in France, like all the French settlers.

Under the French each municipal council and chamber of commerce had one or two Jewish members. In 1858 a Jewish general counselor was elected for each province. In 1845, after a long mission of two French Jews, Jacques-Isaac Alters and Josef Cohen, consistories, on the model of those of France, were created in Algiers, Oran, and Constantine. Chief rabbis, brought from France, were appointed and paid by the government, and presided over all other religious functionaries. One of the tasks of these chief rabbis was to promote the emancipation of their followers, although they were not yet French citizens. Cultural assimilation was so rapid that it provoked a break with the old Jewish world. Some attempted to fight the trend toward total assimilation in such undertakings as the establishment of Hebrew printing houses in Algiers in 1853 and Oran in 1856 and 1880. French education, despite its advantages, led many Jews who were unprepared for it to leave Judaism. To counteract this trend *talmud torah* schools were opened in many cities. Several highly influential families formed a Jewish intelligentsia, capable of assimilating French civilization yet maintaining their own traditions. Members of these families were the first to enter the liberal professions, becoming magistrates, physicians, lawyers, engineers, high-ranking officers in the army, and, later, university professors. Both they and the French Jews favored the naturalization of Algerian Jews as did also French liberals.

Algerian Jews were granted the right of individual naturalization in 1865, and on October 24, 1870, by the *Crémieux Decree all Algerian Jews were forced to become French citizens, with the exception of those in the south, whose legal situation remained uncertain. This was the first instance in the Muslim world in which the Jew's legal status changed so radically. The naturalization of some 35,000 Jews resulted in a wave of antisemitism. Jews were attacked and in Tlemcen in 1881, in Algiers in 1882, 1897, and 1898, in Oran and Sétif in 1883, and in Mostaganem in 1897, where the violence reached its peak. Up to 1900 there were in all towns and villages cases of looting and killing, and numerous cases of synagogues being sacked and the Holy Scrolls desecrated and used as banners by the rioters. The *Dreyfus affair in France inflamed the anti-Jewish campaign even more. An antisemitic party came to power: Edouard *Drumont was elected the representative of Algiers and Max Regis became its mayor. Extraordinary measures were taken against the Jews. In Constantine, by decision of the deputy mayor Emile Morinaud, Jewish patients were not admitted to hospitals. The illegality of such steps, together with the fact that the Muslims failed to support the movement, brought about the defeat of the antisemitic party; in 1902 it ceased to exist altogether.

It should be emphasized that the wave of antisemitism came only from the French colonial settlers. It was a modern form of antisemitism deriving from the fear of a breakdown of the colonial hierarchy in which "inferior" elements might become part of the ruling class.

The heroic participation of Jews in World War I caused an improvement of relations, although in 1921 there was a renewed outburst of hatred in Oran. Hitler's rise to power, greeted with rejoicing by the antisemites, caused a new wave of antisemitic campaigns, which resulted in a massacre in Constantine in 1934.

The crisis was renewed in 1936, when Léon *Blum, a Jew, became premier of France. The Jewish Algerian Committee for Social Studies, directed by Henri Abulker, André Lévi-Valensi, Elie *Gozlan, and others, undertook intensive activities aimed at curbing the racial unrest. Subsequently, the Union of Monotheistic Believers (Union des Croyants Monothéistes) was formed; during World War II it was responsible for the Muslims declining to identify themselves with the antisemitism of the Vichy government.

Holocaust Period

Despite the bravery shown by the Jews on the front during World War II, one of the first measures taken after the French defeat in 1940 was to abrogate the Crémieux Decree. The 117,646 Jews of Algeria became the object of daily suffering: they were cast outside the pale of society, impoverished, and humiliated. The Algerian administration applied the racial laws of Vichy with excessive severity. After Jewish children were banned from attending schools and restrictive clauses were applied in institutions of higher learning, Robert *Brunschwig organized private courses and schools. The expenses of these private schools were met by the communities jointly, although the financial burden was heavy. Some time later, the government totally forbade Jewish higher education and put the Jewish schools under strict, malevolent supervision without, however, contributing toward their upkeep. Only the rabbis were granted the right to represent the community before the authorities.

Algerian Jewry, in danger of total destruction, was saved only by its own determination. The Algerian resistance movement was the work of Jews, and consisted almost entirely of Jews. Among its leaders were Raphael and Stéphane Abulker, Roger and Pierre Carcassone, Jean Dreyfus, Jean Gozlan, and Roger Jais. Their activity led to the insurrection of Algiers led by Jose Abulker on November 8, 1942, which neutralized the capital while the Americans landed in the country as part of Operation Torch. Paradoxically, after this victory of the allies in Algeria, General Giraud, Admiral Darlan, and Governor Yves Câtel, with the complicity of the local diplomatic representative of the U.S.A., Robert Murphy, took new measures against the Jews, including the establishment of detention camps. The protests of Jewish international and Algerian organizations and the French Committee of National Liberation in London, the intervention of highly placed Jews, Muslims, and Christians against this injustice, and a world-wide campaign were all of no avail against the will of the antisemites. Finally after the personal intervention of President Roosevelt, the Crémieux Decree was again put into force on October 20, 1943. However, it was only in 1947 that equality for all was proclaimed.

[David Corcos / Haim Saadoun (2nd ed.)]

Contemporary Period

During the postwar period a number of Jewish organizations were formed in Algeria. The Fédération des Communautés Israélites d'Algérie was established in April 1947 for the purpose of defending Algerian Jewry and safeguarding its religious institutions. *ORT was founded in 1946 in Algiers and Constantine; the Ecole Rabbinique d'Algérie, established in 1947, began its activities in 1948; the Comité Juif Algérien d'Etudes Sociales, formed after World War I, resumed its activities in 1948 and published a monthly, *Information Juive*, from 1948 to April 1962 in Algiers and from September 1963 in Paris.

Although the formal structure of the Algerian community resembled the French pattern centering around legally sanctioned "religious associations," in practice each *kehillah* functioned autonomously. Until 1961 the Fédération united 60 different communities. Thereafter the communal structure underwent a gradual disintegration and communal life became primarily a function of local customs and traditions.

The fate of the community was fundamentally determined by the Algerian nationalist struggle for independence. Tragically caught between two violently opposed forces the marginal position of the Jews in Algerian society exposed them to constant danger.

The conflict had already become clear in August 1956 when the FLN (Front de Libération Nationale – the Algerian National Liberation Front, an organization dedicated to achieving Algerian independence) appealed to the "Algerians of Jewish origin" who "have not yet overcome their troubled consciences, or have not decided which side they will choose" to opt for Algerian nationality. Jewish fears increased when, on February 18, 1958, two emissaries of the Jewish Agency were kidnapped and assassinated by the FLN. In December 1960 the Great Synagogue of Algiers was desecrated and the Jewish cemetery in Oran was defiled. The son of William Levy, a Jewish socialist leader was killed by the FLN and subsequently Levy also was assassinated by the OAS (Organisation Armée Secrète – a counter-terror organization opposed to an independent Algeria). In May 1956 the Mossad, the Israeli secret service, which had begun to work in North Africa and created networks of Algerian Jews from Constantine, attacked the Muslims of Constantine in response to continuous attacks against Jews. About 20 Muslims were killed as a warning to Algerian Muslims not to involve the Jews in their struggle with the French.

Until 1961 the majority of Algerian Jews had hoped that partition or a system of dual nationality would obviate the conflict. As the struggle developed, however, they increasingly feared that popular reaction would be directed against them not only as Europeans but as Jews and Zionists. Consequently, although the community never adopted an official anti-independence position, in March 1961 a delegation from the Comité Juif Algérien d'Etudes Sociales urged that the negotiations then in prospect should obtain official recognition of the French nature of the Algerian Jewish community. (Later it was agreed in Evian to treat Jewish Algerians as "Europeans.")

By the 1960s the "Gallicization" of the large mass of Algerian Jews had developed to the point where both their emotional allegiances and cultural predispositions were largely French. The resulting diminution of Jewish observances did not, however, reflect a positive integration into the Algerian French community which was less a community than a settlement of colons. Fundamentally, however, the separate identity of the community was maintained by the system of status inherent in Islamic society where religion and family and not formal nationality and cultural behavior were the determinative factors. The term "Frenchman" in Algeria did not apply to either Arab or Jew. The FLN and OAS reign of terror and counter-terror in 1961 and 1962 had catastrophic consequences for the Jewish community. As elsewhere in North Africa the Jewish quarters often straddled the European and Arab sections. These quarters often sustained the first and sometimes only Muslim reprisals after attacks by European terrorists on the Muslim quarters. These often degenerated into pitched battles between the two communities, especially their youth.

Throughout this period there was a steady flow of emigration of Jews from Algeria. The rate of emigration rose steeply in mid-1962 when, as a result of OAS violence, the community feared that the proclamation of independence would precipitate a Muslim outburst. By the end of July 1962, 70,000 Jews had left for France and another 5,000 for Israel. France treated the Algerian Jews on an equal footing with the non-Jewish repatriates. The United Jewish Social Fund made extraordinary efforts to help the refugees. In the course of a few months, no fewer than 32,000 refugees arrived in Paris and the nearby communities. Many Jewish refugees from southern Algeria found a haven in Strasbourg and its vicinity and were gradually integrated with the aid of the existing Jewish community. It is estimated that some 80% of Algerian Jews settled in France.

After Algeria had achieved its independence, all its Jews who held French citizenship retained it, except for a few iso-

Algerian towns and corresponding Jewish population figures, 1838–1968.

Year	1838	1861	1881	1901	1921	1941	1955	1968
Algiers	6,065		5,372	10,822	17,053	25,591	30,000	400
Aumale			270	29	145	221		
Biskra			38	112	28		500	
Blida	113		395	1,077	962	1,269	2,500	
Bône	283	607	625	1,387	1,733	3,147	4,000	
Bougle	10	216	482	561	132	625		
Bou-Saâda			343	433	682			
Constantine		4,093	5,213	7,196	9,889	13,037	16,000	
Ghardaïa						1,642	1,100	
Laghoust						443		
Mascara			696	384	81	1,958		
Médés			1,460	1,398	1,005	529		
Miliana			850	827	649	557	450	
Mostaganem	698		1,230	766	152	1,828	2,300	
Nedroma			267	386	529	560		
Oran	5,637		3,549	10,651	15,943	26,671	30,000	400
Sétif		736	936	1,601	3,015	2,050		
Souk-Ahras		198		416	516	624	750	
Tiaret			342	416	92	1,586	2,000	
Tlemcen			3,745	4,910	5,150	4,907	5,000	
Total		21,048	47,500	50,000	73,967	120,000	140,000	3,000

lated cases. The regime of Ben-Bella maintained a correct relationship with the Jews. During the years 1963–65, the minister of culture addressed the Jewish congregation at the synagogue of Algiers on the Day of Atonement.

In February 1964 a General Assembly was held at Oran by the Jewish communities of Algeria, which elected Charles Hababou as its president. After Houari Boumédienne rose to power in 1965 the situation rapidly deteriorated. Heavy taxes were imposed on the Jews, and discrimination of various kinds betrayed the anti-Jewish tendencies of the government. The rabbis no longer received their salaries from the state. This was explained by the fact that they had not become Algerian nationals. The Supreme Court of Justice declared that the Jews were no longer under the protection of the law, and an intensive economic boycott was instituted against Jewish merchants. The police engineered a libel suit against Hababou on the grounds that he had had connections with Zionism. In September 1966, as the result of a case brought before the Economic Court, Désiré Drai was condemned to death together with two non-Jews; but whereas he was executed on the day of Rosh Ha-Shanah, the two others were pardoned. On June 5, 1967, the Algerian press launched a violent attack against Israel and the Jews. The walls of the synagogues of Algiers and other Jewish communities were defaced. With one exception, all the synagogues in the country were taken over and converted into mosques, and the Jewish cemeteries of the country fell into decay. By 1969 fewer than one thousand Jews remained in Algeria. Most of the young men and women left, and thus there were hardly any marriages. The property of the Jewish communities was abandoned. (See Table: Algerian towns and corresponding Jewish population figures, 1838–1968.)

[Robert Attal]

The Jews who remained in the 1970s were mostly of advanced in age, unwilling to leave their assets behind and emigrate with the rest of the Jewish community to France. Only 50 Jews remained in Algeria in the 1990s, nearly all in Algiers, but there were individual Jews in Oran and Blida. A synagogue functioned in Algiers but had no rabbi. All the other synagogues were taken over for use as mosques.

Relations with Israel

On gaining independence, Algeria joined the *Arab League and fully participated in its conferences against Israel. On June 5, 1967, Algeria along with other Arab states declared war on Israel, sending military assistance to Egypt. Even the Egyptian acceptance of ceasefire was denounced by Algerian mobs. Consequently, President Boumedienne pressed the U.S.S.R. to adopt a firmer anti-Israel policy, "a firm commitment to wipe out traces of the aggression" as well as to give military aid, some of which was subsequently channeled to Egypt. On July 23, 1968, the PFLP ("Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine,") hijacked an El Al plane to Algeria. The plane, the crew, and its male Israel passengers were kept under detention for several weeks and only released in return for terrorists being held by Israel. Algeria adopted an extreme attitude among the anti-Israel Arab factions, and gave full support to the Palestinian terrorists. It repeatedly expressed its official reservations regarding the Israeli-Palestinian peace process.

[Robert Attal]

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AL-GHARĪḌ AL-YAHŪDĪ (early seventh century), poet, singer, and composer from *Medina in Arabia. Al-Gharīḍ al-Yahūdī is not to be confused with al-Gharīḍ (nickname meaning the fresh voice), one of the four great singers in the early Islamic era (d. 716). The biographical account of al-Gharīḍ the Jew is reported by the 10th-century author al-Iṣfahānī in his monumental *Kitāb al-Aghānī* ("Book of Songs"), which contains a collection of poems from the pre-Islamic period to the ninth century, all of which had been set to music. Al-Gharīḍ the Jew is described in this book as a Kohen descended from Aaron ben Amram and a member of the Jewish group living in Yathrib (i.e., Medina, the city of the Prophet *Muhammad). Al-Iṣfahānī mentions in the same context other Jewish poets belonging to the same group, but the very fact that he dedicated a special entry to al-Gharīḍ points to his artistic ability and reputation. Al-Iṣfahānī even reports that Muhammad was pleased with one of al-Gharīḍ's songs.

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[Amnon Shiloah (2nd ed.)]

ALGHERO, Sardinian port. The Jewish community developed there in the second half of the 14th century after Sardinia was acquired by the crown of Aragon. In 1354 Jews supplied the conquering army of Peter IV of Aragon and took part in the siege of Alghero. Among them were Jews from Castile, Sicily, Catalonia, and Majorca. Several are listed as soldiers. Following the conquest, many remained in Alghero. The first group of immigrants was joined in 1370 by families coming from Catalonia and southern France. Around 1400, new waves of immigrants came to Alghero, mainly from Provence. In 1360 King Peter IV conceded the Jews of Cagliari the privilege of erecting a tower in Alghero and permitted them to affix a commemorative stone to the wall to mark its foundation. The synagogue, built in 1381, was enlarged in 1438. The cemetery was established in 1383 and extended in 1435. As long as the attitude of the Aragonese authorities toward the Jews remained favorable, they were prominent in Alghero's economic life. A Jew, Vidal de Santa Pau, advanced money to the authorities for restoring the city walls in 1423. In 1454 Samuel de Carcassona and Jacob Cohen, secretaries of the Jewish community of Alghero, obtained the right to emblazon the royal coat of arms on the wall of the synagogue. The wealthy Carcassona family loaned money to the Aragonese kings throughout the 15th century. In 1481 the brothers Samuel and Nino Carcassona were victualers for the royal galleys and military paymasters. Maimon Carcassona gave hospitality to the viceroy on his visits to Alghero. Moses, the richest property owner in the Jewish quarter, was the official collector of taxes and duties. Several celebrated physicians, including Bonjudes *Bondavin of Marseille, lived in Alghero. The friendly attitude of the Aragonese authorities toward the Jews found expression in the regulations of 1451 exempting them from wearing the Jewish *badge and from having to listen to missionary sermons. They were also granted judicial autonomy and exemption from taxation. Conditions for Alghero Jewry began to deteriorate in 1481 when they shared the treatment meted out to the Jews of Spain. They were expelled in 1492 after the general edict of expulsion from the Spanish dominions. The Carcassona family, who became Christians, remained. Antonio Angelo Carcassona (born in 1515) studied law at the universities of Bologna and Rome, graduating as a doctor of both civil and canon law. In 1533 and in 1586 members of the Carcassona family were tried by the Spanish Inquisition for inviting foreign Jews as guests in their house in Alghero.

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[Attilio Milano / Nadia Zeldes (2nd ed.)]

ALGIERS (**Al-Jazair**), capital of *Algeria. The small Jewish community in the late Middle Ages was enlarged after 1248 by Jews from the Languedoc and about 1287 by Jews from Majorca. The population of Majorcan Jews increased between 1296 and 1313, when the town enjoyed a short-lived independence. The Majorcan Jews were arms suppliers. Before 1325 the port was visited regularly by Catalans and Genoese, as well as by Jewish shipowners and merchants.

The first Jewish refugees from Spain were warmly welcomed in 1391, but their increasing numbers caused anxiety among the Muslims and the native Jews, who feared their competition. One individual (whose identity cannot be ascertained), himself an immigrant, used his influence to prevent the landing of 45 newcomers and advised that all the fugitives be sent back, as they were accused of being Marranos. The *qadi* (Muslim religious judge) intervened in their favor.

The Spanish Jews prospered greatly and finally became the majority; they separated themselves from the native Jewish community by acquiring a cemetery and synagogue of their own and moving into a separate quarter. The leader of these Jews at first was R. Saul Ha-Kohen *Astruc, a scholar and philanthropist, who served as judge for the whole community. His successors were the famous R. Isaac *Bonastruc, R. *Isaac b. Sheshet (Ribash), and R. Simeon b. Ẓemaḥ *Duran; they instituted the so-called *takkanot* of Algiers which governed the religious life of Algerian and Tunisian Jews. Because of the school of Isaac b. Sheshet and the Durans, Algiers became a major religious and intellectual center in the 15th century. Many Marranos moved there in order to practice Judaism openly. The large-scale maritime trade of the Spanish Jews at the end of the 14th century gave economic impetus to the city and prepared it somewhat for its future role.

From early in the 16th century, the Turks ruled in Algiers. In order to develop trade, they encouraged the creation of a privileged class. They employed Jews as advisers and physicians; Jews were also responsible for the coining of money and the accounts of the treasury. The mass of the people, Moors and Jews, suffered periodically from the whims of the Janissaries and the cruelty of the militia. In 1706 an outbreak of the plague and a terrible famine reduced many Jewish families to indigence. Then, influenced by false accusations, the bey imposed an exorbitant fine on the community and ordered the destruction of the synagogues, which were saved only by the payment of a further sum. This ruined the majority of the Jews. They commemorated the failure of the Spanish who attacked Algiers in 1541 and 1775 by instituting two "Purims" of Algiers, which were celebrated every year by the whole community. From the 17th century onward, former Portuguese Marranos and many Dutch, Moroccan, and Leghorn Jewish families went to settle there. Proficient in business, many owning their own ships, they gained control of Algerian commerce and extended the system of letters of exchange, and that of concessions and agencies in Europe and the East. These new immigrants intermarried with the older families of the town and settled on the Street of the Livornese, completely separated from the *Ḥara* ("quarter"). These "Juifs Francs" ("Francos," i.e., free from the obligations of other Jews), or "Christian Jews" (because they wore European garments), were employed by all European countries to ransom Christian prisoners. Many were able diplomats who negotiated or signed various peace and trade treaties. Among these diplomats in the second half of the 17th century were Jacob de Paz, Isaac Sasportas, David Torres, Judah Cohen (d. early 18th century), and Soliman Jaquete (d. 1724). Their families became the aristocracy of the community and were active in promoting its welfare.

Internal strife in the Jewish community appeared only when the kabbalists R. Joshua Sidun, R. Joseph Abulker, R. Aaron Moatti, and above all R. Abraham Tubiana (d. 1792) introduced new rituals in their synagogues in accordance with the theories of R. Isaac *Luria. Members of other synagogues considered this sacrilegious and accused the innovators of promoting a schism. Until the mid-20th century two different rituals were followed in the synagogues of Algiers, that of the *mekubbalim*, or kabbalists, and that of the *pashtanim*, or those who followed the original customs of the refugees from Barcelona and Majorca. The intense religious life of the community was stimulated later in the 16th century by eminent scholars such as R. Abraham Tawa, R. Moses Meshash, R. Abraham *Gavison, physician to the famous "beylerbey" (Ottoman governor) Euldj Ali (1568–87), R. Solomon Duran II and his disciple R. Judah Khallas II (d. 1620), R. Solomon Ṣeror (d. 1664) and his grandson Raphael-Jedidiah Ṣeror (d. 1737), the philosopher R. Mas'ud Guenoun (d. 1694), the poet R. Nehorai Azubib (d. 1785), and R. Judah *Ayash, one of the most venerated rabbis of Algiers. Their works, however, were neglected by the new generations, which turned toward other forms of culture.

In the late 18th–early 19th centuries the wealth of certain families added to the enormous influence of Naphtali *Busnach; this aroused the jealousy of the Janissaries, who assassinated Busnach. The day after Busnach's assassination (June 29, 1805), they sacked Algiers killing between 200 and 500 Jews. Despite this catastrophe, the great families would not forgo their internal disputes nor their fierce competition for power. David Bacri succeeded his partner and relative Naphtali Busnach as head of the community. He was beheaded in 1811 by the dey and replaced by David Duran who represented the opposing families. The latter was in his turn put to death by the dey during the same year, and Joseph Bacri assumed the title of **muqaddam* (head of the community). Involved against his will in disputes between the Jewish families, the rabbi of Algiers, R. Isaac Abulker, was dragged to the stake with seven other notables of the town (1815). After the landing of the French in 1830, Jacob Bacri was named "Chef de la Nation Israélite"; he was replaced by Aaron Moatti whose appointment was terminated in 1834.

In 1870 Algerian Jews became French citizens; subsequently antisemitism spread throughout the country manifesting itself in serious pogroms, particularly in Algiers (1884–87, 1897–98). After World War I a Zionist conference, the first in Algeria, was organized at Algiers. Although the Jewish élite was always active in the defense of Judaism, they were loyal French citizens.

The Algiers community was deeply affected by the nationalist struggle for independence. Much of the communal structure ceased to exist. The Great Synagogue in the ancient quarter, ravaged in the Christmas Eve riots of 1960 was only temporarily restored. The Maimonides rabbinical college was closed. During the French army's search of Bab-el-Oued in 1962, in reprisal for the machine-gunning of French soldiers by the local OAS, the synagogue of that quarter was ravaged.

Population Statistics

During the last four centuries the Jewish population of Algiers declined and increased according to the economic and political situation of the capital. In the 16th century it declined from 2,000 to 750 persons, because of the Spanish assaults. In the 17th and 18th centuries the number of Jews rose to 15,000, but then decreased to 7,000 and later, to 5,000. About the same number was found there by the French in 1830. Eight years later there were over 6,000 Jews, but after the antisemitic persecutions of the last decades of the 19th century only 5,000 remained. After 1900, with the defeat of the anti-Jewish party, the Jewish population increased continuously: 10,822 in 1901, 17,053 in 1921, 23,550 in 1931, and 25,591 in 1941. During World War II Algiers received over 1,000 Jewish refugees from Europe; after the uprising against the French in 1954 a large number of Jews from the interior settled in Algiers. Over 95% of this population, numbering about 34,000, left the capital when the declaration of independence was proclaimed in 1962. The vast majority immigrated to France, some went to America, and others to Israel. By 1963 only 2,500 Jews remained in Algiers. In 1969 their number was reduced to a few hundred and at the turn of the century to a few dozen.

For bibliography see *Algeria.

[David Corcos]

ALGUADES (Alguadez), MEIR (d. 1410), personal physician to successive kings of Castile, chief rabbi, and chief justice of Castilian Jewry. After the massacres of 1391, Alguades devoted his energies to rehabilitating the stricken Spanish communities, despite his personal misfortunes (his son-in-law had accepted baptism during the persecutions). Alguades' activities extended beyond the frontiers of Castile into Aragon and Navarre. He was a friend and patron of Solomon ha-Levi of Burgos (later *Pablo de Santa Maria), Benveniste de la *Cavalleria, and Ḥasdai *Crescas, the learned apologist and satirist Profiat *Duran, and the poet Solomon da Piera, who composed an elegy on Alguades' death. Alguades translated into Hebrew Aristotle's *Ethics* (ed. by Satanow, Berlin, 1790) and in his foreword speaks of the obstacles which he encountered in his work, while leading the life of a courtier bound to accompany the monarch on his travels. A number of medical prescriptions written by Alguades in Spanish have been preserved in Hebrew translation. Beside his activities as court physician, Alguades was apparently a tax-farmer. The statutes of the Castilian communities issued at *Valladolid in 1432 confirm that Alguades' widow and daughter were to be exempted from taxes because of the services rendered by him to the Jewish communities. The local legend associating Alguades with the *host desecration charge which entailed disaster for the community of *Segovia in 1410 seems to have no basis other than the improbable account of *Alfonso de Espina in his *Fortalitium Fidei*.

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ALGUM, a tree which cannot be definitely identified. Mentioned among the trees of Lebanon which Hiram, king of Tyre, sent to Solomon for the building of the Temple and the palace (II Chron. 2:7), it is referred to elsewhere as having been imported from tropical Ophir (II Chron. 9:10–11; I Kings 10:11, where it is called *almog*). The Septuagint identifies the tree brought from Lebanon as a species of pine and that from Ophir as apparently a species of Tuja, while the Jerusalem Talmud and the Midrash identify it with *alvos*, i.e., *Aquilaria agallocha*, which is a tropical tree of high quality used in the making of furniture. It has also been identified with the biblical aloe (Num. 24:6; Ps. 45:9; Prov. 7:17; Song 4:14) used in incense and for perfume. In modern Hebrew *almog* is used for coral, which is also the meaning given to it in the Talmud (RH 23a).

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[Jehuda Feliks]

ALḤADIB (al-Aḥdab), ISAAC BEN SOLOMON BEN ẒADDIK (mid-14th century–after 1429), Hebrew poet and astronomer. Of Spanish origin (very likely from Castile), after the events of 1391, Alḥadib went to Sicily in 1396. He lived first in Syracuse and then (1426) in Palermo. He applied his scientific interests to biblical interpretation, and also wrote secular and liturgical poetry. O. Ra'anan published in 1988 a critical edition of almost 90 of his poems, most of them secular, including monorhymed and strophic compositions and some rhymed prose. His poetry, with popular tendencies, is sometimes didactic, ethic, or sapiential, but sometimes also humorous or satiric, including some riddles, proverbs, and polemics, and introductions to prose works. Two interesting poems, alluding to the 13 principles of Maimonides, were written on the occasion of the wedding of his two sons. Like other late Hebrew poets, he wrote in a mannered style (for instance, a poem has one thousand words starting with the letter *nun*), imitating the octosyllabic structure of Romance poetry in many of his Hebrew verses. He wrote a hymn on Esther giving his name in acrostic, and an addition to the poem with which Moses Handali opened his commentary on the Hebrew translation of Al-Fergani's astronomy.

Only one of his works in prose has been published in full, *Leshon ha-Zahav*, on weights and measures mentioned in the Bible (Venice, undated). His writings (in manuscript) include *Oraḥ Selulah*, on calculations; *Iggeret Kelei Ḥemdah*, describing an astronomical apparatus wich he invented in Sicily; *Keli ha-Memuẓa* or *Keli ha-Emẓa'i*, also on astronomy; and *Ma'amar be-Gidrei ha-Devarim*, on theological terminology.

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[Abraham Meir Habermann / Angel Saenz-Badillos (2nd ed.)]

AL HA-MISHMAR (Heb. עַל הַמִּשְׁמָר), Hebrew daily newspaper of the Israeli left-wing *Mapam Party, its affiliated Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir youth movement, and the Kibbutz Arẓi network of agricultural settlements. Established in Tel Aviv in 1943 under the editorship of Mordekhai *Bentov as *Ha-Shomer*, it became *Al ha-Mishmar* five years later after Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir merged with Aḥdut ha-Avodah into Mapam. The newspaper was both a voice of the strident left-wing of the Zionist movement and the more inward-looking network of agricultural settlements. A quality newspaper, it covered national and international developments as well as local kibbutz news. In its earlier days its journalistic style was of a party organ. Yet its literary pages in particular were open to non-party voices. Its journalistic workforce consisted of members of kibbutzim on loan to work on the newspaper. After Bentov was elected a Mapam member of the Knesset, he was replaced as editor by Ya'akov Amit. Other editors of the paper were Marek Geffen, Ḥayyim Shaw, Sever Plotzkur, and Zvi Timor. In later years the paper's style was characterized by less ideological rigidity. Its staff included not only kibbutz members but also professional journalists. Its readership reached 15,000–18,000, but 10,000 of these were kibbutz subscriptions. Its circulation declined to 8,000 in the 1990s after kibbutz members were no longer required to read the paper. Their preference for the non-party commercial press, and for television over neswspapers, together the financial problems which struck the kibbutz movement, caused the paper to close in March 2005.

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[Yoel Cohen (2nd ed.)]

ALHANATI, DAVID (1908–1990), Greek attorney and community activist. Alhanati was born in Athens to a mixed Romaniote/Sephardi family from Ioannina and Larisa. He studied law at the University of Athens and from 1935 until 1942 he was legal advisor to the Jewish Communities of Greece and served on its board. During World War II, he fought in the Greek army on the Albanian front in 1940–41, was arrested by the Italians in 1942 as a prominent member of the Athenian Jewish community, and during the German occupation from September 24, 1943, went into hiding in the mountains and found refuge with a Greek friend in Pirgos until the liberation. Previously, he had assisted Rabbi Barzilai when he was pressed to hand over community lists to the Germans, and burned the Athenian community Jewish archives.

In 1945, he founded the Board of Jewish Communities of Greece (KIS) and served as its first chairman. He also founded the OPAIE Organization of Rehabilitation of Jews in Greece and was its vice president from 1945 until 1952. He represented the Jewish community of Greece in war trials held in the late 1940s and 1950s in Greece against Jewish and German Nazi collaborators. In 1945–46, together with the Mosad le-Aliyah Bet, he helped organize the voyage of four boats of illegal immigrants from Greece and Northern Europe departing from the Sounion coast, southeast of Athens, to Ereẓ Israel. He established two *hakhsharah* (training) farms in 1945, which housed *ma'pilim* ("illegal" immigrants), as they waited for their departure to Ereẓ Israel.

Alhanati was president of the Union of Greek Zionists (1965–84), was Greek delegate to the 26th and 27th World Zionist Congresses, and was president of the Jewish National Fund in Greece from 1965 until his later years. He also was secretary-general of the HELLAS-Israel organization and a lifetime member of B'nai B'rith.

In Athens, Alhanati also represented the legal interests of the Jewish National Fund and the Jewish Agency, and worked together with the Joint Distribution Committee to rebuild the lives of Greek Holocaust survivors and help Jewish refugees from Arab Middle Eastern countries and the former Eastern Bloc of the Soviet Union reach the West for relocation.

[Yitzchak Kerem (2nd ed.)]

AL HA-NISSIM (Heb. עַל הַנִּסִּים; "for the miracles"), thanksgiving prayer added to the penultimate benediction of the *Amidah* and to the Grace after Meals on Ḥanukkah and Purim. The prayer starts with a general introduction: "For the miracles, the redemption, the mighty deeds, the saving acts, and the (victorious) wars, which Thou didst for our fathers in former times at this season." On Ḥanukkah a condensed account of the Hasmonean Revolt is added. The opening words of this section "In the days of Mattathias, the Hasmonean, son of Johanan the high priest…" present some difficulties owing to an apparent confusion between Jonathan, the high priest, and Johanan, father of Mattathias the Hasmonean. The additional recitation for Purim briefly retells the story of Purim. This prayer dates back to talmudic times (Shab. 24a). Several ancient sources also have the addition "as Thou hast done for them, thus perform for us, Lord our God, miracles and wonders, in our days" (Sof. 20:8, also *Siddur R. Amram Ga'on, Seder Ḥanukkah*, and *Siddur R. Sa'adyah Ga'on*, 256), but the prayer books omit this phrase on the halakhic principle that petitions and thanksgivings should be kept separate (Sh. Ar., OḤ 682:1). An imitative form of *Al ha-Nissim* was inserted into the *Amidah* and the Grace after Meals on the local Purims (see Special *Purims), and an attempt has been made to establish the recitation of such a prayer on Independence Day in Israel.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Elbogen, Gottesdienst, 130ff.

AL-ḤARIZI, JUDAH BEN SOLOMON (1165–1225), Hebrew poet and translator. He was born in Spain, very likely in Christian Toledo, a city that at this time preserved Arabic culture and that he describes with particular detail; however, there are no conclusive proofs of it, and other places have also been suggested. His education in this cultural atmosphere made him familiar with Arabic and Hebrew language and literature. Al-Ḥarizi was a member of a wealthy family which became impoverished, and was therefore dependent on patrons.

He spent some years in Provence, where he translated several Arabic works into Hebrew for the non-Arabic speaking Jews and participated in the ideological disputes of the time, returning to Spain in 1190; in 1205 he was in Toledo and wrote a poem on the death of Joseph ben Shoshan. During discussions of the work of Maimonides he defended the Master against the anti-rationalist rabbis from Toledo. Some time later he left Spain to travel to the Orient. He first went to Marseilles, and from there he sailed to Egypt; in 1215 he arrived in Alexandria and from there he visited Cairo, later continuing to Palestine, Syria, and Iraq. According to the information that he gives us in one of his works, in 1218 he was in Jerusalem. Damascus, Aleppo, Mosul, and Baghdad were among the cities visited. He mentions seeing the tombs of the prophet Ezekiel and of Ezra in Susa. The ten last years of his life, until his death in Aleppo in 1225, are now much better known thanks to important documents discovered and published in recent years. J. Sadan published in 1996 an Arabic biography written by Ibn al-Sha'ar al-Mawṣilī in a work on the poets of his time (the first half of the 13th century). There are also many details about his travels in his *Taḥkemoni* as well as in an Arabic description, *Al-rawḍah al-anīqah* ("The Pleasant Garden"), written by Al-Ḥarizi himself in his last years, which has been published and annotated by Y. Yahalom and Y. Blau (2002).

We do not know exactly the reasons for Al-Ḥarizi's travels. Scholars usually allude to his curiosity, to spiritual motifs, like the love for Zion, to the search for rich patrons in the Orient, etc. Al-Ḥarizi's visits to these countries helped to acquaint the Jewish communities there with Spanish-Hebrew culture. Most of his compositions were written during his travels and contain reflections on his experiences. He wrote many poems in honor of the prominent Jewish men of these communities, both satirizing their defects and praising their virtues, and used to revise what he had previously written, sometimes leaving different versions of his writings.

Al-Ḥarizi's most important literary translation is his Hebrew rendering of the *maqamat* of the Arabic poet Al-Ḥariri (Bosra, d. 1121), which he entitled *Maḥbarot Iti'el* ("Notebooks of Ithiel"), completed before 1218. His translation of the *maqama*, an Arabic literary form in rhyming prose, attains the quality of an original composition, and imparts a Hebrew flavor to Al-Ḥariri's typically Arabic art; it reproduces the elusive word play and ornate style of the original. Al-Ḥarizi's translation contained 50 *maqamat* of which only a portion of the first and 26 of the subsequent *maqamat* have been preserved. The *Maḥbarot Iti'el* were published by Th. Chenery (1872), and more recently by Y. Peretz (1951).

Al-Ḥarizi himself used this form for his major work *Sefer Taḥkemoni* ("The Wise One"?), completed after 1220; he was among the first to use this genre in Hebrew literature. Its 50 *maqamat* show Al-Ḥariri's influence, being at the same time his way of showing the possibilities of the Hebrew language and of defending its usage. The language, rhymed prose with some poems intermingled in the text, is taken from the Bible and is often a mosaic of biblical quotations. The different addressees of the work that appear in the manuscripts are not surprisingly Oriental Jews, as Al-Ḥarizi composed this book in his travels through the Orient, from one country to the other, or, as he says, from Egypt to Babylon.

The *maqamat* of the *Taḥkemoni* begin with a narrative frame introduced by the narrator, Heman the Ezrahite, who represents in many cases the opinion of the writer. The main character, Ḥeber the Kenite, resembles the heroes of the Arabic *maqama* in his nature, a roguish polymath and rhymester. He appears in many different forms and is only recognized at the end of the narratives, after having shown his abilities and wisdom. The book includes love ditties, fables, proverbs, riddles, disputes, and satirical sketches, such as the descriptions of a flea and a defense by a rooster about to be slaughtered.

Apart from its literary merit and brilliant, incisive style, the *Taḥkemoni* also throws valuable light on the state of Hebrew culture of the period, and describes the scholars and leaders of the communities visited by the author. Al-Ḥarizi gives vivid descriptions of the worthies of Toledo, the poets of Thebes, a debate between a *Rabbanite and a *Karaite, and conditions in Jerusalem. The *Taḥkemoni* also contains critical evaluations of earlier and contemporary poets, although Al-Ḥarizi's appraisal of his contemporaries is not always reliable and occasionally misses their most essential features.

In spite of the existence of many manuscripts, and of the edition of *Sefer Taḥkemoni* by Obadia Sabak (Constantinople, 1578) and the more modern ones by de Lagarde (1883; 1925); by A. Kaminka (1899); by Y. Toporowsky (1952), etc., no critical edition of the *Taḥkemoni* has been published. Several of the *maqamāt* were translated into Latin, English, French, German, and Hungarian. There is an English translation by V.E. Reichert, *The Tahkemoni of Judah al-Harizi, an English translation*, 2 vols. (Jerusalem, R.H. Cohen's Press, 1965); and a new one by David S. Segal, *The Book of Tahkemoni: Jewish Tales from Medieval Spain* (Portland, Oregon, Littman Library of Jewish Civilization, 2001), with a long section dedicated to the analyses of each *maqama* and a detailed bibliography. A Spanish translation, with introduction and notes, appeared in 1988: *Las asambleas de los sabios (Tahkemoní)*, by C. del Valle (Murcia: Univ. de Murcia).

Al-Ḥarizi also wrote the *Sefer ha-Anak* ("The Necklace"), a collection of 257 short poems on moral and pious themes, mainly composed in two stanzas with rhyming puns (like the book of the same name by Moshe Ibn Ezra). It was published by H. Brody, *Sefer ha-Anak*, in *Festschrift Harkavy* (1908); and by A. Avronim (Tel Aviv, 1945).

In one of the last *maqamāt* of the *Taḥkemoni* Al-Ḥarizi includes more than 170 Hebrew poems according to the Andalusian tradition. In his stay in the Orient he wrote also poems in Arabic and sometimes, in Hebrew and Arabic. A number of his poems not included in the *Taḥkemoni* and *Sefer ha-Anak* are extant in manuscript. Yahalom and Blau have published an autographic letter found in the *Genizah*.

Al-Ḥarizi was notably active as translator of philosophical, halakhic, and medical works from Arabic to Hebrew. Under the Hebrew title *Muserei ha-Filosofim* he translated for the sages of Lunel the *Adāb al-Falāsifa* ("Dicta of the Philosophers") of Ḥunain ibn Isḥak, a collection of proverbs synthesizing Greek and Arabic wisdom literature. This translation was published by Loewenthal in Frankfurt/Main in 1896.

The most important of his prose translations is that of *Maimonides' *Moreh Nevukhim* (*Guide of the Perplexed*, published by A.L. Schlossberg, London 1851–79; reprint Tel Aviv, 1952). Al-Ḥarizi, who translated the book after Samuel ibn *Tibbon for some Jews of Marseille, intended to render it simply and clearly, employing biblical Hebrew. In spite of two chapters added by him explaining difficult words and describing the contents of the chapters, the translation was considered of literary value but failing in accuracy. For this reason it was received with much criticism, and Ibn Tibbon's translation is generally preferred (Y. Shiffman, *Journal of Semitic Studies*, 44/1 (1999), 47–61). It was, however, through Al-Ḥarizi's translation that Maimonides' ideas were propagated in the Christian world. An anonymous Latin translation of the *Guide*, published in Paris by Agostino *Giustiniani in 1520, is based on Al-Ḥarizi's translation and was used by the English schoolmen. Al-Ḥarizi's version also served as the basis for Pedro de Toledo's Spanish translation (published by M. Lazar according to the Ms. 10289, B.N. Madrid, in 1989, Culver City, Calif: Labyrinthos).

Al-Ḥarizi translated in Lunel, for Jonathan ha-Kohen, Maimonides' introduction to the Mishnah and his commentary on the first five tractates of the Mishnah order *Zera'im*. He also translated other minor works, like the *Medicine of the Body* (Ferrara, 1552) and a few short works attributed to Aristotle or Galen.

Al-Ḥarizi's prominence in medieval letters is due both to his light, entertaining, and allusive style, and to the variety of his subject matter. In consonance with the tendencies of the time in Romance literature, his descriptions of nature are more realistic than those generally found in other Spanish Hebrew poets, with a feeling for the rural life and the animal world. He described storms at sea and, with the exception of *Samuel b. Joseph ha-Nagid, was the only medieval Hebrew poet to describe battle scenes.

[Aharon Mirsky and Avrum Stroll /
Angel Saenz-Badillos (2nd ed.)]

As a Musical Writer

Al-Ḥarizi's Hebrew translation of Ḥunain's *Adāb al-Falāsifa* contains, in its first part, three chapters (18–20) on music. As usual in *adāb*-literature, the text consists of sayings and aphorisms uttered by ancient Greek philosophers or other famous men. They deal with the miraculous power of music, its influence on soul, temperament and even animal life, its therapeutic value, and the like. Al-Ḥarizi was the first to introduce these ideas of late Hellenism, which had been transmitted by Ḥunain to Arab philosophy, into Jewish philosophical and musical thought. Circulating in many manuscripts and a print of 1562, they were continually perused and quoted as a source of musical knowledge, and even as late as 1680 by Shabbetai *Bass.

As the original Arabic text has not yet been published from the manuscripts, Al-Ḥarizi's Hebrew version and its modern (though inadequate) translations serve as sole source to students of musical history up to now. The chapters on music in Arabic were edited by A. Shiloaḥ (1958), who showed that Al-Ḥarizi's text is governed by a deep understanding of this intricate subject.

[Hanoch Avenary]

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ALḤAYK, UZZIEL BEN MORDECAI (1740?–1820?), Tunisian rabbi. Alḥayk was born in Tunis where his father was a *dayyan* and communal leader. He studied in the yeshivah of Nathan b. Abraham *Bordjel, the greatest scholar of Tunis, and under David b. Moses Najar. He was appointed rabbi of the Portuguese community in Tunis. Most of his rulings deal with financial problems and testify to his great juristic ability. Alḥayk was very familiar with business and economic problems, and it is possible that he himself engaged in business. His responsa are an important source for the history of the Jews of Tunis of his time. He became friendly with Ḥayyim Joseph David *Azulai during the visit of the latter to Tunis in 1774. He collected the *takkanot* of Tunis which he published in his *Mishkenot ha-Ro'im* (102a ff.; Leghorn, 1860), his most important work, comprising alphabetically arranged articles on the Shulḥan Arukh. It deals primarily with civil law and, to a lesser extent, with laws of marriage. Many of the articles consist of his own responsa and rulings. He wrote *Ḥayyim va-Ḥesed* (Leghorn, 1865), sermons delivered between 1767 and 1810, including eulogies on Tunisian sages and other contemporaries.

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AL ḤET (Heb. עַל חֵטְא; "for the sin"), first words of a formula of confession of sins (and of each line in the formula) recited on the *Day of Atonement. The confession of sins during the afternoon **Amidah* on the eve of the Day of Atonement and in every *Amidah* (and repetition of the *Amidah*) on the day itself, with the exception of that of the **Ne'ilah* service, is required according to a *baraita* (Yoma 87b). In talmudic times, apparently, any expression admitting sinfulness sufficed, but in time a set form of confession evolved. There are two such forms: **Ashamnu*, known as the "Shorter Confession," and *Al Ḥet*, the "Great Confession" (so called in the **Maḥzor Vitry*, 374; *Siddur Rashi*, 96; and *Ha-Manhig*, 60a).

Al Ḥet contains a list of sins in alphabetical order, two sins being allotted to every letter. Each line begins: "For the sin we have sinned before Thee." After the 44 sins in alphabetical order, another nine lines are added enumerating sins according to their prescribed punishments. The recitation is divided into four parts. After each, the formula, "And for all these, O God of forgiveness, forgive us, pardon us, grant us atonement, is chanted during the reader's repetition. The list of sins embraces the specific (e.g., unchastity) and the general (e.g., those committed "unwittingly"), but sins of a ritual nature are not included. The whole confession is in the first person plural, perhaps as an expression of the doctrine of collective responsibility.

The authorship of the *Al Ḥet* is unknown. It is first mentioned in the *She'iltot* of Aḥai Gaon (eighth century) and an abbreviated and probably more original form is found in the *Seder Rav Amram*. The Christian *Didache* (second century) also contains traces of an earlier Jewish alphabetical confession suggesting that this arrangement is very ancient. In the Sephardi rite the alphabetical arrangement is only one letter for each sin, but in some this is followed by a reverse-order alphabetical arrangement. The Yemenites use a shortened version. There are many textual variants of *Al Ḥet* according to different rites; an interesting example of the confession apparently used in pre-expulsion England is contained in the *Eẓ Ḥayyim* (ed. I. Brodie, 1 (1962), 102 ff.). It is customary to recite *Al Ḥet* while standing with the head bowed, and to beat one's breast at the mention of each sin. In Reform usage the *Al Ḥet* has been considerably shortened.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Baer S., Siddur, 416 ff.; Elbogen, Gottesdienst, 150; Idelsohn, Liturgy, 229; Hertz, Prayer, 910–8; Abrahams, Companion, cc; Adler-Davis, 2 (1915), 79; E. Levi, *Yesodot ha-Tefillah* (1961^{5}), 262.

ALI (**Ben David**; 12th–13th century), physician and poet. Ali, who lived in the Near East, probably in Syria, influenced poets in his time and exchanged verses with them. The ten poems which he wrote to his friend Aaron ha-Kohen (possibly Aaron ha-Kohen b. Marion of Acre), and Aaron's ten poems for Ali, are preserved in the Cairo *Genizah*, the former apparently in Ali's handwriting. These metrical poems express mutual praise and longing and reflect the influence of Spanish poetry. Several poems, written when the two friends were separated, express sorrow at the unfortunate fate of kindred souls. Some of the poems found in the *Genizah* which are signed "Ali," are presumably by him.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: M. Zulay, in: *Sinai*, 23 (1948), 217–28.

[Abraham Meir Habermann]

ALIAV (**Kluger**), **RUTH** (1914–1980), the only female member of Mosad Le-Aliyah Bet, the organization which saved Jews from the Holocaust by smuggling them into Ereẓ Israel, in defiance of the restrictions on immigration imposed by the Mandatory Government (see "Illegal" *Immigration). The name Aliav, given to her by David Ben-Gurion, is an anagram of *Aliyah Bet.*

Aliav was born in Kiev; her family later settled in Czernowitz, Romania. She immigrated to Ereẓ Israel in 1934 and settled with her husband on a kibbutz. She was one of the founding members of the Mosad and in 1939 returned to Romania to organize the escape of Jews and their illegal immigration to Ereẓ Israel. In 1941, when further rescue work became impossible, she fled to Turkey from which she proceeded to Egypt to continue her rescue activities in bringing Jews from Arab countries.

From 1942 to 1945 she worked closely with the French and Dutch Resistance movements in Europe, became a colonel in the *Haganah, and was appointed by David Ben-Gurion as the only official Israeli representative in Europe. She was the first woman to enter the concentration camps upon their liberation. She continued her activities until 1947, serving directly under Ben-Gurion.

In 1947 she was awarded the Croix de la Lorraine by General de Gaulle, and the Legion d'Honneur of France. After the establishment of the State of Israel she headed the public relations and press department of Zim, the Israeli Navigation Company which evolved out of the "Illegal Immigration" ships of the Haganah; was the Israeli president of the International Federation of Business and Professional Women; and was honorary life president of the International Public Relations Associations. Her book, *The Last Escape*, is a dramatic account of her two years' activity in Romania.

ALIBAG, Indian town on the Konkan Coast, south of Bombay; formerly the leading settlement of the *Bene Israel community. Its synagogue, "Magen Avot," was founded in 1840 (rebuilt in 1910) on the initiative of the *ḥakham* Shalom Shurrabi, author and sponsor of liturgical works for the Bene Israel community. Alibag was the favorite resort of retired military personnel of the Bene Israel group and the center of Hebrew instruction for youth from neighboring Bene Israel settlements. The historian of the community, Ḥayyim Samuel *Kehimkar, was born in Alibag. The synagogue in Alibag was still functioning in the beginning of the 21st century.

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[Walter Joseph Fischel]

ALI BEN AMRAM (second half of the 11th century), religious head of the Palestinian community in Fostat (Old Cairo), Egypt. Ali was the colleague and eventually successor of R. *Ephraim b. Shemariah, who bore the honorary title of *he-ḥaver ha-me'ulleh* ("most excellent scholar"). In a letter, written about 1060, that was found in the Cairo *Genizah*, Ali addressed the court physician Abraham b. Isaac ha-Kohen b. Furat, informing him that on Sabbaths and holidays he would receive public recognition in the synagogue for his virtuous acts. Two letters addressed to Ali from Palestine concerning the Jews in Tiberias and one intro-ducing Moses b. Joseph, a Spanish scholar on diplomatic assignment, were also discovered in the *Genizah*. Ali was the author of a lengthy poem, extant in manuscript, dedicated to one Ali b. Mevasser. Two letters from the *gaon* Daniel b. Azariah to Ali have been preserved: in one, the *gaon* expresses his great confidence in Ali and gratitude for his kindnesses; in the other, the *gaon* asks Ali to hand over to the bearer contributions that had been collected in Fustat, probably for the yeshivah in Jerusalem. Ali was also in close touch with *Samuel ha-Nagid and his sons Jehoseph and Eliasaph in Granada.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Mann, Egypt, 2 (1922), index; idem, in: HUCA, 3 (1926), 279, 283–8; Mann, Texts, 2 (1935), index; Ashtor, Korot, 2 (1966), 82–83.

[Moshe Nahum Zobel]

ALI (or **Eli**) **BEN ZECHARIAH** (13th century), *gaon* and head of the Pumbedita academy. Ali was born in the town of Erbil (now Iraq), and lived in Baghdad. From Arab sources it appears that while *Daniel b. Samuel ha-Kohen ibn Abi-Rabīa was the *gaon* of the academy, Ali made a claim for the post. The dispute came before the vizier, who in 1250 decided in favor of Ali and appointed him *gaon* (chief judge, as the office is designated in Arab sources). The poet *Eleazar b. Jacob ha-Bavli composed a poem in Ali's honor. Although Baghdad was captured by the Mongols in 1258, during Ali's gaonate, the office continued to exist. Of Ali's sons, two are known: Zechariah, who was deputy head of the academy, and Isaac, referred to as "prince."

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[Abraham David]

ALIENS ACT, measure enacted by the British parliament in 1905 which restricted immigration into Britain from areas outside the British Empire; it is generally believed to have been chiefly a response to heavy East European Jewish immigration into Britain after 1880. (In British law, the age-old term "alien" is used to designate someone who is not a citizen of Britain or its Empire; it has no derogatory connotations.) Agitation to restrict Jewish immigration began in the 1880s and became more outspoken through the actions of a number of right-wing groups and activists. In 1902, a Royal Commission was held into this question which recommended that there should be no general restriction on immigration but that "undesirable" migrants should be excluded. By the Act of 1905, would-be immigrants had to disembark only at a designated port, where officials could deny entry to "undesirable" immigrants, especially those without means of support. Historians have generally believed that the Aliens Act reduced East European Jewish immigration to Britain by about one-third in the years 1905–14. Recent research, however, has suggested that the Act had only limited effects, and that immigration declined because of perceptions of much greater economic opportunity in America. As Britain had *no* immigration restrictions prior to the 1905 Act, plainly something like it was inevitable. In 1919, following World War I, the 1905 Act was replaced by a much more stringent one which virtually ended Jewish immigration to Britain until the 1930s.

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[William D. Rubinstein (2nd ed.)]

ALIGER, MARGARITA YOSIFOVNA (1915–1992), Russian poet. Aliger was born in Odessa and began to publish verse in 1933. Her prewar collections, *God rozhdeniya* ("Year of Birth," 1938) and *Kamni i travy* ("Stones and Herbs," 1940) although somewhat imitative and conventional, showed an unusual lyrical gift. She achieved fame in 1942 with her long poem *Zoya* (Stalin Prize, 1943) based on newspaper accounts of the life and death of a Moscow schoolgirl who fought behind the German lines during the defense of Moscow. In her long poem, "*Tvoya pobeda*" ("Your Victory"), Aliger, for the first time, turned to a Jewish theme and, while declaring unreserved love for her Russian homeland, bitterly complained about the historical injustice of German and Russian antisemitism. Expunged from subsequent editions of the poem, the passage in question widely circulated in manuscript during the 1940s and the 1950s. The poem reflected the ideological and emotional crisis of the Communist Jewish intelligentsia, brought about by the Holocaust and the upsurge of overt antisemitism in the U.S.S.R. during World War II. A number of her poems were translated into English by Elaine Feinstein (*Collected Poems and Translations*, 2002).

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[Omri Ronen]

ALI IBN SAHL IBN RABBĀN AL-ṬABARĪ (ninth century), physician and medical writer in Iraq. He was born in Tabaristan, south of the Caspian Sea, son of a well-known Jewish astronomer and mathematician, Sahl ibn Rabbān, whose greatest astronomical feat was his translation into Arabic of the *Almagest* of Ptolemy around 800. Because of civil disturbances Ali moved to Raiy, in the vicinity of Teheran, and became the teacher of Muhammad al-Rāzī, the Muslim medieval scholar and mystic. He then took the post of secretary to Māzyār ibn Qārin, prince of his native Tabaristan, and became a Muslim and a leading figure at the courts of the caliphs al-Mu'taṣim and al-Mutawakkil. His medical writings, especially the *Firdaws al-Ḥikma* ("Garden of Wisdom"), a medical compendium in seven parts (edited by Max Meyerhof), introduced Indian medical lore to Arab readers and to contemporary Western medicine. His other works include treatises on diet, on the proper care of health, on amulets and magic, on cupping and similar subjects. He also wrote a book in praise of Islam called *Kitāb al-Dīn wa al-Dawla* ("The Book of Religion and Empire").

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[Moshe Rosen]

ALI IBN SULEIMAN (c. 1200), Karaite exegete and philosopher. It is conjectured that he was a member of the Karaite academy in Jerusalem. Ali's literary activity was mainly confined to publishing older Karaite works in abridged form. These include (1) an Arabic commentary on the Torah (parts on Num. and Deut., preserved in manuscript in the British Museum and in Leningrad); (2) a compilation in Arabic of the compendium of *Abu al-Faraj Harun on he Torah (Ms. Sulzberger, in the Jewish Theological Seminary in New York; another part in the second Firkowitsch Collection in Leningrad); (3) the *Agron*, a dictionary of Hebrew rootwords in Arabic, based on the work of David *Alfasi, but incorporating several Hebrew roots and derivatives omitted by Alfasi, and explaining biblical terms by reference to the Mishnah, Talmud, and Targums (Ms. Leningrad); and (4) a philosophical treatise (manuscript in British Museum).

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ALISTÁL (Slov. **Dolny Stal**, today **Hrobonovo**; Heb. אלישטאבא, העלישטאבא), village in Slovakia, near Bratislava. A community was established at Alistál in the 14th century by Jews from Bohemia and Moravia, who exported horses from the nearby royal stables. A synagogue was built in 1579. A community is mentioned again in records of 1780. Jews without residential rights in Pressburg (Bratislava) were enabled to live in Alistál under royal protection. In 1929 the Jewish population in Alistál and environs numbered 259; approximately half were occupied in agriculture. The community came to an end during World War II.

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ALITURUS or **ALITYROS** (first century), Roman actor; *Josephus, in his autobiography, describes him as a special favorite of the emperor Nero and of Jewish origin. He relates how, going to intercede for three priests who had been sent to Rome in bonds by Felix, procurator of Judea, on a "trifling charge," he won the friendship of the actor, who introduced him to the empress Poppaea. With her aid he secured a pardon for the priests. The Polish novelist Sienkiewicz introduced "the actor Aliturus" in his *Quo Vadis* as Nero's instructor in the use of gesture in oratory.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Jos, Life, 3:16.

ALIYAH (Heb. עֲלִיָּה; "ascent"), (1) the coming of Jews to the Land of Israel as *olim* (fem.: *olot*; sing.: *oleh, olah*) for permanent residence; (2) Jews coming from a particular country or region, or during a particular period, for this purpose, e.g., the Polish *aliyah*, the First Aliyah. *Aliyah* means more than immigration: it is a major ideal of *Zionism and the primary means for its realization. It implies personal participation in the rebuilding of the Jewish homeland and the elevation of the individual to a higher plane of self-fulfillment as a member of the renascent nation.

In earlier years the majority of *olim* were inspired by idealistic motives and even during the period of mass *aliyah*, when the main driving force was persecution and distress, many were motivated by messianic yearnings and there was always an infusion of idealists. *Aliyah* has been an almost uninterrupted process ever since the crushing of Jewish resistance by the Romans, but the term has been used particularly in connection with the modern Jewish return to the Land of Israel. Five major waves have been distinguished during the period of Zionist resettlement, each of which played its part in molding the *yishuv*, the Jewish community which constituted the Jewish state in embryo.

The First Aliyah, 1882–1903, consisted of individuals and small groups, mainly under the inspiration of *Ḥibbat Zion and the *Bilu movement, who established the early moshavot (see *moshavah). Some 25,000 – mostly from Eastern Europe – arrived during this period. There were two main influxes: in 1882–84 and 1890–91.

The Second Aliyah, 1904–14, which laid the foundation for the labor movement, consisted mainly of pioneers from Eastern Europe, who generally worked as hired laborers in the moshavot or the cities. They established the first Jewish labor parties and self-help institutions, the *Ha-Shomer watchmen's association, and the first *kevuẓot* (see *kibbutz), and laid the foundations for a new Hebrew press and literature. The influx, which totaled about 40,000, was interrupted by the outbreak of World War I.

The Third Aliyah, 1919–23, which started immediately after World War I, contained many young pioneers (*ḥalutzim*) belonging to the *He-Ḥalutz and *Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir movements. Together with the veterans of the Second Aliyah, they established the *Histadrut and *Gedud ha-Avodah, worked on road-building, set up more *kevuẓot* and kibbutzim, and founded the first *moshavim. Over 35,000 arrived during this period.

The Fourth Aliyah, 1924–28, which totaled some 67,000, contained many middle-class *olim*, over half of them from Poland. Some four-fifths settled in the main cities, considerably increasing the urban population, building new quarters, and setting up workshops and small factories. Development was halted by an unemployment crisis in 1926–28.

The Fifth Aliyah, 1929–39, accounted for an influx of over 250,000 Jews and transformed the character of the *yishuv.* A prominent part was played by refugees from Nazi Germany, over a quarter of the total, who transferred large amounts of capital and contributed valuable skills and business experience.

Aliyah continued during and after World War II, totaling about 100,000 in 1940–48 (sometimes referred to as the Sixth and Seventh Aliyot). Under British rule (1918–48) *aliyah* was regulated by the Government of Palestine. The official criterion for the numbers admitted was, in normal periods, the country's "economic absorptive capacity," on which the British authorities and Jewish leaders did not agree, but in periods of crisis *aliyah* was often halted or severely restricted on political grounds. Between 1934 and 1948, some 115,000 *olim* were brought into the country in defiance of British restrictions, while another 51,500 were interned by the authorities in Cyprus and admitted only after the achievement of independence. This influx was described by the British as "illegal" *immigration and by the Jews as Aliyah Bet or *ha'palah*.

Independent Israel immediately removed all restrictions on *aliyah* and enacted the *Law of Return (1950), which guaranteed every Jew the right to immigrate to Israel as an *oleh*, unless he or she was a danger to public health or security, and to become a citizen immediately on arrival. The mass *aliyah* that followed the establishment of the State assumed the character of *kibbuẓ galuyyot* ("the *ingathering of the exiles"), almost entire Jewish communities, such as those of Bulgaria, Yemen, and lraq, being transferred to Israel. The resources of the State, as well as massive contributions from world Jewry through the Jewish *Agency, were mobilized for the transportation, reception, and integration of the *olim*. Mass *aliyah* – mainly from Eastern and Central Europe, North Africa, and the Middle East – resulted in the immigration of over a million and a quarter Jews in Israel's first two decades, the influx rising to its greatest heights in 1948–51 (684,000), 1955–57 (161,000), and 1961–64 (220,000). After the Six-Day War of 1967 there was a considerable increase in "voluntary" *aliyah* from Western Europe and the Americas. In the 1970s, as a result of pressure from Israel and other Western countries, the U.S.S.R. opened its gates, enabling more than 150,000 Jews to make *aliyah.* The majority arrived until 1973, and later on many of them left Israel and moved to other Western countries. The next massive *aliyah* from the U.S.S.R. began in 1989 when it reestablished relations with Israel. In 1990–91, 350,000 Russian immigrants arrived in Israel, and by 2003, over a million had emigrated from the former Soviet Union, making them the country's largest immigrant group. The majority were motivated by economic and social factors rather than Zionist ideology. Many were professionals – physicians, engineers, musicians, etc. – and by the end of the 1990s over 30% were non-Jews (as opposed to 10% in the 1990–95 period), benefiting from Israel's liberal Law of Return, which accords the right to immigrate to non-Jewish descendants of Jews. Though their absorption in the country was often difficult, they became a highly visible and influential population group in the course of the years.

During the same period Israel also faced *aliyah* from Ethiopia. The first *olim* arrived at the end of the 1970s, after R. Ovadiah *Yosef acknowledged their Jewishness. About 5,000 arrived independently at refugee camps in Sudan and were brought from there to Israel. As many of them lost their lives on the way, the Israeli government initiated Operation Moses at the end of 1984, in which 8,000 were airlifted to Israel in a 45-day period. In 1985, Sudan closed its borders and the Ethiopian *aliyah* ceased. In May 1991, it was renewed, with another 14,000 arriving in a dramatic 36-hour airlift (Operation Solomon). Since then, more have arrived in small groups, bringing the total of Ethiopian Jewry to 80,000 in 2002. Their integration into the country's life, socially and economically, has been extremely problematic, though the younger generation is being steadily "Israelified."

In the early years of the 21st century, *aliyah* consisted of small groups of *olim*, mainly from Argentina and France.

See also State of *Israel: Aliyah, Absorption and Settlement, where a bibliography is given.

For *Aliyah le-Torah*, see *Torah Reading.

[Misha Louvish/Fred Skolnik (2nd ed.)]

ALJAMA (derived from the Arabic *al-Jamāʿa*, an assembly or congregation), self-governing Jewish or Moorish community in medieval Spain. In the Iberian Peninsula the term refers to the legal institutional framework in which the Jews lived in a locality. It was the *kehillah* as perceived in Jewish jurisdiction and recognized by the authorities. The appellation also denotes the quarter inhabited by Jews or Moors. Other forms of the word are *aliama* and *alcama*; in Aragonese documents it sometimes appears as *yema* while in Portuguese the word is *Alfama*. The term was also used regularly in Sicily, and sometimes in south Italy, to designate the Jewish community. It was declined as a Latin noun, and still appears in Spanish dictionaries.

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ALKABEẒ, SOLOMON BEN MOSES HA-LEVI (c. 1505–1584), kabbalist and mystical poet, composer of the Sabbath hymn "**Lekhah Dodi*" ("Come, my Beloved"). In 1529 he decided to settle in Ereẓ Israel. In the course of his trip he stayed briefly in Adrianople. Here, a group of kabbalist ascetics asked him to instruct them in the spiritual life and in his methods of worship of God. At Nikopolis, he was probably in contact with Joseph *Caro, who greatly appreciated Alkabeẓ' knowledge of Kabbalah. Alkabeẓ states that while they were both studying the Torah on the night of Shavuot, the **maggid* appeared to Caro. They therefore established the custom of staying awake on the night of Shavuot to study the Torah. The custom, which became widespread, is known as "*Tikkun Leil Shavu'ot*." Alkabeẓ preached wherever he went, and Samuel b. Israel de Uceda, Eleazer *Azikri, Abraham *Galante, Elisha Galileo, and Isaac Gershon were among those who listened to his preaching and quoted from his sermons. Alkabeẓ probably arrived in Safed in 1535. Very little is known of his life there. His signature on rulings and documents is rarer than that of any other important Safed scholar. Nothing is known about his attitude to Isaac *Luria. It seems that he was head of the Meron yeshivah and it is almost certain that he was an officiating rabbi in Safed. A prolific author, he wrote some works on the Bible, and others of a kabbalistic nature. Many of his manuscripts were stolen when he died. It is not clear whether this was done during persecutions, or by other authors. None of his purely kabbalistic works was printed or preserved in manuscript.

Alkabeẓ, in order to understand the secrets of the Zohar, used to go out with his students to pray and meditate on the graves of *ẓaddikim*. This practice was called *gerushin* ("banishment"). During these *gerushin*-peregrinations, they concentrated on rousing their contemplative powers spontaneously and without any previous preparation. Alkabeẓ had a powerful gift for stimulating spiritual revivals and mystical life. His best-known disciple was Moses *Cordovero (who married Alkabeẓ' sister). It seems, however, that the teacher became student. This is mainly apparent from Alkabeẓ' *Likkutei Hakdamot le-Ḥokhmat ha-Kabbalah* ("Collection of Introductions to the Doctrine of Kabbalah," Oxford Ms. 40). The structure of this work is analogous to that of Cordovero's first important book, *Pardes Rimmonim*, and the opinions expressed in both works are generally the same. In one matter of principle, however, Alkabeẓ took a more extreme view. According to him, the *Sefirot* ("Divine Emanations") are the essence of God, and he moved toward the conception of God as immanent in the world. His kabbalistic doctrine emphasized the theoretical element and attempted to endow these symbols reflecting an inner, hidden world, with a conceptual character.

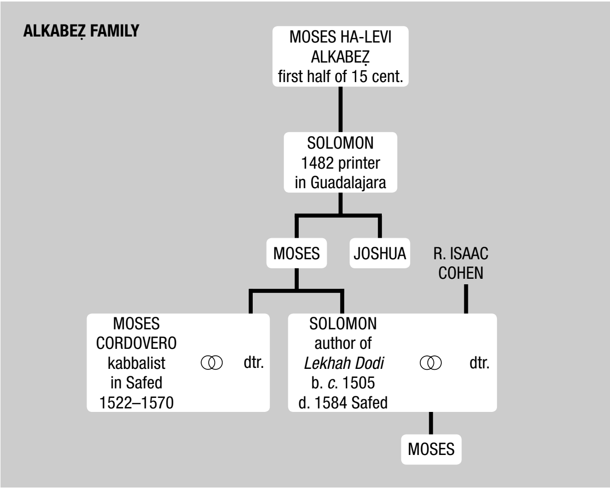
ALKABEẒ FAMILY
MOSES HA-LEVI ALKABEẒ first half of 15 cent.
SOLOMON 1482 printer in Guadalajara
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JOSHUA
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MOSES CORDOVERO kabbalist in Safed 1522–1570
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SOLOMON author of *Lekhah Dodi* b. *c.* 1505 d. 1584 Safed
dtr.
MOSES

As a kabbalistic commentator on the Bible, his system generally follows that of his teacher, Joseph *Taitaẓak. His manner of developing an argument by first raising a series of difficulties as a basis for the understanding of his text, is similar to that of the Sephardi commentators and homiletic authors of his time. In his opinion, the sayings of the talmudic sages were the true Kabbalah, because they possessed authentic traditions which were handed down from generation to generation and their commentaries were not homiletical interpretations of the text. He believed that the *aggadot* of the sages were reliable, and that one should not be given preference over the other. His writings show that in addition to expressing purely kabbalistic opinions in unique style, he was one of the first to bring full-length quotations from the Zohar and to explain them. The work also includes esoteric aspects of the Torah which are interpreted in brief (*Shoresh Yishai* (1561), 77). More than any other scholar in Safed and in Turkey, he made extensive use of the kabbalistic writings of *Eleazar b. Judah of Worms, particularly *Sha'arei Binah* and *Ma'aseh Roke'aḥ*. His attitude toward the sciences was negative. He often quoted commentaries of latter-day authors, some of whom lived close to his own times, as well as his older contemporaries. Among these were the treatises on the Bible by Joseph Gakon and Joseph Jabeẓ he-Ḥasid. He also quoted from his father Moses Alkabeẓ, his uncle Joshua, Joseph Taitaẓak, and the great halakhist Jacob *Berab (c. 1474–1541).

A collection of Alkabeẓ's prayers has been preserved (Moscow, Ms. Guenzburg 694, and Paris Ms. 198). They contain supplications, confessions, admonitions, and songs of praise, both in the form of hymns and of meditations in the style of Gabirol's "*Keter Malkhut*." Alkabeẓ probably initiated the custom practiced by the kabbalists of Safed of going out to the fields to welcome the Sabbath with a recital of his hymns. His "*Lekhah Dodi*" achieved unparalleled popularity, and is sung in Jewish communities at **Kabbalat Shabbat*. "*Lekhah Dodi*" was accepted soon after it was written and was introduced into the prayer book in 1584 (Sephardi version, Venice). The meaning of this hymn, which is permeated by a longing for redemption and the regeneration of the **Shekhinah* ("Divine Presence"), was changed by the Shabbateans who contended that the Messiah had already arrived, and they adapted it to conform to their views.

His works include *Ayyelet Ahavim* (1552, on the Song of Songs), *Shoresh Yishai* (1561 or 1566 on Ruth), *Manot ha-Levi*

(1585, two commentaries on the Scroll of Esther), *Divrei Shelomo* on the Minor Prophets, *Ne'im Zemirot* on Psalms, and *Piẓei Ohev* on Job. The titles of his other works on the Bible are not known. His sermons are also found in the book *Or Ẓaddikim*. His other writings are all kabbalistic: *Oẓar Neḥmad, Amarot Tehorot*, on the *Sefirot* and some sayings of the Zohar; *Appiryon Shelomo, Beit Adohai, Beit Tefillah* constitute "a comprehensive interpretation of all the prayers of the year"; *Berit ha-Levi*, a commentary on the Passover *Haggadah* in both the literal and the kabbalistic manner; *Leḥem Shelomo*, the devotional rules of the meals, in the kabbalistic manner; *Mittato shel Shelomo* on the mystical significance of sexual union; *Sukkat Shalom, Avotot Ahavah, Shomer Emunim*, prayers and litanies (Ms. 8° 1008, Jerusalem).

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ALKAḤI, MORDEKHAI (1925–1947), Jew executed by the British in Palestine. Alkaḥi was born in Petaḥ Tikvah and grew up under difficult circumstances. He joined I.Ẓ.L. in 1943 and gained a reputation for his courage and initiative. He was captured together with Yeḥiel *Drezner and Eliezer *Kashani on Dec. 29, 1946, while attempting to kidnap some British officers, and with his companions was hanged in Acre.

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ALKALAI, ABRAHAM BEN SAMUEL (1750?–1811), Bulgarian rabbi and codifier. Alkalai, who was apparently born in Salonika, studied under his uncle Reuben b. Jacob, whose novellae he sometimes quotes in his works. He served as rabbi of Dupnitsa, where he also headed a yeshivah (1781). He visited Salonika in 1798, and Adrianople on his way to Constantinople (1802), as emissary of his community, which was suffering great hardships. Later he settled in Safed. His best-known work is *Zekhor le-Avraham*, in which he arranged alphabetically the laws of the Shulḥan Arukh (2 vols., Salonika, 1798; vol. 3, addenda, 1815). A second edition of the first two volumes, published by his nephew Judah Ḥayyim Alkalai, included an abridgment of vol. 3 with his own additions (1818). He also wrote responsa, *Ḥesed le-Avraham* (2 vols., 1813–14). A manuscript volume of his sermons is in the Jewish Theological Seminary library in New York (no. 9425).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Rosanes, Togarmah, 5 (1938), 160; 6 (1945), 135–8.

ALKALAI, DAVID (1862–1933), founder and leader of the Zionist movement in Serbia and Yugoslavia. Alkalai, who was born in Belgrade, was a grandnephew of Judah *Alkalai, whose granddaughter he married. He studied law in Vienna, where he joined the Zionist students' association *Kadimah, and was active in the group centered in the first Zionist periodical **Selbstemanzipation*. Alkalai continued his studies in Vienna and Tübingen, then returned to Belgrade, where he practiced law. He represented Belgrade at the First Zionist Congress in Basle (1897), was elected to the Zionist General Council (the Actions Committee), and from then on was the moving spirit in the Zionist movement in Belgrade and in Serbia. In 1924 he became president of the Zionist Organization in Yugoslavia, and was, for many years, president of the Belgrade Jewish community. He was instrumental in winning Yugoslav statesmen over to Zionism. Alkalai was a pioneer in the publication of Zionist literature in Serbian. He appears as Aladin, a Sephardi, the Jew heading the Land Acquisition Department in Herzl's novel *Altneuland*.

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[Getzel Kressel]

ALKALAI, JUDAH BEN SOLOMON ḤAI (1798–1878), Sephardi rabbi and precursor of modern Zionism. Alkalai was born in Sarajevo (then Bosnia) and brought up in Jerusalem, where he was strongly influenced by Sarajevo-born R. Eliezer Papo. From 1825 until he again moved to Jerusalem in 1874, Alkalai was rabbi of Semlin (Zemun), near Belgrade. He taught Hebrew to the young men of the congregation, whose mother tongue was Ladino. As a young man, Alkalai was introduced to the concept of the Jewish nation by the rabbi of Corfu, Judah b. Samuel *Bibas, one of the originators of the idea of Ḥibbat Zion and settlement in Ereẓ Israel. The struggle of three nations – Turkey, Austria, and Serbia – for the domination of the town of Semlin also directed his thoughts to a modern political conception of the destiny and aspirations of the Jewish people.

His first two books were written in Ladino; the rest in Hebrew. In his first book, *Darkhei No'am* (1839), a Ladino-Hebrew textbook, the outstanding feature is his revolutionary attitude toward redemption as opposed to the traditional religious interpretations. *Teshuvah* ("repentance"), which, according to the Talmud (Sanh. 97b), is the precondition for redemption, is interpreted by Alkalai in its literal sense, i.e., *shivah*, return (to Ereẓ Israel). This approach, which was first expressed by R. Bibas and was later developed in Alkalai's writings, is the foundation of his preaching for a Return to Zion within the framework of traditional religious thought. He interpreted the traditional meaning of *teshuvah* as *peratit* ("personal"), i.e., "that each man shall return from the path of evil according to the definitions of repentance given by the early sages," whereas the new meaning refers to *teshuvah kelalit* ("general return"), i.e., "that all of Israel should return to the land of our fathers."

Alkalai's second book was a rebuttal to the scornful criticism that was heaped upon these interpretations. Entitled *Shelom Yerushalayim* (1840), it contained the first reaction to the *Damascus Affair and hints of a Return to Zion. The united stand of world Jewry during the Damascus Affair, as well as the struggle of the Serbs for their independence, led him to publish his first Hebrew work *Minḥat Yehudah* (1843). In this work he interprets the year of the Damascus Affair, 1840, as a fateful and symbolic year for the Jewish nation on its road to redemption. The libeling and suffering of Damascus Jewry occurred in order to arouse the Jewish people to their plight in exile and "to the remoteness of Jerusalem." "Complacent dwellers in foreign lands" should learn the lesson of the Damascus Affair.

In all his writings, Alkalai cites passages from the Talmud, the Midrash, and the Kabbalah, to which he adds his own mystical interpretations. His own views, however, which he repeated both verbally and in writing, are clear, namely that redemption is primarily in the hands of man himself, of the people, and redemption through a miracle can only come at a later stage. This introduction of a natural voluntaristic factor into the yearnings for redemption was a daring concept for his period.

Alkalai aroused strong opposition in Orthodox circles, which rejected the modern concept of redemption. However, he continued to publish pamphlet after pamphlet, stressing that the settlement of Ereẓ Israel was the primary solution to the Jewish problem in Europe. In these pamphlets he quoted the early and later sages, also using ***gematria*. From these pamphlets, a far-reaching plan for the realization of the return to Ereẓ Israel emerged. Alkalai called for the introduction of the tithe for financing settlement, for the achievement of international recognition of Jewish Ereẓ Israel, for the restoration of the assembly of elders as a Jewish parliament, for the revival of Hebrew (particularly spoken Hebrew), for Jewish agriculture, and for a Jewish army. He expressed the hope that Great Britain would supervise the execution of the program. He opposed a plan, discussed in the early 1860s, to erect houses for the Jews in Jerusalem (*battei maḥaseh*) as being merely of temporary benefit, whereas agricultural settlement would prove of permanent value.

In 1852 Alkalai visited England in order to propagate his idea for a return to Ereẓ Israel. He subsequently traveled to several other West European countries seeking support for his plan. In each locality that he visited he founded a Society for the Settlement of Ereẓ Israel. He corresponded with prominent rabbis in Germany and Austria who gave their imprimatur to his pamphlets. Alkalai also called for the establishment of an international Jewish association, which was realized only in 1860 with the founding of the *Alliance Israélite Universelle. He requested of this organization to help him carry out his plans. However, when, in 1870 the Alliance established the *Mikveh Israel agricultural school in Ereẓ Israel, he opposed the project, arguing that, despite the usefulness of the school in training future Jewish farmers, the only worthwhile activity was the large-scale acquisition of land for settlement purposes. Alkalai opposed the religious Reform Movement in Germany which omitted the references to Zion and Jerusalem from its prayers. He also had no faith in the Emancipation movement, which he regarded as an unwanted diversion from migration and settlement in Ereẓ Israel. For this reason, he also opposed Jewish emigration to the U.S. and elsewhere.

His efforts brought few results. He encouraged the Society for the Settlement of Ereẓ Israel, founded by Ḥayyim *Lorje, but it achieved nothing. Alkalai eventually lost faith in his own society and those founded by others. He went to Ereẓ Israel in 1871 and founded the Kol Israel Ḥaverim society for the settlement of Ereẓ Israel, giving it the same name as the Hebrew translation of Alliance Israélite Universelle, as if to establish an Alliance branch in Ereẓ Israel. However, when Alkalai returned to Serbia, the organization failed as a result of the opposition of the Jerusalem zealots and the Amsterdam center for the distribution of ***ḥalukkah* funds. Alkalai violently attacked the Jerusalem zealots and all other opponents of the settlement of Ereẓ Israel, from leading Orthodox rabbis to the heads of the Reform movement.

He published 18 pamphlets and many articles in Hebrew newspapers. One of his pamphlets, *Mevasser Tov*, also appeared in English translation entitled *Harbinger of Good Tidings: An Address to the Jewish Nation on the Propriety of Organizing an Association to Promote the Regaining of Their Fatherland* (1852). A selection of his writings, with a bibliography and an introduction by G. Kressel, was published in 1943. A complete edition of his works, with an introduction by Y. Werfel (Raphael), appeared in 1944. Alkalai is the hero of a novel by Yehudah Burla, entitled *Ba-Ofek* ("On the Horizon," 1943–47).

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[Getzel Kressel]

ALKALAJ, ARON (1880–1973), author and communal leader. Alkalaj, the son of a cantor, was born in Belgrade, where he became a bank director and Jewish communal and cultural leader. Apart from works on finance and economics, he published a biography of Moses (1938); a work about Josephus and the fall of Judea, *Josif Flavije i pad Judeje* (1965; orig. in *Jevrejski almanah*, 1963–64); a study of Jewish life in Belgrade; a monograph on Moses and a book about Israel (1960).

ALKAN, ALPHONSE (1809–1889), French printer and author. Born in Paris, Alkan worked as a printer, but also wrote for printing and bibliographical magazines. He later became secretary to the comte de Clarac, keeper of the Museum of Antiquities in the Louvre. There he was also able to exercise his knowledge of printing by acting as a proofreader. Alkan wrote several books on printing and its history, including *Les Etiquettes et leurs Inscriptions des Boîtes – Volumes de Pierre Jannet, Fondateur de la Bibliothèque Elzévirienne* (1883), *Un Fondeur en Caractères, Membre de l'Institut* (1886), and *Les Quatre Doyens de la Typographie Parisienne* (1889). Other significant books by Alkan dealt with bibliography.

[John M. Shaftesley]

ALKAN (real name **Morhange**)**, CHARLES HENRI-VALENTIN** (1813–1888), French pianist and composer. The son of a school director, Alkan, a child prodigy, became a concert pianist but retired in 1839. He spent the rest of his life almost in seclusion, teaching, composing, and studying literature, especially the Talmud. Alkan wrote almost exclusively for the piano. His music fell into neglect, perhaps because of its tremendous technical difficulties, but in recent years concert pianists have rediscovered him. Alkan liked the grotesque and the macabre, and his melody is somewhat dry and unexpressive. Searching for orchestral sound on the piano, he achieved interesting effects of color and harmony through surprisingly modern-sounding chords by adding foreign tones and by unusual pedal effects. His brother NAPOLEON (1826–1888) was also a pianist and composed some salon pieces.

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[Claude Abravanel]

ALLEGORY, a narrative in which the agents and the action, and sometimes the setting as well, are contrived not only to make sense in themselves, but also to signify a second correlated order of things, concepts, or events (Abrams).

In the Bible

A pure parable differs from a pure allegory in two respects: (1) it is simple and credible in itself; it begins by saying that case A is like case B. The parables in the Midrash and Gospels are of this sort (e.g., prodigal son: Luke 15:11–32; fatherless steward: *ibid.* 16; the 11th hour: Matt. 20:1–16). There are, however, some parables which tell a tale simple and credible in itself but do not begin by saying case A is like case B, but rather leave the hearer wondering, or – at first – deliberately mislead him (e.g., Nathan's parable, I Sam. 12:1–7; the "story" told by the anonymous prophet in I Kings 20:39). The latter might be called quasi-allegories or crypto-allegories. These stories are not as contrived as Ezekiel 17:1ff., which only makes sense as a "riddle" (*ḥidah*; Ezek. 17:2). This is not an allegorically applied parable but an allegory pure and simple. A similar quasi-allegory is the "Song of the Vineyard" in Isaiah 5:1–6, which, however, has an allegorical element (cf. verse 6 b) in the story as well as being allegorically interpreted in verse 7. The fact is that biblical Hebrew was hardly aware of a distinction between simile, metaphor, parable, and allegory. Thus, in Ezekiel 24:3 the word *mashal* designates a metaphor, whereas in 17:2 it introduces, together with the word *ḥidah*, a typical allegory (Ezek. 17:3–24). In fact, both these words cover the gamut of figurative language, including not only parable and allegory, but fable, tale, enigma, maxim, and proverb.

Beside allegorical figures, such as kindness (grace; *ḥesed*), faithfulness (*emet*), righteousness (*ẓedek*), integrity (*shalem*) in Psalms 85:11–12, 14 and 89:15, wisdom (*ḥokhmah, ḥokhmot*) in Proverbs 1:20; 8:1, 12;9:1; 14:1, and folly (*kesilut, ivvelet*) in Proverbs 9:13, 14:1, maiden Israel, fair (lit. daughter) Zion, fair Jerusalem, and similar expressions in various poetical books, there are two principal kinds of allegory in the Bible. The first occurs when the narrative is based upon an image that suggests the intended subject. Allegories of this kind are often found in Ezekiel, perhaps the first Hebrew poet to make an extensive use of the metaphor. Thus, in Ezekiel, 16:3–63, Jerusalem appears as an adulteress, and in Ezekiel 23:2–45, the two adulterous sisters Oholah and Oholibah represent Samaria and Jerusalem. In Ezekiel 19:2–14, there is a twin allegory, in which the lioness and the vine stock symbolize the people of Israel. This allegory is perhaps partially inspired by an originally Sumerian lyric, *The Message of Lú-dingir-ra to His Mother* (see M. Civil, in: JNES, 23 (1964), 1–11; J. Nougayrol and E. Laroche, in *Ugaritica*, 5 (1968), 310–19, 444–5, 773–9). Another allegory of the vine stock is found in Psalms 80:9–17. In Ezekiel 31:3–18, the fate of the Cedar of Lebanon symbolizes the destiny of Pharaoh, while the allegory of the shepherds and the flock in Ezekiel 34:2–16, 17–22, alludes to the kings of Israel. Ezekiel's allegorical descriptions are sometimes followed by an interpretation of all the figurative elements, a method found later in apocalyptic literature; symbolic visions are explained by a heavenly being or a man of God. This occurs first in Ezekiel 17:3–24, one of the finest pieces of allegorical imagery, which represents the king of Babylon as an eagle and the house of David as a cedar. The same proceeding is found in Ezekiel's vision of the resurrection of the dry bones (37:1–14), an allegory of Israel's restoration. The description of the invaders' army in Joel 2:1–11 portrays in reality the invasion of locusts, which the poet considered a sign of the Lord's anger. The shepherd's allegory in Zechariah 11:4–14 is a kind of apology of the divine Providence toward Israel. Some visions of apocalyptic literature, such as Daniel 4:7–24 or 7:2–27, are akin to allegory inasmuch as the details have an assigned meaning. The allegory of old age in Ecclesiastes 12:1–7 is, in its individual figures, somewhat akin to a riddle.

The second kind of allegory occurs when the literary composition has a complete meaning contained within itself, independently of the moral or spiritual framework that lies beyond it. There is perhaps one sustained allegory of this type in the Bible, namely the Song of Songs, which is an artistically elaborate anthology of love lyrics. Some scholars have nevertheless attempted to see it as an allegorical narrative about the relations between God and His people. An allegorical interpretation may be imposed by others on a work whose author did not intend it to have any meaning on other than the literal level. The allegorical exegesis of the Song of Songs may reflect such a creative approach to a work, which originally had no allegorical meaning at all. In fact, allegorizing interpretations made their way into Judaism in the first centuries B.C.E. and C.E.

[Edward Lipinski]

In Talmudic and Medieval Literature

Allegory was used in the talmudic period, and especially in the medieval period, in three types of literature, each using allegory in its own, different way: (a) homiletical literature used allegory in trying to translate facts and ideas known to the public, into ethical teaching, by discovering the hidden meaning behind the well-known phenomena; allegorical interpretation of Scripture was frequently used in this literary type; (b) fiction, both poetry and prose, used allegory in order to develop a multi-level story or poem; (c) theological literature, especially medieval philosophy and Kabbalah, used allegory as a means to express the idea that the phenomena which are revealed to the senses are but a superficial and sometimes false part of the divine truth, whereas allegory can penetrate to deeper and truer levels.

The preachers of the talmudic and midrashic literature seldom used complete and systematic allegorical constructions. An attempt has been made to prove that two schools of allegorists existed in talmudic times, the *doreshei reshumot* and *doreshei ḥamurot*, both of which were frowned upon by the leading talmudic scholars. This may well be, and the result was that allegory is found in a scattered, unorganized way in this vast literature. One of the clearest examples of the use of allegory is to be found in the homiletical discussions of Ecclesiastes 9:15, 16 (Eccles. R., ch. 9). Here the characters in the biblical verse are interpreted in several allegorical ways, but each is complete, and explains every detail in the source, whether it is historical allegory, finding in the verse the story of Israel in Egypt, or ethical allegory, describing the relationship between the good and the evil (inclinations) in man. The midrashic preachers in this case, as in a few others, had no doubt whatsoever that the biblical verse is allegorical in nature; they discussed various possibilities of unveiling this allegorical meaning. This is a completely different situation from that found in the interpretations of the Song of Songs as allegory, for in that case the meaning (e.g., the relationship between God and Israel) preceded the detailed allegorical interpretations.

Later homiletical literature, in the medieval and early modern periods, revealed allegorical meanings not only in biblical verses, but in talmudic and midrashic passages. Obscure sayings of talmudic scholars, strange stories told by them (e.g., the stories of *Rabbah b. Bar Ḥana, allegorically interpreted by R. *Naḥman of Bratzlav in the first years of the 19th century), all served as material for allegorical interpretation, usually within an ethical, moralistic framework. However, here also systematic, allegorical structure is very rare.

The clearest examples of the use of allegory in fiction is to be found in the **maqama* of the 12th–14th centuries, especially in Spain. Characters in these works are sometimes allegorical entities, usually with some hidden philosophical meaning. Usually it is difficult to distinguish between a well-developed fable and allegorical elements in these works, but some allegorical tendencies are evident. Most of the writers of this school followed examples, or even definite works, by their Arab predecessors or contemporaries. In Hebrew poetry of the period, especially sacred poetry but sometimes also in the secular, allegorical elements may be found. However, it is difficult to point out a separate allegorical school. Abraham *Ibn Ezra's *Ḥai ben Makiẓ* is one of the best examples of allegorical works of this period.

It is not surprising that theological allegory is to be found more in the homiletical and exegetical works of medieval Hebrew philosophers and mystics than in the "straight" theological works. Allegory was used mainly to reconcile ancient lore with contemporary theology, and homiletics and exegetical literature are usually the meeting place of the old and the new. However, some use of allegory is to be found in stories and fables incorporated in theological works, e.g., in *Baḥya ibn Paquda's *Ḥovot ha-Levavot*," in the writings of R. Shem Tov ibn *Falaquera, or even in Maimonides' famous "parable of the Palace" (Guide, 3:51).

The philosophers used allegory not only to explain away the physical attributes of God in the Bible and the talmudic literature. They interpreted whole biblical stories as allegory. This tendency is less evident in the early development of Jewish medieval philosophy; it came into its own only in the 13th century, in the writings of Maimonists like R. Zerahiah Ḥen (see *Gracian), in his polemical letters and his exegesis of the book of Job, or R. Jacob *Anatoli, in his homiletical work, *Malmad ha-Talmidim*. In works like these, one plot is substituted for another: the story of Abraham and Sarah, for example, becomes a parable of the relationship between matter and form, and Noah's three sons represent the three Platonic social classes.

[Joseph Dan]

In Kabbalah

Allegory does not occupy a prominent place in kabbalistic thought and insofar as kabbalists used it, they were influenced by philosophical exegesis. The specific domain of kabbalistic thought is the aspect of *sod* ("mystery"), that is, viewing the processes of the world or interpreting the Scriptures in a manner which refers them to the mystery of the Godhead and its hidden life. However, opposed to *sod* is *remez* ("allusion"), which is allegory. Philosophical commentaries did not talk of processes within the divine world revealing themselves through symbols; but of parallelism between biblical data, e.g., the stories of the Bible, and philosophical views derived from Greek and Arab tradition. Such commentaries recur in certain parts of the Zohar, especially in the *Midrash ha-Ne'lam* concerning the stories of the patriarchs and Ruth, where these stories were interpreted as allegories of the fate of the soul in its descent from above into the human body, its vicissitudes inside the body, and the future allotted to it after death and in the world to come. Here and there such commentaries are also found in the main body of the Zohar. In kabbalistic literature this type of allegorical interpretation is prominent among those kabbalists who tended (especially in the 13th and 14th centuries) to seek a compromise between philosophy and Kabbalah, and to develop mystical views beyond the specific theosophical system of **Sefirot*. The main representative of this conception is *Isaac b. Latif. In the wide-ranging commentary on the Pentateuch of *Baḥya b. Asher the allegorical parts ("rational exegesis") were separated from the kabbalistic parts ("exegesis in the manner of the Kabbalah"). Allegorical interpretations are also found in the writings of kabbalists like Joseph *Ibn Waqar and Samuel *Ibn Motot. Allegory of the type which interprets the words of the Scriptures as referring to the history of man and his fate is found in abundance in the ḥasidic literature which combines the manner of the allegoristic and aggadic interpreters with the style of the kabbalists.

[Gershom Scholem]

One of the major kabbalists who systematically used philosophical allegories, especially Maimonidean ones, was Abraham *Abulafia. He describes this exegetical method as the fourth in his sevenfold system and applies it widely to the biblical texts in his Commentary on the Torah entitled *Sefer ha-Mafteḥot*. Moreover, unlike most of the other kabbalists and philosophers who allegorized the sacred scriptures, Abulafia composed some of his prophetic writings as allegories, inventing dramas whose specific meaning he himself interpreted by resorting to Maimonidean psychology or metaphysics.

The impact of his allegoristic approach is evident in Johanan *Alemanno, and in some instances of Ḥayyim *Vital's exgesis.

[Moshe Idel (2nd ed.)]

Modern Literature

Influenced by kabbalistic symbolism modern Hebrew (and later also Yiddish) literature developed the allegorical drama, of which the most outstanding examples are the moralistic dramas of Moses Ḥayyim *Luzzatto (e.g., *La-Yesharim Tehillah*). As to prose writings, while it is probable that the stories of R. Naḥman of Bratslav are of an allegorical nature, as they were later interpreted, there is no distinct allegory until the appearance of *Di Kliatshe* (Heb., *Susati*) of Sholem Yankev *Abramovitsh (Mendele Mokher Seforim). Also some of the writings of I.L. *Peretz and S.Y. *Agnon (e.g., *Pat Shelemah, Shevu'at Emunim*) were interpreted as allegories. Note should also be made of many political allegories which flourished during the years of Jewish underground activities in Ereẓ Israel in times when writers had to disguise their message for fear of the censors. Further examples may be found in the early stories of Abraham B. *Yehoshua (e.g., *Mot ha-Zaken*, 1962) and in some prose works of Yitzḥak *Orpaz, as both writers seek to explain the tensions within the personal and collective subconscious. The allegorical names given to some opf the characters are interwoven with realistic features (e.g., in Orpaz's novel *Or be-ad Or*, 1962). In his novella *Nemalim* ("Ants," 1968), Orpaz describes how a horde of mysterious, demonic ants invade an apartment, threatening to destroy the home of a couple on the verge of a divorce. The menace of the ants has been interpreted as an allegorical story about the horror of the modern family as well as the destructive forces among the Arabs. Benjamin Tammuz´s novella *Ha-Pardes* ("The Orange Grove," 1971) is likewise an allegory about the relations between Jews and Arabs, set against the background of pre-State Israel.

[Anat Feinberg (2nd ed.)]

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ALLEN, ISAAC (1875–1973), U.S. Zionist pioneer and talmudic scholar. Born in Russia, Allen immigrated to the United States in 1891. He graduated from the Law School of New York University in 1901, and while still a student won the right for Jews not to be required to take examinations on the Sabbath. A devoted Zionist, as early as 1897 Allen helped establish the Federation of American Zionists and the New York Zionist Council, of which he became president in 1898, and was a founder of the Mizrachi Organization of America in 1912. He was also a founder of the American Jewish Committee and the American Jewish Congress. He was a delegate to the Ninth Zionist Congress in Hamburg in 1909 and to many subsequent ones. He wrote regularly in the Yiddish press on American law, history, civics, customs, and policies for the benefit of new immigrants and also lectured publicly on these subjects. For 20 years, until failing health and eyesight forced him to retire at the age of 93, Allen conducted classes in Talmud at no fewer than four synagogues in New York.

ALLEN, MEL (**Melvin Israel**; 1913–1996), U.S. sportscaster, member of the Baseball Hall of Fame. Allen was born in Birmingham, Alabama, to Julius, a traveling shirt salesman, and Anna, scion of a rabbinical family and related to Simon *Dubnow and Shmarya *Levin. Allen's Russian-born grandfather arranged for a *shoḥet* to come to Birmingham for the Bibb County Jewish community and built a synagogue next to his house. Julius and Anna kept a kosher home, celebrated all the Jewish holidays, and the family attended an Orthodox synagogue regularly. When Allen was working for the Yankees and would have the ballplayers out to his house for a cookout, Allen's mother brought out a separate set of dishes from the basement and would fry oysters and cook shrimps for the players.

The eldest of three children, Allen was bar mitzvah in 1926 in Greensboro, North Carolina, where his family had moved, giving his bar mitzvah speech in Hebrew. At age 15 he enrolled at the University of Alabama, where he received his undergraduate degree in 1932 and a law school degree in 1936.

He got his start in broadcasting while still a law student, when the Alabama football coach asked him to replace the team's announcer for $5 a game.

During a Christmas vacation in New York with friends, in 1936, Allen stopped at CBS for an audition on a lark and was shortly hired as a $45-a-week announcer, understudying Ted Husing, CBS's top sports announcer, and Robert Trout in news. Allen's father thought his son was wasting a good education, and was less pleased when Mel explained that CBS wanted him to change his name. "They said, 'Not that we have any objection to the name Israel, but we just think it's a little too all-inclusive.' So I dropped the last name and kept my father's middle name, which was Allen, so that I still felt at least I had part of my father's name." Thus Melvin Israel became Mel Allen.

His broadcasting for CBS included interrupting Kate Smith's afternoon program with a news bulletin reporting the crash of the German zeppelin *Hindenburg*. The first baseball game Allen ever broadcast was the 1938 World Series for CBS, and in June 1939 he was hired to call New York Yankees and New York Giants home games.

Allen's garrulous, infectious style made him one of the first prominent American sportscasters, and the icon voice of baseball as television replaced radio as the primary form of mass entertainment. This occurred at the same time that the Yankees were playing in 15 of 18 World Series beginning in 1947. The "Voice of the New York Yankees" broadcast from 1939 to 1964, and was present for many major Yankees' events during that time, including introducing Lou Gehrig at Yankee Stadium on July 4, 1939, when Gehrig made his famous "Today, I am the luckiest man" speech; introducing a dying Babe Ruth at his sad farewell in 1948; and Roger Maris' record-breaking 61 home runs in 1961. Allen saw Gehrig in the dugout one day in 1940, when the Yankee captain was dying of amyotrophic lateral sclerosis. "Lou patted me on the thigh and said, 'Kid, I never listened to the broadcasts when I was playing, but now they're what keep me going,'" said Allen, who was then 27. "I went down the steps and bawled like a baby."

It was Allen who gave the nicknames "Joltin' Joe" to DiMaggio, "Old Reliable" to Tommy Henrich, and "The Scooter" to Phil Rizzuto. His endearing signature phrases on the air were his sign-on, "Hello, everybody, this is Mel Allen," his exclamation at high points in a game, "How about that!" and his home run call, "That ball is going, going … gone!" His home run pronouncements were punctuated with reference to the team's sponsors, calling them "Ballantine Blasts" after the beer sponsor and "White Owl Wallops" for the cigar sponsor. Allen was abruptly fired after the 1964 season for reasons that have remained a mystery.

Allen broadcast Cleveland Indians games in 1968, and returned to call Yankees games on cable from 1978 to 1986. From 1977 he was the host of the long-running weekly television show, "This Week in Baseball," which continued to introduce the show with his voice even after his death. Allen also broadcast New York Giants baseball games from 1939 to 1943, 20 World Series, 24 All-Star baseball games, as well as 14 Rose Bowl games, five Orange Bowls, and two Sugar Bowls. He was the sports voice of Movietone newsreels and hosted boxing matches.

In 1978 he and sportscaster Red Barber were the first broadcasters awarded the National Baseball Hall of Fame's Ford C. Frick Award for "major contributions to baseball." Allen was the fourth person elected to the National (USA) Sportswriters and Broadcasters Hall of Fame in March 1972, was inducted into the American Sportscasters Hall of Fame in 1985, and was inducted into the Radio Hall of Fame in 1988. In 1959 he wrote *It Takes Heart* with Frank Graham Jr.

[Elli Wohlgelernter (2nd ed.)]

ALLEN, PAUL G. (1953–), U.S. entrepreneur. As the cofounder of the Microsoft Corporation, Allen became one of the wealthiest (third-richest) men in the world. He also became one of the world's most active philanthropists, supporting the Survivors of the Shoah Visual History Foundation, among other projects. In 2004 he gave away more than $500 million.

As a child, Allen attended Lakeside, a private school in Seattle known as a breeding ground for the city's future leaders. There he met Bill Gates and the two became fast friends. In 1975 someone brought to Lakeside a clunky Teletype-like computer and Allen convinced Gates that they should not miss out on the technology revolution. They set about developing an operating system for the computer, the Altair 8800, and succeeded.

Allen dropped out of Washington State University to work for Honeywell in Boston. There he again linked up with Gates, who was attending Harvard. They founded Microsoft in 1975. Allen had the programming expertise, Gates the financial acumen. In 1977 Allen said he expected the personal computer to become as much a part of everyday life as a telephone, and he envisioned innovations like E-mail and suggested the name Microsoft. He talked about a "wired world," a phrase he claims to have originated.

In 1982 Allen contracted Hodgkin's disease and endured months of radiation therapy. The following year, against Gates' wishes, Allen left Microsoft. The company did not go public for three years, but when it did, Allen's shares were worth $134 million. He invested $170 million in Ticketmaster, the computer-ticket service, and collected $568 million when he sold the stock in 2002. He then started Starwave, one of the first Internet content sites and in 1992 the first home to ESPN's sports coverage on the Web. Five years later he sold it to Walt Disney for $200 million. An early investor in Priceline.com, the online travel business, he invested $30 million in 1998 and collected $125 million when he sold his shares two years later. He was also a major investor in Dreamworks SKG, the film and entertainment studio headed by Steven *Spielberg, Jeffrey *Katzenberg, and David *Geffen. For an investment of $675 million, Allen was given 18 percent of the company and a seat on the board. Not all of his investments were successful. In 2003 and 2004 Allen pared his portfolio from 100 to 40 companies. In 1999, according to *Forbes* magazine, Allen was worth $40 billion. By 2003 his fortune was "down" to $21 billion, *Forbes* estimated. Allen's grants to outside organizations and individuals have varied. Asked whether he had philanthropic role models, he pointed to the Stroum family, a prominent Jewish family in Seattle which supported the University of Washington, the Seattle Symphony, and local Jewish institutions. Allen had "a broad and diverse range of interests," according to Laura Rich, author of *The Accidental Zillionaire: Demystifying Paul Allen.* One of Allen's strongest interests was music. He played the guitar and collected memorabilia about Jimi Hendrix, the rock and blues guitarist and, like Allen, a Seattle native. Allen played with the Butcher Shop Boys (known for butchering songs, he said). He owned a recording studio and taught himself to play "Purple Haze," a Hendrix signature number.

Passionate about the arts, Allen hired Frank *Gehry to create an interactive rock 'n' roll museum, the Experience Music Project, in 2000 at a cost of $240 million. He was also involved in a documentary on blues music for public television and organized benefit concerts to raise money for music education and blues artists. He also supported efforts to increase public understanding of science. In 2001 his documentary company produced a seven-part television series on evolution and helped fund another documentary on global public health. In 2004 Allen provided the British entrepreneur Richard Branson with the funds to build an aircraft for manned commercial space flight.

Allen was keenly devoted to sports. He owned the Portland Trail Blazers, a professional basketball team, and paid $46 million of the $262 million cost of the Rose Garden, a 21,500-seat arena in which the team plays. He also bought the Seattle Seahawks, a professional football team. Allen lived alone – and well – on Mercer Island, an enclave of old Seattle wealth and new millionaires. In 2004 Allen's wealth was estimated at $18 billion, including $3.8 billion of Microsoft stock, enough to afford a 413-foot Octopus yacht, the world's largest and, at $200 million, the most expensive.

[Stewart Kampel (2nd ed.)]

ALLEN, WOODY (originally **Allen Stewart Konigsberg**; 1935–), U.S. comedian, filmmaker. Born in Brooklyn, New York, Allen started selling one-liners to gossip columns at the age of 15. He began his career writing jokes for television comedians, such as Garry Moore and Steve Allen. He then appeared as a stand-up comedian and in comedy sequences based on the theme of failure. Short, slight of build, and wearing heavy glasses, he developed what he called "formless farce," exemplified by his film scripts for *What's New, Pussycat?* and *What's Up, Tiger Lily?* His play *Don't Drink the Water* opened on Broadway in 1966. He played the lead in the film *Take the Money and Run* in 1969. Allen soon emerged as one of the most notable figures in the film industry. From 1969, he directed and scripted an average of one film per year. His most successful was *Annie Hall* (1977), which won an Oscar for the best picture of the year; in addition, he took two other prizes for best director and best screenwriter. In 1978 he produced his first serious drama, *Interiors*. It has been compared in style and tone to the films of Swedish director Ingmar Bergman, whose work has influenced Allen greatly. In 1987 Allen won the best screenplay Oscar for *Hannah and Her Sisters,* as well as the American Comedy Award for Funniest Lead Actor. That year the American Comedy Awards also presented him with a Lifetime Achievement Award in Comedy.

Allen's other films include *Bananas* (1971), *Play It Again, Sam* (1972), *Everything You Always Wanted to Know about Sex but Were Afraid to Ask* (1972), *Sleeper* (1973), *Love and Death* (1975), *Manhattan* (1979), *Stardust Memories* (1980), *Midsummer Night's Sex Comedy* (1982), *Zelig* (1983), *Broadway Danny Rose* (1984), *The Purple Rose of Cairo* (1985), *Radio Days* (1987), *September* (1987), *Another Woman* (1988), *New York Stories* (1989), *Crimes and Misdemeanors* (1989), *Alice* (1990), *Shadows and Fog* (1992), *Husbands and Wives* (1992), *Manhattan Murder Mystery* (1993), *Bullets over Broadway* (1994), *Mighty Aphrodite* (1995), *Everyone Says I Love You* (1996), *Deconstructing Harry* (1997), *Celebrity* (1998), *Sweet and Lowdown* (1999), *Small Time Crooks* (2000), *Curse of the Jade Scorpion* (2001), *Hollywood Ending* (2002), *Anything Else* (2002), and *Melinda and Melinda* (2004).

In 1990, along with such fellow filmmakers as Stanley Kubrick and Martin Scorsese, Allen helped establish the Film Foundation, a group dedicated to preserving the heritage of American films.

In 1992 Allen caused a stir when it was discovered that he had been having a relationship with Soon-Yi Previn, the adopted daughter of his long-time girlfriend, actress Mia Farrow. In 1997 Allen, who was 62, and Soon-Yi, 27, were married in Venice.

Allen caused another stir in 1998, this time among the Jewish community, when he wrote an op-ed article in the *New York Times* (January 28) saying that he was appalled by Israel's treatment of the rioting Palestinians (during the first Intifada). He expressed incredulity at what he understood from the media to be "state-sanctioned brutality and even torture." Stressed Allen, "I can't believe it, and I don't know exactly what is to be done, but I'm sure pulling out my movies is again not the answer … to bring this wrongheaded approach to a halt."

As the perennial onscreen personification of angst and neurosis, Allen projects a love-hate relationship with himself and with his fellow Jews. Taking more of an amiable swipe than a nasty jibe, he peoples his films and peppers his dialogues with more Jewish wiseacres and wisecracks than most American directors or screenwriters ever have. A New Yorker to the core, Allen bases most of his films in his beloved hometown.

His dour, deadpan humor is just as funny off-screen as it is in his films. He is quoted as saying, "Most of the time I don't have much fun. The rest of the time I don't have any fun at all." And "If my film makes one more person miserable, I'll feel I've done my job."

Capturing that humor in print, Allen has written a number of books and plays as well. They include his short story collections *Getting Even* (1971) and *Without Feathers* (1975); his essays *Side Effects* (1980); and in addition to his theatrical fare *Don't Drink the Water*, such plays as *Death Knocks* (1971), *Death: A Comedy in One Act* (1975), *God: A Comedy in One Act* (1975), *The Floating Light Bulb* (1982), and *Three One-Act Plays: Riverside Drive, Old Saybrook, and Central Park West.* He also published *Woody Allen on Woody Allen: In Conversation with Stig Björkman* (1995).

Another of Allen's creative talents, his clarinet playing, is highlighted in the 1997 documentary film *Wild Man Blues*, directed by Barbara Koppel. The film follows Allen and his New Orleans jazz band on their European tour. A serious jazz musician, Allen has been performing for more than 25 years at a downtown club in New York.

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[Jonathan Licht and Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

°ALLENBY, EDMUND HENRY HYNMAN, VISCOUNT (1861–1936), British soldier. Allenby commanded the Egyptian Expeditionary Forces which, in 1917–18, defeated the Turks in Palestine. In June 1917 he was sent to Cairo to succeed Sir Archibald Murray as commander of the British forces in Egypt and Palestine. British troops were then held up at Gaza after two unsuccessful battles. Deceiving the enemy into thinking he would launch a third frontal attack, he took Beersheba instead (October 31), thus forcing the Turks to withdraw from Gaza, and leading to the capture of Jaffa and of Jerusalem (December 9, 1917). By the autumn of 1918, troops transferred from Mesopotamia and India to Palestine were ready for forays across the Jordan, in which the *Jewish Legion (38th and 39th Battalions of the Royal Fusiliers) took part. Allenby again deceived the Turks into thinking that he would attack once more with his right wing, but, having secretly transferred the bulk of his forces (some 35,000 men) to the orange groves north of Jaffa, he broke through on the night of September 18–19 and reached Nazareth via the Megiddo Pass before the Turks realized what was happening. Their escape routes blocked, tens of thousands of Turkish troops were taken prisoner in a decisive victory. Pressing on to Damascus and Aleppo, Allenby forced Turkey out of the war on October 31. For his achievements he was named Viscount Allenby of Megiddo and Felixstowe, and received a parliamentary grant of £50,000. Of massive build and forceful personality (known to his troops as "The Bull"), Allenby later became British high commissioner in Egypt (1919–1925). In 1918 he was present at the laying of the foundation stone of the Hebrew University on Mount Scopus. Though as a commander of the British Expeditionary Forces he was noncommittal toward Zionist aspirations, doubting the wisdom of British policy concerning a Jewish National Home, he later expressed an understanding of Zionism in a speech delivered at the inaugural banquet of the Hebrew University in 1925. One of the main streets in Tel Aviv is named in his honor.

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[Edwin Samuel, Second Viscount Samuel]

ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG DES JUDENTUMS (AZJ, "General Journal of Judaism"), one of the first modern and certainly the most important of German Jewish periodicals of the 19th century. The AZJ was published in Leipzig and later in Berlin between 1837 and 1922. In 1860, the journal had a circulation of about 1,500 copies. It was read not only in Germany, Austria, and Holland, but also in Eastern Europe. Its success enabled it to be independent of subsidies from public bodies as well as to publish monographs by scholars such as I.M. Jost, S.D. Luzzatto, L. Zunz, A. Geiger, A. Jellinek, and Franz Delitzsch. The founder, Ludwig *Philippson, edited the paper from 1837 to 1889. During the first two years the AZJ was published thrice weekly, in 1839 twice weekly, then weekly, and finally only once every two weeks.

The AZJ advocated moderate religious reform and closer relations with non-Jews. It prompted the convention of the Rabbinical Conferences of 1844–46, the Reform Synod at Leipzig in 1869, and the establishment of the Lehranstalt fuer die Wissenschaft des Judentums in Berlin. However, its columns were open to varying views. After the adherents of other ideological trends in Central European Jewry established their own periodicals from the middle of the 19th century, the AZJ ceased to reflect the moderate view. A most important contribution to Jewish life in Central Europe was made through the journal's efforts to foster and spread "Jewish" belle-lettres. While ignoring the more realistic genre of "village and ghetto tales" (e.g., by Berthold *Auerbach), Philippson focused on historic and heroic texts to stress the "ideal" aspects of Jewish life. The journal was instrumental in the establishment and support of the Institut zur Foerderung der Israelitischen Literatur in the late 1850s. In 1866, Philippson's *Juedisches Familienblatt* with its literary content was integrated into the feuilleton of the AZJ.

Following Gabriel Riesser's paper *Der Jude* (1832–35), the AZJ understood itself as the main organ of the Jewish emancipation movement in the 19th century. Despite the political reaction after the 1848 revolution, it continued the battle. After the foundation of the German Reich, when full legal rights were achieved, the fight against antisemitism became the main focus of the AZJ. With the rise of Zionism, the journal declined in importance. Under the editorship of Gustav *Karpeles (1890–1909), its interests shifted towards the Jews of Eastern Europe and their situation. When Ludwig *Geiger took over (1910–1919), the journal assumed an anti-Zionist and anti-Orthodox position. Albert Katz (1858–1923), initially in charge of the supplement for communal affairs, became editor in 1919. In 1922, the AZJ finally merged with the **C.V.-Zeitung*.

The AZJ is available at http://www.compactmemory.de. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** *C.V.-Zeitung* 16, No. 18 (May 6, 1937); J. Philippson, "The Philippsons, a German-Jewish Family 1775–1933," in: LBIYB 7 (1962), 95–118; ibid., "Ludwig Philippson und die Allgemeine Zeitung des Judentums," in: H. Liebeschütz and A. Paucker (eds.), *Das Judentum in der Deutschen Umwelt, 1800–1850* (1977), 243–91; M. Eliav, "Philippsons Allgemeine Zeitung des Judentums und Erez Israel," in: Bull LBI 46–47 (1969), 155–82; H.O. Horch, *Auf der Suche nach der juedischen Erzaehlliteratur* (1985); idem, "Auf der Zinne der Zeit," in: Bull LBI 86 (1990), 5–21.

[Ezriel Carlebach and Robert Weltsch / Marcus Pyka and Johannes Valentin Schwarz (2nd ed.)]

ALLIANCE ISRAELITE UNIVERSELLE (Heb. כָּל יִשְׂרָאֵל חֲבֵרִים כּי״חַ "All Israel are comrades"), first modern international Jewish organization, founded in 1860, centered in Paris. The foundation of the Alliance expressed the renewal of Jewish cohesiveness after a short period of weakening in the second half of the 18th and up to the forties of the 19th century. Its inception was stimulated by ideological trends and political events in the national and international spheres in the second half of the 19th century.

Origins and Structure

From the outset the Alliance labored under a built-in tension; it was conceived to be a world organization of "fortunate" Jews, who had achieved emancipation and assimilation in their own countries, to help their fellow-Jews, wherever they were suffering for or discriminated against because of their religion.

The *Damascus Affair in 1840 renewed the urge toward Jewish solidarity and cooperation. Opinions were subsequently voiced, especially in Germany and France, that a regular body should be established to defend Jews everywhere, whenever discriminated against on religious grounds. The idea was discussed by various authors (Z. *Frankel; J. *Carvallo). The 1848 European revolutionary climate, however, worked against Jewish cohesion. On the other hand, the political constellation in Europe of the 1850–60s, and the hegemony of France under Napoleon III, was propitious for the establishment of a Jewish organization under French leadership for international Jewish work.

The *Mortara case in 1858 accentuated the urge for world-Jewish self-help, while the French hegemony in Europe pointed to French Jews as the natural leaders. Inter-European tensions in the Catholic Church also emphasized the international character of religious problems, and the need for international solutions. The same year, Isidor *Cahen declared in his *Archives Israélites* that the Jews should mainly rely on themselves for their own defense, and suggested the establishment of an intercommunal organization to be named "Alliance Israélite Universelle" to defend the interests of Jews throughout the world. In February 1860 Simon Bloch, the French writer and later secretary of the Alliance, repeated this proposal. The Alliance was launched in May 1860, the founder-members – J. Carvallo; I. Cahen; N. *Leven, the secretary of Adolphe *Crémieux; A. *Astruc, and the poet, E. Manuel – meeting in the house of Charles *Netter. In June 1860 they published their manifesto which stressed the need for solidarity on Jewish matters, and stated that the Alliance would "serve as a most important stimulus to Jewish regeneration."

The aims of the Alliance, as formulated by Carvallo and Netter were three: "to work everywhere for the emancipation and moral progress of the Jews; to offer effective assistance to Jews suffering from antisemitism; and to encourage all publications calculated to promote this aim."

The statutes of the Alliance stipulated a typically French centralism. It was to be administered by a central committee of 30 members, located in Paris, elected by the general assembly of all members of the organization. Two-thirds of the central committee had to be Paris residents. Seven formed a quorum. The central committee had to report annually to the general assembly. Regional and local committees everywhere had to transfer their funds to the central committee, or to use part of them locally, with permission of the central committee. All Alliance presidents have been French Jews with the exception of the German S.H. Goldschmidt (president 1881–98). Adolphe Crémieux (president 1863–80) did much for the development of the Alliance. Other presidents have included Solomon *Munk, Narcisse Leven, Sylvain *Lévi, and René *Cassin.

Aims and Activity

Its aims, as expressed in its statutes, have been implemented under changing historical conditions. These, ever since its establishment, have influenced the scale and direction of its activities, conducted mainly in the diplomatic, social, and educational spheres.

Diplomatic Activity

The Alliance soon became the address to which persecuted Jewish communities turned to for help throughout the world. From the 1880s its main diplomatic activities were conducted on behalf of Near-Eastern Jewish communities. Political intervention was secured by various means and the Alliance may be considered the pioneer of Jewish diplomatic methods in modern times. During and after the 1860s the Alliance made repeated appeals to obtain improvement of the legal status of the Jews of Serbia and Romania basing its case on paragraph 46 of the 1858 Paris Convention, which declared the principle of equal rights for the Jews. The Alliance interceded on behalf of the Jews of Belgium and of Russia, and for civil rights of the Jews of Switzerland. After Adolphe Crémieux became president, the French Foreign Office and French authorities in the colonies and protectorates frequently cooperated with the Alliance.

The peak period of Alliance diplomatic activity was during the Congress of Berlin (1878; see *Berlin, Congress of), when, in conjunction with the Joint Foreign Committee of the Anglo-Jewish Association, and the Board of Deputies it took steps to protect the interests of the Jews in the Balkan countries, obtaining the inclusion of a paragraph in the treaties with these states stipulating civil rights for all Jews. The Alliance interceded with the sultan of Morocco during the Madrid Congress of 1880, and obtained promises for the improvement of the status of Moroccan Jews. At the peace conference of Versailles, after World War I, the Alliance was active on behalf of the Jews of Poland, Hungary, Romania, and other countries affected by the peace treaties. It acted independently of the *Comité des Délégations Juives, since the Alliance opposed both the concepts of national *minority rights and of *Zionism; the Alliance then cooperated with those Anglo-Jewish organizations holding similar views.

ASSISTANCE TO EMIGRANTS. The Alliance began to provide assistance to Jews who wished to leave countries where they suffered from disabilities in 1869, mainly on behalf of Jews from Russia and Romania. It contacted both institutions and individuals in the U.S. to ascertain whether Jewish emigration there was desirable, the numbers that could be absorbed, and the most suitable qualifications. The Jewish migration was regulated by the committee for Jewish refugees in Koenigsberg, established and operated in collaboration with other Jewish organizations. The Koenigsberg committee also cared for the placement of starving Jewish orphans with German Jewish families for possible adoption. With the commencement of mass emigration from Russia after the pogroms of 1881, the Alliance again shared relief activities with other Jewish organizations.

When the first wave of 4,000 refugees arrived in Brody, Galicia, that year, Charles Netter went there on behalf of the Alliance. He failed, however, to cope with the unprecedented stream of emigrants. Subsequently the Alliance participated in several conferences of Jewish organizations and at that held in 1882, was charged to find opportunities for Jewish immigration outside the United States. It participated in two such conferences after 1891, although by then it had decided that it would not support the refugees in order to discourage further emigration. In matters of migration, the Alliance also cooperated with the *Jewish Colonization Association (ICA).

EDUCATION. In the 1890s the Alliance began to concentrate its efforts (in conjunction with ICA) on aiding Jewish education, especially in the Balkans (until after World War I) and the Middle Eastern countries. The educational activity of the Alliance was concerted with its diplomatic efforts, since it aimed at the betterment of the social and legal status of the Jews through their "cultural and moral elevation." It was also an expression of the French patriotism of the Alliance and its pride in French language and culture which it intended to disseminate among the Jews. The work encountered difficulties since certain communities viewed the propagation of French culture in the schools established by the Alliance as a danger to the traditional framework of Jewish life. The French character of Alliance education was also to prove its undoing as it became inconsistent with the new nationalist spirit in these countries following World War I.

The important network of schools established by the Alliance made rapid progress with the help of large donations by Baron Maurice de Hirsch "to improve the position of the Jews in the Turkish Empire by instruction and education." These amounted to one million gold francs in 1874 and ten million gold francs in 1889. In Greece ten schools were opened at intervals, but progress there was arrested in the period between the two world wars; only four remained open by 1939 and there were none by the 1960s. In Bulgaria, the Alliance established ten schools between 1870 and 1885; these gradually disappeared soon after World War I. A similar process took place in Turkey where in 1912, the Alliance possessed 71 boys' schools and 44 girls' schools, of which 52 were in European Turkey (including the Balkans) and 63 in Asian Turkey (including Iraq, etc.). From 1932 the Alliance gradually handed over its schools to the local communities. The few schools of the Alliance in Serbia and Romania similarly closed. The Alliance increasingly concentrated its educational activities in North Africa and the Near East, including Iran. In Morocco, the schools in Tetuan (founded 1862) and Tangiers (1869) were followed by schools in five major cities (1873–1902). In 1912 almost 5,500 pupils attended 14 schools. At that time, the French administration began to take an interest in these activities and an agreement was concluded between the local government and the Alliance in 1928, whereby Alliance schools were placed under the strict control of the Public Education Department, and were also assured of effective material support. The network of the Alliance henceforth became an integral part of the social and educational activities conducted in the protectorate. The Alliance social relief activities combined with the educational movement to improve the living conditions of the pupils from the mellah. In 1939, 45 schools in Morocco had 15,761 pupils. The support of the local authorities enabled the Alliance to continue its work even during World War II. It received a new impetus in 1945. From 14,000 pupils in 1945, the total rose to 28,000 in 1952, the increase in attendance being mainly in the large urban centers of Marrakesh, Fez, Rabat, and Casablanca.

The Ecole Normale Hébraïque of Casablanca fulfilled the local need for Jewish teachers. The Alliance also increased its activities in the small communities, and a school was established for every Jewish community numbering 300 to 400 persons. In Casablanca, the Alliance also established a school for sufferers from trachoma, as well as an institute for the deaf and dumb, in collaboration with *ORT and the *American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee. In Tunisia, the Alliance opened its first school in 1878; by 1960, there were 2,150 pupils in elementary schools, 700 in secondary schools, and 76 in commercial classes run by the Alliance. An attempt to open a school in Beirut in 1869 was unsuccessful, but later several schools were established.

Alliance schools in Beirut were destroyed by explosives in 1950, but were immediately rebuilt. In 1960 the schools of Saida and Beirut had 1,295 pupils. Several Alliance schools functioned in Syria, mainly in Damascus and Aleppo. In Iraq, where the Alliance opened a school in Baghdad in 1865, there were 6,000 pupils in its ten schools in 1947. In Iran, the Alliance inaugurated its first school in Teheran in 1898, not without encountering difficulties from the local Jewish community. In 1960, the school network of the Alliance in Iran had 15 schools with a total of 6,200 pupils, the greatest concentration being in Teheran; in the provinces all Jewish children attended Alliance schools. In Ereẓ Israel, the Alliance agricultural school at *Mikveh Israel was opened by Charles Netter in 1870; in 1882, an elementary school was opened in Jerusalem. Other schools followed in the important towns. In Egypt the local communities carried out the educational work on behalf of the Alliance by gradually taking upon themselves the responsibility for the local schools.

World War II marks a watershed in Alliance activities. All branches of its activities were cut off from the head office which in turn had to take refuge from Paris in the non-occupied zone. From November 1942 the isolation was complete (see *France). The Free French government interested itself in the fate of the Alliance, and General de Gaulle entrusted responsibility for it to René Cassin. After the liberation, the Alliance – with assistance from American Jewry – resumed its normal activities again in Paris, and immediately had to deal with the upheavals following the war. Its central problem involved the struggle for a Jewish state, in Israel and the upsurge of nationalism in the Arab countries, their fight against colonialism and their refusal to recognize the national existence of the Jews in Israel. The Alliance found itself in a delicate position in regard to the many schools which it maintained in the Middle East, particularly in Syria and Iraq. Redefining its policy and its *raison d'être*, the Alliance published a programmatic declaration in 1945, in which it reaffirmed its universal character, its attachment to educational work, and its determination to "demand for the Jews who so desired the right of entry into Palestine, under the auspices of the United Nations and on the responsibility of the Jewish Agency in Palestine."

The consequences of the Israel-Arab war of 1947–48 made themselves felt immediately by persecution of the Jews living in Arab countries and the mass exodus of Jews from these lands. After the departure of thousands of Jews from Iraq, all the schools of the Alliance there closed down. The same happened almost without exception in Syria and Egypt. In Morocco and Tunisia also, the success of the nationalist revolt, and the gradual achievement of independence from France, resulted in an exodus from North Africa to France as well as to Israel in the 1960s and upset the foundations of the educational project of the Alliance. In Israel, the Alliance had to relinquish the French orientation of its schools; its elementary schools were closed down or taken over by the Israel education system. These, however, combined to give preference to the teaching of French as the first foreign language. The Alliance concentrated on development of secondary education, opening schools in Jerusalem, Tel Aviv, and Haifa.

In Morocco, the number of pupils in the schools of the Alliance fell from 30,123 in 1959 to 13,527 in 1963. In 1960, the Moroccan government decided to integrate part of the Alliance schools into its own school system. The Alliance retained its remaining schools under the name of Ittihad-Maroc, but they steadily lost their character. The same debilitation process, due to the same causes, could be observed in Tunisia and in Iran.

Educational network of the Alliance Israélite Universelle in 1968.

Country	Number of Schools	Numbers of Pupils
Morocco (Ittihad)	31	8,054
Iran (Ettehad)	13	5,158
Israel	13	4,828
Lebanon	3	1,109
Tunisia	3	1,366
Syria	1	431
Total	64	20,946

In addition to schools, the Alliance had established in Paris, in 1867, the Ecole Normale Israélite Orientale to supply the necessary directors and teachers for its schools and to give their teaching staff a certain homogeneity. The Ecole numbered 120 pupils in 1968. The Alliance had also opened (1897) a rabbinical school in Istanbul for the Oriental communities, which functioned for about ten years. A valuable library on Jewish subjects was founded at the Alliance offices in Paris, at the instance of its secretary-general, the historian Isidore *Loeb; it also issued many publications (see Bibliography). The Alliance organized expeditions for the purpose of helping *Beta Israel in 1868, and the Jews in *Yemen in 1908.

In the 1960s, the Alliance intensified its educational activities in France, where many former pupils from North Africa now lived. The Ecole Normale Israélite Orientale ceased to be exclusively a professional school, and admitted students who did not necessarily intend to become teachers. Secondary schools were opened in Nice and in Pavilions-sous-Bois near Paris. The diplomatic activity of the Alliance were mainly carried on through the Consultative Council of Jewish Organizations (New York) founded in 1946.

In the course of its long career, the Alliance has not always been immune from controversy. In the eyes of antisemites, it became the embodiment of the Jewish international "octopus" strangling civilization. The nefarious myth of the *Elders of Zion crystallized around a falsified image of the Alliance. It was criticized for being too French and not sufficiently universal. Much criticism was directed after World War I against Sylvain Lévi who took a sharp anti-Zionist stand on behalf of the Alliance at the Versailles peace conference. In 1945, however, the Alliance took up a pro-Zionist stand.

In September 1989 the AIU inaugurated a new library which became the largest Jewish library in Europe, possessing over 120,000 items. Available at the library are the Alliance archives which have now been catalogued and offer a wealth of information on Jewish communities in the Mediterranean Basin as well as on French Jewry from the end of the 19th century through the first half of the 20th. The library also now houses specialized archives on Jewish medicine and Jewish education. It regularly organizes special exhibitions such as that on the Dreyfus Affair in 1995.

Publications of the Alliance Israelite Universelle have included: *Paix et Droit*, 1–20 (1921–40); *Cahiers* (1945–); *Maḥberet* (1952–); *The Alliance Israélite Universelle 1860–1895* (1895); *La question juive devant la conférence de la paix…* (1919); N. Leven, *Cinquante ans d'histoire… 1860–1910*, 2 vols. (1919–22). For other titles see Hebrew Union College Library, *Dictionary Catalog of the Kalu Library*, 1 (1964), 408–11.

Les Nouveaux Cahiers (1965–) is a quarterly publication offering a forum for topics in Jewish Studies as well as for current issues of note among French Jewry. The journal regularly devotes space to interfaith relations, a subject of great concern to AIU Day-long seminars are held once or twice a year under the auspices of the journal and are devoted to a historical, political, philosophical, or literary topic. A special annual appears with the papers of these seminars.

The AIU also has a College of Jewish Studies focusing its activities, under the direction of Shmuel Trigano, on in-depth study of Jewish thought in its various expressions. In addition to its regular courses, it organizes an annual symposium on a theme concerning the basic issues of Jewish existence and attracts French scholars as well as others from elsewhere.

In additions to its own widespread network of schools, the AIU has a growing number of affiliated institutions in France, Belgium, Spain, Canada, and Israel.

The Didactic Creativity department at the Paris headquarters places its services at the disposal of teachers interested in producing school materials. One project supported by AIU was a Hebrew–French dictionary for young children and another was a large colorful fresco on the principal stages of Jewish history.

To make the most important texts in Jewish tradition available to the largest possible reading audience, AIU sponsors the works in the "Les Dix Paroles" collection of the Verdier publishing house.

In Israel, the AIU took an active role in receiving new immigrants and helping in their absorption, particularly those from the areas of the former U.S.S.R. and from Ethiopia, and also expended great effort in facilitating contacts between young Jews and Arabs towards promoting mutual understanding and tolerance.

Prof. Adolphe *Steg became president of AIU in 1985, succeeding Jules Braunschvig, honorary president who died in 1994.

[Simon R. Schwarzfuchs]

Women Teachers and Students

By 1872, women were also included in the Alliance teaching force. Since few French Jews were willing to serve as teachers in the villages and towns of North Africa and the Middle East, the Alliance sent the brightest students from its schools to be trained in Paris. While the Ecole Normale Israélite prepared all male Alliance teachers, young girls arriving in Paris were assigned either to the École Bischoffsheim, a vocational and normal school, or to the middle-class boarding schools of Madame Weill-Kahn and Madame Isaac. The Alliance opened its own normal school for girls in 1922.

The female teachers of the Alliance were a diverse group. Students in one class at Mme Isaac's, for example, came from Constantinople, Adrianople, the Dardanelles, Tangier, Monastir, Alsace, Aleppo, Damascus, Aden, Beirut, and Salonika. They also differed in background, language, and piety as well as in temperament and intellect. Their teaching experiences were equally diverse, for the positions they were assigned and the cities to which they were sent (almost never to their town of origin) rarely had much in common. Women Alliance teachers were permitted to marry; most chose to do so, generally marrying their male counterparts, and large families were the norm.

In addition to founding, teaching in, and directing Alliance schools, women teachers also established workshops, organized cottage industries, and oversaw the employment of their graduates. They negotiated, not always easily or successfully, for the support of local community leaders, and provided the Alliance with ethnographic information which became the basis of its decisions and policy making. They had the benefit of a network of support (sisters, cousins, friends, and husbands) which, in contrast to their female counterparts in France (*institutrices*), often freed them to act independently.

The Alliance's goals of westernization and modernization were demonstrated in its women teachers, who were models of autonomy and literacy. Their examples spoke not only to the Alliance's vision of forming female students into good mothers and intelligent companions for their future husbands, but also to the empowerment of young girls, intellectually, physically, professionally, and spiritually. Reframing the ideology of French Jewry to reflect more accurately the needs of Jewish girls, the women teachers of the Alliance, and their many thousands of students, played a central role in their own emancipation.

[Frances Malino (2nd ed.)]

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ALLIANZ, ISRAELITISCHE, ZU WIEN, Jewish society in Vienna, originally intended to operate as a branch of the *Alliance Israélite Universelle in Paris, with similar aims. Since the Austrian authorities opposed affiliation with the Alliance, the Vienna Allianz was established as an independent society in 1873. Its first president was Joseph von *Wertheimer. Initially, it concentrated on assisting Jews in *Romania and *Siberia. It aided Jewish victims of the Russo-Turkish War in 1877 and supported the Alliance in its efforts to obtain equal civil rights for the Jews in the Balkans. At the Congress of *Berlin in 1878 the Allianz took up the Balkan issue in cooperation with the special Jewish committee for liaison with the congress. With the outbreak of the pogroms in 1881–82, the Allianz participated in relief and migration activities. It organized and maintained a number of educational institutions in Galicia and Bukovina, later supported by the *Baron de Hirsch Fund. The Allianz combatted antisemitism, notably at the *Tisza-Eszlar (1883) and *Polna (1899) blood-libel trials. Relief and emigration projects were established in conjunction with the "Esra" Association of Berlin and the *Jewish Colonization Association (ICA) to benefit Romanian and Russian Jewry between 1897 and 1905. During World War I, the society chiefly aided Jewish war victims; after the war it helped Jewish refugees and emigrants in transit through Vienna. The Allianz was liquidated in 1938 after the *Anschluss*.

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[Nathan Michael Gelber]

ALLON, GEDALYA (formerly **Rogoznizki**; 1901–1950), historian. Allon was born in Kobrin, Russia, and studied at the Slobodka yeshivah. In 1917 he returned to Kobrin, where he became active in the Zionist movement and established a religious Hebrew school, Ḥevrona. After a year's study in Berlin in 1924 he immigrated to Palestine. He was in 1931 one of the first graduates of the Hebrew University and then taught Talmud and Jewish history there. Allon clarified many problems in the development of *halakhah* and the evolution of the social history of the Jews. He argued that the period following the destruction of the Second Temple should not be viewed as the beginning of the Diaspora, but as a continuation of the period of autonomous existence in Palestine, retaining the basic elements of national independence (the lack of which is characteristic of the Diaspora). Allon's work, combining an exhaustive acquaintance with source material and an acute critical sense, placed the history of Palestinian Jewry in the first centuries of the Common Era upon a new basis. His *Toledot ha-Yehudim be-Ereẓ Yisrael bi-Tekufat ha-Mishnah ve-ha-Talmud* ("History of the Jews in Palestine in the Period of the Mishnah and the Talmud," 2 vols., 1953–56) was published posthumously, as were *Meḥkarim be-Toledot Yisrael bi-Yemei Bayit Sheni u-vi-Tekufat ha-Mishnah ve-ha-Talmud* (2 vols., 1957–58) and collected essays that had appeared in various scholarly journals.

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[Shmuel Safrai]

ALLON (Paicovitch), YIGAL (1918–1980), Israeli statesman and military commander; member of the Third to Ninth Knessets. Allon was born in Mesha, which later changed its name to *Kefar Tavor, in the Lower Galilee. His father, Reuven Yosef Paicovitch, a member of Hovevei Zion in Grodno, Russia, had settled in Eretz Israel in 1882. Allon received his elementary schooling in his native village and graduated in 1937 from the Kadoorie Agricultural High School. In that year he became one of the founders of Kibbutz *Ginnosar, where he was to reside for the rest of his life.

As a boy Allon joined the *Haganah, and in 1936, at the age of 18, became a member of the newly created special units (*peluggot sadeh*) under Yiẓḥak *Sadeh, rapidly rising to officer rank. In 1941 Allon was among the founders of the *Palmaḥ, and in this capacity he fought with the British forces in Syria and Lebanon in the years 1941–42. In 1943 he became the deputy commander of the Palmaḥ, and after Sadeh became acting chief of staff of the Haganah in 1945, he replaced him as its commander. In this capacity he was responsible for planning the Palmaḥ's multifaceted training program, operations against Arab bands, and attacks on civilian and military installations of the British Administration during the last years of its presence in Palestine. He also played a major role in smuggling immigrants illegally into the country (*Aliyah Bet*), and establishing settlements in prohibited zones. During the *War of Independence Allon commanded in decisive battles for the liberation of the Upper Galilee and Safed in the north; Lydda, Ramleh, and the Jerusalem Corridor in the center of the country; and the Southern Coastal Plain and the Negev, including Beersheba and Eilat, in the south. He also commanded the forces that entered deep into Sinai, as far as El-Arish, but was ordered by David *Ben-Gurion, who was under American pressure, to withdraw. Ben-Gurion also blocked his plans to capture the West Bank from King Abdullah's Arab Legion, even though Allon believed he could accomplish the mission within three weeks.

In 1950, following the dissolution of the Palmaḥ on Ben-Gurion's orders, Allon left active military service, but in the eyes of many remained a war hero whose military career had wrongfully been cut short. Allon then entered active politics, joining the leadership of the Kibbutz Hame'uḥad kibbutz movement, and *Mapam within the framework of his own movement. However, he objected to Mapam's pro-Soviet leanings and supported the decision of his movement's four MKs in Mapam to break away from the combined parliamentary group in the summer of 1954. Allon then joined the leadership of the reinstated *Aḥdut ha-Avodah-Po'alei Zion. In 1955 he was elected to the Third Knesset, and was to serve in all the Knessets until his death in February 1980. He resigned from the Fourth Knesset in October 1960 in order to pursue his studies at Oxford but was forced to cut short his stay in Great Britain because of early elections for the Fifth Knesset. Nevertheless, during his stay in Oxford, Allon met many of the leaders of the British Labour Party, several of whom became his personal friends.

From 1961 to 1968 Allon served as minister of labor, in which capacity he promoted the improvement of the state-run employment service and manpower training, initiated extensive road works, and introduced new legislation on labor relations, including laws regulating strikes and lockouts and the establishment of labor courts. During his term of office, social insurance was extended. During the crisis leading up to the 1967 *Six-Day War, when Prime Minister Levi *Eshkol was advised to appoint a minister of defense in order to soothe the public, Eshkol preferred Allon, but due to Allon's absence abroad in the critical days, and pressure from other quarters, it was Moshe *Dayan, Allon's long-time rival from the days of the Palmaḥ, who was appointed. Eshkol compensated him by appointing him deputy prime minister and minister for immigrant absorption.

Allon had strongly supported the establishment of the Alignment between *Mapai and Aḥdut ha-Avodah in 1965, and in 1968 supported the union of Mapai, Aḥdut ha-Avodah, and *Rafi to form the *Israel Labor Party. Following the Six-Day War he developed a plan for a permanent settlement of the Palestinian problem, which came to be known as the "Allon Plan." The plan, which sought to maximize Israel's security while minimizing the number of Palestinians who would remain under Israeli rule, proposed that most of the West Bank and Gaza Strip be handed over to Jordan, which would turn into a Jordanian-Palestinian state. Israel would remain in united Jerusalem, the Jordan Valley (except for a corridor connecting the Kingdom of Jordan with the West Bank around Jericho), the first mountain ridge west of the Jordan River, *Gush Etzyon, and the Latrun area. The Allon Plan was never adopted by the Government, but until 1977 most of the Jewish settlements in the territories were established within its parameters. Following the elections to the Seventh Knesset, held in 1969 under Golda *Meir's leadership, Allon was appointed deputy prime minister and minister of education and culture, and he was given the same positions in the government that Meir formed after the election of the Eighth Knesset on December 31, 1973. After Meir's resignation, following the publication of the Interim Report of the Agranat Commission on the outbreak of the *Yom Kippur War, Yitzhak *Rabin, who was elected by the Labor Party as its new chairman and its candidate for prime minister, appointed Allon deputy prime minister and minister of foreign affairs, in which post he replaced Abba *Eban, who was not included in the new government. As foreign minister Allon was a member of the negotiating team that held talks with U.S. Secretary of State Henry *Kissinger on the Disengagement Agreements with Egypt and Syria in 1974, and the Interim Agreement with Egypt in 1975. In 1974 he also tried to promote his "Jericho Plan," under which Israel would hand over Jericho and an area around it to King Hussein of Jordan, as a first step towards implementing the Allon Plan, but the results of the Rabat Arab Summit Conference foiled his plans.

Serving under Yitzhak Rabin, who had been his subordinate in the Palmaḥ and five years his junior, was not easy for Allon, but the relations between the two remained friendly. Following the 1977 election upset that brought *Menaḥem Begin to power, he remained a member of the Knesset, and was appointed chairman of the World Labor Zionist Organization. Among the issues that Allon promoted in the Knesset was the Mediterranean-Dead Sea canal for the generation of electricity. In the vote on the Camp David Accords with Egypt of September 1978, Allon abstained for ideological reasons. Allon also supported the creation of a united kibbutz movement, in order to better confront the economic difficulties that the kibbutzim faced following the 1977 elections.

In the books he wrote between 1948 and 1967 Allon developed a defense doctrine, which included the concept of "anticipatory initiative." He wrote "The Making of the Israeli Army," in M. Howard, *Theory and Practice of War* (1965), 335–7, and his books include *Ma'arekhot Palmaḥ* ("Palmaḥ Campaigns," 1966), *Masakh shel Ḥol* ("Curtain of Sand," 1968), *Shield of David* (1970), and *My Father's House* (1976).

Even after his premature death, differences of opinion remained as to whether Yigal Allon had been deliberately denied his rightful place as leader of the Israel Labor Party, or whether he had lost something of his charisma and qualities of leadership after ending his military career. In the late 1970s British Labour Party leader Harold Wilson said of Allon that he would never assume the leadership of his party, since he was "incapable of going for the kill." Friends and foes alike, however, never denied his humanity and charm.

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[Susan Hattis Rolef (2nd ed.)]

ALLONEI ABBA (Heb. אַלּוֹנֵי אַבָּא), moshav shittufi in northern Israel, in western Lower Galilee. Affiliated with Ha-Oved ha-Ẓiyyoni movement, Allonei Abba was founded on May 23, 1948, during the War of Independence. Many of the settlers were survivors of the Holocaust from Czechoslovakia, Romania, Germany, and other countries. The economy was based mainly on farming: poultry, dairy cattle, field crops, and vineyards. In the mid-1990s the population was approximately 200, increasing to 283 in 2002. The name refers to the natural Tabor oaks in the vicinity (*allon*, "oak") and also commemorates the *Haganah hero Abba Berdiczew who died during World War II after having been parachuted into Slovakia.

[Efraim Orni / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

ALLONEI YIẒḤAK (Heb. אַלּוֹנֵי יִצְחָק), youth village in central Israel. It was founded in 1948 within the confines of neighboring *Kefar Glickson, with which it continued to be closely linked. In 1949 it received its own land in the vicinity. Its establishment was aided by the *General Zionist and Progressive parties and by the *Hadassah Organization of America. Within the framework of *Youth Aliyah, Allonei Yiẓḥak trained immigrant children, principally in agriculture, and held courses for American high school students under the auspices of its American-Israel Secondary School Program. Subsequently it became a boarding school housing 75% of the village's students and still absorbing immigrant youth with special ulpan courses to learn Hebrew. The village included various farm branches, where students worked one day a week. In the mid-1990s the population was approximately 300, dropping to 223 from 20 different countries in 2002. The name ("oaks of Yiẓḥak") refers to the oak forest formerly in the vicinity and to the Zionist leader Yiẓḥak *Gruenbaum.

WEBSITE: www.knay.alona.k12.il.

[Efraim Orni / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

ALLONIM (Heb. אַלּוֹנִים; "oaks"), kibbutz in northern Israel, on the Tivon hills of western Lower Galilee. Allonim was founded in 1938 as a "tower and stockade" settlement during the Arab riots. The original settlers were graduates of the first *Youth Aliyah group from Germany. In 1968 it had over 500 inhabitants, including immigrants from various countries and Israeli-born. In 2002 the population was 547. The kibbutz economy was based on intensive mixed farming (field crops, dairy cattle, sheep, poultry). It was also home to the Algat Company, specializing in aluminum finishing processes for the aircraft, military, and other high-technology industries.

[Efraim Orni / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

ALLOUCHE, FELIX NISSIM S'AIDOU (1901–?), Tunisian editor. Born in Sfax, Allouche was editor of the local newspaper *Dépêche Sfaxienne*, formed a Zionist club in 1919, and in 1929 became associated with Vladimir *Jabotinsky. In 1924 he founded the Jewish weekly, *Le Réveil Juif*, and in 1934 became editor of *Tunis Soir*, which took a militant Zionist line; he also helped to found the Zionist weekly, *La Vie Juive*. During World War II, he joined the Resistance and later served as Tunis correspondent for newspapers in Europe and America. Attacked bitterly by the Tunisian national press, he emigrated to Israel in 1956.

ALLUF (Heb. אַלּוּף), honorary title conferred on scholars of the Babylonian academies who had the privilege of sitting in the first row. The word is of biblical origin: the tribal chiefs of Edom were called *allufim* (Gen. 35:15 ff.). (1) In the Bible, this word has two principal meanings: (a) "friend, companion, intimate" (cf. Jer. 3:4; 13:21; Micah 7:5; Ps. 55:14; Prov. 2:17; 16:28; 17:9); (b) according to the current interpretation, "chieftain," but more probably (and this also applies to the Ugaritic *alp*) "clan" (which is also a meaning of *alluf* in Gen. 36:15–43; Ex. 15:15; I Chron. 1:51–54). (2) In the geonic period *alluf* was synonymous with the title of the **resh kallah* which was already current in the Babylonian academies in the talmudic period. Originally the title was conferred on the seven heads of the **Kallah* who served in Sura and Pumbedita, but from the ninth century onward it was also bestowed upon prominent scholars and personalities residing in other countries. (3) Based upon Psalms 55:14 the term *allufi u-meyudda'i* was used in classical-style Hebrew as an address in letters to a friend or teacher. Similarly, prominent members of the Jewish community councils were often referred to among Ashkenazim as *allufim*. (4) Rank in the Defense Forces of the State of Israel, equivalent to major general (see *Israel, Defense Forces).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Mann, Egypt 1 (1920), 144 ff.; 2 (1922), 58 ff.; S. Eppenstein, *Beitraege zur Geschichte und Literatur im geonaeischen Zeitalter* (1913), 11 ff.; Poznański, in: *Ha-Kedem*, 2 (1908), 91–96; I. Davidson, *Saadia's Polemic* (1915), 35; Lewin, in: *Ginzei Kedem*, 3 (1925), 14 ff.

AL-MADARI (Al-Mudari, Al-Mundari, El-Modari), JUDAH HA-KOHEN BEN ELEAZAR (Eliezer?) HE-ḤASID (13th–14th century), talmudic scholar of Aleppo. Al-Madari compiled a commentary to the code of Isaac *Alfasi, part of which is no longer extant. Though he was commenting on Alfasi, he based his book on Rashi's commentary and also cited Maimonides and other later scholars. It is probable that the novellae to the Talmud quoted in his name by various authorities are in reality quotations from his commentary on Alfasi and are not from separate compilations. His commentaries on tractates *Yevamot, Ketubbot, Gittin, Kiddushin, Sanhedrin*, and *Avodah Zarah* were printed in the 1962 edition of the Talmud published in Jerusalem (Pardess, El Hamekoroth). His commentaries to *Pesaḥim* and *Megillah* were seen by Ḥ.J.D. Azulai.

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[Abraham Hirsch Rabinowitz]

ALMAGIÀ, ROBERTO (1884–1962), Italian geographer and historian of cartography. He was born in Florence and in 1911 became professor at the University of Padua, which he left in 1915 to become professor in Rome. His early interests lay in geology and oceanography, but he moved to the history of geographical science and finally to the history of cartography. His first published work was *Studi geografici sopra le frane in Italia* (2 vols., 1907 and 1910). His *Cristoforo Colombo* appeared in 1918, and in 1937, *Gli italiani primi esploratori dell'America*, in which he dealt in detail with the Italian contribution to the discovery of America. From 1920 he was co-editor of the *Rivista Geografica Italiana*, published by the Società di Studi Geografici, of which he became president in 1955. In 1922 he published *L' "Italia" di G.A. Magini e la cartografia dell'Italia nei sec. XVI e XVII*. He edited in 1929 *Monumenta Italiae Cartographica*, a volume of reproductions of early maps of Italy. During World War II he was granted refuge in the Vatican, where he prepared *Monumenta cartografica Vaticana* (4 vols., 1944–55). *Il mondo attuale* (3 vols., 1953–56) and *L'Italia* (2 vols., 1959) are his outstanding works on general and Italian geography. Almagià achieved an international reputation and was the recipient of many honors. His interest in a Jewish homeland is shown in his *La Questione della Palestina* (1918), *Una Escursione in Palestina* (1925), and *Palestina* (1930).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Geographical Journal*, 128 (1962), 367–8. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** S. Boorsh, "The Case for Francesco Rosselli as the Engraver of Berlinghieri's *Geographia*," in: *Imago Mundi* 56:2 (2004), 152–69.

ALMAGOR (Heb. אַלְמָגוֹר; "No Fear"), moshav on the Corazim Plateau N. of Lake Kinneret. Almagor was founded in 1961 as a *Naḥal outpost on the Israeli-Syrian border (until 1967). A number of its soldier-settlers fell in Syrian ambushes in the vicinity and a monument was erected here in their memory. Its economy was based on out-of-season crops, vineyards, sheep, and poultry as well as mango and olive orchards. The moshav also operated a rest house, pub, and sailing facilities on the lake. In the mid-1990s the population was approximately 250, dropping to 207 in 2002.

[Efraim Orni / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

ALMAGOR, GILA (1939–), first lady of Israeli stage and screen; also the author of several children's books. Born in Petaḥ Tikvah, Almagor wrote about her troubled childhood as the daughter of a widowed, mentally ill Holocaust survivor in her book, *The Summer of Aviya*, which was filmed in 1988. It starred Almagor herself in a role based on her mother. The prize-winning film was followed by another book, *Under the Domim Tree*, and another film adaptation starring Almagor. These two films are highlights in a career that began when she was 17 and appeared in the Habimah National Theater's production of *The Skin of Our Teeth*. Her stage credits include *Medea*, *The Crucible*, and *Three Sisters*. She has appeared in over 35 films, including *Sallah Shabbati* (1964), *The House on Chelouche Street* (1973), *Operation Thunderbolt* (1977), *Life According to Agfa* (1992), and *The Gospel According to God* (2004). She was awarded the Israel Prize in 2004. Almagor is married to Ya'akov Agmon, the former director of Habimah.

[Hannah Brown (2nd ed.)]

ALMAGRO, town in Castile, Spain, administrative center of the Order of *Calatrava. Jews probably settled there soon after the Christian reconquest (14th century). It was one of only four communities in the area of Ciudad Real that existed in the 14th and 15th centuries. The community developed during the 15th century, when cities in the crown domains offered little security to their Jewish population, but from the amount of tax paid it was a small one. During the 1460s it was able to construct a synagogue. There was also a sizeable *Converso group, and many Conversos from Ciudad Real took refuge there when they were attacked in 1449, 1469, and 1474. A number of the New Christians in Almagro were sentenced by the Inquisition in Ciudad Real and Toledo. The Jewish community was assessed to pay 800 *maravedis* in 1474 and 4,365 *maravedis* in 1485 to finance the war against Granada, and survived until the expulsion of the Jews from Spain in 1492. There is no information on the location of the Jewish quarter.

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[Haim Beinart]

ALMAH (Heb. עַלְמָה), Israeli moshav on a basaltic plateau N. of Safed. Almah is affiliated with Ha-Po'el ha-Mizrachi. It was founded in 1949. In 1953 the original settlers, who came from Libya, were joined by the proselytes of *San Nicandro, Italy, who later moved to other places in Israel. In 1968 Almah's inhabitants were from Libya and Tunisia. The economy was based on hill culture (vineyards, deciduous fruit, vegetables) and beef cattle. In 2002 the population was 732. The name Almah is historical, mentioned by *Benjamin of Tudela in the 12th century.

[Efraim Orni]

ALMAN, SAMUEL (1877–1947), composer of synagogue and secular music. Alman was born in Sobolevka, Podolia. From 1895 until 1903 he studied at the Odessa and Kishinev conservatories. While at Kishinev, he was strongly influenced by the cantor *Razumni. After the *Kishinev pogrom (1903) Alman went to London where he attended the Royal College of Music, and wrote a biblical opera *King Ahaz* (performed in 1912). He served as choirmaster of various London synagogues (notably at Humpstead) and Jewish choral groups. Alman's style was deeply rooted in the Southern Russian cantorial tradition, and he owed much to the choral technique of the *meshorerim* ("choristers"), as heard in the compositions of N. Spivak. He solved the problem of modern harmonization by following (especially in his instrumental works) the impressionistic style of Debussy. Alman succeeded in preserving the melodic features and deep sentiments of the Eastern European Ashkenazi chant, often creating a mystical atmosphere. Among his published works are *Shirei Beit ha-Knesset*, 2 vols. (1925, 1938), for cantor and choir; *Psalm 15* (1915) for chorus and organ, and *Psalm 133* (1934) for chorus and piano; "*Mi addir*" and "*Sheva berakhot*" (1930) for cantor and organ; *Ethics of the Fathers*

(1928); many arrangements of Yiddish folk songs; and compositions for strings including the quartet suite *Ebraica* (1932). In addition, he edited *Shirei Rozumni* (1930) and the supplement to F.L. Cohen's *Voice of Prayer and Praise* (1933).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: A. Holde, *Jews in Music* (1959), 25; Ephros, Cant, 4 (1959^2), 126–8, 180–1,224; Sendrey, Music, 185, index.

[Hanoch Avenary]

ALMANSI (**Almanzi**), Italian family, originally deriving from Almansa, near Murcia, Spain. About 1665 Abraham Almansi established himself in Scandiano in the duchy of Modena. The family continued to be associated with this little place until the 20th century. The synagogue there, long maintained in the house of Isaac Almansi, was rebuilt by his sons in 1740. Later the family became scattered throughout Italy. BARUCH ḤAYYIM of Padua (d. 1837) was a noted bibliophile who purchased in 1812 a great part of the important library of Ḥayyim Joseph David *Azulai. His eldest son was Joseph *Almanzi (1801–1860) the poet and book collector. EMILIO (1869–1948) of Florence was a distinguished physicist and mathematician, noted for his contribution in the field of mechanics of the theory of elasticity. DANTE (d. 1948), a magistrate who was a Fascist party member and deputy chief of police (*prefetto*) was forced into retirement when the Italian racial laws came into operation in 1938. He was designated president of the Union of Italian Jewish Communities and made responsible for securing government authority in 1939 to found, together with Lelio Vittori Valobra, the vice president of the Italian Jewish Communities, Delasem (Delegazione Assistenza Ebrei). He presided over the Union of Italian Jewish Communities with exceptional dignity during the period of racial persecution.

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[Cecil Roth / Manuela Consonni (2nd ed.)]

AL-MANṢŪR AL-YAHŪDĪ (early ninth century), court musician of the Umayyad caliph al-Ḥakam I, in Córdoba, Spain. A written record of this author's contribution to music is reported in the book *Nafḥ al- ṭīb* of the historian and biographer al-Maqqarī (1591–1632), who relied on other source material of the Andalusian historian ibn Ḥayyan (987–1076). Al-Maqqarī refers to al-Manṣūr in the colorful story describing the arrival in Córdoba in 822 of a leading musician, Ziryāb. The story relates that al-Manṣūr was sent by caliph al-Ḥakam to meet him in Kairouan and escort him to Córdoba. When the two musicians met, the news reached them of the sudden death of the caliph (822). Al-Manṣūr then succeeded in persuading Ziryāb to offer his services to the new caliph, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān II. Thus, al-Manṣūr helped bring about the splendid era of Arab music in Spain inaugurated by Ziryāb. It is assumed that al-Manṣūr continued his musical activity together with Ziryāb.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Al-Maqqarī, *Analectes sur l'histoire et la littèrature des Arabes d'Espagne*, 2 (1861), 85 ff.; H.G. Farmer, *History of Arabian Music to the 13th Century* (1929), 129, 131.

[Amnon Shiloah (2nd ed.)]

ALMANZI, JOSEPH (1801–1860), Italian Hebrew author and poet. He was born in Padua and received his instruction in Jewish studies mainly from R. Israel *Conegliano, who remained his teacher for 20 years. He also acquired a knowledge of Samaritan, Syriac, Arabic, Latin, Italian, French, and German. Almanzi never married and devoted his time (when not engaged in trade) to Hebrew literary works and the expansion of his library. This contained thousands of Hebrew books, among them rare and valuable prints and manuscripts, several coming from the collection of Ḥayyim Joseph David *Azulai. Almanzi's collection became widely known among Jewish scholars and many of them turned to him for their literary research; he responded willingly and thereby became friendly with the greatest scholars of his generation, such as S.D. Luzzatto, Zunz, Fuerst, and Steinschneider. Toward the end of his life he moved from Padua to Trieste. Most of his poems, which bear the signature "Yoel," are sonnets of moral-didactic content. He also wrote: *Me'il Kinah* (a lament on the death of his teacher, R. Israel Conegliano (Reggio, 1824)); *Toledot R. Moshe Ḥayyim Luzzatto* (first published in *Kerem Ḥemed* and several times thereafter as a preface to the books of R. Moses Ḥayyim *Luzzatto), a detailed and accurate biography of M. Ḥ. Luzzatto; *Higgayon be-Khinnor*, original and translated poems (Vienna, 1839); *Kinnim va-Hegeh va-Hi* on the death of Jacob Ḥay Vita Pardo, published in S.D. Luzzatto's work *Avnei Zikkaron* (Prague, 1841); and *Nezem Zahav* (97 sonnets, Padua, 1858; new edition, Tel Aviv, 1950). In addition Almanzi published poems in various periodicals; these included a translated fragment from Horace's "On the Art of Poetry" (in *Bikkurei ha-Ittim ha-Ḥadashim*, Vienna, 1845). After his death, his heirs published a catalogue of books of Jewish interest found in his library; the catalogue was edited by S.D. *Luzzatto and entitled *Yad Yosef* (Padua, 1864). It lists also Almanzi's published works. Almanzi's manuscripts were described by S.D. Luzzatto in Steinschneider's *Hebraeische Bibliographie*, 4–6 (1861–68). In 1865 the British Museum bought Almanzi's manuscript collection for a thousand pounds; the collection served as the foundation for the large Hebrew manuscript department of that institution.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Zeitlin, Bibliotheca, 4.

[Gedalyah Elkoshi]

ALMERÍA, Spanish Mediterranean seaport. A Jewish community was formed in Almería at the end of the tenth century by refugees from the neighboring settlement of Pechina. The community became one of the most prosperous and important in Andalusia. The Jewish quarter was near the harbor. With the fall of the Caliphate many Jews of Córdoba moved to Almería. The Jews were engaged in maritime trade. Approximately 2000 Jews lived in Almería at the time. In the 11th century, the vizier of Almería, Ibn Abbas, published libelous tracts against *Samuel ha-Nagid, vizier to the king of Granada, and the Jews. His attitude led to war, in the course of which the king of Almería was killed and Ibn Abbas executed on Samuel's instructions. According to Abraham *Ibn Ezra's historical elegy (*Ahah Yarad*, line 4), no Jews in Almería survived the Almohade persecution of the mid-12th century, but the community revived subsequently. Later, the *Black Death resulted in much suffering. The treaty of surrender on the Christian Reconquest of Almería in 1489 afforded the Jews the same protection as the Moors. The conquerors found there some Conversos who had fled from Castile. After the edict of expulsion of the Jews from Spain in 1492 a number of exiles sailed from Almería for North Africa.

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[Haim Beinart / Eliyahu Ashtor]

ALMOG, RUTH (1936–), Israeli writer. Almog was born in Petaḥ Tikvah to an Orthodox family of German descent. "My parents emigrated from Germany in 1933. My mother insisted on it, she was a pessimist while my father was an idealist. As he could not find work as a physician, which was his profession, he decided to become a farmer, partly out of idealism. And so they bought beehives." Childhood memories, the atmosphere of the first Hebrew *moshavah, and the figure of the father are indeed recurring elements in Almog´s prose. Almog studied literature and philosophy at the Hebrew University and taught in schools as well as at Tel Aviv University, making her home in Tel Aviv and from 1967 serving on the editorial staff of the literary supplement of the newspaper *Haaretz*.

Almog is considered one of the seminal women-writers in contemporary Hebrew literature. Relationships within the family, love, passion and betrayal, romantic dreams, and disillusionment are some of the major concerns in her prose. Following a collection of stories entitled *Ḥasdei ha-Laylah shel Margarita* (1969), she published *Be-Ereẓ Gezerah* ("The Exile," 1971), the story of a young woman´s journey to Germany in search of her family roots and her own identity. In her novel *Mavet ba-Geshem* (1982; "Death in the Rain," 1993), set against the Mediterranean landscapes of Israel and Greece, she depicts an intricate relationship between three men and two women. *Shorshei Avir* ("Roots of Light," 1987) is the story of Mira Gutman, who desparately tries to disentangle her roots in an attempt to free herself from the coils of her family´s fate. Unlike some of the other women-figures in Almog´s stories, Mira, a modern Antigone, refuses to be passive and submissive. The death of her lover Jan during the Russian invasion of Czechoslovakia prompts her to fight for the ideal of freedom. The collection of stories *Nashim* ("Women," 1986) depicts women coping with loneliness, physical handicaps, and haunting memories: In "Rachel Stern meets Fellini in Rome," Almog juxtaposes the longing for life and the painful awareness of immanent death; In "Henya Is No Longer Blue," she describes Henya´s physical deterioration and her last moments of grace. The collection entitled *Kol ha-Osher ha-Mufraz ha-Zeh* (2003) depicts, amongst other things, Holocaust survivors and immigrants who are trying to build a new life in Israel. This is also the theme of *Me'il Katon* (1993), the story of the boy Shaul-Paul who grows up amidst old and sickly immigrants from Europe and Oriental Jews. Almog´s other works include the epistolary novel *Be-Ahavah, Natalia* (2005), various collections of stories, books for children, and two novels which she wrote together with Esther Ettinger (*Me'ahev Mushlam*, 1995, and *Estelina Ahuvati*, 2002). Almog was awarded the Brenner Prize (1989), the Agnon Prize (2001), and the Yad Vashem Prize for children's literature for "My Journey with Alex" (1999).

Almog's story "Shrinking" is included in *Six Israeli Novellas* (edited by G. Shaked, 1999); "Dora's Secret" appeared in *The Oxford Book of Hebrew Short Stories* (edited by G. Abramson, 1996); and "A Good Spot" is included in *New Women's Writing from Israel* (edited by R. Domb, 1996).

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[Anat Feinberg (2nd ed.)]

ALMOG (Kopeliovitz), YEHUDA (1896–1972), leading figure of the Third *Aliyah. Almog, who was born near Vilna, joined Joseph *Trumpeldor in organizing *He-Ḥalutz. In 1919 he settled in Palestine, where he was a founder of *Gedud ha-Avodah. In 1923 he went to Soviet Russia as an emissary of He-Ḥalutz and later to Persia and other countries. He was a founder of the kibbutz Ramat Raḥel, near Jerusalem. From 1934 onward Almog devoted himself to the needs of the potash factory workers living in the difficult conditions of Sodom as well as to the settlement of the Dead Sea area and the development of *Masada as a national monument. His writings include *Ḥevel Sedom* ("Sodom Region," 1945), and *Ḥevel Yam ha-Melaḥ* ("Dead Sea Region," 1956).

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[Benjamin Jaffe]

ALMOGI (Krelenboim), YOSEF AHARON (1910–1991), Israeli politician and labor leader, member of the Third to Eighth Knessets. Almogi was born in Hrubieszow, Poland. In 1924 he joined the Dror youth movement and in 1928 started to prepare for his immigration to Ereẓ Israel. For a number of years after arriving in Ereẓ Israel in 1930, he worked as a laborer in orange groves and in construction. He was a member of the Kefar Sava Labor Council and joined the *Haganah. In 1936 he was sent to organize the *Hapoel defense units within the *Histadrut in the Tel Aviv area, and in 1937 he organized the Hapoel defense units within the Histadrut in Haifa. In 1940 he enlisted in the British Army; he was taken prisoner by the Germans in Greece, remaining in a prison camp until the end of the war and organizing the Jewish prisoners of war from Ereẓ Israel. In the years 1947–51 Almogi was acting secretary of the Haifa Labor Council, and in 1948 organized a special labor brigade which took over the essential services of the city when the British evacuated it. In 1951–59 he served as secretary of the Council.

Almogi was elected to the Third Knesset in 1955 as a member of *Mapai. He served as secretary-general of Mapai in 1959–61 and as minister of housing and development in 1963–65. He was one of the members who broke away from Mapai in May 1965 together with David *Ben-Gurion to form *Rafi, and subsequently resigned from the government. Half a year after Rafi participated in the formation of the *Israel Labor Party in January 1968, he was appointed minister of labor. Almogi was reelected to the Eighth Knesset in 1973, but was not given a seat in the government, since he was elected mayor of Haifa, a position he held in 1974–75. In 1975–78 he served as president of the World Zionist Organization. His autobiography, *Be-Ovi ha-Korah* ("In the Thick of Things"), was published in 1980.

[Susan Hattis Rolef (2nd ed.)]

ALMOHADS (Arab. *Al-Muwaḥḥhidūn*; "Those who Advocate the Unity of Allah"), Moroccan Berbers from Tinmel in the Atlas Mountains. Like their predecessors, the *Almoravids (*al-Murabitūn*), who ruled major areas of the Maghreb and Muslim Spain, the Almohads comprised a confederation of local Berber tribes. The Almohads were influenced by puritanical notions of Islam to even a greater degree than the Almoravids. They had been essentially inspired by the religious teachings of Ibn Tūmart (d. 1130), whose doctrine was a mélange of a strict conception of the unity of Allah, with a program of moral reform based on the Koran and the Sunnah: the traditional social and legal practice of the early Muslim community.

In 1121, Ibn Tūmart proclaimed himself the *mahdī*, or spiritual-messianic leader, openly questioned the legitimacy of Almoravid rule, and waged a protracted war against them in the Maghreb. Ibn Tūmart's actions came in the aftermath of a series of military challenges posed to the Almoravids also by the Christians in Spain, who had previously carried out the early phases of their plan of "re-conquest" and de-Islamization.

Under Ibn Tūmart's successor, ʿAbd al-Mu'min, the Almohads brought down the Almoravid state in 1147; they captured *Marrakesh and transformed it into their Maghrebi capital. On the other hand, Almoravid domains in Muslim Spain were left virtually intact until the caliph Abu Yaʿqūb Yūsuf forced the surrender of Seville in 1172. The spread of Almohad rule over the rest of Islamic Spain soon followed. During the reign of Abū Yūsuf Yaʿqūb al-Manṣūr (1184–99) serious Arab rebellions devastated the eastern provinces of the empire, whereas in Spain the Christian threat remained constant. At the battle of Las Navas de Tolosa (1212), the Almohads were dealt a devastating defeat by a Christian coalition from Leon, Castile, Navarre, and Aragon. They retreated to their Maghrebi provinces, where soon afterwards the Muslim Hafsids seized power in Tunis, the Abd al-Wadids took Tlimsan (*Tlemcen), and Marrakesh, the Almohad capital, fell to the Marinids in 1269.

The decline and eventual fall of the Almohad state was attributed to three main reasons. First, it shared power with no group outside its own hierarchy placing the center of power solely in the hands of the founders and descendants. Secondly, the puritanical orientation of Ibn Tūmart waned gradually among his many followers after his death. Under his successors, precedents had been set for the construction of costly and lavish "non-puritan" monuments. The famous Kutubiya mosque in Marrakesh and the older parts of the mosque of Taza attest to this policy. Neither did the movement for a return to traditional orthodox Islam survive; both the mystical movement of the Sufis and the philosophical school represented by Ibn Tufayl and Averroes (Ibn Rushd) flourished under the Almohad kings. Finally, the Almohads proved to be intolerant toward their Muslim opponents and the Maghrebi Jewish minority, thus alienating diverse segments of the population. In fact, in the pre-Almohad Maghreb the position of the Jews was apparently free of significant abuses. No factual complaints were registered prior to 1147 of excesses, coercion, or malice on the part of the authorities. After the ascendance of the Almohad ruler Abū Yūsuf Yaʿqūb al-Manṣūr, however, the Jews began to encounter humiliations; many were forced to convert to Islam and had to wear the *qalansuwa*, a cap of strange and ugly shape, reaching down to their ears. The Jews, who officially had been converted to Islam but were suspected of secretly practicing their own religion, were compelled to wear special, and rather ridiculous, clothes so that the Muslims easily identified them. At the same time, Jews were not the only victims of Almohad cruelty; the Muslim *maliki* school of Sunni Islam was banned in Almohad North Africa and its leading works were burned in the public squares.

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[Michael M. Laskier (2nd ed.)]

ALMOLI (Almuli), SOLOMON BEN JACOB (before 1485–after 1542), grammarian, physician, philosopher, and kabbalist.

Biography and Basic Works

Probably born in Spain, Almoli passed his early years in Salonika, but before 1515 settled in Constantinople, where he spent the rest of his life, serving as a *dayyan* and rabbi of one of the congregations there. Almoli devoted himself to the study of science and medicine, earning his livelihood from the latter, and serving, as it seems, as physician to the sultan. Few biographical details are known of his life except that it was marked by want and poverty. Having conceived the idea of compiling a general encyclopedia, he launched his undertaking enthusiastically, though fully aware that the work would take many years to complete and that large sums of money would be required for an adequate reference library. He was encouraged by the hope that others would take up his work in the event of his failing to complete it, but the scholars of Constantinople reacted disparagingly and rejected the plan. Almoli was also unsuccessful in his attempt to recruit a group of trainees for his work. He did, however, publish a small pamphlet of 24 pages under the title *Me'assef le-Khol ha-Maḥanot* (Constantinople, c. 1531), a prospectus of the proposed encyclopedia which was to be in three parts: (1) *Maḥaneh Yisrael*, on what every Jew needs to know; (2) *Maḥaneh Leviyyah*, on general knowledge; and (3) *Maḥaneh Shekhinah*, on Hebrew, Aramaic, biblical exegesis, theology, Kabbalah, and the commandments of the Torah.

The fate of the project is unknown. Also included is his *Sha'ar ha-Shem he-Ḥadash* (Constantinople, 1533), which he describes as being "the first section of the large book which deals with all matters of faiths." In it he treats the existence of God, His attributes and essence, according to the Kabbalah and philosophy. He states that "wonderful secrets and explanations, hitherto unrevealed" (p. 13a) have been disclosed to him. With one exception, all Almoli's other works are mere prolegomena to larger works which he contemplated. The exception is the *Mefasher Ḥelmin* (Salonika, c. 1515) often republished under its Hebrew title *Pitron Ḥalomot* ("Interpretation of Dreams") and translated into Yiddish (Amsterdam, 1694). In it he classifies dreams by categories and gives rules for their interpretation.

Other Publications

(1) *Halikhot Sheva* (Constantinople, c. 1520), according to Almoli, the introduction to a larger projected work on the science of Hebrew grammar. This is an original study, including rules for the pointing of the vowel *e*, under differing circumstances. The first part begins with general comments on the relationship between the *sheva* and the other vowels, which are significant guidelines for the history of the science of the Hebrew language. In the second part, the *sheva* is classified by categories. The third part deals with the different forms of the noun. Almoli cites various opinions as to the alternate pronunciations of the *sheva na'* ("mobile") and gives his own analysis of it as a third type of vowel, having its place midway between the short vowels and the *sheva naḥ* ("quiescent"). A critical edition was published by Ḥ. Yallon. (2) *Iggeret ha-Purim* is mentioned in *Halikhot Sheva* and is probably a treatise on the Scroll of Esther. (3) *Sha'ar ha-Yesod* (Constantinople, 1536) deals with the roots of Hebrew words. This book is not extant, except for the title page. (4) Almoli was also instrumental in the publication of books on language and vocalization by other authors. These are the *Magen David* (Constantinople, 1517) of *Elisha b. Abraham, in the writing of which Almoli participated, replying to Profiat *Duran's and David *Ibn Yaḥya's criticism of David *Kimḥi; the *Yesod Mora* (Constantinople, 1530) and the *Safah Berurah* (Constantinople, 1530) of Abraham *Ibn Ezra; the *Leshon Limmudim* (Constantinople, 1526) of David ibn Yaḥya, together with the *Shekel ha-Kodesh* on prosody. For many years this last book was also thought to be the work of David Ibn Yaḥya, but Ḥ. Yallon has shown that it was written by Almoli, who included in it criticism of the *Leshon Limmudim* (critical edition by Ḥ. Yallon, 1965). Almoli also composed poems which were published in his own books and in those he edited.

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ALMON or **ALEMETH** (Heb. עַלְמוֹן, עָלֶמֶת), levitical city in the territory of Benjamin (Josh. 21:18; I Chron. 6:45). Alemeth appears in the genealogical lists of Benjamin beside *Anathoth and Azmaveth (I Chron. 7:8; 8:36; 9:42) but it is missing in the list of Benjaminite cities in Joshua 18:21–28. Alemeth is identified with Khirbet Almit, 1 mi. (c. 2 km.) northeast of Anathoth. It was erroneously identified with Ailamon (Aijalon) on the Madaba Map which was based on a reference of Eusebius (Onom. 18:14). In the Crusader period Amieth (Alemeth) is mentioned with Aneth (Anathoth) and Farafonte (Ayn Fara).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: AASOR, 4 (1924), 156; Abel, Geog, 2 (1938), 242; Press, Ereẓ, 4 (1955), 730; Aharoni, Land, index.

[Michael Avi-Yonah]

ALMOND (Heb. שָׁקֵד), one of the "choice fruits of the land" sent by Jacob to the ruler of Egypt (Gen 43:11). The tree blooms in Israel in January or February, while other fruit trees are still bare. Moreover, the almond blossoms before it is covered with leaves. Thus it symbolizes (Jer. 1:11–12) the speedy fulfillment of the prophecy of doom. It may also signify old age and the imminence of death. It is used, allegorically, in this sense in Ecclesiastes (12:5) to describe the short cycle of human life. Although the tree blossoms early, the fruit only ripens late in the summer. *Ahikar accordingly advised his son: "Be not like the almond tree, for it blossoms before all the trees, and produces its fruit after them." The almond can be regarded as having two periods of ripening. It is edible together with its rind a few weeks after the tree blooms, while the fruit is still green. Its second ripening is three months later, when the outer rind has shriveled and the inside cover has become a hard shell. In its exposition of Jeremiah's vision, the Talmud has the first ripening in mind: "Just as 21 days elapse from the time the almond sends forth its blossom until the fruit ripens, so 21 days passed from the time the city was breached until the Temple was destroyed" (TJ Ta'an. 4:8, 68c), the 21 days being the period between the Seventeenth of Tammuz and the Ninth of Av. Beth-El was originally called *Luz (Gen. 28:19) which is the less common word for almond or almond tree in Hebrew, but *loz* is the regular Arabic word for almond. Several localities in modern Israel bear the Arabic name Al-Luz. Two strains of almond grow in Israel: one, the *amygdalus communis* var. *dulcis*, usually producing pink blossoms and sweet fruit; the second, the *amygdalus communis* var. *amara* producing white blossoms and bitter fruit. The latter strain grows wild in mountain groves. It is edible only with the rind when it is young (Tosef. Ma'as. 1:3). Roasting, however, destroys the poisonous alkaloid, and makes this almond edible even in its later stages (cf. Ḥul. 25b). The almond played a part in the modern history of Ereẓ Israel. Grown extensively in the earlier part of the 20th century, it was attacked by the borer beetle and almost all the orchards were destroyed. In the 1960s, almond cultivation was revived especially in the Northern Negev and again became an important branch of agriculture.

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[Jehuda Feliks]

ALMOND, GABRIEL ABRAHAM (1911–2002), U.S. political scientist, credited with inventing modern comparative political science. Born in Rock Island, Illinois, Almond was the son of Russian and Ukrainian immigrants. His father was a rabbi. A student at the University of Chicago, he went on to earn his doctorate in 1938; but his thesis, *Plutocracy and Politics in New York City,* was not published until 1998. The work contained psychoanalyses of several wealthy New Yorkers, including unflattering references to John D. Rockefeller, a principal benefactor of the university. Charles Merriam, chair of the political science department, refused to recommend the thesis for publication unless the offending material was removed. Almond refused. The thesis remained in the stacks of the University of Chicago library, where it became an underground classic among scholars. It was finally published by Westview Press.

Almond taught political science at Brooklyn College from 1939. During World War II he was head of the Enemy Information Section at the War Information Office (1942–44). After the war he was professor of political science at Princeton, Yale, and Stanford. He also taught at universities in England, Japan, Brazil, and the Ukraine. He was elected chairman of the Social Science Research Council's Committee on Comparative Politics and, in 1966, president of the American Political Science Association. Almond's *Appeals of Communism* (1954), an empirical study of the attractions and weaknesses of Communism, was significant for its treatment of the psycho-sociological background of political behavior. Almond's major contribution in this field was the recognition of a cultural dimension in politics, and its application in the first nationwide study of political culture (G. Almond and S. Verba, *The Civic Culture* (1963)). The book examines the differences in the political cultures of five countries and looks at how these influence each nation's stability and prospects for democracy.

Almond also developed the "functional approach" to comparative politics. Later he turned increasingly to problems concerned with the theory of political development as seen in "A Developmental Approach to Political Systems" (*World Politics*, 17 (1964–65), 183–214), and in G. Almond and G.B. Powell Jr., *Comparative Politics: A Developmental Approach* (1966).

Other books by Almond include *Political Development: Essays in Heuristic Theory* (1970); *The American People and Foreign Policy* (1977); *Comparative Politics: System, Process, and Policy* (1978); *Sects in Political Science* (1989); *The Civic Culture Revisited* (1992); *Comparative Politics Today: A World View* (1999); *European Politics Today* (1998, 2001); *Strong Religion: The Rise of Fundamentalisms around the World* (2002); *Discipline Divided: Schools & The Ventures in Political Science: Narratives & Reflections* (2002).

[Moshe M. Czudnowski / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

ALMON-DIBLATHAIM (Heb. עַלְמוֹן דִּבְלָתַיִם), city in the northern Moabite plain (the Mishor) between Dibon-Gad and the mountains of Abarim (Num. 33:46–47), along the route followed by the Israelites on their way to the plains of Moab (Arvot Mo'av). Khirbet Deleilat esh-Sherqiyeh, a site containing Iron Age I–II pottery, located about 10½ mi. (17 km.) north-northeast of Dibon (Dhiban), has been suggested for its identification. It is probably identical with Beth-Diblathaim, a Moabite city which is mentioned in the Mesha inscription between Madaba and Beth-Baal-Meon and in the prophecy of Jeremiah after Dibon and Nebo and before Kiriathaim (Jer. 48:22).

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[Yohanan Aharoni]

ALMORAVIDS (Arab. *Al-Murābiṭūn*; "Warrior-Monks"), confederation of Berber tribes of the Sanhajah group who lived in the Moroccan Sahara Desert. Their religious fervor and fighting capabilities enabled them to establish a formidable empire in the Maghreb and Muslim (Andalusian) Spain in the 11th and 12th centuries. Their theological Islamic zeal is attributed to Yahya ibn Ibrahim, their spiritual leader, as well as to the *ʿalim* (religious scholar) ʿAbd Allah ibn Yasin. Imbued with Islamic zeal, the Almoravids conquered Morocco and major sections of western Algeria between 1054 and 1092. In 1062 they turned *Marrakesh into their base of operations and religious capital. Thenceforth, their main leaders embraced the title of *Amir al-Muslimin* ("commander of the Muslims") but nevertheless continued to recognize the legitimacy of a still higher authority in Islam: the Abbasid caliph in Iraq upon whom the title *Amir al-Muʾminīn* ("commander of the faithful") had been bestowed. It was toward the end of the 11th century that the Castilian Christians who held on to parts of Spain began challenging the authority of the Almoravids and encroaching on their territories. The Almoravid leadership succeeded in temporarily repulsing the Christians and foiling their plans to conquer such key cities as Córdoba and Toledo.

With the exception of Valencia, Muslim Spain remained under Almoravid control. Notwithstanding, perhaps the weakest aspect of Almoravid rule in Spain and the Maghreb is the fact that they were a Muslim Berber minority in charge of a Spanish-Arab empire. With the passage of time, they found it increasingly difficult to protect all their territorial possessions from the Christian reconquest, especially in the aftermath of the fall of Saragossa in 1118. Moreover, in 1125 the *Almohads (those who advocated the "Unity of Allah"), a confederation of rival Berber tribes, began to rebel against them in the Atlas Mountains. Following a protracted struggle and relentless fighting, the Almohads defeated the Almoravids in 1147; they transformed Marrakesh into their own capital and extended their authority into Muslim Spain.

In addition to the powerful military force that they created at their zenith, the Almoravid period is also interesting for its art and architecture. What characterized Almoravid art was its puritanism. As Saharan military monks, the Almoravids rejected the lavish decoration that had dominated the late Umayyad architectural style, and they built on a practical rather than a monumental scale. Piety and asceticism prevented them from erecting elegant palaces and magnificent monuments. The most famous architectural site that remained from the time of the Almoravids is the Great Mosque at Tlemcen, Algeria, built in 1082 and reconstructed in 1136.

The position of the Jews under Almoravid domination was apparently free of major abuses. Unlike the problems encountered by the Jews during the rule of the *Almohads (the Almoravids' sucessor dynasty), there are no factual complaints of excesses, coercion, or malice on the part of the authorities toward the Jewish communities.

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[Michael M. Laskier (2nd ed.)]

ALMOSNINO, Sephardi family, originating in Spain and prominent later in Morocco, Salonika, Gibraltar, and England. The family was established from the 13th century at Jaca in Aragon, where BARZILLAI was *baile* in 1277 and JOSEPH and JACOB (possibly his sons) were "*adelantados*" of the Jewish community in 1285 (Régné, Cat, nos. 1277, 1370). ABRAHAM, an outstanding member of the Jewish community of Huesca, helped in the readmission of the converso Juan de Ciudad to Judaism in 1465. A generation later he was condemned by the Inquisition for his complicity in this and burned alive on December 10, 1489. His family thereafter settled in Salonika and were among the founders of the Catalan community there and legal proprietors of its synagogue. His children included the physician, JOSEPH, author of an elegy on the destruction of Jerusalem (published in *Sefunot*, 8 (1964), 264–5); a son ḤAYYIM, an active member of the Catalan community; and a daughter, who married R. Abraham Cocumbriel, son of Asach (Isaac: not Abraham, as the name was remembered in family tradition). Cocumbriel had perished together with Abraham Almosnino. The two families continued to intermarry, their descendants including BARUCH (d. 1563), head of the Catalan community in Salonika in the mid-16th century, father of *MOSES. Another ABRAHAM, a physician of Toledo (perhaps a cousin of the martyr), settled in Fez after the expulsion from Spain where he assisted in organizing the community of the *megorashim* ("exiles"). His son JOSEPH was a physician as well as a poet, and so was his grandson ABRAHAM. The

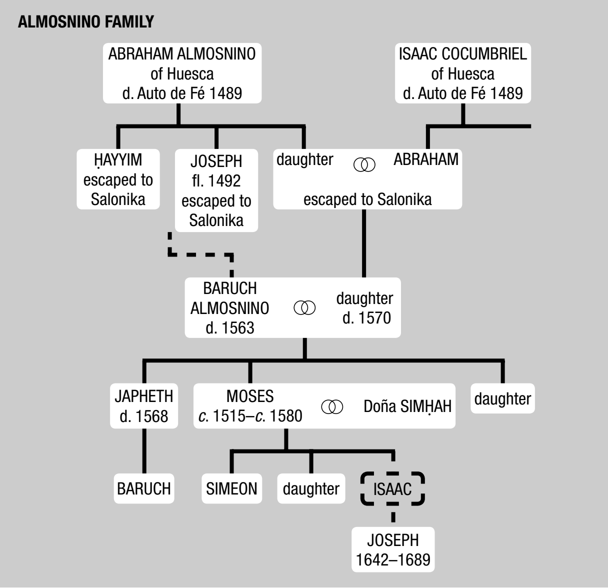
ALMOSNINO FAMILY

latter's nephew, ISAAC ḤASDAI (b. c. 1580), after many adventures, was arrested at Goa (India) on suspicion of being a New Christian physician from Oporto named Manuel Lopes and was sent to Lisbon for trial by the Inquisition. On successfully demonstrating that he was a Jew by birth, he was released and deported (Torre do Tombo Archives, Lisbon, *Inquisião de Lisbõa*, reg. 5393). In a later generation, ḤASDAI (c.1640–1727) was among the most prominent rabbis of Tetuán. He was probably the father of ISAAC (d. 1785), rabbi of Gibraltar, who went from there with other Jews to London during the siege of 1781. His son Hasdai became a member of the *bet din* of the London Sephardi community. Of the latter's sons, ISAAC (d. 1843), *ḥazzan* of the community, modernized the service, at the same time carrying on a protracted quarrel with the rabbi, Raphael *Meldola, over the pronunciation of Hebrew, and SOLOMON (1792–1877), was secretary of the community and exercised influence over it for many years.

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[Cecil Roth]

ALMOSNINO, JOSEPH BEN ISAAC (1642–1689), rabbi, halakhic authority, and kabbalist. Almosnino was apparently born in Salonika, and studied under Hananiah Taitaẓak. He went to Jerusalem to study in Jacob Ḥagiz's *bet ha-midrash*, Bet Ya'akov, where he probably made the acquaintance of *Nathan of Gaza. About 1666 Almosnino was appointed a rabbi in Belgrade where he married the daughter of the rabbi of that city, Simḥah ha-Kohen, whom he succeeded c. 1668. He was won over to Shabbateanism and transcribed the writings of Nathan of Gaza which were sent to his community (Oxford Ms. no. 1777). The community suffered two serious blows during Almosnino's tenure of office: a great fire in which his library and part of his writings were burnt and, in 1688, the fall of Belgrade to the Turks, as a result of which the community was destroyed. Most of the Jews escaped, but some were taken captive. Almosnino afterward traveled to the German communities where he succeeded in raising funds to ransom the captives and reconstruct the community. He died in Nikolsburg, while on this mission.

Many communities turned to Almosnino with their problems. Moses *Ibn Ḥabib corresponded with him on halakhic matters and wrote an approbation to his responsa. Almosnino also corresponded with Ẓevi Hirsch *Ashkenazi. Many emissaries from Ereẓ Israel visited him, including Moses *Galante. Those of Almosnino's works which escaped the Belgrade conflagration were preserved by chance. They were sold to Arab dealers from whom they were acquired by a Jew. Two volumes of his responsa were published posthumously by his sons Simḥah and Isaac under the title *Edut bi-Yhosef* (Constantinople, 1711, 1713). Several of Almosnino's poems, though never published, are extant in the manuscripts of contemporary Turkish poets (Jewish Theological Seminary, Ms. no. 60, 353; Adler 358; Guenzburg 196). He wrote an autobiographical sketch that appears in the introduction to *Edut bi-Yhosef*.

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ALMOSNINO, MOSES BEN BARUCH (c. 1515–c. 1580), Salonika rabbi, scholar, and preacher. His numerous publications show his extensive knowledge of science, philosophy, history, and rhetoric. His rabbinic scholarship was widely respected. Although his responsa were never published in collected form, authorities such as Samuel de *Medina, Ḥayyim *Benveniste, Isaac *Adarbi, and Jacob di *Boton included some of them in their works. A gifted orator, he served in succession as preacher to the Salonika congregations Neveh Shalom and later the Livyat Ḥen, founded by Gracia *Nasi. A selection of his sermons, in Hebrew, is printed in his *Me'ammeẓ Ko'aḥ* (1582). In 1565 Almosnino was chosen as member of a delegation to Sultan Selim II to procure the confirmation of the privileges and exemptions granted by Suleiman the Magnificent to the Salonika community in 1537. The document had been destroyed in the great fire of 1545 and the local authorities again began to place crushing burdens on the community. The two other members of the delegation died en route. Almosnino, with the help of Joseph *Nasi, succeeded, after much heartbreaking effort, in obtaining a favorable decision (1568), and the Salonika community was given the status of a self-governing entity, which it enjoyed for many centuries. Almosnino's works in Hebrew include commentaries on the Five Scrolls (*Yedei Moshe*, 1582), a supercommentary on Abraham Ibn Ezra; a commentary on *Avot* (*Pirkei Moshe*, 1562); and comments on the Pentateuch and prayer book (*Tefillah le-Moshe*, 1563). While in Constantinople, Almosnino compiled in Ladino a description of Constantinople, published, with some rearrangement and omissions, in Spanish by Jacob *Cansino of Oran under the title *Extremos y Grandezas de Constantinopla*. It is one of the rarest works of Spanish Jewish literature and an important historical source. He published, also in Ladino, an ethical work, *Il Regimiento dela Vida* (Salonika, 1564; reprinted in Latin characters, Amsterdam, 1729), which enjoyed considerable popularity in its time. Appended to it is a lengthy treatise on dreams, "composed at the request of the most illustrious señor, Don Joseph Nasi" and giving a graphic description of the latter's luxurious way of life. He also published an exposition of Aristotle's *Ethics* and notes to Al-Ghazali.

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[Abraham Hirsch Rabinowitz]

ALNAKAR, ABRAHAM BEN JOSEPH (1740?–after 1803), Sephardi liturgical scholar. Alnakar was born and brought up in Fez. From there he went to Algiers but returned to Fez by 1783, in which year he began to travel extensively. He was in

Tlemcen in 1783, in Tunis in 1785, in Melian, in Tripoli the following year, and again in Tunis in 1788. From there he proceeded to Leghorn where he remained until his death. For a number of years he engaged in publishing. In 1789, he went into partnership with Jacob Benaim of Morocco and they published, at their own expense, *Tikkunei ha-Zohar.* They used the Constantinople edition of 1719 including the glosses of Jacob Vilna and Moses Zacuto. Alnakar added an introduction to the book, and songs of his own, which he printed in the book. The partnership was probably unsuccessful, since in 1791 his partner, together with Ḥayyim Abraham Israel Ze'evi, a Jerusalem emissary, published the Zohar with the glosses of Ḥ.J.D. *Azulai. Alnakar turned to the publication of prayer books. He became friendly with Azulai, receiving glosses to the festival prayers. In 1798 he published a prayer book for the New Year and the Day of Atonement, with his own commentary, *Zekhor le-Avraham*. This commentary appeared in almost every edition of the High Holy Day liturgy published in Leghorn, as well as in the Tripoli festival prayer book. In addition he published a small prayer book for the New Year and the Day of Atonement according to the rite of Argil (Leghorn, 1803). In the same year he published festival prayer books according to the rites of the Sephardim of Tunis and of Tlemcen. His *Afra de-Avraham* has remained in manuscript. He also drew a design of the Temple candelabrum with a kabbalistic commentary, of which he published a lithographic edition.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: J. Ben-Naim, *Malkhei Rabbanan* (1931), 18b; M. Benayahu, *Rabbi Ḥ.Y.D. Azulai* (Heb., 1959), 204–5.

AL-NAKAWA, ISRAEL BEN JOSEPH (d. 1391), ethical writer and poet. The Al-Nakawa family had lived from the 12th century in Toledo where a synagogue (Midrash Ben Al-Nakawa) had been established by Israel's uncle, Abraham b. Samuel (murdered in 1341). Israel studied with *Asher b. Jehiel and his son Jacob. During the attack on the Jewish community of Toledo in 1391, which claimed many victims and even more converts, the aged Israel was savagely attacked and dragged through the streets. He finally killed himself, an example followed by his brother Solomon. The harrowing details are described in a dirge by an otherwise unknown poet, Jacob ibn Albene. According to one interpretation of this poem, Israel was the *ḥazzan* of a Toledo congregation. His son Ephraim escaped to North Africa and became spiritual leader of the Tlemcen Jewish community. Israel is best known through his *Menorat ha-Ma'or,* a compilation of aggadic and halakhic material in 20 chapters. The author attributes the inspiration and name of his work to a vision (as other authors had before and after him) of the seven-branched holy candelabrum (cf. Zech. 4) and a scroll (cf. Ezek. 2:9–3:3), in which he was instructed to write a book with this title. Whatever the inspiration, the troubled times through which Spanish Jewry passed in the second half of the 14th century called for a handbook of ethical and ritual instruction such as the *Menorat ha-Ma'or.* After an introductory poem and an introduction in rhymed prose, the author describes the general need for a book such as his, in times of decline of religious knowledge and observance. The divisions of the book deal with the main themes of religious life: charity, prayer, repentance, humility, study of Torah, honor of parents, education of children, marriage, business morality, good manners, etc. Several supplements are appended to the work which, however, may not be by Al-Nakawa. The sources from which he drew his material include the whole range of rabbinic literature: the Talmud, the Midrashim, including some now lost, such as the *Midrash Hashkem*, the writings of the *geonim*, Maimonides, Naḥmanides, down to those of his teachers. Another work whose influence can be seen throughout the *Menorat ha-Ma'or* is that of *Mitzvot Zemanniyyot* by Israel b. Joseph. The Zohar is quoted under the otherwise unknown name of *Midrash Tehi Or* and in a Hebrew adaptation of the Aramaic original. It has been suggested that Israel was responsible for a Hebrew translation of the entire Zohar which was still current in the 16th century. The relationship between the *Menorat ha-Ma'or* and the *Midrash ha-Gadol* still needs investigation. In common with Isaac Aboab's *Menorat ha-Ma'or* (1514), Al-Nakawa's is of primary importance because of the texts, both extant and lost, quoted by the author. The originality of such a work lies in the arrangement of the material, in its emphases as well as in the "continuity" provided by the compiler. While Aboab's *Menorat ha-Ma'or* soon became one of the most studied and most often reprinted religious works, Al-Nakawa's remained relatively unknown. Though copies were current in Spain in the 14th and 15th centuries, only one complete manuscript has survived (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Opp. 146) which H.G. Enelow published in a monumental edition (4 vols., published 1929–32). The last chapter of the *Menorat ha-Ma'or* (on good manners) found its way into J.C. Wagenseil's *Belehrung der Juedisch-Teutschen Red- und Schreibart* (Koenigsberg, 1699), from a Judeo-German translation by Isaac b. Eliakim of Posen (Prague, 1620). Jacob Emden included the same chapter in the third part of his prayer book, *Migdal Oz* (Altona, 1748). The relations between Al-Nakawa's and Isaac Aboab's *Menorat ha-Ma'or* have been much discussed and it is generally assumed that Aboab used, adapted, and condensed Al-Nakawa. However, there can be no absolute certainty in the matter. The main differences are that Aboab's work is purely aggadic and more speculative, and that its structure is more logical; that it has practically no Zohar quotations and that many talmudic passages are quoted in the Aramaic original, whereas Al-Nakawa mostly translates them into Hebrew. Israel Al-Nakawa was renowned as a poet and as such is mourned by the writer of the elegy mentioned above. Davidson's *Oẓar ha-Shirah ve-ha-Piyyut* includes 16 of his compositions. Two *piyyutim*, with Al-Nakawa's acrostic, were published by Enelow (*Menorat ha-Ma'or*, 2:439–43) from a manuscript.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Baer, Spain, 1 (1961), 374; Schechter, in: MGWJ, 34 (1885), 114–26, 234–40; Efros, in: JQR, 9 (1918/19), 337–57; Roth, in: JQR, 39 (1948/49), 123ff.; Waxman, Literature, 2 (1960^{2}), 279–80.

[Moshe Nahum Zobel]

ALONI, NISSIM (1926–1998), Israeli writer and playwright. Aloni, who was born in Tel Aviv, served in the War of Independence, and studied in Jerusalem and Paris. In 1963 he established Te'atron ha-Onot ("The Theater of the Seasons"), serving as director and artistic manager. His first play, *Akhzar mi-Kol ha-Melekh* ("The King Is Cruelest of All," staged 1953) published in *Ha-Masakh*, 3 (1954), focuses upon the personality of Rehoboam, the king who revolted against Jeroboam in the name of freedom and justice, but who adopted his rival's evil ways upon assuming the monarchy. In *Bigdei ha-Melekh ha-Ḥadashim* ("The King's New Clothes," staged 1961) and *Ha-Nesikhah ha-Amerikait* ("The American Princess," staged 1963; Engl., 1980), the influence of the Theater of the Absurd is evident. In his plays Aloni constructed a highly original world. Its basic components are drawn from the earliest elements of the European theater: myth, mask, costume, stock characters, etc. Aloni eschewed any blatant philosophical or emotional expression that might have been conceived in a situation existing outside the clear-cut boundaries of theatrical action. His play is to be judged by the author's ability to marshal these various theatrical components to express this imagined universe. He employed various means, such as the tape recorder or the cinema, to emphasize the clear and unique connection of his characters with imaginary reality. Other plays by Aloni include "Eddy King" (French, 1985), "The Bride and the Butterfly Hunter," "Napoleon, Dead or Alive," "Aunt Lisa," and "The Gypsies of Jaffa." Similar thematic elements also appeared in the few stories which Aloni published. Their main subject is a "reconstruction" of the world of childhood as a world of imagination, which may have been created either in the imagination of the child protagonist or of the adult narrator. Aloni's published works include the prose collection *Ha-Yanshuf* (1957, 1996). "*Liheyot Ofeh*" appeared in English translation as "To Be a Baker," in S.Y. Penueli and A. Ukhmani (eds.), *Hebrew Short Stories.* Aloni was awarded the Israel Prize for theater in 1996.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Nathan, in: *Keshet* (Summer 1966), 5–39. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** G. Shaked, *Ha-Sipporet ha-Ivrit*, 5 (1998), 133–38; Ch. Shoham, in: L. Ben-Zvi (ed.), *Theater in Israel* (1996), 119–32; E. Rozik, in: L. Ben-Zvi (ed.), *Theater in Israel* (1996), 133–50.

[Matti Megged]

ALONI (Adler), SHULAMIT (1928–), Israeli politician and civil rights activist. She served in the Sixth and Eighth to Thirteenth Knessets. Shulamit Aloni was born in Tel Aviv. She served in the *Palmaḥ during the *War of Independence and was taken prisoner by the Jordanians in the Jewish Quarter of Jerusalem. After her release she worked with immigrant children. She received a law degree from the Hebrew University of Jerusalem and joined *Mapai in 1959. In 1961–65 she produced a radio program dealing with issues of legislation and legal procedures, establishing a reputation as a fighter for citizens' rights, and as a critic of the bureaucracy in Israel. It was largely due to her advocacy that the Commission for Public Complaints was established by Prime Minister Levi Eshkol in 1965. She was elected on the Mapai ticket to the Sixth Knesset in 1965. During this period she established the Consumers' Council and served as its chairperson until 1970. Her refusal to toe the party line, and personal animosity between herself and Prime Minister Golda *Meir, resulted in her exclusion from the Mapai list for the Seventh Knesset. As a result, in September 1973, before the elections to the Eighth Knesset, she established the Civil Rights Movement (Ratz), which managed to pick up some of the protest votes following the *Yom Kippur War, and received three Knesset seats. In the government formed by Yitzhak *Rabin, following Meir's resignation, Aloni was appointed minister without portfolio, but when the National Religious Party joined the government in October 1974, she resigned. In the Tenth Knesset, after receiving only one seat, Aloni joined the Labor-Mapam Alignment for the duration of the Knesset, for tactical reasons. In the course of the Twelfth Knesset Aloni was one of the advocates of the establishment of a new parliamentary group, made up of the ten members of the CRM, *Mapam, and Shinui. The new group called itself *Meretz and ran in the elections to the Thirteenth Knesset under Aloni's leadership. Meretz joined the government formed by Rabin in 1992, and Aloni was appointed minister of education, culture, and sport. However, she had frequent verbal clashes with the leaders of the *Shas religious party, which was also a member of the government, and in order to avoid a coalition crisis agreed, in May 1993, to hand the ministry of education over to Amnon *Rubinstein of Meretz, while she became minister of communications, science, and arts. Aloni decided not to run in the elections to the Fourteenth Knesset, but continued to fight for the issues she believed in from outside the Knesset.

Over the years Aloni helped numerous couples, unable to marry in Israel for halakhic reasons, to draw up marriage contracts, and participated in other activities designed to abolish or circumvent what she regarded as religious coercion. She was also active in helping establish shelters for battered women and stations to assist rape victims. In 1982 she was one of the founders of the International Center for Peace in the Middle East. In 2000 she was awarded the Israel Prize for her special contribution to Israeli society.

Among her books (all in Hebrew) are "Children's Rights in the Laws of the State of Israel" (1964); "Social Legislation" (1970); "The Arrangement: From a State of Law to a State of Halakhah" (1970); "Women as Human Beings" (1976); "Citizen and State: Basic Principles of the Doctrine of Citizenship" (1985); "Can't Do It Any Other Way" (1997).

[Susan Hattis Rolef (2nd ed.)]

ALOUF, YEHOSHUA (1900–1980), educator. Alouf was born in Slonim, Belorussia, but was sent to Ereẓ Israel at the age of 12 to study at the Herzliah Gymnasium in Tel Aviv. Returning for the holidays in 1914, he was caught up in World War I and continued his studies in Warsaw where he became a top gymnast with the local Maccabi. He returned to Tel Aviv in 1920 and was appointed teacher of physical education at the Gymnasium, later completing his studies at the Physical Education Institute in Copenhagen in 1925. From 1938 until his retirement in 1965 he served as national supervisor of physical education in Israeli schools. He was prominently associated with the Maccabi Sports Organization in a number of capacities, and was in charge of the first five *Maccabiahs. Alouf was responsible for the coining of modern Hebrew nomenclature in sport. He wrote many books on physical education. Alouf was awarded the Israel Prize for physical education in 1974.

ALPER, MICHAEL (1902–1955), U.S. rabbi and educator. Alper was born and educated in New York City, receiving his bachelor's, master's, and doctoral degrees from Columbia University as well as rabbinical ordination from the Jewish Institute of Religion. Early in his university career, Alper became the director of Jewish Education for the Hebrew Orphan Asylum. His tenure in this position coincided with a period of rapid growth and modernization in Jewish education in America. Advances in the field of general education were applied to Jewish schools and adult classes. Alper was a leading participant in this process of professionalization, writing textbooks and articles on educational topics, overseeing the publications of the American Association for Jewish Education and the Jewish Education Committee, and editing the journals *Jewish Education* and *Adult Jewish Leadership*. For the last nine years of his life, Alper taught at the Hebrew Union College–Jewish Institute of Religion, specializing in the training of teachers of religion. He was also involved in the nascent Reconstructionist movement, editing the *Reconstructionist* magazine for 15 years. Alper wrote *The Bible Retold* (1930), *Outline in Jewish Education* (1950), and *Reconstructionism and Jewish Education* (1954).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *American Jewish Year Book*, 57 (1956); *New York Times* (Jan. 31, 1955); *Who's Who in American Jewry* (1938–39).

[Adam Mendelsohn (2nd ed.)]

ALPERSOHN, MARCOS (Mordecai; 1860–1947), Argentine farmer and Jewish writer. Alpersohn was born in Kamenets-Podolski, Russia. His father, Israel, was a *shoḥet* and *melamed*. In his youth Alpersohn was a *maskil*, writing Hebrew articles in the Jewish press. In 1891 he emigrated to Argentina and settled in Colonia Mauricio, the first agricultural colony founded by the *Jewish Colonization Association (ICA). From the very outset he wrote pamphlets in Yiddish under a pseudonym criticizing the ICA administration. After 43 years in Mauricio, he began to spend winters in Buenos Aires but remained on his farm during the summer.

Alpersohn was a prolific writer. In his three volumes of memoirs ("The ICA and Its 30 Years of Colonization in Argentina"), novels, plays, stories, and newspaper articles, he described with much color the life of the Jewish farmers in the ICA colonies. He is considered one of the outstanding Yiddish writers of Argentina.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: M. Alpersohn, *Colonia Mauricio* (n/d); H. Avni, *Argentina ha-Aretz ha-Ye'udah* (1973).

[Efraim Zadoff (2nd ed.)]

ALPERSTEIN, AVRAHAM ELIEZER BEN YESHAYA (1853–1917), rabbi. Born in Kobrin, Grodno Province, Alperstein studied under the direction of Rabbi Joseph Dov Halevi *Soloveitchik and Rabbi Jacob David *Willowski, who later became Alperstein's colleague in Chicago. He then studied at yeshivot in Kovno and Vilna and was granted rabbinical ordination from Rabbi Mordecai Meltzer, communal rabbi in Lida, and Rabbi Aryeh Leib Yellin of Bilsk, and then briefly served as rabbi of the Kaminetzer synagogue in Vilna before becoming the communal rabbi in nearby Novograd. A few years later, he accepted a position as rabbi of the Ẓevaḥ Ẓedek synagogue in the vibrant Jewish community of Slobodka near Kovno.

Alperstein came to New York in 1881 together with the first wave of immigrants. He served as rabbi of Congregation Adath Jeshurun in New York. Three years later he moved to Chicago, where he remained for 15 years, serving in several synagogues, Congregation Oheb Shalom Bnai Marienpol, Anshei Kovno, and the Suwalker shul. While in Chicago, Alperstein published his only book, a commentary on the Jerusalem Talmud, Tractate *Bikkurim*. After spending two years in St. Paul, Minnesota, Alperstein returned to New York in 1901 to become rabbi of the Yagustava shul on Rutgers Street, which enabled him to work together with Rabbis Moses *Matlin and Judah David Bernstein on the yeshiva named for Rabbi Isaac Elchanan Spektor of Kovno. Alperstein campaigned throughout the *shteiblach* of the Lower East Side, appealing for funds on behalf of RIETS, which began to grow and prosper. He arranged for the school to transfer its program to the Yagustava shul, where he served as rabbi and taught Talmud. By 1905, the year he became rabbi at Congregation Mishkan Israel, approximately 100 students were engaged in Torah study at RIETS. Alperstein was also active on behalf of the newly formed Agudat Harabbonim, the Orthodox rabbinical association.

Following his death, his wife founded in his memory the Beth Abraham Home for the Incurably Sick in the Bronx, which at present is the Beth Abraham Hospital, part of the Montefiore-Einstein complex.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Ha-Me'assef,* 8:2 (1903), 18; 8:4 (1903), 47; 8:5 (1903), 54; 8:11 (1903), 145; 9:3 (1903), 34; B.Z. Eisenstadt, *Chachmei Yisrael b'America* (1903), 14; idem, *Anshei ha-Shem be-Arẓot ha-Berit* (1933), 41.

[Moshe Sherman (2nd ed.)]

ALPERT, HERB (1935–), U.S. trumpeter, bandleader, composer, and producer. Born in Los Angeles, Alpert studied jazz and classical trumpet and served two years in the army as a trumpeter and bugler. His first success in the music industry was the writing and recording of the instrumental hit "The

Lonely Bull" (1962) with his backup group the Tijuana Brass. Alpert's style influenced a number of other groups, such as Diana Ross and the Supremes and the Beatles. In 1962 he used his royalty monies to purchase the old Charlie Chaplin studio and form A&M Records in partnership with Jerry Moss. Under Alpert's guidance, A&M signed many famous pop performers such as the Police, Cat Stevens, Joan Baez, and the Carpenters. In addition, Alpert himself recorded the number one hit single "This Guy's in Love" (1972). In 1990 he and Moss sold A&M and in 1994 started a new record label – Almo. His albums showed an eclectic style with influences from Africa, funk and disco, Big Band sounds, and hip-hop. Among his recordings are *Herb Alpert and Hugh Masekela* (1978); *Rise* (1979); *My Abstract Heart* (1989); *North on South Street* (1991); the jazz album *Midnight Sun* (1992); *Second Wind* (1996); and *Passion Dance* (1997).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Grove online; MGG^2.

[Jonathan Licht / Israela Stein (2nd ed.)]

ALPHABET, HEBREW. The origin of alphabetic script has always been a subject of human curiosity. According to Greek mythology, script was brought to Greece from Phoenicia. This tradition was accepted by the Greek and Roman writers, some of whom developed it even further, and stated that the Phoenicians learned the art of writing from the Egyptians. In the 19th century there were scholars who subscribed to the theory of the Egyptian origin, while others believed that the Phoenician script developed from the Akkadian cuneiform, Cretan linear, Cypriote syllabic, and Hittite hieroglyphic scripts.

This entry is arranged according to the following outline

NORTH-WEST SEMITIC
CURSIVE SCRIPT
SQUARE SCRIPT
MASHAIT SCRIPT
LETTERS USED AS NUMBERS
BRAILLE
MANUAL (DEAF)
SHORTHAND

NORTH-WEST SEMITIC

The Proto-Canaanite and Cuneiform Canaanite Scripts

Modern investigation into the origin of the alphabet began in 1905 with the discovery of the Proto-Sinaitic inscriptions by Sir Flinders Petrie at Sarābīṭ al-Khādim in the Sinai Peninsula. These were short texts inscribed in an unknown pictographic script of approximately the middle of the second millennium B.C.E. The first steps toward decipherment of these texts were taken 12 years later by Sir Alan Gardiner, who noted a recurrent series – oxgoad (= Canaanite *lamd*); house (= *bayt*); eye (= *ʾayn*); oxgoad (= *lamd*); cross (= *taw*) – and realized that if the signs followed an acrophonic principle, their parallel Canaanite value (*lamd-bayt-aʿyn-lamd-taw*) would be *lbʾlt* – "for the lady" (goddess). Since then many attempts at decipherment have been made. The most eminent study is that of W.F. Albright, who believes that it is possible to identify 23 of the probable 27 letters occurring in these texts. Accepting Gardiner's Canaanite acrophonic theory and assuming that these texts are votive inscriptions written by West Semites who were employed by the Egyptians in the turquoise mines of Sarābīṭ al-Khādim, Albright bases his readings on the recent knowledge of the Canaanite dialects (mainly Ugaritic) in the second millennium B.C.E.

AN EARLY PALESTINIAN EPIGRAPHIC CORPUS. For several decades it was assumed that these West Semite workers (or slaves), while being in daily contact with the Egyptian hieroglyphs, invented the first alphabetic writing. However, at some sites in Palestine several similar pictographic inscriptions were found. Most of them are of a later date than the Proto-Sinaitic texts (mainly from Lachish, but also from Ḥaṣī, el-Amarna, Beth Shemesh, Megiddo), but at least three are earlier than the Proto-Sinaitic inscriptions (from Shechem, Gezer, and Lachish). This early Palestinian epigraphic corpus consists mainly of inscribed shards and jar inscriptions (partly fragmentary), but there are also inscriptions on seals, a dagger, and javelin heads. The latest specimens (from the end of the Late Bronze period and from the very beginning of the Iron Age) display simplified linear letter forms which developed from the early pictographs. The script of these texts is called Proto-Canaanite (see figure 1).

The order of the early alphabetic texts is suggested by F.M. Cross, Jr. as follows:

- I. The Proto-Canaanite Texts
    - a. Old Palestinian (17th–12th century B.C.E.)
    - b. Proto-Sinaitic (15th century B.C.E.)
- II. Canaanite Cuneiform Texts
    - a. Ugaritic (14th–13th century B.C.E.)
    - b. Palestinian (13th–12th century B.C.E.)

PROTO-CANAANITE SCRIPT AS THE SOURCE OF LATER ALPHABETS. The Proto-Canaanite alphabet seems to copy some pictographic signs from the Egyptian hieroglyphs. Some Canaanite communities adapted the method of writing as in the Akkadian cuneiform syllabic script (i.e., clay tablet and stylus) to the new alphabetic system. Akkadian cuneiform was used in the latter half of the second millennium for international correspondence even between the Egyptian pharaoh and his vassals in Palestine (see *el-Amarna). The cuneiform alphabet was not limited to Ugarit in northern Canaan; specimens of this script were found at three sites in Palestine (Beth-Shemesh, Taanach, and Naḥal Tabor). However, whereas the cuneiform alphabet, as far as is known, ceased to exist with the beginning of the Iron Age (12th century B.C.E.), the Proto-Canaanite script was the source of all alphabetic scripts which later spread throughout the entire world. From this script the Proto-Arabic script branched off in the course of the 13th century B.C.E. (This is the parent script of the South Arabic monumental and the Ethiopic script, as well as the

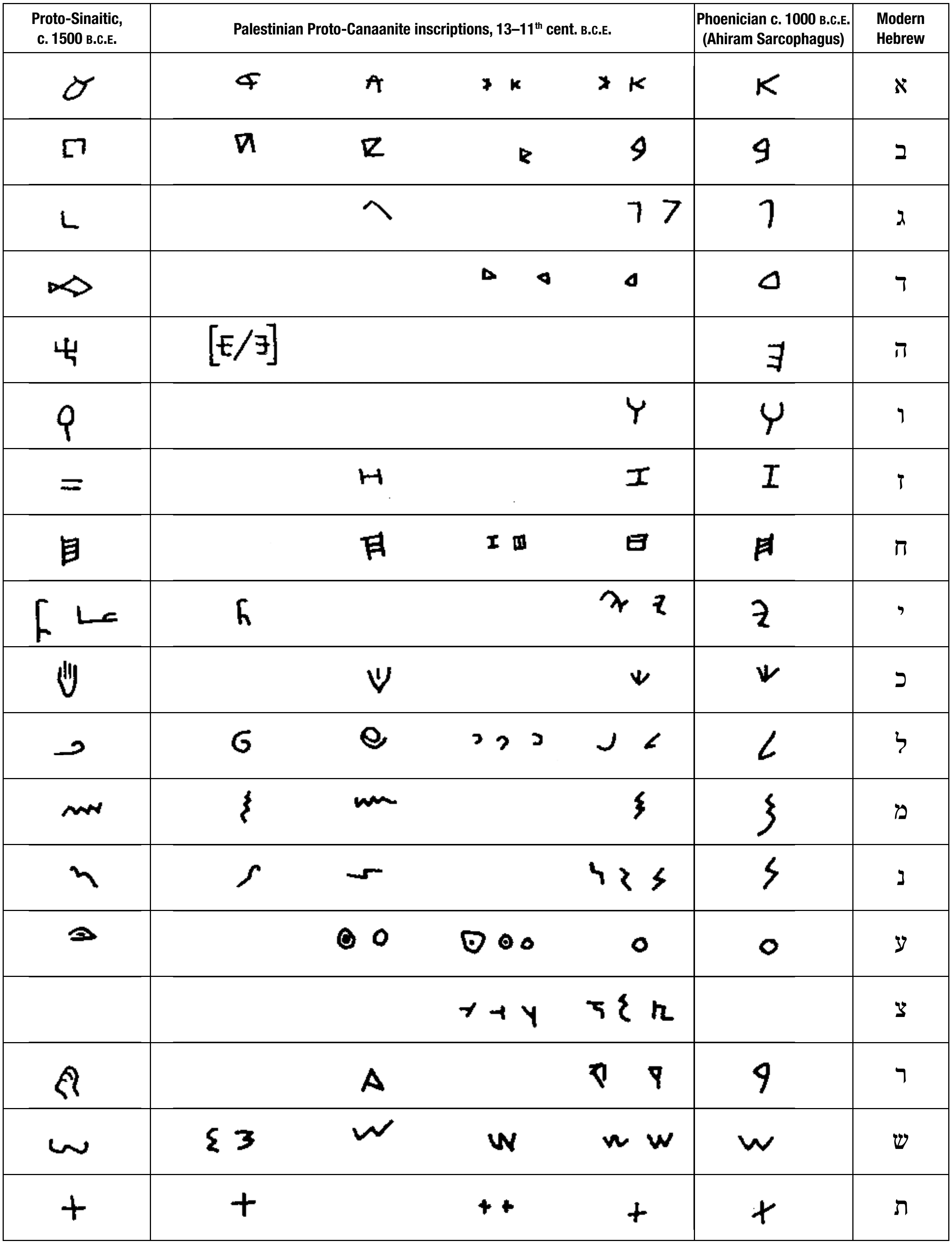
Proto-Sinaitic, c. 1500 B.C.E.
Palestinian Proto-Canaanite inscriptions, 13–11th cent. B.C.E.
Phoenician c. 1000 B.C.E. (Ahiram Sarcophagus)
Modern Hebrew
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Figure 1. Proto-Canaanite script, with its predecessor and main offshoot. From F.M. Cross, "The Origin and Early Evolution of the Alphabet," Eretz Israel, *8. Jerusalem, 1967.*

Thamudic, Safaitic, and Lihyanic scripts.) The main offshoot of the Proto-Canaanite script, however, is the Phoenician, from which the (Ancient) Hebrew and Aramaic as well as the Greek alphabets evolved (figure 2).

THE TERM “ALPHABETIC SCRIPT.” It has been alleged that the term “alphabetic” does not fit West Semitic writing. This script, using letters for consonantal phonemes (i.e., each sign represents a consonant plus any vowel (or “zero” vowel)) is, in I.J. Gelb's opinion, a system of syllabic writing. While it is true that the West Semitic system of writing is a less developed stage than the Greek, the term alphabet itself does not mean that each letter must stand for either a consonant or a vowel, or for a consonant plus any vowel. Alphabet means a number of letters (20 or 30 approximately) listed in a fixed order, notwithstanding their individual values. The first abecedary known until now, found in Ugarit, belongs to the 14th century B.C.E., and its order (after omitting some letters) generally fits that of the Hebrew alphabet (figure 3). The reduction of the symbols to represent consonantal phonemes was a revolutionary step toward spreading literacy, and the systematic insertion of the vowel signs into the script was only a further, though important, step in this process. Therefore there is no reason to restrict the term alphabet to Greek or Latin scripts.

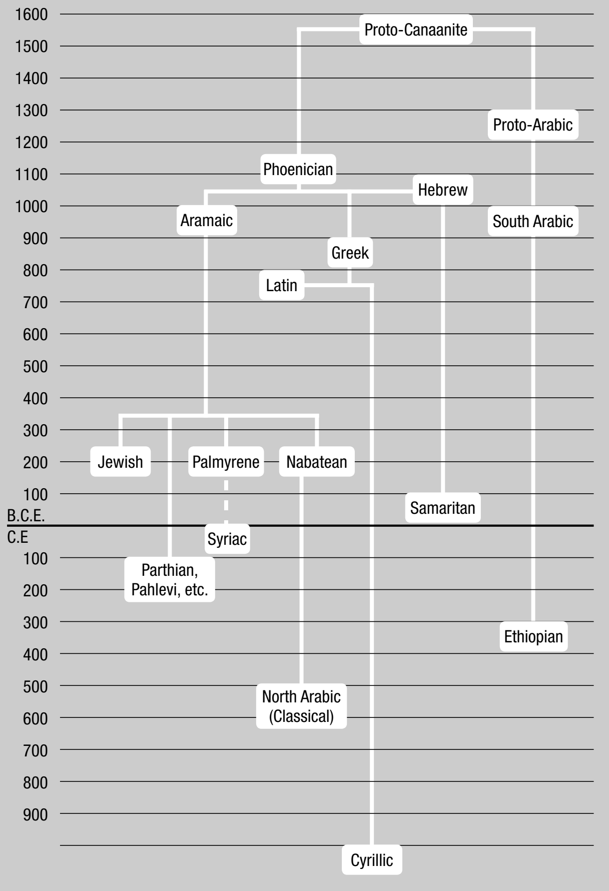

Figure 2. Offshoots of the Proto-Canaanite script. J. Naveh, Jerusalem.

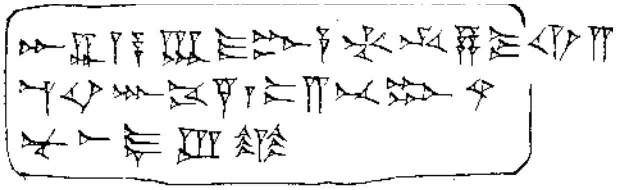

Figure 3. The Ugarit abecedary, 14th century B.C.E. After Virolleaud, Syria, *28, Paris, 195,22.*

The Phoenician Script

The Proto-Canaanite and the cuneiform alphabetic (as well as the South Arabic and the Classical, or North Arabic) scripts have 27–30 letters; the cuneiform also distinguishes between *ʾalef* – a, *ʾalef* – i, and *ʾalef* – u. The Proto-Canaanite inscriptions were written either in vertical columns, in horizontal lines or, quite frequently, in boustrophedon. In the 11th century B.C.E., with the development of the linear letter forms, the stabilization of the right-to-left direction, and the reduction of the number of letters to 22 consonants, the Proto-Canaanite developed into the Phoenician script. (The c. 1000 B.C.E. inscription on the Ahiram sarcophagus found at Byblos displays this stage of evolution.) It seems likely that the Phoenician phonemic system consisted of 22 consonants; but the phonemic systems of the Hebrew and Aramaic languages were richer than that of the Phoenician language. When the Hebrews and Arameans adopted the Phoenician script they could not express in writing these phonemes which did not occur in Phoenician. In Hebrew, for example, there exists *š* (*shin*) and *ś* (*sin*), but both phonemes are designated by the same letter ש; only in a relatively late period, with the invention of the diacritic signs, was it possible to distinguish between שׁ (*shin*) and שׂ (*sin*).

The Phoenician people traded throughout the ancient world, and Phoenician inscriptions have been found as far apart as at Ur in the Persian Gulf and in Spain (figure 4). Most of these inscriptions, however, originated in Phoenicia, Cyprus, and Carthage. The Carthaginian inscriptions and those which were found in the western Phoenician colonies are called Punic inscriptions. While it is possible to distinguish between the dialects which were spoken in Phoenicia proper, in Cyprus, and in the Punic colonies, no special local characteristics in the scripts of the various centers developed. This one-trend evolution seems to be reflected in the scarce ink-written cursive material, but it is especially obvious in the many monumental (mainly votive) inscriptions. Whereas the Phoenician inscriptions of eastern origin after the third century B.C.E. are rare, the number of the Punic inscriptions (mainly from Carthage) increases in the late third and early second centuries until the destruction of Carthage in 146 B.C.E. It seems likely that in this period there developed in the west an independent cursive, which was later adapted to monumental writing by the neo-Punic communities existing in North Africa after 146 B.C.E. This is the neo-Punic script.

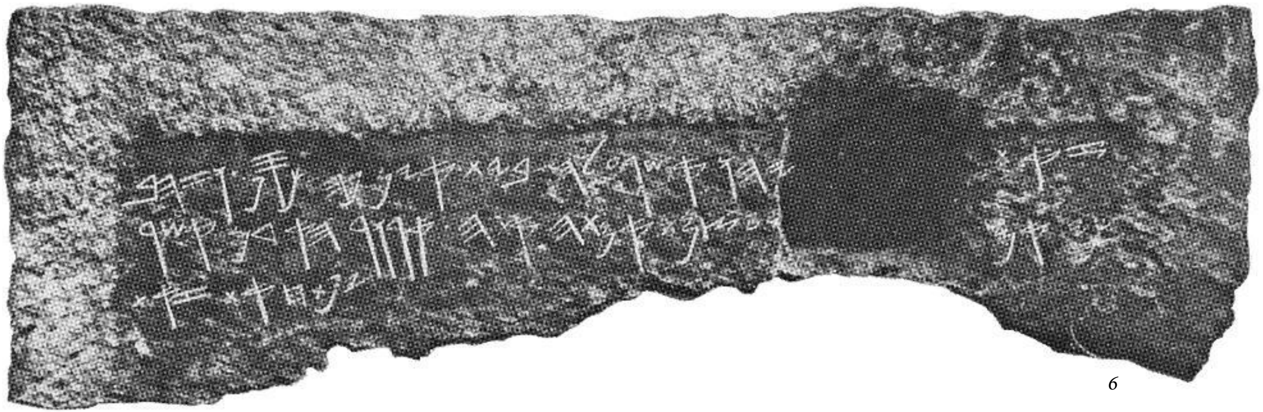

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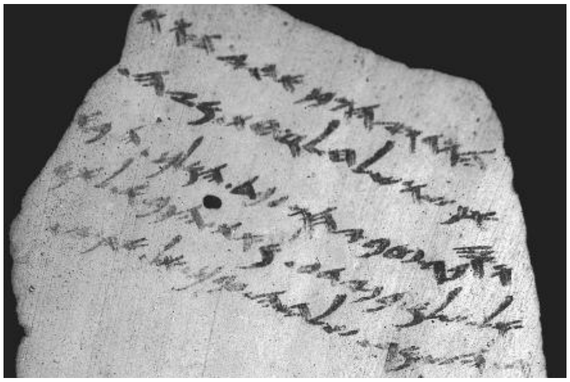

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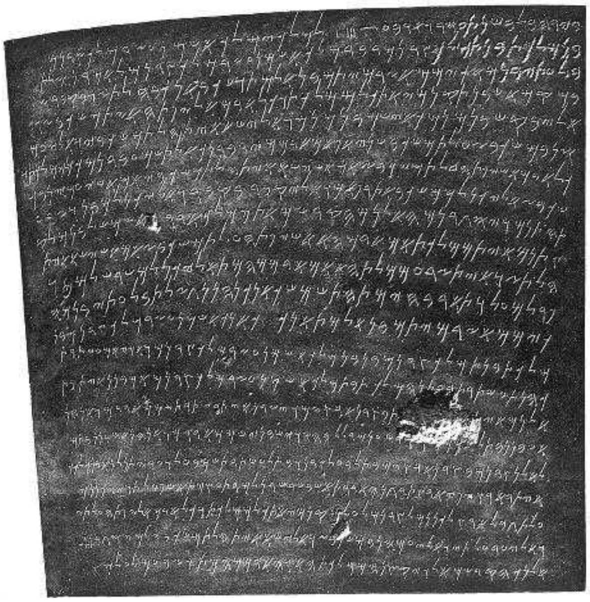

4

NORTH-WEST SEMITIC

Figure 4. Phoenician inscription of the sarcophagus of King Eshmun'ezor at Sidon, fifth century B.C.E. *Louvre.*

Figure 5. The earliest known Hebrew inscription: detail from the Gezer Calendar, c. 950–918 B.C.E. *Louvre.*

Figure 6. The Royal steward inscription from Siloam, Jerusalem (eighth century B.C.E.*) shows the developing cursive character of the Hebrew script. From a plaster cast of the original inscription in the British Museum.*

Figure 7. One of the Arad ostraca, c. 600 B.C.E. *Jerusalem, Israel Museum.*

Figure 8. One of the 18 Lachish ostraca, from the destruction level at Lachish, 587/6 B.C.E.*, reflecting the most developed cursive hand of this period. Jerusalem, Dept. of Antiquities and Museums.*

Figure 9. A 12th–13th century. C.E. *inscription from a Samaritan synagogue near Shechem shows the Samaritan script which was developed from the Paleo-Hebrew. Jerusalem, Israel Dept. of Antiquities and Museums.*

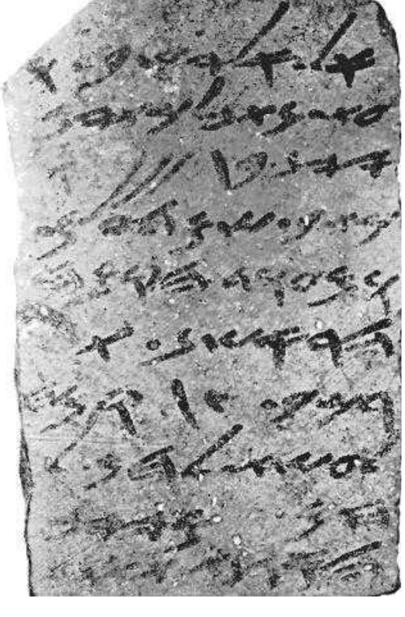

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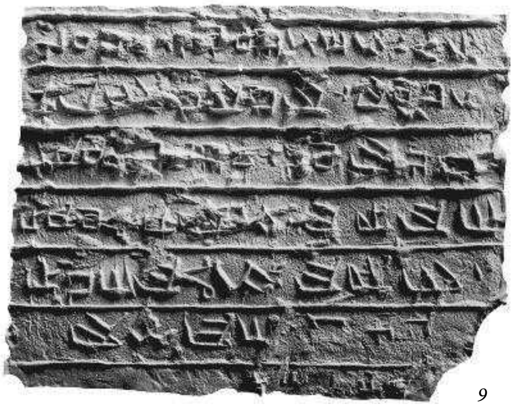

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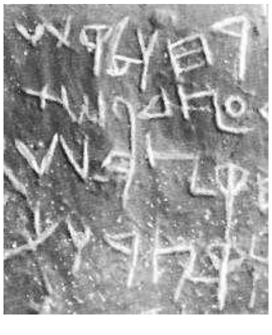

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The Hebrew Script

The Hebrews adopted the alphabetic script together with other cultural values from the Canaanites in the 12th or 11th century B.C.E. They followed the current Phoenician script until the ninth century, when they began to develop their own national script.

EARLY INSCRIPTIONS. The *Gezer Calendar is considered to be the earliest Hebrew inscription known. Its script resembles the scripts of the tenth century Phoenician inscriptions from Byblos. The spelling of two words reflects the contraction of the diphthong *ay*, which is either a Phoenician or a North Hebrew (cf. Samaria ostraca) linguistic feature. On paleographical grounds, the Gezer Calendar should be dated in the late tenth century B.C.E. (i.e., in the time of Solomon) when Gezer was an Israelite city (I Kings 9:16), and thereby determined as a Hebrew inscription (figure 5).

As strange as it may seem, the earliest clear Hebrew features can be discerned in the scripts of the ninth-century Moabite inscriptions, namely the stele of *Mesha (the Moabite Stone) and in a recently found fragmentary stele where *kmšyt*, the name of Mesha's father, is mentioned (for the Moabite script, see below).

As the eighth-century Hebrew inscriptions exhibit many specific and exclusive traits, it is obvious that in the ninth century the Hebrew script was written by wide scribal circles. The fact that up to the present almost no Hebrew inscriptions have been found from the ninth century is accidental, but the quantity of the epigraphic material from the eighth century onward shows a gradual increase of the spread of the knowledge of writing among the people of Israel and Judah.

DEVELOPMENT OF THE INDEPENDENT HEBREW SCRIPT. The evolution of the independent Hebrew script is one of a specific cursive character: the further it diverges from the (Phoenician) mother script, the more it drops the lapidary features. This one-trend development is obvious in the eighth-century engraved inscriptions, namely the Siloam Inscription, the Royal Steward (figure 6), and other tomb inscriptions (all from Jerusalem), as well as from the fragmentary Hebrew inscription on an ivory which was taken as booty (probably from Samaria) to Nimrud, and the hundreds of the eighth- to the sixth-century Hebrew seals from various sites. These inscriptions on hard material were written in a cursive style, copying even the shading, which is a natural feature of pen-and-ink writing. This lack of lapidary script may indicate that the custom of erecting stelae by the kings and offering votive inscriptions to the deity was not widespread in Israel. Such an assumption would explain how the specific lapidary element could disappear from the Hebrew script.

HEBREW EPIGRAPHIC MATERIALS. There is some indication of the common use of papyrus. In addition to the seventh-century palimpsest papyrus, preserved in the dry climate of Wadi Murabbaʿat near the Dead Sea about 20 clay sealings of papyrus rolls have been found (mostly in Lachish).

The majority of the Hebrew epigraphic material which has been found is pottery. About 100 jar inscriptions are known today. Sixty jar handles, inscribed after firing, were found in Gibeon, and other jars bear inscriptions on their bodies. Some were incised or written in ink after firing, but others were inscribed before firing the vessels. These inscriptions are mainly the names of the owners or the names of those responsible for their capacity, and others indicate the measure of capacity (*bt lmlk*, "a royal *bat*"). Toward the end of the seventh century B.C.E. it became more usual to impress a seal on the jar handle rather than to write on the soft clay. Recently 80 "private" seal impressions of some 30 specimens and about 800 royal (*lmlk*) seals were listed (M.L. Heltzer, in: *Epigrafika Vostoka*, 17 (1965), 18–37).

The most important Hebrew epigraphic material consists, of course, of ostraca, some of which were incised (e.g., two dockets from Tell Qasile, a name-list, and a message-like short letter from Samaria), but most were written in ink. The majority of ostraca were found in Samaria, Lachish, and Arad. This corpus, together with the Siloam Inscription and an ostracon from Meẓad Ḥashavyahu, are the most important sources for the study of the Hebrew language in the period of the First Temple.

SOURCES FOR THE HEBREW LANGUAGE IN THE FIRST TEMPLE PERIOD. The Samaria ostraca consist of 63 dockets belonging to the eighth century B.C.E., probably to the time of Jeroboam II. They were found in the storage rooms of the royal palace and describe shipments of wine and oil brought in by farmers from various places, presumably as taxes. This material is the main source for the study of the Hebrew dialect spoken in the Northern Kingdom, while the other material reflects the Judahite, or Jerusalemite, dialect.

The Siloam Inscription describes the building of the tunnel through which the water of the Gihon was brought into the city of Jerusalem, presumably in the time of Hezekiah (II Kings 20:20; II Chron. 32:30).

The ostracon found at the seashore fortress called today Meẓad Ḥashavyahu, near Yavneh Yam (Mīnat Rūbīn), is a letter written by a reaper who worked in the royal estate of Josiah, king of Judah. The reaper complained to the local governor of the confiscation of his garment (cf. Ex. 22:25–27; Deut. 24:10–13).

The Arad ostraca, which have only been partly published, were found in various levels of the eighth and seventh centuries. The published material from about 600 B.C.E. consists mainly of short messages dealing with supplies for the mercenaries employed in guarding the southern border of Judah (figure 7).

The 18 Lachish ostraca are letters sent by an officer to the governor of Lachish, who was probably in charge of the defense of the area, on the eve of the Babylonian conquest of Judah just before the destruction of the First Temple in 586 B.C.E. These ostraca reflect the most developed cursive hand (figure 8).

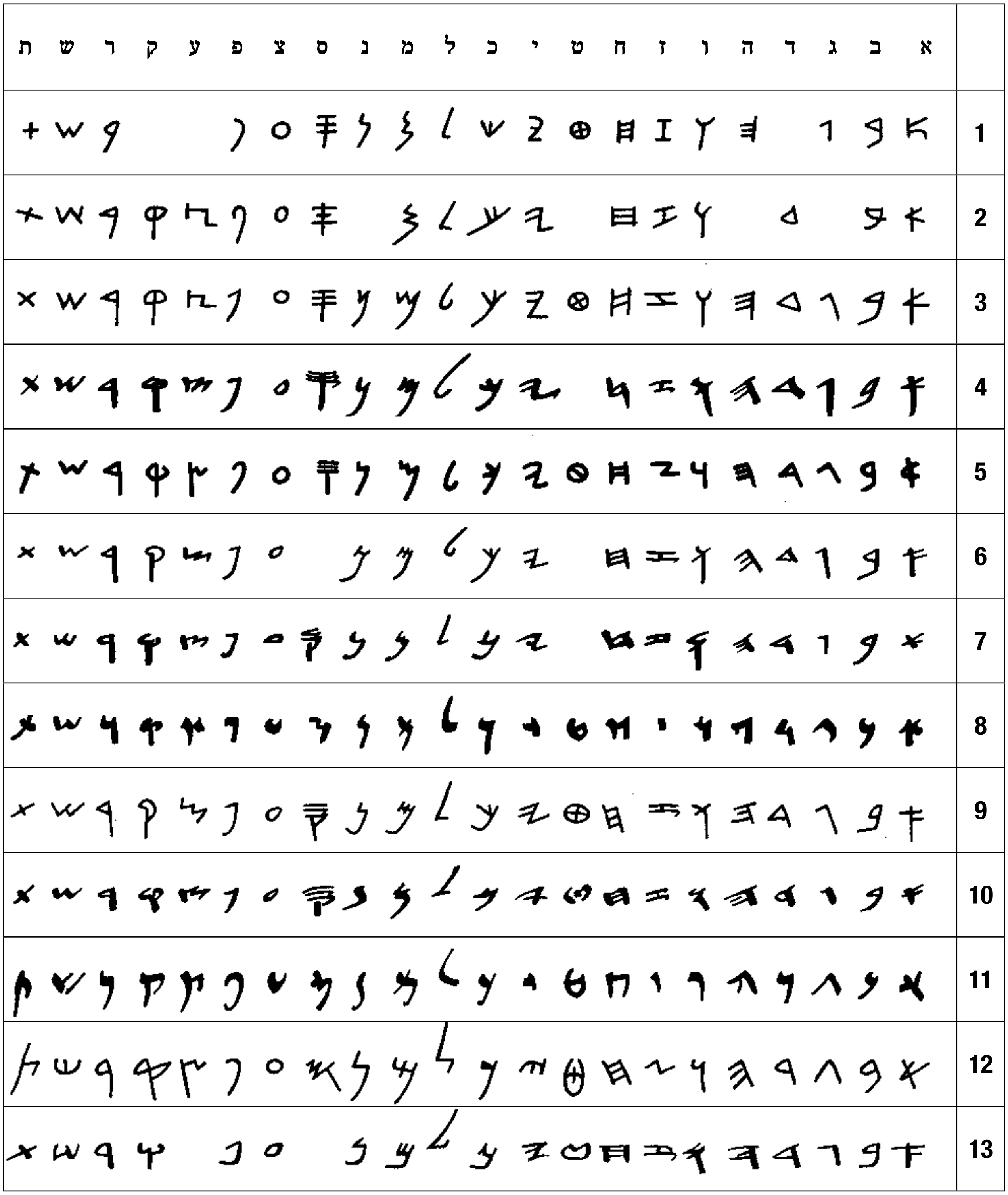
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Figure 10. (1) Aḥiram sarcophagus, c. 1000 B.C.E., Phoenician; (2) Gezer Calendar, late tenth century B.C.E., Hebrew; (3) Mesha stele, mid-ninth century B.C.E., Moabite; (4) Samaria ostraca, eighth century B.C.E., Hebrew; (5) Bar-Rekub stele, late eighth century B.C.E., Aramaic; (6) Siloam inscription, c. 700 B.C.E., Hebrew; (7) Meẓad Ḥashavyahu ostracon, late seventh century B.C.E., Hebrew; (8) Saqqara papyrus, c. 600 B.C.E., Aramaic; (9) Hebrew seals, late seventh-early sixth century B.C.E.; (10) Lachish ostraca early sixth century B.C.E., Hebrew; (11) Elephantine papyrus, late fifth century B.C.E., Aramaic; (12) Eshmunʿazor inscription, fifth century B.C.E., Phoenician; (13) Exodus scroll fragment, second century B.C.E., Paleo-Hebrew. Copyright Joseph Naveh, Jerusalem.

The Paleo-Hebrew Script

The Hebrew script did not cease to exist after the Babylonian capture of Judah, when most of the nobles were taken into exile. It was used by the people who remained to work the fields; the sixth-century inscribed jar handles from Gibeon, on which the names of winegrowers are listed, are an example. However, from the fifth century onward, when the Aramaic language and script became an official means of communication, the Paleo-Hebrew script (i.e., the ancient Hebrew characters as used in the time of the Second Temple) was used for writing Hebrew both in Judah and Samaria. It was preserved mainly as a biblical book hand by a coterie of erudite scribes (presumably of the Zadokite priesthood; cf. the Paleo-Hebrew Pentateuch fragments found among the *Dead Sea Scrolls). The vast majority of the *Hasmonean coinage as well as the coins of the First and Second Jewish Revolts bears Paleo-Hebrew legends. Although this script is a relatively static, formal hand, it seems likely that the Hasmoneans did not revive a forgotten national script; they struck coins with legends of a known writing which survived – though in a narrow circle – in the period of the Second Temple.

Together with the discovery (in Wadi Daliʾyeh) of Aramaic deeds written on papyrus in Samaria in the fourth century B.C.E., two clay sealings with Hebrew texts written in the Paleo-Hebrew script were found there without any Samaritan peculiarities. It seems likely that the divergence of the Samaritan script began sometime in the last two centuries of the first millennium B.C.E. The Samaritans continued to use this script for writing both Hebrew and Aramaic texts, but the Jews ceased using it after 135 C.E. A comparison of the earliest Samaritan inscriptions and the medieval and modern Samaritan manuscripts clearly indicates that the Samaritan script is a static script which was used mainly as a book hand (figure 9).

The Rise of the Aramaic Script

The Arameans adopted the Phoenician script in the 11th or 10th century B.C.E. The first *Aramaic monumental inscriptions originating in the Aramean kingdoms in the ninth and eighth centuries (Damascus, Hamat, and Samaʾl) were written in the Phoenician script. The earliest clear Aramaic features are discernible in the cursive script of the mid-eighth century. In this period the Assyrians introduced the Aramaic language and script as a common means of communication among the various nations in the Assyrian Empire. Moreover, it became a *lingua franca* and was used from then on as a diplomatic and commercial language. For example, an Aramaic papyrus letter sent from Palestine about 600 B.C.E. was found at Saqqara in Egypt.

THE ARAMAIC SCRIPT COMPARED TO CONTEMPORARY PHOENICIAN AND HEBREW SCRIPTS. A comparison of the Aramaic script of the Saqqara letter and other Aramaic cursive material of the same time with the contemporary Phoenician and Hebrew cursives (e.g., the Arad and the Lachish ostraca) is most instructive. (It should be remembered that the independent development of the Aramaic script began 100 years after that of the Hebrew.) The Aramaic script, omitting various bars, looks like shorthand in comparison with the Phoenician and particularly the Hebrew script. This phenomenon can be explained by the differing geopolitical and cultural factors prevailing among the respective peoples using the various scripts. The Phoenician script was relatively widely used among this trading people but remained a national script. The conservative Hebrew script was developed by a nation tending to preserve its traditional values; from the late eighth century B.C.E. (the fall of Samaria) this script was more or less restricted to Judah and was written by a people dwelling in a mountainous land away from international highways. On the other hand the Aramaic script, written by many peoples, became a strictly practical means, stripped of all sentiment (figure 10).

The Moabite, Edomite, and Ammonite Scripts

The inscriptions found in various sites in Transjordan provide a quite clear picture of the scripts used by the peoples living there and reflect their cultures.

The scripts of the ninth-century Moabite stelae – namely the Mesha stele and the fragmentary *kmšyt* stele – display definite Hebrew characteristics, though their language is not Hebrew but Moabite (another Canaanite dialect, different in some aspects from Hebrew). Later Moabite inscriptions (mainly seals from the seventh and sixth centuries) show clear Aramaic letters written side by side with letters of Hebrew form or of specific local character. The inscriptions bearing Edomite theophoric names (e.g., *Qwsʿnl*) found in Elath and in Umm al-Biyāra near Petra, exhibit a similar state of affairs. The writing of the Moabites and the Edomites in the ninth century did not differ from that of the Hebrews, while in the late seventh and sixth centuries clear signs are to be found of the intrusion of Aramaic elements into these two scripts. This intrusion probably began in the last third of the eighth century B.C.E. when the political influence of Israel and Judah came to an end and the Assyrians appeared on the King's Highway south of Damascus.

The recently published ninth-century B.C.E. Amman citadel inscription shows that the Ammonites spoke in a Canaanite dialect (similar to Hebrew and Moabite) but adopted the Aramaic script from the Arameans who lived in Damascus. About a score of Ammonite seventh-century seals written in contemporary lapidary Aramaic indicate that the Ammonites followed the Aramaic scribal tradition common in the Assyrian Empire.

The Official Aramaic Script and Its Descendants

Aramaic, being an official language of the Assyrian, neo-Babylonian, and Persian empires, was spoken and written in a vast area. Aramaic inscriptions have been found in Egypt, North Arabia, Palestine, Syria, Asia Minor, Mesopotamia, Persia, Afghanistan, and Pakistan. The examination of all this epigraphic material has shown that until the end of the third century B.C.E. (i.e., about 100 years after the fall of the Persian Empire) no local script developed and the Official Aramaic script remained a uniform script.

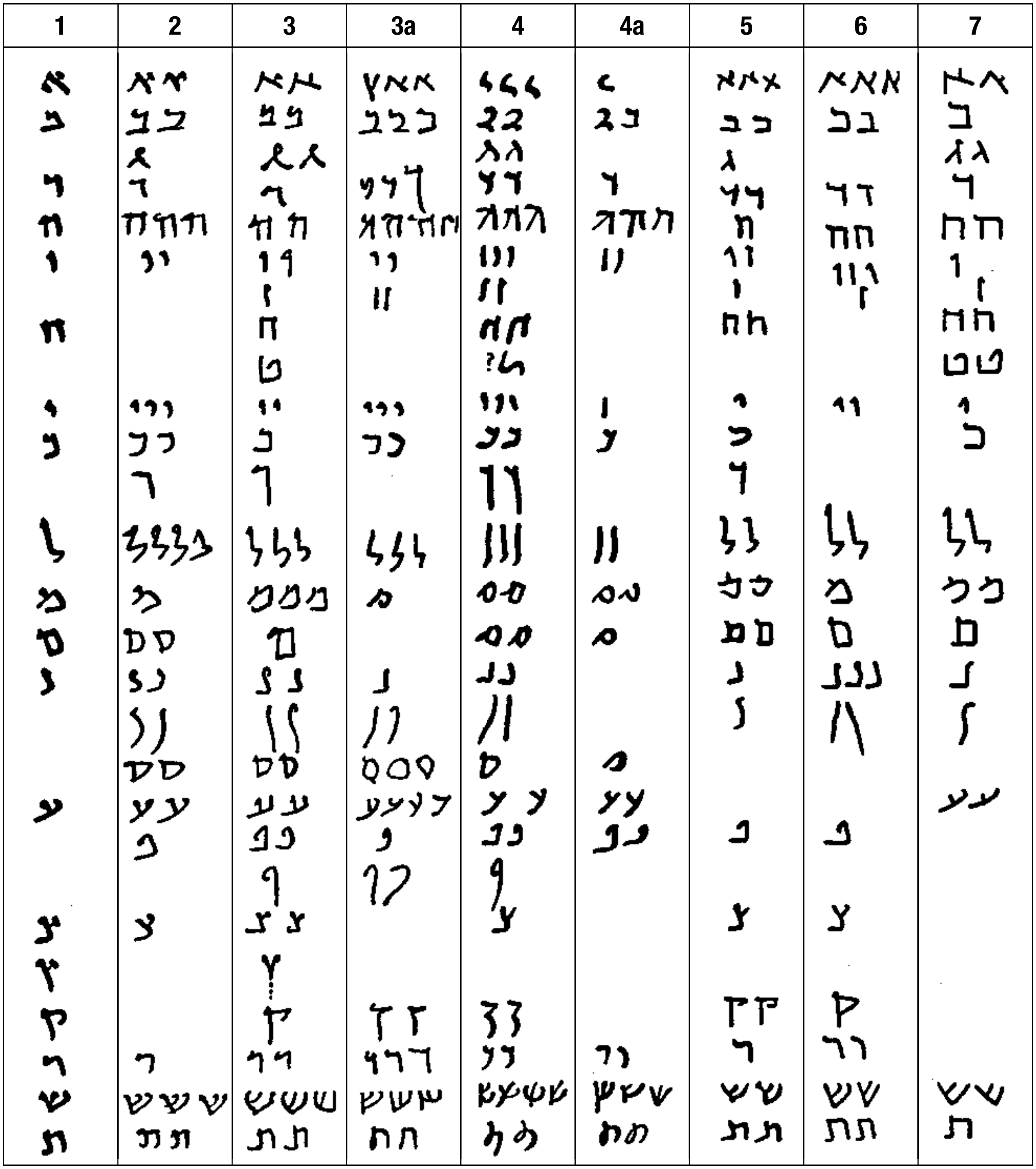
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Figure 11. Examples of the Jewish script. (1) Exodus fragment; (2) Bar Kokhba letter; (3) Bet Mashko letter; (3a) Signatures of witnesses to no. 3; (4) Aramaic deed; (4a) Signatures of witnesses on no. 4; (5) Dura-Europos fragment; (6, 7) Bet She'arim tomb inscriptions; 1–4a from Wadi Murabbaʿāt, i.e., before 135 C.E.; 5–7 of the third century C.E. Copyright N. Avigad in Scripta Hierosalymitana, *4, 1957.*

Many nations used Aramaic as a second language, and often it became the main spoken tongue. This was the situation in the fifth-century B.C.E. Jewish military colony in *Elephantine, where over 100 Aramaic papyri and ostraca were found. This corpus – which is a main source for knowledge of the Official Aramaic language and script – consists of legal documents and private and official letters, as well as two literary works. In the Persian period there existed an Aramaic lapidary script (cf. the fourth-century Judean jar-stamps), but the influence of the cursive hand was so strong that many inscriptions on hard material were written in the cursive style. The lapidary script died out in the late fourth century B.C.E., but the use of the standard Aramaic cursive went on for at least 100 years after the fall of the Persian Empire (330 B.C.E.). Aramaic was widely spoken and written and continued to flourish in various centers even in the Hellenistic period, when Greek became the official language.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF ARAMAIC LOCAL SCRIPTS. In the third and second centuries B.C.E. local scripts began to develop from the Aramaic. In the West two national scripts were born, the Jewish (square Hebrew) and the Nabatean, while the eastern offshoots are many: Palmyrene, Syriac, Mandaic, as well as the local scripts of Hatra (Mesopotamia), Nisa (Turkmenistan), Armazi (Georgia), and Elymais (Khuzistan). The Jewish book hand became stabilized in the Herodian period, and it did not undergo essential alterations until the present. From the Nabatean cursive hand the North Arabic script developed. The eastern branches and their relations to each other have not yet been studied thoroughly, but the developments of some trends are quite clear. The script of the ostraca of the first century B.C.E. found at Nisa (a Parthian capital) is a transitional stage between Official Aramaic on the one hand and Parthian (Pahlavik), Persian (Parsic), Book-Pahlavi, and other scripts which were invented for Middle Iranian languages on the other hand. This writing also employed a system of Aramaic ideograms. The script of the inscriptions and a coin-legend of the Elymeans is the ancestor of the Mandaic writing. The Mandeans are a religious sect living in Khuzistan near the Persian Gulf who preserved an eastern Aramaic dialect resembling that of the Babylonian Talmud.

The earliest Syriac inscriptions stem from the first and second centuries C.E. This script was employed by Christians in Syria-Mesopotamia. There are three main Syriac styles of writing: the Estrangelo, which resembles the script of the early inscriptions, is formal; the Serto, ordinarily used by the Jacobites, is a developed cursive; the Nestorian hand is another cursive variation. Syriac is an Eastern Aramaic dialect spoken by the Christian communities in Edessa (modern Urfa) and its vicinity. However, although the Palestinian Christians spoke in a Western Aramaic dialect, they adopted the Syriac script and wrote in a style similar to Estrangelo. The Manichaic script is an offshoot of Syriac; it was invented in the third century C.E. by Mani, the founder of the Manichean sect, as a book hand for writing religious manuscripts in a Middle Iranian dialect.

The Jewish Script

The talmudic tradition (Sanh. 21b) ascribes the adoption of the Aramaic ("Assyrian") script to Ezra, who brought it from the Babylonian captivity. However Aramaic arrived in Judea also through the Babylonian and mainly through the Persian administrations. At any rate it became the colloquial language, at first of the educated classes and then of wider circles. It seems likely that in the Persian period the Aramaic script was used for writing Aramaic texts only, but the earliest Hebrew manuscripts found in Qumran are fragments of Exodus and Samuel, probably written in the second half of the third century B.C.E. in the Proto-Jewish script, which displays the earliest Jewish national development of the Official Aramaic script. From this period on the Paleo-Hebrew script was restricted to Hebrew texts, but the Jewish script was used both for Hebrew and Aramaic. (The Samaritan script – a descendant of Paleo-Hebrew – was employed both for Hebrew and the Western Aramaic dialect spoken by the Samaritans.)

The most important material for the study of the early evolution of the Jewish script are the scrolls from the Qumran caves and the other documents found in the caves of Wadi Murabbaʿat and Naḥal Ḥever. The other material consists of tomb and ossuary inscriptions (mostly from Jerusalem) as well as some ostraca found mainly in *Masada (where a scroll of the apocryphal Book of Ben Sira was also discovered) and at *Herodium.

THE JEWISH CURSIVE HAND. As the development of the formal book hand will be dealt with below (see below, Square Script), the earliest Jewish cursive will be considered here. This cursive hand began to develop in the Late Hasmonean and Early Herodian periods (cf. the Jason Tomb inscription from Jerusalem), and flourished in the time of the Second Revolt (132–135 C.E.). As in other cursive scripts the letters are generally rounded, and there is a tendency to join the letters. However there was not sufficient time for the development of a fully ligatured writing (e.g., Syriac, Mandaic, and North Arabic; figure 11). Several minor cursive inscriptions are among the inscribed ossuaries and on the ostraca, but most of them are known from the papyri, messages of Bar Kokhba and his officers, found in Naḥal Ḥever and Wadi Murabaʿat. The influence of this hand was strong enough to affect the formal hand. Therefore some biblical manuscripts and mainly legal documents were written in semiformal or semicursive styles. It seems likely that the cursive style ceased to exist with Bar Kokhba's defeat or soon after it, while from the surviving Jewish book hand other cursive offshoots have been born.

See also entries on individual letters of the Hebrew alphabet.

[Joseph Naveh]

CURSIVE SCRIPT

It is only natural that letters, notes, business matters, legal documents, etc., should be written with less care and accuracy than books. The writer does not intend to reproduce exactly the letters of the formal script. His intent is to give the basic structure of the letters, that is, an approximation of the "ideal" forms. This is clearly illustrated by figure 1 (second century C.E.). In the course of time there is less and less approximation, i.e., changes take place. Unwittingly, to save time and effort, the writers omit certain details by linking individual strokes, which were formerly not linked, and by uniting or fusing certain strokes. The pace of such structural development is much faster than the changes in the square script,

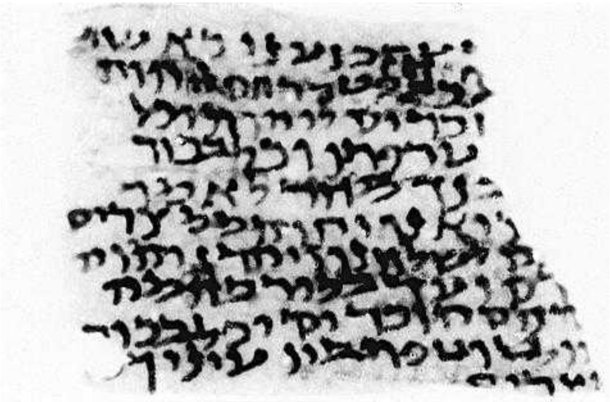

Figure 1. Fragment of Exodus 13 in Palestine cursive script, second century C.E. Jerusalem, Hebrew University Dept. of Archaeology.

which, by comparison with the cursive, hardly moves at all. The result is the rise of a full-fledged cursive style which can no longer, by any stretch of imagination, be called a simplified square. The changes that have taken place are so great that many letters have become utterly different from their counterparts in the square style. It should be mentioned that occasionally books are penned in cursive. Figure 2 (fifth–sixth centuries) is an early stage specimen. It contains a form that is decidedly cursive – the open *he*. This was not, at that time, a recent development; it had been in existence for centuries but it stayed outside formal writing until almost the end of the Middle Ages. The early cursive seems to have lasted until the eighth–tenth centuries, but further research and/or new material might change the present picture.

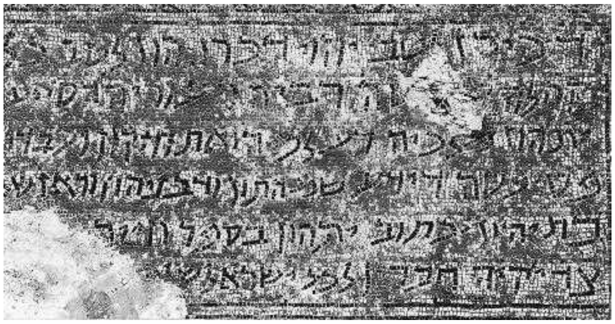

Figure 2. Mosaic inscription in the synagogue of Jericho, fifth–sixth century C.E. in situ.

PALESTINE-SYRIA TYPE. The 11th-century Palestine-Syria type is a fully developed cursive style, although the connection with the square script is quite clear. In figure 3 (12th century) the right strokes of the *alef* are high up, and the left one practically always joins the top of the middle stroke; *bet* and *kaf* differ greatly; *lamed* consists of two strokes only; final *nun* is regularly joined to the preceding letter; the middle stroke of *shin* is a small horizontal curve joined to the top of the left stroke. Whether the modern script of the Palestinian-Syrian region (figure 4) is a continuation of the style shown in figure 3 cannot presently be established.

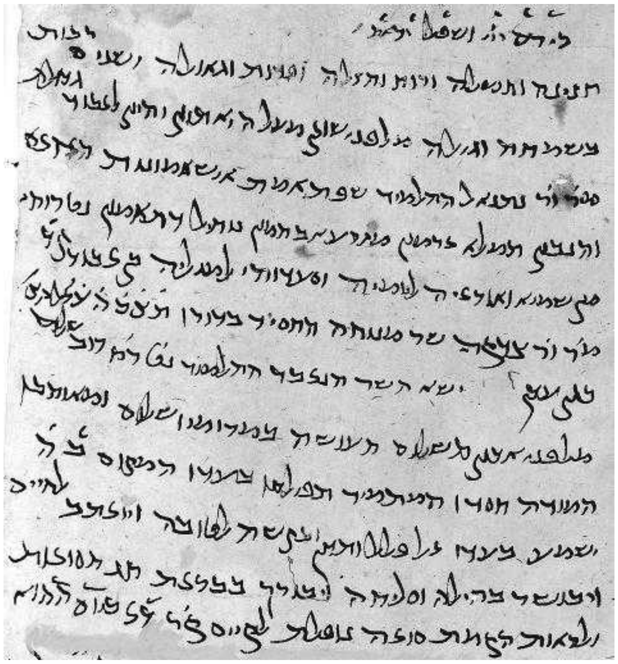

Figure 3. Palestine cursive script in a letter written in 1114 C.E. Cambridge University Library, T-S 13-J. 13/3.

One special group of cursive in ancient Palestine is characteristic of the Negev. This writing (figure 5; second century) appears, at first glance, to be undecipherable and its connection with the square script could only be established with difficulty. Documents of this type dating from the second half of the first century B.C.E. until the end of the Bar Kokhba War are extant. The fact that it disappeared without a trace shows that it was not the general Jewish cursive.

EGYPT TYPE. In Egypt the early stage of the cursive style seems to reach into the eighth century. The fully developed cursive style dates from the ninth to tenth centuries. Figure 6 belongs to the fifth century, figure 7 to the eighth, figure 8 to the 11th; in the latter, the *alef* appears in two forms at the same time – regular and cursive – and the final *nun* is written separately; generally the left downstroke of the *tav* is hardly severed from the top stroke. Four centuries later (figure 9) the *alef* is more cursive; final *he* is joined to the preceding letter and is a long inverted S-wave: the right and left downstrokes have been linked, in consequence of which the left one has been dragged down to a position below the line bottom; the same has happened, in most cases, to *tav* but there the linking stroke has not disappeared into the wavy line.

BABYLON TYPE. The early stage of the Babylonian cursive is represented by the fifth/sixth century incantation bowls (figure 10). The earliest available example of the fully developed cursive style (figure 11) belongs to the 11th century. *Alef* has the structure of K in the Roman alphabet. In the modern cursive (figure 12) many letters are very far removed from their original forms, e.g., *alef, gimmel, he, tet*, etc.; the original top and right strokes of *tav* have been merged into the top of the left stroke, which runs very far down and finally bends leftward, sweeping still further in that direction.

PARSIC TYPE. The earliest specimens of the Parsic type (figure 13; 11th century) show a fully developed cursive style. *Alef* has both the K- and the N-form; in *he* and *tav* there is no tendency toward a linking up of the two downstrokes, such as completed in the Babylonian type. In figure 14 (modern) the upper right stroke of *alef* has become the main stroke's top part; *gimmel* resembles *nun* but the upper stroke of the letter tends to be vertical, and the corner of the *gimmel* is an acute angle; at the lower end, *zayin* bends with a little rightward slant. These features are not of recent origin: they gradually came into being after the period of figure 13.

TEMANIC TYPE. The earliest available specimen of the Temanic cursive dates from the 12th century (figure 15) and later material of this type is also very scarce. Figure 15 contains no very specific cursive forms: *zayin* developed into the question mark type only some time between then and the 16th century; its usage has continued to the present day.

MAARAVIC TYPE. The available cursive documents of the Maaravic type begin in the 11th century, and then, for a considerable time, continue to be scarce. In figure 16 (11th century) *alef* has the K-form; the right stroke of *mem* does not turn leftward at the bottom and the left stroke is as long as the right one, being practically on the same level. Figure 17 (15th century) presents the most unusual appearance among all the cursives, and its highly developed aesthetic character does not make for easy reading. This difficulty is increased by the fact that those letters which end in a leftward movement touch those which follow them, that when *bet* or *kaf* or, sometimes, *dalet* precede a *vav*, this is linked up with it and thereby dragged down from the line, the *he* in final position is linked with a preceding *resh* and placed below it, and the *yod* is placed inside a preceding *bet* or *kaf*. *Alef* has two forms, one that is initial and medial, the other final. In the latter the original main stroke is high and short, and the right stroke sits on its right end; the former is even more contracted: the two right strokes have been merged into one small vertical, while the left stroke slants down to the left. *He* is a kind of inverted S-wave; final *mem* is more or less an oval; *samekh* has a long tail; the right stroke of *ẓadi* and final *ẓadi* is generally above the line ceiling, and is joined to the tip of the main stroke; the top bar and right downstroke of *tav* have been fused into a curve, and the left stroke is joined to its bottom end. The modern hand of figure 18 is a very careful one. *Alef* has become a shallow S-wave starting above the line ceiling (the "full" form which is often used in this specimen seems to be an unusual attempt at special clearness); the top stroke of *dalet* is above the line ceiling; *he* is an inverted shallow S-wave of line height; *mem* tallies with the Ashkenazic form; *resh* is a tall letter – when followed by *he* or *yod* it is linked with them, the *yod* being reduced to a dot; *tav* is a long, straight, oblique line.

SEPHARDIC TYPE. The available Sephardic material of fully developed cursive starts from the beginning of the 11th century. Figure 19 dates from the middle of the 11th century: *alef* has the K-form but in final – and, less often, in other positions – the two right strokes are high up, joined to the top of the left stroke; the *alef* part of the *alef-lamed* ligature is preserved in its angular form; the right part of *tet* is usually in the upper half of the line; the left stroke of *samekh* is generally not written with much care so that the letter is then identical with final *mem*, being of circular or oval outline. Figure 20 (15th century) illustrates a writing that forms a counterpart to the Maaravic hand of the same time (figure 17) but does not present the same extreme degree of parallelization. This kind of script is a book hand, but much plainer types are also used in books. Upon the introduction of the printing press it was not adopted as a type face and became very rare: it seems to have died out in the 18th century. The modern hand (figure 21) is not a continuation of it but of the plain sort, being clear and easily legible. *Alef* is a long letter, an S-wave beginning on top, at the right, with a narrow loop; *he* is a little inverted S-wave, mostly in horizontal position. The form of the *lamed* is identical with that of the present handwritten, but what appear to be the corresponding strokes are not really so. The main stroke of the Old Semitic form survives in the right stroke of the Hebrew cursive but the Western cursive in the left one. *Resh* is very often a tall letter; *yod* following *alef, dalet, samekh*, or *resh* is attached to them as a dot; a *he* which follows resh is linked to it.

YEVANIC TYPE. Figure 22, a dipinto from Magna Graecia (c. fourth century), shows the early cursive stage of the Yevanic type. Figure 23 (15th century), while resembling the Sephardic type in certain respects and Oriental types in others, is independent of either. The similarities are due to convergent developments, growing from the same original forms. The most characteristic letters are *alef, dalet, he, zayin, tav; he* and *tav* appear in double forms, one being more highly cursive than the other. A characteristic feature of this script is the rightward blob at the end of *dalet* and *zayin*.

ITALKIAN TYPE. The earliest available examples of the Italkian type also come from Magna Graecia. Their script is the same as that of the early Yevanic, from which it developed. Figure 24 (11th century or somewhat earlier) is a more developed cursive, written with great care and used as a book hand. Little is left of these forms by the 13th century, and even less by the 16th: the writing of figure 25 is not particularly legible. The two downstrokes of *he* are linked but the left one remains in its position, thus the letter differs very much from those hitherto met with, where the left stroke had been dragged downward. The lower stroke of *lamed* has become a cross stroke – a feature unknown in the other cursives. *Samekh* as a plain circle is very rare in other types. The *pe* is another unique form: it

CURSIVE SCRIPT

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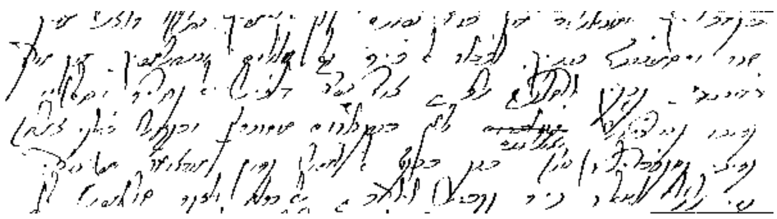

Figure 4. Palestine cursive script of the 20th century. London, S.A. Birnbaum Collection.

Figure 5. Fragment from a marriage deed in Palestine cursive Negev script, 117 C.E. Jerusalem, Dept. of Antiquities and Museums.

Figure 6. Egyptian cursive script of the fifth century C.E. London, British Museum, Ms. Or. 9180C.

Figure 7. Egyptian cursive script of the eighth century C.E. S.A. Birnbaum. The Hebrew Scripts, London, 1954–57, Fig 153.

Figure 8. Egyptian cursive script of the 11th century C.E. Oxford Bodleian Library, Ms. Heb. 6.3, fol. 1.

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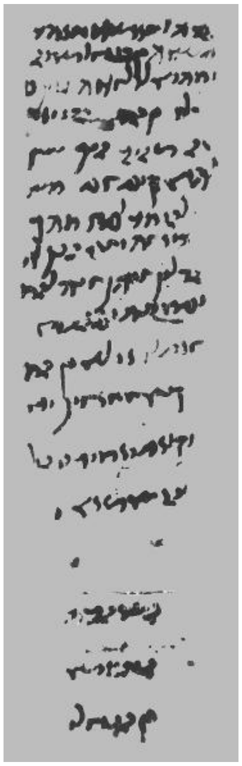

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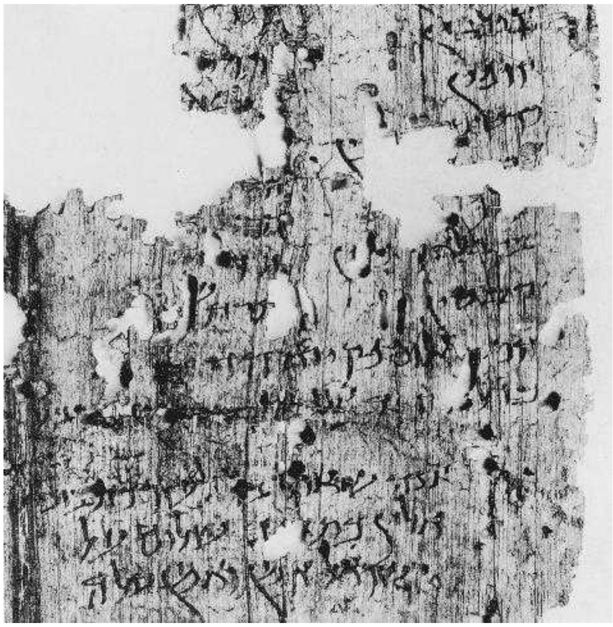

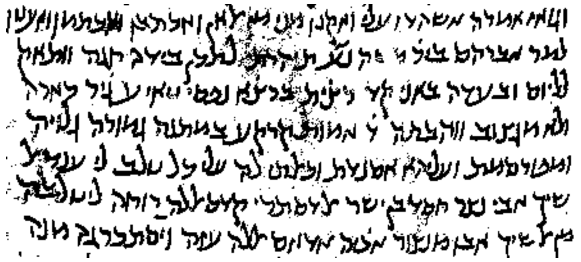

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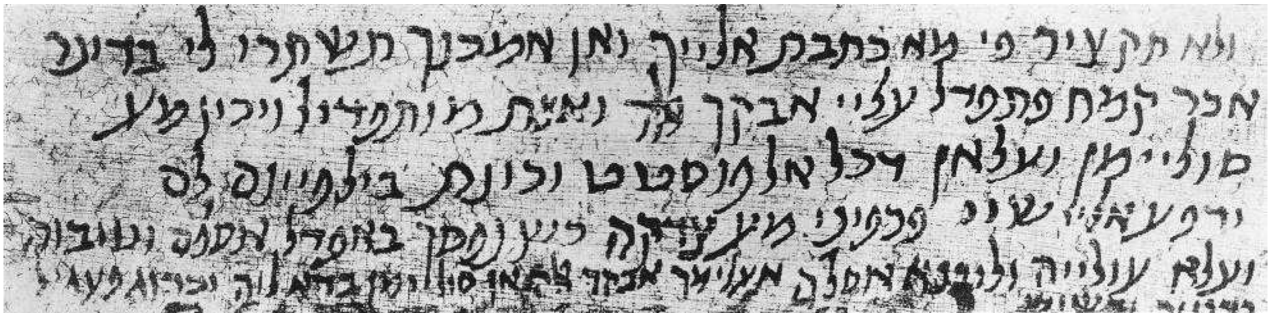

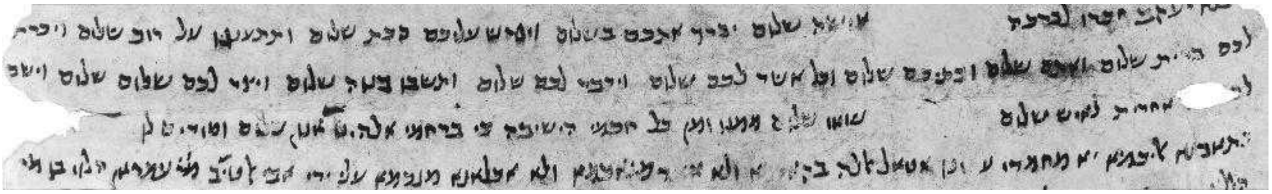

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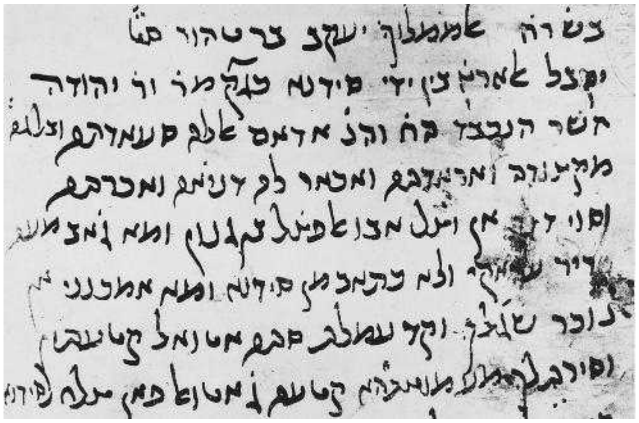

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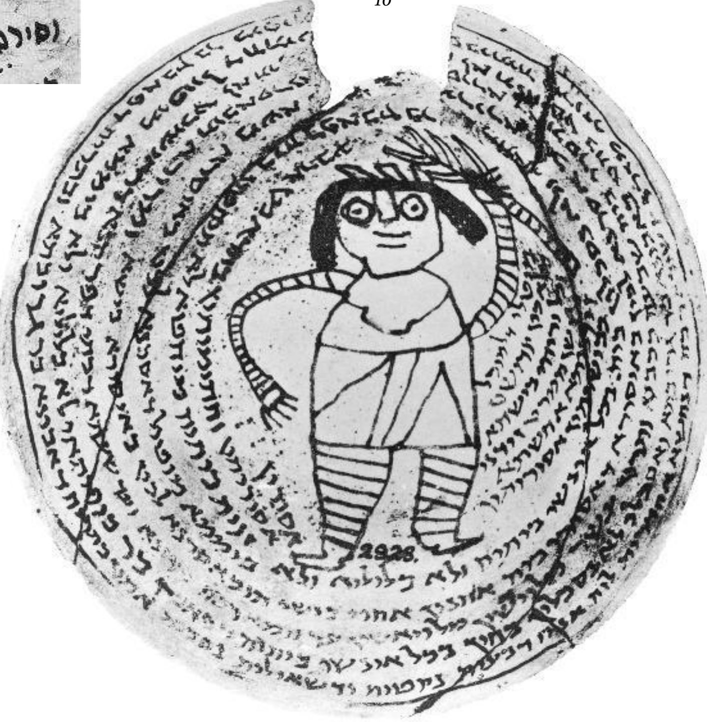

Figure 9. Letter in Egyptian cursive script, 1436 c.e. *Cambridge University Library, Ms. Add. 3415.*

Figure 10. Babylonian cursive script on an incantation bowl of the fifth–sixth century c.e. Ibid. *Figure 187.*

Figure 11. This letter written in 1007 c.e. *is the earliest example of the fully developed Babylonian cursive script. Cambridge University Library, T-S. 12.829.*

Figure 12. Babylonian cursive script of the 20th century. London, S.A. Birnbaum Collection.

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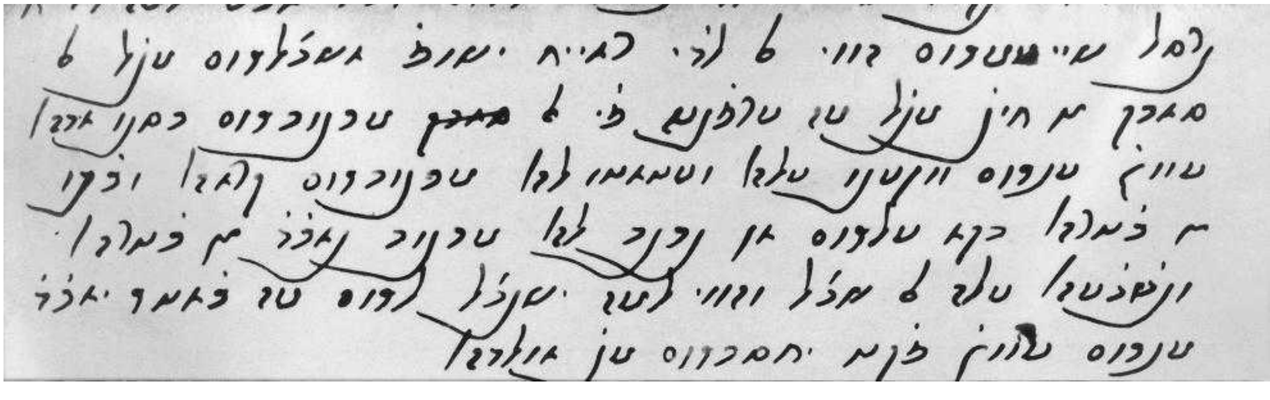

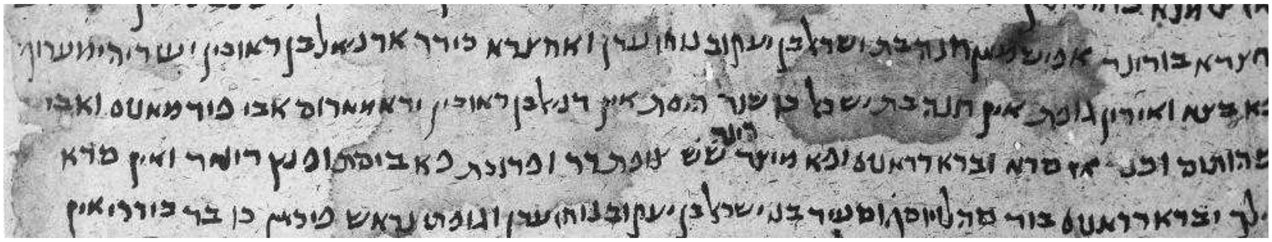

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Figure 13. Legal document of 1021 C.E. in Parsic cursive script. Oxford Bodleian Library, Ms. Heb. b. 12, fol. 24r.

Figure 14. Parsic cursive script of the 20th century. London, S.A. Birnbaum Collection.

Figure 15. Temanic cursive script in a letter of 1133 C.E. Cambridge University Library, T-S. 20.173.

Figure 16. Maaravic cursive script in a letter of 1035 C.E. Oxford Bodleian Library, Ms. Heb. d. 65, fol. 4r.

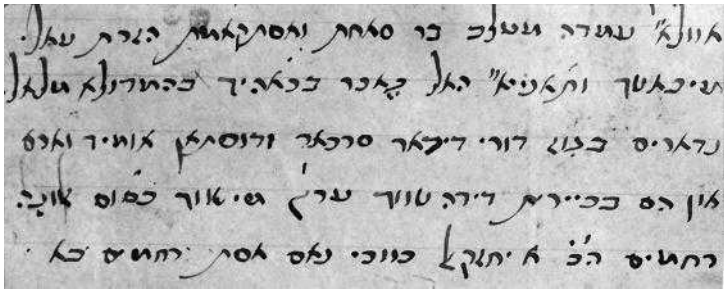

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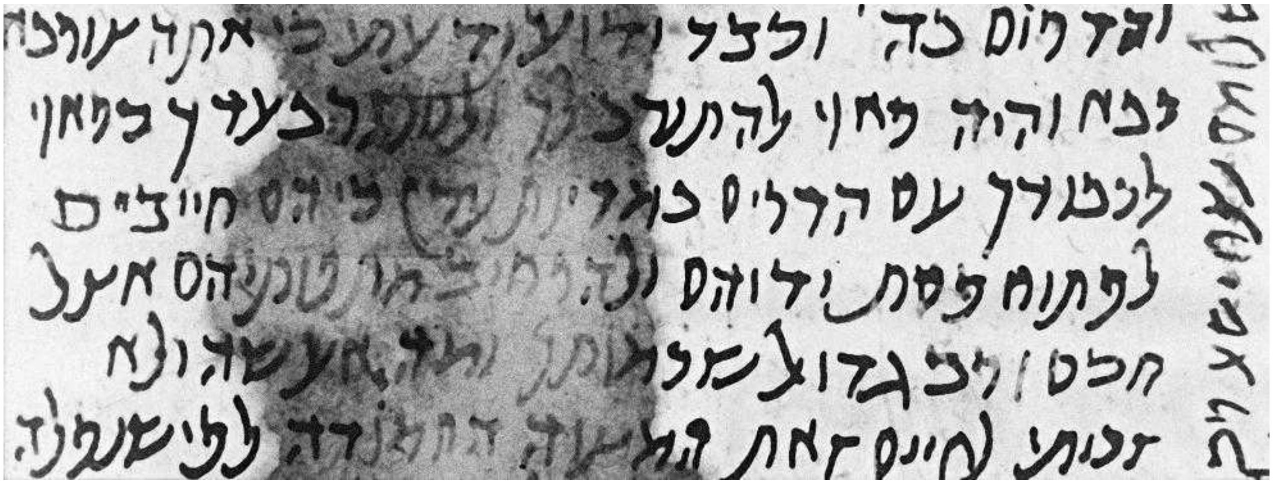

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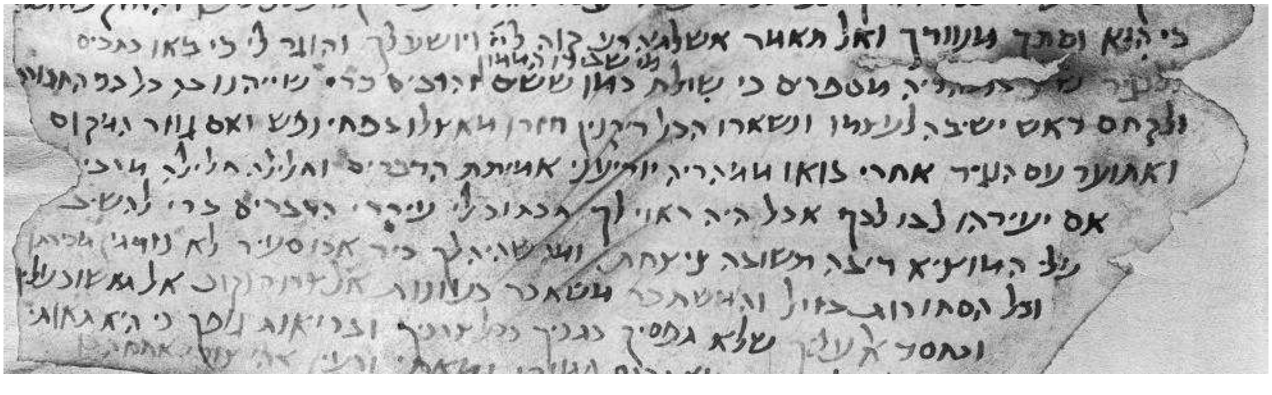

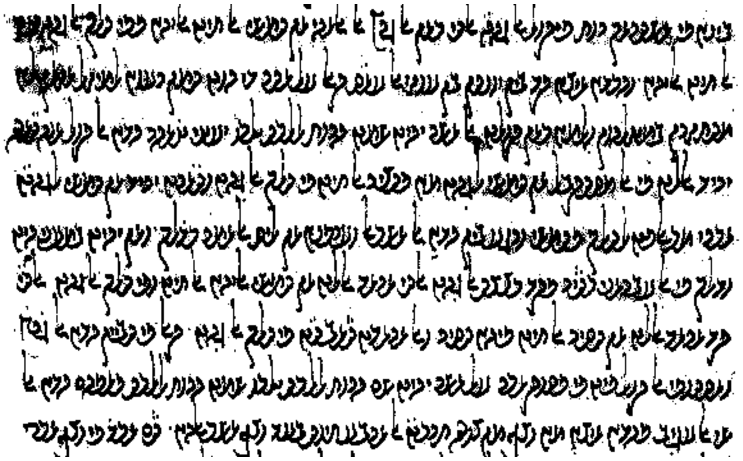

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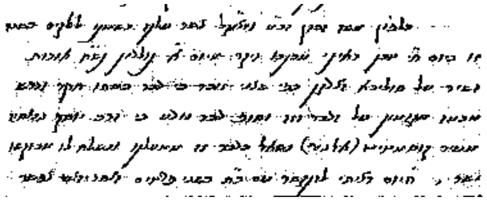

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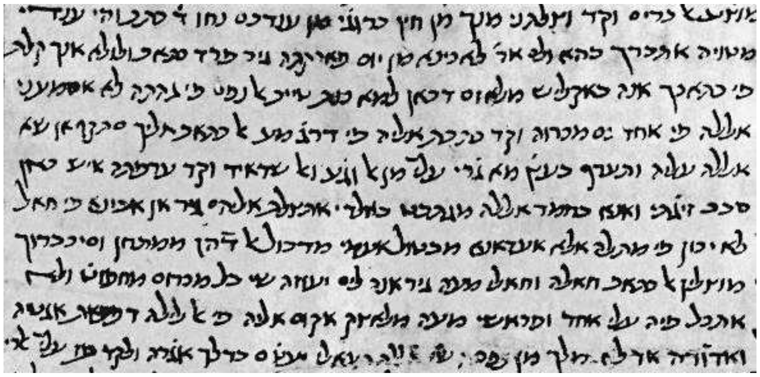

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Figure 17. Fifteenth-century manuscript in Maaravic cursive script. Paris Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. 2235, Heb. 758, fol. 17.

Figure 18. Maaravic cursive script of the 20th century. London, S.A. Birnbaum Collection.

Figure 19. Sephardic cursive letter of 1053 C.E. Cambridge University Library, T-S. 13. J.9.4.

Figure 20. Fifteenth-century medical work in Sephardic cursive script.

Figure 21. Modern Sephardic cursive script. London, S.A. Birnbaum Collection.

Figure 22. Yevanic cursive script on an epitaph from the catacombs at Magna Graecia, Italy (fourth century C.E.).

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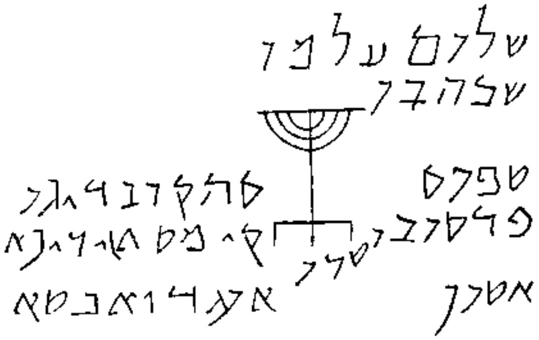

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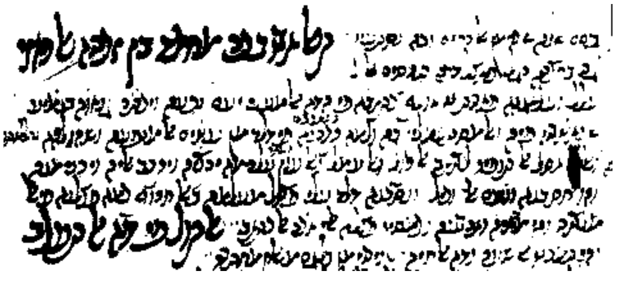

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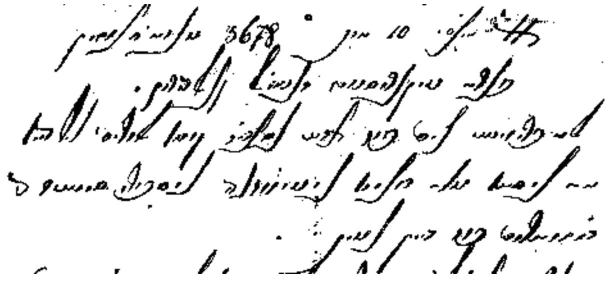

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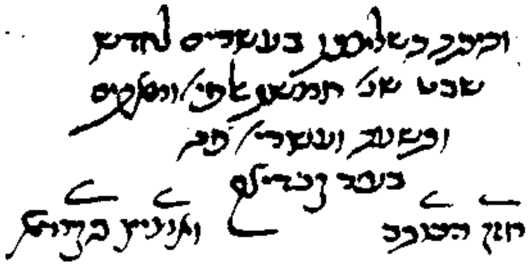

Figure 23 Yevanic cursive script used for a copy of Joseph Albo's Sefer ha-Ikkarim *made in 1469. Rome, Vatican Library, Ebr. 257, fol. 309b.*

Figure 24. The Italkian cursive script in a manuscript of the 10th or 11th century. London, British Museum, Ms. Add. 27214, fol. 202a.

Figure 25. Halakhic letter in Italkian cursive script written by Isaac of Morell in 1581. London, British Museum, Ms. Add. 27012, fol. 101a.

Figure 26. Italkian cursive script of 17th century. London, British Museum, Ms. Add. 27085, fol. 28b.

Figure 27. A receipt in Ẓarphatic cursive script written in 1182 with a quill. London, British Museum, Ms. Add. ch. 1250v.

Figure 28. A 14th-century businessman's notes in Ẓarphatic cursive script. Dijon, Archives du Département de la Côte d'Or, B. 10. 410.

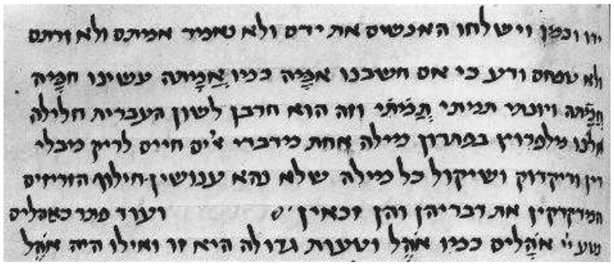

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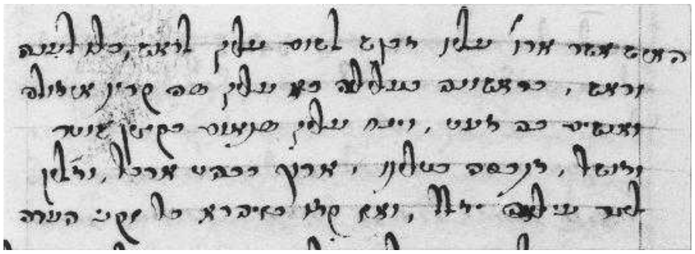

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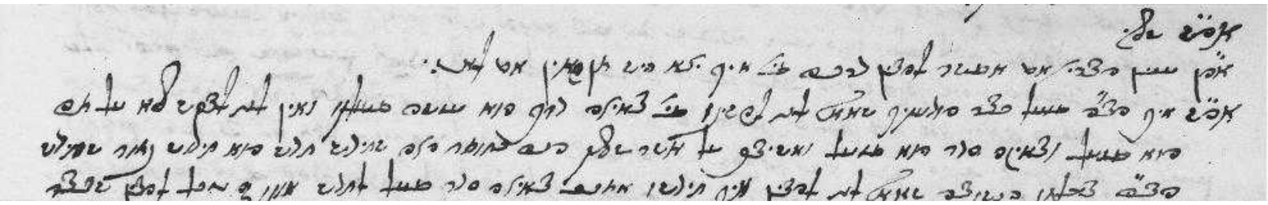

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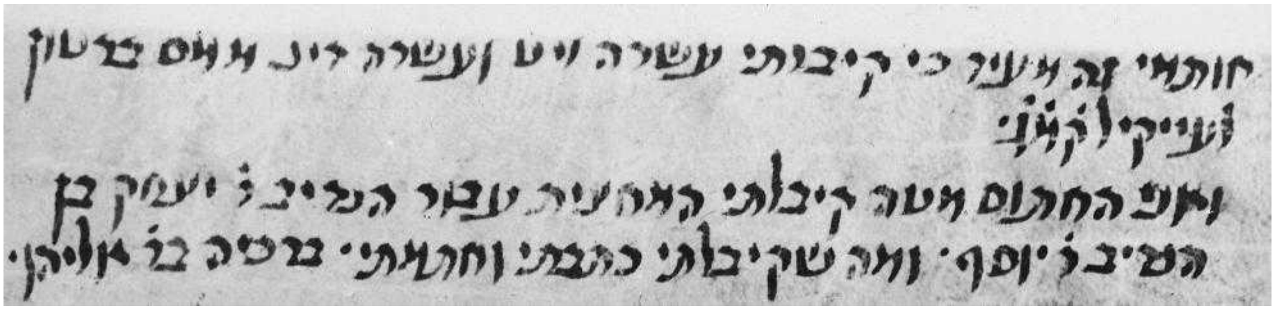

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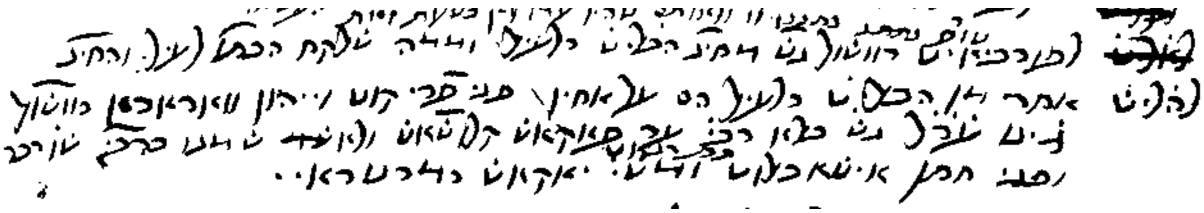

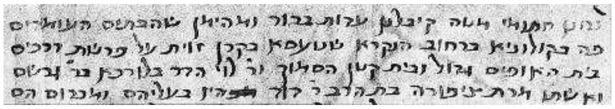

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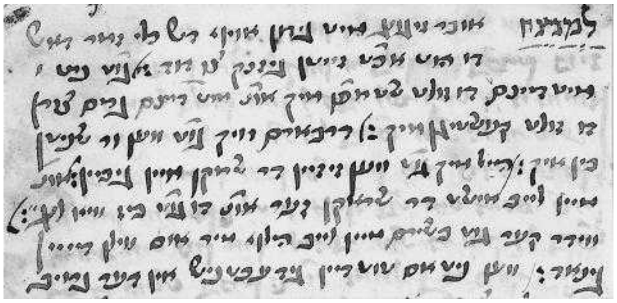

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Figure 29. Diposition of a witness in Ashkenazic cursive script, 1266 C.E. Cologne, Rheinisches Museum, Judenschreinsbuch, No. 87, fol.4b.

Figure 30. Psalm 6 written in Yiddish in Ashkenazic cursive script, 1532. Hamburg, Staats- und Universitaetsbibliothek, Cod. hebr. 181, fol.3r.

Figure 31. Yiddish version of the Book of Esther in Ashkenazic cursive script, 1631. Hamburg, Staats- und Universitaetsbibliothek, Cod. hebr. 144, fol. 31v.

Figure 32. Yevano-Karaitic cursive script, 16th to 17th century C.E. Paris, Bibliothéque Nationale, Ms. Héb. 1014.

Figure 33. Yevano-Karaitic cursive script 1759. Cambridge University Library, Ms. Add. 2660, fol. 21b.

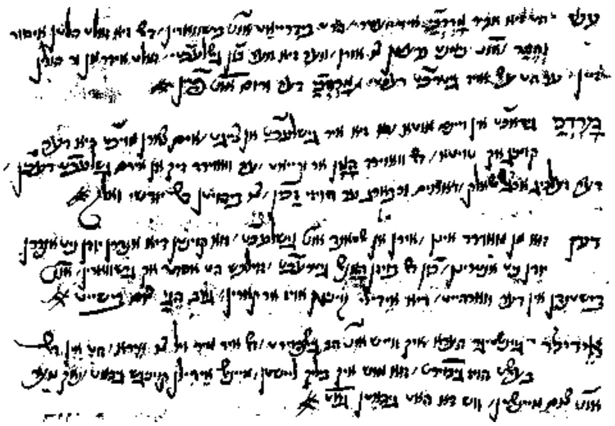

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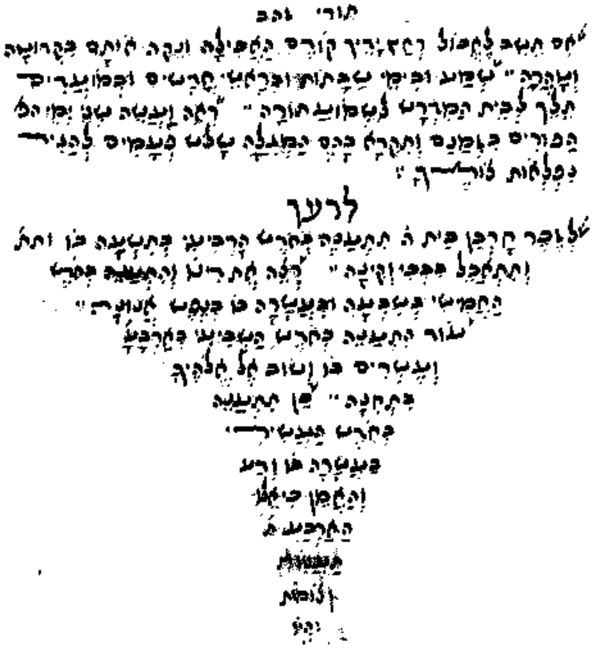

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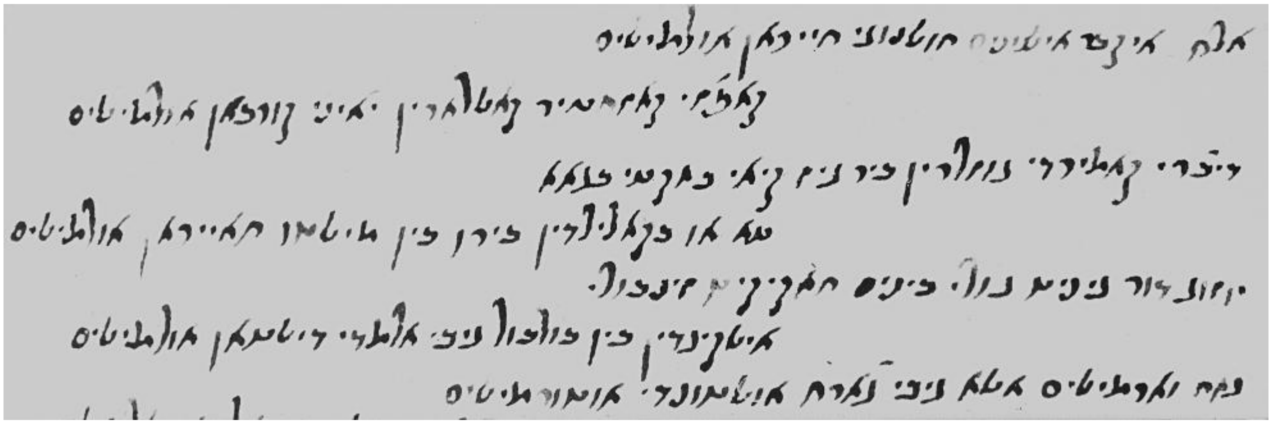

looks like horizontal figure 8 – the strokes increasingly curved until even the one on the left, originally a straight line, had become circular. In the centuries that followed there was some slight development. For instance, in *he* (figure 26) the left stroke and the link with the right stroke merged to form a dot; the result is that the letter is now virtually identical with modern Ashkenazic *pe*.

ẒARPHATIC TYPE. The Ẓarphatic writing of figure 27 (12th century) might appear at first glance to be related to the Italkian type. However, it is unmistakably of a different kind. Perhaps the similarity arises from their both having been written with the same sort of pen – a quill – while the other types from early centuries previously dealt with here, were produced by a reed pen. The forms in figure 27 are all in a properly developed cursive, although they do not differ greatly in their basic structure from the square letters. The most characteristic are the *alef, lamed, mem, final pe*, and *shin*. This document is written in a book hand. Figure 28 (14th century) is in a less careful hand of the same type.

ASHKENAZIC TYPE. The early Ashkenazic cursive is practically identical with that of the Ẓarphatic. Figure 29 (13th century) is not as carefully written as figure 26. It is not a book hand. During the next three centuries considerable changes took place (figures 30 and 31): the downstrokes of *dalet* and *zayin* end in a curve which is open to the left; *tet* has become a tick; the middle part of *lamed* has vanished, the letter being almost a straight line; in *mem* the left stroke is parallel with the right one and is generally of equal length – they are connected by a bridge, which is mostly horizontal.

KARAITIC TYPE. There are two extant specimens of Karaitic cursive. Figure 32 (16th–17th centuries) represents Yevano-Karaitic. The right strokes of *alef* are high up; *gimmel* resembles *nun* but its bottom stroke is straight and horizontal; the upper part of *tet* is in the upper half of the line; *lamed* has lost the middle stroke; the right stroke of *mem* is extremely short, the left stroke is very long, starting high above the line; final *mem* is circular; the same is true of *samekh* but it has a tail on the left; the inner stroke of *shin* is joined to the top of the left one, slanting down from above. The forms of Crimean Yevano-Karaitic (figure 33; 18th century) are more or less the same in structure as in figure 32 and yet the writing looks very dissimilar. There is a structural difference in the *dalet* and *zayin*, where the downstroke finally turns rightward.

[Solomon Asher Birnbaum]

SQUARE SCRIPT

Sixth Century B.C.E. to Second Century C.E.

The square script belongs to the Aramaic branch of Semitic writing. In the Babylonian-Assyrian and Persian empires the Aramaic language and its alphabet became the official language and script of the administration. They were also adopted by the Jews in Babylonia and elsewhere, and later penetrated Palestine. When the new script was officially adopted for the writing of Torah scrolls the change-over from the Paleo-Hebrew alphabet was complete although the old script was twice revived, centuries later, for legends on the coins under the Hasmoneans and under Bar Kokhba. The oldest dated document in the new script and language comes from Egypt (515 B.C.E.; figure 1). The script is highly stylized, with very thin downstrokes slanting to the left and very thick horizontals (or near-horizontals) dominating the picture. From this general Aramaic writing the Jews and the other peoples of the region – Palmyrene, Nabateans, etc. – in the course of the next few centuries developed types of their own. By the end of the fourth century B.C.E. the Jewish forms closely approached the full-fledged Jewish script (figure 2). Therefore it should properly be termed Jewish script rather than "Hebrew script," since it was used by Jews, not by Hebrews (nobody would apply the term Hebrews to the Jews of that period). In speaking of this writing the designation Hebrew script should therefore be dropped; it could then be employed to describe the alphabet of the Hebrews. This would, in addition, have the advantage of conforming to the usage in the ancient sources, where *ketav ivri* denotes the pre-Exilic script. So long as the name Hebrew script continues to be used for the Jewish script, the script of the Hebrews ought to be designated Paleo-Hebrew, the term introduced in *The Hebrew Scripts* (see bibliography). In the second half of the third century B.C.E. Hebrew writing was already on the threshold of the square script (figure 3). By the middle of the second century B.C.E. further development had noticeably taken place (figure 4) and during the first centuries B.C.E. and C.E. the final form had almost been reached (figure 5).

The evolution from the sixth century B.C.E. was considerable. Figure 6 illustrates this step by step, through the six stages of the final *mem*. The top of the first form is a cursive development of the original W-form (which has been preserved in the Roman M).

Appearance of the Letters

For the second century C.E. it is already possible to speak of the square script proper (figure 7). By the seventh century (figure 8) almost every letter of the alphabet had either a top bar or a head, while many had a base as well. The invisible frame within which a letter was written was a rectangular oblong standing on one of its shorter sides. Only rarely was this frame a square. Hence the name square script is really a misnomer. At certain periods in certain regions the frame was not rectangular, the downstrokes being oblique while the top and bottom strokes remained horizontal (see, for instance, figures 24, 29, 34). After the first few centuries the evolution proceeded at a very slow pace. The changes did not involve the structure of the letters but the style of the writing. Perhaps by the seventh century (figure 8) there was a tendency for the horizontals to be thick, while the downstrokes were thinner, or thin. The first dated manuscript (from 896 C.E.) of the fully developed calligraphic kind (figure 9) was written in a style which has remained virtually unchanged ever since (figure 10). While the horizontals had originally played a very minor role compared with the uprights, the opposite extreme had now been reached. The near-polarization of horizontal and upright strokes had not resulted in a dull geometrical pattern: some oblique strokes were left outside the system, some strokes extended above or below the line – the strokes themselves were not geometrically straight but slightly curved, wavy, or tapering. The great weight of the horizontals created a clear impression of continuity along the line. Half the letters rested on their bases, and the other half partly stood and were partly carried by their neighbors, in the manner of a suspension bridge. But, although strongly linked together, they did not lose their individuality. The evolution of the forms from the sixth century B.C.E. is here illustrated by the letters *he* and *samekh* (figure 11). It can be seen that the change in the first five centuries (see lines 1–5) was much greater than during the last eight (see lines 6–7).

One detail in the development of the forms – the rise of the *litterae dilatabiles* – requires special mention, because it falls outside the category of structural evolution, and is of a purely aesthetic nature. Certain letters, when they stood at the left end of a line but did not reach as far as the actual edge of the column, had their top bars extended to that edge so that the line might be of the same length as all the others. The effect was to make the left edge of the column neat and straight, and ensure that the general appearance of the page should be pleasing to the eye. This device – dilatation is the term introduced in *The Hebrew Scripts* – no doubt arose spontaneously and spread among the scribes because it combined the virtues of simplicity and effectiveness. These forms do not appear to antedate the sixth to seventh centuries C.E.

Although an increasing number of Jews lived outside Palestine after the Babylonian Exile, there must have been close contact between them and Palestinian Jewry. This is evidenced by the fact that for a long time no divergent development took place. But such a state of affairs could not continue beyond a point, as forms do not remain static forever and writing, like language, is subject to change. As the dispersion of the Jews increased, separate developments set in, and each distinct cultural branch which grew up had its own type of writing. In some cases differentiation was restricted within narrow limits but in others divergence went very far, even though the conscious aim of the scribes was to reproduce faithfully the traditional forms of the letters, especially in the copying of synagogue scrolls. Other than in scrolls, *tefillin*, and *mezuzot*, the square script was used in biblical, liturgical, and talmudical codices but hardly ever in any other books. Certain letter forms were reserved for the scroll script.

Basic Types

The main groups or types of writing which came into being in the various Jewries are Ashkenazic in Germany and in Ashkenazi settlements elsewhere, Babylonian, Egyptian, Italkian, Maaravic in the Maghreb, Palestinian-Syrian, Parsic in Persia and Parsi settlements, Sephardic in the Iberian Peninsula and Sephardi settlements, Temanic in the Yemen, Yevanic in the Balkans and Crimea, and Ẓarphatic in northern France. There were also some small groups, e.g., the scripts of the Jews in China or India. The Karaites developed three main types of their own (see below).

It is hardly ever possible to establish, with any measure of certainty, the genetic relation between the types, because the small amount of early material known was penned centuries after the group in question came into existence, and by then time had effaced any obvious clues. Sephardic appears to be an extension of Maaravic. Maaravic is presumably a continuation of the Palestinian-Babylonian-Egyptian complex. Parsic, though very individual, might be descended from Babylonian, and the same possibly holds good of the equally individual Temanic. There is, however, one exception where the relationship between two types is beyond doubt: the case of Ashkenazic and Ẓarphatic. Ashkenazic is definitely the continuation of Ẓarphatic.

Egypt Types

Outside Palestine only the Egyptian branch provides pre-square material (see above, figures 1 and 2). The oldest datable Bible manuscript, written in Egypt in a calligraphic hand, is of about the fifth century C.E. (figure 12). Although earlier than figure 8, it is in a more regular, formal style. A non-biblical manuscript dated three centuries later is written in an almost modern hand (figure 13).

The final stage of calligraphic development in Egypt was reached in the 10th and 11th centuries (figure 14), when horizontals were thick but not excessively so.

Babylon Type

The forms in figure 15, a non-biblical Babylonian manuscript of about the eighth century, are even less formal than those of the corresponding manuscript of the same time in Egypt but the forms in the biblical manuscript in figure 16 (written in 916 C.E.) are practically identical with those in the corresponding manuscript written in the Egyptian type; however, in figure 16 there is not much contrast between the thickness of the horizontals and verticals.

Parsic Type

The Parsic type, i.e., the script of the Persian Jews and their descendants outside Persia, is presumably derived from the Babylonian one, although there is too little early comparative material available to arrive at a paleographical decision. The earliest available documents already show a highly individual development. By the 16th century (figure 17, of 1571) the forms were so completely different from the Babylonian ones that the gulf must by then have been in existence for a very long time. The style was much less regular and formal, and there was an absence of monumentality. The horizontal strokes were very thick, the downstrokes thin. This contrast was already in evidence, though to a less marked degree, in the tenth century, when it is encountered in Palestine and Egypt – a striking example of how, in spite of geographical separation, new developments spread from group to group.

Temanic Type

Yemen was the southernmost early seat of Jewish writing. The available material begins approximately with the 12th century (figure 18). The contrast in thickness between horizontals and downstrokes was by then in full force. The term for this type as used in *The Hebrew Scripts* is Temanic. Like the Parsic type it is not regular and formal, and thus contrasts sharply with the Palestinian-Syrian, Egyptian, and Babylonian types. However, Temanic does not otherwise resemble Parsic, as a comparison of a manuscript of 1468 (figure 19) with the Parsic one of 1571 (figure 17) will show.

Maaravic Type

The northwestern shore of Africa – the Maghreb – was the home of the Maaravic type of the Jewish script, which had presumably followed the line of migration from Egypt westward, its forms being closely related to those of the Palestinian-Syrian/Egyptian/Babylonian complex. The general impression given by the script of the earliest available dated Maaravic Bible manuscript of 946 C.E. seems to point to a closer relationship with the Palestinian than with the Egyptian and Babylonian types. The contrast between thick and thin strokes is clear but not so great as in some of the above-mentioned types. In the non-biblical fragment of 978 C.E. (figure 21) the writing is slightly less formal. But Maaravic is connected not only with the east; there is also a close link with Europe, i.e., with the Sephardic type of the Iberian Peninsula.

Sephardic Type

This type is practically identical with Maaravic. It is to be assumed that Sephardic was introduced from Africa. However, available material of both types, which is of rather late origin, provides no definite proof. An epitaph which is of an unusually earlier date (sixth century, figure 22), and contains some rather archaic forms, also provides no proof in this respect. The possibly oldest pen-written Sephardic manuscript available comes from the ninth-tenth century (figure 23). Here the contrast between thick horizontals and thin down strokes is great. The writing is considerably less formalized than that of the Palestinian-Syrian-Egyptian-Babylonian complex. That stage was reached, and surpassed, by the 12th century.

The biblical manuscript of 1207, illustrated in figure 24, shows forms which are harmonious and regular without being rigid. The next three centuries saw hardly any change at all, and, upon the introduction of the printing press, the typeface was designed on the basis of contemporary manuscript forms. Through a historical accident only this typeface has survived to the present day, while the two other early typefaces (see below) disappeared. In the course of the centuries it deteriorated very much aesthetically, as a comparison between figure 24 and printed books from various ages will show.

The Sephardic type was not restricted to the Iberian Peninsula. It spread to the north of it; it was also employed in Provence, Languedoc, and Comtat Venaissin. When contact with Spain ceased, upon the expulsion of the Jews in 1492, the script north of the Pyrenees and that of the exiled Sephardim started developing on divergent lines. In the new settlements, too, differentiation arose. The form used in the largest and most important of these – that in Turkey – is the main representative of the Sephardic type.

Yevanic Types

With Sephardic the Jewish alphabet entered Europe from the southwest. But its southeastern entry was perhaps of even greater consequence. Hardly any material has survived from Greek-speaking Jewry in Asia Minor and Greece during the Hellenistic period. However, slightly more material, the oldest available documents of the Yevanic type in Europe, has survived from Magna Graecia. These documents are also the earliest extant written in the Jewish script in Europe (see above, the section Cursive Script, figure 22). The oldest available example of the square style comes from Asia Minor (figure 25). It clearly belongs to the neighborhood of figure 5. No early biblical manuscript is available from this group but to judge by the conditions in other types the tenth-century fragment shown in figure 26 might indicate that there was a calligraphic biblical square style then in existence.

Italkian Types

The next stage was in Italy. Is the Jewry of this country descended mainly from the Jews who lived there in antiquity, or is the main source perhaps the settlement in Magna Graecia? If the latter, the Italkian type would have its roots not in the Palestinian but in the Yevanic type. The documents (inscriptions) start about 300 C.E. (figure 27). The earliest square manuscript, a biblical one, is of 979 C.E., the oldest from Europe that is dated (figure 28). The contrast between thick and thin strokes is strong. The style of the writing is quite unlike that of the contemporary western Oriental groups or that of Maaravic and Sephardic. Comparing the forms with those of figure 10, it would be most difficult, at first glance, to say exactly what makes them appear so different although the corresponding letters are constructed identically. In the 15th century the thick/thin feature was – perhaps under Ashkenazic influence – so pronounced that the script looked as if it consisted only of horizontals (figure 29, of 1466). When, not much later, the typeface was designed, this kind of writing was not chosen as a model (figure 30).

Ẓarphatic Types

In central and northern France the Sephardic type that was encountered in southern France was not found, a result of the southern provinces coming only very late to the French Crown. It is therefore misleading to use, in this context, the word French, with its wide connotation. The traditional Hebrew name for the northern and central region, Ẓarefat, is the source of the term Ẓarphatic, introduced in *The Hebrew Scripts*. In the earliest manuscripts certain similarities with the Italkian type can be noted. Was there perhaps a genetic

SQUARE SCRIPT

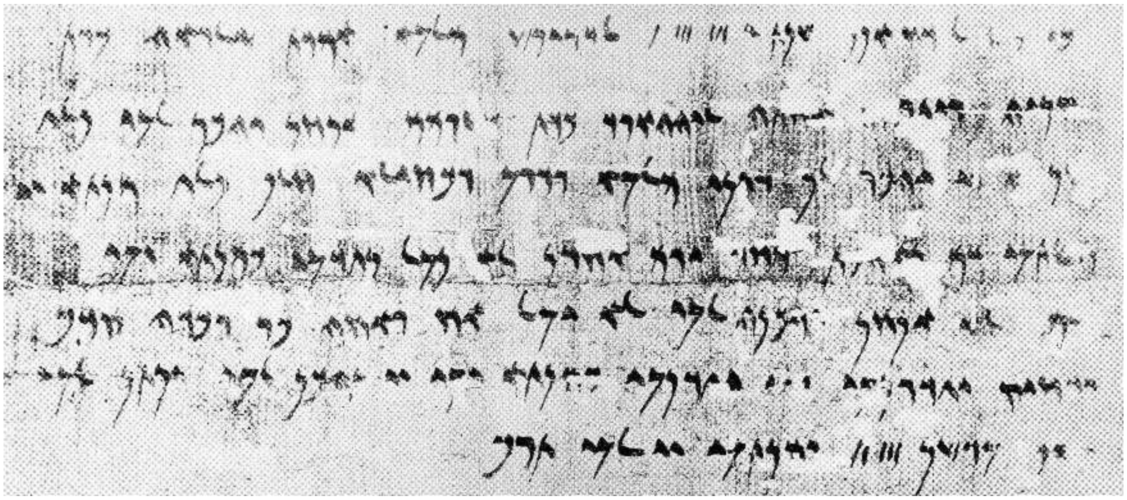

Figure 1. The oldest known example of Aramaic square script, a papyrus deed of 515 B.C.E.

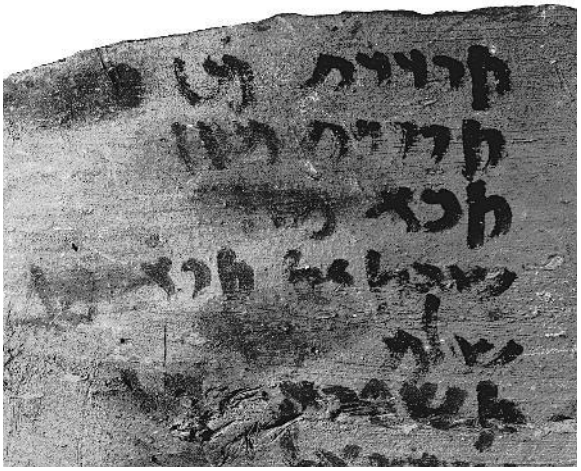

Figure 2. The transition to Jewish square script is shown in this document of c. 300 B.C.E. *Berlin, Staatliche Museum, Papyrus 10678.*

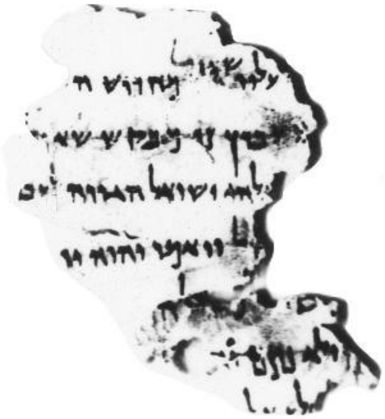

Figure 3. The earliest example of Jewish square script: a passage from I Sam., c. 230 B.C.E. *Jerusalem, Israel Museum, IV Q Sam. b.*

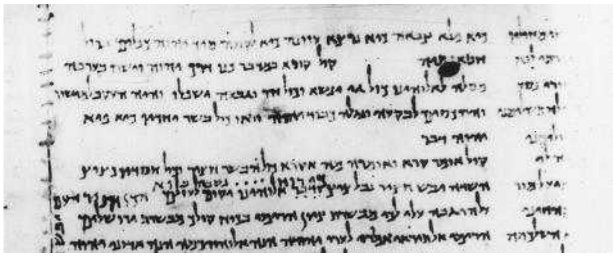

Figure 4. Square script of the mid-second century B.C.E. *in one of the Dead Sea Scrolls. Jerusalem, Israel Museum, Shrine of the Book, Isaiah Scroll A.*

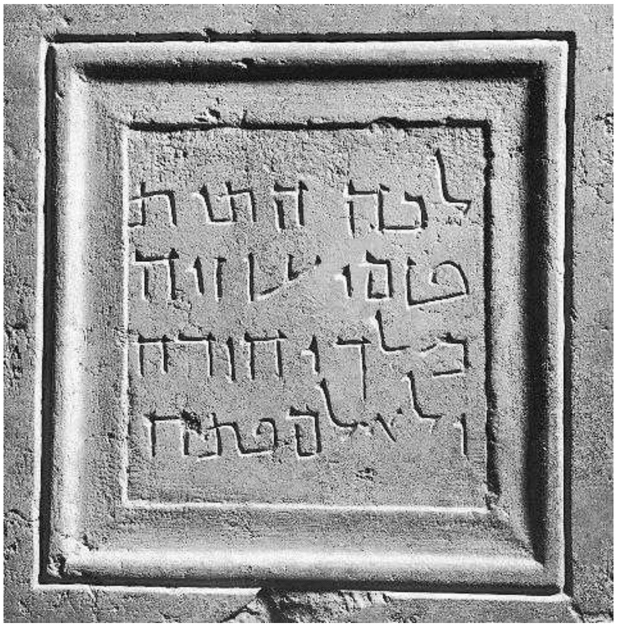

Figure 5. Tablet recording reburial of the remains of King Uzziah between first century B.C.E. *and first century* C.E. *Jerusalem, Israel Museum.*

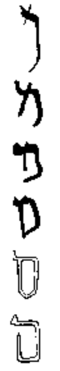

Figure 6. Evolution of square script illustrated in the final mem.

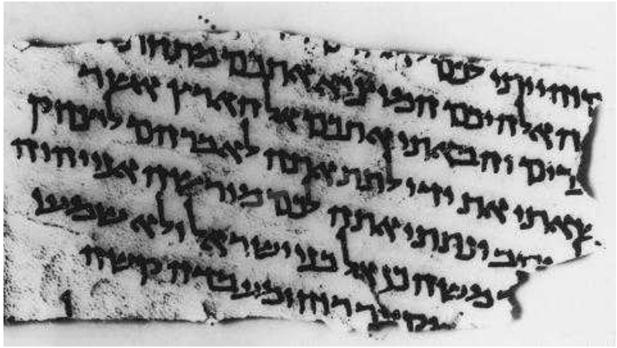

Figure 7. Passage from Exodus in Jewish square script, first half of the second century C.E Jerusalem, Israel Dept. of Antiquities and Museums.

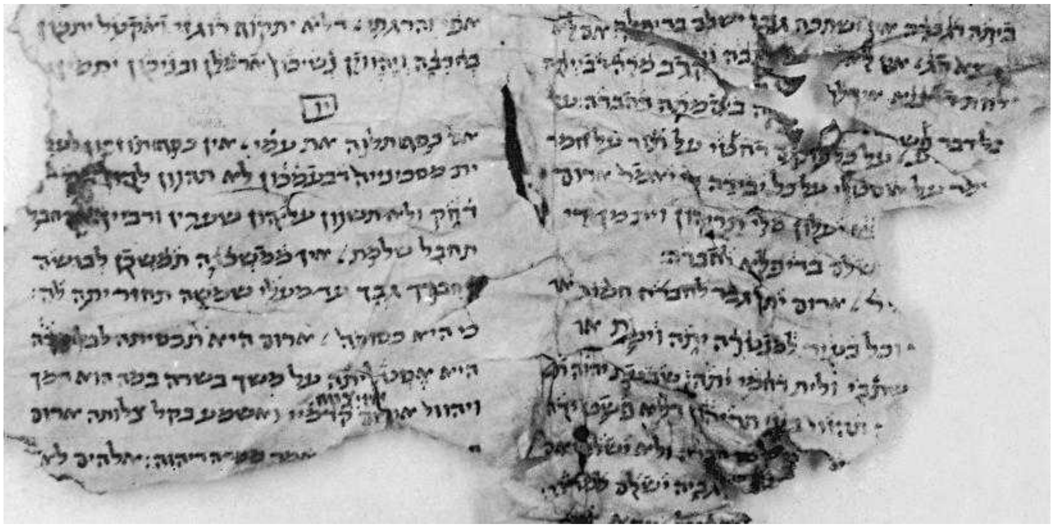

Figure 8. Excerpt from Palestinian Targum, c. seventh century C.E. in Jewish square script. Cambridge University Library, T-S. 20. 155.

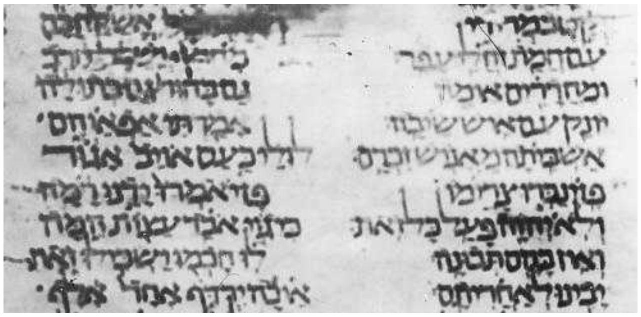

Figure 10. Passage from Deuteronomy in Jewish square script 930 C.E. Leningrad, Public Library, II Firkovitch.

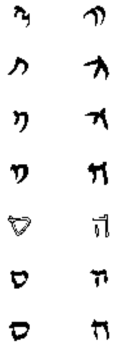

Figure 11. Evolution of the letters he *and* samekh *between the sixth century B.C.E. and the seventh century C.E.*

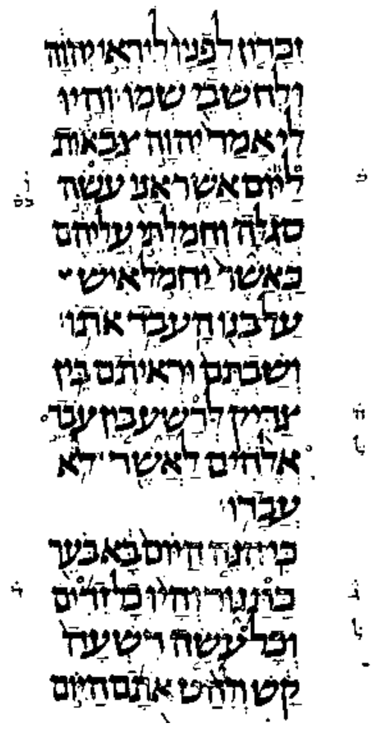

Figure 9. Earliest extant example of the fully developed Jewish square script, 896 C.E. Ibid., *Fig. 92.*

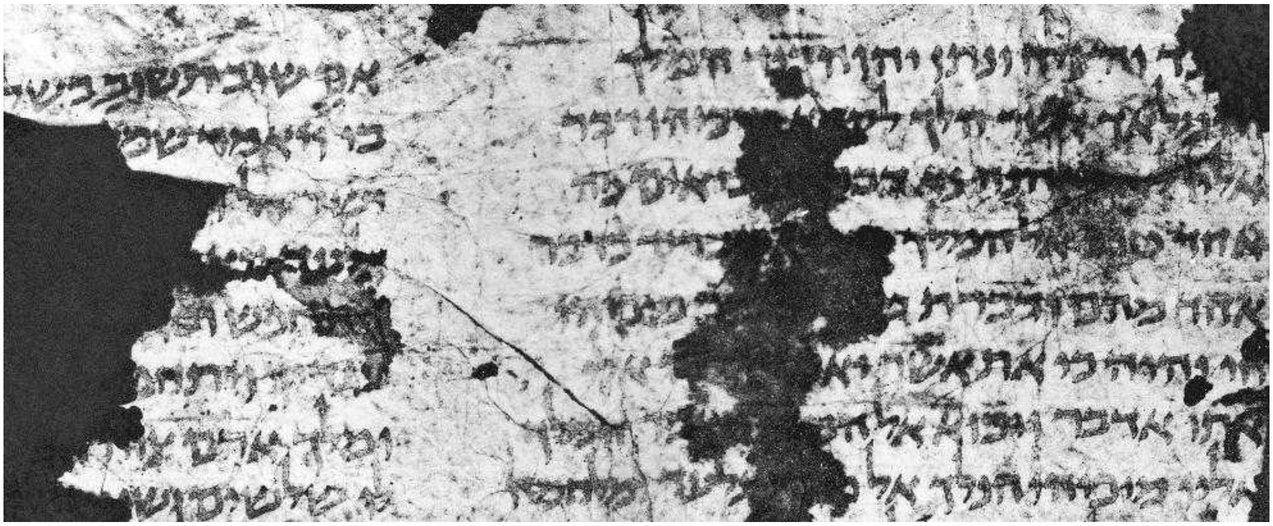

Figure 12. The oldest datable Bible in Egyptian square script, c. fifth century C.E. *London, Egypt Exploration Society, Antinoöpolis Fragment No. 47.*

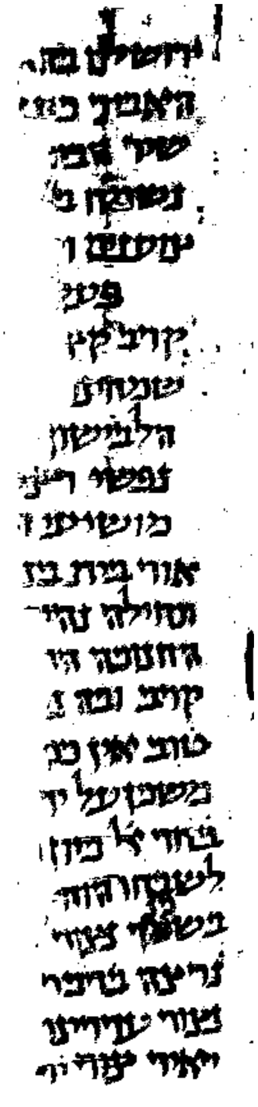

Figure 13. Piyyut by Eleazar Kallir in Egyptian square script c. eighth century C.E. *Cambridge University Library, T-S. 6. H. 13.*

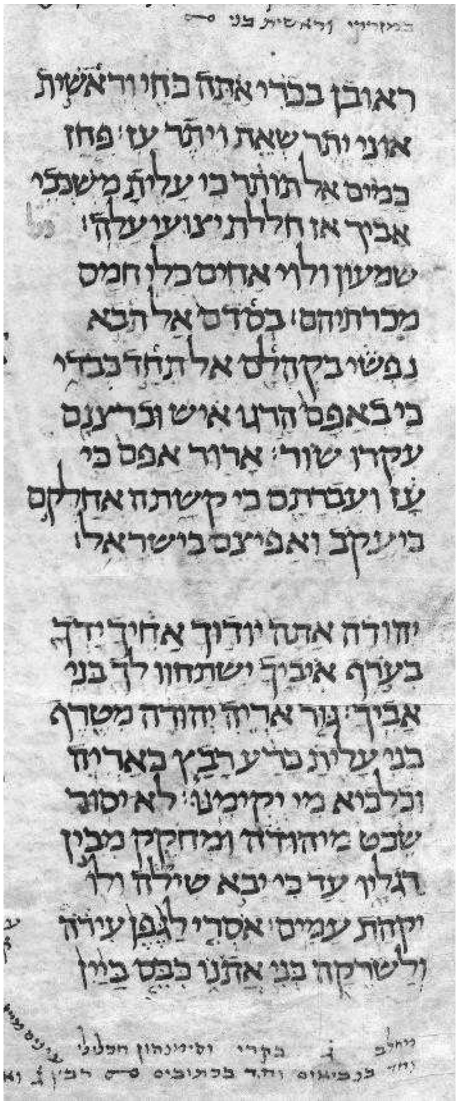

ראובן בכרי אתה כחי וראשית
אוני יתר שאת ויתר עז: פחז
כמים אל תותר כי עלית משכבי
אביך אז חללת יצועי עלה:
שמעון ולוי אחים כלי חמס
מכרתיהם: בסדם אל תבא
נפשי בקהלם אל תחד כבדי
כי באפם הרגו איש וברצנם
עקרו שור: ארור אפם כי
עז ועברתם כי קשתה אחלקם
ביעקב ואפיצם בישראל:

יהודה אתה יודוך אחיך ידך
בערף איביך ישתחוו לך בני
אביך: גור אריה יהודה מטרף
בני עלית כרע רבץ כאריה
וכלביא מי יקימנו: לא יסור
שבט מיהודה ומחקק מבין
רגליו עד כי יבא שילה ולו
יקהת עמים: אסרי לגפן עירה
ולשרקה בני אתנו כבס ביין

Figure 14. Final development of Egyptian square script: manuscript of Genesis c. tenth century C.E. *Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Library, Ms. Heb. 88, fol. 39a.*

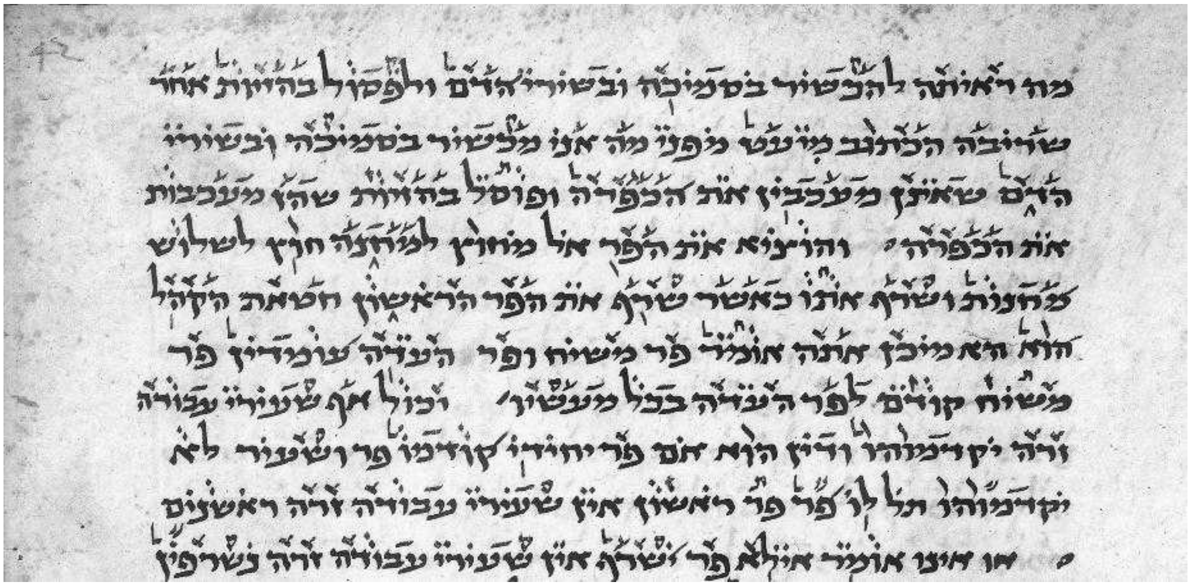

מה ראויה להכשיר בסמיכה ובשירי הדם ולפסול בהיות אחר
שרובה הכתוב מיעט מפני מה אני מכשיר בסמיכה ובשירי
הדם שאינן מעכבין את הכפרה ופוסל בהיות שהן מעכבות
את הכפרה · והוציא את הפר אל מחוץ למחנה חוץ לשלוש
מחנות ושרף אותו כאשר שרף את הפר הראשון חטאת הקהל
הוא הא מיכן אתה אומר פר משוח ופר העדה עומדין פר
משוח קודם לפר העדה בכל מעשיו · יכול אף שעירי עבודה
זרה יקדימוהו ודין הוא אם פר יחידי קודמו פר ושעיר לא
יקדימוהו תל לו' פר פר ראשון אין שעירי עבודה זרה ראשונים
· או אינו אומר אילא פר ישרף אין שעירי עבודה זרה נשרפין

Figure 15. Babylonian square script used for a halakhic Midrash to Leviticus, c. eighth century C.E. *Rome, Vatican Library, Ms. Ebr. 66, fol. 42a.*

Figure 17. Passage from Leviticus in Parsic square script 1571 C.E. *New York, Jewish Theological Seminary of America, Ms. Adler 313.*

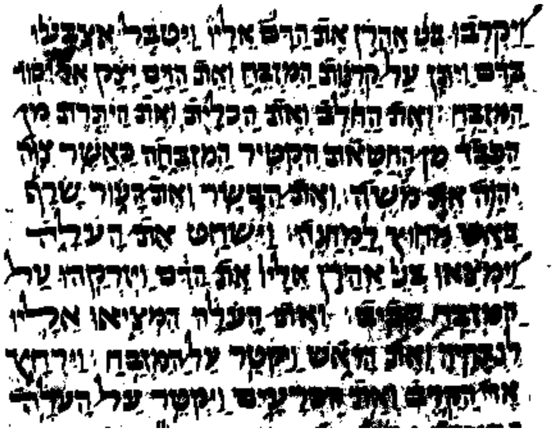

ויקרבו בני אהרן את הדם אליו ויטבל אצבעו
בדם ויתן על קרנות המזבח ואת הדם יצק אל יסוד
המזבח ׃ ואת החלב ואת הכליות ואת היתרת מן
הכבד מן החטאת הקטיר המזבחה כאשר צוה
יהוה את משה ׃ ואת הבשר ואת העור שרף
באש מחוץ למחנה ׃ וישחט את העלה
וימצאו בני אהרן אליו את הדם ויזרקהו על
המזבח סביב ׃ ואת העלה המציאו אליו
לנתחיה ואת הראש ויקטר על המזבח ׃ וירחץ
את הקרב ואת הכרעים ויקטר על העלה

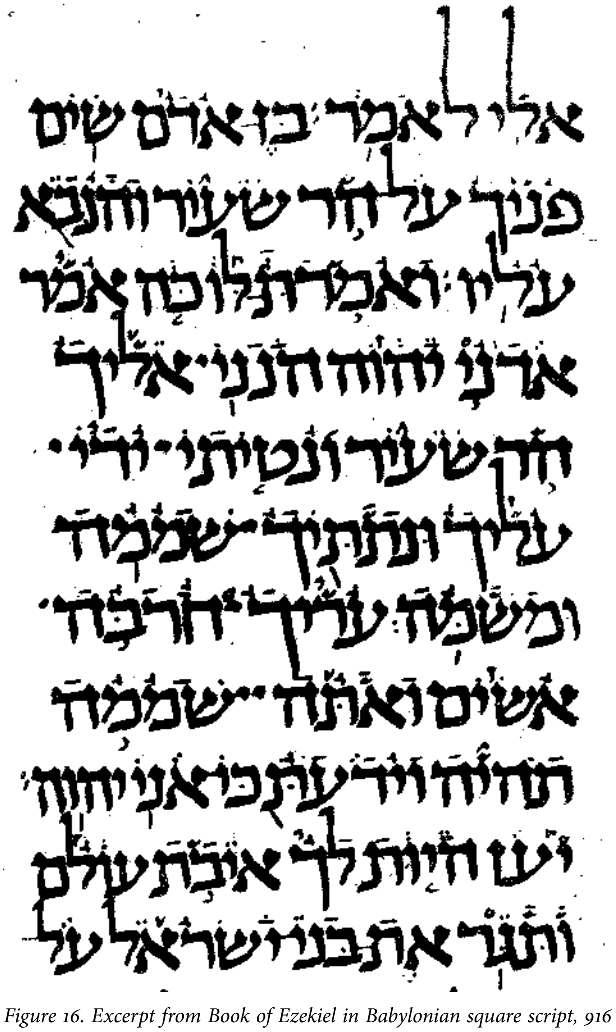

אלי לאמר בן אדם שים
פניך על הר שעיר והנבא
עליו ואמרת לו כה אמר
אדני יהוה הנני אליך
הר שעיר ונטיתי ידי
עליך ונתתיך שממה
ומשמה עריך חרבה
אשים ואתה שממה
תהיה וידעת כי אני יהוה
יען היות לך איבת עולם
ותגר את בני ישראל על

Figure 16. Excerpt from Book of Ezekiel in Babylonian square script, 916 C.E. *Leningrad, Public Library, Firkovitch Ms. B.3.*

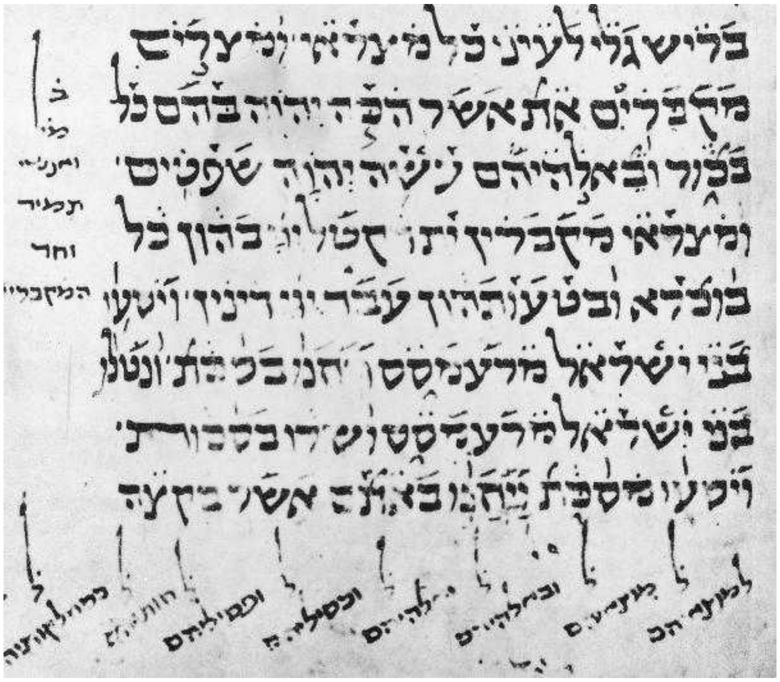

Figure 18. Temanic square script, 11th–12th century C.E. *A Yemenite manuscript of Numbers with Targum. London, British Museum, Ms. Or. 1407.*

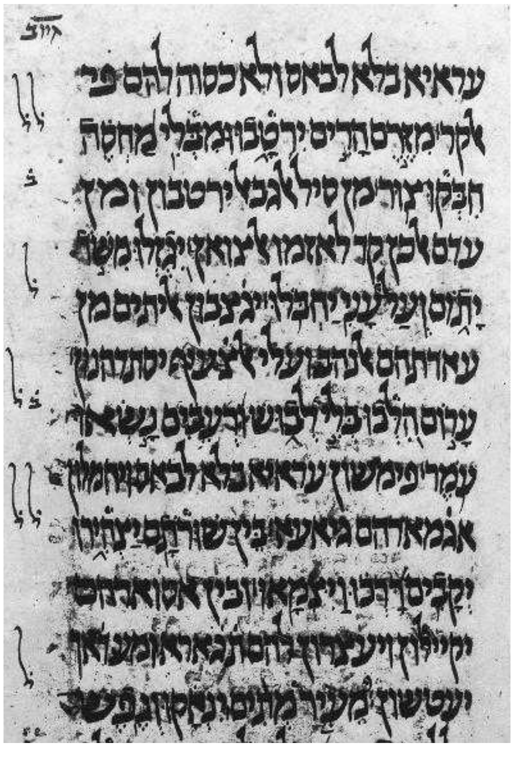

Figure 19. Passage from Job in Temanic square script, with Arvic translation, 1468. London, British Museum, Ms. Or. 2375, fol. 105a.

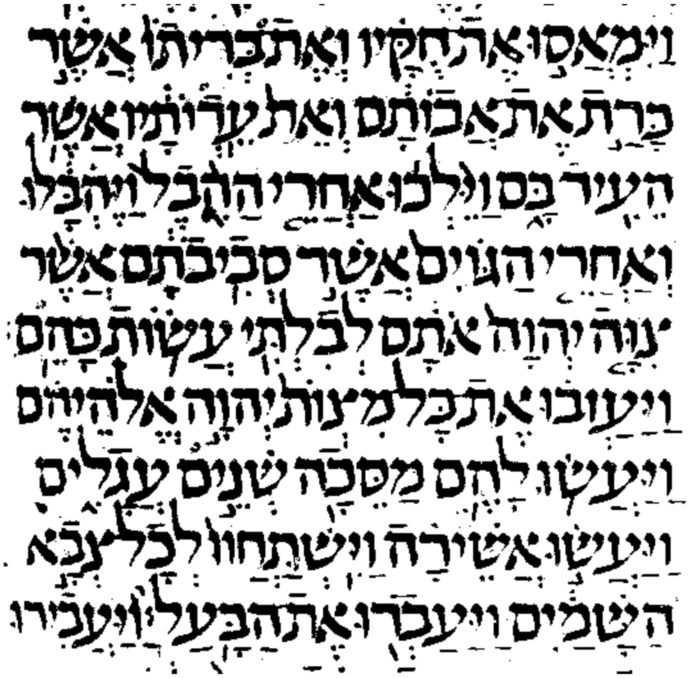

Figure 20. Earliest dated Bible manuscript in Maaravic square script, 946 C.E.

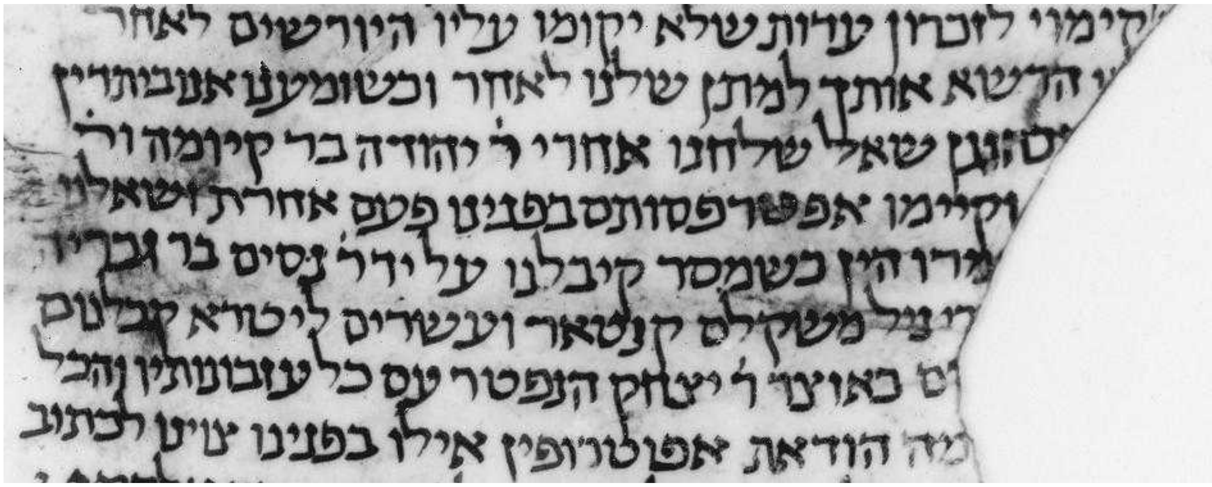

Figure 21. Fragment of legal deposition in Maaravic square script, 978 c.e. *Cambridge University Library, T-S. 12,468.*

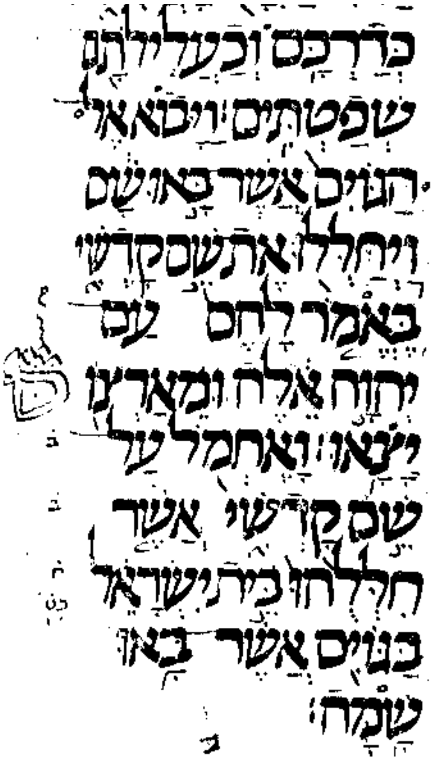

Figure 23. Sephardic square script ninth–tenth century c.e.

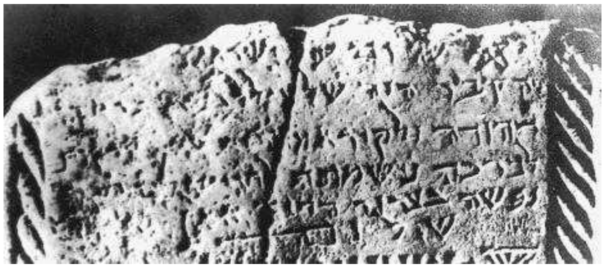

Figure 22. Epitaph in Sephardic square script from Tortosa Cathedral, Spain. Sixth century c.e.

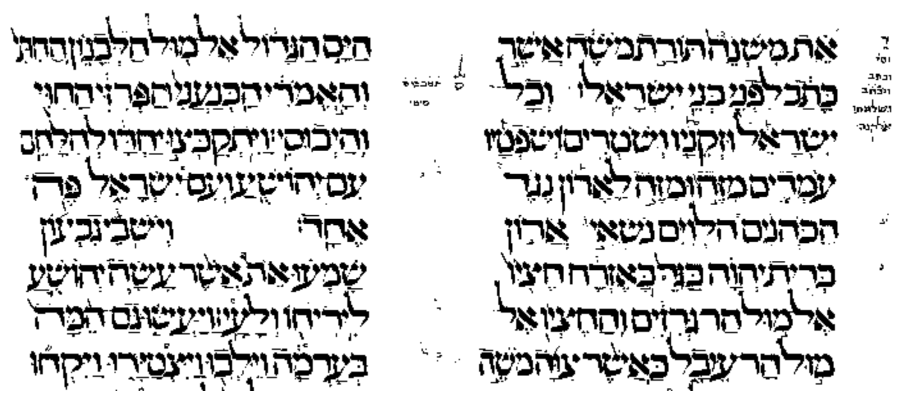

Figure 24. Passage from Joshua in Sephardic square script, 1207. Paris Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. 2235, Heb. 82, fol. 10.

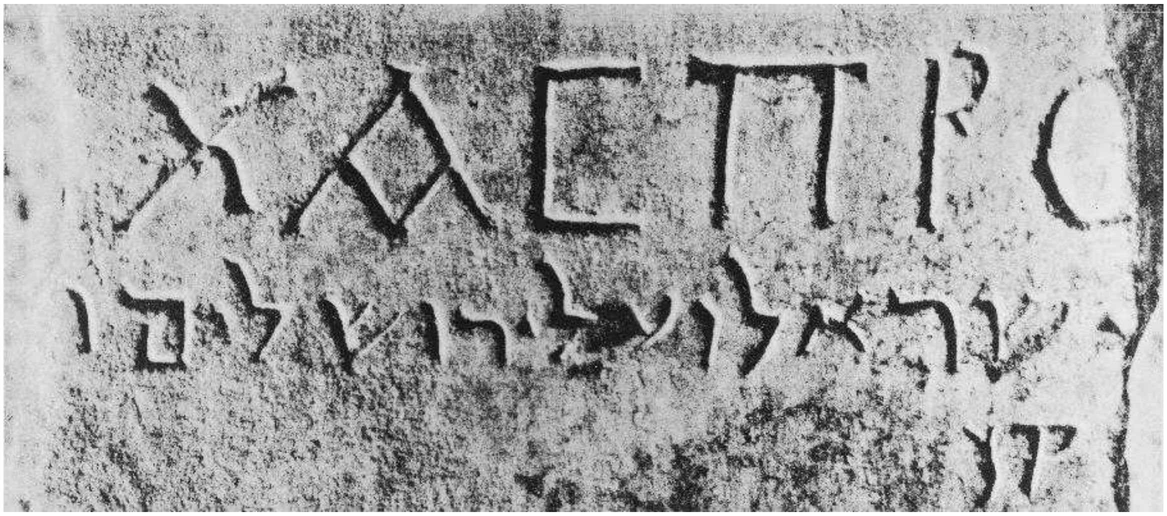

Figure 25. Epitaph in Yevanic square script, early second century C.E. *Turkey, Afyon Museum.*

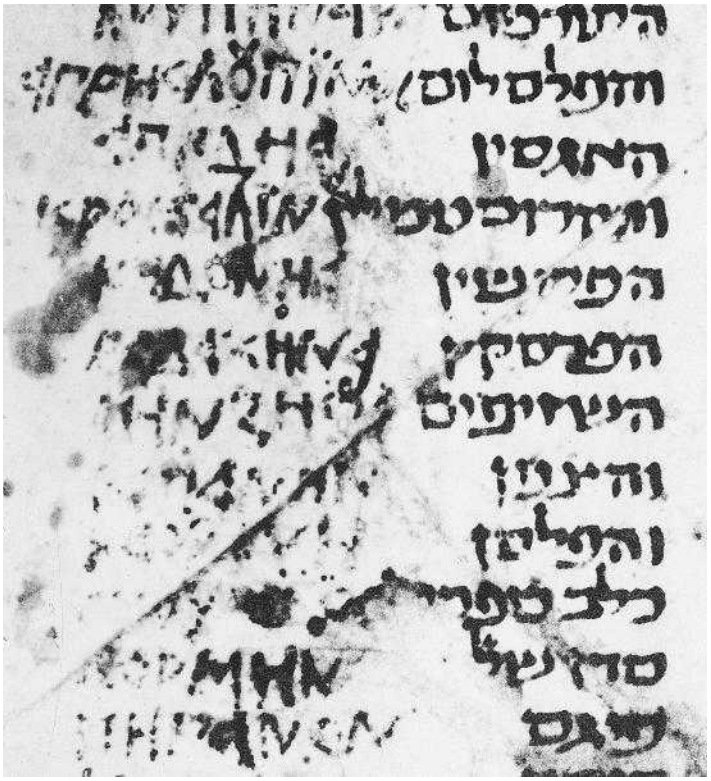

Figure 26. Yevanic square script in a Hebrew-Greek glossary of the tenth century C.E. *Leningrad Public Library, Antonin Evr. III B.*

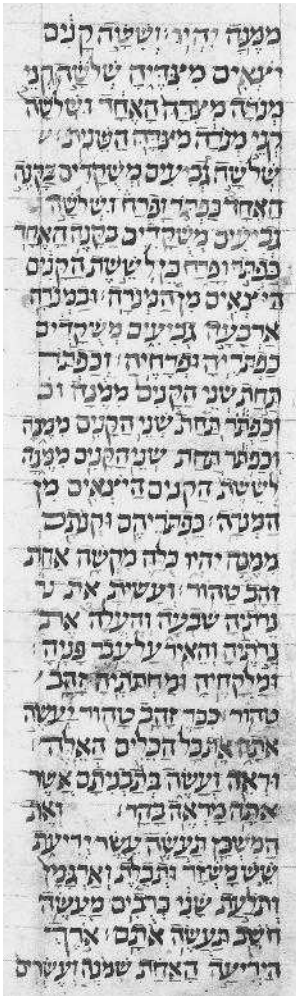

Figure 28. The oldest European Ms. in Italkian square script. Bible dated 979 C.E. *Rome, Vat. Lib., Ms. Urb. Ebr. 2, fol. 41a.*

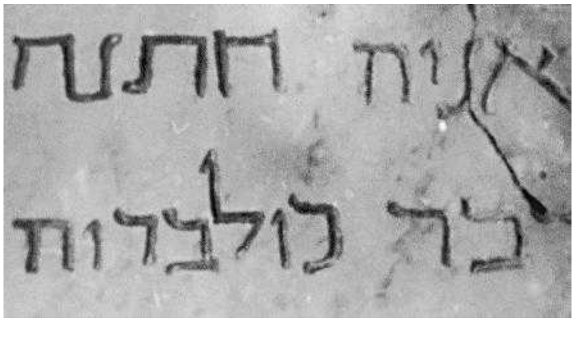

Figure 27. Epitaph in the Monteverde Catacomb, Rome, in Italkian square script, c. 300 C.E.

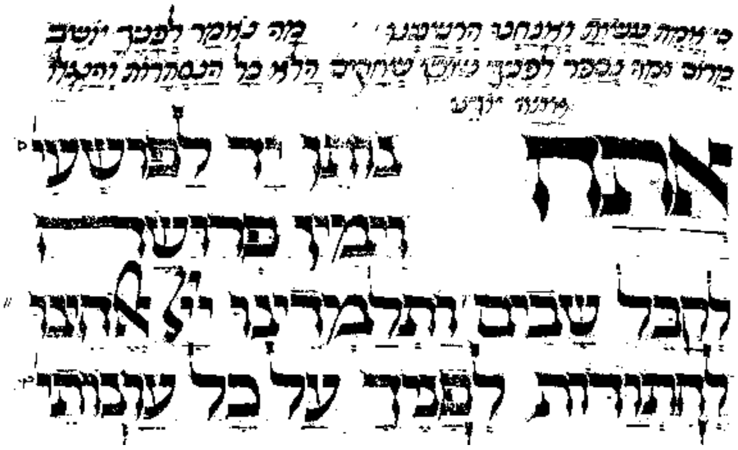

Figure 29. Extract from a prayer book in Italkian square script, 1466. London, British Museum, Ms. Harl. 5656, fol. 273a.

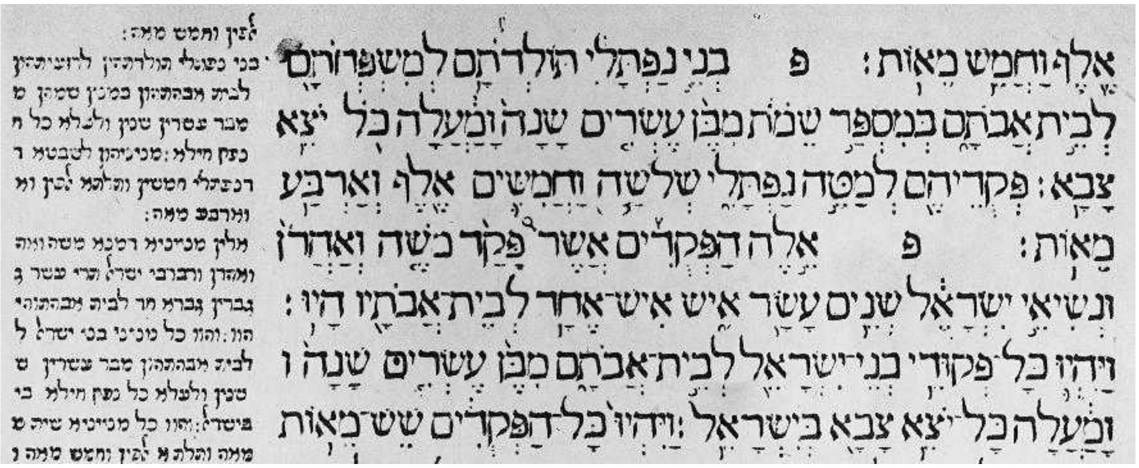

Figure 30. Early printed Bible in Italian square script, 1482.

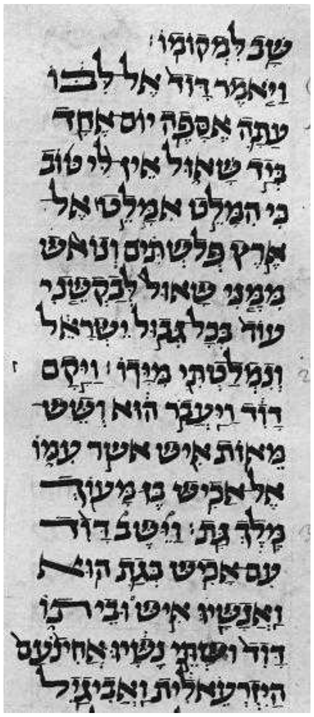

Figure 31. A 12th-century Bible Ms. in Ẓarphatic square script, London, B.M., Ms. Add. 21161, fol. 6a.

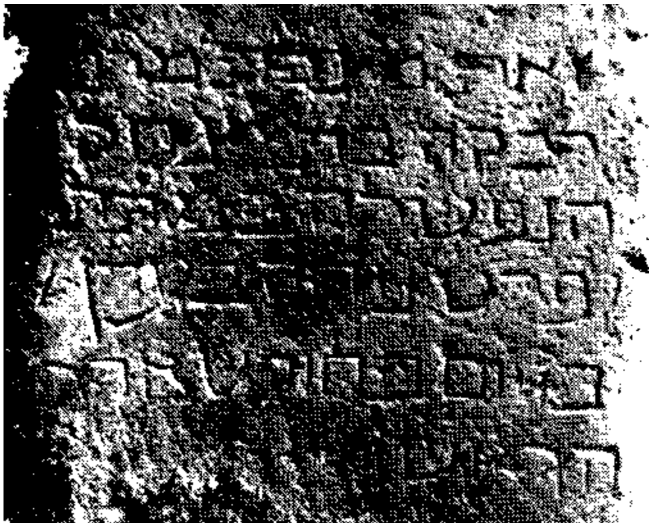

Figure 32. Epitaph from Mainz, Germany, in Ashkenazic square script, 1082 C.E.

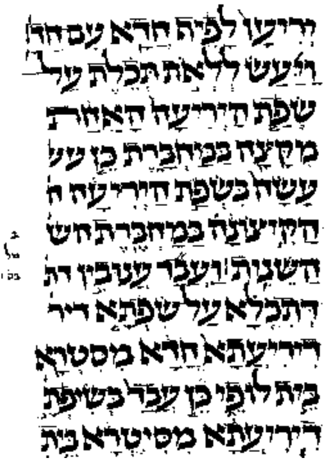

יריען לפית חדא עם חד
ויעש ללאת תכלת על
שפת היריעה האחת
מקצה במחברת כן עש
עשה בשפת היריעה ה
הקיצנה במחברת הש
השנית ועבד ענובין דת
דתכלא על שפתא דיר
דיריעתא חדא מסטרא
בית לופי כן עבד בשפת
דיריעתא מסיטרא בית

Figure 33. Extract from Bible of 1236 in Ashkenazic square script. Milan Biblioteca Ambrosiana, B. 30 inf., fol. 96r.

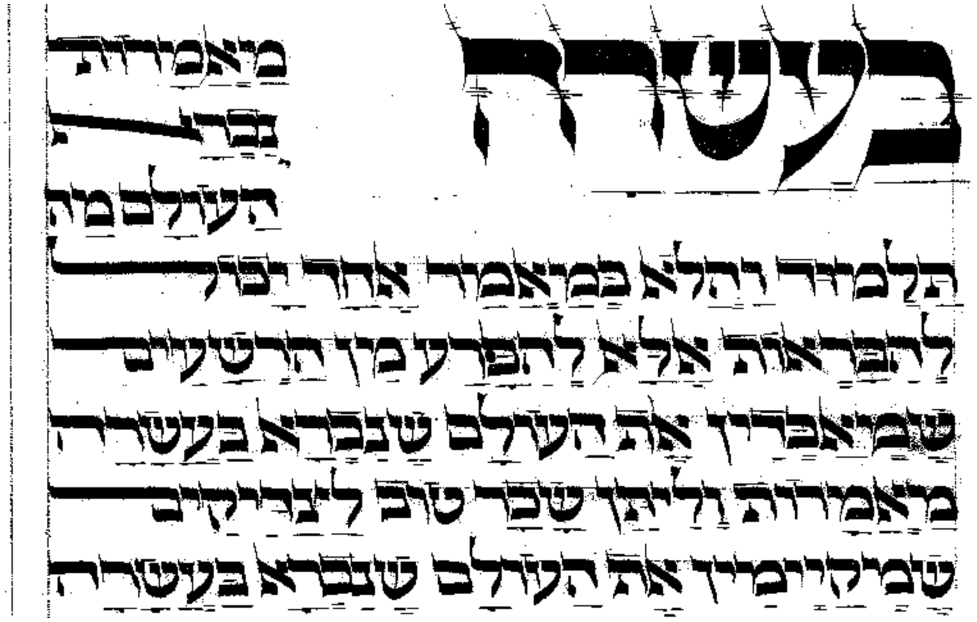

בעשרה
מאמרות
נברא
העולם מה
תלמודר והלא במאמר אחד יכול
להבראות אלא להפרע מן הרשעים
שמאבדין את העולם שנברא בעשרה
מאמרות וליתן שכר טוב לצדיקים
שמקיימין את העולם שנברא בעשרה

Figure 34. Extract from the tractate Avot *in Ashkenazic square script, 1432. Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibliothek, Ms. Reuchlin 4, fol. 239r.*

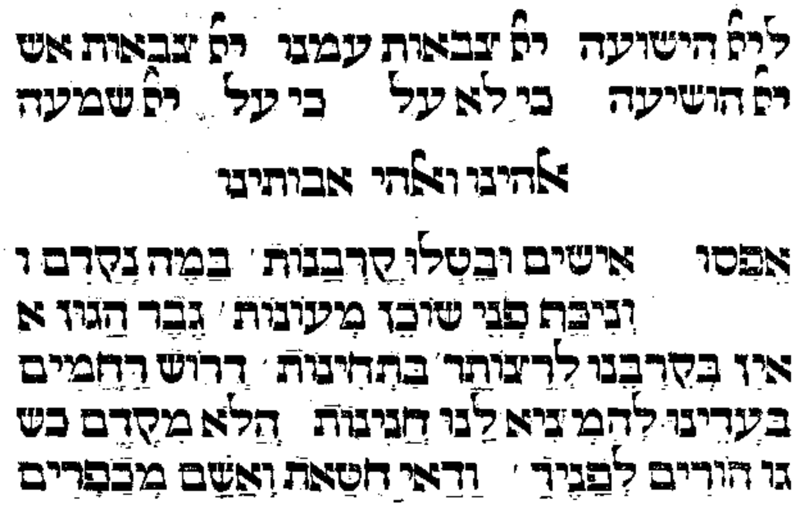

ליי׳ הישועה יי׳ צבאות עמנו יי׳ צבאות אש
יי׳ הושיעה כי לא על כי על יי׳ שמעה

אלהינו ואלהי אבותינו

אפסו אשים ובטלו קרבנות ׳ במה נקדם ו
וניבת פני שוכן מעונות ׳ גבר הגוז א
אין בקרבנו לרצותך בתחינות ׳ דרוש רחמים
בעדינו להמציא לנו חנינות הלא מקדם כש
גו הורים לבניך ׳ ודאי חטאת ואשם מכפרים

Figure 35. Fifteenth-century typeface in Ashkenazic square script.

relation between the two, or do they represent separate, independent developments going back to Roman times? Current information is insufficient to answer the question, as no available Ẓarphatic manuscripts antedate the 12th century (figure 31). The difference between thick and thin strokes was strongly marked. Ẓarphatic did not long survive the expulsion of the Jews from France (1394) because the refugees were absorbed into the Jewries of their new homes. The Ẓarphatic type also included the script of medieval England, where the Ẓarphatim had settled in Norman times. It came to an end after only two centuries, when the Jews were expelled from England in 1290.

Ashkenazic Types

The earliest specimens of the Ashkenazic type (Ashkenaz is the traditional Hebrew name for Germany) show identity of script with Ẓarphatic. It therefore may be concluded that the Ashkenazic group is descended from Ẓarphati Jewry – which confirms the existing tradition to that effect, and corroborates the evidence provided by the Romance element in the Yiddish language. Available Ashkenazic material dates from the first half of the 11th century, consisting of epitaphs, the first dated one being of 1034, while the earliest manuscripts can be ascribed to the 12th century; of these, the first dated manuscript in square script is from 1236. Ashkenazic is one of the three richest sources of codices, the others being Sephardic and Italkian. The early epitaphs showed well-proportioned, pleasing lettering (figure 32, of 1082). Here there was no difference between the thickness of horizontals and verticals, while the Bible manuscripts of even earlier dates in the other types already had that feature fully developed. The earliest dated Ashkenazic Bible manuscript had the thick/thin contrast (figure 33, of 1236). By the 15th century the domination of the horizontal strokes had reached its climax (figure 34, of 1432): the horizontals were longer, i.e., the letters were wider. In addition, the letters had a characteristic stance. In all groups and during all periods the downstrokes slanted somewhat to the right, so that the letters leaned slightly to the left. But now the slant had become considerably more pronounced (compare figure 34 with, for instance, figure 29, which was otherwise written in the same kind of script). Curves and undulating elements decreased, the forms became slightly rigid, though less so than in the printers' typeface (figure 35): When the typecutters transferred the handwritten forms onto the metal, they regularized them geometrically. They also diminished the preponderance of the horizontal strokes. The thick horizontals began to be taken over for lapidary use in the 13th century; they became the rule toward its end. Detailed research might establish whether the development of the thick/thin feature was purely a matter of aesthetics, or whether there was a special reason, or a partial one, perhaps the transition from the reed pen to the quill.

Karaitic Types

Finally, there was the script of the Karaites. They had cut themselves off from rabbinical Judaism in early times but continued to use the Jewish script, as they considered themselves to be the real Jews. In their hands it underwent a distinctive development, which is not surprising as there is an intimate connection between religion and script throughout history and in all cultures. No single Karaite type existed; in various regions different Karaitic types developed from the Rabbanite types. Material dated from the 11th century onward is available, but on the whole is sparse. There was a southern Karaitic type in Egypt and Palestine, Yevano-Karaitic in the Byzantine regions, Parso-Karaitic in Persia.

From the above review of the square script it may be seen that there are many unsolved problems. An answer to some might be found by further research. For the fact is that the study of the Hebrew, i.e., the Jewish script, is, after all, still only at its beginnings. And the field is vast – stretching over more than two thousand years and many regions of the Old World.

[Solomon Asher Birnbaum]

MASHAIT SCRIPT

Cursive was sometimes used as a book hand when, of course, more care was taken with the writing. But this did not involve an approximation to the square; it led to elaboration and ornamentality of a different kind, and thus to the shaping of a new style, the mashait script (incorrectly designated "rabbinic").

The Palestine-Syria Type

This development took place independently in the various types and differed in degree from type to type. Evolution away from the cursive was greatest in the European types; in the Oriental ones there was little of it. A good example is in a specimen of the Palestine-Syria type (figure 1; 11th century). *Alef* has the pure K-structure; in *lamed* the horizontal stroke is omitted; *mem* has no base; final *nun* starts with a curve at the line bottom and is thus rather short; the inner stroke of *shin* tends to be slightly curved and joins the upper part of the left stroke. The forms in figure 2 (15th century) show very little change in detail but the general impression is one of a regular, pleasing hand. *Alef* has the square construction; *zayin* is a wavy line of the question mark type; the *alef* part of the *alef-lamed* ligature is a flattish parabola; final *nun* is a shallow S-wave, starting from the line ceiling; the inner stroke of *shin* is a little curve in horizontal position, joined to the top of the left stroke.

Egypt Type

This type, like Palestine-Syria, is the basic kind of mashait (figure 3; 13th century). The two right strokes of the K-form of *alef* are joined high up to the top of the left stroke; the left stroke of *tet* is of double height but does not extend below the line bottom; *lamed* has the two-stroke form; *mem* has no base; final *nun* starts slightly below the line ceiling; *samekh* is a circle; the middle stroke of *shin* is a horizontal curve joined to the top of the left stroke. Figure 4 (1326) shows a somewhat more formal hand. The two right strokes of *alef* are high up but, in contrast with that in figure 3, the letter is based on the square construction, except that the right stroke joins the outer end of the middle stroke; generally the left stroke does not extend beyond the line ceiling; the *alef* part of the *alef-lamed* ligature is a shallow oblique S-wave, or even a straight line; the left stroke of *samekh* is short and only starts at the line bottom so that the letter is open on the left.

Babylonia Type

Figure 5, a Babylonian specimen (tenth century), also represents the basic kind. The *alef* part of the *alef-lamed* ligature is the unchanged right-hand part of *alef*; *mem* has a short base which is often curved; the inner stroke of *shin* is joined to the middle of the left stroke. The modern hand is shown in figure 6. The right stroke of *alef* is above the line ceiling, joining the top of the left one – it often looks as if it were its top part; the original middle stroke is strongly curved and situated in the upper half of the line height; *gimmel* has the form of what, in most types, is a *nun; he* has the question mark shape; *lamed* has the two-stroke form; the right stroke of *mem* has shrunken to a tiny stroke at the line ceiling – it is now nothing but the beginning of the inner stroke, changing it into a shallow S-wave; the left stroke has become long, filling the whole line height, without, however, extending above the line ceiling; final *mem* is a circle; *ẓadi* is a tall S-wave; the inner stroke of *shin* has become a dot at the top of the left one; the left downstroke of *tav* is severed from the top stroke, beginning at the line bottom and running rather far down.

Parsic Type

Although the individual letter forms of the Parsic type (figure 7; 14th century) present nothing unusual, the general picture is very distinctive. The main reason is the thickness of the horizontal strokes, which has the effect of reducing the distance between the top bar and base to a very narrow gap. *Alef* looks like a Roman N with the two right strokes half up the line height; *zayin* is a flattened Roman Z – it has thus almost returned to the Old Semitic form; the middle stroke of *lamed* has become the top part of the curve which is the lower half of the letter; *mem* has no base; the inner stroke of *shin* is a small curve in horizontal position. The top stroke of *gimmel* in figure 8 (18th century) slants down rightward, and is continued on the line bottom by a horizontal piece, which then slants down leftward below the line bottom. The *zayin* of figure 8 (18th century) has become unsymmetrical: the top stroke is much smaller than the bottom stroke, and sometimes disappears altogether; *mem* has no base; the inner stroke of *shin* has become a small curve, joined to the top of the left one. The modern forms (figure 9) do not differ from those of figure 8, or, for that matter, from modern cursive. The form of the *alef* here is an extremely rare one; what distinguishes *gimmel* from *nun* is that it is an acute angle, whereas *nun* has a rounded corner; the downstroke of *dalet* ends by turning right; *zayin* is of the question mark type; final *mem* is circular but the stroke often ends outside the letter with an upward movement; *samekh* is written in the same way, but when the top is reached a downstroke is added. In the somewhat cursive writing of figures 8 and 9, the thickness of the horizontals is less pronounced. The tall forms of *dalet* and *resh* are very rare, and have obviously been adopted from outside – they were used in the neighboring Babylonian type at least from the late 15th century.

Temanic Type

This type shares with Parsic the thick horizontals and the consequent narrowing down of the space between the top bar and the base (figure 10; 13th century). The main stroke of *alef* has become horizontal, resting on the line ceiling; the *alef* part of the *alef-lamed* ligature is, on the whole, rather angular, as in *alef*; *zayin* is a small – sometimes very small – downstroke, crossed by a short horizontal; *tet* is like the Ashkenazic cursive form but preserves the inner stroke; the middle stroke of *lamed* is straight and horizontal; the right stroke of *mem* very occasionally ends in a short base; final *mem* differs from *samekh* in not having a downstroke on the left; *samekh* is generally less wide, and the downstroke has sometimes become a mere tail, resulting in an open letter. All downstrokes slant rightward. Three centuries later (figure 11; 15th century) the style is rather different, although very little change has taken place in the forms themselves. The horizontals are much less thick. The middle stroke of *alef* begins by being straight and horizontal, and then curves downward but does not reach the line bottom; the *alef* part of the *alef-lamed* ligature generally corresponds to the form in figure 10, but two other types are occasionally to be met with – one is identical with the right part of the square form, and the other is a shallow S-curve, running from the top right to the bottom left; the top of *zayin* is a tick, and the end of the downstroke turns rightward. The general style of figure 11 continues unchanged for two more centuries (figure 12; 17th century). The lower right stroke of *alef* now reaches the line bottom, unless prevented by the preceding letter; the *alef* part of the *alef-lamed* ligature corresponds to the square form; *zayin* is unchanged.

Maaravic Type

The forms of the Maaravic type (figure 13; 14th century) are cursive but written with care and regularity. The same applies to the specimen from the next century (figure 14). Here the parallelism of the downstrokes is developed to an extreme degree. Its impact is intensified by the high and narrow look of the letters, arising from the shortness of the horizontals. The right part of *alef* is high up and very small; *gimmel* is a right angle; final *mem* is an oval in the upper half of the line; *samekh* is triangular. The style of extreme parallelism seems to have been characteristic of one particular region and period, and is not met with again subsequently (see, for instance, figure 15; 18th century). An interesting detail in this specimen is that the *alef* of the big display script used for two initial words, is written in cursive, while the text itself is in mashait.

Sephardic Type

This type (figure 16; 11th century) corresponds to the cursive of the same period (figure 19, Cursive Script). It is clearly well advanced toward a fully developed mashait, although, in many letters – e.g, in *he, mem, shin* – formality is achieved by features from the square. *Alef* is of the K-type; the middle stroke of *lamed* is fused with the downstroke to form a semi-circle in vertical position; final *mem* is more or less round; *samekh* is quadrangular; *shin* consists of a base and three parallel downstrokes, the inner one of which often does not reach the base. In the 15th century Sephardic mashait (figure 17) reached its climax, being a beautiful book of a high order. Legibility, however, is not good, the letters are narrow and very close to each other, and any downstrokes that end leftward touch the next letter. When the right downstroke of a letter does not turn leftward at the line bottom, it stops midway down the line height. Starting from the tip of the left stroke the lower right stroke of *alef* begins horizontally on the line ceiling and ends by curving clown to the middle of the line height; the right top stroke is very thin and short, above the line ceiling; final *mem* consists of two more or less rounded halves, top right and left bottom; the bar of final *pe* has a little stroke at its left end, which represents the original top of the left stroke; the right stroke of *ẓadi* and final *ẓadi* is an extremely short horizontal which joins the top of the left stroke; the same applies to the inner stroke of *shin*. Transferred to the typeface of the printing press, this script, like the square, lost much of its beauty (figure 18; 18th century). Although only a shadow of its former self, it is still a pleasing hand. The usual, but incorrect, designation for it is "Rashi script," obviously because *Rashi's commentaries on the Bible and Talmud – the books which everybody was constantly handling from boyhood to old age – were printed in (Sephardic) mashait. Rashi himself, naturally, wrote in Ẓarphatic (see below).

Provencal Sephardic Type

For a long time this type did not differ from the Iberian type. Figure 19 (13th century) is a very plain hand. *Alef*, more often than not, has the cursive form. Figure 20 (15th century) is a beautiful hand. Figure 21 (18th century) is far inferior, but its mashait character is more pronounced than in the Sephardic type of figure 18.

Yevanic Type

The 13th century Yevanic mashait is a very plain hand (figure 22). *Alef* consists of a lower main part and an upper one, the lower combines the lower halves of the former left stroke with the former main stroke, resulting in a circumflex; the former right stroke and the upper part of the former left stroke remain separate; the downstroke, both of *dalet* and *he*, finally turns rightward. Figure 23 (15th century) is a more formal script but much less elaborate than contemporaneous Sephardic. In contrast with the latter, the horizontals play a very big role. *Dalet* and *zayin* have the same characteristics as in figure 22; the inner stroke of *shin* is short and joined to the middle of the left one.

Italkian Type

The first specimen of Italkian mashait (figure 24; c. 11th century) shows a very regular and pleasing hand, which, however, is not yet calligraphically developed. The left downstroke of *he* still issues from the top bar; *shin* is practically triangular, and the middle stroke is short and does not reach the line bottom; the frequent expression "he said" is always rendered by an abbreviation; the left stroke of *alef* and the left top stroke of the *mem* are omitted. In the 14th century a highly calligraphic style was reached. The horizontals dominate the picture in the way they do in the square, and a number of letters have the same structure, although their appearance is very different indeed – cf., for instance, the *mems* or *nuns* of the two styles occurring in the specimen (figure 25). There are practically no straight strokes; everything is curved. About a century later (figure 26) the difference between the thick horizontals and thin downstrokes is even greater. The latter have become thinner, longer, and straighter, and all the letters have a strong leftward slant. The downstrokes of the long letters are shallow S-curves, rather thick in the middle. Figure 27 shows the contemporaneous typeface. The designer evidently wished to avoid extremes.

Ẓarphatic Type

The Ẓarphatic forms of 12th-century mashait (figure 28) are clearly distinct from those of the contemporaneous cursive: not only are they very carefully written but they differ in many details. The right part of *alef* is at the line ceiling; the top part of *kof* is a horizontal line – only the merest trace of the downstroke is left. The fully developed calligraphic hand begins in the 13th century. Most downstrokes are shallow S-waves, thickened in the middle (figure 29; 14th century). Neither horizontals nor verticals dominate the picture. The distance between the letters is reduced to a minimum; very often they actually touch. *Shin* has a wide horizontal base. By the 15th century, only traces of this calligraphic style (figure 30) survived.

Ashkenazic Type

The differences between the 13th-century Ashkenazic mashait of figure 31 and the almost contemporaneous Ẓarphatic of figure 28 appear to be due only to the individualities of the scribes. Further research is needed to establish when the divergence between the two types became pronounced. It seems that the full development of the calligraphic style was reached in Ashkenazic very slightly later than in Ẓarphatic and that, like there, it was soon simplified (figure 32), surviving only as a display script (figure 32, top and bottom). The plain style is the basis of the typeface (figure 33).

Southern Karaitic Type

The 16th-century Southern Karaitic type of figure 34 is pleasant to the eye. There is not much difference between the thick and the thin strokes. The opposite may be said of the Yevano-Karaitic specimen (figure 35; 16th century).

[Solomon Asher Birnbaum]

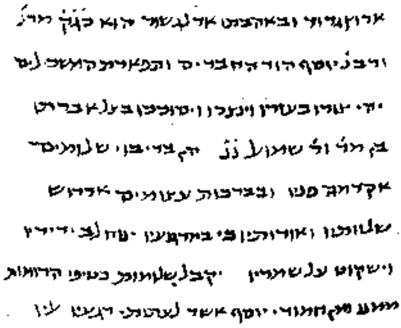

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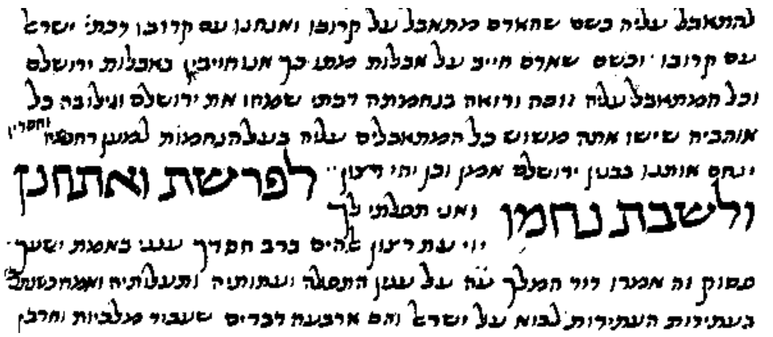

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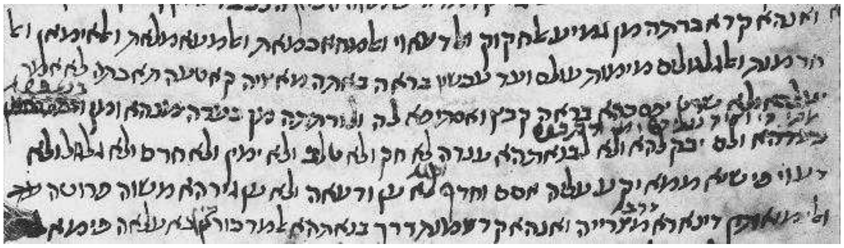

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MASHAIT SCRIPT

Figure 1. Excerpt from letter in Palestine-Syria mashait script, 1094 C.E. *Cambridge University Library, T-S. 20, 141.*

Figure 2. Palestine-Syria mashait script, 1443. Hamburg, Staatsund Universitaetsbibliothek, Cod. heb. 56, fol. 32v.

Figure 3. Deposition by a witness in Egyptian mashait script, 1218. Cambridge University Library, T-S. 13. J. 3. 27b.

Figure 4. Part of Tanḥum Yerushalmi's commentary on Ecclesiastes in Egyptian mashait script, 1326. London, British Museum, Ms. Or. 5063, fol. 142a.

Figure 5. Babylonian mashait script, end of tenth century C.E. *Cambridge University Library, T-S. 13. J. 25/5.*

Figure 6. Modern Babylonian mashait script. London, S.A. Birnbaum Collection.

Figure 7. Grammatical treatise in Parsic mashait script, 1312 C.E. *Letchworth, Sassoon Collection, 1065, p. 72.*

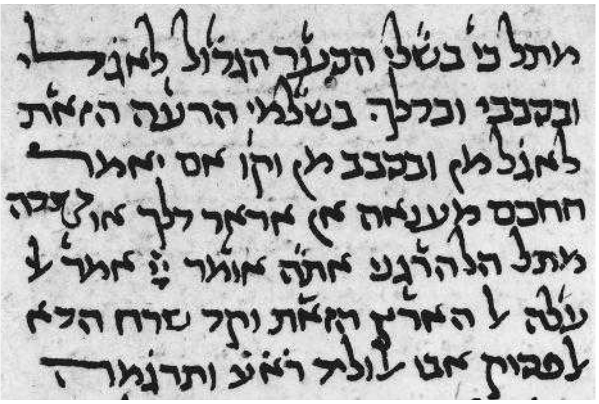

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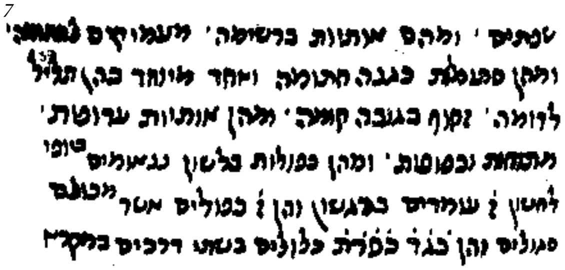

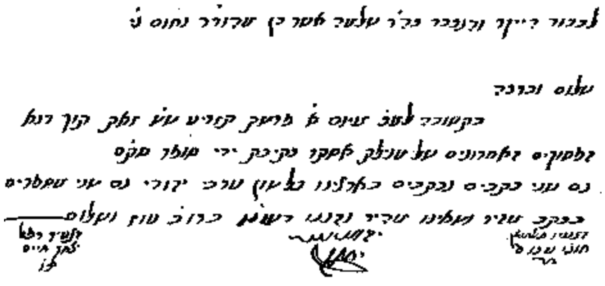

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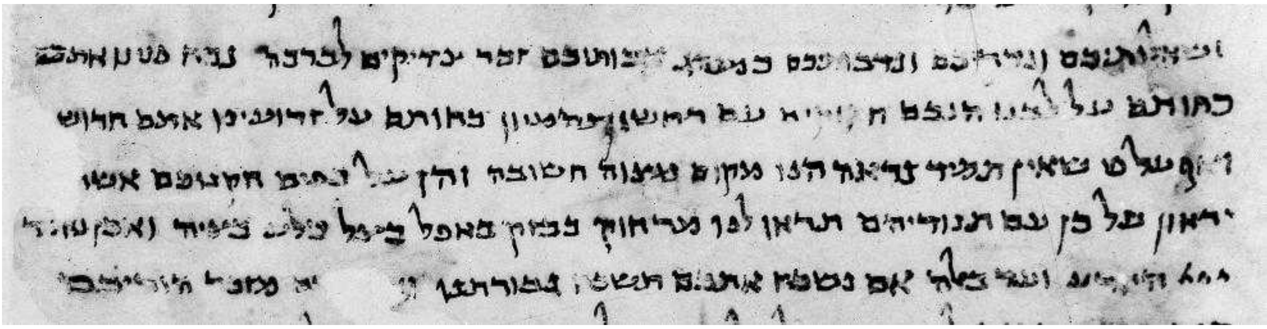

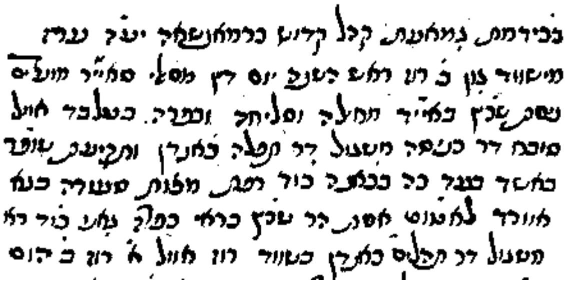

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Figure 8. Excerpt from Shaḥin Shirazi's Judeo-Persian paraphrase of the Pentateuch in Parsic mashait script, 1702. London, British Museum, Ms. Or. 4742, fol. 342b.

Figure 9. The Parsic mashait script of today. London, S.A. Birnbaum Collection.

Figure 10. Temanic mashait script used in a copy of Maimonides' commentary on the Mishnah, 1222 C.E.

Figure 11. Temanic mashait script as used in the Maḥberet attijan, *1490. London, British Museum, Ms. Or. 2349.*

Figure 12. A maḥzor *of 1674 in Temanic mashait script. London, British Museum, Ms. Or. 1479, fol. 72b.*

Figure 13. Colophon in Maaravic mashait script, 1364 C.E. *Cambridge University Library, Ms. D.d. 11. 22, fol. 80b.*

Figure 14. Extract from a maḥzor *in Maaravic mashait script, 1401. Paris Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. héb. 657, fol. 81b.*

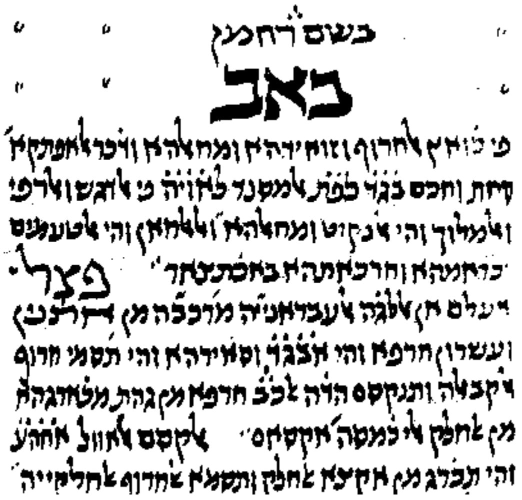

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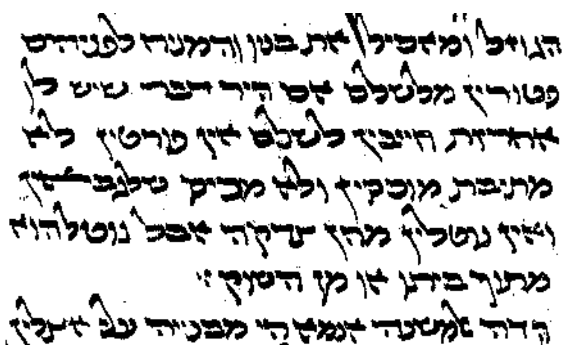

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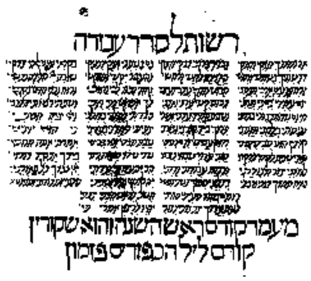

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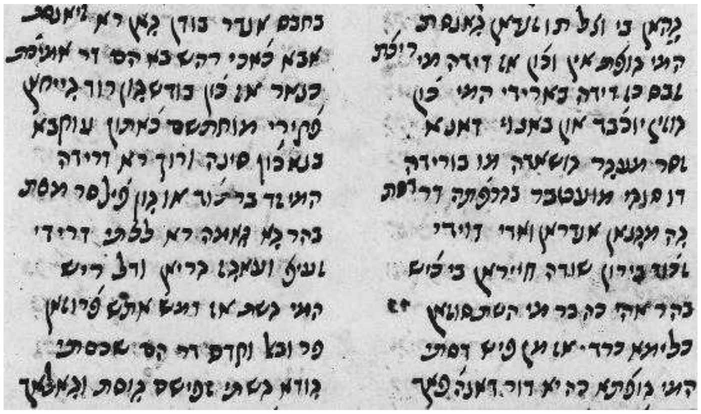

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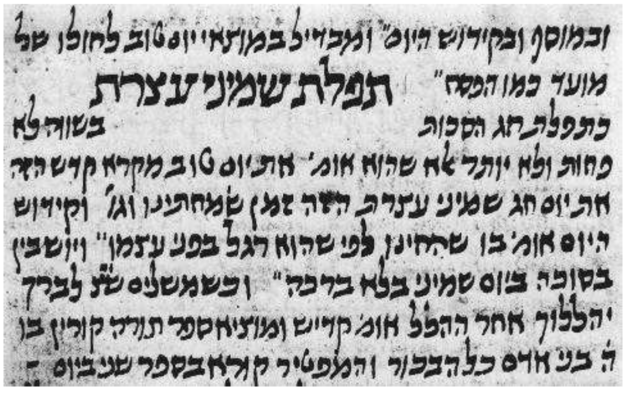

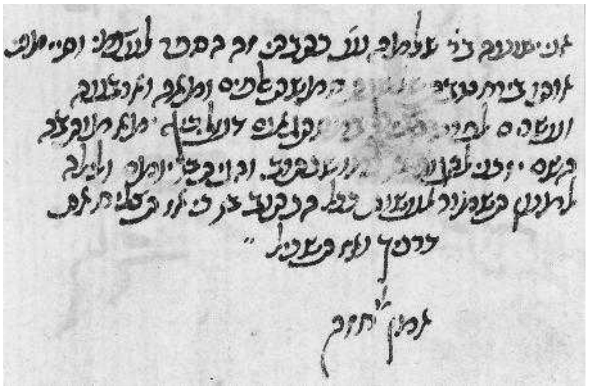

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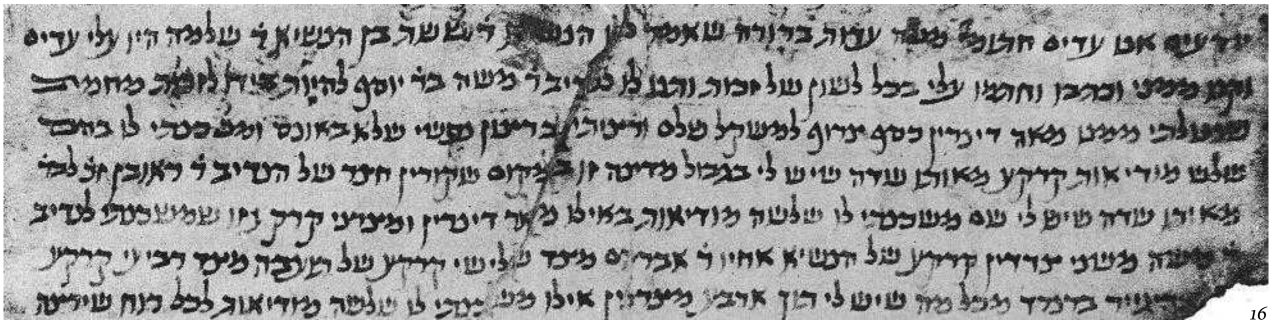

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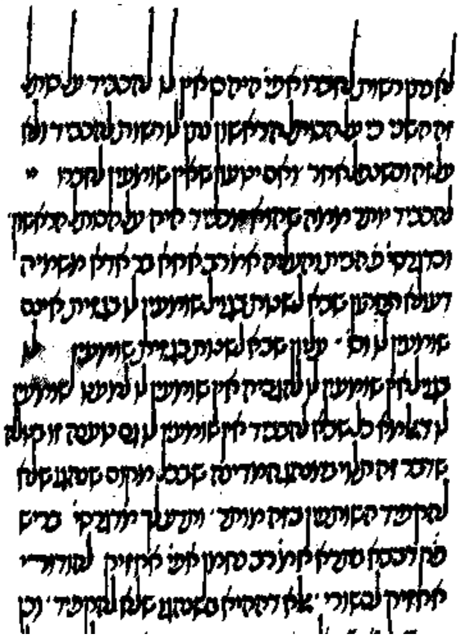

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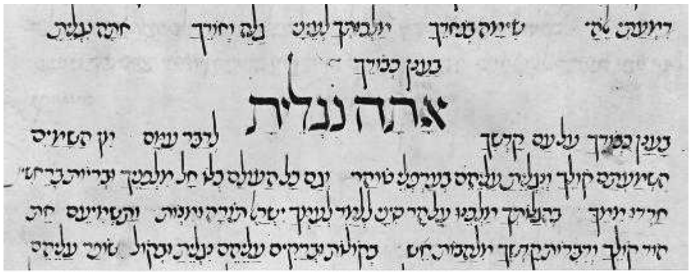

Figure 15. Maaravic mashait script from a maḥzor *of 1769. New York, Jewish Theological Seminary, Adler 2306, fol. 99a.*

Figure 16. Deposition by a witness in Sephardic mashait script, 1096 C.E. Barcelona Cathedral Library.

Figure 17. Responsa of 1417 in Sephardic mashait script. Cambridge University Library, Ms. Add. 499, fol. 324v.

Figure 18. Marriage deed printed in Sephardic mashait script, London, British Museum, Ms. Or. 7951.

Figure 19. Grammatical treatise in Provençal Sephardic mashait script, 1264 c.e. Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, Ms. 5660, fol. 195a.

Figure 20. Maḥzor *of 1453 in Provençal Sephardic mashait script. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. 2235, héb. 735, fol. 13r.*

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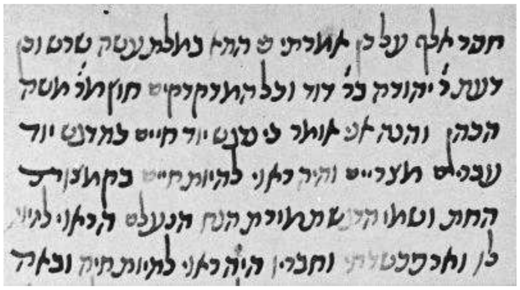

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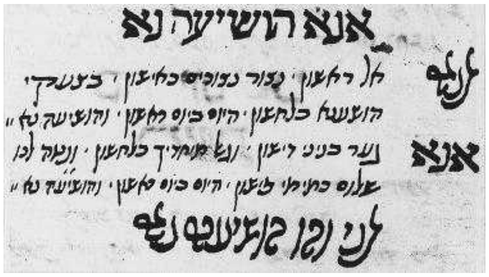

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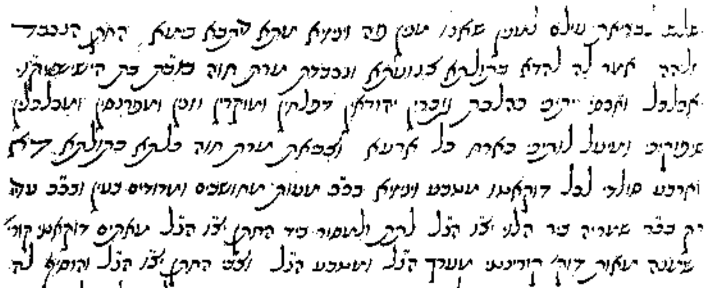

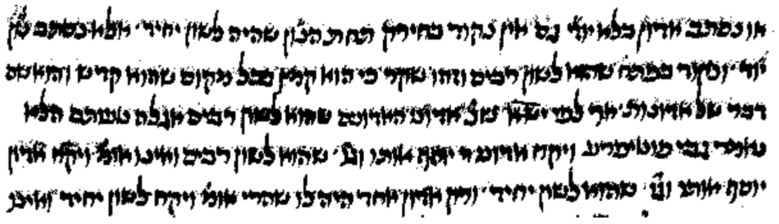

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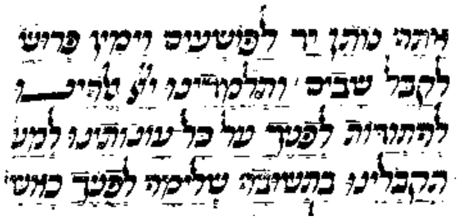

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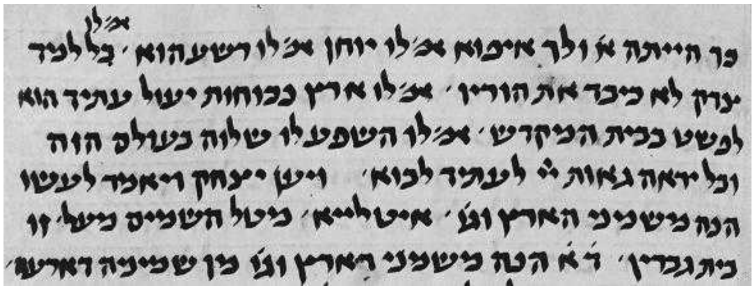

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Figure 21. Maḥzor *of 1713 in Provençal Sephardic mashait script. New York, Jewish Theological Seminary, Ms. Adler 1938, fol. 72a.*

Figure 22. Excerpt from Abraham Ibn Ezra's astrological treatise, Reshit Ḥokhmah, *in Yevanic mashait script, 1267. Oxford Bodleian Library, Ms. Opp. Add 40. 160, fol. 37r.*

Figure 23. Excerpt from Yom Tov Lipmann Muelhausen's Sefer Nizzaḥon *in Yevanic mashait script, 1459. Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. 2235, héb. 735, fol. 13r.*

Figure 24. An 11th-century copy of the Midrash Genesis Rabbah *in Italkian mashait script. London, British Museum, Ms. Add. 27169, fol. 184a.*

Figure 25. Italian translation of a hymn, written in Hebrew Italkian mashait script, 1383. London, British Museum, Ms. Or. 2433, fol. 78b.

Figure 26. Maḥzor *in Italkian mashait script, 1466. London, British Museum, Ms. Harl. 5686, fol. 177a.*

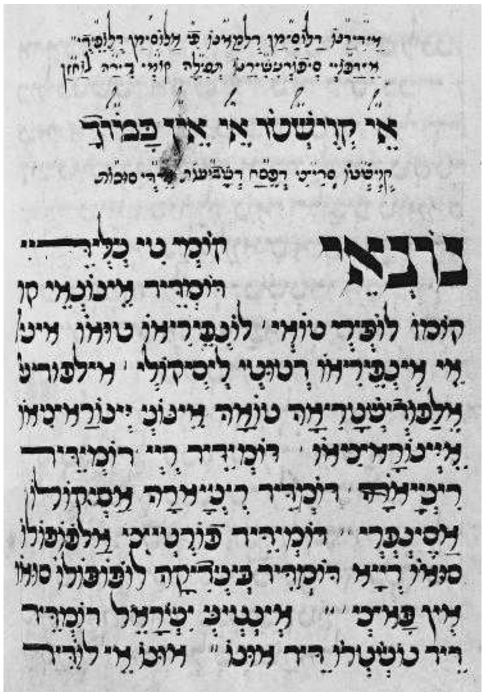

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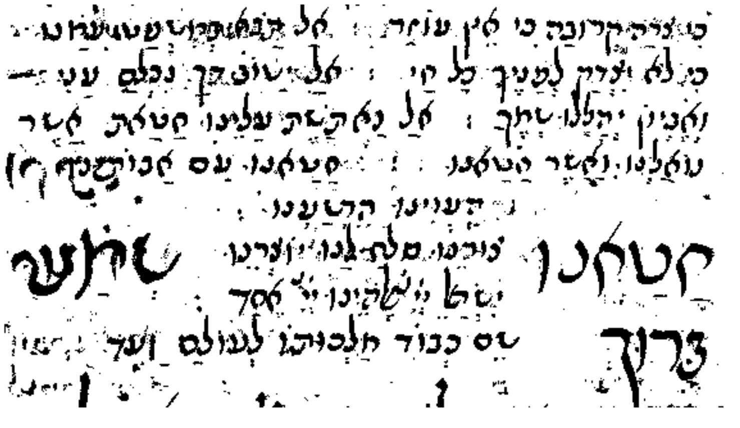

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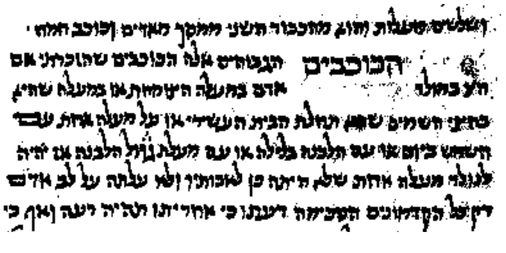

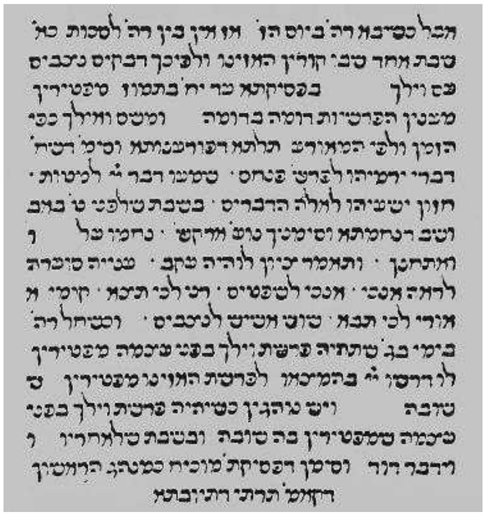

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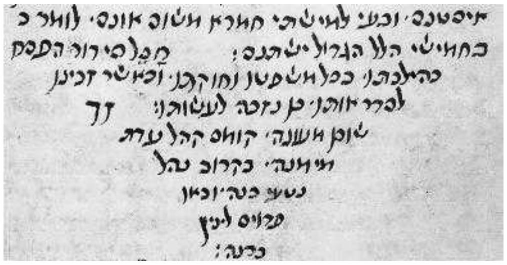

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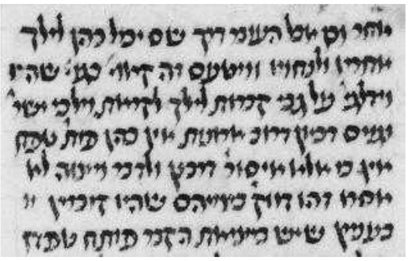

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Figure 27. Excerpts from a book printed in Italkian mashait script, 1476.

Figure 28. A liturgical poem in Ẓarphatic mashait script, c. late 12th century. Paris Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. 2235, héb. 635, fol. 12v.

Figure 29. Commentary on the Rosh Ha-Shanah liturgy in Ẓarphatic mashait script. 1301 C.E.

Figure 30. Ẓarphatic mashait script, 1429. Hamburg, Staats- und Universitaetsbibliothek, Cod. hebr. 244, fol.111v.

Figure 31. Ashkenazic mashait script, 1220. Cambridge University Library, Ms. Add. 667.1, fol. 24a.

Figure 32. Extract from Isaac Dueren's Issur ve-Hetter *in Ashkenazic mashait script, 1477, Hamburg, Staats- und Universitaetsbibliothek, Cod. Scrin. 132, fol. 63a.*

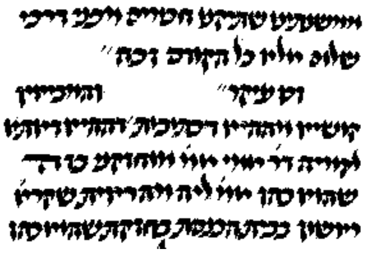

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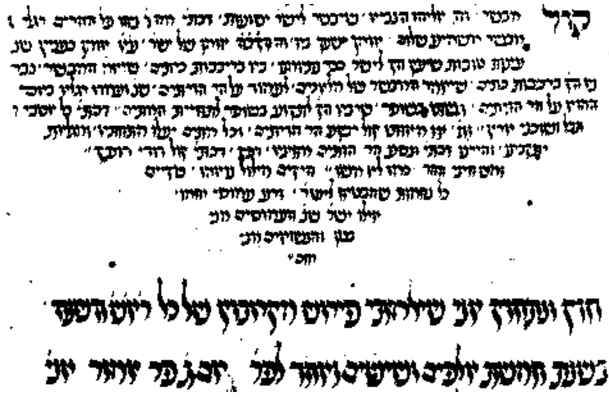

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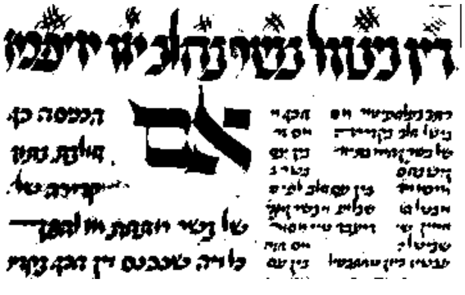

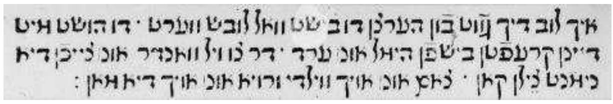

Figure 33. Ashkenazic mashait script in a book printed in Yiddish, 1543.

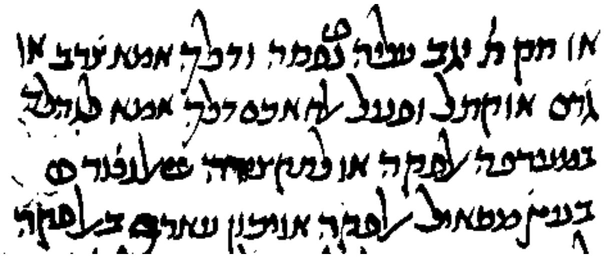

Figure 34. A manuscript of 1520 in Southern Karaitic mashait script. London, British Museum, Ms. Or. 2406.

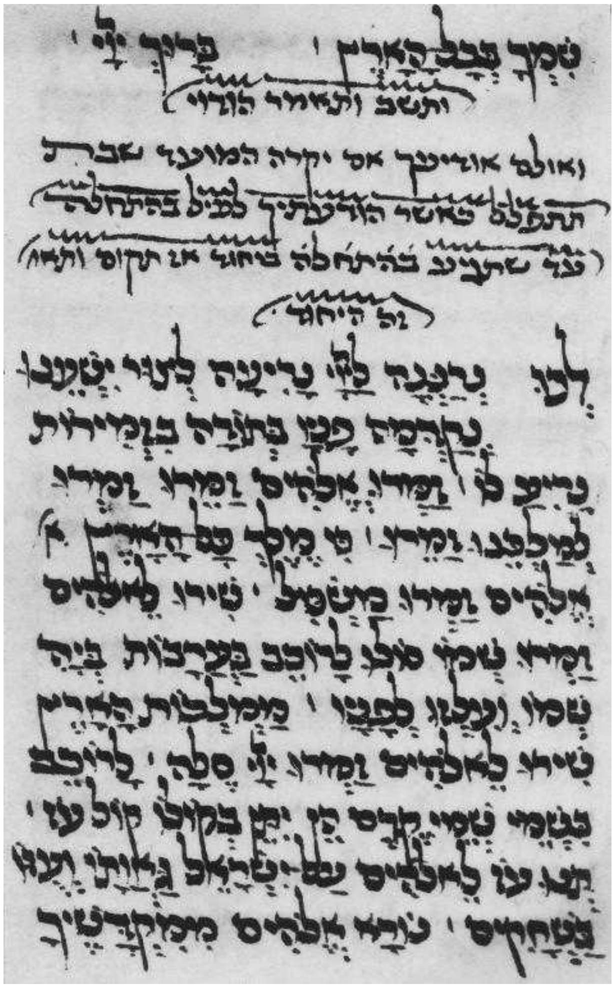

Figure 35. Extract from a prayer book in Yevano-Karaitic mashait script, 1525. London, British Museum, Ms. Or. 1104, fol. 60a.

LETTERS USED AS NUMBERS

Although in some early Hebrew inscriptions (such as the Samarian ostraca) there appear certain symbols which may be taken as numerals, in general letters of the alphabet were used as numerical signs. This usage is not biblical. It may have been an imitation of the Greek custom; the first traces of it are found on Hasmonean coins (c. 135 B.C.E.) The letters from *alef* to *tet* stand for the units in succession; *yod* to *ẓadi* for the tens, and *kof* to *tav* for hundreds (that is, up to 400). In the Talmud the numbers above 400 are formed by compositions (500 = 400 + 100 (ת״ק); 900 = 400 + 400 + 100 (תת״ק), and so on; in later times the final forms of the letters *kaf* ך, *mem* ם, *nun* ן, *pe* ף, and *ẓadi* ץ were not infrequently used for 500, 600, 700, 800, 900). The thousands are represented by the same letters as the units, but are generally followed by a kind of apostrophe (or two dots are placed above them: 5727 = ה׳ תשכ״ז). Numbers above ten are expressed by a combination of letters, those denoting the higher numbers being placed toward the right (e.g., 182 = קפ״ב). In an indication of the date of the year, the letter representing the thousands is generally omitted (5727 = תשכ״ז). The numbers 15 and 16 are not denoted by the letter י״ה and י״ו (since these combinations represent the abbreviated form of the Tetragrammaton): instead, the combinations ט״ו ("nine and six") and ט״ז ("nine and seven") are used.

א	1	י	10	י״ט	19	ק	100
ב	2	י״א	11	כ	20	ר	200
ג	3	י״ב	12	ל	30	ש	300
ד	4	י״ג	13	מ	40	ת	400
ה	5	י״ד	14	נ	50	ת״ק ך	500
ו	6	ט״ו	15	ס	60	ת״ר ם	600
ז	7	ט״ז	16	ע	70	ת״ש ן	700
ח	8	י״ז	17	פ	80	ת״ת ף	800
ט	9	י״ח	18	צ	90	תת״ק ץ	900

[David Diringer]

BRAILLE

This system enables the blind to read and write Hebrew with speed and relative facility. Until the 1930s, each school engaged in educating the blind and in printing Hebrew works in Braille developed its own system of Braille signs. There was no standard system of pointing Hebrew letters and a pupil graduating from a given Jewish school for the blind was unable to read the literature published by another. In 1936, an agreement was concluded among all the institutions engaged in the publication of the Bible, the translation and copying of books into Hebrew, and the writing and editing of material in Hebrew Braille. The agreement called for a uniform method of Hebrew Braille pointing to be adopted by all educational institutions concerned with the needs of blind children, as well as by the cultural centers providing Braille literature in Hebrew for the blind all over the world.

The problem and lack of uniformity in Braille writing existed in all languages and in schools for the blind all over the world. As a result of a UNESCO agreement in 1950, on the occasion of the international meeting on Braille uniformity, and upon the recommendation of the International Hebrew Braille Committee 1936–44, it was decided to adopt a uniform Hebrew alphabet in all countries and languages. According to this system, there are signs for the following characters: (1) all the Hebrew letters (with the exception of the end forms); (2) punctuation signs; (3) mathematical signs (numbers and notation); (4) all the Hebrew vocalization signs (the signs always follow the letter to which they belong); (5) signs for chemistry and physics; (6) signs for musical notes. Errors can be erased by straightening the embossed dots with the aid of a special implement or by passing six consecutive dots over the error. There are four institutions in the world engaged in the printing and publication of the Bible and books in Hebrew Braille: (1) the Jewish Braille Institute of America, New York; (2) the Israel Ministry of Education and Culture, Department of Special Education; (3) the Central Library for the Blind, Netanyah, Israel; and (4) the Jewish Institute for the Blind, Jerusalem.

[Zvi Hermann Federbush]

MANUAL (DEAF)

In Europe and America finger spelling as a means of communication between the deaf has been accepted for decades. Latin finger spelling is not identical for all languages which use the Latin alphabet. In all systems of Latin finger spelling one principle determines the position of the fingers: the similarity of the position to the shape of the written letter. This principle aids in learning and memorizing finger spelling. This is also the reason that the finger spelling of many letters is identical in the systems used for the different languages written in the Latin alphabet. The need for finger spelling depends directly on the cultural needs of the deaf in his society. Hebrew finger spelling probably was not developed sooner because the intellectual level of the deaf in Israel, now average, was low 35 years ago. During the second decade of the existence of the State of Israel, educational and instructional activities for children and adults in the community of the deaf were greatly expanded. Even though only a small percentage of the members of the Association of the Deaf and Mute in Israel draws its information from reading, this group continues to grow. They express a readiness to learn writing and finger spelling in the clubs for the deaf which exist in several centers in the country. This is especially true of Helen Keller House in Tel Aviv, the national center for the deaf.

Hebrew Finger Spelling

In 1968 a system of Hebrew finger spelling was published by Jonathan Shunary, a teacher of the deaf. The system was developed according to the following principles.

(1) Thirteen of the 22 letters in the Hebrew alphabet are expressed by accepted positions for the Latin alphabet as established by the World Federation of the Deaf (the International Manual Alphabet). However, almost all of the positions adapted for Hebrew finger spelling represent sounds different from those used in the International Manual Alphabet. This was done to keep to the principle of making the position of the hand as similar as possible to the intended letter. This was important to make it easier to learn the system and to spread its use quickly among the deaf in Israel. The letters *y, l, m*, and *n*, are expressed as in the International Alphabet, since it is possible to associate these to the Hebrew letters. The letter *a* was given the numerical value of one, and the letter *b* the numerical value of two. For several letters the position suggests a word beginning with that letter (Heb. דֶּבֶק, *devek*, "*glue*"; Heb. קַרְנַיִם, *karnayim*, "horns"), or symbolizes the position of the mouth during the articulation of the letter: for *h* the mouth is opened wide so the sign is a scratching palm, *s* is pronounced with a strong burst of air and so the fist is closed.

(2) Three letters representing consonants not used in the Hebrew language are included in the Hebrew system. This is necessary for foreign names, place names, names of people active in international politics, science, sport, cinema, etc. The sign for *ğ* (pronounced like the *g* in English "gin") is a reversed *g* with the fingers pointing down; the sign for *ž* (pronounced like the *j* in the French word "*jour,*" or *s* in the English word "leisure") is a reversed *z*; and that for *c* (pronounced like the *ch* in the word "church") is a reversed *c*.

(3) The system makes it possible to represent vowels which are not written in Hebrew as letters. (a) Every consonant followed by an *a* vowel can be expressed by moving the palm being used to the right. (b) *e* vowels are expressed by moving the palm being used downward. (c) *i* vowels are expressed by a slight twist of the palm being used. The letter *vav* thus serves to indicate two vowels, *o* and *u*, just as it does in written Hebrew. (d) *o* vowels are expressed by pointing the thumb up.

(e) the *u* vowel is expressed by pointing the thumb to the left and moving it in that direction.

Just as many signs are expressed while simultaneously employing the mouth or without sound, so there are those who use a combination of finger spelling and this type of speech. In this case the lips are used to express the vowels and the finger spelling is made simpler.

[Jonathan Shunary]

SHORTHAND

The first attempts at evolving shorthand were made in the 19th century. In 1866, for example, Max Gondos adapted the Gebelsberger German method to Hebrew. Other attempts were made by Wilhelm Lerfler, Dr. Hedrich, and L. Kutz. In 1918 Lenis tried to evolve a system of Hebrew shorthand. The reason for the late appearance of Hebrew shorthand ties into the fact that Hebrew was not utilized as a living language until the 1880s. The need became pressing after World War I when Hebrew was recognized as one of the official languages of Palestine and began to be used in courts of law and for administrative purposes. Although it was widely believed that there was no need for Hebrew shorthand, since the Hebrew spelling omits a considerable number of vowels, this view proved unfounded and it was discovered that ordinary writing could not keep up with the speed of speech. Methods were invented after World War I by (1) Ben Yisrael Zulman (1919); (2) D. Tames (1921); (3) Mrs. P. Shargorodska (1926); and (4) J. Maimon (1929).

Of all these methods, Maimon's proved the most successful and popular among Hebrew shorthand writers. He began to evolve his method in 1924, basing it on the international shorthand system invented by General Felix von Konovsky. However, he also took into consideration the sounds and grammatical problems peculiar to the Hebrew language. He accordingly introduced amendments into the shortening of syllables and vowels and also invented special ideographs for Hebrew words. After working for several years on improvements, he published his first textbook of Hebrew shorthand in 1929; in 1932 he produced a guide called *Elef Kiẓẓurei Millim* ("One Thousand Ideographs"). Maimon decided that Hebrew shorthand must be liberated from the traditions of the normal Hebrew lettering and be independent of it. He therefore established that Hebrew shorthand should be written from left to right, unlike the square Hebrew lettering, since this movement is easier for the right hand, as in Latin characters, and that Hebrew shorthand should also represent the vowels, as in Latin characters, and not omit them, as in previous methods. He explained that in Hebrew, vowels often serve as important aids to recognition of a word, and that if the vowel of the first syllable is represented it would be possible, in many cases, to shorten the word without reducing the possibility of deciphering it. Furthermore, according to his method (and in accordance with international practice) the vowel signs in shorthand can serve as links between the consonant signs. Other systems have also been propounded: e.g., by Ḥ. Bar-Kama and H. and R. Shtadlan, who trained a considerable number of students and won a certain amount of popularity among Hebrew shorthand writers.

[Jacob Maimon]

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ALPHABET, HEBREW, IN MIDRASH, TALMUD, AND KABBALAH. The rabbis ascribed special sanctity to the letters of the Hebrew *alphabet. The Psalmist's declaration that "By the word of God were the heavens made" (Ps. 33:6) was taken to indicate the power of the letters, which form the "Word" of God. Bezalel succeeded in the construction of the tabernacle because he "knew how to combine the letters by which the heavens and earth were created" (Ber. 55a). These divine letters cannot be destroyed, and even when the material tablets were broken by Moses, the letters flew upward (Pes. 87b). Similarly when R. Ḥananiah b. Teradyon was wrapped in the Scroll of the Law and burnt by the Romans, he exclaimed, "the parchment is burning but the letters are soaring on high" (Av. Zar. 18a). The alphabet played a role in the creation of the world. *Bet* was chosen as the proper letter with which to begin the creation since it is also the initial letter of the word *berakhah* ("blessing"). Furthermore, the letter *bet* had other desirable features. "Just as the *bet* is closed on all sides and open in front, so we have no right to inquire what is below, what is above, what is back, but only from the day that the world was created and thereafter" (Gen. R. 1:10). The claim of the letter *alef* was also acted upon favorably. It was finally placed at the beginning of the Ten Commandments. Another reason given for creation with a *bet* was to "teach that there are two worlds since *bet* has the numerical value of two" (*ibid.*). The Talmud related that this world was created with the letter *he* and the future world with the letter *yod*, both letters forming one of the names of God (Men. 29b). Every letter in the alphabet is granted symbolic meaning by the Talmud. Thus, for example, "*alef bet* means to learn wisdom (*alef binah*) while *gimmel dalet* means to show kindness to the poor (*gemal dallim*)" (Shab. 104a). Even the way the letters are written has significance. R. Ashi declares, "I have observed that scribes who are most particular add a vertical stroke to the roof of the letter *ḥet*." This stroke signifies that "He lives in the height of the world" since the *ḥet* is the initial letter of the word *Ḥai*, "He lives." The stroke above the letter indicates that the abode of the living God is on high. The addition of a letter from God's name to a person's name is indicative of Divine guidance and protection. Thus God placed a letter from his name, the *vav,* on Cain's forehead (Gen. 4:15; PdRE 21). Abram's name was changed to Abraham by the addition of the letter *he* (Gen. 17:5; Gen. R. 39:11). The *yod* which the Lord took from Sarai when her name was changed to Sarah complained to the Almighty that, "Because I am the smallest of all letters, Thou hast withdrawn me from the name of the righteous woman." God finally appeased the *yod* by utilizing it when Hoshea's name was changed to Joshua by addition of this letter (Gen. 17:15; Num. 13:16; Gen. R. 47:1). The total number of letters in the alphabet, 22, is also given significance. The wicked King Ahab merited royalty for 22 years "because he honored the Torah which was given in 22 letters," by refusing to surrender it to Ben-Hadad, king of Aram (Sanh. 102b). Great significance is given to those psalms which are alphabetically arranged (in 119 and 145), as are the first four chapters of Lamentations. Of the latter, R. Johanan declares that they were smitten by this alphabetical dirge, "because they violated the Torah, which was given by means of the alphabet" (Sanh. 103b). Halakhic exegesis also derives important laws from superfluous or missing letters in the bible and even from the flourishes and other graphic peculiarities.

[Aaron Rothkoff]

In Jewish Mysticism

The early mystical literature of the Jews, composed soon after the Talmud was concluded, dealt extensively with the symbolism and secret meaning of the alphabet. Apart from the special mystical alphabets such as the *Otiyyot de-Rabbi Akiva* (c. 700) and the alphabet of *Ben Sira (*Alphabetum Siracidis*, c. 700), attention was devoted to the secret meaning of the letters. The most noteworthy works are the *Sefer *Yeẓirah*, the *Heikhalot* writings, the *Pirkei de-Rabbi Eliezer*, the *Sefer Temunah, *Shi'ur Komah, Ḥarba de-Moshe, Sefer ha-Yashar,* the *Book of *Razi'el* and the *Book of *Bahir*. The important role that mystical symbolism of letters plays in these writings is already partly evident from their alphabetical structure and shape. The belief that the alphabet has mystical significance is based on the idea that the 22 letters of the alphabet are spiritual essences which came into being as emanations from God. The Talmud had already stated that God created heaven and earth with the help of the alphabet (Ber. 55a), and the idea that the 22 letters as spiritual states were the basis of creation recurs throughout mystical literature (*Sefer Yeẓirah*, 2:2; 5:22; *Zohar,* 1:3; 2:152; *Zohar Ḥadash,* Ruth; Moses Cordovero, *Shi'ur Komah*, 8; *Yal. Reub.*, Gen., and elsewhere).

The Letters As Spiritual and Material Structures

The letters, as written in the Torah, are reflections of the heavenly letters. Their relation to each other is like that of the male and female which attain fulfillment only in union (*Zohar,* 2:228; cf. 3:220). This characteristic is also expressed in the shape of the letters: *alef* is male, *bet* female, *gimmel* is again male, *dalet* female, and so forth (*Zohar Ḥadash*, Ruth). The form of the letters is not accidental; they are "spiritual essences whose external shape corresponds to their internal essence." The spiritual counterpart of each letter derives from the individual **Sefirot*; thus, for instance, *alef* comes from *Keter* ("Crown"), *bet* from *Ḥokhmah* ("Wisdom"), *gimmel* from *Binah* ("understanding") and so on (M. Cordovero, *Pardes Rimmonim*, 27:2; *Sefer ha-Temunah*, the end of *alef*). When a person pronounces or uses letters of the alphabet, it awakens the spiritual essence contained in them and "sacred forms" come into being which rise and unite with their origins, the heavenly letters, "which are the sources of emanation"; there they become subtle and incorporeal, similar to what they were before they took on a definite material shape in man's mouth (Cordovero, op. cit., 27:2; 9:3; 15:3; idem, *Shi'ur Komah*, 53; idem, *Elimah* (Ms.), 132; *Sefer ha-*Kanah*, 24; *Dov Baer of Mezhirech, *Or ha-Emet*, 12; idem, *Maggid Devarav le-Ya'akov,* 28). The whole doctrine of the spiritual, supernatural character of the letters seems to have originated under the influence of the Pythagorean theory of numbers.

The Letters of the Torah and Prayers

The letters "are the apparel of the Torah, woven from all the colors of the light, white, red, green, and black" (foreword to *Tikkunei Zohar*). An individual section of the Torah, composed of verses, is as "the soul for its physical members [the verses]" and in the same manner as the words draw their vitality from the verses so do the letters from the words: the one is the soul of the other and the apparel of the one is that of the other (*Pardes Rimmonim*, 21:5). This explains the particular sanctity of the scroll of the Torah and of the act of writing it (*ibid.*, 27:2; 20:1). The writing of a letter constitutes the material stage, its pronunciation, the spiritual stage, and its transition from oral pronunciation to thought is the third stage. Hence the special sanctity of prayer performed with purity and fervor, for it transforms the letters of the prayer into spiritual substances which rise, toward their heavenly origins (Cordovero, *Shi'ur Komah*, 19).

The Sequence of the Alphabet

Alef as the first letter encompasses all the others: "*Alef* is their primary source and they all draw from it." The remaining letters are organized in three groups, each consisting of seven letters: *bet, gimmel, dalet, he, vav, zayin, ḥet* "are the mystery of the rule of Grace," *tet, yod, kaf, lamed, mem, nun, samekh* "that of the rule of Mercy," and *ayin, pe, ẓaddik, kof, resh, shin, tav* "that of the rule of Strict Justice" (*Pardes Rimmonim*, 27:21).

Final Letters

The five final letters, which in the Talmud were stated to have been instituted by the Prophets (Shab. 104a), according to the Zohar were originally preserved by God, together with the "primordial light," for a better future; only Adam knew them. After the Fall they were hidden from him too, until Abraham through inspiration came to know them. Abraham bestowed the knowledge of the final letters on Isaac, he, on Jacob, and the latter, on Joseph. After Joseph's death, during the period of servitude in Egypt, they were eventually forgotten. The knowledge was regained when Israel received the Torah "and apprehended them in their essence," but after the worship of the golden calf they were lost to the people. Only Moses, Joshua, and the 70 elders still knew them. They brought the knowledge with them to Ereẓ Israel and there they were again revealed in the Song of Songs to the whole people and added to the other 22 letters of the alphabet (*Zohar Ḥadash*, Ruth). When Moses ascended Mount Sinai he found God designing crowns for the individual letters (Shab. 89a). These are the crown-shaped flourishes which point to the ten *Sefirot* (*Sefer ha-Peli'ah*, 73) and represent the life-principle (*nefesh*) of the letters (Vital, *Eẓ Ḥayyim*, 1:5, 9). The vowels are the *neshamah* ("soul") and *ru'aḥ* ("spirit") of the letters, which emanated from the *Sefirah Ḥokhmah* ("Wisdom"; *Pardes Rimmonim*, 9:5; 28:6; *Tikkunei ha-Zohar,* 5). The cantillation accents evolved from the *Sefirah Keter* ("Crown") (otherwise *ibid.*, = Tikkunei Zohar *Pardes Rimmonim* 29:5). Each *ẓeruf* ("combination of letters") has its special purpose, and is based on a particular mystical idea. The doctrine of the combination of letters is already found in talmudic literature. In esoteric literature this doctrine is further elaborated, first in *Sefer Yeẓirah* and subsequently in numerous commentaries on it, in particular that of Shabbetai *Donnolo (tenth century). Through the linking together of letters it is possible "to call into existence new creatures" and the *amora* Rava tried to create a man in this manner (*Pardes Rimmonim*, 8:4; *David b. Solomon ibn Abi Zimra, *Magen David*, introduction; Rashi to Sanh. 65b). The doctrine of combination of letters regarding the Divine name was derived from the doctrine of *ẓeruf* (Abraham Abulafia in his letter to R. Solomon; cf. *Sefer ha-Bahir*). The entire kabbalistic literature abounds in speculations about the alphabet, but the following writings deal particularly with this subject: *Sefer Barukh she-Amar* (1804); N. Bachrach, *Emek ha-Melekh* (1648), chapter *Sha'ashu'ei ha-Melekh*; Elijah ha-Kohen, *Midrash Talpiyyot* (1736), s.v. *Otiyyot; Isaac ha-Levi, Otiyyot de-Rabbi Yiẓḥak* (1801).

[Samuel Abba Horodezky]

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Judah Leib b. Joseph Ozer, *Einei Ari* (1900); S.A. Horodezky, *Kivshono shel Olam* (1950), 29–47; E. Lipiner, *Geshikhte fun a Fargetert Ksav* (1956); idem, *Oysyes Dertseylen…* (1941).

°**ALPHONSE OF POITIERS** (1220–1271), brother of Louis IX (Saint Louis) of France. His jurisdiction extended over *Poitou, Saintonge, and Auvergne, and areas including Agenais, Quercy, and the *Comtat-Venaissin, i.e., almost one-third of present-day France. Alphonse treated the Jewish inhabitants in his domains with arbitrary harshness. In July 1249, he decreed the expulsion of the Jews of Poitou. The order was apparently not implemented, unless for a short period. In October 1268 he ordered the wholesale arrest of the Jews in his territories, and seizure of their movable property to finance his departure on a crusade. He subsequently fixed the tax liability of the Jews in his domain at 8,000 livres for the communities in Poitou, 6,000 for Saintonge, 2,000 for Auvergne, and 3,500 for Toulouse. In July 1269 Alphonse compelled the Jews to wear the Jewish *badge; those who failed to comply had to pay the heavy fine of ten livres. In July 1271, during Alphonse's absence, his "vice administrators" (*vices gerentes*), claiming his authorization, expelled the Jews of Moissac.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: A. Molinier (ed.), *Alfonse de Poitiers, Correspondance Administrative*, 2 vols. (1894–1900); P.F. Fournier and P. Guébin (eds.), *Alfonse de Poitiers, Enquêtes Administratives* (1959), includes bibliography; Nahon, in: REJ, 125 (1966), 167–211.

[Bernhard Blumenkranz]

Bronze figurines of bulls dating from the 12th–10th c. B.C.E., Judea. *Photo: Z. Radovan, Jerusalem.*

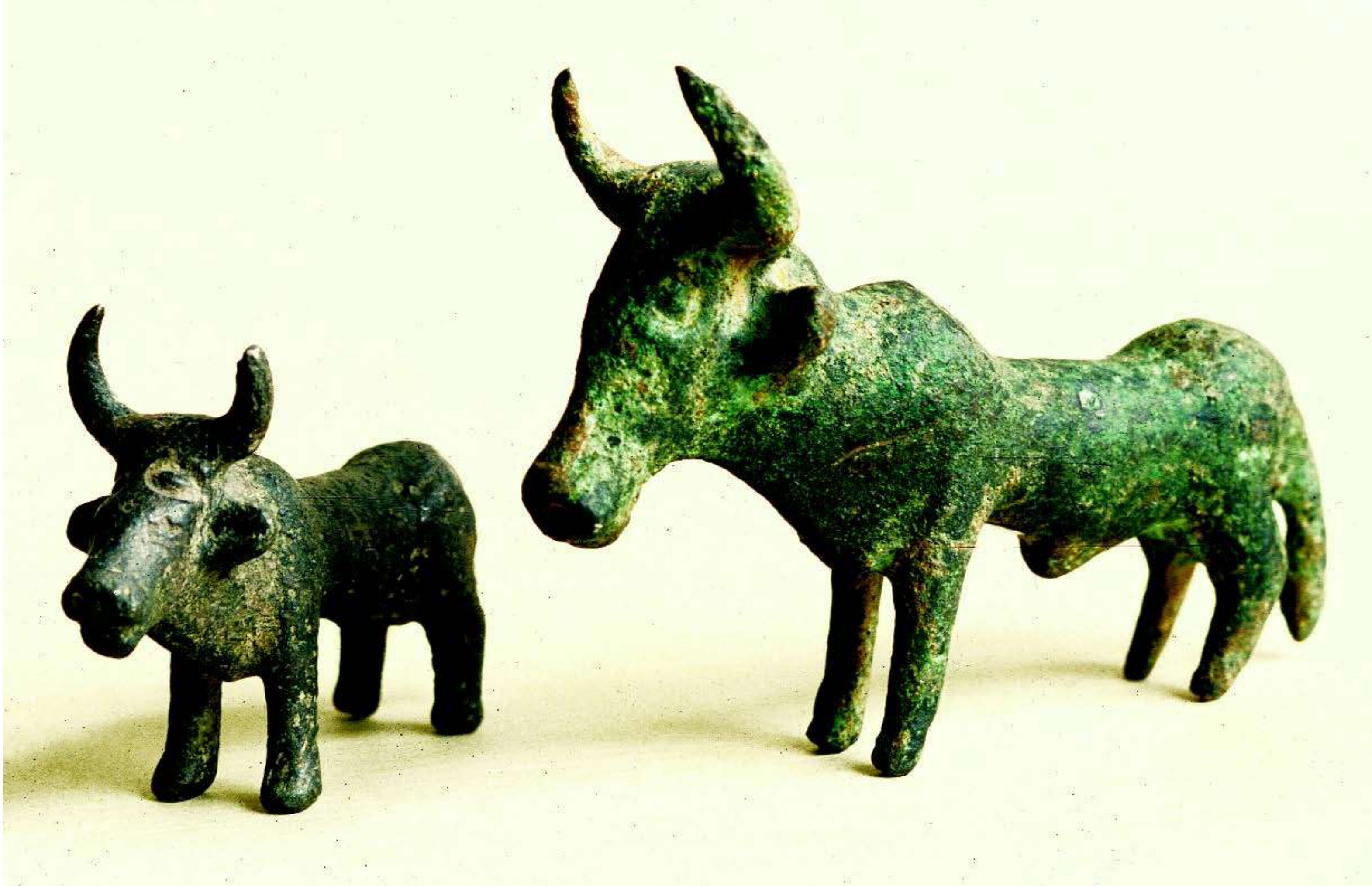

There are hundreds of animals mentioned throughout the Bible, ranging from the fantastic, such as the great fish that swallows Jonah, to the everyday, such as rams and calves. The fauna of Israel and the surrounding area where the stories of the Bible took place is extremely varied, as is its flora, because Israel enjoys four climate zones. The images here show a few of these animals represented in sculpture, drawing, and other art forms.

ANIMALS OF THE BIBLE

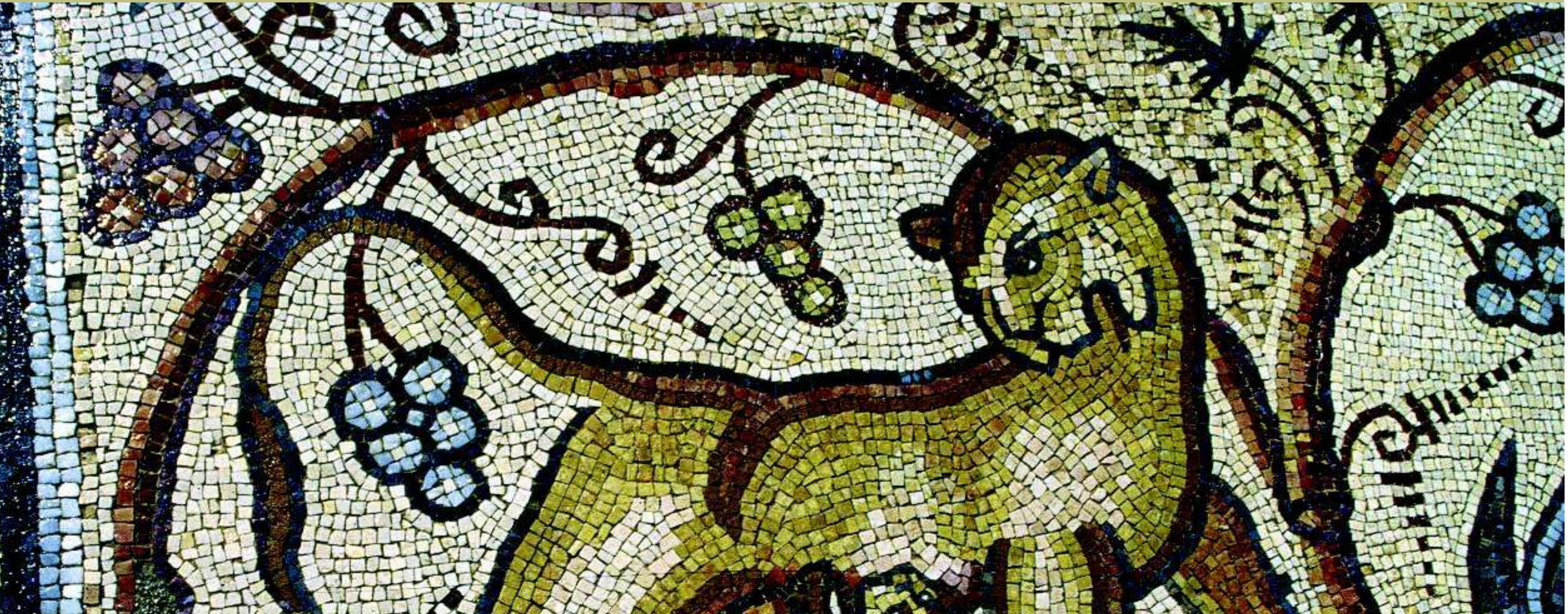

Detail of the mosaic floor of the 4th c. C.E. Gaza synagogue depicting a lioness and her cub. *Photo: Z. Radovan, Jerusalem.*

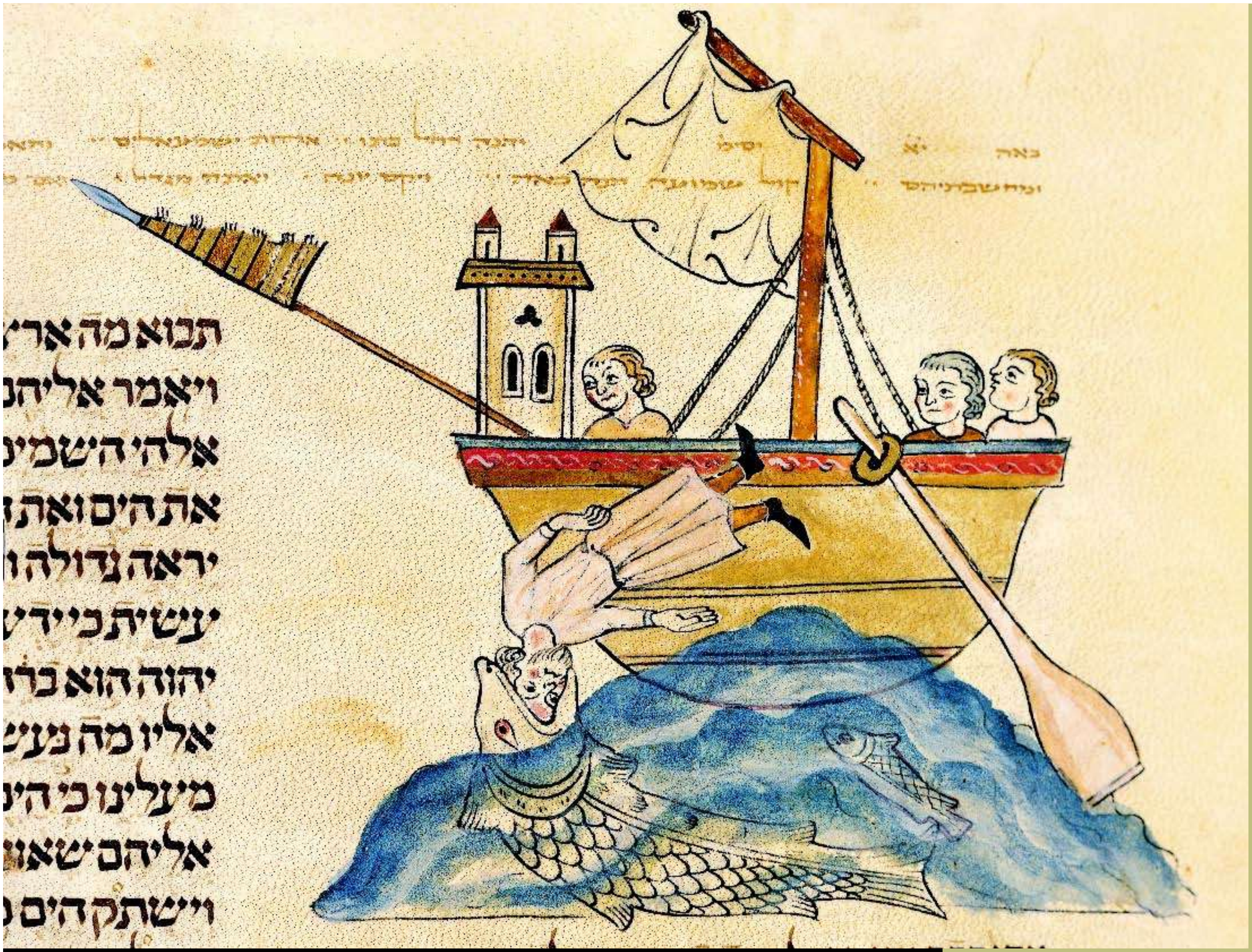

ABOVE: **Illustration of Jonah being swallowed by the great fish from a Hebrew Bible, 1299.**
© Visual Arts Library (London)/Alamy.

LEFT: **Cast of Hebrew seal (9th–8th c. B.C.E.) inscribed "Shema, servant of Jeroboam," found in Megiddo.**
Photo: Z. Radovan, Jerusalem.

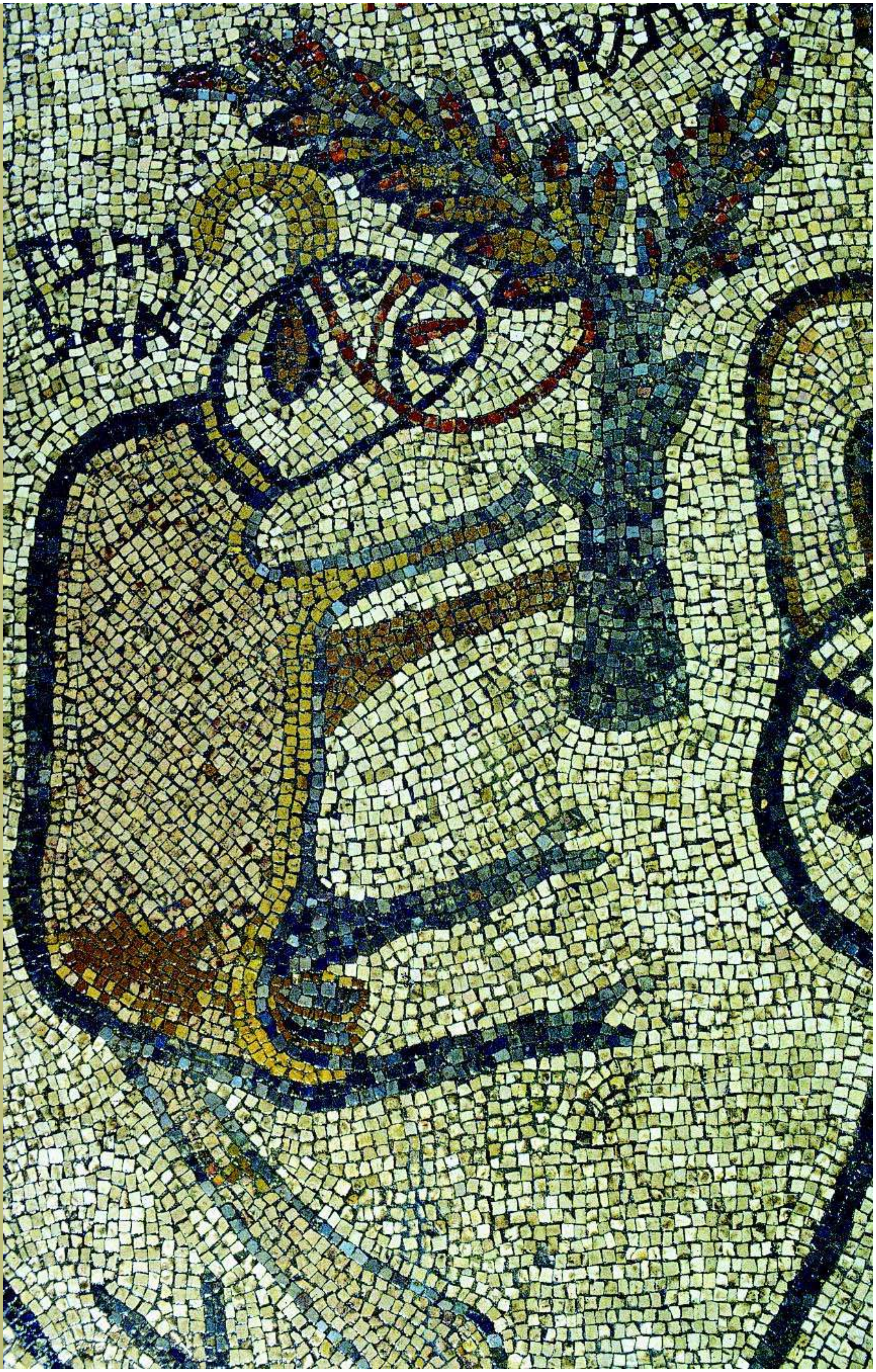

**Ram caught in a bush,
detail of the mosaic floor
of the 6th c. C.E.
synagogue at Bet Alfa.**
*Photo: Z. Radovan,
Jerusalem.*

Ivory calf, from Megiddo, Israel, Israelite period (c. 1200–600 B.C.E.). Bronze Age. *Erich Lessing/Art Resource, NY.*

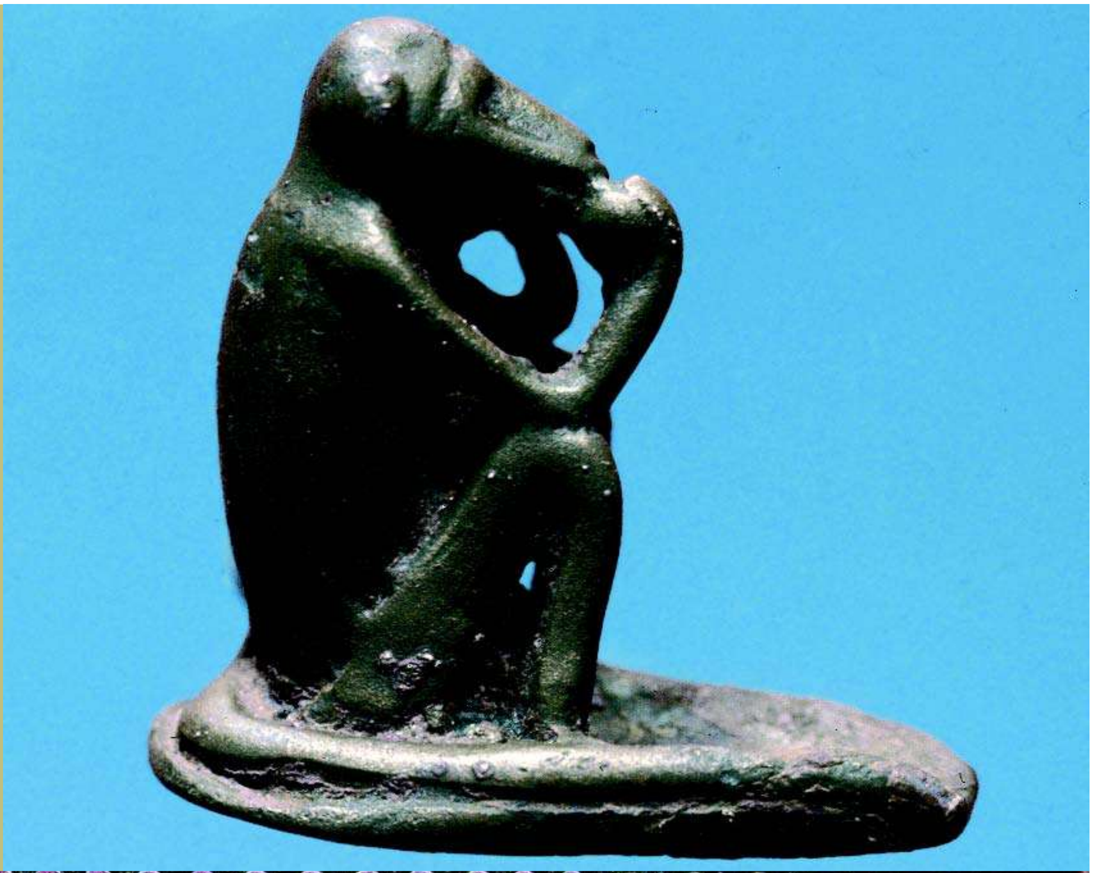

RIGHT: **Bronze monkey from Megiddo, Israelite period (c. 1200–600 B.C.E.).** *Photo: Z. Radovan, Jerusalem.*

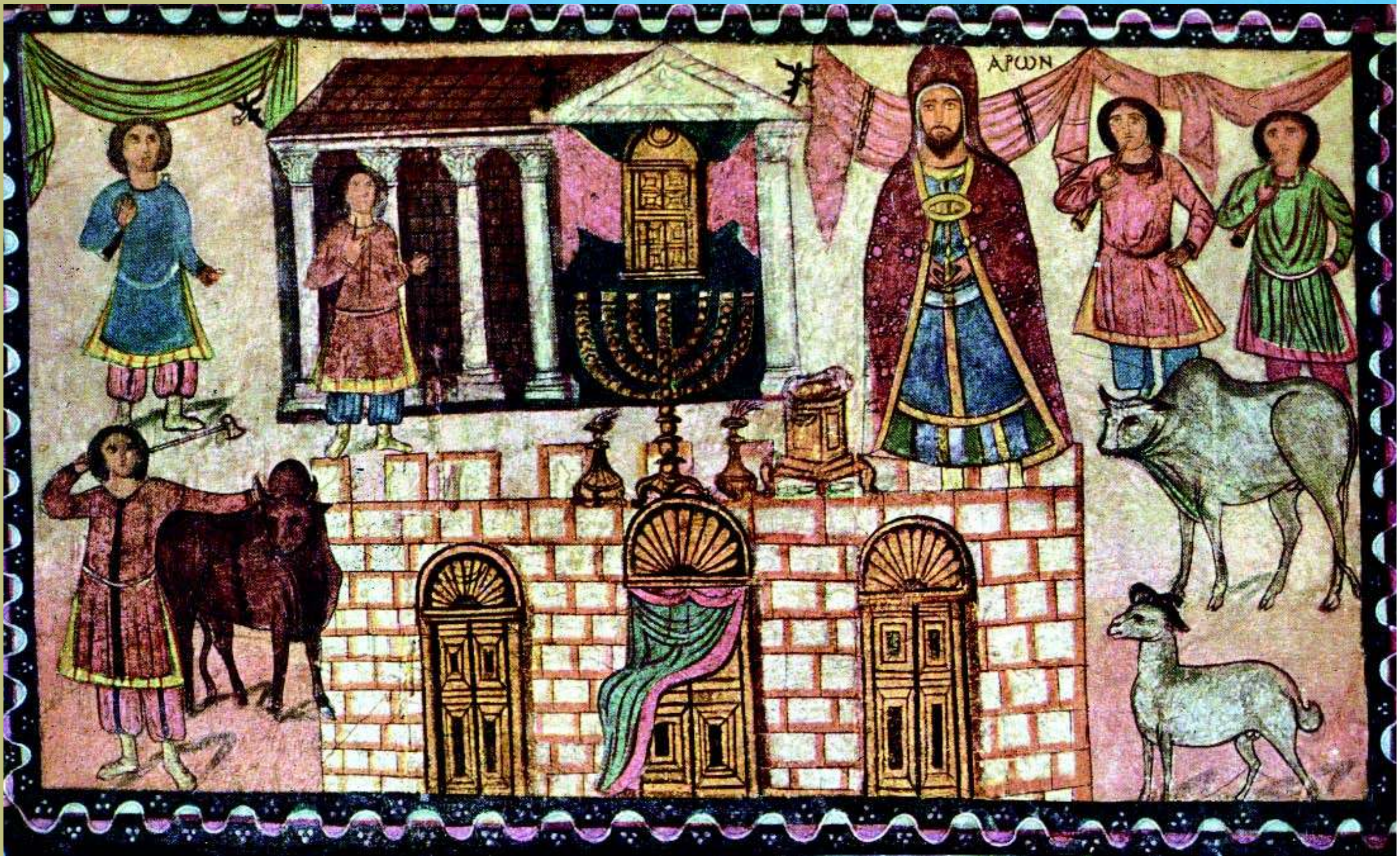

BELOW: **From one of the wall paintings of the Dura Europos synagogue: The consecration of the tabernacle, showing the ark of the covenant, the *menorah*, and sacrificial animals.** *Photo: Z. Radovan, Jerusalem.*

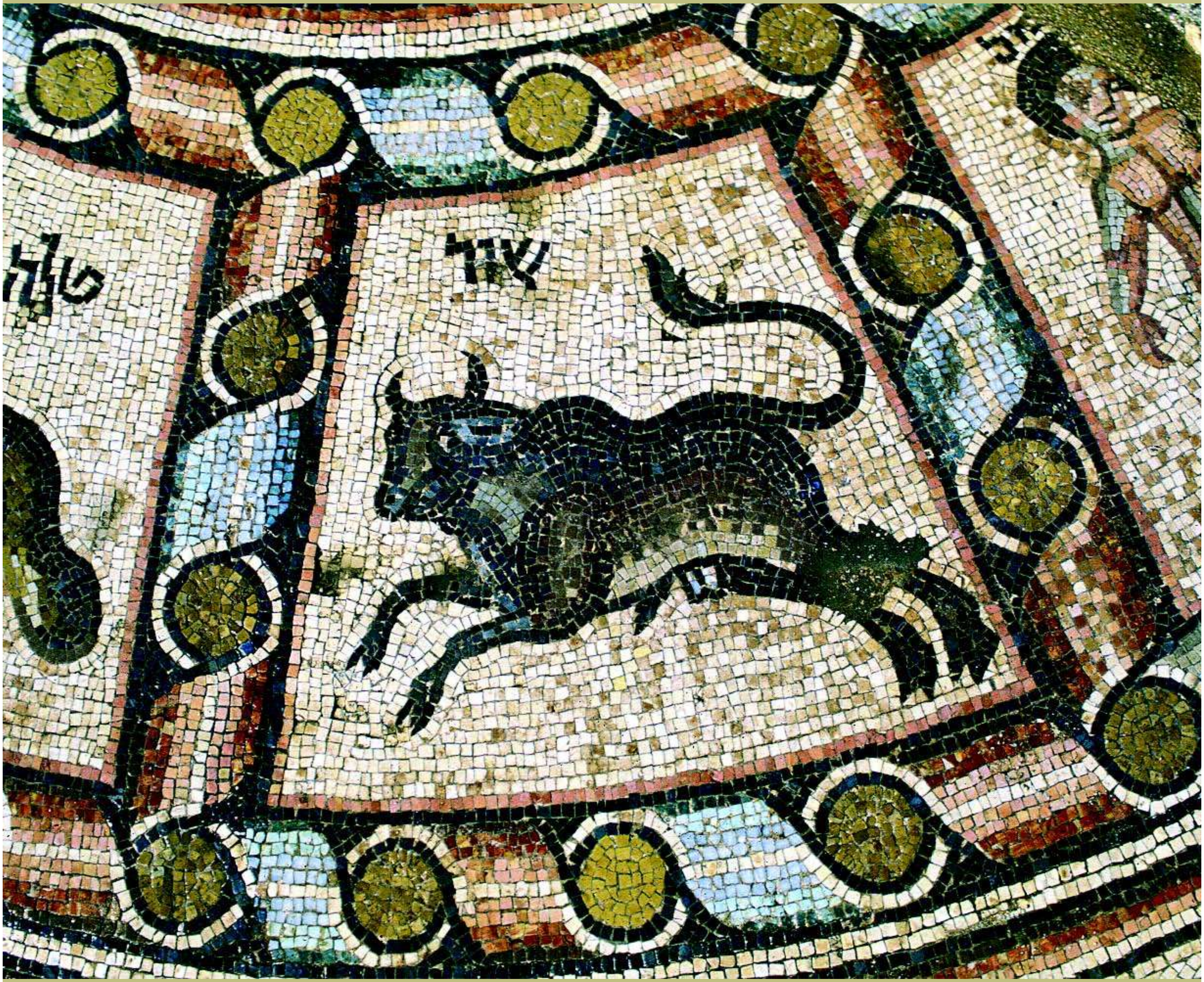

Hamat Tiberias synagogue mosaic floor. Detail from the zodiac panel depicting the sign of Taurus. *Photo: Z. Radovan, Jerusalem.*

Leopard detail, ca. 6th c. C.E., from the mosaic in the pavement at the synagogue of Maon at Nirim, Israel. *Erich Lessing/Art Resource, NY.*

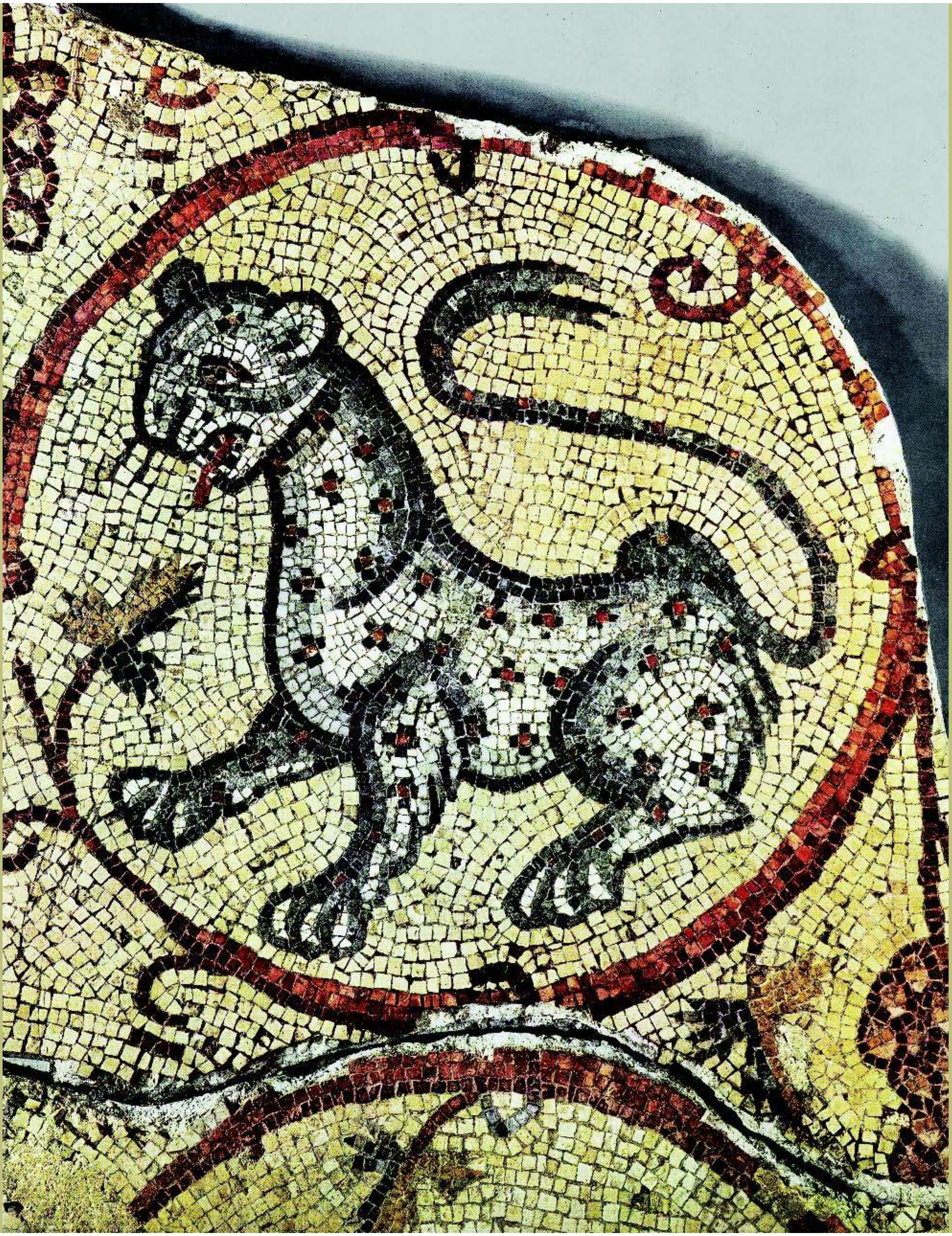

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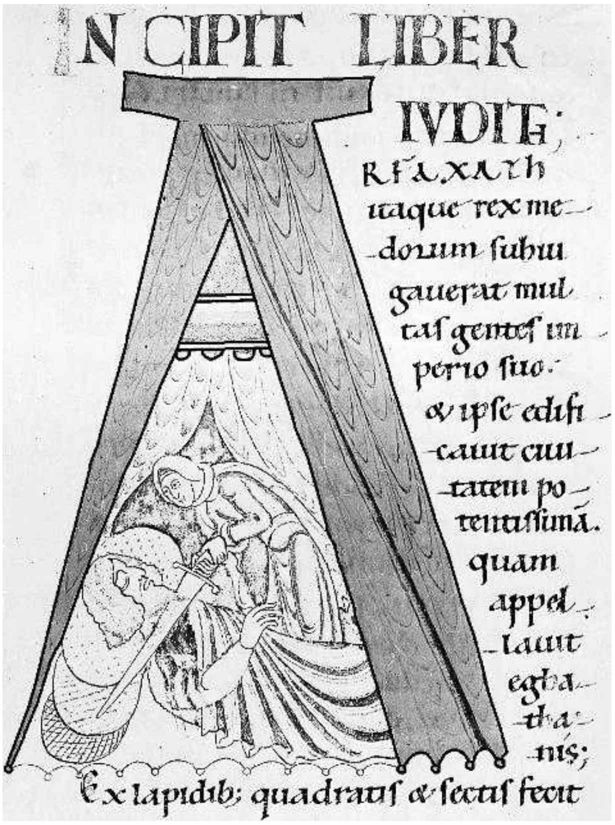
INCIPIT LIBER IUDITH;
Arfaxath itaque rex medorum subiugaverat multas gentes imperio suo. et ipse edificavit civitatem potentissimam. quam appellavit egbathanis;
Ex lapidib; quadratis et sectis fecit

Initial "A" at the opening of the Book of Judith in a bible from Citeau, Eastern France, 1109, showing Judith decapitating Holofernes. Dijon, Bibliothèque Municipale, Ms. 14, fol. 158.

ALR–AZ

ALROY, DAVID (**Menahem**; 12th century), leader of a messianic movement in *Kurdistan. Alroy was born in Amadiya, east of Mosul. His personal name was Menahem b. Solomon, but he called himself David as befitted his claim to be king of the Jews. "Alroy" (אַלְרוֹאִי) and "al-Rūḥī" (אַל־רוחִי) are evidently corruptions of al-Dūjī, his family name in Arabic. The available information about the movement and its initiators is contradictory and tendentious. The movement probably started among the "mountain Jews" of northeast Caucasus before 1121, although some sources and historians place its beginnings in the second half of the century. It gathered momentum from the ferment that accompanied the struggle waged between Christendom and Islam in the wake of the First Crusade, and during the wars preceding the second. The tribulations of the period and massacres in which they were the victims appeared to many Jews as the pangs heralding the advent of the Messiah. The principal leader of the movement was initially Solomon, Alroy's father, who claimed to be the prophet Elijah. An important role was played by one Ephraim b. Azariah, called "the Jerusalemite." The young Menahem was declared the Messiah, a claim assisted by his personal charm. He was of fine appearance, had excelled in his studies in the Baghdad academy, was acquainted with Muslim customs, learned in Jewish mysticism, and skilled in sorcery. To announce their intentions, the leaders of the movement addressed a missive "to all Jews dwelling nearby or far-off and in all the surrounding countries" announcing that "the time has come in which the Almighty will gather together His people Israel from every country to Jerusalem the holy city." They emphasized penitential preparation by fasting and praying. Their opponents viewed such propaganda as dangerous, and shortly afterward the movement was suppressed. Alroy, however, reestablished his center in Amadiya on the route leading then from Khazaria to the Crusader kingdom. Its strategic position as a Muslim base for operating against Edessa (Urfa) had been strengthened by fortifications constructed by Zangī, ruler of Mosul. Alroy now proposed to capture Amadiya. He was encouraged by the contemporary Muslim sectarians (Yezidis) who also sought to gain control of the stronghold and its surroundings, aided by the superstitious awe with which its inhabitants regarded miracle workers and mystics. Rumors were circulated that when imprisoned by the Seljuk sultan, then overlord of the local rulers, Alroy had magically freed himself. Alroy then invited the Jews of the vicinity as well as those living in Azerbaijan, Persia, and the Mosul region, to Amadiya. They were to come with weapons concealed in their garments to witness how he would obtain control of the city. According to an anti-Jewish tradition, rumors of his activities reached Baghdad. Two impostors had forged a letter from Alroy in which he promised to convey the Jews of Baghdad to Jerusalem by night, on the wings of angels. Alroy, therefore, acquired many adherents in Baghdad, and those who waited up all night for the promise to be fulfilled became a laughingstock. Before Alroy managed to do more, he was murdered – according to one version by order of the authorities – according to another, by his father-in-law, who had been bribed. A number of his followers in Azerbaijan who continued to believe in him after his death became known as Menahemites. Alroy's death probably occurred long before the date recorded by Benjamin of Tudela (c. 1160). The character in Benjamin Disraeli's novel, *Wondrous Tale of Alroy* (1839), is largely fictional as he is depicted there as a conquerer.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: A.N. Poliak, *David Alro'i* (Heb., 1958); idem, *Khazaria* (1951^3), 232–4; Baron, Social 2:5 (1957), 202–5.

[Abraham N. Poliak]

ALSACE, former province of the Germanic (Holy Roman) Empire, and from 1648, of *France, including the present department of Haut-Rhin and Bas-Rhin.

Middle Ages

The first evidence of Jews in Alsace is reported by *Benjamin of Tudela who mentions (c. 1170) Jews in Strasbourg. From the beginning of the 13th century, Jews are also mentioned in Haguenau, Obernai, and Rosheim, and later, during the same century, in Wissembourg, *Guebwiller, Colmar, Marmoutier, *Rouffach, *Ensisheim, Molsheim, Mulhouse, and Thann. Probably many refugees expelled from France in 1306 went to Alsace. Jews are henceforward found residing in some 40 additional localities there, notably, *Ribeauvillé, *Sélestat, Bouxwiller, Kaysersberg, and *Saverne. The Jews of some 20 communities in Alsace were victims of the *Armleder massacres, principally at the beginning of 1338. Further anti-Jewish persecutions affected the communities of Colmar, Sélestat, Obernai, Rosheim, Mulhouse, Kaysersberg, Turckheim, and Munster in 1347. Later, the Jews were accused of spreading the *Black Death, even before the epidemic began to ravage Alsace. A gathering of nobles and representatives of the imperial cities of Alsace discussed the subject in *Benfeld at the beginning of 1349, and the city of Strasbourg alone defended the Jews. Subsequently, the Jews were cruelly put to death in some 30 towns in Alsace. After the artisans gained control of the municipal council of Strasbourg, having eliminated the patricians, the important Jewish community of this city met the same fate. These events left their mark on the folklore and the toponyms of Alsace. The Jews reappeared in several towns of Alsace after a short while, apparently with an improved legal status. They were admitted as citizens in Colmar from 1361, in Sélestat from the end of the 14th century, and in Mulhouse from 1403, with almost the same rights as the Christian citizens.

End of 15th Century to Middle of 17th Century

Jews were able to settle in the villages of Alsace when expelled from its cities. They mainly engaged in moneylending. Jews were admitted into Strasbourg during the day to carry on trade, but were compelled to leave the city at nightfall. Regular contact and traffic existed between the Jews of Alsace and those in western Germany, Switzerland, Holland, and Lorraine. Alsace Jewry, basically Ashkenazi, developed individual characteristics, in certain ritual matters, for instance, in the choice of *seliḥot* ("penitential prayers"). The Alsatian rite (*Minhag Elzos*), has been published several times in at least ten editions (for the first time in Frankfurt, 1725). Communal leadership was centralized and authoritarian. The outstanding personality in Alsace Jewry during the Renaissance period was the *shtadlan* ("interceder") *Joseph (Joselmann) of Rosheim. The works of Joselmann's older contemporary, Johanan Luria, show that Alsace Jews at this period were much influenced by Christian society, ideas, and manners; their social and religious life shows on this evidence much variety, and indicates the social tensions and patrician tendencies in certain circles.

The aristocracy and citizenry found the Jews a profitable source of income and oppressed them in every way. In places where Jews were not granted the right of residence, they had to pay exorbitant transit tolls. Whenever Alsace was ravaged by war, the Jews were the first victims of the soldiers. The Jews living in Alsace were subjected to many restrictions. These extended to the wearing of the Jewish *badge, the humiliating form of *oath, and to family life. (Every Jewish marriage was submitted for authorization, and illegitimate children were forcibly baptized.) Jews were not permitted to own land or any building except their place of residence. Newcomers were excluded unless they obtained special authorization.

Under France (the Ancien Regime)

Although a new tax, the *Leibzoll* ("body-tax") was imposed on Alsace Jewry by the French, Jews continued to enter Alsace, and in certain cities their numbers rapidly increased. There were 522 Jewish families living in Alsace in 1689, 1,269 families in 1716, and 2,125 in 1740. The "General Enumeration of the Jews Tolerated in the Province of Alsace" of 1784, published in Colmar in 1785, shows that Jewish communities were scattered throughout the province, numbering 3,910 families (nearly 20,000 persons). The principal settlements were often near main towns, from which the Jews had been expelled but into which they were temporarily admitted for purposes of trade under differing regulations. Communities existed in *Bischheim, a suburb of Strasbourg (473 persons), Haguenau (325), Marmoutier (299), Westhoffen (282), Mutzig (307), Rosheim (268), Wintzenheim, near Colmar (381), Bergheim (327), Ribeauville (286), Bisheim (256), *Hegenheim, near Basle (409), Niederhagenthal (356), Oberhagenthal (271), Durmenach (340), Zillisheim (332), and Rixheim (243).

Economic conditions for the Jews in Alsace were precarious. Many engaged in moneylending almost always on a small scale, frequently to peasants. A few Jews acquired wealth as army contractors. The majority consisted of hawkers and dealers in livestock, grain, and scrap iron. In most of the villages where they were living, the Jews kept the butcher shops. The chief communities of Bouxwiller, Haguenau, Mutzig, and Niedernai wielded extensive jurisdiction according to the administrative division of Alsace. The inflexible piety of the Jews and their distinctive Judeo-Alsatian language distinguished them clearly from their neighbors, although in many aspects they blended into the Alsatian environment.

In 1735 Jews were forbidden to draw up their accounts in Hebrew characters and they were ordered to keep registers of civil status in 1784. Efforts were made to reduce their numbers by preventing Jews from other countries from settling in Alsace and severely limiting Jewish marriages. Tensions built up toward the end of the 18th century: in 1777 a band of criminals, egged on by the bailiff François-Joseph of Hell, forged a mass of false receipts which they sold to peasants indebted to Jews, purportedly freeing them from their obligations. Although the culprits were eventually executed, this affair aggravated the economic difficulties of the Jews and inflamed the Christian populace against them. In 1775 Herz Mendelsheim *Cerfberr of Bischheim, a wealthy purveyor to the king, obtained permission to reside in Strasbourg permanently with his family, although this was opposed by the municipality. Cerfberr was

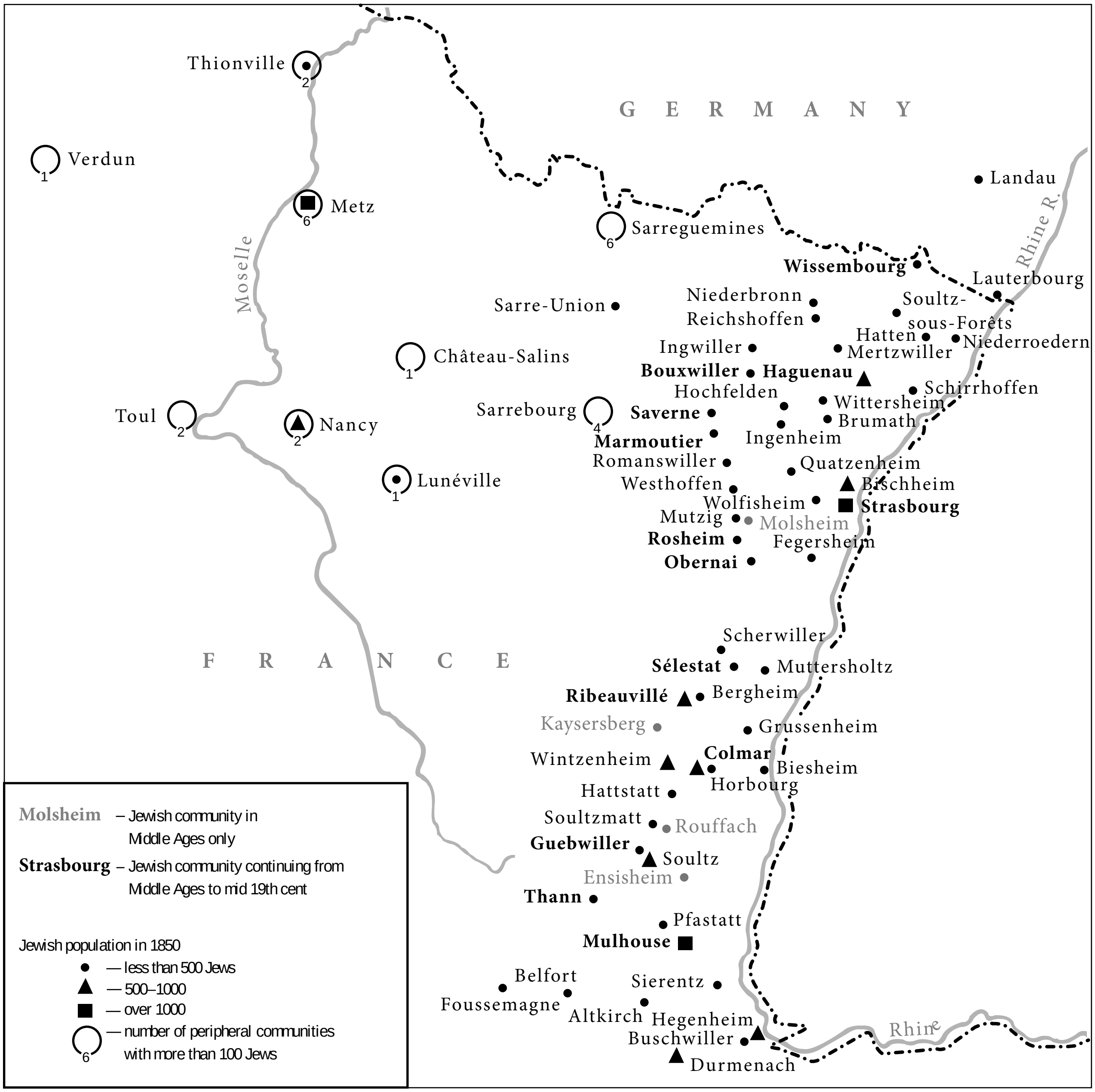
G E R M A N Y
F R A N C E
Thionville
2
Verdun
1
Metz
6
Moselle
Sarreguemines
6
Château-Salins
1
Toul
2
Nancy
2
Sarrebourg
4
Lunéville
1
Landau
Rhine R.
Wissembourg
Lauterbourg
Niederbronn
Reichshoffen
Soultz-sous-Forêts
Sarre-Union
Hatten
Niederroedern
Ingwiller
Mertzwiller
Bouxwiller
Haguenau
Schirrhoffen
Hochfelden
Wittersheim
Saverne
Brumath
Marmoutier
Ingenheim
Romanswiller
Quatzenheim
Westhoffen
Bischheim
Wolfisheim
Strasbourg
Mutzig
Molsheim
Rosheim
Fegersheim
Obernai
Scherwiller
Sélestat
Muttersholtz
Ribeauvillé
Bergheim
Kaysersberg
Grussenheim
Wintzenheim
Colmar
Biesheim
Horbourg
Hattstatt
Soultzmatt
Rouffach
Guebwiller
Soultz
Ensisheim
Thann
Pfastatt
Mulhouse
Belfort
Sierentz
Foussemagne
Altkirch
Hegenheim
Buschwiller
Rhine
Durmenach
Molsheim – Jewish community in Middle Ages only
Strasbourg – Jewish community continuing from Middle Ages to mid 19th cent
Jewish population in 1850
● — less than 500 Jews
▲ — 500–1000
■ — over 1000
6 — number of peripheral communities with more than 100 Jews

Jewish communities of Alsace, including those of the Middle Ages.

in contact with Christian Dohm who advocated reform of the Jewish status. Cerfberr appealed also to Louis XVI for its amelioration. An edict was issued in 1784 repealing the *Leibzoll*. Subsequent letters patent brought some security to the Jews, although reinforcing other restrictions. A commission presided over by *Malesherbes was considering the position of the Jews in Alsace, when the French Revolution swept away the *Ancien Régime*.

The Emancipation (1789–1844)

Despite the efforts of Jewish notables, such as Cerfberr, Isaiah *Beer-Bing of Metz, and Berr Isaac Berr of Turique, supported by *Mirabeau, Robespierre and, above all, by Abbé Grégoire, a change in the status of the "German" Jews was strenuously and successfully opposed in the first years of the Revolution by the deputies from Alsace and Lorraine. They claimed that such a move would provoke riots and massacres in their districts. Even when the equality of the Jews before the law was proclaimed on Sept. 27, 1791, people in the eastern provinces became used to it only gradually. These districts of France became in practice, and in formulation of anti-Jewish theory, the hotbed of opposition to Jewish emancipation. Many attacks were made on Jews in Alsace-Lorraine. While the Jews themselves were not overly eager to integrate there, they gladly used their newly won rights, especially concerning freedom of settlement. The Jewish population of Strasbourg, for instance, grew in about ten years from less than 100 Jewish inhabitants to over 1,000. *Napoleon I tried to force the Jews of Alsace-Lorraine to integrate, first on the basis of the document formulated by the *Assembly of Jewish Notables and the *Sanhedrin of 1807, and later by the edict of March 17, 1808, called by the Jews the "infamous decree" (*Décret infâme*).

The repayment of debts owed to Jews by Christian peasants was deferred, trading by Jews was subjected to special authorization, and the possibilities of finding replacements for the army draft were restricted. The regulations were theoretically aimed at Jews throughout the country but were implemented only in Alsace and Lorraine. Napoleon's requirement that Jews should adopt family *names, and the creation of the consistorial organization (see *Consistory), compelled, even the Jews most opposed to reforms, to conform to the general legal and economic structure of the country despite attempts at resistance. The discriminatory regulations were not renewed in 1818, and the Jewish religion was recognized by the July Monarchy in 1831 as one of the three religions supported financially by the state. This more liberal policy finally succeeded in turning the Jews of Alsace, like their French coreligionists, into loyal citizens of the realm. An *Ordonnance*, issued on May 17, 1849, supplied French Jewry with a strong constitution as one of the "spiritual families" of the French nation. In that framework the Jews from Alsace and Lorraine became a significant element in French Jewry because of their number and the tenacity of their Jewish religious identification.

The Expansion (1844–1871)

The Jews rapidly adapted themselves to the modern society. They retained strong roots in the villages. In about 1900 there were still some 30 official rabbinical posts in Alsace, apart from those in Strasbourg and Colmar which with the seats of consistorial chief rabbis. However, the Jewish population increased in the large towns, such as Strasbourg, Metz, Nancy, Mulhouse, Colmar, Belfort, Sélestat, and Saverne. A considerable number moved to Paris, or emigrated mainly to North and South America. Many became wealthy through wholesale trade and industry, and soon large numbers entered the liberal professions. The Jewish communal elementary schools, which after the emancipation increasingly replaced the *ḥeder* system and private teaching, provided a complete education, giving religious and preponderantly secular instruction. Those who could afford it preferred the state secondary schools to the Jewish vocational schools opened in the main towns (Metz, Strasbourg, Mulhouse, and Colmar) so as to direct the young toward handicrafts and agriculture. Jews also distinguished themselves in the universities. Local writers, such as Alexandre *Weill (1811–95) of Schirrhoffen and Lémon Cahun of Haguenau (1841–1900), achieved some literary fame. In the rural areas religious life continued nearly as in the past and Alsatian villages provided rabbis for the whole of France, Algeria, and some other countries. A great part of the urban population, however, tended to seek other more unorthodox means in which to express their Jewish faith or Jewish identification. This took the form of a tendency to mild religious reform (opposed only by the leader of French Orthodoxy, the chief rabbi of Colmar Solomon-Wolf *Klein), and of Jewish social activity outside the scope of religion in the narrower sense of the work, such as the founding of Jewish newspapers and periodicals. There were also cases of discreet withdrawals from Judaism and of some notorious conversions, such as those of the Strasbourg-born rabbi David *Drach (1791–1865), son-in-law of the chief rabbi of France, E. Deutz; and the brothers *Ratisbonne, who were the sons of the first president of the Lower Rhine consistory.

Under Germany (1871–1918)

The annexation to Germany of a part of Lorraine and the whole of Alsace (except Belfort) after the Franco-Prussian War of 1870–71, found the Jews of this region so rooted in French life that many families preferred emigration to accepting German nationality. Thus a number of textile enterprises belonging to Jews were transferred to Normandy (Elbeuf), while the Epinal, *Lyons, Paris, and many others were vastly increased by newcomers from Alsace and Lorraine. In the climate of opinion of the Third Republic, political activity, as well as the sciences and the arts, were open to Jews. The army also, despite the *Dreyfus affair, was an attractive career for many young Jews of Alsatian origin.

A group of the Jews who had remained in Alsace-Lorraine accepted the new situation and were strengthened by a large influx of Jews from the eastern side of the Rhine. The local community thus also reflected a German orientation but most of the Jews there maintained a distrustful attitude toward Germany and welcomed the return to France in 1918.

After 1918

Although the Concordat with the papacy had been abolished in France in 1905, it was maintained in the recovered territories in order to conciliate the Catholic Church, which continued to receive financial support from the state. For this reason the Jewish consistories, which were administered under the same system, continued as official institutions, and officiating rabbis and ministers received their salary from the state. This situation remained unchanged after World War II.

The Nazi Period

In June 1940 the Germans again appropriated Alsace and Lorraine and commenced to make them *judenrein*. Jews who had not been previously evacuated to the interior of France were expelled and synagogues and cemeteries were desecrated. New communities grew up in the center and south of France in which those coming from Alsace-Lorraine cooperated with their coreligionists of all origins; like the rest, they were persecuted. A large number of young Alsatian Jews were active in the underground movement, and many were deported and perished, among them the chief rabbi of Strasbourg René *Hirschler, the youth chaplain Samy Klein, and the young mathematician Jacques Feldbau. Soon after the Allied victory, many of the survivors returned to Alsace and Lorraine. Most of the village communities, which had already decayed before the war, were not reinstituted, but Jewish life was renewed in the large cities, especially in Strasbourg.

Postwar Conditions

In 1970 the Jewish population of Alsace and Lorraine numbered about 50,000, including newcomers from Algeria who arrived in France in 1962. Still the seat of a consistory, Strasbourg had an Orthodox, an Eastern European, and subsequently an Algerian-Moroccan *kehillah*, several officiating rabbis, and various educational and philanthropic institutions. There were officiating rabbis in the region for Bischheim (a suburb of Strasbourg), Bischwiller, Erstein, and Obernai (all three rabbis resident in Strasbourg); Haguenau, Saverne, and Sélestat for the Lower Rhine; Colmar, Mulhouse, Dornach (a suburb of Mulhouse, with a rabbi resident in Strasbourg), and Saint-Louis (French suburb of Basle) for the Upper Rhine; and Metz and Sarreguemines for the Moselle district. Of the 67 other communities only 41 had officiating ministers (some only for the High Holidays).

By the 1970s local traditions of the Jews of Alsace-Lorraine were dying out, and only a few elderly people still dimly remembered them. Large sections of the Jewish population were becoming indifferent to their Jewish identity and mixed marriages were common. However, the Jewish school in Strasbourg, where over 15,000 Jews lived in the early 21st century, other forms of religious instruction, as well as the influence of the State of Israel helped keep alive some knowledge of Judaism and an interest in Jewish affairs among elements of the Jewish population.

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[Bernhard Blumenkranz / Moshe Catane]

ALSCHULER, ALFRED S. (1876–1940), U.S. architect. Alschuler was a native of Chicago and a prolific architect whose commercial, industrial, and synagogue buildings dotted the greater Chicago landscape between 1910 and 1930. He worked his way through the Armour Institute of Technology (now the Illinois Institute of Technology) and the School of the Art Institute of Chicago. His most famous building, the London Guarantee and Accident Company Building, now a designated landmark, stands proudly at the corner of Wacker Drive and North Michigan Avenue and is better known today simply as 360 North Michigan Avenue. Located on the site of Fort Dearborn, a log-built outpost established by Thomas Jefferson in 1803, the property became valuable real estate when the Michigan Avenue Bridge was built. Work began on this remarkable 21-story structure in 1921. The building was viewed at the time as a permanent "civic" contribution to Chicago's cityscape, akin to the monuments of ancient Greece and Rome. Alschuler turned the irregular property line to advantage. The slight curve of the façade softens the rigor of the tall building. The classical Greco-Roman details that accent the arched entrance speak "power" as they did in ancient Rome. Four massive Corinthian columns hold up a pediment that bears the name of the building. Over the three-story arch, two reclining figures, Ceres and Neptune, gracefully make the transition from the arch to the horizontal pediment. Heraldic shields soften the windows on the third story. Centered over the pediment a spread eagle hovers over the entrance adding to the power icons of the entrance. The rhythmic colonnade of Corinthian columns near the top of the building as well as the cupola serve to add to the buildings height and its unity of design. Throughout the building there are also icons of corporate power and history. Alschuler built The Chicago Merchandise Mart ("The Merc") in 1927. It was an impressive limestone structure located at 100 N. Franklin

Street. Alschuler's design was classical, similar to the London Guarantee with arched windows and limestone sculptures depicting farmers' products. When it became known that the building was scheduled to be demolished by the Crown family real estate interests, Preservation Chicago launched a campaign to save it. The campaign failed and the Merc was demolished in 2003.

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[Betty R. Rubenstein (2nd ed.)]

ALSCHULER, SAMUEL (1859–1939), lawyer and judge. Alschuler was appointed by President Woodrow Wilson to the U.S. Federal Court of Appeals in 1915 and served until 1936, part of the time as presiding judge. He practiced law in Aurora, Ill. Alschuler was a Democratic candidate for the U.S. Congress in 1892 and for governor of Illinois in 1900. He served in the Illinois House of Representatives from 1896 to 1900. From 1901 to 1915 he practiced law in Chicago. Appointed federal arbitrator in labor disputes between the packers and their employees, he also served on the U.S. Coal Commission under President Harding.

ALSHEIKH, RAPHAEL BEN SHALOM (1881–1957), Yemenite scholar, teacher, and communal worker; the descendant of a family of sages and leaders in San'a. During the great famine in the years 1900–03, Alsheikh fled to Aden and from there migrated to Jerusalem. He studied at the yeshivot and earned his living by working as a scribe. After World War I he was asked to serve as head of the Yemenite community school in Tel Aviv and taught there until his final years. Alsheikh also served as a rabbi and religious instructor. In his later life he was appointed rabbi of Tel Aviv's Yemenite community and represented it in the Asefat ha-Nivḥarim, the *Va'ad ha-Le'ummi, and the local religious council and burial society.

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[Yehuda Ratzaby]

ALSHEIKH, SHALOM BEN JOSEPH (1859–1944), rabbi of the Yemenite community of Jerusalem. Alsheikh preached and taught at the Alsheikh Great Synagogue in San'a. He left his hometown in 1888 and in early 1891 reached Jerusalem. There he first devoted himself to studying in various yeshivot. However, he became involved in the leadership of the community of Yemenite immigrants in Jerusalem, founding educational and charitable institutions for them. In 1893 Alsheikh was elected to the administrative committee of the Yemenite community; in 1895 he was one of the founders of the kabbalist yeshivah Reḥovot ha-Nahar; and in 1908 he was chosen chief rabbi of the Yemenite community of Jerusalem. He left several works in manuscript form, including a kabbalistic commentary on the Torah, sermons, commentary on Yemenite liturgy, and various liturgical poems. In his unfinished *Divrei ha-Yamim le-Adat ha-Teimanim bi-Yrushalayim* ("Chronicles of the Yemenite Community in Jerusalem"), he describes the tremendous awakening of San'a Jewry to the idea of immigration to Ereẓ Israel and the beginning of the actual emigration in 1881–82.

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[Avraham Yaari]

ALSHEKH, MOSES (d. after 1593), rabbi and Bible commentator, born in Adrianople. He studied in Salonika under Joseph *Taitaẓak and Joseph *Caro, and then emigrated to Ereẓ Israel, settling in Safed, where he gained prominence as an halakhic authority, a teacher in two talmudic academies, and a preacher. He was active in communal affairs and was a member of the rabbinical court of Joseph Caro, who conferred upon him the full *ordination which had been reintroduced by R. Jacob *Berab. In turn, in 1590, Alshekh ordained Ḥayyim Vital, who was his disciple in *halakhah*. His major field of interest was *halakhah* but, acceding to requests to preach on Sabbaths, in the course of preparing his sermons he occupied himself also with Bible exegesis. He also engaged in the study of the Kabbalah, from which he derived the fundamentals of his religious philosophy. According to one tradition, Isaac *Luria sought to dissuade him from pursuing kabbalistic studies.

About 1590 Alshekh visited the Jewish communities of Syria and Turkey, and perhaps also of Persia, in the interests of Safed Jewry. He also sent an appeal on behalf of the Safed community to Italy and other countries. The last information about him was from Damascus. He participated there in a rabbinical court session in the spring of 1593. He died soon after at a venerable age.

Alshekh reworked his sermons into commentaries to most of the books of the Bible. Several of these commentaries appeared during his lifetime: *Ḥavaẓẓelet ha-Sharon* (Constantinople, 1563; Venice, 1591) on Daniel; *Shoshannat ha-Amakim* (Venice, 1591) on the Song of Songs; *Rav Peninim* (*ibid.*, 1592) on Proverbs; and *Torat Moshe* (Constantinople, c. 1593) on Genesis. Alshekh's commentary on the Book of Psalms under the title of *Tappuḥei Zahav* appeared in Constantinople in 1597–98. This edition was criticized by Alshekh's son Ḥayyim in the introduction to his own edition of his father's commentary on the Psalms. Ḥayyim Alshekh averted that the manuscript of *Tappuḥei Zahav* had been stolen from him and represented a first draft only of his father's commentary.

Between 1600 and 1607, Ḥayyim Alshekh reissued in Venice some of the commentaries published by his father and printed those which had remained in manuscript. They were *Torat Moshe* on the whole of the Pentateuch, *Einei Moshe* on Ruth, *Devarim Neḥumim* on Lamentations, *Devarim Tovim* on Ecclesiastes, *Masat Moshe* on Esther (all 1601); *Ḥelkat Meḥokkek* on Job (1603) and *Marot ha-Ẓove'ot* on the early and Later Prophets, with the exception of Ezekiel (1603–07); and *Romemot El* on the Psalms (1605).

Alshekh's exegetical approach was to present numerous questions that were followed by answers that delved into the syntactic, thematic, and linguistic unity of the biblical text. Alshekh's spiritual world consisted of rabbinic *aggadah* with kabbalistic elaborations. Nevertheless, he was keenly attuned to the stylistic nuances of the biblical text. Alshekh assumed that the biblical characters conducted their affairs using rigorous logic and deliberate thinking. In addition, the Bible had to be viewed as a faithful record of the thoughts, actions, and speeches of the biblical characters.

Alshekh's commentaries, which are permeated with religious, ethical, and philosophical ideas supported by ample quotations from talmudic and midrashic sources, became very popular and have often been reprinted. Some of the commentaries appeared also in abbreviated versions. Ḥayyim Alshekh also published his father's responsa (Venice, 1605). Alshekh was the author of a dirge on the "exile of the *Shekhinah*," which became part of **Tikkun Ḥaẓot*. Never published and subsequently lost were *She'arim*, a book of a religious-philosophical nature; a commentary on *Genesis Rabbah*; and a talmudical work. The commentaries on *Avot* and on the Passover *Haggadah* printed under the name of Alshekh are not original works but compilations from his commentaries on the Bible.

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[Tovia Preschel / David Derovan (2nd ed.)]

ALSHVANG, ARNOLD ALEKSANDROVICH (1898–1960), musicologist and composer. Born in Kiev, Alshvang became involved in political activities and was exiled to northern Russia in 1914. On his return in 1915 he studied composition, theory, and piano at the Kiev Conservatory with Reingold Glier, Boleslav Yavorsky, and Heinrich Neuhaus. Graduating in 1920, he accepted a teaching post there in 1923. In 1930 he was appointed professor at the Moscow Conservatory. Having abandoned teaching after a serious illness, he devoted himself to writing. Among his works are books on Debussy (1935), Musorgsky (1946), Tchaikovsky (1951, 1959^2), and Beethoven (1952, 1977^2), articles on Scriabin and piano playing, and compositions: *Symphony* (1922), *Symphonic Poem on Ukrainian Folk Themes* (1927), piano pieces, songs, and choral works.

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[Marina Rizarev (2nd ed.)]

°**ALT, ALBRECHT** (1883–1956), German Bible scholar. In 1908 he visited Palestine for the first time as a student in the Palaestina-Institut, directed by G. *Dalman. In 1913 he was appointed as one of the directors of the Deutsches Evangelisches Institut in Jerusalem. In 1921–23 he headed the German Evangelical community in Jerusalem and served as visiting director of the Institut until its activities were ended in 1938. Alt served as professor of Bible at the universities of Greifswald, Basle, Halle, and Leipzig. During World War II he resided in Leipzig and was rector of the university in that city for some time until he retired in 1953.

Alt's first book was *Israel und Aegypten* (1909). Noteworthy among his other publications are: *Die griechischen Inschriften der Palaestina Tertia westlich der Aruba* (1921); *Der Gott der Vaeter* (1929); and *Die Staatenbildung der Israeliten in Palaestina* (1930). He also published many works on the geographical history of Israel during its various periods. Much of his research, published in the form of articles in the *Palastinajahrbuch* and in the *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palaestina-Viereins*, was collected in *Kleine Schriften zur Geschichte des Volkes Israel* (3 vols., 1953–59). In Alt's works one can discern a trend toward illuminating the history of the occupation of localities, the political and administrative history of Palestine, and the role of the great powers in the Palestine area. He thereby created a scientific method that is adhered to by some of the most important contemporary researchers on ancient Israel. But the specific name the "Alt School" or the "Alt-Noth trend" generally refers to the scholars, mostly German, who subscribe to Alt's (and M. *Noth's) views on the nature of the traditions in Joshua 2–9, and on the period of the documents in Joshua 15–19. Alt prepared a revised edition of R. *Kittel's *Biblia Hebraica* (1937^3), together with O. Eisfeldt. Beside his many articles on the biblical period, he excelled in his knowledge of later periods of the history of Palestine down to and including the Byzantine era, and made important contributions to research on the Negev and Roman times. A number of his books and articles were translated into English by R.A. Wilson in Alt's *Essays on Old Testament History and Religion* (1966), including *Staatenbildung*… and *Der Gott der Vaeter*.

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[Michael Avi-Yonah]

ALTAR (Heb. מִזְבֵּחַ, *mizbe'aḥ*, derived from the root *zbḥ* (זבח), meaning "to slaughter [as a sacrifice]"), originally the place where sacrificial slaughter was performed (e.g., the sacrifice of Isaac in Gen. 22). According to biblical law however, animal slaughter was never upon the altar but nearby. Moreover, the altar was not restricted to animal offerings; it also received grain, wine, and incense offerings. Thus, whatever the original intention of the word altar, it was extended to designate the place for offering all oblations. Finally, this definition does not mention all the uses of the altar, since non-sacrificial functions are also attested: testimony (e.g., Josh. 22:26–29) and asylum (see below).

Typology

Altars are found everywhere in the ancient Near East. They were constructed from three kinds of material: stone, earth, and metal. The choice depended on such factors as permanence, cost, and, in Israel, on whether the altar was alone or attached to a sanctuary. This discussion will naturally be limited to Ereẓ Israel.

Stone altars are not corroded by time and archaeological excavations have unearthed abundant pre-Israelite specimens. Their form ranges from unworked, detached rocks, to slightly hollowed surfaces, to hewn natural stone, and to completely man-made structures. Some undisputed examples are at Gezer, Hazor, Megiddo, Nahariyyah, and Arad. At Arad, the Israelite sanctuary contains an altar three cubits square and five cubits high (the exact dimensions of the Tabernacle altar in Ex. 27:1) and is built of earth and small unworked stones (in accordance with Ex. 20:22; see below). The Bible also speaks of the same types of stone altars, namely, natural rock (Judg. 13:19–20; I Sam. 6:14; 14:33–35; I Kings 1:9) and artificial heap (Gen. 31:46–54; Josh. 4:2–8, 20ff.; I Kings 18:31–32). All biblical altars, with the exception of those in sanctuaries, seem to have been built of stone.

Altars of earth are explicitly commanded in Exodus 20:24 (cf. II Kings 5: 17), but because earthen altars would not survive the ravages of time, none have been found. Nor, for that matter, were any of the altars mentioned in the Bible built of earth. These, the simplest and least pretentious of all altars, were exclusively the creation of the common folk. Brick, technically also earth, so common a material in Mesopotamia, is not evidenced in Israel; a Canaanite brick altar, however, has been found (*Beth-Shean, stratum IX).

The shape of the Israelite stone and earth altars thus far discussed seems to have been simple, no doubt because of the prohibition against the hewn stone and steps (Ex. 20:22–23). The Arad altar, though in a sanctuary, is indicative of this simplicity. It is a square structure. In contrast to stone and earth altars, metal altars, associated exclusively with the central sanctuary of Israel, differ profoundly in shape and function.

THE TABERNACLE. Israel's desert sanctuary had two altars: the bronze, or burnt-offering, altar standing in the courtyard, and the gold, or incense, altar within the Tent. The courtyard altar was for sacrifices. Its name, *ʿolah* ("whole-offering"), is taken from its most frequent sacrifice, required twice daily (Ex. 29:38–43) and on every festival (Num. 28–29); it was also the only sacrifice entirely consumed upon the altar (see: *Sacrifice). The name "bronze" stems from its plating. Actually, it was made of acacia wood and its dimensions, in cubits, were 5 × 5 × 3. Its form is minutely described, though the meaning of all the terms used is not certain (Ex. 27:1–8; 38:1–7).

The most important feature of the bronze altar was its *keranot* (*qeranot*) or "horns," seen on small altars found in Israel. Refugees seeking asylum seized the altar horns. The altar was purified by daubing the blood of the *ḥaṭṭ'at*, or "purification offering," on the altar horns (Ex. 30:12; Lev. 4:25–30). Horns were an essential element of all the altars in the Jerusalem Temple. The origin of the horns is still unknown.

Beneath the horns was the *karkov* ("rim" or "border") which seems to have been a projecting rim, and is exemplified by many small altars in Ereẓ Israel. The *mikhbar* ("net" or "grating") was a bronze mesh that covered the upper half of the altar beneath the rim but neither its appearance nor its function is understood.

Since the altar was part of a portable sanctuary, it was fitted with four rings and two staves. Moreover, it was hollow and hence not burdensome. The altar was only a portable frame, since, in contradistinction to the incense altar (Ex. 30:3) there is no mention of a roof, and at each encampment it would, therefore, be filled with earth and rocks (in actual conformity with Ex. 20:21ff.). The same system of hollowed altars is known from some Assyrian samples.

SOLOMON'S TEMPLE. In the account of the building of the First Temple (I Kings 6–7), there is no mention of the sacrificial altar although the building of an altar, 20 × 20 × 10 cubits in size, is mentioned in II Chronicles (4:1). There are also allusions to the sacrificial altar in the construction account (I Kings 9:25) under the name of "the bronze altar" (I Kings 8:64; II Kings 16:14–15). The silence of I Kings 6–7 may be due to textual corruption.

More is known about its replacement, the altar constructed by King Ahaz (II Kings 16:10–16). It was a copy of the altar in the main temple of Damascus, probably that of Hadad-Rimmon (5:18). It was called the "great altar" (16:15), and was therefore larger than Solomon's altar. It had to be ascended (16:12); it was not made of bronze, since that name was reserved for Solomon's altar. It may have been the model for Ezekiel's altar (below). Ahaz had Solomon's altar moved to the northern part of the courtyard, where it was reserved for his private use (16:14, 15b).

Ezekiel's Altar

Ezekiel's vision of a new Temple (Ezek. 40:48) comprises a minute description of its sacrificial altar (43:13–17). It consists of four tiers, each one cubit less per side than the tier below. Since the uppermost tier had a horizontal 12 × 12 cubits, the ones underneath were respectively 14 × 14, 16 × 16, and 18 × 18 cubits. The height of the respective tiers, from top to bottom, is given as 1 + 2 + 4 + 4, to which another cubit must be added for the horns (*ibid.* 43:15). Thus, the total height of the altar is 12 cubits. Because the long cubit is used (app. 20½ inches), the altar was about 20½ feet tall, even higher than the altar attributed to Solomon by the Chronicler (II Chron. 4:1). It was ascended by a flight of stairs on its eastern side. The edges of two of its tiers were apparently shaped into troughs for collecting the sacrificial blood, the one at the base being called "the *ḥeik* [*ḥeiq*; Heb. חֵיק] of the earth" and the other, in the middle, "the *ḥeiq* of the ledge" (Ezek. 43:14, 17). Their purpose was to collect the blood of the *ḥaṭṭ'at*, which was daubed at these points (43:20; see below). If rabbinic tradition for the Second Temple holds good for Ezekiel, then even the remaining *ḥaṭṭ'at* blood was collected into the middle gutter, for it was dashed on the upper part of the altar walls (see Mid. 3:1).

It has been suggested that Ezekiel's altar corresponded to the one he remembered from the First Temple, in which case it would be an exact description of Ahaz' altar. Supporting this view is the Syrian-Mesopotamian influence upon certain of its features. It is known that Ahaz copied a Damascene altar. Its storied structure resembles the ziggurat temple-tower. The uppermost tier is called *'ari'el* or *har'el;* the latter may mean "God's mountain." Perhaps Isaiah's symbolic name for Jerusalem, *Ariel*, has its origin in this altar (Isa. 29:1–2, 7).

Ezekiel also envisions inside the Temple an incense altar, which he calls "the table that is before the Lord" (41:22). That it is of wood may reflect the reality of 597 B.C.E., when Nebuchadnezzar stripped all the Temple cult implements of their gold (II Kings 24:13).

Sanctity and Theology

The altars are legitimate only in the Promised Land. This is not because the power of Israel's God is spatially limited – He controls the destiny of all nations and can be addressed in prayer everywhere (e.g., I Kings 8:33ff.) – but because of the basic concept of the sanctity of Israel's territory: it is the Holy Land. This principle underlies the argument against the erection of a Transjordanian altar (Josh. 22:19), as well as the legal fiction of taking Israelite soil abroad, adopted by the Aramean Naaman (II Kings 5:17) and, perhaps, by his Israelite townsmen (cf. I Kings 20:34). The sanctity of the altar is evidenced by the theophany which concluded the week-long consecration rites for the Tabernacle: "The presence of the Lord appeared to all the people. Fire came forth from before the Lord and consumed the whole offering and the suet pieces on the altar. And all the people saw, and shouted, and fell on their faces" (Lev. 9:23–24). It is an assumption common to biblical tradition that a sanctuary is not fully consecrated – or is not divinely sanctioned – unless it has a tradition of a theophany upon its altar (I Kings 18:38; II Chron. 7:1), or that its altar is built on the site of one. The altar has mediating powers; it may bring God to earth, and it enables humans, through worship, to reach heaven. This is nowhere more evident than in Solomon's dedicatory prayer for the Temple, when he proclaims that even in a foreign land Israel's armies or exiles need but turn to the Temple and their prayer will travel to God along a trajectory that passes through their land, city, Temple, and then, at the altar, turns heavenward (I Kings 8:44, 48; cf. 31, 38). The altar, then, is the earthly terminus of a Divine funnel for man's communion with God. It is significant that later Judaism carried the tradition that the air space above the altar was an extension of its sanctity. The sanctity of the altar is evidenced by the asylum it provided anyone who "seized its horns" (e.g., I Kings 1:50–51). An early law, however, stipulated that this privilege was not to be extended to murderers (Ex. 21:14). On this basis, the altar provided no safety for Joab (I Kings 2:28–34); even then, Solomon tried at first to remove Joab who "seized the altar horns" (verse 34) from the altar before he had him killed (verse 30). The altar is consecrated with the "oil of anointment" (Ex. 40:10); it is the only object outside the Tent to fall into the category of the "most sacred" (Ex. 29:37), though not to the same degree as the Holy of Holies inside it. For example, the non-priest is prohibited from viewing the inner sancta (Num. 4:20) but is only barred from touching the altar (Ex. 29:37); the disqualified priest is barred from contact with the sanctuary Holy of Holies, but in regard to the altar, as the verb *karav* (*qrv*) or *niggash* ("encroach") shows, he is forbidden only to officiate at it but is free to touch it (Ex. 28:43; 30:20; Lev. 21:23). The composition of the Holy of Holies also bespeaks this sanctity differential: the inner sancta are plated with gold, the altar with bronze; in transit the former are covered with a blue cloth, the latter with a purple cloth (Num. 4:4–14). Laymen were permitted access only to a corridor within the sanctuary enclosure to perform the required preliminary rituals with their animal oblation (the presentation, laying of hands, slaughter, and flaying of the animal; Lev. 1:3–6), and to assemble there as spectators (Lev. 8:3–4; 9:5). Only the high priest may bless the people from the altar (Lev. 9:22, "and he descended"). Solomon, who performed this function, did so in front of the altar (I Kings 8:64–65).

The sacrificial altar must not only be consecrated by an application of the anointing oil but by a week-long ceremonial, during which the altar horns are daubed with the blood of a purification offering (Lev. 8:15) each day of the week (Ex. 29:36–37). The meaning of this consecration can be deduced through a series of analogies with other uses of sacrificial blood, such as the purification rite of a healed leper (Lev. 14:14–17, 25–28); the investiture of new priests (Ex. 29:20; Lev. 8:23–24); the reconsecration rites for defiled altars (Lev. 4:25, 34; 5:9); and the smearing of the lintel and doorposts with blood of the paschal sacrifice (Ex. 12:7, 22). The things which receive the blood are extremities; i.e., the very points of the object which a hostile force would strike first in attacking it. In the ancient Near East, temples were periodically smeared with supposed potent substances at precisely the same vulnerable points, in order to expel the malefic power from the object and to protect it against future incursions. The blood rites therefore had a purgative and an apotropaic function. It is not too difficult to deduce that in Israel these rituals had the same dual purpose; i.e., to purge the altar of any uncleanliness and to protect it from future evil influence. The verbs used in regard to purification apply to the altar but never to man. The blood for each stems from a different sacrifice: for the altar the *ḥaṭṭ'at* is used but not for humans. Indeed in the case of humans the ritual purification has already taken place by previous ablution (for the leper, Lev. 14:2–9; for the priest, Ex. 29:4). The function of the blood rite therefore is to ward off evil; it is an apotropaic act (cf. the paschal sacrifice, Ex. 12:23). The consecration of both priest and altar was performed, however, by the anointing oil (Ex. 29:21; Lev. 8:11).

The blood of sacrifices must terminate on the altar, if not on its horns, then upon its walls and base. This leads to another equally significant function of the altar: the blood prohibition. Israelites and non-Israelites alike are constrained from eating blood, because it is the life of the animal (Gen. 9:4). The blood must be drained and returned to the Creator. There is only one legitimate place where this can be done: at the altar of the central sanctuary. The altar, then, is the instrument by which the animal's life is restored to God. Indeed, in Leviticus occurs the clear, unambiguous statement that whoever slaughters an ox, sheep, or goat elsewhere but at the sanctuary altar is guilty of murder (Lev. 17:3–4). It is permitted to kill animals and eat their flesh but the blood must not be tampered with; it must be returned to God via the altar, if the animal is sacrificeable, and via the earth if brought down in the hunt (Lev. 17:13–14). Thus, the sanctuary altar legitimates animal slaughter; it is the divinely-appointed instrument of effecting expiation for taking animal life (Lev. 17:11).

The prohibition of making steps on the altar "that your nakedness be not exposed upon it" (Ex. 20:23) is another evidence for the sanctity of the altar. The early altar at the sanctuary of Arad, with a step to it, illustrates that the prohibition was practical, not theoretical. For this reason, once Israelites adopted trousers, a Persian invention, the priests were required to wear breeches (Ex. 28:42–43).

Incense Altar

All the biblical accounts of the sanctuary speak not only of the sacrificial altar but also of an incense altar within the sanctuary building. The incense altar of the Tabernacle is described in detail (Ex. 30:1–10; 37:25–28). Its dimensions were 1 × 1 × 2 cubits. Like the sacrificial altar, it contained horns, rings, and staves for carrying, and was made of acacia wood. However, it differed from it in being plated with gold, not with bronze; also, the plating extended over the top for it was solid and had a roof, in contrast to the sacrificial altar. Its place was directly in front of the curtain, flanked by the two other golden objects, the candelabrum (Ex. 25:31ff.) and table (23ff.). Incense was burned upon it twice daily at the time of the *tamid*, or "daily," offering. No other offering but the prescribed incense was tolerated (9b).

Reference to the incense altar of Solomon's Temple is found in the construction account (I Kings 6:20–22; 7:48) and in the incense offering ascribed to King Uzziah (II Chron. 26:16). In his blueprint for the new Temple (Ezek. 41:22), Ezekiel may have been thinking of the incense altar he saw in the Temple (as a priest, he had access to it).

The historicity of these accounts has been called into question since the critical work of J. *Wellhausen in the late 19th-early 20th centuries on the assumption that the burning of incense was not introduced into Israel until the Second Temple (see I Macc. 1:54). However, many small altars have been found in Ereẓ Israel dating back to the Bronze Age, too small for animal offerings. Some actually approximate the dimensions of the Tabernacle altar and are even equipped with horns, e.g., at Shechem and Megiddo. An incense altar, identified as such by its inscription, has been recently excavated in Khirbet Mudayna in Jordan at a site dating to the early eighth century B.C.E. Thus, the incense altar was standard equipment for neighboring temples and cannot be denied to Israel.

Since there is no reason to deny that there was an incense altar in Solomon's Temple, there remains only the question of the incense altar ascribed to the Tabernacle. Scholars have been nearly unanimous in declaring it an anachronistic insertion based upon the Temple. Their suspicion is strengthened by the placement of its description not in the text containing the rest of the inner sancta (Ex. 26), but after the description of the entire Tabernacle and its paraphernalia (Ex. 30:1–10) – an afterthought, as it were. The objection is fallacious. The fact that it is not found in its "logical" place is in itself reason to suspect that another kind of logic obtained there. Functionally, the incense is outside the carefully graded sanctity outside of chapters 28–29; as such its description appropriately follows those chapters.

[Jacob Milgrom]

In *Halakhah*

In talmudic sources the word "altar," when unqualified, refers to the outer altar (Yoma 5:5), which stood in the Temple Court in the open, a distance of 22 cubits from the corner of the porch (Mid. 5:1). Most of it was in the southern sector (Yoma 16a; but see the opinion of R. Judah, *ibid.;* see also Zev. 58b). For building the altar for the Second Temple prophetical testimony was needed to determine the exact required location (Zev. 62a). This altar is also called "the altar of bronze" because of its bronze cover (Hag. 3:8) and "the altar of the burnt offering," because daily burnt offerings and other sacrifices were offered upon it (Men. 4:4).

According to talmudic sources the altar was ten cubits high (but Jos., Wars, 5:225 has 15 cubits). It was a structure of stones joined together with earth (Mekh. Sb-Y. Yitro 20; Epstein, ed., 156) and consisted of four square layers formed of stones, plaster, and a filling of mortar (Zev. 54a), the wider stones being placed below and the narrower above, as described later (Suk. 45a; Mid. 3:1; Zev. 54a). These dimensions made the altar four cubits larger on all four sides than the altar of Solomon's Temple (II Chron. 4:1; Mid. 3:1). The first layer was 32 × 32 cubits (according to Jos., *ibid.*, 50 × 50), and one cubit high. The second layer was 30 × 30 cubits and five cubits high. The lower projection of one cubit each on the north and at the northeast and southwest corners, which were one cubit higher than the ground (Tosef. Zev. 6:2; Mid. 3:1), was called the base. There was no base in the southeast corner (Zev. 54a). In the southwest corner there were several narrow apertures through which the blood flowed down to the water channel, and from there to the brook of Kidron (Mid. 3:2; Yoma 5:6). Five cubits from the ground, i.e., in the middle of the altar, a red line, the "*hut shel sikrah*," encircled it, indicating the place for the upper and the lower sprinkling of the blood (Mid. 3:1; Tosef. Zev. 6:2). The third layer was 28 × 28 cubits, and three cubits high. The cubit-wide projection which encircled the middle of the altar was called the *sovev* ("surround"). The priest walked along it, to offer up the burnt offering of a bird (Zev. 6:5), and to sprinkle the blood of the sacrifices upon the altar with his finger (Zev. 5:3). The fourth layer constituted the "horns" of the altar. They were four stones, one cubit by one, placed at the four corners of the altar. After deducting the breadth of the horns (one cubit) and another cubit within, used as a path for the priests (*karkov*, "border"; Tosef. Shek. 3:19; Zev. 62a) when removing the ashes, an area of 24 × 24 cubits remained which was assigned as the place of the fire. The larger fire was in the southeast corner (Tam. 2:4) and the smaller, for incense, opposite it in the southwest corner (Tam. 2:5). Although open to the sky, it is stated that the rain never extinguished the wood fire, nor did the wind disturb the column of smoke (Avot 5:5). In the center of the altar there was an enormous heap of ashes called *tappu'ah* ("apple"), because of its round shape (Tam. 2:2).

According to R. Meir, the dimensions of the projections of the base, of the surround, and of the horns, were measured by the larger cubit, which was six handbreadths (Kelim 17:10; Tosef. Kelim, BM 6:12–13; see Men. 97b). On top of the altar there were two bowls, either of silver or limestone, into which the water and the wine of the water libation were poured during Tabernacles (Suk. 4:9). During the rest of the year the wine libation was poured into the bowl on the east (Tosef. Suk. 3:14; Sif. Num., Shelah 107). From the bowls the wine flowed through a gutter in the floor of the court (Tosef. Suk. 3:14) into the pits (foundations of the altar) in the southwest corner (Mid. 3:3). The wine was absorbed in the pit or congealed inside the pipe between the porch and the altar, and the pipe consequently had to be cleaned. In the opinion of R. Yose, the pit penetrated to the abyss (Tosef. Suk. 3:15; Suk. 49a).

The stones of the altar were smooth (Zev. 54a), taken from the virgin soil of the valley of Beth Cherem (Mid. 3:4). The use of iron was forbidden in its erection. The stones were plastered over twice yearly, at Passover and at Tabernacles, and, according to Judah ha-Nasi it was plastered with a cloth every Sabbath eve (Mid. 3:4; Maim., Yad, Beit ha-Behirah 1:16). In the times of the Hasmoneans the Syrians placed the "Abomination of Desolation" upon the altar (I Macc. 1:54). When the Temple was subsequently cleansed they were doubtful whether it could be used, and hid the stones (*ibid.* 4:44; Meg. Ta'an. 9; Av. Zar. 52b) in a chamber in the *Bet ha-Moked* (Chamber of the Hearth; Mid. 1:6). The dedication of the altar (I Macc. 4:53–59) became the central feature of the festival of Ḥanukkah. One reason given for the Ḥanukkah celebration lasting eight days is that it took this much time to build the altar and plaster it (Meg. Ta'an. 9, 25th Kislev). At the southern side of the altar there was a stone ramp, 32 cubits long and 16 wide, enabling the priests to reach the top of the altar without transgressing the prohibition contained in Exodus 20:26 (Mekh. Yitro, Ba-Hodesh, 11; see above). There was a space between the end of the ramp and the altar (Zev. 62b).

Altar and ramp together were 62 cubits long (Mid. 5:2), the ramp overhanging the lower part of the altar. From the large ramp two smaller ones branched off, one on the east side in the direction of the surround, and the other on the west in the direction of the base (Zev. 62b and Rashi *ibid.*). The existence of a ramp to the surround is mentioned explicitly only by the *amora* Judah b. Ezekiel. Usually one ascended the altar from the right-hand side of the ramp and descended from the left one (Zev. 6:3).

Lack of precision in the aforementioned dimensions of the altar and the ramp did not disqualify them from use (Tosef. Men. 6:12), but the absence of the horns, the base, the surround, the ramp, the lack of a square appearance, or the slightest flaw in the altar would disqualify the sacrifice (Tosef. Suk. 3:16; Zev. 62a and 59a).

Only the slaughter of birds took place on the actual altar (Zev. 6:4–5); other sacrifices were slaughtered to the north of it (Zev. 5:1–2; Mid. 3:5). If the slaughtering took place on the altar, however, the sacrifice was acceptable (Zev. 6:1).

During the Second Temple period no fire descended from heaven (Yoma 21b) as it did in the First Temple (Zev. 61b). A tradition was preserved that the fire of the First Temple was concealed in a well and was brought out in the days of Nehemiah (II Macc. 1:19–24).

Whenever the altar was not in use for regular sacrifices additional burnt-offerings were offered (Tosef. Shek. 2:8). These are referred to as the *keiz ha-mizbe'ah* ("summer fruit" of the altar; Shek. 4:4). A special regulation "for the benefit of the altar" was enacted to ensure continual sacrifice on the altar (Git. 5:5; Git. 55a). The altar fire continued to burn even at night so that the portions of the sacrifice which it had not been possible to burn during the day would be consumed (Ber. 1:1; Tam. 2:1). The priests would rise early in the morning and undergo ablution in order to be privileged to remove the ashes (Tam. 1:2; Yoma 1:8; 2:1). After ascending to the top of the altar they cleared away the ashes (Tam. 1:4) and shoveled them on to the ash heap (*ibid.* 2:2). When the heap was overfull the ashes were removed, but during the three Pilgrim Festivals they remained there as they were considered ornamental (*ibid.*).

Priests alone were permitted to approach the altar and minister (Zev. 116b) and proof that a person had "stood and ministered at the altar" (Yev. 7:6) was accepted as evidence of his priestly lineage (Kid. 4:5; cf. Ter. 8:1; Jos., Ant., 9:160). The altar and ramp made sacred whatever was prescribed for them. Even if disqualified sacrifices were placed upon them, they were not removed (Zev. 9:1–7; Tosef. Mak. 5:4; and Tosef. Tem. 1:14). A vow made "to the altar" was considered as referring to the altar sacrifices (Ned. 1:3; Tosef. Ned. 1:3).

In the talmudic era the principle that the altar because of its sanctity served as a refuge for murderers who seized hold of its horns was restricted (Mak. 12a; Num. R. 23:13; cf. TJ Kid. 4:1, 65c).

The altar played an important role in the festival ceremonies. During Tabernacles a daily circuit with palm branches or willow branches (Suk. 43b) was made of the altar and verses of *Hallel* were recited. On the seventh day the circuit was made seven times (Suk. 4:5), and the people took their leave of the altar with expressions of laudation, "Beauty is thine, O Altar! Beauty is thine, O Altar!" (*ibid.*).

During Passover, so large was the number of paschal lambs sacrificed in the Temple court, that the sprinkling of the blood against the base of the altar was performed by successive rows of priests (Pes. 5:5). The *omer* was waved on the east side of the altar and offered on the west side (Men. 5:6); so also with the waving of the two loaves on Shavuot (*ibid.*). The baskets of first fruits were placed at the side of the altar (Bik. 3:6; Tosef. Sanh. 3:6).

The golden altar (Yoma 5:5), also called the inner altar (Tam. 3:1), stood in the center of the center of the sanctuary (Yoma 33a–b), opposite the *parokhet* ("curtain") which separated the sanctuary from the Holy of Holies (Tosef. *ibid.* 2:2). Incense was burnt (Men. 4:4) and the sacrificial blood was sprinkled upon its sides (Men. 3:6; Lev. 5:1–2; Yoma 5:7). The measurements of the golden altar were the same as those used in the Tabernacle of Moses (Ex. 30:1–10) except that the larger cubit of six handbreadths was used (Kelim 17:10).

In the *Aggadah*

The altar as a symbol of atonement recurs again and again in rabbinic literature (Tosef. BK 7:6). Johanan b. Zakkai explains the prohibition against the use of iron in erecting the altar, because the sword (iron) represents catastrophe, and the altar, atonement (*ibid.*), its whole (*shelemot*) stones "bringing peace (*shalom*) between Israel and their Father in Heaven" (*ibid.* 7; Mekh. end of Yitro). In line with this homily, the Mishnah taught: "It is not right for that which curtails life to be lifted up against that which prolongs it" (Mid. 3:4). The word *mizbe'aḥ* ("altar") is interpreted as suggesting, by assonance, the four words *mezi'aḥ, mezin, meḥabbev, mekhapper* ("removes evil decrees, sustains, endears, atones"; Ket. 10b); or as a **notarikon*, its four letters being the initials of *Meḥilah-Zekhut Zikkaron – Berakhah-Ḥayyim* ("forgiveness-merit (memorial) – blessing-life"; Tanh. Terumah 11). Because of the merit of the altar, blessing accrued to Israel (Tosef. Ma'as. Sh. 5:29), and because of it, the Holy One blessed be He will punish the kingdom of Edom (Tanḥ. Terumah 11). Its dimensions and its parts are also interpreted symbolically (*ibid.* 10; Mid. Tadshe 11).

According to one aggadic opinion, Adam was formed from earth taken from the site of the altar, in order that the site of his atonement should give him power to endure (Gen. R. 14:8; TJ Naz. 7:2, 56b).

According to a late *aggadah* the altars of the ancients – Adam, Cain, Abel, Noah – were erected on the site of the altar where also Isaac was bound (PdRE 31), and it was from them that Jacob took the stones that he placed at his head at the ford of the Jordan (Gen. 35).

According to R. Isaac Nappaḥa the fact that the Temple was built on the site of the **Akedah* (Zev. 62a) is the basis of the saying that "whoever is buried in the land of Israel is as if he were buried beneath the altar" (Tosef. Av. Zar. 4:3; ARN^1 26:41; S. Lieberman, *Hellenism in Jewish Palestine* (1950), p. 163). The idea of the Sanctification of the Divine Name implicit in the binding of Isaac also gave rise to the metaphorical use of "building an altar" as an expression for such an act (Lam. R. 1:16, 50; Git. 57b). The more usual metaphor is "… as if he built an altar," used with reference to one observing the commandments of Judaism (Ber. 15a; Suk. 45a–b; Men. 110a).

By interpreting scriptural verses the aggadists coined such expressions as, "as if an altar was erected in his heart" (*Otiyyot de-Rabbi Akiva*, 8), and "the altar shed tears" (Sanh. 22a). Plagues afflicting a person are merely "an altar of atonement for all Israel" (Ber. 5b, see Rabbinovicz, DIK, 50F, 1, 14).

After the destruction of the Temple, a Jew's table is regarded as taking the place of the altar (cf. Tosef. Sot. 15:11–13), and it was said that "now that there is no altar, a man's table atones for him" (Ber. 55a; Men. 97a). The halakhic authorities explain many table customs on this basis (*Shibbolei ha-Leket*, Buber's ed., 141; *Sefer Ḥasidim*, 102).

[Bialik Myron Lerner]

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ALTARAS, Spanish family which originated in Castile, and spread to Italy, Turkey, and Ereẓ Israel. To MOSES (c. 1500) was attributed, probably erroneously, a Ladino translation of the Shulḥan Arukh, printed in Latin characters under the title *Libro de Mantenimiento de la Alma* (Venice, 1609, 1713). Apparently it was written for the Marranos who could not read the work in the original. According to Steinschneider this work was written by a certain Meir, and Altaras was merely its patron. Three generations of this family were printers. SOLOMON ALTARAS THE ELDER supervised the publication of the Sephardi prayer book which appeared in Venice in 1685. His son, DAVID B. SOLOMON, known as *Devash* ("honey"), an acronym of his name, lived in Venice between 1675 and 1714. He wrote *Kelalei ha-Dikduk* ("Principles of Grammar") which was printed at the beginning of the Venice edition of the *Mikra'ot Gedolot* (1675–78). From 1675 he printed Hebrew books, including a prayer book (1696) and the Mishnah with annotations (1756–60). His signature appears on a variety of halakhic rulings along with those of other rabbis of Venice, and he gave approbations to various books. His last will and testament and an elegy on his death appear in *Ẓuf Devash* (Venice, 1714). In an addendum to his testament "*Devash*" he emphasizes "that one must conspire craftily and with cunning in order to fear God and observe his commandments." David's son SOLOMON published books in Venice during the 18th century, among them a prayer book containing the *minhag* ("custom") of Corfu, entitled *Leket ha-Omer* (1718).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Steinschneider, Cat Bod, 1777, no. 6432 (on Moses); 3029, no. 9082 (on Solomon the Elder); 856, no. 4787; 2869, no. 7969; Ghirondi-Neppi, 83 (on David b. Solomon); S.D. Luzzatto, *Prolegomena to a Grammar of the Hebrew Language* (1836), 60; H.B. Friedberg, *Toledot ha-Defus ha-Ivri*^{2}… (1956^2); Zedner, Cat, 45.

[Yehoshua Horowitz]

ALTARAS, JACQUES (Jacob) ISAAC (1786–1873), French merchant, shipbuilder, and philanthropist. Born in Aleppo, Syria, Altaras spent his early years in Jerusalem, where his father was a rabbi. In 1806 Altaras settled in Marseilles, and there prospered in shipbuilding and the Levant trade; he became an influential member of the Marseilles Chamber of Commerce. A member of the French Consistoire and president of the Marseilles Jewish community, he founded a Jewish school in Marseilles and was a member of the Legion of Honor. In 1846 Altaras visited Russia to negotiate the resettlement of Russian Jews in Algeria. The project failed because of the harsh Russian terms – the payment of 60 rubles in taxes and fines for each Jew.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: S. Dubnow, *Neueste Geschichte des juedischen Volkes*, 2 (1920), 206.

[Joachim O. Ronall]

ALTARAS, JOSEPH (16th century), *ḥazzan* and poet. Born in Damascus, he settled in Aleppo. He was praised by the Hebrew poet Israel *Najara as the "… highest of heavenly heights above all his contemporaries in the sweetness of his voice" (*Zemirot Yisrael*, 142–144, 147). Najara also praised his poetry. Joseph's son Nissim was also a poet. It may be assumed that the poems attributed to "Joseph" and "Nissim" scattered throughout the *siddur* of Aleppo (Venice, 1520, 1560) were written by these two. These poems are also included in the collection *Shirei Yisrael be-Ereẓ ha-Kedem* (1921).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: M.D. Gaon, *Yehudei ha-Mizraḥ be-Ereẓ Yisrael*, 2 (1938), 50; Rosanes, Togarmah, 3 (1938), 230.

[Simon Marcus]

AL-TARĀS, SĪDĪ IBN (end of 11th century), Karaite scholar in Castile. According to Abraham ibn Daud and Joseph b. Ẓaddik, Al-Tarās went in his youth from Castile to Ereẓ Israel, where he became a pupil of the Karaite Abu al-Faraj (probably *Jeshua b. Judah). When he returned to Andalusia, he brought back his teacher's book with him and not only attempted to circulate it among the *Karaites, but also tried to gain adherents for Karaism among the *Rabbanites. After Al-Tarās' death, his wife, who is referred to by the Karaites as *al-Muʿallima* ("the teacher") and was considered by them an authority on religious practice, continued to spread the tenets of Karaism. Abraham ibn Daud indicates that their propaganda prompted the leaders of the Rabbanites to vigorous action, and Joseph *Ferrizuel "Cidellus" (Alkabri), a Jewish favorite of Alfonso VI, obtained authority to expel the Karaites from all the Castilian towns except one.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Steinschneider, in: JQR, 11 (1899), 624, n.755; Mann, Texts, 2 (1935), 3, 39; L. Nemoy (ed.), *Karaite Anthology* (1952), xxi (introd.), 124; Z. Ankori, *Karaites in Byzantium* (1959), 359n.; Ibn Daud, Tradition, XLVI, 94–95, 164–5; J. Rosenthal, *Meḥkarim u-Mekorot* (1967), 238; Baer, Spain, 1 (1966), 65, 390–1.

[Moshe Nahum Zobel]

ALTAUZEN, YAKOV (Dzhek) MOYSEYEVICH (1907–1942), Russian poet. The son of a Siberian gold prospector, Altauzen ran away from home at the age of 11 and wandered through China and the Soviet Far East. His works include *Yakutyonok Oleska* (1927), children's verse; and *Bezusy entuziast* ("A Juvenile Enthusiast," 1929) and *Pervoye pokoleniye* ("First Generation," 1933), poems about young Communists in the industrialization drive. He died in action against the Nazis.

ALTENBERG, PETER (pseudonym of **Richard Englaender**; 1859–1919), Austrian author. The son of a merchant, Altenberg studied law and medicine in Vienna and worked briefly in the book trade. Eventually, he chose the life of a bohemian and became a familiar, picturesque figure in Viennese coffee houses and in the turn-of-the-century circles of "Young Vienna." In 1894, Altenberg published his first sketches. Fourteen volumes of his prose vignettes appeared. His subjects were Viennese characters and scenes and he portrayed them with delicacy, insight, and wit. His attitude towards Judaism was highly ambivalent. Among his major works are *Wie ich es sehe* (1896), *Maerchen des Lebens* (1908), and *Vita ipsa* (1918).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: E. Friedell (ed.), *Altenbergbuch* (1921); A. Ehrenstein, in: G. Krojanker, *Juden in der deutschen Literatur* (1922), 193–97; E. Randak, *Peter Altenberg* (Ger., 1961); R.J. Klawitzer, in: *Modern Austrian Literature*, 1 (Winter 1968), 1–55. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** A. Caspary, in: A. Kilcher (ed.), *Metzler Lexikon der deutschjuedischen Literatur* (2000), 12–14.

[Harry Zohn / Marcus Pyka (2nd ed.)]

ALTENSTADT (now **Illereichen-Altenstadt**), village in Bavaria, Germany. A few Jewish families lived there from the late 17th century. A community was founded in 1719 when five Jewish families from the neighborhood were granted rights of residence and permission to open a cemetery and build a synagogue. This was erected in the Jews' street in 1722. In 1834 the 56 Jewish families (403 persons), living in 35 houses, constituted almost the entire village. Subsequently many Jews left for cities in Germany or emigrated to the United States. The rabbinate of Altenstadt, which served the neighboring Jewish community of Osterberg as well, ceased to exist in 1869. There were 250 Jews living in Altenstadt in 1859 and 28 in 1933. The impressive synagogue built in 1803 was desecrated in 1938. About half the Jews left by 1939 and 13 were deported to Izbica in Poland in April 1942. The synagogue was torn down in 1955.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: H. Boehm, in: *Illereichen-Altenstadt* (1965), 52–62; H. Rose, *Geschichtliches der israelitischen Kultusgemeinde Altenstadt* (1931). **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** K. Sommer, in: P. Fassl (ed.), *Geschichte und Kultur der Juden in Schwaben* (1994), 93–104.

[Ze'ev Wilhem Falk / Stefan Rohrbacher (2nd ed.)]

ALTER, ELEANOR B. (1938–), U.S. divorce lawyer. Born in Slingerlands, N.Y., the daughter of Charles *Breitel, chief judge of New York State's Court of Appeals, Alter graduated from the University of Michigan and earned her law degree from Columbia University. She worked for several law firms in New York City before becoming a specialist in divorce law. Over more than 35 years, she oversaw the termination of more than 2,000 marriages, including two of her own. Her famous clients included Joy Silverman, the ex-inamorata of Sol *Wachtler, New York's former top judge, and Mia Farrow, Woody *Allen's former companion.

When she began matrimonial work in the mid-1960s, divorce law had a tawdry reputation because the only legal cause for divorce in New York then was adultery. But the law changed and Alter's practice prospered and her reputation grew. An early first marriage, which produced two sons, was to William D. Zabel, who would become a dean of the trust and estates bar. In addition to her practice, she taught at several law schools and lectured widely.

[Stewart Kampel (2nd ed.)]

ALTER, ISRAEL (1901–1979), *ḥazzan* and composer. Born in Lvov, Alter studied music in Vienna. A powerful tenor with a wide range, he began his career as *ḥazzan* at Vienna's Brigittenauer Tempel-Verein when he was 20. In 1925 he moved to Hanover, where he remained for ten years before becoming chief *ḥazzan* of the United Hebrew Congregation in Johannesburg, South Africa. He went to the U.S. in 1961, and became a faculty member of the School of Sacred Music of Hebrew Union College. Alter published his cantorial compositions in *Shirei Yisrael* (2 vols., 1952–57; vols. 3 and 4 were subsequently published by the Cantors' Association of Montreal, Canada) and *Cantorial Recitatives for Hallel, Tal, Geshem* (1962), and his musical settings of Yiddish poems in *Mayne Lider* (1957). He also edited some of David Eisenstadt's liturgical works in *Le-David Mizmor* (n.d.). A phonograph record of his compositions was issued in 1973. In 1978 the Cantors' Assembly of New York issued Alter's "*Ribono Shel Olam*" for *Seliḥot* according to the order of services adopted by the Rabbinic Assembly.

[Akiva Zimmerman (2nd ed.)]

ALTER, ROBERT B. (1936–), U.S. literary critic. Born in the Bronx, New York, Alter taught at Columbia University from 1962 to 1966. In 1967, he joined the faculty of the University of California at Berkeley teaching Hebrew and Comparative Literature.

Alter has published works on English, French, and American literature. A specialist in modern Jewish literature and culture, he has written numerous articles for the *New York Times Book Review*, the *Times Literary Supplement*, and *Commentary*.

In *After the Tradition: Essays on Modern Jewish Writing* (1969), Alter explores the meaning of tradition in post-Holocaust Jewish literature, examining the works of such writers as Elie Wiesel, Saul Bellow, S.Y. Agnon, and Bernard Malamud. In *Defenses of the Imagination: Jewish Writers and Modern Historical Crisis* (1977), he saw Jewish writing as emerging from the problems of the 20th century and concentrated on Jewish writers such as Gershom Scholem and Osip Mandelshtam. He has also explored the profound influence of 20th-century wars on such writers as Norman Mailer and Joseph Heller, and the influence of historical forces on such writers as Saul Bellow.

Alter has also been deeply concerned with biblical narrative. *The World of Biblical Literature* (1978), *The Art of Biblical Poetry* (1981), and *The Art of Biblical Narrative* (1985) show how literary scholarship can be utilized in the study of the Bible as both a literary and religious document. His translations include *Genesis* (1996), *The David Story* (2000), and *The Five Books of Moses* (2004), each with an extensive commentary.

[Susan Strul (2nd ed.)]

ALTER, VICTOR (1890–1941), leader of the *Bund in Poland. Alter was born in Mlawa, Poland, into a wealthy ḥasidic family. He graduated as an engineer in 1910, in Liège, Belgium. In 1912 he became active in the Bund in Warsaw. Exiled to Siberia for his political activities, he later escaped. During World War I, Alter found employment in England, as a laborer and then as an engineer. He returned to Poland after the February Revolution in 1917 and became a member of the central committee of the Bund. Between 1919 and 1939 Alter was one of the prominent leaders of the Bund and Jewish trade unions in Poland. He was a Warsaw city councilor for almost 20 years, and after 1936 a member of the board of the Jewish community. After the Germans invaded Poland in September 1939, Alter escaped to the Russian-occupied zone. However, he was soon arrested with his associate, Henryk Erlich. They were both executed on December 4, 1941, in Kuibyshev. Alter wrote *Tsu der Yidnfrage in Poiln* ("The Jewish Problem in Poland," 1927) and *Anti-semitizm w Swietle Cyfr* ("Anti-Semitism in the Light of Statistics," 1937).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: LNYL, 1 (1956), 95ff.; American Representation of General Jewish Workers Union of Poland, *The Case of Henryk Erlich and Victor Alter* (1943).

[Ezekiel Lifschutz]

ALTERMAN, NATHAN (1910–1970), Israeli poet. Alterman, who was born in Warsaw, settled in Tel Aviv in 1925. He published his first poem in 1931. Alterman achieved distinction as a poet on two levels: as the author of popular satirical verse which reflected the political aspirations of the *yishuv* in its struggle against the policies of the British authorities in the 1940s, and as a sophisticated modern poet who was recognized as one of the leaders of the country's literary avant-garde.

His role as a poetic spokesman for the national struggle began in 1934 when he became a regular contributor of political verse to the daily *Haaretz*. In 1943 he switched to the Labor daily *Davar* where, in his weekly feature *Ha-Tur ha-Shevi'i* ("The Seventh Column"), he attacked the British authorities, and described the struggle of the Haganah and the Palmaḥ to break the embargo on Jewish immigration and gain national independence. Many of these verses became part of Israel's patriotic repertoire; poems banned by the British censors were passed from hand to hand by an eager public. Alterman also wrote lyrics that were set to music and were popular features of the program of Matateh and other satirical theaters.

After 1948 internal social and political themes became the dominant feature in Alterman's public verse. Following the 1967 Six-Day War, he advocated the views of the Movement for an Undivided Ereẓ Israel, expressing them in prose rather than poetry. Alterman's literary reputation rests upon his more aesthetic works. Originally associated with the A. Shlonsky group of modernist poets, and influenced by both French and Russian symbolists, he soon became the leading "imagist" poet of his generation. Characterized by brilliant wit and imagery, his idiom followed the rhythms of spoken Hebrew.

Alterman constructed a mythical world of his own, subject to its own rules, and made up of two components. One is the poet's lost Eden, a primeval land in which wild beasts and primordial forces of nature rage in a violent blaze of color and sound, from which he was expelled for some unknown original sin and into which he is forever striving to regain entry. In contrast to this elemental landscape stands his mythical city, mechanized, hostile, and decadent, and at the same time morbidly alluring with its aura of catastrophe and death. A central motif of Alterman's poetry is the inevitable clash between these two components which can only be resolved in a final moment of awareness at the very brink of death and oblivion.

Alterman's love poetry is also expressed within the context of this romantic agony. The women he depicts are either idealized ethereal products of a primordial Eden, or jaded daughters of the city, or a combination of both. Again, fulfillment or reconciliation can only occur at the brink of death.

Alterman's first poems show signs of a dichotomy in his conception of poetry. On the one hand, there is the realization that poetry is incapable of penetrating the essence of things, often expressed by the declaration that it is perhaps better to cease writing; on the other hand, some of Alterman's verse suggests that poetry is so powerful it can prevail over the paradisaic world's elemental forces and accurately depict them. Hence poetry must be built upon fixed rules and regulations. Alterman, therefore, considers symmetrical repetition the supreme value of order and beauty. Each of his poems has a fixed number of stanzas and sentences, a rhyme scheme, and a constant number of feet.

Simḥat Aniyyim ("Joy of the Poor," 1941) signaled a radical change in Alterman's poetry both in language and conception. The most marked innovations in this collection are the figures of speech, symbols, and allusions taken from traditional Jewish literature, folklore, and liturgy. The primordial forest and the timeless city are now superseded by images drawn from the Jewish folk tradition of Eastern Europe. Alterman makes no attempt to conceal the affinity between his poetry and the collective national experience, with its clear historical indications of impending disaster. The central poetic idea is that the barriers ordinarily separating the living from the dead through love and trust can be broken. These two attributes offer the hope of rebirth out of doom and destruction only if one courageously confronts death.

In the *Shirei Makkot Miẓrayim* ("Plagues of Egypt," 1944), Alterman continues to develop his historiosophic views, applying them not only to the Jewish people but also to humanity. The poet intentionally removes the biblical Ten Plagues from their historical and national context, and turns them into a prototype of the eternal and cyclical history of mankind with its wars and renewal. The main innovation in *Ir ha-Yonah* ("Wailing City," 1957) is the application of the abstract concept of history to one particular and fateful chapter in the history of the Jewish people – the years of the Holocaust, illegal immigration to Israel, and the struggle for national independence. Alterman's diction here is often prosaic and even relies on slang. At the same time he also uses the ballad form more typical of his earlier poetry and characterized by dramatic monologues and theatrical flourishes.

Alterman's plays include *Kinneret, Kinneret* (1962); *Pundak ha-Ruḥot* ("The Inn of the Ghosts," 1963), a poetic drama concerning the artist between the opposing worlds of life and death, home and inn, and art and life; *Mishpat Pythagoras* ("Pythagoras' Law," 1965), about a computer with human sensibilities; and *Ester ha-Malkah* ("Queen Esther," 1966). Alterman also wrote *Ḥagigat Kayiẓ* (1965), a collection of poems, and a book of critical essays entitled *Ha-Massekhah ha-Aḥaronah* (1968). Alterman's translations of Molière's plays appeared in three volumes in 1967. He also translated some of Shakespeare's plays. His collected works appeared in four volumes called *Kol Shirei Alterman* (1961–62). For English translations of his poems, see B. Hrushovsky, in S. Burnshaw, et al. (eds.), *The Modern Hebrew Poem Itself…* (1966), 109–19; *Ariel*, no. 14 (1966), 43–55; *Poetry*, 92 (1958), 236ff. A detailed list of translations into English appears in Goell, Bibliography, 2–5.

[Matti Megged]

All 15 published volumes of Alterman's works have now been republished and have achieved great popularity. In the field of literary criticism *Mivḥar Ma'amarim shel Yeẓirato shel*

Alterman ("A Selection of Works by Alterman") edited by A. Baumgarten (1971) has appeared, as well as *Ha-Ḥut ha-Meshulash*, a collection of articles edited by M. Dorman (1971, 1975), and *Maḥberot Alterman* (1977–81), which includes hitherto unpublished material, a bibliography of his work, and studies on him. Recent years have seen new editions of his poetry, such as the collection *Shirim mi-she-Kevar* (1999), a new edition of four plays (*Maḥazot*, 2002), in addition to various reprints of his translations of classical plays. A bilingual Hebrew-English collection, "Selected Poems," was published in 1978, followed in 1981 by "Little Tel Aviv." Individual poems have been published in 20 languages.

[Anat Feinberg (2nd ed.)]

BIBLIOGRAPHY: A. Ukhmani, *Le-Ever ha-Adam* (1953), 169–75; Y. Zmora, *Sifrut al Parashat Dorot*, 2 (1950), 225–64; S.Y. Penueli, *Sifrut ki-Feshutah* (1963), 249–58; D. Kenaani, *Beinam le-Vein Zemannam* (1955), 220–54; D. Miron, *Arba Panim ba-Sifrut Bat Yameinu* (1962), 13–108; D. Sadan, *Bein Din ve-Ḥeshbon* (1963), 124–30; B. Kurzweil, *Bein Ḥazon le-Vein ha-Absurdi* (1966), 181–257; M. Shamir, *Be-Kulmus Mahir* (1960), 99–117; Zach in: *Akhshav*, 3:4 (1959), 109–22; Ẓuri, in: *Massa*, 2, no. 11 (1952); 3, no. 17 (1953); 4, nos. 1, 2 (1954); Waxman, Literature, 5 (1960), 22–24. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** Z. Mendelson, *Natan Alterman* (1973); Y. Nave, *Biblical Motifs Representing the "Lyrical Self" in the Works of Scholem Aleichem, Natan Alterman, Lea Goldberg, Ariela Deem, and Shulamit Har-Even* (1987); M. Shamir, *Natan Alterman: ha-Meshorer ke-Manhig* (1988); M. Dorman, *Alterman vi-Yeẓirato* (1989); Z. Shamir, *Od Ḥozer ha-Niggun: Shirat Alterman bi-Rei ha-Modernizm* (1989); A. Schiller, *Caminante en su tiempo: la poesia de Natan Alterman* (Spanish, 1991); M. Dorman, *Natan Alterman: Pirkei Biyografyah* (1991); R. Kartun-Blum, *Ha-Leẓ ve-ha-Ẓel* (1994); M.E. Varela Morena, *Literatura hebrea contemporanea,* 9 (Spanish, 1994); H. Shaham, *Hedim shel Niggun* (1997); Y. Ben Tolila and A. Komem (eds.), *Konkordanẓyah shel Natan Alterman* (1998); Z. Shamir, *Al Et ve-al Atar: Poetikah u-Politikah be-Shirat Alterman* (1999); H. Barzel, *Avraham Shlonski, Natan Alterman, Lea Goldberg* (2001); D. Miron, *Parpar min ha-Tola'at* (2001); D. Ider, *Alterman-Baudelaire, Paris-Tel Aviv, Urbaniyut u-Mitos* (2004).

ALTHEIMER, BENJAMIN (1850–1938), U.S. banker and philanthropist. Altheimer, who was born in Darmstadt, Germany, immigrated to the United States in 1868 and settled in St. Louis, Missouri. He built up a successful banking and investment business, was a founder and trustee of Temple Israel, and became a leading figure in St. Louis philanthropic and cultural organizations. In 1918 he proposed the institution of Flag Day to President Wilson. He served as treasurer of the National Jewish Hospital for Consumptives, Denver, for more than 30 years. Moving to New York in 1916, Altheimer served as president of Temple Beth El and treasurer of the New York executive of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations.

[Sefton D. Temkin]

AL TIKREI (Heb. אַל תִּקְרֵי; "Do not read"), term used to denote a change in the masoretic reading of Scripture in order to give a meaning to a phrase, other than the literal one. The object of its application was not to abrogate the accepted reading or deny its literal meaning, since there is a rule that "a verse never loses its ordinary meaning." The intention of the scholars was to reveal additional meanings supporting their interpretation of the *halakhah* or the *aggadah*. The sages used various methods in applying the *al tikrei*:

(1) Changes in Punctuation

Biblical text is unvocalized. Hence the traditional reading can be altered by changing the punctuation, and in this way the word is given a new meaning. For example: (a) The reading in Exodus 32:16 of "*ḥarut*" ("graven") upon the tablets is changed to "*ḥerut*" ("freedom"); this enables the rabbis to derive the ethical lesson that true spiritual freedom can be attained only by fulfilling the commandments, i.e., "freedom is in the tablets." (b) The moral that "a man does not commit a transgression unless the spirit of folly enters him" is derived from turning the letter *sin* of *tisteh* ("go aside"; Num. 5:12) into a *shin*, making the reading "*tishteh*" ("shall commit folly"; Sot. 3a).

(2) Transposition of Letters

Such transposition is not unknown in the text of the Bible, e.g., *kesev* and *keves* ("sheep"), *simlah* and *salmah* ("garment"). The rabbis however extended this principle to add a new meaning to a verse. For example, by transposing the letters' of *kirbam* ("their inner thought") to *kivram* ("their grave") in Psalms 49:12, they concluded that there is no resurrection for the wicked since "their home is their grave" (MK 9b).

(3) Change of Letters

Some of the *al tikrei* involve change in the letters, particularly homorganic ones such as *alef* and *ayin, ḥet* and *he*. Thus, by reading "*al*" for "*el*" in Numbers 11:2, the verse is made to read "and Moses prayed against the Lord" upon which R. Eleazar bases the statement that man spoke presumptuously to God. In this case the transposition is justified in that "in the school of R. Eliezer b. Jacob they read *alef* as *ayin* and *ayin* as *alef*" (Ber. 32a). An example that involves both transposition of letters and change of vowels is the reading of *hadrat* ("majesty") as *ḥerdat* ("reverence") in Psalms 29:2. The lesson derived is that one should not stand up to pray except in a reverent frame of mind (cf. Ber. 30b).

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[Abraham Arzi]

°**ALTING, JACOBUS** (1618–1679), Dutch theologian and Hebraist. Born in Heidelberg, Alting studied Oriental languages and theology in Groningen, Utrecht, and Leiden. In Emden (1638–39) he read Jewish literature with a Jewish teacher named Gumprecht b. Abraham. During his journey to England (1641–43) he was ordained priest of the Church of England and studied Arabic at Oxford with *Pococke. In 1643 he succeeded Gomarus as professor of Oriental languages at the University of Groningen, where in 1667 he became professor of theology. His works (*Opera Omnia*, 5 vols., ed. by his friend and disciple Balthasar Bekker, Amsterdam, 1687) include a manual of Syriac and Aramaic (Groningen, 1676) and a – didactic rather than descriptive – Hebrew grammar (*Fundamenta punctationis linguae sacrae*, 1654; Dutch translation, 1664) dedicated to *Buxtorf II and *Hottinger, with whom he conducted a scholarly correspondence. As a theologian Alting advocated a purely biblical theology based on the interpretation of Hebrew Scripture. This approach brought him into a long-standing conflict with his scholastic-dogmatic colleague Samuel Maresius. For information on Jewish antiquities Alting drew on post-biblical Jewish sources.

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[Irene E. Zwiep (2nd ed.)]

ALTMAN, ARYEH (1902–1982), Zionist Revisionist leader. Altman was born in Balta, Russia, where his father, Menasheh, a Hebrew teacher, was head of the local Zionist movement, and after the Revolution of 1917, head of the Jewish community and deputy mayor of the town. In 1919 the family moved to Odessa, where Aryeh Altman was imprisoned on various occasions by the Soviet authorities for Zionist activity. He was one of some 300 leading Zionists belonging to all political parties who were arrested by the Bolshevik authorities in 1924. Altman traveled to Moscow to intercede with the authorities to allow them to immigrate to Israel instead of being exiled to Siberia. After months of negotiation between the Russian and British authorities he finally received the required permission for *aliyah,* with the Zionists and their families finally departing on a special boat.

From 1927 to 1935 Altman resided in the United States, where he received his doctorate, and headed the Zionist Revisionist movement. On his return to Ereẓ Israel he held the same position and was instrumental in the formation of the *Irgun Ẓeva'i Leummi in 1937 and was appointed by V. *Jabotinsky as chairman of the triumvirate that headed the organization. After the death of Jabotinsky he was appointed head of the New Zionist Organization. From 1948 to 1950 he was a member of the Provisional Government Council. Altman was a member of the Second through the Fifth Knesset. In 1972 the honor of Yakir Yerushalayim was conferred upon him and in 1976 he was appointed vice chairman of the Israeli-American Friendship Society.

ALTMAN, BENJAMIN (1840–1913), U.S. merchant, art collector, and philanthropist. Altman was born on New York's Lower East Side. Altman and his brother Morris opened a store in 1865. After Morris's death in 1876 Altman assumed sole control over the business, which he developed into a large, high-quality department store. When Altman moved the business, known as "B. Altman and Co.," to Fifth Avenue in 1906, it became the first large store in New York to be established in a residential area. At the same time Michael *Friedsam became his partner and contributed considerably to the growth of the establishment. After Benjamin's death and until its closing, the store was run by the Altman Foundation, a philanthropic trust donating funds to many charities, including Jewish organizations. Altman was also a pioneer in the provision of social, medical, and recreational facilities for employees. Altman's art collection, appraised upon his death at 15 million dollars, was bequeathed to the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

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[Hanns G. Reissner]

ALTMAN, MOISHE (1890–1981), Yiddish poet and novelist. Altman, who was born in Bessarabia, was partly self-educated. He lived in Romania and the Soviet Union. In 1920 he began writing poems and literary articles for the Czernowitz weeklies *Frayhayt* and *Dos Naye Leben*. In 1930 he immigrated to Argentina but after a year he returned to Romania and settled in Bucharest. During WWII he lived in the U.S.S.R. After World War II Altman was sent, with other Soviet Yiddish writers, to a Siberian forced labor camp (1949–52), but he survived and resumed his literary work. His prose includes two volumes of short stories, *Blendenish* (1926) and *Di Viner Karete* (1935), and the novels *Midrash Pinkhas* (1936) and *Shmeterlingen* (1939). His selected works *(Geklibene Verk)* were published in New York in 1955, with a biographical and critical introduction by S. Bickel, and in Bucharest (*Oysgeveylte shriftn*, 1974). His last books, *Baym fenster* and *Di viner karete un andere dertzeylungen*, were published in Moscow in 1980.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: LNYL, 1 (1956), 92–94.

[Shlomo Bickel]

ALTMAN, NATHAN (1889/90–1970), Russian painter, graphic artist, sculptor, stage designer. Altman was born in Vinnitsa. As a child, he studied in a *ḥeder* and then at a Russian elementary school in Vinnitsa. In 1902–7, he attended classes in painting and sculpture at the Odessa Art School. During these years, he got close to Jewish intellectuals and writers, among them Ḥayyim Naḥman *Bialik. He first showed his work at the exhibit of the Association of Southern Russia Artists in Odessa. In 1910–11, Altman lived in Paris, where he attended M. Vasilyeva's art studio at the Russian Academy. During this period, he met many Jewish artists then living in Paris, among them Marc *Chagall and David *Shterenberg. In 1911, Altman exhibited at the Salon des Beaux-Arts in Paris.

Later in 1911, he returned to Vinnitsa, and then moved to Petersburg in 1912 where he became known as a leading Russian artist and bohemian figure. In his works of this period, Altman combined elements of cubism with the decorative features and linearity of modern art (as in the portrait of Anna Akhmatova, 1914; Gosudarstvenny Russki Muzei, St. Petersburg). In 1913–14, Altman participated in exhibits of various art associations in Moscow and Petrograd, ranging from moderately modernist ones (like "World of Art") to overtly radical ones (like "The Jack of Diamonds") and avant-garde groups (like "The Youth Union" or "0.10"). Starting from his earliest works and throughout his life, Altman placed great emphasis on Jewish subjects when selecting themes for his works. Prior to World War I, he had become the first among Jewish artists in Russia to pursue a goal of forging a "contemporary Jewish art." Seeking the foundations of this new art, Altman copied tombstone reliefs at Jewish cemeteries in the Ukraine. In 1914, he executed a graphic series, "The Jewish Graphics," incorporating the relief motifs, its first printed edition dedicated to Bialik. In his "Jewish works" of this period, Altman strove to combine the archaic plastics of the Ancient Middle East with the latest achievements of European Modernism (as in the sculpture *A Portrait of a Young Jew* (Self-Portrait, 1916, State Russian Museum, St. Petersburg)). Altman was a founder and a member of the executive committee of the Jewish Society for the Encouragement of the Arts, established in 1915 in Petrograd. He was commissioned to design the emblem of the Society and participated in its exhibits (1916, 1917, Petrograd; 1918, Moscow). In 1916, Altman designed a Hebrew-language textbook. After the Bolsheviks came to power, he was appointed both director of the Petrograd Department of Fine Arts at the People's Commissariat of Education and director of the Museum of Artistic Culture (1918). He was one of leaders of Communist-Futurist (ComFut) Association. In 1919, Altman moved to Moscow and started working for Jewish theaters. In 1920, he executed stage and costume designs for the Habimah Theater production of *The Dibbuk*. At the same time, he became the principal stage designer for the Moscow Jewish Theater (GOSET), where he designed sets for a number of productions. Being active in Kultur-Lige, Altman was its Moscow branch chairman and participated in its exhibit together with Chagall and Shterenberg (1922), At this exhibit, he showed non-figurative futurist works as examples of his new "Jewish art." In the early 1920s, he collaborated with Jewish publishers and designed books in Yiddish. He participated in all major exhibitions in Moscow and Petrograd as well as in international exhibitions in Berlin (Van Diemen Gallery, 1923), Paris, and Venice. His first one-man show took place in Moscow in 1926. From 1928, Altman lived in Paris. In 1929, he participated in Ausstellung juedischer Kuenstler in Zurich. In the early 1930s, he exhibited in Paris and the U.S.S.R. In 1932–33, Altman executed series of graphic works treating biblical themes. His main genres of this period were still lifes and landscapes that established him as a virtuoso master of color and composition. In 1936, Altman returned to Leningrad. In the 1940s, he designed books by *Sholem Aleichem and stage designs for several productions at Jewish theaters in Moscow and Kiev. In the 1940s–1960s, Altman was active mostly in book and stage design while continuing painting and sculpturing. Not long before he died he had a one-man show in Leningrad.

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[Hillel Kazovsky (2nd ed.)]

ALTMAN, OSCAR LOUIS (1909–1968), U.S. economist and treasurer of the International Monetary Fund. Altman, who was born in New York, was educated at Cornell University and at the University of Chicago. He began to work as an economist for the Securities and Exchange Commission in 1936 and was its senior economist from 1938 to 1940. During World War II he was the principal economist of the National Resources Planning Board and served as an officer in the United States Air Force. After heading the analysis and planning office of the French Supply Council, he joined the International Monetary Fund, and in 1966 was appointed the Fund's treasurer. Altman's main interest was international liquidity problems, and he was one of the first economists to understand the significance of the Eurodollar market. He published numerous papers on both these issues.

[Joachim O. Ronall]

ALTMAN, SIDNEY (1939–), research biologist and educator. Altman, born in Montreal, Canada, received his doctorate in biophysics from the University of Colorado in 1967. He joined the department of biology at Yale University in 1971, becoming a professor in 1980 and serving as chairman of the department 1983–85. He was the dean of Yale College in 1985. In 1989 he shared the Nobel Prize in chemistry with Thomas Cech of the University of Colorado for similar discoveries they made in the 1970s and early 1980s while working independently. They found that in its role as a chemical catalyst, the RNA subunit of RNase P from bacteria can cleave some transcripts of genetic information.

[Bracha Rager (2nd ed.)]

ALTMANN, ADOLF (1879–1944), rabbi, historian, philosopher. Born in Hunsdorf, Hungary, Altmann studied at the yeshivot of Hunsdorf and Pressburg, and graduated as doctor of philosophy from Berne University. An early follower of Herzl, he worked for the acceptance of religious Zionism in the face of hostility on the part of the Hungarian Orthodox rabbinate. He was a delegate to the First Mizrachi Congress in Pressburg, correspondent for *Die Welt* (1905), and editor of the *Ungarische Wochenschrift* (1904).

He served as rabbi in Salzburg (1907–1915) where he wrote the two-volume *Geschichte der Juden in Stadt and Land*

Salzburg (1913, 1930), which is still the authoritative work on the subject, and in Merano. In World War I he served as senior chaplain in the Austro-Hungarian Army, receiving the Golden Cross of Merit; in witness to Jewish service in the war he collected testimonials from military commanders on the conduct of their Jewish soldiers. From 1920 to 1938 he served as chief rabbi – the last one – of Trier, one of the oldest Jewish communities in Germany. The results of his historical research into the community's origins were published in *Das Früheste Vorkommen der Juden in Deutschland; Juden in romischen Trier* (1931), which threw new light on the subject, dating the settlement of Jews in Trier to the end of the 3rd and early 4th century C.E. He contributed the entry on the history of German Jews to the *Jüdisches Lexikon* (1927). He was a leading delegate to the Association of Jewish Communities (Preussischer Landesverband Jued. Gemeinden) and as prolific author and orator participated widely in Jewish cultural life in Germany. In 1938 he immigrated to Holland and met his death in Auschwitz in 1944 with his wife Malwine, née Weisz, their daughter Hilda van Mentz and family, and their son Dr. Wilhelm Altmann. He was survived by three sons: Professor Alexander *Altmann, Dr. Erwin Altmann, and Dr. Manfred Altmann. A street was named after him in Trier in 1956 and in 1979 in commemoration of the centenary of his birth a special ceremony was held in the Town Hall of Trier. An illustrated brochure, *Dr. Adolf Altmann zum Gedenken* was published by the City of Trier on the event.

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ALTMANN, ALEXANDER (1906–1987), rabbi, teacher, and scholar. His father was Adolf *Altmann (1879–1944), a Hungarian-born rabbi who officiated in Trier in 1920–38 and wrote a history of the Jews there and in Salzburg. He died in Auschwitz, together with his wife and other members of his family. Alexander commemorated them in "A Filial Memoir," which appeared in the *Leo Baeck Yearbook*, 26 (1981). In 1931, Altmann received both a doctorate in philosophy from Berlin University and ordination from the Hildesheimer Rabbinical Seminary in Berlin, where he taught from 1932. He served as rabbi in Berlin from 1931 and established there the Rambam Lehrhaus, a public institute for adult education, in 1935. Altmann was obliged to flee Germany in 1938, and was then appointed communal rabbi in Manchester, England, serving in that capacity until 1959. In 1954 he founded the Institute of Jewish Studies in Manchester, serving as its director until his departure from England, when the Institute moved to University College, London, under the watchful eyes of his devoted brother, Manfred. In 1959, Altmann was appointed Lown Professor of Jewish Philosophy and History of Ideas at Brandeis University, where he taught until his retirement in 1976. He established the Lown Institute for Advanced Judaic Studies at Brandeis and directed it from 1960 to 1965. Altmann's scholarship was primarily in the fields of medieval Jewish philosophy and mysticism, as well as in the writings of Moses *Mendelssohn. His initial German essays were theological and contemporary in nature and appeared in translation as *The Meaning of Jewish Existence* (1992). Altmann's work includes *Des Rabbi Mosche Ben Maimon More Newuchim* (abridged German translation, 1935); *Saadya Gaon: The Book of Doctrines and Beliefs* (1946, abridged English translation and commentary); *Isaac Israeli* (together with S.M. Stern, 1969); *Moses Mendelssohns Fruehschriften Zur Metaphysik* (1969); *Studies in Religious Philosophy and Mysticism* (1969); *Moses Mendelssohn: A Biographical Study* (1973); *Essays in Jewish Intellectual History* (1981); *Moses Mendelssohn, Jerusalem or On Religious Power and Judaism* (introduction and commentary; translation by Allan Arkush, 1983); *Von der Mittlealterlichen zur Modernen Aufklaerung: Studien Zur Juedischen Geistesgeschichte* (1987). Altmann was the editor of *Scripta Judaica* (jointly with J.G. Weiss) and the *Journal of Jewish Studies* (1954–58); of *Studies and Texts* of the Lown Institute (four volumes, 1963–67); and editor in chief of the *Moses Mendelssohn Gesammelte Schriften Jubilaeumsausgabe* from 1970 until his death in 1987. In that period, he was sole editor of five volumes in that series and part editor of five more. A complete bibliography of Altmann's work is found in *Perspectives on Jewish Thought and Mysticism*, edited by A.L. Ivry, E.R. Wolfson, and A. Arkush (1998). An appreciation of his manifold contributions to scholarship is given in the *Leo Baeck Yearbook*, 34 (1989) and in the Hebrew publication *In Memory of Alexander Altmann* (1990), published by the Israel Academy of Sciences and the Hebrew University of Jerusalem.

[Alfred L. Ivry (2nd ed.)]

ALTONA, major port, suburb of Hamburg, Germany; until 1864 part of Denmark. The Portuguese Jews living in Hamburg were prohibited from burying their dead there, and acquired land for a cemetery in Altona in 1611. Thirteen Portuguese families from Hamburg settled in Altona in 1703, augmenting the small Portuguese settlement already in existence. They organized a community known as Bet Ya'akov ha-Katan (later Neveh Shalom). A synagogue was built in 1770. The Sephardi community, however, remained a branch of the community in Hamburg. Greater importance was attained by the community established by Ashkenazi Jews, who first arrived in Altona around 1600. In 1641, they received a charter from the king of Denmark to found a community and build a synagogue. After the Russian-Polish War of 1654/55, Jewish refugees from Lithuania expelled from Hamburg settled in Altona. At the same time numerous families, while formally remaining Danish subjects and members of the Altona community, had established themselves in Hamburg, where they formed a semi-independent subcommunity. In 1671 the Altona community amalgamated with the community of Hamburg, and afterward with that of Wandsbek, to form a single community, known by the initials AHW (אה"ו), under Chief Rabbi *Hillel b. Naphtali Ẓevi. The chief rabbinate, as well as the attached yeshivah and *bet din*, was situated in Altona. It had jurisdiction over the Ashkenazi Jews in all three communities as well as *Schleswig-Holstein. In the 18th century the community in Altona overshadowed that of Hamburg, in both scholarship (having a series of eminent rabbis and scholars) and affluence. It was in Altona that the acrimonious *Emden-*Eybeschuetz amulet controversy took place. Altona was also an important center of Hebrew printing (see below). The Chief Rabbinate existed until 1863, its *bet din* being the last institution of Jewish jurisdiction to function autonomously in Germany.

The three communities remained united until 1811, when Hamburg was occupied by French forces. In 1815 a number of Jews moved from Hamburg to Altona after the emancipation granted by the French was annulled. The Jews in Altona engaged in commerce, some being shareholders of ships employed in the South American trade and, especially in the 18th century, whaling. Special economic privileges were granted to them by the Danish kings. Hamburg Jews frequently helped to finance these activities. After the annexation of the area to Prussia in 1866, the Hamburg community grew rapidly and eclipsed that of Altona. In 1938 Altona was officially incorporated into Hamburg. Rabbis of the independent community of Altona were Akiva Wertheimer (1816–35); the eminent halakhist Jacob *Ettlinger (1835–71); Eliezer Loeb (1873–92); Meyer *Lerner (1894–1926); and Joseph Carlebach (1927–37). The Jewish population of Altona numbered 2,350 in 1867 (out of a total of 50,000), around 2,000 in 1900, and around 5,000 in 1925 (out of 186,000). (See also *Hamburg.)

Hebrew Printing in Altona

In 1727 Samuel S. Popert of Koblenz established a printing press in Altona, having learned the craft in nearby Hamburg where he had published a few books. He did the printing himself, assisted by the wandering typesetter Moses Maarsen of Amsterdam. Until 1739 Popert published various works in Hebrew and Judeo-German. In 1732 the wealthy Ephraim Heckscher set up a printing house which a year later passed into the hands of his assistant Aaron b. Elijah ha-Kohen, who was called Aaron Setzer ("setter"). He continued printing until 1743, when he became the manager of the press set up by Jacob Emden, where later many of Emden's polemical writings against Jonathan Eybeschuetz were printed. In 1752 they separated, as Aaron had sided with Eybeschuetz. Another assistant in Emden's printing works, Moses Bonn, set out on his own in 1765, and this business was operated for many years by his sons and grandsons as Brothers Bonn.

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[Akiva Posner]

ALTSCHUL(ER; Perles), family probably originating in Prague. Its descendants were found throughout Central and Eastern Europe. The name Altschul first occurs as the surname of ABRAHAM EBERLE, a lay leader of Prague who died toward the close of the 15th century. His son MOSES (c. 1542) became a *parnas* of the Bohemian community of Cracow after the Jews were driven out of Prague. HANOKH BEN MOSES ALTSCHUL (1564–1633), *shammash* and secretary of the Prague community, was sentenced to be hanged in connection with the theft of a Gobelin tapestry from a palace, but was saved when it was revealed that he was the middleman in a legitimate business transaction. Ḥanokh described his hardships in *Megillat Purei ha-Ketayim* and for centuries his family celebrated "Purim Altschul" or "Purim Fuerhang" (see Special *Purims) on the 22nd of Tevet. His son MOSES (d. 1643) succeeded his father and was the author of the unpublished *Zikhron Bayit*. ELEAZAR BEN ABRAHAM ḤANOKH PERLES (d. c. 1635) wrote a commentary to Elkanah b. Jeroham's *Keneh Ḥokhmah Keneh Binah* (1610–11) giving the kabbalistic principles to be discerned in the *Shema*, and esoteric explanations of the commandments. This was very popular and was added to many editions of the prayer book. He is thought to have been the author or editor of the unpublished Hebrew grammar, *Dikdukei Yiẓḥak*. ISAAC, the son of Eleazar, included biographical notes on his father in the latter's *Tikkunei Moẓa'ei Shabbat* (1650). JUDAH AARON MOSES BEN ABRAHAM ḤANOKH (early 17th century), the brother of Eleazar, was rabbi of Kromau. He wrote *Va-Yeḥal Moshe* (Prague, 1613), an ethical treatise giving practical advice to repentant sinners. NAPHTALI HIRSCH BEN ASHER (late 16th century) lived in Lublin and Zhitomir and was in Constantinople in 1607. He was the author of *Ayyalah Sheluḥah*, a digest of earlier commentaries on the Prophets and Hagiographa (Rabbinical Bible, Cracow 1593, Amsterdam 1740). He also published a biblical concordance *Imrei Shefer* (Lublin, 1602) arranged in 32 sections. ABRAHAM BEN ISAAC PERLES (d. c. 1690) published *Tikkunei Shabbat* (1678), and wrote an unpublished kabbalistic commentary on the Pentateuch. MOSES MEIR BEN ISAAC ELEAZAR PERLES (1666–1739) lived in Prague and was the author of a commentary on the book of Esther, *Megillat Sefer* (Prague, 1710). AARON BEN MOSES MEIR PERLES (d. 1739) wrote an unpublished commentary, *Tohorat Aharon* on the section of Isaac b. Abba Mari's *Ittur* which deals with porging. In 1725 he published a pamphlet in Yiddish on the same subject. ZE'EV WOLF BEN DOV BAER (d. 1806) published *Zeved Tov* (1793), a commentary on the description of the Temple in Ezekiel 40–48, together with an account of the pedestals for the lavers made by Solomon (I Kings 7:17–35);

and *Ḥamishah Ḥallukei Avanim* (1794), containing commentaries on Ruth and Song of Songs. His son ELIAKIM (GOTTSCHALK) BEN ZE'EV WOLF (first half of the 19th century) wrote commentaries to the 1814 edition of his father's *Zeved Tov.*

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[Yehoshua Horowitz]

ALTSCHUL, AARON MEYER (1914–1994), U.S. nutrition expert. He was born in Chicago, where he obtained his doctorate in 1937. He joined the Southern Regional Research Laboratory of the U.S. Department of Agriculture in 1941, and was named head of its protein and carbohydrate division in 1949 and of its oilseed section in 1952. He became successively chief research chemist of the Seed Protein Pioneering Research Laboratory in 1958, a professor at Tulane University in 1964, lecturer on nutrition at Massachusetts Institute of Technology, and professor emeritus of nutrition at Georgetown University Medical School from 1971 to 1983. His main interest was nutrition improvement, nationally and internationally. Among other appointments, he was a member of the President's Science Advisory Committee and a United Nations consultant. In 1967 he was given special responsibility for improving protein quality and supply in domestic and international programs. He published the authoritative *Proteins, Their Chemistry and Politics* (1965), and his numerous honors included the Charles Spencer Award for achievements in food chemistry (1965). He was active in many Jewish communities, especially in New Orleans.

[Michael Denman (2nd ed.)]

ALTSCHUL, EMIL (Elias, Uri; 1797–1865), physician in Prague; professor of homeopathy at Prague University from 1849, author of medical and pharmaceutical works, and editor of a homeopathic periodical from 1853. Altschul attended the yeshivah of Bezalel Ronsburg and wrote a eulogy on him in Hebrew. In his *Kol Kore, Kritisches Sendschreiben ueber das bisherige Verfahren mit dem Sterbenden bei den Israeliten*, published in 1846, Altschul criticized certain established methods in Jewish practice concerning death and burial, stating that it was his intention to "harmonize modern ideas of medical science with the classic talmudic rulings" (xii). Altschul considered that the customary procedure of the *ḥevra kaddisha* when establishing death was hurried and inadequate, and that death should be certified only by a properly qualified physician. He also advocated the establishment of mortuary chambers at cemeteries. His suggestions influenced Jewish public opinion and were instantly adopted by the French *consistoire, which addressed to him a grateful message. His suggestions were also adopted in 1858 by the Prague *ḥevra kaddisha*.

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[Meir Lamed]

ALTSCHUL, FRANK (1887–1981), U.S. banker. Altschul was born in San Francisco and served as captain in the U.S. Army in Europe during World War I. He entered banking in New York, and became director of Lazard Frères Inc. and the General American Investors Corporation as well as of several other investment and insurance companies. He was a member of the executive committee of the American Jewish Committee, director of the Woodrow Wilson Foundation, and vice chairman of the National Planning Association. Altschul wrote *Toward Building a Better America* (1949), in which he proposed a master plan for U.S. economic expansion, and *Let No Wave Engulf Us* (1941).

[Edward L. Greenstein]

ALTSCHUL, JOSEPH (1839–1908), *ḥazzan* and improviser of synagogue songs. Altschul, who was commonly known as Yosh(k)e Slonimer, was born in Vilna. He went to Courland for talmudic studies, and there became a successful singer (solo soprano) with a local *ḥazzan*. He was appointed cantor, but preferred to perfect his singing and became apprentice to the famous *ḥazzan* Yeruham *Blindman at Berdichev. Altschul is said to have copied the latter's style for some years but developed his own when he was town *ḥazzan* (*ḥazzan de-mata*) at Slonim (1870–88). Altschul gained wide popularity, attracted pupils from Lithuania and Poland, and was noted for his rabbinic knowledge. From 1888 until his death, Altschul served as a *ḥazzan* at Grodno.

Only four small works which Altschul noted down for Eduard *Birnbaum, a small fraction of his numerous compositions and improvisations, have been preserved. Some of these include easily mastered, almost popular tunes in 6/8 time which are inserted into the cantorial recitative, a predominant Lithuanian feature. The popular trend is also evident in his melodies for congregational singing.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Idelsohn, Melodien, 8 (1932), v, xxiii (introd.) and nos. 254–7; E. Zaludkowski, *Kulturtreger fun der Yidisher Liturgie* (1930), 130–3.

[Hanoch Avenary]

ALTSCHUL, LOUIS (1870–1943), U.S. businessman and philanthropist. Altschul, who was born in Poland, immigrated to the U.S. when he was 21, and settled in New York City. He worked for a while in the fur business and then started a highly successful career in real estate in the Bronx and Westchester County. Active in several Jewish organizations, Altschul was a founder of the Bronx division of the New York Federation of Jewish Philanthropies, director and president of the Bronx Hospital, and a prominent figure in the United Palestine Appeal. In 1941 he incorporated the Altschul Foundation, which disburses funds for charitable purposes.

[Edward L. Greenstein]

ALTSCHUL, MOSES BEN ḤANOKH (c. 1546–1633), early Yiddish writer. He was the author of the *Brant Shpigl* ("The Burning Mirror"), the first original comprehensive book of ethics in Yiddish. Printed by Conrad Waldkirch in Basle in 1602, it was based upon Altschul's earlier Hebrew ethical tract *Mar'ah ha-Sorefet* (1577). *Brant Shpigl* was part of the cycle of Yiddish didactic works appearing in the late 16th and early 17th centuries addressed primarily to women who could not read Hebrew. Altschul's volume emphasized women's duties and ideal moral behavior, and included chapters on such subjects as "how a modest woman should behave at home" and "how a woman should treat her domestic help." Three editions were published during the author's lifetime; it continued to be reprinted until 1706 and became particularly popular among German Jews. Other books followed in imitation of Altschul; for example, the *Tsukht Shpigl* ("Mirror of Modesty"), a rhymed, versified compendium of proverbs alphabetically arranged, selected by Seligman Ulma from holy texts (1610, and frequently reprinted); and *Kleyn Brant Shpigl* ("The Smaller Burning Mirror") edited by Judah b. Israel Regensburg. Its original title in 1566 had been *Mishlei Khakhomim*, but it was renamed as a result of the popularity of *Brant Shpigl*.

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[Sol Liptzin]

ALTSCHULER, DAVID (18th century), Bible exegete. Altschuler lived in Jaworow, Galicia. In order to promote the study of the Bible, he planned an easy-to-read commentary on the Prophets and Hagiographa, based on earlier commentators. Altschuler's commentary on Psalms, Proverbs, and Job was published in Zolkiew in 1753–54. JEHIEL HILLEL (18th century), continued his father's work. He visited Jewish communities in Germany, Holland, and Italy. In 1770 he published in Berlin his father's commentary on the Latter Prophets, which he had completed (two vols.). Five years later his own work, *Binyan ha-Bayit*, appeared in Zolkiew. It describes Ezekiel's vision of the future Sanctuary. The treatise contains a poem by Solomon *Dubno and talmudic novellae by the author. In 1780–82 he printed in Leghorn the entire completed commentary on the Prophets and Hagiographa together with a new edition of his own *Binyan ha-Bayit* (five vols.). The commentary consists of two parts, called respectively *Meẓudat Ẓiyyon* ("Fortress of Zion") and *Meẓudat David* ("Fortress of David"). The former explains individual words. The latter elucidates the meaning of the text. The commentary attained great popularity and has been reprinted frequently.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Azulai, 2 (1852), 18, no. 100; M.Z. Segal, *Parshanut ha-Mikra* (1952^2), 110–1.

[Tovia Preschel]

ALTSCHULER, MODEST (1873–1963), violoncellist and conductor. Born in Mogilev, Russia, Altschuler studied cello at Warsaw Conservatory with J. Hebelt (1884–86) and at the Moscow Conservatory with W. Fitzenhagen (until 1890) and other disciplines with A. Arensky, V. Safonov, S. Taneyev, and others (graduating in 1894). In 1895 he immigrated to the United States and founded the Russian Symphony Society (with the orchestra, in New York), which he directed and conducted in 1903–18, presenting works by Russian composers. He performed with Rachmaninoff, Prokofiev, Micha *Elman, Joseph Levin, and Scriabin. With the latter he was associated by close friendship and performed all his symphonic works, many of them for the first time in the United States, including the world première of *Poème de l'Extase* (1908). He also wrote recollections on the composer published by L. Stanley. After 1925 he taught in Los Angeles, continued conducting, wrote transcriptions, including an orchestral version of Tchaikovsky's *Trio*, and published his *Memoirs* (1956).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: L. Stanley, "Scriabin in America," in: *Musical America* 15/2 (1954); J. Soroker, *Rossiyskie muzykanty evrei, Bio-Bibliograficheskiy Lexikon*, part 1, Jerusalem (1992), 37–8.

[Marina Rizarev (2nd ed.)]

ALUMMOT (Heb. אֲלֻמּוֹת; "sheaves"), kibbutz in Israel, 1½ mi. (2 km.) W. of the Jordan outlet from Lake Kinneret. Alummot, affiliated with Iḥud ha-Kevuẓot ve-ha-Kibbutzim, was originally founded in 1939 by a religious group. In 1947 it was taken over by immigrants from Central and Eastern Europe, who had, three years earlier, set up a village on the nearby Poriyyah Ridge. The site, also called Bitanyah, had served *PICA (Palestine Jewish Colonization Association) as a fruit tree nursery. Alummot's economy was based on irrigated field and garden crops, bananas and other tropical fruit, carp ponds, and dairy cattle. The kibbutz also rented family vacation apartments. In 2002 its population was 247.

[Efraim Orni]

ALVA (Allweiss), SIEGFRIED (Solomon; 1901–1973), painter. He was born in Berlin, but lived in Galicia until the age of ten, and was given a strict Jewish education. Alva studied music and later drawing and after a period of travel in Europe studied painting in Paris. Shortly before the outbreak of World War II he settled in England. His works include an illustrated and decorated version of the first chapter of Genesis, a series of studies of the Prophets in lithograph, serigraphs, and oil paintings on several subjects from Jewish life in Eastern Europe. Some of his paintings are symbolist and abstract. Characteristic of his style is the use of a distinctive brush stroke and aerial perspective. He wrote an autobiography, *With Pen and Brush: The Autobiography of a Painter* (1973).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Alva: Paintings and Drawings* (1942), introduction by M. Collis; R. Gindertael, *Alva* (Fr., 1955); Y. Haezraḥi, *Alva* (Heb., 1954).

ALVAN BEN ABRAHAM (10th–11th century), rhetorician, poet, and *paytan* who lived in Syria. His *piyyutim* and poems were collected in a *divan* of which only a few pages were found in the Cairo *Genizah*. Evidently Alvan was also a *ḥazzan*: various *piyyutim* from the *Genizah* which bear the signature "Alvan Ḥazzan" may be his. Several of his nonreligious poems are in the form of letters written to patrons in various cities in Syria. These letters express the author's longing and respect for those to whom they are addressed. The language of the poem is generally marked by simplicity, but occasionally the poet incorporates ancient paytanic expression, as was customary among the poets of the time. The name Alvan is biblical (Gen. 36:23) and was used exclusively in Syria.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Davidson, in: JQR, 2 (1911), 221–39; Ḥ. Schirmann, *Shirim Ḥadashim min ha-Genizah* (1966), 53–57.

[Abraham Meir Habermann]

ALVARES (**Alvarez**), Sephardi family of Marrano descent. The first known to bear the name was SAMUEL DIOS-AYUDA (= Joshua?) of Astorga, baptized as Garcia Alvarez Delcón, probably at the time of the persecutions of 1391. He is sneeringly referred to as "the delight and ornament of Jewry" in an anti-*Converso satire preserved in the Cancionero de Baena.

There were many martyrs of the Inquisition of the name both in the New World and the Old. FERNANDO ALVAREZ (c. 1620–1640) of Bordeaux and later Leghorn, who had returned to Judaism under the name of Abraham de Porto, was one of the few Marranos burned by the Roman Inquisition. DUARTE HENRIQUES was treasurer of the customs in the Canary Islands before escaping in 1653 to England, where, as Daniel Cohen Henriques, he became active in the synagogue. His effigy was burned by the Inquisition in 1658, but seven years later he was denounced again by his own son. ISAAC (died 1683) alias Isaac Israel Nuñes, court jeweler, headed the London Sephardi Community immediately after the Plague and Fire of London: his tombstone, still legible, is written in English alexandrine couplets and praises him because "his far-gain'd knowledge in mysterious gems/ sparkled in the European diadems." Joseph Israel Nunez, alias Antonio Alvarez, a jeweler of French origin, lived in Amsterdam in the second half of the 17th century. Isaque Alvares lived in Bayonne in the 17th century. We find Rodrigo Alvarez in Cologne and Emanuel Alvares in Hamburg in the 16th century. In America, the name figures in the Jewish community from the beginning of the 18th century (SOLOMON, distiller in New York in 1703). The English musician ELI PARISH-ALVARS (1808–1849) presumably belonged to this family. The Alvares Correa family lived in Brazil.

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[Cecil Roth]

ALVAREZ, ALFRED (1929–), British poet, critic, and writer. Educated at Oxford University, Alvarez served as an editor on the *Observer* newspaper, and has written many well-regarded works of poetry, among them his collected *Poems* (1978) and *Day of Atonement* (1991), which explore the interaction of public and private forces on individual behavior. Alvarez has also written many works of criticism and non-fiction, as well as an autobiography, *Where Did It All Go Right?* (1999).

[William D. Rubinstein (2nd ed.)]

ÁLVAREZ GATO, JUAN (1445?–1510?), Spanish poet. Álvarez Gato flourished in the reigns of Henry IV and of Ferdinand and Isabella. A member of the Converso bourgeoisie of Madrid, he eventually became Isabella's keeper of the royal household. Álvarez Gato wrote amorous, religious, and satirical verse. His love poetry, the best and most lyrical part of his output, includes many of the gallant trivialities typical of the period, but it also contains some of the subtle irony which gives it his personal stamp. In his religious poetry Álvarez Gato frequently used popular forms and refrains. During the last years of Henry IV's reign, the tone of his poetry underwent a radical change and through it he bitterly reproached the monarch for the calamities of his rule. Alvarez Gato's short treatises and letters on moral questions shed light on the attitudes and problems of the Spanish Conversos at the end of the 15th century.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: J. Artiles Rodriguez (ed.), *Obras Completas de Juan Álvarez Gato* (1928); J. Márquez Villanueva, *Investigaciones sobre Juan Álvarez Gato* (1960).

[Kenneth R. Scholberg]

ALZEY (Heb. אלזא, אלזיי, אלזיא), town near *Worms, Germany. Jews living in Alzey are first mentioned in 1260, and again in 1348 during the *Black Death massacres. They were expelled from the town with the other Jews of the Palatinate in 1391. Although there were Jews living in Alzey in the 16th century, an organized community was not established until about 1700. Notable in Alzey was the Belmont family: Jessel (d. 1738) served as the first *parnas*, and Elijah Simeon built the synagogue in 1791. A new synagogue was consecrated in 1854. There were nine Jewish households in Alzey in 1772 and 30 in 1807. In 1880, 331 Jews were living there (approximately 6% of the total population); in 1926, 240; in 1933, 197; and by **Kristallnacht* (Nov. 1938), when the synagogue was burned down, there were fewer than 100 as a result of emigration. The last 41 were deported to the extermination camps of Eastern Europe in 1942–43.

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ʿAMADIYA, town in the mountains of Kurdistan, N.E. of Mosul; birthplace of David *Alroy. *Benjamin of Tudela in the 12th century estimated the number of Jews in Amadiya at approximately 2,000 (another manuscript gives the figure as 25,000). He claimed that they were descendants of Israelites from the Assyrian captivity, exiled by Shalmaneser, and that they spoke Aramaic. Other sources mention 1,000 Jewish families there. ʿAmadiya maintained its leading position among the Jewish communities in Kurdistan, as attested by letters and documents from the 16th century and later. These show the influence exercised by the rabbis of ʿAmadiya throughout Kurdistan and *Azerbaijan. There were two synagogues in ʿAmadiya; the inscription on the "upper synagogue," dated about 1250, is still legible. The Jewish traveler David d'Beth Hillel, who visited ʿAmadiya around 1828, found wealthy merchants, workmen, and cattle owners among the 200 Jewish families there, who still spoke Aramaic. In 1933, there were some 1,820 Jews in Amadiya; since then all have emigrated.

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[Walter Joseph Fischel]

AMADO LÉVY-VALENSI, ELIANE (1919–), French Jewish philosopher. Amado Lévy-Valensi was born in Marseilles, to an old Jewish family of Italian origin. Her studies were interrupted by World War II but were resumed in Paris in 1950. She was appointed to the Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique and later became a lecturer at the Sorbonne. The subject of her doctoral thesis (1963) already indicated the direction of her interest, the Jewish reply to the problems of the West, and she became increasingly a kind of Jewish counterpart to Henri *Bergson, as profoundly Jewish as Bergson was de-Judaized. She evolved a practical and theoretical system wherein the Jewish and the general human points of view were indissolubly linked. A psychoanalyst who opposed the closed nature of psychoanalytical societies, she founded in 1965, together with Dr. Veil and Professor Sivadon, an interdisciplinary center for psychoanalysis. Ever sensitive to the concept of Jewish existence she was, with André *Neher, the moving spirit behind the *Colloque des Intellectuels Juifs de langue française*, whose proceedings, important contributions to French Jewish thought on contemporary problems, she edited, together with Neher and Jean Halpérin (*La conscience Juive*, 5 vols., 1963–1973).

Amado Lévy-Valensi immigrated to Israel in 1968 and was appointed professor of Jewish and universal philosophy at Bar-Ilan University. After settling in Israel she published, in addition to fundamental works, articles on topical problems about which she felt intensely, seeking to reveal the psychoanalytical and Jewish substrata which could help in the search for concrete solutions to the important political problems facing Israel, particularly the Israeli-Arab dialogue.

Among her important works are *Les niveaux de l'Etre, la connaissance et le mal* (1963); *La racine et la source (essais sur le Judaisme)* (1968); *Isaac gardien de son frere?* (1969); *Les voies et les pieges de la psychanalyse* (1971); *Le grand désarroi* (1973); *La onzième épreuve d'Abraham ou De la Fraternité* (1981); *Le Moïse de Freud ou la Référence occultée* (1984); *A la gauche du Seigneur ou l'illusion idéologique* (1987); *Job, réponse à Jung* (1991); *La poétique du Zohar* (1996); and *Penser ou et rêver: mécanismes et objectifs de la pensée en Occident et dans le judaïsme* (1997).

[Andre Neher / Dror Franck Sullaper (2nd ed.)]

°AMADOR DE LOS RIOS, JOSE (1818–1878), Spanish literary critic and historian. In addition to works on general Spanish literary history, Amador wrote *Estudios históricos, políticos y literarios sobre los Judíos de España* (1848, repr., 1942), which was one of the first serious studies on Spanish Jews. This work earned him a chair at Madrid University. Included in his book are numerous quotations from works by Sephardi authors, especially poets, thus introducing them to the Spanish public. His *Historia social, política y religiosa de los judíos de España y Portugal* (3 vols., 1875, repr. 1943) is the first comprehensive history of the Jews in Spain based on documentary sources. Though there are errors of fact and tendentious interpretations, his works are of fundamental importance.

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[Kenneth R. Scholberg]

AMALEKITES (Heb. עֲמָלֵק), people of the Negev and the adjoining desert, a hereditary enemy of Israel from wilderness times to the early monarchy (Exod. 17:8–16; Judg. 3:13; 6:3; 10:12; I Sam. 14:48; ch. 15; ch. 30). Amalek, a son of Esau's son Eliphaz (Gen. 36:2), was presumably the eponymous ancestor of the Amalekites.

Amalek and Israel

According to the Bible, Amalek was the first enemy that Israel encountered after the crossing of the Sea of Reeds. Inasmuch as contemporary archaeology has convinced most biblicists that the biblical traditions of enslavement in Egypt, wilderness wandering, and conquest of the land are unhistorical, traditions about Amalek and Israel in the pre-settlement period probably reflect later realities. In effect, by setting encounters with Amalek in the days of Moses and Joshua, the writers of the Bible were saying that hostilities existed from time immemorial. Among these traditions we find that Amalekites attacked the Israelites in a pitched battle at Rephidim, which, to judge by the Bible (Ex. 17:6, 7, 8–16; 18:5), is in the neighborhood of Horeb; if the locality Massah and Meribah (17:7) is to be found in the region of Kadesh-Barnea or is identical with it (Num. 20:1–14, 24; Ezek. 47:19), then this battle was waged in the northern part of the Sinai Peninsula. The Book of Exodus relates that Joshua fought against Amalek under the inspiration of Moses, who was supported by Aaron and Hur, and that he mowed them down with the sword. Amalek was not destroyed, however, and at the end of this war Moses was ordered to write in a document, as a reminder, that the Lord would one day blot out the memory of Amalek from under the heaven. In commemoration of the victory, Moses built an altar which he called "YHWH-Nissi," and proclaimed that "The Eternal will be at war against Amalek throughout the ages." This implies that Israel is commanded to wage a holy war of extermination against Amalek (Deut. 25:12–19), for in the early days "the wars of Israel" and the "wars of the Lord" were synonymous expressions (cf., e.g., Judg. 5:23).

In the biblical traditions, Israel, after sinning through cowardice and lack of faith as a result of the discouraging report of the spies, turned around and "defiantly marched to the crest of the hill country" (Num. 14:44–45) against the divine command and was punished by sustaining a shattering blow at the hands of the Amalekites and Canaanites who inhabited the hill country, the former no doubt being confined to its southernmost end (Num. 14:45). In this particular case, therefore, YHWH, who according to Exodus 17:16 had sworn eternal enmity to Amalek, permitted Amalek to defeat Israel, but, since He had specifically warned Israel against this particular undertaking, there is no real contradiction between Exodus 17:16 and Numbers 14:45. It is possible that this tradition is based on abortive attempts by Israel to expand its holdings in the South during the premonarchic period (see Num. 13:29; 21:1–3, 4–34; Deut 1:44). More closely historical than the Pentateuch's accounts of Amalek are the traditions set in the period of the Judges and the monarchy. During the period of the Judges, the Amalekites participated with other nations in attacks on the Israelite tribes. Together with the Ammonites, they joined Moab against Israel and were among those who captured "the city of palms" – apparently Jericho or the pasture lands of Jericho (Judg. 3:12–13). It seems probable that the wanderings of the Amalekites, or of a particular part of them, extended as far as Transjordan in the neighborhood of Moab or Ammon. (Some scholars (Edeleman in Bibliography) have argued that there was a northern Amalekite enclave adjoining Ephraimite territory.) The Amalekites and the people of the East joined the Midianite raids on the Israelites in the time of *Gideon, and, like true desert tribes, undoubtedly participated in the destruction of the crops, as related in the Book of Judges (6:1–7). The Amalekites took part in the battles in the valley of Jezreel (6:33; 7:12) and perhaps also in the Jordan Valley, but there is no evidence that Gideon also fought with the Amalekites in his pursuit of the Midianites in Transjordan. In no case did the Amalekites as a whole suffer decisive defeat at this time and their center in the Negev was not harmed.

The decisive clash between Israel and Amalek came only with the advent of the monarchy, in the famous Amalekite war of *Saul. According to the biblical account, the war began as a result of a divine command of the Lord to Saul through Samuel to smite Amalek and destroy it, infant and suckling, ox and sheep, camel and ass" (I Sam. 15:3). Although Samuel alludes to Amalek's provocation of Israel, "in opposing them on the way, when they came up out of Egypt" (15:2), there is no mention of the battle of Rephidim and of the victorious war of Moses and Joshua. Samuel's words more closely parallel the narrative about the attack of Amalek in the Book of Deuteronomy (25:17–19), which relates that the Amalekites attacked the Israelites on their way out of Egypt, "when you were famished and weary," and cut down the stragglers in the rear, without mentioning any victorious Israelite counteraction. Deuteronomy explicitly admonishes the Israelites to remember Amalek and blot out its memory from under heaven, whereas in the Exodus version this can only be inferred (see above). The command imposed on Saul to subject the Amalekites to the ban (*ḥerem*), however, conforms to the version in Deuteronomy. The dispute between Samuel and Saul with regard to the *ḥerem* was not over the command itself, but the extent to which it had been put into effect. Saul's act of extermination was not absolute, for he spared the best of the sheep and cattle – setting aside part for a sacrifice to God – and *Agag, king of Amalek. It should be noted that even the deuteronomic *ḥerem*, though it does not allow for the sparing of persons (such as Agag), except for particular ones (like *Rahab) specified in advance, permits the taking of booty (e.g., Deut. 2:34–5; Josh. 8:26–27) except in special cases (Deut. 13:13 ff.; Josh. 6:17 ff.). Despite the "pre-deuteronomic" literary framework of chapter 15 and its prophetic-ideological aim, embedded in it is an ancient historical tradition about a war of extermination that reflects Saul's war against Amalek. This may be seen in the record of Saul's wars in which the war of Amalek receives special mention: "He did valiantly, and smote the Amalekites, and delivered Israel out of the hands of those who plundered them" (I Sam. 14:48). The matter was, therefore, a war of rescue as were the wars of the Judges, and it seems that because of its difficulty Saul vowed that in the event of success he would devote the spoil to the Lord by *ḥerem*.

From the scanty information in I Samuel 15, it may be concluded that Saul achieved victory over the Amalekites and advanced all the way to their headquarters, "the city of Amalek." The battle (or the main one) was waged in "the wadi," by which is perhaps meant the Wadi of Egypt (cf. Num. 34:5; Josh. 15:4; Ezek. 47:19). Accordingly, the main Amalekite center was on the Sinai Peninsula in the region of "the waters of Meribath-Kadesh," which may have been in the vicinity of Kadesh-Barnea, as the Amalekite attack at Rephidim was also in the same area. The term "city of Amalek" is not to be understood literally, and it is possible that it means a fortified camp. Neither does the title "king," applied to Agag, necessarily imply an organized kingdom as customarily found in settled regions, and it may be presumed that Agag was a type of tribal chief called a king, like the kings of Midian (Num. 31:8; Judg. 8:5, 12; cf. Num. 25:18; Josh. 13:21) and the kings of Ḫana in *Mari, whose main function may have been a military one.

According to I Samuel 15:7, "Saul defeated the Amalekites from Havilah all the way to Shur, which is east of (or close to) Egypt." However, Saul himself can hardly have advanced as far as the borders of Egypt (and if this Havilah is the same as that in Gen. 10:7, 29 – Arabia as well). Perhaps the author merely wishes to define the normal range of the nomadic Amalekites in the time of Saul. A similar expression occurs in the description of the much wider range of the Ishmaelites: "From Havilah, by Shur, which is east of (or close to) Egypt, etc." (Gen. 25:18). The magnitude of the Amalekite defeat in the days of Saul is apparently reflected in the pronouncement of *Balaam: "Their (i.e., Israel's) king shall rise above Agag, their kingdom shall be exalted" (Num. 24:7). It is related that when Samuel put Agag to death he said "As your sword has bereaved women, so shall your mother be the most bereaved of women" (I Sam. 15:33). This may indicate that Agag's military success was proverbial. The Amalekites were not completely destroyed by Saul, since at the end of his reign they were still raiding the Negev of the Cherethites, of Judah, and of Caleb, and the town of Ziklag, that had been assigned by King Achish of Gath to David (I Sam. 30:14).

Although the story of David's victory over the Amalekites is intended to add to his glory, it need not be doubted that it reflects an historical truth about David's wars against the desert tribes in his premonarchial period, being distinguished by exact topographical indications, by correct military-legal conduct, and the division of booty among the cities of Judah and of the Negev (30:9, 21–31). After the victories of Saul and David the Amalekites ceased to be a factor of any influence in the border regions of Judah and the Negev, just as the Midianites had after the war of Gideon. In I Chronicles 4:42–43, some obscure information has been preserved about the remnant of Amalek. These verses relate that some of the Simeonites went to Mt. Seir, killed the survivors of Amalek, and settled there. It is difficult to imagine that Mt. Seir means Edom, in light of the fact that the concept "Seir" may be applied to a variety of regions (e.g., Josh. 15:10; and perhaps also Judg. 3:26) and the areas mentioned in the previous verses (I Chron. 39–42); it seems most likely that the reference is to the western Negev, where the Amalekites roamed from early times. According to the allusion in verse 41, it is possible to say that the destruction of the survivors of Amalek took place during the reign of *Hezekiah.

Land and People

The name Amalek is not mentioned in writings outside the Bible. The proposed identification of the Amalekites with the Amaw or the Shasu of Egyptian sources is untenable. In the biblical genealogical system (see *Genealogy) Amalek is the son of Esau's son Eliphaz by Eliphaz's concubine Timna (Gen. 36:12). On the analogy of the genealogies of the sons of Nahor by concubinage (Gen. 22:24) and of Abraham's sons by Keturah and Hagar it may be surmised that Amalek's genealogy was intended to imply his special status as a nomad as distinct from the sedentary Edomites, in the same way as the Ishmaelites or the children of Keturah were distinct from the sedentary descendants of Abraham. There may be geographical significance in the listing of Amalek after Edom in the Song of Balaam (Num. 24:18, 20).

The Amalekites and the Kenites

Those among the Amalekites who lived in the border regions maintained a relationship to the Kenites, who certainly lived near the permanent settlements (I Sam. 15:6). Whereas the Kenites passed into permanent settlement during the First Temple period and were assimilated in Judah (I Chron. 2:55), the Amalekites did not deviate from their desert nomadic character until they ceased to exist. Some believe that this Amalekite patronage of the Kenites is also mentioned in Judges 1:16, reading (in accordance with a few Septuagint manuscripts and the Latin Vulgate version) "and they settled with the Amalekite" instead of "and they settled with the people." However, such an interpretation contradicts the meaning of the chapter – whose purpose is to relate how various tribes and families became annexed to Judah, i.e., "the people." This reading which occurs only in secondary versions of the Septuagint and not in original ones can be explained as an attempt to interpret a difficult passage in the light of I Samuel 15:6, i.e., the verse in the Song of *Deborah where it says of Ephraim "they whose root is in Amalek" (Judg. 5:14). Without raising the possibility of textual reconstruction in detail, it may be established, by drawing a parallel with the element "people," which appears repeatedly in this song, that the name Amalek in the masoretic text is the authentic one. Hence the meaning of the name in this context is not merely geographic (Judg. 12:15), but serves to indicate the warlike nature of Ephraim, beside Benjamin. It is unimaginable that such a juxtaposition would have been possible after the consciousness of the divine war of extermination against Amalek had taken root in Israel.

[Samuel Abramsky / S. David Sperling (2nd ed.)]

In the *Aggadah*

Amalek, "the first of the nations" (Num. 24:20), had no wish to fight alone against Israel but rather, with the help of many nations (Mekhilta, ed. by H.S. Horovitz and I.A. Rabin (1960^2), 176; Jos., Ant., 3:40). At first these nations were afraid to join Amalek, but he persuaded them by saying: "Come, and I shall advise you what to do. If they defeat me, you flee, and if not, come and help me against Israel."

Moses appointed Joshua to lead the Israelite army not because of his own weakness or advanced years but because he wished "to train Joshua in warfare" (Mekhilta, 179; Ex. R. 26:3). After he defeated the Amalekites, Joshua refrained from the common practice of abusing the bodies of the slain and instead "treated them with mercy" (Mekhilta, 181). The war with Amalek did not end with their defeat, and the Israelites were commanded always to remember the deeds of Amalek (Deut. 35:17). In rabbinic literature, the reasons for the unusual eternal remembrance of Amalek are the following: (1) Amalek is the irreconcilable enemy and it is forbidden to show mercy foolishly to one wholly dedicated to the destruction of Israel (PR 12:47). Moreover, the attack of the Amalekites upon the Israelites encouraged others. All the tragedies which Israel suffered are considered the direct outcome of Amalek's hostile act (PdRK 27). (2) The injunction "Remember" does not enjoin us to recall the evil actions of others but rather our own. For "the enemy comes only on account of sin and transgression" (*ibid.*). (3) The verse "Remember…" is meant to remind all men of "the rule which holds good for all generations, namely, that the scourge [the staff of God's indignation] with which Israel is smitten will itself finally be smitten" (Mekhilta, 181). In the course of time this biblical injunction became so deeply rooted in Jewish thought that many important enemies of Israel were identified as direct descendants of Amalek. Thus the tannaitic *aggadah* of the first century B.C.E. identifies Amalek with Rome (Bacher, Tann, 1 (1930^2), 146). The most outstanding example is "Haman the Agagite" (Esth. 3:1) who is regarded as a descendant of Agag (I Sam. 15:8) the Amalekite king (Jos., Ant., 11:209).

[Elimelech Epstein Halevy]

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AMALFI, Italian port on the Gulf of Salerno, S.E. of Naples. The first information about Jews living in Amalfi dates from the tenth century. According to the Chronicle of *Ahimaaz, two of his great-uncles, Shabbetai and Papaleone, went on a mission some time in the tenth century on behalf of the lord of Amalfi to the emir of Kairouan, bearing gifts to their kinsman Paltiel, who held a high position at the emir's court. The Jews of Amalfi formed a relatively small community, engaged in trade, silk manufacture, and garment dyeing. Jewish presence in Amalfi is also attested by letters from the Cairo **Genizah*. In a letter from the beginning of the 11th century a young Jewish scholar of Italian origins who passed through Amalfi on his way to Palermo and then to Egypt mentioned meeting two local Jews, Hannanel and Menahem, who helped him deal with the local traders. Other letters of the *Genizah*, from the middle of the 11th century, mention trade in silk, textiles, and honey from Amalfi. The *Genizah* letters indicate that the Jews were involved to some extent in the commerce between Amalfi, Sicily, and Egypt during the 11th century. The medieval Jewish traveler *Benjamin of Tudela found some 20 Jewish families there in about 1159. A Jew is mentioned among ten bankers who loaned money to Charles I of Anjou in 1269. In 1292, after measures were taken to force the Jews to convert to Christianity throughout the kingdom of *Naples, more than 20 families of "neofiti" (converts) remained in Amalfi. The Jewish community, reconstituted in 1306, ceased to exist when the Jews were banished from the kingdom of Naples in 1541.

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[Nadia Zeldes (2nd ed.)]

AMANA (Heb. אֲמָנָה), mountain mentioned in Song of Songs 4:8. As it is referred to together with the Senir and Hermon mountains, it was apparently situated in southern Syria and should be distinguished from Mount Amanus farther to the north. Its marble or alabaster was already known at the end of the third millennium B.C.E., being mentioned in the inscriptions of Gudea, the Sumerian ruler of Lagash. The same stone and cedars were later imported to Assyria by Tiglath-Pileser III, Sargon II, and Sennacherib. In Roman times, a road-station called Amana still existed on the Damascus-Palmyra road. Amana is usually identified with Jabal az-Zevedani (5,900 ft. [1,800 m.] high), which forms part of the Anti-Lebanon chain N.W. of Damascus.

Amanah is also the name of a river flowing from the above, and one of the two rivers of Damascus mentioned in II Kings 5:12 (written Avanah but corrected to Amanah in the *keri*). It was called *Chrysorhoas* in Hellenistic literature and is now named Nahr Barada.

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[Michael Avi-Yonah]

AMAR, LICCO (1891–1959), violinist. Born in Budapest, a pupil of Henri Marteau, Amar became second violinist of the Marteau Quartet, and concertmaster of the Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra (1915–20) and of the National Theater at Mannheim (1920–23). In 1922 he organized the Amar Quartet, which included Paul Hindemith, and was active until 1929 in the promotion of contemporary music. In 1935 he became professor of violin at the Conservatory of Ankara, Turkey. After 1957 he taught at the Musikhochschule in Freiburg.

AMARILLO, AARON BEN SOLOMON (1700–1772), halakhic authority and kabbalist. Amarillo was born and spent his whole life in Salonika. He studied under David Serero, one of the great Salonikan halakhic authorities of his day. On the death of Isaac b. Shangi in 1761, he was appointed one of the three chief rabbis of Salonika (as his father had been before him), serving together with R. Benvenisti Gatigno and R. Eliezer Raphael Naḥmias. His responsa *Penei Aharon* (1796) were published by his son Moses. Some of his responsa were published in the *Ashdot ha-Pisgah* of Joseph Naḥmuli (Salonika, 1790). He edited *Kohelet Ben David* (Salonika, 1749) of David Ḥazzan, appending to it a eulogy and elegies on the death of his brother Ḥayyim Moses. During a severe economic crisis in 1756, he proposed a moratorium on all debts. This was adopted by the community and led to an improvement in the economic situation.

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AMARILLO, ḤAYYIM MOSES BEN SOLOMON (1695–1748), halakhic authority and preacher; brother of Aaron *Amarillo. Born in Salonika, Ḥayyim Moses studied under his father Solomon, who before his death appointed him his successor as preacher in the Talmud Torah congregation. The community, however, opposed this appointment and on the death of Solomon they prevailed upon *Joseph David, author of *Beit David*, to accept the position. Ḥayyim Moses filled many posts in Salonika, teaching in his father's yeshivah and enacting local *takkanot*. With the outbreak of plague in 1724 he fled. In 1733 he was in Constantinople. Upon Joseph David's death in 1736, Ḥayyim Moses was appointed one of the three chief rabbis. Amarillo was a prolific writer and the following of his works have been published: 1) *Devar Moshe* in three parts (Salonika, 1742, 1743, 1750), responsa. The laws of divorce, which constituted sections of parts 1 and 3, were published as *Simḥat Moshe* (Leghorn, 1868); (2) *Halakhah le-Moshe* in two parts (Salonika, 1752), on the fourth book of Maimonides' *Yad, Nashim*. At the end of each chapter he gives a précis of the laws with explanations; (3) *Yad Moshe* (*ibid.*, 1751), sermons. He also edited his father's books, *Penei Shelomo* (1717) and *Kerem Shelomo* (1719), and also wrote an introduction to the responsa, *Edut be-Ya'akov* (Salonika, 1720), of Jacob di *Boton.

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AMARILLO, SOLOMON BEN JOSEPH (1645–1721), Salonikan halakhic authority and preacher, father of Aaron and Ḥayyim *Amarillo. While still a youth, he wrote responsa, and in 1666, he began to preach in various Salonikan congregations. On the death of his teacher, Isaac b. Menahem ibn Ḥabib (before 1685), Amarillo was appointed to replace him until Ibn Ḥabib's son became old enough to assume the position. Amarillo was an outstanding halakhist. Communities from all parts of Turkey turned to him with their problems. In 1691, following the death of Aaron ha-Cohen *Peraḥyah, he was appointed one of the three chief rabbis of Salonika. In 1716 his *bet ha-midrash* was in the old Sicilian synagogue. He was the author of *Penei Shelomo* (Salonika, 1717), sermons, mainly eulogies, to which are appended notes on the Pentateuch, and *Kerem Shelomo* (Salonika, 1719), responsa. Some of his responsa under the title *Olelot ha-Kerem* were published by his son, Ḥayyim Moses, at the end of the *Torat Ḥayyim*, pt. 3 (Salonika, 1722) of Ḥayyim Shabbetai and also at the end of the responsa *Devar Moshe*, pt. 2 (Salonika, 1743) of his son Ḥayyim Moses. In the introduction to *Kerem Shelomo*, his son Ḥayyim Moses refers to his father's novellae on the *Ḥoshen Mishpat*.

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AMARKAL (Heb. אֲמַרְכָּל), an anonymous halakhic compendium written in the 13th–14th century by a pupil of *Asher b. Jehiel, whose first name seems to have been Baruch. The work embodies valuable halakhic and literary material dating from the previous two centuries, particularly concerning the distinctive ritual of the German and French communities. The author quotes decisions of his father and reports his own observation and experience. Shalom b. Isaac of Vienna (14th century) already quotes the *Amarkal*. About the same time Ḥayyim b. David, the copyist of Isaac b. Meir *Dueren's *Sha'arei Dura*, used the work in his annotations. A manuscript, written before 1440, from which N. Coronel published a selection (*Likkutim me-Hilkhot Mo'adim* in *Ḥamishah Kunteresim*, 1864) is at Jews' College library (London). J. Freimann published the section *Yein Nesekh* in *Festschrift… D. Hoffmann* and M. Higger published *Hilkhot Pesaḥ* in *A. Marx Jubilee Volume*.

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AMASA (Heb. עֲמָשָׂא), military commander of *Absalom's army in his rebellion against his father David (II Sam. 17:25) and of Judah after the rebellion of Absalom (II Sam. 20:5; I Kings 2:32). Amasa was the son of Jether or Ithra the Ishmaelite, and Abigail the sister of David (II Sam. 19:14; I Chron. 2:17). According to II Samuel 17:25, he was the son of Ithra the Jesraelite (LXX–Jezreelite) and Abigail the daughter of Nahash.

Amasa can probably be identified with Amasai (Heb. עֲמָשַׂי), the leader of the 30 "mighty men" who joined David at Adullam (I Chron. 12:18). This makes it necessary, however, to assume that Jether the Ishmaelite married Abigail the daughter of Jesse long before David came to the court of Saul, and that Amasa was later deposed from his position in the service of David, since in the list of those who arrived with David in Ziklag, it is Ishmaiah the Gibeonite who commands the 30 "mighty men" (I Chron. 12:4); but it has the advantage of offering an explanation for Amasa's siding with Absalom against David – he was embittered over the fact that David had removed him from his duties. Absalom appointed Amasa military commander because he was a relative and a doughty warrior. After defeating Absalom, David tried to reconcile Amasa and any hostile elements in Judah by appointing Amasa as his commander instead of Joab, who had aroused his anger by killing Absalom (II Sam. 19:14). After his appointment, Amasa regained the loyalty of all Judah to David's side (*ibid.* 19:15).

Amasa was then ordered to assemble the men of Judah to subdue the rebellion of *Sheba the son of Bichri (*ibid.* 20:4–5). He did not succeed in this, and David therefore placed *Abishai at the head of his servants to suppress the rebellion. The latter was then joined by Joab and David's "mighty men" (*ibid.* 20:7). On their way, in Gibeon, Joab encountered Amasa and treacherously slew him (*ibid.* 20:9–10). This murder aroused David's anger, and in his last days he ordered Solomon to take revenge on Joab for this act (I Kings 2:5).

[Josef Segal]

In the *Aggadah*

Amasa, together with Abner, refused to be a party to the massacre of the priests of Nob (I Sam. 22:17); and he said to Saul: "What more do we owe you than our arms and insignia, which you have given us? Here they are at your feet" (TJ Sanh. 10:2, 52b). He did however accompany Saul to the witch of Endor (Lev. R. 26:7). He vigorously defended David's legitimacy, despite his descent from Ruth the Moabitess, challenging his opponents with the words: "Whoever will not obey the following *halakhah* will be stabbed with the sword; I have this tradition from Samuel the Ramathite: 'An *Ammonite*, but not an Ammonitess, a *Moabite*, but not a Moabitess,' are excluded from the congregation of Israel" (Yev. 76b).

His piety brought about his death. When challenged by Solomon at the heavenly court, Joab pleaded that he murdered Amasa because he had been tardy in obeying David's order to gather an army (I Sam. 20:4–5). The real reason for the delay, however, was that Amasa was loath to interrupt the studies of those whom he was to summon, considering that study overrode his duty to obey the royal command (Sanh. 49a).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Bright, Hist, 188f.; De Vaux, Anc Isr, 161; Mazar, in: *Sefer David Ben-Gurion* (1964), 251ff. (includes bibl.); M.Z. Segal, *Sifrei Shemu'el* (1964), 341ff.; S.R. Driver, *Notes on the Hebrew Text of the Books of Samuel* (1913), 372.

AMASIYA, chief district town in northern Turkey. The Turks found a small Greek-speaking (*Romaniot) Jewish community in Amasiya. After 1492 exiles from Spain settled there in a separate street, where they were merchants and craftsmen. In their neighborhood lived Greeks, and Armenians, popularly called "Amalekites." The Jewish community was small but organized, with a recognized leadership, and there is information about the regulations of the community and some disputes among its members. A document from 1683 mentions 73 Jews in the town and another document from 1576 mentions 63 Jews. Amasiya was an important town during the rule of Sultan *Suleiman I the Magnificent (1520–66). His son Mustafa was *sanjakbey* ("district governor") and was known for his hatred of the Jews. In 1553 a *blood libel was spread by Christians when an Armenian woman reported seeing the slaughter of a Christian boy by the Jews in order to use his blood at the Passover feast. Several Jews were imprisoned and tortured and some "confessed" to the crime and were hanged. Finally, the Armenian who supposedly was murdered was found and the government punished the accusers. Moses *Hamon, the sultan's personal physician, succeeded in then obtaining from him a firman which prohibited governors and judges to judge cases of blood libel, and ordered these to be brought before the sultan himself. Jewish merchants from Amasya traveled to Tokat and Persia in the 16th century. In 1590 the Jews of Amasya suffered from the Cellali gangs of bandits. Many frightened Jews fled from the city and only in 1608 was the community renewed. During the 17th century most of Amasiya's Jews moved to Tokat and Ankara. In 1672 there existed a Jewish court of law. At the beginning of the 18th century only a few Jewish families remained in Amasiya. There is no longer a Jewish community there.

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[Abraham Haim / Leah Bornstein-Makovetsky (2nd ed.)]

AMATEAU, ALBERT JEAN (1889–1996), communal activist, businessman. Amateau was born in Milas, a town in rural Turkey. His family was part of the westernized middle class elite of the Turkish Jewish community. His father, a lawyer, was the son of the French consul in Izmir. His maternal grandfather, Rabbi Moses *Franco, originally from Rhodes, served as chief rabbi of the Sephardi community in Palestine. Amateau received his primary and secondary education from Jewish schools in Milas and Smyrna. In 1908 he graduated from the Presbyterian American International College with a basic teacher's diploma and, probably more importantly, the means to escape compulsory military service. Following the Young Turks Revolution in 1908, teachers were exempted from conscription. Teaching part-time, Amateau studied law at the University of Istanbul. In 1910, the government altered its conscription policy, prompting Amateau to flee the country. After a brief stint working as a dishwasher in Naples to raise money for his onward journey, Amateau arrived in New York in August 1910. His early employment in New York mirrored his experience in Naples, moving between a string of jobs that included selling lemonade, delivering bread, and giving English lessons to fellow immigrants. Polylingual and literate, Amateau's language abilities translated into more stable employment, and he got jobs as an interpreter for the Court and on Ellis Island, and later working for the Industrial Removal Office.

Even while struggling to support himself, Amateau became involved in the leadership of the Sephardi community of New York. Together with Joseph Gedalecia, Amateau founded the Federation of Oriental Jews of America in 1912 with the intention of coordinating the activities of the mutual aid societies within the disparate Sephardi community, an initiative spurred by the mass immigration of Jews from the Balkans and Turkey. Amateau became increasingly involved in Jewish communal life, working for the Society for the Welfare of the Jewish Deaf and, in his spare time, as an activist for the Federation, the Oriental Jewish Community of New York (a looser confederation of Sephardi groups), and the Sephardic Brotherhood of America, a mutual aid society. He also took classes in social work at Columbia University and in rabbinics at the Jewish Theological Seminary, receiving his ordination from the latter in 1920. He served as the rabbi of the first congregation of the deaf, delivering sermons and leading services using sign language. Amateau volunteered for the United States Army during World War I and was wounded while serving in Europe. In the mid-1920s, Amateau went into private business, only to be left unemployed by the Great Depression. He retrained as a lawyer, and worked in the insurance industry. At about the same time, Amateau became disillusioned with the failings of Sephardi communal life and began to devote much of his free time and organizational abilities working on behalf of the Democratic Party. In a further career shift, he left New York for Los Angeles in 1940, trading on his language skills to start a company which provided foreign language dubbing for Hollywood films. Amateau was active in both Sephardi and civic organizations in this new setting. He retained a fierce lifelong attachment to Turkey, publicly defending it against the accusation that it had orchestrated the Armenian genocide.

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[Adam Mendelsohn (2nd ed.)]

AMATUS LUSITANUS (**João Rodrigues de Castelo Branco**; 1511–1568), physician; one of the greatest Jewish figures in medical literature in the first half of the 16th century. Amatus Lusitanus was born to Marrano parents in the town of Castelo Branco, Portugal. His parents were only outwardly Christians and from them Amatus Lusitanus inherited his attachment to Jewish tradition and a knowledge of Hebrew. He studied medicine in Spain at the University of Salamanca, and received his degree in about 1530. He returned to Portugal to pursue his practice, but when the situation of the Marranos worsened, and hostility toward Marrano doctors increased, he moved to Antwerp (1533). Three years later he published his first book on medicinal botany (*materia medica*), the *Index Dioscorides* – the only book he published under his baptismal name, Joannus Rodericus. His other works were written under the name "Amatus Lusitanus." "Amatus" was probably derived from his family name, which may have been Ḥaviv ("beloved"). It is probable that he established his connections with the *Nasi family during this period and he dedicated one of his *centuriae* to Joseph Nasi.

Because of Amatus Lusitanus' great fame as a physician and scientist, the duke of Ferrara, Ercole II d'Este, in 1540 appointed him lecturer in medicine at the University of Ferrara, a city where there existed both religious freedom and freedom for scientific research. Among his friends were the physician Brassavola (who wrote about medicinal plants), the anatomist, Canano, and the botanist, Falconer. Lusitanus worked with Canano on dissecting corpses. In one of the *centuriae*, he wrote that he performed 12 dissections of corpses (*dissecare fecimus*), a large number for this early stage of anatomy, in order to clarify one single detail of the structure of veins. He carried out other experiments on corpses to prove the possibility of performing certain operations (*Centuriae* 1, *curatio* 61).

While in Ferrara, Amatus declined an offer to become court physician to the king of Poland, Sigismund II. Instead, he accepted the invitation of the free republic of Ragusa (today Dubrovnik), to become the town physician. In 1547 Amatus Lusitanus left Ferrara, and went to Ancona to await his official letter of appointment. Here he was called upon to cure the sister of Pope Julius III, and became permanent physician to several monasteries (in *Centuriae* 4 and 5, he describes the illnesses of the monks). In 1549 he finished his first *centuria*, in which he collected 100 medical case histories and described their treatment and results. Many of the cases (*curationes*) are accompanied by learned explanations, clarifying various opinions on these cases, and dealing with the pathology and the treatment of the subject. Between 1549 and 1561 he wrote seven *centuriae*, which established his reputation as a thorough researcher in various fields, including anatomy, internal medicine, dermatology, and mental illness. The *centuriae* are also a mine of information on 16th century medical history, social life, and individual biography.

Amatus' fame was such that he was ordered to Rome several times to treat Pope Julius III. A number of cities invited him to treat their sick. In 1551 he was invited to accept the post of court physician to the ruler of Transylvania, but refused. Amatus finished his commentary on Dioscorides' work on *materia medica* in 1549 and published it in Venice under the title *In Dioscoridis enarrationes* (1553). The book was published six times in this form. In the 1558 edition (Lyons), it covers 800 pages, with 30 excellent illustrations, mainly woodcuts of plants but also of animals and birds. He gives the names of flora and fauna in Greek, Latin, Italian, and Arabic, and sometimes in French and German. This work is among the first ever published on *materia medica*. In it Amatus mentions several mistakes that he found in Matthioli's commentary on Dioscorides, which had been published in 1544. Matthioli, a famous botanist and court physician in Vienna, would not tolerate any criticism. He attacked Lusitanus in insulting and vulgar terms and accused him of heresy. Nevertheless, Amatus' works on *materia medica* won international renown. When Pope Paul IV was elected in 1555 and the *Ancona decrees against Marranos were published, Amatus' home was looted, together with his library and the manuscripts of his works. It was Matthioli's hatred and baseless charge of heresy which were the main reasons for this persecution. Amatus managed to escape first to Pesaro and then in 1556 to Ragusa, where he spent two peaceful years. In 1558 he moved to Salonika, which had a large Jewish community. There Amatus openly practiced Judaism, and mainly treated Jewish patients. It was in Salonika that he died of the plague.

In *Centuria* 1, *curatio* 52, Amatus Lusitanus vividly described his important discovery of the valves in the veins, which direct the bloodstream in one direction and prevent it from flowing back the opposite way. Because of a misinterpretation of the Latin text, the discovery was long attributed to Canano. The discovery of the valves has also been wrongly attributed to Fabricius, who described them at a later date. Amatus also demonstrated that the optic nerves are not hollow, and that the cavity of the human womb is not divided. He described the structure of the mammary gland, and a treatment for inflammation of the lactating breast. He used enemas to feed a man suffering from a stricture of the esophagus. He also gave a precise description of the enlargement of the spleen and the changes in its consistency which are characteristic of chronic malaria.

Amatus Lusitanus' lofty medical ethics are demonstrated in the oath printed at the end of his sixth and seventh *centuriae*. The oath, written after his return to Judaism, is one of the most exalted literary documents in medical ethics. He takes the oath in the name of "the Ten Holy Commandments, which were delivered into the hands of Moses on Mount Sinai for the people who were redeemed from bondage in Egypt." This oath emphasizes the philanthropic side of the art of healing and the need to aid the poor and the needy. In this it differs (as do the Christian oaths) from the professional materialism of the Hippocratic oath. His Latin is fluent and graceful and does not contain the barbarities of style and vocabulary common in medieval Latin. All this helped to popularize the *centuriae* with its readers. Twenty-three different editions of Amatus' works are known (together with that on *materia medica*). They have not yet been fully translated into a modern language, although the first three *centuriae* have been translated into Portuguese (1946–). From the point of view of Jewish history, Lusitanus' life exemplifies the internal struggle and emotional burden to which Marranos were subjected. Despite the necessity of concealing his origins, he emphasizes in his books, long before his open return to Judaism, his attachment to Jewish values. In one of his *centuriae*, he quotes the opinions of Maimonides, with no particular relevance to the context. In his description of the treatment of Azariah dei *Rossi, who was apparently suffering from a gastric ulcer, Amatus Lusitanus described the customs and eating habits of the Jews. There is a figure of Amatus Lusitanus above the door of the medical faculty of the University of Coimbra and he is also represented in the tableau of "Portuguese Medicine" in the medical faculty of Lisbon University.

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[Joshua O. Leibowitz]

AMAZIAH (Heb. אֲמַצְיָה(וּ); "YHWH is strong" [or "YHWH adopted"]), the name of two biblical figures.

(1) King of Judah, son of Joash son of Ahaziah. Amaziah reigned for 29 years (II Kings 14:1–20; II Chron. 25) but the synchronism with the reign of Jeroboam II (II Kings 14:23) presents chronological problems. Amaziah's mother was Jehoaddin of Jerusalem (II Kings 14:2; Jehoaddan in II Chronicles 25:1). The period of his ascension to the throne was difficult both for internal and external reasons because of the serious conflicts between King *Joash, his father, and the sons of *Jehoiada the priest, which brought about the murder of Joash (II Chron. 24:20–26). During the first years of his rule he did not have the power to punish his father's murderers. "But when the kingdom was established unto him" he punished the murderers without harming their children or families. II Kings 14:6 and II Chronicles 25:4 stress that Amaziah acted in accordance with "the book of the law of Moses… Parents shall not be put to death for children, nor children be put to death for parents: a person shall be put to death only for his own crime" (cf. Deut. 24:16). This moderation toward his father's murderers, as well as his political acts in which he procured the participation of the family heads in Judah, brought quiet back to Judah. Consequently, aided by the family heads, Amaziah succeeded in raising a powerful force to fight Edom. At first, he wanted the army of Israel to participate in this war, but when he realized the opposition this had aroused among various sectors of the people, he gave up the idea of receiving help from the Israelite army although its mobilization had already cost him dearly; the Israelite regiment returned home embittered (II Chron. 25:6–10).

Amaziah won a great victory in Edom in the Valley of Salt, captured Sela, which he named Joktheel (II Kings 14:7; II Chron. 25:11–13), but did not succeed in conquering all Edom. It is possible that Amaziah, by forgoing the help of the Israelite army in the war against Edom, caused bitter conflicts between Judah and Israel. These were apparently mainly caused by the acts of plunder and murder committed in various settlements in Judah by the Israelite contingent, which was sent back to its own country after its departure from Judah (II Chron. 25:13). It is possible that Amaziah's reaction to these deeds was a result of the influence of public opinion in Judah which displayed excessive sensitivity toward the Israelite actions against Judah in view of the strengthened self-confidence of the Judeans after their victory over Edom. Amaziah proclaimed war against Joash, king of Israel, and though Joash sought to prevent this war, Amaziah went ahead with it. It may even have been impossible for him to act otherwise since the official reply of Joash included the parable of the thistle and the cedar – a parable with a derisive design and humiliating content that was offensive to both Judah and Amaziah (II Kings 14:8–10; II Chron. 25:17–19). In the war between Amaziah and Joash near Beth-Shemesh, Judah was soundly defeated. Amaziah was taken captive, and Joash ordered that a wide breach be made in the northern part of the wall of Jerusalem to facilitate the conquest of Jerusalem by Israel (II Chron. 25:23). Apart from this, Joash looted much treasure from the Temple and the palace of the king, and, to assure the fulfillment of the peace terms that he imposed upon Judah, took hostages. According to II Chronicles 25:14–16, Amaziah was guilty of worshipping the "gods of the children of Seir"; this sin brought about a conspiracy against him in Jerusalem in his last days. He fled to Lachish and was murdered there; his body was later buried in the tombs of the kings in Jerusalem (*ibid.* 15, 16, 27). It can be assumed that for political reasons Amaziah took several images of Edomite idols and set up their cult in Jerusalem. This, combined with the defeat he sustained in the war against Joash, brought about a cooling of relations between the king's court and the family heads. According to II Chronicles (25:25), Amaziah was murdered 15 years after the defeat of Judah in the war at Beth-Shemesh, and it is therefore difficult to regard the murder as a consequence of the defeat alone. It is certain that in the course of time political causes were added which brought about a complete rift between him and the nobles.

[Joshua Gutmann]

In the *Aggadah*

The *aggadah* quotes an ancient tradition that Amaziah was a brother of Amoz (the father of Isaiah; Is. 1:1; Meg. 10b). It was on the latter's advice that the king dismissed the army he had gathered from among the Ephraimites (II Chron. 25:7–10; SOR 20). His method of killing of the 10,000 Edomite captives (II Chron. 25:12) is severely criticized. "Death by the sword was decreed upon the descendants of Noah, but he cast them from a rock." As a result he was exiled (Lam. R. introd. 14).

The chronological difficulties presented by differing scriptural references to the lives and reigns of various kings are solved by the statement that Amaziah did not rule for the last 15 years of his life, the kingdom being administered by his son, Uzziah, who, in turn, left the administration to his son (Jotham) for 20 years (SOR 19).

(2) A priest of the king's sanctuary at Beth-El in the time of *Jeroboam II, son of Joash; one of the opponents of the prophet *Amos (Amos 7:10ff.). Amaziah sent Jeroboam the essence of one of the prophecies of Amos: "Jeroboam shall die by the sword and Israel shall surely be led away captive out of his land." Amaziah accused him of conspiracy and drove Amos away to Judah. Following this decree of expulsion, Amos repeated his prophecy against Israel, and declared the dire fate in store for Amaziah. Apparently the impetus for this conflict between the prophet and the priest came from the prophetic activity of Amos in the northern kingdom which was directed against the worship in the temples of the state, in general, and against that of the temple of Beth-El, in particular (Amos 3:14; 4:4; 5:5–6; 9:1).

[Joshua Gutmann]

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AMAẒYAH (Heb. אֲמַצְיָה), moshav shittufi in southern Israel, in the Adoraim Region of the southern Judean foothills, affiliated with the Ḥerut movement. Amaẓyah was founded in 1955 as a border outpost and settled by Israeli-born, South African, and other settlers. Its economy was based on vineyards, deciduous fruit, grain, beef cattle, and poultry. In 2002 its population was 128. The name refers to Amaziah, king of Judah, who asserted his sovereignty over the area.

[Efraim Orni]

AMBERG, city in Bavaria, Germany. Jews had settled in Amberg before 1294, when mention is made in a municipal document of their privileges. Thirteen members of the community were killed in 1298 in the *Rindfleisch massacres; a few escaped. In 1347 six families received permission to reside in Amberg. Sussman, the *Hochmeister* (rabbi) of Regensburg, was permitted to open a yeshivah in Amberg in 1364. In 1403 the community was expelled, and a church was erected on the site of the synagogue. The community was not reestablished until after 1872. The number of Jews increased from a single Jewish resident in 1810 to 101 (0.5% of the total population) in 1900; 64 remained by 1933, and only 31 by 1939. On November 10, 1938, the furnishings of the synagogue, Jewish shops, and homes were demolished by the Nazis. Twelve Jews remained in 1942, of which ten were deported to Piaski and Theresienstadt. A few Jews returned after the Holocaust. The reorganized Jewish community numbered 67 in 1965. As a result of the immigration of Jews from the Former Soviet Union, the number of community members rose from 74 in 1989 to 275 in 2003.

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AMBRON (Heb. עמרון), **SHABBETAI ISAAC** (17th–18th centuries), Italian scholar who lived in Rome; member of a distinguished Roman family, whose ancestors left Spain after the expulsion of 1492. About 1710 Ambron composed his *Pancosmosophia*, a treatise on the universe, written in Latin. In this, in opposition to the astronomical and cosmological opinions of Ptolemy, Copernicus, and Galileo, but in accordance with beliefs current among Jewish mystics and kabbalists, Ambron maintained that the earth was semi-elliptical and the firmament solid; the hidden side of the world included paradise with its bliss and hell with its torments. The Inquisition in Rome and Venice opposed the publication of the treatise as harmful to Christian beliefs. The work with many engravings was sent to Leipzig to be published, but was lost. Another work by Ambron, containing corrections to the *Bibliotheca Magna Rabbinica* of Giulio *Bartolocci, also disappeared. Ambron was a member of the council (*congrega*) of the Roman community. EZEKIEL AMBRON, banker and literary patron, was active in Roman Jewish affairs in the middle of the 18th century and friendly with Pope Clement XIV, on whose death in 1775 he hurriedly left Rome for Florence. He was perhaps the father of SABBATO ISAAC AMBRON, who wrote in Italian an interesting account of his pilgrimage to Ereẓ Israel (Montefiore Ms. 520, etc.).

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[Attilio Milano]

°**AMBROSE** (339–397), church father, bishop of Milan from 374; canonized by the Catholic Church. Nothing in Ambrose's works points to his having had personal relations with Jews, and he seems to have avoided any such contact. One of the reproaches he directed against the anti-Pope Ursinus was that he had had dealings with Jews (Epist. 11:3). Ambrose took up his most violent anti-Jewish position in connection with an incident in Callinicum (Ar-Rakka) on the Euphrates; on August 1, 388 the Christians of that city, at the instigation of their bishop, had pillaged and burned the synagogue. The emperor *Theodosius I thereupon ordered the perpetrators to be punished, and the stolen objects restored, instructing the bishop to pay for rebuilding the synagogue. Ambrose addressed a long letter (Epist. 40) to the emperor to persuade him to withdraw these instructions, asserting that to have the synagogue rebuilt with public or Christian funds would be tantamount to permitting the enemies of Christ to triumph over Christians. The arguments he mustered are that the destruction of the synagogue was a meager vengeance for the many churches or basilicas destroyed by the Jews in the reign of *Julian the Apostate, when objects had also been stolen and never restored. Moreover, Ambrose asks, what precious things could there have been in the synagogue of a remote garrison city? Ambrose declared that the bishop must not be faced with the painful alternative of disobeying the emperor or Christ. There was no necessity to search so far for the guilty since Ambrose would gladly offer himself as a substitute for the bishop of Callinicum. If it were asked why Ambrose did not then set fire to the synagogue in Milan, the answer was that God had spared him that task, as it had been struck by lightning. Despite these assertions, Ambrose did not question the legal right of synagogues to exist, as months before he had not protested when Emperor *Maximus had ordered the rebuilding of a synagogue destroyed by the people of Rome. Theodosius later revised his instructions and directed that the Callinicum synagogue was not to be rebuilt at the expense of the bishop but out of the state or municipal funds, although still demanding that the stolen objects were to be returned and the guilty punished. Sometime later, however, when Ambrose celebrated mass in Milan in the presence of Theodosius he extorted a promise from the emperor, under a thinly veiled threat of excommunication, to suspend further prosecutions in the Callinicum affair (Epist. 41). Several of Ambrose's other missives, dated probably 378, contain anti-Jewish polemics. They include an attack on circumcision because the injunction had been abolished by the death of Jesus (Epist. 72); a disquisition on Old Testament law, to be understood not literally but spiritually (Epist. 73 and 74); and juridical argument to refute the claim of the Jews to be the heirs of the Covenant (Epist. 75). The *Apologia David altera*, a polemic directed against paganism and heresy, which has been attributed to Ambrose, also contains an anti-Jewish section (4). Heretics (mainly Arians) are frequently charged by Ambrose with being Jewish in outlook and manners (*De fide*, 2, 15, 130; 5, 9, 116; *De incarn.*, 2, 9). Ambrose cannot be said to have had any real influence on church policy toward the Jews. His intervention in the Callinicum affair exemplifies the fierce hatred felt by the church against the Jews in the fourth century, but it had little effect on imperial policy.

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[Bernhard Blumenkranz]

AMEIMAR (c. 400 C.E.), Babylonian *amora*. Although he acted in a judicial capacity, and also gave halakhic decisions at Maḥoza (Shab. 95a; RH 31b), he was a Nehardean and one of that city's leading sages (BB 31b; et al.). He was also the head of the newly reactivated yeshivah in Maḥoza. On the Sabbath preceding a festival, he came to his seat on the shoulders of his students (Beẓah 25b). In Nehardea he also served as a *dayyan*, and instituted certain regulations (Suk. 55a; et al.). It is not clear who his teachers were, but he transmitted statements in the name of Rava (Kid. 10a), and quoted the views of R. Zevid and R. Dimi, sages of Nehardea (*ibid.*, 72b; Ḥul. 51b), and of the elders of Pumbedita (Er. 79b). Among those who attended his yeshivah were Mar Zutra, later head of the yeshivah of Pumbedita, and R. Ashi, the editor of the Babylonian Talmud (Ber. 44b, 50b; Men. 37b; Beẓah 22a; et al.) The exilarch, R. Huna b. Nathan, was his close friend and quoted *halakhot* he had heard from Ameimar (Zev. 19a; Kid. 72b; Git. 19b). Most of the statements cited in his name deal with halakhic subjects. Of his aggadic interpretations the following are examples: "A sage is superior to a prophet" (BB 12a), and "As a rule a heathen behaves lawlessly," applying to them the statement in Psalms 144:11, "Whose mouth speaketh falsehood, and their right hand is a right hand of lying" (BB 45a). Ameimar's son, Mar, was a pupil of R. Ashi (Suk. 32b).

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[Yitzhak Dov Gilat]

AMELANDER (also **Amlander**)**, MENAHEM MANN BEN SOLOMON HA-LEVI** (1698–1767?), Hebrew grammarian, publisher, translator, and historian. He was born in Amsterdam, went to a yeshivah in Prague, and was a student of Moses *Frankfurter, a *dayyan* and publisher in Amsterdam, whose *Mikra'ot Gedolot* edition of the Bible (1724–27) he proofread. In conjunction with his brother-in-law, Eliezer Zussman Roedelsheim, he published a Yiddish translation of the Bible, together with the Hebrew text and a Bible commentary in Yiddish entitled *Maggishei Minḥah* (Amsterdam, 1725–29). He also edited the *Midrash Tanḥuma* (*ibid.*, 1733), together with a commentary consisting mainly of lexicographical glosses, and he published a Bible edition with his own notes, other commentaries, and appended to it *Sefer ha-Ḥinnukh* (*ibid.*, 1767). His commentary *Lada'at Ḥokhmah* was appended to Elijah de Vidas' *Reshit Ḥokhmah* (*ibid.*, 1737). Amelander's most important work, *She'erit Yisrael*, is an addition to the Yiddish translation of **Josippon*. It is written in Yiddish and continues the historical account of the latter with a short history of the Jews from the destruction of the Second Temple to the year 1743. In its first edition (*ibid.*, 1743) the Yiddish translation of *Josippon* is called *Keter Kehunnah* and *She'erit Yisrael* is also entitled *Keter Malkhut.* A third volume, a Yiddish edition of *Tam ve-Yasar,* was planned as *Keter Torah*. Amelander used both Jewish and Christian sources to present a world history of Jewry, interwoven with broader political developments. It was meant for the broader Ashkenazi public and therefore written in Yiddish. *She'erit Yisrael* was very successful and ran into at least 12 editions in Yiddish, 16 in Hebrew (the first in Lemberg, 1804), and one in Dutch (1855). Often the editions were updated to the date of republication. For example, the 1771 Amsterdam edition brings the history up to the year 1770; the publisher Kosman ben Josef Baruch wrote the addition here. Several subsequent chronicles were written to continue Amelander's *magnum opus*. The Amsterdam successors also wrote in Yiddish: Avraham Haim Braatbard on Dutch and Jewish history in the period 1740–52 and Zalman ben Moses Prinz on the impact of the Patriotic coup d'état in the Amsterdam Jewish quarter (1784–88). The Bohemian Abraham Trebitsch from Nikolsburg dealt in his Hebrew *Korot ha-Ittim* with the history of the Habsburg Empire from 1740 until 1801; while a second unpublished volume covered the period until 1833. The chronicle *Lezikorn* (1795–1812) by Bendit ben Ayzek Wing was the last outburst of Yiddish historiography in the Netherlands.

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[Ignacy Yizhak Schiper / Bart Wallet (2nd ed.)]

AMEN (Heb. אָמֵן; "it is true," "so be it," "may it become true"), word or formula used as confirmation, endorsement, or expression of hope and wish on hearing a blessing, prayer, curse, or oath. Originally an adjective ("true"; but see Isa. 65:16 for its use as a noun), it became an indeclinable interjection. As such it is found 30 times in the masoretic text of the Bible and an additional three times in the Septuagint (see Tob. 8:8 and 1 QS 1:20, 2:10, 18). It usually stands alone, but is followed by a more explicit prayer formula in I Kings 1:36 and Jeremiah 28:6. In the service of the Second Temple, "Amen" was the response to the songs chanted by the levites (Ps. 41:14; 72:19; 89:53; 106:48; Neh. 8:6; I Chron. 16:36; cf. however Tosef. Ber. 7:22). In the synagogue liturgy, "Amen" was the response to all prayers and blessings. In the vast synagogue of Alexandria the *ḥazzan* signaled with a flag from the central reading platform to the congregation when to respond "Amen" after blessings (Suk. 51b). It may be assumed that in Temple and talmudic times responding "Amen" was the main form of participation in the service, not only because congregations were unfamiliar with the prayer texts (cf. RH 34b) but because public worship mainly took the form that one spoke and the rest responded. The saying of "Amen" is equivalent to reciting the blessing itself, and such religious value has been attached to it, that it has been said to be superior to the benediction that occasioned the response (Ber. 53b; Maim., Yad, Berakhot 1:11). A person should not usually respond with "Amen" to a blessing he himself has recited, the only exception now being the third blessing of the Grace after Meals (Ber. 45a and Tos.). This prohibition may be a reaction to the Christian custom to conclude every prayer with "Amen." The early church borrowed the use of "Amen" together with most of the liturgy, and it is found in the New Testament 119 times, of which 52 are uses different from the Hebrew. In Islam, "Amen" is the response after reciting the first *sura (Surat al-Fatiḥa)* of the Koran.

"Amen" is used as a response to blessings recited both privately and in the synagogue liturgy. The congregation also responds "Amen" after each of the three verses of the Priestly Blessing (Sot. 7:3, 39b). In some rites the response after each verse is *Ken yehi raẓon* ("Let this be [His] will"; cf. Sh. Ar., OḤ 127:2). After each paragraph of the *Kaddish* and after a number of other prayers, such as the *Mi she-Berakh* formulas in the Sabbath morning service, the reader invites the congregation to respond "Amen" by saying *ve-imru Amen*, or *ve-nomar Amen* ("and say Amen" or "let us say Amen"). Numerous rules are given concerning how "Amen" should be recited, e.g., with a strong, clear voice but not too loud; not too quick and not too slow. It describes various types of "Amen," such as "snatched," "mumbled," and "orphaned" (Ber. 47a). Other problems discussed in the Talmud are whether to respond to the blessing of a Samaritan or of a non-Jew (Ber. 8:7; Ber. 51b; TJ Ber. 8:1, 12d). The *aggadah* stresses the great religious value of responding "Amen": it prolongs life (Ber. 47a); the gates of Paradise will be opened to him who responds with all his might (Shab. 119b); his sins will be forgiven, any evil decree passed on him by God will be canceled (*ibid.*); and he will be spared from

Hell (Pseudo SEZ 20, ed. Friedmann (1904), 33:1; Yal. Isa. 429). The Talmud (Shab. 119b; Sanh. 111a) also offers a homiletical etymology of "Amen" by explaining it as made up of the initial letters of *El Melekh Ne'eman* ("God, faithful King"), a phrase by which the reading of the *Shema* is preceded when recited other than in congregational worship. However, in the older prayer orders (Amram, Saadiah, Vitry) the original "Amen" appears before the *Shema*. Even God Himself "nods" "Amen" to the blessing given to him by mortal man (Ber. 7a and Rashi). According to legend, two angels accompany each Jew on Friday evening to his home, where they either bless him for his receiving the Sabbath properly or curse him for neglecting it, and they confirm their curse or blessing with "Amen" (Shab. 119b). Any good wish offered should be answered by *Amen, ken yehi razon*, as can be inferred from an incident going back to Second Temple times (Ket. 66b).

In Music

According to the Talmud (Ber. 47a; TJ Ber. 8:10), the "Amen" should be drawn out in pronunciation, an act which is said to prolong life (repeated in the Zohar, *Shelaḥ Lekha*, 162a). Since Eastern chant does not use extended single notes, this very old precept furnished a challenge to elaborate the "Amen" response with ornament and coloratura. The free evolution of an "Amen"-melisma is found in Christian chant as early as the Oxyrhynchos hymn (late third century), in some settings of the *Gloria* and the *Credo* in the Roman mass, and later in figural church music. As to Jewish chant, the *Gemara* already limited the length of the "Amen" pronunciation; therefore, prolonged melodies are restricted to the "Amen" after the Blessing of the Priests (Example 1) and to the solo-part of the precentor (Example 2). In 1696, Judah Leib Zelichover (*Shirei Yehudah*, fol. 13b) disapproved of the excessive lengthening of "Amen"-melodies by some of his fellow singers. The "Amen" of the congregation in general remains a simple repetition, a conclusion or short continuation of the precentor's melody. "Amen"-motives characteristic of a certain feast were derived from its specific musical modes and prayer tunes. In the 19th century synagogue, S. *Sulzer, Hirsch Weintraub, and others attempted an imitation of figural "Amen" composition, but without success.

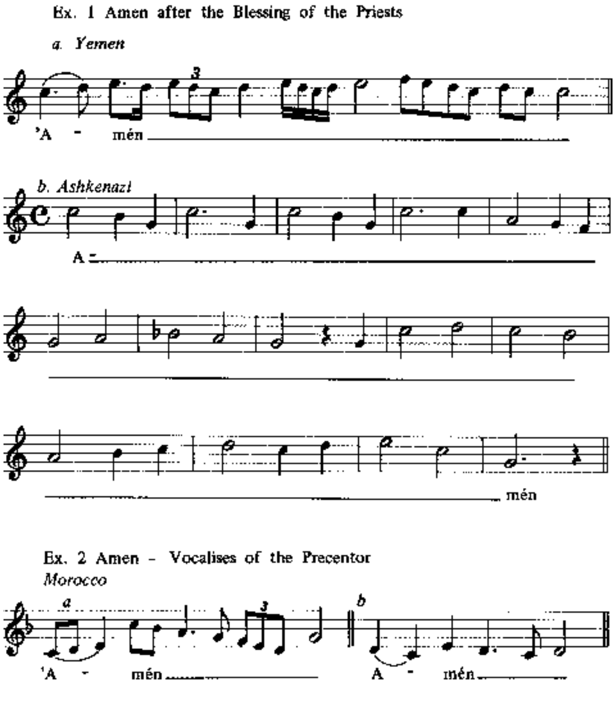
AMEN
Ex. 1 Amen after the Blessing of the Priests
a. Yemen
'A - mén
b. Ashkenazi
A
mén
Ex. 2 Amen - Vocalises of the Precentor
Morocco
a
b
'A - mén
A - mén

[Hanoch Avenary]

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AMENITIES, COMMUNAL. From the beginnings of Jewish communal organization, the Jewish *community "held nothing human to be beyond its ken." Its corporative character and national and social cohesion led to the inclusion of social services, socio-religious amenities, and even socialite institutions and mores, within the sphere of communal activity. Total care had to be taken of the community, especially of the less fortunate members.

To conform to dietary requirements, the community had to provide a *shoḥet* to slaughter animals according to halakhic regulations. It also sometimes provided the means for cooking meat, having a cauldron at the disposal of members for wedding celebrations. Many congregations, particularly in Germany, owned a communal bakehouse, or oven, annually used for baking *maẓẓot* or for keeping the Sabbath meal of *cholent* warm on Fridays. Wealthy members sometimes paid to use the oven, while the poor could do so without charge. Occasionally baking took place in a building, or bakers' guildhall. Many French and German communities had a large communal hall above the bakehouse or nearby, which probably served both as a hostel and a dancing hall, or **Tanzhaus*. The *Tanzhaus* (as it was known in Germany) was probably identical with the *bet ha-ḥatunot* or marriage-hall.

Direct assistance to the poor (see *Pletten; *Charity), also a long-established tradition of the Jewish community, gave rise to several institutions which may be classified as amenities. The daily distribution of food, the *tamḥui*, soup kitchen, applied not only to contributions of food, such as bread or fruits, but later also to occasional relief, as distinguished from the regular relief afforded by the *kuppah*. The community usually took care of ritual requirements, in particular if these were expensive; it supplied at least one *etrog* ("citron") for general use during the festival of Tabernacles. Israel *Isserlein relates that three tiny settlements in 15th-century Germany, unable to afford an *etrog* each, shared one for the celebration of the festival. In Spain similarly a communal *seder* for the poor was held in the synagogue on Passover. Among other civic duties, sanitary control sometimes had to be undertaken by the community. The communities of Rome, Frankfurt, Cracow, Posen, and other large centers retained paid or honorary officials (*memunnim*) in charge of public safety and sanitation. The budget for sanitation was generally provided by special dues, such as the garbage tax and chimney tax, levied on every member of the community. The communal minutes often mention the problem of garbage collection, the streets of the more affluent residents usually receiving greater attention. The other main concern of the sanitary officials was to keep the water sources and conduits clean and flowing. The community also made provision for a water supply. When necessary a well was dug within the synagogue enclosure, probably to provide the water for the communal baths. These included the *mikveh* ("ritual bath"), usually part of the regular Jewish bathhouse which many communities also had to provide since Jews were often forbidden to bathe in the waters used by Christians. The inventory of property confiscated from the synagogue of Heidelberg in 1391 mentions a "vaulted chamber" which stood near the synagogue and served as the "Jews' bath" (*balneum judeorum*). The Jews of Augsburg also had a segregated public bath. No congregation was without a *mikveh.*

Besides the *mohel* to perform circumcision, some communities retained physicians, surgeons, and midwives, not only to serve in communal hospitals, where these existed, but also to supervise certain general health services (see *Sick Care). The Spanish congregation in London, for instance, appointed as early as 1665 "a Physician of the Hebra who shall be obliged to attend the sick as soon as he shall have been informed… that visiting him he shall prescribe what is needful." The physician or physicians received an annual salary from the community, supplemented by the fees they were allowed to take (according to their contracts) from wealthier members. The deeds of contract and communal regulations repeatedly stress the physician's duty to visit the needy sick, either in a special "house for the sick" (sometimes called **hekdesh*), or at home. The *hekdesh*, also used as a shelter where poor itinerant Jews could stay for a limited number of days, in modern times developed into a regular Jewish hospital, first in Western and Central Europe, and later in other communities.

Later, the community also undertook new and more specialized duties for the benefit of its members. Some followed the example of the Salonika *talmud torah*, which established a circulating library. After introduction of the postal system, Jewish letter carriers in Frankfurt and Hamburg distributed, for a small fee, the mail handled by the Thurn-Taxis Company. With Jewish integration into the larger society, the tendency to retain the communal amenities conflicted with the inclination to leave such functions to the municipality or specific institutions. The change in the attitude of Jews toward this service is linked with the evolution of Jewish society in modern times.

In Muslim Lands

The amenities provided in Muslim countries in the Near East, and in Spain during Muslim rule there, were determined by the form in which the society was organized. Social organization was based on family bonds or common origin; a community consisted of several *kehalim* ("congregations") and it was these that provided most of the amenities for their members. Sometimes even communities that were comparatively small consisted of several *kehalim*, each functioning as an enlarged family. The synagogue not only served as a house of prayer but also as the organizational center of the *kahal*. Rabbinical authorities living in Salonika in the 16th century ruled that "a synagogue is an institution which has officers, a burial society, and persons charged with the collection of taxes and charity for the daily needs and for the synagogue itself" (Adarbi, *Divrei Rivot*, para. 59). "Each *kahal* is a city unto itself" (Samuel de Medina, ḤM, para. 398). Every *kahal* was responsible for providing all the requirements of its members, schools for the children, a teacher for the adults, a rabbinical judge, aid for the needy and the poor, the ransoming of prisoners, the burial of the dead, etc. Samuel de Medina (*ibid.*) points out that a person who was not a member of a *kahal* was not, in fact, included in the local Jewish community and had no institution to appeal to for his needs. The custom observed in the early period of Muslim Spain, of setting up a single *sukkah* in the synagogue and thereby absolving the individual Jew from building his own *sukkah* in his home, a practice which does not have the sanction of rabbinical authorities (*Sha'arei Simḥah*, 1, 88–89), may have its origin in the feeling of unity prevailing among the members of each congregation.

It should be pointed out, however, that in matters of common concern to the entire local community, it was the most respected rabbi who represented the community as a whole before the authorities; this applied, for example (cf. responsa David b. Zimra, 1, para. 74) to the institution of an *eruv* (to enable Jews to carry objects inside the city on the Sabbath), for which permission of the local authorities had to be sought.

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[Emmanuel Beeri]

°AMENOPHIS III (**Nebmare Amunhotpe**; c. 1405–1367 B.C.E.), Egyptian pharaoh. When Amenophis III assumed the throne just after the middle of the 18th dynasty (c. 1575–1308 B.C.E.), the Egyptian Empire was approaching its zenith. The wars of his predecessors had placed Canaan and the Lebanon under nominal Egyptian control and had brought Egypt deep into southern Syria. Wealth and tribute flowed into Thebes, the Egyptian capital, from every quarter of the ancient Near East, as a result of which Egypt enjoyed an almost unparalleled period of opulence and luxury. There are no records of wars waged by Amenophis III, except for occasional border skirmishes in the south (in Nubia) at the outset of his reign. Instead, the Egyptian records concern themselves with his building accomplishments, his achievements as a sportsman and hunter, and his gifts to the temples. For his political accomplishments outside Egypt one must turn to the information provided in the *El-Amarna letters. These texts, which formed part of the archives of the Egyptian "foreign office," clearly establish that Egypt had become one of the great powers of the ancient world. They show that Amenophis pursued a dual foreign policy in Asia. He avoided warfare with the major leading powers – Ḫatti, Babylon, Mitanni, Assyria, and Cyprus – and entered into trade agreements and alliances, which he frequently cemented with diplomatic marriages. His policy toward his vassal-states in Asia was to leave them virtually autonomous, while playing them off against one another. The policy succeeded for Amenophis, but with the dangerous result that Egyptian prestige lessened and the local Asiatic princes began to turn toward the newly resurgent Hittite Empire. In the sphere of religion, Amenophis III continued to honor Amun-Re and the other traditional deities of Egypt but, simultaneously, brought the disk of the sun, the Aton, into prominence as his personal god. The cult of the Aton, which first appeared in the reign of his predecessor, Thutmose IV, was to play a violent and chaotic role in the reign of his son and successor, *Akhenaton.

The theory that there was a co-regency of Amenophis III with his son Akhenaton has been generally abandoned.

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[Alan Richard Schulman]

AMERICA. Although recent research has corrected earlier exaggerated statements regarding the number of persons of Jewish birth or ancestry who accompanied Christopher *Columbus on his first voyage of discovery, it is known that the interpreter, Luis de *Torres, the first European to set foot on American soil, was a former Jew who had been baptized the day before the expedition set sail. The *Marranos of Spain and Portugal were quick to realize the potentialities of the new land and to transfer themselves there; some are even known to have accompanied Spanish adventurer Fernando Cortes and his conquistadores in the invasion of *Mexico.

Marranos and the *Inquisition in the New World

Religious intolerance soon manifested itself in the new land. Two Marranos who had served with Cortes were burned as heretics in Mexico as early as 1528. An inquisitional tribunal was set up there in 1571, to be followed before long by others in various provinces of Spanish South America and in the Philippines. In Brazil under Portuguese rule there was no independent tribunal, but the Lisbon Inquisition maintained perpetual vigilance. From the close of the 16th century, Portuguese New Christians of Jewish stock in relatively considerable numbers began to settle throughout Central and South America, attracted not only by the opportunities for economic advancement, but also by the possibility of escape from suspicion in a land where their antecedents were not generally known. Although voluntary emigration from Portugal was often forbidden, deportation to Brazil was one of the penalties imposed by the Portuguese inquisitional tribunals.

Before long, the Marranos of the New World were in an affluent position, and it was alleged that they controlled the import and export trade with Europe. They maintained a loose secret religious organization among themselves, and were in touch with their coreligionists, both concealed and openly, in Europe. It is noteworthy that their religious observance seems to have been somewhat closer to the norms of traditional Judaism than was the case among the Marranos of the Iberian Peninsula. From time to time, however, the Inquisition was stirred to violent action against them, and *autos-da-fé of an intensity similar to those in Spain and Portugal were carried out. In 1634 there began a series of interconnected inquisitional onslaughts on the Marranos throughout Spanish South America, which continued for some years and from which the crypto-Jewish communities never fully recovered. During the Dutch attempt to conquer *Brazil from the Portuguese in the 17th century, many local Marranos openly declared themselves Jews and, in addition, a considerable number of Jews emigrated there from Amsterdam.

Hence, from 1631 to 1654 there was an open, well-organized Jewish community with its ancillary institutions in the capital of Dutch Brazil, Recife, Pernambuco, as well as in a couple of minor centers elsewhere. With the Portuguese reconquest in 1654 these communities broke up, and the refugees were scattered throughout the New World, forming open communities where it was possible. This was in effect the origin of the Jewish communities in the Caribbean area in *Suriname and Curaçao under Dutch rule, in *Barbados, and a little later in *Jamaica under the English. For the next three centuries this nexus of Sephardi communities, wealthy out of proportion to their numbers, played an important role in the Jewish world.

First Settlements in North America

One small band of refugees from Brazil in 1654 sought a home in New Amsterdam (later *New York), then under Dutch rule; after some difficulty, they were allowed to remain. At about the same time, probably, the first Jewish settlers reached *Newport, Rhode Island, and those years saw also the sporadic appearance of individual Jews in various other places throughout the English settlements in North America. The great majority of the earliest settlers were Sephardim of Marrano stock, but they were before long joined by Ashkenazim, arriving mainly from Amsterdam or London. By the second half of the 18th century there were half a dozen organized Jewish communities following the Sephardi rite in the British possessions on the North American mainland, including one in *Montreal, Canada.

In this new land, where the Old World prejudices had waned, they enjoyed a degree of social freedom and eman-

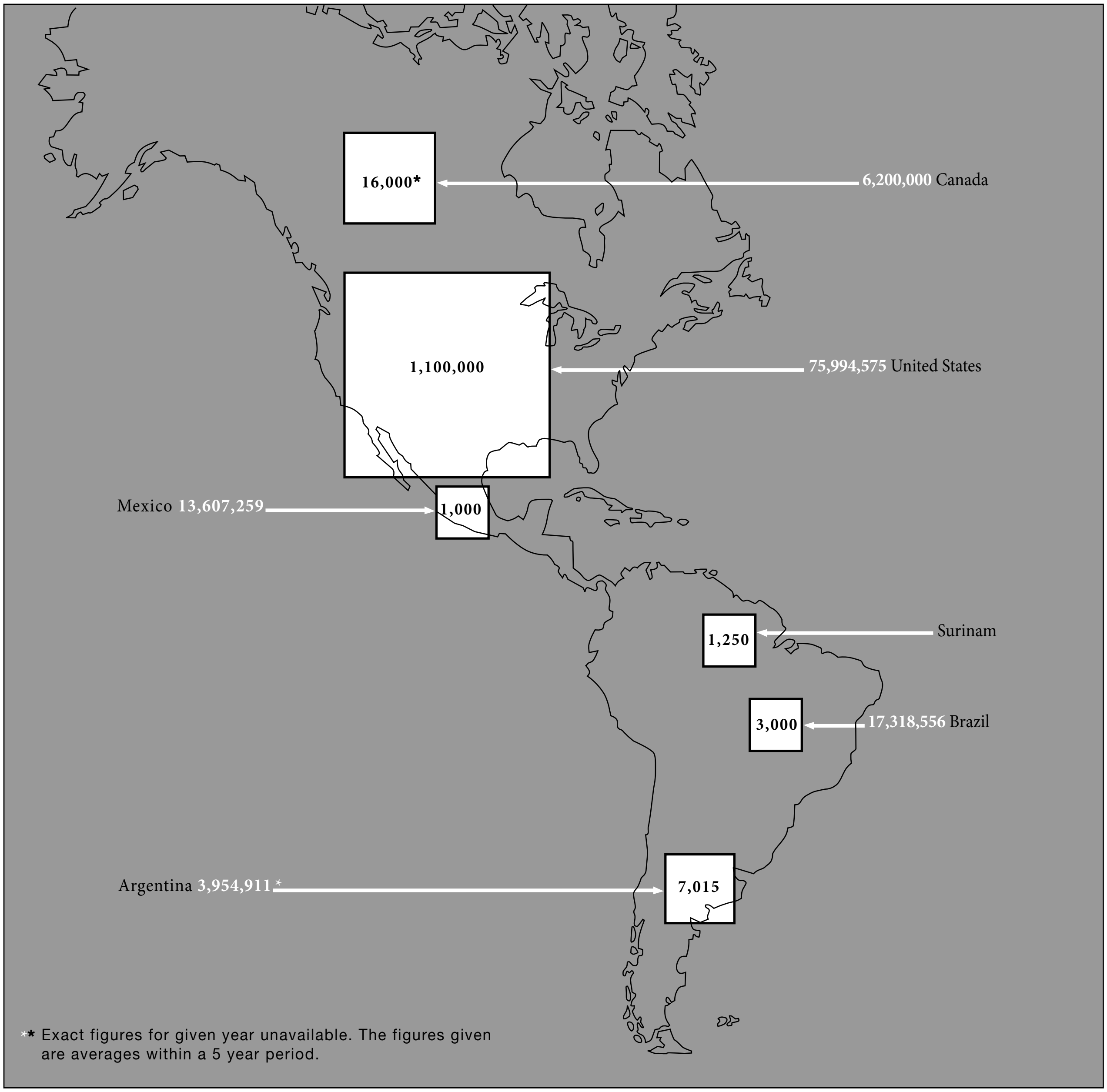
16,000*
6,200,000 Canada
1,100,000
75,994,575 United States
Mexico 13,607,259
1,000
1,250
Surinam
3,000
17,318,556 Brazil
Argentina 3,954,911*
7,015
* Exact figures for given year unavailable. The figures given are averages within a 5 year period.

Jewish population of the Americas, 1900. Black numerals: Jewish population. White numerals: Total population.

cipation greater than that in the mother country. America was uniquely tolerant of Jews among western nations in the colonial era and thereafter because the new land needed settlers and, therefore, accepted people of diverse sectarian and regional origins. The need for newcomers created a national impulse toward multi-culturalism.

Another reason for favorable reception of Jews was that America was settled after the passing of the Middle Ages and at the conclusion of the Wars of the Reformation and Counter-Reformation. Hence religious and other conditions which fostered victimization of Jews were absent or much weaker in North America. Consequently, at the time of the American War of Independence, the 2,000 Jews then resident in the 13 colonies were permitted to collaborate freely with their neighbors both in the civil and the military sphere in an unprecedented manner. The Virginia Bill for Establishing Religious Freedom of 1785 was the earliest law in history to grant full equality to all citizens regardless of religion, the Constitution of the *United States, ratified in 1789, stipulated that no religious test should be required as qualification for any federal office, and the first Amendment to the Bill of Rights, adopted in 1791, prohibited a national religious establishment or any other interference with liberty of conscience. Thus, on American soil, except in certain states, which temporarily

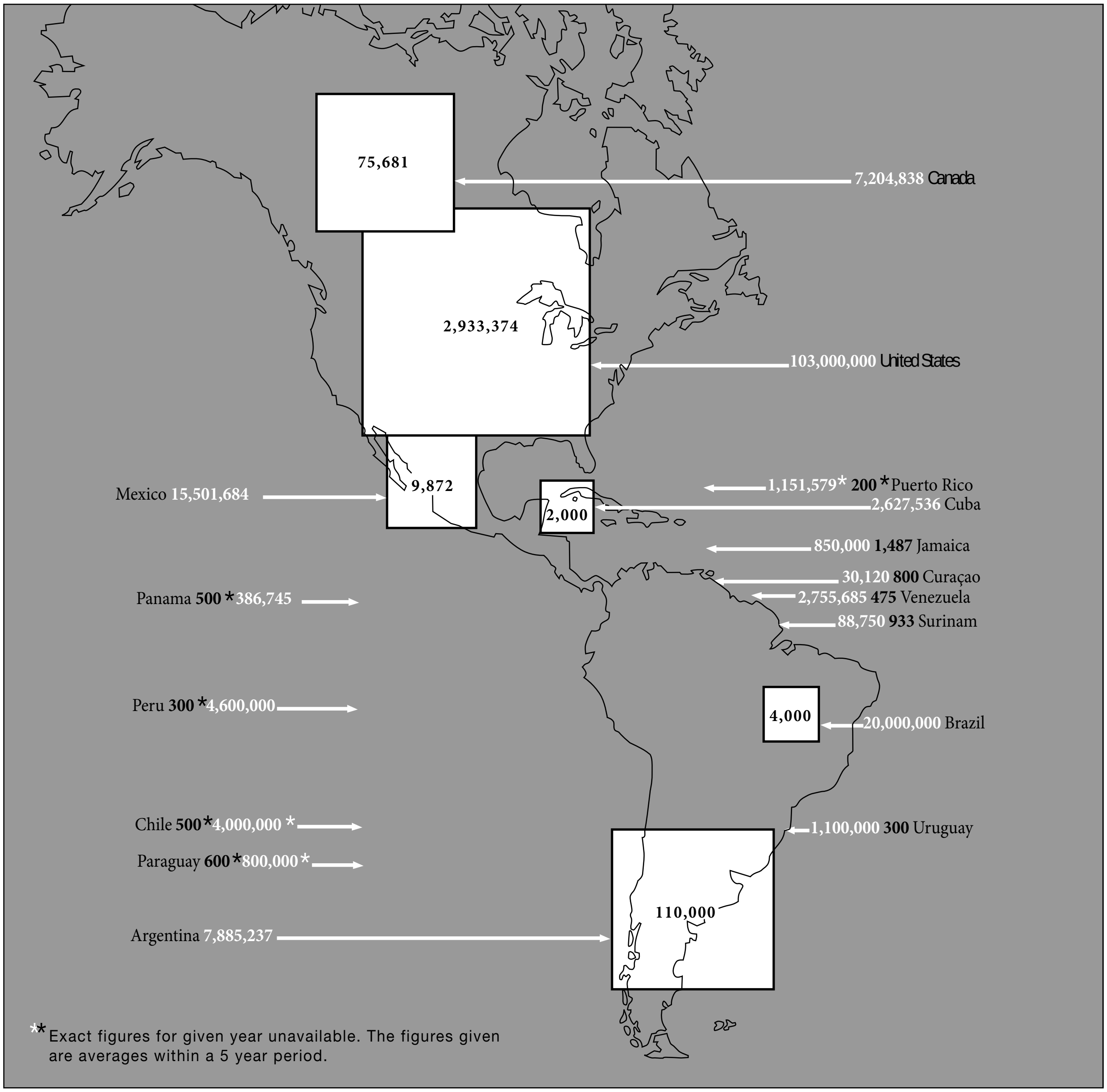
75,681
7,204,838 Canada
2,933,374
103,000,000 United States
Mexico 15,501,684
9,872
1,151,579* 200 *Puerto Rico
2,000
2,627,536 Cuba
850,000 1,487 Jamaica
30,120 800 Curaçao
Panama 500 *386,745
2,755,685 475 Venezuela
88,750 933 Surinam
Peru 300 *4,600,000
4,000
20,000,000 Brazil
Chile 500*4,000,000 *
1,100,000 300 Uruguay
Paraguay 600*800,000*
110,000
Argentina 7,885,237
** Exact figures for given year unavailable. The figures given are averages within a 5 year period.

Population figures for 1914. Black numerals: Jewish population. White numerals: Total population.

retained test oaths or funding for Christian denominations, Jewish emancipation was formally established for the first time in history.

In the period after the Revolution Jewish immigration continued on a relatively small scale, and a few more communities were established; the first Ashkenazi congregation was founded in Philadelphia in 1795.

Expansion of United States Jewry in the 19th Century

In the second quarter of the 19th century German Jews, escaping discrimination at home and attracted by the economic opportunities that beckoned ahead, began to immigrate. Mainly merchants and itinerant traders, they spread quickly from the coast inland, founding new communities and synagogues in every new urban center, and playing an important part in opening up the Middle West. The Gold Rush of 1849 brought them to *California and the Pacific. In the new land they felt free from the trammels of tradition, and Reform Judaism became dominant largely through the influence of Isaac Mayer *Wise of Cincinnati, one of the great creative and organizing forces in American Jewish life. In 1843 the Independent Order *B'nai B'rith was founded as a fraternal organization and expanded steadily. By the time of the Civil War there were about 150,000 Jews in the United States and many of these fought with their fellow citizens in both the Federal and Confederate forces. The economic expansion in the North during the war, which occurred particularly in those branches of trade and manufacture in which Jews were active, brought them increased prosperity. Since colonial times Jews had achieved acceptance in prestigious social and charitable organizations, were active in important businesses and activities, won renown in the legal and medical professions, and held public office. Nevertheless, especially with the coming of the Civil War Jews were subject to discriminatory behavior and other forms of aversion. For more than a century after the late 1850s they were excluded from neighborhoods, hotels, country and social clubs, and had stringent quotas imposed upon them in schools, business corporations, and the professions.

Eastern European Jewish immigrants also became relatively numerous and set up their own religious and social organizations. But the intensification of persecution in Russia in the 1880s, coupled with the economic opportunities in America, resulted in a migration on an enormous scale, which within a few years completely changed the face of Jewish life in the United States. The rapid expansion of the needle industries, with which the Jews had long been associated, especially contributed to the radical changes. Between 1881 and 1929

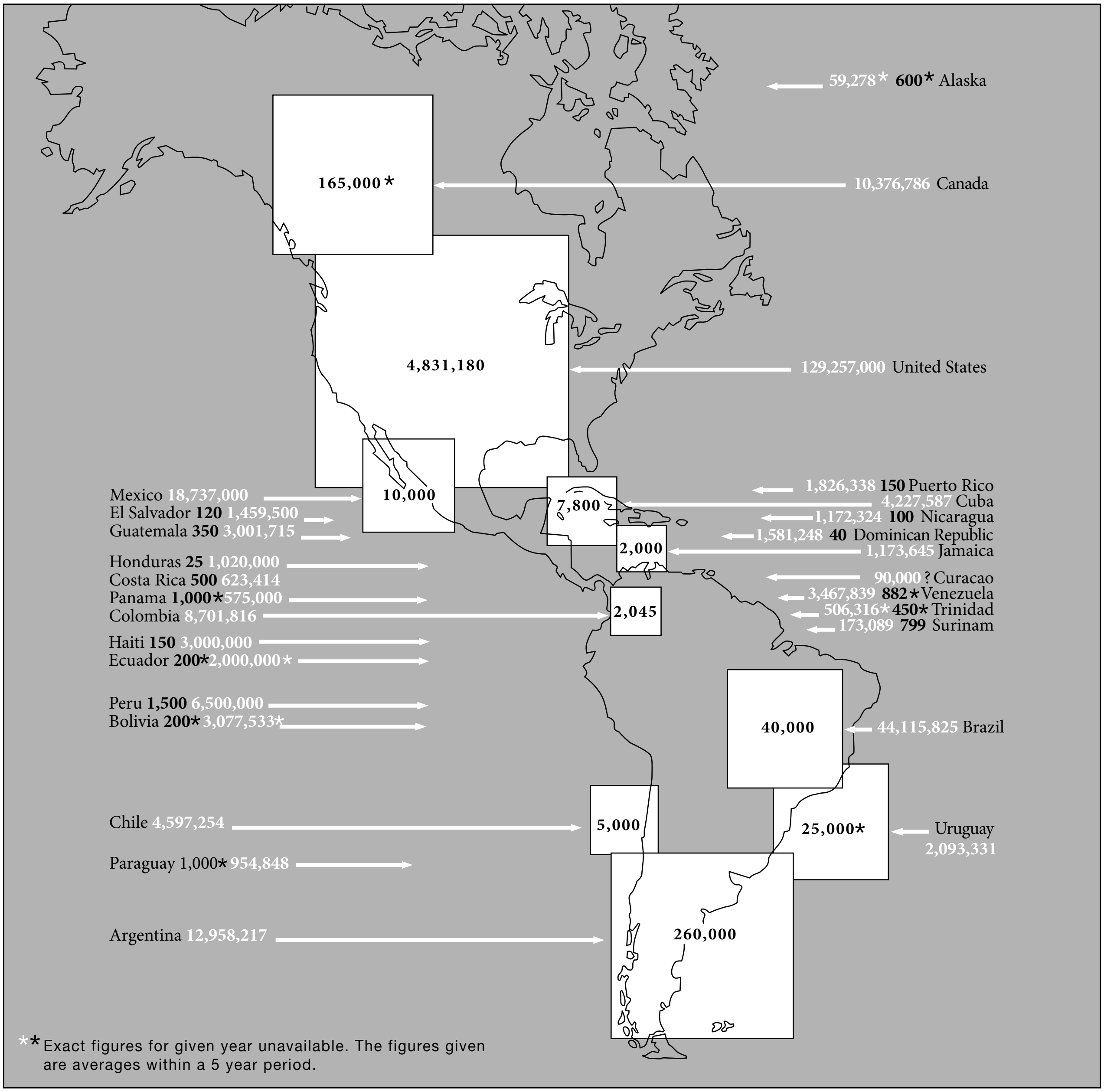
59,278* 600* Alaska
165,000*
10,376,786 Canada
4,831,180
129,257,000 United States
1,826,338 150 Puerto Rico
4,227,587 Cuba
1,172,324 100 Nicaragua
1,581,248 40 Dominican Republic
1,173,645 Jamaica
Mexico 18,737,000
El Salvador 120 1,459,500
Guatemala 350 3,001,715
10,000
7,800
2,000
Honduras 25 1,020,000
Costa Rica 500 623,414
Panama 1,000* 575,000
Colombia 8,701,816
2,045
90,000 ? Curacao
3,467,839 882* Venezuela
506,316* 450* Trinidad
173,089 799 Surinam
Haiti 150 3,000,000
Ecuador 200* 2,000,000*
Peru 1,500 6,500,000
Bolivia 200* 3,077,533*
40,000
44,115,825 Brazil
Chile 4,597,254
5,000
25,000*
Uruguay 2,093,331
Paraguay 1,000* 954,848
Argentina 12,958,217
260,000
** Exact figures for given year unavailable. The figures given are averages within a 5 year period.

Population figures for 1937. Black numerals: Jewish population. White numerals: Total population.

over 2,300,000 Jews from Eastern Europe landed in American ports. At the same time the Sephardim of the Mediterranean area also founded a number of new Sephardi communities throughout the country. By the middle of the 20th century the Jewish population of the United States alone, excluding other American countries, exceeded 5,000,000. Well before, New York, with more than 2,000,000 Jews, had become by far the greatest urban Jewish center that the world had ever known. (See Map: Jewish Population, America).

North and South American Jewry in the 20th Century

This large immigration changed the outlook as well as the composition of the United States Jewry: it stemmed the once triumphant advance of Reform Judaism, strengthened Orthodoxy as well as the new *Conservative Judaism, temporarily expanded Yiddish culture and journalism, and provided mass support for the Zionist movement. Also as a result of this mass immigration, the role of United States Jewry in world Jewish affairs became significant.

The full strength of American Jewry was manifested for the first time during World War I, when the *American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee took the lead in relief work in Eastern Europe, when American support for Zionism contributed toward securing the *Balfour Declaration, and when

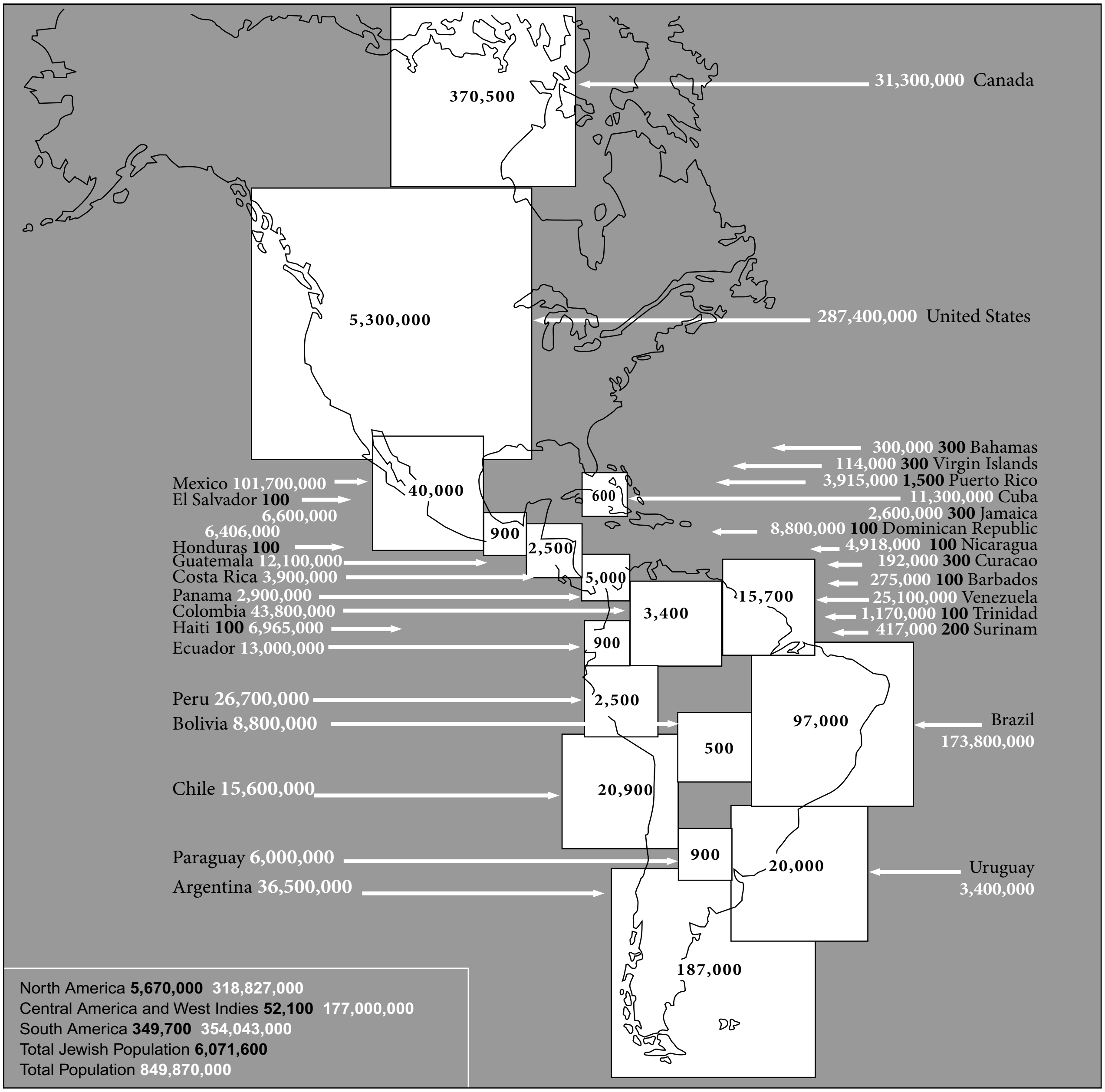
370,500
31,300,000 Canada
5,300,000
287,400,000 United States
300,000 300 Bahamas
114,000 300 Virgin Islands
3,915,000 1,500 Puerto Rico
11,300,000 Cuba
2,600,000 300 Jamaica
8,800,000 100 Dominican Republic
4,918,000 100 Nicaragua
192,000 300 Curacao
275,000 100 Barbados
25,100,000 Venezuela
1,170,000 100 Trinidad
417,000 200 Surinam
Mexico 101,700,000
El Salvador 100
6,600,000
6,406,000
Honduras 100
Guatemala 12,100,000
Costa Rica 3,900,000
Panama 2,900,000
Colombia 43,800,000
Haiti 100 6,965,000
Ecuador 13,000,000
Peru 26,700,000
Bolivia 8,800,000
Chile 15,600,000
Paraguay 6,000,000
Argentina 36,500,000
40,000
600
900
2,500
5,000
3,400
15,700
900
2,500
97,000
Brazil
173,800,000
500
20,900
900
20,000
Uruguay
3,400,000
187,000
North America 5,670,000 318,827,000
Central America and West Indies 52,100 177,000,000
South America 349,700 354,043,000
Total Jewish Population 6,071,600
Total Population 849,870,000

Population figures for 2003. Black numerals: Jewish population. White numerals: Total population.

American Jewish organizations made their voice heard at the Paris Peace Conference.

After World War I Jewish immigration to the United States was stemmed by legislation to some extent, but settlement in other parts of the continent continued by persons seeking new homes. Canada, whose community had developed simultaneously with that in the United States, though on a far smaller scale, found its Jewish population considerably strengthened. *Latin America had previously attracted relatively few settlers, despite the fact that religious exclusiveness had ended with the collapse of Spanish rule, and notwithstanding Baron de *Hirsch's munificently endowed attempts to establish Jewish agricultural colonies in *Argentina. After World War I, however, there was a considerable expansion in that area. The prosperity of its Jewish settlement and the similarity of language proved a powerful attraction, also, to Sephardim from the Mediterranean area who were then being faced with increasing difficulties at home. The Nazi persecution in Germany naturally gave great impetus to immigration to South America, where fewer obstacles were encountered than in almost any other part of the world; this continued during and after the war period. Whereas before 1914 the total number of Jews throughout Latin America did not exceed 50,000, of whom more than one half lived in the Argentine, by 1939 the number exceeded 500,000 and by the second half of the century, 750,000.

World War II made a very considerable difference in the position of American Jewry, due more perhaps to the change in the world's circumstances than to developments within Jewry. By then well-established, the 5,000,000 Jews of the United States played their part on the field of battle and elsewhere to a greater extent than ever before in history. In fact, on a per capita basis, until World War II Jews had served in the armed forces in every war in excess of their percentage of the national population and in 1941–45 served in proportion to their share in the population. Being affluent, they alone were able to shoulder the main burden of relief both during the war and in the years of reconstruction, so that the partial rehabilitation of the Jewish communities in many countries of the Old World would have been impossible without them. Being influential, they were largely responsible for swaying public opinion and the United Nations in favor of the establishment of the State of Israel, which they supported decisively, in the critical period and after. But by this point, the relative position of American Jewry in the Jewish world had changed beyond recognition. With the annihilation of most of Central and a great part of Eastern European Jewry and the enforced isolation of the Jews of Russia, the United States Jewish community was left by far the largest Jewish community of the Diaspora. The change of balance was emphasized even further after the war, when restrictions on immigration were to some extent relaxed. The majority of those refugees from the concentration camps and the hopeless conditions in Europe who did not desire to settle in Israel found their new homes beyond the Atlantic, the Canadian Jewish community in particular receiving a powerful impetus. The number of newcomers was further swelled after 1948 by new immigrants from Egypt, Iraq, and other Arab states, who provided a fresh element in the kaleidoscope of American Jewry. On the other hand, the escape of many Nazi leaders and propagandists to South America led to a recrudescence there, particularly in Argentina, of *antisemitism, which in turn was partly responsible for a migratory movement toward Israel, though on a far smaller scale. The changed circumstances in *Cuba in the late 1950s and 1960s similarly led to the partial disintegration of the Jewish community in that country. Before World War II approximately twice as many Jews lived in Europe as in America. After World War II nearly twice as many lived in the United States alone than in all of Europe, ten times more than in any other country of the Diaspora, with the exception only of Russian Jewry. The communities of Canada, Argentina, and to a lesser degree Brazil were among the world's greatest. Antisemitism peaked in the United States from the Great Depression to World War II and then declined to its lowest point, as measured in public opinion polls in 1998. According to an ADL public opinion survey it has increased in this county by about 5 percent, less than it has in Europe and other sectors of the world. Whether that makes the future problematic for Jews here and elsewhere is an open question but has certainly escalated anxiety in the American and other Jewish communities. In the new millennia the increase of antisemitism is Europe and Islamic countries has led to a heated debate among historians and writers, sociologists and Jewish organizational officials regarding the extent and scope of antisemitism in the United States. Furthermore, the dramatic increase of the Jewish population of Israel, which was but 10% of the American Jewish population when it was established in 1948, has now reached parity and should surpass the United States shortly.

[Cecil Roth]

AMERICA-ISRAEL CULTURAL FOUNDATION, fundraising agency on behalf of educational and cultural institutions in Israel. In 1939 Edward A. *Norman founded the American Palestine Fund, Inc., for the purpose of amalgamating committees that were supporting educational, cultural, and social service institutions in Palestine, which until then were competing with each other in the United States. After changing its name a number of times, in 1957 the organization was renamed the America-Israel Cultural Foundation. However, it was popularly known as the "Norman Fund" for many years. Norman was followed as president of the organization by Frederic R. Mann, Samuel Rubin, the violinist Isaac Stern, and William Mazer. In 2005 Vera Stern was president.

In 1956 the Foundation decided to limit itself to artistic and cultural activities. The America-Israel Culture House in New York, opened in 1966, became the Foundation's headquarters. The house contains an Israel art gallery, an Israeli arts and crafts center, and rooms used for cultural programs. In Israel, the Foundation acts through an advisory board.

In addition to giving financial aid to Israel's cultural institutions, the Foundation provides scholarships to over 900 young Israel artists anually through the Sharett Scholarship Program and helps to take orchestras, theater groups, dance ensembles, and art exhibits to the United States from Israel. It took valuable art collections to Israel from America, including the works for the Billy Rose Sculpture Garden at the Israel Museum in Jerusalem. Building funds support the construction of theaters, music academies, concert halls, and cultural centers in agricultural areas.

AMERICAN, SADIE (1862–1944), U.S. organizational leader. American was born and educated in Chicago. In 1893, in conjunction with the World Parliament of Religions, she was asked to organize the National Council of Jewish Women, an organization she served as executive secretary until 1914. In this capacity, she established the NCJW's Department of Immigrant Aid and Ellis Island programs. She went on to help found Jewish women's organizations in England (1899) and Germany (1904) and was instrumental in forming the International Council of Jewish Women (1923). Sadie American was a leader in the suffragist movement and the fight against white slavery, and a pioneer in establishing vocational schools and public playgrounds. An activist member of many civic and philanthropic organizations, including the General Federation of Women's Clubs and the International Council of Women, she was frequently invited to deliver conference papers and consulted to several governments. American was also involved in the Reform movement, teaching Sunday school at Chicago Sinai Congregation and speaking from the pulpit of other congregations. She supported the Sunday Sabbath and the ordination of women. In speeches on behalf of the NCJW, she called on women to extend their domestic responsibilities outside the home to participate in social reform work for the benefit of society. At the same time, she urged women to carry on Jewish traditions, arguing that their roles as mothers uniquely positioned them to combat assimilation.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: K.M. Olitzky, L.J. Sussman, and M.H. Stern, *Reform Judaism in America: A Biographical Dictionary and Sourcebook* (1993).

[Bezalel Gordon (2nd ed.)]

AMERICAN ACADEMY FOR JEWISH RESEARCH, organization of scholars, rabbis, and interested laymen; formally established in 1920 and incorporated in 1929 under the laws of the State of Maryland. The original officers were Louis Ginzberg, president; Gotthard Deutsch, vice president; Henry Malter, secretary; and Jacob Z. Lauterbach, treasurer.

The Academy's functions include periodic public meetings at which learned papers are read and discussed, joint scholarly ventures, publication of scholarly works, and the establishment of a working relationship with other groups of similar character and aims. An annual meeting is held at the end of each year, at which members and invited guests are asked to present the results of their particular investigations; most of these reports are published in the yearly *Proceedings* (1930–present). Monograph series produced by the Academy are *Ya'acov b. Ela'zar Kitab al Kamil* (N. Allony), *Affricated Sade in Semitic Languages* (R. Steiner), and *Economics & Toleration in 17th Century Venice* (B. Ravid). The Academy also financed and endowed publications of several critical editions of classical texts, such as *Midrash Leviticus Rabbah*, the tractate *Ta'anit* of the Babylonian Talmud, *Yerushalmi Neziqin* with introduction and commentary by Professor Saul Lieberman (first printing 1983; second printing 1986). Among other works published by the Academy are the *Union Catalog of Hebrew Manuscripts and Their Location* (1973) by Aron Freimann and *Le-Toledot Nusah ha-She'iltot* (*Textual History of the She'iltot*, 1991) by R. Brody. It has made numerous grants to promising young scholars. The income of the Academy is derived from membership dues, allocations by welfare boards, special contributions, and bequests. The Academy's membership is composed of fellows, who are nominated and elected by their peers, and associate members who are enrolled upon nomination. Most of its affairs are conducted on a volunteer basis. The Academy's presidents from the late 1960s on have been Salo *Baron (1968–71; 1975–81); Louis Finklestein (1971–75); Harry M. Orlinsky (1981–83); Isaac E. Barzilay (1983–89); David Weiss Halivni (1989–92); Arthur Hyman (1992–96); Robert *Chazan (1996–2000); David *Ruderman (2000–04); and Paula E. *Hyman from 2004.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research* (1928), secretary's report.

[Abraham Solomon Halkin]

AMERICAN ASSOCIATION FOR JEWISH EDUCATION, organization founded in 1939 to promote the cause of Jewish education by raising the standards of instruction and professional service, to encourage research and experimentation, and to stimulate communal responsibility for local organizations of Jewish educational endeavor. The American Association for Jewish Education stressed the status of Jewish education as a major concern within the entire Jewish community. It introduced, on a national scale, the scientific study of Jewish education, and was instrumental in founding 32 bureaus of Jewish education to coordinate, supervise, and direct local school systems. It pointed to new approaches in the field of pedagogies, including adult education, provided a variety of community services, and fostered lay participation in the Jewish educational endeavor. The Association published the *Pedagogic Reporter* (bi-monthly); *Jewish Education Newsletter* (from 1940, bi-monthly); *Audio-Visual Review* (biannually); and *Jewish Education Register and Directory* (biannually). Lay leaders (presidents) of the organization included Mark Eisner (1939–47), Philip W. Lown (1955–64), and Isadore Breslau (1964–78). Its professional directors included I.S. Chipkin (1944–49), Judah Pilch (1949–60), and Isaac Toubin (from 1960).

In 1981 the American Association for Jewish Education was succeeded by the *Jewish Education Service of North America.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: American Association for Jewish Education, *Its Purposes and Its Service* (1940–48).

[Judah Pilch]

AMERICAN COUNCIL FOR JUDAISM, the only American Jewish organization ever created to fight Zionism and the establishment of a Jewish state. It was founded in 1942 by a group of Reform rabbis led by Louis Wolsey to protest a resolution of the Central Conference of American Rabbis, which supported the establishing of a Jewish Army in Palestine. At its inception the dissidents consisted of 36 rabbis, some of whom sought to revitalize Reform Judaism and some who sought to oppose Zionism. These rabbis were ideological anti-Zionists, and thus from its inception the Council was the most articulate anti-Zionist spokesman among American Jews. Within a year, the leadership was turned over to laymen and the organization, led by Lessing J. Rosenwald, an heir to the Sears Roebuck fortune, and Rabbi Elmer Berger, became a secular anti-Zionist pressure group. The timing of its founding was inauspicious as Jews throughout Europe were being assaulted because they were a "nation" – a race in Nazi terminology; as American Jews were just learning of the existence of Nazi death camps in what became known as the "Final Solution"; and as Zionism, which had been in decline among American Jews, was taking control of the agenda of American Jewry with the *Biltmore Program. The Council sought without success to establish an alliance with the non-Zionist American Jewish Committee, but non-Zionism was rather different from anti-Zionism.

The Council opposed the establishment of Israel and remained critical of what it calls "the Israel-Zionist domination of American Jewish life." In the formative pre-State years it did accept the Report of the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry for the immigration of 100,000 Jews to Palestine, but not a Jewish state. It was allied with the American foreign policy establishment, which also opposed the concept of a Jewish state for other reasons. It primarily used the mass communications media to publicize its program. Its first president was Lessing Rosenwald. The executive vice president and chief spokesman was Rabbi Elmer Berger until his ouster in 1968.

With the birth of the State of Israel, the Council sought to limit Israel's influence on Diaspora Jewry, to promote integration of Jews, and to establish institutions that were resistant to Zionism. Among its activities are a quarterly journal *Issues*, discontinued from November 1969, a religious education program devoid of "Zionist" influence, and a philanthropic fund separate from the standard Jewish philanthropies, which it feels are under Zionist control. By the end of 1955 the Council had established ten schools for Judaism teaching the positions of classical Reform Judaism.

The Council describes its own ideology as follows: "Judaism is a religion of universal values not a nationality… nationality and religion are separate and distinct… Israel is the homeland of its own citizens only, and not of all Jews." Zionism was a philosophy of despair, without faith in the Enlightenment; it advocated the self-segregation of Jews just when they should be seeking integration. Those who belong to the Council reflect an ideological stance closely akin to some of Reform Judaism's 19th-century founders. The Council has occupied an isolated position in Jewish life in America and has often been accused of advocating the Arab anti-Israel viewpoint. It claimed 20,000 members. The Six-Day War of 1967 led several of its most prestigious lay supporters to abandon the Council for a more or less active participation in efforts to aid Israel. It was one thing to oppose Israel; it was quite another to stand aside as Jews were under attack. Most of the Reform congregations organized under its influence have since denied identification with its viewpoint. In the words of Thomas Kolsky: "In the end the Council failed … the organization became neither a focus for the revival of the classical version of Reform Judaism nor an effective force for fighting Zionism and preventing the establishment of a Jewish state."

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[Frank N. Sundheim / Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

AMERICAN GATHERING OF JEWISH HOLOCAUST SURVIVORS. Immediately after the World Gathering of Jewish Holocaust Survivors in Israel in June 1981, a new organization was established to prepare for another event, the American Gathering of Jewish Holocaust Survivors in Washington, DC, in April 1983. The officers of this "event-geared" organization were Benjamin Meed, Sam Bloch, Ernest Michel, Roman Kent, Norbert Wollheim, Hirsch Altusky, Fred Diament, James Rapp, and Solomon Zynstein.

The event in the American capital attracted 20,000 survivors and their families, where for three days attendees commemorated the Holocaust, attended cultural events, met with politicians, including the president and vice president of the United States, attended seminars, listened to many speeches from survivors and their children, and lobbied for Israel. At the Capital Center, they were addressed by President Ronald Reagan and learned that an umbrella organization for American Jewish Holocaust survivors had been created in the name of the Gathering. The announcement was made by Benjamin Meed, a Warsaw Ghetto survivor, the driving force behind the gatherings, which started as a dream of Ernest Michel, a German survivor, when he was in Auschwitz. The mission of the organization is remembrance, education, and commemoration.

Indeed further gatherings were held in Philadelphia, New York, and Miami and together with the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington to mark the tenth anniversary of the museum's opening.

The New York City-based American Gathering has a number of ongoing projects tied to its mission statement.

The Benjamin and Vladka Meed Registry of Jewish Holocaust Survivors

The Registry was established by the American Gathering in 1981 to document the lives of survivors who came to the United States after World War II. It was originally created to help survivors search for relatives and friends, and now contains the names of survivors and their families from all over the world. In 1993, the Registry was moved to the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, where user-friendly computers allow visitors to access the database. There is also a page for the Registry on the Museum's website (www.ushmm.org) and the Gathering continues to seek new registrants via its quarterly newspaper, *Together* (circ. 180,000), and its website, www.americangathering.org.

The Registry now includes over 185,000 records related to survivors and their families and seeks to include the names of all Holocaust survivors, facilitate contacts, collect and display basic information about them, and assist survivors seeking lost relatives (registry@ushmm.org or max@americangathering.org or amgathtogether@aol.com).

Summer Seminar Program

Another important program administered jointly by the American Gathering of Jewish Holocaust Survivors, the Jewish Labor Committee, and the U.S. Holocaust Museum is the Summer Seminar Program on Holocaust and Jewish Resistance, initiated in 1984 by Vladka Meed, who purchased arms for the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising while posing as a Christian Pole during the Holocaust. The program brings teachers to Poland, the Czech Republic, and Washington, DC. Participating scholars come from Yad Vashem in Jerusalem, the Study Center at Kibbutz Loḥamei ha-Getta'ot, and the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington, DC.

The Teachers Program goals are to advance education in U.S. secondary schools about the Holocaust and Jewish resistance; to deepen knowledge and ability to implement Holocaust studies in the classroom; to teach each new generation about the Holocaust and Jewish resistance, so that they will know, understand, and never forget; to further educational activities which use the lessons of the past as warnings for the present and the future.

The Holocaust & Jewish Resistance Teachers Program is sponsored by the American Gathering of Jewish Holocaust Survivors; American Federation of Teachers; Educators Chapter, Jewish Labor Committee; the Atran Foundation, Inc.; Conference on Jewish Material Claims Against Germany; Caroline and Joseph S. Gruss Funds, Inc.; and the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum.

In 1988, the American Gathering of Jewish Holocaust Survivors became one of only two Holocaust survivor organizations to join the Conference on Material Claims Against Germany. The organization is also a member of the World Jewish Congress, the World Jewish Restitution Organization, and the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations. In that capacity, its mission is to lobby for survivors' rights and restitution.

The effect of the American Gathering on the survivors and on America has had a lasting impact. Survivors now contribute actively to educational programs around the country by speaking in classrooms and religious institutions, writing their memoirs, and pressing their case as eyewitnesses before the sands of time run out on them.

Holocaust education is now mandatory in many states of the union because of the need to teach tolerance. Hate Crimes laws have been enacted around the country because survivors pressed for legislation to outlaw racist acts. Holocaust commemoration and remembrance is carried on in almost every state house in the Union. And because of the survivors and the American Gathering, the Holocaust has even had an influence on American domestic policy and even on foreign policy, particularly in Europe and the Middle East.

The American Gathering held its inaugural "organization" meeting in Philadelphia, Penn., in 1985, where its theme was to speak truth to power and to request that the president of the United States, Ronald Reagan, not place a wreath at the *Bitburg Cemetery in Germany, where the Waffen SS were buried.

In February 2005 the officers of the organization were Benjamin Meed, Roman Kent, Sam Bloch, and Max Liebmann.

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[Jeanette Friedman (2nd ed.)]

AMERICAN HEBREW, THE, New York Jewish weekly begun in 1879. *The American Hebrew* was published by Philip *Cowen, with editorial responsibility vested in a board of nine members, all of them young. The paper was vigorously written, favoring Orthodoxy over Reform, and concerned with maintaining good literary standards and covering news from all parts of the Jewish world. Though Cowen denied it, the belief persisted that the paper was supported by Jacob Schiff. In 1906 Cowen sold his controlling interest to a group of leading New York Jews that included Isaac *Seligman, Oscar S. *Straus, Cyrus L. *Sulzberger, Nathan *Bijur, and Adolph *Lewisohn. For the next ten years Joseph *Jacobs was editor, succeeded by Herman Bernstein. During the editorship of Rabbi Isaac *Landman (1918–37) *The American Hebrew* often took an anti-Zionist position. It was greatly interested in fostering goodwill between Jews and Christians, and in 1929 instituted an annual award for achievement in this field. Landman was succeeded by Louis H. Biden. In the course of its history *The American Hebrew* absorbed several Jewish weeklies. It ceased to appear as a separate publication in 1956 when it was combined with the *Jewish Examiner* to form the *American Examiner.*

[Sefton D. Temkin]

AMERICAN ISRAELITE, U.S. Anglo-Jewish weekly, founded by Isaac Mayer *Wise in Cincinnati, Ohio, in 1854. *The Israelite* (its name was changed in 1874), edited by Wise until his death, served as a platform for his ideas, and, though run haphazardly, was replete with historical and theological articles as well as news items from all parts of the Jewish world. On Wise's death (1900) his son Leo, business manager from 1875, became editor. In 1928 he was succeeded by Rabbi Jonah *Wise. The family sold the paper in 1930, and its work was then carried on by H.C. Segal (d. 1985). It is the oldest Jewish journal in the U.S., though by the mid-20th century reduced to a local community bulletin. In 1855 Wise had added to *The Israelite* a German supplement, *Die Deborah*. Later published as a separate journal, this paper did not long survive Wise's death.

[Sefton D. Temkin]

AMERICAN ISRAEL PUBLIC AFFAIRS COMMITTEE (AIPAC), U.S. organization often viewed as a synonym for – if not the embodiment of – "the Jewish lobby." Founded in 1951 to ensure the special relationship between the United States and Israel, AIPAC saw the partnership between the two countries as rooted in an understanding that Israel shares with the United States a deep and abiding commitment to democratic principles and institutions and is a reliable partner in defending shared interests.

On this basis, AIPAC built a formidable record over a period of six decades, reflecting the organizational skill of its leadership in mobilizing American Jewry in support of the Jewish state. In its early years, bringing together a popular constituency in support of a political goal was unique and previously unheard of within the national political process. Yet AIPAC benefited from the post-World War II climate in which many Americans and virtually all Jews, appalled by the horrific calamity that had befallen European Jewry, were active (if not always eager) participants in grappling with the issue of what might be done to assure that the Jews never again be confronted with the imminent threat of extermination.

During World War II, spirited debate swirled through the Jewish community over the timing and even the advisability of advocating the establishment of a Jewish state in Palestine. Pro-Zionists argued that no solution other than immediate statehood would allow Jews to achieve full rights and "normalcy" within the world community. Opponents pointed out that, in the midst of war, agitating for a Jewish homeland might be seen as hurting the effort to defeat Nazism. Other anti-Zionists strenuously opposed the state on the grounds that Jews are a religion, not a nationality.

While certain increasingly marginalized groups continued to maintain an anti-Zionist position, the creation of the State in 1948 abruptly ended the discussion of whether there should be a Jewish state and channeled communal energy and passion into the question of what steps needed to be taken to secure Israel against Arab irredentism and also provide the resources required to successfully integrate the huge numbers of refugees from Europe and Arab lands flooding the new Jewish nation.

With Israel's encouragement, the American Zionist Council, which had played a major role in building support for the nascent Jewish state, initiated a project in 1951 to lobby Congress for American aid to resettle Jewish refugees in Israel. It became quickly apparent that the lobbying necessary to win support for Israel could not be sustained by the AZC, constrained by its non-profit status from engaging in substantial lobbying. Thus, in 1954, the American Zionist Committee for Public Affairs was established as a separate lobbying organization. In 1959, recognizing that many non-Zionists supported its work, the organization changed its name to the American Israel Public Affairs Committee and expanded its leadership base to include national and local representatives from other organizations.

Heading the effort from the start was I.L. Kenen, known to everyone as "Si." A soft-spoken, low-profile individual, Kenen was a fierce advocate, imaginative strategist, and thoughtful analyst. He understood from the start that the United States' foreign policy establishment had as a priority extending American influence in the Arab world to preserve, among other goals, access to Middle East oil. Therefore, Kenen insisted that effective advocacy on Israel's behalf needed to be focused on the Congress (the "people's house") and must, in all respects, remain bipartisan. Undergirding that strategy, Kenen shaped arguments presenting the case for assistance to Israel as consistent with American national interests, not as a sop to a special interest. It was not surprising, therefore, to find Kenen, in 1951, supporting economic assistance to the Arab states so that they, like Israel, would have resources to resettle the Arab refugees who had been displaced by the fighting that ensued following the establishment of the State of Israel.

Under Kenen's professional leadership, and with the support and cooperation of many of the national membership organizations, AIPAC achieved remarkable success in winning first economic assistance and later military support for Israel. Its authoritative newsletter, the *Near East Report*, became required reading in Congressional offices, and its periodic publication, *Myths and Facts*, provided the interpretive data with which the pro-Israel case might be made.

AIPAC played an immensely important role in strengthening American assistance during the Six-Day War of 1967 and the Yom Kippur War of 1973. In the aftermath of each, the diplomatic relationship of the two countries mitigated much of the disadvantages that Israel experienced in other parts of the globe, including Europe, Africa, and at the United Nations, where sympathy for the Palestinian cause continued to grow, even as revulsion was often expressed at some of the terrorist tactics of its more militant supporters.

Kenen had understood that lobbying was considered a pejorative to most Americans and therefore kept a low profile for AIPAC. He pointedly observed that, while it was free to do so, AIPAC did not endorse political candidates or contribute to electoral campaigns.

Nevertheless, AIPAC's success with the Congress created hostility that was often expressed not in disagreement on issues but by questioning the organization's loyalty. Despite AIPAC's insistence on a fundamental congruence of Israeli and American interests, opponents argued that the Jewish lobby operated at cross-purposes with the U.S. Arkansas Senator William J. Fulbright was a particularly strident critic of Israel's Capitol Hill supporters. During the 1973 *Yom Kippur War, Fulbright declared on CBS's *Face the Nation* that "Israelis control the policy in the Congress. The emotional and political ties are too strong. On every test, on everything the Israelis are interested in, in the Senate the Israelis have 75 to 80 votes." Although he drew away from the harsher inferences of this rant, Fulbright's views found resonance in later comments by General George S. Brown, who in 1974 told a Duke University audience that Jews controlled the banks and newspapers and that Americans "may need to get tough-minded enough to set down the Jewish influence in this country and break that lobby." (Brown's comment, which he came to regret, has become a staple on antisemitic websites.) Perhaps the most startling and notorious expression of that "dual loyalty" sensibility came in 1991 when President George H.W. Bush characterized activists gathered in Washington, D.C., to support loan guarantees for Israel as "a thousand lobbyists" opposed to him and, inferentially, U.S. policy. The remark caused an uproar throughout the community and is generally acknowledged to have permanently strained the president's relationship with the Jewish community.

When Kenen retired in 1974, AIPAC underwent a dramatic transformation. First under Morris J. Amitay and then Tom Dine, the organization was revamped and professionalized. The revamping of AIPAC was triggered by two developments: the post-Watergate reforms which decentralized power in Congress and required AIPAC to develop relationships with more than a handful of key legislators such as Senators Henry Jackson, Jacob Javits, and Hubert Humphrey and Representatives Benjamin Rosenthal and Charles Vanik, and the need to fight arms sales to Arab countries hostile to Israel. In response, it expanded its research department, increased the number of lobbyists who worked on the Hill, enhanced its presence on university campuses, and dramatically strengthened its outreach to the community through more vigorous resource development and the establishment of regional offices (there were nine in the early 2000s). AIPAC made a conscious effort to bring legislators as well as senior aides to Israel. It also joined with local Jewish organizations to strengthen pro-Israel support among grassroots and statewide political activists. These efforts accelerated after 1988, when a coalition led by the Reverend Jesse Jackson and a number of Arab groups managed to bring forward a plank to the Democratic Party platform committee that was viewed as hostile by the pro-Israel forces; it was defeated, but only following a roiling debate.

More systematically than had been done heretofore, AIPAC built and utilized its system of "key contacts" to assure ready access to members of Congress through local supporters. In 2005, AIPAC boasted a membership of 65,000 people in all 50 states.

Attesting to the ongoing influence of AIPAC is the continuing strong, bipartisan support for Israel on Capitol Hill. There is still a robust commitment to the special relationship between the two countries, and Israel is generally acknowledged as a partner in the struggle against terrorism and Islamic fanaticism – a partnership reflected in a multibillion dollar mostly military assistance package.

Since the 1980s AIPAC has made a conscious effort to work closely with the executive branch. Ironically, though AIPAC often found itself at odds with the Department of State, it came to be seen as an important instrument in winning support for the nation's larger foreign assistance program. With assistance to Israel a dominant part of the foreign aid package, that support is often leveraged by the administration to assure adoption of the entire bill. Since Americans in general oppose foreign aid, the energy of the well-organized pro-Israel constituency became the engine for gaining support for the whole program.

Despite its vaunted effectiveness, AIPAC finds itself operating in a more fractious climate than ever before. Increasingly, a broader range of positions was held – and expressed – on vital issues related to Israel's security and the role of American Jewry in supporting the Jewish state. Not only has the consensus eroded, but organizational discipline has loosened as well. It is no longer rare to find organizations publicly lobbying members of Congress both to AIPAC's political left and right on such issues as Israel's settlement policy, an independent Palestinian state, and many other issues.

The divisions within the Israeli body politic are mirrored within the organized Jewish community. It is noteworthy that the growth of AIPAC's membership and the expansion of its reach into the community occurred during a period when the government of Israel was dominated by the right wing *Likud. Thus, activists attracted to join an organization supportive of Israel's government would tend to be right wing themselves. It is therefore not surprising that AIPAC's members who joined after 1977 and staffers who came politically of age at that time appear to be more comfortable with the historic positions of the hard-line Likud of Menaḥem *Begin, Yitzhak *Shamir, and Benjamin *Netanyahu rather than with the more dovish views of Labor's Yitzhak *Rabin, Shimon *Peres, and Ehud *Barak. Consequently, after the signing of the Oslo Accords in 1993, diplomats of the Rabin government were often critical of the American Jewish lobby for not actively and publicly supporting the peace process. Shortly after becoming prime minister, Rabin let it be known that he did not need American intermediaries – i.e., AIPAC – to speak to the American administration for Israel.

The public tension was eventually resolved, but the private misgivings remained. Former Likud officials who had served in the Israeli embassy and some of their American Jewish supporters used their contacts to lobby against the peace process.

Within the American context, AIPAC activists also appeared to be comfortable with the Middle East policies of President George W. Bush.

Chants of "four more years, four more years" greeted the president at the 2004 AIPAC Policy Conference, creating the semblance of a partisan atmosphere. Some observers felt this was particularly unsettling given the support that all presidents, Democrat as well as Republican, professed for Israel.

An AIPAC past president observed that the immediate past president, Bill Clinton, a Democrat, had been "pluperfect" on the Israel issue.

While the post-Kenen AIPAC publicly followed the organizational commitment to remain above partisan politics, the perception grew that behind the scenes it quietly directed Jewish money to favored candidates. When he left AIPAC Amitay doled out large amounts of campaign money as the head of an influential Political Action Committee (PAC), and many other AIPAC leaders took visible roles in campaigns and even administrations. The inference that AIPAC was not a simple bystander to partisan politics was bolstered when, to its embarrassment and regret, a president of the organization was forced to resign after boasting to a potential contributor about the lobby's ability to elect friends and defeat enemies.

In the late 1980s AIPAC was investigated extensively by the F.E.C. (Federal Elections Commission), accused of directly forwarding the contributions of pro-Israel PACS. AIPAC was exonerated. AIPAC's leaders do participate vigorously and generously in political campaigns and were credited with the defeat in 1984 of the then-chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee Charles Percy (R-IL) and in 2002 of Cynthia McKinney (D-GA), who ran again and was elected in 2004.

Other missteps, more central to AIPAC's core mission, have come to light. In 1981, for example, the Jewish community took on the Reagan administration, which sought Congressional approval to sell sophisticated Airborne Warning and Control System (AWACS) aircraft to Saudi Arabia. The increasingly bitter and public battle, pitting the so-called Jewish lobby against the president, became increasingly nasty. When Congress voted to approve the controversial sale, some saw it not simply as a defeat for AIPAC but a sign of its weakness. A more sober analysis, however, suggests that the AWACS campaign revealed AIPAC's limits in seeking to overturn a presidential initiative in foreign relations, an area where historically the White House has been able to rely on the principle that partisanship ends at the water's edge.

The episode gave birth to the key contact system and the outreach to every senator and virtually every congressman. In addition AIPAC repositioned and became an advocate for maintaining Israel's qualitative military edge over its enemies. Future sales to Arab neighbors would be offset with increased military aid to Israel.

More damaging to AIPAC's reputation was its role during the early 1990s in the effort to secure for Israel $10 billion in loan guarantees for the resettlement of Soviet Jews immigrating to Israel in record numbers. Although the Congress seemed more inclined to support the initiative, the George H.W. Bush administration refused to budge without some assurances from the Israelis about limiting settlement development in the territories. Either hubris or a serious miscalculation of the administration's resolve caused AIPAC to reassure the Israelis that it could overcome the administration's reservations and move the loan guarantees forward in the Congress without compromising Israel's unpopular settlement policy. Others, including the Anti-Defamation League and the Jewish Council for Public Affairs, told the Israelis that they could have loan guarantees or settlements, not both. Again, Israel had been given advice on the American political process that was flawed. Ultimately Israel got the loan guarantee package issued over a five-year period with amounts spent in settlements deducted from that year's installment. In the end, it also did not use the guarantee.

Following a period of some turbulence and two changes at the professional top of the organization, AIPAC seemed to have righted the ship in the mid-1990s. Howard Kohr, a longtime AIPAC professional who became the director in 1996, had worked for Republicans yet had respect among Democrats. In a sense, his lower profile better served the needs of the organization. Dine had been unceremoniously dumped in 1993 after making remarks that were thought insensitive to Orthodox Jews, and Neal Sher, his successor, had had a rough three-year tenure. It seemed to be a good time to take a deep breath. However, AIPAC found itself thrust on the front pages again in 2003 and 2004 when the FBI launched an investigation following allegations that top AIPAC officials had passed along to Israel classified State Department information about Iran.

Whether ultimately proven or not, the charges are redolent of the old "dual loyalty" canard, an aroma that does not easily disperse in the political atmosphere of the nation's capital.

In a profound if paradoxical way, the September 11, 2001, attack on America strengthened the relationship between Israel and the United States. With the terrorist attacks in New York and Washington, DC, Americans now experienced directly what the Israelis had themselves been shouldering for decades. Pro-Israel advocacy was energized by mutual anguish and loss. For others, however, the linkage was found not in shared victimization but in joint complicity. In a painful and in some ways puzzling reversal, Israel and the United States were branded by many around the world as co-collaborators in a failed global policy that led to the occupation of Arab and Muslim lands – by the United States in Afghanistan and Iraq, and by Israel in the territories. Thus, in a grim and grotesque way, cataclysmic world events conspired to demonstrate the common interests of the United States and Israel – the very assumption upon which AIPAC has built its program for over more than half a century.

[Lawrence Rubin (2nd ed.)]

AMERICAN JEWESS, monthly magazine published between April 1895 and August 1899. It was the first English-language periodical intended for American Jewish women. Indicative of newly emerging public identities for Jewish women, the *American Jewess* offered health, household, and fashion tips; discussion of women's demands for synagogue membership; early expressions of American Zionism; short fiction; and reflections on the propriety of women riding bicycles. Rosa Sonneschein, the creator and editor of the *American Jewess*, was a Hungarian immigrant who divorced her rabbi husband in St. Louis. Her successful participation in the Press Congress and Jewish Women's Congress that were both part of 1893's World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago inspired her to create the *American Jewess*.

Like the *National Council of Jewish Women, which also emerged from the Jewish Women's Congress, the *American Jewess* was intended to represent the aspirations of America's prosperous and acculturated Jewish women who believed that the national and religious aspects of their identity were not in conflict. Thoroughly American and thoroughly Jewish, the "American Jewess" felt fully at home in her overlapping worlds of American and Jewish culture. Working initially from Chicago and later from New York, Sonneschein echoed NCJW's calls for female synagogue membership and leadership. Through her magazine, she was able to offer the first sustained critique, by a Jewish woman, of gender inequities in Jewish worship and organizational life. In addition, by publishing a veritable portrait gallery of locally prominent Jewish women (often those serving their communities as NCJW officers), Sonneschein altered expectations of what American Jewish leaders should look like. Male and female authors within the magazine offered differing views on Jewish women's public roles within the Jewish and general communities, but all were engaged in making sense of new collective and individual identities for women.

At its height, the magazine claimed a circulation of 31,000. Deflected by both business and health setbacks, however, Sonneschein yielded control to an unidentified group of publishers in the summer of 1898. Despite Sonneschein's continued contributions as a correspondent, the publication suffered from the loss of her editorial vision and energy. When the new publishers were unable to revive the magazine's financial fortunes, the *American Jewess* shifted from a monthly to a quarterly publication in 1899; it concluded its run with a "valedictory" issue in August 1899.

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[Karla Goldman (2nd ed.)]

AMERICAN JEWISH ARCHIVES (AJA), archives founded in 1947 by the historian Jacob Rader Marcus (1896–1995) on the Cincinnati campus of the Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion. Marcus established the AJA in the aftermath of the European Holocaust, when American Jews inherited a primary responsibility of preserving the continuity of Jewish life and learning for future generations. The AJA functions as a semi-autonomous organization to collect, preserve, and make available for research materials on the history of Jews and Jewish communities in the Western Hemisphere, primarily in the United States. The term "history" is construed in its broadest aspect to embrace data of a political, economic, social, cultural, and religious nature.

In its collections, the AJA attempts to assemble data describing the American Jew, both as a Jew and as an American. In this sense, the AJA probably possesses the largest collection of source materials found anywhere documenting the history of the Jewish community of a country. Important accessions to the collection are listed annually in the *American Jewish Archives Journal* and in the successive volumes of the *National Union Catalogue of Manuscript Collections*. The AJA began with a small assortment of congregational and societal minute books and a few collections of private papers. By the dawn of the 21st century, it contained more than 12,000 linear feet of manuscripts and archival records.

The collection includes the papers of famous Reform rabbis such as Isaac Mayer *Wise, David *Philipson, and David *Einhorn; scholars Trude *Weiss-Rosmarin, Horace M. *Kallen, and Maurice *Samuel; scientists and physicians Abraham *Flexner and Robert C. Rothenberg; lawyers and politicians Anna M. *Kross, Samuel Dickstein, and Fanny E. Holtzmann; and philanthropists and Jewish leaders Louis *Marshall, Jacob *Schiff, Felix *Warburg, among many others. The holdings also include documents and letters of prominent colonial and Civil War era Jews such as Aaron *Lopez, Raphael J. *Moses, Judah P. *Benjamin, and the *Gratz and *Franks families. In its collections are the records of district and local B'nai B'rith lodges, women's synagogue auxiliaries, and organizations such as the American Jewish Alternatives to Zionism, the Intercollegiate Menorah Association, the World Union for Progressive Judaism, the American Council for Judaism, and the Socialist Labor Party of America. The records of the New York office of the World Jewish Congress (WJC), one of the AJA's largest archival holdings, contain data relating primarily to the WJC's activities during and after World War II.

In 1998, the AJA was designated as the official repository of the historical records of the Union for Reform Judaism (formally the Union of American Hebrew Congregations). These materials compliment the records of the Hebrew Union College, the Jewish Institute of Religion, and the combined Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion as well as the records of the Central Conference of American Rabbis.

The AJA is divided into several departments: manuscripts and typescripts, "nearprint," photographs, indices, publications, and programs. The "nearprint" collection subsumes all ephemeral material in the vast zone between letters and books: throwaways, news releases, broadsides, mimeograph announcements and advertisements, newspaper and magazine clippings, brochures, etc. The collection's broad recorded tape holdings consist of over 6,500 cassettes of oral histories, lectures, religious services, and music. In addition, a photograph collection of well over 15,000 images is used by scholars, publishers, filmmakers, among others, to illustrate books, articles, movies, and television programs. All manuscript collections have been catalogued; indices have been made of important 19th-century magazines like *Sinai, Israel's Herold, Occident, Deborah,* and *Menorah Monthly.* One of the AJA's most important publications is the *American Jewish Archives Journal* (est. 1948), which appears semi-annually. The institution has also published a wide-ranging series of monographs, including Malcolm H. Stern's *Americans of Jewish Descent* (1960), which marked a milestone in the study of American Jewish genealogy. This monumental volume was updated and revised in 1991, appearing under the title *First American Jewish Families: 600 Genealogies, 1654–1988.* An online version of Stern's classic text is available on the institution's website (www.AmericanJewishArchives.org). The AJA also offers a series of enrichment programs for scholars, educators, and the public at large.

Closely associated with the American Jewish Archives is the American Jewish Periodical Center (AJPC), which microfilms all American Jewish serials to 1925 with selected periodicals after that date. AJPC catalogues have been published; microfilm copies of all listed entries are available on interlibrary loan.

Jacob R. Marcus directed the American Jewish Archives from its founding in 1947 until his death in 1995, when the institution was renamed The Jacob Rader Marcus Center of the American Jewish Archives. Gary P. Zola became the second director of the American Jewish Archives in 1998.

[Gary P. Zola (2nd ed.)]

AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE (**AJC**), oldest Jewish defense organization in the United States, established in 1906 "to prevent the infraction of the civil and religious rights of Jews, in any part of the world." It was formed as one response to the search for a basis upon which a central representative organization of American Jews could be built and as a direct outgrowth of concerns about conditions in Czarist Russia, especially the 1905 Kishinev pogrom. The Committee initially consisted of a small group drawn from the established German-Jewish community, who had migrated in large numbers to the United States beginning in 1820. They were well established and viewed their purpose as being able to mobilize American Jews to respond to matters of concern. Its founders included Jacob *Schiff, Mayer *Sulzberger, Louis *Marshall, Oscar *Straus, and Cyrus *Adler, men who represented the prominent German stratum within the Jewish community, and who, out of a sense of noblesse oblige, combined philanthropic activities and *hofjude* ("court Jew") diplomacy on behalf of their fellow Jews. The Committee was their attempt to guard against the rise of what they considered to be more radical popular agencies based on mass membership and employing extensive publicity. Oligarchic in design, the Committee – literally a "committee" – limited its membership to 60 American citizens (expanded by 1931 to 350), with offices in New York, and remained a small group for many years. AJC was self-selected, and had a sense of the "elitism" of the German-Jewish community, then the regnant Jewish population in America.

Much enlarged after 1943, the AJC developed into a highly-professional organization in which the leadership have played the critical role in decisionmaking, and the agency has been an effective voice on intergroup and, in recent decades, in public policy issues. The AJC has traditionally had a special interest in ethnicity, pluralism, and Jewish family life, in Israel and the Middle East, and in a broad range of interreligious affairs, and is significantly active in these areas. In recent years with the perception of declining antisemitism and full acceptance of Jews into American society, the AJC's agenda has expanded beyond matters of "defense" to include questions of Jewish "continuity" deemed essential after the 1990 Jewish population survey.

During the 1960s and 1970s, under the stewardship of executive leaders John Slawson and especially Bertram Gold, the AJC resembled not a single agency but a collection of related "fiefdoms," each directed by a leader in his respective field, who collectively contributed to the shaping of the contemporary community relations agenda: Rabbi Marc Tanenbaum in interreligious relationships; Yehuda Rosenman in Jewish communal affairs; Milton Himmelfarb, who shaped AJC's research agenda and who edited the *American Jewish Year Book*; Hyman *Bookbinder, the highly-visible director of AJC's Washington office, who was instrumental in shaping the agency's public affairs agenda.

The AJC has since the early 1980s undergone a necessary process of redefinition of mission and function within the community. This process culminated in 1990, with David Harris as the new executive director – this following a period of institutional and financial instability, in which there were four chief executives within a very few years – with the AJC turning aggressively toward activity in the international arena, positioning itself as an "international diplomatic corps for the Jewish people." The American Jewish Committee's joining the *Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations in 1991 signified more than a symbolic affiliation; the AJC, by its membership in the Presidents Conference (the designated spokesman of the American Jewish community to the American administration on Israel and other international issues), asserted that international affairs now had primacy on the AJC's agenda.

The plight of Russian Jewry before World War I prompted the AJC's strong defense of a liberal American immigration policy. The AJC contributed to the defeat of a literacy test requirement for immigrants in 1907 and 1913 by lobbying, propaganda, and publicity. In 1911 the Committee conducted a successful campaign for the abrogation of the Russo-American treaty of 1832. Not only did the AJC object to the Russian discrimination against the entry of American Jews into Russia, which it considered a violation of the treaty, but it hoped that by its abrogation Russia would inevitably be compelled to free her own Jews.

On the outbreak of World War I, the American Jewish Committee sparked the organization of the American Jewish Relief Committee, which set up a central relief fund for Jewish war victims. Opposed to the idea of a democratic and nationalist American Jewish movement presenting the Jewish demands to the Paris Peace Conference in 1919, the Committee joined the first *American Jewish Congress under pressure of public sentiment. However, the minority rights secured for Jewry in the new, succession states of Europe were largely the result of the work of Julian *Mack, Louis Marshall (who served as AJC president from 1906–29), and Cyrus Adler who operated as individual intercessors in Paris. The Committee welcomed the *Balfour Declaration but underscored the provision that it would in no way prejudice the liberties of Jews in other lands. Louis Marshall's post-war correspondence with Chaim Weizmann led in 1929 to an enlarged *Jewish Agency composed of Zionists and non-Zionists. The AJC's stance was a "non-Zionist" one until the creation of the State of Israel in 1948.

During the 1920s the Committee centered its attention on the United States. It fought the popular "Jew-Communist" charge circulated in the infamous "Protocols of the Elders of Zion" and further propagated in Henry Ford's *Dearborn Independent.* Marshall, as president of the Committee, formulated the terms for Ford's retraction in 1927. The approach of the Committee, both strategically and tactically, differed sharply from that of the American Jewish Congress, which was more confrontational and which relied – especially after 1945 – on litigation as a primary vehicle for social action. AJC's approach reflected the Louis Marshall idea that discreet lobbying would best serve the interests of American Jews. This non-confrontational strategy reflected the fear that AJC would be perceived as a "Jewish lobby" with interests at odds with those of other Americans.

The rise of Nazism led to intensified activities on two fronts. In an effort to ameliorate the situation of German Jewry, the American Jewish Committee applied pressure upon the Roosevelt administration, the Vatican, the League of Nations, and even individual German officials. The objective of halting the Nazis by an aroused public opinion failed, and Committee members turned increasingly to plans of rescue and emigration for German Jews. The outbreak of the war halted independent operations, leaving the fate of Jewry contingent upon the Allied war effort. Upon learning of the mass murders, the Committee with other American organizations staged protest meetings and appealed for concrete assistance from the *Bermuda Conference on Refugees (1943). The Committee also cooperated in the efforts of the *War Refugee Board.

Simultaneously, the Committee fought the alarmingly sharp rise in organized antisemitism in America, with an emphasis on education and "prejudice-reduction" programs. In developing new techniques both to measure and to influence general and Jewish opinion, the Committee discarded the traditionally apologetic Jewish reaction to antisemitism and asserted and demonstrated that antisemitism is a device to undermine the foundations of democratic society. The Committee also investigated the operations of the virulent hate groups and disclosed their connections with the Nazi regime. The AJC pioneered an approach to combating antisemitism in the communities, using as a model the idea that every Jewish community in the U.S.A. needed to have a "volunteer fire brigade" countering antisemitism. In 1941 the AJC and the *Anti-Defamation League joined forces in the Joint Defense Appeal, to raise funds for both agencies' domestic programs.

While the American Jewish Committee joined the Zionists in protesting British curtailment of immigration into Palestine as a result of the British White Paper, it denounced the concept of "Diaspora nationalism" inherent in the programs of the American Jewish Congress and *World Jewish Congress. It opposed the Zionists' Biltmore *Program of 1942 and, in protest against Zionist tactics, left the *American Jewish Conference in 1943. It hoped that the future of Jewry would be secured by universal recognition of human rights to be protected by the United Nations; and it lobbied in 1945 at the San Francisco Conference, at which the charter for the United Nations was prepared, for an international commitment to that principle. By 1946 the Committee realized that the problem of the displaced persons could be solved only by the creation of a Jewish state, and it cooperated with the Zionists in pushing the cause of Palestine partition. After 1948 the Committee filled a dual function with respect to the State of Israel; it worked consistently to insure American sympathy and diplomatic aid, and by agreement with Israeli statesmen, it officially kept Israel's interests distinct from those of Diaspora Jewry. This dynamic was exemplified in the 1950 "entente" between Israeli Prime Minister David Ben-Gurion and AJC President Jacob Blaustein, following reports that Ben-Gurion had called for large-scale immigration to Israel by American Jewish youth; Ben-Gurion acknowledged that American Jews "have only one political attachment, to America," and in effect admitted that the "ingathering of exiles" as a central Zionist principle did not apply to American Jewry.

The American Jewish Committee also assumed a role in several extended projects relating to the Holocaust: prosecution of Nazi war criminals, material restitution by Germany to the Jewish community, and rehabilitation of Jewish cultural life within Europe. The Committee concentrated in the postwar period on combating the persecution of Jews within the Soviet orbit; it was active in disclosing the character of Kremlin-inspired antisemitism in documented form. The eruption of antisemitism in two other areas, the Muslim countries and South America, involved the Committee in tasks of relief and emigration with respect to the former, and self-defense with respect to the latter.

After World War II the Committee expanded markedly in size and function. A chapter plan adopted in 1944 slowly changed the oligarchic cast and elitist control of the organization. The AJC's strategic approaches to participating in litigation as a vehicle for achieving its goals underwent a marked change as well in the post-war years. In its early years the AJC, parting company from the Anti-Defamation League, did promote advocacy against anti-immigration measures. But the Committee had long believed that litigation was confrontational and would damage the constructive relationships that Jews had built up in the interfaith arena. Louis Marshall's view was that individuals, not groups, were constitutionally protected from prejudicial action. (The ADL, conversely, believed that Jews had every right to oppose the insult of group defamation.) Taking upon itself the obligation of strengthening the foundations of a pluralistic democratic society, the Committee took an active interest in the rights and liberties of non-Jews as well as Jews. The AJC's strategy of working with diverse non-Jewish organizations, especially in the Christian religious community, reflected the Committee's concerns both with legal matters (such as the separation of church and state) and social relations. A turning point came in 1943 with the appointment of John Slawson as AJC executive, who believed that, consistent with the AJC tradition of viewing rights for Jews as part of the larger struggle for rights for all minorities, AJC needed to be transformed into a vibrant civil rights agency. From 1947 AJC actively participated, through litigation, educational campaigns, and community projects, in the struggle of the blacks for equal rights. Work to break down the barriers in education, housing, employment, and public accommodations led to pioneer efforts against anti-Jewish discrimination in clubs, fraternities, and the "executive suite." The American Jewish Committee's focus on human relations resulted in new approaches to intergroup cooperation and intercultural education. In that area it labored successfully for the revision of prejudiced teachings about Jews in Christian textbooks and for the historic declaration on the Jews approved by the *Vatican Council in 1965. The Committee consistently emphasized the need for research in the behavioral sciences to guide it in plotting its action program. It sponsored the multivolume *Studies in Prejudice and Other Sociological Studies*. The watershed volume *The Authoritarian Personality* (1950) emphasized the psychological, rather than the socioeconomic, forces at work in group prejudice.

Through surveys of American Jewish and general communities, and through conferences and other programmatic initiatives, the AJC has also explored new ways to understand intergroup dynamics and to strengthen Jewish identity within the United States. The annual *Survey of American Jewish Public Opinion*, conducted by the Market Facts agency, provides valuable data for social scientists and policymakers. Numerous studies on a range of issues have emerged from the AJC over the past 40 years.

In 2005 the AJC had a membership of approximately 150,000 people organized in 33 chapters around the United States. Operating in 2005 on a budget of approximately $37,000,000 – the AJC's budget in 1979 was $8 million, on par with the Anti-Defamation League – the agency maintains offices in Brussels, Berlin, Geneva, and Jerusalem, and has a presence in Paris, Bombay, and Warsaw, in addition to its New York headquarters.

The Committee's orientation has long been that of a thoughtful and deliberative organization. Indeed, it traditionally viewed itself as being the "think tank" of the Jewish community. In addition to its regular sponsorship of a range of studies and conferences, an influential periodical, **Commentary*, is produced under the AJC's auspices, with a completely independent editorial policy. (*Present Tense*, a bimonthly, ceased publication in the early 1990s.) Since 1900 the AJC has published the annual *American Jewish Year Book*, which over the years has become the "document of record" for American Jewry.

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[Naomi W. Cohen / Jerome Chanes (2nd ed.)]

AMERICAN JEWISH CONFERENCE, representative American organization established in 1943 at the initiative of B'nai B'rith to deal with the problems of Palestine and the European Holocaust. Originally composed of representatives of all major Jewish groups and delegates from local Jewish communities, the Conference was given direction from Zionist bodies which sought a pro-Zionist declaration by a body representing American Jewry as a whole. Such a declaration was overwhelmingly adopted at its New York assembly in August 1943. As a result, the American Jewish Committee seceded from the Conference. Nevertheless, the organization submitted a series of pro-Zionist statements to official national and international bodies and waged a public relations campaign until its dissolution in 1949.

AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS (**AJCongress**), one of the central agencies in American Jewish community relations. The origins of the American Jewish Congress, founded in 1918, provide an important lesson in the dynamics of American Jewry. The AJCongress was established by a group that felt dissatisfaction with the *American Jewish Committee. This group, largely of East European origin, felt that the "aristocratic" German-Jewish leadership of the Committee was a self-appointed, self-perpetuating body with no mandate from American Jewry, and that the AJC was paternalistic in its dealings with East Europeans. The debate, largely between East European and German Jews and between Zionists and anti-Zionists, was primarily over the establishment of a congress that would represent American Jewish interests at the peace conference following World War I. The result was an ad hoc "congress" that would act as an "umbrella" for Jewish groups and represent Jewish interests. Institutionally, the American Jewish Congress was an outgrowth of the first American Jewish Congress, which assembled in Philadelphia in December 1918. A written agreement entered into by a number of organizations stipulated that the Congress was to dissolve as soon as it fulfilled its task of formulating a postwar program of the Jewish people, named a delegation to the Peace Conference in Versailles, and received its report. This agreement was implemented at the second and last session of the Congress in Philadelphia in 1920. However, some delegates from religious, Zionist, and fraternal organizations, and from *Landsmannschaften*, reassembled the next day under the chairmanship of Stephen S. *Wise and laid the foundation for the present American Jewish Congress, which was fully organized in 1928. The initial constituency of the American Jewish Congress was mainly Zionist, other voices coming into the body following the 1928 reorganization. In sum, while the American Jewish Committee and other organizations wanted the Congress to go out of business – and indeed it did formally dissolve itself in 1920 – the pressure for a permanent representative organization resulted in the formation of the present Congress, which came into being in 1922, originally as a council of agencies. (The AJCongress evolved into a membership organization in the 1930s.)

The American Jewish Congress began with two goals, which together molded the agency's subsequent ideology: providing humanitarian relief for European Jews in the aftermath of World War I and restoring a political Jewish presence in Palestine. The American Jewish Congress is the only community-relations agency that has been pro-Zionist throughout its history, and, on a number of issues (for example, a boycott of German goods in the 1930s), was arguably more representative of the views of the grassroots of American Jewry than the other "defense" and community-relations agencies. The early AJCongress leaders, Louis *Brandeis and Stephen S. *Wise, believed that only a democratic structure would make possible maximum participation in Jewish affairs by Jews, and not just by German Jews. Moreover, they fervently rejected the belief that Jews should not organize along ethnocentric lines, that Jews ought not restrict their lobbying efforts to "behind the scenes," and that Jews ought not engage in vigorous advocacy. The American Jewish Congress's view of pluralism was different from that of the American Jewish Committee or the *Anti-Defamation League: the AJCongress articulated the view that group and not individual interests needed to be advocated through appropriate organizational channels, and not merely through a few well-connected individuals. Stephen S. Wise especially offered a vision of American Jewry as both religious and ethnic, and, as a people possessing a distinct cultural history, needing openly to advocate its interests.

The AJCongress set goals related to American Jewish affairs, as well as to Palestine and the world Jewish scene. In the 1930s the AJCongress emerged as a leading force in the anti-Nazi movement and in efforts to aid the victims of Hitlerism. It sought to arouse American public opinion and to combat antisemitic manifestations in America. With the *Jewish Labor Committee, the AJCongress organized the Joint Boycott Council directed against German goods and services. The AJCongress was a founder of the short-lived General Jewish Council and of the National Community Relations Advisory Council (NCRAC, later National Jewish Community Relations Advisory Council, NJCRAC; now *Jewish Council for Public Affairs, JCPA).

In the mid-1930s the AJCongress led in the formation of the *World Jewish Congress, and shortly thereafter changed itself from a body representing organized groups into one based on individual membership. National Jewish organizations found that group affiliation alongside individual membership was untenable, and withdrew in order to form the American Section of the World Jewish Congress, of which the American Jewish Congress is also an affiliate.

The American Jewish Congress pioneered the use of law and social action as tools in combating prejudice and discrimination. This strategy – opposed by other Jewish communal groups, especially the American Jewish Committee and the Anti-Defamation League, which believed in quiet diplomacy and social relations – led to the creation in the 1930s of a number of "commissions" within the agency to examine the utility of litigative action to secure constitutional protection of equal rights. While the image of the AJCongress was one of a creative and aggressive advocate for Jewish interests, there was little substantive difference between the AJCongress and the ADL and AJC until after World War II.

In 1945 the AJCongress embarked on a program based on proposals submitted by Alexander H. Pekelis, in which the character of the agency was matured. Proceeding from the premise that the well-being of Jews depended on a liberal political and social climate, the AJCongress became increasingly involved in the promotion of social legislation and in activities designed to strengthen American democracy, eliminate racial and religious bigotry, and advance civil liberties. The AJCongress created its Commission on Law and Social Action (CLSA, a merger of two commissions, on discrimination and law and legislation) to implement this premise. The CLSA was created for the purpose of engaging the direct-action strategies that would encompass legislative and judicial measures to redress constitutional grievances of American Jews. The CLSA began implementing a vision of advocacy that had been fermenting within the AJCongress for some years. The underpinnings of CLSA advocacy were that the AJCongress ought not limit its work to attacking governmental infringements on the rights of Jews, but should fight discriminatory practices by large, private organizations, such as universities and corporations, and in doing so enter into coalition with like-minded groups such as the NAACP and the ACLU. Moreover, the direct-action method – law and litigation – would concentrate on fighting legal discrimination, and not prejudicial attitudes. This approach was a major departure from the strategic stances of the ADL and the AJC, both of which were committed to education programs and goodwill campaigns to educate Americans about Jewish interests, and to "quiet diplomacy" to redress grievances. Indeed, the creation of the CLSA created shock waves that reverberated throughout these American Jewish organizations. Contributing to the widening gap between the AJCongress's commitment to legal reform and the ADL's and AJC's preference for the "social-relations" model was the towering figure of Leo *Pfeffer, for many years the director of CLSA. Pfeffer's uncontested emergence as the Jewish community's chief strategist on church-state matters was accompanied by his exercise of almost complete authority over the Jewish community's litigation agenda.

CLSA activity over the years has led to the AJCongress having viewed itself as being the "lawyer" for the American Jewish community; indeed, it took a pioneering stance and leading role in Jewish community involvement in landmark Supreme Court cases on First Amendment (especially church-state separation) and civil rights issues. Major advocates such as Alexander Pekelis, David Petegorsky, and Will Maslow, and above all Leo Pfeffer, put their stamp on the AJCongress's agenda, and, beyond the agency, on American Jewish communal activities in the First Amendment and civil rights arenas.

In Zionist affairs the Congress has adopted a pro-Israel position, and indeed is the only American Jewish group (aside from Zionist organizations) to be pro-Zionist from its beginnings. It has organized annual "dialogues" in Israel with the participation of U.S. and Israeli intellectuals and has sponsored regular tours of its members to Israel. Nuanced changes with respect to Israel emerged under the professional leadership of Henry Siegman in the 1980s and 1990s, and the AJCongress veered sharply to the "left" on Israel-related issues, departing in some cases radically with consensus positions of the Jewish community on issues such as settlements and the peace process. Viewed as being relatively "liberal" on most social justice issues and on Israel-Palestinian matters, the AJCongress in the 21st century is re-examining a number of its stances, including its strong "separationist" position in church-state affairs.

The AJCongress is a membership organization with approximately 40,000 members; in 2005 it operated out of 15 chapters, with offices in Jerusalem and Paris, and a presence in Moscow and Brussels. Its 2005 budget was $6.5 million, raised from membership dues, independent campaigns, allocations from Jewish federations, and other sources. The small budget – relative to its sister defense agencies, the Anti-Defamation League and the American Jewish Committee – is deceptive. While many predicted the demise of the AJCongress during the 1990s – particularly after merger talks with the AJC broke down – and while it is clearly in the "second tier" of defense agencies, the AJCongress in the first decade of the 21st century is hardly moribund. The core of its operation, CLSA, is active, and the AJCongress has added an Office of Jewish Life. The AJCongress holds national conventions annually, and is administered by a Governing Council. The publications *Congress Monthly* and the scholarly *Judaism*, which for many years was one of the premier intellectual journals in American Jewish life, are produced under American Jewish Congress auspices.

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[Jerome Chanes (2nd ed.)]

AMERICAN JEWISH HISTORICAL SOCIETY, scholarly organization founded in 1892. An interest in the Jewish experience on the American continent was brought into a formal framework with the founding of the Society on June 7, 1892, in New York City.

The need to collect and preserve the records of the native Jewish population and their forebears, as well as those of subsequent Jewish immigrants, became the serious concern of Abram S. *Isaacs, Bernhard *Felsenthal, Leo N. Levi, and, especially, Cyrus *Adler, then of the United States National Museum. To study American Jewry required research materials and thus it was necessary to begin a serious collection of books, manuscripts, pamphlets, periodicals, newspapers, and historical memorabilia and objects of art. The Society's first president Oscar S. *Straus declared at the initial meeting of the American Jewish Historical Society, "Every nation, race, and creed, which contributed toward the building of this great continent and country, should from motives of patriotism gather up its records and chronicles, so that our historians may be able to examine and describe the forces of our national and political existence." In 1966 the objectives of the Society were restated as "… the collection, preservation, exhibition, publication, and popularization of material of every kind having reference to the settlement, history, and life of Jews on the American continent, and the promotion and encouragement of research in, and the study of, Jewish history in general, and particularly in its relation to American Jewish history, and in connection with the causes and nature of Jewish emigration from various parts of the world to this continent."

For over half a century the American Jewish Historical Society was housed in the buildings of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America in New York City. In 1968, after a few years in rented quarters in the same city, it moved to its own building on the campus of Brandeis University in Waltham, Mass.; the new building was financed by the bequest of Lee Max *Friedman, the Society's fourth president. The holdings of the Society consist of the collections and writings of some of the pioneers of Jewish historical research, such as A.S.W.

*Rosenbach, Max J. *Kohler, George Alexander *Kohut, Philip *Cowen, Samuel Oppenheim, Jacques Judah *Lyons, Bernhard Felsenthal, N. Taylor Phillips, and Leon Huehner, as well as the theater and music collection of Abram Kanof.

The Society published 58 volumes of its *Publications*, which became a quarterly with volume 38, and assumed the title *American Jewish Historical Quarterly* with volume 51. Selected studies from these publications were reprinted in *The Jewish Experience in America* (5 vols. (1969), ed. by A.J. Karp). The Society's official publication is now called *American Jewish History*. The contents of this journal for the years 1893–1979 are available on ADAJE, an electronic repository of digitized American Jewish periodicals. The Society's quarterly newsletter is called *Heritage*. The Society also issues a monograph series, *Studies in American Jewish History*, and the *American Jewish Communal Histories* series. Each spring it sponsors American Jewish History Week; it also aids in the arrangement of exhibitions of American Jewish history and the publication of various bibliographies and literature. The Society's presidents have included Oscar S. Straus, Cyrus Adler, A.S.W. Rosenbach, and Lee Max Friedman and, more recently, Salo W. *Baron, Abraham Kanof, Bertram W. *Korn, Jacob R. *Marcus, Leon J. Obermayer, David de Sola *Pool, Abram Vossen Goodman, and Sidney Lapidus.

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[Isidore S. Meyer]

AMERICAN JEWISH JOINT DISTRIBUTION COMMITTEE (known as JDC or **The Joint**), independent, nonpolitical American Jewish relief and welfare organization dedicated to providing both emergency aid and long-term assistance to individual Jews and Jewish communities throughout the world outside North America. In 2004, after 90 years of service, JDC was operating in over 60 countries, from the former Soviet Union and Eastern Europe to South America, Asia, North Africa, and the Middle East. Nearly one in 10 Jews outside Israel and the United States and one out of four in Israel were benefiting from JDC programs.

In World War I

JDC was founded in 1914 shortly after the outbreak of World War I to send aid to the Jews of Palestine and Eastern Europe who were in danger of starvation. The first call for help came in a telegram sent in August 1914 by United States Ambassador to Turkey Henry *Morgenthau to prominent American Jewish leader Jacob *Schiff, requesting $50,000 for the Jews of Palestine. Subsequent pleas for help from Jewish communities in Eastern Europe led to the formation of both the Central Relief Committee by American Orthodox Jews and the American Jewish Relief Committee by prominent German-American Jews. On November 27, 1914, the two groups agreed to coordinate the distribution of relief shipments to Jews overseas within a common framework – the Joint Distribution Committee of American Funds for the Relief of Jewish War Sufferers – under the chairmanship of Felix M. *Warburg. The socialist People's Relief Committee joined them in 1915. The diversity of the three groups comprising the JDC ensured that JDC would assist Jews of every religious and political persuasion. By the end of World War I, JDC's leaders had concluded that rescue and relief to Jews in need would not be sufficient. JDC should also undertake to rebuild Jewish communities in Eastern Europe destroyed by the war. Thus, Rescue, Relief and Reconstruction began to emerge as the threefold mission of JDC.

During the course of World War I, JDC raised more than $16,000,000 (equivalent to $236,000,000 in 2005) for relief supplies. These funds were distributed overseas by local committees in Europe and Palestine.

Interwar Period

Immediately following World War I, in coordination with the American Relief Administration, JDC sent convoys of trucks with food, clothing, and medicines to Jewish communities in Eastern Europe which had been devastated by the war and by the subsequent regional conflicts and pogroms. Teams of JDC representatives brought in these supplies and established soup kitchens to ward off starvation. The situation in Poland and Russia at that time was still unstable and private militias roamed the countryside. In 1920 a Red Army militia murdered two JDC workers, Rabbis Israel *Friedlander and Bernard *Cantor.

At the same time that immediate relief needs were being addressed, JDC turned its attention to the rebuilding of Jewish communities in Eastern Europe. In the area of health care, JDC financed the repair of damaged Jewish hospitals, provided medical equipment and supplies, and sent more than 100 doctors, social workers, and public health experts from the United States, under the direction of Dr. Boris Bogen, to institute health programs and train local medical personnel. In 1921, JDC initiated the founding of a local medical society in Poland, *TOZ (Towarzystwo Ochrony Zdrowia Ludnosci Zydowskiej, Society for Safeguarding the Health of the Jewish Population) to supervise these medical activities. JDC also supported *OZE, the Russian Jewish Health Organization.

More than 200,000 Jewish children in Eastern Europe had been orphaned by the war. To care for them and for children whose parents could not support them, JDC established orphanages, kindergartens, and summer camps, and provided food supplements and medical and dental treatment for children in need. In 1923 JDC founded *CENTOS (Federation for the Care of Orphans in Poland), an orphan care group that functioned in Poland until World War II.

One of JDC's priorities was the restoration of Jewish religious and cultural life in Eastern Europe. JDC rebuilt community institutions such as synagogues and ritual baths, which had been destroyed during the war, and provided aid to Jewish schools and yeshivot.

To foster economic recovery in Jewish communities in Eastern Europe, JDC joined together with the Jewish Colonization Association in 1924 to found the American Joint Reconstruction Foundation. The Foundation set up a network of cooperative credit institutions – *loan kassas* – that provided low-interest loans to Jewish craftsmen and small businessmen in towns and villages throughout Eastern Europe. Interest-free loans were granted to the poorer families. In cooperation with *ORT (the Society for Crafts and Agricultural Labor among Jews in Russia, later known as the Organization for Rehabilitation through Training), JDC established vocational training courses for young adults. These measures eased the economic crisis for hundreds of thousands of Jewish families.

In Palestine, once urgent postwar relief needs had been met, JDC began to implement economic, social, and cultural reconstruction programs. In the area of medical care, JDC funded the Malaria Research Unit, which helped combat malaria in Palestine. JDC helped finance the American Zionist Medical Unit sent to Palestine by *Hadassah in 1921, the forerunner of the Hadassah Medical Organization in Palestine.

To care for some 5,000 children orphaned as a result of World War I, JDC established the Palestine Orphan Committee, which supervised these children from 1919 to 1929 until they could become self-supporting. In the area of education, JDC supported schools and yeshivot and provided funds to the newly established Hebrew University of Jerusalem.

In 1922, JDC, in cooperation with the Jewish Colonization Association, established the Central Bank of Cooperative Institutions, which financed agricultural projects in Palestine such as the developing citrus industry. JDC helped establish the Palestine Economic Corporation in 1925 to promote economic development in Palestine, provided subsidies to the Rutenberg Hydroelectric Association, and created a Kuppat Milveh which granted small loans. JDC spent more than $8 million in Palestine during the years 1914–32.

One of JDC's best-known and most innovative projects, the Agro-Joint, was created by JDC during the 1920s in the newly established communist Soviet Union. In 1924, with the consent of the Soviet government, JDC set up the American Jewish Joint Agricultural Corporation (Agro-Joint) to promote agricultural settlement among Jews. Agro-Joint's purpose was fully supported by the Soviet authorities, who favored redirecting Jewish economic activity from commerce to manual labor. Agro-Joint also sought to solve the problem of Jews who were left without a livelihood when the communists outlawed their professions as tradesmen or religious officials. Between 1924 and 1938, under the direction of Russian–born agronomist Dr. Joseph *Rosen (1877–1949), Agro-Joint helped settle more than 100,000 Jews in agricultural colonies in the Crimea and the Ukraine.

In the late 1930s, however, the Soviet government under Stalin became increasingly suspicious of foreign organizations, and a number of Agro-Joint staff members were arrested and executed. In 1938, faced with growing hostility on the part of the Soviet authorities, Agro-Joint disbanded its operations in the Soviet Union. During World War II, the colonies established by Agro-Joint were overrun by the German armies and most of the colonists were murdered.

By the mid-1920s, JDC, which had been created as an ad hoc body, had begun to function as a major international Jewish relief organization. Some JDC leaders believed that with the basic relief and reconstruction of Jewish life in Eastern Europe under way, JDC's goals had been achieved and the organization should disband. This opinion was expressed again during the Depression years when JDC's income declined drastically.

However, recurring crises in Eastern and Western Europe and the continuing needs of Jewish communities in Palestine, the Soviet Union, and elsewhere showed the need for a permanent organization. In 1931, JDC was officially incorporated in New York State as the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee.

The rise of Hitler in 1933 confronted JDC with new challenges. In addition to its reconstruction programs in Eastern Europe, JDC now provided support to the Jewish community of Germany, which became increasingly impoverished under Nazi rule. From 1933 to 1939, JDC spent $5 million in Germany, subsidizing medical care, Jewish schools, welfare programs, and vocational training. With the German invasion of Austria and its incorporation of Czechoslovakia in 1938 and 1939, JDC extended its support to the Jewish communities in those countries as well. Following the rise of Hitler, JDC transferred its European headquarters from Berlin, where it had been since 1922, to Paris.

JDC's primary efforts from 1933, however, were directed toward assisting the tens of thousands of German, Austrian, and Czech Jews who sought desperately to emigrate from German-occupied countries and to find safe havens abroad. JDC helped the emigrants with travel expenses, provided them with food, shelter, and medical care when they were stranded en route, assisted them in obtaining berths on ships and places on trains, helped them in obtaining visas and paid landing fees so that they could enter countries of refuge. In 1939, when the German ship *St. Louis*, with more than 900 Jewish passengers fleeing from Germany aboard, was denied permission to land in Cuba, JDC arranged for the passengers to be accepted by England, Holland, Belgium, and France, so they would not have to return to Germany. Most passengers, not only those in England, survived.

After the Dominican Republic offered to take in refugees at the *Evian Conference in 1938, JDC founded the Dominican Republic Settlement Association (DORSA), which established an agricultural settlement for refugees in Sosua. In 1941, when 2,000 Polish Jewish refugees in Lithuania received visas to Japan, JDC subsidized their travel expenses. When over 1,000 *"illegal" immigrants bound for Palestine were stranded in Kladovo, Yugoslavia, in 1940, JDC supported them for an entire year while they waited for a ship to take them to safety. The ship did not arrive before the German invasion of Yugoslavia in 1941, and the Germans subsequently murdered most of the refugees.

By 1939, JDC had helped more than 100,000 refugees emigrate from Germany. In 1940, JDC was assisting refugees in transit in more than 40 countries in Eastern and Western Europe, Asia, and Latin America.

In World War II

After the outbreak of World War II, until the United States entered the war, JDC could still function legally in German-occupied countries. In Poland, for example, JDC opened shelters and soup kitchens for the thousands of Jewish refugees who crowded into the cities. In the spring of 1940, JDC shipped tons of foodstuffs to Poland for Passover. JDC continued to support hospitals, child-care centers, and educational and cultural programs in occupied Poland. After the establishment of the Warsaw ghetto in November 1941, JDC-Warsaw supported the soup kitchens, the Jewish hospitals, and the educational and cultural programs in the ghetto. In Cracow, JDC supported the Jüdische Soziale Selbsthilfe (JSS), which distributed food, clothing, and medicines to ghettos and labor camps in the area of the *General gouvernment* (German designation for occupied Central Poland). Of the three million Jews in Poland in 1941, some 600,000 were receiving assistance from JDC.

With the entry of the United States into the war in December 1941, JDC – an American organization – could no longer operate legally in enemy countries. In countries such as Poland and France, local JDC representatives now had to operate underground. Furthermore, JDC could no longer transfer funds to enemy countries because U.S. State Department regulations prohibited such transfers and stipulated that a U.S. Treasury Department license must be obtained for any transfer of funds overseas, even to neutral countries. In response, JDC authorized local representatives in German-occupied countries to borrow money locally from wealthy Jews on the promise of repayment by JDC after the war (*loans après*).

JDC representatives responded in different ways to the regulations imposed by the American government. The JDC administration in New York, headed by Chairman Edward M.M. Warburg, advocated strict adherence to the State Department guidelines. However, the overseas professional staff, headed by Morris Troper, the director of European Affairs, and his deputy and successor, Dr. Joseph Schwartz, sought greater flexibility. Schwartz, in particular, who headed JDC's European headquarters in Lisbon from 1940 until the end of the war, supported illegal rescue and resistance activities in German-occupied Europe. As a rule, those in the United States were more sensitive to the requirements of American regulations and would not jeopardize the JDC's standing. Those on the ground in Europe were confronted more directly with the desperation of the situation and were more willing to employ extra-legal means.

In June 1940, shortly before the Germans occupied Paris, Troper and Schwartz left Paris and transferred JDC's European headquarters to neutral Lisbon. There, Schwartz leased every available ship to enable the thousands of refugees arriving in Lisbon to proceed to safe havens in North and South America. Schwartz provided funds to legal and illegal Jewish organizations in France, including the Jewish underground resistance organization L'Armée Juive, whose treasurer, Jules Jefroykin, became the JDC representative in France in 1941.

In neutral Switzerland Saly *Mayer, the local JDC representative, channeled JDC funds to Jews throughout Occupied Europe and, on Schwartz's instructions, smuggled funds to France as well. Schwartz authorized the use of funds smuggled into France by couriers, or raised by means of loans, to support 7,000 Jewish children in hiding in France and to smuggle over 1,000 children to Switzerland and Spain. In 1944, JDC spent more than $1 million on rescue in France alone.

After the United States' entry into the war, the JDC representatives in the Warsaw ghetto – Isaac Giterman, David Guzik, Leib Neustadt, and the historian Emanuel *Ringelblum – continued their activities underground. By means of loans, they secretly supported the soup kitchens, the "house committees" that provided food and educational programs for children, the underground schools and newspapers, and the underground cultural activities. In 1943, Guzik used JDC funds to help finance preparations for the Warsaw ghetto revolt.

In Shanghai, where JDC was providing daily meals to 8,000 impoverished Jewish refugees from Central and Eastern Europe, the United States' entry into the war in December 1941 threatened the continued existence of the soup kitchens. Laura Margolis, the JDC representative in Shanghai, persuaded the Japanese, who had occupied Shanghai, to allow her to continue operating the soup kitchens by means of loans from members of the local Jewish community. Interned as an enemy alien in February 1943, Margolis was later released in a prisoner exchange.

JDC relief and rescue activities continued during 1943–44. JDC sent relief parcels to concentration camps by way of Lisbon, and to Polish Jewish refugees in the Soviet Union via Teheran. JDC helped finance the activities of the War Refugee Board (WRB), established by the United States Government in 1944. Through the WRB, JDC transmitted $100,000 to Swedish diplomat Raoul *Wallenberg to facilitate the rescue of tens of thousands of Jews in Hungary.

With the limited resources at its disposal, JDC made valiant efforts to provide relief and rescue to the Jews of Europe during the Holocaust period. From a welfare agency engaged in temporary relief and reconstruction primarily in Eastern Europe and Palestine, it emerged as the only Jewish organization involved in immigration, refugee aid, and rescue operations in virtually every part of the globe. JDC was not able to save the overwhelming majority of Europe's Jews, but there is no doubt that hundreds of thousands of Jews who escaped from Nazi Europe, owed their lives to JDC.

Early Postwar Period

During the war, JDC's income was limited. Expenditures fell from $8.4 million in 1939 to $5.7 million in 1941, and totaled only $52 million for the entire war period. Following the war, there was a dramatic increase in JDC income – from $25 million in 1945 to more than $70 million in 1948. In 1947, more than one half the survivors in Europe – some 700,000 Jews – received help from the JDC.

During the years from 1945 to the early 1950s, JDC cared for over 200,000 Jews in Displaced Persons camps in Europe, providing them with food supplements, medical care, and clothing, and setting up schools and religious and cultural programs. JDC food shipments to Romania and Hungary saved hundreds of thousands of Jews there from starvation. Throughout liberated Europe, JDC aided in the care of child survivors, in the tracing of relatives, in the reestablishment of Jewish religious and cultural life, and in the immigration of survivors to North and South America, Australia, and countries in Western Europe.

Under the influence of Joseph Schwartz, JDC supported the *Beriḥah, the "illegal" movement of Jews from Eastern to Western Europe, and from there to Palestine. Thousands of Jewish *"illegal" immigrants interned by the British on Cyprus were cared for by JDC, which provided medical, educational, and social services to the Jewish detainees.

During the years following World War II, JDC invested heavily in the reconstruction of Europe's Jewish communities. With the aid of funds from the *Conference on Material Claims Against Germany, JDC helped rebuild synagogues, hospitals, schools, and community centers in France, Italy, Belgium, Holland, and other countries. In 1949, JDC founded the Paul Baerwald School of Social Work in Paris to help war-torn Europe's survivors rebuild their lives. In France, JDC helped establish the Fonds Social Juif Unifié (FSJU) the chief fundraising body of the French Jewish community. In the 1950s and 1960s, JDC helped the French Jewish community meet the challenge of absorbing more than 100,000 Jewish immigrants to France from Morocco, Tunisia, and Algeria.

JDC became involved in North Africa itself during World War II, when camps for Jewish refugees were established in Morocco. From the 1950s on, JDC has supported educational, social, medical, and welfare programs for Jews in Morocco, Tunisia, Algeria, Ceuta, and Melilla. JDC supports medical programs conducted by OSE (Oeuvre de Secours aux Enfants) and educational programs conducted by the *Alliance Israélite Universelle, Lubavitch, Ozar Hatorah, and ORT. Beginning in 1949, JDC established similar programs in Iran.

After the establishment of the State of Israel in 1948, JDC subsidized the immigration of hundreds of thousands of Jews to the fledgling state from Europe and from countries in North Africa and the Middle East. In 1949 JDC financed Operation Magic Carpet, the airlift of some 50,000 Yemenite Jews from Aden to Israel, and Operation Ezra and Nehemia, which brought thousands of Iraqi and Kurdish Jews to the Jewish state.

Many new immigrants to Israel, among them Holocaust survivors, were handicapped or suffering from chronic illnesses. The young state of Israel was not equipped to provide the long-term care they needed. In 1949 therefore, JDC in cooperation with the Jewish Agency and the Israeli government, founded *MALBEN to provide institutional care and social services to handicapped and chronically ill immigrants. MALBEN, which from 1951 was financed solely by JDC, established hospitals, clinics, and old-age homes and fostered the development of private and public organizations in Israel for the care of the handicapped. From 1957, MALBEN cared for veteran Israelis as well as new immigrants. In 1958 JDC established the Paul Baerwald School of Social Work at The Hebrew University of Jerusalem to address the social problems of the new Jewish state.

At the end of 1975 JDC transferred its MALBEN institutions to Israeli government authorities. In 1976, JDC established JDC-Israel and moved its Israel headquarters from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem. Henceforth, JDC-Israel would develop social service programs for populations in need in Israel through partnerships with Israeli government and non-profit agencies.

In Eastern Europe

Dramatic changes in JDC activities during the second half of the 20th century occurred in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. Immediately following World War II, JDC was active in East European countries, helping survivors and aiding in the reconstruction of Jewish communities. After the Communist takeover in Eastern Europe, JDC was expelled from Poland, Romania, and Bulgaria in 1949, from Czechoslovakia in 1950, and from Hungary in 1953. Only in Yugoslavia was JDC permitted to continue its activities.

In 1957, JDC was readmitted to Poland to care for 19,000 repatriates from the Soviet Union but was expelled again in the wake of the 1967 Six-Day War. That same year, however, JDC was readmitted to Romania, where it supported Jews in need and provided kosher food and religious services through the Federation of Jewish Communities of Romania (FEDROM). In August 1967, Charles *Jordan, JDC's executive vice chairman, was murdered in Prague under mysterious circumstances.

In 1980, through the efforts of JDC's Executive Vice President Ralph I. Goldman, JDC resumed direct operations in Hungary, and in 1981, in Czechoslovakia and Poland. JDC concentrated initially on aid to elderly Holocaust survivors in these countries and on the establishment of kosher canteens, support for cultural activities, and the provision of religious books and supplies. JDC subsequently expanded its activities to include educational programs for children and the development of local Jewish community leadership.

With the opening of the gates to Jewish emigration from the Soviet Union in the 1970s and 1980s, JDC set up transit centers for the transmigrants in Vienna, and in Rome, Ostia, and Ladispoli. To help absorb over 840,000 immigrants who arrived in Israel from the Soviet Union during the 1980s and 1990s, JDC established vocational training courses, youth programs, and special projects for the immigrants, particularly those from Bukhara and the Caucasus.

Ethiopian Jewry

With the arrival of Ethiopian Jews in Israel through Operation Moses in 1984–85, JDC established vocational training courses, health education projects, family counseling, and youth projects to aid in their absorption. In the 1980s JDC initiated medical and agricultural assistance programs in Ethiopia and, in 1990–91, provided food and medical and social services to Ethiopian Jews waiting in Addis Ababa to immigrate to Israel. JDC played a major role in facilitating Operation Solomon, the airlift of some 14,000 of these Ethiopian Jews to Israel in 1991. Among the innovative programs designed by JDC for the Ethiopian immigrants was PACT (Parents and Children Together) – begun in 1998 in partnership with American Jewish Federations and Israeli agencies – which supports early-childhood education for Ethiopian-Israeli preschoolers.

In Israel

During the 1970s, 1980s, 1990s, and 2000s, JDC-Israel continued its assistance to weak and disadvantaged populations in Israel. Programs for the care of the elderly were initiated and developed by ESHEL, the Association for the Planning and Development of Services to the Aged in Israel, founded in 1969 in partnership with the Israeli government. Research in the areas of health, aging, immigration, children and youth, and disabilities was carried out by the Brookdale Institute of Gerontology and Human Development, established in 1974 in partnership with the Israeli government and renamed the Myers-JDC-Brookdale Institute in 2003. During the 1970s, JDC took part in the development of a network of community centers in Israel and, in 1976, initiated the Joseph Schwartz Program to train senior staff for these centers. Through the Center for Social Policy Studies in Israel, established in 1982 and renamed the Taub Center in 2003, JDC provides data on economic and social trends in Israel to national decision makers. ELKA, the Association for the Advancement and Development of Manpower in the Social Services, founded in 1984, conducts training courses for managers in Israel's civil service.

Beginning in the 1950s, JDC placed special emphasis on programs for children in Israel. JDC supported voluntary agencies for handicapped children including AKIM for the mentally retarded, MICHA and SHEMA for the deaf and hearing-impaired, and ILAN for children with neuro-muscular disorders. JDC-Israel's Mifneh program, created in 1987, encouraged potential school dropouts to remain in school, while subsequent programs introduced innovative teaching methods into Israeli schools. During the 1990s, JDC-Israel helped found a network of emergency centers for abused children and, in 1998, together with the government of Israel and the UJA-Federation of New York, JDC established Ashalim to coordinate the development of programs in Israel for children at risk. In 2002, in the wake of the outbreak of terror attacks in Israel, JDC-Israel, with funding from the United Jewish Communities/Federation Israel Emergency Campaign, provided summer camps for 300,000 Israeli children.

Since the 1990s, JDC has placed increasing emphasis on programs to promote employment among Arabs, the ultra-Orthodox, and the handicapped. In 2005 JDC launched a partnership with the Israeli government to promote employment among these and other underemployed populations.

Throughout its history, JDC has recognized the importance of Jewish tradition and education. JDC was an important source of support for yeshivot in Europe and Palestine during the 1920s and 1930s. Following World War II, JDC played a major role in rebuilding yeshivot, which had been destroyed during World War II, and in supporting Jewish educational institutions in Jewish communities throughout the world.

In the Former Soviet Union

In 1988, after an absence of 50 years, JDC returned to the Soviet Union. During its official absence, JDC had provided aid to Soviet Jews in need by indirect means. In 1988, however, Ralph Goldman negotiated JDC's resumption of open operations in what was soon to become the Former Soviet Union (FSU).

JDC faced a double challenge in the FSU: how to reawaken Jewish identity in a Jewish population that had been cut off from the religious, cultural, and intellectual sources of Jewish life for 70 years, and how to create a Jewish community infrastructure where none existed. To strengthen Jewish knowledge and identity, JDC sent Judaica libraries (sets of Jewish texts in Russian translation) to Jewish communities in the FSU. By 2005 there were more than 180 libraries in over 100 communities. JDC encouraged the development of university courses on Jewish subjects, subsidized the Moscow Cantorial Academy and the Mekor Chaim Judaic Studies educational center in Moscow, and provided Russian translations for the Jewish prayer book, the Passover *Haggadah*, the Pentateuch, and other Jewish texts. JDC created educational materials for Jewish children, including a Russian-language version of *Sesame Street*, subsidized Jewish schools, and organized summer camps. JDC sent ritual items and kosher food for the holidays, and organized communal *seders* and other religious activities.

To meet the needs of indigent elderly Jews, many of them Holocaust survivors, JDC established community-based welfare centers called Heseds to supply kosher food and medical care. By 2005, there were 174 Hesed centers serving 233,000 elderly Jews across the FSU. In addition to providing food, medical assistance, and home care, these centers distributed fuel for heating and blankets for the cold Russian winters.

To foster community development in the FSU, JDC established a network of 184 Jewish community centers, sent Russian Jewish activists to leadership training courses in Israel, and helped establish 27 Hillel centers for Jewish students and young adults. In late 2002, JDC began creating Jewish family services modeled on those in the United States. By the end of the 1990s, JDC's program in the FSU was the single largest JDC program, with local offices in 15 cities across the FSU.

Additional Activities

JDC's programs since the 1990s address the changing needs of Jewish communities all over the world. In Western Europe, JDC has concentrated on strengthening community development and fostering inter-community cooperation. JDC supports the European Council of Jewish Communities and the European Union of Jewish Students, and in 1994 established the European Center for Jewish Leadership (LEATID-EUROPE).

In Eastern Europe, JDC has concentrated on strengthening Jewish education and Jewish identity among Jewish youth. In Poland, JDC conducts seminars at the summer camp at Srodborow and has established a resource center for educational materials in Warsaw. JDC supports the Association of Holocaust Children in Poland, whose 500 members were hidden as children during the Holocaust. In Hungary, JDC subsidizes the Anne Frank High School in Budapest and supports the Ronald S. Lauder Foundation/American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee International Summer Camp at Szarvas. The camp hosts 2,000 youngsters per year from 25 countries in central and Eastern Europe and the Former Soviet Union.

JDC continues to see its role as providing rescue and relief in emergency situations. The outbreak of fighting in Yugoslavia in 1992 led JDC to undertake rescue efforts there. Through its connections with the Yugoslav welfare agency La Benevolencija, and its good relations with all sides in the war, JDC was able to send food and medications for distribution in beleaguered Sarajevo. As fighting intensified, JDC organized an airlift from Sarajevo and then a series of bus convoys from the city, which brought over 2,000 individuals (about half of them non-Jews) to safety. JDC aided in the immigration of the refugees to Israel and elsewhere, and in rebuilding the former Yugoslavia's remaining Jewish communities.

The economic crisis in Argentina in 2000 led to an emergency JDC welfare initiative to assist tens of thousands of Jews who were suddenly impoverished. At its peak in 2003, this initiative provided relief to over 36,000 people. JDC had been active in South America since the 1930s, when JDC sought havens there for Jewish refugees from Europe. JDC has supported Jewish education and community programs in Argentina and in other communities, such as Chile and Uruguay. In 1987 JDC established the Latin America Training and Research Center for the Development of Jewish Communal Leadership (LEATID), and in 1991 renewed its activities in Cuba after an easing of restrictions there.

Changes in the political climate have enabled JDC to resume activities in a number of Arab and Moslem countries. JDC was able to provide direct assistance to Jews in Egypt from 1982, to aid the Jews in Yemen from 1990, and, in the 1990s, played a pivotal role in the departure of most of the remaining 4,000 Jews from Syria. In 1992, JDC resumed activities in Turkey. JDC has developed an extensive program in India and assists the small numbers of Jews in other Asian countries.

JDC receives a major part of its funding for overseas activities from the North American Jewish community.

JDC's global activities include non-Jews as well as Jews. In 1986, JDC established the International Development Program (IDP), to meet the urgent needs of populations around the world following natural or other disasters. JDC-IDP has provided aid to 50 countries worldwide, including Armenia and Turkey following earthquakes, and Rwanda, Bosnia, and Kosovo following civil war, and has established a Palestinian-Israeli healthcare program in the West Bank and Gaza. It provided relief and reconstruction to South Asian communities devastated by the tsunami in 2004.

In the 21st century, JDC continues to define its mission as Rescue, Relief, and Rehabilitation. In the pursuit of these goals, JDC seeks to strengthen Jewish identity, to build Jewish communities, and to preserve the Jewish cultural heritage.

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[Sara Kadosh (2nd ed.)]

AMERICAN SEPHARDI FEDERATION (ASF). The American Sephardi Federation was founded in 1973. In 2002 it affiliated with Sephardic House to create one, stronger organization. With its main office in New York City, and regional offices in Miami, Seattle, and Los Angeles, the American Sephardi Federation with Sephardic House is a national Jewish organization dedicated to ensuring that the history, legacies, and traditions of the great Sephardi communities throughout the world be recorded, remembered, and celebrated as an integral part of the Jewish heritage. The Sephardim were the first Jews to settle in the Western Hemisphere, and the ASF/SH seeks to educate the broader American Jewish and non-Jewish communities about the unique history and values it perpetuates, while revitalizing a sense of affiliation and commitment among the younger Sephardi generations. ASF/SH endeavors to foster understanding and cooperation with significant members of the non-Jewish community of the countries where Sephardim lived in peace and harmony for so many generations.

The activities of the American Sephardi Federation with Sephardic House include a Sephardi library, publications, and cultural and educational programming dealing with the Sephardi experience, including the International Sephardi Film Festival, the only permanent Sephardi exhibition gallery, its unique publication, the *Sephardi Report,* and a scholarship program for Sephardi studies. Since its arrival at the Center for Jewish History, New York, which is the joint home of YIVO, The Leo Baeck Institute, Yeshiva University Museum, and the American Jewish Historical Society, the archival holdings and library of ASF have been enriched with valuable records of personal and community history.

[Esme E. Berg (2nd ed.)]

AMERICAN SOCIETY FOR JEWISH MUSIC (ASJM), organization founded in New York in 1974. Its precursors included the *Makhon Eretz Yisraeli le-Mada'ei ha-Musikah* (MAILAMM; 1932–39), established in 1932 by Miriam Zunzer and which, in 1934, became affiliated with the Hebrew University of Jerusalem; and the Jewish Music Forum (1939–63), created by Abraham Wolf Binder and which reemerged as the Jewish Liturgical Music Society of America (1963–74). Evolving from the latter, the ASJM earned increasingly greater international stature under the leadership of Albert *Weisser, its first president, who envisioned much wider goals for the society – expansion into folk, popular, and art music as well as the publication of a scholarly journal, *Musica Judaica* (issued almost annually since 1975), which he and Israel J. *Katz coedited. The ASJM's membership includes cantors, composers, educators, musicologists, performers, and interested laymen. The society presents a variety of annual public programs, sponsors seminars and workshops at which scholars and composers discuss and analyze works in progress, and organizes concerts, recitals, and conferences relating to cantorial issues and other music of Jewish interest. Upon Weisser's untimely death, Paul Kavon succeeded him as president (1982–91), followed by Jack Gottlieb (1991–97), Hadassah Markson (1997–2003), and Michael Leavitt (2003–). Following Katz as editor of the journal were Neil Levin and Alexander V. Knapp (vols. 11–13), Irene *Heskes (vol. 14), and Israel J. Katz and Arbie *Orenstein (vols. 15–).

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[Israel J. Katz (2nd ed.)]

AMERICAN ZIONIST MOVEMENT (AZM), umbrella organization for American Zionist organizations. AZM is composed of 21 Zionist membership organizations and agencies. It was created to be a programming, educational, and information arm for American Zionism. AZM is the successor organization of the American Zionist Emergency Council (organized in 1939), the *American Zionist Council (1949), and the American Zionist Federation (May 1970). Each successive organization was generated by changing political and social circumstances in the United States and the Middle East.

Established in 1993, AZM set out to heighten the profile and relevancy of organized Zionism in the U.S. through greater activism on a wide range of political and social issues of concern to American Jews. Like all members of the WZO, AZM's unifying principles are those of the Jerusalem Program.

The American Zionist Movement has its own mandate for action in the United States. It has set our own goals and objectives to involve more Jews in Zionism and to take an activist posture on the Jewish scene. AZM defends Israel's cause with vigor and confidence. It offers the next generation of young Zionists opportunities for leadership and action in the Zionist cause; it attempts to link young Jewish students confronting the problems on American campuses today and to strengthen the links between Jewish faculty and students. It promotes and enhances creative Jewish continuity and aims at forging stronger bonds between American Jews and Israel that result from personal contact with Israel.

AMÉRY, JEAN (Hans (Chaim) Maier); 1912–1978), Austrian writer and essayist. Born in Vienna, Améry started his career as a bookseller and thereafter studied philosophy and literature in Vienna. His first publications appeared under the name Hanns Mayer; together with Ernst Mayer, he published the journal *Die Bruecke* in 1934. In 1935 he wrote *Die Schiffbruechigen*, a novel favorably reviewed by Thomas Mann and Robert Musil. In this work Améry created an alter ego: the novel's protagonist, Eugen Althager, an unemployed Jewish intellectual. In 1939 he fled Austria for Belgium and was detained in South France in 1940. A year later Améry illegally returned to Belgium and became a member of the Communist resistance movement. Améry was captured by the Gestapo in 1943 and sent to Auschwitz, Buchenwald, and later Bergen-Belsen. After being liberated from Bergen-Belsen in 1945 he returned to Brussels. It was in Brussels where his wife died, and where he started writing political and literary essays under his pseudonym Hans Mayer for various Swiss and Dutch journals. After 1955 he published under his anagrammatic nom de plume Jean Améry, a name that symbolized his admiration for the humanitarian French ideals of liberty and equality. Known primarily for his essay writing, Améry was influenced by existentialism. He was particularly fond of the writings of Jean-Paul Sartre, whom he met in 1945. One of Améry's first essays was entitled *Tortur*. It described and analyzed his experiences under Nazi interrogations and in concentration camps. *Jenseits von Schuld und Suehne* was a survivor's testimony against the Nazi regime that railed against oblivion. With the help of Helmut Heissenbuettel, Améry published his most important texts commencing in the mid-1960s: *An den Grenzen des Geistes* (*At the Mind's Limits*, 1980), which depicted the limits of the intellectual's mind in the process of losing its basic quality of transcendence; *Ueber das Altern* (*On Aging,* 1994), and *Unmeisterliche Wanderjahre*. This trilogy was favorably received by intellectuals like Alfred Andersch and Elias Canetti, who praised it for the intersection of autobiographical and contemporary historical perspectives. Jean Améry's writing career also included works of fiction. His most famous literary work *Lefeu oder der Abbruch*, published in 1974, detailed the life of a Holocaust survivor. His final piece of fiction appeared in 1978 and bore the title, *Charles Bovary, Landarzt*. The subject of suicide appeared in his 1976 publication *Hand an sich legen. Diskurs ueber den Freitod* (*On Suicide*, 1999), and in 1978, Améry took his own life in a Salzburg hotel room.

Améry was a member of the *Akademie der Kuenste Berlin*, corresponding member of the *Deutsche Akademie fuer Sprache und Dichtung*, and a member of the German PEN-

Club. The *Jean-Améry-Preis*, an award for essay writing, was awarded for the first time in 1982.

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[Ann-Kristin Koch (2nd ed.)]

°AMERY, LEOPOLD CHARLES MAURICE STENNETT (**Mauritz**; 1873–1955), pro-Zionist British statesman. In 1917 Amery assisted Vladimir *Jabotinsky in obtaining official consent for the formation of the *Jewish Legion and, as assistant secretary to the war cabinet (1917–18), drafted one of the formulas which eventually became the *Balfour Declaration. From 1924 to 1929, when Amery was secretary of state for the colonies, Palestine enjoyed a peaceful period and in his memoirs, *My Political Life*, 3 vols. (1953–55), he takes pride in this achievement. As a member of Parliament, he fought the anti-Zionist policies of the British government and voted against the White Paper of 1939. In 1946 Amery testified in the same spirit before the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry on Palestine. Amery's famous speech in the House of Commons in May 1940 helped to bring Winston Churchill to power as prime minister. In 1950 Amery was one of the first major British politicians to visit the new state of Israel.

Many years after Amery's death, historical research revealed that Amery's mother, Elisabeth Leitner (*née* Sapher or Sapier), was Jewish, a member of a prominent Budapest family which had converted to Protestantism about 1840 and whose members moved to Britain from about 1850 on. Amery had concealed his Jewish background all his life, while working in an influential way on behalf of Zionist causes. Amery's background made all the more mysterious the actions of his eldest son JOHN (1912–1945), who, during World War II, resided in Germany and tried to recruit British prisoners of war to fight for Germany against the Soviet Union. As a result, John Amery was hanged for treason in 1945. Amery's younger son JULIAN (1919–1996) was a Conservative member of Parliament from 1950 until 1992 and was a prominent minister in the Macmillan and Heath governments. He was given a life peerage in 1992 as Baron Amery of Lustleigh.

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[Oskar K. Rabinowicz / William D. Rubinstein (2nd ed.)]

AMES (**Añes**), 16th century *Marrano family living in the British Isles. GEORGE AÑES settled in London in 1521 but later returned to Portugal, where he died. In 1541 his wife and sons, FRANCISCO and GONSALVO, fled to England to escape the Inquisition. Francisco, soldier and administrator in Ireland, became mayor of Youghal. Gonsalvo (Dunstan) Añes (d. 1594), a successful merchant and financial agent, was purveyor to Elizabeth I and served as an intelligence agent, conveying secret mail on his ships. His eldest daughter, SARAH, married Roderigo *Lopez. Of his sons, JACOB settled in Constantinople and lived openly as a Jew; another, William, was an English soldier and intelligence agent. The English branch of the family became complete Christians.

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[Vivian David Lipman]

AM HA-AREẒ (Heb. עַם־הָאָרֶץ; lit., "people of the land").

Bible

In biblical Hebrew, the signification of the term varies in accord with its context. (a) Generally, it denotes "population," whether Israelite (II Kings 16:15; 25:3; Ezek. 39:13; 45:22) or non-Israelite (Gen. 42:6 – of Egypt; Num. 14:9 – of Canaan; Ezra 4:4 – of the province of Judah). (b) In the plural (Heb. עַמֵּי־הָאָרֶץ/הָאֲרָצוֹת) it denotes foreign (= heathen) populations, e.g., of the world at large (Deut. 28:10; I Kings 8:43ff.) or of a specific country (Esth. 8:17), but more particularly, in post-Exilic texts, the natives in and about Palestine who threatened and harassed the returning Jewish exiles (Ezra 3:3; 9:11; 10:2; Neh. 10:29, 31–32). (c) Much debated is the meaning of the term in contexts referring to an operative element of the population (e.g., II Kings 11:18ff.; 21:24; 23:30; Jer. 34:19). In such contexts the term has been interpreted variously as an ancient Hebrew "parliament"; the landed nobility; the free, male, property-owning citizenry; and the like. Some representative body of the population is evidently intended, though as a general, rather than a specific term (cf. the vague "all the people of Judah" who enthroned King Azariah, II Kings 14:21).

[Moshe Greenberg]

Second Temple and Mishnah

Some scholars derive the term *am ha-areẓ* (in the singular) from the plural form found in Neh. 10:29, where it designates the heathen inhabitants of Palestine (Rabin, 61). The rabbinic use of the term, however, seems to derive from the Torah (Lev. 4:27), where it designates ordinary Israelite citizens. The Midrash (Sifra, ḥovah, parashah 7, 6–7) interprets the words *me-am ha-areẓ* to exclude the *nasi* (leader) and the *mashi'aḥ* (priest), on the one hand, and the apostate, on the other. Already here we can see that the term *am ha-areẓ* does not designate any specific group within the Jewish people. It merely refers to ordinary Jews, who are distinguished neither by any exceptionally positive (*nasi*, *mashi'aḥ*) nor by any exceptionally negative qualities (apostate). Contrary to the impression made by later rabbinic and post-rabbinic usage, the term, in its tannaitic beginnings, has no clear pejorative connotations. In Tosefta *Avodah Zarah* (3:10) *Simeon ben Nethanel (a disciple of Rabban *Johanan ben Zakkai) is mentioned as an example of an *am ha-areẓ*. In the (unpublished *genizah*) version of a previous *halakhah* (3:8) a scribe who is described as an *am ha-areẓ* is opposed to a scribe who is called an expert (*mumḥeh*). From this it seems that the term *am ha-areẓ* is semantically analogous to the term *hedioṭ*, also used in tannaitic literature in opposition to the *nasi*, the *mashi'aḥ*, and the *mumḥeh*. Like the term *hedioṭ*, it has no specific content of its own, but rather indicates the absence of some particular quality which is to be found only in some exceptional individual or group of individuals.

In the main stratum of tannaitic literature, the term *am ha-areẓ* is used regularly to refer to the ordinary Jewish population which did not belong to the religious and intellectual elites of the *ḥaverim* (companions) and *ḥakhamim* (sages). The *ḥaverim* were distinguished as a group by the observance of special restrictions, mostly concerning food. These restrictions fell into two categories: restrictions concerning tithes and restrictions concerning purities. The details of these restrictions, which also govern to a large extent the interaction between the *ḥaver* and the *am ha-areẓ*, are spelled out in different tractates in the Mishnah, especially *Demai* and *Toharot*. The *ḥakhamim* were an intellectual elite devoted to the study of Torah and committed to the notion that true piety and true godliness could only be achieved through the study of Torah and personal association with the *ḥakhamim*. This conviction is reflected throughout tractate *Avot*, especially in the famous statement (2:5): "The uncultivated man (*bur*) cannot be godfearing, nor can the *am ha-areẓ* be pious (*ḥasid*)." Here, the term *am ha-areẓ* primarily indicates the absence of education (parallel to "uncultivated"). The saying as a whole is directed against those who would attempt to achieve spiritual excellence (fear of God, piety), without the guidance of the sages and the discipline of their teachings. Another example of this criticism is found further on in *Avot* (5:10), where the *am ha-areẓ* is ridiculed for espousing a simplistic communism ("what's mine is yours and what's yours is mine"), in opposition to the enlightened communism of the *ḥasid*, who renounces selfish exclusivity over his own property while respecting the rights of the other ("what's mine is yours and what's yours is yours").

Since the term *am ha-areẓ* is used primarily in opposition to groups like the *ḥaverim* and the *ḥakhamim*, if we wish to define the *am ha-areẓ* further, we must examine the relationship between the *ḥaverim* and the *ḥakhamim*. On the one hand, they do not seem to be identical. On the other hand, they do not seem to be totally distinct. For example, in Tosefta *Demai* (2:13), we are told that even a disciple of a *ḥakham* needs to be officially admitted into the *ḥavurah*. On the other hand, a *ḥakham* is automatically considered a *ḥaver*. Similarly in Mishnah *Demai* (2:3) Rabbi Judah considers "service in the house of study" as one of the formal conditions for acceptance into the *ḥavurah*. Therefore scholars who have suggested that the *am ha-areẓ* "with respect to tithes and purities" and the *am ha-areẓ* "with respect to Torah study" were separate and distinct phenomena have probably introduced an artificial distinction which is not borne out by the sources.

This connection between ritual restrictions and devotion to Torah study in the ideal definition of the rabbinic elite finds confirmation in an earlier stratum of religious tradition still preserved in tannaitic literature. Tosefta *Demai* 2:11 may be one of those rare cases in which the later tannaitic sources preserve a halakhic tradition from the late Second Temple period relatively intact. There are three considerations which point in this direction. First, this *halakhah* uses terminology otherwise unknown in rabbinic sources: *kenafayim* (wings) as a category designating a group of people. Second, this *halakhah* is the subject of a dispute between the House of *Shammai and the House of *Hillel (2:12), and therefore apparently is older than the earliest literary level of the main stratum of tannaitic literature. Finally, scholars (Lieberman, Rabin) have pointed out similarities between the content of this *halakhah* and certain parallel passages in the Dead Sea Scroll *Manual of Discipline*.

This Tosefta sets down two stages for acceptance to the *ḥavurah* – the first is called "wings" (*kenafayim*) and the second "purities" (*toharot*). In the following *halakhah toharot* seems to be further subdivided into drinks and clothing. As indicated, these phenomena find close but not exact parallels in the *Manual of Discipline*. The term *kenafayim* itself has received special attention (Rabin, 19). Various interpretations have been suggested, almost all based on later rabbinic sources. On the other hand, this very term is found in the *War Scroll*, and Yadin in his edition (p. 176) suggests that it refers to the auxiliary forces which are positioned in the wings, i.e. on the periphery. If this is the meaning here, then this Tosefta represents an early precedent (and an earlier terminology) for the two-tiered structure of the rabbinic elite described in the main stratum of tannaitic literature (Mish. Demai 2:2–3). According to the Mishnah, between the *ḥaverim* (defined by *toharot* restrictions) and the *am ha-areẓ*, there was a third intermediate group – the "trustworthy" (*ne'emanim*) – who observed the restrictions concerning tithes, but not *toharot*.

The community described in the *Manual of Discipline*, while defined formalistically by a rigorous discipline of purity rules and a primitive communism (cf. the *ḥasid* of *Avot* 5:10), was at the same time deeply committed to Torah study and other forms of personal piety. It is clearly impossible to isolate the intellectual and spiritual content of membership from the formalistic ritual and economic conditions of membership. So also the attempt to separate the *ḥaverim* and the *ḥakhamim* into two separate and distinct ideal elites may be an arbitrary abstraction, posited by scholars to deal with apparent contradictions between different rabbinic sources that will be dealt with below.

Developments in Later Talmudic Literature

We possess no sources which can testify directly to the attitudes or practices of the *am ha-areẓ*. Moreover, the *am ha-areẓ* in all likelihood did not exist as an organized or even an identifiable group. As a result, the varying rabbinic descriptions and testimonies which either describe or characterize the *am ha-areẓ* should be understood as reflecting variations in the self-perception and self-definition of the rabbinic elite. These differences may indeed reflect significant changes in the attitudes or practices of the *am ha-areẓ* themselves, but we have no way of either confirming or rejecting such an hypothesis.

How then do our rabbinic sources describe the relations between the rabbinic elite (*ḥaverim* and *ḥakhamim*) and the general community (*am ha-areẓ*)? Different answers emerge from different sources. Even within a given source, radically differing opinions may be expressed. Within tannaitic literature we find a strict approach which tends to exclude the *am ha-areẓ* almost totally from any significant social contact with the rabbinic elite. We also find within tannaitic literature a much more lenient, inclusive approach. Most early amoraic literature reflects this lenient, conciliatory attitude. In the later literary levels of the Babylonian Talmud, however, we find a new and radically different attitude. This attitude goes far beyond the strict approach found in early tannaitic literature, reflecting a new and virulent contempt and even hatred for the *am ha-areẓ*, going so far as to describe the *am ha-areẓ* as subhuman, as an animal – even less than an animal – who may be slaughtered without even the courtesy of a blessing (TB Pes. 49b). In order to define the place of this approach in the history of rabbinic tradition, it is necessary to take into account a methodological principle of talmudic criticism.

By now it is fairly well understood and accepted that the anonymous literary stratum of the Babylonian Talmud – the *stam ha-talmud* – often radically alters the original intent of the amoraic statements which form the foundations of the talmudic *sugya* (discussion). It is therefore crucial for the correct understanding of the development of the talmudic *sugya* to isolate the amoraic literary level and to interpret it in its own right before proceeding to examine the way in which the anonymous editors of the Talmud interpreted it. It is not so well known that the anonymous editors of the Babylonian Talmud often integrated their interpretive comments into the very fabric of the older traditions. In such cases, it is only possible to separate tradition from commentary by comparing the version of a tradition found in the Babylonian Talmud to an earlier or at least an independent version of the same tradition, found, for example, in the Tosefta or the Jerusalem Talmud.

Thus we find that in the Babylonian Talmud statements of *amoraim* who favored the lenient and conciliatory attitude toward the *am ha-areẓ* are reinterpreted by the *stam ha-talmud*, so that they now seem to reflect the strict and exclusionist approach. Older traditions which are either neutral toward or merely mildly critical of the *am ha-areẓ* are reformulated by the later editors of the Babylonian Talmud, thereby putting into the mouths of *tannaim* and early *amoraim* positions and attitudes that they never dreamed of, and which sometimes even stand in direct contradiction to their explicit statements as preserved in earlier Palestinian rabbinic traditions (Wald, *Pesahim III;* Wald, *Sin'ah ve-Shalom*).

Most historians who have written on this topic (see bibliography) have taken these traditions at face value, without seriously questioning their historical authenticity. In order to reconcile the blatant contradictions between different families of sources describing the same historical period (Palestine in the second to third centuries), some have posited a distinction between two different kinds of *am ha-areẓ* – the *am ha-areẓ* "with respect to tithes and purities" and the *am ha-areẓ* "with respect to Torah study." Others have attempted to assign these different traditions to different geographical locations, positing a special form of "Galilean" *am ha-areẓ*. Understanding these violently hate-filled traditions to reflect early Palestinian tradition, some have seen in them evidence of late Second Temple period class struggle, and others repercussions of the rise of Christianity. After determining, however, that this unique and particularly virulent strain of anti-*am ha-areẓ* polemic in all likelihood reflects a much later Babylonian tradition, it is possible to outline the development of the rabbinic traditions concerning the *am ha-areẓ* in a somewhat more straightforward fashion.

As stated above, within tannaitic sources we can detect two distinct tendencies. One reflects an almost separatist, even a sectarian, ethos. Shared meals are forbidden, not only between the *am ha-areẓ* and the *ḥaver,* but even between the *am ha-areẓ* and the *ne'eman* (Mish. Demai 2:2; Tosef. Demai 2:2, Rabbi Meir). One may not say a blessing, nor participate in a *zimun* (cf. Mish. Berakhot 7:1), nor answer amen to an *am ha-areẓ* who does not observe the rules of purity with regard to food (Tosef. Demai 2:22, 24). Marriage between *ḥaverim* and *amei ha-areẓ* are virtually banned (Tosef. Avodah Zarah 3:9, Rabbi Meir). A *ḥaver* who leaves the *ḥavurah* is treated as a traitor, and may never be readmitted (Tosef. Demai 2:9, Rabbi Meir), a view reflected also in the *Manual of Discipline* (VII, 22–25).

But there is also a more lenient view in tannaitic literature. For example, Rabbi Judah relates that a *ne'eman* may eat in the house of an *am ha-areẓ* without compromising his official status (Mish. Demai 2:2; Tosef. Demai 2:2). The Mishnah in *Berakhot* (7:1) states unequivocally that one may perform a *zimun* with one who has eaten *demai*, i.e., an *am ha-areẓ*. The sages mentioned in Tosefta *Avodah Zarah* 3:9 accept in principle that marriage between *ḥaverim* and *amei ha-areẓ* may be subject to some restrictions, but these restrictions are minimized as much as possible. Further on in the same source (3:10), another view (also referred to as of "the sages") totally rejects the assumption that there are any limitations whatsoever on marriage between a *ḥaver* and one who does not observe the rules of purity concerning food. To the extent that they recognize the *halakhah* transmitted above by Rabbi Meir, they interpret it as referring to marriage between members of the community at large and those few who "do not tithe their food" at all. Food which has not been tithed is considered *tevel*, and the punishment for eating it is "death by the hands of heaven." In the main stratum of tannaitic literature, the *am ha-areẓ* is only suspected of eating *demai*, not *tevel*. Therefore the position of the sages in Tosefta *Avodah Zarah* 3:10 removes all limitations on marriage between *ḥaverim* and *amei ha-areẓ* (as the term is ordinarily understood). This lenient view is reflected also in the anonymous position found in Tosefta *Demai* 2:16–17. Finally, in Tosefta *Demai* 2:9 Rabbi Judah seems to have heard the tradition which forbids readmission of *ḥaverim* who leave the *ḥavurah*, but limits it to those who by their deceitful behavior undermine their credibility. Rabbi Simeon and Rabbi *Joshua ben Korḥa reject this tradition in its entirety. All three of them, as opposed to Rabbi Meir, view the *ḥavurah* as a voluntary organization that one may openly leave if one wishes, without compromising eligibility for readmission in the future.

We find therefore two very different views of the rabbinic religious elite in tannaitic sources. One is separatist, exclusivist, unconditional, allowing for virtually no social interaction between insiders and outsiders. The other assumes a much larger degree of social interaction. According to this latter view, there are no prohibitions on sharing common meals, beyond the technical ones of assuring that the insiders' food has been properly tithed and prepared in accordance with the rules of purity. There are no insurmountable obstacles to marriage between insiders and outsiders, and perhaps no such limitations whatsoever. The elite is structured in a way which permits movement across the boundary lines which separate insiders from outsiders in both directions, without fear of recriminations.

These two views may represent competing tendencies, current during the end of the tannaitic period. On the other hand, the separatist position is found primarily in anonymous *halakhot* and in *halakhot* transmitted in the name of Rabbi Meir, and may reflect an older tradition whose roots lie in the sectarian atmosphere of the late Second Temple period. In any case, the more lenient, socially integrated view predominates in the later strata of tannaitic literature, as well as in the main body of Palestinian amoraic literature and in the early strata of the Babylonian Talmud. The situation begins to change in the fourth generation of Babylonian *amoraim*. Two examples will suffice: TB *Berakhot* 47b quotes a brief and anonymous **baraita*, which states: "One may not participate in a *zimun* with an *am ha-areẓ*." This *baraita* is probably a paraphrase of the anonymous *halakhah* found in Tosefta *Demai* 2:24, which concerns an *am ha-areẓ* who does not observe the rules of ritual purity. As stated above, this apparently contradicts the tendency of the *halakhah* in Mishnah *Berakhot* to permit a *zimun* not only with one who has eaten *demai* (= *am ha-areẓ*), but even with a Samaritan. *Abbaye (fourth generation Babylonian *amora*) accepted the strict opinion of the *baraita*. *Rava affirmed the lenient position of the Mishnah. He reinterpreted the *baraita* in line with the lenient position of the sages in Tosefta *Avodah Zarah* 3:10. By so doing, Rava limited the prohibition in the *baraita* to one who ate *tevel*, not *demai*. In Rava's view it is permitted to participate in a *zimun* with an *am ha-areẓ*, as that term is ordinarily understood.

Further on in the same passage, Rami bar Ḥama refused to participate in a *zimun* with Menashya bar Taḥlifa, because Menashya bar Taḥlifa did not "serve in the house of study." Mishnah *Demai* (2:3) lists "service in the house of study" as one of the formal conditions for acceptance into the *ḥavurah*, perhaps the only one still applicable in Babylonia. Rami bar Ḥama's actions therefore should be seen as putting into practice the strict position articulated by Abbaye. Thus it is not surprising that Rava again rejects this position. Rava's strong language is indicative of his vehement disapproval of Rami bar Ḥama's actions: "Rami bar Ḥama died [as a young man] because he refused to participate in a *zimun* with Menashya bar Taḥlifa!" If we relate only to the amoraic component of the passage we must conclude that in the fourth generation of *amoraim* in Babylonia the older tannatic or pre-tannaitic separatist or sectarian view was revived, first theoretically by Abbaye, then put into practice by Rami bar Ḥama. However, Rava (at least on the amoraic literary level) had the last word, rejecting Abbaye's theoretical position and condemning Rami bar Ḥama's actions.

Some time later, the *stam ha-talmud* added an additional interpretive layer to the end of the *sugya*, turning Rava's words on their head. According to the *stam ha-talmud* even Rava agrees that one may not participate in a *zimun* with one who does not "serve in the house of study," i.e. one who is not a member of the inner circle of the rabbinic elite in Babylonia. We are now to understand that Rami bar Ḥama was criticized for not participating in a *zimun* with Menashya bar Taḥlifa only because Menashya bar Taḥlifa actually did "serve in the house of study," and so was indeed an active adherent of the Babylonian rabbinic elite. Rami bar Ḥama foolishly and wickedly misjudged Menashya bar Taḥlifa, and for this he was punished. This interpretation clearly is not consistent with Rava's own position, and reflects a not uncommon phenomenon in the Babylonian Talmud: a minority view which is raised and rejected by the *amoraim* themselves is then adopted by the *stam ha-talmud,* and used to reinterpret the words of the *amoraim*.

A similar phenomenon occurs in TB *Pesaḥim* 49a. The Talmud relates a lively discussion between *amoraim* concerning the advisability of marriage between the families of *ḥakhamim* and *kohanim* (priests). Some *amoraim* are in favor, others against. Examples are given in favor and against. None of the *amoraim* and none of the examples even mention the topic of marriage to an *am ha-areẓ*. Nevertheless, the *stam ha-talmud* manages to reinterpret the entire passage such that all the *amoraim* agree that marriage between families of *ḥakhamim* and *kohanim* is unquestionably appropriate and advantageous, whereas marriage between families of *ḥakhamim* and *amei ha-areẓ* is an abomination. Here again the latest literary level of the Babylonian Talmud has resurrected an ancient tradition, presented in one source (Tosef. Avodah Zarah 3:9) as a minority position, explicitly rejected by the other sages there and simply ignored in another source (Tosef. Demai 2:16–17). It then reinterprets the words of all the *amoraim* appearing in the *sugya*, as if they all explicitly agreed with the notion that marriage to an *am ha-areẓ* is an abomination.

The evidence thus points to the latter half of the amoraic period in Babylonia as the time and the place in which ancient separatist traditions began to be revived, when rigid social boundaries preventing ordinary interaction between members of the rabbinic and social elite and "outsiders" began to form. It points also to the end of this period and the early post-amoraic period as the time in which these tendencies first gained the upper hand, at least in those circles responsible for the redaction of the Babylonian Talmud.

But, as indicated above, this later editorial approach did not limit itself merely to "reviving" authentic ancient positions, nor did it limit itself to augmenting the authentic statements of *amoraim* with editorial comments of its own. Two examples will suffice in order to clarify this point.

Tosefta *Avodah Zarah* 3:9 relates the following simple *halakhah*: "It is forbidden to give them [= *am ha-areẓ*] daughters [in marriage], irrespective of whether they are grown up, or still children – these are the words of Rabbi Meir." This *halakhah* probably provided the ideological foundation for the radical reinterpretation of the amoraic statements quoted in TB *Pesaḥim* 49a. In fact, on the very next page (49b) we find the following *baraita:* "Rabbi Meir used to say: Anyone who marries his daughter to an *am ha-areẓ* is as if he has bound her in front of a lion – just as a lion attacks and devours without the slightest bit of shame, so also an *am ha-areẓ* beats [his wife] and has intercourse [against her will] without the slightest bit of shame." Boiled down to its halakhic "essentials" this *baraita* corresponds exactly to the simple statement of Rabbi Meir found in Tosefta *Avodah Zarah* 3:9. But in its present form it reflects an interpretation which is quite unwarranted in the original context. Indeed most of the many extreme statements concerning the *am ha-areẓ* found in *Pesaḥim* 49b can be shown to be late Babylonian interpolations of earlier tannaitic and amoraic material (Wald, *Pesahim III*). Thus we read there: "Rabbi Samuel bar Naḥmani said in the name of Rabbi Jonathan: It is permissible to tear an *am ha-areẓ* open like a fish; Rabbi Samuel bar Yiẓḥak added: And from the back." When one compares these brutal lines to their original form and context in TB Ḥullin 21a, one can only conclude that these two *amoraim* never dreamed of the use to which some later anonymous editor would eventually put them. A similar process of tendentious reinterpretation and interpolation is evident in another important *sugya* (TB BB 8a), concerning Rabbi Judah ha-Nasi and his refusal to support an *am ha-areẓ* during a time of famine (Wald, *Sin'ah ve-Shalom*).

The present state of scholarship probably does not permit a convincing explanation for this radical turn of events toward the end of the talmudic period. It is clear that by the geonic period and the early period of the **rishonim*, most of the excesses of this late literary level were largely repudiated, (Alfasi, *Pesaḥim*, ed. Hyman, pp. 88–93, 327–34). It is possible that it reflects the internal social development of the Babylonian Jewish community, or perhaps the external influence of certain social changes which may have been going on in Sassanian society at the same time (*Cambridge History of Iran*, 3(1), pp. xl–xlii, 3(2), pp. 632–33).

[Stephen Wald (2nd ed.)]

In Later Times

The term came to designate a person without adequate knowledge of the Scriptures and of traditional Jewish literature and consequently one who is ignorant of the rules of Jewish ritual and ceremonial customs, as opposed to the *talmid ḥakham* ("disciple of the wise") or *ben Torah.* In common usage, *am ha-areẓ* is the equivalent of ignoramus or boor (pl.: *amaraẓim*).

In ḥasidic folktales the *am ha-areẓ* tends to mean a naive, but God-loving simpleton. God Himself "wishes his heart" (Sanh. 106b), because it is full of good intentions, and his prayer is more efficacious than that of many a learned scholar.

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AMIA (**Asociación Mutual Israelita Argentina**), organization of the Buenos Aires Ashkenazi community. On Sept. 26, 1893, representatives of the four Jewish organizations in *Buenos Aires, among them the Congregación Israelita de la República Argentina (CIRA), met and decided to form the Sociedad de Entierros (Burial Society). On July 22, 1894, the Chevra Keduscha Ashkenazi (Ashkenazi Burial Society) was formed, headed by Henry *Joseph, rabbi of CIRA. The purpose of the society was to ensure that both members and nonmembers receive a Jewish burial. At first the Burial Society leased graves in the Protestant cemetery, while simultaneously endeavoring to obtain its own burial ground. These efforts encountered many financial and legal difficulties, in addition to hostile public opinion. Only in 1910, due to the efforts of its president, Naum Enkin, was the first burial ground acquired in the suburb of Liniers. The Chevra Kedusha had unwritten agreements with the Sephardic burial societies, allowing each to bury only its own ethnic group. The monopoly on an indispensable religious service made the cemetery a source of community funds for those seeking financial assistance. In the 1920s it partially financed public institutions, increasing these activities in the 1930s. After it had acquired a larger cemetery site in Tablada in 1934, it helped found in 1935 the Va'ad ha-Ḥinnukh (Education Committee), which was responsible for organizing Jewish education in Greater Buenos Aires, and founded the Rabbis' Committee. It then became a mutual association called the Asociación Mutual Israelita Argentina (AMIA) on Dec. 17, 1940. During the 1940s, AMIA gradually extended the scope of its community activities and, on March 31, 1949, under the presidency of Moshe Slinin, designated itself the Kehila de Buenos Aires. In September 1952, on the initiative of its president, Moises Goldman, AMIA established the Va'ad ha-Kehillot (Communities' Committee), which united all the communities of Argentina (36 communities in 1952, 130 in 1964). AMIA played a dominant role in this committee and also supplied most of its funds. On April 16, 1956, AMIA changed its statutes. Thenceforth, 90 members were elected to its council, under a system of proportional representation, from a list of eight parties; most of them were from the Zionist parties that generally had their counterparts in the Israeli party system. From among its members, the council chose a president and an executive committee of 24 members.

From 85 members in the year of its foundation, the membership of AMIA gradually rose until in July 1968 it registered 51,798. Since membership is registered by families, this figure represents a much larger number of individuals. The number of associated families is estimated in 2004 as close to 16,000, preserving the traditional position of AMIA as the largest Argentinean Jewish institution, and in latter years there was a membership increase of close to 3,000, probably as a result of its welfare and aid programs. In the 1960s more than 50% of the total budget was spent on the Jewish education system through the Central Education Committee (Vaad ha-Ḥinukh ha-Mercazi). It also covered most of the budget of the institutions of higher learning, Ha-Midrashah ha-Ivrit, the rabbinical seminary, and also a secondary day school, Rambam. But this support to Jewish education was reduced drastically in the 1990s and many of these institutions were closed. In recent years, a new coalition was established by AMIA, the Joint Distribution Committee (JDC), and the Jewish Agency for Israel for the economic rationalization and support of the school network. This new organization – Central Agency of Jewish Education – gives financial assistance and provides organizational planning for all the associated schools in the country, embracing nearly 17,000 pupils. In the 1960s and 1970s the Youth Department of AMIA ran a network of youth centers in Buenos Aires and a central course for youth leaders in conjunction with Sociedad Hebraica Argentina and since the 1970s with the World Zionist Organization. Today AMIA supports many youth centers and programs on a basis of partnership. Its Cultural Department organizes weekly lectures, films and theater exhibitions, etc. Until the 1980s it sponsored an annual "Jewish Book Month," during which thousands of books in Spanish, Yiddish, and Hebrew on Jewish subjects were sold. In 1986 AMIA founded a publishing house – Editorial Mila – which has published hundreds of books in Spanish including literature, essays, testimonies, and research studies. AMIA has a rabbinical department headed by Chief Rabbi Shlomo Benhamu. Rabbi Benhamu was born in Tetuán (1936) and studied in a yeshivah in Great Britain. After serving as head of a yeshivah in Tetuán, he arrived in 1962 to Argentina as the principal of the schools of Agudat Israel (Hechal Hatorah and Beth Yaakov). In 1965 AMIA sent him to complete his rabbinical studies in Israel, and he entered AMIA's rabbinical department. He was appointed as chief rabbi in 1976.

The social welfare department has many assistance programs in Buenos Aires and in cooperation with Vaad ha-Kehillot also in the provinces, all of them co-sponsored by JDC. In 2004 these programs gave monthly support for the distribution of food, medicines, clothing, and housing to approximately 5,000 people in Buenos Aires and 6,500 in the provinces (Program Mezonot together with the Argentinean welfare association Tzedaka), and subsidized meals for about 2,000 children (Program Meitiv) all over the country. Other functioning programs, with the support of the Inter-American Development Bank, provide employment for Jews and non-Jews. AMIA also established a network of educational and social centers for people with special needs which serves 200 people, and centers for the aged with 2,500 users.

For several years AMIA had an arbitration department that dealt with business and other disputes, which in many cases replaced litigation. AMIA also had (from 1962) a department for social research – CEHIS – engaged mainly in summarizing demographic statistics on Argentinean Jewry, but it was closed in 1995.

The community building of AMIA, built in the mid-1940s and which housed the DAIA, the Va'ad ha-Kehillot, the Va'ad ha-Ḥinuch, and the Jewish Scientific Institute (YIVO), with its library and archives, was destroyed in a terrorist bombing on July 14, 1994. In this tragic attack 85 people, Jews and non-Jews, were killed and hundreds wounded. The new AMIA building, dedicated in 1999, houses the above-mentioned institutions and the offices of the Jewish Agency. Since the statutes of AMIA were revised in the 1950s, it has been run by a coalition of most of the Zionist parties. However, there has been a constant decline in the number of voters, a fact that worries the community's leaders.

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[Haim Avni / Efraim Zadoff (2nd ed.)]

AMICHAI, YEHUDA (1924–2000), Israeli poet and novelist. Born in Germany, Amichai went to Palestine in 1936, settled in Jerusalem, and served with the Jewish Brigade in World War II. In the latter part of the 1940s he began to publish poetry. The appearance of his first volume *Akhshav u-ve-Yamim Aḥerim* (1955) marked the emergence of a new school of Hebrew poetry. Amichai's poetry reflected the drastic changes which had taken place in the Hebrew language during World War II and the War of Independence. It had become enriched with new idioms and had adopted syntactical elements derived from the new slang. Amichai's familiarity with the wit and irony of modern English poetry as well as its use of understatement and prose phrasing aided him in working this new Hebrew vernacular into his verse.

Amichai introduced airplanes, tanks, fuel trucks, and administrative contracts into a Hebrew poetry which had hitherto avoided these modern terms in order not to mar the beauty of its classic texture. The worlds of technology and law, which became the raw materials for his metaphors, replaced the earlier sacral phrasing. The result was either ironic or tragic and represented an eschewal of history – a mawkish, obdurate, and pathetic version of biblical myth. He was awarded the Israel Prize in 1982. His volumes also include *Be-Merḥak Shetei Tikvot* (1958); *Ba-Ginnah ha-Ẓibburit* (1959); and his collected poems, *Shirim… 1948–1962* (1963). Amichai's novel, *Lo me-Akhshav, Lo mi-Kan* (1963; *Not of This Time, Not of This Place*, 1968), and his short stories are written in a prose style which tends to be confessional, reflective, and redolent of poetic illumination. The novel focuses upon an Israeli seeking revenge upon the Germans who participated in the extermination of his native town and presents a picture of men in spiritual and physical flight. Amichai also wrote *Massa le-Nineveh* (1962), a retelling of the story of Jonah, staged by Habimah in 1964; a number of radio sketches, including *Pa'amonim ve-Rakkavot* (Eng. "Bells and Trains" in *Midstream*, Oct. 1966, 55–66); and a book for children, "Numa's Fat Tail" (1978). Among his other poetry volumes are *Lo Rak Lizekor* ("Not Only to Remember," 1971), *Zeman* ("Time," 1977), and *Sh'at ha-Ḥen* ("Hour of Grace," 1982), as well as *Patuaḥ, Sagur, Patuḥ* ("Open, Closed, Open," 1998). Amichai's poetry has been translated into 33 languages. Available in English translation are, among others, *Achziv, Caesarea and One Love* (1996); *Amen* (1977); *Even a Fist Was Once an Open Palm with Fingers* (1991); *Great Tranquility, Questions and Answers* (1983; 1997); *Poems of Jerusalem and Love Poems* (1992). The *Collected Poems of Amichai* appeared in 2004 in five volumes.

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[Dan Tsalka]

AMIDAH (Heb. עֲמִידָה; "standing"), the core and main element of each of the prescribed daily services. In talmudic sources it is known as *Ha-Tefillah* ("The Prayer" *par excellence*). As its name indicates, the *Amidah* must be recited standing. Other names for this prayer include *Shemoneh esreh*, for the number of its benedictions (presently 19), and *Tefillat laḥash*, because of the obligation to recite it silently.

Types, Manner, and Nature

The *Amidah* is recited individually during each of the daily services – **Shaḥarit* (Morning Service),**Minḥah* (Afternoon Service) and **Arvit* (Evening Service); on Sabbaths and the festivals it is recited also for **Musaf* ("Additional Service") and on the Day of Atonement, a fifth time, for *Ne'ilah* ("the Concluding Prayer"). In congregational prayer, i.e., when there is a *minyan* (a quorum of at least ten male adults), the reader repeats the *Amidah* aloud and a number of additions are made (see below). The original purpose of the repetition was to enable uneducated persons, who did not know the prayers, to fulfill their duty by listening to the recital and responding "Amen" after each benediction. There are various forms of *Amidah*. On weekdays, the *Amidah* originally comprised 18 benedictions (later 19); on fast days one more is added in the repetition by the reader, and in ancient times, on some public fasts, six were added to the regular 18 (Ta'an. 2:2–4). On Sabbaths and festivals, there are only seven benedictions, except in the *Musaf* of *Rosh Ha-Shanah, when there are nine. In cases of emergency or illness, the intermediate blessings of the weekday *Amidah* may also be combined into one (see below *Havinenu*). The various forms have in common the first three and the last three benedictions; the former are devoted to the praise of God, the latter, to closing and leave-taking. On weekdays, the intermediate benedictions are petitions, and the daily *Amidah* is, therefore, predominantly a prayer of supplication. The pronoun "we" is used throughout the *Amidah* (even when it is recited silently by the individual), both in praise and in petition, indicating that it was always conceived as a communal prayer. Even the individual worshiper recites it not on his own behalf but as a member of the congregation.

The *Amidah* was fashioned in the form of an interpersonal dialogic encounter between the worshiper and God. The language of the prayer addresses God in the second person, and the order of the benedictions – praise, petition, closing and leave-taking – is consistent with how a slave approaches his master (Ber. 34a). Consequently, the worshiper stands throughout the recitation of the prayer and bows at its beginning and end (T. Ber. 1:8). At its conclusion, the worshiper bows again and takes leave of the divine presence with backward steps (Yoma 53b). The further obligation to face the locus of the Temple (T. Ber. 3:15) is grounded in the notion that, while praying, the worshiper stands directly in the presence of the *shekhinah*. After the destruction of the Temple, even though some sages opined that the *shekhinah* had left Jerusalem, based on other national-religious considerations, worshipers continued to face the place of the Temple. But they directed their hearts to the *shekhinah*, wherever its locus: "He who prays should regard himself as if the *Shekhinah* were before him" (Sanh. 22a; see also T. Ber. 3:14). To facilitate achieving this elevated spiritual state, the rabbis forbade the worshiper to divert his thoughts from the *tefillah* (M. Ber. 5:1), and some prohibited recitation of the Prayer when of unsettled mind (Erub. 65a).

Evolution and Redaction of the Amidah

Scholarly opinion is divided as to the origins of statutory prayer in general, and of the *Amidah* in particular. Even the talmudic sources reflect such diverse opinions as the one attributing the formulation of the *Amidah* to the Men of the Great Assembly (Meg. 17b), namely to the early Second Temple period, as opposed to one that explicitly ascribes the arrangement of the prayer to the activity of Rabban Gamliel in the post-destruction era at Jabneh (Ber. 28b). Scholarly opinion spans these two poles: some scholars date the origins of the Prayer to the final centuries preceding the destruction of the Temple; others date it as late as the era of Rabban Gamliel at Jabneh. From the welter of sources and opinions, the following likely scenario emerges. As a means of religious expression, prayer gained in importance during the late Second Temple period. Qumran literature provides rich testimony to fixed prayer among circles that opposed the Temple. Rabbinic sources indicate that, at the same time, some Pharasaic circles began to make use of fixed prayer ceremonies and to recite prayers on special occasions. For example, there is attestation to set benedictions recited by the priests in the Temple, of which some partially parallel *Amidah* benedictions (M. Yoma 7:1; M. Tamid 5:1). Explicit testimony from the Tosefta (Rosh Ha-Shanah 2:17) indicates the practice of prayer on Sabbaths and holidays among the sages of Beit Shammai and Beit Hillel. But it is only in the wake of the destruction, from the period of Rabban Gamliel and onward, that we have testimony for the institutionalization of prayer as a mandatory communal, and individual, obligation. The requirement to recite the *Shemoneh Esreh* daily dates only from the time of Rabban Gamliel and his contemporaries.

The exact nature of the fixing of the prayer by Rabban Gamliel at Jabneh also remains a debated point among scholars. Until the late 1980s the prevailing view was that Rabban Gamliel did not mandate the precise wording of the benedictions but rather their number, main motif, and concluding formula, giving worshipers and prayer leaders leeway to formulate the wording of the benediction as they saw fit. Over time, whether by natural processes or rabbinic fiat, certain versions came to predominate. Only in geonic Babylonia did the versions of the prayer achieve greater uniformity, but even then, variants were not entirely eliminated. In the early 1990s a different viewpoint was proposed, according to which Rabban Gamliel not only set the general principles governing the *Amidah* but also its precise wording, which he sought to impart to all Jewish communities. Over time, because of alterations in the worshipers' outlook and esthetic taste, this primary version underwent changes. The scattering of the Jewish people in various diasporas, and the lack of a central leadership, fostered the creation of different branches of the text in the diverse Jewish communities.

For the first centuries of its development, due to the absence of a complete version of the *Amidah* in talmudic literature, we have only vague testimony to its language. The first full witnesses to the wording of the prayer come from *siddurim* in use in the late first/early second millennium C.E. – the *siddurim* of Rav Amram Gaon and Rav Saadiah Gaon as well as thousands of *genizah* fragments – namely, from texts compiled centuries after the fixing of the *Amidah*. Among the *siddurim* preserved in the Cairo *Genizah*, it is possible to distinguish two main branches: a Palestinian and a Babylonian rite. Despite many differences of detail, the *Amidah* as preserved in both rites retains an inherent linguistic kinship. With the thinning out of the Jewish settlement in Palestine in the early second millennium C.E. and the growing influence of the Babylonian yeshivot on most of the Jewish world, the Palestinian rite disappeared and the Babylonian rite became the progenitor of all versions of the *Amidah* to the present.

The Weekday Amidah

The sequence of the benedictions of the weekday *Amidah* is as follows:

(1) Refers to God as the God of the *avot* ("patriarchs"), and extols Him as great, mighty, and awesome (Deut. 10:17); it concludes with *Barukh … Magen Avraham* ("Blessed … Shield of Abraham").

(2) Praises God for His deeds of *gevurot* ("power and might"). Among the manifestations of God's power are his providing sustenance for all living creatures and His causing the rain to fall in the rainy season. Special stress is laid on the revival of the dead and the benediction which concludes with *Barukh… meḥayyeh ha-metim* ("Blessed … He Who revives the dead") is therefore also known as *Teḥiyyat ha-Metim* ("Resurrection of the Dead").

(3) Speaks of God's holiness, and is, therefore, called *Kedushat ha-Shem*. It concludes with *Barukh … ha-El ha-Kadosh* ("Blessed … is the Holy God").

(4) Petitions God to grant wisdom and understanding. It concludes with *Barukh … ḥonen ha-da'at* ("Blessed … gracious giver of knowledge").

(5) Entreats God to cause a return to His Torah and to His service. It concludes with *Barukh… ha-roẓeh bi-teshuvah* ("Blessed… Who delights in repentance").

(6) Beseeches forgiveness for all sins, concluding with *Barukh … ḥannun ha-marbeh lislo'aḥ* ("Blessed … Who are gracious and abundantly forgiving").

(7) Implores God to redeem. It concludes with *Barukh … go'el Yisrael* ("Blessed … redeemer of Israel").

(8) Requests God to heal the sick and concludes with *Barukh … rofe ḥolei ammo Yisrael* ("Blessed … Who heals the sick of Your people Israel").

(9) Supplicates God to bless the produce of the earth and grant a good (fertile) year; It is, therefore, called *Birkat ha-Shanim* ("Blessing of the Years") and concludes with *Barukh … mevarekh ha-shanim* ("Blessed … Who blesses the years").

(10) Is a request for the ingathering of the exiles, concluding with *Barukh … mekabbeẓ niddeḥei ammo Yisrael* ("Blessed … Who gathers the banished ones of Your people, Israel").

(11) Appeals to God to restore righteous judges and reign Himself over Israel. It concludes with *Barukh … Melekh ohev ẓedakah u-mishpat* ("Blessed … King Who loves righteousness and judgment").

(12) Asks God to destroy the *malshinim* ("slanderers" or "informers"), all His enemies, and to shatter the "kingdom of arrogance" (see below). The text of this benediction, called in the Talmud **Birkath ha-Minim* ("Benediction Concerning Heretics"), underwent many changes. It concludes with *Barukh … shover oyevim u-makhniʿa zedim* ("Blessed … Who breaks the enemies and humbles the arrogant").

(13) Supplicates God to have mercy upon the righteous, the pious, the proselytes, and all those who trust in Him; it concludes with *Barukh … mishan u-mivtaḥ la-ẓaddikim* ("Blessed … the support and trust of the righteous").

(14) Solicits God to rebuild Jerusalem and dwell there. It concludes with *Barukh … boneh Yerushalayim* ("Blessed … Who rebuilds Jerusalem").

(15) Seeks the reestablishment of the kingdom of David. It concludes with *Barukh … maẓmi'ah keren yeshuʿah* ("Blessed … Who causes the horn of salvation to flourish").

(16) Is a general plea to hearken to (i.e., accept) prayers. It concludes with *Barukh … shome'a tefilah* ("Blessed … Who hearkens unto prayer").

(17) Begs God to reinstate the *avodah* ("the Temple service"), and to return the Divine Presence to Zion. It concludes with "*Barukh … ha-maḥazir Shekhinato le-Ẓiyyon* ("Blessed … Who returns the Divine Presence unto Zion").

(18) Gives thanks to God for all His mercies. The benediction is called *Hodayah* ("Thanksgiving") and concludes with *Barukh … ha-tov shimkha u-lekha na'eh lehodot* ("Blessed … whose name is good and to whom it is fitting to give thanks").

(19) Is a petition for peace. It is called *Birkat ha-Shalom* ("Blessing of Peace") and on some occasions is preceded by the Priestly Blessing, recited by the worshipers of priestly descent (see below). The latter concludes with the word *shalom* ("peace") and the benediction is a kind of response to the blessing. It is, therefore, also called *Birkat Kohanim* (Priestly Blessing; RH 4:5) and concludes with *Barukh … ha-mevarekh et ammo Yisrael ba-shalom* ("Blessed … Who blesses Your people Israel with peace").

The 13 petitions (4–16) may be subdivided into two distinct groups: Benedictions 4 to 9 are concerned with general human, everyday needs, both spiritual and material; benedictions 10 to 15 give expression to specific Jewish-national aspirations, all concerned with various aspects of messianic redemption.

The above description of the daily *Amidah* essentially portrays most of the details of the accepted prayer rites that are the continuation of the early Babylonian rite. The *Amidah* of the early Palestinian rite differed somewhat in several, some important, details. Of these, the most striking is that in Palestinian *siddurim* the *Amidah* has only eighteen, not nineteen, benedictions. The Palestinian rite has no separate benediction for the restoration of the kingdom of David (benediction 15 in the Babylonian rite), and this request is incorporated in the benediction regarding Jerusalem (14 in the Babylonian rite). The reason for this distinction between the rites, already found in talmudic times, is not entirely clear. Some link it to the development of *Birkat ha-Minim*, which was added to the *Amidah* at Jabneh after the full redaction of the *Shemoneh Esreh*. In Palestine, seeking to preserve the number eighteen, the benedictions on Jerusalem and the Davidic kingdom were united. Another change in the early language of the *Amidah* came with the deepened awareness of *galut* and the concomitant aspiration for redemption. An outstanding example is the seventeenth benediction, whose closing formula is based on the notion that the *shekhinah* had departed Jerusalem in the wake of the destruction. This conception is missing from the early Palestinian versions of the benediction, which concludes with *she-otekha be-yir'ah na'avod* ("we worship you with awe"). The twelfth benediction as well underwent significant alteration. Its early version did not encompass a request to destroy the *malshinim* (slanderers), but was rather directed at Jewish separatists who endangered internal Jewish unity, explicitly mentioning the early Nazarenes, as well as against the "evil kingdom," namely, Rome. Because of historical circumstances, changed worldviews, and Christian censorship, this benediction underwent manifold changes, the most significant of which was the expunging of the word *noẓerim* from the benediction (see **Birkat ha-Minim*). With modernity, in some streams of Judaism wide-ranging changes have been made in the wording of the benedictions, including alterations related to awareness of women's status.

Additions

When the *Amidah* is recited aloud in the congregational service, some additions are made within the above-mentioned framework. Different customs prevail regarding the recitation of the Priestly Blessing which is interpolated before the last benediction. In the Diaspora it is customarily recited in Ashkenazi communities only in the *Musaf* of festivals. In the Eastern communities it is recited in every *Shaḥarit* service (and at *Minḥah* on fast days). In Ereẓ Israel the Sephardim do the same, and the Ashkenazi communities in most places. While the reader intones *Modim* (the 18th benediction) the congregation recites *Modim de-Rabbanan*, a different prayer of thanksgiving, in an undertone. The most striking addition to the congregational recitation of the *Amidah* is the **Kedushah*. This is an expanded version of the third benediction and comprises the exalted praise of God by the angels (quoted in Isa. 6:3 and Ezek. 3:12). Other additions to the *Amidah* are made on specific occasions, also in the individual recitation. In the rainy season mention is made in the second benediction of God's power which causes the rain to fall; in the ninth, rain is prayed for. On the New Moon and intermediate days of festivals, the significance of the occasion is mentioned in the **Ya'aleh ve-Yavo* prayer, inserted into the 17th benediction. The miracles performed on Ḥanukkah and Purim are described in the *Al ha-Nissim* prayer which is added to the 18th benediction. On public fast days, a special supplication, *Anenu*, is inserted into the 16th benediction in the silent recitation; the reader recites this as a separate benediction between the seventh and eighth benedictions. On the Ninth of *Av, the 14th benediction is elaborated with a lamentation on the destruction of the Temple. During the *Ten Days of Penitence, petitions that God may grant life are inserted into the first two and the last two benedictions while the third concludes with *ha-Melekh ha-Kadosh* ("the Holy King) and the 11th with *ha-Melekh ha-Mishpat* ("the King of Judgment"). These changes are not found in the early Palestinian rite. In the evening service, after the conclusion of the Sabbath, a *Havdalah* is inserted into the fourth benediction. Additions may be made to the standard framework by a worshiper as long as these are appropriate to the general theme of the particular benediction to which they are added (Sh. Ar., OḤ 119:1–3).

Sabbath and Festivals

In the Sabbath and festival *Amidah*, as well as in the *Musaf* on New Moon, all petitions (4–16) are omitted, and one central benediction, *Kedushat ha-Yom* ("the sanctification of the day"), expressing the special character of the holy day in question, is recited instead. For festivals, the text of this benediction is uniform, only the name of the festival being changed (an exception being at the *Musaf Amidah;* see below). The benediction concludes with *Barukh … mekaddesh Yisrael veha-Zemannim* ("Blessed … Who sanctifies Israel and the festive seasons"). On Rosh Ha-Shanah this is expanded to read *Barukh … Melekh al kol ha-areẓ mekaddesh Yisrael ve-Yom ha-Zikkaron* ("Blessed … King over all the earth who sanctifies Israel and the Day of Memorial"); on the Day of Atonement, *Barukh … Melekh moḥel ve-sole'aḥ le-avonoteinu… mekaddesh Yisrael ve-Yom ha-Kippurim* ("Blessed … King Who pardons and forgives our iniquities… who sanctifies Israel and the Day of Atonement"). On all the festivals it begins with thanks to God for choosing Israel from among all the peoples (*Attah Beḥartanu*) sanctifying them through His Torah and *mitzvot* and giving them "festivals and seasons of joy" with the mention of the particular festival; *Ya'aleh ve-Yavo*, in which the name of the festival recurs, follows and it concludes with a brief petition for the blessing of the festivals. The same version is used for all services, except for *Musaf*, where *Attah Beḥartanu* is followed by a prayer for the restoration of the Temple *(U-mi-Penei Ḥata'einu)* and of the pilgrimages and the sacrificial cult; this is followed by the appropriate Bible verses (taken from Num. 28–29) containing the instructions for the sacrifices of the day in question and a more elaborate and solemn petition for speedy redemption and the rebuilding of the Temple. The conclusion is again as above. On New Moons a different text, stressing the character of the day as one of atonement, is used, concluding with *Barukh … mekaddesh Yisrael ve-Rashei Ḥodashim* ("Blessed … Who sanctifies Israel and New Moons"). On festivals and special Sabbaths poetical prayers are often inserted and said by the congregation during the reader's repetition. These are known as *Kerovot* and are to be found added to the various benedictions. Special poems concerning the 613 commandments and known as **azharot*, are added in the Shavuot prayers, usually in the *Musaf Amidah*.

On the Sabbath, the introduction of the fourth benediction varies in each *Amidah*. In *Arvit* the Sabbath is presented as a "memorial of creation," followed by the recital of Genesis 2:1–3; in *Shaḥarit* the Sabbath is associated with the giving of the Torah at Sinai and presented as the symbol of the Covenant between God and Israel; in *Minḥah* the Sabbath is extolled as the day of complete rest, anticipating, as it were, the perfect peace and rest of the messianic age. The above texts seem to have been chosen intentionally to express three different, yet complementary, aspects of the Sabbath: creation – revelation – redemption; a triad of concepts, occurring elsewhere in Jewish thought and liturgy. Other introductions to this benediction are also known and used: for *Musaf, Tikkanta Shabbat* ("You did institute the Sabbath") in the Ashkenazi version and *U-le-Moshe Ẓivvita* ("You did command Moses") in the Sephardi, both of which mention the sacrifices; for *Arvit, U-me-Ahavatekha* ("Out of Thy Love"; Tosef., Ber. 3:11, used in the Italian rite); for *Minḥah, Hannaḥ Lanu* ("Grant us Rest" – see the *siddurim* of Rav Amram Gaon and of Rav Saadiah Gaon). The versions of the Sabbath prayers found in the Cairo *Genizah* indicate that this variety is a secondary development and that the benediction for the day was originally uniform as for the festival prayer.

The only festival *Amidah* which diverges from the general pattern of seven benedictions is that of *Musaf* of Rosh Ha-Shanah which has three intermediate benedictions, making a total of nine. This special structure probably came into being in order to provide three separate occasions for sounding the **shofar*, as required by the Mishnah (RH 4:9), at the end of each of the three intermediate benedictions. According to Sephardi custom the *shofar* is blown both in the silent as well as the reader's repetition of the *Amidah*, whereas the Ashkenazim sound it only in the latter. The text of each of them, therefore, relates to one of the special aspects of the day. In addition to the usual "sanctification of the day" (fourth blessing), the fifth benediction was devoted to **Zikhronot* ("Remembrances") as Rosh Ha-Shanah is the "Day of Remembrance," and the sixth to *Shofarot* ("the blessing of the *Shofar*") to express the *shofar* aspect of the festival. A third aspect of the day, "the Kingship of God" was made the subject of *Malkhuyyot*, probably at a later stage. *Malkhuyyot* was not allocated a separate benediction, but was combined with the "sanctification of the day" (RH 4:5). On Rosh Ha-Shanah and the Day of Atonement, the third benediction is recited in a more elaborate version which contains the prayer *u-Vekhen Ten Paḥdekha* ("Now therefore impose Your awe"), an ancient petition for the eschatological Kingdom of God. On the Day of Atonement, the silent recital of the *Amidah* is followed by the *viddui* ("confession of sins"), which is not written as a benediction. In the repetition by the reader, however, the *viddui* is inserted into the fourth benediction. Two confessions, one short and one long, are recited; both are arranged in alphabetical form. Sins, which might have been committed during the year, are enumerated. In common with other community prayers, they are formulated in the "we"-style: "we have trespassed, etc." (see *Confession of Sins).

[Uri Ehrlich (2nd ed.)]

Havinenu

Shortened form of the *Amidah*. An abbreviated form of the *Amidah* (known as *Havinenu* ("give us understanding") from its initial word) may be recited instead of the *Amidah* in cases of emergency, e.g., when a person is hurried or is ill and unable to concentrate for any length of time. The *Havinenu* prayer consists of a shortened version of the 13 intermediary benedictions of the *Amidah* and concludes with the blessing "Blessed are You, O Lord, who hearkens unto prayer." It is preceded by the three introductory benedictions of the *Amidah* and concludes with the last three blessings of the *Amidah*. There are several versions of the *Havinenu* (Ber. 29a; TJ, Ber. 4:3, 8a, see also B.M. Lewin, *Oẓar ha-Ge'onim*, 1 (1928), Teshuvot 72, no. 184 and A.I. Schechter, *Studies in Jewish Liturgy* (1930), 71). The version from the Babylonian Talmud (Ber. 29a), ascribed to Mar *Samuel, is the commonly accepted text in the daily liturgy. *Abbaye scorned those who substituted the shortened *Havinenu* version for the full *Amidah* (Ber. 29a). The law, however, permits such a substitution, except during the evening service at the termination of the Sabbath, when the fourth benediction (*Attah Ḥonen*) is supplemented by a special prayer marking the distinction between Sabbath and the weekdays (*Havdalah*); and during the winter season when the petition for rain (*ve-ten tal u-matar*) must be said in the sixth benediction of the *Amidah* (Ber. 29a; see Sh. Ar., OḤ 110:1).

Music

In Ashkenazi tradition, the first benediction of the A*midah* is sometimes distinguished by a particular melody that contrasts with the subsequent cantillation in the *tefillah*-mode. On the occasion of the *Tal*, *Geshem*, and **Ne'ilah* prayers, the special *Avot* tunes employ merely the motive material of the preceding **Kaddish*. A more conspicuous and peculiar melody appears in the morning prayers of the High Holidays. It is considered among the unchangeable **Mi-Sinai* tunes. Like the majority of the latter, the *Avot* melody starts with a theme of its own, while the continuation draws from the thematic stock in use for this kind of synagogue song. The characteristic *Avot* themes show a relatively late European tonality. They develop by means of sequential progression, and are followed by a typical synagogue motive. After repetition of this section the melody uses themes known from **Aleinu le-Shabbe'ah* and **Kol Nidrei*. Like several other tunes from the *Mi-Sinai* cycle, the basic *Avot* melody sometimes underwent elaboration and extension into a "cantorial fantasia." This was done by Aaron *Beer in 1783, and in the local tradition of Frankfurt and other communities until late in the 19th century. Examples of the basic melody can be found in: S. Naumbourg, *Zemirot Yisrael* (1847), no. 54; Idelsohn, Melodien, 7 (1932), pt. 1, no. 150a; pt. 3, no. 146; I. Schorr, *Neginot Baruch Schorr* (1928), no. 81; and others. Examples of the cantorial fantasia can be found in: Idelsohn, Melodien, 6 (1932), pt. 2, no. 5; 7, pt. 1, nos. 150b–c; F. Ogutsch, *Der Frankfurter Kantor* (1930), no. 177; M. Deutsch, *Vorbeterschule* (1871), no. 269.

[Hanoch Avenary]

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AMIDAR, the Israeli national immigrant housing company. It was established in 1949 by the Israeli government, in order to build housing projects for the masses of new immigrants. The government controlled 75% of its shares, and the *Jewish Agency held 25% of its shares. With the steady rise in immigration, however, construction was transferred to the Labor division. Amidar was given the task of proprietor and administrator of public housing: assignment of tenants to the housing projects, maintenance and improvement of the houses, rental and sales of apartments, and organization of community activities. In 20 years Amidar handled approximately 250,000 housing units, placing more than a million people in over 200 housing projects. Amidar's first task was the initial absorption of the immigrants. At first, it even assumed basic municipal functions. It instilled in tenants a sense of initiative in taking care of property and the concept of the citizen's responsibility toward property upkeep. Since housing construction in the early 1950s proceeded according to quantitative rather than qualitative needs, Amidar employed various means to allay premature deterioration and to improve neighborhoods. As a nonprofit institution, Amidar fixed rents according to an immigrant's means at the rate of 7–10% of his average monthly earnings during his first years in Israel. When the immigrant became better established, he was encouraged to buy his apartment with a down payment of 10–20%, and the rest on a mortgage with an interest rate of 3.5–4.5% annually for a period of 25 years. The encouragement of property ownership, initiated in 1955, led by the late 1960s to the purchase of tens of thousands of housing units by their tenants.

At the beginning of the 21st century the tenants in Amidar's apartments were a mix of old and new immigrants. The company managed 60,000 apartments in 200 settlements, among them 2,200 for the elderly located in 30 sites all over Israel. It continued to be responsible for renting empty apartments, rent collection, maintenance, registration, etc. In this same period there was much public agitation among tenants owing to the high price of apartments, which prevented them from realizing their right to buy them.

[David Tanne / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

AMIEL, MOSHE AVIGDOR (1883–1946), rabbi, religious thinker, and author. Amiel studied under his father and at the Telz yeshivah. From there he proceeded to Vilna where he studied under R. Ḥayyim *Soloveichik and R. Ḥayyim Ozzer *Grodzinski. At the age of 22 Amiel became rabbi of Swieciany, and in 1913, rabbi of Grajewo. One of the first rabbis to join the Mizrachi movement, he began publishing articles, noted for their lucid literary style, on communal and national questions and presenting his outlook on Judaism and the ideology of religious Zionism. In 1920 Amiel was elected rabbi of Antwerp, where his initial public appearance at the Mizrachi convention immediately established him as one of the chief ideologists of religious Zionism. In Antwerp Amiel created a wide network of educational and communal institutions from Jewish day schools to a yeshivah, where he lectured. In 1936 Amiel was elected chief rabbi of Tel Aviv where he found further scope for his varied activities. He established the modern high school yeshivah "Ha-Yishuv he-Ḥadash," now named after him. The school combined talmudic and secular studies and was the first of its kind in Ereẓ Israel. Amiel's first halakhic publication was *Darkhei Moshe* followed by his three-volume *Ha Middot le-Ḥeker ha-Halakhah.* A renowned preacher, he published the homiletical works *Derashot el Ammi* and *Hegyonot el Ammi.* Amiel was a regular contributor to the religious press.

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[Mordechai Hacohen]

AMIGO, Sephardi family prominent in Temesvár, Hungary (now Timișoara, Romania). Its founder, MEIR AMIGO, who was born in Constantinople, settled there together with four other Sephardi Jews in 1736, by a special authorization obtained for them by Diego D'*Aguilar, who held the tobacco monopoly in Austria and appointed Amigo as his agent. Amigo became the organizer and leader of the combined community of Ashkenazi and Sephardi Jews which was subsequently established. He was nicknamed "*rey chico*" (little king) because of his wealth. Amigo maintained contacts between his community and the Sephardi community in Vienna. The Vienna community also enlisted his help in preventing the impending expulsion of the Jews from *Bohemia in 1745.

Members of the Amigo family continued to play a leading role in Temesvár. ISAAC AMIGO, who headed the community from 1784 to 1788, afforded great assistance to the Jews from *Belgrade who sought refuge in Temesvár in 1791. The last member of the family to serve as head of the community was JOSEPH MEIR AMIGO, who held office from 1808 to 1810.

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[Yehouda Marton]

AMIGO, ABRAHAM (c. 1610/15–c. 1683), rabbi and author. Amigo was born in Constantinople, or Adrianople – where he was a pupil of Elijah Obadiah. He immigrated to Ereẓ Israel about 1655, settled in Jerusalem, and was a member of the *bet midrash* of Jacob *Ḥagiz. The rabbis of Egypt and Turkey referred questions to him and his opinion was decisive. He also studied Kabbalah and joined the circle of Jacob b. Ḥayyim Ẓemaḥ. Among his disciples in Jerusalem were David ha-Kohen Rapaport, author of *Da'at Kedoshim,* and Ḥayyim Abulafia the Younger. Amigo was also a distinguished preacher and moralist and his homilies were transmitted by his pupils even after his death. He opposed Shabbetai Ẓevi and strove to have him banished. The rabbis of Constantinople wanted to appoint him as one of the "four great men in Israel" who were to go to Gaza to investigate *Nathan of Gaza. His works are *Peri Hadash*, on the Shulḥan Arukh *Oraḥ Ḥayyim*, from the laws of Passover to the end; and responsa, decisions, and novellae on the Talmud, mentioned by Ḥayyim Joseph David *Azulai (part now in the Benayahu Collection). Some of his responsa were printed in the work of his colleague Samuel Garmison, *Mishpetei Ẓedek* (nos. 78, 99), and in *Naharot Dammesek* by Solomon Camondo (ḤM, no. 13).

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AMINA (pen name of **Binyamin ben Mishael**; 1672–after 1732/33), prolific Jewish poet of Iran. Our only information about Amina's life is contained in his poetic work entitled *Sargozasht-e Aminā bā hamsarash* (Library of the Hebrew University, Jerusalem, microfilm #19874), where he addresses each of his seven children and complains about his wife after 25 years of marriage. A recent study of Judeo-Persian manuscripts in the libraries of the Hebrew University, Ben Zvi Institute in Jerusalem, the Jewish Theological Seminary of New York, the Hebrew Union College in Cincinnati, and the British Museum in London has shown that Amina composed approximately 40 poetic works, most of which are short. His longest works are about Esther and Mordechai (based on the Book of Esther), the sacrifice of Isaac according to the Midrash of Judah b. Samuel b. Abbas (a poet and preacher of 12th-century Tunisia and Syria), and *Tafsir-e azharot* or commentary on the "Commandments and Prohibitions" of Solomon ibn *Gabirol (the famous poet and philosopher of 11th-century Spain). Each of these works contains 300 to 400 verses. He also composed a 92-verse poem in Hebrew.

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[Amnon Netzer (2nd ed.)]

AMIR (Heb. עָמִיר; "ear of corn"), kibbutz in northern Israel, in the Ḥuleh Valley, affiliated with Ha-Kibbutz ha-Arẓi. Amir was founded in 1939 by immigrants from Poland, Lithuania, and other countries, near the *Ḥuleh swamps. It was the settlement most prone to the dangers of flooding and of malaria. In 1968 Amir's economy was based on intensive irrigated farming (apples and other deciduous fruit, and field crops in partnership with kibbutz *Sedeh Neḥemyah and kibbutz *Shamir), and dairy cattle. Later on, the kibbutz set up a successful enterprise producing disposable diapers and other sanitary products, but in 2004 it was sold to a private company when the kibbutz ran into economic difficulties. Amir's population was 579 in 2002.

[Efraim Orni / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

AMIR, AHARON (1923–), Israeli writer, translator, and editor. Amir, who was born in Kovno, immigrated to Palestine in 1935. He studied Arabic language and literature at the Hebrew University. A member of the anti-British underground organization Leḥi, he served on the editorial board of its daily, *Mivrak*, and edited its literary supplement (1948). Amir was also a founding member of the Canaanite movement, which saw Hebrew culture as defined by geographical location rather than by religious affiliation. He edited *Alef* (from 1948–50 with Yonathan *Ratosh, and from 1950 on his own), the periodical of the *Canaanites. His publications include *Kaddim* ("Sirocco," poetry, 1949) and *Saraf* ("Fiery Angel," poetry, 1957); *Ahavah* ("Love," stories, 1952); *Ve-lo Tehi la-Mavet Memshalah* ("And Death Shall Not Rule," novel, 1955); the trilogy *Nun* (1969–89); *Matteh Aharon* ("Aaron's Rod," poetry, 1966); and *Ha-Nevalim* ("The Villains," 1998). Amir also edited several books and anthologies. He translated many books into Hebrew, from English, French, and American literature. In 1959 he founded and became editor of *Keshet*, a literary and political quarterly.

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[Gitta (Aszkenazy) Avinor]

AMIR (Pinkerfeld), ANDA (1902–1981), Hebrew poet. She was born in Galicia, into an assimilated family. Her father worked as an architect for the Austro-Hungarian government. She completed secondary school in Lvov, and published a book of verse in Polish at the age of 18, her first poem being the prayer of a Polish child for the liberation of his country. After studying at the universities of Leipzig and Lvov, she immigrated to Palestine in 1923. In 1921 she published another volume of verse in Polish, *Piesni życia* ("Songs of Life"). Thereafter, under the influence of Uri Ẓevi *Greenberg, she began writing in Hebrew. The themes of her verse are love of nature, romantic love, and the joys of motherhood. Her long poem "*Aḥat*" ("One," 1953) describes a young Jewish girl who immigrates to Israel after surviving the Holocaust and dies fighting for Israeli independence. Among her books are *Yamim Dovevim* ("Days Tell," 1929); *Yuval* (1932); *Geisha Lian Tang Sharah* (1935); *Gittit* (1937); *Duda'im* ("Mandrakes," 1943); *Gadish* ("Grain Heap," 1949); *Kokhavim bi-Deli* ("Stars in a Bucket," 1957).

Anda Amir was the first poet to write poetry in Hebrew specifically for children and distinguished herself in this field. Her first collection of such poetry, *Al Anan Kevish* (1933), was edited by H.N. Bialik, while her *Shirei Yeladim* (1934) was awarded the Bialik Prize for poems for children. In 1978 she received the Israel Prize for children's literature.

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[Yohanan Twersky]

AMIR, ELI (1937–), Israeli novelist. Amir was born in Baghdad, Iraq, and came to Israel in 1950. He was sent to study at a kibbutz. His career began as a messenger in the Prime Minister's Office, and he worked his way up to Arab affairs advisor to the prime minister. Later he became director of the Youth Immigration Division of the Jewish Agency. He won the Yigal Allon prize for outstanding pioneering service to Israeli society. His first novel, *Tarnegol Kaparot* ("Scapegoat," 1987), is a semi-autobiographical novel depicting the integration of an Iraqi Jewish youth in an Israeli transit camp shortly after 1948. This novel is included in Israel's secondary school syllabus. Other novels by Amir are *Mafri'aḥ ha-Yonim* (1992; "Farewell Baghdad," Ger., 1998), *Ahavat Sha'ul* ("Saul's Love," 1998), and *Yasmin* (2005).

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[Anat Feinberg (2nd ed.)]

AMIR, MENAHEM (1930–), Israeli criminologist; considered one of the founding fathers of the field of criminology in Israel and specializing in rape, victimology, organized crime, police, and terror. In 1953 he graduated in sociology and education from the Hebrew University of Jerusalem and in 1958 he received his M.A. degree in sociology and psychology there. In 1965 he received his Ph.D. in criminology from University of Pennsylvania in Philadelphia. From 1966 until 1969 he served as a lecturer in criminology at the Hebrew University. In 1971–72 he was a senior lecture at Tel Aviv University, returning to the Hebrew University in 1972. From 1977 until 1982 he served as the head of the Center of Criminology at the Hebrew University. He also held this position 1983–84 and 1989–91. In 1989 he became full professor at the Hebrew University and in 1999 professor emeritus. During these years Amir also taught at universities abroad in the U.S., Canada, and Australia, and at the same time he participated in public action, such as the founding of Al-Sam, the anti-drug organization, serving as its chairman in Jerusalem. He was also a member of public committees dealing with prostitution and organized crime and chairman of the prisoner rehabilitation program. He was awarded the Human Rights Association Founders Prize, the Israeli Criminologist Association Prize, and the Ford Fund for Researches Prize. He received the Israel Prize for criminology in 2003 with a citation that pointed to his work as a rare combination of theory, empirical research, and practical application. Amir published more than 90 articles and wrote or edited eight books, including *Patterns in Forcible Rape* (1971); *Organized Crime: Uncertainties and Dilemmas* (1999) with S. Einstein; and *Police Security and Democracy: Theory and Practice*, 2 vols. (2001) with S. Einstein.

[Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

AMIRA, BINYAMIN (1896–1968), Israeli mathematician. Born in Mogilev-Podolsk, Russia, Amira was taken to Palestine in 1900. He founded the Institute of Mathematics at the Hebrew University, Jerusalem. He also founded the *Journal d'analyse mathématique*, which appeared in 17 volumes from 1955 to 1966.

AMIRAN, DAVID (1910–2003), Israeli geographer. Amiran was born in Berlin, Germany. After studying in Berne, Switzerland, he immigrated to Palestine in 1935 and became librarian of the geological department of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. During World War II he was an officer in the Royal Engineers, and on his discharge joined the Palestine Meteorological Service. In 1949 he began teaching geography at the Hebrew University and was appointed a full professor in 1963. From 1956 to 1959 Amiran was director of the Research Council of Israel and of the Negev Institute for Arid Zone Research. In 1961 he founded the Israel Geographic Society and served as its president until 1977. From 1962 to 1968 he was acting chairman of the International Geographical Union's Commission on the Arid Zone and in 1968 became a member of the Union's Commission on Man and Environment. From 1965 to 1968 he was vice president of the Hebrew University. In 1978 he established the Jerusalem Institute for Israel Studies and served as its director until 1984. In 1977 he was awarded the Israel Prize in the social sciences.

Amiran directed the compilation of the *Atlas of Israel* (Hebrew edition, 1956–64; English enlarged edition, 1970) and together with A.P. Schick wrote *Geographical Conversion Tables* (1961). He edited the 1963 edition of R. Roericht's *Bibliotheca Geographica Palestinae* and for UNESCO *Land Use in Semi-arid Mediterranean Climates* (*Arid Zone Research*, vol. 26, 1964). Amiran published over 120 books and articles in various fields of geography, among them several which summarized the whole field. His work contributed to the discipline in diverse areas, such as physical and human geography. One of his major fields of study was the desert, which he studied in Israel as well as in other places around the world. His specialization in desert studies led the governments of Peru and Brazil to invite him to carry out studies for them. His wife RUTH (1914–), an archaeologist, served as a staff member of the Hazor expedition (1955–58) and also excavated tumuli west of Jerusalem (1953), Tell Nagila (1962–63), Arad (with Y. Aharoni; 1962–66), the Citadel of David in Jerusalem (1968–), etc. She is a coauthor of *Hazor,* 3 vols. (1958–61) and published *Ancient Pottery of the Holy Land* (1970), a comprehensive study of ancient pottery in Ereẓ Israel. She was appointed field archaeologist to the Israel Museum. In 1982 she was awarded the Israel Prize for archaeology.

AMIRAN (formerly **Pougatchov**)**, EMANUEL** (1909–1993), composer and teacher. Born in Warsaw, Amiran went to Palestine in 1924, and after study in London, returned to teach music in schools and teachers' seminaries. He was co-founder and director of the Music Teachers Training College in Tel Aviv (1944–55), and in 1955 became supervisor of musical education in the Ministry of Education and Culture. His songs, which are among the most important contributions to the Israeli folk style, include *Emek Emek Avodah, El ha-Ma'ayan Ba Gedi Katan, Mayim Mayim, Ki mi-Ẓiyyon, Uru Aḥim ve-Na'aleh Har Ẓiyyon, Ha-Zore'im be-Dimah*, and *Halleluyah-Kumu ve-Na'aleh*. He also wrote choral, orchestral, and piano music.

AMIRIM (Heb. אֲמִירִים; meaning "summits," referring to the beautiful local scenery), moshav in northern Israel, near Mt. Meron in Upper Galilee. Amirim was founded in 1950, and taken over in 1956 by a group of vegetarians and naturalists (Israeli-born and others). Amirim had no livestock but grew fruit (apples, apricots, peaches, various kinds of nuts) and vegetables, supplying the settlers' dietary requirements. The moshav offered the public a wide array of alternative health cures, from reflexology to holistic massage as well as restaurant and vacationing facilities. Amirim's population was approximately 380 in the mid-1990s, growing to 458 in 2002.

[Efraim Orni / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

AMISHAI-MAISELS, ZIVA (1939–), art scholar. Amishai-Maisels was born Maxine Maisels in Brooklyn, N.Y., the daughter of Moses Ḥayyim (Misha) *Maisels (M.H. Amishai). Her family moved to Israel in 1959, and in the 1963 academic year, she began teaching at the Hebrew University's Department of Art History. She is known for her work on religious, historical, and personal symbolism in modern art, including problems of identity and depictions of the other. She concentrated especially on Modern Jewish Art and the work of Chagall, Steinhardt, Lipchitz, and Bezem. Among her most important contributions to the field is her work on the influence of the Holocaust on modern art among both Jews and Christians. She divided their reactions between depictions of the Holocaust's events and the way they have been symbolized in traditional and personal terms, explaining how the resulting images have become archetypes for representations of catastrophe. For this work, she received the Israel Prize in art history in 2004. She wrote many articles, and the books she published include *Chagall at the Knesset* (1973); *Jakob Steinhardt: Etchings and Lithographs* (1981); *Gauguin's Religious Themes* (1985); *Naftali Bezem* (1986); *Depiction and Interpretation: The Influence of the Holocaust on the Visual Arts* (1993); *Jewish Art* (with Gabrielle Sed-Rajna et al., 1995, 1997).

AMIT (**Mizrachi Women's Organization of America**), U.S. organization founded in 1925 by Bessie Goldstein *Gotsfeld to give religious Zionist women an independent role in the development of Palestine as a Jewish homeland. Prior to the group's formation, women participated in the *Mizrachi movement through auxiliary organizations that raised funds for projects administered by men. When they decided to implement their own programs, the new American Mizrachi women confronted resistance from a male leadership accustomed to controlling movement coffers. In the face of the men's unrelenting claims to their members' resources, the Mizrachi women struggled in their first decade to maintain institutional integrity. In 1934, the group declared its complete autonomy from the men and stands today as the largest religious Zionist organization in the United States.

The Mizrachi Women's Organization has been guided by the principle that the establishment of the land of Israel by the Jewish people should be in the spirit of Israel's Torah. Its initial projects focused on ensuring that young Jewish girls in Palestine would receive training and preparation for productive and spiritual lives. Beit Zeiroth Mizrachi, a technical school and cultural center for adolescent girls in Jerusalem, opened its doors in 1933, welcoming both German refugee and native girls for training in technical, secular, and religious subjects. A second school in Tel Aviv included a Beth Chalutzoth where young working women could reside. The American Junior Mizrachi Women broadened their mother's initial endeavors to take on the creation and support of day nurseries. The religious Zionist women also built an agricultural training school and a teacher's seminary for young women, as well as homes for orphaned and neglected children.

Mizrachi women made a critical contribution to *Youth Aliyah rescue through its establishment of children's residences and youth villages for refugees from traditional backgrounds. These included the Motza Children's Home, where the first of the "Teheran children" were received, the Mosad Aliyah Children's Village in Petaḥ Tikvah, and Kfar Batya in Ra'ananah. Throughout the ensuing decades, Mizrachi women have housed and educated the needy children of each generation of new Israeli immigrants, from countries as diverse as Russia, Iran, Kazakhstan, France, and Ethiopia.

The Mizrachi Women's Organization continues its commitment to vocational education and teacher training. In 1983, the group adopted the name AMIT, and was designated as Israel's official network for religious technological secondary education. Today, AMIT cares for more than 15,000 youngsters in more than 60 schools, youth villages, surrogate homes, and child care facilities throughout Israel. The organization raises funds for all the major Israel campaigns and is a member of both the World Zionist Organization and the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations.

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[Tracy Sivitz (2nd ed.)]

AMIT (Slutzky), MEIR (1921–), Israeli military commander and politician. Member of the Ninth Knesset. Amit was born in Tiberias. From 1939 to 1952 he was a member of kibbutz *Allonim. He joined the *Haganah in 1936, and from 1940 to 1945 served in the supernumerary police. In 1947 Amit participated in the battles for *Mishmar ha-Emek and the *Jezreel Valley. In 1948 he joined the IDF and participated in the battle for the liberation of the Lower Galilee and Operation Hiram (see *War of Independence). In 1950 he was appointed commander of the Golani Brigade and in 1951 commander of the Training Command, and chief of operations on the General Staff. After spending a year in an officers' course in England, he was appointed IDF chief of operations in 1954, commander of the Southern Command in 1955, and again chief of operations in 1956, in which capacity he coordinated the planning team for the *Sinai Campaign of 1956. In 1958 he became commander of the Northern Command. In 1959 he took time off to study business administration at Columbia University in New York. In 1961 he was appointed head of the Intelligence Section of the IDF. From 1963 to 1968 he was head of the Mossad (Israel's intelligence services). From 1968 to 1977 Amit was director-general of Koor Industries, the Histadrut's industrial conglomerate. In 1977 he resigned from Koor to join the Democratic Movement for Change and was elected to the Ninth Knesset on its list. In October of that same year he was appointed minister of transportation and communications but resigned in September 1978 after the DMC disintegrated, and joined the Shinui ve-Yozmah parliamentary group. He later left Shinui to join the Israel Labor Party. After 1978 Amit held various senior management positions in various hi-tech companies.

[Susan Hattis Rolef (2nd ed.)]

AMITSUR, SAMSON ABRAHAM (1921–1994), mathematician. Born in Jerusalem, Amitsur studied at the Hebrew University, where he received his doctorate in 1949. From 1951 to

1954 he was a member of the Institute for Advanced Studies at Princeton, U.S.A., and was appointed professor at the Hebrew University in 1960. He was awarded the Israel Prize for exact sciences in 1953.

AMITTAI (c. 800), Hebrew liturgical poet in *Oria, southern Italy; father of the liturgical poet *Shephatiah of Oria. According to tradition, the family was exiled to Italy by *Titus, after the destruction of the Temple. The *Ahimaaz chronicle describes Amittai as "a sage, learned in the Torah, a poet and scholar, strong in faith." Several *piyyutim* signed simply Amittai may probably be credited to him, including the touching *pizmon Ezkerah Elohim ve-Ehemayah* ("Lord I remember Thee and am sore amazed") which is included in the Concluding Service for the Day of Atonement according to the Ashkenazi rite, as well as *Eikh Narim Rosh be-Ereẓ Oyevim* ("How shall we raise our heads in a hostile land"). Some authorities however ascribe the former *piyyut* to his grandson *Amittai ben Shephatiah. The compositions breathe the spirit of the ancient Palestinian religious poetry.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: B. Klar (ed.), *Megillat Aḥima'aẓ* (1944), 12, 206f.; Davidson, Oẓar, 4 (1933), 368; Zunz, Lit Poesie, 256; Roth, Italy, 50ff.; Schirmann, in: Roth, Dark Ages, 250.

[Abraham Meir Habermann]

AMITTAI BEN SHEPHATIAH (late ninth century), liturgical poet in Oria, S. Italy, grandson of *Amittai; he succeeded his father *Shephatiah as leader of the community in Oria, evidently exercising his authority in an arbitrary manner. Over 30 of Amittai's liturgical poems have been published, and several were incorporated into the Italian and Ashkenazi liturgies. Although following the traditions of the Hebrew poetry of the Orient, Amittai often makes use of rare or novel word forms. Amittai's poems contain references to the persecutions to which the Jews of his day were subjected, in particular lamenting the forced conversions imposed by the Byzantine emperor *Basil I (867–86). Allusions to religious *disputations between Jews and Christians also appear in his work. In one poem he employs the dialogue form for a disputation between the Congregation of Israel and its enemies, possibly chanted by two groups of worshipers, or by the precentor and congregation alternately. Another poetical dialogue, also possibly recited in synagogue, is a debate between the vine and other trees discussing the merits of drinking and abstinence. Amittai also composed hymns and poems for special occasions; his epithalamium on the marriage of his sister Cassia to Hasadiah b. Hananeel served as a model for subsequent compositions in France and Germany. He was able to improvise, and recited a lament over the bier of a wayfarer which he saw being conveyed through the streets. The incident was parodied by a teacher named Moses (later of Pavia) who incurred Amittai's resentment, and had to leave Oria. In general his poems consist of equal stanzas each with its own rhyming key, varying from distiches to decastiches, sometimes with a repetend at the end of each strophe. Y. David's critical edition of Amittai's poems contains 46 poems collected on the basis of 100 manuscripts in addition to the work by B. Klar, *Megillat Aḥima'aẓ*.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Schirmann, Italyah, 2–11; idem, Roth, Dark Ages, 252–6; B. Klar (ed.), *Megillat Aḥima'aẓ* (1944), 36–37, 72–119; Davidson, Oẓar, 4 (1933), 368–9; Zunz, Lit Poesie, 166–8; Y. David, *The Poems of Amittay, Critical Edition with Introduction and Commentary* (1975).

[Abraham Meir Habermann]

AMMATHA (**Hamta, Ammatu, Ammatus**), ancient town located east of the Jordan, 21 Roman mi. south of *Pella. Ammatha was a fortified city in the period of the Second Temple, when it was captured by Alexander Yannai, who seized there the treasures of Theodore, the son of Zeno, ruler of Philadelphia (Jos., Ant. 13:356; Wars 1:86–87). When Alexander later resumed his campaign in Transjordan, he found that Theodore had razed the abandoned city to the ground (Jos., Ant. 13:356; Wars 1:86–89). A royal palace, nevertheless, still existed there in the time of Herod (Jos., Ant., 17:277).

Ammatha was the capital of one of the five districts, each with its own council (*synhedrion*), into which Gabinius divided Judea (Jos., Ant. 14:91; Wars 1:170). In Byzantine times it was still the headquarters of a fiscal district. It is mentioned several times in rabbinic sources as Ammatu, Hamtan, or Hamata, which would indicate a place possessing hot springs (TJ, Shev. 6:1, 39d; Mid. Ps. to 92:11). In the Arab period, Ammatha continued to be an important center of agriculture (cereals, indigo) and industry (arrowheads). The Arab geographer al-Idrīsī (1154) mentions it along with Jericho and Beth-Shean as one of the finest towns of the Jordan Valley. Ammatha is identified with Tell ʿAmmātā, northeast of the confluence of the Jabbok and Jordan rivers.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Glueck, in: AASOR, 15 (1935), 95ff.; Avi-Yonah, Geog, 165.

[Michael Avi-Yonah]

AMMERSCHWIHR (Ger. **Ammerschweier**), town in eastern France, 5 mi. N.W. of *Colmar. Jewish residents in Ammerschwihr are mentioned in 1534 when *Joseph (Joselmann) ben Gershom of Rosheim notified them of complaints made by the Colmar magistracy that they were contravening its regulations by introducing foreign currency into the city and selling new clothes there. The municipal regulations of 1561–63, which refer to the text of a former regulation (of 1440), specify the conditions governing Jewish residence in Ammerschwihr. The Jews were required to make an annual payment of 16 florins to the city and city guilds and were prohibited from leaving their homes during the week preceding Easter, and from fetching water from the wells on Sundays and Christian holy days. Outside their homes they were to wear the Jewish *badge. Sale of goods was forbidden to Jews at any place other than in front of the "Stockbrunnen"; they could, however, engage in peddling, and sell their wares at the annual fair; all Jewish visitors to Ammerschwihr had to pay three *deniers* for each day they spent in the city, and an additional six *deniers* if they remained overnight. Jewish residence ceased from the end of the 16th century; the toll was still imposed between 1625 and 1630 on transients (Archives Municipals. BB 17 fol. 82, 103). The "rue des Juifs" was located between the Colmar gate and the market place.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Hoffmann, in: *Documents inédits*, 1 (1904), 81–82 (published by the *Revue d' Alsace*); Loeb, in: REJ, 5 (1882), 95.

[Bernhard Blumenkranz]

AMMI'AD (Heb. עַמִּיעַד), kibbutz in northern Israel, on the Tiberias–Rosh Pinnah highway. Ammiad, affiliated with Iḥud ha-Kevuẓot ve-ha-Kibbutzim, was founded in 1946 by a group of Israeli-born youth, who were later joined by immigrants. The rocky ground allocated to the settlement had to undergo thorough land reclamation to enable the development of farm branches, which included an avocado plantation, deciduous fruit orchards, intensive field crops, and beef cattle. Its factory produced filtration and fertilization systems. The kibbutz also operated a winery and vacation resort. In 2002 it numbered 429 residents. Remnants of a wayfarers' hostel from the Middle Ages have been unearthed there.

[Efraim Orni]

°**AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS** (c. 330–400), last of the great Latin pagan historians of antiquity. He speaks of Jews in four separate passages of his history. The first refers to Pompey's conquest of Jerusalem (14, 8:11–12); in the second he quotes the disparaging remarks of Marcus Aurelius on the Jews (22, 5:5). Most important is the third passage which contains a description of the attempt of *Julian the Apostate to rebuild the Temple in Jerusalem (23, 1:2–3). He ascribes this not to sympathy with the Jews, but to the emperor's desire to leave a memorial to his reign. According to Marcellinus, the project was entrusted to a certain Alypius of Antioch, but it could not be executed because of an explosion of balls of fire on the Temple Mount. The fourth passage mentions a city on the Euphrates deserted by its Jewish inhabitants during Julian's campaign against the Persians (24, 4:1–2). Marcellinus does not express his personal opinion with regard to the proposed rebuilding of the Temple, but from his quotation from Marcus Aurelius he does not seem to have been well disposed to the Jews.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Reinach, Textes, 351–5.

[Menahem Stern]

AMMI BAR NATHAN (end of third century), Palestinian *amora*. Ammi and his colleague, R. Assi, were the most outstanding of the Palestinian *amoraim* of the period. They were referred to as "the renowned Palestinian *kohanim*" (Meg. 22a) and "the Palestinian magistrates" (Sanh. 17b). Apparently, while still in Babylonia, Ammi studied under Rav (Ned. 40b–41a). In Palestine he studied under Oshaya and Ḥanina, and also transmitted statements in the names of R. Yannai, R. Joshua b. Levi, and R. Judah ha-Nasi II. However, like his colleague R. Assi, his main teacher was R. Johanan. Both Ammi and Assi studied at Johanan's yeshivah in Tiberias (Shab. 119a; Git. 40a). When Johanan died, Ammi observed the mourning customary for a father (MK 25b). He also studied under Resh Lakish who once ransomed him from captivity (TJ, Ter. 8:10, 46b). Ammi seems to have been both a pupil and a colleague of Eleazar and apparently also of R. Isaac Nappaḥa. Ammi and Assi are frequently mentioned in conjunction. They were ordained together, and at their ordination a song was sung in their honor, commencing: "Ordain us men like these!" (Ket. 17a). After the death of R. Johanan and R. Eleazar in the year 279, both headed the yeshivah at Tiberias, but Ammi was the more important (*Iggeret R. Sherira Gaon*). Both were praised for their piety and stories were told of miracles which happened to them (Ber. 62a), of their scrupulousness in honoring the Sabbath, of their preparation of *eruv tavshilin for all the inhabitants of Tiberias (Beẓah 16b), and of their good works (TJ, Ḥag. 1:7, 76c), especially the redemption of captives. It is also stated that although there were 13 synagogues in Tiberias, they used to pray "between the pillars" in their place of learning (Ber. 8a, 30b). Ammi and Assi would interrupt their studies and announce "Let anyone who has a lawsuit enter" (that the case could be heard in the presence of both litigants; Shab. 10a). Together with R. Ḥiyya b. Abba, Ammi and Assi were appointed by R. Judah ha-Nasi II as inspectors of education in the towns and villages of Palestine, with authority to introduce necessary reforms (TJ, Ḥag. 1:7, 76c). Ammi accompanied Judah ha-Nasi II to Hammath-Geder (TJ, Av. Zar. 2:2, 40d and 5:15, 45b). There is also a record of his visit to the court of Zenobia, queen of Palmyra, to intercede for the release of a scholar who had been taken prisoner (TJ, Ter. 8:10, 46b). Despite his closeness to the *nasi* and his household, Ammi did not refrain from criticizing their actions when he disapproved of them; as in the case of the appointment of magistrates in consideration of monetary payment (TJ, Bik. 3:3, 65d). As long as R. Huna, head of the yeshivah of Sura, in Babylonia, was still alive, Ammi and Assi continued to be subject to his authority (Meg. 22a). The reference in Bava Batra 11b, "R. Huna asked R. Ammi" is taken by some to allude to another, earlier Ammi, and by others to another, later R. Huna (see Tos. *ibid.*). However, after the death of R. Huna in the late third century, Ammi seems to have been the outstanding authority of his generation. On one occasion the preamble to the publication of a certain practical halakhic decision of his read: "From me, Ammi b. Nathan, the Torah goes forth to all Israel" (Git. 44a). Among those who addressed halakhic inquiries to Ammi were R. Abbahu, head of the yeshivah at Caesarea in Ereẓ Israel (TJ, Yev. 4:11, 6a) and R. Naḥman and Rava, heads of the yeshivah at Maḥoza in Babylonia (Git. 63b). Ammi probably returned to Babylonia for some time, since halakhic discussions are reported between him and R. Naḥman (Ber. 47b) and R. Ḥisda (Yev. 21b).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Hyman, Toledot, 219–25; Frankel, Mevo, 63ff.; Halevy, Dorot, 2 (1923), 348ff.; Bacher, Pal Amor.

[Zvi Kaplan]

AMMINADAV (Heb. עַמִּינָדָב), moshav S.W. of Jerusalem. It was founded in 1950 as a work village whose settlers were primarily employed as laborers for *Jewish National Fund land reclamation. The settlers came from Turkey, Morocco, or were Israeli-born. The village economy was based on hillculture (vineyards, deciduous fruit, vegetables) and poultry. In the vicinity the John F. Kennedy Memorial was built and a great deal of afforestation work done. Amminadav's population in the mid-1990s was approximately 400 but due to its location near Jerusalem many new families settled there, bringing the population up to 595 in 2002. The moshav's name derives from a prince of the Judah tribe, the father of Nahshon.

[Efraim Orni]

AMMON, AMMONITES, ancient people. The Ammonites are one of the many tribes that emerged from the Syrio-Arabian desert during the second millennium B.C.E. and eventually established a national kingdom in Transjordan. In the Bible they are usually called "*Benei ʿAmmon*" ("Children of Ammon"), while Akkadian inscriptions have them as *Bīt Am-ma-na-aia* and their land as *māt Ba-an-am-na-aya.* As is now known from Ammonite inscriptions of the seventh century B.C.E. their self-appelation was *bnʿmn* written as one word, with no *yod* following the nun. According to Genesis 19:38, the Ammonites are named for their ancestor Ben-Ammi (*ben ʿammi*, "son of my kin"), who was so named by Lot's younger daughter because he was born of her incestuous relations with her father. Since Lot was a nephew of Abraham, the story attests the Israelites' belief that the Ammonites were related to them. However, Deuteronomy 23:4 forbids participation by Ammonite and Moabite aliens in the Israelite cultic community.

The Land

At the end of the 15th century B.C.E., the Ammonites settled along the upper and central Jabbok River and in the area of its tributaries. Their eastern border was the desert, with the central Jabbok constituting their northern boundary (e.g., Deut. 3:16; Josh. 12:2). It was supposed that their western and southern boundaries were marked by the so-called *rujm malfūf* (sing.). These were massive structures built of large, rough stones. Some of the structures are circular and up to 16 meters in diameter, while others are rectangular or square. Their massive construction and strategic location, within sight of one another, indicate that these buildings were used for guarding and defense purposes. But a recent excavation in *rujm malfūf* west of Rabbath-Ammon (Amman) showed it to be from the Roman period, as no earlier remains were found there. It is possible then to reconstruct the Ammonite borders approximately in light of biblical data and topographical conditions. The northern boundary ran from the central part of the Jabbok River (which flows east to west) to the point where Wadi al-Rumaymīn enters the Jabbok. The western border extended from the Jabbok Wadi at Rumaymīn confluence southward along the Wadi Umm al-Danānīr, which originates in the Sahl al-Bugay'a Valley. The ridge of mountains divides the upper Jabbok tributaries from the upper beds of Wadi Shu'ayb, Wadi al-Sīr, Wadi Kafrayn, and Wadi Ḥisbān. Important settlements along the western boundary were at Jogbehah (al-Jubahyat), Jazer, and Nāʿūr. On the south, at Nāʿūr, the border turned eastward, passing north of the Israelite settlements at Elealeh and Mephaath. The most important of the Ammonite settlements was *Rabbath-Ammon, whose location made it ideal as the royal city and the capital of the country. The city is situated alongside the source of the Jabbok (II Sam. 12:27) and enjoys natural protection. It drew its wealth from the agricultural surroundings and from international trade conducted along the main north-south road of the Transjordanian highlands – the "King's Highway." As a border city, Rabbath-Ammon lay in the path of the caravan trade between Arabia and the major centers of the Fertile Crescent. But the country was equally open to incursions of nomads who lived by raising sheep, goats, and camels, and by raiding the settled population (as well as each other). An exploration headed by N. Glueck discovered a network of fortresses along the eastern border of the Transjordanian states. It has become clear that these communities were destroyed by invasions of desert nomads in the second quarter of the first millennium B.C.E.

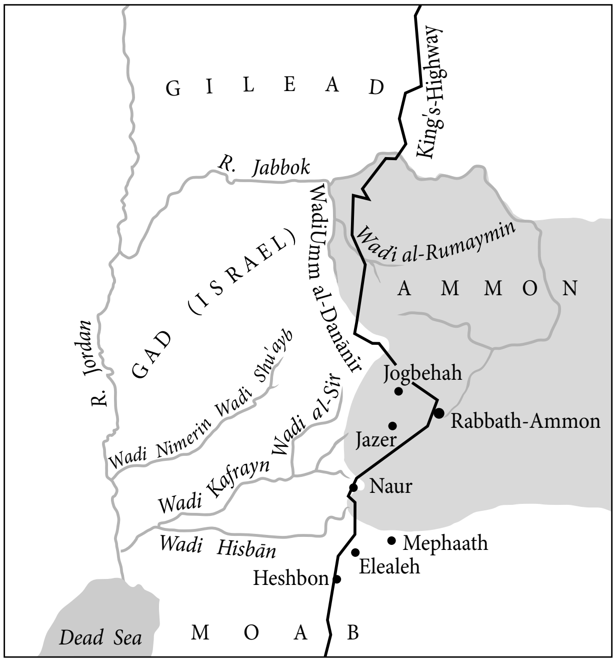

Ammonite region and towns.

Culture

The transition from the nomadic life to permanent settlement in the Jabbok region caused changes in the social order, economy, and government of the Ammonites. They adopted a way of life and form of government which was an amalgam of nomadism, in which they had been rooted for generations, and the customs of the urban and agricultural civilizations.

The Ammonites were organized along the lines of a centralized national monarchy (I Sam. 12:26). It was dynastic (II Sam. 10:1) and based upon a ramified administration (II Sam. 10:3 = I Chron. 19:3; Jer. 49:3; Amos 1:15). Ammonite seals testify to the existence of high officials with the title *ʿbd* ("servant"), such as *lʾDnnr ʿbd ʿMndb* "belonging to Adoni-Nur, servant of Amminadab," and *lʾDnplṭ ʿbd ʿMndb* "belonging to Adoni-Phelet, servant of Amminadab." The statuette of an important Ammonite bears the legend *Yrḥʿzr rb rkshn* "Yaraḥʿazar, Overseer of the Horses." Seals of Ammonite women indicate that they were also appointed to the administrative staff or owned property. It is fairly certain that the higher officialdom was selected from the Ammonite nobility. Luxurious stone-carved burial caves containing tools and expensive jewelry, undoubtedly reserved for noble families, have been found in Rabbath-Ammon and its environs.

Most of the population supported itself by farming (grain crops and orchards) and grazing (Num. 32:1–4; Jer. 48:32; II Chron. 27:5). There were extensive tracts of arable land and settlements were usually situated near wells and streams, which were used to irrigate the fields by means of man-made channels. In areas unsuited for agriculture, mainly in the east, the inhabitants lived as seminomads in temporary quarters, such as tents and huts. In times of danger they could find shelter in the fortresses that dotted the borders. The Ammonite material culture, as far as can be determined from finds (mostly from the eighth and seventh centuries), was influenced by several centers of culture. The local imitations were marked by design and workmanship inferior to those of Ammon's northern and western neighbors. Architectural style was simple and massive, and lacked any decorative elements. Ceramic artifacts, however, indicate that Ammonite potters achieved a high level of technical proficiency and adapted Assyrian, Phoenician, and Israelite styles. Stone sculpture reveals a mixture of Egyptian, Phoenician, Syrian, and Assyrian elements. The two most common forms of seals – the scarab-shaped and the cone-shaped – are represented. The engraving on seals tends to be crude and does not represent the work of consummate artists. The designs engraved on the seals are rich in art motifs taken from Phoenicia, Egypt, Aram, and Assyria. Most of the objets d'art that have been recovered came from well-planned and spacious rock-hewn family burial caves. Some of these caves have ledges upon which the corpses were placed. Many ceramic, metal, and glass objects were found near the bones in these tombs. The discovery of a tenth- or ninth-century cover of an anthropoid coffin from Sahab is worth note, as it appears to have been widespread in Egypt and Philistia; during the eighth and seventh centuries, the Ammonites buried their dead in Assyrian-type coffins (cf. the tomb of Adoni-Nur). (For Ammonite mourning customs, see Jer. 49:3.)

Comparatively little is known of the Ammonite religion. The national god was Milcom (e.g., I Kings 11:5), whose name appears on two seals from the neo-Babylonian and Persian periods. The custom of burning children for *Moloch is mentioned several times in the Bible, but it is not clear if the references are to the Ammonite cult and its god Milcom, and there is no positive evidence that the sacrifice of human beings to Milcom was practiced in Ammon. It is also unclear if the various theophoric elements appearing in private Ammonite names, such as Yaraḥʿazar, or the motifs engraved on seals, such as the crescent on the seal of Mannu-ki-Inurta, indicate religious syncretism. Like most of the tribes whose descent is traced to *Eber, the Ammonites were circumcised, as is apparent from Jeremiah 9:24–25.

Evidence about the Ammonite script and language is available from many names and a few epigraphic discoveries. The Ammonites used the Canaanite alphabet, which displayed the substantial influence of Aramean lapidary writing. The Ammonite language was no doubt a North-West *Semitic language, as may be seen from personal names (e.g., Nahash, Hanun, Shabel, Amminadab, Hananel, Menahem, Abihaz, Elisha) and words (e.g., *bn*, "son"; *bt*, "daughter"; *ʿbd*, "servant"; *ʾmh*, "maidservant"; *naʿar*, "young man"). However, Arabic elements can also be discerned in the Ammonite onomasticon. These South-Semitic elements must have entered the language at a later stage, when the Ammonites entered into trade with Arabia, which received its first impetus beginning in the tenth century and intensified during the Assyrian period.

Ammon and Israel

The Ammonites' finest hour came at the end of the period of the Judges. *Nahash, their king, conquered Israelite territories bordering Ammon and even succeeded in crossing the Jabbok to the north and besieging Jabesh-Gilead (I Sam. 11). His degrading demand upon the inhabitants of Jabesh-Gilead testifies to Ammonite power and self-confidence; it was a challenge to all the tribes of Israel, as was the seven-day period given to the population of the city to find a savior (I Sam. 11:3). The unexpected appearance of *Saul at the head of a unified Israelite army completely altered the balance of power between Ammon and Israel and brought about the Ammonite withdrawal from Israelite territory in Gilead. Saul did not enslave the Ammonites, as he was so occupied with ending internal feuds and wars with Israel's neighbors (I Sam. 14:47–48). Nahash the Ammonite remained on his throne and even passed the kingdom on to his son Hanun (II Sam. 10:1; I Chron. 19:1). Hanun's provocation of King David's goodwill delegation (II Sam. 10), which was probably instigated by the Arameans, led to war between Ammon and David (II Sam. 10–12; I Chron. 19–20). Aramean military aid to Ammon was not sufficient to prevent David's conquest of the entire country. The intent of II Samuel 12:30 (= I Chron. 20:2), regarding the crown that David removed from the head of the Ammonite king, is not clear: it may mean either that David crowned himself king of the Ammonites or that he only took the crown as spoil but left the kingdom in the hands of Shobi, the son of Nahash, who became his vassal (II Sam. 17:27).

Ammon was subjugated to Israel during the reigns of David and Solomon. Although David subjected the Ammonites to a corvée (II Sam. 12:31), he also appointed some of them to important positions in the kingdom (II Sam. 23:37; = I Chron. 11:39). *Solomon had Ammonite wives, some of whom brought the worship of their god, Milcom, to Jerusalem (I Kings 11:5–8; II Kings 23:13). Moreover, Solomon's son *Rehoboam, the heir apparent, was born of an Ammonite mother (I Kings 14:21). This fact might have been reason for some affinity between Ammon and Jerusalem, but it did not prove sufficient to create a firm alliance with either Judah or Israel after the division of the kingdom. The split in Solomon's kingdom, the wars between Rehoboam and Jeroboam, *Shishak's campaign into Ereẓ Israel, and the rise in strength of *Aram-Damascus all encouraged the Ammonites to cast off the Israelite yoke and become independent. The kings of Aram-Damascus, who sought hegemony over Palestine, encouraged the Transjordanian states to act against the kingdoms of Israel and Judah.

Ammon's fate was largely dependent upon the relative military strengths of Aram, Israel, and Judah and the political ability of its own rulers to exploit developments in Syria and Palestine for their own ends. It seems that the Ammonites did not participate in the 12-party pact of the kings of Syria, Phoenicia, and Palestine against Assyria. It is most probable that Baasha son of Rehob of Aman who is mentioned among the allies who fought against Shalmaneser III at Karkar in 853 (Pritchard, Texts, 279), was from Mount Amana in Syria, and not from the land of Ammon. II Chronicles 20 contains a description of an invasion of Judah by Moab and Ammon during *Jehoshaphat's time, but the geography of the account is difficult. It is almost certain that the Ammonites exploited the strong Aramean pressures on Israel to extend their borders in Gilead at Israel's expense (Amos 1:13). During the reigns of *Jeroboam son of Joash, *Uzziah, and *Jotham, there was a change in the balance of power in Palestine and Syria. Jeroboam is credited with ruling over Damascus and Hamath (II Kings 14:28), while Uzziah subjugated the Ammonites, who paid a tax and tribute to him and his son Jotham (II Chron. 26:8; 27:5). Some believe that during the period families moved from Judah to Transjordan and established large estates in Gilead, and that among them was the family of Tabeel (Isa. 7:6), which is later called the family of Tobijah. If II Chronicles 27:5 is to be understood literally that the king of the Ammonites paid a tax to Jotham in the second and third years of his reign, it is possible to assume that he rebelled against Jotham and ceased to pay his levy in the fourth year. This cessation of the tax may be explained against the background of II Kings 15:37, where the hostile activities of *Rezin and *Pekah against Judah during Jotham's reign are mentioned. Even though Ammon liberated itself from Judah's domination during this period, Tiglath-Pileser III does not list the king of Ammon among Assyria's enemies. As far as can be seen, the Ammonites did not join the anti-Assyrian alliance of Rezin and Pekah.

Under Assyrian and Babylonian Rule and the End of the Kingdom

The campaign of Tiglath-Pileser III into Palestine in 734–732 B.C.E. drew all the states of the area, including Ammon, into the Assyrian orbit. Subjection to Assyria took the form of periodic payment of taxes, occasional tributes, a corvée, and military aid to the Assyrian king. The tax records of Tiglath-Pileser III mention Sanipu of Ammon (Pritchard, Texts, 282). An Assyrian letter from the last third of the eighth century discovered at Nimrud (Calah) mentions a delegation from the land of the Ammonites (*māt Ba-an-am-ma-na-aia*) that came to Calah together with delegations from other countries bearing tributes to the Assyrian king. Buduilu (Puduil), king of Ammon, did not join *Hezekiah's rebellion against Assyria in 701, but declared his allegiance to the Assyrian monarch by rendering a tribute to him (Pritchard, Texts, 287). In 676, Buduilu is mentioned along with "the kings of Ḫatti, the seashore, and the islands," who were obliged to supply cedar and pine beams from the Lebanon and Sirion mountain ranges for the construction of Esarhaddon's palace at Nineveh (Pritchard, Texts, 291). Amminadab (Amminadbi), the Ammonite king who was contemporary with Esarhaddon and Ashurbanipal, is mentioned together with "22 kings of provinces of the shore, the islands, and the mainland" who paid heavy tributes to the two Assyrian kings and sent their armies to the Assyrian war against Egypt in 667 (Pritchard, Texts, 294). Two Assyrian documents that mention a tax paid by the Ammonites and other nations to Assyria probably come from this period.

The Ammonite kings submitted to Assyrian domination because they saw in it a guarantee of their security against desert marauders and a position within the Assyrian imperial framework was beneficial to commercial activities and economic growth (Jer. 49:4). This considerable economic activity is attested to by the large number of seals and other finds from the period of Assyrian rule. Archaeological evidence also testifies to the growth of local Ammonite production, alongside substantial import of jewelry and other luxury items. The war conducted by Kamashaltu, king of Moab, against the king of Kedar (Pritchard, Texts, 298) and Ezekiel's prophecy regarding Ammon (Ezek. 25:4–5) indicate the serious dangers that the wandering bands posed to the peoples of Transjordan. Only with the aid of Assyria, which held substantial interests in international trade and waged numerous wars against the desert tribes, were the Transjordanian states able to fortify their desert borders and repulse the nomadic marauders. The Assyrians for their part had an interest in strengthening the border states and tying them into the empire's defense system. It is even possible that Ammon was able to extend its borders in Gilead under Assyrian auspices (Zeph. 2:8).

There is no evidence that the transition from Assyrian to Babylonian rule at the end of the seventh century brought about any immediate changes in Ammon's political or economic situation. When Nebuchadnezzar fought Ashkelon in 604–603 B.C.E., "all the kings of the land of Heth" paid a tribute to the Babylonian king, and it appears that the king of

Ammon was counted among this group. Ammonite troops served with the Chaldeans in suppressing *Jehoiakim's rebellion (II Kings 24:1–2), and perhaps in return for this service the Ammonites were given a free hand in Gilead (Jer. 49:1) and their territory was extended westward to the Jordan, as was also the case with the later Babylonian and Persian province of Ammon. A few years later, however, Ammon was disaffected against Babylonia. An Ammonite king is mentioned among the rulers who sent messengers to *Zedekiah in 594–593, in connection with the organization of a general rebellion against Babylonia (Jer. 27:3), but there is no detailed evidence about the fate of the rebellion or about Ammon's participation. There are, however, several suggestions of Ammonite participation in the 589–586 rebellion, namely the representation of Nebuchadnezzar as stopping to decide whether to advance on Rabbath-Ammon or on Jerusalem in Ezekiel 21:23–27, Zedekiah's evident attempt to flee to Transjordan (I Kings 25:4–5), the refugees from Judah who found asylum in Ammon (Jer. 40:11), and the involvement of Baalis', king of Ammon, perhaps the initiator of the anti-Babylonian policy, in the plot to murder *Gedaliah son of Ahikam, the Babylonian deputy in Judah. A Babylonian punitive expedition against Ammon followed several years later. Josephus (Ant., 10:181–2) relates that five years after the destruction of Jerusalem, during the 23rd year of his reign (in 582 B.C.E.), Nebuchadnezzar conducted a military campaign against Syria and Transjordan. As there is no clear and irrefutable indication about the existence of an independent or semi-independent Ammonite nation after the end of the neo-Babylonian period it may be assumed that it was in the course of Nebuchadnezzar's above-mentioned campaign, or shortly thereafter, that Ammon was reorganized as the province, reaching down to the Jordan, which was known in the Hellenistic times as Ammonitis.

The disintegration of the Assyrian Empire toward the end of the seventh century and the political upheavals in Palestine during the neo-Babylonian period led to the collapse of the defense system along Ammon's desert border. Transjordania was invaded by Arabian tribes which destroyed the community. N. Glueck's archaeological survey of Transjordan reveals that sedentary occupation of Transjordan was terminated in the middle of the sixth century; cultivated lands became the territory of desert nomads (cf. Ezek. 25:4–10). Later mention of Ammon or Ammonites does not refer to the country or people as such, but to the province of Ammon and its population. About "Tobiah the Ammonite servant" (e.g., Neh. 2:10; 3:35) there are divergent opinions. According to one view he was not a true Ammonite but a Jew from the family of Tobijah who served in an important role in the Persian administration. He was called an Ammonite by reason of his residence in that territory. But others maintain that just as Sanballat was a Horonite (of Horonaim in Moab?) but a Samarian by residence, so Tobijah was an Ammonite by descent but a Samarian by residence, and like the other Samarians a Yahwist by religion. During the Hellenistic period, the area of Ammon was reduced to its eastern section and its urban center, Philadelphia (Rabbath-Ammon). The western part, which had a large Jewish population, was known as Perea (Peraea) and was annexed by the Hasmonean kingdom under Jonathan.

[Bustanay Oded]

In the *Aggadah*

Ammonites are linked with Moabites throughout the *aggadah* and *halakhah*. The *aggadah* explains the especially severe decree against Ammonites and Moabites: "They shall not enter the congregation of the Lord" (Deut. 23:4). It says that these tribes did not show gratitude to the Israelites, whose ancestor, Abraham, had saved Lot, the father of Ammon and Moab. Instead, they committed four hostile acts against Israel. They sought to destroy Israel by hiring Balaam. They waged open war against them at the time of Jephthah and of Jehoshaphat. Finally they gave full rein to their hatred against Israel at the destruction of the First Temple. As a result, God appointed four prophets – Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and Zephaniah – to proclaim their punishment (Lam. R. 1:10, ed. Buber (1899), 74). When they heard Jeremiah foretell the destruction of Jerusalem, the Ammonites and Moabites hastened to report it to Nebuchadnezzar and persuaded him to attack the capital (Sanh. 96b). At the capture of the city, instead of seeking booty, they seized the Scroll of the Law in the Temple in order to erase the decree against them (Lam. R. 1:10; Yev. 16b). According to another view, they seized the two cherubim from above the Ark of the Covenant and displayed them in order to prove that Israel, too, was worshipping idols (Lam. R. Proem 9, ed. Buber (1899), 8). The original attitude toward the Ammonites and Moabites was certainly positive as can be seen from the biblical prohibition against attacking them: "Be not at enmity with Moab, neither contend with them in battle; for I will not give thee of his land for a possession" (Deut. 2:9) and "when thou comest nigh over against the children of Ammon, harass them not, nor contend with them, for I will not give thee of the land of the children of Ammon for a possession; because I have given it unto the children of Lot for a possession" (Deut. 2:19). The latter legends stem from deep disappointment; the Ammonites and Moabites could have been expected to be the natural allies of Israel because of their close relationship through Lot, instead of which they became their enemies.

In the *Halakhah*

The rabbis made two significant and far-reaching reservations to the injunction "an Ammonite and a Moabite shall not enter into the congregation of the Lord forever." The first was the halakhic ruling contained in the Mishnah (Yev. 8:3) restricting the prohibition to males. There was scriptural justification for this since not only did Boaz marry Ruth the Moabitess, but Rehoboam the son of Solomon was the son of an Ammonite woman (I Kings 14:21, 31). The *aggadah* (Yev. 76b–77a; cf. Ruth R. 4:6) tells in great detail the dramatic story of the dispute concerning David's claim to the throne on account of his descent from Ruth. The dispute was solved by Ithra the Israelite (II Sam. 17:25) "who girt himself with a sword like an Ishmaelite" (since he is called Jether the Ishmaelite in I Chron. 2:17), and threatened to put to death anyone who disputed the *halakhah* which he had received from the *bet din* of Samuel that the law applied only to males.

Equally dramatic were the circumstances which led to the second ruling, the complete abolition of the restriction. On the day when R. Gamaliel was deposed and R. Eliezer b. Azariah appointed *nasi*, "Judah, an Ammonite proselyte," came to the *bet midrash* and asked whether the prohibition applied to him. Joshua b. Hananiah declared himself in favor of his being accepted since the inhabitants of these countries at that time were not descended from the Ammonites and Moabites of the Bible, as "Sennacherib had long ago mixed up all nations." His view was accepted as the *halakhah* (Ber. 28a; cf. Maim., Yad, Issurei Bi'ah 12:25)

[Louis Isaac Rabinowitz]

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AMNON (Heb. אֲמְנֹן, אַמְנוֹן, אַמִּינוֹן; from the root אמן (ʾ*mn*); "to be firm or trustworthy"), eldest son of King David, born in Hebron of Ahinoam the Jezreelitess (II Sam. 3:2). Becoming infatuated with his beautiful half-sister Tamar, he acted on a ruse devised by his friend Jonadab, "a very clever man," and son of David's brother Shimah, lured her to his bedside on the pretext of illness, raped her, and then cast her out. She then took refuge in the home of her full brother *Absalom. The king did not punish Amnon (II Sam. 13:21). Two years later Absalom invited Amnon to his estate in Baal-Hazor, together with the other royal princes, for a sheep shearing celebration, and ordered his men to kill him while Amnon was merry with wine. (It appears from II Sam. 13:32–33 that Jonadab had now cast his lot with Absalom.) Since David's second son evidently either died young or was incapacitated, Absalom, the third son, now had the strongest claim to the succession on the score of seniority. Recent work from the standpoint of the Bible as literature and feminist criticism has questioned whether Tamar was, in fact, raped. Another trend has been to compare Amnon's actions toward Tamar with David's actions toward Bathsheba.

According to rabbinic tradition (Sanh. 21a), Amnon could have married Tamar as she was conceived prior to her mother's conversion. This tragic incident prompted the rabbis to forbid an unmarried girl to remain alone with a man in a room (*ibid.* 21a–b). The affair of Amnon and Tamar is stigmatized in *Avot* 5:16 as the prototype of selfish love prompted by lust. For reasons of propriety, the Mishnah excludes the story from public reading in synagogue, whether in the original or in Aramaic translation (Meg. 4:10).

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AMNON OF MAINZ (tenth century), martyr and legendary figure. Amnon is known mainly through *Isaac b. Moses of Vienna (12th–13th century) who quotes *Ephraim b. Jacob (12th century) as speaking of Amnon as "a leader of his generation, wealthy, of distinguished ancestry, and pleasing appearance." The legend is that after Amnon resisted repeated attempts by the bishop of Mainz to persuade him to accept Christianity, he was barbarically mutilated. He was brought back to his home, and on Rosh Ha-Shanah was carried into the synagogue. As the *Kedushah* prayer was about to be recited Amnon asked the *ḥazzan* to wait while he "sanctified the great name (of God)," and thereupon recited the hymn "*U-Netanneh Tokef Kedushat ha-Yom*" ("Let us tell the mighty holiness of this day"), after which he died. Three days afterward, he appeared in a dream to *Kalonymus b. Meshullam and taught him the entire prayer, asking him to circulate it throughout the Diaspora for recital in synagogues on Rosh Ha-Shanah. This legend, which gained wide credence during the time of the Crusades, inspired many to martyrdom. In Johanan *Treves' commentary on the Roman *maḥzor* (Bologna, 1540) and in various editions of the Ashkenazi rite, the story is repeated with slight changes. In the Ashkenazi liturgy of Rosh Ha-Shanah (and in its eastern branch, of the Day of Atonement also), the recital of the hymn is invested with great solemnity. It has been adapted by many Sephardi communities of the Mediterranean, in some of which it is recited before *Musaf* in a Ladino translation. *U-Netanneh Tokef* is actually older; for it is found in old liturgical manuscripts and in *genizah* fragments. It apparently derives from a very early Palestinian prayer which was later attributed to Amnon.

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[Abraham Meir Habermann]

AM OLAM, Russian Jewish society formed to establish agricultural colonies in the United States. The organization took its name from Perez *Smolenskin's famous Hebrew essay "*Am Olam*, ("The Eternal People"), and was founded in Odessa in 1881 by two young utopian idealists, Mania Bakl and Moses Herder, who called for the settling of Jews on the land in America in the form of socialist communes. Coming at a time of rising Jewish emigration and interest in national and social renewal such as motivated the Bilu movement as well, their appeal fell on fertile ground and Am Olam chapters were quickly formed in a number of Russian cities. The first contingent of 70 Jewish craftsmen, artisans, and students left for America from Yelizavetgrad in the spring of 1881 and was followed in 1881–82 by additional groups totaling several hundred people from Kiev, Kremenchug, Vilna, and Odessa. Many of the immigrants never proceeded beyond New York, where they eventually drifted apart, but four colonies were ultimately established. The first of these, consisting of 32 families led by Herman *Rosenthal, settled on over 1,000 acres at Sicily Island, Louisiana, in the spring of 1882 but was soon forced to abandon the site as a result of a disastrous Mississippi River flood. Twelve of these families then went with Rosenthal to South Dakota, where they founded a second colony called "Crimea" in September 1882. Another settlement, "Bethlehem of Judea," was established the same year a few miles away. Both lasted until 1885, when debt and other difficulties led to their liquidation.

The longest-lived of the Am Olam colonies, as well as the most intensely communistic, "New Odessa," was established by some 70 persons near Portland, Oregon, in 1882. Led by the socialist Pavel Kaplan and the non-Jewish disciple of Comte's "religion of humanity," William Frey, the settlement flourished for a while until internal bickering and demoralization set in, bringing about its demise in 1887. Some of the survivors, led by Kaplan, sought to reorganize as an urban commune, first in San Francisco and then in New York, but by 1890 they too had disbanded and the last vestiges of Am Olam had ceased to exist. Many of its former members, however, continued to play an active role as individuals within New York's Jewish socialist community.

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[Hillel Halkin]

AMON (Heb. אָמוֹן, אָמֹן), son of *Manasseh; became king of Judah (642–640 B.C.E.) at the age of 22. The author of Chronicles considered the "transgressions" of Amon to have been "more numerous" than those of his father Manasseh (II Chron. 33:23). The reasons for Amon's assassination by members of his court are not explained in the Bible, but the conspirators were put to death by the *am ha-areẓ* (i.e., "the people of the land," probably the large landowners). They enthroned his young son Josiah. It has been argued that the conspirators were opponents of the pro-Assyrian policies of Manasseh and Amon, while the *am ha-areẓ* were pro-Assyrian. Support for the hypothesis is based on synchronizing Amon's reign with the period of a rebellion in Syria against Ashurbanipal, king of Assyria, which is reported in Assyrian sources. On this analysis, Amon, who is said to have followed the ways of his father Manasseh (II Kings 21:20–21), would have remained loyal to the Assyrian régime and opposed this rebellion, while the intervention of the *am ha-areẓ* and their crowning of the eight-year-old Josiah were intended to forestall eventual complications after the suppression of the rebellion by the Assyrians. But a revised chronology of Ashurbanipal's inscriptions militates against the suggested synchronism.

In the *Aggadah*

Talmudic tradition considers Amon, in the light of what is said in Chronicles, as the worst of Judah's kings and concludes that his sins surpassed those of Ahaz and Manasseh. Ahaz put his seal on the Torah to prevent the reading of it; Manasseh erased the names of God from the Torah; while Amon ordered all of the Torah scrolls burned. Only one Torah scroll, which was found during the reign of Josiah, managed to escape his decree. The sins of Amon in the interruption of the Temple cult were also extremely severe (Sanh. 103b; SOR 24). Nevertheless, Amon is not enumerated among the kings (Jeroboam, Ahab, and Manasseh) who do not have a portion in the World to Come. This was a consequence of the merit of his son Josiah (Sanh. 104a).

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AMORA (Aram. אָמוֹרָא; "sayer," "spokesman"), a term which designates the "interpreter," who communicated audibly to the assembled pupils the lessons of the rabbinic teacher. It is also used as a generic term for the rabbis of the post-mishnaic period, whose activities were centered on the interpretation of the Mishnah (see **Amoraim*). The *amoraim* as teachers would often employ an *amora* as their spokesman. The *amora* stood by the teacher when he lectured. It was primarily to him that the rabbi spoke and he, in turn, conveyed those words to the audience. The Talmud (Yoma 20b) states that *Rav, who himself had served as an *amora* to R. Shila, appointed an *amora* when he wished to address a large assembly. There are instances both of the scholar communicating his words to the *amora* in Aramaic (Gen. R. 10) and of the *amora* addressing the pupils in Hebrew (Sanh. 7b).

The *Amora* is mentioned during the talmudic period both in Palestine and in Babylonia. Avdan is mentioned as the *amora* of R. Judah ha-Nasi (TJ, Ber. 4:1, 7c), while R. Pedat served as the *amora* of R. Yose (TJ, Meg. 4:10, 75c). Even Mar b. R. Ashi, one of the last of the *amoraim*, used to employ an *amora* at his addresses (Kid. 31b). Sometimes the *amora* was given considerable latitude in his expositions (Sot. 40a). Resh Lakish once told his *amora* Judah ben Naḥman, to utter words of comfort on his behalf to mourners whom they both visited (Ket. 8b). On occasion, questions by the students would be addressed to the *amora* who would prepare them for submission to the rabbi. At times he would make the concluding remarks after the delivery of an aggadic discourse or public discussion (TJ, Ber. 4:3, 7c). Sometimes when the assembly was exceptionally large, several *amoraim* were employed, Rav Huna on one occasion employing no less than 13 simultaneously (Ket. 106a). On one occasion when the *nasi* appointed a judge, who though wealthy was of doubtful erudition, Judah b. Naḥman was appointed as his *amora*. In the course of his discourses, Judah made sarcastic references to his ignorance, and criticized the *nasi* for appointing him (Sanh. 7b). References are found to *amoraim* who delivered the discourse in an unnecessarily loud voice, thus minimizing the effect of the original address, spoken in a soft and gentle tone (Eccl. R. 9:17; Ber. 56a). The institution of the *amora* continued as late as the 12th century, and is mentioned by Pethahiah of Regensburg under the name *meturgeman* (A. Benisch (ed.), *Travels of Rabbi Petachia* (1856), 16–17).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Guttmann, Mafte'aḥ, 3 (1924), 182–4; S.J.L. Rapoport, *Erekh Millin* (1852), 115–21.

[Shmuel Safrai]

AMORAIM (Aram. אֲמוֹרָאִים), designation of the scholars in the Land of Israel and Babylonia who succeeded the *tannaim* and preceded (in Babylonia) the **savoraim* and *geonim*. (See Table: Heads of Academies.) The composition of the Mishnah by R. Judah ha-Nasi in the beginning of the third century, and its subsequent dissemination and gradual acceptance in the academies of the Land of Israel and Babylonia led to a break between scholarly activity of the earlier period and the halakhic and aggadic activity of later scholars. These scholars are the "*amoraim*," whose words constitute most of the attributed material in the Talmudim and the amoraic midrash-compilations. The word "*amora*" means "speaker" or "interpreter," and the application of this term to these scholars likely stems from their work in interpreting and deriving *halakhah* from the Mishnah and contemporaneous *beraitot*. Already in both Talmudim, we find references to the *amoraim* as a group distinct from *tannaim*: R. Levi and R. Simon are described as "two *amorin*" (TJ Berakhot 1:1, 2c), and the Babylonian Talmud (Bavli) explicitly distinguishes *tannaim* from *amoraim* (TB Eruvin 7a; TB Sanhedrin 6a and 33a). At times, the Babylonian Talmud also calls attention to *amoraim* it describes as "*amora'ei be-ma'arava*" ("*amoraim* in the West," meaning the Land of Israel; e.g., TB Shabbat 21b, 96a; TB Ketubot 80a).

Many Palestinian *amoraim* (and the *tannaim* before them) conventionally bear the title "Rabbi"; the equivalent title of recognition for Babylonian *Amoriam* is "Rav." A number of *amoraim* in both centers hold neither title. The traditional view is that the title "Rabbi" was only conferred on a scholar after ordination by the patriarch and Sanhedrin in Palestine. Modern scholars have suggested that the difference between these titles is actually a linguistic feature marking separate dialects.

The Generations of the Amoraim

The *amoraim* were active between approximately 220 C.E. (the traditional date of the redaction of the Mishnah) and 360 or 370 in the Land of Israel, and between 220 and approximately

Heads of the Academies of Ereẓ Israel (Palestine) and Babylon.

Ereẓ Israel	Babylon
First Generation 220 C.E.–250 C.E.	
R. Ḥanina b. Ḥama: head of the Council of Sepphoris	Rav (Abba b. Aivu): founder and head of the Academy of Sura
Oshaiah Rabbah: head of the academy at Caesarea	Samuel: head of the Academy of Nehardea
R. Yannai	Karna: "Dayyan of the Golah"
R. Joshua b. Levi: head of the Academy at Lydda	Mar Ukba: the Exilarch
Second Generation 250 C.E.–290 C.E.	
R. Johanan: head of the Academy at Tiberias	R. Huna: head of the Academy of Sura
R. Simeon b. Lakish: (Resh Lakish)	R. Judah b. Ezekiel: head of the Academy of Pumbedita
R. Eleazar b. Pedat: Head of the Academy at Tiberias	R. Hamnuna
Third Generation 290 C.E.–320 C.E.	
R. Ammi b. Nathan: head of the Academy at Tiberias	R. Ḥisda: head of the Academy of Sura
R. Assi: head of the Academy at Tiberias	Rabbah b. Huna: head of the Academy of Sura
R. Abbahu: head of the Academy at Caesarea	Rabba b. Naḥmani: head of the Academy of Pumbedita
R. Zeira	R. Joseph B. Ḥiyya: head of the Academy of Pumbedita
Fourth Generation 320 C.E.–350 C.E.	
R. Jonah: head of the Academy at Tiberias	Abbaye: head of the Academy of Pumbedita
R. Yose: head of the Academy at Tiberias	Rava b. Joseph: founder and head of the Academy of Maḥoza
R. Jeremiah	Rami b. Ḥama
R. Haggai	R. Zeira
Fifth Generation 350 C.E.–375 C.E.	
R. Mani: head of the Academy at Tiberias	R. Papa: founder and head of the Academy at Naresh
R. Yose b. Avin	R. Huna b. Joshua
R. Tanḥuma b. Abba	R. Zevid: head of the Academy at Pumbedita
Sixth Generation 375 C.E.–425 C.E.	
	Rav Ashi: head of the Academy of Sura in Matah Mehasya
	Ravina
	Mar Zutra
	Ameimar
Seventh Generation 425 C.E.–460 C.E.	
	Mar b. Rav Ashi (Tabyomi): head of the Academy of Sura
	R. Yeimar: head of the Academy of Sura
	R. Geviha of Bei-Katil: head of the Academy of Pumbedita
Eight Generation 460 C.E.–500 C.E.	
	Ravina ii b. Huna: head of the Academy of Sura
	R. Yose: head of the Academy of Pumbedita Aḥai b. Huna

500 in Babylonia. Rabbinic tradition credits Rav, a student of R. Judah ha-Nasi, with bringing the Mishnah to Babylonia and thus inaugurating the amoraic period in Babylonia. It is customary to divide the amoraic period into generations. In most cases such a division is artificial, since many of the scholars can be assigned to two successive generations. The first five generations consist of both Palestinian and Babylonian *amoraim*. The last two to three generations, however, are limited to Babylonian *amoraim*. It is not easy to identify all the *amoraim* mentioned in the Talmud and Midrash since the same *amora* often appears under different names, whereas two *amoraim* from two different generations can bear the same name. Moreover, many names have been transmitted incorrectly. Over 2,000 *amoraim*, however, can be identified with tolerable certainty. See the table of the more prominent of the *amoraim* of the different generations.

THE PROBLEM OF AMORAIC ATTRIBUTIONS AND BIOGRAPHY. Up to and throughout much of the 20th century, scholars generally assumed that amoraic statements preserved in the Talmudim and midrash-compilations accurately represented the positions held by the sages to whom they were attributed, and that narratives purporting to relate information about the lives of individual *amoraim* reflected reliable biographical traditions about the *amoriam* as real, historical figures. Both of these views have undergone radical revision, and we must attend to these issues before proceeding further with the portrayal of the *amoriam* as set out in rabbinic literature.

Jacob Neusner and his students called the reliability of amoraic attributions into question, partly on the ground that there is no source external to rabbinic literature that can be used to verify them, and partly on the basis of a comparison of parallel traditions which testify to an internal literary development within the rabbinic sources themselves. Skepticism about the reliability of attributions is justified in part by the Babylonian Talmud itself, which sometimes notes that an *amora* did not explicitly state a view attributed to him, but that the attributed view was inferred from the *amora*'s conduct in a particular instance ("*lav be-ferush itamar ela me-kelala itamar*"; e.g., Bava Batra 40b, 126a). In the Jerusalem Talmud as well, Shimon b. Ba was said to have doubted R. Abbahu's attribution of a particular view to R. Yohanan (TJ Shabbat 6:1, 7d), again demonstrating amoraic awareness that not all amoraic attributions may be accurate.

Few, if any, scholars still maintain the view that amoraic attributions are in all circumstances to be presumed reliable. Recent studies by Richard Kalmin have demonstrated that one must also be cautious about leaping to the opposite conclusion: that attributions are in all circumstances to be presumed unreliable. Kalmin demonstrated the existence of patterns in statements attributed to particular *amoriam* or to the *amoriam* of particular generations, and concluded that these patterns are indicative of real historical differences in the amoraic scholarly enterprise. Thus, while the accuracy of a discrete amoraic statement may be impossible to verify, the statements of an *amora* or of a generation, when taken together, may indeed yield information that may be used for historical reconstruction. Other research – such as Z.M. Dor's work on Rava's and Rav Papa's engagement with Palestinian learning, and David Kraemer's finding that the later Babylonian amoraic generations are more likely to preserve argumentation – buttresses that conclusion. But it remains difficult to determine whether or not a given amoraic statement was actually uttered by the sage to whom it is attributed, or whether the statement as transmitted preserves a form of the tradition which remains relatively close to the original, without a detailed examination of all of the parallel versions of the tradition, and all the relevant manuscript material. As a result, references in this article to what a sage said or did should be understood as references to what he *is represented* to have said or done.

Rabbinic literature also contains narratives, many of which present details about the lives of particular rabbis in the course of telling other stories. Other narratives purport to relate entire episodes from rabbis' lives. Throughout the 19th and most of the 20th centuries, scholars viewed these narratives as sources for rabbinic biography, and some scholarly work was done to draw together the scattered details from disparate rabbinic sources in order to construct rabbinic "biographies." To the extent that narratives contained accounts of supernatural events, scholars resorted to the technique of the "historical kernel": ignoring the fantastic elements of narratives in order to recover the kernel of historical information the story was thought to yield about the sage. This project was problematic because for most, if not all *amoraim*, the Talmudim and midrash-compilations leave large gaps in the chronology of their lives, which could only be supplemented by guesswork and creative extrapolation – hardly the stuff of scholarly biography. The seminal work of Jacob Neusner, William Scott Green, Shamma Friedman, Richard Kalmin, Jeffrey L. Rubenstein and other scholars has led to a complete rethinking of the project of "rabbinic biography." Scholars now recognize that rabbinic narratives are literary creations formulated to serve the purposes of their narrators and/or of the redactors of the compilations in which they are now found; they present edifying moral lessons, or teach about the rabbinic way of life, but are not meant to be straightforward presentations of history or biography and must not be utilized as such. Therefore, alleged discrete biographical details must not be lifted out of rabbinic narratives; the narratives must be carefully studied as whole compositions in order to discern the overall message the storytellers or redactors wished to convey. All of these methodological considerations complicate the project of presenting the lives and activities of the *amoraim*, but the resulting presentation benefits from the rigorous examination of the sources that these methodological considerations require.

Organization of Amoraic Torah Study and Teaching

The major study-centers in amoraic Palestine were Caesarea, "the South" (most likely Lydda), Sepphoris, and Tiberias. In Babylonia, the principal study-centers were Sura, Pumbedita,

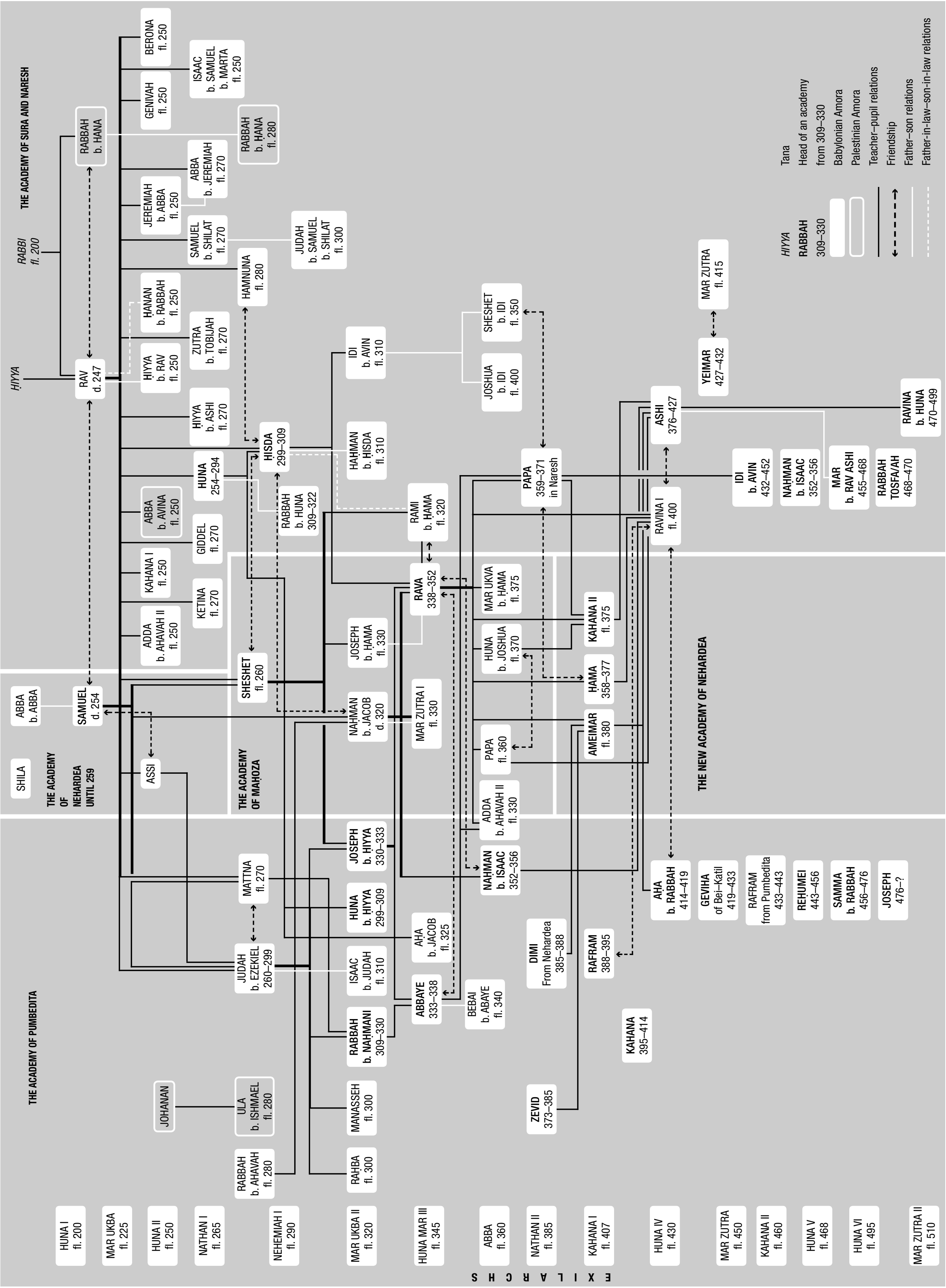
THE ACADEMY OF SURA AND NARESH
THE ACADEMY OF NEHARDEA UNTIL 259
THE ACADEMY OF MAḤOZA
THE NEW ACADEMY OF NEHARDEA
THE ACADEMY OF PUMBEDITA
EXILARCHS
ḤIYYA
RABBI fl. 200
RAV d. 247
RABBAH b. HANA
BERONA fl. 250
GENIVAH fl. 250
ISAAC b. SAMUEL b. MARTA fl. 250
RABBAH b. ḤANA fl. 280
JEREMIAH b. ABBA fl. 250
ABBA b. JEREMIAH fl. 270
SAMUEL b. SHILAT fl. 270
JUDAH b. SAMUEL b. SHILAT fl. 300
HANAN b. RABBAH fl. 250
HAMNUNA fl. 280
ZUTRA b. TOBIJAH fl. 270
ḤIYYA b. RAV fl. 250
ḤIYYA b. ASHI fl. 270
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HUNA 254–294
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GIDDEL fl. 270
KAHANA I fl. 250
KETINA fl. 270
ADDA b. AHAVAH II fl. 250
IDI b. AVIN fl. 310
HAHMAN b. HISDA fl. 310
SHESHET b. IDI fl. 350
JOSHUA b. IDI fl. 400
RAMI b. HAMA fl. 320
PAPA 359–371 in Naresh
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ASHI 376–427
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MAR b. RAV ASHI 455–468
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RAVA 338–352
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HUNA b. JOSHUA fl. 370
KAHANA II fl. 375
HAMA 358–377
AMEIMAR fl. 380
PAPA fl. 360
ADDA b. AHAVAH II fl. 330
NAHMAN b. ISAAC 352–356
JOSEPH b. ḤAMA fl. 330
NAHMAN b. JACOB d. 320
MAR ZUTRA I fl. 330
SHESHET fl. 260
SHILA
ABBA b. ABBA
SAMUEL d. 254
ASSI
MATTNA fl. 270
JUDAH b. EZEKIEL 260–299
JOSEPH b. HIYYA 330–333
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ISAAC b. JUDAH fl. 310
AHA b. JACOB fl. 325
RABBAH b. NAHMANI 309–330
ABBAYE 333–338
BEBAI b. ABAYE fl. 340
DIMI From Nehardea 385–388
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AHA b. RABBAH 414–419
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JOHANAN
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ZEVID 373–385
RABBAH b. AHAVAH fl. 280
RAHBA fl. 300
HUNA I fl. 200
MAR UKBA fl. 225
HUNA II fl. 250
NATHAN I fl. 265
NEHEMIAH I fl. 290
MAR UKBA II fl. 320
HUNA MAR III fl. 345
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NATHAN II fl. 385
KAHANA I fl. 407
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RABBAH 309–330 Head of an academy from 309–330
Babylonian Amora
Palestinian Amora
Teacher–pupil relations
Friendship
Father–son relations
Father-in-law–son-in-law relations

The principal Amoraim *of the Babylonian academies.*

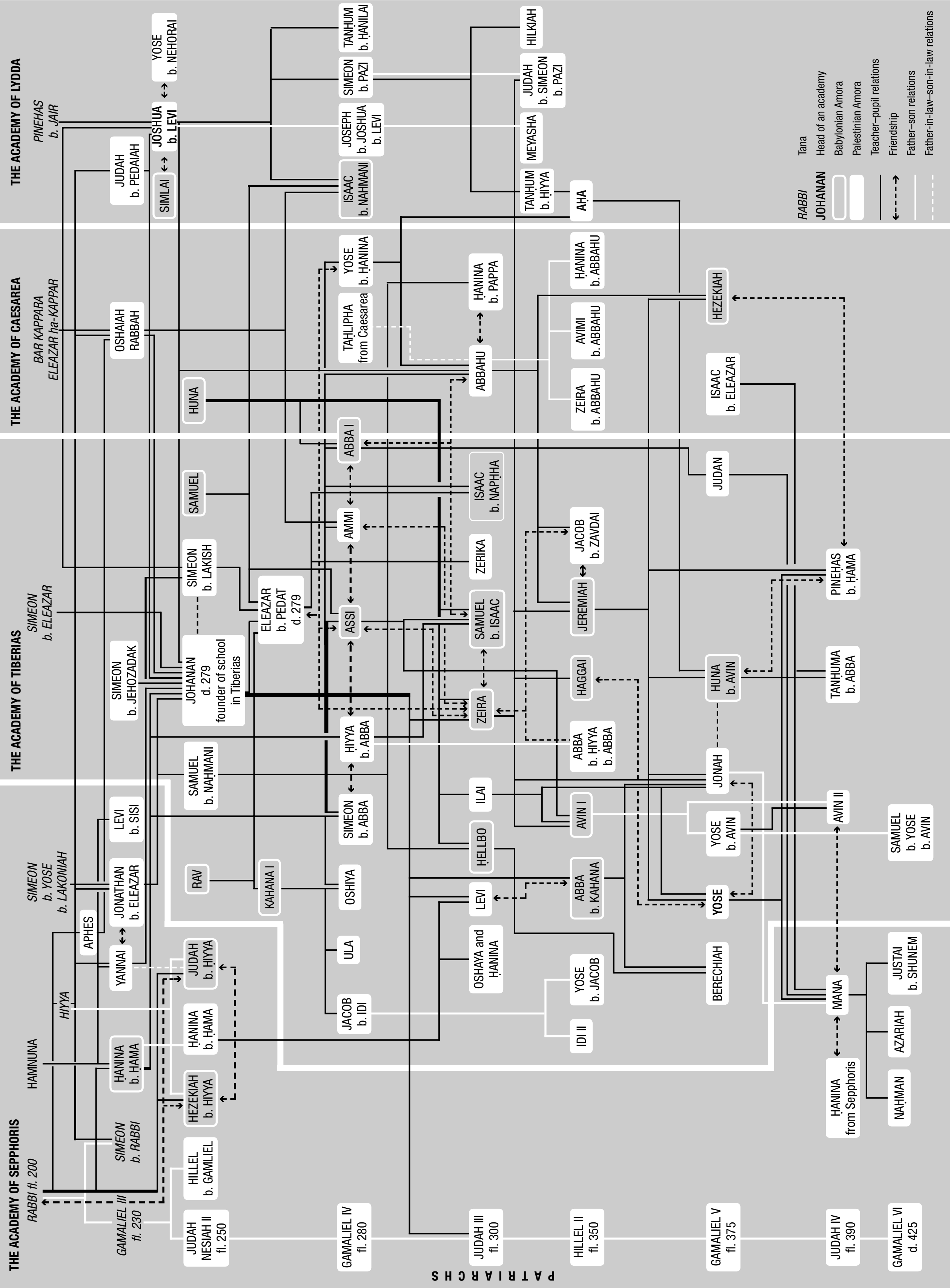
THE ACADEMY OF SEPPHORIS
RABBI fl. 200
GAMALIEL III fl. 230
SIMEON b. RABBI
HAMNUNA
ḤIYYA
SIMEON b. YOSE b. LAKONIAH
APHES
THE ACADEMY OF TIBERIAS
SIMEON b. ELEAZAR
THE ACADEMY OF CAESAREA
BAR KAPPARA
ELEAZAR ha-KAPPAR
THE ACADEMY OF LYDDA
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HEZEKIAH b. ḤIYYA
ḤANINA b. ḤAMA
ḤANINA b. ḤAMA
JUDAH b. ḤIYYA
YANNAI
JONATHAN b. ELEAZAR
LEVI b. SISI
SIMEON b. JEHOZADAK
JOHANAN d. 279 founder of school in Tiberias
SIMEON b. LAKISH
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JUDAH b. PEDAIAH
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YOSE b. NEHORAI
RAV
SAMUEL b. NAḤMANI
SAMUEL
HUNA
KAHANA I
ELEAZAR b. PEDAT d. 279
ISAAC b. NAḤMANI
JOSEPH b. JOSHUA b. LEVI
SIMEON b. PAZI
TANḤUM b. ḤANILAI
YOSE b. ḤANINA
TAḤLIPHA from Caesarea
ABBA I
AMMI
ASSI
ḤIYYA b. ABBA
SIMEON b. ABBA
OSHIYA
ULA
JACOB b. IDI
ISAAC b. NAPḤA
ZERIKA
SAMUEL b. ISAAC
ZEIRA
ILAI
ḤELLBO
LEVI
OSHAYA and ḤANINA
ABBAHU
ḤANINA b. PAPPA
TANḤUM b. ḤIYYA
MEYASHA
JUDAH b. SIMEON b. PAZI
HILKIAH
AḤA
ḤANINA b. ABBAHU
AVIMI b. ABBAHU
ZEIRA b. ABBAHU
JACOB b. ZAVDAI
JEREMIAH
HAGGAI
ABBA b. ḤIYYA b. ABBA
AVIN I
ABBA b. KAHANA
YOSE b. JACOB
IDI II
HEZEKIAH
ISAAC b. ELEAZAR
JUDAN
HUNA b. AVIN
JONAH
YOSE b. AVIN
YOSE
BERECHIAH
PINEḤAS b. ḤAMA
TANḤUMA b. ABBA
AVIN II
SAMUEL b. YOSE b. AVIN
MANA
JUSTAI b. SHUNEM
AZARIAH
NAḤMAN
ḤANINA from Sepphoris
GAMALIEL IV fl. 280
JUDAH III fl. 300
HILLEL II fl. 350
GAMALIEL V fl. 375
JUDAH IV fl. 390
GAMALIEL VI d. 425
PATRIARCHS
RABBI Tana
JOHANAN Head of an academy
Babylonian Amora
Palestinian Amora
Teacher–pupil relations
Friendship
Father–son relations
Father-in-law–son-in-law relations

The principal Amoraim *of the Palestinian academies.*

Nehardea (destroyed and eventually transplanted), Mahoza, and Naresh.

Most likely these cities were not the sites of organized academies. Rather, groups of rabbinic disciples would gather around a teacher, with whom they studied Torah and whom they personally served as part of their initiation into the rabbinic way of life.

Memorization and constant recitation of one's learning were stressed as the cultural ideal in the rabbinic centers of both the Land of Israel and Babylonia. Although some *amoraim'* allegedly kept written notes (e.g., TJ Kilayim 1:1, 27a; TJ Ma'aserot 2:4, 49d), and may even have consulted books of *aggadah* (TJ Shabbat 16:1, 15c), orality, rather than writing, was the primary and favored mode of study and teaching. Rav Sheshet was said to have reviewed his learning every 30 days (TB Pesaḥim 68b). Rava advised that one should always recite one's learning, even if one tended to forget, and even if one did not know the meaning of what was recited (TB Avodah Zarah 19a; see also TB Shabbat 63a). Recitation was to be done in a melodious chant (TB Megillah 32a).

The emphasis on memorization coexists in the Babylonian Talmud in tension with a growing Babylonian amoraic emphasis on dialectic and argumentation. R. Yohanan is represented as claiming that there was a Tannaitic dispute as to whether "Sinai" (the scholar who had memorized much Torah) or the "uprooter of mountains" (a sharp thinker) was preferable. According to the Babylonian Talmud Palestinian scholars resolved this question in favor of "Sinai." Nevertheless, Rav Yosef – described as "Sinai" – was said to have deferred to Rabbah, the "uprooter of mountains," as academy head (TB Horayot 14a). This story illustrates the growing Babylonian preference for skill in argument. Similarly, Rav reported that the people Israel forgot hundreds of *halakhot* after Moses' death, but, according to R. Abbahu, these *halakhot* were restored through the dialectical creativity of Othniel b. Kenaz (TB Temurah 16a). Thus, although the accumulation of knowledge is lauded because "everyone needs the master of wheat" (TB Horayot 14a, referring to one who possesses much memorized knowledge), the Babylonian *amoraim* moved in the direction of ascribing at least equal weight to the achievement of analytic ability and dialectical skill.

Relations Between the Land of Israel and Babylonia During the Amoraic Period

The presence of Palestinian amoraic traditions in the Babylonian Talmud and of Babylonian amoraic traditions in the Jerusalem Talmud testifies to a significant degree of interaction between these two centers of learning during the first four generations of the *amoraim*. While much of this activity involved the transmission of traditions from Palestine to Babylonia, the Jerusalem Talmud does call attention to the halakhic traditions of "the rabbis of there [Babylonia]," who are contrasted with "the rabbis of here [Palestine]" (e.g., TJ Berakhot 1:9, 3d; 9:4, 14a). The Babylonian Talmud also describes the activities of scholars known as the "*naḥote*" ("those who descended"), who carried learning with them from the Land of Israel to Babylonia and back. Two of the best-known *naḥote* were R. Dimi (= Avudimi, of the fourth Palestinian amoraic generation) and Rabin (= Avin or Avun, of the third and fourth Babylonian amoraic generations), who eventually moved to the Land of Israel. *Naḥote* typically brought discrete halakhic traditions (called "*memrot*"), stories, halakhic *sugyot,* and aggadic traditions to Babylonia; their activity is often introduced by the formulaic "When Rabbi X came [to Babylonia]" (e.g., Ket. 17a, AZ 11b). Rabin is also described as writing letters to Babylonian *amoraim* (TB Ketubot 49b, TB Bava Meẓi'a 114a), as are other Palestinian *amoraim* (TB Bava Meẓi'a 41b; TB Sanhedrin 29a; TB Ḥullin 95a).

The Babylonian Talmud also highlights halakhic information brought from Palestine by use of the introductory phrase *shalḥu mitam* ("they [= the Palestinian scholars] sent from there [Palestine]"). Among these communications were some that cautioned the Babylonians to be careful to observe the second day of the Festival (TB Beẓah 4b), to be careful to treat Rav Ahai with respect, who is described as "lighting up the eyes of the Exile" (TB Ḥullin 59b), and some that corrected and expanded their halakhic knowledge in particular areas (e.g., TB Bava Batra 165b, TB Menaḥot 43a).

The two rabbinic centers are not portrayed as being of equal authority or as having equal prestige during the amoraic period. Babylonia and its scholars are portrayed as subordinate to the authority of the Land of Israel. Abbaye claims that since "we are subordinate to them, we do as they do" (TB Pesaḥim 51a). The Babylonian Talmud also describes Babylonian judges as being the "agents" of the scholars of the Land of Israel who are only empowered to adjudicate certain types of cases that do not require expert, ordained judges only found in the Land (TB Bava Kamma 84b; see also TB Sanhedrin 14a). Abbaye, speaking to Rav Yosef, thus referred to them both as "laypeople" (*hedyotot*), presumably because they had not been ordained in Palestine (TB Gittin 88b).

The Palestinian *amoraim* are also portrayed as ridiculing Babylonian halakhic traditions (TB Pesaḥim 34b, TB Yoma 57a, TB Zevaḥim 60b). R. Yohanan explained that Babylonia is called "Bavel" because scripture, mishnah, and talmud are all mixed up ("*balul*") in it (TB Sanhedrin 24a). This ridicule may simply reflect the natural tensions between competing rabbinic centers rather than a real evaluation of Babylonian amoraic capabilities, since we can also observe sharp intra-Palestinian polemics between sages in northern and southern Palestine (TJ Sanhedrin 1:2, 18c; TJ Avodah Zarah 2:9, 41d). There is further support for this conclusion in a tradition about Palestinian appreciation of the scholarly competence of the Babylonian rabbis. Contrary to earlier Palestinian doubts about Babylonian competence with regard to bills of divorce, the "Scholars" (*ḥavrayya*) said in the name of R. Yehoshua b. Levi: "Now that scholars are found outside the Land, they are considered 'experts' [with regard to bills of divorce]" (TJ Git. 1:1, 43b).

The fourth generation Babylonian Amora Rava is the last Babylonian Amora mentioned in the Jerusalem Talmud (TJ Beẓah 1:3, 60b). The absence of the rest of the fourth generation (not to mention the fifth–seventh), from the Jerusalem Talmud is evidence that the final redaction of the Jerusalem Talmud was being brought to a close during this time. Some post-Jerusalem Talmud Palestinian scholars do appear in the Babylonian Talmud (e.g., TB Shabbat 107a; TB Ḥullin 59b).

Amoraim as Aggadists

Amoraim in both centers studied both *halakhah* and *aggadah*, although the latter is noticeably less of a Babylonian project. The Jerusalem Talmud itself contains relatively little *aggadah*, but Palestinian *amoraim* are richly represented in the great amoraic midrash-collections: **Bereshit Rabbah*, **Vayikra Rabbah*, and **Pesikta de-Rav Kahana*. The Babylonian Talmud contains much *aggadah* (in keeping with its encyclopedic nature), but most of this material is Palestinian in origin.

The greater Palestinian contribution to *aggadah* is also reflected in the scholarly profiles of some *amoraim*. Among Babylonian *amoraim*, Rav is noteworthy as a scholar of both *halakhah* and *aggadah*, while among Palestinian *amoraim*, there are several scholars renowned for *aggadah* alone – R. Levi, R. Shmuel b. Nahman, R. Tanhuma, and other great aggadists who rarely formulated halakhic statements. No Babylonian Amora is identifiable as an expert on *aggadah* alone. The Palestinian rabbinic compilations alone also refer to certain scholars as *rabanan d'aggadeta* ("the rabbis of aggadah"; TJ Yevamot 4:2, 5c; TJ Ma'aserot 1:2, 48d), or as *ba'alei aggadah* ("masters of aggadah"; Bereshit Rabbah 94:5; Leviticus Rabbah 31:1). The historical reason for the greater Palestinian engagement with *aggadah* is unclear, but R. Isaac is credited with the notion that a greater emphasis on the study of scripture and *aggadah* is characteristic of periods of economic deprivation and social oppression, such as that imposed by the "wicked kingdom," Rome (Pesikta de-R. Kahana 12:3).

The Talmudim also indicate that there may have been some tension, or at least competition, between scholars of *halakhah* and *aggadah*. In the Jerusalem Talmud, R. Zeirah is said to have chided R. Abba b. Kahana and R. Levi, claiming that aggadic works are "books of divination," presumably because *aggadah* at times interprets scriptural verses in highly creative, counterintuitive ways (TJ Ma'aserot 3:10, 51a). According to the Babylonian Talmud, the public left R. Ḥiyya b. Abba's lecture on *halakhah* in order to attend R. Abbahu's discourse on *aggadah* (TB Sotah 40a).

The Amoraim as Authorities and Sources of Guidance for Non-Rabbis

Palestinian sources describe rabbis as providing guidance on legal and other matters for non-rabbis, including on questions of choosing local religious leadership (TJ Shevi'it 6:1, 36d). But this should not be taken as indicative of non-rabbis' complete, unconditional acceptance of the *amoraim* as religious leaders, because non-rabbis are also portrayed as ignoring rabbinic directives when these were perceived as too draconian (e.g., TJ Shevi'it 4:3, 35b). Rabbis are also described as modifying the Sabbatical year laws in order to bring them in line with what people were already doing, even if they perhaps might not have considered those behaviors ideal (ibid; TJ Shevi'it 4:2, 35a).

Palestinian sources (and sources about Palestinian *amoraim*) portray rabbis giving public discourses attended by non-rabbis (TJ Horayot 3:7, 48b; TB Sotah 40a). As to Babylonia, Rav Ashi alluded to a twice-yearly gathering of people in Mata Mehasya, presumably for the purpose of hearing discourses about holiday law (TB Berakhot 17b). This may be related to the Babylonian institution of the "*pirka*" (lit. "chapter"), which was a lecture delivered before a large audience containing non-scholars as well as scholars. The institution of the *pirqa* probably stems from the fourth century.

The Amoraim as Holy Men and Medical Experts

Scholars of late antiquity have identified certain kinds of stories and forms of behavior as characteristic of the period's signature "holy man". Similar stories and forms of behavior are also characteristic of many *amoraim* (Kalmin, *Saints and Sages*). *Amoraim* are represented as being visited by heavenly beings, including the prophet Elijah (e.g., TB Berakhot 29b), angels (TB Nedarim 20a; TB Menaḥot 41a), and spirits (TJ Peah 8:9, 21b). *Amoraim* are portrayed as speaking to the Angel of Death (TB Ḥagigah 4b–5a) and even outmaneuvering him for a time through Torah study (TB Mo'ed Katan 28a). Rav Judah is portrayed as being thanked by a dead man for easing his pain in the hereafter (TB Shabbat 152b). It is said about the rabbis collectively that wherever they cast their eyes, death or poverty results (TB Nedarim 7b). Sages in the Land of Israel were particularly sought out for the all-important activity of rainmaking (e.g., TJ Ta'anit 3:4, 66c). In a related vein, *amoraim* are also portrayed as giving advice about health, including remedies for various ailments (e.g., TB Shabbat 81b; TB Avodah Zarah 28a–29a).

Communal Roles of the Amoraim and their Socioeconomic Status

Leading Babylonian *amoraim*, notably Rav, Rav Huna, Rava, and Rav Papa are portrayed as wealthy men. While few Babylonian *amoraim* are explicitly described as poor, the Babylonian Talmud does at times portray Palestinian *amoraim* as such (e.g., R. Johanan at TB Ta'anit 21a). Scholars were not to receive payment for teaching Torah (TB Nedarim 37a), and they are portrayed as engaging in commerce (TB Bava Metsia 83a), trade, agriculture, and other callings. Nevertheless, economic reversals and the demands of study could result in hardship. Some Palestinian sources show the *amoriam* encouraging people to support rabbis by giving the ancient agricultural tithes to scholars rather than to priests (TJ Ma'aser Sheni 5:5, 56b; Pesikta de-R. Kahana 10:10; see also TB Nedarim 62a).

Leading Palestinian and Babylonian *amoraim* are portrayed as playing active roles in communal collection and distribution of *ẓedakah*, notably R. Jacob b. Idi and R. Isaac b. Nahman (TJ Pe'ah 8:9, 21b), R. Hiyya b. Abba and Resh Lakish (TJ Horayot 3:6, 48a), Rav Huna (TB Megillah 27a–b), Rabbah (Bava Batra 8b), and Rav Ashi (Bava Batra 9a). The Jerusalem Talmud equates *ẓedakah* and acts of kindness (*gemilut ḥasadim*) to all the other *mitzvot* of the Torah (TJ Pe'ah 1:1, 15c), while the Babylonian Rav Huna is even represented as claiming that, regarding one who only engages in Torah to the exclusion of acts of kindness, it is as if he has no God (TB Avodah Zarah 17b). In a related vein, both Talmudim represent *amoraim* as judging cases and being sought out to administer justice (e.g., TB Ketubot 49b; TB Sanhedrin 27a–b). But the Babylonian Talmud also indicates that people did not always necessarily receive the justice they sought (TB Shabbat 55a; TB Sukkah 31a).

The Jerusalem Talmud portrays *amoraim* – under the direction of the Patriarch – as being in charge of setting up schools and hiring instructors (TJ Ḥagigah 1:7, 76c), while the Babylonian Talmud, although not portraying Babylonian *amoraim* in the same way, does show Rava setting down guidelines for the hiring and retention of teachers (TB Bava Batra 21a). Both Talmudim portray Palestinian *amoraim* as traveling around, observing Jewish communities' religious practice, and reporting halakhic violations to more senior rabbis (e.g., TJ Shevi'it 8:11, 38b–c; TB Avodah Zarah 59a), and they are in general described as being more integrated with their communities than their Babylonian counterparts (D. Levine, E. Diamond). Taken all together, these traditions point towards a Palestinian amoraic community that was – or at least portrays itself as – more highly organized and bureaucratic than its Babylonian counterpart.

Although, as noted, scholars were not to receive payment for teaching Torah, Babylonian *amoraim* did see themselves as entitled to certain allowances by virtue of their rabbinic status. Rava rules that when Torah scholars are litigants, their cases should be heard first (TB Nedarim 62a), and that they are entitled to tax exemptions (TB Nedarim 62b). Rava is also portrayed as allowing R. Josiah and R. Obadiah a commercial privilege not provided by law, which the Babylonian Talmud explains as a necessary allowance so that their studies would not be interrupted (TB Bava Batra 22a). A close reading of the sources about amoraic tax exemptions (TB Nedarim 62b; TB Bava Batra 7b–8a) supports the conclusion that the *amoraim* were likely making arguments in favor of their receiving such exemptions in these sources rather than straightforwardly reporting the historical reality of such exemptions.

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[Alyssa M. Gray (2nd ed.)]

AMORITES (Heb. אֱמֹרִי; Emori), the pre-Israelite inhabitants of the land of Israel. The word appears approximately 85 times in the Hebrew Bible and is used to designate all or part of that population. The Semitic derivation of the word, and possibly also the biblical usage of the term, can be illuminated to some extent from extra-biblical sources.

Extra-biblical Sources

In Sumero-Akkadian and Eblaite texts from the period from 2400 to 1600 B.C.E., Sumerian *MAR.TU*, Eblaite *Martu(m)*, and Akkadian *Amurru* occur as a geographical term meaning literally "the West." The area extended westward from the Euphrates River as far as the Mediterranean Sea. It specifically embraced the great Syrian desert, the Orontes River valley, and the Amanus Mountains. In later Assyrian texts, *Amurru* was an established name for Syria-Palestine.

References to "the people of *Amurru*," in contrast with the more common geographical allusions, are largely from the period prior to 2000 B.C.E. and come from the Akkadian and Ur III periods. A date formula of the Old Akkadian king Shar-kali-sharri (ca. 2200) refers to the defeat of the MAR.TU in Basar, identified by scholars with Jebel Bishri, a mountain range in central Syria west of the Euphrates. It seems that the people so named, after having overthrown or weakened Sumero-Akkadian dynasts, and in some cases having founded their own regimes, either quickly amalgamated with the Sumero-Akkadian population or passed on beyond the Tigris River to resume their habitual semi-nomadic type of life. The use of the term in an ethnic sense soon disappeared from the texts.

Strictly speaking, the extra-biblical usage of the name Amorites was applied almost exclusively to people who came from southern Mesopotamian locations prior to 2000 B.C.E. It is clear, however, that people with the same language were present along the mid-Euphrates at *Mari in the 20th century, at Babylon about 1830, and at Asshur on the Tigris River about 1750 B.C.E. That they were even present in Palestine is witnessed by the Egyptian Execration Texts of the 20th and 19th centuries. Their language did not survive in writing, but when they took over Akkadian Old Babylonian, they transliterated their names (which were often theophorous, for example, the elements *'am* "people"; *'ab* "father"; *'aḥ* "brother," were combined with names of deities such as El and Hadad) and employed words, forms, and linguistic usages most closely paralleled in later West Semitic languages. These wide-ranging peoples belonging to a common linguistic stock have commonly been called "Amorites," by extension of the Sumero-Akkadian geographical term, but not exclusively so. T. Bauer proposed "East Canaanites" to stress their affinities with the Syro-Palestinian or West Canaanites. M. Noth for a time preferred "Proto-Arameans" to underscore their connections with later Arameans. A. Caquot opted for "early West Semites" to emphasize their distance from any of the later West-Semitic subdivisions. It is still a matter of considerable scholarly dispute whether the language of this group was the direct predecessor of Canaanite-Hebrew or Aramaic, or whether it was rather an early development without immediate ties to any of the later, better attested West-Semitic tongues. Indeed, the discovery of *Ebla (Tell Mardikh) some 40 miles south of Aleppo, brought to light the Eblaite language, a previously unknown Semitic language of the third millennium and has complicated the entire classification system of ancient Semitic. For further information, see *Alphabet (North-West Semitic); *Aramaic; *Hebrew Language (Pre-Biblical); and *Semitic Languages.

If one draws together all the evidence from the sources which are "Amorite" in the broad sense, the bearers of the name appear originally as ass nomads who came out of the Syrian desert and settled unevenly over parts of Syria-Palestine and Mesopotamia, overthrowing existing political regimes and frequently establishing substitute dynasties. Only at Mari, near their desert home, do they seem to have formed the bulk of the populace. They rapidly adopted Sumero-Akkadian or Syro-Palestinian culture; in Mesopotamia they soon lost their original language, whereas in Palestine they may have retained it while it gradually developed over the centuries into the later Canaanite-Hebrew dialects of West Semitic. There is no evidence that they called themselves "Amorites"; instead, they were known as such only to some Sumero-Akkadians, who viewed them as "Westerners." In fact, no ethnic term is known which they applied to themselves.

The life style of the Amorite before settling down is attested, perhaps in exaggerated manner, in a Sumerian hymn: "The Weapon (is his) companion… / Who knows no submission, / Who eats uncooked flesh, / Who has no house in his life-time, / Who does not bury his dead companion" (E. Chiera, *Sumerian Religious Texts,* 1 (1924), 24; *Sumerian Epics and Myths* (1934), no. 58, rev. col. 4, lines 26–29). That this semi-nomadic cultural level was abandoned once the newcomers gained a foothold in settled lands is well attested by the hostile policies of Amorite dynasts at Mari toward troublesome nomads in their own kingdom. No inclusive "Amorite" cultural or religious loyalties held the invaders together for long; the newly established Amorite city-states were soon vigorously at war with one another in the familiar Sumero-Akkadian fashion. Similarly, in Canaan the Execration Texts suggest that, within a century of their arrival, the Amorites were split into contending city-states, with single dynasts replacing the initial tribal rule by a cabal of sheikhs or elders. From an 18th century B.C.E. letter to King Zimri-Lim of Mari comes the earliest testimony to a country in Syria called Amurru. Localized non-biblical usage of *Amurru* appears next in 14th–13th century B.C.E. Syro-Palestinian texts referring to a kingdom located in the mountains and along the coast of northern Lebanon. The relation of the regional political term to earlier usages of *Amurru* is unknown. Conceivably it was merely intended to herald that Syrian kingdom as the most important political entity in "the West."

Biblical References

The biblical occurrences of Emori are of two types with three sub varieties of one of the types: (1) Amorites are the pre-Israelite inhabitants of the occupied land in general (e.g., Gen. 15:16; Josh. 7:7). This meaning occurs characteristically in the E source of the Pentateuch (in contrast to J's "Canaanites"), in the conquest narratives, and in the Deuteronomic traditions; and (2) Amorites are a particular subgroup of the pre-Israelite inhabitants of the occupied land: one of several peoples itemized in lists of dispossessed ethnic or political groups (including variously: Canaanites, Hittites, Perizzites, Girgashites, Jebusites, Hivites-Horites, etc.; Gen. 10:16; Ex. 3:8; I Chron. 1:14); inhabitants of the Transjordanian kingdoms of Og and *Sihon (e.g., Num. 21:13; Josh. 2:10; 9:10; Judg. 10:8); and inhabitants of the mountainous regions of West Jordan (in contrast to the Canaanites on the coast and in the plains; e.g., Deut. 1:19ff., 27, 44; Josh. 10:5ff.). It is now impossible to draw a direct link between the Sumero-Akkadian term *Amurru* from 2000 B.C.E. and the Israelite term Amorite in use after 1200 B.C.E. Hebrew Amorite is never a geographical term the way *Amurru* largely is (save in Josh. 13:4–5 where the kingdom of A*murru* in the Lebanon is likely meant). It is impossible to draw a direct link between the Hebrew usage of the name Emori and the Sumero-Akkadian *Amurru,* which died away one thousand years before the Israelites arose in Ereẓ Israel. It is assumed on geographical and chronological grounds, that some of the elements in the local population, perhaps the rulers of the kingdoms of Og and Sihon, were offshoots of the Syrian city-state of *Amurru.* However, there is no positive evidence in favor of the hypothesis and, even if it were granted for want of a better alternative, it does not explain how the localized usage was extended to refer either to all the pre-Israelite populace in the hill country of Cisjordan or to the peoples of Canaan in toto.

A comparison of the biblical and extra-biblical ethnic usages of Amorite and *Amurru* shows that groups of Semites with linguistic affinities were called "Amorites" at opposite ends of the Fertile Crescent at periods almost a millennium apart. Beyond that, the peculiarities and disjunctions in the geographical and ethnic references in the two contexts, the uncertainties of relationship between the early Amorite language and the later Canaanite-Hebrew, as well as the vast time gap between the compared terms, frustrate any attempt to determine the precise meaning or meanings of the biblical term Amorites.

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Talmudic References

The Talmud applies the term *darkhei ha-Emori* ("the ways of the Amorite") to superstitious heathen practices not covered by specific prohibitions but subsumed under the general prohibition of "neither shall you walk in their statutes" (Lev. 18:3). The verse actually refers generally to the prohibition against "the doings of the land of Canaan" in general. The Mishnah (Ḥul. 4:7) forbids as "Amorite practices" the burial at the crossroads of the afterbirth of the first born of an animal which had been set aside for an offering, or hanging it on a tree, and the wearing of such charms as "a locust's egg, a fox's tooth, or a nail from the gallows of an impaled convict" (Shab. 6:10). Chapters 6 and 7 of Tosefta *Shabbat* give a comprehensive list of such prohibitions, and are referred to as "the chapter on Amorite practices" (Shab. 67a where other examples are given). Nevertheless, the rabbis held that whatever is done for medicinal purposes is not prohibited as Amorite practice (*ibid.*).

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AMOS (Heb. עָמוֹס; eighth century B.C.E.), prophet in the northern kingdom of Israel. The Book of Amos is the third book of the 12 Minor Prophets according to the Hebrew order (between Joel and Obadiah) and the second according to the Septuagint (between Hosea and Micah). Amos is considered the earliest of the Latter Prophets and by some is considered the first of the writing prophets.

The Prophet, His Place and Time

According to the superscription of the book, Amos was a herdsman (*noqed*) from Tekoa who prophesied concerning Israel in the days of *Uzziah, king of Judah, and *Jeroboam, son of Joash, king of Israel, "two years before the earthquake" (1:1). The title *noqed* is applied again in the Bible to *Mesha, king of Moab, who is said to have been a sheepmaster (II Kings 3:4). Amos also attributes this employment to himself when he says that he was primarily not a prophet but a *noqed* (in the masoretic text *boker* (*boqer;* "cowherd"), it seems necessary to read the word *noqed*, with the help of the LXX) and a dresser of sycamore trees who was taken from following the flock to prophesy concerning Israel (7:14–15). The term *rb nqdm* is cited in the Ugaritic writings along with the title *rb khnm*, i.e., "chief priest" (C.H. Gordon, *Ugaritic Text-Book*, 62:54–55), where it is explained as one of the temple functionaries who was responsible for the flocks ("chief herdsman"). Some scholars therefore deduce that *noqed*, as connected with Amos, also has a sacral meaning and that even before becoming a prophet, Amos was directly concerned with the service at the Temple in Jerusalem (Haldar, Kapelrud, et al.). However, this supposition is far from certain.

Amos' birthplace, *Tekoa, was located to the south of Bethlehem near the Judean Desert, and was known for its wise men (II Sam. 14:2–21). This has led to the conclusion that Amos' origin was in Judah. But it is striking that there is no hint of denigration of calf worship in his prophecies, despite the fact that he does not refrain from condemning cultic sins (2:7, 12). In his silence on the matter of the calves, he is similar to the northern prophets *Elijah and *Elisha. Furthermore, Tekoa of Judah is not a sycamore-growing locale; sycamores grew in the Shephelah. Therefore, there may be truth in the explanation first suggested by David Kimḥi and since adopted by several modern scholars, such as Graetz, Oort, and Schmidt, that Amos' Tekoa was in fact a northern city. A Galilean Tekoa is known from talmudic literature. The verse, "The Lord roars from Zion, and utters his voice from Jerusalem" (1:2), is a formulaic image (cf. Joel 4:16; Jer. 25:30). The mention of Zion in 6:1 is not decisive, since the prophecy is intended for the northern kingdom. The oracle on the restoration of the house of David (9:11ff.) is doubtful and perhaps not to be attributed to Amos (see below), while the words of *Amaziah to Amos may not testify to the origin of the prophet, for Amaziah does not tell him to return to Judah, but rather: "… go, flee away into the land of Judah, and there eat bread.…" A priest of Beth-El could issue such an order even to a northern prophet, particularly during the period of Jeroboam II and Uzziah, when peaceful relations between the two kingdoms flourished. Amos' prophetic activity took place within the northern kingdom only. There are several allusions in his prophecies to events concerning the northern kingdom and mention is made of Samaria (3:12; 4:1; 6:1; cf. 3:9), and the northern shrine cities, with Beth-El at their head (3:14; 4:4; 5:5–6; 8:14; cf. 9:1). It appears that Samaria, and especially the sanctuary of Beth-El, were actually the scenes of his activity, as is confirmed by the narrative on his encounter with Amaziah (7:10–17).

His prophetic activity began two years before the earthquake (1:1) and continued for some time afterward. This earthquake, which occurred during the reign of Uzziah, is mentioned again in Zechariah 14:5. Impressions of it were recorded by a number of prophets who were active during that period, including Amos himself (see below). Also reflected in Amos are the great political and military changes that took place during the 41-year reign of Jeroboam son of Joash (II Kings 14:23); they provide the chronological framework of the prophet's career.

The earliest of Amos' oracles are the "prophecy against the nations," at the beginning of the book (1:2–2:6), and the prophecy of visions (7:1–9; 8:1–3). Both precede the earthquake, impressions of which are not yet recognized therein (except for 1:2, where a formulaic usage serves as the superscription for the first prophecy). The situation reflected in the "prophecy against the nations" is that of the early years of Jeroboam's reign, before Transjordan was returned to Israelite sway. In this instance the prophet cries out against the injustices of Israel's neighbors, reminding them of their acts of violence and oppression, particularly against Israel. In the prophecy of visions he even refers to Jacob as "so small" (7:2, 5), an attribute that would hardly be appropriate after Jeroboam's extensive gains in Syria. Some claimed that the oracle of visions was Amos' inauguration prophecy (Wellhausen, Budde, et al.). There is nothing in its form or content, however, to justify this claim, though the prophecy does belong to an early stage of Amos' career.

In contrast, the moral reprimands (2:7–6:14; 8:4–14) belong to his later prophecies and reflect the later period of Jeroboam's reign, when *Damascus and *Hamath were already under the hegemony of Israel. The conquest of Transjordan is alluded to in these reprimands (6:13), "the kine of Bashan" who are said to dwell on Mount Samaria (4:1), and Israel's territory is described as stretching from Lebo-Hamath to the Brook of the Arabah (6:14; cf. 3:12). Life in Samaria is characterized by luxury, complacency, and frolic (3:12, 15; 5:23; 6:1, 4–6; 8:10). The inflictions of hunger, locust, and drought are mentioned as part of the past (4:6–9; cf. 8:10). Even the earthquake is recalled in these reprimands as a foregone matter (4:11), while the shocking experiences that came in its wake serve to perceive the impending catastrophe (2:13–15; 3:14–15; 4:3; 6:9 ff.). Still another event alluded to in the moral rebukes, and serving to fix their upper chronological limits, is the solar eclipse, which, according to the Assyrian eponym lists, took place in Sivan 763 B.C.E. This event also serves the prophet as a fitting figure of the punishment to come (8:9).

Thus, although the prophecies of Amos that survived and were collected in the book bearing his name are few, they range over a relatively long period. Variations of character and diction among them lend support to the conclusion that Amos' prophetic output was far greater than what has been preserved in his book.

In the narrative section 7:10–17, a conflict between Amos and Amaziah, the priest, is recorded. Amaziah, who apparently had no authority to punish the prophet, complains about him to Jeroboam, the king: "Amos has conspired against you in the midst of the house of Israel" (7:10). Since there is no royal response the king deemed the matter unimportant. The priest himself tries to drive Amos out of Beth-El by derision (7:12–13), to which Amos responds with emphatic pride about his mission (7:14–15). He ends with a fearful prediction of Amaziah's own future and a renewed pronouncement of Israel's exile (7:16–17). Even in his response Amos says nothing about the king, reinforcing the impression that the quarrel was between him and the priest. Nor are there any further details on the progress or resolution of this clash. This excerpt may pertain only to an extraordinary and provocative event, which did not necessarily occur at the end of Amos' career.

The Structure and Editing of the Book

1. The Book of Amos falls into four divisions, in each of which all or most of the prophecies are of one kind: a prophecy against the nations (1:2–2:6), prophecies of the punishment of Israel (2:7–6:14), "stories" about the life experiences of the prophet (7:1–9:6), and a prophecy of comfort for Israel (9:7–15). The remaining prophetic books of the Bible are built upon the same four categories, but they are not necessarily arranged in the same order and not every one has left prophecies in all four categories. The editors of the Book of Amos chose the above-mentioned order so that the "prophecy against the nations" opens the book, and the prophecy of consolation brings it to a close. The beginning and end divisions each contain only a single unit, since the editors did not find any more than that, whereas the remaining divisions have clusters of prophecies that could be considered as small scrolls in their own right.

The classification of the prophecies was not a priori but rather as viewed in retrospect by the editors. There are prophecies that could have been classified in a category other than the one into which they are now placed. The editors, however, found a justification for such placement. The first prophecy (1:2–2:6), for instance, is not really an oracle against the nations, since it concludes with Judah and Israel; but since its greater part deals with the neighbors of Israel, the editors could view it as a prophecy against the nations as well. The larger part of the third division does not contain actual stories but visions spoken by the prophet in the first person. From the point of view of their content they could be considered among the judgment prophecies. In the Book of Jeremiah similar visions are in fact included among the judgment prophecies (cf. Jer. 1:11–14; 24:1–3). However, since they are stamped with an autobiographic and narrative form, they could serve in the hands of the editors as a narrative division. One such fragment has already been established among these visions, the incident in the sanctuary of Beth-El (7:10–17), which heightens the narrative character of the entire division through its biographic style. At the same time, a small group of rebukes, similar to those in division two, has been found here (8:4–14). Yet the editors could not allow themselves to transfer it; neither was it significant enough to alter the character of this division as a whole. Similar instances are to be found elsewhere in the Prophets, where the editors did not smooth over inconsistencies for the sake of absolute uniformity.

2. The scope of the isolated prophecies is a subject of disagreement among critics. According to one theory (Koehler, Weiser, Robinson, et al.) the text is divided into the smallest units, each ranging from two to seven verses, with some even limited to a single verse. According to this theory, it was the redactors who combined the original utterances into small collections, thus giving them a more substantial scope. According to another theory (Driver, Sellin, et al.), the prophecies are themselves integral compositions of sizable scope, sometimes being divided into subsections and secondary parts. It can be said that scholars are in agreement on the size and scope of the smallest, indivisible units. The dispute is over whether the smallest units are prophecies in their own right or are links or segments of larger pericopes (and from here on the question

is how the segments join to make up the larger pericopes). The second method seems more likely because many of the tiny segments do not have a unity of thought unless they are attached to the adjacent segments. It appears, then, that the complete prophecies are actually built up by joining the single links together. The single links, which are like strophes of a poem, vary in length, and each one can open with an introductory formula or close with a concluding verse, as if it stood alone. Nonetheless, they are connected to each other by association and continuity of thought. Consequently, the formal structure of the prophecies is rather weak, yet they cannot be understood except as literary wholes. Moreover, within a single prophecy, a prophet sometimes expresses a certain idea in two different ways, without providing real justification for splitting the prophecy in two (for the structure of the single prophecies and the associative connections within their parts, see below.)

3. Verses of a unique type are found in the following places in the Book of Amos: 4:13; 5:8–9; 8:8; 9:5–6. Except where the verses interrupt the continuity (5:8–9), they fit fairly well into the context. Yet, they are distinct in content, language, and literary form. Their subject is words of praise to God and the description of his power as revealed in nature. Since scholars apprehended their specific character as cosmic hymns to God, the term "doxologies" has been applied to these verses. The distinctiveness of these verses in the Book of Amos has caused many scholars to claim that these are later additions (Wellhausen, Nowack, Stade, Driver, Sellin, et al.). Various suppositions have been expressed concerning their function; for example, that they served as conclusions to chapters that were read as cultic liturgy (Weiser, et al.), or conclusions to prophetic collections that were absorbed into the Book of Amos (Fohrer, et al.). After the hymnic character of these verses had been noted, the supposition was raised that these are fragments of one hymn that were scattered throughout the Book of Amos, and some attempts have even been made to reconstruct that hymn in its entirety (Budde, Horst, et al.). On the other hand, there were scholars who never denied the authenticity of these verses, and even after their hymnic quality was determined, assumed that the prophet expressed himself here by means of a formulaic style (Robinson, Hammerschaimb, Botterweck, et al.). There were also scholars who attempted to maintain both assumptions at once, i.e., that these verses are both authentic and fragments of a hymn written by Amos (Kaufmann), or of a hymn which Amos interlaced with his own words (Watts, similarly Farr).

Even though these verses are set in a hymnic die, they differ in the Bible, and some of the praises to God contained in them have no example elsewhere in the Bible. Apparently this hymnic style is not that of psalms. In other words, in contradiction to the psalmodic hymns, these did not serve as prayers, but as mere literary clichés. Hymnic passages which do not belong to the psalmodic genre are also found in the Book of Hosea (12:6, and in a slightly different tone 13:4–5 (in LXX there are additional verses nonexistent in the Masoretic Text)) and intertwined with the speeches of the Book of Job (5:9–16; 9:4–10 (the closest to the hymnic verses of Amos); 12:7–25; 26:6–13), and to a certain degree similar verses are found in the words of Deutero-lsaiah (Isa. 40:22; 42:5; 44:24; 45:18, et al.). But then Amos' verses probably reflect an early phase of this literary type. The fitting of most of these verses in their context makes it not impossible that they are of the prophet's pen and that Amos availed himself of them to conclude some of his oracles, with the exception of one instance where the verses were not inserted in their proper place (Amos 5:8–9). Furthermore, in the descriptions of the trembling of the earth, its rising and sinking "as the river of Egypt," and the pouring out of the sea over the face of the earth (5:8; 8:8; 9:5–6), one may hear an echo of the earthquake, whose impression is recorded in the other prophecies of Amos as well (see above).

4. In the first prophecy of the book (1:2–2:6) various scholars denied the authenticity of the sections concerning the Philistines (1:6–8), Tyre (1:9–10), Edom (1:11–12), and Judah (2:4–5). However, their claims are not decisive, and the opinion of the commentators who consider these sections an integral part of the body of the prophecy should be preferred. Doubts have also been raised concerning Amos 6:2, which mentions the destruction of Calneh, Greater Hamath, and Philistine Gath – cities which were conquered by *Tiglath-Pileser III and *Sargon many years after the reign of Jeroboam. But it is possible that the verse refers to earlier catastrophes that overwhelmed these cities. The statement in 1:5 – "the people of Aram shall go into exile to Kir" – appears to correspond too faithfully to reality according to II Kings 16:9, so that the mentioning of Kir in one of these two passages seemed suspect. In addition, it is not customary for Amos to mention by name the place to which a nation will be exiled. However, the mention of Kir in another passage as the provenance of the Arameans (9:7) is an argument in favor of the authorities in the prophecy of exile, which is comparable to the threat in other books that Israel will return to Egypt (Deut. 28:68; Hos. 8:13).

The prophecy of comfort at the end of the book has also been taken to be late. Indeed, it does contain late expansions (see below). Perhaps in the course of time, some late idioms have found their way into the words of Amos, even in places where there is no reason to deny the authenticity of the passage in general. Of this type seem to be the references to the deities Siccuth, Chiun, and Kokhav (star god) in 5:26, and Ashimah of Samaria in 8:14. Siccuth (Succoth-Benoth) and Ashimah are mentioned in II Kings 17:30 as deities which were worshipped by the men of Babylon and the men of Hamath who were settled in Samaria after the exile of Israel. However, there are some who think that the cult of these deities had gained a foothold in Israel, even prior to the exile of the northern tribes. Possibly, a few Deuteronomic idioms also became attached to various places in the text of Amos. Such is the idiom "I will set my eyes upon them for evil and not for good" (9:4), to which Jeremiah 21:10; 24:6; 39:16, et al., can be compared. There are those who find Deuteronomic impressions in the section on Judah (2:4–5) as well. But even if this assumption were certain, it would still not be sufficient to invalidate the reliability of the core of this section.

Content of the Prophecies

THE FIRST DIVISION. The "prophecy against the nations" (Amos 1:2–2:6) begins with a formulaic call (1:2) and contains a series of sections in a stereotyped structure, the subject of which is the neighbors of Israel, concluding with Judah and Israel themselves. To them all, the prophet promises exile and destruction. The utterances to Judah and Israel serve as an apex of this prophecy; hence it appears that this is actually not a prophecy against the nations, though in the main it does speak against Israel's neighbors. Many scholars believe that its conclusion coincides with the end of chapter two (2:16). However, all that is said after 2:6 is already stamped with the mark of the moral reproofs of the second division, and it is doubtful whether it constitutes a suitable continuation to the first prophecy. Probably the section on Israel (2:6), which lacks the typical conclusion, "So I will send a fire… and it shall devour the strongholds of…" has not been preserved in its entirety, but this prophecy was cut short at the end, and the editors then attached to it the scroll of reproofs to Israel. Thus the section on Israel, and thereby all of the "prophecy against the nations," was stitched to the moral reproofs of the second division. This is one of Amos' earliest prophecies; the period of time reflected in it is the beginning of Jeroboam's reign, before Transjordan was recovered by Israel (see above).

THE SECOND DIVISION. This division is made up exclusively of prophecies of reproof. The first is 2:7–16, the first part of which is probably lost, for it lacks a formal opening (see above). It is divided into three segments: a description of the moral and cultic corruption (7–8), the past grace of God to Israel (9–12), and a description of the impending catastrophe (13–16). 3:1–15 opens with the call "Hear this word." It is divided as follows: a statement about the relation of the election of Israel and the greater responsibility placed upon it (1–2), a proverb on the connection between cause and effect and on the significance of the prophetic word (3–8), descriptions of catastrophes and reminders of sins (9–12), and a statement on the day of punishment and the destruction of Israel for its transgressions (13–15). The prophecy 4:1–13 again begins with the call "Hear this word." It is divided into four segments: a description of the corruption and punishment of the "kine of Bashan which are on the mountain of Samaria" (1–3), a denunciation of the worship in the temples (4–5), a series of afflictions that came upon Israel but were not sufficient to return the people to God (6–11), and a call to the people to prepare to meet their God, concluding with hymnic verse (12–13). The prophecy 5:1–17 also opens with "Hear this word" and is divided into the following segments: a lament on the downfall of Israel (1–2) and a description of calamity (3); an accusation against the worship in temples and a warning of exile and destruction (4–6); a description of the moral corruption and its attendant punishment (7, 10–13), in which two hymnic verses are inserted (8–9); a call to repentance (14–15) and a depiction of mourning as a result of the coming catastrophe (16–17).

The prophecy 5:18–27 opens with the call "Ah!" (Heb. *Hoi*). It is divided into three segments: a description of the terrors of the Day of the Lord (18–20), a denunciation of the worship in the temples and a call to repentance (21–25), and a promise of exile to Israel (26–27). The following prophecy, 6:1–14, also begins with the exclamation "Ah!" and is divided into four segments: a call to Israel not to be tranquil about its future, since it is no better than other kingdoms that were also destroyed (1–2); a description of the serene and luxurious life and a warning of exile (3–7); God's oath to bring destruction upon Israel and descriptions of calamities (8–11); and a reproof on the moral corruption and a warning of catastrophe (12–14).

THE THIRD DIVISION. The prophecy of visions (7:1–9; 8:1–3) is divided into two pairs of sections, which are of a similar structure. All the sections begin with the words "Thus has the Lord God shown unto me, and behold…," a specific vision being mentioned in each one. In the first two sections the prophet sees visions of disasters – locusts (7:1–3) and drought (4–6). He begs for mercy until God repents the evil decree and cancels it. In the last two sections the prophet sees symbolic visions: "The Lord stands upon a wall made by a plumbline, with a plumbline in his hand" (7–9) and "a basket of summer fruit," that is, figs that ripened late (8:1–3). These two visions are explained to him as symbols of the destruction of Israel, and the prophet does not even attempt to void the decision. Both conclude with poetic sentences depicting the destruction. This prophecy belongs to the two years at the beginning of Amos' activity, before the earthquake (cf. above). The opinion of Sellin, Rost, and others that this prophecy should be fixed at the end of Amos' work does not stand to reason.

A fragment of a story on an incident that occurred to Amos at the temple of Beth-El (7:10–17) has been inserted into the midst of the prophecy of visions. According to the story, the priest of Beth-El complained to Jeroboam about Amos and even attributed to the prophet intentions of rebellion against the king, quoting from his words: "Jeroboam shall die by the sword, and Israel shall surely be exiled away from his land" (11). Throughout all of Amos' prophecies Jeroboam is mentioned by name only at the end of the third section of the prophecy of visions (7:9). This was judged a sufficient reason to insert the narrative at this point, thereby separating the two last sections of the prophecy of visions. Also attached to the prophecy of visions is a group of prophetic sayings whose content is close to the prophecies of the second division (8:4–14). It comprises two or three fragments: a prophecy divided into two links, or two pieces that have been joined together – a description of the moral corruption, God's oath not to forget the deeds of Israel, with a hymnic verse (4–8), and a description of the terrors of the Day of the Lord (9–10); and a piece consisting of sayings concerning the future hunger and thirst for the words of God (11–14).

Chapter 9, verses 1–6 is a vision of the destruction of Israel. Similar to the prophecy of visions, this unit is also related in the first person, which caused many scholars to believe that it is a direct continuation and climax of the preceding visions. However, it is more likely that it is a self-contained literary unit. At the same time it is possible that the editors found this vision in the continuation of the scroll of "stories" that contains the prophecy of visions, with the fragments inserted in, and attached to it. The literary structure of this vision differs from that of the former visionary prophecy. At the beginning of this unit the prophet remarks that he saw the Lord standing beside the altar and ordering the execution of the catastrophe. There is no exchange of words between the prophet and the Lord, and from the opening the vision immediately proceeds to depict the catastrophe. The work of destruction begins with Beth-El, and from there it spreads out enveloping the entire people, without leaving them any place of refuge. The vision is concluded by two hymnic verses.

THE FOURTH DIVISION. This is a single prophecy of comfort to Israel, divided into four segments (9:7–15): in the eyes of God, Israel is not considered to be more important than other nations (9:7); therefore, God is about to destroy the sinning kingdom, but it will not be completely destroyed – He will scatter Israel among all the nations, and the sinners in its midst who were indifferent to the coming calamity will perish (8–10); afterward God will raise up the fallen tabernacle of David, and His people will inherit the remnants of Edom and other nations (11–12); Israel will return to its land and rebuild it, without being exiled from it again (13–15). Thus, the first two segments essentially express a message of calamity, whereas the last two, a message of salvation. Most scholars are of the opinion that the last two segments are not of Amos, whereas a minority views them as authentic. The opinion of the former appears to be the more plausible. However, the editors of the Book of Amos found this prophecy in its expanded form, i.e., when both last segments were already contained in it and attributed to Amos. Consequently, they took it to be a prophecy of comfort and placed it as a division on its own. Even though the last two segments seem to be later expansions of the words of Amos, it does not imply that he was only a prophet of woe and did not compose prophecies of comfort. Among the extant prophecies in the book bearing his name, however, there is no prophecy of comfort except this one.

His Personality and Prophetic Message

Amos testifies that he "was taken from following the flock" to prophesy to Israel (7:15). Nevertheless, one cannot conceive of him as a common person, whose power lies in spiritual inspiration and insight alone. His writings also demonstrate qualities of education and erudition. His polished and highly artistic style could not be attained without literary training, since such a style serves as an obvious indication of the creativity of a man of letters. Amos is well acquainted with the life of the social elite, has a clear perception of all the military and political occurrences on Israel's perimeter (1:3–2:3; 4:10; 5:27; 6:13–14, et al.), and displays an outlook that encompasses even the fates of nations throughout the Near East (1:3–5; 6:2; 9:7, et al.). Moreover, among his compositions are found a few prophecies explicitly molded in an autobiographic form (see above), as are to be found also in other prophets, and they suffice to verify that Amos, similar to the rest of the Latter Prophets, was also a writer. His other prophecies even though not of an explicit autobiographical mold, are first and foremost literary creations, which he himself, as an artist and poet, shaped. It cannot be told for certain whence this prophet, who was taken from following the flock, received his erudition and literary training. It could have been in his city, Tekoa, which was known for its wise men (cf. above). He could also have attained this stage later on in life.

Amos' prophetic creation is undoubtedly rooted in literary tradition and his compact and superior style may prove that others preceded him in crystallizing words of prophecy in writing. A few formulaic traits are already discernible in his language. Amos surely did not invent these, but received them ready-made. It is even possible that in some places prophetic words prior to those of Amos have found their way into the books in our possession, but the names of their authors are lost. Amos, however, is the first whose name has been preserved on prophetic writings that were collected in a special book and whose prophetic personality transpires from this book.

The major part of his message is devoted to promises of catastrophe to befall Israel, expressed in several ways. Often the terrors of the earthquake serve him to make the coming catastrophe perceptible (2:13–16; 3:14–15; 4:3; 6:11; 9:1). In other places he depicts scenes of siege, the conquering of a city, and the despoiling of palaces (3:9–11; 4:2–3; 6:8). He also promises Israel the tragedy of exile (5:5, 27; 6:7; 9:9). Amos is the first to express the threat of exile in the Bible, just as he is the first to use explicitly in this connection the Hebrew verb *galah.* Apparently, in this instance his words reflect the Assyrian system, i.e., to uproot and transfer nations from their homelands. In portraying the impending calamity, Amos avails himself of the concept of the *Day of the Lord. This concept primarily denoted a day of salvation for Israel and stringent judgment upon its enemies. This is its significance in the words of several prophets as well as in the passage of consolation appended at the end of the Book of Amos (9:11). Even Amos himself probably fashioned his "prophecy against the nations" after the model of the Day of the Lord oracles (1:3–2:3), though he tacked on to it words of punishment to Judah and Israel. At the same time, Amos reverses the meaning of the Day of the Lord, conceiving it as a day of calamity and judgment upon Israel itself. His usage of this popular concept in reversed fashion is clearly indicated in several verses (see 5:18, 20; also 8:3, 9–10). From the latter passages it can be inferred that in other connections also, when Amos cries out a lamentation and depicts scenes of mourning, a multitude of corpses, and silence everywhere (5:1–2, 15–17; 6:9–10), it is possibly the horrible image of the Day of the Lord that hovers before his eyes.

These various expressions of the message of catastrophe sometimes contradict each other on certain points. Yet, they should not be measured by principles of harsh logic, for the prophet himself undoubtedly did not mean to express his visions in formal, systematic concepts. The poetic images served him only as a means to portray the terror of the impending crisis. Similarly, he often describes the calamity as decided and absolute, allowing no living remnant to survive (see especially 9:2–4). But on the other hand, he speaks of exiling the people from the country, and sometimes assumes that a remnant will be preserved (3:12; 5:3, 15). Furthermore, those who are destined to die are only the sinners who do not believe that evil will befall them (9:10). Contradictions of this nature can be found even within the same prophecy: from Israel will be preserved remnants (5:3), but even so the people are liable to burn in a fire which no one will be able to extinguish (5:6); they will be exiled from their land (6:7), but even so God will raise up against them a nation who will oppress them from Lebo-Hamath to the Brook of the Arabah (6:14). Thus in the first prophecy to all the nations enumerated there the prophet promises burning by fire and destruction, but to a few of those he adds a promise of exile (1:5, 15). Real contradictions exist in these words for those who conceive of them in the framework of contemplative and methodical thought. But in the agitated images of a prophet their purpose is only to complement and strengthen each other. Likewise, the prophet will often describe the catastrophe as inevitable, as a predetermined decree of fate, but he also calls for repentance, thereby pointing the way to life. This occurs even in the midst of the depictions of catastrophe (5:4–6, 14–15). Hence, in the depictions of the decreed catastrophe, he does not exactly "mean" what he says. His words are rooted in a despair of repentance, or their true meaning is that of a threat only.

The promises of doom are explained by Amos, as well as by other prophets, as the result of the people's social and moral corruption: robbery of the poor, extortion of judgments, cheating in business, acts of plunder and violence by the ruling elite (2:7–8; 3:9–10; 4:1; 5:7, 10–12, 15; 6:4–6). At the same time he denounces the life of luxury and enjoyment (3:12, 15; 4:1; 5:11; 6:4–6; 8:3), and here too he is a partner in the prophetic ideal of simple and innocent life (Isa. 2:12–17; 3:16–23; Hos. 8:14; 13:5–6; Zeph. 3:11–12, et al.). The comforts and great happiness in the lives of the rulers evoke hostility in Amos, for the additional reason that they indicate apparent security and disbelief in the impending calamity (4:1–2; 6:3–7; 9:10). Therefore, he mocks the happiness of the people for their military conquests, which, according to his outlook, will turn to nought (6:13–14). He also defies the worship in the temples, which accompany an abundance of sacrifices, rapturous assemblies, and shouts of joy (4:4–5; 5:5, 21, 23). The people do not sense that all these exhibitions of abundance and pomp will not erase the decree of destruction of the places of worship (5:5; 7:9; 9:1). Rescue will come by seeking the Lord, which is the seeking of the good and is intertwined with a moral and social purification (5:4–6, 14–15, 24). In this connection, the prophet does not hesitate even to state that the Lord despises the cult practiced in His honor in the temples (5:21–23). Furthermore, he claims that even in the desert, Israel did not worship the Lord with sacrifices and offerings (5:25). This claim reflects the view of the early Pentateuchal sources (JE), according to which Israel made some sacrifices before they left Egypt (Ex. 12:21–27) and when they were encamped by Mount Sinai (Ex. 3:12; 17:15; 18:12; 24:4–8; 32:5–6), but no mention is made of their sacrifices along the journey from Sinai to Canaan. Similarly Jeremiah asserts that when God brought Israel out of Egypt he neither spoke to Israel nor commanded them concerning burnt offerings and sacrifices (Jer. 2:22–23).

Although Amos appears to invalidate the worship in the temples, he does not do it because of the cult as such, but only to accentuate the significance of social ethics. Cultic acts are not important enough to him when they are bound with moral corruption and oppression of the poor (2:7–8). The demand to remove the noise of songs and the melody of harps serves him as an introduction to the positive demand: "and let justice roll down like waters, and righteousness like an everflowing stream" (5:23–24). Similarly, the call to refrain from coming to the temples is related by him to the call to seek the Lord in order to be saved from the catastrophe and to live (5:5–6). Therefore, one should not attribute to Amos a decisive invalidation of the value of the cult (as, e.g., Weiser tended to do), for this invalidation is decreed by him not for its own sake, but rather serves as a kind of rhetorical-polemic means to a greater emphasis on the value of ethics. However, the very perception that the people's fate is determined solely by its social and moral perfection, found in Amos its first exponent in biblical literature. Afterward, it recurs in various degrees of accentuation in the books of some of the great prophets who succeeded him. But Amos and the other prophets were hardly conscious of the uniqueness of this notion, in which an exceedingly revolutionary idea is hidden. To them it looked like a fundamental principle of the ancient belief in YHWH, in whose name they spoke to the people and by whose authority they made ethical demands. Consequently, it also would not be accurate to say (as did, e.g., Cramer), that in fact Amos did not introduce any new religious idea. The unique innovation of Amos (and of the prophets after him) was in a new apprehension of the inner significance of the Yahwistic belief with its ancient tradition. But this innovation was hardly perceptible to its exponents.

Many scholars assert that Amos is also superior to his contemporaries in his perception of God, for he emphasizes the power of YHWH over the fates of many nations besides Israel (9:7; cf. 6:1). The people of Israel are no more important to YHWH than are the Ethiopians (9:7); their election from among all the families of the earth only burdens them with a greater moral responsibility (3:2). Amos' prophecies were one of the turning points in moving Yahwistic religion in the direction of monotheism. Although this view was challenged by such outstanding scholars as *Albright and *Kaufmann, our increased knowledge of ancient Israelite religion indicates that the road to monotheism was a long one, and that Amos was a significant signpost on that road.

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[Menahem Haran]

AMRAM (Heb. עַמְרָם; "the Divine Kinsman is exalted"), father of Aaron, Moses, and Miriam (Ex. 6:18, 20; Num. 26:58–59). Amram married his aunt Jochebed (Ex. 6:20), which is contrary to biblical law (Lev. 18:12–13; 20:19–20). He was the son of Kohath, the grandson of Levi, and his name frequently appears in genealogical lists of the tribe of Levi (Num. 3:19; I Chron. 5:28–29; 6:3; 23:12–13; 24:20). Amram was also the father of the Amramites, a Kohathite branch of the tribe of Levi (Num. 3:27; I Chron. 26:23).

In the *Aggadah*

The *aggadah* relates that Amram was "head of the Sanhedrin" (Ex. R. 1:13), and describes him as "the leader of his generation" (Sot. 12a). When Pharaoh decreed the death of all the male Jewish children, Amram divorced Jochebed, his wife, declaring: "We labor in vain." His example was followed by all the men in Israel. His daughter, Miriam, however, criticized his action declaring that his example was worse than Pharaoh's decree. Amram heeded her words, and remarried Jochebed. All the men of Israel, thereupon remarried their wives (Sot. 12a).

Amram's piety is described as being partly responsible for bringing the divine presence closer to earth (PdRK 1). It is also recorded that he was one of the four personalities (the others were Benjamin, Jesse, and Chileab), who died untainted by sin (Shab. 55b; BB 17a).

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[Elimelech Epstein Halevy]

AMRAM, name of two Babylonian *amoraim*. AMRAM I (third century). His preceptors were Rav and R. Assi, whom Amram quotes both in *halakhah* and *aggadah* (Pes. 105a; Ned. 28a; et al.). He was once requested by his colleagues to relate "those excellent sayings that you once told us in the name of R. Assi" (Er. 102a). Among his aggadic statements are "[There are] three transgressions which no man escapes for a single day: sinful thought, calculation on [the results of] prayer, and slander" (BB 164b). On Psalms 112:1 ("Happy is the man that feareth the Lord") he comments, "happy is he who repents while he is still a man," i.e., while he is still in the prime of life (Av. Zar. 19a). AMRAM II (early fourth century) was a pupil of R. Sheshet, whose halakhic rulings he quotes (Yev. 35a, et al.). Sheshet affectionately called him "My son Amram" (Av. Zar. 76a). Once when Amram was guilty of hairsplitting, Sheshet remarked: "Perhaps you are from Pumbedita where they try to make an elephant pass through the eye of a needle?" (BM 38b). Only a few sayings are transmitted in his own name (e.g., Nid. 25b), as he generally quotes *halakhah* in the name of others such as R. Isaac (Zev. 6b); R. Naḥman (Ber. 49b); Ulla (Git. 26b); and Rabbah b. Bar Ḥana (Yoma 78a). He engaged in discussions on *halakhah* with Rabbah and R. Joseph (Sot. 6a). According to the *aggadah*, in one of these, Rabbah expressed himself so sharply when opposing Amram that a pillar in the academy cracked (BM 20b).

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[Yitzhak Dov Gilat]

AMRAM (late 14th century), *_nagid_ of the Jewish communities in Egypt. Amram is mentioned as *nagid* in a document of 1377 and in a letter written in 1380, probably by Joseph b. Eliezer Tov Elem of Jerusalem. The name *Amram*, appearing without the epithet *nagid* in a partially preserved document dated 1384, may refer to him. His name also appears in a Hebrew letter which states that rumors of the exodus of the Ten Tribes have spread through Italy, and emissaries have been sent to the East to check their veracity.

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[Eliyahu Ashtor]

AMRAM, DAVID (1930–), French horn player, pianist, composer. A man of many parts, the Philadelphia-born Amram has written and performed in almost every conceivable musical context. He studied composition at Oberlin College, then did his U.S. Army service as part of the Seventh Army Symphony, where he played with Sonny Rollins and Charles Mingus. Upon leaving the army he stayed on in Paris briefly, where he led a jazz quintet, which recorded there. The mix of jazz and classical runs through his entire career, as might be expected from a French horn player who jammed with Dizzy Gillespie, among others. He scored and appeared in the famous underground film *Pull My Daisy*, then film director John Frankenheimer brought him to Hollywood to score *All Fall Down* (1961); his stay was relatively brief but did result in the memorable soundtrack to Frankenheimer's *The Manchurian Candidate* (1962), one of the most successful jazz-influenced scores of the period, and two excellent scores for Elia Kazan, *Splendor in the Grass* (1962) and *The Arrangment* (1969). Amram is a prolific composer with over 100 orchestral and chamber works and two operas to his credit, including the Holocaust-themed TV opera *The Final Ingredient* (1965), *Native American Portraits* (1976), and *Symphony: Songs of the Soul* (1986–87). His compositions draw tellingly on Native American, Latin jazz, Middle Eastern, and other folkloric influences. *Vibrations*, an autobiography, was published in 1968.

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[George Robinson (2nd ed.)]

AMRAM, DAVID WERNER (1866–1939), U.S. jurist, community leader, scholar; son of Werner David Amram, Philadelphia businessman and owner of the first *mazzah* bakery in Philadelphia. Amram practiced law from 1889 to 1903 when he was appointed a bankruptcy referee to the U.S. District Court. In 1908 he became lecturer in law and from 1912 to 1925 he was professor of jurisprudence at the Law School of the University of Pennsylvania. Active in community affairs, he was on the Board of Governors of *Gratz College and the publication committee of the *Jewish Publication Society. He was chairman of the Philadelphia Zionist Council and editor of its official publication, the *Maccabean*. Amram first began to study Talmud when already an adult, under Marcus *Jastrow, and was deeply influenced by him in his attitude toward Jewish life and thought.

Amram wrote articles on Jewish law in the Bible and Talmud for the Anglo-Jewish press as well as for the *Jewish Encyclopedia*. Among his books on Jewish law are *Jewish Law of Divorce According to the Bible and Talmud* (1896, repr. 1968) and *Leading Cases in Biblical Law* (1905). Amram also published *genizah* legal documents (in *The Green Bag, an Entertaining Magazine of Law*, vol. 13, 1901), books on law and legal practice in Pennsylvania, and studies in Mexican and Peruvian textile designs and on Aztec pottery. His special interest in Hebrew books and printing led him to write *Makers of Hebrew Books in Italy* (1909, repr. 1963), which contains important descriptions of Hebrew printing in Italy from the 15th–17th centuries and remains the best introduction in the English language to the subject.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: AJYB, index to vols. 1–50 (1967), s.v.

[Abraham Meir Habermann]

AMRAM, NATHAN BEN ḤAYYIM (1805–1870), rabbi and emissary of Ereẓ Israel. Born in Safed, Amram was sent to Egypt in 1825 on behalf of the community of Tiberias. He remained in Alexandria until 1835, when he left for Europe as an emissary of Hebron. Accused of misappropriating funds from a mission, he wrote a pamphlet called *Iggeret ha-Emunah ve-ha-Tiferet* (1843) to justify his accounts. He returned to Alexandria by 1851 and was appointed rabbi there in 1863, serving until his death. Amram was interested in the sciences, medicine, economics, and mysticism and wrote scores of small books on *halakhah*, philosophy, and Kabbalah, some of which were published. In 1853 he began the publication of his major work, *No'am ha-Middot*, concerning philosophical and moral topics, arranged alphabetically (pt. 1, 1855; pt. 2, 1865; pt. 3, 1869). He appended to it *Hitnasse'ut ha-Misḥar*, a discussion of the development of the economy of Europe and its ethical and social significance. His novellae on the Scriptures and Talmud, sermons, and letters survive in manuscript form.

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AMRAM BEN SHESHNA (**Amram Gaon**; d. c. 875), *gaon* of Sura noted for his responsa and the oldest surviving order of prayer. According to the epistle of *Sherira Gaon, Amram was given the title of **gaon* even during the lifetime of his predecessor Natronai b. Hilai, although the circumstances which led to this are unknown. The precise period during which he served in the gaonate is uncertain; however it is clear from one of his responsa that by 858 he was already acting in that capacity. More than 200 of Amram's responsa are extant, some in collections of geonic responsa such as *Sha'arei Ẓedek* and *Sha'arei Teshuvah*, others of the earlier rabbinic authorities; still others having been discovered in the Cairo **Genizah*. His responsa include both practical halakhic decisions and comments on the Talmud. In one of them he states that it is prohibited to lend money to a non-Jew on interest, and even though indirect interest (*avak ribbit*) is permitted, scholars should shun it (*Sha'arei Ẓedek* (Salonika, 1792), 40a). Amram's fame, however, rests primarily on his *Seder* (commonly called his *siddur*), "the order of prayers and blessings for the entire year… according to the tradition which we possess, as laid down by the *tannaim* and *amoraim*." The *Seder,* known also as "*Yesod ha-Amrami*" and as "*Maḥzor de-Rav Amram*," originated in a responsum which was seemingly sent to the community of Barcelona. From there it spread throughout Spain and to other countries. The *Seder R. Amram* is the oldest order of Jewish prayers extant. It contains the text of the prayers for the entire year, as well as the laws and customs pertaining to the different prayers. Although Amram's predecessor Natronai had written a responsum (mentioned at the beginning of Amram's *Seder*) to the community of Lucena explaining how the rabbinic injunction to recite 100 blessings daily should be fulfilled and had established the sequence of weekday prayers, Amram was the first to compose a systematic arrangement including prayers for the whole annual cycle as well as the pertinent laws. Amram's sources, in addition to the Talmud, were the works of the *geonim* and the rites of the Babylonian yeshivot. The *Seder* enjoyed a very wide circulation and was extensively quoted by the leading scholars of Spain, Provence, France, and Germany. It served as the basis for later orders of service, such as *Siddur Rashi, Maḥzor Vitry,* and especially the liturgy of countries which came under Babylonian influence.

In a responsum to Meshullam b. Nathan of Melun, Jacob b. Meir *Tam (12th century) states: "Whoever is not well-versed in Rav Amram's *Seder* and in *Halakhot Gedolot*… dare not alter the words of the early authorities or their customs, for we must rely upon them wherever they do not contradict our Talmud but [merely] add to it. Many customs we observe originated with them" (*Sefer ha-Yashar,* 619). Three different manuscripts of the *Siddur* are extant, and additional fragments have been discovered in the Cairo *Genizah*. The present work is not that written by Amram and contains later interpolations. Moreover, a thorough study of the *Seder,* as well as a comparison between it and passages cited from it by the earlier rabbinic authorities, show that in the course of time changes were introduced into Amram's original text, both in the sections comprising the prayers and in those dealing with the laws. Some scholars even maintain that Amram sent to Spain only the "order" of the prayers and blessings together with the relevant laws but not the actual text of the prayers and blessings, which were added later. Some contend that the *Seder* was basically composed not by Amram but by Ẓemaḥ b. Solomon, the *av bet din* at the time.

The *Siddur* has been edited by N. Coronel, *Seder R. Amram Ga'on* (in two parts; 1865); by A.L. Frumkin, *Seder Rav Amram ha-Shalem* (1912); and by D. Hedegard, *Seder R. Amram Ga'on* (only the weekday prayers; 1951). A. Marx published additions and corrections to Coronel's edition under the title of *Untersuchungen zum Siddur des Gaon R. Amram* (1908). A critical edition of the *Seder R. Amram* based on manuscripts and old editions was published by Daniel S. Goldschmidt (Jerusalem, 1971).

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[Tovia Preschel]

AMRAM DARAH (fourth century C.E.), Samaritan poet who wrote in Aramaic and whose poems form a central part of the Samaritan basic prayer book, the *Defter,* to this day. He is believed to be the priest (or high priest) Amram b. Sarad mentioned in the Samaritan chronicles of *Abu al-Fat and the *New Chronicle.* According to these sources, Bāba Rabbah appointed him, together with a layman, as head of the fourth district of the reorganized Samaritan province in the fourth century C.E. The *Tolidah* identified him with Tūta, the father of the famous poet Markah, which would make him one of the early revivers of the Samaritan liturgy in an age of political renaissance. His epithet, Darah, meaning the ancient one, differentiates him from later priests called Amram. Amram Darah's style is primitive, and his poems lack a standard number of lines and a fixed line length. Twenty-nine poems in the *Defter* are attributed to him, the greater part under the heading "Verses of Durran," i.e., verses by Darah or in the style of Darah. A smaller section bears the designation "Verses of Markah" because of their stylistic affinity to the poems of his son.

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[Ayala Loewenstamm]

AMRAM ḤASIDA (Aram. "the Pious"; c. third century), a prominent member of the Jewish community in Nehardea. It is reported that he applied the punishment of lashes to anyone who followed lenient opinions regarding the sowing of *kilayim* ("mixed seeds") in a vineyard, even outside the Land of Israel (Shab. 130a). He attached *ẓiẓit* to a garment worn by his wife (Suk. 11a). He was physically maltreated by the house of the exilarch (because according to Rashi, "he was pious and strict and therefore imposed numerous restrictions upon them") and he became ill. (Git. 67b). The Talmud tells of his struggle against temptation in which he publicly admitted his weakness. When the sages said to him, "You have shamed us", he replied, "It is better that you be ashamed of the house of Amram in this world, than that you be ashamed of it in the world to come" (Kid. 81a). For the phenomenon of talmudic stories concerning saintly figures who live on the periphery of established rabbinic circles, see Kalmin (2004).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Hyman, Toledot, s.v. R. Kalmin, in: *Continuity and Change* (Hebrew), ed. L.I. Levine (2004) 210–232.

[Zvi Kaplan]

AMRAM OF MAINZ, legendary medieval figure. According to the story R. Amram, who was born in Mainz, taught later in Cologne. He requested his pupils to send his body to Mainz for burial after his death. His corpse arrived in an unmanned boat on the Rhine but was seized by Christians who buried him as a Christian saint in a church named after him. A similar legend was current among Christians about the arrival of the corpse of the martyr St. Emmeram at Regensburg. The Jewish legend which originated at the end of the 16th century identifies Emmeram with Amram.

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AMRAN, town in Yemen, about ten hours' walk northwest of San'a, with a large Jewish community in a separate walled quarter. Jacob Sappir visited it in 1859 and brought out a first account (*Massa Teiman*, 174–80). There were about 100 Jewish families in Amran at the time, led by the rabbi and president Slayman al-Tanimi, who had reversed the previously gloomy spiritual situation. There were two synagogues and the majority of Jews made good livings as tailors, farmers, blacksmiths, and silversmiths. Many of them had fled from San'a because of its unstable political situation. The Muslims of Amran were considered anti-Jewish. In 1900 most of the houses in the Jewish quarter were very severely damaged in a big flood (*sayl*) and about 40 Jews were killed (Koraḥ, p. 62). Abraham *Arusi wrote a special poem to commemorate this event (Gamlieli, 1978, 435–38). B. Stevenson, who studied Amran in 1978–79, collected important data about the Jews there. According to local tradition the Jews came to Amran about 300 years earlier from nearby villages seeking the protection of the sheikh. They were allowed to settle in Amran in return for scattering the ashes from the public baths on his fields. A few Jews were rich landholders, and many rented stalls or owned shops in the market. As opposed to other places they were not remembered as skilled artisans or craftsmen. When they left for Israel (1948–51) there were 500–600 people living in 121 houses. The houses and the farmland of the Jews (100 acres) and the synagogues were sold for very low prices. Most of these were changed architecturally, so there is very little evidence in the town of Jewish existence there.

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[Yosef Tobi (2nd ed.)]

AMRAPHEL (Heb. אַמְרָפֶל), king of Shinar. Amraphel is one of the monarchs who according to Genesis 14:1–9 accompanied King *Chedorlaomer of Elam on his campaign against the rebellious cities of the Sodom region. The identification of Amraphel is uncertain. The old view that Amraphel is the Hebrew reflex of *Hammurapi king of Babylon is philologically impossible. (A fanciful talmudic derivation of the name as composed of *amar*, "decreed," and *pol*, "leap," identified Amraphel with Nimrod, who in Jewish legend ordered Abraham to leap into the fire. See Er. 53a.) At the same time, biblical Shinar designates or includes the country around Babylon in the context of Genesis 11:2 and Zechariah 5:11. The biblical identification of Shinar with Babylon is corroborated by the 15th century B.C.E. cuneiform place name Shanharu, which may itself go back to the name of a Kassite tribe during the period that the Kassites ruled Babylonia. Nothing further is recorded in the Bible about Amraphel, and the invasion of Canaan in which he participated has not so far been attested in extra-biblical sources. Some scholars have, nonetheless, argued that Genesis 14 has the features of a genuine chronographic account.

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[Nahum M. Sarna]

AMSHEWITZ, JOHN HENRY (1882–1942), British artist. He was born in Ramsgate and studied in London. He was best known for his historical murals. He painted four frescoes for the Liverpool town hall and in 1910 was commissioned to paint a historical panel for the Royal Exchange, London. His interest in acting took him to South Africa in 1916, where he remained until 1922 as cartoonist for the *Rand Daily Mail* and *Sunday Times*. He was a vital influence in South African art and his later murals were mainly done as South African commissions (e.g., South Africa House, London, in 1934; Witwatersrand University in 1936; and Pretoria City Hall in 1938). He painted many portraits and illustrated an edition of the *Haggadah* and works by *Zangwill.

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AMSTERDAM, constitutional capital of the *Netherlands.

Ashkenazim until 1795

DEMOGRAPHY AND ECONOMY. *The beginning.* The first Ashkenazim arrived in Amsterdam from the end of the 1610s onwards. They left the German countries owing to the Thirty Years War, which devastated the economy and resulted in anti-Jewish measures. At first they depended socially and economically on the Sephardi community, but were in the same position as to legal status.

The first Ashkenazi synagogue services were organized for Rosh Ha-Shana and Yom Kippur 1635. Until then the growing group of Ashkenazim had visited the Sephardi synagogue. From 1636 they hired a room to serve as a synagogue, which resulted in the establishment of an independent Ashkenazi *kehillah* in 1639. Its first rabbi was Moses ben Jacob Weile of

Prague. The community acquired its own cemetery in Muiderberg in 1642.

While the first Ashkenazim were of German descent, a second group of Ashkenazi immigrants settled in Amsterdam in the wake of the *Chmielnicki pogroms of 1648–49 in Poland and the Russian invasion in Lithuania in 1655–56. These Polish Jews brought with them their own *minhagim* and soon established their own *minyan*. Although the existing Ashkenazi community was opposed to it, they formed their own *kehillah* with a rabbi and cemetery in 1660. The Polish community maintained ties with the *Council of the Four Lands. In 1670 the Polish *kehillah* numbered 70 members versus the 238 of the so-called High German *kehillah*. Only by pressure of the local authorities were the two communities unified in 1673. From then on, only the chief rabbi was allowed to have a *minyan*; Chief Rabbi Saul *Loewenstamm followed the Polish rite. After his death in 1790 this Polish *minyan* was allowed to be held in a room under the Uilenburgerstraatshul. From the beginning of the 18th century the Ashkenazi community called itself Talmud Torah.

Demography. The Jewish population clustered in the eastern quarters of the city. While the Ashkenazim kept growing in numbers, the Sephardim had stabilized. The great migration from Eastern Europe started after 1726. In 1674 there were 5,000 Ashkenazim. This number quadrupled in the next century. In 1795 Amsterdam counted 22,000 Ashkenazi inhabitants.

Ashkenazi Jews from Amsterdam, in their turn, founded communities in England and the New World. The communities in Surinam, Curaçao, and London were considered daughters of the Amsterdam one. The London Great Synagogue was therefore called the "Dutch Jews' Synagogue."

Economy. Ashkenazi Jews were active in those parts of economic life that were not organized via the guilds. On the whole, the Amsterdam government was not very strict in the enforcement of protective laws, which enabled Jews to work on the edge of privileged jobs. They worked in the markets, were peddlers, opened small shops and were active in the money business, the diamond industry, the silk industry, the tobacco industry and in sugar refining. The majority of the Ashkenazi Jews were very poor. In 1795 87% of them lived on poor relief, while the city average was only 37%. There was a small elite consisting of wealthy businessmen such as Ruben Gompertssohn, Abraham Auerbach, and Benjamin *Cohen. Much of their business was with Germany and Poland, where they could exploit their Ashkenazi network. In London, too, branches of Amsterdam Ashkenazi firms were established by the firms of Cohen, Goldsmid (Goldsmith), Preger (Salomons), Diamantschleifer, and Van Oven. The economic crises of 1763 and 1772–73, which affected Dutch economy as a whole, also damaged the Amsterdam Ashkenazi community.

ORGANIZATION. *Parnassim.* The economic elite supplied the *kehillah* with community leaders. The most wealthy members were elected to be *parnassim*. This oligarchy ruled the community with a firm hand. They were in close contact with both the local authorities and the Sephardi *mahamad*. Within the city the Ashkenazim enjoyed the status of a semi-autonomous "High-German Jewish Nation." This meant that the community could handle all internal affairs, including justice. The *parnassim* took care of relief for the poor, taxed the members and represented the *kehillah* outside the Jewish community. They could even put someone in jail or exile him from Amsterdam, and they were allowed to have a small police force.

Religious establishment. Just as in the Sephardi community (after which the organization was modeled), the rabbis were subordinated to the *parnassim*, which was a source of regular tensions. The religious establishment was headed by the chief rabbi, who presided over the local *bet din*. Until 1749 two *dayyanim* supported him in this task; from that year on, the members of the Beth ha-Midrash Ets Haim (erected 1740) supplied the two other members. The community had two *ḥazzanim* and two upper-wardens in its service. A whole range of *melammedim*, school teachers, educated the Ashkenazi youth. There were several schools, such as Lomde Torah for boys up to 13, the school of the orphanage Megadle Jethomim (since 1738) and *talmud torah* for the youngest children. Many *ḥevrot* (membership associations) organized lessons for adults. At least once a week the *ḥevrah* rabbi gave a lesson.

Synagogues. The Great Synagogue was erected by Elias Bouman in 1671. It had place for 399 men on the ground floor and 368 women on the balconies. In 1730 it was joined by the Neie Shul, which was built next to the Great Synagogue. The latter was replaced by a much larger synagogue in 1750–52, in which 596 men and 376 women could follow the service. The complex of synagogues in the heart of the Jewish quarter was completed by two smaller ones, the Obbene Shul (1685) and the Dritt Shul (1700, completely rebuilt 1778). These two synagogues were attended by people from the lower social classes, while the more prominent and wealthy members attended both the Great Synagogue and the Neie Shul. From 1766, the Jewish inhabitants of the Uilenburg-quarter could visit their own synagogue, the so-called Uilenburgerstraatshul.

Rabbis. Most chief rabbis were from Poland. Some of them were important Talmudic scholars and prominent *dayyanim*, such as David ben Aryeh Leib *Lida (1679–1684). The most famous personality, Zevi Hirsch ben Jacob Ashkenazi (who obtained his title Ḥakham Ẓevi in Amsterdam), served the community from 1710 until 1714. He left the *kehillah* after a conflict with the *parnassim*, being succeeded by Abraham Berliner from Halberstadt (1714–1730). After a period in which the community was split into factions over the choice of a new chief rabbi, the local authorities decided that Eleazar ben Samuel of Brody should be entrusted with the task (1735–1740). The son-in-law of the Ḥakham Ẓevi, Aryeh Leib ben Saul *Loewenstamm from Rzeszów, thereupon became Amsterdam's chief rabbi (until 1755). He became the founder of the Dutch rabbinical Loewenstamm dynasty: his son Saul ben Aryeh Leib Polonus succeeded him and served until 1793, when his grandson Moses Saul Loewenstamm took over (until 1815).

Politics. The economic position of the Jews in the city was endangered by the 1748 Doelist Revolt. The Doelists advocated the expansion and enforcement of the protective laws and wished to secure the position of the guilds. Had the local government adopted the Doelist position, the Jews would have suffered grave economic losses. Thanks to the stadholder William IV, however, order was restored in the city and the Doelist coup aborted. In the second half of the 18th century the Amsterdam Jews gradually politicized. Although they did not participate in local government, they became more and more involved in the political battle between the enlightened Patriot faction and the Orangist faction. The *parnassim* tried to secure the neutrality of the community, but the great majority of the members supported the Orangists. In the 1787 Patriot Revolution, which also caused regime change in Amsterdam, Ashkenazi Jews battled on the streets with Patriotic mobs. When stadholder William IV was reinstalled with the help of his brother-in-law, the king of Prussia, Amsterdam Jewry celebrated this victory extensively.

CULTURE AND INTELLECTUAL LIFE. *Language.* The vernacular of the Amsterdam Ashkenazim was West-Yiddish, which was brought in by the first settlers from Germany. The influx of Polish immigrants did not change the predominance of the West-Yiddish dialect. From the end of the 17th century this language was spiced up with a growing number of hollandisms. Hebrew was taught at the Jewish schools and by private teachers. Only at the end of the 18th century did a small part of the community, its elite, use Dutch as its vernacular. But in the lower social classes too, the language contacts between Dutch and Yiddish were extensive.

Printing. During the 18th century Amsterdam was widely know in the Ashkenazi world as the capital of Hebrew and Yiddish printing. Amsterdam was renowned for its quality of printing and the typesetting of Hebrew letters, known as *otiyyot Amsterdam*. Besides Christian and Sephardi printers, some of whom also printed Yiddish books, Ashkenazim too were very active in this field.

*Uri Phoebus started his printing firm in 1658, moving to Zolkiev in 1692. R. Moses ben Simon *Frankfurt (1678–1768), besides a printer also *dayyan*, published many classical Hebrew works and Yiddish translations. He believed the classics of Hebrew literature should also be accessible to the Yiddish reading public. The most prominent Ashkenazi printer was Samuel Proops (1702–1734), who printed many *siddurim*, *maḥzorim*, and halakhic works as well as *musar* literature for the entire Ashkenazi world. In 1730 he published *Appiryon Shlomo*, the first sales catalogue of Hebrew books. The firm was continued by his family until 1849.

Yiddish literature. Of especial importance were the two Yiddish Bible translations. Jekuthiel ben Isaac Blitz's translation was published in 1676–79, while the rival work by Joseph Witzenhausen was printed in 1678. Numerous translations of Hebrew books into Yiddish were printed, including *Sefer *Josippon*, *Manasseh ben Israel's *Mikveh Israel*, the travelogue of *Benjamin of Tudela and *Menorat ha-Ma'or* of *Aboab. But original works in Yiddish were printed, too. One of the bestsellers became the universal Jewish history book *She'erit Yisro'el* by Menahem Mann ben Shlomo *Amelander. Contemporary history was presented in a number of chronicles. In the years 1686–87 (and possibly over a longer period), the Amsterdam Ashkenazim could read the news in the oldest known Yiddish newspaper, the *Dinstagishe un Freitaghishe Kurantn*.

Intellectual life. Besides the traditional patterns of religious learning, a number of Amsterdam Jews developed new intellectual activities, often parallel to contemporary Christian developments. In the 18th century some studied at the universities of Leiden and Harderwijk. Hartog Alexander van Embden (Herz Levi Rofe) obtained the rank of doctor in medicine at Harderwijk University in 1716. Active as a physician, Hebrew printer and keeper of a bookshop, he was part of a small group of Jewish intellectuals, interested in science and scholarly debates. In 1775 David ben Phoebus Wagenaar translated *Mendelssohn's *Phaedon* into Hebrew, which remained unpublished. Salomon *Dubno, the grammarian, teacher, and friend of Mendelssohn, spent the last years of his life in Amsterdam and had profound influence on a circle of young Ashkenazim. Eleasar Soesman was active as a publicist for both Jewish and Christian audiences and therefore wrote both in Hebrew and Dutch. He was in contact with various Christian scholars, especially theologians and Hebraists, for whom he wrote his Hebrew grammar *Mohar Yisrael* (1742).

Like the Sephardim, the Amsterdam Ashkenazim were great lovers of the theater. Yiddish theater not only blossomed during Purim, when all kinds of *Purimshpiln* were produced and performed, but also on a more regular basis. From 1784 onwards, Jacob H. Dessauer led a Jewish opera- and theatergroup, which also included women. This group was very active and performed many contemporary plays for a Jewish audience.

[Bart Wallet (2nd ed.)]

Sephardim until 1795

After the northern provinces of the Netherlands proclaimed their independence of Catholic Spain (Union of Utrecht, 1571), *Marranos of Spanish and Portuguese origin became attracted to Amsterdam where little inquiry was made as to their religious beliefs. Portuguese Jewish merchants began to settle in Amsterdam, in about 1590, but did not openly reveal themselves as Jews. In 1602 a group of Sephardi Jews arrived with Moses Uri ha-Levi of Emden, and apparently held religious services in a private home. Prominent in the community were Samuel Palache, the ambassador of Morocco to the Netherlands, and his family, who lived in Amsterdam as professing Jews, and did much to assist Jews to settle in the country. Subsequently, increasing numbers of Marranos from Spain and especially Portugal took refuge in Amsterdam, which was now becoming one of the most important international commercial centers. The legal status of these Jews long remained unclarified. While the Reform Church opposed Jewish settlement in Amsterdam, the civic authorities favored it. In consequence, the newcomers, though not formally recognized as citizens, enjoyed religious freedom and protection of life and property, especially in relation to foreign powers. Until the Jews officially attained civic *emancipation, they were debarred from practicing all trades organized in guilds, but the municipality rejected any attempt to ban Jews from other professions.

From 1607 religious services had been held at the home of Jacob *Tirado, who organized a congregation under the name Beth Jaäcob (Casa de Jacob) with 15 fellow-Jews. In 1614 they erected a synagogue with the permission of the authorities. Another congregation, Neveh Shalom, was organized in 1608 by a group of wealthy Marranos with Isaac Uziel (d. 1622) as rabbi. Both congregations cooperated in the establishment of a society for providing dowries to poor brides, in 1615, and a school called Talmud Torah in 1616.

The religious and intellectual life of the community in Amsterdam became marked by tensions between the strict authoritarian orthodoxy of the rabbis and the majority of communal leaders on the one side and the critical libertarian, individualist views of influential intellectuals on the other. This conflict was all the more acute as it was the consequence of the underground existence which the Marranos had formerly led, and their sudden freedom in an open society. A split developed in the Beth Jaäcob congregation, apparently because of a bitter religious controversy. The more orthodox wing, under the leadership of the *ḥakham* Joseph *Pardo, seceded in 1619 to found the Beth Jisrael congregation, while a freethinking physician Abraham Farrar, led the Beth Jaäcob congregation. The Beth Jaäcob synagogue was awarded by the municipality all the property of the congregation and three-fifths of its capital. However, the three congregations continued to cooperate in the central institutions. In 1639 they reunited under the name KK (Kahal Kadosh) Talmud Torah and services were henceforward conducted in one place of worship. The magnificent synagogue dedicated in 1675 became the model for Sephardi synagogues in many other places.

The intellectual life of the community, in both its religious and secular aspects, attained a high level. As a center of Jewish learning throughout the Marrano Diaspora, Amsterdam Jewry wielded a powerful influence and became a focus of intellectual ferment. The Talmud Torah school was celebrated for the breadth of its syllabus and excellence of its teaching, covering not only talmudic subjects, but also Hebrew grammar and poetry, and in the upper classes Hebrew only was spoken. It flourished during the 17th century under the leadership of Saul Levi *Morteira, and subsequently under the *ḥakham* Isaac Aboab de *Fonseca. Its pupils officiated as rabbis in numerous Sephardi communities in Western Europe and the Mediterranean countries, and it produced Hebrew writers and poets. Most of the religious literature in Spanish and Portuguese intended for the guidance of the Sephardi communities was composed and printed in Amsterdam. The first Jewish printer there was *Manasseh ben Israel, who began printing in 1627 and produced more than 70 books. Other Sephardi printers included Joseph *Athias and David de *Castro Tartas. Their publications were sold locally and throughout the Spanish-speaking Jewish Diaspora, and even in Eastern Europe and Asia, The community included such diverse personalities as the rabbis Manasseh ben Israel, Jacob *Sasportas, the physicians Abraham Zacutus *Lusitanus and Ephraim *Bueno, the kabbalist Abraham Cohen *Herrera, the playwright Antonio *Enriquez Gomez, the physician and thinker Isaac *Orobio de Castro, the poet Daniel Levi de *Barrios, and the rebel-philosophers Uriel da *Costa and Baruch *Spinoza, instancing all the manifold trends in the intellectual life of the Amsterdam community. Jewish attachment to messianic hopes and yearning for a change from exile existence were powerfully demonstrated in the ferment aroused by *Shabbetai Ẓevi in the middle of the 17th century. The majority of the community in Amsterdam became ardent followers of the pseudo-messiah and only a minority vigorously opposed him. The leadership of the community remained for a long period in the hands of former Shabbateans, including the rabbis Isaac Aboab de Fonseca, Moses Raphael *Aguilar, and Benjamin *Mussaphia. Even in the early 18th century when Solomon *Ayllon was the Portuguese *ḥakham* a controversy arose over the Shabbatean work of Nehemiah Ḥayon. The chief rabbi of the Ashkenazi community, Ḥakham Ẓevi *Ashkenazi, who joined in the dispute, was excommunicated by the Portuguese congregation in 1713.

The role of the Jewish Portuguese merchants in the economic life of Amsterdam remained modest until the end of the war against Spain in 1648. Subsequently many other ex-Marranos settled in Amsterdam, and became extremely prosperous. Jewish merchants in Amsterdam were one of the first groups to engage in recognizably modern capitalist-type activities. Their foreign interests included trade with the Iberian peninsula, England, Italy, Africa, India, and the East and West Indies. Jews in Amsterdam also engaged in industry, especially in the tobacco, printing, and diamond industries; the last eventually passed almost entirely into Jewish hands. By the end of the 17th century many Portuguese Jews in Amsterdam were active in the stock market, owning a quarter of the shares of the East India Company. They thus became prominent on the stock exchange and helped to organize and develop it. *Confusion de Confusiones* by Joseph *Penso de la Vega (Amsterdam, 1688) is the first work written on the subject. The claim of certain writers that the wealth of Amsterdam was mainly due to Jewish economic activity is, however, an exaggeration. The economic position of the Sephardi Jews was jeopardized during economic crises in the republic, especially critical in 1763. The community *parnas*, Isaac *Pinto, the banker-philosopher, arranged for tax relief on food and fuel for the poor members of the community and for their emigration overseas, but it soon became evident that the community could not carry the burden. After the French conquest of the Netherlands in 1794, the Sephardi community became even poorer: two-thirds of the 3,000 members depended on relief. In 1799, 36.7% of the general population in Amsterdam and 54% of the Sephardi community were living on relief. Few of the wealthier families managed to retain their property.

[Jozeph Michman]

Emancipation, Stabilization and Integration, 1795–1870

EMANCIPATION IN THE BATAVIAN-FRENCH PERIOD. *Politics.* In 1795 the Dutch Republic was replaced by the Batavian Republic, a satellite state of the revolutionary French Republic established by joint forces of Dutch Patriots and French invaders. This regime change had massive impact on the country, because the Orangist elite was replaced by new Patriotic authorities and new laws created gradually a different type of state. From a federal republic it became a central state. Also in Amsterdam the local government was reformed, however, initially without a change of attitude towards the Jewish community. The regime change led to fights on the streets between radical Patriots and Jewish Orangists. Continuation of these fights was prevented by the establishment of waiters of the Jewish quarter at the end of August 1795. The local authorities entrusted the *parnassim* the control of the quarter in order to maintain order.

A small group of Jewish intellectuals influenced by the ideas of the Enlightenment and Dutch Patriotism founded a club, *Felix Libertate. Although also open for non-Jews, two-third of its members were Jewish. The club wanted to gain citizenship for Jews in the Batavian Republic and the introduction of democracy within the Jewish community. On September 2, 1796, Felix Liberate was successful in its first task: the national government decreed the emancipation of the Jews. This meant equal rights for Jews in politics and before court. One of the first fruits of the emancipation decree was the right of the Amsterdam Jews to vote. Also Jews were appointed to public offices, such as Moses Salomon Asser who became a member of the judicial committee of the city in 1798.

Split in the community. An internal change within the Ashkenazi *kehillah* appeared to be much more difficult. After the emancipation decree was issued, Felix Libertate asked for new regulations. The members of the club wanted instead of the oligarchic *parnassim* a new, democratic elected board of directors, which could reorganize the *kehillah* and issue social improvements. The *parnassim* rejected their proposals, because it would reduce their power and influence. They were backed by the local authorities, for whom the *parnassim* were one of the pillars to keep order and silence in the city. As a result, the enlightened members decided to secede from the *kehillah*, using the new religious freedom laws to found a new community. On April 8, 1797, the Neie Kille, as the new community was called in Amsterdam Yiddish, had its first synagogue service. Its official name became Adat Jesurun. Appointed as its rabbi was Isaac Ger Graanboom (1738–1807), one of the *dayyanim* of the *kehillah*. It acquired a cemetery as well, in Overveen. The Neie Kille introduced small changes in liturgy, such as the use of Dutch for making announcements. Only a tiny minority of the Amsterdam Ashkenazim joined the Neie Kille: in 1799 there were 108 paying members and a total of 700 individuals involved in it. From 1799 the Neie Kille had its own synagogue at the Rapenburgerstraat.

Although the vast majority, consisting of circa 20,000 people, remained faithful to the Alte Kille, the *parnassim* considered the new community as a serious threat to their power. Both sides were heavily engaged in a propaganda war, which was fought over in a series of competing pamphlets: the Yiddish *Diskursn* (July 1797–March 1798). Things radically changed when on both the national and local level a coup brought into power a radical enlightened regime. In the few months in 1798 during which the radicals ruled the city, the balance of power within the Ashkenazi community also changed. The *parnassim* were fired and replaced by enlightened "provisional directors." This new board wanted re-unification with the Neie Kille and an accommodation of the whole community to the innovations of the enlightened group. But after a new coup brought into power a more moderate group, the *parnassim* were re-installed and the troubled relationship between the two Ashkenazi *kehillot* was continued.

Only pressure from King Louis Napoleon, who ruled over the Kingdom of Holland from 1806 until 1810, could bring together both communities in 1808. The terms for the re-unification were the abrogation of all innovations of the Neie Kille, but a relatively large representation of the enlightened faction within the influential strata of the *kehillah*. Thanks to the existence of the Neie Kille for a couple of years, the enlightened Jews could acquire a grip on the policy of the entire *kehillah* following the re-unification.

The Sephardi community. The Sephardi community remained relatively detached from the frictions between conservative and enlightened Jews. Some of the Sephardim were active in Felix Libertate but were already part of the establishment of the Portuguese *kehillah*. They could work from within the community for changes. One of them, Dr. Immanuel Capadoce, served as well as the private doctor of King Louis Napoleon. The *parnassim* of both the Sephardi and Ashkenazi community continued mutual consultations regarding the position of the Jews in the city. In 1810 they agreed on a concordat dealing with mixed marriages and its consequences for membership rules.

New situation. After the annexation of the Kingdom of Holland to the French Empire, the discontent with the political situation grew in Dutch society. Also the vast majority of Amsterdam Jewry, traditionally an Orangist stronghold, opposed the French rulers. This became all the more clear when the compulsory recruiting of Jewish boys into Napoleon's army resulted in riots in the Jewish quarter. This could not hinder a number of young Amsterdam Jews from serving in the army.

After the defeat of Napoleon the son of the last stadholder returned to Holland, becoming as William I the first king of the Kingdom of the Netherlands. The Amsterdam Jews widely celebrated his return. In the Ashkenazi community a number of French regulations regarding the liturgy were immediately abrogated, resulting in the reintroduction of Yiddish to the synagogue. The new political situation did not, however, result in a return to the pre-Batavian period, which meant that the political emancipation remained in force.

DEMOGRAPHY AND ECONOMY. *Demography.* The period 1795–18. 0 was both from a demographic and economic point of view a period of stagnation. The migration to Amsterdam from Central and Eastern Europe declined greatly in the 18th century. America was the new favorite migration destination for many Jews. Because of the poverty in Amsterdam Jews even left the city, but many of them stayed within the Netherlands. Because of the emancipation decree they could settle in small provincial towns and villages. In 1795 3,000 Sephardim and 22,000 Ashkenazim lived in the city. This number diminished to 2,534 Sephardim and 18,910 Ashkenazim in 1809. In particular, Sephardi community shrank in this period. The total number of Amsterdam Jews grew from 25,156 in 1849 to 29,952 in 1869. Throughout the period Jews made up 10% of the city's total population.

Economy. Most of the Amsterdam Jews were poor. The economic crises of the late 18th century and the introduction of the Continental System in 1805 by the French, which forbade all economic contacts with England and cut Holland off from its colonies, affected the economy of Amsterdam, and its Jews as well. In 1820 no less than 78% of the city's Ashkenazim depended on welfare for the poor. This percent diminished gradually to 55% in 1849. Also within the Sephardi community poverty rose to high numbers: in 1849 63% received aid to the poor. The number for the total population was much better: less than 20%. Most Jews lived in the Jewish quarters, only 3.5% wealthy Jews lived in other quarters.

A consequence of the abrogation of the guilds in 1809 was that all jobs were open for Jews. But in fact, many Jews stayed within the old patterns and only a small group benefited from the new situation. In the second half of the 19th century the economic situation improved. The Jews profited from the improved education and the economic recovery of the city after 1860. Jewish peddlers and keepers of small shops founded the first warehouses. Also intellectual positions, such as journalist, lawyer, and doctor, together with governmental jobs provided a growing number of Jews their daily bread.

ORGANIZATION. *Sephardi community.* The social infrastructure of the Amsterdam Sephardim remained largely intact in the period 1795–1870. Community life was concentrated around the Esnoga. The economic crises at the end of the 18th century and during the Batavian-French period had seriously affected the Sephardim, resulting in a growing number of poor members. The social differences within the community widened. Relatively easily the more well-to-do Sephardim integrated into Amsterdam society, using the opportunities created by the emancipation. Within the community Sephardi identity was nourished, especially to stress the difference from the Ashkenazi community, with which they forced into a joint national organization.

Ashkenazi community. The Ashkenazi *kehillah* was led by a small elite, consisting of rich businessmen and the newly emerging intellectual elite. Many of these intellectuals had their roots in the former Neie Kille. The largest part of the community, however, consisted of poor people. They did not have the money to rent a seat in one of the official synagogues. Therefore a number of *chevreshuls* provided in their religious needs. Although from 1827 personal *minyanim* were forbidden, in 1850 no less than seven *chevreshuls* were accepted within the community. The gap between the elite, striving for integration in Dutch society, and the vast majority of the community, attached to the Jewish quarter, grew immensely.

In contrary to many German Jewish communities, Reform did not take hold in Jewish Amsterdam. A small group, united in Shokharee De'a, strove in the 1850s for the introduction of Reform-like changes in synagogue liturgy. When on their invitation a German Reform rabbi, Dr. Isaac Loeb Chronik, came to Amsterdam, riots broke out in the Jewish quarter. Chronik subsequently left for Chicago. Only in 1861 did Shokharee De'a achieve a little success: the introduction of a choir in the Great Synagogue. This inspired two Jewish musicians, Aharon Wolf Berlijn (1817–1870) and Isaac Heymann (called the Gnesener Chazzen, 1827–1906), to compose new melodies for the synagogue liturgy. Also the atmosphere in synagogue changed, with the introduction of measures to encourage decorum. In 1867 an experiment began for having sermons in Dutch in the synagogue once every two weeks, which led to the decision to replace Yiddish completely by Dutch in 1872.

Religious leaders. Rabbis and schoolteachers for the Ashkenazi community were trained at the reorganized Dutch Israelite Seminary (from 1836), while the Portuguese Israelite Seminary Ets Haim continued to deliver well-trained rabbis and teachers for Amsterdam and the Sephardi diaspora. Until 1822 Daniel Cohen d'Azevedo served as the Sephardi chief rabbi, but after his death no successor was appointed until 1900. After the death of Chief Rabbi S.B. Berenstein in 1838, a period without a chief rabbi began for Ashkenazi Amsterdam as well. No suitable candidate was found in the Netherlands, while the leaders were hesitant to have a chief rabbi from the German countries. They did not want to import along with the chief rabbi a division between Reform and Orthodoxy. Finally, Dr. Joseph Hirsch *Duenner (1833–1911) became the new chief rabbi in 1874, besides being rector of the Seminary following his appointment in 1862.

Social Work. Due to the poverty of the majority of Jewish Amsterdam, special importance was given to social work. In

1825 the Dutch Israelite Poor Relief (Nederlandsch Israelitisch Armbestuur) was founded and given the responsibility for the Ashkenazi poor, which had previously been a task of the *parnassim*. The organization was funded both by the government and the Jewish community. In the 1830s half of Amsterdam's Jewry depended on its welfare. It operated a hospital for the poor, which had existed since 1804. In 1845 a separate Doll House was founded. The Sephardim had their own hospital from 1820. There were as well houses for the elderly. The Sephardim had their Old Men's House, Mishenet Zeqenim, from 1750 and an Old Women's House, Mesib Nefes, from 1833 on the Rapenburg. The Ashkenazi Old Women's House, Rechoboth, was located at the Nieuwe Keizersgracht.

Education. The Jewish schools were generally known for their low quality. The schools that were active as early as the 18th century continued their existence in the first half of the 19th century, until the School Law of 1857 turned the Jewish schools into state schools. This was part of a policy of national integration and improvement of education. Religious instruction was since then given after school and on Sundays. Only the Sephardi schools managed to survive a bit longer, until 1870.

But even before the new law, many Jewish children attended private schools or were given education by private teachers; some also attended Christian schools. In 1797 no less than 320 Jewish children were enrolled in church schools. That was nearly one-third of the total of 1,000 Jewish children receiving education. After 1870, many Jewish children did not go to religious schools anymore, because of finances or out of lack of interest. This resulted in loosening ties with Hebrew and the Jewish tradition.

INTEGRATION AND POSITION IN THE CITY. *Jewish politicians.* After the emancipation decree Jews were able to take part in local politics. Jewish participation in the city council was nearly continuous. Until the constitutional changes of 1848 it was primarily Sephardim who were chosen as representatives of the city's Jewish communities: Abraham Mendes de Leon, Immanuel Capadoce, Jacob Mendes de Leon, and Samuel Teixeira de Mattos. After 1848 Ashkenazim, too, obtained seats, such as Ahasveros S. van *Nierop, who represented the liberal faction.

Jewish philanthropists. Two men acquired a special position within the city. Samuel Sarphati (1813–1866), a Sephardi doctor, initiated and developed many institutions for better education, poor relief and the promotion of labor and industry. He was a thriving force behind the modernization of Amsterdam and built the Amstel Hotel and the Palace for People's Industry. He was faithful to the Jewish tradition and also served the Sephardi community in a number of functions. His idealism inspired others to work for the general good. After his death a park and a street were named after him. His friend and, to some degree, successor was Abraham Carel Wertheim (1832–1897). The Ashkenazi Wertheim, a banker, was a philanthropist and politician as well. He was especially interested in culture and sponsored the local theater. Although he was a freemason and did not observe Shabbat and *kashrut*, he was a leading figure in Jewish Amsterdam and served as a *parnas* of the Ashkenazi *kehillah* for many years.

Jewish elite. The politicians and philanthropists were part of the elite of Amsterdam's Jewry, which consisted of old business dynasties, such as the De Jongh (Rintel) family. Also bankers were well represented within this circle. The families Bisschofsheim, Koenigswaerter, Raphael, Hollander and Lehren had branches of their firms all over Europe. Some of them left the Netherlands before 1850, but others took their places (Rosenthal, Wertheim, Lippmann). Also lawyers obtained a position within the elite. J.D. *Meyer, the members of the *Asser family, and M.H. *Godefroi all enjoyed prestigious positions within both general society and the Jewish community. A large part of the elite integrated in Dutch society and became detached from the majority of the Jewish community, but they did not completely assimilate because they developed a specific Dutch-Jewish patrician culture. Marriage partners were found among themselves and in Germany. Only a tiny minority converted to Christianity, as did Isaac da *Costa, Abraham Capadoce, and S.Ph. Lipman. Some families remained strictly Orthodox, such as the *Lehren family. The brothers Zevi Hirsch (1784–1853), Meyer (1793–1861), and Akiba (1795–1876) Lehren had an extensive network all over the Jewish world. They led the Pekidim and Amarkalim organization, which helped and controlled the *yishuv.* They alos supported the struggle of German Orthodoxy against the Reform movement.

CULTURE AND INTELLECTUAL LIFE. *Language.* The process of using the vernacular, which started already in the 18th century among the elite, spread in the 19th century over the whole community. The knowledge of the Iberian languages dropped dramatically within the Sephardi community. Although the language was maintained in same parts of the synagogue liturgy, Dutch entered relatively easily in the Sephardi domain. In the early 1850s Dutch replaced Portuguese as the language of the sermon, because most people left the synagogue when a Portuguese sermon was preached. The replacement of Yiddish by Dutch was more difficult. The proletariat, including Sephardim, spoke Amsterdam Yiddish. Gradually this language was replaced through a combined effort of the government and the Jewish elite. The closing of the Jewish schools was a major step, because since then Jewish children were educated only in Dutch.

Intellectual life. In the first half of the 19th century a circle of Jewish intellectuals advocated the Hebrew language. In 1808 the society Chanog lanangar ngal pi darko was founded in order to promote Hebrew. Mozes Lemans, Hirsch Zwi Sommerhausen and Mozes Cohen *Belinfante played an important role in this society. They published several textbooks and prepared a translation of Tenakh into Dutch. A new society was founded with a common objective in 1816, Tongelet. The members devoted themselves to writing poetry in Hebrew.

They published two volumes with their work. Circa 50 members were involved. Samuel Israel *Mulder, Gabriel *Polak and Abraham Delaville (1807–1877) were its most prominent members. Within the Dutch Jewish community they served in several functions; they had as well an extensive network in the European Jewish intellectual world. A third society, Reshit Chochma, was founded in 1813. Within this body traditional Jewish study was the objective, but Mendelssohn's *Be'ur* was included in the curriculum as well. Until the middle of the 19th century the yearly meetings were conducted in Hebrew.

[Bart Wallet (2nd ed.)]

1870–1940: Rapid Growth and the Creation of an Amsterdam Dutch-Jewish Sub-Culture

1870 has been widely accepted in Dutch and Dutch-Jewish historiography as the beginning of a new period (see *Netherlands). The general economic. Social and political developments which caused the change, affected Amsterdam, as the capital and as a major harbor, especially, and Jewish society in this city was deeply affected too.

DEMOGRAPHY AND PROFESSIONAL OCCUPATIONS. This period was first of all characterized by rapid demographical growth of the Jewish community in Amsterdam – from 30,039 (almost 11% of a total population of 281,502) in 1869, through 59,117 (11+% out of 531,733) in 1899 and 65,558 (8.5% out of 768,409) in 1930, to 79,497 "full Jews" according to the German racial census, plus almost 7,000 "half-" and "quarter"-Jews) (about 10% out of 803,073) in 1941. Amsterdam Jewry's importance within Dutch Jewry grew even more: from 44% in 1869, to about 60% in 1920, and almost 57% in 1941. The growth resulted from several sources: high birth rates (between 1869 and1889; but between 1905 and 1932, a sharp decline occurred, dropping more than 40%, from 164 births per 1,000 to 87.2 births per 1,000) and low mortality rates.

The major reasons for the growth of Amsterdam Jewry were internal migration from the little communities in the countryside to the capital because of economic, cultural, educational and religious motivations; and the immigration from abroad – a limited number of Eastern European Jews at the turn of the 19th to 20th century, a considerable number of Jews from Germany in the 1920s, and many thousands of refugees from Germany after the rise of the Nazi party to power in 1933. Until 1870 most Jews were living in the central and eastern neighborhoods. But when the size of the community grew and an affluent middle class emerged, Jews settled also in Amsterdam-south and later in the neighboring "new-south" neighborhood (in the 1930s many German-Jewish refugees concentrated in this area too). The older neighborhoods remained centers of the Jewish proletariat, which made up for a major part of Amsterdam Jewry. Though during the 1930s less than 10% of the city's Jewish population still lived in the so-called "Jewish quarter," this area continued to have a dominantly Jewish character.

Jews worked in a variety of professions, but concentrated mainly in a limited number of them (about 75%): diamond cutters (2,095; 5.8%, vs. 2% among the general city population in 1941); textile and cleaning (7,229; 20% vs. 7.8%); commerce (11,668; 32.4% vs. 20.9%); free profession (6,523; 18.1% vs. 8.3). On the other hand, Jews were extremely lowly represented in the construction, food, transportation, banking and housekeeping professions.

The Jewish proletariat. Apart from the small class of wealthy Jews, the majority of the community in Amsterdam in the first half of the 19th century were in serious economic straits and still lived in cramped quarters. Their position improved after 1867 with the development of the diamond industry, which became a "Jewish" profession involving many diamond workers and traders as well (called "The profession" among Amsterdam Jews). When in 1876 the industry underwent a serious crisis, the diamond workers established a strong trade union, under the leadership of Henri *Polak, the first such organization in Holland. Socialism gained ground among the Jewish proletariat, the diamond trade union became the corner stone of the Social Democratic Workers Party, and Polak one of its leaders.

JEWISH SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS. The size of the Amsterdam community together with the extent of poverty created the necessity for the establishment of a network of Jewish social services, which transformed a strong Jewish tradition of *ẓedakah* into modern modes. This network included country-wide organizations whose headquarters were in the capital, such as the Dutch-Jewish Organization for the Poor (Nederlandsch-Israëlitisch Armbestuur), and health care institutions such as the Joodsche Invalide and the Nederlandsch Israëlitisch Ziekenhuis (hospital). In the 1920s a (pro-Zionist) Union of Jewish Women was established, which focused on welfare activities. Many organizations dealt especially with youth. Many of those institutions were supported by rich assimilated Jews.

JEWISH POLITICS BETWEEN SOCIALISM AND ZIONISM. As mentioned, as from the 1860s socialism and its varieties found strong inroads in Jewish society, and the Amsterdam socialist organizations were known for their pronounced Jewish color. Through socialism and the Social-Democratic youth movement many lower middle class and lower class Jews became involved in city and countrywide politics. Among the middle class, Jews were already prominent in municipal activities in the beginning of the second half of the 19th century, and contributed to the modernization process of the city; as time proceeded, many became active in the Liberal party and represented it both on the municipal and provincial level. Several Jews in various political parties served for long periods on the municipal council; when in 1933 four of the six city counselors (wethouders) were Jewish, albeit from different parties, served council, antisemitic voices protested "Jewish dominance."

Political Zionism found support in Amsterdam from its inception. Among those who welcomed the movement was

Chief Rabbi Dr. Joseph Hirsch *Duenner; on the occasion of the first Zionist Congress in 1897 he held a sermon titled with the biblical quotation: "For this child we prayed." In the early 20th century the movement found some adherents among students in Amsterdam, but for a long time Zionist support was confined to intellectual and orthodox circles. After World War I, a strong Zionist youth movement was formed. The number of youths in the Zionist movement grew from 350 in 1929 to 800 in 1939. However, other Jewish political parties, as were activive in Eastern Europe, found no ground here.

JEWISH DAILY LIFE AND FOLKLORE. Amsterdam Jewry was the nucleus of Dutch Jewry, and because of its size established a clear sub-culture. As part of the "Hollandization" process, Jews turned to speaking Dutch instead of Yiddish around the beginning of the second half of the 19th century. On the other hand, however, many Yiddish words made their way into local slang (until today). A pronounced expression of the special features of Amsterdam Jewishness was to be found in the Waterlooplein market. The peculiarities of Amsterdam Jewish life at the turn of the 19th century has been depicted in literature, especially by Herman Heijermans in some of his critical stories ("The Diamond City," "The Ghetto").

RELIGIOUS DENOMINATIONS AND SECULARIZATION. The two separate communities of Amsterdam Jewry – the Ashkenazim who were the great majority, and the Sephardim, who were a tiny minority – continued to exist, but cooperation intensified.

The appointment of Dr. Joseph Hirsch *Duenner to the directorship of the rabbinical seminary (Nederlandsch-Israëlitisch Seminarium), and in 1874 as chief rabbi of Amsterdam and the province of North-Holland, inaugurated a marked change. Although strictly preserving the Orthodox character of the community, he raised the academic level of the seminary and educated a group of rabbis who achieved a high standard of scholarship. He also included representatives from all sectors in the leadership of the Ashkenazi community, even the nonobservant such as the banker A.C. *Wertheim. In this way, Duenner prevented religious dissension towards Reform Judaism, which had started some time before his coming. He also built a basis for a nucleus of Modern Orthodoxy (the seminary became its stronghold); however, he could not stop the general process of secularization, caused by the enormous economic and social changes. Consequently, the majority of Amsterdam Jewry became non-observant and hardly visited the synagogues; yet they continued keeping to some basics of Judaism thus creating a clear Jewish sub-group. Mixed marriages between Jews and non-Jews expanded (the number of mixed marriages increased from 6.02% in 1900 to 16.86% in 1930) but still remained quite low until as compared to other western European countries. In the 20th century, with the relocation of affluent Jews to new neighborhoods, some new (Ashkenazi) synagogues were built in them.

Liberal (Reform) Jewry was finally introduced in Amsterdam only in 1932, through an outside initiative by the World Union for Progressive Judaism. It succeeded in rooting in the city as a result of the influx of German Jewish Refugees as from 1933; it thus became a predominantly "German-Jewish" phenomenon. One of the refugees joining this community was Otto Frank, the father of Anne.

EDUCATION AND CULTURE. The Education Act of 1857, enacted in the spirit of separation of church and state, withheld subsidies for religious schools. This brought in its wake the rapid decline of Jewish schools for the poor, and the transition of Jewish children to the general school system. The law foresaw the closure on Sabbath of schools with more than 50% Jews, and in the 1920s this was the case with 20 schools. Only one Ashkenazi school for the poor, *Talmoed Touro*, could be preserved, as well as a high school. Special Jewish education, especially on Sundays, was unable to cope with the consequent decline in Jewish knowledge. Only at the beginning of the 20th century could a change for the better be made, and an organization for Special Jewish Education (Joodsch Bijzonder Onderwijs) was established. After the enactment of the new constitution in 1917, new efforts were undertaken and several new schools were established in the 1920s. But in 1932 still only about 800 children learned at Jewish day schools.

From the end of the 19th century, Amsterdam became a foremost cultural center of the Netherlands. Jewish writers, painters, theatrical artists, and others took an active part in Dutch cultural life. Writers included the above-mentioned Herman Heijermans (1864–1924); Israel *Querido (1872–1932); Jacob Israel de Haan (1881–1924), who went to Ereẓ Israel, changed sides and joined the anti-Zionist ultra-Orthodox community in Jerusalem, and was murdered against this background; and his sister Carry van Bruggen de *Haan (1881–1932). The jurist, Prof. Tobias M.C. *Asser (1838–1913) won the Nobel Prize.

REFUGEES FROM NAZI GERMANY AND THE THREAT OF THE 1930S. The rise of Nazism to power in Germany made a considerable and immediate impact on the Jewish communities in surrounding countries, including the Netherlands. Amsterdam became a major refuge: thousands of Jews (as well as non-Jewish political refugees) settled in the city for shorter or longer periods between 1933 and the German invasion in May 1940. At the moment of invasion more than 7,000 such refugees were staying in the city. Their presence during the pre-war years caused the establishment of a Committee for Jewish Refugees, headed by Prof. David *Cohen, backed by the Jewish community organizations and prominent Jews. Due to its many activities, its considerable budget, and the contacts it developed with the Dutch authorities and international organizations (Jewish and non-Jewish), this committee became the most important and powerful Jewish organization in the 1930s. The Nazi threat and the refugees also strengthened the Zionist movement and the tiny community of Liberal (Reform) Jews. Two local publishers, Querido and Allert de Lange, published *Exilliteratur.* Two cabaret-groups were established by well-known Jewish refugee cabaretiers from

Germany, and others influenced the still young Dutch film industry. On the other hand, for antisemitic groups the Jewish refugee "invasion" became a major issue through which they strengthened their rows; consequently, many local Jews showed an ambivalent attitude towards those Jews.

1939–1945: The Holocaust

Being the capital and hosting a Jewish community of more than 80,000 souls made Amsterdam the main target for anti-Jewish policies; many of the general measures were tried out and took shape first in Amsterdam, and focal institutions of persecution were established in it. Therefore, the impact of persecutions was intensely felt in this city. Only 25% of Amsterdam Jews survived the Holocaust. (For an account of the general picture of the Holocaust in the Netherlands, see *Netherlands.)

FIRST ANTI-JEWISH MEASURES. Amsterdam was conquered immediately after the German invasion of the Netherlands on May 10, 1940. As Dutch Jews, especially in Amsterdam, had followed the developments in Germany in the 1930s carefully, the awareness of the dangers awaiting ahead were well understood by many (even though the Final Solution, which was not yet decided upon, was not foreseen). Some 128 Amsterdam Jews consequently committed suicide during the first days of German rule, even though persecutions had not yet started. In the fall of 1940 and the beginning of 1941 a series of discriminating decrees were enacted, defining Jews, firing Jews who worked in the bureaucracy (including universities and the legal system), registering Jews and Jewish enterprises. This started a process of legal segregation which immediately affected also the economic situation of many Jews. But the Jewish communities as well as other Jewish organizations resumed their activities, and even books could be published (but Jewish newspapers, except for a minor one, were prohibited in the fall of 1940).

JOODSCHE RAAD VOOR AMSTERDAM (JEWISH COUNCIL). The Nazi governor of the Netherlands, Reichskommissar Arthur Seyss-Inquart, had appointed a special supervisor (*Beauftragte*) for the city of Amsterdam, Senator. H. Böhmcker, who was also in charge of anti-Jewish policies. Under his auspices, an idea of establishing a ghetto in Amsterdam was raised in January 1941. However, this idea was never realized, accept for the installation – together with the establishment the Jewish Council in February – of sign-posts with the word *Judenviertel* (Jewish neighborhood) on them around the "Jewish quarter" in the center of the city. This non-ghetto has therefore been nicknamed "the optic ghetto."

On February 9 clashes between youngsters belonging to the militia (WA) of the Dutch National-Socialist Movement (NSB), who wanted to carry out a pogrom in the Jewish quarter, and some organized Jews, resulted in the death of one Dutch Nazi. German forces reacted by closing that Jewish quarter on February 12 for a short while; Böhmcker ordered on that same day the establishment of a Jewish Council for Amsterdam, according to the model of the *Judenräte* which had been established in Poland in 1939–1940. In a mode unparalleled in the entire Nazi-occupied Europe and North Africa, *two* chairpersons were appointed to the Council: the diamond industrial, politician and head of the Amsterdam Ashkenazi community Abraham Asscher; and the Zionist activist, university professor and chairperson of the Jewish Refugee Committee David Cohen. They were officially assisted by a committee of representatives of the Jewish population, but this committee had hardly any influence on the policies. The competences and authority of the *Joodsche Raad* gradually expanded to encompass the entire Jewish population in the country (through a network of representatives). It published a weekly, *Het Joodsche Weekblad*, serving to inform the Jewish population of anti-Jewish measures and of internal issues; and as from the fall of 1941 administered the segregated Jewish education system as well as cultural activities. It was used by the Germans to impose many of the persecutions. As such, the Council employed thousands of employees.

In April 1941, in the wake of the establishment of the *Joodsche Raad*, a branch of Adolf Eichmann's office (named *Zentralstelle für jüdische Auswanderung*) was established in the city, to supervise the activities of the Council. It later on served as the main authority carrying out the deportations.

"FEBRUARY STRIKE". On February 22–23, 1941, the Germans for the first time carried out a round-up ("razzia") in the "Jewish quarter" and arrested 425 men. They were assembled in a square, brutally treated, and later deported to Mauthausen, where they all died. The round-up caused protests by the non-Jewish population, which resulted in a two-day strike in Amsterdam and its surroundings (February 25–26), a unique occasion in Europe (which was never repeated in the Netherlands too, even when systematic deportations to the death camps started). The German authorities suppressed the strike with force; additionally, Seyss-Inquart reacted with a threatening speech on March 12 in the Amsterdam Concertgebouw, stating that the Jews were declared enemies of Germany, and whoever supported them would have to bear the consequences. And indeed, no retreat in anti-Jewish policies was felt; on the contrary: in June 1941, still a year before the beginning of the Final Solution in the Netherlands, another 300 Jews were rounded-up in Amsterdam and once again sent to Mauthausen, where they died.

CONCENTRATION OF JEWS IN AMSTERDAM, DEPORTATIONS AND HIDING. Between January 1942 and April 1943, most parts of the country were declared as forbidden for Jews to live in; their Jewish inhabitants were mostly evacuated to Amsterdam. Additionally, many decrees limited the possibility of Jews to move around (such as the use of public transportation, cars and even bicycles). As from the beginning of May 1942 Jews had to wear a Yellow Star with the word *Jood* on it. Jewish bank accounts and assets were channeled to the Lippmann-Rosenthal bank in the Sarphatistraat, a cover institution created by the German authorities. A first deporta-

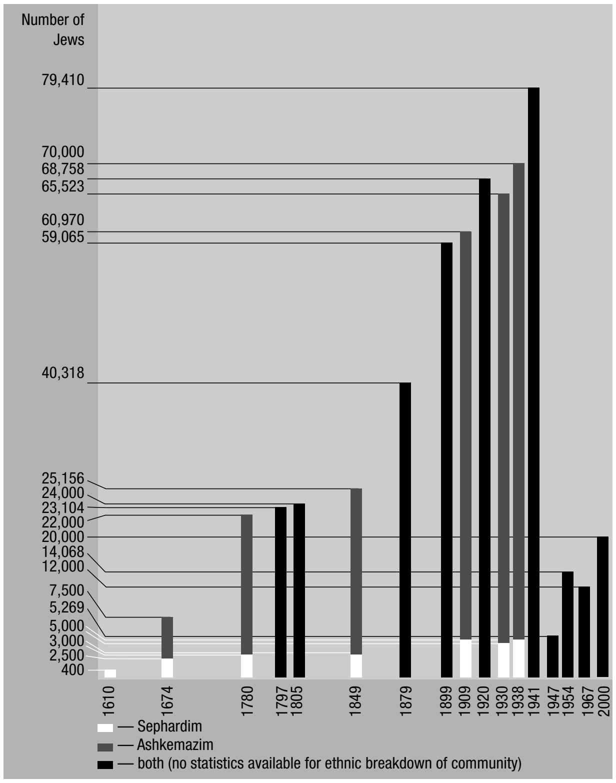

Amsterdam's Jewish population.

tion train left the Amsterdam Central Railway Station with 962 persons to the transit camp Westerbork in eastern Holland in the night of 14–15 July. An assembling center for the Amsterdam Jews was created in the Joodsche (formerly: Hollandsche) Schouwburg (i.e. theatre), in the Jewish quarter; this site serves today for the commemoration of the Holocaust of Dutch Jewry. Deportations came to a close on September 29, 1943, on the eve of Rosh Hashana 5704; the last Jews officially living in Amsterdam, including the chairpersons of the *Joodsche Raad*, were arrested and sent away.

RELIGIOUS LIFE. In view of the harsh persecutions and the disastrous number of murdered Jews, it is amazing to note that religious life could go on relatively unhindered during this whole period. True, in the very beginning kosher slaughtering – without prior stunning – was prohibited, but when a solution was found for that by the Amsterdam rabbis, slaughtering continued as long as meat was available. *Maẓẓot* for Passover were distributed even in 1943. Official prayers went on, and Jews were not arrested in synagogues. Synagogues were partially plundered during the last stage of the war, but never desecrated. Thus, all synagogues, including the impressive Sephardi and Ashkenazi ones in the center of the Jewish quarter, remained in tact, and could be reopened after the war.

REACTIONS OF NON-JEWISH NEIGHBORS. The reactions of the non-Jewish citizens cannot be generalized. On the one hand, expressions of solidarity were expressed at different stages of the persecutions. The February strike of 1941 was a genuine such expression. When the Yellow Star was imposed, some Amsterdammers wore yellow flowers. Other helped in helping Jews to find shelter or flee. A special such case was the smuggling of hundreds of Jewish children, brought to the Joodsche Schouwburg and smuggled out on the initiative of Jewish employees and the assistance of a German guard, to the neighboring kindergarten ("crèche"), from where the children were directed to hiding addresses throughout the country.

On the other hand, Dutch city officials were instrumental from an early stage in registering Jews, the local police played a major role in arresting and deporting the Jews, streetcar drivers worked additional hours during the round-ups, and others denunciated hiding Jews.

Altogether, Amsterdam Jewry was so badly hit in the Holocaust, that the colorful and sparkling Jewish life which had existed in the city for more than three hundred years, was almost entirely disrupted. After the war Amsterdam became once again the major Jewish community in the Netherlands, but never returned to its former importance, both for the Jewish world and for Dutch society.

[Dan Michman (2nd ed.)]

Contemporary Period

Jewish survivors, who returned to Amsterdam after the Holocaust, continued prewar patterns and mostly resettled in its southern neighborhoods. This was even intensified since the postwar Jewish population had a very different socio-economic structure. The proletariat, lacking the social networks and the money one needed to go into hiding, was nearly completely wiped out. Their quarters, known as the original Jewish neighborhoods in the center of Amsterdam, were demolished by the municipality in the interest of renovation and traffic requirements. In time, middle- and upper-middle class Jews spread out into several new suburbs like Amstelveen and Diemen, but the majority still lives in Amsterdam itself, especially in Buitenveldert. This "Greater Amsterdam area" comprised some 20,000 Jews in the year 2000. They represent less than half of the total Jewish population in the Netherlands, estimated at 43,000. Of these only 70% have a Jewish mother and fewer than 25% are connected with the official Jewish community. The "Greater Amsterdam" community is still by far the largest Jewish concentration in the Netherlands and also the most conscious one when it comes to Jewish identity. Most Amsterdam Jews (56%) still have two Jewish parents, while elsewhere the average is much lower (37%). Jews who are in need of community services such as schools, synagogues, kosher food, tend to move to Amsterdam, the only place in the Netherlands offering all those services. Jews, who do not need them, tend to move out of Amsterdam. Over the years, the original Dutch Jewish community in Amsterdam was not able to keep its numbers from deteriorating, but it was resupplied by several thousands of foreign Jews, many of them Israelis and younger than the original community. The prewar Jewish weekly *Nieuw Israelietisch Weekblad* is the oldest weekly in the Netherlands (since 1862), and it preserved its central place in the organized Jewish community. Immediately after the war, efforts were undertaken to unite the different congregations in Amsterdam into one *Grossgemeinde*. These efforts failed and the different prewar communities all continued their independent existence.

THE ASHKENAZI ORTHODOX COMMUNITY. The four Ashkenazi synagogues in the center of Amsterdam were sold to the Amsterdam municipality in 1955, followed by the ones in Uilenburgerstraat and Rapenburgerstraat. A smaller synagogue replaced the one in Linnaeusstraat, but it was ultimately closed down in the 1990s for lack of worshippers. In Amsterdam South the prewar synagogue in the Lekstraat was found too large. It continued to be in use but part of it was turned into the Resistance Museum. The synagogues on the Jacob Obrechtplein, in Gerard Doustraat and Kerkstraat continued to be in use, as did the one that is part of the Dutch Israelite Seminary in Gerrit van der Veenstraat. There continued to be a synagogue in use in Amsterdam West. However, in 1965 a new synagogue was opened in the new Buitenveldert neighborhood on the southern municipality border. Its establishment was soon followed by a new Orthodox synagogue in nearby Amstelveen. These areas had become the central Jewish area of Amsterdam. In 1970 the Central Dutch Israelite Synagogue (NIHS) bought a complex of buildings in Buitenveldert and transformed it into a Jewish Cultural Center including a synagogue, classrooms, community center and offices. None of the Ashkenazi Rabbis of Amsterdam had survived the Holocaust. Rabbi Justus Tal from Utrecht was nominated chief rabbi of Amsterdam in 1951 and from 1954 Rabbi Aaron *Schuster dominated the scene as chief rabbi and as director of the Rabbinical Seminary. He was educated at the prewar Rabbinical Seminary and preserved the traditions of the prewar community. After he left in 1972, the Ashkenazi community went through a number of changes leaving little of its original character. The Netherlands Israelite Rabbinical and Teachers Seminary in Amsterdam no longer produced rabbis after the war. This made the community dependent on foreign-educated rabbis, who, in general, were much stricter in their interpretation of *halakhah*. Rabbi Meir Just from Switzerland, already in the country from 1962, became more dominant after 1972. Later rabbis were educated in the ultra-orthodox Rabbinical School of Gateshead, such as Rabbi Frank Lewis (1990s). At the same time the Lubavitch movement started to have an impact on the community. As a result halakhic decisions were increasingly taken without reference to Dutch customs. All these different Orthodox streams stayed united in the Nederlands Israelietisch Kerkgenootschap (NIK). The combined membership of the Amsterdam congregations was 5,202 in 1951, but has dwindled over the years. Already in the 1970s it was clear that the real membership was below 4,500 and it further plunged to 2,821 in the year 1998. From 1955 the Ashkenazi Orthodox community of Amsterdam published its own journal *Hakehillah*, which in the 1990s was renamed *Hakehilloth* and extended to the whole country.

THE PORTUGUESE COMMUNITY. Portuguese Jews still use their 17th century synagogue building in the old Jewish neighborhood in the center of Amsterdam where the traditions of the old community are more or less preserved, but since many of the Portuguese moved to Amstelveen they opened a new congregation there in 1995. Only some 800 Portuguese Jews had survived the Holocaust and the community dwindled down to about 450 in 2000. That number includes new immigrants from Morocco, Iraq, and Israel who have joined the community. The Portuguese Rabbi, S.A. Rodrigues-Pereira, survived the war. In 1968 the community for the first time in its history nominated an Ashkenazi-educated rabbi, Barend Drukarch. Working together with the congregation's president, Dr. Jacques Baruch, Rabbi Drukarch adjusted very well. Both men served the Portuguese community for many decades and preserved its tolerant Orthodox attitude. From 1947 the community published its own journal, *Habinyan*, stressing its independence. It also reopened its famous Ets Haim library as early as 1947 and the part of the library that was sent to Israel as a permanent loan was returned to the Netherlands in recent years and reintegrated in the precious collection. The small community has continuous problems in preserving its prestigious synagogue building and its other historical treasures.

THE LIBERAL CONGREGATION. Liberal Jews in Amsterdam had a very small congregation of about 130 members left in 1946, which consisted mainly of German refugees. They had no synagogue building and efforts to revive the community seemed to bear no fruit. It was on the verge of disappearance when, in 1954, the Union of Liberal Religious Jews in the Netherlands nominated a Dutch Rabbi, Jacob *Soetendorp, who was a former student of the prewar Orthodox Rabbinical Seminary. He had not finished his studies since he had started to have doubts about the kind of Judaism he was learning. In 1955, Dr. Leo Baeck officially ordained him a rabbi and he stayed with the Amsterdam congregation until 1972. Together with its president, Dr. Maurits *Goudeket, Soetendorp succeeded to revive the community and to guide it through a period of explosive growth during the 1960s and early 1970s. From a mainly German community they also succeeded to mold it into a solid Dutch one. The Liberal congregation opened its own synagogue and community center in 1966, in the south of Amsterdam. In 1954 the community established a journal, *Levend Joods Geloof* ("Living Jewish Faith"). After Rabbi Soetendorp, Swedish-born Rabbi David Lilienthal served the congregation for 32 years until the end of 2003. A young rabbi, Menno ten Brink, born and raised in the community itself, took over. The Amsterdam congregation had a membership of 1,700 in 2005.

BETH HACHIDDUSH. This new, *havurah*-like congregation, is not linked up with any of the world's mainstreams of Judaism nor with the official Dutch Jewish community. It grew out of the gay community in town and started off in 1996 as very progressive when it came to the status of women or homosexuals in Judaism. It attracted many Americans who were used to this type of community in the United States and did not adjust well to the established congregations in the Netherlands. Beth Hachiddush found a permanent home in the renovated synagogue in Uilenburgerstraat, after which it appointed a female Rabbi.

EDUCATION. Amsterdam is the only place in the Netherlands with Jewish day schools. Since the Holocaust, the regular Orthodox schools (Rosh Pina and Maimonides), from nurseries up to high school have been functioning. They are in the hands of a private foundation, Joods Bijzonder Onderwijs (JBO), representing in fact the traditional Ashkenazi community. They attract several hundreds of pupils, many from families who do not have a strictly Orthodox lifestyle. Since 1975 there is a *ḥeder* as well, founded by the Lubavitch community. It grew with the years into a complete educational system. Both school systems attract quite a lot of Israeli children. A *kolel*, a strictly Orthodox center of Talmud study was opened in Amsterdam in 1976. The Netherlands Israelite Rabbinical and Teachers Seminary in Amsterdam, from the 1990s presided over by Rabbi Raphael Evers, trains teachers, Torah-readers, and *shliḥei ẓibbur* and it offers the adult education the community was asking for, but it trains no rabbis. In 2003 the Liberal community set up the Mr. Robert A.*Levisson Institute for the training of its own rabbis, having Rabbi David Lilienthal as its first dean. Along with the program of the Institute itself, the students take required studies at the University of Amsterdam and at Crescas, a countrywide Jewish Institute for adult education since 1999.

WOMEN'S ORGANIZATIONS. During the first decades after the war, women were mostly active in the Dutch branch of the Women International Zionist Organization, but in 1964 women in the Liberal congregation of Amsterdam founded a special group of a more emancipatory brand. Frieda Menco-Brommet was its chairperson for many years and shaped its character. The group was striving for more equality in the administrative structure of the congregation and also in its services. It created international contacts with other women's groups and activities were extended beyond Amsterdam by founding the Federation of Liberal Religious Women. It received support from both the board and the rabbinate. In later years Annie van Dantzig-Hagenaar took over and the group, having largely achieved its goals, became very much involved with social matters and serious Jewish education for women. In the meantime the Orthodox women had founded their own group, "Deborah." in 1978. Deborah was chaired for 15 years by Dr. Blume Evers-Emden. In spite of its activities and its progress, women were still barred from being elected to the board of the Amsterdam congregation, even in the early years of the 21st century. On a national level and in several other congregations in the country, they were fully integrated as board members. The failure to achieve anything in Amsterdam is quite exemplary for the restrictive influence of both Rabbi Meir Just, Rabbi Frank Lewis, and the Lubavitch movement on the Amsterdam congregation. Deborah found a partner however in the Federation of Liberal Jewish Women, when it discovered that this group already was a member of the International Council of Jewish Women (ICJW). Each country could have only one representative. Together with Annie van Dantzig-Hagenaar, who was eager to cooperate with the Orthodox women, the Dutch National Council of Jewish Women (NCJW) was founded in which the Liberal Women and Deborah are equally represented. This NCJW became the new Dutch member of the ICJW.

SOCIAL WELFARE FOUNDATION. Next to the religious congregations the Jewish Social Welfare Foundation (JMW), founded in 1947, took up a central position in the organized community. Most Jewish organizations including all religious communities are represented in it. JMW over the years developed into a highly professional institution taking care of Holocaust victims, refugees and the old-aged. The last group is disproportionally large. A system of domestic help for the elderly was set up in Amsterdam alone, in addition to the old-age home Beth Shalom, located in Amstelveen. Several previous Jewish old-age homes were concentrated in Beth Shalom as a result of the centralizing policy of the government. JMW also offers community work and alternative frameworks for Jews who are no longer interested in a religious expression of their identity. Among them is a considerable group of Israelis, who are brought together in at least one yearly event. Jewish soccer, also organized by JMW, became very popular during the 1990s and the yearly *Jom Ha-Voetbal* (Jewish Football day) attracts the largest number of spectators to any annual Jewish event.

REMEMBERING THE HOLOCAUST. During the first decades after the war, Jews joined non-Jews in the general Dutch remembering of the victims of the Second World War on May 4. More than half of these victims were Jewish. Jews also attended the remembrance of the February Strike each year together with the population of Amsterdam. Later on, from the 1970s, separate Jewish memorial ceremonies became more accepted, stressing the specific Jewish character of most victims and getting the function of bringing more Jews together on these sensitive occasions. The Hollandse Schouwburg where some 80,000 Amsterdam Jews were concentrated before their deportation to Westerbork, underwent extensive renovation and a permanent exhibition was placed in it. Thus it was transformed into the monument where each year on Yom Hashoah a Jewish ceremony takes place, attended by non-Jews as well. This development from "general Dutch" to "specifically Jewish" also resulted in the new Auschwitz monument which in the beginning of the 1990s was placed in the Wertheim public garden, a few hundred meters from the Hollandse Schouwburg: a large Star of David constructed of glass plates by sculptor Jan Wolkers. A small monument for the Jews in the Resistance was erected in the late 1980s, also stressing their specific identity while in previous decades this had not been the case. Although the famous Anne Frank house draws some 600,000, mostly foreign, visitors each year, this institution is not in Jewish hands and it plays a minor role in the community.

THE PERIPHERY. Most Jews in Amsterdam are not connected with the community and freely mix with non-Jews including for marriage purposes. Part of them, however, are the founders of many unofficial Jewish or semi-Jewish frameworks that came to life over the years and usually disappeared again after some time. Some took the form of café's like Gotspe, a café for young Jews in 1973, and Betty's Coffee Shop, Naches and Blanes in the 1980s. In the 1970s Jewish lesbians and homosexuals founded Shalhomo, an organization that continued to exist for 30 years. Other young Jews started debating clubs or groups around the conflict in the Middle East, ranging from defenders of Israel to groups that barely identify with the Jewish State and voice criticism. In the 1990s the Jewish "Women in Black," demonstrated against the occupation of the West Bank and Gaza in the center of Amsterdam every second Friday of the month showing that younger generations of Jews had become more critical of Israel. This is especially true about a group called "Another Jewish Voice," active since the end of the 1990s and apparently seeking to become more accepted by their non-Jewish surroundings by criticizing Israel in a rather unbalanced way.

RELATIONS WITH THE SURROUNDINGS. The relation with the authorities was very positive over the years and although Jews have become a very small minority in Amsterdam, the city had no less than four Jewish mayors nominated (Dr. Ivo Samkalden, Wim Polak, Ed van Thijn, Dr. Job Cohen). After a short difficult period immediately after the war, antisemitism barely existed in Amsterdam and was limited to incidents. If they occurred they were usually followed by large anti-racist demonstrations. The Ajax Amsterdam soccer club was identified with Jews and always attracted antisemitic shouts and incidents in the stadium. From 1997 to 2002, the number of antisemitic incidents rose as a result of frictions with the large Muslim community in Amsterdam. In those years the population of immigrants from Third World countries, mainly Muslims, had risen to about 10% of the Dutch population, and they are concentrated in the large cities. They have become the majority of pupils in many Dutch elementary schools in the larger cities. If incidents took place, they were limited to verbal abuse, but some ended with harassment and stone throwing. As a result mayor Job Cohen started a program for improvement of relations between the different communities. In 2003 and 2004 the situation stabilized.

CULTURE. Many Jews in Amsterdam work in the free professions. They are well represented among Amsterdam's journalists, authors and artists and in spite of their small numbers succeeded to continue a Jewish flavor in these fields. Many nostalgic books were published about the prewar Jewish neighborhoods or even certain streets, Jewish life in Amsterdam before the Holocaust and the like. "Jewish Amsterdam," now greatly reduced to a myth, still plays a role in literature and plays. Authors like Siegfried van Praag and Judith Herzberg, who made themselves felt up to the 1980s and 1990s, are followed by a younger generation still seeking to express itself in a recognizable Jewish way. During the first decades after the war the expressions of Jewish culture were rather modest, but during the 1980s and 1990s interest in Jewish culture only seemed to grow and was not limited to Jews at all. Some of it even has become Jewish culture without Jews, e.g., several *klezmer* groups became popular, most of them, like "Di Gojim," consisting entirely of non-Jewish musicians. At the end of the 1970s a special Commission for Dutch Jewish history was founded within the Royal Academy of Sciences. It organizes international symposia every six years in Amsterdam while symposia of the same kind take place in-between in Jerusalem. The interest in Dutch Jewish history has been growing ever since among Jews and non-Jews alike and the symposia attract hundreds of people. At the University of Amsterdam a special chair for modern Jewish history was created, also by the same Commission in the early 1990s. The first one to occupy it was Prof. Dr. Rena Fuks-Mansfeld. While Yiddish has disappeared from the streets of Amsterdam, there is an amazing revival of interest in Yiddish on a more academic level. The interest in Yiddish is a phenomenon completely unknown to Amsterdam before 1940. In the 1990s two Yiddish festivals were organized in Amsterdam mainly by Mira Rafalowicz, a champion of Yiddish culture in the Netherlands. From the early 1990s students of Semitic languages at the University of Amsterdam were required to attend courses in Yiddish during their second year. The centenary of the Bund, which had no more than a handful of members left in the Netherlands, was celebrated by a new Jiddisjer Krajz group with the participation of an equally new Haimish Zajn choir in 1997. All events are attended by Jews and many non-Jews. Also in 1997 the Menashe ben Israel Institute was established. It coordinates Jewish Studies at the University of Amsterdam and at the Free University (also in Amsterdam) and it organizes well-attended international study days. In the fall of 2000 the first issue of *Di Grine Medine* appeared, published by the recently founded Society for the promotion of Yiddish in the Netherlands. This is the country's first Yiddish periodical in two centuries. Another quite recent phenomenon is the great interest in *ḥazzanut* and especially the reproduction of prewar *ḥazzanut*. In 1986 the Amsterdam Synagogue Choir, consisting of male singers only, was reestablished. A Lewandowski Choir, came into being as well. It has some 40 singers both male and female. Greatly adding to all this with publications, catalogues and exhibitions is the Jewish Historical Museum, first reopened on the Nieuwmarkt, but in 1987 it moved to the four great Ashkenazi synagogues in the center of Amsterdam opposite the monumental Portuguese Esnoga. The project of the reestablishment of a much larger and modern museum in those buildings was in the hands of Judith Belinfante, its director for 25 years until1998, and Ted Musaph-Andriesse, chair of the board for an equally long term up to 2000. A special exhibition for children, now known as the Children's Museum, created by Petra Katzenstein, added much to the permanent exhibition. The Jewish Historical Museum of Amsterdam is the one place visited by the largest number of Dutch Jews in the Netherlands and as such it has a positive influence on Jewish identity and identification.

[Wout van Bekkum and Chaya Brasz (2nd ed.)]

Musical Life in the 17th and 18th Centuries

There is much evidence of an intensive musical life during the 17th and 18th centuries, especially within the Sephardi community in Amsterdam. These descendants of the *Marranos who had lived in cultural assimilation in their country of origin for generations, retained the cultural and literary expression of their previous way of life, even after they had returned to a strict observance of Judaism. It is known from contemporary sources that many local rabbis had a good knowledge of music and played musical instruments. From the late 17th and throughout the 18th centuries, there were many musical events in synagogues, within the framework of the "academies" or the various societies, or in celebration of some family occasion. The Sephardi synagogue in Amsterdam was dedicated in 1675 to the music of an orchestra and choir. This event made an impression on the life of the community, and the anniversary became a regular festival, accompanied by musical offerings. The choral rendering of *Ḥeshki Ḥezki* was one of the most beautiful compositions written for this occasion in the first half of the 18th century by Abraham *Caceres. The festival of *Torah served as another occasion for the poets and composers in the congregation to present their works. The *ḥatan Torah* and *ḥatan Bereshit* were honored in an elaborate ceremony. Among the compositions written for the celebration, particular mention should be made of the cantata *Le-El Elim* (words by Moses Ḥayyim *Luzzatto, music by A. Caceres), first performed in 1738 and often repeated. During the 18th century there flourished in Amsterdam, as in Italy, many societies at whose celebrations musical compositions were heard. Another prominent musical occasion was the contest for the appointment of a new **ḥazzan* for the synagogue, at which candidates were called upon to prove their musical talents. Family events, and particularly weddings, were often accompanied by musical plays. The Jews of the 18th century made a notable contribution to the development of Dutch musical life in general; their influence was particularly strong in opera. Among the Jewish activities in this field one of the most noteworthy is the attempt by Sephardi Jews in the mid-18th century to establish a theater which would also play French opera. There was also the important enterprise of a member of the Ashkenazi community from Amsterdam, Jacob Dessauer, who in 1784 founded a German theatrical and operatic troupe, the first of its kind in Amsterdam, in which all the members – actors, singers, and the 23 members of the orchestra – were Jews.

[Israel Adler]

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AMSTERDAM, BIRDIE (1901–1996), U.S. lawyer and judge. Amsterdam was born on the Lower East Side of Manhattan, New York City into a first generation Jewish American family. She was the second of six children, all of whom pursued professional careers. A graduate of Hunter College High School at age 17, she studied accounting and banking at the City College of New York while waiting to reach the age for admission to law school. Amsterdam worked days and studied in the evening at New York University Law School; she was awarded a LLB in 1922 and admitted to the bar the following year. Amsterdam practiced law independently before forming a partnership with her brother-in-law, Milton Sanders. The firm of Amsterdam and Sanders was dissolved when Amsterdam became a judge. Amsterdam was called the "First Lady of the Judiciary" because of her prominence and her record of "firsts" as a woman in the legal profession. She was the first woman to sit on the Municipal Court in New York County, where she served from 1940 to 1954. She became the first woman judge of the City Court to which she was appointed in 1954. In 1955 she won a full term. In 1958 Amsterdam was elected to the New York State Supreme Court, again a first for a woman. Amsterdam served two terms on the State Supreme Court before retiring in 1975. She was approached in the course of her career to accept an Appellate Court appointment. She declined, preferring to remain a trial judge. Amsterdam received many honors. In 1960 *Who's Who of American Women* named her "Outstanding Woman of the Year in the Legal Field." A leader in the Democratic Party, she was often endorsed in elections by other parties, civic groups, and labor organizations. Active in numerous legal, religious, political, and charitable causes, she also encouraged aspiring women lawyers. She credited her experiences as a lifelong resident on the immigrant and poor Lower East Side with sensitizing her to social needs. Amsterdam's special concerns included slum clearance, medical care, summer camps for poor children, tuition assistance, and housing for the aged and handicapped.

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[Libby White (2nd ed.)]

AMULET. From earliest times, man has tried to protect himself from misfortune by the use of objects which he considered holy or otherwise (e.g., magically) potent. One of the ways of doing this was to keep the object close to his person, frequently wearing it as an article of clothing, or as an ornament. It was felt that the evil spirits which cause misfortune would not dare to attack one so protected. It has been suggested that this desire for protection is the source of man's habit to adorn himself with jewelry and other ornamentation; the female being weaker – and consequently in greater danger – has the greater need for protection. The custom developed for people to have on their persons pieces of paper, parchment, or metal discs inscribed with various formulae which would protect the bearer from sickness, the "evil eye," and other troubles. The use of inscription as a means to ward off evil spirits stemmed from a belief in early times in the holiness and in the power of words. Such artifacts are known as amulets (for other types of charms and protective items, see *Magic). It is not known whether amulets were used in the biblical period. Presumably they were, but there is no direct evidence to prove it. Traditional Judaism does not consider *tefillin* and *mezuzah* – whatever their original antecedents may have been – to be amulets. The purpose of *tefillin* is stated to be "for a sign upon thy hand" (Deut. 6:8) and from the immediate proximity of the verse regarding *mezuzah* it would seem that its purpose is the same. While one biblical rite involving the doorposts (Ex. 11:7, 13) had an apotropaic function and the current translation for *tefillin* ("phylacteries") suggests the same purpose, the traditional interpretation of the "sign" was that of a reminder of God's commandments and of the duty of the Jew to bear witness to his God.

Amulets are frequently mentioned in talmudic literature. The term used is *kame'a* or *kami'a* (pl. *kemi'ot* or *kemi'in*), a word whose origin is obscure. It is possible that it derives from a root meaning "to bind" (cf. Rashi to Shab. 61a), but it might come from an Arabic root meaning "to hang." In either case, the reference is clearly something that is bound or hung on the person (cf. Kohut, Arukh, 7 (1926^2), 123). The Talmud mentions two sorts of *kemi'ot*: a written one and the *kame'a shel ikrin*, a *kame'a* made from roots of a certain plant. The written *kame'a* was a parchment inscribed with one or more quotations from a variety of sources, including the Scriptures (cf. Shab. 61b). The question arose whether the amulets were invested with the holiness of the scriptural scrolls and whether they should, therefore, be saved from a conflagration occurring on the Sabbath. A *baraita* is quoted which specifically states that they are not holy and that they, together with other texts which contain scriptural quotations (lit. *berakhot*), should be left to burn (*ibid.*). In the original Tosefta text, however, no mention is made of *kemi'ot* (Tosef. Shab. 13:4). Unfortunately, there is no record in the Talmud of the inscriptions in the amulets (but see Yoma 84a). Later amulets were inscribed with quotations relevant to their specific purpose. The text of the *Priestly Blessing (Num. 6:24–26) was considered effective against the "evil eye." Permutations and combinations of the letters of the different names of God were frequently used; names of angels were also very common. The simplest amulet had an inscription of the name of God on a piece of parchment or metal, usually made of silver; ה (*He*), יה (*YaH*), and שדי (*Shaddai*, "Almighty") being very popular. These still feature prominently on pendants worn by Jewish women today. The efficacy of the amulet depended not only on the inscription but also on the person who wrote it; the more pious the author the more effective was the amulet.

The Talmud differentiates between "expert" (or proven, *min ha-mumḥeh*) amulets and others. The former had proved its effectiveness by curing a sick person on three different occasions or three sick persons, and hence one may wear such an amulet outside the home on the Sabbath (Shab. 6:2).

The Talmud (Shevu. 15b) states that it is forbidden to recite verses of the Torah for the purpose of curing an existing illness but it is permitted "to guard" against possible future sickness (see also Maim, Yad, Avodat Kokhavim 11:12). This distinction was equally applied to amulets. During the Middle Ages, the rabbinic attitude to amulets varied considerably. *Maimonides, following the precedent of *Sherira Gaon and his son *Hai, opposed the use of amulets and came out very strongly against the "folly of amulet writers" (Guide, 1:61; Yad, Tefillin 5:4). He also opposed the use of religious objects, such as the Torah scroll and *tefillin*, for the curing of sickness (Yad, Avodat Kokhavim 11:12). On the other hand, both Solomon b. Abraham *Adret and *Naḥmanides permitted the use of amulets. Earlier magical traditions, including the use of amulets, magic charms, names of angels, combinations of Hebrew letters, etc. subsequently merged with the *Kabbalah and came to be known as "practical Kabbalah." Many mystical texts, such as the *Sefer Yeẓirah* and the *Sefer Razi'el*, contain instructions for the preparation of amulets and other charms, for a variety of purposes. After the expulsion of the Jews from Spain, the belief in the efficacy of amulets spread to Eastern Europe. In Ereẓ Israel, it spread from Safed, the center of Kabbalah, to all parts of the country.

One of the most vehement controversies in Jewish history was caused by amulets. Jonathan *Eybeschuetz, the rabbi of Hamburg, was accused by Jacob *Emden of having used the name of the false messiah Shabbetai *Ẓevi in amulets which he had prepared. Eybeschuetz vigorously denied the charge. It is interesting that the validity of writing amulets was not questioned in the controversy. The congregational burial society of Hamburg officially endorsed the efficacy of Eybeschuetz' amulets. In a particularly sharp attack against Maimonides' rationalism in these matters, *Elijah b. Solomon Zalman, the Gaon of Vilna, a bitter opponent of Ḥasidism, also endorsed the use of amulets (to Sh. Ar., YD 179). The belief in amulets gradually diminished with the emancipation of European Jewry, although in Eastern Europe it remained widespread until World War II. *Kemi'ot*, in particular, were worn during pregnancy to prevent miscarriage; amulets called *Kimpet-Tsetl, Shir Hamalos-Tsetl*, and *Shmine-Tsetl* were also placed above the head and under the pillow of a woman in labor, to ward off the evil demon *Lilith. Among Oriental communities, amulets are still widely used. Many amulets were inscribed on small discs of silver or other metal and worn as a pendant around the neck. Amulets being small in size, biblical verses and names were indicated by their initial letters, with the result that the inscription is frequently very difficult to decipher. The Samaritan community uses names of angels unknown in Jewish tradition.

For specific laws regarding amulets see Shulḥan Arukh (OḤ 301:24–27; 305:17; 334:14; and YD 179:12).

[Raphael Posner]

Amulets for Safe Childbirth and Protection of Infants

Amulets and talismans intended to protect women in childbirth and their newborns were a significant part of Jewish folk religion in Christian Europe and the Islamic world. The late ninth to early tenth century *Alphabet of Ben Sira* promulgated the legend of *Lilith, the "first Eve," who claimed that she had been created to harm newborn babies. According to this folk tradition, Lilith was convinced by three angels, Sanoi, Sansanoi, and Semangalof, that she would be unable to enter a house to harm either a baby or its mother wherever she saw their images illustrated or their names written on an amulet. *Sefer Raziel* (first printed Amsterdam, 1701), a compilation of magic, cosmology, and mystical teachings popular among both Ashkenazi and Sephardi communities, contained a recipe for an inscribed amulet to protect a laboring woman as well as for an amulet for a newborn specifically directed against Lilith. Polish and Russian Jews put the book itself under the pillow of women in childbirth; in Iraq it was put on the Chair of Elijah, an object believed to have protective powers which was placed in the center of the birthing room.

In Europe, amulets to protect mothers and infants were generally written or printed on paper, sometimes with illustrations. In the Muslim realm, protective objects made of metal, especially gold and silver, were preferred and also functioned as jewelry for women and for small children. The mystical texts and formulas inscribed on these amulets did not differ significantly in east or west.

[Judith R. Baskin (2nd ed.)]

Childbirth Amulets in Art

While the Hebrew texts inscribed on Jewish amulets in the different countries, East and West, often share similar formulae, names, and selection of biblical verses, the images drawn on those which are ornamented vary greatly, reflecting folk beliefs and traditions, visual ideas and ideals, and the influence of local folk arts. This is best exemplified by childbirth amulets – the most prevalent category of extant amulets produced in Europe and the lands of Islam from the 17th century on, reflecting the high mortality rate of children before the modern era.

Paper German childbirth amulets are often printed with small, crude figurative woodcuts expressing the ideal roles expected for the newborn when he/she grows up. For example, the amulets for a male newborn depict a boy holding an open book from which he reads, while those for a female show her kindling the typical star-shaped Sabbath lamp used by German Jews. The proselyte *Abraham ben Jacob working for the acculturated Dutch community decorated his popular amulet with a biblical image, which he copied from a Christian Bible, depicting a nude Eve and Adam in Paradise. In Poland handmade colorful papercut amulets were preferred, featuring intricate designs, including a wide selection of animals, such as a pair of rampant lions, which symbolize ideal human qualities ("be strong as the lion …" Pirkei Avot 5:23). Images of leading rabbinical authorities, known for their righteous conduct, may appear on East European amulets as a sign of blessing and protection. In amulets of the Old Yishuv on the other hand the preferred "protective" images were conventional pictures of the holy sites (Temple Mount, Rachel's Tomb). Italian Jews created for the amulets of their children attractive silver cases decorated with appliqués of the Temple implements. In Islamic lands silver amulets and jewelry were very common, not only for newborn babies but also for children and women, considered weak and susceptible to the evil eye. Prevalent images included the hand (*ḥamsa*) mentioned above and fish. Both were interpreted by local *ḥakhamim* (e.g., *Joseph Ḥayyim of Baghdad) as symbols imbued with deep Jewish meanings. The *ḥamsa,* as well as the closely related number five, were viewed as bearing potent magical powers based on Jewish textual sources (for example, five is associated with the monogrammaton, *he*, the holy single-letter name of God, which is often inscribed in the center of amulets). Persian Jews also depicted a fantastic image of *Lilith, usually shown "in chains." In modern Israel some of the designs, the *ḥamsa* and *ḥai* [חי], in particular, have been revived and enjoy widespread popularity. Images of rabbis considered holy, both Sephardi and Ashkenazi, are common in modern Israeli amulets as well.

[Shalom Sabar (2nd ed.)]

"Illuminated Amulets"

Illuminations on amulets are seldom applied for purely decorative purposes. The various designs, symbols, and letters were believed to be efficacious in warding off the evil eye, disasters, or sickness. They consist of magical triangles, squares, rectangles, and other geometrical features, e.g., the Hexagram ("Star of David") and the Pentacle ("Star of Solomon"). The *menorah* with its seven branches, as well as an outstretched hand, is often used. More rarely, birds, animals, human figures, Satan, and the angel Metatron may appear. Letters which are not as yet completely understood and which are known as "kabbalistic writing" have also figured on amulets.

MAGICAL TRIANGLES. By gradually reducing the size of an inscription, the evil spirit is eased out of its victim and its influence is thus diminished. Magical triangles therefore serve a useful purpose and when used in writing amulets it is with this idea in mind.

SQUARES AND RECTANGLES. These are divided into several boxes each of which contains one or more letters. In this way acrostics may be formed in which powerful inscriptions may be secretly placed in the amulets to exert their beneficent influence without the knowledge of the uninitiated. The squares vary from those of nine boxes to those of 64 or even 100 boxes. The rectangles are usually small and often contain hidden verses from the Bible. Their use and influence naturally depend on the particular biblical verse inscribed.

THE HEXAGRAM. The Star of David as a silver amulet is one usually made by the Jerusalem group of amulet makers. The six points of the hexagram often contain the letters ירושלים or מלך דוד, the latter obviously alluding to the city of David. Hexagrams may also appear in written amulets.

THE MENORAH. The 7-branched candlestick is often found on the *shivviti* amulets from Persia. In the silver amulets only the initial letters of the words are used but in the parchment ones the verses are written out in full. These are so called because tradition states that King David's shield was shaped like these silver amulets, and headed with the words "I have set (*shivviti*) the Lord always before me" (Ps. 16:8).

THE HAND. A frequent occurrence is a hand inscribed on the paper or parchment amulets. Silver amulets made in the form of hands are common and are usually North African in origin and the hand is supposed to ward off the "evil eye." It is considered by some to be the hand of Fatima, who was Muhammad's daughter, but hands have appeared on North African amulets since the times of the Carthaginians and these people antedate the Muslim tradition by more than a thousand years. The tradition of using hands on amulets still persists strongly in Morocco, Tunis, and Algeria, as well as throughout the Muslim world.

THE DISC, CRESCENT, AND CROSS. The cross and the crescent are rare. The disc and crescent represent Baal and Tanit respectively and may be found as pendants on silver amulets from North Africa. They carry on the traditions of the Semitic colonization of Carthage and its neighboring countries.

THE KABBALISTIC LETTERS. Mysterious and unexplained to this day, the interpretation of these letters has long aroused controversy. Letters of this type are found on ancient amulets before they appeared on Jewish amulets, e.g., on a magic plate discovered in Pergamon from the tannaitic period. There is no proof that they were made in Jewish circles but apparently they were adapted to the needs of Jewish magic. Some scholars derive the origin of these signs from cuneiform writing. Moses *Gaster considered that there were variant forms of Samaritan (i.e., Old Hebrew) writings and in support of this opinion he cites *Rashi (TB, Sanh. 21b), who called them *Ketav Libbona'ah* and also thought they were of Samaritan origin. However, the Samaritan script bears little resemblance to these curious characters. It may well be that these letters are Hebrew writing in code form. The manuscript "Alphabet of Metatron" in the British Museum is one of the codes that enables the deciphering of some of these letters but much more research is necessary before all the kabbalistic writing can be interpreted. Many manuscripts of practical Kabbalah include alphabets of angels, each alphabet belonging to a different angel, according to the pattern of this writing. It is quite possible that some amulets can be deciphered by the use of such angelic alphabets. Although these characters are often used for ornamental purposes, they should not be dismissed as mere ornamentations. In Hebrew books on magic, many examples and formulas of amulets are published. These sources include *Ta'alumot u-Mekorot ha-Ḥokhmah* (Venice, 1664); *Derekh Yesharah* (Fuerth, 1697); *Toledot Adam* (Zolkiew, 1720); *Mifalot Elohim* (Zolkiew, 1727; the latter in many editions); *Refu'ah ve-Ḥayyim* by Ḥayyim Palache (Smyrna, 1874).

[Theodore Schrire]

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AMULETS, SAMARITAN. Samaritan amulets are rare because there were no more than 200 members of this sect by the beginning of the 20th century, when (in 1905) M. *Gaster acquired a number of amulets which are now housed in the British Museum. They have been most comprehensively described by Gaster in his *Studies and Texts.* E.A.W. Budge enumerates six forms of these Samaritan amulets: (1) a square sheet of parchment representing practically an entire goat's skin; (2) a scroll varying in length and width; (3) a booklet, probably carried in a case; (4) a scrap of paper; (5) a metal disc like a coin or medal; and (6) inscribed stones.

In other respects, the Samaritan amulets resemble ordinary Hebrew amulets with a few changes made in conformity with the Samaritans' own angelology, esoteric beliefs, and particularly their own text of the Bible.

The construction of Samaritan amulets follows the standard Jewish practice. God is invoked by means of the Tetragrammaton and the 72-letter Name. The name of their archangel, *Penuel*, is often inscribed on them as are the names of specifically Samaritan angels: (1) *Kevala*, derived from Num. 4:20, which they translate as "lest they see *Kevala* alongside the Holy Place and perish"; (2) *Nasi*, derived from Ex. 17:15, read in their own pronunciation as "and Moses built an altar and called the name of it *Jehovah-Nasi*"; (3) *Anusah*, derived from Ex. 14:25; (4) *Yat*, an angel whose name derives from the first word of Ex. 14:21, which verse is itself involved in the formation of the 72-letter Name.

Although demons are known among the Samaritans, none has yet been found depicted on one of these amulets. They are (1) *Zir'ah* (צרעה), deriving from Ex. 23:21 and Deut. 7:20, which is said to be an anagram of *yezer ha-ra* (יצר הרע); (2) *Belial*; and (3) *Azazel.*

BIBLIOGRAPHY: M. Gaster, *The Samaritans* (1925), 81; idem, *Studies and Texts* (1925–28), 1, 387; 3, 109; E.A.W. Budge, *Amulets and Talismans* (1961), 262; T. Schrire, in: IEJ, 20 (1970), 111; idem, in: *ibid.*, 22 (1972), 154; I. Ben-Zvi, *Sefer ha-Shomronim* (1935), 160, no. 6.

[Theodore Schrire]

°**AMULO** (d. 852), archbishop of Lyons from 841 in succession to *Agobard whose anti-Jewish prejudices he shared. The Church Council of Meaux and Paris held in 845–46 passed, probably at Amulo's suggestion, a number of regulations excluding Jews from public office, forbidding them to appear in public during Easter, and prohibiting Christians from having contact with them. Amulo subsequently addressed a lengthy epistle (*Liber contra Judaeos*) to Charles the Bald in 846, trying to persuade him that such segregation was justified. This had a wide circulation and asserted that the Jews blasphemed Jesus and the Christians, and by a play on words referred to the apostles as "apostates," and to the Gospels (*Evangelion*) as *aven gilyon*, i.e., "a sheet of iniquity." Amulo quotes at length from the Hebrew **Toledot Yeshu* already circulating among the Jews. He also states that the Jews employed Christian servants and forced them to observe the Jewish laws while transgressing Christian precepts. A further charge was that Jewish tax collectors persuaded ignorant Christians to renounce Christianity with promises to reduce their taxes. Amulo's efforts were unsuccessful, however, as Charles refused to ratify the anti-Jewish canons passed by the council.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: B. Blumenkranz, in: *Revue historique de droit français et étranger,* 33 (1955), 229 ff., 560 ff.; idem, *Juifs et chrétiens dans le monde occidental…* (1960), passim; Roth, Dark Ages, index.

[Bernhard Blumenkranz]

AMUSIN, JOSEPH (**Iosip**; 1910–1984), Russian historian, specialist in *Qumran studies. Amusin was born in Vitebsk and lived in Leningrad from 1924. He was persecuted for Zionist activities, imprisoned, and exiled to Siberia (1926–33). After returning from exile he worked as a bookkeeper. In 1935–38 he studied history at Leningrad University. During the Great Terror of the Stalinist years Amusin was once again arrested (1938) but released the same year and continued his studies. In 1945–50, after serving at the front during the war, he was an instructor at Leningrad University and the Leningrad Pedagogical Institute. When the campaign against the so-called "cosmopolitans" was unleashed, Amusin displayed courage defending his teacher S. *Lurie. Consequently he had to leave Leningrad, teaching for a while at the pedagogical institutes of Ulyanovsk and Gorky. After the death of Stalin he returned to Leningrad (1954), working from 1960 at the Leningrad department of the Institute of Oriental Studies of the Soviet Academy of Sciences. In 1965 he was awarded a doctor's degree in history.

Most of Amusin's work was devoted to the history of the Jews and biblical studies. He published a translation of Qumran texts into Russian with an extensive preface and historical as well as linguistic commentaries (1971). Other important works of his were *Rukopisi Mertvogo mor'a* ("The Dead Sea Scrolls," 1960), *Nakhodki u Mertvogo mor'a* ("The Dead Sea Finds," 1964), the seminal study *Kumranskaya obshchina* ("The Qumran Community," 1983), and numerous papers on the history and ideas of the Qumran community as well as on various aspects of the history of ancient Greece, ancient Rome, and the Hellenistic world. A collection of his papers under the title *Problemy sotsialnoy struktury obshchestva drevnego Blizhnego Vostoka* (*1-e tys´acheletie do n.e.*) ("Problems of the Social Structure of the Ancient Near East in the First Millennium B.C. according to Biblical Sources") was published posthumously in 1993.

[Naftali Prat (2nd ed.)]

AMZALAK, ḤAYYIM (1824–1916), notable of the Jewish community in Ereẓ Israel. Amzalak, who was born in Gibraltar, went to Jerusalem with his parents in 1830. He became a grain merchant and banker, settled in Jaffa, and was appointed British vice consul for that town. He advised and guided the first emissaries of the Ḥovevei Zion (*Hibbat Zion) associations who came to Ereẓ Israel in 1882 from Russia, and was elected honorary president of the Committee of the Yesud ha-Ma'alah pioneers. This committee had been established in Jaffa by Z.D. *Levontin to organize the activities of the settlers' associations. In 1882 when Jews of Russian origin were forbidden to purchase land in Ereẓ Israel, the Rishon le-Zion land was registered in Amzalak's name. At the beginning of World War I, Amzalak refused to renounce his British nationality and was exiled to Egypt.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Z.D. Levontin, *Le-Ereẓ Avoteinu*, 1 (1924), 48, 115; M.D. Gaon, *Yehudei ha-Mizraḥ be-Ereẓ Yisrael*, 2 (1938), 105–6; Tidhar, 2 (1947), 816; I. Klausner, *Be-Hitorer Am* (1962), index.

[Yehuda Slutsky]

AMZALAK, MOSES BENSABAT (1892–1978), Portuguese scholar and economist. Amzalak was born and educated in

Lisbon, combined a successful business career with encyclopedic academic activity, became professor of philosophy and later dean of the Lisbon School of Economics and Finance, and was president of the Portuguese Academy of Sciences and chancellor of the Lisbon Technical University. His main interests were economic history, history of economic thought, and marketing. A devoted Jew, he headed the Lisbon Jewish community for an entire generation. His publications are extensive, extending beyond economics to Oriental languages, Jewish history, bibliography, and related subjects. He wrote on rare works of Judaica of the 17th and 18th centuries in Spanish and Portuguese, which he reproduced in facsimile from the copies in his own extensive library. He wrote works on several economists of Marrano extraction, such as Joseph *Penso de la Vega, Duarte Gomez Solis, and Isaac de *Pinto. The bibliography of Amzalak's publications exceeds 300 entries including *Do Estudo da Evolução das Doutrinas Económicas em Portugal* (1928), *História das Doutrinas Económicas da Antiga Grécia* (12 vols., 1942–), and *História das Doutrinas Económicas da Antiga Roma* (6 vols., 1953–).

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[Menahem Schmelzer]

ANAB (**Anav**; Heb. עֲנָב), city in the southern hill district of Judah that is mentioned in the Bible next to Eshtemoah (Josh. 15:50). In another reference Joshua "cut off the Anakim ('giants') from Hebron, Debir, and Anab" (*ibid.* 11:21). Eusebius (Onom. 26:8) places it in the area of Eleutheropolis (Bet-Guvrin). It has been identified with Khirbat ʿAnāb al-Ṣaghīra (Heb. Tel Rekhesh) 1 mi. (1.5 km.) west of al-Ẓāhiriyya on the Hebron–Beersheba road, where Iron Age pottery has been discovered.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Abel, Geog, 2 (1938), 243; Press, Ereẓ, 4 (1955), 141–2. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** P. Benjamin, ABD, 1, 219.

[Michael Avi-Yonah]

°**ANACLETUS II, PETER PIERLEONE** (c. 1090–1137), in the official church view an anti-pope, outside the apostolic succession. His great-grandfather Benedict (originally probably Baruch), adopted Christianity and married a Christian noblewoman of Roman lineage. The family eponym, "Pierleone," combines the names of Benedict's son Leo and his grandson Peter. Wealth and powerful connections made the Pierleone family highly influential in Rome. In the turbulent politics of the day they sided with the Reform party in the church. The family's personal ambitions were advanced when Peter (son of Peter) was created a cardinal around 1120. In 1123 he represented Pope Calixtus II as legate to France, where he presided over councils held at Chartres and Beauvais. On the death of Pope Honorius II in 1130 the cardinals, fearing an outbreak of the popular rioting which often accompanied the election of a new pope, decided to keep the death of the pope and the impending election secret for a few days, presumably until Neapolitan troops could arrive to maintain order. A number of them, however, were hostile to the possible election of Peter Pierleone, broke their promise of delay, and elected one of their own number, who assumed the name Innocent II. The other cardinals, more numerous than their rivals, thereupon elected Pierleone, who took the name Anacletus. The schism shook Christendom. *Bernard of Clairvaux, the most influential churchman of his time, sided with Innocent II. Among his other objections to Anacletus, he expressed horror that a scion of Jews should occupy the Throne of St. Peter. Most of the monarchs and peoples of Europe heeded Bernard. Among the hostile rumors that circulated about Anacletus were charges of incest and of robbing churches with the aid of the Jews. The fickle Roman population eventually also turned against him, and he could maintain himself in Rome only with the help of Roger II, king of Naples. Anacletus remained in control of Rome until his death; only then did Innocent take possession of the city and gain universal recognition. Most church historians continue to write about Peter Pierleone with vehement contempt. In Jewish tradition he gave rise to a number of legends about a Jewish pope.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Roth, Italy, 73ff.; Vogelstein-Rieger, index; Baron, Social^{2}, index.

[Solomon Grayzel]

ANAHARATH (Heb. אֲנָחֲרַת), Canaanite city in the eastern part of Lower Galilee. It is mentioned in the list of cities conquered by Thutmosis III in approximately 1469 B.C.E. (no. 52). It was the most distant place captured in the second campaign of his successor Amenhotep II (c. 1430 B.C.E.), and the booty there included captives, chariots, and cattle. Anaharath later became part of the territory of Issachar (Josh. 19:19). The village of al-Nāʿūra, north of the Jezreel Valley and east of the Hill of Moreh, may preserve the ancient name and has been suggested for its identification. It lacks, however, suitable archaeological remains, as does the nearby Tell al-ʿAjjūl which has also been proposed. The only other possible site in the vicinity is Tell al-Makharkhas, a prominent tell 5 mi. (8 km.) north of al-Nāʿūra and 4 mi. (7 km.) east of Mount Tabor, which dominates the upper part of Wadi al-Bīra and contains remains dating from the end of the fourth millennium up to about the tenth century B.C.E.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: EM, s.v.; Press, Ereẓ, 1 (1951^{2}), 28; Aharoni, in: JNES, 26 (1967), 212–5; Aharoni, Land, index.

[Yo. A.]

ANAK, ANAKIM (Heb. עֲנָק, עֲנוֹק, עֲנָקִים), son of Arba (Josh. 15:13; 21:11), and a giant people of southern Ereẓ Israel (called *Anakim*, *Benei ʿAnak*, and *Benei ʿAnakim*). According to Joshua 14:15, Arba, to whom the city of *Hebron owed its ancient name of Kiriath-Arba, was the greatest of the Anakim, and according to Joshua 15:13 he was the father of "the Anak."

From the time when the Israelite spies explored the region of Hebron to the time when it was conquered by Caleb, it was inhabited by *Ahiman, Sheshai, and Talmai, who were "born of the Anak" (*yelidei ha-ʿAnak*, Num. 13:22; or "children of the Anak," Josh. 15:14). The Anakim are described as *Nephilim (Num. 13:33), a term which is probably used here virtually as a common name for giants (cf. Gen. 6:4), much as titan(s) is used today. In Deuteronomy 2:21 (cf. 1:28) the great stature of Anakim is referred to. Such traditions about an ancient race of giants were apparently current in Israel, Ammon, and Moab (see *Rephaim).

Most biblical references connect the Anakim with Hebron (Num. 13:22; et al.), but Joshua 11:21–22 indicates that they occupied a wider area. It is not known whether the *Iy-ʿnq* of the Egyptian Execration Texts (first half of the second millennium B.C.E.) are connected with the biblical Anakim. The three rulers of the former bear Semitic names (Pritchard, Texts, 328), whereas the names of Ahiman, Sheshai, and Talmai have exact affinities with Hurrian names (cf. de Vaux, in RB, 55 (1948), 326, no. 1). The term *anak* is used in Modern Hebrew for a giant.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: W.F. Albright, in: JPOS, 8 (1928), 223–56; Wright, in: JBL, 57 (1938), 305–9; B. Mazar, in: *Sefer Dinaburg* (1949), 321; Albright, in: JPOS, 8 (1928), 223–56. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** O. Margalith, in: *Beit Mikra*, 25 (1986), 359–64.

ANAMMELECH (Heb. עֲנַמֶּלֶךְ), deity worshiped by the people of *Sepharvaim (II Kings 17:31), who were settled in Samaria (II Kings 17:24; Isa. 36:19), probably by Shalmaneser V or by *Sargon II. The people of Sepharvaim (possibly Sibraim in Syria [cf. Ezek. 47:16; II Kings 17:24; 18:34], or Sipra'ani, a Chaldean locale) continued to worship their gods, Anammelech and *Adrammelech, and maintain the worship of the God of Israel. According to II Kings 17:31, the cult of Anammelech was accompanied by the sacrifice of children (see *Moloch). The identity of this deity raises some difficulties, as no Assyrian or Babylonian deity bearing this name is known. The "Ana" element in the name has been variously explained as referring to Anu, the sky god, who was the head of the old Babylonian trinity (Anu, Bel, and Ea) and as a male counterpart of the well-known goddess *Anat. The "Melech" element has been explained as meaning "king" or "prince" (*melekh*), or as referring to human sacrifice to Moloch, or to a god bearing that name (cf. de Vaux, Anc Isr, 446).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: E. Ebeling and B. Meissner (eds.), *Reallexikon der Assyriologie*, 1 (1932), 115–7; A. Jirku, *Altorientalischer Kommentar zum Alten Testament* (1923), 180ff.; Maisler, in: JPOS, 16 (1936), 152–3; Pohl, in: *Biblica*, 22 (1941), 35 (Ger.); Albright, Arch Rel, 162ff., 220ff.; de Vaux, Anc Isr, 529 (incl. bibliography). **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** M. Smith, in: JAOS, 95 (1975), 477–79; A. Green, *The Role of Human Sacrifice in the Ancient Near East* (1975); S. Kaufman, in: JNES, 37 (1978), 109–18; R. Zadok, in: JANES, 8 (1976), 115–16; M. Cogan and H. Tadmor, *II Kings* (1988), 212; A. Millard, DDD, 34–5.

ANAN (mid-third century), Babylonian *amora*. He was also called Anan bar Rav. A pupil of *Samuel, Anan transmitted many statements in his teacher's name as well as in the name of *Rav. Anan was a judge in Nehardea, and frequented the house of the exilarch Mar Ukva (Ket. 69a, 79a). His colleague was Hanan (Kid. 39a), and R. Naḥman consulted him on halakhic matters (BM 70a). He disputed points of *halakhah* with *Huna (BM 65b); nevertheless, Huna, who regarded himself as Anan's teacher, was deeply offended when Anan addressed him as "Huna our colleague" (Ket. 69a). References are made to his piety, which expressed itself particularly in the way he honored the Sabbath and in his scrupulous incorruptibility.

According to a talmudic *aggadah*, the prophet Elijah used to visit him and instruct him in the *Seder Eliyahu*, but stopped, because of an incident in which Anan unwittingly caused a miscarriage of justice. After Anan fasted and prayed for mercy, Elijah resumed his visits, but Anan was afraid of him. As a result of this fear, Anan would sit in a box when Elijah was teaching him, until the *Seder Eliyahu* was completed. According to the *aggadah.* this explains why the work is divided into two parts – the *Seder Eliyahu Rabbah* ("major" *Seder Eliyahu*), the part composed before this occurrence, when Anan faced Elijah directly; and the *Seder Eliyahu Zuta* ("minor" *Seder Eliyahu*), composed when Anan was sitting in the box (Ket. 105b–106a; see **Tanna de-Vei Eliyahu*).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Hyman, Toledot, 284–5.

[Zvi Kaplan]

ANAN, SON OF ANAN, high priest of the family of *Anan the son of Seth. Appointed to the office by *Agrippa II in 62 C.E., Anan officiated for three months only. He used the interval between the death of the procurator *Festus and the arrival of his successor *Albinus to convene the Sanhedrin and have several persons condemned to death, including James, brother of Jesus. The people resented Anan's audacity and successfully persuaded Agrippa and Albinus to depose him. Anan was elected to the government constituted after the defeat of Cestius Gallus in the autumn of 66. He played a central role at the beginning of the war against the Romans when he was entrusted with defending the walls of Jerusalem. However, he was not wholeheartedly in favor of the war. Anan tried to hold on to the reigns of government even when his conciliatory policy toward the Romans was no longer popular. When the *Zealots prevailed in Jerusalem, mistreating the pacifists among the local aristocrats and appointing an illegitimate high priest, Anan, with other heads of government, decided to suppress them by force. He convened an assembly of the people and hoped to incite them against the Zealots, whom he condemned for converting the Temple into a fortress and for abusing its ritual purity. Claiming that the Zealots' deeds were worse than those of the Romans, he blamed the people for allowing them to come to power. Many answered his call. Though Anan hesitated to use the Temple precincts as a battleground, his men captured the Temple courtyard where they besieged the Zealots. In this struggle *John of Giscala played an important role. At first he belonged to Anan's camp and tried to mediate between both parties. Finally convinced that Anan was collaborating with Romans, John went over to the Zealots. Upon his suggestion, the Zealots solicited the aid of the Idumeans, whose forces decided the conflict. Anan was a victim of the ensuing wholesale massacre in the city. Josephus once criticized Anan as a willful conceited Sadducee, but later eulogized him by saying that, had he lived, the city would have been saved and peace achieved between the Jews and Romans. Anan is identified by some scholars with the "Wicked Priest" of the Dead Sea Scrolls.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Jos., Ant., 20:197 ff.; Jos., Wars, 2:563, 648, 651; 4:160 ff., 314 ff., 508; Jos., Life, 38, 39, 44, 60; Schuerer, Gesch, 1 (1904^{4}), 581 ff., 618 ff.; 2 (1907), 273; Graetz, Hist, 6 (1898), 168f. (index).

[Lea Roth]

ANAN BEN DAVID (eighth century), ascetic sage in Babylonia, founder of the sect of Ananites (Heb. עֲנָנִיִּים, *Ananiyyim*; Ar. *ʿAnāniyya*) and regarded by the *Karaites as their founder. A tenth-century Karaite account, related by al-*Kirkisani, places his appearance between 754 and 775. The report states that Anan was "the first to bring to light a great deal of the truth about the scriptural ordinances. He was learned in the lore of the Rabbanites… The Rabbanites tried their utmost to assassinate him, but the Almighty prevented them from doing so." Kirkisani always refers to him as the Exilarch (*ra's al-jālūt*). In the second half of the ninth century there were *Rabbanites who saw Anan as a heresiarch "who said to those who strayed… after him, 'Forsake ye the words of the Mishnah and of the Talmud, and I will compose for you a Talmud of my own'" (attributed to *Natronai Gaon). With various permutations, this tradition persists in the *Sefer ha-Kabbalah* of Abraham *Ibn Daud (1161) which adds that Anan was descended from the Davidic line, but as he showed heretical tendencies he was not named *exilarch. A more detailed version of this story is quoted by the 12th-century Karaite *Elijah b. Abraham who ascribes it to 10th century Rabbanites (probably Saadia). In this version the exilarchate was given to Anan's younger brother. Anan thereupon rallied a group of sectarians who set him up as their own exilarch. This led to his arrest. He was sentenced to death for defying the caliph's confirmation of his brother in the office. A fellow prisoner, identified in another Karaite work as the Muslim jurist-theologian Abū Ḥanīfa (d. 767), founder of the Hanafite school of Muslim jurisprudence, advised him to bribe the officials and to obtain a hearing before the caliph in order to claim that he represented a different faith distinct from that of his brother, and therefore was not guilty of the crime ascribed to him. According to this version, Anan stressed before the caliph that in matters pertaining to calculation of the calendar his method was akin to the Muslim system, namely it was based on observation and not on perpetual calculation. He was thus released. The last account may well be mixed of factual and legendary elements. The only proven historical fact about Anan's life seems to be that he was a learned Rabbanite of aristocratic descent, who for some reason founded a sect of his own. A reliable authority, although of a later period, states that Anan lived in Baghdad. Other facts combine to date the founding of his sect between 762 and 767.

Anan's immediate followers, the Ananites, were never numerous. Not many remained by the mid-tenth century. By the tenth century they had probably developed a modest corpus of legal works written in Judeo-Arabic. Such are quoted by al-Kirkisani. None of them survived. The Ananites steadily decreased in number and were absorbed into the later Karaites. However, Anan's prestige among the Karaites increased until he was acknowledged by them as the founder of the Karaite sect itself. Anan's descendants claimed Davidic lineage. At some time during the tenth century they had been acknowledged by the Karaites as their leaders and accorded the honorific of *nasi* (which in the Middle Ages always indicated Davidic lineage). Individual Karaite scholars often criticized or rejected Anan's views on various matters of law. These somewhat contradictory attitudes arise from the recognition that Anan was the first learned and aristocratic figure to lend his prestige to Jewish groups who had been opposed to the authority of the Babylonian yeshivot. In addition, at some point in late tenth century, his major work, *Sefer ha-Mitzvot* ("Book of Precepts"), came to occupy an important place in Karaite literature. The *Sefer ha-Mitzvot* is a manual of religious law according to Anan's own teaching and his interpretation of the Torah, written in *Aramaic. As such it was a novelty, being an attempt to put to writing a systematic alternative to talmudic law. The portions so far discovered contain concise, if dry, expositions of the law on various subjects, as well as some homiletic sections.

The guiding principles later ascribed to Anan's teaching include rejection of the talmudic tradition, a return to Scripture as the sole source of Divine Law, and repudiation of the authority of the geonic and exilarchic leadership. However, his extant writings demonstrate attempts to adapt the ancient biblical legislation to the changed circumstances of his day. His Rabbanite training ensured that his methods of biblical exegesis, as well as of formulation and interpretation of the law, were much the same as those adopted by the Talmud. But his conclusions were in some cases innovatory, in others he adopted positions ascribed to talmudic sages that had been rejected in the Talmud. His preferred method of deduction was by analogy (Heb. *hekkesh*; Arabic *qiyās*), also frequently applied in Muslim jurisprudence. Anan, however, applied it not only to situations in law, but also to single words or even letters of the biblical text. In line with talmudic exegetical tradition, Anan held that the rules of rhetoric and syntax do not apply to Scripture. If two biblical texts seemingly describe the same situation, but in slightly different words, or employing somewhat varying grammatical constructions, a new and variant rule must be applied to construe the second text.

Anan's procedure often seems to be a deliberate construction of proof, by forced interpretation of Scripture, for an Ananite preformulated rule. His rigorous, ascetic approach moved him to postulate the principle that the strict and prohibitive must always take precedence over the lenient and permissive, wherever both alternatives are equally admissible. Accordingly Anan also championed the *rikkuv* ("restrictive catenary") theory of forbidden marriages (extending the forbidden degrees of marriage), a 70-day fast (from the 13th of Nisan to the 23rd of Sivan evidently involving daytime fasting only, in the manner of the Muslim fast of Ramadan), and prohibition of the practice of medicine as incompatible with faith in the Divine healing power. There is no evidence that Anan insisted on basing the calculation of the calendar on lunar (or other) observation. The reference to such a position in the reports on his secession may be a back-projection of later polemicists, Rabbanites and Karaites. From the surviving sections on liturgy it emerges that Anan saw the synagogue as an imitation of the Temple.

Various earlier and contemporary rigoristic and ascetic trends may have influenced Anan. His teaching indicates the inception of institutions for the separate existence of his sect. Rabbanite writers often accused Anan of leaning toward the doctrines of the *Sadducees, but since the available information is meager and partly contradictory, the extent of Sadducean influence, if any, remains in doubt. The same uncertainty also prevails regarding his probable espousal of religious customs current among certain Jewish groups in the talmudic period. These had been subsequently dropped in favor of those approved by the majority and incorporated in the Talmud. References to some such superseded customs seem to be discernible in the talmudic discussions, and are paralleled in some of Anan's rulings. Certain of Anan's doctrines coincide with those upheld by nearly all other schisms. They presumably represent a long-persisting dissident Jewish tradition, possibly harking back to pre-mishnaic times. An example is the rule that the festival of Shavuot should always fall on a Sunday, and perhaps also the prohibition on having any fire burning on the Sabbath (which had later become a hallmark of Karaites) and the literal interpretation of the *lex talionis* ("an eye for an eye"). It has been suggested that there is some connection between Anan's teaching and that found in the *Dead Sea Scrolls. The picture of Anan as an inflexible ascetic presented by his teaching may be modified to some extent in the light of the maxim ascribed to him, "Search diligently in Scripture, and rely not on my opinion." The earliest attestation of this maxim is found in a commentary by *Japheth ben Eli (late tenth century), where only the first half (in Aramaic) is quoted. It may well be that this half is original, while the second half represents tenth-century Karaite tendencies (notably *Daniel al-Qumisi). While Anan preached engagement in the study of the Torah and its interpretation he considered his interpretation to be definitive. Some modern scholars find parallels between the central position given by Anan to the biblical text, as a source of law and a subject of study, and the attitudes of some Muslim groups ("scripturalists") towards the Koran. Accordingly it is not a coincidence that Anan emerged at his particular period of time.

Later reports that Anan acknowledged the prophetic mission of Jesus and Muhammad and accepted the doctrine of transmigration of souls seem to lack any factual basis. The text of *Sefer ha-Mitzvot le-Anan* was published by A. Harkavy, in: *Studien und Mitteilungen*, 8 (1903; with Hebrew translation, repr. 1970); S. Schechter, *Sectaries*, 2 (1910); Mann, in: *Journal of Jewish Lore and Philosophy,* 1 (1919), 329–53.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: L. Nemoy, *Karaite Anthology* (1952), index (bibliography, 395); idem, in: HUCA, 7 (1930), 328–9, 383–6; idem, in: *Semitic Studies in Memory of Immanuel Loew* (1947), 239–48; Ibn Daud, Tradition, index; Z. Ankori, *Karaites in Byzantium* (1959), index; J.N. Epstein, in: *Tarbiz*, 7 (1935/36), 283–90. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** H. Ben-Shammai, in: B. Lewis and F. Niewoehner (eds.), *Religionsgespräche im Mittelalter (Wolfenbütteler Mittelalter-Studien)*, vol. 4 (1992), 11–26; M. Gil, *Palestine during the First Muslim Period (634–1099),* (1992), index; M. Polliack (ed.), *Karaite Judaism: A Guide to Its History and Literary Sources* (2003), index; Y. Erder, *The Karaite Mourners of Zion and the Qumran Scrolls* (2004), index.

[Leon Nemoy]

ANAN BEN MARINUS HA-KOHEN (first half of 11th century), rabbi and poet. He lived in Siponto in southern Italy. According to Zedekiah b. Abraham *Anav, Anan handed down decisions concerning the order in which people should be called to the reading of the Torah, and ruled that a kohen might be called when there was no Levite, and a Levite when there was no kohen (*Shibbolei ha-Leket ha-Shalem*, ed. S.K. Mirsky (Section 34:233)), and concerning the laws of **shofar* (*Shibbolei ha-Leket*, 34:292).

He is known as the composer of a poem to be recited at the termination of the Sabbath. This was a lyrical appeal to Elijah to come without delay, since the appointed time of the coming of the Messiah, 1,000 years after the destruction of the Temple, had already passed, and the enemy was oppressive.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Luzzatto, in: *Oẓar Tov*, 2 (1878), 37; Schirmann, Italyah, 68ff.; A.M. Habermann, *Ha-Piyyut* (1968), 33ff.; Zunz, Geseh, 163; Vogelstein-Rieger, 2 (1896), 224, 355; in Idelson, Jewish Liturgy (1930), 115; Davidson, Oẓar, 4 (1933), 460.

[Yonah David]

ANAN BEN SETH (Σεθί), high priest from 6 to 15 C.E. Anan was appointed by *Quirinius, governor of Syria, to succeed *Joezer b. Boethus but was deposed by *Valerius Gratus, procurator of Judea. During his high priesthood, the Samaritans succeeded in penetrating into the Temple during Passover and desecrated it by scattering bones in the porticoes (Zev. 113a; Tosef. Eduy. 3:3). Entrance to the Temple was thereupon forbidden and a strict watch imposed. Many of Anan's family served as high priests, including his five sons: Eleazar, Jonathan, Theophilus, Matthias, and Anan. Joseph Caiaphas, the high priest in the time of Jesus, was his son-in-law. Evidently Anan was an important figure in Jerusalem even after his deposition, since Jesus was first sent to him for interrogation after his arrest. The family of Anan (Bet Ḥanin) is one of the high-priestly families censured in the Talmud (Pes. 57a) for extortionate practices.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Jos., Ant., 18:26, 29–30, 34; John, 18:13 ff.; Acts, 4:6; Schuerer, Gesch, 2 (1907^4), 270.

[Lea Roth]

ANANIAS AND HELKIAS, two brothers, sons of *Onias IV, who were generals in the army of Cleopatra III, queen of Egypt (116–110 B.C.E.). They commanded the Jewish military colony at Heliopolis. Their loyalty to Cleopatra III (Josephus' reference to which is based on the testimony of Strabo) in her wars against her son Ptolemy Lathyrus for the throne of Egypt won for them great influence (Jos., Ant., 13:284–7). In these wars Ananias and Helkias were in command of the Egyptian army that advanced into Ereẓ Israel to drive out Ptolemy Lathyrus who had consolidated his position there after defeating Alexander Yannai, the Hasmonean king (103–102 B.C.E.). The growing strength of Lathyrus in Ereẓ Israel posed a threat not only to Alexander Yannai's position but also to Cleopatra's rule of Egypt. Ptolemy Lathyrus was defeated in battle and forced to withdraw from Ereẓ Israel, and while in pursuit of him, Helkias died (*ibid.*, 13:348–51). After her victory over her son, Cleopatra was advised by some of her counselors to occupy the Hasmonean kingdom but Ananias warned her against this, pointing out its injustice, as well as the enmity that an attack upon Alexander Yannai would arouse among the latter's fellow Jews in Egypt, her subjects. Because of Ananias' warning Cleopatra did not harm Alexander Yannai and even made a pact with him (*ibid.*, 13:352–5). Helkias, or perhaps his son, is probably mentioned in an Egyptian inscription of 102 B.C.E. as the *strategos* (commander) of the *nome* (province) of Heliopolis. It is very doubtful whether the account in Justinus (39:4) of a Ptolemaic general who permitted Lathyrus to escape from Egypt refers to Helkias.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: R. Marcus in Jos., Ant., 13:87, n.f. (and literature cited there); Pauly-Wissowa, 2 (1894), 2056 (1); Schuerer, Gesch, 1 (1901^4), 278; 3 (1909^4), 132 n.39; Klausner, Bayit Sheni, 3 (1950^2), 148; Tcherikover, Corpus, 3 (1964), 144–5 n. 1450.

[Uriel Rappaport]

ANANIAS BEN NEDEBEUS (Heb. חֲנַנְיָה בֶּן נַדְבָּאִי), high priest at the end of the Second Temple period. Ananias served as high priest for 12 years (47–59 C.E.), longer than any other high priest after the fall of the Hasmonean dynasty, with the exception of Joseph *Caiaphas. He was the second high priest appointed by Herod of Chalcis, succeeding Joseph b. Kimḥit. As a result of the conflict between the Samaritans and the Jews, he was arrested by Quadratus, the procurator of Syria, and sent to Rome to report to Claudius. As the investigation in Rome ended in a victory for the Jews, Ananias probably did not remain long. He rather returned to Judea and to his office at the same time that *Felix was appointed procurator of Judea (52). About 59, Agrippa II appointed *Ishmael b. Phabi II high priest, but Ananias continued to exercise a powerful influence over developments in Judea because of his extraordinary wealth and his firm ties with the Roman administration. He was especially close to the procurator Albinus (62–64), whom he bribed with gifts, as he did the high priest, Joshua b. Damnai. Josephus states that Ananias was highly regarded by the citizens of Jerusalem and was greatly honored by them, a statement consistent with two talmudic passages (Pes. 57a; Ker. 28a). On the other hand, Josephus writes that Ananias set a bad example for other high priests by having his servants take tithes from the granaries by force, thus depriving other priests of their shares. In the period immediately preceding the destruction of the Temple, his great wealth made it possible for him to hire mercenaries who took a leading part in the street battles in Jerusalem. An example of Ananias' influence was the appointment of his son, Eleazar, as captain of the Temple. The *Sicarii considered Ananias one of the major Roman collaborators; they kidnapped Eleazar's secretary, and offered to exchange him for ten Sicarii whom Albinus held imprisoned. Ananias persuaded the procurator to agree. This set a precedent for similar occurrences. At the outset of the revolt, Ananias became a target for the hatred of the extreme elements led by *Menahem b. Judah the Galilean and his home was burnt down together with the palaces of Agrippa II and Berenice. He was subsequently put to death, together with his brother Hezekiah. Ananias was apparently not a member of the oligarchic high-priestly families of the time (Boethus, Ḥanin, Phabi, and Cantheras). He was probably a member of the House of Guryon (or Garon).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Jos., Ant., 20:103, 131, 179, 205 ff.; Jos., Wars, 2:243, 426, 441; Shab. 1:4; Mekh., ed. by H.S. Horowitz and I.A. Rabin (1960^2), 229; Schuerer, Gesch, 2 (1907^4), 272; Derenbourg, Hist, 232 ff.; Graetz, Gesch, 3, pt. 2 (1906^5), 723 ff.

[Menahem Stern]

ANANIAS OF ADIABENE (early first century C.E.), Jewish merchant who was instrumental in the conversion of *Izates and the royal family of *Adiabene. Izates, son of King Monabaz and Queen Helena of Adiabene, was sent as a youth to Charax Spasinu, capital of the tiny kingdom of Charakene between the mouths of the Tigris and the Euphrates. Izates was converted to Judaism by Ananias, a Jewish merchant who had previously converted the wives of the local ruler. After he became king of Adiabene, Izates learned that his mother had also converted to Judaism; consequently he wished to complete his own conversion by having himself circumcised. However, both his mother and Ananias rejected this idea, the latter on the grounds that "the king could worship God even without being circumcised if indeed he had fully decided to be a devoted adherent of Judaism, for this counted more than circumcision."

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Jos., Ant., 20:34 ff.; Josephus, *Works* (Loeb ed.), 9 (1965), 410–1, 586.

[Isaiah Gafni]

ANANIAS SON OF ZADOK, a prominent Pharisee of the first century. With the outbreak of the Roman war in 66 C.E., the Roman garrison in Jerusalem was forced to retreat to the royal towers of Hippicus, Phasael, and Mariamne. The force was incapable of prolonged resistance and finally offered to surrender. The besiegers agreed, and sent three envoys, among them Ananias, to take the necessary oaths and guarantee fair treatment. The Roman commander Metilius marched his men out, unarmed, only to have them surrounded and massacred to a man. Metilius himself, however, was spared after promising to convert to Judaism. Ananias was also a member of another delegation. After receiving reports from the supporters of *John of Giscala denouncing *Josephus, the Jewish leaders in Jerusalem decided to relieve the latter of his command in Galilee. For this purpose they dispatched four prominent emissaries, including Ananias, with a force of 2,500 men. Josephus, however, succeeded in capturing the deputies, and they were sent back to Jerusalem under armed escort.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Jos., Wars, 2:451, 628; Jos., Life, 197ff., 290ff., 316, 332; Graetz, Gesch, 3 pt. 2 (1906^{5}), 462, 491; Klausner, Bayit Sheni, 5 (1963^{5}), 149, 178.

[Isaiah Gafni]

ANANYEV (**Ananiev**), city in Odessa district, Ukraine. Ananyev was founded in 1753. Jews began to settle there in the beginning of the 19th century. In the 1820s the community owned a synagogue and cemetery; it numbered 532 in 1856 and 992 in 1864. A *talmud torah* operated from 1880. Mob attacks in a pogrom that took place on April 27, 1881, destroyed 175 Jewish homes and 14 shops; the poorer Jewish sector in the outskirts suffered most. A second, less damaging pogrom broke out on Oct. 17, 1905. Another pogrom, carried out by Ukrainian soldiers, occurred in February 1919, with many killed. On May 22, the marauding antisemitic Grigoryev gang killed 44 Jews and pillaged much property. In early 1920, in a battle with the Tutyunyuk gang, the Jewish *self-defense unit lost 220 of its 300 fighters.

The Jewish population numbered 3,527 in 1897 (out of a total population of 16,684), 4,810 in 1910 (out of 22,157), and 3,516 in 1926 (out of 18,230). Between the world wars Jews worked in a textile cooperative and in a Jewish *kolkhoz*. Their number dropped to 1,779 by 1939 (total population 5,918). Ananyev was occupied by the Germans on August 7, 1941. Three hundred Jews were murdered on August 28, and later another 600. On September 1, Ananyev was made part of Transnistria under Romanian rule and a ghetto was established for the remaining 300 Jews. In early October they were ordered to set off for *Dubossary but were murdered on the way near the village of Mostovoye. In 1990 there were 30 Jews in Ananyev.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Judenpogrome in Russland*, 2 (1909), 134–7; *Yevrei v SSSR*, 4 (1929); PK Romanyah, 398, Ukrainah, s.v.

[Shmuel Spector (2nd ed.)]

ANAPA, Black Sea port and resort, Krasnodar territory, Russia. Jews settled there during the rule of King *Mithridates (first century C.E.). It came under the rule of the *Khazar Kingdom, and subsequently under that of the Turks. When the Russians occupied Anapa in 1828 no Jews were living there. The law of Dec. 15, 1846, allowed only Jewish craftsmen to settle, and in 1892 almost all Jews were banned from the Kuban territory, which included Anapa. There were 19 Jews in the town in 1897. During the German occupation (1942–43), Anapa was almost totally destroyed.

ANASCHEHON (**Anaschichun**), Spanish family which settled in Ereẓ Israel and in Turkey after the expulsion from Spain in 1492. Joseph *Sambari lists Meir Anaschehon among the exiles who settled in Jerusalem and in Safed. He was known to have spent some time in Aleppo in 1525. At the end of the 16th and during the 17th century several scholars of the Anaschehon family lived in Ereẓ Israel. They all wrote books which remained in manuscript and none was ever published. Josiah *Pinto, in his book *Nivḥar mi-Kesef* (Par. 74, p. 145b) speaks of "the perfect scholar, the outstanding *dayyan*" JOSEPH ANASCHEHON who died in 1632. There are manuscripts of the correspondence between Anaschehon and Jonathan Galante at the Jewish Theological Seminary of America (Enelow Collection 462–469). A relative, the kabbalist Meir Anaschehon II, lived in Ereẓ Israel and Egypt at the same period. He was a younger contemporary of Ḥayyim *Vital, knew the latter's students and writings, and apparently moved in the circle of Benjamin ha-Levi and Elisha Vestali. He wrote a copious and important commentary on the *Idra* which Samuel *Vital edited and included in a collection of commentaries by the disciples of his father, Ḥayyim Vital, and of Isaac *Luria. Meir Poppers wrote strictures on that commentary which appear in many manuscripts (e.g., Adler 2254). Meir transcribed a homiletical manuscript on the symbolic *Adam Kadmon* ("Primordial Man," Ms. Parma 93). Among Meir II's colleagues in Jerusalem were Jacob *Ẓemaḥ and Samuel *Garmison. A halakhic responsum addressed to him by the latter is found in *Mishpetei Ẓedek* (Par. 117). JOSEPH II, grandson of Joseph I, grew up in Safed and was educated by his grandfather. In the manuscript of his works he cites many novellae of "my teacher and mentor, Joseph, my grandfather." He also studied with his maternal grandfather, Mordecai ha-Kohen Ashkenazi, whose oral teachings he quotes, as he does the many remarks that he recalls from Josiah Pinto of Damascus. He taught at the yeshivah, and Pinto's son, Daniel, was among his disciples. He lived in Turkey and moved among the greatest rabbis there. In 1675 he served as rabbi in *Tokat, Turkey, where he is also known to have lived in 1684. An extensive work of Joseph is to be found in the library at Columbia University. This is a collection of novellae on the aggadic dicta of the rabbis, on halakhic remarks by the tosafists, and on *Rashi's commentary to the Pentateuch. This work is evidence that he was also a kabbalist. He makes numerous references in it to his work, *Likkutei Shoshannim*. Other manuscripts, not extant but known to have existed because of reference to them in this book, are *Yad Yosef, Pe'er Yosef*, and *Rosh Yosef.* The last was apparently a commentary on the Talmud, for Joseph writes "… in the book of novellae which I wrote and which I entitled *Rosh Yosef* … on the tractate *Kiddushin.*"

BIBLIOGRAPHY: J.M. Toledano, *Sarid u-Falit* (1945), 46, 52; G. Scholem, in: KS, 22 (1945/46), 307–8; M. Benayahu, *ibid.*, 23 (1946/47), 75–76.

ANATH (Heb. עֲנָת), a major goddess of the Western Semites (Amorites-Canaanites, Arameans) worshiped over a wide area of the Near East (in Mesopotamia, Syria-Ereẓ Israel, Anatolia, and Egypt). The earliest evidence of a cult devoted to Anath comes from the literary remains of the Amorites at *Mari on the Euphrates near the beginning of the second millennium B.C.E.

Cult

The cult of Anath had considerable vogue in Egypt, where it was introduced at least as early as the Hyksos period, since *ʿnt* is attested as the theophorous element in a few Hyksos names. Some rulers of the New Kingdom were apparently devotees of the goddess. An Egyptian magical papyrus relates the sexual assault of Anath by Seth (Baal), who copulated with her in fire and deflowered her with a chisel. Her character is vividly revealed in the mythological texts of *Ugarit from the middle of the second millennium.

Name

Scholarly speculation has been provoked as to whether the goddess' name is a possible clue to her nature. It has been connected with the root *ʿny*, from which the meaning "destiny" or "providence" was deduced. The Hebrew *ʿet* ("time") and Akkadian *ettu* (< *ittu*, "sign," "omen") have also been correlated with the supposed sense of "destiny, purpose, active will." Anath has been presumed to be the personification or hypostatization of the will of Baal, but the Ugaritic texts indicate that she had a strong will of her own. In Arabic the root *ʿanat* is connected with fornication, coercion, belligerency, obstinacy, stubborn zeal, and the like, qualities and activities that comport with the dominant character of the goddess in the Ugaritic myths. The standard name of the goddess in the Ugaritic myths is "Virgin Anath" (*btlt ʿnt*) and she retains this attribute despite copulation with her consort (though the interpretation of Ugaritic texts as describing Anat's sexual activity has been challenged). She is also called "Girl Anath" (*rḥm ʿnt*), or simply "Girlish" (*rḥmy*). She is once called Anath *Itn* (i.e., Leviathan), presumably by reason of her conquest or collaboration with Baal in the defeat of that monster, and once is also called "Anath Destroyer" (*ʿntḥbly*). She is occasionally designated simply "Lady" (*št*).

Mythology

A few highlights of Anath's activities in the myths may be mentioned: she mourns and buries her dead consort, Baal, and avenges his death by pulverizing his slayer Mot ("Death"). She launches a sudden and unexplained assault on humankind, wading hip deep in blood and gore, piling up the heads and hands of her victims and adorning herself with a necklace of heads and a girdle of hands. She ceases the slaughter as abruptly as she had begun, bathes and performs her toilet, and subsequently receives a message from Baal commending peace and inviting her to hasten to him and hear his secret plans for a splendid shrine on his holy mountain. Anath's warlike character may be reflected in the Hebrew *bn ʿnt* arrowheads which indicate the association of the surname *bn ʿnt* with military families. For all her violent ways, however, Anath has occasional gentle moments.

Anath and *Ashtoreth are kept apart in the Ugaritic mythological texts, in which Ashtoreth plays a very minor role. In a text that introduces the gods in order of their rank and mentions the abode of each, however, Anath and Ashtoreth are combined (*ʿnt wʾṭtrt*) and their common abode (*ʾinbb*) is elsewhere attributed to Anath. An Egyptian plaque presents a single nude goddess identified by three names – Qudšu, Ashtoreth, Anath – thus attesting the blending of the three major West Semitic goddesses (*Quadšu;* "Holiness" is a title of *Asherah). Later in Hellenistic-Roman times, Anath and Ashtoreth are probably combined in reverse order in the compound Atargatis. The equation of Anath with Athena is made in a Phoenician-Greek bilingual inscription of the fourth century B.C.E. from Cyprus, in which the Semitic goddess is called "Anath Strength of Life" (*ʿnt mʿz ḥym*), while the Greek equivalent is *Athena Soteira Nike.* Anath/Asthoreth/Ishtar is thus the prototype of Athena and the Winged Victory. A number of beautiful and/or armed and/or winged goddesses appear in ancient Oriental iconography, and some of them doubtlessly represent Anath.

In Israel

Although not explicitly mentioned as a goddess in the Bible, the name Anath is preserved in the place names *Beth-Anath and *Anathoth, and in the personal name *Shamgar the son of Anath. Perhaps due to her martial qualities, the cult of Anath apparently enjoyed a renewed vogue in the fifth century B.C.E. in the Jewish military colony at Elephantine, Egypt, where oaths were sworn on the names *ʿnt*-Beth-El and *ʿnt*-YHWH. Some savants sought to eliminate the association of the God of Israel with a goddess – and especially one of such unsavory repute – by construing the element *ʿnt* as a common noun meaning "providence" or "abode" rather than the name of the goddess, but their efforts have not been wholly convincing.

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[Marvin H. Pope]

ANATHOTH (Heb. עֲנָתוֹת, עֲנָתֹת).
1. Levitical city in the territory of *Benjamin (Josh. 21:18; I Chron. 6:45; 7:8; Jer. 1:1; Neh. 11:32). It was the birthplace of two of David's "mighty men" (II Sam. 23:27; I Chron. 11:28; 12:3). *Abiathar, one of David's two "priests to the king," owned an estate there, to which he was subsequently banished by Solomon (I Kings 2:26). *Jeremiah was also "of the priests that were in Anathoth" and probably moved to Jerusalem only when his townsmen became dangerously hostile to him (Jer. 11:21). During the siege of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar in 588–87 B.C.E., he purchased land in Anathoth from his uncle in order to preserve the family patrimony (cf. Lev. 25:25), thus demonstrating his faith in the eventual return of the Judeans to their land (Jer. 32:7ff.). Among the Jews who took advantage of *Cyrus' permission to settle in the province of Judah were 128 "men of Anathoth" (Ezra 2:23; Neh. 7:27). The location of Anathoth is mentioned in Isaiah (10:30) along with Gallim and Laish as being in the vicinity of Jerusalem. Josephus states (Ant. 10:144) that it was 20 *stadia* (2½ mi.) from Jerusalem. According to Eusebius (Onom. 26:27), it was 3 mi. (4.8 km.) north of Jerusalem. The name is preserved in the village of ʿAnt, 2½ mi. (4 km.) north of Jerusalem. Ancient remains have been discovered on Raʾs al-Ḥarrba, a hill southwest of ʿAnt. In 1968 ʿAnt had 1,260 Arab inhabitants, while in 2003 its population was 9,067. Its economy was based on the cultivation of olives, vineyards, field crops, and sheep breeding.

2. Settlement located in the Judean Hills, east of Mount Scopus. A group of Jews wishing to set up a secular settlement in the desert founded it in 1982. The population included people of various age groups, native Israelis as well as newcomers. Most worked in nearby Jerusalem. In 2004 the population of Anathoth included about 160 families.

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[Michael Avi-Yonah / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

ANATOLI, JACOB BEN ABBA MARI BEN SAMSON (13th century), physician, homilist, and translator. He married a daughter of Samuel ibn *Tibbon. Samuel taught him mathematics. At the suggestion of friends in Narbonne and Béziers, Anatoli began translating Arabic works on astronomy and logic into Hebrew. However, before completing them, he left France for Naples where he is mentioned in 1231. There Emperor Frederick II employed him as a physician and enabled him to devote himself to scholarly work. In Naples Anatoli became a close associate of another favorite of the emperor, the learned Michael Scot, who had translated works by Aristotle and Averroes from Arabic into Latin. It is doubtful that Anatoli assisted Scot in his translations, as some scholars maintain. Anatoli translated the following works: (1) Averroes' *Intermediate Commentary* on the first five books of Aristotle's *Logic.* The first three books were translated into Latin by Jacob Mantino from Anatoli's Hebrew translation and printed, together with other works by Averroes, in the editions published between 1550 and 1553; (2) the *Almagest* of Ptolemy; (3) the astronomical work of al-Farghāni, its full title in later manuscripts being *The Elements of Astronomy.* This book was translated by Anatoli from a Latin version but was corrected on the basis of the original Arabic text. Specimens of this translation were published by Campani (RSO, 3 (1910), 205–52); (4) the *Compendium of the Almagest* by Averroes. This translation was begun in Naples in 1231. According to a note in the Vienna manuscript no. 195, 1, the work was completed in Padua, and it is not clear whether this was by Anatoli or by someone else. Other translations have been erroneously ascribed to Anatoli.

Anatoli was also an active preacher. In his discourses, he employed allegorical and philosophical exegesis. Generally, he followed Maimonides, and his sharp public rebuke of the latter's detractors made him many enemies. This was, probably, one of the reasons which caused him to leave France. In Naples he also encountered opposition. Anatoli collected his homilies in a book which he called *Malmad ha-Talmidim* (Lyck, 1866, "A Goad to Scholars"), which follows the order of the weekly scriptural portions. The work argues that observance of the commandments must rest on knowledge of the reasons underlying them and on an adequate understanding of the biblical texts as well as of the prayers. The author sharply castigates the superficial reader of the Bible and endeavors both to demonstrate the ethical value of the biblical stories and to disclose the hidden philosophical truth which, in his opinion, is inherent in the language of Scripture. Yet his sermons also contain practical admonitions. For example, he reproaches those who, like the non-Jews, permit their daughters to sing love songs, and those who indulge in incantations to obtain answers to various questions in dreams. He was an enemy of superstition and of outward piety. He quotes thinkers such as Plato, Aristotle, and Averroes. He also refers to the Vulgate and cites the biblical interpretations of such contemporaries as Michael Scot and Emperor Frederick II.

Anatoli contributed greatly to the dissemination of philosophical knowledge among the Jews of Italy. The *Malmad ha-Talmidim* was widely read in the 13th century; parts of it are quoted almost verbatim in the works of Zerahiah b. Isaac Gracian and *Immanuel of Rome. It was also well-known beyond Italy. When Solomon b. Abraham *Adret issued his famous ban against philosophy and philosophers, he named *Malmad ha-Talmidim* as a dangerous work which should be proscribed. Some scholars also attribute *Ru'aḥ Ḥen*, an introduction to Maimonides' *Guide*, to Anatoli. However, according to one manuscript, the author was Anatoli's son, Anatolio, also a philosopher and disciple of Maimonides. Anatolio was the teacher of R. Moses b. Solomon of Salerno, the commentator on the *Guide.* R. Moses often mentions Anatolio in his commentary. One manuscript of *Ru'aḥ Ḥen* was transcribed by a grandson of Anatoli, who refers to himself as "Jacob b. Samson b. Anatoli b. Jacob, author of *Malmad ha-Talmidim.*"

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[Umberto (Moses David) Cassuto]

ANATOLI BEN JOSEPH (late 12th and early 13th century), *dayyan* at Alexandria. Apparently from Lunel in Languedoc, he was one of the European scholars who settled in Alexandria in the days of *Maimonides. Toward the end of his life he lived in Fostat (now Cairo). He was apparently the uncle of *Abraham b. Nathan ha-Yarḥi, author of *Ha-Manhig* (ed. Warsaw, (1885), 90b, no. 156). Anatoli was widely renowned as a halakhist, communities from various countries turning to him with halakhic problems and requesting his assistance in different matters. When, on one occasion, the Jews of Syracuse submitted a problem to him, he was unwilling to answer himself and asked Maimonides to decide the issue. Maimonides' reply shows the high esteem in which he held Anatoli (*Responsa*, ed. by J. Blau, 2 (1960), 620–3). Anatoli's *Iggeret Mehallelim* ("The Epistle of Those who Praise"), addressed to Maimonides, expresses his great desire for knowledge and to be in close contact with him (*Ḥemdah Genuzah,* ed. Z.H. Edelman, 1856, 1, 23a–24a). He also corresponded on halakhic subjects with Maimonides' son Abraham who addressed him as "the illustrious *dayyan*, our teacher and master, the eminent Anatoli" (*Responsa*, ed. by A. Freimann (1937), 161–72). Several *piyyutim* and *seliḥot* are ascribed to him and he also wrote secular poems, including wine songs (see Anatoli's *Mikhtamim al ha-Yayin*, ed. A.M. Habermann, 1940). His *Diwan* is extant in manuscript in the Firkovitch Collection in Leningrad.

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[Yehoshua Horowitz]

ANATOMY. There is no systematic account of the anatomy of the human body in the Bible, although abundant use is made there of anatomical facts, metaphors, and expressions. Biblical anatomy is factual, empirical in the good sense of the word, and based on correct observation. Talmudic anatomy is inestimably richer; it is not free from fanciful distortions, but it reaches further and supplants the Greek theory of the "humors" with a rational explanation of the normal and pathological structure of the body. The details are sometimes astonishing in their accuracy, as in the description of the small cartilage rings in the structure of the trachea, discovered by Western anatomists only in the 18th century. At the same time, talmudic anatomy is deficient by omission, apparently because the subject was not studied systematically but only incidentally as far as it was necessary for the solving of halakhic problems. Side by side with fanciful notions, there are to be found in the Talmud the beginnings of a scientific method using postmortem examination and dissection of the bodies of animals. Like Greek anatomy, talmudic anatomy shows lack of precision in terminology, which is sometimes expressed through analogy and figures of speech. Graphic illustration is also lacking, since drawing was introduced in the study of anatomy only during the period approaching the Renaissance.

As in all ancient anatomical works, numerous terms are cited in the Bible for the bones: the lower part of the spinal column is called *aẓeh* (Lev. 3:9); the upper part of the pelvis *kesalim*; the loins are given a plural (*ibid.* 3:4), in accordance with their dual structure; the upper (cervical) part of the spinal column is described as *mafreket* (I Sam. 4:18) with its anatomical location, explaining the sudden death resulting from its fracture. Joints mentioned are the *berekh* ("knee"); *karsol* ("ankle," "malleolus"; Ps. 18:37; II Sam. 22:37); the term *kaf ha-yarekh* ("the hollow of the thigh") and its topographical connection with the *gid ha-nasheh* ("sinew of the thigh"; Gen. 32:33) have not been sufficiently defined. The term thigh entered Vesalius' *Tabulae Anatomicae* (Table 5), where it is labeled as the *yarekh*, femur, and also *paḥad ha-yarekh* (Table 6, according to Job 40:17). Even in Vesalius' time it was felt that the biblical word *yarekh* was used in various meanings and was not altogether clear.

The Bible makes frequent mention of internal organs of the body such as the pharynx (*lo'a*), the gullet (*garon*), the heart (*lev*), the liver (*kaved*) with the gallbladder (*marah*), the womb (*reḥem*), the stomach (*kevah*), the entrails (*me'ayim*), and the kidneys (*kelayot*). The *yoteret ha-kaved* or *ha-yoteret al ha-kaved* (in connection with the liver) is difficult to identify (Lev. 3:4), although the reference is probably to the mesentery, called by Tobias *Cohn the Physician "the covering membrane." The *gidim* ("sinews") in the Bible, as in Greek anatomy, denote both nerves and ligaments and sometimes even vessels. The *gid ha-nasheh* ("nerve of the thigh") is usually identified with the ischiadic nerve. The muscles are recognized as the parts furnishing power and movement: "his strength is in the muscles of his belly" (Job 40:16).

Talmudic scholars were much occupied with the regulations concerning ritually unclean meat, with physical disfigurement that disqualified a man for the priesthood, and with rules concerning the menstruous woman, defilement, and the like. This accounts for the anatomical knowledge so widespread among talmudists. The dissection of animal carcasses to ascertain their ritual fitness revealed important facts and prevented the development of fantastic notions. The Talmud even assumes the possibility of the investigation of the human body for forensic purposes (Ḥul. 11a). In *Bekhorot* 45a, Samuel relates that "the disciples of R. Ishmael boiled the corpse of a prostitute who had been condemned by the king to be burned; upon examination, they found that she had 252 [bones]." This investigation was carried out in order to ascertain the number of bones in the human body, since the remains of corpses defile an abode only if they constitute more than half the skeleton, i.e., most of the bones. The sages carried out the examinations themselves or relied on the testimony of a qualified physician (cf. Tosef. Oho. 4:2; Naz. 52a, "Todos the physician entered and all the physicians with him").

The Skeleton

The enumeration of 248 (רמ״ח) members (bones) in the human body is famous in rabbinic tradition (Oho. 1:8). This number does not correspond to the number of bones in the body of an adult, which amounts only to 200. From the number counted by Ishmael's pupils it may be inferred that the body they examined was that of a girl of 17. Supporting this explanation is the figure "six [members] of the key of the heart," i.e., the breastbone (sternum), of which there is only a single unit in an adult but which contains six points of ossification. The term "key of the heart" is to be explained by the inclusion of the two superior ribs in the morphological description of the breastbone: these two superior ribs are shorter and rounder, and their junction with the breastbone actually resembles a key. Accordingly, the rabbis of the Mishnah enumerate only 11 ribs instead of 12, the upper being already included in the "key of the heart." The figure 248 for the number of bones in the body also occurs in the writings of Abu-l-Qasim, the famous surgeon of the tenth century. It would seem that in this detail the Arabs were influenced by the Talmud rather than by the Greeks, since Hippocrates cites figures which are widely inaccurate (101, including the nails), while Galen gives no figure at all. The nomenclature of the bones in the Talmud is precise in its anatomical differentiation. The Mishnah distinguishes bet ween the foot (*pissat ha-regel*), the leg (*shok*), and the thigh or thighbone (*yarekh, kulit*). Corresponding to these are three joints by which the bones are joined to each other: the ankle (*karsol*), the knee joint (*arkuvah*), and the hip joint (*katlit*). Besides these precise anatomical details, mention is also made of the legendary bone known as the *luz* (the medieval *os resurrectionis*) said to be situated at the bottom of the spinal column. According to the legend, it could not be dissolved in water or burned by fire, "and from it man will blossom forth at the resurrection" (Eccles. R. 12:5, no. 1; Gen. R. 28:3).

The Digestive Organs

A remarkable passage is that which compares the salivary glands to springs of water and refers to them as "the conduit (*ammat ha-mayim*) that passes beneath the tongue" (Lev. R. 16:4). This is most interesting in view of the fact that the ducts of the salivary glands were not described with precision in scientific literature until the 16th and 17th centuries. The tongue (*lashon*) is described as enclosed by two walls – the jawbone (*leset*) and the flesh of the cheek (*leḥi*; Ar. 15b). The topography of the windpipe (*kaneh*) and the esophagus (*veshet*) is described correctly ("lest the food enter the windpipe before it reaches the esophagus" – Ta'an. 5b; Pes. 108a). In the esophagus two membranes were accurately distinguished: the outer or red muscular membrane, and the inner or white mucous one (Ḥul. 43a). Many structural details of the maw of the ruminants were also known to talmudists (Ḥul. 3:1). The digestive tract of the human being is described in a pseudo-scientific manner: "Ten organs minister to the body in the following phases of food absorption: from the mouth to the esophagus; from there to the first stomach where the food is ground; from there to the lower digestive tract of the maw; from there to the stomach; from there to the small intestine; from there to the *colon ascendens*; from there to the *colon transversum*; from there to the *colon descendens*; from there to the anus, and thence outward." This defective account, which is to be found in several midrashic versions (Lev R. 3:4; Eccles. R. 7:19, no. 3; et al.), is patently influenced by findings in animals. The liver was regarded as one of the ruling parts of the human body (Zohar, IV, 153a), the other two being the brain and the heart. The *tarpesh* above the liver, according to Maimonides, designates the diaphragm. The *ḥaẓẓar ha-kaved* ("courtyard of the liver"; Yoma 8:6) according to Preuss, is the part known as the *lobus caudatus* [?]. The *eẓba ha-kaved* ("finger of the liver"; Tam. 4:3) is identified by J.L. Katzenelsohn as the pancreas, although that structure was unknown in ancient anatomy as a special organ. The spleen is described in its various parts (Ḥul. 93a), its convex side being called *dad ha-teḥol* ("nipple of the spleen"). The membrane and the blood vessels of the *hilus lienalis* are also mentioned. The removal of the spleen by surgery is referred to in the Talmud (Sanh. 21b).

The Respiratory Organs

The upper part of the windpipe is called the *gargeret* (Ḥul. 3:1); the windpipe is composed of rings (*ḥulyot*), and sub-rings are also referred to, i.e., the ligaments joining the cartilage rings. There are descriptions of the ring cartilage called "the large ring," of the thyroid cartilage, called the *kova* ("helmet") together with its protruding part, *ḥud ha-kova* ("the point of the helmet"), an d of its lower parts, *shippu'ei kova* ("the slopes of the helmet"). Identification was also made of the two small cartilages called *ḥitin* ("protuberances") at the end of the large ring. (These cartilages were not discovered in the West before Santorini in the 18th century.) The talmudists also correctly recognized the existence of three lobes in the right lung and two in the left. (Hippocrates enumerated three on each side.) They also described the serous membranes of the lung and of the bronchial tubes.

The Heart

The Talmud contains few details on the anatomy of the heart, since a wound in the heart generally caused the death of the animal before slaughtering. The position of the heart is given as on the left side of the body (Men. 36b), in contrast to Galen's statement that it was in the exact center of the chest. The heart is divided into chambers (Ḥul. 45b), but there is no trace of Aristotle's erroneous view, supported by Avicenna, of the existence of three chambers in the heart. The aorta is mentioned under the name of *keneh ha-lev* ("pipe of the heart") in *Ḥullin* 45b, and Maimonides adds *mizrak gadol* ("the aorta is the great fountain"). The two auricles are mentioned in *Tikkunei Zohar* (69): "There are two houses (*battim*) and two ears (*udenin*) in the heart."

The Genital Organs

IN THE MALE. The special terms for the *membrum virile* are *eiver* (BM 84a), *eẓba* (Pes. 112b), *gid, ammah* (Shab. 108b), *shammash* (Nid. 60b), etc. The term *atarah* ("crown") designating the part projecting behind the glans of the penis passed to Western anatomy as *corona glandis.* The (erroneous) view that "there are two ducts in the male, one to emit urine and the other semen, separated by a thin tissue" (Bek. 44b) was widely held in the Middle Ages, also among the Arabs, and was corrected only in the 16th century by Vesalius. The rabbis described the two membranes of the testicles (Ḥul. 45a) and the *vas deferens* (*ḥutei beiẓah*; Yev. 75b) and knew of the connection between erection of the penis (*kishui*) and the spinal cord, where disease prevents cohabitation.

IN THE FEMALE. Because of their attention to regulations concerning the menstruous woman, the talmudic scholars treated the female genitalia much more extensively. The language they used (for reasons of propriety) to designate them frequently causes great difficulty in understanding the anatomical details referred to. The Mishnah (Nid. 2:5) lists the chamber (*ḥeder*), antechamber (*perozedor*), upper chamber (*aliyyah*), and fallopian tube (*adnexa*). "The blood of the chamber defiles (the blood of the upper does not); that found in the antechamber defiles on account of uncertainty, since it is strongly probable that it comes from the source (uterus)." The *Gemara* (Nid. 17b) explains: "The chamber is within and the antechamber without, and the upper chamber is built over both and there is an open passage (*lul*) between the upper chamber and the antechamber; consequently, from the *lul* inward the blood in case of doubt (*sefeko*) is defiling; from the *lul* outward, it is in a state of purity." Ever since modern medical historiography came into existence, scholars have struggled to explain these *halakhot.* Abraham Hartog Israels identifies the "upper chamber" with the fallopian tube; Rosenbaum (see bibl.) identifies it with the *adnexa uteri* and the broad ligaments. Leibowitz' identification is that the "chamber" is the womb; the "antechamber" is the part nearest the cervix. But Preuss holds that the "antechamber" is the exterior portion of the female genitalia (*vulva*); the "upper chamber" is the vagina, which in present day Hebrew is called *nartik.* This conjecture is irreconcilable with the talmudic passage as a whole, since the *vulva* everywhere in the Talmud is called *bet ha-toref, bet ha-setarim, bet ha-ḥiẓon* (exterior chamber; hidden chamber; outer chamber), which also includes the *labia.* Katzenelson would identify the parts of the "antechamber" with the *septum vesico-vaginale* and the *septum recto-vaginale.* Nor is it at all clear what is meant by the term *lul*; it is perhaps to be identified with the cavity in the upper vagina: "from the *lul* inward" denotes the upper parts near the cervix; "from the *lul* outward," the lower parts of the vagina. In the anatomy of the female genitalia there is a place called in the Jerusalem Talmud *bein ha-shinnayim* ("between the teeth") or *bet ha-shinnayim* ("abode of the teeth"), which Rosenbaum identifies as the *collum*; Rashi says "within the womb are fleshy protuberances like teeth."

Other Organs

The Talmud does not deal much with the normal anatomy of the kidneys, but gives numerous accounts of kidney diseases. It contains descriptions of the membranes of the kidney, and refers to *hilus renalis* as *ḥariẓ* (Ḥul. 55b). It describes the outer and inner membranes (meninges) of the brain and recognizes the existence of motor centers in the spinal column. The Talmud records examinations of the spinal cord and of injuries to its membranes and marrow (Ḥul. 45b); it describes various kinds of morbid changes in the tissue and important details in its pathology such as softening (*hamrakhah*), dissolution (*hamsasah*), and softening (*hitmazmezut*) of the marrow; and mentions the fontanel: "the place where an infant's brain is soft" (*rofes*; Men. 37a). It recognized two hemispheres of the cerebellum over the large aperture at the base of the cranium "like two beans (*polim*) lying at the aperture of the cranium" (Hul. 45a–b). These are also described by R. Jeremiah in the case of a fowl: "He examined a fowl and found objects resembling two beans placed at the aperture of the cranium" – a fine example of comparative anatomy.

Middle Ages

In the Middle Ages and the Renaissance period, the Jewish physicians shared the anatomical opinions of their neighbors. Vesalius was, however, assisted in his work of the compilation of his Anatomical Tables in the 16th century by the Jew Lazarus (Lazaro) de *Frigeis. The reluctance of Jews to submit bodies for dissection led to complications and ill-feeling in the universities (e.g., at *Padua in the 17th–18th centuries; Eastern Europe in the 20th). The most outstanding Jewish physician of the Renaissance was *Amatus Lusitanus, who in the 16th century participated in the teaching of anatomy at the university at Ferrara. He first described the valves of the veins, exemplified on the azygos vein. Lusitanus identified these valves through opening 12 bodies, although he did not show their connection with the circulation of the blood.

Modern

Outstanding in the modern study of anatomy was Friedrich Gustav Jacob *Henle (1809–1885) who did important research on the skin, the intestinal tract, and the kidneys. Another important figure was Benedict *Stilling (1810–1879) who did pioneer research on the spinal cord.

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[Joshua O. Leibowitz]

ANAU (**Anav**; Heb. מן הענוים), ancient Italian family. Most of its members lived in Rome, although some moved to other towns in Italy. According to family tradition, the Anaus were descended from one of four aristocratic families of Jerusalem whom Titus brought from Jerusalem to Rome after the destruction of the Temple. It is the first Jewish family living in Rome to be known by a surname, which is found also in the Italian forms Delli Mansi, Delli Piatelli, or Umano. Branches of the Anau family are the ancient Roman Bozecco family, and the Min ha-Keneset (מן הכנסת) or Mi-Bet El (מבית אל; De Synagoga) families. The well-known Tuscan families of Da Pisa, Da San Miniato, and Da Tivoli who engaged in loan banking toward the end of the 14th century were also offshoots of the Anau family. The accompanying genealogical chart indicates the main ramifications of the family and its most distinguished members between the 9th and 14th centuries.

Especially noteworthy was JEHIEL B. ABRAHAM (d. 1070), head of the yeshivah of Rome and liturgical poet. The most important of his sons, *NATHAN B. JEHIEL, was author of the *Arukh.* Jehiel's other two sons were DANIEL BEN JEHIEL (d. before 1101), teacher in the yeshivah of Rome, liturgical poet, and commentator on the Mishnah, and ABRAHAM BEN JEHIEL, teacher in the yeshivah of Rome. He founded a synagogue in Rome in 1101 with his brother Nathan. DANIEL (12th century), rabbi, is mentioned by *Benjamin of Tudela (c. 1159) as a leader of the Jewish community of Rome. JEHIEL, a nephew or grandson of Nathan B. Jehiel, is described by Benjamin of Tudela as a leader of the community and major domo of Pope Alexander III. BENJAMIN and ABRAHAM BEN JEHIEL (beginning of the 13th century) were both physicians and talmudists. JUDAH B. BENJAMIN *ANAV (d. after 1280) was a talmudist and liturgical poet. One of the most eminent members of the family was BENJAMIN B. ABRAHAM *ANAV (mid-13th century), scholar and poet, one of the most versatile scholars of his day. MOSES BEN ABRAHAM, liturgical poet, wrote two *seliḥot* expressing his consternation at the condemnation of the Talmud (1240). His younger brother ZEDEKIAH B. ABRAHAM *ANAV (1225–1297), a noted talmudist, was author of the halakhic compendium, *Shibbolei ha-Leket.* JEHIEL B. JEKUTHIEL *ANAV (second half of the 13th century), liturgical poet, ethical writer, and copyist, was author of the popular ethical work *Beit Middot* (later published as *Ma'alot ha-Middot).* Significant members of the family in later generations included ABRAHAM BEN JACOB ANAV (18th century), poet and rabbi in Rome, and PHINEHAS ḤAI *ANAU (known as Felice Umano; 1693–1768), rabbi in Ferrara. SALVATORE was active in the Italian Risorgimento and a member of the provisional government at Ferrara in 1848 and a year later in Rome.

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[Attilio Milano]

ANAU (**Piattelli**), **PHINEHAS ḤAI BEN MENAHEM** (1693–1768), rabbi in Ferrara. A member of the *Anau family, he was also known as Felice Umano. He was a pupil at the yeshivah of Isaac *Lampronti, and brother-in-law of Jacob Daniel *Olmo. An extremely fierce dispute among the rabbis in Ferrara was sparked off in 1715 when Isaac Lampronti published in Venice a periodical containing the halakhic rulings of his pupils. The second number, entitled *Tosefet Bik-*

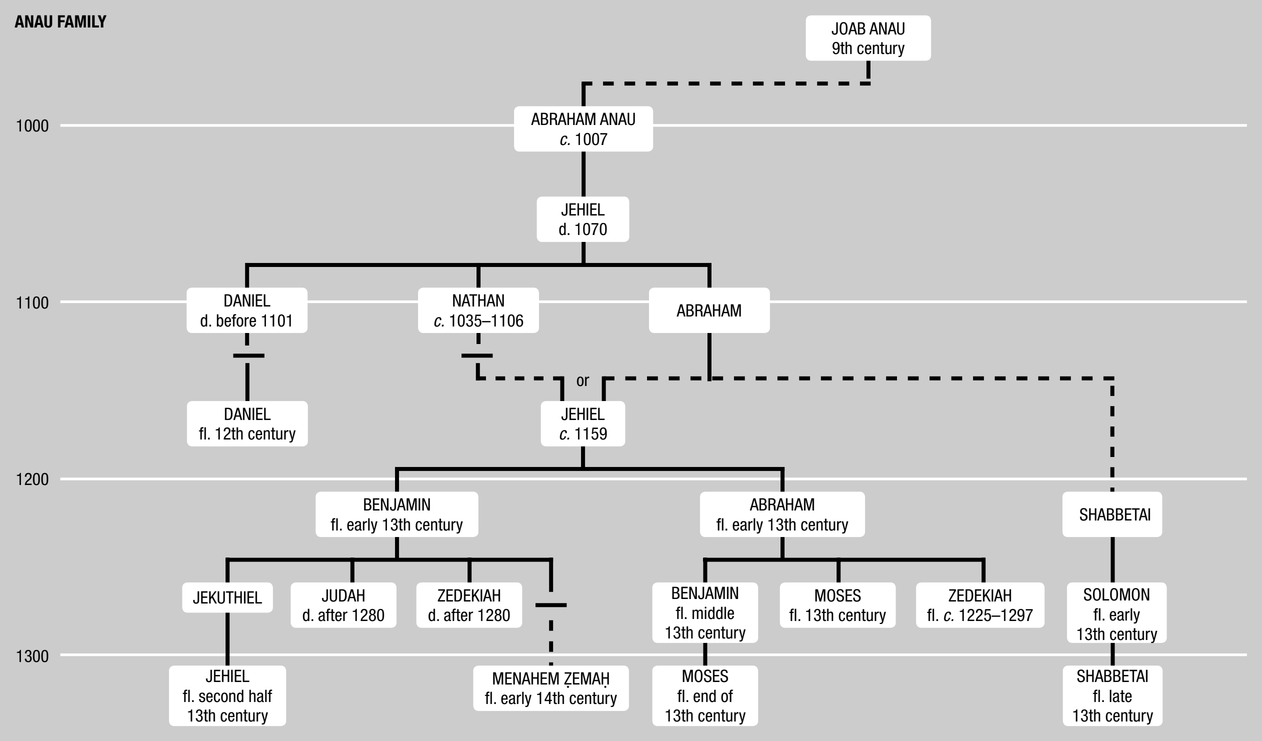
ANAU FAMILY
1000
1100
1200
1300
JOAB ANAU 9th century
ABRAHAM ANAU c. 1007
JEHIEL d. 1070
DANIEL d. before 1101
NATHAN c. 1035–1106
ABRAHAM
or
DANIEL fl. 12th century
JEHIEL c. 1159
BENJAMIN fl. early 13th century
ABRAHAM fl. early 13th century
SHABBETAI
JEKUTHIEL
JUDAH d. after 1280
ZEDEKIAH d. after 1280
BENJAMIN fl. middle 13th century
MOSES fl. 13th century
ZEDEKIAH fl. c. 1225–1297
SOLOMON fl. early 13th century
JEHIEL fl. second half 13th century
MENAHEM ẒEMAḤ fl. early 14th century
MOSES fl. end of 13th century
SHABBETAI fl. late 13th century

kurei Kaẓir, included a ruling by Anau deciding in favor of the Ashkenazi custom of stressing the words of the Priestly Blessing on the last syllable and against the view of Nehemiah ha-Kohen and his followers who wished to stress the words on the penultimate syllable. Nehemiah regarded this ruling as a personal insult and complained about Anau to Mordecai Ẓahalon. The latter, who refused to recognize Isaac Lampronti as chief rabbi of Ferrara, came to the defense of Nehemiah in his work *Meẓiẓ u-Meliẓ* (Venice, 1715) which deplored the insult to Nehemiah and denigrated all those rabbis, including Lampronti, who supported Phinehas Ḥai Anau's ruling. Anau wrote *Givat Pinḥas*, a collection of responsa which has remained in manuscript. Some of his responsa were published in the book *Paḥad Yizḥak* of Isaac Lampronti.

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[Abraham David]

ANAV, BENJAMIN BEN ABRAHAM (c. 1215–c. 1295), Italian scholar and poet. Anav's teachers included the poet Meir b. Moses of Rome, and Joab, Daniel, and Isaac of Camerino. His main interest was in *halakhah*, but he had a thorough knowledge of mathematics and astronomy, and was among the most esteemed liturgical poets of his age. The bulk of his poetry, which he began writing in 1239, is still in manuscript. The part that has been published reveals him as a poet sensitive to the events of his time and to the suffering of his people, which he mourns in his many *seliḥot*. The themes of his poetry are historical. Thus, he wrote *kinot* when the apostate Nicholas *Donin made his onslaught on the Talmud (1239); when the Talmud was burned in Italy (1244); when the scrolls of the Torah were torn and the Jews compelled to wear the *badge of shame on their clothing (1257); and when the Jewish cemetery in Rome was desecrated (1267). Many of his *kinot* and *seliḥot* were included in the *maḥzor* of the Italian rite.

His works include *Massa Gei Ḥizzayon* – a satire in sprightly rhymed prose on the arrogance of the wealthy and noble which reflects the life of the affluent Jewish families in his city, Rome (Riva di Trento, 1560; repr. 1860, 1967); *Perush Alfabetin* ("Alphabetical Commentary"), on the Aramaic *piyutim* for the Feast of Weeks (*Akdamut*) – the commentary reveals the poet's knowledge of Italian, Latin, Greek, and Arabic; *Sefer Yedidut* – a book of legal decisions, which has been lost; *Sha'arei Eẓ Ḥayyim* – a lyrical composition on morals and good character, in 63 stanzas (Prague, 1598; and in *Kobez al Jad* (1884), 71–74; the poem was also included in Moses b. Jekuthiel de Rossi's *Sefer ha-Tadir*); notes on *Rashi's commentary to the Torah; rules on making a calendar; responsa to R. Avigdor b. Elijah Ha-Kohen: a prayer book, which included laws of ritual slaughter, and which has been lost; *Sod* or *Seder ha-Ibbur* (on intercalation), written between the years 1276 and 1294, found in various manuscripts of the *maḥzor* according to the Roman rite; and glosses on the commentary of Solomon b. Shabbetai Anav and on the *She'iltot* of R. *Aḥa.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Vogelstein-Rieger, 1 (1896), 235–8, 240, 244, 277, 379–82, 452; A. Berliner, *Geschichte der Juden in Rom*, 1 pt. 2 (1893), 34, 50, 54; Steinschneider, in: HB, 4 (1861), 57ff.; Halberstamm, in: *Kobez al-Jad*, 4 (1888), nos. 4, 6, 11, 12, 13; S.D. Luzzatto, *Mavo le-Maḥzor ke-Minhag Benei Roma* (1856), 22; idem, *Iggerot Shadal* (1882), 664ff., 669; idem, in: *Oẓar Tov*, 3 (1880), 19; Steinschneider, Cat Bod, no. 4544; Guedemann, Geseh Erz, 2 (1884), 201; S. Bernfeld, *Sefer ha-Dema'ot*, 1 (1924), 263ff.; Davidson, Oẓar, 4 (1933), 372; Waxman, Literature, 2 (1960^2), 74–75.

[Yonah David]

ANAV, JEHIEL BEN JEKUTHIEL BEN BENJAMIN HAROFE (second half of 13th century), author, copyist, and *paytan;* a member of the Anau family of Rome. Little is known of his life. He was the author of a significant work, first published at Constantinople (1512) under the title of *Beit Middot* and later in a different version at Cremona (1556) under the title of *Ma'alot ha-Middot*, on which subsequent editions were based. The book, dealing with 24 "steps" with ethical conduct, is based on talmudic, midrashic, and other sources. It begins and ends with a poem. The work enjoyed great popularity (nearly 40 manuscripts are extant). It was often reissued and was translated into Ladino. Entire chapters of it were included by Jacob *Emden in his *Migdal Oz* (1748). In 1968 the work was republished from a manuscript written in 1287 by the author. Jehiel also wrote *Hilkhot Sheḥitah* on the laws of ritual slaughter (in manuscript).

Some manuscripts which Jehiel copied have been preserved. The number of errors which they contain is not at all surprising in view of the great speed at which he worked. The only complete extant manuscript of the Jerusalem Talmud, now in the Leiden Library, from which the 1523–24 Venice edition was published, was copied by him in 1289. He completed the orders of *Nashim* and *Nezikin* in a month and 12 days. This manuscript has proved of great importance for research into the text of the Jerusalem Talmud. It contains his own notes and emendations, as do other manuscripts which he copied (in some instances he inserted various annotations into the text itself). His share, if any, in *Tanya Rabbati* (Mantua, 1514) has not been convincingly demonstrated, and there are divergent views on this score. There are also differences of opinion concerning the similarity between large sections of this work and the *Shibbolei ha-Leket*, written by his relative Zedekiah b. Abraham *Anav. There are two principal views on this subject. S.H. Kook maintains that *Tanya Rabbati* is the first edition of *Shibbolei ha-Leket*, which Jehiel copied and into which he inserted his own notes and incorporated passages from a later edition of the *Shibbolei ha-Leket* as known today. S.K. Mirsky regards Jehiel as the author of *Tanya Rabbati* and attributes the similarities in the two works to the fact that both Jehiel and Zedekiah received the teachings of Jehiel's uncle, Judah b. Benjamin Anav. In addition to the poems mentioned above, Jehiel wrote another at the end of the Jerusalem Talmud manuscript and a *kinah* on the destruction of a synagogue and of 21 Torah scrolls in a fire that broke out in Trastevere, Rome, in 1268 (*Kobez al Jad*, 4 pt. 2 (1888), 26, 29 ff.). Other *piyyutim* are ascribed to him (see Davidson, Oẓar, 4 (1933), 409).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Guedemann, Gesch Erz, 2 (1884), 196–201, 327–8; S. Buber (ed.), *Shibbolei ha-Leket ha-Shalem* (1886), 24–31 (introd.); Vogelstein-Rieger, 1 (1896), 393 ff.; Frankel, Mevo, 141b–143a; Epstein, in: *Tarbiz*, 5 (1933/34), 257–72; 6 (1934/35), 38–55; S. Lieberman, *Ha-Yerushalmi ki-Feshuto* (1934), 15 ff. (introd.); idem, in: *Sefer ha-Yovel… H. Albeck* (1963), 283–305; S.H. Kook, *Iyyunim u-Meḥkarim*, 2 (1963), 268–73; S.K. Mirsky (ed.), *Shibbolei ha-Leket ha-Shalem* (1966), 40–49 (introd.).

[Shlomoh Zalman Havlin]

ANAV, JUDAH BEN BENJAMIN HA-ROFE (13th century), author, copyist, and *paytan;* member of the *Anau family of Rome. He was also known as Judah Ya'aleh (initial letters of *Yehudah Anav le-Mishpaḥat ha-Anavim*, an allusion to Judg. 1:2). Of his personal life, little is known. He studied under Meir b. Moses of Rome and may be approximately dated by means of a Ms. (Paris 312; of the *Hilkhot ha-Rif* on *Seder Moed*), copied by him in 1247, and from a *piyyut, "El Mi Anusah le-Ezrah*," written by his cousin and pupil, Benjamin b. Abraham, in 1239, occasioned by Nicholas *Donin's denunciation of the Talmud. In 1280 he completed his work on the laws of ritual slaughter with special reference to the customs of Rome and fixed the formula of a *get* ("bill of divorce") for Rome. He was apparently the initiator of the communal synod in the same year (Ms. Hamburg 193, Ms. Oxford 633).

Among his works are a commentary on the tractate of *Shekalim* (published in the Vilna ed. of the Talmud), and on the *Hilkhot ha-Rif* of Isaac *Alfasi (Ḥ.J.D. Azulai saw a manuscript of this latter commentary which covered most of Alfasi's work). The only extant manuscripts, however, are on *Berakhot, Seder Mo'ed, Yevamot, Ḥullin*, and on *Hilkhot Tumah, Sefer Torah, Mezuzah, Tefillin,* and *Ẓiẓit.* The only ones published are those on *Pesaḥim* (1955), *Sukkah* (in: M. Herschler (ed.), *Ginzei Rishonim*, 1962), *Rosh Ha-Shanah, Yoma, Ta'anit* ((1963); also in *Sefer Yovel I. Elfenbein*, 1963), and *Berakhot* (1967). His work on the laws of ritual slaughter *(Hilkhot Sheḥitah)* has been published in the introduction to *Shibbolei ha-Leket* (ed. by S.K. Mirsky (1966), 50–74). He also completed Solomon b. Shabbetai Anav's commentary on Aḥa of Shabḥa's *She'iltot* (from "*Ki Tavo*" onward; *She'iltot*, ed. S.K. Mirsky, 1 (1960), 38–9). His halakhic questions addressed to Avigdor b. Elijah of Vienna and the latter's replies are quoted in *Shibbolei ha-Leket*, written by his cousin and most outstanding pupil Zedekiah b. Abraham, and containing much of his teachings. He is not the author of *Tanya Rabbati* as some erroneously contend but the work was influenced by his writings. Of Judah's *piyyutim*, a *zulat* to *parashat "Shekalim"* is extant.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Azulai, 1 (1852), 98, no. 287 (RIF); 170, no. 49 (Shelomo mi-Trani); S.D. Luzzatto, *Iggerot*, 5 (1882), 669, no. 269; S. Buber (ed.), *Shibbolei ha-Leket ha-Shalem* (1886), 6–7, 11; Vogelstein-Rieger, 1 (1896), 277 ff., 377–8, 504 (index); S.K. Mirsky (ed.), *Perush R. Yehudah b. Binyamin Anav al-ha-RIF, Massekhet Pesaḥim* (1966), introd.; idem, *Shibbolei ha-Leket ha-Shalem* (1966), 35–74 (introd.).

[Shlomoh Zalman Havlin]

ANAV, ZEDEKIAH BEN ABRAHAM (13th century), Italian talmudist; author of the compendium, *Shibbolei ha-Leket* ("The Gleaned Ears"), which can perhaps be considered the first attempt in Italy at the codification of Jewish law. Although Zedekiah's exact dates are unknown, he was alive at the time of the burning of the Talmud in Paris, which he describes as having taken place in 1244 (*Shibbolei ha-Leket*, 263), although most historians place the event in 1242. At the time he wrote, Zedekiah lived in Rome, as is obvious from the many references to "the custom here in Rome." He received some of his education in Germany, where he was a pupil of Jacob of Wuerzburg. He also may have studied for a time with *Meir b. Baruch of Rothenburg.

The *Shibbolei ha-Leket* is a major halakhic compendium on the liturgy (with copious explanations of individual prayers, and a complete commentary on the Passover *Haggadah* and the laws regarding the Sabbath, holidays, and fasts). The work is extant in several manuscripts, with only minor variant readings. A comprehensive edition, containing sections on the laws of circumcision, *tefillin*, mourning, and ritually unclean food as found in the various manuscripts (but lacking in source references and notes), was first published by S. Buber in 1886. The first volume of a new critical edition by S. Mirsky, based on a 1260 manuscript in the Sassoon collection, appeared in 1966. A second work by Zedekiah, mistakenly thought by some to be a continuation of the first, is the *Sefer Issur ve-Hetter* ("Book of Prohibitions and Permissions"). Only 136 of its 173 chapters were published in a mimeographed edition from a deficient manuscript (Segullah, Jerusalem). This work deals with the dietary laws and with the laws of oaths, marriage and divorce, menstruating women, judges and witnesses, commerce (including partnership, loans, and usury), and inheritance.

Zedekiah's method is to state a particular case (or problem) and to cite the authorities, both ancient and contemporary, who have dealt with it. He then proceeds to discuss their points of view and, when required, refers to the talmudic source, often quoting novel interpretations. Only rarely does he give his own explanations and hardly ever does he render a decision. The two works are of great importance both in themselves and as sources of earlier material. Zedekiah quotes with equal facility from both the Occidental and the Oriental schools, citing more than 230 authorities by name in addition to references to the *geonim* and to anonymous sources. He cites in particular the decisions of *Isaiah b. Mali di Trani and the responsa of Avigdor b. Elijah.

The *Shibbolei ha-Leket* is arranged in 13 *arugot* ("rows"), i.e., sections, and 372 *shibbolim* ("ears"), i.e., chapters. *Sefer Issur ve-Hetter* is arranged straightforwardly in 173 chapters divided into several sections, some of which are introduced by poems usually bearing the author's name in acrostic as does the whole work. A shortened version of the *Shibbolei ha-Leket* was first printed in Venice in 1546 and achieved great popularity. There were at least two other abbreviated versions of the work, which was also plagiarized under the name of *Tanya Rabbati* (see *Anav, Jehiel b. Jekuthiel).

According to Ḥayyim Joseph David Azulai, Zedekiah also wrote notes to Isaiah di Trani's commentary to the Pentateuch. *Immanuel of Rome puts Zedekiah and his three sons among the prominent scholars and saints whom he meets in Paradise (canto 28, ed. D. Jarden, 2, 1957) and also addresses a dirge to him (canto 24) mourning the death of two of his sons within a month.

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[Raphael Posner]

ANČERL, KAREL (1908–1973), conductor. He studied composition and conducting at the Prague Conservatory with J. Křička and A. Habá, and finally became a pupil of V. Talich and H. Scherchen. He conducted at the theater (1931–33), the Symphony Orchestra of Prague Radio (1933–39), and also performed in festivals abroad. Forbidden to work by the Nazis, Ančerl was sent to Theresienstadt, were he played as a violinist and conducted a camp orchestra. In 1944 he conducted the premiere of Pavel Hass's *Study* for string orchestra. In late 1944 he was transported to Auschwitz. He was the only member of his family to survive the concentration camps. After the war, he dedicated all his efforts to renewing the musical life of Prague. In 1945 he was appointed conductor at the opera, resumed his post at the Prague Radio Symphony Orchestra (1947–50), and held a post as professor at the Prague Academy (1948–51). He took over the directorship of the Czech Philharmonic Orchestra (1950–68) and in spite of the Communist constraints he restored its international fame. Ančerl received the State Prize (1958) and was named National Artist (1966). While he was conducting in Tanglewood, the Russians invaded Prague. Ančerl immigrated to Canada and took over the leadership of the Toronto Symphony Orchestra, a post he retained, despite ill health, until his death. He was held in great esteem for his idiomatic interpretations of music from his homeland and his remarkable insight into masterworks of the 20th century. He made many recordings, which reflect his concentration, reflection, intuition, and musical warmth.

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[Naama Ramot ((2nd ed.)]

ANCHEL, ROBERT (1880–1951), French historian. An archivist-paleographer, he worked from 1912 until 1940 in the Archives Nationales in his native Paris. His major work was *Crimes et châtiments au XVIIIe siècle* (1934). Anchel devoted much of his scholarly activity to Jewish history. His principal contributions are *Napoléon et les Juifs* (1928), *Notes sur les frais du culte juif de 1815 à 1831* (1928), and *Les Juifs de France* (1946), a fragmentary but useful work. An objective, scrupulous historian, Anchel's work is characterized by the painstaking precision of an archivist, accompanied by the broad perspective of a historian. His presentation, however, is sometimes influenced by his desire to demonstrate the antiquity of the Jewish settlement in France and its continuity from the Middle Ages until the contemporary period, sometimes on the basis of slender evidence.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Feuerwerker, in: REJ, 112 (1953), 53–56; *Livret de L'Ecole des Chartes* (1936), 143; *Revue Historique*, 158 (1928), 296–383; Mathiez, in: *Annales historiques de la révolution Française*, 5 (1928), 372–83.

[Georges Weill]

ANCIENT OF DAYS. The King James Version of the Bible rendered both *attik yomin* in Daniel 7:9 and *attik yomayya* in verses 13 and 22 by the phrase "the Ancient of days," i.e., with the definite article *the* and with a capital *A*, hence with the clear implication that this was an appellation or epithet of God (like, e.g., "the God of heaven" in Dan. 2:18, 19, etc.); just as it rendered *kevar enash* in Daniel 7:13 by the phrase "one like the *Son of man," likewise with a capital letter preceded by the definite article, with the clear implication that the reference was to "the Son of man" of the Gospels, i.e., Jesus. All revisions of the King James Version, however – the Revised Version, the American Standard Version, and the Revised Standard Version (see *Bible Translations, English) – have recognized that this is precluded not only by the context but also by the very grammar of biblical *Aramaic and have consequently rendered *attiq yomin* in Daniel 7:9 by "one that was ancient of days"; *attiq yomayya* in Daniel 7:13, 22 by "the ancient of days" but without a capital *a* – *the* in this case meaning not "the well-known" but "the aforementioned" – and *kevar enash* in Daniel 7:13 by "one like unto a son of man" (with *a*, not *the*). For, of course, these expressions – exactly like "great beasts" in verse 3, "lion" and "eagle" in verse 4, "bear" in verse 5, etc. – do not purport to be designations of objective realities but only descriptions of figures seen in a dream. To be sure, the figures symbolize objective realities; and that the reality that corresponds to the figure of one of advanced age, with fleece white hair and snow white raiment, who sits on a throne of fire, surrounded by millions of attendants, and determines the fates of kingdoms and nations is God Himself, is so obvious that, unlike other features of the dream, it is not specifically interpreted in the second half of the chapter. One cannot, therefore, ask, "Why is God called the Ancient of Days in Daniel 7?" because He is not, but only, "Why is God represented in the vision of Daniel 7 by the figure of an ancient of days?" As for the explanation, no further one than His role there as the Lord of history is necessary, but an additional factor has been suggested. A vague recollection of a Canaanite tradition has been surmised on the basis of one of the epithets of El, the head of the Ugaritic pantheon, namely, *mlk ab šnm,* which is commonly interpreted as "the King, Father of Years." Such a connection would be possible, but not certain, even if the correctness of the rendering "Father of Years" for the Ugaritic *ab šnm* were certain. But in the first place, "years" is elsewhere in Ugaritic (as in Phoenician) not *šnm* but *šnt*; and in the second place, "father of" in the sense of "possessing" or "characterized by" is strictly an Arabic idiom. (That is why H.L. Ginsberg formerly translated "King Father Shunem," guessing that El was identified with the God Shunem who is known from the Ugaritic ritual texts – which has its difficulties. So has another possible solution: that *šnm* in this title is a doublet of *nšm* "men, people," so that *ab šnm* would be synonymous with El's other epithet *ab adm* "Father of Man[kind].")

That "ancient of days" is not an epithet of God in Daniel 7 does not constitute an objection to the liturgical use of it as such in English (in which it has a solemn and singularly beautiful ring), even if it probably is in large measure a result of the mistranslations of the King James Version cited above (see the Book of *Daniel).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: H.L. Ginsberg, *Studies in Daniel* (1948), 15–18, 70–71; J.A. Montgomery, *The Book of Daniel* (ICC, 1949^{2}), 297–8; A. Bentzen, *Daniel* (Ger., 1952^{2}), 61–62. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** B. Becking, in: DDD, 44–45.

[Harold Louis Ginsberg]

ANCONA (**Marche**), Adriatic seaport in Italy. According to Early Christian legends, the first bishop of Ancona was no less than the Great Rabbi of Jerusalem, who took the Christian name of Quincus after baptism. Jews were living near Ancona in 967. In that year a document attests that Peter, the archbishop of Ravenna, gave land in perpetual rent to the Jew Eliahu, son of Justus. In the Codex De Rossi, dated to the tenth century, there is a reference to Nathan, son of Machir, son of Menahem of Ancona. It seems that there was already a synagogue in Ancona, destroyed in the earthquake of 1279, as the *paytan* Solomon ben Moses ben Yekutiel De Rossi of Rome wrote a *seliḥah* on the subject.

By about 1300, there was an organized Jewish community in the city on whose behalf the poet *Immanuel of Rome sent a letter to the Rome community intimating that as the Ancona community was in economic straits and suffered from persecution, it should not be subjected to heavy taxation (*Maḥberet* 24). Most of the Jews who settled in Ancona came from the Muslim East. Jews probably engaged in moneylending in Ancona in the first half of the 15th century. There were also many merchants engaged in maritime trade with the Eastern Mediterranean. In 1427 the Franciscan Giacomo della Marca, an enthusiastic disciple of *Bernardino da Siena, tried to force the Jews in Ancona to wear the Jewish *badge and to restrict Jewish residence to a single street. He was in part successful, as the city senate indeed passed restrictive measures. Around 1450 the Jewish population of Ancona numbered 500 persons, representing 5% of the city's population. Both in 1456 and 1488 Jews were accused of ritual murder.

The arrival of refugees from the Iberian Peninsula opened a new chapter in the history of the Ancona Jewish community. The first to arrive, in 1492, were refugees from *Sicily. They were joined in 1497 by refugees from Portugal, and after 1510 by others from the Kingdom of *Naples. An order to wear the badge was again issued in 1524, but was revoked four years later. Solomon *Molcho visited the community in 1529 and stimulated messianic enthusiasm there. The assumption by the papal legate of authority in Ancona in 1532 had mixed results for the community. As Ancona was declared a free port, many Jewish merchants took advantage of its excellent harbor facilities to trade with the Levant. At first mercantile interests prevailed in papal policy and Pope Paul III invited merchants from the Levant to settle there regardless of their religion. In 1541 he encouraged the settlement of Jews expelled from Naples and in 1547 extended the invitation to Marranos, whom he promised to protect against the Inquisition. *Julius III renewed these guarantees, and about 100 Portuguese Marrano families apparently settled in Ancona. Jews from Germany also arrived in this period. Thus, around 1550 the Jewish community numbered around 2,700 persons.

In 1555, however, *Paul IV began to institute anti-Jewish measures in the Papal States. The Papal *Bull of July 12, 1555, was implemented in full in Ancona. The Jews were segregated in a ghetto, built the following year, prohibited from owning real property, and restricted to trade in second-hand clothing. Papal opposition to the Marranos proved particularly implacable, and a legate was sent to Ancona to take proceedings against them. Some managed to escape to Pesaro, Ferrara, and other places, but 51 were arrested and tried. Twenty-five were burned at the stake between April and June 1555. The horrors of the tragedy, mourned throughout the Jewish world, inspired touching elegies, still recited locally on the Ninth of Av. The event moved Dona Gracia *Nasi to organize a boycott of Ancona. The boycott, however, caused dissension within Jewry, some rabbis supporting the action while others opposed it, fearing that the pope might retaliate against Jews living under his jurisdiction.

Still, the legal position of Ancona Jewry changed more than once during the second half of the 16th century. It temporarily improved under Pius IV, but again deteriorated under Pius V in 1567. Ancona was one of the cities in the Papal States (together with Rome and Avignon) from which the Jews were not expelled by the Pope in 1569, being tolerated because of their utility in the Levant trade; nevertheless many decided to leave. Some amelioration was afforded by the favorably disposed Sixtus V in 1586 and Ancona was again exempted when *Clement VIII renewed the decree of expulsion in 1593. However by the beginning of the 17th century, the Ancona community was reduced to a state of debility that lasted through two centuries. Any temporary improvement that occurred was prompted by economic considerations. It is interesting that in 1659, when Pope Alexander VII ordered the closing of shops outside the ghetto, the city senate opposed him on the grounds that this would adversely affect the economic situation of the city. The decree was revoked. A local Purim was observed on Tevet 21 to commemorate the deliverance of the community from an earthquake that occurred on December 29, 1690.

In the 18th century the Ashkenazi community slowly began to emerge. The *Morpurgo family was the most important of the Ashkenazi families. In 1763 there were 1,290 Jews living in Ancona. As late as 1775 Pius VI again enforced all the most extreme anti-Jewish legislation.

During the occupation of Ancona by the army of *Napoleon between 1797 and 1799, the Jews were fully emancipated. The gates of the ghetto were removed, and two Jews, Ezechia and Salvatore Morpurgo, sat on the new municipal council, although the Jews, as well as the local population, were obliged to contribute heavy war levies. In 1814, after Napoleon's downfall, Ancona reverted to the Papal States, and in part the former discriminatory legislation was reimposed by Pope Leo XII. The revolutionary activity of 1831 resulted in the destruction of the gates of the ghetto. However, only in 1848 was obligatory residence in the ghetto abolished. Various Jews contributed to the Italian Risorgimento, such as David Almagià, Giuseppe Coen Cagli, and Pacifico Pacifici. Ancona Jews paid a high price for their participation in the Italian Risorgimento. In 1860 the pontifical general Lamoriciére demolished the Levantine synagogue to punish the Jewish community. The Jews obtained complete civic rights in 1861, when Ancona was annexed to the Kingdom of Italy. After the unification the richest elements of the community took part in the municipal life of the city. In 1869 Gioacchino Terni was called upon to direct the Chamber of Commerce, and from 1924 to 1927, Mario Iona. The Jewish population of Ancona numbered approximately 1,600 in the 19th century.

The size of the community and its widespread connections attracted many noted rabbis and scholars throughout the centuries, including the humanist *Judah Messer Leon (15th century), the physician *Amatus Lusitanus, and Moses *Basola (16th century), Mahalalel Hallelyah of Civitanova, Hezekiah Manoah Provenzal, Joseph Fermi (17th century), Samson *Morpurgo, Joseph Fiammetta (18th century), Jacob Shabbetai *Sinigaglia, Isaiah Raphael Azulai, David Abraham Vivanti, Isaac Raphael Tedeschi (19th century), and H. Rosenberg, who published several monographs on local history.

In 1938 there were 1,177 Jews in Ancona. During World War II, persecution was more individual than collective in character. The Germans, and eventually the Italian Fascists, demanded tributes to allow the Jews to live. In 1944 soldiers of the Jewish Brigade arrived in Ancona, and helped the community get back on its feet. In 1967, there were 400 Jews in Ancona. In 2004 the figure was around 200, with two synagogues in operation, the Levantine and the Italian, in the same building on Via Astagno. The original Levantine synagogue, originally erected in 1549 by Rabbi M. Bassola, was demolished in 1860, rebuilt in 1861 and inaugurated in 1876, utilizing elements of the previous synagogue.

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[Attilio Milano / Samuel Rocca (2nd ed.)]

ANCONA (D'Ancona), Italian family whose members were active in the Italian Risorgimento. ALESSANDRO (1835–1914), patriot, philologist, and literary critic. Born into a wealthy Pisa family, Alessandro studied at Pisa University. In these early years he joined the liberal circles in Tuscany seeking the liberation and unification of Italy. In 1854 he wrote his first essay, on the philosophy of the political reformer Tommaso Campanella, which brought him to the attention of the Liberal Party in Tuscany. He joined the staff of two Pro-Risorgimento newspapers in Florence, the *Genio* and the *Spettatore Italiano*. In 1854–59, he went to Turin, ostensibly to study law. In fact he played an important role in the liberal movement, acting as a liaison between Cavour, prime minister of the Kingdom of Sardinia, and the Liberal Party of Tuscany. Ancona became friendly with the Tuscan patriot Farini, and in 1859, when Tuscany was annexed to the Kingdom of Sardinia, he assumed the post of secretary of the Second Army Corps of Central Italy. Between 1859 and 1860, he promoted the cause of the Italian nationalists as editor of the liberal newspaper, *La Nazione*.

In 1860, Ancona gave up politics for literary scholarship; through the efforts of his friend Salvagnuoli, he was appointed deputy-professor of Italian literature at the University of Pisa (1861). The official occupant of the chair was no less than the celebrated critic De Sanctis. Later on he received the Chair of Italian Literature, a post he held until 1900. He was also vice president and director of the Regia Scuola Normale Superiore of Pisa and a member of the Academia Reale delle Scienze. In 1904 he became a member of the Italian Senate. A typical representative of the positivist trend in the study of Italian literature, Ancona made an important contribution to the study of medieval Italian literature as one of its first philologists. His philological research included the study of folklore material. He unearthed and edited many important documents and encouraged others to publish critical editions of 13th- and 14th-century texts. Ancona himself produced one of the most important anthologies of 13th-century Italian poetry, *Le antiche rime volgari, secondo la lezione del Codice Vaticano 3793* (1875). In *La poesia popolare italiana* (1878), he tried to prove that Italian poetry was developed mainly from popular verse. Other books dedicated to the early development of Italian popular literature were the *Canti del popolo reggino* (1881) and *Poemetti popolari italiani* (1889). In his attempt to trace the origin of medieval Italian prose tales, Ancona engaged in comparative research that involved the whole of European literature. Examples of this pioneering work are his study of the motif of the *Wandering Jew *La leggenda dell' Ebreo errante* (in *saggi di letteratura popolare,* 1913) and his examination of the development of religious theater in medieval Italy, *Le sacre rappresentazioni dei secoli XIV, XV, e XVI* (1873), a collection of old mystery plays with notes and commentary, on which he based his *Origini del teatro in Italia* (3 vols., 1877, 1891^2; 2 vols., 1966). It was in the second edition of the latter that he included a chapter on his important discoveries concerning the Jewish Renaissance Theater at Mantua (vol. 2, pp. 403–22 and 578–84). From his work published in the *Rivista Storica Mantovana* (1, p. 183) he revealed that there was at Mantua a company of Jewish actors who had won considerable fame in the 16th century and were obliged to play before the Dukes of Gonzaga between 1525 and 1597. About the same time, the playwright Leone (Judah) di *Sommo Portaleone was active. Ancona showed that at Venice, too, plays on Jewish themes and even one operetta were presented by Jews at intermittent periods between 1531 and 1607. Ancona surveyed the role and importance of Jews as actors and stage directors in the Italian Renaissance Theater. He also wrote many articles on Jewish literary personalities.

Ancona's contribution to the study of Italian literature includes his critical edition of Dante's *Vita Nuova* (1872) as well as the book *I precursori di Dante* (1874). His most important critical studies dedicated to individual Italian literary figures are those on the *Contrasto di Cielo d'Alcamo* (1884), the *Odi* of Giuseppe Parini (1884), and *Il Tesoro di Brunetto Latini* (1889).

Ancona founded the literary periodical *Rassegna bibliografica della letteratura italiana*, which he edited until 1912; his own articles appeared in leading scholarly journals.

His son PAOLO (1878–1964) was a celebrated art historian and educationalist. He was born in Pisa. In 1909 he was appointed professor of the history of medieval and modern art at the University of Milan. He was also a member of the Fine Arts Council of the Italian Ministry of Education. Among his publications are *Modigliani, Chagall, Soutine, Pascin, aspetti dell' expressionismo* (1952; Eng. translation, 1953); works on Italian miniature painting; and studies on the masters of the Italian Renaissance, including Piero della Francesca (1951) and Paolo Uccello (1959).

Alessandro's brother, SANSONE (1814–1894), born in Pisa, was an important journalist and politician in the Italian Risorgimento. In his youth, like his brother, he wrote for Tuscany's Liberal newspapers, the *Spettatore* and the *Nazione*. In 1859 he was appointed to the financial commission of the provisional government. He was chosen to write a report on the financial situation of the provisional government under the leadership of Ricasoli. Later, after the annexation, he was called upon by Cavour, the prime minister of the United Kingdom of Italy, to direct the "Department of Finances, Commerce, and Public Works" of Tuscany.

With two other Jews he sat in the parliament of united Italy in 1861, where he represented the moderate liberals, and in 1882 he was appointed a life member of the senate, on the floor of which he died in 1894.

His younger brother was the painter Vito d'*Ancona.

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[Joseph Baruch Sermoneta / Samuel Rocca (2nd ed.)]

ANCONA, CESARE D' (1832–1901), Italian geologist. D'Ancona was born in Pisa and studied geology under Meneghini. He was appointed professor of paleontology at the University of Florence in 1874. D'Ancona reorganized the section of tertiary malacology of the Central Italian Collection of Paleontology over a period of several years, and as a result, the Italian Geological Committee asked him to prepare a comprehensive, systematic survey of the malacology of the Italian pliocene and early quaternary. This survey, the first since the early study of G.B. Brocchi in 1808, was published in 1871–73 and became the standard work on the subject. In 1894 d'Ancona published a paper on the evolution of the horse, which earned him election to the Italian Royal Geological Association. He was cofounder and secretary of the Italian Botanical Society. His major publications are: *Sulle Neritine fossile dei terreni terziari superiori dell' Italia centrale* (1889); *Malacologia pliocenica italiana* (in *Memorie per servire all descrizione della carta geologica d'Italia*, 1 (1871), 305–63; 2 (1873), pt. 1, 171–264); *Gli antenati della vigna vinifera* (in *Atti della Accademia dei Georgofili di Firenze*, 13, 1890); *Storia genealogica del cavallo* (*ibid.*, 17, 1894).

[Yakov K. Bentor]

ANCONA, MARIO (1860–1931), Italian baritone singer. Born in Leghorn, Ancona was a lawyer and diplomat before he began to study singing. He made his debut in Trieste in 1890; and in 1892 he was taken to London by Lago for a short season at the Olympic Theatre. Engaged by Covent Garden in 1893, he sang regularly there until 1901, playing Tonio in the first London performances of Leoncavallo's *I Pagliacci* (1893). He sang regularly both in Italy and in New York – at the Metropolitan (1893–97), then with the Manhattan Opera for one season (1906–07). After World War I, he retired to Florence, where he taught singing until his death.

[Max Loppert (2nd ed.)]

ANCONA, VITO D' (1825–1884), Italian painter of the "Macchiaioli" School. He studied engraving with Samuele Jesi and then at the Florence Academy. In 1856 he left Florence for

Venice, where he lived for a long period. Back in Florence, he produced his first well-known painting, *Le Maschere*, clearly inspired by his Venetian stay. His painting *L'abbandonata* is dated to the year 1860 and the *Portico* to 1861. By then D'Ancona had adopted analytic composition. However, contrary to most of the Macchiaioli painters, who depicted contemporary subjects, Ancona favored in this period historical subjects. Thus, his best-known painting is the *Esilio di Giano della Bella* (1864), with a clear historical character. Towards the end of the decade he moved to Paris, where he was at home in the literary and artistic world, which included other Italian painters living there. In this period he painted mainly female nudes and scenes of domestic life. Back in Florence in 1875, he opened a studio at Borgo di Pinti. Already quite ill, he still found the strength to participate in the National Exhibition of painting at Naples in 1877, where he won a gold medal with the painting *A porte chiuse: figura di donna nuda*. In 1879, owing to his sickness, he had to give up painting completely.

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[Samuel Rocca (2nd ed.)]

ANDERNACH, city in the Rhineland, district of Coblenz, Germany. A Jewish community lived there toward the end of the 12th century under the protection of the archbishop of Cologne, who acquired Andernach in 1167. The ritual bathhouse, built in the 14th century, still exists. In 1287 the Jews were expelled, and the populace destroyed and pillaged the houses in the *Judengasse;* the archbishop, however, compelled the burghers to restore all property to the Jews and to expel the rioters from the city. The Jews again appear to have been driven out of Andernach in the first half of the 15th century, but evidently remained close to its walls. They were permitted to take refuge inside the city during emergencies, especially during the wars of 1573–1655. The community increased from a single Jewish resident in 1860 to about 140 by 1925. In 1939, only 45 Jews remained in Andernach. At least 11 died in the Holocaust. No Jews have lived there since World War II.

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[Zvi Avneri]

ANDERS, GUENTHER (**Stern**; 1902–1992), German philosopher, political writer, and novelist. Born in Breslau as the second child of psychologist William Stern and his wife, Clara, Anders was raised in an assimilatory milieu, or, in his own words, a "tradition of anti-traditionalism." In 1919, he began to study philosophy in Freiburg with Edmund *Husserl, who also supervised his Ph.D. thesis in the field of logic. In 1929 he married Hannah *Arendt (they were divorced eight years later). Two months after Hitler's election, Anders fled the Gestapo to Paris for three years. There he wrote his novel *Die molussische Katakombe*, a fierce examination of the conditions of thinking and story-telling under dictatorship (the manuscript was reworked several times and finally published after Anders' death in 1992). In 1936 he was awarded the Amsterdam Prize of Emigration for his novel *Der Hungermarsch*. In the same year he immigrated to the United States, where he developed the focus of his later thought: the status of man in the age of self-iterating technology. Far from being a question of "evolution," under Anders' argument the 20th century locates mankind at a crucial point of its development, i.e., within a process of industrial revolutions that sets up structures inevitably leading to the destruction of life and marginalizing man as a willing executor of his own agony. The triumph of technology over life presupposes the transformation of man into raw material. Herein the final significance of Auschwitz can be seen, a thought not least explicitly formulated in Anders' open letter to the son of Adolf Eichmann (*Wir Eichmannsoehne*, 1964). In his system of negative anthropology, Eichmann represents man under the reign of technical totalitarianism, willingly fulfilling the demands of the killing machinery and unable to recognize the monstrous consequences of his own deeds. (His guilt remains, since despite his blindness, people are always able to defy the progress of monstrosity.)

Thus the rise of technology, its manifestation as historical protagonist, must be viewed from the perspective of catastrophe. The scenery Anders chose for his principal work, *Die Antiquiertheit des Menschen* (Part 1, 1956; Part 2, 1980), is Hiroshima; the invention of the atom bomb – a product not answering any economic need, created to end all needs – becomes an initial proof of his apocalyptic reading of cultural history. After returning to Europe (Vienna) in 1950, Anders dedicated most of his efforts to political realities. While his philosophical approach seemed too unorthodox and isolated to enable an academic career (he was recommended by Ernst *Bloch for a professorship at the University of Halle, GDR), Anders was strongly committed to the protest against the Vietnam War (*Visit Beautiful Vietnam*, 1968) and proceeded to become one of the most prominent activists against military and civil uses of nuclear power (*Die atomare Drohung*, 1981; *Hiroshima ist ueberall*, 1982).

Along with several literary awards, Anders received the Deutscher Kritikerpreis (1967), the Österreichischer Staatspreis für Kulturpublizistik (1979), and the Theodor-W.-Adorno-Preis (1983).

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[Phillipp Theisohn (2nd ed.)]

ANDRADE, EDWARD NEVILLE DA COSTA (1887–1971), British physicist and author, who established "Andrade's Laws," concerning the flow of metals. Andrade was born and educated in London, and graduated from University College. He worked in Manchester with Rutherford, measuring the wavelength of gamma rays. In 1935 he was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society. He served as an artillery officer in World War I and after the war became professor of physics at the Artillery College, Woolwich, and later head of the physics department of University College, London. In 1950 he was appointed director of the Royal Institution and of its Davy-Faraday Research Laboratory. He resigned in 1952 after basic differences with the governing body. He carried out research at the Imperial College of Science on the electrical properties of flames and on radioactivity, and on the viscosity of liquids (here, too, a law bears his name). He was a noted historian of science, with special interest in Isaac Newton and Robert Hooke. His books, both scientific and popular, include *Structure of the Atom* (1923), *The Mechanism of Nature* (1930), *The Atom and Its Energy* (1947), *Sir Isaac Newton* (1954), *Physics for the Modern World* (1963), *Rutherford and the Nature of the Atom* (1964), and *Poems and Songs* (1949).

[Samuel Aaron Miller]

ANDRADE, VELOSINO JACOB DE (1639–1712), physician and philosophical author. Andrade was born in Pernambuco, Brazil, then under Dutch rule, the son of Portuguese parents who fled there when the Inquisition persecuted *Marranos. After the Portuguese recapture of Pernambuco in 1654, Andrade went to Holland where he first settled in The Hague and subsequently in Antwerp. In both places he devoted himself to the practice of medicine. After the death of *Spinoza in 1677, Andrade wrote a polemical work entitled *Theologo religioso contra o Theologo Politico de Bento de Espinosa que de Judeo sefez Atheista* directed against the latter's *Tractatus Theologico-Politicus.* A manuscript of Andrade's work may still be extant. It may be assumed that he joined the circle of S.L. *Morteira, who had participated in Spinoza's excommunication, and that his work reflects the views of that group.

Andrade also composed a six-volume work entitled *Messias restaurado: contra el libro de M. Jaquelot… intitulado Dissertaciones sobre el Messias.* This presents the Jewish view concerning the Messiah and is directed against a book in which Isaac Jaquelot, a minister of the Dutch Reformed Church, tried to substantiate Jesus' messianic claims from passages in Hebrew Scripture. Andrade translated Morteira's *Torat Moshe* from Hebrew into Portuguese under the title *Epitome de la verdad de la Ley de Moyses.*

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[Joseph Elijah Heller]

°**ANDREWES, LANCELOT** (1555–1626), Anglican bishop, one of the principal translators of the King James Version of the Bible (1611). Andrewes studied at Cambridge where he became a fellow in 1576, took his orders in 1580, and became master of Pembroke Hall in 1589. He was bishop of Chichester (1605), of Ely (1609), and of Winchester (1618). Andrewes knew many languages and it was said of him that he qualified as "interpreter general at Babel." Andrewes opposed the Puritan tendency to place less emphasis on ritual. He had a working knowledge of biblical Hebrew, but it is difficult to assess the depth of his Hebrew knowledge.

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°**ANDREW OF RINN** (Ger. **Anderle von Rinn**), alleged victim of a ritual murder (see *Blood Libel) on July 12, 1462. The murder was reputedly committed on the "Judenstein" in the neighborhood of Rinn near Innsbruck, Austria, in the diocese of Bressanone (Brixen). The perpetrators were said to be four Jewish travelers who had purportedly bought the child from his uncle. The cult of Andrew was introduced in Rinn in 1620, following the cult of Simon of Trent. Pope *Benedict XIV approved his equivalent beatification in 1752 but in 1755 refused to authorize Andrew's canonization and stated that the Roman Church did not formally venerate him. Despite repeated prohibitions by the Catholic Church and the Austrian government, there is an antisemitic cult of Andrew in Rinn up to the present time.

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[Bernhard Blumenkranz / Marcus Pycka (2nd ed.)]

°**ANDREW** (or **Andreas**) **OF SAINT-VICTOR** (c. 1110–1175), Christian Hebraist, probably English by birth; died as abbot of Wigmore (Herefordshire). Andrew was the pupil, in Paris, of Hugh of Saint-Victor (d. 1141), who was interested in Jewish biblical exegesis. Andrew acquired some proficiency in Hebrew, engaged in prolonged oral discussion with Jews, and was the first exegete after *Jerome to introduce Jewish material into a Christian Bible commentary on a substantial scale. His works cover Genesis through Kings, the Prophets (including Daniel), Proverbs, and Ecclesiastes (the last is the only one available in a printed edition; ed. by G. Calandra, 1948). The Vulgate is collated with the Hebrew text, and an embryonically critical attitude is adopted toward the sources, patristic and Jewish alike. Andrew's lack of concern with Christian theological tradition even allowed him to interpret the "Suffering Servant" of Isaiah 53 not as Jesus, but as Israel, or Isaiah himself. As an innovator, he was at first fascinated by his newfound Jewish sources and recited them indiscriminately. Later he assessed them more critically, though primarily from a rationalist rather than a theological standpoint. He evinced interest in biblical chronology and geography. His work parallels matter found in *Rashi and Joseph *Bekhor Shor. Andrew's work circulated quite widely, and in about 1271–72, Roger *Bacon, while commending his resort to the Hebrew text, deplored the prestige enjoyed by his "literalist" commentaries.

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[Raphael Loewe]

ANDROGYNOS (Gr. ἀνδρός man, γυνή woman), animal or individual having both male and female characteristics and organs, a hermaphrodite. Both the actual and the legendary androgynos are known in talmudic literature. The legal position and disabilities of the androgynos and a description of his abnormalities are collated in a number of *beraitot* in Tosefta *Bikkurim* 2. In many editions of the Mishnah that chapter is reproduced as chapter 4 of tractate *Bikkurim*, although there are noticeable differences between the two texts. In talmudic literature, the androgynos is nearly always mentioned together with the *tumtum*, a creature whose sex cannot be determined. According to the majority opinion, the laws relating to the androgynos are determined by the fact that it is doubtful whether it is male or female. As a result, in certain matters "it has the status of a male, in others that of a female, or of both, or of neither" (Bik. 4:1). R. Yose, however, is of the opinion that an androgynos is a "creature of its own," i.e., belonging to a third sex (cf. also Yev. 83a). Most of the laws affecting the androgynos are based upon the oft-repeated comment on the word "*zakhar*" ("male") occurring in Scripture, which is interpreted "(specifically) as 'male,' but not a *tumtum* or an androgynos" (cf. Naz. 2:7). The Midrash (Gen. R. 8:1) takes the verse "male and female" (Gen. 1:27) as referring to the creation of a single individual. Whereas R. Jeremiah b. Eleazar says that it refers to the creation of an androgynos, R. Samuel b. Naḥman says "It means that he created them with a double face (*du-parẓufin*) which was then severed in two." In the Talmud, however, only the latter view is found (Er. 18a, Ber. 61a). This view is similar to that mentioned in Plato's *Symposium* (190b), with the difference that Plato speaks of three types of "double-faced" creatures, masculine-masculine, feminine-feminine, and masculine-feminine, whereas only the third type is mentioned in rabbinic literature. Nevertheless the view of R. Jeremiah is quoted by the Christian Fathers, who were at pains to refute this "Jewish fable." Augustine, in his commentary *De Genesi ad Litteram* 3:22, refers to it, and Strabo declared it to be "one of the damnable fables of the Jews."

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[Bialik Myron Lerner / Stephen G. Wald (2nd ed.)]

ANDRONICUS SON OF MESHULLAM (Messalamus), Alexandrian sage. He lived during the reign of Ptolemy VI Philometor (180–145 B.C.E.). Andronicus acted as the spokesman of the Jews in a dispute that arose between the Jews and Samaritans in Alexandria. The Samaritans claimed that the sanctuary on Mt. Gerizim and not that of Jerusalem had been built according to the Law of Moses and demanded a public disputation between them and the Jews in the presence of Ptolemy Philometor. In the discussion, he demonstrated that the genuine high-priestly succession had been retained by the priests in charge of the Temple in Jerusalem, and that the sanctity of the Temple was unquestionable (since it was famous throughout the world and many kings had offered sacrifices). The king acknowledged the justice of Andronicus' arguments and sentenced his Samaritan opponents to death. According to Samaritan tradition, however, the Samaritan spokesmen, Sabbaeus and Theodosius, gained the day. They proved that before his death Moses had established Mt. Gerizim as the sole holy place from which the priests could bless the people (Deut. 27), but that this was not recognized by the Jews whose text of the Bible was later. According to the Samaritans, their argument was approved by Ptolemy Philometor, and he prohibited the Jews from going up Mt. Gerizim, on penalty of death.

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[Abraham Schalit]

ANER, ESHKOL, AND MAMRE (Heb. עָנֵר, אֶשְׁכֹּל, וּמַמְרֵא), three Amorite brothers, allies of Abraham (Gen. 14:13). They participated in Abraham's campaign against *Chedorlaomer, king of Elam, and his confederates who had waged battle against Sodom and other cities and had captured Lot and his family. After the victory Abraham refused any share in the spoils, but declared that Aner, Eshkol, and Mamre should receive theirs (Gen. 14:24). The *Genesis Apocryphon* (22:6; Aner is called there ענרם) explicitly accords the three brothers an active role in the battle with these kings.

The names Eshkol and Mamre are associated with Hebron. A wadi in the vicinity of the city is named Eshkol (Num. 13:23–24; 32:9; Deut. 1:24); and the particular spot near Hebron where Abram pitched his tent is called "the terebinths of Mamre" (Gen. 13:18; 14:13; 18:1). In Genesis 23:19 (cf. 35:27) Mamre is spoken of loosely as a former name of Hebron as a whole. According to B. Mazar, the ancient name of Hebron, Kiriath-Arba, implies that the city was a member of four neighboring confederated settlements in which the families of Mamre, Eshkol, and Aner resided, around the citadel of Hebron. However, these locations have not yet been identified archaeologically.

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ANFINSEN, CHRISTIAN BOEHMER (1916–1995), U.S. biochemist and Nobel laureate. Anfinsen was born in Monessen, Pennsylvania, the son of Norwegian immigrants, and converted to Judaism in 1980.

After moving to Philadelphia, he received his B.Sc. in chemistry at Swarthmore College (1937) and his M.Sc. in organic chemistry from the University of Pennsylvania (1939).

A research fellowship in Copenhagen was cut short by the onset of World War II. He received his Ph.D. in biological chemistry from Harvard (1943), where he worked until 1950. He worked at the National Institutes of Health (1950–80) where he became head of the Laboratory of Chemical Biology (1963). Anfinsen's research mainly concerned the relationship between protein structure and function but he had broad scientific interests, notably the molecular basis of evolution and protein purification. He was awarded the Nobel Prize for chemistry in 1972 (jointly with Stanford Moore and William *Stein) for proving that the three-dimensional, folded structures of protein chains depend partly on the amino acid sequences which make up protein chains and partly on the physiological milieu (the "thermodynamic hypothesis"). Later he applied the technique of affinity chromatography to protein isolation and purification, which enabled the production of large quantities of interferon and opened the way to advances in anti-viral and anti-cancer therapy. He also worked on the structure of enzymes related to the infectious properties of the bacterium staphylococcus. In 1982 he became professor of biology at Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, where he worked on extraordinary bacteria that thrive at high temperature on ocean floors, a property which may have practical applications. Anfinsen's many honors included election to the U.S. National Academy of Sciences (1963) and awards from the Hebrew University of Jerusalem (1985) and Bar-Ilan University (1990). He had a long association with the Weizmann Institute, where he was an honorary fellow (1962), a member of the Board of Governors (from 1962), and chairman of the Scientific Advisory Council (1974). Anfinsen's many activities arising from his broad social concerns included his protest with other Nobel laureates against U.S. budget cuts for biomedical research (1976), protests on behalf of political prisoners (in 1981, necessitating travel to Argentina), and criticism of the potential misuses of biotechnology.

[Michael Denman (2nd ed.)]

ANGARIA, transportation corvée. A postal system was introduced under the Achaemenian monarchy (see *Persia) for the transaction of official business between the various states in the Persian Empire and the imperial court. Herodotus (7:98) describes how the Persians divided the principal routes of the empire into stages, none of which exceeded a day's journey.

Although there are no data in the sources, the angaria must have been introduced in Ereẓ Israel by the Persians at the beginning of the Second Temple period, since the main coastal route to Egypt, then ruled by the government of the Persian king Cambyses, passed through it. The first mention of the angaria in Ereẓ Israel, however, dates from the Hasmonean period: release from it being included in the immunities which Demetrius II of Syria offered to the Jews (I Macc. 10:33). There is no mention of the angaria being imposed under the Hasmoneans. During the Roman period the highway between Sidon and Jerusalem was considered a principal route for the purposes of angaria, while the cities of Acre, Caesarea, Samaria, and Beth-El were important stations along it. The Jerusalem-Antipatris highway was also a principal route, its important stations being Emmaus and Lydda. Although the original institution of the angaria was as a postal service, the term came to mean impressment for nearly any public service. Not only were animals requisitioned, but men were conscripted to perform tasks quite unrelated to the *cursus publicus.* Thus, R. Zeiri (third-fourth centuries) relates that he was forced *be-angaria* to bring myrtles to the palace (TJ, Ber. 1:1, 2d). It is related of Eleazar b. Ḥarsom, a member of a high-priestly family, that his servants failed to recognize him when they encountered him with a sack of flour on his shoulder traveling to study the Torah and seized him for the duty of angaria (Yoma 35b). The third century was a period of economic and administrative breakdown, and the angaria served as a pretext for the imposition of all manner of burdens, levies, and confiscations (e.g., Lev. R. 12:1). In this period animals were requisitioned, but never returned (BM 78a–b); but this may have been a purely Babylonian phenomenon, as it is not mentioned in the parallel Jerusalem Talmud (BM 7:3, 11a; cf. TB, BM 49b). As a result, in rabbinic literature, the term came to mean any act done unwillingly; cf. the statements that Israel accepted the Torah *be-simḥah* ("joyfully") and not *be-angaria* (PR 21:99) and that the sun runs its daily course with delight, and not *be-angaria* (Mid. Ps. to 12:12), though here there is a subtly pointed allusion to the original connotation, the *cursus publicus.*

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[Joshua Gutmann and Daniel Sperber]

ANGEL, AARON (1913–1996), Sephardi rabbi in Argentina. Angel was born in Komotine, Greece. He graduated from the Rabbinical Seminary of Rhodes and studied philosophy at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. In 1940 he was named chief rabbi of Alexandria and a member of the *bet din* (rabbinical court) of Egypt. Following the Sinai War in 1956 the Jews were compelled to emigrate from Egypt. Angel was one of the last to leave. In 1958 he settled in Buenos Aires, Argentina, and from then until his death served as chief rabbi of the Asociación Comunidad Israelita Sefaradí de la Argentina – the Ladino-speaking community. In his 42 years in Buenos Aires he was the spiritual and social leader of the Sephardi community and active in strengthening formal Jewish education. He taught in the Midrasha Haivrit and founded the Maimonides Jewish primary school, serving as its principal until 1989.

In 1988 he received the Jerusalem Award for Jewish education in the Diaspora from the World Zionist Organization and the Jewish Agency for Israel.

[Efraim Zadoff (2nd ed.)]

ANGEL, BARUCH (1595–1670), talmudist, preacher, and kabbalist of Salonika. Angel, head of the Talmud Torah Yeshivah, was one of the outstanding scholars of his age. His disciples included David *Conforte, Solomon b. Samuel Florentin, and Isaac Florentin. In 1651 he was one of the seven foremost scholars of the city. He signed a regulation dealing with a tax on clothing. He was invited to accept the appointment of rabbi of Smyrna but refused, because he was unwilling to encroach upon the domain of the incumbent rabbi. His published works are *Ḥiddushei ha-Rav Barukh Angel* (Salonika, 1716), on selected chapters of various tractates, and responsa (*ibid.*). His glosses to the Shulḥan Arukh, *Ḥoshen Mishpat*, are included in the *Doresh Mishpat* (Salonika, 1650) of his disciple, Solomon Florentin. A work on the tractates *Ketubbot* and *Shevu'ot* exists in manuscript form at the Israel National Library.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: I.S. Emmanuel, *Maẓẓevot Saloniki*, 1 (1963), 371–2, no. 840.

ANGEL, MARC D. (1945–), U.S. Sephardi rabbinical leader and scholar. Angel was born in Seattle, Wash., the son of Sephardi immigrants from Rhodes and Tekirdag, Turkey, and nephew of veteran Sephardi rabbi Solomon Maimon. Angel received his B.A., Ph.D., and rabbinical ordination from Yeshiva University in New York, with an M.A. in English literature from the City College of New York. From 1969 he served as rabbi of the Shearith Israel Spanish and Portuguese Synagogue in New York.

Angel wrote about 20 books on Sephardi history, tradition, and customs; mourning; rabbinic thought; and ethics, and many scholarly and popular articles. He won the 1988 National Jewish Book Award in the category of Jewish thought. His doctorate on the history of the Jews of Rhodes was a pioneering study in the field.

Angel also served as president of the Rabbinical Council of America, was founder, president, and honorary president of Sephardic House, and subsequently became vice president of the American Sephardi Federation and chairman of the Rabbinic Advisory Committee of the Jewish National Fund. He was a board member of the New York Federation of Jewish Philanthropies, the HealthCare Chaplaincy, CancerCare, and many other organizations. He was on the Board of Governors of the Orthodox Union (OU) and a member of the editorial board of *Tradition*.

Angel received the National Rabbinic Leadership Award of the Orthodox Union, the Bernard Revel Award of Yeshiva University for Religion and Religious Education, and the Finkle Prize of the New York Board of Rabbis.

Representing the Spanish and Portuguese Synagogue founded in 1654, Angel developed sympathy for the American Indian and in 1993 delivered a eulogy at Wounded Knee for the Native Americans killed there by soldiers of the United States Army.

[Yitzchak Kerem (2nd ed.)]

ANGEL, MEIR BEN ABRAHAM (c. 1564–c. 1647), rabbi and preacher. Angel was born in Sofia, where his father was a communal leader. His family immigrated to Safed in his youth and there he studied under Samuel *Uceda, Eleazar Ascari, and Ḥayyim *Vital; he also mentions Israel *Saruk as his teacher. Angel returned to his native town where he was appointed rabbi and preacher. He later served in other communities, including Belgrade. He visited Constantinople before 1620. His sermons were unique in form, as they were based on a homiletical explanation of the *Masorah Magna* of the Bible. He followed and developed the homiletic system of Jacob b. Asher and of Moses Alshekh, with his own kabbalistic comments. Angel published *Masoret ha-Berit* (Cracow, 1619), a commentary on more than 600 masoretic readings in alphabetical order, which was immediately in very great demand and was rapidly sold. He thereupon published *Masoret ha-Berit ha-Gadol* (Mantua, 1622) on 1,650 readings. His *Keshet Neḥushah*, an ethical work in rhymed prose, was published at Belvedere near Constantinople in 1593 by the press of Donna Reyna, the widow of Don Joseph Nasi. According to Conforte, Angel returned to Safed after 1622 and died there. The high esteem in which Angel was held by his contemporaries can be seen in the eulogy of Solomon Algazi (printed in *Ahavat Olam* (1643), sermon 20).

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ANGEL, SHEMAYAHU (1810–1874), Turkish banker, merchant, and philanthropist. Angel provided generous support for the Jews of Syria and other Jewish communities throughout the Levant. He was born in Rosetta, Egypt, and settled in Damascus in 1832 after Muhammad ʿAli's occupation of Syria. There he used his wealth, reputation, and influence with the Ottoman authorities to help the local Jewish community, which suffered from the 1840 *Damascus Affair and the 1860 Druze revolt. Angel provided material assistance for the Ottoman troops engaged in suppressing the revolt and successfully extricated many Jews from alleged involvement in the uprising. Sultan Abdül Aziz decorated him and a guard of honor was present at his funeral. Angel's writings include "Les Biens de Mainmorte de la Communauté Israélite," in: *Hamenorah*, 4, no. 5 (May 1926), 133–44.

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[Joachim O. Ronall]

ANGEL OF DEATH (Heb. מַלְאַךְ הַמָּוֶת, *malakh ha-mavet*). The polytheistic concept of a specific deity of *death who is responsible for the origin and constant occurrence of death on earth (cf. the Canaanite idea of the god *Moth*) was rejected by Jewish monotheism. According to the Bible, God is the master of death and of life. The origin of death is motivated not by the actions of an anti-human supernatural being, but through man's own sin (cf. the formulation of Adam's punishment in Gen. 3:22–23). Death, however, is often personified in the Bible; the fact that he has emissaries and a host of angels alludes to his independence of God (cf. Prov. 16:14; Hos. 13:14). These allegorical notions, probably survivals of a polytheistic influence on the Bible, are dominated by the more pervasive concept that only God possesses the power to return mortal man to dust (cf. Job 10:9). This power He delegates to a "messenger" (*malakh*), one of His many angel servants. A cruel snatcher of souls, the "Angel of the Lord" who "smites" and "destroys" human beings (cf. II Sam. 24:16; Isa. 37:36) is called the destroyer (Ex. 12:23; II Sam. 24:16) and is described as standing between earth and heaven, with a drawn sword in his hand (I Chron. 21:15–16). The Bible only refers to a temporary messenger and the instances in the Bible in which death is personified (Prov. 16:14; 17:11; 30:12; Ps. 49:15; 91:3; Job. 18:14) do not point to a constant sacred power or to a permanent angel whose function it is to terminate life on earth.

Only in post-biblical times did the concept of an Angel of Death who acted independently emerge. In popular belief, he was conceived as an amalgam of forms and concepts which had their biblical associations with death, cruelty, and wretchedness. The Angel of Death was also identified with the horrifying and dreadful ogres and demons described in the oral tradition, in the literature of the ancient Near East, and in the literatures of medieval Europe ("devil" and "Satan"). An active supernatural being, interested not only in fulfilling God's orders, but also on his own initiative, in fighting, harming, and destroying man, the Angel of Death is identified in the Talmud (BB 16a) with *Satan ("Samael") and with *yeẓer ha-raʿ* ("evil inclination"). He symbolizes the demoniac forces, which were responsible for Adam's fall and which continue to fight his descendants.

In folklore, the Angel of Death is described allegorically: He is full of eyes (nothing escapes him), a diligent reaper (cf. Jer. 9:20), an old man holding a sword dripping poison into the mouths of mortals, etc. (cf. Av. Zar. 20b; Ar. 7a). But mostly he appears disguised as "a fugitive and wanderer" (cf. Gen. 4:12 on Cain, the first being to take another man's life), a beggar, a peddler, and an Arab nomad. Since the Angel of Death is only a messenger in Jewish tradition, his powers are limited and depend on his master's (God's) decrees and orders. Thus there are remedies to overcome the Angel of Death and weapons against him. In general folk literature, the combatants of death endeavor to find the "herb of life" (cf. the Gilgamesh epics), or go in quest of magic means to attain *immortality. In normative Jewish legends, the study of the Torah, or some exceptional act of piety or benevolence, replaces the magic weapons generally used against death (cf. the folk exegesis on Prov. 10:2; 11:4 – Charity delivers from Death). There are, therefore, many heroes, most of them biblical, who defeated the Angel of Death with their efficacious prayer, constant study, and outstanding acts of charity for a short or longer period. In the numerous versions of the legend about the death of *Moses (*Midrash Petirat Moshe*), Moses succeeds in chastising Samael who comes to fetch his soul. Only God's promise that He Himself would take the soul induces Moses to lay down his staff with the engraved Ineffable Name which had made the Angel of Death flee in terror. One of the post-biblical heroes who defeated the Angel of Death was R. *Joshua b. Levi. He seized the slaughtering knife and even came close to abolishing death forever. Only God's intervention brought about the sage's surrender (Ket. 776).

Several of the animals that achieved immortality, among them the *milḥas* or *ziz* birds (aggadic equivalents of the phoenix), as well as many of the persons who entered Paradise alive, "without tasting death" (cf. Ginzberg, Legends, 5 (1925), 96), reached their goal after a successful confrontation with the Angel of Death. The confrontation of mortals with the Angel of Death is a theme prevalent in folk literature and in popular traditions. The three main types of narrative in which the motif is found reflect man's ambivalent attitude toward death:

(1) Where the Angel of Death is defeated, mainly by means of deception. Legends of this kind have mostly a humorous tone, as the cheated and fooled Angel of Death is a grotesque and stupid character. Man's victory reflects his wishful thinking and longing to alter his mortal fate, or at least to postpone his time of death. The heavenly decree of death and the determination of each man's span of life are, indeed, irrevocable; since the executor, however, is not God Himself, the possibility exists to escape the messenger and to extend at least the span of life, if immortality in life itself cannot be attained. This narrative is associated with many motifs found in the universal tales of the "stupid ogre" and the "beaten devil." The Angel of Death is tricked into missing the right moment for taking the soul. He is fooled by the change of the doomed mortal's name (a tale still found in current folk literature in all Jewish communities); fails to identify the man whose soul he is supposed to fetch; marries a termagant who torments him and is at a loss to comprehend the queer conduct of Jews, etc. Already at creation the Angel of Death is cheated by the fox and the weasel: he thinks their reflections which he sees in the sea to be them. This fable in the Alphabet of *Ben Sira, which is similar to Far Eastern tales that originated in India, has been the subject of much comparative research and investigation.

(2) The cruel and stubborn Angel of Death as hero of tales of horror and magic. In this narrative, mortals upon meeting the terrible Angel of Death accept his authority submissively with their heart full of fear. In the Talmud, R. Naḥman is reported as having said: "Even if the Almighty were to order me back upon earth to live my life all over again, I would refuse because of horror of the Angel of Death" (MK 28a; see Rashi *ibid.*). In this narrative, the Angel of Death cannot be induced to swerve from his course; he is also the source of

magic knowledge, including medicine. In the stories belonging to this type of narrative, the Angel of Death is a physician of excellent repute (or an assistant to a physician). He controls sickness, diseases, and plagues (his messengers). Sly, he takes man's life prematurely, frightens and harms people, and is merciless and brutal. In the Book of Jubilees (10:1–13), Noah prays that the wicked spirits will not destroy him and his sons, and God answers his prayer. However, He allows only one tenth of the "malignant ones" to remain, ruling that Noah be taught all of the medicines for their diseases so that he might cure them with herbs.

(3) The compassionate Angel of Death is the outgrowth of man's optimism and wishful thinking. In this narrative the Angel of Death, though inherently cruel, can be moved to mercy and concession by a mortal's exceptional deed. The narrative includes the numerous Jewish versions of the Greek Alcestis (Indian Savitri) motif (cf. A. Jellinek, *Beit ha-Midrash*, 5 (1938^2), 152–4) where the wife offers the Angel of Death her own life as substitute for that of her husband or fiancé. In one of the versions (cf. M. Gaster, *The Exempla of the Rabbis* (1968^2), no. 139), the Angel of Death, seeing the devotion and readiness of self-sacrifice of the bride of Reuben the Scribe's son (after his parents had refused to serve as substitute), sheds a "tear of mercy." The Almighty then grants the couple 70 additional years of life, proclaiming: "If he who cruelly kills souls [i.e., the Angel of Death] has been filled with mercy for them, shall not I who am 'merciful and gracious' [Ex. 34:6] show compassion toward them?" To this narrative belong also the stories of the helpful Angel of Death who rewards a benevolent man, consoles people after a disaster, etc.

In most of the legends in the three types of narratives, the encounter between the mortal and the Angel of Death takes place on the mortal's wedding night when either bride or bridegroom is doomed to die and opposes the executor. The evil demon Asmodeus (or Ashmedai) slays the seven husbands of Sarah so that she can become a wife to Tobias, in the apocryphal book of Tobit (3:8, 17). In another post-biblical work, the Testament of Solomon, Asmodeus informs the king that his object is to plot against the newly married and bring calamities upon them. Solomon learns how to subdue him (as in Tobit 8:2) and harnesses him for work in the building of the Temple. Jewish preachers and storytellers associated either the defeat or the concession of the Angel of Death, occurring specifically on that occasion, not only with the "wedding versus death" motif which intensifies the contrast in the narrative but also with the biblical prophecy, "And then shall the virgin rejoice in the dance, and the young men and the old together, for I will turn their mourning into joy" (Jer. 31:12). Homiletic interpretation of this verse could easily associate it with the motifs extant in the "Angel of Death at the wedding" stories. The motif of a young girl unsuccessfully imploring the Angel of Death (an aged, white-haired gentleman) not to take her life is very common in Yiddish folk ballads (cf. N. Priluzki, *Yidishe Folkslider*, 2 (1913), 1–42: Songs and Tales of Death). Unlike the folktales, the ballads end tragically.

The Angel of Death played also an important role in the Jewish dance of death, where he capered with sinners (mostly misers) of all classes and professions. His movements, mostly grotesque, as was the whole dance (performed by wandering troupes of paupers), highlighted the feeling of "memento mori" (cf. Ecclus. 7:38). The performances given mostly on festive and gay occasions (weddings, Purim meals, etc.) offset the surrounding glamour, joy, and splendor. The dancing Angel of Death often recited or sang; in his song he stressed the vanity of mortal and perishable values and contrasted them to everlasting and immortal merits and piety.

In many of the Jewish folk customs related to death, *burial, *mourning, and folk medicine, the traditional acts are directed against the unseen source of the disaster, the Angel of Death. Practices which do not seem to bear a direct affinity to the Angel of Death (closing the eyes of the dead, pouring out the water in a house where death had occurred, breaking pots, mourners' meals, narrating *theodicy folktales, etc.) go back to old folk beliefs in which the Angel of Death, or demons affiliated with him, played a dominant role. Most of these beliefs are no longer current. A comparison of past and present mortuary and funeral customs, traditions, and beliefs in Eastern and Western Jewish communities and those in the culture areas of these communities can contribute toward a reconstruction of the original affinities between belief and rites with regard to the Angel of Death.

The impersonation of the Angel of Death led to the extension of his traits and characteristics to the members of his family and servants etc. Indeed, in Jewish-Islamic folk legends, Azrail (the name of the angel who removes the soul from the dying body) is married, has children, sends emissaries (diseases, old age), etc. This also holds true for Samael in East Europe who is often identified with the Angel of Death himself. He is married to *Lilith, who, beside her Satanic functions of luring and seducing men, also performs duties on behalf of her husband, the Angel of Death: she kills babies, harms pregnant women and those giving birth, etc. She fights life and human attempts to continue its successive chain in the same way as the Angel of Death. In many folktales, the Angel of Death is tormented by his wife (cf. Eccles. 7:26; where "death" became personified), his sons often suffer (one of them usually accepts his father's advice and becomes a physician), and all the family members suffer from various disasters and calamities. The motifs in these tales are mainly man's revenge on the Angel of Death and the consolation that man finds in this revenge; the concept being that as long as man has no other means to overcome his eternal and, in the end, always successful adversary, his only way out is through ridicule and irony.

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[Dov Noy]

ANGELS AND ANGELOLOGY. The entry is arranged according to the following outline:

- **Bible**
  - TERMINOLOGY
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  - THE ANGEL OF THE LORD
  - IN THE HAGIOGRAPHA
  - SILENCE OF THE PROPHETS
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  - DANIEL
- **Apocrypha**
  - AMONG THE JEWISH SECTS
  - FUNCTIONS OF ANGELS
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- **Mysticism**
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  - MAIMONIDES
  - AVICENNA AND AVERROES
- **Modern Period**

Bible

Many biblical writers assume the existence of beings superior to man in knowledge and power, but subordinate to (and apparently creatures of) the one God. These beings serve as His attendants, like courtiers of an earthly king, and also as His agents to convey His messages to men and to carry out His will.

TERMINOLOGY. These beings are clearly designated by the English word "angel." The terminology of biblical Hebrew is not so exact. *Malʾakh* (מַלְאָךְ), the word most often used, means "messenger" (cf. Ugaritic *lak* "to send"). It is applied frequently to human agents (e.g., Gen. 32:4) and is sometimes used figuratively (e.g., Ps. 104:4). This term was rendered in the Greek Bible by *angelos* which has the same variety of meanings; only when it was borrowed by the Latin Bible and then passed into other European languages did it acquire the exclusive meaning of "angel." Post-biblical Hebrew employs *malʾakh* only for superhuman messengers, and uses other words for human agents. Apparently for greater clarity, the Bible frequently calls the angel the *malʾakh* of God; yet the same title is occasionally applied to human agents of the Deity (Hag. 1:13; Mal. 2:7). Elsewhere angels are called *ʾelohim* (usually "god" or "gods"; Gen. 6:2; Job 1:6), more often *bene ʾelohim* or *bene ʾelim* (lit. "sons of gods") – in the general sense of "divine beings." They are also known as *kedoshim (qedoshim;* "holy beings"; Ps. 89:8; Job 5:1). Often the angel is called simply "man." The mysterious being who wrestled with Jacob is first called a man, then *ʾelohim* (Gen. 32:24 (25), 28 (29), 30 (31)), but Hosea refers to him also as a *malʾakh* (Hos. 12:5). As a result of this diversity, there are some passages where it is uncertain whether a human or superhuman messenger is meant. The Bible also speaks of winged creatures of angelic character called *cherubim and seraphim, who serve a variety of functions. A further ambiguity is due to the fact that the Bible does not always distinguish clearly between God and His messenger. Thus, Hagar encounters an angel, but later addresses "the Lord that spoke unto her" (Gen. 16:7, 13; similarly 21:17ff.). It is God who commands the sacrifice of Isaac; later Abraham is addressed by the angel of the Lord from heaven (Gen. 22:1ff., 11-18). The angel of the Lord appears to Moses in the burning bush (Ex. 3:2), but through the rest of the story Moses converses with the Deity. So, too, in the Gideon story, Gideon speaks sometimes with God, sometimes with the angel of God (Judg. 6:11ff.). Some scholars infer from this phenomenon that the angel was not regarded as an independent being, but simply as a manifestation of the Divine power and will. Others suppose that in the earliest version of these stories a human being was confronted directly by God, and that later scribes toned down the boldness of this concept by interposing an angel.

ANGELS AS A GROUP. Micaiah describes a vision in which the Lord is seated on His throne, with the host of heaven standing by on His right and left (I Kings 22:19; II Chron. 18:18). But frequently the phrase "host of heaven" means the heavenly bodies (Deut. 4:19; Jer. 8:2, etc.). Similarly, Isaiah (ch. 6) sees the Deity enthroned while the seraphim proclaim His holiness and majesty. One of the seraphim purifies Isaiah by a symbolic act, so that, unlike Micaiah, he becomes not a witness to but a participant in the ensuing deliberation of the council (cf. Zech. 3:7b), and when the Lord, as in Micaiah's vision, calls (like El in the council of the gods in the Ugaritic Epic of Keret) for a volunteer, Isaiah responds. In the ancient cosmic hymn Psalms 89:1–3, 6–19, the goodness of God is praised by the assembly of the holy beings because, the psalmist emphasizes, He is incomparably greater than they and they stand in awe of Him (Ps. 89:6–9). This last is similarly stressed in two other early compositions (see Ex. 15:11 and Ps. 29). Not improbably, the motif arose in an age when it was not yet a platitude that "the assembly of the holy beings" or "the company of the divine beings" (Ps. 29:7) is not a pantheon of real gods. So, no doubt, did the practice of representing those beings as standing before God, who alone is seated (I Kings 22:19; Isa. 6:2; Zech. 3:1–7, especially 3:7 end; Job 1:6; 2:1). The exception, Isaiah 14:13, only confirms the rule: the speaker there is a pagan. Despite the masoretic pointing *dina*ʾ ("the Tribunal") in Daniel 7:10, 20, the scruple may have persisted into the second century C.E., since the context favors rather the interpretation of the consonantal graph דינא as *dayyana*ʾ ("the Judge"). Related to the deuteronomic idea that the Lord actually assigned the heavenly bodies and the idols to the Gentiles but chose Israel to worship him (Deut. 4:15–20; 29:25) is the remarkable passage (Deuteronomy 32:8–9): "When the Most High gave nations their homes and set the divisions of men, He fixed the borders of peoples according to the numbers of the divine beings (בְּנֵי אֵל; so a Qumran fragment, in agreement with the Septuagint). But the Lord's own portion is His people, Jacob His own allotment." The masoretic reading בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל "the children of Israel" for the reading of the Qumran fragment and the Septuagint cited above is a conflation of the latter and of a variant שָׂרֵי אֵל, "the ministers of God." This variant is not attested directly, but its existence may be deduced from the fact that it would account both for the masoretic reading in Deuteronomy 32:8 and for the use of שַׂר, "minister" in Daniel 10:20 twice, 21; 12:1. For these passages are obviously nothing but a bold development of Deuteronomy 32:8–9. Their doctrine is that the fates of nations are determined by combats among the celestial "ministers" to whom they have been assigned and that (despite Deut. 32:9) Israel also has a "minister," Michael, who is assisted by another angel, Gabriel. In Job, the divine beings appear before God as a body, perhaps to report on the performance of their tasks and to obtain fresh orders; one of them is the Satan, who carries out his functions under God's directions (Job 1:6ff.; 2:1ff.). The angels seen by Jacob ascending and descending the ladder (Gen. 28:12) seem to be messengers going forth on their several errands and coming back to heaven to report.

THE ANGEL OF THE LORD. The narrative books offer many instances of an angel – rarely, two or more – delivering a message or performing an action, or both. The angel appears in human form, and sometimes is not immediately recognized as an angel. The appearance of an angel to Hagar (Gen. 16:7ff.; 21:17ff.) and to Abraham at Mount *Moriah (Gen. 22:11ff.) was noted above. Further, three "men" visit Abraham to announce the birth of Isaac; two of them go on to Sodom to warn Lot to flee and to destroy the city (Gen. 18:1ff.; 19:1, 13ff.). The angel of God appears to Jacob in a dream, says "I am the God of Beth-El," and bids him return to his home (31:11ff.). The angel of God plays a role, not entirely clear, in the events at the Sea of Reeds (Ex. 14:19ff). In the *Book of the Covenant, God promises to send His angel to lead the Israelites and to overcome the obstacles to their entrance into the promised land. God's name is in the angel, who must be faithfully obeyed (23:20ff.). When Balaam accedes to Balak's plea for help, the angel of the Lord comes as an adversary to the enchanter. The angel is visible to the she-ass, but Balaam cannot see the angel until the Lord opens his eyes (Num. 22:22ff.). When the "captain of the host of the Lord" appears to Joshua, the latter does not at first realize that his visitor is an angel (Josh. 5:13). The *mal'akh* of the Lord in Judges 2:1ff., 10 and 5:23 may be a prophet; but the visitor who summons Gideon to leadership and performs wonders is clearly an angel (*ibid.* 6:11ff.). The same is true of the emissary who foretells the birth of Samson, and whose angelic nature is made manifest only when he ascends to heaven in the altar flame (*ibid.* 13:2ff., esp. 16, 20). An angel with a drawn sword is the agent of the pestilence in the days of David (II Sam. 24:16–17; I Chron. 21:15ff.; the drawn sword is mentioned also in the Balaam and Joshua incidents). The old prophet pretends he has received a revelation from an angel (I Kings 13:18). An angel appears once in the Elijah stories (*ibid.* 19:5ff.). The army of Sennacherib is destroyed by the angel of the Lord (II Kings 19:35; Isa. 37:36; II Chron. 32:21). The angel of the Lord appears two times in Psalms: in 34:8, he protects the righteous; and in 35:5–6, he brings doom upon the wicked.

IN THE HAGIOGRAPHA. Other references to angels in the Psalms are scattered throughout the book. In a few places, angels are called on to join with the rest of creation in praising God (Ps. 29:1; 103:20–21; 148:2; cf. 89:6ff.; in 96:7, the phrase "families of the nations" is substituted for the "sons of God" of 29:1; Ps. 78:49 and 104:4, most probably refer to forces of nature that perform God's will). In Psalms 91:11–12, God commands His angels to protect the faithful from harm. The other Hagiographa have little to say about angels. The only possible allusion, in Proverbs 30:3, is doubtful. In Job, aside from the references to the "sons of God," angels are mentioned only by the three friends and Elihu. The friends point out that even the angels, the holy ones, are not flawless, and that man is still further from perfection (Job 4:18; 5:1; 15:15). Elihu speaks of an angelic intercessor for man (*ibid* 33:23–24), but the passage is obscure. The subject matter of the Five Scrolls is such that no special significance need be attached to their silence on the subject of angels (Eccles. 5:5 is hardly relevant).

SILENCE OF THE PROPHETS. The prophets, except Ezekiel and Zechariah, say almost nothing about angels. In all pre-Exilic prophecy, there are just two passages in which angels are mentioned. One is the rather obscure reference to the Jacob story in Hosea (12:5–6; contrast v. 14). It has been explained as a satirical attack on the cult of the angel (or divinity) Beth-El (see Ginsberg, in: JBL, 80 (1961), 343–7; cf. Gen. 31:11–12). The other is Isaiah's initial vision (6:1ff.), in which the winged seraphim have a prominent part. Thereafter, Isaiah makes no mention of angels (33:7 is obscure and probably not Isaianic). Jeremiah is completely silent on the subject; so is (according to the critical theory) the roughly contemporaneous Book of Deuteronomy. In the Exilic period, Deutero-Isaiah does not mention angels (Isa. 63:9 does mention the "angel of His presence," but the Greek reads – probably correctly: "No messenger or angel; it was His presence that saved them"). Special significance is attached to the fact that Haggai calls himself (1:13) "the messenger of the Lord with the message of the

Lord" (*mal'akh ʾElohim be-mal'akhut ʾElohim*) – apparently to stress the thought that God's emissary to man is a prophet, not a supernatural being. Malachi's attitude is not entirely certain. His name (meaning "My messenger") may be a pseudonym, and he asserts that the priest is the *mal'akh* of the Lord of Hosts (Mal. 2:7). The *mal'akh* of the Covenant (*ibid.* 3:1–2) may, however, be an angel, though the phrase might also refer to the returning Elijah (*ibid.* 3:23–24). Finally, it should be noted that the priestly code (regarded by many scholars as post-Exilic, though others consider it very ancient) does not allude to angels, except for the provision that cherubim are to be depicted on the Ark cover. This array of facts cannot be dismissed as mere accident, especially since angels appear so often in the narrative portions of the Pentateuch, in the historical books, and in the prophetic writings of Ezekiel and Zechariah. Perhaps David Neumark overstressed this disagreement as a major issue of biblical thought (see: e.g., his *Essays in Jewish Philosophy* (1929), 104ff.). But the issue was certainly not unimportant.

EZEKIEL AND ZECHARIAH. In the theophanies described by Ezekiel, the Divine Presence is seated on a throne supported by four fantastic creatures, called in chapter 1 *ḥayyot* ("living beasts" or "beasts"), but identified in chapters 8–11 as cherubim. In the latter section, moreover, the destruction of Jerusalem is a task assigned to six armed "men," while a "man clothed in linen with a scribe's inkhorn on his side" is to mark the foreheads of such righteous individuals as are to be saved (9:1ff.). Later, this same man in linen takes live coals from the fire between the cherubim, to be used in setting the city afire (10:1ff.). Chapters 11–39 of Ezekiel do not mention angels. But in the visions of the rebuilt Temple (ch. 40–48), the prophet is guided by a man "who shone like copper" (40:3) and who goes about measuring the various courts and buildings and explaining their functions. During the vision Ezekiel also receives instruction directly from God; and after chapter 47:12 the "man" is not mentioned again.

In Zechariah, angels are almost constantly present. The book consists largely of symbolic visions, explained to the prophet by "the angel that spoke with me" (1:9, 14; 2:1–7; 4:1–5; 5:5–10; 6:4–5). The "angel of the Lord" appears several times; he intercedes with God on behalf of Israel (1:12–13); he presides over the rehabilitation of Joshua and rebukes the Satan for accusing the latter (3:1ff.). A number of other angels are reported to be standing by. Zechariah also applies the term "man" to angelic beings (1:8ff.; 2:5ff.; the two women with stork-like wings, 5:9, seem to be symbolic figures rather than angels). For the first time in the Bible the angels in Zechariah appear to be acquiring an independent life on their own.

DANIEL. The Book of Daniel repeats much about angels which is found in earlier parts of the Bible. It tells of innumerable attendants around the Divine throne (7:10), and reports that an angel saved the three men in the furnace (3:25, 28) and Daniel from the lions (6:23). It sometimes calls an angel "man"; one angel is described as a man clad in linen (10:5; 12:7; cf. above on Ezekiel). But Daniel has strong affinities with the extra-biblical apocalypses, and so presents many new features in regard to angels. The revelations received by Daniel are either symbolic visions, which an angel interprets (ch. 7, 8), or they are revealed in their entirety by an angel (ch. 10–12). Zechariah, too, had visions which an angel explained. But he also delivered prophecies received directly from God; such a thing never occurs in Daniel. In the latter book, too, angels do not merely carry out orders, but have some powers of initiative: "The matter has been decreed by the ever-wakeful ones, the sentence is by the word of the holy ones" (4:14). Moreover, the angels now have proper names: *Gabriel (8:16; 9:21) and *Michael (10:13; 12:1). This is the only biblical book in which angels have distinct personalities. Finally, the idea that each nation has an angelic patron, whose actions and destinies are bound up with those of his nation, is encountered for the first time. Mention is made of the patrons of Persia and Greece (10:13, 20); and Michael is the champion of Israel (12:1; on this concept cf. Isa. 24:2).

[Bernard J. Bamberger]

Apocrypha

In post-biblical literature angels frequently manifest themselves as independent beings, distinguishable by their own names and individual traits. Contrary to the general impression gained from the Bible, certain allusions contained in it lead to the assumption that in the earlier periods of Jewish history angels played a more independent role in popular mythology than in the post-biblical period. It was not, however, until the Hellenistic period of Jewish history that the conditions existed for a special doctrine of angels.

During the Second Temple period it was assumed that only the great prophets of earlier times had had the privilege of direct communication with God while in later generations mysteries of the end of days and of man's future could be discovered only through the intermediary of angels. This led to attempts to explore the nature and individual character of the angels. Furthermore, Jewish literature of this period sought to teach the mysteries of nature, of heaven, of the end of days, etc.; revelation no longer served as the point of departure for the acquisition of knowledge, but as corroboration of the validity of existing doctrines – on medicine (Jub. 10:10ff.), botany (I En. 3:1), astronomy, cosmology, etc. This type of apocalyptic wisdom literature assumed that the secrets of the universe could be found only beyond the range of earthly surroundings – by means of angels. The development of the concept of angels was also deeply influenced by the syncretism which characterized the Hellenistic Age. By means of the wisdom of the Chaldeans (which enjoyed great prestige among the Diaspora Jewry, see Dan. 1:4), the Jews had become familiar with many of the old Babylonian myths – the creation, the deluge, the early generations of man, etc. – and they sought to harmonize the myths with the biblical reports of these events. Old Babylonian tales of intercourse between gods and legendary heroes, and of books containing heavenly wisdom, were thus made to concur with Jewish legends; however, in order to avoid contradiction with the monotheistic character of Judaism, they were ascribed to the world of angels. One such example was Enoch, a figure created under the influence of Babylonian concepts, who appears as the bearer and creator of human culture, and as the transmitter of heavenly wisdom to the early generations of man; his authority is derived exclusively from his constant communication with angels. Various sources treat Noah and Abraham in the same manner, ascribing their wisdom to their intimate knowledge of the world of angels. In addition, various religious concepts accepted by the Jewish people under the influence of pagan magic and demonology – insofar as they were not in direct contradiction to monotheism – were eventually incorporated into the doctrine of angels.

AMONG THE JEWISH SECTS. The doctrine of angels was not evenly spread among the various parts of the Jewish people. The apocalyptic wisdom teachers imparted the knowledge that they had secretly acquired through their contact with angels, only to a narrow circle of the specially initiated. Consequently, the doctrine of angels found its widest distribution among the secret societies of the Essenes. The latter (Jos., Wars, 2:142) carefully guarded the secret list of angels' names. The Qumran scrolls testify to an organized system of angelology, in which the "Prince of Light" and other heavenly princes were expected to fight alongside the Sons of Light on the "last day," and they thought them present at meetings of the Qumran sect. A certain dualism is seen in the struggle for power between the forces of evil (Belial) and those of goodness over the sons of man (1QM 13:11). The Pharisees, on the other hand, showed little interest in these problems. The Sadducees, who were opposed to any kind of mysticism, are described by the Acts of the Apostles (23:8) as denying the very existence of angels; this however, was undoubtedly a false assumption, derived from the Sadducees' rejection of apocalyptic teachings. Among Jewish magicians and sorcerers, the concept of angels was particularly confused, influenced as they were by the pagan literature on the subject, where the angels usually appear in the company of pagan gods, to combat disease. In some literary sources biblical figures, such as Solomon, are mentioned as having been in possession of secret formulas or means whereby they were able to induce angels to come to man's aid. The Greek "Testament of *Solomon" cites a number of angels with whose activities Solomon became acquainted only with the help of demons. A similar manipulation of angels through the use of magic is found in the *Sefer ha-*Razim*. Angels appearing in post-biblical literature may be divided into several classes. The angel appearing in one of the visions of Zechariah (1:9) is not mentioned by name, but his active advocacy of the cause of Israel indicates that he was not a "messenger" in the strict sense of the term. In the Book of Daniel (8:16; 9:21) the angel Gabriel appears as an interpreter of Daniel's vision. In later apocalyptic writings various angels appear as interpreters of symbolic visions, such as Uriel (I En. 19:1; 27:2), Raguel (23:4), Raphael (32:6), and Michael (60:4ff.; *Testament of Abraham*, ed. James, passim). A group of seven angels is frequently described as heading the world of angels; also designated as "archangels," they have "entry to the presence of the glory of the Lord" (Tob. 12:15). They are Uriel, whose function is to lead the angelic host and guard the underworld (Sheol); Raphael, who is in charge of the spirits of humans; Raguel, who takes revenge upon the world of lights; Michael, who watches over Israel; Sariel, whose duties are not defined; Gabriel, who rules Paradise; Jeremiel (IV Ezra 4:38), who according to a later apocalyptic composition (*Apocalypse of *Elijah;* Ger., ed. by Steindorff, p. 10) guards the souls of the underworld (I En. 20). These seven angels are always in the proximity of God and are the ones that are always called upon to carry out tasks of special significance for world history, such as the punishment of the fallen angels, or of the 70 angels who act as princes of the peoples of the earth (I En. 90:21ff.), the elevation of Levi to the priesthood (Test. Patr., Levi 8), the transmission of heavenly wisdom to Enoch (I En. 81:5ff.), etc. A similar list is preserved in the *Serekh Shirot Olot le-Shabbat* (Angelic Liturgy) from Qumran (in VT Suppl. 7, pp. 318–45), in which the heavenly tasks of each of seven angels is recorded. Their names, however, were omitted. The War Scroll describes two angels of prime importance: "The Prince of Light" and "The Angel of Darkness," with whom were associated "the sons of righteousness" and "the sons of darkness" respectively (1QM 13:10–12). These angels were in perpetual conflict and thought to fight on the sides of the two armies at the "last battle," when the Angel of Darkness and his army would be destroyed. This is likewise expressed in the Manual of Discipline (1QS 3:20–22), "In the hand of the Prince of Light is the dominion of all the sons of righteousness… and in the hand of the Angel of Darkness is the dominion of the sons of evil." Some have supposed that the Prince of Light was Uriel but others think he was Michael, for he is described in the War Scroll (1QM 17:6) as being sent by God in "eternal light" (cf. Dan. 10:13, "Behold Michael, one of the leading princes has come"). The Angel of Darkness seems to have been Belial: "But for corruption you have made Belial, an angel of hatred and his dominion is in darkness" (1QM 13:11).

Related to the group of seven is a group of four angels, most of whose names appear also among the seven; designated as "the angels of the Presence" (*Malakhei ha-Panim*) they are in Enoch: Michael, Gabriel, Raphael and Phanuel (sometimes Raphael and Gabriel are interchanged). They have an important role in the punishment of the fallen angels (I En. 9:1; 10:1ff.; 54:6). Their place is on each of the four sides of God's throne (40:2ff). Contrary to all other angels, they move freely in and out of the Palace of God – the "Heaven of Heavens" – to serve "the *Ancient of Days" (i.e., God: I En. 71:5ff.). In the *Book of Adam and Eve*, however, and in rabbinic literature the four are Michael, Gabriel, Uriel, and Raphael. The names of a similar group of angels (Michael, Gabriel, Suriel, and Raphael) were to be inscribed on the battle-towers at the "last battle" (1QM 9:15). Another special group of angels are the 70 "princes of the peoples," appointed over each of the 70 peoples of the earth. They are first mentioned in the Septuagint to Deuteronomy 32:8 – without their number being given – from which it may be gathered that at this time the number of all angels was thought not to exceed the number of peoples. Ben Sira (Ecclus. 17:17) quotes the figure 70; the Hebrew Testament of Naphtali (Test. Patr., Naph. 8–9) regards them as the 70 ministering angels (*Malakhei ha-Sharet*). The latter source relates that at the time of Peleg (cf. Gen. 10:25) God descended from Heaven with the 70 angels in order to teach the peoples of the earth their respective languages. Later, Michael, at the behest of God, asked each people to choose its patron angel, and each people chose the angel who had taught it its language, with the exception of Israel, which chose God Himself as its patron. According to a concept found in the Book of I Enoch (89:59ff; 90:22, 25), at the time of the destruction of the First Temple, these 70 angels were appointed to rule over Israel (whom God had rejected) until the Day of Judgment.

Another category of angels are the "guardians." Like the general concept of angels (cf. the Ba'almalakh in CIS, vol. 1, part 1, no. 182, verse 2; part 2, no. 1373, verse 4), "guardian angels" seems to have been a religious concept common to the entire Semitic world, a fact which supports the identification of guardians with Ζωφασημιν (equivalent to the Hebrew *ẓofei shamayim*) by Philo Byblos (Eusebius, *Praeparatio Evangelica*, 1:10, 3). At times the title of guardian, similar to the title "he who never sleeps," is employed to designate all angels (I En. 61:12; 39:12) for it is their function to be on guard before God at all times; the same was later also said of angels whose function it is to supervise the actions of man (see I En. 100:5). The guardians are also regarded as a superior category of angels, although not equal to the "angels of the Countenance." They are at all times in the proximity of God and must not leave Him by day or by night. Due to their special importance, they are also designated as "the holiest of the holy" (I En. 14:23). Many scholars see a connection between the guardian angels and the "Irin" (עִירִין, Aram. "watchers") mentioned in the Book of Daniel (4:10, 14, 20). A reference to the "Irin" has been found in the *Genesis Apocryphon* in which Lamech expresses concern over the conception of Noah, who, he fears, was a child "of the watchers (*Irin*), the holy ones, or the fallen angels" (1QA poc. 2:1). In the *Genesis Apocryphon* (1QA poc. 2) the term refers to "the sons of God" in Genesis 6:2ff. (cf. I En. 6:8). Perhaps the divine cherubim described by Ezekiel (10:12) are also to be regarded as "guardians" in the sense that the term is used in apocalyptic literature. According to the Book of Jubilees, they descended from Heaven at the time of Jared (cf. Gen. 5:15–20) to teach mankind the practice of law and justice (4:15ff.); they were seduced by the daughters of men and thus the fallen angels came into being. As a result, the guardian angels are sometimes identified with the fallen angels (see I En. 10:9; 12:4; 13:10; 14:1ff.; and passim); other sources, however, make a clear distinction between the two (Slavic Book of II Enoch 7:8; 35:2). Apart from these angels, who were thought to resemble man, the stars were also assumed to be living entities and regarded as angels (Isa. 34:4; 40:26; 45:12; Jer. 33:22; Ps. 33:6; I En. 18:13ff.; 21:3ff.). However, the more widely accepted version was that certain angels rule the stars (Jub. 19). Connected with this was the concept of the spirits of elements (a concept which came into being under pagan influence), e.g., the angels of the spirit of fire, of the spirit of the wind, the clouds, darkness, snow and hail, thunder, and lightning (Jub. 2:2ff.; I En. 60:11ff.; 65:8; Or. Sybill. 7:33ff., etc.). This category also includes the angels of the seasons of the year, all of which – with hardly any exception – bear Semitic names (I En. 82:10ff.). A foreign influence may also be discerned in the concept of angels functioning as the originators and inventors of human civilization. Thus in "The Life of Adam and Eve," Michael appears as Triptolemus (in the mythology, the hero who taught man grain cultivation) teaching Adam how to work the soil. In addition to the angelic hosts mentioned in the Bible and Apocrypha under generic names, such as cherubim, seraphim and *ofannim*, there are also angels of power, and angels of dominion; angels who serve as patrons of individual human beings (already alluded to in Ps. 91:11); angels of peace (I En. 52:5; 53:4; 54:4; 56:2; Test. Patr., Ben. 6), and angels serving as intercessors (*malakh meliz*, Test. Patr., Levi 5). Beside the Angels of Light, Darkness and Destruction (see above) there also occur in the Dead Sea Literature Angels of Holiness (1QM 7:6).

FUNCTIONS OF ANGELS. Offering praise to God is regarded as the major function of angels (I. En. 40; Test. Patr., Levi 4). Their functions as intermediaries between God and man were, however, also of special importance. As early as the Book of Tobit (3:16; 12:12, 15) Raphael is depicted as one of the seven angels charged with bringing the prayers of man before God's throne (compare Test. Patr., Dan 6). At times, an angel is ordered by God to accompany a man on his travels in order to ward off dangers that may beset him, or, as in the Greek Apocalypse of Baruch, to guide Baruch through the seven heavens and explain the sights. More frequent is the angels' role as intercessors, pleading for man before God (I En. 9:4ff.; 15:2; etc.); sometimes man pleads with the angels to transmit his prayers to God (*ibid.* 9:2). Angels also appear in opposition to evil angels who wish to act as prosecutors before the throne of God. It is significant, that in spite of Exodus 33:11 ("God would speak to Moses face to face"), the prevailing opinion of later traditions is that at the giving of the Law the angels acted as intermediaries between God and Moses (Jos., Ant., 15:136; Jub. 1:27ff.; Gal. 3:19; Heb. 2:2). Specific mention of the presence of angels at the right hand of God, during the Revelation on Sinai, is made in the Septuagint, Deuteronomy 33:2.

Although no traces of a cult of angels were retained in normative Judaism, in the *Sefer ha-Razim* angels seem to be used for purposes of magic. Formulas for influencing the angels, stars, and the moon by means of incantations over flasks of wine and blood, by burning incense, sacrifices, and other methods all appear in *Sefer ha-Razim.* Likewise the names of the angels, when coupled with those of Greek gods and magic phrases, were efficacious for incantations (*Sefer ha-Razim*, ed. Margaliot, 1:123–6; 2:99; introduction, 8–9). Testament of Levi 5 makes mention of an appeal to an angel; the passage, however, does not imply that an angel can be venerated as an independent being, for the context makes it clear that the angel acts only as an intermediary between God and Israel. The imperfect nature of angels is frequently stressed. Although they are regarded as immortal (I En. 15:6), their existence did not precede the Creation; they were created on the First Day (Jub. 2:1ff.), or, according to another version (Slavic Book of II En. 29), on the Second Day. Nor are they omniscient; sometimes they are incapable of answering questions put to them and have to confess their ignorance (IV Ezra 4:51). It follows from this that communication between God and man by means of angels is regarded only as a temporary situation. Before the First Temple was built, communication between God and Israel was by means of an angel, but afterward God and Israel communicated directly, without an intermediary (Job. 1:27ff.). This concept of the nature of angels permitted the view that no unbridgeable gulf existed between the material world and the world of angels, and some righteous men could be transformed into angels (I En. 51:4). Similarly, in the fragments of the pseudepigraphal "Prayer of Joseph," Israel, known to mankind as Jacob, declared that in reality he was "the archangel of the power of the Lord" and no mere mortal (Origen, Commentary to John, 11, 84, 15). Even the people of Israel as a whole, by virtue of its covenant with God, was in some ways regarded as being equal to angels; in consequence, while other peoples are in the custody of angels, Israel is under the protection of God Himself and is independent of angels (Jub. 15:27ff.). A further development of this view gives Israel the privilege of participating in the heavenly choir of the angels; at the time that the angels praise the glory of God – as they do at certain hours of the day – the praise by the people of Israel is also heard before the heavenly throne (Ḥul. 91b; *Constitutiones Apostolicae*, 8:35). This idea may be similar to the concept found in Coptic texts and the Prayer of Joseph of an angel "Israel" who serves God in heaven.

[Joshua Gutmann]

FALLEN ANGELS. A special category are the so-called Fallen Angels, frequently mentioned in post-biblical literature. This concept is also common to all Semitic peoples; the idea of vanquished gods or demons, who then appear as accursed and damned, is one that prevailed among all the peoples of antiquity. It is found in a special form in earlier versions of the story of the creation, in which Rahab appears in the role of the vanquished god. Although for a variety of reasons little trace has remained of the ideas upon which the Rahab legends are based, the dualistic concepts of paganism have nevertheless exerted a profound influence upon Judaism, and the concept of the existence of good and evil powers, contradicting as they did the idea of monotheism, found their way into Judaism through the story of the Fallen Angels. It must be pointed out, however, that the passage Genesis 6:1ff., although usually quoted as the basis of all subsequent legends of Fallen Angels, has in fact little to do with this concept, as it later developed. Not only is the interpretation of "Nephilim" as Fallen Angels of a doubtful nature (see Num. 13:33), but the text contains no denouncement of the "*Benei Elohim*" who had married the daughters of men; on the contrary, it stresses that the children of these connections were "the heroes of days gone by, the famous men." It was only at a later stage, when the dualistic belief in the existence of evil demons had become a firm component of popular religion, that attempts were made to find biblical authority for this concept, contradictory as it was to monotheism.

The earliest report of Fallen Angels is found in the Book of Enoch (6ff.): The sons of heaven, who belonged to the "guardian" angels, had lusted for the beauty of the daughters of men and in the time of Jared decided to descend upon Mt. Hermon to carry out their plans from there. There were two hundred of them and their leader was Shemhazai; he made them swear an oath (*ḥerem*) to adhere to their purpose and it was this oath that gave the mountain its name – Hermon. They consorted with the daughters of men, who gave birth to a generation of giants who set about mercilessly destroying human beings. The Fallen Angels also taught man the use of weapons and other tools promoting immorality and crime. In this manner a demonic wisdom came into being, in addition to Divine wisdom, and this led to the corruption of mankind. Moved by man's outcry, the four archangels appealed to God and were given the order to punish the Fallen Angels. Later there is a resumé of this episode in chapter 69, where the Fallen Angel Jeqôn was blamed for the downfall of all the angels. Each of the Fallen Angels taught mankind a particular evil or perversion, thus destroying mankind's innocence (69:1ff.). The story of Fallen Angels, in the same spirit, appears in the Book of Jubilees (4:15; 5:1ff.), with the difference that here the angels are said to have descended to earth to instruct mankind how to order society, and when they arrived on earth they were seduced by the daughters of men. A hint at this latter idea is preserved in the additional chapter at the end of the Book of Enoch (106), called the Fragment of the Book of Noah. Here the angels are feared for having taken to themselves the daughters of man. In the Qumran *Genesis Apocryphon* (the Birth of Noah), Noah is suspected of being the offspring of an evil angel and a daughter of Man (1QA poc. 2:1–26).

Apart from the punishment meted out to them before the Deluge, final sentence on them would be passed on the day of the Last Judgment (I En. 16:1ff.; see also *Azazel). Talmudic sources contain a different version of the legend of the Fallen Angels. According to *Midrash Avkir* (see Smaller *Midrashim), the leaders of the Fallen Angels, named Shemhazai and Asael (as in the Book of Enoch), heaped scorn upon the sinfulness of the generation of man after the Deluge. God submitted that if they were on earth, they would also commit sins, and in response to this challenge they offered to descend to earth. They did so and were at once seduced by the beauty of the daughters of men; they revealed the secret Name of God to a girl named Istehar, who by virtue of this knowledge was able to escape from the hands of Shemhazai and ascend to heaven. This experience did not have any effect upon Shemhazai and his associates. They took wives unto themselves who gave birth to two sons, Hiva and Hiya, whose names (the syllables Hi-va and Hi-ya) henceforth became the cries of pain uttered by suffering men. Thus, this version is closer to the story told in the Book of Jubilees, for in it the Fallen Angels commit their sin only after their descent to earth. Other versions in talmudic literature contain even more far-reaching variations from the story as told in the Book of Enoch: in these versions, it was only after the angels had assumed the nature of man that they committed sin (PdRE 22, et al.). Some talmudic circles attacked the interpretation of Genesis 6:1 in the sense that it is found in the Book of Jubilees. On one occasion, R. *Simeon b. Yoḥai interpreted the term "*Benei Elohim*" as "sons of the judges" and condemned those who gave it the meaning of "sons of God" (Gen. R. 26:5). Similarly, *Midrash ha-Ne'lam* (on this passage) interprets the term "Nephilim" as referring, not to the Fallen Angels, but to Adam and Eve who had come into being on earth without having had a father and a mother. Maimonides also states that the term "*Elohim*" as used in this instance should be taken in its profane sense (*ḥol*), the reference being to "the sons of rulers and judges" (M. Gaster, in: *Devir*, no. 1 (1923), 196). This opinion was also shared by other Jewish scholars in the Middle Ages. Related to the concept of Fallen Angels is another concept found in apocryphal literature, that of the 70 angels whom God had charged with the power over Israel after the destruction of the First Temple and who abused this power by persecuting Israel (I En. 53:3; 62:11; 63:1; 89:59; 90:22, 25). By these deeds the angels violated God's will and came to be regarded as rebellious angels to whom punishment would be meted out. It was under the influence of this concept that Satan – who in the Bible appears either as a punishing angel of God or as an angel testing the sincerity of the Righteous – came to be regarded as an independent evil demon. According to an apocryphal source, his fall followed immediately upon the creation of Adam: the angels were ordered to bow before Adam, but Satan refused and was deposed (Adam and Eve, 12ff.). Other concepts of Satan appear to have come about under the influence of Parsiism (see *Satan). Satan was also known by two other titles, *Belial and *Samael. The former was frequently identified as the spirit of evil, and in the Dead Sea Scrolls he stood at the head of the forces of darkness. The latter appears as a prime foe of Michael.

Angels in the Talmud and Midrash

In the talmudic age, belief in angels was general, among both scholars and laymen. There were, however, differences of opinion among the sages as to the nature of angels. Some maintained that a new group of angels was created every day, who praised God on that day and then sank in the river of fire (*nehar di-nur*). Others accepted this opinion and added that only two angels, Michael and Gabriel, permanently serve God while all other angels sing their hymn of praise on the day of their creation and then disappear (Ḥag. 14a; Gen. R. 78:1). The distinction between eternal angels and those created for a specific purpose only seems to have been widely accepted among talmudic sages engaged with problems of religious philosophy; Ben Azzai mentions the two categories of angels as though their existence was a generally acknowledged fact (Sifra 1:1). The Mishnah makes no mention at all of angels and this may be due to the tendency to minimize their significance. Other tannaitic sources, while containing references to angels, rarely mention those angels who bear proper names. It is also significant that even eternal angels are said to be incapable of viewing the glory of God.

ORIGIN OF ANGELS. The Talmud and Midrash contain a variety of opinions on the origin and nature of angels. The angels were created on the second or the fifth day of creation (R. Johanan and R. Ḥanina, Gen. R. 1:3 and parall.; S.A. Wertheimer, *Battei Midrashot*, 1 (1950^2), 25; cf. also R. Kirchheim in *Oẓar Neḥmad*, 3 (1860), 59, ed. J. Blumenfeld). Creation of angels is continuous since every pronouncement by God results in the creation of angels. Angels walk upright, speak Hebrew, and are endowed with understanding; they can fly in the air, move from one end of the world to another, and foretell the future (Ḥag. 16a). Thus angels have something in common with both men and demons. They have the shape of man, but consist half of fire and half of water (TJ, RH 2; PdRK, ed. Mandelbaum, 6; Song R. 3:11, 15). The angels enjoy the splendor of the *Shekhinah* and are free of the *yeẓer ha-ra* ("evil inclination"; Gen. R. 48:11); they have no needs (Yoma 4b; Mid. Ps. to 78:25; cf. also LXX and Targum, Ps. 78:25; MGWJ, 22 (1873), 113); they are classified according to countries and as a result there are angels who must not leave Ereẓ Israel (Tanḥ. B., Gen. 178); no angel may carry out more than one mission at a time (BM 86b; Gen. R. 50:2; Justin Martyr, *Dialog.* 56c); and they are capable of error (Eccles. R. 6:10, no. 1: cf. Adam and Eve 13–05). According to one concept the size of an angel is equal to a third of the world (R. Berechiah, PR 83:12; Gen. R. 68:12).

CLASSIFICATION OF ANGELS. Angels are divided into angels of peace and evil angels; the former dwell near God, while the latter are remote from Him (R. Johanan, Tanh. B., Lev. 39). There are also angels of life and angels of death (R. Samuel b. Isaac, Gen. R. 9:10). The number of angels is countless; they are classified into groups of higher and lower angels. Like apocryphal literature, the *aggadah* regards Gabriel, Michael, Raphael, and Uriel as the archangels and refers to them as the ministering angels (*malakhei ha-sharet*); the angels Sandalfon, Zagzagael, and Suriel appear only rarely. The angel *Metatron assumes great importance in the Midrash. There are angels who control such matters as prayers, hail, rain, anger, Gehinnom, birth and pregnancy, and other matters. The names of angels, according to talmudic sources, became known to Israel only after the return from the Babylonian exile. The *aggadah* elaborates upon the concept already developed in the apocryphal literature of the guardian angels of the nations of the earth and of individual kings. The former are regarded as hostile to Israel and have to be put in chains to prevent their doing harm to Israel (Ex. R. 42:1; Gen. R. 56:11). When their nations fall, the guardian angels fall with them, and when they are punished the angels also suffer punishment (Mekh. SbY to 15:1; Deut. R. 1:22). A similar concept of guardian angels is, incidentally, also found with Christian Neoplatonists (see A.F. Daehne, *Geschichtliche Darstellung der juedisch-alexandrinischen Religions-Philosophie…* 2 (1834), 62ff.; C. Bigg, *The Christian Platonists of Alexandria*, 1913^{2}). Dubiel, the guardian angel of the Persians, was known by name to the rabbis (Yoma 77a); the guardian angel of Edom is also mentioned (Mak. 12a; A. Jellinek, *Beit ha-Midrash*, part 3 (1855), 70); in some instances, the guardian angel of a people pleads on its behalf in order to avert Divine punishment. At the time of the Exodus from Egypt, the guardian angels of all the nations were summoned by God to discuss His quarrel with Egypt. During the discussions, the angel Gabriel, acting upon orders from Michael, produced a portion of the wall which the Israelites had been forced to build for the Egyptians. When it was found to contain the body of an Israelite child, punishment was meted out – first to the guardian angel of Egypt and then to the Egyptians themselves (Yal., Ex. 243). Other *aggadot* tell of the guardian angels of all the nations accusing Israel of being no better than all others (PdRK, ed. Mandelbaum, 221). Kings are also said to have guardian angels; Nebuchadnezzar's angel bore the name of Kal (Ex. R. 21:5). The sea has its own guardian angel (BB 74b; Ex. R. 15:22; 24:2). Frequent mention is made of the angel or "Prince" (שַׂר) of the world (Ex. R. 17:4; Ḥul. 60a). The angels' relationship to God is described as dependence upon Him. They must take no step without His command (Tanḥ. B., Ex. 115). Their main purpose is to sing hymns in praise of God and to proclaim His sanctity (*ibid.* 120; Sif. Deut. 306). They are incapable of viewing the glory of God and do not know their own dwelling place (Yal., Deut. 825; Mekh. SbY to 15:2). God may forbid them to sing, as He did when the Egyptians were cast into the sea (Meg. 10b; Ex. R. 23:7). God consults the angels on occasion, as He did before the creation of man (Gen. R. 8:5). Angels are quoted as posing questions regarding contradictions found in the Bible. From the third century, the expression of God's "familia" (*Pamalya*) or the heavenly court of justice is found in the sources. God takes no action without prior consultation with the "familia"; such consultation should be assumed in all instances where the expression "and God" appears in the biblical text. The *Angel of Death (*malakh ha-mavet*) plays a special role among the guardian angels and is regarded as the most evil among the wicked angels (*malakhei ḥabbalah*).

The above data leads to the conclusion that angels were generally regarded as being superior to mortal man. On this point, however, the *aggadah* contains divergent views. Thus it is asserted that the righteous are superior to the ministering angels. Other sages, for whom this claim was too excessive, granted the righteous a status equal to that of the ministering angels; every man has the capability of becoming equal to angels and of resembling them. A third version restricts this capability to Israel as the people of God. Yet another view is that equality to angels can be achieved only after death. There is also the opinion that at the end of days the righteous will rank above the angels and that the angels will learn the mysteries of heaven from the righteous (TJ, Shab. 6:10, 8d). These varied views found in the *aggadah* were apparently influenced by contemporary trends. Heretical influences can also be discerned in the view of the archangels' participation in the creation of man and in the giving of the law; the *aggadah* combats such theories by various means and on all these occasions makes angels appear as opposing the Divine will. Nevertheless, by its extensive use of angelology as a means of interpreting the story of the Bible, the *aggadah* may well have contributed more to the intensification of the belief in angels than all the heretics and angel worshipers combined.

The *aggadah* contains numerous examples of actions carried out by angels in the biblical and post-biblical periods. As mentioned above, God consulted the angels before creating man (Sanh. 38a; Gen. R. 8:5; Justin Martyr, *Dialog.* 62c); at Adam's wedding to Eve, Michael and Gabriel acted as sponsors (*shoshevinin*, R. Abbahu, Gen. R. 8:15; PdRE 12, 16). Angels attended Adam in the Garden of Eden (Sanh. 59b; ARN 151), but they later became his accusers (PdRE 13). The angel Samael made Eve pregnant (Targ. Jon., Gen. 4:1; PdRE 21). Enoch is removed from earth and ascends to heaven, where he is given the name of Metatron (Gen. R. 25:1 and parall. Targ. Jon., Gen. 5:24); an angel leads the animals into Noah's Ark (Zev. 116; Gen. R. 32:8; PdRE 23; Targ. Jon., Gen. 6:20). God converses with the ministering 70 angels who correspond to the 70 tongues and 70 nations (see ZDMG, 57 (1903), 474; ZAW, 19 (1899), 1–14; 20 (1900), 38ff.; 24 (1904), 311; REJ, 54 (1907), 54). Angels are subject to punishment and are expelled from heaven (Gen. R. 50:13; 68:18; 78:3) for betraying its secrets (Targ. Jon., Gen. 28:12). On special occasions, angels assume the shape of men or animals (Targ. Jon., Gen. 32:25; 37:15; see also the miraculous story of R. Ḥanina b. Dosa (Eccles. R. 1:1; Song R. 1:1, 4, et al.) of R. Yose b. Ḥanina and the two brothers of Ashkelon (Song R. 7:3, 8; Deut. R. 2:20; Ex. R. 1:36, et al.)). The angel who wrestled with Jacob seeks to return to heaven in time for the morning hymns of praise (Gen. R. 78:2). God spoke to Sarah through an angel (Gen. R. 53:5); angels argue with God over Isaac's sacrifice (Gen. R. 56:7; Targ. Jon., Gen. 22:10) and rescue Abraham from Nimrod's fiery furnace (Pes. 118a); angels bear Isaac to Shem and Eber's house of learning (Targ. Jon., Gen. 22:19). An angel with a drawn sword appears before Laban in his dream (Targ. Jon., Gen. 31:24). Gabriel approaches Joseph in the shape of a man (Targ. Jon., Gen. 37:15). The angel Zagzagael reveals himself to Moses in the Burning Bush; angels make their appearance at the Sea of Reeds and at the giving of the Law on Mount Sinai. Michael or Metatron call on Moses to ascend to God; in heaven, the angels attempt to take Moses' life. The angels join God in wailing over the death of Moses, and over the destruction of the Temple. Angels try to shut the windows of heaven, to prevent Manasseh's prayer from being heard (TJ, San. 10:2, 28c). Gabriel saves the three youths in the furnace (PdRE 33). Michael smites Sennacherib's army (Ex. R. 18:5). Ministering angels also gather in the post-biblical period, to listen to the discussions between R. Johanan b. Zakkai and R. Eleazar b. Arakh (TJ, Meg. 2:1, 77a); or to engage scholars in conversation (MK 28a; Men. 41a); they accompany and protect the Righteous (Shab. 119b, et al.; see Reitzenstein, Poimandres 13). God ordains that angels be ready at all times to help man (Gen. R. 65:15).

In the talmudic age, like in earlier periods, no traces of angel worship are to be found, in spite of the Church Fathers' assertion to the contrary. One talmudic passage (Sanh. 38b) may imply that angel worship was practiced by certain sects who were close to Christianity, but the talmudic sages took strong exception to this practice (see TJ, Ber. 9:1, 13a); the claims of Christian writers regarding angel worship among Jews may well refer to these sects.

[Arthur Marmorstein]

In the Liturgy

The concepts concerning angels, as developed in the *aggadah*, have also been incorporated into the liturgy. This is especially true of the idea of angels singing hymns in praise of God; different groups of such angels appear in the *kedushot* hymns of the *tefillah* and the *yoẓer*, each in a role of its own. Thus, in the *tefillah*, it is the seraphim (*Sarfei Kodesh*) which are given prominence, while in the *yoẓer* it is the *ofannim, Ḥayyot ha-Kodesh*, and the cherubim (the mention of the latter being based on Isa. 6:3; Ezek. 3:12). It was presumably in the early geonic period that the doctrine of angels was given increasing prominence in the daily prayers, under the influence of mystical movements, especially the "*Yoredei Merkavah.*" Prime examples are the introductory and connecting passages of the *Kedushah* and the hyperbolic descriptions of the *yoẓer.* Both these portions of the prayers afterward inspired numerous *piyyutim*, which reveal a growing speculation about angels and introduce new designations and functions for them. The very name of the *piyyutim* of the *yoẓer* – "*ofan*" – points to their preoccupation with angels; in the course of the centuries the *piyyutim* became more and more extravagant and detailed in their descriptions. The hymns inserted between the various passages of the *Kedushah* describe the adoration of the angels with an infinite variety of images and terms. Of a similar nature are certain portions of the *Siddur* of *Amram b. Sheshna Gaon, in which several angels appear in apocalyptic visions, the prayer *mi-ymini El u-mi-semoli Uzzi'el*, and others (see *Seder R. Amram*, 13b, 54a and passim). In several of the *Seliḥot* angels appear in yet another role, that of independent beings whose task it is to transport the prayer of man to God, so that He may have mercy upon the petitioner (*malakhei raḥamim makhnisei raḥamim*). This idea also has its origin in apocryphal literature, the Talmud, and the Midrash. Special concepts of the role of certain angels were held by the group of mystics who lived in Safed in the 16th century and were first led by Isaac *Luria and later by Ḥayyim *Vital. This group ascribed to the daily prayer a special redemptive significance, for it was the prayer that achieved the perfection of world order; it regarded the angels as the leaders of the heavenly spheres who would accept only those prayers which are consecrated to a certain name of God, by means of prescribed preparations and concentrations. This implies a special appeal to the angels. According to this concept, the angel Sandalfon weaves a crown for the infinite God out of the prayers that have been accepted, and the angel Metatron rewards the petitioner for his prayer by granting him the heavenly blessing. By virtue of its doctrine and its strict way of life, the Safed group gained great influence among the Jewish people. Its continued efforts to introduce new prayers into the liturgy expressing its doctrine gained wide acceptance.

MOVEMENTS OPPOSING THE VENERATION OF ANGELS. To counteract this movement, an opposing trend developed whose aim it was to entirely exclude angels from the liturgy. One of the most outspoken opponents of appealing to angels was *Maimonides (see his commentary of Sanh. 10). Joseph *Kimḥi (12th cent.) made the following observation on the practice of appealing to angels: "True penitence does not stand in need of intervention by the saints; feigned penitence will not be helped by either the dead or the saints, by man or angel" (*Sefer ha-Berit* in *Milḥemet Ḥovah, p.* 33a). Isaac *Abrabanel agrees with Maimonides' view decrying appeals to angels (*Rosh Amanah*, ch. 12). Yom Tov Lipmann *Muelhausen (14–15th century) opposed the practice in the following terms: "Our sages rejected any intermediation between man and the Creator; appeals to intermediaries lead to devilry and idolatry" (*Sefer ha-Nizzaḥon*, no. 132). Among the opponents of appealing to angels there were such who did not reject outright the terms *malakhei raḥamim makhnisei raḥamim* (angels of mercy, introducers of mercy), but rather made amendments to the text that avoided any implication of pleading with angels for their intervention (see "*Netivot Olam,*" *Netiv ha-Avodah*, ch. 12, by *Judah Loew b. Bezalel of Prague; *Ḥatam Sofer,* OḤ, no. 166). Those authorities who did not introduce any amendments to the text of the prayers, felt themselves obliged to justify why they did not regard these passages as contradicting pure monotheism (*Shibbolei ha-Leket*, no. 282 and others). Yet in spite of the rejection of the practice of appealing to angels, popular belief has clung to this doctrine and the prayer book has retained traces of it. It was only when the *siddur* by Benjamin Ze'ev Wolf *Heidenheim was published (c. 1800) and a new era of prayer book literature was inaugurated, that a regression of the doctrine of angels took place, accompanied by a general rejection of mystical ideas. Although passages of mystical contents may even be found in *siddurim* of the Reform movement, the present tendency calls for a total exclusion of such prayers from the prayer book.

[Dov Shmuel Flattau (Plato)]

Mysticism

Mysticism distinguishes several categories of angels: ministering and corrupting angels, angels of mercy, and angels of severe judgment. Furthermore, angels with masculine characteristics are distinguished from those with feminine qualities (Zohar 1:119b; 2:4b). The angels stemming from the highest light came into being on the first Day of Creation and enjoy eternal life; the others, having rebelled against God and consequently having been consumed by fire, were formed on the second Day of Creation (*ibid.* 1:17b, 46a). The angels consist of fire and water or, according to another account, of four heavenly elements: mercy, strength, beauty, and dominion, corresponding to the four earthly elements: water, fire, earth, and air (*Sefer Yeẓirah* ("Book of Creation"), ch. 1, 7; *Pardes Rimmonim*, sect. 24, ch. 10f.). The angels represent spiritual powers of the finest, ethereal substance. When fulfilling their functions on earth, they manifest themselves sometimes in human form and sometimes as spirits (Zohar, 1:34a, 81a, 101a; *Pardes Rimmonim,* sect. 24, ch. 11). The strength of the angels lies in the emanation of the Divine light which becomes manifest in them and because of which they are described as elements of the heavenly throne (*Pardes Rimmonim, ibid.*). The notion, already found in apocalyptic literature, that the ministering angels daily sing hymns before God and praise His wisdom, was enlarged upon in later Jewish mysticism. The Zohar (1:11 to 45) says that the angels live in the seven heavenly halls (*heikhalot*). A special hall is set aside for a certain type of angel that mourns the destruction of the Temple (the so-called *Avelei Ẓiyyon;* "Mourners of Zion"; *ibid.* 2:8b). The ministering angels may only begin to sing in heaven when Israel commences to praise God on earth. The angel Shemiel carries the prayers of the Jews from their synagogues up to the Temple, whereupon the hosts of ministering angels, suffused in streams of light, descend to earth only to return to the Divine throne to intone their hymns to God (*Pirkei Heikhalot*, in Eisenstein's *Oẓar ha-Midrashim*, 1 (1915), 123). Of the ministering angels, those serving God Himself are called youths (*baḥurim*), and those serving the **Shekhinah* are called virgins (*betulot;* J. Israel, *Yalkut Ḥadash* (1648), nos. 63, 93). The angels led by archangels are arranged in four groups before the throne of God. *Uriel's group stands in front of the throne, Raphael's group behind it; Michael's group is to the right, and to the left is Gabriel's (*Massekhet Heikhalot*, Eisenstein, op. cit., p. 109). The first encounter between the angels and man is supposed to have taken place when at God's behest the mysterious Book of the Heaven was handed to Adam through *Raziel, Hadarniel, and Raphael (Zohar 1:55b). The angels know all men's futures; their fate is made known in heaven by a herald. Every day angels in raiments of light are dispatched to the lower world with special assignments: some serve the human body, others the soul (Zohar 2:10a, 11a, h, 94a, 118b). In each human being there lives a good angel and a wicked one (1:144b); man's every step is accompanied by good and bad spirits (3:48b). Even in the hereafter the angels accompany man where, depending upon his life on earth, he is received either by the angels of peace or by the angels of destruction (*Zohar Ḥadash* to Ruth (1902), 89a). In the service of the unclean of the *sitra di-semola* ("left side") stand the angels of destruction (*Malakhei Ḥabbalah*), corresponding to the ministering angels of the holy *sitra di-ymina* ("right side"). In accordance with God's command, the latter bring man either good or evil, but with the angels of destruction malice is a natural characteristic. These angels, too, live in seven halls and are subject to certain "superiors." They swarm through the air, mingle with humans in order to seduce them, and later report their sinful acts to their leaders so that the latter can present the indictments before God (*Pardes Rimmonim*, sect. 26, chs. 1–7). The huge army of the angels of destruction, the counterpart to God's entourage, constitutes the family of the unclean "other side," the so-called *kelippah.*

[Samuel Abba Horodezky]

In Jewish Philosophy

PHILO. Philo identified the angels of Scripture with the demons of the Greek philosophers (Gig. 2:6; 1 Sonn. 142). They were, according to him, incorporeal and immortal souls hovering in the air and ascending to heaven, which having "never felt any craving after the things of the earth," never descended into bodies. They were intermediaries between God and men, hence they are represented as "ascending and descending" in Jacob's dream. Unlike the Stoic philosopher Posidonius (b. c. 135 B.C.E.), who saw in the demons the necessary link between the upper and lower stages of being, Philo considered the angels merely as instruments of Divine Providence, whose services could on occasion be dispensed with when God chose to address men directly. There were, however, "evil angels" also, who were not messengers of God and hence "unworthy of their title." Evidently, Philo was thinking of the "fallen angels" of Jewish apocalyptic literature.

MAGHĀRRĪYA AND KARAITES. Philonic and gnostic influences were combined in the angelology of al-Maghārrīya, a Jewish sect that flourished in Egypt during the first centuries of the common era. As attested by al-*Kirkisānī, Karaite dogmatist and exegete, and al-Shahrastānī (1076 or 1086–1153), Muslim historian of religion and philosopher, the Maghārrīya interpreted all anthropomorphic passages in the Bible as referring to an angel, rather than God Himself, and claimed that it was the angel who created the world and addressed the prophets. According to al-Kirkisānī the writings used by this sect included a work by "the Alexandrian," a reference, no doubt, to Philo. The angel-demiurge of the Maghārrīya, therefore, represents a distorted and gnostically inspired version of Philo's *logos. This doctrine has no parallels in either the sectarian Qumran writings or in the Greek literature describing the Essenes. It is, however, closely akin to the view held by the Karaite theologian Benjamin *Nahawendi in the first half of the tenth century, as was already noted by al-Kirkisānī. Judah *Hadassi, the 12th-century Karaite teacher, followed Nahawendi in predicating the appearance of angels in all instances of prophecy, including that of Moses, to whom the highest angel is said to have appeared.

SAADIAH GAON. *Saadiah Gaon rejected the Karaite view that the anthropomorphic terms in the Bible refer to angels.

He explained the passages describing Divine revelations to Moses and the other prophets by his theory of the "created glory" (*kavod nivra*) and "created speech" (*dibbur nivra*). The "created glory," identified by him with the rabbinic concept of *Shekhinah* ("Divine Presence"), is a manifestation of light accompanying the "created speech" and proof that the voice heard is of Divine origin. The angels, too, are created and luminous, but rank below the *kavod*. Nevertheless, Saadiah does admit that prophetic revelation may also take place through the mediacy of angels.

ABRAHAM IBN EZRA. Abraham *Ibn Ezra understood Saadiah's views as asserting the superiority of men over angels and attacked his notion. Man, according to him, is far below the angels, since all his knowledge is imperfect; only under certain conditions may his soul be admitted to the rank of the angels in the afterlife. This disagreement stemmed from different conceptions of the angelic nature. For Saadiah, the angels, although more refined in substance than man, are still corporeal beings, while in Ibn Ezra's view, they are identical with the immaterial or simple substances of Neoplatonic ontology. They represent the "supernal world," which is "all glory" and consists of the "supernal forms" of all things below (cf. Ibn Ezra's commentary on Genesis 1:1, which is more explicit in the first recension, J. Blumenfeld (ed.), *Oẓar Neḥmad*, 2 (1857), 210 ff.; cf. also M. Friedlaender, *Essays on the Writings of Abraham ibn Ezra* (1877), 115). This Neoplatonic view of the world of angels is poetically described in Ibn Ezra's Hebrew paraphrase of *Ḥai ibn Yaqẓan* by the Muslim philosopher Avicenna, which he called *Ḥai ben Mekiẓ* (in D. Rosin's *Reime und Gedichte des Abraham ibn Ezra* (1885–94), 196). Avicenna identified the angels of the Koran with the "separate intelligences," which, following Aristotle, he assumed to be the external movers of the spheres.

MAIMONIDES. The equation of the "separate intelligences" (Ar. *ʿuqūl Mufāraka;* Heb. *sekhalim nifradim* or *sekhalim nivdalim*) with angels became the accepted doctrine in Jewish Aristotelianism. Declaring that the angels are incorporeal, *Maimonides writes, "This agrees with the opinion of Aristotle; there is only this difference – he used the term 'intelligences' and we say 'angels' instead" (Guide, 2:6). This view marks a radical departure from the traditional view of angels as corporeal beings. The assertion of their incorporeality raised the questions of how they could be visibly perceived and what could be meant by the biblical descriptions of them as flying, winged, and so on. Maimonides answered that all such attributes should be understood as figurative expressions (Guide, 1:49). At the same time he considered the word "angel" a homonymous term denoting not only the separate intelligences, but all natural and psychic forces, both generic and individual. Thus, the formative power which produces and shapes the limbs of an embryo may be called an angel; the libidinous disposition aroused by the sight of a beautiful woman may be spoken of as "an angel of lust" (as in Gen. R. 85:8); the spheres and elements, too, may be referred to as "angels" (Guide, 2:6–7). The rabbinic statement "Every day God creates a legion of angels; they sing before Him and disappear" (Gen. R. 78:1) was taken by him to describe the natural and psychic forces in transient individuals.

AVICENNA AND AVERROES. Jewish Aristotelians were greatly influenced by the divergent views of the Muslim philosophers *Avicenna and *Averroes, who identified angels with the moving principles of the celestial spheres. According to Avicenna (c. 980–1037), the motions of the spheres were due to two kinds of movers, the intelligences and the celestial souls. The intelligences moved the souls by virtue of being their objects of contemplation, and the souls, in turn, moved their respective celestial spheres. Avicenna identified the hierarchy of the intelligences with the cherubim and that of the celestial souls with the ministering angels. This doctrine and the complicated theory of emanation supporting it were criticized by Averroes, who eliminated the angelic hierarchy of celestial souls and preserved only the angelic hierarchy of intelligences. He interpreted the "soul of the sphere" in the sense of "nature of the sphere."

Abraham *Ibn Daud and Maimonides followed Avicenna, while Jewish Averroists like Isaac *Albalag adopted Averroes' angelology. Ibn Daud (*Emunah Ramah*, ed. by S. Weil (1919), 58–62) demonstrated the existence of angels from the motions of the heavens, which were caused by the celestial souls' desire to imitate the intelligences. This is a clear restatement of Avicenna's dual hierarchy with the important difference, however, that the celestial souls are not specifically designated as angels. Maimonides also accepted Avicenna's dual hierarchy but reserved the term "angel" for the intelligences, the rank of an angelic order being in proportion to its capacity to conceive of God (Yad, Yesodei ha-Torah 2:5–8). Isaac Albalag, on the other hand, followed Averroes in opposing Avicenna's position and even exceeded Averroes' critique by denying the need for an internal principle of motion in the spheres. He proposed instead a dual hierarchy of intelligible and natural forces, or angels. Philosophers who rejected the doctrine of separate intelligences in its entirety and the angelology based on it were *Judah ha-Levi (Kuzari, 5:21; cf., however, 4:3, where he refuses to pronounce either for or against this view), Ḥasdai *Crescas (*Or Adonai*, 1:2, 15; 4:3), and Isaac *Arama (*Akedat Yiẓḥak.* 2). Both Avicennians and Averroists agreed that the separate intelligences (i.e., angels) were simple substances or pure forms without matter. A different view was held by Jewish Neoplatonists, such as Isaac *Israeli who described the hypostasis of intellect as composed of spiritual matter and form, and Solomon ibn *Gabirol, who held that the intelligible substances or angels are composed of matter and form. Abraham Ibn Daud (and Thomas Aquinas in his *De ente et essentia*) attacked Gabirol's view. Isaac *Abrabanel, in his commentary on the Book of Kings (ch. 3), quotes Gabirol's doctrine and offers an elaborate survey of the views advanced on the subject. For the role of angels in prophecy according to the Jewish Aristotelians see *Prophecy.

[Alexander Altmann]

Modern Period

The modern Jewish attitude to angels tends to regard the traditional references and descriptions as symbolic, poetic, or representing an earlier world-concept. Contemporary movements such as Reform Judaism and certain sections of the Conservative Movement have either completely expunged from the liturgy all references to angels or where they remain have understood them in poetic or mythological terms. They feel that a belief in their existence is out of keeping with a modern approach to the world and God and cannot be reconciled with modern rationalism.

The attitude prevailing among many of the Orthodox is ambiguous. They have retained the relevant liturgical passages and accept the appropriate biblical and rabbinic references, but nevertheless modern Orthodoxy tends to demythologize them and reinterpret them without compromising the belief in their ontological status. Angels are interpreted symbolically and belief in their existence is not denied altogether. The degree of literalness of this belief varies from sub-group to sub-group. It is only among the small fundamentalistic sections, such as some of the Ḥasidim as well as the Oriental Jewish communities, that the literal belief in angels, which for so long characterized Jewish thought, is still upheld.

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ANGERS (Heb. אנג׳יירש), capital of the Maine-et-Loire department, western France, and of the ancient province of *Anjou. Jews probably resided in Angers from the 12th century. They were expelled by Charles II in 1289. The Jews who evidently resettled in Angers during the 14th century became the victims of bloody persecutions and humiliating restrictions. In 1394, soon after Anjou was reunited with France (1390), the Jews of Angers were again expelled, with the rest of the Jews of the kingdom (see *France). Jews subsequently visited Angers on business, but in 1758 the municipal council prohibited them from entering the market. The present "Rue de la Juiverie," bordering on the modern part of the city, is not the site of the medieval Jewish quarter. A number of Hebrew inscriptions may be seen on four covings above the portal of the Cathedral of Angers, describing the attributes of the savior, taken mainly from Isaiah 9:5. In 1968 there were 250 Jews in Angers.

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[Bernhard Blumenkranz]

ANGLO-ISRAEL ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY, founded in 1961 by Alec Lerner, Leon Shalit (at that time both on the staff of Marks and Spencer), and Richard Barnett, who was Keeper of Western Asiatic Antiquities at the British Museum. It is likely that they were influenced by both positive and negative considerations.

Positively, there was much popular interest at the time in what has often been called "Biblical Archaeology," and this same group had already been active in seeking to gain material support for excavations in Israel. During 1961–62, Yigal *Yadin was spending a year in London. In preparing for his excavations at *Masada, where the system of using volunteer labor was first introduced, he was in close touch with his three friends about the logistical problems involved. It is thus no surprise that he should have given the Society's inaugural lecture in November 1961 to an audience of some 700.

Negatively, it is likely that Barnett, who was also involved with the much older *Palestine Exploration Fund, was disappointed at the lack of interest being shown in academic circles in the work specifically of Israeli archaeologists and that he was anxious to foster a greater exchange of ideas and the dissemination of the important work that they were doing.

All these concerns led to the formulation of the main aims of the Society, which have continued to the present, namely public lectures (about ten per annum) on the archaeology of Israel and surrounding countries, and the support by grants of students going to join excavations in Israel and similar projects or of Israeli students who need to visit Britain for archaeological research. In recent years, these aims have been further developed by the introduction of museum visits, the provision of lectures in Manchester as well as London, joint lectures with other societies (including the PEF) and in particular by the publication of an annual *Bulletin* which, under the editorship of Shimon Gibson, has become established as a mainstream academic journal for archaeological and related research as well as continuing to provide summaries of the society's activities and lectures.

The society has had three chairman in its 25-year history; Barnett himself, who steered it with a very personal touch until 1985, then more briefly J.B. Segal, and since 1991 H.G.M. Williamson, who has sought to develop the role of the executive committee. Honorary presidents have been Lord Segal and currently Viscount Allenby of Megiddo, the great-nephew of the distinguished field marshal.

The charitable society has no religious or political affiliation, and its modest membership is open to all with an interest in the subjects it seeks to promote.

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[H.G.M. Williamson (2nd ed.)]

ANGLO-JEWISH ASSOCIATION (AJA), British organization originally founded for the protection of Jewish rights in backward countries by diplomatic means. Its objectives and activities were patterned after those of the *Alliance Israélite Universelle. It was established in 1871 with Jacob Waley as its first president; five Jewish members of Parliament served as vice presidents. By 1900 it had 36 branches, 14 in British colonies. In 1871 it was instrumental in securing the creation of the Romanian Committee and in 1882 collaborated in establishing the Russo-Jewish Committee. From 1878 it cooperated with the *Board of Deputies of British Jews in the Conjoint (Joint) Foreign Committee. The AJA undertook educational work among "underdeveloped" Jewish communities, maintaining schools in Baghdad, Aden, Mogador, Jerusalem (the Evelina de Rothschild School), and other places. In 1893 it became associated with the direction of the *Jewish Colonization Association (ICA). As its president, Claude *Montefiore condemned the *Balfour Declaration. After the Board of Deputies became overwhelmingly Zionist in 1940, the AJA under Leonard J. *Stein became a rallying point of non-Zionist sentiment; as a result, ostensibly because it was not a democratically elected body, its representation on the Joint Foreign Committee was reduced and then abolished. After the establishment of the State of Israel, it modified its attitude toward Zionism. Circumstances have reduced its overseas interests. It published the *Jewish Monthly* (1947–52), and the *AJA Review* (1944–55) which was superseded by the *AJA Quarterly,* and more recently by *AJA Today.* In recent years it has awarded student scholarships and holds cultural events, but it has also continued to represent the Jewish community on government and international bodies.

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[Cecil Roth]

ANGOFF, CHARLES (1902–1979), U.S. novelist and editor. Born in Russia, Angoff was taken to the U.S. as a child and began his writing career in the 1920s. He assisted H.L. Mencken, whose attitudes about Jews were variable, in editing the *American Mercury* and in 1934 succeeded him as editor. Angoff's first book, *Literary History of the American People* (2 vols., 1931), surveyed the period from 1607 until 1815, but his qualities were best revealed in his fiction. He first ventured into this field with a series of short stories based on his own experiences: *Adventures in Heaven* (1945), *When I was a Boy in Boston* (1947), and *Something about My Father and Other People* (1956). Only in the 1950s, however, did Angoff emerge as a writer of real significance, recording the saga of East European immigrant Jewry's integration into American society. His most notable achievement was a series of autobiographical novels centering on his alter ego, David Polonsky: *Journey to the Dawn* (1951), *In the Morning Light* (1952), *The Sun at Noon* (1955), *Between Day and Dark* (1959), *The Bitter Spring* (1961), *Summer Storm* (1963), *In Memory of Autumn* (1968), *Winter Twilight* (1970), and *Season of Mists* (1971). With sympathy and fidelity Angoff weaves into the story of his hero a whole gallery of American-Jewish types, ranging from the Yiddish-speaking immigrants at the turn of the century to their Americanized descendants of the post-World War II era, stung to new Jewish awareness by the Holocaust and Israel. He also wrote a book of poems entitled *The Bell of Time* (1967) and a volume of essays, *The Tone of the Twenties* (1966). In 1957 Angoff became an editor of the *Literary Review.* He wrote a frank treatment of a former literary idol and his old associate in *H.L. Mencken: A Portrait from Memory* (1956). He also published *Prayers at Midnight*, consisting of 26 original prayers in the form of "prose poems." In 1969 Angoff was elected president of the Poetry Society of America and subsequently reelected for a second term as president. In 1970, he published, with Meyer Levin, an important anthology of selections from American-Jewish novels, *The Rise of American Jewish Literature*.

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[Sholom Jacob Kahn]

ANGOULÊME, capital of the department of Charente, western France. It seems from a missive addressed by Pope Gregory IX in 1236 to the bishop of Angoulême and other prelates that the crusaders had committed excesses against the Jews there. In about 1240 Nathan b. Joseph *Official engaged in a controversy with the bishop of Angoulême. The Jewish cemetery was situated between the city wall and the abbey, and the synagogue near the present Place Marengo. The "Rue des Juifs" (now Rue Raymond-Audour) began at Rue des Trois-Notre-Dame and ended at the Place du Palet. A second "Rue des Juifs" in Faubourg l'Houmeau is mentioned for the first time in 1811. The community seal represents a crescent moon and a six-pointed star with the encircling inscription S[*igillum*] *Iudaeorum.*

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[Bernhard Blumenkranz]

ANGRIST, ALFRED ALVIN (1902–1984), U.S. pathologist. Angrist, who was born in Brooklyn, held various teaching posts at the New York Medical College from 1929 to 1954, when he became professor of pathology at the Albert Einstein College of Medicine of Yeshiva University, New York, retiring from there in 1969. He was also director of laboratories of the Bronx Municipal Hospital Center and consultant pathologist to many New York City hospitals. Angrist made many important contributions to the knowledge of endocarditis. One of his favorite subjects, however, was the importance of the autopsy, both for the advancement of medical knowledge and for teaching. He campaigned vigorously on the matter, and dealt with it in many of his scientific papers. Angrist was a member of the committee that produced the standard nomenclature of pathology and for over 20 years was on the committee on medical education of the New York Academy of Medicine. He was a strong supporter of "controversial" scientists in the McCarthy era. Among other posts, he served as president of the Queens County Medical Society and New York Pathology Society. Angrist was also a director of the Health Insurance Plan of Greater New York and president of the Queensboro Council for Social Welfare.

[Fred Rosner / Bracha Rager (2nd ed.)]

ANHALT, former German state, now part of the Land of Saxony-Anhalt, Germany; until the 12th century part of the duchy of Saxony, later becoming an independent principality. Jews living in the towns of Bernburg, Aschersleben, Koethen, and Zerbst in Anhalt are mentioned in sources from the 14th century. Communities existed in the first two towns during the 15th century when the rabbi of Aschersleben was Isaac Eilenburg, mentioned in the responsa of Israel Isserlein. No further Jewish settlement in Anhalt is recorded from the end of the 15th century to the beginning of the 17th. Afterward, the mercantilist policies of the absolutist regime encouraged Jewish traders and financiers to settle in the principality. They formed a well-to-do group which soon engaged in cultural activities.

Hebrew printing presses were established in Koethen in 1621. Moses Benjamin Wolff, the court Jew, set up a Hebrew press in 1695 in Dessau (which was active till 1704) as well as in Koethen and Jessnitz where Israel b. Abraham, who was a proselyte, was active for many years. He printed Maimonides' Code with commentaries (1739–42) and his *Guide of the Perplexed* with the standard commentaries in 1742. In 1742 too, Benjamin Moses Wolff's son Elijah restored his father's press for one year, producing the *Sifra* and the Jerusalem Talmud, *Seder Mo'ed*. In the period of Enlightenment Moses *Philippson (1775–1814) established a Hebrew press in Dessau; David (b. Moses) *Fraenkel printed there the first Judeo-German monthly *Sulamith* (1806–33).

A synagogue was built at Dessau in 1687. The characteristic relationship of this period between the German princes and the rich Jews they patronized, a mixture of exploitation, oppression, and socializing, was also found in Anhalt. Thus, permission was given to build a synagogue in the famous gardens of Woerlitz, and a Jewish wedding was held at the palace. Anhalt Jewry played an important role in the Enlightenment (*Haskalah) and acceptance of German culture. Moves toward Jewish emancipation were initiated in the community of Dessau early in the 19th century. In 1804 the "body" tax levied on Jews was abolished in Anhalt, and Jews were required from 1810 to adopt surnames. Full political rights were granted in 1867. In 1831 the civil authorities appointed S. *Herxheimer chief rabbi of Anhalt, contributing half of his salary. Prominent among Anhalt Jews were the philosophers Moses *Mendelssohn, Hermann Heyman *Steinthal, and Hermann *Cohen, the historian Isaac Marcus *Jost, the theologian Ludwig *Philippson, and the mathematician Ephraim Solomon Unger. The Jewish population, numbering 3,000 in 1830, decreased to 1,140 by 1925. The synagogues of Anhalt were burned in November 1938; the 1,000 Jews still living there were murdered during World War II.

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[Zvi Avneri]

ANHALT, ISTVÁN (1919–), composer. Anhalt was born in Budapest where he studied with Zoltán Kodály at the Franz Liszt Academy of Music in 1937–41. Conscripted into a forced-labor unit of the Hungarian army in 1942, Anhalt escaped in 1944 and was hidden by Pater Janos Antal and Theresa de Kerpelz, whom he sponsored for recognition by Yad Vashem.

At war's end Anhalt went to Paris where he studied conducting at the Conservatoire with Louis Fourestier; piano with Soulima Stravinsky; and composition with Nadia Boulanger. During this time he lived on a stipend from the Union des étudiants juifs de France and led the vocal quartet at a Paris synagogue. He immigrated to Canada as the only musician among 64 displaced intellectuals who were fellows of the Lady Davis Foundation (1949–52). Anhalt spent the rest of his career at McGill University's Faculty of Music (1949–71) and Queen's University's School of Music (1971–84). His students included composers Jack Surilnikoff and William Benjamin.

Among Canadian composers, Anhalt was a leading figure in the postwar avant-garde. Seemingly self-taught in Arnold Schoenberg's 12-tone technique, he employed an idiosyncratic form of serialism that culminated in his *Symphony*. Anhalt conducted the premiere of this, his first large-scale instrumental piece, at a 1959 Montreal concert sponsored by the Canadian Jewish Congress to commemorate the 200th anniversary of the first Jewish community in Canada. A turning point in his career, the *Symphony* helped secure Anhalt a tenured position at McGill and resulted in international exposure. Other works of this period are *Seu Sheorim* (1951) for chorus and organ to a traditional text, and Psalm XIX (1951) for baritone and piano, to a text by A.M. Klein, for Otto Steieren, cantor of Montreal's Temple Emanuel.

Also a pioneer in electronic music, Anhalt spent his summers in the late 1950s and early 1960s at Canada's National Research Centre, the Columbia-Princeton Center, and Bell Labs. In 1964 he established Canada's first electronic music studio at McGill. These experiments resulted in *Electronic Compositions 1–4* (1959–61) and such mixed-media works as *Foci* (1969). As in other post-1960 pieces, Anhalt himself wrote *Foci*'s text, which contains kabbalistic references and requires extended vocal techniques. In his 1995 opera *Traces* (*Tikkun*), a single singer enacts many characters in Anhalt's libretto, which is influenced by the Kabbalah, the Exodus story, and the writings of Martin Buber, Gershom Scholem, and Isaac Luria. *The Tents of Abraham* (*A Mirage – Midrash*), which Anhalt has characterized as "a dream of peace between Judaism and Islam," was awarded Canada's Juno Award for best classical composition in 2005. Anhalt was named an Officer of the Order of Canada in 2003.

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[Jay Rahn (2nd ed.)]

ANIELEWICZ, MORDECAI (1919–1943), commander of the Warsaw ghetto uprising. Anielewicz, who was born into a Jewish working-class family in Wyszków, Poland, was for a short time a member of *Betar. He later joined *Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir and at the outbreak of World War II, was one of the leaders of its Warsaw branch. When the German army approached Warsaw, he fled eastward in an attempt to reach Palestine but was caught at the Romanian border. He went to Vilna, then Soviet-occupied, where many members of the Zionist youth movements found refuge but returned to Warsaw in order to reestablish his movement in German-occupied Poland. He was instrumental in founding an urban kibbutz in a house in the Warsaw ghetto, in organizing educational activities for small groups, and in publishing an underground paper *Neged ha-Zerem* ("Against the Stream"). He was outside the ghetto in Western Poland during the *Aktion* of July–September 1942 (see *Warsaw, Ghetto) in which more than 265,000 Jews were shipped to Treblinka, where they were gassed. Consequently, he was less ridden by guilt and self-loathing for the failure to resist than his comrades who had remained in Warsaw. Anielewicz had long advocated armed resistance against the Germans, and upon the formation of the Żydowska Organizacja Bojowa or Z.O.B. ("Jewish Fighting Organization"), he was named its commander. He was the sole survivor of the Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir force, which he led at the time of the *Aktion* on January 18, 1943, in which Jews openly resisted the German deportations, which were halted after four days. The Z.O.B. believed that their resistance had halted the deportations and doubled their efforts. Thereafter Anielewicz prepared both the Z.O.B. and the entire ghetto, now effectively under his control, for the final uprising in April 1943. He deeply sensed the historic importance of his mission. On April 23, he wrote to Yitzhak Zuckerman, a unit commander on the Aryan side:

> What we have experienced cannot be described in words. We are aware of one thing only: what has happened has exceeded our dreams. The Germans ran twice from the ghetto…I have the feeling that great things are happening, that what we have dared is of great importance.
>
> Keep well, my dear. Perhaps we shall meet again. But what really matters is that the dream of my life has become true. Jewish self-defense in the Warsaw ghetto has become a fact. Jewish armed resistance and retaliation have become a reality. I have been witness to the magnificent heroic struggle of the Jewish fighters.

On May 8, the Germans sent gas inside the bunkers at Z.O.B. command headquarters at Mila 18. Anielewicz died as he expected, as his wished, fighting the Germans. In the underground Anielewicz used three aliases: "Marian," "Aniol" (Polish for angel), and "Malakhi," all variations of either his first name or family name. Kibbutz Yad Mordekhai is named after him.

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[Shaul Esh / Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

ANILAEUS AND ASINAEUS (first century C.E.), two Babylonian Jewish brothers who founded a robber state in Babylon and ruled it for 15 years (c. 20–35). Natives of Nehardea, Anilaeus and Asinaeus had been apprenticed by their mother to learn the weaving trade. Punished by their master for laziness, the brothers fled and were joined by other young discontented Jews in the area of the Euphrates. These they armed, and, acting as their leaders, the brothers forced the surrounding herdsmen to pay a tribute from their flocks, and threatened violence to all who refused. Eventually they established a robber state and thus came to the attention of the Parthian satrap of Babylonia. The latter, however, was defeated in battle by the two brothers after miscalculating that the Jews would not defend themselves if attacked on the Sabbath. When news of the battle reached the Parthian king, Artabanus III (c. 12–38 C.E.), he decided "to use the prowess of the Jewish brothers as a curb to ensure the loyalty of his satrapies, for some of them were in rebellion, and some were considering whether to rebel" (Jos., Ant., 18, 9, 330). As a result, they were formally appointed rulers of those regions of Babylonia which they already controlled. On reaching his own territory, Asinaeus fortified the land and in general "held sway from now on over all Mesopotamia, and for 15 years the brothers' prosperity kept on increasing."

Only with the appearance of a certain Parthian general in the area did the situation begin to deteriorate. Anilaeus, having fallen in love with the general's wife, forced him into battle, secured his death, and married his widow. By tolerating her idolatry Anilaeus aroused great dissension among his Jewish followers. When Asinaeus brought their protests before his brother and urged him to send the woman away, he was poisoned by her. Thus began the downfall of the small Jewish kingdom. Anilaeus assumed control of the army and managed to defeat Mithridates, a Parthian governor and son-in-law of Artabanus. Mithridates, captured and humiliated by Anilaeus, was eventually released. He thereupon gathered a greater force, and "the followers of Anilaeus suffered a disgraceful rout" (Jos., Ant., 18:366). Anilaeus himself managed to escape, and for a while succeeded in plundering villages near Nehardea. He was finally discovered and trapped by the Babylonians, who, after killing him, unleashed a violent wave of terror against the Jews of Babylonia.

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[Isaiah Gafni]

ANI MA’AMIN (Heb. אֲנִי מַאֲמִין; "I believe"), a short creed based, as is the **Yigdal* hymn, on the Thirteen *Articles of Faith formulated by *Maimonides. Each article begins with the words *Ani ma’amin be-emunah shelemah* ("I believe with complete faith"). The author is unknown. The credo character of the formula and the custom of reciting this creed may both be due to Christian influence. The catechistic formula "I believe with perfect faith…," reminiscent of early Christian creeds, has no basis in the Arabic original of Maimonides' thirteen principles, which are stated apodictically, although the medieval Hebrew translation by Solomon b. Joseph ibn Ya`aqub frequently interpolates "to believe" (*le-ha’amin*) or "that we believe" (*she-na’amin*).

The *Ani Ma’amin* is found, in a somewhat enlarged version, in a 15th-century manuscript (Parma, 1753 (997)) of miscellaneous prayers with the superscription: "These are the 13 principles of religion, faith, and ethics, and denying one of them is equivalent to denying the whole Torah. They should be recited daily after prayer, for whosoever recites them daily, will come to no harm all that day." The Ashkenazi prayer book, printed in Mantua in 1558, is apparently the first to incorporate the *Ani Ma’amin*. It appears after the *Hallel* prayer and the superscription in High German reads: "Some have the custom to recite this also in the morning." It can now be found in most Ashkenazi prayer books at the end of the morning service. Unlike the **Yigdal* hymn, however, the more creedal *Ani Ma’amin* never became part of the liturgy. The recital of the *Ani Ma’amin* is concluded by the three words of Genesis 49:18 repeated three times in different order, in Hebrew and Aramaic, as in the Night Prayer, a custom based on Kabbalah. The 12th article, expressing belief in the coming of the Messiah, became the Martyrs' Hymn during the Nazi Holocaust, when it was sung to a haunting melody by those taken to their death in the extermination camps and thereafter was frequently sung in their memory. For a *piyyut* based on *Ani Ma’amin,* see Davidson, Oẓar, s.v.

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[Marc B. Shapiro (2nd ed.)]

ANIMALS, CRUELTY TO (Heb. צַעַר בַּעֲלֵי חַיִּים, *ẓa’ar ba’alei ḥayyim*; lit. "pain of living things"). Moral and legal rules concerning the treatment of animals are based on the principle that animals are part of God's creation toward which man bears responsibility. Laws and other indications in the Pentateuch and the rest of the Bible make it clear not only that cruelty to animals is forbidden but also that compassion and mercy to them are demanded of man by God. According to rabbinic tradition, interpreting the biblical record, mankind was not allowed to eat meat until after the Flood, although the sacrifice of animals to God had been previously allowed (Gen. 1:29; 9:3). Once permitted, the consumption of meat remained surrounded with many restrictions (see *Dietary Laws). According to the rabbis, the Hebrew word for "desireth" in the verse, "When the Lord thy God shall enlarge thy border and thou shalt say: 'I will eat flesh,' because thy soul desireth to eat flesh…" (Deut. 12:20), has a negative connotation; hence, although it is permitted to slaughter animals for food, this should be done in moderation. It has been suggested that the Jewish method of slaughter, particularly the laws that the knife be exceedingly sharp and without the slightest notch, were motivated by consideration for the animal because this method is the most painless. The biblical Sabbath laws also suggest consideration for animals ("Thou shall not do any manner of work… nor thine ox, nor thine ass, nor any of thy cattle" (Ex. 20:10; Deut. 5:14); "but on the seventh day thou shalt rest; that thine ox and thine ass may have rest" (Ex. 23:12)), as do the prohibitions against muzzling an ox as it threshes (Deut. 25:4), and slaughtering an animal and its young on the same day (Lev. 22:28). One reason for the commandment to let the fields lie fallow in the Sabbatical year is that "the poor of thy people… and the beast of the field" may eat from them (Lev. 25:6–7). This same idea is inherent in the commandment "If thou see the ass of him that hateth thee lying under its burden…. thou shalt surely release it with him" (Ex. 23:5), and in the requirement to release the parent bird before taking the young (Deut. 22:6–7). (However, there is a difference of opinion in the Talmud as to the reason for these last *mitzvot* (see below).) Indications of the same consideration appear in the narrative sections of the Bible. The angel rebuked Balaam for smiting his ass (Num. 22:32), and God Himself admonished Jonah "and should not I have pity on Nineveh, that great city, wherein are more than sixscore thousand persons… and also much cattle?" (Jonah 4:11). God is also praised as the One who satisfied all living creatures (Ps. 145:9–16), and for giving the beasts and the birds their food (Ps. 147:9).

In view of all this, the rabbis based a great deal of their legislation and interpretation on the principle of *ẓa'ar ba'alei ḥayyim*. As one the seven *Noachide Laws, the prohibition to eat the flesh of a living animal, applies also to non-Jews (Sanh. 56a–57a, 59a–b; Tosef. Av. Zar. 8:4–6). The dietary laws limiting the killing of animals are discussed at great length, and the rabbis recommend moderation in eating even permitted meat. The rabbis were not completely opposed to killing animals – giving priority to human needs – but they were entirely against wanton killing as they were against causing pain to animals. It is forbidden to inflict a blemish on an animal (Ḥul. 7b). Many acts otherwise forbidden on the Sabbath are permitted when their purpose is to relieve animals' pain on the grounds that cruelty to animals is biblically prohibited (Shab. 128b). The accepted (although not unanimous) view is that the commandment to help unload (Ex. 23:5, see above) is motivated by consideration for animals, which is thus regarded as a principle of biblical force (Maim., Yad, Roẓe'aḥ u-Shemirat Nefesh 13; Tur, ḤM 272) and thus it is permitted to unload a burden from a laboring animal even on the Sabbath (Maim., Yad, Shabbat 21:9–10). It is permitted to ask a non-Jew to milk cows on the Sabbath – an act that would be otherwise forbidden. The rabbis ordained that one should not recite the festive benediction *She-Heḥeyanu* before the act of ritual slaughter or before putting on new leather shoes because the enjoyment is at the cost of the animal. On the basis of the verse "I will give grass in thy fields for thy cattle, and thou shalt eat and be satisfied" (Deut. 11:15), the rabbis decided that "it is forbidden for a man to eat before he has fed his animal because the animal is mentioned first" (Ber. 40a). This decision accordingly passed into the *halakhah* and was subsequently codified (Maim., Yad, Avadim 9:8). Out of the same consideration they also legislated that "a man is not permitted to buy animals unless he can properly provide for them" (TJ, Yev. 15:3, 14d; TJ, Ket. 4:8, 29a). The principle of kindness to animals played no less a part in the *aggadah* than it did in the *halakhah*. It is as though God's treatment of man will be according to the latter's treatment of animals. This is suggested by the juxtaposition of the promise of long life with the *mitzvah* of sending the parent bird away before taking the young (Deut. 22:6–7). R. Judah ha-Nasi was divinely punished because he did not show mercy to animals, and the punishment was removed only when his attitude improved, and Moses and David were considered fit to be leaders of Israel only after they had been shepherds (TJ, Kil. 9:3, 32a; BM 85a). In later rabbinic literature, both halakhic and ethical, great prominence is also given to demonstrating God's mercy to animals, and to the importance of not causing them pain (see R. Margaliot (ed.), *Sefer Ḥasidim* (1957), 589, 667, 668, 670; M. Cordovero, *Palm Tree of Deborah* (1966), ch. 2–3). Even the necessary inflicting of pain is frowned upon as "cruel."

The rabbinical attitude toward hunting is entirely negative. Harsh things are said about those who hunt even for a living. R. Ezekiel Landau said that "the only hunters we know of (in the Bible) are Nimrod and Esau; it is not the way of the children of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob."

Medieval Jewish philosophers used the principle of *ẓa'ar ba'alei ḥayyim* to explain various *mitzvot*. It was suggested that the reason for not plowing with an ox and an ass together (Deut. 22:10) is that the ox, being the stronger, would cause pain to the ass (Ibn Ezra, *ibid.*). Philosophers from R. Joseph *Albo to R. Abraham Isaac *Kook discussed the question of why it is permitted to eat meat at all and, indeed, from the talmudic statement that "the *am ha-areẓ* (i.e., "the boor") is forbidden to eat meat" (Pes. 49b), it would seem that its authors were also sensitive to the problem (see D. Cohen, in: *La-Ḥai Ro'i* (Memorial A.Y. Raanan Kook; 1961), 201–54).

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[Zvi Kaplan]

ANIMALS OF THE BIBLE AND TALMUD. Although no basic changes have occurred in the faunistic composition of Ereẓ Israel since biblical times, an examination of the names of the animals mentioned in the Bible and in talmudic literature reveals that a number of wild animals have disappeared from the country's landscape in fairly recent times. This applies particularly to cloven-hoofed ruminant wild animals. Of the nine such animals referred to in the Bible as permitted for food, namely, the deer, gazelle, and fallow deer, the addax, bison, and oryx, the wild goat, wild ox, and ibex, there survive today in Israel and in the neighboring countries only the gazelle and the ibex. Whereas the wild ox had already disappeared from the confines of the country in early times, the rest of these wild animals were to be found in Ereẓ Israel and neighboring countries until the end of the 19th century. The main reason for the subsequent disappearance of these animals, which were eagerly hunted for their tasty meat, their excellent skins, and their horns, has been the improved means of hunting, particularly the use of the long-range rifle. This has also led to the elimination of the large carnivorous animals – the lion, the bear, the leopard, and the cheetah (though specimens of the last two have survived in the country). The presence of these carnivorous animals in Ereẓ Israel in biblical times has been interpreted as indicating that the country was then sparsely populated and extensively forested. But these animals were also found in Ereẓ Israel in mishnaic and talmudic times, when the country was densely populated. Their dens were the thickets of the Jordan (Jer. 49:19), the Lebanese mountains (Song 4:8), the Syrian desert and the Negev (Isa. 30:6), from which they descended upon populated places. In Crusader times the lion was still to be found in the Negev. Of the Syrian bear some specimens have survived in Syria and in the Lebanese mountains, from where leopards occasionally make their way into Upper Galilee. Whereas the hippopotamus disappeared from the region in very early days, some *crocodiles survived in the western rivers of Ereẓ Israel up to the beginning of the 20th century. The ostrich became extinct in Ereẓ Israel and in the neighborhood several decades ago, and the last wild asses were exterminated in the Syrian desert at the end of the 19th century.

Most domestic animals were domesticated as early as in the pre-biblical period. Prehistoric engravings of camels and cattle have been found on the rocks of Kilweh in Transjordan, and clay images representing cattle, goats, sheep, and pigs dating from the fifth millennium B.C.E. have been uncovered in Jericho. There were domesticated cats in Egypt in the period of the First Dynasty, and images of cats were discovered in an Egyptian temple at Beth-Shean. The Bible makes no mention of the cat, which was apparently not bred to any great extent in Ereẓ Israel. Even in mishnaic times, when the cat was doubtless known in the country, other animals (the mongoose, etc.) were reared for the purpose of catching mice in the home. Several breeds of dogs appear in ancient drawings uncovered in Ereẓ Israel. It is not clear what strains of cattle were raised in Ereẓ Israel in biblical times, but drawings from the mishnaic period depict long-horned, humped cattle, resembling the present-day Zebu cow. There are pictures dating from the 15th century B.C.E. of the black long-eared goat. The broad-tailed sheep was also to be found in Ereẓ Israel and in the neighboring lands in ancient times. The horse was not much used in the country, the donkey and the mule having been preferred instead. The dove was domesticated in very olden days. The raising of fowl is attested by a seal which dates from the period of the kingdom of Israel and on which a cock is engraved. For royal and princely courts playful and ornamental animals, such as monkeys, elephants, and peacocks, were imported.

There are some 120 names of animals (excluding synonyms) in the Bible, mammals, birds, and reptiles being well represented. (See Table: Animals in the Bible.) Of the 86 mammals, 359 birds, and 76 species of reptiles of Ereẓ Israel about 37, 38, and 12 respectively are specified by name in the Bible. It must be stressed that it is only by chance that animals (and also flora) are described in the Bible. The biblical books were written by men who were close to nature and drew their inspiration from it in the consciousness that all these are the works of the Almighty, the expression of His providence over all creation. The portrayal of nature, although generally poetic and allegoric, is organically associated with the real landscape of Ereẓ Israel. In talmudic literature – the Mishnah, the Tosefta, the two Talmuds, and the Midrashim – there are scores of additional names of animals, but the numbers are small compared with the hundreds of names of plants. The reason for this paucity in the animals mentioned in talmudic literature is that the *halakhah* mentions them in the main only for the laws of *sheḥitah* and *terefot*, while the *aggadah* employed similes from the animal world of the Bible.

Classification of the Animals in the Bible and Talmud

MAMMALS. The Bible uses two terms to denote a mammal. The usual one is בְּהֵמָה (*behemah*), which refers to both domestic and wild mammals, seven species of the latter being included among the *behemah* permissible as food (Deut. 14:5). The other is חַיָּה (*ḥayyah*), which is a term sometimes incorporating domestic and wild animals (Lev. 11:2). Another passage however speaks of "hunting any beast (*ḥayyah*) or fowl" (Lev. 17:13), where the word refers specifically to a wild mammal. In talmudic literature *ḥayyah*, a wild mammal, and *behemah*, a domestic mammal, are clearly distinguished from each other, with different laws applying to each. Whereas the domestic mammal (if belonging to the category of clean animals) may be offered as a sacrifice, has some prohibited fat (*ḥelev*), and its blood is not required to be covered after slaughter, the wild animal (even though it is permitted for food) is ineligible as a sacrifice, has no prohibited fat, and its blood must be covered after slaughter. The distinction between a *ḥayyah* and a *behemah* applies to forbidden animals also. Thus the sages held divergent views on whether a dog is a *ḥayyah* or a *behemah* (Kil. 8:6; Tosef. Kil. 5:7). There was some doubt about which category certain animals belonged to. According to one opinion the כּוֹי (*koi*, also pronounced *kavi* or *kevi*), which is "doubtfully a *behemah* or a *ḥayyah*," is a hybrid of both (Ḥul. 80a). Similarly with regard to the *shor ha-bar*, the wild ox, there was uncertainty whether it had always been a wild animal so that the laws of a *ḥayyah* applied to it or had originally been a domestic animal which had become wild and to which therefore the laws of a *behemah* would refer. In later generations a similar question arose with regard to the water buffalo. Among the wild animals prime importance was attached to the permissible cloven-hoofed ruminants, which were the choicest game. Of these the Pentateuch (Deut. 14:5) enumerates seven: the *deer, *gazelle, fallow deer, wild goat, addax antelope, bison (*buffalo), and *antelope. Two additional permitted wild animals are mentioned in other biblical passages: the wild ox (*cattle) and the *ibex. As permitted domestic animals, the Bible names *sheep, *goats, and cattle; as prohibited ones, the *horse, *ass, *mule, *camel, and *pig. The ass was the most valuable work animal, and the camel of great importance in areas adjoining desert regions. The mule was used for riding and as a beast of burden, and the horse only for limited purposes. The fierce beasts of prey, although they did not usually inhabit Ereẓ Israel, sometimes penetrated its populated areas from neighboring countries. The *lion, *leopard, *bear, and *wolf, frequently mentioned in biblical parables and allegories as symbols of strength, cruelty, and

The Animals Listed in the Bible and in the Talmud

English Name	Scientific Name	Order or Family	Hebrew Name	Reference
Addax	Addax nasomaculatus	Ruminantia Artiodactyla	יַחְמוּר	Deut. 14:5; I Kings 5:3
Ant	Messor semirufus	Formicidae	נְמָלָה	Prov. 6:6–8; 30:25
Ass	Equus asinus	Equidae	חֲמוֹר	Gen. 12:16; 24:35; etc.
			עַיִר	Gen. 32:16; Judg. 5:10; etc.
			אָתוֹן	Gen. 32:16; 49:11; etc.
Bat	Chiroptera	Chiroptera	עֲטַלֵּף	Lev. 11:19; Isa. 2:20
Bear, Syrian	Ursus arctus syriacus	Ursidae	דֹּב	I Sam. 17:34–7; Hos. 13:8; etc.
Bee	Apis mellifica	Hymenoptera	דְּבוֹרָה	Deut. 1:44; Judg. 14:8; etc.
Beetle	Cerambyx; Capnodis	Coleoptera	תּוֹלַעַת	Deut. 28:39; Jonah 4:7
			חִפּוּשִׁית	Par. 9.2
Bison, European	Bison bonasus	Artiodactyla Ruminantia	תְּאוֹ	Deut. 14:5
			תּוֹא	Isa. 51:20
Boar, Wild	Sus scrofa	Artiodactyla non Ruminantia	חֲזִיר מִיַּעַר	Ps. 80:14
Buffalo, Water	Bos bubalus	Artiodactyla Ruminantia	מְרִיא	II Sam. 6:13; Isa. 1:11
Bug	Cimex lactularis	Rhynchota	פִּשְׁפֵּשׁ	Ter. 8:2
Buzzard	Buteo sp.	Falconiformes	אַיָּה	Lev. 11:14; Deut. 14:13; Job. 28:7
			רָאָה	Deut. 14:13
			גַּס	Hul. 3:1
Camel	Camelus dromedarius	Tylopoda	גָּמָל	Gen. 12:16; Lev. 11:4; etc.
			בֶּכֶר, בִּכְרָה	Isa. 60:6; Jer. 2:23
			נַאֲקָה	Shab. 5:1; Kelim 23:2
Cattle	Bos taurus	Artiodactyla Ruminantia	בָּקָר	Gen. 13:5; 18:7; etc.
			שׁוֹר	Gen. 32:6; Ex. 20:17; etc.
			אֲלָפִים	Deut. 7:13; 28:4; etc.
			אַבִּירִים	Isa. 34:7; Jer. 46:15; etc.
			פָּר, פָּרָה	Gen. 32:16; Judg. 6:25; etc.
			עֵגֶל, עֶגְלָה	Gen. 15:9; Lev. 9:2; etc.
Centipedes	Scolopendra; Eraphidostrephus	Myriapoda	מַרְבֵּה רַגְלַיִם	Lev. 11:42
			נָדָל	Mik. 5:3
Chameleon	Chamaeleon vulgaris	Chamaelonidae	תִּנְשֶׁמֶת (שֶׁרֶץ)	Lev. 11:30
Cheetah	Acinonyx jubatus	Felidae	בַּרְדְּלָס	B.K. 1:4; Sanh. 1:4
Cobra	Naja haje	Elapinae	פֶּתֶן	Deut. 32:33; Isa. 11:8
			שָׂרָף	Num. 21:6; Isa. 14:29; etc.
Cock	Gallus gallus domesticus	Galliformes	שֶׂכְוִי ?	Job. 38:36
			זַרְזִיר מָתְנַיִם (?)	Prov. 30:31
Corals	Corallium rubrum	Coralliacae	פְּנִינִים	Lam. 4:7; Prov. 8:11; etc.
Crane	Grus grus	Gruidae	עָגוּר	Isa. 38:14; Jer. 8:7
Cricket, Mole	Gryllotalpa gryllotalpa	Orthoptera	צְלָצַל	Deut. 28:42
Crimson Worm	Kermes biblicus	Ryncotidae	תּוֹלַעַת שָׁנִי	Ex. 25:4; Num. 4:8; etc.
			כַּרְמִיל	II Chron. 2:6; 3:14
Crocodile	Crocodilus vulgaris	Crocodilia	תַּנִּין	Ex. 7:9; Jer. 51:34; etc.
			לִוְיָתָן	Job. 40:25–41:26
Deer, Fallow	Cervus dama dama	Artiodactyla Ruminantia	יַחְמוּר	Deut. 14:5; I Kings 5:3
Deer, Roe	Cervus capreolus	Artiodactyla Ruminantia	אַיָּל, אַיָּלָה	Deut. 14:5; Jer. 14:5; etc.
Dog	Canis familiaris	Canidae	כֶּלֶב	Ex. 22:30; Judg. 7:5; etc.
Dove	Columba sp.	Columbiformes	יוֹנָה	Gen. 8:8; 8:12; Isa. 38:14; etc.
Eagle	Aquila sp.	Falconiformes	עַיִט	Gen. 15:11; Isa. 18:6; etc.
Earthworm	Lubricus sp.	Vermes	תּוֹלַעַת	Isa. 14:11; 41:14; etc.
Elephant, Ivory	Elephas africanus	Proboscidae	פִּיל	Kil. 8:6
			שֶׁנְהָב	I Kings 10:22; II Chron. 9:21
			שֵׁן	I Kings 10:18; 22:39; etc.

The Animals Listed in the Bible and in the Talmud (continued)

English Name	Scientific Name	Order or Family	Hebrew Name	Reference
Fish	Pisces	Pisces	דָּג דָּגִים	Gen. 9:2; Jonah 2:1; etc.
			דָּגָה	Gen. 1:26; Ex. 7:18; etc.
Flea	Pulex irritans	Aphantiptera	פַּרְעֹשׁ	I Sam. 24:14; 26:20; etc.
Fly	Musca domestica	Dyptera	זְבוּב	Isa. 7:18; Eccles. 10:1
Fly, Drosophila	Drosophila	Dyptera	יַבְחוּשׁ	Nid. 3:2
Fox	Vulpes vulpes	Canidae	שׁוּעָל	Lam. 5:18; Ps. 63:11; etc.
Frog	Rana esculenta	Amphibia	צְפַרְדֵּעַ	Ex. 7:27; Ps. 78:45; etc.
Gazelle	Gazella sp.	Artiodactyla Ruminantia	צְבִי	Deut. 12:15; Song 4:5; etc.
Gecko	Hemidactylus; Ptyodoctylus	Geckoidae	אֲנָקָה	Lev. 11:30
			שְׂמָמִית	Prov. 30:28
Gnat	Culex; Anopheles	Dyptera	עָרוֹב	Ex. 8:17; Ps. 78:45; etc.
Goat	Capra hircus	Artiodactyla Ruminantia	עֵז	Lev. 7:23; Song 4:1; etc.
			שָׂעִיר	Gen. 37:31; Lev. 4:28; etc.
			תַּיִשׁ	Gen. 30:35; Prov. 30:31; etc.
			עַתּוּדִים	Gen. 31:10; Jer. 50:8; etc.
Goat, Wild	Capra aegagrus	Artiodactyla Ruminantia	אַקּוֹ	Deut. 14:5
Goose	Anser anser domesticus	Anseriformes	בַּרְבּוּר	I Kings 5:3
			אַוָּז	Bek. 7:4; Shab. 24:3; etc.
Grasshopper, Longhorned	Tettigonidae	Orthoptera	חַרְגּוֹל	Lev. 11:22
Grasshopper, Shorthorned	Acrididae	Orthoptera Orthoptera	חָגָב	Num. 13:33; Isa. 40:22; etc.
			סָלְעָם	Lev. 11:22
Gull	Larus sp.	Laridae	שַׁחַף	Lev. 11:16; Deut. 14:15
Hare	Lepus sp.	Leporidae	אַרְנֶבֶת	Lev. 11:6; Deut. 14:7
Hawk	Accipiter nissus	Falconiformes	נֵץ	Lev. 11:16; Job. 39:26; etc.
Heron	Egretta sp.; Ardea sp.	Ardeidae	אֲנָפָה	Lev. 11:19; Deut. 14:18; etc.
Hippopotamus	Hippopotamus amphibius	Artiodactyla non Ruminantia	בְּהֵמוֹת	Job. 40:15–23
Horse	Equus caballus orientalis	Equidae	סוּס	Gen. 47:17; Ex. 9:3; etc.
			פָּרָשׁ	Isa. 28:28; Ezek. 27:14; etc.
Hyena	Hyaena hyaena	Hyaenidae	צָבוּעַ	I Sam. 13:18
Hyrax, Syrian	Procavia syriaca	Hyracoidea	שָׁפָן	Lev. 11:5; Ps. 104:18; etc.
Ibex	Capra nubiana	Artiodactyla Ruminantia	יָעֵל, יַעֲלָה	Ps. 104:18; Job 39:1; etc.
Jackal	Canis aureus	Canidae	שׁוּעָל	Judg. 15:4; Ps. 63:11; etc.
			אִיִּים (?)	Isa. 13:22;
Kestrel	Falco tinnunculus	Falconiformes	תַּחְמָס	Lev. 11:16; Deut. 14:15
Kite	Milvus sp.	Falconiformes	דָּאָה	Lev. 11:14
			דַּיָּה	Deut. 14:13; Isa. 34:15
Leech	Hirudo; Limnatis	Hirudinae	עֲלוּקָה	Prov. 30:15
Leopard	Felis pardus tullianus	Felidae	נָמֵר	Isa. 11:6; Jer. 13:23; etc.
Lion	Felis leo	Felidae	אֲרִי	Isa. 38:13; Amos 3:12; etc.
			אַרְיֵה	Gen. 49:9; Job. 4:10; etc.
			כְּפִיר	Ezek. 19:3; Job. 4:10; etc.
			לָבִיא	Gen. 49:9; Isa. 5:29; etc.
			לַיִשׁ	Job. 4:11; Prov. 30:30; etc.
			שַׁחַל	Hos. 5:14; Job 4:10; etc.
Lizard	Lacerta sp.	Lacertidae	לְטָאָה	Lev. 11:30
Lizard, Dab	Uromastix aegyptius	Agamida	צָב	Lev. 11:29
Lizard, Monitor	Varanus griseus niloticus	Varanidae	כֹּחַ	Lev. 11:30
Locust	Schistocerca gregaria	Orthoptera	אַרְבֶּה	Ex. 10:11–19; Deut. 28:38; etc.
			גָּזָם	Amos 4:9; Joel 1:4; 2:25
			גּוֹבַי	Amos 7:1; Nahum 3:17
			חָסִיל	I Kings 8:37; Joel 1:4; etc.
			יֶלֶק	Jer. 51:14; Joel 1:4; etc.

The Animals Listed in the Bible and in the Talmud (continued)

English Name	Scientific Name	Order or Family	Hebrew Name	Reference
Louse	Anoptura	Rhynchoidae	כֵּן כִּנִּים כִּנָּם	Isa. 51:6; Ex. 8:12 Ex. 8:13–14; etc
Mackerel	Scomber scomber	Scombridae	קוֹלְיאַס הָאִסְפַּנִין קוֹלְיאַס	Shab. 22:2
Maggot	Lucilia sp.; Drosophila sp.	Dyptera	רִמָּה	Ex. 16:24; Job 7:5; etc.
Mole Rat	Spalax ehrenbergi	Rodentia	חֲפַרְפָּרוֹת אִשׁוּת	Isa. 2:20; Kelim, 21:3; M.K. 1:4
Mongoose	Herpestes ichneumon	Viverridae	נְמִיָּה	B.B. 2, 5
Monkey	Simia	Anthropoidea	קוֹף	I Kings, 10:22; II Chron. 9:21
Moth, Carpenter	Cossidae	Lepidoptera	נסֵס	Isa. 10:18
Moth, Clothes	Microlepidoptera	Lepidoptera	סָס עָשׁ	Isa. 51:8 Isa. 50:9; 51:8; etc.
Mouse	Microtus guenthri Mus musculus	Rodentia	עַכְבָּר	Lev. 11:29; Isa. 66:17; etc.
Mule	Equus asinus mulus	Equidae	פֶּרֶד, פִּרְדָּה רֶכֶשׁ (?)	Isa. 66:20; I King 1:38; etc. Mic. 1:13; Esth. 8:10; etc.
Nightingale	Luscinia megarhynchos;	Passeres Passeres	זָמִיר	Song 2:12
Onager, Arabian Wild	Equus hemionus onager	Equidae	עָרוֹד	Job. 39:5
Onager, Syrian Wild	Equus hemionus hemihippus	Equidae	פֶּרֶא	Jer. 14:6; Job 6:5; etc.
Oryx	Oryx leucoryx	Artiodactyla Ruminantia	זֶמֶר (?)	Deut. 14:5
Ostrich	Struthio camelus	Struthionidae	יָעֵן כְּנַף רְנָנִים	Lam. 4:3 Job. 39:13–18
Owl, Barn	Tyto alba	Striges	תִּנְשֶׁמֶת (עוֹף)	Lev 11:18; Deut. 14:16
Owl,Eagle	Bubo bubo aharonii	Striges	אֹחַ	Isa. 13:21
Owl, Eagle Desert Dark	Bubo bubo ascalaphus	Striges	בַּת-יַעֲנָה	Lev. 11:16; Isa. 34:13; etc.
Owl, Eagle Desert Pale	Bubo bubo desertorum	Striges	תַּנִּים (?)	Isa. 34:13; Mal. 1:3; etc.
Owl, Fish	Ketupa zeylonensis	Striges	שָׁלָךְ	Lev. 11:17; Deut. 14:17
Owl, Little Dark	Athene noctua glaux	Striges	כּוֹס	Lev. 11:17; Ps. 102:7; etc.
Owl, Little Desert	Athene noctua saharae	Striges	קָאָת	Lev. 11:18; Isa. 34:11; etc.
Owl, Longeared	Asio otus	Striges	יַנְשׁוּף	Lev. 11:17; Isa. 34:11; etc.
Owl, Scops	Otus scopus Screech	Striges	שָׂעִיר	Isa. 13:21; 34:14
Owl, Shorteared	Asio flammeus	Striges	קִפּוֹד קִפּוֹז (?)	Isa. 14:23; Zeph. 2:14; etc. Isa. 34:15
Owl, Tawny	Strix aluco	Striges	לִילִית	Isa. 34:14
Ox, Wild	Bos primigenius	Artiodactyla Ruminantia	רְאֵם; רִים	Num. 23:22; Job 39:9–10; etc.
Partridge, Chuckar	Alectoris graeca	Galliformes	חָגְלָה	Num. 26:33; 27:1; etc.
Partridge, See-see	Ammoperdix heyi	Galliformes	קֹרֵא	I Sam. 26:20; Jer. 17:11
Peacock	Pavo cristatus	Galliformes	תֻּכִּי	I Kings 10:22; II Chron. 9:21
Porcupine	Erinaceus; Hemiechinus	Erinaceidae	קוּפָּד	Kil. 8, 5; Shab. 5, 4
Quail	Coturnix coturnix	Galliformes	שְׂלָו	Ex. 16:13; Num. 11:31; etc.
Rat	Rattus rattus	Rodentia	חֹלֶד חוּלְדָּה	Lev. 11:29 Kelim 15. 6; Par. 9.3
Raven	Corvus sp.	Corvidae	עוֹרֵב	Gen. 8:7; Lev. 11:15; etc.
Sardine	Sardinella maderensis Sardinella aurita	Clupeidae Clupeidae	טָרִית חִילָק	Ned. 6, 4; Av. Zar. 2.6 Av. Zar. 2.6
Scorpion	Scorpio sp. Buthus sp.	Scorpionidae	עַקְרָב	Deut. 8:15

The Animals Listed in the Bible and in the Talmud (continued)

English Name	Scientific Name	Order or Family	Hebrew Name	Reference
Sheep	Ovis vignei platyura	Artiodactyla Ruminantia	צֹאן	Gen. 4:2; I Sam. 25:2; etc.
			אַיִל	Gen. 22:13; 31:38; etc.
			רָחֵל	Gen. 32:15; Isa. 53:7; etc.
			כֶּבֶשׂ, כִּבְשָׂה	Ex. 12:5; Lev. 14:10; etc.
			כֶּשֶׂב, כִּשְׂבָה	Lev. 3:7; 5:6; etc.
			טָלֶה	I Sam. 7:9; Isa. 65:25; etc.
Sheep, Wild	Ovis musimon	Artiodactyla Ruminantia	כּוֹי (?)	Bik. 2.8; Bek. 1.5; etc.
Skink	Eumeces sp; Chalcides sp.	Skincidae	חֹמֶט	Lev. 11:30
Snake	Ophidia	Serpentes	נָחָשׁ	Gen. 3:1; Amos 5:19; etc.
Sparrow	Passer domesticus biblicus	Ploceidae	צִפּוֹר דְרוֹר	Lev. 14:4; Ps. 84:4; etc.
Spider	Araneida; Solifugae	Arachnoidae	עַכָּבִישׁ	Isa. 59:5; Job 8:14
			עֲכְשׁוּב	Ps. 140:4
Stork	Ciconia ciconia	Ciconidae	חֲסִידָה	Lev. 11:19; Jer. 8:7; etc.
Swift	Apus sp.	Apodidae	סִיס	Isa. 38:14; Jer. 8:7; etc.
Swine	Sus domestica	Artiodactyla non Ruminantia	חֲזִיר	Lev. 11:7; Prov. 11:22; etc.
Tahash	Dugong; Giraffa?		תַּחַשׁ	Ex. 36:19; Num. 4:6; etc.
Turtle dove	Streptopelia turtur	Columbiformes	תּוֹר	Gen. 15:9; Jer. 8:7; etc.
Viper, Carpet	Echis sp.	Viperidae	אֶפְעֶה	Isa. 30:6; Job 20:16; etc.
Viper, Horned	Cerastes sp.	Viperidae	שְׁפִיפוֹן	Gen. 49:17
Viper, Palestinian	Vipera palaestina	Viperidae	צֶפַע	Isa. 14:29
			צִפְעוֹנִי	Isa. 11:8; Jer. 8:17; etc.
Vulture, Bearded	Gypaetus barbatus	Vultures	פֶּרֶס	Lev. 11:13; Deut. 14:12
Vulture, Black	Aegypius monachus	Vultures	עָזְנִיָּה	Lev. 11:13; Deut. 14:12
			עוֹז	Kelim 17, 4
Vulture, Egyptian	Neophron percnopterus	Vultures	רָחָם; רָחָמָה	Lev. 11:18; Deut. 14:17; etc.
Vulture, Griffon	Gyps fulvus	Vultures	נֶשֶׁר	Lev. 11:13; Deut. 32:11; etc.
Wasp	Vespa orientalis	Hymenoptera	צִרְעָה	Ex. 23:28; Deut. 7:20; etc.
Whale	Balenoptera; Physeter	Cetacea	לִוְיָתָן	Ps. 104:26; Isa. 27:1; etc.
Wolf	Canis lupus	Canidae	זְאֵב	Isa. 11:6; Jer. 5:6; etc.

agility, consort with domestic animals in Isaiah's vision of eternal peace (Isa. 11:6–7). The wild beasts include the *dog. The *fox and *jackal are types of creatures that inhabit ruins and deserted places. Of the small mammals, the hyrax and *hare are mentioned among the animals prohibited as food, the statement that they chew the cud (Lev. 11:5–6) being due to their having characteristics similar to those of ruminants. An animal whose identity is uncertain is the **taḥash*. To the mammals belong also animals included in the Bible in other groups. Thus, for example, the Pentateuch mentions, among the unclean birds, the *bat (Lev. 11:19); among the swarming things, the *mouse and the *rat (Lev. 11:29) which by reason of their short legs appear to creep along the ground. The term "leviathan" sometimes refers to an aquatic mammal, while the "great fish" that swallowed Jonah may have been intended by the author of the Book of Jonah to denote a species of whale (see *Leviathan).

BIRDS. Of the birds, which are called by the collective name of צִפּוֹר (*ẓippor*) or עוֹף (*of*), there are more than 350 species in Israel, some of them non-migratory, remaining in Israel all year round, others migratory, remaining only in winter or summer, and others transmigratory, staying no more than a short time. The Talmud (Ḥul. 63b) declares that "there are innumerable species of clean birds," that is, the overwhelming majority of the birds of Ereẓ Israel are permitted, which is the reason given for the fact that whereas the Pentateuch enumerates the clean mammals, of the birds only the unclean ones are listed (20 in Lev. 11; an additional one in Deut. 14). Constituting as they did an important source of food, birds were much hunted, for which purpose various types of hunting equipment were used. The snaring of birds is frequently referred to in the Bible in an allegorical representation of someone who becomes entangled in difficulties. The eggs of wild birds were also collected for food (cf. Deut. 22:6; Isa. 10:14). The Bible makes no mention of the breeding of birds except *doves, which together with *turtledoves and *sparrows were used as sacrifices (the last in the purification rites of the leper (Lev. 14:4)). Descriptions, parables, and allegories taken from bird life occur in the Bible: mention is made of the exact timing of the migrations of the *stork, turtledove, *swift, and *crane; the beauty and purity of the dove are portrayed, as are the cruelty of the *eagle, and the concern for its young shown by the griffon *vulture; desolation and destruction are symbolized by the *owl, a species designated by many names; the strange habits of the *ostrich receive special attention. To the 37 birds mentioned in the Bible, the Talmud adds many more, in particular in a discussion of the features which determine their ritual fitness as food. The post-biblical period saw the increased breeding in Ereẓ Israel of poultry, fowl, geese, and ducks in addition to several species of doves, while in wealthy homes ornamental birds – *peacocks and *pheasants – were raised.

REPTILES AND "CREEPING THINGS." The Pentateuch defines reptiles as "every swarming thing that swarmeth upon the earth… whatsoever goeth upon the belly, and whatsoever goeth upon all fours" (Lev. 11:41–42). This embraces all species of reptiles, including *snakes, crocodiles, as well as species of the lizard, gecko, skink, chameleon, and monitor. Of these last five genera, the Pentateuch enumerates six species of swarming things to which particularly severe laws of uncleanness apply (Lev. 11:29–39). Among the reptiles, the crocodile and snakes are extensively described. Although all reptiles are forbidden as food, they are an important source of proteins for the Bedouin who also eat their eggs. The Talmud distinguished between the egg of a reptile and that of a bird, the former being rounded at both ends with the white and the yolk mixed (Ḥul. 64a). Several times the Bible mentions gigantic legendary animals named *tannin* and *livyatan* that were said to have rebelled against the Creator who was compelled to declare war upon them and kill them (cf. Isa. 51:9; Ps. 74:13–14; Job 7:12; 3:8). The Midrashim preserve such legends which are common to the myths of people of the east and which may have been suggested by the remains of bones belonging to species of prehistoric reptiles that stirred the imagination of the aggadists.

FISH AND AMPHIBIA. Fish are often mentioned in the Bible, where they are referred to by the collective terms of דָּגָה (*dagah*) and by its plural דָּגִים without specifying any by name. A distinction is made only between those that have fins and scales and are therefore permitted as food and those without these features (see *Dietary Laws). In Ereẓ Israel, with its seashores, fish constituted an important food, reference being made to their increasing number in the "Great Sea" (Ezek. 47:10). In Jerusalem one of the gates was called the Fish Gate (Zeph. 1:10; Neh. 3:3). Egypt is rich in fish, these being mentioned among the food for which the Israelites longed when wandering in the wilderness (Num. 11:5). The rapid multiplication of fish gave rise to a verb *dagah* (דָּגָה; "to teem"; Gen. 48:16). Although it does not mention any fish by name, the Bible has more than a dozen terms for fishing implements. The importance of fish in the economy of Ereẓ Israel is reflected in Ezekiel's vision of the desalination of the waters of the Dead Sea: "And it shall come to pass, that fishers shall stand by it from En-Gedi even unto En-Eglaim; there shall be a place for the spreading of the nets" (Ezek. 47:10). In describing the destruction of the earth, prophets spoke of the extinction of fish (Hos. 4:3; Zeph. 1:3). Talmudic literature contains the names of dozens of fish, these being mentioned particularly in the Babylonian Talmud, since fish were plentiful in the Euphrates and Tigris. Seven species of amphibia are found in Israel, of which only the *frog is mentioned in the Bible. The *aggadah* refers to the salamander as a remarkable creature unaffected by fire (Ḥag. 27a; Sanh. 63b).

INVERTEBRATES. This is the richest group of animals in the number of its species and in the variety of their forms. The vast majority of them are small animals. Although they occupy a comparatively meager place in the ancient literature, except for insects which are frequently mentioned in the Bible and talmudic literature, the insects comprise almost three-quarters of the species in the world. The great majority of them are injurious to vegetation and carriers of diseases. Of the insects, the most important place in the Bible and in talmudic literature is occupied by the *Orthoptera*, to which belong the *grasshopper and the *locust. Notorious for the ravages they cause to agriculture, they were also permitted as food. Among the common agricultural pests are mentioned insects that belong to the species of beetles, fruit flies, and *ants. Species of the *moth are injurious to clothing; troublesome to man are the *fly, *gnat, *louse, and *flea (to which talmudic literature adds the bug and mosquito). The *hornet and the *bee were regarded as dangerous to human beings, who however benefit from the latter's honey. From the *crimson worm, a prized dye was extracted. Of the other *Arthropoda*, "whatsoever hath many feet" are mentioned: centipedes and millipedes, the *spider, and the *scorpion; of the *Mollusca*, the snail. The gland in the body of purple snails (murex), yielded blue and purple dye (see **tekhelet*). Of the *Vermes* group, the *worm is mentioned, the Hebrew for which, תּוֹלַעַת (*tola'at*), refers to various insects, and also to the earthworm. The *leech is mentioned only once in the Bible (Prov. 30:15) and several times in the Talmud. Creatures lower than the invertebrates that were known to the ancients were the *corals, which however they thought to be wood.

The identification of the animals in the Bible has given rise to divergent views, some contending that it is possible to identify them in a few cases only. Others, however, hold that this can be done in most instances. While the problem of their identification has been raised in the separate articles on them, the above list gives only the most probable identification of the animals mentioned in the Bible and in the Mishnah.

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ANIMAL TALES, stories in which animals are the principal characters, with the plot revolving around them and the setting mainly in the animal world. A man in an "animal tale" is an intruder in a strange world inhabited, ruled, and dominated by animals. One of the oldest forms of the narrative folktale, the animal tale is found at all culture levels in all periods. Very often it was used by later narrators and writers as an exemplum in fable form in which the social background and the animal traits reflect those extant in the human world. Animal tales and animal characters were used as a vehicle to protest against and expose immediate local conditions, ethnic or social conflicts, and human behavior in general, and the narrator remained immune from censorship, while the audience grasped and understood what the tale really intended to convey.

Bible

Many metaphorical and allegorical animal references in different literary forms are to be found in the Bible: Numbers 24:8–9 speaks of "God… is for them like the horns of the wild ox; they shall devour enemy nations, crush their bones… they crouch, they lie down like the lion; like the king of beasts"; Ezekiel 17:3–12 contains the prophetic *parable (*mashal*) and the riddle (*ḥidah*) about the two great eagles with great wings and long pinions; Ezekiel 19:2–3 is an allegorical lament (*kinah*) about a lioness among lions that reared her whelps: "And she brought up one of her whelps, he became a young lion… and they brought him with hooks unto the land of Egypt." In Proverbs the animal portraiture serves mostly to teach exemplary behavior: "Go to the ant, thou sluggard; consider her ways, and be wise" (Prov. 6:6–8); ants, rock-badgers, locusts, spiders are seen as small animals which are exceedingly wise (Prov. 30:24–28); the lion, the greyhound, and the he-goat are stately in their march (Prov. 30:29–31). They are also depicted in riddles not necessarily prophetic (the lion in the Samson story, Judg. 14:12ff.). There are also full-length "true" animal tales in the Bible as well, including two plant tales related as fables by Jotham (Judg. 9:8–15) and by King Jehoash (II Kings 14:9).

Talmud and Midrash

In talmudic and midrashic literature the 36 preserved Hebrew and Aramaic animal tales are designated as "fox fables," though the fox features in only 11, mostly as a clever and sly trickster. Probably, the fox was the main character in many of the oral animal tales of the tannaitic period which for various reasons were not written down. Rabban Johanan b. Zakkai (Suk. 28a) is said to have included "fox fables" in the realms of his studies, yet none adapted or written by him is known. Similarly, only three of the "300 fox fables" associated with R. Meir (Sanh. 38b) were known three generations after the sage's death. The name of each (a biblical verse) is recorded in the Talmud, but not the plot or the gist of the tale. They were retold in a different way by later interpreters such as Hai Gaon and Rashi. The fact that the animal tales of R. Meir (see Sot. 9:15, "When R. Meir died there were no more makers of parables") have not survived is in contrast to the fact that so many of his other statements have. Even if one regards the number as exaggerated and formalistic (see the numerous references to the number 300 in the *aggadah*, in the index of Ginzberg, Legends, 7 (1938), 474), an explanation is nevertheless needed. The opposition of R. Meir's contemporaries to the Greek literary heritage, including the rich Aesopian fable tradition, may be one reason.

The obscure phrase מִשְׁלֵי כּ(וֹ)בְסִים, *mishlei k(o)vesim*, in the panegyric to Johanan b. Zakkai's extensive knowledge has led to a variety of interpretations centering around the animal tale and its nature. The word כּ(וֹ)בְסִים, *k(o)vesim*, has been explained as "washermen" (vulgar stories popular among people dealing with "unclean" matters) and as "Kybises" (referring to the famous first-century Libyan fabulist). The word has also been identified with כְּבָשִׂים, *kevasim* ("sheep"). The latter has its roots in the hypothesis that aggadic animal tales are structurally based mainly on the confrontation between the cunning and unscrupulous clever fox and the naive and gentle (foolish) sheep. The hypothesis is not corroborated by textual evidence of "fox-and-sheep fables," but might have been among the suppressed and lost material (cf. the Aesopian fables of the wolf and the sheep, ed. Chambry, nos. 217, 218, 220–2, 230–1; ed. Span, indicating Hebrew parallels, nos. 45–46, 52–54, 56–57).

Most of the animal tales found in the *aggadah* are also extant in the fable collections of India (the *Jataka*: the birth stories of the Buddha, and the *Panchatantra*), and in Greek fables (Aesop's fables as formulated by the later Latin fabulists Phaedrus and Babrius). Where narrative parallels exist between Indian, Greek, and aggadic fables, the Jewish version is closer to the Indian one; e.g., the animal tale used by R. Joshua b. Hananiah (Gen. R. 64:10) as a means to persuade the Jews not to rebel against Rome, has for its hero the lion, like "Javasakuma" in the *Jataka*, whereas the hero in the Aesopian parallel is a wolf (Phaedrus 1:8; ed. Chambry, 224, ed. Span, 41).

Middle Ages

Throughout the Middle Ages, animal tales were current among European Jews. These had reached them in three ways: (1) through the Jewish and local oral tradition; (2) through the traditional aggadic compilations; and (3) through West European "bestiaries" or beast epics (Roman de Renart) and Latin (Avianus, Romulus) or Old French fables (the *Fables of Marie de France*, written around 1170–80), the adaptations of ancient Greek texts, and of European translations of **Kalila and Dimna*. The threefold influence is evident in the 119 *Mishlei Shu'alim* ("Fox Fables") of *Berechiah ha-Nakdan (12th- or 13th-century fabulist) which is the main source of the later Yiddish animal tale (see Moses b. Eliezer *Wallich). The direct Hebrew rendering of Aesopian fables (*Mishlei Ysopeto*, printed in Constantinople, 1516) had no essential effect on the Jewish animal tales, neither on their literary formulations by Hebrew (see J.L. *Gordon) and by Yiddish (see E. *Steinbarg) fabulists, nor on the oral tradition current among Jewish storytellers in the East and in the West.

Modern Period

Among the 8,000 Jewish folktales collected from oral tradition in Israel and preserved in the Israel folktale archives, there are only 140 animal tales, a percentage lower than in any national archive, or in any current non-Jewish folktale collection. Similarly, in the Yiddish collection of 540 East European folktales of Naphtali Gross (New York, 1955), only 24 are animal tales. Of the 300 international animal-tale types only 40 are represented in Jewish oral tradition. Five of the types are Jewish oikotypes (local ethnic narrative type), the most common among them being no. 184 (see bibl., Aarne-Thompson): in it man insults the animal (camel) which later avenges itself (six versions).

Many animal tales still bear their etiological character and have not been transformed into fable. The tale of the camel that asked for horns and lost his ears (Sanh. 106a) is, for example, moralistic and didactic, directed against discontent, haughtiness, overweening ambitions, and immoderate and unreasonable requests; at the same time, however, it explains the origin of the camel's short ears. Most of the animal tales combine the explanatory and didactic motifs.

It is difficult to determine the dividing line between the literary and the oral (folk) animal tale. Literary tales as those of the *aggadah* have been drawn from, and then again become part of, the oral tradition. An analysis of their contents proves that the main line of distinction is functional. The original oral animal tale was meant either to entertain or to satisfy the intellectual curiosity of mankind interested in the animal world. It reflected the fantasy of the masses, but it can also be seen as an early stage of the study of zoology. The literary animal tale tends to be a fable and is essentially didactic and moralizing, reflecting the ideas of the normative leadership and of the ruling elite.

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[Dov Noy]

ANIM ZEMIROT (Heb. אַנְעִים זְמִירוֹת; "Let me chant sweet hymns"), also called *Shir ha-Kavod* ("Song of Glory"); synagogue hymn ascribed to *Judah he-Ḥasid, of Regensburg (d. 1217) and, with less probability, to a number of other medieval authors. The hymn is an alphabetical acrostic of 31 lines, the first and last four being a prologue and epilogue respectively. Each line consists of two half-lines which rhyme. The first three of the last four lines may not be part of the original poem.

The theme is a fervent paean of God's greatness and might, drawing upon Bible and Midrash but also showing the influence of philosophical ideas. The metaphors used are bold to the point of anthropomorphism. The hymn is recited in Ashkenazi rites at the end of the Sabbath and festival *Musaf* service, though in some synagogues it is said before the Reading of the Law after *Shaḥarit*. The custom to recite it daily is disappearing, although it has appeared at the end of the daily *Shaḥarit* in most editions of the prayer book since that of Venice in 1547 (see also Singer, Prayer (1962), 81ff.). *Anim Zemirot* and all the Songs of Unity (*Shir ha-Yiḥud*) are recited at the conclusion of the **Kol Nidrei* service in some Orthodox synagogues. Objections against the recital of *Anim Zemirot* in general were voiced by Solomon Luria, and against its daily use by Mordecai *Jaffe, *Judah Loew of Prague, Jacob *Emden, and *Elijah b. Solomon of Vilna, because these considered it an extremely holy poem. It is customary to open the Ark for *Anim Zemirot*, and in most synagogues the hymn is sung antiphonally. There are a variety of tunes.

A Purim parody of the hymn was composed by Aryeh Leib Cordovero of Torczyn (d. 1721; Davidson, Oẓar, 1 (1924), 310, no. 6828). The custom has developed of having *Anim Zemirot* recited by a child at the close of the Saturday morning service.

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ANINUT (Heb. word from the root אוֹנֵן, *onen*), status of a bereaved person in the period between the death and the burial of a close relative. The *onen* is exempted from fulfilling certain religious duties such as reciting the *Shema* and the daily prayers, or wearing *tallit* and *tefillin* so as to enable him to make burial arrangements. The *onen* eats in solitude and should abstain from meat and wine (MK 23b; Sh. Ar., YD 341:1). During Sabbaths and festivals, however, the *onen* participates in the customary ceremonials such as *Kiddush. Aninut* is terminated with the burial which commences the official mourning period.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: H. Rabinowicz, *A Guide to Life* (1964), 30–33.

ANISFELD, BORIS (**Ber**; 1878–1973), painter, graphic artist, sculptor, and stage designer. Born in Beltsy, Bessarabia, Anisfeld started his art education at the Odessa Art School (1895–1900). In 1901–9, he studied at the St. Petersburg Academy of Arts, where his tutors were I. Repin and D. Kardovsky. In 1903, he participated in the Summary Exhibition at the Academy of Arts, and in 1906–10 showed his works at exhibitions of the Union of Russian Artists in St. Petersburg and Kiev. In 1905–8, Anisfeld drew political cartoons for satirical magazines. Later he focused mainly on painting and stage design. He exhibited at the Salon in Paris in 1906, at the Vienna Secession in 1908, as well as at international exhibitions in Milan and London. In 1910, he joined "World of Art" and participated in all the exhibitions arranged by this association.

His works of this period feature highly sophisticated painting techniques, subtlety of color, and symbolic content. Anisfeld created several works inspired by biblical themes. From 1907, he was active as a stage designer. In 1912–14, he designed sets for S. Diagilev's Ballet Troupe productions and for ballets performed on the foreign tours of such leading dancers as A. Pavlova, V. Nijinsky, and V. Fokin. Anisfeld's designs for the sets and costumes of the ballet *Islamey* composed by M. Balakirev (Mariinsky Theater, St. Petersburg, 1912) brought him well-deserved recognition. In 1915, Anisfeld joined the Jewish Society for the Encouragement of the Arts and participated in its exhibits in Petrograd and Moscow (1916, 1917). In 1918, Anisfeld and his family settled in New York. His one-man show at the Brooklyn Museum in the same year brought him fame and success in America. In the 1920s, he continued working as a stage designer and created sets for several productions at the Metropolitan Opera. He collaborated with Jewish cultural organizations and associations, lectured at the Educational Alliance Art School, and published prints of his works in the American Yiddish press. In 1924 and 1926, he had one-man shows in New York. In 1928, Anisfeld moved to Chicago and exhibited his works at another one-man show at the Art Institute. In the early 1930s, Anisfeld all but ceased working for theater and focused mainly on painting. He also taught at the Chicago Art Institute until 1958. His later works feature a wide variety of themes and artistic techniques, from realistic landscapes to symbolic paintings executed in the expressionist manner. Big retrospectives of Anisfeld's works were held in Pittsburgh (1946), New York (1956), Chicago (1958), and Washington (1971).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Boris Anisfeld. Retrospective Exhibition.* Catalogue, Art Institute of Chicago (1958); *Boris Anisfeld: Twenty Years of Designs for the Theatre.* Catalogue of the Exhibition. Washington City (1971).

[Hillel Kazovsky (2nd ed.)]

ANISIMOV (Nissim-Oglu), ILYA SHERBATOVICH (b. 1862), ethnographer of Caucasian Jewry. He was born in Tarka (Dagestan). His father was the first "*mountain Jew" to study at the *Volozhin yeshivah, becoming rabbi of Tarka, and later of Temir Khan Shura, also in Dagestan. Anisimov studied engineering in Moscow and later worked in the Rothschild Naphtha Company in the Caucasus. He drew the attention of Russian philologists to the Tat language spoken by the Caucasian mountain Jews. In 1886 he was sent by the Moscow Archaeological Society to the Caucasus where he visited 88 localities and gathered a vast amount of ethnological and statistical material on the Jews there. His study on the Caucasian Jews, published in 1888, is of great ethnological value.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: S.A. Vengerov, *Istochniki slovarva russkikh pisateley*, 1 (1900), 75; *Voskhod*, 9 no. 1–2 (1889), 92–110; 9 no. 3 (1889), 49–64; I. Ben-Zvi, *The Exiled and the Redeemed* (1961^2), 39–48.

ANJOU (Heb. אניו), ancient province and former duchy in western France. In the Middle Ages the Jews of Anjou lived mainly in *Angers, the capital, and in Baugé, Saumur, Segré, and perhaps also in the hamlets called Rue-Juif, 3 mi. (5 km.) northeast of Saumur, and La Juiverie, 3 mi. (5 km.) west of Baugé. Near Fontevrault there was a "Jew's mill." The principal occupations of the Jews of Anjou, commerce and pawnbroking, are referred to in the customs tariffs of Saumur in 1162 and of Les Ponts-de-Cé near Fontevrault in 1177, and in the 13th-century custumal of Anjou. Records from the middle of the 11th century show that Joseph b. Samuel *Bonfils (Tov Elem) had the title "rabbi of the communities of Limousin and Anjou." Some rabbis of Anjou took part in a synod convened in the middle of the 12th century by Jacob b. Meir (Rabbenu *Tam) and *Samuel b. Meir. In 1236 many of the Jews of Anjou, *Poitou, and *Brittany were massacred during a wave of persecutions; others consented under threat of violence to convert to Christianity (see **anusim*). In 1269 and later, Charles I, count of Anjou, exacted considerable sums of money from the Anjou communities, then numbering less than one thousand persons, represented by Moses, their "syndic and commissioner." On the whole, however, the position of the Jews in Anjou was favorable. They were exempted from wearing the Jewish *badge, permitted to live in any place with more than 120 households, to engage in commerce, and to give loans on interest, using deeds stamped with the court seal. However on Dec. 8, 1289, shortly after his accession, Charles II ordered the expulsion of the Jews from Anjou and from Maine. It was alleged that they practiced usury in a scandalous manner, had sexual relationships with Christian women, and were turning Christians from their faith. In compensation for the loss of revenues involved, Charles levied an indemnity from the province. The Jews apparently returned to Anjou after 1359 (cf. custumal of 1385), in particular to Angers, staying there until the general expulsion of the Jews from France in 1394.

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[Bernhard Blumenkranz]

ANKARA (Turk. **Engürü**, Rom. **Ancyra**, med. **Angora**), capital of the Republic of Turkey since 1923. A trading center on the trade route to Persia and the Far East, it was a way station for Jewish merchants. A few settled there permanently. After the expulsion from Spain and Portugal, the number of Jewish settlers increased. Exiles in large numbers arrived in Ankara, and on their initiative two organized communities (Spanish and Portuguese), which also included the city's previous Jewish inhabitants, were established. The two communities united in the mid-16th century. They numbered 231 Jews in the 1520s and 747 in the 1570s. The Jews of Ankara engaged in the silk trade, ordering wares from Persia and selling them throughout Turkey, and some merchants became wealthy.

The rabbis of Safed decided that the rabbis in Ankara could not be depended on in profound matters of *halakhah* requiring detailed knowledge, but Moses de Boton and David ha-Kohen, who were consulted by several communities in the vicinity, were exceptions. The community dwindled as a result of the plague of 1672. In the 18th century, when prosperity returned, a permanent religious court which also supervised communal arrangements was established; business expanded and commercial ties were formed between Ankara and other commercial towns. In the 19th century there were no decisive changes in the economic situation, but the intellectual level of the community declined, and many Jews left the town. Migration after World War II reduced the Jewish population from 1,500 to 800. There was a certain subsequent increase and in 1968 it numbered 1,000, but in 2005 it was estimated that only 700–800 Jews live there.

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ANKAWA, ABRAHAM BEN MORDECAI (b. 1810), rabbi and kabbalist. Ankawa was born in Salé (Morocco). His family, probably of Spanish origin, had settled in Tlemcen (Algeria) and in Salé, where his father, Mordecai, was president of the community for a time. After serving as *dayyan* in his native town, Ankawa traveled to Leghorn about 1838 to arrange the printing of his first works. On his return he journeyed to many towns in Morocco and the Oran district, seeking material for his halakhic works. He was particularly interested in the unpublished research and rulings of old Castilian and North African rabbis, making extensive use of these and the works of authoritative European writers. His visits were usually short, but he stayed three years in Tlemcen and founded a talmudic academy there. He made a second trip to Leghorn in 1858.

The following works by Ankawa have been published: *Zekhor le-Avraham* (Leghorn, 1838), the rules of *terefot* in verse form, with a commentary based mainly on manuscripts by authoritative Fez writers, and an appendix containing four liturgical poems for the New Year by Spanish poets; *Ḥukkat ha-Pesaḥ* (1843), an Arabic paraphrase of memorial verses for *seder* nights; *Kol Teḥinnah* (1843), prayers for fasts and a few elegies; *Ḥesed le-Avraham* or *Sha'ar ha-Shamayim* (1845), a prayer book for the whole year arranged in accordance with the teachings of Isaac *Luria, containing the "*Idra Zuta,*" various mystical prayers, formulas, directions, and explanations: this prayer book was later published in several revised editions and under various titles (*Kol Bo, Limmudei ha-Shem*, etc.); *Ḥomer ha-Dat he-Attik* (1844), a summary of *Shefa Tal* by Shabbetai Sheftel *Horowitz, printed as an appendix to Ḥayyim *Vital's *Oẓerot Ḥayyim; Zevaḥim Shelamim*, a double commentary to Maimonides' rules of ritual slaughter, together with the *Maggid Mishneh*, with source references by Judah Alkalaz: included in this volume were *Get Mekushar* and *Seder Ḥaliẓah*, on the arrangements for the bill of divorce and for *ḥaliẓah* by Judah ibn *Attar and Jacob *Ibn Ẓur; *Yuẓẓa la-Rabbim* (1858) concerning a dispute between Ankawa and some Algers rabbis; *Kerem Ḥemed* (1869–71), responsa in two volumes arranged according to the four parts of Shulḥan Arukh: the second volume also contains *Sefer ha-Takkanot*, the statutes of the Castilian communities in Fez (since 1492) and *Et Sofer*, on legal documents. The *Sefer ha-Takkanot* is based on a copy which was completed by Jacob ibn Ẓur in 1698, and also contains *Kiẓẓut Takkanot*, after the version of Raphael *Berdugo (no. 196). Unpublished works of Ankawa include: *Oẓar Ḥokhmah*, an abstract of Ḥayyim Vital's *Oẓerot Ḥayyim; Afra de-Avraham* and *Millel le-Avraham*, homilies; *Seivat Avraham*, novellae to a few talmudic tractates; and a Hebrew translation of the Arabic paraphrase of the Decalogue, formerly ascribed to *Saadiah Gaon.

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[Heinrich Haim Brody]

ANKAWA, RAPHAEL BEN MORDECAI (1848–1935), Moroccan rabbi. Ankawa was born in Salé, a descendant of an illustrious Sephardi family. He received an excellent traditional religious education from his father-in-law, Issachar Asseraf, the chief rabbi of Salé. His great authority made him the uncontested leader of Moroccan Jewry. In 1880 Ankawa was appointed *dayyan* in Salé. In 1918 he became president of the Supreme Rabbinical Court in Rabat, the supreme court of Moroccan Jewry, after the reorganization of Moroccan Jewish communities by French Protectorate authorities. Ankawa held this post until his death. In 1929 he was made a Chevalier of the Legion of Honor. His tomb in the Salé cemetery became a shrine for Moroccan Jewish pilgrims. He wrote the following halakhic works: *Karnei Re'em* (1910), *Pa'amonei Zahav* (1912), and *To'afot Re'em* (1930), and a book of talmudic glosses entitled *Ḥadad ve-Teima* (in manuscript form).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: J. Ben-Naim, *Malkhei Rabbanan* (1931), 108a.

[Haim Zafrani]

ANKORI, ZEVI (1920–), scholar and writer on Karaite history. Born in Tarnow, Poland, Ankori graduated from the Hebrew University, Jerusalem, and Columbia University, New York. He taught at Tel Aviv University, the Hebrew University, Ohio State University, and Columbia University where (in 1970) he became professor of Jewish history. His published work includes *Karaites in Byzantium* (1959), a major contribution to Karaite studies, and articles on Karaism in various periodicals. He co-edited *Madrikh Bibliografi le-Toledot Am Yisrael* (1961), a bibliographical guide to the history of the Jewish people in the Middle Ages.

ANNA BE-KHO’AḤ (Heb. אָנָּא בְּכֹחַ), prayer hymn ascribed to the *tanna* R. Neḥunya b. ha-Kanah, but probably composed in the circle of the 13th-century Spanish kabbalists. The hymn, originally part of a group of kabbalistic prayers known under the title *Tefillat ha-Yiḥud*, gives expression to the longing of Israel for deliverance from the Diaspora and implores God’s support and protection. It consists of seven verses of six words each, the initials of which form the 42-lettered Holy Name of God and similar mystical combinations (e.g., the initials of the second verse form the sentence קְרַע שָׂטָן (*Kera Satan*; “Rend Satan”), i.e., silence the adversary of Israel. The prayer is recited, according to some rites, in the order of sacrifices contained in the daily morning prayer and on the Sabbath eve before the hymn *Lekhah Dodi*. Among the rites of Eastern Europe influenced by the Kabbalah it is recited in the counting of the **Omer*.

ANNA BE-KORENU (Heb. אָנָּא בְּקָרְאֵנוּ), a *seliḥah* in the Sephardi rite, recited on the eve of the *Day of Atonement. It was composed by David b. Eleazar *Ibn Paquda (12th century). The prayer, its eight stanzas spelling the acrostic *David Ḥazak* (“David, be strong!”), consists of a plaintive theme developed by the cantor and punctuated frequently by the congregation singing either “Hear, O Lord!” or “Pardon, O Lord!” The chorus, from which the name is derived, reads, “To the voice of our supplication when we call Thee, Hear, O Lord! Through Thy mercy, the sins caused by our selfish ambition, Pardon, O Lord!”

ANN ARBOR, city in Michigan, U.S. The present-day Jewish community of Ann Arbor – comprising over 3,000 family units in 2005 – traces its roots to the turn of the century with the arrival of the Lansky family in 1895 and Mr. Osias Zwerdling, furrier, in 1904. Although the Lanskys had heard that Jews had previously lived in the area, there were no signs of the existence of an earlier community. It was not until 1980 – with the serendipitous discovery of a tombstone, beautifully engraved in Hebrew script and dated 1858, and the efforts to determine its original resting place – that the picture of a viable Jewish life in Ann Arbor from the 1840s to the 1880s began to emerge. These first Jews of Ann Arbor, the Weils and their extended family members and friends, arrived from Bohemia and began their lives as farmers and peddlers, then traded furs and skins and finally opened a successful tannery business.

As a result of the information garnered during this discovery process, it was possible to ascertain that the first Jewish cemetery in the state of Michigan existed at the northeast corner of the grounds of what today is the Horace H. Rackham School of Graduate Studies at the University of Michigan. Dedication of a Historical Marker, commemorating the establishment of the first organized Jewish community in Michigan, took place in 1983. Appropriately, this site also became the location for the Holocaust Memorial sculpture by Leonard Baskin that was dedicated in 1994.

William and Hattie Lansky originally had set up a grocery/general store and, as the Jewish community began to grow, it was this family that undertook a leadership role. The Lanskys were joined in this endeavor by Osias Zwerdling, who served as president of Beth Israel Congregation from 1918 to 1958. By 1902, the landmark Lansky junkyard was established and, as extended family members joined the early pioneers, more Jewish families were attracted to the area: Abraham Levy, shoemaker; Thomas Cook, who made his mark by establishing a foundry business with an African-American partner; Israel Friedman, scrap iron business; Jacob Ingber, auto parts; Mark Ross, furniture store; and Joseph Lampe, retired carpenter, who crafted the *aron kodesh* for Beth Israel Congregation that still exists in its small chapel. His son, Isadore Lampe, was among the first Jewish faculty members at the University of Michigan Medical School. Following his studies, in 1936, Dr. Lampe was named director of the Division of Radiation Therapy, the first full division in the country. His lasting legacy was the training of over 200 radiation oncology physicians, many of whom went on to leadership positions in other universities. Also on the faculty, from 1913 to 1954 in the Department of Economics, was I. Leo Sharfman who became chair in 1928. Prof. Sharfman, uncle of Mike *Wallace, a U-M graduate himself, enlisted William Haber to the department in 1936, and he later became chair and subsequently dean of the College of Literature, Science and Arts. Additional early faculty members of note include Kasimir Fajans, physical chemist, renowned for his pioneering work on radioactive isotopes; Reuben Kahn, originator of the Kahn Test for syphilis; and Jonas *Salk, developer of the polio vaccine. Another famous graduate of the university’s College of Architecture and Design was Raoul *Wallenberg, in 1935. In his honor, the College holds an annual Wallenberg Lecture series. Additionally, an endowment was established at the university by members of the Jewish and non-Jewish communities to fund an annual Lecture and Medal series. Invited guests are those who personify the Wallenberg ideals of bravery, stamina and integrity, and who imbue in the students the fact that one person can make a difference.

As the University of Michigan grew, so grew the influx of Jewish faculty – in all disciplines. In the 1950s and 1960s, with the population growth, a split developed between town and gown. At that time, Beth Israel was the only formal congregation in the city. A new B’nai Brith Hillel-Beth Israel building was dedicated in 1951 and Beth Israel changed its name to Beth Israel Community Center. In 1964, bursting at the seams, Beth Israel embarked on a fundraising campaign to build its own building. Subsequently, a faction of the membership broke off and began the Reform congregation, Temple Beth Emeth. The Conservative Beth Israel returned to its former name and remained joined in the Hillel Building until its own new facility was built in 1978 under the leadership of Rabbi Allan D. Kensky, spiritual leader of the congregation from 1971 to 1988. Membership in the two congregations, led by Rabbi Robert Dobrusin at Beth Israel since 1988, and Rabbi Robert Levy at Beth Emeth since 1984, comprised over 1,200 family units. The rift between town and gown was bridged at the outbreak of the Six-Day War, when the community came together in support of Israel, and was cemented at the time of the Yom Kippur War. The thriving Jewish community today, in addition to the aforementioned congregations and Hillel, includes Congregation Chabad, led by Rabbi Aharon and Esther Goldstein since 1975, the Jewish Cultural Society, the Ann Arbor Orthodox Minyan, and the Ann Arbor Reconstructionist Havurah. There is a Jewish Community Center, Jewish Federation, Jewish Family Services organization, Hadassah and Women's American ORT chapters, a Yiddish group and Hebrew Day School.

The most recent wave of major Jewish influx in Ann Arbor began in 1979 with the arrival of the first "New Americans," refugees from the Former Soviet Union. Their population today approximates 200 families, and most of them have become involved in various aspects of the Jewish community.

Enriching the community is the Samuel and Jean Frankel Center for Judaic Studies, established at the University of Michigan in 1988, co-directed by Professors Zvi Gitelman and Todd *Endelman. The Center superseded the University's Program in Judaic Studies, established in 1971 with a grant from the Jewish Welfare Association in Detroit. The Program was co-directed by Professors Zvi Gitelman and Edna Coffin, and it brought Professor Yehuda Reinharz, now president of Brandeis University, to the Ann Arbor campus to teach Jewish history. In 2005, Stanley and Judy Frankel, son and daughter-in-law of Samuel and Jean, donated $20 million to the University of Michigan to establish the Frankel Institute for Advanced Judaic Studies. The Frankel Center coordinates programs and teaching; the Frankel Institute will have 15 faculty members, 40 courses, and 10–14 visiting scholars, teaching 800–1,200 students per year. The total population at the University numbers 36,000, of which 24,000 are undergraduates; it is estimated that ⅓ of the student body is Jewish. Thus, two percent of all Jewish students in North America study at the University of Michigan and the Jewish community of Ann Arbor swells while the university is in session. The students are served by the B'nai Brith Hillel Foundation, the second largest student organization at the University of Michigan, whose modern, new facility was built in 1989, under the leadership of its long-time and current executive director, Michael Brooks. The University of Michigan is a major feeder school for the Hebrew Union College, Jewish Theological Seminary, and AIPAC's Young Leadership Cabinet.

[Helen Aminoff (2nd ed.)]

ANNENBERG, WALTER H. (1908–2002), editor and diplomat; publisher of the oldest U.S. daily newspaper, the *Philadelphia Inquirer*; head of one of America's largest communications chains. Born in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, Walter was the son of Moses L. Annenberg (1878–1942), a newspaper publisher who had added the *Inquirer* to his chain in 1936. Walter became president of Triangle Publications Inc. in 1942. Subsequently he also acquired the holdings of another Philadelphia newspaper, the tabloid *Daily News*, six radio and television stations, and two mass circulation national magazines: *Seventeen* and *TV Guide* – which reached a circulation of 17 million per issue, making it a competitor with *Reader's Digest* as the magazine with the largest circulation. The horse racing daily, the *Daily Racing Form,* also came under his control. In 1969 he sold the *Philadelphia Inquirer* and the *Philadelphia Daily News* to the Knight-Ridder chain, while the Triangle Publications communications empire was sold to Australian media magnate Rupert Murdoch in 1988 for $3 billion. A public benefactor with a wide range of philanthropic and civic interests, Annenberg founded and became president of the M.L. Annenberg School of Communications at his alma mater, the University of Pennsylvania. He also became president of the M.L. Annenberg Foundation and of the Annenberg Fund, charitable foundations devoted to supporting higher education, medical research, music, and community welfare. In 1969 he was appointed U.S. ambassador to the United Kingdom.

In 1977 Annenberg underwent a hip replacement operation at Philadelphia's Pennsylvania Hospital. He was so pleased with the outcome of the surgery that he gave the institution $2 million to found a hip replacement institute, named after his physician Dr. Richard Rothman. Generous to many of his friends, Annenberg paid most of the bills to add a bowling lane in the White House during Richard Nixon's years and installed a swimming pool at Chequers, the English country home of the prime minister of Great Britain. Annenberg donated more than $17,500,000 to refurbish Philadelphia's Academy of Music, and an additional $10 million to endow the chair of Music Director Wolfgang Sawallisch, conductor of the Philadelphia Orchestra. In 1981 Annenberg was elected trustee emeritus of the board of the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, which he had joined in 1974. In 1991 he made the decision to bequeath his collection of French Impressionist and Post-Impressionist art, valued at some $1 billion, to the Museum; this constituted the largest gift of its kind in some 50 years. His $50 million contribution to the United Negro College Fund in 1990 represented the largest single donation ever given to African-American higher education in the United States. In 1993 his foundation donated a total of $365 million – then the largest one-time gift ever given to private education in America – to the universities of Harvard, Southern California, and Pennsylvania, and to his prep school, the Peddie School in New Jersey. He also made a major donation to *Dropsie University (formerly Dropsie College), the center for Jewish learning in Philadelphia, which in 1986 became the Annenberg Research Institute.

In 1986 Annenberg was awarded the nation's highest civilian honor, the Medal of Freedom. He also won the George

Foster Peabody Award in 1987. In 1992 he was inducted into the Broadcast Pioneers Hall of Fame. In 2001 the Annenberg Foundation gave $100 million each to the communications schools named after him at the University of Pennsylvania and the University of Southern California. At the same time, the Annenberg Foundation gave the Philadelphia Art Museum a cash gift of $20 million, the largest gift in the institution's 125-year history.

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[Irving Rosenthal / Rohan Saxena and Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

ANOINTING. The anointing of persons and objects with oil was widespread in ancient Israel and its environment for both practical and symbolical reasons. Its most practical usage was cosmetic, and for medicinal purposes (see *Cosmetics).

Aside from its cosmetic and therapeutic functions, anointment was an important component of ritual formularies. The anointment of vassals was not a mere ceremonial trapping: "As oil penetrates your flesh, so may they [the gods] make this curse enter into your flesh" (D.J. Wiseman, *The Vassal-Treaties of Esarhaddon* (1958), lines 622–4, p. 78; cf. Ps. 109:18; for the use of oil in the making of a covenant, see Hos. 12:2; see McCarthy in bibl.). The main role of symbolic anointment in the ancient Near East, however, was to solemnize formally an elevation in legal status: the manumission of a slave woman, the transfer of property, the betrothal of a bride, and the deputation of a vassal. Israel continued the Syrian and Anatolian practice of anointing the king (El Amarna Letter 51:4–9, see below). The consecration of a priest involved anointing, a practice attested at Emar in Central Syria in the thirteenth century B.C.E. The Bible also requires anointing for the rehabilitation of persons afflicted with certain skin diseases. The above cases indicate that in Israel symbolic unction took place in the cult but not in legal proceedings. The attribute *mashi'aḥ* ("anointed") came to designate the king and the high priest and, by extension, other divinely appointed functionaries who were not anointed at all, e.g., the prophets (I Kings 19:16b, 19b; Isa. 61:1), the patriarchs (Ps. 105:15), and even foreign kings (I Kings 19:15; Isa. 45:1; cf. II Kings 8:7). This figurative use of *mshḥ* is not a late development since it is already attested in Ugaritic (76:11, 22–23; cf. Ps. 89:21 and 25). Eventually it was applied to the messiah (the very word being taken from the Hebrew "anointed").

In Israel, anointment conferred upon the king the *ru'aḥ* YHWH ("the spirit of the Lord"), i.e., His support (I Sam. 16:13–14; 18:12), strength (Ps. 89:21–25), and wisdom (Isaiah 11:1–4; see *Messiah). The king absorbs divine attributes through unction. The anointment of the high priest served an entirely different function. It conferred neither *ru'aḥ* nor any other divine attribute. Moses, for example, transferred his powers (by hand-laying) upon a *ru'aḥ*-endowed Joshua (Num. 27:18–20), but when he transfers the high priest's authority from Aaron to his son Eleazar, these spiritual features are conspicuously absent (Num. 20:25ff.). The high priest's anointment is otherwise designated by the verb *kadesh* (*qaddesh*; "to sanctify"). Indeed, the anointment "sanctifies" the high priest by removing him from the realm of the profane and empowering him to operate in the realm of the sacred, i.e., to handle the sancta, such as the oracle. The high priest was anointed in conjunction with the cult objects (Ex. 40:9–15), and the latter practice is found in the oldest portions of the Bible (anointment of pillars, Gen. 28:18; 31:13; 35:14). The story of Solomon's anointment by the high priest Zadok (I Kings 1:39) leads us to the assumption that the royal unction is a derivative of the unction of the high priest. The story could not be an interpolation of the priestly editors, since the latter would by their own laws have condemned Zadok to death (by God) for the crime of anointing a *zar*, a non-priest (Ex. 30:33). On the contrary, this incident complements the image of the king in the historical narratives: since he may officiate at the sacred altar like a priest (e.g., I Kings 3:4; 8:63–64), why should he not be similarly anointed with the sacred oil?

According to the priestly source, the sons of Aaron were anointed along with him. Though the word *mashaḥ* is used in Exodus (e.g., 40:15a), it means only that they received the sacred oil and implies nothing about the manner of its application. Indeed, the respective ceremonies differ sharply: the sons were sprinkled (*hzh*) after the sacrificial service (Ex. 29:21), whereas Aaron's head was doused (*yẓk*) separately, before the service (v. 7). Furthermore, whereas each succeeding high priest was anointed while his father was still in office (Lev. 6:15), the anointing of the first priests was never repeated; it was to be valid for their posterity (Ex. 40:15b). This concept is proven to be ancient, for it is found in the El-Amarna letters (51:4–9), where a vassal stakes his authority on his grandfather's anointment.

The leper was anointed on the eighth and concluding day of his purification ritual, but the oil was not sacred. The "waving" and the sevenfold sprinkling of the oil "before the Lord" (Lev. 14:12, 16), even before it can be used on the leper, are not rites of consecration but of purification; moreover, the indispensable verb *mshḥ* is tellingly absent. Perhaps even the "change of status" is operative: the ostracism of the erstwhile leper is ended, and he is free to reenter society. However, an apotropaic function may also be present.

[Jacob Milgrom]

In the Talmud

According to the Talmud the anointing oil was compounded only once in Jewish history, by Moses (Ex. 30:31–33), and the supply made by him sufficed for the whole period from the anointing of Aaron and his sons until the residue was hidden away by Josiah. Anointing oil was therefore not used for the kings and high priests after Josiah, and it was one of the five appurtenances used in the First Temple but not in the Second.

After the anointment of Aaron and his sons only high priests and the priest anointed for war (the appellation of the

Talmud for the priest mentioned in Deut. 20:2ff.; Mishnah Sotah 8:1) were anointed. Every high priest and "priest anointed for war" was anointed, the former even if he succeeded his father as high priest.

On the other hand, from Solomon onward only kings of the Davidic dynasty whose succession was disputed or was in doubt were anointed (as was Jehu, see below). Where the succession was natural and undisputed no anointing took place. Thus Solomon was anointed on account of the rival claims of Adonijah (I Kings 1:39), Joash because of Athaliah (II Kings 11:12), and Jehoahaz because Jehoiakim was his senior by two years (II Kings 23:30).

This anointing of David and his descendants was by oil poured from a horn. For Saul, the only non-Davidic king to be anointed with oil, a cruse was used (I Sam. 16:13) since "his kingdom was not a lasting one."

The kings of the northern secessionist kingdom of Israel were not anointed with oil but with balsam, as was Jehoahaz of Judah since Josiah had hidden away the anointing oil. The statement that Jehu was anointed (with balsam) because of his dispute with Joram would appear to suggest that even in the case of the kings of Israel anointing took place only in the case of disputed succession but it would, of course, have applied to each usurping king and founder of a dynasty, though not to his descendants (cf. Ker. 5b with Hor. 11b).

In the anointing of kings the whole head was covered with oil ("in the shape of a wreath") whereas in the case of priests it was "in the shape of a *chi*." What is meant by "the shape of a *chi*?… the shape of Greek X" (the printed texts have "a Greek *kaph*," probably because of the opposition to the sign of the cross).

All the above data except where otherwise stated are to be found in *Horayot* 11b and 12a, and more compactly in the Jerusalem Talmud, *Horayot* 3:4, 47c.

[Louis Isaac Rabinowitz]

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ANOKHI, ZALMAN YIẒḤAK (pseudonym of **Z.I. Aronsohn**; 1878–1947), Hebrew writer. Anokhi was born in Lyady, Russia. His first story, "*Ha-Yenukah*," written in Hebrew, was published in *Ha-Shilo'aḥ* (12 (1903), 52–64). He soon began to write in Yiddish and published two collections of stories, *Tsvishen Himel un Erd* ("Between Heaven and Earth," 1909) and *Reb Elkhonon* (1910). His *Reb Abbe* (1911), the monologue of an aging, naive, and pious Ḥasid, won wide acclaim. In 1911 Anokhi visited Palestine and recorded his impressions in *Unzer Land* ("Our Country," 1919). After a brief stay in Argentina (1923) he settled in 1924 in Palestine and reverted to writing in Hebrew. He translated *Reb Abbe* into Hebrew (1927) and published two dramas. His collected stories, *Bein Shamayim va-Areẓ* ("Between Heaven and Earth," 1945), appeared shortly before his death in Tel Aviv. Nearly all of his stories are sentimental, romantic vignettes of Jewish life in Eastern Europe.

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[David Zakay]

ANSBACH, city in Middle Franconia, Germany; formerly capital of the Margravate of Ansbach. Its Hebrew designation אנולצבך, אנשבאן, אונשפך retains the older form Onolzbach. Records of a Jewish community in Ansbach date from the beginning of the 14th century and many Jews were massacred during the *Black Death in 1349. A Jews' Street is again mentioned in the second half of the 15th century, but the Jews were expelled from Ansbach in 1561, although readmitted in 1609. The communities in the margravate were organized in a *Landesjudenschaft. During the 17th century members of the Model and Fraenkel families played an important role as *court Jews in the economy and administration as well as leading the Jewish communities of the margravate. Two of these court Jews, however, were dismissed and sentenced to life imprisonment. The synagogue of Ansbach was built by the Italian architect Leopold Retty in 1745–46. In 1836 a conference of rabbis, teachers, and communal leaders was held at Ansbach to oppose liturgical reforms in Bavaria. Rabbis of Ansbach included Abraham Merzbacher and Phinehas (Pinchas) *Kohn, both of *Agudat Israel. The Jewish community declined from 385 persons in 1809 to 220 (1.5% of the total population) in 1880 and 197 (0.9%) in 1933. On Nov. 10, 1938, when the Nazis destroyed many German synagogues, the mayor of Ansbach saved the synagogue there by staging a mock fire. By the outbreak of World War II, after emigration and expulsions, only 10 Jews remained in the city. After the war a displaced persons camp was established at Ansbach. The ancient synagogue was completely restored, but Jewish community life was not reestablished.

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[Zvi Avneri]

ANSELL, DAVID ABRAHAM (1834–1914), Canadian businessman, Jewish community leader. Ansell was born in London and arrived in Montreal via Queensland, Australia, in 1866. He went into business as an importer of glassware and representative of a firm headed by his father in Frankfurt, Germany. He also became very involved in the Montreal Jewish community and was soon one of the most prominent Montreal Jews of his era. When he arrived in Montreal he joined the fledgling Young Men's Hebrew Benevolent Association, which in 1891 was renamed the Baron de Hirsch Society in honor of its most generous benefactor. Ansell served as the society's president for many years. As a member of the *Jewish Colonization Association he became a promoter of Jewish farm settlement in Western Canada. Keenly interested in issues of education, Ansell helped establish a free school for children in the Jewish community and was prominent in pressing provincial authorities for legislation granting equal rights to Jews in the Quebec elementary educational system.

In politics Ansell supported the Conservative Party and maintained an active correspondence with Prime Minister John A. Macdonald and other prominent political figures. In letters to newspapers and speeches Ansell advocated on behalf of British imperial federation and free trade. He also served as consul-general for Mexico in Canada from 1888 to 1913 and worked to increase trade between Canada and Mexico.

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[Gerald Tulchinsky (2nd ed.)]

ANSELM (**Anshel**) **HA-LEVI** (15th century), German rabbi and communal leader; active in Cologne, Andernach, and Worms. Anselm was highly reputed as a scholar among his contemporaries, and even among the secular authorities. Hence in 1435, he was appointed supreme rabbi of the Holy Roman Empire by Conrad von Weinsberg, hereditary chamberlain of Emperor Sigismund and acting on his authority. His seat was in Worms and his nominal jurisdiction extended over a wide area of Germany, France, Switzerland, and the Netherlands. A similar appointment had been made by King Rupert in 1407, when Israel b. Isaac was appointed *Hochmeister* of the Jews of Germany (see *Chief Rabbinate). The creation of this rather high-sounding office was doubtless an act of expediency to facilitate the collection of taxes from the Jewish communities. The appointment of Anselm is not mentioned in Jewish sources, and it can be assumed that it was as unpopular with the Jews as was that of Israel b. Isaac. Such an appointment by an outside authority would have been regarded by the Jews as an unwarranted intervention in their internal affairs. Joseph b. Moses, author of the *Leket Yosher*, was Anselm's pupil.

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°**ANSELM OF CANTERBURY** (c. 1033–1109), abbot of Bec (Normandy) from 1078 and archbishop of Canterbury from 1093; theologian and philosopher, perhaps canonized by the Catholic Church though there is some uncertainty about this. The Jew appears as the imaginary adversary in his most important work *Cur Deus Homo*, which is about the theology of atonement. The composition may have been influenced by the Judeo-Christian dialogue which Gilbert *Crispin had dedicated to him. He was among the church reformers whose opposition to William II (Rufus) may have been stimulated by the king's reputed friendliness to the Jews. Anselm favored Christian missionary activities among the Jews. In a letter he sent to two English clerics Anselm commends to them a certain Robert and his family who had recently been converted, asking them to assist him "so that he should not suffer from want, but should rejoice that he has left perfidy for the true faith."

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[Bernhard Blumenkranz / Shimon Gibson (2nd ed.)]

ANSHEL (**Asher**) **OF CRACOW** (first half of 16th century), putative author of *Mirkevet ha-Mishneh*, an alphabetical concordance and glossary of the Bible, with references and Yiddish translations of the words. Two editions were published. The one published in Cracow, 1534, was the first book printed in Yiddish. The title page states that the work "was composed in two languages, the holy language and German, the language prevalent among us." The second, and better-known, edition was published under the title *Sefer shel R. Anshel* (Cracow, 1584). Some suggest a polemical background to its composition, pointing out that *Luther's German translation of the Bible was also published in 1534 and that the Jews were interested in publishing this concordance to counterbalance Luther's translation. A possible factor was the desire to facilitate the study of the Bible for uneducated Jews, particularly women and children. The identity of Anshel has given rise to many conjectures and theories. He has been erroneously identified with Asher Anshel b. Joseph Mordecai of Posen, who translated the festival prayer book into Yiddish, and with Asher of Cracow, grandfather of Meir b. Gedaliah of Lublin, author of the kabbalistic book *Emek Berakhah*. Steinschneider conjectured that he might possibly be Asher b. Ḥayyim Halicz, one of the brothers who printed the first edition. Some date the work earlier than the 16th century because the German words used by the author belong to an earlier period, some going back as far as the 14th and 15th centuries. The simple title of the second edition, *Sefer shel R. Anshel* ("R. Anshel's Book"), has led many scholars to suggest that the author must have been well known, either as a scholar or as a communal leader.

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[Yehoshua Horowitz]

AN-SKI, S. (pseudonym of **Shloyme-Zanvl Rappoport**; 1863–1920), author and folklorist. An-Ski was born in Tshashnik, Belorussia, where his father was a landowner's agent and his mother an innkeeper. An-Ski attended a traditional Jewish *heder*. In 1878, at the age of 16, he became a close friend of Chaim *Zhitlowsky and soon discovered Hebrew and Russian literature. Attracted by the doctrines of the Haskalah, and the Narodniki (a group committed to revolutionizing the Russian peasants), he went to live among Russian peasants and miners, and worked as a blacksmith, bookbinder, factory hand, and teacher. On the advice of the Russian writer Gleb Uspensky, he returned from south Russia to St. Petersburg and wrote for the Narodniki's monthly publication. Compelled to leave Russia in 1892, he stayed briefly in Germany and Switzerland before settling in Paris in 1894. There he worked for six years as secretary of the revolutionary and philosopher Piotr Lavrov, while writing short stories about Jewish radicals. Returning to Russia in 1905, he joined the Social-Revolutionary Party, circulated his 1902 *Bund hymn "*Di Shvue*" ("The Oath"), and wrote folk legends and stories about Jewish poverty. Until 1908 An-Ski wrote chiefly in Russian, switching to Yiddish after meeting Peretz. An-Ski brought to Yiddish literature a deep appreciation of Jewish folk values. As head of the Jewish ethnographic expedition financed by Baron Gunzberg he traveled through the villages of Volhynia and Podolia from 1912 to 1914, collecting material. His knowledge of folklore inspired his famous play *The *Dybbuk* (written and reworked by An-Ski between 1912 and 1917 in both Russian and Yiddish, the latter originally called *Tsvishn Tsvey Veltn*), which was first produced in Yiddish by the Vilna troupe (1920), and then, in the Hebrew translation of Bialik, by the Habimah company in Moscow, Tel Aviv, and New York. Bialik translated *The Dybbuk* into Hebrew in *Ha-Tekufah*, vol. 1 (1918). An-Ski subsequently lost the Yiddish original *en route* from Russia to Vilna and thus revised and retranslated it into Yiddish from Bialik's Hebrew version. This latter version was the one performed by the Vilna Theater group. Productions in numerous languages followed; the Italian composer L. Rocca based an opera on the play; musical versions by Renato Simoni and David Temkin appeared in New York, and movie versions in Poland (1938) and Israel (1968). Pulitzer Prize-winning author Tony *Kushner rewrote *The Dybbuk* in 1998. The play is An-Ski's masterpiece, combining folkloristic aspects with universal themes of love, suffering, and the search for an authentic self. During World War I, An-Ski devoted himself to organizing relief committees for Jewish war victims. He would later recount his experiences during the war in his extraordinary chronicle *Khurbn Galitsye* ("The Destruction of Galicia"). In 1917 he was elected to the All-Russian Constituent Assembly as a Social-Revolutionary deputy and in 1918 he helped to reorganize the Vilna community. In 1920, when the Polish legion took over Vilna and began attacking the Jewish population, An-ski reluctantly moved to Warsaw, where he founded a Jewish ethnographic society. He died soon thereafter and was buried in the Warsaw Jewish cemetery next to Peretz.

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[Yitzhak Maor / Leah Garrett (2nd ed.)]

AN-SKI COLLECTIONS, Jewish collections of the State Ethnographic Museum in St. Petersburg. For many years the existence of the legendary An-Ski collections was doubted outside the Soviet Union, even maybe outside the walls of the State Ethnographic Museum. All that was known about them was the description of the ethnographical expeditions of 1910–16, headed by the well-known dramatist S.Z. Rappoport (An-Ski), written by one of its members, Abraham Rechtman. He gave a list of their finds: 700 ceremonial objects, 2,000 photographs, music recorded on 500 wax cylinders, and many folktales, articles of everyday life, and documents. Due to the consequences of the Russian Revolution, two world wars, and official Soviet antisemitism, only a fraction of these items survived in the Russian collection. In 1992, 90% of these remnants, approximately 330 objects, were shown for the first time outside Russia, in Amsterdam, in the Jewish Historical Museum.

The State Ethnographic Museum and the Jewish Historical Museum joined forces to register, describe, photograph, and publish these traces of the once important center of Jewish culture and history: the Pale of Settlement in Czarist Russia.

The history of the Jewish collection in the State Ethnographic Museum in St. Petersburg began early in the century. The scale of collection and completion of material relating to the Jewish culture and way of life has varied greatly at different times – after all, it had to deal with no fewer than six million people who lived within the Pale of Settlement.

The first entries related to the subject date from 1904 to 1912, when the cultural heritage of the peoples inhabiting the vast territories of the Russian Empire attracted special interest. It was a time when there were thorough studies of the way of life among national minorities, when ethnographical expeditions were undertaken, and folklore collected. The enlightened section of the Russian intelligentsia appreciated that rapid urbanization was taking place throughout the country and feared the consequent destruction of traditional forms of folk life, including that of the Russian Jews. Among this group were F.K. Volkov, an expert in Ukrainian ethnography, A.K. Serzhputovsky, a researcher in Byelorussian ethnography, and A.A. Miller, a specialist in the people of the Caucasus, the one who made the first contribution to the Jewish collections.

The second fruitful period for the Jewish collections was during the 1930s when the Jewish section of the St. Petersburg (Leningrad) Museum was headed by I.M. Pulner. His aim was not only to expand the collection but also to form a comprehensive exhibition entitled "The Jews in Czarist Russia and the U.S.S.R." This exhibition opened in 1939 and turned out to have a rather propagandistic character, which only seemed natural in those years.

After World War II the purposeful collection of ethnographical data related to Russian Jews was virtually finished. The Pale of Settlement was now past history, while the years of brutal fascist occupation of the Ukraine, Belorussia, and Lithuania destroyed vast quantities of cultural material.

There was also strongly anti-religious propaganda, which became the policy of the Soviet Union and destroyed the last vestiges of spiritual life – that is, the Jewish religious communities.

During the postwar years the collections were mostly augmented with gifts from other museums as well as rare purchases and private donations. A large collection from the former Moscow Museum of the Peoples of the U.S.S.R., which was passed on to the St. Petersburg Museum in 1948, should be mentioned in this respect.

The S.A. Rappoport (An-Ski) Collection is held to be the heart of the Ashkenazi collection. An-Ski headed a number of ethnographical expeditions during 1911–12, working in the provinces of Podolia, Volhynia, and Kiev. The items collected were intended for exhibition in the Jewish Museum formed as a section of the St. Petersburg Society of History and Ethnography. The *Evreskaya Starina* ("Jewish Antiquity") magazine, the published organ of the society, printed articles on the collecting activities of the museum. In 1914–16 An-Ski was known to be working in the front lines of Galicia, helping to evacuate historical valuables. This mission was formed by the State Duma (the Russian Parliament), and the data he collected while there were delivered to St. Petersburg. In 1917–18 *Evreskaya Starina* reported that "robbery and pogroms have been taking place since autumn 1917, which force us to close the museum and pack its exhibits into boxes to be kept in a safe place." From the published An-Ski will it is known that "five boxes and suitcases with exhibits were given to be kept in the Alexander III Museum," now the State Ethnographic Museum.

As we now have no precise documents or lists it is quite difficult to identify whether certain An-Ski exhibits date back to 1911–12 or to the times of his expeditions of 1914–16. Unfortunately, the documents relating to these expeditions are lost and it proves impossible to identify the geographical source of objects. Indirect indications helping to date the items can be found when deciphering the inscriptions and also in the writings of A. Rechtman. We can, however, only make guesses as to the routes An-Ski followed and the places where he found his exhibits.

The Jewish Ashkenazi collections of the State Ethnographic Museum present a historical and cultural heritage, covering the period from the late 18th to the early 20th century. In terms of geography it embraces most of the area where the Pale of Settlement was introduced after 1795 (the third partition of Poland).

The Judaica occupy a central place in the museum's collection, together with household objects and personal belongings.

The Czarist policy towards the Jews was ambivalent. It forced the Jews to live in the Pale of Settlement, where they formed 5% of the population. On the other hand, it tried to assimilate the Jews in their culture. Hundreds of measures were taken to achieve these goals, but without success. The Jews, speaking their own language, keeping their own religion and its traditions, resisted this policy.

But, as in all other communities, their material culture was heavily influenced by the Russian surroundings. The most exciting examples are the so-called Lubok paintings, Russian folk art used for decoration at home, but also as amulets to keep evil out of the house. In Judaica, often made by Jewish craftsmen, Russian folk elements like deer, birds, lions, and flowers decorated the Ḥannukah lamps, spice boxes, and *rimmonim*. The Czarist crown can be seen on covers for synagogue arks.

Another important part of the collection is clothing: the specific "*brustichel*" for women, and the headgear for men, both decorated with the so-called "*spanjerwerk*," gold embroidery. There are also the simple homemade wooden chess set, Ḥannukah cards, and the models of cookies, specific for the Jewish kitchen like the bridal cake in a Star of David form.

The remnants of the An-Ski Collection, modest as they are in number, should be treasured for the wealth of background they give of a poor man's deeply felt Jewish culture of bygone days. And we hope that through the exhibitions and through the publications of the material (see the catalogue *Tracing An-Ski: Jewish Collections from the State Ethnographic Museum in St. Petersburg* with excerpts from A. Rechtman and articles by Igor Krupnik and by Ludmilla Uritskaya, 1992) new generations can benefit from its resurgence.

[Judith Belinfante and Ludmilla Uritskaya]

ANSORGE, MARTIN CHARLES (1882–1967), U.S. congressman, attorney, and corporate director. One of Mark Perry and Jenny (Bach) Ansorge's seven children, Martin was born in Corning, New York, where his father was a successful clothing manufacturer. In 1885, the family relocated to New York City, where Martin and his siblings were educated. In their prosperous home, the Ansorge family's *lingua franca* was German. The senior Ansorge eventually became the owner of Ansorge Brothers and Company in Scranton, Pennsylvania. One of his sons, Herbert, would become president of the Wholesale Clothing Manufacturers Association.

After attending New York public schools, Martin Ansorge earned both a B.A. and a law degree from Columbia University. Ever resourceful, he earned a handsome living while attending Columbia by selling advertising space in the school paper, the *Columbia Spectator.* After practicing law in New York City for six years, Ansorge ran as a Republican for the United States Congress in 1912. He came in third in a three-man race. Ansorge also lost Congressional elections in 1914 and 1916. After serving in the Transportation Corps in World War I, he was finally elected to Congress in 1920. During his one term in the House of Representatives (1921–23), the Republican Ansorge floor-managed passage of the resolution establishing the New York Port Authority. He also gave strenuous vocal support to two anti-lynching proposals. Running for reelection in 1922, Ansorge lost by ten votes. Returning to New York City, he resumed to the practice of law.

In 1927, auto magnate Henry Ford retained Ansorge to negotiate out-of-court settlements in the much-publicized Ford-Sapiro libel case. The suit, brought by Sapiro, alleged that Ford had severely libeled him in the pages of the mogul's newspaper, the *Dearborn Independent*. That the antisemitic Ford should hire a Jewish attorney struck many as being incongruous. Following a mistrial, Ford hired Ansorge, who successfully negotiated an out-of-court settlement for an undisclosed amount, plus a public retraction from Ford. In 1934, Ansorge became a director of United Airlines, a position he held until 1961.

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[Kurt Stone (2nd ed.)]

ANSPACH, PHILIPPE (1800–1875), French lawyer and politician. Anspach, who was born in Metz, practiced law in Paris. He took an active part in the 1830 revolution and was appointed a deputy procurator in the department of Seine-et-Marne by the government of Louis Philippe. It was the first step in a brilliant career. Anspach successively became judge deputy of the Court of Justice in Paris, section president of the Court of Appeals, and counselor to the Court of Cassation. He was the first Jew in France to attain this position. Anspach combined the qualities of a practical jurist with the erudition of a law theoretician. Active in Jewish life, he served as a member of the Paris Consistory and was selected to the Central Consistory in 1845.

ANT (Heb. נְמָלָה, *nemalah*). The ant most frequent in Israel is the "harvest ant," the *Messor semirufus*. It is this ant which is described as the symbol of diligence and wisdom, preparing for the future by storing food during the harvest, and having no "guide, overseer, or ruler" (Prov. 6:6–7; 30:24–25). Rabbinic literature contains further details of their habits. They gnaw at the corn to extract the ears (Pe'ah 2:7). They cause extensive damage to harvested grain, and as a result R. Simeon b. Gamaliel permitted the destruction of antheaps during the intermediate days of festivals. He put forward an original method for their destruction: "Soil is brought from one heap, placed in the other, and they strangle one another" (MK 6b). This procedure is based on the belief that every antheap has its own peculiar odor which acts as a deterrent to the entry of ants from other heaps. *Simeon b. Ḥalafta also refers to their developed sense of smell. Undertaking experiments to determine their social life, he came to the conclusion that one ant does not take an ear of corn dropped by another since it recognizes its smell (Ḥul. 57b; Yal., Prov. 938). Large amounts of grain are gathered in their nests; according to one statement "three hundred *kor*" were once found (*ibid.*). The antheap consists of three chambers; the grain is stored in the upper one and the insects live in the middle, while the lower one is their summer habitat. The same Midrash actually refers to these compartments, but regards the middle one as the storehouse.

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[Jehuda Feliks]

ANTEBI, ALBERT (**Avraham**; 1869–1918), leader of the Jewish community in Ereẓ Israel. Antebi was born into a prosperous rabbinical family in Damascus and was educated at the Alliance Israélite Universelle school there. He was sent by the Alliance to further his education in Paris. In 1896 he was appointed chief assistant to Nissim *Behar, director of Alliance institutions in Ereẓ Israel, and replaced Behar when the latter retired in 1898. Antebi served as director of the Alliance trade school and established a workshop for hand-weaving in Jerusalem. He was also instrumental in the establishment of new quarters in the city and was elected to the Jerusalem District Council. Antebi was later appointed representative of I.C.A. (Jewish Colonization Association) in Ereẓ Israel and represented the Palestine office of the Zionist Organization in its contacts with the Ottoman authorities. Because of his knowledge of the Turkish language and way of life, he was well liked by the Turkish officials, who regarded him as the chief spokesman of the Jewish community. On the outbreak of World War I, Antebi succeeded in persuading the commander in chief in Syria, Jamal Pasha, to commute the sentence of banishment passed against leaders of the Jewish community to 14 days confinement to Tiberias. In 1916 he was exiled to Damascus and two years later he went to Constantinople to plead for the refugees and exiles from Ereẓ Israel. He was unsuccessful in this mission, and was sent as an enlisted soldier to the eastern Anatolia front. There he caught typhoid fever and was transferred to Constantinople, where he died.

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[Yehuda Slutsky]

ANTELOPE. In ancient times various species of antelope of the group *Hippotraginae* existed in Ereẓ Israel and surrounding countries. They have completely disappeared from Israel and are found only in the Arabian Peninsula and in Africa. Sundry species of antelope have been identified with some of the seven clean animals, cloven-hooved ruminants, enumerated in Deuteronomy 14:5. Apparently the *dishon* is the antelope, since the Septuagint renders it πύγαργος, i.e., pygargos, which means "having a white rump," the reference being to the *Addax nasomaculatos* (a large antelope with hollow horns, with black spots on its neck and head, but otherwise white).

Some also identify the *zemer* (*AV* "chamois") with a species of antelope, the *Oryx leucoryx*, but others say that it refers to a species of wild sheep. The *re'em* mentioned in Psalms 92:11 as having long horns has also been identified with the *Oryx*. It was this animal, depicted in profile, which gave rise to the legend of the unicorn. In other passages, however, the *re'em* seems to be the wild ox (see *Wild Bull).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: S. Bodenheimer, *Ha-Ḥai be-Arẓot ha-Mikra*, 1 (1950), 79; J. Feliks, *Animal World of the Bible* (1962), 9, 13, 18; Lewysohn, Zool, 114, 149.

[Jehuda Feliks]

ANTHEDON, Hellenistic city in the vicinity of Gaza. Anthedon in Greek means "Flower City." It is first mentioned as a daughter city of Gaza, captured by Alexander Yannai (Jos., Ant., 8:357). Pompey "freed" it but the actual work of rebuilding was left to his successor Gabinius (*ibid.*, 14:88; Wars, 1:166). Together with the entire coastal area it passed to Cleopatra, and later Augustus presented it to Herod (Ant., 15:217; Wars, 1:396). Herod embellished the town and named it Agrippias in honor of M. Vipsanius Agrippa, Augustus' general and son-in-law. During the Jewish War (66–70 C.E.) Anthedon was attacked by the Zealots but the attack was repulsed and it remained a hellenized city. Paganism was deeply rooted in Anthedon, flourishing there until the fifth century (Sozomenus, Eccl. Hist., 5:9), when it became a Christian Episcopal see. The site has been identified with Tell Iblakhiye, on the sea shore 1½ mi. (2 km.) north of the port of Gaza; a hill farther north is still called Teda (= Anthedon). The Arab geographer el-Idrisi (12th century) called the harbor of Gaza "Tida."

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[Michael Avi-Yonah]

ANTHONY, JOSEPH (**Deuster**; 1912–1993), U.S. director and actor. Born in Milwaukee, Anthony appeared in many stage productions including *Peer Gynt, Camino Real*, and *Anastasia*, as well as a few motion pictures, such as the 1941 comedy *Shadow of the Thin Man*. He also directed movies. These films include the 1956 classic *The Rainmaker,* starring Burt Lancaster and Katharine Hepburn, as well as *The Matchmaker* (1958), *Career* (1959), *All in a Night's Work* (1961), and *Tomorrow* (1983).

Anthony made his Broadway debut in 1937, and in the years following was the dance partner of dancer and choreographer Agnes de Mille, the niece of director Cecil B. de Mille. Anthony worked as a set designer on films and dabbled as a film actor. His main interest, however, was the stage, and he became one of Broadway's most accomplished directors. He was nominated six times for a Tony award as best director for his productions of *The Lark* (1956); *A Clearing in the Woods* (1957); *The Most Happy Fella* (1957); *The Best Man* (1960); *Rhinoceros* (1961); and *110 in the Shade* (1964).

Anthony made numerous television appearances as an actor on such shows as *The Defenders*, *The Untouchables*, *Suspense*, *Kraft Television Theatre*, and *Danger*, and directed for TV as well, becoming the house director of the 1960s crime series *Brenner.*

[Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

ANTHROPOLOGY, literally "an account of man," is the comparative study of human societies and cultures. Anthropology has four major subfields: *archaeology, the study of past cultures through an examination of material remains; biological (physical) anthropology, the study of humankind from a biological and evolutionary perspective; cultural anthropology, the study of contemporary cultures and societies and the study of human behavior that is learned rather than genetically transmitted; and linguistic anthropology, the study of human languages and the relationship between culture and communication. Due to the diversity of its subfields and the various approaches to its study, anthropology is variously considered a science, a social science, or a part of the humanities. Anthropology as a field of study in universities began in the latter part of the 19th century. Jews played a significant role in the founding and development of cultural anthropology. An early Jewish name in anthropology is that of the Frenchman, Marcel *Mauss (1872–1950), who became the leading figure in French sociology after his uncle, Emile *Durkheim, a sociologist by training who was a powerful influence in anthropology. He helped Durkheim in the establishment of the journal *L'Année Sociologique* and contributed important articles to it. Mauss' main interest was in comparative religion or the sociology of religion. His most influential work is *The Gift*, written in 1925, which focused on his theory of "gift exchange" and explored the religious, legal, economic, mythological, and other aspects of giving, receiving, and repaying in different cultures. Another French Jew and a colleague of Durkheim's at the Sorbonne was Lucien *Lévy-Bruhl (1857–1939) who wrote a series of ethnological works on various aspects of preliterate culture, the purpose of which was to demonstrate the nature of "primitive" mentality or "how natives think." In his posthumously published notebooks, he retracted his evolutionary interpretation of native thought. He came to realize that so-called prelogical thought was not limited to preliterate societies but was rather characteristic of human thought which did not exclude logical thought to meet the practical demands of the natural environment. Lévy-Bruhl's interpretation of native thought was especially influential in the fields of literary and art criticism.

The most influential Jewish anthropologist was Franz *Boas, who played a key role in the establishment of anthropology as an academic discipline in the United States. Popularly considered to be the "father of American anthropology," Boas trained most of the first generation of American anthropologists including Ruth Benedict and Margaret Mead. Boas was born in Germany in 1858, moved to the United States in 1886, and became professor of anthropology at Columbia (New York City) in 1899. He did extensive field research in North America rather than "armchair" anthropology and helped to make "fieldwork" a hallmark of anthropology. His theory of Historical Particularism stresses the biological and "psychic unity" of man and explains cultural diversity by appealing to specific culture histories and environments. He rejected the theories of the 19th-century cultural evolutionists and instead introduced the concept of cultural relativism which holds that cultures cannot be evaluated on an evolutionary scale. Cultures are equal and cultural characteristics should be examined in relation to the culture in which they are found. His "Limitations of the Comparative Method of Anthropology" was the first exposition of cultural relativism, a concept that continues to be a powerful concept in anthropology. With the rise of Hitler, Boas spoke out forcefully against racism and intolerance and wrote and lectured widely in opposition to the Nazis. Boas trained many outstanding American teachers and researchers in anthropology. Most of his students specialized in cultural anthropology, though a few became linguists, physical anthropologists, and archaeologists. One of his disciples, Robert H. *Lowie, was one of the best ethnographers and ethnologists of his day and did extensive field work among a great variety of Indian tribes. Another of Boas' pupils, Alexander A. *Goldenweiser, was not interested in field work and made only one trip to the Northern Iroquois of Canada. His major interest was in social theory and in theoretical aspects of ethnology, such as issues related to totemism, evolution, diffusion, and culture history. He was a significant figure in the development of anthropological thought in America during the first quarter of the 20th century. Leslie *Spier was also deeply influenced by Boas' canons of scientific method and the conviction that the understanding of culture depended upon an inquiry into historical antecedents. In his extensive writing he manifested his belief in the essential unity of anthropology as a general science of humankind. Edward *Sapir was perhaps the most creative and brilliant of Boas' students. He did major linguistic and ethnographic work among the Indians of the Canadian Northwest and Vancouver Island. Toward the end of his life he became interested in the ethnological and linguistic study of the Talmud. The research of Paul Radin, who was also a student of Boas, lay predominantly in ethnology, and within this area, in religion and mythology. His principal field work was done among the Winnebago Indians of Wisconsin. Melville J. *Herskovits completed his doctorate under Boas with a dissertation on "The Cattle Complex in East Africa." He was the recognized dean of African studies in the United States and trained most of the Africanists in that country. He made Northwestern University virtually the center of African studies in the United States and stimulated widespread interest in Africa among American anthropologists. Ruth *Bunzel (1898–1990), among the earliest of American Jewish women to receive a doctorate in anthropology (1929), worked as a secretary for Boas. With the encouragement of Boas and Ruth Benedict, Bunzel received her Ph.D. from Columbia, where she later taught. Her many books, including *The Pueblo Potter* (1929) and *Zuni* (1935), focused on Zuni ceremonialism. Another student of Boas and Benedict was Ruth *Landes (1903–1991). The daughter of Russian Jewish immigrants, Landes did pioneering work on race and gender, issues that define central current concerns in anthropology. Her field research among the Ojibwa resulted in her masterpiece study, *The Ojibwa Woman* (1938). Her field research in Brazil resulted in her landmark *The City of Women* (1947).

In Britain, Jews have played a role predominately in social/cultural anthropology. Meyer *Fortes (1906–1983), professor of social anthropology at Cambridge University, immigrated to England from South Africa. He worked among the Tallensi and Ashanti in Africa and his major contributions were in lineage theory, studies of religion, and ancestor worship. His 1940 seminal work (with Evans-Pritchard), *African Political Systems*, influenced a generation of anthropologists. Max *Gluckman also went to England from South Africa, where he had done a great deal of field work among the Zulu and Barotse of Africa and shorter surveys of Rhodesian tribes. Gluckman was a political activist. Publicly anti-colonial, he wrote and lectured about the abuses of colonialism and racism. A.L. Epstein did research on problems of urbanization and social change in emerging urban communities in Northern Rhodesia, Central Africa, and Melanesia. Maurice Freedman specialized in the social anthropology of Southeast Asia and China. Hortense *Powdermaker (1896–1970), although born and raised in the U.S., studied anthropology at the London School of Economics with the influential Bronislaw Malinowski, receiving her Ph.D. in 1928. Her books include *Life in Lesu* (1933), *After Freedom* (1939), *Copper Town* (1962), and *Stranger and Friend: The Way of an Anthropologist* (1966).

Claude *Lévi-Strauss, born in 1908 in Brussels, was the most distinguished social anthropologist in 20th-century France. His most original and significant contribution is his theory of structural anthropology which is heavily influenced by linguistics and assumes that the most effective way to understand human societies is to investigate the structures, rather than the content, of its organization. Among his strongest early influences were Sigmund Freud and Karl Marx. His *The Elementary Structures of Kinship*, published in 1949, quickly came to be regarded as one of the most important works on anthropological kinships. Lévi-Strauss was elected to the Académie Française in 1973, France's highest honor for academics and intellectuals. He was a prolific writer and his works include *Tristes Tropiques* (1955), *The Savage Mind* (1962), *Totemism* (1962), *Structural Anthropology,* (2 vol., 1958–73), *The Raw and the Cooked* (1964), *From Honey to Ashes* (1967), *The Origin of Table Manners* (1968), *The Naked Man* (1971), *The View from Afar* (1983), and *The Jealous Potter* (1985).

Other Jewish anthropologists of France included Paul Levy, who was director of studies at Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes (Sorbonne) and specialized in the culture of India and

Southeast Asia. David Cohen was attaché, Centre National de la Récherche Scientifique in Paris. He specialized in the social anthropology of North Africa and the Near East. Marcel *Cohen was honorary professor at the École des Langues Orientales in the Sorbonne and was an authority on Ethiopian and Hamito-Semitic linguistics. Simone Dreyfus was also connected with the Centre National de la Récherche Scientifique in Paris and pursued research in ethnomusicology and among the Indians of Brazil.

In East Germany, Heinz Israel was connected with the Museum fuer Voelkerkunde of Dresden. He was a specialist on the ethnology and archaeology of the circumpolar peoples, especially the Eskimo of Canada, Alaska, and the peoples of North Siberia.

Robert Heine-Geldern taught ethnology, prehistory, and art history of Asia at the University of Vienna. His main publications dealt with ethnology, archaeology, and the art of Southeast Asia and Oceania. He was especially concerned with problems of ancient Asiatic influences on America.

In Soviet Russia, M.G. Levin was deputy director of the Institute of Ethnography of the Academy of Sciences and head of its section for physical anthropology. He co-edited with L.P. Potapov the monumental *Historical and Ethnographic Atlas of Siberia* (Russ., 1961). He authored *Principles of Physical Anthropology* (Russ., 1955) and *Ethnic Origins of the Peoples of Northeastern Asia* (Engl., 1963) and was one of the editors and principal authors of *Peoples of Siberia* (Russ., 1956).

In South Africa, Phillip V. *Tobias specialized in physical anthropology and prehistory and was closely associated with L.S.B. Leakey in connection with the discoveries of fossil man in Tanganyika.

Moshe *Stekelis taught prehistoric archaeology at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. He carried out extensive and important field research on the prehistoric archaeology of Israel. Henry Rosenfeld, who also taught at the Hebrew University, did research on the Bedouin and on village and urban Arabs.

Among Jewish psychoanalysts in the United States who have taken an active role in promoting the integration of psychology and cultural anthropology, Géza *Róheim, Abram *Kardiner, Theodor *Reik, and Erich *Fromm distinguished themselves. Modern studies of personality and culture owe much to their pioneering research. Róheim's *The Eternal Ones of the Dream* (1945) was a psychoanalytical interpretation of the origin and meaning of Australian myths and rituals. Abram Kardiner's *The Individual and His Society* (1939) was a pioneer theoretical analysis of the relation of the individual to his culture from a psychological point of view. Reik wrote works on the psychoanalytical interpretations of myths and rituals. Erich Fromm discussed the relation of psychology to current problems of religion and ethics. Fromm, in particular, was concerned with the problem of freedom and responsibility and the hard facts of individual alienation in contemporary culture. Marvin K. Opler published *Culture, Psychiatry and Human Values* (1956), which treated personality differences in various cultures. Iago Galdston edited and participated in a series of symposia on the interrelations of medicine and anthropology.

Among contemporary Jewish cultural anthropologists in America, Sol *Tax was president of the American Anthropological Association. David Bidney of Indiana University published *Theoretical Anthropology* (1953), which was a pioneer work dedicated to basic theory in the history of anthropological thought. Morris Opler of Cornell University was president of the American Anthropological Association and did extensive field work among North American Indians and in rural India.

Harry L. *Shapiro was chairman of the department of anthropology at the American Museum of Natural History and professor of anthropology at Columbia University.

Alexander Spoehr of the University of Pittsburgh was another Jew who served as president of the American Anthropological Association.

Oscar *Lewis published studies of life in a Mexican village, in northern India, and of a family in Puerto Rico and New York. Barbara *Myerhoff (1935–1985) was a renowned scholar, popular professor, prolific writer, and filmmaker, whose influences extended beyond the academy. Her works include *Peyote Hunt* (1974), *Number Our Days* (1978), and the autobiographical film *In Her Own Time* (1985). Sherry Ortner (1941–) of Columbia University has focused her work among the Sherpa people of Nepal and, more recently, in the United States. She helped establish the sub-discipline of feminist anthropology and has made significant contributions to social, cultural, and feminist theory. She is a prolific writer whose works include *Sherpas Through Their Rituals* (1978), *Making Gender: The Politics and Erotics of Culture* (1996), *Life and Death on Mt. Everest: Sherpas and Himalayan Mountaineering* (1999), and *New Jersey Dreaming: Capital, Culture and the Class of '58* (2003).

Jules Henry of Washington University in St. Louis published *Culture Against Man* (1963), a critical analysis of contemporary American culture with special reference to the interconnections among American institutions, values, and personal character among adolescents. Melville Jacobs taught anthropology at the University of Washington in Seattle. He specialized in the folklore of the North American Indians.

In the field of anthropological linguistics there was a distinguished group of Jewish scholars. Joseph Greenberg, of Stanford University, specialized in the linguistics of African peoples and wrote numerous articles on linguistic theory. Zellig S. Harris of the University of Pennsylvania published *Methods in Structural Linguistics* (1951). Stanley Newman of the University of New Mexico specialized in the languages of North American Indians. George L. Trager of the University of Buffalo was a well-known specialist in American Indian languages. Wolf Leslau, professor of Semitic and Ethiopic linguistics at the University of California at Los Angeles, did field research in Ethiopia. Roman Jakobson of Harvard University was the recognized dean of contemporary linguists in

America and was a distinguished authority on Russian language and folk literature.

M.F. Ashley *Montagu was a prolific writer who did much to popularize anthropology in the English-speaking world. While specializing in physical anthropology, he also published a number of popular books on cultural anthropology.

Raphael *Patai published a number of ethnological works on the Near East. James S. Slotkin (d. 1958) was professor of anthropology at the University of Chicago. His study of Peyote religion was the result of active participation in the native Indian church. Rena Lederman of Columbia University does research in the highlands of Papua New Guinea, focusing on the political economy of gift exchange, on inequality and leadership, on gender roles and ideologies. Her books include *What Gifts Engender* (1986). Karin Brodkin of UCLA explores gender, race, work, kinship, and migration in contemporary North American Jews. Her book, *How Jews Became White Folks and What That Says About Race in America* (1999), examines the relationships among Jewishness, gender, and class in the structuring of social identity. Riv-Ellen Prell's research also focuses on Jews in the U.S., with an emphasis on community, gender relations, and religious life. She is the author of *Fighting to Become Americans: Jews, Gender and the Anxiety of Assimilation* (1999) and *Prayer and Community: The Havura in American Judaism* (1989). Ruth Behar of the University of Michigan was born in Havana, Cuba. She has explored her Jewish identity and its relationship with her anthropological research. She is a prolific writer, essayist, poet, and filmmaker. Among her best-known works are *Translated Woman: Crossing the Border with Esperanza's Story* (2003) and *The Vulnerable Observer: Anthropology That Breaks Your Heart* (1997). Sandra Morgen is professor of anthropology at the University of Oregon. Her books include *Into Our Own Hands: The Women's Health Movement in the U.S. 1969–1990* (2002).

[David Bidney / Diane Baxter (2nd ed.)]

ANTHROPOMORPHISM, the attribution to God of human physical form or psychological characteristics. Anthropomorphism is a normal phenomenon in all primitive and ancient polytheistic religions. In Jewish literary sources from the Bible to the *aggadah* and Midrashim, the use of anthropomorphic descriptions and expressions (both physical and psychical) is also widespread. Yet at the same time it is accepted as a major axiom of Judaism, from the biblical period onward, that no material representation of the Deity is possible or permissible. The resolution of this apparent contradiction requires consideration and understanding of virtually every anthropomorphic expression. In every instance it should be asked whether the expression is an actual, naively concrete personification of God, or a fresh and vital form of religious awareness resorting to corporeal imagery, or an allegorical expression, in which the anthropomorphism is not merely an aesthetic means for the shaping of a particular perception or utterance, but is rather a conscious method of artificially clothing spiritual contents in concrete imagery.

The evolutionary approach to the study of religion, which mainly developed in the 19th century, suggested a line of development beginning with anthropomorphic concepts and leading up to a more purified spiritual faith. It argued, among other things, that corporeal representations of the Deity were more commonly found in the older portions of the Bible than in its later books. This view does not distinguish between the different possible explanations for anthropomorphic terms. It especially fails to account for the phenomenon common in the history of all cultures, that sometimes a later period can be more primitive than an earlier one. In fact, both personifications of the Deity as well as attempts to avoid them are found side by side in all parts of the Bible. The paucity of anthropomorphisms in certain works is not necessarily proof of any development in religion, but may well be due to the literary characteristics and intentions of certain biblical narratives, e.g., the narratives designed to express the growing distance between God and man through describing His relationship to Adam, the patriarchs, and the early and late prophets, etc.

In The Bible

An obviously anthropomorphic expression is found in Genesis: *ẓelem Elohim* ("the image of God"), and there are references to actually "seeing" God (Ex. 24:10–12; Num. 12:8). The limbs of the human body frequently serve as allegorical descriptions of the acts of God as perceived by man. Thus divine providence is referred to as "the eyes of the Lord" and "the ears of the Lord" (very common in Prophets and Psalms); "the mouth of the Lord" speaks to the prophets (both in Torah and Prophets); the heavens are the work of His fingers (Ps. 8:4), and the tablets of the covenant are written by the finger of God (Ex. 31:18). Striking figurative expressions are *af* ("nose"; i.e., "the wrath of the Lord"), "His countenance" (which He causes to shine or, alternatively, hides), *yad*, ("hand," "His right hand," "His arm," "His sword"). At times the personification is startlingly extreme: God (or His voice) "walks about in the garden" (Gen. 3:8); He "goes down" in order to see what is being done on the earth (Gen. 11:5; 18:21) or in order to reveal Himself there (Ex. 19:18; 34:5), and He "goes up again" (Gen. 17:22; 35:13); He goes through the land of Egypt and passes over the houses of the Israelites (Ex. 12:12–13); He sits on a throne (Isa. 6:1), causes His voice to be heard among the cherubim who are over the ark of the tabernacle (Num. 7:89), dwells in Zion and in Jerusalem (Ps. 132:13; 135:21); the hair of His head is as wool (Dan. 7:9); Moses sees "His back" (Ex. 33:23). Anthropomorphic expressions abound in the song at the Red Sea (Ex. 15) and in the song of David (II Sam. 22; Ps. 18).

More important from a theological perspective are the anthropopathisms, or psychical personifications of the Deity. Scripture attributes to God love and hate, joy and delight, regret and sadness, pity and compassion, disgust, anger, revenge, and other feelings. Even if one explains these terms as being nothing but picturesque expressions, intended to awaken within man a sense of the real presence of God and His works, nonetheless they remain personifications. The basis for such terms is the conception of God as a Being who wills in a personal (though not exactly in a human) way. This personalized conception of the Deity, in conjunction with the axiomatic belief in His absolute transcendence, leads to unusual boldness in the use of anthropomorphic imagery.

Ultimately, every religious expression is caught in the dilemma between, on the one hand, the theological desire to emphasize the absolute and transcendental nature of the Divine, thereby relinquishing its vitality and immediate reality and relevance, and on the other hand, the religious need to conceive of the Deity and man's contact with Him in some vital and meaningful way. Jewish tradition has usually shown preference for the second tendency, and there is a marked readiness to speak of God in a very concrete and vital manner and not to recoil from the dangers involved in the use of apparent anthropomorphisms.

However, this anthropomorphic style is frequently accompanied by mitigating expressions indicating reservations. The basic opposition to all such personifications is decisively formulated in the Decalogue. In addition, it finds expression in many verses which maintain that nothing can be compared to God, who has no form or shape, cannot be seen, is eternal and without end (very frequent in the Pentateuch, Former and Latter Prophets, Psalms, Job, and Chronicles). Yet, many of these verses appear to contradict others which describe God in corporeal terms (for example, Ex. 20:4; Deut. 4:15, as against Gen. 1:26; Num. 23:19 and I Sam. 15:29 as against Gen. 6:6; I Kings 8:27 as against Ex. 25:8, and other such examples). These verses emphasize the transcendent nature of the Divine, not in philosophical abstractions but in vivid descriptive expressions. In other places one finds attempts to avoid such personifications and to substitute less daring imagery; if it is said, on the one hand, that the Lord dwells in His sanctuary (Ex. 35:8), and also appears in the cloud over the cover of the ark (Lev. 16:2), on the other hand there are verses which speak instead of God's *kavod* ("glory") or *Shemo* ("His name"; Ex. 24:16–17; Lev. 9:23; Num. 14:10; Deut. 12:5, 11; 16:2, 6; I Kings 8:11). Some scholars (S.D. Luzzatto and Geiger) argued that the present vocalization of Exodus 34:24 "to appear before the Lord" was emended by the masoretes from original לִרְאוֹת (*lirot*; "to see") to לֵרָאוֹת (*lera'ot*; "to be seen"), to avoid an objectionable anthropomorphism.

There is no evidence of any physical representation of God in Jewish history (in contradistinction to the worship of Canaanite and other foreign gods by Israelites). Even the golden calves of Jeroboam represented, according to the view of most scholars, only a footstool for the invisible God. In archaeological excavations no images of the God of Israel have been unearthed. Biblical Hebrew is the only fully developed language which has no specific term for the notion "goddess."

The Targumim

The method of mitigating offensive anthropomorphisms by means of small emendations, described by the *tannaim* as "biblical modifications of expression," is also prevalent in the early translations of Scripture. *Onkelos often renders the name of the Lord in such substitutes as "the glory of the Lord," "the Word of the Lord," and "fear of the Lord." Similarly, he translates "He saw" or "He knew," referring to the Deity as "it was revealed before Him"; "He went down" becomes "He revealed Himself"; "He heard" becomes "it was heard before Him," and other similar examples. If the same verb is used in the Bible to describe an action of God and of man, Onkelos uses two different words in order to distinguish clearly between the Divine and the human (Gen. 32:29; 40:8; Ex. 14:31; and others). He is less hesitant, however, about attributing man's psychical qualities to God, and he translates such expressions as hatred, love, anger, and the like without making any changes except for those words which indicate regret and sadness on the part of God (for example, Gen. 6:6). Yet Onkelos is not consistent in his treatment of anthropomorphism as Maimonides already observed (*Guide of the Perplexed* 2:33), and it has been suggested that he prepared his translation with the simple worshiper in mind: expressions whose metaphorical meaning was obvious, were translated literally; where misunderstanding and error were likely, his translation circumvents the anthropomorphism by a paraphrase. The other Aramaic translators follow a similar course, although the Targum known as "Yerushalmi" goes even further in avoiding anthropomorphisms than do Onkelos and the Targum Jonathan to the Prophets.

The same generally applies to the Greek translations. For instance, *temunah* ("likeness") is always translated in the Septuagint as μορΦή ("form") or ὁμοίωμα ("likeness"), and, if it refers to the Deity (Num. 12:8), it is rendered δόξα ("that which appears"). The Septuagint is extremely careful with God's "wrath," "anger," and similar terms, which the Aramaic Targumim never hesitate to translate literally. Yet even within the Septuagint one finds no consistency in handling anthropomorphisms. Among the other Greek translations, of which only fragments are extant, Symmachus is the most consistent in avoiding personifications of the Deity. For example, in Genesis 1:27, he separates the terms "in the image of God," reading instead: "in the image – God created him" (the Targum Yerushalmi attributed to Jonathan treats this verse similarly).

Hellenistic Philosophy

Aristobulus deals in a systematic way with the "true" (that is, the allegorical) interpretation of anthropomorphic verses in Scripture, basing himself on Greek thinkers and poets. The consistent avoidance of any personification of God led Philo of Alexandria to the concept of a Deity who neither acts nor creates, who is without attributes or qualities and hence no kind of positive relationship to this world could be attributed to him. At the same time Philo could not be unaware of the dynamic vitality and activity of God as portrayed in the Bible. This contradiction caused him to posit an intermediate being between God and the world. His biblical exegesis is an allegorization of Scripture in this direction. Hence the *memra* ("word") of Onkelos and the *logos* of Philo, despite their terminological similarity cannot be equated.

Aggadic Literature

Rabbinical *aggadah* essentially follows the biblical manner of boldly using anthropomorphic imagery, while at the same time qualifying it. The number of substitute terms for God increases. To the *memra* of the Targum are now added other names and circumlocutions, such as *gevurah* ("strength"), *shamayim* ("heaven"), *makom* ("place"), etc. Sentences in which personifications occur are softened by means of the qualifying term *kivyakhol* ("so to speak," "as it were") or by means of sayings such as "if it were not written in Scripture, it would be impossible to utter it." Occasionally, anthropomorphic personifications of God are justified for didactic reasons and by the need to make divine truth accessible to human understanding: "The Torah speaks in the language of men." At times the rabbis resort to anthropomorphic language in order to drive home a moral lesson. Thus God's "descent" on Mount Sinai is used for the following exhortation: "Let a man always learn from his Creator, for here the Holy One blessed be He forsook all of the mountains and high hills and caused His presence to rest on the lowly Mt. Sinai" (Sot. 5a). Similarly, on the third day after the circumcision of Abraham, "the Holy One blessed be He said to the ministering angels: Let us go down and visit the sick man."

However, definite attempts to qualify anthropomorphic tendencies are evident in other homilies on the revelation at Sinai: "The Divine Presence never descended, nor did Moses and Elijah ever ascend to heaven" (Suk. 5a; Mekh. Ha-Ḥodesh 4). The commandment to cleave to the Lord is explained in the Talmud in this way: "As He is compassionate, so should you be compassionate; as He visits the sick, so should you visit the sick" (Shab. 133b; Sot. 14a). But the original version of the Midrash read: "As He is called compassionate and gracious, so you be compassionate and gracious," thereby avoiding the potential personification involved (Sif. Deut. 11:22). The rabbis did not recoil from such terms whenever they thought them useful to impress man with an awareness of the existence of God, His love and His fear, and, hence, aggadic literature abounds in statements to the effect that the Holy-One-blessed-be-He studies the law (Ḥag. 15b), puts on *tefillin* (Ber. 6a), weeps over the destruction of the Temple, and the like.

In the Middle Ages

The proper explanation of the anthropomorphic passages in biblical and aggadic texts became a major problem in Jewish theological thought. Generally one may discern three main trends of thought, although there are no clear lines of demarcation, and the number of intermediate positions is considerable: (1) Allegorization: every anthropomorphic description of the Deity is explained simply as a metaphor. This approach developed chiefly through the influence of Greek and Arabic philosophy. (2) Talmudic orthodoxy: a well-nigh literal understanding of the sayings of the rabbis. Philosophical, i.e., allegorical, exegesis was considered a danger to religion, since the whole biblical, halakhic, and aggadic tradition might easily evaporate into allegorical ideas. (3) The mystical view: there are intermediate beings between God and the world (or stages of God's self-manifestation), and all anthropomorphic expressions refer to these emanations from the Deity. Further support for this line of thought is found in the Targumim and *aggadah*, which make frequent use of such names as *Shekhinah* ("Divine Presence").

Philosophy

The medieval Jewish philosophers aimed at purifying the concept of the Deity of any trace of anthropomorphism. *Saadiah Gaon held that all corporeal references to God refer to noncorporeal matters, and that strictly speaking only the attribute of existence could be ascribed to God. The forms which the prophets saw in their visions were not actually the Deity but His *Shekhinah* ("Presence") – viz. the divine light or *kavod* ("glory") created by Him. Later thinkers developed Saadiah's views, although many of them defended the unlettered, simple believers who were intellectually incapable of properly understanding Scripture and approaching God without material notions (Joseph b. Ẓaddik, Baḥya ibn Paquda; Abraham b. David of Posquières' gloss to Maimonides' Yad, Teshuvah 3:7). Judah Halevi even saw a logical justification and a didactic value in such anthropomorphisms (compare his comment on the golden calf episode (Kuzari 1:97)). Discussion of the problem reached its zenith in the philosophical work of Maimonides, who insisted upon a nonliteral, allegorical understanding of all anthropomorphic expressions, both physical and psychical, and ruled that every anthropomorphism was outright heresy.

The violence of Maimonides' polemic against anthropomorphic beliefs and doctrines suggests that these were fairly widespread, and that a great many people were affected by "the *aggadot* ("homilies") which confuse one's mind" (so Abraham b. David of Posquières, loc. cit.). The influence of Maimonides, however, was both powerful and lasting. Even against the vehement opposition of more conservative thinkers of his day, his "*Guide*" determined what was to become the Orthodox concept of God within Judaism for a long time. There is evidence (Jedaiah ha-Penini of the 13th century, Moses Alashkar of the 15th) to show that it was the writings of Maimonides which finally did away with all anthropomorphic notions among Jews. Whereas in his lifetime Maimonides' orthodoxy was suspected because of his opposition to anthropomorphic beliefs, Spinoza was equally strongly denounced in the 17th century for his rejection of Maimonides' principles of exegesis and for his contention that scriptural anthropomorphisms were originally meant to be taken literally.

[R.J. Zwi Werblowsky]

In the Kabbalah

The talmudic *Merkabah (the heavenly throne-chariot) mysticism taught the ascent of the ecstatic soul into the realm of the divine throne. A description of the revelation of the divine majesty in the form of a human figure (following Ezekiel 1:26) became the focal point of this vision. This description is found in fragments of a tract called *Shi'ur Komah*, literally "the measure of the body," i.e., the body of God as He appears, revealing Himself in this form. The text, attributed to the two mishnaic rabbis R. *Ishmael and R. *Akiva, gives enormous figures for the measurement of each organ of that divine primordial man on the throne. Such measurements are preserved, for example, of God's right and left eyes, of His lips, and other parts. The description of God's organs is designedly linked with the description of the beloved one in the Song of Songs 5:11–15, and it is certainly connected with some esoteric doctrine about the Song of Songs as a mystical text. It constitutes a major piece of theosophy, no longer clear, evolved precisely within the circle of strict rabbinical Orthodoxy. The age of these fragments, which were forcefully attacked by the *Karaites as a profanation and degradation of the religious concepts about God, was long debated. Some philosophic apologists of the Middle Ages, for whom the existence of these doctrines was a source of embarrassment, tried to explain them away as late forgeries. Judah Halevi justified the *Shi'ur Komah* "because it brings the fear of God into the souls of men" (*Kuzari* 4:3). Later Maimonides ruled that it was unquestionably an idolatrous work and should be destroyed (*Teshuvot Rambam*, ed. Freimann, nos. 373, 694). Scholars like *Graetz assumed that they were due to the influence of an anthropomorphic school in early Islam. These opinions are no longer tenable. The term *Shi'ur Komah* appears as the keyword of an esoteric doctrine connected with the Song of Songs in the hymns of Eleazar ha-Kallir, which are pre-Islamic. The existence of an esoteric doctrine about the Song of Songs is attested in the third century by the church father Origen who lived at Caesarea. By this he cannot have meant the openly accepted allegorization of the Song of Songs as the relationship between God and Israel, but rather as a doctrine about the appearance of God in the form of the beloved one, such as is taught by the *Shi'ur Komah*. Saul *Lieberman has shown that in the earlier *aggadah* the revelation of God on His Merkabah at the exodus from Egypt and the revelation on Mount Sinai are in fact attested in a manner which fits into the traditions of the *Shi'ur Komah*. However it is clear from the extant fragments that this extreme form of anthropomorphism was not really meant to describe the Divine Being as corporeal. The description here is of a visionary apparition, however exotic, but not the appearance of God Himself. In kabbalistic literature, *Shi'ur Komah* was interpreted as a symbol for the revelation of the Divinity in the *Sefirot* (Divine Emanations) and therefore it was favorably appraised. Important parts of the *Zohar, in particular the Great and Small *Idras*, represent a kind of kabbalistic adaptation or imitation of the *Shi'ur Komah*. In them, the theosophic beliefs of the kabbalists are quite consciously expostulated in the form of concrete descriptions of the features of the head of the Divinity, in order to doubly stress their symbolic character. Parallels to the *Shi'ur Komah* are also found in the second century in the *gnostic literature of Christian heretics who had a knowledge of Aramaic, such as Marcion. His description of the "Body of Truth" comes particularly close to the traditions of the *Shi'ur Komah*.

[Gershom Scholem]

In Jewish Art

Although Jews have speculated on the anthropomorphic nature of God, visible representation of the Deity was clearly forbidden by the Mosaic law. In spite of this injunction, the Deity has sometimes been represented in Jewish art. In the synagogue frescoes of *Dura Europos (third century C.E.), there are representations of the Hand of God stretching forth from heaven. In certain cases where they depict the visions of Ezekiel the representations might be justified as an illustration of a biblical text (e.g., the prophet said, "the hand of the Lord was upon me"; Ezek. 37:1). No such justification, however, can be used to explain the fact that at Dura Europos and at *Bet Alfa there are representations (as in contemporary Christian art) of the Divine Hand extending from heaven to prevent Abraham from sacrificing his son (it is specifically stated in the Bible that the patriarch was restrained by the voice of an angel). The anthropomorphic tradition was continued in medieval Jewish illuminated manuscripts. In the Sarajevo *Haggadah* there is a figure of a man in repose which according to one opinion illustrates God taking rest after the labor of creation. Later, the theme was taken up in documents and printed books. One of the vignettes to *Jacob b. Asher's *Arba'ah Turim* published by Ḥayyim Schwarz (with his son and son-in-law) in Augsburg in 1540 shows the Deity engaged in the work of the sixth day of creation and in the creation of Eve. The Deity was also depicted in small vignettes of scenes from the Vision of Ezekiel on the engraved title page of the *Minḥat Shai* (Mantua, 1742); on the engraved border of an Italian **ketubbah* of the 17th century; and in a representation of the Vision of Jacob at Bethel on the title page of the *Ir Binyamin* by Benjamin Ze'ev Wolf Romaner (Frankfurt on the Oder, 1698). There is a depiction in relief of God appearing to the infant Samuel (I Sam. 3:10) on the gravestone of Samuel Senior Texeira in the Oudekerk cemetery of the Sephardi Jewish community in Amsterdam (1717). This is especially remarkable in view of the biblical prohibition of graven images. The accumulated evidence shows that it is even possible that the cast figure of Jupiter Fulgur, incorporated in the perpetual lamp of at least two 18th-century German synagogues, was also intended to represent the Deity. It is clear that the prevalent idea that medieval Jewish art would not brook anthropomorphism is certainly incorrect.

[Cecil Roth]

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ANTIBI, family of rabbis in Aleppo, Egypt, and Ereẓ Israel. The name is derived from Ain Tab, in southern Turkey. Its members include: ISAAC BEN SHABBETAI (d. 1804), of Aleppo, author of *Ohel Yiẓḥak*, sermons; *Beit Av*, novellae on Maimonides' *Yad ha-Ḥazakah* and Joseph Caro's *Beit Yosef*; and various responsa. These works were published by his son Abraham b. Isaac *Antibi. JACOB (d. 1846), born in Aleppo. He was rabbi of Damascus for 40 years and a halakhic authority. He corresponded with the chief rabbi of Jerusalem, Raphael Joseph Ḥazzan, who endorsed his decisions. The great publicity given the *Damascus Affair (1840) and the world reaction to it were largely due to him. In February 1840, he was imprisoned and cruelly tortured, but following the intercession of Moses *Montefiore, Adolph *Crémieux, and Solomon *Munk, he was released that September. Upon Montefiore's request he wrote a detailed account of his imprisonment. After his release he moved to Jerusalem (1841) and was reckoned among that city's important scholars, residing there until his death. He is the author of *Abbir Ya'akov*, novellae, at the end of which is a description of the Damascus blood libel, appended to Ḥayyim Kafusi's *Be-Or ha-Ḥayyim* (1929). Some of his responsa are extant (Ben Zvi Institute, no. 403; Benayahu Collection), and several appear in the works of his contemporaries. He was also a poet. One of his poems, composed on his release from prison, deals with his salvation from the blood libel. Some of his *pizmonim* were recited in the synagogues of Damascus although they were never published. ḤAYYIM JUDAH SHABBETAI RAPHAEL (1808–1888), son of Jacob, also known as "Mashi'aḥ," was a wealthy philanthropist. He aided the rehabilitation of Safed after the 1837 earthquake, and also built a synagogue which bore his name. Later he was appointed rabbi and member of the *bet din* in Cairo. He died there in 1888. His son, ELIJAH RAḤAMIM (1852–1920), born in Safed, wrote *Ara de-Rabbanan*, sermons; *Derash Eliyahu*, funeral orations; *Tuv Ta'am*; and *Imrei Shabbat*, all of which are still in manuscript.

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[Haim J. Cohen]

ANTIBI, ABRAHAM BEN ISAAC (1765–1858), Syrian talmudist. Antibi, who was born in Aleppo, studied under his father, Isaac Berakhah, and Isaiah Dabah. A scholar of great erudition and acumen, he wrote books on a variety of topics. He ruled his community with a firm hand, making regulations, opposing the inroads of the wealthy, and criticizing the failings of his generation. When his father died he succeeded him, acting as rabbi of Aleppo and head of the *bet din*. He served approximately 40 years. Antibi studied Kabbalah, and speculated on the date of redemption. His ethical publications established his reputation as a moralist. He also wrote poems, most of which expressed the yearning for redemption and for the revelation of the Divine Presence. In Aleppo some of these were sung on Sabbath eves and on festive occasions, being included in the *Bakkashot* books. His learning was acknowledged in Ereẓ Israel, and *Israel b. Samuel of Sklov solicited from him a commendation for his book *Pe'at ha-Shulḥan* (1836). Antibi was host to visiting Ashkenazi scholars and emissaries from Ereẓ Israel and his works incorporated his learned discussions with them. His son Isaac was also a distinguished scholar in Aleppo. Antibi is the author of (1) *Yoshev Ohalim* (Leghorn, 1825). This work includes *Ohel Avraham*, sermons on the pentateuchal passages, on the Exodus, and on Passover; *Penei ha-Bayit*, a treatise on the *Torat ha-Bayit* of Solomon b. Abraham *Adret; and *Ohel Yiẓḥak*, some sermons of his father. (2) *Mor ve-Aholot* (Leghorn, 1843), responsa of Antibi and his father. (3) *Ohel Yesharim* (Leghorn, 1843), moral discourses and homilies to which are appended some 50 *piyyutim*. (4) *Penei ha-Bayit* (Leghorn, 1849), on the Shulḥan Arukh, ḤM, together with *Bet Av* by his father. (5) *Ḥokhmah u-Musar* (Leghorn, 1850), on ethical conduct, to which is added *Derekh Ḥukkekha*, laws of the festivals, which also contains *Ḥukkei Nashim*, matrimonial law based chiefly on the responsa of *David b. Solomon Abi Zimra. (6) *Penei Ohel Mo'ed* (Jerusalem, 1959), homiletical discourses for the special Sabbaths. His works are an important source for the cultural, social, and economic life of the Jews of Syria. To this day legends are current in praise of him and the wonders which he performed.

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ANTICHRESIS (ἀντίχρησις) in Greco-Roman law an arrangement whereby a creditor may, under certain conditions, enjoy the use and fruits of property (land or chattels) given to him as security. In talmudic literature, such an arrangement appears under various designations such as *mashkanta di-Sura, nakhyata, kiẓuta* (see *Loans, *Pledge, *Property, *Usury), while the word *antichresis* (אנטיכרסיס) itself appears only once in the Talmud (TJ BM 6:7, 11a; another passage in TJ Git. 4:6, 46a has אנטריס which might be a corruption of *antichresis* (אנטיכרסיס) – see Epstein, in: *Tarbiz*, 8 (1937), 316–8). In Greco-Roman sources too, though antichretic transactions must have been widespread, the word *antichresis* appears only rarely, and it is difficult to ascertain its exact meaning. The glossator Cujacius (Observations 3:35) restricts the term to an arrangement whereby the usufruct is in lieu of interest (*in vicem usurarum*). A. Manigk, rejecting this narrow definition, argues that in Roman, Assyro-Babylonian, Greco-Egyptian, Syrian, and other laws, arrangements whereby usufruct was granted in partial or total amortization of the principal debt were also included in *antichresis*: hence Manigk speaks of "amortization-*antichresis*" as distinct from "interest-*antichresis*" (F. Stier-Somlo and A. Elster (eds.), *Handwoerterbuch der Rechtswissenschaft*, 1 (1926), s.v.). By allowing a token deduction from a principal debt, actual interest-*antichresis* can be made to appear as amortization-*antichresis* (which is what *mashkanta di-Sura* or *nakhyata* really were). This was a means of evading the prohibition of usury. It is thus difficult to say whether the terse statement in the Talmud, which explicitly denounces *antichresis* as usury, refers to pure interest-*antichresis* or also to amortization-*antichresis* of the fictitious kind. The Mishnah discussing it deals with loans on pledge and quotes a saying of Abba Saul allowing amortization-*antichresis* under certain circumstances ("a poor man's pledge").

In Christian countries in the Middle Ages, when all interest on loans was forbidden, *antichresis* was linked with the evasion of usury (see C.F. Glueck, *Ausfuerliche Erlaeuterung der Pandecten*, 14 (1813), 47 ff.). Economically justified interest rates having become permissible, the significance of *antichresis* faded away and is not found in modern legislation.

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[Arnost Zvi Ehrman]

ANTICHRIST, Gr. ʾΑντιχριστος, a term first occurring in the Johannine epistles in the New Testament (I John 2:18, 22; 4:3; II John 7). It refers to an eschatological figure, the opponent of God, the pseudo-messiah who will be revealed at the end of days as the great enemy of Jesus. According to II Thessalonians 2:2–4 the second coming will be preceded by apostasy, and the "man of lawlessness" will be revealed, the "son of perdition" so evil that "he shall sit in the Temple of God, showing himself to be God." Perhaps this figure too is to be identified with Antichrist, and he is destroyed by "the breath of the Messiah's mouth" (cf. Isa. 11:4, Targ. *ibid.*, and many other places in Jewish writings).

The background to this figure lies in Jewish eschatology, where the ideas of the wicked king of the last generation and of the rise of evil to the highest point preceding salvation are found at an early period (cf. Ezek. 28:2; Dan. 7:24–25; 11:36; cf. 9:27). Another form of the same idea can be found in the eschatological battle in which the forces of evil and their leader are finally to be overcome (QM xviii:1; 1QS iv:18–19; Test. Patr., Levi 3:3, et al.). Peculiar to the Christian form of this tradition in which the term Antichrist developed is the anti-messianic aspect of the figure. Thus, in a later Christian apocalypse he is described in the following terms: "His knees are unbending, he is crippled in his eyes, with wide eyebrows, crooked [sickle] fingered, with a pointed head, gracious, boastful, wise, sweet in laughter, visionary, clever, sober, gentle, mild, worker of signs, bringing close to him the souls of the corrupt, bringing forth bread from stones, [making] the blind to see, the lame to walk, he will move mountains from place to place…" (Seventh Vision of Daniel, ed. Z. Kalemkian, 1892, pp. 25 ff.). The description of his ugly physical appearance is similar to those found in other Christian apocalypses, such as *Testamentum Domini*, the Greek Esdras Apocalypse and others. But in the Daniel Apocalypse quoted, certain of the characteristics of Antichrist are directly inspired by those of the Christ. Descriptions of the physical form of this figure also occur in later Jewish apocalypses such as *Sefer Zerubbavel* (ed. Ibn Shemu'el, 79 ff.), there ascribed to *Armilus.

Another element which entered into this complex of ideas is that of *Nero redivivus*. Here the eschatological wicked ruler took on the characteristics of the Roman emperor who represented the very epitome of all conceivable evil. The idea of *Nero's eschatological reappearance developed and is to be found in the Sibylline Oracles (e.g., 4:119–39) which constitute the most extensive early source for this idea. In this book the demonization of the Nero figure is complete (5:361–70) and it is very clear further (5:28–34), where of his return it says (33f.): "Then he shall return, making himself equal to God, but [God] shall convince him that he is not." The same concept is also to be found in Revelation 13:17. There, too, the antidivine arises in the form of a dragon, the "primordial serpent called Satan" (12:9), and of two beasts, one of which is generally associated with Nero (13:17–18). The Church Fathers also speculated about Antichrist, but their interest was more in his theological aspects than in the mythical features dear to the apocalyptic writers. So, for example, both Irenaeus in his treatise *Adversus haereses* and Hippolytus in his "On Christ and Antichrist" and his fragmentary commentary on Daniel reflect this interest and for them II Thessalonians 2:2–4 is most important. The later developments of this legend are complex. One particular form, basing itself on Jewish traditions (see Test. Patr., Dan. 5:6), makes the Antichrist a Jewish pseudo-messiah of the tribe of Dan.

In the Antichrist figure of Christianity, therefore, elements of Jewish thought were given particular formulations as they crystallized. The idea of the rise of evil to its height before the coming of salvation, the embodiment of this evil in the eschatological king (cf. Test. Patr., Dan. 11:36, 37; Ass. Mos. 8), the overweening pride and blasphemy of the figure (Test. Patr., Dan. 7:11, 20; II Thess. 2:2–4, etc.), all these are old Jewish motifs. Their combination in the figure of the wonder-working pseudo-messiah or Antichrist is apparently a Christian development, and one which, in turn, may have influenced later Jewish ideas. It is clearly possible that this Christian formulation, which often bears distinct anti-Jewish traits, grew in part from the reaction of Christianity to continuing Jewish messianic hopes. It might be added that Jewish tradition about this eschatological figure may have been more highly developed and earlier than is generally recognized, as the primarily Jewish material in the fragmentary Coptic Elijah apocalypse indicates.

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[Michael E. Stone]

ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE (ADL). The Anti-Defamation League (originally "The Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith") was founded in 1913 in reaction to the crude and overt antisemitism of the period, specifically to the Leo *Frank case. The ADL's goal, as stated in the charter that established the League, is "to end the defamation of the Jewish people … to secure justice and fair treatment for all citizens alike."

Originally headquartered in Chicago, the offices of the League are in New York City. The ADL works out of 31 regional offices located throughout the United States. The ADL has as well a cooperative relationship with the B'nai B'rith Canadian office, an office in Jerusalem, and representation in Rome and Moscow.

The ADL is governed by a National Commission of 700. Unlike the *American Jewish Congress, *American Jewish Committee, and other community relations organizations, the ADL is not a membership organization. It has evolved from being a commission of its parent body to an organization with independent board and fundraising structures, and in reality is fully autonomous. The ADL is staffed by career professionals who are specialists in various disciplines related to community relations: religions, law, communications, promotion, education, labor, foreign affairs (especially Israel and the Middle East), social sciences, politics (national and local), and government.

The ADL recognizes threats to Jewish security coming from an antisemitism that appears in new forms and guises, such as anti-Israel activity and radicalism of the right and left. The League views itself as being an "active" organization, responding in a timely manner to what are perceived to be threats to the rights and security of Jews. It sees itself as taking a pragmatic, rather than an ideological, approach to issues. The ADL, by virtue of its budget and its varied activity, is considered to be a significant voice among the community relations agencies.

The ADL's initial efforts focused on the blatant antisemitism of the pre- and post-World War I period, which included restricted neighborhoods and resorts, jobs, and schools that rejected Jews. (For example, model legislation drafted by the ADL helped unmask the Ku Klux Klan and drastically diminish its power.) The ADL's focus, however, in its early decades was not on legal remedies against discrimination but on countering defamation of Jews. For example, the League exposed the vicious antisemitism of the *Dearborn Independent*, which printed and circularized the infamous *Protocols of Zion*, and extracted an apology and retraction from its publisher, Henry Ford. Throughout the 1930s the League fought and exposed the many hate groups which sprang up during the Depression and the Hitler period, such as the Christian Front, the Silver Shirts, and the German-American Bund.

Particularly in the post-World War II period, the ADL was successful in advocating on behalf of legislation against such discrimination. It also dealt with vulgar stereotypes and caricatures of Jews on the stage and in communication media and with incidents of antisemitic vandalism, and played a role in strengthening interfaith and interracial relationships.

In the 1960s, the ADL played a role in the successful coalitional effort that resulted in the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, and of subsequent fair-housing and voting-rights laws. The ADL's sponsorship of a comprehensive study of the roots of prejudice (the seven-volume University of California Five-Year Study of Antisemitism in the United States – the "Berkeley Studies") helped create a new climate of interreligious understanding and ecumenism, and was a factor in the deliberations of Vatican II that led to the watershed document *Nostra Aetate*, which re-defined the Catholic Church's attitude toward Jews.

On the international scene, advocacy on behalf of the State of Israel and other involvement in Middle East issues became, especially after 1967, an ADL priority. The League carries out an education and action program to help mold public opinion and exposes and counteracts Arab propaganda; ADL led the effort which resulted in the passage of anti-boycott legislation and worked within the European Economic Community to counter the boycott. The League is also active in protecting and securing the rights of Jews wherever they are in danger, and played an important role in the Soviet Jewry movement. Interreligious activities as well have been an important part of the ADL agenda.

During the 1970s, in response to what it then characterized as "the new antisemitism," which derived less from overt expression and more from apathy and insensitivity to Jews and to Jewish concerns and problems, including Israel, the ADL re-contoured its approaches to antisemitism. A major prejudice-reduction program, "A World of Difference," has been an ADL centerpiece since the early 1990s, as has been Holocaust education. Convinced that preferential treatment will destroy equality of opportunity and selection based upon merit, the League's position on affirmative action is nuanced in terms of ADL's opposition to the re-emergence of quotas.

The ADL's traditional ideology was that aggressive use of litigation and other legal remedies to counter discrimination and church-state violations was too confrontational and would ultimately damage the constructive relationships that Jews had built up with other faith communities over the years. From its earliest years the ADL, unlike its sister "defense" agencies, rejected advocating on behalf of antidiscrimination legislation, and instead focused on combating prejudice and defamation. The League's national director until 1947, Richard E. Gustadt, articulated the view that held that intergroup negotiation and education programs emphasizing cultural pluralism offered the best chances to remedy societal abuses. Certain societal evils could not, in the view of the ADL, be eliminated, only tempered. This view (shared in large measure by the American Jewish Committee) marked a fundamental ideological difference with the American Jewish Congress, which believed in direct legal action.

From the late 1940s until the late 1970s the ADL was led by a tandem of Benjamin Epstein and Arnold Forster, who together began aggressively prosecuting a civil rights agenda for the League. Beginning in the early 1980s, however, with a marked shift in the national public policy agenda back to church-state and other First Amendment matters, there was again a shift in the priorities of the ADL. During the tenure of national director Nathan Perlmutter additional legal expertise and resources were added to the agency's staff (the ADL's litigation capacity dated back to the late 1940s and was a result of the decision by the American Jewish Congress to organize its Commission on Law and Social Action), and the League became an aggressive "player" in the church-state arena. During this period there was a certain degree of de-emphasis of the traditional civil rights agenda, resulting in large measure from antisemitism within some black civil rights groups.

Even with a new emphasis placed on church-state separation and other legal matters, the ADL always viewed church-state concerns to be but one of several major civil rights and liberties issues on its organizational palette, which includes countering racial supremacist organizations, judicial remedies for "hate crimes," and discrimination and harassment. Changes within the organization arising out of exogenous factors did not mean that the ADL intended to abandon its charter purpose of public response to anti-Jewish defamation.

From the mid-1980s, under the stewardship of Abraham H. *Foxman, the ADL has become one of the most "visible" national Jewish organizations on the American – and indeed international – scene. Although viewed as increasingly conservative in some areas of activity, the reality is that the ADL has carved a highly nuanced political path, especially on Israel-related issues, threading its way skillfully between agencies such as the rightist Zionist Organization of America and Jewish groups of the left. This "centrist" approach has been evident in a range of domestic public affairs issues as well. Newer areas of activity for the ADL include threats of global antisemitism, "hate" activity on the Internet, working with law-enforcement agencies, a new generation of church-state situations, and balancing traditional civil liberties concerns with those of national and local security. The ADL has commissioned a series of public opinion surveys, both in the United States and in Europe, which have elicited valuable data on antisemitic attitudes and on attitudes toward Israel.

The core mission of the ADL – to combat antisemitism – remains as it has been. The related mission of the League – working for justice for all – has in the view of the ADL not only intrinsic value but instrumental value as well, as it assists in the ADL's core mission.

In terms of institutional considerations, until the early 1980s the leading "defense" agency, in terms of budget and stature, was the American Jewish Committee; the annual budgets of the two agencies were at approximate parity, at around $12 million. The ADL budget ($5.5 million in 1971) began increasing in the 1980s at approximately $3 million per year in that decade, and soon far outstripped the other "defense" agencies, reaching some $30 million by the early 1990s and approximately $60 million by 2005. The League's staff and programmatic initiatives have increased commensurately.

Also important in terms of institutional dynamics is the ADL's relationship with *B'nai B'rith. The ADL began life as a commission of B'nai B'rith, but tensions developed between the two agencies as B'nai B'rith was reshaping itself from being primarily a fraternal and service organization to one that addresses community relations issues. In the mid-to-late 1990s the issue with B'nai B'rith came to a head, with B'nai B'rith – itself seeking finally to reshape its own identity – asserted that its community relations and "defense" agenda would be pursued aggressively. The ADL, maintaining that it was B'nai B'rith's "defense" arm, in effect severed its ties with its erstwhile parent. (The ADL does retain a *de jure* legal connection with B'nai B'rith.)

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[Jerome Chanes (2nd ed.)]

ANTI-FASCIST COMMITTEE, JEWISH, a group of Jewish public figures and intellectuals in the Soviet Union organized during World War II on the initiative of the Soviet government to mobilize world Jewish support for the Soviet war effort against Nazi Germany. When the Germans invaded the Soviet Union, the Soviet government felt the need to organize a Jewish body among the many organizations set up to arouse world opinion to aid embattled Russia. On Aug. 24, 1941, a meeting of "representatives of the Jewish people" was held in Moscow and it was addressed by Solomon *Mikhoels, Ilya *Ehrenburg, David *Bergelson, and others, who called on "our Jewish brethren throughout the world" to come to the aid of the Soviet Union. This appeal made a great impression on Jews in countries free of the Nazi yoke. In the U.S. the Jewish Council for Russian War Relief was established, headed by Albert *Einstein; in Palestine, a reply to the call from Moscow was broadcast in Hebrew on Sept. 28, 1941, on behalf of the *yishuv*. A public committee to aid the Soviet Union's fight against fascism, which was later known as "League V," was also established.

At the same time, two representatives of the *Bund in Poland, Henryk *Erlich and Victor *Alter, who had been released from Soviet imprisonment in September 1941, suggested to the Soviet government that it establish an anti-fascist committee. When the two were executed in December 1941, it appeared that the proposal had been rejected; however, the serious situation on the war fronts led the Soviet government to recognize the need for propaganda directed toward Jews throughout the world. It was decided to establish a Jewish Anti-Fascist Committee within the *Sovinformbureau*, which served Soviet war propaganda. On April 7, 1942, the Committee published its first appeal to "Jews throughout the world," signed by 47 people, including writers, poets, actors, doctors, and Jewish soldiers who had distinguished themselves in battle against the Germans (General Jacob *Kreiser, the submarine commander Israel Fisanovich, and others). The Committee was headed by Solomon Mikhoels, and its secretary was the journalist Shakhne Epstein. On May 24, the second meeting of the "representatives of the Jewish people" was held and broadcast an appeal to Jews throughout the world to collect contributions for the acquisition of 1,000 tanks and 500 airplanes for the Red Army. **Eynikeyt*, the Yiddish journal of the Committee, was first published on July 6, 1942, at Kuibyshev and appeared three times a month. The Committee organized radio broadcasts four times a week in Yiddish for the Jews in the U.S. and Great Britain and collected information on Nazi atrocities in Nazi-occupied Soviet areas that was published in *Eynikeyt* and sent outside the Soviet Union for publication in Jewish newspapers. The Committee also collected a total of 3,300,000 rubles in their fundraising campaign among Jews in the Soviet Union for the purpose of setting up a tank unit to be called "Soviet Birobidzhan." In February 1943, the Committee met in plenary session, at which Mikhoels delivered a shocking report of the fate of Jews in areas liberated by the Red Army. He also gave details on the Jewish role in the struggle against the Nazis. Ehrenburg denounced the wave of antisemitism then spreading through the country, whose slogan was that "one does not see Jews at the front," and urged that all circles of the Soviet public be supplied with information on the participation of Jews in the battles against the Germans. In the second half of 1943, Mikhoels and the poet Itzik *Fefer were sent by the Committee on a propaganda tour to the U.S., Canada, Mexico, and Great Britain and were enthusiastically received by almost all sections of the Jewish public. This visit was regarded as the first step in renewing the contact between Soviet Jews and world Jewry that had been severed since October 1917.

The third meeting of "representatives of the Jewish people" in the Soviet Union took place in April 1944, including for the first time a representative of religious Jewry, Rabbi Solomon *Schliefer of Moscow. When Germany was defeated in May 1945, the Anti-Fascist Committee published a declaration emphasizing that during the war "a basis for increasing unity was created" between Jews of various countries and the Jews of the Soviet Union.

When the war ended, the activities of the Anti-Fascist Committee centered mainly around the periodical *Eynikeyt*, which appeared three times a week after February 1945. The Committee planned to publish two books, *The Black Book* on Nazi atrocities in occupied territories and *The Red Book* on Jews as armed fighters against the Nazis; their publication was banned, however. In late 1946, Itzik Fefer declared in *Eynikeyt* that "we have never affirmed all-Jewish (*klal Yisroel*) unity, but only anti-Fascist unity." Ehrenburg resigned from the Committee in time, while its chairman Mikhoels was murdered by the secret police in January 1948. In late November 1948, the Anti-Fascist Committee was liquidated together with all the remaining Jewish institutions, and most Jewish writers and public figures were arrested.

From the first, the Anti-Fascist Committee had been established as a Soviet propaganda tool operating under the guidance and supervision of the government. But after the war, when Jewish refugees began returning from the eastern regions of the U.S.S.R. to their former residences in the Ukraine and Belorussia and faced difficulties in regaining possession of their homes and getting their jobs back, they turned to the Committee for help. The Committee, and especially Mikhoels, frequently interceded with the authorities on their behalf. It seems that the Committee also sent a memorandum to Stalin demanding that the renewed symptoms of antisemitism be stamped out and that an area be set aside for the settlement of Jewish refugees in the Crimea. These activities, in which the Committee overstepped the limits of its official assignment, were the official cause of its dissolution and the execution of its chairman on January 12, 1948, in a staged car accident in Minsk. The Committee was dissolved on November 20, 1948 and the Jewish publishing house Der Emes was closed. In 1952, at a secret trial, its leading members were accused of being Western (American) spies and, as Jewish nationalists and Zionists, traitors, and of conspiring to separate the Crimea from the Soviet Union and to convert it into a Jewish bourgeois republic that would serve as a military base for the enemies of the U.S.S.R. (the "Crimea Affair"). All the accused – S. Lozovskii, J. Juzefovich, Prof. B. Shimeliovich, I. Fefer, L. Kvitko, P. Markish, D. Bergelson, D. Hofstein, B. Zuskin, L. Talmi, I. Vatenberg, E. Teumin, and Ch. Vatenberg-Ostrovska – were executed on Aug. 12, 1952. Prof. Lina Stern was sentenced to 3½ years of prison and then deportation to Kazakhstan. In related measures, another 110 Jews were tried, 10 were executed, and the others were sentenced to various prison terms.

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[Yehuda Slutsky / Shmuel Spector (2nd ed.)]

ANTIGONUS (c. 135–104 B.C.E.), Hasmonean prince; son of John *Hyrcanus and younger brother of Judah *Aristobulus. Antigonus and Aristobulus were put in command of the siege of Samaria by their father. They succeeded in capturing and destroying the city after defeating Antiochus IX Cyzicenus of Syria and the army of Ptolemy Lathyrus of Egypt which had been sent to aid the besieged town. When Judah Aristobulus succeeded to the throne, he imprisoned his mother and his younger brothers, but appointed Antigonus commander of the army and his associate in the administration of the state. During the war, Upper Galilee, southern Lebanon, and part of northern Transjordan were captured, and the Itureans were compelled to adopt Judaism.

Josephus' account of the death of Antigonus contains several contradictions. He states that Aristobulus, ridden by suspicion and fear of assassination, issued an order forbidding anyone to enter his palace armed. Subsequently, Antigonus returned after the war on the Itureans. On appearing in the Temple during the Feast of Tabernacles dressed in his splendid new armor, he was loudly acclaimed by the people. When the king heard this he sent a messenger to his brother commanding him to appear before him unarmed. Antigonus' enemies, however, bribed the messenger to tell Antigonus the opposite and when he reached Strato's Tower on his way to the palace, he was killed by the guards. This tale is linked with another relating the "prophecy" of a certain Essene who foresaw that Antigonus would be slain that day.

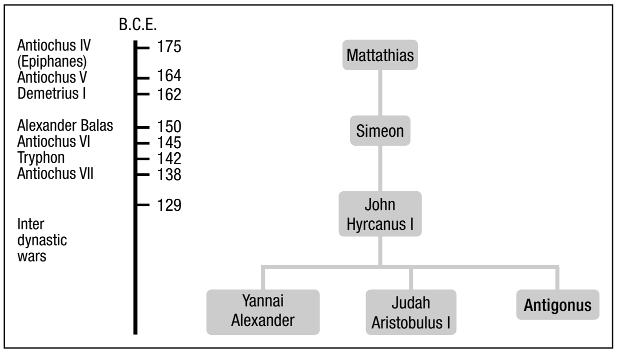

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[Abraham Schalit]

ANTIGONUS II (**Mattathias**), last king of the *Hasmonean dynasty, reigned 40–37 B.C.E.; youngest son of Aristobulus *II. After the conquest of Jerusalem by Pompey (63 B.C.E.) Antigonus was taken to Rome with other members of the royal family. In 57 he escaped with his father, but was sent back to Rome by *Gabinius. Eventually Aristobulus' children received permission from the Senate to return to Judea. After the death of his father and his brother Alexander (49), Antigonus and his sisters went to Chalcis to Ptolemy, son of Mennaeus (see *Alexandra, daughter of Aristobulus II). In 47 he argued before Julius Caesar the case for his right to rule over Judea, over which *Antipater II, father of Herod, was in control. Caesar, however, preferred Antipater who was more useful to his plans in the East. After the assassination of Caesar (44), Antigonus tried to enter Galilee in an attempt to advance on Jerusalem and seize the throne, but he was repulsed by Herod and returned to Chalcis. After the Parthians conquered Syria (40), Antigonus allied himself with them, and broke through to Jerusalem at the head of an army of Hasmonean supporters. Herod with his men retreated to the royal palace while Antigonus remained on the Temple Mount, awaiting the Parthian troops who were moving on Jerusalem. Against Herod's wishes, his brother *Phasael and ex-king Hyrcanus II were persuaded to go to the Parthian headquarters in Galilee for a conference and were arrested. Herod thereupon escaped from Jerusalem with Mariamne the Hasmonean and her mother Alexandra. Antigonus' men pursued the fugitives and overtook them south of Jerusalem at the spot where Herod afterward built his fortress palace Herodium. They were repulsed and Herod brought his family and the remnant of his force to Idumea, entrusting them to his brother Joseph, who settled them in *Masada. There are contradictory accounts as to the fate of Phasael; it is probable that he committed suicide or was killed while attempting to escape. The Parthians cut off Hyrcanus' ears, on the advice of Antigonus, who desired thereby to disqualify him from the high priesthood. Antigonus was now designated king over Judea by the Parthians and also assumed the high priesthood. This appointment bound him to the Parthians and from then on he was regarded by Rome as a declared enemy. Antigonus besieged Masada but failed to conquer it. Herod, who had arrived in Rome, succeeded in being appointed king of Judea, and immediately left for the East. He arrived in Judea at the end of 40 or early in 39, and immediately began hostilities against Antigonus. However, Ventidius, Antony's legate (later the victor of the Parthian War), gave him no substantial support, and left Judea soon after, probably having been bribed by Antigonus. Herod meanwhile succeeded in liberating Masada, after which he marched on Jerusalem, and attempted to take the city in a surprise attack. The attempt failed, and Herod retreated. The war continued throughout the winter of 39–38 and Herod succeeded in subduing the whole of Galilee, while Antigonus remained in Jerusalem, unable to assist his partisans in the north. Nevertheless Herod would not have got the upper hand if Ventidius had not decisively defeated the Parthians (38). As a result of this victory, Roman forces were freed for action. Even then they did not cooperate with Herod who journeyed to Mark Antony's camp to seek his full support. During Herod's absence from Palestine Antigonus defeated Herod's brother Joseph, who was killed in battle. A general rising followed in Galilee, whose inhabitants seized partisans of Herod and drowned them in the Sea of Galilee; the revolt even spread to Idumea. Herod, returning at the head of a considerable Roman force, crushed the uprising. Antigonus then committed a fatal error: instead of concentrating all his forces against Herod, he dispatched a large part of them against the Roman troops in Samaria, and his army was defeated at Jeshanah. Only the approach of winter prevented Herod from besieging Jerusalem. In 37 Herod was reinforced by a large Roman army, 11 legions (about 50–60,000 men), sent by Mark Antony and commanded by Sosius. The siege lasted five months and the distress in the city was particularly acute, as that year was a sabbatical year and food was in short supply. Two sages in the besieged city, whose names are given by Josephus as Sameas (Shammai or Shemaiah) and Pollion (Hillel or Avtalyon), recommended that the city gates be opened, not out of love for Herod, but in the belief that this was a heaven-sent punishment which must be endured. Josephus' statement that the city fell on a fast day has been wrongly understood to refer to the Day of Atonement; it was probably a communal fast customarily proclaimed in time of danger. Antigonus and his forces fortified themselves on the Temple Mount, and when this was taken by storm by the Romans, Antigonus surrendered to Sosius. He was sent to Antioch to Mark Antony, who ordered him to be beheaded. This was the first time that the Romans executed a legitimate king in such a way, probably to show that they did not recognize him as such.

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[Abraham Schalit]

°**ANTIGONUS OF CARYSTUS** (fl. 240 B.C.E.), an Athenian biographer and bronze-worker who labored under Attalus I at Pergamum. He cites Callimachus, who, in turn, cites Zenophilus (Xenophilus), on the phenomena of the Dead Sea.

[Louis Harry Feldman]

ANTIGONUS OF SOKHO (early second century B.C.E.), sage. Antigonus represents the link in the chain of tradition between *Simeon the Just, his teacher, and the **Zugot* ("pairs"). His Greek name indicates the extent of Hellenistic influence in this period. Only one of his statements has been preserved: "Be not like servants who minister to their master in order to receive a reward, but be like servants who minister to their master not in order to receive a reward; and let the fear of Heaven be upon you" (Avot 1:3). It is not clear, whether this saying has any actual background specifically typical of Antigonus' age. Antigonus did not thereby intend to deny the doctrine of future reward, but according to rabbinic tradition, his dictum was misinterpreted by his pupils, Zadok and Boethus, who saw in it a denial of the afterlife. As a result, they founded the sects known as the *Sadducees and *Boethusians who denied the doctrine of the world to come. "They (Zadok and Boethus) taught their disciples who repeated it to their disciples… and said to them, 'what caused our forefathers to say this? Is it possible that a laborer should toil all day and not receive his reward in the evening?' Therefore, had our forefathers known of the existence of the world to come and the resurrection of the dead they would not have said this" (ARN^1 5, 13; cf. ARN^2 10, 13). It is hard to say what historical basis there is to this legend. Some scholars find significance in the fact that the first recorded controversy among the Pharisees themselves (over the issue of *semikhah* "the laying of hands on the head of a sacrificial animal") started in the days of Antigonus' disciples.

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[Moshe David Herr]

ANTIN, MARY (1881–1949), Polish-born U.S. author. Antin immigrated to Boston in 1894, publishing her first poem in the *Boston Herald* while still at elementary school and her first book, *From Plotsk to Boston* (1899), at age 18. An eloquent Progressive whose books also included the classic immigrant autobiography *The Promised Land* (1912) and *They Who Knock at Our Gates* (1914), Antin saw herself as the social representation of those who had likewise fled from persecution to freedom. Her life exemplified the increasing elasticity of Jewish identity in modern American culture. Antin married Amadeus W. Grabau, a German-American Lutheran geologist and paleontologist, in 1901 and the couple had one child. Antin had to relinquish her goal of attending Radcliffe College when her husband assumed a professorship at Columbia University; she studied at Columbia's Teachers College and at Barnard College but did not complete a degree, apparently due to illness and the realities of domestic life that made it difficult for women of her time to combine marriage and motherhood. The marriage later collapsed over Grabau's support for Germany in WWI and conflict generated by Antin's national celebrity and financial success. Antin was an eclectic thinker who maintained a Jewish identity and some Jewish practices while exploring other forms of spirituality. Initially enthralled by the writings of Thoreau, Emerson, and Darwin, in later life she was attracted to Christian mysticism and spent parts of her final years as a disciple of Meher Baba and Rudolf Steiner. Her popularity as a writer and lecturer waned and her success was followed by writer's block and years of hardship, when she supported herself by doing social work.

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[Keren R. McGinity (2nd ed.)]

ANTINOMIANISM (from Greek *anti*, "against," and *nomos*, "law"), opposition to the law and, more especially, a religiously inspired rejection and abolition of moral, ritual, and other traditionally accepted rules and standards. Antinomianism in the narrow sense has usually been applied to one of the main trends in the early church which, in the wake of Paul's disparagement of the Mosaic Law in favor of the law of the "New Covenant," asserted that those who are saved may "do evil that good may come" (Rom. 3:8). Paul himself indignantly repudiated this accusation (*ibid.* 3) though he held that the Mosaic Law was no longer valid after the coming of Christ. In a wider sense the term is used to designate doctrines asserting that at certain times (e.g., in the messianic era when the old things have passed away and a new order is established) or for certain individuals or groups (e.g., those who have attained higher knowledge, salvation, or initiation into certain mysteries) men are no longer bound by constricting rules and norms applicable to less perfect times or individuals. It is not surprising, therefore, that the problem of antinomianism should have posed itself mainly in connection with Gnostic, mystical, or messianic movements. Licentiousness seems to have been characteristic of some Gnostic sects, even as the doctrine of the "freedom of the children of light" or Luther's teachings regarding justification by faith only, without regard to works, contributed to manifestations of antinomianism among the Anabaptists and among some 17th-century English sects. Antinomian tendencies in Judaism often based themselves on arbitrary interpretations of rabbinic statements to the effect that in the "world to come" all ritual prohibitions would be abolished (see also *Gnosticism).

On the other hand, ritual and customs were an integral part of the Torah, the "divine law," and like the Torah itself, were said to possess eternal and absolute validity. Post-Exilic Judaism took great pains to observe every single precept contained in the Torah. Pharisaic Judaism, although it regarded all commandments as equally sacred, did sense a difference between ritual laws and moral laws, as well as between reasonable laws and such that could not be rationally justified. A *baraita* (Yoma 67b) makes a distinction between *mishpatim*, i.e., commandments which "even if they had not been written down, would have been written down as a matter of course," such as the prohibitions of idolatry, incest, murder, etc., and *ḥukkot*, i.e., commandments "which the Satan always urges one to transgress," such as the consumption of pork, the use of cloth that is part wool and part linen, levirate marriages, etc. The *baraita* goes on to say: "You might argue that this (i.e., the *ḥukkot*) is of no account; therefore it is written 'I am God' (Lev. 18:4) – I, God, have fixed the laws and you have no right to question them." This passage in the *baraita* amounts to a clear rejection of antinomian freedom of judgment and clearly expresses the attitude of observant Judaism of all periods to the problem of ritual laws. It was not, however, a solution designed to satisfy the inquisitive mind. The need to find meaning and purpose in the ritual laws seems to have been felt first in the Hellenistic period, when it became indispensable for the propagation of Judaism among the pagans, especially the learned among them. It was necessary to explain to them not only the ancient traditions and legends and adapt them to the Greek way of thinking but above all to justify the law itself. Hellenistic Judaism conceived the Torah as *nomos*, the law being the supreme expression of Jewish religious distinctiveness; it was of the utmost importance to explain to the pagans the inner meaning of Jewish religious laws. Attempts were made to give the laws a symbolic interpretation and thereby to bring out their profound meaning (Aristobulus, the letter of Aristeas, Philo, Josephus, etc.). At the same time, an antinomian trend also made itself felt; the attempt to explain the law had the natural result of a relaxation in its observance. Philo testifies to this trend when he states: "There are, however, people who regard the written law as images of spiritual concepts, take great pains in exploring the latter, while neglecting the former. These are people that I must censure. For one must be careful to do both: to explore the hidden meaning and to practice the plain meaning. Even though the commandment on Sabbath observance contains the hidden meaning that action is the prerogative of God and His creatures should remain passive, this does not absolve us of the obligation to observe the sanctity of the Sabbath. Similarly, although the holy days and festivals are only images of our spiritual joy and our gratitude to God, we are not permitted to renounce the customary ceremonies and rituals. Circumcision may essentially only mean the removal of all passion, lust, and godless thought, yet we are not permitted to disregard the custom, as it is commanded; for if we were to adhere only to the higher meaning of the law, we would also have to give up sanctification in the Temple and untold other essential ceremonies" (cf. Philo, Migration, 89 ff.; Wolfson, *Philo*, 1 (1948), 66–71). A similar danger of the erosion of ritual practice and the observance of the law was felt as a result of the rise and spread of Graeco-Arab philosophy among the Jews after the tenth century.

In medieval Jewish thought, antinomian tendencies appeared in three different manners: (a) in allegorical exegesis of the commandments, which regarded them as symbolic of rational and scientific attainment; (b) in spiritualistic interpretation of worship as the supreme human goal; (c) in astrological antinomianism. Antinomian allusions began to appear regularly in Abraham *Ibn Ezra's Bible commentaries. For instance, Ibn Ezra maintained that worship of images was legitimate outside the Holy Land, but was prohibited within the Land of Israel on account of its special astrological status (viz., Commentary to Deut. 31:16). Maimonides laid the foundations for allegorical interpretation of biblical and talmudic sources, although he generally refrained from applying such allegorical interpretation to the commandments. Nevertheless, he suggested that the Torah teaches an abstract form of worship of God (*Guide for the Perplexed* 3:32). In the controversy over philosophy which erupted in the 13th century, the conservative faction accused the rationalists of antinomian attitudes and behavior, based on their alleged allegorization of the commandments, charges which continued to be leveled despite repeated and strenuous denials by the rationalists, such as *Levi b. Abraham b. Hayyim. Such Jewish attacks on rationalism and accusations of antinomianism parallel and reflect the suppression by the Church of the "heresy" of the rationalist Albigensians (from Albi, in southern France), who had begun in the 11th century to interpret Scripture allegorically, and who denied the literal interpretation of the miraculous events in the life and resurrection of Jesus that are central to Catholic doctrine, allegorization allegedly resulting in laxity in morals. The rationalist threat was met by repeated Church bans (1209, 1210, 1215) on the study of the works of Arabic philosophy and science, and of Aristotle. These bans were renewed in 1231 by Pope Gregory IX, who then established the permanent Inquisition under the Dominicans, with the aim of eradicating the heresy.

In the 14th century, many rationalists did, in fact, display antinomian attitudes, in some cases in their supercommentaries to Ibn Ezra, arguing that "the essence of the worship of God is in the heart" (Samuel ibn Zarza, *Mikhlol Yofi*, Ms. Paris, f. 729–730; Sec. 2, f. 207a). Much additional evidence to antinomian attitudes leading to laxity or abandonment of ritual observance may be found in medieval Jewish sources, although it is not at all clear whether these sources are proof of concrete cases of antinomian behavior, or only of a certain type of homiletical style.

The allegorical interpretations of the philosophical meanings of the laws clearly encouraged laxity among those who thought that the outer observances were merely a means for expressing philosophical truths. Philo's remarks incidentally suggest that the antinomians found no fault with the Temple and the cult of animal sacrifice; in general, however, it was precisely the rejection of the cult of sacrifice which was a cardinal point of many antinomian groups. Epiphanius (*Adversus Haereses* 1:18) mentions a pre-Christian Jewish sect, the Nazarenes, which rejected the Pentateuch, regarding it as a forgery; they observed most Jewish customs but did not accept the cult of animal sacrifice (cf. Meyer, Urspr, 2 (1921), 408ff.; Harnack, *The Mission and Expansion of Christianity*, 1 (1961), 402f.). Similar views were also held by many Judeo-Christian sects. Some scholars claimed to find allusions to antinomianism and Gnosticism in several of the books of the Bible and the Talmud (M. Friedlaender, *Der vorchristliche juedische Gnosticismus* (1898), 71ff.). The rejection of the ceremonial law by the modern *Reform movement can be regarded as a form of antinomianism, but in recent years there can be detected a distinct tendency toward at least a partial return to ceremonial observance.

[Dov Schwartz (2nd ed.)]

In Kabbalah

Since the Kabbalah's basic aim was to strengthen the Jewish religious tradition, it is in general far removed from antinomian tendencies. Its attitude to the *halakhah* is positive but it endeavors to endow the precepts with symbolic value. For this reason we find in the early Kabbalah phenomena which may be regarded only as latent antinomianism. There are three such occurrences: (1) The doctrine of *Sefer ha-*Temunah* (first printed in 1784) on the changes of the reading of the Torah due to new combinations of its letters in the various stages of the cosmic cycle. Each such stage is called *shemittah* and what is forbidden in the *shemittah* during which we live may become permitted, and even considered a commandment, during another *shemittah*. Adherents to this doctrine also held that in actual fact the alphabet contained 23 letters, but that one letter became "unseen" in our *shemittah*; its revelation in the next *shemittah* will, of course, deeply change our manner of understanding the Torah. (2) The doctrine of the book *Ra'aya Meheimna* ("The Faithful Shepherd," part of the *Zohar dealing with the interpretation of the commandments): during the period of exile the Torah derives from the *Eẓ ha-Da'at* ("the Tree of Knowledge") and for this reason it contains purity and defilement, things that are permitted and things that are prohibited, and so on. At the time of *redemption, however, the Torah will be revealed from the *Eẓ ha-Ḥayyim* ("the Tree of Life") and with the annihilation of the *yeẓer ha-ra* ("evil inclination"), prohibitions and limitations will no longer be necessary. Thus, its secret (i.e., mystic) knowledge, the pure spirituality which is its essence, will become manifest and people will act according to it. This spiritual Torah which is concealed in our revealed Torah is called *Torah de-Aẓilut* ("Torah of the Higher World"). (3) The doctrine of the books *Peli'ah* and **Kanah* (written around 1340–80), according to which there is no literal meaning in the Talmud and in the *halakhah*; the secret (mystic) knowledge itself is the literal meaning. One should observe the halakhic values for this reason only; for, if one should suppose that these values have the literal, customary meaning, then there is no need to keep many of them, since it is possible to prove through inner criticism of the *halakhah* and by the way of talmudic discussion itself that numerous essential halakhic rules do not apply in exile and that most of the ritual precepts are not observed in it at all.

Common to all three doctrines is the fact that in actual reality, in our time, there is no place for antinomianism. But the existence of the halakhic world is always dependent on a certain esoteric condition, and with the change of this condition the value of the talmudic *halakhah* will also change, although the absolute value of the Torah as a divine revelation will not change at all. Actual antinomianism became manifest only in the radical groups of the Shabbatean movement. However, it was based on the three above-mentioned doctrines. Since they believed that redemption had already come they reached the conclusion that the *Torah de-Beri'ah* ("the Torah in its present form"), which is the material Torah of traditional Judaism, should be abolished and one should act according to the esoteric Torah, *Torah de-Aẓilut*. This antinomianism was a revolutionary element in the Shabbatean sect and brought in its wake destructive phenomena in the lives of the radical Shabbateans. Serious sins were considered meritorious, and particularly those sins punishable with *karet* ("divine punishment by premature death"), such as adultery. Antinomian activities were also introduced as a special religious rite (reading the traditional phrase *matir assurim* as "who permits what is forbidden" rather than as "who frees prisoners"). It attained its most extreme form with the Frankists (see Jacob *Frank). This antinomianism of the Shabbateans and the Frankists was connected with their messianic claims and was based on the talmudic statement that in the messianic period all commandments would be abolished, "all sacrifices would disappear, except for the sacrifice of thanksgiving" (Lev. R. 9: 7; 27: 12), and that all fasts would be converted into feasts.

[Gershom Scholem]

One of the main sources of kabbalistic antinomianism is the astrological theory of changes of law which depend on Saturn and Jupiter. The rule of a certain planet over a certain period of time, a cosmic cycle, and the corresponding nature of the law that governs during this cycle, has been transferred by some kabbalists to the rule of a certain *Sefirah*, whose specific nature is reflected in the structure of the Torah.

[Moshe Idel (2nd ed.)]

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ANTIOCH (Turk. **Antakya**), city in southern Turkey, on the lower Orontes (Asi) near the Syrian border. Population (2004): 158,400. Part of Syria under the French mandate, it was annexed to Turkey in 1939 along with the district of Alexandretta (*Iskenderun) and made into the capital of the province of Hatay.

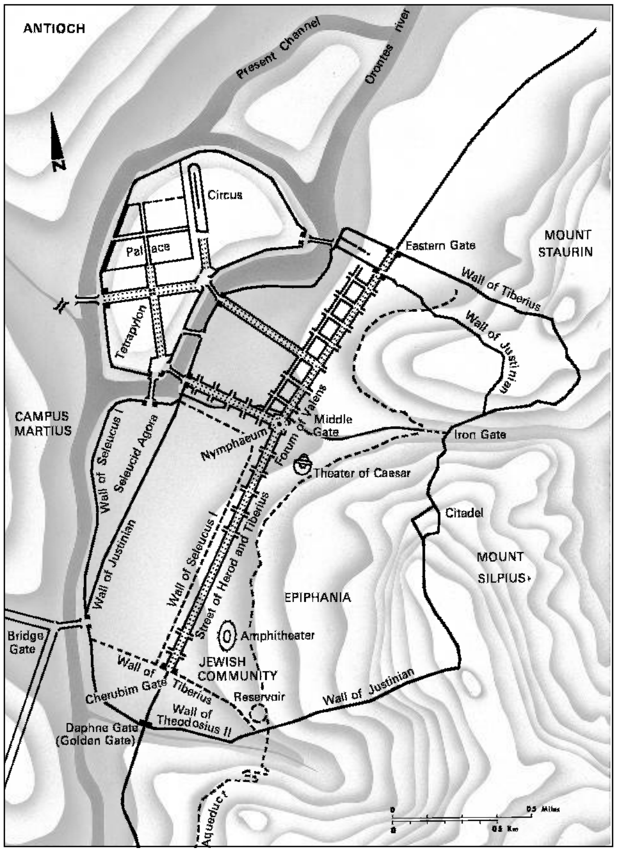
ANTIOCH
Present Channel
Orontes river
N
Circus
Palace
Tetrapylon
Eastern Gate
MOUNT STAURIN
Wall of Tiberius
Wall of Justinian
CAMPUS MARTIUS
Wall of Seleucus I
Seleucid Agora
Nymphaeum
Forum of Valens
Middle Gate
Iron Gate
Theater of Caesar
Citadel
MOUNT SILPIUS
Wall of Justinian
Wall of Seleucus I
Street of Herod and Tiberius
EPIPHANIA
Amphitheater
JEWISH COMMUNITY
Bridge Gate
Wall of Tiberius
Cherubim Gate
Reservoir
Wall of Justinian
Wall of Theodosius II
Daphne Gate (Golden Gate)
Aqueduct
0
0.5 Miles
0
0.5 Km

Plan of ancient Antioch.

Antioch was founded by Seleucus Nicator in 300 B.C.E. and became the capital of the Seleucid Empire. In antiquity Antioch was an important Jewish center, and from its foundation full rights were bestowed upon the Jews. When the inhabitants rebelled against Demetrius II in 142 B.C.E., the soldiers of *Jonathan the Hasmonean were sent to quell the revolt and set the city in flames. There must have been a considerable number of Jews in Antioch by the second century B.C.E. Josephus praises the beauty of its great synagogue, and there were doubtless a number of other places of worship. Antioch had no special Jewish quarter as had *Alexandria, Jews being apparently dispersed throughout the city. *Hannah and her seven sons are said to have been buried in Antioch and it is possible that the martyrdom recounted in the Second and Fourth books of the Maccabees occurred in Antioch; IV *Maccabees could in fact be, in essence, the oration of a Jew of Antioch in memory of these martyrs. The Christians too, later honored the martyrs' grave, which, according to them, was situated in the Kerataion quarter, near the synagogue. The franchise of the Jews in Antioch was engraved on bronze tablets set up in a public place in the city. During the Roman period the Jewish population grew and was augmented by many proselytes. After the Roman war of 66–70 the inhabitants of Antioch asked Titus to expel the Jews from the city, and to destroy the tablets on which the Jewish privileges were inscribed, but he refused. Nevertheless, according to later chroniclers, the Romans erected a splendid memorial to celebrate their victory and set up the *cherubim taken from the Temple in Jerusalem on one of the western gateways of the city, which was consequently called "The Gate of the Cherubim." This, however, appears to be a late legend. The Jewish community of Antioch maintained permanent commercial ties with Palestine and took an interest in the spiritual life of their coreligionists there. In the second century, Abba Judah of Antioch contributed liberally to the maintenance of the Palestinian scholars, many of whom visited Antioch.

Antioch played an important role in the history of Christianity. Here for the first time, in the days of the Apostles, the members of the new faith were called "Christians" (Messianists). The first Christians were, of course, Jews, but already in the days of Paul, pagans also joined their ranks. Barnabas visited Antioch, where he dwelt together with Paul. When the apostle Peter came to Antioch he ate with the pagans, but when messengers arrived from James, the brother of Jesus, who was a Nazarene, Peter felt ashamed and withdrew from the pagan society, Barnabas following suit. According to a tradition of the church fathers, Peter headed the Christian church of Antioch for seven years.

Antioch became a center of Christian learning and the Antiochian school of theology, which flourished in the third and fourth centuries C.E., was particularly renowned. Unlike the school of Caesarea, which interpreted the Bible allegorically and in accordance with speculative philosophy, the Antiochian school expounded the Scriptures in conformity with their historical and literal meaning. The biblical commentaries composed by this school in the fourth and fifth centuries C.E. are of great importance. In Antioch, various means were used to counteract the great influence which the Jews had upon the local Christians. The synod of Antioch (341) forbade the Christians to celebrate Easter when the Jews were observing Passover, and John Chrysostom of Antioch, in his six sermons (c. 366–387), vituperatively denounced those Christians in Antioch who attended synagogues and resorted to the Jewish law courts.

When Christianity became the state religion, the position of the Jews of Antioch deteriorated. The Jews of Imnestar were accused of having crucified a Christian boy on the feast of Purim, and the Antiochian Christians destroyed the synagogue (423 C.E.). When the emperor Theodosius II restored it, he was rebuked by Simon Stylites and refrained from defending the Jews. In the brawls between the sport factions known as the "blues" and the "greens," many Jews were killed.

When the Persians threatened the *Byzantine Empire, Emperor Phocas attempted to force the Jews of Antioch to convert to Christianity. In revenge the Antiochian Jews are alleged to have attacked the Christians (608 C.E.) and killed the patriarch Anastasius. When the rebellion was suppressed, many Jews were slain or exiled. From this date on there is little further information about the Jews of Antioch. *Benjamin of Tudela (c. 1171) found only about ten Jewish families there, most of whom were glass manufacturers.

Under Ottoman rule (1516–1918) there was always a Jewish community in Antioch, and it was reinforced by immigrants from *Corfu and *Aleppo. By the middle of the 18th century there were 40 Jewish families and several rabbis in residence. The community followed the Sephardi rite. However, when the English traveler A. Buckingham visited Antioch around 1816 he found only 20 Jewish families, who met for prayers in a private house on the Sabbath. The Jewish population seems to have increased later on and by 1894 there were three to four hundred Jews.

Under the Turkish Republic many Jews left and the community dwindled once again. In 1977 there were only 164 Jews living in the city, divided among three large families. Most of them were textile merchants. There was one synagogue in operation, but no rabbi.

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[Abraham Haim / David Kushner (2nd ed.)]

°**ANTIOCHUS**, name of 13 Seleucid monarchs who ruled Syria for the greater part of two and a half centuries. They include:

(1) ANTIOCHUS I SOTER (b. 324 B.C.E.), son of Seleucus I Nicator, ruled from 281 to 261. Although unsuccessful in his attempt to capture *Coele-Syria (276–72) from *Ptolemy II of Egypt, Antiochus nevertheless pursued his father's policy of founding Greek cities throughout the empire, and was even erroneously credited in late rabbinic and Roman literature with the founding of the capital, Antioch.

(2) ANTIOCHUS II THEOS, son of Antiochus I, ruled from 261 to 246 B.C.E. Antiochus recaptured those parts of Syria and Asia Minor lost by his father in the First Syrian War. His confrontations with the Egyptian king, and the intrigues of his wives (which eventually caused his death) are alluded to in the Book of Daniel 11:16 ff. Scholars have pointed to a passage in Josephus (Ant., 12:125–7) as proof that Antiochus II granted special rights and even full citizenship to the Jews of certain Greek cities. (For discussion, see Josephus, Loeb edition, vol. 7, 741 ff. For selected literature on the early Seleucid rulers and the Jews, see p. 737.)

(3) ANTIOCHUS III, THE GREAT (b. c. 242 B.C.E.), son of Seleucus II Callinicus (244–26). Antiochus became king after the murder of his brother Seleucus III Soter (223) and immediately succeeded in stabilizing and strengthening the Seleucid Empire. With his accession, however, the long period of peace in Judea came to an end. For 20 years, until 198, the country constantly changed hands. The young king's second expedition through Coele-Syria was particularly successful. By 217 he reached the southernmost parts of Palestine only to suffer a crushing defeat at the hands of *Ptolemy IV near

Rafi'aḥ (Rafa; south of Gaza), in one of the fiercest battles of the Hellenistic period. Antiochus was forced to relinquish the conquered areas, and according to Josephus, the Jews "were in no way different from a storm-tossed ship which is beset on either side by heavy seas, finding themselves crushed between the successes of Antiochus and the adverse turn of his fortunes" (Ant., 12:130). By 198 B.C.E. the Jews of Palestine had become disenchanted with Ptolemaic rule, and they opened the gates of Jerusalem to Antiochus, and assisted in the expulsion of its Egyptian garrison. Antiochus rewarded the Jews for their "splendid reception" by restoring those parts of Jerusalem destroyed by the war, freeing its citizens from taxes for three years and supplying funds for the Temple, and in general by permitting "members of the nation to have a form of government in accordance with the laws of their country" (κατὰ τοὺς πατρίους νόμους). It was also forbidden to bring to Jerusalem animals forbidden for consumption by Jews (Jos., Ant., 12:129–53). The victories of Antiochus brought him to the attention of the Romans who were advancing through Greece. In 190 Antiochus suffered his greatest defeat near Magnesia and was forced into a degrading settlement by the victorious Romans. Sensing this, the eastern provinces of the Seleucid Empire revolted and Antiochus, determined to finance his recent setback at their expense, died while trying to sack one of the Temple treasuries of Elymais (187; I Macc. 8:6–16; Jos., Loeb edition, vol. 7, p. 743 ff., App. D; M. Stern, *Ha-Te'udot le-Mered ha-Ḥashmona'im* (1965), 28–46; Schalit, in: JQR, 50 (1959/60), 289–318).

(4) ANTIOCHUS IV EPIPHANES, son of Antiochus III, ruled from the death of his brother *Seleucus IV in 175 B.C.E. until his death in 164. His reign marks a turning point in Jewish history. Striving vigorously to restore the strength of the Seleucid Empire, Antiochus founded more new Greek cities than all his predecessors. He became the champion of an intense Hellenization, more as a result of personal tendencies than as a means of reunifying the divided kingdom. To this end Antiochus paid particular attention to the Jews of Palestine. *Onias III, the high priest, was replaced in 173 by *Jason who had strong leanings toward the Hellenistic party in Jerusalem. In time the character of the Jewish capital itself was altered, with Jason undertaking "to register the Jerusalemites as citizens of Antioch" (II Macc. 4:9; on the legal status of Jerusalem under the government of the Hellenizers see V. Tcherikover, *Hellenistic Civilization and the Jews* (1959), 161 ff.). Jason was eventually outbid for the office of high priest by Menelaus, who proved even more servile and prepared to carry out the most extreme Hellenization of Judea. In 168 Antiochus set out on his second expedition to Egypt. Wishful thinking probably promoted the spread of false rumors regarding the king's death, and as a result, Jason, who had fled to Transjordan, returned to Jerusalem and tried to reestablish his rule. On returning from Egypt, Antiochus, convinced that a rebellion had broken out against him, stormed the city, killed thousands of Jews, and sold thousands more into slavery. In their place, and especially in the citadel of Jerusalem (*Acra) which was erected on the instructions of Antiochus, a Greek community was set up, thus outwardly transforming the city into a foreign *polis* (city-state). By 167 the enforced Hellenization of the Jews reached its peak; the Jews were compelled, under penalty of death "to depart from the laws of their fathers, and to cease living by the laws of God. Further, the sanctuary in Jerusalem was to be polluted and called after Zeus Olympius" (II Macc. 6:1, 2). The nature of these decrees has puzzled most scholars and students of the Hellenistic period. Ancient polytheism for the most part was tolerant, and this particular brand of Hellenization was not applied by Antiochus to any segment of the non-Jewish population under his rule. It would seem, therefore, that religious oppression appeared to Antiochus to be the only means of achieving political stability in Palestine, since it was that country's religion, if anything, that was out of place in a predominantly Hellenized empire. It would be wrong, however, completely to disregard the nature of the king himself. His strange behavior, causing contemporaries to refer to him as *Epimanes* ("madman") instead of Epiphanes, obviously played a major part in the formation of such violent policies. In any case, Antiochus did not personally oversee the implementation of these policies. He died in the city of Tabae (Isfahan). He was succeeded by his nine-year-old son Antiochus V Eupator (Polybius 26:10; 31:3–4; Livius 41:19, 20; Diodorus 29:32; 31:16; for a summation of modern literature on Antiochus IV see Tcherikover, op. cit., 175–203).

(5) ANTIOCHUS V EUPATOR reigned only two years before being murdered by his cousin Demetrius, the son of Seleucus IV.

(6) ANTIOCHUS VII SIDETES (b. 164 B.C.E.), the son of *Demetrius I Soter and younger brother of *Demetrius II Nicator. During the early years of his reign (138–129) Antiochus was forced to overcome the usurper Tryphon. His confirmation, therefore, of the privileges granted by his predecessors to the Jews and Jerusalem (I Macc. 15:1 ff.; Jos., Ant., 13:223 ff.) was an obvious attempt to solicit the help of *Simeon the Hasmonean, the high priest. When it was clear, however, that he would defeat Tryphon, the king immediately relented and demanded the return of Jaffa, Gezer, and the citadel in Jerusalem to Seleucid rule. To enforce these demands, Antiochus sent the general Cendebaeus to Judea, but the latter was defeated by Judah and John, the sons of Simeon the Hasmonean. Antiochus probably instigated Simeon's murder in 134 by *Ptolemy the son of Abubus, for immediately afterward he laid siege to Jerusalem. The Jews, led by John *Hyrcanus, managed to hold out for two years, but were finally compelled to accept the harsh terms set by Antiochus. The king was thereupon free to turn eastward, and in his expedition against the Parthians, in which soldiers of John Hyrcanus also participated, met his death (129; Tcherikover, op. cit., 240–1, 250–1; Stern, op. cit., 122–4, 139–43).

(7) ANTIOCHUS IX CYZICENUS, son of Antiochus VII and half-brother of Antiochus VIII Grypus, with whom he competed for the Seleucid throne from 113–95 B.C.E. Cyzicenus was unsuccessful in two attempts to rescue the Samari-

tans from John Hyrcanus. In 107 *Samaria fell to the sons of Hyrcanus, *Antigonus and *Aristobulus I, and the two pursued Cyzicenus as far as *Beth-Shean (Scythopolis), where he finally succeeded in eluding them. The second attempt by the Syrian king to subdue the armies of Hyrcanus, this time with the aid of Ptolemy VIII Lathyrus of Egypt, was similarly rebuffed, and Antiochus retreated to Syria. In 95 B.C.E. Cyzicenus was defeated by Seleucus VI, the son of Grypus, and took his own life (Jos., Ant., 13:270ff.).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Klausner, Bayit Sheni, index; Schuerer, Gesch, 1 (1901), 175ff.

[Isaiah Gafni]

ANTIPAS, HEROD (b. 20 B.C.E.), son of Herod by his Samaritan wife Malthace. Antipas was educated in Rome with his older brother *Archelaus. As the age difference between the two was not great, both were sent to Rome together to complete their education. Antipas was designated crown prince in place of Antipater, Herod's eldest son. Herod, however, changed his will shortly before his death and left to Antipas only Galilee and the Jewish portion of Transjordan. According to the final version of the will, Antipas was to have been subject to the authority of Archelaus, who received the kingship and dominion over all parts of the kingdom. After Herod's death, however, Antipas appealed to Augustus against the legality of this will and claimed the throne. Augustus confirmed Antipas as ruler over Galilee and Judean Transjordan and also confirmed the title, "*tetrarch," which had been given to him by Herod. Antipas rebuilt and fortified Sepphoris, which had been burnt in the war of Varus in 4 B.C.E., and made it his chief capital. In Transjordan he rebuilt Betharamphtha (biblical Beth-Haram, Bethramtha in the Talmud) which had also suffered seriously in the war, and named it Livias. After Augustus' death in 14 C.E. he renamed it Julias, in honor of the deceased emperor's wife Julia, who took this name as her husband had ordained in his will. He named his new capital, on the western shore of the Sea of Galilee, Tiberias, in honor of the emperor Tiberius. The city was splendidly built and the tetrarch paid no attention to the protests of his Jewish subjects, who regarded it as a place of defilement since it was built on the site of a cemetery. Tiberias was organized as a Hellenistic city with a city council. The exact date of the founding of Tiberias is unknown, although probably it was shortly after Tiberius' appointment as emperor (c. 14 C.E.), with a view to currying favor with him. Josephus states explicitly that there were close relations between Herod Antipas and Tiberius which were maintained until his death. The forbidden marriage (Lev. 18:16) of Antipas to Herodias, the wife of his brother Herod, the son of Mariamne, the high priest's daughter, stirred the resentment of the people against him. When John the Baptist dared to denounce this marriage publicly, he was executed in Machaerus at the command of Antipas. According to Josephus, however, the principal reason for the execution was Antipas' fear of political disturbances in the wake of John's appearance. His marriage to Herodias also led to war with *Aretas IV, king of the Nabateans, in 36 C.E. Antipas had previously married a daughter of Aretas, who fled to her father when she heard of the impending marriage between her husband and Herodias. In this war Antipas was defeated, and when Tiberius heard the news, he ordered Vitellius, governor of Syria, to go to Antipas' aid. In the spring of 37 C.E. Vitellius set out with his army to fight the Nabateans at Petra; at the request of the Jews he avoided passing through Judea. After the dismissal of the procurator, Pontius Pilate, he and Antipas set out alone for Jerusalem to ascertain the state of events there. Tiberius died four days later, and Vitellius interrupted his preparations for war against the Nabateans. Antipas had been the mediator between Rome and the Parthians. When a peace treaty between Rome and Artaban III, king of Parthia, was signed, Antipas informed Caesar before Vitellius, and thus aroused the wrath of the latter. With the accession of Caligula, the influence of Agrippa, Antipas' enemy, in Rome increased. Agrippa accused Antipas before the emperor of preparing for a war against Rome with Parthian assistance. Antipas came to Rome and tried in vain to prove to Caesar that this information was incorrect. He was exiled to Lugdunum and his property was confiscated. His domain was attached to Agrippa's kingdom.

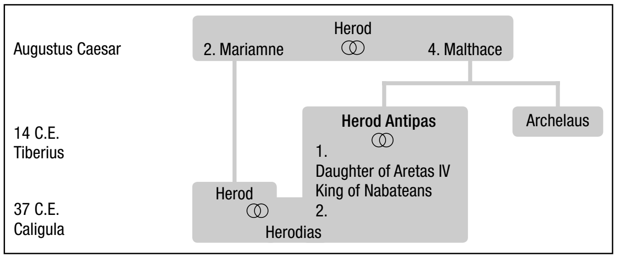

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[Abraham Schalit]

ANTIPATER (first century C.E.), the eldest son of Herod by his first wife Doris. After his marriage to Mariamne the Hasmonean, Herod sent Doris and Antipater away. But when Mariamne had been condemned to death and tension grew between her sons and Herod's other sons, Herod restored Antipater to court. From the moment he returned to his father's house, Antipater sought to annihilate the sons of Mariamne in order to attain the throne. As long as he was in Jerusalem, he informed on them to his father. He continued to inform against his half brothers even when he was sent by his father to Rome already as the designated crown prince (13 B.C.E.). This activity only ceased for a time when Augustus brought about a reconciliation between Herod and his sons, but in the end Antipater and his allies gained their object: Alexander and Aristobulus were executed on Herod's order and Antipater was designated as heir apparent (7 B.C.E.). But just as he had al-

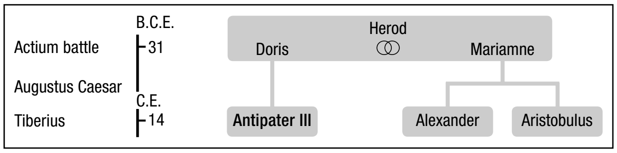

most reached his objective, his plot to murder the aged Herod was discovered. Antipater was condemned to death and the sentence carried out five days before Herod's own death.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Jos., Ant., books 16–17; Jos., Wars, 1:552 ff.; Klausner, Bayit Sheni, 4 (1963^5), 153–69; Schuerer, Gesch, 1 (1901^4), 407–14; H. Willrich, *Das Haus des Herodes* (1929), index.

[Abraham Schalit]

ANTIPATER II or **ANTIPAS** (d. 43 B.C.E.), governor of Edom in the time of Alexander Yannai and Salome Alexandra, son of Antipater I, and father of *Herod. Josephus states that Antipater I belonged to a distinguished Edomite family, the members of which had embraced Judaism in the days of John Hyrcanus. The statement of the historian, Nicholas of Damascus, that the family was descended from Jews who had returned from the Babylonian Exile is denied by Josephus. The Church Fathers give differing accounts of his origins. Eusebius states that Antipater was the son of a female slave in Ashkelon, that he was kidnapped as a child and carried off to Idumea where he was brought up as a Jew after the forced conversion of the Edomites in the reign of John Hyrcanus. It is probable that Josephus' account is to be preferred. Josephus depicts Antipater II as an ally of *Hyrcanus, son of Alexander Yannai, and as an opponent of the latter's brother *Aristobulus. Aristobulus was dependent on the military aristocracy which was directly opposed to Edomite influence. Even before the death of Salome Alexandra, Aristobulus had attempted to put his supporters in key governmental positions and this certainly aroused opposition. It seems clear, too, that Antipater feared that his position would be endangered in the event of Aristobulus coming to power. When Aristobulus drove Hyrcanus from the throne, Antipater, with Nabatean help, won a victory over Aristobulus who was forced to retreat to the Temple Mount. In return for their assistance Antipater promised to restore to the Nabateans 12 cities conquered by Alexander Yannai. Although Scaurus, one of Pompey's generals, intervened on the side of Aristobulus, Antipater's political position was not substantially changed, for he had previously been the mediator between the Romans and the Nabateans and had negotiated the reparations that the latter were to pay to Rome. During the rebellions of Alexander, the son of Aristobulus, Antipater supported the Roman governor Gabinius and held the position of "agent" or, according to another version, "overseer" of taxes in Judea. After Julius Caesar's defeat of Pompey, Antipater immediately aligned himself with the victor, and hastened to recruit Jewish and Nabatean soldiers to fight for him. He prevailed upon the Jews of Egypt to support Caesar, thus hastening his triumph over Egypt. When Caesar went to Syria in 47 B.C.E., he appointed Antipater regent of Judea, rejecting Mattathias Antigonus' claims to the throne of his fathers. Antipater thus became, in effect, the ruler of Judea, a position of power which he freely exercised. He gave his sons the most important offices of state: *Phasael was appointed governor of Jerusalem while Herod was sent to Galilee. With the arrival of Cassius in Syria, to wage war against Caesar's successors, Antipater placed himself at his disposal. He and his sons, Herod in particular, tried to raise the huge sums that Cassius required in the country. In 43 B.C.E. Antipater was poisoned but his policies were continued by his sons. Antipater was a cautious statesman who never presumed to act independently of his master, Hyrcanus, despite the fact that the government of the state was wholly in his hands.

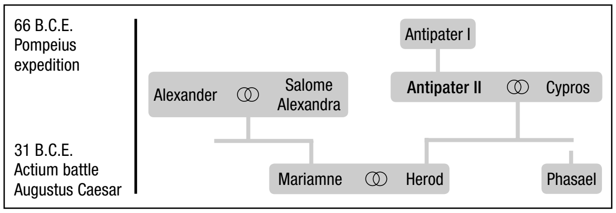

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Jos., Ant., 14; Jos., Wars, 1; Juster, Juifs, 1 (1914), 135 ff.; Schuerer, Gesch, 1 (1901^4), 291 ff.; R. Laqueur, *Der juedische Historiker Flavius Josephus* (1920), 148 ff.; Klausner, Bayit Sheni, 3 (1950^2), 215–7, 240–1, 251–7; A. Schalit, *Hordos ha-Melekh* (1964^3), 13 ff.

[Abraham Schalit]

ANTIPATRIS (Gr. Αντιπατρις), ancient Palestinian city in the valley of Kefar Sava on the coastal plain, close to the important route *Via Maris*. This was the site of biblical *Aphek, known also as Pegae in Hellenistic times, and perhaps as Arethusa from the time of Pompey. It was eventually rebuilt by Herod the Great in memory of his father Antipater (Jos., Ant., 16:142 ff.). In Roman times Antipatris stood at the junction of important highways leading to Jerusalem, Caesarea, and Jaffa, and is often mentioned as a military campsite or as a stopover for travelers (Acts 23:31). It was the northern boundary of the territory of Judea (Git. 7:7). A vivid picture of Jewish life in Antipatris in the days of R. Johanan b. Zakkai is portrayed in *Derekh Ereẓ Rabbah*, 6. During the war against Rome, the Romans left Antipatris unharmed and Vespasian regulated its affairs much as he had done in Jabneh, Lydda, Timnah, and other places whose inhabitants had remained loyal to Rome. In the fourth century Antipatris declined in importance and is referred to as "a half-ruined townlet." In the Arab period it was known by the name of Abu Fuṭrus and during the period of transition from Umayyad to Abbasid rule, it achieved prominence as one of the towns that remained loyal to the Umayyads in 750.

Antipatris is today situated close to the modern town of *Rosh ha-Ayin (Ras al-ʿAyn), 3½ mi. (5 km.) east of Petaḥ Tikvah. Its many springs serve as sources of the *Yarkon River, for which reason Ras al-ʿAyn is also identified with the Hellenistic customs-post known as Πηγαί ("The Springs"). The castle erected there by the Crusaders was similarly called Le Toron aux Fontaines Sourdes. The ruins of a Turkish fort erected in the 17th century can still be seen. Earlier excavations at the site in 1961 revealed Roman and Hellenistic remains, and a Roman mausoleum as well. Extensive excavations were conducted at the site by M. Kochavi between 1975 and 1985, revealing part of a defensive system from the Early Bronze Age, a series of palaces from the Middle Bronze Age (IIA), destroyed in a conflagration in the mid-16th century B.C.E., two city walls from the Middle Bronze Age, a palace from the Late Bronze Age, remains of a Philistine settlement from the 12th century B.C.E., and Iron Age dwellings from the 10th and 8th centuries B.C.E. These excavations also brought to light important remains dating from the time of the city of Antipatris, including a street lined with shops that led to the forum, rebuilt at the time of Herod Agrippa I with the establishment of workshops instead. Following the Great Revolt the city fell into decline until the second century C.E.; the latter excavations have revealed segments of the *cardo maximus* street with an odeon situated at its southern end, as well as signs of a marketplace and a residential quarter. The city fell victim to a massive earthquake in the year 363 C.E.

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[Michael Avi-Yonah / Shimon Gibson (2nd ed.)]

ANTISEMITISM, a term coined in 1879, from the Greek ἀντί = anti, and Σημ = Semite by the German agitator Wilhelm *Marr to designate the then-current anti-Jewish campaigns in Europe. "Antisemitism" soon came into general use as a term denoting all forms of hostility manifested toward the Jews throughout history. It is often qualified by an adjective denoting the specific cause, nature or rationale of a manifestation of anti-Jewish passion or action: e.g., "economic antisemitism," "social antisemitism," "racial antisemitism," etc.

In Antiquity

Prejudice against Jews appeared in antiquity almost exclusively in those countries which later became part of the Roman Empire. Some manifestations were noted in the Parthian Empire, which contained Babylonian Jewry, but such hatred never attained serious proportions. Josephus states it as a well-known fact that in the lands of the Babylonian exile antisemitism did not exist (Apion 1:71). In those countries that afterward formed part of the Roman Empire, a distinction must be drawn between Ereẓ Israel and the Diaspora.

IN EREẒ ISRAEL. Even in the days of David and Solomon the land of Israel contained a substantial Gentile population. In Hellenistic times it was primarily concentrated in the coastal towns and in certain districts of Transjordan, but the boundaries between the Jewish and non-Jewish regions were not fixed and the seeds of friction were ever present. Of particular importance, however, was the difference in occupations between the Jews and Gentiles of those areas. The Jewish population engaged principally in agriculture, particularly in small-scale farming; the non-Jewish population occupied itself primarily with commerce. The transit and sea trade was almost entirely in the hands of the inhabitants of the coastal cities, or of the Transjordanian cities situated along the routes that connected Syria, Asia Minor, and the regions of the Euphrates with the Arabian countries. The inhabitants of Ereẓ Israel who engaged in commerce, with connections abroad, were thus mainly non-Jewish. These Gentiles were therefore in close contact with the foreign powers in the region and were confident of their support; in Ereẓ Israel they were contemptuous of the Jewish population, whom they regarded as an isolated people that eschewed civilization and refrained from all contact with the outside world. Moreover, the non-Jews who dwelt in Ereẓ Israel knew that the Jews looked upon that land as their divine inheritance, and upon themselves as a unique and elevated people. In the eyes of the Jews, as these Gentiles knew, their pagan religions and practices rendered them "unclean"; intermarriage with them was forbidden and, as a consequence of the dietary laws, no real social intercourse was possible.

In normal times these two segments of the population dwelt alongside each other without any undue hostility. In time of crisis, however, relations deteriorated sharply. The first serious manifestation of antisemitism in history was the concentrated attack on the Jewish religion in the days of *Antiochus Epiphanes (175–164 B.C.E.). The immediate cause was anger by the Seleucids at the fact that the vast majority of Jews traditionally sided with the Ptolemies against the Seleucids. Tension was exacerbated still further by the image that Hellenistic rulers such as Antiochus had of themselves. Their role was not only political; they were also to be torchbearers of the ideals of *Hellenism within their dominions. The seeming unfriendliness of the Jews toward all Gentiles, and their refusal to adopt any other religion, was therefore seen as an obstacle to the realization of this cultural mission. An echo of this attitude can be seen in the account of the negotiations that took place outside Jerusalem in 133 B.C.E., when John Hyrcanus was compelled to yield to Antiochus Sidetes after the latter had besieged the capital for a year. Antiochus Sidetes' officers counseled him to seize the opportunity to conquer the city and completely destroy the Jewish people, since the Jews were the only people in the world that refused to associate with other peoples. Pressing the point, they reminded Antiochus Sidetes of the course taken by Antiochus Epiphanes, who undertook to abrogate those laws of the Torah that he regarded as inimical to humanity. To this end, he had sacrificed a swine on the altar at Jerusalem and ordered that juices from the sacrificial flesh be sprinkled over the books containing the statutes that were directed against the Gentile world (Diodorus, *Bibliotheca* 34:1, 1ff.).

This reiterated insistence on the alleged antipathy of the Jews to other nations is best understood against the background of the peculiar conditions and circumstances obtaining in the Hellenistic period. No other nation at that time denied the gods of its neighbors; on the contrary, it recognized them, identifying them with its own deities. This pan-religiosity was used with considerable success by the Hellenistic ruling authorities to create a social bond between the various peoples in their domains. None of the peoples refrained from dining at one table with their neighbors and from partaking of the sacrifices offered to their gods, except the Jews. None of the peoples refused to send gifts to its neighbors' temples, except the Jews. None of the peoples was unequivocally hostile to intermarriage, except the Jews. They characterized it as a misanthropy in general, and as a flagrant denial of the Hellenic principle of the unity of mankind in particular.

As the Hasmonean kingdom expanded and established its dominion over the whole land, its kings occasionally adopted a policy of political and religious oppression vis à vis the inhabitants of the pagan cities of Palestine, who had sided earlier with Antiochus Epiphanes and had joined the war of Antiochus Sidetes against the Jews. Against this background, libels began to circulate, denying that the Jews had any right to remain in the land. Underlying these libels were Egyptian legends concerning shepherd kings who had once ruled over Egypt and oppressed its people but who had subsequently been expelled. There were also stories about a leprous or unclean people who had been banished from Egypt so that the land and its temples, which they had defiled, might be purified. These legends were now related to the biblical tale of the Exodus; the composite version was that the Jews had been expelled from Egypt because of their uncleanliness and had continued to separate themselves from the other nations in Ereẓ Israel. If such was their origin and the reason for their present habits, they had no legitimate claims on this or any other land, or on being unique and elevated.

Descriptions of the Jews as homeless wanderers are found in the allegations of Antiochus Sidetes' officers, who regarded their nomadic status as justification for destroying them. The general motif, however, is undoubtedly much older, having been employed by non-Jews to counter the Jewish claim that Ereẓ Israel was the inheritance of the Lord and that idolaters had no share in it. However, if in the period preceding the Hasmonean conquests this Jewish conception of Ereẓ Israel made little practical difference to its non-Jewish inhabitants, in the Hasmonean epoch it became the justification for eradicating idolatry from the land, and not idolatry alone. The sins of the Canaanites, as they are enumerated in the Wisdom of Solomon (12:3 ff.), an apocryphal book composed in this period, were depicted as so offensive to the Holy Land that their perpetrators would have to be cast out if they did not mend their ways and conduct themselves in a manner compatible with the sanctity of Ereẓ Israel. This view, in turn, aroused more animosity against the Jews.

With the consolidation of Roman rule in Palestine there was apparently little reason for the Jews of Palestine to obstruct the policy pursued by Rome on its eastern borders. Even the attempts at such obstruction in the time of *Antiochus II (e.g., his approach to the Parthians), and by the war party during the war which led to the destruction of the Second Temple, constituted no great danger to Rome. Any anti-Judaism which then was associated with Roman foreign policy was not caused by militancy or even by revolt on the part of Palestinian Jewry. Even in the relations between the Jewish and non-Jewish settlements in Palestine, or Palestina, as the Romans named the region. Rome created a kind of equilibrium, and clashes on any large scale between the two sides ceased completely. Fresh fuel for antisemitic excesses, however, was provided by emperor-worship, which had begun to assume the form of a permanent political institution in all the countries of the Roman Empire from the time of Augustus onward. From the views of contemporaries to this worship, it appears not to have been regarded as an act of religious homage to the emperor but as an expression of loyalty to the state, which was itself endowed with religious sanctity. The refusal by the Jews to accept the imperial cult in any form was thus equated in the minds of many Romans with a refusal to recognize the authority of the state, and as a result, the belief gradually began to take hold in the pagan world that the Jews had no respect for whatever was held in esteem by the rest of humanity. For example, when the Jews were ordered by Caligula to erect and worship an image of the emperor in Jerusalem, but his assassination spared the Jews of Palestine and other parts of the Roman Empire a bitter conflict with the imperial authorities.

IN THE DIASPORA. The Jews of the Roman Empire (unlike their later-day descendants in the late Middle Ages) were not, as a rule, restricted in regard to place of residence; according to the testimony of reliable sources, there was no part of the empire where Jews were not to be found. The Jews formed up to 10–12 percent, approximately, of the population of the empire, and since an appreciable portion of the Jews in the Diaspora were found in the cities, it follows that they played an important role in the economic life of the countries in which they lived (Jos., Ant. 14:115). It would also seem that the Jews were as unrestricted in their choice of occupation as they were in their choice of residence. In regard to their legal position, no discrimination was made between them and the other citizens of the empire, the extent of their rights being dependent, as a rule, on the class to which they belonged. In some cases Jews even received favored treatment in deference to their religious needs. The observance of Sabbath and the fulfillment of other religious precepts led them to seek exemptions from certain civic obligations which were imposed upon the rest of the populace. According to Josephus (Ant. 14:187, 190 ff.), the prerogatives granted the Jews were protected by special decrees of the kings of Persia and Macedonia, and even the Roman rulers honored them, without thereby arousing popular resentment. Still, it should be taken into consideration that Jews maintained the same habits outside Ereẓ Israel as well.

About the first century B.C.E., however, several factors brought about a radical change. In Egypt, particularly in Alexandria, strong opposition to Roman rule became manifest, for many reasons. The upper strata of Alexandrian Egyptians had particular cause for complaint. They had directed the country's policies during the reign of the Ptolemies but they were now, under Rome, out of power. They were thus reduced to a level no higher than that of the Jews, who were now competing with the former ruling class for Roman favor. Relations inevitably deteriorated.

Illuminating in this respect are the orders issued by the emperor Claudius soon after the restoration of quiet in Alexandria, following the turbulence resulting from the riots organized by the Greeks against the Jewish community there. In his injunction to the citizens of Alexandria and the Syrian cities (Jos., Ant. 19:279ff.) Claudius fully confirms the original privileges granted to the Jews to allow them to keep the precepts of the Torah without let or hindrance. However, in his edict to all the countries of the empire, in which Claudius addresses himself to the Jews as well, after reaffirming their privileges, he declares: "I enjoin upon them also by these presents to avail themselves of this kindness in a more reasonable spirit, and not to set at nought the beliefs about the gods held by other peoples, but to keep their own laws" (Ant. 19:286ff., especially 290). Claudius, in an edict to the Alexandrians which has been preserved in a papyrus (published by Idris Bell), is even more explicit. In it, after stating that the Jews are completely at liberty to observe the injunctions of the Torah, Claudius warns that if they will not content themselves with the rights accorded them, he will employ against them all such means as should be used against people who spread "a general plague throughout the world."

Despite the friction between Judaism and the centers of Hellenistic-Roman culture in Egypt, Syria, and cities of the Roman Empire, where intellectual and economic circles were adverse to the Jews, no change was made in the Roman legal code. However, Judaism and the Jews were increasingly described in those circles as flouting not only the law, but all of human society. Though the elements of such characterizations had all already appeared during the struggle between the Hasmonean kings and their adversaries in Palestine, in the first century C.E. they were arranged into a kind of connected rationale of anti-Jewishness.

In common with the courtiers of Antiochus Sidetes two centuries earlier, many Greek authors of the first century C.E. portrayed the Jewish people as the descendants of a mob of lepers, a contaminated rabble, whom the Egyptians had cast out to purge themselves of their defilement and who had continued to pursue in Judea, their adopted home, the pattern that accorded with their degenerate and outcast state. Thus, the portrayal went on, as unclean people who had been afflicted with leprosy they shunned the flesh of swine, this creature being more prone than others to contract this disease. The observance of the Sabbath and the worship of God by the Jews in general were interpreted in a similar vein. No stranger was permitted to approach the Temple in Jerusalem because human beings were sacrificed there. A number of writers of the first century C.E. attempted to portray Jewish life in this manner, the most prominent among them being *Chaeremon, Nero's teacher; *Lysimachus of Alexandria, the head of the library at Alexandria, and *Apion, who surpassed all the others in the crudeness of his fabrications. The destruction of the Second Temple added fuel to the fire. In the period immediately preceding this event, visions of the redemption of the world from the Roman yoke in a form closely corresponding to that of Jewish eschatology began to spread within sections of pagan society. The attraction of the idea of redemption, with its attendant liberation from the ruling power, was a great boon to the propagation of the message of Judaism, the recognition of the unity of God being inextricably interwoven with the redemptive vision. The destruction of the Temple at this juncture produced a sharp counterreaction to this ferment, many of the Jewish adversaries seizing upon it and upon the catastrophe that befell Judea and the Jewish communities in Alexandria, Antioch, and Cyrene as evidence that the Jews were hated by God and had received their due punishment at His hands. According to a story from an antisemitic source (Philostratus, *Vita Apolloni*, 6:29), when representatives of the peoples living in proximity to Judea came and presented to Titus a wreath of victory for his destruction of Jerusalem, he declined to accept it, saying that he had only lent a hand to God, who had revealed his wrath against the Jews. Of what worth was a doctrine of world redemption propagated by a nation forsaken by its god?

The same period saw a deterioration in the attitude of a number of the representatives of the Roman aristocracy toward Jews and Judaism. The factors responsible for this change stemmed, on the one hand, from the conditions prevailing in Rome and among its ruling classes, and, on the other, from the continuing influence, even after the year 70, exerted by Judaism upon some sections of Roman society. Emperors of the type of Nero and Domitian snuffed out the last glimmer of freedom. Sycophancy and subservience dominated the atmosphere. As they dreamt of a purer past which ought to be restored, many Roman intellectuals felt hampered by the multiplicity of foreign cults in imperial Rome and by the powerful influence of Judaism, which appeared to them as subversive of the entire life pattern of Rome. The Jewish community in Rome had already felt the barbs of a number of Roman writers (e.g., *Horace, *Martial), but the first Roman authors to deal with the Jews did not rise to unusual heights of invective. Even *Cicero, the first writer to discuss the Jews seriously (in his speech on behalf of Lucius Valerius Flaccus, the proconsul of Asia Minor, in 62 B.C.E., he attacked the Jews of Palestine and the Diaspora, and, in particular, those of Rome), did not carry his criticism of the Jews beyond the bounds customary among the pleaders in Rome who tried to discredit a litigant in the interests of their client. It may be well to point out here that Cicero, in attacking the Gauls in defense of one of his clients, leveled such grave charges against them and their religion that, by comparison, the accusations he made against the Jews were not unduly severe (cf. the fragments of Cicero's speech *Pro Pontio*).

The end of the first century C.E. witnessed a radical change. Those who saw Rome's salvation in the resuscitation of civic liberty, in the revival of the Roman attribute of *virtus*, and in the renewal of the ancient Roman ideals of heroism and justice, pointed to the danger inherent in the Jewish attempt to swamp the lower and middle classes with new ideas. They sought to rally the public to their standard by declaring the struggle against the propagators of such ideas a life and death necessity. One of the most capable and outspoken of these agitators was Cornelius *Tacitus. He cited all the libelous fabrications against Jews to be culled from Greek anti-Jewish literature. His presentation of the subject as an inquiry into the various accounts of the Jews and their doctrines to the end of discovering that most consonant with historic reality is but a futile attempt to mask his single, overriding purpose, to prove the Jews a mere rabble, hateful to the gods and men alike, and capable of gaining adherents for their degenerate cause only in a Rome that had become a breeding ground for all that was vile and abhorrent (Tacitus, *Historiae* 5:1–13; cf. also his *Annales* 15:44).

*Juvenal followed closely in the footsteps of Tacitus. In one of his poems he portrayed a convert to Judaism as estranged from Roman society and from the members of his family, as unprepared to guide a person who has lost his way if he is not an observer of the Law of Moses, and as unwilling to give a thirsty man a drink if he is uncircumcised (Juvenal, *Saturae* 14:96ff.). General Roman policy toward the Jews was not greatly affected by the diatribes of writers such as Tacitus or Juvenal. It is not inconceivable, however, that the emperor Hadrian's anti-Jewish policy, which represented only a brief episode in the history of Roman legislation in regard to the Jews, was influenced to a certain extent by the circles in which Tacitus and his associates moved.

[Joseph Heinemann / Joshua Gutmann]

The Early Christian Period

The anti-Judaism of the pagan world, whether expressed in outbreaks of violence and rioting or in ideological diatribes and libels, did not hold such fateful consequences for Jews as that which later crystallized within Christianity. The crucial factor here was not so much Christianity's refusal to countenance any other faith, as its commitment to an idea of redemption so manifestly in opposition to that of the Jews as to render their mutual coexistence inconceivable. With the political triumph of Christianity, the old pagan image of the Jews as a people hated by God was resuscitated, but the reasons for God's hatred were changed to suit the new circumstances. Under the stigma of this image, the Jews were gradually excluded from every sphere of political influence and their political and civic rights were increasingly denied them, until in the end such rights were almost entirely a thing of the past.

Since Christianity originated as a dissident Jewish sect, certain judgments of Judaism in the New Testament must be examined in this light. Such, for instance, is the case with the writings of Saul (Paul) of Tarsus. In his Epistle to the Romans he protests against the idea of God's rejection of the Jews: "They are beloved for the sake of their forefathers" (Rom. 11:28): "I myself am an Israelite, a descendant of Abraham, a member of the tribe of Benjamin" (Rom. 11:1). Of the Gospels – easily the most popular writings in the New Testament – the last chronologically, namely Matthew and John, are the most hostile to Judaism, which they criticize from the standpoint of an outsider. In addition, these Gospels already contain the two cardinal themes appearing later in Christian antisemitism: the Jews themselves are made to admit their collective responsibility for the crucifixion of the son of God ("Then answered all the people and said, His blood be on us, and on our children": Matt. 27:25), and are identified with the powers of evil ("Ye are of your father the devil, and your will is to do your father's desires": John 8:44).

Regarded by the Jews as members of a heretical sect, the first Christians stood aloof from the Jewish struggle against Rome. The Gospels' description of the crucifixion, in minimizing the role of Pilate, attests a desire to gain the goodwill of the Roman authorities, while the destruction of Jerusalem in 70 C.E. provided obvious proof of the divine anger and chastisement. In sum, the evolution of Christian anti-Judaism reflects the spread of the new faith among pagan circles and a progressive withdrawal from the ancient faith. The growing hostility was also fed by the rivalry for proselytes. Since traditional Judaism continued to attract pagan elements, the newly Christianized groups were highly susceptible to its influence. The young church, therefore, which declared itself to be the true Israel, or "Israel according to the spirit," heir to the divine promises, found it essential to discredit the "Israel according to the flesh," to prove that God had cast away His people and transferred His love to the Christians. From the outset, therefore, Christian anti-Judaism was an original manifestation: it differed from the traditional tensions between Israel and the nations and did not merely reflect them. Obliged to contest Israel's historic heritage and title, and confronted in addition by a vigorous rabbinical counter-propaganda, the church unremittingly concentrated its attention on the Jews and Judaism. The anti-Jewish theories developed by the *Church Fathers are preeminently variations or extensions of the first accusations leveled in the Gospels. They are developed with particular vehemence by the Greek Fathers who exercised their apostolic authority in regions where the Jewish population was large and influential. Certain polemics already afford an insight into the psychology of the early bishops, whose judeophobia was on the same scale as their religious fervor. To Gregory of Nyssa and John Chrysostom, love of Jesus and hatred for his presumed executioners were indistinguishable. These polemics also testify to the existence of a Jewish population which mixed with its Gentile neighbors on an equal footing. In the fourth century, John Chrysostom characteristically reproached these Jews with extravagance, gluttony, and dissolute living, as well as with deicide.

After Christianity became the official religion of the Roman state (in 321 C.E.) the emperors began to translate the concepts and claims of the theologians into practice. The ancient privileges granted to the Jews were withdrawn, rabbinical jurisdiction was abolished or severely curtailed, and proselytism was prohibited and made punishable by death, as were relations with Christian women. Finally, Jews were excluded from holding high office or pursuing a military career. The rapid disintegration of the Roman Empire in the fifth century, however, postponed the principal effects of this legal forfeiture of rights. As the model that was to inspire the clerical and lay legislators of the Middle Ages, its repercussions on Judeo-Christian relations only become apparent centuries later. The persistence of Judaism, seemingly a contradiction of the Christian conception of the church as *Verus Israel*, "the true Israel," led the great theologians, notably *Augustine, to elaborate the doctrine that represents the Jews as the nation which was a "witness" to the truth of Christianity. Their existence was further justified by the service they rendered to the Christian truth in attesting through their humiliation the triumph of the church over the synagogue. "Unintelligent, they possess intelligent books"; they are thus condemned to perpetual servitude. A further variation, reversing a biblical image, depicts the Jews as Esau and the Christians as Jacob. They are also Cain, guilty of fratricide, cursed and marked with a sign for eternity. However, the hostility of this allegorization also implies a nascent tendency on the part of the church to protect the Jews, since "if someone killed Cain, Cain would be revenged sevenfold." Thus the ideological arsenal of Christian antisemitism was completely established in antiquity. However, from the social standpoint the deterioration of the Jewish position was only beginning, and it seems clear that in the early period virulent judeophobia was mainly limited to the clergy.

In Early Islam

From the theological standpoint, the Koran also contained attacks against the Jews, as they refused to recognize Muhammad as the prophet sent by God. In certain respects, Muhammad utilized the Bible in a manner similar to that of the Christian theologians, since he found in it the announcement of his own coming, but at the same time he also used the New Testament in the same way. As a result, Jews and Christians, although "infidels," are both regarded by the Koran as "Peoples of the Book," "possessing Scriptures."

Since Islam spread by force of arms rather than by spiritual propaganda, it did not generally aspire, at least initially, to conquer souls. Therefore, it displayed greater tolerance than Christianity. The religions of the two "Peoples of the Book" were officially recognized, and a special status combining subjection and protection was evolved for them. Apart from the distinguishing colors of their insignia, the *dhimmi* ("protected") Jews and Christians were subjected to the same measures and were obliged to pay the same tax. On various occasions they were included in the same persecutions. But in the regions where Islam reigned, the forms of anti-Judaism and anti-Christianity each evolved in their own way. When Islam began to spread, the majority of the subjected territories were Christian, and in them Greek remained the official language for some time. One source of antisemitism in Islam, therefore, may derive from ancient Christian anti-Judaism. The celebrated controversialist Al-Jahiz (mid-ninth century) cites in an anti-Christian polemic four reasons why the faithful held a better opinion of the Christians than of the Jews: the Christians wielded power in Byzantium and elsewhere; unlike the Jews, they engaged in secular sciences; they assimilated more easily and adopted Muslim names, and they engaged in more respectable occupations. In the same period the historian Al-Tabari observed that "the Christians bear witness against the Jews morning and night." Thus, a number of anti-Jewish traditions and legends from Christian folklore penetrated, with appropriate adaptations, into that of Islam.

However, the concepts relating to ritual purity and dietary laws, of similar inspiration for both Jews and Muslims, as well as the observance of circumcision, drew them together in that they excluded or lessened certain inhibitory phobias such as the fear of pollution. In addition, Muslim revelation was not founded on the biblical canon and could not become a ground of contention, thus excluding one source of polemics and oppression. In sum, the term antisemitism, which becomes a particularly blatant semantic misnomer when used in connection with the Arab world, also regarded as "Semitic" can be employed only with qualifications in reference to Islam.

From the 12th century, the expeditions of the Crusades aggravated the condition of Christians in the Orient. Persecutions were followed by forced mass conversions to Islam. In many regions the Jews remained the only "infidels" with exceptional status, so that their situation became more vulnerable. In North Africa and Muslim Spain they were also fiercely persecuted (period of the *Almohads). Yet it is from this period that the position of the Jews in western Christendom progressively deteriorated, and until the modern era, Jewish migration usually proceeded from Christian to Islamic countries. But migratory phenomena, like the frequency or intensity of persecutions, are imperfect indicators of a collective attitude, and literature provides a better conspectus: Although in Islamic literature and folklore the Jew is often depicted in an unfavorable light – frequently accused of malevolence toward non-Jews, or even of plotting their damnation – he is only in exceptional cases invested with the satanic character and attributes frequent in Christian literature. There are Islamic literary sources in the medieval age in which the contemporary Jew is endowed with positive characteristics. In the modern period the position of the Jew in Islamic countries, although varying according to region and historical circumstance, has tended to deteriorate. The most notorious persecutions, in *Yemen in 1697, and in *Meshed, Iran in 1839, were perpetrated by Shi'ites. The *Yahud* confined to his ghetto – until recently in Yemen and even up to the 1970s in certain *mellahs* in Morocco – appeared to the Muslim an object of contempt rather than of hatred.

The Middle Ages

Jews had appeared in Western Europe from the beginning of the Christian era. At the commencement of the Middle Ages, no sign of particular animosity toward them was discernible. The clerical anti-Jewish polemics of the period deplored the influence the Jews exerted on the simple people and pointed to the existence of cordial, sometimes intimate, Judeo-Christian relations. Characteristic are the epistles of the ninth-century Christian reformer Archbishop *Agobard: "Things have reached a stage where ignorant Christians claim that the Jews preach better than our priests… some Christians even celebrate the Sabbath with the Jews and violate the holy repose of Sunday… Men of the people, peasants, allow themselves to be plunged into such a sea of errors that they regard the Jews as the only people of God, and consider that they combine the observance of a pure religion and a truer faith than ours."

The *Church Councils continually legislated to prevent these contacts. Ecclesiastical propaganda seems to have produced its first fruits at the beginning of the 11th century, when persecutions and expulsions were recorded in Rouen, Orleans, Limoges, and Mainz. A persecution inflicted at the time on Christians in the Orient was used as a pretext, and, apparently dating from the same period is the fable depicting the Jews as legionaries of the Anti-Christ. However, the crucial event was the First Crusade (1096). Religious excitation commingled with greed for gain. As bands of crusaders set out to recapture the sepulcher of Jesus they were prompted to wreak vengeance on Jesus' legendary enemies and killers and attacked the Jewish quarters of German and French towns along their way. The massacres perpetrated during the summer of 1096 made a lasting impression on both Christians and Jews. The tradition of sacrifice, **Kiddush ha-Shem*, was expressed in collective suicides to avoid forced conversion.

European economic life began to revive in the 12th century. Although the Christian guilds which began to flourish in the cities did not admit Jews, an action which had unfavorable repercussions on their commercial activities, the economic resurgence in Europe considerably increased credit operations, against which the church began to adopt measures. The church regarded the practice of *usury as endangering the eternal salvation of its flock, and opposed the overt and authorized practice of usury, i.e., the acceptance of pledges, with particular severity. Being inevitable in contemporary economic conditions, however, the church subsequently endorsed the practice of usury by the Jews, for according to the prevalent opinion their souls were lost in any case. The doctrine and practice which thus spread constituted a major source of antisemitism for, in general, agrarian societies tended to leave the practice of usury to foreigners (those who were not "brothers"). The Jew, already stigmatized as an infidel and deicide, was now regarded by most as the direct antagonist of the Christian, and thus began to symbolize the hostile stranger *par excellence*. The process of differentiation was slow, as shown by the legend of a miraculous conversion around 1220 which places the following question in the mouth of a little girl: "Why is it that the Jews and the Christians have different names since they speak the same language and wear the same clothes?" Thus the Jew was distinguished primarily by his name, and in contemporary idiom the verb "to judaize" meant both to be a heretic and to lend money on interest.

Secular princes and church prelates were in fact the Jews' silent partners in the practice of usury. Although this partnership multiplied the sources of internal antagonism among Christians, the Jews were assured of an influential protection justified by patristic doctrines: the monarchs of the Holy Roman Empire regarded the Jews as serfs of the chamber (*servi camerae). Thomas *Aquinas considered them condemned to perpetual servitude because of their crime, but they were not to be deprived of the necessities of life. As a later scholastic, Angelo di Chivasso (1411–1495), said: "to be a Jew is a crime, not, however, punishable by a Christian."

Each renewed preaching for the Crusades roused anti-Jewish excesses, despite the protection afforded by the ecclesiastical and lay authorities. Religious consciousness in the masses intensified, and the evolution of theological thinking tended to emphasize and particularize the Jewish role as the scapegoat of Christianity. The 12th and 13th centuries saw the crystallization of the doctrine of transubstantiation, whereby the flesh and blood of Christ become present in the consecrated Host and wine – a doctrine definitively stated at the Fourth Lateran *Council (1215). As a result, the eucharistic cult acquired concrete character. Miraculous tales in connection with the Host, proliferated, frequently of *Host desecration by the Jews, and the *blood libel also began to inflict its ravages. These two closely connected allegations both relate to the delusion that a criminal conspiracy was being fabricated by the Jews against Jesus and the Christians. Psychologists have explained this suspicion as the transference of a guilt complex on the part of Christian communicants who attacked Jews. In partaking of the flesh and blood, they sought to identify themselves with the God-man who had taken upon himself the sins of the world, but they were unable to attain this identification satisfactorily. The resultant feeling of culpability could well be projected onto the "witness" people: the Jews were the people of God, but the only group to remain outside the universal communion of Christians.

The Fourth Lateran Council also promulgated a canon requiring the Jews to wear a distinguishing mark: the decision was intended to make any intimate relations between Jews and Christians impossible. The form of mark was not specified. In practice, the Jews in Latin countries were made to adopt a disk sewn onto their clothing, and in the Germanic countries a distinctive hat. Characteristically, contemporary iconography also depicts the biblical patriarchs, as well as Christian heretics of all kinds, in this dress. The appearance of the Jewish *badge also helped to propagate fables that showed the Jews as physically different from other men. The badge, or patch, became popularly known as the yellow badge, yet colors and forms varied in the Christian as well as in the Muslim world, where markings to distinguish the non-Muslim seem to have been introduced as early as the eighth century. Other features ascribed include a tail and horns – the attributes of the devil – and a distinctive smell (*foetor judaicus*), the converse of "the odor of sanctity."

During the 13th century the economic position of the Jews, and consequently the protection from which they benefited, was impaired by the development of finance on an international scale in Italy by, e.g., the Florentine and Siennese banks, and by the Lombards in France. The kings of England found that they could now dispense with the services of the Jews, and expelled them in 1290. In 1306 the first general expulsion from France took place. *Expulsions and massacres also followed in the German towns. The mass expulsions helped to perpetuate the image of Jewish homelessness, of the *Wandering Jew condemned to roam from country to country, in the eyes of the masses. At the beginning of the 14th century the specter of conspiracy against Christianity found new expression in the popular belief that the wells were being poisoned by the Jews. It is necessary to draw a distinction between these myths of a popular demonology, which the church itself did not endorse, but on the contrary combated, and the clerical anti-Jewish tradition. Apart from the religious and economic factors referred to above, persistent agencies of religious excitation were the development of a literature written in the vernacular and the growing popularity of the "Passion plays," which reenacted the crucifixion. Passion plays took place annually, lasted several days, and presented the cruelty and perfidy of the Jewish executioners in a highly realistic fashion.

Very often the established lay and ecclesiastical authorities continued to protect the Jews The most implacable adversaries of the Jews were now recruited among the rising middle class, and particularly among the mendicant Franciscan and Dominican orders. The Italian anti-Jewish Franciscan preachers John of *Capistrano and *Bernardino da Feltre, at whose instigation the institution of the *Monte di Pietà spread rapidly, and the Dominican Vincente *Ferrer in Spain, were especially vituperative. In Spain, the slow pace of the Christian reconquest – a process lasting from the 11th to the 15th centuries – enabled the Jews to continue to benefit from a privileged situation. Thus the conceptions current in the rest of Europe took time to spread to the Peninsula. It was not until the end of the 14th century that the preaching of Archdeacon Fernando Martinez of Seville set in motion a wave of bloody persecutions. The numerical and social importance of Spanish Jewry resulted in a different evolution, particularly the phenomenon of Crypto-Judaism practiced by the *Conversos. The Castilian *Inquisition was founded in 1478 to eradicate it. In 1492 Jews of the faith were expelled from Spain after a preliminary blood libel trial – the case of Nino de la Guardia – had been staged.

Poland, where a Christian middle class was slow to develop, became the principal country of refuge for European Jewry at the end of the Middle Ages. Russia, however, followed a different course in consequence of a religious schism which menaced Russian Orthodoxy at the end of the 14th century. This "judaizing heresy" predicated in an extreme form the tendencies of return to the Old Testament present in the Reformation movements of Western Europe. It acquired followers at the court of Moscow but was rapidly stifled. As a result, access to Russia was barred to Jews hereafter. Religious struggle was thus the starting point for the traditional judeophobia of the ruling Russian dynasties.

In general, popular susceptibility to antisemitism developed in the Middle Ages. It was henceforth perpetuated by linguistic usage and religious instruction. In all languages the term "Jew" and its derivatives had assumed a derogatory significance. Religious instruction by the catechism, practically the only form of popular education until a later period, instilled hostility against the "executioners of Christ" into the souls of children. "If it is incumbent upon a good Christian to detest the Jews, then we are all good Christians," Erasmus stated ironically at the beginning of the 16th century.

The Reformation

The Reformation had important complex and even contradictory repercussions on the evolution of antisemitism. One branch of Protestantism, namely Calvinism and the sects or movements influenced by it, proved less judeophobic than Catholicism until the 20th century. The other branch, Lutheranism, became increasingly antisemitic. How may this divergency be explained? It is as difficult to give a complete answer as it is to establish the exact relationship – a problem posed by Max *Weber and his school –between the "Protestant ethic" and "the capitalist spirit" or modern mentality. From the outset Calvinism and its derivatives emphasized individual responsibility, embracing social values and energetic moral action. To Lutheranism, on the other hand, justification by faith implied a renunciation of civic responsibility, and hostility to active faith (or "salvation through works"), which Luther himself described as *juedischer Glaube* ("Jewish faith"). At the end of his life the German reformer vilified the Jews in violent pamphlets which could not fail to exert their influence. Conversely, the role played by the Old Testament in Calvinism led the Puritan sects to identify themselves with the Jews of the Bible and reflected favorably on their attitude toward contemporary Jewry. The French Calvinists were a special case: themselves persecuted until the French Revolution, their sympathies were traditionally pro-Jewish, an outlook retained to a considerable extent to the present day.

An immediate consequence of the Reformation was to aggravate the position of the Jews in regions which remained Catholic. The popes of the Counter-Reformation were determined to restore ecclesiastical usages and the strict application of canon law. One result was that from the second half of the 16th century ghettos were introduced, at first in Italy and afterward in the Austrian Empire. This segregation then served as a convenient additional demonstration of the error of Judaism: "A Jewish ghetto is a better proof of the truth of the religion of Jesus Christ than a whole school of theologians," declared the 18th-century Catholic publicist G.B. Roberti. In France, the celebrated Bossuet had expressed analogous views in the 17th century. With the advent of the Counter-Reformation, therefore, the theses of Augustine and Thomas Aquinas regarding the Jews were applied to the letter. However, in the Low Countries, which had been freed of Spanish domination, the Jews could settle freely. They also began to settle in Great Britain and its colonies, and in particular North America, from the time of Cromwell.

Spain after 1492

Traditional Christian conceptions condemned the Jews because their faith was erroneous and strenuous efforts were made to convert them, but the mass conversion in Spain in the 15th century resulted in transference of the customary hostility to the converts and to their real or suspected descendants, the New Christians. In other words, religious antisemitism, far from disarmed by the disappearance of Jews of the faith, transformed itself into racial antisemitism. The Inquisition gradually stamped out Crypto-Judaism. However, statutes promulgated in Spain made "purity of blood" (*limpieza de sangre*) a new criterion to bar entry of the New Christians whose faith was suspect, to certain guilds, and to certain military and religious orders. This discrimination, sanctioned by Emperor Charles v, spread to the military academies and universities and persisted until the Napoleonic Wars. The law involved detailed genealogical research and contributed to the obsession with the code of honor and hidalgoism characteristic of old-time Spain. Since New Christians were traditionally concentrated in productive and commercial occupations and in crafts, the contempt with which they were held was connected with these callings. Such an attitude can be considered a major cause of Spanish economic decline in modern times. Vestiges of this attitude toward the New Christians still persist in the Balearic islands, affecting the *Chuetas of Palma de Majorca. Needless to say, the determinant of "purity of blood" was not based on actual religious, cultural, or even biological differences, but on the illusion fostered by the Old Christians that such a difference existed.

[Leon Poliakov]

The Enlightenment

For as long as Christianity held unchallenged sway in Europe, Jews could exist only on the margin of European social life. With the coming of the 18th-century Enlightenment, however, their isolation slowly began to crumble. A new class of bourgeois intellectuals – the *philosophes* – denounced Christianity in the name of Deism, or "natural religion," and ushered in the secularism of the modern era. As a result of their efforts, for the first time in centuries the status of the Jews became a matter for widespread debate. Many *philosophes* found it only natural to sympathize with the Jews. Not only were Jews the oppressed people *par excellence* in a century which prided itself on its concern for justice, but they were also the most notorious victims of Christian intolerance, which the Enlightenment was sworn to destroy. Accordingly, protests against the persecution of Jews – and especially against the Inquisition, the Enlightenment's *bête noire* – became one of the standard set pieces of 18th-century rhetoric. Led by Charles Louis *Montesquieu, Gotthold Ephraim *Lessing, and Jean Jacques *Rousseau, Enlightenment writers everywhere preached that Christian and Jew shared a common humanity and common human rights. Relatively few of these men foresaw the Emancipation, which for most of the 18th century remained a distant prospect. But emancipation was proposed as early as 1714 by the English freethinker John Toland, and it drew increasing support from *philosophes* as the century went on. When, at last, the Jews of France were emancipated in 1791, it was largely the authority of the Enlightenment which overcame the objections of churchmen and gentile economic interests.

Despite its achievements, however, the Enlightenment's pro-Jewish agitation was not so purely humanitarian as it appeared. Much of the indignation which Jewish suffering aroused was calculated not to comfort the Jews, but to exploit their plight for the purpose of condemning Christianity. Admiring accounts of the Jewish religion, such as those favored by Lessing, were also intended to discredit Christianity – often so blatantly that, like Lessing's famous *Nathan der Weise*, they expounded Judaism as a religion for *philosophes* to make Christianity seem backward by comparison. In short, when the Enlightenment chose to defend the Jews, it did so largely for reasons of its own; and it dealt with them, in consequence, not as real individuals, but as a useful abstraction. The sole novelty of its approach was that, whereas the Jews had once been a witness to the truth of Christianity, now they were expected to demonstrate its error. The actual Jews, meanwhile, were usually regarded with suspicion and distaste. The Judaism which they practiced, after all, was a religion much like Christianity and hence considered by Enlightenment thinkers as a "superstition" to be eradicated. What was still more serious, Judaism was often considered a particularly anti-social religion, one which nurtured a stubborn sense of particularism, perpetuated ancient, fossilized habits, and created grave divisions within the state. These opinions were so widely held by Enlightenment writers that even friends of the Jews continually urged them to abandon their traditions and observances. Only Montesquieu, of all the 18th century's great thinkers, showed any willingness to accept the Jews without reforming them into something else. Indeed, the most common argument for emancipation, as conceived by Christian Wielhelm von *Dohm, Honore-Gabriel-Victor Riqueti, Comte de *Mirabeau, and others, was precisely that it would convert the Jews to the majority culture, thus expunging their most obnoxious traits. This view was ultimately upheld by the French revolutionaries, who declared, when they emancipated the Jews in 1791: "To the man, everything; to the Jew, nothing." Though as a citizen the Jew was to receive full rights, as a Jew he was to count for nothing.

Even so, this program of compulsive emancipation did not fully reflect the intense Jew-hatred of the more extreme *philosophes*. Though it is surprising to recall the fact, among this group were some of the leading minds of the 18th century, including Denis*Diderot, Baron Paul Heinrich Dietrich d'*Holbach, and *Voltaire. Despite their intellectual stature, these men launched scurrilous attacks on the Jews which far surpassed the bounds of reasoned criticism. Many of their polemics were not only intolerant, but so vicious and spiteful as to compare with all but the crudest propaganda of the 1970s or the late 1990s. To some extent, this anti-Jewish fervor can be understood as merely one aspect of the Enlightenment's war on Christianity. Diderot, d'Holbach, Voltaire, and their followers were the most radical anti-Christians of their time, and – in contrast to the more moderate Deists who praised the Jews – they did not hesitate to pour scorn on Christianity by reviling its Jewish origins. This tactic was all the more useful because Judaism, unlike Christianity, could be abused in print without fear of prosecution; but even the fact that the Jews made a convenient whipping-boy cannot explain all the hostility which they excited. Diatribes written against Jews by Enlightment thinkers were often so bitter, so peculiarly violent, that they can only have stemmed from a profound emotional antagonism – a hatred nourished not only by dislike of Jewish particularism, refurbished from ancient Greco-Roman sources, but also by unconscious Christian prejudice and resentment of Jewish economic success. Voltaire, in particular, detested the Jews with vehement passion. A large part of his whole enormous output was devoted to lurid tales of Jewish credulity and fanaticism, which he viewed as dangerous threats to European culture. At times, Voltaire actually pressed this argument so far as to imply that Jews were ignorant by nature, and could never be integrated into a modern society.

To be sure, prejudices of this kind made little headway against the ingrained egalitarianism of the Enlightenment. Neither Voltaire nor any other pre-Revolutionary thinker seriously denied that Jews could be assimilated, so that in this sense, at least, antisemitism was hardly known. Still less respectable were outright fantasies like the blood libel, which most Enlightenment writers firmly repudiated. Yet the fact remains that, for all their resistance to racism and other delusions, some of the leaders of the Enlightenment played a central role in the development of antisemitic ideology. By declaring the Jew an enemy of the modern secular state, they refurbished the religious anti-Judaism of the Middle Ages and set it on an entirely new political path. In so doing, moreover, they revealed a depth of feeling against Jews which was wholly disproportionate to the Jews' supposed faults, and which would continue to inspire antisemitism even when the Jews' secularism was no longer open to question.

[Paul Weissman]

Emancipation and Reaction

ACHIEVING EMANCIPATION. The newer 19th-century version of antisemitism arose on a soil which had been watered for many centuries in Europe by Christian theology and, more important, by popular catechisms. The Christian centuries had persecuted Jews for theological reasons, but this "teaching of contempt" had set the seal on the most ancient of all antisemitic themes: that the Jews were a uniquely alien element within human society. In every permutation of European politics and economics within the course of the century, the question of the alienness of the Jew reappeared as an issue of quite different quality from all of the other conflicts of a stormy age. Jews themselves tended to imagine that their troubles represented the time-lag of older, medieval Christian attitudes, of the anger at "Christ-killers" and "Christ-rejecters," which would eventually disappear. It was not until the works of Leo *Pinsker and Theodor *Herzl, the founders of modern Zionism were published, that the suggestion was made that antisemitism in all of its varieties was, at its very root, a form of xenophobia, the hatred of a stranger – the oldest, most complicated, and most virulent example of such hatred –and that the end of the medieval era of faith and politics did not, therefore, mean the end of antisemitism.

As a result of both the French and the American revolutions there were two states in the world at the beginning of the 19th century in which, in constitutional theory, Jews were now equal citizens before the law. In neither case was their emancipation complete. In the U.S. certain legal disabilities continued to exist in some of the individual states and the effort for their removal encountered some re-echoes of older Christian prejudices. The Jews in America were, however, at the beginning of the 19th century a mere handful, less than 3,000 in a national population approaching 4,000,000, and there was therefore no contemporary social base for the rise of a serious antisemitic reaction. The issues were different in Europe. In France there had been more than a century of economic conflict between Jewish small-scale moneylenders, illegal artisans, and petty credit and their Gentile clients and competitors. The legal emancipation of the Jews did not still these angers but, on the contrary, exacerbated them. The spokesmen of the political left in eastern France during the era of the Revolution and even into the age of *Napoleon argued, without exception that the new legal equality for the Jews would not act to assimilate them as "useful and productive citizens" into the main body of the French people but, rather that it would open new avenues for the rapacity of these aliens. Napoleon's own activities in relation to the Jewish question, including the calling of his famous French *Sanhedrin in 1807, were under the impact of two themes: the desire to make the Jews assimilate more rapidly and the attempt, through a decree that announced a ten-year moratorium on debts owed to Jews in eastern France, to calm the angers of their enemies.

On the other hand, Jews were visibly and notoriously the beneficiaries of the Revolution. It was, indeed, true that a number of distinguished émigrés had been helped to escape by former Jewish associates, and it was even true that the bulk of the Jewish community, at least at the very beginning of the Revolution and a few years later during the Terror, feared rather than favored the new regime. Nonetheless, in the minds of the major losers, the men of the old order and especially of the church, the Jews were the chief, or at the very least the

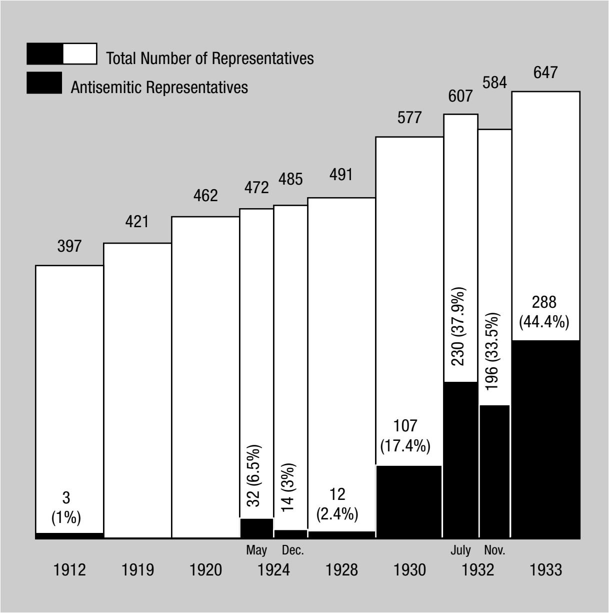

Antisemitic representatives in the German Reichstag from 1912 to 1933.

most obvious, winners during the era of the Revolution. The association of French antisemitism with counterrevolutionary forces, with royalist-clericalist reaction, throughout the next 150 years was thus begun very early. In the demonology of antisemitism it was not difficult to transform the Sanhedrin in Paris in 1807 into a meeting of a secret society of Jews plotting to take over the world. This connection was made in that year by Abbé *Barruel in his book *Mémoire pour servir a l'histoire du jacobinisme*. This volume is the source of all of the later elaborations of the myth of the Elders of Zion.

In Europe as a whole a new kind of antisemitism was evoked by the new kind of war that the revolutionary armies, and the far more successful armies of Napoleon, were waging against their enemies.

Between 1790 and 1815 the armies of France appeared everywhere not, as they announced, as conquerors holding foreign territory for ransom or for annexation, but as liberators of the peoples from the yoke of their existing governments in order to help them regenerate themselves in a new state of freedom. Wherever the Revolution spread, its legislation included, in places as far-flung as Westphalia, Italy, and even briefly, Ereẓ Israel, equality for Jews. It was entirely reasonable on the part of the Austrian police, and the secret services of some of the other European powers, to suspect that some of the Jews within their borders were really partisans of Napoleon. In the wake of his defeat the emancipation of the Jews remained on the books in France, but it was removed elsewhere, with some modifications in favor of Jews, as an imposition of a foreign power. The battle for Jewish equality had to begin again; it became part of a century-long battle in Europe to achieve the liberal revolution everywhere. This struggle had not yet ended by the time of World War I, for at that moment the largest Jewish community in the world, that in the Russian Empire, was not yet emancipated and had, indeed, suffered grievously throughout the century.

In the early and middle years of the 19th century the most important battleground between Jews and their enemies was in Germany. Capitalism was rapidly remaking the social structure and Jews were the most easily identifiable element among the "new men." The victims of the rising capitalist order, especially the lower-middle classes, found their scapegoat in the most vulnerable group among the successful, the Jews. In a different part of society, and from a nationalist perspective, the most distinguished of German historians of the day, Heinrich *Treitschke, was insisting toward the end of the century that the acculturated and legally emancipated Jews, who thought in their own minds that they had become thoroughly German, were really aliens who still had to remake themselves from the ground up and to disappear inconspicuously. Not long after the turn of the century Werner *Sombart (*Die Juden und das Wirtschaftsleben*, 1911) was to express his own ambivalence about capitalism as a whole by insisting, against Max Weber, that it was the Jews, and not the Protestants, who had always been, even in biblical days, the inventors and bearers of the capitalist spirit. Such identification between the Jews and the spirit of capitalism had been made, to their discredit, seven decades earlier, in 1844, by the young Karl *Marx in his essay "On the Jewish Question." For antisemites of both the political right and the left, who struggled against capitalism for different reasons, such identification was one of the sources and rationales of Jew-hatred throughout the modern era, well into the Nazi period.

On the surface of events modern German antisemitism began with riots by the peasants in 1819, using the rhetoric of older Christian hostility. This attitude toward Jews was soon transformed by the rising romanticism and the nationalist reactions to the Napoleonic wars into an assertion that the true German spirit, which had arisen in the Teutonic forests, was an organic and lasting identity in which the Jew could not, by his very nature, participate. For this purpose the work of Count Joseph-Arthur de *Gobineau on race was pressed into service to make the point that the Jews were a non-Aryan, Oriental element whose very nature was of a different modality. Richard *Wagner insisted on this point not only in his overt antisemitic utterances but also indirectly in his operas, in which he crystallized the Teutonic myths as a quasi-religious expression of the authentic German spirit. In Wagner's footsteps there appeared the work of his son-in-law, Houston Stewart *Chamberlain (*The Foundations of the Nineteenth Century*, 1899), which pronounced the presence of Jews in German society to be radically inimical to its very health. In the popular mind these theorists of national culture were understood within a situation in which the intellectual importance of Germany in Europe was not equaled by its political significance, for the scandalous division of the country lasted until 1870. To be united and German was the dominant ideal.

The very difficulties in realizing the unity of Germany brought the existence of Jews into unfriendly focus. Very few elements in mid-19th century Germany society, even among their friends, were willing to regard Jews as true Germans. Jews were asking for political equality more in the name of the universal rights of man – that is, as partisans of the cosmopolitan principle – than as sons of the German people. As a result, the ultimate attainment of equality, first in Prussia in 1859 and ultimately in all of Germany in the aftermath of the unification of the country in 1870, had a quite narrow social base. It was identified with the rise of the bourgeois liberalism, but this element never dominated in mid-19th-century Germany as it did in contemporary England. What was worse, from a Jewish perspective, was that as a middle-class element the Jews were themselves in competition with the very class which had facilitated their entry into society. Toward the end of the century the German middle class itself was shifting its political alignment from liberalism to romantic conservatism. To be sure, the main thrust of German liberalism continued to regard antisemitism as reactionary, just as the main body of German Socialism would have no truck with the identification of all Jews with the capitalist oppressors of the working class. Nonetheless, antisemitism was sufficiently potent for all its themes to coalesce into the image of the successful, non-national, unproductive foreigner, whose power resided in money, in his mastery of the legerdemain of modern manipulation, and his cosmopolitan contacts. This "Jew" was a lineal descendant of the Jewish maker of love potions in Greco-Roman demonology and the poisoner of wells of the medieval myths, but the new version was very up to date and answered to contemporary frustrations and angers.

In the last quarter of the 19th century, antisemitism became an acceptable element in German political life to be manipulated at opportune moments by political leaders seeking popular lower-middle-class support. The very term antisemitism had been invented by Wilhelm Marr in 1879 and it was in that year that the court chaplain, Adolph *Stoecker, had made his first public antisemitic speech, "What We Demand of Modern Jewry," and had then turned his Christian Socialist Party in overtly anti-Jewish directions. With the rise of German imperialism toward the end of the century and the sense of success it gave Germany, political antisemitism waned, but social distance continued unaltered.

In France, Jews had not been an issue of any considerable importance after the restoration of the Bourbons to power in 1815. There alone Jewish political gains had been safeguarded without question, because the fundamental social changes which had been introduced by the Revolution could not be radically altered by the return of the émigrés. Nonetheless, Jews remained one of the most visible symbols of these very changes, and the attacks upon Jews, both from the extreme right and the extreme left, were sufficiently overt to provide the spark for greater difficulties in the second half of the century. Two of the greatest theorists of Socialism in France, Pierre-Joseph *Proudhon and Charles *Fourier, were anti-Jewish on the ground that Jewish capitalist interests stood counter to those of the peasants and the workers, and that the Jewish spirit as a whole was antithetical to their vision of a reformed humanity living the life of unselfish social justice. In France, too, the changes being brought about by capitalism and the Industrial Revolution made many people feel helpless, as their lives were being remade for the worse. The power of the *Rothschilds was very evident in France, especially in the age of Louis Napoleon, and some of the anger at the new age came to expression in attacks on them by left-wingers such as Alphonse *Toussenel. In the time of conflict which followed the fall of France in 1870 major elements among all forces contending for power after the debacle could blame their troubles on the Jews.

In the renewed political battles of the 1870s and 1880s the overwhelming majority of the Jewish community in France was associated with the liberal republican forces against the conservative Catholics, who were enemies of the Republic. From 1879 to 1884 republican anti-clericals dominated in parliament and succeeded in freeing French education from clerical control. One of the building blocks of the almost successful counterrevolution of 1888, in which General Boulanger very nearly made an end of the Republic, was antisemitism. The myth that the small handful of Jews in France had enormous and highly dangerous economic power had been broadcast two years before in perhaps the single, most successful antisemitic and counterrevolutionary book ever published, Edouard *Drumont's *La France Juive*, which went through innumerable editions. Late in 1894 antisemitism became the central issue of French society and politics for at least a decade and the reechoes of the positions taken in those years can still be heard. Captain Alfred *Dreyfus, the first Jew to become a member of the general staff of the French army, was accused of spying for Germany. The outcry against Dreyfus was joined not only by the clerical-royalist right but also by some elements of the French left. His ultimate vindication was the result of the exercise of the moral conscience in the service of truth by a number of individuals more concerned about the preservation of the Republic than about the rights of Jews.

[Arthur Hertzberg]

ANTISEMITIC POLITICAL PARTIES AND ORGANIZATIONS. A distinction must be made between organizations that temporarily adopted antisemitic attitudes and those founded with the express purpose of fighting alleged negative Jewish influences. Into the first category fall some originally liberal groups, especially in Austria and Romania, as well as most of the clerical parties. For example, the German Catholic Center Party blamed Bismarck's *Kulturkampf* on the Jews but later relented and even protected Jewish religious interests. Many conservative groups vacillated in a similar fashion as did certain socialist movements, like the Fourierists in France, some disciples of F. *Lassalle in Germany, and the Narodniki in Russia. Even the Social-Democrat parties later rid themselves, though rather tardily, of antisemitic tendencies. The groups that called themselves Christian-Social were steeped in antisemitism, although for some of them anti-Judaism served

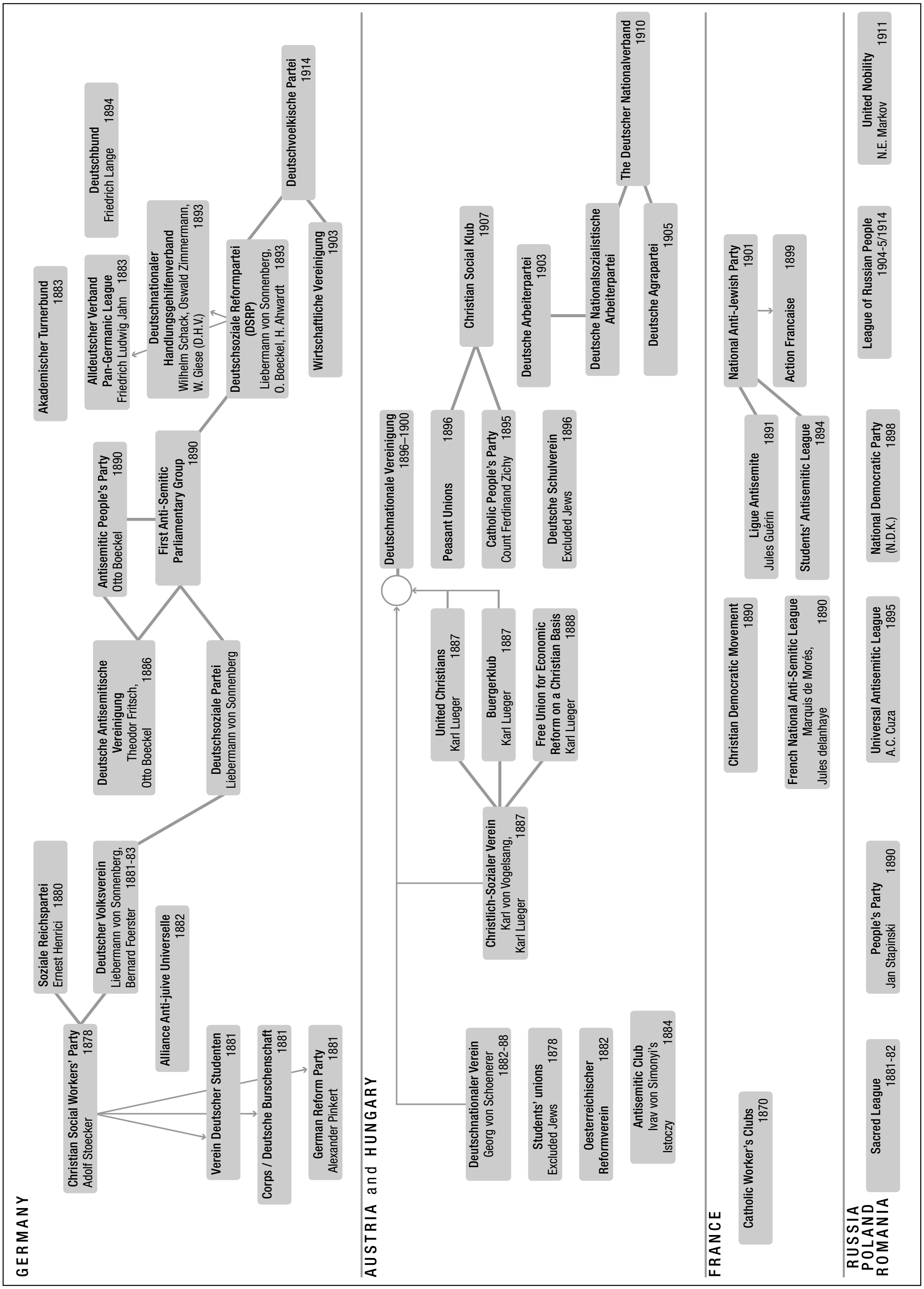
GERMANY
Christian Social Workers' Party Adolf Stoecker 1878
Verein Deutscher Studenten 1881
Corps / Deutsche Burschenschaft 1881
German Reform Party Alexander Pinkert 1881
Soziale Reichspartei Ernest Henrici 1880
Deutscher Volksverein Liebermann von Sonnenberg, Bernard Foerster 1881-83
Alliance Anti-juive Universelle 1882
Deutsche Antisemitische Vereinigung Theodor Fritsch, Otto Boeckel 1886
Deutschsoziale Partei Liebermann von Sonnenberg
Antisemitic People's Party Otto Boeckel 1890
First Anti-Semitic Parliamentary Group 1890
Akademischer Turnerbund 1883
Alldeutscher Verband Pan-Germanic League Friedrich Ludwig Jahn 1883
Deutschnationaler Handlungsgehilfenverband Wilhelm Schack, Oswald Zimmermann, W. Giese (D.H.V.) 1893
Deutschsoziale Reformpartei (DSRP) Liebermann von Sonnenberg, O. Boeckel, H. Ahlwardt 1893
Wirtschaftliche Vereinigung 1903
Deutschbund Friedrich Lange 1894
Deutschvoelkische Partei 1914
AUSTRIA and HUNGARY
Deutschnationaler Verein Georg von Schoenerer 1882-88
Students' unions Excluded Jews 1878
Oesterreichischer Reformverein 1882
Antisemitic Club Ivav von Simonyi's Istoczy 1884
Christlich-Sozialer Verein Karl von Vogelsang, Karl Lueger 1887
United Christians Karl Lueger 1887
Buergerklub Karl Lueger 1887
Free Union for Economic Reform on a Christian Basis Karl Lueger 1888
Deutschnationale Vereinigung 1896–1900
Peasant Unions 1896
Catholic People's Party Count Ferdinand Zichy 1895
Deutsche Schulverein Excluded Jews 1896
Christian Social Klub 1907
Deutsche Arbeiterpartei 1903
Deutsche Nationalsozialistische Arbeiterpartei
Deutsche Agrapartei 1905
The Deutscher Nationalverband 1910
FRANCE
Catholic Worker's Clubs 1870
Christian Democratic Movement 1890
French National Anti-Semitic League Marquis de Morés, Jules delanhaye 1890
Ligue Antisemite Jules Guérin 1891
Students' Antisemitic League 1894
National Anti-Jewish Party 1901
Action Francaise 1899
RUSSIA POLAND ROMANIA
Sacred League 1881-82
People's Party Jan Stapinski 1890
Universal Antisemitic League A.C. Cuza 1895
National Democratic Party (N.D.K.) 1898
League of Russian People 1904-5/1914
United Nobility N.E. Markov 1911

Antisemitic parties in Europe, 1870 to World War I.

mainly as a means of vote-catching and of competing with all-round antisemitic parties, while for others it constituted an integral part of their program. Since it is difficult to separate them, all parties which displayed anti-Jewish tendencies are included here.

The appearance of anti-Jewish parties and organizations, whether they were based on economic, religious, or *voelkisch* (Aryan nationalist) ideologies or a combination of all three, constitutes the most important distinguishing mark of modern antisemitism, which came to the fore after the political reshuffle of Europe following the wars of 1866 and 1870–71, and particularly after the general economic crisis of 1873. All antisemitic organizations aspired to influence public life by means such as mass movements and parliamentary pressure groups. Although before World War I most of them were short lived and failed to acquire mass support, they registered local victories and accumulated valuable political experience. Moreover, by their incessant propaganda they infected large parts of the population with a latent antisemitism. Germany and Austria were the first countries to experience organized antisemitism, preceding Hungary and Poland. France on the one hand, and Russia and Romania on the other, constitute separate categories.

Germany. In the mid-1870s certain antisemitic social reform groups of artisans, small traders, and clerks began to form local organizations. A prominent instance in Saxony was Ernst Schmeitzner's Society for the Protection of Artisans and Traders. Rural advocates of social reform also gathered in small societies. Groups like the Antisemitic League of Wilhelm *Marr (1879) occupied themselves less with economic reform than with *voelkisch* issues. Thus, from the outset of organizational activities, two main trends in political antisemitism asserted themselves: the social and the racist trends. It must be added, however, that both were complex: there was a radical and a conservative trend in the reform associations, as well as rather radical and ultraconservative wings in the racist groups. This divergence, originating in the multifaceted and even contradictory image of the Jew, caused incessant splits and re-formations in political antisemitism, rendering it more or less ineffective until the end of World War I.

The first political organizer to use antisemitism as a lever for a mass movement was the court preacher Adolf *Stoecker in Berlin. Stoecker failed to attract followers to his Christian Socialist Workers' Party (1878) on a platform of Christian ethics and reconciliation between state and workers through state intervention in economics. In 1879, however, he hit upon antisemitism as a vote-catcher for artisans and other members of the lower-middle classes in his speech "Our Demands on Modern Judaism." His activities inspired the founding of the antisemitic students' movement, Verein Deutscher Studenten (1881). This was not powerful in itself, but it imbued the old students' organizations – the Corps and the Deutsche Burschenschaft – with the spirit of racial intolerance, so that finally they excluded all Jews from membership. Meanwhile, Stoecker was elected, with Conservative help, to the Prussian Diet (1879) and to the Reichstag. Stoecker's initial success was paralleled in Saxony, where the First International Anti-Jewish Congress convened in Dresden in 1882, assembling during the blood libel of the *Tisza-Eszlar trial, convened delegates from Germany, Austria, and Hungary. A standing committee decided on the founding of an Alliance Anti-Juive Universelle (an allusion to the *Alliance Israélite Universelle) and fixed a second congress to be held the following year in Chemnitz. This congress attracted additional delegates from Russia, Romania, Serbia, and France but no lasting unity was established. Later antisemitic congresses (Kassel 1886, Bochum 1889) were strictly German, and they too accomplished close to nothing.

During 1880 and 1881, some of Stoecker's most vociferous racist allies broke away. The first was Ernst Henrici, who headed the radical anti-conservative Soziale Reichspartei for about three years. Next was the ultraconservative Max Liebermann von Sonnenberg, who in conjunction with Friedrich *Nietzsche's brother-in-law, Bernhard Foerster, established the Deutscher Volksverein (1881–83). Both parties remained weak, and their endeavors to win general support by presenting to Bismarck their joint antisemitic petition asking for the abolition of Jewish equality gained them only fleeting success. Although they collected 225,000 signatures, they failed at the polls. When in 1883 the *Conservative Party severed all connections with them, the center of political antisemitism shifted for a time from Berlin to small towns and rural districts and to other German states. This happened in 1886 when Theodor *Fritsch of Leipzig, one of the most rabid racists, joined with the "Hessian King of Peasants," Otto Boeckel, and others in the Deutsche Antisemitische Vereinigung. Boeckel was immediately elected to the Reichstag as the first antisemite per se. Before the elections of 1890 he founded his own Antisemitic People's Party (renamed in 1893 Deutsche Reformpartei), enjoying a certain measure of cooperation with Liebermann von Sonnenberg's reshuffled Deutschsoziale Partei. Thus in 1890 Von Sonnenberg, Boeckel, and three of Boeckel's followers were elected to the Reichstag, the latter forming the first antisemitic parliamentary group. The 1893 elections showed even more striking gains: 16 antisemitic candidates were elected, half of them in Hesse.

This increase was brought about by the public reaction to Jewish emancipation, by a definite antisemitic turn in the Conservative Party, which adopted an openly anti-Jewish paragraph in its so-called Tivoli Program (1892), and by the entrance of the feudal-agrarian Bund der Landwirte ("Agrarian League") into the political arena as an ultraconservative and antisemitic pressure group. Finally, there emerged in Berlin a new rabble-rouser, Hermann *Ahlwardt, the "headmaster of all the Germans." Ahlwardt's triumphs were, however, short lived. In 1894 he was received into the parliamentary faction of the later-united wings of Liebermann Von Sonnenberg and Boeckel's Deutschsoziale Reformpartei (DSRP), but was soon excluded again. Boeckel himself lost his seat in 1903 to a candidate from a Protestant group. Nevertheless, 11 antisemites were elected in 1903, and three more joined them at by-elections. However, the realignments within their ranks continued. Von Sonnenberg's Deutschsoziale joined forces with the Agrarian League, the Christian-Socialists, and the Bavarian Peasant Party. Thus a parliamentary alignment, Wirtschaftliche Vereinigung, was established. Only the remnants of the DSRP held aloof, commanding six seats in 1907 and three in 1912, while the Wirtschaftliche Vereinigung secured 19 and ten respectively. On the eve of World War I, although again amalgamated into a Deutschvoelkische Partei (1914), party antisemitism seemed to be declining, but other previously non-antisemitic groups had been deeply infected by its vociferous activities. Even the left-wing liberal parties (alternately called Fortschritt, Freisinn, and again Fortschritt), which had staunchly defended Jewish equality, began making election agreements with antisemites or otherwise alienating their Jewish followers. It was therefore not surprising that various club-like right-wing groups openly pursued an anti-Jewish line. Such groups, mostly pan-Germanic and imperialist in outlook, comprised beside the already mentioned Students' and Agrarian Leagues, the Akademischer Turnerbund (from 1883), other gymnastic clubs imbued with Friedrich Ludwig Jahn's exclusive nationalism, the Alldeutscher Verband ("Pan-Germanic League"), a small but effective organization of influential right-wing personalities, the somewhat similar Colonial Society, and many others. Of another hue was the Deutschnationaler Handlungsgehilfenverband – DHV (from 1893), which became Germany's largest white-collar union, combining trade-union activities with conservative-nationalist and antisemitic policies. In 1933 the DHV merged with the Nazis in the National Socialist Labor Front. Among the small, lodge-like organizations were the Deutschbund of Friedrich Lange (1894), the Deutsche Volksbund of Boeckel (1907), the Germanen und Waelsungenorden (1912), whose activities were coordinated with Fritsch's Reichs-Hammerbund, and many others.

Austria and the Hapsburg Dominions. Although there are many similarities in the development of the German and Austrian antisemitic organizations, there remain two main differences. Christian-Socialist antisemitism played a leading part in Catholic Austria and even included the conservatives, while in Germany Protestant conservatism never relinquished its predominance over the Christian-Social movement. Secondly, racial antisemitism in Austria partly derived from the liberal camp, because of the essentially German nationalism of Austrian liberalism which denied the various minorities the right of self-determination. Yet the minorities themselves were often antisemitic, regarding Jews as proponents of Hapsburg domination. On the other hand, pan-German racism antagonized the minorities and did not attain the same influence as in Germany. Chronologically, students' unions led the way, excluding Jews as early as 1878. Soon the first Societies for the Protection of the Artisans (from 1880) amalgamated in the Oesterreichischer Reformverein (1882), which, under the leadership of Franz Holubek, was temporarily the main antisemitic organization. Later also the Deutsche Schulverein, supporting German schools in non-German territories, excluded Jews (1896), as did the nationalist Turnverein, cycling clubs, and the Deutsch-Oesterreichischer Alpenverein, which, however, adopted antisemitism only at the end of World War I.

The way for antisemitism as a force in party politics was paved by Georg Ritter von *Schoenerer, who gradually shifted from liberalism to the extreme nationalist pan-Germanic wing, his movement probably influencing the young Adolf Hitler. In 1888, when Von Schoenerer was sentenced to prison for assault, his Deutschnationaler Verein began to dissolve, and the road was clear for the ascendancy of the Christian-Social movement. Karl von *Vogelsang was its ideological mainspring and Karl *Lueger its leading personality. They first attached themselves to the Christlich-Sozialer Verein (founded in 1887). Lueger, although still associated with a Jew (Julius Mandl), gradually identified himself with a newly formed anti-Jewish and anti-liberal election alignment, the United Christians (from 1887). In Vienna he formed a special antisemitic city branch (Buergerklub), and in the Austrian Reichsrat he led the Free Union for Economic Reform on a Christian Basis. These Christian-Social organizations backed him for the mayoralty of Vienna, although the nationalist elements broke away and formed the short-lived Deutschnationale Vereinigung (1896–1900). He also enlarged the Christian-Social field of action outside the capital by means of Peasant Unions; he was helped by an able organizer, Msgr. Joseph Scheicher. Thus, in the elections of 1902 all 51 antisemitic members of the lower Austrian Diet were Christian-Socialists.

Catholic conservatives (united since 1895 in the Catholic People's Party) also wanted Lueger; when the introduction of a general ballot in 1907 raised the number of Christian-Social members in the Reichsrat to 67, about 29 conservatives joined with them in a parliamentary *Klub*, thus establishing the Christian-Social movement as the protagonist of Austrian conservatism also. Only the radicals, continuing Von Schoenerer's pan-Germanic racism, went their separate way, mainly among the German elements in the Czech Sudetenland. Here the Deutsche Arbeiterpartei (1903, later called Deutsche Nationalsozialistische Arbeiterpartei) and the Deutsche Agrarpartei (1905), with their anticlerical, anti-Jewish, and anti-Czech attitude, registered considerable gains. However, antisemitism in the Hapsburg countries was not a German monopoly. Czech, Polish, and Ruthenian nationalists were sporadically as anti-Jewish as they were anti-German, or anti-Russian and anti-Polish, all regarding the Jews as part of rival nationalism, or decrying them as entirely foreign.

Hungary. Győzo (Victor) *Istóczy, from the liberal benches of the Diet, started local antisemitic cells, similar to Marr's Antisemitic League. He boasted that in 1880 there were already 78 such cells, which he hoped to amalgamate into a Union of Non-Jews. After the riots and pogroms which followed the

Tisza-Eszlar blood libel, Istóczy and Ivan Simonyi, a "national-social" antisemite, founded the Antisemitic Club for the elections of 1884. They gained 17 seats and captured the majority in the Pozsony (Bratislava) municipality but quarreled among themselves and dissolved again. Later, Count Ferdinand Zichy's Christian-Social movement (Catholic People's Party, founded in 1895) attracted much antisemitic support, but was not to the taste of radical-nationalists, although it spread vicious anti-Jewish propaganda.

Poland. While antisemitism in Czechoslovakia and Hungary was more or less sporadic, it was endemic in Galicia and Russian Poland. Already in the 1880s it had found a spokesman in Teofil Merunowicz, who advocated anti-Jewish legislation in the Galician Diet. During the 1890s, the Polish Catholic People's Party, led by Jan Stapiński, which sponsored social measures like rural producers' and consumers' cooperatives, also supported anti-Jewish *boycott measures. When the Jesuit Father Stojalowski took over the direction of propaganda, this Christian Social movement even initiated a wave of pogroms during the by-elections of 1898, in which Father Stojalowski was returned to the Diet. At the same time, the National Democratic Party (NDK, *Endecja) organized the radical national forces, mainly in Russian Poland. The National Democrats and their propaganda were instrumental in transferring antisemitism into the new Polish state founded after World War I.

France. In the abovementioned countries, with the exception of Russian Poland, political antisemitism emerged as an immediate reaction to the granting of Jewish emancipation. French Jewry had already been emancipated for 80 years when it was hit by the organized forms of Jew-hatred. The chaotic conditions after the French defeat by Germany in 1871, the bloodbath of the Paris Commune, and the birth pangs of the unloved Third Republic formed the background for anti-liberalism, anti-parliamentarism, and antisemitism. Even socialists, influenced by the teachings of Charles *Fourier, Pierre Joseph *Proudhon, and Alphonse *Toussenel, quickly adopted the image of Rothschild as the symbol of financial capitalism. But in the main, French feelings against the Jews, whether of a conservative or of a democratic and social type, were perhaps inspired mostly by Catholicism. In its fight against liberalism and socialism Catholicism was looking for a scapegoat; this it found first in *Freemasonry and finally in a "Jewish plot," allegedly exploiting the Masonic order to attain "world domination."

Paralleling Austrian developments, the French-Social-Catholic movement started in the 1870s with rather conservative Catholic Workers' Clubs; their antisemitism gradually increased, especially after the collapse of the Catholic bank Union Générale in 1882. However no mass organization emerged until about 1890, with the formation of the Christian Democratic movement by forces that took their inspiration from Edouard *Drumont's book *La France Juive* (1886). Such a movement also served as a refuge for the disillusioned remnants of General Boulanger's supporters. Certain Boulangists and Boulangist organizations, like Paul Déroulède's Patriotic League, had already dabbled in antisemitism, as had Jacques de Biez, one of the first followers of Drumont, who in 1886 attended the founding ceremony of the Alliance Anti-Israélite Universelle in Bucharest. It was only during the course of elections of 1890, however, that the French National Antisemitic League took shape, under the leadership of the Marquis de Morès and Jules Delahaye, as an election alignment for Boulangists and adherents of Drumont. It quickly disintegrated, its candidates being defeated at the polls. An attempt by Morès to organize the Paris street mob into strong-arm brigades did not help, but it invited imitations (see below). The Christian Democrats became more republican and radical, and most violently antisemitic during the *Dreyfus Affair. Typical of this development are the utterances of the anti-monarchist Father Hippolyte Gayraud at the first Christian Democratic Congress in Lyons (1896). Gayraud held that the church had always been antisemitic "on a high moral plane," and that "all social excrement, especially the Jews" should be expelled from France. The movement quickly disintegrated after the pardon of Dreyfus in 1906. Meanwhile, however, antisemitism prospered, not only in Paris, but also in the provincial towns where antisemitic small businessmen's and salesmen's organizations sprang up in Lyons, Poitiers, Dijon, Nancy, and other places, and finally in Algiers, where Max Régis instigated anti-Jewish atrocities, gaining for himself the mayoralty and for Drumont a seat in the Chamber of Deputies. In Paris itself, the most important local group before 1897, when Jules Guerin renewed the Ligue Antisémite and organized the mob into anti-Dreyfusard and anti-Jewish commandos, was the Students' Antisemitic League (1894), which remained active in the streets and at the university during the Dreyfus Affair. Several of its founders later formed a National Anti-Jewish Party (1901), but finally joined l'*Action Française. This extreme chauvinist and royalist group (founded in 1899), which sponsored a conservative "landed antisemitism," remained a political force for more than 40 years, until Hitler's conquest of France.

Romania. In Romania and czarist Russia, antisemitism was to a large extent government-sponsored. Within the borders of constitutional Romania parliamentary parties flourished and vied among themselves in sponsoring anti-Jewish measures, turning the parliament itself into the main stage for antisemitic propaganda and for discriminative legislation against the "foreigners," in flagrant violation of international commitment (see Congress of *Berlin). In this, the so-called Liberal Party under John Bratianu surpassed the conservatives, as the land-owning boyars were to a certain extent interested in protecting "their" Jews. In 1886, under the influence of Edouard Drumont, Bucharest served as the center for a new departure in international antisemitism: the Alliance Anti-Israélite Universelle was founded by Romanian, Hungarian, and French intransigents, Drumont being unanimously elected president. But this time, too, the international organization very quickly proved abortive. About ten years later (1895), the Romanians organized their own Universal Antisemitic League with A.C. *Cuza, the deputy N. Jorga, and other members of parliament and high officials in leading positions. It established branches in many towns, pledging itself "to make life intolerable" for Jews and to force them out of the country. In the following years pogroms in Romania were numerous and vicious, culminating in rural anti-Jewish riots that led to a general peasant uprising, which in 1907 had to be quelled by the army. On the eve of World War I, the so-called "Culture-League" continued the pogrom propaganda in derision of its name, vowing to create a situation in which "Russia with its pogroms and blood libels would seem to be a Promised Land to the Jews."

Russia. Although Russia was the land of the most violent antisemitism, it had perhaps the fewest organizations devoted to it, for Russian autocratic patterns of government did not allow even antisemitic groups. Thus, the first known reactionary antisemitic organization, the Sacred League, which sprang up after the assassination of Czar Alexander II in March 1881, was clandestine, although arch-reactionary high officials and even ministers seem to have furthered it. In their eyes the Jews were the source of all rebellion, and they themselves used terror and violence to destroy the "leaven of revolution." It is generally believed that the Sacred League was instrumental in fomenting the pogroms of 1881 and 1882. It was dissolved at the end of that year. Toward the end of 1904, when the Japanese war was going badly for Russia, and early in 1905, when the revolution broke out, another antisemitic organization was formed, the *Union of the Russian People, rather similar in character and aims to its predecessor. This league was openly recognized, and even furthered by the czar and his government, together with its secret fighting squads, the "Black Hundreds," which were largely responsible for the pogroms of 1905 and for counterrevolutionary political assassinations. The Union of the Russian People, acting in the open, continued in existence until World War I, and inspired the formation of several similar "patriotic" organizations. Perhaps its most reactionary offspring was the United Nobility (1911), one of its leading spirits being N.E. Markov. This party openly advocated the complete expulsion of the Jews from the country, and did much to spread blood libels against the Jews which finally culminated in the *Beilis case. Even during the war, government-sponsored antisemitism scarcely abated and was responsible for the allegation of an act of Jewish high treason against the Russian Army in the village of Kuzhi (1915), which was given wide publicity by every Russian newspaper.

[Jacob Toury]

RUSSIA AND CENTRAL EUROPE. There was a radical difference between the situation in Western Europe in the 19th century and that which prevailed in the Russian Empire. At least in theory the West European states were not anti-Jewish. Despite occasional liberalizations, the czarist regime as a whole regarded it as its duty to protect the bulk of its population against the spread of Jewish economic influence or even of Jewish population. A few attempts in the course of the century at the assimilation of the Jews did not alter the basic outlook of the state, that Jews were dangerous aliens. The czar continued to derive the validation of his absolutism from theology, from the identification of the Caesar and Jesus by the Orthodox faith; antisemitism based on Christian religious prejudice thus remained alive and virulent. Whatever hopes the Jews had in the course of the 19th century for improvement in their status rested in the hopes for the evolution of czarist absolutism toward parliamentary democracy. Repeated repressions made such hopes clearly illusory, and younger Jews in increasing numbers turned to helping to prepare revolution. This served to enrage the government, and the reactionary circles which supported it, even further. The regime kept imposing more economic disabilities on the Jews, keeping them in the least secure of middlemen occupations such as petty shopkeepers, innkeepers, and managers of estates for absentee landlords; in these capacities Jews were in direct, often unpleasant, contact with the poorest of the peasants. The government made it its business to use these resentments to draw attention away from the seething angers which pervaded the whole of the social system. Antisemitism was thus encouraged and fostered as a tactical tool for preserving czarist absolutism.

The critically important event in the history of Russian antisemitism took place in 1881, when a wave of pogroms occurred involving outbreaks in some 160 cities and villages of Russia. The occasion for these outrages was the assassination of Czar Alexander II by revolutionary terrorists on March 13, 1881. Among the assassins was one Jewish girl who played quite a minor role, but reactionary newspapers almost immediately began to whip up anti-Jewish sentiment. The government probably did not directly organize these riots, but it stood aside as Jews were murdered and pillaged, and the regime used the immediate occasion to enact anti-Jewish economic legislation in 1882 (the *May Laws). The situation continued to deteriorate to such a degree that in the next reign Czar *Nicholas II financially supported the antisemitic organization, the Black Hundreds, and made no secret of his personal membership, and that of the crown prince, in that organization (see *Union of Russian People). This body was associated with the government in directly fomenting pogroms during the revolutionary years of 1903 and 1905; in that latter year the libel known as the Protocols of the *Elders of Zion was first published under the auspices of the secret police by the press of the czar, although he himself believed the work to be a fraud. The ordeal of Mendel *Beilis arose within the hysterical atmosphere of disintegrating czarism. He was accused in 1911 in Kiev of ritual murder, and the full weight of government power was put behind the prosecution. His acquittal at the trial in 1913 was the culmination of two years of battle between the regime and the Jews and their supporters in liberal humanitarian circles in Russia and throughout the world.

It was, indeed, in such circles, which were the Russian parallel to the forces which had created western parliamentary democracy and social and intellectual liberalism, that the Jews found support during a tragic period. When these elements came briefly to power in the revolution of February 1917 the Jews were immediately given the rights of equal citizens.

Nonetheless, despite this later, brief, and abortive victory of liberalism, after 1882 this current seemed too weak and divided to afford the Jews much hope for the future. Men like Ivan Sergejevitch Turgenev had mixed feelings about Jews and even Lev Nikolajevitch Tolstoy did not always hasten to support them when they were under attack. The political left was even more ambiguous. Even some of the Jews within the general revolutionary movements saw the Jewish petty bourgeoisie not as a victim but as an oppressor. The anger of the peasants and the urban poor was, therefore, regarded as merited, and their pogrom activities were even viewed as positive stirrings toward the ultimate revolution. This was, for example, the stand of the Narodniki, the pro-peasant populist group, with regard to the pogroms of 1881. More fundamentally, the revolutionary groups in Russia had even less patience with specifically Jewish problems, or with any desires on the part of Jews to continue their own communal identity, than was to be found in the European left as a whole. The young Lenin was an opponent of antisemitism, and he held that the problems of the Jews would disappear along with that of all other people in Russia in a new socialist order. On the other hand, Lenin insisted that Jews would have to undergo a more radical and cultural transformation than any other element in Russia and that any Jew who opposed assimilation was "simply a nationalist philistine" ("The Position of the Bund in the Party," in *Iskra*, Oct. 22, 1903). Any form of Jewish national feeling had already been pronounced to be a form of particularly obnoxious reaction. The stage was thus set for the ultimate questioning by Stalin of the loyalty of even Communist Jews.

These difficulties in the Russian Empire in the decades right before and after 1900 had their parallels in the buffer countries between Germany and Russia. In Romania, despite promises that had been made in the Berlin Convention of 1878, Jews were systematically excluded from most walks of life. Even the native-born were declared to be foreigners, so that very few Jews held citizenship. There was little that Jews could do except attempt to flee in large numbers. In the Austro-Hungarian Empire the blood libel was revived in 1899 in Bohemia, but this was only the most sensational case of a series that had begun in *Tisza-Eszlar, a small Hungarian village, in 1882. Much Jewish energy went into the defense against such charges. What was being debated was not so much the blatant lie of the blood accusation but rather the more fundamental issue of the moral integrity of Judaism and the Jew. This was, essentially, still medieval antisemitism, but more contemporary currents were running strong. There were deep national tensions within the multinational Austro-Hungarian Empire, and the Jews were caught in the middle of all of the most embittered of these situations. In Bohemia they identified with the ruling Germans, to the chagrin and anger of Czech nationalists, but the local Germans nevertheless rejected the Jews as not true members of the *Volk*. In Galicia, the poorest and most medieval of the Austro-Hungarian provinces, the dominant Poles could claim a majority over the Ukrainians only by counting the Jews as Poles, but that did not induce them to accept even those Jews who were Polonizing themselves. The masses of Galician Jewry, almost a million at the turn of the century, were living in poverty that was abject even by Russian and Romanian standards, with no hope of betterment.

BETWEEN EAST AND WEST. Those years, of the last quarter of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th, were the crucial turning point, the hinge on which modern Jewish history, the era of the emancipation, turned into contemporary Jewish history, the age of unparalleled virulence of antisemitism, the virtual end of European Jewry, and the rise of the American Jewish community and the State of Israel. Between 1880 and 1914 it became clear that the dominant response to the growing difficulties and dangers in Central and Eastern Europe was for Jews to attempt to flee westward; at first westward in Europe itself, to Vienna in the Austro-Hungarian Empire, to Germany, to France, and to England. In all of these countries quite small Jewish populations were, on the average, at least doubled between 1882 and 1914. In the United States, however, during that very same period, the Jewish population increased nearly fifteen fold, from a quarter of a million to three and a half million; Jews were some 8 percent of the total that arrived between 1880 and 1914. In the main, the reasons for this great increase were economic as America was then expanding rapidly in economic dynamism and through the settling of its large territories, and was thus in need of large numbers of new immigrants.

However, a partial reason was the increasing lack of hospitality to Jews in Western Europe. Antisemitism was growing, and so was the increased fear of it on the part of the older Jewish residents in Germany, France, and England. In Vienna the 1890s were marked by the repeated reelection as mayor of the city of Karl *Lueger on an avowedly antisemitic platform. Lueger appealed to the impoverished lower-middle classes, who envied the success of Jews in Vienna's economic and cultural life. The emperor refused to confirm his first four elections, but on the fifth such occasion, in 1897, he finally gave in. It was Lueger to whom the very young Adolf Hitler listened when he came to Vienna to try to become a painter; it was Lueger whom Theodor Herzl had in mind when, watching the degradation of Alfred Dreyfus in Paris, he came to the conclusion that antisemitism which could become a major political issue in the two most enlightened cities in Europe could no longer be regarded as a passing phenomenon. Even in England, the country which had been freest of all forms of antisemitism in the middle third of the 19th century, it reappeared after 1881, as relatively large numbers of Yiddish-speaking new immigrants continued to arrive. The moral qualities and working habits of these Jews were debated and investigated by parliamentary commissions and, after years of tension, an Aliens Act putting restrictions on further immigration became law in 1906.

In England, and even in France during the Dreyfus affair, anti-Jewish arguments and attitudes rested on a purely national premise, that is, on the supposed need to protect the integrity of national traditions. So, for example, the problem for Charles *Maurras, the central figure of French integral nationalism, was whether the Jews would be regarded, along with Bretons, Normans, etc., as one of the valid "families of France." It was, indeed, to the nationalist forms of antisemitism that Pinsker and Herzl were responding by suggesting that the cure for such tensions could come through the establishment of a normalized Jewish national identity parallel to that of all other nations. In those years, however, new forms of antisemitism were arising. These were no longer rooted in real or supposed defense of national integrity. The ideologies of both Pan-Germanism and Pan-Slavism were politically conceived in international terms (both movements were in being in 1890). In the realm of metaphysics their sense of the Teutonic or Slavic traditions as the prime bearers of human culture reflected, and conflicted with, biblical notions about the chosenness of the Jews. The distance from either of these ideologies to racism, to the insistence that the superiority of the Slav or the German inhered not in his history but in his very biological type, was not very large. Gobineau, who had been half forgotten, was again being read in the 1890s, especially in Germany. The first international meeting of all the antisemitic parties of Europe had taken place as early as 1882; by 1900 antisemitism was clearly an international movement in which objection to the Jews had become the unifying premise for groups as disparate and clashing as the anti-Dreyfusards and the nationalists of the very Germany for which Alfred Dreyfus had been accused of spying. This paradox made a certain kind of antisemitic sense. Jews were heavily identified in the major capitals of European culture with the most modern, critical, cosmopolitan supra-national spirit, and thus with the very cultural force which the newest ideologies of the radical right were trying to destroy. The leading figure of the Enlightenment, Voltaire, had not believed that Jews could ever really become *philosophes*, and he had, therefore, been less than a staunch proponent of their equality. Little more than a century later the newest forms of national antisemitism were attacking the Jews as harmful to society precisely because they were regarded, with considerable truth, as the most significant single element among the bearers of the tradition of the European Enlightenment. In this task Jews continued to be important in Europe after 1900, but their position was already clearly embattled.. By that year the Jewish masses on the move had already made a crucial decision that the future of most of the migrants was to be found in the United States. The ideologists and earliest pioneers of Zionism had moved eastward, out of the European arena to the creation of a renewed Jewish national identity in Ereẓ Israel.

For the first two centuries of the United States' national history antisemitism as an active force was practically nonexistent. Certain remnants of exclusion on Christian grounds from public office did exist in the early years of the 19th century, but these were all ultimately removed on the grounds of constitutional logic. As a population the Jews were an insignificant handful; the social structure of the country as a whole was largely fluid. The serious conflicts within the United States until after the Civil War had almost nothing to do with Jews, and they played so little role that none of the contenders could use them as scapegoat. A certain amount of endemic social prejudice reappeared in the 1870s, especially in the sight of the rapid economic rise of the first generation of German Jews to affluence. This was one expression of the process by which newly rich gentile elements were asserting their social positions by manufacturing exclusiveness. The serious tensions which did arise were a concomitant of the mass immigration from 1881 to 1914, as gentiles fled from – or battled to retain – neighborhoods becoming filled with masses of very foreign Jews from Eastern Europe. There was substantial discrimination in housing and educational opportunities at the colleges and universities, and especially in jobs in the highly structured bureaucracies of heavy industry, insurance, and banking. This new immigration provided in the first third of the century many of both the leaders and the followers of what little there was of left-wing politics in the big cities, and their role was well remembered in the reaction to the Russian Revolution and later, to the Great Depression of 1929, when there appeared a substantial amount of overt American antisemitism. The memory was carried further in the 1930s under the impetus of Nazism and its American wing, the German-American Bund. Native-born American radicalism, the populist tradition with its suspicions of the big cities, the intellectuals and, above all, of the Wall Street bankers, had its own antisemitic component. It looked for a moment in the 1930s as if antisemitism might become a substantial force in the United States, but that moment was superseded by World War II. As a whole, American antisemitism has been one of the least serious of all its manifestations in the Western world, at least in part because the United States has had, during the last century, phenomenal economic expansion and was absorbing a variety of immigrants and their cultures.

The Inter-War Period

In Europe, however, the 20th century brought with it the most violent forms of antisemitism in all of history, worse even then the outbreaks during the Crusades or in the 17th century. The border wars in Russia and Poland in the days immediately after World War I were attended by pogroms in which many thousands were killed and hundreds of thousands were robbed and rendered homeless. The major force which perpetrated these murders was the army of the Ukrainian Democratic Republic under Simon *Petliura, which made blood baths of as many as 500 places. The justification that was advanced, insofar as any rationale was offered at all, was that the Jews were supposedly partisans of the Bolsheviks. Under the impact of these horrors and the pressure mounted by the world Jewish community on the peacemakers at Versailles, minority rights for Jews, along with those for other national minorities, were written into the treaties which created such newly independent states as Poland, Lithuania, and Czechoslovakia. In the interwar period these arrangements became a source both of some protection for Jews and of considerable friction. Especially in Poland, where Jews were 10% of the population and particularly conspicuous in the cities, the essential trend between 1919 and 1939 was toward driving the Jews out of their economic positions, and toward emigration, in a world in which almost all doors were increasingly closed. The scare of Bolshevism provided the impetus for an American isolationist campaign in 1921 to close the doors of the United States to further unrestricted immigration, especially from Eastern Europe, which ended with the Monroe Law of 1924, that intentionally closed the doors to Jews. Even though some migration from Poland continued in this period and a relatively large number of Central European Jews did escape from Hitler after 1933, the European Jewish community as a whole had to face its destiny in Europe after World War I without the possibility of the kind of migrations which could make a radical difference. The only exception was Ereẓ Israel, where Jewish population grew from relatively negligible numbers to over half a million in this interwar period, and the foundations of the future State of Israel were laid.

The great and virulent outbreak of antisemitism in the Nazi era and its culmination in the Holocaust of most of European Jewry is discussed in detail elsewhere (see *Holocaust). Nazism succeeded in the backwash of German defeat in World War I and the creation of the Weimar Republic and subsequent economic disaster, all of which paved the way for nationalist-racist pan-German ideology and Third Reich hallucinations. Jews were prominent in the very founding of Weimar and in the anti-traditional culture of the Weimar period. They were thus identified with the most "un-German" era of modern German history. This was the situation within which Nazism appealed, especially to the petty bourgeoisie who envied the seemingly ever more successful Jews, but the question of what were the ultimate roots and sources of the Nazi horrors remains a matter of controversy. The most debatable issue is whether it was a demonic aberration in which the underside of human nature broke all the bonds of civilization, or whether Nazism arose from a joining together of all of the forms, of old and modern antisemitism and a need for calculated modernization in an outbreak armed with the most advanced technical tools of mass murder. To survey the whole history of antisemitism suggests that the demonic element in Nazism was not so unprecedented and that its appearance is related to a long past for which Western history cannot disclaim moral responsibility.

The Early Postwar Period

As a result of mass murder in World War II and of the emigration caused by the heightened tensions with the Arab world attending the creation of the State of Israel, Jewish residence in the classic centers of antisemitism, Christian Europe and the Islamic Middle East, was enormously reduced. The primary centers of Jewish population in the wake of the war were in the United States, the Soviet Union, and Israel.

In the post-World War II era, the Jews of America rose rapidly to very close to the top of American economic, political, and intellectual life. This has been attended by remarkably few conflicts. Some social antisemitism remained, for, as repeated studies have shown, the Jews are the only white group in the United States for whom social rank is consistently lower than economic status. Nonetheless, quotas in the colleges and universities and in certain professions, and exclusion from the highest posts of political life, have well-nigh ended. The visible difficulties that exist are noticeable in the black community. The Jew has generally been the last occupant of the neighborhoods in which blacks now live in the large cities and Jews are therefore still quite visible as landlords and storekeepers in the black neighborhoods. In addition, some Jews have felt that they have been resented for being too prominent in what some blacks would like to regard as their own revolution, which other people are taking away from them in the very act of participating in it. Nevertheless, antisemitism in postwar America was generally regarded as a minor problem.

The mood of Christians in the aftermath of World War II was overwhelmingly that of contrition. World Protestantism in its international meetings immediately after World War II, at Amsterdam and New Delhi (1948, 1961), was at great pains to condemn antisemitism and to express contrition for not having acted more strongly during the Nazi era. It was in this mood, despite ongoing theological problems with the question of whether the church continues to need to convert Jews in order to be true to itself, and the further problems of understanding, from the perspective of Christian theology, the right of the Jews to the Holy Land, that there was substantial Christian support in the late 1940s, especially among Protestants, for Zionist efforts toward the creation of the State of Israel.

In Catholic circles, Pius XII began the process of dissociating himself from Nazism after World War II by maintaining public neutrality during the battle for the creation of the State of Israel and insisting only on the internationalization of Jerusalem. The radical changes in Catholic-Jewish relations took place in the reign of John XXIII, with his excision of certain objectionable anti-Jewish references from the Good Friday liturgy, such as the term perfidy and with his setting into motion the revision of the church's basic attitude on the Jews. This crystallized in the declaration on the subject at the Vatican Council of 1965, that clearly stated: "True, the Jewish authorities and those who followed their lead pressed for the death of Christ; still, what happened in His Passion cannot be charged against all the Jews, without distinction, then alive, nor against the Jews of today." And: "Although the Church is the new people of God, the Jews should not be presented as rejected by God or accursed, as if this followed from the

Holy Scriptures." This historic theological revolution made necessary further rethinking on the part of Catholics on a whole host of theological doctrines, a process of review that is still going on. A document in which the religious significance of the Holy Land for Judaism, if it be understood in its own terms, is warmly hailed, was discussed within the highest instances of the Catholic Church. There have been since the 1950s cooperative efforts between Jews and Christians of many persuasions toward the removal of antisemitic elements in church textbook material.

Nonetheless, the significance of the "ecumenical age" could be overestimated at the time. Christianity was no longer considered the dominant spiritual force in the West during the 1960s or the 1970s that it was two centuries ago, nor has the antisemitism of the last modern age been primarily Christian. Therefore Christian ecumenism could indeed be considered less than an absolute deathblow to antisemitism. The increased friendship and understanding between Jews and Christians involved the most Western, modern, and intellectual elements: yet large parts of the Christian community remained unaffected. More important, following the Six-Day War of 1967 between Israel and its Arab neighbors, the Christian churches, and most especially the Protestant ones, in many places in the world, evidenced an increasing hospitality to Arab anti-Israel propaganda. Much of this has emanated from the Christian churches of the Arab world. Such material has often been careful to make a distinction between antisemitism, which is ruled out, and anti-Zionism and opposition to Israel, which is affirmed. Nonetheless this distinction was not always maintained. In place of the old stereotype of the Jews as accursed of God for rejecting or killing Jesus, the weak and cringing figure held in contempt, a new stereotype became prevalent in some Christian circles of the Jews as arrogantly victorious and ruthless toward the Arabs.

In the aftermath of June 1967, General de Gaulle, then president of France, angered by the support the Jews of France had given to Israel, which was contrary to his political line and wishes, pronounced the Jews to be an "elitist, self-confident, and domineering people." Here and there older antisemitic stereotypes were used in reaction to the newest phenomena, the appearance of the Israeli Jew and his effect on the Jewish mentality throughout the Diaspora. In the course of the short period of its existence, Israel has produced for the world the Jew who is unconcerned with what opinions others hold of him and who insists on his personal and national autonomy and sovereignty. This "new Jew" has elicited admiration, but also resentment. The newest forms of antisemitism have responded to the new Jewish stance by attacking what is in their eyes the elements of power. In the late 1960s and 1970s considerable left and-radical left-wing opinion in the world was strongly opposed to Israel and to the Jewish involvement in it. There was within this movement the paradox, but not an unprecedented one, of the presence of considerable numbers of leftist Jewish youngsters who were indifferent or even hostile to all forms of contemporary Jewish identity and survival (see *New Left, and "New Antisemitism" below).

The existence of Jews, the Jewish community, Judaism, and Jewish identity – whatever may be their self-definitions – as a people apart inevitably carries with it the prospect of that attack upon them which is termed antisemitism. The hatred of the unlike is an all too human phenomenon. Add to it dimensions of supposedly demonic powers; of many centuries of damnation of Jews by Christianity as the enemies of God; of the need for scapegoats in times of turmoil or defeat – and there then appears antisemitism, the most lasting expression in Western history of the hatred of the man who is regarded as alien, and therefore even possibly inhuman. Have that alien maintain, or have once maintained, or be believed to maintain, his own religious or cultural superiority – and thus appear to be a threat in the midst of elements of the majority– and the "great hatred" has arisen. Antisemitism has been less fashionable after the horror of Hitler, but it was too hopeful to believe in the post-war decades that its day is over.

[Arthur Hertzberg]

In Arab Countries

Postwar Arab antisemitism was influenced by European antisemitic literature (mainly French) published in Arabic in the second half of the 19th century, particularly in connection with the *Damascus Affair. In about 1869, Neophytos' *Destruction of the Jewish Religion* was published in Arabic in Beirut. In 1890 H. Fāris published in Cairo a book on the blood libel entitled *The Cry of the Innocent in the Horn of Freedom* (reissued in 1962 in the UAR official series of "National Books" under the title *Talmudic Human Sacrifices*). August *Rohling's *The Talmud Jew* was published in Cairo in 1899 and was cited as a source in such publications as the Arab version of the *Protocols of the of the Elders of Zion* published (c. 1967) by Shawqī ʿAbd al Nāṣir, President *Nasser's brother.

The publication of antisemitic literature became a spate as a result of the Arab-Israel conflict. Antisemitic themes and arguments were developed by Arab propaganda as a weapon against the *yishuv* during the Mandate period (1917–48) and even more so against the State of Israel. The radical objective of liquidating the Jewish state as a political entity induced Arab writers and officials to present the State of Israel as both aggressive and inherently evil, and the need to substantiate the wickedness of Israel led them to trace the sources of its evil to the history, culture, and religion of the Jewish people. Despite attempts to differentiate between Zionism and Judaism, it has been stressed repeatedly that Zionism – which is presented in such writings as a sinister, racist colonialism-originated from, and is a continuation of, Judaism. Zionism is also frequently characterized as "the executive mechanism" of Judaism. For example, H. al-Hindī and M. Ibrahim wrote in their *Isrāīl: Fikra, Ḥaraka, Dawla* ("Israel: Thought, Movement, State," Beirut, 1958, p. 113): "We fight against the imperialist regime and the Jewish people, whose invading vanguard in Palestine, called Israel, is preparing for a further leap." Though Arab antisemitism did not cause the Arab-Israel conflict, but rather was stimulated by it, it has aggravated Arab hostility.

The amount and vehemence of antisemitic literature in Arabic has no parallel in the post-World War II era. In addition to its quality and tenor, the fact that much of it has emanated from official publishing houses and government agencies makes it all the more significant, as it does not originate on the fringes of Arab society but rather at the center. The *Protocols of the Elders of Zion* has been translated into Arabic several times and been recurrently referred to, summarized, and quoted by various Arab authorities, including Nasser himself (see e.g., the official English volume of his speeches and press interviews, 1958, part 2, p. 30). Antisemitic themes and abstracts from the *Protocols* have been included in Arab secondary school textbooks, as e.g., in Dh. al-Hindāwī's *al-Qaḍiyya al-Falisṭīnyya* ("The Palestine Problem"), published in 1964 by the Jordanian Ministry of Education, and in indoctrination material of the armed forces, as in Ḥasan Ṣabrī al-Khūlī's *Qaḍiyyat Filasṭīn* ("The Palestine Problem"), published by the Indoctrination Directorate of the UAR (United Arab Republic) Armed Forces. The concept of a Jewish world conspiracy, as described in the *Protocols*, was the main theme adopted by Arabs from European antisemitism as early as the 1920s. It later may have served the psychological need of alleviating Arab self-reproach for failures and defeats by asserting that the Arabs fought not only against Israel, but against "those who are behind her" – imperialism and world Jewry.

That Arabs have not hesitated to exploit antisemitic themes, despite their witnessing the moral havoc wrought by Nazi antisemitism in Germany, proves the vehemence of Arab hostility. In Arab political literature, the Nazi extermination of the Jews has been justified. It has been suggested that others will follow this example, and Adolf *Eichmann has been hailed as a martyr (see, e.g., Abdallah al-Tal's *Khaṭr al-Yahūdiyya ʿAlā al-Islām wa-al-Masīḥiyya* ("The Danger of World Jewry against Islam and Christianity") and M.A. ʿAlūba's *Filasṭīn wa-Ḍamīr al-Insāniyya* ("Palestine and Humanity's Conscience"), both published in Cairo in 1964). Thus, antisemitism has served Arab political and intellectual leaders as a psychological tool to prepare their people for the violent liquidation of Israel.

The quibble that the Arab anti-Jewish attitude cannot be defined as antisemitism because "the Arabs themselves are Semites" is sometimes used by Arab spokesmen, particularly in statements addressed to the outside world. Arabs have distributed antisemitic literature in European languages in various countries, and antisemitic groups in Europe and America have collaborated with Arab representatives, as the Arab states can offer them such instrumentalities as support and asylum. The affiliation between Arabs and Western antisemites is manifested by the tendency of post-World War II antisemitism, especially on the left, to support the Arab case against Israel. Arab leaders are aware of the dilemma that by helping to propagate antisemitism they may endanger the position of the Jews in various countries and thereby induce further Jewish migration to Israel, but their emotions and their belief that the Arab struggle is a global one directed against world Jewry often override other considerations. The very meagerness of the remnants of the Jewish communities in most Arab countries, apart from *Morocco, has been a factor limiting the development of social antisemitism. However, there was clearly an element of antisemitism in the persecution of Jews in *Syria and *Iraq. After the Six-Day War there appeared in the Arab press condemnations of the excessive use by Arabs of antisemitic themes, specifying the damage caused by extremism to the Arab cause The frequency of antisemitic publications subsequently abated somewhat. A later book is Bint al-Shāṭiʾ (Dr. ʿAʾisha ʿAbd al-Raḥman), *Aʿda al-Bashar* declaring the Jews the enemies of humanity), published by no less than the UAR Government – The Higher Council of Islamic Affairs, 1964.

[Yehoshafat Harkabi]

In the Soviet Bloc

THEORY AND PRACTICE. Antisemitism, according to Communist doctrine, is an extremely negative social phenomenon; it could only be part of reactionary, capitalist, and pre-capitalist regimes, in which hatred of the Jews is exploited for the gain of the ruling classes. Lenin, along with the other revolutionaries in czarist Russia, was a sincere and resolute opponent of antisemitism and of any form of oppression, discrimination, and persecution of Russian Jewry. However, after the consolidation of the Soviet regime, principally under *Stalin's one-man rule, a distinctly anti-Jewish policy was sometimes planned and implemented in the Soviet Union. This policy consciously exploited the traditional antisemitism of the people in the Ukraine and in other parts of Russia, who viewed the Jews as a foreign element, "rootless in the homeland," who tended to conspire with the country's enemies, to evade dangerous defense duties in time of war, and who quickly profited by illicit economic manipulations and by exploiting the toiling masses. The word "Jew" itself has been mentioned relatively rarely in Soviet antisemitic propaganda, precisely in order to avoid breaking an ideological taboo; the antisemitic intent, however, was clear to everybody through the use of thinly disguised, conventional terms, such as "*Cosmopolitans," "Zionists," "people without a fatherland," etc. The aim was mostly "a so-called educational" one: to produce tangible evidence that certain popular tendencies which the regime tried to eradicate (such as interest in Western life and culture, or illicit manufacturing and marketing of goods) were initiated and conducted by foreign, traitorous, "rootless" elements, i.e., the Jews. A further stimulus arose during the Cold War years, when the system of suspecting and supervising whole groups of the population by the security organs reached its peak. Every Jew was thus regarded as a real or potential security risk because of his family ties with Jews in the U.S. or other Western countries, and because of his sympathy, open or hidden, for the young State of Israel. This "cosmopolitanism," presumably an inherent characteristic of every Jewish body, was considered dangerous from the security point of view and warranted the liquidation of all Jewish institutions and organizations, with the exception of only a few synagogues which were placed under constant supervision by the security police. A further stage in Soviet antisemitism was reached in the late 1960s when the Soviet Union adopted an extreme anti-Israel policy, particularly after the Six-Day *War in June 1967. Soviet propaganda started a campaign grotesquely inflating the image of Zionism as a sinister international conspiracy spread over the whole world, very similar to that propounded in the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*.

AFTER THE OCTOBER REVOLUTION. During and immediately after the October Revolution, antisemitism served as one of the prime weapons of the Russian counterrevolution, when the White forces depicted the Bolshevik regime as executing the enslavement of Mother Russia by the Jews. Lenin saw antisemitism not only as a socio-political evil, in accord with his ideological outlook, but also as a formidable factor which he had to combat in his struggle for saving the revolution. He attacked antisemitism in his statements and speeches, including the well-known resolution of the Soviet government which defined perpetrators and instigators of pogroms as enemies of the revolution who had to be outlawed (*Izvestiya*, July 27, 1918). This atmosphere existed in the Soviet Union for years, at least up to the consolidation of Stalin's dictatorship toward the end of the 1920s. Among the masses antisemitic feelings continued in the 1920s, particularly during the NEP ("New Economic Policy"), sometimes even increasing, as when a large influx of Jews from the townlets came to the industrial and administrative centers, where they competed for the available jobs. Antisemitism also increased among the peasants as Jews received land in southern Russia and Crimea for agricultural settlement. But, despite popular antisemitism and the official persecution of the Jewish religion and the Zionist and Jewish Socialist movement (carried out to a large extent by Jewish Communist party members), vast numbers of Jews in the U.S.S.R. enjoyed (during the 1920s and most of the 1930s) considerable geographic and social mobility, with no obstacles of an antisemitic nature standing in their way.

The turning point began toward the end of the 1930s with the Great Purges, during which the Soviet government discontinued denouncing and punishing expressions and outbursts of popular antisemitism. At this time, the government initiated a systematic liquidation of Jewish institutions and leading figures. Then, however, it was possible to view this as part of the general processes designed to secure Stalin's dictatorship, since there still were significant numbers of Jews holding middle and higher positions of power in the party hierarchy and in vital branches of government, such as the political secret police. From 1939 onward, after the signing of the Nazi-Soviet Pact (Ribbentrop-Molotov Non-Aggression Pact) and the outbreak of World War II in the West, the Soviet press and radio systematically concealed reports about the anti-Jewish character of the Nazi regime and about the oppression and murder of Jews after the invasion of Poland. In this respect, there was a considerable improvement following the German attack on the U.S.S.R. in June 1941. However, in the many detailed accounts of Nazi atrocities in the Soviet press and radio there was still a discernible tendency to cover up the fact of the genocide of the Jewish people, which was mostly described in vague terms, as the murder of "peaceful, innocent citizens." This systematic concealment continued even more strongly after World War II. Anyone attempting to emphasize the special suffering of the Jewish people under the Nazi occupation of the U.S.S.R. (as, e.g., Yevgeny Yevtushenko) was strongly criticized by official spokesmen.

THE BLACK YEARS 1948–1953. The Black Years began for Russian Jewry when the anti-Jewish line became the active policy of the highest government echelon. These were the last four or five years of Stalin's regime (1948–53). The secret police murdered Solomon *Mikhoels, director of the Jewish State Theater in Moscow and chairman of the Jewish *Anti-Fascist Committee, thus touching off what became the systematic liquidation of all Jewish cultural institutions which were remnants of the 1930s or established during the war. At the end of 1948 and the beginning of 1949 Soviet newspapers and journals opened an anti-Jewish campaign, condemning the alleged cosmopolitan rootless elements in intellectual life. This campaign was the first undisguised expression of the wide exploitation of popular antisemitism for Soviet government aims. The ingrained hatred and suspicion of Jews – as a foreign element liable to treason – served here as a powerful demagogic means of educating the nation against "westernizing" tendencies and for seclusion behind the wall of Russian nationalism. The closing down of the Jewish Anti-Fascist Committee; the arrests and execution of Jewish writers, artists, and public figures; the "Crimea Affair" trial behind closed doors; the Slansky *trial in Prague (initiated and run by emissaries from the Soviet Union); the *Doctors' Plot; the dismissal of many thousands of Jews from their work; and the portrayal of the State of Israel and of the Zionist movement as instruments of an anti-Soviet American spy network, were all part of the anti-Jewish program of the "Black Years." Antisemitism served as one of the principal tools of Stalin's regime and policy during the Cold War years both in the U.S.S.R. and in the satellite countries. According to reliable testimony, Stalin intended, following the Doctors' Plot trial," to initiate a mass deportation of the Jewish population from the principal cities of the U.S.S.R. to Eastern Siberia, but he died in March 1953, before he could carry out his plan.

THE KHRUSHCHEV PERIOD. The period following Stalin's death was inaugurated by an apparent reversal of the anti-Jewish policy through the official retraction of the "Doctors' Plot" accusation, but expectations that the Jewish institutions would be reinstated and that there would be a vigorous campaign against popular antisemitism were frustrated. Nikita Khrushchev, who in a closed session of the 20th Congress of the Soviet Communist Party (February 1956) denounced

Stalin and his methods, completely ignored the anti-Jewish aspect of the defunct dictator's rule, and silence on this subject was regarded as ominous for Soviet Jewry. Khrushchev himself, who was the supreme party and government representative in the Ukraine during and after World War II, was apparently deeply impressed by the immense power of popular antisemitism as a socio-political factor. Upon becoming prime minister and first secretary of the Communist Party of the U.S.S.R., he more than once expressed his own anti-Jewish thoughts and feelings in talks with foreign personalities, delegations, and newsmen and once even spoke out in defense of Stalin's stand in the "Crimea Affair," thus indirectly vindicating the liquidation of the Jewish Anti-Fascist Committee and its members.

Khrushchev's antisemitic policy was moderate in comparison with that practiced in Stalin's last years. It took the form not only of a consistent concealment of the genocide inflicted on the Jews during the Nazi invasion, but also of using Jews for show trials in the campaign against "economic crimes." This campaign was carried out by the security police from May 1961 until Khrushchev was removed from office in 1964. The Jews accused of "economic crimes" were picked out from a large number of people engaged in illicit economic activities and assigned the role of alleged initiators, instigators, and organizers of transgressions and other "crimes" against the Soviet laws in matters of production, marketing, and foreign currency regulations. Jews were the majority of those found guilty. Many of them received the death penalty, and their being Jews was emphasized in various ways in the press. During Khrushchev's office, books and pamphlets appeared which strongly denounced not only Zionism and the State of Israel, but also Judaism as such, as an extremely negative historical, cultural, and religious phenomenon. These publications were sometimes accompanied by crude antisemitic cartoons (as in the book by the Ukrainian antisemite Trofim Kychko, *Judaism without Embellishment*, published by the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian Soviet Republic, Ukrainian, 1963). A new effort to eradicate organized Jewish life in the U.S.S.R. was made under Khrushchev through the closing of many synagogues, often following a smear campaign by the local newspapers in which the synagogues were described as hangouts where criminals met for their sinister purposes. Synagogue leaders were arrested; *minyanim* in private homes were brutally dispersed; and the baking of *maẓẓot* for Passover was gradually abolished. In some places, burial of Jews in separate Jewish cemeteries was discontinued. In these years, popular antisemitism made itself felt in several outbursts, as, e.g., the arson of the synagogue and murder of the Jewish cemetery's *shammash* in the town of Malakhovka near Moscow, accompanied by the posting of antisemitic proclamations in the streets (Rosh Ha-Shanah 1959); the burning of the synagogue in Tskhakaya, Georgia, in 1962; anti-Jewish street riots, at times incited by blood libels (in Tashkent and in Tskhaltubo in 1962); public tension created by a blood-libel story in Vilna in 1963; and in one instance, the publication of an anti-Jewish blood libel in the official organ of the Communist Party (in the town Buinaksk, Dagestan, in the local newspaper on August 9, 1961, where a few days later an official apology of sorts was printed).

In widespread circles of the Russian intelligentsia opposition to the official and popular antisemitic clime was expressed in several ways, but for the most part by hints and implications rather than by overt criticism. It reached its climax in Yevtushenko's poem *Babi Yar published in *Literaturnaya Gazeta* in 1961 and in the fact that Dmitri Shostakovich included the poem in one of the movements of his 13th symphony. The poem immediately aroused severe criticism, with antisemitic overtones, on the part of official literary critics and even from Khrushchev himself. A clear hint was given that any public declaration on behalf of the Jews was in contradiction to official policy. At the same time Jews of the U.S.S.R. were affected by systematic discrimination in many spheres. Jews almost completely disappeared from the foreign service, from commanding posts in the army, from positions as representatives of the government, the party hierarchy, the judiciary, etc. The number of Jews in local, republican, or Soviet government bodies fell far below the percentage of Jews, not only in the cities (where about 95% of the Jews reside), but in the population as a whole. Young Jews met with increasing difficulties in getting accepted in higher institutions of learning in the main cities of Russia and the Ukraine, particularly in those fields of study which usually lead to positions of power or to classified fields.

UNDER KOSIGIN-BREZHNEV. When Khrushchev was demoted in October 1964, and the "collective leadership" headed by Alexei Kosigin and Leonid Brezhnev initiated, there were signs of slight improvement in the attitude to Soviet Jewry. The campaign against "economic crimes" and the synagogues ceased; baking of *maẓẓot* was to a certain extent renewed; Jews were mentioned as victims of the Nazi Holocaust on Soviet soil; and even a public denunciation of antisemitism as one of the evils of society was once made in a speech by Prime Minister Kosigin. Following this, editorials in the same spirit were published in several leading newspapers in 1965. However, after the Six-Day War in June 1967 between Israel and the Arab states, a most severe anti-Jewish campaign in the Soviet press and propaganda media was unleashed again. Its declared aim was to condemn Israel and Zionism, but its general spirit and the caricatures accompanying it were markedly antisemitic. The Ukrainian style of antisemitism, which represents Judaism as a criminal religious tradition from ancient times, educating its followers in racial superiority and hatred of other peoples, began reappearing in widely diffused publications, as well as in tracts written by Trofim Kychko who reappeared on the scene after having had to remain silent for a few years, as his 1963 book had caused a world-wide scandal even in Communist parties in the West. In the new campaign, "Zionism" was assigned a central place: it was depicted as a powerful instrument or a main ally of "imperialism," serving its sinister global aims, such as enslaving nations and exploiting them, undermining Socialism, and, of course, manipulating Israel for criminal aggression against the progressive Arab states. These descriptions of Zionism closely resembled the description of the world Jewish conspiracy in the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*. It created an atmosphere of depression and deep apprehension in Soviet Jewry, who again were led to fear for their physical and economic security. However, no persecutions of Jews in the manner of the "Black Years" of Stalin are known to have taken place; it seems that the government took steps to prevent any outbursts of popular antisemitism such as those which occurred in Khrushchev's time.

POLAND AND CZECHOSLOVAKIA. Popular expression of antisemitism in Poland became overt when Wladislaw Gomulka's government rose to power in October 1956. One of its sources was hatred of the overthrown Stalinist higher echelon, which in Poland included a number of Jews in key positions (e.g., Jacob *Berman and Hilary *Minc). However, Gomulka's regime was expressly opposed to antisemitism. In the framework of repatriation of former Polish citizens, it made possible the return of many Jews from the U.S.S.R. and their further migration to Israel. It did not interfere with the exodus of the remnant of Polish Jewry to Israel and other countries. However, its policy underwent a marked change following the Six-Day War in June 1967, becoming extremely anti-Israel, in line with Soviet policy. Gomulka even went a step further, when he publicly warned the Jews in Poland against becoming a "fifth column" by expressions of sympathy for Israel. Following this stand, a number of books and articles appeared that sharply attacked Israel and Zionism, with distinctly antisemitic overtones. This paved the way for wide anti-Jewish purges in the ranks of the government, universities, and other fields in the spring of 1968, when government circles blamed "Zionists" for mass demonstrations held by students and professors in the universities. The anti-Jewish purge and propaganda campaign was directed and exploited by one of the party factions for political ends. This faction, known as the "Partisans," was headed by the minister of the interior and head of the security police, Mieczysław Moczar.

In Czechoslovakia, where traditional antisemitism has no deep roots, as in the Ukraine and in Poland, Antonin Novotny, president of the republic and secretary of the Communist Party, ruled continuously from the period of the (Rudolf) Slansky Trial until early in 1968. When he was ousted by the liberal wing of the Communist Party, there was a general improvement in the atmosphere. Jewish cultural and religious life was favorably affected. But, during the sharp controversy between the Soviet government and the liberal regime in Prague that led to the invasion of Czechoslovakia by the Soviet army in August 1968, Soviet and Polish propaganda used anti-Jewish allusions (e.g., that "Zionists" had pulled the strings of the "counterrevolution" in Czechoslovakia). Following the invasion, Jewish figures in the liberal Czechoslovak regime, such as Eduard *Goldstuecker, Ota Šik, and others, were forced to disappear or even to leave the country. In the Czechoslovak crisis, as in the anti-Jewish purges in Poland that year, antisemitism, mostly disguised as "anti-Zionism," was one of the prime elements in the influence exerted by Soviet agencies in Soviet bloc countries; it naturally served even more the needs of the anti-Israel campaign conducted by the Soviet government and propaganda media in Arab countries.

[Binyamin Eliav]

In the United States

IDEALS AND REALITY. In the United States the fate of the Jewish community has been more fortunate than in almost any other country. Jews in general experienced wider tolerance and greater civil and political equality than in the countries they had left, and Judaism was accepted by most Americans as one of the great religions. The U.S. government has exemplified George Washington's famous words accepting the formula of the Newport Hebrew Congregation to give "to bigotry no sanction, to persecution no assistance." American Jews, unlike many European compatriots, did not live as an autonomous community, or with a separate legal system for running the affairs of a ghetto.

Jews benefited not only from the absence of official governmental hostility, pogroms, or serious restrictions, and of an established religion that might encourage discrimination against other faiths, but also from the social, economic, and political traits of American life: the pluralistic society with its opportunities for social and geographic mobility, ability to participate in political activity, political parties as broad coalitions in which ethnic groups could compete and also be mutually protected, constitutional protection of civil rights in most cases, the competitive economic system, and the decentralized congregational structure permitting different expressions of the Jewish faith. Some legal restrictions of the civil and political rights of Jews to vote and hold office were almost all eliminated by the early 19th century. No systematic antisemitic ideology has been advocated by any mainstream political leader or group; overt antisemitism has, with rare exceptions, been associated with fringe or non-political elements. Indeed, care must be taken to distinguish the application to Jews of the normal intergroup tensions and conflicts in America from genuine antisemitism.

Nevertheless, anti-Jewish sentiment, social prejudice, and hatred motivated by religious, economic, and racial considerations, has been a constant presence in American life. Sometimes it has taken the form of violence. The Jewish community has suffered from discrimination in many forms: housing, employment, admission to resort hotels, business, college quotas, membership of social clubs. Negative images of Jews in popular literature and culture have persisted. Stereotypes – killers of Christ, criminals, Shylocks, uncouth *nouveaux riches* responsible for social disintegration, ethnic and cultural aliens, clannish conspirators, financial exploiters, revolutionaries or radicals – have been rife. For long periods Jews were rarely portrayed positively or realistically.

Antisemitic rhetoric and behavior have been more pronounced in some periods of American history than in others. During the Civil War the most discriminatory act against Jews was the official order of General Grant in December 1862, expelling them from military territories in the border states for alleged illegal trading; the order was immediately revoked by President Lincoln. In the 1880s and 1890s, the agrarian and Populist movements in the Middle West gave vent to some antisemitic utterances. Anxiety at the influx of East European Jews, and of others held undesirable, led to the imposition of quotas, and the virtual end of Jewish immigration by 1918. Jewish residents also experienced an increase in social antisemitism.

American constitutional ideals, liberal traditions, and pluralistic society and politics, were normally sufficient to prevent extreme antisemitic behavior. Yet ugly incidents did occur, the most dramatic being the unjust conviction in 1913, and the lynching by a mob in 1915, of Leo Frank, a Jewish factory superintendent in Atlanta for the alleged murder of a female employee. In the 1920s, the most influential expressions of antisemitism emanated from publications financed by the industrialist Henry Ford, *The International Jew* and the *Dearborn Independent*, with a circulation of 700,000, and reprinting of the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*. Before World War II demagogues, such as Senator Theodore Bilbo and Congressman John Rankin, attacked international Jewry in general and New York Jews in particular as aggressive capitalists, communists or radicals, or polluters of American culture. Over a hundred organizations, mostly small and local in character, seeing Jews as mainly or partly responsible for social ills appealed to different social classes and ethnic groups.

Of these organizations, five were particularly active: The German-American Bund, the Silver Shirts, the Christian Front led by Father Coughlin, Gerald L.K. Smith's Committee of One Million, and the Protestant Defenders of the Christian Faith.

Since the end of World War II, polls and surveys, though differing on the exact figures, have suggested a considerable decline in antisemitic attitudes, though about half of American Jews believed that antisemitism is a serious problem and two-thirds feared it could be serious in the future. Moreover, in the U.S., negative attitudes have rarely led to serious manifestations of prejudice. In its 1989 audit of antisemitic incidents in the United States, the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith reported 845 incidents of vandalism and desecration, ranging from arson to swastika daubings of Jewish institutions and property, and over 580 assaults, threats, and harassments against Jews or Jewish institutions. Over 85 percent of those arrested for the incidents were under 21.

Though it significantly declined from 1944 to the late 1960s, antisemitism persisted during these years notwithstanding the determined efforts of Jewish organizations and political action to counter it, despite elimination of many hostile references to Jews in Christian religious books and increased interfaith activity and institutes on Judaism, civil rights legislation, federal and state laws, continuing revulsion about Nazi crimes against Jews, the breaking down of social barriers in the post-War era, and in spite of the changed nature of the American Jewish community.

That community is a well-educated, affluent, highly urban, liberal, Democratic, politically active, mobile, adaptable, aging and gradually becoming less religiously observant group. In the late 1970s it amounted to 2.5% of the total population, and still declining, it has achieved an unparalleled social, political, and economic status, occupying prominent positions in education, government, business, the professions, and the cultural world. The very fact that intermarriage of Jews with members of other faiths rose so dramatically – by some calculations to 40% of Jewish males and 10% of females – itself indicated the increased acceptance of Jews. In 1981 only 14% of non-Jews objected strongly, and another 14% somewhat, to a mixed marital relationship.

In post-World War II America, until the 1980s at least, open advocacy, let alone ideological formulation, of antisemitism was not respectable. The symbol of the Holocaust; the moderate political climate; the absence of any mass dissatisfaction with the prevailing socio-economic system; the decline in Christian religious orthodoxy; the modifications of doctrine and attitude by churches, especially by the Catholic Church at Vatican Council II; and the growth of the economy and in the standard of living all helped lessen tension between Jews and non-Jewish whites.

Besides the decline in unofficial anti-Jewish prejudice in areas such as housing and employment, state laws increasingly forbade discrimination, and the courts removed restrictive covenants on housing. In universities, the quota system imposing limitations on Jews was largely ended. Overt discrimination appeared confined to a few exclusive cooperatives, athletic or golf clubs, and law firms.

Public opinion polls tried to measure the attitudes of Americans towards Jews in the postwar years. Survey findings sometimes showed widely differing results and must be treated with care. Yet, they were a valuable way to assess the degree of prejudice since American antisemitism was then largely attitudinal and not usually translated into either ideological coherence or concrete actions.

The index of 11 antisemitic beliefs proposed by Selznick and Steinberg in 1969 has been a useful benchmark for later studies. Between 1964 and 1981, negative beliefs in the index declined by about 14 percentage points. Americans were then less likely to see Jews as dishonest businessmen, clannish, in control of international banking or the media, television, or the movies, as having a lot of irritating faults, or as willing to choose money over people.

Yet, significant numbers of Americans between 1978 and 1985 still accepted negative stereotypes of Jews in general. They saw Jews as pushy, aggressive (25%), clannish (40%), going out of their way to hire only Jews (57%), controllers of movie and television (25%), willing to use shady practices (33%), choosing money over people (34%), and control over international banking (43%).

In 1981, over 80% would vote for a qualified Jew as president. A 1988 Gallup poll shows that only 3% did not want Jews as neighbors; 13% disliked black and 9% disliked Hispanic neighbors. In a 1981 Gallup poll, about 40% had a "highly favorable" opinion of Jews while only 2% were "highly unfavorable." The highly antisemitic attitudes declined from 37% in 1964 to 23% in 1981. Negative stereotypes existed about Jews but they were held even more strongly against evangelical or fundamentalist Protestants, and against oil companies and big business.

Accompanying the decline in negative images is an increase in positive ones. Jews are seen as hard working, talented, intelligent, warm and friendly, as contributing much to American cultural life, as philanthropic, and as good family members. A 1982 Roper poll found that 59% thought it was "a good thing" that Jews had immigrated to the U.S.

On some issues, negative attitudes increased over the 1960s and 1970s. In 1981, 35% thought Jews had too much power in the business world, 20% that they had too much power in the U.S. (11% in 1964) and more were concerned about the loyalty of Jews to Israel. Polls show that between a quarter and a third of the population believed Jews "are more loyal" to Israel than to America. In a poll in April 1987, 28% thought Jews placed the interests of Israel ahead of the U.S.

ANTISEMITIC GROUPS. Few in post-war America have ventured antisemitic remarks in public. Generalizations, however, can be made on the basis of certain factors: educational level, income, age, race, religion, place of birth, and geographical location. Those holding antisemitic beliefs tended to hold other prejudiced, intolerant, or undemocratic views in general. They were most widespread among the uneducated and poorer members of American society.

Education is a key variable. The least educated scored highest in antisemitic attitudes, except for blacks. Decline in negative images of Jews, as well as in general intolerance, could be correlated during the 1970s and 1980s with the higher level of education of the community. More knowledge of minorities, possession of cognitive skills to think rationally, and understanding of the virtues of tolerance and civil rights have meant less negative images of Jews. Antisemitism was found to be highest in the working class and lowest among professionals and the middle class.

Antisemitism was higher among Protestants than among Catholics. About 80% of Southern Baptists and 70% of Missouri Synod Lutherans agreed that Jews remained unforgiven for the death of Christ. Religion has been a powerful reinforcement of antisemitic views; 45% of all American antisemites get their antisemitic ideas from religious indoctrination or from some religious influence. The number of prejudiced among fundamentalists is some 7% greater than among nonfundamentalists.

Older people tend to be more antisemitic than younger individuals. This might be explained by lower educational level, by the fact that antisemitism was more prevalent when the older people were themselves young, and by the possibility that the aging process might have led to greater feelings of insecurity and intolerance.

Foreign-born Americans in general, partly because they tend to be older and less well educated than the average, hold stronger antisemitic views than the native born. Rural residents, especially in the South and Midwest, tend to be more antisemitic than urban residents. There appears to be little difference in beliefs between the sexes.

The greater degree of antisemitism among blacks than among the white population is disenchanting for those with memories of Jewish sympathy for the plight of blacks, and of actions, even at cost of life, to remedy that plight. Jews have always been more concerned about the state of blacks than have members of other religions, and given disproportionate support and financial aid to civil rights organizations. Black prejudice, often inherited from the Christian fundamentalism imbibed in youth, essentially stemmed from disparaging economic stereotypes of Jews as money grubbers, callous storekeepers and landlords, uncaring employers of black domestics, and as individuals who would use their economic power to degrade blacks.

Moderate black leaders, such as Martin Luther King, Jr., praised "the contribution that Jewish people have made toward the Negro's struggle for freedom." They acknowledged the Jewish help and alliance in black organizations and in the campaigns in the South with their freedom riders and voter registration teams.

However, from the 1960s on, the alliance had become strained. The Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), formed in 1960 with Jewish help, within a decade, under the leadership of Stokely Carmichael, began attacking "the Rothschilds" as well as "Zionist Jewish terrorists." Malcolm X denounced Jews as part of the white exploitative majority and wrote, "I don't care what a Jew is professionally, doctor, merchant, housewife, student or whatever – first, he or she thinks Jew," and talked of "Jews who sapped the very lifeblood of blacks." The extremist Black Panthers, the Black Muslims, believing in a Jewish conspiracy to control the world, and some black intellectuals were vocal in anti-Jewish sentiment.

All polls and surveys of the time, as well as other empirical evidence, showed that black antisemitism was considerably higher than that of whites at every educational level. Two-fifths of blacks, compared with one out of five whites, could then be characterized as having high or moderate antisemitic beliefs.

Looking at the surveys of black antisemitism, five features seemed significant. The first was that it increased relative to that of whites. Secondly, black antisemitism was higher in the urban North than in the more rural South. Thirdly, it was manifested more on economic than on other issues. Those blacks who had economic dealings with or who perceived economic mistreatment by Jews recorded a higher level of antisemitism than those who do not. Blacks remained more opposed than did whites to political antisemitism and to social discrimination, but negative beliefs on some noneconomic matters, especially on Israel, also increased. Fourthly, blacks who had personal contact with Jews, mostly in a subordinate role, were likely to be more antisemitic than those who did not, the reverse of the relationship between adult whites and Jews.

Most significant, it was younger blacks and the better educated who exhibited the strongest negative attitudes. This may be the consequence of the competition with or envy of Jews by aspiring black professionals. The antisemitic level of elite black leaders was about double that of blacks as a whole. Assertions of black consciousness and power from the 1960s, greater racial pride and solidarity, meant rejection of white, primarily Jewish, control of black organizations. For many black leaders, the politics of integration changed to the politics of confrontation.

That confrontation took the form of disputes over political goals and the exercise of power. But also the dismissal in 1979 of Andrew Young as American ambassador to the United Nations for meeting with a PLO official, the abusiveness of Nation of Islam leader Louis Farrakhan's remarks about Judaism as a "gutter religion" and his declared admiration for Hitler, the references to New York City as "Hymietown" by presidential candidate Jesse Jackson in 1984, the injection of black-Jewish animosity into the 1988 Democratic party primary in New York, all inflamed passions on both sides. Blacks held about 10% less favorable attitudes to Israel than do whites. Jews and blacks have strongly differed on questions of open enrollment in New York City colleges and, above all, on the issues of quotas for employment. Yet, the old black-Jewish liberal coalition, with its mutual support for electoral office and for policies favoring integrated schools, civil rights, and vitality of urban areas on the one hand, and issues significant to Jews, especially the security of Israel on the other, did not break down.

Besides a few radical left groups, most contemporary vitriolic antisemitism stems from a wide diversity of extremist right-wing hate groups, small in size, essentially anti-democratic and estranged from political and social reality, Identity Church groups and neo-Nazi organizations, living with the memories of Adolf Hitler, and limited to between 400 and 450 members, and the various, small Ku Klux Klan bodies. Some of these groups have engaged not only in hate rhetoric against minorities and racist ideology, but also in crimes, from synagogue bombings to armed robbery and murder, and fanciful conspiracies to overthrow the U.S. government.

These groups, whose members are often disaffected and frustrated, share overlapping beliefs: hostility to government which is seen as illegitimate; enmity toward Jews and nonwhites; attacks on Jewish interests supposedly controlling government, finance, and the media; and purported Christian concepts by which white Protestants are seen as the "chosen people."

The better known of the hate groups are the Aryan Nations, the Christian Defense League, the Posse Commitatus, the Covenant, the Sword, and the Arm of the Lord, and the Christian-Patriots Defense League.

Probably the most aggressive of the non-religious hate groups are the "skinheads," gangs of shaven-headed youths who glorify violence, and have been responsible for an increasing number of assaults as well as antisemitic bigotry.

The Liberty Lobby, the most active and the best financed antisemitic organization in the country, describes itself as "a pressure group for patriotism," and maintains close connections with a number of members of Congress. Its weekly newspaper, *The Spotlight*, started in 1975 and now, with a circulation of over a quarter of a million, is the most widely read right-wing extremist paper in the country. Among its favorite targets are Zionism, and people defined euphemistically as "dual loyalists" or "international bankers."

The Institute for Historical Review was created in 1979. Its chief concern has been to deny or minimize the reality of the Holocaust and explore Jewish "atrocity propaganda" through a number of books and materials with antisemitic themes and by annual conventions.

To conclude: Extreme groups in the U.S. remained small and outside the political mainstream, and their membership appeared to have declined even further. American politics embodies and public opinion coheres around a consensus of political moderation in which antisemitic expressions are not respectable.

The country, with certain qualifications, exhibited a lower level of overt prejudice and bigotry than ever before in racial and religious matters. Jews as a group were no longer blamed, except by a fringe element, for the nation's problems or condemned for not being truly American. Indeed, in the working of the American political system today, Jews both as political activists and participants, and as elected and appointed officials have played a prominent role.

Yet, the portrait of antisemitism is a composite of conflicting traits. If most churches no longer insist on Jewish responsibility for the Crucifixion, those of an orthodox or particularist persuasion are inclined to do so. An appreciable minority, between one-fifth and one-quarter, still believed in the 1980s that Jews have too much power. Some remain obsessed by the idea of Jewish domination of the media and banking.

Two other major problems remained. Black antisemitism, stemming from religious teachings and economic stereotypes, exacerbated by the politics of confrontation and, to a lesser degree, a rise in adherence to Islam, was a troubling issue. The issue of Israel, support for its policies, aid for its security, and Jewish relations with the state did not lead to an increase in antisemitism. But about a quarter of non-Jews were highly unfavorable to Israel, and young people are more likely to be so than are older people.

Appropriate anxiety should be shown for the rhetoric and the potential for violence of those extreme groups which have antisemitism high on their agenda, though their membership is small and declining. But that anxiety should not be excessive. Even admitting a significant minority of the population can be regarded as having antisemitic attitudes, Jews have not been made scapegoats for economic or social problems. What is finally important is that the antisemitic beliefs that existed until the late 1980s did not lead to an organized movement with any serious support for violence against Jews.

[Michael Curtis]

Trends in the 1970s

FROM NAZISM TO NEO-NAZISM. In the post-Holocaust period, there have been attempts in Western countries to revive Nazi organizations with antisemitic ideologies. Still, the "swastika plague." that swept West Germany and other countries in 1959–60, accompanied by a wave of antisemitic incidents, was found to have been orchestrated by the Soviet Union, in order to embarrass West Germany, and subsided shortly thereafter. Indeed, the efforts to set up an international organization of neo-Nazi groups were centered in Belgium, where a group called *Nation Europa* tried to get a foothold in the 1960s. In the U.S., a small body was set up by Gerhard Lauck in Lincoln, Nebraska, which kept the old label of the NSDAP (National Socialist German Workers' Party) and still acts as a main supplier of ideological guidance to neo-Nazi groups. Other propaganda centers exist in Switzerland, Denmark, Spain, Britain, Belgium and elsewhere. In Germany, the weekly *Deutsche National-Zeitung* (cir. 100,000 in 1977; 130,000 in 1978) served as a rallying point. After various groups tried to form a neo-Nazi party in the 1950s, the NPD (National-demokratische Partei Deutschlands) emerged; Jewish issues were not on the whole central, but the 1953 Luxembourg agreements on German *restitution were attacked, German war-guilt was rejected, and the Holocaust either minimized or denied. This last tendency became especially marked after the appearance in the U.S. in 1975 (German edition, 1977) of Arthur R. Butz's *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century*. However, the vote received by the NPD in Federal elections fell from 0.3% in 1976 to 0.2% (68,096 out of 38 million) in 1980. The total average editions of all right-wing periodicals in Germany added up to 324,000 in 1983, of which 17,000 represent neo-Nazi publications (according to the ADL the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith). The total readership would therefore indicate a slightly higher percentage of sympathizers than actual voters. Membership in the NPD declined from 21,000 in 1970 to 6,500 in 1983, but the *Deutsche Volksunion*, headed by the editor of the *Deutsche National-Zeitung*, claimed 10,000 members. Other German right-wing and neo-Nazi groups rejected the legalistic approach of the NPD and, from about the mid-1970s, increasingly leaned towards extra-legal and terrorist activities. The main targets were the democratic institutions of the German Federal Republic, but antisemitism is part and parcel of the ideological baggage of these groups. They numbered about 70 in 1977, with fewer than 20,000 members. Overall, public opinion polls revealed a marked decline in antisemitic sentiments, which are now prevalent mainly among older people, whereas the younger generation appeared to be very much less prone to antisemitism. The decline in antisemitic sentiment was accompanied, paradoxically, by increased violence on the part of the minuscule neo-Nazi movement. Group hatred was directed mainly towards Turkish and other foreign workers ("Gastarbeiter").

A similar picture emerges in other countries. In Britain, the neo-Nazi National Front was declining steadily after initial successes. In 1977, it polled over 5% (119,000 votes) in the Greater London council elections; by 1978 it had dropped to 34,000 votes, with the downward trend continuing in subsequent years. Its antisemitism, while very marked ("the Jewish question" is "a central issue in the struggle for the salvation of British nationhood," in *Spearhead*, February 1977), was overshadowed by its opposition to black and Asian immigration to Britain. In the early 1980s, the NF split into four groups. Some of the more extreme splinters (such as the British Movement and Column 88) have evinced an inclination to terrorist action.

In France, a May 1977 enquiry (by the Paris *Le Matin*) showed that about 5% of Frenchmen exhibited clear antipathy to Jews, while 29% were against the idea of a Jew as French president (as opposed to 60% in 1966). French group animosity was directed largely towards foreigners (92% dislike Arab North Africans). Right-wing extremist political groups came and went, but they did not poll, until the late 1970s, more than 1% in national elections. An extreme terrorist group (FANE) was banned in 1980.

The Italian neo-fascist party, MSI (Movimento Sociale Italiano), was a force to be reckoned with, despite a split in December 1976. Openly antisemitic views, however, were expressed only in marginal groups such as Ordine Nuovo or Ordine Nero. The MSI polled 8.6% in 1972 parliamentary elections and 5.3% in 1979. In Belgium, a militant Flemish nationalist group, the VMO (Vlaams Militante Orde), was instrumental in several attempts to coordinate neo-Nazi activities on an international scale. In Spain, a similar group called Fuerza Nueva was accused of being linked to a December 1976 bomb attack on the Madrid synagogue. The European country with the strongest antisemitic popular feelings appears to have been Austria, where 50% of Viennese were found to have negative attitudes to Jews in 1977.

In the U.S., Ku Klux Klan groups reappeared occasionally. Their membership numbered about 10,000 in 1980 (but 50,000 in 1967); however, ADL estimates of Klan sympathizers run to about 100,000. A Nazi party was active, under the leadership of Lincoln Rockwell, but has declined considerably. According to polls conducted in the U.S. and Western Europe, popular antisemitism was generally on the decline. Yet at the same time, the shrinking extreme right-wing and neo-Nazi groups had become more violent and terror-prone. In the U.S. the number of acts of vandalism, mail and phone threats, and harassment of Jews and Jewish institutions increased.

In France and Belgium, terrorist attacks were aimed at Jewish targets, such as the January 1978 attack on Jewish communal buildings in Paris, the October 3, 1980, attack on the rue Copernic synagogue in Paris, the July 1980 murder of Jewish children at Antwerp, the August 1982 attack on the Goldenberg restaurant in Paris, and many more. Similar occurrences took place in Austria and Italy, while less serious incidents were recorded in Britain and other countries. The security organs in all these countries largely failed to uncover the culprits. At least some of these attacks appear to have been perpetrated by Arab terrorists; they were clearly antisemitic, as they were directed against Jews as Jews and not against Israeli targets. Other attacks may have been carried out by right-wing or left-wing extremists, by themselves or in collusion with Arab groups. All this must be seen against the background of the general increase in terrorist activity throughout the Western world, with antisemitic terror playing some, but not a large part. Terror may have the effect of disrupting organized Jewish life, and various Jewish groups have attempted to counteract it by legal action and other means. Laws against racial incitement were legislated in most European countries and in the U.S., sometimes with a salutary effect.

In Germany, the Statute of Limitations on Nazi crimes was abolished in July 1979; however, only 6,342 individuals were sentenced for Nazi crimes in Germany between 1945 and 1978, out of 84,403 indicted by public prosecutors.

THE DENIAL OF THE HOLOCAUST. A new phenomenon in the antisemitic discourse was the denial of the Holocaust. While before World War II extreme antisemites demanded the annihilation of the Jews, increasingly influential groups of pseudo-intellectuals argued in its aftermath that six million Jews were not in fact killed. While immediately after the war it was argued that Jews exaggerated the number of victims, this was done by people on the fringes of society and in the gutter press. The situation changed with the writings of Paul Rassinier (*Le Mensonge d'Ulysse*, 1961; *Le Drame des Juifs Européens*, 1964), a former French socialist and resistance fighter who spent some time in a Nazi concentration camp. Identifying with the SS aggressors, he saw great merit in Nazi Germany, argued that the Nuremberg trials had been a sham, and that "only" a few hundred thousand Jews had been killed. Towards the end of his life, he began to doubt the existence of the gas chambers.

The theme was picked up in the U.S. by students and followers of historian David Hogan, and more so of Harry E. Barnes, an American isolationist historian who opposed America's participation in the European Allies' war against Germany. His anti-Communist leanings led him to take the position that Nazi Germany should have been an ally against the U.S.S.R. Academics, many of them of German ancestry, developed his thinking into an attack on American democracy in general and American participation in the Nuremberg trials, which were seen as kangaroo courts dispensing the victors' justice against tortured Nazis forced to confess to crimes they never committed. Jews were seen as the conspiratorial element behind this unfortunate American involvement.

A number of influential publications helped spread the idea. Former SS-man Thies Christophersen published "The Auschwitz Lie" in Germany in 1973, a term that became a code name for Holocaust denial. Richard E. Harwood (or Verral), a known member of the British National Front, published in 1974 the brochure "Did Six Million Really Die? The Truth at Last." Arthur Butz's 1975 book *The Hoax of The Twentieth Century* became a focal intellectual event: Butz, a Northwestern professor of electrical engineering, was supported by his colleagues on freedom of speech grounds. In 1978 an Institute of Historical Review was founded at Torrance, California, publishing the *Journal of Historical Review*, which is still largely devoted to the denial of the Holocaust. It was founded by extreme rightist Willis A. Carto, publisher of the antisemitic *Spotlight* and head of the so-called Liberty Lobby. International conferences have brought together the French, American, and other branches of what became an international group of activists, with most of its members holding academic degrees from respectable institutions or being lawyers (such as Nazi veteran Wilhelm Staeglich, author of the 1979 *Der Auschwitz Mythos*, or Robert Faurisson, a Lyon university professor of literature).

The tack was to deny the genuineness of Jewish and Allied documentation, regard all trials of Nazi criminals as based on confessions obtained by torture, deny the existence of gas chambers, brush aside testimonies of survivors as lies (Anne Frank's diary was declared to have been forged, for instance), and see a Jewish-Israeli conspiracy as threatening the West. Some Jews, such as Dr. Alfred Lilienthal, an extreme anti-Zionist, and Dr. Howard Stern, a medical psychiatrist, supported this group of intellectuals. Prof. Noam *Chomsky of MIT defended its right to be heard. Other Jews admired by the Institute include Yehudi *Menuhin, Rabbi Elmer *Berger and the leaders of *Neturei Karta.

The purpose, consciously or otherwise perceived, seemed to be an attack on Western institutions and systems of justice, in order to create a moderate picture of Nazi Germany and its crimes, by presenting the west as no less responsible for World War II: the Jews pushed Germany into the war and were the reason for the fight to the bitter end. Discrediting the Jews was a means to achieving this purpose. Some of the propaganda was very cleverly aimed at young intellectuals in the West. At least some of the authors appeared to believe their own lies. Their influence appeared to have increased in the 1970s and 1980s: in high schools and some universities the literature of these so-called "revisionist" historians entered into the curriculum. Activities directed against these groups included law suits (such as the one pursued by Mel Mermelstein in Los Angeles, which resulted in a judicial statement acknowledging as a fact that the Holocaust occurred) and attempts at legal measures (in the German Federal Republic) that would make the denial of the Holocaust a punishable offense. This denial was obviously a new form of antisemitism, because it saw the Jewish mind as capable of fabricating such a horror, and it was attuned to the psychology of Western post-Holocaust society.

In countries such as France, antisemitic sentiment and activity was connected in one way or another with the denial of the Holocaust. While French popular feeling appeared to be veering away from antisemitism, new forms, especially among small groups of the intelligentsia, appeared to be spreading. Groups variously known as the "Nouvelle Droite" or "Nouvelle Ecole" propagated a sophisticated racism directed against non-Europeans such as the North African workers who are the equivalent of the "Gastarbeiter" in Germany. The supposedly destructive influence of these non-French elements was linked to the Jews. The groups mentioned were anti-Christian as well as anti-Jewish, and propounded an integral French nationalism based on "new scientific" insight ("sociobiology"). A group led by the poet Alain de Benoist and associated with the Nouvelle Ecole was prominent in the Sunday *Figaro Magazine*. A group of Rassinier's followers gathered around *La Vielle taupe*, a leftist source of publications. Their influence on French intellectual life seemed to be greater than its apparently small numbers would warrant. In 1980 the group organized itself as GRECE (Groupement de recherche et d'études pour la civilisation européene), with about 10,000 adherents.

LATIN AMERICA. It was not easy to clarify the situation in Latin America during the reign of the military juntas. Undoubtedly, the terror initiated by the generals turned with special venom against Jews, and Jewish victims were especially maltreated; the number of Jewish victims (reportedly about 2,500) was out of proportion to the number of Jews involved in political strife in Argentina. Indeed, it is difficult to accept the view of editor Jacobo Timmerman, for instance, that the junta was a Nazi group whose main purpose was to attack and eliminate Jews, because South American antisemitism would rather seem to be a reaction to economic and political crises based on traditional antisemitic prejudices that are revived as the crises get worse. But the impact of the Nazis who reached Argentina after the war, and of Fascist ideologies, on parts of the military and political high echelons of Latin America cannot be ignored. In Argentina, some outrages continued into the post-junta period despite efforts of the new democratic government to stop them. Bombs were thrown at Jewish centers elsewhere as well, for instance, in August–September 1982 alone, there were incidents in Quito (Ecuador), Guatemala City, Guadalajara (Mexico) and Maracaibo (Venezuela). However, violent antisemitic incidents in Latin American countries were few, and the intensity of verbal expressions was far lower than that of European countries.

(For more on Holocaust denial, see below.)

SOVIET ANTISEMITISM. The major antisemitic threat during the 1970s was from the Soviet Union. With the tightening of the Stalinist dictatorship came an increasingly anti-Jewish tendency, reviving pre-Bolshevik anti-Jewish stereotypes as butts of propaganda in a crisis-ridden society. Culminating in the mass murder of the leaders of Jewish culture in the U.S.S.R. in 1949–50 and the so-called "Doctors' Plot" of early 1953, this tendency caused Jews as a group to be seen as the protagonists of an imperialist campaign designed to topple the Communist regimes in Eastern Europe. Loyal Communists of Jewish descent were tortured into admitting impossible deeds of treachery as part of the regime's efforts to strengthen its hold over the satellite nations. Stalin's death on March 7, 1953, prevented the tragedy of a mass expulsion of Soviet Jews to Siberia. Under Stalin's immediate successors, the anti-Jewish campaign abated. After the Six-Day War in 1967, and the consequent breaking off of diplomatic relations between Israel and the Soviet bloc, a new campaign started.

In literally hundreds of publications, some with very high circulation (up to quarter of a million copies), and at what must have been a tremendous cost, Soviet writers and journalists, some of whom of Jewish descent, focused on a number of Jewish questions: first, the theme of an inherently evil Jewish culture, whose central text, the Bible, was presented as the source of racism, as the expression of the vilest human qualities, and as endangering the human race through its nefarious cultural influence (V.Y. Begun, *The Creeping Counterrevolution*, Minsk, 1974; T. Solodar, *The Wild Woodworm*, Moscow, 1980, and many others). The second and perhaps major theme was that of a Jewish world conspiracy which managed to gain effective power in the West, where it controls Western imperialism. Writers such as Yuri Ivanov, Lev Korne'ev, and others represented the "Zionist clique" dominating the West as equivalent to the traditional concept of the Devil. Continuing a tradition that started in Christian antisemitism long ago and was perpetuated via the Protocols of the Learned *Elders of Zion (1903) and on through Nazi writings, contemporary Soviet writers did not actually accuse Soviet Jewry of being part of an international conspiracy. The accusation was directed against a nebulous entity, interchangeably described as Zionist or Jewish, which controlled the levers of economic and political power in the West. By comparison, attacks on Israel's policies were relatively rational, obviously reflecting Soviet political, strategic and economic interests as perceived by the ruling oligarchy.

In a large number of Soviet publications, then, Jews, Judaism and Zionism (the terms are interchangeable) were seen as the greatest danger to the Communist world. This view was echoed, among East European states, mainly in Czechoslovakia, which excelled in the most violent antisemitic propaganda in its major newspapers. The impact of all this on the general public in the U.S.S.R. and Czechoslovakia was difficult to gauge, but it could be assumed that government-organized antisemitic propaganda could have catastrophic consequences for the remnants of the Jewish populations at some future date; there appeared, however, to be some opposition among Soviet intellectuals, including some close to official circles, to the excesses of Soviet antisemitic propaganda (e.g., G. Martynov).

Antisemitic writings were rife indeed: the bibliography runs into hundreds of items for the years since 1967, including pseudo-scientific writings in a number of disciplines, fiction (including science fiction), and journalism. Little was done to distribute these publications in other countries. They were mainly intended for home consumption and appeared to answer a deep-seated need for an explanation of the failures of the regime in the economic, social and political spheres.

ANTISEMITISM AND ANTI-ZIONISM. The campaign to identify Zionism with racism, which reached its apogee in 1975 with the resolution at the UN equating the two, was initiated and orchestrated by the U.S.S.R., in cooperation with Arab and Third World countries, as a direct consequence of its antisemitic campaign. The aim seemed to be the delegitimization of the Jewish State, which was increasingly being forced into the position of a pariah within the international community, reminiscent of the situation of the individual Jew in antisemitic societies in pre-modern times.

The 1970s Soviet antisemitic propaganda denied without exception that it was antisemitic. It was everywhere claimed that the attack was against Zionism. Some observers, and especially certain Israeli politicians, have argued that all so-called anti-Zionism is antisemitic, because Israel is representative of Jewish endeavors and therefore every attack on any Israeli interest is anti-Jewish. Others (e.g., Shlomo Avineri) have argued that criticism of Israeli policies is hardly antisemitic, as practically all Israeli citizens have at one time or another been opposed to their government, and if such opposition were anti-Zionist or antisemitic, these terms would lose all meaning. Anti-Zionism should therefore be defined as denying the existence of a Jewish people as such and their right to an independent state, and not as criticism of policies or acts. Such anti-Zionism is then considered to be antisemitic, when antisemitism is equated with anti-Judaism. Jewish anti-Zionists, with some exceptions (such as those who align themselves with the deniers of the Holocaust), are regarded as collective self-haters, though some will admit a category of Jewish antisemites.

The attempt to differentiate between criticism of Israel and anti-Zionism in principle is especially important in the study of Arab and Third World antisemitism, on the other hand, and Western liberal and left-wing antisemitism on the other.

The study of Arab antisemitism – as contrasted with anti-Israeli attitudes, including opposition to Jewish national aspirations – is problematic, as the elements are obviously intertwined. However, a case study of Egypt might well show this differentiation because of the Egyptian-Israeli peace treaty (1978), which was accepted as a fact by some of the more extreme antisemitic writers in the pro-government camp (e.g., Anis Mansur). In mass publications such as *Akhbār al-Yawm* or the government party's ideological periodical, *October,* articles were published lauding Hitler's attitude to the Jews, quoting the Protocols of the Learned Elders of Zion as a basic historical text, and comparing Israeli (interchangeable with Jewish) actions on the West Bank and in the Lebanon with the Holocaust. Stereotyped descriptions of Jews as controlling the wealth of the world, as exploiters and usurers, as a morally defective community were abundant. Fanatic Sunni writers opposed to the peace treaty repeated these accusations but combine them with the view that the Jews are enemies in principle of Islam from its inception; the idea of independent Jewish political existence is totally unacceptable as it would mean relinquishing territory within *Dār al-Islam*, the area of Islam, to a subject people viewed as the enemy of Islamic traditions. This is the view of the Muslim Brotherhood (e.g., Sayyid Qutb, *Al Yahud, al Yahud*, Riyad, 1970), just as it is of the Khomeinite Shiʿa movement, whose anti-Jewish ideology increasingly penetrated into Sunni countries (Syria) and areas with large Shiʿite populations (Iraq, Lebanon).

The Palestine Arab Nationalist organizations fighting Israel with terrorism are an entirely different case. The Palestine National Covenant of 1968 (article 20) states that "Judaism, in its character as a religion of revelation, is not a nationality with an independent existence. Likewise, the Jews are not one people with an independent personality." Article 22 sees Zionism as "aggressive, expansionist and colonialist in its aims; and Fascist and Nazi in its means. Israel is the tool of the Zionist movement and a human and geographical base for world imperialism." These statements are clearly antisemitic, and even genocidal, in two respects: first, because the destruction of Israel clearly implies the destruction of its Jewish population, despite the declaration in article 6 that Jews who were living in Palestine before 1917 could remain (not many of these were still alive in 1968, and even fewer later); second, because the majority of Jews see Israel as an expression of their nationality or ethnicity and not only their religious beliefs. All other national or ethnic groups are likely to have such sentiments recognized by the international community, including, presumably, the Palestine Liberation Organization. The non-recognition, in principle, only of the Jewish case is therefore not merely antisemitic but genocidal by implication. However, from the mid-1970s, the PLO took great care to avoid any antisemitic statements or propaganda, with the important exception of refusing to budge from the original statements included in the 1968 Covenant.

In the West, the apparent ease with which anti-Israeli criticism can turn into clearly antisemitic statements was exemplified in the 1982 media attack on Israel's entry into Lebanon. Beyond political or moral opposition to a military move, which in itself cannot be termed antisemitic, the following was characteristic of media criticism of Israel's action: the Jews (not Israel) are "said to be God's chosen people; at all times and in all countries and with every means they have stolen the property of others" (*Ostersunds-Posten*, Sweden, June 1982); the ritual murder story was revived: "A child disappeared" (in Lebanon) "and was found a few days afterwards in a crevice, shot in his head, ritually executed" (*Aftonbladet*, 25.9.82). Respectable papers compared the attack on Lebanon with the Holocaust and then joined the deniers of the Holocaust: "How ironic it is that the word 'holocaust,' now synonymous with the deaths of supposedly 6 million Jews in Nazi concentration camps, is the only word that can describe what is now going on in Lebanon… there is much controversy going on now about the accuracy of that 6 million figure… perhaps it was a type-setter's error that was repeated" (*The Barrie Examiner,* Canada, 3.7.82). British papers and many Continental journals published similar material. Alongside political or moral criticism of Israel's government, which in itself is certainly not antisemitic, traditional antisemitic themes were introduced – Jewish world conspiracy, ritual murder, flawed Jewish character, including racial superciliousness – all directed against the Jewish people as a whole and not just an Israeli government. It would appear that the Lebanese war only served as a pretext for these outbursts.

Anti-Jewish feelings, often masquerading as opposition to Israeli policy, could be found in liberal circles, among which media was but one example. In another context, the 1983 Assembly of the World Council of Churches – founded by Willem A. Visser t'hooft, who was active in efforts to rescue Jews during World War II – declared its support for PLO participation in Middle East negotiations and lamented the rift in the ranks of the Palestinians and the loss of consensus among Arab nations.

Dangerous tendencies could be discerned in New Left circles. Thus, for instance, the National Union of Students in Britain attempted to ban university and polytechnic Jewish societies on the grounds that as they were pro-Israel and as Zionism was racism they should be denied platforms and union facilities (House of Commons, Hansard, 25.22.1977, cols. 2058–2072).

On the other hand, there is no consensus regarding the many Protestant groups on the American Right, loosely described as Fundamentalist or Evangelical. Many, though by no means all, are ardent supporters of Israel, and many also abjure any kind of anti-Jewish stance. Some may have different views, but no in-depth investigation or self-analysis was attempted during the 1970s.

The increase in antisemitic expressions since the late 1960s justifies calling it a wave. "Classical" antisemitism was gradually declining, but what is more important is that new configurations were cropping up, though here too a clear continuation from previous periods can be shown: the emphasis was on Jewish world conspiracy and rule and the Jewish state as the embodiment of the flawed Jewish character and as the center of the conspiracy.

OPPOSITION TO THE ANTISEMITIC WAVE. During the 1970s and the early 1980s the fight against antisemitism was not carried out by Jews alone, though of course Jewish defense organizations bore the brunt of the struggle. In the U.S., the ADL fought manifestations of the phenomenon not only locally but increasingly in Europe and Latin America as well. The American Jewish Congress concentrated more on attacking the Arab boycott of Israel. The American Jewish Committee emphasized the defense of Jewish communities in the political and cultural spheres.

The World Jewish Congress was active on the international scene fighting antisemitism at the UN and elsewhere. Its research institution, the Institute of Jewish Affairs in London, was a major source of information about contemporary antisemitism. In Berlin, the Center for Research on antisemitism at the Technische Universität, specialized mainly, but not exclusively, in Central and West European antisemitism in the last two centuries. National Jewish bodies such as the Board of Deputies in Britain, and the CRIF (Conseil Representatif des Institutions Juives de France) in France acted against antisemitism locally; in France, a research group associated with CRIF, CERAC (Centre d'Etudes et de Recherche sur l'antisemitisme Contemporain), was engaged in a study of French antisemitism. In Jerusalem, the Hebrew University's International Center for the Study of Antisemitism is currently engaged in a broad historical and contemporary investigation of antisemitic phenomena.

In the Christian world, there came about an increased awareness of the importance of fighting antisemitism. Following the Vatican's historic decisions in 1965 (see before), the Catholic Church was making efforts to combat antisemitism among its adherents. In 1973, the pastoral Instructions of the French Catholic bishops' Conference called for a repudiation of "pseudo-theological arguments" used to reject Judaism. The Protestant World Council of Churches established a Commission on the Church and the Jewish People, headed by Prof. Krister Steadhal, working for better interfaith understanding. The bond between the Jews and the Land of Israel is recognized in the Guidelines for Christian-Jewish Dialogue of the WCC (1982). In May 1981, the Assembly of the Church of Scotland declared "its belief in the continuing place of God's people of Israel within the divine purpose," and the Lutheran World Federation consultation of August 1982 stated that "we Christians must purge ourselves of any hatred of the Jews and any sort of teaching of contempt for Judaism." The Rhineland-Westphalia Synod of the evangelical church in Germany proclaimed the continued validity of Judaism, and the Catholic Church established an International Liaison Committee for itself and the International Jewish Committee for Interreligious Consultations in 1971. A German bishops' declaration of April 1980 was rather weak and apologetic regarding German Catholic responses to the Holocaust, but it acknowledged the Catholic debt to Judaism and opposed the "deicide" accusation. Apart from these official bodies, important Christian leaders are working to fight antisemitism. Franklin H. Littell (Methodist Church) set up the conferences on the Holocaust and the Church Struggle (Detroit, 1970); Father John Pawlikowski and a number of other Catholic leaders in North America have helped fight antisemitism in their Church; in Rome, August Cardinal Bea (d. 1968) was a major influence in the same cause.

Public figures and leaders in the arts, literature and science and in secular movements in the West were concerned with the phenomenon. From Jean-Paul Sartre to Daniel Patrick Moynihan and from President François Mitterand to Ambassador Jeane Kirkpatrick, strong opposition to antisemitic attitudes and actions was expressed and the danger to Western society from antisemitism was recognized.

The term antisemitism (or rather "anti-Semitism"), as a catch-all phrase denoting anti-Jewish attitudes or acts of all types, is misleading. Casual expressions of dislike as well as murderous hatred are subsumed under one term; but in the absence of a differentiating terminology the term continues to be used. As there is no "Semitism" to which "anti-Semites" object, the term being used to denote haters of Jews as Jews, it should indeed properly be written antisemitism rather than anti-Semitism.

Partly as a reaction to antisemitism, Jewish antagonism to non-Jews, sometimes of a violent and even terrorist nature, has no name, but belongs to the same general category of group hate. Originally a protective psychological defense mechanism, it has burgeoned in the last few decades into a recognizable stance among some radical religious and nationalist Jewish groups in Israel and in the Jewish Diaspora.

[Yehuda Bauer]

In the 1980s

In the Western world, the decade of the 1980s began with a wave of antisemitism sparked off by the Lebanon war. There followed a decline in public expressions of it until the late 1980s when economic recession took hold, far-right parties made significant advances, and newer forms of antisemitic expression gained ground. The resurgence of grassroots antisemitism in Eastern Europe, following the collapse of Communism, gave encouragement to antisemitic groups in the West, and by 1992 it was clear that a wave of resurgent antisemitism was under way.

THE WEST: NEW FORMS OF ANTISEMITIC EXPRESSION. In the United States and Germany, anti-Jewish sentiment, as measured by opinion polls, declined steadily, and in other countries no marked increases in antisemitic sentiment were recorded. However, even in countries where polls indicated decreasing levels of antisemitism, the number of antisemitic incidents appeared to rise steadily and become more violent and abusive. A particularly gruesome example was the desecration in May 1990 of the Jewish cemetery in Carpentras, France, where a corpse was dug up. This shocked many and a huge demonstration led by President Mitterrand, took to the streets of Paris.

In the U.S., skinhead groups were thought to be responsible for the rise in antisemitic incidents in the mid-1980s which continued until 1992, when there was a reported decrease in such incidents for the first time in six years. Skinhead groups were also a source of concern in the United Kingdom, Italy, France, Germany, and Canada, where they were thought to be behind the increase in antisemitic attacks over the decade.

Many neo-Nazi groups were formed during the 1980s. Most remained electorally marginal, although some were thought to be responsible for the more violent attacks. There was increased international co-operation between extremist groups in terms of the publication and distribution of propaganda and the organization of conferences and speaking tours.

By the mid-1980s, disillusionment with established political parties, rising nationalism, ethnic conflicts, and an influx of immigrants and asylum-seekers from Eastern Europe led to increased electoral gains for far-right parties in Western Europe. These parties were principally anti-immigrant but their leaders used antisemitic innuendo to make it clear to supporters that antisemitism was part of the fundamental ideological outlook. Antisemitism was far more open at local party level. Racial violence was directed mostly at blacks, Asians, Turks – anyone seen as a "foreigner" – and not at Jews. Yet antisemitic slogans and rhetoric often seemed to be employed by those perpetrating such violence.

In France, the Front National consistently achieved between 9 and 15 percent of the vote. By the late 1980s far-right parties such as the German Republikaner Partei, the Belgian Vlaams Blok, and the Austrian Freiheits Partei also won seats at local and national levels. In 1984, for the first time, the far-right parties had sufficient numbers in the European Parliament to form the Group of the European Right, entitling them to EC funding.

In the U.S., David Duke, the former Ku Klux Klan leader, and Pat Buchanan, known for anti-Jewish comments, were candidates for the 1992 Republican Party's presidential nomination. Although both failed, there was considerable unease at the willingness of the American body politic to embrace these candidates.

Black antisemitism was a serious concern through the 1980s in the U.S. Two of its principal sources were Louis Farrakhan, leader of the Nation of Islam Movement, and the Reverend Jesse Jackson, the black contender for the 1988 Democratic Party presidential nomination. Further tension was caused when, in 1991, a black child was run over by a Ḥasidic driver in the Crown Heights district of New York and a seminary student was murdered in riots which followed.

The "Pollard affair," in which Jonathan Pollard, a Jewish U.S. citizen was convicted of spying for Israel, caused anxiety in the Jewish community. However, fears that the affair would result in the traditional antisemitic accusation of dual loyalties were allayed by opinion polls which indicated that it had little negative effect.

Antisemitism in Latin America was marginal during the period, except in the case of Argentina. Under the Argentine military junta, antisemitism had been a factor in the violent campaign waged against perceived political enemies. When democracy was restored after the Falklands/Malvinas war, expressions of antisemitism in publications increased markedly. However, by the end of the decade, even in Argentina, antisemitism appeared to be decreasing in significance.

In South Africa, Australia, New Zealand, and other countries in the Asia-Pacific region, antisemitism remained essentially marginal, although overtly antisemitic groups existed and their activities were occasionally cause for concern.

While significant efforts were made to curb antisemitism throughout the period, the start of the first intifada in December 1987 reignited tensions. Interfaith dialogue played an important role in countering antisemitism in the Christian churches, particularly among the clergy, but did not appear to have sufficient impact on their charges.

POST-COMMUNIST ANTISEMITISM IN EAST-CENTRAL EUROPE. These years could be characterized as a time of transition from institutionalized to grassroots antisemitism. Indeed, the early 1980s were for the Soviet Union a transitional phase between the bureaucratic stagnation of the Brezhnev era and the reformism of the Andropov-Gorbachev regimes. Beginning around the years 1982–83, there was a shift away from the state-sponsored ideological and political media campaign against Zionism and Israel which had begun in the late 1960s in response mainly to the emigration movement of Soviet Jewry. The campaign had been expressed in Marxist-Leninist terms but elements of it had been marked by transparent anti-Jewish imagery, in particular the invocation of an alleged "Zionist"-Masonic world conspiracy against Moscow and the Soviet Bloc.

As the political wind changed, some writers, propagandists and activists who had specialized in this form of propaganda paid lip service to *perestroika*, others joined the burgeoning chauvinistic and antisemitic groups which had sprung up in Russia, yet others disappeared from view.

With the failure of reform, the economic, political, and social fabric of the Soviet Union deteriorated. This was accompanied by ethnic strife in a number of republics. In December 1992 the Soviet Union finally collapsed and was replaced in part by the shaky Commonwealth of Independent States; the three Baltic states had earlier successfully sued for independence from Moscow.

By the beginning of the 1990s, the situation with regard to antisemitic expression in Central and Eastern Europe had changed radically. In not a single country was antisemitism tolerated as a state policy. On the contrary, Jewish culture was undergoing an unimpeded renaissance, emigration was virtually unrestricted, and the leaders of the new states were concerned both with combating xenophobia, racism, and antisemitism by political and legal means and with maintaining good relations with Israel.

At the same time, the collapse of the Communist system was accompanied in several of the countries by the rise of grassroots anti-Jewish movements of varying degrees of importance. One particular source of danger was tactical alliances between "unreconstructed" Communists and extreme nationalists. Another source of concern, in particular in the Baltic countries, was the rehabilitation of accomplices of the Nazis in implementing the "Final Solution."

At the turn of the decade, the principal danger spots in post-Communist Central and Eastern Europe appeared to be Russia, where the far right embraced both the would-be respectable National Salvation Front and numerous Pamyat-style neo-Nazi and neo-fascist groups; Hungary, where the far-right parliamentarian and writer Istvan Csurka had been expelled from the governing party and had started up a party of his own; and Romania, where the governing coalition depended on the support of a number of xenophobic parties. While there appeared to be relatively little popular prejudice against Jews in any of the post-Communist countries-there was no shortage of ethnic scapegoats – the economic, political, and social dislocation which followed the collapse of Communism remained serious cause for alarm. The bitter warfare in the former Yugoslavia, with its abhorrent practice of "ethnic cleansing," served as a solemn reminder of the depths to which ethnic strife could descend.

ANTI-ZIONISM AND ANTISEMITISM. Much expression of antisemitism at the beginning of the 1980s was disguised as anti-Zionism. Although by no means all anti-Zionists were antisemites, many groups across the political spectrum, but particularly on the extreme left, couched their antisemitism in anti-Zionist rhetoric. For some Communist countries too, anti-Zionism was a convenient tool for concealing state-sponsored antisemitism. The 1975 UN General Assembly resolution 3379, which equated Zionism with racism, was a principal tool of the antisemitic anti-Zionist campaign, which reverberated for a number of years, well into the 1980s, with over 200 denunciations of Israel or the Jewish people or both in national and international forums.

The Israeli invasion of Lebanon in 1982 sparked off a wave of antisemitism which was closely related to negative images of Israel. In the following few years, criticism of Israel provided effective cover for expressions of antisemitism, generating considerable debate as to the relationship between anti-Zionism and antisemitism. Some believed that since anti-Zionism denied the rights of Jews on a collective level, it was the equivalent of denying the Jew individual rights – a classic element of antisemitism.

As the 1980s wore on, however, anti-Zionism began to diminish. The Third World forums in which anti-Zionist rhetoric was constantly featured declined in importance as many of the participants saw that it brought them no benefit. The collapse of the Soviet empire led to an end to Communist state-sponsored anti-Zionism. Far-right groups which utilized anti-Zionism continued to do so but, as anti-Zionism became less of an acceptable notion on the international political stage, it became less useful to those seeking a "respectable" front for their antisemitism. In addition, as socialism appeared to be discredited, far-left antisemitic anti-Zionism declined markedly.

In many Arab countries antisemitism was used in the continuous fight against Zionism and the State of Israel. Much of this antisemitism was imposed from above since practically all Arab governments exercised strict control of the media. However, in some countries, Egypt in particular, there was clear evidence of antisemitism becoming increasingly a grassroots phenomenon, linked to the rise of Islamic fundamentalism.

Antisemitism from Islamic fundamentalist sources became a cause of increasing concern during the period, with extremist groups in certain Western countries propagating violent anti-Jewish rhetoric and using traditional far-right Christian antisemitic themes. Much of this activity was encouraged by Iran and although it resulted in little actual violence against Jews outside of the Middle East, the potential for violence was certainly increasing at the end of the period under review.

THE DENIAL OF THE HOLOCAUST. During the 1980s, Holocaust-deniers sought to depict denial as a scholarly endeavor, issuing "research" purporting to prove that the Holocaust was a hoax. Their main focus was on the gas chambers, particularly at Auschwitz.

Fred Leuchter, who invented the lethal injection system used for executions in some American states, was commissioned to analyze the gas chambers "scientifically." Leuchter's work, which claimed to prove the gas chambers a physical impossibility, was disseminated widely by Holocaust-deniers, although it was found to contain fundamental scientific errors and historical inaccuracies. In Britain, the so-called Leuchter Report was published by the far-right historian David Irvin, whose influence in Neo-Nazi circles worldwide increased parallel to the escalation of his tone and arguments, and his moderate portrayal of Hitler.

Other Holocaust-deniers who continued to provide the "conceptual" framework for the deniers' arguments were Robert Faurisson, in France and Arthur Butz in the U.S. (see above).

Young people were targeted by deniers in an attempt to spread doubt about the Holocaust and the veracity of such works as the *Diary of Anne Frank*. They continually placed advertisements denying the Holocaust in American campus newspapers. A significant number of papers accepted the ads, contending that they represented "ideas" and "points of view" which, however odious, deserved to be heard. In addition, the deniers strenthened their ties with extremist groups worldwide.

Certain countries tried to use the courts as a means of controlling Holocaust-denial activities. However, such legal measures are often difficult to sustain. In 1992, the Canadian Supreme Court overturned the conviction of prominent Holocaust-denier Ernst Zundel, ruling that the prohibition against spreading false news likely to cause injury to a public interest was too vague and possibly restricted legitimate forms of speech

[Hadas Altwarg / Antony Lerman /
Julia Schopflin / Howard Spier]

IN JAPAN. Beginning in late 1986, a marked increase in antisemitic literature surfaced in Japan. Antisemitic literature had been popular in Japan previously, most notably in the 1930s.

In Japan, the image of the Jew that has developed over the past century is a warped and distorted one due to inaccurate sources of information: the anti-Bolshevik White Russian officers of the 1920s, the translation of the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, Nazi propaganda in the 1930s and 1940s, and American antisemitic writing in the 1950s and 1960s. But, ironically, although the intention of many of these sources of misinformation is antisemitic it has not led to antisemitic acts by the Japanese. This is because the Japanese have a different value system from that of the West. While they have accepted the image of the Jew as "smart and rich" this has not led to dislike. On the contrary as the Japanese respect "smart and rich" people, they believe that the Jews should be admired and emulated.

However, during the 1980s there were dozens of other works published about Jews and Judaism, including Japanese translations of authors such as David Ben-Gurion and Elie Wiesel. In addition, Japanese scholars have written on Jewish subjects. It is important to emphasize that these, as well as antisemitic books, have also been published in Japan.

The antisemitic literature can be divided into two general categories. The first describes the extraordinary intelligence and financial wizardry of the Jews. These kinds of books are not necessarily intended to slight or insult the Jews. On the contrary they extol the Jews for their great business acumen and, propose that the Japanese should emulate the so-called "Jewish way of business." These books usually led not to a dislike of Jews but a peculiarly Japanese kind of admiration.

The second category is based on *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion* and uses *The Protocols* to explain the troubled economic situation. They blame the rising value of the Japanese yen on a world-wide Jewish conspiracy to control Japan. One "proof" of this is that multinational companies are a "Jewish invention." IBM, Exxon, Ford, and Chrysler as well as other leading companies, are Jewish-owned; Rockefeller, George Shultz, and Stalin are Jewish; and Korea's economy was planned by the Jews to beat Japan. Jews are also held responsible for the Tanaka-Lockheed scandal (charges of corruption involving the Japanese prime minister Nakoi Tanaka and the American aircraft company in 1976), the Chernobyl nuclear accident, and the pillage of the Incas in the 15th century. The most important "fact" in these arguments is that the Jews control the United States and whoever controls the U.S. controls the world.

The "evidence" is as absurd as the allegations. For example, the Lockheed scandal is seen as an act of retaliation by the Jewish world conspiracy. The "Jew" Rockefeller had planned to have the "Jew" Kissinger open China to the U.S. in order to procure off-shore oil rights. Similarly Tanaka had to be eliminated lest the Japanese endanger the "Jewish world conspiracy" to gain off-shore oil rights.

The leading "Jewish conspiracy" theorist is Masami Uno whose four books have sold well over 1,000,000 copies. Uno also lectures extensively on this subject and has written several articles for various publications. In the April 1987 issue of *Big Man*, a popular monthly, he wrote the following passage:

> How does the international Jewish capital, which effectively controls the U.S. assess America? Jews have gradually been taking their money out of the U.S. for the past several years.
>
> The concept of multinational enterprise, which can move like an amoeba all over the world in search of profits, is typically Jewish.
>
> While Japan is struggling with problems arising from loans made to the Third World countries and massive investment in the U.S., these multinational enterprises have removed far more massive assets from the U.S. to elsewhere and are looking for next investment targets. What will be their next investment target? I'm sure that they will invest their money in buying up Japanese enterprises. When will they start their action? It will be when debtors in the Third World declare a moratorium and stocks plummet simultaneously.
>
> The Great Depression calls to mind scenes of people in bread lines, but these pictures only show one side of things. The other side of the Depression was that the Jewish capital groups, such as Rockfeller, Mellon and Morgan in the U.S. and Rothschild in Europe, accumulated massive fortunes during that period. They kept buying massive banks and companies that went bankrupt. There is no guarantee that the same thing will not happen in Japan.

Among other things these books also trivialize the Holocaust. Uno claims that it was physically impossible for 6,000,000 Jews to have been killed and also states that Hitler had no choice but to eliminate the Jews. Another writer, Toru Kawajiri, estimates that only 200,000 Jews died.

During the late 1980s a total of approximately 1,500,000–2,000,000 antisemitic books in both categories were bought in Japan. These books' popularity is an outgrowth of the tremendous concern in Japan about current economic conditions. The recent leap in the value of the yen has hurt Japanese exports. Many Japanese perceive themselves as gravely threatened and are fearful of the future.

Thus, when a book claims it has answers for the economic situation it has great appeal. Many people who bought books with such titles as *If You Understand the Jews, You Understand the World* were primarily interested in what was said about economic matters and had only a vague curiosity about the Jews. Thus the fact that two million copies of the above book were sold should not be regarded as a sign of a rise in antisemitism.

There is another explanation for the recent popularity of antisemitic books. Japan is very concerned with preserving its sense of national identity. Historically, it has always been fearful of foreigners, with large numbers believing that Japan is only for the Japanese. Such a concern can lead to varying degrees of xenophobia and a tendency to blame the outsider in times of trouble. Thus the recent popularity of antisemitic literature can be understood as a reaction against foreigners in general. It has even been suggested that in reality antisemitic books are attacking America, but since America is too important to Japan it is more politic to blame the Jews.

Other groups have also been blamed for Japan's economic problems. This includes the Rockefellers, Illuminati, and Freemasons.

There is, however, a fundamental difference between Western antisemitism and Japanese attitudes to Jews. In the West Jews are blamed as such but in Japan the word "Jew" is often used as a pseudonym for Americans and even possibly for all foreigners. Furthermore, Japanese do not generally distinguish between one white Westerner and another but see all Westerners as a large group with only minor differences between them. These attitudes reflect a sense of xenophobia in general rather than any specific hostility towards the Jews.

These antisemitic books are believable to the Japanese for several reasons. First, the books are popular in form and language. They are aimed at the low- and middle-level white-collar workers. Such people have had little contact with or understanding of the West and have no reason to doubt the "facts" presented to them. Furthermore the Japanese are great respecters of the printed word.

Until March 1987 these antisemitic publications went basically unopposed both in Japan and abroad. The *New York Times* on March 12, 1987, carried an article, "Japanese writers critical of Jews," which detailed the rise in popularity of the Jewish conspiracy books. This article was followed by others in the Western press.

Subsequently, the Japanese press published several essays debunking the Jewish conspiracy theory. The first of these appeared in the April edition of the intellectual monthly *Bungei Shunju*. This article, by Professor Herbert Passin, a leading Japanologist, detailed the inaccuracies of such theories and scoffed at their credibility. Other eminent writers also published articles in this vein included Professor Go Muramatsu, Y. Teshima, and Shuichi Sato. Masahiro Miyazaki, former lecturer at Waseda University and author of several books on economics, published *If You Mind the Jews, You Will Lose Sight of the World* which parodied the three of Uno's books and explained point by point why the claims made against the Jews are baseless.

On a political level, U.S. Senator Arlen Specter and Rep. Charles Schumer called on Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone to take action against the spreading of antisemitic feeling. On March 19, 1987, Mr. I. Umezu, director of the Japan Information Center in New York, wrote a letter to the *New York Times* which contained the following reassurances: "Anti-Semitism has no roots in Japan's cultural history. The Japanese government and people are firmly opposed to any form of discrimination, whether ethnic, religious or other grounds, and we are firm in our determination to uphold that position."

On March 23, 1987, a delegation from the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith met with the Japanese ambassador to the U.S., H.E. Nobuo Matsunaga, to protest to the Japanese government about the antisemitic literature being published in Japan. Matsunaga responded that while Japan guarantees freedom of speech these publications did not reflect the view of the Japanese government or people.

On September 4, 1987, in response to a question in a session of the Japanese Diet, then Foreign Minister Tadashi Kuranari stated: "I must say that the argument that the problems Japan faces today are due to a global conspiracy of the Jews is totally untrue and irresponsible." While this statement should have helped to delegitimize antisemitic literature, its value and importance were severely limited by the fact that the statement received almost no Japanese press coverage.

On February 3, 1988, the American Jewish Committee held a consultation on Japanese-Jewish relations. It can be said that world Jewish organizations were slowly coming to the realization that Japan as a growing economic and political power could no longer be ignored by world Jewry. While this antisemitic literature has not led to any significant acts of antisemitism, such misinformation left unchecked might ultimately be harmful both to Jews and to the Japanese. In light of this, an effort was made to establish a Yudaya Bunka Center, a Jewish cultural center, to provide accurate and basic information about Jews to the Japanese.

[Michael J. Schudrich]

The 1990s and After

WAVES OF ANTISEMITISM AND THEIR CAUSES. Antisemitic activities and expressions were on the rise from the beginning of the 1990s: during the first Gulf War world Jewry, especially the U.S. communities, were accused of pushing their countries into a war that was in Israel's interests. This accusation served to bolster the "conspiracy theory" that was already in place and according to which the Jewish desire for world domination manipulates global events. Moreover, the waves of immigrants and foreign workers caused by the fall of the Soviet Bloc and the globalization process exacerbated problems of defining and relating to ethnicity, nationality, and the rights of newcomers arriving from the poor Southern Hemisphere to the richer Northern one – all bearing on attitudes to Jews, the symbol of the eternal other. Indeed, the year 1994 was by far the worst of the decade – more than 300 cases of violence against Jews were registered worldwide. Violence doubled in Western Europe, most notably in Germany, and increased in Russia. Great Britain remained the most violent country with respect to racist and antisemitic activities for the third year running.

Additional reasons for these developments were the considerable increase throughout the Western world of the role of extremist Muslim groups and movements affiliated to fundamentalist organizations in North Africa and the Middle East. The extreme right, reacting to the growing presence of immigrant minorities, escalated its response to Jews as well, and even more so, having at their service the skinheads, youth devoid of ideology and of institutionalized frameworks. New and constantly improving techniques, the Internet first and foremost, that facilitated the dissemination of antisemitic propaganda and the cooperation among extremist groups, defied government efforts to impose bans and legal constraints. Worst of all was the impact of public debates on World War II (see below), the gradual dissolving of former taboos and the filtering of instigation by hard-core extremists down to the general public.

In 1995 these developments prompted government agencies, police and parliaments included, to increase anti-terrorist and anti-racist legislative and enforcement efforts. Their unequivocal response to these few years of rising violence against foreigners and Jews resulted in a sharp decline in such violence for the following two years, until 1998, especially in Western Europe, Canada, and the U.S., but not in Russia. However, use of the Internet by extremists was not hampered and served as a vehicle to disseminate their views, especially the "world Jewish domination" notion that was still prevalent in Japan at the time and was enhanced by additional claims made by U.S. Nation of Islam leader Louis Farrakhan: having been slave traders, the Jews fabricated a Holocaust story to divert public attention from the suffering of the blacks, and distorted their image through Jewish control of Hollywood and the media. The ongoing globalization, resulting in rampant unemployment, cuts in welfare spending, and subsidization of newcomers' needs, caused public dissatisfaction. The extreme right-wing parties were not slow in exploiting the situation, and their leaders – Jorg Haider in Austria, Filip Dewinter in Belgium, and Jean-Marie le Pen in France, made impressive electoral gains in 1995–97. A few years later, Corneliu Vadim Tudor in Romania, Christoph Blocher in Switzerland, and Istvan Churka in Hungary would follow. While such parties became stronger, extra-parliamentary extremist groups weakened.

After three relatively quiet years, 1998 and 1999 were years of great concern and unease as violence became more severe and each attack caused more damage and underscored the enhanced local and international organizational capacities of the perpetrators. The first signs of cooperation between Islamic extremists, active even during the years of the Oslo Accord, and ultra-rightists or -leftists surfaced in a number of countries. They were coupled to attempts by the right-wing organizations to compensate for their weakness through regional or even European reorganization, and to maintain "leaderless cells of resistance" that were harder to identify and monitor. Indeed, the far right orchestrated a violent summer in the U.S. in 1999, and German authorities warned that the number of such groups whose members are prepared to use arms is on the rise, and that some areas in slowly adjusting East Germany were closed off by hooligan youngsters even to the police. Moreover, violence spread to countries hitherto quiet in this respect, not to speak of overt and uncurbed use of antisemitic motifs and an atmosphere of violence in Russia that kept intensifying each year, with the beating of rabbis on the streets of Moscow, Buenos Aires, and London – blatant acts unknown for decades. Violence was accompanied by a no less troubling proliferation of graffiti, slogans, personal insults, threats, and harassment, together with a host of verbal, electronic, and visual anti-Jewish expressions.

Following two difficult years, the year 2000 ushered in a new century with cautious hope. At the Stockholm Conference some 45 countries declared their commitment to embarking on a less violent century by implementing the lessons of the Holocaust. Pope *John Paul II visited Yad Vashem, and Holocaust denier David *Irving lost his lawsuit against American Jewish historian Deborah Lipstadt with an unequivocal condemnation by a British court that upheld the contention that he had falsified truth and facts – all dealing Holocaust denial a severe blow and creating a new atmosphere. But within a few months, in October 2000, with the outbreak of the second Intifada, an unprecedented wave of violence against Jews swept Western Europe, the U.S., and Canada. Young immigrants from Muslim countries perpetrated most of the 180 or so incidents of violence within a few weeks, during the High Holidays. From then until 2005 a number of waves occurred, each more violent than the previous one, primarily targeting the young and old who looked Jewish on the streets and in educational institutions, but not abandoning the desecration of cemeteries and synagogues. The Durban, South Africa, U.N. World Conference against Racism, held in September 2001, originally assembled to address acute world problems of discrimination, xenophobia, and intolerance originating in the migration process, turned into a wholesale attack that singled out Israel and the Jewish people from among 160 countries and nations. Together with the September 11 events, for which American Jews and Israel were immediately blamed, the conference opened a new wave of virulent antisemitism, later followed by another in 2002, with the opening of Operation Defensive Shield, and another with the invasion of Iraq led by the U.S.

Fueling the fire were the concurrence of interests between radical Islam and the European left; deep-seated anti Americanism and pacifism, combined with anti-globalization movements, associating rich Jews operating in the global economy and the State of Israel with both their bugbears; post-nationalist and post-colonial discourse in a unifying and repentant Europe when the Jewish people exercised a unique kind of nationality; the unspoken wish to shake off the heavy shadow of the Holocaust and the Jewish demand to be compensated for its property looted during the war. Violence against persons has been perpetrated in countries with a large immigrant population, most notably a Muslim one (France, Great Britain, and Canada), while attacks on property and communal sites are more evident in countries where the far right is active (U.S., Russia, and Germany). Thus, the left, gradually realizing that millions of frustrated immigrants have not really been integrated, and are being used in the industries of aging countries, are stricken with guilt feelings toward them, but not toward the Jews. Since the liberal left comprises a considerable part of academia, the media, and government, the scene was set for hostility towards the Jewish communities and the Jewish state.

WORLD WAR II AND HOLOCAUST-RELATED ISSUES. Ceremonies held in 1994–96 all over the world, commemorating the 50th anniversary of events that took place during the final stages of the Holocaust and World War II, brought relations between Christians and the Jewish people to the fore. The impact of these ceremonies on public debate and extremist activities was especially marked in Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union, where most of the Holocaust victims had lived and were killed. The central issues were: compensation for Jewish property; rewriting of the dark history of the past in terms more flattering to local collective memory; rehabilitation of war criminals who became anti-Communist national heroes; cooperation of the local population with the Nazis, which is still being equated with Jewish support of Communism. Every commemoration and new monument or financial agreement – themselves Jewish achievements – took their toll in anti-Jewish terms.

Compensation for Jewish property came to the fore when archives were opened in the Western world in accordance with the 50-year archive laws, and in the former Soviet Bloc after its collapse. While governments, mainly in the West, supported the demands of Jewish organizations, bolstered by American pressure, and even hailed the courageous fight for lost rights and property, grassroot attitudes, especially in Eastern Europe, were different: they clung to the notion of Jewish domination of the world and the image of the rich manipulating Jew first found in the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, imagining a Jewish grip so strong that the Jews can sell the world any horror story, blackmail it, and get paid for it twice, even 50 years later. Holocaust denial thus became an even more convenient solution, exonerating former generations. The first example was the "Swiss Gold" affair, which pointed to a large number of countries that benefited either from Jewish assets or from transactions with the Nazi regime, in effect collaborating with and supporting, it. Indeed, antisemitism in Switzerland, long dormant, was openly expressed on the individual and even the official level. Another example was Hungary, where a rise in antisemitic violence was registered with the passage of the 1996 law recognizing Jewish rights. Jewish demands generated resentment especially then, when the majority of the Jews were seen a residing in wealthy countries while millions suffered poverty and human rights abuses worldwide.

As the century drew to a close, World War II was increasingly perceived as the major event that shaped it, and other issues accentuated the pivotal role of the Jewish people: the political and economic crisis in Russia highlighted the alleged role of the Jews in the pre- and post-Communist regimes; Pope John Paul II's epistle to his Catholic flock worldwide, "We Remember: Reflections on the Holocaust," summarized two millennia of Jewish-Christian relations and admitted that Church antisemitism had paved the way to the Holocaust. Right-wing organizations, especially in Germany and Austria, were cautious in formulating their messages, taking into account the resonance of World War II-related issues in public opinion. Their caution paid off in electoral gains, which encouraged the extra-parliamentary extremists. Germany struggled to find a way to remember its past with a new generation in government office. This was evident in a continuing controversy over the erection of a central Holocaust memorial in Berlin, and the first voices among intellectuals doubting that the centrality of Auschwitz in public life is still justified.

While the 50th anniversaries and commemorations of World War II brought to the fore the negative image of the Jewish people and resentment of the Jews' role as an eternal reminder of sins that people preferred to forget, the opposite occurred 10 years later, during the 60th anniversary. A special event dedicated to the liberation of Auschwitz at UN headquarters in New York, not to mention a ceremony in the camp itself, with the participation of leading international figures and hosts of declarations and speeches, might be explained either as a form of compensation for the antisemitic violence that had not yet been suppressed by these same leaders; or as the use of Auschwitz as a symbol of human suffering as such, and not only Jewish suffering.

THE NEW ANTISEMITISM AND ANTI-ZIONISM. The new antisemitism is a term that surfaced after the events of October 2000, to distinguish it from late 19th century political antisemitism and post-World War II antisemitism. It is characterized by increasing violence mainly against the person of the Jews, mostly in Western Europe, where France is the biggest trouble spot, and North America and Russia; it is marked by a transfer of initiative from the Christian world to the Muslim one for the first time in the long history of antisemitism. Virulent propaganda keeps spreading from Arab countries, especially those in the Middle East, into the Western world, and Muslim immigrants, numbering about 15 million in 2005 in Europe, have become an electoral and economic asset overshadowing the Jewish communities and Israel. The basic negative characteristics of the collective image of the Jew as they accumulated throughout history have not changed, and traditional and even primitive antisemitism is still put to use. What has changed is the sharpening of the image and the degree of vilification as well as the intensity of the political use that is being made of it. The new antisemitism is political, serving as a tool in the war of the radical Muslim world against the West, and first and foremost against the U.S., a war in which Israel and the Jews represent modernity, a primary enemy in the radical Muslim worldview. And it is political as a convenient fusion of antisemitism and anti-Zionism based on the contention that Israel and the Jewish people are one entity, each responsible for the other and for the whole.

One might say that while part of the antisemitism in Christian countries in recent decades has turned into anti-Zionism, in the Muslim world anti-Zionism appears to be turning into anti-Jewishness, thus broadening a political and territorial conflict into a clash of ideological and religious world views. The use of Christian and secular European antisemitic motifs in Muslim publications has been on the rise, yet at the same time Muslim extremists are turning increasingly to their religious sources, first and foremost the Koran, as a primary anti-Jewish source. Indeed, in the media and in public meetings in Arab countries antisemitic motifs ranged from absurd accusations that Israel and the Jews engage in the spreading of AIDS and corruption in order to dominate the Middle East, to the extensive use of Nazi motifs, the blood libel and the Protocols of the Elders of Zion, with a hero's welcome to the French Holocaust denier Roger Garaudy.

Two of the most debated issues in this regard are the correlation between antisemitic events and the Middle East conflict and the question of when anti-Zionism becomes, if indeed it does, antisemitism.

While some of the antisemitic waves and incidents were clearly connected to the Middle East, many others were not connected to the outbreak of violence between Israelis and Palestinians, especially those which occurred during the years of the Oslo Accords or following the death of Chairman Yasser Arafat, when a process of rapprochement between the parties seemed to be underway. Also, many of the Muslim immigrants come from countries not necessarily connected to the Middle Eastern conflict, such as those from India and Pakistan in the U.K., from Turkey in Germany, or from central Africa and the Caribbean Islands in France and Canada. Indeed, by 2004 this correlation, previously considered a basic tenet, was being reconsidered because of the growing awareness that the results of immigration are basically a European and global problem, and that the declared correlation with the Middle East is a convenient way to blame the situation on external factors.

While there is general agreement that criticism of Israel's policies is not necessarily antisemitism, there is also agreement, among non-Jews as well, that there are forms of anti-Zionism which are not just criticisms of Israel's policies but an objection to its very existence, thus becoming antisemitism: (a) when the language and images used and the character traits attributed to Israel are imbued with known antisemitic stereotypes, and Israel becomes the collective Jew, or the Jew among the nations; (b) when Israelis and Jews are depicted as a cosmic evil, are blamed for worldwide disasters, and are compared to the Nazis, the ultimate evil; (c) when Israelis and Jews supporting the State of Israel are singled out and attacked, and are treated out of all proportion to the issue at hand and in comparison with the response to the actions of other nations; the often mentioned higher expectations from Israel as a democratic state are at the same time a way to avoid confrontations with despotic regimes, certainly the Muslim ones, spawning such phenomena as a ban only against Israeli universities; (d) when the very existence of a Jewish people, and/or its right to have a national movement and a state are doubted or delegitimized; the Merriam-Webster dictionary stated in 1966 that antisemitism is "opposition to Zionism; sympathy with opponents of the State of Israel"; (e) when the Holocaust is denied, distorted, and made a political weapon, and when the Jews are blamed for allegedly misusing it to extort financial support and to make political capital. While Jewish communities perhaps pay the price for the Middle East conflict, Israel pays for the image of the Jew: "in polite company," wrote a London *Sunday Times* observer, "one uses 'Israel' when hesitating to use the word 'Jew.'"

REACTIONS TO THE WAVES OF ANTISEMITISM. "We are back in the 1930s," was the reaction of most spokespersons of Jewish organizations and many individuals to the waves of antisemitism that started in October 2000. Though originating in calls of "death to the Jews" in the streets and in the numerous cases of arson against synagogues during the High Holidays, which reoccurred in 2001 as well, these developments belonged to an era that cannot be compared with the Nazi period: In the 2000s, the antisemitic waves notwithstanding, Jewish organizations and communities are on the alert, well-organized, pinpointing the recent processes and fighting against them, and applying history's lessons. The clear stance of the U.S., of the late Pope John Paul II (1978–2005), and of Israel, coupled with the desire of countries to be members of international bodies by demonstrating their commitment to human rights, are all postwar developments. There is today no state-orchestrated antisemitism, and the billion-plus Muslim believers comprise a variety of sects, beliefs, and ways of life. Moreover, European and North American countries admit today that the ideal of a multicultural society advanced from the 1990s, especially by human rights-oriented NGOs which believed in the idea of gradual assimilation, is being replaced by a growing awareness that immediate steps should be taken to calm inter-community tensions, the most prominent form of which is antisemitism. These steps include general education, education for the democratic system, legislation, law enforcement, operative definitions and comprehensive databases and monitoring. A long series of conferences and seminars, accompanied by public opinion polls and reports, initiated by the UN, the OSCE (Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe), the European Union, and individual countries, was devoted to the struggle against antisemitism, and partly against Islamophobia. Intellectuals, Jews and non-Jews alike, joined the debates and condemned racism of all kinds, first and foremost antisemitism.

Two parallel phenomena thus characterize the antisemitism of the 2000s: violence accompanied by hostile verbal and visual outpourings and growing awareness and the practical response of the national and international communities.

[Dina Porat (2nd ed.)]

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ANTOINE, NICOLAS (1603–1632), French pastor who converted to Judaism. Antoine, who was born into a Catholic family in Briey (Lorraine), became a Protestant c. 1624 and studied theology in Geneva. A few years later, during a stay in Metz, his faith in Christianity was shaken by discussions with Jews of that city. Subsequently he went to Venice where he asked the rabbis of the city to circumcise him, but they were afraid to do so. When he returned to Geneva he assumed various functions, including that of pastor of Divonne, although convinced of the truth of Judaism. He followed Jewish observances, and avoided making reference to the New Testament, or explaining Christian dogmas in his sermons and in the exercise of his other pastoral duties. This might have passed unobserved by the Protestant community of Divonne had he not one Sunday in February 1632, in a sermon on Psalm 2, contradicted the Christian interpretation of the text, openly declaring that it referred not to Jesus, but to David. At first he was declared insane and treated as such, but he was later summoned to court. The trial was conducted summarily. Although several French pastors advocated clemency, he was condemned to death and executed at Place du Plainpalais in Geneva in April 1632.

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[Bernhard Blumenkranz]

ANTOKOLSKI, MARK (**Mordecai**; 1843–1902), Russian sculptor. Antokolski was born in Vilna to poor parents. As a child he studied in a *ḥeder*. He later served as an apprentice to a haberdasher, and then to a wood-carver, and through this medium his artistic talent was discovered. Antokolski was accepted in 1862 at the Academy of Art in St. Petersburg. Two years later, he won the Great Silver Medal for his wood bas-relief, *The Jewish Tailor*. In 1865 he executed the ivory bas-relief *The Miser*, in 1867, *The Kiss of Judas Iscariot*, and in 1869, *The Talmudic Debate*. In 1869 he completed the bas-relief *Inquisition*, on which he worked for six years. When he returned to Russia after a study-trip to Berlin, he ceased treating Jewish subjects and began choosing themes from Russian history. His statue *Ivan the Terrible* (1871) brought him his first great publicity. It was purchased for the Hermitage by Czar Alexander and resulted in Antokolski's election to the council of the Academy. Due to a disease of the lungs he moved to Rome in 1872. Antokolski sculpted *Peter the Great*, a large marble statue, which was placed in Peterhof. He executed three bronze statues, *Jaroslav the Wise*, *Dmitri Donskoi*, and *Ivan the Third*, and in 1874, *Jesus in Chains*. In 1875 Antokolski returned to St. Petersburg and did sculptures of the royal family, L.N. Tolstoi, and I. Turgeniev. Noteworthy among his sculptures in this period are the ivory statue *Mephisto*, the tombstone of Princess Obolenskaya (1875), *The Death of Socrates*, and *Jesus, the Crucified* (1876). International fame came at the Paris World Exhibition in 1878.

Antokolski's noteworthy sculptures between 1881 and 1891 include *Yermak* and *Nestor*. Most of his works were exhibited in the Tretyakow Museum in Moscow and the Russian Museum in Leningrad.

Even in his early works, he departed from the artistic methods of the official academic school generally accepted in the early 19th century. This school viewed classical sculpture and that of the Christian church as a model. Antokolski became associated with the Russian school of artists, the "Peredvizhniki" (the "transmitters"), which saw as its prime object not artistic expression as such, but rather the social ideal, humanity, and an exaggerated realism. Indeed, Antokolski liked to have sculptures embody a social and humane ideal. As long as this school prevailed in Russia (until the 1890s) Antokolski enjoyed much popularity. Later, however, he had many admirers both in Russia and in Western Europe who saw in him a great artist in whose statues the principle was not outward plastics, but rather the lines of the soul which they embodied.

Antokolski became famous during the antisemitic wave in Russia, prior to the pogroms of the 1880s. At that time, the Russian nationalist press opened an attack on him, describing him as a "Jew" who had no right to portray the heroes of Russian history and Jesus and John the Baptist because it was not possible for him to comprehend them and the spirit of Christianity. His fame was attributed to the influence of influential Jewish bankers (mainly Baron Horace Guenzberg). Turgeniev and the art critic Stasov defended Antokolski; but the artist was severely affected by the antisemitic attacks, and, full of bitterness, he left Russia permanently for Paris. There, in the last years of his life, he lived alone and created almost nothing, with the exception of a large marble statue, *Spinoza*. Antokolski observed Jewish traditions and was interested in spreading art among the Jews. He supported young Jewish artists and envisaged a Jewish artistic school. In *Teḥiyyat ha-Ru'aḥ* ("Renewal of the Spirit"), Aḥad Ha-Am accused Antokolski of choosing to depict the monk Nestor, instead of Elijah, the Gaon of Vilna, as a figure aloof from the world, though the Gaon and the artists were natives of the same town. Despite this, however, Aḥad Ha-Am recognized the particular Jewish character of Antokolski's artistic work, in which the statue is not a body but the dress for the spirit and idea embodied in it.

Antokolski wrote many essays on artistic problems and an autobiography, which was published in the Russian monthly, *Vestnik Yevropy* (1887; full manuscript in the Leningrad Public Library). His correspondence, edited by his colleague Stasov, has been published.

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[Karl Schwarz / Abba Ahimeir]

ANTOKOLSKI, PAVEL GRIGOREVICH (1896–), poet. Trained as a lawyer, Antokolski was for a time associated with Vakhtangov's theatrical studio but turned to literature. The settings of Antokolski's poems range from the medieval France of *François Villon* (1934) to the 19th-century Russia of *O Pushkine* (1960). He also published Russian translations of Georgian and Ukrainian verse.

°**ANTONESCU, ION** (1882–1946), Romanian soldier and politician. Following a dispute with King Carol II in 1934, Antonescu resigned his post as chief of staff. When Goga and *Cuza formed an antisemitic government late in 1937, Antonescu, an antisemite, was appointed minister of defense, and the Germans established contact with him. On September 4, 1940 he became prime minister, with dictatorial powers. Two days later Antonescu forced King Carol II to abdicate, formed a government together with the *Iron Guard, and called himself *conducator* ("leader") of Romania. Antonescu disapproved of the violent methods of the Iron Guard, fearing that they would lead to Romania's economic ruin. On January 21 and 22, 1941, the Iron Guard made its revolt against Antonescu the occasion for a pogrom. Hitler took Antonescu's part, since he needed the Romanian army for his planned invasion of Russia. After Romania entered the war against Russia on June 22, 1941, the Germans and Romanians conquered Bessarabia and Northern Bukovina, and massacred the Jewish population. Antonescu ordered the Odessa massacre (November 23, 1941), which cost between 25,000 and 30,000 Jewish lives. In the autumn of 1942, the Jewish leadership in Bucharest enlisted the aid of local politicians, neutral diplomats, and the papal nuncio, who applied pressure on Antonescu, and succeeded in preventing the deportation of the entire Jewish population of Romania to concentration camps. After the German defeat at Stalingrad, Antonescu became increasingly lenient toward the Jews. Late in 1943, negotiations began between Jewish leaders and Antonescu's government for the return of those Jews deported to *Transnistria and for their emigration to Palestine. At the same time, Antonescu began negotiating for a separate peace. The Transnistria deportees began to return only in the spring of 1944, when the Russians reconquered the area. Antonescu was sentenced to death by a Bucharest People's Court and executed on June 6, 1946.

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[Theodor Lavi]

°**ANTONESCU, MIHAI** (1907–1946), Romanian lawyer and politician. In 1940 Antonescu, as minister of justice, formulated several anti-Jewish laws. He was the legal representative of Ion *Antonescu (to whom he was unrelated). Upon the outbreak of war with the Soviet Union in June 1941 Antonescu was appointed deputy prime minister and foreign minister. He ordered the persecution and forcible deportation of the Jewish population of Bessarabia and Bukovina in order to achieve "ethnic purity." In July 1942 Antonescu concluded an agreement with Gustav Richter, Adolf *Eichmann's representative in Romania, to deport all Romanian Jews to Poland, but this plan was frustrated by the intervention of diplomats from neutral countries who acted on the initiative of Romanian Jewish leaders. Early in 1944 Antonescu established contact with the officially non-existent Jewish organizations, and particularly with A.L. Zissu, chairman of the Zionist Executive Committee. In June 1944 he permitted the Palestine Office to operate legally and supply identity cards to refugees bound for Palestine from Hungary, Poland, and Slovakia. After the war he was tried with Ion Antonescu by a Bucharest People's Court. They were sentenced to death and executed.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: See Antonescu, Ion.

[Theodor Lavi]

ANTONIA, fortress situated on a rocky prominence on the north side of the Temple Mount in Jerusalem. It replaced a number of earlier fortresses at this location: (1) the *birah* (the "Citadel") from the time of Nehemiah (Neh. 2:8; 7:2); (2) the Hellenistic *acropolis* or *acra* (2 Macc. 4:12, 27–28; 5:5–6) – not to be confused with the later **acra* of the Seleucids, which was situated to the south of the Temple Mount; and (3) the *baris* of the Hasmonean period (Josephus, Antiquities XV, 403; Wars I, 75). A rock-cut tunnel leading from the direction of the later Struthion Pool probably fed a number of cisterns belonging to the Hellenistic/Hasmonean fortress at this location. A rock-cut fosse or ditch originally separated the area of the earlier fortresses from the enclosed temple area itself and was mentioned by Strabo (16, 2:40) and Josephus (Antiquities, 14: 61); it was eventually filled in by Pompey in 63 B.C.E. This rock-cut ditch (118 ft. in width and 20 ft. deep) was still visible to 19th-century explorers. As part of the major landscape changes to the area of the Temple esplanade in Jerusalem, Herod the Great decided to refortify the fortress and rename it in honor of Mark Antony. According to Josephus, it was situated at the corner of the northwestern colonnade of the Temple Mount, which meant that Herod was forced to reduce the area of the fortress quite substantially. Josephus relates that it stood on a rock 50 cubits (82 ft.) high, and its walls reached a height of 40 cubits. Inside the fortress were a palace, courtyards, bath houses, and cisterns. From three of its corners rose ornamental towers 50 cubits high, and from the fourth (southeastern) corner, a tower 70 cubits high. The fortress is believed to have stood at the junction of the "second" defensive wall of Jerusalem with the northwest angle of the Temple Mount, but archaeological proof of this has not yet been forthcoming; a deep rock-cut moat apparently protected it from the north, with underground stairs and passages connecting it to the south with the Temple area. This key position was captured by the Zealots on the 15th of Av, 66 C.E. During the siege of Titus the breach through which the Romans penetrated into the Temple area passed through Antonia. Earlier investigators believed that remains of the Antonia fortress could be detected in the grounds of the present convent of Notre Dame de Sion and that combined with the remains seen at the northwest angle of the Temple Mount area, it was deemed possible to reconstruct the plan of the entire fortress. New archaeological studies indicate this is no longer the case and that the area of the Antonia Fortress was restricted almost entirely to the rocky prominence (295 ft. × 131 ft.) at the northwest angle of the Temple Mount, with a flight of steps leading up to it from the south. Several Christian commentators have maintained that Antonia was the site of *gabbatha* (the stone pavement) mentioned in John (19:13) as the place where Pontius Pilate sat when Jesus was brought before him for judgment. However, it is now believed that the trial of Jesus occurred at the Praetorium, which was the same as the Old Palace of Herod the Great situated in the Upper City and to the south of the crucifixion area. The Antonia Fortress was apparently razed following the capture of the city by the Romans in 70 C.E. The Capitoline Temple may have been built at this location at the time of Hadrian, overlooking the northern market of Aelia Capitolina.

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[Michael Avi-Yonah / Shimon Gibson (2nd ed.)]

°**ANTONINUS PIUS**, Roman emperor (ruled 138–161); the successor of *Hadrian. Antoninus Pius generally continued the policies of his predecessor. His most notable achievement was in the field of law which he insisted be administered impartially. In regard to the Jews, and particularly in Judea, Hadrian's harsh policies were repealed. Although still not allowed to proselytize, those born as Jews were freely permitted their traditional methods of worship, and the schools and the synagogues were openly reestablished.

[Alan Richard Schulman]

In Talmud and *Aggadah*

A Roman emperor named Antoninus forms the subject of a number of aggadic statements, dialogues, and stories in the Talmud and the Midrashim, in all of which he is described as in the company of R. *Judah ha-Nasi. The talmudic sources refer to more than one emperor; they distinguish, for instance, between Antoninus senior and Antoninus junior (Eccl. R. 10:5), but the attempts of scholars to fit these accounts into the historic framework of the period of the Antonines have proved unsuccessful. The discussions with Antoninus include dialogues on the relationship between the body and the soul, the power of the evil inclination, and matters of state. They contain no data by which it would be possible to determine with certainty the attitude of the dialogists to the problems that were constantly discussed in the philosophical schools in the period of the Antonines. In the dialogues and stories, the Jewish patriarch excels the Roman emperor in wisdom and in moral stature, but the two are good friends and show complete trust in, and respect for, each other. Antoninus' attitude to Judaism is one of reverence. A rabbinic dictum has also been preserved according to which Antoninus would be the first righteous proselyte to be accepted in the messianic era (TJ, Meg. 3:2, 74a).

Underlying the talmudic and midrashic stories there is undoubtedly an element of historic truth; they testify to the good relations that were established for a time in the period of the Antonines between the Roman authorities in Palestine and the Jewish sages. The form of government in the Roman Empire, which in the second century C.E. was to a certain extent federal, made it possible for the people of the different countries of the Empire to express their views before the emperor not only on the form of government, but also on religious and ethical questions.

The tales about Antoninus and R. Judah ha-Nasi were widely current among the people. A number of them, as, for example, the parable of the lame man and the blind (Sanh. 91a–b) are found in comparatively early works of Jewish literature (see the Ezekiel Apocryphon 1; cf. James, in: JTS, 15

(1914), 236) and are derived from the treasury of folk wisdom. Accounts of disputations and conversations of a similar nature (between other rabbis and Roman dignitaries) have been preserved in talmudic and midrashic literature. There are also extant (non-Jewish) Greco-Roman texts containing disputations and dialogues of this type between various individuals and Roman emperors.

[Joshua Gutmann]

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°**ANTONIO**, known as the "Prior of Crato" (1531–1595), claimant to the throne of Portugal which, on the death of childless Henry II in 1580, had been seized by Philip II of Spain. Antonio was the grandson of King Manuel (who had been responsible for the expulsion of the Jews from Portugal in 1496–97) through an illegitimate union between the latter's son Luis and a beautiful *New Christian woman, Yolante Gomez. It was therefore hoped that if he succeeded to the throne he would curb the activities of the Portuguese Inquisition. Partly for this reason, partly because of their inveterate hatred of Spain, the Portuguese Marrano communities strongly favored his cause. Among his principal supporters was Solomon *Abenaes, who endeavored to secure Anglo-Turkish support for him. In London, the ill-fated Roderigo *Lopes was his personal physician. Dom Antonio proved a weak and unreliable character and the Marrano group later broke with him, while he retaliated by accusing them of treachery. This quarrel ultimately led to the execution of Lopes, who did not turn down a Spanish suggestion that he should poison the pretender and was also suspected of having similar designs on Queen Elizabeth I.

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[Cecil Roth]

°**ANTONIUS DIOGENES** (c. 100 C.E.), author of a fictional romance on Thule, quoted in Porphyry's "Life of Pythagoras." He quotes the tradition to the effect that the philosopher was influenced by the peoples of the East. According to Antonius, Pythagoras visited the Egyptians, Arabs, Chaldeans, and Hebrews, and learned from them the accurate interpretation of dreams.

°**ANTONIUS JULIANUS** (late first century C.E.), author of a book on the Jews mentioned only by the third century Christian Minucius Felix (Octavius, 33:4). Antonius is generally assumed to be identical with the procurator of Judea in 70 C.E. of the same name, who took an active part in the Council of War convened by Titus to debate the fate of the Temple (Jos., War, 6:238).

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[Menahem Stern]

ANTUÑES, Marrano family. HEITOR (HECTOR) sailed for Brazil from Portugal in 1557; he was tried posthumously by the Lisbon Inquisition. His widow, Ana Rois, died in prison. Several members of the family were tried by the Inquisition in the 17th century and the name figures also in the records of the Mexican Inquisition. In the auto-da-fé at Valladolid in 1725, a family from Portugal comprising two brothers and two sisters named Antuñes were reconciled to the church.

David was among the Amsterdam poets who collaborated in the volume in memory of the inquisitional martyr Abraham Nuñez *Bernal in 1655. AARON, rabbi in Amsterdam and Naarden, was in correspondence with contemporary German talmudic scholars and left some works in manuscript, including a commentary on *Avot*. It is questionable whether he is the same Aaron b. Solomon Antuñes who was active as a printer in Amsterdam 1716–20. GABRIEL, who left Suriname with the British in 1675, settled in Barbados. The family of Antuñes Paredes was numerous in Curaçäo.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: AJHSP, index to volumes 1–20 (1914); I.S. Emmanuel, *Precious Stones of the Jews of Curaçao…* (1957), index; A. Wiznitzer, *Jews in Colonial Brazil* (1960), index.

[Cecil Roth]

ANTWERP, Belgian port and commercial center. Although a few Jews are mentioned in Antwerp before the 15th century, the first substantial community was established with the arrival of *Marrano merchants and others from the Iberian penninsula. On March 30, 1526, Emperor *Charles V issued a general safe-conduct to the Portuguese "New Christians" in Antwerp, and numerous Marranos were enabled to settle there, and engage in business. The Marranos in Antwerp, however, were spared from the activities of the Inquisition, which had not been authorized in the southern Low Countries, although under Spanish rule. Nevertheless, the anomaly of Marrano existence under a Catholic prince remained, and they were suspected of aiding the Reformation agitation. Wealthy Marranos, such as the *Mendes family, used the Spanish Netherlands for transit to Muslim countries. These factors, combined with political and economic fluctuations, influenced the sovereigns to revise their attitude to the Marranos in the Spanish Netherlands several times. Toward the mid-16th century it was decided to expel from Antwerp all Marranos who had arrived there before 1543. Attempts by the municipality to avert the expulsion failed. The edict was renewed in 1550 and most of the Marranos were forced to leave, although a group of families continued to reside in Antwerp without rights of domicile. After the Peace of Westphalia (1648), Marranos were able to resettle in Antwerp, and even established a modest place of worship there. For their religious needs, however, they mainly attached themselves to the community in *Amsterdam. Population figures for the "Portuguese nation" in Antwerp in this period indicate that 85 families and 17 individuals were living there in 1571, and 47 families and 20 widows in 1591; 46 names are mentioned in 1619, and 38 males and 27 females in 1666.

By the Treaty of Utrecht (1713), Antwerp passed under Austrian rule. The Jewish community was able to emerge from hiding, and certain privileged Jews of Ashkenazi origin obtained the right of residence in Antwerp. By the end of the 18th century civic rights had been granted to a number of individual Jews. After the occupation of the Low Countries by the French revolutionary forces in 1794, Jews were able to settle freely in Antwerp, and the Ashkenazi element eventually predominated. Antwerp was again attached to the Netherlands before becoming part of independent *Belgium in 1830. The first synagogue was built in 1808 and a cemetery established in 1828. There were 151 Jews in Antwerp in 1829, and 373 in Antwerp province in 1846.

After the beginning of the 20th century the Antwerp community enjoyed unprecedented prosperity through a combination of two chance circumstances: during the 1880s the port of Antwerp became the major embarkation point for the mass Jewish migration to America from Eastern Europe; at the same time there was a spectacular development in the *diamond industry through the discovery of the South African mines. Many of the intending emigrants decided to settle in Antwerp and take up new skills as diamond cutters and polishers or dealers. The occupation became central to the community, and Jewish enterprise made Antwerp the capital of the industry in Europe. The Jewish population in Antwerp increased from 8,000 in 1900 to 25,000 in 1913, 35,000 in 1927, and 55,000 in 1939 (about 20% of the total population). In 1928 several thousand Jews were employed in the diamond industry, 25% of the total workers and 75% of employees in the industry being Jewish. The number of Jewish emigrants passing through Antwerp and afforded relief by the community was 2,300 in 1897, 7,478 in 1900, 19,448 in 1903, 24,479 in 1905, and 23,656 in 1920–21.

[Simon R. Schwarzfuchs]

The Holocaust Period (1939–1945)

When the Germans invaded Belgium, there were about 50,000 Jews in Antwerp, only 10% of whom were Belgian citizens. Most of the Jews escaped to France at the start of hostilities. However, after the Belgian surrender (May 28, 1940), approximately 30,000 Jews returned to the city.

No special measures were taken against the Jews at the beginning of the occupation. The military authorities were more interested in keeping the country quiet, and in reviving the diamond industry, which had been almost entirely owned by Jews. According to the first anti-Jewish decrees, on Oct. 28, 1940, more than 13,000 Antwerp Jews were registered on the *Judenregister*, and Jewish businesses were marked with trilingual signboards. Further decrees forbade Antwerp Jews to leave their homes between 7 P.M. and 7 A.M., enter public parks, or dwell in places other than Brussels, Antwerp, Liège, and Charleroi. On April 14, 1941, Jewish shops were destroyed, two main synagogues looted, and Torah scrolls burnt in the streets by pro-German Flemings. The Gestapo carried out the first confiscation in the diamond bourse on August 18, 1941. According to the German census of October 1941, 17,242 Jews now remained in the city.

The final phase of Nazi persecution began with the introduction of the yellow-star *badge on May 27, 1942. On July 22, Jews traveling on trains between Antwerp and Brussels were arrested, sent to the transit camp at Mechelen, and then deported to the death camps. On Friday night, August 28, 1942, most of Antwerp's Jewish families were arrested in a sudden *Aktion*, and sent to the transit camp. Deportations, first to forced labor camps in France (mostly for the Todt organization) and then to Auschwitz, continued until September 4, 1943, when the remaining Jews (Belgian citizens and the protected Judenrat) were arrested. However, when the city was liberated a year later, some 800 Antwerp Jews emerged from hiding, where they had been supplied with food and other essentials by the organized Jewish resistance. HISO (Hulp aan Joodse Slachtoffers van de Oorlog – Help for Jewish War Victims) was at once organized to aid returned and displaced persons.

[Ephraïm Schmidt]

Contemporary Period

In 1969, the number of Jews was believed to be 10,500, many of whom were occupied in the diamond industry; almost 80% of the membership of the diamond exchange was Jewish. Several factors contributed to the unity of the Antwerp community. Antwerp Jews were not professionally nor residentially dispersed as were the Jews of Brussels, so that their concentration within certain parts of the city and within a limited number of professions had an impact on the religious and social life of the community. Most of the Jews of Antwerp were of Polish origin, oriented toward either orthodoxy or ultra-orthodoxy. These orientations were represented by the Shomre Hadass and Machsiké Hadass congregations, respectively. There were six small ḥasidic communities, with a joint membership of 11–12% of the total number of Jewish households. The Sephardi community had dwindled to a few dozen families maintaining their own synagogue. It was estimated that 90% of the children received a Jewish education, this percentage probably being one of the highest in Europe. The congregations controlled four day schools and a yeshivah, which together had 2,200 students. The two largest schools were Tachkemoni of the Shomre Hadass community and the Jesodé Hatora of the Machsiké Hadass community, both recognized and subsidized by the state. Their curricula conformed to official requirements, but they also provided Jewish studies, according to their religious orientation. The ḥasidic congregations also established day schools where a minimum amount of secular subjects were taught. A central fundraising and welfare organization, Het Central Beheer van Joodse Weldadigheid en Maatschappelijk Hulpbetoon, provided medical, youth, social, and financial services for the benefit of the community and transients. In addition, the Forum oder Joodse Organisaties, founded in 1994, represented Flemish-speaking Jews before the authorities, and like the Coordinating Committee of Belgian Jewish Organizations it was represented in the Consistoire Centrale.

In the ensuing decades the Orthodox character of Antwerp's Jews was strengthened, with the city's Jewish population reaching a level of around 15,000 in 2002 while Belgium's Jewish population as a whole dropped to a little over 30,000. The two big Orthodox schools accommodated over 3,000 children and nearly 2,000 others attended Modern Orthodox, ḥasidic, and other schools. Around 30 synagogues were in operation. The majority of the city's Jews remained connected with the diamond industry, where Yiddish was still the dominant language, and the city's weekly *Belgisch Israelitisch Weekblad* was the country's biggest Jewish newspaper.

[Max Gottschalk / Willy Bok]

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ANUSIM (Heb. אֲנוּסִים; "forced ones"), persons compelled by overwhelming pressure, whether by physical threats, psychological stress, or economic sanctions, to abjure Judaism and adopt a different faith (in contradistinction to *meshummadim*, or voluntary apostates – see *Apostasy). Here attention will be directed only to instances of group compulsion. An edict or systematic attempt to force Jews to convert to another faith is termed in Hebrew *gezerat shemad* ("edict of apostasy"). In Jewish sources, the term *anusim* is applied not only to the forced converts themselves, but also to their descendants who clandestinely cherished their Jewish faith, attempting to observe at least vestiges of the **halakhah*, and loyalty to their Jewish identity. Both the elements of compulsion and free will enter the psychological motivation of the forced convert. The concept denoted by the term *anusim*, therefore, is fluid, bordering on that applying to apostates and even to *Marranos; it has been the subject of much discussion.

Early Middle Ages

The vituperation heaped on Jews by Christian ecclesiastics, and the violent methods employed by the church in the fourth century (see Jewish *History, Middle Ages), led to many forced conversions. There is clear evidence that *anusim* existed in the Frankish kingdoms of the sixth century, for the typical pattern of mass violence combined with threat of expulsion is already present in the mass conversion of many Jews to Christianity in *Clermont-Ferrand in 576. The almost inevitable result of the creation of a Jewish "underground" within the Christian society is also clearly visible. The events in Clermont were set in motion after a Jew, who had voluntarily adopted Christianity, was molested by other Jews during a religious procession. The participants in the procession then made an attack "which destroyed [the synagogue] completely, razing it to the grounds." Subsequently, Bishop *Avitus directed a letter to the Jews in which he disclaimed the use of compulsion to make them adopt Christianity, but announced at the end of the missive: "Therefore if ye be ready to believe as I do, be one flock with us, and I shall be your pastor; but if ye be not ready, depart from this place." The community hesitated for three days before making a decision. Finally the majority, some 500, accepted Christianity. The Christians in Clermont greeted the event with rejoicing: "Candles were lit, the lamps shone, the whole city radiated with the light of the snow-white flock" (i.e., the forced converts). The Jews who preferred exile left for *Marseilles (Gregory of Tours, *Histories*, 5:11) The poet Venantius Fortunatus composed a poem to commemorate the occasion. In 582 the Frankish king Chilperic compelled numerous Jews to adopt Christianity. Again the *anusim* were not wholehearted in their conversion, for "some of them, cleansed in body but not in heart, denied God, and returned to their ancient perfidy, so that they were seen keeping the Sabbath, as well as Sunday" (*ibid.*, 6:17).

Persistent attempts to enforce conversion were made in the seventh century by the Visigoths in Spain after they had adopted the Roman Catholic faith. Comparatively mild legal measures were followed by the harsh edict issued by King Sisibut in 616, ordering the compulsory baptism of all Jews. After conversion, however, the *anusim* evidently maintained their Jewish cohesion and religious life. It was undoubtedly this problem that continued to occupy Spanish sovereigns at the successive Councils of Toledo representing both the ecclesiastical and secular authorities; it is difficult to conceive that the term *Judaei*, employed in the texts of the canons subsequently promulgated by the councils, actually refers to professing Jews; the restrictive measures adopted against the *Judaei* only make sense if directed at the devoted underground. Thus, steps were taken to secure that the children of converts had a Christian religious education as well as to prevent the older generation from continuing to observe the Jewish rites or from failing to observe the Catholic ones. A system of strict supervision by the clergy over the way of life and movements of the *anusim* was imposed. The attitude of the victims is seen in a letter addressed to the Visigothic king Recceswinth in 654, in which they promised to live as faithful Christians but pleaded not to be compelled to eat pork against which they felt physical revulsion.

Later Middle Ages

Attempts from the beginning of the eighth century to compel Jews in the *Byzantine Empire to accept Christianity similarly resulted in the creation of *anusim* leading a crypto-Jewish existence. According to the chronicler Theophanes, when in 722 the Emperor *Leo III "compelled the Jews and the Montanists to undergo baptism, the Jews, although unwilling, accepted baptism and then washed it off" (*Chronographia*, ed. by De Boor, 1 (1963), 401). At the end of the ninth century and in the first half of the tenth, attempts were made to convert Jews to Christianity in the Byzantine Empire by physical threats, missionary *disputations, and the offer of rewards to the converts. *Basil I is particularly notorious in Jewish chronicles for these attempts.

Compulsory conversions took place in the Rhineland in the tenth century, and during the Crusades amid the anti-Jewish attacks after 1096 (see also **Kiddush ha-Shem*). The action of Emperor *Henry IV, who later permitted the victims to return to their former faith, was violently resented by the Pope and the Christian populace, hence Henry's successors did not always follow this policy. In Spain and North Africa in the 12th century, the Muslim *Almohads forced both their Jewish and their Christian subjects to convert to Islam, apparently by terrorization rather than legislative measures. The converts from Judaism and their descendants remained isolated from their environment and humiliated by society. All the evidence points to them having led a crypto-Jewish existence.

At the close of the 13th century the Jews in southern Italy were given the choice of baptism or death, and there followed a wave of forced conversions under which the Jewish population in *Apulia completely disappeared. Many were driven to simulate Christianity to save their lives. The *neofiti* (neophytes), or *mercanti* as they were called because of their commercial activities, remained a recognizable and unpopular group suspected of retaining their fidelity to their ancestral faith for over two centuries. In 1453 Pope *Nicholas V wrote of them: "their forefathers were Jews who adopted Christianity 150 years ago, rather from compulsion than of their own free will."

[Haim Hillel Ben-Sasson]

THE IBERIAN PENINSULA. Forcible conversion of Jews occurred in many lands throughout the ages, but nowhere was this phenomenon more consequential and widespread than in the Iberian Peninsula, in the Kingdoms of Castile, Aragon, and Portugal. Crypto-Judaism in Sepharad began in 1391 as a result of the massacres that broke out in Seville and spread throughout the peninsula in the summer of that year. The attack against the Jews was perpetrated following a venomous anti-Jewish campaign that was initiated by Ferran Martinez, the archdeacon of Ecija. During the massacres thousands of Jews were killed, thousands fled, and thousands were forcibly converted. Following the massacres, a very strong anti-Jewish campaign was conducted by churchmen. Particularly effective was the campaign led by Vicent Ferrer at the beginning of the 15th century. Many Jews converted to Christianity and joined the ranks of the *New Christians or *conversos*. The Tortosa Disputation in the years 1413–14 initiated by Jerónimo de Santa Fé, Joshua Halorqui before his baptism, proved disastrous to the Jews of the Kingdom of Aragon. Numerous Jews were baptized following in the footsteps of their leaders who had been held like hostages, away from their communities, during long months of the disputation.

Many *conversos* found their way to the financial and administrative top open. Many occupied important positions in the governments of the Hispanic kingdoms, thus arousing the envy and antagonism of many Christians. In any case, among the Old Christians many doubted the sincerity of the *conversos* and did not accept their conversion under duress as an irrefutable proof of their Christianity. The economic, social and political achievements of some of the New Christians strengthened the already existing opposition to their integration into Christian society. In fact, those who were baptized, whether in 1391 or in later years, did not form a homogeneous group. Some were real *anusim* or Crypto-Jews who continued to identify themselves as Jewish and observed Judaism secretly as much as possible. This group must have been large since it is reasonable that many thousands of Jews who converted forcibly or out of fear did not change their faith and their identity overnight. Others might have accepted their fate, and in their despair decided they would put an end to their tragic existence by facing reality and try to become part of the majority society. A third group consisted of Jews who had been somewhat alienated from Jewish tradition and practice and might have found it easier to turn from being Jews "without a synagogue" into Christians "without a church." Another group was composed of true Christians whose conversion was an act of faith. Even if their baptism came in times of persecution, it was the result of religious conviction. Such were Pablo de Santa María, formerly Solomon Halevi, or his disciple Joshua Halorqui. Members of the last group proved to be the greatest persecutors of the Jews.

If the boundaries between these groups sometimes disappeared or were blurred, it was primarily due to the Christian refusal to accept the *conversos* as true Christians and to the prevalent Christian notion that all *conversos* maintained their Jewish identity.

Many New Christians left behind them in the Jewish camp spouses, brothers and sisters, sons and daughters or other relatives or friends and did not cut off their relations with them. Under Vicent Ferrer's influence, Castile decided in 1412 to compel the Jews to live in different quarters and be separated from Old and New Christians. After the Tortosa Disputation various measures were taken to put pressure on the Jewish communities and prevent Jewish influence on the *conversos*. Gradually Christian antagonism towards the *conversos* assumed an ethnic and racial character. The concept of the *limpieza de sangre* (purity of blood) barred the New Christians' integration within Christian society. More and more violence was perpetrated against the *conversos*. The armed rebellion of the *conversos* in Toledo in 1449 was the result of the Old Christians' growing pressure and venomous campaign against them. In 1473 widespread violent attacks were perpetrated against the *conversos* throughout Castile. The demand by churchmen that tough measures be taken against insincere converts led to the establishment of the *Inquisition in 1480 in the Kingdoms of Castile and Aragon. The Inquisition was meant to eradicate heresy among the New Christians. From 1481 onwards the Inquisition conducted a systematic war against the *conversos*. The latter were accused of secretly observing Jewish practices while the Jews were blamed for providing them with the information and material that were necessary to maintain their Jewish identity. The official reason for the Expulsion of 1492 was the influence Jews had on the New Christians. In 1492, the *conversos* were joined by a large group of Jews who decided to convert rather than leave the country. Many expellees were destined to return and be baptized after they had found no haven.

The records of the Inquisition show that the Expulsion did not put an end to the *converso* problem and that for generations to come descendants of New Christians would be tried and condemned for Judaizing. The Chuetas from Majorca remained a segregated group and suffered humiliation and persecution beyond the 18th century.

The largest group of Castilian Jews found refuge in Portugal. When the Portuguese king wished to marry the Castilian princess, the Catholic monarchs laid down one condition to their approval: the Expulsion of the Jews from Portugal. Manuel's edict of Expulsion for 1496 remained a dead letter, since Manuel, who did not wish to lose the Jews, decided to convert them all forcibly in 1497. All these converts were forcible converts, many of whom had left Castile to retain their Judaism. Many kept Judaism secretly and were the target of the Inquisition that was created in 1540. The number of converts in Portugal was high compared to the less than one million people who lived in the country around 1500. Only through flight could any of the Portuguese Crypto-Jews leave the Iberian Peninsula and live as Jews or as Christians away from the Inquisition. The result was the Portuguese communities which were established in Western Europe and the New World and those which were founded in the Ottoman Empire.

It is difficult to generalize about all descendants of *conversos*. Naturally, no "*marrano" Judaism existed in the Peninsula. Various customs and different prayers developed among different groups. In certain areas, however, a very strong "Jewish" identity remained until almost modern times. That is why we have recently witnessed the return of many Crypto-Jews in Belmonte, in northern Portugal, to Judaism and why so many descendants of *conversos* left Spain and Portugal and joined existing Jewish communities or formed their own after their return to normative Judaism.

[Yom Tov Assis (2nd ed.)]

Crypto-Jewish Women

Not all conversas were Crypto-Jews. Those women who chose to identify with the Jewish people instead of the Catholic Church faced considerable risks. Following the establishment of the Inquisition, Jewish observance by New Christians became dangerous as well as difficult. Even the woman's domain was no longer a safe refuge since every home had servants who were potential informants. Once the Jewish community had been expelled, however, the home became the only remaining institution where observance was possible. Women's roles were magnified in importance as they became teachers as well as practitioners of Judaism. The Inquisition was aware of the centrality of women in maintaining Crypto-Judaism and arrested and tried numerous conversas. The most frequent accusations against women which appear in trial transcripts concern observance of the Sabbath and the dietary laws. These Jewish practices would be easily noticed, especially by anyone working in the household. In addition, many conversas observed the fast of Yom Kippur in the hope of attaining salvation. Fasting on Mondays and Thursdays was revived during the messianic fervor between 1497 and 1503 when Inés, a young woman from Herrera, had visions of redemption. She, along with two other converso prophets, spread messianic expectation among the conversos of Extremadura.

Other holiday observances preserved in secret included Passover, although the traditional *seder* disappeared from most homes in Spain fairly quickly. Prior to 1492, *maẓẓah* was obtained from Jews; afterwards, numerous Judaizing women baked it. The most outstanding example of women baking *maẓẓah* can be found in the community of Belmonte in Portugal where the women dressed in white and recited lengthy prayers as they ceremonially prepared the *maẓẓah* while the men stood guard outside. Birth and purity rituals were also observed in secret. One unique ritual was the *hadas*, a celebration including singing on the eighth night after the birth of a male or female child; the infant was dressed in white and a collation was served. In some homes, the de-baptism ritual was another Crypto-Jewish creative addition. On a more traditional note, many women bathed after childbirth and after menstruation, in place of the required visit to the *mikveh*. Death and burial rituals also played a substantial role in Crypto-Jewish life; while they ranged from the halakhic to the superstitious, all were based on past Jewish practices. These customs reflect some of the Crypto-Jewish women's observances; others may emerge from the tens of thousands of trials, especially in the archives of Portugal, that have not yet been read and analyzed. In addition, there were Judaizing conversas in the New World including women from the *Carvajal family in Mexico.

[Renée Levine Melammed (2nd ed.)]

Modern Times

Later instances of forced conversion occurred in *Persia. From 1622 to 1629 the Jews of *Isfahan were compelled to accept Islam, and in 1656 Abbas II issued a decree ordering all Persian Jewry to convert, despite open protest and petitions. The specific ceremonies attending their acceptance into Islam and the name by which they were known, *Jadid al-Islam (New Muslims), show that a typical *anusim* existence and society was created there. In 1839 the entire Jewish community of *Meshed was forced to convert in similar circumstances. Outwardly devout Muslims, they meticulously continued to observe the

Jewish rites in secret, as did their descendants, who were also known as the Jadid al-Islam.

The lot of European Jews, particularly Jewish children, who outwardly embraced Christianity in order to save their lives during the Nazi persecution between 1939 and 1945 was in many ways similar to that of the *anusim* of former ages. It has proved impossible to assess the number of conversions among the Jewish people in this period. Research into this question has been further complicated by emotion and anger on the part of Jews against those who tried "to steal souls" during the *Holocaust on the one hand, and on the other, of gratitude to those who had endangered their lives to save the children.

[Haim Hillel Ben-Sasson]

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APAM (Heb. אַפַּם), initial letters of *Asti, *Fossano, and *Moncalvo, three towns in Italy. The term (more correctly, Afam) denotes the special ritual of prayers that was used by the Jews of these communities who came there originally in the 14th century after the expulsion from France.

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APAMEA, city in lower Phrygia, near the sources of the Maeander River (today: the Turkish town of Dineir, on the Smyrna-Egerdir railway). The city was founded by Antiochus I Soter (280–262 B.C.E.) and Jews probably resided there before the early second century B.C.E. when Antiochus III transported 2,000 Jewish families from Babylonia and places in Phrygia (Jos., Ant., 12:147ff.). In 62 B.C.E. the praetor Flaccus confiscated 100 pounds of gold gathered by the Jews of Apamea for the Temple in Jerusalem (Cicero, *Pro Flacco* 28, 68). The biblical stories and local legends of Noah and Enoch were extremely popular in Apamea and coins depicting the Flood and bearing the name of Noah were minted there from the fourth century C.E. One possible reason for this tradition was the additional name given Apamea: ἡ Κιβωτός, "the ark." There is no evidence, however, that this name (first mentioned by Strabo, about 19 C.E.) was derived from the story of Noah.

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[Isaiah Gafni]

APE (Heb. קוֹף), animal enumerated among the precious articles that Solomon imported (I Kings 10:22, II Chron. 9:21). The word *kof* derives from the Sanskrit *kapi*, meaning a tailless ape. In rabbinic literature, however, it refers both to the tailed and the tailless species. Mention is made of the fact that they were employed to keep houses free of creeping things (Tosef., BK 8:17), and they were even trained for domestic uses (Tosef., Er. 3:12). The *Sifra* (51:4), basing itself upon Leviticus 11:27, enumerates it among the animals forbidden to be eaten. In the Mishnah (Kil. 8:5) there is discussion of whether the laws of ritual uncleanness which apply to a human corpse also apply to creatures called *adonei ha-sadeh* ("the lords of the field") which some scholars have identified with chimpanzees.

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[Jehuda Feliks]

APEL, WILLI (1893–1988), musicologist. Born in Konitz, Germany, Apel studied mathematics at the universities of Bonn and Munich (1912–14) and at the University of Berlin (1918–22). From 1925 he devoted himself to musicology and received his doctorate in Berlin in 1936 for a dissertation on 15th- and 16th-century tonality. In that year (1936) he immigrated to the United States. He was a lecturer at Harvard University (1938–42) and professor of musicology at the University of Indiana, Bloomington (1950–70). Apel's main field of research was medieval and Renaissance music. His publications include reference works such as the *Harvard Dictionary of Music* (1944; 1960^{12}); *The Notation of Polyphonic Music 900–1600* (1942, 1953^5), which has served since it was first published as an essential tool for young scholars; and *Historical Anthology of Music*, edited with A.T. Davison, two volumes (1946, 1950^5). These three contributions were major agents in changing higher music education in the U.S. and abroad. His other works include *French Secular Music of the Late Fourteenth Century* (1950), *Gregorian Chant* (1958), *Geschichte der Orgel- und Klaviermusik* (1967), where Apel reviewed the entire body of keyboard music up to 1700. He was also the general editor of the *Corpus of Early Keyboard Music* and in 1983 published his last major study, a collection of essays on violin music and composers of 17th-century Italy.

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[Israela Stein (2nd ed.)]

APELOIG, YITZHAK (1944–), Israeli chemist and president of the *Technion. Apeloig was born in Russia and immigrated to Israel in 1947. Specializing in quantum chemistry, Apeloig received his Ph.D. from the Hebrew University of Jerusalem in 1974 and then did postdoctoral work at Princeton University in 1974–76. In 1976 he joined the faculty of chemistry at the Technion, becoming a professor in 1988 and serving as dean of the faculty of chemistry from 1995 to 1999. In 1996 he established the Lise Meitner Center for Computational Chemistry together with Professor Sason Shaik of the Hebrew University and served as its co-director. In 2001 he was named president of the Technion. He received the Alexander von Humboldt Research Award, the Japan Society for the Promotion of Science Visiting Professor Award, and the Technion Award for Academic Excellence and Excellence in Research. He was a visiting professor in several universities and a member of many scientific advisory committees and the editorial boards of a number of scientific journals. He has over 140 publications to his credit and edited several books.

[Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

APHEK (Heb. אֲפֵק), name of three places mentioned in the Bible and named after nearby riverbeds (Heb. *afikim*), in which swiftly flowing streams rise after heavy rainfalls.

(1) A Canaanite royal city (Josh. 12:18) east of Jaffa in the Sharon which is possibly referred to in the Egyptian Execration Texts (early 18th century B.C.E.). It appears in the list of cities conquered by Thut-mose III (c. 1469 B.C.E.; No. 66 between Ono and Socoh) and was the first city captured by his successor, Amenhotep II, in his second campaign (c. 1430 B.C.E.). Aphek became a stronghold on the Philistines' northern border, serving them as an important base in their campaigns against the Israelites. They camped there before defeating the Israelites and capturing the ark of the covenant in the days of Samuel (I Sam. 4:1) and also before the final battle against Saul (I Sam. 29:1). In 671 B.C.E., King Esarhaddon of Assyria conquered "Aphek in the land of Samaria" on his way to Egypt. The name Aphek was preserved as late as the period of Roman rule in Migdal Aphek (Jos., Wars, 2:1) but from the time of Herod, Aphek itself became known as *Antipatris. It is today Tell Ras el-Ain (Rosh ha-Ayin) at the source of the Yarkon River. Archaeological excavations were conducted at the site between 1975 and 1985 by Tel Aviv University, bringing to light numerous remains from the Early, Middle, and Late Bronze Ages, including fortification walls and palaces, which help support the identification of this site as biblical Aphek. Remnants of a Philistine city were also uncovered, as well as of dwellings from the Iron Age (i.e. from the tenth to eighth centuries B.C.E.

(2) The place mentioned in I Kings 20:26–30 and II Kings 13:14–17 where Aram defeated the Israelites in the days of Ahab and again in those of Joash. The name has survived in the name of the village Fiq in the Golan, in the region of Susita (Hippos) near the Damascus-Beth-Shean highway east of the Sea of Galilee. A column incised with a *menorah* and a Jewish-Aramaic inscription were found among the ruins of a settlement there dating from the fourth century; however, so far no older remains have been discovered at the site. At Kibbutz Ein Gev on the shore of the Sea of Galilee, a large fortified city of the tenth to eighth centuries B.C.E. exists (known as Khirbet el-Asheq); its identification with the Aramean Aphek has been suggested since it is only 3½ mi. (6 km.) from Fiq. Excavations that were conducted at this tell in 1961 and again in the early 1990s brought to light Iron Age strata on the lower tell and Iron Age, Persian, and Hellenistic strata on the acropolis. The Iron Age II strata (tenth-eighth centuries B.C.E.) included the remains of defensive walls, dwellings, public pillared storehouses, and a variety of pottery and small objects, notably a storage jar bearing an inscription *lsqy* (i.e. "cup-bearer"). The town was apparently destroyed by Tiglath Pileser III in 732 C.E.

[Michael Avi-Yonah / Shimon Gibson (2nd ed.)]

(3) A Canaanite city allotted to the tribe of Asher (Josh. 19:30), which did not, however, succeed in driving out its inhabitants (Judg. 1:31). It is evidently one of the major tells in the Plain of Acre and its most acceptable identification is with Tell Kurdana, at the foot of which rises Nahr Namein (Belus). Pottery and weapons dating from the Middle Bronze to Early Iron Ages have been found at the tell. In Crusader times there were water-mills, known as *Recordane*, at Khirbet Kurdnana near the tell. In 1939 kibbutz Afek (Aphek), affiliated with Ha-Kibbutz ha-Me'uḥad, was founded in the Plain of Acre. It was one of the "tower and stockade" settlements established in 1939 during the Arab riots of 1936–39. When the original plan of developing sea fishing proved impracticable, the kibbutz moved in 1947 to its present site, south of the former site. Afek's settlers came mostly from Eastern and Central Europe. Its economy was based on intensive farming of irrigated field crops, carp ponds, cattle, and a factory for producing pressure meters and other precision instruments. Mego Afek subsequently grew into an international medical and measuring equipment company featuring the Lympha Press for lymphedema treatment. Kibbutz Afek also owned Asiv Textile Industries, supplying garment manufacturers in Israel and abroad, and Hinanit, a sheltered workshop producing soft toys and children's accessories for the local market. In 2002 the population of Afek was 432

[Efraim Orni / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

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APIKOROS, in popular usage, one who negates the rabbinic tradition. The designation *apikoros* first occurs in rabbinic literature in the Mishnah (Sanh. 10:1), enumerated among those who forfeit their "share in the world to come." Although there is no doubt that the name is derived from the Greek Επικουρος (see *Epicureanism), the rabbis seem to have been unaware of, or ignored, the Greek origin of the word and took it to be connected with the Aramaic word *hefker* ("abandoned"; see TJ, Sanh. 10:1, 28b; cf. also Maimonides' introduction to the above Mishnah, which explicitly states that it is an Aramaic word). They extended its meaning to refer generally to anyone who throws off the yoke of the commandments, or who derides the Torah and its representatives. Thus *Korah, who, according to the rabbis, held up the laws of the Torah to ridicule, is referred to as an *apikoros* (TJ, Sanh. 10:1, 27d). The most extensive discussion is to be found in Sanhedrin 99b–100a where different *amoraim* of the third and fourth centuries apply the term variously to one who insults a scholar, who insults his neighbor in the presence of a scholar, who acts impudently toward the Torah, who gibes and says "what use are the rabbis to us, they study for their own benefit," or "what use are the rabbis since they never permitted us the raven nor forbade us the dove" (i.e., who cannot go beyond the dictates of the Torah). Maimonides gives a more precise theological definition of the word. Distinguishing the *apikoros* from the sectarian (*min*), the disbeliever, and the apostate, he defines him as one who either denies prophecy, and therefore the possibility of communion between God and man, or denies divine revelation ("who denies the prophecy of Moses"), or who says that God has no knowledge of the deeds of man (Maim., Yad, Teshuvah 3:8). Later authorities extended the meaning even further to include all those who refuse obedience to the rabbis, even "the authority of a religious work, great or small" (Moses Ḥagiz, *Leket ha-Kemaḥ* YD 103a). In modern parlance, it is popularly used loosely for anyone who expresses a view which is regarded not only as heretical but even as heterodox.

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[Louis Isaac Rabinowitz]

°**APION** (first century C.E.), Greek rhetorician; anti-Jewish propagandist in Alexandria, against whom *Josephus wrote his *Contra Apionem*. Evidently of Egyptian origin, Apion was born at the end of the first century B.C.E. or the beginning of the first century C.E. He studied rhetoric and became principal of the Homeric school in Alexandria, lecturing on his interpretation of Homer there and in many places in Greece, which he visited for this purpose. He stayed in Rome during the reign of Tiberius and visited it in the times of Caligula and Claudius.

In scholarly circles Apion was looked upon as a charlatan, spinner of grandiloquent phrases, and gossipmonger. *Pliny the Elder called him *famae propriae tympanum* ("a self-trumpeter"), and Tiberius nicknamed him the "world's drum." His vanity and passion for popularity led him to introduce into his commentaries peculiar or bizarre innovations and some quite unfounded theories. His glosses to Homer were in this category, the excesses of imagination they display comparing unfavorably with the traditional Alexandrian school of criticism. Apion wrote a five-volume *History of Egypt* which was of similar stamp and apparently included a section on the Jews. It is most likely this section that is referred to by Christian writers as his work *Against the Jews*. In it Apion detailed many absurdities about the Jewish people, Judaism, and the Temple in Jerusalem, mainly extracted from the works of earlier antisemitic authors but with his own additions. Josephus' *Contra Apionem* shows that Apion took over the idea that the Jews were expelled from Egypt because they were lepers, from the Egyptian historian *Manetho. The tenets of Judaism obliged the Jews, according to Apion, to hate the rest of mankind. Once yearly, he asserts, they seized a non-Jew, murdered him and tasted his entrails, swearing during the meal to hate the nation of which the victim was a member. In the Holy of Holies in the Temple in Jerusalem there was a golden ass' head which the Jews worshiped – a variation on the fabrication (cf. Mnaseas: see *Greek Literature, Ancient) that the Syrian king *Antiochus Epiphanes had found the statue of a man riding an ass there (see *Ass Worship). In making these statements Apion was not prompted by the type of intellectual curiosity which actuated other Hellenistic ethnographers, such as *Hecataeas of Abdera, who noted down indiscriminately everything he could gather. Apion's method was to give publicity to any disparaging stories he could find about the Jews and to add some from his own imagination. These he used for conducting anti-Jewish propaganda in Alexandria. During an outbreak of anti-Jewish violence in the city during the governorship of *Flaccus, when the Jewish community was forced to fight for its rights and even its existence, Apion was evidently one of the leading rabble-rousers and the most popular with the Alexandrian mob. He tried to show that the Jews were foreigners and had no right to consider themselves citizens; that they were a dangerous element and had always acted to the detriment of the Egyptians. When the Alexandrian Jews sent a delegation to the emperor Caligula, headed by *Philo, Apion joined the opposing delegation. Even if it is assumed that he did not play a major role in these negotiations (Philo and the papyrological sources mentioning only Isidoros and Lampon), there can be no doubt that Apion played a leading role in spreading anti-Jewish propaganda and in provoking agitation, since otherwise Josephus would not have dealt with him at such length in his *Contra Apionem*.

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[Abraham Schalit]

APOCALYPSE (Gr. ἀποκαλυψις; "revelation"), term which, strictly speaking, denotes the Jewish literature of revelations which arose after the cessation of prophecy and the Christian writings that derived from this Jewish literature.

The major purpose of apocalyptic writings is to reveal mysteries beyond the bounds of normal knowledge: the secrets of the heavens and of the world order, the names and functions of the angels, the explanation of natural phenomena, and the secrets of creation, the end of days, and other eschatological matters, and even the nature of God Himself.

The term "Apocalypse" as the title of a book first appears in the "Apocalypse of John" and from the second century C.E. Christians applied it to similar writings. In the *baraita*, the term *gillayon* apparently refers to apocalyptic writings: "These writings and the books of the heretics are not to be saved from a fire but are to be burnt wherever found, they and the Divine Names occurring in them" (Shab. 116a). But it is hardly credible that the *tannaim* had such an attitude to Jewish apocalyptic writings such as Syriac (II) Baruch or IV Ezra, which abound in moral and religious piety and the reference is apparently to Christian and Gnostic apocalyptic works. The verb ἀποκαλύπτω is generally used in the Septuagint as a translation of the Hebrew *galeh* ("reveal"), which occurs in Daniel and in the Dead Sea Scrolls in passages where apocalyptic matters are under discussion, e.g., "to conduct themselves blamelessly each man toward his neighbor in all that has been revealed to them" (1QS 9:19). Daniel and the Dead Sea Scrolls also use *ḥazon* ("vision") in the same way (cf. 1QH 4:17f.). The classical period of Jewish apocalypse, a highly developed literary phenomenon in its own right, is from the second century B.C.E. to the second century C.E. Its basic assumption is that prophecy, which had ceased, would be renewed only at the end of days. Therefore, the apocalyptic authors generally attributed their teachings to men who had lived in the period of prophecy, i.e., from Adam to Daniel. The Dead Sea Scrolls, teaching that God made known to "the teacher of righteousness," the leader of the sect, "all the mysteries of the words of his servants the prophets" (1QP Hab. 7:4f.), are an exception to this view. The apocalypse came into being because of its authors' consciousness that theirs was "the last generation" (1QP Hab. 2:5ff.). Consequently, eschatology constitutes one of its central themes. Apocalyptic history divides itself into "this world," subject to the rule of wickedness ("the government of Belial"), and the "next world," in which "wickedness will be forever abolished and righteousness revealed as the sun." The "end of days" is conceived as a cosmic process accompanied by upheavals in nature, and the events on the earth in those days will be a mere echo of the final war between cosmic forces, when "the heavenly host will give forth in great voice, the foundations of the world will be shaken, and a war of the mighty ones of the heavens will spread throughout the world" (1QH 3:34ff.). Thus in the apocalyptic vision Israel's redemption assumes a form much further removed from historical reality than in the prophetic works. The Messiah, for example, often becomes a superhuman figure. Since the apocalyptic vision emphasizes the imminence of the "end," leaving little time for normal historical development, it does not allow for the possibility of the alteration of the course of history through repentance. Of course, a moral lesson is contained in the cosmic vision of the end of days, namely, the final victory of good over evil (the apocalyptic vision having come into being to allay contemporary misfortunes), but this morality finds full expression only in the culmination of the process and not at any one of its earlier stages. This explains the fatalistic mood often manifest in the apocalyptic writings. The apocalyptic vision as a whole is not limited to questions concerning the end of days – rather, universal history becomes a process governed by its own special laws. It speaks not only of the future but also of the distant past. It conceives of world history as a chain of the histories of specific kingdoms, the spans of whose rule are predetermined. Moreover, in many cases it sees the end of days as a return to the events of creation.

In the apocalypses, mysteries are most often revealed by an angel, but occasionally the human hero himself is said to travel in the heavenly realm or to see it in a vision. The mysteries are revealed in the form of strange symbols, and historical personalities are not called by their own names. Some scholars have suggested the Persian influence on Jewish and Christian apocalypse; but basically the Jewish apocalypse is a unique phenomenon, integrally linked with the apocalyptic literature.

The only apocalyptic book included in the Bible is *Daniel. Its apocalyptic portions date from the early days of the Hasmonean revolt, and its visions and symbols became the prototype for all later Jewish and Christian apocalyptic writings. Enoch, Jubilees, and the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs (as well as the Dead Sea Scrolls) were apparently written from the time of John Hyrcanus onward. These works reflect the beliefs of a religious apocalyptic movement, which later found expression in the Qumran sect, which was identified by scholars with the *Essenes. Possessing a completely apocalyptic view of life, the movement gave a prominent place in its scheme of history to the war between good and evil (the demonic forces), and also seems to have formulated the myth of the fallen evil angels, and to have developed a psychology and moral code of its own. The works of this movement (particularly the Book of Enoch and the Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs) contain the earliest references to Jewish mysticism.

In the Roman period apocalyptic writings dealing especially with the question of national suffering and redemption appeared in increasing number. The Psalms of Solomon speak of the Romans, of Pompey and his death, and of the messianic kingdom in typical apocalyptic symbols. According to the Assumption of Moses, the Redeemer is none other than the God of Israel. IV Ezra and II Baruch reflect the spiritual upheaval which followed the destruction of the Temple. Apart from those apocalypses, the chief intent of which is national and political, the first two centuries C.E. saw the composition of writings centered on the revelation of the secrets of God and the universe, such as the Slavonic book of Enoch. Similar also are the Greek Apocalypse of Baruch (apparently 150–200 C.E.), the Apocalypse of Abraham, the Testament of Abraham (first or second century C.E.), the Life of Adam and Eve, and the Testament of Job.

There are many points of contact between the apocalyptic and talmudic literatures. The apocalyptic historical and cosmic dualism of this world and the next was accepted by all Israel. Many eschatological views are common to both the Talmud and the apocalypses. Thus the Talmud contains apocalyptic views on Paradise and Hell, the fate of the soul after death, the Messiah, and descriptions of the seven heavens with an angelology – all themes of apocalyptic eschatology. The divine mysteries (*ma'aseh merkavah*) and those of the creation (*ma'aseh bereshit*) became in time topics reserved for groups of mystics, who did not publicize their teachings. In I *Enoch there occurs the earliest description of the "throne of glory," which played a central role in the Merkabah literature. In early Jewish mysticism Enoch himself became an angel and was later identified with Metatron. The *heikhalot* literature contains, beside its central theme, the *ma'aseh merkavah*, various descriptions of the "end of days," the period of Redemption, and calculations of the "end" (see *Merkabah Mysticism). The central figures of these books are the *tannaim*, just as biblical figures were the heroes of earlier pseudepigraphic apocalypses. Apocalyptic works of the type of I Enoch, apparently through translations, exercised an influence on Midrashim, such as *Genesis Rabbati, Midrash Tadsheh, Pirkei de-Rabbi Eliezer,* and *Midrash va-Yissa'u*. This influence was not restricted solely to apocalyptic matters, and it extended ultimately to the Zohar and the books based on it. (The Book of Enoch is mentioned several times in the Zohar.) The apocalypse is important, therefore, even for an understanding of Kabbalah and Ḥasidism.

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[David Flusser]

APOCRYPHA AND PSEUDEPIGRAPHA

Definition

Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha are two separate groups of works dating primarily from the period of the Second Temple. The name "Apocrypha" is applied to a collection of books not included in the canon of the Bible although they are incorporated in the canon of the Roman Catholic and Greek Orthodox churches. In the *Vulgate, in the versions of the Orthodox Church, and in the Septuagint before them, they are found interspersed with the other books of the Old Testament. The Protestant Church denied their sanctity but conceded that they were worthy of reading. Apart from Ecclesiasticus (Wisdom of *Ben Sira), there are no references to these books in talmudic literature.

The pseudepigraphal books, on the other hand, are not accepted in their entirety by any church, only individual books being considered sacred by the Eastern churches (particularly the Ethiopian). The Talmud includes both Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha under the name *Sefarim Ḥiẓonim* ("extraneous books"). (See table: Diagram of the Apocrypha.) The Apocrypha, for the most part, are anonymous historical and ethical works, and the Pseudepigrapha, visionary books attributed to the ancients, characterized by a stringent asceticism and dealing with the mysteries of creation and the working out of good and evil from a gnostic standpoint.

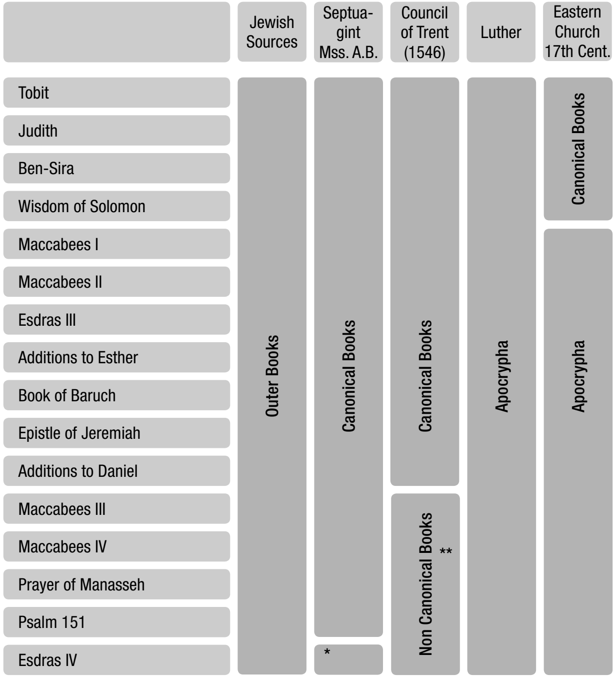

	Jewish Sources	Septuagint Mss. A.B.	Council of Trent (1546)	Luther	Eastern Church 17th Cent.
Tobit	Outer Books	Canonical Books	Canonical Books	Apocrypha	Canonical Books
Judith					
Ben-Sira					
Wisdom of Solomon					
Maccabees I					Apocrypha
Maccabees II					
Esdras III					
Additions to Esther					
Book of Baruch					
Epistle of Jeremiah					
Additions to Daniel					
Maccabees III			Non Canonical Books **		
Maccabees IV					
Prayer of Manasseh					
Psalm 151					
Esdras IV		*			

* Non canonical book
** Maccabees IV does not exist in any Latin version.

Diagram showing attitudes to the books of the Apocrypha.

Titles and Contents

The number of apocryphal works, unlike those of the Pseudepigrapha, is fixed. Though the church fathers give lists which include many pseudepigraphal works, it is doubtful whether their exact number will ever be known. (IV Ezra 14:46 mentions 70 esoteric books while the Slavonic Book of Enoch attributes 366 books to Enoch.) Many, whose existence was previously unsuspected, have recently come to light in the caves of the Judean Desert.

The books of the Apocrypha are (1) Esdras (alias Greek Book of *Ezra); (2) *Tobit; (3) *Judith; (4) additions to *Esther; (5) Wisdom of *Solomon; (6) Ecclesiasticus (Wisdom of Ben *Sira); (7) *Baruch, with the Epistle of Jeremiah; (8) The *Song of the Three Holy Children; (9) *Susanna; (10) *Bel and the Dragon; (11) The Prayer of *Manasseh; (12) I *Maccabees; (13) II *Maccabees. Esdras is a compilation from II Chronicles 35, 37, Book of Ezra, and Nehemiah 8–9, in an order differing from that of the traditional Bible text and with the addition of a popular story of a competition between youths, the most prominent of whom was Zerubbabel who waited upon Darius I. Tobit tells of a member of one of the ten tribes who was exiled to Assyria, where, because of his merit in burying Sennacherib's victims, he was cured of the blindness which had afflicted him for many years, and saw his son married to one of his kin. Judith tells of a woman of Samaria who ventured into the camp of the soldiers besieging her city, and decapitated their commander, Holofernes, after making him drunk. The Wisdom of Solomon discusses the fate of the righteous and the wicked, with examples from the early history of Israel. Baruch and the Epistle of Jeremiah – additions to the Book of Jeremiah – attack idol worship and are in the form of letters addressed by the putative authors to the exiles in Babylonia. Susanna and the Elders, an addition to the Book of Daniel, is the popular story of a righteous woman who successfully resists the enticements of the city elders and is saved by the youthful Daniel from the death which, on the strength of their slander, had been decreed against her. Bel and the Dragon, which in the Septuagint is another addition to Daniel, is an account of Daniel's ministrations to Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, and Darius the Mede, and of his success in demonstrating to them by various devices the futility of idol worship. The Prayer of Manasseh, an addition to II Chronicles 34:18, is a prayer supposedly recited by King Manasseh while in exile. From the historical point of view, the most important book of the Apocrypha is I Maccabees, the historical account of the *Hasmoneans from the uprising of Mattathias to the death of *Simeon, the first of the Hasmoneans to establish the independence of Judea. II Maccabees confines itself to the wars of *Judah the Maccabee, dealing with them in greater detail. From the literary point of view, by far the most important book in the Apocrypha is the Wisdom of Ben Sira, a book of hymns and proverbs (in the spirit of Proverbs); this work includes an interesting historical sketch down to *Simeon the Just, who lived during the author's youth. The editions of the Vulgate usually append at the end of the book the Apocalypse of *Ezra (or II Esdras), i.e., Salathiel, which contains a theological exposition, in the form of a conversation with an angel, on the fate of Israel.

The books of the Pseudepigrapha are more numerous than those of the Apocrypha, and only the better known will be mentioned here. Probably the most important work in pseudepigraphal literature deals with *Enoch the son of Jared, whom, according to Genesis 5:24, "God took" (i.e., he ascended to heaven). The Book of *Enoch is an account, mainly in the first person, of the visions revealed to him in the heavens. It deals in part with astronomical phenomena, establishing the "correct" calendar at 364 days comprising 52 weeks, and contains some *eschatology on the subject of the preexistent Messiah. Intermingled with the above are stories of how the fallen angels brought evil into the world. The book most similar to it, *Jubilees, is in the form of a conversation between the Angel of the Presence and Moses on Mount Sinai. Unlike Enoch it is a mixture of *halakhah* and *aggadah*, but in a spirit completely different from that of the Talmud. Its *halakhah* is far more stringent than that of the Talmud. The fundamental basis both of the *halakhah* and *aggadah* in the book is its historicism: everything is predetermined in the "heavenly tablets," and was revealed much earlier than the time of Moses, to the patriarchs and even to their predecessors, Noah, Lamech, and the like. The book is presented within a framework of exact dates, reckoned by sabbatical periods and jubilees. It lays special emphasis (even more than Enoch) upon the solar calendar and upon ensuring (as did the Boethusians) that Shavuot always fall on a Sunday. The remaining books are smaller: The Ascension of *Isaiah is an account (also found in the Talmud) of the unnatural death of the prophet. The Assumption of *Moses is a history in retrospect of the Jews, from Moses to the death of Herod and his son. The Book of *Adam and Eve is an *aggadah* concerning their sin and the death of Adam, who is the handiwork of God. The Testaments of the Twelve *Patriarchs is a valuable ethical work in which each of Jacob's sons exhorts his children, particularly against the sin in which he himself has been ensnared. This book is important because of the idea, most fully developed in the *Dead Sea Scrolls, of the coming of two messiahs, one from the tribe of Judah and one from Levi. In addition to these there once existed another large series of books, attributed to Adam, Lamech, Abraham, Joseph, Eldad, Moses, Solomon, Elijah, Zechariah, Ezra, and others.

The Supposed "Canon" of Alexandria

In the old manuscripts of the Septuagint it was the custom to place the books of the Apocrypha, and at times of the Pseudepigrapha, among the Holy Scriptures. In consequence of this and of quotations by the early church writers, who mention details from these books, there arose in the 19th century the theory that at one time – at least in Alexandria – these books were considered part of the canon. There are those who assume that even in Ereẓ Israel the Apocrypha was for a certain period (until the destruction of the Temple in 70 C.E.) considered part of the canon, and that the canon as known later was fixed only in the days of the synod of Jabneh (first century C.E.). All these views, however, are erroneous, based as they are upon a series of faulty premises. Moreover, those scholars were of the opinion that the talmudic discussions about certain books that had to be "hidden away" (Shab. 13b), or about books that do not "render the hands unclean," or Akiva's extreme pronouncement that he who reads *Sefarim Ḥiẓonim* forfeits his share in the world to come (Sanh. 10:1), all indicate that only during their period – following the destruction of the Second Temple – was the traditional canon of 24 books finalized. Against this, however, it may be maintained that the talmudic discussions about "hiding away," and about books that "render the hands unclean" refer to books all of which are in the known canon. Indeed, according to talmudic tradition (BB 14b) the canon was already fixed at the end of the Persian period. This tradition is clearly repeated by *Josephus (Apion, 1:40–41): "From the death of Moses until Artaxerxes… the prophets wrote the events of their time. From Artaxerxes to our own time [i.e., the first century C.E.] the complete history has been written, but has not been deemed worthy of equal credit with the earlier records, because of the failure of the exact succession of the prophets." Indeed, as far as is known, apart from the final Hebrew chapters of the Book of Daniel (which may have been added during the disturbances preceding the Hasmonean uprising), all the scriptural books antedate the Hellenistic period. Furthermore, from the prologue of Ben Sira's grandson to his Greek translation of his grandfather's work, it is clear that the Scriptures had already been translated into Greek in the first generation of the Hasmoneans and that by then the traditional division into three sections – Pentateuch, Prophets, and Hagiographa – was accepted. Although Sira's grandson does indeed speak of "the other books," scholars failed to recognize this term as an alternate name for the Hagiographa. Philo too was acquainted with this division (Cont. 25) as was Luke (24:44) after him. The testimony of Ben Sira's grandson, and that, in particular, of Philo and Josephus (who mentions a fixed number of 22 books, Apion 1:38), who used the Septuagint, shows (1) that the Greek-reading Jews knew no other division of the Bible, and (2) that the canon of that time is identical with the present canon. Philo also draws a clear distinction between the Holy Scriptures and the books written by the *Therapeutae and peculiar to them. It follows that the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha were always *Sefarim Ḥiẓonim*, i.e., extraneous to the accepted books (βιβλία), i.e., the Scriptures. It should be added that the authors of the Dead Sea Scrolls wrote a **Pesher* ("interpretation") only on the works comprised in the known canon.

History of the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha

Literary activity continued to flourish during the Persian era (probably Tobit, Judith, the additions to Daniel, Song of the Three Children, and III Esdras, for example, can be ascribed to this time) and, more so, during the Hellenistic period. It was during this period that the books of the Apocrypha were composed. The common thread linking all of these works is their concern with Israel as a whole, and their complete ignoring of sectarian schisms. Only later, after the sectarian schism in the beginning of the Hasmonean period (Ant., 13:171ff.), did the composition of the pseudepigraphical works begin to appear. The Book of Jubilees was written (as is indicated by its historical allusions to the conquest of the cities of "Edom" and the coastal region) in the reign of *John Hyrcanus, the essence of Enoch (alluded to in the Book of Jubilees) a little before it, and the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs sometime after the above works. In any event, most of the known Pseudepigrapha (both those in Greek or Ethiopian translation, and those from the Qumran caves) originated between this period and the destruction of the Temple. Philo's characterization of the books of the Therapeutae as "allegorical" interpretations, or "psalms" to God, apply in equal measure to the books of the Qumran community.

A fundamental difference between the Apocrypha and the Pseudepigrapha is that whereas the Apocrypha deal mainly with the struggle against idolatry, believing prophecy to have come to an end (cf. Judith 11:17), the pseudepigraphists believed that prophecy continued and that through its agency they could make laws (see *Jubilees) and know the past and future. Because it was generally maintained among the people, however, that prophecy had come to an end, the visionaries attribute their works to the ancients, or feature themselves as permitted to "interpret," to reveal the true meaning of verses which apply to the "end of the days" (the period in which they lived). Past and present are written in the "heavenly tablets." The apocalypist "reads" them and divulges in his book what he has read. Convinced of their knowledge of the future, they also occupied themselves to a considerable extent with the advent of the Messiah, whom they regarded as preexistent (see *Enoch). At the outset, then, the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha were differentiated; the former was a collection for Jews, generally, and the latter sectarian. Since the Essenes, from whom much of the Pseudepigrapha may derive, had many devotees both in Israel and in the Diaspora, some of their scriptures too were translated and disseminated. However, it was precisely the importance attached to these prophecies within the sect and their circulation at times of political crisis during the days of Hyrcanus and of the Roman procurators that caused the Pharisee sages to erect a barrier between the Scriptures and everything extraneous to them, even works (like the Wisdom of Ben Sira) which they themselves valued. It is for this reason that the sages decreed that only the canonized Holy Scriptures "render the hands unclean" (Yad. 4:6). These discussions gave rise to the question of whether there might not be books in the Scriptures themselves, which might be exploited for sectarian purposes (e.g., Ezekiel), or which might not accord with the concepts of reward and punishment in the Pentateuch and Prophets (Ecclesiastes). However, though all books outside the canon were rejected outright, the old distinction between books applying to Israel as a whole and sectarian books remained and was taken over by the church. With only a few isolated exceptions all churches rejected the Pseudepigrapha, the difference between the Eastern and Western church consisting only in their official attitude to the Apocrypha. As may be seen from the lists of Melito, Origen, Cyril of Jerusalem, Pseudo-Athanasius, Dialogue of Timotheus and Aquila, etc., the canon of the Eastern church usually numbers (following Josephus) 22 books (although Baruch and the Epistle of Jeremiah are sometimes included in the Book of Jeremiah). The "other" books (τά λοιπά) are either presented as "extraneous" ("Εξω δὲ τούτων, ᾽Εκτὸς δὲ τούτων, etc.), "contradicted" (ἀντιλεγόμενα), or called "all the concealed books that are contradicted" (ἀποκρυφα ὅσα ἀντιλέγουται; Dialogue of Timotheus and Aquila; Nicephorus' *Stichometry*). In the Roman Church, on the other hand, the apocryphal works are, as a rule, placed at the end, with no visible distinction between them and the canonical books. But lists should not be confused with facts. Even Jerome, who explicitly differentiates between the Holy Scriptures – those in the Hebrew canon – and Apocrypha, translated both. In fact according to the testimony of Augustine these books were accepted by most of the churches (as confirmed by the Latin lists of Ruffinus, Cassiodorus, Innocent I, Isidore of Pelusium, Liber Sacramentorum, etc.). Under the influence of Augustine the councils of Rome (382), Hippo (392), and Carthage (397) officially included the Apocrypha in the canon. The Pseudepigrapha, however, was not accorded great status. Augustine expresses his doubts about Enoch, and in the list of 60 books (of Old and New Testaments), where the Apocrypha is called "extraneous" ("Εξω), the Pseudepigrapha is referred to as ἀπόκρυφα and so in Pseudo Athanasius, *Stichometry* of Nicephorus, Gelasian Decree, and thus as a completely separate group. This too is the cause of the latter's becoming completely lost in the course of time. The final change took place with the *Reformation. This again excluded all books which, according to Jerome, are not part of the canon (i.e., everything not in the Hebrew Scriptures), assigning to them a name and a place outside the books of the Bible.

[Yehoshua M. Grintz]

In Medieval Hebrew Literature

From the first century to the sixth, Hebrew literature (talmudic and midrashic) developed as if the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha did not exist. Only very few motifs from this literature were used by the talmudic sages, often in a way far removed from the original context. Even the sayings of Ben Sira were mostly forgotten. Few survived in talmudic literature, but to them were added many popular epigrams, which were quoted as the sayings of Ben Sira, though they are not to be found in the original work.

Only in the Middle Ages did the revival of the apocryphal and pseudepigraphical literature begin within the body of Hebrew literature. This revival was mainly a revival of the contents of that literature, and not of its original form. Thus, there are several medieval versions of the stories of Tobit and Judith, none of which even approaches the original works in length and scope; only the bare skeleton of the plot was preserved, told, and retold by medieval Jewry in various versions. Attempts made by some scholars, especially M. Gaster, to discover in these medieval stories the Hebrew originals of the Greek works utterly failed. Another popular medieval Hebrew story was the *Scroll of Antiochus (*Megillat Antiochus*), which included some of the better-known sections of the Books of Maccabees, but no full translation of these works was known in medieval Hebrew literature. However, the story of the woman whose seven sons refused to worship idols and were martyred, found its way into the Talmud (Git. 57b) and remained as an independent Hebrew tale, and was included in almost every Hebrew medieval collection of stories (see *Hannah and her Seven Sons).

The vast theological and cosmological as well as narrative material included in works like the Books of Enoch and Jubilees reentered Hebrew literature about the time of the conquests of Islam. The first Hebrew work to make use of such material was the **Pirkei de-Rabbi Eliezer*, a work written in the form of a Midrash, but which is, in fact, a retelling of the stories of Genesis, making use both of midrashic material and ideas included in the apocryphal works connected with the Book of Genesis. Some parts of these works survived also independently; thus, the story of the fallen angels from the Book of Enoch was told by medieval Jewry as the story of *Uzza and Azael. To the old Ben Sira which survived until the 13th century, at least with the Eastern Jews, was added a new pseudepigraphic work, the *Alfabet de-Ben Sira*, which, besides a few sayings, has nothing in common with the original work, preserved in Greek.

Only in the Renaissance period did Jewish scholars come into direct contact with the original works of the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha. The most important step was made by Azariah dei *Rossi, who translated the Letter of Aristeas into Hebrew, and thus began modern Hebrew scholarship and interest in this field. From then on, increasing numbers of Jewish scholars turned to this material in their quest for Jewish historical and literary material. A new translation of the Apocrypha was made into Hebrew at the beginning of the 16th century but was lost until recently.

[Joseph Dan]

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APOLLONIA, city on the coast of Ereẓ Israel about 9½ mi. (15 km.) N. of Jaffa. Apollonia was apparently founded by Seleucus IV (186–174 B.C.E.). It is today the ruined site of Tel Arshaf (Arsuf). Named after the Greek god Apollo Soter ("Savior"), Apollonia was also known in the Byzantine period as Sozusa ("City of the Savior," in reference to Jesus). The assumption that Apollonia was built on the site of the Canaanite city of Rishpon has not been sustained by archaeological findings. Rishpon was named after the Canaanite deity *Resheph, whom the Hellenized Canaanites presumably identified with Apollo. Apollonia is first mentioned among the cities held by Alexander *Yannai (Jos., Ant., 13:395), but it was probably captured earlier by John *Hyrcanus. In 63 B.C.E., *Pompey detached Apollonia from the territory of Judea. It was one of the cities rebuilt by the Roman governor *Gabinus. After forming part of the realms of Herod and Agrippa I, it became an independent city in the province of Judea (and later, of Syria Palaestina). In the Arab period Apollonia was known as Arsuf (= Resheph). The Crusader king Baldwin captured it in 1101 and under Crusader rule the city (then called Arsur, a corruption of Arsuf) served as a commercial center, especially for the Genoese. Taken by Saladin in 1187, it was recaptured and restored to the Crusaders four years later by Richard the Lion-Hearted. The Egyptian Mamluk sultan, Baybars, captured and destroyed the city in 1265. The remains of a Crusader fortress, castle, and port are visible on the seashore, about 2½ mi. (4 km.) northwest of Herzliyyah. South of these are the ruins of the Greco-Roman city where two Greco-Jewish inscriptions and traces of an ancient glass factory have been discovered. In the 1990s a number of people, mostly well-to-do, built homes near the archeological site, under the name of Arsuf. However, the government did not formally recognize the settlement and did not approve further building in the area, which was planned as a park. In 2002 Arsuf's population was 104.

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[Michael Avi-Yonah / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

°**APOLLONIUS** (third century B.C.E.), finance minister of *Ptolemy II Philadelphus, king of Egypt (285–246 B.C.E.). Apollonius was one of the most efficient administrators of the period. Considerable material on his activities is furnished by the Zeno papyri, particularly on his activities as the owner of estates in the Fayyum. He owned vineyards in Beth-Anath in Judea and also engaged in commerce and manufacture. Several of his agents were stationed in Judea in order to foster trade with Egypt.

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°**APOLLONIUS MOLON** (first century B.C.E.), Greek rhetorician and anti-Jewish writer. According to Plutarch (Caesar 3; Cicero 4; cf. Josephus, Apion 2:79) Apollonius settled on the island of Rhodes where he became head of the school of rhetoric. Apollonius criticized the Jews in a pamphlet quoted by Eusebius ("Praeparatio Evangelica") and mentioned by Josephus (Josephus, Apion, 2). He claimed that the Jews were "the worst among the barbarians," lacked any creative talent, did nothing for the welfare of mankind, believed in no divinity, and were commanded by their religion to hate the human race. According to Apollonius, Moses was "an imposter and deceiver." From *Manetho, he borrowed the myth that the children of Israel were banished from Egypt because they were lepers. Apparently, the majority of Apollonius' accusations were not original, but repeated from the writings of antisemites who preceded him.

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[Abraham Schalit]

APOLOGETICS. The entry is arranged according to the following outline:

Introduction
Against Hellenism
In the Talmud and Midrash
In Relation to Christianity
Medieval Apologetics
  SEFER HA-KUZARI
  ISLAM
  SPAIN AND SOUTHERN FRANCE
  NORTHERN FRANCE
  14TH- AND 15TH-CENTURY SPAIN
  ITALY
  THE REST OF EUROPE
In the 18th Century
In the 19th and 20th Centuries

Introduction

Apologetics in Judaism is that literature which endeavors to defend Jews, their religion, and their culture in reply to adverse criticism. The demarcation between apologetics and *disputation is often difficult to draw. The history of Jewish apologetic literature reflects the complicated pattern of relationships between Jews and Gentiles through the generations, and originated in response to the challenges of pagans and subsequently of Christianity. In the Middle Ages Jewish apologetics, termed by Jewish scholars *hitnaẓẓelut*, were intended to defend the spheres of both Jewish religion and Jewish social and national life, past and present, against direct attack and internal doubts arising from comparisons of respective cultures and ways of life. They were also written in the hope of proving to the Gentiles the virtues of the Jewish religion and thereby influencing their outlook on, and attitudes toward, Judaism. In the modern age a new type of Jewish secular apologetics aim at justification of Jewish social and economic conditions in the gentile world. The nonconformist stand adopted by Jewish monotheism against the surrounding polytheism in the ancient world gave rise to aggressive apologetics by the prophets when asserting the supremacy of their faith over "the vanities of the nations" (e.g., Isa. 40:17–21; 42:5–8; 44:6–20; 45:5–7, etc.; Jer. 10:2–5; 14:22; Zech. 8:20–23; 14:9, 16–21).

Against Hellenism

The authors of the Jewish-Hellenistic literature in Greek in the first half and the middle of the third century B.C.E. regarded as their major task the defense of the ideas of Judaism and its historical role. Jewish-Hellenistic historiographers set out to establish argumentation along these lines. *Demetrius, *Eupolemus, and *Artapanus place the Jewish people and Ereẓ Israel at the core of human history. Several Jewish poets expressed these ideas, as attested by extant fragments from compositions of the epic poets Philo the Elder and the Samaritan *Theodotus, while the drama *Exodus* by *Ezekiel the Poet (second century B.C.E.) hints that the dream of Moses beside Mount Sinai and Jethro's interpretation of it relate to the dominion of Israel over the world. The vision of the burning bush, according to this author, symbolizes the historical-universal value of the Revelation at Mount Sinai. Jewish-Hellenistic philosophers interpreted Judaism allegorically as containing all the best in the systems of the great Greek philosophers. The intellectual and material basis of universal civilization was also pioneered by Jews, according to Jewish-Hellenistic writers. Abraham discovered astronomy and astrology and taught these sciences to the Babylonians and the Egyptians. Joseph introduced a well-ordered society in Egypt. Moses invented writing. Jews were the founders of philosophy. According to the philosopher *Aristobulus of Paneas (2nd century B.C.E.), not only Plato but even Homer and Hesiod were influenced by Judaism because parts of the Torah had been translated into Greek before their time. Many of these postulates were later utilized by Christian apologists in their argumentation against the pagans. In the Middle Ages they became Christian axioms and were accepted by Christians as historical truth.

Concomitantly with the general apologetic trend in Jewish-Hellenistic literature, specific apologetic works were also written. Two works of this type are known: *Philo's "Apology on behalf of the Jews" (Ἀπολογία ὑπὲρ Ἰουδαίων, first century C.E.), of which fragments are preserved in the works of *Eusebius, and *Josephus' *Against Apion* (first century C.E.), which summarizes the argumentation used by Jewish-Hellenistic apologetics. The major theme in *Against Apion* is a defense of the refusal of the Jews to participate in the local cults (λειτουργία) in the cities and provinces in which they were living and enjoying rights as citizens. This abstention was considered by their gentile neighbors to constitute either disrespect for religion in general or atheism (ἀθεότης), i.e., denial of the existence of gods. The accusation was repeated by anti-Jewish polemicists from the days of *Apollonius Molon (in the first century B.C.E.) to *Pliny and *Tacitus some two centuries later. Jewish apologists countered by explaining the Jewish belief in one God and the preferability of monotheism, citing Greek philosophers in support (Jos., Apion, 2:22). The apologists continued to denounce idolatry in the prophetic tradition, stressing the baseness of animal and image worship (cf. Arist., 134–9; Wisd., 13–16; Oracula Sibyllina, 3:29–34; Jos., Apion, 2:33–34). The refusal of the Jews to take part in the cult of the Roman emperor was viewed as *lèse majesté* by those antagonistic toward the Jews. In defense, Jewish apologists pointed out that sacrifices were regularly offered in the Temple in Jerusalem for the health of the emperor and that the emperors, satisfied with this arrangement, had granted the Jews special privileges (Philo, *De Legatione ad Caium*, 45; Jos., Apion, 2:6).

Jewish apologists emphasized the humane character of the precepts in the Torah regarding proselytes and Gentiles to counter the widespread accusations that these injunctions demonstrate pride, contempt, and hatred of mankind (Jos., Apion, 2:28–29). They explained reasons for the ceremonial *mitzvot* by way of allegory (see, e.g., Philo's statements on circumcision, Mig., 16); they also pointed out the cruel attitude to strangers and children common in pagan societies (e.g., Philo, Spec., 3:20). Jewish apologetics, although composed in the language of anti-Jewish publicists and adopting their style and mode of thought, contributed little to the understanding of Judaism among the groups who attacked Jews and Jewish law. However, this activity helped to undermine the religious principles of the pagan world, preparing the ground for conversion to Judaism and later on a large scale to Christianity.

In the Talmud and Midrash

The apologetic argumentation found in Hebrew and Aramaic sources is mainly intended to combat Hellenistic influences within the Jewish camp or that of Jewish "Hellenizers" or to oppose heretical sectarians. The Midrash reveals knowledge of the allegation made by ancient authors that the Jews were expelled from Egypt because they were lepers, and in reply demonstrates that leprosy was prevalent among all nations (Gen. R. 88:1). Similarly, the Talmud and Midrash are familiar with the charge that Jews had not contributed to the creation of human cultures, that they were misanthropes, and disregarded the authority of the state (*Beit ha-Midrash*, ed. by A. Jellinek, 1 (1938^{2}), 9). Consequently, the sages stress the concept that the world was created for Israel's sake and exists thanks to its merit (Shab. 88a; Gen. R. 66:2). On the other hand, they put the blame for Jewish separation on idol worship, to which the Gentiles were addicted, while Jews were enjoined to keep at a distance the customs and cult associated with it.

Apologetics in the Talmud and Midrash take the form of tales, discussions, or exchanges of questions and answers between Jewish sages and Gentiles – philosophers, heretics, matrons, and Roman officials. The opponents of the Jews draw attention to contradictions in Scripture and take issue with anthropomorphic expressions found in the Bible; they censure several principles in the Jewish concept of God and express hostility to the *mitzvot* and laws which appear strange to them. The sages considered it their duty to "know how to answer an **Apikoros*" (a heretic; Avot 2:14). Prominent sages are reported to have participated in these apologetic endeavors, e.g., *Johanan b. Zakkai (TJ, Sanh. 1:4, 19d), *Joshua b. Hananiah (Ḥul. 59b; Nid. 70b), *Gamaliel II, c. 95 C.E. (Sanh. 39a; Av. Zar. 54b), and *Yose b. Ḥalafta (Gen. R. 17:7; Tanḥ. B., Gen. 2). They employ the homiletical method of reasoning (*derush*). Sometimes, however, they did not take the exchanges seriously, and disciples are found asking, "Rabbi, you put him [your opponent] off with a straw, but what will you answer us?" (e.g., TJ, Shab. 3:5, 6a; Ḥul. 27b; Tanḥ. Ḥukkat 8).

In Relation to Christianity

The appearance of a new adversary – the church, which developed and spread its influence through advocating progressive separation from the Jewish fold, inevitably introduced new problems in apologetic argumentation. The pagan polemicist Celsus quotes Jewish opinions in his critique of Christianity, according to *Origen in 231–33 (*Contra Celsum*, 1:28). His statements are repeated by Eusebius and Epiphanius. The

Jews were certain of their ground in understanding Scripture, and asserted that "in all the passages which the *minim* [i.e., Christians] have taken [as grounds] for their [Christian] heresy, their refutation is to be found near at hand" (Sanh. 38b). Therefore, where a verse from Scripture was given a Christological interpretation by exponents of the nascent church, the Talmud supplies an opposing, distinctly anti-Christological exegesis of the continuation of the text. Thus, Simeon bar Yoḥai interprets "sons of God" (Gen. 6:2) as "sons of nobles," as in the old Aramaic versions, and execrated "all who called them the sons of God" (Gen. R. 26:5). Until the beginning of the fourth century the concept of the Trinity was not yet fully accepted in the church. Many statements in Jewish literature recorded from the preceding period, therefore, which appear to some scholars as being directed against the opinions of the Gnostics, or even of the Persian concept of dualism, were in reality formulated against the Christian belief in the Father and Son. Abbahu, unmistakably in reference to Christian beliefs about Jesus, said: "If someone will tell you, 'I am God,' he is a liar; 'I am the son of man,' his end is that he will regret it; that 'I am going to Heaven,' he says this but will not fulfill it" (TJ, Ta'an. 2:1, 65f; see also Ex. R. 29:5). The following homily may be directed against the Christian concept of the divinity of Jesus: "R. Aḥa said: 'God was angry with Solomon when he uttered the verse ["meddle not with them that are given to change" (Prov. 24:21)] which by a play on the Hebrew words was interpreted as meaning "with them that have two gods." God said to Solomon, "Why do you express a thing that concerns the sanctification of My Name by an obscure reference [*notarikon*], in the words 'And meddle not with them that are given to change?'" Thereupon immediately Solomon expressed it more clearly [in the words], "There is one that is alone, and he hath not a second; yea, he hath neither son nor brother" (Eccles. 4:8); "He hath neither son nor brother," but "Hear, O Israel, the Lord our God, the Lord is one"'" (Deut. R. 2:33).

The election of Israel by God also became a topic for apologetics against insistent claims by the church to be the true heir to the election. The sufferings of the Jews, the destruction of the Temple (70 C.E.), and the suppression of the Bar Kokhba revolt (135 C.E.), in contrast to the growth and spread of Christianity, added the elements of visible rejection and punishment of the Jewish nation, while the church was prospering. The same message was repeated by the Church Fathers (second to third centuries) in different forms (Justin, *Dialogus*, 16; Origen, *Contra Celsum*, 4:22; Eusebius, *Historia Ecclesiae*, 2:26). In their attack on the Jews the Christians did not refrain from utilizing arguments used by pagans such as Apion (Jos., Apion, 2:11) and *Cicero (*Pro Flacco*, 28). The "abandonment" of the Jews by God was presented to the Jews with proofs from the Bible. "A certain *min* [Christian] once said to R. Gamaliel: 'You are a people with whom its God has performed *ḥaliẓah* [severed his connections from his sister-in-law], for it is said in Scripture, "with their flocks and with their herds they shall go to seek the Lord, but they shall not find Him; He hath withdrawn from them"' (Hos. 5:6). The other replied: 'Fool, is it written "He hath drawn off for them"? It is written "He hath drawn off from them"; now in the case of a sister-in-law from whom the brother drew off the shoe could there be any validity in the act?'" since the act of *ḥaliẓah* was not valid unless the sister-in-law had removed the shoe of her brother-in-law. Here the image is of God drawing off the shoe, i.e., such a *ḥaliẓah* would be invalid (Yev. 102b; see also Ber. 10a; Sanh. 39a; Av. Zar. 10b). In response to Christian claims that the Old Testament has passed to the church and that Jews have no right to it (Justin, *Apologia*, 1:53; Origen, *Contra Celsum*, 7:26), there is an allusion by the rabbis that the Oral Law alone affirms the truth of the claims of those who uphold the Written Law: "Judah bar Solomon stated that when God said to Moses, 'Write!' Moses also requested that the Mishnah (i.e., the Oral Law) should be given in writing. But God anticipated that the Gentiles would translate the Torah, read it in Greek, and say: We are Israel, and we are the children of God, and henceforth, the scales are balanced. God said to the Gentiles: 'You say that you are My children. I only know that who possess My secret writings are My children. And what are these writings? – the Mishnah'" (Tanḥ. Va-Yera 5; *ibid.* Ki-Tissa 34). In explaining the actions of Jonah who had been sent to gentile Nineveh, it is stressed that he refused to go there (unlike the Christian apostles); this refusal is seen by the *aggadah* as a sign of His love for Israel; Jonah saw that the Gentiles were more inclined to repent "and he did not want to lay his own people open to condemnation. Thus he behaved like the rest of the patriarchs and prophets who offered themselves on behalf of Israel" (Mekh. of Rabbi Ishmael, Pasḥa, 1). The repentance of the Nineveh Gentiles was in reality "a feigned repentance" (TJ., Ta'an. 2:1, 65b). The interpretation served as an answer to the statements of the Church Fathers who stressed that the Gentiles in the time of Jonah obeyed the prophet sent to them, just as the Gentiles in their own time answered the call of the apostles. In contrast, the Jews had refused to obey then, and refuse to do so now, and as a result they are punished (Luke 11:29–30, 32; Justin, *Dialogus*, 107).

Medieval Apologetics

With the predominance of the church and humiliation of the Jews in the Middle Ages, Jewish apologetics had to assume a new character. The religious disputations held between Christians and Jews became acrimonious. The lack of any kind of recognized Jewish statehood or sovereignty had to be explained. The Jews claimed, inter alia, that there still existed a sovereign Jewish state in the East, a claim put forward as early as 633 (Isidore of Seville, *De fide catholica contra Judaeos*, 1:8, para. 2, in: PL, 83 (1862), 464). Medieval Hebrew apologists in the Mediterranean countries also took issue with Jewish sects, such as the *Karaites. Recognizing that Jewish sectarian movements in part drew their inspiration from Christianity and Islam (several Karaite scholars, for instance, accepted the view that Jesus and Mohammed were prophets), Jewish authors felt the necessity of protecting Judaism from within by pointing out the weaknesses of these religions. Apologetics of this type were often combined with presentation of a general philosophical system of Jewish thought. Fragments from the Cairo *Genizah attest to the polemics directed in this period against the Samaritans, Christianity, and Islam, as well as Jewish schismatic sects, apparently from the beginning of the tenth century (Mann, in HUCA, 12 (1938), 427ff.).

David *Al-Mukammiṣ (ninth to tenth centuries), who became converted to Christianity and lived briefly at Nisibis as a Christian, wrote two tractates against Christianity after his return to Judaism, which served as sources for the Karaite scholar al-*Kirkisānī and apparently for *Saadiah Gaon (fragments in JQR, 15 (1903), 684ff.). The latter also directed polemics against Christian philosophers in his *Emunot ve-De'ot*. Concerning the Trinity, Saadiah states, "When I present this refutation I do not have in mind the uneducated among them [the Christians] who profess only a crass corporeal Trinity. For I would not have my book occupy itself with answering such people, since that answer must be quite clear and the task simple. It is rather my intention to reply to the learned who maintain that they adopted their belief in the Trinity as a result of rational speculation and subtle understanding" (*Emunot ve-De'ot*, trans. by S. Rosenblatt (1948), 103). Regarding proofs adduced by Christians in support of the concept of the Trinity from the Bible, Saadiah states: "The misinterpretation of these terms on the part of these individuals who cite them as proof of their theory, is, then, due to unfamiliarity with the Hebrew language" (*ibid.*, 105). In the third section of the work, Saadiah rejects all the arguments adduced by Christians to show that the *mitzvot* and Torah had been abolished with the advent of the New Covenant.

SEFER HA-KUZARI. *Sefer ha-Kuzari* of *Judah Halevi is structured as a work of apologetics, with the subtitle *A Composition in Argumentation and Proof in the Defense of the Despised Faith*. In this work Judah Halevi sets his theory in an historical framework; the conversion of the king of Khazaria and many of his subjects to Judaism, the religion despised by the Gentiles. The Khazars adopted Judaism despite the strictness of its requirements regarding new converts. Judah Halevi elevates the values of human faith in the revealed religion and of Jewish law above those of philosophy, ultimately also opposing the latter. At the basis of his defense of Judaism, he places the history of the Jewish nation and its election by God. The present debased condition of the Jewish people constitutes no reflection on the value of its faith "because the light of God falls only upon humble souls"; humiliation and martyrdom are considered valid signs of proximity to God by all monotheistic religions, even Christianity and Islam, at present powerful in this world. Ultimately, all nations will accept the Torah adhered to by the suffering Jewish people. The religions in which the Gentiles believe at present are merely "a suggestion and an introduction to the anticipated Messiah" (4:22–23).

ISLAM. Comparatively little Jewish apologetic literature is directed specifically against Islam. As *Maimonides states, the claim of Muslim scholars that the Jews have corrupted the text of the Torah, abolishes the common ground on which any effort to explain the Jewish interpretation of the text to Muslims may be based. Muslims taunted Jews less than Christians about the situation implicit in exile. The Islamic conception that Judaism had simply been superseded by Mohammed's message and the law prescribed by him, lacking the element of internal contradiction, also diminished the requirement for apologetics in this sphere. Polemical allusions to Islam appear in the *piyyutim*, late Midrashim (e.g., *Pirkei de-R. Eliezer*), and exegetical and philosophical works, such as those of Saadiah Gaon, the *Emunah Ramah* of Abraham ibn Daud, and Maimonides' *Guide of the Perplexed* (2:32, 39). Identification of the Arabs with various biblical peoples such as *Kedar, Hagarites, or Nebaioth (Gen. 25:13; 28:9; 36:3; Isa. 60:7; Jer. 49:28; I Chron. 1:29) helped Jewish commentators to relate tales disparaging to the Muslims. Derogatory allusions are made to the personality of Muhammad and his actions: he is frequently described as "the madman." A work directed specifically against Islam was the "Treatise on Ishmael" (*Ma'amar al Ishma'el*, 1863) by Solomon b. Abraham *Adret, which rejects the arguments of a Muslim who disparaged inclusion of the stories of Reuben and of Tamar and Judah in the Bible and attacked the Jews for observing *mitzvot* which merited abolition. A detailed critique of Islam is also included in the *Keshet u-Magen* of Simeon b. Ẓemaḥ *Duran. The writer discourses on the attitude in the Koran to Judaism and criticizes the legends related there and its principles of faith and commandments; he points out contradictions found in the Koran, its ignorance of the principles of natural science and philosophical doctrine of the soul, and complains about its obscure style.

SPAIN AND SOUTHERN FRANCE. One of the first works to show the influence of the philosophical method of apologetics employed in Spain and southern France is the *Sefer Milḥamot Adonai* ("Book of the Wars of the Lord," 1170) of *Jacob b. Reuben, where reference is made to Saadiah Gaon, *Abraham b. Ḥiyya, and Abraham *Ibn Ezra. It was written to counter the arguments of an erudite Catholic priest whom the author held in high esteem, and its 12 sections include an imaginary debate between a "monotheist" and a "dissenter." The *Sefer ha-Berit* ("Book of the Covenant") by Joseph *Kimḥi, in similar dialogue form, not only defends the Jewish faith, but also demonstrates the morality and excellence of the Jewish way of life as regulated by the law. The case put by the Jew is as follows:

> I shall now enumerate their good works and you [i.e., the Christian] cannot deny them. To begin with the Ten Commandments… The Jews do not make idols…, there is no people in the world to compare with them in refraining from perjury; none keeps the Sabbath apart from the Jews. "Thou shalt honor thy [father and mother]"; likewise, "Thou shalt not kill; Thou shalt not commit adultery"; likewise, neither murders nor adulterers are found among them [the Jews]. It is known that you will not find robbery and banditry among the Jews as it is among Christians who rob people on the highways, and hang them, and sometimes put out their eyes; these things cannot be said

> of the Jews. The pious Jews and Jewesses… educate their children… in the study of the Torah; when they hear them utter an indecent word they punish them… Their daughters grow up in chastity, you will not see them on the streets, like the daughters of the Christians… Moreover, I tell you that when a Jew stays with a fellow Jew, whether for a day or two or for a year, his host will take no money from him for his board… Thus in every way the Jews in every land behave compassionately toward their brethren. If a Jew sees that his brother is taken captive, he will ransom him; naked – he will clothe him (*Milḥemet Ḥovah*, Constantinople, 1710).

*Meir b. Simeon of Narbonne in the 13th century defended Jewish faith, life, legal status, and economic activity. Thus he justified Jewish moneylending (trans. in JJS, 10 (1959), 51–57). In the draft of a memorandum to the king of France, Meir argues for better treatment of Jews, quoting the Bible on the brotherhood and equality of all men: "Hear me, my Lord King, and all his counselors, sages, and wise men, and all the heads of the Roman faith and its leaders, and follow in the footsteps of the patriarchs, who walked in the ways of the Almighty, for it is His way to hearken to the complaint and outcry of the poor… that all men shall understand that one Creator has created them, of one and same nature and one way of life" (*Milḥemet Mitzvah*, Ms. Parma, 155; Dinur, Golah, 2, pt. 1 (1965), 285–6).

NORTHERN FRANCE. The biblical exegetes in northern France introduced into their commentaries defenses of Jewish law and refutations of the claims of Christians in the homiletical spirit of midrashic apologetics. The commentaries of *Rashi are sometimes intended to refute Christological interpretations of biblical passages (e.g., Isa. 53; Jer. 31, 39; Ps. 2, etc.). In particular, the commentaries of *Samuel b. Meir, Joseph b. Isaac *Bekhor Shor, and *Eliezer of Beaugency contain apologetic explanations for almost all the verses to which Christians gave Christological or figurative interpretations. These explanations in part were prompted by the points raised at the religious disputations. The methods of hermeneutics employed range from literal exegesis of the text (**peshat*) to casuistic interpretation, including the hermeneutical methods of numerology (**gematria*) and abbreviation (*notarikon*), which all the schoolmen used in debate. While some of the disputants on behalf of Christianity were apostates from Judaism, those who replied to the Christian arguments included converts to Judaism or their descendants. Abraham the Proselyte from Hungary studied under Jacob b. Meir *Tam and was familiar with the New Testament and Christian liturgy. The French apologist Joseph ben Nathan Official, a descendant of a family of apologists composed c. 1260 the polemical book *Yosif ha-Mekanneh* (or *Teshuvot ha-Minim*) in the form of a commentary on the Bible. Its main purpose was to refute all Christological interpretations of the church. The book is a collection of such refutations of the French scholars until its own days. The book contains also a detailed criticism of the New Testament. This book, as well as other books patterned after it such as the *Nizzaḥon Vetus* (published by *Wagenseil in his *Tela ignea Satanae*), reflect the increased missionary activity of the church as well as the courageous response of Jewish religious leadership.

14TH- AND 15TH-CENTURY SPAIN. Jewish apologists in 14th-century Spain attempted to protect Judaism from apostates with mystic leanings. Isaac Policar (*Pollegar) came out against *Abner of Burgos in his *Iggeret ha-Ḥarafot* ("Epistle of Blasphemies"), which circulated throughout the Spanish communities. It contains a brief survey of the principles of the "true faith," which are also the principles of rationalism, and an explanation of the Jewish belief in the Messiah who would redeem Israel in the future. At greater length, he discusses these topics in the five dialogues in his *Ezer ha-Dat*. Another apologetic work to counter the influence of apostates was written by Moses (ha-Kohen) of Tordesillas, *Ezer ha-Emunah* (1375). Shem Tov b. Isaac ibn Shaprut's *Even Boḥan* (1385) may be considered a summation of Jewish apologetics in 14th-century Spain. In addition to 14 chapters which include answers to all the arguments raised by Christians, he adds a further chapter specifically directed against the doctrines propounded by Abner of Burgos. One result of the mass conversions of Jews to Catholicism in Spain, which began during the persecutions of 1391 and continued for a considerable time afterward, was the appearance of sharp literary polemics between converts to Christianity and the leaders of Spanish Jewry. Jewish apologetics then revealed outstanding literary talent and expressed new and daring ideas. The leader of Spanish Jewry during this period, the philosopher Ḥasdai *Crescas, wrote an apology in Spanish (translated into Hebrew in 1451 as *Bittul Ikkarei ha-Noẓerim*, "Negation of the Principles of the Christians," and published in Salonika in 1860), in which he turned to gentile intellectuals and demonstrated the grounds for negating the claims made by the Jewish converts to Christianity. A defense of Judaism is also included in his major work *Or Adonai*. Crescas tried to invalidate the view spread by converts, and held by rationalist Jewish apologists, that Judaism is almost identical with philosophical rationalism. He also fought against those who followed the doctrines of *Averroism denying individual providence and free will, the value of fulfilling the *mitzvot*, and the testimony of Jewish history. Ḥasdai set out to prove that Judaism in its original pure form had the power to redeem man through belief and observance of the *mitzvot*.

A colleague and disciple of Ḥasdai Crescas, Profiat *Duran, dedicated himself to the defense of Judaism (see *Disputations). His celebrated satire *Al Tehi ke-Avotekha* ("Be Not Like Your Fathers") is composed in the form of a letter to a friend, Bonet Bonjorn, who became converted to Christianity under the influence of *Pablo de Santa Maria (Solomon ha-Levi of Burgos). Profiat Duran's refined sarcasm, his profound learning, and polished style, were so successful that some Christian apologists took the work seriously as a defense of Christianity. Duran formulates the tenets of Christianity in this epistle with biting irony, using a critical historical method. The disputation of *Tortosa (1413–14) and the difficult circumstances surrounding and following it brought further Jewish apologetics in its wake. Both Joseph *Albo, one of the participants in the disputation, and Simeon b. Ẓemaḥ Duran, wrote works which were to a large degree influenced by the Tortosa disputation. Albo's *Sefer ha-Ikkarim* (1485) includes in its dogmatic formulations much apologetic argumentation on a rationalist basis. Simeon b. Ẓemaḥ Duran's *Keshet u-Magen* (1423) is explicitly an anti-Christian polemical work.

ITALY. The defense of Judaism by the Jewish scholars in Spain influenced the apologetic literature in other countries. In Italy, where there was constant social contact between Christians and Jews, debates on religious matters were held even in the early Middle Ages. The traditions of Jewish apologetic literature in Spain were continued by Jews in Italy in the 16th century after the expulsion from Spain, and included many of the exiles among its proponents. The Renaissance, humanism, and the religious ferment in the Christian world also gave a new impetus to Jewish apologetic literature. In the 16th century Jewish apologists tended to write in languages other than Hebrew to enable their arguments to reach Christian intellectuals. In his *Apologia Hebraeorum* (Strasbourg, 1559), David d'Ascoli challenged the restrictive legislation of Pope Paul IV and was imprisoned for his views. When in 1581 Pope *Gregory XIII renewed the order prohibiting Jewish physicians from treating Christian patients, David de Petals defended the integrity of Jewish doctors in his *De medico Hebraeo enarratio apologetica* (Venice, 1588), at the same time defending the Jewish laws regarding the taking of interest. Leone *Modena, who had frequent discussions with Christians, also engaged in apologetics. He wrote in 1644 the polemical book *Magen va-Ḥerev* ("Shield and Sword"). Modena was probably the first Jew to attempt a historical approach to the personality of Jesus, who was according to him close to the Pharisees. Jesus did not consider himself to be the Son of God. The main tenets of Christianity were crystallized in later centuries as a result of contacts with the pagan world and its beliefs and customs. Simḥah (Simone) *Luzzatto, in his *Discorso circa il stato degli Ebrei* (1638), discusses the character and conduct of the Jews, adverting not only to their positive virtues but also to their weaknesses. Luzzatto's main theme is the role filled by Jews in the economy of the Venetian Republic. He tries to demonstrate that the Jews formed a desirable element of efficient and loyal merchants without other loyalties to distract them from allegiance to a principality that treated them well. Luzzatto also attempts to invest Judaism with certain Catholic attributes.

THE REST OF EUROPE. A new aspect of Jewish apologetics was opened with the beginning of the settlement in Western Europe of Marranos who had left Spain and Portugal because of the pressure of the Inquisition, and their own unsettled religious views, but had not yet found their way to normative Judaism. Jewish scholars of Marrano origin now began propaganda among them to convince them of the truth of Judaism and the moral excellence of the Jews. Among these were, for example, the physician Elijah Montalto in a series of letters addressed to an acquaintance (published in REJ, 87 (1927), 137–65). Similarly, Immanuel *Aboab addressed an appeal couched along these lines to a kinsman in the south of France, replete with historical demonstrations which he used in his *Nomologia* (162. JQR, 23 (1932), 121–62), and were taken over subsequently by *Manasseh Ben Israel in his writings to be described below. Isaac *Cardozo in his *Las excelencias y calunias de los Hebreos* (Amsterdam, 1678) explains the election of the Jews and their mission as the bearers of a universal religion.

In the manner of the Jewish apologetic literature in Italy, there was also literature of this genre among the ex-Marrano Sephardi community in Holland. The most important Dutch-Jewish apologetic work was produced during his mission to England by Manasseh Ben Israel, whose *Vindiciae Judaeorum* was published in London in 1656. In this, Manasseh brings historical evidence in refutation of anti-Jewish libels, primarily of the *blood libel. Also emphasized are the material advantages likely to accrue by accepting the Jews into a state: "Hence it may be seen that God has not abandoned us; for if one persecutes us, another receives us civilly and courteously; and if this prince treats us ill, another treats us well; if one banishes us out of his country, another invites us by a thousand privileges, as various princes of Italy have done, and the mighty duke of Savoy in Nice. And do we not see that those republics which admit the Israelites flourish and much increase in trade?" (*Vindiciae*, sect. 33). His *Esperança de Israel* (1650) discusses the prerequisites for the advent of the Messiah and the return of the Jews to their land. Common to all apologetic compositions of this type are their efforts to achieve the amelioration of the present Jewish status by clarifying the essentials of the Jewish faith and explaining the way of life and character of the Jewish people. Many elements in the *Weltanschauung* of the later Enlightenment (see *Haskalah) movement in the period of Emancipation derive from this apologetic literature.

In Poland and Germany Jewish apologetics developed along different lines. In 1394 a German Jewish convert to Christianity, Pesaḥ-Peter, charged that the content of the prayer **Aleinu* (in its original form) – "They bow to vanity and emptiness and pray to a god that does not bring salvation" – was aimed at Christians. Among the Jews consequently imprisoned was Yom Tov Lipmann *Muelhausen. His *Sefer ha-Niẓẓaḥon*, written on this occasion, is a defense of Jewish ethics, and of the Bible and Talmud. The work made a profound impact and brought forth responsa by the bishop of Brandenburg, Stephan Bodecker, in 1459. The anti-trinitarian movement which arose in Poland in the 16th century also affected the Jews. Some sectarian leaders were interested in proving to their Catholic opponents who taunted them as being *semi-iudei* the difference between them and the Jews. The Jews in general avoided contacts with the sectarians; but some accepted the challenge. There was a disputation between the Polish Unitarian leader, Marcin Czechowic and the Jew, Jacob of Belzyce. The arguments of Jacob are preserved in the book of answers by Marcin. Of greater importance is the book *Ḥizzuk Emunah* by the Karaite scholar Isaac of *Troki, which was translated into European languages (also into Latin by Wagenseil in his *Tela ignea Satanae*) and exerted an influence on the French encyclopedists in the 18th century. It is a well-organized and clearly written book. Isaac shows a profound knowledge of Christianity and its sources. He was also familiar with contemporary Catholic and sectarian literature. The book contains a thorough and systematic criticism of the New Testament. The main purpose of the book was to prove why Jews refuse to believe in the divinity of Jesus and accept Christianity. In 1759 Jewish representatives in Poland were compelled to defend the Talmud in a public disputation with the *Frankists. Dov Ber *Birkenthal of Bolechov wrote an apology entitled *Divrei Binah* (published by A. Brawer in *Ha-Shilo'aḥ*, 33 (1917), 146ff.). Jacob *Emden countered the charges of the Frankists in *Sefer Shimmush*, which includes a positive evaluation of Jesus and his activity. Emden also acknowledges that Christianity drove out paganism and obliged its adherents to observe the seven *Noachide laws. He emphasizes that Christians are of good character. They are not bound to observe the *mitzvot* and will not be punished for their belief in the Trinity, but will be rewarded for spreading belief in God among Gentiles who had no knowledge of the God of Israel.

In the 18th Century

Evaluation of Judaism became a factor in the struggle between the old and new in the philosophy of Enlightenment. Despite the anti-Judaic stand taken by many rationalist and deist thinkers (e.g., *Voltaire), there were others who defended Judaism and Jews, such as Roger Williams and John *Toland. The German Christian Wilhelm *Dohm, while insisting in 1781 that Jewish mores and culture must be improved, praised the basic traits in the Jewish character. Gradually Jewish apologetic literature furnished the arsenal and became the battlefield in the struggle to attain Jewish emancipation. Non-Jews increasingly joined Jews in their efforts. Gotthold Ephraim *Lessing and Moses *Mendelssohn frequently turned to apologetics to state the Jewish case. In 1782 Mendelssohn wrote an introduction to Manasseh Ben Israel's *Vindiciae Judaeorum* (in the German translation by Marcus Hertz) in which he advocated Jewish rights. In his *Jerusalem, oder ueber die religioese Macht und Judentum* (1783), he explains Jewish law according to his views, his exposition having an apologetic edge: Mendelssohn here denies the Church the right to use coercion by the arm of the state and argues that no state is justified in withholding civil rights from a group of people because of their religious views.

With the weakening of the influence of religion in the West, the religious grounds for antisemitism were replaced by national, social, and economic arguments. Pro-Jewish apologists therefore had to prove that the Jews constituted an advantageous element from an economic standpoint; that any faults with adverse social consequences, such as the practice of usury, were the result of the economic position into which they had been forced by medieval laws; and that they were loyal to the countries whose national culture they wished to adopt. Preeminent in power and feeling among the defenders of the Jews is the English historian Thomas Babington Macaulay. In his speech in parliament of April 17, 1833, on Jewish disabilities, he dealt with arguments against granting full rights to the Jews, summing up in what may be termed a crescendo of Liberal-Protestant Christian apologetics on behalf of the Jews and their past.

> Such, Sir, has in every age been the reasoning of bigots. They never fail to plead in justification of persecution the vices which persecution has engendered. England has been to the Jews less than half a country and we revile them because they do not feel for England more than half patriotism. We treat them as slaves, and wonder why they do not regard us as brethren. We drive them to mean occupations, and then reproach them for not embracing honorable professions. We long forbade them to possess land and we complain that they chiefly occupy themselves in trade. We shut them out of all the paths of ambition, and then we despise them for taking refuge in avarice. But were they always a mere money-changing, money-getting, money-hoarding race?… In the infancy of civilizations, when our island was as savage as New Guinea, when letters and arts were still unknown to Athens, when scarcely a thatched hut stood on what was afterwards the site of Rome, this condemned people had their fenced cities, their splendid Temple.

In the 19th and 20th Centuries

Jewish apologists in emphasizing the contribution made by Jews to civilization, transformed the conception of *am segullah* ("election") to the concept of *te'udah* ("mission"). They progressively emphasized the universal character of Judaism. Abraham *Geiger defended Judaism in this spirit; he also made a scholarly investigation of apologetics, and published selections from the medieval Jewish apologists in *Proben juedischer Verteidigung des Mittelalters*. An apologist in a similar vein was the historian Isaac Marcus *Jost (1793–1860). Gabriel *Riesser (1806–1863), while advocating Jewish emancipation, compared the subjugation of Jews by Christians to that of the Third Estate by the nobility and of the blacks by whites. When the Protestant theologian E.G. Paulus argued that Jews would have to become converted to Christianity in order to become good citizens, Riesser defended the Jews and Judaism in his *Verteidigung der buergerlichen Gleichstellung der Juden* (1831). Riesser's periodical, *Der Jude*, was of great importance in the arena of apologetics. Leopold *Zunz stated in his introduction to his *Die gottesdienstlichen Vortraege der Juden* that "the Jews in Europe, and especially those in Germany, should be given freedom instead of being granted rights." The Jewish situation in the 19th century continued to stimulate apologetics preoccupied with questions relating to emancipation.

Although the concern of Western Jewry with apologetics considerably diminished with the attainment of emancipation, the recrudescence of antisemitism in Europe during the second half of the 19th century again evoked a renewal of apologetic literature, especially in response to the recurrent blood libels. Joseph Samuel *Bloch (1850–1923) contributed signally to the defense of Jews and Judaism before meetings of workingmen in Vienna and in his activities to combat the accusations made by the Catholic theologian and antisemite, August *Rohling, at the time of the *Tisza-Eszlár blood libel case. In 1884 Bloch founded a periodical *Oesterreichische Wochenschrift*, dedicated to the struggle against antisemitism. His apology *Israel und die Voelker* was published posthumously in 1923.

Adolf *Jellinek (1820–1892), the chief rabbi of Vienna, was active in Jewish defense. His successor Moritz *Guedemann not only combated the bias shown by many scholars on Jewish problems but also prompted a widespread information campaign to defend Judaism in the Viennese press and in public gatherings. Guedemann also wrote a basic study of Jewish apologetics, *Juedische Apologetik* (1906). Among scientists who felt compelled to defend the Jews in the face of contemporary antisemitism was the alienist and criminologist Cesare *Lombroso, an Italian Jew, whose *L'anti-Semitismo e le scienze moderne* (1894) was intended for this purpose.

In Eastern Europe also, Jewish apologetics entered the lists in the struggle for civil rights. Notable among the Jewish apologists active in Poland during the first half of the 19th century were Samuel Baum and Jacob *Tugendhold. The latter followed the model of German Jewish apologetic literature. His *Obrona Izraelitów* ("Defense of the Jews") is a refutation of the blood libel, while he also attacked the manner in which antisemites presented the political and social aspects of the Jewish problem. Among apologists in Russia, Isaac Ber *Levinsohn was prominent. In his *Aḥiyyah ha-Shiloni* (1864) he even renewed apologetics as a form of Christian-Jewish dialogue. *Ta'ar ha-Sofer* (1892), a defense of the Talmud, is directed against the Karaites, and *Efes Damim*, a confutation of the blood libel, was written during the Zaslavl case. In Russia, Jewish apologetics were directed, inter alia, to abolition of the restrictions on Jewish residence outside the Pale of Settlement. They thus emphasized the role of the Jewish merchant in the economy as well as cultural factors. In the 1880s, when individual Jews were accused of taking part in the revolutionary movements, Jewish apologists argued that the overwhelming majority of Jews were conservative in character.

An important turning point in Jewish apologetics was the rise of Jewish nationalism. A conflict developed between Zionists and apologists of the conventional type who still used the arguments employed by the advocates of emancipation, and in countering the humiliating propaganda of the antisemites stressed the merits of the Jews. In contrast, the general tendency of Zionists was to present the Jews as a people like any other nation. Zionism, however, developed its own arguments, including the historic right of the Jews to Ereẓ Israel, which had already been a controversial subject between Jews and Gentiles during the Second Temple period.

The 19th and 20th centuries saw the growth of a specific internal apologetics with the object of bringing Jews back to Judaism. Jewish apologists of this type included spokesmen of neo-Orthodoxy, Samson Raphael *Hirsch (e.g., in *Iggeret Ẓafon*) and Isaac *Breuer (*Der Neue Kusari*, and other works). Of this intention, although in another spirit, were non-Orthodox writers, such as Max *Brod (*Heidentum, Christentum, Judentum*, 1921), Franz *Rosenzweig (*Apologetisches Denken*), Hermann *Cohen, Edmond *Fleg, Leo *Baeck, and others, who advocated a return to Jewish values out of the conviction that these include an original and complete *Weltanschauung* by which a man can live a noble life. Jews in Germany stressed the honorable part they had taken in the German armed forces in World War I. Jewish bodies, such as the Anti-Defamation League (see *B'nai *B'rith), the *Alliance Israélite Universelle, and the *Central-Verein Deutscher Staatsbuerger juedischen Glaubens, devoted themselves to issuing publicity of an apologetic nature. During the Nazi assault on Jewish existence, there developed an anti-racist scientific literature which furnished Jewish apologists with arguments against racism as well as works stressing the prominent role played by Jews in world culture. After the *Holocaust, Jews such as Jules *Isaac went over to the attack and stressed the Christian historic guilt in the annihilation. One of the central problems confronting Jewish apologists, mainly in the modern age, is of a psychological nature. The anti-Jewish calumniator is able to rouse his public by alleging that Jews and Jewish influence are a cause of social evils. Jewish defense, on the other hand, has stressed that Jews are not responsible. By the very negativeness of its argumentation, therefore, modern Jewish apologetics has often failed to demonstrate positive Jewish values to the public.

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[*Encyclopaedia Hebraica*]

APOSTASY, term applied by members of the deserted faith for the change of one faith, set of loyalties, and worship for another. The conception of apostasy could not arise in the atmosphere of polytheism practiced in antiquity before the advent of *Hellenism. The Bible frequently condemns those worshiping other gods, but though this is conceived as a heinous transgression it still lacks the totality of apostasy-conversion.

A product of the spread of Hellenistic culture in Ereẓ Israel was the group of *Mityavvenim* (hellenizers), who according to Jewish sources adopted Hellenistic ways of life and religious worship during the reign of *Antiochus IV Epiphanes in the second century B.C.E. Some scholars take these to be the instigators of his persecution of the Jewish faith. In the Books of the *Maccabees, the Jews who abetted the officials of the Seleucids or joined their armies are described as renegades and apostates. The Tosefta (Suk. 4:28) has preserved the tale of "Miriam of the House of Bilga [a priestly house] who apostatized (שנשתמדה) and married an official of one of the kings of Greece. As the Greeks entered the Temple, Miriam came and struck the top of the altar, saying… 'You have destroyed the property of Israel and did not come to their help in their trouble.'" The woman appears to express disillusionment with the Jewish God. Because of her apostasy, her family was disqualified from certain privileges and symbols of priestly status. *Tiberius Julius Alexander, the nephew of the philosopher *Philo Judaeus, went to the extreme of commanding some of the Roman units during the siege and subsequent destruction of Jerusalem and the Temple. As described in the Talmud, the figure of the second-century scholar and teacher Elisha b. Avuyah, who joined the pagan-philosophic camp, disputed with Jewish scholars, and ridiculed the Jewish religion, has a certain grandeur and is accorded a grudging respect.

After the rise of Christianity apostasy became an accompanying phenomenon of Jewish life, a problem between Jews and their neighbors, and a constant source of irritation to the various religious camps as well as to the apostates themselves. The forlorn hope of Judeo-Christians (see *Jewish-Christian sects) of reconciling the Law with the Cross petered out. By the latter half of the second century it had been rejected both by the vast majority of Christians and by Jews. The parting of the ways between church and synagogue had been reached. Acceptance of Christianity that had forsaken the Law was regarded by Jews as apostasy in the fullest sense. The Christian dogmas of Incarnation and Trinity gave to the acceptance of Christianity an idolatrous character (*avodah zarah*).

The history of ferocious persecutions and systematic humiliations which the Jews subsequently endured for their religion (see *History, Jewish; Church, *Catholic; Jewish *Badge; *Blood Libel; Desecration of the *Host) combined to invest apostasy from Judaism with the character of desertion from the persecuted and a crossing over to the persecuting ruling power. This attitude was enhanced by the fundamental divergence between Jewish and Christian approaches to conversion to the respective faiths, which led Jews to draw a strong moral distinction between apostasy and *proselytism, regarding the two in an entirely different light. As developed in Jewish theory and practice, proselytism to Judaism was made dependent on full and deliberate acceptance of partnership in the Jewish fate and historical consciousness, as well as of belief in its faith and hopes. The attitude to apostasy, however, was conditioned by the Christian missionary approach, which, even when abstaining from the use of threats or forcible coercion, still set out to gain converts by compelling Jews to attend missionary *sermons and involved automatic betterment of the social and legal status of the apostate. This therefore appeared in the Jewish view as a vulgar and essentially nonspiritual attempt to harm souls through moral pressure and promise of material gain. The fear of expulsion or massacre, which always loomed in the background, very often was the root cause of apostasy. Even an apostate whose sincerity was beyond all doubt, like *Abner of Burgos, stated in the 14th century that the starting point for his apostasy was the "revelation" he experienced, in which "I saw the poverty of the Jews, my people, from whom I am descended, who have been oppressed and broken and heavily burdened by taxes throughout their long captivity – this people that has lost its former honor… and there is none to help or sustain them… when I had meditated on the matter, I went to the synagogue weeping sorely and sad at heart. And I prayed… And in a dream, I saw the figure of a tall man who said to me, 'Why dost thou slumber? Hearken unto these words… for I say unto thee that the Jews have remained so long in captivity for their folly and wickedness and because they have no teacher of righteousness through whom they may recognize the truth" (Baer, Spain, 1 (1961), 328–9). To those who gloried in shouldering the burden of the Jewish fate and history, were imbued with love of Jewish culture and way of life, and continued to hope for salvation and the establishment of God's kingdom in the future, such a motivation inevitably appeared the outpourings of a weakling and the self-justification of a traitor. This attitude was strengthened in regard to many apostates who became willing and active virulent enemies of Judaism, like Abner of Burgos himself.

Naturally, apostasy was not always motivated by debased considerations, the historical situation, or meditations of this nature. The autobiography of an apostate of the first half of the 12th century (*Hermannus quondam Judaeus, opusculum de conversione sua*, ed. by G. Niemeyer, 1963; see *Hermanus Quondan Judaeus) demonstrates the effect of gradual absorption of Christian ideas and acclimatization to the Christian mode of life through everyday contacts and conversation. It brought the author, Judah ha-Levi of Cologne, to convert to Christianity and become a Premonstratensian monk.

In the Islamic environment the problems were much the same; some apostates attained prominent positions in Islamic states and society, the outer expressions of tension caused by apostasy being on a smaller scale (see below Apostasy in Islam). In the perpetual conflict and tensions that existed between Jews and Christians in medieval Europe, conversion from one faith to another, although rare, was still more frequent than either side cared to admit clearly. Thus, on the occasion of a halakhic deliberation in the 12th century, the talmudist Jacob b. Meir *Tam reported: "More than 20 letters of divorce from apostates have been written in Paris and France… and also in Lorraine… I have also seen myself the letter of divorce given by the son-in-law of the late noble R. Jacob the Parnas who has apostatized" (*Sefer ha-Yashar*, ed. by S. Rosenthal (1898), 45, no. 25).

Some apostates founded influential families whose Jewish origin was well known among Christians, such as the *Pierleoni family in Rome, the patrician Jud family in Cologne, and the *Jozefowicz family in Poland-Lithuania. Certainly not all apostates from Judaism attempted to injure their brethren. When a number of apostates were asked in 1236 whether there was truth in the blood libel, they denied it categorically. Prominent among the apostates who deliberately set out to attack Judaism were Nicholas *Donin in France, Pablo *Christiani, and Hieronymus de Sancta Fide (Joshua *Lorki) in Spain, and Petrus *Nigri (Schwarz) in Germany. These in the 13th to 15th centuries led the attack on Judaism in the theological *disputations, preached against Judaism, and proposed coercive measures to force Jews to adopt Christianity. Other converts who achieved high rank in the church, like Pablo de Santa Maria (Solomon ha-Levi), who became archbishop of Burgos, did everything in their power to combat Judaism. The most virulent representative of anti-Jewish animus was Abner of Burgos, who initiated the intensified persecution of the Jews in Christian Spain during the 14th and 15th centuries by formulating a complete theory that subsumes the necessity for, and justification of, such persecution. He advised the abolition of Jewish *autonomy, arguing with vicious irony that the Messiah would not come to the Jews "until the Jews possess no authority, not even such petty authority as is exercised over them by their rabbis and communal wardens, those coarse creatures who lord it over the people like kings. They hold out vain promises to them in order to keep them under constant control. Only with the elimination of these dignitaries and judges and officers will salvation come to the masses" (polemical tract, Baer, *op. cit.*, 350). In the name of "many discerning Jews," Abner blamed the pope and Christian monarchs for failing to oppress the Jews adequately. The conditions of salvation for the Jews would come only "when many Jewish communities are massacred and the particular generation of Jews is thereby reduced in numbers, some Jews immediately convert to the dominant Christian faith out of fear, and in that way a handful are saved… and the pain of impoverishment will lead to an increase of shamelessness among them, that is, they will no longer be ashamed to profess the truth openly and convert to Christianity" (Baer, *op. cit.* 353–4). By this means this apostate tried to reinforce his own experience of Jewish weakness and convert it into a terrible reality that would force many more Jews to relinquish their faith.

At the time of the expulsions from Spain and Portugal at the end of the 15th century, a sharp distinction was made by Jews between the renegade apostates, whom they considered an evil and the root cause of the wave of persecutions, and the mass of forced converts, the *anusim or *Marranos, whom they still regarded as brethren, though obliged to practice Judaism clandestinely. However, in realization, the program promoted by Abner of Burgos and others like him created a strong revulsion in Christian society against both the Marranos and genuine converts alike. Political events and social attitudes in Christian Spain in the 15th to 16th centuries fomented the concept whereby the "New Christians" were not to be equated with, and trusted as, the "Old Christians" of "pure Christian blood." Thus it could happen that the second general of the Jesuit order, Diego Lainez, had to face opposition within the order because of his Jewish blood.

In the Renaissance and *Reformation environment apostasy occurred in various circumstances. One type of apostate was the rootless intellectual like Flavius *Mithridates, a translator from Hebrew and an influential expositor of Hebrew works. Others were led to convert to Christianity by their superficial contacts with Renaissance circles and the new importance attached by humanists like Johannes *Reuchlin and *Pico della Mirandola to learning Hebrew from Jewish teachers. The impoverished conditions of late medieval Germany gave rise to the opportunist who could change over at least three times from Judaism to Christianity and back again, and who on one occasion of reconversion quoted a proverb he had heard: "*lasse dich taufen, ich will dir vil Gulden schaffen*" ("Become baptized: I will get you plenty of money"; R. Strauss, *Urkunden und Aktenstuecke zur Geschichte der Juden in Regensburg* (1960), 64–66). The basic attitude of both Jews and Christians toward apostates did not change with the Reformation. Many of the teachers of Hebrew to Christians were Jews, most of them apostates. They also cooperated in bringing out Reformation translations of the Bible. In his later days, Martin *Luther displayed marked distrust of apostates from Judaism. The attacks on the Talmud made by Johann *Pfefferkorn on the eve of the Reformation and the denunciation poured by Anton *Margarita on Jewish ritual practices and way of life continued in new circumstances the tradition of virulent anti-Jewish hatemongering by apostates.

The stimulus provided by 18th-century Enlightenment, stirrings toward *assimilation on the cultural and social plane, and aspirations to attain *Emancipation, inaugurated a trend toward apostasy in the upper circles of Jewish society in Central and Western Europe. A number of Jews opted for Christianity as the basis of European culture and its most sublime expression, despising their Jewish background and traditional way of life as debased and degraded. Typical was a society intellectual like Rachel *Varnhagen von Ense. Others considered apostasy the most facile and ready way of attaining civil equality as an individual before the Jews as such had achieved emancipation. Moses *Mendelssohn was publicly challenged to become converted if he did not refute the testimony advanced in proof of Christianity (see *Disputations). David *Friedlaender proposed in the name of several "Jewish heads of families" to be permitted to accept Christianity without having to subscribe to its "historical dogmas." Jews also left Judaism because they did not find communal obligations or activity to their taste.

Isaac *D'Israeli stated in 1813 to the board of the Bevis Marks congregation in London, as a reason for his refusal to act as warden, that he was "a person who has always lived out of the sphere of your observation; of retired habits of life; who can never unite in your public worship, because, as now conducted, it disturbs, instead of exciting, religious emotions, a circumstance of general acknowledgment; who has only tolerated some part of your ritual, willing to concede all he can in those matters which he holds to be indifferent." This indifference led him to baptize his illustrious son Benjamin in 1817 while formally remaining a Jew himself, a path taken by many others of a similar frame of mind who had their children baptized at the end of the 18th and beginning of the 19th centuries. The attitude of indifference was reinforced by the view that relegated religion to the status of an element in the universal culture or a cell in the social structure.

From the second half of the 18th century the ties linking the individual with the social unit became loosened in the upper strata of European society. Jews then increasingly absorbed the culture and adopted the language of their environment. Baptism was submitted as the visiting card demanded by Christian society for its price of admission. Many able young Jewish intellectuals, among them men outstanding in their field like the jurist Eduard *Gans, Ludwig *Boerne, and the poet Heinrich *Heine, who had first wanted to use their creative activity in the Jewish framework, left Judaism to be able to work within, and contribute to, European culture and society. In some communities, such as Berlin, more than half of the descendants of the old patrician Jewish families adopted Christianity, including the Mendelssohn family. The majority of these did not claim to be drawn by an essential attraction to Christianity or act under rigorous pressure. Apostasy was regarded as a social formality performed for the sake of culture, society, or career. Many of the sensitive among them bitterly regretted their action. Much of Heinrich Heine's work is dominated by a pervasive longing for Judaism, and a biting irony against himself and his fellow apostates, their snobbery and social climbing by means of Christianity.

Karl *Marx, baptized as a child, later professed contempt for and revulsion against Judaism as the representative of Mammon. In his Christian environment Benjamin Disraeli developed a kind of pride in what he considered the destiny and genius of the Jewish "race." The heroine of his novel *Tancred*, Eva, sarcastically asks Tancred: "Pray are you of those Franks who worship a Jewess; or of those others who revile her, break her images, and blaspheme her pictures?" When the Christian refers to the punishment of the Jews for crucifying Jesus, Disraeli's Jewess answers with the ancient argument used by Jews in disputations: "Suppose the Jews had not prevailed upon the Romans to crucify Jesus, what would have become of the Atonement?" When the Christian answers that the Crucifixion was preordained," 'Ah,' said the lady, 'preordained by the creator of the World for countless ages! Where then was the inexpiable crime of those who fulfilled the beneficent intention? The holy race supplied the victim and the immolators.... Persecute us! Why if you believed what you profess, you should kneel to us! You raise statues to the hero who saves a country. We have saved the human race, and you persecute us for doing it.'"

Benjamin Disraeli was representative of a group of apostates who considered themselves deeply Christian in a mythical and social sense and in consequence Jewish in a racial and spiritual sense. In the 19th century they were often active in missions to the Jews, like Bishop Michael Solomon *Alexander in Jerusalem, while at the same time being very responsive to Zionism and its aspirations.

With the granting of emancipation to Jews in most of Western and Central Europe the brutal social pressure for the "visiting card of baptism" moderated. On the other hand, many Jewish scholars and scientists, in particular in Germany and Austria, became baptized for the sake of a university career, which was usually closed to a professing Jew. Some deeply committed apostates like the *Ratisbonne brothers in the 19th century founded special religious orders or groups for the propagation of Christianity among Jews. According to statistics available there were 21,000 aspostates in Poland in the 18th century, and 204,500 throughout the world in the 19th. However these figures are exaggerated since they include the Frankists in Poland and the *Cantonists in Russia.

In czarist Russia, up to 1917, there was relentless pressure for social acceptance through baptism. However, Jewish social and moral cohesion was strong and undeniable, and to a certain degree the Jewish cultural level was superior to that of the surrounding population. Here apostasy of a different type developed: people who accepted Christianity for the sake of a government or university career (a number of apostates were employed for *censorship of Hebrew books) but still retained their ties with Jewish society, and a pride in their Jewish origin, like the orientalist Daniel *Chwolson. Apostates like Jacob *Brafman, however, did much to bring discredit on the institutions of Jewish self-government and to provide fuel for antisemitism.

In the 20th century the phenomenon of apostasy became more complex, with deeper implications. While its effects were more subversive for Judaism, it aroused problems of Jewish nationality and culture which were less prominent previously. Boris *Pasternak is representative of the type of apostate who left Judaism because he rebelled against historical and social realities and obligations. After describing the beatings and humiliations to which the Jews were subjected by the Cossacks of the Christian Russian army in his novel *Dr. Zhivago*, he states concerning the incident he has described, "that, and other incidents like it – of course none of that is worth theorizing about." Having disposed of pogroms and antisemitism by refusing to face them on the intellectual level, he continues that, in regard to "the Jewish question as a whole – there philosophy does enter." The philosophy he perceived – his theory was formulated when World War II was raging and the Jewish people was being systematically destroyed in the *Holocaust – was that Jewish history is a self-inflicted punishment through refusal to heed that in "this new way of life and of communion, which is born of the heart and is called the Kingdom of God, there are no nations, only persons." Having denied the existence of the question of nations and nationality around the year 1941, Pasternak goes on to accuse "the ordinary run of politicians" who like to have "a nicely restricted group" so that they can deliberate and continue "settling and deciding and getting pity to pay dividends. Well now, what more perfect example can you have of the victims of the mentality than the Jews? Their national idea has forced them, century after century, to be a people and nothing but a people – and the extraordinary thing is that they have been chained to this deadening task all through the centuries when all the rest of the world was being delivered from it by a new force which had come out of their own midst… In whose interests is this voluntary martyrdom?… Why don't the intellectual leaders of the Jewish people ever get beyond facile *Weltschmerz* and irony? Why don't they – even if they have to burst like a boiler with the pressure of their duty – dismiss this army which is forever fighting and being massacred, nobody knows for what? Why don't they say to them: 'That's enough, stop now. Don't hold on to your identity, don't all get together in a crowd. Disperse. Be with all the rest. You are the first and best Christians in the world. You are the very thing against which you have been turned by the worst and weakest among you'" (*Dr. Zhivago* (1958), 116–8). Facile antisemitic allusions to the character of the Jewish intellectual, and his looking for gain, are mingled here with a self-righteous denial of Judaism as a religion and an imputation that nationalism is the original and abiding sin of Judaism. Pasternak's resentment toward the religion and community he has abjured is expressed in his poetry on the basis of ancient Pauline symbols, rejecting the "barrenness" of Judaism and substituting another tree for the fertile olive:

Near by stood a fig tree. Fruitless, nothing but branches and leaves. He said to it:

> 'What joy have I of you?
> Of what profit are you, standing there like a post?
> 'I thirst and hunger and you are barren,
> And meeting you is comfortless as granite.
> How untalented you are, and how disappointing!
> Such you shall remain till the end of time!'
> The doomed tree trembled
> Like a lightning conductor struck by lightning,
> And was consumed to ashes.
> If the leaves, branches, roots, trunk,
> Had been granted a moment of freedom,
> The laws of nature would have intervened.
> But a miracle is a miracle, a miracle is God (*ibid.*, 497–8)

Like another apostate, Eugen *Rosenstock-Hussy (for his arguments, see *Disputations), a German of the generation of World War I, Pasternak expresses a categorical and hostile repudiation of Jewish nationalism as the evil archetype of all forms of nationalism. Both men are typical of the modern apostate who joins Christianity as an individual, rejecting communal solidarity as an unwonted yoke, and repudiating Jewish historical continuity, yearning for a mystic penetration of their individuum with the suffering Christian God. In his attitude to Jewish nationalism, Pasternak displays a considerably greater hostility than his German fellow apostate, logical in a man who left Eastern European Jewry in a period of revolution, distress, and annihilation of order.

Another trend in apostasy from Judaism in its modern form is represented by Oswald Rufeisen, who as Brother Daniel entered the Carmelite order in 1945. Born in Poland in 1922, and in his youth an active Zionist, he worked in the wartime underground and saved Jews during the Holocaust. He became a Christian in 1942, but continued to consider himself a Jew. After he became a monk, he wrote to the Polish authorities applying for permission to leave Poland for Ereẓ Israel: "I base this application on the ground of my belonging to the Jewish people, to which I continue to belong although I embraced the Catholic faith in 1942 and joined a monastic order in 1945. I have made this fact clear whenever and wherever it has been raised with me officially… I chose an Order and Chapter in Israel in consideration of the fact that I would receive the leave of my superiors to travel to the land for which I have yearned since my childhood when I was a member of the Zionist youth organization" (*High Court Application of Oswald Rufeisen* v. *The Minister of the Interior* (1963), 54–55). In 1962 Brother Daniel appealed to the Israel High Court to be recognized as a Jew under the terms of the Law of Return, which grants Jews settling in Israel automatic citizenship. This application raised the problem of "Who is a Jew?" in Israel in its full modern implications. For the majority, Judge Silberg refused his petition. The judge admitted that Brother Daniel was a Jew according to *halakhah*, but in rendering judgment stated that the Law of Return is not based on *halakhah* but on the Jewish national-historical consciousness and the ordinary secular meaning of the term "Jew" as understood by Jews. After referring to the "great psychological difficulty" facing the court due to the deep sympathy and sense of obligation felt for the petitioner, the spokesman for the majority stated: "I have reached the conclusion that what Brother Daniel is asking us to do is to erase the historical and sanctified significance of the term 'Jew' and to deny all the spiritual values for which our people were killed during various periods in our long dispersion. For us to comply with his request would mean to dim the luster and darken the glory of the martyrs who sanctified the Holy Name [*kiddush ha-Shem] in the Middle Ages to the extent of making them quite unrecognizable; it would make our history lose its unbroken continuity and our people begin counting its days from the emancipation which followed the French Revolution. A sacrifice such as this no one is entitled to ask of us, even one so meritorious as the petitioner before this court" (*ibid.*, 1–2). The court stated that in order to be declared a Jew from the point of view of the modern Jewish secular conception of Jewish nationality, adherence to the Jewish religion is not essential. At the same time apostasy to Christianity removes that person from this nationality.

Between the two wings representing current tendencies in apostasy exemplified by Pasternak and Rufeisen stands the middle-of-the-road attitude displayed by the Anglican bishop of Kingston, Hugh Montefiore. The bishop acknowledges loyalty to the memory of his fathers and maintains contact with Anglo-Jewish society without adhering to his Jewish national identity. He and others like him would seem to continue in an attenuated form the attitude of Disraeli. On the other hand one wonders if in the hostile attitude to Israel of other apostates there is not the direct continuation of the medieval Jew-hating figure of the apostate.

The issues raised by the Rufeisen decision remain very much at the heart of public deliberation in Israel. Essentially the present time marks a return to the core of the historical Jewish position on unity of faith and nation and to consideration of the apostate from this standpoint. Shortly before the expulsion of the Jews from Spain, Isaac b. Moses *Arama wrote that when "one of the gentile scholars, seeing that Jews were very eager for a letter of divorce to be given by an apostate and he refused… asked… 'Why do you want it from him? As he left his religion it would be proper for them to consider him as if he did not exist. Hence his wife should be considered a widow in every respect…' The answer was: 'Apostasy cannot be of the essence but only accidental, meaning only a change of name or the street where he lives. He cannot change his essence, for he is a Jew… This answer is true according to our religion. This is the meaning of the saying of our Sages, 'Even if he has sinned, he remains of Israel'" (*Akedat Yiẓḥak* (Venice, 1573), 258b no. 97, Ki-Teẓe). The Jewish sage adds that the Christian will not accept this definition since for him religion is the sole criterion. Prevailing halakhic opinion throughout the ages has always considered the apostate a Jew for all purposes of obligations, ties, and possibilities given to a Jew, but denying him some specific legal rights, in particular in the economic sphere, and in the performance of certain honorary or symbolic acts. In terms of conscience and consensus of opinion Jewish society regarded the apostate up to the 18th century as "dead," as proscribed from the Jewish community, considering him as the very essence of desertion and treason.

At the present time extreme individualism or mysticism are the main paths leading some people away from Judaism. Snobbery and careerism, missionary blandishments and promises, still play some role in bringing about apostasy, but this is diminishing. The passive attitude of the majority of believing Christians at the time of the Holocaust, and even more, the conception of many of the courageous minority who risked their lives to save Jews but insisted on "saving their souls" at the same time, often souls of children in their care, threw into relief the harsh and ugly implications in apostasy. The concept of a multi-religious Jewish nation now facing the people of the State of Israel is tied up with and intersected by the problems and phenomena of historical continuity, mutual toleration, and social cohesion of the unique concept of the people of Israel as "a kingdom of priests and a holy nation," forming the cohesive religio-national entity that has united Jews and carried their specific message through the ages.

[Haim Hillel Ben-Sasson]

Decrees of Religious Persecution and Forced Conversion in Jewish Communities in the Diaspora

The periods in history when Jewish communities were the victims of decrees of religious persecution and forced conversions engendered a host of halakhic questions concerning the attitude to Jews who had converted and subsequently returned, or wished to return to the Jewish fold. Jews who abandoned Judaism under duress often expressed a desire to return to their communities.

In Rashi's responsum, (*Teshuvot Rashi*, Y. Alphenbein ed. New York, 5703, s. 70), we find evidence that within the framework of excommunication edicts (*herem*) enacted by Rabbi *Gershom ben Judah Me'or ha-Golah in 11th-century Germany, excommunication was decreed for any individual who reminded a repentant apostate of his past. In the same responsum Rashi himself comments:

> Repentance reaches as high as the Throne of Glory, and even the most righteous individuals do not reach the level of those who repent, as it is written: "peace, peace to the far and to the near" (Isaiah 50 7, 19).

Regarding the actual process of the repentance, divergent approaches may be found. The responsa of Rabbenu Asher (*Rosh*) (32, 8; Rabbi Asher ben Yehiel, Germany – France, 13th–14th centuries) reflects a strict approach. The case concerned a group of women forced into apostasy who subsequently escaped and returned to Judaism. Asheri declares that the act of apostasy committed during a period of religious persecution, i.e., at a time when edicts of forced conversion were imposed on Jews, is graver than the act of conversion when there is no such decree, "because it is considered an act committed in public". Accordingly it is insufficient for the offenders to only return to the community. Rather "they require greater remorse, repentance and acceptance of suffering than those who convert in the absence of such a decree".

Rabbi Israel *Isserlein of 15th-century Germany (*Terummat Haddeshen* 8. 198) adopts a more lenient position: He maintains that a penitent apostate should not be burdened with too many acts of penance and mortification, "because the inclination (of a former apostate) to transgress is greater than the inclination of those who commit other sins," and there is concern that he might "shun his repentance".

A question that gave rise to dispute between halakhic authorities was whether a kohen who became an apostate and subsequently repented, retains his sanctified status as a kohen, entitling him to administer the Priestly blessing and be the first to be called up to the Torah. R. Naturnai Gaon (*Otzar ha-Geonim*, Gittin, 327, 328) and R. Achai Gaon (*ibid.*, Sotah, 259) ruled that he cannot bless the community or be first to bless the Torah. On the other hand, Rabbenu Gershom (Resp. Rabbenu Gershom Me'or ha-Golah, 4) ruled that after his repentance his status was equivalent to that of all other priests, and that he was entitled to administer the priestly blessing and be the first to be called up to the Torah as a kohen. In explaining this ruling R.Gershom states that it is forbidden to remind him of his past deeds, namely the period of his apostasy, due to the prohibition of affliction by words (*Ona'at devarim* (see **Ona'ah*). If he is forbidden to bless the community, "these is no greater affliction than this". Another reason given by R.Gershom is the desire to "avoid weakening the penitents' motivation". Following the ruling of R.Gershom, the Ashkenazic authorities also ruled leniently in this context. On the other hand, the Eastern authorities (Sephardic) tended to the stricter view. Hence Maimonides rules against a kohen performing the priestly blessing even after recanting (Yad, Hilkhot Nesi'at Kappaim, 15.3; see Haghaot Maimuniyyot, *ibid*).

With regard to a repentant *kohen*, Rabbi Jacob "Baal Ha-Turim" (Tur, Orah Hayyim 128) questions whether such individual can administer the priestly blessing. However, with regard to being called up to the Torah, he rules unequivocally that such a kohen may be called up first. Rabbi Joseph Karo rules that we may rely on the opinion of those authorities who permit a kohen who left the faith and subsequently repented to administer the priestly blessing, if only in order "to create an opening for those who would repent". Regarding Maimonides' aforementioned ruling prohibiting such a kohen from performing the priestly blessing even after he has repented, Rabbi Karo maintains that the prohibition does not apply to cases in which the apostasy of the kohen in question was coerced (Bet Yosef, *ibid*.; Sh. Ar. OḤ 128, 37).

Support for this position can be found in an epistle written by Maimonides called "the Epistle of Apostasy." This epistle was written at a time when the Muslim rulers of Spain forced Jews to declare the truth of Muhammad's prophecy, under penalty of death.

Apostasy to Islam

Few of the Jews of Arabia embraced *Islam in the time of Muhammad. Among them *ʿAbdallah ibn Salām was the most distinguished. They contributed to the exacerbation of relations between Jews and Muslims. In the next generation ʿAbdallah ibn Saba', from Yemen, a noted partisan of Ali, is reported to have been a Jewish convert. Two other converts, *Kaʿb al-Aḥbār (companion of ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb) and *Wahb ibn Munabbih, also from Yemen, were considered authorities on Jewish lore. The affinities of Jewish and Islamic tenets and lore, coupled with the fact that there were Jews among the early converts to Islam, gave rise, among Jews, to the cycle of legends on the Jewish teachers of Muhammad, and, among Muslims, to the allegation that Jewish converts plotted to undermine Islam from within by sowing deviations and heresies. Jews in later times were faced with the complex problem of how to treat the converts to Islam, especially if they claimed to cleave to Judaism in secret (cf. opinions of *Maimonides and his father *Maimon, e.g., in *Iggeret ha-Shemad*).

Substantial group conversions of Jews may have taken place in the era of expansion of Islam, especially in Babylonia, but no definite information seems available. Individual and small group conversions, and occasional forced ones, took place throughout the Islamic world over the centuries. It may be assumed that the recurrent promulgation of sumptuary laws and the agitation against non-Muslims (mostly Christians) were accompanied by waves of conversion, as some people sought to escape the effect of persecution and humiliation, and experienced the disintegration of their ancestral loyalites. In Yemen in the 19th and 20th centuries Jewish orphans were often seized to be brought up as Muslims (i.e., in the "natural" religion of man, unobstructed by "misguided" parents). Some converts turned into denunciators and persecutors (see also *disputations). Certain distinguished figures in Islamic society were known to have been Jewish converts or of Jewish extraction (cf. *Ibn Killis, the poet *Ibn Sahl). *Al-Isrāʾīlī* as a name component is a frequent indication of Jewish origin.

The 12th century was marked by a wave of forced conversions in the wake of the Almohad upheaval (1143) in North Africa and Spain. From the other end of the Islamic world the conversion of a distinguished trio was reported: the philosopher Hibat Allah Abu al-Barakāt, the poet Isaac (son of Abraham) ibn Ezra, and the physician-mathematician *Samau'al b. Judah ibn Abbas. In the 17th century the sect of Muslim crypto-Shabbateans developed (see *Doenmeh) when partisans of the pseudo-messiah *Shabbetai Ẓevi followed the leader's example and embraced Islam. In 1839 the Jews of *Meshed (Iran) were forced to convert, with the result that they continued to live as Jews disguised as Muslims. During the *Damascus Affair (1840), terror and torture forced some to convert. Conversions were festive occasions celebrated inside and outside the mosque, especially if the convert happened to be a prominent person. Conversion stories often laid emphasis on divine intervention and visions as motivations.

[Moshe Perlmann]

In Jewish Law

In Jewish religious law, it is technically impossible for a Jew (born to a Jewish mother or properly converted to Judaism) to change his religion. Even though a Jew undergoes the rites of admission to another religious faith and formally renounces the Jewish religion he remains – as far as the *halakhah* is concerned – a Jew, albeit a sinner (Sanh. 44a). According to *Naḥmanides this attitude derives from the fact that the covenant between God and Israel was made "with him that standeth here with us today before the Lord our God and also with him that is not with us here today" (Deut. 29:14; Naḥmanides *ad loc.*). For the born Jew, Judaism is not a matter of choice and for the proselyte it ceases to be one once he has converted. However, persons who did assume another religion or formally renounced Judaism are treated differently by Jewish law from Jews who, even while sinning, have not taken such actions. These people are known in the *halakhah* as *mumar* (from the root meaning "to change"), or *meshummad* (from the root meaning "to persecute or force abandonment of faith"), or *apikoros* ("heretic"), or *kofer* ("denier"), or *poshe'a Yisrael* ("rebellious Jew"). Since in the technical halakhic sense, apostasy is impossible, the above terms are often used very loosely in rabbinic literature.

According to strict *halakhah* an apostate who reverts to Judaism requires no special ritual since technically he never left it. However, there are authorities who require some symbolic act. He is therefore required to confess his sins and repent of them before a collegium of three rabbis and pronounce that henceforth he will keep the laws of Judaism. Some authorities require ritual immersion in a *mikveh* as in the case of proselytes (Isserles to Sh. Ar., YD 268:12). The law is considerably more lenient with regard to the reversion of the Marranos and other *anusim* who were forced to assume another religion against their will or out of fear for their lives, and they are immediately and automatically reaccepted into the community when they express such a desire (Simeon b. Ẓemaḥ Duran, *Tashbeẓ* (Amsterdam, 1738), 15a–b; Maimonides, *Epistle to Yemen*, ed. and tr. by A.S. Halkin, 1952).

MARRIAGE. A marriage, celebrated in accordance with Jewish law between two apostates or an apostate and a Jew, is valid and the parties are husband and wife according to Jewish law (Yev. 30b; Sh. Ar. EH 44:9; *Tashbeẓ, loc. cit.*; see Mixed *Marriage). Hence, neither of them can contract another marriage with a Jew until their said existing marriage is dissolved by divorce, valid under Jewish law, or death (*ibid.*). If their marriage was celebrated according to the tenets of another faith, they are not considered married in Jewish law (even if they live together as husband and wife), and consequently they do not require a divorce. Nor, in this case, is there any room for applying the presumption that a person does not have licentious sexual intercourse which is the usual basis for the assumption that the cohabitation (*bi'ah*) constituted an act of *kiddushin*, since that presumption applies only in circumstances where there is reason to assume that the parties, in cohabiting together, intended a *kiddushin* to come about thereby in accordance with Jewish law, a possibility excluded in this case in view of the apostate's denial of the Jewish faith and his contracting the marriage according to the tenets of another faith (for differing views on this point, see Israel b. Pethahiah Isserlein, *Terumat ha-Deshen*, 1, 64–65, 83–84; Isaac b. Sheshet, Responsa, no. 11; PDR, 7:35, 39–44 as against 54–56).

STATUS. A child born of an apostate mother is a Jew, regardless of the stage at which she became an apostate, and if he marries a Jewess, even if she is an apostate, the marriage is valid (Maim. Yad, Ishut, 4:15).

DIVORCE. Although generally divorce is considered to be to a woman's detriment, since she is deemed to prefer the married state (Yev. 118b), this factor is disregarded when one of the parties is an apostate. Since an apostate wife is suspected as transgressing all the commandments of the Torah, including adultery, she becomes prohibited to her husband (see *Adultery); and, as a married woman, prohibited to any other man. It can therefore be only to her benefit to be released from the bonds of marriage. Similarly, when the husband becomes an apostate: his wife will prefer a divorce to living with an apostate (Isserles, Sh. Ar., EH 140:5; 154:1; Solomon b. Abraham Adret, Responsa, 1162). Hence, even though, generally, a divorce does not take effect until the *get* ("bill of divorcement") has been delivered to the wife personally, or to an agent appointed by her for this purpose, in accordance with the halakhic rule that "one cannot act to a person's disadvantage without his knowledge or consent" (lit., "in his absence"; Yev. 118b), in this case, however, once the *get* reaches the hands of the agent, appointed not by the wife, but by the court or by her husband, it takes immediate effect, on the grounds of the opposite rule that "one may confer a benefit upon a person without his knowledge or consent" (Sh. Ar., EH 140:5; Isserlein, *Terumat ha-Deshen*, 1, 209, 237; (for Levirate Marriage and *Ḥaliẓah* with regard to an apostate – see *Levirate Marriage).

COMPETENCY AS A WITNESS. Jewish law holds the testimony of an apostate to be unreliable, since he disavows the whole of the Torah and is therefore liable to be untruthful, even though he is considered a Jew from the point of view of his personal status. However, in accordance with the regulations which aim at easing the lot of an *agunah ("deserted wife"), who has to establish death of her husband in order to remarry, the *halakhah* provides that the testimony of an apostate is admissable for this purpose provided that he makes the revelant statement in the course of casual conversation ("*mesi'aḥ lefi tummo*") and not as formal evidence.

INHERITANCE. In strict law, a son is heir to his father by the mere fact of kinship (Num. 27:8; BB 108a and 111a; and Codes) and accordingly his right is retained by the apostate son and for the same reason his father inherits him. However, the apostate having sinned, the court is authorized, if it so sees fit, to penalize him, excluding him from his father's inheritance by way of his portion passing to heirs who have not apostatized on the strength of the rule of *Hefker bet din hefker* (i.e., the court has the power of expropriation) as well as in order to discourage apostasy (Kid. 18a; and Codes; Asher b. Jehiel, *Piskei ha-Rosh* to Kid. 22). A contrary opinion quoted by Solomon b. Abraham *Adret in the name of *Hai Gaon (Responsa 292) has not been adopted by the majority of the *posekim*.

MOURNING RITES. The general opinion of the codifiers is that mourning rites should not be observed at the death of an apostate (Sanh. 6,6; Sh. Ar., YD 345:5) unless, according to some authorities, he met a sudden death in which case it is assumed that he repented (Isserles to Sh. Ar., YD 340; 5; cf. 157 and ḤM 266:2). It was however customary in some circles to observe the mourning rites at the apostasy of a child.

IN THE STATE OF ISRAEL. The foregoing rules are generally followed in the interpretation of laws with reference to the question of determining the legal status of an apostate, unless the context or the purpose of the law requires a different construction. The question of whether the term "Jew" in the "Law of Return, 1950," which entitled "every Jew" to enter Israel as an immigrant, included an apostate, or whether an apostate could be registered as being of Jewish nationality under the "Registration of Inhabitants Ordinance, No. 50 of 5709 – 1949" (replaced by the "Registration of Population Law, 5725 – 1965"), was decided in the negative by a majority opinion of the Supreme Court (sitting as the High Court of Justice, in the abovementioned case of *Rufeisen* (Brother Daniel); High Court Case 72/62, PD 16:2428–55).

Folklore

Legends of apostates abound in Jewish folktales concerning blood libels. Portrayed as a greater enemy to the Jewish people than the Gentile, the apostate is described as the cause of numerous antisemitic persecutions and Jewish communal disasters. In his attempt to prove his worth to the antisemites, he spreads calumnies against the Jews and leads the attacks on them. It was customary to spit three times on the ground when meeting an apostate, and to recite Isaiah 49:17. The figure of the apostate is also ridiculed in many tales which describe his dilemma in the bathhouse where the contrast between the sign of the circumcision and the cross which he wears in the form of a necklace, is revealed. The problem of the apostate's affinity is finally resolved by the decision that he "belongs to the devil." Tales of the repenting apostate, whose conversion to Christianity was originally insincere, are the basis of the Yiddish proverb "A Jew does not abandon his religion."

[Dov Noy]

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APOSTLE (Gr. "messenger"), in early Christian usage, term applied to the disciples of *Jesus whom he had sent out to preach his message, and occasionally also applied to other missionaries of the early period. Outside the New Testament the noun ἀπόστολος was not common in Greek, though the verb ἀποστέλλω was. The term is equivalent to the Hebrew *shali'aḥ* and some scholars have suggested that the early Christian apostolate was indebted to Jewish precedent (e.g., the custom of sending messengers not singly but in pairs). The alleged similarity between John 20:21 ("As my father has sent me, so I send you") and the rabbinic rule (Ber. 5:5) "A person's messenger is as himself" is more apparent than real. The word "apostle" occurs 79 times in the New Testament. While in a few instances its meaning was an actual messenger, it mainly denoted a person of eminent position and capacity. But even in this latter sense, the precise import was not everywhere the same, and some of the ambiguities have led to scholarly differences of opinion. One of these difficulties was due to the fact that occasionally the term apostle was identical with that of disciple (equivalent to the Hebrew *talmid*). In Christian tradition, the immediate followers of Jesus number 12, most probably a symbolic number signifying the 12 tribes of Israel. The Gospels of Mark, Matthew, and John called these immediate followers disciples, but Mark and Matthew often called them apostles, though without any clear differentiation. In Luke, however, there is a clear distinction, attributing to Jesus countless disciples, of whom 12 were designated apostles. Luke, moreover, contains an account (10:1–17), absent from the other Gospels, that Jesus sent out 70 followers to heal the sick and proclaim the kingdom of God; some explained the number 70 as symbolic of the "nations of the world," as in rabbinic sources. Luke, who thus clearly distinguished among disciples, apostles, and the 70, also emphasized the number 12, by his account of the death of Judas. Mark and John were silent about Judas' death; Matthew 27:5 related that he committed suicide by hanging. According to Luke, who wrote both his Gospel and the Acts of the Apostles, Judas died only after the crucifixion through falling head-long and splitting (Acts 1:17–18). In order to replace Judas and make up again the number 12, two out of the countless disciples were nominated and one of these was elected (Acts 1:23–26).

While many New Testament scholars consider the account in Acts as a somewhat tendentious and idealized portrait of the early Church rather than as an exact historical record, it is generally agreed that apostleship in the strict sense implied a special type of authority. This authority derived from the fact that the apostle was a witness to the life and resurrection of Jesus, and in the case of Paul (who did not know Jesus personally) from the inner experience of a direct calling.

The original association of "The Twelve" with the tribes of Israel, is held by some scholars to have had an eschatological significance (cf. Matt. 19:28: "When the son of man shall sit in the throne of his glory, ye also shall sit upon 12 thrones, judging the 12 tribes of Israel," and Rev. 21:12) which seems to be related to the eschatological symbolism of the Qumran sect. But this eschatological dimension is no longer prominent in Acts which was more concerned with describing the early Church as guided, both in its inner affairs and in its outward expansion, by "apostles." The office of apostle did not endure and the term was confined in Christian writings to the early period. No dignitaries of a later period were called apostles.

The Apostolic Age

The period immediately after Jesus was commonly referred to as the Apostolic Age. During that period the question of the admission of Gentiles to the Church (which still was a Jewish sect) and of the binding character of the Law came to a head. For male Gentiles accepting the Christian message, it was especially the problem of circumcision which required an authoritative ruling. To settle the disputes that had arisen on this subject the "apostles and elders" came together in Jerusalem in what is known as the "Apostolic Council." The account of the meeting which discussed the question of the Jewish *mitzvah* is found in Acts 15, where Peter appears as the advocate of the admission of Gentiles. In Galatians, however, Paul represents himself as the advocate of the Gentiles, who is opposed by Cephas – Peter. James, the brother of Jesus, presided over the meeting and also announced its decision, which is known as the Apostolic Decree. The Decree by implication abrogated the *mitzvot* and enacted instead four prohibitions: food offered to idols, blood, things strangled, and fornication. This list of prohibitions is reminiscent of the rabbinic "seven Noachian laws," but scholarly opinion is divided regarding the nature and significance of this similarity. Some New Testament scholars (see James Moffat, *Introduction to the Literature of the New Testament* (1918^3), 307) completely rejected the historicity of the Council and of the Decree. Such a conclusion, if justified, increases the obscurity about the widening breach between Judaism and early Christianity. The traditional Christian conception of priesthood assumes "apostolic succession," an unbroken continuity in the chain of ordination going back to the apostles and through them ultimately to Jesus. (The basic conception was similar to that underlying the juridical and non-sacerdotal Jewish *semikhah.*) Catholic scholars generally affirm the factual historicity of apostolic succession, but Protestants, except some Anglicans, do not.

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[Samuel Sandmel]

APOSTOMOS, person mentioned in the Talmud, of uncertain identification. According to *Ta'anit* 6:6, on 17 Tammuz Apostomos (or Postemus) burned the Torah and set up ("*ve-he'emid*") an idol in the sanctuary ("*heikhal*"). "*He'emid*" appears to be the preferable reading, not "*hu'amad*" ("was set up"), a variant suggested in the Jerusalem Talmud *Ta'anit* 4:5, 68d, but unknown to the Babylonian Talmud. (See, however, Epstein, Mishnah, 113–4.) The Jerusalem Talmud adds (*ibid.*) that this took place at the pass of Lydda or Tarlosa. Apostomos does not appear elsewhere in rabbinic literature. His identification has been the source of considerable controversy. The main opinions are as follows: (1) Josephus (Wars, 2:230) relates that in about 50 C.E., an unnamed Roman soldier burned a Torah near Beth-Horon and nearly incited a revolt. However, it seems unlikely that a common soldier would have had the authority to set up an idol in the Temple. (2) Hanina b. Teradyon was wrapped in a Torah scroll and burned, probably around 135 (Av. Zar. 18a). His executioner was a "philosophus" (Sif. Deut. 307). But he too is unlikely to have set up an idol in the Temple area. (3) Louis Ginzberg suggests on the basis of *Ta'anit* 28b that Apostomos refers to Antiochus IV Epiphanes, who set up a statue of Zeus Olympus in the Temple in 168 B.C.E. However, no source which describes the acts of Antiochus mentions a burning of the Torah. Moreover, the statue was set up in the month of Kislev, not Tammuz (I Macc. 1:54). (4) Gedaliah Allon identifies Apostomos with the Syrian procurator Posthumius (see *Syria*, 20 (1939), 53–61) and relates these events to the period of Quietus (c. 116–17 C.E.). According to ancient Christian tradition preserved in *Bar-Saliba*, at that time idols were set up in the Temple area. However, there are chronological difficulties here, as Posthumius seems to have ruled c. 102–3. There have been other suggestions, but none is wholly convincing.

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[Daniel Sperber]

APOTROPOS ("Guardian").

The Concept

The term *apotropos* (Heb. אַפּוֹטְרוֹפּוֹס) for guardianship in Jewish law is derived from the Greek ἀπότροπος and means the "father" of minors or the "guardian" or "custodian" of another's affairs (see Maimonides to Mishnah, Bik. 1:5; Obadiah of Bertinoro, ad loc., and Git. 5:4). The need for an *apotropos* arises with persons who are unable to take care of their own affairs, such as minors and adults who are mentally defective or absentees (*ibid.*; *Sha'arei Uziel*, 1 (1944), 1, 2). Halakhic sources deal mainly with an *apotropos* charged with responsibility for the property of his ward, thus taking in activities that in modern times would be the function of the administrator of an estate (see *Succession) or executor of a *will, as well as the trusteeship of consecrated property (*ibid.*; PDR, 2:18, 25). In principle, however, there is nothing in the *halakhah* against appointing an *apotropos* also over the person of another (see PDR, 2:177 and 4:97, 108; Resp. Rosh 82:2; *Sha'arei Uziel*, 4, 1 (1944), 126, 173–6). The halakhic justification for the appointment of an *apotropos* over a person who has not expressed an opinion in the matter and is unable to do so owing to his being an absentee or a minor or incompetent, i.e., legally speaking, absent, is based on the principle that "a benefit may be bestowed on a person in his absence," since the function of an *apotropos* is to act solely in the interests of his ward (PDR 2:181).

Guardianship over Minors

THE IDENTITY OF THE GUARDIAN. Some persons have the legal standing of guardians of others, even if not specifically appointed, such as a father with respect to his minor children (Resp. Rosh 87:1; 96:2; Isserles to Sh. Ar., ḤM 285:8; Resp. Maharashdam, ḤM 308; today the father usually is called natural guardian) or a person who undertakes responsibility for the care and welfare of minors who are dependent on him or who are members of his household, including small children and babes-in-arms (Git. 52a and Rashi, *ibid.; Maggid Mishneh* to Maim., Yad, Naḥalot 11:1; Resp. Rosh 87:1; Tur, ḤM 290:31; Sh. Ar., ḤM 290:24; PDR, 2:168–70, 172–3). Minors are boys under the age of 13 or girls under the age of 12 (PDR, 3:154, 156, 159). Guardianship over minors can also be established by an appointment by their fathers (Git., *loc. cit.*; Sh. Ar., ḤM 290:1) or if they have not done so, by the court, by virtue of its authority as the "father of orphans" (Git. 37a; Resp. Rosh 85:5, 6; 87, 1; Sh. Ar., ḤM 290:1–2).

A mother does not have the legal standing of guardian of her children, unless she is specifically appointed or stands in the same relationship toward them as a householder toward orphans formally part of his household, as mentioned above (Sh. Ar., ḤM 290:1, 24; PDR 2:162, 173). The court is also obliged to appoint a guardian over them if their own father, or the guardian appointed by him, is incapable of taking proper care of the minors, or for any other reason that may be in the interests of the minors (BK 37a; Isserles to Sh. Ar., ḤM 285:8; 290:5; PDR 2: 170, 171:4; 108).

Generally speaking, the court, if guided by the interests of the ward as the overriding consideration, is unrestricted in its choice of guardian. Therefore, the court will seek to appoint someone of personal integrity, who is competent in wordly affairs and able to handle the affairs of orphans (BM 70a; Ket. 109b; Tur and Beit Yosef to Tur, ḤM 290:4; Sh. Ar., ḤM, 2, 6). All other factors being equal, a relative of the ward is preferred over a stranger, he being presumed to take care of the minor's affairs better than a stranger (Beit Yosef and Darkhei Moshe 3 to Tur, ḤM 285:13; Isserles to Sh. Ar., ḤM 285:8, *Sha'arei Uziel*, 1 (1944), 108–9; Resp. Maharashdam, ḤM 312). Talmudic law disapproved of entrusting the immovable property of a minor to the stewardship of a relative who was in line to inherit such property, lest at some future time, when it will be forgotten that the property came into his possession in his capacity as guardian only, he claim that it came to him by inheritance (i.e., by virtue of presumptive possession – see *Ḥazakah; BM 39a and Codes; Resp. Ribash 495), but modern systems of land registration, providing for registration of immovable property in the name of the real owner have rendered this fear groundless, and it is no longer considered a bar to the appointment of a relative as guardian (PDR, 2:364, 367–8; *Sha'arei Uziel, ibid.*).

Talmudic law was also opposed to appointing women as guardians, since they were not regarded as being sufficiently competent or experienced in business matters (Git. 52a and Rashi, *ibid.*, ad loc. Resp. Ribash 495; Sh. Ar., ḤM 290:2). However, some of the *posekim* express the opinion that there is no objection to the court appointing a woman who is experienced in business matters and accustomed to going about in public if the best interests of the minor would thereby be served (Baḥ to ḤM 290:3; Resp. Ribash 495; Sh. Ar., ḤM 285:9; *Sha'arei Uziel* 1 (1944), 109–11). All the authorities agree that the father may appoint a woman to serve as the guardian of his children (Sh. Ar., ḤM 290:1), and a woman may also hold the position of guardian, without being specifically appointed thereto, with respect to members of her household dependent upon her (see above) and, if necessary, such a woman may be appointed guardian expressly by the court (Resp. Ribash 495). These provisions apply particularly to a minor's mother (PDR, 2:172, 173, 177; Resp. Maharashdam, ḤM 236).

Two or more persons may be appointed to serve as co-guardians over a minor, or with a division of functions and powers between them, e.g., separate guardians may be appointed over his person and property respectively, as the best interests of the minor may dictate (Resp. Rosh 82:2). Similarly the court may appoint a guardian to serve together with the minor's father, in a case where the latter is considered incapable of fully discharging his duties toward the child (Resp. Rosh, 82:2; PDR, *ibid., Sha'arei Uziel*, 1 (1944), 126). In case of disagreement, the majority opinion may be followed and, when opinions are divided equally, the court will decide the issue (Resp. Maharashdam, ḤM 434). A person must not be appointed guardian except with his own consent (Rashi, Git. 52b; *Maggid Mishneh* to Maim. Yad, Naḥalot 11:5).

POWERS AND FUNCTIONS. The functions of a guardian are generally defined on his appointment, and he is to be guided by the overriding consideration of the best interests of his ward according to the circumstances. When entrusted with guardianship over the person of his ward, he has the duty of directing the latter's upbringing and education, determining his place of abode, and generally taking care of him (Resp. Rosh, 82:2; Resp. Maharashdam, EH 123; PDR, 2:177; 4:108; *Sha'arei Uziel*, 1 (1944), 126, 173–6). Responsibility for the property of the ward entails careful investment thereof by the guardian, i.e., "near to benefit and far from loss," so that the capital be preserved as far as possible and only the dividends used to defray the minor's current expenses, including his maintenance (Git., *loc. cit.*; Sh. Ar., ḤM 290:8–11, 13). Since the guardian has authority only to act for the benefit of his ward, he is generally not entitled to represent the latter as a defendant in judicial proceedings, lest the claimant succeed and the debt be recovered from the minor's property. But when it is clear that the creditor is entitled to recover his debt from the property of the minor – e.g., when the testator had admitted such indebtedness, or if delaying legal proceedings until such time as the latter attains majority would be to his detriment, e.g., in the case of an interest-bearing debt or when the creditor is prepared to waive part of his rights if he will not have to wait with his claim until the minor's majority or in any other case where it is clearly to the benefit of the minor to be represented, as defendant in the proceedings, the guardian will have authority to represent him (Git. 52a and Rashi, ad loc.; Ar. 22a–b; Maim. Yad, Naḥalot 11:7; Malveh ve-Loveh 11:7; Sh. Ar., ḤM 110; 290:12, *Sha'arei Uziel*, 1 (1944), 182–6; PDR, 3:155, 160).

All guardians, including those who have the legal standing of guardians (see above) and including the father of a minor, are subject to supervision by the court (Git. 52a and Codes; *Sha'arei Uziel*, 1:170; PDR, 2:170–1), and the court may set aside any step taken by the guardian as not being in the best interests of his ward and therefore in excess of his powers (PDR, 2:181). In this event the guardian may be held personally liable for any damage suffered by his ward as a result of his actions (BK 39a and Tos. thereto; and Codes), a threat he may avert only by seeking the prior approval of the court to his proposed course of action (Tosef., BB 8:4; Nov. Rashba to Git. 52a; Isserles to Sh. Ar., ḤM 290:13; PDR, 2:180). At any rate, he has to obtain such approval when dealing with the minor's immovable property (Sh. Ar. and PDR, *ibid.*), or making gifts from the latter's property, or waiving any of his rights (Sh. Ar., ḤM 235:26), including also the effecting of any *compromise on his behalf (Isserles to ḤM 110:11).

Guardians are not entitled to any remuneration for their services unless specifically provided for in advance, such services being considered as the fulfillment of a religious duty (*mitzvah*) and therefore presumed to have been undertaken as a *mitzvah* and not for reward (PDR, 5:87–88). No act performed during the subsistence of the guardianship and affecting the rights of a minor is of any legal validity unless undertaken by, or with the approval of, his guardian (Ket. 70a, and Codes).

TERMINATION OF GUARDIANSHIP. A guardianship terminates automatically when the ward attains his majority, since guardians are generally appointed only over minors (BM 39a; Maim. Yad, Naḥalot, 10:8; Sh. Ar., ḤM 290:1, 26). If, however, the father has specifically appointed a guardian over his adult children, guardianship over them will come into force, but will terminate upon their demand (PDR, 3:154, 156–60). The guardian's appointment may also be terminated by his removal from office by the court, a step which will only be taken when deemed in the interests of the minor, e.g., if the guardian has dealt prejudicially with the property of his ward or if his conduct – even in regard to the handling of his own affairs – casts doubt on his personal integrity (Git. 52b, and Codes; PDR, 1:353, 359). It is pursuant to this power that the court may order the removal of a minor from his parents' house and appoint a guardian over his person or property (Beit Yosef to ḤM 290:6; Isserles to Sh. Ar., ḤM 285:8; Resp. Maharashdam, EH 123; PDR, 1:170, 171).

A guardianship may also be terminated on the strength of an application to the court by the guardian asking to be relieved of his appointment, since he cannot be compelled to serve against his will (Beit Yosef, to Tur, ḤM 290:22). But explicit discharge by the court is required, for once undertaken the task of a guardian cannot be abandoned unilaterally (Tosef., BB 8:3; Sh. Ar., ḤM 290:23). The court will not release the guardian from his duties until it has appointed another in his place, so as not to leave the minor or his property without supervision.

Upon the termination of his appointment, the guardian is required to hand over to his successor all the minor's property, to submit a report of his activities and, on the minor's demand, he will also have to take an oath that he has not retained any of the minor's assets (Git. 52a; Beit Yosef, ḤM 290:22–23; Baḥ, *ibid.*, 23 *Sha'arei Uziel*, 1:192–5). When the termination arises because the ward attains majority, he is entitled – even if he is a prodigal – to take possession of his property, unless there is an express instruction to the contrary from his father or the testator (BM 39a; Sh. Ar., ḤM 290:26). Being a prodigal is not sufficient reason for subjecting him to guardianship (Resp. Ribash 20); only if his conduct stems from mental illness will a guardian be appointed over him (see above).

Guardianship over Adults

The court will appoint a guardian over an idiot who, because he is mentally defective or suffering from mental illness, is unable to manage his own affairs, a rule applying also to a *deaf-mute. To such a guardianship apply, generally, the laws of guardianship in respect to minors (Ket. 48a; Maim. Yad, Mekhirah, 29:4; Naḥalot, 10:8; Sh. Ar., ḤM 235:20; Isserles to ḤM 285:2; 290:27). Inability to take care of one's own affairs is also the basis for the court's authority to appoint a guardian (or custodian) over the property of an absentee person, i.e., one who has left his place of residence and whose whereabouts are unknown, if the court deem the appointment necessary for the preservation of his property (BM 39a–b; Maim. Yad, Naḥalot 7:4–10; Tur, Beit Josef and Baḥ, ḤM 285; Sh. Ar., *ibid.; Sha'arei Uziel*, 1:13–23). In this case, unlike that of a minor, the court is not obliged to concern itself with seeking a suitable candidate for the appointment, but has authority to appoint the applicant's nominee, if suitable, as the appointment of a guardian over an adult of full capacity is not in fulfillment of a *mitzvah* (*Maggid Mishneh* to Maim. Yad, Naḥalot 7:5; Isserles to Sh. Ar., ḤM 285:2). However, the court will not appoint a guardian over the assets of an absentee unless his absence is due to duress – e.g., if he is forced to abandon his assets while fleeing for his life. Therefore, a guardian will not be appointed over property voluntarily left, without supervision by its owner – since, had he wanted it, he could have made the appointment himself – except in respect of property which came to him after his departure and without his knowledge, e.g., by way of inheritance (BM 38a–b, 39a–b; Maim. Yad, Naḥalot, 7:4–8; Sh. Ar., ḤM 285:1–4 and Isserles, ad loc., 4; *Sha'arei Uziel*, 1, 13–23).

In the State of Israel, guardianship is mainly governed by the following laws: The Women's Equal Rights Law, 1951; The Capacity and Guardianship Law, 1962; The Administrator General Ordinance, No. 37 of 1944 (as amended); and The Succession Law, 1965. The first of the abovementioned laws (sec. 3) provides that "both parents are the natural guardians of their children; where one parent dies, the other shall be the natural guardian" and further, in conformity with Jewish law, that the said provision does not affect the inherent power of the competent court to "deal with matters of guardianship over the persons or property of children with the interest of the children as the paramount consideration." In the absence of any express provision to the contrary in any of the abovementioned laws, halakhic law is applied.

[Ben-Zion (Benno) Schereschewsky]

The subject of guardianship has been discussed in scholarship as well as in recent rulings of the rabbinic and civil courts in Israel, both substantively and in terms of its connection to the legal system as a whole.

The Explanatory Note to the Capacity and Guardianship draft law (Bill No. 5721–1961, p. 178) emphasized the similarity between the Capacity and Guardianship Law and Jewish Law, stating that: "In substance, its proposals are largely in accordance with Jewish legal rules." In the Knesset debate over the Bill, Justice Minister Pinḥas Rosen explained "the duty and right to care for the needs of minors" (§15 of the Law) as follows:

> From the point of view of the law, the essence of parenthood is the obligation to care for the children. As a practical matter, the parent-child relationship is primarily one that imposes obligations on the parents. This rule has been developed in a long line of Israeli court decisions, and is based upon the principles of Jewish Law.

Among the relevant sources of Jewish Law, the Justice Minister cited inter alia the talmudic passage (Kid. 29a, Rashi *ad loc.*) that enumerates the father's duties towards his son.

Section 67 of the Law provides that: "Where a person acts as a guardian, his duties and liabilities towards the ward shall be in accordance with the provisions of this chapter, even if he was not appointed or there was a defect in his appointment, or he has resigned or been dismissed or his guardianship has expired." In explaining this principle, the minister of justice cited the provision (Sh. Ar., ḤM 290:24) stating that a householder who supports minor orphans at their request is bound to comply in all respects with the legal obligations incident to guardianship.

The law is also based on Jewish Law with respect to the institutions set up in order to deal with guardianship. The law authorized the courts to be assisted by the administrator general in discharging their supervisory role. As the minister of justice observed, this kind of office – the administrator general – is a well-known and venerable institution in Jewish Law and was given the sentimental title of "father of orphans." This role has its source in the regulation enacted by the Council of Lithuania in 1623 (*Pinkas ha-Medinah bi-Medinat Lita* (1925) 9, Enactment §37).

Scholarly literature also cites another institution which is regarded as a kind of guardianship – that of the trustee in public law. In a responsa concerning the prerogatives of the communal leaders to perform legal actions with respect to property, Rashba (*Teshuvot* I, §617) wrote: "The seven good citizens who are frequently mentioned are not seven people who excel in wisdom, wealth, or honor, but seven people chosen by the people and authorized to be administrators of the affairs of the town in general, who act as trustees for their brethren in their locality" (see also *ibid.* III, §443).

Regarding the guardian's right to file an action in the ward's name, as discussed above, the rabbinical court ruled that a father whose divorced wife exploited monies earmarked for the benefit of their daughters (who were in her custody) in a manner that violated their agreement was entitled to sue the wife in the name of the daughters, by virtue of his standing as their natural guardian (PDR 17:260, 289).

In Israel Supreme Court Case Law

The provisions of Jewish Law regarding guardianship were the source of the Israel Supreme Court's ruling in *Moberman* (CA 604/77 *Moberman v. Segal,* 32 (3) PD 83). The Court was required to rule on the validity of an agreement concluded between an executor and a person designated as a beneficiary of the estate. The substance of the agreement involved the beneficiary's waiver of her rights under the will in return for a fixed monthly payment by the executor. The Court found a number of legal defects that tainted the agreement, such as the suspicion of undue influence having been exercised by the executor, which preceded the beneficiary's signing the agreement. Nonetheless, the Supreme Court (Justice Menachem Elon) did not regard this as the only grounds for invalidating the agreement. Under Jewish Law, any act or transaction involving estate assets but performed by the executor for his own personal needs requires the Court's approval prior to its completion. If the executor fails to attain advance judicial approval for the act, then "at least after the agreement was concluded, an examination must be conducted in order to ascertain the reasonability and fairness of the transaction from the perspective of the estate and its beneficiaries" (*ibid.* 97).

The judgment cites various views in Jewish Law regarding the question of whether a guardian can perform a transaction in the estate for his own personal gain. The view of

Rabad (southern France, 12th century), cited in the *Tur* (ḤM 290:15), is that "just as the guardian is permitted to deposit the monies [of the estate] in the hands of a trustee for business purposes, he is also permitted to take them for his own business purposes and take the profit that the other person would have taken, provided however that he gave notice to that effect to the court."

However, the *Tur* (14th century) had reservations regarding this view, stating: "I think it inappropriate for him to take them [the monies] for business purposes, because it may lead to tale-bearing" (*ibid*).

Rabad's opinion was endorsed by the majority of the halakhic authorities (see *ibid.* 99). In his opinion, Justice Elon quotes the comments of R. Joseph *Caro (Spain, 16th century) in *Bet Yosef,* related to the aforementioned view of the *Tur*: "As to the opinion of our Teacher of blessed memory that it is inappropriate for him to take them [the monies] for business purposes because it may lead to tale-bearing, this fear has no basis, inasmuch as he informed the court accordingly." Justice Elon went on to cite R. Moses *Isserles (Rema; Poland, 16th century – Sh. Ar., ḤM 290:8).

Concluding its discussion of Jewish Law, the Court stated:

> From all of the above it follows that, according to the [*Tur*] it is forbidden for the executor to personally conclude any transaction with the estate assets, even if he informed the court. This, despite the fact that the court's approval of the case would obviate the suspicion that the estate's interest would be prejudiced due to a possible conflict of interests on the executor's part. Nonetheless, the situation may still give rise to "tale-bearing," and as such "it is inappropriate." But according to the majority of authorities, among them R. Joseph Caro and the Rema [whose combined rulings comprise the *Shulḥan Arukh*] this suspicion is too remote to warrant consideration, and if the court approved the transaction concluded by the executor with the estate assets, even if for his own purposes, then he is permitted to do so (*ibid.*).

Relying on the above, Justice Elon ruled that the validity of the transaction between the executor and the estate under his management is contingent upon the court's prior approval. In the absence of such approval, the transaction is subject to the court's judicial review, which requires the court to "examine the nature and the essence of the transaction from the perspective of the respondent's best interests" (*ibid.*, 101).

It is interesting to note some other comments made in the judgment (*ibid.*, 97) regarding the interpretation of the law in accordance with Jewish Law: "I find support for this in the laws of estate management set out in the Jewish law. Section 150 of the Palestine Order in Council (the British Mandate legislation that predated Israeli Law) declared that, when there was no conflicting provision in the law itself, the Succession Law should be interpreted first and foremost in accordance with the sources of Jewish Law, thereby establishing its independence from §46 of the aforementioned Order in Council." Indeed, this was also the position of the authors of the Bill, who attested that the Bill was based inter alia "on Jewish Law, which is one of the central assets of our national culture, and we should renew it and continue it… We regard Jewish Law as being the main, but not the only or binding source … regarding the substance of the rules, we attempted wherever possible to anchor our proposal in Jewish Law" (from the introduction to the Explanatory Note to the Bill of the Succession Law, Ministry of Justice, Tammuz 5712 – 1952, 6–7).

Another case in which the Supreme Court ruled in accordance with the guardianship rules of Jewish Law was the *Nagar* case (ST 1/81 *Nagar v. Nagar,* 38 (1) PD 365). Sitting as a Special Tribunal, the Supreme Court was required to decide a question of jurisdiction involving the respective powers of the civil court, on the one hand, and the rabbinical court, on the other, which has jurisdiction in matters of personal status, including guardianship (when both parties gave their consent). The civil court ruled that issue of determination of the minors' education, being disputed by the divorced couple, is within its exclusive jurisdiction. Accordingly, it nullified the ruling of the rabbinical court on this matter, notwithstanding the agreement between the parties, which conferred jurisdiction to the rabbinical court. The civil court relied on the argument that "In fact, *halakhah* does not recognize the institution of guardianship in matters concerning minors, within the meaning of the Legal Capacity and Guardianship Law. Guardianship under Jewish Law exists exclusively with respect to assets, and in relation to a fatherless orphan, and in an exceptional case when the father is alive but caused a depreciation of the minor's assets." Relying on this assumption, the District Court concluded that "in our case the rabbinical court did not adjudicate the question of education as a derivative of guardianship, but rather as a parental right – the father's right under the *halakhah* to fulfill the commandment of teaching Torah" (390–391 of judgment). As such, the matter does not fall within the jurisdiction of the rabbinical court.

The Supreme Court (Justice Elon) clarified that the concept of guardianship in Jewish jurisprudence is a general one, which encompasses both guardianship by appointment and natural guardianship, by virtue of parenthood:

> The central principle in Jewish Law governing the laws of guardianship of children – of any child – derives from the basic rule that the court is the father of all orphans (Git. 37a; BK, 37a). This rule applies to every minor and child, and not just to orphans (*Teshuvot*, Radbaz, §§263, 360; *Sha'arei Uziel*, 1: §§4, 126). Both the parents and any person appointed as guardian of the children serve as quasi-representatives of the court, by virtue of its authority, and in accordance with its instructions, both in concern for the child's health and welfare, in the protection of his property and assets, all in accordance with the meta-principle of the child's best interests. A similar summary of these aspects is provided in the work of the late chief rabbi, and president of the Rabbinical Court, Rabbi Ben-Zion *Ouziel, (*Sha'arei Uziel*, pt. 1):
>
> This is the basis and purpose of guardianship in Israel, which is conferred to the judges of Israel and their courts. The guardianship of the court is the source of the guardianship of

> the parents … and they are obligated to guarantee the well-being of their children after them, both in body and in soul, in wisdom and education, and their education in the commandments and decency and the fear of God … (*ibid.*, p. 8) [ibid., pp. 396–97

The court further added that, in Jewish Law, guardianship is not limited to the duty of preserving the minor's assets, but includes the duty to raise and educate him:

> This guardianship too [guardianship of an appointee even if not a parent] in Jewish law, is applicable both with respect to preserving the minor's assets and property and with respect to his education and studies … Its features are expounded upon in talmudic literature (Tosef., Zukermandel: *Terumot* 1:10; BB 8:14; Git. 52a), and the *halakhah* was determined accordingly – that the guardians must "provide the minors with a *lulav* and *sukkah*, *ẓiẓit*, *shofar*, Torah scroll, *tefillin* and *mezuzot* … they are appointed over them in order to educate them" (Maim. Yad, Nahalot, 11:9). This ruling was reaffirmed in the *Shulḥan Arukh* (ḤM 290:15) – again, based on the consideration of "educating them," and I will not elaborate this point here. Summing up, I will quote a passage from the *Talmudic Encyclopedia* (s.v. "Ḥinukh"[Education], Vol. 16, 166f.): "A guardian appointed over minor children is obligated to educate them … it is incumbent upon the educator to educate them in the commandments, for he replaces the father." This matter is quite clear, requiring no further explanation, and as noted by R. Jehiel Michal *Epstein (*Arukh ha-Shulḥan,* ḤM 290:30), "who will educate them if not the guardian?" (*ibid.*).

In view of all the above, the Supreme Court ruled that the duty of education imposed on the parents pursuant to section 15 of the Capacity and Guardianship Law 5722–1962, is the same duty that Jewish law imposes on the parents as guardians. This being the case, when the rabbinical court adjudicates the parents' duty of education *vis-à-vis* their children, it does so within the framework of the aforementioned law, and the matter is within its jurisdiction.

It should be noted that the term *apotropos* was occasionally used in the responsa literature as an appellation for a person who had undertaken to plead in the name of the person he was representing – now known as a "lawyer" (*Resp. Mahar"h Or Zarua*, §222; M. Elon, *Ha-Mishpat ha-Ivri*, 616–20).

[Menachem Elon (2nd ed.)]

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APPEAL.

The Problem of the Appeal in Jewish Law

Most modern legal systems comprise a number of judicial forums, organized hierarchically. A litigant dissatisfied with a decision in a lower forum thus has the right to appeal that decision in a higher judicial instance, in the hope that the decision will be altered in his favor. This right of appeal stems from the presumption that the lower forum may conceivably have erred in its ruling, and the aspiration for true justice requires that the litigant be given an additional opportunity to have his claims heard.

On the other hand, in Jewish law the existence of an appellate tribunal is by no means self-evident. Admittedly, according to Jewish law a *bet din* that has erred is duty bound to reexamine its decision and correct it (Sh. Ar. ḤM 25.1–2), and the litigant is entitled to return to the *bet din* after receiving its decision and to attempt to convince it that a mistake was made (Sh. Ar. ḤM 20.1). However, this is clearly not a satisfactory solution. In numerous cases the *bet din* is not convinced that its decision was mistaken. In such cases the litigant will ascribe its position, rightly or wrongly, to the stubbornness of the *dayyanim* who were unwilling to amend their ruling.

It has been claimed that the Sanhedrin itself was a quasi instance of appeal. However, it is highly doubtful whether this claim is substantiated by talmudic sources. An examination of classical halakhic literature indicates that it was indeed possible to submit a ruling for the review of a second *bet din,* but the *bet din* concerned was not officially constituted for the purpose of adjudicating appeals; rather, it was a regular *bet din* whose *dayyanin* were reputed to be of greater expertise than those of the first *bet din.* This law has its source in the Talmud (Sanhedrin 31b), where such a forum was known as the *Bet Va'ad* ("Place of Assembly") or the *Bet Din ha-Gadol* ("High Court"), and it was codified in the Shulḥan Arukh (ḤM 14.1). However, there are *posekim* who ruled that this law does not empower the second *bet din* to reverse or change the original ruling, but merely to express its opinion on its correctness. The power to reverse a ruling resides exclusively with the original *bet din* (for sources, see E. Shochetman, *Seder ha-Din*, 446). Moreover, some of the *posekim* stated that the institution defined as *bet din gadol* does not exist in our times (see Rema, ad loc). According to this view, there is no possibility of review by another court, even if not under the rubric of an appeal.

Instances of Appellate Review in the Past

It would therefore appear that the only means of establishing a permanent institution charged with appellate review of the rulings of other rabbinical courts (*batei din*) is by way of a *takkanah* (see entry on **Takkanah*). Indeed, when the Rabbinical Court of Appeals in Jerusalem was constituted, a controversy ensued regarding the need and /or justification for such an institution (to be discussed below). In this context, R. Simḥa Assaf attempted to prove that appellate tribunals had operated in the past in a number of different times and places and that, "Not only did the Torah scholars of those times not see any prohibition in the matter, but they actually affirmed the regulations pertaining to the procedures for filing the appeal" (Assaf, *Battei Din*, 74–75). However, some of these proofs have been challenged (see Katz, *Masoret u-Mashber*, (Jerusalem, 1964) p. 160, n. 23. As stated, the accepted view in halakhic literature of recent generations is that there is no room for a forum of appeal, and the precedents adduced by R. Assaf did not persuade many of the opponents of such an institution.

Appellate Tribunals in the 20th Century

The establishment of appellate tribunals during the 20th century came about as the result of extrinsic circumstances, such as competition with external judicial institutions, particularly those of foreign governments. In Morocco, a rabbinical appellate court was established in 1918 as a result of the French government's attempt to regulate the functioning of the Jewish rabbinical courts (see M. Amar et al, *Ha-Mishpat ha-Ivri be-Kehillot Morocco* (Jerusalem, 1986), 208, 452). However, the most prominent and influential appellate tribunal with respect to Jewish Law is the Rabbinical Court of Appeals of the Chief Rabbinate, established in Jerusalem in 1921. The establishment of such a tribunal was accompanied by stormy controversy among a number of rabbis in Israel and abroad, the main claim of its opponents being that such an institution was an innovation which contradicted traditional *halakhah*, and as such should be opposed.

Undoubtedly, the Rabbinical Court of Appeals would not have been established had the British rulers not demanded its establishment as a precondition for conferral of jurisdiction to the rabbinical courts in matters of personal status. There were in fact some rabbis who contended that the rule against establishing such an institution was so severe that it justified the waiver of jurisdiction altogether. On the other hand, the founder of the Chief Rabbinate, Rav Kook, chose to accede to the requirement. In his inaugural speech for the Chief Rabbinate he stated that the new tribunal could be established by way of a special enactment of the Torah authorities. Over the years a number of additional justifications were given for the authority of the Rabbinical High Court to hear appeals (see the remarks of Rav Avraham Shapira, 10 *PDR*, 180; Rav Avraham Sherman, "*Mekor ha-Samkhut shel Bet ha-Din ha-Gadol u-Misgeret Samkhuto*," in: 3 *Shurat ha-Din* (1995), 211–220).

Nevertheless, to this day there are *dayyanim* who refuse, for halakhic reasons, to endorse the existence of the Rabbinical Court of Appeals, and by extension see no need to comply with its rulings, so long as they remain convinced that there was no error made in their original ruling. This manner of conduct led in turn to a number of petitions to the High Court of Justice against the "rebellious" rabbinical courts that refused to comply with rulings of the Rabbinical Court of Appeals. The High Court of Justice ruled that, under Israeli law, the Rabbinical court system is a hierarchy in which the regional rabbinical courts are subordinate to the rulings of the Rabbinical Court of Appeals addressed to it (for a survey of these rulings, see Elon, *Jewish Law*, 4:1809–1818).

The establishment of a new appellate tribunal necessitated the creation of procedures regarding the manner of filing an appeal and the procedures for its hearing. To date, there have been three versions of the Rabbinical Courts Procedural Regulations (from the years 1953, 1960, 1993). These regulations and related rulings are discussed at length in *Sidrei ha-Din* (Shochetman, 450–470). It should be emphasized that the establishment of an appellate tribunal produced another innovation in the world of Jewish Law – namely the obligation for the *dayyan* to present the reasons for his judgment in writing, since it is clear that appellate review by another *bet din* is impossible without examining the reasons given by the former instance for its judgment (this practice is already found in the "Place of Assembly" discussed above). A system that confers the litigant a right of appeal against a judgment must also obligate its judges to record the reasons for their judgments. Nevertheless, here too there were *dayanim* who refrained from writing reasoned judgments

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[Amichai Radzyner 2nd ed.]

APPEL, JUDAH LEIB (1857–1934), one of the first active members of the Ḥovevei Zion movement in Vilna. Appel, who was born in Viekšniai, Lithuania, served as secretary of the Ḥovevei Zion branch in Vilna for almost 25 years. He was also secretary of the *Benei Moshe chapter there. In 1902 Appel and Shealtiel *Graeber established a publishing house which published Zionist periodicals and propaganda literature. In 1921 he went to Palestine and became secretary to Isaac Leib *Goldberg and manager of his estate in Hartuv. Almost all of Appel's valuable archives on Zionism were burned during the 1929 riots. Appel's memoirs of various periods in the history of Ḥibbat Zion and of Zionism in Russia were published in his book, *Be-Tokh Reshit ha-Teḥiyyah* ("In the Beginning of the Rebirth," 1936).

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[Yehuda Slutsky]

APPELBAUM (Appelboym, Apfelboym, Applebaum), MOSHE (Maurycy; 1887–1931), painter, graphic artist, and stage designer. Appelbaum was born in Mszsonow in the Warsaw province of Poland and received a traditional Jewish education. His artistic gift manifested itself already in his early childhood. Seeing no way to fulfill his artistic ambitions in a traditional Jewish environment, Appelbaum ran away from home at the age of 15 and found a job in Kalish as an apprentice to a house painter who made signboards. At the same time, he underwent a process of self-education. Soon his work was in greater demand than his employer's. In 1903, he got a job at a local textile mill as a pattern designer. In 1905, he came to Vienna and was admitted to the Academy of Art. However, he had to interrupt his studies due to lack of livelihood. For over a year, he traveled around Germany and Holland on foot. In 1907, he arrived in England and was admitted to an art school in Liverpool, where he studied for two years. In 1910–16, he attended, off and on, the London Academy of Arts. At the end of 1918, his first solo exhibition was on display in London, which brought him recognition. Despite promising prospects of an artistic career in England, he returned to Poland in 1919. Settling in Warsaw, he became very active in Jewish artistic life. He was among the initiators of the Jewish Society for the Encouragement of Artists founded in 1921 and a permanent member of its exhibition committee. He collaborated with Yiddish theaters, among them the Warshawer Yiddisher Kamer-Teater (WIKT), where he designed the settings for several productions staged by Zygmunt Turkow, a leading Jewish theatrical director. Appelbaum was one of the pioneers of the new stage design for the Jewish modernist theater in Poland, into which he incorporated elements of constructivism and expressionism. In the mid-1920s, he produced wall paintings for the synagogue prayer halls in Lomzha and Bedzin (the latter in collaboration with the artists Ḥayyim Hanft and Samuel Tzigler) and executed murals for the assembly hall in the building of the Union of Jewish Writers and Artists in Warsaw. He participated in many European and All-Poland art exhibitions. In the late 1920s, his solo exhibitions were on display in Warsaw, Łodz, Lvov, and Germany. Appelbaum was active in almost every genre (landscape, still life, portrait, etc.), mainly preferring to treat scenes of the Polish-Jewish *shtetl*. His manner features elements of cubism and expressionism and grotesque imagery of characters. In his monumental paintings, especially the synagogue murals, Appelbaum widely used motifs of traditional Jewish art. In the late 1920s, in an attempt to improve his difficult financial situation, he moved to Katowice with his family, where he died of tuberculosis.

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[Hillel Krakovsky (2nd ed.)]

APPELFELD, AHARON (1932–), Hebrew writer. Appelfeld was born in the province of Bukovina, Romania, to a semi-assimilated Jewish family. In 1941, Germans, accompanied by Romanians, began the destruction of the Jews of Bukovina, killing Appelfeld's mother and grandmother and deporting Appelfeld to a concentration camp. He escaped and roamed through the Ukrainian countryside for years. In 1944, the Russian Army entered the Ukraine and Appelfeld joined them as a kitchen helper, immigrating to Israel after the war. A graduate of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Appelfeld served as professor emeritus of Hebrew literature at Ben Gurion University of the Negev. While best known as a prolific novelist, his essays have been published in the *New York Times*, the *New Yorker*, and elsewhere.

At the core of Appelfeld's highly-stylized narratives is the probing of the psyche of characters in a pre- and post-Shoah world. His tales frequently depict fragmented, torn, and sometimes mute people in a state of quest. In his earlier tales, Appelfeld consciously suspended any historical framework, raising his work to a mythic, timeless level while only depicting the Shoah directly in his later works. Throughout, Appelfeld is fascinated by the notion of the Jewish tribe and its various manifestations – Orthodox and converted and particularly the assimilated Jews of Central Europe. Appelfeld's fiction frequently has an autobiographical tone. In *Tzili* (1983), he tells the story of a young girl who like himself spends years in the forest separated from her family while fleeing the enemy. Eventually, like Appelfeld, she joins the hordes of refugees in their journey towards safety. Appelfeld's characters are constantly on the move. Movement is the essence of their being. They are rootless and in a constant quest to repair and to heal. In doing so, Appelfeld has expanded the archetype of the Wandering Jew to include the post-Shoah world of the European wasteland. However, movement does not bring change, instead the Jew continues as an "Other," a stranger hovering like a shadow over an extinct reality. Europe in the post-Shoah period, as Appelfeld has said, is the largest cemetery in history.

Appelfeld's work can roughly be divided into three periods. In the 1960s, he published surreal short fiction with strong fantastic elements. This fiction consists of five books of short stories. Appelfeld made his mark in his second period with the novels *Badenheim 1939* (1980) and *Tor ha-Pela'ot* ("Age of Wonders," 1978). In his third period, the novels of the 1990s and the first years of the new century, the actual Shoah is incorporated into his fiction.

While Appelfeld's narratives are often a fictional recasting of his own autobiography, the importance of the narrator as a chronicler and witness of events gains importance in his later work. His earlier protagonists were often devoid of memory and consequently of historical awareness. In his latest works, a sense of history, continuity, and self-awareness is more apparent. This is clear in the novels *Katerina* (1989) and *Ad Alot ha-Shaḥar* (1995). Until his third period, Appelfeld's stories were geographically situated far from the war and the camps. We encounter the camp for the first time overtly in *The Iron Tracks*, a modern picaresque parable, where Irwin Ziegelbaum (Irwin is Appelfeld's given name) recounts in the 1980s his 40 years of wandering in post-Shoah Europe. A survivor, he continues to move in trains, from south to north and back. Haunted by memories, he nevertheless visits all the stations of his life and those of his parents. He maintains a yearly cycle, like the reading of the Torah in weekly portions, consisting of 22 stations parallel to the number of letters in the Hebrew alphabet. On his way, he redeems various Jewish holy artifacts and fulfills a personal quest by killing the German officer who murdered his parents. In a way Appelfeld transcends the historical limitations of the Holocaust. In a 1986 interview, he said: "I write Jewish stories, but I don't accept the label Holocaust writer. My themes are the uprooted, orphans, the war." An heir to *Kafka, *Celan, *Proust, and *Buber, Appelfeld's voice is at once immediate and removed, historical and transcendent, realistic and postmodern, but always essential.

Appelfeld was awarded the Israel Prize in 1983. Many of his works have been translated into English, including *To the Land of the Reeds* (1986), *Badenheim 1939* (1980), *Beyond Despair* (1993), *The Immortal Bartfuss* (1988), *For Every Sin* (1989), *Katerina* (1992), *The Retreat* (1984), *Age of Wonders* (1981), *The Healer* (1990), *The Iron Tracks* (1998), *Tzili* (1983), *Unto the Soul* (1994), *Lost* (1998), *A Table for One* (with drawings by Meir Appelfeld, 2004). Stories and novellas are included in the following English-language anthologies: G. Ramras-Rauch and J. Michman-Melkman (eds.), *Facing the Holocaust* (1985), G. Abramson (ed.), *The Oxford Book of Hebrew Short Stories* (1996), I. Stavans (ed.), *The Oxford Book of Jewish Stories* (1998), L. Raphael and M.L. Raphael (eds.), *When Night Fell: An Anthology of Holocaust Short Stories* (1999), G. Shaked (ed.), *Six Israeli Novellas* (1999). Mention should be made also of the following English books: E. Sicher, *Holocaust Novelists* (2004), M. Brown and S. Horowitz, *Encounter with Aharon Appelfeld* (2003), and Philip Roth, *Shop Talk: A Writer and His Colleagues and Their Work* (2001).

For detailed information concerning translations into various languages see the ITHL website at www.ithl.org.il

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[Gila Ramras-Rauch (2nd ed.)]

APPELMAN, HARLENE (1947–), U.S. Jewish educator. Appelman was born Harlene Winnick in Elmira, New York, where she received her early Jewish education from Rabbi James *Gordon and from *Young Judaea's Camp Tel Yehudah. She earned her B.A. from Northwestern University (1969) and, following three years spent teaching in Jerusalem, her M.A. from the University of California (Berkeley, 1978). Her career as a communal educator began in 1982, when she was appointed director of Family Life Education at Congregation Shaarey Zedek in Southfield, Michigan, where she developed such innovative programs as "Shabbat in a Box" and "So You Want to be a Jewish Parent." After serving as director of Family Programs for the Fresh Air Society of Detroit (1986–90), Appelman became the founding head of Jewish Experiences for Families, under the auspices of metropolitan Detroit's Jewish Community Centers. Under her creative leadership (1991–93), JEFF became a national model in the field of family programming and community building; its success led to Appelman's appointment as the director of Field Services for the Whizin Institute for the Family at the *University of Judaism (1992–95), which was interested in propagating the JEFF paradigm. She continued to serve as senior consultant to Detroit's Agency for Jewish Education (1993–95), introducing *L'Chayim*, A Monthly Jewish Family Supplement, distributed locally by the *Detroit Jewish News*. In 1995, she was named director of Community Outreach and Education for the Jewish Federation of Metropolitan Detroit, remaining with the Federation as executive director of its Alliance for Jewish Education (1999–2001) and Jewish Education Officer.

Appelman's additional accomplishments in Detroit – notably, her development of Shalom Street, a hands-on Jewish children's museum, and the establishment of the Hermelin Davidson Center for Congregation Excellence, a community-wide professional training initiative – gained her an international reputation. She was asked by *Hadassah to join the creative team for the women's organization's acclaimed family program Al Galgalim (Training Wheels), served on the board of directors of the Coalition for the Advancement of Jewish Education, and lectured widely throughout the Jewish world. In 1991, Appelman was the recipient of the first Covenant Award; she was invited to join the Covenant Foundation's Board of Directors in 1994, the same year she won the Madeleine and Mandell Berman Award for Outstanding Jewish Communal Professional. She wrote numerous articles on Jewish education and published *A Seder for Tu B'Shvat* (coauthored with Jane Shapiro, 1985). In 2005, she was named executive director of the New York-based Covenant Foundation, where inter alia she oversaw the funding of initiatives supported by the Jewish Education Service of North America.

[Bezalel Gordon (2nd ed.)]

°**APPIAN OF ALEXANDRIA** (second century C.E.), author of a general history of Rome. Appian mentions the Jews and Jewish history in several places, especially in his books on Syria, Mithridates, and those dealing with the civil wars in Rome. Though he himself shared in the general apprehension during the Jewish uprisings in Egypt in 116 C.E., Appian shows no animosity toward the Jews.

APPLE (Heb. תַּפּוּחַ), mentioned several times in the Bible. In the Song of Songs it is described as a shady tree bearing sweet fruit (2:3). The odor of the beloved is reminiscent of the delicate aroma of the apple (7:9). It was an important product of Palestinian agriculture, and is mentioned as one of the victims of the locust plague described in Joel (1:12). The shapeliness of the golden apple served as a model for artistic ornamentation (Prov. 25:11). The custom of sending apples to the sick is mentioned in rabbinic literature (Tosef., BM 7:4; TJ, Shev. 8:4, 38a). Several localities in Israel bore the name "Tappu'aḥ," giving evidence, incidentally, of its widespread growth and popularity. The *tappu'aḥ* of the Bible has been variously identified as peach, citron, and even mandrake. Yet it undoubtedly refers to the apple – *Pirus malus* (*sylvestris*). This is confirmed by the references to its characteristics in rabbinic literature, for instance, the season of its ripening, the trees on which grafting would be permitted, the preparation of applesauce and apple cider, etc. (see Tosef., Kil. 1:3; TJ, Ma'as. 1:4, 49a; TJ, Ter. 10:2, 47a; Tosef., Ber. 4:2). In Arabic the apple is called *tufaḥ*. In ancient times the aromatic strains apparently were most widely cultivated, and the odor evoked high praise. The verse "the smell of my son is as the smell of a field which the Lord hath blessed" (Gen. 27:27) was interpreted as referring to the smell of an apple orchard (Ta'an. 29b). In art and in later literature the tree of knowledge in Genesis 1 was identified with the apple tree, and the Targum of the Song of Songs renders *tappu'aḥ* as "the aromatic apples of the Garden of Eden." In the Kabbalah, "the orchard of holy apples" signifies the most sublime holiness. In recent times the apple was not cultivated extensively by the Arabs in Palestine. From the middle of the 20th century, however, apples of various strains were grown in many areas of Israel, and are even an export crop.

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[Jehuda Feliks]

APPLE, MAX (1941–), U.S. writer. Apple was born in Grand Rapids, Michigan, received a Ph.D. from the University of Michigan in 1970, and taught creative writing at Rice University for 29 years. His fiction began appearing in the middle 1970s and was of that zanily comic character that at the time characterized the work of Tom Robbins (*Another Roadside Attraction*, 1971), William Kotzwinkle (*The Fan Man*, 1974), and Gerald Rosen (*The Carmen Miranda Memorial Flagpole*, 1977). Packed with references to popular American culture, such as Howard Johnson Motels and Major League Baseball, Apple's first stories (collected in *The Oranging of America*, 1976) played a wildly semiotic game with the icons of current life. Whereas Tom Robbins had alternately charmed and shocked readers with the notion of Jesus' mummified body turning up in a hippie-like sideshow redolent of the 1960s, Max Apple offered such delights as Howard Johnson, Colonel Sanders, and other franchised figures rubbing elbows with actual poets (Robert Frost) and politicians (Fidel Castro).

Yet his first novel, *Zip* (1978), suggests how this writer's career would develop, for among the countercultural zaniness of its context (a young radical financing his education as a boxer's manager) and the manipulation of political images (in which Castro and J. Edgar Hoover settle their differences almost literally in the ring) are references to a family of Jewish immigrants making their way in a new world that seems as strange to them as Apple's comic contortions of reality. By the end of the 1990s, readers would know this family as Apple's own.

The stories in Apple's second collection, *Free Agents* (1984), clarify this perspective, that of a young man of the 1960s and 1970s trying to sort out the turbulence of American culture as he has to explain it to his grandparents, who in helping to raise him cannot help but suggest what life was like in the old country. "The American Bakery" is a fiction, but draws on material that would eventually take shape as memoir. Following a novelistic expansion of his Walt Disney mythology in *The Propheteers* (1987), Apple fully embraced the stories of his grandfather and then his grandmother in two heartfelt yet still comic memoirs, *Roommates* (1994) and *I Love Gootie* (1998). Among everything else, Apple says, his grandmother "left me her recipe for stories. You start with a good person and you see what happens next. You listen and you watch. By the end it all adds up to something."

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[Jerome Klinkowitz (2nd ed.)]

APPLE, RAYMOND (1935–), Australian rabbi. Born in Melbourne, Australia, and educated there and in London, Apple was a rabbi in London before succeeding Israel *Porush at Sydney's historic Great Synagogue in 1972, retiring in 2004. Apple was one of the leading exponents in Australia of moderate Orthodoxy in the Anglo-Jewish tradition and served as senior rabbi to the Australian Defence Forces and as a member of Sydney's Beth Din. He was often in the public eye as an exponent of Judaism and for his notable interfaith activities, and he was president of the Jewish Historical Society of Australia.

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[William D. Rubinstein (2nd ed.)]

APPLEBAUM, LOUIS (1918–2000), composer and conductor. Born in Toronto, Applebaum was a composer and conductor for the stage, radio, film, and television. He studied the piano with Boris Berlin, theory and composition with Healey Willan, Ernest MacMillan, and others. He was the musical director of the Canadian National Film Board and produced 250 film scores. In 1955 he established the Stratford Music Festival in Ontario, which he directed until 1960, and composed music for more than 50 productions. During the 1960s he was a musical consultant for the national television network (CBC) and chair of the planning committee for the National Arts Centre, Ottawa. He also served as an executive director of the Ontario Arts Council (during the 1970s) and in 1980 became co-chair of the Federal Cultural Review Committee. His honors include the Canadian Centennial Medal (1967) and appointment to the Order of Canada (1995). Among his works are the ballet suite *Dark of the Moon* (1953); *Suite of Miniature Dances* (1953); Revival Meeting and Finale of "Barbara Allen" (1964); *A Folio of Shakespearean Songs* (1954–87); *King Herod* for choir (1958); *The Last Words of David* for cantor and choir (1980); and *Two Nostalgic Yiddish Folk Songs* for choir (1987).

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[Israela Stein (2nd ed.)]

APT (Heb. עִיר אַט or אַט), small town near Avignon, in southern France. Evidence of a Jewish community in Apt dates from a regulation of the second half of the 13th century prohibiting the sale to Christians of meat killed for Jews. In 1348, at the time of the *Black Death, many of the Jews were victims of an anti-Jewish riot. A synagogue existed there in 1416. The tax register of 1420 indicates that 15 Jewish families were then living in Apt, which was, apparently, fourth in order of importance among the Jewish communities in *Provence. The Jewish quarter began near the present-day Place du Postel. Possibly a second one was situated beside the Bouquerie quarter. The Apt community is mentioned by the poet *Isaac b. Abraham ha-Gorni (end of the 13th century). Samuel b. Mordecai of Apt corresponded with Solomon b. Abraham Adret.

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[Bernhard Blumenkranz]

APTA, MEIR (1760?–1831), ḥasidic rabbi and kabbalist. He was born in Apta (now Opatow), Poland. Meir, a pupil of Isaac of Pinczow, served as rabbi in Stobnitsa at an early age, and later in Apta. He was a disciple of *Jacob Isaac ha-Ḥozeh ("the seer") of Lublin, and became his chief successor after his death. His views appear in *Or la-Shamayim* (1850). Meir's doctrine was conservative and contains few innovations. Its main importance was his rejection of the teachings introduced by Jacob Isaac ha-Yehudi ha-Kadosh of *Przysucha and his school. In some respects Meir may be considered the prototype of the ḥasidic traditionalist. He emphasized the central role of the **ẓaddik*, and stressed the principles of piety, reverence, unostentatious performance of religious precepts, and comradely cohesion within the movement, which he regarded as the most important aspects of Ḥasidism. Meir was succeeded by his son Phinehas (died 1837). Phinehas' son, Isaac Menahem of Wolbrom, headed a large ḥasidic congregation; he was succeeded by his son, Alter Meir David (died 1911).

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[Adin Steinsaltz]

APTER, DAVID ERNEST (1924–), U.S. political scientist and expert on African political institutions. His book *The Gold Coast in Transition* (1955) received such wide acclaim that it has been reprinted several times as *Ghana in Transition*. Apter's later work on Uganda, *The Political Kingdom in Uganda: A Study in Bureaucratic Nationalism* (1961), considers the nature of secular nationalism in Africa. He constructed a general theory of modernization forecasting changes in the political systems in the African continent and the direction in which they were likely to move.

Apter, who graduated from Princeton University in 1954, was one of the first American doctoral students to focus his research on the African independence movements; and under the Kennedy Administration, he was asked to head up the Peace Corps' first program in Africa. He taught political science at Northwestern University (1955–57) and at the University of Chicago (1957–61). In 1961 he was appointed professor of political science at the University of California at Berkeley, where he served as associate professor (1961–62) and acting director (1964–66) and then director of the Institute of International Studies (1966–67). A fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, he joined the faculty of Yale University in 1969 and taught there until 2000. He served as director of the Division of Social Sciences (1978–82), chair of the Department of Sociology (1997–99), and chair of the Council on African Studies (1995–99).

During his teaching career, Apter was honored with visiting appointments at major universities in France, Britain, Holland, and Africa. As an international scholar, he also wrote about Latin America, Europe, China, and Japan. Many of his books have been reprinted numerous times and translated into various languages. His prize-winning contributions to social and political theory include his seminal work *The Politics of Modernization* (1965), which set the agenda for an entire generation in the study of comparative democratization. Other books include *Approaches to the Study of Moderniza-*

tion (1968); *Choice and the Politics of Allocation* (1971), winner of the Woodrow Wilson Award of the American Political Science Association for best book of the year in political science and international studies; *Anarchism Today* (1971); *Contemporary Analytical Theory* (1972); *Introduction to Political Analysis* (1977); *Rethinking Development* (1987); *Against the State* (1990); *Political Development and the New Realism in Sub-Saharan Africa* (1994); *Revolutionary Discourse in Mao's Republic* (1994); *Social Protest and Social Change* (1995); *The Legitimization of Violence* (1997); and *The Political Kingdom in Uganda* (1997).

Yale granted Apter emeritus status, naming him the Henry J. Heinz II Professor Emeritus of Comparative Political and Social Development. As such, he is an avid participant of the Henry Koerner Center for Emeritus Faculty. Established in 2003, the Center serves as a base for Yale's retired professors and administrators to bring them back into the mainstream life of the university. Apter believes that his generation of retired professors possesses qualities that other generations lack, as many of his colleagues came to academia after surviving the Depression and World War II. That generation of faculty members, he attests, also brought greater ethnic diversity to a teaching staff that had been "classically Ivy League."

[Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

APTOWITZER, VICTOR (**Avigdor**; 1871–1942), rabbinic scholar. Aptowitzer was born in Tarnopol, Galicia, and studied at the University and the Jewish Theological Seminary of Vienna where, from 1909 to 1938, he taught biblical exegesis, *aggadah*, and religious philosophy, as well as Talmud and Codes. From 1919 to 1938 he also taught Talmud at the Hebrew Teachers' College in Vienna. A confirmed Zionist, he gave his lectures in Hebrew. Although suffering from impaired vision, and completely blind at the end of his life, he remained a productive scholar, who made a strong impression on his students. He investigated, among other things, the biblical quotations in the Talmud and in the Midrash which vary from the masoretic text. Of particular importance in this field is his *Das Schriftwort in der Rabbinischen Literatur* (4 vols., 1906–15). Aptowitzer also sought to clarify the content and literary form of the *aggadah* by comparing it with the Apocrypha and with the commentaries and homilies of the Church Fathers. He established criteria for distinguishing between legends of folk origin and legends created in the academies. He dealt with *aggadah* in his *Kain und Abel in der Agada* (1922), and with both *halakhah* and *aggadah* in his *Parteipolitik der Hasmonaeerzeit im rabbinischen und pseudoepigraphischen Schrifttum* (1927; partly published in Hebrew in *Sefer Yovel… S.A. Poznański*, 1927). Aptowitzer's investigations into the relationship between the legal writings of the Armenians and Syrians and those of the Jews are summed up in his *Beitraege zur mosaischen Rezeption im armenischen Recht* (1907) and *Die syrischen Rechtsbuecher und das mosaisch-talmudische Recht* (1909; Hebrew translation, 1923). In these two works he traces Jewish influence present in these Christian codes. He published an edition of *Sefer Ravyah* by *Eliezer b. Joel ha-Levi, together with textual and explanatory notes (2 vols., 1913–35), with addenda and emendations (2 vols., 1936; new ed. 1965). His comprehensive introduction (1938) is an important source for biographies of medieval Jewish scholars of France and Germany. In 1938 Aptowitzer settled in Jerusalem where, in addition to articles on the history of the *halakhah*, he published *Meḥkarim be-Sifrut ha-Ge'onim* ("Studies in the Literature of the Geonim" (1941)). For many years he reviewed talmudic literature in the *Monatsschrift fuer Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums*.

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[Moshe Nahum Zobel / Moshe David Herr]

°**APULEIUS, LUCIUS** (second century C.E.), Latin author from N. Africa. Apuleius is best known as the author of the *Metamorphoses*. In his *Apologia* (also known as *De Magia*) he mentions both Moses and Johannes (presumably *Jannes; cf. Numenius) among important magicians who were active after Zoroaster and Hostanes (*Apologia*, 90). In *Florida* 1:6, he refers to the Jews as believers in superstition (*superstitiosi*).

[Jacob Petroff]

APULIA, region in southern Italy, including Calabria until the late Middle Ages. According to an ancient tradition the communities in *Bari, *Oria, *Otranto, and *Taranto were established by captives deported from Judea by *Titus. The constitution of the Western Roman emperor Honorius of 398 confirms that the several Jewish communities in Apulia were liable to the civic burdens. The numerous tombstone inscriptions, many wholly or partly written in Hebrew, found in *Venosa, Taranto, Matera, Bari, Brindisi, Otranto, and Oria attest to the large number of Jews settled in the region, and the wide usage of Hebrew language and names. Inscriptions found in Venosa indicate a remarkable communal organization and Jewish participation in civil life. Emperor *Basil I (867–86) attempted to persuade, and then to force, the Jews of Apulia, then part of the Byzantine Empire, to adopt Christianity; according to the Chronicle of *Ahimaaz, *Shephatiah of Oria obtained the emperor's consent to exempt the Jews of Oria, and possibly also the whole of Apulian Jewry, from this order. Oria was occupied by the Arabs in 925. Many of the Jews there were killed or taken prisoner during the fighting while others escaped to Bari or Otranto. Emperor Romanus I Lecapenus (919–44) again tried to compel the Jews to adopt Christianity. Attacks by the populace to convert them forcibly lasted several days, and many Jews were massacred.

The situation of Apulian Jewry became less precarious in the 11th century, and it was a period of flourishing cultural life.

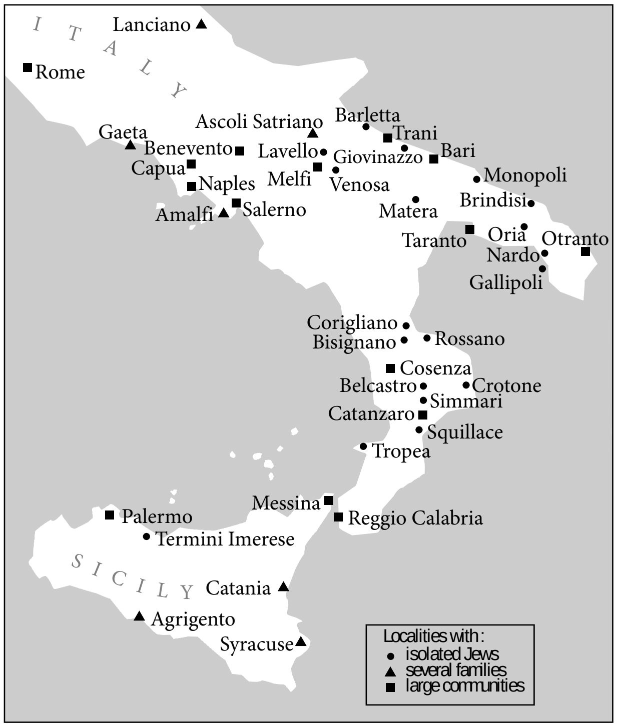

Distribution of Jews in southern Italy in the second half of the 12th century.

Jews in Apulia maintained regular contacts with the centers in Ereẓ Israel. The Chronicle of Ahimaaz (1054) contains many details on Apulian Jewry, and relates both true and legendary tales of pilgrimages to Jerusalem and of Abu Aaron (*Aaron of Baghdad), a miracle-worker and teacher, who established a school and taught mystical lore in Apulia. Hebrew letters and poetry of a high standard were encouraged. Apulian poets of the period include *Silano in Venosa, Shephatiah and his son *Amittai in Oria. Scholars are mentioned from the middle of the tenth century in Oria, Bari, and Otranto. The *Josippon chronicle, composed in about the middle of the tenth century, is a product of the southern Italian Hebrew culture. The physician Shabbetai *Donnolo lived there in the tenth century. South Italian Jewry was the original fount of Ashkenazi culture (see *Ashkenaz). That the Jews of France and Germany recognized their debt to the Apulian center as late as the 12th century is acknowledged in the proverb quoted by the French tosafist Jacob b. Meir *Tam: "For out of Bari goes forth the Law and the word of the Lord from Otranto" (cf. Isaiah 2:3). Noteworthy in the 12th century was the mishnaic commentator *Isaac b. Melchizedek, from the famous academy of *Siponto.

The position of the Jews in Apulia continued to be tolerable until the last decade of the 13th century. Most of the communities were under episcopal jurisdiction. Jews in Apulia acquired land, were occupied in crafts, and practically monopolized the dyeing industry. Thomas *Aquinas, a native of southern Italy, is evidently referring to Jewish economic conditions in Apulia when advising the Duchess of Brabant in 1274 that "it would do better to compel the Jews to work for their living, as is done in parts of Italy, than to allow them… to grow rich by usury." Scholars of the 13th century include *Isaiah b. Mali of Trani the Elder, his grandson *Isaiah b. Elijah di Trani, and Solomon b. ha-Yatom.

The period of toleration came to an end under Charles II of Anjou. Apulian Jewry was all but annihilated between 1290 and 1294 after he gave orders that all the Jews in his realm were to be forcibly baptized. Many fled from this persecution to the Orient; others who resisted were killed, while a large number accepted baptism. Most of the synagogues were converted into churches, and the schools were closed down. A considerable number of the converts led the existence of **anusim*, adhering to the Jewish beliefs and practices in secret; they became known as the *neofiti* (neophytes; see *Crypto-Jews), officially recognized as a distinct group and dealt with accordingly by the authorities. To facilitate their supervision the *neofiti* were frequently forced to live in special quarters. They were regarded by the populace as faithless heretics. In 1311 King Robert directed that those who had relapsed to Judaism were to be severely punished; the order was renewed in 1343 by Joanna I. In the second half of the 15th century the new Christians of Manfredonia were still listed as such in official documents. Both *neofiti* and Jews, who again settled in Apulia in the 15th century, were frequently subjected to mob attacks; anti-Jewish outbreaks occurred in Bari and *Lecce in 1463. The invasion of Otranto by the Ottoman army in 1480 had disastrous consequences for the Jews, who were all killed by the Turks.

The second half of the 15th century saw Jewish immigration into Apulia from other countries. In particular the exiles from Spain and Portugal contributed to a short-lived renascence of Jewish learning. Isaac *Abrabanel and others composed notable works while staying in Apulia. When in 1495 the French king Charles VIII occupied the kingdom of *Naples, however, the Jews of Apulia were again persecuted; looting and war levies dissipated their resources within a few months. The persecutions resulted in widespread conversions and "New Christians who converted since the coming of the French" are mentioned in the laws of 1498 of King Frederick of Aragon. After the return of the Aragonese dynasty to Naples the Jews enjoyed a few years of security, but the conquest of Naples by the Spaniards was followed by renewed suffering. In 1510–11 the Jews were expelled from Apulia and the entire kingdom of Naples, only 200 families being allowed to remain. In 1515 the *neofiti* were also expelled. The grant of limited residential and commercial rights to Jews throughout the Neapolitan provinces in 1520 led to the reestablishment of a few communities. A new decree of expulsion issued in 1533 was canceled shortly before its implementation, but was reissued and finally promulgated in 1540, obliging all Jews to leave Apulia the following year. Apulian Jewry as an historical entity thereby came to an end. Some of them migrated to central and northern Italy. Others settled in Constantinople, Adrianople, Salonika, Arta, Valona, and Corfu, where they founded separate Pugliese (Apulian; Heb. (פוליאסי, פלייסי)

congregations. The dialect long spoken by the Jews of Corfu contained words from old Apulian.

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[Umberto (Moses David) Cassuto / Nadia Zeldes (2nd ed.)]

AQUILA, town in Abruzzi province, central Italy. The first record of Jews living in Aquila dates from 1294. In 1400, Ladislas, king of Naples, authorized two Jewish families to engage in pawnbroking and trade in Aquila and other towns in the Abruzzi. Queen Joanna II granted a similar license to other Jews in 1420 and in 1423. In 1427 the Franciscan John of *Capistrano obtained its revocation, but the right was restored after the Jews complained to Pope Martin V. However, their situation was precarious when Aquila became the scene of recurrent anti-Jewish preaching by the Franciscan *Bernardino da Siena in 1438, Giacomo della Marca in 1466, and *Bernardino da Feltre in 1488. That year, as a result of the panic caused by renewed preaching by Bernardino da Feltre, only two Jewish families remained in Aquila. The Jews were expelled from the kingdom of Naples, in which Aquila was included, in 1510–11. A few individuals may have returned, but attempts to reside there were finally terminated with the second expulsion of the Jews from the kingdom in 1540–41. A few Jewish families settled there in the 20th century but there was no organized Jewish life.

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[Attilio Milano / Manuela Consonni (2nd ed.)]

AQUILEIA, town in Friuli, northern Italy. The earliest evidence of a Jewish presence in Aquileia is an epitaph in Latin, of a certain "Lucius Aiacius Dama, freedman of Publius, a Jew," dated to the late first century B.C.E. There is no other evidence of Jewish settlement in Aquileia until Late Antiquity, with the exception of an epitaph of a Jew, born in Aquileia but living in Rome, dated to the third century C.E. An ancient tradition relates that the Christians set fire to the synagogue in Aquileia in the presence of Ambrose, bishop of Milan in 388. Three African-type lamps decorated with the *menorah* indeed attest the presence of Jews in Late Antiquity.

Excavations conducted in 1948–50 brought to light a place of worship, later transformed into a three-aisled church, with polychrome mosaic flooring, as well as 36 inscriptions. The excavators identified the building as a synagogue, because some inscriptions could be identified as Jewish. However, most scholars today identify the building as a church owned by Syrian Christians.

Jews continued to live in Aquileia in the Middle Ages. A tombstone with a Hebrew epitaph is dated 1140 and another one is undated. R. Menahem, a pupil of *Eleazar b. Judah of Worms (13th century), originated from Aquileia, as did the family of the 18th-century Italian scholar and poet David b. Mordecai *Abulafia.

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[Attilio Milano / Samuel Rocca (2nd ed.)]

°**AQUINAS, THOMAS** (1225–1274), most important of the Christian medieval philosophers. Born near Aquino, the son of a count, Aquinas entered a Dominican order at the age of 19 against the will of his family. He studied under the Dominican scholar Albertus Magnus in Cologne and Paris, where he later taught; from 1272 he taught in Naples. His main work, the *Summa theologica* (ST), was designed as an introduction to all problems of doctrine and morals that a friar might meet in his studies for pastoral duties. It shows an intimate knowledge of the works of Jewish philosophers, particularly of Avicebron (Ibn *Gabirol) and *Maimonides. Most of the proofs he adduced for the existence of God may be traced to Jewish sources. A similar systematic exposition, this one addressed to the non-Christian, is contained in his *Summa contra gentiles* (SCG, 1259–64). Aquinas often expressed his opinion about what should be the Christian attitude toward the Jews. In about 1270–71 he wrote a detailed reply, constituting the small treatise *De regimine Judaeorum* (cf. the different editions in E. Gilson, *Christian Philosophy* … [1956], 422), to a series of questions posed by a duchess of Brabant (probably Margaret, daughter of Louis IX and wife of Jean I of Brabant). These ask whether it is lawful for a Christian prince to exact money from the Jews by means of taxes and fines since this money was the result of usury. Aquinas answered: "It is true, as the Law declares, that Jews in consequence of their sin, are or were destined to perpetual slavery: so that sovereigns of states may treat their goods as their own property, with the sole proviso that they do not deprive them of all that is necessary to sustain life." He did not, however, recommend imposing an overly harsh fiscal policy on the Jews. In addition, since "the Jews in your country appear to possess nothing but what they have acquired by the evil practice of usury," Aquinas advised returning the money to its true owners, the injured Christian borrowers. If these could not be traced, it might be spent on acts of piety or works in the general interest. In Aquinas' view it was preferable "to compel the Jews to work for their living, as is done in parts of Italy, rather than that they should live in idleness and grow rich by usury." They should also be compelled to wear a distinguishing *badge that would make them clearly recognizable from Christians.

Aquinas vehemently condemned the baptism of Jewish and other non-Christian infants against their parents' wishes as violating natural justice (*Summa theol.* 2a, 2ae, qu. 10, c. 12). He considered that the natural order requires that parents should have charge of their children until they reach the age of reason, and only then are they entitled to choose for themselves. Aquinas points out that when children baptized against the wishes of their parents had reached this age, the parents might succeed in convincing them to abandon the faith they had unwittingly received; their apostasy would then certainly be detrimental to the church. He also opposed the argument put forward in Christian circles that as the Jews were legally the slaves of the secular sovereign (see *servi camerae), the latter was therefore entitled to treat the Jews as he wished; Aquinas emphasized that in common law the slave is protected by the moral, natural law and is thus shielded from exaggerated claims by princes. He interdicted, as a general principle, the use of force against non-Catholics to convert them to Christianity. Citing *Augustine, he declared that man is capable of doing certain things against his will, but that faith is given only to him who desires it.

[Bernhard Blumenkranz]

Philosophy

Maimonides has a recognized place among those whose doctrines Aquinas draws on; all attempts to camouflage Maimonides' doctrines, such as the attempts of *William of Auvergne and *Alexander of Hales, have been put aside. "Rabbi Moyses" (Maimonides) appears as a master who has brought together the voluntarism of biblical theology and the Aristotelian theories on the cosmogonic process. Aquinas seems to have been influenced by Maimonides in his account of the relation of faith and reason (SCG, 1:4) and in his proofs of the existence of God (ST, I, qu. 2., a. 3), and he accepts the proposition of Maimonides that the temporal creation of the world cannot be demonstrated or refuted by philosophical argument, but only on the basis of revealed text (ST, I, qu. 46, a. 2). On the other hand, Aquinas opposes Rabbi Moyses' radical denial of all divine attributes, by which humans attempt to explain God's being from their experience in the created world. For Aquinas, analogy remains a means of theological approach to the secrets of divinity (ST, I, qu. 13, 2). Parts of Aquinas' works were translated into Hebrew and some of his views influenced late medieval Jewish philosophers, such as *Hillel of Verona. Aquinas shares the usual ecclesiastical view that the Old Testament is a preparatory stage of revelation. The Mosaic legislation, however, aroused his special interest; it was a source of a type of concrete solution not offered by the New Testament (ST, I–II, qu. 108, a. 2, ad 3). He understood the Sinaitic order of society as a constitution perfectly designed for the preservation of the Hebrew people under given circumstances. For this rationalization he used concepts from Aristotle's *Politics*, which had just been translated from the Greek. Aquinas was also very much stimulated in this task by Maimonides' reflection on the meaning of *mishpatim* (general moral laws); the Latin translation of this term, *praescripta iudicialia*, defined for him all biblical rules that he considered politically or socially relevant. Thus, Aquinas found in the Sinaitic legislation on agrarian property a realization of the Aristotelian theory that private ownership must be justified by responsibility for social cohesion (ST, I–II, qu. 105, a. 2 ad 3). For Aquinas this model constitution was created by divine providence; its appreciation as a product of the Hebrew mind was, of course, quite outside his consideration. Treaties and extracts from the works of Aquinas were translated into Hebrew, notably by Judah *Romano, Eli Habillo, Abraham Nehemiah b. Joseph, and others. Isaac *Abrabanel, who apparently intended to translate one of Aquinas' works, was well acquainted with his writings. The influence of Aquinas is noticeable in medieval and later Jewish works.

[Hans Liebeschutz]

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ʿARA, Muslim-Arab village near the western entrance of the Iron Valley, on the Ḥaderah–Afulah highway. In antiquity the valley was a vital stretch of the Via Maris. In 1967 ʿAra had 1,970 inhabitants. Its economy was based on intensive farming. The village is assumed to be located on the site of Iron, a Canaanite town of the second millennium B.C.E. ("ʾIrn" in the Egyptian reports of Thutmose III's campaign against Megiddo.).

[Efraim Orni]

ARABA (or **Gabara**), place in Israel. It is mentioned by Josephus as one of the three foremost cities in Galilee (after Tiberias and Sepphoris) and as the center of a district (Wars, 3:7, 132). The sages R. Johanan b. Zakkai and R. Ḥanina b. Dosa taught there, and the latter's tomb is said to be at Araba. The Muslim-Arab village of Araba (ʾArrābat al-Baṭṭūf) is located in central Lower Galilee, north of the Bet Netofah Valley. In 1965 it received municipal council status. The town's population was 4,760 in 1967 and 17,900 in 2002, contained within an area of 3.3 sq. mi. (8.5 sq. km.).

[Efraim Orni]

ARABAH, THE (Heb. הָעֲרָבָה, **Aravah**, Ar. **al-ʿAraba**; "[arid] steppe," "desert"), name of two stretches of depressed ground extending north and south of the Dead *Sea. The biblical Arabah, except in one instance, refers to the northern Arabah, i.e., the Jordan Valley from the Sea of Galilee to the Dead Sea (which is also known as the "Sea of the Arabah"). Thus the land conquered by Moses in Transjordan included "the Arabah also, the Jordan being the border thereof, from Chinnereth even unto the sea of the Arabah, the Salt Sea, under the slopes of Pisgah eastward" (Deut. 3:17); or more simply, "and all the Arabah beyond the Jordan eastward, even unto the sea of the Arabah, under the slopes of Pisgah" (Deut. 4:49). It was left to Joshua to conquer "the Arabah" on the other side of the Jordan (Josh. 11:16). Within the northern Arabah, the plains of Jericho are called "the Araboth [plural of Arabah] of Jericho" and those across the stream "the Araboth of Moab." Only in Deuteronomy 2:8 does the Arabah refer to the Rift Valley south of the Dead Sea, but in the course of time the term was applied only to this southern area. It is a deep cleft, 112 mi. (180 km.) long, divided into two parts by a watershed 797 ft. (243 m.) high. The *Negev valleys have created wide deltas of eroded soil in the Arabah. In its center it contains alluvial soil, to a height of 492 ft. (150 m.) below sea level, with Cenomanian-Turonian white cretaceous rocks on the west (except for its southern portion) and pre-Cambrian rocks (including granite and porphyry) on the east and on the west near Elath. The Arabah is now mainly a sandy desert with an average yearly rainfall of up to 1 in. (25 mm.). Oases are few and far between (see *Ḥaẓevah, Gerofit, *Timna, *Yotvatah). The water has a salt content of up to 17% and vegetation is restricted to hardy desert plants such as the tamarisk and acacia. Temperatures vary from 57° F to 93° F (14° C to 34° C) with an average of 73°–75° F (23°–24° C). Traces of ancient agriculture are especially abundant in its northern portion, where the Nabateans irrigated and cultivated large areas near Zoar (Ghawr al-Ṣafiya), Toloha (Qaṣr al-Tilāḥ or al-Tilāḥ), and other places. The cultivation of sections of the Arabah continued into Byzantine times. The copper mines of the Arabah (especially of the Punon (Feinan) region) were exploited as early as the Chalcolithic period (fourth millennium B.C.E.) and were perhaps one of the reasons why the kings of Israel and Judah so often fought over this barren wasteland with the kings of Edom. Another reason was to obtain domination of the Red Sea harbor of Eilat (*Elath) at the southern end of the Arabah. Exploitation of the copper mines was resumed in the Roman and Byzantine periods. The Arabah is now divided between Israel and Jordan; the Sodom-Eilat road passes through its western side. At the beginning of the 21st century, the Arabah area had a population of 4,500, living in five moshavim, ten kibbutzim, and three urban communities. Residents developed special farming techniques suitable to the area's climate and also operated fisheries.

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[Michael Avi-Yonah / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

ARABIA, the Arabian Peninsula. Arabia attained a high level of civilization and culture continuing from antiquity until the rise of Islam in the seventh century C.E. In its southwestern part several developed states existed (see *Ḥimyar); the northern part however was inhabited by a variety of peoples who, whenever circumstances were favorable, raided the countries of the Fertile Crescent – Ereẓ Israel, Syria, and Mesopotamia. There is a theory that northern Arabia was the cradle of the Semitic peoples. The peninsula declined when the majority of the inhabitants left to take part in the great Arab conquest following the rise of Islam in the seventh century. Only Mecca, the birthplace of *Muhammad the Prophet of Islam and the place from where he spread his teachings, maintained its special position – one of the five fundamental duties of the Muslim faith is a pilgrimage to Mecca at least once in a lifetime. *Medina, to which Muhammad fled in 622 and where he was buried in 632, also acquired the status of a holy place. In the 20th century, geopolitical and economic factors restored to the peninsula its historical importance.

The Bible deals extensively with the Arabian Peninsula and its inhabitants. There are lengthy accounts of family ties, relations in war and peace, and trade between the Israelites and the various tribes of the Arabian steppe and the inhabitants of the Red Sea ports, beginning with the era of the patriarchs. In genealogical lists of the sons of Joktan (Gen. 10:26–29), the sons of Abraham (25:1–5) and Ishmael (25:13–16), Esau-Edom (36:11–12), in biblical stories (I Kings 9:26–28; 10:1–13, the stories of the *Queen of Sheba), and in Job 2:11, the names of nomadic tribes, countries, and settlements can be identified, which local sources (inscriptions) and external sources (Assyrian, Babylonian, and Greek) show existed at that time in both the north and south of the peninsula. The relations between the Jews and the Arabs are reflected in the literature of the Second Temple period and the Talmuds. At that time most of the Jews lived in Babylonia, largely in the vicinity of the Arab country of the Lakhmites in northeastern Arabia. Owing to prevailing circumstances many of the Jewish inhabitants of Ereẓ Israel were transferred to wilderness areas in the Negev and in Transjordan, ruled by the *Nabateans and near-Bedouin Arabs.

Any survey of the history of the Jews in the Arabian Peninsula must take into account the great geophysical, anthropological, sociological, and political differences which have always existed between the north – called from the early Muslim period Ḥijāz *(Hejaz), and the southwest – known in the late pre-Islamic period as Ḥimyar and since then as *Yemen.

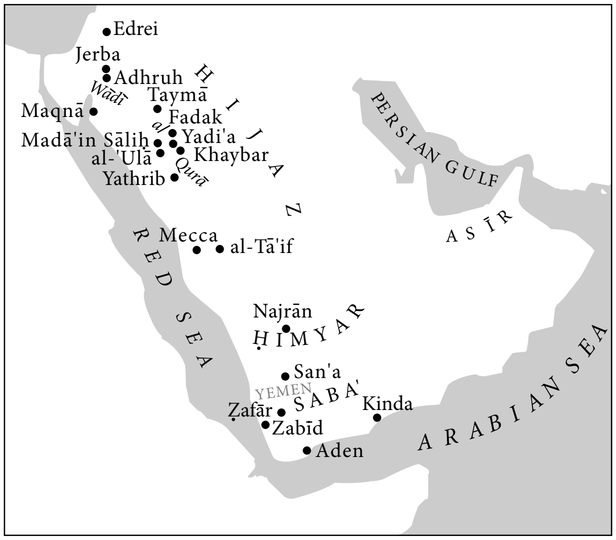

Pre-Islamic Jewish settlement in the Arabian peninsula.

These differences also made their mark on the history of the Jewish communities, and the regional division between north and south is a valid factor in a survey of Jewish history in the peninsula. The north (which for simplicity's sake will be called Ḥijāz) must therefore be discussed separately from the south.

The Jews in Ḥijāz

Arabic historical literature and commentaries (which were written much later) contain many legends about the settlement of the Israelites and the Jews in Ḥijāz. One story dates this settlement as early as Moses' war against the Amalekites (Ex. 17:8–16), while another relates that King David fought against the idol worshipers in Yathrib (Medina). It is related that after the destruction of the First Temple, 80,000 priests who were saved made their way to Arabia and joined those who had settled there previously. Some inscriptions of Nabonidus, king of Babylon (555–539 B.C.E.) – several of which were discovered in 1956 – in which he described the establishment of his capital in Taymāʾ (552–542) from where he conducted his campaigns as far as Yathrib, combined with Nabonidus' Prayer (discovered among the Qumran (Dead Sea) Scrolls) and in which he mentions a Jewish priest and visionary from the Babylonian Diaspora who accompanied him, suggest that some of the Babylonian Jewish exiles settled with him in Taymāʾ and in Ḥijāz. Charles C. *Torrey (*The Jewish Foundation of Islam* (1933), 10, 17–18) thinks that even before that time Jewish traders began to settle in the oases of Ḥijāz. However, definite confirmation of Jewish settlement here appears only with the advent of people who had distinctly Jewish names or were designated as Jews in Aramaic, Nabatean, and Liḥyān inscriptions beginning from the first century B.C.E. or C.E. These tomb inscriptions or *grafitti* were found for the most part in al-ʿUlā (formerly Dīdān: Dedan), Madāʾin Ṣāliḥ (al-Ḥijr), and their environs. Most interesting is the inscription published in 1968: "This was dedicated by ʿAdnōn bar [son of] Ḥani bar Samawʾal resh Ḥijra to his wife Mūnā [the daughter of] ʿAmrū bar Samawʾal resh Taymāʾ, who died in the month of Av 251 [355/56 C.E.] at the age of 38." This Nabatean inscription appears to be the latest dated of those discovered so far. Among the finds at al-Ḥijr there is a sundial with the inscription, "Menashā bar Nathan Shelam." This may have been the name of the craftsman who set up the sundial, or possibly that of the astronomer. The names in these inscriptions are worthy of attention. Among them are the purely biblical Manasseh, Nathan, Zadok, Samuel, Simeon, and Shalom, but several names have changed under the influence of Aramaic (or Arabic?) into forms like Isḥaq and Ismāʿīl (b. Zadok). There are also pre-classical Arabic names such as Shabīt(o), Ha-Yehudi ("The Jew"), Yaḥʾyā (b. Simeon), and Naʿīm (b. Isḥaq). Though there are only a few of these inscriptions, they reveal a great deal about Jewish life in Ḥijāz.

When Aelius Gallus set out to conquer Yemen in 25 B.C.E. and was delayed in al-Ḥijr, Jews were living there. The task of the auxiliary Jewish contingent sent by Herod as part of this expedition was to act as a link between the Roman army and the Jewish communities in Arabia. Apparently, al-Ḥijr was then an important center and therefore was known in Ereẓ Israel and Babylonia. The Talmud mentions al-Ḥijra a number of times; although there were several places of this name, some of these references undoubtedly mean al-Ḥijr in Ḥijāz (e.g., Anan b. Ḥiyya of Ḥijra; Yev. 116a).

At the end of the fourth century the history of the Jews in Ḥimyar intersects with that of the Jews of Yathrib. According to Arab traditions, Abkarib Asʿad (c. 385–420) embarked on widespread conquests. After Ḥimyar had rid itself of Ethiopian domination during his father's reign, Abkarib conquered Ḥijāz among other places, and laid siege to Yathrib (known as Medina after Muhammad settled there). However, under rabbinical influence he became converted to Judaism. He returned to his country with two sages and began to spread Judaism there. Historians tend to accept these traditions as authentic in the main, but doubts have been aroused by certain Liḥyān inscriptions containing allusions to Jewish scholars and therefore suggesting that a Jewish or proselyte kingdom existed at that time in Ḥijāz.

The names and works of Jewish poets who lived in Arabia a generation before Muhammad and in his day have been preserved in classical Arabic poetry. The most famous of them is *Samuel b. Adiya, called the king of Taymāʾ. Other poets are mentioned in connection with events in Medina. Jewish tribes had lived for generations in this important area. Arab historians mention about 20 tribes who lived in the region, among them the well-known Banu-Naḍīr and Banu Qurayẓa who were called al-Kāhinān, i.e., "Two Tribes of Priests," and the Banu Qaynuqāʿ. Many Jews also lived in Khaybar and in other oases of Wadi al-Qurā ("Valley of the Villages"), such as al-ʿUlā (Dīdān), Madāʾin Ṣāliḥ, al-Ḥijr, Fadak, the Transjordanian plains of Adhruḥ, Jarba, Edrei, and the port of Maqnā on the Gulf of Eilat. Apparently, Jewish refugees from south Arabia also settled in the environs of Ṭāʾif after the war of *Yūsuf Dhū Nuwās. The reports from Medina attracted many Arab tribes who settled in this area, in particular two tribes from south Arabia, Banu al-Aws and Banu Khazraj, who from the start were vassals of the Jewish tribes. In the early seventh century they became stronger and the Jews were compelled to seek their protection. This situation is reflected in the pact which Muhammad made with the *al-muhājirūn* ("the emigrants": his first Meccan followers who migrated with him from Mecca to Medina in 622), the Banu al-Aws, Banu Khazraj, and Jewish tribes, and also with his "helpers" (*anṣār*), i.e., those men in Medina who supported him on his arrival.

Muhammad's hopes of converting the Jews of Medina to Islam were disappointed, and at the end of his second year in Medina relations between them began to deteriorate. One after another, Muhammad expelled the Banu al-Aws, Banu Qaynuqāʿ, and the Banu Naḍīr tribes, and had the males of the Banu Qurayẓa put to death. The lands of these tribes were distributed among the *muhājirūn*, thus solving the problem of their livelihood. After the oases of Medina had been acquired by the Muslims, Muhammad was ready to compromise with the Jews living in northern Ḥijāz – Khaybar, Fadak, Taymāʾ, and the other Jewish settlements – and all surrendered to him. The settlers were obliged by contract to set aside a sizeable portion of their agricultural yield or produce for Muhammad and his colleagues. In practice they remained tenants on their lands. These contracts later served as a model for other agreements negotiated with residents of conquered territories who surrendered willingly to the Arabs (see *Kharāj and Jizya).

During the rule of Omar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb (634–44) the conditions of the inhabitants of Ḥijāz took a turn for the worse. At that time, Muhammad's hitherto-unknown will was suddenly discovered, and stated "there must not be two religions in Ḥijāz." On the basis of this spurious will all Jews and Christians were allegedly expelled from the Ḥijāz. But as attested by Arab authors and in the *Genizah* sources, many Jews in fact lived in Wadi al-Qurā, Taymāʾ, and other regions in the 10th and 11th centuries. From the 12th century, concrete information about them disappears and from that time Jews are found only in *Yemen. Like its beginnings, the end of Ḥijāz Jewry is shrouded in legend. Travelers such as *Benjamin of Tudela (12th century); David *Reuveni (early 16th century); the Italian, Ludovico di Varthema (early 16th century), who was converted to Islam and therefore allowed to visit Ḥijāz, and others, have much to tell about the tribes of Israel, and especially the people of Khaybar still inhabiting the Arabian Desert, who were skilled in warfare and courageous. Izhak *Ben-Zvi, the second president of the State of Israel, devoted considerable time to tracing these stories and investigating the kernel of truth they contain.

South Arabia

The history of the Jews in south Arabia from the pre-Islamic period, including isolated information on the Islamic period which in time and source material is related to the history of Ḥijāz, is surveyed below. Because of its essentially different nature, the history from the 12th century to the present day is covered in the article on *Yemen. Various legends, resembling those on the origin of Ḥijāz Jewry, circulated about the beginnings of Jewish settlement in south Arabia. Bible stories of the Queen of Sheba and the ships of Ophir served as a basis for legends about the Israelites traveling in the Queen of Sheba's entourage when she returned to her country to bring up her child by Solomon. Large groups arrived before the destruction of the First Temple and others came afterward. Since the Jews of Yemen ignored Ezra's call to immigrate to Ereẓ Israel, he cursed them; they repaid him by refusing to name their sons Ezra. It may be assumed that Jews reached south Arabia at the latest during the reigns of Ḥimyar, i.e., in the first century B.C.E., some for reasons of trade, others with the legions of Aelius Gallus (25 B.C.E.). Although incontrovertible evidence exists from the early fourth century C.E. at the latest, it serves as a definite proof of the existence of Jewish communities in south Yemen for many decades and even centuries beforehand.

The excavations in 1936 of the central cemetery in *Bet Sheʿarim (near Haifa) of Jews from Ereẓ Israel and the Diaspora from the amoraic period, revealed a series of graves of "the people of Ḥimyar." According to a Greek inscription in one of the chambers, Ḥimyar was the name of south Arabia in the classical world of that time. In another room a Ḥimyarite monogram was drawn, reading: "Menahem the Ḥimyarite Qawl" (classical Ar. Qayl), "the head of a south Arabian tribe." In the same room, the Greek inscription *Menaē presbyteros* (i.e., "Menahem, elder of the community,") was discovered. Whether bodies buried in the Ḥimyarite graves in Bet Sheʿarim were brought from south Arabia or from one of the settlements established by these Jews in northern Arabia, Transjordan, or the Negev is of secondary importance from the point of view of the antiquity of the Jewish community in south Arabia. In any case it is clear that they originated from south Arabia: there is no reason to conjecture that immediately after their arrival in south Arabia the Jews began to wander north to establish settlements. It may be assumed that their settlement there preceded the dates on the graves in Bet Sheʿarim by at least one to two hundred years.

According to Philostorgios, the fourth-century author of a history of the Christian church, the Byzantine emperor Constantine sent Theophilus to south Arabia in the middle of the fourth century to bring Christianity to its inhabitants. Theophilus built two churches, one in Ẓafār and one in Aden, but he did not succeed in converting either the Ḥimyarites or their king. The Jews in the country then conducted propaganda against the Christian missionaries. Theodor Lector states that Christianity gained no converts in Ḥimyar until as late as the reign of the Byzantine emperor Anastasius (491–518), and in fact the majority of the monotheistic inscriptions discovered in Ḥimyar attest to Jewish influence; and only two or three of the latest ones, the work of Ethiopian-Christians (Copts), are of a Christian type. Several of the monotheistic inscriptions were placed there by the kings of Ḥimyar and hence it was concluded that they were converts to Judaism. In other inscriptions the following phrase figures: "The *Raḥmān* ["Merciful One"] who is in the heavens, and Israel and their God, the lord of Judah." One of the tombstone inscriptions includes the characteristically Jewish name Meir (CIS, vol. 4, no. 543).

The last independent king of Ḥimyar, Yūsuf Musuf Asʿar – known by his epithet Dhu Nuwās – was converted to Judaism and waged a prolonged war against his Ethiopian enemies. The Christian communities in Ẓafār and Najrān acted as an Ethiopian fifth column; when Dhu Nuwās was defeated and fell in battle in 525, the country came under Ethiopian rule. At first a native Christian viceroy was appointed, but later a viceroy was sent from Ethiopia. The Jewish community suffered hardship until the Persian conquest of south Arabia in 575. The Jews then prospered and were able to maintain contact with their brethren in Babylonia. In 628 Ḥimyar turned Muslim. In one of his letters to Yemen, Muhammad warned that it is forbidden to force a Jew or a Christian to accept Islam. The spurious will of Muhammad partly enforced in Ḥijāz by the caliph Omar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb (see above) did not include the Jews of Yemen although it severely affected the Christians in Najrān. However, it seems that at that time many of the converts to Judaism of south Arabian origin accepted Islam, and apparently more than a few Jews who were descendants of the exiles. Noteworthy among the converts to Islam are *Kaʿb al-Aḥbār, a contemporary of Omar, and later *Wahb ibn Munabbih.

From Omar's reign on, south Arabian Jewry was not mentioned for several hundred years. Neither Jews nor Christians were permitted to live in Ḥijāz until the discovery of oil in Saudi Arabia in the 20th century. At that time the prohibition against Christians employed in the oil fields was lifted, though it remained in force for Jews.

[Haïm Z'ew Hirschberg]

Modern Period

In 1948, about 54,000 Jews lived in hundreds of small communities in the southern Arabian Peninsula, most of them in Yemen. There were also communities in the British colony of Aden, the Aden Protectorate (including Hadramaut), *Bahrain, Saudi Arabia, and Kuwait. In 1949, 154 Jews gathered in the Najran area in southern Saudi Arabia, near the Yemeni border, and moved to Israel within a year. Kuwait's Jewish population of several dozen was expelled in 1948 and Jews were prohibited to enter the country. In 1968 there were a few hundred Jews left in the entire peninsula area. For Jewish settlements in other areas of Arabia, see by name of area; for relations with Israel, see *Saudi Arabia.

[Hayyim J. Cohen]

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ARABIC LANGUAGE. According to the generally accepted division of the *Semitic languages, Arabic (also called, more appropriately, North Arabic) belongs to the southwest Semitic branch, although some scholars affiliate it with central Semitic. The affinity between Arabic and Hebrew (which belongs to the northwest Semitic branch) is conspicuous and finds its reflection also in the genealogical tables of the Bible.

Old Arabic (Early Arabic)

Though the Arabs are mentioned in early non-Arabic sources, very little is known of the early Arabic language. While many inscriptions from an earlier period are extant, their limited content conveys only a partial picture of their language. In their epigraphy these inscriptions, mostly graffiti, apparently represent different byforms of the South Arabian alphabet. Their language, however, called Early Arabic, is North Arabic, prima facie differing only slightly from classical Arabic. Yet the method of elucidating them by reference to the Arabic lexicon may make them appear more similar to classical Arabic than they really are. These inscriptions fall into three divisions: the *Thamūdic*, the *Lihyānite*, and the *Ṣafāitic*.

Talmudic literature presents a number of Arabic glosses, *viz.*, statements about the names of various objects in Arabic; most of them written by the Palestinian *amora* Levi b. Laḥma of the third century C.E. Only a part of them, however, can be explained by Arabic; the others belong to Aramaic, which at this period already influenced the Arabic lexicon, and may represent Aramaic loanwords in Arabic.

Classical Arabic

UP TO THE CREATION OF THE ARAB EMPIRE (632 C.E.). The Arabs of the pre-Islamic period, a thinly scattered population in the wide areas of the Arabian Peninsula, no doubt spoke different dialects, as can be deduced from Arabic sources. There is not sufficient evidence for solving the problem as to whether classical Arabic emerged as the language of a particular tribe or was from the beginning an intertribal tongue. The earliest evidence, from the end of the fifth century C.E., shows that classical Arabic was already a supratribal language. Moreover, the differences between the tribal dialects or even between classical Arabic and the tribal vernaculars must not be overestimated. Typologically, it seems they were closely akin, all of them being languages of the synthetic type, tending to express several concepts in a single word, and possessing similar systems of declension and conjugation, so that it was relatively easy to switch from one dialect to another. Nor, presumably, was the speech of the Jews in pre-Islamic Arabic very different. Jewish pre-Islamic poetry, at any rate, did

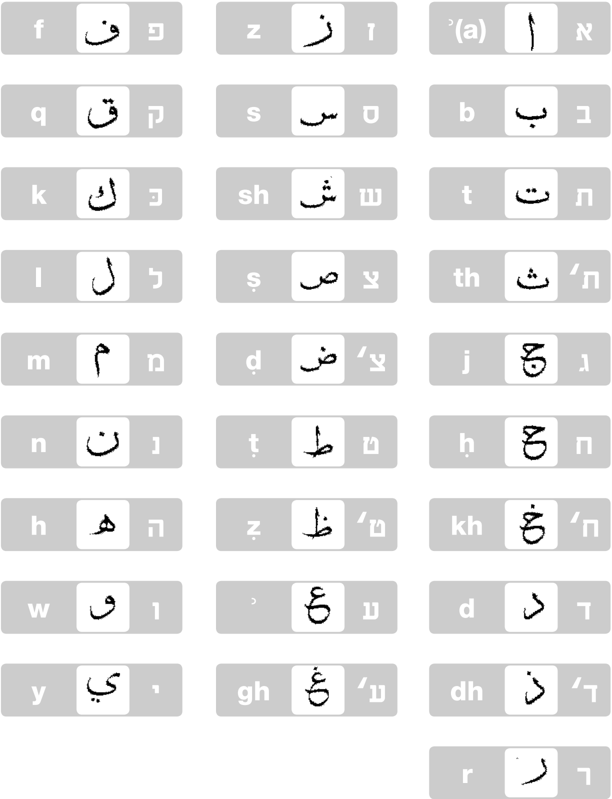

English	Arabic	Hebrew
ʾ(a)	أ	א
b	ب	ב
t	ت	ת
th	ث	ת׳
j	ج	ג
ḥ	ح	ח
kh	خ	ח׳
d	د	ד
dh	ذ	ד׳
r	ر	ר
z	ز	ז
s	س	ס
sh	ش	ש
ṣ	ص	צ
ḍ	ض	צ׳
ṭ	ط	ט
ẓ	ظ	ט׳
ʿ	ع	ע
gh	غ	ע׳
f	ف	פ
q	ق	ק
k	ك	כ
l	ل	ל
m	م	מ
n	ن	נ
h	ه	ה
w	و	ו
y	ي	י

Arabic alphabet with Hebrew and English transliteration.

not differ from that of heathen contemporaries. Some scholars, however, claim that the more analytic Neo-Arabic lingual type, as characteristic of modern dialects, had already arisen in this period. Sources for the investigation of ancient classical Arabic are pre-Islamic poetry; narrative material, notably on war, as well as proverbial phrases; and the Koran.

The Arabs were almost completely isolated from outer influences, living in the Arabian Peninsula under the same primitive conditions as their ancestors. The absence of any upheaval that might have led to rapid changes accounts for the prima facie astonishing fact that Arabic, though appearing on the stage of history hundreds of years after Hebrew, has in some respects a more archaic character. Thus classical Arabic has preserved almost entirely the Old Semitic stock of phonemes, only *samekh* and *shin* having merged into *s*. As a rule, short vowels have been preserved in every position, including the final ones, which denoted the cases and moods, and the synthetic character of the language has been maintained. On the other hand, the morphology of Hebrew is in many respects more archaic than that of classical Arabic since in the latter, analogic rebuilding is in many aspects much more widespread. While in Hebrew many verbal forms seem to have been derived from roots containing two radical consonants, in Arabic, through analogy, most of the verbal forms are rebuilt according to the pattern of three-radical verbs. Nouns, too, frequently are transferred to the pattern of three-radical nouns, especially in the so-called broken plural. On the other hand, Arabic also preserved archaic features: the use of the dual is much wider than in Hebrew. The chief characteristic of Arabic syntax is the restriction of the large choice of Semitic constructions to a few standardized types, often limiting one construction to one special meaning.

AFTER THE CREATION OF THE ARAB EMPIRE. The creation of the Arab Empire had far-reaching consequences for the development of classical Arabic. In the towns of the new empire, analytic Neo-Arabic dialects soon emerged. Nevertheless, classical Arabic remained the ideal of the Arab society. Since classical Arabic was used in conversation in high society until the beginning of the tenth century, it soon became necessary for the urban population to train themselves in the classical language, and thus an impetus for the beginnings of grammatical studies was given. As a result, the philologists of Basra and Kufa standardized classical Arabic.

Nevertheless, the new Islamic culture with its new scope of ideals changed even classical Arabic. Though the literature, so far as it dealt with pre-Islamic topics, remained unchanged, the language of the classical secular prose writers of the early Abbasid period is different. Its vocabulary avoids the plethora of special Bedouin words, and instead uses general designations, adding the special characteristic by way of circumlocution. In syntax, the new style avoids exclamations and parataxis, instead developing the tendency already found in pre-Islamic Arabic to limit one type of expression to one sense. Through this restriction the Arabic sentence structure becomes admirably accurate and capable of expressing the most complicated range of ideas concisely.

With the lowering of the standard of education and the changes that affected the Bedouin tribes, who were no longer regarded as the best representatives of Arabic speech, classical Arabic ceased to be used in high society conversation after the beginning of the tenth century. From the mid-13th century, after the Mongol invasion and the establishment of Mamluk Egypt, the impact of Middle Arabic, including its Neo-Arabic layer, on literary language increased, and from the 14th century a period of stagnation and decay began, which lasted until the beginning of the 19th century.

NEO-ARABIC, MIDDLE ARABIC AND JUDEO-ARABIC. Neo-Arabic arose as the linguistic consequence of the Arab conquests of the seventh century C.E. As a result of the changes of place and culture and the influence of the indigenous population, this new language type arose in towns as early as 700 C.E.

The language of texts in which classical and post-classical features alternate with Neo-Arabic elements, as well as with pseudocorrections including hypercorrections and hypocorrections, is called Middle Arabic. The study of Neo-Arabic as contained in Middle Arabic texts cannot exclusively be based on documents of Muslim provenance. The tremendous influence which classical Arabic as an ideal exerted, as it still does, on Muslim authors meant that their writings did not, until a relatively late date, reflect decisive changes in the character of the language to any marked degree (with the sole exception of early papyri). Consequently, investigation has to concentrate upon the religious minorities of the Arab Empire, who were less devoted to the ideal of classical Arabic than the Muslims. Accordingly, the sources of Neo-Arabic proper are (a) Judeo-Arabic, mainly from the second millennium C.E., written as a rule in Hebrew characters; texts written in phonetic spelling from the second half of the first millennium have been preserved. Jews often preferred writing Arabic rather than Hebrew, even when dealing with the most sacred matters of Judaism. Only poetry was written in Hebrew almost consistently. (b) Christian Arabic texts, especially from southern Palestine, preserved in the Monastery of St. Catherine in Sinai, including the only dated texts from as far back as the ninth century C.E. (c) Middle Arabic translators: As the most important translators were non-Muslims, their works exhibit Neo-Arabic peculiarities, though to a lesser degree.

The linguistic character of ancient Neo-Arabic clearly exhibits all the structural peculiarities that characterize modern Arabic dialects. Since ancient Neo-Arabic and the modern dialects are structurally closely akin, a very short description of the principal features of Judeo-Arabic as compared with classical Arabic may also serve as a summary of the main differences between classical Arabic and the Neo-Arabic as contained both in the other branches of Middle Arabic and the modern dialects (especially the sedentary vernaculars). These ancient Neo-Arabic features must be carefully deduced from Middle Arabic texts full of classical and pseudocorrect elements, since no texts written in pure Neo-Arabic are extant. Before the exploitation of these Middle Arabic texts, Neo-Arabic was only known from modern dialects. The reconstruction of early Neo-Arabic from Middle Arabic texts bridges the gap of more than one thousand years that separated the emergence of the Neo-Arabic lingual type from modern dialects.

Perhaps the most important event in the field of phonetics, an event which determined the very nature of Middle as contrasted with classical Arabic, was the change in the nature of the vowels, caused at least partly by the accent becoming strongly centralized: the vowels were weakened, thus becoming liable to change and elimination. Final short vowels disappeared (this being one, though not the sole, reason for the disappearance of cases and moods), and even in the interior of the word short vowels in open unstressed syllables have been elided. The phonemic structure of the vowels changed, at least in some dialects. Further, the quality of the short vowels has become variable. Diphthongs, it seems, have become simple vowels. In the sphere of the consonants the most important change is the weakening and disappearance of the glottal stop. A great number of assimilations occur and whole words are pronounced in *tafkhīm* (velarized) or *tarqīq* (non-velarized).

As to the linguistic structure of Judeo-Arabic, so far as such different and intricate features may be reduced to a common denominator, the most conspicuous deviation from classical Arabic was that Neo-Arabic detached itself from the synthetic type and approached the analytic type, which generally indicates one concept by one word. The most striking outward sign of this phenomenon is the disappearance of the mood and case endings. The place of the lost flexion is taken by new features: as is general in analytic languages, the subject tends to precede the verb, the direct object to follow it. The verb agrees even with its following subject, thus making distinction between subject and direct object possible (if they are of different gender or number). Apparently under the influence of Aramaic, the direct object is often indicated by *li* and sometimes also referred to by an anticipative pronominal suffix. A further analytic feature is the partial discarding of *status constructus*, while in order to indicate a similar relation not only prepositions, but sometimes also *mataʿ*, *bataʿ* are used. *Status constructus* has greatly changed: two nouns in *status constructus* may govern one noun, the *nomen regens* in the dual or sound masculine plural preserves its *nūn*, thus becoming identical with the *status absolutus*, and words which in classical Arabic as a rule occur in *status constructus* are to be met with in *status absolutus*. The differences between *an, anna* ("that"), and *inna* ("behold") have been blurred, and each may occur in syntactical positions proper, according to classical usage, to the others. The *b*-imperfect is rather rare, although it may be found in some early texts. The dual is often replaced by the plural, and the relative pronoun *alladhī* has become invariable (in many cases apparently being a "classical" spelling for vernacular *illī*, which, however, is very rare in Middle Arabic texts). The differences between relative clauses after determinate and indeterminate antecedents, strictly maintained in classical Arabic, are sometimes blurred. Asyndetic clauses occur in every syntactic environment, both in coordination, especially after verbs indicating movement, and in subordination, particularly in object clauses. Indirect questions often take the form of conditional clauses (as in Hebrew and English). The most frequent negation is *mā*, occurring much more often than in classical Arabic. The feminine plural is widely replaced by the masculine, and the passive, formed in classical Arabic by internal vowel change, by reflexive verbal forms. The most far-reaching changes have affected the numerals. Moreover, the fixed and accurate style of classical Arabic is largely replaced by an inconstant and careless language.

Despite the basic linguistic similarity of Judeo-Arabic and other branches of Middle Arabic, there were important differences between them, though mostly not linguistic distinctions proper: Jews, as a rule, wrote Arabic in Hebrew characters, dealt almost exclusively with Jewish topics, and made use of Hebrew (and Aramaic) phrases, thus making their literature virtually unintelligible to Gentiles. One has the feeling that Jews themselves regarded Judeo-Arabic as distinct from other forms of Middle Arabic, as one may infer from special literary traditions in Judeo-Arabic literature.

Modern Literary Arabic

The history of modern literary Arabic, like the modern history of the Arabs, begins with the expedition of Napoleon to Egypt in 1798. The problems confronting Arabic were even greater than those of ordinary living languages facing Westernization. In some respects, classical Arabic had a status comparable to that of Hebrew before its revival in Israel (see *Hebrew Language): both were artificial languages of time-honored civilizations, in which religion occupied a central position. The difficulties which Hebrew had to overcome, were, it is true, even greater than those facing Arabic. Classical Arabic was the language of a coherent population, speaking dialects which, though differing from each other, and all exhibiting a structure different from that of classical Arabic, were nevertheless related to each other and with classical Arabic, and felt as such. By contrast, Hebrew was used by Jews scattered all over the world. On the other hand, since the revival of Hebrew in Ereẓ Israel, the status of Hebrew has become almost "normal" and the Jewish population of Israel is becoming increasingly unilingual. The only important trait distinguishing it from "normal" languages is that it is "open" to a certain degree to classical Hebrew. With the adaptation of classical Arabic to the demands of Western culture, the position of modern literary Arabic has been much less normalized. Its relation to its classical predecessor is, to be sure, similar to that of modern Hebrew to classical Hebrew: modern literary Arabic is open to classical Arabic. The language situation of Arabic, however, is complicated by the existence of the dialects. Whereas the Hebrew linguistic situation is characterized by dichotomy, modern Hebrew versus classical Hebrew, the Arabic linguistic structure is tripartitive at least, consisting of classical Arabic, modern literary Arabic, and the dialects.

The guiding idea of the whole Arabic language movement was the dogma of classical Arabic being the highest authority for linguistic correctness. Later, the emergence of Arabic nationalism conveyed to it additional significance: it was no longer merely a monument of the glorious past, but also the tie binding the Arabs in their various countries into one unit.

The Arabic Dialects

Arabic dialects are spoken by approximately 100 million people. The basic structure of the Arabic dialects, especially of the sedentary vernaculars, is identical with that of ancient Neo-Arabic. The main difficulty of classifying the dialects arises from the necessity of basing classification on both sociological and geographical criteria, though these overlap. According to sociological criteria, the Arabic dialects fall into Bedouin and sedentary vernaculars. According to geographical criteria, the following divisions emerge:

(1) Saudi Arabia, the Syro-Iraqi-Jordanian Gulf;
(2) South Arabic: Yemen, Oman, and Zanzibar;
(3) Iraq;
(4) Syria-Lebanon-Israel-Jordan;
(5) Egypt (excluding Alexandria and certain parts of the population of the Delta, which belong to the Maghrebine dialects);
(6) Sudan and Central Africa; and
(7) Maghrebine Dialects, including Malta. The characteristic of this dialect group is the use of *nqtl* and *nqtlu* for the first person singular and plural respectively of the imperfect.

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[Joshua Blau]

ARAB LEAGUE, league of Arab states comprising 22 members. The League was founded in March 1945 in Cairo as a regional organization by the then seven independent or almost independent Arab states (Egypt, Iraq, Transjordan, Syria, Lebanon, Saudi Arabia, and Yemen). Its foundation was a result of two conflicting processes. One was the Pan-Arab ideal, which had gained immense popularity since the 1920s and called for political unity of all Arabic-speaking peoples. The second was the formation and perpetuation of the state system (a "Westphalian order") in the Middle East and the struggle for regional hegemony among these states. Thus, despite the fact that Arab nationalism was the ideological force behind the process that led to the establishment of the League, in practice the League sanctified the existence and sovereignty of the Arab states. Hence, the term "Arab unity" was not even mentioned within the League's charter and decisions did not have binding force among the League's members. It reflected the fact that member-states had conflicting interests which impaired their ability to cooperate politically within the framework of the Arab League and forced them to find the lowest common denominator as grounds for cooperation.

At first the League enjoyed respect. Yet with time and as a result of its inability to coordinate any serious pan-Arab action, it gradually lost prestige. From 1964 the League served as an organizational framework for Arab summit meetings. Although the Council of the Arab League, headed by the member-states' foreign ministers, was scheduled to meet twice a year, Arab summit meetings were irregular and dependent on the problems of the day.

Since its foundation, the League has made Palestine and the Arab-Israeli conflict its most important axis of engagement. The Charter of the League contains a special appendix relating to Palestine, committing its members to support the Palestinians in their national struggle for independence. The League was also involved in coordinating the Arab front in the 1948 war. The Arab defeat in that war symbolized the poor performance of the League and the inability of the Arab states to cooperate successfully even for the Palestinian cause. Palestine remained the most important issue on the League's agenda. Nevertheless, the League was never able to translate its preoccupation with this subject into an effective political agenda.

The attitude of the Arab League towards the Palestinian problem and Israel reflected the changes these two related issues underwent. Until the 1970s the League officially did not recognize the State of Israel and advocated the resolution of the Palestinian problem only within the context of Israel's annihilation. Yet, after the 1967 war and the gradual change in the dynamics of the conflict that led to a slow implicit recognition of Israel, the League started to change its tone as well. Thus, when Egypt signed a peace treaty with Israel in 1979, the League's headquarters were moved from Cairo to Tunisia, and Egypt was stripped of its membership. Yet gradually the League's members reestablished their ties with Egypt and by 1990 the League's headquarters returned to their original location. In addition, the League's official declarations, as manifested in the 2002 Beirut summit, even offered an official Arab peace plan which recognized Israel within its pre-1967 borders in exchange for the establishment of a Palestinian state and a solution to the refugee problem based on UN Resolution 194.

The May 2004 Tunis Arab summit reflected the challenges the League's member-states faced after the American occupation of Iraq. The summit's resolutions reiterated the call for a comprehensive Israeli-Arab peace based on the 1967 borders. They also called for amending the League's charter to improve its effectiveness and to conduct internal political reforms in each state based on universal democratic values. Although the wording of these resolutions was promising, in reality they did not produce major changes either in the League's structure or in the political systems of its member-states.

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[Asher Kaufman (2nd ed.)]

ARAB WORLD, 1945–2006. The Arab world is divided into four subregions: the Maghreb (*Morocco, *Tunisia, *Algeria, *Libya, Mauritania), the Nile Valley (*Egypt and Sudan), the Fertile Crescent (*Syria, *Lebanon, *Iraq, *Jordan, and the *Palestinian Authority), and the Arabian Peninsula (*Saudi Arabia, *Yemen, *Kuwait, Qatar, Bahrain, Oman, and the United Arab Emirates). Between 1932 and 1971 these countries became independent nation-states, with the exception of the *Palestinian Authority.

The Maghreb was largely made up of Sunni Arab and *Berber Muslims. Until its independence from European colonialism, aside from a large European settlement (French, Italian, and Spanish), it had sizeable Jewish communities. Morocco gained independence from France and Spain in 1956; Tunisia from France in 1956; Algeria from France in 1962; Libya from Britain in 1951; and Mauritania from France in 1960. Algeria emerged as a presidential republic in 1962, while Tunisia, ruled since 1705 by the Husaynid beylicate, became a republic in 1957. Libya became a monarchy under the Sanusi dynasty in the 1950s and a republic in 1969. Governed by successive military regimes since the 1960s, Mauritania, in the 21st century, is undergoing a process of democratization. Morocco continues to be a monarchy under the Sharifian Alawite dynasty. Authority is vested in the king along with a constitutional government headed by a prime minister and a legislative parliament. The Maghreb's population includes 32 million Algerians; 31 million Moroccans; 8.5 million Tunisians; 4 million Libyans; and 2 million Mauritanians.

Egypt of the post-1945 period comprised a relatively homogeneous population with a Sunni Muslim majority and a sizable Christian Coptic minority estimated at approximately six percent of the total population. The small religious and foreign national minorities, including Jews, Armenians, Italians, British subjects, Syrian Christians, and Greeks departed from the scene during the 1950s and 1960s in the aftermath of Britain's departure. The political system in Egypt until the July 23, 1952, Revolution consisted of a hereditary monarchy (House of Muhammad Ali), a constitutional government, and a parliament. Following the 1952 Revolution, Egypt became a republic (1953) and a one-party state headed by Gamal Abdel *Nasser, the latter having become president in 1956. After Nasser's death (1970), under the presidency of Anwar al-*Sadat (1970–81) and Husni *Mubarak (from 1981), steps were taken to partially democratize the political system, revive the pre-1952 multi-party system, permit the activity of non-governmental organizations, and diversify the press and electronic media. The population grew from 19 million in the 1940s to 70 million in 2005.

Sudan has more than 50 ethnic groups subdivided into at least 500 tribes. While southern Sudan is Christian and pagan black, the main group in the north are Muslims. Nearly half of the population identifies itself as Arab, generally meaning peoples who speak Arabic and reflect its cultural heritage. Half the population speaks Arabic as its native language. Sudan's total population in 2000 was 40 million. The country gained its independence in 1956 after the British and Egyptians had dominated the country for some 57 years. It has been a republic ruled mostly by the army. Since 1989, the military in coalition with Islamist elements have been in control. Sudan has been plagued by civil wars fought between the Muslim north and the Christian south. In January 2005 an agreement was reached to halt the violence.

The Fertile Crescent includes Syria, Lebanon, Iraq, the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, and the Palestinian Authority. The combined population of these entities in 2000 was about 45 million. The populations are heterogeneous. With 13 million, Syria is made up of an Arab Sunni majority, different Shiite minorities, the Druze, Christians, and, until recent years, Jews. After independence from the French in 1946, Syria was a republic initially governed by a nationalist bloc. Its leaders were replaced in 1949 by army officers in reaction to the military defeat in the 1948 war against Israel. The traditional politicians returned to power following elections in 1954, but four years later political life in Syria was again dominated by the military and the Syrian-Egyptian Union (United Arab Republic). In the aftermath of the Union's collapse in 1961, the military remained in control of the country. The rise of the leftist nationalist Baʿth (Renaissance) Party in a military-civilian coalition in 1963, to be followed, after another military coup d'état in 1966, by a yet more radical wing of the same political party controlled by the Alawi minority, only solidified the dominance of the army.

Lebanon, a constitutional republic with a population of three million, won its independence from France in 1943. The population is diverse with a large Shiite community (the single largest group), an important Sunni element, several Christian communities, and the Druze. Until the 1970s, a Jewish community existed. The president of the republic is traditionally a Maronite Christian, the prime minister a Sunni, and the speaker of the Parliament a Shiite.

Iraq, with 20 million people, also enjoys population diversity with a substantial Shiite majority (60 percent), though dominated politically by Arab Sunni Muslims until 2003. It won independence from Britain in 1932 and was ruled by the Hashemite monarchy. The latter was removed from power in July 1958 by a group of army officers who transformed Iraq into a republic. Until 2003, the republic's political leadership was vested in the hands of successive administrations propped up by military men belonging mostly to the Sunni Arab minority. This subsequently changed, when the Shiites emerged as the dominant force in local politics after the overthrow of Saddam Hussein's regime by U.S. and western coalition forces. Less than 20 percent are Sunni Arabs; another 20 percent are Sunni Kurds. The Kurds are not Arabs and speak Kurdish. Small minorities include Assyrian Christians, Turkic elements, Marsh Arabs, and a few Jews.

The Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan's population of four million lives largely in the fertile highlands of the *Transjordan Plateau and the Jordan Valley. About 50 percent of the people are Jordanian Sunni Muslim Arabs originating from the land east of the Jordan River. Most of the rest had their roots in *Palestine. Many arrived as refugees during the 1948 war or in the aftermath of the Six-Day War of 1967. In terms of minorities, five percent are Arab Christians, mostly Greek Orthodox. Other ethnic minority groups are even smaller, mainly Armenian Christians and Circassian Muslims.

The Palestinian Authority (PA) was created in the summer of 1994 following the Oslo Declaration of Principles (1993) and the subsequent implementation of the Oslo peace accords. Dominated by the *Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) and the *Fatah*, until the January 2006 *Hamas parliamentary election victory, the Palestinian Authority governs the towns on the West Bank of the Jordan River, many of the villages surrounding these towns, and *Gaza. The majority of the people are Sunnis.

The Arabian Peninsula countries emerged around family power centers and Western-protected interests. State capabilities have developed in conjunction with oil wealth and the involvement of Western powers. Saudi Arabia, a hereditary monarchy since the mid-1920s, is governed according to the *Shariʿa* (Islamic Law). Its population at the beginning of the 21st century exceeded 25 million. Yemen, with a population of 20 million, gained its independence in 1918 from the crumbling Ottoman Empire. It was governed by a monarchy until its overthrow in September 1962. In 1967, after a five-year civil war, in which Egypt committed troops to prop up the Republican anti-monarchic forces, two separate Yemeni entities emerged: the Yemen Arab Republic; and the Marxist-dominated People's Democratic Republic of Yemen (PDRY). It was only in 1990 that both Yemens merged once again into one nation as the Republic of Yemen. The population in the nominally constitutional monarchy of Kuwait consisted of 2.2 million in 2004, 85 percent of which are Sunni Arab, 30 percent Shiite Arab, while the rest are Hindus and Christians. Qatar, a traditional monarchy, had a population of some 850,000 in 2004, consisting of 40 percent Sunni Arabs, 18 percent Pakistanis, 18 percent Indians, 10 percent Shiite Iranians, and 14 percent classified as "others." Ninety-five percent of the people of Qatar are Sunnis. Bahrain, a constitutional hereditary monarchy, had a population of approximately 680,000 in 2004 that included local Bahraini Arabs, Asians, and Iranians. Seventy percent of the population are Shiite and 30 percent are Sunnis. The Sultanate of Oman had a population of 2.9 million in 2004, made up of Arabs, Beluchis, South Asians, and Africans. Omanis are mostly Sunni with small Shiite and Hindu minorities. The United Arab Emirates (UAE), inhabited by 2.4 million in 2004, is governed by a local hereditary sultanate. Its population consists of 61 percent Sunni Arabs, 22 percent South Asian Muslims and Hindus, and the rest mostly Iranian Shiites.

Inter-Arab Political Rivalries and Efforts toward Unity: 1945–1963

Since 1945, popular political sentiment in the Arab world has been dominated by urgent appeals for Arab unity under the trauma of the military defeat in Palestine, the establishment of the State of Israel, and the exodus of the Palestinian refugees and their resettlement in Arab states. One major manifestation of unity was to be achieved through the creation – with British support – of the League of Arab States (*Arab League) in March 1945. With the exception of the years 1979–90, League headquarters were in Cairo. Sixty years later the League was composed of 22 independent Arab states; Palestine was included as an independent entity. Its multipurpose functions were to strengthen relations between member-states; enhance member-state cooperation and the preservation of Arab sovereignty in the post-colonial era; and promote general Arab interests. The League promotes economic, social, military, and development cooperation among its members. It has been united in its support for Palestine vis-à-vis Israel, though deep divisions existed as to how to deal with Israel. Moreover, all talks of Arab unity and the notion of Pan-Arabism did not translate into reality over many decades. Relations between governments and parties have been dominated by bitter rivalry. Well into the 1960s the idea of Pan-Arabism was inextricably bound up with two concepts: anti-colonialism and revolutionary socialism – the two often overlapping.

Between 1945 and the mid-1950s, the center of the contest for influence in the Arab world was Syria while the main protagonists were Iraq and Egypt. The Arabian Peninsula, the Persian Gulf, and the Maghreb were then either on the margins of Arab affairs, or were still under foreign domination. This competition for power began well before the Egyptian revolution of July 23, 1952, with the decline of European colonialism, and had little to do with ideology. It was geopolitical in nature. With the termination of French domination, Syria had become free to choose her alignment within the Arab world, and other Arab states were free to try and influence her. For sentimental reasons and out of dynastic ambition, as well as the desire to promote Iraqi leadership among the Arabs, the principal Iraqi leaders, the regent, Prince Abdallah, and the powerful prime minister, Nuri al-Saʿid, sought repeatedly to bring about either a Syrian-Iraqi union under the Hashemite monarchy, or at the very least a close alliance. The Egyptians steadfastly opposed them.

Syria was easy prey for the Egyptians and Iraqis, for it lacked political stability from the late 1940s, following the first Arab-Israeli war, and well into the 1950s. A series of domestic and international crises during this period provided the occasions for efforts in and out of Syria to push the country in one direction or the other. A staple ingredient in this process was the chronic involvement of the Syrian army in politics, beginning with three consecutive military coups in 1949. Further coups occurred in the early 1950s. At other times, between 1954 and 1957, military cliques among army officers espousing diverse nationalist ideologies intervened in the affairs of state or carried on struggles against each other to determine which would more successfully manipulate the civilian politicians. At the same time, competing politicians cultivated friends in the army and occasionally encouraged military intervention in support of their own factional interests.

A dominant factor that affected Syria, but equally or more so the domestic and regional politics of the rest of the Fertile Crescent and Egypt, was the effort by Britain and the U.S. to bolster their strategic interests in the Middle East through defense treaties. This was part and parcel of West European and American efforts to block Soviet expansion into the region. Although each of these efforts failed, it exacerbated anti-Western sentiments. In 1951 came the proposal for a combined British, French, American, Turkish, and Egyptian Middle East Defense Organization (MEDO), into which Syria, Iraq, and others would presumably be drawn. The plan came to naught when the Egyptian government rejected it. Four years later, in 1955, Britain, Iraq, *Turkey, *Iran, and *Pakistan created the Baghdad Pact for the purpose of regional defense. Israel was not invited to join the Pact: The British and the Americans did not wish to alienate Iraq since it was impossible for the latter to go along with such an invitation, for this would have meant recognizing the Jewish State. The chief British interest in the Pact was to provide a substitute for the expiring Anglo-Iraqi treaty. The Iraqi authorities were eager to renew their British ties, but they faced the prospect of isolation within the Arab League and condemnation by Arab opinion unless other Arab partners could be brought in. Egypt refused to join the Pact from the outset, claiming to spearhead the notion of non-alignment in the Cold War. Egyptian leader Gamal Abdel Nasser believed that the Pact meant to challenge his leadership in the Arab arena and not thwart Soviet ambitions in the region. Moreover, once it became apparent that the U.S. would not sell fighter planes, heavy artillery, tanks, and light weapons to the Egyptians, Nasser deviated from his non-aligned policy and signed an arms deal with the Soviet Bloc in September 1955. This move weakened the Western strategy of forging defense alliances with Arab states and opened the door to deeper Soviet involvement in the Middle East.

Relentless pressure from the Nasserist regime in Cairo on the Syrians and Jordanians to refrain from joining the Baghdad Pact left Iraq the only Arab country that joined it along with pro-Western Pakistan, Iran, and Turkey. The Sinai-Suez expedition of October-November 1956, when Britain, France, and Israel attacked Egypt following Nasser's nationalization of the Suez Canal, and owing to his support for the Gaza-based Palestinian incursions (against Israel) as well as for the Algerian rebels (against France), reduced prospects for pro-Western defense arrangements with Syria and Jordan even further. The Eisenhower Doctrine of 1957, in which the U.S. declared that the need of the hour was to defend the Middle East against the aggression of "states controlled by international Communism," emerged as a futile attempt after the 1956 war to attract Arab states into the Western fold. The Lebanese, Jordanian, and Saudi governments allowed themselves to become open allies of the U.S. and condemned Cairo and Damascus for allegedly opening the door to the spread of Communism in the area. They were rewarded with American arms and money, but both they and their patrons paid the price of widespread protests. They paved the way for the armed insurrection that plunged Lebanon into anarchy beginning in May 1958 and the army coup that liquidated the Iraqi Hashemite monarchy two months later.

Though Syria did not witness in 1957–58 open unrest like its Lebanese, Jordanian, and Iraqi neighbors, there had been covert signs that both radical leftist and right-wing politicians were undermining its stability. Syria's problems were temporarily solved, or so it seemed at the time, by its union with Egypt in February 1958, in the new framework of the United Arab Republic (UAR). The initiators of the UAR were Egyptian President Gamal Abdel Nasser and the Syrian Baʿth Party. The latter was founded in 1947 by Salah al-Din Bitar and Michel ʿAflaq, two Paris-educated Syrian intellectuals who joined with Akram al-Hawrani, an astute politician who led the Syrian Socialist Party. Together they formed the Syrian Arab Socialist Baʿth Party. By the late 1950s, Baʿthist appeal was not confined to Syria; it branched into Lebanon, Jordan, and Iraq.

Although Nasser agreed to enter into the union with Syria, he laid down his conditions. The UAR should not be a federal but a centralized union. The military had to renounce further involvement in politics. All political parties were to be dissolved. Only the National Union, the sole political party in Egypt, was to serve as an umbrella for guiding the UAR. There were to be two parliaments: one in Cairo and another in Damascus, and one central government, in Cairo, headed by Nasser. These terms were accepted by the Syrian Baʿthists.

Nasser and the Baʿth supported state socialist programs. In Egypt, socialism evolved in the 1950s and early 1960s as a series of improvised programs rather than as an ideology. The military leaders had decreed agrarian, labor, educational, and other reforms in response to specific needs and generally in order to win public support for themselves. The first state incursions into the management of the industrial and commercial economy came as by-products of the international crisis of 1956: the regime found itself in control of the Suez Canal administration and a large number of enterprises sequestered from their British and French owners. In the wake of this experience, Nasser's regime developed a taste for state ownership. When the UAR was created, Nasser felt that state socialism needed to be implemented in Syria too.

Unlike Nasser's socialism, the Baʿth was a mixture of ardent Arab nationalism and Marxist doctrines. Like Nasser, the Baʿthists called for a united socialist Arab nation. The formation of the UAR reduced the pressures of Britain and the U.S. on Syrian domestic affairs. The subsequent Iraqi revolution of July 14, 1958, transforming the country into a military republic, considerably weakened Britain's position in the Fertile Crescent. The landing of American and British troops in Lebanon and Jordan, respectively, soon thereafter, to prevent the possible overthrow of the regimes in those countries, was the last major Western effort to play a vital role in inter-Arab politics for some time.

Once the union was set up, the centralization of Nasser's authority became a reality and the Baʿth soon played second fiddle to him. As time passed, they were further marginalized. Nasser relieved them of ministerial posts. Key Baʿth leaders – notably Akram al-Hawrani, Salah al-Din Bitar, Mustafa Hamdun, and Abd al-Ghani Qannut – resigned at the end of December 1959, thus ending Baʿth collaboration with Egypt. Power now passed in Syria to the pro-Egyptian chief of intelligence, Abd al-Hamid Sarraj.

Tensions gradually brewed within the UAR between Nasser and the Syrians, the latter increasingly resenting Cairo's aggressive meddling in their domestic affairs. Moreover, other Arab states shunned Cairo's efforts to join the union's bandwagon. Iraq, which seemed ripe to join it in the wake of the July 1958 revolution, not only shied away but in effect evinced hostility toward Nasser. The coalition of which the new regime was composed soon faced a struggle in which the Arab nationalists, including the Iraqi branch of the Baʿth Party, lost out to Communists and radical nationalists. The leading Iraqi pro-Nasser Arab nationalist, Colonel Abd al-Salam Arif, found himself in a Baghdad prison under a sentence of death. Nasser reacted and accused Abd al-Karim Qasim, Iraq's commander-in-chief and prime minister, as a traitor to Arab nationalism and a protégé of international Communism. From that time onwards, until February 1963, the situation settled into a tense cold war between Cairo and Baghdad. The problem for Cairo and Damascus was that Qasim was a revolutionary whose behavior defied conventional expectations. On the one hand, he failed to cooperate with the UAR in the march toward Arab unity; on the other hand, he emerged as a hero to the poverty-stricken dwellers of Baghdad.

Iraq's behavior toward Egypt was a slap in the face to Nasser but far worse was the collapse of the union with Syria. By then deep discontent and resentment permeated broad segments of Syria over Egypt's involvement in Syrian politics, economy, and society. On September 28, 1961, this prompted secessionist army officers to overthrow the pro-Egyptian political order and announce Syria's breakaway from the UAR. According to Cairo, the union had been stabbed in the back by Syria's wealthy class, which had been affected by the socialist legislation that Nasser had decreed in summer 1961. These "reactionaries" colluded with the imperialists and the Arab monarchs, then bribed and subverted an opportunistic clique of military officers in order that the *ancien régime* might be restored in Syria.

After the collapse of the union it seemed as if Nasser would attend solely to domestic goals in Egypt in order to enhance his socialist program and the new Arab Socialist Union (ASU), which replaced the previous one-party regime of the Nationalist Union. But Nasser did not detach himself from Arab politics. Egypt's relations with Syria, Saudi Arabia, and Jordan were suspended. No diplomatic ties were maintained between Cairo and Damascus until November 1966. On the other hand, the Yemeni revolution of September 1962 that toppled the Imamate resuscitated in the Egyptian regime a desire for a fresh involvement in a hitherto unknown war. Egypt felt obliged to be drawn into it in the role of the champion of revolutionary progress and committed thousands of troops toward achieving this aim. For their part, the Saudis and Jordanians felt compelled to support the Yemeni Royalists, out of dynastic solidarity. Egypt was thenceforth caught in the complex web of a protracted war (until 1967), facing the anger of a Saudi monarchy that was suspicious of Nasserist hegemonic aims in the Arabian Peninsula. Since the early or mid-1960s, King Faisal also contended that Nasser's agents and supporters had attempted to undermine Saudi monarchical institutions from within.

A major and bloody coup d'état, on February 8, 1963, eliminated Qasim and his regime, bringing to power the Iraqi branch of the Baʿth in a coalition with Nasserists. The Egyptians welcomed the downfall of Qasim, hoping that the new Baʿthi-Nasserite regime would demonstrate a commitment to Pan-Arab causes and to socialism. A month later a coup occurred in Syria. The Egyptians hoped that, unlike the secessionist government of 1961–63, the new government, based on a Baʿthi-Nasserist coalition backed by the army, would help revive Arab unity. Israel, which had benefited from the inter-Arab rivalries of 1961–62, watched the new developments with some anxiety.

Subsequent to the dramatic political changes in Baghdad and Damascus, Nasser hosted unity talks in Cairo between mid-March and mid-April 1963. When the issue of a new Arab union beginning with Egypt, Syria, and Iraq as the pilot experiment was deliberated, Nasser proposed that it be formed in two stages: first Egypt and Syria for a trial period of four months; and then, if successful, with Iraq as third partner. But the search for a unification formula of political leadership was unattainable. It boiled down to the issue of mistrust among leaders, particularly the deep mistrust of Egypt by the Syrian Baʿth. The latter remained bitter over its past experience with Nasser.

In mid-July 1963, the Syrian Baʿth expelled the Nasserists from the government; four months later the Nasserists in Iraq, led by Colonel Abd al-Salam Arif, removed the Baʿthists. The Arab cold war among radical regimes wreaked havoc to the cause of Arab unity and rendered efforts toward a new Arab union obsolete. At the end of 1963 more Arab states were at each other's throats than ever before. Egypt and Saudi Arabia were locked in a struggle for the future of Yemen, where 40,000 Egyptian troops had failed to win a final victory for the republican revolution. Nasser had seized on the revolution in Yemen in September 1962 as an opportunity to break out of his isolation in the wake of Syria's secession from the UAR and regain the initiative in Arab affairs for Egypt on the basis of revolutionary leadership. The struggle with the Yemeni Royalist forces, backed by Saudi Arabia, was soon deadlocked. The longer the Egyptian army remained in Yemen, and the more the Egyptian commitment to consolidate the Yemeni revolution was reiterated, the more difficult it became to disengage. Meanwhile Algeria under the presidency of Ahmad Ben Bella and the regime of the Front de Libération Nationale (FLN) had been involved with Morocco over a border dispute (October 1963) and had another dispute with Tunisia. Tunisia and Morocco had been cool to each other ever since Tunisia had recognized the independence of Mauritania. Moreover, Tunisian President Habib Bourguiba attacked Nasser's Pan-Arab policies. Egypt was hostile to Jordan, and Syria deemed it to be unfriendly to both Jordan and to Morocco. These quarrels pitted revolutionary against conservative or moderate regimes. It left the Arab League ever more powerless.

Toward the end of 1963, at the zenith of Arab disunity, a sudden, albeit temporary, relaxation occurred. The catalyst on this occasion was Israel, which was approaching the completion of its project to divert the waters of the Jordan River for its own needs. Any act by Israel to divert these waters was considered by all Arab states as an act of aggression. Syria seized upon the Israeli initiative to awaken sentiments of Arab unity. Yet nothing materialized from the gestures of solidarity expressed by both conservative and radical Arabs. The disinclination of Egypt and Syria to go to war over Israel's water diversion schemes encouraged the Jewish state to resume its policies.

The Arab Arena: 1964–1970

The year 1964 was a turning point in inter-Arab politics. Added to the role of the Arab League as an all-Arab forum for coordinating economic, social, political, and military endeavors, the Arab states with Egypt at the helm established the Arab Summit Conference. It was meant to iron out differences and solve serious problems in a more efficient way than the League meetings could achieve. The first Arab summit in this spirit was held in Cairo in January. The key issues on its agenda were a negotiated compromise settlement in Yemen after Egypt committed troops and military hardware there and the creation of the *Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO).

As for the first issue, immediate success was achieved. For Nasser, Yemen was not merely a symbol of "revolutionary inevitability" but a foothold in the Peninsula, strategically bordering on both the British-protected South Arabian Federation and the Saudi Kingdom. It was only in August 1965 that Egypt backed down from total commitment to Yemen after Nasser had reluctantly signed an agreement in Jidda, Saudi Arabia, with Saudi King Faisal. The agreement stipulated that the two Yemeni sides – Royalists and Republicans – would convene at the end of the year to arrange for the formation of a mutually acceptable provisional government. The Egyptians and Saudis were to supervise a truce between the two Yemeni forces. But the arrangement did not work out and the Egyptian army remained in the area until 1967. In agreement with the Saudis, and six months after the June 1967 Arab-Israeli war, Egypt withdrew all of its troops and other personnel from Yemen. The Royalists lost out in the end and the Yemen Arab Republic emerged. In 1967, as Nasser was withdrawing his troops from the new Yemeni republic, a second Yemeni republic was established in the former Protectorate of Aden: the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen (PDRY). Once the Egyptians were gone the Saudis were less concerned with the type of regimes in the two Yemens.

As for the PLO and the decision to enable it to create a military unit of its own, most Arab leaders offered their support but with little enthusiasm. They regarded the PLO cynically as a device to enable them to leave the task of confronting Israel to the Palestinians and thereby avoid bearing this responsibility themselves. Even an avid supporter of Palestinian resistance like Nasser believed that tight surveillance had to be imposed on the activity of the PLO throughout the region. Once the PLO was formed, King Hussein's main worries centered on the potential challenges the new organization would pose to the sovereignty of the Jordanian state, almost two-thirds of whose population was Palestinian and whose frontier with Israel was long and difficult to patrol. It was clear that, of all Arab states, Jordan would emerge as the center for PLO activities. In fact, the secret ties forged between the Jordanian king and Israel after 1964 and his meetings with key Israeli diplomats in London were largely related to this mutual concern. Hussein's worries were justified in the course of 1964–65. PLO leader Ahmad Shukeiri expected Jordan to approve the collection of special taxes in the country in order to finance the organization's military activities against Israel. Shukeiri also sought to conscript Jordanian Palestinians into the new Palestine Liberation Army (PLA) and to distribute arms to border villagers.

If tensions arose over Yemen and the status of the PLO, another major difficulty came to the fore: On March 6, 1965, during his trip to the Middle East, Tunisian President Bourguiba, an opponent of Pan-Arabism and an advocate of Arab "state particularism," posed a genuine challenge to Arab leaders in a speech delivered in the Old City of Jerusalem. He publicly urged them to recognize Israel in return for negotiations in the spirit of UN Resolution 181 of November 29, 1947 (partitioning Palestine into two separate states – one Arab and one Jewish) and Resolution 194 of December 1948 (which called for the return to their homes of Palestinian Arab refugees who had fled upon Israel's creation). The next day Bourguiba reiterated these pleas in Jericho before an audience consisting of Palestinian refugees. Yet he neither produced a written proposal nor offered himself as a peace mediator. In 1965 and 1966, his proposals, which were directed more to Arab leaders than to Israel, outlined the following eight major points: (1) the policies of denunciation and rejection embraced by Arab leaders had only led to military confrontations and always ended in Arab defeat at the hands of the Israelis; (2) if Egypt developed a nuclear option, the world would prevent Nasser from using it against Israel; (3) not only was war immoral and counterproductive, but the U.S. would never allow the Arab states to defeat or decimate Israel; (4) prudence and wisdom had to prevail over emotionalism and hatred, for these only made Israel more powerful; (5) the Arabs needed to rid themselves of their feelings of humiliation resulting from past wars, while the Israelis must free themselves from the complex of embattlement and a garrison state mentality; (6) the Arabs would reap far greater benefits if they concentrated their efforts on reaching a negotiated solution to the Arab-Israeli conflict; (7) coexistence with Israel, even de facto recognition, would result in regional stability for all parties involved in the conflict; and (8) negotiations with Israel necessitated direct contacts, with Palestinian representatives leading the process from the Arab side. But Arab leaders would not hear of this. They boycotted Bourguiba and isolated him for some time.

The secret meetings between Israelis and Jordanians, mentioned above, were not unique although they enjoyed continuity into the 1970s and 1980s. Several Arabs leaders, including Jordan's King Abdullah I (Hussein's grandfather), had engaged in back channel contacts with Israel. Even Egypt had had occasional contacts, most of which led nowhere. Egyptian diplomatic emissaries of the Nasser era (like their pre-1952 predecessors) had met Israeli diplomats in Europe or at the UN in New York to discuss various aspects of territorial issues or the implementation of UN resolutions. On a more active level, Israel had maintained secret links with minorities in the Arab world as well as with forces opposed to Nasser's and the Baʿth's Pan-Arab unity ambitions. Thus, in the 1960s and after, Israel's intelligence apparatus, the Mossad, had reportedly assisted the Iraqi Kurds seeking internal regional autonomy against the pro-Nasserist Baghdad regime militarily. Israel apparently offered logistical and other assistance to the Christians in southern Sudan against the Arab regime in the north which was supported by Cairo. Assistance was also supplied to the Maronite Christians in Lebanon. Israel thought that by helping the Lebanese Christians it would help loyal allies to consolidate their political power base in what would become a pro-Western and pro-Israel nation.

More importantly, since the early 1960s, Israel had cultivated ties with Morocco, which opposed Nasserism and Pan-Arab unity and searched for discrete alignments against Cairo. As part of its government's "Periphery Doctrine," in search of allies geographically remote from the Arab-Israeli conflict, such as non-Arab pro-Western Iran and Turkey, Israel also looked for Arab allies with whom to cooperate behind the scenes. It was part and parcel of Israel's efforts to benefit from inter-Arab rivalries and misunderstandings as well as to ease its isolation in the region. Morocco fit neatly into this context. After the death of King Muhammad V in March 1961, Morocco's new king, Hasan II, and the Mossad developed special ties whereby Israel provided intelligence and military assistance and helped stabilize the monarchy, which then encountered strong leftist opposition from the Union Nationale des Forces Populaires (UNFP). Morocco, in turn, provided Israel with vital intelligence data about developments in the Arab arena. These special ties endured for several decades and became diversified in other areas. As Algeria's FLN regime was hostile to Israel, contacts were established with Tunisia's Neo-Destour regime, particularly with President Bourguiba, his son, and diplomatic representatives in Paris and London. After Bourguiba presented his peace plea, the World Jewish Congress, the Israeli embassy in Paris, and the Mossad kept up contacts with the Tunisians. Discussions revolved around discreet joint business ventures, agricultural cooperation, and Jewish tourism. However, Israeli hopes for relations with Tunisia that might become nearly identical to the ties nurtured with Morocco failed to materialize. Bourguiba was unwilling to commit himself as had Hasan of Morocco. Furthermore, in the 1970s Bourguiba seemed to have had a change of heart and espoused strong pro-Palestinian and anti-Israel rhetoric and policies.

Syria in the mid-1960s witnessed far-reaching internal change. There appeared cracks in the Baʿth leadership. A young generation of civilian and military Baʿth-oriented elements had made their appearance on the political scene. Most of them did not belong to the Sunni Muslim majority but rather to the Alawi and Druze religious minorities (formerly Shiite) which together did not constitute more than 15 percent of the Syrian population. Prominent among them within the military were Salah Jadid and Hafez al-Asad; among the civilians there were three physicians: Nur al-Din al-Atasi, Ibrahim Makhus, and Yusif Zuʿayyin. All of them considered the old-style Baʿthi leadership, especially the military dictator, Amin al-Hafiz, as being "too soft" on Israel and insufficiently critical of Arab conservative monarchical regimes. On February 23, 1966, the Syrian government was overthrown by these Neo-Baʿthists. The coup not only forced the old leaders to flee Syria but also shattered the party in other Arab states. The new leadership had injected a heavy dose of Marxist ideology into their political programs, some were even Maoists. Though critical of Cairo for not doing enough to prepare for an Arab military confrontation with Israel, their desire to prevent any coexistence with Arab "reactionary" monarchs propelled them to try and push Egypt into an alliance against the latter. Unlike the previous leadership, the new rulers actively backed a major Palestinian guerilla raid into Israel (November 1966) and engaged their army in skirmishes with Israel along the 1949 armistice line. These moves caused consternation in Cairo. Nasser never ruled out a confrontation with Israel when the propitious moment arose. But 1966 hardly seemed to be a timely occasion. Hoping to restrain the Syrians from dragging themselves along with other Arab states into war and wishing to have a "supervisory role" over Syrian military designs, Nasser invited to Cairo Prime Minister Zuʿayyin on November 7, 1966, to sign a treaty of mutual defense. Diplomatic relations, severed three years earlier, were renewed.

Unlike Syria, which in 1963 ousted the Nasserists from the government, Iraq's leadership was largely Nasserist-oriented under the leadership of President Abd al-Salam Arif and subsequently his brother, Abd al-Rahman. For Nasser this proved vital, given Iraq's strategic position alongside Syria and its major oil reserves. Support for Nasser also came from Algeria, which was geographically remote from the scene. The overthrow of President Ahmad Ben Bella in June 1965, however, and his replacement by Houari Boumedienne at the FLN's helm, was a blow to Egyptian prestige.

Iraq's major problem at the time was the Kurdish struggle for internal autonomy in the northern part of the country, a challenge that kept the Iraqi army on constant alert and weakened its prestige. The Kurdish problem had plagued the economy and contributed to the already tense ethnic and religious rivalries between Sunni Arabs, Shiite Arabs, and Sunni Kurds. In May 1964, Iraq and Egypt had agreed to work toward unification over a two-year period. As time elapsed, this goal proved unattainable owing to Iraq's inability to achieve stability at home. To emulate Egypt's model, the Iraqi government nationalized the private sector of the economy and introduced a charter for the creation of an Iraqi Arab Socialist Union, which would replace existing political parties. But neither of these efforts made much headway.

Changes of Arab regimes occurred after 1967. In July 1968 the pro-Nasser regime was overthrown in Iraq by a military clique led by General Hasan al-Bakr and a group of his fellow Baʿthists, including Saddam Hussein. These were "right-wing" Baʿthists, hostile to the Syrian Neo-Baʿth. In May 1969, a coup was carried out by officers in Sudan led by Jaʿafar Numeiri. The former South Arabian Federation received independence from Britain in 1967 and adopted the title of People's Republic of South Yemen. In September 1969 a coup in Libya deposed King Idris al-Sanusi. A Libyan republic was proclaimed by military officers, headed by Colonel Muʿammar al-Qadhafi. In November 1970, Defense Minister Hafez al-Asad overthrew the Neo-Baʿthists, establishing his own Baʿthi regime. In October 1970, Libya joined with Egypt, Sudan, and Syria in an abortive attempt to form an Arab union.

The Arab-Israeli Conflict: 1948–1970

The Arab-Israel conflict had its origins in Palestine at the end of the 19th century. It gained momentum in the 1890s over Arab opposition to the sale of land to Jews for agricultural settlements and gradually led to violent clashes between Arabs and Jews. The crux of the conflict was the competition between Jewish nationalism (Zionism) and Palestinian Arab nationalism for political control over the area that, in the peace settlement after World War I, became the League of Nations mandated territory of Palestine, held by Britain from 1922 to May 1948. The first major clash occurred in Jaffa in March 1908. Violence escalated in 1920–21, 1929, and 1936–39. Both Arabs and Jews rejected proposals by the 1937 British Royal Commission under Lord Peel to partition Palestine between the two communities, although some Zionist leaders accepted the partition in principle. When Israel was created, the struggle became known as the Arab-Israeli conflict.

With post-1945 international pressure on Britain to remove restrictions on Jewish immigration and land purchases in Palestine (enforced in 1939) following the Holocaust, and for the creation of a Jewish commonwealth, Arab-Jewish tensions brought Palestine to the boiling point. Britain appealed to the UN, which recommended, in the spirit of its General Assembly's Resolution 181 (November 1947), that Palestine be partitioned into Arab and Jewish states with an international enclave containing Jerusalem. The mainstream Zionists accepted the proposal, but a nationalist minority advocated a Jewish state on both banks of the Jordan River.

Palestine Arabs, supported by leaders throughout the

Arab world, rejected partition. The only Arab leader who maintained discreet ties with the Zionist leadership with the aim of resolving the conflict was King Abdullah of Jordan. Clashes then occurred between Palestinians demonstrating against violation of their right to self-determination and Jews celebrating their coming independence; these soon turned into full-scale civil war. Since Britain's mandate was to end on May 14, 1948, a rather disorderly withdrawal of British troops began from disputed areas. By May 1948, as the Jewish community organized its military force, Palestinian Arabs retreated, fled, or were expelled from Israel despite military assistance from several Arab states. Their defeat, uprooting, and dispersion is known as the *nakba* ("catastrophe").

The first Arab-Israeli war lasted until Egypt, Lebanon, Jordan, and Syria signed armistice agreements with Israel in 1949. Iraq refused to sign such an agreement. As a result of the war, Israel extended its frontiers approximately 2,000 square miles beyond the UN partition borders to those of the armistice agreement. The eastern part of Jerusalem fell into Jordanian hands; the Gaza Strip was held by the Egyptians over the next 18 years; and the lines separating Israeli from Syrian territory included several de-militarized zones. Over 700,000 Palestinians became refugees, unable to return to Israel; many lived in refugee camps in the surrounding Arab states, but some moved to the Maghreb, the Gulf states, Europe, or immigrated to the Americas. Territory intended as part of the Arab Palestinian state in the UN Partition Plan, including the West Bank of the Jordan River, came under the control of Israel, Jordan, and Egypt. In July 1951, after King Abdullah of Jordan annexed the West Bank of the Jordan to his kingdom (April 1950), he was assassinated by a Palestinian nationalist. Since the end of the first Arab-Israel war the issues of the Palestinian refugees' rights to return or to compensation, and the status of Jerusalem, along with Arab recognition of Israel, remained unresolved. To grapple with these problems the UN established the United Nations Truce Supervision Organization (UNTSO) to oversee the 1949 agreements between Israel and Egypt, Lebanon, Jordan, and Syria. In 1948 the UN Palestine Conciliation Commission was set up to achieve a peaceful settlement by addressing itself to Middle East economic development and equitable distribution of water between Israel, Jordan, Syria, and Lebanon. For a fuller discussion of the Palestinian refugees, see "Arab Refugees" under *Israel, State of: Historical Survey; and *Intifada.

The birth of modern Israel and her military victories in 1948 led to turmoil in the surrounding Arab states and sparked antigovernment acts. Syria's and Egypt's military setbacks contributed to the army coups of 1949 and 1952, respectively. In Israel, tensions heightened when Egypt's Nasser, who had ended the Egyptian monarchy of King Farouk, was perceived as a growing threat. There was an increase of infiltration into Israel by Palestinian fighters (*fedayeen*) from Egyptian-occupied Gaza across the armistice line. The situation triggered an arms race in the mid-1950s. As noted, Egypt acquired military hardware from the Soviet Bloc. Israel, in turn, obtained aircraft and tanks from the French. Relations between Egypt and Israel also became an integral part of the larger conflict between Egypt, France, and Britain over control of the Suez Canal.

Israel formed a secret alliance with France and Britain to overthrow, or, at the very least, destabilize the Nasser regime after the latter nationalized the Suez Canal Company – dominated largely by European stockholders – on July 26, 1956. After Israel attacked Egypt on October 29, Britain and France occupied the northern Canal Zone and the city of Port Said. In fact, apparently behind the back of the British, Israel and France reached a separate understanding whereby French pilots flew over Israel to prevent possible Egyptian aerial attacks on inland cities, a strategy that would enable Israeli jets to concentrate fully on the war front. The tripartite scheme was stymied by U.S. and Soviet threats of military intervention should the parties fail to pull out their troops from Egypt. In November 1956, the UN General Assembly established the United Nations Emergency Force (UNEF) to supervise the withdrawal of these forces and to act as a peacekeeping apparatus between Israel and Egypt. Anglo-French forces withdrew in December; Israel maintained troops in Egypt until March 1957.

Incidents erupted along other Israeli borders. Palestinian refugee infiltration and guerrilla attacks from Jordan plus clashes with Syria over Israeli projects to divert the Jordan River added obstacles to a peace settlement. The tensions over the use of water reached the boiling point in 1963–64 and resulted in Israeli military actions against Lebanon. Although the Israeli-Egyptian frontier was quiet between 1957 and the decade that followed, the tensions caused by the Jordan River dispute, the escalation of border incidents, especially with Syria and Jordan, and bitter verbal disputes set the stage for the June 1967 War: the third armed Arab-Israeli conflict.

In the aftermath of the signing of the aforementioned November 1966 Syrian-Egyptian defense agreement, achieved through Soviet mediation, and the reestablishment of diplomatic ties between these two states, Israeli-Syrian tensions had heightened. Throughout the early months of 1967 the Soviets and Syrians claimed that Israel had amassed troops along the demilitarized border. Egyptian observers arrived to confirm these developments and found no evidence of such actions. In retrospect, either the Soviets or the Syrians, or both, apparently sought to drag Egypt into a confrontation with Israel.

While many political observers believed that Nasser wished to put Israel's military capabilities to the test, others believed that he did not think that the opportune moment had arrived for him to enter into an armed conflict. Some even pointed out the back channel contacts between Israel's Mossad and General Mahmud Khalil, a close confidant of Nasser, over possible ways of ironing out Egyptian-Israeli differences. Others note that Nasser preferred that the liberation of Palestine be placed on the back burner in favor of the unification of the Arab states and the spread of the socialist revolution. With major units of his army bogged down in Yemen, his treasury empty, and the Anglo-Americans and the Arab monarchs challenging his authority, his primary goal was to consolidate his power base: in Egypt, the Soviet partnership, and his leadership of Arab socialism.

Yet when tensions rose in spring 1967 between Israel and Syria, Nasser's new understanding with the Neo-Baʿth regime placed him in a serious dilemma. If he challenged Israel with a threat of Egyptian military action in response to any move against Syria, he risked war. If he left the Syrians unprotected he would be portrayed in Arab eyes as a weakling. Nasser chose the path of deterrence and embroiled himself, Egypt, Syria, Jordan, and Iraq in the third and most catastrophic Middle East war. To pose a serious deterrent threat he expelled the UNEF from Sinai. He then blockaded Israel's passage through the Straits of Tiran at the southeast edge of the Sinai Peninsula and massed his troops on the border. Once Nasser had got that far, it hardly mattered what his initial purpose had been. His objective now went beyond simply deterring Israel: it was to score a clear political or military victory and then to receive the acclaim of the Arab world.

Israeli leaders responded with a preemptive strike on June 5, 1967, against Egypt and its Syrian, Iraqi, and Jordanian allies which had joined the fighting. After six days of fighting, Israel remained in full control of the military situation and emerged as the dominant power in the region. The Arab states were now thrown into complete disarray, surpassing the disunity of 1961–64. Israel had conquered the Sinai Peninsula up to the east bank of the Suez Canal and the Gaza Strip from the Egyptians; the Golan Heights from the Syrians; and the West Bank and East Jerusalem from the Jordanians. The war aggravated the tensions among the superpowers: the Soviet Union aligned itself with Egypt, Syria, and Iraq more than before, while the U.S. increased its support of Israel. King Hussein lost half his kingdom, whereas the Suez Canal remained closed with Israeli soldiers entrenched on its east bank. While in 1948 some 700,000 Palestinians had become refugees, an additional 300,000 uprooted themselves in an exodus from the West Bank and resettled in Jordan and Syria. Israeli Jewish settlers, mainly religious, created the infrastructure for dotting the West Bank and Gaza Strip with settlements.

Although defeated, the Arab states refused to enter into negotiations with Israel. They demanded that Israel demonstrate largesse by withdrawing to the 1949 (pre-June 5, 1967) lines and allowing the return of the Palestinian refugees to their homes in Israel. At their post-war summit in Khartoum, Arab leaders voted against negotiations, peace, or recognition of Israel. Israel and its U.S. ally advocated direct negotiations with the Arab states in return for which territorial concessions would be forthcoming.

An initiative with long-range implications was UN Security Council Resolution 242, on November 22, 1967, calling for the "withdrawal of Israeli armed forces from territories" conquered in the 1967 war, the end to hostilities, a "just settlement of the [Palestinian] refugee problem," and the "need to work for a just and lasting peace." To inplement the Resolution, the UN chose a special envoy, Dr. Gunnar Jarring, to mediate between the parties. Syria, Iraq, and Algeria rejected the Resolution outright. Jordan and Egypt disagreed over its interpretation. They insisted it meant that Israel had to withdraw from *all* territories occupied in the war. At the same time, Nasser and Hussein became close allies. Both were preoccupied with the same need for political survival and the recovery of lost territory through diplomatic channels. The hostility that had divided them in the late 1950s and early 1960s seemed forgotten. Israel argued that withdrawal should be made "from territories" but not to the armistice lines. Most Arabs, except the Palestinians, no longer expected Israel to withdraw to the 1947 lines. The PLO and the organizations connected to it dismissed Resolution 242 as a sellout. For them it signified Arab acceptance of Israel and relegated the claims of the Palestinians to the level of "a just settlement of the refugee problem."

A new war broke out in March 1969, known as the "War of Attrition." It was initiated by Nasser to try and break the stalemate and force Israel to withdraw from Egyptian territories. The war lasted 17 months. Egypt bombarded Israeli positions on the east bank of the Suez Canal and was supported by Soviet advisers and pilots. Israel retaliated by bombarding targets inside Egypt – demonstrating the might of its air force – including oil refineries and industrial infrastructure. Casualties mounted on both sides. On December 9, 1969, U.S. secretary of state, William Rogers, presented a plan for a comprehensive Middle East peace based on UN Resolution 242. It called for Israel's withdrawal to the pre-June 1967 borders with certain modifications in return for mutual Arab-Israeli security and a solution to the Palestinian refugee problem. Both the Arab and Israeli sides rejected the plan. In light of the escalation of the fighting between April and June 1970, however, Secretary Rogers renewed his efforts. Under a revived plan, the U.S. called for a three-month ceasefire on the Egyptian front, including a plea to all sides to accept UN Resolution 242 as a basis for future negotiations and an immediate request from Israel to negotiate with Egypt and Jordan via the mediation of special envoy Jarring. The Israelis, Egyptians, and Jordanians accepted the terms of the ceasefire, which was implemented in August 1970. For the next three years the potential war arenas in the Middle East remained quiet.

The Palestinians, however, kept fighting, keeping the region in constant tension. As noted above, the PLO, created at the Arab Summit in January 1964, was gradually becoming a potent force by the mid-1960s. In the aftermath of the June 1967 war and Israel's occupation of the West Bank and Gaza, a new Palestinian leadership emerged within that organization. Yahya Hamuda ousted Ahmad Shukeiri. The various guerrilla groups operating at the time with links to the PLO moved in to fill the vacuum created by the military defeat of the Arab states by intensifying their attacks on Israel. Such was the case as early as March 1968 at Karama, Jordan, where Israeli soldiers faced stiff resistance from Palestinian fighters. Karama became a symbol of the struggle against Israel, which many had regarded invincible. These guerrilla groups, especially *al-Fatḥ* ("Triumph"), now won control of the PLO. The PLO Charter was revised in July 1968 to underscore the rejection of the Arab states' interference in Palestinian affairs, the complete liberation of Palestine by Palestinians through armed resistance, and the establishment of a democratic secular state in much of historic Palestine.

The psychological lift the guerrilla fighters received at Karama also paved the way for *al-Fatḥ*'s leader, Yasser *Arafat, to seize control of the PLO. The Fataḥ was the largest fighting group within the PLO, the Palestine Liberation Army, and the Palestine National Council (PNC). The key rivals within the PLO to Fataḥ consisted of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP), the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine (DFLP), the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine-General Command (PFLP-GC), and *al-Sāʿiqa* ("Thunderbolt"). These operated mainly out of Lebanon, Jordan, and Syria. In the years 1969–73, they caused considerable havoc in Lebanon, contributing to its political and religious instability. The Marxist-oriented PFLP was bent on overthrowing conservative regimes. It challenged King Hussein's authority in September 1970 and ignited a civil war in Jordan that resulted in the death of nearly 4,000 Palestinians, the PLO's defeat, and the relocation of its headquarters to Lebanon.

Inter-Arab Politics in the 1970s

The civil war in Jordan came to a halt thanks to Nasser's mediation between King Hussein and PLO's Arafat. Just as Nasser succeeded in calming tensions temporarily between Palestinians and the government of Lebanon through an emergency summit in November 1969, he was able to arrange for an end to the violence in Jordan, although it was contingent on the PLO's evacuation of the Hashemite kingdom. This was to be Nasser's last initiative on behalf of Arab causes. On September 28, 1970, he succumbed to a massive heart attack. The irony of Nasser's career was that he died while shielding his old enemy Hussein, at the expense of his old clients the Palestinians. Yet Jordan did pay a price for the repression of the Palestinians. The kingdom was ostracized by the all-Arab family well into 1973.

Nasser was succeeded by his vice president, Anwar al-*Sadat, who assumed full authority only in May 1971 after defeating the opposition made up of Nasser's former allies in the government, the heads of the Arab Socialist Union Party, and the military. Sadat then moved to cultivate public support for his presidency. He formulated a new permanent constitution (September 1971) stipulating that the *Shariʿa* (Islamic Law) is a source of legislation (in contradistinction to Nasser's secular policies), pardoned most of the nation's political prisoners, and returned major assets nationalized during the socialist era to their original owners. Simultaneously, he undermined leftist and Nasserist influences by according benefits to the Muslim Brotherhood, a major Islamist movement that had been repressed between the late 1940s and the mid-1950s. The Brotherhood advocated the creation of a universal Islamic nation, beginning with Egypt, in which Islamic Law would be the single source of legislation. Under Nasser they were the main opponents of the regime. They were to become Sadat's counterweights to his secular opponents.

Sadat disengaged himself and his new regime from Nasser's Pan-Arab policies at home and throughout the region. He changed the country's name from the United Arab Republic to the Arab Republic of Egypt, indicating a shift toward state particularism. In July 1972 he ordered all Soviet military advisers and personnel out of Egypt. This was a critical turning point in Egyptian history: the attempt to reverse Nasser's pro-Soviet policies and reduce the dependence on the Kremlin. Sadat also made known his desire to improve ties with Washington, badly damaged during the June 1967 war. After renewing the ceasefire agreement in November 1970 and February 1971, he sought a compromise with Israel. He sent a message to Prime Minister Golda *Meir through Jarring asking for a partial Israeli withdrawal from the Suez Canal to the Ras al-Muhammad line in order to reopen the Canal for navigation. Sadat hinted that a positive gesture from Israel could well constitute a decisive step toward implementing UN Resolution 242. Golda Meir publicly responded in favor of Sadat's approach. Nevertheless, the Egyptian request was finally rejected, apparently due to Sadat's subsequent demands from Israel to return to all pre-June 1967 borders. This was something Israel was unwilling to accept. Realizing that a compromise was not near, Sadat began to consider a limited war, possibly in collaboration with Syria, to regain occupied territories and bring the Suez Canal into operation. In November 1972 he instructed his war minister to begin military preparations for war. Despite the fluctuations in Soviet-Egyptian relations in the wake of the expulsion of Russian military advisers, in spring 1973 a major new arms deal was concluded between Moscow and Cairo, the cost of which was covered by the Saudis and other conservative Arab regimes.

Sadat departed from Nasser's policy of undermining conservative monarchies and republican regimes that disapproved of Pan-Arabism and Egypt's past relations with the Soviet Union. These regimes rewarded Sadat with generous financial assistance. A year later, during and following the October 1973 Arab-Israeli war, the oil-producing monarchies provided Sadat with important leverage: the oil embargo on the West, which was intended to prod the U.S. and Western Europe to pressure Israel into making territorial concessions.

Domestically, in 1974, the Sadat regime implemented economic programs meant to attract considerable foreign investments to Egypt, revive the public sector that had remained dormant under Nasser, and offer significant opportunities for local businessmen. This policy came to be known as *siyāsat al-infitāḥ* – the open door policy to free enterprise. By the late 1970s Sadat allowed formerly outlawed political parties to resume their activity for the first time since 1953. New parties were invited to join in the system under the revised constitution of September 1971. Sadat expected political parties to constitute a loyal opposition and a counterweight to his opponents. With time passing, his harsh treatment of "disloyal" parties and his refusal to permit the Muslim Brotherhood to become a party, with the argument that no religious party had a monopoly over Islam, stirred discontent. Real progress in granting greater political freedom was achieved under Husni *Mubarak, Sadat's successor to the presidency. By the late 1970s, dissatisfaction over Sadat's capitalist policies and the cutting of government subsidies of basic necessities such as foodstuffs also became widespread.

Since 1970 Libya under the radical regime headed by Colonel Qadhafi had become active in inter-Arab affairs. Libyan "socialism" was contradictory: both leftist and Islamic, anti-Communist yet allied with the Soviet Union. Qadhafi pressed for an inter-Arab union in the spirit of Nasserist Pan-Arabism and adopted a militant anti-Israel and pro-Palestinian stance. The British and American military bases that had survived under the Sanusi monarchy were closed, the tiny Italian community was expelled, alcohol was forbidden as were nightclubs, and Christian churches were closed. By the mid-1970s, disappointed with the failure of other Arab rulers to support his pleas for unity, and declining relations with Egypt, Qadhafi plunged into domestic affairs and proclaimed a Libyan Cultural Revolution. The General People's Congress had been created, the country's administration was taken over by committees, and Libya was declared a *Jamāhīriyya*, or "the state of the masses."

Baʿthi Iraq of the post-July 1968 coup under the Hasan al-Baqr and Saddam Hussein regime was active in the inter-Arab arena and the Arab-Israeli conflict. Iraq was in serious contention with Syria for the leading position in the progressive socialist-leftist camp and in the Fertile Crescent. Syria since 1970, under the presidency of Hafez al-Asad, also played a leading role on the inter-Arab scene, though Asad adopted a somewhat more flexible, responsible, and pragmatic stance in the Arab-Israeli conflict by not advocating an immediate war, he opposed UN Resolution 242.

Several inter-Arab rivalries were resolved. Saudi Arabia and Kuwait agreed in 1969 to resolve border disputes between them. Saudi Arabia conceded to Abu Dhabi the disputed Buraimi oasis (1974), obtaining instead an outlet to the sea between Abu Dhabi and Qatar. Other inter-Arab disputes persisted. South Yemen (PDRY) clashed with the Yemen Arab Republic in warlike operations in 1972 and 1979. The PDRY was also in conflict with Oman, where it supported a rebellion in Dhofar. Iraq's border disputes with Kuwait led to clashes in 1973 and 1976. Libya, too, was in conflict with her neighbors: Chad (non-Arab) disputed Libya's annexation of Chadi territory since 1973 and resented Qadhafi's support for rebels. Libya claimed territorial rights from Niger and was frequently accused of meddling in that county's internal affairs. Libya's relations with other West African countries – Mali, Senegal, and Gambia – were tense, as those nations accused Qadhafi of conspiring against their governments. Tensions ran high between Libya and Tunisia. The latter accused Libya of hatching plots and stirring subversion within her borders. In 1977, Libya and Egypt were on the verge of total war following Sadat's accusation that Qadhafi had plotted to assassinate leading Egyptian government officials. Qadhafi's radical actions were also apparent in the assistance he offered the Irish Republican Army in Northern Ireland, Europe's terrorists – rightist and leftist – as well as Muslim rebels in the Philippines and Thailand. Finally, in the Maghreb, border disputes flared throughout the 1970s. A border dispute between Morocco and Algeria was patched up in agreements, mediated by African states. Moroccan-Algerian relations deteriorated once again over Western (formerly Spanish) Sahara. Algeria refused to accept the partition and annexation of that territory by Morocco and Mauritania in 1975. Thus it supported the Saharan rebels (the POLISARIO) and the republic they proclaimed. Algeria offered military aid whereas Israel assisted Morocco.

The Arab-Israeli Conflict in the Early and Mid-1970s

As noted, in 1972 the Egyptians began to lay the groundwork for the fourth major Arab-Israeli war. The war that finally broke out in October 1973 resulted from failure to resolve the territorial disputes arising from the previous conflict. UN Resolution 242 notwithstanding, little progress had been made in its implementation and Israel remained in control of the occupied territories. When Sadat decided to go to war he contacted Syrian President Hafez al-Asad to arrange for a two-front attack on Israel: in the Sinai and the Golan Heights. Despite Sadat's expulsion of Soviet military personnel in summer 1972, he was still dependent on the Russians. Thus, when he approached them for military supplies they stepped up arms deliveries to both Egypt and Syria. The Iraqis entered the war at its inception, as did volunteer fighters from the Maghreb, Kuwait, Sudan, and Saudi Arabia. Jordan dispatched a token military force. The oil-rich monarchies offered financial and diplomatic assistance. In contrast to what had transpired in 1967, Egypt and Syria were reluctant to share precise military plans with King Hussein. The latter visited Israel secretly on September 25, 1973, and, at the Mossad's compound, briefed Prime Minister Golda Meir about Syrian and Egyptian war plans. What he could not do was to pinpoint the exact date of an attack.

The two-front war broke out on October 6, 1973, the Jewish Day of Atonement. It was also the Muslim month of Ramadan and hence the conflict was regarded by the Arabs as the "Ramadan War." Egyptian forces crossed the Suez Canal to the east bank and overran the Bar-Lev Line, built several years earlier to thwart all potential military assault. On the northern front, the Syrians rushed into the Golan Heights and came very close to reaching the June 4, 1967, border with Israel. The war caught Israel completely unprepared, for until then the Israel Defense Forces believed that Egypt and Syria were ill prepared for war and thus would desist from waging it.

On October 10 Sadat requested that the Saudis use the oil weapon as a countermeasure to the American airlift to Israel. On October 16, Arab oil ministers convened in Kuwait and proclaimed an embargo on petroleum shipments to the U.S. and Holland. They said the restrictions would be lifted once

Israel retreated from Arab territories occupied in the 1967 war. The oil ministers then put pressure on other Western governments by reducing oil shipments by five percent a month until the Arabs' terms were met. Algeria, Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirates, Qatar, and other Gulf states supported the war effort financially. Algerian President Houari Boumedienne provided the Kremlin with $200 million to finance military assistance to Egypt and Syria.

The fighting was the heaviest since 1948, with major losses of men and war material on both sides. Over 2,800 Israeli and 8,500 Arab soldiers were killed during the battles in the Sinai and the Golan Heights. Israel lost over 100 aircraft and more than 800 tanks while the Arabs lost nearly 400 aircraft and at least 2,500 tanks. Each side was rearmed during the fighting – Egypt by the Soviet Union and Israel by the U.S. Within several days, recovering from the surprise attack, the Israelis launched their counteroffensive. By October 9, the Syrians had been pushed back to their starting point. The Israel Defense Forces then entered Syrian territory and positioned themselves 20 miles outside Damascus. On the Egyptian front, Israeli forces crossed to the west bank of the Suez Canal in mid-October, cutting off the Egyptian Third Army and surrounding it.

The war precipitated an international crisis when the Soviet Union responded to an urgent appeal from Egypt to save its Third Army. Despite the UN Security Council ceasefire resolution, Israeli troops continued to attack. Once the Soviet Union revealed its intentions to dispatch troops to Egypt, Washington called for a worldwide military alert. The crisis subsided after all parties agreed to negotiate an honorable retreat of the Egyptian Third Army. When the belligerents accepted the ceasefire, on October 22, Israel had regained its control of Sinai and its forces were positioned 60 miles from Cairo, though Egyptian forces were still entrenched on the east bank of the Suez Canal. It was then that UN Resolution 338 was passed, calling for the termination of all war activity and the implementation of Resolution 242. Thenceforth, Resolution 338 became an adjunct to 242.

In December 1973 a Middle East peace conference convened in Geneva under the auspices of the U.S., the Soviet Union, and the UN. Israel, Egypt, and Jordan attended it while Syria boycotted it. Apart from opening speeches and brief deliberations over technical matters, the conference failed to reconvene. The U.S. decided to work directly with the Israelis and Egyptians without involving the UN and the Russians. Owing to the mediation efforts of Secretary of State Henry *Kissinger a disengagement agreement was hammered out on January 18, 1974, between Israel and Egypt. Israel withdrew across the Suez Canal and enabled Sadat to reopen and operate it. A second phase of the Israeli pullout from the Sinai, signed on September 4, 1975, entailed, inter alia, an Israeli withdrawal to the east of the Mitla and Gidi Passes and return of the Abu Rudais oil fields to Egypt.

It was far more complicated to work out a disengagement agreement between Israel and Syria. Kissinger was at pains to convince Israel to withdraw its forces from Syrian territory occupied in the 1973 war as well as from the Quneitra area in the Golan Heights that had remained under Israeli control after 1967. A buffer zone was established in the Golan Heights under UN supervision while Damascus agreed to prevent Palestinian fighters from launching attacks into Israel through Syrian territory. The disengagement agreement was signed on May 31, 1974, and remained in place.

The Road to Egyptian-Israeli Peace: 1976–1979

Intertwined with these disengagement agreements, an Arab summit convened in Rabat on October 26, 1974, which only Qadhafi of Libya and President Hasan al-Bakr of Iraq chose to boycott. The outcome amounted to a four-point resolution: (1) extending greater financial assistance to the confrontation states and the PLO; (2) working for a comprehensive peace settlement in the Middle East and opposing separate agreements; (3) recognizing the PLO as "the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people," thus stripping Jordan's King Hussein of any real political influence within the West Bank and over its Palestinian population; and (4) offering suggestions for resolving all major political differences that had clouded relations between Arafat and Hussein since 1970, when the PLO was forced out of Jordan.

Meanwhile, President Asad sought to increase his influence in the Middle East by extending Syrian political and military influence into neighboring Lebanon. Some of this related to his claim that Lebanon was an integral part of Greater Syria. The civil war that broke out in Lebanon in April 1975 and lasted into 1990 – resulting from internal ethnic tensions, the PLO's meddling in the country's domestic politics, and its use of Lebanese territory as a launching pad for terrorist actions inside Israel – proved to be timely and advantageous for Asad. The Palestinian issue held dangers for Lebanese religious and political stability, as did the mounting animosities between Shiites, Maronite Christians and their right-wing militias (especially the Phalange), Sunni Muslims, and Druze. These factors were in effect interconnected. While the Lebanese government tried to curb the Palestinian armed presence on its soil, as did right-wing Christian militias, leftist Sunnis expected Lebanon to assist the Palestinians in Beirut as well as in the south, where the latter directed their attacks on Israel. The Sunnis called on the authorities to dispatch the national army to protect southern Lebanon against Israeli retaliatory raids.

The Lebanese civil war led to close collaboration between Israel and Bashir Jumayyil, leader of the Phalange, against the PLO. Simultaneously, Syria seized the opportunity to consolidate her own position by backing the Sunni leftist-Palestinian alliance, though at times she had to restrain the Palestinians, even to the point of military action. Between 1976 and 1984, Syria emerged as the dominant force in the military control of parts of Lebanon and imposed its authority on local politics. Iraq and Libya, too, meddled in Lebanese politics, supplying their radical allies with weaponry and funds.

As these developments occurred, the U.S. encouraged the parties to the Arab-Israeli conflict to convene in Geneva for a Middle East international peace conference. Syria's position on the conference was hazy, but nothing came of the American initiative because both Israel and Egypt expressed misgivings about it. Israel refused to be dragged into a forum where the Soviet Union and Arab leaders might seek to force major territorial and political concessions that would not be acceptable to it. Egypt doubted Syrian flexibility and mistrusted the Soviets. Besides, Sadat concluded that peace ought to be achieved only through direct negotiations with Israel.

It appears that both Egypt and Israel looked for creative solutions to the conflict, with the Americans brought later into the picture. In September 1977, a secret meeting took place in Morocco between Egyptian Deputy Prime Minister Hasan al-Tuhami and Israeli Foreign Minister Moshe *Dayan. It was held in the presence of Moroccan King Hasan. The two men, who met each other with the prior knowledge of their heads of state, discussed the idea of Israel's withdrawal from all occupied Arab territories in return for peace. Much attention, however, was focused on the question of whether Israel would be prepared to return all the rest of the Sinai still under its control. It is difficult at this point to discern what Dayan and the Likud government headed by Prime Minister Menaḥem *Begin could have offered the Egyptians – whether the whole of the Sinai would be returned in return for negotiations and recognition of Israel, or whether the meeting was merely a test of good will and a "warming up session" for future discussions. Apparently, Sadat saw in the event a "green light," an opportune moment for a diplomatic initiative on his part.

In late October and early November 1977 Sadat secretly developed a plan to visit Jerusalem. On November 9, in the course of a speech to the Egyptian People's Assembly, he announced his readiness to go "to the ends of the earth" in order to prevent the outbreak of another war. He then added a sentence, not part of the prepared speech, about his willingness to go to Israel and speak before the Knesset. Yasser Arafat, who was present in the Parliament as a guest during Sadat's speech, was astounded, as was the Carter administration. It took the U.S. two weeks to endorse Sadat's initiative – after he had already visited Jerusalem – and abandon or shelve plans for an international conference.

Sadat's speech drew attention in the Arab world only when Prime Minister Begin responded with a public invitation to Sadat to visit Jerusalem. Before reaching his decision to go to Israel, Sadat visited Asad in an effort to garner wider Arab support for the initiative. When Asad was unable to talk Sadat out of his plan, he even considered arresting him. But Sadat would not budge and visited Jerusalem. He had once again put Egypt's interests above Arab solidarity, as had been the case when he signed the 1974 and 1975 disengagement agreements, setting a precedent for separate initiatives. Sadat spoke in the Knesset on November 20, 1977. While refraining from mentioning the PLO, he urged Israel to evacuate the territories occupied in 1967 and to seek an honorable solution to the plight of the Palestinian people.

Support for Sadat's move was initially forthcoming mostly from Morocco, Sudan, and Oman. Syria and Iraq were furious about it. With Egypt pulling out as an active participant in the Arab-Israeli conflict, the eastern front against Israel, of which Damascus and Baghdad were part, weakened considerably. No large-scale war could now be fought by the Arab states. Algeria, PDRY, and the PLO branded Sadat a traitor to the Arab cause. For the PLO, Sadat's move was most damaging. As far as the Palestinians were concerned, he had backtracked from the formula of an independent Palestinian state, putting forward the concept of Palestinian self-determination as part of a peace settlement with Israel. Libya reacted to the Jerusalem visit by calling for a meeting in Tripoli – without Egyptian participation. The Saudis, backed by Kuwait, Jordan, and Morocco, pressed for Egypt to be invited in order to bring it back into the Arab fold. Only Syria, Iraq, Algeria, PDRY, and the PLO attended the Tripoli meeting on December 5, 1977, and decided to freeze their ties with Egypt, considering moving the Arab League headquarters out of Cairo and reviewing Egypt's membership.

From Israel's point of view a separate peace settlement with Sadat was the preferred solution. The Begin government was not well disposed toward any concessions to the Palestinians and thought that negotiations, even with moderate states like the Kingdom of Jordan, were still premature. Dayan was especially hostile to any concessions to the PLO and made this point plain to Hasan al-Tuhami during their deliberations in Morocco. It was argued in Israel that a separate settlement would reduce significantly the potential of a wide Arab war against the Jewish state, while the status quo in the West Bank and Gaza would be preserved, rendering the thorny issues of Palestinian sovereignty less relevant for some time.

After months of Egyptian-Israeli meetings to overcome political hurdles, top Israeli and Egyptian leaders met at Camp David in September 1978. Under American patronage and mediation an Egyptian-Israeli agreement, known as the Camp David Accords, was signed on September 17, 1978. Like Sadat's visit to Jerusalem the previous year, this development wreaked havoc among Arab leaders. As far as they were concerned, what Sadat had done was to make a separate deal with the Israelis, contrary to the idea of a comprehensive peace settlement agreed upon in October 1974 at the Arab summit in Rabat. In reaction, Iraq convened a summit conference in Baghdad (November 1978) to probe the possibility of imposing sanctions on Egypt. Yet the rivalries that plagued the Arab political scene made it impossible to agree on the sanctions. Iraq, Syria, Algeria, the PLO, and PDRY wanted to isolate Egypt, while the Saudis, Moroccans, and Kuwaitis felt that Egypt was vital to the Arab world. They argued that an attempt to convince Sadat to avoid signing a formal agreement with Israel would perhaps prove more prudent.

But Sadat refused to have anything to do with the radicals and turned down the moderate states' pleas. Thus, Morocco's support for Sadat diminished, and outwardly, at least, King Hasan finally toed the radical Arab line. On March 26, 1979, the Israeli-Egypt peace treaty was signed formally in Washington in the presence of President Jimmy Carter. In April 1982, Israel returned the rest of Sinai to Egypt, and by 1985 the disputed Taba area.

The Arab World and Israel: The 1980s to the Early 1990s

The Israel-Egypt peace treaty of March 26, 1979, and the Islamic revolution in Iran that had toppled the pro-Western Shah Muhammad Reza Pahlavi only several weeks earlier affected the Arab world radically throughout the 1980s. Egypt was expelled from the Arab League, whose headquarter moved from Cairo to Tunis. It is ironic that Tunisian President Bourguiba, who in the 1950s and 1960s had been regarded as the Arab League's most bitter critic, now served as its host. Egypt was further isolated as most Arab states severed their ties with Cairo, which were renewed only in 1987. Meanwhile President Sadat was assassinated by a fanatical Islamist army officer on October 6, 1981, and replaced by his vice president, Husni Mubarak. In the absence of Egyptian leadership in Arab forums, the Arab world fell into disarray and ever-deepening disunity. Iraq, perhaps the most influential Arab country at the time, launched a war against Islamist Iran in September 1980. Iraq's new leader, President Saddam Hussein, having ousted President Hasan al-Bakr in July 1979, took advantage of Iran's difficult internal transition from monarchy to republic in an attempt to weaken it. It is still unclear what motivated the Iraqis to go to war. The standard explanations ranged from the occupation of Iranian territory (the Shatt al-Arab waterway and the oil-rich province of Khuzistan) to the infliction of a decisive defeat on the Iranian revolution and the desire to make Iraq the preeminent Arab and Persian Gulf state. Another plausible explanation is the fear of the predominantly Sunni Arab regime in Iraq that the Iranian Revolution might back the Iraqi Shiite majority and local Kurdish nationalists in an effort to destabilize it. Although caught unprepared, the Iranians demonstrated resilience and fought well into 1988, when the war finally ended with no clear victors.

If Iraq was concerned about the potential of a Shiite-Iranian-Islamist threat in the post-1979 period, the Persian Gulf Arab monarchies were equally anxious. Beside the concern in Bahrain and Qatar, where the Shiites accounted for more than half the general population, that Iran's propaganda efforts would incite them against the political regime, the Gulf monarchies feared possible Iranian territorial expansion into their domain. Syria, on the other hand, improved its relations with Iran, economically and militarily, moving the Gulf states and Saudi Arabia to improve their ties with Iraq.

The Iran-Iraq war proved beneficial to Israel in the short term. Iraq was too busy on the Iranian front to render assistance to radical forces in their struggle against the Jewish state. Two developments suppport this view. First, during the course of the war Israel managed to carry out prolonged military operations inside Lebanon – especially "Operation Peace for Galilee" – and to challenge Syria and the PLO militarily on Lebanese soil with little external interference. Second, Israel hardly encountered Arab opposition when the Knesset approved the Golan Law of December 14, 1981, extending Israeli law to the occupied Golan Heights, which for all intents and purposes signified territorial annexation. Syria itself was in no position to challenge Israel effectively owing to internal upheavals organized by the Syrian Muslim Brotherhood. The latter launched terrorist attacks in the northern part of the country in 1980–82 against the secularist Baʿth and its Alawi leadership elite, prompting Asad to adopt far-reaching repressive measures to quell the unrest.

The aforementioned "Operation Peace for Galilee" represented the clearcut Arab weakness since 1978–80. Throughout the 1978–82 period, the Israel Defense forces were fighting PLO terrorist activity originating from Lebanon inside Israeli territory. The Palestinians also fired Katyusha rockets from Lebanon at Israel's Galilee region. These attacks served as an incentive for the Begin government to decimate the PLO's infrastructure, expel its fighters, eliminate Syria's presence, and implant a Maronite-dominated government led by the Phalange party – Israel's foremost Lebanese ally.

The invasion that was part of "Operation Peace for Galilee," commencing on June 6, 1982, was triggered not by a border incident but by the attempted assassination of the Israeli ambassador in London three days earlier. This was a pretext, though, because the would-be assassin belonged to the anti-PLO Abu Nidal group, which also targeted PLO officials. Initially, "Operation Peace for Galilee" was intended to be limited to a 25-mile security belt south of the Litani River, as Defense Minister Ariel *Sharon had declared. Yet once the operation began and PLO strongholds were eliminated, Sharon and military Chief of Staff Rafael *Eitan instructed the army to proceed to the outskirts of Beirut, a task completed by mid-June. As the Israel Defense Forces were surrounding the Lebanese capital, shelling West Beirut, and engaging in aerial bombardments, they were joined by the Phalange. The pressure was now on the PLO's fighting forces to abandon their West Beirut headquarters and leave the country. The pressure was also directed at the Lebanese government to help carry out the expulsion.

In the aftermath of U.S. diplomatic involvement, the PLO agreed to leave Lebanon in an orderly fashion while an accord was reached wherein a multinational force, including U.S. Marines, would supervise the evacuation procedure. Syria was also required to reduce its military presence in the country. By September 1, over 14,000 PLO fighters and their leaders had left West Beirut for different Arab countries, mainly Tunisia, where Tunis became the PLO's new headquarters. That same day, the Reagan administration announced the Reagan Plan calling for the implementation of UN Resolution 242 and a freeze on building new Israeli settlements in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. The plan refrained from supporting the establishment of an independent Palestinian state but advocated Palestinian autonomy in association with Jordan. Most

Arab states and the PLO rejected the plan outright. Israel, too, regarded it with little enthusiasm.

"Operation Peace for Galilee," Minister of Defense Ariel Sharon's grand plan for a stable Lebanon, turned out to be a tragic illusion. On the one hand, Bashir Jumayyil, leader of the Phalange and Israel's main ally, was elected president of Lebanon on August 23 against Syria's wishes. On the other hand, the longer Israel maintained a military presence in the country, the more the support it initially enjoyed from various segments of the population eroded. This was very much the case with the Shiites in southern Lebanon. In the past they had resented the Palestinians for carrying out terrorist acts against Israel from their territory, for they often paid the price of Israeli retaliatory raids on the ground and from the air. Yet the Israeli entrenchment on Lebanese soil gradually turned the Shiites against them. Then, on September 14, Jumayyil was assassinated, possibly by pro-Syrian elements, shattering any remaining hope for normal life in Lebanon. Israeli forces reacted to the event by taking control of West Beirut and allowing Phalange militiamen to enter the Sabra and Shatila Palestinian refugee camps. The Phalange, seeking revenge for the death of their leader, carried out a horrible massacre among its inhabitants, causing outrage in Israel and throughout the world. A top-level investigative committee was created in Israel to determine the extent of responsibility for the massacre by the government and military. Ariel Sharon was forced to resign from his defense ministry post in February 1983.

Amin Jumayyil succeeded his late brother as Lebanon's president. Following extensive negotiations between Lebanese and Israeli officials under American patronage, a security and peace agreement was concluded on May 17, 1983. It provided Israel with important concessions such as the use of much of Lebanon's air and ground space in the south. It also laid the groundwork for future commercial and tourist activity. In fact, affluent Lebanese families visited Israel in summer 1983. The agreement contained guarantees from Israel to the Reagan administration of a gradual pullout from Lebanon in parallel to the withdrawal of the remaining Syrian armed forces.

An agreement which ignored Syria's interests in Lebanon could not hold up, however. In early fall 1983 Israel did commence a phased evacuation of its forces from Beirut as well as the Shuf area, withdrawing south of the Awali River. Nevertheless, this move and the U.S. and multinational military presence could not maintain the peace. The opposition to the agreement of May 17, 1983, gained momentum. The Lebanese army was torn by factions while small armies consisting of Sunni and Shiite Muslims gained strength and posed serious threats to the continued foreign presence and to Maronite political primacy. They included the Shiite Amal ("Hope") movement and the *Hizbollah ("Party of God"). The latter was founded in 1982 with the help of Iranian agents and gradually became the most potent political and military force in southern Lebanon and the Biqa' Valley. It enjoyed financial and logistical assistance from Iran and Syria. Whereas Amal sought to improve the conditions of the Shiites in south Lebanon within the political realm, Hizbollah sought to establish there an Islamic state on the Iranian model. Both supported a strong Syrian presence in the country (as did the Druze at the time). Hizbollah evinced strong antagonism vis-à-vis Israel, the U.S., and the Lebanese government. It was apparently responsible for the suicide car bomb attacks on Israeli bases, the U.S. embassy in Beirut, and the October 23, 1983, assault on the Marine naval barracks, killing 241 Marines. Hizbollah's actions hastened the withdrawal of multinational forces from Lebanon at the beginning of 1984. For the U.S., sinking in the Lebanese quicksand was perhaps as tragic as for Israel. Syria emerged as the principal beneficiary. Asad seized on these developments to reverse Israel's earlier achievements.

On March 5, 1984, the Israeli-Lebanese agreement was annulled. When Israel withdrew from Lebanon in 1985 – after establishing a six-mile security zone in the south patrolled by local Christian allies –Asad was able to bolster his hegemony over Lebanon. Israel may have eliminated much of Palestinian militancy in Lebanon but gained a more formidable enemy in the radical Islamist Shiites.

Although an Israeli-Lebanese peace agreement could not be implemented in 1983–84, and the Egyptian-Israeli peace treaty did not extend to include other states, there were efforts by several Arab leaders and non-official Israelis and Jews outside Israel, before and after 1983, to initiate peace plans. Attempts had been made by Palestinian leader ʿIsam Sartawi and Israeli public figures such Ury *Avneri, Matti Peled, and Ya'akov Arnon to meet secretly and discuss ideas as to how to implement UN Resolution 242 and create an independent Palestinian state alongside Israel. The first meeting over these issues took place in Morocco in the presence of King Hasan and his closest advisers. Nothing came of these meetings. Moreover, Sartawi was assassinated in April 1983, and Avneri and his group wielded little influence inside Israel, as they were politically marginal. A group of Moroccan Jews (Israelis and those living in Morocco and elsewhere) formed in the late 1970s an organization called Identité et Dialogue whose aim was to engage Moroccan Muslims, as well as Israeli and Arab politicians, in peace dialogues. They felt they could serve as a bridge toward Arab-Israeli understanding. They were led by André Azoulay, an economist who served later as chief economic adviser to King Hasan, and later worked in the same capacity under King Muhammad VI. Despite Hasan's support for these efforts, the group accomplished little and by the mid-1980s became invisible.

Of greater significance and seriousness was the effort by the then Saudi Prince Fahd bin Abd al-Aziz ibn Saʿud to revive the Middle East peace process. Two months prior to Sadat's assassination, Fahd proposed a comprehensive settlement to include full Israeli withdrawal from all occupied territories, and dismantling of all the Israeli settlements in the West Bank and Gaza Strip; establishing a Palestinian state with

East Jerusalem as its capital; affirming the right of all nations in the Middle East to coexist peacefully; and guaranteeing the Palestinian rights, with compensation for those refugees and their descendants not interested in returning to their homes inside Israel. The new plan was meant to provide an alternative framework to the Camp David Accords in the hope it might enjoy Arab and international support. King Hasan emerged as the staunchest promoter of the plan.

Hoping to secure some credit from the Saudi plan for himself, Hasan volunteered to host an Arab summit where its contents would be scrutinized. Such a summit did in fact take place in Fez on November 25, 1981. Aside from the affirmation that all states in the region were to coexist in peace, the plan remained fuzzy over the official ending of the Arab-Israeli conflict once the Israelis fulfilled their part of the bargain. It also left out the question of recognition of Israeli sovereignty and the problem of the Palestinian claim of the right of return. The latter was a thorny issue for Israel and would remain so. Excepting Hasan's unequivocal support of the plan and the Gulf states' initial cautious support, in the final analysis the summit's participants studiously avoided any serious discussion of its contents. They focused instead on the issue of extending financial support for Lebanon, ravaged by violence. Not least problematic was the absence at the summit of the presidents of Libya, Syria, Algeria, Sudan, and Tunisia. The banishing of Egypt from the Arab consensus was also a major impediment.

To save face as the summit's host, as well as his personal prestige, and at the same time cover up any possible damage that could be caused to Arab solidarity over the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, Hasan suggested that the plan not be written off completely. The opponents of the plan could not be disregarded either, he averred, and thus the summit should be suspended and reconvened to discuss this issue later on. Arab leaders accepted the compromise. The Fahd plan resurfaced at the second Fez Arab summit of September 1982, which was convened in the aftermath of Israel's "Peace for Galilee" incursion into Lebanon. It also followed the aforementioned Reagan's Middle East proposals of September 1, 1982, calling for the implementation of Resolutions 242 and 338. This time, Syria's Asad attended, as did Iraq's Saddam Hussein, Jordan's King Hussein, and Fahd (now the Saudi king), the rulers of the Gulf emirates, and PLO Chairman Yasser Arafat. Despite Hasan's energetic lobbying among Arab leaders in favor of the Fahd plan, his efforts were only marginally rewarded. The summit did back an Arab peace plan, but it was a considerably altered version of the Saudi initiative that accentuated unequivocally the right of the Palestinians to return to pre-1948 Palestine. Hasan could at least be consoled by his ability to host a relatively widely based Arab forum that debated an issue of such magnitude. In March 2002, after the Saudis laid out a new peace plan at an Arab summit in Beirut, the Moroccan press boasted that the original 1981–82 Fahd plan had been fully endorsed by only one Arab leader: the late King Hasan, a man of "visionary and prophetic" attributes.

In July 1985, Morocco called for a summit meeting in Morocco in order to review once again the contents of the Fahd plan. Syria rejected the proposal while most of the radical Arab states boycotted the summit. So did the PLO leadership in Tunis, which was still steadfastly opposed to U.S. and Israeli demands of direct negotiations, opting instead for the convening of an international conference through which a settlement would be imposed on Israel. Hasan did not give up, however. Trying to break the ice, toward the end of 1985 he invited then Israeli Prime Minister Shimon *Peres to Morocco to further the cause of a comprehensive settlement. At the time the Israeli government consisted of a coalition between the Labor Party and Likud.

On July 22–23, 1986, Hasan hosted Israel's Shimon Peres at his palace in Ifrane, causing considerable consternation in Arab countries. The much publicized meeting produced meager results. Hasan expressed his disappointment that Peres had not been more forthcoming on the Palestinian question. The king posed two questions. First, in return for peace with the Arab world, would Israel agree to withdraw from all Arab territories captured in 1967? Second, would the Israeli government agree to negotiate with the PLO? By asking these questions, Hasan placed his dialogue with Peres within the framework of the Fahd principles of 1981–82. He asserted that the Fahd principles endorsed the Palestinians' right to independence and the PLO as their only legitimate representative body. Peres responded negatively to both questions, for to do otherwise would be unacceptable to both his right-wing Likud partners and to large segments of Israeli public opinion.

In the latter half of 1986, Peres turned over the post of prime minister to Yitzḥak *Shamir, becoming Israel's foreign minister in the coalition's rotation agreement. He continued to oppose the creation of a Palestinian state under the aegis of the PLO, favoring instead the "Jordanian option": Palestinian autonomy in parts of the West Bank under the leadership of moderate local forces subordinate to the Kingdom of Jordan. Attempting to implement this policy, Peres met King Hussein secretly in London in April 1987. Shamir was apprised of the meeting a priori but in the final analysis refused to endorse it.

Given the standstill in solving the Palestine problem, and despite the fact that the senior leadership of the PLO was in exile in Tunis, a younger generation of Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza Strip decided to rise up actively against the 20-year Israeli presence. The uprising, known as the Intifada, commenced on December 9, 1987. It prompted King Hussein to relinquish his political ambitions in the West Bank and to maintain a low profile as a potential facilitator between Israel and the Palestinians. The uprising did not include the use of weaponry. Those who protested against the ongoing Israeli occupation threw rocks at Israeli soldiers, burned tires in the street, disseminated literature, and engaged in demonstrations. Supporters of the Islamist-oriented Palestinians, known as the Ḥamās (*Ḥarakat al-Muqāwama al-Islāmiyya* = the Islamic Resistance Movement) and the Islamic Jihād organization, as well as the secular supporters of the PLO sub-organizations, were separately involved in the protests. Whereas the senior Islamist leadership was active locally, the pro-PLO protesters lacked leaders, as they had been exiled. Within several months the PLO in Tunis seized control of the pro-PLO protests by remote control.

In spring 1990, an exclusively right-wing government rose in Israel, led by the Likud, which included circles who had little inclination for negotiation. Labor remained now in opposition until the general elections of June 1992. The efforts by President Bush to break the deadlock by pressuring Israel to offer concessions were thwarted by Shamir and proved ineffectual.

Another major event in the Middle East of major proportions that encouraged the Bush administration to seek stability for the region and a solution to the wider Arab-Israeli conflict was the invasion of Kuwait by Iraqi forces on August 2, 1990. Iraq had had long-standing claims to Kuwait since the days the Ottoman Empire ruled over the area. Iraqi-Kuwaiti border disputes and financial disputes over the price of oil aggravated the relationship and contributed to the Iraqi decision to attack. The U.S. opposed the Iraqi-initiated war. President Bush finally gave Saddam Hussein until January 15, 1991, to end it. When Iraq failed to comply, the U.S. and its allied forces, including several Arab armies, began an air attack on Iraq and on Iraqi positions in Kuwait in "Operation Desert Storm." In retaliation Iraq launched SCUD missiles against Israel, damaging many buildings in the Tel Aviv area. Owing to American pressure Israel did not retaliate against Iraq and left the U.S. and its allies to conduct the war against the Iraqis. On February 23, 1991, allied ground forces entered Iraq. On February 27, Kuwait was liberated. During the war, Iraq's national infrastructure was badly damaged while tens of thousands of Iraqi soldiers and civilians were killed, as were hundreds of Kuwaitis. After their liberation, the Kuwaiti authorities vented their anger against the Palestinians residing in their country, accusing them of supporting the Iraqi occupation. The Palestinian community was then reduced through expulsion from 300,000 to 30,000, with many of the new refugees resettling in Jordan.

The Gulf War and the Intifada led to the U.S.- and Russian-sponsored Middle East Peace Conference that convened in Madrid on October 30, 1991. All Arab states were invited to the conference and most attended. The conference outlined a series of bilateral and direct negotiations between Israel and the Syrians, Lebanese, and Jordanian-Palestinian delegations, with multilateral discussions on Middle Eastern refugees, environment, economic development, and water rights. Politically, in 1991 cracks began to appear in Algerian and Libyan hostility toward Israel. In the immediate aftermath of the 1991 Gulf War, Hasan convened a Maghrebi summit in Casablanca, attended by the heads of state of Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia, and Libya. These states, together with Mauritania, had recently founded the new Maghreb Arab Union (AMU), an organization that worked toward coordinating regional and economic development policies and other joint projects. The AMU member states were eager to play a decisive role in Israeli-Palestinian politics. Thus, the Arab-Israeli peace issue dominated the Casablanca summit, beginning with Hasan's welcoming address and following a speech delivered by Tunisia's President Zayn Abidine Ben Ali. The Tunisian president was most explicit regarding the importance of reaching a settlement, saying that a stable Arab world and a stable Maghreb depended on it.

By then, Egypt had already returned to the Arab fold. Most Arab states had renewed ties with Cairo. President Husni Mubarak successfully walked a tightrope. He stuck to Sadat's policy of preserving the peace with Israel (albeit a cold peace) and Cairo's cooperation with the U.S., but, unlike Sadat, he pursued a policy of reconciliation with the Arab world. As Egypt was then receiving financial and military assistance from Washington, reneging on the peace treaty of 1979 with Israel would most certainly have resulted in the loss of U.S. support. Moreover, Egypt was now applying pressure on the Syrians, Israelis, and Palestinians to resolve their age-old conflicts.

Throughout 1992, however, these gestures of goodwill and the post-Madrid Conference Arab-Israeli bilateral/multilateral negotiations, which were moved to Washington, showed little progress. Israel negotiated with the Palestinians as long as they avowed that they were part of the Jordanian delegation, and not the PLO. Yet, the Palestinians who were with the Jordanian delegation were in fact very much part of the PLO. They contacted Tunis regularly for instructions, much to Israel's displeasure, bringing the bilateral Israeli-Palestinian negotiation track to a virtual standstill.

Further, the Syrians were willing to negotiate with Israel bilaterally about occupied territories. Yet when it came to the multilateral talks they shied away, perhaps suggesting to the Israelis they had little inclination of pursuing matters related to the normalization of ties. Little, then, could be accomplished on the Israel-Syria track. In summer 1992, when the Labor Party replaced the Likud in power, Prime Minister Yitzhak *Rabin was prepared to offer generous territorial concessions to the Syrians in return for extensive negotiations. Syria expected Israel to withdraw completely from the Golan Heights to the June 4, 1967 lines. Israel, however, only agreed to a Syrian presence along the international border that had been agreed on between Britain and France in 1923. Though the difference between the two borders was insignificant in terms of territory, for Israel to return to the June 4, 1967 lines meant tolerating Syrian presence along the northeastern shore of the Sea of Galilee and control over al-Hamma south of the lake. Moreover, as before, Syria was unwilling to establish full ties with Israel. Only the Jordanian-Israeli talks made progress.

Israel, the Palestinians, Jordan, Syria, and the Oslo Accords: 1993–2006

From late 1992 or the beginning of 1993, behind-the-scenes discussions were held in Oslo, Norway, in the shadow of the bilateral and multilateral talks that followed the Madrid Conference. Prime Minister Rabin agreed to open a second, secret channel, alongside the other discussions in Washington, insofar as Israeli-Palestinian talks were concerned. By early fall 1993 the Oslo channel became known to the wider public and replaced the deliberations in Washington as the only option for Israeli-Palestinian negotiations. Israel now expressed readiness to negotiate with the PLO and the representatives of its exiled leadership in Tunis. Until then successive Israeli governments had taken legal action against official and non-official Israelis meeting with PLO representatives anywhere. On its part, the PLO had gradually modified its stance toward Israel, a process that had begun at the end of 1988, and gained momentum in the early 1990s following the Madrid Conference. It now claimed to adhere to UN Resolution 242, renounce terrorism, and recognize the State of Israel. The Intifada was over.

On September 13, 1993, Israel and the PLO signed the Oslo Declaration of Principles (DOP) in Washington in the presence of U.S. President Bill Clinton. It outlined a five-year plan for Palestinian self-government, starting with Israel's withdrawal of troops from the West Bank town of Jericho and the Gaza Strip, and the transfer of authority for economic development, education, culture, tourism, tax collection, and welfare. It was agreed that Chairman Arafat and the PLO's exiled leadership in Tunis would be permitted to set up their headquarters in Gaza, a decision implemented in July 1994. The road was paved for the creation of the Palestinian Authority. This was to be followed by the election in 1996 of an interim governing council. Negotiations would then commence (on May 4, 1996) toward a final status agreement on the future of Jerusalem, the 1948 refugees, Jewish settlements in the West Bank and Gaza, and the demarcation of clearly defined borders.

A majority of Israelis and Palestinians were at first favorably disposed to the new accords, even though the Oslo DOP was a peace process, not a peace treaty. The Palestinians were not offered an independent state, in any case not in the initial phases of the process. Most Palestinians were dissatisfied because the hard issues of refugee status, the question of Jerusalem, and the fate of the Jewish settlements were deferred. In Israel, right-wing political figures said they would either work to abrogate the DOP or not honor it. Palestinian radicals, notably Islamists of the Hamas and Jihad movements, as well as secularly oriented radicals within the PLO's Fatah and PFLP, carried out violent actions in the West Bank and Gaza against Jewish settlers and soldiers. Among the Arab states, Syria spearheaded the opposition to the Oslo accords less out of concern about the contents of the DOP than as a protest against the PLO's decision to reach a separate agreement with Israel. The Gulf emirates supported the process as did Egypt, which was active in pushing forward the implementation of the accords. King Hussein not only backed Oslo: on October 26, 1994, he signed a peace agreement with Israel in the Arava Desert region in the presence of official Israeli, Jordanian, U.S., and Russian delegations. The thorniest problem was border demarcation because Israel had expanded its eastern frontier in the late 1960s by an estimated 350 square kilometers, some of which had become farmland. Rabin and Hussein worked out the whole line from Eilat and Aqaba in the south to the point of convergence with Syria in the north. In some areas they agreed to land exchanges. In other areas Hussein allowed Israeli farmers to continue to use the land they had been cultivating after it reverted to Jordanian sovereignty. As for the water, it was decided that Jordan would get 50 million cubic meters a year from Israel. The two countries agreed to cooperate to overcome water shortages by developing new water resources.

Israeli-Palestinian negotiations over the further implementation of the interim process were delayed until the signing in Cairo of Oslo I (May 1994). It was then that Israeli troops withdrew and Palestinian police took control in Jericho and the Gaza Strip. Violence by both sides and postponements diminished support for the accords. Yet the parties reached a number of understandings, including Oslo II, signed at the White House on September 28, 1995, which led to more Israeli concessions in the West Bank.

The Oslo II accord provided for elections to a Palestinian council, the transfer of legislative authority to this council, the withdrawal of Israeli forces from the Palestinian centers of population, and the division of the West Bank into three areas: A, B, and C. Area A consisted of Palestinian towns and cities. Area B referred to Palestinian villages (68 percent of the total Palestinian population in the West Bank). Area C covered areas taken over by Israel for roads and settlements. Area A was placed under exclusive Palestinian control and area C under exclusive Israeli control. In Area B the Palestinians exercised civilian authority while Israel remained in charge of security. Under the terms of Oslo II, Israel conceded to the Palestinian Authority civilian control over one-third of the West Bank. Four percent of the West Bank, mainly the towns of Bethlehem, Hebron, Jenin, Nablus (Shechem), Tulkarem, and Kalkilya, was turned over to full Palestinian control and another 25 percent to administrative-civilian control. In the Gaza Strip, Israel retained control over 35 percent of the land, notably Jewish settlements (*Gush Katif) and roads leading to them. The rest became the responsibility of the Palestinians.

Some setbacks on the Palestinian track loomed large on the horizon following Oslo II. This was several months before the May 4, 1996 deadline for the negotiations over the final status of the occupied territories. Arafat envisaged wresting from Israel in these negotiations a Palestinian state with East Jerusalem as its capital. Israel had reservations regarding Arafat's maximalist approach and, simultaneously, approved the expansion of existing Jewish settlements in the West Bank. But there were other reasons for the indefinite postponement of the final status deliberations. On November 4, 1995, Yigal Amir, a young religious extremist, assassinated Rabin at a Tel Aviv peace rally. Throughout 1995 certain religious elements whose worldview was imbued with messianic tendencies and other ultra-right circles had spearheaded criticism of the government for its decision to concede territories. They insisted that all of the Land of Israel had been promised to the Jews by God and no living person could give up any part of it to foreigners. As far as they were concerned, the Palestinians were aliens. Those who betrayed the Jewish people must be punished and their plans thwarted.

Peres, then foreign minister, succeeded Rabin and vowed to resume the peace process on all fronts, including Syria. To help expedite Israeli-Syrian contacts, the U.S. initiated direct negotiations between the parties at the end of December 1995 at Wye Plantation in Maryland. The Israelis and Syrians focused their attention on issues related to permanent borders, security matters, diplomatic ties, and water. The negotiators met once again toward the end of January 1996 but were deadlocked on most issues. Though secret Israeli-Syrian contacts took place during the Likud's new term in government (May 1996–May 1999), the parties did not meet publicly until 2000.

Peres had no better success with the Palestinians. On February 25, 1996, a Hamas terrorist blew himself up on a bus in Jerusalem, killing all the passengers; suicide bomber attacks followed in Ashkelon, Jerusalem, and Tel Aviv, with more than 60 Israelis killed. The suicide bombings convinced large segments of the Israeli public that Oslo had only wrought havoc. The support that Peres had enjoyed soon eroded. With national elections scheduled for May 29, 1996, the Likud's candidate, Binyamin *Netanyahu, surged ahead of Peres in public opinion polls.

Meanwhile Hizbollah launched Katyusha rockets from Lebanon at settlements in northern Galilee. They also attacked Israeli units and the pro-Israel Christian militias inside the security zone in southern Lebanon. The unwritten agreement brokered by the U.S. in 1993 stipulating that Hizbollah would cease rocket attacks against Israel had been violated. Israel blamed Iran and Syria for backing Hizbollah and took drastic steps to curb the attacks. The Peres government carried out "Operation Grapes of Wrath" in April 1996. It aimed at restoring peace to Galilee and included aerial bombings of Hizbollah guerrilla strongholds in southern Lebanon, the Biqa' Valley, and Beirut. Several hundred thousand people fled Lebanese towns and villages and became refugees. Despite the use of sophisticated weaponry, "Grapes of Wrath" failed to achieve the desired results of subduing Hizbollah. On April 18, due to human error, Israeli shells killed over 100 refugees in the UN base in Qana. Israel now faced condemnation internationally. "Grapes of Wrath" diminished Peres's prospects of retaining his position as prime minister. A month later, Binyamin Netanyahu was elected prime minister, winning by a narrow margin of 30,000 popular votes.

During Netanyahu's first year in office relations with the Arab world reached a new low. Israeli-Syrian relations were characterized by intermittent tensions. Hizbollah became a powerful fighting force in southern Lebanon, capable of operating inside the security zone and killing Israeli and Christian militia soldiers. As before, the Palestinians posed the most difficult challenge to Netanyahu. A crisis of major proportions unfolded in October 1996 over an Israeli government decision to blast open a tunnel in the vicinity of the al-Aqsa Mosque in order to open a second entrance to the tunnel used by the *Hasmoneans in the second century BCE. The project was meant to facilitate the flow of tourists to this site. For the Palestinians the move was interpreted as a ploy to create new facts in East Jerusalem unilaterally, disregarding their interest. An outburst of uncontrollable rioting broke out throughout the West Bank to the point where Palestinian police in the area opened fire on Israeli soldiers. More than a dozen Israeli soldiers and 80 Palestinians were killed.

Anti-Israeli sentiments became more widespread in the Arab world, and even the Clinton Administration did not spare its criticism of Netanyahu's policies. U.S. and international pressure on Israel prompted Netanyahu to offer concessions and return to the spirit of Oslo. The concession came in the context of the Hebron Protocol, signed on January 15, 1997, which divided Hebron into two zones governed by security arrangements. The Palestinian zone (H1) covered 80 percent of Hebron, while the Jewish zone (H2) covered the other 20 percent. In the Jewish zone Israel was to maintain full security control over the hundreds of Jewish settlers and their property until the final status of the territories would be decided. From Oslo I through the Hebron agreement, Israel had maintained complete control of 70 percent of the West Bank (Area C) and still exercised security control over another 23 percent (Area B); the Palestinian Authority exercised full control over only 6 percent (Area A).

Tensions did not abate, however. During 1997 the Netanyahu government resumed its efforts to consolidate Israel's influence within East Jerusalem. The aim was to build housing units for 30,000 Israelis in East Jerusalem's Har Ḥomah district. The Palestinians organized a general strike to oppose the project, which turned violent and exacerbated the already unsteady relations between Israel and the Palestinian Authority. To alleviate tensions, the Clinton Administration invited Netanyahu and Arafat to a summit at Wye Plantation in October 1998. In a two-day period, Clinton brokered an important deal: exchanging Israeli-occupied territory on the West Bank for Palestinian antiterrorist measures to be monitored by the CIA. Jordan's King Hussein, then undergoing treatment for cancer in the U.S., participated in the summit. This was his final involvement in peacemaking. He died several weeks later. The summit's memorandum, signed in Washington on October 23, 1998, sought to invigorate the Israeli-Palestinian Oslo peace process and stimulate intensive negotiations toward permanent peace. Israel agreed to pull back its forces from an additional 13 percent of the West Bank in three stages over a three-month period. This would have given the Palestinians full or partial authority over 40 percent of the West Bank. Arafat agreed to revise the 1968 Palestinian National Covenant by removing all clauses pertaining to Israel's destruction. He carried out the revision reluctantly.

The Israeli pullout as stipulated by the summit memorandum did not take place. Opposition to Netanyahu came from the Likud's coalition partners in the religious and nationalist parties. Netanyahu barely succeeded in getting approval of the agreement in his ruling cabinet. The Knesset, on the other hand, approved it on November 15 by 75 votes to 19, with 19 abstentions. Despite the official decision to honor the agreement, Netanyahu bowed to religious and nationalist lobbyists a month later. He also justified this by blaming the Palestinian Authority for not honoring the security arrangements set forth in the memorandum. The policy of backing away from Wye provoked a crisis in Israel and paved the way for new elections on May 17, 1999.

In the aftermath of a tense election campaign, Ehud *Barak, head of the Labor Party and a former chief of staff in the Israel Defense Forces, was elected prime minister. He formed a coalition government consisting of religious and secular parties before proceeding to continue the peace process with the Palestinians and the Syrians from the point Rabin and Peres had left off. On May 24, 2000, Israel pulled its forces out of the military zone in southern Lebanon and dismantled the local pro-Israeli militia. At that time Barak offered Asad a return to the de facto border of June 4, 1967, along the Jordan River and almost to the shoreline at the northeastern end of the Sea of Galilee. In March 2000, Barak met with Syrian Foreign Minister Faruq al-Shara' in the U.S. in the presence of President Clinton. He then made known his generous offer for territorial concessions to Damascus. The mini-summit was a complete failure. According to Barak, Asad wanted Israel to capitulate a priori to all his demands and then, and only then, would Syria engage in serious negotiations. Some observers thought that Asad was then near death and ill prepared for accepting or providing any political concessions. Others believed that Barak had pushed the Syrians too hard to establish full normal relations with Israel and to withdraw their troops from Lebanon.

As to the Palestinians, an Israeli-Palestinian summit was initiated by Clinton in July 2000 at Camp David. It followed Israel's withdrawal from southern Lebanon. The purpose of the summit was to reach a framework agreement for a permanent settlement. Barak was prepared to grant the Palestinian territorial and political concessions that no previous Israeli prime minister had dared to offer. The summit was attended by Israeli and Palestinian delegations, led by Barak and Arafat, respectively. Barak made an unprecedented offer envisaging a Palestinian state on over 90 percent of the West Bank and all of the Gaza Strip; the establishment of the Palestinian capital in East Jerusalem where some Arab neighborhoods would become sovereign Palestinian territory and others would enjoy "functional autonomy"; Palestinian sovereignty over half the Old City of Jerusalem (the Muslim and Christian quarters) and custodianship – short of sovereignty – over the Temple Mount; and a return of refugees to the Palestinian state, yet with no "right of return" to Israel proper.

Arafat turned down these concessions. He now expected Israel to agree unconditionally to the right of return of all Palestinian refugees who so desired and vehemently opposed Israeli sovereignty over the Western (Wailing) Wall of the Temple Mount. According to Barak, Arafat rejected the two-state solution, which meant putting into question the viability of the State of Israel. After two weeks of talks Clinton ended the summit, placing the blame for its failure squarely on Arafat's shoulders.

The stalemate on the Palestinian track, Arafat's deviation from Oslo, and, perhaps, the feeling in Palestinian political circles that territorial concession could be wrested through violence (e.g., Israel's withdrawal from southern Lebanon was viewed as a sign of weakness) – may have contributed to the outbreak of the second Intifada (*Intifāḍat al-Aqsa*). Some attribute the new Palestinian uprising to the visit to the Temple Mount by Likud party leader Ariel Sharon on September 28, 2000. But this is not what caused it. Sharon's visit had been coordinated in advance with the Palestinian Authority's security apparatus. Sharon's visit was directed against the Barak government – not the Palestinians – to demonstrate that the Likud cared more about Jerusalem than Barak. The visit merely played into Arafat's hand as a pretext for the uprising.

The al-Aqsa Intifada spurred more terrorist attacks against Israel than ever before, directed with equal intensity against the West Bank and Gaza Strip Jewish settlers. These included massive suicide attacks launched by the Hamas and Islamic Jihad movements. Barak was now viewed by Israeli public opinion as a political failure, a leader unable to curb terrorism. Early general elections took place in February 2001. Likud leader Ariel Sharon won a landslide victory and remained in office after a second election victory in February 2003. He was also instrumental in achieving greater security and weakening the Intifada. A good example of his approach could be seen after a devastating terrorist attack in 2002 on Jews attending a Passover *seder* at a hotel in the city of Netanya, with 28 people killed. Sharon responded by ordering a massive military incursion, known as "Operation Defensive Wall," into Nablus, Jenin, Bethlehem, Ramallah, Kalkilya, and Tulkarem. Israeli forces occupied these Palestinian cities for the first time since withdrawing from them under Oslo. Sharon did not stop there. He confined Arafat to his Ramallah compound, virtually placing him under house arrest. Hence, the Palestinian leader became politically irrelevant and isolated from both Arab leaders and the international community until his death in November 2004. Further, Israel began building a wall around the West Bank to prevent the infiltration of Palestinian terrorists into the country.

In 2003, Sharon surprised his leftist critics and rightist supporters when he made it plain that Israel would have to make painful concessions to the Palestinians. While he expressed skepticism regarding overtures made by Bashar al-Asad, who had succeeded his father (who died in June 2000) as president of Syria, regarding a Syrian-Israeli settlement, he made the Palestinian track his first order of priority; he also improved relations with Cairo and Amman.

During the 2002–04 period new proposals for a comprehensive peace settlement emerged. One such proposal was made by Saudi Crown Prince Abdullah bin Abd al-Aziz ibn Saʿud at the Beirut Arab summit of March 2002. The plan called upon Israel to withdraw from all territories occupied in the 1967 war; agree to a "just solution of the Palestinian refugee problem," without specifically mentioning the refugees' right to return or indemnities as stated in UN Resolution 194; and make Arab Jerusalem the capital of a Palestinian state. In return, all the Arab states would agree to end the Arab-Israeli conflict and implement full and normal relations with Israel. The Israelis would have access to the Western Wall but would have to withdraw from East Jerusalem. The plan also advocated the two-state solution and mutual Israeli-Palestinian recognition of the two states in the context of UN Resolutions 242 and 338. At the Algiers summit in March 2005, the Saudi plan resurfaced. King Abdullah of Jordan went so far as to suggest a revision of the plan, whereby the Arab states would grant Israel full recognition prior to the finalizing of Palestinian-Israeli negotiations. The proposal was rejected.

Although Sharon would not go as far as Barak in offering the Palestinians most of the West Bank, and considered negotiations over East Jerusalem as premature, he laid the groundwork for a unilateral Israeli withdrawal from the Gaza Strip, where Jewish settlements still existed, advocating their dismantlement. This policy coincided with a new initiative similar to the Saudi plan, backed by the Quartet (official representatives of the European Union, the UN, Russia, and the U.S.) and known as "the road map." Despite opposition inside his government from right-wing ministers, Sharon accepted major portions of the plan.

The road map as envisaged by the Quartet had been reworked by the U.S. administration of George W. Bush. The revised and more detailed road map was made public in April 2003. It stated that a two-state solution to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict could be achieved only through an end to violence and once the Palestinian people acquired a leadership that acted decisively against terror, willing and able to build a democracy based on tolerance. The settlement would bring about the termination of the Israeli occupation based on the Madrid Conference, UN resolutions, Oslo, and the Saudi plan. This result would promote international efforts to achieve a comprehensive peace on the Syrian-Israeli and Lebanese-Israeli tracks. Specifically, if implemented, the Israeli-Palestinian road map was to consist of three phases according to an as yet unspecified timetable:

Phase One: Ending terror and violence, and building Palestinian institutions; Israeli withdrawal from Palestinian areas occupied from the start of the second Intifada; drafting a Palestinian constitution leading to free and open elections; reforming the Palestinian Authority security apparatuses; nurturing U.S.-Palestinian security cooperation in collaboration with overseers (U.S., Egypt, Jordan); establishing Israeli-Palestinian security cooperation; forming a Palestinian civil society.

Phase Two: Creating an interim Palestinian state under a new leadership as a way station on the road to a permanent status settlement – a phase that would begin after the Palestinian elections. The ties maintained by several Arab states with Israel in the pre-Intifada period (1994–2000) through tourism, trade, and liaison offices (Morocco, Tunisia, and several Gulf states), which were all but severed during the upheavals, would be renewed. Negotiations relating to multilateral engagement on issues including regional water resources, environment, economic development, refugees, and arms control issues would be resumed. The new constitution for a democratic and an independent Palestinian state would be finalized and approved.

Phase Three: Achieving a permanent Israeli-Palestinian status agreement (with final borders) and a fully independent Palestinian state based on UN Resolutions 242, 338, 1397, and a "realistic solution" to the refugee issue, one, however, that excluded the "right of return" to Israel. President Bush highlighted this stipulation in his letter to Sharon from June 2004. The negotiated solution to the status of Jerusalem would take into account the political and religious interests of Jews, Christians, and Muslims. In this phase the vision of two states – Israel and Palestine – living side by side in peace and security would be fulfilled. Henceforth, the Arab states would accept full normal relations with Israel – not mere liaison offices – in the context of a comprehensive Arab-Israeli peace.

Only with the passage of time will one be able to determine if the road map will be implemented and honored. In the early years of the 21st century the Palestinian Authority found itself in the immediate post-Arafat era under the leadership of Chairman Abu Mazin and Prime Minister Abu Ala, both among the architects of the Oslo DOP. Abu Mazin was elected president of the Authority in a democratically held election in January 2005, under the scrutiny of international observers including former U.S. President Jimmy Carter. However, with the victory of Hamas in the January 2006 parliamentary elections and the installation of Ismail Haniyeh as prime minister, Abu Mazin's position was considerably undermined, and the future of the peace process suddenly became highly problematic.

The Maghreb and Israel: A Unique and Fluctuating Relationship

The signing of the Oslo accords in 1993 inspired King Hasan II of Morocco to once again encourage a broader peace between Israel and its Arab neighbors. Moreover, he saw in the revived peace process an opportunity to improve the ailing Moroccan economy through extensive tourism, which would include numerous Moroccan Jews living in Israel, France, and the Americas. This is one of the reasons Hasan appointed the Moroccan-Jewish entrepreneur Serge Bardugo as Morocco's minister of tourism. Hasan then invited Prime Minister Rabin and Foreign Minister Peres to Morocco on their way back from the signing ceremony for the Oslo DOP in Washington. On June 2, 1994, Hasan convened a special session of his cabinet. The ministers who arrived at the meeting were surprised to find Israeli Foreign Minister Peres there, together with Uri Savir (then the Foreign Ministry's director general), Avi Gil (director of the foreign minister's office), and David Dadon – then director of the Middle East Department at the Foreign Ministry and later head of Israel's liaison office in Rabat.

Hasan made known to the visitors his intentions to improve relations between the two nations. Peres also pushed for a Middle Eastern/Maghrebi economic summit in Casablanca, direct telephone connections between the two countries, and liaison offices as the first steps toward full diplomatic relations. It was evident that most Moroccan cabinet members were reluctant to agree to the opening of liaison offices, arguing that the time was not yet ripe for such decisive measures. Yet when the meeting ended, Hasan promised Peres that liaison offices would be established. The opening of the liaison offices in Tel Aviv and Rabat was carried out in November 1994. The raison d'être for establishing liaison offices in Rabat and Tel Aviv was to advance tourism and trade between the two countries. These offices were also to promote cultural and economic exchanges that hitherto had been low-keyed. For the next several years, the liaison office in Tel Aviv busily engaged in issuing tourist visas to Morocco. Postal relations between the two countries, severed on September 22, 1959, had already been established as early as September 1, 1994. The first annual Middle East and North Africa Economic Summit involving senior officials from Israel, numerous Arab states, the United States, Europe, and Japan, as well as representatives of the private business sector, convened toward the end of October 1994 in Casablanca. Leading Moroccan Jews promoted it, while Hasan seized the opportunity to put himself forward as an architect of regional planning. From his standpoint, the summit was a stepping stone for securing aid from the industrialized nations for the Moroccan economy and elevating his own status among Arab leaders. The summit was short on substance, however.

Already before 1995, a number of experimental agricultural farms were launched by Israel in Morocco in conjunction with the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID) to promote higher yields in Moroccan agriculture. In October 1994, the Israeli Export Institute reported that Israel's export potential to Morocco for the years 1994–97 was estimated at $220 million annually and could include such sectors as agricultural products, irrigation equipment, the building trade, high-tech electronics, processed foods, and professional services for infrastructure development. In 1994–96, the number of Israeli tourists who visited Morocco annually was estimated at approximately 20,000.

The post-Rabin era and the subsequent escalation in Palestinian terrorism inside Israel marked the gradual decline of the more open relationships in several domains. Like the hardships faced by Israeli diplomats in the rest of the Arab world, including Egypt and Jordan, their counterparts in Morocco faced many challenges and limitations, some of which had their inception during Peres' term as prime minister. The Israeli flag was not raised outside the liaison office but was placed inside the building owing to criticism of Israel by Islamic fundamentalist groups and other elements opposed to any kind of Moroccan normalization with the Jewish state.

Following Binyamin Netanyahu's accession to power there were manifestations of pessimism in Morocco. The complaints emanating from Rabat suggested that the Oslo process was in peril, and progress in the Syrian-Israeli negotiations had reached a dead end. But despite the ups and downs, Moroccan-Israeli relations, particularly in the intelligence and defense domains, remained undisturbed. Following his visit to Morocco in late summer 1996, Peres, now the Labor opposition leader, heard from Hasan that Netanyahu's reported "no to Jerusalem," "no to a Palestinian state," and "no to a settlement in the Golan Heights" was reminiscent of the 1967 Arab summit in Khartoum with its own famous three noes.

The 1996 tunnel crisis and the opposition to Netanyahu in the Arab world had a profound effect on Moroccan-Israeli ties. From that time until 1998, the work of the Israelis at the Rabat liaison office was made more difficult owing to media attacks and other obstacles. David Dadon, who headed the office, suffered the same indignity as his counterpart in Egypt, Ambassador Zvi Mazel, by being forced to reduce his visibility. In 1997, to silence mounting opposition locally and in different parts of the Arab world against the ongoing relations with Israel, Hasan canceled the invitation he had extended to Netanyahu and his foreign minister, David Levy, to visit Morocco. Hasan could ill afford to act otherwise, for he chaired the Islamic Conference Organization's Jerusalem Committee for the Glorification of Arab Jerusalem. Morocco, it was said, could not cooperate with an Israeli government that considered Jerusalem as indivisible and ruled by Jews.

As a result of the new political realities, many of the economic projects planned in the early and mid-1990s by Morocco and Israel were later frozen, except perhaps the flow of tourists, which, in any case, remained overwhelmingly one-sided: from Israel to Morocco. Some of the obstacles to large-scale economic cooperation were equally attributable to bureaucratic red tape intermixed with official bias. Certain forces in official Morocco opposed Israel's aspiration to open and fast-paced joint activity.

On May 5, 1999, less than two weeks before the Israeli elections, Hasan called on Moroccan Israelis to make the "choice of peace" and vote for the Labor Party headed by Ehud Barak. Hasan was aware that the majority of Moroccan Jews in Israel remained loyal to the Likud and had played, like the new Russian immigrants, a pivotal role in unseating Peres in 1996. On May 17, 1999, the Moroccan media rejoiced over Barak's election victory. King Hasan passed away on July 23, 1999. The early phase of Muhammad VI's rule did not raise major problems for the relationship. Israeli tourists continued to enter Morocco, as did agronomists and other professionals involved in special agricultural and industrial projects. While Israeli exports to Morocco since 1999 amounted to only several million dollars annually, Moroccan exports to Israel rose markedly at the end of the Hasan era and immediately after Muhammad VI's ascendance to the throne. In the first half of 2000, Israel imported $830 million worth of Moroccan agricultural and textile products, an unprecedented sum for Israel to spend in trade transactions with an Arab state. These figures were to decrease in the wake of renewed Israeli-Palestinian hostilities. To spare the Moroccans embarrassment, from the early 1990s onward Israeli firms – including those specializing in agricultural development, irrigation equipment, and medical products – agreed to be registered by the authorities as foreign companies or worked under the guise of foreign concerns.

The second Intifada, the spate of anti-Israel editorials in the pro-government, independent, and Islamist organs, and pressure attributed to the Arab League and Palestinian Authority forced Morocco, on October 24, 2000, to close the Israeli liaison office in Rabat and recall its diplomats from Tel Aviv. Israeli tourists who thenceforth wished to visit Morocco could only obtain visas at Moroccan consulates in Europe. The Foreign Ministry in Rabat said the decision was justified by the failure of the Middle East peace process following "inhuman acts perpetrated for weeks by Israeli forces against Palestinian civilians." It emphasized that closing down the Israeli liaison office was also related to Morocco's responsibilities to the Jerusalem Committee presided over by King Muhammad VI.

At the end of October 2000, hundreds of thousands of Moroccans marched in the streets of Rabat to show their support for the Palestinians. The marchers included Prime Minister Abd al-Rahman Yussufi and his political party, the Union Socialiste des Forces Populaires (USFP). A competing anti-Israeli rally was organized in Casablanca by the Islamist Parti de la Justice et du Développement (PJD). The rally swelled to 25,000 participants and quickly degenerated into a riot that had to be dispersed with water cannons. This form of protest was repeated on April 7, 2002, in the largest pro-Palestinian demonstrations ever to take place in the Arab world, with nearly half a million demonstrators filling the streets of Rabat.

The Moroccan government did nothing to stop the attacks against Ariel Sharon in public and in the media. Nor did it discourage the publication of press editorials that found a certain justification for the terrorist attacks of 9/11. The Istiqlal Party, represented in the coalition government headed by Yussufi, allowed its press to claim that the crimes of several Muslim terrorists against the U.S. could not be divorced from Israeli arrogance toward the Palestinians. The Bush administration should have taken seriously the warnings by Arab leaders who spoke out against Sharon's policies. Instead the U.S. chose to turn a deaf ear and thus shared the responsibility for the deaths of Americans.

Albeit damaged, Israel's relations with Morocco survived. Particularly intriguing in these troubled times was the decision in 2001 to collaborate in planning and constructing a large casino at Tetuan, a city in northern Morocco. An affluent Jewish family of Moroccan origin living in Barcelona who owned a large tract of land near Tetuan's Mediterranean coast, offered it as a site for the casino. Beside the casino, the $150 million raised by Morocco for the project was also earmarked for a 400-room five-star hotel and a vacation resort. Construction of the casino and resort complex began in 2001 after two leading Moroccan entrepreneurs, the Ligad Group (a private Israeli construction firm), and Sammy Tito, an Israeli architect, signed agreements.

Mauritania, on the margin of the Arab-Israeli conflict and Arab politics, established relations with Israel in 1995 and opened liaison offices in Tel Aviv. It did not sever ties with Israel in the aftermath of the second Intifada.

Algerian-Israeli relations in the Oslo and post-Oslo eras are no less intriguing. During the early and mid-1980s, in the post-Boumedienne period under the presidency of Shadli Ben Jadid, Algeria's FLN regime did not miss any opportunity to discredit Arab-Israeli peace efforts and took an active part in the effort to muster consensual support to isolate Egypt from every Arab forum. It opposed the Saudi peace initiative of 1981–82 and the abortive Lebanese-Israeli peace agreement of 1983. Nonetheless, the FLN no longer displayed the sort of radical zealousness reminiscent of the 1960s and 1970s.

Beginning in summer 1990, Algeria faced deep political divisions and instability, especially as it was striving toward democracy in line with its new constitution, approved on February 23, 1989, which opened the way to a multiparty political system. On June 12, 1990, the country's first free municipal elections took place. Eleven political parties participated in this historic event, among which were the regime's FLN; the religious Islamist Front Islamique du Salut (FIS); the Front des Forces Socialistes (FFS); and the Rally for Culture and Democracy (RCD). The results were stunning: the FIS won a majority of the municipal seats in the country's largest cities – Algiers, Oran, Constantine, and Annaba. The backing of FIS came from the Arab majority; the Berbers boycotted the FIS and supported the secular FFS and RCD. The vote for the Islamists was less an outpouring of massive support for the FIS than a reaction against the FLN's record of authoritarianism and mismanagement. At the end of 1991, the first round of parliamentary elections took place. They delivered a solid victory to the Islamists and raised the possibility of their control of the parliament in a second round. The army canceled the second round and key Islamists were arrested, with the FIS made illegal. In January 1992, Ben Jadid resigned from the presidency, to be replaced by Muhammad Boudiaf. This development ended the domination of the FLN for some time. Violence erupted soon afterwards. In June 1992, after exhibiting an autonomy that the Algerian military had clearly not expected, Boudiaf was gunned down by assassins. In the mid-1990s, under the presidency of Liamine Zeroual and the new government party, the National Democratic Rally (RND), supporters of the FIS and other militant Islamic groups – such as the Groupe Islamique Armé (GIA) – engaged the central government in incessant violence. The upheavals that soon turned into a civil war continued throughout the 1990s and led to Zeroual's resignation in 1999 and to presidential elections.

Abd al-Aziz Bouteflika won the presidency in the April 1999 elections and within two years ended the civil war. His attitude toward Israel was devoid of hostility. In July 1999, Bouteflika met openly with Prime Minister Barak in Rabat during King Hasan's funeral. He promised to mediate between Israel and its Arab neighbors. This unique promise was apparently a result of previous behind-the-scenes contacts. Rumors then circulated that Israel had offered military hardware to Algeria and a deal was in the making. Bouteflika declared that Algeria would be prepared to establish ties with Israel, contingent upon the Israeli withdrawal from all occupied territories, dismantling settlements, and cooperation in creating a Palestinian state.

Contacts between Algeria and Israel had had their roots in the 1980s. Between 1986 and 1988, a close confidant of Ben Jadid and Israeli Foreign Minister Shimon Peres met on several occasions in Paris. Ovadiah Sofer, Israel's ambassador to France, apparently mediated the initiative. For Israel, the contacts seemed important because Algeria was regarded as a key Arab and African state with ample influence at the UN. Israel had hoped that Algeria would tone down its criticism of Israel in Third World forums and thus reduce the hostility against Israeli policies toward the Palestinians. Once Israel rejected the Algerian demand that, in return for continued discreet ties, it should recognize the PLO, the contacts were discontinued.

The secret Algerian-Israeli contacts were revived under Zeroual's presidency, this time in the area of much-needed medical and pharmaceutical supplies from Israel. The Algerians were eager to pursue the contacts following the signing of the Oslo accords, once it seemed as though a major hurdle in the Arab-Israeli conflict had been eliminated. An Israeli delegation led by the minister of health arrived in Algiers to sign the first secret Israeli-Algerian agreement for medical supplies. Thus began the quiet flow of shipments from Israel to Algeria that, as early as July 1994, included 10,000 pregnancy test kits at a cost of $11.34 per unit. These supplies reached Algeria under the fictitious name of Prélude to look like a French product. The Algerian authorities were worried that, in the heat of the civil unrest launched by the Islamists, this form of cooperation would be exposed and subsequently used against the government.

The Israeli-Algerian medical ties endured for several years and included antibiotics, scanners, medications for serious wounds inflicted on victims of Algeria's civil war, and even assistance in hospitalization in parts of rural areas. Algerian medical personnel arrived in Israel to learn techniques of identifying corpses. Moreover, between October 15 and 25, 1999, a high-ranking Israeli delegation visited Algeria secretly in order to reach an undeclared rapprochement between the two countries. The delegation included five Israelis, who were received in Sidi Bel-Abbes, Constantine, and Algiers; they held talks with two of Bouteflika's top aides and discussed bilateral trade and military cooperation and ways to establish liaison offices in Tel Aviv and Algiers. Shortly thereafter Bouteflika reiterated his demand for a full Israeli withdrawal from the territories occupied in the 1967 war.

Although we have no knowledge of what was initially agreed upon behind closed doors, Bouteflika's public declarations did not lead to anything and the various contacts were later broken off. This change was conditioned by the second Intifada. Yet to attribute it only to this is to oversimplify matters. Long before this crisis, Israel had pulled its troops out of Lebanon (May 2000), attempted to negotiate an agreement with the Syrians on the Golan Heights, and, as late as July 2000, the Oslo channel remained viable. It soon became obvious that Bouteflika's domestic political opponents and the intervention of several Arab states, especially Syria, had influenced his policies. One sign of this pressure is evinced by the creation, in November 1999, of the Committee of National Organizations against Normal Ties with Israel. Consisting of representatives of most political parties, it included the Islamist movements Ḥarakat Mujtamaʿ al-Silm (Movement of the Society for Peace), Mouvement Démocratique et Social, and the banned FIS. One FIS leader, Abd al-Qadir Bu Khamkham, addressed a message to Bouteflika in which he advised strongly against "possible recognition of the Jewish Zionist identity on the Arab land of Palestine."

Some attitudes toward Israel changed after the Algerian presidential elections of April 2004, giving Bouteflika a strong majority. Hosting in March 2005 the Algiers Arab summit, Bouteflika openly urged Arab leaders to consider the strategy of recognizing Israel as a top priority in return for an Israeli withdrawal from all occupied territories.

Tunisian-Israeli relations were marred by inconsistencies. The transfer of the Arab League headquarters to Tunis, soon after the signing of the Egyptian-Israeli peace treaty, brought Tunisia into the limelight and bestowed upon its government an aura of importance it had never enjoyed before. Until the mid-1980s, Tunisia joined Algeria in the campaign to ban Egypt from the Arab fold. After the 1982 "Operation Peace for Galilee," Tunisia became an almost permanent sanctuary for PLO headquarters. While the Tunisians appeared outwardly hospitable to the PLO, they were concerned that the presence of the old-time Palestinian leaders in their midst could invite trouble. Bourguiba and his successor, Zayn Abidin Ben Ali, understood what might be at stake: a large Palestinian concentration on Tunisian soil could pose a threat to internal stability, as had been the case with Jordan until 1970 and Lebanon afterwards.

From the inception of the PLO's presence in Tunisia, Israel considered it vital to make every possible effort to counter Palestinian activities there. This was very much the case on October 1, 1985, when Israeli fighter jets strafed PLO headquarters in Tunis. This operation left a number of Tunisians as well as Palestinians dead. Israel claimed that Tunisia conveniently overlooked the PLO's terrorist actions against Israel, purposely ignoring the fact that Palestinian fighters, enjoying sanctuary in Tunisia, were crossing into Algeria, where they underwent military training in the region of Tbessa. Israel arrested many such Palestinian fighters who had sailed to Israel via Tunis and Greece.

As noted, although the first Intifada in the West Bank and Gaza, which began in December 1987, is rightly regarded as a locally inspired Palestinian uprising against Israel's occupation of 20 years, it was soon thereafter aided and partly guided by the exiled leadership in Tunis. Similar to its actions in 1985, Israel once again reacted against the Palestinians in Tunisia. In April 1988, after learning that Palestinian leader Khalil al-Wazir (Abu Jihad) had, from his sanctuary in Tunis, taken command of the PLO's supporters in the Intifada, Israel dispatched a special military commando unit to Tunis and killed al-Wazir in his home.

Bourguiba's removal from power in November 1987 and his replacement by President Zayn Abidine Ben Ali led Tunisia to adopt a more sober attitude toward Israel from the late 1980s. In 1988 and throughout 1989, Tunis was to become an active arena, this time for a diplomatic process to bring the Israelis and the Palestinians to the negotiating table. This materialized after Arafat endorsed the establishment of an independent Palestinian state and UN Resolution 242. Though the Israelis hardly concealed their skepticism over Arafat's declarations at the time, the U.S. entered into talks with the PLO in Tunis through Ambassador Robert H. Pelletreau. The negotiations eventually led to American recognition of the PLO and helped lay the groundwork for the October 1991 Madrid Peace Conference. Arafat's return to Gaza in 1994 and a partial Israeli withdrawal from the West Bank and Gaza served as a stimulant for Tunisia to reassess policies toward Israel.

By endorsing Oslo, however, Tunisia faced double-edged pressure, from local Islamic circles against serious steps toward achieving normalization of ties with Israel and unremitting official Israeli pressure for large-scale joint economic ventures. As to the latter, Tunisian officials preferred that a low profile be maintained in initial trade and other collaborative projects. The sole exception was Israeli and Jewish tourism. After considerable reflection and procrastination, the Ben Ali government finally followed Morocco's initiative and, in April 1996, opened a semiofficial liaison office in Tel Aviv. Its primary function was to promote tourism and arrange for visas. Ben Ali was keenly aware of the benefits his country's tourist industry would reap from this. Israel reciprocated the move by opening a liaison office in Tunis.

Yet as the two countries were on the brink of entering into an era of more serious cooperation, the Israeli elections of May 1996 reduced these prospects radically. According to Muhammad Berrejeb, a high-ranking official at the Tunisian Foreign Ministry, the Netanyahu government's decision to dig the tunnel in the proximity of the Al-Aqsa Mosque aroused as much anger among Tunisians as it did among Palestinians and Muslims generally. As the Oslo process came to a virtual standstill in the first half of 1997, Tunisia recalled its liaison officer from Israel without closing the office altogether. The return of Labor to power in May 1999 led the Tunisians to dispatch a new liaison director to Tel Aviv. On February 6, 2000, Israel's Foreign Minister David Levy met in Tel Aviv with Tahar Sioud, Tunisia's secretary of state. This was the first ever visit to Israel of a high-ranking Tunisian. The two ministers decided to establish a joint committee to study future trade and tourism. Levy assured Sioud that Israel had an unequivocal commitment to the Palestinian track, but advised that it would be pointless for Tunisia to turn every dispute between Israel and the Palestinian Authority into a crisis.

Renewed Israeli-Palestinian hostilities in October 2000 resulted in the complete closure of Israel's liaison office in Tunis and the Tunisian office in Tel Aviv. Tunisia condemned the outgoing Clinton and the new Bush administrations for supporting Israel blindly, while it commended the European Union for backing the Palestinians. At the same time, Tunisia supported the peace plan outlined at the Arab summits of 2002 and 2005. In spring 2005, following seemingly improved ties between Israelis and Palestinians, Tunisia again contemplated reopening the liaison office in Tel Aviv and permitting Israel to do the same in Tunis.

Opposition to Cultural and Economic Globalization: Islamists and Nasserists

Since the Islamic Revolution in Iran (February 1979), the terrorist attack against the World Trade Center in New York and the Pentagon on September 11, 2001, and the following period, radical Islamist movements and political parties sprang up throughout the Arab world. Iran has helped finance both Shiite and Sunni Islamists in the Middle East. Islamic radicalism encouraged blind hatred of Israel as the Jewish state and Zionist entity. It emerged as the foremost enemy of economic and cultural globalization, reforms favoring women's rights, civil society, and secularization, seeing them as modes of "Americanization." In the forefront of the attack against globalization alongside Iran – though separate from it – is the "World Jihad Movement," or *al-Qāʿida* ("Basis"), led by Osama bin Laden and the Egyptian Iman Zawahiri. The latter was in some ways connected with the elements responsible for Sadat's assassination. Not only has al-Qaʿida supported Islamic militancy in different parts of the Muslim world, cultivated terrorists in training camps in Afghanistan (while it was allied there with the Afghani Taliban regime until the latter's overthrow by U.S. forces in 2001) and Sudan, but it also claimed responsibility for 9/11. In a sense, Iran and al-Qaʿida, each on its own, have promoted "Islamist globalization," challenging "modern U.S.-sponsored globalization."

Radical Islam is by no means one-dimensional, but a movement with political ambitions. Its proponents fear that Islam is threatened by Western, mostly American, economic and cultural globalization. Islamists contend that the "trans-nationalism" of modern global capitalist economy, the power of the Internet, and the implantation of multinational corporations in Arab lands would lead to the loss of Islamic identity. Because Arab regimes are eager to sign free-trade agreements with the U.S. and nurture trade and cultural ties with the European Union, the "abode of Islam" could well be overwhelmed by decadence. They believe the external influences will cause a resurgence of *Jāhiliyya* (pre-Islamic barbarism). Most of them define globalization as neo-colonialism spearheaded by the U.S., the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund, the World Trade Organization (WTO), and Zionism.

Most radical currents draw their inspiration from leading Islamist ideologues, among them Hasan al-Banna and Sayyid Qutb (both Egyptians) as well as India's Abu al-Ala Mawdudi. The largest movements became political parties dreaming of a society and government based on the rules of the *Shariʿa* (Law of Islam). These include Lebanon's Hizbollah; al-Jabha al-Islāmiyya al-Sūriyya (the Syrian Islamic Front); the Algerian FIS; the Jordanian Islamic Action Front; Morocco's al-ʿAdāla wa'l Tanmiya (Justice and Development) and al-ʿAdl wa'l Iḥsān (Justice and Beneficence); and Tunisia's al-Nahda (Renaissance) Party. The Tunisian party successfully pressured the regime to build more mosques and allot ample time for media programs on Islam, in a country that already in the 1960s prohibited polygamy and improved women's rights. Of these large entities the Muslim Brotherhood of Egypt is still denied the status of a political party. Egyptian law opposes the formation of political parties that claim a monopoly over religion. Most political movements in Egypt, even secular ones, state in their program that the *Shariʿa* is an acceptable source for legislation. The large political parties of the Arab world include those that advocate the eventual expansion of the abode of Islam from one nation-state to a universal Islamic nation. Others are content with the transformation of their particular society into a state based on Islamic Law. Only a few of these parties wish to accomplish these goals through violence, while others prefer to augment their power base in the society through electoral gains, or by preaching on behalf of Islamic principles (*daʿwa*) and spreading Islamic education. Indeed, not all Islamist parties are opposed to Western-style democratization as a temporary arrangement, for, after all, it could serve their purpose as a stepping-stone to usurp political authority. All of them disapprove of the concept of the secular nation-state as conceived by the colonial power or by regimes in Algeria, Egypt, Syria, Iraq, Lebanon, and the PLO. They see the nation-state as a passing episode in the transition toward the emergence of the Islamic nation. They are also at odds with wide segments of the officially established religious elite (*ʿulamā*'), as the latter usually grants religious legitimacy to secular government policies, such as birth control and family planning as a way to combat large-scale demographic growth. The Islamist parties are vehemently opposed to ending the age-old practice of circumcising girls in Egypt or lifting the veil. Thus far, excepting Iran and Afghanistan (which are beyond the scope of this survey), only in Sudan did an Islamist regime emerge following a military coup in 1989.

In addition to large Islamist parties, there exist two types of Islamist underground currents that consider violence as an avenue to realize their aims: the *jihād*- and *takfīr*-oriented organizations. The first of the two component include the Jihad organization involved in Sadat's assassination, and the Egyptian al-Jamāʿa al-Islāmiyya (Islamic Group) – responsible for the killing of tourists and government officials as a strategy to delegitimize and undermine the National Democratic Party regime. Included in this category are Morocco's Salafiyya Jihādiyya (Salafi Combat) and al-Sirāt al-Mustaqīm (The Right Path) with ties to al-Qaʿida. The latter were responsible for the suicide bombings in Casablanca on May 16, 2003, where Jewish institutions and personalities were also targeted, and for the March 2004 terrorist attacks in Madrid. The same applies to the Algerian GIA. Similar to the large Islamist political parties, they, too, hope to establish a religious state in lieu of the nation-state, with the law of the land based on the *Shariʿa, Sunna* (oral tradition), and the Koran. Some cherish the thought of reviving the Arab caliphate as a source of religious and political power.

Though instrumental in killing government officials and members of the *'ulamā'*, the *takfīr* organizations have a somewhat different outlook on Islam. They are best known under the name al-Takfīr wa'l Hijra. Unlike the Jihad movements, which accuse only the secular Arab leaders of being infidels, the *takfīr* regard much of contemporary Muslim society as deviants from the original Islam in its pristine forms. Their followers point to the Prophet Muhammad and his supporters, who emigrated from Mecca to Medina to create a separate society of true believers. The goal was to augment the number of Islamic adherents and some day return to Mecca victorious and popular. They also identify with the seventh-century *Khawārij* radicals who seceded from the camp of the Caliph Ali because in their eyes he deviated from the right path and exercised authority that had been reserved only to God. The *Khawārij* departed from their milieu and settled in segregated communities in parts of Iraq, Iran, and the Maghreb. They married among themselves and punished by death those suspected of adultery and violation of sacred Islamic principles. Movements espousing such notions operated in Egypt from the 1970s until the 1990s. Originally, members of al-Takfīr wa'l Hijra had planned to immigrate to northern Yemen. But the most that could be realized was the formation of segregated strongholds in Upper Egypt. Eventually they succumbed to government repression. The Moroccan government uncovered a similar movement, but information about it is sketchy. The *takfīr* highlight the notion of *ḥākimiyya*: the rule of God and the rejection of the sovereignty of man. They question the validity of the *Shariʿa* as a reliable religious source but extol the Koran and *Sunna*.

The Pan-Arab Nasserists have been on the defensive in Egypt, Lebanon, Jordan, and Israel's Arab sector, where they still possess influence. Thirty-five years after his death, Nasser's followers are as hostile to globalization as the Islamists; some are in fact more critical of Western democracy. Like the Islamists they regard globalization as a form of American neocolonialism out to obliterate economic and political nationalism. They insist that Arab identity and Arab culture must be protected against the unrestricted marketing of Americanism as a model for global culture over international communications networks. The Nasserists fear that the encroachment of the forces of globalization on the nation-state will transfer the decision-making process from Arab states to foreign elements and multinational corporations. Hence, to counter these influences would require the formation of a united Arab bloc reminiscent of the Syrian-Egyptian Union of 1958–61.

This latter view has encountered the opposition of most Arab regimes who are opposed to centralized Pan-Arab schemes and prefer local unions, or "common markets," like the Maghreb's AMU. The Gulf states are planning to form an economic union under one currency and lift trade barriers through lowering or eliminating tariffs. They encourage multinational corporations to penetrate their economies and invest. Indeed, it is not unlikely that several separate common markets will emerge in which Israel could participate.

The Struggle for Democracy and the Collapse of Saddam Hussein's Regime

An issue raised frequently since 2000 is the compatibility of democracy with mainstream Islam. It has been said that democratic concepts do not appear in the Koran, or that Western-style democracy is an alien phenomenon to most Muslims. Both arguments are irrelevant to modern-day democracy. Besides, the Koran points to the *shūrā* (consultation) that promotes modes of political coordination as well as some political debate. There are encouraging signs, however, that democratic changes are gradually occurring in the Arab and Muslim world. Changes in the Arab world are not necessarily attributed to visionary leadership. They are often the result of U.S. pressure, a sort of "American visionary approach." The democratic presidential elections in Algeria (April 2004), which had weakened the radical Islamists and gave Bouteflika a second term as president, were encouraged by the U.S. and the Europeans. Bouteflika and the Algerian army generals are eager to purchase American weapons and to mend cultural and economic fences with Washington. Kuwait's decision, in April 2005, to enable women to participate in elections and to be elected to parliament is also a case in point.

The Bush Administration and the Europeans have "nudged" King Muhammad VI to organize freer elections in Morocco, as illustrated by the parliamentary and municipal elections (2002–3). They also encouraged him to grant greater freedom to non-governmental organizations and women's rights, including an end to polygamy and equal rights in financial arrangements relating to divorce and inheritance. Morocco is becoming economically dependent on the U.S. following the signing in April 2004 of a free trade agreement with Washington that would lift tariffs on 95 percent on all import-export products.

The January 2005 elections in the Palestinian Authority after Arafat's death raised some prospects for cautious optimism. The same is to be said of the pro-democracy manifestations in Beirut, seen in the hundreds of thousands of young Christian, Sunni Muslim, and Druze demonstrators in the wake of the assassination, in February 2005, of former Lebanese Prime Minister Rafiq al-Hariri. The demonstrators blamed Syria for the assassination. Al-Hariri, a Lebanese Sunni Muslim billionaire with close political and financial ties to the U.S. and France, was for long an advocate of Lebanese democratization and an avowed opponent of the Syrian military presence. He invested substantial funds to rebuild Beirut after the 1975–90 civil war and won the respect of wide segments of the population, save the Syrian- and Iranian-backed Hizbollah. Hariri and French President Jacques Chirac helped promote UN Security Council Resolution 1559 calling for the evacuation of all "foreign" military forces from Lebanon. Because Israel had pulled out of the southern security zone in 2000, Syria was singled out as the other major foreign force occupying the country. The mass demonstrations after al-Hariri's assassination, combined with U.S. and French insistence on a complete Syrian pullout, intensified. Damascus caved in to the pressure. On April 26, 2005, the last Syrian soldier left Lebanon, though Syrian intelligence personnel stayed behind. On May 29, 2005, national democratic elections were held in Lebanon.

On February 26, 2005, another important development was Husni Mubarak's statement to the French daily *Le Figaro* that, in the Egyptian presidential elections scheduled for fall 2005, more than one candidate will be able to run. Until now only Mubarak had offered his candidacy after being nominated by parliament with the support of the government's powerful National Democratic Party. He was elected through a national referendum whereby Egyptians simply voted "yes" or "no." The 2005 elections were to be conducted through secret ballots and direct elections with international observers supervising them, as had been the case with the Palestinian elections in January the same year. Mubarak acted to implement the reform, particularly by amending Article 76 of the Egyptian Constitution. This revision provides for direct elections via secret ballots and allows an unlimited number of candidates to run for presidential office. There are pressures on Mubarak to amend Article 77 as well, which currently sets no limits on the number of times a president may run for office. Several candidates entered the race, among them Professor Saʿd al-Din Ibrahim, a key civil rights activist who spent time in prison for his advocacy of drastic democratic reforms, and Dr. Nawwal al-Saʿdawi, a leading feminist who strongly favors the separation of religion and state. It appears that a good number of the candidates have no military background, signaling perhaps a departure from a tradition that began in 1952 whereby former army officers held the supreme leadership post. While the reform may be regarded as an evolutionary step toward democracy in Egypt that began after Nasser's death, pressure brought to bear on Mubarak by the Bush administration should not be overlooked. Only several weeks prior to the announcement of the reform initiative, President Bush publicly challenged Mubarak: "The great and proud nation of Egypt, which showed the way toward peace … can now show the way toward democracy in the Middle East."

There were two fundamental reasons for the second war between the U.S.-led Western coalition and Saddam Hussein's Iraq. First, there was the lingering tension and hostility left over from the Gulf War of 1991, in which Iraqi occupation troops were forced out of Kuwait. As a result of this war, the Iraqi government agreed to turn over or destroy different types of weapons, including SCUD missiles fired at Israel and Weapons of Mass Destruction (WMD). The UN was allowed to send weapons inspectors to confirm the destruction of Iraqi weapons and also to uncover prohibited weapons believed to be hidden. Moreover, "No Fly Zones" were established over northern and southern Iraq for the protection of Iraqi minority groups in opposition to the Baʿthi regime. Over these two zones, Allied aircraft patrolled the skies to prevent Iraqi aircraft from attacking northern Kurds and southern Shiites. As time passed, Iraqi air defense forces fired missiles at U.S. and British planes. In response, Allied planes bombed the air-defense sites and radar installations deep inside Iraq. In 1998, under Iraqi pressure, the UN weapons inspectors left Iraq, angering the U.S. Further, following the terrorist attacks on the U.S. on 9/11, President Bush implied – yet to be proven – that Iraq had intimate ties with al-Qaʿida. Using the potential threat of Iraq's supplying WMD to Islamist terrorists, the U.S. insisted on total Iraqi disarmament. Iraq relented to pressures in 2002 to allow the return of UN weapons inspectors. By early 2003, however, the U.S. and British governments suggested that Iraq was not cooperating with the UN inspectors. On March 17, 2003, Bush issued an ultimatum to Saddam Hussein and his two sons to enter into voluntary exile within two days or face military occupation. The Iraqi leader would not surrender his power.

On March 19, 2003, the U.S. and its Western coalition partners attacked Iraq and occupied it. Saddam Hussein's regime quickly collapsed. Leading military and civilian Baʿthi leaders were later rounded up. Saddam was imprisoned and held for trial. His two sons were killed by Allied forces. Until mid-2004, a representative of the U.S. government governed Iraq. From then until the democratic elections of January 30, 2005, an interim Iraqi government was formed that excluded the Baʿth party. During this time the Allied forces failed to uncover chemical and biological weapons of mass destruction, resulting in major criticism throughout the world of the U.S.-led war and its raison d'être.

On the eve of the U.S.-backed Iraqi democratic elections neighboring nations, especially Syria, Saudi Arabia, and the Gulf states, feared that the changes in Iraq would stir sectarian violence there and spread instability in the region. Kuwait, Jordan, and Saudi Arabia – ruled by Sunni Muslim leaders – were concerned that an Iraq dominated by a Shiite majority after decades of Sunni minority rule, with ties to Shiite Iran, would threaten them. A second Shiite-dominated state in the region, it was argued, might pose serious domestic problems for such countries as Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, and the United Arab Emirates, which have Shiite minorities, and Bahrain, where Shiites are a majority but have no political power under a Sunni government. At the same time, the dominance of the Saudi royal family is connected with the Wahhabi sect, which views Shiites as heretics. Finally, Jordan's King Abdullah feared that the elections might create a "crescent" of Shiite power: contiguous Shiite-controlled territory through Iran, Iraq, and Lebanon. Syria and Turkey fretted that Iraqi Kurds might press for independence, reviving separatist ideas among their own Kurdish populations. On the other hand, the outcome of the war in Iraq and U.S. pressure on Baghdad to commence a process of democratization of political institutions boded well for Israel. The latter became a major beneficiary of the war as the removal of Saddam Hussein eliminated the eastern military front.

The general elections of January 30, 2005 in Iraq and the drafting of a new constitution were seminal events. Doubtless, it is vital for the future evolution of democracies in other Middle Eastern countries. According to the Independent Elections Commission in Iraq, 8,500,000 of the 14 million registered voters including overseas Iraqis cast their ballots. The voters cast two ballots: one for the national assembly and one for one of the 18 provincial councils. The voters in the Kurdish provinces of Dahouk, Erbil, and Sulaymaniyya cast a third ballot for the autonomous 111-seat Kurdish parliament. There were over 100 lists of political parties, coalitions, or individuals, comprising a total of 7,471 candidates who competed for the 275 seats in the National Assembly. The Iraqi Shiite National Alliance consisting of Ḥizb al-Daʿwa al-Islāmiyya (Call for Islam Party), the Supreme Council of the Islamic Revolution in Iraq (SCIRI), and the Iraqi National Congress (INC) won over 48 percent of the vote. The Kurds, aligned with the Shiites, garnered 26 percent of the vote. They were able to tip the scales in favor of candidates amenable to meeting their demands. The Sunni Arabs, whose leaders had ruled Iraq until March 2003, got 25 percent of the vote. Many of them boycotted the elections. In April 2005, Iraq had a new Parliament. The speaker of the Parliament is a Sunni Arab; the Kurdish leader, Jalal Talabani, is president of Iraq. In April, Ibrahim Jaʿafari of the Shiite Daʿwa Party became prime minister and formed a coalition of Shiites, Sunni Arabs, and Sunni Kurdish ministers.

It is uncertain what directions the Arab world will take in the future. Women have made some headway and were elected in significant numbers to the Moroccan parliament (September 2002). Morocco undertook important reforms and Egypt as well as several Gulf emirates introduced legislative measures to do the same. More educated women join the Arab work force. While the struggle for freedom of the press and electronic media, and the empowerment of non-government organizations, has only begun, there is cable and satellite television in several Arab states that enjoy some freedom. Gone are the days when a regime like Nasser's could thrive on government-controlled media alone. The al-Jazeera satellite television channel in Qatar emerged as a critical media tool through its many correspondents stationed in the region. There are independent newspapers throughout the Arab world maintaining ideological party lines and independent thinking, usually privately owned. The newspaper *al-Ḥayāt*, published in London since 1988, is a forum for Arab intellectuals who wish to promote reforms in Arab society. There are overseas Arab television stations (e.g., MBC in London) that offer revolutionary programs for young men and women which are aired in the Arab world. Notwithstanding, the road is still long until freedom of the press and the general media prevails and they have progressive contents. Government-controlled newspapers and television networks in the Palestinian Authority, Saudi Arabia, and Egypt still disseminate antisemitic and not merely anti-Israel propaganda in the spirit of the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*. There are other outstanding challenges, among them tribal tensions and Arab-Berber confrontations in Algeria and Morocco, with the Berbers struggling for cultural autonomy. Although demographic growth is moderate in most Arab states, this is not the case in Egypt, Algeria, Morocco, Sudan, and the Palestinian Authority. Family planning and reduced birth rates should receive top priority in domestic reforms. This may ease chronic unemployment in these countries. Unemployment will be reduced also through effective economic globalization and industrialization. Rural-agricultural reforms with the help of the West may put an end, or slow down considerably, the waves of rural migration to the urban agglomerations.

It is noteworthy that most Arab states have come a long way in dealing with Israel. This includes post-Saddam Hussein Iraq. They are prepared to recognize Israel and establish full ties with it, including trade relations. Some are in fact cooperating with Israel via back channels. The main stumbling blocks to formalizing ties are the Palestinian crisis and the yet to be implemented UN Resolution 242 in regard to Syria. Shimon Peres envisioned in the early 1990s a "New Middle East" enriched by science and information technology. For many, this seems far-fetched. However, the continued exposure of the Arabs states to globalization, democratization, and demographic reforms is the only viable option. The alternatives offered by Islamists and other extremists can only perpetuate regression and violence: a tragedy of enormous consequences for the Arabs and Israel, as evidenced by the violent fighting in Lebanon between *Hizbollah and Israel in summer 2006.

See also entries on individual Arab countries and the general historical and political surveys under *Israel, State of.

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[Michael M. Laskier (2nd ed.)]

ARAD (Heb. עֲרָד), an important biblical city in the eastern Negev which controlled the main road to Edom and Elath.

Ancient Arad

"The Canaanite, the king of Arad, who dwelt in the South [Negev]" prevented the Israelite tribes from penetrating into Canaan directly from Kadesh-Barnea "by the way of Atharim" (Num. 21:1; 33:40) and he defeated them at neighboring Hormah (Num 14:44–45; Deut. 1:44). Another biblical tradition, however, recounts a second battle between the Israelites and the king of Arad near Hormah. This time the Canaanites were defeated and the victorious Israelites "utterly destroyed them and their cities." The name Hormah ("utter destruction") is derived from this event (Num. 21:2–3). In the list of defeated Canaanite kings in Joshua 12:14, which follows the latter tradition, the kings of Arad and Hormah appear side by side. It is further recorded in the Bible (Judg. 1:16) that "the children of the Kenite, Moses' father-in-law [the Septuagint reads "the children of Hobab the Kenite"] went up out of the city of palm-trees with the children of Judah into the wilderness of Judah, which is in the south [Negev] of Arad, and they went and dwelt with the people" (Heb. *ha-am*; but the Septuagint reads the "Amalekite"; cf. I Sam. 15:6). This account of the settlement of the important Kenite family in the vicinity of Arad acquired special significance after the modern discovery of the sanctuary at Arad. Pharaoh Shishak in listing cities conquered by him in Ereẓ Israel (c. 920 B.C.E.) records the capture of two places in the Negev with the name Arad (No. 107–112), i.e., "the fortresses of Arad Rabbat [Arad the Great] and Arad of the House of Yeroḥam." It seems, therefore, that in the days of Solomon there were two fortresses with the name Arad: a large, main city and a second named for the family of Yeroḥam (probably the biblical Jerahmeelites; and cf. "the South [Negev] of the Jerahmeelites" and "the cities of the Jerahmeelites" in I Samuel 27:10 and 30:29). Eder (Heb.

עֵדֶר), which is mentioned as the second city in the Negev district of Judah (Josh. 15:21) is apparently a corruption of the name Arad. A village called Arad was still known to Eusebius in the fourth century C.E. (Onom. 14:2), 20 mi. from Hebron and four mi. from Malaatha (Moleatha), a description which fits Tell Arad, which is about 18½ mi. (30 km.) E.N.E. of Beersheba. On the *Madaba Map, Arad is erroneously placed south of Beersheba.

Excavations conducted by Y. Aharoni and R. Amiran at Tell Arad from 1962 to 1967 uncovered a large city from the Early Bronze Age II (c. 2900–2700 B.C.E.) which was built over a scattered, unfortified settlement from the Late Chalcolithic period. The Early Bronze Age city was surrounded by a stone wall, 8¼ ft. (2.50 m.) thick, which was strengthened at intervals by semicircular towers. It was a well-planned city which was divided into various quarters by narrow lanes. The houses were built according to a uniform architectural design and were of a typical "broad house" construction – a rectangular room with the entrance on one of the long sides. Of major importance was the discovery of imported pottery from Egypt as well as an abundance of decorated pottery which had previously been known mainly from first dynasty tombs in Egypt (Abydos ware). This pottery is of great chronological value and it proves that commercial ties between Egypt and Arad were already well-developed at that time.

The ancient town was destroyed not later than 2700 B.C.E. and the site remained deserted until some time in the 11th century B.C.E. when a small settlement rose. In the center of the village, a sacred precinct with a *bamah* ("high place") and altar was built. This was undoubtedly the Kenite sanctuary whose priests traced their sacerdotal heritage back to Moses (Judg. 1:16). In the tenth century B.C.E., probably during Solomon's reign, a strong citadel was built on the site which was in existence until close to the destruction of the First Temple. The citadel was destroyed six times during this period. It was followed by a succession of Persian, Hellenistic and Roman fortresses. The latest stratum at Arad dates to the beginning of the Arabic period.

The outstanding discovery at Arad was the temple which stood on the northwestern corner of the Israelite citadel. It is the first Israelite sanctuary to be uncovered in excavations. Its westward orientation, contents, and general layout in many ways recall Solomon's temple in Jerusalem but the temple shows an even more striking resemblance to the biblical description of the Tabernacle in the desert. The sanctuary consists of a main hall from which three steps lead up to the Holy of Holies, in the entrance of which were found two incense altars. In the center of the Holy of Holies were a small *bamah* and a *maẓẓevah* ("stone stele"). Along the eastern side of the hall was a large courtyard which was divided by a stone sill into an outer courtyard and an inner one (porch). Flanking the entrance to the hall were two stone slabs which apparently served as bases of pillars similar to the Jachin and Boaz in the Jerusalem temple (cf. II Chron. 3:17). In the outer courtyard stood an altar for burnt offerings, which was a square of five cubits, the exact measurement of the Tabernacle (Ex. 27:1; cf. II Chron. 6:13), and built of earth and unhewn field stones (cf. Ex. 20:22, 25). Among the various finds and ritual objects discovered in the temple, two ostraca (ink-inscribed sherds) are of interest. These bear the names of Pashhur and Meremoth – two priestly families known from the Bible. A third ostracon contains a list of family names including, among others, "the sons of Korah." The temple was built over the early Kenite high place at the same time as the first citadel, probably during the days of Solomon, and it was destroyed when the last Israelite citadel was erected in the days of Josiah. The destruction of the temple was certainly connected with Josiah's concentration of the religious ritual in Jerusalem which is described in II Kings 22.

In addition to the ostraca found in the temple, numerous others inscribed in Hebrew and Aramaic were also uncovered and these considerably enrich knowledge of ancient Hebrew epigraphy. One group belongs to the archives of "Eliashib, son of Eshyahu," who was a high-ranking official and perhaps the commander of the last Israelite citadel (c. 600 B.C.E.) Most of these contain orders to supply rations of wine and bread to travelers, including the "Kittim," who were apparently a group of mercenaries of Aegean origin. One of the letters mentions Beersheba and another contains a reference to "the house of YHWH," apparently the Temple in Jerusalem. Another ostracon from the same period contains an order for the urgent dispatch of reinforcements from Arad to Ramat Negev ("Ramah of the South," Josh. 19:8; I Sam. 30:27) to head off a threatening Edomite attack. This is possibly a reference to the Edomite invasion during the time of Nebuchadnezzar, hinted at in II Kings 24:2 (reading Edom instead of Aram).

The generally accepted theory that Tell Arad is Arad of the Canaanite period has been refuted by excavation of the site since no traces of settlement from the Middle or Late Bronze Ages were found. Its identification with Israelite Arad, on the other hand, was confirmed, the name even found inscribed on two ostraca. There are two possible solutions to this problem: (1) In the Canaanite period, Arad was the name of a region and not of a specific city; (2) The site of Canaanite Arad is Tell el-Milḥ (present-day Malḥata) 7½ mi. (12 km.) southwest of Tell Arad where strong fortifications dating from the Hyksos period (Middle Bronze Age) have been discovered. This identification is substantiated by the inscription of Pharaoh Shishak according to which it can be assumed that "Arad of the House of Yeroḥam" is the early Arad which was settled by the Jerahmeelite family (cf. I Sam. 27; 30:29) and "Arad Rabbat" (Arad the Great) was the strong citadel established in the days of Solomon in the Negev of Judah on the site of the Kenite sacred precinct.

[Yohanan Aharoni]

Since the writing of the above by one of the excavators of the site, Yohanan Aharoni, considerable research and a number of key publications have appeared furthering our understanding of the development of the Bronze Age and Iron Age settlements at Arad. R. Amiran and her associates, notably O. Ilan, have concentrated their efforts in furthering the publication of the Bronze Age site. Bronze Age Arad is generally regarded as the southernmost bastion of Canaanite culture, although one scholar (Finkelstein) has suggested that it might actually be the other way around, i.e., the site should be viewed as the northernmost cultural manifestation of the desert peoples of the time. It is now clear that the Bronze Age site had five separate strata (I–V): Stratum V representing the remains of a scattered Chalcolithic settlement (c. 4000–3400 B.C.E.); Stratum IV representing an unfortified small hamlet dated to the Early Bronze IB (3200–3000 B.C.E.), with evidence that trade with Egypt had already begun by that time, and with the discovery of a jar fragment with the incised *serekh* of Narmer, the last king of Dynasty O, which provided important synchronism between the Canaanite and Egyptian chronologies; and Stratum III (destroyed in c. 2800 B.C.E.) representing the oldest urban level of the city, with the construction of the city wall, a palace and other public structures, as well as the reservoir. Stratum II, the uppermost urban phase of the Bronze Age city, was the main focus of Amiran's excavations, and seems to have been built not long after the destruction of Stratum III. The urban fabric of the Stratum II was studied in some detail by the excavators: the city was surrounded by a wall (a circumference of 3,858 ft. (1,176 m.) with semi-circular towers and at least two gates and a few posterns; numerous houses of broad room plan with a doorway in the long wall, with benches lining the interior walls and with a ceiling supported by a pillar – of a type now known as the "Arad House" type (a ceramic model of such a house was also found) – were excavated; public and elite areas were also investigated: notably, a market area, a palace, a sacred precinct, and reservoir district. Stratum I represented a sparse settlement (of squatters?) in the ruins of the former Stratum II city. There can be no doubt that Arad was a primary trading center in the Early Bronze Age and was the focal point for much of the region's economic activities.

New information regarding the Iron Age period site, formerly excavated by Y. Aharoni, has also come to light as a result of recent research activities. In addition to this, an important reassessment of the stratigraphy of the site was made by Z. Herzog, who undertook some excavations at the site in 1977. The continued identification of the site as that of biblical Arad (Num. 21:1; 33:40; Josh. 12:14, 15:21; Jud. 1:16) and as the place mentioned as *'Arad n-bt* (i.e. "Greater Arad") in the Egyptian Sheshonq's list of the cities he reached (925 B.C.E.) has also been strengthened by the discovery at the site of a potsherd inscribed with the name Arad four times. It is now clear that the Iron Age site had 12 strata (I–XII): Stratum XII representing the sparse remains of the early Iron Age village (11th century B.C.E.). The original excavator's identification of a cultic temenos with a *bamah* at the site has been reassessed and it would appear that they were ordinary domestic installations instead. Stratum XI (10th century B.C.E.) represents the first fortified fortress 180 × 165 ft. (55 × 50 m.), with a casemate wall and projecting towers, and with a gate on the east side. Strata X–VI represent the major changes that were made to the fortress: the casemate wall was replaced by a solid wall with a glacis reinforcement, and only two gate towers. The water system and the temple were both first constructed during this stage. The defensive wall and the water system continued to be used until the end of Stratum VI with few changes. The suggestion made by the original excavator that a casemate wall replaced the solid wall during Strata VII–VI, appears to be incorrect and the casemate actually represents portions of an unfinished Hellenistic tower. The abolition of the temple at Arad is attributed to the cultic reforms made by King Hezekiah in 715 B.C.E. (see II Kings 18:22). Strata V–I represent the later remains at the site from the Persian, Hellenistic, Roman, Early Islamic, and Ottoman periods. The site was substantially restored for visitors in conjunction with the National Parks Authority of Israel.

[Shimon Gibson (2nd ed.)]

Modern Arad

Modern Arad, town 32 mi. (45 km.) east of Beersheba, 6 mi. (9 km.) east of ancient Arad, situated above the Judean Desert plateau overlooking the Dead Sea, 610 m. above sea level. Arad was founded in 1961 in an area formerly inhabited by nomadic Bedouin tribes. Town planners envisaged Arad as the urban center of an industrial development region. A previous attempt at settlement in the region in 1921, by a group which included Izhak *Ben-Zvi, was unsuccessful.

Designed in six high-density neighborhoods, grouped around the civic center, with a separate industrial sector, resort area and suburbs, Arad was the first Israel development town to be planned by a group of architects and engineers living on the site. The group was responsible, inter alia, for the patio flat, an innovation in public housing, consisting of interlocking four-storey desert apartment buildings, with private courtyards and maximum shade and protection.

The local economy was planned on the region's chemical deposits: potash from the Dead Sea and phosphates and gas located in the area. An industrial complex was constructed to produce fertilizers, chemical and petrochemical products. Employment was also provided by a prefabricated-housing plant and a knitwear factory.

The dry pollen-free climate, the high altitude, and picturesque location combined to attract tourists, and people suffering from respiratory diseases. From the mid-1980s Arad hosted a Hebrew song festival in the summers, attracting many youngsters. However, after three teenagers were crushed to death at a live concerts in 1995, the event was canceled for a few years and never regained its popularity.

In contrast to other development towns, Arad at first drew its population mostly from among Israel-born citizens rather than newly arrived immigrants. Planned as a community of 50,000, the town numbered 4,500 inhabitants in 1968, and only with the arrival of some 12,000 immigrants in the 1990s, mostly from the former Soviet Union, did the town grow significantly, reaching a population of around 18,000 in the mid-1990s, when it received municipal status, and 24,500 in 2002, the municipal area extending over 3.5 sq. mi. (9 sq. km.). Residents continued to be employed mainly in the chemical industry as well as in the hotels of the Dead Sea area.

[Daniel Gavron / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

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ARAD, city in Transylvania, western Romania; until 1918 within the borders of Hungary. Jews are first recorded there in 1717. Regulations for the burial society were drawn up in 1750. Jewish occupations during this early period were mainly connected with producing and selling alcoholic beverages and the grain trade. In 1742 the leadership of the local community requested the intervention of the district authorities in order to improve its situation. The small community became important after 1789 with the election as rabbi of Aaron *Chorin, who officiated until his death in 1844. Chorin was born and educated in the Czech provinces of Austria, one of the more prosperous and emancipated regions of the country. He soon came into conflicts with the rabbis of Hungary, who preferred a more conservative and traditional way of life and behavior. Under his leadership, Arad became a center of the nascent *Reform movement in Judaism. He initiated the construction of a synagogue in 1828, established a small yeshivah, and set up an elementary school. He also encouraged Jewish youth to enter productive occupations. Due to his efforts, there were about 100 highly skilled Jewish artisans in Arad in 1841. In 1832, on Chorin's initiative, the first Jewish school was built in Arad, where study of the Hungarian language became compulsory. It was one of the first Jewish schools officially recognized by the Hungarian authorities. Even after Chorin's death, the community in Arad long remained a bastion of extreme Reform. The emancipation of the Jews in 1867 attracted many Jews to take active part in Hungarian economic, political, and cultural life, considering themselves Hungarians of Mosaic religion. The Jews of Arad took an active part in Hungarian public life (one of them, Dr. Ferenc Sarkany, becoming mayor of the city, even volunteered for the army during the World War I). At the end of World War I, however, a considerable number of Orthodox Jews settled there, and established a community. The Neolog rabbis in Arad were early supporters of Magyarization among the Jews; already in 1845 R. Jacob Steinhart delivered a sermon in Hungarian. The Zionist movement found support in Arad, and the "Jewish Party," after Transylvania became a part of Romania in 1919, also obtained many votes in the elections for the Romanian parliament.

Arad Jews shared the fate of the Jewry of Romania between the two world wars, suffering from increasing antisemitism. In the years of the Antonescu government the two Jewish communities – the Orthodox and the Neolog – united to be able to work better for the interests of their membership. The Jewish population numbered 812 in 1839; 4,795 in 1891; 6,430 in 1920; 7,835 in 1941; and 9,402 in 1942 (this last increase was due to the enforced concentration in Arad of Jews from the villages and country towns of the area by the Romanian Fascist authorities in 1941–42). The Jews from the Arad district together with those of the district of Timisoara were slated to be deported to the Belzec extermination camp in 1942, at the very beginning of a massive joint Romanian-German operation which targeted all the Jews from Regat and Southern Transylvania. On October 11, 1942, the order to deport the Jews of Arad was rescinded. Together with the majority of the Jews of Regat and Southern Transylvania the Jews of Arad survived the war.

The Jewish community of Arad numbered 13,200 in 1947. Subsequently, there was a progressive decrease due to emigration from the country, mainly to Israel. In 1969 the Jewish population numbered 4,000. At the outset of the 21st century it numbered a few hundred and continued to decline numerically.

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[Yehouda Marton / Paul Schveiger and Radu Ioanid (2nd ed.)]

ARAD, RON (1958–), missing Israeli navigator. Arad grew up in Hod ha-Sharon and lost his father as a teenager. He attended a high school military academy and volunteered for the air force, serving as a navigator and later studying chemical engineering at the Technion. On October 16, 1986, during a flight across the Lebanese border, his Phantom jet was hit. He and his fellow pilot abandoned the plane. The pilot succeeded in reaching the rescue team, but Arad was captured by the terrorist Shiite Amal organization. Amal demanded 200 Lebanese and 450 Palestinians prisoners and $3 million in exchange for Arad. The Israeli government refused to give in to its demands. Subsequently, Arad was in the custody of various organizations, all with connections to Iran. During the first two years of his captivity he sent letters, but from 1987 there was no further information about his fate. Over the years Israel made great efforts to obtain information about him, including the kidnapping of Mustafa Dirani, the Amal security chief who first had custody of Arad. The German government too used its good offices to obtain information about Arad, and his wife, Tami, met with heads of state as Arad's plight became a *cause celebre* and a part of Israel's popular consciousness – but all to no avail. In 2004 the Born To Freedom Foundation, set up to secure his release, offered a $10 million reward for information about his whereabouts. During his captivity, Arad received the rank of lieutenant colonel.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: www.ron-arad.org.il; www.10million.org.

[Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

ARAD, YAEL (1967–) Israeli judoist, first Israeli to win an Olympic medal. Arad was born in Tel Aviv and began studying judo at the age of eight. At 16 she was the runner-up in the 56-kg class in the German Open for Cadets. Because judo was an underdeveloped and underfinanced sport in Israel, Arad went to Europe and Japan for training, steadily improving before placing second in the German Open in 1988, and third at the European Championships the following year. In 1990, Arad defeated the world no. 1 and no. 2 judoists before losing in the finals, winning the silver medal at a tournament in Germany. She finished second at the 1993 World and European Championships, and placed fifth at the 1995 World Championships. By the 1996 Olympics, Arad had competed in 49 international competitions, winning 24 medals: seven gold, eight silver, and nine bronze, and had been Israeli champion 16 times. But it was her silver medal at Barcelona in 1992 that elevated Arad to a place in Israeli history beyond the world of sports. After 40 years of Olympic competition Israel had finally won a medal, placing Israel on the map of international athletic achievements and uniting the country in a sporting event in a way not seen since the 1977 European basketball championship. Wanting to overcome what she called Israel's "mental barrier" against winning a medal, she took the silver in the half-middleweight class (61-kg) and promptly dedicated it to the victims of the 1972 Munich massacre. Arad competed again at the 1996 Atlanta Games, but she suffered from a viral infection and lost in the bronze medal round and placed fifth. Arad was elected to the Israeli Olympic Committee in 1997 and was a judo coach for Israel at the 2000 Sydney Olympics.

[Elli Wohlgelernter (2nd ed.)]

ARAD, YITZHAK (1926–), ghetto activist, partisan, underground fighter, IDF officer, and historian. Born Isaac Rudnicki in Swieciany, Lithuania, Arad began his underground activities at the age of 15 in his hometown when he was captured by the Germans and put to work cleaning confiscated Soviet weapons. Arad was able to steal a gun and together with a group of friends formed an underground group. In 1943, the group escaped from the ghetto to the forest and joined a contingent of Soviet partisans. After the war, he immigrated to Israel illegally and became active in the underground against the British.

Known by his Russian partisan nickname, "Tulka," he continued to serve in the newly created Israel Defense Forces and as a career officer moved up the ranks in the Armored Corps. Arad's last position in the IDF was chief education officer, retiring from active service with the rank of brigadier general.

Arad served as chairman of the directorate of Yad Vashem from 1972 to 1993, in all likelihood the last survivor to hold that position. Under his leadership, Yad Vashem developed various monuments, including the Warsaw Ghetto Square, with its imposing recreation of Nathan Rapoport's sculptures honoring the Resistance fighters, and the Valley of the Communities, a commemorative sculptural series of walls depicting 5,0000 Jewish communities destroyed in the Holocaust. It opened the Children's Memorial to the Holocaust designed by Israeli architect Moshe *Safdie. Arad was deeply sensitive to the role of Yad Vashem within Israeli society as the conscience of the Shoah and also to its task of Holocaust commemoration.

As a scholar, his expertise was on the Holocaust in the areas of the former Soviet Union. He is the author of the two-volume *History of the Holocaust: Soviet Union and Annexed Territories* (2004); *Belzec, Sobibor, Treblinka: The Operation Reinhard Death Camps* (1987); *Ghetto in Flames: The Struggle and Destruction of the Jews of Vilna* (1982); the memoir *Partisan: From the Valley of Death to Mount Zion* (1979); and *Anthology on Armed Jewish Resistance*. He also served as editor for *The Pictorial History of the Holocaust* (1990), *The Einsatzgruppen Reports: Selections from the Dispatches of the Nazi Death Squads' Campaign against the Jews: 7/41–1/43* (1989), and *Ponary Diary, July 1941–November 1943: A Bystander's Account of a Mass Murder* (2005). He co-edited *Documents on the Holocaust: Selected Sources on the Destruction of the Jews of Germany and Austria, Poland, and the Soviet Union* (1981) and contributed to *The Encyclopedia of the Holocaust*. Arad testified in war crimes trials in Israel and was a consultant for the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum.

[Beth Cohen and Yitzchak Mais (2nd ed.)]

ARADUS, Phoenician city (modern Ruad) on a small island off the Syrian coast, about two miles from Tartouse. Aradus was among the many cities to receive a copy of the pact concluded between the Romans and *Simeon b. Mattathias, the Hasmonean (142 B.C.E.). A century later Mark Anthony restored the rights of the Jews in Aradus, as well as in other cities of the area, following the defeat of Gaius Cassius.

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[Isaiah Gafni]

°**ARAFAT, YASSER** (1929–2004), chairman of the *Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), 1969–2004, a founding father of the Fatah organization (1959), and first chairman of the *Palestinian Authority from its establishment (1994). A distant relative of the prominent Husseini family, Arafat was educated in Egypt and graduated from Cairo University as an engineer. He then established the Palestinian Students Union, centered in Gaza, and was its first chairman. He later became politically active in Kuwait while working there as an engineer 1957–60 (reportedly after briefly serving in the Egyptian Army in 1957).

In the late 1950s, Arafat was a co-founder of the Fatah, as a clandestine Palestinian national liberation movement, which soon had branches among Palestinians residing in Arab states and among students in Europe. In January 1965, shortly after the establishment of the PLO under Egyptian-Jordanian patronage, Fatah embarked on guerrilla activity, launched from Arab territories against Israel.

From the outset Arafat emerged as Fatah's leader although until the early 1990s his status was of *primus inter pares*, sharing a collective leadership with his two main cofounders, Khalil al-Wazir (Abu Jihad) and Salah Khalaf (Abu Iyad). When in mid-1968 the PLO turned into an umbrella-organization of various guerilla groups, popular associations, and voluntary groups, with Fatah gaining effective control of the organization, Arafat was elected spokesman of the PLO. In February 1969 he became chairman of its Executive Committee and the PLO's leader and commander-in-chief. Henceforth, Arafat became the symbol-figure of the Palestinian people, its national cause, and claim for statehood.

As Fatah's leader, Arafat was responsible for the planning and execution of continuous sabotage and terrorist operations committed by this organization in Israel. Shortly after the 1967 war, Arafat failed in his attempt to organize a network of Fatah cells in the West Bank that would implement classical guerrilla warfare against Israel: Arafat himself fled to east Jordan and the newly established guerrilla infrastructure was exposed and eliminated by Israel. As a result, Fatah and other guerrilla organizations that had mushroomed after the 1967 war established themselves in the Jordanian territory from which they fired mortars and rockets against Israel, infiltrated into the West Bank for military purposes, and continued to mobilize people and establish active cells in this area. The growing armed presence of Palestinian armed groups gradually led to the creation of a "state within a state" – which soon began to threaten the Jordanian regime and authority, culminating in the Jordanian monarch's decision to eliminate the armed Palestinian presence on his land, beginning in September 1970. During this period of repeated Palestinian-Jordanian tension, armed clashes and serious violations of Jordanian sovereignty by militant Palestinian groups, Arafat became known for his diplomatic juggling on the inter-Arab level, indecisiveness, poor credibility, and lack of control of the numerous Palestinian factions. Above all, Arafat's main concern was to maintain as wide as possible a consensus with regard to his position as the ultimate Palestinian national leader.

In the wake of the 1967 defeat sustained by the Jordanian army and the loss of its Jordanian territorial base, Fatah expanded its guerrilla operations from 1971 to the Arab and international arena under the name "Black September" (attacks on Jordanian, Israeli, and Western targets, including aviation).

Arafat's early leadership of Fatah was marked by extremely militant and intransigent ideology and action toward Israel – as reflected in the Palestinian National Charter of 1968. He refused to accept any kind of compromise or coexistence with a Jewish state in historic Palestine. His personal inclination was patently conservative, with a measure of Islamist tendencies. However, with the beginning of a peace process in the Middle East following the 1973 war, Arafat emerged increasingly as a pragmatic politician, keen on exploiting opportunities, without losing support of both the right and left wings within his own Fatah organization or the PLO as a whole.

In 1974, amid American mediation efforts aimed at partial Israeli-Arab settlement, Arafat and his mainstream faction ceased to commit hijacking and international terrorism, believing that such operations could harm the PLO's international interest in being included in the diplomatic process over the implementation of UN Security Council Resolution 242.

Henceforth, Arafat led the PLO to a gradual accommodation to the new circumstances of growing international recognition of the acute problem of Palestinian national rights due to the Arab employment of oil as a political weapon in the conflict with Israel.

Arafat was the main force behind the PLO's historic decision at the twelfth session of the Palestinian National Council (June 1974), which decided, *inter alia*, that the PLO would establish a fighting Palestinian national authority in any liberated part of Palestine. This indicated the first shift from a vision of retrieving the whole territory of Palestine to a pragmatic policy acquiescing in the establishment of a Palestinian state in the West Bank and *Gaza Strip. This was followed by the decision of the Arab summit held in Rabat in October 1974 to recognize the PLO as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. Another indication of the PLO's rising international prestige was Arafat's speech at the UN General Assembly in November of that year in which he combined a message of continued armed struggle with an "olive branch."

During the Lebanese civil war, which erupted in April 1975, Arafat made an effort to remain out of the internal Lebanese conflict, but to no avail. As in the case of Jordan, leftist Palestinian factions dragged Arafat's Fatah into the fray. By early 1976 Arafat became deeply involved in the Lebanese civil war in close alignment with Kamal Junblaṭ, the leading figure of the Lebanese leftist camp. In this capacity, Arafat became increasingly alienated from Damascus and seen as an obstacle to its efforts to put an end to the crisis. Syria's invasion of Lebanon in June, which developed into a full-scale military confrontation with the Palestinian-Lebanese coalition, secured Syrian domination of the Lebanese arena and rendered

Arafat anathema to the Syrian ruling elite. The deep mistrust between the two parties was to motivate future Syrian efforts to replace Arafat by a more tractable Palestinian figure.

Toward the late 1970s, Arafat sanctioned a growing dialogue between the PLO and "progressive" (namely, non-Zionist and later, leftist) Israelis. Such contacts were based, explicitly, on the acceptance of the Jews of Israel as individuals rather than a political community that deserved to be defined in national terms and, implicitly, on the assumption that some settlement between Israel and the Palestinian Arabs was feasible (contrary to the PLO Charter). He refused, however, to commit himself to the recognition of Israel; to renounce terrorism; or to accept Resolution 242, as long as the PLO remained anathema to Israel and the United States.

Israel's invasion of Lebanon in June 1982 was followed by a nine-week siege and bombardment of the Palestinians entrenched in West Beirut. Arafat demonstrated persistent leadership and skillful diplomacy under fire and in the face of growing Arab pressures to accept Israel's demand for full evacuation of the PLO headquarters and military personnel from Lebanon. Eventually, Arafat succeeded in securing a Palestinian exodus under international auspices, thus reaping maximum political benefits from his military defeat. Syria, however, attempted to remove Arafat by encouraging a mutiny within Fatah against their leader. In view of this development and the Reagan Plan for a settlement of the Palestinian problem in which Jordan, not the PLO, was to represent the Palestinians, in October 1983 Arafat and some of his fellow-loyalists returned to Tripoli, Lebanon, and established themselves in an enclave, which included two refugee camps. Arafat's main motive for returning to Lebanon was to retrieve his bargaining position in the regional Arab arena, which he hoped to accomplish by regaining an autonomous territorial base in Lebanon. Arafat's return to Tripoli, however, provoked a strong Syrian military response, which Damascus tried to portray as Palestinian opposition to Arafat. After a few weeks of fighting Arafat was once again expelled from Lebanon, this time by a Syrian-Palestinian military force.

Arafat's sense of political survival was best demonstrated in the wake of the second exodus from Lebanon, when Arafat opted to turn to Egypt, temporarily identifying himself with the American-based peace camp. This step was in line with Arafat's willingness to open a political dialogue with King *Hussein, which led to the Amman Accord of February 1985 by which the two parties were to coalesce toward participating in an international peace conference. A year later, however, King Hussein abrogated the agreement, blaming Arafat for being untrustworthy and unfaithful to the agreement.

The eruption of violence in the West Bank and Gaza in December 1987 confronted Arafat with a new challenge stemming from a young militant local leadership, which by taking the initiative constituted a threat to marginalize the PLO leadership abroad. However, Arafat managed to coopt the uprising and take control of it, primarily due to his control of funds and loyalists in the occupied territories. The Palestinian uprising (*Intifāḍa*) scored significant regional and international achievements for the PLO, which culminated in King Hussein's announcement of disengagement from the West Bank, paving the road to the declaration of an independent Palestinian state by the Palestinian National Council in Algiers in November 1988. A few months later Arafat announced his renunciation of terrorism and acceptance of Resolution 242 in return for U.S. willingness to open a diplomatic dialogue with the PLO. The U.S.-PLO dialogue, however, remained futile mainly because of Arafat's insistence that the PLO should independently represent the Palestinian issue in any future international peace conference. The result was another political shift of PLO policy, this time toward Saddam Hussein's Iraq.

Under the circumstances resulting from the 1991 Gulf crisis – the cessation of financial aid by the oil-rich Arab monarchies to the PLO and the Palestinians and the threatening rise of Hamas in the West Bank and Gaza Strip as a moral and political alternative to the PLO – Arafat was willing to accept Israel's conditions for Palestinian participation in the Madrid Peace Conference (1991) and later on, to sign the Oslo Declaration of Principles (DOP) with Israel, which accounted for mutual recognition between the State of Israel and the PLO. Arafat was the driving force behind the scenes for concluding the agreement and effectively the decisive authority on the Palestinian side. In 1994 Arafat was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize, which he shared with Yitzhak *Rabin and Shimon *Peres.

By the early 1990s, following the killing of Khalil al-Wazir by Israel (1988) and Salah Khalaf by a Palestinian opponent (1991), Arafat came to assume unprecedented authority as the sole decision-maker in the PLO. The solitary and centralized nature of Arafat's leadership became particularly evident with the establishment of the Palestinian Authority (PA) in June 1994 in Gaza and Jericho.

Despite Arafat's election as the Palestine Authority's chairman in January 1996, he preserved his position as chairman of the PLO. In this capacity, Arafat convened the Palestinian National Council (PNC) in Gaza City in May 1996. The PNC was convened to ratify the Palestine Authority's peace policy, and Arafat's official commitment to Rabin to abolish those articles in the Palestinian National Charter calling for the destruction of the State of Israel or contradicting the Rabin-Arafat exchange of letters prior to the signing of the Declaration of Principles. The results of the session were considered successful for Arafat, but in Israel the vague decision made by the PNC regarding the Charter remained very controversial.

Arafat's image as a master of political maneuvers and arch-survivor surfaced following the foundation of the Palestinian Authority, underscoring his paternalistic and indecisive style of state- and nation-building. This was evident in his handling of the political opposition, especially Hamas, and the latter's continued violence against Israel, which contradicted the language and spirit of the Oslo Accords. All through the Oslo years, Arafat persistently refrained from sending a clear message to the Palestinians in general, and to his Fatah fellows in particular, that the armed revolution was over. In fact, Arafat harbored a continued debate within Fatah, by which a resumption of violence against Israel had remained optional. As to the opposition groups, Arafat preferred containment and cooption rather than confrontation, inclusion rather than exclusion, though not at the expense of his own political authority. It was only under extreme circumstances threatening his political authority that he resorted to violent repression, as in the case of the bloody clash with Islamist opponents on November 18, 1994 at the Palestine Mosque in Gaza.

During Prime Minister Ehud *Barak's term, Arafat maintained full control of the negotiations on the Palestinian side, often overlooking his aides' positions and preferences. With the failure of the Camp David summit in July 2000, Arafat was charged with the brunt of responsibility for this failure, which might explain Arafat's effort to canvass wide Arab and Islamic support. With the eruption of the al-Aqsa Intifada in October 2000, Arafat gave it his blessing and made an effort to escalate violence to enlist Arab and international support for his position. The increase and prolongation of violence by various Palestinian factions, including the Islamic opposition, led to the erosion of Arafat's authority and brought about increasing military strikes by Israel on the PA's installations. However, it was only after the terrorist attack on the U.S. on September 11, 2001, that Arafat's personal position began to deteriorate, with the U.S. president giving increasing backing to Israel's pressure on the PA to cease violence against Israel. In December, following the assassination of Israeli minister *Ze'evi by members of the Palestinian Front for the Liberation of Palestine, the Israeli government confined Arafat to his compound of offices in Ramallah, until he arrested the perpetrators. In early 2002, during the al-Aqsa Intifada, while being confined by Israeli troops to his government compound in Ramallah, Arafat expressed his wish to be a "martyr" (*shahid*).

The Israeli government continued its pressure on Arafat, declaring him "irrelevant" and clearly expressing its wish to replace him by another, more pragmatic leader. Arafat's credibility regarding his efforts to stop the violence sustained a serious blow with the seizure in January 2002 by Israel of a Palestinian-owned ship loaded with Iranian weapons earmarked for the PA on its way to the Mediterranean. Arafat's contradictory statements regarding his connection to the ship left a very negative impression on the U.S. administration as well as on European and Arab leaders. The result was a growing American backing for Israel's pressure on Arafat. Yet, despite the destruction of the PA's symbols of power, first and foremost of Arafat's own position, the Israeli pressure resulted in an increasing tendency among Palestinians to rally around his leadership, causing Palestinians, including opposition leaders, to express their allegiance to Arafat.

The Israeli invasion of the PA-controlled areas and siege of Arafat's office, in late March 2002, won him unprecedented worldwide support, particularly in the Arab-Muslim world and the European Union. These responses effectively reconfirmed both his personal status as the paramount legitimate leader of the Palestinian people, as well as serious discontent at the Israeli actions. In November 2004 Arafat died in Paris after his health had rapidly deteriorated, bringing his rule to an end amid rumors and confusion surrounding the diagnosis of his illness and the cause of death. Arafat was buried in Ramallah at a funeral which underscored his historic role as the intiator of organized Palestinian nationalism and the symbol of Palestinian identity.

See also *Arab World; *Palestine Liberation Organization; *Palestinian Authority.

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[Avraham Sela (2nd ed.)]

°**ARAGÃO, FERNÃO XIMENES DE** (d. 1630), antisemitic Portuguese writer; archdeacon of Braga. In 1624 he embarked on harsh attacks upon Judaism and upon Jewish converts to Christianity who remained faithful to the Jewish religion. His book *Doutrina Catholica para instrução e confirmação dos fieis, extinção das seitas superticiosas e em particular do Judaismo* ("The Catholic Doctrine for the Instruction and Admonition of the Faithful, and the Extinction of Idolatrous Sects and in Particular that of Judaism," Lisbon, 1625) was reissued in 1628 in a second edition, under the title *Extinção do Judaismo* ("The Extinction of Judaism"), and again as late as 1752.

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[Joseph Kaplan]

ARAKHIN (Aram. עֲרָכִין, "Valuations"), the fifth tractate of the Mishnah, Tosefta, and Babylonian Talmud in the order of *Kodashim*. Mishnah tractate *Arakhin* portrays the system of votive donations that financed the Temple's maintenance – as distinct from the annual collection of a half-shekel per capita (*sheqalim*, discussed in the tractate by that name) that financed the sacrificial cult itself.

The foundation for *Arakhin* is the concluding chapter of Leviticus (27), whose focus is objects consecrated to God. Most objects are not fit for sacrifices, and hence the Bible defines how they are to be redeemed. Specifically, biblical rejection of human sacrifice dictates that a person – consecrated, evidently, by the head of his or her household – is to be redeemed. A human life is evaluated according to a fixed scale (*erekh*), with no individual variation, in a hierarchy from 50 *shekel* for an adult male, down to three for a young girl. Similarly, there is a fixed redemption value for ancestral land, without regard for its quality or market price.

For the rabbis, the notion of human sacrifice had become even more remote, and so the very idea of consecrating a person no longer had any concrete meaning. *Erekh* (plural, *arakhin*) or "valuation" became simply a variant of vows: one can promise to the Temple the price of any object or (say) its weight in gold, but employing the key term "*erekh*" invokes the biblical symbolic scale (M. 5:1–4). The first chapter of Mishnah *Arakhin* introduces these principles by means of an analysis of persons whose status is irregular. For example, while one can vow the market value of a person whose gender is indeterminate, the symbolic value of *erekh* applies only to "either a definite male, or a definite female" (M. 1:1). The format of a range of values, with fixed maximal and minimal – occurring mostly in ritual contexts – is explored in chapter 2. Interestingly, a large sub-unit is devoted to the numbers of instruments and singers who produce the sacral music of the Levites. Chapter 3 again emphasizes the contrast between pronouncing an "*erekh*" and vowing an actual price, along with similar contrasts between payment of a fixed symbolic sum as indemnity and payment of actual damages. The chapter concludes by emphasizing the power of speech.

The various vows and votive promises could create debts toward the Temple, and its treasurers had powers to extract what was owed. The end of chapter 5 and all of chapter 6 deal with the procedures for (and restrictions upon) such collection. The sums received serve for the Temple's maintenance, except where the term "*ḥerem*" was employed – according to "the sages," these go to the priests (M. 8:6).

The last third of the tractate (chapters 7–9) discusses real estate. In the biblical system (Lev. 25:25–34, 27:16–24), sale of ancestral holdings is temporary. At the Jubilee year, they revert to their original owners. Hence the buyer can only consecrate the value of the land's use for the intervening years. Consecration of an ancestral holding can, however, be effected by its original owner. Within its systematic discussion of these laws, the Mishnah also recognizes a historical condition wherein the Jubilee is not operative. In that context, it describes in detail an open auction for "redeeming" the land from the Temple treasury, wherein the original owner has the right of making the opening bid. The concluding chapter is devoted to sale of fields and houses. The Jubilee does not apply to houses in walled towns, except for those of the landless Levites, whose towns constitute their ancestral holdings. In the tractate's penultimate pericope, Rabbi Elazar voices concern lest "Israel's towns be laid waste". The final pericope concludes with the citation, "the Levites shall forever have the right of redemption" (Lev. 25:32), clearly alluding also to the nation's hope for redemption and re-possession of its homeland.

Tosefta *Arakhin* follows the arrangement of the Mishnah rather closely, but adds several distinct short units. 1:7–11 (related to M. 2:2) discusses calendar variations due to the flexibility in the length of a month (29/30 days), with special attention to the festival of Shavuot (Pentecost) which – our text implies – is the day the Torah was given at Sinai. T. 2:3–7 (related to M. 2:3–6, the unit about sacral music) recounts the perfection of several ancient Temple instruments, said to date from the period of Moses: attempted improvements backfired, and restoration was not always possible. Yet whereas the present lyre has seven strings, the Messianic future will herald enhanced versions, first with eight and then with ten strings. Also noteworthy are the Tosefta's systematic explorations of the various, seemingly incongruent, biblical pronouncements regarding *ḥerem* (T. 4:31–34, related to M. 8:4–7); and of the precise definition of a walled town, relevant to several *halakhic* contexts (T. 5:13–16, related to M. 9:5–6).

An important theme in the Tosefta's additions pertains to a person's stewardship of his property. The Mishnah (6:2–5) ordains what possessions should be left in the hands of a person who has (irresponsibly) consecrated all he has. The Tosefta explicitly prohibits such a total giveaway, and cites Rabbi Elazar ben Azaryah, who derives from this that a person is obliged to take care to preserve his property. Specifically, opposition to spendthrift behavior is translated into instructions on adjusting one's spending on food – and in particular, on meat – to one's economic capability (T. 4:23–28).

Perhaps the most striking addition is the homily on the path to destitution. This is introduced by a set of prohibitions: A man may not sell his ancestral land, his daughter, or himself for cash, to be used for business or savings; such sales may be undertaken only in desperation. Then, the several pericopes of Lev. 25 are read as a tale of a person spiraling down into poverty, instigated by the sin of trading in produce of the consecrated Seventh Year. One who commits such greedy sacrilege will be forced to sell first his movable possessions, then his land and home, and finally himself as a slave to pagans (T. 5:6–9).

The infractions regarding the Seventh Year are singled out here from the set of commandments in Lev. 25. This may be an allusion to the following chapter, in which national loss of land and liberty is threatened as divine punishment for violating God's commandments in general, and the Seventh Year observance in particular (cf. Lev. 26:32–35). In its concluding pericopes (5:18–19), the Tosefta addresses the concern "lest the land of Israel [be] laid waste".

[Noam Zohar (2nd ed.)]

TB *Arakhin* contains several noteworthy units, particularly in the first three chapters. At the outset, the lengthy opening *sugya* runs a systematic comparison between the Mishnah's opening clause ("All are fit to value and be valuated: … Priests, Levites and Israelites") and numerous similarly phrased tannaitic statements. Both the term "all" (taken to imply broad inclusiveness) and the items "Priests, Levites, and Israelites" are questioned and placed in their general context, in the larger tannitic corpus. Regarding the differentiation between Priests, Levites and Israelites, the Bavli concludes that distinct halakhic standards apply only in the setting of sacrificial worship. Otherwise, priests' halakhic obligations are no different from those of all other Jews. The theoretical possibility of a separate legal and religious standard for the Priests, suggested by some of the sources examined here, is explicitly rejected.

In chapter 2 the Bavli contains an extended discussion of the Levites and the Temple's musical instruments, exploring connections between the Levites' song and the priests' sacrificial worship; R. Meir invalidates offerings unaccompanied by a levitical song. Since the Levites' song varies daily, the Babylonian Talmud engages in a detailed discussion of calendar and history, including an attempt to determine the exact date and day of the Exile.

The Mishnah's discussion in chapter 3 leads up to an emphasis on the power of speech. The Babylonian Talmud here expands on several matters of language and words. These include the severity of libel, *lashon ha-ra* (Cf., lit., "evil tongue"), citing R. Yosi b. Zimra who compares *lashon ha-ra* to heresy. Another law pertaining to speech is the obligation of rebuke (Lev. 19:10), and an extended *sugya* discusses the manner in which rebukes should be delivered, and the limits of the obligation (15a–16b).

[Yedidah Koren (2nd ed.)]

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ARAM, ARAMEANS. The Arameans are a group of western Semitic, Aramaic-speaking tribes who spread over the Fertile Crescent during the last quarter of the second millennium B.C.E. Eleventh and tenth century royal inscriptions from Assyria and Babylonia indicate Aramean movements through the north of the Middle Euphrates and northern Mesopotamia. In other words, the Arameans might be viewed as the successors of the *Amorites of the late third millennium (Dion in Bibliography). These nomads or semi-nomads spread from the Persian Gulf in the south to the Amanus Mountains in the north, and the anti-Lebanon and northern Transjordan in the west.

History

Of the various biblical traditions concerning their place of origin, an obscure reference in Amos 9:7 places it in Kir, whose location is uncertain, but may refer to a locale apparently not far from Emar (modern Tel Meskene), although some locate Kir on the border of *Elam in Iran. The fact that the Table of Nations (Gen. 10:22–23) has the eponymous ancestor Aram (together with Elam and Asshur) only one generation removed from Shem reflects the importance of the Arameans in the Near East during the first third of the first millennium B.C.E. To this Aram the Table assigns four sons, Uz, Hul, Gether, and Mash (I Chron. 1:17; LXX *Meshech*; Samaritan Pent. *Massa*), but the identity and location of the ethnic groups they stand for are uncertain. The Qumran *War Scroll* (1QM 2:10) places them "Beyond the Euphrates." The modest standing of the Arameans prior to their rise is reflected in the genealogical table of the Nahorites, where Aram is a mere grandson of Nahor and a nephew, instead of the father, of Uz (Gen. 22:21). The patriarchal narratives make the Hebrew Patriarchs close kinsmen of the Arameans. Not only is Abraham a brother of the aforementioned Nahor, but Isaac marries a granddaughter of Nahor who is "daughter of Bethuel the Aramean and sister of Laban the Aramean" (Gen. 25:20), and Jacob marries daughters of the same "Laban the Aramean" (cf. Gen. 31:47, where Laban coins an Aramaic equivalent for Gilead (*Galed*)). On one occasion Jacob himself is described as "a wandering-destitute-Aramean" (Deut. 26:5). This tradition conforms to the later Hebrew names for the ancestral home of the Patriarchs in the Haran district: "Paddan-Aram" (Gen. 25:20; 28:2); the "country of Aram" (Hos. 12:13); and "Aram-Naharaim" (i.e., the Jezirah, the region of the Habor and Euphrates rivers; Gen. 24:10).

The existence of the Arameans in the "patriarchal period," however, is not attested by extra-biblical sources – in any case, not as an element important enough to warrant naming the entire Jezirah area after it. Indeed, in the Egyptian and Akkadian sources of the 15th–12th centuries B.C.E. the area is referred to simply as Naharaim (in many different spellings), but never as Aram-Naharaim. Thus, the latter name and the alleged Aramean affiliations of the "Patriarchs" are anachronisms that came into being at the end of the second millennium as a result of the thorough entrenchment of the Aramean tribes in the Jezirah region at that time. The arguments, particularly the linguistic ones, that the "Patriarchs" were "Proto-Arameans" are without substance. The mention of Aram or Aram-Naharaim as the country of origin of Balaam (Num. 23:7; Deut. 23:5) is, perhaps, also an anachronism.

The isolated references to Aram as a place name or personal name between the end of the third and late second millennium B.C.E. are insufficient to establish such an early appearance of the Arameans, especially since, later, the name Aram occurred frequently as an onomastic and toponymic element in entirely non-"Aramean" contexts.

The first, definite extra-biblical mention of the Arameans is found in the annals of Tiglath-Pileser I, king of Assyria (1116–1076 B.C.E.), in the compound name "Aḫlamē Aramāi̯a." However, the identification of the Aḫlamē of the Assyrian sources of the 14th century with the Arameans is untenable; the first appearance of the Arameans should not be traced back to the early documentation of the name Aḫlamē used, like the name Sūtu, for nomad tribes. Moreover, tenth-ninth century royal Assyrian inscriptions mention Aḫlamē Aramāi̯a alongside the Arameans. The close association of the two led to occasional late cuneiform references to the Aramaic language as "Aḫlamē." Tiglath-Pileser I mentions that in his fourth year (1113 B.C.E.) he routed the Aḫlamē Aramāi̯a in the Euphrates region, from the land of Suḫu in the south to Carchemish in the north. At that time the Arameans had already settled in the Mount Bishri district, southeast of the Euphrates bend, where Tiglath-Pileser devastated six of their villages. They are further mentioned as far west as the Tadmor (Palmyra) oasis and even in the foothills of Mount Lebanon. Tiglath-Pileser's son, Ashur-bel-kala (1073–1056 B.C.E.), refers specifically to the land of Aram (*māt Arime*) without connecting it with Aḫlamē. By the time of Tiglath-Pileser I, the Arameans had once penetrated into Assyria proper, and during his son's reign an Aramean usurper, Adad-apal-iddina, managed to seize the throne of Babylonia.

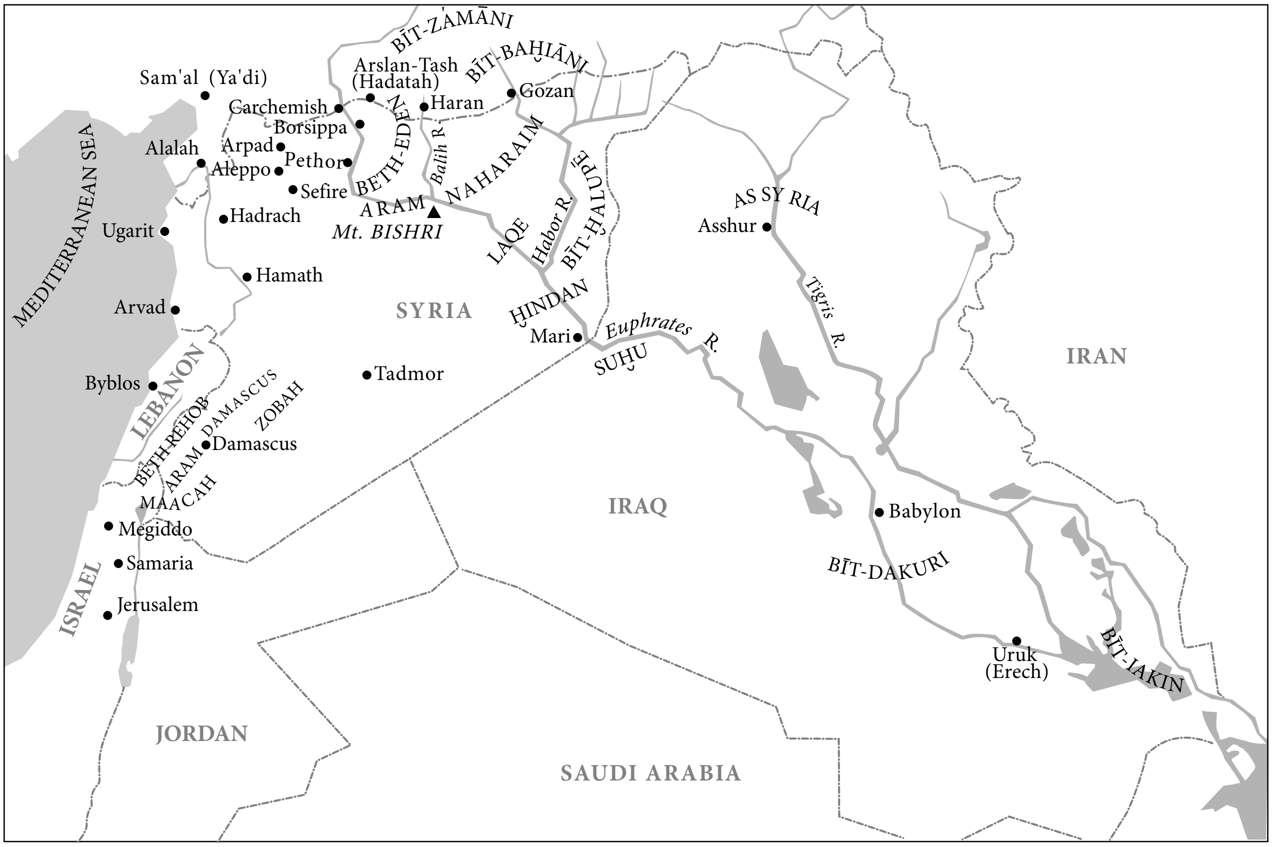
BĪT-ZAMĀNI
Arslan-Tash
(Hadatah)
BĪT-BAḪIĀNI
Sam'al (Ya'di)
Carchemish
Haran
Gozan
Borsippa
BETH-EDEN
Balih R.
NAHARAIM
Alalah
Arpad
Aleppo
Pethor
Sefire
ARAM
Mt. BISHRI
BĪT-ḪALUPĒ
Habor R.
LAQE
ASSYRIA
Asshur
Tigris R.
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
Ugarit
Hadrach
Hamath
Arvad
SYRIA
ḪINDAN
Mari
Euphrates R.
SUḪU
IRAN
Byblos
LEBANON
Tadmor
DAMASCUS
ZOBAH
BETH-REHOB
ARAM
Damascus
MAACAH
IRAQ
Babylon
Megiddo
Samaria
BĪT-DAKURI
ISRAEL
Jerusalem
Uruk
(Erech)
BĪT-IAKIN
JORDAN
SAUDI ARABIA

Aramean regions and cities, c. 15th century B.C.E.

Thus, the historical significance of the Arameans began only at the end of the second and beginning of the first millennia B.C.E. At this time independent Aramean states arose in Syria: the biblical Aram-Zobah, Aram Beth-Rehob, Aram-Maacah (II Sam. 10:6), and (slightly later) *Aram-Damascus; and in Mesopotamia: e.g., Bīt-Adini (biblical *Beth-Eden; Amos 1:5) above the Euphrates bend, Bīt-Baḫiāni (capital: *Gozan; cf. II Kings 17:6) and Bīt-Ḫalupē in the Habor region, Ḫindān and Suḫu (biblical Shuah; Gen. 25:2) on the Middle Euphrates, Bīt-Zamāni on the Upper Tigris, and Bīt-Dakuri and Bīt-Iakin near the Persian Gulf. Various Arameans, or closely related tribes, are known to have played an important role in Babylonia; such were the *Chaldeans (though some dispute the extent of their closeness to the Arameans) and the Pekod of the Bible (Jer. 50:21; Ezek. 23:23; Akkadian Puqudu).

For the century spanning the turn of the millennium, the Arameans challenged the very existence of the Assyrian kingdom, which reached its nadir under Ashur-Rabi II and Tiglath-Pileser II. However, at the same time the Aramean expansion itself was being checked in the west by David, who dealt a powerful blow, thrice defeating Hadadezer, king of Aram-Zobah, and his allies, bringing them into vassalage. A few generations later, Ashur-Dan II (934–912 B.C.E.) and Adad-Nirari II (911–891 B.C.E.) were able to relieve the Aramean pressure on Assyria, especially on its western flank. In the next half century, during the reigns of Ashurnaṣirpal II (883–859 B.C.E.) and, particularly, *Shalmaneser III (858–824 B.C.E.), the Assyrians succeeded in subjugating the Aramean states in Syria, on the one hand, and Babylonia, on the other.

The combined evidence of Aramaic documents from the ninth-eighth centuries B.C.E. and Assyrian sources illuminates the structure and political constellation of the various Aramean and neo-Hittite states in Syria – their rivalries and alliances. The outstanding kingdom in southern Syria was Aram-Damascus, while in the north such Aramean states as Hadrach (cf. Zech. 9:1) and, particularly, Arpad (II Kings 18:34; 19:13) rose to power. In the ninth-eighth centuries B.C.E., even in such states of neo-Hittite foundation as Ya'di-Sam'al (capital: modern Zenjirli) in the north and *Hamath in Middle Syria, an Aramaizing process evolved, resulting in the gradual acceptance of Aramaic personal names and script equally with the neo-Hittite. In the second half of the 8th century, *Tiglath-Pileser III (745–727 B.C.E.) reduced the independent Aramean kingdoms to mere vassal states or Assyrian provinces. Still, in 720 B.C.E. revolts in former Aramean lands, such as Damascus, Arpad, and perhaps even Ya'di-Sam'al (with the participation of Samaria), broke out against the rule of Sargon II. In southern Mesopotamia in the later part of the eighth century, various Aramean tribes waged war against Assyria, only to suffer defeat and exile in large numbers.

Culture

The Aramean expansion did not lead to a political or cultural pan-Aramean unity. In Syria, however, political confederations periodically arose, often of considerable extent but of changing leadership: e.g., that of Aram-Zobah, about 1000 B.C.E., whose greatness is known only from the Bible (II Sam. 8:3ff.; 10:16–17); that of Aram-Damascus, mid-ninth century on; and that of Arpad, mid-eighth century. The stature of Arpad is attested in the Aramaic treaty inscriptions from Sefire (south of Aleppo), which contain such indicative terms as "all Aram" and "Upper and Lower Aram." Such confederations were pliant and internally loose, and easily dissolved under pressure from without.

Except for the Aramaic language and script, the Arameans left no manifest traces of their culture among other peoples. The wide spread of the Aramaic language, facilitated by its convenient script, was accelerated by extensive shifts in populations, mass exiles of Arameans and their employ within the Assyrian and Babylonian administration as well as their mercantile activities. The Arameans' widespread settlement along the trade routes, coupled with their inherent wanderlust, brought them to the fore of Middle Eastern commerce from the ninth century on (see also Ancient *Aramaic).

In the sphere of religion, the Arameans were of little influence on others, but instead accepted the local cults of the areas in which they settled. Their principal deity in Syria was the ancient west-Semitic storm god Hadad, the dynastic god of, among others, the Aramean kings of Damascus (cf. the names Bar-Hadad, corresponding to the biblical Ben-Hadad). Evident also from Aramaic inscriptions is their worship of various Canaanite and Mesopotamian deities. In Sam'al the dynastic gods Rakib-el, Baal Ḥamman, and Baal Semed were apparently worshiped by the Arameans, as well as Baal-Haran, whose cultic center was at Haran, home of the ancient moon-god Sin. The worship of female deities is indicated by the pairing on a stela of Rakib-El of Sam'al with the goddess Kubaba of Carchemish, and by the depiction of Astarte as the woman at the window in Aramean ivory plaques found in Assyria at Nimrud (Dion).

Traces of Aramean religion are found in the Hellenistic period at Baalbek and Hieropolis; the latter was the main center for the cult of the female deity Atargatis, whose name combines the Aramaic *ʿatar* (Ashtart) and *ʿata* (Anat). Among the Israelites of the First Temple period, the influence of the Aramean religion was reflected in Ahaz's introduction of a Damascus-style altar at Jerusalem (II Kings 16:10–13; II Chron. 28:22–23), which many believe was accompanied by the introduction of a Damascus cult, and the worship of Hadadrimmon in the plain of Megiddo (Zech. 12:11; cf. II Kings 5:18), and, later, in certain practices of the Jewish colonists at *Elephantine. Conversely, Israelite religious influence on the Arameans is evident in the episode of Naaman, army commander of the king of Aram-Damascus (II Kings 5:15–17), as well as in the names of two kings of (neo-Hittite) Hammath, which contain the theophoric element *yahu*: Joram (II Sam. 8:10), whose name also appears in the form Hadoram (I Chron. 18:10), and Iaʿubidi.

The Aramean material culture, like the religion, was essentially eclectic, being strongly influenced by the specific local environment, e.g., in Syria by the neo-Hittites and the Phoenicians. Though it is difficult to define as Aramean per se particular material remains, it is apparent that the ninth-eighth centuries B.C.E. represent the cultural zenith of the Arameans. Aramean centers during this period included Tell Halaf (Gozan); Arslan Tash (Ḫadatha) and Tell Aḥmar (Til Barsip) in northern Mesopotamia; and Zenjirli (Sam'al), Hamath, and Damascus in Syria. With the continued ascendance of the Assyrian Empire, however, the political and cultural prospects of the Aramean states were extinguished.

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[Abraham Malamat]

ARAMA, ISAAC BEN MOSES (c. 1420–1494), Spanish rabbi, philosopher, and preacher. As a young man Arama taught at Zamora and subsequently served the small communities of Tarragona and Fraga in Aragon. He was later appointed rabbi of Calatayud, where he wrote most of his works. In order to counteract the effects of conversionist sermons to which the Jews of Aragon were compelled to listen, Arama delivered sermons on the principles of Judaism. These sermons became the basis of his later works and contain interesting data on the history of the Jews in Spain prior to their expulsion. Arama engaged in several public disputations with Christian scholars. After the expulsion of the Jews from Spain, in 1492 Arama settled in Naples where he died.

Works

Arama is best known as the author of *Akedat Yiẓḥak* ("Binding of Isaac") which exercised great influence on Jewish thought. Written in the form of philosophical homilies and allegorical commentaries on the Pentateuch, the work consists of 105 "Portals." Each portal forms a complete sermon which is divided into two parts: *derishah* ("investigation"), and *perishah* ("exposition"). In the *derishah*, the author examines a philosophical idea in the light of his chosen texts, biblical and rabbinic, with which the sermon opens. In the *perishah*, the Scriptural commentary predominates and the difficulties which seem to appear in the text are solved with the aid of the central idea of the *derishah*. Thus, the gap between the two parts of the sermon is skillfully closed, and they merge into one harmonious whole. First published in Salonika in 1522, the *Akedah* has since been reprinted many times. Among Arama's other works are *Ḥazut Kashah* ("Grievous Vision"; Sabbionetta, 1552), a polemic dealing with the relation of philosophy and religion; a commentary on the Five Scrolls (Riva di Trento, 1561); and *Yad Avshalom* ("Absalom's Memorial"; Constantinople, 1565?), a commentary on the Book of Proverbs, dedicated to the memory of his son-in-law. It should be noted that the commentary on Esther, extant in all editions of *Akedat Yiẓḥak* since Venice, 1573, is actually the work of his son Meir *Arama. Isaac's own commentary on Esther was published in Constantinople, 1518. He also wrote several poems and a commentary on Aristotle's *Ethics*, apparently lost.

Philosophy

Although Arama composed his works in the form of philosophical homilies and commentaries on Scripture rather than as systematic treatises, he nevertheless integrated within this literary framework a treatment of the then-current major philosophical problems: the relation between Scripture and philosophy; faith and reason; the allegorical method; articles of faith; creation and structure of the world; miracles; providence; immortality of the soul; man's free will and God's foreknowledge; prophecy; ethics. Considering the relation of Scripture and philosophy, Arama seeks to demonstrate the superiority of divine truth over human reasoning, and the necessity of subordinating reason to Scripture whenever the two are in conflict. He brings into sharp relief the distinction between religion and philosophy by illustrating the difference between their respective conceptions of God. Discussing the problem of faith and reason, Arama criticizes Maimonides' rationalistic definition of faith, according to which faith is subordinated to reason. Arama describes faith as the voluntary assent to the teachings of Scripture in spite of intellectual uncertainty about them, and he cites the patriarch Abraham's willingness to sacrifice Isaac as an example of this kind of faith. In his interpretation of Scripture, Arama uses the allegorical method, quoting in justification the Zohar's statement that Scripture should not be read literally. In opposition, however, to the extreme allegorical commentators among the philosophers, he emphasizes that the allegorical interpretation of Scripture should not deny its literal meaning. Arama analyzes and criticizes the lists of *articles of faith drawn up by Maimonides, Crescas, and Albo, and he presents six of his own. They are creation, miracles, revelation, providence, repentance, and immortality of the soul. Each of these, according to him, is embodied in a specific Mosaic law. In the case of miracles, Arama maintains that God possesses the power to suspend the laws of nature and perform miracles whenever necessary. He does not hesitate, however, to offer rational explanations of some of the miracles recorded in Scripture, maintaining that man was originally endowed with power over nature and was granted the means of establishing "cosmic harmony." He affirms man's freedom of will and discusses in great detail the nature and history of the problem of man's freedom and God's foreknowledge. He is critical of those philosophers who attempted to escape the dilemma by sacrificing either Divine omniscience or human freedom. He emphasizes that grace must be merited and criticizes the Christian doctrine that grace is given freely by God, a doctrine which, according to him, amounts to a denial of free will. In his treatment of ethics, and his attempt to formulate the Torah's conception of man, Arama assigns a central role to Aristotle's *Ethics*, citing this work with a frequency and intensity of engagement comparable only to his citations of biblical and talmudic literature. Arama declares the teachings of the *Ethics* to be true and in harmony with the Torah.

Akedat Yitzhak includes several important social and political discussions. Along with his discussions of various ideas espoused by preceding Jewish thinkers, Arama's political method also includes innovative elements. His socio-political thought is, for the most part, Maimonidean, yet it also includes neo-republican elements, foreshadowing the line of thought that would later be developed by R. Isaac *Abrabanel.

Concerning the essence of political society, Arama highly regards the existence of the political society, which is founded on law and order. The purpose of this society must be to ensure the personal security of each of its members and to maintain social and judicial justice, which is necessary for the optimal regularization of material life. This regularization is a precondition for the ability to achieve the ultimate goal of any society and state, i.e., enabling every individual to reach spiritual perfection, which Arama considers as the supreme purpose of existence. Any attempt to set a different goal as the purpose of society, such as the political order itself, is bound to fail.

Arama claims that real liberty is only the possession of whomever subordinates himself to a worthy authority. Thus, a truly free person is one who obeys the ideal legal system that the Torah dictates. Arama sees in the latter an eternal and ideal constitution adjusted to the nature of the universe. The Torah dictates social, judicial, and political order as well as how to acquire virtues and moral qualities. It also makes possible the acquisition of intellectual qualities, the immortality of the soul, and the creation of cosmic harmony.

Arama claims the Torah is a foundation for a society that is characterized by mutual aid and cooperation between all of its parts. Nevertheless, he considers certain exceptional deviations from religious law to be an imitation of divine justice. He invests the power to decide on such actions in the hands of the Great Sanhedrin, whose members he regards as gifted with the special qualities and knowledge necessary for making such decisions.

Arama expounds on the issue of social justice, while sharply criticizing injustices in this sphere. He claims that a legal system and an elected leader of a society necessarily reflect the character of their society and stresses the duty of every ruler, by definition, to ensure the well-being of his subjects. Thus, the ruler must enable each and every one of them to realize his or her spiritual and intellectual potential, by creating the optimal physical and material conditions necessary for that purpose. Arama demands that the ruler have noble moral, spiritual, and intellectual qualities, as well as political and administrative wisdom.

Arama stresses the importance of the proper function of the judicial system of any society and imposes its maintenance on the ruler. He also claims it is the public's responsibility, both as a whole and as individuals, to prevent injustices and various improper moral and spiritual phenomena. This responsibility is a necessary condition for the stability of the religio-social and public solidarity and unity, which enable the maintenance of the sovereign political framework.

Arama stresses the importance of peace as an expression of the principle of cosmic harmony, although he supports war against pagan nations. He objects to violence within society, as well as to cruelty during wars.

Arama presents an organic socio-political doctrine, from which derives the natural necessity of a strong central regime with a hierarchic administrative system in which every functionary has a defined role. All citizens are essentially equal, yet they differ from each other in their public function, which determines their social position. A ruler must ensure the existence of an enlightened legal system, the existence of public law and order, and national security. A Jewish king must act according to the "Law of the King" (Deut. 17:14–20) especially, and the laws of the Torah in general. Arama also claims that the Jews must appoint a king for his qualities and capabilities. On the occasion of forming a covenant between God, the king, and his people, the king must act for the good of the people and receive religious and public legitimacy for his reign from all of his subjects. Hence, his appointment will have no validity if he betrays the public mission that has been assigned to him. Therefore, the people may not banish the king as long as he has not betrayed one of the other parties to the covenant. Arama seems to object to the principle of dynastic succession and to support the principle of an elected ruler who must gain the public's confirmation of his appointment at fixed periods of time. Nevertheless, Arama adopts the ideal of the Davidian dynastic reign.

Arama describes the political notion of the messianic king as ideal and, in accord with the aforementioned criteria, giving it socio-political power and international status. Nevertheless, Arama draws a utopian vision of a later perfect period of the End of Days. At that time a change in humanity's nature will enable it to accept the reign of the kingdom of heaven spontaneously and there will no longer be a need for human government.

Arama tries to prove that the laws of Moses are the natural laws of the philosophers; that they are to be identified with the moral and intellectual virtues; that they contain additional virtues not mentioned in any of the lists drawn up by the philosophers; and that they lead to the happiness in which the philosophers find the highest good of man. This happiness consists in a spiritual life in this world and an eternal life in the world to come.

Influence

Arama's sermons met the needs of his own time superbly and influenced the style and character of Jewish preaching through the subsequent centuries. The *Akedat Yiẓḥak* became a classic work in Jewish homiletics and is widely read to the present day.

In the history of medieval Jewish philosophy, Arama's writings represent an attempt to articulate a conservative Jewish philosophy that could withstand the two-fold challenge of radical rationalism and Christianity. His criticism of the former was powerful, yet subtle, selective, and complex. His relation to natural reason is often dialectical as he searches to create a delicate and judicious balance between this reason and the religious faith. Much the same, Arama's attitude towards Maimonides is quite complex. Though he was not a Maimonidean, he knew well that his entire intellectual project would have been impossible without Maimonides.

Arama's philosophical influence is reflected primarily in the writings of Isaac Abrabanel, who incorporated many passages from the *Akedah* in his own writings. The work was also esteemed by Christian theologians. Anthon Julius van der Hardt, professor of theology at the University of Helmstedt, wrote a dissertation on it and translated Portal 62 into Latin (1729).

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[Sara O. Heller-Wilensky / Michael N. Rony (2nd ed.)]

ARAMA, MEIR BEN ISAAC (1460?–c. 1545), Spanish rabbi, biblical commentator, and philosopher. Born in Saragossa, Arama left Spain, together with his father Isaac *Arama, at the time of the expulsion (1492), and went to Naples. He remained there until compelled to move in 1495 when the French conquered the city, and later that year finally settled in Salonika, where he was appointed rabbi and preacher of the émigré Aragonian congregation. Although the many halakhic decisions he wrote as congregational rabbi and *dayyan* were not preserved, some are mentioned in the works of contemporaries. Arama wrote (1) *Urim ve-Tummim*, a commentary on Isaiah and Jeremiah (Venice, 1603); (2) *Me'ir Iyyov*, a commentary on Job, written in 1506 (Salonika, 1517); (3) *Me'ir Tehillot*, on Psalms, written in 1512 (Venice, 1590); (4) a commentary on the Song of Songs, published in *Likkutei Shoshannim* by Isaac Gershon (1602); and (5) a commentary on Esther, incorrectly attributed to his father, published together with his father's *Akedat Yiẓḥak* (Venice, 1573). Arama also wrote a letter accusing Isaac *Abrabanel of plagiarizing the works of his father (published in *Ha-Maggid*, 1858), and in which he testifies that Abrabanel visited his father's house in Naples and copied his writings. An anthology of aphorisms, *Imrei Kadosh – Zikkukin di-Nurim* (1894), has been attributed to him. Arama's commentaries, in common with those of his father, are written in the form of philosophical allegories, although he opposed the study of philosophy. Moses *Almosnino was on close terms with him and cites his opinions, as does Solomon ha-Levi *Alkabeẓ. His son, Jacob, was a *dayyan* in Salonika. Compendia of biblical commentaries compiled by the 16th-century Turkish scholars, such as that of Joseph *Taitaẓak, include many of Arama's commentaries, which are signed "R.M.A." or "ha-Meiri" (Jewish Theological Seminary Ms. 740/157, Bodleian Library Ms. 969, et al.).

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ARAMAIC, an ancient northwestern *Semitic language spoken (to some extent) to this day. The entry is arranged according to the following outline:

ANCIENT ARAMAIC AND OFFICIAL ARAMAIC
- SOURCES
  - Syria and Its Neighboring Countries
  - Iraq and Iran
  - Egypt
- MAIN CHARACTERISTICS
  - Biblical Aramaic
  - The Aramaic of the Elephantine Documents
  - The Aramaic of the Driver Documents

ANCIENT ARAMAIC

OFFICIAL ARAMAIC
- THE ORIGIN OF THE ARAMAIC PASSAGES IN EZRA AND DANIEL
- THE INFLUENCE OF ARAMAIC ON BIBLICAL HEBREW

MIDDLE ARAMAIC
- INSCRIPTIONS FROM NON-ARAMAIC-SPEAKING REGIONS
- THE ARAMAIC TARGUMS OF THE PENTATEUCH (ONKELOS) AND OF THE BOOKS OF THE PROPHETS (JONATHAN)
- THE ARAMAIC OF THE DEAD SEA SCROLLS
  - Aramaic Texts of the Sect
  - The Aramaic Bar Kokhbar Letters
- JERUSALEM INSCRIPTIONS
- ARAMAIC IN THE NEW TESTAMENT
- THE URUK INCANTATION TEXT
- THE NABATEAN INSCRIPTIONS
- THE PALMYREAN INSCRIPTIONS
- THE ARAMAIC OF HATRA
- THE ARAMAIC OF DURA-EUROPOS
- THE ARAMAIC IDEOGRAMS IN PAHLEVI AND OTHER PERSIAN DIALECTS

LATE ARAMAIC
- WESTERN ARAMAIC
  - Galilean Aramaic
  - Palestinian Christian Aramaic
  - Samaritan Aramaic
- EASTERN ARAMAIC
  - Syriac
  - Mandaic
  - Babylonian Aramaic

THE INFLUENCE OF LATE ARAMAIC ON OTHER LANGUAGES
- MISHNAIC HEBREW
- CLASSICAL ARABIC
- ARAMAIC INFLUENCE ON SPOKEN ARABIC DIALECTS
- ARAMAIC IN EUROPEAN LANGUAGES
- ARAMAIC IN CONTEMPORARY SPOKEN HEBREW

Aramaic is divided into several dialects which historically fall into five main groups:

Ancient Aramaic

Ancient Aramaic is the language of the ancient Aramaic inscriptions up to 700 B.C.E. (from Upper Mesopotamia, northern Syria, and northern Israel).

Official Aramaic

Official Aramaic was in use from 700 to 300 B.C.E. It includes inscriptions from the Syria-Iraq area; biblical Aramaic (though opinions vary as to its origin in the different biblical passages, see below Ancient and Official Aramaic, and the Origin of the Aramaic Portions in Ezra and Daniel); the *Elephantine documents; the Driver documents; and the Hermopolis documents. This particular Aramaic dialect served not only as the official language of Persia but also as the *lingua franca* of the Near East.

Middle Aramaic

Middle Aramaic was used from 300 B.C.E. to the early centuries C.E. Included are documents, in somewhat corrupt Aramaic, from Persia, India, Afghanistan, and the Caucasus. The Aramaic inscriptions of Jerusalem, Aramaic words found in the New Testament, the Nabatean Aramaic, the Palmyrean Aramaic, that of Hatra, of Dura-Europos, and (partly) the Aramaic ideograms of Middle Persian are all in Middle Aramaic. The Onkelos translation of the Bible (see *Targum) also seems to belong to this period, as does the language of most of those scrolls from the *Dead Sea Scrolls written in Aramaic. The Uruk document which dates from this period is the only Aramaic document written in cuneiform. While the common denominator of all these dialects is their effort to imitate Official Aramaic, they also contain elements of Late Aramaic. Most of these versions were apparently not spoken.

Late Aramaic

Late Aramaic may be divided into two dialectal groups: Western Aramaic – including Galilean Aramaic, Palestinian-Christian Aramaic, and Samaritan Aramaic; and Eastern Aramaic – consisting of three dialects: Syriac, the language of the Babylonian Talmud, and Mandaic.

Modern Aramaic

Regarding Modern Aramaic see *Neo-Aramaic.

ANCIENT ARAMAIC AND OFFICIAL ARAMAIC

SOURCES

1) The Aramaic parts of the Bible: Genesis 31:47 (two words); Jeremiah 10:11; Daniel 2:4–7:28; and Ezra 4:8–6:8; and 7:12–26.

(2) Aramaic epigraphical material, spread over an area which extended north to Sardes in Asia Minor; south to the oasis Tēmā in the north of the Arabian Peninsula; southwest to southern Egypt (the Elephantine documents); and east to Persia (The Driver documents). The documents, some of them carved on stone, written on leather, papyrus, ostraca, clay, etc., include memorial inscriptions, contracts, bills, letters, official documents, seals, and legends written on weights, and as "dockets" in Akkadian legal documents, etc. All, except the Uruk document (see Middle Aramaic), are written in an Aramaic alphabet which is a branch of the Canaanite alphabet (see *Alphabet, North-West Semitic – The Rise of Aramaic Script).

Documents were found in the following regions:

Syria and Its Neighboring Countries

The inscriptions from the reigns of kings: PNMW, HAD-YITHʿI, BIR-RKWB, ZKR, and BIRHADAD (HOD), which were all found in northern Syria, a very long inscription discovered in Sefire, an Assyrian-Aramaic bilingual from Tell Fekherye, an inscription from Tell Dan, and two in Asia Minor.

Iraq and Iran

Most of the inscriptions found are short "dockets" written in Akkadian documents; there is, however, one fairly extensive letter (the Assur). There is a document from Bukan in Iranian Azerbaijan.

Egypt

Aramaic papyri as well as a number of ostraca Aramaic papyri were discovered on the isle of Elephantine near Syene (Aswan). The papyri are comprised of bills, letters, official documents (among them parts of a translation of a Behistun inscription), and parts of the Book of *Aḥikar (see *Elephantine). A number of recently published documents also originated in Elephantine. Other Aramaic papyri discovered in Egypt come from Hermopolis; their language, more than that of any of the other material, resembles the language prevalent in Syria during that period. More than a dozen letters, and parts of letters, which were sent from the eastern part of Persia, probably from Shushan and Babylonia to Egypt, were also found in Egypt (see below; most of this material is from the fifth century B.C.E.).

THE MAIN CHARACTERISTICS OF OFFICIAL AND ANCIENT ARAMAIC

Biblical Aramaic

To stress the main characteristics of Official and Ancient Aramaic as they manifested themselves through the history of the language and in the countries in which they were current, a comparative study of some aspects of Aramaic, Hebrew, and Arabic is necessary.

PHONEMICS AND PHONETICS OF ARAMAIC. The consonantal phonemes of Hebrew and Aramaic are identical (though not historically, see below). This is apparently due to the influence which caused Official Aramaic to lose the four additional consonantal phonemes still existing in Ancient Aramaic (see Ancient Aramaic below). In biblical Aramaic, the pronunciation of the phonemes ב׳ג׳ד׳ כ׳פ׳ת׳ (*bgd kpt*) are governed practically by the same rules as in Hebrew. Traces of this double pronunciation can be detected in the modern dialects. It remains however to be determined which language influenced which.

Consonants. The Hebrew ז, which equals the Arabic ذ (*dh*), corresponds to the Aramaic ד – in Hebrew זהב, in Arabic ذهب (*dhahab*), and in Aramaic דְּהַב ("gold"); the Hebrew צ, which parallels the Arabic ض (*ḍ*), corresponds to the Aramaic ע – in Hebrew אֶרֶץ, in Arabic ارض (*arḍ*), in Aramaic אֲרַע ("land"); the Hebrew צ which parallels the Arabic ظ (*ẓ*), corresponds to the Aramaic ט – in Hebrew עֵצָה, in Arabic عظة (*ʿiẓa*), in Aramaic עֵטָא ("counsel"); the Hebrew שׁ, which equals the Arabic ث (*th*), corresponds to the Aramaic ת – in Hebrew שָׁלֹשׁ, in Arabic تلاث (*thalāth*), in Aramaic תְּלַת ("three"); the א has become weakened in Aramaic to such an extent that when beside the letter ה it also serves as a mater lectionis.

Vowels. The Hebrew *o* which parallels the Arabic *ā*, is also *ā* in Aramaic – Aramaic שְׁלָם, Hebrew שָׁלוֹם, Arabic سلام *salām* ("peace"). In Aramaic as in Hebrew, the accent may fall either on the penultimate or on the final syllable; the effect in Aramaic however is different from that in Hebrew: a short Proto-Semitic vowel cannot appear in an open non-accented syllable (as opposed to Hebrew where under certain conditions it may be lengthened – cf. the Arabic سلام (*salām*), Aramaic שְׁלָם, Hebrew שָׁלוֹם. It is mainly these characteristics which distinguish Aramaic from Hebrew and from the other Semitic languages.

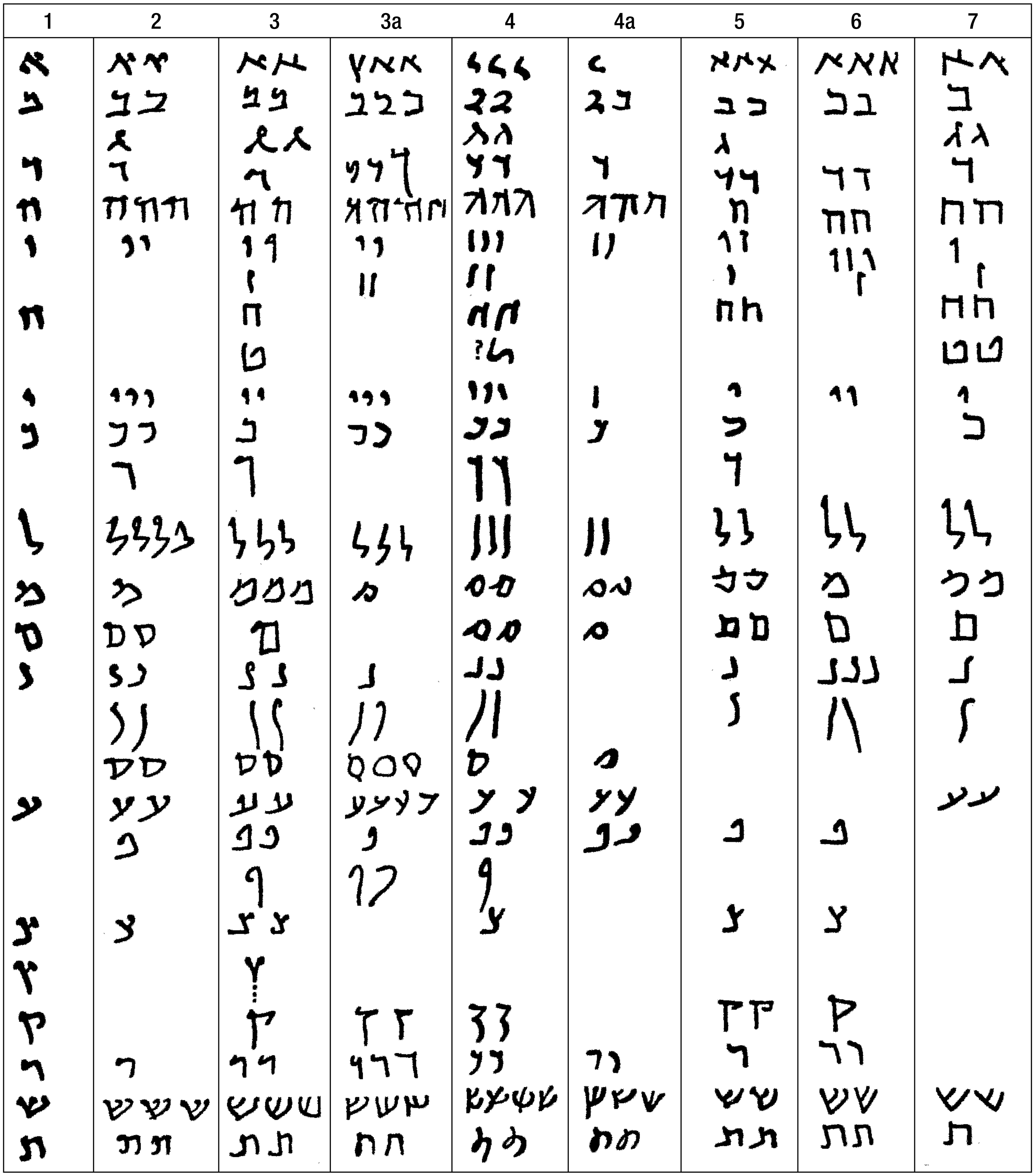

Examples of the Aramaic script. (1) Exodus fragment; (2) Bar Kokhba letter; (3) Bet Mashko letter; (3a) Signatures of witnesses to no. 3; (4) Signatures of witnesses on no. 4; (5) Dura-europos fragment; (6, 7) Bet She'arim tomb inscriptions (1–4a from Wadi Murabba'āt, i.e., before 135 C.E.; 5–7 of the third century C.E.).

DIFFERENCES IN THE VERB. Aramaic has no *niphʿal*. The conjugations *puʿal* and *hophʿal* have practically disappeared, except for the participles. In biblical Aramaic, a few remnants of the internal passive of *paʿal* (*qal*) have survived. Aramaic has the additional conjugation of *hi/ʾitpəʿel* which serves as a passive and a reflexive of *paʿal*. The Aramaic conjugations *pəʿal, paʿel*, and *haphʿel* correspond to the Hebrew *qal, piʿel*, and *hiphʿil*, but they differ in form.

Some archaic forms in biblical Hebrew may be similar to or even identical with forms in Aramaic, e.g., *kətāvā* "they

The Paradigm of the Strong Verb (*Qal*):

		Perfect	
	Masculine	Masc./Fem.	Feminine
Singular		כִּתְבֵת	
	כְּתַבְתְּ/תָּ(ה)		not attested
	כְּתַב		כִּתְבַת
Plural		כְּתַבְנָא	
	כְּתַבְתּוּן		not attested
	כְּתַבוּ		כְּתַבָה (כתבו)
		Imperfect	
	Masculine	Masc./Fem.	Feminine
Singular		אֶכְתֻּב	
	תִּכְתֻּב		not attested
	יִכְתֻּב		תִּכְתֻּב
Plural		נִכְתֻּב	
	תִּכְתְּבוּן		not attested
	יִכְתְּבוּן		יִכְתְּבָן
		Participle Active	
	Masculine	Masc./Fem.	Feminine
S.	כָּתֵב		כָּתְבָה
P.	כָּתְבִין		כָּתְבָן
		Past Passive	
	Masculine	Masc./Fem.	Feminine
S.	כְּתִיב		כְּתִיבָה
P.	כְּתִיבִין		כְּתִיבָן
		Imperative	
	Masculine	Masc./Fem.	Feminine
S.	כְּתֻב		כְּתֻבִי
P.	כְּתֻבוּ		not attested
		Infinitive	
		Masc./Fem	
S.		מִכְתַּב	

(fem.) wrote" (cf. Heb. עֵינָיו קָמָה, 1 Sam. 4:15); כִּתְבַת "she wrote" (compare: אָזְלַת Deut. 32:36; Hebrew יִכְתְּבוּ, תִּכְתְּבוּ =Aramaic יִכְתְּבוּן, תִּכְתְּבוּן), such forms with final *n* ("ן") occasionally appear in the Bible, cf. יֶחֱצוּן (Ex. 21:35) Hebrew תִּכְתֹּבְנָה =Aramaic יִכְתְּבָן but compare וַיֵּחַמְנָה (Gen. 30:38).

The Aramaic passive participle of *pəʿal* is קְטִיל while its infinitive is formed with the prefix מ, e.g., לְמִקְטַל. Instead of a geminated consonant, we quite often find נ + a simple consonant (dissimilation, e.g., תִּתֵּן = תִּנְתֵּן), and even תִּנְדַּע (from the root 'י'ד'ע) instead of תִּדַּע ‡. (The double dagger indicates a reconstructed form.) (See Table: Paradigm of Strong Verb.)

PRONOUNS AND NOUNS. In the pronoun there is the tendency to exchange the final ם for ן (cf. Hebrew אַתֶּם =Aramaic אַנְתּוּן). The demonstrative pronoun of proximity is דְּנָא (masc.), דא (fem.), אֵלֶּ(י)ן, אֵלֶּה, אֵל (plur.). The objective pronouns are attached to the imperfect by inserting a מ or a נ. The definite article has the suffix א; "the king" = מַלְכָּא; "the queen" = מַלְכְּתָא; the plural מַלְכִין "kings" becomes מַלְכַיָּא "the kings" (with a geminated י); "queens" מַלְכָן appears determined as מַלְכָתָא (in the construct state מַלְכַת). The relative pronoun דִּי ("which" and "who") is also employed as a genetive particle. The phrase בֵּית מַלְכָּא ("the king's house") is therefore also found as בֵּיתָא דִּי מַלְכָּא ("the house of the king") and also in the prolepsis form: בֵּיתֵהּ דִּי מַלְכָּא (literally: "his house, of the king").

SYNTAX. Biblical Aramaic is rather free as regards word order (as opposed to Arabic and Hebrew), e.g., מַלְכָּא חֶלְמָא יֵאמַר ("the king the dream will (shall) tell" – Dan. 2:7). (See Table: Biblical Hebrew and Aramaic.)

VOCABULARY. The Aramaic vocabulary resembles the Hebrew more than that of any of the other Semitic languages. This is due to the fact that they are cognate languages (North-Semitic), and to the mutual influence of Canaanite Hebrew and Aramaic on each other. On the other hand, for centuries Aramaic and Akkadian coexisted and vied for dominance in the region known today as Iraq, Aramaic finally gaining ascendancy. The symbiosis led to the mutual influence of the two languages. Official Aramaic, which became the *lingua franca* throughout the Persian Empire (first half of the sixth century B.C.E.), and Eastern Aramaic borrowed many words from Akkadian, e.g., אִגַּרְתָּא ("the letter"), כָּרְסָא ("a chair"), פֶּחָה ("a high official"). Aramaic also absorbed grammatical elements from Akkadian; it seems that the free word order is also the outcome of Akkadian influence. Since Aramaic was also the official language in Persia, it is not surprising that it comprises some Persian words, e.g., פִּתְגָם ("word").

The Aramaic of the Elephantine Documents

The Aramaic of the Elephantine documents, except for slight differences, resembles biblical Aramaic. The variation in the Aramaic spelling in these documents seems to indicate a more archaic language, but not differences in pronunciation, e.g., instead of ד (*d*) which corresponds to Hebrew ז (*z*) and Arabic *dh*, there is found sometimes זי (דִּי in biblical Aramaic); instead of ʿ which corresponds to the Hebrew צ (*ṣ*) and Arabic *ḍ*, there is sometimes found ק (*q*) (compare אַרְקָא = אַרְעָא "earth" Jer. 10:11); instead of ת (*t*) that corresponds to Hebrew שׁ (*š*) and Arabic *th*, there is sometimes found שׁ (שֶׁקֶל *sheqel*). The

A Comparative Table of Biblical Hebrew and Biblical Aramaic Conjugation

Biblical Hebrew	Qal	Pəʿal passive	Niphʿal		Piʿel	Puʿal	Hitpaʿel	Hiphʿil	Hophʿal		
Biblical Aramaic	Pəʿal	Pəʿil		Hitpəʿel Itpaʿel	Paʿel	only participle in məphaʿal	Hitpaʿal	Haphʿel ʾAphʿel	Hophʿal	Shaphʿel	Hishtaphʿel

lack of vocalization (except in biblical Aramaic) and defective spelling (with sparse use of ו and י as matres lectionis) make it difficult to establish the definite structure of this Aramaic dialect. The plural suffix of the masculine noun and participle is usually spelled defectively without the י, e.g., מַלְכִין = מַלְכָן "kings." The rather free word order of biblical Aramaic obtains also in Elephantine Aramaic; however in Elephantine deeds it tends to be: predicate, subject, object. The same is true of Ancient Aramaic.

The Aramaic of the Driver Documents

These documents come from the eastern parts of the Persian Empire and exhibit some traits typical of Late Aramaic dialects which originated and flourished in the very same regions centuries later. The characteristics common to the Driver documents and to Late Eastern Aramaic dialects are (1) free word order (see above Biblical Aramaic and Elephantine); (2) many borrowings from the Persian; (3) the appearance for the first time of the construction שְׁמִיעַ לִי ("I have heard"), the passive participle + ל + possessive suffix (due to Persian influence) eventually led to an entirely different verbal system in Eastern Aramaic which is in use in Neo-Aramaic still today. The construction was discovered later in other texts as well.

ANCIENT ARAMAIC

There are differences between the various documents, particularly in the HDD and PNMW inscriptions, which represent an earlier dialect. In the old inscriptions (cf. Elephantine) an original *ḏ* is substituted by a ז (אחז)–אחד in Aramaic, אחז "to grasp" in Hebrew; an original *ṭ* is transcribed by a צ (כיצא)–קיטא in Aramaic, הקיץ ("the summer") in Hebrew; an original *ḍ* is transcribed by a ק = ע in Aramaic, e.g., ארקא; an original *ṯ* is transcribed as ש = ת in Aramaic, e.g., אשור = אתור ("Assyria"). Despite these spelling variations, it cannot be said that the Proto-Semitic consonants *ḏ*, *ṭ*, *ḍ*, *ṯ* changed into ש, ק, צ, ז, but, in the absence of other more suitable consonants, they served to indicate these ancient phonemes. It seems that in the HDD and in the PNMW documents (as in literary Arabic in the singular) the case endings were retained in the plural. It should be noted that in parts of the Sefire documents, the independent infinitive was found to have a similar usage to that of the Hebrew (for emphasis). This is unknown in the Aramaic dialects (except for that of the Onkelos translation). In the Tell Fekherye inscription *ṯ* is represented by ס and the infinitive of *Peal* is מקטל (cf. קטל in Sefire).

OFFICIAL ARAMAIC

When Aramaic documents began to be discovered in Asia Minor, Egypt, etc. (i.e., in countries that had never been inhabited by Arameans), it became clear that Aramaic had been an official language in the Persian Empire and that to some extent it had been a *lingua franca*. Aramaic apparently was also the *lingua franca* of the Assyrian Empire. Thus King Hezekiah's ambassadors implore the Assyrian commander Rab-Shakeh, "Speak, I pray thee, to thy servants in the Aramean language" (i.e., rather than in Hebrew or in Assyrian; Isa. 36:11; II Kings 18:26). This status of Aramaic is also reflected by the fact that the Nabateans, and the Palmyreans, who were Arabs and therefore not likely to use Aramaic as a spoken language, nevertheless wrote their inscriptions (mainly from the first century C.E.) in an Aramaic still based on Official Aramaic (see Middle Aramaic). This also explains why Pahlavi (Middle Persian), which was the official tongue in Persia during the Sassanian dynasty, destroyed by the Arab conquest, employed Aramaic in written ideograms (the words were written in Aramaic, but read as Persian; cf. the English "e.g.," which stands for the Latin *exempla gratia* but reads "for instance"). Some of these ideograms go back to Official Aramaic of the days of the first Persian kings. Forms that originated in Official Aramaic can also be found in Jewish legal deeds that go back to the time of the Talmud and the **geonim*.

THE ORIGIN OF THE ARAMAIC PASSAGES IN EZRA AND DANIEL

S.R. Driver was the first to maintain that Aramaic portions of Ezra and Daniel were written neither in the Aramaic of the fifth and sixth centuries B.C.E. nor in Eastern Aramaic (where they were purported to have come from). Accordingly, he claims that these documents in Ezra must be forgeries. On a basis of comparison with (mainly) the Elephantine texts, the same conclusion was arrived at regarding the Aramaic chapters in Daniel. H.H. Schaeder, however, established that the differences between the Elephantine Aramaic and biblical Aramaic are mainly in the spelling and that in Jerusalem a "modernization" in the spelling of biblical Aramaic had occurred. This modernization accounts for the differences; consequently there is no basis for the assumption of a forgery. Furthermore, it was clarified that at that period many of the characteristics that distinguish Western Aramaic and Eastern Aramaic, dialects of a later period, were not yet in existence. Therefore, neither the date nor the origin of these chapters can be determined. But the free word order possibly points to an Eastern origin.

THE INFLUENCE OF ARAMAIC ON BIBLICAL HEBREW

This influence is mainly prevalent in the vocabulary, morphology, and possibly in the syntax of biblical Hebrew. However, both the dating and the extent of this influence have not yet been sufficiently determined. In the early biblical books, certain roots and grammatical forms which deviate from the standard are not to be regarded as Aramaisms, but rather as representing a common heritage which in Hebrew had survived mainly in poetry and in Aramaic in the everyday (spoken) language. Among these words are אֲתָה "came" (Deut. 33:2), (יד) אָזְלַת (Deut. 32:36; instead of the standard Hebrew אָזְלָה). However, וְשָׁבַת (instead of וְשָׁבָה in Ezekiel 46:17, a book replete with Aramaisms) goes back to Aramaic. It is therefore possible that a certain word or form appearing in an early biblical book, where it is archaic Hebrew, may disappear for a time and reappear in a later biblical book as a result of Aramaic influence. Other Aramaic roots and forms, not to be considered Aramaisms, are to be found in those biblical passages where the author deliberately gives an Aramaic texture to his words – when, for example, he wants to emphasize the "foreignness" of a gentile speaker; e.g., different archaic forms of the verb אתה, which is mainly Aramaic, given as התיו, אתיו as well as the forms בְּעָיוּ, תִּבְעָיוּן ("demand") which look like pure Aramaic (Isa. 21:11–14; the reference is to the Edomites).

It seems that Aramaic in the Bible was used as a poetic form, e.g., in Deborah's song (Judg. 5:26) there are the words מחק and תנה (*ibid.* 11) – both Aramaic forms: מחק being the presumed Ancient Aramaic parallel of the Hebrew מחץ ("deal a severe blow"; compare Ancient Aramaic), while תנה ("to repeat") is the Aramaic cognate of the Hebrew שנה. The same is true of the Book of Proverbs where the Aramaic בר ("son") appears three times (31:2).

The ordinary Jerusalemite of Isaiah's time did not know Aramaic and only the kings' counselors and ministers understood it (see above). Nevertheless, we find in the Book of Isaiah the Aramaic noun pattern *haqṭālā*: (פניהם) הַכָּרַת "the show" (of their countenance; 3:9), and הֲנָפָה "to sift" (30:28); it is possible that the same is true concerning the noun pattern *qətāl*. The existence of an Aramaic element per se in the Bible cannot (as has been shown here) always serve as proof of the late origin of a book. The books in which the Aramaic influence is most obvious are Ezekiel and certain chapters in Psalms, Proverbs, Song of Songs, Ecclesiastes, Esther, Ezra, Nehemiah, and the Books of Chronicles. The influence is recognizable (1) in the usage of certain Aramaic roots, e.g., מחא (Ezek. 25:6), the cognate Hebrew is מחץ ("dealt a severe blow"); טלל (Neh. 3:15), the cognate Hebrew is צלל ("to roof"); שהד (Job 16:19), in Hebrew עד ("witness"); (2) in idioms translated into Hebrew (a loan translation): אֲשֶׁר לָמָּה (Dan 1:10) meaning "why," in Aramaic דִּי לְמָא; זָכָר ("male sheep") instead of the standard Hebrew אַיִל, because of the Aramaic דִּכְרָא which means both "male" and the "male of the sheep"; (3) in an Aramaic noun pattern: e.g., הַשְׁמָעוּת (Ezek. 14:26); and (4) in syntax: perhaps in the regression of the conversive ו in the Books of Chronicles and in Ezra, etc.; and in its final disappearance from mishnaic Hebrew. Other syntactical forms in these books which deviate from standard biblical Hebrew may also be due to the influence of Aramaic.

MIDDLE ARAMAIC

INSCRIPTIONS FROM NON-ARAMAIC-SPEAKING REGIONS

Found mainly in Afghanistan (the edicts of King Aśoka), in Turkmenistan, and in Caucasus (Russia), the language of these inscriptions cannot be considered pure Aramaic; it does contribute however to our knowledge of Aramaic of the period, e.g., in one of the Aśoka inscriptions the first person of the (later) *ittaphʿal* (here spelled *thpʿyl*!), and the ending (*w*)*n* in the perfect plural masculine, are found. The ostraca of Nisá (Turkmenistan) are written in (faulty) Aramaic. Some scholars believe that these had been written in Persian with Aramaic logograms; their assumption is, however, without serious substantiation.

THE ARAMAIC TARGUMS OF THE PENTATEUCH (ONKELOS) AND OF THE BOOKS OF THE PROPHETS (JONATHAN)

Apparently at this period the Aramaic Onkelos translation of the Pentateuch and Targum Jonathan of the Books of the Prophets came into being in more or less the form in which they are known today. The place of origin of Middle Aramaic seems to have been Palestine (according to Dalman, Noeldeke, and Kutscher, as opposed to Kahle), but it was transmitted and vocalized (with the Babylonian vocalization) in Babylonia. Until the discovery of reliable manuscripts from Yemen (other texts are corrupt), no real study of its grammar could be made. Its vocalization apparently reflects some Eastern Aramaic dialect; thus the perfect was reshaped on the basis of the third person singular, e.g., the feminine third person singular "she transmitted" is *məsarat* (as apparently in the Aramaic of the Babylonian Talmud, see below) and not *misrat* as, e.g., in biblical Aramaic. There are other features which it shares with the Eastern Aramaic dialect, e.g., the fact that the determined form which originally was employed apparently correctly (as in the dialects of Western Aramaic) does not function properly any more. Sometimes the Eastern *ē* plural ending (instead of -*ayy*ā) is employed. Peculiar to the dialect of the two Targums is the form of the first person singular of the perfect *qal* of the ל״י verbs, e.g., קְרֵיתִי ("I called," instead of קְרֵית); as well as the verbal ending -*an* (instead of -*ayin*, -*en*, etc., in the other dialects), e.g., קְרָן "the call," תִּקְרַן "you (fem.) will (shall) call" (instead of קְרַיִן – biblical Aramaic; (ן) קְרַי – Galilean Aramaic; קְרֶן – Syriac).

THE ARAMAIC OF THE DEAD SEA SCROLLS

Among the Dead Sea Scrolls which have been discovered since 1947, there are scrolls, and fragments of scrolls, in Aramaic. These texts are of two types: (1) those which belong to the sect (or its library – texts not written by them), dating from the end of the Second Temple period; and (2) Aramaic letters from the days of Simeon bar Kokhba (the century following the destruction of the Temple); the language is different from the Aramaic of the texts of the sect.

ARAMAIC TEXTS OF THE SECT. These texts, written in biblical Aramaic, include a fragment containing the prayer of the Babylonian king Nabonidus, fragments of various Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha (e.g., Tobias, the Book of Enoch, The Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs, etc.), and part of a translation of the Book of Job. The language of the last resembles, to some extent, Eastern Aramaic. The longest Aramaic passages from these texts, published to date, are those of the Genesis Apocryphon. The language is indicative of a transitional stage between biblical Aramaic and the later Aramaic dialects. At the same time, many traces of Palestinian Aramaic can be detected, as well as a few of Eastern Aramaic. The Genesis Apocryphon scroll made it possible to establish that Onkelos originated in Palestine, since the Aramaic of the scroll and Palestinian Christian Aramaic closely resemble that of Onkelos. There is also a strong Aramaic influence in the Hebrew of the Dead Sea scrolls, which is evidenced especially in the spelling and in the morphology, e.g., מהסיר in Hebrew מֵסִיר ("takes away"), Isaiah 3:1; and in the vocabulary, e.g., דוכו ("his cleaning"), in Hebrew טהרתו; found in the Manual of Discipline.

THE ARAMAIC BAR KOKHBA LETTERS. These documents are of major linguistic importance for, without a doubt, they represent the spoken Palestinian Aramaic possibly of Judea. A close resemblance was discovered between this Aramaic and Targum Onkelos, another proof that the latter originated in Palestine. Documents written in Nabatean were also discovered among the scrolls of the sect.

JERUSALEM INSCRIPTIONS

The few short Aramaic inscriptions dating from before the destruction of the Second Temple, e.g., the one dealing with transferring King Uzziah's bones, are written in Official Aramaic. The language, however, is already influenced by Late Aramaic.

ARAMAIC IN THE NEW TESTAMENT

Among the few Aramaic words in the New Testament, *rabbūni* reflects the form רבוני, found in the Cairo **Genizah* fragments of the Palestinian Targum (see below).

THE URUK INCANTATION TEXT

This text (second century B.C.E.) found in Iraq and written in cuneiform, gives a glimpse into the "vocalization" of Aramaic of that time (cuneiform writing can clearly indicate several vowel qualities and quantities). Early traits seem to be preserved, e.g., *ś* – spelled as *š: šamlat* = שמלה ("garment"), but late forms also appear, e.g., the ending *-ē* for the masculine determined plural, e.g., *rabrabe* רברביא ("elders").

THE NABATEAN INSCRIPTIONS

The *Nabatean inscriptions, mainly on tombs (dating from about 100 B.C.E. to approximately the second century C.E.) are for the most part in Official Aramaic. However, they already contain elements of a Late Aramaic on the one hand, and of Arabic on the other (on the evidence of their names, it is assumed that the Nabateans were Arabs). The use of ית, the accusative particle, which is rare in Official Aramaic, points to a later language, whereas the word עיר, Arabic *ghaira* ("different"), and certain syntactic characteristics, points to Arabic influence.

THE PALMYRENE INSCRIPTIONS

The Palmyrene inscriptions were also written (end of the first century B.C.E.–third century C.E.) in an Aramaic which was based on Official Aramaic. Traces of Arabic, which was the language of the writers, who according to their names are assumed to have been Arabs, are also detected in these inscriptions. The Palmyrean language was also influenced by an Eastern Aramaic dialect, e.g., the plural תגרא "merchants" instead of תגריא (as in the Uruk text).

THE ARAMAIC OF HATRA

These texts, found in Iraq (second century C.E.), show the influence of Eastern Aramaic: ל (instead of י) is prefixed to the third person in the imperfect.

THE ARAMAIC OF DURA-EUROPOS

The Aramaic of these inscriptions (Syria, third century C.E.) was also influenced by Later Aramaic, as evidenced by, e.g., הדן = דנא "this," in Official Aramaic.

THE ARAMAIC IDEOGRAMS IN PAHLEVI AND OTHER PERSIAN DIALECTS

Under the influence of Official Aramaic, many Aramaic ideograms (i.e., words written in Aramaic but read in Persian, e.g., ברה "his son" in Aramaic is *pus* "son" in Persian) were absorbed into the Middle Persian dialects. While they are mostly derived from Official Aramaic, some of them indicate changes, due both to the influence of Late Eastern dialects and to errors made by the Persian scribes who no longer knew the Aramaic language.

LATE ARAMAIC

The two dialectal groups of Late Aramaic – Western Aramaic and Eastern Aramaic – have several common characteristics: (1) דנא "this" (masc.) is replaced by other forms; (2) the prefix ה (+ vowel) of *haphʿel* (and other conjugations) is replaced by א (+ vowel); (3) all the dialects seem to possess the new conjugation *ittaphʿal* – passive of *ʾaphʿel* (see Middle Aramaic); (4) the original form of the relative pronoun has almost entirely disappeared; instead the proclitic ד׳ is employed; (5) the internal passives of *qal* and *hophʿal* (see The Main Characteristics of Ancient and Official Aramaic – Differences in the Verb) have disappeared; (6) in all dialects the passive participle קטיל seems to be employed with certain verbs in the active voice (rare in Middle Aramaic), e.g., טעין ("carrying"); (7) in all the dialects, the participle has more or less (in some entirely) replaced the imperfect as the future tense, the imperfect being employed as a subjunctive (after the relative pronoun), a cohortative, and a jussive; (8) the prolepsis form is also found with the verb, e.g., עבדה למלתא literally "he did it the thing," when the object is determined; (9) many borrowings from Greek (less from Latin) are to be found in the dialects of Late Aramaic.

WESTERN ARAMAIC

It was a spoken language until the Arab conquest and even for a time after. (For differences between it, Eastern Aramaic, and Official Aramaic see above.) Differences between Western and

Official Aramaic that do not occur in Eastern Aramaic, or only in some of its dialects, are (1) the third person plural feminine has in all the Western Aramaic dialects the form (ן) קְטַלִי (see below), as opposed to קְטַלָה in Official Aramaic (according to the *qre* – the way it is read), and קְטַלוּ (according to *ketib* – the way it is spelled); (2) the adverbial construction מִן קָטֵל, e.g., מן קָיֵים ‡ "standing" is common to all of Western Aramaic dialects; (3) tenses (see above): beside עתיד, ל־ + infinitive may serve as future tense; (4) vocabulary: e.g., the verb גוב (אגיב) "replied" is used (and not אתיב, תוב); instead (or besides) חזה ("he saw") we have חמה; (5) freedom in the word order, so prevalent in Official Aramaic, seems to be absent here.

Galilean Aramaic

(Only this dialect will be dealt with extensively here.) This is the dialect of the Aramaic parts of the Jerusalem Talmud, of the aggadic Midrashim, the Palestinian deeds, the Aramaic documents of the geonic period (found in the Cairo **Genizah*), and synagogue inscriptions discovered in Ereẓ Israel. The Palestinian Targum and the Targum Pseudo-Jonathan of the Pentateuch are written in a dialect which, for all practical purposes (except for a few details), is that of Galilean Aramaic.

ITS PERIOD. Galilean Aramaic covers a period from the first *amoraim* of the Jerusalem Talmud (third century C.E.) to the last *geonim* (beginning of the second millennium C.E.). It seems (on the evidence of manuscripts), that the Aramaic of the Mishnah also very closely resembles (or is identical to) Galilean Aramaic.

THE NAME. Galilean Aramaic was regarded as an appropriate name because most of the known texts in this dialect originate in the Galilee. The Bar Kokhba letters, originating in Judea, are linguistically closer to the Onkelos Targum, while the Aramaic of synagogue inscriptions, e.g., from Jericho and Noʿaran in Judea, is identical to the language of those of Galilee (cf. the ending of the perfect third pers. plur., which in good texts and in the above inscriptions always appears with a קטלון – in the printed versions this form was "corrected" to קטלו). The קטלו form is employed in the Palestinian Targum fragments published by Kahle. The language of these fragments is yet uncorrected, but since the ל״י verbs even there have a final ־ן (in contrast to the printed "corrected" versions of the Palestinian Targum), it seems clear that the Palestinian Targum fragments represent a dialect which is slightly different from Galilean Aramaic. To date, only two inscriptions were found which do not have ן: one at Um-el-ʿAmed, in the north of Galilee, and the other at Maon (near Nir Yiẓḥak), in the south of the country; they, therefore, apparently do not represent the main dialect. This assumption is supported by the fact that the Um-el-ʿAmed inscription has additional linguistic forms alien to Galilean Aramaic, e.g., "the gate" is given as תרא (= תרעא without the ע); "the sky" as שומיא (and not שמיא). Both forms are typical of Samaritan Aramaic where laryngeals have almost completely disappeared and are therefore liable to be dropped in writing altogether. On the basis of most of the inscriptions found outside Galilee, it is possible to assume that at the time when the Jerusalem Talmud was compiled (third–fifth century C.E.) there was one common standard language in almost all of (Jewish) Palestine. However, this cannot be clearly proven since the material is scanty – the name Galilean Aramaic has, therefore, remained, though many today prefer the name Jewish Palestinian Aramaic.

REFERENCE BOOKS. Dictionaries. S. Lieberman's works – including his studies on tannaitic texts (e.g., *Tosefta ki-Feshutah*) – have improved this aspect of the research. See now Sokoloff's dictionary on Jewish Palestinian Aramaic.

GRAMMARS. Dalman's grammar is outdated, Stevenson's work is of little significance, while in Odeberg's work only the chapters dealing with the syntax of *Genesis Rabbah* are useful. Fassberg's grammar deals with the Palestinian Targum Fragments, and Sokoloff's work describes the language of the *Genizah* fragments of **Genesis Rabbah*.

PROBLEMS CONCERNING THE GRAMMAR OF GALILEAN ARAMAIC. Dalman's study is based on the corrupt printed version of the Jerusalem Talmud and Midrash, and is thus unreliable. Copyists and printers, unfamiliar with the Aramaic of the Jerusalem Talmud, had emended it according to the Aramaic of the Babylonian Talmud (and that of Onkelos) – the main source studied by European Jewry. Discoveries in the last few decades have helped to clarify certain points in the research of this dialect. In fragments of the Jerusalem Talmud and of the Midrashim (mainly from the Cairo *Genizah*), the vulgar type vocalization, which substitutes ָ for ַ and ֵ for ֶ (and vice versa) is sometimes found. Fragments of the Palestinian Targum also have this vocalization, which is practically identical with that of Galilean Aramaic (see above קטלו). These texts come from the east and therefore cannot be suspected of having been emended by European copyists. A comparison between their language and that of Aramaic inscriptions of Palestine (see Middle Aramaic – Jerusalem Inscriptions) and between the other two Palestinian Aramaic dialects (see below) also proves their reliability. In the following tentative survey, which is mainly based on manuscripts, only those forms whose vocalization is attested to in the sources are vocalized:

A GRAMMATICAL SURVEY. *Spelling.* One of the signs of good Galilean Aramaic manuscripts is the fact that *ā*, at the end of a word, was ordinarily indicated by ה (the same applies to the inscriptions). Spelling tends to be *plene*, especially in the case of ו (*vav*) which indicates even the short vowel 'ו, and sometimes י which also indicates a short vowel; in manuscripts, the א indicates *ā* in the middle of a word. Consonantal ו and י might be spelled וו, יי.

Phonology. (1) Consonants. Contrary to common opinion, only a few examples in the manuscripts hint at the weakening of the laryngeals and pharyngeals. There is however one remarkable shift – the ח may become an ע. The Midrash states clearly: “In Galilee they call a snake עִוְיָא (חִוְיָא). That is why Rabbi Judah Ha-Nasi referred to Rabbi Ḥiyya as “עִיָּא. ב (without the *dagesh*) merged with ו (cf., e.g., the spelling of חַבְרָן with חַוְרָן, the name of a country, and the reverse יַוְונֵי = יַבְנֶה (Yavneh), a place name). The final ם (*mem*), may appear as ן, e.g., חכים = חכין (“clever”). An open syllable at the end of a word may be closed with a ן, e.g., כְּמָן (instead of כְּמָה “how many”). (2) Vowels. The vocalization found occasionally in fragments indicates that the short *i* and the short *u* have disappeared almost completely. Instead we find *e* and *o*, e.g., מֶן (= מִן, “from”) and גּוֹבּא (= גֻּבָּא, “pit”). The *e* also appears as a variant of *a*; e.g., יֶמָּא (= יַמָּא, “sea”). These phenomena remind us of the Greek transliteration of the Septuagint and of the Hexapla as well as of the Latin transliteration of Jerome from the Hebrew. (There may be remnants of this pronunciation in various manuscripts of Mishnaic Hebrew.) The labials and the ר in a closed preceding syllable tend to turn *a* into *o*, e.g., שׁוּבָּה ‡ (= “Sabbath”); שׁוֹרִי ‡ (*paʿel* perfect of < ‡ *šarrī* “he began”). (3) Diphthongs. The diphthong *ay* was preserved rather widely, e.g., בַּיתֵה “his house.” There also appears the diphthong *aw*, e.g., טַוְרָה, “the mountain” (= טוּרא in the other dialects).

Morphology. (1) Pronouns. (a) The Independent Pronoun. Besides את “you” (fem. sing.), אתי also survived. The other forms are (?) אַתּוּן, אתין “you” (masc. plur.); אֲנַן “we” (masc. plur.); הִ(י)נוּן, אֶ(י)נוּן, אִ(י)נּוּן “they” (masc. plur.); הינין, אינין “they” (fem. plur.). With various prepositions (prefixes) these pronouns (and others) may undergo change, e.g., ונן “and we.” (b) The Objective Pronouns. There is also a third person plural (as opposed to biblical Aramaic and other Aramaic dialects). (c) The Independent Possessive Pronoun. It is formed from the base דִּיד ‡ + the possessive suffix דִּידִי “mine,” etc. (d) The Demonstrative Pronoun. The demonstrative pronoun of proximity is הָדֵ(י)ן, דֵין (masc. sing.); הָדָה, הָדָא (fem. sing.); אֵלֵין, אֶלַּיִן, הָאֶלַּין (masc. and fem. plur.), etc. Forms without the ד in the masculine are: אָהֵין, הָהֵ(י)ן, etc.; demonstrative pronouns of distance: masculine ההוא, feminine ההיא. The form אֶלַּין, etc., is unique in Aramaic; in biblical Aramaic it appears as אִלֵּ(י)ן, in Aramaic inscriptions as אלן. (e) The Interrogative used attributively. The forms of “which” are היידן (sing. masc.), הָיְידָה (sing. fem.), הָיְלֵין (masc. and fem. plur.). (f) The relative pronouns. The form ד׳ (rare) and דַ, דְ (cf. Syriac) – also written *plene*: דאיתמין (“of orphans”). The presentative is הָא.

(2) The Verbs. (a) The Perfect and Imperfect of *qal*. The perfect of *qal* (mainly of the strong verb) has only two types: פְּעַל, פְּעֵל e.g., כְּתַב תְּקֵף. In the imperfect the vowel *o* spreads at the expense of *a*, e.g., יִזְבֵּן יֶתְקֹף (“he will buy”) is a survival of the third type (which has an *i* > *e*). The vocalic structure of the verb resembles, but is not identical with, biblical Aramaic, and is totally different from the Onkelos Targum, e.g., instead of כְּתַבִית (perfect first per. sing. in Onkelos), we find כַּתְּבֵת. These forms even look more archaic than those of biblical Aramaic: כִּתְבֵת which seems to go back to כַּתְבֵת.

The third person feminine plural ending is thus identical (except the ן־) to the suffix of Samaritan and Christian Aramaic (and to Syriac). (See Table: Aramaic 1 and Table: Paradigm of *Qal*.)

The Paradigm of Qal – in the Perfect

Masculine	Masc./Fem.	Feminine
	כַּתְבֵת	
כְּתַבְתְּ		כתבת
כְּתַב,סְלֵק		כַּתְבַת
	כְּתַבְנַן	
כְּתַבְתּוֹן (!)	כְּתַבְתּוּן	כתבתין
כְּתַבוּ, כתבון		כְּתָבֵין

The Paradigm of Qal – in the Imperfect

Masculine	Masc./Fem.	Feminine
	נֶיכְתוּב, אֶכְתוּב	
תֶּכְתוֹב		תכתבין
יֶכְתוֹב		תֶּכְתוֹב
	נֶכְתוּב	
תֶּכְתְּבוּן		תִּכתבן
יֶכְתְּבוּן		יֶכְתְּבָן

From the present participle a new “tense” has evolved in Galilean Aramaic by prefixing the independent pronoun (as found in *maʿalula*): e.g., אתאָזֵל = “you walk” and וַאֲנָה אָמַר = ונמר, etc. In Eastern Aramaic the pronoun is enclitic (see below Eastern Aramaic, par. 1).

(b) The imperative (*O* verbs in the imperfect). The forms are כְּתוּב (masc.), כותבין (masc. plur.). The *-n* is missing in the Palestinian Targum fragments (except for ל״י verbs). The original *o* in other words has been preserved in the first syllable (cf. the Syriac and Mandaic imperative with the pronominal object).

(c) Infinitive. The second vowel is apparently always identical with that of the imperfect, e.g., מְעַבֵּיד, מִשְׁמַע, מֶכְתּוֹב.

(d) Other Conjugations. The infinitive always has the prefix *m* + vowel, as in the *Book of Aḥikar* (cf. Syriac, i.e., *paʿel* מְכַתָּבָה instead of כַּתָּבָה etc.). Note the following forms of ל״י verbs: in the participle we find the form י alongside the form ־יִן (as in biblical Aramaic), e.g., בָּנֵיי, בָּנַיִן. The same applies to the imperfect second person feminine singular תבניי, תבנין.

(3) The Declension. As in other Western Aramaic dialects, Galilean Aramaic has preserved the differentiation between the definite and the indefinite forms in gender and in number. (See Table: Noun Declension Wall.)

Note especially the forms שׁוּרֵינַן, שׁורֵיהּ, שׁוּרֵיךְ, שׁוּרַן, which differ from biblical Aramaic. The nouns אב, אח appear as אֲבוּ- אֲהוּ- when they are declined and take the plural suffixes, e.g., אֲבוּךְ, אֲבוּהִי, אֲחוּךְ, etc. (but in first person: אֶבָּא, אֲחִי(!)).

(4) Prepositions. Prepositions worth mentioning are: כְּוָת (“like”) ליד; גב, גבי, לגב, לגבי all = (“to”); קמי, קומי (“before,” “in front of”) from the root קדם, with the ד apparently assimilated; חורי (“behind,” “after”); בְּגֵין (“because”).

The Noun Declension ("Wall")

Masculine	Masc./Fem.	Feminine
	Singular	
	שוּרִי	
שוּרָךְ		שוּרִיךְ
שוּרֵ(י)הּ		שוּרַהּ
	שוּרַן	
שוּרכוֹן		שוּרון
שוּרה(וֹ)ן		שוּרהֵ(י)ן
	Plural	
	שוּרַיי	
שוּרֵיךְ		שוריךְ
שוּרוֹהִי, שׁוּרוֹי, שורוה		שוּרֵיה
	שוּרֵינַן	
שוּרֵיכוֹן		
שוּריה(וֹ)ן		שוּרֵיהֵ(י)ן

(5) Adverbs. Worthy of note are כַּדּוּן ("now"), תובן ("again"), יומדֵין ("today"), הָכֵן ("so"), הָן, אָן ("where"), and מנן ("from where").

(6) Conjunctions. Conjunctions to be noted are כיון ד- ("since," "because"), בְּזִיל ד-, בְּגֵין ד- ("because"), אוף ("also"), ברם ("but"), and הֶן-אֶן ("if").

Syntax. As in biblical Aramaic, there is, alongside the regular construct, also a construct + ד used often with a proleptic suffix. Before a proper noun, a demonstrative pronoun may appear: הדא טבריה = Tiberias.

Tenses. (See above first paragraph of Late Aramaic.) The participle + conjugated הוה is used in the past and in the future to indicate repetition, durativity, etc. When the direct object is a determined noun (noun with a definite article) ל is added and when a pronoun ית is added, the latter may fuse with the verb and form one word, i.e., חמה יתה = חמתיה ("he saw him"). A proleptic suffix may precede both the direct and the indirect object, e.g., נסתיה לשליחה ("he took the messenger"). A verb may take as an object ם and infinitive: בעי ממרוד ("he wants to rebel"), also an imperfect plus בעי דיזעוף ("he wanted to rebuke"), or a participle שורי בכי ("he started to weep").

Vocabulary. There are borrowings from Akkadian; from Greek, which since the conquests of Alexander the Great became the dominant tongue in the whole Near East especially among the educated ruling classes; from Latin, as a result of the Roman conquest; and from Hebrew. Borrowings from Akkadian are אריסה ("the tenant farmer"), צמת ("to gather"), etc. There are a great number of borrowings from Greek, e.g., אוירה ("the air"), זוגא ("the pair"), טימי ("price"), ליסטם ("robber," misread as לסטים!). Some have given rise to verbs, i.e., ספג ("to dry oneself"). According to Lieberman, Greek was widely employed, even among the sages. Not only single words, but whole sentences in Greek may appear in our sources. Borrowings from Latin mainly belong to the governmental and military spheres, e.g., לגיון ("legion"), איסרטה ("road, way"), מונטה ("coin"), ארנונה (a certain "tax"). It is assumed that these borrowings came into Aramaic from Latin via Greek. The Hebrew influence on Galilean Aramaic is very small (it is felt more in the Palestinian Christian Aramaic, see below), e.g., עצה ("advice") and אציק ("felt sorry") are from the Hebrew. Galilean Aramaic vocabulary resembles that of the other two Western dialects and differs markedly from that of Babylonian Aramaic. Even the very same noun may appear in a different form in these dialects, e.g., דמ(א), in Babylonian Aramaic אדם ("blood"); זעור ("small"); compare Rabbi זעורה in the Jerusalem Talmud as opposed to Rabbi זירא in the Babylonian Talmud. Roots found only in Galilean Aramaic besides חמה ("saw"), are, e.g., אגיב ("answered"), ארתק ("knocked"), גזה ("repaid").

Palestinian Christian Aramaic

This dialect, probably spoken by converted Jews living in Judea, employs one of the Syriac scripts. Texts in this dialect were first discovered in the nineteenth century. The language is attested in texts translated from Greek and in some inscriptions.

Spelling. In contrast to its sister dialects, final *ā* is always indicated by א (influence of the Syriac script!). *Plene* spelling with או"י (not with ה!) are to be found both for long and short vowels, and apparently even for half-vowels (שוא נע), e.g., ראב (= רַב ‡ "great"), אילא (= אֶלָּא ‡ "only"), כול (= כֹּל ‡ "all," "every"), טאלין (= טְלַיִן ‡ "boys"), and יכילין (= יָכְלִין ‡ "are able"). The texts are unvocalized, except for dots to indicate the different pronunciations of בג"ד כפ"ת, also to mark the Greek II and to differentiate between homographic grammatical forms; they may indicate different colors of vowels (e.g., of the *i, e* type, as against *a* type).

The following grammatical sketch does not follow in every case the grammar of Schulthess (which is not always reliable and is now outdated).

Phonology. The pharyngeals and laryngeals are generally well preserved. Labials tend to color neighboring vowels toward *o* (or *u*), e.g., שובא (= שַׁבָּא ‡ "Sabbath"), as in Galilean Aramaic. As sometimes in Galilean Aramaic, *a* in a closed syllable tended apparently to become a kind of *e*, e.g., ניפשה (= נַפְשֵׁה ‡ "his soul"). Prosthetic vowels appear (cf. אדרקונא = Greek *drākon*, "dragon").

Morphology. (1) Pronouns. Personal – Note plural אנין etc., and אנה (<אנח "we"). Suffix pronouns – the plural ־נן, etc., also ־נה – (<־נח "our"; see above the independent pronoun). The independent possessive pronoun is based upon ־דיל ‡, e.g., דִּילִי ("mine").

(2) Noun. This is the only Aramaic dialect which has a *qutul* pattern (= *qotel* in Hebrew), e.g.; חוטור ("stick," also חוטר, etc., cf. Hebrew חֹטֶר, and the transliteration of the Hebrew מֹלֶךְ in the Septuagint = *Moloch*).

(3) Verb. Due to lack of vocalization, it cannot be ascertained how, e.g., the perfect of *pe῾al* has to be vocalized (cf. biblical Aramaic as against Galilean Aramaic). The third per-

son masculine and feminine plural of the perfect is קטלי, קטלו (rarely + *n*). The imperfect אקטול is very often spelled יקטול. The imperfect frequently has forms that apparently are identical to Hebrew pausal forms, e.g., יכולון (= יִכְלוּן ‡ "they will be able"), apparently influenced by Mishnaic Hebrew. Very rarely are suffixed objective pronouns employed; instead we find ־ל or ־ית (e.g., יתה, לה "him"). The infinitive of the *peʿal* has sometimes the form קטל (obviously=קְטָל ‡), as in Ancient Aramaic (above); in the *paʿel* the form is the same as in Syriac in *apʿel* = Syriac, but also without the prefixed *m*. The infinitive of all the conjugations in Christian Palestinian Aramaic has the prefix *m-* (always in the *peʿal* and the *paʿel*, and sometimes in the *aphaʿel* and the suffix *u* (except in the *peʿal*)).

Vocabulary. Besides borrowings from Greek and Latin, those from Hebrew, e.g., עבר ("to be about"; from mishnaic Hebrew) and from Syriac, e.g., [את]חמת ("he became angry") should be mentioned.

Samaritan Aramaic

Spoken by Samaritans till about the tenth century C.E. (?), this dialect also did not develop a full vocalization system. The studies of Ben-Ḥayyim (who edited texts with transliteration, according to the Samaritan reading tradition), however, have made it possible to reconstruct a grammar of this dialect.

Spelling. It is not very *plene*: final *ā* is indicated only by ה (never by א).

Phonology. The original pronunciations of the different pharyngeals and laryngeals has nearly disappeared; they are therefore constantly mixed up in writing or omitted altogether. ב׳ג׳ד׳ כ׳פ׳ת׳ have (today) survived only with one pronunciation except for פ, which appears as *b* when geminated and mainly as *f* elsewhere. The *n* appears assimilated only in "old" roots and forms (e.g., אפק "he brought out" from the root נפק), but not in "late" roots and forms. The short *u* has disappeared; the half vowel (שוא נע), where it survives, appears as a full vowel. The old phonemes *(ō-ū, ē-ī)* have merged, and their quality and quantity is conditioned by stress and syllable (open or closed), e.g., *rábbon* ("lord"), but *rabbuni* "my lord." The stress is penultimate.

The Verb. Ben-Ḥayyim's work does not yield enough material to establish beyond any doubt the "vocalization" of certain basic verb forms (e.g., perfect first pers. sing., whether it is קַטְלֵת, as in Galilean Aramaic; קְטְלֵת as in biblical Aramaic; or קְטַלִית as in the Onkelos Aramaic). This dialect seems to have been influenced (after it died out as a spoken language?) very much by Hebrew.

EASTERN ARAMAIC

Eastern Aramaic dialects were spoken by Christians, Jews, and Mandeans (a religious sect in southern Iraq) in what today is mainly Iraq. Syriac however was also a literary language used outside this region. Eastern Aramaic dialects were apparently still spoken several hundred years after the Arab conquest. In contrast to Western Aramaic, the differences between Eastern Aramaic and Official Aramaic are quite conspicuous. The main differences are (1) *l-* or *n-* served as the prefix of the third person imperfect; (2) *-e* for common Aramaic *-ayya*, as the ending of the masculine plural determinate (appears already in the *Book of Aḥikar*); (3) the loss of the determinative force of *-a*; (4) the elimination of *n* bearing pronominal suffixes of the imperfect (H.L. Ginsberg); (5) unaccented open syllables at the end of a word tend to disappear, e.g., רַבִּי>רַב; (6)the negation לאו is very common (mainly before nouns); (7) the construction *qətil* (passive participle) + *l-* + the suffix pronoun is employed quite often to express the perfect, e.g., שמיע לי "I have heard" (see The Aramaic of the Driver Documents); (8) the indeterminate active and passive participle may coalesce with an enclitic pronoun of the first and second person singular and plural (rare in Western Aramaic); (9) the word order seems to be much freer than in Western Aramaic; (10) the relative clauses are very conspicuous; (11) all Eastern Aramaic dialects abound in words borrowed from the Akkadian, the language spoken in that territory before the Arameans, and from the Persian, the language of the rulers of most of this area at that time. (Only the dialect of the Jews will be treated extensively here.)

Syriac

Syriac is comprised of two dialects: Western Syriac, current in Syria (as a literary vehicle only?), and Eastern Syriac. The main differences are: the Eastern Syriac vowels *ē, ā, ō* = the Western Syriac vowels *ī, ō, ū*, ח = *ḫ* in Eastern Syriac, but *ḥ* in Western Syriac. They use different (but very similar) scripts and different vocalization systems (which indicate semi-vowels or the vowel zero (as שוא in Hebrew)).

Since Syriac is the only Late Aramaic dialect to have a standardized vocalization (there are two systems, see above), its importance for Aramaic in general, and Eastern Aramaic in particular is very great.

Spelling and Phonology. Long final vowels that disappeared in speech are in certain cases nearly always preserved in writing (*ē, ā, ō*), e.g., רבי̄ pronounced רב "my teacher" (also see verb below). Even the short *u* is spelled *plene*, while the short *i* is on the whole spelled defectively.

Morphology. (1) Pronouns. Note the forms אַנ̄תְּ, אַנ̄תי, אַנ̄תּוּן, אַנ̄תֵּין ("you" in the masc., the fem., the sing. and, the plur.), all to be read *at*, etc. (without *n*). The possessive (and objective) suffixes clearly distinguish between masculine and feminine, singular and plural except for the second person plural with the suffix of the singular (the spelling is different). (See following table.)

(2) Verb. The verbal suffixes of Syriac are closer to earlier Aramaic than those of the sister dialects.

Note: קְטַלְתּוּן in Western Syriac. Final vowels in the third person plural could be preserved by adding *n*. The final *n* stays in the imperfect (dropped in Babylonian Aramaic). The infinitive of all the conjugations in Syriac have the prefix *m* – and, except in the *peʿal*, also the suffix *u*.

דִין ("judgment") with Possessive Suffixes

Feminine	Masc./Fem.	Masculine
	Singular	
	דִינִי (read דִין)	
דִינֵכִי (read דִינֵך)		דִינָך
דִינָהּ		דִינֵה
	דִינַן	
דִינְכֵין		דִינְכוֹן
דִינְהֵין		דִינְהוֹן
	Plural	
	דִינַי	
דִינַיכִי (read דִינַיכ)		דִינַיך (read דִינַיכְ)
דִינֶיהָ		דִינַוה (read דִינַוְ)
	דִינַין	
דִינַיכֵין		דִינַיכוֹן
דִינַיהֵין		דִינַיהוֹן

Syntax. Syriac has created a past perfect by combining the perfect and the postpositive auxiliary verb הֲוא ("was"), e.g., דְאמְתֶית הֲוֵית לכוֹן ("which I had said to you"). This combination as well as that of the imperfect + הֲוא is also employed in other, sometimes not clearly definable, uses. The word order is quite free: relative sentences abound. The Syriac found in inscriptions has preserved some earlier traits, e.g., the letter *ś (sin* = שׂ) which disappeared nearly entirely from Late Aramaic and the imperfect prefix י*(yod)*, instead of the standard *n*-. (See Table: Eastern Syriac.)

Eastern Syriac

Masculine	Masc./Fem.	Feminine
	Imperfect	
	אֶקטוֹל	
תֶקטְלִין		תֶקטוֹל
תֶקטוֹל		נֶקטוֹל
	נֶקטוֹל	
תֶקטְלָן		תֶקטלוּן
נֶקטְלָן		נֶקטלוּן
	Perfect	
	קֶטלֶת	
קַטַלתִי̄		קטַלת
קֶטלַת		קטַל
	קטַלן, קטַלנַן	
קטַלְתֵין		קטַלתוּן
קטַל (קטַ לִי̄) קטַלֵין		קטַלוֹ̄, קטַלוּן

Mandaic

This dialect is close to Babylonian Aramaic.

Spelling. Mandaic has developed *plene* spellings more than any other Aramaic dialect; it uses the letters אהוי״ע both alone and in combination as *matres lectionis*. They indicate long, short, and even semi-vowels (שוא נע), e.g., שָׁכֵב = שאכיב ("lying"), נאכול = נעכול ("he eats"), לִי = ליא ("to me"), שְׁמָא = שומא ("name"). Mandaic is the only Aramaic dialect to have preserved (apparently only as (archaic) spellings) ז for *d* (Ar. *dh*), e.g., דַהֲבָא = זאהבא ("gold"), and ק for *ḏ* (+ emphatic), e.g., אַרְעָה = ארקא ("earth" see above).

Phonology. The situation is practically identical with that of Babylonian Aramaic, except for the fact that (1) if there are two emphatics in a word, one tends to lose the emphasis, e.g., כושטא = קושטא ‡ ("truth"); (2) instead of a geminate consonant in certain cases we find dissimilation by *n* or *m*, as in Official Aramaic (see above The Main Characteristics of Official and Ancient Aramaic. Differences in the Verb), e.g., מאנדא = מַדָּע ‡ ("knowledge"), קומבא = קוּבָּא ‡ ("vault"), both features go back to the Akkadian substrate. (3) Quite often we find anaptyctic vowels, e.g., עתינסיב = אִתְנְסֵב ‡ ("he was taken"), apparently more often than in Babylonian Aramaic. Prosthetic vowels appear quite often, e.g., אברא = בְּרָא ‡ ("son").

Morphology. (1) Pronouns. אנאת ("you") singular, אנאתון ("you") plural. It distinguishes better between masculine and feminine, and singular and plural of the pronominal suffixes than does Babylonian Aramaic. Note that here also ראב<רַבִּי (= רַב ‡). The demonstrative pronoun: האזין masculine, האזא feminine ("this"); האנאתה masculine feminine ("that"), masculine האנאתון, feminine האנאתין ("those"). (These forms are as yet unexplained.)

(2) Verb. Due to the apocope of the last (unaccented) vowel, many forms have merged, e.g., נפאק "he-they went out" (masc., fem.). For the last two forms there are to be found (only in Mandaic) the ending יון (masc.), יאן (fem.).

Syntax. The language of the incantation texts of the magical bowls that were found in Iraq and Persia is more or less identical with those of the other texts. Note the ending ־ון of the perfect third person plural masculine.

Babylonian Aramaic

This is the dialect of the Aramaic parts of the Babylonian Talmud, the geonic texts, and the writings of Anan, the founder of the Karaite sect. The language of the incantation texts of Nippur (and other places) is very close (but not quite identical) to it.

PERIOD. It dates back at least to the days of the first *amoraim*, Rav and Samuel (third century B.C.E.), and goes up to the end of the geonic period (11th century C.E.).

COMPOSITION. Considering its duration, it is not surprising to find earlier forms alongside later ones. It is difficult to ascertain why the language (reflecting an earlier stage) of the tractates *Nedarim, Nazir, Me'ilah, Keritot*, and *Tamid* differs from the other tractates; and the language of the *geonim* deviates in certain parts from the language of the Talmud.

REFERENCE BOOKS. (see bibliography). There are very few grammars and dictionaries.

Dictionaries. The earliest surviving complete dictionary is the *Arukh* of R. Nathan of Rome (11th century C.E.; fragments of *Kitab al-Hāwī*, an earlier important dictionary compiled by R. Hai Gaon in the tenth century were discovered in the Cairo *Genizah*, part of them were published by A. Maman, *Tarbiz* 2000). It is important even today both because its material, to a large extent, goes back to geonic sources and because of the good readings preserved in it. The entry system has been followed by all lexicographers up to modern times: i.e., the mishnaic, talmudic, and midrashic vocabulary is all concentrated in one volume, though the material represents at least four different dialects: (1) Mishnaic Hebrew; (2) Galilean Aramaic; (3) Babylonian Aramaic; (4) The Aramaic of the Onkelos (and other) translation. The *Arukh* is a comparative dictionary. Besides Aramaic with its different dialects, it also adduces Arabic, Greek, Latin, and Persian as comparisons with its material. The first modern dictionary is by J. Levy, and it is still of some use today. Arranged according to Hebrew and Aramaic entries, Arabic and Syriac are presented as the main Semitic linguistic parallels; Persian, Greek, and Latin are adduced to interpret borrowings from these languages. The addenda and corrigenda of H.L. Fleischer are still important but often antiquated. The *Arukh ha-Shalem* of A. Kohut, intended as a scholarly edition of the *Arukh* with additions by B. Musafiah (17th century C.E.), and an up-to-date scholarly dictionary, is rich in material but not well organized. Hebrew and Aramaic entries are not separate. Kohut's tendency to look for Persian etymology, even for words found only in Palestinian sources (from a time when there was no Persian rule there) is exaggerated. This tendency was sharply criticized by W. Bacher. In M. Jastrow's dictionary, the material is arranged according to Hebrew and Aramaic entries, but he tries to find Hebrew etymologies for words which obviously are of Greek, Persian, or Latin origin. The first volume of Krauss's work, dealing with the grammar of Greek and Latin loan words, was sharply criticized by S. Fraenkel, a Semitic linguist and expert in Aramaic. The second volume (a dictionary) has however retained its importance to this day due mainly to the addenda and corrigenda by I. Loew, who read the proofs of this volume. The most up-to-date scholarly dictionary is that of M. Sokoloff. Akkadian was deciphered in the 19th century and it has been established (see Zimmern and more recently Kaufman) that there are many Akkadian borrowings, especially in Babylonian Aramaic (see above). To bring the *Arukh ha-Shalem* up to date, the *Tosefet Arukh ha-Shalem* was edited by S. Krauss who was supposed to include the new material discovered since the *Arukh ha-Shalem* was published, especially that of the Cairo *Genizah*. However, this new work was criticized by S. Lieberman in his review (see bibl.), as it did not account for all the new material. Its importance lies in the contribution of an eminent Iranist, B. Geiger, who corrected many of Kohut's "etymologies" and filled in, to a large extent, the cognate material from Akkadian, Arabic, and Mandaic. B.M. Levin's *Oẓar ha-Ge'onim* and Kassovski's *Concordance of the Babylonian Talmud*, both as yet unfinished, are also important to the study of Babylonian Aramaic. Only Loew's work in the field of flora is a full and up-to-date scholarly study (of both Hebrew and Aramaic) – Loew also published many other important articles in the field of realia. There is, however, a great need for a scholarly comparative semantic-historical dictionary, which will comprise all the material, and categorize it – Hebrew and Aramaic (Babylonian Aramaic, Galilean Aramaic, the Targum of Onkelos, and others). S. Fraenkel's study of Aramaic borrowings from Arabic and C. Brockelmann's Syriac dictionary are still very important. Nowadays, however, one must consult Drower-Macuch's Mandaic dictionary (see below).

Grammars. Th. Noeldeke's *Mandaic Grammar* contains many observations which are important for the understanding of Babylonian Aramaic grammar. The unreliability of C. Levias' works (in English and in Hebrew) were shown by the reviews of S. Fraenkel and C. Brockelmann. Margolis' *Grammar* comprises little material and does not give the sources. J.N. Epstein's posthumous book has also been criticized both because of its method and the incompleteness of the material. (For above, see bibl.). On the Yemenite tradition of Babylonian Aramaic see S. Morag on the verb and Morag and Y. Kara on the noun.

THE PROBLEMS OF BABYLONIAN ARAMAIC. The above grammars are defective mainly for two reasons: (1) Not all the authors were linguists; (2) they did not base their studies on good manuscripts, and sometimes used them only in a by-the-way fashion. The printed versions are all corrupt and even manuscripts of European origin are not entirely reliable; there is reason to believe that they (including the Munich Ms.) were, to some extent, "corrected." The only trustworthy manuscripts apparently are those which originated in the east, but their linguistic nature (with the help of certain criteria) needs first to be determined. In an article published in *Leshonenu*, Kutscher identified four new forms in the paradigm of the first (*qal*) conjugation on the basis of these manuscripts. A comparison with Syriac and Mandaic has confirmed these findings. The problem of the grammar of Babylonian Aramaic will only be solved by a series of monographs based upon reliable manuscripts. A thorough study of the Babylonian Aramaic vocalized texts, as begun by Sh. Morag, is highly desirable. Of great importance is the clarification of various contemporary reading traditions, especially that of the Yemenites (dealt with by Morag). However, as long as there is no proof to what extent these reading traditions have preserved their original characteristics, and to what extent they represent internal changes of a later period (mentioned by Morag), their use is as yet problematic.

A SURVEY OF THE GRAMMAR OF BABYLONIAN ARAMAIC. The following tentative survey is based on manuscripts. The main deviating forms of the above tractates and the language of the *geonim* will be noted here, while the standard language of the Talmud will be described in the actual survey.

The salient features of that language are (1) the preservation of the *n* in the suffixes, e.g., להון (instead of להו "to them"); (2) the demonstrative and personal pronouns appear in their earlier form, e.g., הדין (as opposed to האי "this"); (3) certain differences in the vocabulary, e.g., לחמא (=נהמא "bread").

Spelling. Consonantal ו and י are also spelled וו ,יי.

Phonology. (1) The laryngeals א, ה and the pharyngeals ח, ע have weakened, as in Mandaic. (To some extent, the conservative spelling does not reveal this phenomenon, mentioned explicitly by the *geonim*.) These letters are therefore mixed up, e.g., אטמא (<עטמא ‡ = "bone"), הדר (<חדר = "returned"), or dropped altogether: תותי (<תחותי ‡ = "under"), שותא (שעותא ‡= "conversation"). (2) The consonants ר, נ, מ, ד, ב, ל tend to disappear as word finals, e.g., in תו (<תוב "again"), ניבי (<נעבד "we shall make"), אזא (<אזל "went away"), תיקו (<תיקום "it shall stand") אמא (<אמר "he said"). This phenomenon לכו (<לכון "to you," plur.), is especially prominent concerning the *n* of the pronouns, e.g., להו (<להון "to them") and in the verbal suffixes, e.g., תכתבו (< תכתבון "you shall write"). (3) ב (without the *dagesh*) may appear as ו (וו), e.g., אווד (< אבד "got lost"). (4) The accent, it seems, was rather strong; its position was apparently different from the one known to us in biblical Aramaic (see above רַבִּי<רַב first par. Eastern Aramaic).

Morphology. (See following table.) (1) Pronouns. (a) Personal Pronouns. (b) The Copula. Special forms serve as copula: ניהו (masc.),ניהי (fem.), נינהו (masc. plur.), נינהי (fem. plur.). (c) The Demonstrative Pronouns (ordinary): of proximity – האי (masc.), הא (fem.), הני (plur.); of distance – האיך (masc.), הך (fem.), הנך (plur.); ההוא (masc.), ההיא (fem.) הנהו (plur.); אידך (masc. and fem.), אינך (plur.). (d) The relative pronoun is ־ד. (e) The interrogative pronoun is מן ("who"), מאי ("what"). (f) The Possessive Pronoun. The base is ־דיד, ־דיל plus suffixes, e.g., דידי, דילי ("mine").

Masculine	Masc/Fem.	Feminine
	אנא	
את		את
הוא, איהו		היא, איהי
	אנן	
אתו(ן)		?
אינהו		אינהי

(2) The Verb. Lately, some new forms were discovered in the basic paradigm (they will be noted with °, see above the Problem of Babylonian Aramaic). (a) It would also seem that the vocalization (of the perfect) is identical to that of the Onkelos tradition which differs from the other Aramaic dialects. In the past of *qal* we found the three types כתב ‡, שכיב ‡, and חרוֹב ‡ (= יָכֹל, חָפֵץ, כָּתַב in Hebrew). (The paradigm below is only hypothetically vocalized and accentuated.)

Masculine	Masc/Fem.	Feminine
	כתְּבִי (ת)	
כְּתַבְתְּ		כְּתַבְתְּ
כְּתַב		כְּתַ֫בַת, כְּתַ֫בָא, כתַבּ
	כְּתַבן, כְּתַבִינַן, כְּתַבְנַן (?)	
כְּתַבְתּו(ן)? כְּתַבִיתוּ(ן)		—
כְּתַ֫בוּ, כְּתוּב, כְתַבּ (?)		כְּתַ֫בָן, כְּתַבּ

In the imperfect of *qal* we find mainly the pattern אִיקְטַל ‡, אִיקטוֹל ‡ (= אֶשְׁמֹר, אֶשְׁכַּב in Hebrew) and only a few verbs of the pattern אַעֲבֵיד (= the pattern of אֶתֵּן in Hebrew).

Masculine	Masc./Fem.	Feminine
	אִיכתּוֹב	
תִּכְתּוֹב		תִּכְתְּבִי
לִ/נִכְתּוֹב		תִּכתּוֹב
	נִכְתּוֹב	
תִּכְתְּבוּ (ן)		—
לִ/נִכְתְּבוּ (ן)		לִ/נִכְתְּבָן

(b) Imperative, כְּתוֹב (masc. sing.), כְּתוֹבִי (fem. sing.), כְּתוֹבוּ (masc. plur.), כתוב° and (?) כְּתוֹבִין (fem.). (c) Infinitive. מִכְתַּב (and מִכְתְּבָא?). (d) Present and Past Participle. כָּתְבִי(ן) (masc. plur.), כָּתְבָ(א/ן) (fem. plur.) (passive fem. כְּתִיבָ(א/ן)). The forms כתיבא, כָּתְבָא (fem. plur.) are new (the same in Mandaic). As to the other conjugations, the following ought to be noted: The infinitive is formed on the model of כַּתּוֹבֵי in *paʿel*, אַכְתּוֹבֵי in *afʿel*, etc. (The same is true of Mandaic and Palmyrean and the new modern eastern dialects). (e) The weak conjugations. Verbs whose second radical is א are sometimes conjugated like those of ו, e.g., שייל (participle of שאל, "asks"). The ע״ו verbs pattern in *paʿel* as strong roots (the second radical is geminated) and some forms of the ע״ע (geminate) verbs also pattern like that class, e.g., עייל (= < עלל, "he enters"). The *aphʿel* of ע״ו sometimes patterns like that of פ״ו, e.g., אוקים (root קום, "he erected").

(3) The Noun. Few noun patterns (and these are rare) have been added, as those with the derivational suffix ־יסא, ־יזא, e.g., גונדריסא "a small fence" and שופריזא "a small ram's horn."

(4) The Declension. The noun with pronominal suffixes. In a number of persons the plural suffixes are used for the singular as well (and apparently vice versa). This is especially noticeable in the first person singular where חֵילִי < חֵיל (see רַבִּי < רַב above), and therefore the form חילאי was taken over from the plural.

Masculine	Masc/Fem.	Feminine
	Singular	
	חילי, חיל, חילאי	
חילך, חיליך, אבוך		חיליך,אבוך
חיליה, כולי,אבוה		חילה, אבוה
	חילין, אבון	
חילכו		?
חילהו		חילהי
	Plural	
	חילאי	
חילך, חיליך		חיליך
חיליה		חילה, חילהא
	חילין	
חילייכו		חילייכי
חילייהו		חילייהי

(5) Particles. (a) Prepositions. (The vocalization is mainly hypothetical) -א (< עַל, "upon," etc.), קַמֵּי ("before"), בַּהֲדִי ("with"), בֵּי ("between"), אַטוּ, אִמְטוּ ל־, אַמְטוּל ("because"), כי ("like"), אַיְדא ("because of," "through").

(b) Adverbs and Conjunctions. לְאַלְתַּר ("immediately"), מִימְּלָא ("at any rate," "from itself"), אַדְּרַבָּא ("on the contrary"), אַכַּתִּי ("still"), כְּלַפֵּי לַיָּיא ("with regard to what"), מִי (introducing a question), אוֹ, אִי ("if"), הָילְכָךְ, הולכך ("therefore"), איכו, כו ("well, then"), איזי, אֵיזוּ ("well, then"), אלמא ("consequently"), מיה, מיהו, מיהת ("at any rate"), נמי ("also"), נְהִי ("even if").

Syntax. The perfect appears also in the wish form, e.g., שְׁרָא ליה מאריה ("may his master forgive him"). To denote a continuous and a habitual action in the present, the participle is used plus קָא ("he says" = קָא אָמַר). Note the following use of the infinitive: לְמֵיזל לָא מִבְּעֵי לָךְ לְמֵיזַל ("as for going – you need not go") employed when the verb is the logical subject. The direct and indirect objects are denoted by a prolepsis, that is, besides עַבְדָה לְמִילְּתָא ("he did the thing") one finds also עַבְדָה לַהּ לְמִילְּתָא ("he did it – the thing"). In a nominal sentence, instead of the copula we may find the construction… אֲנַן (e.g., אַטוּ אֲנַן קָטְלֵי קָנֵי בְּאַגְמָא אֲנָן "are we stalk destroyers in a lake, are we?") Relative clauses serve to emphasize the logical subject, as רבא הוא דאמר (הא) ("it is Raba who said"). The relative sentence is very much in use even in cases like עָלְמָא דְאָתֵי ("the world to come" – "the next world"), etc. The verb is negated by לָא, other negations are usually accompanied by לָאו.

Vocabulary. Borrowings from (1) Akkadian (and Sumerian): These are mostly in the fields of building, agriculture, and commerce, etc., e.g., אלפא ("ship"), אַרְדִיכְלָא ("architect"), בָּבָא ("gate"), בִּידְקָא ("gap, flood"), גִּיטָא (originally "bill," "legal document," but mainly "bill of divorce"), זוּזָא ("a kind of coin"), מָתָא ("city"), נדונְיָא ("dowry"), קתא ("handle"), תַּרְבִיצָא ("yard"), שְׁלַדָּא ("skeleton"), תרנגלא ("chicken"). (2) Persian, e.g., גוֹשְׁפַּנְקָא ("ring"), אפרין ("thanks"), דנקא ("a kind of coin"). (3) Latin, e.g., מִילָא ("mile").

The original vocabulary is, of course, close to that of Mandaic and that of Syriac, e.g., דְּבָבָא ("fly"), Targum Onkelos, but דידבא in Babylonian Aramaic and in Mandaic. On the other hand, this dialect has words which are lacking in Galilean Aramaic, e.g., זוטרא, זוטא ("small"), גזם ("to exaggerate").

THE INFLUENCE OF LATE ARAMAIC ON OTHER LANGUAGES

Mishnaic Hebrew

The Hebrew language continued to absorb Aramaic elements during that period as well.

Morphology. (1) Pronouns, e.g., דְּבָרָךְ ("your word," masc. sing.), דְּבָרִיךְ ("your word," fem. sing.), אַתְּ ("you," masc. sing.), these suffixes come from Aramaic. (2) Verbs, e.g., אֵרַע ("happened"). (3) Nouns, e.g., סִיעָה ("traveling company," "followers"). (4) Particles, e.g., מִשּׁוּם ("because," Hebrew שם = Aramaic שום).

Changing of Meaning Under Aramaic Influence. Sometimes, under the influence of Aramaic, a cognate Hebrew word might have acquired a different meaning: זָכָר mainly "male" in biblical Hebrew = דְּכַר "male," "ram" in Aramaic; therefore the Hebrew זָכָר "male," quite frequently found in mishnaic Hebrew, has also the meaning of ram (already to be found in biblical Hebrew).

Aramaic Noun Patterns in Hebrew. Nouns built according to Aramaic noun patterns appear more often in mishnaic Hebrew than in biblical Hebrew, e.g., כְּלָל ("general rule"). Syntactic traits such as שֶׁל הָעוֹלָם = רִבּוֹנוֹ שֶׁלָּעוֹלָם "Lord of the world," with the proleptic suffix of וֹ (רִבּוֹנוֹ) come from the Aramaic. It is possible that the whole mishnaic Hebrew tense system was shaped by Aramaic.

Classical Arabic

Aramaic elements were also absorbed into the vocabulary of classical Arabic. Aramaic words are already found in ancient Arabic poetry and in the Koran, e.g., in religious terms – the word *ʾislām* ("Islam," as well as "Moslem"); the verb *sjd* ("to worship") from which is derived *masjid* ("mosque"); *ʿīd* ("holiday"); *masīḥ* ("Messiah"); *ṣalāt* ("prayer"). Among them are words which Aramaic borrowed from other languages, e.g., *maskīn* ("poor") which comes from the Akkadian, *zawdj* ("pair") which is of Greek origin.

Aramaic Influence on Spoken Arabic Dialects

Aramaic influence on the different Arabic dialects persisted in Syria, Ereẓ Israel, and in Iraq even after the Arab conquest. The local population continued to speak their own language for some time, but at last Arabic superseded Aramaic, and the latter disappeared almost completely. Aramaic elements, however, were retained in the spoken Arabic dialects of these regions. So far, these Arabic dialects have not been thoroughly studied from this point of view (for an exception see Arnold and Behnstedt on Qalamun in Syria), but the influence in the field of vocabulary cannot be denied. In Ereẓ Israel and in Syria, this fact is also of great importance as regards Hebrew since Aramaic had absorbed Hebrew elements and passed them on to Arabic. An example possibly is בעל ("a field watered by rain and not by irrigation"). At times colloquial Arabic inherited from Aramaic a word of European origin, e.g., *furn* ("baking oven"), a word in colloquial Arabic which goes back to the Latin *furnus* ("oven"= "furnace" in English). Aramaic elements in colloquial Arabic have helped to identify especially plant names found in Jewish sources (as shown by I. Loew and G. Dalman).

Aramaic in European Languages

A few Aramaic words reached Europe through Christianity, e.g., אַבָּא ("father" > "monk"), *Abt* in German, abbot in English, etc. Arabic of the Middle Ages gave Europe a few Aramaic words, e.g., *miskīn* (= "poor" from the Akkadian), which passed through Arabic into Italian as *meschino* and into French as *mesquin*, etc. The Semitic root הלוך ("to go") had strange adventures. In Akkadian it is *alāku*, from which the noun *ilku* ("fief") was derived. From here it passed into Aramaic where it took on an Aramaic form: הֲלָךְ in biblical Aramaic. From Aramaic it passed into Persian where it changed its form and returned to the Aramaic of the Babylonian Talmud as כראגא ("head-tax"), passed into Arabic as *harādj* ("land-tax"), from it into Turkish from where it was absorbed by the European languages spoken in the Turkish Empire. It acquired several meanings in Slavic: in Polish e.g., *haracz* ("tax," "tribute"). This is where the Hungarian word *harácsolni* ("to make (grab?) money by dishonest ways") comes from.

Aramaic in Contemporary Spoken Hebrew

Contemporary spoken Hebrew drew on Aramaic elements as the need arose. This refers both to Aramaic words in their original meaning, e.g., אדיש ("indifferent"), and to those whose original meaning has been extended or changed, e.g., אגיב ("he answered," of the Palestinian Aramaic) which is employed in the Hebrew as הֵגִיב ("reacted"); שדר ("to send") has been adapted to the needs of the broadcasting system: שדר ("to broadcast"). Generally, these new words have been morphologically Hebraized, e.g., Aramaic אולפן ("learning"), has become אֻלְפָּן ("center for study of Hebrew by new immigrants"). There are, however, elements, mostly those which passed through Yiddish, which kept their Aramaic form: e.g., הדדי ("reciprocal"). There are also those words and forms which in the beginning had kept their original Aramaic form in Hebrew, yet in time took on a Hebrew form: מִסְתְּמָא ("probably"), today: מִן הַסְּתָם; but אַבָּא ("father") and אִמָּא ("mother"), both already found in mishnaic Hebrew, are not showing any signs of Hebraization.

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[Eduard Yecheskel Kutscher]

ARAM-DAMASCUS (Heb. אֲרָם דַּמֶּשֶׂק; RSV, Syria of Damascus), the principal Aramean state during the ninth and eighth centuries B.C.E., centered in Damascus, its capital. As such, it is also referred to as "*Damascus" or simply "*Aram" in the Bible, in Assyrian sources, and in the Aramaic Zakkur inscription (c. 900 B.C.E.). This state extended from the kingdoms of Hamath in the north, to Israel in the south, and between the Syrian desert in the east, and the Phoenician territories on the west. In the earliest known reference Aram-Damascus was a dependency of Hadadezer, king of Aram-Zobah (see *Aram), who enlisted its aid against David. However, David defeated the coalition and annexed both states, or at least Aram-Damascus (II Sam. 8:5–6). In the latter part of Solomon's rule, Rezon son of Eliada threw off the Israelite yoke and established the independent kingdom of Aram-Damascus (I Kings 11:23–25). Aram-Damascus acquired extensive territories and – under the dynasty of Hezion, Tabrimmon, and Ben-Hadad – rose to prominence after the split of the united Kingdom of Israel (I Kings 15:18; cf. the Aramaic Bar-Hadad votive inscription found near Aleppo). Aram, fully exploiting the situation in Palestine and meddling in the disputes between Judah and Israel, continuously threatened the very existence of the northern kingdom. Thus, early in the ninth century B.C.E., *Ben-Hadad I proceeded to wrest eastern Galilee from Baasha, king of Israel, attacking him from the rear after having been bribed by *Asa, king of Judah, to come to his aid (I Kings 15:18–20). Aramean pressure on Israel was further increased during the *Omri dynasty, and territories in northern Transjordan fell to the Arameans. Ben-Hadad II (son of Ben-Hadad I), with 32 of his vassals, was defeated by *Ahab, king of Israel, while attempting an attack on Samaria. He was again defeated at Aphek in the southern Golan and was thus compelled to return the Transjordanian towns conquered by his father and to guarantee Israel preferential mercantile rights in Damascus, such as had been enjoyed by the Arameans in Samaria under Omri (I Kings 20; esp. v. 34; cf. Damascus). This turn of fortune, underscored by the new threat of Assyria during the reigns of Assyrian kings Ashurnaṣirpa II and, especially, Shalmaneser III, forced Ben-Hadad to reconstitute his army and his kingdom, reducing his vassal states to the status of provinces (cf. I Kings 20:24–25). To meet the new menace, Ben-Hadad II (the Adad-Idri of Assyrian sources) joined in forming a league of 12 kings led by himself, the king of Hamath and Ahab, king of Israel. In their first clash in 853 B.C.E. the allies met Shalmaneser III at *Karkar in the land of Hamath – Ben-Hadad with 20,000 infantry, 1,200 horses, and 1,200 chariots. This same coalition, apparently, met Shalmaneser in battle again in 849, 848, and 845 B.C.E. Only after *Hazael had deposed the Ben-Hadad dynasty and after the alliance had fallen apart, did Shalmaneser III defeat Aram-Damascus, in 841 and 838 B.C.E. In the first instance he continued on through Hauran and Galilee, reaching "Mount *Baʿali-rāsi*" (i.e., "Baal of the summit" *(rosh)*, possibly Mount Carmel). Hazael's rise to the throne reversed Aramean policy toward Israel, and they fought in 842 B.C.E. at Ramoth-Gilead (II Kings 8:28–29). The alleged encounter at this same spot between Ben-Hadad II and Ahab, as related in I Kings 22, seems to reflect this same, or an even later event. After the relaxation of Assyrian pressure, Hazael was able to consolidate his realm. First seizing the entire eastern bank of the Jordan down to the Arnon brook, he later raided western Israel, reducing its army and territory, and reaching the borders of Judah, which he forced to pay a heavy tribute (II Kings 10:32–33; 12:18–19; 13:7, 22). However, after Aramean power reached this peak, the renewal of Assyrian pressure led to its decline under Ben-Hadad III (the "Bar-Hadad" of the Zakkur inscription and possibly the *Mariʾ* [the Aramaic title "Lord"] of the Assyrian sources). Adad-Nirari III, king of Assyria, conducted several campaigns to Syria in the years 805–802 B.C.E., defeated Ben-Hadad III, and finally besieged Damascus, compelling it to pay a heavy tribute. In a later campaign related in a stele of Adad-Nirari III, found at Tel el-Rimah, the Assyrian king took large quantities of precious metals and fine cloth from the "Land of Damascus," as well as tribute from *Ia'usu Samerinaya*, i.e., *Joash, king of Israel, named here as king of *Samaria. Shalmaneser IV also went up against Damascus in 773 B.C.E.; Joash and *Jeroboam II, kings of Israel, taking advantage of the Arameans' weak position, defeated them several times and freed the Israelite districts beyond the Jordan. Jeroboam even imposed Israelite rule on Damascus (II Kings 13:25; 14:25, 28). Aram-Damascus had one final moment of glory during the reign of *Rezin, the last king, who is first mentioned in about 738 B.C.E. among the vassals of *Tiglath-Pileser III. Rebelling against Assyria, Rezin invaded Israel and annexed Transjordan as far south as Ramoth-Gilead and even raided Elath. He then compelled *Pekah, king of Israel, to join him in an alliance against Ahaz, king of Judah (II Kings 16:6). Ahaz's appeal to Assyria for aid provided Tiglath-Pileser III with a pretense for invading Damascus. In two campaigns in the years 733–732 B.C.E. the Assyrians seized the capital, and then delivered the final blow by putting Rezin to death and exiling many inhabitants (II Kings 15:37; 16:5ff.). The former Aram-Damascus was then split into Assyrian provinces: Damascus at the center, Hauran and Qarnini (biblical Karnaim) in the south, Manṣuate in the Lebanon valley, and Ṣubatu (biblical Zobah) in the north. An unsuccessful rebellion was attempted in Aram-Damascus in 720 (see Aram); sometime later the Assyrians resettled new populations there. Aram-Damascus occupied a prominent place in scriptural prophecy. Nowhere is this more evident than in the *Elisha cycle, where the prophet Elisha's part in the overthrow of the Ben-Hadad dynasty is related, reflecting the heavy pressure applied by Hazael on Israel (II Kings 5–7; 8:7–15). Aramean atrocities against the Israelite inhabitants of Gilead are condemned in Amos' prophecy of doom against Damascus (Amos 1:3–5). Isaiah was firm in his opposition to Aram-Damascus and Samaria at the time of their joint attack against Ahaz of Judah (Isa. 7:1ff.). Indeed, the destruction of Aram-Damascus left a deep impression on Isaiah (17:1–3) and even Jeremiah (49:23–27), as reflected in their oracles.

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[Abraham Malamat]

ARAN (Aharonowitz), ZALMAN (1899–1970), Israeli politician and labor leader, member of the First to Sixth Knessets. Aran, who was born in Yuzovka, Ukraine, received a religious education and studied agriculture at Kharkov University. As a young man he was active in *Ẓe'irei Zion and when the party split in 1920 joined the Zionist Socialist Party (*Z.S.) and served on its clandestine Central Committee in the years 1924–25. In 1926 he immigrated to Palestine, where he joined the *Aḥdut ha-Avodah party. When *Mapai was founded in 1930 he became its first secretary. From 1931 to 1934 Aran was secretary of the Tel Aviv Labor Council and from 1948 to 1951 secretary-general of Mapai. He was elected to the First Knesset on the Mapai list, and remained a member of the Knesset for 20 years. He served as minister without portfolio in 1953–55 and minister of education and culture from 1955 to 1960 and again from 1963 to 1969. In the latter period he introduced a course in "Jewish Consciousness" into the school curriculum, and was responsible for the expansion of technical education. In 1968 the Knesset endorsed his plan to reform the Israeli school system, establishing junior high schools to bridge primary and high schools.

ʿARʿARA (Ar. عرعرة, *ʿArʿarata*), Israeli Muslim-Arab village near the Iron Valley road connecting Ḥaderah with Afulah (a stretch of the ancient Via Maris). It had 2,450 inhabitants in 1967 and 14,500 in 2002, with an economy based on field and garden crops, tobacco, olives, fruit trees, and sheep. In 1970 it received municipal status. Its area is 3.5 sq. mi. (9 sq. km.).

[Efraim Orni / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

ARARAT (Heb. אֲרָרָט; 1QIsa̯, *hwrrṭ*; Akk. *Urarṭu*), name of land and mountains mentioned in the Bible.

The Land of Ararat

The Land of Ararat is mentioned in II Kings 19:37 and Isaiah 37:38 as the land where the sons of Sennacherib fled after murdering their father. From the Bible one would scarcely sense the importance of this ancient nation centering around Lake Van, in Armenia. The major sources of information are the Assyrian records dealing with this kingdom, whose native name was Bia(i)nili though known to the Assyrians as Urarṭu, but a large body of independent data has been obtained from inscriptions found during excavations in Turkey, Iran, and Russia. Urarṭu gradually rose to prominence during the ninth century B.C.E. as a confederation of small kingdoms which became Assyria's major rival. The chief god Haldi, along with Teisheba and Shiwini, is given credit by the Urarṭians for their successes. During the period of Assyrian weakness following the death of Shalmaneser III (858–824 B.C.E.), Urarṭu expanded considerably, reaching its apogee under Sardur III, who effectively severed Assyria from Asia Minor and the littoral by subjugating many city-states west of the Euphrates, including the major city of Aleppo. With the resurgence of Assyrian power under Tiglath-Pileser III (746–727), the Urarṭian Empire in northern Syria was destroyed. At the battle of *Arpad (c. 743 B.C.E.), Tiglath-Pileser decisively defeated the army of Urarṭu, and Sardur fled to Tushpa, his capital. After thoroughly subduing Syria (it is very likely that Isa. 36:18–19 refers to these campaigns, and perhaps Isa. 10:9 also), Tiglath-Pileser invaded Urarṭu, devastated the countryside, and laid unsuccessful siege to the capital. Further weakened by continuing Assyrian pressure from the south and attacks by the Cimmerians (Gomer) in the north, Urarṭu was invaded by Sargon II of Assyria in his eighth campaign (714) and the religious capital Muṣaṣir was taken. Although Urarṭu remained hostile to Assyria, Sargon's campaign marked the end of effective rivalry and open warfare between them; Assyria remained dominant, while Urarṭu was constantly occupied in protecting her northern borders from the invading Cimmerians and Scythians. The last certain reference to an Urarṭian state comes from 643. From Herodotus (I, 74) we know that by 585 the Medes occupied what had been Urarṭian territory. In the Behistun Inscription of Darius the Great (ca. 520), he refers to the territory as Armina (= Armenia), reflective of the newer "Arme" population, but as אררט in the Aramaic, and Uraštu in the Akkadian version.

The Mountains of Ararat

According to the story in Genesis 8:4 Noah's *ark came to rest on the mountains of Ararat. Accordingly, the present form of the story cannot be earlier than the early first millennium B.C.E. when the form "Urarṭu" replaced the previous designations Uruaṭri and Nairi of the Assyrian sources. Although one frequently hears the designation "Mount Ararat," the Bible does not mention any specific mountain. Luther understood Ararat to be the name of the mountain range. Nonetheless, one tradition identifies the particular mountain as Mount Massis, at nearly 17,000 ft. (550 m) the highest peak of Armenia, which is therefore often called Mount Ararat. The Aramaic and Syriac translations of Genesis 8:4 mention Ture Kardu, "the mountains of Kurdistan [Jebel Judi]" southeast of Lake Van, whereas the Book of Jubilees (5:28; 7:1) speaks of Mount Lubar (unidentified). In the Babylonian tradition of the flood, the mountain on which the *ark came to rest is Mount Nimush (sometimes read Niṣir), east of Assyria, now identified as Pir Omar Gudrun.

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[Tikva S. Frymer / S. David Sperling (2nd ed.)]

ARATON, HARVEY (1952–), U.S. sports columnist. Born and raised in New York, Araton graduated from the City University of New York in 1975. He worked at the *Staten Island Advance* (1970–77), *New York Post* (1977–83), and *New York Daily News* (1983–91), where he was a columnist, before joining the *New York Times* as a sports reporter and national basketball columnist in March 1991. He became a *Sports of the Times* columnist in 1994. He was nominated by the *Times* for the Pulitzer Prize in 1994. Araton also wrote for the *New York Times Magazine, GQ Magazine, ESPN Magazine, Sport Magazine, Tennis Magazine*, and *Basketball Weekly*. He was the winner of the Associated Press Sports Editors award for enterprise reporting in 1992, and in 1997 for column writing. Araton was the winner in the column-writing category of the Women's Sports Foundation journalism awards in 1998. He is the author or co-author of three books: *Alive & Kicking (When Soccer Moms Take the Field And Change Their Lives Forever)* (2001); *Money Players (Inside The New NBA)* (1997); and *The Selling of the Green (The Financial Rise and Moral Decline of the Boston Celtics)* (1992).

[Elli Wohlgelernter (2nd ed.)]

ARAUNAH (Heb. אֲרַנְיָה, אֲוַרְנָה, אֲרַוְנָה; variant in Chronicles: *Ornan* (אָרְנָן)), most probably the last Jebusite ruler of Jerusalem whom David spared after conquering the city. The word Araunah is non-Semitic in origin, probably Hurrian and possibly a title, as it occurs once with the definite article (II Sam. 24:16 and *ibid.* 23 "the king…" cf. Hurrian *ewri,* "governor"). When David offended God by taking a census, plague struck his realm, killing 70,000. In answer to his prayer, it halted outside Jerusalem when the angel of the Lord had reached the threshing floor of Araunah. That day the prophet Gad commanded David to erect an altar to the Lord on this spot. David asked Araunah to sell him the threshing floor, but Araunah offered to give it to him together with his oxen for sacrifice, the threshing boards and ox yokes for firewood, and the wheat for a meal offering. David, however, refused to accept the offer, paid Araunah 50 silver shekels (in I Chron. 21:25 – 600 gold shekels), and then built an altar (II Sam. 24:15ff.; I Chron. 21:15ff.). (There is a certain similarity between this transaction and the purchase of the cave of Machpelah by Abraham; Gen. 23.) Solomon built the Temple on this site (II Chron. 3:1). The same verse connects this location with Moriah where the **Akedah* took place (cf. Jos., Ant., 7:333). It may have been public property, and Araunah, as the ex-ruler of the city, was thus entitled to dispose of it. I Chronicles 21:20 possibly speaks of "his (?) four sons." According to rabbinic tradition Araunah's skull was found on the Temple site in the time of Hezekiah (TJ, Pes. 9:1, 36c) or after the return from Babylon (TJ, Sot. 5:4, 20b). According to the Talmud *Avodah Zarah* 24b, he was a "proselyte of the gate."

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ARAZI, YEHUDA (1907–1959), Haganah leader and organizer of "illegal" immigration to Palestine. Arazi was born in Lodz, then Russian Poland, and settled in Palestine in 1923. While serving with the Palestine Police from 1926 until 1934, he passed on information to the *Haganah, helped its prisoners, and engaged in arms smuggling. In 1936–39 Arazi secretly purchased arms from the Polish government which were smuggled into Palestine. During the early part of World War II, Arazi continued to buy arms for the Haganah, particularly from British Army sources in the Middle East and North Africa. His activities were discovered by the British in 1943, but Arazi evaded capture. At the end of the war, he left Palestine illegally, went to Italy and was appointed head of "illegal" immigration activities there. In the spring of 1946 the Italian authorities tried to prevent the departure of two refugee ships, *Eliyahu Golomb* and *Dov Hos*, which were carrying Jewish survivors of the holocaust as "illegal" immigrants. Arazi organized a mass hunger strike of the refugees. The pressure of world opinion forced the British government to permit the entrance of the ships with their passengers into Palestine. In the summer of 1947 Arazi went to the U.S. and organized the purchase and smuggling of light and heavy arms and aircraft to the Haganah. A considerable amount of material reached Palestine.

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[Yehuda Slutsky]

ARBA AMMOT (Heb. אַרְבַּע אַמּוֹת; "four cubits"), a linear and square measure frequently found in halakhic literature. It has both halakhic applications and aggadic implications. (For the length of the cubit, see *Weights and Measures.) The apparent origin of this measurement lies in the observation, "A man's body is three cubits (long) and one cubit is for extending his arms and legs" (Er. 48a). A room that is not four by four cubits in area is unfit for human habitation, and requires neither a *mezuzah* nor a *parapet, and none of the *halakhot* governing homes applies to it (Suk. 3a–b). Analogously, a *sukkah* that does not enclose four by four cubits is unfit for use (*ibid.*). If a man constructs a wall facing his neighbor's window, he must keep four cubits away so as not to block out the light (BB 2:4). According to Jewish law, a man's property "acquires" chattels placed in it (see *Acquisition). A rabbinical enactment established that, in order to avoid disputes, an area of four cubits around a man in a public domain similarly acquires such chattels (BM 10a–b). When praying, one must keep four cubits away from an unclean place (Ber. 3:5). One should walk at least four cubits after each meal (Shab. 41a). The sages were careful not to walk four cubits without keeping their minds on Torah and wearing their phylacteries (Yoma 86a). Among the relevant aggadic statements are: "Whoever walks four cubits in Ereẓ Israel is assured of (his portion in) the world to come" (Ket. 111a); "Since the day the Temple was destroyed, God has nothing in His world except the four cubits of *halakhah*" (Ber. 8a).

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[Yitzhak Dov Gilat]

ARBA KOSOT (Heb. אַרְבַּע כּוֹסוֹת; "four cups"), four cups of wine drunk by each participant at the *Passover *seder* service. This ceremony is prescribed by the Mishnah as a duty to be observed by even the poorest man (Pes. 10: 1). The four cups are drunk in the following order: (1) the *Kiddush* at the start of the *seder*; (2) at the conclusion of the main part of the **Haggadah* which ends with the **Ge'ullah* ("Redemption") benediction; (3) at the end of the Grace after Meals; and (4) at the conclusion of the *Nishmat* hymn (*"Birkat ha-Shir"*). Only the second and fourth cups were added for the *seder* meal since the drinking of the two other cups forms part of every meal on Sabbaths and holidays. The reason for four cups is based by the rabbis upon the midrashic interpretation of Exodus 6:6–7, where four different terms of deliverance are employed: "I will bring you out … deliver you … redeem you … and will take you to Me for a people," etc. (Ex. R. 6:4). Other symbolic explanations for the four cups are that they correspond to the four cups of Pharaoh mentioned in Genesis, ch. 40, or to the four ancient kingdoms which oppressed Israel and for which God requites Israel with four cups of consolation (TJ, Pes. 10:1, 37b–c). Other examples of the special symbolic significance of the number four in the *Haggadah* are the Four Questions (*"Mah Nishtannah"*). Four Sons, and the four types of food at the *seder* meal: unleavened bread (*matzah*), lamb, bitter herbs, and *ḥaroset*. Some rabbis in the Talmud required a fifth cup of wine for the fifth expression of redemption "I shall bring you" (Pes. 118a, according to the text found in R. Hananel and Alfasi); this became symbolized in the cup of *Elijah on the *seder* table. The four cups of wine should be drunk in a reclined position, as in Roman times reclining was a sign of freedom. Each cup has to contain at least a ¼ log (0.137 liter; Sh. Ar, OḤ 472:9). Red wine is to be preferred but because of the blood accusations in Europe, white wine was often used (see *Blood Libel).

Some feminists have added a Cup of Miriam, containing water to symbolize "Miriam's well" and to be drunk only by women after the second cup of wine.

ARBATOVA, MIA (1911–1990), Israeli ballet dancer and teacher. Arbatova was a soloist at the Riga Opera Ballet for a number of years before settling in Palestine in 1938. She had been a pupil and protégée of Alexandra Federova, artistic director of the Riga Ballet, and was on tour in Europe and the United States when Federova left Riga for America. Arbatova decided to make her home in Tel Aviv and danced and choreographed for the Opera Amamit but in 1943 opened her own ballet studio. By that time she was well known, having performed with her husband, singer-actor Joseph Goland, in various theaters, clubs, hotels, and cabarets. Many young men and women who later became prominent locally and abroad passed through her studio, including Domy Reiter-Soffer, Rina Schenfeld, Noa Eshkol (of the Eshkol-Wachman movement notation system), Moshe Efrati (founder of Kol Demama), and Yonatan Karmon (creator and director of folk dance shows).

Arbatova herself was often invited to serve on the jury of ballet competitions abroad.

A Mia Arbatova Ballet Competition was launched in 1990 in her honor. She attended a benefit performance for this purpose but died before the actual competition took place.

[Dora Leah Sowden (2nd ed.)]

ARBATTA, city mentioned in I Kings 4:10 as Arubboth and in Second Temple sources as Arbatta. On the outbreak of the Hasmonean uprising, in 168 B.C.E., Galilean Jews were threatened by the local gentile population. Hence, Simeon, brother of Judah the Maccabee, set out on an expedition to Galilee with 3,000 men, and thoroughly defeated the opposing forces. On returning to Judea, "he (Simeon) took with him those (Jews) who were in Galilee and in Arbatta (καὶ Ἐν Αρβάττοις) with their wives and children, and everything which was theirs, and brought them into Judea with great rejoicing" (I Macc. 5:21–24). Various attempts have been made to identify Arbatta. Some scholars have identified it with the Arabah mentioned in Deuteronomy 1:7, and Joshua 11:16, 12:8, 18:18, in which case it would be situated in the valley of the Dead Sea, but this seems unlikely. Others follow Eusebius and *Genesis Rabbah* ch. 33, where mention is made of an Araba or Arbu in the vicinity of Beth-Shean. The most reasonable identification is the one proposed by Klein, who read ἐνναρβάττοις and on this basis identified it with Narbatta (cf. Josephus, War II, 291, 509), situated between the southern borders of Galilee and northern Samaria. Recent excavations in this region, at Khirbet el-Hammam, by Adam Zertal, may have succeeding in identifying the site. There are remains at the site belonging to two main periods: from the Iron Age, including a segment of a city wall, and from the Second Temple period (Hasmonean and Herodian) with the remains of a settlement, and a Roman siege ramp and a circumvallation wall from the siege made there by Cestius Gallus in 66 C.E.

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[I.G./Shimon Gibson (2nd ed.)]

ARBEITER-ZEITUNG ("The Workman's Paper" between 1890 and 1902), a Yiddish socialist weekly published in New York to express the views of the working classes. Under Abraham *Cahan, who edited it for five years, it became an influential newspaper, inaugurating a vital era in Yiddish journalism in America. Cahan wanted to broaden the paper's policy to embrace all labor movements but was opposed by the controlling shareholders, who had a narrower socialistic outlook. Eventually he resigned and the paper split into two rival socialist dailies: *Abendblatt* (1894–1902) and the **Jewish Daily Forward* (1897–), of which Cahan became editor in 1902, serving in that capacity until his death in 1950.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: H. Hapgood, *Spirit of the Ghetto* (1962), 180–5.

ARBEL (**Arbela**; Heb. אַרְבֵּל), name of two sites in Ereẓ Israel (an additional Arbel is also known in Jordan). The first is known principally from the writings of Eusebius (On. 14:20) and was situated nine miles east of Legio in the Jezreel Valley, not far from Afulah. The second and the most important site bearing this name, however, is situated on the east side of Lower Galilee, identified at Khirbet Irbid (Ḥorvat Arbel), to the northwest of Tiberias. The remains of an ancient Byzantine synagogue were explored at the site by Charles Wilson in the 19th century as well as fortified caves which were connected by stairways and situated at a strategic point at the entrance to the valley facing the Sea of Galilee. It is possible that Arbel may be identical with that Beth-arbel which is mentioned in Hosea 10:14 as the site of a historic battle. The Seleucid commander, Bacchides, in his second campaign against Judah Maccabee, captured the "*mesalot* ("steps"?) at Arbel" and executed the inhabitants (I Macc. 9:2; Jos., Ant., 12:421). The reference is apparently to the caves in the vicinity and the connecting stairways. The Zealots who rose against Herod in 39 B.C.E. sought refuge in these caves. Herod routed them by lowering from the escarpment cages containing soldiers who lit fires at the entrances of the caves (Jos., *Ant.*, 14:415–30). During the Jewish War (66–70) against the Romans fortifications were built in this area (probably at Qal'at Ibn Ma'a or Har Nittai) by Josephus, who was a local commander at that time, and he later recorded this in his writings (*Life*, 188). The early Pharisaic leader *Nittai of Arbela (Avot 1:6) may have originated from there. After the destruction of the Second Temple, priests of the House of Jeshua (one of the 24 "courses," i.e., priestly divisions) settled at Arbel. The valley of Arbel was also noted for its agricultural fertility (TJ, Pe'ah 7:4, 20a) and items made of linen were said to have come from Arbel (Gen. R. 19:1). The early Byzantine synagogue discovered there consists of a columned hall entered via a doorway with molded jambs and lintel, and it had an apse in the southern wall, perhaps to contain Torah scrolls. The synagogue was first excavated by Kohl and Watzinger in 1905, and more recently it was investigated by Zvi Ilan between 1987and 1989. The date of the construction of the synagogue has been debated by scholars. What is certain, however, is that the third century C.E. date that was originally proposed for this building based on architectural parallels and carved decorations is no longer accepted by scholars. Near the remnants of this ancient synagogue a *moshav shittufi was established in 1949 by a group of Romanian Jews. In 1968 the economy of the settlement was based on fruit orchards, vegetables, field crops, cattle, and poultry. In the 1990s the population of this moshav grew to some 310 individuals.

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Press, Ereẓ, 1 (1951), 34–36; S. Klein (ed.), *Sefer ha-Yishuv*, 1 (1939), 163; Sukenik, in: JPOS, 15 (1935), 143; N. Avigad and H.Z. Hirschberg (eds.), *Kol Ereẓ Naftali* (1967), 98–100. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** F. Vitto, "Synagogues in Cupboards," in: *Eretz Magazine*, 52 (1997), 36–42; D. Urman and P.V.M. Flesher (eds.), *Ancient Synagogues*, vol. I (1995); Y. Tsafrir, L. Di Segni, and J. Green, *Tabula Imperii Romani. Iudaea – Palaestina. Maps and Gazetteer.* (1994), 168–68; Z. Ilan, *Ancient Synagogues in Israel* (1991), 116–18.

[Michael Avi-Yonah / Shimon Gibson (2nd ed.)]

ARBELL, MORDECHAI (**Mario Varssano**; 1929–), Israeli diplomat, businessman, and researcher of Sephardi and Caribbean Jewish history. Born in Sofia, Bulgaria, to a prominent Sephardi family, Arbell settled in Tel Aviv in 1941. After serving in the Israeli Air Force in the War of Independence and studying at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, he entered the Israeli foreign service, holding various positions, including ambassador to Panama and Haiti. In 1977 he became the general manager of International Operations of the Eisenberg Group, consisting of 80 companies in 42 countries.

His studies of the Spanish-Portuguese Jewish communities in the Caribbean and the Guianas began in 1965 and included research trips all over the Caribbean basin. He studied at the Sorbonne in Paris and was a research fellow at the Ben-Zvi Institute in Jerusalem, at the John Carter Brown Library of Brown University and at the American Jewish Archives of the Hebrew Union College.

Among his publications are "*La Nacion*" – *The Spanish and Portuguese Jews of the Caribbean* (1981, an exhibition and catalogue); *Comfortable Disappearance, Lesson from the Caribbean Jewish Experience* (1998); *Spanish and Portuguese Jews in the Caribbean, A Bibliography* (1998); *The Portuguese Jews of Jamaica* (2000); and *The Jewish Nation of the Caribbean* (2002). Arbell also studied Sephardi Jewish history in Vienna, Austria, and Madras, India, the Inquisition in Manila, and the history of the Jews in Vlor (Valona), Albania. He is also an expert in the history of postage stamps featuring Sephardi Jews and has published *Filatelia Sefaradi* (1999).

Active in many communal and research institutes, Arbell was adviser to the World Jewish Congress and chairman of its Research Institute; chairman of Sefarad for the Preservation of the Sephardi Heritage; adviser to the National Council for Ladino and Its Culture and to the Israeli National Council for Foreign Affairs. Among his other activities, he served on the board of directors of the Museum of the Jewish Diaspora, the Institute of Cultural Relations Israel-Iberoamerica, and the Association for Research of Latin American Jewry.

ARBIB, family of North African origin, subsequently spreading to Italy. ISAAC BEN ARROYO (16th century), born in Salonika, author of books of sermons *Tanḥumot El* (1573) and *Makhil Kohelet* (1597), was also called Arbib, but little is known of his life. ESTHER (end of 18th century) played a prominent part in Jewish life in Tripoli and had great influence on the Turkish governor. When the city was in the throes of civil war in 1793, she was tortured in order to extract an enormous ransom. MOSES and VITTORIO were among the leaders of the community in the 19th century. GUSTAVO first introduced printing in Latin characters into Tripoli. ISAIAH, head of the Tripoli community (1774–78), established himself subsequently in Leghorn, and thereafter the family was prominent in Italy. EDOARDO (1840–1906) fought in the Italian-Austrian war of 1859. He was severely wounded a year later in the "Expedition of the Thousand" led by Garibaldi against the kingdom of Naples and was promoted on the field. He then joined the regular army and took part in the war of 1866 against Austria. Later he became editor of the *Gazetta del Popolo* of Florence and founded the daily newspaper *La Libertà* after the liberation of Rome in 1870. He entered political life and was appointed senator. He was also a writer of fiction and a historian of the Italian parliament. ANGELO (1865–1922) entered the Italian army as a professional soldier, commanded an infantry regiment in World War I, and became major general in 1917. Another member of the family, EMILIO (d. 1933), rose to the rank of general in World War I.

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[Cecil Roth]

ARBITRATION, method of settling disputes by their submission, voluntarily and with the mutual consent of all parties, for adjudication by a person or institution.

Function of Arbitration

In ancient Greek and Roman law – up to the middle of the third century C.E. – the adjudication of disputes was primarily dealt with by arbitration. But in Jewish law such adjudication from the beginning was based on a system of regular courts, empowered to enforce their judgments on the parties. This is ordained in the Pentateuch (Ex. 18:25–26, and more specifically Deut. 16:18 and 17:8–13). Reference is made to a system of established courts in the time of King Jehoshaphat in the eighth century B.C.E. (II Chron. 19:5–11), and talmudic tradition ascribes to Ezra, in the middle of the fifth century B.C.E., an enactment that courts (*battei dinin*) be held on Mondays and Thursdays (Ket. 1:1; BK 82a) to judge the people whether they wish it or not (Sif. Deut. 144 – contrary to the opinion of B. Cohen, *Jewish and Roman Law*, 2 (1966), 657ff., 796, and Baron, Social^2, 2 (1952), 266f., that arbitration preceded a system of presiding courts in Jewish law as well; see bibliography below: Gulak, Assaf).

The beginnings of the arbitral institutions are traceable to the middle of the second century C.E., in the period of Hadrian's decrees or even, it has been suggested, to the time of Rabban Gamaliel of Jabneh (first to second century; see G. Alon, below). This was one of the low periods in the history of Jewish judicial *autonomy, in which judicial authority was restricted, even in the field of civil law, i.e., *dinei mamonot* (see **Mishpat Ivri*), as opposed to criminal law (TJ, Sanh. 7:2, 24b), and the prohibition against ordination (*semikhah) was decreed (Sanh. 14a). To ensure the continued existence of Jewish judicial authority, therefore, the institution of arbitration was resorted to, and Jews turned to it of their own free will, prompted by their religio-national feelings. The laws of arbitration are first discussed by R. Meir and other scholars of that period (Sanh. 3:1) and the institution was known and employed mainly in Ereẓ Israel and not in Babylonia, where the Jews enjoyed wide judicial autonomy. For this reason too, the original meaning of the mishnaic term *shetarei berurin* ("deeds of arbitration," MK 3:3; BM 1:8; BB 10:4) was forgotten, and it was interpreted as meaning the statements of the parties, claims, or pleadings (BB 168a), whereas the *amoraim* of Ereẓ Israel adhered to the original meaning of the term, i.e., "*Compromisin*, this one chooses one [arbitrator] and this one chooses another" (TJ, MK 3:3, 82a). The existence in practice of the situation as described, and the background to the creation of arbitration as an institution of Jewish judicial authority, find expression in an order of Honorius in 398 C.E., according to which Jews were rendered subject to Roman law and the regular courts, but permitted, in civil law matters and by mutual consent of the parties, to resort to their own arbitration proceedings, enforceable at the hands of the provincial judges (*Codex Theodosianus*, 2:2, 10; also quoted, with slight changes, in *Codex Justinianus*, 1:9, 8).

At various times and in different countries of the Diaspora, arbitration continued to serve as a substitute for judicial autonomy, in particular where such autonomy had been weakened. But it also fulfilled important functions even where there was autonomy, which was general in the countries of the Diaspora. Thus, it aided in relieving the burden on the regular courts and in speeding up legal proceedings (see e.g., *Or Zaru'a*, BK 10:436) or was employed when the regular court was disqualified from hearing a suit because of its own interest in it (see S. Dubnow (ed.), *Pinkas ha-Medinah* (1925), 6, no. 13 and 307, no. 12) or for other reasons (*Shevut Ya'akov*, vol. 2, no 143).

Composition

Ordinarily, in Jewish law, the arbitral tribunal is composed of three arbitrators. The Mishnah (Sanh. 3:1) records a dispute between R. Meir and other scholars, the former stating that each party chooses one arbitrator and both choose the third, while the other scholars hold that the two arbitrators choose the third. Gulak correctly points out that the scholars sought to lend to arbitration proceedings (at least externally, although the matter is of substantive importance too: see below) the appearance of a Jewish court, composed generally of three judges, in contrast with the single arbiter customary under Roman law. The plain meaning of R. Meir's statement seems to be that the third arbitrator is chosen by the two parties only (so too, TJ, Sanh. 3:1, 21a), but the interpretation of the Babylonian *amoraim* was that all agreed that the consent of the two (arbitrators) is required for the appointment of the third and that R. Meir merely added that the consent of the parties to the third (arbitrator) is also required. The *halakhah* was decided accordingly (Sh. Ar., ḤM 13:1; Maim. Yad, Sanh. 7:1 gives conflicting interpretations). However, the opinion has been expressed that where the arbitrators are empowered to decide not only according to strict law, but also to effect a *compromise (*pesharah*), the two arbitrators may not appoint a third without the consent of the two parties (*Arukh ha-Shulḥan*, ḤM 13:1).

When the two arbitrators are unable to agree on the appointment of the third, the appointment is made by the elders of the city – whose status in various matters is as that of the court (see *Takkanot ha-Kahal; and cf. *Piskei ha-Rosh*, Sanh. 3:2; Sh. Ar., ḤM 13: 1, Isserles *ibid.*) and it was often customary for the rabbi of the city to be the third arbitrator (the "*shalish*"; I. Halperin (ed.)., *Pinkas Va'ad Arba Araẓot* (1945), 111–2, no. 270; 142–3, no. 335; Dubnow, *op. cit.*, 246, no. 932; *Shevut Ya'akov,* vol. 2, no. 143; *He-Avar,* 2 (1918), 73, no. 16). In the Vilna community, where, as in other communities, arbitration was customary despite the existence of regular *battei din*, it was the practice to stipulate in the rabbi's letter of appointment that he would not be required to serve as a third or fifth arbitrator etc., as the case might be (*He-Avar,* 2 (1918), 66, no. 11). The parties to arbitration may agree to a smaller or to a larger number than three (Sh. Ar., ḤM 3:2; Resp. Rosh, 56:1 and 56:7; Resp. Rashba vol. 2, no. 83; Resp. Jacob Weill 11; Naḥmanides, to Deut. 1:12; Isserles to Sh. Ar., ḤM 13:1), a rule carried out in practice (Halperin, *op. cit.*, 85, 308; Dubnow, *op. cit.*, 225, no. 843; 232, no. 888), and in one case cited, ten arbitrators were appointed (Resp. Ritba 85). A party is not heard, however, if an increase in the number of arbitrators is requested as a subterfuge (*Arukh ha-Shulḥan*, ḤM 13:5). When four arbitrators are appointed, the fifth is again chosen by them and not by the parties (*Noda bi-Yhudah, Mahadura Kamma*, ḤM 2).

The plain meaning of R. Meir's statement would allow for either party to reject the other's arbitrator, even if the latter be competent to judge and an "expert" (*mumḥeh*; TJ Sanh. 3:2, 21a). The Babylonian Talmud, however, interpreted R. Meir as conceding that an expert could not be so rejected (Sanh. 23a). The opinion of the scholars who differ from R. Meir is that one party cannot reject the other's arbitrator in the absence of evidence that the latter is a relative of the litigants (or of the other arbitrators: Resp. Rema 104) or not competent to serve as a judge (as detailed in the Mishnah, Sanh. 3:3–4). A bond of friendship between a party and his arbitrator does not of itself entitle the other party to disqualify him (Resp. Maharik 16), but if a defendant wishes to appoint an arbitrator whose integrity is in question, the former is not heard and he is compelled to appear before the regular court. Similarly, the defendant need not appear at arbitration proceedings until the claimant has appointed an honest arbitrator (*Piskei ha-Rosh*, Sanh. 3:2; Sh. Ar., ḤM 13:1). An arbitrator cannot be disqualified merely because he is not "godfearing" (Resp. Ri-Migash 114).

Status and Functions of Arbitrators
The talmudic sages saw a particular advantage in arbitration, in that each party could nominate an arbitrator of his own choice who represented the interests of the party choosing him and therefore a just decision was ensured (Sanh. 23a and Rashi, *ibid.*, cf. TJ, Sanh. 3:1, 21a). In the 13th century, *Asher b. Jehiel pointed out that it was wrong to interpret the above passages as justifying the arbitrator's blind support of the party by whom he was chosen when they should rather be read as meaning that the arbitrators appointed by both parties would thoroughly investigate the facts objectively and negotiate on the respective merits of the litigants' claims – the third arbitrator listening to them and then deciding between them (his Comm. to Sanh. 3:2; see also *Darkhei Moshe* ḤM 13:3 and Resp. Maharik 16).

The status of arbitrators has been described as equivalent in every way to that of *dayyanim* (*Panim Me'irot*, vol. 2, no. 159), and hence an arbitrator is precluded from hearing the contentions of the party appointing him in the absence of the other party, unless this is agreed upon or is local custom (*Arukh ha-Shulḥan*, ḤM 13:4). Arbitrators' fees are payable to the arbitrators chosen by each party, regardless of the outcome, lest the arbitrator be unduly influenced because of his interest in recovering his fees (*ibid.*). To ensure the maximum integrity of the arbitrators, an opinion was expressed that these fees be defrayed from a communal fund especially set up for this purpose and that a ban (*ḥerem) be imposed on both the donor and recipient of any gift beyond the allocation from this fund (*Panim Me'irot, ibid.*), but this far-reaching proposal was apparently not adopted (S. Assaf, *Battei Din…* (1924), 57).

On the other hand, formal legal requirements are relaxed in arbitration proceedings (see e.g., *Resp. Rashba*, vol. 2, no. 64). From the procedural point of view, too, arbitrators act as *dayyanim* and in various places special rules of procedure in arbitration proceedings are provided for. Thus in Cracow, in the 17th century, it was determined that arbitrators were required to commence their hearing within 24 hours of their appointment and to give their decision within three days of the hearing, a limit of nine days being provided for when the issue was complicated (Balaban, in: JJLG, 10 (1912), 333–4).

Agreement to, and the Subject Matter of Arbitration
The Talmud does not deal specifically with the question as to when an agreement to resort to arbitration is considered irrevocable. The problem is touched upon in connection with a case where the parties accepted a relative or other person legally incompetent to act as judge or witness, when it was held that, if accompanied by an act of *kinyan* (see Modes of *Acquisition), such acceptance could not be revoked; if there was no such *kinyan*, either party may revoke its acceptance at any time up to the completion of the litigation, but not thereafter (Sanh. 24a–b). A *fortiori*, where legally competent arbitrators are appointed, there can be no withdrawal from the submission to arbitration if agreed upon by way of a *kinyan*, nor after the conclusion of the proceedings (*Beit ha-Beḥirah*, Sanh. 83–84; Isserles to Sh. Ar., ḤM 13:2).

However, additional ways were sought to enhance the institution of arbitration and to prevent a party's withdrawal of its submission thereto. One such way was the drawing up of a deed of arbitration, referred to already in the Mishnah (above), which can be written only on the decision of both parties, both of whom pay the scribe's fees (BB 10:4 and Codes). The Mishnah also mentions a deed of arbitration as one of the documents permitted to be written on *ḥol ha-mo'ed* ("the intermediate days of a festival"; MK 3:3). Rashi's opinion is that the purpose of a deed of arbitration is to render submission to arbitration irrevocable (BM 20a), since the writing of a document has the same legal effect as a *kinyan* (Nov. Ramban, BM 20a; see also *Nimmukei Yosef,* MK 3:3). Support for the fact that writing a deed is regarded as a *kinyan* is to be found also in the case of providing surety for which *kinyan* is required (Sh. Ar., ḤM 129:4–6; see also Ket. 102a), a view supported in most of the Codes. Other scholars express the view that a deed of arbitration is written "so that the arbitrators should not forget" (cited in *Beit ha-Beḥirah*, Sanh. 84; cf. Maim. Yad, Yom Tov, 7:12) and its mere reduction to writing does not preclude the parties' revocation of the arbitration agreement. Yet another opinion is that the deed is an undertaking by the arbitrators to hear the matter, which they cannot later deny (*Or Zaru'a*, BB 10:232).

A further opinion, accepted in most of the Codes, is that once the parties have commenced their pleas before the arbitrators, they (the parties) can no longer withdraw from the arbitration (*Ha-Ittur*, vol. 1, s.v. *Berurin; Beit ha-Beḥirah, loc. cit; Nimmukei Yosef,* BM 20a. Their reliance on TJ, Sanh. 3:4, 21a and on BK 112b may, however, be considered as not being within the plain meaning of these texts). This view is also quoted by Isserles (to Sh. Ar., ḤM 13:2), who holds that it is generally agreed that where it is not customary for a deed of arbitration to be written, the parties may not withdraw after the commencement of their pleas. Two extreme and contradictory opinions are, firstly, that once the names of the arbitrators have been determined the parties may no longer withdraw, even if no deed has been written and the parties have not yet commenced their pleas (*Or Zaru'a*, Sanh. 3:8), and secondly, that even where there are legally competent arbitrators the parties may withdraw at any time before the proceedings have been concluded, except where the agreement to arbitrate was effected by an act of *kinyan* (Ibn Migash, quoted in *Ha-Ittur, loc. cit.*).

There is a complete consensus of opinion that where the arbitrators are empowered to adjudicate on the basis of a compromise, the parties may withdraw, provided that they had not already performed a *kinyan* or undertaken in writing to observe any such compromise, as the absence of a *kinyan* gives rise to the suspicion of a mistaken release (see *Meḥilah), or *asmakhta (Sh. Ar., ḤM 12:7 and Isserles *ad loc.*). It was customary for most arbitration deeds to be effected with the aid of a *kinyan*, apparently also because the arbitrators were generally empowered to adjudicate both on a strictly legal ruling and by way of compromise (see forms of arbitration deeds in Gulak, Oẓar, 281–6). Similarly it was customary to provide therein for payment of a fixed penalty upon withdrawal, or to deter such withdrawal by the imposition of an oath or ban (*ibid.*).

The subject matter of an arbitration may be an existing dispute between the parties, or one that is likely to arise between them as a result of a particular transaction (as, unlike in the case of real acquisition, a man may obligate himself in respect of something which is not yet in existence, or not quantified (see *Contract; *Leḥem Rav* 82, and see Warhaftig, pp. 516–7)). Similarly, in the opinion of Nissim Gerondi, the issue for arbitration may relate to matters of both civil and criminal law, e.g., "robbery (*gezelot*) and assaults" (Nov. Ran, Sanh. 23a), contrary to the view of Warhaftig, pp. 518–9, that Jewish law permits arbitration in civil cases only. The reason therefore would seem to be that at times the regular courts, required to be composed of expert and professional judges, were themselves obliged to resort to the principle of arbitration, but in practice it was customary only for civil law cases to be referred to arbitration (see e.g., S. Dubnow (ed.), *Pinkas ha-Medinah* (1925), 145, no. 609). An important detail, frequently prescribed in deeds of arbitration, was that the proceedings had to be concluded within a stated period, the arbitrators themselves sometimes being given authority to extend such period at their discretion (Gulak, Oẓar, *loc. cit*; see also above).

Decision of the Arbitral Body

As in the case of the regular court, the decision of the majority prevailed, unless they were authorized to impose a compromise, for which a unanimous decision was required (Sh. Ar., ḤM 12:18). According to talmudic *halakhah*, a party may require the regular court to submit written reasons for its judgment (Sanh. 31b and Codes), but an arbitral body is not obliged to do so, even upon request (Tos., *Yad Ramah, ibid.* and *Beit ha-Beḥirah*, Sanh. 138, *Piskei ha-Rosh*, BM 5:45, Sh. Ar., ḤM 14:4, Isserles). Sometimes however, it is considered desirable to make known the reasons for a judgment – as was held by M.M. Krochmal in the 17th century, in a suit by members of the community of Vienna against the leaders for the return of money allegedly misappropriated, so that "you shall be blameless in the eyes of God and of the people" (see his *Ẓemaḥ Ẓedek* 37).

A decision on a matter not included in the issues submitted to the arbitrators for decision, renders their decision void *pro tanto* (Resp. Rosh 85:5–6, see also Resp. Jacob Berab 27; Resp. Maharashdam, ḤM 4; *Divrei Rivot* no. 155; *Leḥem Rav* 85). A compromise imposed by the arbitrators, when they were not authorized to do so in the deed of arbitration, is also a void decision (Resp. Bera 27). Similarly, their decision is voidable in the event of improper conduct on their part, e.g., if it appears that any one of them was acting for his own benefit (Resp. Maharashdam, ḤM 4) or that they gave their decision without hearing both parties (*Leḥem Rav* 87) or that it was given after the period prescribed in the deed of arbitration had expired (Resp. Rashba vol. 3, no. 209. See also Resp. Ribash 300; Resp. Radbaz 953 (518)). The right of appeal against the arbitrator's decision is coextensive with the right of appeal against judgments of the regular courts (OPD 71ff.), but the parties may stipulate, at the time of the arbitration agreement, that they shall not appeal against or object to the arbitral decision but accept it as final (Resp. Radbaz 953; Gulak, Oẓar, 284–5, no. 306; *Takkanot Moshe Zacuto*; see Assaf, p. 78).

On the role of Arbitration during the Emancipation, see M. Elon, *Ha-Mishpat ha-Ivri* (1988), 1324–29; idem., *Jewish Law* (1994), 1582–88.

In Modern Israel

In the years 1909 to 1910 there was founded in Palestine the *Mishpat ha-Shalom ha-Ivri*, an institution designed to serve the Jewish *yishuv* as a forum for the adjudication of all disputes of a civil law nature, and thus to revive the jurisdiction of Jewish law. From the point of view of the general law of the land, this institution functioned as an arbitral body, reaching the peak of its activities in the years 1920–30. Its presiding arbitrators adjudicated mainly in accordance with general principles of justice, equity, and public order. The rabbinical courts too – whose jurisdiction from the general law viewpoint is confined to matters of personal status only – have had a certain proportion of matters of a civil law nature referred to them for adjudication when sitting in effect as arbitral bodies. This tendency has to a certain extent been intensified in recent years and decisions of this nature of the rabbinical courts carry with them an element of laying down guiding principles with reference to new problems arising in all fields of civil law.

Arbitration in the State of Israel is governed by the Arbitration Law, 5728/1968, based on the recommendations of an advisory committee in 1965. The law deals in detail (*inter alia*) with the manner of appointing arbitrators and their removal from office, their powers and the auxiliary powers of the regular courts, and with the rules of procedure in arbitrations and the manner of confirming or setting aside decisions. The provisions of a common form of agreement between the parties to submit to arbitration, appearing in a schedule to the law, is binding upon them unless they have otherwise agreed. These provisions deal with the composition of the arbitral tribunal, the manner in which it is to be conducted, and its powers vis-à-vis the parties. Several of the provisions of the above law are based on Jewish law.

[Menachem Elon]

As stated, the Arbitration Law deals with the validity of an arbitration agreement, the manner of appointing an arbitrator, the arbitration procedure, and the validity of the arbitration decision. In 1992 the Courts Law [Consolidated Version] 5744–1984 was amended, and a provision was added, establishing recourse to arbitration as an integral part of legal proceeding:

79B Arbitration

(a) A court adjudicating a civil matter may, with the consent of the litigants, submit the matter before it, wholly or partially, to arbitration; and the court is also permitted, with their consent, to define the conditions of the arbitration.

(b) The litigants will, with the approval of the court, appoint an arbitrator; should the litigants fail to agree on an arbitrator the court may appoint him from a list submitted to it by the litigants, or, in the absence of such a list, of its own choice.

The proceeding regulated by this law is an arbitration proceeding to which the litigants are referred after the beginning of the court proceeding. With the litigants' consent the court transfers the proceeding to arbitration, according to the provisions of the Arbitration Law, 5728–1968

See also *Compromise.

[Menachem Elon (2nd ed.)]

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°**ARBUÉS, PEDRO DE** (1441–1485), inquisitor of Saragossa. Arbués was appointed inquisitor of the archdiocese of Saragossa by *Torquemada in 1484. The establishment of an inquisitional tribunal in Saragossa aroused vigorous opposition in some aristocratic circles, connected by marriage with *Conversos. On the night of Sept. 14, 1485, Arbués was killed before the high altar in the cathedral. This act was utilized by the Inquisition for intensifying its activities, and many prominent Conversos were condemned for complicity in the crime. Arbués was venerated as a saint, and canonized in 1867.

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[Joseph Kaplan]

ARBUS, DIANE (1923–1971), U.S. photographer. The photographer of provocative and unsettling portraits was born in New York to a wealthy Jewish family. Her father, David Nemerov, the son of Russian immigrants, took over Russek's Fur Store owned by his father-in-law and turned it into Russek's of Fifth Avenue, a fashion showplace. Diane (usually pronounced Dee-Ann) was raised with her two siblings (her brother, Howard *Nemerov, was a major poet and critic) in privileged circumstances on Central Park West and Park Avenue in Manhattan. At 13 she met Allan Arbus, who worked in the advertising department of her parents' store, and they married, with her parents' grudging approval, after she turned 18. Trained as a photographer during World War II, Allan put aside his ambitions for an acting career to make a living in fashion photography. Diane became his partner, shaping and styling the shots. With Russek's as their first client, the Arbs, as they were called, got assignments for the fashion magazines *Glamour*, *Seventeen*, and *Vogue*. They worked closely as a team, and they took equal credit on their published photos. The photographic partnership broke up in 1957 when Diane, a victim of recurring depressions, opted out of the business. A year earlier, a photo of theirs was included in the massive "Family of Man" exhibition at the Museum of Modern Art.

The professional separation was followed in 1959 by a marital separation but the Arbuses remained close friends and his laboratory assistants developed her film. Diane enrolled in a course at the New School taught by Lisette Model, a documentary photographer with a flair for the grotesque and exaggerated, and Model became her devoted mentor. Encouraged by Model and her husband, Arbus began to develop her own approach, to register through her lens the "forbidden" subject matter that had always secretly attracted her. She sought out bag ladies, tattooed men and women, nudists, carnival oddities, the deformed, and the retarded. Freaks had "a terrific kind of excitement for me," she said in an oft-repeated quotation. "Most people go through life dreading they'll have a traumatic experience. Freaks were born with their trauma. They've already passed their test in life. They're aristocrats."

By the early 1960s her commercial portraits for magazines like *Esquire* and *Harper's Bazaar* began to assume a distinctive look. Her dream was to photograph everybody in the world. Her edgy, transcendental photographs of peace marches, art openings, circuses, and portraits of the billionaire H.L. Hunt, Gloria Vanderbilt's baby, and Coretta Scott King were memorable. She would spend hours with her subjects, following them to home or office, talking and listening, trying to soften them up. In 1962 she met John Szarkowski, who had replaced Edward Steichen as the curator of photography at the Museum of Modern Art. In 1967 he featured her in the groundbreaking exhibition "New Documents," with images of midgets, transvestites, and nudists, and her fame multiplied. Her depictions of suburban boredom, New Jersey twins in matching dresses and head bands, and shriveled post-celebrity have become archetypes. Photos like "Identical Twins," "A Young Man in Curlers," and, especially, her 1970 "A Jewish Giant at Home With His Parents" (8 ft. Eddie Carmel) remain signatures decades after her death.

In July 1971, after debilitating bouts of depression and hepatitis and her official divorce from Allan Arbus, art director Marvin Israel, her collaborator, critic, and lover, found her with her wrists slit, dead in the bathtub of her apartment. A year after her death the Venice Biennale exhibited ten huge blowups of her human oddities that were the sensation of the American Pavilion. Soon afterward a large retrospective opened at the Museum of Modern Art and was both damned for its voyeurism and praised for its compassion.

Her family put a tight lid on reproductions of her work and insisted on vetting all the textual material that accompanied the photographs. Consequently, very few images were reproduced over the years.

[Stewart Kampel (2nd ed.)]

ARCEL, RAY (1899–1994), U.S. boxing trainer. Arcel is considered the greatest trainer in the sport by virtue of having helped guide 20 boxers to 23 world championships from 1923 to 1982, and was called "the first gentleman of fist fighting" by sportswriter Red Smith. Arcel trained 1,500–2,000 fighters and was the first trainer inducted into the International Boxing Hall of Fame. He was born in Terre Haute, Indiana. His mother died when he was four years old and his father moved the family to New York's Lower East Side and then to East Harlem, primarily an Italian neighborhood. "You had to fight in those days," Arcel said. "We were the only Jewish family there."

After Arcel graduated from Stuyvesant High School in Manhattan in 1917, he began his boxing career as a club fighter and trained at Grupp's Gym, where he learned the trade from old-timer Dai Dollings and veteran Frank "Doc" Bagley. It was Bagley who taught Ray to be a successful "cut man," teaching him how to close the cuts of fighters during the one-minute break between rounds. After professional boxing was legalized in New York City in 1920, Arcel became one of the city's top trainers, and developed his first world champion, flyweight Frankie Genaro, in 1923. Arcel teamed up with Whitey *Bimstein in 1925 to form the most successful training tandem in boxing, a partnership that lasted nine years and handled a number of champions, including Jackie "Kid" *Berg.

Arcel was known as a tough disciplinarian, but a trainer who showed concern for his fighters like a caring father. His strictness was put to the test in 1925, when he had to make Charley Phil Rosenberg lose 37 pounds in 10 weeks to make the 118-pound weight for his bantamweight title challenge. "He hated me," said Arcel. "He used to scream at me, 'You copper!' But he made the weight and went 15 tough rounds," capturing the world bantamweight crown on March 20 by beating Eddie "Cannonball" Martin, to whom he had twice lost previously.

Arcel worked with his hero, Benny *Leonard, when he attempted a failed comeback in 1931, but was otherwise highly successful during that time. In 1934 alone, five of his fighters were world champions. Arcel's first heavyweight was James J. Braddock, whom he trained for his bout with Joe Louis. Braddock lost the fight on June 22, 1937, and became the first of 13 heavyweights Arcel trained who would fall to the Brown Bomber. It earned Arcel the nickname "The Meat Wagon" from Louis, for having to drag each of Louis' victims from the ring. Finally, on September 27, 1950, the Arcel-trained Ezzard Charles won a decision over Louis, who was attempting a comeback.

Arcel was considered a genius for concocting a fight plan and was in great demand, but he dropped out of sight after being hit on the head with a lead pipe in front of a Boston hotel in September 1953. Arcel had been arranging fights for ABC television, but the matches competed with other network television fights run by an organization reputed to have underworld ties, and it was believed the assault was to send Arcel a message.

He returned in the early 1970s and showed he had not lost anything, training Alfonso "Peppermint" Frazier to the junior welterweight championship on March 10, 1972. Arcel then began an eight-year association with Roberto Duran. Arcel trained this Panamanian to the WBA lightweight title on June 26, 1972, and the WBC welterweight championship in his first meeting with Sugar Ray Leonard on June 20, 1980. But Arcel broke with the Panamanian after the famous second bout five months later, on November 25, 1980, when Duran suddenly quit with 16 seconds left in the eighth round by uttering his infamous "*no mas!*" ("no more"). "Duran was never a quitter," Arcel said two years later. "This was one of those things that happen. Who knows what happens to a human being from one moment to the next?"

Arcel worked his last championship bout on June 11, 1982, assisting former student Eddie Futch in Larry Holmes' corner in a successful title defense against Gerry Cooney. In 1982, Ray became the first trainer inducted into *Ring Magazine*'s Boxing Hall of Fame. His world champions were Frankie Genaro (flyweight, 1923), Abe Goldstein (bantamweight, 1924), Charlie Phil Rosenberg (bantamweight, 1925), Jackie "Kid" Berg (welterweight, 1930), Lou Brouillard (middleweight, 1933), Teddy Yarosz (middleweight, 1934), Barney Ross (lightweight and junior welterweight, 1933, and welterweight, 1934), Sixto Escobar (bantamweight, 1934), Bob Olin (light-heavyweight, 1934), James J. Braddock (heavyweight, 1934), Tony Marino (bantamweight, 1936), Freddie Steele (middleweight, 1937), Ceferino Garcia (middleweight, 1939), Billy Soose (middleweight, 1941), Tony Zale (middleweight, 1946), Ezzard Charles (heavyweight, 1950), Kid Gavilan (welterweight, 1951), Alfonso "Peppermint" Frazier (junior welterweight, 1972), Roberto Duran (lightweight, 1972, and welterweight, 1980), and Larry Holmes (heavyweight, 1982).

[Elli Wohlgelernter (2nd ed.)]

ARCHA (Lat. "chest"), name given to the chest or coffer for the deposit of the records ("chirographs") of Jewish financial transactions, set up in England as a result of the regulations concerning the Jews issued in 1194. Their object was to ensure the preservation of the records of Jewish assets for the benefit of the Exchequer, in case of a recurrence of anti-Jewish outbreaks such as those of 1189–90. Loans were required to be registered before two Christians and two Jews, and the record cut down the center with a wavy line. Later tally sticks were used. Originally it was intended that there should be only six or seven centers for the purpose, but ultimately the number rose to over 20. In consequence, the Exchequer became minutely informed of the economic status of every Jew in England, and when extraordinary taxation was levied the *archae* were sent up to Westminster for inspection. The corresponding term used in Norman French was *huche*, in Hebrew *tevah*. The *Exchequer of the Jews coordinated the activities of the local *archae*. The system was reformed in 1239.

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[Cecil Roth / Joe Hillaby (2nd ed.)]

ARCHAEOLOGISTS. From the beginning of modern archaeology many Jews have contributed to the work in all aspects of the field.

Classical Archaeology

Classical archaeology developed mainly in the German-speaking parts of Europe, and by the time Jews in these areas were permitted to take up official positions – the middle of the 19th century – archaeology, and especially classical archaeology, had passed its formative stages. The first Jewish names connected with archaeology are those of Heinrich *Heydemann (1842–1895), who cataloged the collections in Naples and Athens, Otto *Hirschfeld (1843–1942), and Gustav Hirschfeld (1847–1895). All three were fellows of the Institute for Archaeological Correspondence in Rome, the most important of the international organizations established early in the 19th century for the scientific study of archaeology. Otto Hirschfeld was a favorite student of the great German historian and archaeologist Theodor Mommsen, and succeeded him as professor at Berlin University. Another, younger, student, the numismatist Behrendt Pick (1860–1940), was destined to hold a Swiss professorship once held by Mommsen, at Zurich University. Two other Jews were among the leading German classical archaeologists of this generation. They were A. Furtwaengler (1853–1907), an unrivaled expert on monuments, and W. Doerpfeld (1853–1940), a master of excavation techniques. Furtwaengler's work on the evaluation of Roman copies of lost masterpieces of Greek art was carried on by W. Klein (1850–1925), professor of archaeology at the University of Prague. He was one of the first men to attempt the reconstruction of the works of Attic vase painters and to identify individual artists among them.

Jews were prominent in the so-called "Vienna School," which established an aesthetic evaluation of archaeology based exclusively on art history. The two outstanding representatives of this school were both Jews: F. Wickhoff (1853–1909) and A. Riegl (1858–1905), who were jointly responsible for introducing a historical-cultural method of interpreting changes in style in various eras and cultures.

In a class by itself between art history and the study of antiquity is the school of the German art historian Aby *Warburg (1866–1929), who founded in Hamburg the Kulturgeschichtliche Bibliothek Warburg, now located in London. This devoted itself to research on the influence of antiquity on the art, culture, and religion of later civilizations, and is probably the most important and most original Jewish contribution to the understanding of the subject. Associated with this research were F. Saxl (1890–1948), the philosopher Ernst *Cassirer, and the art historian Erwin *Panofsky. Together they created a fascinating picture of the influence of classical antiquity on the Middle Ages and the modern age, especially the early Renaissance.

At the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th centuries there was an upsurge of archaeological activity, which began to look beyond the limits of Greece and Italy and expressed itself in excavation, collection, study, and writing. In this era there were many Jewish scholars of considerable stature who combined detailed knowledge with an understanding of the increasingly global character of their discipline. What until the outbreak of World War I in 1914 had tended to be a specifically Central European field lost its predominantly German character and became international. With the rise of Nazism and World War II, archaeological research gravitated to Western and Northern Europe and the United States, and emigration, especially of Jewish scholars, accelerated this trend. Among those who left Germany were Erwin Panofsky; K. *Lehmann (1894–1960), who went from Heidelberg to New York University; G.M. *Hanfmann, who had only just completed his studies when he went to America in 1934; Berta Segall, a specialist on ancient jewelry; and two numismatists of international renown, W. Schwabacher, who settled in Sweden, and H. Cahn, who spent several years in Switzerland but eventually returned to Germany to teach at Heidelberg University.

Very few Jews had taken part in the 19th-century development of classical archaeology in Western and Northern Europe – mainly Britain, France, and Italy – but in Britain there were two outstanding men: Sir Charles Walston (1856–1927), who taught for many years at Cambridge University and directed the American School of Archaeology in Athens, and Charles Seltman (1886–1957), who also taught at Cambridge and was best known as a numismatist. France's most prominent Jewish classical archaeologist was also a numismatist, H. Cohen (1806– 1880). Cohen, whose great work was a seven-volume manual of Roman coins of the Imperial period, became librarian of the Cabinet des Medailles in Paris. Two other great names in French archaeology are those of the *Reinach brothers, Solomon (1858–1932) and Theodore (1860–1928). Italy produced two important Jewish scholars: A. *della Seta (1879–1944), who directed the Italian School in Athens, and Doro *Levi (1898–1991), a specialist in ancient mythology and the history of religions, and one of the leading figures in contemporary classical archaeology.

Many of the prominent United States archaeologists were refugees from Nazi Europe; but there is a growing number of names to be added to the list of native-born Americans who were active in this discipline, such as Hetty *Goldman and Saul and Gladys Weinberg.

Oriental Archaeology

In the archaeology of Egypt and the Near East (i.e., Syria and Mesopotamia), Jewish scholars began to come to the fore around 1900, and often became leaders in this field. In Egyptology, distinguished names are those of Ludwig *Borchardt (1863–1938), who carried out the excavations at Tell el-Amarna and founded the German Institute of Egyptian Antiquities in Cairo, and Georg Steindorff (1861–1951), who for 40 years was the highly respected professor of Egyptology at the University of Leipzig, until the advent of the Nazis sent him to the United States to continue his work there. Two other leading German-Jewish figures in this sphere were W. Spiegelberg (1870–1930), an authority on demotic papyri; and Elise Jenny *Baumgartel (1892–1975), whose work on Egyptian prehistory came to full flower in England and the U.S.A. The most prominent Jewish scholar in the wide field of non-Egyptian archaeology of the Near East was Henri *Frankfurt (1897–1954), who concerned himself with the entire region – Mesopotamia, Anatolia, and Iran. Ernst *Herzfeld (1879–1948) worked in similar areas. As far as Mesopotamian studies are concerned, Samuel Noah *Kramer (1897–1990), an American of Russian origin, although strictly speaking a philologist, has his place in the context of archaeology because of his indispensable interpretations of Sumerian cuneiform texts. Prominent among the excavators of Mesopotamia was Pinchas Pierre *Delougaz (1901–1975), of the University of Chicago. A British Jew connected with the archaeology of this area, with a special interest in the Nimrud ivories, was Richard David *Barnett (1909–1986), keeper of the Western Asiatic antiquities at the British Museum from 1955 to 1974. Barnett was also the founder of the London-based Anglo-Israel Archaeological Society in 1961. Other distinguished Jewish scholars have been the American, Cyrus H. Gordon (1908–2001), who made an important contribution to the interpretation of Canaanite-Ugaritic mythology and religion, and Max Freiherr von Oppenheim (1860–1946), who excavated Tel Halaf. Stefan Przeworski (1900–1940), who lectured on Anatolian archaeology at the University of Warsaw, was shot by the Nazis. A French Jew, R. *Ghirschman, became one of the most industrious excavators in Iran after World War II.

One of the most unusual figures in the entire history of archaeology was Sir Aurel *Stein (1862–1943), the British scholar whose remarkable explorations in Central Asia were pioneering achievements of enormous scientific value.

Ereẓ Israel

The archaeology of Ereẓ Israel up to the 1920s was conducted mostly by non-Jews, although Jewish biblical scholars were making studies of the antiquities of the country already in the 19th century. Jewish archaeological activity, however, developed systematically with the establishment of the Department of Antiquities of Palestine in 1920 and with the founding of the Hebrew University in 1925. L.A. *Mayer (1895–1959) and M. *Avi-Yonah (1904–1974) worked in the Department of Antiquities for many years. A number of excavations by Jewish archaeologists were initiated very early on, notably the work by N. Slouschz (1871–1966) in Tiberias and in the Kidron Valley in Jerusalem in 1924. The Jewish Palestine Exploration Society (now the Israel Exploration Society) began its work at that time. Significant advances were made in furthering prehistoric research in the country by Moshe *Stekelis (1898–1967). Excavations were carried out in 1936–40 at *Bet She'arim by Benjamin *Mazar (Maisler) (1905–1995) and by Naḥman *Avigad (1905–1992) at the Kidron Valley in Jerusalem. Foremost among the earlier Palestinian Jewish archaeologists was E.L. *Sukenik (1889–1953), who worked on many sites of various periods including *Samaria, Hammath Gader, and the site of the Third Wall of Jerusalem. Sukenik became an expert on Jewish burial caves and synagogues, excavating among other places the *Bet Alpha synagogue. He was also the first person responsible for bringing to light the significance of the *Dead Sea Scrolls when they were discovered by Bedouins in 1947. One should also note that Nelson *Glueck (1900–1971) was one of the leading Jewish American archaeologists working in Israel and its vicinity. His survey of Transjordan (1933–46) was a significant enterprise, and he also carried out major surveys and excavations in the Negev Desert, with research on the *Nabatean civilization, and near Aqaba at Tell el Kheleifeh (which he identified as Ezion-Geber).

Following the founding of the State of Israel in 1948 many Jewish archaeologists began working in the field and because of the popularity of archaeology in Israel this meant many more younger men and women than before. The Israel Department of Antiquities and Museums was established in July 1948 and Shmuel Yeivin became its first director, with numerous archaeologists conducting salvage work in different parts of the country; later directors were Avraham Biran and Avraham Eitan. In addition to the existing Department (later Institute) of Archaeology at the Hebrew University, new departments of archaeology were established at Tel Aviv University and later at Ben-Gurion University in Beersheba and at the University of Haifa. The Israel Exploration Society began supporting archaeological projects in the country, under the supervision of Joseph Aviram, particularly during the 1960s and 1970s. Among the prominent Israeli archaeologists of the 1950s to 1970s were Yigael *Yadin (1917–1984), son of E.L. Sukenik, who excavated many sites including *Hazor and *Masada; Michael Avi-Yonah, who conducted work at Ḥusifa, Beth Shean, Nahariyyah, Bet Yeraḥ, and Caesarea; Yohanan *Aharoni (1919–1976) excavating at *Arad and *Beersheba; Moshe Dothan (1919–1999) digging at *Ashdod and Akko; Avraham Biran working at *Dan; and Ya'akov Kaplan (1910–1989) at *Jaffa and in the Tel Aviv area. Among the prominent women archaeologists who have been working in the field, one must count Ruth *Amiran with her work at Arad, Trude Dothan at Deir el-Balah and Miqne (Ekron), Claire Epstein (1911–2000) on Chalcolithic sites in the Golan, and Miriam Tadmor. Numerous excavations were conducted in Jerusalem during the 1970s and 1980s by Benjamin Mazar, Nahman Avigad, Magen Broshi, and Yigal Shiloh. Younger archaeologists of note working on archaeological sites in Israel during the 1980s and 1990s, and some of them up to the present day, include Ram Gophna, Avraham Negev, Moshe Kochavi, Aharon Kempinski, David Ussishkin, Gideon Foerster, Gabriel Barkay, Eliezer Oren, Yoram Tsafrir, Amnon Ben-Tor, Amichai Mazar, Ehud Netzer, Ephraim Stern, Dan Barag, Israel Roll, Adam Zertal, Arthur Segal, and Israel Finkelstein. The development of prehistoric research in the country has been identified with Ofer Bar Yosef, Avraham Ronen, Tamar Noy, Nigel Goring-Morris, Naama Goren, and Anna Belfer-Cohen. Underwater archaeology has developed under Elisha Linder, Avner Raban, and Ehud Galili. With the establishment of the Israel Antiquities Authority in 1989, replacing the Israel Department of Antiquities, a new generation of archaeologists has been working in different parts of the country, mainly on salvage and emergency operations, notably Amos Kloner, Ronny Reich, Eliot Braun, Vassilios Tzaferis, Zvika Gal, Emanuel Eisenberg, Yosef Porath, Gabi Mazor, Gideon Avni, and others.

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[Penuel P. Kahane / Shimon Gibson (2nd ed.)]

ARCHAEOLOGY. The term archaeology is derived from the Greek words *archaios* ("ancient") and *logos* ("knowledge, discourse") and was already used in ancient Greek literature in reference to "the study of ancient times." In its modern sense it has come to mean the scientific recovery and systematic study of the material remains of ancient human cultures of prehistoric and historic date. Prehistory refers to that part of human existence that preceded the development of writing. To understand what happened in prehistoric periods, the archaeologist is obliged to rely much more on the interpretation of physical remains such as flint tools and cultic objects, habitations and burials, the assessment of the chronological sequencing of remains at sites, while also using an array of scientific techniques to gather information about climatic and environmental changes occurring in the past. Archaeologists dealing with the historic periods, however, are able to rely on a greater variety of artifacts and architectural remains, on the one hand, and on the discovery of written materials (notably inscriptions on durable materials, such as stone or clay tablets, and on ceramic *ostraka*, and to a lesser extent on organic materials, such as scrolls and papyri made of leather skins and parchment) on the other. The study of ancient writing is known as epigraphy, while the study of the development of individual written letter forms is known as paleography (see *Alphabet). The archaeological discipline incorporates within it numerous specialist fields of study, notably the investigation of ceramics (the study of *pottery forms and manufacturing techniques over time), *numismatics (the study of coins), archaeozoology (the study of animal and fish bones), and archaeobotany (the study of plant remains, pollen, and phytoliths). Archaeological data recovered during excavations are often supplemented with information derived from ancient literary sources (such as theological, narrative, or historical writings). Archaeology has an important role in illuminating the cultures of certain peoples referred to for example in the Bible, such as the Hyksos and Philistines (who were not at all boorish as one might think). This is also true of neighboring civilizations such as those of the Egyptians, Sumerians, and Hittites – without archaeology our understanding of these cultures would be very limited. Numerous "historical truths" based on literary sources have had to be re-assessed in the light of irrefutable archaeological finds, for instance the Israelite "conquest" of the Promised Land as recounted in the Bible (see below). Archaeology has much to contribute to the contextual clarification of the later classical and medieval periods as well, and a wealth of data now exists in textbooks and scientific publications. The cut-off period for archaeological investigations in Israel used to be the late medieval period (c. 1750), but recent decades have seen an interest in late Ottoman remains as well and archaeological work has even been conducted on features dating from as late as World War II.

Methods and Approaches

The modern archaeologist uses a variety of methods in gathering information about the ancient past, but surveys (surface explorations) and excavations (methodical digging operations) are two primary methods of recovering data.

In the mid-19th century a shift occurred in terms of the methods used by scholars for understanding the history of the Syria-Palestine region and for the elucidation of biblical writings in particular. Prior to this the field of biblical interpretation was dominated by the writings provided by Jewish travelers and Christian pilgrims, in which uneven accounts of their observations of antiquities in the southern Levant were provided. Much of this information was collated while traveling the country along predetermined routes, under the supervision of local guides, and with the purpose of visiting sites that were primarily of biblical interest. The culmination of all this was the detailed work made by Robinson and Van de Velde, among others. E. Robinson, in particular, crisscrossed the country in 1838 and 1852 and his work ultimately led to the development of the systematic study of place names (topynoms) which was crucial for the identification of places mentioned in the Bible. However, the first systematic overall mapping of the country, with a regional investigation of monuments and sites possessing visible architectural remains from different periods, began with the work of the *Palestine Exploration Fund and undoubtedly one of its greatest achievements was the "Survey of Western Palestine" of the early 1870s. The SWP provided for the first time detailed topographical maps of the country to a scale of one inch to the mile, as well as a number of volumes of memoirs in which were described the sites and landscapes they encountered. The SWP maps have since

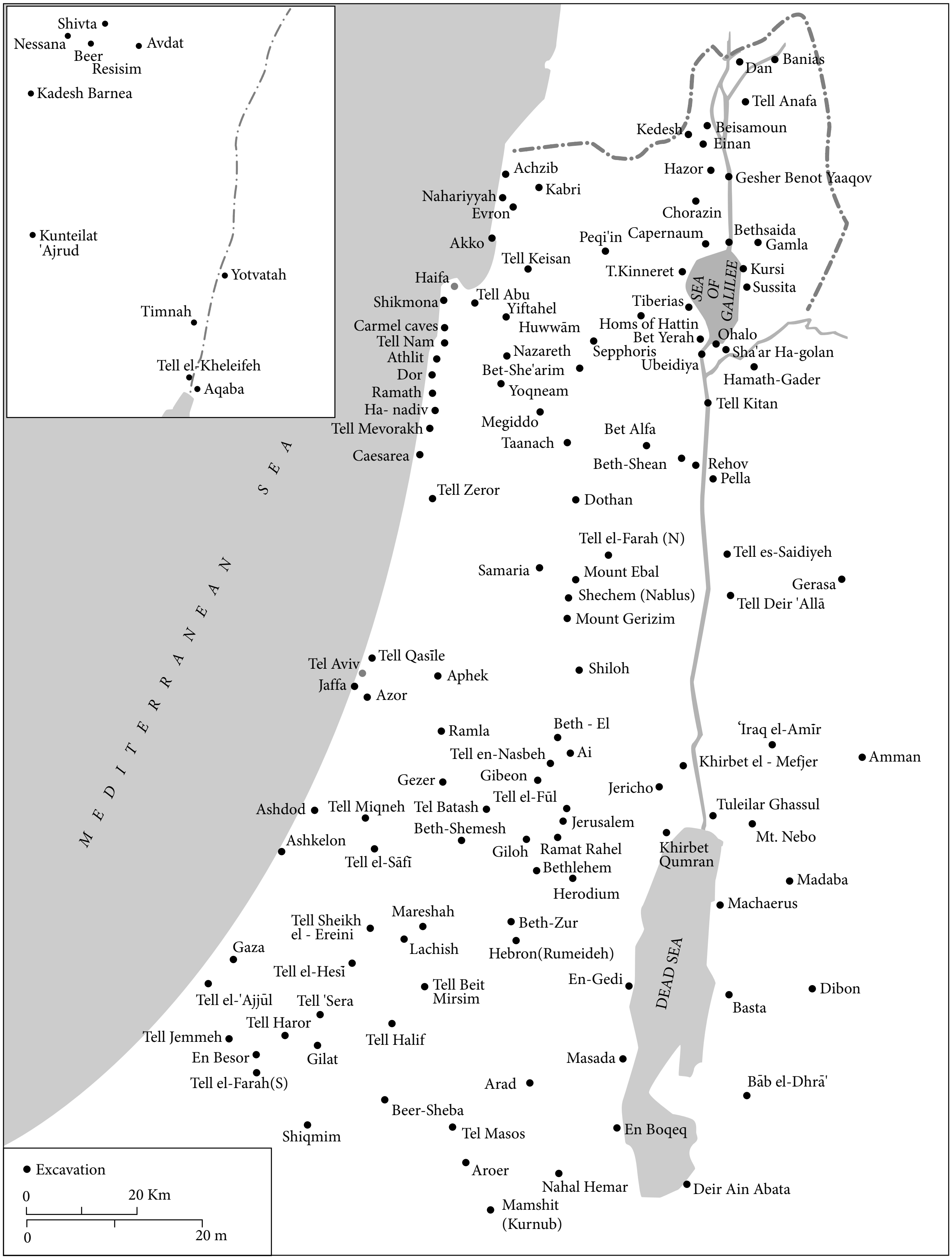
Shivta
Nessana
Beer
Resisim
Avdat
Kadesh Barnea
Kunteilat
'Ajrud
Yotvatah
Timnah
Tell el-Kheleifeh
Aqaba
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
Dan
Banias
Tell Anafa
Kedesh
Beisamoun
Einan
Hazor
Gesher Benot Yaaqov
Achzib
Kabri
Nahariyyah
Evron
Chorazin
Akko
Peqi'in
Capernaum
Bethsaida
Gamla
Tell Keisan
T.Kinneret
Kursi
Sussita
Haifa
SEA OF GALILEE
Shikmona
Tell Abu
Yiftahel
Tiberias
Huwwām
Homs of Hattin
Carmel caves
Tell Nam
Bet Yerah
Ohalo
Athlit
Nazareth
Sepphoris
Sha'ar Ha-golan
Dor
Bet-She'arim
Ubeidiya
Hamath-Gader
Ramath
Yoqneam
Ha- nadiv
Tell Kitan
Tell Mevorakh
Megiddo
Bet Alfa
Taanach
Caesarea
Beth-Shean
Rehov
Pella
Tell Zeror
Dothan
Tell el-Farah (N)
Tell es-Saidiyeh
Samaria
Mount Ebal
Gerasa
Shechem (Nablus)
Tell Deir 'Allā
Mount Gerizim
Tell Qasīle
Tel Aviv
Aphek
Shiloh
Jaffa
Azor
Ramla
Beth - El
ʿIraq el-Amīr
Tell en-Nasbeh
Ai
Khirbet el - Mefjer
Amman
Gibeon
Gezer
Tell el-Fūl
Jericho
Ashdod
Tell Miqneh
Tell Batash
Tuleilar Ghassul
Jerusalem
Beth-Shemesh
Mt. Nebo
Ashkelon
Giloh
Ramat Rahel
Khirbet
Qumran
Tell el-Sāfī
Bethlehem
Madaba
Herodium
Mareshah
Machaerus
Tell Sheikh
el - Ereini
Beth-Zur
Gaza
Lachish
Hebron(Rumeideh)
Tell el-Hesī
DEAD SEA
En-Gedi
Tell Beit
Mirsim
Dibon
Tell el-'Ajjūl
Tell 'Sera
Basta
Tell Haror
Tell Jemmeh
Tell Halif
Gilat
En Besor
Masada
Tell el-Farah(S)
Arad
Bāb el-Dhrā'
Beer-Sheba
Shiqmim
Tel Masos
En Boqeq
Aroer
Nahal Hemar
Deir Ain Abata
Mamshit
(Kurnub)
● Excavation
0
20 Km
0
20 m

Archaeological sites in Ereẓ Israel. (See inset for area south of Dead Sea.)

become an indispensable tool for all new archaeological surveys, even though the information provided was incomplete and by modern archaeological standards defective (e.g., artificial city mounds – tells – were not regarded by the explorers as sites of any archaeological significance). Subsequently, the Survey of Eastern Palestine was made in 1881–82 and then discontinued, the Arabah Survey in 1883–84, surveys east of the Jordan by G. Schumacher in 1885–86, and the Wilderness of Zin survey under T.E. *Lawrence and L. Woolley in 1913–14. An important survey of ancient synagogues in Galilee was undertaken in 1905–7 by H. Kohl, E. Sellin and C. Watzinger, and their book is still a basic textbook for the plans of ancient synagogues in the Holy Land.

Until World War II, surveys conducted in Palestine were fairly basic in terms of the field methodologies and the means of dating that were employed. A "Schedule of Historical Maps and Sites" was prepared and updated by the Palestine Department of Antiquities at regular intervals from the 1920s. A new Archaeological Survey of Palestine was initiated in 1937, but very little progress was made. In July 1964 the Society for the Archaeological Survey of Israel was founded. Surveys were henceforth made within 10 × 10 kilometer maps, with the recording of archaeological remains by making measured plans of architectural remains, photography, and the collection and identification of surface artifacts (notably potsherds, flints, and coins). Since the 1980s Regional Archaeological Surveys have been conducted in various parts of Israel, with excavated tell sites placed within the context of the pattern of archaeological sites known in their specific regions. Site Catchment Analysis or Site Territory Analysis has been particularly useful for the study of the morphological environments of prehistoric sites, particularly in desert areas, and in recent years Landscape Archaeology has come to the fore especially in regard to the investigation of historical landscapes with rural and industrial remains. Historic Mediterranean type landscapes in the southern Levant tend to be regarded by archaeologists as places characterized by an assemblage of features pertaining to a variety of extramural human activities, such as agricultural pursuits (terraces and field systems) and industrial work (stone quarrying and lime and charcoal burning), all of which, of course, necessitated the establishment of a system of communications (roads and paths) so as to form links between farms and villages, and towns and markets. An in-depth study of such remains during a project of Landscape Archaeology can lead to a chronological and contextual understanding of ancient communities and how they adapted themselves to the specific environments they inhabited. The underlying assumption behind this kind of approach, however, is that communities will interact with each other and with the ecology of their environments, in a sensible, harmonious, and stable fashion. Some landscape features, however, reflect their adaptation as a physical means of advancing ideologies and strengthening power struggles and territorial conflicts.

Excavation ("dirt archaeology") is the principal method used by archaeologists in the search for information about ancient cultures. W.F. *Albright once wrote that "excavation is both art and science" and M. Wheeler wrote that "there is no correct method of excavation, but many wrong ones." Numerous factors contribute to the choice of a site for excavation in the Land of Israel, including its historical importance (and biblical identification), chance finds of significance, the impressiveness or accessibility of a site, and observations made during earlier archaeological investigations. The choice of a site chosen for excavation also depends on the budget that the archaeologist and the sponsoring university can raise. The procedure of excavations requires a systematic removal of accumulated earth and debris covering ancient architectural remains, whether belonging to the site of a tell (i.e., a superficial mound created by the accumulation of superimposed layers of ruined ancient towns of different periods) or at the site of a one-period settlement (i.e., a place that was founded on natural land and after a time came to be destroyed or abandoned and never rebuilt). Various techniques of excavation exist and the choice of the techniques employed depends largely on the characteristics of the site being excavated. The first action that is taken in preparation for an excavation at a tell is to lay out a grid-system with iron rods set in cement along a north-south axis across the mound. These rods are used as the baseline for setting out a grid of 5 × 5 meter squares across the area chosen for excavation. By digging squares of 4 × 4 m within the larger grid the excavator is able to leave balks (unexcavated earthen walls) in place as the excavation deepens. Once the first occupation level has been encountered, the balks need to be recorded and taken down so that the general area of excavation will be sufficiently large enough to capture the outlines of more or less complete buildings, otherwise the archaeologist will be left with a series of fragmentary walls scattered within a grid of squares. However, key balks are left at appropriate locations to record the overall stratigraphy of the area under excavation. To ensure that this is properly organized the archaeologist appoints an area supervisor in each field of excavations, and they in turn take charge of monitoring the square supervisors.

The excavating archaeologist is obliged to keep detailed written records of the daily findings, accompanied by photographic dossiers and surveyed architectural maps and drawings, and lists of objects found. The dig director is assisted by a qualified staff: archaeological area supervisors to supervise work in the various fields of excavations, a surveyor and architect, a finds curator/registrar, and an administrator to take care of the tools and budgetary matters. The success of a project often depends on the stamina of an archaeologist in dealing with logistics and organization, and with his/her ability to successfully communicate with people, whether with staff or locals. The archaeological work will include the careful analysis of the strata of a site made on the basis of constant stratigraphical observations of fills of soil and debris, using balks to record the gradual progress of the digging operations, looking at the structural relationships between various phases of building construction, examining foundation-and-robbers' trenches, and looking at post-depositional materials as well. The most difficult problem posed by excavating is that of correctly distinguishing the superimposed layers from the different occupation levels and this inevitably requires a certain amount of interpretation. Features that may be encountered include the lower portions of stone walls, mud-brick walls, robbed-out walls ("ghost walls"), wall foundation trenches, beaten earth or plaster floors, flagstones, silos, pits, hearths and *tabun* (bread oven) installations, and so forth. The fills between the structural remains of the occupation levels may consist of accumulated rubbish, ashes and burnt material, the contents of sunken pits, roof collapse, wall collapse, wind-deposited fills, water-deposited fills, and so forth. Each one of these contexts is ultimately given a locus number to facilitate recording procedures. All changes in soil color, the appearance of walls, installations and other features, are recorded in written and graphic form in the daily field diary with elevations above sea level taken from a fixed benchmark. Hence the professionalism of the field archaeologist is crucial in recognizing all the stratigraphical variables in the field, as well as training inexperienced students, monitoring the work of the surveyor, and keeping a vigilant eye on the volunteers or paid workers digging at the site. At tell sites stone structures or mud-brick buildings are encountered and these two types of materials require different excavation procedures. Having a general idea of the date of the remains to be excavated before the work is commenced may be useful in securing the correctly trained staff ahead of time as well as the appropriate equipment. A site with large fallen blocks of stone will require special lifting equipment that would not at all be useful on a site with mud-brick architecture which will require a lot of trowel-work instead. Sieving of the excavated soils (especially on floors or in pits) is necessary for retrieving small objects such as scarabs, coins, gems, and so forth, as well as very small rodent or fish bones. Soil samples are kept from floor surfaces for flotation in water (for hard and light fraction retrieval) and carbonized wood or seed samples are kept for radiocarbon determinations (short-life materials are preferable; care has also to be taken not to contaminate the sampled materials).

A daily exchange of ideas on matters concerning the interpretation of the stratigraphy at the site between the dig director, site supervisors, and square supervisors is highly recommended while the excavations are in progress, all of which should be recorded as deliberations in available notebooks. Potsherds (and other finds) are collected in numbered buckets with labels identifying the loci they came from and these are recorded in the field diary. The pottery is subsequently washed and sorted. Dipping of sherds is undertaken at sites when *ostraka* (inscribed potsherds) begin appearing. The sorting of the potsherds and small finds in the excavation is an activity undertaken by the finds curator in conjunction with the entire staff on a daily basis. Volunteers or students help with the registering of finds. It is imperative for the success of the expedition that the site supervisors and square supervisors know exactly the date of the pottery coming from their areas. On-the-spot instruction on pottery retrieval may be provided by the finds curator, especially in regard to the excavation of floors where it is suspected that there are crushed vessels that might eventually be mended by a pottery conservator. A draftsperson will prepare drawings of the diagnostic pottery profiles, usually to a scale of 2:5, and these are appended to the finds cards with written descriptions (decorations, slips, glazes, grit inclusions, etc.) and Munsell color readings.

In terms of digging techniques, the 19th century has to be regarded as a time of treasure hunting, to say the least, with Lady Hester Stanhope, for example, digging haphazard holes in the ground at Caesarea in order to extract Roman statues. Although the first tells were excavated in the 1860s by the explorer Charles Warren (at Jericho and Tell el-Ful), this was done without the realization that they in fact contained the ruins of ancient cities. Many explorers at that time excavated in the form of mining shafts, shored up with wooden struts, but this method was not at all conducive to the scientific gathering of data. The first methodological excavation of a tell was made in 1890 by Flinders-*Petrie, the "father of modern Near Eastern archaeology," at Tell el-Hesi in the southern Shephelah, and it was there that he first recognized that by studying the changing forms of ancient pottery vessels and their associated levels, one is able to trace the development of a city and its changing cultures through time. The need for planning and method on a dig was later made clear by Flinders-Petrie in his book, *Methods and Aims in Archaeology* (1904). A trained staff to accompany the chief archaeologist in the field was first employed by Reisner during his work at Samaria in 1908. The wide-scale excavation of tells was subsequently undertaken during the first half of the 20th century by many foreign expeditions, with an attempt to get down to those levels with biblical associations as quickly as possible. This rapid "stripping" of the superimposed city remains at tells – with the exposure of defense walls, gates, temples, administrative buildings, stores, and domestic dwellings – provided enormous amounts of hitherto unknown scientific data, but it also sometimes resulted in great harm to sites (e.g., at Gezer, which was excavated on a wide scale by R.A.S. Macalister with unskilled labor and without a trained backup staff).

During the course of the 20th century scientific techniques of excavations improved considerably, with sensitive area-excavations of a more limited and solid scientific nature being conducted at tells, with careful stratigraphical and architectural observations being made, and with refined material studies of ceramic and environmental remains being initiated. This was the peak of "Biblical Archaeology" and the general public in Israel at that time was fascinated by the discoveries at tells, such as at Hazor, Lachish, and Beersheba. There was also excitement about discoveries relating to sites of Jewish interest from later periods such as at Masada, and in the 1970s in Jerusalem with the excavations close to the Temple Mount and in the Jewish Quarter. Recent decades have seen the development of a much more scientific discipline, with the flourishing of procedures such as radiocarbon and thorium-uranium methods of dating, and with the development of many different areas of specialization amongst archaeologists, not only in terms of the periods studied but also in terms of the interest in specific groups of artifacts (e.g., weapons, stamped seals, beads, glass objects, and so forth). Many smaller one-period sites, such as villages and farms, were also subsequently excavated as part of new project strategies. In the late 1980s and early 1990s there was a boom of archaeological endeavors in Israel, with large-scale excavation projects being undertaken at Beth Shean, Caesarea, and elsewhere. With the growth of scientific specialization and with the clear distancing of the discipline from that of biblical studies since the 1990s and into the 2000s, archaeology, unfortunately, no longer holds the same interest for the general public that it once had. Indeed, archaeology is sometimes perceived as a hindrance to modern development in this Western-oriented country which has limited territorial resources and a growing population possessing higher aspirations for better housing and roads. Conflict has also arisen as a result of objections made by representatives of the religious ultra-Orthodox Jewish community to the scientific excavation of human remains, even when these are under threat of destruction as a result of modern development.

The preparation of a new site for excavation requires the thorough study of the morphology of the site and the mapping of existing remains and surface features, using GPS and other topographical surveying techniques. Having checked on surveys and excavations that might previously have been undertaken at the site in the existing literature, the next step is to check on the site records in archives, such as those at the Palestine Exploration Fund in London, the Israel Antiquities Authority in Jerusalem, and the foreign schools in Jerusalem. Surveys of sites on 10 × 10 km maps have been conducted since 1961 by archaeologists working for the Archaeological Survey of Israel (now the Survey Division of the Israel Antiquities Authority) and information about a site might be available there. Valuable information might also be obtained from geomorphological and geological maps, topocadastral maps, and aerial photographs. The latter are useful when deciding on the location of areas to be opened up on a mound site, with telltale features that might help pinpoint the location of fortification walls, gateways, the internal layout of the final settlement at the site (particularly from the Hellenistic period, or later). Some aerial photographs date back to World War I and may be important if the area around a tell has been substantially developed since then. Modern aerial photographs are useful in monitoring the progress of the dig from season to season. Once the background research has been done and the site has been selected and surveyed, the next stage is to secure the budget for the excavation and a license from the Israel Antiquities Authority. A budget for an excavation may be raised from grant-giving archaeological institutions worldwide or from private sponsors. To obtain the license the director of a potential dig needs to have a recognized academic qualification in archaeology, a pledge of sponsorship from an academic institution (preferably one's own affiliated university), and proof that one has the back-up staff and budget ready to undertake the excavation successfully. The budget has to cover not only the costs of the excavation itself, but also the costs of the conservation of the archaeological remains exposed (e.g., crumbling mosaic floors) and the costs of the post-excavation work (namely, pottery conservation, cleaning of coins, drawing of pottery, anthropological and zoological examination of bones, the identification of plant remains, radiocarbon determinations and other scientific tests).

The preparation of the final archaeological report on the results of an excavation involves much work and time, but ultimately it is the most important part of the exercise. Without it an excavation will not benefit general archaeological research. An excavation may have been carried out with the best available standards but if it remains unpublished then it is close to useless. Thousands of excavations have been carried out in the Land of Israel since the beginning of the 20th century and the sad fact is that only a small percentage of these have actually been *fully* published. Hence, archaeologists nowadays set up classification and recording frameworks while the excavation is still in progress, to ensure a more rapid funneling of material towards publication later on. At a very early stage the various specialists dealing with scientific materials derived from the excavations, among them anthropologists, archaeozoologists, archaeobotanists, metal experts, and petrography experts, are called in to examine materials derived from the excavations. Archaeological experts on pottery, lamps, and coins are also called in, unless of course they are already part of the expedition. To facilitate their research the specialists and experts are provided with the maximum available information on the chronological/stratigraphical significance of the findspots of the materials they will be studying. Much of the preliminary archaeological work for the report consists of sorting through copious field notes and vast amounts of data that accumulated during the course of the excavation: notes on stratigraphy and architecture, notes on chronological considerations, parallels for pottery assemblages that have been drawn and analyzed, specialist lists of identified coins and small finds, identification lists of animal bones, shells, and so forth. In addition, the archaeologist keeps in mind the layout of the report and its structure when planning the necessary illustrative materials (line drawings and photographs). The final report ordinarily begins with a history of previous researches undertaken at the site, followed by a chapter on the environment of the site and its setting, a short summary chapter of the research aims of the new expedition and the methods employed, and, thereafter, the actual report itself with a detailed description of the remains uncovered and all the stratigraphical and architectural considerations. The report on the pottery from the site tends to be one of the most important expert chapters and this because pottery is extremely ubiquitous and ultimately serves as an important dating tool. Specialist reports, appendices, and tables/lists close the excavation report. The best reports are those that are written clearly and simply, with the avoidance of long-winded and complex descriptions. Technical information is placed in tables and kept out of the main text. Archaeologists try to make use of as many illustrations as possible, based on the maxim that a picture, however bad, will always be better than a written account. The drawn pottery is arranged in a sequence of plates, presented chronologically, and according to vessel type, which are depicted in succession from small vessels, such as plates and bowls, to large storage jars and *pithoi*. Some excavators believe (incorrectly) that the final publication of a report should be deferred until such a time that they have undertaken a comprehensive study of all the comparative material available, even if this means waiting for comparative material to come to light from excavations elsewhere. F. Cumont put it quite succinctly in 1926, on the eve of his rapid publication of the amazing *Dura Europas excavations, that he preferred to expose himself to critics "rather than to resemble the dragon in the fable jealously guarding a sterile treasure in its lair."

History of Archaeological Research in Israel

Interest in the antiquities of the southern Levant (present-day Syria, Lebanon, Israel, Jordan, and Palestine) began as early as ancient times. All ancient peoples living in this region would have seen the monuments and ruins that were antecedent to their time and would have shown curiosity in their antiquity. The Jewish historian *Josephus Flavius already remarked in his writings on the evident antiquity of certain monuments and attempted to ascribe to them dates, for example in describing the fortification wall surrounding the Upper City of Jerusalem (the "First Wall") he suggested that it dated back to the time of David and the Israelite kings. While scholars once thought this was nonsense and that the wall was from no earlier than the time of the Hasmoneans (late second century B.C.E.), the subsequent archaeological excavation of portions of this wall in the 1970s revealed that earlier parts of it had indeed been built at the time of the Divided Israelite Monarchy, i.e., in the eighth century B.C.E. Hence, Josephus had got it partly right. One of the earliest descriptions of an excavation in Jerusalem, albeit in a story that may be partly legendary in character, is the one which refers to Helena, mother of Constantine the Great, digging in the early fourth century C.E. in a cistern close to the spot of the crucifixion of Jesus and finding there wooden remnants which she believed were from the holy cross itself. Throughout Late Antiquity the country was visited by numerous Jewish and Christian pilgrims and many of them left written records of their observations regarding the antiquities they came across during their travels. Numerous travelogues and itineraries of pilgrims who came to the Holy Land are extant from the time of the Crusaders onwards, and in the 17th and 18th centuries the pertinent materials were summed up by Quaresmius and Reland, and in the 19th century by T. Tobler and C. Ritter. Some of the important antiquarians of the region in the 19th century were E. *Robinson, V. *Guérin, C. *Schick, G. *Schumacher, among others.

Proper methodical archaeological work in the region began with the work of the Palestine Exploration Fund from the 1860s onwards. Charles *Wilson conducted a survey of Jerusalem and its monuments in 1864–65, and this was followed by excavations in the city by Charles *Warren until the early 1870s with work being conducted especially around the edges of the Temple Mount. The earliest dig at a tell took place by Warren at two places in the 1860s, but the earliest scientific work at a tell was made by Flinders-Petrie at Tell el-Hesi in 1890, followed by the work of his assistant Frederic J. Bliss, who conducted additional work at Tell el-Hesi, as well as work in mining shafts on the slopes of Mount Zion in Jerusalem (together with A.C. Dickie). Together with R.A.S. *Macalister, Bliss also made open area excavation on four tells in the Philistia part of the Shephelah (the western foothills) between 1898 and 1900, and this because the Ottoman Law of Antiquities of that time permitted the granting of an excavation license not just for a single site but for an area of land of about four miles square and all the sites contained therein. The four sites were Tell es-Safi (Gath), Tell Zakariyeh (Azekah), Tell ej-Judeideh (Moresheth Gath), and Tell Sandahanna (Maresha). Most of the work was actually conducted at the latter site, which the excavators correctly identified as biblical Maresha and Hellenistic Marissa. Bliss wanted to expose the acropolis area of the site, layer by layer, but this proved impracticable and only the uppermost Late Hellenistic layer of the city was exposed. Having completed their work at these sites, they covered up their excavation areas in order to return them to the landowners as was required by Turkish law. This was followed by large-scale excavations at the beginning of the 20th century at *Gezer and *Samaria. At Gezer Macalister employed what he thought was a better system of excavations known as the "strip method" in which an area is excavated strip by strip, the rubble from succeeding strips being dumped into the previous ones. Although economical, this did not offer a satisfactory picture of the overall history of the site and much of Macalister's work at Gezer still remains difficult to understand. Excavations were conducted at this time by a number of German and Austrian biblical scholars and architects, at Tell *Taanach by E. Sellin (1902–4), *Megiddo by G. Schumacher (1903–5), and *Shechem by E. Sellin and C. Watzinger (1907–9), but the results were poor owing to the excavators' lack of training and skills in mound excavation. The excavations made at Samaria in 1908 and 1910–11, by D.G. Lyon, C.S. Fisher, and G.A. Reisner, were very important in terms of the careful excavation techniques and recording procedures that were employed there. Many objects from these early excavations – including the important *Siloam Inscription – ended up in the Ottoman Imperial Museum in Constantinople (Istanbul).

With the establishing of the British Mandate over Palestine in 1920 archaeological excavations became much more systematic and scientific. This was the first "golden age" for archaeology in Palestine, between 1920 and 1940. All excavations were regulated by licenses issued in accordance with the new Antiquities Ordinance, prepared by J. *Garstang for the Palestine Department of Antiquities. The Department of Antiquities employed a number of Jewish scholars, notably L.A. *Mayer and M. *Avi-Yonah. In a meeting held in Jerusalem in 1922 the leading archaeologists of that time – J. Garstang, W.J.T. Phythian-Adams, H. Vincent, and W.F. Albright – agreed upon a common classification system of chronological terms in line with systems used elsewhere in Old World Archaeology. A museum of antiquities was also founded in Jerusalem at Way House (later the collection was transferred to the Rockefeller Museum). Important excavations were undertaken by American archaeologists at Megiddo, Beth Shean, Tell el-Ful, and Tell Beit Mirsim, and later by a joint expedition under the direction of J.W. *Crowfoot at Samaria and by Flinders-Petrie and others at Tell el-Farah (south) and at Tell el-Ajjul, and by J.L. Starkey at *Lachish and Garstang at *Jericho. A dominant personality during this period was W.F. Albright. His excavations at Tell el-Ful (1922–23, 1933) and at Tell Beit Mirsim (1926–36) laid the groundwork for the proper study of Iron Age pottery. Studies and excavations were also made at this time on the Nabatean and Byzantine/Early Islamic settlements in the Negev Desert by H. Dunscombe Colt, with the discovery of the now-famous Nessana Papyri. Additional work of importance on later Crusader and medieval remains was made by C.N. Johns. Scholars and archaeologists of the Hebrew University, notably B. Maisler (*Mazar), E.L. *Sukenik, and L.A. Mayer, conducted excavations on remains that were pertinent to the study of the Jewish past, such as the excavation of the Third Wall of Jerusalem dating from the first century C.E., Jewish tombs around Jerusalem and at Beth Shearim, and the remains of synagogues (e.g., at Beth Alpha and at Hammath Gader). Much of this work on Jewish sites was sponsored by the Jewish Palestine Exploration Society (now the Israel Exploration Society) which was founded already in 1914. The climax of archaeological work in Palestine was in the early 1930s – thereafter the outbreak of political disorders in the country disrupted work and slowed down archaeological enterprises. The murder of the archaeologist J.L. Starkey on his way from the excavations at Lachish to the inauguration of the Palestine Archaeological Museum (now the Rockefeller Museum), was a blow to the archaeological community of that time. Jewish archaeologists, notably E.L. Sukenik, played an important part in the recovery and study of the *Dead Sea Scrolls.

With the establishment of the State of Israel in 1948, Jewish archaeologists were cut off from the Palestine Archaeological Museum and the archives of the Department of Antiquities. In July of that year the Israel Department of Antiquities was established, with Shemuel *Yeivin as its first director, and its first archaeological activities were connected with sites under danger as a result of the new building developments in the country. Excavations conducted during these early years included work at Tell Qasile, Jaffa, and Beth Yerah. Large-scale excavations were subsequently conducted by Y. *Yadin at *Hazor during the 1950s and in 1968, and many Israeli archaeologists received their first fieldwork training at this important site. This was the second "golden age" of biblical archaeology in the country. The 1960s saw important excavations at *Arad and *Ashdod, the Judean Desert Caves survey (1961–62), which brought to light important finds from the time of Bar Kokhba, and the expedition to *Masada. Numerous excavations were conducted at tell sites throughout the country during the 1970s and 1980s, from Dan (A. Biran) in the north to Beersheba (Y. *Aharoni) in the south. Following the war in 1967, excavations on a large scale were conducted in various parts of the Old City in Jerusalem: at the foot of the Temple Mount by B. Mazar, in the Jewish Quarter by N. *Avigad, and on Mount Zion by M. Broshi. An emergency survey of the occupied territories (the West Bank and the Golan Heights) was conducted by teams of Israeli archaeologists, and scores of hitherto unknown sites were discovered, including the sites of ancient synagogues.

Israel has five active archaeology departments in Israeli universities: the Institute of Archaeology at the Hebrew University, the Institute of Archaeology at Tel Aviv University, Ben-Gurion University in Beersheba, the Archaeology and Land of Israel Studies at Bar-Ilan University, and the Department of Maritime Civilizations and the Center of Maritime Studies at Haifa University. Numerous archaeological sites have been excavated by the teachers and graduates of these universities from the 1980s to the present day, some projects in cooperation with foreign institutions. Many of the important key sites are described in the five-volume *New Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land*. An Archaeological Congress jointly arranged by the various institutions is held once a year to allow archaeologists to discuss recent discoveries and new approaches. Good relations are maintained between Israeli archaeologists and local foreign archaeological institutions, notably the German Protestant Institute of Archaeology, the Studium Biblicum Franciscanum, the Ecole Biblique et Archéologique Francaise de Jérusalem, the Kenyon Institute (formerly the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem), and the American W.F. Albright Institute of Archaeological Research. The latter institution, in particular, has always been regarded as a meeting ground for fellows with scholars from Israel, Palestine, and abroad. The early 2000s has seen the independent development of Palestinian archaeological activities within the territories (West Bank and Gaza), with the establishment of a Palestine Department of Antiquities, and with archaeological courses being provided at the universities of Bir Zeit and al-Quds. The focus of Palestinian investigations to date has been on tell archaeology, the investigation of indigenous landscapes, medieval Islamic remains, and cultural heritage.

In 1989 the Israel Department of Antiquities and Museums became the Israel Antiquities Authority under the directorship of Amir Drori, and numerous salvage excavations were conducted throughout the country, as well as larger prestigious projects such as those at Beth Shean and Caesarea, and smaller projects such as those at *Beth Shemesh and *Modi'in. The Antiquities Law of the State of Israel was originally based upon the Antiquities Ordinance of the British Mandate period, with substantial revisions made in 1960, 1978, and 1989. The Israel Antiquities Authority is the official governmental regulatory power for all archaeological activities conducted in Israel: inspecting existing archaeological sites and ensuring their protection, fighting illegal diggings and regulating the trade in antiquities, and issuing licenses for archaeological excavation projects. Many objects from archaeological excavations are exhibited at the Rockefeller Museum (from excavations that predate 1967 because of the status quo), at the Israel Museum in Jerusalem (where many new finds are first exhibited), and at the Eretz Israel Museum in Tel Aviv (particularly the finds from the local site of Tell Qasile). Smaller local museums are scattered throughout the country. The results of excavations and surveys conducted by the various local institutions are frequently published in English and in Hebrew in Israeli scientific journals (such as *Ḥadashot Arkheologiyot, Israel Exploration Journal, Tel Aviv*, etc.) and in popular publications (e.g., *Qadmoniot* and *Ariel*), as well as in local non-Israeli publications (such as the Franciscan *Liber Annuus*) and abroad (*Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research, Palestine Exploration Quarterly*, and *Bulletin of the Anglo-Israel Archaeological Society*, etc.) and in popular magazines (e.g., *Near Eastern Archaeology* and *Biblical Archaeology Review*). Numerous scientific monographs are published in Israel by the respective archaeological departments of the universities and by the Israel Antiquities Authority, as well as by the Israel Exploration Society.

The future of the archaeological discipline in academic circles in Israel looks like it is set to develop along the lines of an elaborate refining of scientific techniques, with project strategies that will entail a greater amount of multidisciplinary work with scientists in related fields than has hitherto been seen. This will undoubtedly improve the contextual understanding of sites and their formation, of dating systems and other approaches to the reconstruction of ancient human and environmental manifestations. The study of regionalism within ancient cultures will be another improvement since there is now a realization that typological classifications of material remains, such as ceramic vessels, are better understood on a regional rather than on a countrywide level. The production of costly scientific monographs will likely be dispensed with and replaced by electronic publication formats. The casualty of this scientific upgrading of the profession is that local lay persons in Israel with a passion for *yedi'at ha-areẓ* (lit. "knowledge of the land") will eventually find themselves slowly dissociated from the subject. On the other hand, the discipline would also seem to be heading towards the establishing of a better system of Contract Archaeology with procedures that will be run on a purely business basis and with financial rather than overt scientific goals. Already academic institutions in Israel are running field units that bid one against the other for tenders to conduct salvage archaeological work at sites being threatened by modern development. At the present time, the Israel Antiquities Authority is the official governmental regulatory power for archaeological work done in Israel – it too bids for tenders to conduct salvage excavations, thus creating a certain amount of conflict of interest.

Archaeology and the Origins of Israel

One has to admit that archaeology has not been very helpful in shedding light on the origins of the Israelites (whose ancestry is traced back to Jacob: Gen 32:32; 49:16, 28; Ex 1:9). Gottwald once pointed out that "origins do not tell us everything, but I believe that in seeking them, we will know more." It has been claimed that the appearance of the name "Israel" on the famous Stele of Merneptah would suggest that there was already an "Israelite" entity in the central hill country well before any "conquest" by Joshua ben Nun. This stele commemorating Merneptah's Syro-Palestine campaign, from 1208 B.C.E., refers to Israel with the determinative indicating a people rather than a land or place: "Israel is laid waste and his seed is not." In the 1950s and 1960s, particularly under the influence of the American scholar W.F. Albright, there was a firm belief that archaeology had much to contribute to the historical understanding of the Patriarchal, Exodus, and Conquest narratives and the Monarchical period (United and Divided). Since then there has been a lot of debate amongst scholars on the subject of the emergence of the people of Israel, where they came from and how they came to settle in the land of Canaan, but no consensus of opinion has yet been reached. There is general agreement, however, that a substantial shift in settlement patterns occurred in the highlands of Palestine (Judah and Ephraim) during the Iron Age I (circa 1200 to the 11th century B.C.E.) in comparison to the preceding Late Bronze Age, with the construction of many small settlements in areas that were not previously inhabited. But the ethnic identity of these new highlanders and their place of origin are still not clear. It is plausible that some of them were Israelites, or, at least, some later *became* Israelites. The new settlements were unfortified, with dwellings in a scattered or grouped layout, and with well-planned storage facilities (silos and very large *pithoi* for water storage). This would suggest that the inhabitants of these Early Iron Age settlements came from an agricultural rather than a nomadic background, but this is not conclusive. The suggestion that these "Israelite" settlements were inhabited by farmers that withdrew from less marginal agricultural lands in the "Canaanite" lowlands, to the west, or from inland valleys, seems reasonable but it does not answer all the questions. In support of the theory of indigenous development, there is evidence for some general continuity in the material culture from the Late Bronze Age to the Early Iron Age. The suggestion that the settlements were inhabited by people from a nomadic background who rapidly became sedentarized by adopting a new agricultural way of life is another possibility but one which is difficult to prove.

The alternative solution is that there was a much more complex symbiosis of Early Iron Age peoples in the highlands, more so than scholars have previously been willing to admit. These "proto-Israelites" may have come from diverse backgrounds, both agricultural and nomadic, from great distances or from regions in Palestine close by. They probably brought with them traditions connected to the Aramean god "El," on the one hand, and to the nomadic god "YHWH," on the other, and these may very well have brought the groups into religious and ideological conflict, but not necessarily to the extent where struggles led to the destruction of settlements. The gelling together of these diverse peoples within rather harsh and restrictive highland environments may have forced the rapid abandonment of earlier lifestyles and the adoption of a fairly simple way of life based on subsistence agriculture. Such a scenario is admittedly difficult to prove archaeologically, but it is a reasonable assumption that the highland cultures of the Early Iron Age were much more variegated than their material artifacts would suggest them to be. What is clear is that the Israelite national entity of the tenth century B.C.E. eventually emerged in precisely the same areas that were formerly occupied by the diverse "proto-Israelites" of the 12th and 11th centuries B.C.E. Archaeology has been able to show strong evidence of the emergence of Israelite statehood in the northern part of the country at the time of the Omride Dynasty, and eventually in the Assyrian period, from no earlier than the eighth century B.C.E., one can trace the emergence of Judah and the consolidation of Jerusalem as an important central city.

Nowadays a dichotomy between the Bible and archaeology no longer exists. Throughout the 1990s and early 2000s serious debates broke out between biblical historians and archaeologists, of both religious and secular backgrounds, regarding the historicity of the Bible. Indeed, Biblical Archaeology, that was so fashionable in the 1950s to 1980s, has few adherents today amongst working academics, and some would even describe themselves simply as the practitioners of a "scientific" archaeology instead, as if any discipline can truly be conducted in a dispassionate and unbiased fashion. Some scholars, notably the so-called "Copenhagen School," regard the Bible as a source of legendary material that has very little antiquity to it (i.e., dating from a time no earlier than the Persian or early Hellenistic periods, fifth to third centuries B.C.E.) and that a true history of ancient Israel cannot be recovered at all. From their perspective, David and Solomon were legendary figures, there were no Patriarchs, the Exodus never took place, and there was no Conquest of Canaan. These revisionists, however, cannot ignore the following evidence that attests to the strength of the biblical traditions: (1) the Neo-Assyrian inscriptions of the ninth to seventh centuries B.C.E. mentioning Israelite and Judaean kings, notably the Black Obelisk showing the Assyrian ruler Shalmaneser III with the Israelite King Jehu bowing down in front of him; (2) the Siloam Tunnel inscription of the eighth century B.C.E. referring to the creation of the water system of Jerusalem under the Judaean King Hezekiah (recent thorium-uranium procedures on the plaster of the tunnel has confirmed the dating of the inscription independently); (3) the Tell Dan stele of the ninth century B.C.E. that refers to the dynasty of the "House of David"; and (4) the Tell Miqne royal dedicatory inscription dating from the second quarter of the seventh century B.C.E., which refers to two kings of Ekron who are also attested in the Neo-Assyrian annals. Ikausu, the builder of the temple at Miqne, is also known from the Assyrian records. In addition to the inscriptional evidence, the student of the Bible must also take into account the undeniable fact of collective memory, with traditions and complete books being transmitted orally from generation to generation. Moreover, in linguistic terms, Classical Hebrew of the First Temple period as it appears in some of the historical books is very different from the Hebrew of the later Persian and Hellenistic periods (e.g., the books of Daniel, Ezra, and others), and this has been confirmed by the recent discovery of written artifacts, notably the text of the Priestly Benediction on a sixth-century B.C.E. silver scroll found at Ketef Hinnom in Jerusalem. Scholars adopting the Julius *Wellhausen approach in the past regarded the books of the Old Testament as a complex fabric of source materials that were written down at different times and by different hands during the First Temple period and also later, and that this process came to an end when the final revisions and canonization eventually took place. However, the extent and date of the historical "kernels" existing within these various sources and how they should be linked to archaeological finds is still very much debated by mainstream scholars.

The Archaeological Periods

Determining an exact chronological terminology for the ancient cultural remains uncovered in the land of Israel has always been a matter of great importance and debate, ever since the days of the explorations of the "Survey of Western Palestine" in the 1870s and up to the present day. The early explorers described the remains they encountered in very general terms, as "rude" (i.e., prehistoric); "Semitic" (Bronze Age); "Jewish" (Iron Age); "Greek" (Hellenistic); "Roman"; "Christian" (Byzantine); "Crusading" (Medieval); and "modern" (Ottoman). Many chronological systems were proposed or adopted by archaeologists at the beginning of the 20th century, but it was only at a meeting held in Jerusalem in 1922 that the leading archaeologists of the time – J. Garstang, W.J.T. Phythian-Adams, H. Vincent, and W.F. Albright – agreed upon a common classification system of chronological terms in line with the Three Age System used in Old World Archaeology. This system is more or less the same as the one used by archaeologists today. However, many of the periods have subdivisions and substages (e.g., EB I A = Early Bronze I stage A), or are sometimes labeled with the names of peoples such as "Canaanite" and "Israelite" (instead of Bronze Age or Iron Age), and in some cases the same period of time may confusingly appear in the archaeological literature under different names (e.g., Middle Bronze I is now called the Early Bronze Age IV or alternatively the Intermediate Bronze Age; or for the later periods the term Herodian is sometimes used interchangeably with Early Roman). In prehistory there has been a tendency to replace the rigid time-line chronological division with a more flexible framework based on the names of identified cultures or names of localities. Although archaeologists dealing with proto-historic and historic periods still adhere to the prevailing chronological system, the realization that cultures in different parts of a country will produce pottery and other objects possessing distinctive traits all of their own is leading researchers more towards a regional appreciation of the chronology of cultures. Much of the relative chronology of the Bronze and Iron Ages is synchronized with the better-established chronologies of Egypt and Mesopotamia. Small objects such as carved and inscribed seals can be useful for dating, but the "heirloom" factor can sometimes be a problem, i.e., objects that are "kept in the family" well beyond the time they represent. With the appearance of coins in Persian times archaeological materials may be better fixed in time, but problems still remain with some coins having a much longer life span than the cultural material in which they are found (e.g., caches of fourth century coins were still being deposited in the fifth century, and Umayyad coins were still the main currency used in the early Abbasid period).

A description of the principal archaeological periods and the main finds is provided below under the following chronological headings: Prehistoric Periods (Palaeolithic to Neolithic); Chalcolithic; Early Bronze Age; Middle Bronze Age; Late Bronze Age; Iron Age and Persian; Hellenistic; Roman; Byzantine; Islamic to Ottoman. Different dating schemes are provided by the relevant authorities and for this the reader is referred to existing publications for comparison purposes (see bibliography below). The following abbreviations have been used: B.P. = Before Present; B.C.E. = Before Common Era; C.E. = Common Era.

PREHISTORIC PERIODS (PALAEOLITHIC TO NEOLITHIC). The earliest human-made artifacts found in the Syria-Palestine region consist of objects made largely from flint and attributed to the Lower Acheulean stage of the Lower Palaeolithic, marking the point in time when the proto-human *Homo erectus* began moving into the region from Africa about 1.4 to 1.0 million years B.P. (= Before Present). Exciting work has been undertaken at Ubeidiya, a key site for understanding the period, which is situated within one segment of the central Afro-Asian rift, in the present-day northern Jordan Valley, with the discovery of large quantities of finds embedded within the local lacustrine and fluvial deposits, some in almost vertical layers owing to the quite substantial natural folding and faulting of the land. Research indicates that the site was originally on the shore adjacent to a sweet-water lake, and an abundance of bones was uncovered in the excavations of mammals, reptiles, fish, and birds. The local hominids survived by hunting and scavenging for meat, notably hippopotamus, deer, and horse. The site yielded scatters of flint core choppers and polyhedrons made from local pebbles, as well as limestone spheroids, and a smaller percentage of handaxes made from basalt, limestone, and flint. Other sites of note belonging to the later Middle or Upper Acheulean of the Lower Palaeolithic period and also reflecting scavenging or hunting activities include the Evron Quarry site in western Galilee where imported flint objects and animal bones were uncovered, and the Gesher Benot Ya'akov site next to the Jordan River which revealed scatters of basalt implements, small fragments of human bones, and numerous bones of large mammals such as elephant, hippopotamus, rhinoceros, and others. The latter site probably dates to around 750,000 years B.P. Upper Acheulean flint tools are also known from Ma'ayan Barukh and Holon as well as further south at Umm Qatafa (Layers E1 and E2), and close to Jerusalem at Baqa and in the Rephaim Valley (mainly handaxes and flakes). The northern and central part of Palestine was characterized in the Upper Acheulean by the Acheulo-Yabrudian lithic industry and is known especially at a number of cave sites, dating to circa 500,000/400,000 to 270,000/250,000 B.P. Fragmentary human remains – a fragment of a *Homo sapiens* skull and a femur – were found at the cave of Zuttiyeh and the cave of Tabun.

The Middle Palaeolithic is characterized by the hunter-and-gatherer Mousterians, who appear to have maintained their scavenging activities as well. Judging by the type of tools they made, the Mousterians were making more refined cutting tools for butchering meat and sawing bones (blades and flakes) and processing animal skins (borers and scrapers). They were also adept in woodworking and hafting flint tools, such as the typical Levallois points to serve as spears for the purpose of hunting medium-sized animals (such as gazelle and fallow deer) that replaced the larger mammals typical of the Lower Palaeolithic. The Tabun cave provided important stratified deposits allowing for the differentiation between the types of Mousterian tool kits: Tabun D dated to 270,000–170,000 B.P.; Tabun C to 170,000 to 90,000/85,000 B.P.; and Tabun B to 90,000/85,000 to 48,000 B.P. Human remains were discovered in the caves of Tabun and Kebara, caves in the Amud Valley, and at Daura in Syria, and represent either a local population of Mediterranean Neanderthals or perhaps a population of Southeast European Neanderthals migrating into the Levant. Skeletal remains of the archaic *Homo sapiens* were found at the Skhul and Qafzeh sites, but whether or not they interacted with the Neanderthals is unclear.

The Upper Palaeolithic coincides with the first half of the Upper Pleistocene, beginning around 43,000 B.P. and ending in about 20,000–18,000 B.P. The period has been subdivided into a number of phases based on various cultures with particular types of flint tools. The Emiran tradition was apparently a transitional Middle to Upper Palaeolithic phase and it had a tool kit characterized by a special type of point, known as the Emireh point, in addition to end-scrapers and blades. This phase is equivalent to Phase A at the Lebanese site of Ksar 'Akil and Boker Taḥtit in the Negev. The locally developed Upper Palaeolithic cultures include the hunter-gatherer-derived Ahmarian tradition, found in the central parts of the Levant and in the Negev and Sinai deserts, as well as in southern Jordan, and typified by its blade industry. The Levantine-Aurignacian tradition, known only from the northern and central Levant, has new types of flint tools, notably the el-Wad points, with the first systematic use of microliths, and a bone industry. During the depreciation of the water level of the Sea of Galilee a site was uncovered (Ohalo II) consisting of the foundations of a settlement of round huts, with flint assemblages *in situ*, with well-preserved plants and animal and fish bones. It is during the subsequent Kebaran that microliths began to predominate and evolve. Human remains are known from Qafzeh, Ksar ʿAkil, Naḥal En Gev I (a semi-flexed burial of a woman), Neveh David (Mt. Carmel), and at Kharraneh in Jordan. The country was forested and was particularly suited for game (elk, deer, and boar) which was the object of the hunters. Numerous pounding and grinding stones indicate the processing and consumption of various nuts, grain, and seeds. Hunter-gatherers were also roaming the woodland areas of the central highlands as recent archaeological finds have shown, but their settlements were so temporary and small (estimated at no larger than 150 square meters) that traces have been hard to detect.

Climatic change at the end of the Pleistocene resulted in the emergence circa 12,800 B.C.E. of a sedentary culture known as the Natufian. Natufian sites include ʿAin Mallaha-Eynan, Naḥal Oren Terrace, Hayonim cave, Jericho, el-Wad, and Hatula. Settlement took place in caves or within built complexes of houses, usually curvilinear, with sunken earthen and plastered floors and wall foundations of undressed stones or unbaked bricks. The superstructures of the walls of the dwellings were apparently made of wood, reeds, and other organic materials; postholes found in one large house at Eynan provided evidence regarding roof supports. Houses contained hearths and grinding vessels. Flint tools included sickle blades, borers, and burins, as well as the distinctive production of small bladelets which were used as blanks for tools. The quantity of grinding vessels and sickles from the sites was regarded by some scholars as an indication that the Natufians not only gathered wild cereals but were also proto-farmers. However, convincing evidence for this has not been forthcoming from the plant remains gathered at the sites. Moreover, the grinding stones may have had numerous domestic functions and the sheen visible on sickle blades is easily obtainable from the cutting of wild grasses. Artistic representations include carved heads on sickle hafts, animal and human figurines cut schematically in limestone, and incised geometric designs (such as meanders and zigzags) on everyday objects. Burials were frequently encountered in pits beneath the floors of houses or in adjacent areas, either as single internments (flexed or stretched out) or as collective burials with numerous skulls and bones gathered together. Life expectancy for Natufians was no more than 35 years. Burial goods included necklaces and bracelets and other body decorations that were usually made of shells, notably *Dentalium*, with pendants of stone and bone. In Eynan the discovery that a dog was buried with its presumed owner provides an interesting insight in regard to domestication at that time. The final phase of the Late Natufian uncovered in the more recent excavations at Eynan, with structures, living surfaces, and hearths, may represent the hitherto elusive transition to that of the Pre-Pottery Neolithic A period. Contemporary with the Late Natufian, the Harifian culture emerged in the Negev and Sinai in the southern Levant, with scattered settlement in the lowland areas utilized during the winter months and with additional sites used in the highlands in the summer months. Excavations have brought to light the foundations of huts, with a largely microlithic tool kit dominated by lunates and the Harif point. Grinding stones and stones with cupholes were found in the huts and their vicinity. The occupants were hunters and their prey included gazelle, ibex, and hare.

The subsequent Neolithic has been divided into a pre-pottery period (Early Neolithic, 8500/8300 to 6000/5800 B.C.E.) incorporating the PPNA and PPNB stages, and also at some sites a final PPNC stage (ending around 5500 B.C.E.), and a succeeding pottery period (Late Neolithic, 6000/5800 to 4000 B.C.E.) incorporating the PNA and PNB stages. The Early Neolithic period saw a gradual transformation in the Levant of "Sultanian" communities of hunters (practicing some farming) into "Tahunian" farmers (with the herding of animals) and the eventual emergence of more consolidated permanent villages. PPNA sites were once only known from sites in the Jordan Valley and in the Carmel Hills (notably at Naḥal Oren), but recent work has revealed sites in the western foothills of Palestine (Hatula near Emmaus; Modi'in) and elsewhere at desert sites. Significant remains from the PPNA were uncovered at Jericho (Tell es-Sultan) with the earliest levels possessing "Khiamian" lithic assemblages, defined mainly by el-Khiam type arrowheads and the lower frequencies of microliths, and the later Sultanian assemblages having polished celts of basalt and limestone, flint adzes/axes with single cutting edges and plain sickle blades. An important discovery at Jericho was that of a massive round tower (8.5 m high) with an internal staircase, and an adjacent wall segment fronted by a ditch (3.5 m wide) cut into bedrock. Most scholars believe these architectural features served for defensive purposes (i.e., fortifications) to provide protection for the settlement of curvilinear houses built of plano-convex mud bricks on stone foundations, which had a population estimated at 450 individuals. Others (notably Bar-Yosef) suggest that the wall was used as a barrier to prevent the flooding of the village and that the round tower was the lower part of a mud-brick shrine (no longer extant). At Nahal Oren two PPNA levels were uncovered (IV–III) and the developed settlement consisted of 20 curvilinear structures built on four terraces, with hearths, grinding stones, and cuphole slabs. Important sites in the Jordan Valley include Gilgal and Netiv ha-Gedud, and further afield, close to the Euphrates in Syria, the sites of Mureybet and Abu Hureyra. Various art objects are known made in bone and stone representing animals and humans.

Numerous hamlets or villages from the PPNB period have been excavated: Jericho, Naḥal Oren, Munhata, Kefar ha-Ḥoresh, and Yiftahel (Area C) in Israel, Beidha, Ain Ghazal and Basta in Jordan, and Tell Ramad in Syria. Curvilinear houses were now replaced by rectilinear houses, multi-roomed, with walls of mud brick on stone foundations (as at

Jericho) or completely built of undressed stones (as at Naḥal Oren and at the terraced site of Basta). Floors and interior walls of structures were frequently plastered; a small installation for the burning of lime was uncovered at Ain Ghazal and slag has been found at other sites (e.g., under the PN levels of Yiftahel). Plastered walls were found at Jericho decorated with floral decoration, and at Basta decorated with a representation of twigs and berries. Burials of prone or flexed adults and children (frequently headless) were found beneath floors. The PPNB is characterized by a wealth of clay and plaster statuettes representing humans and animals, as well as numerous plaster-molded human skulls of men, women, and children, with features emphasized with paint and shells, masks and small figurines. Two caches of human statuettes and busts made out of lime-based plaster, molded on lashed reed bundles, were recovered from Ain Ghazal and are dated to 6750/6500 B.C.E. The faces of these statuettes were painted and other features may represent body paint, clothing, or tattooing; polydactyly was evident in a six-fingered toed foot and hand. Such favissae were definitely connected with ritual practices and the statues were originally intended to be displayed in the round. Sixty-one plastered or decorated skulls and crania are known from Syria and the Levant, from the sites of Tell Ramad, Jericho, Beisamoun, Naḥal Hemar (modeled in bitumen), Ain Ghazal and Kefar ha-Ḥoresh. It has been suggested that the human statuettes and plastered skulls represent stylized representations of ancestors, but recent research on the skulls does not support claims that age, sex, or skull shape were domineering factors in the choice of skulls for special treatment. The PPNB lithic industry resembles that of the PPNA except for the fact that heated flint was now used. Blades from naviform (i.e., boat-shaped) cores were used for making arrowheads (the Helwan and Jericho points, and later the Byblos and Amuq points), sickle blades (plain or slightly serrated), and other tools. Bifacial tools are also known. In addition, obsidian (volcanic glass) for making very sharp tools was brought in from eastern Anatolia and indicates the importance of the exchange of commodities at that time. Greenstone was used for making pendants and marine shells were gathered from the Mediterranean and Red Sea. This period also has the earliest attempts at animal domestication and the first systematic cultivation of cereals and legumes (with the earliest known fava beans and lentils at Yiftahel), side by side with the continued practice of hunting and the raising of sheep and goats. The onset of a dry climatic period at the end of the PPNB apparently led to the abandonment of many settlements. At Ain Ghazal the site actually continued expanding in the PPNC (circa 6000 to 5500 B.C.E.) with some changes, such as smaller structures appearing with permanent storage facilities, and sub-floor burials of complete skeletons (breaking the earlier tradition of the headless burials). The PPNC stage has also been noted at the site of Basta in Jordan and at Yiftahel in Israel with the discovery of rectilinear pier houses. Crude attempts at making pottery (sun-dried or low-fired) was found at Ain Ghazal and Basta, and examples of vessels made of White Ware ("vaisselles blanches") are known particularly from the northern Levant.

The succeeding late Neolithic pottery period (6000/5800 to 4000 B.C.E.), incorporating the PNA (typified by "Yarmukian" and Jericho IX) and PNB (typified by Wadi Rabbah) stages, marks a major change with the establishment of new settlements and with a greater sedentary way of life. The early part of this period was once described as characterized by ephemeral settlements of circular sunken huts without solid architecture and rounded pits, based on the results of excavations at Jericho, Sha'ar ha-Golan, Munhata, Tel Aviv sites (e.g., Ha-Bashan Street) and so forth, and that the population was semi-nomadic and pastoral. Recent excavations, however, have shown this to be a misconception and based on faulty data and that there were in fact large and flourishing sedentary villages during this period. Three monumental and solid-built architectural complexes, with rectilinear plans, with courtyards and alleyways, indicating village planning, were uncovered in the 1990s at Sha'ar ha-Golan. Handmade fired pottery – jars, cooking pots, bowls – characterizes the material culture assemblages of this period and the vessels are frequently decorated with red-painted and incised geometric designs (such as chevron and herringbone patterns). The invention of pottery is believed to have taken place first in the northern Levant, together with the plaster-based White Ware, and slowly it began appearing in Palestine as well. At Yiftahel (Stratum III) the White Ware and the early pottery was visually indistinguishable, and some distinctions could only be made by petrographic analysis. Numerous types of female figurines are known made of stone and clay, perhaps representing the Mother Goddess and fertility, as well as incised drawings and symbols on carefully selected river pebbles. The Yarmukian seated female figurines are particularly distinctive; 350 were found at Sha'ar ha-Golan alone. A possible shrine was uncovered at Bikat Uvda, with large animals drawn with stones on the desert floor in its vicinity. Pressure flaking and polishing are two new features of the lithic technology of this period. The lithic tool-kit includes sickle blades, arrowheads in a variety of shapes, and axes/adzes, as well as the normal points, scrapers, and burins. Subsistence was based on cultivation practices, with cereals and legumes, and animal herding (sheep and goats, with pigs and cattle raised in some communities). Groups of hunters and pastoral nomads continued living in the desert fringes.

CHALCOLITHIC. The peak of village development in the southern Levant, with a more permanent agricultural existence and a dependence on livestock and crops, occurred during the Chalcolithic period (4000–3300 B.C.E.). The period is regarded as a complex and stratified society, with clear evidence for trade and craft specialization, maritime pursuits, and the exploitation of marginal environments. Some scholars suggest that the social organization of these communities was in the form of "chiefdoms." This period attests to the widespread use of copper, hence the name of the period (*khalkos* =

copper and *lithos* = stone). Copper extraction was made at the Timna Valley in the southern Arabah, and in Wadi Feinan in southern Jordan. Trade activities were highly developed at this time with raw materials and probable "invisible" products (e.g., textiles) obtained from great distances from all over the Near East. Connections with Egypt were particularly strong with objects of Egyptian provenance appearing at Chalcolithic sites. Important agricultural developments also emerge with evidence for horticultural pursuits and the intensive use of the digging hoe. Specialized olive oil production took place in highland regions, notably in the Golan and in the Palestine highlands. Olive oil plants have been identified at Neballat, Givat Oranim, and at Modi'in consisting of groups of crushing cup-marks and pressing basins. The key site from this period is Tuleilat el-Ghassul situated to the northeast of the Dead Sea with remains of villages extending back to the Late Neolithic perhaps suggesting cultural continuity between the two periods. Important sites in the Negev include Bir es-Safadi, Abu Matar, Naḥal Gerar, Gilat, Shikmim, and Abu Hof. Of the many sites in the Golan, the most important to have been excavated so far is at Rasm Harbush. Settlement in the coastal plain is still hardly understood, though important tombs have been uncovered at Ḥaderah. Smaller villages are known in the highland regions, notably at Sataf west of Jerusalem, with greater quantities of temporary sites or caves in the Judean Desert. Different forms of settlement are known in the southern Levant: permanent villages of houses with stone-built or mud-brick walls, villages with underground loess-cut caves beneath the houses, encampments used by nomadic pastoralists on a seasonal basis, and caves used as temporary dwellings or storage. Houses are usually of broad-room plan, with pits in the floors and various installations, and with large adjoining enclosed courtyards. Parallel lines of structures built on a chain pattern are known from the Golan. Settlements were situated next to springs of water (e.g., Jerusalem) or had wells cut down to groundwater (e.g., Abu Hof). A number of shrines are known, notably the En-Gedi temple, which was close to nearby springs, which may have had a "holy tree" in the external courtyard. The cultic objects from this temple may very well have been hidden in the nearby Naḥal Mishmar cave. This cave produced an amazing cache of 442 different objects made of copper, hematite, stone, and ivory (of hippopotamus and elephant). Another shrine was uncovered at Gilat in the northwestern Negev, with the discovery of an array of cultic objects including a ceramic vessel modeled in the shape of a seated naked woman holding a churn on her head, and another of a ram carrying three cornets on its back. Wall paintings depicting cultic scenes were found at Tuleilat el-Ghassul. Numerous cave burials are known (e.g., Ḥaderah), but the most spectacular find was at Peki'in with numerous types of highly decorated ossuaries and jars for the secondary burial of human bones, as well as "violin" figurines and copper objects. Pottery from the final phases of the Chalcolithic period are extremely diverse and distinctive, especially the churns, cornets, and "v-shaped" bowls which were frequently decorated with bands of red paint, and large storage vessels (*pithoi*). Fine basalt bowls, some on a fenestrated base, are also distinctive of the period, as well as basalt house idols from the Golan. Flint-working continues with a tool-kit of axes/adzes, scrapers, blades, and others. Copper artifacts abound and attest to the artistic and technological expertise of the period, with some objects made in the lost-wax (*cire-perdue*) method. Organic remains have also been preserved, with textiles, mats, and straw artifacts found in caves in the Judean Desert. The reason for the disappearance of the Chalcolithic culture at the end of the fourth millennium B.C.E. remains a mystery, though some have suggested climatic reasons.

EARLY BRONZE AGE. The Bronze Age in the southern Levant is divided into three parts: Early, Middle, and Late, extending from around 3300 B.C.E. to 1200 B.C.E. The Early Bronze Age is itself divided into three parts (EB I to III) with various sub-phases.

The villages of the Chalcolithic were abandoned and replaced by villages of the EB I but these were situated at new locations. The distinctive architecture of the earlier phase of the EB I is represented by dwellings that in plan are curvilinear, oval, or oblong with rounded ends. Originally it was thought the typical dwelling plan of this period was apsidal, largely based on the evidence unearthed at Meser, but this is no longer accepted by scholars. Good examples of early villages of this kind have been unearthed at En Shadud, Tell Teo, and Yiftahel which has the foundations of at least 22 dwellings. Caves used as habitations and temporary settlements with pits have been uncovered at other locations, particularly in the south of the country. Later in the EB I many more villages were founded and these became considerably larger (about 50 acres). This stage also saw the shift to using rectilinear architecture, sometimes with rooms built with slightly rounded corners. An example of a site from this stage was found at Palmaḥim Quarry. Some fortifications from this period may have existed at Jericho and at Tell Shalem. The EB I ceramic material is quite austere compared to the previous Chalcolithic, with an assemblage of plain pottery vessels, with smaller quantities of the highly polished Grey-Burnished ("Esdraelon") ware, some carinated with protrusions along the edges, and jars decorated with the grain-wash or band-slip technique. Later geometric painted wares are also known. Simple seal-impressions have been found on the shoulders of a few ceramic jars, and stone or bone seals are also known. Ground-stone artifacts continued to be made out of basalt, but these differ considerably in technique and design from earlier examples. Small quantities of copper objects, notable adzes or chisels, have been found at sites from this period, some originating from the Feinan mines in southern Jordan. However, the discovery of a workshop for copper working at Ashkelon-Afridar on the coast indicates that metal working was undertaken not just close to the copper sources but throughout the country. Flint tools of ad hoc types continued to be made, with the appearance of the ubiquitous "Canaanean" blade. The social organization of these early communities is uncertain, but some stratification must have emerged between farmers and traders at least in regard to matters of leadership and cooperation. Agricultural activities included new cultivation practices, the introduction of the light plow, the organization of fields and terracing (e.g., at Sataf), herding of animals, and a small amount of specialized hunting. Olive oil and wine surpluses were important commodities used for trade, together with smaller amounts of bitumen and salt from the Dead Sea. Excavations at Ashkelon-Afridar indicate that imported Lebanese cedar was being transported to coastal sites probably by sea, perhaps en route to Egypt. Strong trade networks were set up with parallel traders in Egypt, with their Egyptian representatives living side by side with the local population at sites in southern Palestine. Egyptian-type architecture is known from En Besor (the "residency") and from Tell 'Erani. Stylized renderings of an Egyptian royal symbol (the *serekh*) were also found incised into local wares at Ḥorvat Illin Taḥtit and at Palmaḥim Quarry, corresponding to the proto-historic Dynasty "O" time period in Egypt.

Proper urbanism is characteristic of the second stage of the Early Bronze II (3100–2700 B.C.E.) with the emergence of full-fledged towns with fortifications and city gates, distinct built-up areas set aside for housing, industrial, and mercantile activities, administrative buildings/palaces, temples, and public water systems. The reasons for the development of urbanism at this point in time in the southern Levant are unclear. However, towns are much larger and denser than the previous settlements of the EB I and they appear to have had much more control over their hinterland. The overall number of EB II settlements in the landscapes of Palestine decreased, suggesting a movement of population into the towns. This ultimately led to a differentiation emerging between the status and function of individual villages of different sizes and their interdependence as satellites of the larger dominating towns. Fortifications from the EB II are known from Tell el-Farah (N), Beth Yerah, Aphek, Ai, and Arad. Administrative buildings/palaces have been unearthed at Megiddo and Arad. Temples have been found at Beth Yerah, Megiddo, Ai, and Arad. Arad is a good example of a large fortified town in the eastern Negev Desert. It was a well-planned city, divided into distinct neighborhoods of houses by streets, with shrines (one with a stele depicting deities with upraised arms), public or palace buildings, a water system (more than 15 meters deep), and it was surrounded by a massive fortification wall with projecting semicircular towers. The houses were of distinctive broadroom plan (hence the "Arad house") with the entrance in the long wall. The pottery assemblage from the site includes vessels imported from Egypt, as well as a large quantity of painted and well-burnished local wares that hitherto had been found in quantity in First Dynasty tombs at Abydos. A jar fragment with the *serekh* of Narmer, founder of the First Dynasty of Egypt, provides important synchronism between Egypt and EB II "Canaanite" Palestine. It is believed that the flourishing of EB II sites in the Negev and Sinai was the direct result of the copper trade controlled by Arad. At the end of this period some towns were abandoned: Tell el-Farah (N), Aphek, and Arad.

The Early Bronze III spans about 400 years (2700–2300 B.C.E.), but the reasons why the EB III replaced the EB II are unclear. In terms of material culture new ceramic types emerge, notably the so-called red/black burnished "Khirbet Kerak" wares in the north, and the disappearance of the EB II pottery wares in the south. There can be no doubt that during this period the centralization process of the rural population within cities reached its peak, with the establishment of new fortified towns at Tell Poran, Tell Nagila, and Tell Beit Mirsim. Pre-existing towns at Ai and Yarmut were strengthened and enhanced architecturally and especially in terms of the fortifications, suggesting that dangers of invasion and internecine violence were prevalent at that time. Temples are known from Megiddo and Khirbet Zeraqoun in Jordan. A massive underground water system is known from Zeraquon. The movement of the rural population into towns does not, however, indicate any decline in agricultural production, but quite the contrary. An enormous granary was uncovered at Tell Beth Yerah. Olive oil and perhaps also wine were the chief commodities that were used for trade at this time. Yarmut, situated in the heart of rich agricultural lands in the lowlands of Palestine, was in a key location to affect the control, processing, and marketing of some of the commodities required for trade with Egypt and other parts of the Near East. The town was surrounded by massive fortifications and had an offset gateway, a temple ("White Building"), palatial buildings, and residential quarters.

The gradual abandonment of EB III towns was replaced by the spread of new settlements with a different material culture across the countryside during the Intermediate Bronze Age (also known as the Early Bronze IV, 2300–2000 B.C.E.). Once thought to have occurred as a result of invading "Amorites," it would now appear that there were a number of factors that affected the movement of population away from the towns and into the countryside: the collapse of the trade networks with Old Kingdom Egypt and climatic fluctuations (with possible long-term desiccation) that made specialized cultivation difficult and eventually led to the need for broadening agricultural cultivation instead. Although once regarded as an overall pastoral-nomadic interlude between the Early and Middle Bronze Ages, it would now appear that the pastoral nomads of this period only actually existed in the semi-arid and arid zones (e.g., Be'er Resisim), whereas elsewhere there were flourishing farming communities spread out in large and small villages. Large villages are known in Jordan (Iktanu, Khirbet Iskander – with some fortifications) and in Palestine (Modi'in and Naḥal Rephaim). The abandoned towns were sometimes also used for ephemeral settlement: Hazor, Megiddo, Beth Shean, and Jericho. Numerous burials from this period have been found throughout the country, under cairns in the south, in shaft tombs in the highlands, and within dolmens in the north.

MIDDLE BRONZE AGE. The Middle Bronze Age (2000–1550 B.C.E.) is regarded as a period of renewed urbanism and it reflects the strength of influences emanating from the north and particularly from Syria. Small settlements previously inhabited during the Intermediate Bronze Age were abandoned, particularly along the coastal plain and in some of the inland valleys and were replaced in the MB II A (previously known as the MB I) by a number of urban centers (Tell Aphek, Tell Poleg, Tell Burga), on the one hand, and by a new scatter of villages and campsites (e.g., Dor, Sha'ar ha-Golan), on the other. It is unclear whether the same happened in the highland regions or in the arid zones, and it is quite possible that the Intermediate Bronze Age continued there for a little longer. Clearly the sites closer to the major trade routes, especially in the coastal plain, were the first to be fortified with characteristic wall-and-glacis or earthen rampart defenses. The renewed opening of the trade routes connecting Syria and Egypt probably brought with it an influx of Semitic-speaking and Hurrian groups into the southern Levant and this in turn raised the profile of local elites. At the same time as these changes in the Levant, local Egyptian groups of Western Asiatics ("Hyksos" – foreign rulers) were beginning to establish themselves in Lower Egypt, as has become clear from excavations at Tell ed-Daba. Egyptian texts provide an insight into the character of the Levant at this point in time, notably the story of Sinuhe, who traveled along the coast of Palestine not long after 2000 B.C.E.

Middle Bronze Age material culture was extremely rich and varied. The pottery traditions were almost completely new and many vessels were now made on a fast wheel (replacing the slow tournette). Bronze (an alloy of copper and tin) was now used for making weaponry, implements, and other objects. Religious objects – human and animal figurines and votive objects – some with strong Syrian/Mesopotamian influences, appear at sites and reflect the needs of the elite classes. Cylinder seals decorated with religious and mythological scenes are also typical of the period. Evidence for written tablets in Akkadian indicates that high levels of literacy existed in the towns, particularly among the scribes and temple officials.

The peak of urban development in Palestine took place during the Middle Bronze II B–C with further developments along the coastal plain and with an incredible wave of settlement throughout the highlands, with the establishment of fortified towns, fortresses, and villages. Important village remains have been uncovered at Shiloh, Tell el-Ful, and elsewhere. The key urban centers of this period are Hazor, Dan, Shechem (Tell el-Balata), Megiddo, Jerusalem, Aphek, and Ashkelon. Hazor was enormous (198 acres) and in size it is similar only to towns known from Syria. The fortification systems at these sites became progressively quite elaborate. The city gates uncovered at Dan (with its arches still intact) and Ashkelon are quite impressive. A major MB II tower system was uncovered protecting the Gihon Spring on the lower east slope of the "City of David" in Jerusalem. Temples of *migdal* appearance (i.e., long rooms with massive walls and with altars at one end) are known from Shechem, Megiddo, and Pella. Additional shrines are known from Tell el-Hayat, Tel Kitan, Nahariyyah, Hazor, and an open-air cult place at the unfortified village of Givat Sharett. Palaces have been uncovered at a number of sites and at Kabri elaborate floors with floral-decorated floors and fragmentary wall paintings of Minoan style were found. This discovery may be compared to examples of wall paintings from Tell ed-Daba, Middle Minoan II Phaistos in Crete, and Late Minoan IA Knossos and Thera.

With the expulsion of the Hyksos from the Delta by Ahmose I in about 1540–1525 B.C.E., a few sites of the southern Levant are subsequently destroyed (e.g., Tell el-'Ajjul – ancient Sharuhen). This period of uncertainty continued and eventually led to a series of military campaigns to subjugate the southern Levant undertaken by Thutmosis III.

LATE BRONZE AGE. Palestine during the Late Bronze Age fell under the shadow of Egyptian dominion. Numerous military campaigns were mounted against Western Asia (Syria and Palestine) by the rulers of Egypt, from Thutmosis III and through to the "Amarna" age. The Egyptians also came into conflict with the Hittites and later with the "Sea Peoples," with Syria and Palestine serving for much of that time as a battleground.

The towns of this period were mostly unfortified, but large structures, administrative buildings, and temples are known. Important towns existed along the coast, in the foothills, and within inland valleys. Some sites that were destroyed at the end of the MB were rebuilt in the LB, others were left abandoned, but new settlements were built as well. While highland landscapes became depopulated, a few towns (e.g., Shechem) and small hamlets (e.g., Jerusalem) still existed within these territories. A type of large administrative/palace structure – labeled the "governor's residence" – has been found at sites throughout the country: Beth Shean, Tell es-Sa'idiyeh, Tell Jemmeh, and Tell Sera'. Elaborate temples of different sizes are also known, notably at Hazor, Beth Shean, Megiddo, Tell Mevorakh, and Lachish. Rich finds were found in some of these temples, including carved statues and orthostats. The discovery of large numbers of decorated seals and rich artistic goods of Egyptian and Syrian style (e.g., a thin gold leaf plaque of a goddess standing on a horse from Lachish) is a clear indication of the success of the international trade passing through the region. It would appear that certain elite parts of the population enjoyed prosperity particularly from this trade, while the rest, especially the rural population, suffered hardship and poverty and survived on basic agricultural endeavors. Egyptian officials and tradesmen were situated within some of the towns, and at Deir el-Balah to the south of Gaza anthropoid ceramic coffins in Egyptian style were uncovered within a 13th-century cemetery. LB pottery reflects a continuation of MB pottery traditions, with the addition of foreign vessels, e.g., fine wares imported from Cyprus and the Aegean. A number of tablets inscribed in Akkadian cuneiform attest to the literacy of the period. Bowls bearing texts in Egyptian hieratic script were uncovered at Tell Sera'. The Amarna tablets from Egypt provide a wealth of information about the political landscape of Western Asia at this period. A few inscriptions have been found inscribed with a set of "Proto-Canaanite" symbols, representing an early version of Phoenician and Hebrew alphabets.

Major events towards the end of this period, with the collapse of the Egyptian and Hittite empires, and with the emergence of the "Sea Peoples," led to the breakdown of LB society and the collapse of local city-states.

IRON AGE AND PERSIAN. The Iron Age is divided into two main parts: the Early Iron Age (or Iron Age I, 1200–1000 B.C.E.) and the Late Iron Age (Iron Age II A–C, 1000–586 B.C.E.). During the late 1990s a debate ensued amongst scholars regarding Iron Age chronology with attempts to posit a lower chronology for the accepted mid-twelfth to mid-eighth centuries B.C.E. The matter continued to be debated during the early 2000s with the narrowing of some dates in both the low and high chronologies especially in regard to the dating of Iron Age II A strata at sites, especially as a result of new radiocarbon determinations obtained from sites such as Rehov, but there is now a general acceptance that the extant archaeological evidence points to the emerging process of Israelite "statehood" from as early as the tenth century B.C.E. rather than the ninth century B.C.E. This process culminated in substantial consolidation procedures within the state frameworks during the Omride Dynasty in the ninth century B.C.E. to the north and with the development of the kingdom of Judah with Jerusalem as its capital in the eighth century B.C.E. in the south.

The Early Iron Age saw the disintegration of the entire political and economic framework of the southern Levant and the decline of trade, with the appearance of new groups of people in different parts of the country, among them the "Sea Peoples" (which included the Philistines) along coastal areas, and farmers/herders (some of them undoubtedly Proto-Israelites) in the highland regions and elsewhere, where there was also some intermingling with pre-existing "Canaanite" peoples (see the section "Archaeology and the Origins of Israel," above). Across the Jordan saw the establishment of additional groups of people who eventually became the Ammonites, Moabites, and Edomites. Egyptian and biblical sources document the conflict that ensued between the "Sea Peoples" and the Egyptian Rameses III in his eighth regnal year, particularly with battles in Lebanon and in Egypt. The Egyptian presence in Palestine was maintained until the mid-12th century B.C.E. in some parts of the coastal regions (e.g., at Akko) and in the inland valleys and plains (e.g., Beth Shean, where inscriptions and a statue of Rameses III were found). The subsequent development of the Philistine culture is now well documented owing to a number of key excavations undertaken in the region of Philistia and in surrounding parts, particularly at Ashdod, Ashkelon, Tell Miqne (Ekron), as well as at Tell Qasile, Tell Sera', Tell el-Farah (N) and Tell Batash (Timnah?). The distinctive material culture of the Philistines, which was derived from Aegean traditions, rapidly absorbed foreign (i.e., Egyptian and Cypriot) and local Canaanite influences. In the highland regions surface surveys and excavations attest to the appearance of large numbers of small sites in regions that were hardly occupied in the Late Bronze Age, dating from the 12th century B.C.E. in the central highlands (the territories of Manasseh, Ephraim, and Benjamin) and from the 11th century B.C.E. in the Galilee. Sites include Dan, Hazor, Sasa, Ḥorvat Avot, Ḥorvat Harashim, Mount Ebal, the "bull site," Shiloh, Ai, Khirbet Radaanah, and Giloh. Additional sites are known from the western foothills ('Izbet Sartah) and in the northern Negev (Tel Masos). The period is typified by the emergence of new pottery types (e.g., collared-rim jars), new architecture (e.g., the "four-room" house), and new technologies (e.g., the first use of iron).

The Late Iron Age saw the establishing of Israelite kingdoms, from the time of the United Monarchy of David and Solomon, and the Divided Monarchies of Judah and Israel. Numerous archaeological excavations have uncovered a variety of remains from the Iron Age II reflecting a diverse settlement pattern consisting of urban settlements, smaller towns, and villages/hamlets. Important sites from this period include Dan, Hazor, Megiddo, Jezreel, Rehov, Tell el-Farah (N), Samaria, Tell en-Nasbeh, Jerusalem, Gezer, Beth Shemesh, Lachish, and Beersheba. The cities had strong defense walls and multi-chambered gates, palaces, public administrative buildings, royal enclosures, pillared storehouses, central silos, well-planned streets dividing blocks of houses, cisterns, and subterranean water systems that were reached via sloping stepped tunnels or down vertical stepped shafts. There were also citadels/fortresses (e.g., Arad and Kadesh Barnea), trade outposts (e.g., Vered Jericho), observation towers (Giloh), farmsteads (e.g., Khirbet er-Ras), shrines (e.g., Dan and Arad), and desert cultic centers (e.g., Kuntillet 'Ajrud). Nothing has survived of the central Israelite temple at Jerusalem (I Kings 6–7). Key dates in the chronology of the Iron Age are 925 B.C.E.: the raid of the Egyptian Shoshenq (Shishak) in the country, resulting in the destruction of various sites (Beth Shean, Tel Amal, Megiddo IVB–VA, Gezer VIII, Qasile VIII, sites in the Negev); 735 and 722 B.C.E.: the Assyrian conquest of the northern kingdom (Dan, Hazor V, Megiddo IVA, Yoqneam, and Samaria); 701 B.C.E.: Sennacherib's invasion of Judah (Lachish III, Batash III, Beit Mirsim A, Beersheba II, Arad VIII); 604 B.C.E.: a Babylonian destruction of sites in Philistia; 586 B.C.E.: the Babylonian conquest of Judah (Jerusalem, Ramat Rahel, En Gedi, Lachish, Aroer, Arad VI). A graphic representation of the Assyrian conquest of Lachish was immortalized in a series of monumental carved reliefs found in the palace of Sennacherib in Iraq. Important epigraphic finds from the general region include the Moabite stone, the Dan inscription, the Hadid tablets, the Lachish letters, the Ketef Hinnom amulet, the Miqne inscription, and various inscribed *bullae*. From the eighth century B.C.E. hamlets/small villages (*ḥaẓerim* and *migrashim*) proliferated as never before, particularly in the highlands and foothills regions, and numerous installations for the production of oil and wine are known. There was also a major transformation of the highland regions with the construction of agricultural terracing on a scale that had never been seen before. The countryside was divided up by a network of roads, some of which seem to have been consolidated intentionally by the state, to provide access between the cities and their rural hinterlands. In the seventh century B.C.E. there was a move towards a greater amount of settlement in marginal and arid zones, notably in the Negev and Judean deserts, and along the Dead Sea. Side by side with the Israelite and Judahite kingdoms, there were also additional ethnic entities present in the country, with the Phoenicians to the north (the plain of Akko and the sites of Achziv, Kabri, Keisan, Abu-Hawam) and with the Ammonites, Moabites, and Edomites in Transjordan to the east (Hesban, Dibon, Buseirah, Tawilan, Umm el-Biyara, Tell el-Kheleifeh, with some Edomite presence in the Negev to the south). An interesting Edomite shrine was excavated at Ḥaẓevah in the Negev with the discovery of a very large assemblage of cultic vessels and figurines. Similar finds were also made at the site of Qitmit. The Philistine entity continued to flourish within cities in the southern foothills region as has become particularly clear from the excavations at Tel Miqne (Ekron), Ashkelon, and Ashdod. Ekron had a major economy at this time based on the production and marketing of olive oil.

Difficulties arise in regard to the identification of material remains dating from the time of the Babylonian occupation of the country from 604/586 to 539 B.C.E., as well in regard to the identification of material remains from the earlier phase of the Persian period, at least down to c. 450 B.C.E. when there was the first appearance of imported Greek pottery and *ostraka* written in Aramaic. Some scholars have suggested that the material culture of the Iron Age II C stage in Palestine and Transjordan did not cease with the destruction of Jerusalem in 586 B.C.E. but that it continued at least until 530/520 B.C.E. with others suggesting lowering the terminal date well into the fifth century B.C.E.

The Persian period spans the period from the return from exile of Judeans under *Cyrus in 539 B.C.E. until the coming of *Alexander the Great in 332–31 B.C.E. Following the conquest of Babylon by Cyrus, Judean exiles were allowed back to Jerusalem and permission was given allowing them to rebuild the Jewish Temple destroyed in 586 B.C.E.; the Temple was subsequently completed in 516–15 B.C.E. The Palestine campaign of the Egyptian Cambyses in 525 B.C.E. was probably a direct result of the influx of repatriated peoples into the region. A second wave of returning exiles occurred at the time of *Ezra and *Nehemiah, following the death of *Darius I in 486 B.C.E. At this time the land was part of the district of the larger Persian satrapy of *eber nahari*, "Beyond the [Euphrates] River," and it included various sub-districts: the first included the region of Judah (the province [*phwh*] of *yhd*), Philistia, and Idumea in the south, and the second a part of Galilee, the coastal plain, and Samaria. Recent archaeological work has shown that in the central hilly country of *yhd* there was a settlement pattern of a few large sites with smaller hamlets round about, and this distribution fits in well with the so-called "lists of returning exiles" (Ezra 2:1–34; Neh. 7:6–38; cf. 11: 25–36) which contain the names of settlements in Judah. Judah was surrounded by a mixture of different ethnic entities, with the *Samaritans immediately north, the *Phoenicians (Tyrians and Sidonians) to the far north, the *Ammonites to the east across the Jordan, and with various Arab groups to the south and southeast (eventually replaced by the *Nabateans). In Galilee there is evidence for a Phoenician presence with the capital of this region perhaps situated at Megiddo. Four important sites were situated on the western Galilee coast and south in the area close to modern Haifa: Akhziv (Ecdippa), Akko, Tell Abu Hawam, and Shikmonah. Akko was used as an important military base in 374/373 B.C.E. during the campaigns against the Egyptians. A cargo of Phoenician terracotta figurines, some with representations of the goddess Tanit, was found in the sea next to Shavei Zion, north of Akko. The area of Samaria was governed between the time of Nehemiah and Alexander the Great by the strong local dynastic clan of Sanballat, and this became clear as a result of the papyri finds from Wadi el-Daliyeh. A distribution of some 35 sites, large and small, are known along the coast from Shikmonah to Jaffa. *Dor is an important site on the coastal plain which has yielded many archaeological remains from the Persian period, including fortifications and a two-chambered gate, and an orthogonal city layout with buildings and dwellings. Finds included numerous Greek and Cypriot imported pottery. Some sites along the coast were given by the Persians in the fourth century to the Phoenicians, and this included Dor which, according to the Shamun'azar Sarcophagus, was given together with Jaffa. Further inland are the sites of Nahal Tut and Ein Hofez. There was very little Persian influence on the local material culture of the period, except in terms of some ceramic forms, and in seals and coins with the name of the province *yhd*, including one bearing the name of a governor of the province, Yehezkiah. Aramaic was the *lingua franca* of this period and quite a few epigraphic finds – mainly *ostraka* – have been found at sites throughout Palestine, with a few Greek and Phoenician written finds from the coastal region (e.g., Dor), and some Edomite texts in the south of the country.

HELLENISTIC AND ROMAN. The Hellenistic period is divided into two parts: Early Hellenistic (332–200 B.C.E.) and Late Hellenistic (200–63 B.C.E.). The Hasmonean period is sometimes used by archaeologists in reference to the period extending from the mid-second century B.C.E. to the beginning of the rule of *Herod the Great in 37 B.C.E. The Roman period is divided into two parts: Early Roman (63 B.C.E. to 70 C.E.) and Late Roman (70–325 C.E.). Some scholars suggest a Middle Roman period for the time period 70–200 C.E.

The entire Near East came under the dominion of Alexander the Great following a decisive victory over the Persians in November 333 B.C.E. in the Plain of Issus. With the death of Alexander the Great and the dividing up of the Hellenistic empire amongst his Macedonian successors, Palestine became the springboard for an ensuing conflict between the Ptolemies and Seleucids. From 301 B.C.E. Palestine and Phoenicia were under direct Ptolemaic control. The country was divided up into hyparchies or toparchies for administrative purposes. Military colonies were established at Akko, Philoteria, and perhaps even at Beth Shean/Scythopolis by Ptolemy Philadelphus II (285–246 B.C.E.). Following a major battle held at Banias in 200 B.C.E. between Ptolemy V and *Antiochus III, Palestine came under the rule of the Syrian Seleucids.

Good sources of information exist in regard to Palestine from both Egyptian and Syrian sources. Perhaps the best known of the sources from this period are the Zenon Papyri from the Faiyum in Egypt. These record a visit that was made to Palestine between 260–258 B.C.E. by Zenon the financial minister of Egypt (under Ptolemy II). Places mentioned in the papyri include mostly sites on the *Via Maris* ("way of the sea") route along the coast with a few inland: Gaza, Maresha/Marissa, Ashkelon, Jaffa, Straton's Tower/Caesarea, Adora/Dor, and Akko/Ptolemais. Important archaeological remains of this period have been found at all these sites: fortifications, administrative buildings, palaces, dwellings, as well as pottery and coins. Maresha is referred to in the papyri as a center of the slave trade with Egypt and inscriptions indicate that some of its inhabitants hailed from Sidon and Phoenicia. It was undoubtedly an important city in Idumea. Archaeological work at the site has uncovered a large fortified city with residential quarters, a sacred *temenos*, markets with shops, and subterranean cave complexes. In one of the shops a standard of volumes for liquids that was made under the supervision of two *agoranomes* in 143/142 B.C.E. was found. Excavations conducted at the harbor-city of Dor revealed a city wall with square towers built of ashlars, a dyeing installation with murex shells, large residential buildings, and a structure containing plastered pools. To the north of Dor, off the coast of Athlit, underwater researches brought to light the bronze ram of a warship of the Hellenistic period, decorated with images of a trident, the symbols of Poseidon, the head of an eagle (representing Zeus?) and a helmet of the *Dioscuri*. Hellenistic remains have been found at numerous sites throughout Palestine and a rare and important votive inscription in Greek and Aramaic (to the "God who is at Dan"), dated to circa 200 B.C.E., was discovered during excavations conducted at the High Place of Tell Dan. The enclosed sacred *temenos* of the Samaritans has been uncovered at Mount Gerizim, with the discovery of numerous inscriptions in Greek and Aramaic referring to offerings provided to the temple. The pottery assemblage of this period known at sites in Palestine includes a variety of local vessels that maintain earlier traditions, as well as the appearance of new types of vessels, such as wine amphorae with stamped Greek inscriptions on their handles, brought by ship from the Greek islands (e.g., Rhodes), and a distinctive red-gloss fine ware (*terra sigillata*) which continued to be made into the Roman period.

Despite the cultural influences of Hellenism that existed in the region during this period, very little evidence may be adduced from the material culture of Palestine and Phoenicia at this time to suggest that a purposeful and overall Hellenization process prevailed. On the contrary, it would appear that local traditions were strongly maintained within rural communities as well as in the cities and towns, with some evidence that the elites were borrowing and adapting for their own purposes foreign cultural features of art and architecture, as well as acquiring imported valuable objects and commodities that were derived not only from the Greek world, but also from Syria and Egypt. Tel Anafa is a good example of an extremely wealthy Phoenician-type settlement dating primarily from the second century B.C.E., with buildings, a bath house, mosaic floors, and rich finds. At Tel Kedesh a very large administrative building was unearthed and in it was found a large cache of more than two thousand *bullae*, some bearing portraits of Seleucid monarchs (Antiochus IV to Demetrius I) and Roman Republican merchants, and others decorated with Phoenician symbols (e.g., Tanit). This building was abandoned circa 145 B.C.E.

The Maccabean revolt broke out in 167 B.C.E. and it marks the first manifestation of a Jewish nationalistic struggle against external cultures. It began because of Seleucid attempts to impose upon Jewish religious practices. The struggle that began in the vicinity of the town of Modi'in in the northern foothills of Palestine, northwest of Jerusalem, eventually led in 142 B.C.E. to the establishment of an independent Hasmonean kingdom under *Simeon the Hasmonean, which then expanded considerably under *Alexander Jannaeus (*Yannai; 104–76 B.C.E.) and threatened Nabatean territories in particular (e.g., the Golan and the trade route to Gaza port). Maresha and Gezer were two important sites that were conquered by the Hasmoneans. Important remains of Hasmonean fortified fortresses, palaces, and towns have been found in various parts of the country. The Hasmonean kingdom was considerably weakened with the appearance of the Roman commander Pompey in 63 B.C.E., who captured Jerusalem and took away their dominion over certain cities along the coast and in Transjordan. Henceforth, the Roman governor of Syria held power in the region, with support from the Hasmoneans and Idumeans. Eventually, in 40 B.C.E. the Idumean Antipater's son Herod the Great was declared "King of the Jews" by the Roman Senate, and from 37 to 4 B.C.E. he ruled over much of Palestine. A major source of historical information about this period is derived from the writings of the Jewish historian Josephus Flavius.

An impressive building program was initiated by Herod the Great and it may now be seen to be a direct continuation of the ambitious building projects previously initiated by the Hasmonean rulers. In Jerusalem, Herod undertook numerous building activities, including a massive rebuilding of the Temple Mount and its Jewish Temple, a luxurious palace surrounded by gardens in the Upper City, the fortress of Antonia, the strengthening of the city fortifications and the remodeling of gates, and the construction of a theater. Archaeological remains are known for all these monuments, except for the theater. Building programs were also undertaken at the harbor-city of Caesarea Maritima, with the construction of numerous buildings, a palace, and harbor installations (the foundations of the towers mentioned by Josephus have been uncovered in underwater explorations), and at Samaria (renamed Sebaste in honor of Augustus), with the construction of public buildings and a temple. A sprawling winter palace was built at Jericho, replacing earlier Hasmonean buildings at the site, and fortress palaces were erected at Masada, Herodium, and Machaerus. Under Herod's successors, similar building activities were undertaken at *Tiberias and at Caesarea Philippi (Banias). The city of Tiberias situated on the western shore of the Lake of Galilee was substantially rebuilt by Herod Antipas in 20 C.E. and the remains of a large building (palace?) have recently been uncovered, as well as one small part of an amphitheatre. At Caesarea Philippi, situated at the source of the River Jordan, a large complex palace with enormous underground vaulted chambers was unearthed, probably dating to the time of Philip the Tetrarch. Herod the Great also sponsored the construction of buildings in major cities outside his dominion, presumably to boost his influence. Following Herod's death his kingdom was broken up and divided among his sons. The northern and eastern areas – Galilee and Perea (Transjordan) – were allotted to Herod Antipas. The second son, Philip the Tetrarch, received the region of the Golan Heights and parts of the Hauran in Syria. The central part of the country – Judaea (and Jerusalem), Samaria, and Idumea – passed temporarily into the hands of the third son Herod Archelaus, but because of mismanagement he was deposed and the region came to be known as Provincia Judaea administered by Roman officials based at Caesarea Maritima. Procurators were subsequently appointed to rule over Judea between 44–66 C.E.

Archaeological work has been conducted on a variety of remains dating from the Early Roman period (37 B.C.E. to 70 C.E.). In Jerusalem priestly and aristocratic houses have been unearthed, some adorned with wall paintings and stucco decorations. Synagogues dating from the first century C.E. have been found at Gamla, Herodium, Masada, Jericho, and Modi'in. Numerous farming villages and privately owned *villae* were founded at this time in different parts of the country, with the construction of large areas of terraces in the highlands, regulated co-axial field systems in the lowlands, and large numbers of wine presses. At Qumran a settlement with at least three stages of existence was uncovered close to the caves where the Dead Sea Scrolls were found. However, scholars are still debating whether Qumran was a place inhabited by the Essenes, or whether it had some other primary function, such as a trading center or as an agricultural manor house. Burial customs of the Roman period indicate that the well-off were buried within rock-hewn family caves. A typical cave consists of a small central chamber and *kokhim* (tunnel-like burial recesses) in the walls. Secondary burial was made within limestone ossuaries and some were decorated and even inscribed with the names of the dead. The material culture of this period was quite uniform with a ceramic assemblage of local transport, cooking, and dining wares. Fine wares include a local variety of painted ware, similar in some ways to the Nabatean painted ware, and imported and local versions of red gloss ware (*terra sigillata*). Stone vessels became particularly popular as a result of the Jewish concerns for purity between 50–70 C.E., with the manufacturing of hand-carved and lathe-turned vessels, including mugs, bowls, and large jars, at places around Jerusalem and in Galilee.

Following the Jewish revolt against the Romans from 66 C.E. and the resulting destruction of Jerusalem and the Jewish Temple in 70 C.E., Jews were excluded from Jerusalem but not from the immediate territory as was once thought. Excavations at Tell el-Ful and at Beit Hanina to the north of the city have shown that Jews continued farming the lands around Jerusalem, to maintain the roads and to provide agricultural produce for the occupying Tenth Legion, at least until the second century C.E. Numerous finds have been made connected with the *Bar Kokhba revolt, including large numbers of subterranean hideaways, letters, and manuscripts hidden away in caves in the Judean Desert, and remnants of the final bastion at *Bethar (Battir). Following the Bar Kokhba revolt of 132–35 C.E. Jerusalem became known as the *colonia* of Aelia Capitolina, and Judaea was replaced by the name Syria-Palaestinia. Large tracts of land were distributed by the Roman authorities to members of the army and some of these were maintained by Roman *villae*. One such site was excavated to the southeast of Jerusalem at Ein Yael in the Rephaim Valley, and it included buildings, some with highly decorated mosaic floors, a spring-house, and bathhouses. Similar *villae* existed in the near vicinity at Sataf and Suba. Roman urbanization programs were initiated throughout the country, at Beth Shean/Scythopolis, Sepphoris/Diocaesarea, Shechem/Neapolis, Lod/Diospolis, Beth Guvrin/Eletheropolis, Emmaus/Nicopolis, and elsewhere. Major features within these cities are the remains of monumental gates, columned streets, marketplaces, temples, shrines, nymphaea, amphitheatres, theaters, and hippodromes. Important discoveries include a lead weight from Ḥorvat Alim inscribed in Hebrew with the name of Shimon Bar Kosba (i.e., Bar Kokhba), an over life-size bronze statue of Hadrian that was found near Beth Shean, a mithraeum – a shrine dedicated to the Iranian mystery god Mithras – at Caesarea, residential buildings with highly decorated mosaic floors at Sepphoris (e.g., the "House of Orpheus"), and a third century C.E. monumental Latin inscription at the fort of Yotvatah in the Aravah. The center of Jewish activities gradually shifted during the second and third centuries B.C.E. to the north, to Galilee and to parts of the Golan, and many villages were founded in these areas. Excavations at the necropolis of Beth Shearim have indicated that it became a center for the burial of prominent Jews, not only from the country but also for people from the Diaspora.

BYZANTINE. The Byzantine period (325 to 638 C.E.) is regarded as one of the richest periods in the archaeology of the country. Some archaeologists distinguish between Early Byzantine (325–500 C.E.) and Late Byzantine (500–638 C.E.).

With Christianity becoming established as one of the official religions of the Roman Empire, paganism was gradually abolished in Palestine with the last pagan temple being shut down in Gaza circa 400 C.E. Jews and Samaritans were tolerated by the authorities and allowed to practice their customs and to maintain their places of prayer in purposefully built synagogues. The country was now regarded as the "holy land" – the place that witnessed the birth, life, and resurrection of *Jesus. Places of worship sprang up throughout the country and Helena, mother of Constantine the Great, according to tradition, made a visit to the country circa 326 C.E. to ascertain the location of some of the sites. In Jerusalem, the site of Jesus' tomb was pointed out below the foundations of the Roman forum and the Temple of Venus, in excavation works supervised by the Bishop Macarius on Constantine's orders. The discovery of Jesus' tomb resulted in the construction of a large *martyrium* basilica on the spot, parts of which are now incorporated into the Church of the Holy Sepulcher. Additional churches were constructed at this time at the Cave of the Nativity in Bethlehem, the Mount of Olives (Church of Eleona), and at Mamre near Hebron. Christianity in Palestine became substantially consolidated during the fifth and sixth centuries C.E., and hundreds of new churches, chapels, and monasteries were constructed all over the country, even at isolated locations. These were adorned with mosaic floors, wall paintings, and portable furnishings made of wood and other materials. The height of these building activities in Jerusalem took place at the time of the Emperor Justinian (mid-sixth century C.E.) with the construction of the southern extension of the Cardo street leading to the entrance to an enormous basilical church called the Nea – foundations of this church were uncovered during excavations in the Jewish Quarter. The church next to the tomb of Jesus and the new church built by Justinian are both depicted on the sixth-century C.E. Madaba mosaic map.

Institutionalized pilgrimage to the Holy Land began in the fourth century. Many pilgrims arrived by boat to the main ports of the country, and at Dor on the north coast, a monumental pilgrimage church was built to accommodate some of their needs. Pilgrimage eventually became an economic mainstay in the country and pilgrims were well catered to by a variety of religious institutions, way stations, hospices, and even hospitals. The existence of so many pilgrims in the country led to the development of a flourishing industry that produced crosses, trinkets, and mementoes (e.g., *eulogia* amulets and *ampullae* flasks), portable art works (e.g., icons), and reliquaries (e.g., with the supposed fragments of the holy cross). The holy sites were scattered at different locations, with pilgrims interested primarily in sites in Jerusalem as their main destination, as well as at places in Judea, Galilee, around the Sea of Galilee, and in the Jordan Valley. One of the earliest of pilgrim accounts is that of the Bordeaux Pilgrim (333 C.E.) and one of the best known is that of Egeria, a nun from western Spain, who visited the country between 381–84 C.E.

Byzantine Palestine was divided into three parts: *Palaestina Prima*, which included the coastal plain, Samaria, Judea, Idumea, and Perea and had its capital at Caesarea; *Palaestina Secunda*, which included Galilee, the Golan, and the Decapolis of Palestine, with its capital at Scythopolis; and *Palaestina Tertia*. During the course of the Byzantine period, settlement extended into marginal regions, particularly in the Negev highlands. Many houses of this period had internal open courtyards, and a few walls were partitioned with so-called "Chorazin" windows, and others had roofs constructed with stone slabs in corbelled fashion, especially in the Negev and in the Golan. Jewish life in Palestine flourished during the Byzantine period and large numbers of synagogues have been uncovered particularly to the north of the country, for example at Khirbet Shema, Meiron, Capernaum, Chorazin, Nabratein, Kefar Baram, and in the Golan. Some of the later examples of synagogues (fifth-sixth centuries C.E.) have a *bema* and ornate mosaic floors depicting the Torah shrine, the *menorah*, and biblical scenes and have dedicatory inscriptions in Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek. One synagogue from Rehov had a floor decorated with a unique Aramaic inscription with 29 lines of the laws of the *halakhah* pertaining to the sabbatical year. Numerous villages have been investigated in different parts of the country and many of these were identified as being solely Christian, Jewish, or Samaritan, based on the discovery of churches or synagogues. The assumption made by some scholars, however, that a clear-cut ethnic differentiation existed between the ethnic groups at that time is incorrect and without any basis in the extant archaeological finds. During the Persian invasion of 614 C.E. various churches were destroyed in different parts of the country. Large numbers of victims from Jerusalem were buried within a crypt, which was uncovered in excavations close to the Jaffa Gate of today, confirming the writings of the Church Fathers on the subject.

ISLAMIC TO OTTOMAN. With the advent of Islam in the southern Levant in 638 C.E. gradual changes to the settlement pattern of the country and its material culture began to take place, but there was no massive destruction at sites as had once been thought. The Islamic period may be divided into three parts: Early Islamic (638–1099 C.E.), divided into the *Umayyad (638–750 C.E.) and *Abbasid (750–1099 C.E.), and Late Islamic, divided into the Crusader/*Ayyubid (1099–1291 C.E.) and *Mamluk (1291–1517 C.E.). The *Ottoman period extends from 1517 until the invasion of the British in 1917.

Under the Umayyads major construction activities took place in various parts of the country, continuing local architectural trends apparent already in the Late Byzantine period. For a while Byzantine coinage remained in circulation, but eventually was replaced by Umayyad minted coins. In Jerusalem a number of important buildings were built on the Temple Mount (Haram al-Sharif) with the Dome of the Rock, built at the time of the reign of Abd al-Malik, situated at its center, and with the large Aqsa mosque to its south. The Dome of the Rock remains to this day a marvelous gem of Early Islamic architecture. Numerous archaeological remains from this period have been found: fortifications, dwellings and shops in the cities, and pottery kilns. Roads were also repaired as a number of milestones testify. A hoard of 751 gold coins from the first half of the seventh century B.C.E. was uncovered within a large Umayyad residence in Beth Shean. In the baths of Hammath Gader an inscription in Greek testified to the fact that it had been rebuilt at the orders of an Arab governor in 662 C.E. Farms dating from the Umayyad period are known in the Negev, as well as some very early examples of open-air mosques and many rock inscriptions in Arabic. Large building complexes of a kind that is sometimes referred to as the "Umayyad chateau" are known from Khirbet el-Minya on the end of the Sea of Galilee and at Khirbet al-Mafjar close to Jericho. These mansions are richly decorated with mosaic floors and carvings in stone and stucco of a very high order. Coins found at Scythopolis/Beth Shean have shown that this stage of the Early Islamic period came to an end roughly at the same time as a massive earthquake in 749 C.E. The pottery assemblage from the Umayyad period includes common wares that resemble those from the Late Byzantine period, with the addition of a number of new forms and lamps. It would appear that the buff ware that became so distinctive in Abbasid levels already made its appearance towards the end of the Umayyad, i.e., during the century or so preceding the earthquake of 749 C.E., judging by recent finds at Tiberias.

Ramla (*Ramleh) was a new city that was founded in 712–15 C.E. to replace Lod (*Lydda), but major changes and an expansion of the city mainly took place in Abbasid times. The remains of a mosque, dwellings, plastered installations for dyeing, and mosaic pavements have been found, together with large quantities of pottery, artistic objects, inscriptions, and coins. One mosaic floor has one of the earliest representations of a *miḥrab* and also a verse from the Koran. A subterranean reservoir was found with a dated inscription indicating that it was built in 789 C.E. at the time of the reign of Harun al-Rashid. Sources indicate that the town also had a Jewish neighborhood, but remains attesting to this have not yet been found. The pottery from the Abbasid period is quite distinctive, and includes among others mold-made buff jugs and glazed bowls. Umayyad coinage continued in circulation well into the Abbasid phase and this has tended to confuse some archaeological sequences from the early Abbasid (i.e., pre-Fatimid phase). Jewelry hoards from the Fatimid phase have been found during excavations at Ashkelon and Caesarea, and hoards of metal vessels at Tiberias and Caesarea.

Jerusalem was conquered by the Crusaders in 1099 C.E. and thereafter a massive building program of churches and castles took place throughout the Kingdom of Jerusalem. Early castle building was sponsored by Baldwin I (1100–18 C.E.) and Baldwin II (1118–31 C.E.) at Ashkelon on the coast of Palestine, at Shaubak in Transjordan, and on the Isle de Graye in the Gulf of Aqaba. Commercial arrangements were made on behalf of the Genoese, Pisans, and Venetians with the provision of holdings in the port cities. The coinage and metalwork of this period is quite distinctive. Reliquaries with fragments purported to be of the Holy Cross, the bones of John the Baptist, and other relics, were dispersed to churches in the West. The Church of the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem was substantially remodeled and redecorated after 1131 C.E., with most of the works completed by the 1140s, and with the dedication taking place in 1149 C.E. Important churches from this period are the Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem, the Church of the Annunciation at Nazareth, and the Church of St John at Sebaste. The *Templer and Hospitaler orders were strengthened and became consolidated during this period. *Saladin (Salah-ad-Din) eventually unified Moslem forces and in 1187 C.E. inflicted a major defeat on the Crusaders at the Horns of Hattin overlooking the Sea of Galilee, reducing the Crusader hold to Tyre and Beirut. In 1191 C.E. the Crusaders managed to regain control over the coastal areas, but they were unable to recapture Jerusalem. In 1219 C.E. in view of an imminent Crusader invasion, the Ayyubid Sultan of Damascus, al-Malik al-Mu'azzem, ordered the razing of the walls of Jerusalem. This self-imposed Ayyubid destruction has been verified in archaeological excavations along the walls of Jerusalem, with the discovery of piles of collapsed ashlars and dedicatory inscriptions in Arabic dating from 1202/1203 C.E. and 1212 C.E. along the western and southern edges of the Old City. Although Frederick II was able to restore control over the holy places in 1229 C.E. through a process of treaty with Sultan al-Kamil, Jerusalem was subsequently captured by the Khwarazmian Turks and access to the holy places was again impossible. The fortifications of Tyre, Acre, and Caesarea were rebuilt at the time of Louis IX, as well as a new castle at Sidon. With the Mamluk capture of the castle of Crac des Chevaliers, the Crusader presence in the Levant was gradually eliminated and the final straw was the Mamluk conquest of Acre (Akko) in 1291. Important archaeological work has been conducted on the churches and secular buildings of the Crusaders throughout the Levant, with work undertaken at Caesarea, Belvoir, and recently at Akko where well preserved and substantial remains of the Crusader city have been uncovered. Numerous monuments attributed to the Mamluk period are known from Jerusalem itself, with markets, baths, and schools (the *madrasas*), and throughout the country as well, notably with the re-use and re-building of castles and towers previously built by the Crusaders. The pottery assemblage from this period includes a variety of glazed bowls and jugs, as well as unglazed green-buff wares, especially jugs with stamped decorations around the necks. Handmade jars and smaller vessels decorated with geometric-painted designs appear during the Ayyubid period and this tradition of pottery making is continued right through the Ottoman period to the early 20th century.

Palestine in the early part of Ottoman period flourished and the city walls of Jerusalem were substantially reconstructed under *Suleiman the Magnificent in the 1540s. Numerous villages were erected in different parts of the country and their remains form the nuclei of present-day Palestinian villages. Forts were erected along the route leading through Jordan to protect pilgrims making their way on the holy pilgrimage (*hajj*) to Mecca. The important towns of this period are Tabaryya (Tiberias), Nablus (Shechem), al-Khalil/Masjid Ibrahim (Hebron), and Acre. In the mid-18th century, a local chieftain, Dahr-al-'Umar, fortified the towns of Acre and Tiberias, and built forts at Sa'sa and Shafr'amr among other places. The country was administered by pashas and towards the 19th century it became the backwater of the Ottoman Empire. Throughout the Islamic to Ottoman periods Jews and Christians were allowed to maintain their communities, to build places of worship and to keep their respective traditions. At the time of the Crusades, however, Jews were excluded from Jerusalem and persecuted together with Moslems. Following the conquest of Jerusalem by Salah ad-Din in 1187, Jews and Christians were allowed to establish their own neighborhoods within the city, and this situation with some changes here and there continued through Ottoman times. Important Jewish communities flourished during the Middle Ages at Tiberias, on the shore of the Sea of Galilee, and at Safed in the hills of Galilee, as well as in adjacent villages. Ottoman rule in Palestine ceased with the arrival of the British in 1917. On entering Jerusalem on December 9, 1917, General Edmund H.H. *Allenby proclaimed martial law and had posters put up on the walls of the city which read: "Since your City is regarded with affection by the adherents of three of the great religions of mankind, and its soil has been consecrated by the prayers and pilgrimages of devout people of those three religions for many centuries, therefore do I make known to you that every sacred building, holy spot, shrine, traditional site, endowment, pious bequest or customary place of prayer, of whatever form of the three religions, will be maintained and protected according to the existing customs and beliefs to whose faiths they are sacred."

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[Shimon Gibson (2nd ed.)]

ARCHANGEL (Rus. **Arkhangelsk**), White Sea port and capital of Archangel district, Russia; excluded from the *Pale of Settlement. The nucleus of the Jewish community was formed between 1828 and 1856 by young Jewish conscripts who had been sent to the *Cantonists' institution in Archangel and were allowed to settle there after being discharged from the army. In 1897 there were 248 Jews in Archangel. After the Pale was abolished in 1917 the number of Jews increased, reaching 850 by 1923. In 1926 there were 1,449 Jews in the entire oblast (0.3% of the total population). In 1939 they numbered 1,346 in the city and 1,858 in the entire district. Between 1939 and 1941 many Jews from the western areas then annexed by the Soviet Union were deported to Archangel and its environs.

[Yehuda Slutsky]

ARCHELAIS, ancient town in the Jordan Valley, north of Jericho. It was founded by Archelaus, the son of Herod, and was later given to Salome, Herod's sister, who in turn bequeathed it in 10 C.E. to Livia, wife of the emperor Augustus. Archelaus built the town as a center for his vast date groves for which he diverted water extending from the springs of Na'aran (Neara; Jos., Ant. 17:1–340). Pliny the Elder (Nat. Hist. v, 44) also refers to the high quality date groves that once grew in this specific region. According to a Roman road map (*tabula Peutingeriana*), Archelais was situated 12 Roman miles N. of Jericho; it is similarly indicated on the *Madaba mosaic Map. It is now identified with Khirbet Beiyudat – as originally suggested by H. Guthe – and excavations conducted there in 1986–91 and 1994–99 by H. Hizmi revealed a large building built of ashlars preserved to a height of 30 ft. (9 m.) and a fifth-century C.E. basilica church with highly decorated mosaic floors and a dedicatory inscription. Substantial remains were uncovered from the Second Temple period (first century C.E.), including ritual bathing pools, residential quarters, and pottery and stone vessels, all lending support to the identification of this site as Archelais. A large inn was apparently built at the site at the time of Herod Agrippa I (41–44 C.E.) and much of its plan was revealed during the recent excavations. It was destroyed at the time of Vespasian's march on Jericho in 67–68 C.E.

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[Michael Avi-Yonah / Shimon Gibson (2nd ed.)]

ARCHELAUS, ethnarch of Judea (4 B.C.E.–c. 6 C.E.), son of Herod by his Samaritan wife Malthace. In his fourth will Herod designated Archelaus king of Judea and Samaria, which constituted the major portion of his kingdom. The testament required confirmation by Augustus. Archelaus prepared to set out for Rome for this purpose immediately after the period of mourning for his father. Before he was able to depart, events in Judea adversely affected his position. At his first meeting in the Temple with the representatives of the people, they demanded relief from the heavy burden of taxation imposed by Herod. Archelaus sought to postpone the matter until his return from Rome in order to allow their passions to cool. However, the extremist elements among the people assembled and decreed mourning for the scholars Judah son of Ẓipporai and Mattathias b. Margalot and their associates, who had been put to death at Herod's command for tearing down the Roman eagle from the Temple gates. The extremists presented additional demands: the punishment of Herod's advisers who had caused the death of these scholars; the appointment of another high priest in place of *Joezer, son of Boethus; and the expulsion of the Greek officials from the royal court. It was the period of the festival of Passover and multitudes of pilgrims were streaming to Jerusalem. Archelaus, fearing disorders, sent a company of troops against the instigators. This act aroused popular anger and, when the soldiers were stoned, Archelaus ordered them to suppress the uprising by force. In the clash which followed approximately 3,000 people were killed. As a result, when Archelaus reached Rome to petition the emperor to confirm his father's testament, a delegation of the people had also arrived there from Judea to request that the authority of the House of Herod be abolished and that Judea be annexed to the province of Syria. The delegation was supported by 8,000 Jews resident in Rome. The Greek cities also sent envoys requesting their transfer to the immediate authority of the imperial legate of Syria. A third deputation of the Herodian family, however, demanded either the equal partition of the entire kingdom among all the sons of Herod, or awarding the throne to Antipas. Meantime, the position in Judea had deteriorated, and the Syrian governor *Quintilius Varus was compelled to suppress the revolt by force. The emperor's decision was influenced in large measure by these disorders in Judea. He did not nullify Herod's will completely, but made one basic change: abolishing the monarchy, and granting Judea, Idumea, and Samaria to Archelaus with the title of ethnarch, promising him the title of king later if he proved successful in his rule. The areas allotted to Herod's other two sons, *Herod Philip and *Antipas, were also confirmed and the title tetrarch bestowed on them. The Greek cities of Gaza, Gadara (Hammath-Gadar), and Susita (Hippos) were annexed to the province of Syria. Meanwhile peace had been restored in Judea after the war with Quintilius Varus. Archelaus ruled with a strong hand, suppressing the rebellious elements in the country with the utmost cruelty and brutality. He replaced the high priest Joezer by his brother Eleazar, who in turn was supplanted by Joshua, son of Seth. He inherited his father's passion for building, and erected the city of Archelais near Jericho, and built a new palace in Jericho in place of that destroyed during the disturbances. He planted the plain with palm trees and installed an irrigation system in it. His bad relations with the people deteriorated further as a result of his marriage to *Glaphyra, widow of his stepbrother *Alexander, by whom she had had children, such a marriage being prohibited by biblical law (Lev. 18:18). In 6 C.E. a delegation of the people again complained of him to Augustus. This time, the emperor dismissed Archelaus from his ethnarchy, exiled him to Vienne in Gaul, and confiscated his property. Judea was annexed to the Syrian province and placed under a procurator responsible to the authority of the governor of Syria. Archelaus died in exile c. 16 C.E.

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[Abraham Schalit]

ARCHERD, ARMY (**Armand Archer**; 1919–), U.S. columnist. The son of a textile worker, Armand Archer was born and raised in the Bronx, New York. In 1939, he moved with his family to Los Angeles, where he studied languages at UCLA. After serving on a destroyer in the Navy during WWII, Archerd returned to Los Angeles hoping to pursue a career in writing. He worked in the Hollywood bureau of the Associated Press until he was hired as a "legman" for Harrison Carroll, the Hollywood columnist at the now defunct *Los Angeles Herald Express.* In 1953, Archerd began his iconic career as a columnist for *Daily Variety*. His upbeat "Just for Variety" column presented an assortment of short and unrelated pieces of entertainment news, and he was soon recognized as one of Hollywood's most important opinion-makers and cultural icons. He has won numerous awards for his journalism, most notably the Journalistic Merit Award which he received in 1962 from the Golden Globes. In 1985, Archerd broke the story that Rock Hudson had AIDS and the article contributed to the growing awareness of the epidemic. In addition to his column, Archerd hosted numerous variety shows and movie premieres, the most famous being the red carpet ceremony at the Academy Awards. He also developed a second career as an actor, playing bit parts in over a hundred films and TV shows, often appearing as himself. In 1984, he was given his own star on the Hollywood Walk of Fame to commemorate his iconic status. He is married to actress Selma Archerd.

[Max Joseph (2nd ed.)]

ARCHIPHERECITES, title. In the Novella 145 of *Justinian, of 553, the "elders, archipherecites, presbyters, and those called magistrates" were forbidden to use the power of anathema to prevent the reading of the Scriptures in synagogue in Greek, Latin, or another language other than the original. The title was apparently applied to the intellectual leaders of Palestinian Jewry after the abolition of the patriarchate in 425. It is assumed that the archipherecites mentioned by Justinian was *Mar Zutra III, who was at the head of the Academy of Tiberias, by virtue of which position he was the official leader of Palestinian Jewry. The word archipherecites is apparently a hybrid word formed from the Aramaic פִּירְקָא (*pirka*) and the Greek ἀρχή ("chief") and is thus equivalent to the phrase *resh pirka*, "head of the school" (cf. Kid. 31b).

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ARCHISYNAGOGOS (ἀρχισυνάγωγος; Heb. *rosh ha-keneset*), title used in classical times referring to the head of the synagogue, who served as the leader of the Jewish community. The *archisynagogos* is known from Jewish inscriptions in the period of the Roman Empire and from other sources (Yoma 7:1; Mark 5:22 et al.). His functions were varied and included the arrangement of the service in the synagogue and of everything related to its physical administration as well as supervision of general community affairs. The *archisynagogos* was held in high esteem and it was considered a great honor to marry one of his daughters (Pes. 49b; cf. Git. 60a). For a time it was customary at the consolation meals of mourners to drink a cup of wine in honor of the *archisynagogos*, but this was later abolished (TJ, Ber. 3:1, 6a; cf. Sem. 14, end). *Archisynagogoi* are known in many places: Ereẓ Israel, Syria, Asia Minor, and Rome (see Juster, Juifs, 1 (1914), 450). Outside Ereẓ Israel the *archisynagogos* collected charity funds and donations for Jews in the Holy Land. The manner in which the *archisynagogos* was chosen is not known. The title *archisynagogos* appears also as an honorific, being applied even to women and children. A Roman law of 331 C.E. exempted the *archisynagogos* from physical servitude (to the state, *munus corporale*; Codex Theodosianus 16:8:4), and another law, of 397, exempted them from several state taxes and granted them a legal position equivalent to that of Christian clergymen (Codex Theodosianus 16:8:13). During this period the *archisynagogos* was subject to the **nasi*, who could remove him from office and appoint another in his place (Epiphanius, Panarion, haer. 30:11). According to Finkelstein, however, the *rosh ha-keneset* mentioned in the Mishnah (Sot. 7:7; Yoma 7:1) refers only to the head of a Pharisaic congregation and not to the *archisynagogos* mentioned above.

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[Uriel Rappaport]

ARCHITECTURE AND ARCHITECTS. Archaeology has provided information about "Israelite" architectural practices from the 10th to 6th centuries B.C.E., and to "Jewish" styles of building and decoration from the late Hellenistic period (1st century B.C.E.) and later.

In Antiquity

The planning of isolated dwellings may be traced back to late prehistoric times. Natural geographical and topographical conditions presented early builders with a choice of materials: clay for bricks, stone for walls and wood for ceilings. Structures – circular, curvilinear and rectangular in plan – may be traced back to the Natufian and Pre-Pottery Neolithic periods. Wooden posts supported thatched ceilings. In environments lacking in trees, ceilings were constructed of corbelled stone. Signs of village/town planning with complex architecture, street networks, drainage and water-collecting systems, were already evident within some Neolithic settlements, notably at PPNA Jericho and at PNA Sha'ar Hagolan. Sophisticated architectural planning, however, did not precede the Early Bronze Age. Complex structures used as dwellings (of broadroom or longroom design), palaces, administrative buildings, and temples are known from this period. Although dressed stones appear for the first time as supports for wooden posts in the EB Age temples at Megiddo, most of the walls of this period were built of fieldstones or mudbrick covered with clay plaster and lime. Settlements were surrounded by fortifications, with towers and chambered gates at intervals, and were built on rubble foundations along a predetermined topographical course.

The fortification systems of the Middle Bronze Age were extremely complex engineering feats and were apparently built as a response to the development of sophisticated military sapping equipment. The arch was known in monumental construction from as early as the Middle Bronze Age. At Tel Dan a city gate was unearthed with its outer portal preserved as a true arch with mud-brick voussoirs. Dressed orthostats are known from a number of city gates dating from the Middle Bronze Age, for example at Gezer and Shechem, and further afield at MB sites in Lebanon and Syria.

The efficient architectural planning of Iron Age II cities and towns has become evident as a result of the extensive excavation of a number of Israelite sites, for example at Tell Beit Mirsim, Tell el-Nasbeh and Tell el-Farah (north). Public buildings, dwellings of various sizes and plans, water systems and other underground features are characteristic of such sites. Nothing has survived of the two main buildings constructed by Solomon in Jerusalem – the Temple and the "House of the Forest of Lebanon," both of which were described in the Book of Kings. The description of these buildings suggests that they were large and had walls built of ashlars and with cedar ceiling beams requiring many internal columns for support. The Temple is believed to have been a tripartite structure built on a longitudinal axis and imported cedar beams were utilized; the Bible relates how Hiram, king of Tyre, lent Solomon his builders. The four-room or three-room building units were typical of the dwellings of this period. Dressed stones comprising smoothed or marginal-drafted ashlars are known from the Iron Age II, mainly from the 10th century B.C.E., sometimes laid in alternate courses of headers and stretchers to ensure stability. Wooden beams were sometimes added into the walls horizontally between the courses of stones, to provide elasticity and to minimize damage from earthquakes. Stones were dressed with chisels. The use of the dentate chisel edge is known only from the Persian/Hellenistic period onwards. Windows were occasionally bordered with an indented balustrade (e.g., Ramat Rahel) and the Proto-Aeolic capital – decorated with a triangle flanked by spiraling volutes – was used in doorjambs of important buildings (e.g., Jerusalem, Samaria, Megiddo). Most private houses, however, continued to be built of rubble walls with smoothed mud walls, coated with lime plaster. Complex mud-brick construction was discovered during excavations of Persian-period structures at Tell Jemmeh, with pitched barrel-vaulting in residences and storerooms.

From the Hellenistic period and through the Roman period, architectural planning became much more expansive within cities, while building projects within the rural countryside remained modest and followed on techniques of construction used in previous periods. Various types of mortar and brick construction techniques were introduced into the region in the Roman period. Imported materials, such as marble, were utilized in the construction of palaces and large buildings, especially from the time of Herod the Great in the late 1st century B.C.E. The engineering achievements of the Romans in regard to the construction of roads, bridges and aqueducts, also had its effect on the region. New leisure projects – baths, theaters, amphitheaters – were constructed.

It is hard to define Jewish architecture prior to the Roman period, but from the late 1st century B.C.E. onwards one may point out the existence of tomb architecture with internal decorations (e.g., the tombs at Akeldama in Jerusalem), free-standing tomb monuments (e.g., the Tombs of Absalom and Zachariah in the Kidron Valley in Jerusalem), and public buildings identified as synagogues (e.g., Masada, Herodium, Gamla, Jericho, and Modi'in), which were undoubtedly created by Jewish artisans and architects. The Temple and the esplanade on which it was built was one of the architectural accomplishments from the time of Herod the Great (37–4 B.C.E.). Massive fortifications are known from this period as well. During the Late Roman and Byzantine periods, Jewish architecture continued to be exemplified by various forms of synagogues (e.g., Chorazin, Capernaum, Beth Alpha, etc.) and tombs (e.g., Beth Shearim).

[Shimon Gibson (2nd ed.)]

Modern Period

In modern times there is an abundance of Jewish architects but – except perhaps to a certain extent in Israel – no Jewish architecture to speak of. The men who designed the synagogues for European communities may well have been engaged by their coreligionists for domestic architecture as well. The names of medieval Jewish magnates are frequently associated with stone dwelling-houses, some of which still stand. There is indeed reason to believe that in England – perhaps for reasons of security – it was the Jews who pioneered domestic stone building, a fashion they introduced from the Continent. Notwithstanding such isolated instances, however, it is clear that Jews played little or no part in general architecture before the age of Emancipation. It was only in the 19th century that Jewish architects began to emerge in general practice and to be given civic, monumental, or even ecclesiastical commissions in many countries of Europe without any apparent discrimination. Curiously enough, two of the first Jewish architects to have attained some distinction in the field were both wealthy English Sephardim: the convert to Christianity, George *Basevi, and David *Mocatta. The latter's designs for a series of railway stations in the 1830s and 1840s had a lasting influence. The same tradition of the "gentleman architect" was represented somewhat later by the German Georg Itzig, who designed the princely Palazzo Revoltella in Trieste, and in the same Italian Renaissance style, the Deutsche Reichsbank in Berlin (1879). Around the turn of the century many other Reichsbank branches, designed with the floridity characteristic of German architecture of this period, were built by E. Jacobsthal (1839–1902). In Austria a pioneer in theater architecture was Oscar *Strnad, and in Germany Oskar *Kaufmann worked in the same field, most notably in his Stadttheater in Bremerhaven (1909) and his Komoedie Theater in Berlin (1924). As in other spheres of modern culture, Jews were among the first to break away from conventional forms in architecture. In Germany a pioneer was Alfred Messel, whose Wertheim Department Store in Berlin (1897), a remarkable combination of stone, steel, and glass, is generally considered one of the important influences on modern architecture, notwithstanding its neo-Gothic romanticism. Another modern master was Eric *Mendelsohn, whose expressionistic buildings, such as his Einstein Tower in Potsdam (1919–20), have a highly sculptural appearance. At the turn of the century Budapest was a city vibrating with life. In the feverish building boom of the era, Jewish architects played a considerable role. A new style, Secession (Art Nouveau, Jugendstil), came to the fore, which in Hungary merged folkloristic, and even Oriental motifs, with historicizing styles. In the center of the new architecture stood the non-Jewish architect Ödön Lechner, and many of his helpers and coworkers were Jews or of Jewish descent. His works, and those of other architects of the period were not only neglected, but even frowned upon in later decades only to be restored in the 1970s and 1980s. At present they are highly valued sites of the Hungarian capital. Elsewhere in Europe, among the most influential of modern French architects was Alexandre Persitz (1910–). He was editor of the review *Architecture d'aujourd'hui* and a leading figure in the reconstruction of the city of Le Havre after World War II, as well as the architect of a number of synagogues. Other influential contemporary French architects include Emmanuel Pontrémoli, who taught at the Ecole des Beaux Arts in Paris, Georges Goldberg, Georges Gumpel, and Claude *Meyer-Lévy. In Italy mention should be made of Manfredo d'Urbino and Bruno Zevi, who in addition to being a practicing architect and a writer on the subject was secretary general of the Italian Institute of Town Planning; Julien Flegenheimer (1880–1938), the brother of the author Edmund *Fleg, was architect of the Palace of the League of Nations in Geneva. One of the most interesting and most successful workers' housing projects, the Spaarndammerplantsoen in Amsterdam, was designed by the Dutchman Michel de *Klerk. Indeed, it is perhaps symptomatic of the intense Jewish interest in social welfare and social activism that Jewish architects have tended to be associated with such public developments in disproportionate numbers. One of the most famous of these is the Karl Marx Hof in Vienna, built in 1930 by the partnership of Frank and Wlach. In Russia, particularly since the Bolshevik Revolution, a number of Jewish architects have had prominent public careers. One of the first of these, J.C. Gewuertz, was a leader of the avant-garde even in prerevolutionary times. In the 1920s he won great esteem and became dean of the school of architecture of the Academy. The architect A.I. Gegello (1891–1965) was well known for his House of Culture in Leningrad, reputed to have the best acoustics of any theater in Russia; his Botkin Memorial Hospital for Infectious Diseases is a striking protest against the over-centralization and dehumanization of modern medicine. N.A. Trotski's glass factory "Belyi Bychek," designed in the 1920s, is a bold and masterly integration of diverse elements. His project for the Palace of the Soviets in Leningrad in 1937, however, exhibits a lifeless neoclassicism which may perhaps be attributed to circumstances. A country in the New World in which Jews have been particularly active in the field of architecture is Brazil. A forerunner of modern architecture in Brazil was Russian-born Gregori Warchavchik (1896–1972), who built the first modern house in the country in São Paulo in 1927 and supervised the Brazilian architecture exhibit in the Exhibition of the Modern House which he organized in 1930. Rino Levi (1901–1965) was among the most prolific of Brazilian architects, working in American skyscraper style. In this he was rivaled by Henrique Mindlin (1911–1971), author of *Modern Architecture in Brazil* (1956), whose work has helped to change the skyline of Rio de Janeiro. One of the collaborators in the plans for the new Brazilian capital, Brasilia, as well as a designer of the country's most modern synagogues, was Elias Kaufman (1928–). The versatile Roberto Burle Marx used the luxuriant Brazilian landscape as an integral part of his architecture. The record of distinguished Jewish architects in the United States is long and impressive. The founder of the tradition was German-born Leopold *Eidlitz, an important figure in the Gothic movement, who began his career in America shortly after the middle of the 19th century. He built, besides a number of churches – his Christ Church Cathedral in St. Louis has been called "the most churchly church in America" – the former Temple Emanu-El, one of the most notable buildings in old

New York. Dankmar *Adler, in conjunction with the non-Jew Louis Sullivan, was largely responsible for the evolution of the American skyscraper. Albert *Kahn, creator of the Ford automobile works outside Detroit, has been described as the most influential industrial architect of modern times. Other important Jewish names in 20th-century American architecture are Louis I. *Kahn, who has been called a major form maker; Max *Abramovitz, designer of the Philharmonic Hall in New York; Victor Gruen (d. 1980), who may be said to have invented the suburban shopping center; Albert Mayer (d. 1981) and Percival *Goodman, both well known as city planners as well as architects; Isadore Rosenfield, a leader in functional hospital design; and Gordon *Bunshaft. Ely Jacques *Kahn, Richard J. *Neutra, Paul Friedberg, Lawrence Halprin, Bertrand Goldberg, Rudolph Schindler, Arnold W. *Brunner, Peter D. *Eisenman, Frank O. *Gehry, Robert A.M. *Stern, Daniel *Liebeskind, Stanley *Tigerman, Richard *Meier, and James *Polshek.

In Modern Ereẓ Israel

The architecture in Jewish towns and settlements in modern Ereẓ Israel was conditioned, on the whole, more by the urgent housing requirements of the various *aliyyot* than by any other consideration. The aesthetic aspect mostly reflected the trends prevalent in the architects' countries of origin.

During the Ottoman period two broad categories of buildings were built in the country: Arab village buildings, constructed on the traditional pattern, without architects, using building materials found nearby and in distinctive harmony with the terrain; and town architecture, which was typically Mediterranean, based on southern Italian mixed with traditional Arab styles. In addition, there were buildings erected by the Turkish government, which employed German architects. These were of a high standard, in a pleasant, restrained style. The buildings erected by the Jewish Colonization Association, in a French style, were attractive and less pretentious.

Large-scale Jewish immigration after World War I brought in its wake an acute housing shortage, and there was a rush of building unprecedented in Oriental countries. The building boom provided full employment for the architects and engineers then in the country, but brought about the entry of a number of self-taught technicians into the building field. Many of the buildings of the period were badly designed. During the same period, but on an entirely different level, there was an attempt by creative architects to achieve a modern Oriental style.

The process of introducing a style and working toward its formation was slow and lasted many years. The experiments begun by Alexander *Baerwald and his pupils even before World War I (notably the buildings of the Reali School and the Technion in Haifa, 1912) were not continued. The work of Ze'ev Berlin in Tel Aviv is also noteworthy, but no one continued his work. British government architects also made attempts to invent an original colonial style, most notable being the European-influenced Clifford Holiday, and A. St. B. Harrison, the romanticist, whose small police stations have remained attractive throughout the years. Lastly, there were the architects of Jewish institutions: F. Kornberg, who designed the university campus on Mount Scopus; Eric Mendelsohn, who designed the Hadassah Hospital on the same hill; Leopold *Krakauer and Richard *Kaufmann who both made a particularly valuable contribution to Israel architecture; and Yoḥanan *Ratner, who designed the Jewish agency building in Jerusalem and who dedicated himself to training architects at the *Technion.

During the 1930s Western European architects became prominent in Palestine. They had studied, and in some cases worked, with such great teachers as Gropius and Le Corbusier. Buildings were erected whose architectural style is unquestionably balanced. These include urban workers' housing projects by Aryeh *Sharon and J. Neufeld, and the buildings by Z. *Rechter, Sh. Misteczkin, D. Karmi, and G. Shani. On the other hand, in contrast to the "Orientalists," there were European architects who brought with them European concepts of architecture and made no attempt to adapt them to local topography or climate or to translate them into local terms.

The establishment of the State of Israel in 1948 led to mass immigration and the need for mass housing. In the early 1950s thousands were living in tin huts, wooden prefabs, and tents. Permanent accommodation had to be built quickly and cheaply. Thus the famous "*shikkun*" – quickly constructed housing project – became a feature of many parts of the country. Quantity was the criterion, and the qualitative side was neglected, in regard to the building, the materials, and the efficiency of execution, as well as the architectural and aesthetic aspects. Architectural styles in Israel include the Le Corbusier style, the Brazilian and the Japanese, brutalism, and plasticism. There are also attempts to adapt foreign ideas to specific conditions in Israel, particularly in terms of protection against the sun, and to draw inspiration from ancient Oriental architecture. Here and there one can find regional motifs, such as the use of a vaulted concrete shell, or the mixture of concrete and stone.

Heading the list of noteworthy buildings in Israel are the buildings of the Hebrew University in Jerusalem, the Tel Aviv University, and the new Technion campus in Haifa, as well as the Haifa University (architect: Oscar Niemeyer). The Weizmann Institute at Reḥovot has some good teaching and research buildings; the Hebrew Union College building in Jerusalem (architect: Heinz *Rau) is another excellent structure. Important halls that have been built in the major cities include the Mann Auditorium in Tel Aviv (architects: Rechter-Karmi-Rechter), Binyanei ha-Ummah in Jerusalem (architect: Ze'ev Rechter), and the Haifa Theater (architect: Shelomo Gilead. In Jerusalem the Israel Museum complex is outstanding (architects: Mansfeld-Gad), as is the Knesset building (architects: Y. Klarwein and D. Karmi) and the new Supreme Court building (architects: R. Carmi and A. Carmi Melamed). Housing architecture has also improved considerably; well-built projects are to be found, notably, in the Ramat Aviv district in north Tel Aviv (architect-planners: J. Perlstein-R. Banat).

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ARCHIVES, (a) a place where old records are collected and preserved in an orderly fashion in their entirety, as well as groups of interrelated documents originating from individuals or a public body ("historical archives"); (b) registers and filing units of current documents in an office ("current archive"); (c) collections of material on a specific subject gathered for documentation ("documentary archive"). In this article, wherever Jewish archives are mentioned, the reference is to the more general meaning unless specific reference is made to historical archives.

As a source of Jewish history in the various countries, differentiation must be made between Jewish records, i.e., records accumulated by Jewish authorities and institutions, or by individual Jews, in the course and as part of their work, and records concerning Jews produced by non-Jewish authorities in the course of their administrative activities and preserved in non-Jewish archives. In many instances, however, only one type is available.

This entry is arranged according to the following outline:

BIBLICAL PERIOD
POST-BIBLICAL PERIOD
MIDDLE AGES
MODERN TIMES
  In the Diaspora
    GERMANY
    RUSSIA
    POLAND
    CZECHOSLOVAKIA
    AUSTRIA
    ENGLAND
    FRANCE
    ITALY
    GREECE
    THE NETHERLANDS
    UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
  Holocaust Period
    UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
  Major Archives
    THE CENTRAL ARCHIVES OF THE HISTORY OF THE JEWISH PEOPLE (CAHJP)
    CENTRAL ZIONIST ARCHIVES (CZA)
  Israel
    MAJOR ISRAEL ARCHIVES

BIBLICAL PERIOD

When it is used with reference to the ancient Near East, the term archive can be generally defined as a collection of documents (including letters and other functional texts) that were gathered for use in administrative, legal, political, and economic proceedings and activities. However, one should note the functional difference between an archive for documents in current usage, usually attached to a bureau dealing with the subject, and one whose contents were preserved after use for memorial purposes or for the historical value of the material. The latter instance does not require the archive's connection with any particular bureau, though the relationship did exist. The difference between an "archive" and a "library" in the ancient Near East lies in the nature of the material collected in them and their depositors. *Libraries were not so much treasuries as they were repositories for works of an essentially religious and ritualistic character (though not exclusively so), intended for use by people such as priests and scribes, whose interest in and use of the works was continuous and protracted. As a result of the quality of the writing, climatic conditions, and historical developments, all archival finds have been in the northern part of the Fertile Crescent (Mesopotamia, Anatolia, northern Syria, and Phoenicia). In the more southern parts of the Crescent, Palestine, and Egypt, no real archives were found, except for the "archive" of *El-Amarna, which was preserved because its documents are inscribed on clay tablets and which hardly serves as a good example of a typical archive, as it is rather a selection out of an archive. Although it is to be assumed that archives and libraries must have existed, particularly in Egypt, information about them is sporadic and comes secondhand from indirect sources, dating after the Persian period (especially the Hellenistic and later period).

The preservation of epigraphic material in archives accompanies writing from its earliest stages. The earliest epigraphic find, from the beginning of the second half of the fourth millennium, from stratum IV of the city of Uruk, is an archival collection of documents pertaining to the local temple administration, found attached to a structure for storage. Such is the case of finds from Jemdat Nasr (c. 3300 B.C.E.), which were also unearthed near a storeroom. It is possible to conclude that the earliest archives were directly connected storerooms. This conclusion finds some support in the Sumerian terminology, in which the usual terms for "school" and "archive" might be "a sealed house" or a "storehouse," that is, some form of commercial storage area. This is borne out in economic documents from Larsa of the end of the third millennium B.C.E. In addition to this, archaeological evidence from several Sumerian cities, such as Lagash, indicates that the collections of documents at temples were placed in narrow rooms, inaccessible directly from the outside of the building. They had to be entered by ladder or stairs via the second story of the building. These appear to have been archives for the preservation of documents no longer in use. This type of preservation was still in use in the 15th century B.C.E. (*Nuzi), and during the Assyrian period (about the eighth century; *Calneh). The archives of the temple at Sumer also preserved the documents of private parties, who utilized them to store items of personal importance. This custom was maintained in various places for hundreds of years.

Despite clear evidence regarding the existence of archives in the Sumerian period, no such "library" has yet been unearthed, though individual texts that might be expected to have been stored in such libraries have been found. It is nearly certain that the lack of such finds does not indicate the lack of their existence. A number of tablets containing headings of Sumerian compositions in catalog-like form indicate the practical necessity for such an arrangement. Furthermore, the usage of the Sumerian term, whose original meaning was "tablet container" broadened to imply "storage place for tablets," in connection with a temple, i.e., a library.

From the end of the third millennium B.C.E. onward private libraries, distinct from the temple archives which also contained personal documents, begin to appear. The quantity of private material stored in temple libraries also appears to have increased. This development is related to the substantial expansion of the economy, personal contact between individuals and governmental authorities, and the cultivation of commerce on local and international levels. The scope of property and business was the main drive behind the establishment of private and family archives.

In the period of the renewed blossoming and splendor of Sumerian culture, during the Third Dynasty of Ur and the Old Babylonian period, additional basic improvements in the method and criteria for preserving documents were effected. The greatest innovation of the period was the central royal archive, whose appearance was related to the crystallization of kingdoms with broad administrative authority and international political and economic ties. There is no doubt that the period of *Hammurapi's reign (1792–1749 B.C.E.) was the most decisive in this respect, if judged by the number of epigraphic finds rather than the number of archives themselves. The royal archives from *Mari are an illustrative example of an extensive royal archive from about this period. Their structure is indicative of advanced systems of preservation. The archives are spread among conveniently accessible rooms that undoubtedly contained material in current use, in addition to other rooms that served to store tables which had ceased to be functional. The division of archives into such offices on a functional basis is the best proof that the documents were cataloged on the basis of subject. The Mari archives illustrate a new trend in the development of such collections in the ancient Near East, i.e., the preservation of documents of historical value about the history of the kingdom and the royal family. They may not have initiated the process, however, if one considers that Hammurapi's scribes and officials edited and cataloged the documents in these archives, after the Babylonian king had conquered the city, in order to transfer documented material to the center of their kingdom. The Mari archival methods were copied even west of the Euphrates. The royal archives at *Ugarit, preserving epigraphic material of the 15th–12th centuries, are organized along quite similar lines. The discovery of documents in these archives indicates the existence of temporary and permanent archives attached to offices concerned with different levels of government. Even the location of the various offices and archives in the royal complex of buildings was determined on a functional basis: the office and archive concerned with district administration (the Western Archive) was located near the main entrance to the palace, affording easy access to people approaching from outside the city; the archive concerned with metropolitan administration (the Eastern Archive) was located so as to give best access from within the city itself; the archive concerned with the royal household (the Central Archive) was in the center of the palace, and so forth. An interesting phenomenon is the existence of various sorts of instructional texts in the Ugarit archives, which might lead to the conclusion that the offices served as instructional centers for novice scribes. Also of interest is a good deal of archival material in several of the palace rooms at Ugarit. These rooms may have served as offices for high officials who required documents from the nearby archives. The Hittite kingdom also left large royal archives. Excavations at Hattusas – the Hittite capital – (now Boghazköy) have revealed well-developed archival devices and much epigraphic material found in sacred and secular structures in various parts of the city. Fragments of catalogs indicate the existence of an advanced library there that used a subject system to direct its archival arrangements.

From this time on (the end of the third millennium), the royal archives became the most common form of archives in the Near East. The more a country is developed, the larger and more numerous its archives are likely to be and the greater the quality of their material. The royal Assyrian archives, fragments of which have been found in the cities of Assur, Calah, Khorsabad, and Nineveh – capitals of the kingdom at various periods – prove the growing need for archives and libraries, although it is difficult to draw precise conclusions about the system of storing and criteria for selecting and cataloging documents. It is clear, however, that a dual method of classification was employed at Nineveh: according to subject matter and according to the script in the document. Two offices were unearthed at Nineveh: one dealt with material written in cuneiform and the other with documents in Aramaic script. This division results from conditions which required two office staffs – the first specialized in the language of Assyria and Babylonia and the second expert in Aramaic and related tongues. Other types of private archives began to develop in the second, and especially the first, millennium B.C.E. The first type is a sort of combination of a family and a public archive, such as those discovered in the residential quarters of district officials who administered the areas of Arrapha and Nuzi. These contained both administrative material used by the officials in their work and documents related to their families. Another type of collection, which might properly be called a "private professional library," included materials that aided the owner in his daily work. That most of these collections consist of study materials, copy work, and religious and ritual material for sacred works may imply that such "private professional libraries" were owned by priests, scribes, or "academies" for the training of such personnel. In contrast to the existence of public archives, the rather rare phenomenon of public libraries reappears in the second and first millennia. Here again it should be emphasized that despite the almost total absence of finds of such libraries, one should not assume that they did not exist. It seems that the earliest find of such a collection, which was discovered at the temple in the city of Assur and which is clearly definable as a library, belongs to the period of Tiglath-Pileser I (1115–1077), king of Assyria. On the basis of the colophons and the dates of the eponyms that appear on various tablets it may be concluded that the library was already in existence on a limited scale at the time of Tukulti-Ninurta I (1243–1205), though it was Tiglath-Pileser who developed and firmly established it. It included original Babylonian tablets brought to Assur, tablets copied from Babylonian originals by Assyrian scribes, and original Assyrian works. It is known today that some of the texts in this library served as subjects for copy and instructional purposes over many generations. From various pieces of evidence among the tablets, it appears that the canonization of some of the texts in this library was completed during the reign of Tiglath-Pileser I. Some have therefore concluded that far earlier unknown collections must have existed, and attention was given to the thousands of texts unearthed at Nippur at the beginning of the 20th century, most of which belong to the end of the third millennium B.C.E.

The most famous and developed ancient Near Eastern library was that of Ashurbanipal (668–627), king of Assyria at Nineveh. Its size is estimated at about 25,000 tablets, though the number of tablets and fragments thus far recorded does not exceed a few thousand. This library was established by Ashurbanipal, who was a bibliophile with an appreciation for literary creations and was himself able to read and write. It is known from this king's own annals and from several colophons that even before his ascent to the throne various tablets were copied for him. Upon his ascent to the throne he expressed his concern for the expansion of his library by adding many original and copied documents to it from all parts of his kingdom. The administrative staff reported to the king the discovery of desirable texts, not all of which were acquired by pleasant means. In any case, it is known that at Ashurbanipal's order Nineveh established many private libraries, including priestly collections. Widespread copying projects were also initiated at the ancient literary and ritual centers of Babylon, Nippur, etc.

Archaeological and epigraphic evidence were joined together in order to cast light upon the methods of storing and preserving written material. It is known from both Sumerian and Akkadian terminology and archaeological finds themselves that written material was preserved in containers: woven baskets lined with some preservative material, earthenware or clay jugs, and similarly boxes made of earth and especially of wood. These containers were placed on raised stands resembling benches along walls (Calah), in the center of the room that served as an archive, or on shelves and ledges. At Khorsabad, the capital of the Assyrian king Sargon II (722/1–705), the containers were placed in special alcoves in the wall. The various containers held sorted and cataloged materials, and it appears that even the placement of the containers was determined by a predetermined formula. The classification and order is attested to by labels found in such places as Lagash, Mari, Hattusas, and Nineveh. These are small tablets attached to the container by means of a thread or cord and are inscribed with information on the contents of the container, such as the nature of the documents therein, their various subjects, and, in the case of a collection of closely related documents, the earliest and latest dates of the material contained inside. This system of identification was best suited to documents, especially those of an identical nature. It was not suited to relatively longer works, such as literary pieces, subject to frequent use, or to material used by a substantial number of people. Such items were subject to a somewhat different classification system than the labeling method. It appears that in several ancient Near Eastern "libraries," such as the one at Hattusas, the tablets were placed on shelves according to the order in which they were written, but without recourse to containers. The colophons and extratextual notations on many tablets helped in such classification. A complete colophon would contain a statement on the reliability of the contents, a citation of the source (in the case of a canonical work), the name and title of the copyists, and the name of the owner.

This type of colophon usually ended with a warning to and curse upon anyone who might ruin or steal the tablet. Such extratextual notations included indications of whether the text continued and marked it as either a single tablet or part of a series. Occasionally the name of the work was given alongside the number of the tablet within the total work. The "librarians" and scribes were no doubt aided by such information in preventing delays, disorder, and thefts. There appears to have been no consistent method of placing these tablets, as may be seen from their shape and the location of the colophon. While the order among a single series of tablets was carefully adhered to, the tablets themselves were placed either flat or standing on their narrow edges. It should be noted that far more remains unknown than known today about archival methods. There is no information about how material written on organic matter was preserved in the Mesopotamian archives and "libraries." Thus, when the alphabet penetrated into Mesopotamia, following the consolidation of the Arameans in the area, there were undoubtedly essential changes in archival techniques, just as there were substantive changes in the writing materials. Clay tablets were far less suited to alphabet writing, and Aramaic was customarily written on other surfaces, such as parchment.

There is no direct evidence of any sort regarding the existence of archives in Israel. Whatever evidence appears in the Bible relates to royal archives in Persia (Esth. 6:1; Ezra 6:1). However, since writing was known in Israel and there is much biblical evidence about the existence of scribes, including literary and copying activity, and, most important, a highly developed administrative system during the period of the monarchy, it is not unreasonable to conclude that some form of archives existed in Israel. A similar conclusion is reached as a result of the discovery of collections of ostraca, which appear to have been archival "files," in *Samaria, *Lachish, and *Arad. Moreover, one of the basic beliefs of Bible research today is the assumption that a substantial part of the biblical text, particularly in the historiographic works, comes from authentic documents from the royal household and the Temple, including the various lists of officials, and the conflicting descriptions of the Temple and its structure, implements, and decorations, and so forth. If this assumption is correct, it serves as additional proof that archives must have existed. Another proof is the existence of scribal and literary activity in the time of King Hezekiah (Prov. 25:1) which reminds one to some extent of the initiative of Ashurbanipal (see above). Indeed, the Bible hints at the existence of some sort of archive when it mentions the discovery of "the book of the law of the Lord given through Moses" in the Temple during King Josiah's time (II Kings 22:8ff.; II Chron. 34:14ff.). Archaeological evidence, however, is of no help in this area, and current research is unable to indicate that a particular building in an excavation served as an archive. The chief reason that archives and their contents in Ereẓ Israel did not remain preserved is, as stated above, the nature of the writing materials employed, together with climatic conditions which did not allow for the long-term preservation of organic materials. The *Elephantine papyri, also, are the surviving portions of the archive of the Jewish military colony of Yeb on the Upper Nile (fifth century B.C.E.).

[Hanoch Reviv]

POST-BIBLICAL PERIOD

Josephus quotes from the documents relating to the Jews of Ereẓ Israel and the Diaspora which he found in Roman archives, and it may be assumed that copies of such documents were also kept in the Jewish archives in Ereẓ Israel. The repeated references by Josephus to charters of protection, etc., received by the Jews presuppose the existence of some sort of archive where such documents were preserved. Josephus specifically mentions the Jerusalem archives as having been set on fire in 66 C.E., as one of the first acts of the insurgents, in order to destroy the evidence of the debts owed by the Jerusalem poor (Wars, 2:427). According to another tradition, going back to Julius Africanus (third century C.E.) but not otherwise supported, Herod burned the genealogical registers in order to conceal his own Edomite origin (Rosenthal, in MGWJ, 30 (1881), 118ff.). This archive building was finally destroyed by fire during the sack of the city by the Roman soldiery in 70 C.E. (Jos., Wars 6:354). However, even at the last stages of the hostilities in Jerusalem, careful records were kept by the Jews of the numbers of persons buried each day (*ibid.*, 5:567ff.).

Rabbinic sources speak of the Sanhedrin examining the purity of priestly descent, on the basis of genealogical tables (*Megillat* or *Sefer Yuḥasin*) which are known to have been preserved in the Temple (see Mid. 5:4; Tosef. Ḥag. 2:9, 235; Yev. 4:13; Yev. 49a and b). They were guarded with great care and when destroyed by some calamity, were carefully reconstructed on the basis of what remained and the depositions of witnesses (Jos., Apion 1:31). During the Roman period cities in Ereẓ Israel must have maintained local archives which enabled the collection of taxes and the authentication of documents – parallel to the model of the Roman archives; see Josephus, Life, 38, for Tiberias; *Kiddushin* 4:5 for Sepphoris: *Esther Rabba* 1:3 for Gadera. While no administrative documents have been found among the actual *Dead Sea Scrolls, the orders of Bar Kokhba, found recently in a cave in the same region, prove that such documents were obviously carefully preserved; also some other documents of that same period, have been discovered (see Benoit, et al., *Discoveries in the Judaean Desert*, vol. 2, 1961).

In the talmudic period, written records were probably kept in depositories at the academies. The authorities in Ereẓ Israel sent written calendar instructions to outlying communities – to Babylonia in particular; these letters presuppose some method of record keeping (Tosef., Sanh. 2:6; Mid. Tan. 26:13, 174/5; TJ, Meg. 1:7, 71a), *Sherira Gaon must have used records of the Mesopotamian academies for the historical information regarding the succession of exilarchs and *geonim* which he embodied in his famous historical epistle. When inquiries for religious guidance began to be addressed to the Mesopotamian *geonim* from the countries of the Diaspora, the replies (*teshuvot*) seem to have been filed for preservation in the academies, this being the origin of the various ancient collections of the responsa of the *geonim* – apparently official, not personal, collections. Fragments of communal registers, decisions of the *bet din*, official inventories, and contracts, etc., from medieval Egypt in the Fatimid period have been found in the Cairo **Genizah*. In the *Genizah*, too, was found the archive of Nahrai b. Nissim, an 11th-century businessman and communal figure in Egypt (Hebrew University thesis by A.M. Morad, 2 vols.).

MIDDLE AGES

In the pre-emancipation period – before the 16th century in Western Europe, before the 18th in Central Europe, and before the 20th in Eastern Europe – the Jews were regarded as a separate element in the body politic, subject to special regulations and special taxation. Hence there would be in the general archives special sections dealing with Jewish affairs. For the Middle Ages the most important is probably the archive of the Exchequer of the Jews in England (see below). This is, of course, apart from the many scattered documents dealing with Jews, sometimes of the highest importance, which can be found in the general archives. Almost all archives of central, district, and local authorities, as well as religious institutions, in places inhabited by Jews during the Middle Ages, contain a wealth of documents pertaining to Jews. In many countries notarial archives also include important documents on medieval Jewish life. Thus, the notarial archives of *Perpignan have been exhaustively studied by R.W. Emery with rich results; those of *Arles contain records of synagogue seat purchases. The longer the Jews resided in a particular country, the richer its government archives are in documents relating to their history. This applied to countries such as Spain and Portugal, where an abundance of such records may be found in the Central Archives in Madrid, the archives of the crown of Aragon in Barcelona, and the state archives of Simancas and Pamplona, as well as in those of the Inquisition, particularly complete and well organized for Portugal; it also applies to the Italian and German states. In many civic archives in Italy there is a special division dealing with Jewish affairs in the age of the Ghetto – before the French Revolution – e.g., in Venice the *Inquisitorato degli ebrei* which also includes a transcription made for administrative purposes of one entire communal **pinkas* ("register").

Jewish life in the European Diaspora in the Middle Ages was generally organized on a community basis, the synagogues and communal charities being in a way subordinate to the community. The form of the records kept by the communities was the result of an ancient tradition, but it was also influenced and frequently even dictated by the legal requirements and the administrative usage of their environment. Thus, current archives were established in Jewish communities, reaching various stages of development.

MODERN TIMES

In the Diaspora

Files and documents in general archives relating to Jewish life in modern times are much more abundant. Due to the fact that Jewish life was in general subject to a system of laws and regulations, special files relating to Jews dating back to the pre-emancipation period have been preserved in many government archives. Where no such special legislation existed, as in Britain and the United States, almost no special files on Jews were opened. When and where Jews obtained legal equality, special files related only to the status of their religious institutions and their relations with the authorities. From then on, historical records on the participation of Jews in the life of their country are less easy to trace. With the rise of modern antisemitism files dealing with the Jewish problem again appear in the archives of many countries, and their number increases rapidly in countries ruled by the Nazis between 1933 and 1945.

Archival material of Jewish interest is particularly abundant in the records of departments dealing with religion and education, taxation, commerce and industry, legal affairs, police reports, internal migration, and in the reports of diplomatic envoys in countries which had a large Jewish population or where the Jews exerted influence upon economic and political life, e.g., Poland, Turkey, Palestine, and the United States. Only a small part of this documentary material relating to Jewish history which was kept in non-Jewish archives has been published so far, and few detailed reference lists are available. For some years the Central Archives for the History of the Jewish People (CAHJP, see below) in Jerusalem have been engaged in collecting detailed information on archival material of value to the study of Jewish history by conducting surveys in the various countries and collecting lists of the contents of archives.

Archives of Jewish communities have been preserved with a certain degree of continuity in several countries since the 16th and 17th centuries, and with increasing frequency in the following centuries. In the Middle Ages and after pride of place was given to the *pinkas* ("register") in which statutes and regulations governing the community, names of community leaders and officials, minutes of meetings, etc., were recorded. In many instances the *pinkas* also contained decisions of Jewish courts, and copies of notes, letters, and applications submitted to the community board. Out of the main *pinkas* developed auxiliary *pinkasim* for such special purposes as accounts, the *ḥevra kaddisha*, and other religious societies. Other *pinkasim* contained incoming and outgoing correspondence or registered circumcisions – generally however, kept and retained by the *mohel* himself – the distribution of synagogue seats and offices, the distribution of *maẓẓot*, etc. In many countries the Jewish community kept, or had to keep, registers of births, deaths, and marriages, which had legal validity before public registers were introduced by the state.

In the course of time, Jewish community archives also preserved a variety of original documents, similar to the general archives. The systems used in filing and registration of incoming and outgoing documents were largely the same as those prevailing in those archives. In many instances, the civil authorities determined the filing system of the Jewish communities because of the legal importance of the documents and also to facilitate the supervision of the community administration, the collection of taxes, etc. These records have been preserved, with relative continuity, from the time that mass expulsions of Jews ceased; and more in countries with fewer expulsions of Jews than in those where expulsions and persecutions were frequent. Community archives dating back to the second half of the 17th century, and particularly the 18th and 19th centuries, have been preserved mainly in Italy, Great Britain, Western Europe, Austria, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Germany, and the United States, although even in these countries a great deal of material was lost by lack of care. Those of Recife (Pernambuco) in Brazil were taken back to Amsterdam when the community broke up after the Portuguese reconquest in 1654. In Poland and Russia most of the Jewish records were lost as the result of persecution, fires, and negligence; the archives of many communities in western Poland have been preserved largely because these provinces formed part of Prussia from the end of the 18th century up to 1918. Other Jewish archives which have come into being since the 19th century are those of the national unions of communities, such as the Consistoire in France; of national and international Jewish aid organizations, such as the *Alliance Israélite Universelle in France, the *Hilfsverein in Germany, or the *American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (JDC) in the U.S.A.; and of national and international political movements and organizations, such as the Zionist movement with its many parties and institutions.

Toward the end of the 19th century historical committees and societies were established in many countries for the purpose of utilizing the material stored in the general archives, and of collecting Jewish historical records. It was not, however, until the beginning of the 20th century that serious efforts were made to establish Jewish historical archives on a scientific basis, first among which was the Gesamtarchiv der deutschen Juden (see below). In 1919 the archives of the World Zionist Organization were set up in Berlin; in 1933 they were moved to Jerusalem, and have since become the Central Zionist Archives. Other archives have been established in Israel (see Ereẓ Israel Archives, below). In the United States, the American Jewish Archives were established in 1947 (see below: U.S.A.). Similar efforts have been under way in recent years in Britain and France. In 1926 the Jewish Scientific Institute (*YIVO) was created in Vilna; it collected significant material on Jewish history, with emphasis on Eastern Europe.

GERMANY. The Gesamtarchiv der deutschen Juden, which had as its task the preservation of files and documents – no longer in use – from Jewish communities, institutions, and societies in Germany, was founded in Berlin in 1906. Its first director was Eugen Taeubler; he was succeeded in 1920 by Jacob Jacobsohn, The Gesamtarchiv succeeded in collecting the *pinkasim* and files of hundreds of Jewish communities in Germany and in the provinces of western Poland which had been part of Prussia from the end of the 19th century until 1918. It also contained the private archives of important personalities; documents, photographs, printed material relating to the history of the Jews in Germany and that of Jewish families, and copies or summaries of documents belonging to government municipal archives. Six volumes of *Mitteilungen des Gesamtarchivs der deutschen Juden* (1908–26) were published, the sixth containing a catalog. When the Nazis came to power, they made extensive use of the *Gesamtarchiv* for their genealogical research and in 1938 took it over in its entirety. At the beginning of World War II part of the archives were sent to eastern Germany for security reasons. In 1950, upon the intervention of the Berlin community, this part of the archives was returned to the Jewish Community in East Berlin, but they were not permitted to transfer it, as intended, to Jerusalem. Important parts of the Gesamtarchiv, however, reached West Germany and were sent to the CAHJP in 1951. The rest – which was in poor condition – was taken to the East German Government Archives in Potsdam. No precise information is available on the amount and condition of this material – or of other records of Jewish organizations which seem to have been added to it by the Nazis. Other community and organizational archives had been deposited from 1933 with German government archives during the Nazi rule, and these were also gradually transferred to Jerusalem, beginning in 1954. The CAHJP now contains parts of the archives of some 800 former Jewish communities in Germany. Other community archives were destroyed by the Nazis or were otherwise lost during the war. In other Diaspora communities no attempt has yet been made to establish comprehensive archives along the lines of the Gesamtarchiv.

[Alexander Bein]

For more than 40 years after the end of World War II and the Holocaust, the tiny Jewish community of the Federal Republic of Germany, never more than about 30,000 individuals, had no central repository to chronicle the complicated and often difficult task of maintaining Jewish life in a nation that before 1933 numbered more than 550,000 Jews.

One of the major obstacles to such an institution was the determination of most of the Jews in Germany, survivors of the Holocaust from Eastern Europe and a few thousand German Jews who managed to survive inside the Nazi state, to ultimately leave a nation "soaked in Jewish blood."

Even those Jews who wanted to stay in post-Holocaust Germany maintained that they were living there with "packed bags," ready to flee at a moment's notice at the first sign of a new organized German antisemitism.

Finally, in 1987, The Central Archives for Research on the History of the Jews in Germany located in Heidelberg, was founded under the auspices of the Central Council of Jews in Germany (Zentralrat der Juden in Deutschland), the umbrella organization that was created in 1950 to represent the interests of Jews in the Federal Republic.

The director of the Central Archives is Peter Honigmann, a Jew from the former German Democratic Republic (DDR). The institution collects documentation from the Jewish communities, associations, and organizations within the borders of what was the Federal Republic, although records are extant for the history of the small Jewish community of the former DDR.

Among the records of the Central Archives are collections on the Central Council of Jews in Germany, the Central Welfare Office of the Jews in Germany, Jewish Student Organizations, and Jewish community records from regions and cities across the former Federal Republic including Berlin, Bremen, Dortmund, Duesseldorf, Frankfurt am Main, Heidelberg, and Lower Saxony.

Individual collections include the papers of Henryk Broder, Rafael Seligmann, Peter Sichrovsky, and Barbara Honigmann, all journalists and authors.

[Abraham J. Peck (2nd ed.)]

RUSSIA. Since Jewish life in Russia, up to the 1917 Revolution, was regulated by a host of special laws and decrees, the archives maintained by the various government departments came to contain many files dealing with Jewish affairs in all their manifestations. It is difficult to estimate how much of this material still exists since it is almost impossible for foreign scholars to obtain access. Jewish and non-Jewish scholars, who began to study the history of Russian Jewry, made use of such material as was accessible to them in government archives under the Czarist regime. In 1908 a Jewish Ethnographical Society was founded in St. Petersburg (Leningrad) by Salvian Goldstein, who directed its archives. After the revolution of 1917, archives were opened to scholars much more liberally. A great deal of material, no doubt, survives, and at least part of the Jewish archives may now be stored in general archives or libraries. The latter may also contain portions of Jewish archives or non-Jewish archives relating to Jews which the Soviets removed from their zones of occupation in East Germany and Poland at the end of the war, although part of this material was returned to its country of origin.

The surviving archives of the Minsk community, 1825–1917, a portion of the rescued Vilna YIVO archives, consisting of 37 folders, have now been catalogued.

POLAND. Many of the archives of the Jewish communities in Poland, in existence in 1939, were destroyed during World War II and its aftermath. The files maintained by the *Lodz community were transferred to the government archives there. The remnants of the *Cracow and Wroclaw (Breslau) archives, and of hundreds of other communities, as well as a vast amount of other material on the history of the Jews and on the Holocaust, were handed over to the Jewish Historical Institute in Warsaw, which was established after the war. In 1968, however, the Institute was closed down, and its archival collection transferred to government and municipal archives. In the past few years some of the material was microfilmed for the CAHJP and Yad Vashem in Jerusalem.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA. The old archive of the *Prague Jewish community was largely preserved until 1689 when it was destroyed in a great fire. The material which had been collected in the 18th century was in turn heavily damaged in the fires of 1754 and 1773. Later, once more, documents and files accumulated in great quantity. The entire archives of the Prague community and all its synagogues and institutions, as well as of several other communities – Budejovice, Dambořice, Holešov, etc. – are now stored in the Jewish Museum in Prague. In 1967 an agreement was concluded for the microfilming of most of this material by CAHJP.

AUSTRIA. The *Vienna community maintained archives and a museum, which had been organized in 1840 by the secretary of the community L.A. *Frankl. These archives contained documents relating to the history of Vienna Jews dating back to the 18th century, as well as the files of the community from its official establishment in 1890. After World War II the entire archives were deposited with the CAHJP which is also cataloging the Jewish historical material in the Austrian government archives. Among the Jewish archives left in Austria are the archives of the *Burgenland communities, which contain protocols and old community *pinkasim* and are now deposited in the government archives in *Eisenstadt.

ENGLAND. Part of the communal records of *Norwich in the form of *shetarot*, probably kept for convenience in the local *archa, were transferred to the capital with other documents and are now among the Muniments at Westminster Abbey (published by M.D. Davis in his *Hebrew Deeds of English Jews*, 1888). A very substantial part of the 13th-century archive of the Exchequer of the Jews, very important for British as well as for Jewish history, is preserved in the Public Record Office in London, the surviving Plea Rolls are in the course of publication by the Jewish Historical Society of England (J.M. Rigg and H. Jenkinson, 3 vols., 1905–29) while the Receipt Rolls have only been cursorily investigated. Among the archives of Anglo-Jewish communities in modern times, the most important is that of the Spanish-Portuguese community; it contains the records of this community from 1663 up to the present time (cf. L.D. Barnett, *Bevis Marks Records*, 2 vols., 1940–49). The regulations of the Sephardi community in London (ed. 1785, p. 33) imposed on the secretary the duty of keeping full records of circumcisions, marriages, and burials. Archives of the major Ashkenazi synagogues in London, dating back to 1690 and up to 1870, are maintained in the offices of the *United Synagogue. The archives of the Western (formerly Westminster) Synagogue, dating back to 1767, were cataloged by C. Roth before their almost complete destruction in a German air raid. The early records of the London *bet din*, dating back to the beginning of the 19th century, are in the Roth and Adler collections, those of the later period are preserved by the *bet din* themselves. The complete archive of the minuscular community of *Penzance in Cornwall, from 1807 down to its extinction in the early 20th century, are in the Roth collection (now in Leeds University). The significant archives maintained by a public institution are those of the *Board of Deputies of British Jews, founded in 1761. The *Jewish Historical Society of England, founded in 1893, seeks to establish a central archive of British Jews (Anglo-Jewish Archives) to supplement the collections of the Mocatta Library (see *Libraries), and has received the archives of the *Anglo-Jewish Association. Archives relating to the history of Zionism in Britain and the World Zionist Organization – when its headquarters were situated in London – form part of the Central Zionist Archives in Jerusalem (in following CZA).

FRANCE. France does not have a central Jewish archive, but La Commission Française des Archives Juives has been active since 1963 and publishes the quarterly *Archives Juives* (editor

B. Blumenkranz). The following important archives are in the possession of Jewish bodies: (a) the archives of the central Jewish *Consistoire and of the *Paris Jewish Consistoire, which contain documents beginning with the year 1808. The archives of the *Lyons Consistoire have also been preserved. On the other hand, the archives of the *Marseilles and *Colmar's Consistoire have been destroyed; little is left of the *Besançon and *Bayonne archives, and only a part of those of Bas Rhin and Moselle. The community archives still in existence generally do not date back beyond the French Revolution or the middle of the 19th century. Sometimes, the Jewish community archives were deposited with the general archives, such as the archives of the *Metz community, in the archives of the department of Moselle, or of *Bordeaux, now in the municipal archives. An outstanding collection was established by the Society for the History of the Jews of *Alsace-Lorraine, now deposited with the archives of the Department of the Bas Rhin in Strasbourg. Various collections and parts of important archives, in original or microfilm, are also kept by the CAHJP; the archives relating to the history of Zionism in France and of French Zionist personalities are deposited with the CZA. (b) From its inception in 1860 the Alliance Israélite Universelle has preserved the correspondence with its branch offices and educational institutions in the Middle East, reports submitted to it, minutes of its board meetings, etc. Its files contain original material which is of importance not only for the history of the Alliance, but also for that of the Jews, especially in Muslim and East European countries. Confiscated by the Nazis during the war, the archives were for the greater part returned to France, put into order, and cataloged. Parts of them were microfilmed by the CAHJP and the CZA.

ITALY. General archives, especially those of north Italian cities, contain important historical records relating to Jews. Jewish community archives were once particularly ample and well-organized. They have suffered however from neglect in some places, and from the effects of war in others. Thus, the very ample archives of the community of *Venice were dispersed through carelessness in the period before World War II; those of *Leghorn were destroyed as a result of bombing in World War II. Some Jewish communities have in their possession various single documents going back to the Middle Ages, and continuous records (*pinkasim*) starting in the 17th and, especially, the 18th centuries. Some of these have been put in order and cataloged – those of *Rome, which cover the period 1536–1627 and are now in the Archivio Urbino in the Capitol (see A. Berliner, *Censur und Konfiskation* … (1891), 4), published by A. Milano and R. Bachi (1929), and those of *Mantua, compiled by Bonaiuoto Isaac Levi from 1782 to 1810 (unpublished). A summary list of documents, preserved in the archives of the Jewish community of Ancona, was published by C. Rosenberg in the *Corriere Israelitico* in 1912–14. Edgardo Morpurgo published in the *Corriere Israelitico* (1910–13; also repr.) a survey of the documents and monuments of the Jews in the province of Venice, indicating the archivistic material – including that in private possession – available for this part of Italy, which once had numerous small communities. A series of registers of contracts drawn up (in Hebrew) by Jewish notaries in Rome in the 15th–17th centuries are preserved in the civic archives (see also Berliner, *Serid me-Ir* in *Kobeẓ-al-Yad*, 5, 1893). A catalog of the archives of the *Florence community, in part deposited in the *Archivio di Stato*, was published by R. Gottheil (REJ, 51–52, 1906), amended and enlarged by U. Cassuto (RI, 3 (1906)). The archives of the *Reggio Emilia community are kept by the municipal archives; material from the *Verona community archives was transferred to the National and University Library in Jerusalem and cataloged by S. Simonsohn (*Zion*, 35, 1960).

GREECE. The bulk of the ancient Jewish archives of *Salonika were destroyed in the great fire of 1917; those of other communities were less significant.

THE NETHERLANDS. Apart from the material contained in the government and municipal archives, the history of Dutch Jews is contained in the records maintained by two major Jewish archives – the archives of the Spanish-Portuguese (Inventory by W.C. Pieterse, 1964) and those of the Ashkenazi communities of Amsterdam. Both are deposited with the Amsterdam municipal archives, and a large part has been microfilmed for the CAHJP. The relations with Ereẓ Israel maintained by Jews in Holland and Germany, from the beginning of the 19th century, find expression in the archives of the *pekidim ve-amarkalim* of which 15 volumes, containing the copies of outgoing letters, have been preserved and are now being published by J. Rivlin.

[Alexander Bein]

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA. In 2004, the American Jewish community celebrated its 350th anniversary with a breathtaking number of lectures, exhibits, and programs across the United States, highlighted by a major exhibition entitled "From Haven to Home: 350 Years of Jewish Life in America" with exhibit materials lent by the Library of Congress, the National Archives and Records Administration, the American Jewish Historical Society, and the Jacob Rader Marcus Center of the American Jewish Archives.

The 2004–5 commemoration was in many respects far different than the two previous national celebrations in 1904, marking the 250th anniversary, and 1954, marking the 300th.

Each of these commemorations was held in the midst of crises within American and general Jewish life. In 1904, anti-immigration forces were already at work seeking to close the doors of America to the millions of persecuted and poverty-stricken East European Jews seeking to enter a land where "the streets were paved with gold."

In 1954, a still traumatized American Jewish community was in the emotional grip of the losses incurred by European Jewry during the Holocaust and the struggles of the recently created State of Israel.

But 2004 was a different story. American Jewry was a secure, affluent, and well-educated community, perhaps the most secure, affluent, and well-educated community in all of Jewish history. American Jewry was less inner-directed and the call in 2004 was for all Americans to celebrate the history of the American Jewish experience.

The history of American Jewish archival institutions also reflected the politics of American Jewish life and identity.

In 1892, a small group of American Jews, already concerned with the negative reactions of many Americans to the growing immigration of Jews from Eastern Europe, created the American Jewish Historical Society (AJHS) in New York. The society was unabashedly "filiopietistic" in its celebration of American Jews as "soldiers and patriots." Its collections and its historical publications reflected the contributions of Jews to the development of the American colonies, the American Revolution, and all the major events of the American experience.

In 1947, Dr. Jacob Rader Marcus, the "father of American Jewish history," founded the American Jewish Archives on the campus of the Hebrew Union College in Cincinnati with a determination to collect and write the history of the Jewish experience in America in a scholarly, unbiased manner, "warts and all."

For nearly 50 years, these two institutions, along with the Leo Baeck Institute, founded in 1955 in New York to chronicle the history of German-speaking Jewry until 1933, and the YIVO Institute, founded in Vilna, Lithuania, in 1925 and moved to New York during World War II, for the history of East European Jewish life and culture, were the foundations of Jewish archival institutions in the United States.

But 2005 not only found an American Jewish community that felt "at home" in the United States, but a much larger group of archival institutions devoted to the Jewish experience in America and beyond.

In 1995, the "feminist revolution" in American and American Jewish life led to the creation of the Jewish Women's Archive in Brookline, Massachusetts. The executive director of the Archive is Dr. Gail Twersky Reimer.

The archive is a leader in utilizing new technologies to transform the practice and knowledge of the history of Jewish women in North America and utilizes an award-winning website to "remember the women who came before us, honor the women among us, and inspire those who will follow us."

On October 26, 2000, the American Jewish archival world witnessed a virtual revolution with the founding of the Center for Jewish History in New York. Called the "Library of Congress of the Jewish People," a consortium of five Jewish archival and cultural organizations joined together to house more than 100 million archival documents and 500,000 books, easily the largest and most important institution of its kind outside of the State of Israel.

The five institutions, the American Jewish Historical Society, the American Sephardi Federation, the Leo Baeck Institue, the YIVO Institute, and the Yeshiva University Museum, seek to create a seamless archival, library and art collection of world-class standards without giving up their individual institutional identities.

The $50 million facility has a state of the art reading room, museum exhibit spaces, and a Jewish genealogy institute. Ultimately, many of the Center's holdings will be digitalized for home access.

Finally, in June 2005, the Jacob Rader Marcus Center of the American Jewish Archives dedicated a $7 million renovation and expansion of its facility and the opportunity to showcase its collection of documents on the American Jewish experience, including the papers of Jacob *Schiff, Louis *Marshall, and Felix *Warburg, outstanding communal leaders of early 20th-century Jewish life in America, and the papers of the World Jewish Congress (WJC) including the chilling telegram sent by the WJC's Gerhard Riegner in 1942 informing the world of the Nazi plans for a "final solution" to the destruction of Jewish life in Europe.

Other institutions of note that house significant Jewish archival collections in the United States include The Magnes Archives in California, The Rocky Mountain Jewish Historical Society in Colorado, The Jewish Museum of Florida, the Jewish Historical Society of Greater New Haven in Connecticut, the Bloom Southwest Jewish Archives in Arizona, the Cleveland Jewish Archives in Ohio, the Chicago Jewish Historical Society in Illinois, the Philadelphia Jewish Archives Center in Pennsylvania, the Feinstein Center for American Jewish History in Pennsylvania, the Ratner Center for the Study of Conservative Judaism in New York, and the Southern Jewish Archives at Tulane University in Louisiana.

[Abraham J. Peck (2nd ed.)]

The Library of the JTSA published *Preliminary Listing of Holdings,* a list of its rare archival collections. Among the items cited in it are some 5,000 prints and photographs from the 17th to the 20th centuries, personal papers of many major Jewish community leaders and scholars, and communal records from Germany, France, Italy, Morocco, Algeria and Palestine.

Holocaust Period

A special significance is attached to archives dealing with the Holocaust period. Even during the war special institutions were established by Jews in the Nazi-occupied territories, such as the Oneg Shabbat Archives by Emmanuel *Ringelblum in Warsaw, whose purpose was to collect evidence on the Holocaust. Similar institutions of this kind were set up after the war. They had both the practical aim of exposing the crimes perpetrated by the Nazi criminals and bringing them to justice, and the scientific-historical aim of preserving as complete as possible a record of this decisive era in the history of the Jewish people.

A great deal of material relating to the persecution and extermination of the Jews during the Nazi period can be found in the archives of the countries directly or indirectly involved and of the Jewish organizations that sought to help the Jews. Of the greatest importance are the archives maintained by the Nazis themselves. The Nazi archives which had fallen into the hands of the Western Allies were, for the most part, returned to Germany – the Foreign Ministry Archives in Bonn and the Bundesarchiv in Coblenz – after most of the files had been microfilmed. Only the Berlin Document Center, made up primarily of the archives of the Nazi Party and its institutions, is still held by the American State Department, and it intends to hand them also back to the Bundesarchiv when they have been microfilmed. Of the archives held by the Russians, important parts have been handed over to the Central East German archives in Potsdam and Merseburg.

Two other (non-Jewish) institutions should be mentioned in this context: (a) The first is the *International Tracing Service (ITS) at Arolsen, established after the war by Supreme Headquarters Allied Expeditionary Force to facilitate the search for missing persons. Its files and 16 million cards contain information on seven to eight million persons. All the ITS material was microfilmed for Yad Vashem in Jerusalem. (b) The Rijksinstituut voor Oorlogsdocumentatie in Amsterdam, established by the Netherlands government in May 1945 and which contains a comprehensive documentary collection, deals primarily with the fate of Dutch Jews during the Holocaust period.

The following are the important archives on the Holocaust period in Jewish hands: (a) The Institute of Jewish Affairs of the *World Jewish Congress in New York, founded in 1940, has built up a systematic collection of documents concerning the Holocaust and related issues. Most of its material, in manuscript and in print, has been transferred to the Institute of Jewish Affairs established by the World Jewish Congress in 1966 in London, to the CZA in Jerusalem, and Beth Hatefutsoth ("House of the Diaspora") at Tel Aviv University. (b) The Institute of Contemporary History and Wiener Library (formerly called simply *Wiener Library) in London founded in 1934 in Amsterdam for contemporary Jewish history, antisemitism, and Nazi persecution, in particular. (c) The *Centre de Documentation Juive Contemporaine in Paris founded clandestinely during the Nazi rule in 1942; this contains a wealth of material, original and photostatic, on the history of Nazi anti-Jewish activities, and of the persecution of Jews in France. Among the significant units held by the Centre are the archives of Alfred *Rosenberg; copies of the documents of the Nuremberg trials; the archives containing the records of the anti-Jewish operations of the German command in France; the archives of the German embassy in Paris and the Gestapo in France; and the archives of various French non-Jewish and Jewish institutions. (d) The archives of the *Jewish Historical Institute in Warsaw include a great amount of documentation on the fate of the Jews in Poland, including the Ringelblum archive. The institute was closed down in 1968 and its archives transferred to Polish government and municipal archives. (e) The archives of the Va'ad ha-Haẓẓalah ("Rescue Committee"), which the Jewish Agency set up during the war for the rescue of Polish Jewry, collected a great deal of information and reports on the history of the Holocaust, much of it in Poland itself. It is now part of the CZA. (f) The central archives of *Yad Vashem is the major and most comprehensive Jewish archive devoted to the Holocaust era. (g) The Isaac Katznelson Ghetto Fighters' Museum commemorating the Holocaust and the Resistance was established in 1950 at kibbutz Loḥamei ha-Getta'ot in the western Galilee (further information and a comprehensive bibliography of Holocaust documentation and study centers can be found in the *Guide to Jewish History under the Nazi Impact* by J. Robinson and P. Friedman, 1960).

[Alexander Bein]

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA. Jews are a people of memory. They did not forget the exodus from Miẓrayim, from Egypt, and remember it three thousand years later. Jews did not forget those who died in the Holocaust, but it took the better part of several decades before those Jews who had lived in freedom and safety during those years would understand that it was important for all Jews to remember.

In many respects, the 1980 and the 1990s were the "decades of the Holocaust survivor."

From outsiders, on the periphery of American Jewish communal life for the first 25 years after their arrival in America, survivors of the Holocaust became overnight "insiders" as American Jews and America in general became aware of the meaning of the Holocaust for American Jewish and non-Jewish identity.

Suddenly, the Holocaust, and the survivors who were its moral voice, was commemorated in nearly every state capitol and in the Rotunda of the American Congress.

A national Holocaust museum stood on the sacred space of American memory in Washington, D.C., and survivors were the focus of video tapings and participants in countless school lectures.

Even in the Jewish Displaced Persons' camps of Germany, Austria, and Italy telling the story of the Holocaust was a passion that was shared by most survivors.

To tell and to remember: That was a great part of what drove survivors onward. The State of Israel understood this as early as 1942, in pre-State Palestine when the first proposal was made to create a place of commemoration for those Jews who had already died at the hands of the Nazis and their collaborators. The proposal also carried with it the suggestion that it be called Yad Vashem, a "monument and a name."

In 1953, the Israeli parliament, the Knesset, passed the Yad Vashem Law, establishing the Martyrs' and Heroes' Remembrance Authority, and mandating that the authority establish an institution devoted to the murder of six million Jews and the issues that surrounded those murders.

It was not until 1979 when a Jewish media specialist, Laurel Vlock, and a Holocaust survivor and psychiatrist, Dr. Dori Laub, decided that the medium of video was the best instrument to document the personal testimonies of Holocaust survivors at a time when survivors were aging and beginning to die in large numbers. It was also the same year that Americans for the first time learned the extent of the individual and collective evil that led to the destruction of European Jewish life as portrayed in the film "Holocaust."

The Holocaust Survivors Film Project, Inc., located in New Haven, Connecticut, became the grass roots organization that produced the first 200 survivor testimonies.

In 1981, the tapes were deposited at Yale University and, through the generosity of Alan M. Fortunoff, the Fortunoff Video Archive for Holocaust Testimonies became a part of Yale University's Sterling Memorial Library.

Today, the Archive has a collection of over 4,300 videotaped interviews with witnesses and survivors of the Holocaust.

The creation of the Fortunoff Archive coincided with the beginning of an "Americanization of the Holocaust" that linked the events of the Holocaust: the murder of six million Jews, the world's inaction in seeking to save Jews from the Nazi vise, the loss of democratic and human values before and during the Holocaust in large parts of Europe, with the need for Americans to understand their own democratic values and the importance of protecting them against forces similar to those that gave rise to National Socialism.

Not only was the creation of the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum and its Research Institute a reaction to such an "Americanization," but the premiere of the film *Schindler's List*, directed by Steven *Spielberg, allowed American's a glimpse of one of the "Righteous" non-Jews who put their personal safety and careers on the line to save Jewish lives.

A year later, Spielberg financed the creation of the Survivors of the Shoah Visual History Foundation to gather videotaped testimony of Holocaust survivors around the world. Again, Dr. Michael *Berenbaum, so instrumental in the creation of the USHMM's Research Institute, was asked to direct the institution as its president and CEO.

To date, the Shoah Foundation, relying on local staff members and volunteers, has collected nearly 52,000 testimonies in 32 languages in nearly 60 nations around the world.

The phenomenon of the "Americanization" of the Holocaust took on an even greater significance in January 2000, when the first ever "International Forum on the Holocaust" took place in Stockholm, Sweden.

Forty-eight nations along with several multilateral organizations took part in the conference. A total of 600 delegates attended, and most countries sent official delegations comprising official representatives as well as representatives of research and educational communities, staffs from museums and archives, and other experts.

The conference focused on the following fundamental questions: What can politicians and other community forces do to support Holocaust education, remembrance, and research? What lessons can be learned from the Holocaust to alert contemporary society to the dangers of antisemitism, racism, and ethnic conflict, among other expressions of hatred, injustice, and discrimination?

While progress was made in beginning to formulate answers to such questions, the more telling impact of the Conference was that a "globalization of the Holocaust" had now become an established fact. This conclusion was crystallized by the growth of the Association of Holocaust Organizations, headed by Dr. William L. Shulman, established in 1985, and whose membership 20 years later consisted of Holocaust research centers and museums in 39 American states and the District of Columbia as well as 24 other nations as diverse as Japan and South Africa.

In the era of the "globalization of the Holocaust," one research facility stands out among all others in terms of how quickly it has risen to the very top of all institutions devoted to Holocaust-related research.

In 1993, the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum (USHMM) opened its doors on the sacred ground of American history in Washington, D.C. and reflected the "Americanization of the Holocaust" and the phenomenon of Holocaust memory and memorialization.

Its most important scholarly division was the Research Institute of the USHMM directed by Michael Berenbaum. For a number of years before the Museum's opening, teams of microfilmers and researchers from the Research Institute gained access to numerous archives across the length and breadth of Central and Eastern Europe in order to document and ship back to Washington the most important records on the destruction of European Jewry. In 1998 it was restructured as The Center for Advanced Holocaust Studies of the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, directed by Paul Shapiro, to address the critical challenges affecting the scholarly study of the Holocaust.

Among its many activities, the center has taken the responsibility for collecting and preserving Holocaust-related archival materials on a worldwide basis, making many previously inaccessible sources available to the scholarly community. This project began in the late 1980s at the initiative of the then-unopened United States Holocaust Memorial Museum as the imminent collapse of the Communist regimes presented a unique opportunity and openness toward the microfilming of archival holdings related to World War II and the Holocaust in Eastern Europe. As an American government institution working with governments anxious to improve their relationship with the United States as Soviet-power was waning, the museum used its status to pry open for Western scholars hitherto inaccessible archives, to microfilm their holdings and bring them to the West. Independent projects were undertaken as were joint efforts with Yad Vashem and by the turn of the 21st century, the principle of the exchange between Jerusalem and Washington of Eastern European archival microfilms was firmly established.

As such, the archival branch of the USHMM is today one of the largest and most comprehensive repositories of Holocaust-related records in the world. The collection consists of nearly 20 million pages of records, especially important microform reproductions of materials held by most of the European nations occupied by the German armed forces, including those of the former Soviet Union.

Especially important are the microfilmed holdings of the so-called Osobyi or "Special" Archive that were inaccessible to Western scholars until the end of the Cold War. The USHMM has copied large numbers of files in this archive pertaining to Holocaust-related and other topics. Nearly 400 microfilm reels are available to researchers dealing with previously unknown or missing materials including those on Jewish organizations, both communal and private, in Germany and Austria. The finding aid for the Osobyi Records can be accessed via the catalog of the USHMM.

Online catalogs available to researchers include the Library and Archival Collections (including oral history and film); an Archival Guide to the Collections, which act as an overview of textual records; and a select group of Archival Finding Aids that are detailed inventories and descriptive tools created to help scholars understand the scope and detail of collections.

In addition, the Collections Division of the USHMM contains an oral history collection that is one of the largest and most diverse on Holocaust testimonies. The collection contains over 7,000 interviews, 4,500 of which are video and 2,500 are audio.

The Photo Archives contains 85,000 historical photographs and nearly 14,000 of them are available through an online catalog. The online catalog also contains a small sampling of the more than 10,000 artifacts in the Museum's possession.

[Abraham J. Peck (2nd ed.)]

Major Archives

THE CENTRAL ARCHIVES FOR THE HISTORY OF THE JEWISH PEOPLE (CAHJP). The nucleus of these archives are the Jewish Historical General Archives, founded in 1939 by Joseph *Meisl and taken over in 1944 by the Historical Society of Israel. In 1957 D.J. Cohen became their director. They were set up formally in Jerusalem in 1969 under a resolution of the government of Israel in January 1968, in cooperation with other interested institutions. Only with the establishment of the State of Israel and with the "ingathering of the exiles" was it possible to attempt an "ingathering of the nation's records" in order to perpetuate the collective memory of the Jewish people. Special attention was given to the archives of communities and organizations which had been destroyed or were in the process of disappearing. Thus, all the community records remaining in West Germany after World War II, a large portion of the Gesamtarchiv der deutschen Juden (see above) among them, were brought to Jerusalem.

The archives are engaged in three main activities: the transfer to Israel of community and organizational archives and private collections of prominent Jews, and the preserving, classifying, and placing of them at the disposal of historians and students; photographing documents relating to Jewish history in archives abroad; and compiling a central catalog of all the archival material relating to Jewish history which exists in Jewish and non-Jewish archives all over the world. Accordingly there are three main departments in the CAHJP:

Original Documents. This department contains complete archives and fragments, registers (*pinkasim*), charters and deeds from about 1,300 communities on five continents – mainly from Europe, the Americas, and North Africa – as well as records of many organizations and private papers of families and personalities. The material dates from the 15th century to the present and is arranged according to territorial divisions, following the political borders between the World Wars, with every territorial division preserving, in turn, the original structure of its segments (i.e., archives of communities, organizations, etc.); it also includes a collection of single documents, *Memorbooks* (e.g., Halberstadt, Coblenz, and Kreuznach), and files not necessarily connected with any archival unit.

The following community archives are worthy of special mention:

Austria, Vienna (1812–); *Czechoslovakia*, *pinkasim* from Boskovice, Konice, Mikulov (Nikolsburg), Prostějov, and Trebič (some of them dating from the beginning of the 17th century); *France* (dating from the 16th century), Alsace, Avignon, Bordeaux, Carpentras, Cavaillon, Metz, Nancy, and Paris; *Germany*, Altona-Hamburg-Wandsbeck (from 1669, including the archives of the rabbinical court in Altona, and of the *talmud torah*), Ansbach (1616–), Bamberg (1748–), Bayreuth (1709–), Berlin (1755–), Bingen (1674–), Danzig (1694–), Darmstadt (1663–), Floss (1682–), Frankfurt on the Oder (1736–), Halberstadt (1613–), Koenigsberg (1769–), Mainz (1661–), Offenbach on the Main (1716–), Regensburg (1788–), Worms (1552–), Wuerzburg (1684–), and Zuelz (1627–); *Italy*, the M. and U. Morpurgo and N. Rossi collection (material from Padua and Rovigo), the H.E. Sereni collection (Modena, Pisa, and Rome), the Alliance Israélite Universelle in northern Italy; and *Poland*, Grodzisk, Katowice, Krotoszyn (1747–), Poznań (1595–), and Rawicz.

Special interterritorial subdivisions contain private collections and archives of international organizations. Among them are the records of the Schwarzbard Defense Council set up by the Comité des Délégations Juives in Paris (1926–28); the files of the Jewish Palestinian League of Nations Society (1926–39); Reuben Brainin's diaries; the papers of S. Dubnow; Ismar Freund, (emancipation and legal status of German Jewry); J.L. Magnes (including the records of the *kehillah* of New York City, part of these papers are in the Museum at Berkeley, California); and the following collections: Z. Broches, New England Jewry; P. Diamant, genealogy; N.M. Gelber, Polish Jewry; L. Lamm, Ginsburg family, and the Jews of Swabia; I. Prins, Jews of Holland and Belgium; L. Motzkin, Russian pogroms and emigration; and M. Stern, German and Italian Jewry. A division of special collections – statutes, reports, etc., in print; genealogy; newspaper clippings; photographs; and tape recordings

Microfilm Department. This contains over three million frames from Jewish and non-Jewish archives abroad, beginning with the 12th century: communities of Yugoslavia, Amsterdam (Sephardi and Ashkenazi Congregations, and the *pinkasim* of outgoing letters of the *Pekidim ve-Amarkalim*); Copenhagen; Leghorn; Mantua; Reggio-Emilia; Rome; Venice; Consistoire Central and Alliance Israélite Universelle in Paris; and records from scores of state and municipal archives in Austria, Czechoslovakia, England, France, Germany, Italy, Mexico, Poland, Portugal, Spain, and Switzerland.

Survey Department. This department contains lists of material in archives abroad. Systematic surveys are being carried out in archives of Jewish communities and organizations, which are still located in the places of origin, as well as in state, municipal, ecclesiastical, and private archives in all the European countries in which it has been possible for the Central Archives to operate; mainly Austria, France, Germany, Italy, Spain, and Yugoslavia. There are altogether some 200 catalogs.

An auxiliary library contains reference literature, monographs, and published documents relating to communities and institutions, the records of which are kept in the CAHJP.

[Daniel J. Cohen]

CENTRAL ZIONIST ARCHIVES. The Central Zionist Archives (CZA) are the historical archives of the Zionist Movement and the Zionist Organization which were founded in Berlin in 1919 by G. *Herlitz, who was director of the archives until 1955. In 1933 they were moved to Jerusalem. A. *Bein joined the archives in 1936 and succeeded Herlitz as director in 1955. The 24th Zionist Congress (1956) recognized the CZA as the official historical archives of the Zionist Movement and the Jewish Agency, as well as all their affiliated institutions.

The archives consist of the following major divisions: (a) the official files of the Zionist Organization and the Jewish Agency, and their various institutions from the founding of the Zionist Organization in 1897 to the present day, including those of the national Zionist Federations, the Zionist funds (Jewish National Fund, Keren Hayesod, etc.), and the Land Development Co., Bank Leumi, etc.; (b) archives of the *yishuv* prior to the establishment of the State of Israel. This division includes the archives of the *Va'ad Le'ummi and of its predecessor, the Provisional Council of the Jews of Ereẓ Israel; of the Jewish communities of Jerusalem, Haifa, Aḥuzzat Bayit, and Tiberias; important parts of the *PICA archives, and the archives of various settlers' associations, organizations, and settlements; (c) the archives of the *Ḥibbat Zion movement, of non-official bodies, and various other Jewish national organizations; these include the archives of the central committee of the Ḥovevei Zion society, the British Ḥovevei Zion society, the *Benei Moshe Society, and the Jewish Territorial Organization; Zionist youth and students movements, such as Blau-Weiss, Kadimah, KJV, etc.; and (d) official archives containing only part of the historical documentation and important material being preserved in the private archives of leading Zionist personalities. The CZA have systematically endeavored to acquire such private archives, now about 300 in number, from the Ḥibbat Zion period up to the present. A very significant unit in this collection is the literary and political archive of Theodor *Herzl, a collection of some 5,000 of his letters in original, facsimile, photostat, or transcripts, as well as other documentary material. Other private archives in this division are those of presidents of the Zionist Organization – David Wolffsohn, Otto Warburg, Nahum Sokolow (including his library), Nahum Goldmann – and of other prominent Jews such as: C. Arlosoroff, E. Ben-Yehuda, I. Ben-Zvi, M. Buber (Zionist material only), Z.H. Chajes, F. Frankfurter (Zionist material only), H. Friedenwald, R. Gottheil, M. Hess, Zadoc Kahn, Ẓ. H. Kalischer, S. Levin, M.L. Lilienblum, L. Motzkin, M. Nordau, S.P. Rabinowitz, A. Ruppin, H. Shapira, M. Sharett, H. Struck, H. Szold, J. Trumpeldor, M. Ussishkin, I. Zangwill.

The library of the CZA contains about 60,000 books and booklets in every language and is the most comprehensive collection on Zionism and the *yishuv.* The collection of periodicals and bulletins consists of most of the Zionist newspapers that appeared in Israel and abroad, especially since 1918. The collection of nonperiodical printed items contains many thousands of announcements and placards, leaflets, circulars, etc. The collection of photographs has about 75,000 photographs and negatives of personalities, events, settlements, etc., including the collection of Oron (Oroshkes), the Jerusalem photographer. The microfilm section contains many files and documents on the history of Zionism, photographed in various archives and relevant files of various foreign ministries. The audio division is made up of tape recordings of Zionist Congresses, the Zionist "Actions Committee," etc.

The Herzl Museum, established in 1960 on Mount Herzl in Jerusalem, forms a special division of the Archives. Utilizing the documents in their possession, the CZA are publishing a comprehensive edition of Herzl's letters and writings in Hebrew translation, and assisting in the publication of his writings in other languages. The material for the publication of Moshe *Sharett's writings is also being collected in the Achives.

The CZA publish a bibliographical bulletin, which lists the publications of Zionist institutions and newly published Zionist literature. Other regular publications are its reports to Zionist Congresses, and an annual report on its operations.

Israel

Little information is available concerning the archives of the Jewish communities in Ereẓ Israel after the mishnaic period down to modern times (for ancient times see above [Biblical Period]). Nevertheless, large communities such as Safed and Hebron must have maintained an archive of important documents, such as title deeds and correspondence with the authorities. From the archives of the communities and *kolelim* only a few remnants have been preserved in libraries and private collections. Most of the material was destroyed by fire, lost through negligence, or was otherwise dispersed. Collections of letters addressed to them by the Jewish communities in Ereẓ Israel, especially after the beginning of the 19th century, are extant in community archives abroad, as well as in the private archives of outstanding personalities such as Moses Montefiore (see I. Ben-Zvi's publications on the subject, collected in volumes 2 and 3 of his writings, *Meḥkarim u-Mekorot* ("Studies and Sources") and *She'ar Yashuv*).

A decisive change took place in the last quarter of the 19th century, when the first self-supporting Jewish settlements were established. The new situation in which Ereẓ Israel Jews found themselves was mirrored in the structure, contents, and organization of their archives. From the beginning the new settlements took care to preserve the documents, and these reflect not only their community life – as was the custom of the communities in the Diaspora – but touch upon all aspects of the *yishuv*'s life. Many settlements have succeeded in preserving a large part of their files, and documents, including the minutes of the meetings of their administrative bodies from the day of their establishment; nearly all of them have in their archives the files which have accumulated since the end of World War I (during which a great many documents were lost). These archives, however, are only in the first stage of their preparation for scientific study.

The establishment of scientific historical archives, in the modern sense, in Ereẓ Israel, each relating to a well-defined area of interest, dates back to 1933. In that year the Central Zionist Archives (CZA; see above and below), founded in Berlin in 1919, were transferred to Jerusalem, and at about the same time a special archive of the Labor Movement was established in Tel Aviv (see Labor Archives below). In 1939 the General (now Central) Archives for the History of the Jewish People (CAHJP) were set up in Jerusalem.

The establishment of the State of Israel influenced the development of archives in several ways. Since the *yishuv* had now assumed full authority for the conduct of its affairs, the current archives (registries) which were set up by the government ministries and the authorities, reflect the entire range of the country's life. The great *aliyah* movement – "The Ingathering of the Exiles" – also created the demand to gather the documents telling of their past history. An article by A. Bein, "Sources of Jewish History – a National Need" (in: *Zion-New Judea*, no. 1 (1951), 20ff.), inaugurated a systematic effort in this field. New state or public archives were created and existing ones put on a firmer basis. In 1948 the Army Archives were founded, in 1949 the State Archives, and in 1953 the Yad Vashem archives. The enactment of an "Archives Law" by the Knesset in 1955, followed by a meeting of the Supreme Archives Council and the appointment of a State archivist, A. Bein, in August 1956, provided a new legal and operational basis for the functioning of an organized archives system. This was complemented by the establishment, in 1956, of the Israel Archives Association, a voluntary organization designed to promote cooperation among the country's archives.

The Archives Law had the following purposes: to provide the legal basis for the State Archives, which in fact had been created six years before, and to define the scope of its authority; to regulate the function of the registries in the government ministries, with special emphasis on the preservation or disposal of files; to organize and regulate the functioning of registries and archives by the local authorities; to supervise the work of historical archives maintained by nongovernmental organizations, recognized by the government as "public archives"; and to ensure the proper maintenance of historically valuable archives in private possession. The archives system is headed by the State archivist, who is also the head of the Supreme Archives Council, a body composed of representatives of government ministries and the public archives, and of experts in the field; the Council is a consultative body and, in certain instances, also serves as an appeals board. There are also various permanent committees assisting the State archivist and the Council, the most important of which are: the permanent committee on the disposal of archival material in government offices and in those of local authorities; the committee on professional terminology (relating to archives); and the coordination committee for public archives.

The following archives fall under the law:

Government Archives. The State Archives (see below) and the Army Archives (see below) are government controlled, with the latter being legally part of the State Archives, but administratively an independent unit under the Defense Ministry.

Archives of Local Authorities (municipal archives). As mentioned above, a great amount of files and documents have been accumulated in the various municipal units, which came into being as a result of their current operations; these archives represent valuable historical records, but thus far only a few have been organized into modern archives. Municipal archives have been established in Jerusalem and Tel Aviv, and beginnings have been made in Petaḥ Tikvah, Reḥovot, Afulah, Netanyah, and Ramat ha-Sharon. More substantial progress has been made in the organization of local archives in the kibbutzim. Also envisaged is the establishment of district archives. These would function as branches of the State Archives and would serve as the repository of the archival material from settlements which do not maintain any historical archives of their own.

Public Archives. These consist of the following: (1) the Central Zionist Archives (CZA) in Jerusalem; (2) the Labor Archives and Museum, Tel Aviv – the central archives of the *Histadrut, and its affiliated institutions; (3) the Central Archives for the History of the Jewish People (CAHJP); (4) the Yad Vashem archives; (5) the *Weizmann Archives, Reḥovot, established in 1951 as a part of Yad Chaim Weizmann (of special significance for the collection of Weizmann's letters now in the course of publication); (6) the Jabotinsky Institute, Tel Aviv, founded in 1933 as the Betar Museum, which took its present name in 1947, and whose task it is to collect material on the life and work of *Jabotinsky, youth movements and underground organizations founded or inspired by him; (7) Bet Aronson in Zikhron Ya'akov, which contains the private and public archives of Aaron *Aaronsohn, his brother Alexander, and his sister, Sarah; (8) the Archives of Religious Zionism, Jerusalem, which were established in 1953 as a part of the Mosad ha-Rav Kook (among its collections: the archives of the Mizrachi World Organization (1919–48), the archives of the Jerusalem branch of Ha-Po'el ha-Mizrachi (1930–48), and the private archive of Rabbi J.L. *Maimon); (9) the archives of Ha-Kibbutz ha-Arẓi of *Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir, Merḥavyah, which were established in 1937 as the first archive of a political movement in Ereẓ Israel and serves as the historical archive of Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir kibbutzim in Israel and of the Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir world movement (from 1911); (10) the archives of Ha-Kibbutz ha-Me'uḥad, in En-Harod, which were established in 1957; (11) The Isaac Katznelson Ghetto Fighters Museum Commemorating the Holocaust and the Resistance, which was founded in 1950 (includes the archives of the world He-Ḥalutz movement); (12) the archives of the Teachers' Association, Tel Aviv, which were established in 1959 to collect information on Hebrew education abroad and education in general in Israel; and (13) the Israel Film Art Archives, Haifa, which were founded in 1961 and collect significant Israel and Jewish films, as well as films that were inspired by Jewish life or are based on Jewish literary works.

Private Archives. The Archives Law provides for the listing by the State archivists of all private archives that are of value to the public. Some 200 such archives have been listed (numerous private archives, as well, have been deposited in government and public archives, esp. in the CZA). The archives maintained by political parties are also regarded as "private" archives (such as those of Mapai at Bet Berl, Tel Aviv, on its way to becoming a proper historical archive).

Important archival material is also at the National and University Library in Jerusalem, which before the establishment of special archives also served as the repository of the archives of public institutions and personalities. The material stored in the library is divided into the following groups: a section containing over 150 *pinkasim* of communities and institutions in Israel and abroad; the archives of outstanding personalities, especially scholars and writers, and which include the archives of Aḥad Ha-Am, Simḥa Assaf, Albert Einstein, Martin Buber, M.D. Gaon, J.L. Gordon, Eliahu Gutmacher, Joseph Klausner, J.L. Landau, Moritz Lazarus, Joseph Popper-Lynkeus, Stefan Zweig (letters he received from other authors), and Leopold Zunz; collections of letters of David Oppenheim, Akiva Eger, and J.L. Dukes, and of the early protagonists of the *Wissenschaft des Judentums*, as well as collections of letters concerning the history of Jewish settlement in Jerusalem; and a comprehensive collection of *autographs and portraits, founded by Abraham Schwadron-Sharon, which contains letters and documents of prominent Jews.

Genazim. The Asher Barash bio-bibliographical institute in Tel Aviv, was founded in 1953 by the Hebrew Writers' Association and contains the archives, manuscripts, and correspondence of Hebrew writers. There are also archives devoted to famous authors, such as Bet Bialik and Bet Shalom Aleichem in Tel Aviv (the latter also contains the archive of Y.D. Berkowitz, Shalom Aleichem's son-in-law and the Hebrew translator of his works).

A significant feature of the Israel Archives is the demarcation of the respective spheres of interest of the various archives and the coordination of their activities in order to avoid duplication and competition in the acquisition of material. The Israel Archives have organized professional courses at the Hebrew University, the graduates of which are awarded the designation of "archivist"; in addition, there are extension courses for the training of archives personnel. All the existing archives operate on the basis of approved statutes and are open to the public. Most of them follow the practice of the State Archives, whose files are made available for study after 20 years in the case of administrative files; 30 years, political files; or 50 years, security files and personal papers. In 1966 the Israel Archives Association published a guide (in Hebrew) to the historical archives of the country, which contains detailed lists of their contents.

[Alexander Bein]

MAJOR ISRAEL ARCHIVES. *The State (of Israel) Archives.* These archives were established in 1949 as part of the prime minister's office and were initially designed to collect documentary material – in manuscript, print, picture, and sound – relating to the history, organization, and operations of the state, and to conserve archival records of the Mandatory government departments which had remained in the country after its evacuation by the British. Even before the official establishment of the archives, the secretariat of the provisional government had taken care to assemble the files of the Mandate administration which had been found in the abandoned government offices. When the first archives director, Sophia Udin, was appointed in August 1949, the work of classifying and listing the large quantity of archival material was taken in hand. Special care was taken to collect the official publications of all state and local authorities. In 1953 the Knesset passed a law amending the Press Ordinance of 1933, which provided for the deposition in the State Archives of one copy of every publication appearing in Israel. In 1955 the Knesset passed the Archives Law, which provided the legal basis for the operation of the State Archives and the safeguarding of public records in the country. The law designates the State Archives as the sole repository of the historical records of all government departments and institutions, including the office of the state president, the Knesset, the Foreign Ministry and its missions abroad, and the police and the courts. In 1955 the State Archives were transferred from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem; this marked the conclusion of the first stage in their development. In 1957 P.A. Alsberg was appointed director of the State Archives.

The application of the Archives Law required certain changes in the definition of the State Archives' functions. Only such documentary material as is of sufficient value to be kept indefinitely would be deposited in the State Archives.

A special unit was established to supervise filing and archive operations in the government ministries and local authorities. Rules and regulations were published regarding the disposal of insignificant files, a prerequisite for the preservation of important archival material. In 1964 the Archives Law was amended to extend to governmental companies, and a Cabinet resolution (dated Nov. 22, 1959) charged the State Archives with the task of ensuring the exchange of official publications with foreign countries, as provided by the 1958 UNESCO convention. At the beginning of 1969, the State Archives contained deposits extending over approximately seven kilometers of shelf space (20,000 cu. ft.). Very little official material relating to the period of Ottoman rule is available; it consists of the lists of the censuses carried out between 1869 and 1917, and a limited amount of documents and registers from the office of the Jerusalem district governor relating to the period 1907–13. On the other hand, a great deal of material from the Mandatory period has been preserved; it consists of most of the files of the chief secretariat, the attorney general's office, the offices of the district commissioners, and a large part of the files of the various government departments. The number of files of Israel state and government institutions, which are deposited in the archives, has shown a steady rise. The president's office, the Knesset, and all ministries have made their first deposits of old files and documents of a special nature, such as credentials presented to the president, laws bearing the state seal, and special agreements. They are currently deposited with the archives. Large numbers of court files, dating back to the Mandatory government, are also stored because of their legal, sociological, and historical value.

These include the proceedings of trials that aroused special public interest and the proceedings of trials under the Law on the Punishment of Nazis and their Collaborators, including the files of the *Eichmann trial. Of special interest, from the point of view of historical research, are private archives and nongovernmental files. Among these are a great number of files from the German Consulate in Jerusalem (1839–1939), which were acquired by the State Archives when they were about to be disposed of as waste paper. Valuable Arab archives were found in abandoned houses and offices during the *War of Independence (1948), the *Sinai Campaign, and the *Six-Day War. In order to facilitate the use of its deposits, the State Archives publish series of reference guides. The first are: Herbert Samuel, a register of his papers; records of the chief secretary's office, 1918–1925; records of the Emergency Committee, 1947–1948; and records of the Prisoners' Welfare Society "Le-Assirenu," 1947–1949. The State Archives also publish "List of Government Publications" (Heb., from 1956 to 1965, quarterly, and since then annually). Other publications are designed to serve as instructions for operation of archives by the ministries and local authorities.

[Paul Awraham Alsberg]

Labor Archives (and Museum). They were established in 1932 by S. Eisenstadt, who was their director until 1941, and confirmed in 1962 by the Central Committee of the Histadrut as the central archives of all Histadrut institutions. The Labor archives contain complete or partial archives of various institutions, parties, and organizations in the Zionist labor movement in Israel and abroad, including those of the Agricultural Center, the Labor Councils of many towns and settlements, and the private archives and collections of the leading figures in the labor movement. Of special importance are the collections of periodicals published by the Labor movement in Israel and abroad.

Periodically, the archives issue *Asuppot*, which contains documents and articles; they have also published the anthology *Ha-Shomer* (1938).

Israel Defense Forces. The archives of the Israel Defense Forces (IDF), in Givatayim were established in 1948 on the instructions of the then defense minister David Ben-Gurion to R.R. Lev, who was its director until 1953. These archives developed rapidly under their second director M. Shilo who retired in 1968. Their task is to receive and preserve the documentary material of the Israel Defense Forces and the defense establishment and to prepare it for historical study. Owing to the special circumstances under which the various branches of the Army perform their function, the archives also have to receive and store comparatively recent files which are no longer in current use, even if they are not intended for permanent storage. They therefore serve both as a records center and as historical archives. When the Archives Law was passed, the Army archives were declared a part of the State Archives, but they have remained an administrative unit of the Ministry of Defense.

The voluminous documentary material in the Army archives covers the entire operations of the IDF and the defense establishment from their beginning. In view of the security classification of the material, the Army archives are, for the time being, not open to the public. A multi-storied building in Givatayim houses the archives.

The *Haganah Archives*, kept until 1969 at Bet Eliyahu, in Tel Aviv, the Haganah Museum, are now also attached to the Army archives. Their collection includes originals and photocopies of material pertaining to the Haganah organization in Palestine, its operations, and personalities, as well as the records of the Aliyah Bet (illegal immigration) organization. This collection will provide the basic material for a history of the Haganah.

[Alexander Bein]

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ARCHIVOLTI, SAMUEL (**ben Elhanan Jacob**; 1515–1611), Italian author, grammarian, and poet. Archivolti was born in Cesena and in his youth studied with R. Meir *Katzenellenbogen. In 1563 Archivolti is known to have lived in Bologna; he visited Venice occasionally between 1565 and 1602, where he worked as a proof corrector. From 1568 he lived in Padua, where he served as secretary of the community, principal of a yeshivah, and *av bet din*. Leone *Modena was his pupil and so was Cardinal Marco Marini, who studied Hebrew with him. Modena and Archivolti contributed laudatory poems to Marini’s *Arca Noae* (1593).

Archivolti’s most important works are *He’arot le-Sefer he-Arukh*, supplying textual references on midrashic and talmudic passages cited in the *Arukh* of Nathan b. Jehiel of Rome (first printed in Venice, 1553; Basle, 1599); *Degel Ahavah*, an ethical work (Venice, 1551); *Ma’yan Gannim* (Venice, 1553), divided into “passages” containing 25 letters in metrical form designed to serve as models for students of this classic literary genre; and his major work, a Hebrew grammar, *Arugat ha-Bosem* (Venice, 1602; Amsterdam, 1730). This last work is divided into 32 chapters, beginning with the rudimentary usage of letters, nouns, and verbs (including a table of tenses and conjugations), and ending with an explanation of Hebrew accentuation, meter, and poetical form. Chapter 30 deals with Hebrew cryptography. Archivolti used his own poems as models to demonstrate 22 varying metrical forms. The Christian scholar Johannes *Buxtorf II translated the last section into Latin (1660), appending it to his Latin translation of the *Kuzari* of *Judah Halevi.

Archivolti also composed numerous poems and *piyyutim*, 76 of which have been printed. In 1988 D. Bregmann published 13 sonnets written by him. Like *Immanuel of Rome and Moses *Rieti, he circulated his works throughout the Italian communities. His achievements are noted by Modena, who complains that the study of Hebrew grammar was being neglected in his own day, in contrast to its cultivation at the time of Archivolti. Some of Archivolti’s *piyyutim* appeared in prayer books of the Italian rite; especially well known are his *piyyut, Keḥi Kinnor*, and his poem, “*Arzei Levanon Yifraḥu*,” on circumcision. Archivolti’s poems reflect the state of contemporary Italian culture and the attitude of the Jews to their Christian neighbors. His responsa and letters, extant in manuscript, deal with halakhic questions such as the preparation of the *mikveh* and the prohibition of pictorial representations on synagogue walls. Modena composed an elegy on the death of his teacher, praising him as a light in Judaism, an erudite poet, and an expert in grammar and poetical craft.

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[Yehoshua Horowitz]

ARCHON, communal officer for the independent Jewish community (*kehillah*) in the Greek and Roman period. The archons of the community constituted the executive committee of the council of elders (*gerusia*). Josephus mentions “the leaders of the council of elders” of Alexandria (Wars, 7:412), evidently the archons of the council who acted as its representatives vis-à-vis the people. The number of archons varied, probably relative to the size of the community. Thus an inscription from Berenice in Cyrenaica, records nine archons. In Rome there was at least one archon for each congregation. The archon was generally chosen for one year, and could be reelected for a second term, or even more. A passage in a Christian homily attributed to John Chrysostom, the Church Father, indicates that elections for the archons were held in the month of Tishri, i.e., at the beginning of the Jewish year. At this time the outgoing archons, or perhaps those assuming office, apparently participated in ceremonials which took place during the Feast of Tabernacles, such as one recorded in the Berenice inscription. Some inscriptions use the form *dis archon*, and sometimes *dia biou* (διά βίου; also *dia viu* in Latin inscriptions), evidently merely as an honorific title, indicating that the person so designated had been chosen as archon for life, although in practice he might only fulfill this function once or twice. This title probably was given to the archons held in highest esteem. The title occasionally appears to have been given to children, referred to as “the child archon," evidently children of notables. This may indicate that the office passed by inheritance in certain aristocratic families. The form μελλάρχων (future archon?) is also found, and may have designated younger members of distinguished and wealthy families of the community. The Talmud and Midrash frequently use the title "archon" although its implications are far from clear.

The sources show that there were archons in all the communities of the Diaspora, both East and West, including Syria, Egypt, Asia Minor and Greece, Italy, and Cyrenaica. The archon in Antioch, Syria, is mentioned by Josephus (Wars, 7:47). Archons in Alexandria are referred to by *Philo (*Against Flaccus*, 14:10). The above-mentioned inscription of Berenice (CIG, 5361) commemorates the Roman, Marcus Titius, son of Sextus of the Aemilia *tribus*, when he was honored on the Feast of Tabernacles in the year 55 according to the local calendar. This calendar apparently commenced in 67 B.C.E., so that the inscription dates from 13 B.C.E. In Rome there is an inscription mentioning the archon of the synagogue in the Suburra quarter (CIG, 6447). Other references to archons in Rome are to be found in the Garucchi collection of inscriptions from the Jewish cemetery in Vigna Randanini (pub. 1862, and in a supplement, 1865). The Roman inscriptions have been collected by Frey. For other parts of Italy, archons are recorded in Porto near Rome (Kaibel, *Inscriptiones Graeciae, Siciliae et Italiae*, no. 949), and Capua (T. Mommsen, *Inscriptiones Regni Neapolitani Latinae*, no. 3657; CIL, 10, pt. 1 (1883), 392, no. 3905).

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[Abraham Schalit]

ARCHPRESBYTER, PRESBYTER OF THE JEWS, title of the official representative of medieval English Jewry, designated in Latin as *Presbyter Judaeorum*. The first archpresbyter, Jacob le Prestre, is recorded in 1183. After the Exchequer of the Jews' foundation, c. 1190, he was to "reside there and advise its justices." In 1199 he accepted responsibility for "the Jewry's great debts from the reigns of Henry II and Richard I." His own tax he negotiated, personally, with the Crown. As the office carried risks as well as prestige, the king promised compensation would be paid, immediately, by any who transgressed against him. His own transgressions would be heard by the king or his chief justice. All Jacob's successors were eminent members of the Jewry. The great Rubigotsce's grandson, Josce, who retained the family's Rouen mansion, held office from 1207 to 1236 when Aaron of York, wealthiest of English magnates, replaced him. Elias l'Eveske, archpresbyter 1243–58, broke down under the pressure, accusing Henry III of exactions "for things we cannot give though he would put out our eyes and cut our throats after pulling off our skins," a few years later resigning, and converting to Christianity. Hagin, Master Moses' second son, succeeded in 1257, surrounded by persistent scandal, and intrigue. Imprisoned in 1280, he died the next year. The queen's puppet, Hagin "at her instance" was replaced by his nephew, Cok Hagin, who in 1275 had been excommunicated by his uncle, the great scholar Master Elias. At the Expulsion in 1290 the queen, whom Cok also had served for many years, granted him license to sell his properties.

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[Joe Hillaby (2nd ed.)]

ARCILA (**Asila** = ancient **Zilis**), port 27 mi. S. of Tangiers. Jews probably settled there in ancient times. When the Portuguese conquered the city in 1471, they seized 250 Jews and sold them as slaves in Portugal; they were ransomed by Isaac *Abrabanel. After 1492 Arcila was a disembarkation port for refugees from Spain and Portugal. The Portuguese governor Borba treated them inhumanly, but finally permitted their departure for Fez. When many of them returned, Borba forced their conversion. In 1510 a community was established. Ships from India and Brazil laden with spices, precious woods, and fabrics called at Arcila; cereals were exported, and much of this trade was in Jewish hands. The evacuation of the Jews of *Azemmour to Arcila was planned in 1541 and the following year they were given one month to leave for Fez. When the Portuguese were driven out in 1546, the Jews returned, lived among the Muslims, and paid an annual tax of 60 gold ducats. In the 19th century the very influential Levy-Benshetons were diplomatic representatives of England and the United States in Arcila. In 1940 the community numbered only 500. There was no organized community in 1968.

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[David Corcos]

ARCO, GEORG WILHELM ALEXANDER HANS, GRAF VON (1869–1940), German inventor; son of a Jewish mother. Arco was a guards officer before attending a university. He was active in the early development of wireless telegraphy, and in 1898 participated in wireless transmission over 14 mi. (21 km.). In 1912 he invented a high-frequency machine for direct wireless telegraphy. From 1903 to 1931 he was director and chief engineer of the Gesellschaft fuer drahtlose Telegraphie m.b.h. System Telefunken, Berlin.

ARDASHIR (**Artaxata**), ancient capital of Armenia, situated on an island in the Aras (Araxes) River. According to the fifth-century Armenian chronicler Moses of Chorene, King Arsaces (85–127 C.E.) transplanted many Armenian Jews, originally captured in Palestine by King Tigranes during the years 83–69 B.C.E. from the city of Ernandi and resettled them in Ardashir. Another Armenian historian, Faustus of Byzantium, relates that the Persian king Shapur II (310–380 C.E.) deported a large number of Armenians to the provinces of Iran, among them 9,000 Jewish families from Ardashir.

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[Isaiah Gafni]

°**ARDAVAN**, the name of five Parthian kings. The Ardavan mentioned in the Talmud is apparently Ardavan V, last of the Arsacid dynasty, who reigned from c. 213–26 C.E. He was defeated by Ardashir I, the founder of the Sassanid dynasty. The sparse talmudic references to Ardavan indicate that he was well-disposed toward the Jews. On hearing of his death, Rav exclaimed, "The bond has been sundered" (Av. Zar. 10b–11a). A king called Ardavan is mentioned in the Jerusalem Talmud (TJ, Pe'ah 1:1, 15d). He sent a valuable gift to "*Rabbenu ha-Kadosh*" ("our holy rabbi," the usual designation for *Judah ha-Nasi), and asked for a gift of similar value in return. The latter sent him a *mezuzah* which Ardavan returned, complaining that it could not be compared in value with the costly gift that he had sent. The rabbi replied, "You have sent me a gift which I am required to guard, whereas my gift will guard you."

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[Moshe Beer]

ARDIT, family of Sephardi rabbis, scholars, and philanthropists originating from Catalonia. After the expulsion from Spain a branch of the family settled in Salonika where it remained until the end of the 17th century when Abraham Ardit (d. 1729) moved to Smyrna. Among its notable members were (1) ḤAYYIM ABRAHAM BEN ISAAC (1735–1770), rabbi and exegete whose sermons and comments on Maimonides' *Mishneh Torah* appear in an appendage to Ephraim Ardit's *Matteh Efrayim* (Salonika, 1791). (2) ḤAYYIM MOSES ISAAC (1740–1800), scholar and philanthropist of Smyrna who financed the publication of the *Matteh Efrayim*. (3) ISAAC BEN SOLOMON (d. 1812), of Smyrna, author of a volume of sermons and a commentary on tractate *Arakhin, Yekar ha-Erekh* (Salonika, 1823). (4) One of Isaac's sons ḤAYYIM MOSES (d. 1846) was eulogized by Ḥayyim Palaggi and the other, Raphael Solomon (early 19th century), completed his father's book under the title *Paḥot Sheva Arakhin* (in: *Yekar ha-Erekh*). He published a commentary, *Shem Shelomo* (in *Yekar ha-Erekh*), which includes responsa, sermons, critical notes, and eulogies. (5) JOSHUA SOLOMON BEN JACOB NISSIM (d. 1876), rabbi of Smyrna and author of a book of sermons, *Ish Mevin* (Smyrna, 1894), and of a methodology on tractate *Ketubbot, Ḥina ve-Ḥisda* (3 vols.; Smyrna, 1864). (6) SOLOMON B. JACOB (mid-18th century) wrote two commentaries which were appended to various works by R. Meir Bakayam of Salonika: *Divrei Shelomo* (1747), a critical commentary on the *aggadah; Leḥem Shelomo* (1748), on Kabbalah. (7) RAPHAEL BEN SOLOMON (early 19th century), author of *Marpeh Lashon* (Salonika, 1826), a critical commentary to the *Mishneh Torah* of Maimonides and on tractate *Shevu'ot*.

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[Yehoshua Horowitz]

ARDIT, EPHRAIM BEN ABRAHAM (1700–1767), rabbi and preacher. He first engaged in business in his native Smyrna, but later studied there in the yeshivot, and was afterward appointed rabbi of Smyrna. He left manuscripts of glosses on the Talmud written by Spanish scholars; among them R. Jonah b. Abraham Gerondi's *Aliyyot* on *Bava Batra* which appeared in *Shitah Mekubbeẓet* (Salonika, 1791). These glosses were found by Ardit's grandson Isaac, author of *Sha'ar ha-Melekh*. Ephraim's family published *Matteh Efrayim* (1791), an anthology of his glosses and dialectic commentaries on Maimonides' halakhic writings, responsa, and sermons for the Sabbaths before the Day of Atonement, Passover, and Purim. A collection of Ephraim's homilies was extant in manuscript at Smyrna until World War I.

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[Yehoshua Horowitz]

ARDITI, ALBERT JUDAH (1891–1942), Greek socialist leader. Arditi, who was born in Salonika, was a paper merchant. He devoted his life to the Salonika socialist movement, the Salonikan Federation (the Socialist Labor Federation of Salonika), of which he was one of the founders in late spring 1909. He organized the city's trade union movement, contributed to the labor newspaper *La Solidaredad Obradera*, later called *Avanti*, and became its editor. He pulled the movement together when liberal criticism from Joseph *Nehama and former students of the Alliance Israélite Universelle within the Federation almost fragmented the movement. When movement leader Avraham *Ben-Aroya was exiled in 1912, Arditi filled in as editor-in-chief of *Avanti*. He was one of the Federation's foremost leaders, but yet a simple activist and devoted Socialist. In December 1912, after Salonika was captured by Greece, Arditi was sentenced to three years' imprisonment for insulting the Greek king in one of his newspaper's articles. In opposition to the collaboration of the Federation with the royalist conservative political establishment, Arditi, together with a small group of activists from the Federation, split off from the Federation in the summer of 1915. Arditi served as deputy mayor of Salonika and was a member of the Jewish Communal Council. A staunch fighter for his socialist ideals, he was outspoken and courageous in his public statements and was imprisoned by the authorities for his views. During World War II, Arditi, his wife, and children were deported to Birkenau and murdered by the Nazis.

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[Baruch Uziel / Yitzchak Kerem (2nd ed.)]

ARDON, MORDECAI (1896–1992), Israeli painter. Ardon was born in Tuchow, Poland, as Max Bronstein, the eldest of the 12 children of Alexander Bronstein and Elisheva Buxbaum. His ḥasidic father sent his sons to study in a *bet midrash*. Influenced by his father's occupation as a watchmaker, Ardon uses images of the watch and of time to express his childhood memories (*Ascension of the Cuckoo Clock*, 1961, Private collection, Jerusalem).

From 1920 to 1925 Ardon studied at the Bauhaus under authoritative teachers such as Paul Klee, Wassily Kandinsky, Johannes Itten, and Lyonel Feininger. In Germany he was an enthusiastic Communist until 1933, when he escaped from the Nazis to Jerusalem. In 1936 he changed his name to the biblical Ardon. From 1935 he taught at the Bezalel Academy of Arts and Design in Jerusalem and was the director of the institute from 1940 to 1952. In 1963 he was awarded the Israel Prize.

The style of his early paintings was expressionistic, the landscapes and the portraits surrounded by darkness demonstrating his admiration for the Renaissance painter El Greco (*Self-Portrait*, 1938–39, Israel Museum, Jerusalem). His symbolic poetic style was shaped in the 1950s, becoming more abstract in the 1960s. Despite the abstraction, his paintings deal with historical and mystical subjects deriving from the Jewish world (*Train of Numbers*, 1962, Mishkan le-Omanut, Ein Harod).

In his unique way Ardon combined the modernism of the Bauhaus with traditional art. Tradition was expressed by the artistic technique and the choice of materials. Ardon did not use industrial paint, using instead ground powder, which enabled him to produce very light hues (*At the Gates of Jerusalem*, 1967, Israel Museum, Jerusalem). He used the triptych as a format in his most impressive works, influenced by the religious traditional meaning of it.

Ardon's most monumental work is the stained-glass window *Isaiah's Vision of Eternal Peace* (1992–94) at the Jewish National and University Library in Jerusalem. The triptych refers to the vision described on Isaiah 2:2–4. The verse "Come let us go up to the mountain of Lord …" is the theme of the left panel. It appears in several languages on symbolic white roads. The central panel describes the image of Jerusalem with motifs taken from the Dead Sea Scrolls, the view of the Walls of Jerusalem as well as kabbalistic symbols. The right panel depicts the verse "and they shall beat their swords into ploughshares"; spades hover above guns and shells. Due to Ardon's insistence on traditional technique he made the stained glass at Atelier Simon, Rheims, France.

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[Ronit Steinberg (2nd ed.)]

ARDUT (**Abenardut**), family of physicians in Aragon. ELEAZAR (ALAZAR) IBN ARDUT (d. c. 1350), born in Huesca, was adviser to Alfonso IV, who also used his services as a negotiator. At the beginning of the reign of Pedro IV, Eleazar was appointed chief justice for the Jewish communities of the kingdom. He evidently succeeded to the position formerly held by the *Alconstantini family. He was succeeded in this office by his brother, the court physician JOSEPH IBN ARDUT. In 1357 Joseph was directed to liquidate the debts owed by the communities of Aragon to Solomon Cresques.

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ARÉGA, LÉON (1908–), French novelist. Born in Przasnysz (Poland), Aréga volunteered for the French Army on the outbreak of World War II, was captured, and made three escapes from German P.O.W. camps. After the Liberation he received a French decoration for his gallantry. Aréga began writing soon after the war and published *Comme si c'était fini* (1946), *A l'Essai* (1951), *Le même fleuve* (1954), *Pseudonymes* (1957), and *Aucune trace* (1963). He also wrote another novel, *La main sur la bouche* (1965), in collaboration with Thérèse Sandrau. In all of Aréga's stories, written in a rhythmic, musical style, the main theme is failure resulting from the unhappy circumstances which the author regards as universal. Only in the autobiographical *Comme si c'était fini* does this pervasive theme of failure assume a Jewish coloring. Here Aréga describes the fate of a typically Jewish hero, a foreign Jew living in France who volunteers for service in the French Army. No matter how hard he tries, the Jew is never accepted by his French comrades as one of themselves; nor, when he is taken prisoner, do the Germans regard him as a Frenchman.

[Arnold Mandel]

°**AREIOS** (**Areus**) **I** (309–265 B.C.E.), king of Sparta. According to Josephus, Areios wrote a letter to the high priest, Onias, telling of the discovery of a document proving "that the Jews and Spartans are of one race and are related by descent from Abraham." Josephus wrongly states that this high priest was Onias II (c. 170 B.C.E), but there is no doubt that it was Onias I. Many scholars are reluctant to accept that there was contact between the Spartan king and the obscure land of Judea but it is known that Areios cultivated many similar international relationships.

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[Isaiah Gafni]

ARENDA, Polish term designating the lease of fixed assets or of prerogatives, such as land, mills, inns, breweries, distilleries, or of special rights, such as the collection of customs duties and taxes. The term was adopted with the same meaning in Hebrew and Yiddish from the 16th century (with the lessee, in particular the small-scale lessee, being called the *arenda*). The *arenda* system was widespread in the economy of *Poland-Lithuania from the late Middle Ages.

I. Great Arenda

This term refers to the lease of public revenues and monopolies. The first leases to be held by Jews were of royal revenues and functions: the mint, salt mines, customs, and tax farming. Large-scale operations of this type were conducted by the Jews *Lewko (14th century) and Volchko (15th century). The number of Jewish lessees of central and regional customs duties and of salt mines increased in the 15th century, especially in the eastern districts. Often the same persons leased both the customs and the mines. In western Poland the nobility, possessing more capital, prevented Jews from leasing royal revenues, this being a highly lucrative activity. As the power of the nobility increased during the 16th and 17th centuries, they tried to obtain a monopoly on leasing the royal prerogatives. In 1538 the Polish *Sejm* (Diet) prohibited the lease of royal revenues to Jews. From fear of retaliation by the nobility, the Jewish autonomous body, the *Council of Four Lands, in 1580 forbade Jews to lease the great *arenda*. However, none of these enactments succeeded in eliminating Jewish enterprise completely from this sphere. Even where the nobility monopolized the lease of the royal prerogatives, there remained a broad field for Jewish enterprise and capital in the lease of revenues and functions from towns and private townships. These revenues were taxes on products and services, especially flour milling, potash and pitch, fish ponds, and alcoholic beverages (both production and sale); but sometimes the lease of whole estates was involved. All these types of lease were linked with the agricultural *arenda* (see below). Until the middle of the 16th century, Jews were among the chief lessees of the customs in the stations in Lithuania and White Russia. Some moved there from Poland for this purpose. In 1569 the Lithuanian *Sejm* accorded the nobility the monopoly on leases in Lithuania, which also included Belorussia and the Ukraine. The economic consequences of this prohibition would have been disastrous for Lithuanian Jewry, which felt strong enough to defy it openly. The Va'ad Medinat Lita (Lithuanian Council) therefore twice passed a resolution supporting the lease of customs and taxes by Jews, stating: "We have openly seen the great danger deriving from the operation of customs in Gentile hands; for the customs to be in Jewish hands is a pivot on which everything (in commerce) turns, since thereby Jews may exert control" (S. Dubnow, *Pinkas… Lita* (1925), 29, no. 123). In Lithuania, Jews openly held concessions for the great *arenda*, with the exception of the mint, until late in the 17th century.

In the 16th and 17th centuries the Jews in Red Russia also occupied a not insignificant place in the lease of customs, salt mines, taxes from drinks, etc. The lessees of these large economic undertakings often contracted them out to sublessees, mainly to Jews, as well. That Jews actually operated customs stations is attested by customs registers of 1580, written in mixed Hebrew and Yiddish, even where and when the prohibition on Jewish customs leasing formally remained in force. Jewish expertise and financial ability in this field were in demand. Jews are later found as silent partners of the nominal Christian lessees, often Armenians.

II. Agricultural Arenda

This term refers to the lease of landed estates or of specific branches (in agriculture, forestry, and processing), in which Jews gradually became predominant in eastern Poland during the 16th and 17th centuries. There were several reasons for this development. The increasing exports of agricultural products to Western Europe and the development of processing industries (especially of alcoholic beverages) led to the progressive commercialization of the landed estates, but the majority of the nobility had little interest in the actual administration of their vast (and remote) *latifundia*, as well as insufficient capital and commercial skills. Thus they turned to the capital, enterprise, and expertise of Jewish lessees. These, on the other hand, showed growing interest in this activity as a result of increasing competition and discrimination against Jews in the towns. Many a lease originated in a loan to the estate owner, who mortgaged the general or certain specific revenues from his land as security (*Zastaw*).

In Lithuania and Red Russia in this period Jews leased from the magnates not only single estates but also whole demesnes (*klucze*) and towns. In 1598 Israel of Zloczów leased the land owned by the Zloczów gentry, together with all the taxes, the monopoly on the taverns, and the corvée, for 4,500 zloty yearly. Jewish lessees played a central role in the colonization of the *Ukraine. The Jewish lessee frequently became the economic adviser and factotum of the Polish magnate. The Jewish sublessee could also exert considerable economic leverage and social influence from his position in the tavern, but his financial situation was not necessarily good.

Because of the importance of agricultural *arenda* in Jewish economic life, problems concerning this institution were often the subject of resolutions of the Councils of the Lands. One of the most far-reaching *takkanot* ("regulations") introduced by the Council was that of *ḥazakah* to prevent undercutting among Jews in this field. The regulation interdicted a Jew from attempting by any means to acquire a lease already held by another Jew for three years. Other *takkanot* dealt with problems of Sabbath observance or halakhic points arising in the course of management of estates with Christian owners. In southeastern Poland, Jewish lessees found themselves between the hammer and the anvil, under pressure from the extortionate nobility for whom they were agents, and hated by the peasantry. The attitude of the Jews themselves toward the peasants was often much more humane than that of the Polish landlords. A council of rabbis and communal leaders of Volhynia, a central district of the agricultural *arenda*, urged Jewish lessees in 1602 to forgo the work due from peasants on the Sabbath: "If the villagers are obliged to do the work on weekdays [i.e., Monday through Saturday]… let them forgo the Sabbath and [Jewish] holidays altogether. Living in exile and under the Egyptian yoke, our forefathers chose the Sabbath day for resting… Therefore also where Gentiles are under their hand [the Jews] are obliged to keep the Law… Let them not be ungrateful to the Giver of bounty, the very bounty given; let the name of the Lord be glorified through them" (Ben-Sasson, in: *Zion*, 21 (1956), 205). However, the Jews were frequently maligned. They were accused falsely of interfering in the affairs of Greek Orthodox (Pravoslav) churches in villages leased by them. All the Jews living in the southeastern parts of Poland were attacked and thousands massacred in the Cossack and peasant uprisings in the 17th century (see *Chmielnicki).

The last years of the Polish "republic of the nobility" (1648–c. 1772) were a period of economic and cultural decline accompanied by growing Catholic reaction to the Reformation. The central administrative authority progressively weakened and the nobility felt itself free to act unfettered by law. The conditions, character, and role of Jewish leaseholding changed for the worse in this situation. At that time in certain districts village Jews formed a third of the total Jewish population. The 1764 census shows that around 2% of the Jews in Poland were lessees (generally tavern keepers) in towns; in rural areas, while only a few were large-scale lessees on the magnates' estates, the number of Jewish lessees of taverns and inns had increased. In the district of Lublin at this date, 89% of the village Jews engaged in leaseholding operations were inn or tavern keepers. An insignificant number of larger-scale lessees held more than one inn or tavern. The rest, nearly 11%, leased mills and dairy processes. Petty lessees often combined trade with a craft, such as hatters, tailors, and pitch burners. Solomon *Maimon, in the late 18th century, depicts in his autobiography the poverty of the Jewish innkeeper who plied his trade in a smoky hut with peasants sitting on the floor and drinking vodka, while the Jewish teacher taught the half-naked children of the proprietor. The Polish poet Ignacy Krasicki describes an inn as a barn where the Jewish innkeeper had not even a bundle of straw to serve as a bed for his guests. Arbitrary arrests and humiliation were part of the lot of the Jews in these occupations. In the 18th century the petty squires and the general public demanded the expulsion of the Jews from the villages, especially the lessees of the taverns. During the period of the Partitions of Poland, the limitation which had been imposed on the lease of revenues and real property by Jews remained in force until the formal political emancipation of the Jews in each partition district.

The weight and importance of leaseholding in the occupational structure of Eastern European Jewry decreased in the 19th century with urbanization and industrialization and the process of Jewish migration to the cities and industrial and commercial centers. Formerly, the system of agricultural *arenda* had brought Jews to the villages and incorporated them in village life. It provided a broad area of settlement and sources of livelihood enabling the growth of the Jewish population in Poland-Lithuania. Even during its decline, and despite the tarnishing of its image from the 18th century, the *arenda* system for a considerable time played an important role in both Jewish and Polish economic and social life.

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[Abraham Wein]

ARENDT, HANNAH (1906–1975), political and social philosopher. Born in Hanover, Germany, she studied at the universities of Marburg, Freiburg, and Heidelberg. In the 1930s Arendt married Gunther Stern, a young Jewish philosopher. In 1933, fearing Nazi persecution, she fled to Paris, where she subsequently became friends with Walter *Benjamin and Raymond *Aron. In 1936, she met Heinrich Bluecher, a German political refugee whom she married in 1940, following her 1939 divorce from Stern. After the outbreak of war, and following detention as an "enemy alien," Arendt and Bluecher fled to the U.S. in 1941. From 1944 to 1948 she was successively research director of the Conference on Jewish Relations and chief editor of Schocken Books; from 1949 to 1952 she was executive director of Jewish Cultural Reconstruction. Arendt was professor at the University of Chicago from 1963 to 1967 and afterward at the New School for Social Research, New York.

An erudite, provocative, and penetrating writer, Arendt evaluated major developments in modern times. She believed that antisemitism contributed to totalitarianism which she saw as connected with the fall of the nation-state and to the change in the social structure. She advocated freedom based on public participation in politics, a tradition deriving from the Greco-Roman world, in contrast to freedom based on private interests. The former was furthered through revolutions, like the American, the latter through disastrous rebellions like the French. The dehumanizing and depoliticizing process of modern times have led away from genuine freedom to the evils of totalitarianism. Hannah Arendt covered the Eichmann trial for the *New Yorker* magazine and subsequently published as a book *Eichmann in Jerusalem: A Report on the Banality of Evil* (1963), which aroused violent controversy. In it she claimed that European Jewish leadership had failed, that the victims were partly responsible for the slaughter by their failure to resist, and that Eichmann represents the "banality of evil." Her other publications include *The Origins of Totalitarianism* (1951); *Rachel Varnhagen – The Life of a Jewess* (1957); *Between Past and Future* (1961); *On Revolution* (1963); and *Men in Dark Times* (1969). In 1970, Arendt presented a seminar on Kant's philosophy of judgment at New York City's New School (published posthumously as *Reflections on Kant's Political Philosophy* (1982)). She published "Thinking and Moral Considerations" in 1971, and the following year *Crisis of the Republic* (1972). In her final years, she worked on a projected three-volume work. Volumes 1 and 2 (*Thinking* and *Willing*) were published posthumously as *The Life of the Mind* (1981). Arendt died just as she was beginning work on the third and final volume, *Judging.*

In recent years, attention has focused on Arendt's intense intellectual and sexual relationship with German philosopher Martin Heidegger, whom she met at the University of Marburg in 1924 when she was an 18-year-old student and he was 35, married, and the father of two children. What is striking in this consistently unequal liaison is that it endured throughout Arendt's life, surviving a 17-year hiatus between 1933 and 1950, despite Arendt's knowledge that Heidegger stood accused of advancing the cause of Nazism in the academy and was banned in 1946 from the university of which he was rector. As Berel Lang has written, this lasting connection "overrode her recognition of his character – he had *no* character, she once concluded – [and] was so deep and constant that even love's blindness hardly explains it." At present, much of the correspondence between Arendt and Heidegger remains in sequestered archives. Certainty as to how the relationship evolved, its importance to Arendt and Heidegger over the course of half a century, and the extent to which their personal connection had an impact on Arendt's thinking will remain for future investigators to determine when the entire record is available.

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[Richard H. Popkin / Judith R. Baskin (2nd ed.)]

ARENDT, OTTO (1854–1936), German economist and politician who sought radical changes in existing political and economic conditions in Germany. Arendt studied at the university of his native Berlin, but abandoned an academic career to engage in politics, aligning himself with the ultra-conservative Prussian elements. He became the foremost advocate of bimetallism and protective tariffs. In his main work, *Die vertragsmaessige Doppelwaehrung* (1880), he advocated the use of both gold and silver as legal tender at a fixed ratio to each other. He was also anxious to promote the interests of the land-owning population. He sat on the right wing of Parliament, as a member of the Free Conservatives in the Prussian Diet (1885–1918) and of the Reichspartei in the Reichstag (1898–1918). Arendt's polemical excesses frequently antagonized his adversaries. He was a cofounder of the German Colonial Society. In the *Deutsche Wochenblatt*, which he edited, he opposed democratic institutions and election by equal ballot to the Reichstag. Arendt's parliamentary career ended with the 1918 revolution. In 1935, as a Jew under the Hitler regime, he was deprived of his German citizenship, although he had converted to Protestantism long before. He married Olga, the daughter of the famous feminist Lina *Morgenstern.

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[*Encyclopaedia Hebraica*]

ARENS, MOSHE (1925–), Israeli politician and aeronautical engineer; member of the Ninth to Twelfth and Fifteenth Knessets. Arens was born in Kovno, Lithuania. He grew up in Riga in Latvia, and immigrated with his family to the United States in 1939, serving in the U.S. Army and graduating from MIT in engineering in 1947. He was Betar Commissioner in the U.S. in 1947–48, and immigrated to Israel in 1948. In the years 1948–49 he served as IZL emissary in Europe and North Africa. In 1949–51 he was a member of moshav Mevo'ot Betar, after which he continued his studies for a master's degree in aeronautical engineering at the California Institute of Technology until 1954. In the years 1954–57 he was employed in the development of jet engines at the Curtis Wright company, and in 1958 returned to Israel and was appointed an assistant professor of aeronautical engineering at the Technion in Haifa. From 1962 to 1971 he served as deputy director general of the Israel Aircraft Industry, involved in the development of the Aravah and the Kfir aircraft. In 1971 he received the Israel Security award. In the years 1972–77 he served as the director of the Cybernetics Company.

Arens was elected to the Ninth Knesset in 1977 as a representative of *Herut, and in the years 1977–78 was chairman of the Herut Party Center. Until the beginning of the Tenth Knesset he served as chairman of the Knesset Foreign Affairs and Defense Committee. He voted against the 1978 Camp David Agreements and the 1979 Peace Treaty with Egypt. In 1982, during Operation Peace for Galilee, Arens served as ambassador to Washington. He was recalled to Jerusalem after Ariel *Sharon was forced to resign from the Ministry of Defense following the publication of the Kahan Commission report on the Sabra and Shatila massacre, and was appointed minister of defense. In the National Unity Government formed in 1984 he was appointed minister without portfolio, and following the rotation in the premiership in October 1986, when Yitzhak *Shamir became prime minister, replaced Ezer *Weizman as minister in charge of minority affairs. While his positions regarding the Arab-Israeli conflict were always hawkish, with regards to the Arab citizens of Israel his positions were liberal. In September 1987 he resigned from the government in protest against the decision to discontinue the Lavi aircraft project for financial reasons, but returned to the government in April 1988. In the National Unity Government formed by Shamir in December 1988 Arens was appointed minister for foreign affairs, and in the government formed by Shamir in June 1990, after the Alignment left the government, was appointed once against minister of defense in place of Yitzhak *Rabin. Arens retired from politics following the defeat of the Likud in the elections to the Thirteenth Knesset and entered business. He was recalled by Prime Minister Binyamin *Netanyahu to the Ministry of Defense in January 1999, after Yitzhak Mordechai was forced to resign from the government, and remained in that post until Ehud *Barak formed his government in July of that year. Arens was reelected to the Fifteenth Knesset, serving in the Knesset Foreign Affairs and Defense Committee. He did not run for election to the Sixteenth Knesset. Among his writings are *Optimum Staging of Cruising Aircraft* (1959); *Some Requirements for the Efficient Attainment of Range by Air-borne Vehicles* (1959); and *Broken Covenant* (1995).

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ARES (Αρης), god of war in Greek mythology, son of Zeus and Hera. The Greeks living in Ereẓ Israel during and after the Second Temple period associated several places with legends from their mythology. Thus the Greek designation for the city of Samaria (Σαμαρεία) was interpreted as denoting σᾶμα Αρεως "the sepulcher of Ares," or – more precisely – the tomb where Ares buried his son Asclepius. Similarly, Rabbath-Moab in Transjordan was called Areopolis, and coins struck by the town portray the deity. *Eusebius identifies Areopolis with the biblical Ariel (i.e., *Aryeh*; Isa. 15:9), and assumes that the inhabitants worshiped Ares, whom they also called *Aryeh*.

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°**ARETAS**, name of four *Nabatean kings. The sources relate little about the first two. ARETAS I (second century B.C.E.) is mentioned in II Maccabees 5:8 as the ruler with whom *Jason the high priest sought asylum. ARETAS II (first century B.C.E.) promised assistance to the people of *Gaza who were besieged by Alexander *Yannai.

Aretas III (85–60 B.C.E.) became involved in the war between the Seleucids Antiochus XII and Demetrius III in *Coele-Syria. When Antiochus fell in battle Aretas extended his rule to Coele-Syria and Damascus. He defeated Alexander Yannai at Addida. In the civil war between the two Hasmonean brothers, *Hyrcanus II and *Aristobulus II, Aretas III sided with Hyrcanus in exchange for a promise to restore to him 12 towns in Moab. Aretas laid siege to Aristobulus in the Temple Mount, but was forced to desist by Scaurus, the emissary of the Roman general *Pompey. After the conquest of Judea by Pompey in 63 B.C.E., Scaurus was sent against Aretas; but the difficulties of the terrain obliged the Romans to abandon the campaign, after exacting an indemnity of 300 talents.

Aretas IV (9 B.C.E.–40 C.E.), previously called Aeneas, was reluctantly recognized as king by *Augustus. His daughter married Herod Antipas, tetrarch of Galilee. She returned to her father, however, when Antipas married *Herodias, and a war broke out between Aretas and Antipas in which the latter was defeated. Antipas then appealed to the emperor *Tiberius, who ordered *Vittelius, governor of Syria, to attack Aretas. When Tiberius died, the campaign was abandoned. Aretas IV is also mentioned by Paul in connection with his visit to Damascus (II Cor. 11:32).

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[Abraham Schalit]

ARETHUSA, town in Judea, probably located in the Shephelah. Arethusa is mentioned by Josephus (Ant., 14:75; Wars, 1:156) as one of the towns under Jewish rule that was returned to the Gentiles by Pompey. Its Greek inhabitants called it by the name of the Macedonian or Syrian town from which they came, which in turn was named after the famous source Arethusa in Sicily. It has been tentatively suggested to identify the place with the site of *Rosh ha-Ayin (Aphek, Antipatris) because of its rich water supply.

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[Michael Avi-Yonah]

AREZZO, town in Tuscany, Italy. Jewish loan bankers were established in Arezzo from the close of the 14th century. At the beginning of 1406 their activities were suppressed, but reauthorized later that year. In the mid-15th century the da *Pisa family maintained a branch of their loan bank in Arezzo, as did the *Abrabanel family of Ferrara. Don Jacob Abrabanel lived in Arezzo for a time. When anti-Jewish reaction began in the Papal States, a number of refugees were allowed by Duke Cosimo I to settle in Arezzo in 1557. In 1570 Jewish loan banking in the city was prohibited and the Jews of the grand duchy, including those of Arezzo, were concentrated in the ghetto of *Florence. A small community was again established in Arezzo in the second half of the 18th century. It suffered when the anti-revolutionary Aretine mobs, sweeping through Tuscany in 1799, also attacked the Jews. The community came to an end in the 19th century.

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[Cecil Roth / Manuela Consonni (2nd ed.)]

°**ARGENS, JEAN BAPTISTE DE BOYER** (**Marquis d'**; 1704–1771), French novelist and deist. Using the then current method of ascribing bold ideas to fictitious foreigners (as for example Montesquieu's *Lettres persanes*), Argens chose to couch his religious and social criticism in the form of an exchange of letters between three Jews who combined a general education with loyalty to Jewish tradition: *Lettres juives* (6 vols., 1736–38), *Lettres cabalistiques* (6 vols., 1737–41), and then *Lettres chinoises* (5 vols., 1739–40), were all published in The Hague, Holland, where he stayed for some time. The English edition appeared under the title *The Jewish Spy* (first 40 letters, London, 1739; complete in 5 vols., London, 1739–40; and many other editions). The "Jews" and "kabbalists" whom Argens introduces in his works are, in fact, "philosophers," who treat their religion lukewarmly and criticize its ritual and institutions. Argens confronts Judaism with Christianity, showing that mythological dogmas are absent from Judaism. However, in places his characters make remarks openly hostile to Judaism, in conformity with Argens' deistic views. He also had a personal grievance since the Jewish community of Amsterdam refused to grant him a subsidy (cf. his ironical dedication to this community in vol. 3 of his *Lettres juives*). After moving to Berlin, he became acquainted with Jewish scholars. A. *Gomperz, the teacher of Moses *Mendelssohn, was Argens' secretary for a time.

Argens is reported to have interceded with Frederick II of Prussia (being then his chamberlain) to grant Mendelssohn the protected status of a *Schutzjude*. He is quoted as having said, "A bad Catholic pleads with a bad Protestant for a bad Jew."

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[Leon Poliakov]

ARGENTINA, South American Federal Republic, general population (2004) 39,150,000; Jewish population 190,000.

This entry is arranged according to the following outline:

COLONIAL PERIOD
MODERN PERIOD
- Legal Basis for Jewish Life
- History
  - EARLY JEWISH LIFE: 1840–1890
  - MASS MIGRATION: 1890–1918
  - THE RADICAL PERIOD: 1918–1930
  - THE SHADOW OF NATIONALISM: 1930–1946
  - BETWEEN PERÓN AND ONGANÍA: 1946–1968
  - REPRESSION AND DEMOCRACY: 1968–2005
- Relations with Israel

COLONIAL PERIOD

After the temporary union of Spain and Portugal in 1580, Portuguese of Jewish descent began entering colonial Argentina. Thinly populated, the area served as a center of contraband trade in which silver from the Andes Mountains was exchanged for West African slaves, European textiles, and other imports. The area was also far removed from Lima, the seat of viceregal government and, from 1572, seat of the Inquisitional Tribunal (though a Portuguese inquisitor visited Buenos Aires in 1618). Arriving at Buenos Aires, or going by way of São Paulo and Paraguay, the Portuguese immigrants settled mainly in Buenos Aires, *Córdoba, and Tucumán. Throughout the next century, hostile reports (the only ones available) refer to the presence of "Jews," "Portuguese," and "merchants" – used as synonymous terms – and uniformly accuse them of "filling the land" and "monopolizing commerce." A decree of expulsion issued in 1602 also links "Portuguese" and "Judaizers" or *Crypto-Jews.

Actually, the number of people referred to in these accusations and the degree of their practice of Judaism are unknown. They themselves covered their tracks because of the Inquisition and the laws of Spain, which forbade the entry of any but "Old Christians" (see *New Christians). On the other hand, the inquisitors describe the faith of their Jewish victims in superficial stereotypes: the wearing of clean linen and abstention from work on their Sabbath, refusal to eat pork, and the denial of Christian tenets. The victims of the great Lima Auto-da-Fé of Jan. 23, 1639, included a native of Tucumán, the middle-aged surgeon Francisco *Maldonado de Silva, a man of mystic tendencies who had found his way back to the ancestral Jewish faith. Two other major figures of Jewish-Portuguese origin related to Argentina were Christians by persuasion: Francisco de *Vitoria, bishop of Tucumán (d. 1592), who was accused of Judaizing and was recalled to Spain, and the Córdoba-born jurist Antonio de León Pinelo, an important figure in South American literature (d. 1658), who brought an appeal against the fine imposed on resident Portuguese by the governor of Buenos Aires.

Few statistics are available on the activities of this period. Ninety-six Portuguese, among them 34 farmers, 25 artisans, and 14 sailors, have been identified out of a population of some 2,000 resident in Buenos Aires in about 1620; but the assumption that all Portuguese residents were Jewish is open to serious question. Probably fewer Crypto-Jews settled in the whole of Argentina than in the mining center of Potosí in modern Bolivia or in the colonial capital of Lima. Moreover, it is almost certain that their Judaism, such as it was, failed to take root. In the 18th century there are no trustworthy reports of Judaizing in Argentina, nor is it possible to verify reports that some local families were of Crypto-Jewish descent.

[Fred Bronner]

MODERN PERIOD

Legal Basis for Jewish Life

The Cabildo Abierto, whose convention in Buenos Aires on May 25, 1810, marked the beginning of Argentinean independence, did not abolish colonial legislation condemning non-Catholics to religious persecution. A circular of Dec. 3, 1810, signed by Mariano Moreno, secretary of the *Junta de Mayo*, extended an invitation to "British, Portuguese, and others not at war with us," while Bernardino Rivadavia's decree of Dec. 4, 1812, established freedom of immigration to Argentina for all nations, ensuring that their basic human rights were preserved. The Inquisition, however, was officially abolished only on March 24, 1813. On May 7, 1813, the Constitutional Assembly decided that foreigners would not be prevented from observing their religious rites if these were performed by individuals in their own homes. Following an 1825 agreement between the governments of Argentina and Great Britain, the Buenos Aires province extended religious freedom to all Protestants.

All these agreements, like that concerning non-Catholic wedding ceremonies promulgated in 1833, failed to take Jews into account. Only in the Constitution of 1853 did clauses appear which created the legal basis for Jewish life in Argentina. Complete religious freedom for all residents of Argentina, both nationals and foreign residents, was specifically laid down in paragraphs 14 and 20 of the constitution and is hinted at in paragraph 19. However, the legislation determines that the government must support Roman Catholic worship and decrees that the president and his deputy must be Roman Catholics (paragraphs 2, 76).

This constitution was passed as a result of pressure applied by liberal elements in the legislative assembly, who remained dominant in subsequent years. In 1876 they legislated a liberal immigration law, No. 817, which allowed immigration also to non-Catholics. During the 1880s, liberal politicians even created a conflict between the Argentinean government and the Catholic Church. Education Law No. 1420 of 1884 stipulated the secularization of official education, and that religious instruction in schools was to be given only before or after school hours and by clerics ordained by the various religious bodies and only to children of their respective faiths. This law, intended to eradicate church influence in state schools, naturally aroused opposition in conservative circles. In the same year another law, No. 1565, established the Registro Civil, requiring all citizens to register their civil status with the government, depriving the clergy of the sole right to register births, marriages, and deaths. When the Vatican representative intervened in the resulting controversy, Julio A. Roca's government severed relations with the Vatican, and these were resumed only in 1900.

This secular legislation was completed with the Civil Marriage Law of 1888. The liberal legislation naturally secured the legal status of non-Catholics, including Jews, and abolished all possible discrimination based on laws of civil status. Its importance diminished in the course of time, as conservative and nationalist elements ignored the liberal ideology that had promulgated the Argentinean constitution; but the religious freedom determined by the 1853 constitution was not abolished.

[Haim Avni]

History

EARLY JEWISH LIFE: 1840–1890. The foundations of contemporary Jewish life in Argentina were laid by immigrants from Western Europe. Some arrived in the 1840s, but the earliest recorded evidence of organized Jewish life was the first Jewish wedding, performed in 1860. A *minyan* that met for the High Holidays in 1862 developed into the Congregación Israelita de la República Argentina (CIRA) in 1868, concerned exclusively with serving the Buenos Aires community in matters such as marriage, burial in the cemetery of the dissidents, and, from 1874, circumcision. A permit to keep an official register of Jewish births, marriages, and deaths was at first denied to the president of the CIRA, Segismundo Auerbach (1877), under the pretext that this function was restricted to the clergy of each faith. Only when Henry Joseph (an intermarried English businessman who had some Jewish knowledge) was elected by the CIRA to serve as its rabbi and confirmed by the chief rabbi of the French Consistory in 1883 was the permit granted to the community.

The first Sephardim settled in Argentina in the early 1880s. They came from the northwestern coast of Morocco, mostly from Tetuán and Tangier, and in 1889 applied for permission to establish a synagogue according to the Hispanic-Portuguese rite. Many of the Moroccan Jews had formerly settled in Brazil, and upon their arrival in Argentina dispersed in the hinterland, forming chains of commercial enterprises, with branches in the main provincial cities.

Pogroms in Russia in 1881 led to the appointment of a government *ad honorem* immigration agent in Odessa to attract Russian Jewish immigrants. This decision prompted a vehement antisemitic attack in the press, which was boldly rejected by the leaders of the Jewish community. French antisemitism also influenced Julián Martel, who wrote *La Bolsa* (1891), a novel in which several antisemitic passages are taken almost verbatim from Edouard *Drumont's *La France Juive* (1886). Originally published by the influential newspaper *La Nación, La Bolsa* has been reedited and reprinted repeatedly until the present day and still serves widely as an historical source for the period. Although the 1887 census of Buenos Aires revealed only 366 Jews, it is believed that by 1889 between 1,500 and 2,000 Jews were living in the Argentine Republic.

[Victor A. Mirelman]

MASS MIGRATION: 1890–1918. Large-scale Jewish immigration to Argentina began only in the late 1880s, when echoes of Argentina's prodigious efforts to attract immigration reached Eastern Europe. Arriving singly at first, Jews later came in groups, the largest of which (820 immigrants arriving on the S.S. *Weser* on Aug. 14, 1889) laid the foundation for agricultural

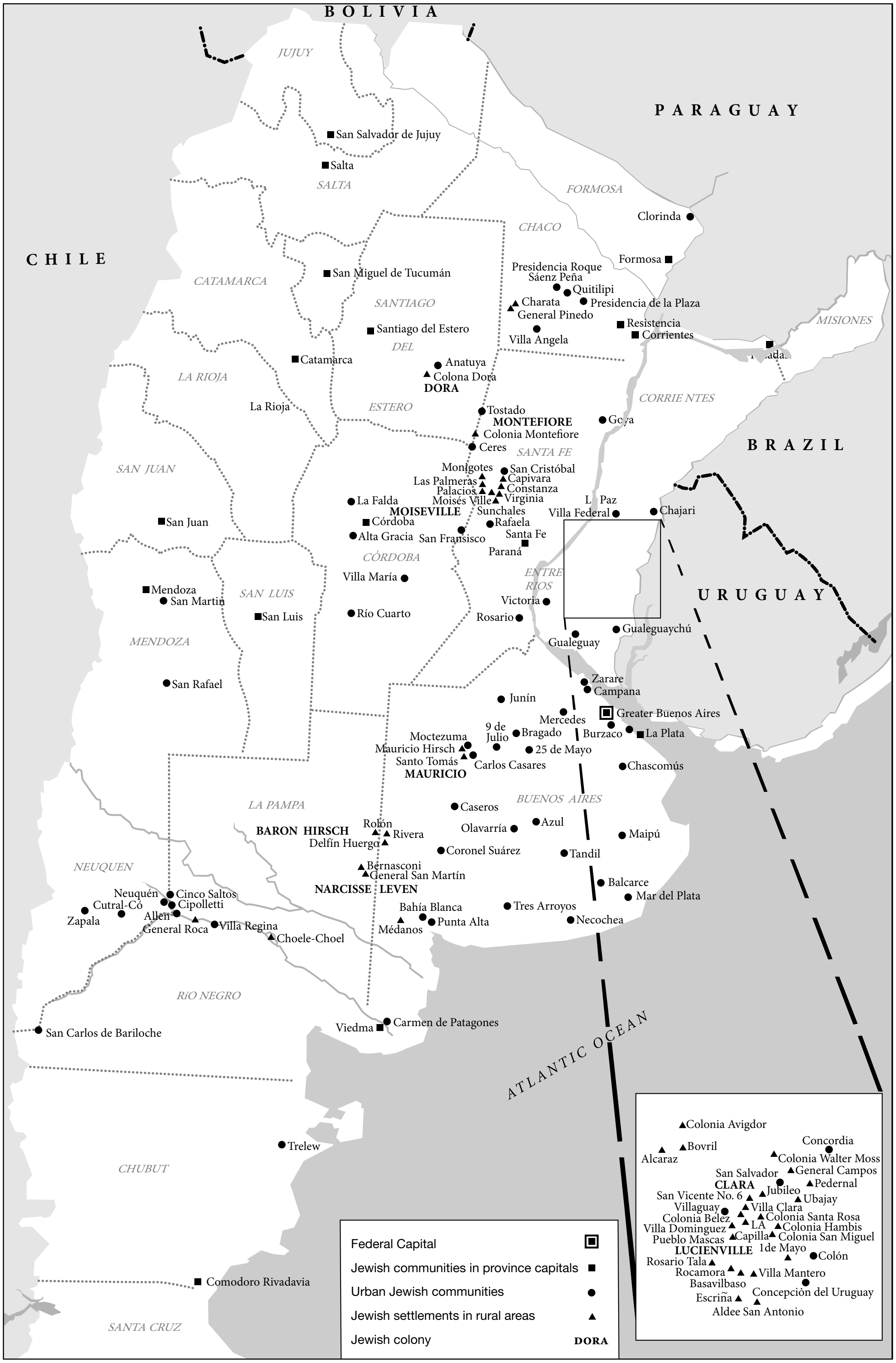
BOLIVIA
PARAGUAY
CHILE
BRAZIL
URUGUAY
ATLANTIC OCEAN
JUJUY
SALTA
FORMOSA
CHACO
CATAMARCA
SANTIAGO DEL ESTERO
MISIONES
LA RIOJA
CORRIENTES
SAN JUAN
SANTA FE
CÓRDOBA
ENTRE RIOS
SAN LUIS
MENDOZA
LA PAMPA
BUENOS AIRES
NEUQUEN
RÍO NEGRO
CHUBUT
SANTA CRUZ
San Salvador de Jujuy
Salta
Clorinda
Formosa
San Miguel de Tucumán
Presidencia Roque Sáenz Peña
Quitilipi
Charata
Presidencia de la Plaza
General Pinedo
Resistencia
Corrientes
Villa Angela
Santiago del Estero
Posadas
Catamarca
Anatuya
Colona Dora
DORA
La Rioja
Tostado
MONTEFIORE
Colonia Montefiore
Ceres
Goya
Monigotes
San Cristóbal
Las Palmeras
Capivara
Palacios
Constanza
Moisés Ville
Virginia
La Falda
MOISEVILLE
Sunchales
La Paz
Villa Federal
Chajari
San Juan
Córdoba
Rafaela
Alta Gracia
San Fransisco
Santa Fe
Paraná
Villa María
Mendoza
San Martin
San Luis
Río Cuarto
Victoria
Rosario
Gualeguay
Gualeguaychú
San Rafael
Zarare
Campana
Junín
Greater Buenos Aires
Mercedes
9 de Julio
Bragado
Burzaco
La Plata
Moctezuma
Mauricio Hirsch
25 de Mayo
Santo Tomás
Carlos Casares
MAURICIO
Chascomús
Caseros
Rolón
Azul
BARON HIRSCH
Rivera
Olavarría
Delfín Huergo
Maipú
Coronel Suárez
Tandil
Bernasconi
General San Martín
Balcarce
NARCISSE LEVEN
Neuquén
Cinco Saltos
Mar del Plata
Cutral-Có
Cipolletti
Bahía Blanca
Tres Arroyos
Zapala
Allen
Punta Alta
Necochea
General Roca
Villa Regina
Médanos
Choele-Choel
San Carlos de Bariloche
Viedma
Carmen de Patagones
Trelew
Comodoro Rivadavia
Colonia Avigdor
Concordia
Bovril
Alcaraz
Colonia Walter Moss
San Salvador
General Campos
CLARA
Pedernal
Jubileo
San Vicente No. 6
Ubajay
Villaguay
Villa Clara
Colonia Belez
Colonia Santa Rosa
Villa Dominguez
LA
Colonia Hambis
Pueblo Mascas
Capilla
Colonia San Miguel
LUCIENVILLE
1de Mayo
Colón
Rosario Tala
Rocamora
Villa Mantero
Basavilbaso
Concepción del Uruguay
Escriña
Aldee San Antonio
Federal Capital
Jewish communities in province capitals
Urban Jewish communities
Jewish settlements in rural areas
Jewish colony
DORA

Jewish settlement in Argentina.

settlements (see below, Agricultural Settlement). Immigration to urban areas as well as to rural ones increased after the *Jewish Colonization Association (ICA) was established, reaching a peak of over 13,000 persons per year in 1906 and 1912. In the first 15 years 66% of the immigrants settled in agricultural colonies (in 1895, 4,000 of 6,000 Jews; in 1904, 12,000 out of a total population of 18,000). After 1905, urban immigration increased. In 1909 66% of the 55,000 Jews lived in cities and in 1919 80% of 125,000. Most of these immigrants were Ashkenazim, but also many groups of Sephardim came from the Ottoman Empire and North Africa, mainly from Syria, Turkey, Rhodes, and Spanish Morocco. In 1927 it was estimated that there were 20,000 Sephardim in Argentina.

Agricultural Settlement. Jewish agricultural settlement in Argentina began in 1888 under the auspices of the *Alliance Israélite Universelle. Of the 136 families who arrived on the SS *Weser* in 1889, about 40 acquired land from a landowner, Pedro Palacios, and set up the Moisesville colony. The settlers suffered from hunger and disease during the first months of their settlement, due to lack of equipment and financial means. Wilhelm Loewenthal, a Jewish physician and naturalist, was invited by the Argentine government to carry out a mission of inquiry in the latter half of 1889. On his way to Argentina, he was asked by Jewish leaders in Berlin and Paris, who had helped the immigrants on the *Weser*, to report on the settlers' condition. During his stay in Argentina, Loewenthal attempted to improve relations between Palacios and the settlers. He also set forth to the Alliance Israélite Universelle a long-range program for Jewish agricultural settlement in Argentina for the absorption of about 5,000 persons a year. Though the Alliance rejected his proposal, the idea was forwarded to Baron Maurice de *Hirsch, who decided to adopt the plan as he had completely abandoned his previous plans to improve the lot of Russian Jewry by establishing a network of schools in Russia.

In November 1890, Loewenthal was sent by Baron de Hirsch to Argentina at the head of an exploratory mission, and on April 28, 1891, the Baron appointed him director of his settlement project. Soon afterward, Baron de Hirsch decided that his plan would be the cornerstone of a comprehensive territorial project, which, within a relatively short period, would be a solution to the worsening condition of Russian Jewry. As a result, the first immigrants were sent to Argentina in July 1891. Negotiations were held with private individuals and with the Argentinean government for concessions and the acquisition of up to 3,750,000 hectares of land in Chaco. Negotiations were also held with the Russian government to allow the emigration of Jews and secure a permit to establish emigration agencies. The Russian government agreed to the request on May 20, 1892, assuming that in the ensuing 25 years 3,250,000 Jews would leave Russia. However, this grandiose scheme did not materialize. The Argentinean parliament did not approve the sale of large tracts of land, and Baron de Hirsch was persuaded that the climate and soil in the areas under consideration were unsuitable for Jewish colonization. The settlement of the first immigrants was beset by serious administrative and social difficulties, which Baron de Hirsch was unable to overcome even after Loewenthal was removed from his post and replaced by Colonel Albert E.W. Goldsmid. Baron de Hirsch continued to hope that he would find suitable locations and carry out a large and geographically concentrated project. In 1895 he admitted that his plans were unrealistic and tried to change the main objective of his activities from emigration and agricultural settlement to productive support of needy Jews in Europe and the Americas. On April 21, 1896, he died while in the midst of implementing the revised plan, which continued on a minor scale.

Instead of the mass project and the vast and concentrated territories, at the time of the Baron's death the Jewish Colonization Association (ICA) owned a total of only 302,736 hectares in the provinces of Buenos Aires, Entre Ríos, and Santa Fé with a total of 910 families (6,757 persons). Jewish colonization developed primarily in the 20 years after the Baron's death. The land area rose to 586,473 hectares on the eve of World War I, and from then on until ICA ceased its activity, it rose to only 617,468 hectares. The number of persons settled on the land reached 18,900 during this period, a figure only 1,428 short of the peak figure for 1925 (20,382 persons). Also during this period most of the cooperatives were formed in the colonies, and Alberto *Gerchunoff wrote his classic work, *Los Gauchos Judíos*.

Agricultural Cooperatives. The first agricultural cooperative in Argentina was established in the Jewish colony of Lucienville in the Entre Riós province. It was founded on Aug. 12, 1900, on the initiative of Leon Nemirovsky, agronomist and administrator of ICA under the name of Primera Sociedad Agrícola Israelita, and still exists under the name Sociedad Agrícola Lucienville. The cooperative's activities began with the purchase of seeds and supplies necessary for harvest, thus freeing its members from exploitation by merchants. Thereafter the following cooperatives were established with ICA's moral and financial support: Fondo Comunal in the Clara and San Antonio colonies (1904); Mutua Agrícola (Agricultural Mutual Fund) in Moisesville (1908); Barón Hirsch in Rivera (1910); and Unión Cooperativa Agrícola in Narcisse Leven (1910). In the course of time, all of these cooperatives developed many programs to protect the material interests of their members, satisfy their cultural and social needs, and represent them in conflicts with ICA. In 1910 a congress of the cooperatives' representatives was held in Buenos Aires. The congress laid the foundations of the Confederación Agrícola Israelita Argentina.

Immigration and Organization. The official attitude of Argentinean authorities toward Jewish immigration was based solely on the pertinent clauses of the national constitution. Thus, the committee responsible for immigration overruled the immigration officer's opposition to the admission of the Jews who had arrived on the *Weser*. It was argued even then, however, that immigration restrictions should be imposed to ensure the cultural homogeneity of Argentina, a view that was supported by the director of the Immigration Department. Public opinion and the authorities expected the immigrants to assimilate, and this feeling prompted a federal inquiry in 1908 into the cultural orientation of the schools in the Jewish colonies of the Entre Ríos province. Some Jewish schools in Buenos Aires were closed for a short period in January 1910 because it was believed that they were remiss in encouraging cultural integration and that the children did not attend public schools, and because of the poor condition of the school buildings. Nevertheless, the Jews in Argentina were living in an ethnically and culturally heterogeneous society, as demonstrated by the fact that in 1914 the country contained 2,358,000 immigrants in a total population of 7,885,000. More than one-third of the total population was foreign-born, while in the city of Buenos Aires the percentage was around 50%. The result of the immigration policy was reflected in the census of 1914, which showed that in 20 years the country's population had almost doubled (from approximately 3.9 million to about 7.9 million). As for the Jews, the rate of growth was several times higher, from 6,000 in 1895 to 125,000 in 1919. The agricultural colonies, where Jews formed an almost exclusively Jewish society, were an exception in this heterogeneous society, because of the high percentage of Jewish immigrants who settled there.

Despite the small size of their community, their feeling of transience (expressed by a certain degree of emigration back to Europe), and their poverty, by 1914 Argentinean Jewry had founded many organizations to fulfill religious and material needs and dispel a sense of cultural alienation in a strange land. Ashkenazim and Sephardim acted separately, according to the organizational and ideological experience they had brought with them. The Sephardim established small individual groups, organized on the basis of their geographical origin and designed to fulfill limited religious, welfare, and educational needs. These small institutions were gradually organized within four communal frameworks, each with its own cemetery: the Jews from Morocco founded the Congregación Israelita Latina in 1891; the Jews from Damascus founded their Bene Emet (Hijos de la Verdad) burial society in 1913, and two main synagogues, Agudat Dodim (1919) and Or Tora; the Jews from Aleppo founded their main religious organization, Yesod Hadat, in 1912 and their burial society, Chesed Shel Emet Sefaradit, acquired a cemetery in 1920; the Jews from Turkey, Rhodes, and the Balkan countries founded several small communities that were gradually consolidated around the Asociación Comunidad Israelita Sefaradí (ACIS), which was founded in 1914 by Jews from Smyrna. ACIS became the main communal framework for all the Sephardim of Ladino-speaking origin, when it acquired its cemetery in 1929.

The Ashkenazim, on the other hand, founded a network of religious, social, educational, cultural, and political organizations. The most prominent Ashkenazi religious and assistance organizations were the Burial Society (Chevra Keduscha Aschkenazi) founded in 1894, Bikkur Ḥolim (1896), and Ezrah (1900) – which provided medical aid, orphanages, homes for the aged, etc. The dominant political organizations were the various Zionist groups, founded as early as 1897 in the agricultural colonies and in Buenos Aires, which eventually imparted a strong Zionist orientation to the entire Jewish population of Argentina. Counteracting the Zionist organizations, including the *Po'alei Zion Party formed in 1909, were Bundist, anarchist, and communist groups. The Bund members tried to establish linguistically autonomous (Yiddish) sections within some of the general trade unions. The communists succeeded later in establishing a Jewish section (Yiddish-speaking) in the Communist Party. All organizations had varied cultural programs, which, except among the religious Zionists, emphasized a secular nationalist or cultural orientation toward Judaism. These activities included establishing libraries, schools, encouraging the development of a native literature, and experiments in theatrical production.

The immigrant colonists were accompanied by their *shoḥatim* and rabbis; the first of them was Rabbi Aaron Goldman of Moisesville. Religious life in the colonies at first followed traditional patterns, as exemplified by the foundation of a short-lived yeshivah in Colonia Belez (1907–08). However, isolation and lack of Jewish education combined with other factors to cause a decline in religious life. In Buenos Aires, where the Congregación Israelita de la República Argentina already existed, additional *minyanim* were organized: Po'alei Ẓedek, which established the first *talmud torah*; Maḥazikei Emunah, which brought the first official *shoḥet* to Buenos Aires in 1892 and built the first *mikveh* in 1893; and the Congregación Latina of the Jews of Morocco. Until 1897 Jews were buried in the Protestant cemetery; later, tombs had to be leased in a Catholic cemetery. It was only in 1910 that the Jews were able to overcome economic and legal difficulties and acquire their own cemetery. Although the white-slave traders already had a cemetery before 1910, none of the respectable Jews agreed to be buried in it.

The polarization of class and political opinion, the wide social and cultural gap between immigrants from Eastern and Western Europe, and personal ambition prevented the establishment of centralized organizations in Argentina during this period. The first attempt was made in 1909 with the establishment of the Federación Israelita Argentina, but this organization did not last after 1910. In 1915, when news of the fate of the Jews in war-stricken areas of Russia and in Palestine began to arrive, the Central Committee for the Jewish Victims of the War was established as the fundraising organ of the Argentinean Jewish community. In February 1916 the Congress of Argentinean Jewry was convened through the initiative of the Zionists and with the participation of all Jewish organizations, except those of the extreme left wing. The Congress declared the prime postwar demands of the Jewish nation to be equal rights for the Jews of the Diaspora and Jewish independence in Ereẓ Israel, and resolved to ask the Argentinean government to support these demands. When the *Jewish Legion was formed in 1917, several dozen young Jews volunteered and the enterprise was widely publicized by the Zionists.

Antisemitism was rare throughout this period. Nevertheless, when a Jewish anarchist, Simon Radowitzky, assassinated the chief of police, Ramón Falcón (Nov. 14, 1909), there were some repercussions against the Jewish population as such. Murders of Jewish settlers in the agricultural colonies resembled incidents between *gauchos* and settlers of other origins.

Cultural Life. At the beginning of the 20th century the cultural life of the Jewish community in Argentina was centered around the Jewish political parties, much as it had been in Eastern Europe. Thus, the founders of the first two Jewish libraries in Buenos Aires in 1905 – Biblioteca Rusa, and Ḥerut – had belonged to socialist organizations in czarist Russia. In addition to these libraries, cultural activities were sponsored by the Zionist organization Tiferet Sión, the anarchist group Arbayter Fraynd, and the Avangard. Another aspect of cultural life was the Yiddish theater, whose first performance was given in 1901. From that time onward, and especially after World War I, the Jewish theater became one of the central forces in Argentinean Jewish life. Its repertoire was mainly in Yiddish and the most outstanding actors in the Jewish dramatic world appeared on its stage. Individual actors and companies from Argentina visited Brazil, Uruguay, and other Latin American countries.

In 1898 the first three periodicals published in Yiddish in Argentina were *Der Vider-Kol*, edited by Mikhal Ha-Cohen Sinai; *Der Yidisher Fonograf*, edited by Fabian S. Halevi; and *Di Yidishe Folkshtime*, edited by Abraham Vermont. The first two publications were designed to serve as a forum for educated Jews, whereas *Di Yidishe Folkshtime* sought to serve the masses of Jewish immigrants and outlasted the former two by continued publication for 16 years. A host of short-lived periodicals also appeared during this period. At its end, in 1914, no less than 40 Jewish periodicals existed in Argentina. A fundamental change took place when the first daily, *Di Yidishe Tsaytung*, was published. The paper succeeded in overcoming its initial difficulties and presented a centrist middle-class political orientation. In 1918, a second daily newspaper, *Di Prese*, made its appearance. During the 1920s, *Di Prese* acquired a leftist orientation, which found its expression even in a change in the spelling of Hebrew words, imitating the communist transliteration. This leftist trend slackened off toward the end of the 1930s, and from the end of World War II and the establishment of the State of Israel, the paper also reinforced its ties with Zionism. Both newspapers were published until the 1970s. Other dailies were published in this period but were comparatively short lived (*Der Tog, Morgentsaytung*). Mention must also be made of *Kolonist Kooperator*, the organ of the Jewish colonists which first appeared in 1918 as a Yiddish-Spanish monthly and was published until the 1970s.

In 1913 the first attempt was made at organizing cultural activities in Argentina, and in 1915 the first conference of representatives of 25 libraries and other cultural institutions throughout the country was convened in La Plata without important results.

Jewish Education. The first Jewish school in Buenos Aires was a *talmud torah* – a traditional religious complementary school founded in 1891 by the Unión Po'alei Ẓedek. It had three teachers, who taught only religious subjects in Yiddish. In the mid-1890s the CIRA supported a Jewish experimental school with general and Jewish studies but it lasted no more than six months, after which it became a complementary *talmud torah.* In the first decade of the 20th century three or four new *talmudei torah* were established. The percentage of Jewish students who attended this complementary school was very low while almost 100% of the children attended public schools.

In 1892, at the start of agricultural settlement, the farmers set up *ḥadarim* for their sons, continuing to maintain them on a part-time basis even after ICA decided to establish its own school system in 1894. ICA schools followed the government syllabus with the addition of Hebrew and Jewish studies. Those were the only schools existing in the Jewish rural areas since the government did not have the infrastructure to fulfill the obligation established by Law No. 1420 to provide elementary education to all the population. These schools grew and multiplied as the number of settlers increased, with 50 schools attended by 3,538 pupils and a teaching staff of 155 in 1910. In 1911 the ICA and CIRA established a new organization to sustain the existing *talmudei torah* in the cities and to establish new traditional complementary schools, called Cursos Religiosos, in urban areas in Ashkenazi and Sephardi institutions.

In 1916, as a result of a diminishing budget and the interest of the ICA administrators in demonstrating to the authorities their patriotism and loyalty to the country, ICA handed over these schools, built and sustained by the settlers, to the local and national educational authorities. At the same time new complementary Jewish schools were established by the settlers and by ICA which gradually were supported and administrated by the Va'ad ha-Ḥinnukh ha-Roshi (Head Office of Education), founded on the initiative of ICA by the CIRA in 1917, which coordinated the Jewish education in rural areas until 1957.

All the schools established by the Cursos Religiosos and then by the Va'ad ha-Ḥinnukh ha-Roshi had a curriculum of Jewish studies with a religious orientation that aimed to suppress Jewish national values, teaching in Spanish and translating prayers and selected texts from the Pentateuch from Hebrew to Spanish. The official policy of this organization prohibited the teaching of Yiddish. Nevertheless, many teachers with the support of the settlers introduced national Jewish studies (history, Zionism, Ereẓ Israel) and Yiddish language.

THE RADICAL PERIOD: 1918–1930. The Russian Revolution increased the government's fear of similar revolutionary activity in Argentina. Since the Jews were generally identified as "rusos" (Russians), anti-revolutionary fervor developed into overt antisemitism. During the "Red-scare pogrom" known in Argentina as La Semana Trágica, January 7–13, 1919, a pogrom broke out following a general strike, which was organized after the brutal suppression of a strike in one factory. The general strike was portrayed by the authorities as a Bolshevik revolution in which a "shadow government" was being formed by the Jewish "dictator-president" Pinie Wald (a journalist at the daily *Di Prese*) to assume control of the country. Jews were beaten in the streets and their property was stolen and burned in full view of the police. These acts were about to be repeated in Rosario, and were even echoed in Montevideo (capital of Uruguay), when the heads of Jewish organizations published a desperate appeal, "150,000 Israelites – To the People of the Republic," and a deputation was received by the president of Argentina, Hipólito Yrigoyen. Liberal public opinion criticized the government and the president disassociated himself from the riots, but nevertheless expressed his displeasure at the fact that the deputation was presented in the name of the Jewish community and not individual Argentinean citizens.

The intense antagonism toward Jews, and particularly to "Russians," created administrative difficulties in Jewish immigration procedures in the 1920s. "Soprotimis," the organization dealing with immigrants, concluded special agreements with the Immigration Department in November 1921 and August 1924. In 1926, however, Jews were compelled to attempt illegal immigration, and, in at least one case, several of them drowned while crossing the Uruguay River. Concurrently, a strong feeling of nationalism, based on xenophobia and influenced by Mussolini's example in Italy, began to develop in Argentina.

Nevertheless, the 1920s saw a large increase in the Jewish population of Argentina. Around 79,000 immigrants arrived; the economic situation of veteran settlers continued to improve; 15 credit cooperatives were founded; charitable organizations expanded (the Jewish hospital opened its first building in 1921 and its second in 1928); and the Yiddish press, literature, and theater flourished. Simultaneously, the number of Argentinean-born Jews favoring comprehensive cultural integration increased, and they founded the organization Hebraica (see *Sociedad Hebraica Argentina). Political and institutional differences between various organizations, Zionist parties, and between the Zionists and left-wing groups became more pronounced during this decade and prevented attempts to form a central communal institution, the Alianza.

These differences, however, did not interfere with the general and determined fight against white-slave traders, the so-called "*Tmeim*" (unclean). A country that attracted predominantly male immigrants, Argentina had an unequal balance between the sexes and consequently drew representatives of the Jewish underworld of Eastern Europe beginning in the mid-1880s. The white-slave trade was a blot on the law-abiding Jewish public, and, despite the wealth of the traders, all Argentinean Jewish organizations imposed a comprehensive social ban on them, which was even specified in the statutes of most groups, from the 1890s onward. The matter became a violent public struggle during various periods, as in 1909 and 1913, and particularly in the 1920s. To compensate for their ostracism, the traders organized themselves into an official mutual aid organization known as Ẓvi Migdal, which was responsible for protecting them by bribing the authorities and for supplying religious services such as a separate synagogue and cemetery. From the 1890s onward, the London-based Jewish Association for the Protection of Girls and Women maintained a branch in Buenos Aires known as *Ezras Noshim*. It systematically dogged the footsteps of the "*Tmeim*" and provided as much assistance as possible to the victims, given an over-lenient law and the widespread bribing of government officials. The white-slave traders' association in Buenos Aires was not dissolved until 1930, when most of its members were either arrested or fled. The fight against and boycott of the remaining white-slave traders was continued and characterized the Jewish community as the only group in Argentina that eradicated slave trade in its own ranks.

Agricultural Settlement. The 15 years between 1919 and 1934 constitute the second stage in the history of colonization, during which the land area, the number of settlers, and the size of the non-agricultural population reached their peak. During this period, however, the deterioration of the settlement project began, with an increasing number leaving the land. Statistics do not show evidence of a drop in population, as new settlers came to replace those who left and the number of non-Jews in the colonies grew.

In 1925, following the critical years of 1911–16 and the subsequent increase in the number of cooperatives, delegates assembled and founded the Cooperativa de Cooperativas, later called Fraternidad Agraria (registered in 1931). Twenty-two cooperatives, including eight engaged in cattle breeding, were attached to the Fraternidad Agraria at the end of the 1960s, and though the Jewish agricultural population decreased and was replaced by non-Jewish colonists, the cooperatives were administered by Jews. All the cooperatives did their purchasing, modernized production methods, and marketed their products through the Fraternidad Agraria. The Jewish colonists had an important role in the Argentinean agricultural development. For example, the cultivation of sunflowers was introduced to Argentina by the Jews of the Mauricio colony. The first grain elevator of Entre Ríos province was built in 1931 by the Cooperativa Fondo Comunal in Domínguez. The cooperatives Granjeros Unidos (in Rivera), El Progreso (in Bernasconi), and La Mutua Agrícola (in Moisesville) were provided at the end of the 1960s with silos equipped with the most modern facilities to assure the greatest efficiency in handling, sorting, and storing grain. In Dominguez a vegetable oils factory named after Ingeniero Miguel Sajaroff was operated by Fondo Comunal together with the Federación Entrerriana de Cooperativas. It converts linen grains collected by the zone cooperatives into oil and by-products.

Eminent among the leaders of the agrarian cooperative movement in Argentina, together with Miguel Sajaroff, unquestionably the precursor and the mentor, are Adolfo Leibovich, Isaac Kaplan, Marcos Wortman, Miguel Kipen, Elias

Efron, and Francisco Loewy. The official organ of the Fraternidad Agraria, *El Colono Cooperativista* o *Kolonist Kooperator*, first appeared in 1918 and continued to be published monthly in Spanish and Yiddish until the mid-1970s. The impulse given by the Jewish colonists to the agrarian cooperative movement was fruitful. In 1937 only 3% of the country's producers were integrated into cooperatives; in the mid-1960s the number of farmers who sold their products through cooperatives increased to 63%.

Cultural Life. World War I caused a number of changes in the structure of the Jewish community of Argentina that were further augmented by a later wave of immigration. Many and varied cultural organizations, such as the Argentinean branch of *YIVO (1929), which established a central Jewish library and archives (dedicated mainly to the history of the community), were founded. A specific type of cultural activity was evidenced by the foundation of *Landsmanshaftn* (organizations of immigrants established according to countries and cities of origin) to aid the newcomers in their initial integration.

The outstanding characteristic of cultural life was that it was a microcosmic continuation of East European culture. Numerous organizations were built mainly around the Yiddish language and culture (such as the society of Jewish writers and journalists named after H.D. Nomberg, the Kultur Kongres, A. Zygielbojm Gezelshaft far Kultur un Hilf, Ringelblum Kultur-Tsenter, and Ratsionalistishe Gezelshaft). Cultural activity was also supported by circles that identified themselves with Bolshevism. On the other hand, activities in Hebrew were very limited. The first attempts to hold activities in Hebrew were made in 1911, when the organization Doverei Sefat-Ever was founded. In 1921 the first Hebrew periodical, *Ha-Bimah ha-Ivrit*, edited first by J.L. Gorelik and later by Tuvia Olesker, was published in Buenos Aires. Others soon followed, and in 1938 a Hebrew monthly, *Darom*, was founded by the Histadrut ha-Ivrit and has been published regularly until the 1970s.

Weeklies and monthlies in Spanish made their first appearance as early as 1911. *Juventud* was the first, followed by *El Israelita Argentino* (1913) and *Vida Nuestra* (1919). In 1917 the Spanish-language monthly *Israel* was established by a Moroccan Jew, Samuel A. Levi, and served mainly Sephardim. *Mundo Israelita* made its first appearance in 1923, followed by *La Luz*, a bi-monthly, edited first by David Elnecave and subsequently by his son Nissim and his grandson David, which also addressed itself to Sephardim, and literary periodicals such as *Shriftn* and *Davke*, devoted mainly to Jewish philosophy.

Religious Life. The period between the two World Wars marks the decline of religious life in Argentina. New immigration from Eastern Europe, especially from Poland, Lithuania, and Romania, introduced a strong anti-religious tradition, and there was a notable lack of religious authority and leadership. In 1928, Rabbi Shaul Sittehon Dabah of the Aleppan Jewish community, under the influence of Rabbi Aharon Halevi Goldman of Moisesville, and with his approval, published a ban against the performance of conversions to Judaism in the Argentine Republic. This prohibition, which is still maintained by the Orthodox communities in Argentina, was supported at the time by the chief rabbis of Ereẓ Israel, A.I. *Kook and Jacob *Meir, as well as by Rabbi Judah Leib *Zirelson of Kishinev and other authorities.

Jewish Education. Although efforts were made to establish secular schools before World War I, these schools only began operating from 1920 onward besides the *talmudei torah*. They were organized by activists, teachers, and to some extent by political parties such as the General Zionists, left-wing Po'alei Zion, the Bundists, Communists, and Anarchists. One of the accelerators of the establishment of independent and secular schools and the beginning of a modernization process was a teachers' strike declared by the teachers' organization Agudat Hamorim in the middle of 1920. Some of the schools recognized the right of the teachers to vacations and a decent salary. Others, supported by the Va'ad ha-Ḥinnukh ha-Roshi, had rejected the teachers' demands. Those schools continued their activities with traditional and less professional teachers.

THE SHADOW OF NATIONALISM: 1930–1946. The military coup d'état of 1930 introduced a period of political unrest in Argentina in which nationalist and antisemitic organizations played no small part. From 1933 on, nationalistic, xenophobic, and antisemitic activity increased, encouraged by German diplomatic institutions and by the local branch of the German Nazi Party, until it became a central problem for Argentinean Jewry. Also the Catholic Church, which was very close to the Vatican and Cardinal Pacelli (the future Pope *Pius XII), who visited Buenos Aires in 1934, was active in the dissemination of antisemitism. The leadership of the Church kept silent in its publications about the persecution and murder of the Jews in Europe. At the same time the lay Christians adopted an implicit or open antisemitic position in their periodicals and educational catechism material, and in lectures by their religious or lay leaders and teachers. The immigration decree of October 1938 increased discrimination against Jewish immigrants, and even Jewish farmers had great difficulty acquiring entry visas despite the preferential treatment for agricultural immigrants which even the drastic legislation on immigration provided. From 1933 to 1945 between 35,000 and 40,000 Jews entered Argentina by exploiting various loopholes in the law. About a third of them had to use illegal means to immigrate and their legal status was regulated only after a general amnesty was declared for illegal immigrants in 1948. When news of the Holocaust reached Argentina in 1943, Jewish organizations managed to convince the government to accept 1,000 Jewish children, but for various reasons, this rescue operation was never carried out.

The deteriorating security of Argentinean Jewry compelled all factions, Ashkenazi and Sephardi, to unite and form a federate defense organization. In 1933 they established the Committee Against the Persecutions of the Jews in Germany, which after two years of activity became known as *DAIA – Delegación de Asociaciones Israelitas Argentinas. Initially

DAIA provided representation for 28 institutions, while the communists and their sympathizers refused to be a part of this framework and (except for 1946–53) ran their own separate organization. With the aid of anti-Nazi publications and Argentinean democratic and socialist forces, Argentinean Jewry thus began to fight for equal rights and for freedom from persecution.

Economic and Social Stratification. During the first stage of Jewish settlement in Argentina up to 1914, there were four main sectors in Jewish society: (1) farmers – Jewish Colonization Association (ICA) settlers and permanently hired or seasonal laborers; (2) artisans in all branches – either self-employed, employed, or apprenticed; (3) peddlers selling goods on the installment plan (and therefore called "Cuenteniks"); and (4) shopkeepers dealing in supplying goods to meet daily needs. In addition to these groups were individuals who were among the first industrialists (in textiles, furniture, and in the extraction of tannin from the *quebracho* tree) and high officials, including managing directors, of large grain-export companies. In 1909 there were 90 Jews in Buenos Aires belonging to the liberal professions. Most of them were in the field of medicine and of the 60 students attending the university, 41 studied medicine or pharmacy.

Economic and professional development enabled many peddlers to become merchants, agricultural laborers to become farmers, and employed artisans to become independent. The occupations vacated by veteran settlers as they rose on the ladder of economic prosperity and social advancement were constantly filled by new waves of immigrants that continued to arrive until the outbreak of World War II. While the numbers of workers did not decrease to a great extent, the number of established merchants increased and a class of professional men developed. In 1934 the ICA director in Buenos Aires, Simon Weill, basing his report on figures submitted to ICA by towns throughout the country, estimated that 1,175 Jews were practicing in various branches of medicine and pharmacy, 190 in engineering and law, and many were writers, artists, and university lecturers.

During the period from 1918 to 1939, trade unions and economic associations were also formed. Carpenters, who organized a general strike in Jewish workshops in 1916, needle workers, bakers, and others maintained their own trade unions for a while, and in 1934 Jewish merchants and employers united under the Cámara Comercial e Industrial Israelita. The "Cuenteniks" formed two cooperatives that became important financial instruments. In urban centers and in some of the Jewish agricultural colonies cooperative credit banks flourished. In July 1940 the Asociación de Industriales de la Madera y del Hierro was established, incorporating the Jewish industrialists in the field of wood and iron furniture products.

Cultural Life. With the founding of the Sociedad Hebraica Argentina in 1926, which was preceded by Juventud and other groups before the outbreak of World War I, and Organización Hebrea Maccabi, Jewish cultural life expanded in the Spanish-speaking sphere. The cultural achievements of Hebraica are mainly in the fields of sports, art, and drama (its luxurious theater was dedicated in 1968). Its quarterly Spanish magazine *Davar*, to which the best Argentinean writers have contributed, has published more than 100 issues.

With the organization and strengthening of AMIA, most of the Jewish community's cultural activities were concentrated under its auspices. AMIA also subsidized the activities of other organizations and publishing houses. A large number of books on Jewish subjects (particularly in Yiddish) were published in Argentina, but only a minority of them were written by local authors. There were also a considerable number of monthlies and weeklies published primarily by various political parties and economic, social, and philanthropic organizations. The Jewish daily press played a decisive role in the consolidation of the community Jewish life. Efforts to establish a Jewish daily newspaper in Spanish had failed for financial reasons and lack of interest among the Jewish population. The *Juedische Wochenschau*, a German-language weekly with a Zionist orientation, was published from the end of the 1930s by Hardy Swarsensky (publication ceased in 1968 with the death of its editor).

Jewish Education. The Jewish educational network had to cope with the implementation of Catholic instruction in the official schools and consequently with the removal of non-Catholic pupils from such classes. Nevertheless, neither the overt public hostility, nor the occasional official prohibition of the use of Yiddish at public meetings arrested the development of the Jewish community. The Chevra Keduscha (which became in the 1940s AMIA) increased its communal activities and in 1935 founded in Buenos Aires the Va'ad ha-Ḥinnukh, a committee that centralized the educational system in Buenos Aires (with several dozen complementary schools), which had hitherto been promoted mainly by various synagogues, by some Zionist parties, and by the Zionist Teachers' Organization. From that time on the Jewish schools became one of the most vital forces enhancing Jewish socialization and community organization in Argentina, and they reflected the various streams of Jewish political views in the community. Until the late 1960s these schools functioned on a complementary basis, while the children were free from studies in the public schools, either in the morning shift or in the afternoon. The existing schools, for Ashkenazim and Sephardim, had many ideological trends: religious, traditional, leftist, secular, Zionist, non-Zionist, and anti-Zionist. The Va'ad ha-Ḥinnukh succeeded in 15 years of activity in bringing most of the schools to a minimal common curricula and in improving the physical conditions of the schools as well as the working conditions of the teachers. In the 1930s and the 1940s Yiddish was almost the only language of instruction for most Ashkenazi schools, even for the Zionist ones. The number of students in Jewish schools in Buenos Aires together with the schools coordinated by the Va'ad ha-Ḥinnukh Haroshi in the provinces rose from 5,300 in 1940 to more than 11,000 in 1950, more than 25% of the children of school age. This increase in the school population brought a rise in the demand for teachers. The Va'ad ha-Ḥinnukh of Buenos Aires responded to this situation by founding the Seminar Lemorim (Teacher's Seminar) in 1940 and five years later the CIRA founded the Machon Lelimudei Hayahaduth (Institute for Jewish Studies), which prepared teachers and functionaries for the Jewish religious establishment. The ideological map started to shift during these years, with the schools declaring a Zionist identification and adopting Hebrew as the language of instruction increasing. Jewish public institutions and cultural life continued to develop, and the recent arrivals from Central Europe founded their own communal and religious organizations, including the Asociación Filantrópica Israelita (1933), the Juedische Kulturgemeinschaft (1937), and both Orthodox and Liberal congregations.

Zionism. The Zionist movement in Argentina had changed in the 1930s and the 1940s from a conglomerate of organizations with disconnected activities to a stable federation called "Consejo Superior Sionista." The decision of the 19th Zionist Congress (1935) to promote the unification of the Zionist organizations, together with the impact of the Holocaust, brought the two main Zionist parties – General Zionist and Po'alei Zion (the Revisionists demurred) – to the realization that they had to work together under a common umbrella organization, although they kept their own identities within the Zionist framework.

The anti-Zionist left-wing organizations challenged the Zionists since they competed for the leadership of the communal institutions. This threat to their efforts to gain control over the main institutions, especially AMIA and DAIA, dictated the collaboration between the two Zionist parties.

Control of the National Funds – Keren Hayesod and Keren Kayemeth LeIsrael – was one of the ends that engendered competition between the different sectors in the community. In 1937, when a branch of the Jewish Agency for Ereẓ Israel was established in Argentina, the Zionist parties cooperated to avoid non-Zionist control of the Funds. During the second half of the 1940s circumstances were different and the Zionist parties competed with each other for the control of the National Funds and the appointment of their members as *shliḥim* (emissaries) of the Funds. The Zionist parties and the leaders of the National Funds tried to adhere to the policy established by the WZO and maintain the autonomy of both Funds. During the War of Independence (1948), however, Argentinean Jewry decided to declare a united campaign on behalf of Israel. The impressive results proved the extent of their identification with the Zionist cause, which went far beyond the politics of fundraising, leadership of organizations, parties, and *shliḥim*.

Until the middle of the 1940s the World Zionist Organization (WZO) believed that the most important activities of Zionism in Argentina were connected with fundraising. After WWII, when Argentina became relevant to the fight for the establishment of a Jewish state, the WZO changed its attitude and Argentinean Jewry was transformed into a partner in the political efforts to achieve international recognition.

The Zionist parties became dependent on their central organizations in Israel. Nevertheless, they believed that local activities within the framework of the Jewish communal organization were very important in themselves, also as a way to maintain their close ties with Zionism and Israel. The parties, especially the two trends of Po'alei Zion (right and left), made serious efforts to develop local activities. They were very active in formal education and maintained complementary Jewish schools like the Sholem Aleichem and Bialik school networks. All the parties were active in informal education and maintained pioneer youth movements like Ha-No'ar ha-Ẓiyyoni, Dror-Heḥalutz, Betar, Gordonia, Dror-Habonim, and Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir, which provided the first groups of *olim* with a strong ideological conviction in the second half of the 1940s and after the establishment of Israel.

The two major parties, General Zionists and Po'alei Zion, differed in their attitude to the desirable attitude of the Jews toward Argentina and its society. Both parties agreed that they had to respect the status of the Jews as Argentinean citizens. But while the General Zionists believed that Jews had to limit their organized activities as Jews to internal communal and Zionist matters, and that their activities in the general society was entirely a private matter, Po'alei Zion promoted organized Jewish action also in the general civil arena and politics. Actually, the latter's position failed.

The two parties also competed with each other for the leadership of the community's institutions and debated the organization and structure of DAIA. Po'alei Zion wanted a change in the electoral criteria and promoted the idea of general elections with the participation of all the Jews. The General Zionists supported the existing federative structure in which the board was elected by the representatives of the institutions which adhere to DAIA. While the latter's position prevailed, the discussion continued into the 21st century, even though there were different political trends now involved in DAIA.

Agricultural Settlement. Between 1936 and 1944, several hundred families who fled antisemitic persecution in Germany were absorbed into the settlement project. Many of them settled in Entre Ríos, where they founded the colony of Avigdor. In the succeeding period, however, more families left the land, and in 1962 there were fewer settlers than there had been in 1898 (5,907 compared to 6,755 at the earlier date). The families who remained in 1962 were smaller in size than those of 1898 (an average of less than three members as against over five to a family at the earlier date) and belonged to an older age group. On the other hand, the number of non-Jews in the colonies was almost double that of the Jewish colonists (about 10,220). In 1964 the number of Jewish farmers who lived on and cultivated their land in the colonies was estimated at 782 families.

The overall territory under Jewish ownership was 450,000 hectares. Despite the fact that there were Jewish farmers who were well established on their soil, especially in the south of Buenos Aires province, the future of the Jewish colonies was uncertain in the late 1960s.

Reasons for the Disintegration of the Agricultural Settlement Enterprise. The disintegration of ICA's farming project in Argentina can be attributed to a series of factors. One factor was the unfavorable location of a large proportion of the colonies on the margins of the "Wet Pampa," influenced mostly by droughts from the south and by almost annual invasions of locusts from the north. One of the colonies, Dora, was even located in an arid region, dependent on irrigation. Another basic factor was the extreme dependence on foreign markets and the inability of the Argentinean farmer to influence marketing conditions. In search of greater income, the settlers kept shifting from grain crops to cattle raising. Jewish agriculture, based on monoculture, was therefore extremely sensitive to the fluctuations of the markets and lacked stability. A third general factor was the extensive cultivation in Argentina, which necessitated large units of land, thus creating a low population density. This type of settlement, in which the farmer lives at the center of his property and far from his neighbors, was rejected by Jewish settlers from the outset because it obstructed the fulfillment of their religious, social, educational, and medical needs. Attempts to establish concentrated villages failed, however, and had to be abandoned. The fourth decisive factor was the attraction of the town as an easy and more secure source of employment, providing opportunities for rapid advancement for those with initiative. The town also provided a social center with well-developed educational, religious, and cultural services. Since the Perón government (1946–55) encouraged urbanization and the Jewish settler came from an urban background (some of his children had already left for the town, either to study or to engage in trade), the attraction of the town became especially strong. The overall increase in land values enabled him to sell his lands at a profit and arrive in the town with a large sum of money. ICA tried to counteract some of these disintegrating factors. For a long period it tried to prevent settlers from leaving the colonies by delaying absolving them of their debts. ICA exerted pressure on the settlers to diversify their farming, helped them to develop dairy herds and chicken farms, and experimented with new crops and modern methods of cultivation. It established an integral school system in the colonies that was financed by charging the settlers. ICA even tried to recruit settlers with previous agricultural experience from southern Russia and later from among agricultural laborers in her own colonies. However, the lack of flexibility in policy and the bureaucratic administrative structure, requiring the obedience and submission of the settlers, caused continual undermining of good relations in the colonies and the diminution of the moral influence of ICA on the settlers. ICA's bitter and prolonged refusal to recognize that the colony Narcisse Levin and part of Barón Hirsch, Montefiore, and Dora, located on the edge of the fertile regions, required larger areas of land, resulted in bitter and prolonged disputes. Moreover, ICA's prolonged opposition to facilitating the settlement of children near their parents' farms made it difficult for the younger generation to settle in the colonies. It was for the same reason, as well as to promote intensified farming of their own plots, that ICA refused to lease its vacant land to the settlers. All these factors led to the strengthening of the second central force in the colonies, the settlers' cooperatives (see below). Established and run with ICA's support, the cooperatives fought disintegration, but also became the settlers' chief weapon in fighting ICA. The steep decline in agricultural settlement brought about a concerted action by the two forces to preserve the existing state of affairs.

Independent Agricultural Settlements. Tensions between the settlers and the administration often resulted in large groups leaving to found independent settlements. In June 1901 about 40 families settled in Villa Alba (now called General San Martín) in the central Pampas after leaving the colonies of Entre Ríos. In 1906 about 20 families that left Moisesville, founded Médanos in the south of Buenos Aires province. In 1923, 80 families that left Narcisse Leven, Barón Hirsch, and Montefiore for the Chaco, as a result of the cotton boom, dispersed among settlements such as Charata and General Pinedo. In 1928, the settlers in Barón Hirsch acquired 8,653 hectares of land in order to settle their children and relatives and named their colony Akiva Ettinger. Other settlers in Entre Ríos and Santa Fé also bought land independently for settlement purposes.

The idealism and initiative of Isaac Losow brought about the settlement of 40 families in 1906 in General Roca in the heart of the uninhabited Río Negro territory. In 1941, despite its isolated location, 28 families were still living in the settlement. During the 1930s, the Asociación Filantrópica, composed of immigrants from Germany, established a farm on the island of Choele Choel in the Río Negro. Until it closed down c. 1941, it accepted about 150 young immigrants for training in fruit growing and afforestation. In 1941 the Fomento Agrario set up a fund to encourage agricultural settlement in the colony of Julio Levin in Buenos Aires province. The colony numbered about 20 families who had small holdings of 4½–7 hectares on which they grew vegetables and raised dairy cattle. However, the colony soon became a vacation center and some Zionist pioneer movements established training farms there.

Agricultural settlement outside the control of ICA, with the exception of Julio Levin, was even more geographically marginal than that of the ICA colonies. This was, of course, dictated by both the limited financial means at the disposal of the settlers and their strong idealism. In 1964 the number of agricultural settlers outside the ICA framework was estimated at 237. Despite the fact that by the 1960s the number of families whose source of income was the land had fallen to under 2,000, the large majority of whom were not living on their land, Jewish agricultural settlement had many positive achievements. Due to it a chain of small towns sprang up at the edge of the colonies as centers for trade and small industry, new crops were introduced, modern methods of cultivation were implemented, and the cooperative movement was developed. Agricultural settlements served as absorption centers for new immigrants and created areas of predominantly Jewish population from which many of the leaders and public figures of Argentinean Jewry emerged.

BETWEEN PERÓN AND ONGANÍA: 1946–1968. Juan Perón's accession to power prompted serious fears among the Jewish population because he had been aided by the Fascist organization Alianza Libertadora Nacionalista and was known to sympathize with the Nazi government in Germany. The establishment of the Registry of Non-Catholic Cults and the reaffirmation of Catholic religious instruction in the public schools introduced by the military, nationalistic, and Catholic government in December 31, 1943, increased these fears. Growing concern was partially dispelled by the introduction of a special clause (Clause 28) in the new constitution on March 16, 1949, forbidding racial discrimination and by Perón's declaration of sympathy for the rights of the Jews and for the State of Israel. Antisemitic attacks continued, however, and Buenos Aires became a center for antisemitic publications and neo-Nazi activity on an international scale. Jewish immigration was stopped entirely, while Argentina welcomed thousands of Nazis and their collaborators escaping from Europe. The protests of the DAIA and the efforts of the pro-Peronist Organización Israelita Argentina – OIA, based on Clause 28, were only partially successful. The overthrow of Perón (September 1955) and the election of a civil president Arturo Frondizi in 1958, was accompanied by an increase in antisemitic activities, especially by such antisemitic and nationalist movements as Tacuara and its various factions, which were further augmented after the capture of Adolf *Eichmann in May 1960 and his execution in June 1962. The senate's condemnation of antisemitism (September 1961) was not backed by any law-enforcement action, and even the outlawing of antisemitic organizations in May 1963 and especially November 1964 failed to wipe out antisemitism. After the revolution of June 1966, in which General Carlos Onganía seized power, antisemitic organizations became adherents of the new regime, and by 1967, despite the placatory declarations by the government, Argentina was a center of antisemitic activity. Of the 313 antisemitic incidents in the world recorded in 1967, 142 occurred in Argentina. Starting in the late 1950s, and particularly between 1963 and 1965, the antisemites were aided by representatives of the *Arab League in Buenos Aires. The penetration of antisemitism into the working classes, and especially the Peronist trade unions, was particularly significant as the Jewish working class had all but disappeared.

The increase in antisemitism heightened DAIA's activity, which reached a peak on June 28, 1962, with a general protest strike by Jewish merchants and businessmen. The annual ceremony commemorating the *Warsaw Ghetto uprising (with 20,000 participants in 1963 and 25,000 participants in 1968) organized by the DAIA gained a special significance and topicality.

In public life, the process of unification continued after 1948 and was greatly influenced by the establishment of the State of Israel. The Chevra Keduscha Aschkenazi became a central *kehillah* (whose political control was taken over by the Zionist parties after the democratic elections in 1949). The Zionists were organized into the Organización Sionista Argentina, which was the representative of the World Zionist Organization. In 1952 a Va'ad ha-Kehillot, established through the initiative of AMIA, united about 140 communities. Its objective was to provide help in improving religious, cultural, and educational services.

With the establishment of the State of Israel the Sephardi communities, which had had separate Sephardi Zionist frameworks since the 1930s, also deepened their interest in Zionism, and organized their own fundraising campaigns in two different organizations: the Arabic speakers (from the Damascene, Aleppan, and Moroccan communities) conducted their Zionist campaigns, from 1948, under the roof of the Comité Sefaradí Argentino, while the Ladino speakers withdrew from the joint Sephardi committee in 1949 and founded their own organization – DESA – Delegación de Entidades Sefardíes Argentinas. The Sephardim in Argentina, like those in other countries, were reluctant to join the Zionist parties, which embodied the traditions and ideologies of the Ashkenazim, and in 1963 they founded their own political entity – the Movimiento Sionista Sefaradí. After several years of conflict, the World Zionist Organization accepted the request of the Sephardim for separate representation and in 1972 they were able to found FESELA – Federación Sefaradí Latino Americana, which is still active as the umbrella organization of all the Sephardi Federations in Latin America. To coordinate the activities of the Sephardim in Argentina they formed ECSA – Ente Coordinador Sefaradí Argentino.

The Jewish educational system gradually became Israel- and Hebrew-oriented, and all Jewish organizations, including those that stressed their Argentinean character, actively identified with the State of Israel. For the large majority of Argentinean Jews identification with Israel constituted the basic means of Jewish identity, despite the fact that, from the beginning of the Perón regime, marked cultural and ethnic heterogeneity decreased and Argentinean nationalism grew. The clearest expression of this identification is the achievement of the pioneering youth movements and the trend of immigration to Israel. Beginning with a few pioneers who moved to Palestine-Ereẓ Israel in the pre-World War II period and a score more in 1945, *aliyah* increased after the establishment of the State of Israel and led to the founding of eight new kibbutzim (the first of which was Mefalsim in 1949). Smaller groups joined at least 15 other kibbutzim, while other groups founded and joined moshavim. A large number of economic enterprises and investment companies in Israel were also founded by Argentineans. By 1960 about 4,500 Argentineans had moved to Israel; *aliyah* increased considerably during Argentina's political and economic crisis of 1962–63 and after the *Six-Day War. The Argentinean Jewish community expressed its support for *aliyah* by granting special sums of money to the immigrants through AMIA. Nonetheless, the number of Jews who settled in Israel does not account for all Jewish emigrants from Argentina. In 1962–63 about 2,000 Argentinean Jews emigrated to the U.S. alone. In addition, difficulties of integration and absorption resulted in the return of a considerable number of Argentineans from Israel.

After the establishment of the State of Israel, estrangement increased between the Zionists and the communists, and in 1952, when the latter gave their unmitigated support to the Soviet government during the *Slansky Trials, the ties between the two groups were severed completely. The communists continued to develop their own institutions and educational system, press, and the IFT theater, while disassociating themselves from the State of Israel. Their negative attitude toward Israel grew stronger during the *Sinai Campaign and was maintained during the Six-Day War. But as a result, a considerable number of communists and their sympathizers seceded from their camp and many of them joined Zionist groups.

Despite the comprehensive character of organized Jewish life and the existence of antisemitism, Jews have been able to integrate. Many distinguished themselves in the arts and sciences and some even attained important positions in political life. During the presidency of Arturo Frondizi, two Jews became governors of provinces, and one, David Blejer, filled the post of minister of labor and social welfare. Since the 1960s assimilation of Argentinean Jewry has increased. The rate of mixed marriages has risen, although there are no exact statistics on this point, and Argentinean Jewish university youth participated more widely in non-Jewish activities (most of them left-wing) than in organized Jewish life. The Confraternidad Judeo-Cristiana, an organization of Catholics, Protestants, and Jews aimed at improving Judeo-Christian relations, was founded in 1958. After the Vatican Council II, the Catholic Church established an Ecumenical Office, which, together with other groups, maintained a religious dialogue with certain Jewish sectors, the benefits of which are limited both in the Jewish and Gentile communities.

Economy and Social Stratification. During World War II, growing industrialization in Argentina further encouraged the Jews to found new industries. The furniture, fur, and particularly the wool and textile industries, including the export of raincoats, woolens, and leather goods, were joined by enterprises in new fields such as plastics, the chemical and pharmaceutical industries, the automobile industry, electrical goods and electronics, and a large part of heavy industry. Jewish companies, often very large ones, existed within the new industries after World War II to supply the local market. Jews also engaged in all aspects of the building industry, played a significant role in the commerce that developed around the new branches of industry, and diversified their positions in the liberal professions.

The economic development of the Jewish population in the post-World War II era is also reflected in the considerable progress made by their financial institutions. Though the largest Jewish bank, the Banco Israelita del Río de la Plata, closed as a result of a financial scandal in 1963, other banks, such as the Banco Comercial de Buenos Aires and the Banco Mercantil Argentino, which served the general community, gained in status and the Cooperativas de Crédito also prospered. These cooperatives, which spread throughout Argentina, expanded especially among the Jewish population and in the late 1960s had many thousands of members – merchants, farmers, middle-class industrialists, and even salaried workers.

A small part of the large profits from the cooperatives' financial activities, which in fact include normal banking operations, was devoted to public and social purposes such as financing Jewish schools, cultural centers, and Jewish political activity, considerably influencing Jewish communal institutions. Thus Argentinean Jewry was greatly alarmed in 1966 when General Onganía's revolutionary government intended to limit or abolish the operations of the credit associations, and Jewish institutions suffered profoundly from the economic decline of the cooperatives after the bankruptcy of many of them at the beginning of the 1970s.

Economic changes naturally altered the social and economic class structure of Argentinean Jewry. There were fewer blue-collar workers, as more Jews entered the free and academic professions. By the early 1960s the socio-economic profile of the Jewish community was very different from that of the period of mass immigration. The relative proportion of blue-collar workers (in industries such as textiles, woodworking, leather goods, metalwork, and auto repair) declined to less than one-third of the total work force; the rest of the Jewish population was employed in commerce, clerical work, and the free professions. The percentage of farmers had already dwindled to almost zero. This process, which continued during the following decades, led to the concentration of the Jews at various levels of the middle class.

The status of Jews in the general population was exemplified by a census taken of the Jewish community in Quilmes, near Buenos Aires, in 1968. There were 1,169 Jews out of a total population of 317,783. In the economically viable portion of the Jewish population, only 26.7% were salaried workers, of whom 3.5% were laborers and the remainder were white-collar workers. The percentage of salaried workers in the general population was 81.2%, of whom at least half were laborers. On the other hand, 70.9% of the economically viable Jewish population were employers and self-employed, while the parallel figure for the general population was only 16.3%.

During this period, poverty was not eradicated among Argentinean Jewry, and AMIA alone spent some 6–7% of its budget in 1965–67 on supporting the poor (apart from the aid extended by other welfare associations). Nevertheless, the Jewish relationship to the Argentinean proletariat was becoming increasingly that of the employer to employees. Along with this, Jews were to a great extent absent from the upper and ruling echelons of society.

Religious Life. The period 1939–1968 was one of a limited religious renaissance, supported by a new wave of religious immigrants. New types of *talmudei torah* and yeshivot, both Ashkenazi and Sephardi, were founded. The most notable among them was the Yeshivah Gevohah that was maintained by AMIA, five graduates of which were ordained in Israel up to 1968. During this period various religious organizations, both political and apolitical, such as Mizrachi, Yavneh, Agudat Israel, and the Sephardi movement Shuvah Israel, were created. The rabbinate of the *kehillah* was institutionalized and developed during this period. In 1966, Rabbi David Kahana, former chief chaplain of the Israel Air Force, assumed the post of *av bet din* of the rabbinate of AMIA until the mid-1970s. In the Sephardi sector, the religious renaissance was manifested in the appointment of new spiritual leaders in each of the four communities and in the reinstatement of rabbinical authority, especially among the communities of Syrian origin. Conservative Judaism, represented only by the Congregación Israelita de la República Argentina (CIRA), led by Rabbi Guillermo Schlesinger, expanded during this period, when a few German-speaking Conservative congregations were established. In 1960 Rabbi Marshall Meyer was sent to CIRA from the Jewish Theological Seminary in New York. He founded Ramah as the youth section of CIRA with its own synagogue. In 1962, following his attempts to become the rabbi of CIRA, a schism ensued, and an important faction of CIRA established the Conservative Bet-El congregation under the leadership of Rabbi Meyer. Earlier that year, the Seminario Rabinico Latinoamericano was established, offering a preparatory course for advanced studies at the Jewish Theological Seminary of America in New York. This Conservative model of a congregation with many youth activities, a synagogue, and a *talmud torah* that in many cases became a day school, was adopted also by some of the Orthodox synagogues.

In 1964 Reform Judaism established its first congregation, Emanuel, in Buenos Aires. In 1968 Argentina had three Reform, seven Conservative, and fifteen Orthodox rabbis, ten of whom were Ashkenazi and five Sephardi; four other rabbis were practicing temporarily in Buenos Aires.

Jewish Education. The establishment of the State of Israel had a crucial impact on the character of the Jewish schools. All the schools that previously taught Yiddish started a transition to Hebrew, a process that ended with an overwhelming predominance of Hebrew in all the schools in the mid-1960s. Following the foundation of the Va'ad ha-Kehillot in 1952, the Va'ad ha-Ḥinnukh of the Chevra Kedusha – AMIA, and the Va'ad ha-Ḥinnukh ha-Roshi merged in 1957 to form the Va'ad ha-Ḥinnukh ha-Merkazi (Central Education Committee). All Jewish Ashkenazi schools, except those belonging to the Communists, were affiliated to this committee. Gradually most of the Sephardim and certain other communities (such as those of German origin), joined this Va'ad ha-Ḥinnukh. Until the end of the 1960s most Jewish schools provided supplementary education (20 hours weekly) for pupils attending public schools. This school structure was maintained, not only for economic reasons but also because of a deep concern to maintain close relations with the non-Jewish population. In 1966 the official schools gradually started introducing the long school day, which was a threat to the activities of the Jewish complementary schools. At the end of the 1960s the Jewish schools started to transform themselves into day schools to include the general Argentinean curriculum. In the mid-1970s the entire Jewish education network consisted of day schools; two of them had already existed from the beginning of the 1960s and were recognized as private schools. The budget required for building and maintaining such schools, however, was correspondingly much higher, and when public funds could not be acquired, parents of modest means were not able to afford to send their children to these schools. This problem was partially solved with special funds provided by community institutions and by the Jewish Agency which subsidized those students.

In 1968 the Jewish educational system of Greater Buenos Aires comprised the following: 5,065 children between the ages of two and five in 51 kindergartens; 8,900 pupils in 58 elementary schools (seven grades), eight of which were day schools and the rest supplementary schools; and 1,675 pupils in 13 high schools, four of which were yeshivot. In the rest of Argentina, there were 969 children in 33 kindergartens; 2,787 pupils in 52 elementary schools; and 633 pupils in eight high schools. These figures added up to 20,033 students in Jewish schools throughout Argentina; the students in the 5 to 12 age group comprised about 45% of the total Jewish population of this age. In spite of these relatively high rates of participation, there was considerable dropout from one year to the next, especially between elementary and secondary school. In 1967, in all the schools run by the Va'ad ha-Ḥinnukh in Buenos Aires, only 560 pupils finished elementary school and 126 graduated from secondary school.

In those years the division according to political trends diminished. All the schools, apart from the Communist schools, adopted Hebrew as the main language for Jewish studies (some kept Yiddish) and stressed the study of modern Israel and the development of Jewish national consciousness. The existing Communist schools in Buenos Aires, with several kindergartens, five primary schools, and two secondary schools were excluded from the Va'ad ha-Ḥinnukh in 1952 when all the Communist organizations were expelled from DAIA because of their refusal to condemn the antisemitic and anti-Zionist trials in Czechoslovakia and Russia. In 1953 they established an independent school network under the umbrella of the Jewish Communist central organization Yiddisher Cultur Farband – ICUF (Jewish Cultural Organization) with ten schools and close to 2,000 students all over the country. In the 1960s the number of these schools gradually diminished and by the end of the decade not one remained. The reasons for this development were the policy of the Communist Party to reduce the activities of the schools, the lack of interest among the parents (because of assimilation or transfer to the Zionist schools), and the decision of the leading school committees not to transform them into day schools.

From the 1960s most of the teachers in all the schools were Argentineans, trained in local seminaries. A new institution of higher Jewish education, Ha-Midrashah ha-Ivrit, was established in the mid-1950s by the State of Israel, with the cooperation of local individuals. It trained high school teachers, and by the end of the 1960s had close to 200 students.

Informal education activities organized by Zionist youth movements, social-sport organizations like Sociedad Hebraica Argentina, Maccabi and Hacoaj, and other communal institutions like the Conservative movement became more common and their activities attracted hundreds of children and adolescents. From 1962 AMIA and Hebraica, later with the support of the Youth Department of the World Zionist Organization, ran EDITTI, a school for youth leaders on the level of an institution of informal higher learning. Nevertheless the participation of youth in organizations of the Jewish communities was low and it became even lower among youth of university age. All the Jewish youth organizations were united in the Confederación Juvenil Judeo Argentina, which represented Argentinean Jewish youth locally, nationally, and internationally.

REPRESSION AND DEMOCRACY: 1968–2005. The attitude of non-Jewish Argentinean society towards the Argentinean Jews as individuals and the organized Jewish community as such is characterized by a certain ambivalence. Argentine society has never been, and is not today, a single ideological entity, being divided between nationalists with extreme xenophobic views and liberals with a pluralistic attitude toward other nations and peoples. But one idea is common to most of these points of view: the need for cultural and social uniformity to shape Argentina's immigrant society. This idea, which demanded complete integration and assimilation of the immigrants into the established culture was most strongly advocated by the Catholic, nationalistic right wing. This group seized power twice in the last third of the 20th century. The army, in which this ideology is predominant, installed itself in government in June 1966 by a coup d'état, which appointed general Juan Carlos Onganía as president. In the enactment of the Statute of the Revolution, which took precedence over the constitution, the Catholic nature of the State (already affirmed in the constitution of 1853) was further underscored with the Statute declaring that the State stood for a "Christian Western Civilization." As a result, many Jews employed as civil servants in the previous government were dismissed and Jewish professors who resigned in 1966, when university autonomy was abolished, experienced great difficulties in their attempts to be reinstated. The deposition of Onganía by a military junta and the appointment of General Roberto Marcelo Levingston (1970), and his deposition in turn by General Alejandro Agustín Lanusse (1971), did not change the Catholic nature of the government.

Raised in an acute form, in connection with the elections of March 1973 that brought to power the Peronist party and the president Héctor Cámpora, was the question of the relations of the Peronist regime when it was in power (1946–55), and of the Peronists, to the Jews and to the State of Israel. On the one hand, it was emphasized that Perón had often expressed his esteem for the Jewish community in Argentina and had established strong bonds with Israel; on the other hand, it was he who had permitted the mass immigration of Nazis to Argentina after World War II, at the same time restricting the entry of Jewish victims of the Holocaust. Antisemitic activities on the part of members of the Peronist party and the influence of Arab propaganda, which were a constant source of anxiety to the Jewish community in the 1960s, increased under the military regimes and reached their climax when one of the most prominent Peronist leaders, Andrés Framini, together with other Peronists, joined the pro-Arab Committee for a Free Palestine, of which Framini actually became head.

The increase in acts of terrorism and violence since 1966, culminating in the kidnapping and murder in 1970 of General Pedro Eugenio Aramburu, president after Perón's deposition, was accompanied by an increase in antisemitic violence. In addition to the previous extreme right-wing organizations, such as the Guardia Restauradora Nacionalista, pro-Arab leftist organizations supported this violence and all benefited from both the open and clandestine support of the Arab League and the Syrian and Egyptian embassies in Buenos Aires. The Arab community in Argentina, numbering several hundred thousand, supported the anti-Jewish activities, if only to a limited extent. Argentine Jewry was therefore forced to confront three hostile groups, who despite all their differences were united in their hostility to the Jews and to Israel. Bombs were placed in synagogues and Jewish communal buildings.

Widespread antisemitic propaganda also spread in Argentina, attempting to blame the Jews for the economic and social difficulties of the country. A certain innovation in this widely disseminated literature were the sensational revelations of the economist and university lecturer Professor Walter Beveraggi Allende, who accused "International Zionist Jewry" of a plan to impoverish Argentina in order to detach some provinces in the South and the Andes Mountains and establish a Jewish republic there. This accusation, which was included in the new edition of the *Protocols of the *Elders of Zion*, published in January 1972, had an effect on the public at large and was also evidenced in a more widespread slander campaign.

In September 1973 Héctor Cámpora resigned in favor of Perón who was elected by an enormous majority. During his brief reign of office, Cámpora nominated Jose Ber Gelbard (b. 1917), a Polish-born Jew, as minister of economy, and he retained his post after Perón's election.

In those years support for the exiled Perón had come not only from the right. After almost two decades of direct or indirect military regime, leftist intellectuals and students finally joined the working masses in demonstrating support for the general, amid manifestations of recurrent violence that undermined peaceful life and created a climate of uncertainty and fear for the future. Perón himself made public his views with regard to Jews and to Israel. Before his election, and soon after meeting in Madrid with a large group of Arab diplomats, he felt it proper, in the course of a meeting (also held in Madrid) with former Israel Ambassador Jacob *Tsur and other Israeli officials, to express his sympathy for Jews and for Israel.

Perón received a delegation from DAIA and the *kehillah* in Buenos Aires, at which he restated his opposition to antisemitism and proclaimed his neutrality in the Middle East conflict.

Perón died on July 1, 1974, and was succeeded by his wife María Estela (Isabel) Martínez de Perón, who had been vice president, but she could hardly confront the difficulties of a politically divided country and keep together the mass movement that had brought Perón back to power. From the middle of 1974 until his forced resignation in July 1975, the strongman in Argentina was José López Rega, minister of social welfare and advisor to the president. Perón's death was followed by a period of complete insecurity and terror. In November 1974 a state of siege was imposed; leftist guerrilla groups (Montoneros and Ejército Revolucionario del Pueblo – ERP) were outlawed, a fact that did not prevent them from spectacular acts of terror; thousands were arrested, and ultra-right paramilitary groups, allegedly supported from within the government and acting under the name Alianza Anticomunista Argentina (AAA), killed hundreds of persons, including prominent politicians, intellectuals, journalists, lawyers, trade-union leaders and students. Naturally, this situation had an impact on the Jewish community; and DAIA, the Latin American Jewish Congress, and also non-Jewish organizations and publications denounced the dangers inherent in the anti-Jewish aspects of the explosive situation.

A substantial change took place on March 24, 1976, when, in a bloodless coup, a military junta seized power, deposing President María Estela (Isabel) Martínez de Perón and appointing General Jorge Rafael Videla in her place. The junta had to confront a very difficult situation, characterized by economic chaos, enormous inflation, social unrest, terror, and violence. The junta, which suspended normal political and trade-union activities, at first had the support of wide middle class and liberal circles. They hoped that this time the military would restore order in the country. But they were very quickly disappointed. The military factions which took control of the country used extreme methods of terror and completely ignored civil rights and the rule of law. Thousands of people were kidnapped, tortured, and murdered and their bodies disappeared. Under this regime, xenophobic and antisemitic discourse became common, and when a Jew was incarcerated or kidnapped, his fate was bound to be far worse than that of a non-Jew. But at the same time the Jewish community as a whole went undisturbed and was able to conduct its social activities without impediment and administer its institutions democratically. Nevertheless antisemitic actions continued together with some violence against Jewish institutions and persons. A list of antisemitic incidents during the years 1975 and 1976 was published in Argentina and in the United States, together with the testimony by an American Jewish leader. The editor of the daily *La Opinion*, Jacobo *Timerman, was arrested and jailed in April 1977, and even though declared innocent by the Supreme Court, continued to be held and tortured by the army. In November 1977 Timerman was deprived of his civil rights and his property was placed in state custody. He was also accused of connections with David Graiver, a Jewish financier with alleged ties to the left wing Montoneros. Jewish, professional, and human rights organizations, and the diplomats of the State of Israel repeatedly urged the Argentine government to put an end to Timerman's detention, but it was not until September 1979 that he was released to Israel. Timerman stayed there about a year and then moved to the U.S.

There was also a sequence of anti-Jewish attacks, and antisemitic pamphlets, books, and magazines continued to appear. A prominent example of the anti-Jewish literature is the magazine *Cabildo,* which was temporarily banned under pressure from the U.S. and Israel. The government also closed down antisemitic publishing enterprises such as *Milicia, Odal*, and *Occidente*, but the dissemination of anti-Jewish literature was not stopped. The Graiver case and other economic scandals became a theme played up by the anti-Jewish publications.

In 1979, the government published a decree to the effect that all religions, except Roman Catholicism, must register with the State in order to establish "effective control" over non-Catholic religions.

Although traditional right-wing xenophobic groups were still the main source of anti-Jewish activity, on the left, anti-Zionist and anti-Israel agitation deteriorated usually into typical old-fashioned antisemitism. Special connections were established between anti-Israel Arabs and some leftist guerrilla groups which were received in military training camps of the PLO in Lebanon. There were also indications that the Arabs cooperated with other groups to create an anti-Jewish climate.

The Falklands (Malvinas) War against Great Britain (April–May 1982) and the consequences of Argentina's military defeat marked the beginning of the end for the regime installed by the military junta in 1976. During the hostilities in the south of Argentina, rabbis traveled to the war zone to serve as chaplains for the Jewish soldiers. In the following year, sectors of the community publicly supported the protests concerning the victims who had been arrested and disappeared during the repression practiced by the military junta. *Nunca Más* ("Never Again"), the report prepared by CONADEP (National Commission for the Missing Persons) published in 1985, revealed a special degree of atrocity in the treatment and torture of many Jewish citizens figuring in the dreadful lists: of the 10,000 to 15,000 "missing persons," about 1,500 were Jews. Some of the survivors testified to the pictures of Hitler and the antisemitic watchwords that formed the "habitual decor" of many torture rooms.

The establishment of a democratic regime after the free elections at the end of 1983 represented a relief for most Argentineans, including the Jews, many of whom became active participants in the Unión Cívica Radical (UCR), a party traditionally aligned with the middle classes.

From 1984 a new pluralistic attitude towards the different components of Argentinean society started to be felt, which gradually recognized and legitimized the right of the Jews, as an organized community and as individuals, to be different while part of Argentine society.

Raúl Alfonsín, a progressive and charismatic president, surrounded himself with many figures prominent in other spheres of life: Rabbi Marshall Meyer and Professor Gregorio Klimovsky joined CONADEP (chaired by writer Ernesto Sábato); Bernardo Grinspun became minister of the economy and Mario Brodersohn district secretary; Adolfo Gass obtained a seat in the Senate, Marcelo Stubrin and César Jaroslavsky (the latter, head of the district bank) entered the Chamber of Deputies and Jacobo Fiterman, ex-president of the Argentinean Zionist Organization, became secretary of public works in the Buenos Aires municipality. In the field of education and culture, traditionally a Catholic enclave, Marcos Aguinis became minister of national culture. Manuel Sadosky was minister of science and technology, and Oscar Shuberoff was appointed rector of Buenos Aires University. The Jewish Human Rights Movement was established, and the General San Martín Cultural Center of the City of Buenos Aires, seat of a hitherto unknown pluralism, inaugurated a Jewish Culture Sphere.

It may well have been this Jewish participation in public life that led Monsignor Antonio Plaza, spokesman of the most right-wing sectors of the Argentinean bishopric, to declare in March 1987 that "the government is full of Jews." A fresh antisemitic campaign throughout the initial democratic years of this regime, spoke of the "radical synagogue," a reference to the Jewish community's alleged influence. At the same time antisemitic incidents reappeared, probably as an instrument to discredit the democratic regime.

The trial of the leaders of the military junta, at the initiative of Alfonsín and many Argentineans, petered out as support for the government began to wane and economic problems worsened. The failure of the new economic plan and the return of inflation were accompanied by the opposition of the Peronist central trade union, which organized 14 general strikes during the Alfonsín regime.

The first counterattack by the army's "hardliners," led by the "carapintadas" (Aldo Rico and Mohamed Ali Seineldín, who had fought in the Falklands-Malvinas War), took place in April (Holy Week) 1987 and assumed the character of a military coup, that the civilian president had great difficulty in putting down. Successive concessions to the military disregarded the danger of institutional failure and put an end to trials of soldiers for human rights violations. The renewed insurgency of the "carapintadas" groups in 1988, although failing to obtain their objective, extended their base of support with sectors of the extreme right such as Alejandro Biondini's Nazi group. The precarious situation was further destabilized by the confused events of January 1989, when several score soldiers of the "Todos por la Patria" Movement, a heterogeneous national-Marxist group, influenced by surviving sectors of the guerrilla movement of the previous decade, tried to take by assault a military barracks at La Tablada (a province of Buenos Aires) and were wiped out after many hours of combat.

These episodes indirectly affected the Jewish community, since the "carapintada" sector leader, Colonel Mohamed Ali Seineldín was a fanatic Catholic and an avowed antisemite.

In November 1985 the Nazi war criminal Walter Kutschmann was arrested, but the extradition demand was delayed by legal appeals and Kutschmann died in prison in August 1986 without having been sent to Europe. In March 1986, a group of participants in a public meeting of the General Confederation of Labor (CGT) made antisemitic remarks that were later repudiated in a document issued by the Labor Central's governing board. The year 1987 saw continued anti-Jewish attacks, this time on the Sephardi Congregation and the AISA cemetery in Ciudadela. The Jewish community organized a mass demonstration at the central Houssay Square in Buenos Aires (November 1987), with the participation of Argentinean political, trade union, and religious leaders, to demand the speedy ratification of an anti-discrimination law to penalize any expression of antisemitism (this was achieved in the following year).

The social problems continued to increase. In early 1989 President Alfonsín fell victim to an "economic coup" engineered by the financial sectors, which unleashed a hyperinflation that culminated in pillaging of the supermarkets, general disturbances, and the early surrender of power (in July 1989) to the president-elect, Carlos Saúl Menem. The new president, who came from a Syrian Muslim family (although a convert to Catholicism), was very aware of the prejudices regarding his personal history (closely linked with the Argentinean Arab community), and to the prejudices of sectors of his "Justicialist" (Peronist) movement, which in the past had combined a degree of populism with a certain authoritarian tendency. His public acts soon allayed anxieties in these respects: he personally participated in the event organized by the Jewish community at the Congregación Israelita de la República Argentina synagogue to denounce the desecration of the Jewish cemetery of Carpentras in France. Nazi war criminal Joseph Schwamberger, commandant of a concentration camp in Poland (arrested in Córdoba in 1987), was extradited in 1989 to stand trial in Germany. In 1992 Menem announced the decision to "open the Nazi archives" to the investigators, a political measure of great significance (since Eichmann, Mengele, and dozens of other Nazi leaders resided in Argentina or had entered the country in the post-war period, under Perón's benevolent acquiescence) but with few practical results: the files now revealed contained carefully expurgated newspaper clippings, with almost no documental value. The Argentinean Foreign Ministry was pressured by the press and political figures to hand over the documents that certainly exist on the immigration of the Nazi criminals from Europe to Argentina.

The centenary of Jewish Settlement in Argentina (1889–1989) was celebrated by various events in the capital and in the rest of the country, with the participation of political authorities. In 1991, various celebrations marked the first centennial of the arrival of Jewish immigrants to Colonia Mauricio (Carlos Casares).

In general politics, Menem executed a dramatic volte-face when he pardoned the soldiers condemned for human rights violations and allied himself with representatives of business and financial sectors in order to commence privatization of state enterprises and introduced stringent economic regulations. Denouncing the failure by members of the Menem government to fulfill commitments, Colonel Seineldín headed a bloody "carapintada" uprising in December 1990 that ended with the defeat of this nationalist and antisemitic sector. While a ministerial reshuffle transferred science and education posts from Jewish to Catholic personalities participating in the new power alliance, no signs of particular discrimination were revealed and important posts went to personalities such as Moisés Ikonicoff (minister of planning), Enrique Kaplan (director of protocol), Néstor Perl (governor of Chubut), and Carlos Corach (presidential adviser). Argentinean citizens of Jewish origin participated together with their compatriots in various administrative and political posts, with some tacit restrictions in the armed forces, diplomacy, and the higher levels of the judiciary.

Jewish cemeteries were once more desecrated in 1992, in the province of Buenos Aires. A bus taking Jewish schoolchildren on a holiday trip came under fire in the province of Córdoba. In certain football clubs, groups of fans set fire to flags bearing swastikas and chanted anti-Jewish slogans. The fluctuations in antisemitism would seem to reflect an inherent tension between xenophobia and prejudice with the cosmopolitanism and culture expressions of Argentina's liberal urban society. Sociological studies carried out in Argentina have shown, for decades, the presence of a strong element of latent anti-Jewish prejudice, the magnitude and intensity of which grow in relation to the deterioration of the economic situation. At the end of the 1980s and beginning of the 1990s, Chinese and Korean immigrants, particularly in Buenos Aires, have in some cases replaced the Jews as the traditional scapegoat for Argentinean popular xenophobia. At the end of the 1990s their place was taken by immigrants from Bolivia.

Nevertheless, the new official and also popular pluralistic trend in Argentine society continued. In 1992 a public opinion survey commissioned by the American Jewish Committee and DAIA revealed more pluralistic attitudes among interviewees. For instance, 69% of respondents considered it better that Argentina's inhabitants had diverse origins, customs and religions, while 46% declared that Jews had made a positive contribution. Seven percent supported the notion that the country would be better off without Jews. While corroboration of such results would require the periodic holding of comparable polls, the outcome of this one can be reasonably attributed to changes going back to 1983.

But this pluralistic trend was challenged by two terror attacks against Israeli and Jewish targets. In March 1992, before the above-mentioned public opinion survey was made, a car bomb destroyed the Israeli embassy in Buenos Aires and 29 persons were killed. In July 1994 a second car bomb destroyed the community building of AMIA and DAIA killing 85 people. On the one hand, there was a spontaneous expression of popular solidarity in a rally of tens of thousands of people in the square in front of the Federal Congress, with the participation of President Menem and some of the leaders of the country. The government of Argentina gave the Jewish community, as a kind of reparation, $11 million for the expansion of Jewish cultural activity, including $1 million for the establishment of a Holocaust museum to be housed in a building provided to the community by the government. At the same time many groups turned a cold shoulder to the Jews and the investigation into the bombings led to no concrete result.

Nevertheless, the pluralistic process which also legitimized organized Argentinean Jewry as an integral part of Argentinean society was becoming stronger. One example of this trend was the approval in 1988, after a long debate in the two Chambers of Congress, of an anti-discrimination law. A draft bill prepared by the criminologist Dr. Bernardo Beiderman was sent by President Alfonsín to Congress and finally approved with some modifications with the support of the two main factions. Since then, Law 23,592 was applied in several circumstances against racial, religious, and other kinds of discrimination. Another important change was made by President Carlos Menem in his first term: the reform of the National Constitution in 1994. Best known for abolishing the ban on two consecutive terms in office for incumbents seeking reelection, and reducing the presidential term to four years, this also enfranchised non-Catholic aspirants to the leadership of state. The requirement of the original constitution that the chief executive and his deputy must be Catholic has now been dropped, with government support for the Catholic Church remaining in place. In spite of this constitutional change, the aforementioned 1992 opinion survey showed that 45% of respondents would not support a Muslim presidential candidate while 41 and 39% held similar views in respect of a Jew and a Protestant. If this is anything to go by, a sizable proportion of the Argentine public was not ready, when this change was made, for a non-Catholic head of state.

As another example of the official attitude towards Jews and pluralism, it could be mentioned that when in 1997 Argentina's National Institute Against Discrimination and Racism (INADI) was established in the Ministry of Justice, the DAIA was made part of its advisory council.

Economy and Social Stratification. The deep economic recession which affected Argentina in the last years of the 1990s produced great political upheavals. Fernando de la Rúa, the leader of the Radical Party, who became president in December 1999, resigned after two years because of economic instability, a big budget deficit, an external debt which he inherited from the former government, and violent popular opposition to his liberal economic policy as unemployment reached nearly a fifth of the workforce. Eduardo Duhalde, the leader of the Peronist party who had lost to de la Rúa in the 1999 elections, became president in January 2002. The radical economic measures instituted by his government brought about a serious deterioration of the situation: production declined by 16% and inflation reached 41%. The cost of basic products increased by 75% and unemployment reached 25%. This situation specially affected people belonging to the middle class: thousands of them lost almost everything they had or were reduced to living on charity. The difficult social and economic situation brought Duhalde to call for early elections. Néstor Kirchner was installed as president in May 2003 after former president Menem withdrew from a second-round runoff. By 2005 his administration had achieved a measure of stability. Kirchner also got international creditors to cancel 75% of Argentina's debt.

The trend toward industrialization of the Argentinean economy started in the 1930s had produced economic dividends until the 1950s that also benefited the Jewish population. Many Jews abandoned blue-collar employment and went into business while a large number entered the universities and acquired liberal professions. This development, which continued in the following decades, produced a concentration of the Jews at the different levels of the middle class.

The liberalization of the economy commenced at the beginning of the 1990s, which opened the local markets to international competition, the big cut in government spending, and the reduction of a national debt of a magnitude unknown until then, had an adverse effect on broad sectors of the populace and especially on the middle-class, to which Argentinean Jews belonged. The economic distress of the Jewish community became that much worse in 1998, when two banks owned by Jews, Mayo and Patricios, where money belonging to Jews and to Jewish institutions had been invested, went bankrupt. After the collapse of 2001 an estimated 30% of the Jews were unemployed and one-fourth lived below the poverty line, some of them subsisting only thanks to Jewish welfare organized by community agencies. Existing institutions like AMIA and the independent Tzedaka organization were the first organizations to assist the needy. They coordinated and channeled economic support from local Jewish sources, providing a wide spectrum of aid including distribution of food and clothing, housing, backing to new businesses, vocational training, etc. Many synagogues and community centers opened emergency kitchens and supported existing ones. These institutions were also supported by non-Argentinean Jewish organizations like the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee and other North American organizations. Also the Inter-American Development Bank has supported the AMIA's job placement service.

The Jewish Agency also tried to help Argentinean Jews, classifying them, together with the Jews of France and South Africa, as being in danger. It stepped up its program to encourage *aliyah,* increasing the benefits already given to all immigrants. In the first four years of the 21st century close to 9,500 Jews immigrated to Israel. The peak was in 2002 with about 6,200 *olim*, while in 2001 and 2003 the number was about 1,400 each year and in 2004 approximately 400. This drop in *olim* could be explained by the relative economic stability in Argentina and the economic problems faced by immigrants in Israel together with the security situation and the difficulty of cultural adaptation.

Jews immigrated to other countries as well, and while there are no statistics, their number may be estimated at several thousand. HIAS (Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society), based in New York, helped Argentinean Jews by facilitating their emigration to different countries in addition to the U.S.

The economic crisis also affected the maintenance of Jewish institutions. The drop in the Jewish population and the consequent reduction in the school population, the collapse of the financial institutions that had supported communal activities, the decline of communal institutions because of changes in traditions like the use of Jewish cemeteries, which were one of the most important sources of income of the community, made community life and the maintenance of traditional ways more difficult. Among the most exposed institutions were the Jewish schools. In recent years they underwent major changes, including amalgamation for reasons of efficiency, serious student dropout, and a big reduction of the Jewish teacher's staff, with consequent unemployment. The community organized centralized projects to find answers to the needs of the schools, with the economic assistance of the Jewish Agency, the State of Israel, and the World Jewish Congress.

Community Organization. DAIA, the political representative of the Jewish community vis-à-vis society at large and the government, celebrated the 70th anniversary of its existence in 2005. All those years DAIA maintained its leading position in the community, through difficult periods of political, social, and economic upheaval, by adhering to a self-imposed restriction: no identification with any Argentinean party or political faction. This attitude during the first presidency of Juan Perón (1946–55), who pressured the community institutions to identify with him, endangered to some extent the freedom of action of DAIA when a competitive Peronist Jewish organization (Organización Israelita Argentina – OIA) was established by Jewish Peronists.

DAIA was sharply criticized for its position during the period of the military junta, 1976–83, when the regime acted criminally against the opposition and the civilian population in general. In those difficult years DAIA decided to maintain a low profile and avoid outright defiance of the junta that would make things even worse for the Jewish community. On the other hand, thousands of the victims and the families of the vanished Jews (at least a thousand), many members of the community, and some observers analyzing the events of that period, argue that DAIA did not speak out strongly enough against the cruel dictatorship and on behalf of the regime's Jewish victims.

The second umbrella organization founded in 1952, the Va'ad ha-Kehillot (Federation of Argentine Jewish Communities), included all the Jewish institutions in Argentina – Ashkenazi and Sephardi – on a federative basis. Nevertheless, AMIA, which was instrumental in organizing the federation, continued to play a dominant role. While constituents from the provinces sometimes complained that the Buenos Aires administration maintained excessive control, the federation remained the only body dealing with widely different services – spiritual and religious, culture, education, and social welfare – throughout the country. This supremacy of AMIA inspired the organization of a separate Sephardi umbrella organization, ECSA, and after its dismantlement in 1998, a new one was established in October 2002, the Federación Sefaradí de la República Argentina – FESERA – with the participation of 66 Sephardi institutions.

In the second half of the 20th century ideological trends changed. The left-wing non-Zionist movements, such as the Anarchists, the Bundists, and also the Jewish Communists, became irrelevant. With the establishment of the State of Israel, the antisemitic trials in Communist countries, and the Six-Day War (1967), many supporters of the Bund and the Communists crossed the lines and embraced Zionism, most of them in the left-wing factions. The traditional Zionist parties, whose roots were in the communities of origin, were close to the Israeli parties and sometimes became dependent on their political and financial support. The political leadership of the Ashkenazi community – AMIA, which was maintained in the 1940s by leaders of the financial institutions, and the *landsmanshaftn* together with the leftist anti-Zionist sector – was dominated by a coalition of the Zionist parties after the democratic elections of the beginning of the 1950s. This transition was felt in some way also in the Ladino-speaking Sephardi community and later in the Damascene community.

In the 1970s two new organizations emerged. One was based on sports and recreation organizations, including the four big clubs of Buenos Aires (Hebraica, Maccabi, Hakoach and the Sephardi Club CASA), a number of similar but smaller organizations in the Greater Buenos Aires area, and all the communal organizations in Argentina. These institutions, which grew to include social and family activities and some attempts at informal education, and embraced tens of thousands of Jews, enabled the leaders of the new organization to claim that they were representing most of the Jewish public. This organization was called FACCMA – Federación Argentina de Centros Comunitarios Macabeos – and was affiliated with the World Maccabi Organization based in Tel Aviv.

The second organization was the Conservative movement, which after 30 years of activity had become in the 1990s a well-established movement of more than 20 congregations with synagogues, social activities for youth and adults, and some of them maintaining day schools. These congregations had thousands of members in Buenos Aires and other cities in the country and a spiritual leadership from the graduates of the Seminario Rabínico Latinoamericano.

These two organizations cooperated to a certain degree and were instrumental in the creation in 1983 of a new group called Brerá – Movimiento de Integración y Renovación Comunitaria. The group was established to give voice to the new goals and views of the part of the community that was not connected to the existing Zionist parties, and to take part in the communal elections. In both the organizations that helped create Brerá, the inclusion of members of the various Jewish ethnic groups was more prominent. In the two AMIA elections in which Brerá ran (May 1984 and May 1987) it came in second to Avoda – the Zionist Labor Party. In the next election (May 1990) Brerá ran in the Lista Unidad Comunitaria, and in the election of May 1993 it did not run at all, claiming that the election procedures were fraudulent. In fact, the ranks of Brerá dwindled when the Conservative movement established its own party – Masorti – abandoning its alliance with Brerá and reaching an understanding with Avoda. In this manner, the latter maintained its hold on the community leadership.

In the middle of the 1990s a new political group, Menorah, began to emerge under the leadership of Rubén *Beraja. Because of his leading position in one of the foremost Jewish financial institutions of the 1980s and 1990s, Beraja enjoyed senior status in the community. Following his election as chairman of the DAIA, to a great extent due to the support of Brerá, Beraja, an active member of the community of Aleppo, became known even outside the boundaries of Argentina and was elected vice president of the World Jewish Congress and chairman of the Latin American Jewish Congress. In late 1998 and 1999, Beraja's standing was undermined by financial difficulties in the Banco Mayo, of which he was director and there were accusations of mismanagement. As a result, Beraja ceased all public activity and Menorah dissolved. Since then, the position of the representatives of the traditional Zionist parties has been reinforced. Nevertheless, in the elections of April 2005 only 3,000 of the approximately 13,000 members with voting rights out of a total of around 40,000 members participated.

Demography. The Jewish population of Argentina was estimated at about 187,000 in 2003. At its peak, in the 1960s, the community had numbered approximately 310,000, but had steadily declined since that time. The Jewish population – about 80% Ashkenazi – was mostly urban. Memories of Jewish agricultural settlement and the "Jewish gaucho" retained their places of honor in communal consciousness, reinforcing the idea that Jews were an old and legitimate element in the predominantly Catholic Argentine society, and in the Ar-

Jewish Population of Argentina, 1895–2004

Year	Total population	Estimated Jewish population	Jewish population(*)	Percent of the Jewish population
1895	3,954,911	6,085		
1900		6,700–15,600	14,700	
1905		22,500–25,400	24,700	
1910 (1911)	7,171,910	55,000–68,700	68,100	0.95
1914	7,885,273	100,000–116,300	115,600	1.47
1920 (1921)	8,698,516	120,000–126,900	126,700	1.46
1925	9,548,092	160,400–200,000	162,300	1.7
1930 (1928)	10,646,814	200,200–218,500	191,400	1.8
1935	12,227,761	226,400–253,500	218,000	1.78
1940 (1941)	13,320,641		254,400	1.9
1945		350,000	273,400	
1947	15,893,827	249,330–350,000	285,800	1.8
1950	16,109,000	360,000	294,000	1.83
1955	18,379,000	360,000	305,900	1.66
1960	20,008,945	291,877–450,000	310,000	1.55
1965	21,719,000	450,000	296,600	1.37
1970	23,983,000	500,000	286,300	1.19
1975	24,290,000	475,000	265,000	1.09
1980	26,060,000	300,000	242,000	0.93
1995	34,995,000	300,000	206,000	0.59
2001	37,032,000		197,000	0.53
2004	39,144,753		190,000	0.49

(*) Based on research by U. Schmelz, S. DellaPergola, and B. Bloch. See S. DellaPergola, "Demographic Trends of Latin American Jewry," in L. Laikin Elkin and G. Merkx (eds.), *The Jewish Presence in Latin America* (1987). See also S. DellaPergola in recent editions of the *American Jewish Yearbook.*

gentinean tourist industry, which was eager to exploit the image to get American Jews to come for a visit. But this image is divorced from contemporary reality. At present, the Jewish agricultural settlements and the Jewish communities in rural areas are almost nonexistent. More than 80% of the Jewish population lives in the urban area of the Autonomous City of Buenos Aires and its suburbs, and another 10% in cities of more than a million inhabitants (Córdoba, Rosario, Tucumán, and La Plata).

One reason for the constant demographic decline is the low birthrate. As in other urban and middle-class Jewish communities around the world, the low birthrate means an aging Jewish population. The average age, which was estimated at 25–27 in 1930, 31 in 1947, and 35 in 1960, jumped to over 40 in the 1970s and is continuously rising. The second reason is the growing number of Jews that abandon the community and assimilate into the majority society, many through exogamous marriages, which increase steadily. While no exact statistics are available, the intermarriage rate, approximately calculated in the mid-1930s to reach 1–5% and in the 1960s 20–25%, is now estimated at 40% and up. In addition, there is also a negative migratory balance. While in the period from the end of the 19th century until World War II Argentina was a receptive country for Jewish immigration, and in the Holocaust years – in spite of the restrictive legislation and the complete closure of the Argentinean borders to Jewish immigration after 1938 – about 40,000 Jews entered the country in legal and illegal ways. In 1945–50 about 1,500 Holocaust survivors immigrated to Argentina. The 1950s was the last decade with a positive migratory balance with the immigration of Jews from Hungary and Egypt. From the 1960s on, the community was characterized by emigration. The best statistically known destination of emigration was the State of Israel. The rate of *aliyah* was proportionally among the highest in the western Jewish Diaspora. Since the establishment of Israel close to 59,000 Jews from Argentina made *aliyah*. Zionism and antisemitism were important reasons for this emigration, but economic difficulties seemed to predominate, especially among the 9,500 Jews who emigrated in the first four years of the 21st century. This factor also motivated considerable immigration to the U.S., Canada, and other countries in Latin America, and, to a lesser extent, Western Europe. While it is almost impossible to measure this migration, it seems reasonable to assume that it affects many thousands of Argentinean Jews.

Cultural Life. In the second half of the 20th century and to a remarkable extent since the 1970s, Jews constituted an integral part of Argentine cultural life. Jewish participation was evident in every sphere of culture – teaching and research, literature, journalism, theater, cinema and television, the visual arts, and classical and popular music. The Jewish presence in these fields goes far beyond any discussion about the Jewish character of their cultural activity and should be considered Jewish creativity as such. While this multifaceted cultural creativity does in fact exhibit a profound connection with Jewish roots, there is at the same time rich cultural activity among Jews that entirely lacks Jewish particularity, being woven into the deepest layers of Argentinean culture, like the tango of Buenos Aires.

Jewish institutions have always been a vital outlet for this cultural activity. Literature, theater, music, lectures attracted the Jewish public throughout the 20th century and continue to do so today, despite the economic and social crisis that affected broad sectors of society. The cultural fare of the Jewish institutions is rich and is well received by the Jewish public. In place of the Editorial Israel, a joint cultural venture promoted by CIRA and a well-known Jewish family, which published many Jewish books from the 1940s to the 1960s, the Ashkenazi community AMIA established the Editorial Milá, which since 1986 has published hundreds of books, including literature, essays, testimonies, and research studies. In 2001–4 Milá published dozens of books, most of them in the original Spanish, as well as a number of translations, particularly from Yiddish.

In the provinces the situation is less encouraging, as these regions are to a large extent dependent upon events and activities organized by the Va'ad ha-Kehillot, whose headquarters are in Buenos Aires.

The change in the language used by Jews has been clearly reflected not just in the schools or in cultural and public activity but also in another dimension of cultural life – journalism. Since the 1970s Yiddish and German have almost disappeared from the print media in favor of Spanish. Arabic was common only on a colloquial level and periodicals in Hebrew were always a rare phenomenon. There are weekly or monthly publications like *Mundo Israelita* and *La Luz* – founded in the 1920s and 1930s, respectively – *Nueva Sión* (1948), *Comunidades* (1980s), and *La Voz Judía* (1990s). In recent years there were also daily news publications on the Internet like Iton Gadol and ShalomOnLine. In the 1990s Jewish TV cable and radio stations like Aleph and FM Jai were also established, of which only the latter still exists.

Religious Life. The Jewish community of Argentina is still overwhelmingly secular. For many, synagogue attendance on the Sabbath or Jewish holidays was not a religious act but instead a mode of social and national identification with the Jewish people and its culture. Yet even while the large majority of Jews and their leaders lived secular lives, the central institutions of AMIA Ashkenazi community remained officially Orthodox.

One controversial religious issue with potentially profound implications for Argentine Jewry as a whole was conversion. With the high rate of intermarriage, some non-Jewish spouses were willing to convert to Judaism, be formally incorporated into the community, and raise their children as Jews. From 1928 conversions in the country were prohibited by an Orthodox edict, but not every rabbinical authority abided by the ban. Today there are still many Jews in Argentina, including people who are not themselves religiously observant, who maintain that non-Jews converted by local rabbis are not yet Jews and will be recognized as Jews only after conversion by rabbinic courts in Israel, the U.S., or Europe.

The Masorti movement, which identifies with Conservative Judaism and has at present more than 20 affiliated congregations in Argentina, performs its own conversions. The Reform movement, which also performs conversions, has a very limited presence in Argentina and very few followers. Most Jews of Argentina, whose Judaism was a matter of social and ethnic identity and who emphasized active participation in Jewish life and the upbringing of children as members of the Jewish people rather than *halakhah*, were satisfied with Conservative and Reform conversions.

According to some estimates, about half of all the Jews in Argentina who maintained relatively continuous contact with a synagogue identified with the Masorti movement. In 2004, Masorti rabbis graduating from the Seminario Rabínico Latinoamericano in Buenos Aires served in Argentina and other communities in Latin America (more than 40), in the U.S. (more than 15), and in Israel (10).

In recent decades, certain groups of young people from various sectors of the Jewish population, in particular those who belong to the community of Aleppan origin and to some extent those of Damascene origin, as well as small groups of Ashkenazim, had "returned" to religious Orthodox observance. They observed Jewish law strictly and studied rabbinical literature in religious academies (yeshivot and *kolelim*). But this trend has very little impact on the broader community and is limited to a minority.

More significant was the growth of the Chabad-Lubavitch ḥasidic group. Chabad's entry into the Argentine Jewish community began in the late 1960s, and in 2005 the movement had approximately 20 centers in the country, two-thirds of them in the Buenos Aires metropolitan area. As a part of its worldwide strategy, also in Argentina Chabad established a public presence by celebrating holidays like Hanukkah, Sukkot, and Lag ba-Omer in public, non-Jewish spaces, and many Jews responded positively to such a demonstration of Jewish pride. Chabad's original appeal in Argentina was to the poorer Jews, a steadily growing group under the economic conditions of 2001–2, who appreciated the economic help this Orthodox movement furnished them. It also attracted a number of wealthy people to help support its activities. It was unclear, however, how many of those who identified with Chabad or received financial aid from it adopted the fully observant Chabad lifestyle, since the movement did not insist on strict conformity to *halakhah* on the part of those who found their way to them.

The Sephardi sector is characterized by the opposite trends of secularization and growing Orthodoxy. Secularization is more evident among the communities of Moroccans and Ladino speakers, whose ethnic identity has less of an appeal to the younger generation, which feels more at home among the Conservatives and joins the congregations of the Masorti. The two communities of Syrian origin – from Aleppo and Damascus – remain the stronghold of Orthodoxy among the Sephardim. During the last decades they strengthened their educational network, stressing the role of women in transmitting the Jewish tradition in the family. Many of their rabbis were born in Argentina and received their rabbinical education in yeshivot in Israel; they are influenced by the religious leadership of Rabbi Ovadiah *Yosef.

Jewish Education. When segments of the public educational system changed their schedule to a longer day in the late 1960s, leaving no time for the morning or afternoon complementary Jewish schools, the community transformed them into day schools offering both a general and a Jewish curriculum. This put pressure on the schools to excel in their general programs so that parents would not remove their children and send them to public or non-Jewish private schools. While tending to relegate the Jewish program to a secondary place, this strategy did succeed in retaining Jewish students. This change brought a solution to the above-mentioned dropout problem in the elementary schools and to some extent also at the secondary level. A survey carried out in 1997 found that nearly half of all Jewish children aged 13–17 and two-thirds of children aged 6–12 attended Jewish day schools. These schools taught the state curriculum along with a Jewish cultural program that took up between five and 20 hours per week. A total of 19,248 students attended classes in 56 kindergartens, 52 elementary schools, and 29 high schools.

By 2002, however, the numbers had dropped, showing just 14,700 students in 40 elementary schools and 22 high schools. Although the two surveys conducted five years apart had different methodologies and were therefore not necessarily comparable, it is likely that the difference reflected a real downturn, the natural result of the above-mentioned demographic processes: low birthrate, assimilation, and emigration. On the other hand, the economic situation which affected the middle-class Jewish population should be taken into account as well. The high tuition rates in these private schools were also a deterrent under the grim economic conditions, even though local Jewish institutions, the Jewish Agency, and Israel's Ministry of Education, together with the Joint Distribution Committee and World Jewish Congress, established financial aid programs.

In addition to formal Jewish education, Jewish schools offered an informal social framework with events connected to the Hebrew calendar and Israel-related activities such as dance groups and choirs. For students in the higher grades there was the opportunity for educational trips to Israel.

Another important contribution of the schools to Jewish life is the common framework they offer to thousands of young Jews, creating through them the opportunity to establish a connection with thousands of young families interested in a Jewish framework and being exposed to Jewish values.

Nevertheless socio-economic development since the 1990s imposed a revision of the existing model of Jewish schooling. Recognizing that other educational alternatives were necessary for those not in day schools, the community, in cooperation with the Jewish Agency, established a supplementary program called *Lomdim* for secondary level (with about 1,200 students in 2004) with classes two or three days (6–9 hours) a week. A second supplementary program, for elementary school children, called *Chalomot,* with 4–12 hours a week, has approximately 600 children. Chabad developed a similar strategy, offering children attending public school an enriched after-school program in computers, English, and other subjects, together with Jewish studies.

Teacher training suffered dramatically in this period. Such training was given in the 1940s and 1950s by certain secondary schools, in Buenos Aires mainly by the Seminar le-Morim of AMIA, the Machon le-Limudei ha-Yahaduth of CIRA, and the secondary school of the Sholem Aleichem Shul, and in Moisesville by the Seminar Yahaduth. Training was transferred to Ha-Midrashah ha-Ivrit in the mid-1960s. Students received training there as elementary school teachers in the first two years, and could became secondary school teachers after three additional years of study. At the beginning of the 1970s its name was changed to Michlelet Shazar (Shazar College) and received academic sponsorship from Tel Aviv University, which was withdrawn at the end of the 1980s. Many difficulties – academic, budgetary, and administrative, especially after the bombing of the community building in 1994 – led to a decline of its activities in the mid-1990s. In 1996 the Merkaz Rabin was established, which included the Michlelet Shazar and the Seminar Agnon for kindergarten teachers (established in the early 1960s). At the end of the 1990s, however, Shazar was closed, and today there is no teacher training institution in Argentina. The only institutions of higher Jewish studies are Orthodox yeshivot and the Seminario Rabínico Latinoamericano of Conservative orientation, in which there is also a section for non-rabbinic studies. All those institutions demand from their students one or more years of study at higher yeshivot or Jewish universities in Israel or the U.S. in order for them to receive a rabbinic degree.

Relations with Israel

Argentina has always had a significant place in Israel's foreign policy as a prominent Latin American country and a country with a very large Jewish community. From 1947, when Argentina abstained from voting for the UN Partition Plan for Palestine, relations were marked by steady progress. Argentina recognized Israel on Feb. 14, 1949, and diplomatic missions were established in Buenos Aires and Tel Aviv in August and September 1949, respectively.

Argentina's position varies on a number of issues affecting Israel. In the annually recurrent UN debates on Palestine refugees, Argentina has for years voted with Israel against attempts to appoint a UN property custodian, on the grounds that it would be an unacceptable interference with national sovereignty. Following the Six-Day War, Argentina was in the forefront of the Latin American nations that opposed Soviet and Arab efforts in the Emergency Session of the UN General Assembly to bring about an unconditional evacuation of the Israel-held territories. On the other hand, she has consistently favored the internationalization of Jerusalem, and after the Six-Day War voted against the municipal reunification of the city.

In 1960 the capture of Adolf Eichmann in Argentina caused a temporary crisis in relations, which returned to normal after some months. Commercial treaties exist between the two countries. In the 1960s the trade balance was overwhelmingly in favor of Argentina (due to meat exports that varied from $10 to 15 million a year). The trade balance remained disproportionate also in the 1970s (Israel's imports rose to $17.1 million while exports only reached $1.3 million). The balance changed radically in the 1980s ($42.7 and 35.4 million, respectively) and in the 1990s ($66.7 and 12.3 million). Since 2000 the total scope of bilateral trade was over $100 million a year, with the exception of 2002, when a deep crisis struck the Argentinean economy. The most remarkable year was 2004 with a total of $191.1 million ($136.3 and $54.8 million). Meat continues to be the principal Argentinean export product together with oil and processed food. The main goods exported by Israel are machinery and chemical products.

In 1957 a cultural exchange agreement was signed. An Israel-Argentina Cultural Institute has been active in Buenos Aires since the 1950s. The Argentina House was established in Jerusalem in 1967 as a result of a private initiative, offering cultural activities to the Israeli public. Technical cooperation between the two countries developed in fields, such as rural planning in semi-arid zones and the uses of water.

Since the establishment of diplomatic relations the Argentinean government has recognized the legitimacy of the special relationship between Israel and the Jews of Argentina. As an immigration country that legitimized the special ties of immigrants to their countries of origin, considered their "*madre patria*" (motherland), Israel was perceived as the *madre patria* of the Jews, although they had lived in Argentina at least 60 years before the creation of the State of Israel. This recognition was manifested when the government accepted the right of the Israeli ambassador to intervene on behalf of Argentinean Jewry, demanding that expressions of antisemitism should be stopped and prohibited.

After seven years of military rule, Argentina returned to democracy in 1973, with the victory of the Peronist party, which prevailed in free elections. Former President Juan Perón, who had been in exile since 1955, returned to Argentina and after a few months was elected president. During his year in office (he died on July 1974) and in the government headed by his wife, in which the strongman was Minister López Rega, antisemitism became more active in the streets as well as in official discourse. Moreover, López Rega strengthened relations with Arab countries, especially with Libya. He considered the establishment of diplomatic relations with the PLO and there were rumors that he was promoting the rupture of diplomatic relations with Israel. In those years of instability Israel protested many times against manifestations of antisemitism and against the anti-Israel policy. After the military coup d'état in March 1976, everyone thought that the generals would establish order in the country, but they abrogated all civil rights and instituted a reign of terror, tolerating no opposition.

Although antisemitism was not an official policy, antisemitic expressions were very frequent, also in the different ranks of the army, the government, and the forces of repression. In these circumstances Israel acted officially against antisemitism and interceded on behalf of incarcerated Jews and those who vanished (kidnapped and killed by the repressors). In the case of the former, the Argentinean government agreed to free from jail more than 55 persons. In the case of those who disappeared, Israel's intervention together with European public opinion and to some extent the U.S., succeeded in getting only one journalist freed – Jacobo *Timerman – under condition that he leave for Israel. Unofficially Israel evacuated from Argentina close to 500 Jews in danger and took them in. These activities on the part of the Israeli embassy, together with the Jewish Agency, were made possible because of the special position of Israel. On the one hand, the generals believed, as a part of their antisemitic perception, that through the Israeli embassy they could influence U.S. policy towards Argentina. On the other hand, Israel and officials of the embassy had had good relations since the beginning of the 1970s with military officers in charge of purchasing military equipment in Israel. Some of these officers occupied high posts in the government, like Minister of the Interior General Albano Harguindeguy, or Admiral Emilio Massera, commander-in-chief of the Navy and member of the first junta headed by General Jorge Videla. Although Israel continued to sell military equipment to the military government, the Israeli diplomats in Buenos Aires decided to avoid the use of these special relations as a means of putting diplomatic pressure on Argentina to change its position in matters of special interests for Israel, such as Argentina's consistent support of the Palestinian and Arab positions in the UN and in other international arenas, to improve economic and other bilateral relations that were unfavorable to Israel, and to obtain the release of the "vanished" Jews.

In 2000, by the request of the Knesset, the Israeli government established an Inter-Ministerial Commission with the objective of helping the Jewish families of the "vanished" in their demand of the Argentinean government to receive the bodies and to bring to trial those responsible for human rights violations in the dictatorship. This commission, composed of representatives of the Foreign and Justice Ministries and representatives of the public and of the families, presented its conclusions and recommendations in July 2003. As a result of the commission's report, the president of Israel and the government several times presented official requests supporting the demands of the families. Since then, the request to find and identify the bodies of the "vanished" Jews has been made in many meetings of Israeli and Argentinean officials.

In the first democratic government after the military dictatorship (1983–1989) Foreign Minister Caputo's foreign policy attempted to achieve an alliance both with Third World and developed countries at one and the same time. To these ends special attention was paid to the demands of the Arab bloc, while a cold but correct profile was maintained in relations with Israel. This in no way influenced the ideology of the ruling party (UCR), which was traditionally democratic and opposed to the nationalist right-wing groups. In 1992 then ex-president Alfonsín visited Israel, as did the possible radical candidate in the next presidential election, Fernando de la Rúa.

Relations between Argentina and Israel, despite the initial prejudices, were concretely upgraded after Menem came to power in 1989, together with a change toward a pro-North American policy in the international arena. The association between Argentina, Egypt, and Iraq for the construction of the Condor II missile was frozen and then disbanded. The missile was finally destroyed as a result of U.S. government pressure. Official visits at the highest level have increased: in late 1989 Israeli president Chaim Herzog visited Argentina, where he addressed the National Congress; in 1991 Menem became the first Argentine president to visit Israel. Before and after these visits, parliamentary and ministerial missions were exchanged between both countries for discussion of issues of mutual interest.

During the 1990 Persian Gulf crisis, the Argentinean government opposed the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait and sent two frigates to join the United Nations force that attacked the aggressor. This active position, consistent with the pro-American policy, was a source of controversy in Argentinean political sectors. In other aspects connected with the Middle East, the Alfonsín and Menem governments resisted PLO efforts to open an office in the country in order to obtain diplomatic recognition. In 1985 leaders of the Jewish community appealed to representatives of all the political streams to condemn UN General Assembly Resolution 3378 equating "Zionism" with "racism"; in the following years, the resolution was condemned by the Argentinean parliament (1990).

Moreover, the Argentinean chairman of the UN Commission on Human Rights convening in Durban in 2001 was very active in efforts to moderate anti-Israel resolutions.

The government headed by President Néstor Kirchner, elected in the fifth consecutive democratic elections in 2003, maintained good relations between the two countries. Politically, Argentina is against violent solutions to international conflicts and therefore supports the need of negotiations in the conflict between Israel and the Palestinians. Nevertheless the new administration changed its voting policy in the UN and is coming closer to that of the other Latin American countries: Argentinean votes against Israel or sometimes abstains.

In March 1992, the Israeli embassy in Buenos Aires was destroyed in a terrorist attack that left 20 dead and hundreds of injured, including passers-by and neighbors as well as embassy personnel. Following the July 1994 terrorist bombing of the central community building of AMIA, with 85 people killed and hundreds injured, President Menem called Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin to express his condolences. After these events President Menem, his ministers, and representatives across almost the entire political, trade union, and intellectual spectrum participated together with tens of thousands of Argentinean citizens in expressing their solidarity with the Jews, in the first case visiting the ruins of the destroyed embassy and in the second in a mass demonstration a few days afterwards in the Plaza Congreso.

The subsequent investigations saw hard words and tensions between various sectors of the security forces, the law courts connected with the cases, politicians, including President Menem, the Israeli embassy, and the Jewish community. The investigations in both cases did not discover who was responsible for the attacks, despite a public trial of ten local suspects for collaboration with foreign terrorists. This trial began in September 2001 and was concluded at the end of 2004 with no convictions. Israel continued to demand that the government find the local perpetrators as well as take the necessary political steps against Iran.

[Haim Avni, Ignacio Klich / Efraim Zadoff (2nd ed.)]

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ARGOB (Heb. אַרְגֹּב), region in northern Transjordan which was part of *Bashan and probably lay between Nahr al-Ruqād and Nahr al-ʿAlān. According to Thutmose III's geographical list (no. 126) and the el-Amarna letters, this region was heavily populated in the Late Bronze Age. At the time of the Israelite conquest Argob embraced "threescore cities… All these were fortified cities with high walls, gates, and bars; beside the unwalled towns, a great number" (Deut. 3:4–5). It was allotted by Moses to the half-tribe of Manasseh and was possibly settled by Jair (Deut. 3:13–14, but cf. I Kings 4:13). In Solomon's time the region was included in his sixth administrative district and its governor (the son of Geber) resided at Ramoth-Gilead (I Kings 4:13). In the Aramaic translations Argob is identified with the region which Josephus and the New Testament call Trachon or *Trachonitis (Targ. Onk.: Trakona; Targ. Yer.: Tragona), the basaltic highland desert now known as al-Lijā. This later tradition, however, is not consistent with the early sources.

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[Michael Avi-Yonah]

ARGOV, ALEXANDER (**Sasha**; 1914–1995), Israeli popular music composer. Argov was born in Moscow and immigrated to Palestine in 1934, where he changed his last name from Abramovich to Argov in 1946. His mother was a professional pianist and his father a dentist. Argov began to play the piano at the age of three and a half, and when he was six began composing songs which his mother wrote down for him. He had no formal training in music, and in his adult life music was not his main source of income; however, composing was always his mission in life. For over six decades he composed music in which he exhibited considerable originality.

He wrote over 1,000 songs, including songs for army and regular entertainment groups such as the Chizbatron (1948); Naḥal (1950–c. 1960); Batzal Yarok ("Green Onion," 1958–60); the Tarnegolim ("Roosters," 1961–63), as well as music for theater and film. He accompanied some performances of his songs, as the piano played an important part in his music. He ascribed considerable importance to the relationship between text and music and attempted to represent words in music using frequent changes of rhythm and meter. His songs range between art song and popular song. His most famous musical was *Shelomo ha-Melekh ve-Shalmai ha-Sandlar* ("King Solomon and Shalmai the Cobbler"), first performed in 1964.

Argov's music is distinguished by characteristics such as unexpected melodic leaps, chromaticisms, dissonances, complex harmonic progressions, and modulations to distant keys. His style had a far-reaching influence on the work of a younger generation of Israeli popular music composers. A selection of his songs was published in 1946. Argov published three others: *Kakhah Setam* (1979), *Et Ma she-Ratziti* (1983), and *Me-Ever la-Tekhelet* (2001). In 1988 he won the Israel Prize for his contribution to the Hebrew song.

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[Gila Flam (2nd ed.)]

ARGOV (Urkavi), ZOHAR (1955–1987), Israeli popular singer in the Middle Eastern style. Born in the city of Rishon le-Zion into a Jewish Yemenite family, Argov was endowed with an innate musical talent and a naturally beautiful and expressive voice, and as a youngster started to sing in the local Yemenite synagogue. Lacking any formal musical training, he began to rise to stardom in the late 1970s and early 1980s, at a time when Middle Eastern singers were fighting for official recognition. Argov scored his breakthrough hit in 1982 with his song "*Peraḥ be-Ganni*" ("The Flower of my Garden"), composed by his close friend and supporter Avihu *Medina. The song won first place at the 1981 Oriental Song Festival sponsored by the Israel Broadcasting Authority. Achieving resounding success, it has been regarded as a paradigm of the so-called *zemer mizraḥi* (Oriental song) in its broadest sociocultural context. It was indeed one of the most eloquent expressions of the initial stage of what may be called the trend toward "Israelization" that emerged among Oriental musicians in the early 1960s. It expressed above all an attempt to realize the ideal of the "Ingathering of the Exiles" by assimilating traditional musical styles to the predominant Israeli folk music and making their grievances heard in mainstream society. Argov's musical style indeed reflected both his Israeli and Yemenite heritage, combining stereotypical musical elements of both East and West with the prestigious vocal improvisation (*mawwal*) which derives from Arab art music.

On the heels of his meteoric rise to fame, Argov developed a serious drug habit that led to his premature tragic death by suicide in a prison cell. A play called "The King," as he was nicknamed by his numerous fans, was written and directed by dramatist Shmuel Hasfari, who describes Argov's life as the fundamental story of the struggle between two cultures.

[Amnon Shiloah (2nd ed.)]

ARḤA, ELIEZER BEN ISAAC (d. 1652), Ereẓ Israel kabbalist and physician. Arḥa was born in Safed, but moved to Hebron early in the 17th century to officiate as rabbi of the community. He studied with R. Abraham Azulai who wrote *Or ha-Ḥammah* ("The Light of the Sun") with Arḥa's assistance. According to R. Yom Tov Ẓahalon, Arḥa served as *dayyan* in the *bet din* in Gaza. It is possible that he was there only during the 1619 epidemic although he was certainly in Gaza in 1626. His name is also mentioned in an inscription on the walls of the reputed grave of Aaron on Mount Hor. In 1623 Arḥa and other scholars of Jerusalem recommended to the wealthy Jews of Constantinople the publication of Abraham Azulai's *Zohorei Ḥammah*. R. Isaiah *Horowitz appointed Arḥa executor of his estate. In about 1630 Arḥa had to leave Hebron and lived a wandering life. In 1648 he was in Jerusalem. His son Isaac Arḥa also figured among the scholars of Hebron. Eliezer Arḥa wrote extensively, but none of his works was published. The manuscripts extant include a volume of responsa (Ms. Oxford Mich. 291), sermons (Ms. Jerusalem 8^0 1300), a commentary on *Midrash Rabbah*, written between 1599 and 1639 in Hebron and Jerusalem, and a commentary on *Ein Ya'akov*. It is doubtful whether the annotations on Maimonides ascribed to Arḥa are actually his. In *Mavo le-She'elot u-Teshuvot Rabbeinu Eliezer ben Arḥa* (1978) Ezra Batzri has published 35 responsa of Arḥa; they were taken from a manuscript (Oxford 29 1). These responsa throw light on the relations between Jews and non-Jews in Israel. One of them discusses whether Jews are permitted to make clerical vestments for priests and another whether they are entitled to lend them money on interest, both of which Arḥa permits.

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[Yehoshua Horowitz (2nd ed.)]

ARIAS, JOSEPH SEMAH (or **Ẓemaḥ**; late 17th century), Marrano author. While serving in Brussels as a captain in the Spanish Army, Arias was adjutant to another Marrano writer, Nicolás de *Oliver y Fullana. A *décima burlesca* (ten-line hu-lowers of Aristotle, at times as his critics, included, during the 13th and 14th centuries – Samuel ibn *Tibbon, Jacob *Anatoli, Shem Tov ibn *Falaquera, Levi b. Abraham of Villefranche, Joseph *Kaspi, Zerahiah b. Isaac *Gracian, *Hillel b. Samuel of Verona, Isaac *Albalag, Moses *Abulafia, *Moses b. Joshua of Narbonne, and *Levi b. Gershom (Gersonides), their most outstanding representative; from the 15th to the 17th century – Simeon b. Ẓemaḥ *Duran, Joseph *Albo, the brothers Joseph and Isaac *Ibn Shem Tov, Abraham *Bibago, *Judah b. Jehiel Messer Leon, Elijah *Delmedigo, Moses *Almosnino, and Joseph Solomon *Delmedigo. (The exact relation of these philosophers to Aristotle may be gathered from the entries appearing under their names.)

Issues in Jewish Aristotelianism

Jewish Aristotelianism is a complex phenomenon, the general trends of which can be seen from some of its characteristic discussions. Jewish Aristotelianism differs from the antecedent types of medieval Jewish philosophy in its heightened awareness of the boundaries of faith and reason (see *Belief). Jewish Kalām and Neoplatonism used a variety of rational arguments to establish the truth of revelation, without seeing, on the whole, any sharp boundaries between philosophy and religion. By contrast, Jewish Aristotelians held that philosophic speculations must proceed without any regard to theological doctrines. They recognized as valid only demonstrative arguments, that is to say, arguments based on the standards for such arguments laid down by Aristotle (see *Analytica posteriora*, 73a, 21ff., and passim). Once the content of faith and reason had been delineated independently, it could be asked how the two realms are related. According to one view, represented by Maimonides, the teachings of religion and philosophy could be harmonized only in part. For example, Maimonides maintains that while many doctrines, such as the existence of God and His unity, can be demonstrated scientifically, the doctrine of *creatio ex nihilo* cannot, and one therefore has to be guided by prophetic revelation (Guide, 2:15). By contrast, Jewish Averroists like Isaac Albalag, Joseph Kaspi, and Moses of Narbonne (Narboni) opposed the tendency to harmonize faith and reason. Thus, e.g., they accepted the doctrine of the eternity of the world, holding that it had been demonstrated by Aristotle. More than that, Kaspi and Narboni more or less openly alleged that Maimonides' defense of *creatio ex nihilo* was only apparent, i.e., exoteric, and that his real, i.e., esoteric, view agreed with Aristotle's (Kaspi, *Maskiyyot Kesef*, 99–101; Moses of Narbonne, *Commentary to the Guide*, 34a; see on the latter Joseph Solomon Delmedigo's *Epistle*, published by A. Geiger, in his *Melo Ḥofnajim*, Ger. pt. 18 and 65, n. 70). Using the terms of the Christian Averroists, Albalag opposes the way of faith based on the prophets (*ex prophetis*) to the way of reason (*via rationis*), the one being the way of miracle, the other the way of nature. The two realms, according to Albalag, are distinct and incompatible (see G. Vajda, *Isaac Albalag*, 153–7, 165–75, 251–66; and Ch. Touati, in: REJ, 1 (1962), 35–47). A central and most crucial issue in Jewish Aristotelianism was the question of *creation. Aristotle based his notion that the world is eternal on the nature of time and motion (*Physics*, 8:1–3; *Metaphysics*, 12:6, 1–2; *De Caelo*, 1:10–12) and on the impossibility of assuming a genesis of prime matter (*Physics*, 1:9). In contrast to the Kalām theologians, who maintained the doctrine of temporal creation, the medieval Muslim philosophers interpreted creation as eternal, i.e., as the eternal procession of forms which emanate from the active or creative knowledge of God (see *Emanation). The task with which the Jewish Aristotelians were faced was either to disprove or to accept the notion of the world's eternity. Maimonides offers a survey and refutation of Kalām proofs for creation and advances his own theory of temporal creation (Guide, 2:17), for which he indicates the theological motive that miracles are possible only in a universe created by a spontaneous divine will (2:25). He rejects the emanationist theory of the Muslim Aristotelians since it fails to account for the origin of matter (2:22). In the course of the subsequent discussion, the more radical Aristotelians veered toward the Muslim philosophers' position, namely, the doctrine of eternal creation. Isaac Albalag, echoing Avicenna, regarded eternal creation as much more befitting to God than temporal creation (see Vajda, loc. cit., 134ff.). Gersonides maintained the notion of creation in time, but denied the possibility of a temporal origination of prime matter (*Milḥamot*, 6:1, 7). Crescas, on the other hand, sought to combine the concept of *creatio ex nihilo* with that of eternal creation of the world by God's design and will (*Or Adonai*, 3:1, 4–5). For a survey of the problems involved and the main positions taken, see Isaac *Abrabanel, *Shamayim Ḥadashim*. In the period following Crescas, when there was greater emphasis on the possibility of miracles, the doctrine of temporal creation gained greater adherence. Closely allied to the problem of creation is that of divine *providence. The Muslim philosophers, who accepted the doctrine of eternal creation, understood Aristotle to teach that providence is identical with the operations of nature, which safeguards the permanence of the species, but is unconcerned with individuals. To bring the Aristotelian position more into harmony with the teachings of religion, Ibn Daud (*Emunah Ramah*, 6:2) makes the point, later elaborated by Maimonides (Guide, 2:17), that divine providence extends to individual men according to their degree of intellectual perfection. The question of divine providence and the related problem of God's knowledge gave rise to a concurrent problem, that of divine foreknowledge and man's *free will. Narboni shows that God's foreknowledge does not necessarily preclude man's free action (see Guttmann, Philosophies, 203–7). Crescas, on the other hand, adopts a determinist position, but states that this does not invalidate the divine commandments (*Or Adonai*, 2:5, 3; see Guttmann, op. cit., 238–40). The topic of providence is linked with that of *reward and punishment in the hereafter, which, in turn, raises the question of individual immortality. Since Jewish Aristotelianism inherited not only Aristotle's own rather ambiguous doctrine of the soul, but also the discussions of the Greek commentators and Muslim philosophers that revealed joined the Ḥerut movement in 1961 and entered the Knesset in 1969 on the *Gaḥal list. In the years 1972–77 he was chairman of the Blue-White faction in the *Histadrut, associated with the Ḥerut movement. In the government established by Menaḥem *Begin in 1977 Aridor was appointed as the minister responsible for the portfolios that Begin held temporarily for the DMC, which joined the coalition in October. In 1978 he was the *Likud's candidate for treasurer of the Jewish Agency, but lost to the Labor candidate. In 1979 he was appointed chairman of the Ḥerut movement secretariat.

In January 1981 Aridor served for a short period as minister of communications following the resignation of Yitzḥak *Moda'i, but soon after he was appointed minister of finance, in place of Yigal *Hurwitz. In response to Hurwitz's "I haven't got a cent" policy, Aridor announced that he would implement a "correct economy," adopting the slogan "for the people." He tried to contend with the problem of rising inflation by introducing savings plans with attractive terms and reducing taxes on consumer goods and imports to lower their prices. He intended to cut taxes and improve the taxation system while gradually reducing the subsidies on basic products and services. However, with the rate of inflation continuing to rise, it was rumored in October 1983, around the time of the collapse of the bank share market, that he was considering a dollarization plan, introducing the U.S. dollar as legal tender in Israel, which aimed among other things at reducing Israel's deteriorating balance-of-payments deficit. As a consequence of these rumors Aridor was forced to resign. The 1986 Bejski Report on the collapse of the bank share market found that he had not acted to stop their manipulation by the banks, even when he realized the gravity of the situation.

In 1990 Aridor was appointed ambassador to the UN, but resigned after Labor won the 1992 elections. After retiring from politics, he served on the board of directors of numerous companies.

[Susan Hattis Rolef (2nd ed.)]

ARIE, RAFAEL (or **Rafaele**; 1922–1988), singer. Born in Sofia, Arie was a pupil of Brambaroff, the chief baritone of the Sofia Opera. He won first prize in the Geneva International Competition in 1946, and later sang leading basso roles at La Scala, Milan, and other European and American opera houses. In 1951 Igor Stravinsky chose him to sing at the Venice premiere of his opera *The Rake's Progress*. Arie visited Israel many times and eventually became an Israeli but continued his international concert career as one of the leading bassos of his generation.

ARIEL (Heb. אֲרִיאֵל). (1) The name given to Jerusalem in Isaiah 29:1–2, 7, where God will bring distress upon Ariel, and will make her like an *ariel* (for meaning, see below). *Ariel* in this sense is probably connected with the form *erellam* in Isaiah 33:7, understood as the plural form *arielim* ("Jerusalemites"), parallel to "messengers of Shalom" (i.e., of Jerusalem; cf. Gen. 14:18; Ps. 76:3). (2) A cultic object in Ezekiel 43:15–16, where it occurs in the forms *ariel* and *harel*. This is apparently an altar hearth superimposed upon the base of the altar, having horns at its four corners. Alternatively, it may be viewed as the top two sections of a three-tiered altar, again with the function of a hearth. This usage has been connected by some with the *ʾrʾl dwdh* which *Mesha of Moab dragged before *Chemosh from a captured town (*Mesha Stele*, 1:12). It may also be connected with II Samuel 23:20 = I Chronicles 11:22 "The two Ariels of Moab." (3) One of the chief men summoned by Ezra in Ezra 8:16 (cf. also Gen. 46:16; Num. 26:17). The etymology of this word is the subject of some dispute. Three principal modes of interpretation have been proposed: (a) from *ari-el*, "lion of God" or "Great Lion." This is the most probable derivation for the personal name in Ezra; (b) from a posited root *ari*, "to burn," with *lamed* afformative, thus meaning "hearth," similar to the Arabic *ʿiratun*, "hearth"; and (c) as a loanword from the Akkadian *arallû*-, the name for the netherworld and allegedly the world mountain. (In this view the altar is understood as a miniature ziggurat, which is taken to be the symbol of the world mountain.) However, *arallû* does not mean "mountain." In addition, the Akkadian, a loanword from Sumerian, would have not shown up in Hebrew in the form attested. Regardless of the ultimate derivation of the word, the meaning of Isaiah 29:1–2 seems to be that Jerusalem, here (prophetically?) called Ariel, is to become like the altar, i.e., a scene of holocaust.

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[Tikva S. Frymer]

ARIEL (Heb. אֲרִיאֵל), town in Samaria, in the administered territories, 40 km. east of Tel Aviv and 65 km. from Jerusalem. Founded in 1978 by 40 families of defense and aviation industry workers, it received municipal status in 1998. In 1996 Ariel's population was approximately 14,200, increasing to 16,300 at the end of 2002, of whom 54% were recent immigrants, most from the Former Soviet Union. Its municipal area was 1.2 sq. mi. (3 sq. km.). The proximity to central Israel enabled the city to attract young families. Most residents are non-religious.

Mikhlelet Yehudah ve-Shomron (Judea and Samaria College) was founded in 1983 as a regional college-level academic institution under the auspices of Bar-Ilan University and had approximately 8,000 students. Ariel's industrial zone housed over 100 factories in the fields of electronics, food, metallurgy, computers, and aviation, employing 3,000 people. A technological park was established in 1992 and the 100-room Eshel Hashomron Hotel at the entrance to the city opened its doors in 1991. Ron Nachman served as mayor of Ariel for five consecutive terms from 1985, having served as chairman of the municipal council until that time. The peace talks which began in the 1990s cast a pall on the future of the city, and its inclusion inside the security fence built to protect Israel from Palestinian terrorist attacks became a heated issue in Israeli politics.

WEBSITE: www.ariel.muni.il.

[Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

ARIEL (Leibovitz), DOV (1860–1943), *Bilu pioneer. Ariel, who was born in the Kovno province, joined the first group of Bilu and acted as its propagandist in Russia. In 1884 he went to Ereẓ Israel and joined other Bilu members living in Jaffa and doing agricultural work at Mikveh Israel. Later that year he helped to found Gederah, the first Bilu colony. Ariel served for many years as chairman and secretary of the Gederah Committee, was its representative to the *yishuv* authorities, and published a booklet (*Ha-Moshavah Gederah*, 1900) and many articles about Gederah.

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[Benjamin Jaffe]

ARIEL (Fisher), JOSEPH (1893–1964), Israeli diplomat. Born in Odessa, Fisher was active in the Zionist movement from his early youth, and as a result of his activities in the Zionist student organization He-Ḥaver, he was imprisoned by the Czarist authorities. He immigrated to Ereẓ Israel in 1924 and, entering the service of the Jewish National Fund, was sent to Paris, where he directed the JNF until 1950. There he founded the bi-weekly *La Terre Retrouvée*, of which he was editor. After the Nazi occupation of France in 1940, Fisher maintained clandestine Zionist activities at Lyons. He was one of the active members of the Conseil Representatif des Juifs de France (C.R.I.F.) from its inception.

On returning to Israel in 1950, he was appointed Israeli ambassador to Belgium (1952–57), during which period he organized a visit to Israel by the Queen Mother Elisabeth of Belgium. In 1960, he was appointed director of the department of foreign relations of *Yad Vashem and engaged in research on the Holocaust in France. He contributed extensively to periodicals and wrote a number of books, including *Un Peuple Renaît* (1938) and memoirs of the Zionist movement in Russia during the period of the Bolshevik Revolution, which were published in *He-Avar*, a journal devoted to the history of the Jews in Russia.

[Jacob Tsur (2nd ed.)]

ARIELI, YEHOSHUA (Loebl; 1916–2002), Israeli historian. Born in Karlovy Vary (Carlsbad), Czechoslovakia, Arieli was taken to Ereẓ Israel in 1931. In 1933 he joined kibbutz Hefẓi Bah. In WWII he served in the British Army, was captured by the Germans, and was a prisoner of war for four years. In 1947 he joined the *Haganah, and was placed in charge of the Jerusalem Gadna (Youth Battalions). In 1953 he received his Ph.D. in American history from Harvard University. Arieli was appointed to the staff of the Hebrew University in 1966 and from 1967 served as chairman of the department of American studies. Between 1976 and 1991 he served as chairman and member of the board of directors of the Historical Society of Israel. Arieli's main fields of research and teaching were American history, historiography, and early modern history. Among his books is *Political Thought in the United States*, 2 vols. (1967–68). In 1993 he was awarded the Israel Prize for history.

ARIELI, YIZḤAK (1898–1974), rabbi. Arieli was born in Jerusalem and studied in local yeshivot. He was one of the first heads of Yeshivat Merkaz ha-Rav in Jerusalem, founded by R. Abraham Isaac *Kook, where he served on the staff and was administrator for about 40 years. In 1924 he participated in the founding of the Jerusalem suburbs of Kiryat Shemuel and Neveh Sha'anan. In 1942 he was appointed rabbi of the Jerusalem suburb Keneset Israel. He represented the Chief Rabbinate on the government committee on autopsies. His works include *Einayim la-Mishpat* (1936–66), notes on, and a précis of, the methodology of the Babylonian and Jerusalem Talmuds; *Shirat ha-Geulah* (1956), on the month of Nisan and a commentary on the Passover *Haggadah*; and *Yeraḥ ha-Eitanim* (1964), on the month of Tishri. He was awarded the Israel Prize for rabbinical literature in 1966.

ARIKHA, AVIGDOR (1929–), Israeli painter. Arikha was born in Redauts, Bukovina, the second child of Haim-Karl and Perla Dlugacz. He discovered the power of his art in 1944, when his drawing ability helped get him released from a Romanian concentration camp, where he had been imprisoned from 1941. He escaped with his sister to Palestine, to kibbutz Ma'aleh ha-Ḥamishah, and joined the *Haganah. With support from Henrietta *Szold he studied at the Bezalel Academy of Art in Jerusalem under Mordecai *Ardon and Isidor *Aschheim. In 1949 Arikha began his studies in the Ecole Nationale des Beaux Arts in Paris, and from that time divided his life between Israel and Paris.

Arikha's preferred fields of art are drawing and book illustration. His illustrations for Samuel Beckett's *Nouvelles et Textes pour Rien* (1957) were the beginning of a long friendship. His main art style was figurative, but during the 1960s he tried abstraction. During the 1970s he improved his graphic and painting techniques and had many exhibitions in Europe and the United States. In 1981, on the recommendation of the Scottish National Portrait Gallery, he painted a portrait of Queen Elizabeth. During this time he created public works of art, such as stained-glass windows for the Bnei Israel Synagogue, Woonsocket, Rhode Island (1961) as well as at the City Council Hall of the Jerusalem Municipality (1972). During the 1980s Arikha became a curator and made five short films on famous artists (1985). In 1992 the BBC, produced a film about his work.

Arikha's art deals with everyday life. There are interior scenes, portraits of family members, and still lifes of his intimate surroundings and views of his studio. One can recognize a clear influence of photography in his work, but the complex compositions and vivid colors emphasize his abstract painting ability. In general his painted figures and objects are placed individually in the frame of the work, yet the artistic forms are complex and contribute to the interest of the whole (*Going Out*, 1981, Israel Museum, Jerusalem).

In his Jerusalem landscapes Arikha dealt with the subject of light (*Jerusalem Seen From the South*, 1980, Tate Gallery, London). He depicts the light as though from a mystical source, accenting the view. At the same time the dazzling power of light constitutes a technical challenge for him, which constitutes the difference between his Jerusalem drawings and those created in Europe.

In honor of his 70th birthday a retrospective exhibition was presented in Israel's two major museums, the Tel Aviv Museum of Art and the Israel Museum in Jerusalem.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Israel Museum, *Avigdor Arikha – Selected Paintings 1953–1997* (1998); Tel Aviv Museum of Art, *Avigdor Arikha – Drawings* (1998).

[Ronit Steinberg (2nd ed.)]

ARIOCH (Heb. אַרְיוֹךְ). (1) A king of an unknown region, Ellasar, allied with *Chedorlaomer, king of Elam (Gen. 14:1ff.). (2) A captain of the guard in Babylon in the days of Nebuchadnezzar and Daniel (Dan. 2:14ff.). (3) A king of the Elymaeans (Elamites) in Judith 1:6. (4) An angel in II Enoch (the Slavonic Enoch) 33:11. While the first three cannot be identified with any independently attested persons, the name Arioch is probably identical with those of Arri(w)uk(i), a vassal of King Zimrilim of Mari (c. 1700 B.C.E.), and possibly related to Awariku king of the Danunians, and superior of Azatiwadda the author of the Phoenician-Hieroglyphic Luwian bilingual inscriptions of Karatepe (Adana, Turkey; first half of the first millennium B.C.E.).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Koehler-Baumgartner, 87, 1054; H. Donner and W. Roellig, *Kanaanaeische und aramaeische Inschriften*, 2 (1963), 39; W. Baumgartner, *Hebraeisches und aramaeisches Lexikon zum Alten Testament*, 1 (1967), 85. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** K. Younger, in: COS, 2, 148.

[Harold Louis Ginsberg]

ARIPUL, SAMUEL BEN ISAAC (1540?–after 1586), rabbinic scholar and preacher; probably born in Salonika. Although he was one of the greatest preachers in the 16th century, little is known about his life. From 1569 to 1571 he was seriously ill, and on his recovery wrote his book *Mizmor le-Todah* ("A Psalm of Thanksgiving"). Some time after 1571 he was in Constantinople. In 1576 he was in Venice where he undertook the publication of his works. It appears that he later settled in Safed for in the introduction to his *Ne'im Zemirot* he is referred to as "from the city of Safed." His books are rabbinical and philosophical commentaries on the Bible which emphasize its ethical message. He treats at length the problem of the redemption of Israel and quotes from the Zohar. At the beginning and end of each book he wrote poems on its contents. He printed the contents of his five books as a pamphlet, *Aggadat Shemu'el*, appended to *Mizmor le-Todah* which seems to be the earliest Hebrew book-prospectus to survive. This work contains panegyrics by two scholars of Salonika, where he evidently spent part of his adult life. Aripul previously had published *Zevaḥ Todah* (Constantinople, 1572), a homiletical exposition of Psalm 119 (also included as an introduction to his *Mizmor le-Todah*). His published books are (1) *Mizmor le-Todah* (Venice, 1576), on Psalms 112–34, the last section (on Psalms 120–34) being republished under the title *Ne'im Zemirot* (Cracow, 1576); (2) *Sar Shalom* (Safed, 1579) on the Song of Songs; and (3) *Lev Ḥakham* (Constantinople, 1586) on Ecclesiastes. His *Imrat Eloha* on the Pentateuch (mentioned in *Sar Shalom*) and his *Va'ad la-Ḥakhamim* on the liturgy (mentioned in *Lev Ḥakham*, p. 44b) have not been published.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Rivkind, in: KS, 4 (1928/29), 279; A. Yaari, *Ha-Defus ha-Ivri be-Arẓot ha-Mizraḥ*, 1 (1936), 18.

ARISON, TED (1924–1998), Israeli shipping magnate. Arison was born in Zikhron Ya'akov and attended the Herzlia Gymnasia in Tel Aviv before studying for a year at the American University of Beirut. He fought in Italy and Germany in World War II as part of the Jewish Brigade of the British Army and again in Israel's War of Independence as a lieutenant colonel. After the war he set up a shipping agency but liquidated his operations in the early 1950s and moved to the United States, where he built up a major shipping business, culminating in 1972 when he started Carnival Cruise Lines for the holiday cruise trade. Under the aegis of the Carnival Corporation he acquired additional lines, such as Holland America and Cunard, becoming the biggest cruise line operator in the world with 46 ships. In 1990 he resigned as president of Carnival in favor of his son, MICKY, and in 1994 returned to Israel, setting up Arison Investments Ltd., which purchased a controlling interest in Bank Hapoalim for $1 billion as well as the Shikun u-Fittuaḥ construction company, both giants in the *Histadrut business empire.

A long-time resident of Miami, Arison established the National Foundation for the Advancement of the Arts there in 1981 as well as the New World Symphony Orchestra in 1987 with Michael Tilson Thomas. He was also instrumental in getting the city the NBA's Miami Heat. The Arison Foundation was active in philanthropical projects in both the United States and Israel. His personal fortune was estimated at as much as $10 billion.

Upon his death, his daughter, SHARI, took over the family's Israeli operations, including Bank Hapoalim, while Micky Arison continued to head Carnival from Miami. In 2005 she ranked 84th on the Forbes List, with an estimated worth of $5.5 billion, making her Israel's wealthiest citizen. In 1999 she founded Matan, a charity modeled on United Way.

ARISTEAS (Gr. Αριστέας; second or early first century B.C.E.), author of a history *On the Jews*, of which only one fragment consisting of about 16 lines survives. This summarizes the narrative portions of the book of Job and is inserted in an account of Genesis 36. Aristeas relates that Job was the son of Esau and his Edomite wife Bassarha, a native of Ausis, located between Idumea and Arabia. Formerly Job's name had been Jobab (Gen. 36:33). A just man, rich in cattle, God tried him by causing many misfortunes. Robbers drove away his cattle and later his camels, a fire from heaven burned his sheep together with the shepherds, the house fell down killing all of his children, ulcers covered his body. Eliphas, the king of the Themanites, Baldad, the tyrant of the Saucheans, and Sophar, the king of the Minneans, as well as Elihu, the son of Barachiel, the Zobite (read: Bozite), came to visit him. Job, however, rejected their consolations, saying that even without their help he would remain steadfast in his piety. God was pleased with Job and restored him to his former wealth.

Scholars generally agree that Aristeas is not identical with the author of the so-called Letter of *Aristeas to Philocrates; this opinion is chiefly based on stylistic differences. *Alexander Polyhistor, however, citing sections 88–90 of the Letter of Aristeas, which he names *On The Interpretation of Jewish Laws*, believed that its author also wrote the fragment on Job. Aristeas is clearly dependent on the Septuagint version of Job, but the postscript in the Septuagint (Job 42:17b–e) is in turn dependent on Aristeas. This postscript was taken from a passage dealing with Genesis 36 and apparently corrects Aristeas. Bassarha is said by Aristeas to have been Jobab's (Job's) mother because of a misunderstanding of Genesis 36:33, an error compounded by a slip which confused Bassarha with Basemath, which made Jobab (Job) the son of Esau. Septuagint, Job 42:17 corrects Aristeas' slip, but repeats his original error. There remains the problem of the meaning of the postscript in the Septuagint which alludes to a "Syriac Book." The allusion may be to a lost apocryphon to Job, echoes of which are possibly still discernible in the Testament of Job, *Bava Batra* 15b, Targum Job 2:9, and Jerome (on Gen. 22:21). Aristeas, too, may have been dependent on this Palestinian source.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Eusebius, *Praeparatio Evangelica*, tr. by J. Gifford, 9 (1903), 25; G. Riessler, *Altjuedisches Schrifttum ausserhalb der Bibel* (1928), 178; Schuerer, Gesch, 3 (1909^4), 480; Ginzberg, Legends, 5 (1955), 384.

[Ben Zion Wacholder]

ARISTEAS, LETTER OF, Jewish-Alexandrian literary composition written by an anonymous Jew, in the form of a letter allegedly written to his brother Philocrates by Aristeas, a Greek in the court of Ptolemy II Philadelphus (285–246 B.C.E.). The contents of the book are as follows: On the advice of his courtiers, Demetrius of Phalerum and Aristeas, Ptolemy Philadelphus orders the sacred writings of the Jews to be translated for the library of Alexandria. The king writes to Eleazar, the high priest in Jerusalem, requesting that expert translators be sent to him. His letter is accompanied by a precious gift for the Temple. Aristeas at the head of an Egyptian delegation goes to Jerusalem and returns with a detailed description of Judea, Jerusalem, the Temple and its services, and his talks with Eleazar. Eleazar sends Ptolemy II 72 elders, six from each of the 12 tribes, who are well versed in both the Mosaic Law and in the customs of Greek society. The king gives them an elaborate reception and for ten days holds banquets in their honor in the course of which he discovers their great wisdom. They are then taken to the Island of Pharos and within 72 days they translate the Scripture into Greek. The translation is approved by the king and by the representatives of the Alexandrian Jewish community, and the translators are sent back home laden with gifts.

This story, based on a legend about the Septuagint current in Alexandria by the third century B.C.E., is more a historical romance than an accurate account. The author of the Letter used this legend as a framework which he filled with certain ideas that he wished to disseminate among his Jewish readers. He describes the Greeks as admirers of Judaism and pleads for the establishment of closer relations between the two peoples. He considers their idolatrous religion no barrier, since he believes that the Greeks too worship the one and only God under the name Zeus. He describes Judaism as pure monotheism which does not stand in conflict with the ideas accepted in Greek philosophy. This emerges in particular from the conversations with the 72 elders at the banquet. He gives a symbolic interpretation to the commandments as well as a rational explanation. A certain dualism thus underlies the outlook expressed in the Letter: on the one hand separation of Jews from non-Jews as a result of their religious observances, and on the other hand their approximation to Greek culture. This reflects the outlook of the upper class of the Alexandrian Jewish community, who though they mixed freely with the Greeks in business and were influenced by Greek culture, nevertheless adhered to the principles of Judaism on which the existence of the autonomous Alexandrian Jewish community depended.

The book is written in Hellenistic Greek, influenced by the official language in Ptolemaic Egypt. (For another account of the Septuagint Translation, see *Philo.) There is considerable disagreement among scholars as to the date of the Letter, and Elias Bickerman has attributed it to the late second century B.C.E.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: H.T. Andrews, in: R.H. Charles, *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament in English*, vol. 2 (1913), 83ff.; Wendland, in: E. Kautzsch, *Apocryphen und Pseudepigraphen*, 2 (1900), 1–31; H. St. John Thackeray, *Letter of Aristeas* (1918); Bickerman, in: ZNW, 29 (1930), 280ff.; M. Hadas, *Aristeas to Philocrates* (1951); R. Tramontano, *Lettera di Aristea a Filocrate* (1931); A. Tcherikover, *Ha-Yehudim ba-Olam ha-Yevani ve-ha-Romi* (1961), 316–18; idem, *Hellenistic Civilization and the Jews* (1959), 348. **ADD. BIBLI-**

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[Avigdor (Victor) Tcherikover]

ARISTOBULUS I (Judah), king of Judea 104–103 B.C.E.; eldest son of John *Hyrcanus I. According to his father's will Aristobulus was to become high priest while his mother was to receive the throne. However, not content merely with the priestly office, Aristobulus seized the throne, cast his mother in prison where she died of hunger, and incarcerated all his brothers, except *Antigonus, for whom he had a particular affection. According to Josephus, Aristobulus later had Antigonus put to death, following an allegation that Antigonus was plotting against his life. According to Josephus (Ant., 11:301), Aristobulus was the first of the Hasmoneans to adopt the title of king. The statement of Strabo, however (26:2, 40), that Alexander Yannai was the first, is more trustworthy since on extant coins Aristobulus is designated only as high priest while Alexander Yannai is specifically designated as king. Josephus also states that Aristobulus called himself "Philhellene." This title was assumed by other Eastern rulers who adopted Hellenistic culture. It is surprising however that Aristobulus should do so since the attitude of the Hasmoneans to the "Hellenes" was far from cordial. It is possible that it is a misreading for Philadelphus, which is the name he assumed as a sign of his affection for his brother Antigonus. But the use of the term is indicative of the extent of Hellenistic influence in his court. Aristobulus followed both the cultural and military policies of his father. The statement of Josephus that he conquered part of the territory of the Itureans, forcibly converting them to Judaism, probably refers to the conquest of Upper Galilee by his father, John Hyrcanus, since the Itureans inhabited the Lebanon. In this campaign it is possible that Aristobulus was in command of his father's army.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Jos., Ant., 13:301ff.; Jos., Wars, 1:70ff.; Klausner, Bayit Sheni, 3 (1950^{2}), 141ff.; Schuerer, Gesch, 3 (1904^{4}), 273ff.; Graetz, Gesch, 3 (1905^{5}), 118ff.; Meyer, Ursp, 2 (1921), 274 n. 4; A. Schalit, *Hordos ha-Melekh* (1964^{3}), 107, 409 (esp. n. 183).

[Abraham Schalit]

ARISTOBULUS II (d. 49 B.C.E.), younger son of Alexander Yannai and Salome Alexandra. Aristobulus, who was the last independent Hasmonean king, reigned from 67 to 63 B.C.E. Toward the end of Salome's reign, Aristobulus made himself the spokesman of the Sadducees and complained of discrimination by the Pharisees who were in control of the royal council. When the queen was stricken by a fatal illness, he joined his Sadducee supporters who commanded the fortresses of Judea. With their aid he captured 28 strongholds and hired mercenaries from the Lebanon and Trachonitis in order to subdue the entire country and prevent his elder brother *Hyrcanus from seizing the throne. With the queen's consent, Aristobulus' wife and children were taken as hostages and confined to the citadel above the Temple in Jerusalem (Jos., Ant., 13:422–9). After Salome's death Aristobulus immediately declared war on Hyrcanus and won over most of his troops. He defeated Hyrcanus in a battle near Jericho and forced him to abdicate. But at the instigation of Hyrcanus' adviser, *Antipater II, *Aretas, king of the Nabateans, attacked Aristobulus with a large force and defeated him. Aristobulus fled and barricaded himself in the Temple area where he was besieged by Aretas and Hyrcanus (Jos., Ant., 14:4–21). When Scaurus, one of Pompey's generals, arrived in Damascus in 65 B.C.E. and heard of the fighting, he immediately left for Judea. He negotiated with the envoys of both brothers. Aristobulus offered him a large sum of money with the result that the Roman general decided to support him, and ordered Aretas to return home. Aretas obeyed. Aristobulus seized this opportunity to attack the withdrawing army and deal it a severe blow (*ibid.*, 29–33). Pompey arrived in Damascus in the spring of 63. He received delegations from the two brothers as well as one from the Jewish people. While the ambassadors of the brothers pleaded the cause of their masters, the people's emissaries urged that the country be freed of monarchical rule and restored to government by the high priest. Pompey deferred his decision (*ibid.*, 40–47). Aristobulus thereupon took the hasty and ill-advised decision to leave Pompey and return to Judea. Pompey, suspecting that he had embarked on an anti-Roman course, set out after him to the fortress of Alexandrium. The Roman commander demanded that Aristobulus surrender all the fortresses in Judea. After some hesitation he promised to accede. When he failed to do so, and continued on his way to Jerusalem, Pompey followed him to Jericho. Aristobulus returned to the Roman camp and promised to fulfill Pompey's terms. Pompey sent Gabinius to take over Jerusalem. However, Aristobulus' supporters resisted and closed the city gates. Pompey thereupon moved his entire force to Jerusalem. The peace party in the city gained the upper hand against Aristobulus' men, and the gates were opened. Aristobulus' men fled to the Temple area, and Pompey besieged the Temple fortifications. After a siege of three months, the Romans burst into the Temple precincts and inflicted heavy casualties. Pompey entered the inner sanctuary itself. With this, the Hasmonean kingdom ceased to exist (63 B.C.E.) and Aristobulus and his children were carried off as prisoners to Rome. In 56 B.C.E., however, Aristobulus and his son Antigonus succeeded in escaping and reached Jerusalem. He assembled a new army but was defeated and took refuge with the remnant of his troops in Machaerus. After two days' fighting the stronghold fell to a determined Roman onslaught. Aristobulus was again taken prisoner, sent to Rome in chains, and there imprisoned until Julius Caesar conquered the city in 49 B.C.E. Caesar planned to send him to Syria with two legions to fight Pompey's supporters, but Aristobulus was poisoned by Pompey's men before he was able to leave for the East. His body was later sent to Judea for burial.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Jos., Ant., 14:48–79, 62–97, 123–4; Jos., Wars, 1:117–58, 171–4, 183–4; Klausner, Bayit Sheni, 3 (1950^2), 214–28, 238–40; A. Schalit, *Hordos ha-Melekh* (1964^3), 13 ff.; Schuerer, Gesch, 1 (1901^4), 291 ff., 341 ff.; Graetz, Hist, 2 (1893), 47, 56–57; F.M. Abel, *Histoire de la Palestine*, 1 (1952), 287 ff.

[Abraham Schalit]

ARISTOBULUS III (Hebrew name **Jonathan**; d. 35 B.C.E.), last Hasmonean high priest. His father was Alexander, son of *Aristobulus II, his mother was Alexandra, daughter of Hyrcanus II, and his sister *Mariamne the Hasmonean, wife of Herod. Aristobulus was due to become high priest, but Herod was afraid of Hasmonean influence on the people, and appointed the Babylonian *Hananel in his place. Mariamne and Alexandra considered this appointment discrimination against the Hasmonean dynasty. According to Josephus, Alexandra asked Cleopatra, queen of Egypt, to intercede with Mark Antony on her son's behalf. Antony ignored her request, but he summoned Aristobulus on the advice of Delius, a Roman who had visited Jerusalem and admired both the lad's good looks and the beauty of Mariamne. Herod feared that this visit might endanger his regime, and wrote to Antony that if Aristobulus left Judea, anti-Roman riots would ensue. Antony consequently canceled Aristobulus' visit. Most of this story about Delius is probably not authentic. It appears in part to have been the invention of Herod's sister, *Salome, who wished to incite Herod against Mariamne, and in part a story that developed as a result of Cleopatra's advice that Alexandra send her son to Antony. In any event, Herod did change his mind, dismissed Hananel, and appointed Aristobulus, hoping thereby to keep him under supervision. However, when Aristobulus appeared before the people for the first time, dressed in the ceremonial garb of the high priest, on the Feast of Tabernacles in 36 B.C.E., he was welcomed with cries of joy and undisguised affection. Herod again saw Aristobulus as a threat to his power and resolved to murder him. Aristobulus was drowned in the baths at Jericho by Herod's soldiers.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Jos., Wars, 1:437; Jos., Ant., 15:21–64; 20:247 ff.; Klausner, Bayit Sheni, 4 (1950^2), 12–14; A.Schalit, *Hordos ha-Melekh* (1960), 61–66; A.H.M. Jones, *The Herods of Judaea* (1938), 37, 51–54.

[Abraham Schalit]

ARISTOBULUS (c. 35 B.C.E.–7 B.C.E.), son of *Herod and *Mariamne. Of Hasmonean lineage, both Aristobulus and his elder brother *Alexander were regarded as eventual heirs to the throne. The two were sent to Rome for their education. After his return to Judea, Aristobulus married Berenice, daughter of Herod's sister, Salome. Life at the court began with a long succession of slander against Aristobulus and his brother, who, though apparently more prudent, was still not beyond suspicion. Herod, although reluctant at first to believe all the stories about his sons, was eventually convinced of their treachery. This resulted in the reinstatement of Antipater, Herod's son by Doris, as heir to the throne (13 B.C.E.). Antipater and Salome went to great lengths to arouse the king's hatred toward his Hasmonean offspring, finally producing a forged letter as evidence of their plot to kill Herod. The youths fled to the fortress of Alexandrium, but they were seized and imprisoned despite their protestations of innocence. In a last desperate attempt, Aristobulus threatened to denounce Salome to the king as having communicated state secrets to his enemy, the Arab Syllaeus, if she did not come to the princes' aid. Salome, however, reported the incident to Herod, who thereupon ordered the youths to be confined separately in chains. Permission was obtained from Augustus to try the brothers, but before a joint council of the king's relatives and the provincial governors. At the trial, held at Berytus (Beirut), the princes were given no opportunity to defend themselves and were condemned. A dispute then ensued among the Roman officials as to the penalty to be administered, Saturninus, the presiding officer, recommending clemency, and the majority demanding the death sentence. The majority view finally prevailed and the brothers were executed by strangulation in Sebaste (Samaria). The bodies were sent to Alexandrium for burial near the grave of Alexander, the princes' maternal grandfather. Augustus, on learning of the execution, was reported as exclaiming "he would sooner be Herod's pig than Herod's son" (Macrobius, *Saturnalia* 2:4, no. 11).

By his marriage with Berenice, Aristobulus had three sons: Herod, Agrippa, and Aristobulus; and two daughters: Herodias and Mariamne. The children were cared for with great devotion by their grandfather, King Herod.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Jos., Ant., 15:342; 16:11, 133, 193 ff.; 17:12 ff., 133 ff.; Jos., Wars, 1:445 ff.; Schuerer, Gesch, 1 (1901^4), 369–73, 407–11; Schuerer, Hist, 149–56; A. Schalit, *Hordos ha-Melekh* (1964), index.

[Isaiah Gafni]

ARISTOBULUS, brother of Agrippa I and youngest of the three sons of Aristobulus, the son of Herod, and Berenice. After executing their father on charges of treason in 7 B.C.E. Herod brought up the three children with great devotion. They married women of high rank, Aristobulus marrying Jotape, the daughter of King Sampsigeramus of Emesa. However, relations between the two younger brothers, Agrippa I and Aristobulus, became strained. Their mutual animosity was displayed before Flaccus, the governor of Syria (c. 32–35 C.E.). A boundary dispute between Damascus and Sidon had come before the governor, who at the time was entertaining Agrippa. The Damascenes offered Agrippa a large sum of money in return for his support. After learning of the incident, Aristobulus denounced his brother before the governor for accepting the bribe. Flaccus was thus forced to break off his friendship with Agrippa. In 40 C.E., Aristobulus was one of the Jewish leaders who appeared before Petronius, governor of Syria, appealing to him to prevent the erection of the statue in the Temple ordered by the emperor Caligula.

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[Isaiah Gafni]

ARISTOBULUS OF PANEAS (first half of second century B.C.E.), Jewish Hellenistic philosopher; one of the earliest allegorical interpreters of the Bible. The author of II Maccabees (1:10) describes Aristobulus as "the teacher of King Ptolemy," presumably Philometer VI (181–145 B.C.E.). Clement of Alexandria (middle of second century C.E.) in his *Stromata* (1:15; 5:14) and Eusebius (c. 260–c. 340) in his *Praeparatio evangelica* (8:9; 13:12) mention Aristobulus among the members of the Aristotelian school, but this cannot be taken too literally, since he undoubtedly was also influenced by Platonic and Stoic teachings. Clement of Alexandria also mentions that Aristobulus was the author of several works, but it appears that he had in mind one rather extensive work known to the Church Fathers and described by them as an exposition of the Mosaic law. Portions of this work, which was written in the form of a dialogue between King Ptolemy and Aristobulus, in which Aristobulus answers the king's questions concerning Scripture, have been preserved in books by Clement of Alexandria (*Stromata*, 1:22; 6:3) and Eusebius (*Historia ecclesiastica*, 7:32; *Praeparatio evangelica*, 7:14; 8:10; 13:12). These surviving fragments contain expositions of sections of Genesis and Exodus. A statement in the margin of the Florentine manuscript of Clement of Alexandria's *Stromata* dating from the 16th century (cf. Azariah dei Rossi, *Me'or Einayim* (1864–86), 146) to the effect that Aristobulus' writings were extant in their entirety at the time, is open to doubt.

Allegorical Interpretation

Aristobulus' fundamental premise in expounding the Pentateuch is that descriptions of the Deity must be interpreted in a manner appropriate to the nature of God; when Scripture applies to God expressions such as "hands," "feet," "arm," "face," and "walking," these are not to be understood literally. He appeals to the king not to fall into the error of comprehending divine matters anthropomorphically in the manner of mythology, but to endeavor to understand them in a manner commensurate with their exalted nature. The request of Aristobulus to the king may reflect the influence of Antisthenes the Cynic (born c. 444 B.C.E.) who taught that an understanding of the nature of cosmic being must be predicated upon the principle of the unity of the Deity. This supposition finds corroboration in the fact that Antisthenes' method of expounding Homer allegorically influenced Jewish allegorical methods in many ways. Aristobulus draws additional support for his argument by pointing to such linguistic usages as the Greek phrase μεγάλη χεὶρ ("the great hand"), which connotes "military power," stating that biblical terms such as "the hand of the Lord" were to be understood in a similar sense. Of particular interest is the interpretation given by Aristobulus to the expressions "standing" and "descending" as applied to God in the Bible. "Standing," in his view, is a term connoting constancy or established order in natural phenomena, such as the regular succession of day and night, or of the seasons of the year. "Descending" signifies the revelation at Mt. Sinai, i.e., the manifestation of God's sublimity to human beings on earth.

In one of the fragments Aristobulus discusses the Hebrew calendar and establishes the rule that Passover always falls immediately after the vernal equinox.

In another discussion Aristobulus posits that portions of the Pentateuch had been rendered into Greek before it was translated in its entirety in the days of Ptolemy Philadelphus (see *Septuagint), and that these portions reached Pythagoras, Socrates, and Plato and formed the basis of their philosophical teachings. In developing their philosophical systems these Greek philosophers were influenced by the biblical account of creation. This makes it possible to understand why they say that they hear the voice of God when they delve deeply into the works of creation: they mean to say that they hear the echo of the cosmic harmony established by the Divine Will – just as the "voice of God" in the biblical account of creation, according to Aristobulus, denotes the manifestation of the Divine Power in the establishment of order and harmony in the world. The account of the six days of creation, Aristobulus explains, is not to be understood literally. The enumeration of six days is only for the purpose of fixing the sequence of the different phases of creation. Similarly, God's resting on the seventh day must not be understood as rest following laborious toil, but as the bestowal of a permanence upon the universe.

In Aristobulus' exposition of the account of creation the number seven is of great importance. Not only did God rest on the seventh day but also instituted the seventh day as a day of rest for man, in order that man would be free one day to contemplate the order and harmony of creation. This contemplation is accomplished by means of the intellect, man's seventh and most exalted faculty (the others being the five senses and the power of speech). Still further, the seven faculties of man correspond to the seven planets – evidence of the harmony between man and the universe as a whole. Aristobulus holds that the numerical symbolism which he finds in the biblical account of creation was the source of the Pythagorean theory of numbers.

In order to support his contention that the source of Greek philosophy lies in the Bible, Aristobulus, in his work, cites many passages from ancient Greek literature which to his mind reflect biblical ideas. There are indications that these citations were taken by Aristobulus from a collection of quotations that he had before him, which was used as a means for propagating the Jewish religion in the Hellenistic world.

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[Joshua Gutmann]

ARISTON OF PELLA (mid-second century C.E.), Palestinian author of a lost dialogue between a Jew and a Jewish convert to Christianity which apparently discussed the question of messianic prophecies in the Old Testament. Whether this work contained the passage on the *Bar Kokhba rebellion cited by *Eusebius or whether Ariston wrote a separate monograph on this war is not known.

°**ARISTOTLE** (fourth century B.C.E.), Greek philosopher and founder of the peripatetic school. Aristotle achieved a unique rank in the estimation of Muslim and Jewish medieval philosophers, who often refer to him simply as "the philosopher." Maimonides stated that Aristotle had "reached the highest degree of intellectual perfection open to man, barring only the still higher degree of prophetic inspiration" (letter to Samuel ibn Tibbon, in: JQR, 25 (1934/35), 380; cf. Averroes, *Commentarium Magnum in Aristotelis De Anima* (1953), 3:2, 433). While Aristotelian influences made some inroads into medieval Jewish philosophy from its beginning (when it followed the teachings of the *Kalām and *Neoplatonism), Aristotelianism, in varying forms, became the predominant trend from Abraham *Ibn Daud (12th century) to the middle of the 17th century. As a reaction, a countermovement arose in traditionalist and kabbalistic circles from the 13th century onward, which included a critical evaluation of Aristotelian teachings, and can hence be considered a part of medieval Aristotelianism. Ḥasdai *Crescas was the most eminent philosophical critic in this movement.

Jewish Aristotelianism

Jewish Aristotelianism may be divided into two periods. From the ninth until the end of the twelfth century, Jews, living in the Muslim world and knowing Arabic, had available to them the Aristotelian literature existing in that language; from the thirteenth century on, Jews, living in the Christian world and using Hebrew for their philosophic writings, depended on Hebrew translations of Aristotelian works. During the first of these periods, the works of Aristotle (with the exception of the *Politics*, the *Eudemian Ethics, Magna Moralia*, and the *Dialogues*), together with many of the Greek commentaries on his works, became known through Arabic translations which were made between about 800 C.E. and 1000 C.E. (for the history of these translations see R. Walzer, *Greek into Arabic* (1962), 6–8, 60–113; in EIS, 1 (1960), 630 ff., s.v. Arisṭūṭālīs). In addition, Jews became familiar with the teachings of Aristotle, at times interspersed with neoplatonic doctrines, through the summaries, commentaries, and independent works of such Islamic philosophers as al-*Fārābī (c. 870–950), *Avicenna (930–1037), and Ibn Bājja (*Avempace, d. 1138). In the Islamic world, Aristotelian studies were put on a firm footing as early as the tenth century when al-Fārābī, in his *The Philosophy of Plato and Aristotle*, outlined the differences between the two philosophers. The Aristotelian orientation established by al-Fārābī was shared by two tenth-century Jews of Mosul, Ibn Abi Saʿīd al-Mawṣilī and his pupil Bishr ibn Samʿān (see Pines, in: PAAJR, 24 (1955), 103–36); though, as has been noted, Jewish philosophy did not become predominantly Aristotelian until Abraham Ibn Daud. This philosopher, in his *Emunah Ramah*, attacked the neoplatonic metaphysics of Solomon ibn *Gabirol, and expounded an Aristotelianism derived from the teachings of Avicenna. During the Islamic period, Aristotelianism reached its highpoint with *Maimonides, who tended toward the teachings of al-Fārābī.

Hebrew Translations

The opening of the second period was marked by Hebrew translations, from the Arabic, of works by Aristotle, by Hellenistic commentators, and by Islamic commentators and compilers. These Hebrew translations brought about knowledge of the following works by Aristotle: the logical writings (*Organon*, lit. "instrument"; Heb. *keli*); *Physics* (*Ha-Shema ha-Tivi*); *De Caelo* (*Sefer ha-Shamayim ve-ha-Olam*); *De Generatione et Corruptione* (*Sefer ha-Havayah ve-ha-Hefsed*); *Meterologica* (*Otot ha-Shamayim*); *De Animalibus* (*Sefer Ba'alei Ḥayyim*); *De Anima* (*Sefer ha-Nefesh*); *De Sensu et Sensato* (*Sefer ha-Ḥush ve-ha-Muḥash*); *Metaphysica* (*Sefer Mah she-Aḥar ha-Teva*); and the *Nicomachean Ethics* (*Sefer ha-Middot*). (For a listing of manuscripts, see Steinschneider, and the catalogues of the major libraries possessing collections of Hebrew philosophical manuscripts.) Most of this literature exists only in manuscript form.

Of special attraction to Jewish translators, commentators, and philosophic authors were the works of *Averroes (1126–1198), most of whose commentaries on Aristotle were translated from Arabic into Hebrew between 1189 and 1337, some of them twice. In fact, the Hebrew translations of Averroes became the major source for the knowledge of Aristotle in Jewish circles.

In addition to Hebrew translations of genuine Aristotelian works, there also existed Hebrew translations of a number of works, which, though not written by Aristotle, were attributed to him. These were *Liber de Pomo* (*Sefer ha-Tappu'aḥ*), purporting to prove that Aristotle had changed his views in his old age (see below: Aristotle in Jewish Legend), which Maimonides rejected as spurious (see above; letter to Samuel ibn Tibbon); *Secretum Secretorum* (*Sod ha-Sodot*) or *Pseudo-Politics* (*Sefer ha-Hanhagah*, Hebrew version with an English translation in M. Gaster, *Studies and Texts*); *Liber de causis*, based on Proclus' *Elements of Theology*; and *Theology of Aristotle*, representing excerpts from Plotinus' *Enneads*, which, except for a few quotations, has been lost in Hebrew translation. The Aristotelian literature in Hebrew, in turn, gave rise to Hebrew commentaries and to summaries. In addition, independent works in Hebrew were based on it. Philosophers who contributed to the Aristotelian literature, at times as followers of Aristotle, at times as his critics, included, during the 13th and 14th centuries – Samuel ibn *Tibbon, Jacob *Anatoli, Shem Tov ibn *Falaquera, Levi b. Abraham of Villefranche, Joseph *Kaspi, Zerahiah b. Isaac *Gracian, *Hillel b. Samuel of Verona, Isaac *Albalag, Moses *Abulafia, *Moses b. Joshua of Narbonne, and *Levi b. Gershom (Gersonides), their most outstanding representative; from the 15th to the 17th century – Simeon b. Ẓemaḥ *Duran, Joseph *Albo, the brothers Joseph and Isaac *Ibn Shem Tov, Abraham *Bibago, *Judah b. Jehiel Messer Leon, Elijah *Delmedigo, Moses *Almosnino, and Joseph Solomon *Delmedigo. (The exact relation of these philosophers to Aristotle may be gathered from the entries appearing under their names.)

Issues in Jewish Aristotelianism

Jewish Aristotelianism is a complex phenomenon, the general trends of which can be seen from some of its characteristic discussions. Jewish Aristotelianism differs from the antecedent types of medieval Jewish philosophy in its heightened awareness of the boundaries of faith and reason (see *Belief). Jewish Kalām and Neoplatonism used a variety of rational arguments to establish the truth of revelation, without seeing, on the whole, any sharp boundaries between philosophy and religion. By contrast, Jewish Aristotelians held that philosophic speculations must proceed without any regard to theological doctrines. They recognized as valid only demonstrative arguments, that is to say, arguments based on the standards for such arguments laid down by Aristotle (see *Analytica posteriora*, 73a, 21ff., and passim). Once the content of faith and reason had been delineated independently, it could be asked how the two realms are related. According to one view, represented by Maimonides, the teachings of religion and philosophy could be harmonized only in part. For example, Maimonides maintains that while many doctrines, such as the existence of God and His unity, can be demonstrated scientifically, the doctrine of *creatio ex nihilo* cannot, and one therefore has to be guided by prophetic revelation (Guide, 2:15). By contrast, Jewish Averroists like Isaac Albalag, Joseph Caspi, and Moses of Narbonne (Narboni) opposed the tendency to harmonize faith and reason. Thus, e.g., they accepted the doctrine of the eternity of the world, holding that it had been demonstrated by Aristotle. More than that, Caspi and Narboni more or less openly alleged that Maimonides' defense of *creatio ex nihilo* was only apparent, i.e., exoteric, and that his real, i.e., esoteric, view agreed with Aristotle's (Caspi, *Maskiyyot Kesef*, 99–101; Moses of Narbonne, *Commentary to the Guide*, 34a; see on the latter Joseph Solomon Delmedigo's *Epistle*, published by A. Geiger, in his *Melo Ḥofnajim*, Ger. pt. 18 and 65, n. 70). Using the terms of the Christian Averroists, Albalag opposes the way of faith based on the prophets (*ex prophetis*) to the way of reason (*via rationis*), the one being the way of miracle, the other the way of nature. The two realms, according to Albalag, are distinct and incompatible (see G. Vajda, *Isaac Albalag*, 153–7, 165–75, 251–66; and Ch. Touati, in: REJ, 1 (1962), 35–47). A central and most crucial issue in Jewish Aristotelianism was the question of *creation. Aristotle based his notion that the world is eternal on the nature of time and motion (*Physics*, 8:1–3; *Metaphysics*, 12:6, 1–2; *De Caelo*, 1:10–12) and on the impossibility of assuming a genesis of prime matter (*Physics*, 1:9). In contrast to the Kalām theologians, who maintained the doctrine of temporal creation, the medieval Muslim philosophers interpreted creation as eternal, i.e., as the eternal procession of forms which emanate from the active or creative knowledge of God (see *Emanation). The task with which the Jewish Aristotelians were faced was either to disprove or to accept the notion of the world's eternity. Maimonides offers a survey and refutation of Kalām proofs for creation and advances his own theory of temporal creation (Guide, 2:17), for which he indicates the theological motive that miracles are possible only in a universe created by a spontaneous divine will (2:25). He rejects the emanationist theory of the Muslim Aristotelians since it fails to account for the origin of matter (2:22). In the course of the subsequent discussion, the more radical Aristotelians veered toward the Muslim philosophers' position, namely, the doctrine of eternal creation. Isaac Albalag, echoing Avicenna, regarded eternal creation as much more befitting to God than temporal creation (see Vajda, loc. cit., 134ff.). Gersonides maintained the notion of creation in time, but denied the possibility of a temporal origination of prime matter (*Milḥamot*, 6:1, 7). Crescas, on the other hand, sought to combine the concept of *creatio ex nihilo* with that of eternal creation of the world by God's design and will (*Or Adonai*, 3:1, 4–5). For a survey of the problems involved and the main positions taken, see Isaac *Abrabanel, *Shamayim Ḥadashim*. In the period following Crescas, when there was greater emphasis on the possibility of miracles, the doctrine of temporal creation gained greater adherence. Closely allied to the problem of creation is that of divine *providence. The Muslim philosophers, who accepted the doctrine of eternal creation, understood Aristotle to teach that providence is identical with the operations of nature, which safeguards the permanence of the species, but is unconcerned with individuals. To bring the Aristotelian position more into harmony with the teachings of religion, Ibn Daud (*Emunah Ramah*, 6:2) makes the point, later elaborated by Maimonides (Guide, 2:17), that divine providence extends to individual men according to their degree of intellectual perfection. The question of divine providence and the related problem of God's knowledge gave rise to a concurrent problem, that of divine foreknowledge and man's *free will. Narboni shows that God's foreknowledge does not necessarily preclude man's free action (see Guttmann, Philosophies, 203–7). Crescas, on the other hand, adopts a determinist position, but states that this does not invalidate the divine commandments (*Or Adonai*, 2:5, 3; see Guttmann, op. cit., 238–40). The topic of providence is linked with that of *reward and punishment in the hereafter, which, in turn, raises the question of individual immortality. Since Jewish Aristotelianism inherited not only Aristotle's own rather ambiguous doctrine of the soul, but also the discussions of the Greek commentators and Muslim philosophers that revealed sharp disagreement in the interpretation of Aristotle, there was a division among the Jewish philosophers with relation to the soul's immortality, which stemmed from their differences of opinion with regard to the nature of man's material (potential) intellect at birth. Ibn Daud follows Avicenna in regarding the soul as an individual eternal immaterial substance capable of survival after death (*Emunah Ramah*, 1:7). Maimonides' position is somewhat ambiguous. He affirms, on the one hand, the immortality of the individual soul (Guide, 1:41, 70; 3:22, 27, 54), but adopts, on the other, the description of the material intellect at birth as a "mere disposition" (1:70) and also speaks of the numerical unity of all souls (1:74, 7), from which it would appear to follow that immortality is collective (see S. Pines, *Guide of the Perplexed* (1963), CII–CIV). In the post-Maimonides period, the discussion was dominated by Averroes' theory of the ultimate elimination of the individual coloring of intellect and the absorption of the individual intellect into the universal Agent Intellect. Gersonides, however, rejects the doctrine of the unity of souls and affirms the individual immortality of man's acquired intellect (*Milḥamot*, 1:1–14). The ultimate felicity of man, he says, consists in the enjoyment of the intellectual perfection achieved during life. No further increase of knowledge is possible after death. Crescas expresses the general mood of the anti-Aristotelianism of his period and attacks the intellectualist orientation in his statement that the ultimate felicity lies in the love of God (*Or Adonai*, 2:6, 1–2).

[Alexander Altmann]

Aristotle in Jewish Legend

In addition to his considerable influence upon medieval Jewish philosophy Aristotle also appears in Jewish literary works in which history and legend are found side by side. Aristotle as a legendary figure antedates Aristotle as an actual philosophical force in Jewish thought. The theme that all the Greek philosophers, including Aristotle, were influenced by Judaism first appeared in Hellenistic-Jewish literature. The most important specimen of this motif is the report in *Josephus' *Against Apion*. Josephus cites a passage from the lost treatise *On Sleep* of Clearchus, a pupil of Aristotle, where Aristotle meets a Jew and converses with him in Greek on philosophical topics. The report concludes with the remark that Aristotle learned more from the Jewish sage than conversely (Jos., Apion, 1:176–82; cf. Eusebius, *Praeparatio Evangelica*, 9:5; 13:12). As Aristotle's philosophical works were assimilated by the medieval Jewish philosophers, Aristotle's legendary status also grew, and in different directions. Utilizing the rabbinic accounts of the meeting between Alexander the Great, a pupil of Aristotle, and Simeon the Just (Yoma 69a), several medieval authors include Aristotle as a member of Alexander's entourage, and accuse him of plagiarizing from King Solomon's writings (M. *Aldabi, *Shevilei Emunah*, ch. 8). This story is a variation of the theme that Greek philosophy is Jewish in origin. Another recurring motif is the story of Aristotle's recantation of certain principles inimical to Judaism, and in some versions of his actual conversion to Judaism. Basing their accounts on the pseudo-Aristotelian treatises *De Pomo* and *Letter of Aristotle*, several medieval and Renaissance Jewish writers relate the story that as the result of his meeting with Simeon the Just Aristotle realized his mistakes, wrote a letter to Alexander the Great confessing his errors, and then converted to Judaism (Gedaliah ibn Yaḥya, *Shalshelet ha-Kabbalah* (1962), 241–43). The most fantastic story is the report of Abraham *Bibago that Aristotle was actually a Jew from the tribe of Benjamin. Bibago cites Eusebius' account of Josephus' aforementioned story as the source of his claim (*Derekh Emunah* (Constantinople, 1521), 46b). This theme is, however, rejected by Azariah dei Rossi, the great Renaissance Jewish historian; indeed dei Rossi is skeptical of the whole legendary history of Aristotle (*Me'or Einayim*, ch. 22). As the result of greater Jewish historical sophistication, of which dei Rossi is an example, and the decline of Aristotle's philosophical influence after the 16th century, the legendary Aristotle has virtually disappeared from Jewish literature.

[Seymour Feldman]

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ARIZONA, state in the southwestern United States. Arizona had an estimated population in 2000 of 5,130,632, out of which 120,000 were Jews; of these 84,000 were in the *Phoenix metropolitan area and 25,000 in *Tucson. The Prescott Jewish community was estimated to be over 1,000. Organized Jewish congregations were also found in Flagstaff, Kingman, Lake Havasu, Sedona, and Yuma. In the latest demographic study (2002) Phoenix was ranked as the 13th largest Jewish community in the country and growing rapidly.

Permanent settlement of Arizona by Europeans occurred after the California Gold Rush of 1848–50. The discovery of gold in Arizona brought many new residents to the state from 1862 to 1864. Most of them came from California, and they included many Jewish businessmen. During the 1860s much of the retail business in the towns of La Paz, Wickenburg, Prescott, and Tucson was operated by Jews. The merchants and entrepreneurs who set up enterprises at the sites of new mines also included Jews. When the mines were exhausted or proved unprofitable, businesses and entire communities were abandoned. Consequently, the business population and its Jewish component fluctuated sharply. The opportunities for mercantile activity brought to Arizona such pioneer Jewish families as Goldberg, Goldman, Solomon, Drachman, Zeckendorf, Steinfeld, Mansfeld, Isaacson, and Frank. Michael Goldwater (grandfather of Senator Barry Goldwater who was not of the Jewish faith) was a government contractor and freighter as well as a wholesale and retail merchant, a mine operator, and a forwarding agent. His son Morris served 22 years as mayor of Prescott. Charles and Harry Lesinsky opened large copper mines near Clifton in the mid-1870s, and to serve that enterprise they built Arizona's first railroad. Michael Wormser was Arizona's leading farmer at the end of the 19th century.

Relations between Jews and Christians in pioneer Arizona were generally good; many well-known firms had Jewish and Christian partners. Only in rare instances did newspaper writers make disparaging remarks about Jews. Many Jews served in territorial and state legislatures. Jacob Weinberger was the youngest member of the state constitutional convention in 1910. Beginning in the 1880s, many easterners, especially those who suffered from tuberculosis, went to Arizona in hope of a cure. Some stayed on. During the mining boom in Tombstone (1881) the first organized Jewish community in the state emerged with Samuel Blace as president of the Jewish community. Newspapers reported Day of Atonement services that year, meeting in Turnverein Hall. A B'nai B'rith lodge was established in Tucson in 1882. From about the time of Arizona's statehood in 1912, an increasing number of Jews were in the professions, mainly law and medicine. The Jewish population grew rapidly after World War II. Houses of worship existed in Tucson, Phoenix, Mesa, and Scottsdale. Among the fields that Jews were most often found at the beginning of the 21st century were merchandising, the professions, technical fields, and service industries.

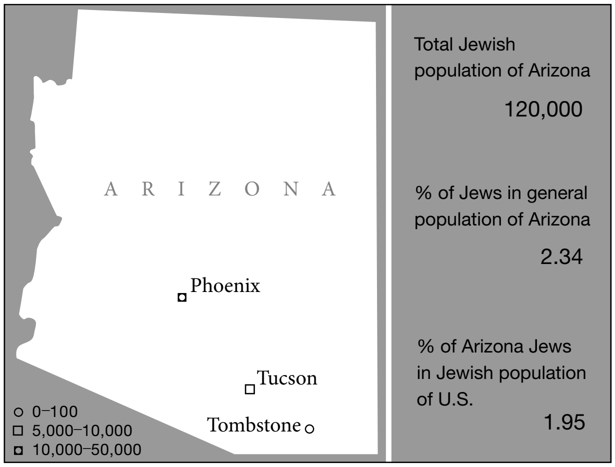
A R I Z O N A
Phoenix
Tucson
Tombstone
○ 0–100
□ 5,000–10,000
▣ 10,000–50,000
Total Jewish population of Arizona
120,000
% of Jews in general population of Arizona
2.34
% of Arizona Jews in Jewish population of U.S.
1.95

Jewish communities in Arizona. Population figures for 2001.

Among the leading Jewish officeholders of the state in the late 1960s were Justice Charles Bernstein of the State Supreme Court and Representative Sam Steiger of the third congressional district. Sam Coppersmith served in Congress in the 1980s. Andrew D Hurwitz and Stanley Feldman have served on the Arizona Supreme Court. There have been several Jewish mayors of Phoenix and Tucson in recent years.

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[Bert Fireman / Risa Mallin (2nd ed.)]

ARK, the receptacle in the synagogue in which the Torah scrolls are kept. Among Ashkenazim, it is generally called the *aron* or *aron kodesh* ("Holy Ark"; cf. II Chron. 35:3); among the Sephardim, it is known as the *heikhal* or sanctuary ("*Ehal*" among the Spanish and Portuguese communities of London, Amsterdam, etc.). The Ark is generally situated on the wall of the synagogue which in Israel faces the Temple Mount, and in other countries faces Israel. Thus in Babylonia the Ark was placed on the synagogue's western wall, while in the western world it is located on the wall facing east (see **Mizra*). In the Mishnah it is called *tevah* ("chest" or "box"; Ta'an. 2:1; Meg. 3:1; et al.). Thus the term "*yored lifnei ha-tevah*" ("go down before the Ark") means to lead the congregation in prayer, as the Ark was generally raised above the floor level on which the reader's lectern was set.

According to Jewish Law the Ark is the holiest part of the synagogue after the Torah scrolls themselves. It is permissible to sell the pews or the reading desk and apply the proceeds to the purchase of an Ark, because they have a lesser holiness, but it is forbidden to sell an Ark even in order to build a synagogue because "one may not descend in matters of holiness" (Meg. 26a and Rashi *ibid.*). It is forbidden to make any secular use of the Ark (Tosef., Meg. 3: 2); and when it is no longer usable it must be stored away (Tur., OH 154). One may not sleep in the vicinity of the Ark (Sh. Ar., OḤ 619), nor sit with one's back to it (Levush, OḤ 150). It is related that Jacob Segal Moellin (Maharil) used to bow three times to the Ark when he passed it on departing from the synagogue "like a disciple taking leave of his master" (Sh. Ar., OḤ 132, Magen Avraham, 6). The law is: "One must show great honor to the Torah scrolls and it is a *mitzvah* to set aside a special place for them, to honor that place, and to beautify it." (Sh. Ar., YD 282). It is said that the ignorant die because they refer to the Ark as *arana* (Aram. "box"), without the adjective "holy" (Shab. 32a).

The Mishnah records that on public fast days declared because of drought, the Ark was brought out into the town square and covered with ashes, and prayers were recited in front of it (Ta'an. 2:1). The ashes were symbolic of the unworthiness of the congregation (Ta'an. 16a; TJ, Ta'an. 11:1, 65a) or of the fact that God suffers with His people (Ta'an. 16a).

There are several widespread customs connected with the Ark. It is opened for certain prayers such as *Avinu Malkenu on fast days and during the *Ten Days of Penitence and for many of the *piyyutim* recited on the High Holy Day services. It is customary to stand while the Ark is open although there is no obligation to do so (Sh. Ar., YD 242:13). The accepted practice is not to leave the Ark empty. When all the Torah scrolls are taken out on Hoshana Rabba and Simḥat Torah, a lighted candle, symbolic of the "light" of the Torah, is often put there; however, halakhic objections have been raised to this custom (Sh. Ar., OḤ 154:7). The Ark usually has a curtain on it which is called *parokhet*. A lamp (**ner tamid*) is kept continually burning before it. It is not uncommon for men or women to open the Ark to offer private prayers for sick relatives or for other troubles. Generally, opening the Ark seems to stress the importance of the prayer.

Form of the Ark

The scrolls were originally kept in a movable receptacle which served both as their repository and as a pulpit. In the synagogue of Dura-Europos (c. 245 C.E.) a niche in the wall facing Jerusalem was fitted to receive the scrolls which are thought to have been placed in a low, wooden cabinet. Similar cabinets in ordinary use are pictured in Pompeian frescoes. Representations of the Ark are found in paintings and *grafitti* in the Jewish catacombs in Rome, as well as on the third- and fourth-century gold glasses from Jewish catacombs in that city. The scrolls are depicted lying on shelves in the open cabinets. In the Middle Ages, however, the Ark took the form of a taller niche or cabinet in which the scrolls stood upright, mounted, wrapped in cloth and sometimes topped with finials. This type is represented in 14th- and 15th-century illuminated Hebrew manuscripts of Spanish and German origin. In 15th-century Italian Hebrew manuscripts, a new type appears: the freestanding, tall, double-tiered cupboard, the upper tier fitted to take the scrolls and the lower one to contain ceremonial objects. A Gothic Ark from Modena from the year 1505, decorated with carved panels, is in the Musée Cluny, Paris. A more elaborate Renaissance Ark from Urbino with painted decorations (1550) is in the Jewish Museum in New York. The Sephardi synagogue in Amsterdam (1675) has a baroque Ark, occupying the whole width of the nave. Here a new feature is the twin tablets of the Ten Commandments set on top of the structure. This feature, taken over by the Sephardi synagogue in London in 1701, was later adopted generally.

A baroque structure, adorned with columns, pilasters, broken cornices, pediments, and vases became standard in German synagogues in the early 18th century. The style quickly spread to Eastern Europe, where it inspired Jewish wood and stone carvers to create their masterpieces of folk art. Lions, birds, dolphins, stags, and eagles intertwined with open-work scrolls covered the double-tiered Ark, with the door set into the lower story and the Decalogue into the upper level. The built-in Ark, such as the one of 1763 in the Touro Synagogue in Newport, Rhode Island, appeared in the late 18th century, as a product of the then dominant classicism. The cabinet is built into the wall and projects slightly. However, the most common type of Ark in the U.S. until the 1840s was a neoclassical structure with a curved, convex front and sliding doors. From the 1850s and 1860s the Arks of the Moorish style synagogues in Europe and America were designed in the Oriental style. They featured bulbous domes and horseshoe arches, and were covered with geometrical polychrome decorations. In 1925 an attempt was made to revive the old portable type of the Ark of the Tabernacle in Temple Emanu-el in San Francisco, California. Here the Ark, a house-like structure in cloisonné enamel with a double-pitched roof, resembles a Gothic jewel case or reliquary. It is placed sideways so that the *ḥazzan* taking out the scroll does not turn his back to the worshipers.

After World War II, the creation of Arks became an art form and many artists experimented with new and daring forms, and with the use of new materials, such as concrete and glass.

[Rachel Wischnitzer]

In Illuminated Manuscripts

In many 14th-century German *maḥzorim*, the first benediction in the morning prayer of the Day of Atonement is traditionally represented by the open Ark of the synagogue, since this prayer mentions the opening of the Gates of Mercy. Most of these Arks are gabled, with open doors revealing the decorated Torah scrolls within. In Spanish 14th-century *Haggadot* there is a similar open door Ark in illustrations of synagogue interiors (*Sarajevo Haggadah*, f. 34) Italian illustrations usually show the Ark with closed doors (Rothschild MS 24, Israel Museum; *Mishneh Torah* Heb., 4, 1193, fol. 33v, Jerusalem National Library) though occasionally there is an open Ark (BM Add. 26968, fol. 139v., Margoliouth, Cat. no. 616).

[Bezalel Narkiss]

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ARKANSAS, state in the south central part of the United States. It had an estimated Jewish population of 3,000 in 1967 out of a general population of 1,980,600 and 2,000 out of a total population of 2,673,400 in 2000. The first documented Jewish settler in Arkansas was Abraham Block, who came in 1823 and established a store at Washington, Arkansas (now known as Old Washington State Park), located on the Southwest Trail. He was a fairly wealthy man, husband of Frances "Fannie" Isaacs, whose father, Isaiah *Isaacs, was the initial Jewish settler in Richmond, Virginia. Block was acquainted with early Texas luminaries, such as Sam Houston, Davy Crockett, Stephen Austin, and Jim Bowie. Block's neighbor, smithy James Black, forged the famous Bowie knife. (Block's two-story home still stands.) He was followed to Arkansas by the brothers Jacob, Hyman, and Louis Mitchell, who immigrated to Hot Springs in 1830. They became successful merchants, conducting a large business between Fort Smith, Little Rock, and Hot Springs. In 1839 the eldest of the brothers, Jacob, organized a stagecoach line between Little Rock and Hot Springs. Samuel Adler, father of Cyrus *Adler, settled in Van Buren in the late 1850s.

From 1830 until the close of the Civil War Jews went to Arkansas sporadically. Some 200 Jewish merchants were in the state by 1860 and more than 70 served in the Confederate Army. Several were captured, and two lost their lives. Max Frauenthal, a Civil War hero, settled at Conway in 1872 and established what became one of the state's largest stores. After 1865 there was a large influx of Jews into the state. A number of towns were named for Jews, including such men as Louis and Joseph Altheimer, Adolph Felsenthal, J.D. Goldman, and Morris Levy, all of whom played vital roles in the state's history. Several sawmill towns were named for Jewish men, such as Henry Berger, Sol Bertig, and Victor Waldstein. At the close of the Civil War, the increase in the number of Jews led to the establishment of congregations throughout the state: Anshe Emeth in Pine Bluff and B'nai Israel in Little Rock formed congregations almost simultaneously in 1866–67; Beth El in Helena (1867); Beth El Emeth in Camden (1869); House of Israel in Hot Springs (1875); Mount Sinai in Texarkana (1876); Temple of Israel in Fort Smith (1880) merged with a second congregation and formed United Hebrew Congregation (1886); Orthodox Shul in Jonesboro (1892); Temple Israel in Jonesboro (1896); Agudath Achim in Little Rock (1904); Beth El in Newport (1904); Dermott Congregation in Dermott (1905); B'nai Israel in Pine Bluff (1907); Sheareth Israel in Hot Springs (1907); Bene Israel in Eudora (1912); B'rith Sholom in Osceola (1912); B'nai Israel in Fort Smith (1913); Tifereth Israel in Forrest City (1914); Marianna Congregation in Marianna (1914); Ahavah Achim in Wynne (1915); Ohev Zedek in El Dorado (1920s); Reform Congregation in El Dorado (1920s); Temple Israel in Pine Bluff (1921); Temple Israel in Blytheville (1936); Beth Israel in El Dorado (1940s); Meir Chayim in McGehee (1947); Beth Jacob in Hot Springs (1950); Temple Shalom in Fayetteville (1981); Lubavitch of Arkansas in Little Rock (1992). The Chabad-Lubavitch Hebrew Academy of Arkansas was opened in Little Rock in 2003 with 16 students. An outstanding philanthropic institution is the Leo N. Levi Memorial Hospital (now Levi Hospital) established in 1914 in Hot Springs.

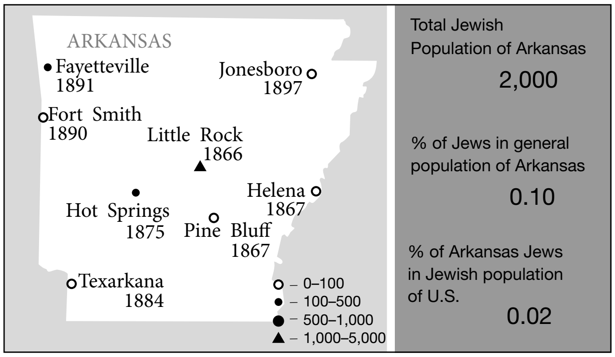

Jewish communities in Arkansas and dates of establishment. Population figures for 2001.

In 1931 the Jews of Arkansas formed a *Kehillah*-type organization, the Arkansas Jewish Assembly, which sought to strengthen the scattered Jews of the state. Supplying spiritual leaders to small congregations, promoting Jewish educational programs and youth groups, and holding yearly conventions, it was successful until 1951, when Jewish Federations began fulfilling such functions. Jews have occupied important government positions in Arkansas, including Jacob Trieber, United States District Court judge, 1900–27 (first Jewish Federal judge), and Sam Frauenthal, associate justice of the Arkansas Supreme Court. In 1997 Annabelle C. Imber, a Jew by choice, was the first woman elected to the Arkansas State Supreme Court. Many other Jewish citizens have served as mayors, aldermen, councilmen, and state senators and representatives.

Rabbi Ira E. Sanders, leader of Congregation B'nai Israel of Little Rock from 1926–63 (and as rabbi emeritus until his death in 1985), was an outspoken proponent of integration during the 1957 school crisis. He was followed in 1963 by Rabbi E.E. Palnick, who continued the civil rights efforts of his predecessor. Little Rock's Jewish women were prominent workers in the Women's Emergency Committee, which sought to reopen the city's high schools, which were closed by Gov. Orval Faubus after the desegregation order.

Of the 30 documented congregations established in the state between 1866 and 2004, only a few survive. Jewish communities with active congregations are located in Little Rock (3), Bentonville, Fayetteville, Fort Smith, Hot Springs, Jonesboro, and Helena (the latter two have but a handful of adherents).

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[Carolyn G. LeMaster (2nd ed.)]

ARKIN, ALAN W. (1934–), U.S. actor. Born in New York City, Arkin began his career as a folk singer. As a founding member of the folk group The Tarriers, he co-composed the "The Banana Boat Song" (also known as "Day-o"), which Harry Belafonte later made a mega-hit. Arkin then became a founding member of Second City in Chicago, a troupe that specialized in improvisations. He appeared in Joseph Stein's comedy *Enter Laughing* (1963), for which he won a Tony award and became a star overnight. His next Broadway success was in Murray Schisgal's *Luv* (1964).

In the film industry, Arkin first starred in the comedy *The Russians Are Coming, The Russians Are Coming* in 1966 and won a Golden Globe award for best actor. Nominated as well for an Academy Award for best actor for the same role, Arkin is one of a handful of actors to receive such a nomination for a first screen appearance. His subsequent roles include *Wait until Dark* (1967); *The Heart Is a Lonely Hunter* (Oscar nomination for best actor, 1968); *Popi* (1969); *Catch 22* (1970); *Little Murders* (1971); *Last of the Red Hot Lovers* (1972); *Freebie and the Bean* (1974); *Hearts of the West* (1975); *The Seven-Per-Cent Solution* (as Sigmund Freud, 1976); *The Magician of Lublin* (1979); *The In-Laws* (1979); *Joshua Then and Now* (1985); *Edward Scissorhands* (1990); *Glengarry Glen Ross* (1992); *Mother Night* (1996); *Grosse Pointe Blank* (1997); *Gattaca* (1997); *Slums of Beverly Hills* (1998); *Jakob the Liar* (1999); *Noel* (2004); *Raising Flagg* (2003); and *Eros* (2004).

Arkin has made numerous television appearances as well, on both made-for-TV movies and popular series such as *100 Centre Street* and *St. Elsewhere.* In the riveting 1987 TV movie *Escape from Sobibor*, based on a true story, Arkin plays the lead role of Leon Feldhendler, the man who masterminded the escape plan for the 600 Jewish inmates of the Nazi death camp in Poland in 1944. He was nominated for a best actor Emmy for that performance.

In his real-life role as father, Arkin has three sons – Adam, Matthew, and Anthony – all of whom are actors as well. In fact, Arkin was nominated for another best actor Emmy for his appearance on the TV drama *Chicago Hope*, where he played the father of Dr. Aaron Shutt, the role performed by his son Adam Arkin.

In addition to his acting career, Arkin has directed projects for all media. His many directorial credits for the theater include several productions with Circle in the Square, including Jules *Feiffer's *The White House Murder Case*, which earned him an Obie award, and on Broadway *The Sunshine Boys*.

Arkin wrote and directed two short films, *T.G.I.F.* (1967) and *People Soup* (1969). The former opened the 1967 New York Film Festival; the latter received an Oscar nomination for Best Short Subject. Arkin went on to direct the feature film version of *Little Murders* (1971) as well as the films *Fire Sale* (1977), *Samuel Beckett Is Coming Soon* (1993), and *Arigo* (2000).

Also a writer of children's books, Arkin has authored *The Lemming Condition*; *The Clearing*; *Cassie Loves Beethoven*; *One Present from Flekman's*; and *Tony's Hard Work Day.*

Another book by Arkin, *Halfway through the Door: An Actor's Journey toward the Self* (1979), is autobiographical.

[Jonathan Licht and Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

ARK OF THE COVENANT (Heb. אֲרוֹן הַבְּרִית, אֲרוֹן הָעֵדוּת (*aron ha-berit*, *aron ha-ʿedut*)), the chest which stood in the Holy of Holies, and in which "the tables of the covenant" were kept.

Designations

The modifying phrases qualifying the word "ark" are numerous: "the ark of YHWH" (Josh. 4:11; et al.); "the ark of YHWH, the Lord of all the earth" (Josh. 3:13); "the ark of the Lord YHWH" (I Kings 2:26); "the ark of God" (I Sam. 3:3; et al.); "the ark of YHWH your God" (Josh. 4:5); "the ark of the God of Israel" (I Sam. 5:8; et al. – the designation used by the Philistines); "the holy ark" (II Chron. 35:3). Especially important are the terms alluding to the religious and historical significance of the ark: "the ark of the pact" (Ex. 25:22; et al.); "the ark of the covenant" (Josh. 3:6; et al.); "the ark of the covenant of YHWH" (Num. 10:33; et al.); "the ark of the covenant of God" (Judg. 20:27; et al.); "the ark of the covenant of the Lord of all the earth" (Josh. 3:11); "the ark, wherein is the covenant of YHWH, which He made with our fathers…" (I Kings 8:21; "with the children of Israel" – II Chron. 6:11); "the ark of the covenant of YHWH of Hosts, who dwelleth between the cherubim" (see *Cherub; I Sam. 4:4); "the ark of God, whereupon is called the Name, even the Name of YHWH of Hosts who dwelleth between the cherubim" (II Sam. 6:2; very similar is I Chron. 13:6).

Description

According to the description contained in Exodus 25:10–22 and 37:1–9 (where *Bezalel, upon the instruction of *Moses, constructs the ark), the length of the ark was two and a half cubits (4 ft. 2 in.) and its width and height a cubit and a half (30 ins.); it was made of acacia wood and overlaid with pure gold both inside and out. A crown of gold surrounded it above, and four golden rings were attached to its feet, two on each side; into these were inserted the staves used for carrying the ark (see below). An ark cover (*kapporet*), which was made entirely of gold and the dimensions of which corresponded with those of the ark, covered the aperture on top. At the two ends of the ark cover were set two *cherubim that "screened," i.e., guarded or protected (cf. Gen. 3:24; Ps. 5:12; 91:4; et al.), as it were, the ark cover, as well as the tables of the covenant in the ark. The wings of the cherubim were outstretched and their faces were turned "one to another toward the ark cover." In the *Temple of Solomon there were apparently no cherubim on the ark cover, but two, ten cubits in height and made of olive wood overlaid with gold, stood on the floor in front of the ark. Each had two wings – each five cubits long – extending outward from the one wall to the wing of the other cherub, and they "covered the ark and the staves thereof above" (I Kings 6:23ff.; 8:6–9; II Chron. 3:10–13; 5:7–8).

The ark is depicted in the Torah as one object (Ex. 25:10–22; Deut. 10:1–5) (*kapporet* denoting simply "cover"), but according to traditions set in Solomonic times (I Kings 8:9), the cherubs were severed from the cover of the ark (see below). The cover (*kapporet*) with the cherubim symbolized the place of the manifestation of the Divinity in the Temple of Israel ("who dwelleth between the cherubim," I Sam. 4:4), whereas the ark contained underneath it "the tables of the covenant" or "the tables of the pact" (Ex. 25:21; 31:18; Deut. 10:3, 5; I Kings 8:9; II Chron. 5:10. In biblical Hebrew *ʿedut* is equivalent to Akkadian *adê* and Aramaic *ʿdy*, "pact," "treaty"), and served as a symbol of the covenant between God and His people. Some see in the cherubim "the chariots of God" (Ps. 68:18), symbolic of the celestial cherubim, upon which God manifests Himself to execute justice in the world and to bring salvation to His people (II Sam. 22:11; Ps. 18:11; Isa. 19:1; 66:15; Ps. 68:18, 34; 80:2; 99:1). Others again regard them as a kind of symbol for the clouds of heaven, which are similarly likened to God's chariot (cf. the epithet "that rideth upon the clouds," Ps. 68:5: *aravot*, "clouds," see also v. 34; cf. Ex. 13:21; Num. 10:34; 14:14). A later passage termed the ark cover together with the cherubim, "chariot" (I Chron. 28:18), but this may be a later adaptation (cf. Ezek. 1:26; 10:1–18: above the cherubim was the likeness of a throne and upon the throne a likeness as the appearance of the glory of the Lord). Similarly the ark was regarded, according to one view, as His footstool (cf. Ps. 99:5; Ps. 132:7–8; I Chron. 28:2; II Chron. 6:41). For this reason "the tables of the covenant" might have been placed in the ark in accordance with a custom, prevalent at the time, of placing documents and agreements between kingdoms "at the feet" of the god, the guardian of treaties and documents, who supervised their implementation (cf. I Sam. 10:25). Thus, for example, the pact between Ramses II and Hattusilis III was deposited at the feet both of the Hittite god Teshub and of the Egyptian god Ra. At all events, it is clear that the ark was regarded as the place of the manifestation of the Divine Presence and of God's will to His elect (Ex. 25:22; 30:6; Lev. 16:2, where God appeared between the two cherubim in "the cloud"; Num. 7:89). When the ark was conveyed elsewhere (see below), God also "journeyed" in a cloud over the Israelite host (Num. 10:34; 14:14; see also Ex. 33:7–11). Hence also the accounts of the miracles that occurred alongside the ark – the drying up of the waters of the Jordan when the ark preceded the people (Josh. 3–4) and the fall of the walls of Jericho after the ark had encircled them seven times (Josh. 6). Similarly, there was the stringent prohibition against touching the ark, the holiest of all the sacred appurtenances (Num. 4:15, 19, 20; cf. the narratives of the plagues among the Philistines after the capture of the ark (I Sam. 5); the smiting of the men of Beth-Shemesh "because they had gazed upon the ark of the Lord" (I Sam. 6:19); and the death of Uzzah (II Sam. 6:6–7). Even the high priest was to "come not at all times into the holy place within the veil, before the ark cover which is upon the ark; that he die not" (Lev. 16:2). When the high priest entered the Holy of Holies – once a year – he came with "the cloud of the incense," which was intended to shroud "the ark cover that is upon the pact, that he die not" (Lev. 16:13). In the period of the Second Temple, when the ark no longer existed, the high priest was still accustomed to hold "a feast for his friends for having come forth in peace from the Sanctuary" (Yoma 7:4).

History

During the period of the First Temple, a permanent place was allotted to the ark in the "Holy of Holies" (Ex. 26:34), but in times of need it was carried from place to place. The presence of the ark in the Israelite armed camp was believed to ensure God's help (cf. I Sam. 4:3). The Bible's writers project the movement of the ark into the legends of the Israelite journey from the desert of Sinai to the land of Israel (Num. 10:33; cf. 14:44) and into the legends of the conquest. In earliest Israel it was lodged at Shiloh (Josh. 18:1; I Sam. 3:3), but when great battles were fought, it was time and again brought from there to the front, as, for example, during the war against the Philistines near Eben-Ezer, which ended with the ark's falling into the hands of the Philistines (I Sam. 4). According to I Samuel 14:18, the ark also accompanied Saul during his first campaign against the Philistines; it was with the army during the siege of Rabbah in the days of David (II Sam. 11:11). The ark songs which are preserved in the Pentateuch belong to an early period, and were sung when the ark was borne to the battlefront. One such song is credited to Moses: "When the ark was to set out, Moses would say, 'Advance, O Lord! May Your enemies be scattered, and may Your foes flee before You!' And when it halted, he would say, 'Return, O Lord, You who are Israel's myriads of thousands'" (Num. 10:35–36; cf. Ps. 68:2; 132:8). The ark was always carried on shoulders, except for one occasion when it was conveyed in a cart (II Sam. 6:3), but when Uzzah, serving before the ark, died a sudden death, it was once more shoulder-borne (*ibid.* 6:6–15; cf. I Chron. 13:7ff.; 15:2ff.).

After the ark had been captured near Eben-Ezer and restored by the Philistines (I Sam. 4:11–6:11), it was at first transferred to Beth-Shemesh, because Shiloh had in the meantime been destroyed (Ps. 78:59–67; Jer. 26:6–9); but because a plague broke out in Beth-Shemesh, it was sent to Kiriath-Jearim, where it was placed in "the house of Abinadab in the hill, and [they] sanctified Eleazar his son to keep the ark of the Lord" (I Sam. 7:1). David, taking it from there, first deposited it in the house of Obed-Edom the Gittite (evidently from Gat-Rimmon – a levitic town), and after three months brought it to the city of David – Jerusalem – to a tent which he had pitched for it (II Sam. 6:2–17; I Chron. 13:5ff.; 15; 16:1, 4–6, 37–38). Psalm 132 (and perhaps also Ps. 24) probably refers to this event.

With the erection of the Temple in the reign of Solomon, the ark was placed in the Holy of Holies (I Kings 8:6; II Chron. 5:7), which consequently also came to be known, in the course of time, as "the place of the ark cover" (I Chron. 28:11; Tosef., Tem. 4:8; also in the Targum to the Prophets); but the cherubim were no longer attached to the ark cover (see above), and although the staves remained in position (I Kings 8:7–8), the

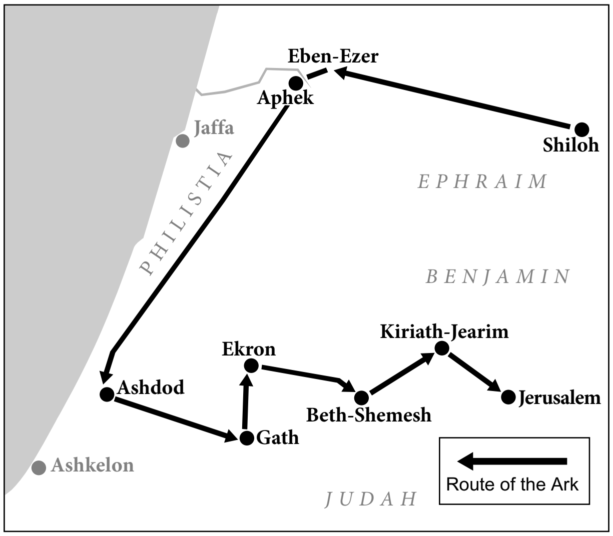

Route of the Ark of the covenant after it was brought from Shiloh, captured by the Philistines at Eben-Ezer, and eventually restored to Jerusalem.

practice of carrying the ark from place to place ceased. Henceforth, there is no information about the ark being taken to war or to celebrations, nor is its ultimate fate known. It may be assumed from Jeremiah's statement (3:16) that at the end of the period of the First Temple the ark was no longer in the Temple. It is not mentioned among the Temple vessels carried into exile or returned from Babylon. In talmudic times there was a widespread tradition that the ark had been hidden by Josiah "in its place," or beneath the woodshed (Shek. 6:1–2; Yoma 53b–54a). According to a legend in II Maccabees 2:1–7, the ark was concealed by Jeremiah on Mount Nebo. In the period of the Second Temple, at all events, the ark was no longer in the Temple (Yoma 5:2).

Sacred chests, containing holy objects or images of deities, are also to be found among other peoples, but they bear no conspicuous resemblance, either in appearance or in function, to the ark. A number of scholars have compared the ark to the *Markab* or *Aṭfah* (or *Uṭfah*, a type of elongated chest, adorned with ostrich feathers), to the *Maḥmal* (a pyramid-shaped box sent by Arab princes, with gifts, to a pilgrim procession to Mecca), or to the *Qubbah* (a kind of tent of the pre-Islamic period, tapering to a point and made of red leather), which is found among several Arabian tribes. All these are borne on camels and have a certain sanctity attributed to them. The *Aṭfah* – as in ancient times, the *Qubbah* – is generally brought to the camp only when decisive wars are being fought or when an enemy threatens grave danger. According to A. Musil, the *Aṭfah* – or at least that of the Rwalah, one of the ʿAnzah tribes of Transjordan – serves also as a guide, and predictions are made from the movement or swaying of its feathers. But according to the overwhelming evidence, including that of eyewitnesses, the *Aṭfah* – also that of the Rwalah tribe – functions chiefly as the seat for a young girl with uncovered hair and naked bosom, whose purpose is to incite the young men to conquer or die fighting. Clearly there is no resemblance between the ark and the *Aṭfah*, since the ark did not serve as a guide (even in Num. 10:33; Naḥmanides, *ibid.*) or as an instrument of divination. Unlike the ark, the *Maḥmal* is not taken out to war, while the *Qubbah* is, as previously stated, a tent. Some scholars have compared the ark to the chests (the lower parts of which were generally boat-shaped) which were brought out of the temple by the Egyptian priests at festivals and on which statues of the gods were placed. The motif of the cherub of human form with outstretched wings may also be fundamentally Egyptian, although the word cherub (*kurību*) is at present found only in Akkadian sources.

[Yehoshua M. Grintz]

In the *Aggadah*

The sanctuary in the wilderness contained among other things the Ark of the Covenant and the two stone tablets on which were inscribed the Ten Commandments (Ex. 25:10ff.). The first tablets were broken and a second pair hewn out (*ibid.* 34:1, 4). According to one view there were two arks, one which housed the Torah (including the second tablets), while the other contained the fragments of the first tablets, and it was this ark that was taken out by the Israelites on various occasions. According to another view, both – the whole and the broken – tablets were contained in one ark, and from this the moral was drawn that a scholar who has forgotten his learning is still entitled to receive respect (Ber. 8b; BB 14b).

The ark traveled 2,000 cubits (the limits of a Sabbath journey) ahead of the Israelites in the wilderness, so that on the Sabbath they could go and pray there (Num. R. 2:9). Two fiery jets issued from between the cherubim above the ark, burning up snakes, scorpions, and thorns in its path, and destroying Israel's enemies (Tanḥ. Va-Yakhel 7).

When the Philistines returned the ark, which they had captured from the Israelites, the cows which drew the cart upon which it was placed burst into song (Av. Zar. 24b). Later, when Solomon brought it into the Temple, all the golden trees there yielded abundant fruit. This continued until Manasseh introduced into the Temple an image of an idol, whereupon the trees dried up and their fruit withered (Tanḥ. Terumah 11; Yoma 39b). It was housed in the Holy of Holies (I Kings 6:16–19). Miraculously, however, the ark did not diminish the area of the Holy of Holies in the least (BB 99a).

The ark was in the exact center of the whole world, and in front of it stood the **even shetiyyah* ("foundation stone"), which was the starting point of the creation of the world (Tanḥ. Kedoshim 10). Opinions differ as to its subsequent fate. Some hold that it was taken to Babylon when the Temple was destroyed; others, that it was hidden in the Second Temple beneath the pavement in the wood storehouse. According to yet another tradition Josiah hid it, together with the other sacred utensils, to ensure that it would not be taken to Babylonia (Yoma 53b; TJ Shek. 6:1, 49c). A *baraita* quoted by Maimonides (Yad Hilkhot Beit ha-Beḥirah, 4:1) states that when Solomon built the Temple, he foresaw its destruction and built a deep secret cave, where Josiah ordered the ark to be hidden. In II Maccabees 2:4, it is stated that Jeremiah hid it in the cave of the mountain from which Moses had viewed the land of Israel prior to his death. In any case, it was not in evidence during the period of the Second Temple. With the ark were hidden the phial of manna, the phial of anointing oil, Aaron's staff, and the chest in which the Philistines sent a gift to the God of Israel (Yoma 52b).

[Harry Freedman]

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ARK OF MOSES (Heb. תֵּבָה, *tevah*; "box" or "basket"), the Hebrew word *tevah* occurs in the Bible only as a designation of the *ark of Noah (Gen. 6–9), and of the ark in which the infant *Moses was hidden by his mother (Ex. 2:2–6) in order to save him from Pharaoh's decree that every Hebrew male child should be killed (Ex. 1:22). According to the story, the basket was made of papyrus (Heb. *gome*) like the boats of the Egyptians (cf. Isa. 18:2), caulked with bitumen, and placed among the reeds on the bank of the Nile (models of vessels excavated in Ur are made of bitumen and dry, baked earth; finds in Egypt show the same use of bitumen). Exodus 2:6 implies that it had a lid. An analogous story is told about Sargon of Agade (in: COS, 1 461). Sargon was born in secret; he was enclosed in a basket made of rushes and bitumen, and furnished with a lid; and he was found and adopted by a stranger. In the Sargon story the basket containing the infant is actually allowed to drift, like Noah's ark. The river, in Sargon's case the Euphrates, carries the basket containing him down to where his future foster father, a drawer of water, is at work drawing water. Whereas in the Sargon legend the infant is cast adrift, apparently because his mother wishes to get rid of him without taking his life, in Egyptian mythology the goddess Isis places her child Horus in a reed boat and hides him in a papyrus thicket, where her sister (not that of the infant) spreads her mat over him, in order to save him from the god Seth. Despite the absence of the trait of adoption by a chance discoverer, this Egyptian tradition obviously has much more in common than the Sargon legend with the Exodus story about Moses; and the fact that the latter has Moses discovered and brought up – but without losing touch with his natural kin – by an Egyptian princess is probably independent of Mesopotamian influence. Nonetheless, the motif of overpopulation as a threat requiring drastic measures against humans, does have Mesopotamian parallels.

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ARK OF NOAH (Heb. תֵּבָה, *tevah*), the vessel built by *Noah at Divine command (Gen. 6:14–16). Its purpose was to preserve Noah, his family, and representatives of each species of living creature for a continuation of life after the *flood. The ark finally came to rest on the mountains of *Ararat (Gen. 8:4).

Built of gopher wood, conjectured to be of a resinous type, it was covered with pitch inside and out. The ark had three stories with an unspecified number of compartments. In addition, it was equipped with a skylight, which terminated a cubit from the top, a side door, and a window (Gen. 8:6). The dimensions recorded are 300 cubits in length, 50 in width, and 30 in height, corresponding approximately to 440 × 73 × 44 ft., and yielding a displacement of about 43,000 tons. The appearance as described is rectangular and box-like and was so interpreted by the Septuagint: κιβωτὸς; the Vulgate: *arca*; and Josephus: λάρναξ (Ant., 1:75 ff.). The term *tevah* may be related to the Egyptian *dbꜣt* ("chest," "box," "coffin"), a derivation appropriate to the only other occurrence of *tevah* in the Bible (Exodus 2:3–5), which describes the basket in which Moses was saved, but is less appropriate to the Noah story. In the earlier Mesopotamian Flood traditions the vessel is not an ark, but a "great ship," with a rudder. Tablet 11:60–62 of the Gilgamesh Epic describes an exact cube of 120 cubits on each side. It had seven stories, each with nine sections: a total of 63 compartments. It had a "strong cover," a door, and a window. Pitch served as one of the caulking compounds. These accounts speak variously of humans, living creatures, food, and a captain aboard; and refer to a divinely revealed blueprint similar to the detailed instructions to Noah. Josephus' description of the ark is closer to the Bible, whereas Berossus draws on native Babylonian traditions.

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[Michael Fishbane]

ARLEN, HAROLD (formerly **Hyman Arluck**; 1905–1986), American composer and one of the country's most important songwriters. Born in Buffalo, New York, Arlen was the son of a *ḥazzan*. He sang in the synagogue choir and worked as a ragtime pianist, dance band arranger, and singer in nightclubs and on river steamers. He first gained recognition as a songwriter with *Get Happy* (1928). In 1934 he turned to musical comedy and film scores as well as songs, which exemplify the trend of blending jazz with popular idioms. From 1931 to

1959, he composed eight musicals and from 1934 to 1963, 20 film scores. His successes include: "Stormy Weather" (1933); the music for the film *The Wizard of Oz* (1939), including the Academy Award-winning song "Over the Rainbow"; *Star-Spangled Rhythm* (1943); "That Old Black Magic" (1944); and the music for the film *Here Come the Waves* (1944). His musicals included *Bloomer Girl* (1944), *Country Girl* (1954), *Jamaica* (1957), and *Saratoga* (1959).

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[Amnon Shiloah (2nd ed.)]

ARLES (Heb. ארלי, ארלך, ארלאדי), town in France, 27 mi. (approx. 40 km.) south of Avignon. According to a Jewish legend, one of three rudderless ships bearing Jewish exiles arrived in Arles after the destruction of the Second Temple. It is said that Jews sang psalms at the funeral of Hilary, bishop of Arles, in 449. The first documented reference to Jews in the town (508) relates that defense of part of the wall was entrusted to them during a siege.

In 591 Archbishop Virgilius of Arles was rebuked by Pope *Gregory the Great for wishing to convert the Jews there by force. In 820, "a great number" of Jewish children from *Lyons, *Chalon-sur-Saone, *Mâcon, and *Vienne had to take refuge with the Jews of Arles to escape forcible conversion. The Jews of Arles were accused by *Agobard, archbishop of Lyons (c. 826–27), of having sold kidnapped Christian children into slavery. Jurisdiction over the Jews in the city was granted by Boso, count of Provence, to the archbishop of Arles in 879; the grant was renewed and ratified in 921, 1147, and 1154. A Hebrew copy of one of these documents, placed at the disposal of Archbishop Raymond (1142–57), mentions the first Jewish cemetery at the Montjuif, in the present Griffeville quarter, for which Jews made an annual payment of 44 sols to the archbishop. Twelfth century and later documents show that the Jews of Arles owned real estate. A record of 1170 shows that the archbishop shared the proceeds of the dues and taxes with a Jew. *Benjamin of Tudela, who visited Arles about this time, noted the existence of a community of 200. In 1215 the archbishop issued the Jewish community with its first constitution and delegated its administration to three elected "rectors." Jews were living in both the town and borough; later their main place of residence was on the Rue Neuve, near the church of the Jacobins. The present chapel of the *pénitents bleus* is said to stand on the site of the 13th-century synagogue.

During the 14th century the community was augmented by exiles from the kingdom of France, as well as through the incorporation into Arles of nearby Trinquetaille, with its considerable Jewish community. For the last quarter of the century the Jews of Arles paid directly to the count annual dues of 200 florins, formerly combined with the levy on the other Provençal communities. They also paid the Arles municipality an annual impost of 60 pounds of pepper. They renewed their association with the union of Jewish communities in Provence by 1420, in that year contributing 600 florins out of a total assessment for Provençal Jewry of 1,740 florins. The community maintained a charitable organization, founded in 1401. A school, founded at the end of the previous century and reorganized in 1407, provided instruction in both Bible and Talmud. At this time the communal administration included three *baylons*, eight councilors, and three auditors. There was a synagogue, ritual bathhouses, and a market. The cemetery in 1376 was situated at the present intersection of the Rue du Marché-Neuf and the Rue de la Rotonde. In 1434 it was replaced by sites at the Plan du Bourg and the Crau d'Arles. The Jews of Arles were mainly occupied in commerce, especially in brokerage. Their real property included numerous vineyards. More than 5% of the Jews appearing in the records (especially notarial ones) of the first half of the 15th century were doctors (*physicus*, *cirurgicus*, *medicus*). In 1425 a partnership of two Jews for the manufacture of soap is recorded.

Anti-Jewish outbreaks occurred in Arles in 1427, 1436, 1457, 1473, and 1480. The most violent attack took place on April 8, 1484, when bands of farm laborers from Dauphiné, Auvergne, and the Provençal highlands, assisted by citizens of Arles, invaded the Jewish street, looting and partially destroying it. Havoc was caused to the synagogue, already damaged by fire, possibly in 1457; two women were killed in the disorders and some 50 males were compelled to adopt Christianity. Similar disorders recurred in the following year but the municipal officers intervened to protect the Jews more effectively. In 1486 the Arles Jews contributed toward maintaining a police force for such contingencies. In 1493, however, soon after the acquisition of Provence by the French king (1481), the citizenry secured his consent to expel the Jews from Arles. The synagogue was now completely destroyed. The last Jews were expelled in September 1494. Some exiles who attempted to return in 1496 to settle their affairs were immediately expelled; certain Jews chose the alternative of conversion. Christian animosity toward these converts prompted the circulation of a literary forgery in the form of a purported exchange of correspondence between them and the Jews of Constantinople in which the latter advised their brethren in Arles to feign conversion.

Jews who passed through Arles in the 17th century were required to pay a crown impost, administered in 1658 by Levy of Arles, possibly himself a Jew. In 1775 a decree of the parliament of Provence ordered certain Jews who had tried to reestablish themselves in Arles to leave within eight days. In 1773, and again in 1775, trading in Arles was forbidden to Jews by the parliament of Provence. After the French Revolution, some Jews from the Comtat Venaissin settled in Arles. A few Jews were living in Arles in the late 1960s and the Municipal Museum possessed a rich collection of Jewish ritual objects and Jewish documents.

Jewish Scholarship and Translators

Arles, a center of Jewish scholarship, was also noted for the work of Jewish translators from the Arabic. The first known

Jewish scholar of Arles is R. Moses (c. 900). *Samuel ibn Tibbon, completed his translation of Maimonides' *Guide of the Perplexed* (1204) there. Other scholars in Arles included *Gershon b. Solomon of Arles (beginning of the 13th century); Joseph *Kaspi (c. 1317); Kalonymus b. Kalonymus (early 14th century); *Kalonymus b. David b. Todros (same period); Todros b. Meshullam of Arles, translated into Hebrew Averroes' "Middle Commentaries" on Aristotle's *Rhetoric* and *Poetics* (*Sefer ha-Meliẓah*) and *Sefer ha-Shir*; 1337); Isaac Nathan b. Kalonymus (middle 15th century) and Meir, known as Maestro Bendig, (second half of the 15th century).

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[Bernhard Blumenkranz]

ARLOSOROFF, CHAIM (Victor; 1899–1933), Zionist statesman and leader of the Zionist labor movement. Arlosoroff was born in Romny, Ukraine, the grandson of a famous rabbi. He was taken to Germany by his parents in 1905 in the wake of a pogrom. In 1918 Arlosoroff joined the Zionist labor party Hitaḥadut (*Ha-Po'el ha-Ẓa'ir) and soon became one of its leaders. A pamphlet he wrote in 1919, "Jewish Popular Socialism," attempted to combine non-Marxist socialism with a practical approach to the problems of Jewish settlement in Palestine. He soon attracted attention by advocating new methods of financing Zionist settlement, especially through an international loan guaranteed by the League of Nations and the Mandatory power. He also expressed the belief that cooperation between the Arab and Jewish national movements was possible.

Arlosoroff settled in Palestine in 1924, after finishing his studies in economics at Berlin University. In 1926 he became a member of the *yishuv* delegation to the League of Nations Permanent Mandates Commission. In that year, and again in 1928–29, he visited the United States, publishing his impressions in a series of letters, *New York vi-Yrushalayim* (1929), which contain sociological and economic studies of American Jewry. With the founding of *Mapai in 1930, Arlosoroff became one of the party's leaders and spokesmen. A staunch supporter of Chaim *Weizmann's policies, Arlosoroff was elected a member of the Zionist and Jewish Agency Executive and head of its Political Department at the 17th Zionist Congress in 1931. Despite the friendly personal and political relations he established with the British High Commissioner in Palestine, Sir Arthur Wauchope, Arlosoroff began to doubt the durability of Britain's commitment to Zionism in view of its involvement in the Middle East. This was a reversal of his earlier conviction that the Zionist ideal could be fully implemented in cooperation with Britain. He also came to doubt the feasibility of a Jewish-Arab understanding in the foreseeable future. In a confidential letter to Weizmann, written in June 1932 (published in 1949), Arlosoroff discussed the possibility of an interim "revolutionary" period, in which a Jewish minority develop the country and save as many Jews as possible, as the approaching world war and emerging Arab nationalism might otherwise prevent the ultimate realization of Zionism. In 1933 Arlosoroff dedicated himself to organizing massive emigration of Jews from Nazi Germany and the transfer of their property to Palestine. In June 1933 he was assassinated by unknown assailants while walking with his wife on the seashore of Tel Aviv (see below).

Arlosoroff was a man of vision and action, a shrewd observer of sociological and economic processes, and a poet. A prolific writer, his works included political and economic analyses, a world history of colonization, research works, and poetry. His writings, *Kitvei Chaim Arlosoroff*, were published in seven volumes (1934–35), the last one containing his poetry. His highly informative diaries from the years 1931–33, *Yoman Yerushalayim*, were published in 1949 (ed. by Z. Sharef). In his "Selected Articles" (in Hebrew: *Mivḥar Ma'amarav*, 1944) there is a list of his works and writings about him. Kiryat Ḥayyim near Haifa, Kibbutz Givat Ḥayyim, and the village Kefar Ḥayyim in Emek Ḥefer, as well as streets in many towns, are named after him.

[Benjamin Jaffe]

The Arlosoroff Murder Trial

The Arlosoroff murder trial (1933–34) did not solve the mystery of the assassination but greatly exacerbated political relations in the *yishuv* and in the Zionist movement. Abba *Aḥimeir, the head of a clandestine "activist" group, "Berit ha-Biryonim," was charged by the Palestine police with plotting the murder. He was also a leader of an extremist *Revisionist faction, whose organ, *Ḥazit ha-Am*, violently attacked the Labor movement and the official Zionist leadership, including Arlosoroff. Two rank-and-file Revisionists, Abraham Stavsky and Ẓevi Rosenblatt, were arrested as the actual murderers, and were identified by Arlosoroff's widow. All three vehemently denied the accusation. The district court acquitted Aḥimeir and Rosenblatt but convicted Stavsky, who, however, was eventually acquitted by the Supreme Court for lack of corroborating evidence. The defense accused the police of manipulating the widow's testimony and other evidence for political reasons, and expounded the theory that the murder was connected with an intended sexual attack on Mrs. Arlosoroff by two young Arabs. One of these Arabs, in prison for another murder charge, twice confessed to having been involved in Arlosoroff's murder, but twice retracted his confession, accusing Stavsky and Rosenblatt of having bribed him to confess.

At the time, members of the Labor movement, with few exceptions, regarded the widow's testimony as proof of the existence of criminal fascist tendencies among Revisionists, while the Revisionists and most other non-labor circles, including Chief Rabbi *Kook, firmly maintained Stavsky's innocence, denouncing the affair as a blood libel of Jews against Jews.

[Binyamin Eliav]

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ARMAGEDDON, name of the site, in Christian eschatology, of the final battle between the forces of Good and Evil. The name Armageddon is not mentioned prior to the New Testament but is believed by some to be a corrupt spelling of *Megiddo, a city mentioned many times in Scripture. According to this explanation the first syllable *ar* would stand for *ir* ("city") or *har* ("mountain"). Indeed, the Valley of Megiddon (*bikat megiddon*) is referred to once in the Old Testament in the prophecies of Zechariah (12:11). Others suggest that Armageddon is a corruption of the Hebrew Har Mo'ed ("mount of assembly"; cf. Isa. 14:13) or of Har Migdo ("God's fruitful mountain") which is taken to refer to Mount Zion. This last suggestion is said by some to be supported by several passages in Revelations (9:13; 11:14; 14:14–20; 16:12–16), the imagery of which resembles that of Joel, who envisages the power of God proceeding from Mount Zion to battle against the forces of Evil (Joel 2:1–3; 3:16–17, 21). However, the author of Revelations was probably combining the strategic fame of Megiddo with the idea of an eschatological final conflict on the "mountains of Israel" (Ezek. 38:8, 21).

ARMENIA, in Transcaucasia. Historically its boundaries embraced a much wider area in different periods. The Armenian diaspora is scattered in many countries of the world and still identifies its past history and future aspirations with the wider connotations of the term Armenia. Jewish historical, exegetical, and descriptive sources reveal knowledge of the variations in geographical area and history of this remarkable people. The fate and modes of existence of the Armenians have been compared in some essential features to those of the Jews.

Much of the original Armenia is now the area of Kurdistan in Turkey. However, from the seventh to ninth centuries the Arab conquerors called by the name Armenia a province which included entire Transcaucasia, with the cities Bardhaʿa, now Barda in the present Azerbaijan, where the governors mostly resided, and *Tiflis (now Tbilisi, capital of Georgia). The province is also sometimes called Armenia in eastern sources. The *Khazars were sometimes credited with Armenian origin: this is stated by the seventh-century Armenian bishop and historian Sebeos, and the Arab geographer Dimashqī (d. 1327). In the 13th to 14th centuries the Crimea and the area to the east were known as Gazaria (Khazaria) to western authors, and as Maritime Armenia to Armenian authors. The term Armenia often included much of Anatolia, or otherwise referred to cities on the Syrian-Mesopotamian route (now Turkey, near the Syrian frontier) such as Haran (Ḥarrān), Edessa (Urfa), and Nisibis (Naṣībīn).

Identification of Armenia in Literature

In the past Armenia has been connected with the biblical Ashkenaz. The Armenians are termed "the Ashkenazi nation" in their literature. According to this tradition, the genealogy in Genesis 10:3 extended to the populations west of the Volga. In Jewish usage Ashkenaz is sometimes equated with Armenia; in addition, it sometimes covers neighboring *Adiabene (Targ. Jer. 51:27), and also Khazaria (David b. Abraham Alfasi, Ali ibn Suleiman; cf. S. Pinsker, *Likkutei Kadmoniyyot* (1860), 208; S.L. Skoss (ed.), *Hebrew-Arabic Dictionary of the Bible of David ben Abraham al-Fasi* (1936), 159), the Crimea and the area to the east (Isaac Abrabanel, Commentary to Gen. 10:3), the Saquliba (Saadiah Gaon, Commentary, *ibid.*), i.e., the territory of the Slavs and neighboring forest tribes, considered by the Arabs dependent of Khazaria, as well as Eastern and Central Europe, and northern Asia (cf. Abraham Farissol, *Iggeret Orḥot Olam* (Venice, 1587), ch. 3). In other expositions found in rabbinical works, Armenia is linked with *Uz. The anti-Jewish attitudes prevailing in eastern-Byzantine (Armenian) provinces made the *Targum identify it with the "daughter of Edom that dwellest in the land of Uz" (Lam. 4:21) or with "Constantina in the land of Armenia" (now Viransehir, between Urfa and Naṣībīn (*Nisibis). Hence Job's "land of Uz" is referred to as Armenia in some commentaries, for instance in those of Naḥmanides and Joseph b. David ibn Yaḥyā. The "Uz-Armenia" of Abraham Farissol is however the Anatolian region near Constantinople. Armenia is also sometimes called Amalek in some sources, and Jews often referred to Armenians as Amalekites. This is the Byzantine term for the Armenians. It was adopted by the Jews from the **Josippon* chronicle (tenth century, ch. 64). According to *Josippon*, Amalek was conquered by Benjaminite noblemen under Saul (*ibid.*, 26), and Benjaminites are already assumed to be the founders of Armenian Jewry in the time of the Judges (Judg. 19–21). Benjaminite origins are claimed by sectarian Kurds. The idea that Khazaria was originally Amalek helped to support the assumption that the Khazar Jews were descended from Simeon (1 Chron. 4:42–43; *Eldad ha-Dani*, ed. by A. Epstein (1891), 52; cf. Ḥisdai ibn Shaprut, *Iggeret*).

Armenia is sometimes identified in literature with the biblical Minni (Pal. Targ., 51:27), based on onomatopoeic exegesis of Armenia = *Har* ("Mountain") *Minni*; similarly, Harmon (*ha-Harmonah*, Amos 4:3) is understood in the Targum to denote the region where the Ten Tribes lived "beyond the mountains of Armenia." Rashi identified Harmon with "the Mountains of Darkness," the term used by medieval Jews for the Caspian Mountains, believed in the West to surround the kingdom of the Khazars (who were often taken for the Ten Lost Tribes) and to include the Caucasus. The reference in *Lamentations Rabbah* 1:14, no. 42, does not refer to the passage of the Tribes through Armenia as is usually claimed, but more probably to the Jerusalem exiles' easy (*harmonyah*, "harmonious") route.

Armenia has further been identified with the biblical Togarmah (Gen. 10:3). In Armenian tradition this genealogy has competed with the theory of Ashkenazi origins, and extended to the Scythians east of the Volga. The identification of Armenia as Aram (Gen. 10:22; 25:20; 28:5) is adopted by Saadiah Gaon and also occurs in Islamic literature.

In the biblical age Armenia was conceived as the mountainous expanse in the north dominating the route from Ereẓ Israel to Mesopotamia (via Haran or its neighborhood) and extending to (and beyond) the boundaries of the known world. The forested heights near the sources of the Euphrates and the Tigris stimulated Jewish commentators to develop geographical concepts concerning this area in regard to Paradise (Gen. 2:8ff.), the divine "mount of meeting" in the north (Isa. 14:13), the connection of the two (Ezek. 28:13–16), and the rebirth of mankind after the Flood (Gen. 8:4ff.). The name Ararat (Gen. 8:4; II Kings 19:37; Jer. 51:27) recalls the indigenous Armenian kingdom of Urartu, based on Lake Van.

Connections and Similarities Between Jewish and Armenian History in Premedieval Times

The Armenians had been formed as a people by 521 B.C.E. Both Armenia and Judea shared common overlords in the Persians, Alexander the Great, and the Seleucids, until their liberation during the Seleucid decline. The ancient kingdom of Armenia attained its apogee under Tigranes II. He invaded Syria, reached Acre, menaced the Hasmonean state, and then retreated because of the Roman attack on Armenia (69 B.C.E.). The medieval Armenian historian, Moses of Chorene, claims that Tigranes settled many Jewish captives in Armenian cities, a statement reflecting the idea that the growth of cities and trade under Tigranes was likely to attract Jews. In fact many Jews settled in the area. Vassal kings appointed there by the Romans included the Herodians Tigranes IV (c. 6 C.E.) and Tigranes V (60–61) in Greater Armenia, and Aristobulus (55–60) in the western borderland, or Lesser Armenia. Under the more autonomous Parthian dynasty (85–428/33), the Armenian cities retained their Hellenistic culture, as the excavations at Garni (the royal summer residence) have shown. The Jewish Hellenistic immigration continued, and by 360–370, when the Persian conqueror Shapur II reduced them by massive deportation to Iran, the cities were largely populated by Jews. The exaggerated figures recorded by the chronicler Faustus Byzantinus give 83,000 Jewish families deported from five cities, against 81,000 Armenian families; the Jews formed the majority of the exiles from the three cities of Eruandashat, Van, and Nakhichevan.

Halakhic studies never flourished in Greater Armenia, in contradistinction to the center at Nisibis; the scholar R. Jacob the Armenian (TJ, Git. 6:7, 48a) is exceptional. However, Armenia is mentioned in the aggadic Targums. The mention of two "mountains of Ararat" upon which Noah's ark stood (Targ. Yer., Gen. 8:4) indicates that the location of Armenia found in Jewish Hellenistic sources (roughly adopted by the Muslims) was now identified with a place further north, in conformity with the Christian Armenian tradition, which had won more general acceptance.

Medieval Times

Medieval Armenia consisted of a group of Christian feudal principalities, under foreign overlordship for most of the time. The cities were smaller, with a more ethnically homogeneous population than formerly, and generally excluded Jews. The Armenians joined the Monophysite current of Christianity, which here (as in Ethiopia) opposed the claims of the Byzantine church to hegemony by claiming closer connections with the ancient Israel. Moses of Chorene attributed a Hebrew origin to the Amatuni tribe and to the Bagratuni (Bagratid) feudal dynasty of Armenia. The Bagratids, who claimed King David as their ancestor, restored the Armenian kingdom, which lasted from 885 to 1045, when it fell to the Muslim invaders. The royal branch, whose descendants remained in Georgia until 1801, also spread the fashion of claiming Israelite genealogies and traditions in this Orthodox Christian territory. The downfall of the Armenian kingdom was followed by general decline. Many Armenians settled in Cilicia (a Byzantine province in Asia Minor) and founded the Kingdom of Lesser Armenia, an ally of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, lasting until 1375, when it fell to the Mamluks. Armenian Jewry ultimately disappeared as a distinct entity, although a part was absorbed into Kurdish Jewry.

Armenia in Legend as the "Jewish Country"

Armenia figures prominently in tales from the medieval and early modern periods about the existence of autonomous settlements of "free Jews." The kingdom of the legendary Christian eastern emperor, Prester John, who was the overlord or neighbor of a Jewish land, is sometimes placed near Armenia. The 14th-century Ethiopic historical compendium *Kebra Negast* states that Ethiopia will assist "Rome" (Byzantium) in liquidating the rebel Jewish state "in Armenia" (Eng. tr. by E.A. Wallis Budge as *Queen of Sheba* (1922), 225–6). The 14th-century *Travels of Sir John Mandeville*, a geographical compilation, states that the Caspian Jews, the future Gog and Magog, are tributaries to the queen of Armony, Tamara of Georgia (1184–1212).

The Armenian diaspora is the closest historical parallel to the Jewish Diaspora, and a comparison of the two reveals much in common. Both suffered loss of statehood and underwent the process of urbanization. They traveled similar migrationary routes, adopted similar trades, received special charters of privilege, and established communal organizations. They also faced similar problems of assimilation, survival, and accusations made against a dispersed people, and underwent similar psychological stresses. In the Ukraine, both the Jews and the Armenians were accused of having destroyed the livelihood of indigenous merchants and artisans by the communal solidarity they manifested against competition. The massacres of the Armenians have also been explained as a revolt by the exploited masses. During the depopulation of Ottoman Armenia by the massacres and deportations of World War I, the Germans planned to "send Jewish Poles" to resettle the country. The Jewish population in Soviet Armenia numbered 10,000 in 1959. In the beginning of the 21st century the Jewish population of the Republic of Armenia (independent since 1991) was 500–1,000.

[Abraham N. Poliak]

In Israel

Mosaics with Armenian inscriptions point to an Armenian population in Jerusalem as early as the fifth century C.E., and scribal notes on manuscripts indicate a school of Armenian scribes of the same period. In Armenian history 21 bishops of Jerusalem are mentioned in the Arab period. In 1311 a certain Patriarch Sarkis preserved the independence of the patriarchate when Ereẓ Israel came under Mamluk rule. In the early 17th century the patriarchate was short of funds but Patriarch Krikor Baronder (1613–45) succeeded in raising large sums from Armenians in various parts the world over, and constructed an Armenian quarter in Jerusalem. There was a long dispute over the rights to use the monastery of St. James, and in 1813 the sultan Mahmud II granted it to the Armenians over the objection of the Greek Orthodox. In 1833 a printing press was founded which has published many liturgical and ritual books as well as a monthly periodical *Sion* (since 1866). In 1843 a theological seminary was founded. In the 20th century the community was centered around the patriarchate and the Monastery of St. James, and the Church of the Archangels, all in the Armenian quarter of the old city of Jerusalem, and the Church of St. Savior on Mt. Zion. These institutions have over the centuries inherited a large collection of manuscripts donated by bishops and pilgrims, firmans granted by sultans and caliphs, and specially commissioned religious articles for the services of the cathedral. The library of manuscripts in Jerusalem is exceeded in size only by the collection in Armenia. Though always available to scholars in the past, these treasures were exhibited to the general public for the first time in 1969. At the outset of the 21st century, around 3,000 Armenians were living in the State of Israel, which like certain other countries has never officially recognized the mass murder of the Armenians by the Turks in World War I as an act of genocide. Israel and Armenia maintained diplomatic relations but neither had an embassy in the other country.

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ARMILUS, legendary name of the Messiah's antagonist or anti-Messiah. Armilus appears frequently in the later Apocalyptic Midrashim, such as *Midrash Va-Yosha, Sefer Zerubbavel*, and *Nistarot shel R. Shimon b. Yoḥai*. He is also mentioned in the Targum pseudo-Jonathan, Isa. 11:14 and in the Targum Yerushalmi A (Deut. 34:3). Armilus is first mentioned otherwise in Saadiah Gaon's *Emunot ve-De'ot* (*Ma'amar* 8), apparently under the influence of *Sefer Zerubbavel*. The legend of Armilus thus originated not earlier than the beginning of the geonic period. Its basis, however, is the talmudic legend of Messiah the son of Joseph, who would be slain in the war between the nations prior to the redemption that would come through Messiah the son of David (Suk. 52a). In *Otot ha-Mashi'aḥ* (*Midreshei Ge'ullah*, p. 320), there is reference to "the Satan Armilus whom the Gentiles call Antichrist" but this is no proof of Christian influence.

Of the numerous conjectures about the origin of the name Armilus, the most probable is that it is derived from Romulus (founder of Rome, with Remus), although other suggestions are that it may be a corruption of Angra-Mainyu, the Persian god of evil, or from the Greek 'Αριμανος (Ahriman). The legend that he was born of a beautiful virgin (see below) likewise connects it with Rome. It is most likely that as a result of the sufferings of the Jews at the hands of the Romans at the time of the destruction of the Second Temple, and during and after the Bar Kokhba War, and especially after Christianity had conquered the Roman Empire and initiated a ruthless persecution of Judaism from which it had sprung, the Jews began to regard Rome, founded by Romulus, as the kingdom of Satan, the antithesis of the kingdom of Heaven. Hence they applied the name of Armilus to that diabolic power which had gained a transient, terrestrial victory (in contrast to the celestial and eternal kingdom of the Messiah).

Armilus and his evil deeds are described in detail only in the above-mentioned later Hebrew Midrashim now republished with detailed introduction and valuable notes, by J. Even Shemuel (Kaufmann) in his *Midreshei Ge'ullah* (1942, 1944^2). Armilus is the least of the kings, the son of a bondwoman, and monstrous in appearance (*Midreshei Ge'ullah, Sefer Eliyahu*, 42; *Yemot ha-Mashi'aḥ*, 96–97; *Nistarot shel R. Shimon b. Yoḥai*, 4, 195; see also textual variants, 382b, 402). He is frequently referred to briefly as "the son of a stone." This brief reference is fully explained in a legend: "They tell that in Rome there is a marble statue of a beautiful maiden, fashioned not by human hand but by the Holy One blessed be He, who created it in His might. The wicked of the nations of the world, the sons of Belial, come and warm her and lie with her, and He preserves their seed within the stone from which He creates a being and forms it into a child, whereupon she splits asunder and there issues from her the likeness of a man whose name is the Satan Armilus, whom the Gentiles call Antichrist. He is 12 cubits tall and two cubits broad, there is a span between his eyes which are crooked and red, his hair is golden-colored, the soles of his feet are green, and he has two heads" (*Pirkei ha-Mashi'aḥ*, in *Midreshei Ge'ullah*, p. 320). This Armilus will deceive the whole world into believing that he is God and will reign over the entire world. He will come with ten kings and together they will fight over Jerusalem, and Armilus will slay Nehemiah b. Ḥushi'el, who is Messiah the son of Joseph, as well as many righteous men with him, and "Israel will mourn for him as one that is in bitterness for his only son" (cf. Zech. 12:9–12). Armilus will banish Israel "to the wilderness" and it will be a time of unprecedented distress for Israel: there will be increasing famine, and the Gentiles will expel the Jews from their lands, and they will hide in caves and towers. Armilus will conquer not only Jerusalem but also Antioch (the capital of Syria, where non-Jewish Christianity originated – Acts 11:26). "He will take the stone from which he was born" and make her "the chief of all idolatry." All the Gentiles will bow down to her, burn incense and pour out libations to her, "and whosoever will venture to look upon her will be unable to do so, for no man can look upon her face by reason of her beauty" (*Sefer Zerubbavel*, in *Midreshei Ge'ullah*, p. 80ff.). The legendary "marble virgin" is based on the fable current in the Middle Ages, and associated with the name of Virgil, that in Rome there was a stone statue of a virgin with which the Romans had immoral relations, though it also probably contains elements of the immaculate conception and the Christian worship of images.

God will war against the host of Armilus (or of Gog and Magog), and all this host and all Judah's enemies will perish in the valley of Arbel. Five hundred men of Israel, with Nehemiah and Elijah at their head, will defeat 500,000 of the host of Armilus. Then there will be a great deliverance for Israel and the kingdom of Heaven will spread over all the earth.

These are the main features of the Armilus legend, as contained in *Sefer Zerubbavel*. In the other smaller Midrashim and in the works of Saadiah Gaon and Hai Gaon there are variants and addenda. All these legends, that embody the beautiful and the moral as well as the curious and the coarse, originated from an intermingling of Persian, Roman, and Christian beliefs with an ancient Jewish tradition concerning "messianic birthpangs" which would precede the messianic age and during which Messiah the son of Joseph would be killed by Romulus-Rome, even as Bar Kokhba was killed by Rome, which had adopted the belief, so strange in Jewish eyes, in a holy virgin and in beautiful stone images. The yearning for the downfall of Christian Rome, which persecuted Israel after adopting its Torah, gave rise to the legend of Armilus, the anti-Messiah, who would multiply evils upon Israel. But Messiah the son of David would vanquish him (that is, Romulus-Rome) and bring the kingdom of Heaven upon earth.

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[Jacob Klatzkin]

ARMISTICE AGREEMENTS, ISRAEL-ARAB (1949), series of bilateral agreements concluded between Israel and Egypt (Rhodes, Feb. 24, 1949), Lebanon (Rosh ha-Nikrah, March 23, 1949), Jordan (Rhodes, April 3, 1949), and Syria (Maḥanayim, July 20, 1949), terminating the military phase of the *War of Independence.

The arbitrary character of the cease-fire lines of the second truce (July 15, 1948) rapidly became a source of dissatisfaction for all sides, leading to increased tension and outbreaks of heavy, if localized, fighting, especially in the Negev. A United Nations report of September, 1948 referred to an accumulated irritation of daily incidents and the danger that the truce, if too prolonged, would deteriorate into a virtual resumption of hostilities. On Oct. 19, 1948 the Security Council adopted a resolution envisaging negotiations for the settlement of outstanding problems. Shortly afterward UN Acting Mediator Ralph Bunche (subsequently awarded the Nobel Peace Prize) proposed that the parties should be required to enter into immediate negotiations aiming at a formal peace, or at least an armistice. On Nov. 4, 1948, the Security Council embodied this idea in a resolution relating to the Negev, and followed this with a general resolution on Nov. 16. The resolution urged that, in order to eliminate the threat to peace in Palestine and to facilitate the transition from truce to permanent peace, an armistice should be established in all sectors. To this end, it called upon the parties to seek agreement forthwith by negotiations conducted either directly or through the Acting Mediator. On Nov. 23, 1948 Israel indicated its preference for direct negotiations or, if that was impracticable, for negotiations through the United Nations. In December, Egypt, Jordan, and Lebanon also accepted the Nov. 16 resolution in principle, although they were not prepared to enter into negotiations immediately. Only after a further outbreak in the Negev at the end of December did Egypt decide to enter into immediate negotiations, which began at Rhodes on Jan. 12, 1949. The conferences with Lebanon and Jordan began on March 1. Syria did not agree to negotiate until March 21, 1949, the conference itself commencing on April 5. In each case the negotiations were terminated by the formal signing of a General Armistice Agreement.

Of the other Arab states involved in the War of Independence, Saudi Arabia formally notified the United Nations that it accepted the decisions of the Arab League on the Palestine situation, Yemen took no formal steps, and Iraq authorized Jordan to negotiate for the substantial Iraqi forces in its sector, which were to be withdrawn.

All four of these conferences followed a similar pattern, the framework of which was the Security Council's resolution of Nov. 16, 1948. Bunche was chairman of the conferences with Egypt and Jordan, and his personal deputy, Henri Vigier, chaired the conferences with Lebanon and Syria. They were assisted by the Chief of Staff of the UN Truce Supervision Organization (U.N.T.S.O.), Major General William E. Riley (U.S. Marine Corps). The negotiations proceeded both formally and informally, and frequently directly and not in the presence of the United Nations representatives. When the conference with Jordan encountered difficulties, the major issues were resolved directly between the two governments outside the conference. At one time, when the conference with Syria was on the point of breaking down, the general settlement of the issues of principle was negotiated by the governments directly, through UN Secretary-General Trygve Lie.

The four agreements also conform to a pattern. The Egyptian Agreement, being the first, constituted the model. In addition to two matters specifically mentioned in the Security Council resolution, namely, the establishment of the armistice itself and a withdrawal and reduction of the armed forces to insure its maintenance during the transition to permanent peace, they included provisions for the repatriation of prisoners of war. Each agreement provided for a bilateral Mixed Armistice Commission (M.A.C.), composed of representatives of the two sides under the chairmanship of the Chief of Staff of U.N.T.S.C.O. or his representative. At the armistice conferences, decisions could be reached only through the agreement of both parties; the M.A.C.s, however, operated by majority vote, the chairman also having a vote. The Egyptian Agreement contained provisions for an appeal committee from the M.A.C. but this was not followed in the other agreements. In practice, serious disputes not settled by the M.A.C. were left suspended or brought before the Security Council. The Demarcation Lines were determined primarily on the basis of local military needs, but subsequently, considerable difficulties arose in marking the lines on the ground.

As a result of the negotiations, Egypt was left in control of the Gaza Strip, but otherwise withdrew behind the previous frontier; Israeli forces withdrew from areas occupied in Lebanon, and the Demarcation Line followed the previous frontier; Jordan was left in control of a large bulge on the west bank of the Jordan River, including the Old City of Jerusalem; and Syrian armed forces withdrew to the Syria-Palestine international frontier, the areas between that line and the line of their forward advance in the War of Independence constituting a demilitarized zone which was also extended to the Ein Gev sector.

The agreements, both as originally conceived by the Security Council and as stated expressly in each of them, were provisional measures, not prejudicing the rights, claims, or positions of any party to facilitate the transition from the truce to permanent peace. They were hailed as such in the Security Council in August 1949 and were regarded by many representatives as virtually constituting non-aggression pacts between the parties. However, almost from the beginning, fundamental differences of opinion concerning their real purport became apparent and led to gradual loss of effectiveness on the part of the M.A.C. machinery. The Arab governments regarded the armistices as incidents in a war, which left intact their general belligerent rights. The most spectacular illustration of this was Egypt's refusal to raise the blockade of the Suez Canal and its later extension of the blockade to the Gulf of Akaba – actions which earned the censure of the Security Council in its resolution of Sept. 1, 1951. Israel, on the other hand, putting the agreements in the context of the United Nations Charter, considered that they terminated any possible state of war.

Although it was generally thought that the armistice would be of short duration and that the negotiations then being conducted through the Palestine Conciliation Commission would rapidly lead to a general peace settlement, such hopes were soon frustrated. After the final breakdown of the commission's negotiations in 1951, the stresses on the armistice increased. By 1955 it was becoming obvious that the agreements were wearing thin, and efforts were made by UN Secretary-General Dag Hammarskjold to arrest their deterioration, which was particularly marked in the case of the Egyptian and Syrian Agreements. In the *Sinai Campaign of Oct.–Nov. 1956 Israel announced that because of Egyptian belligerency and persistent violations of the armistice, the Egyptian Agreement was no longer serving any useful purpose and withdrew from further participation in that M.A.C.

The other agreements continued to function, although with varying degrees of difficulty and strain. However, toward the end of 1966, despite efforts by UN Secretary-General U Thant, tensions caused by Syrian encouragement of Arab terrorists, as well as direct encroachments on the Demilitarized Zone, led to the collapse of that agreement. The war of June 1967 swept away what was left of the armistice which was replaced by new cease-fire arrangements on the basis of the resolutions of the Security Council of June 1967.

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[Shabtai Rosenne]

ARMLEDER, medieval German lawless bands, so called after the leather armpiece worn by the peasantry instead of the metal armor worn by knights; this served as a class label to denote the peasantry in particular during popular disturbances. The *Armleder* became identified with a gang of *Judenschlaeger* ("Jew-killers") who ranged Franconia and Alsace from 1336 to 1339. They were motivated by the feelings of hatred in which the Jews were held and the social tensions thus stimulated in Christian society in the first half of the 14th century. The preliminary band of *Judenschlaeger* was led through Franconia in 1336 by a nobleman claiming that an angel had called upon him to kill the Jews. The following year a tavernkeeper, John Zimberlin, claimed to be a prophet called upon to avenge Christ. He was assisted by a nobleman, Umbehoven of Dorlisheim. Zimberlin gathered together a gang of peasants armed with pitchforks and distinguished by leather armbands, and assumed the title Kunig (king) Armleder. The marauders overran Upper Alsace, and ravaged 120 communities; in many cities the populace handed over the Jewish residents. The Jews of Rouffach, Ensisheim, and Muelhausen (*Mulhouse) were massacred, their belongings in the two first cities confiscated by the bishop of Strasbourg, while the emperor Ludwig of Bavaria lent his tacit support to the crime by exonerating the city of Muelhausen from guilt in return for an indemnity of 1,000 pounds. The assault was repeated in Ribeauville, where it is said that about 1,500 Jews perished. During the prolonged siege of *Colmar the leading citizens refused to surrender the Jewish inhabitants, and on the arrival of imperial troops there

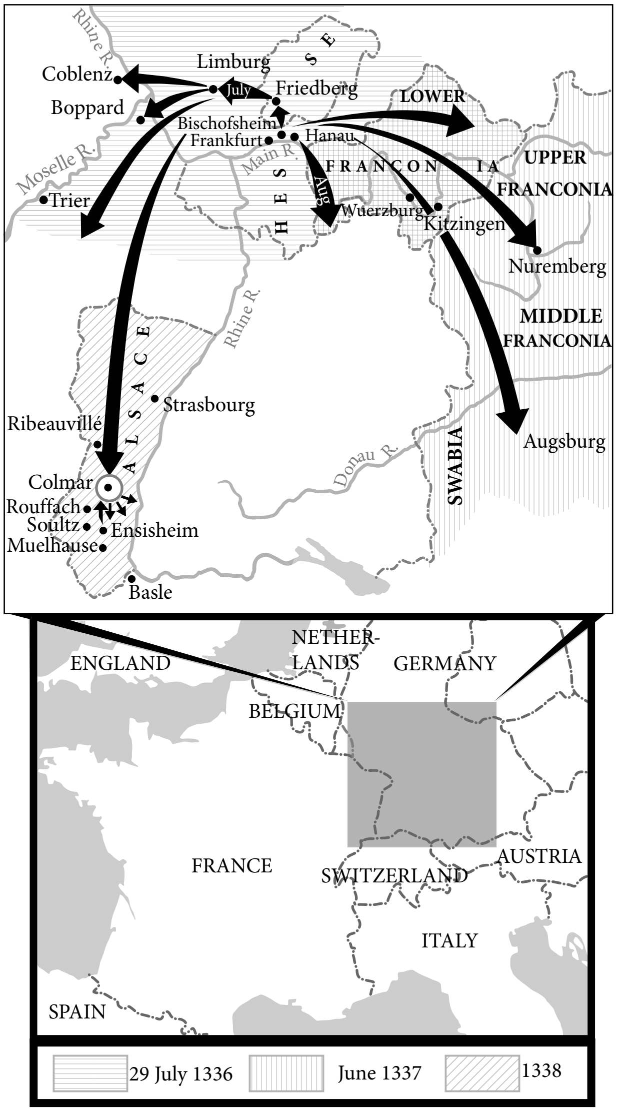

The Armleder Massacres.

"King Armleder" fled to France; Ludwig thereupon ceded the Jews to the city for 4,000 pounds, thus leaving them to the mercy of the populace. After Ludwig's departure Zimberlin returned to Alsace and continued his depredations. Before long, however, the *Armleder* began to menace the general peace and security, not confining their attacks to the Jewish population. On May 17, 1338, the bishop of Strasbourg made an agreement with several lords and 12 cities to end the raids and protect the Jews. On Aug. 28, 1339, a ten-year armistice was concluded with Zimberlin, who promised to refrain from further attacks. Additional *Landfrieden* ("alliances") were concluded to combat brigandage against both Jews and Christians in the Rhine Valley. The attacks persisted in certain districts of Alsace. The *Armleder* massacres were a prelude to the slaughter of the Jewish population during the *Black Death.

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[Georges Weill]

°ARNALDO OF VILLANOVA (1240–1311), Spanish theologian, physician, and diplomat. Arnaldo taught medicine in Naples, Montpellier, and Paris. He studied Hebrew and Arabic, as well as talmudic and rabbinical literature under the guidance of Raymond *Martini. Although he aroused official anger by criticizing the superstitious and demonological elements in Christianity, Arnaldo followed common prejudice by ostracizing his Jewish colleagues. He attacked leading ecclesiastics for consulting Jewish physicians, and forbade laymen to do so. He proposed that the Jews should be offered the choice of conversion or exile. Jewish scholars, on their part, showed an unflagging interest in Arnaldo's scientific work and writings. More of his works were translated into Hebrew than of any other Christian physician in the Middle Ages. Several of these translations are extant in manuscript. One was translated under the title *Hanhagat ha-Beri'ut* ("Ways to Health") by Israel Kaslari in 1327; and another entitled *Ha-Parabolot* (345 medical aphorisms) by Abraham Avigdor in 1378. The original Latin text of Arnaldo's book on the use of drugs in digestive diseases was lost but the work survived in Hebrew translation (by Avigdor in 1381 and Todros b. Moses Yom Tov in 1394).

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ARNDT, ADOLF (1849–1926), German jurist. He was born in Freienwalde, Pomerania, joined the administration of Mines in 1877 as legal adviser, and eventually became deputy director of the Mining Bureau in Halle. He taught at the universities of Halle and Koenigsberg, of which he became rector in 1904; after his retirement, he served as honorary professor at the universities of Frankfurt-on-Main and Marburg. Arndt also practiced criminal law and, together with Hellweg, edited *Deutsche Strafgesetzgebung* (German Criminal Law). He exercised considerable influence on the development of German constitutional and administrative law. His publications include *Die Verfassungsurkunde fuer den preussischen Staat…* (1886) and *Verfassung des Deutschen Reichs* (1895). His son, ADOLF ARNDT (1904–1974), was a jurist as well and a leading member of the German Social Democratic Party and a member of the German Bundestag from 1949 to 1964.

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[B. Mordechai Ansbacher / Marcus Pyka (2nd ed]

°ARNDT, ERNST MORITZ (1769–1860), German antisemitic writer. Arndt, who was born in Schoritz (Ruegen), ranks among the fathers of modern journalism. He played a crucial part in the development of German nationalism, with a corollary of hostility to and fear of the Jews. He was one of the first exponents of racialism (see Theory of *Race). In his *Blick aus der Zeit auf die Zeit* (*noch etwas ueber die Juden*; 1814), Arndt considered that the Jews had become "a depraved and degenerate people, … unfit to be full citizens in a Christian state" (p. 180–201). German-born Jews were less noxious and might be tolerated out of Christian charity, but those coming from Poland and elsewhere should not be permitted to enter Germany, lest the German stock should become tainted by admixture (*Mischung*).

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[Marcus Pyka (2nd ed.)]

ARNHEIM, FISCHEL (1812–1864), German politician and attorney. Arnheim was a well-known lawyer in his native Bayreuth and became interested in constitutional problems. In 1848 he was elected to the Bavarian *Landtag* (parliament), where by virtue of his legal training and political ability he played an active role in the drafting of important legislation. Arnheim fought for the fundamental rights of the Frankfurt *Nationalversammlung* (National Assembly) and, as an adherent of Hapsburg policy, supported the independence of Bavaria. He was active in the struggle for the abolition of capital punishment and the separation of the judicial branch of government from the executive branch. Arnheim strenuously combated antisemitism and the defamation of Jews. He was well versed in Jewish scholarship and engaged in a public debate with the Catholic theologian Doellinger. He devoted special efforts to the repeal of regulations designed to discriminate against Jews and curtail their rights (in particular the Matrikel Laws designed to limit the number of Jews in every town and village).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: AZDJ, 28 (1864), 115–16; A. Eckstein, *Beitraege zur Geschichte der Juden in Bayern* (1902), 7–16. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** A. Eckstein, in: A. Chroust (ed.), *Lebenslaeufe aus Franken*, 7:2 (1922), 11–13.

[B. Mordechai Ansbacher / Marcus Pyka (2nd ed.)]

ARNHEIM, HEYMANN (1796–1869), German translator and grammarian. Arnheim taught himself German, French, English, Latin, and Greek, as well as some Arabic. After leading the unsettled life of a private tutor, he was appointed head of the Jewish school in Fraustadt/Wschowa. Three years later, in 1827, he became head of the Jewish school in Glogau (Lower Silesia), where he gave the first sermon in German. From 1849 to 1857 he also served as assessor for the rabbinate. His translation of and commentary on the Book of Job (1836) attracted the attention of Leopold Zunz, who commissioned him to translate a large number of books for his German Bible translation (1837–38; 17th ed., 1935). The Book of Jeremiah he translated in conjunction with Michael Sachs. Arnheim also published a translation of the *siddur*, including the *piyyutim* (*yoẓerot*) for all special Sabbaths and Purim (1839–40). His *Grammatik der hebraeischen Sprache* was edited by D. Cassel and published posthumously (1872). Arnheim also wrote for the *Hallesche Jahrbuecher*, the *Magazin fuer die Literatur des Auslands,* and other scholarly journals.

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[Marcus Pyka (2nd ed.)]

ARNOLD, ABE (1922–), Canadian journalist, human rights advocate, and community leader. Arnold was born and educated in Montreal. After wartime service in the Canadian Army, he began a more than 50-year career combining journalism with Jewish community service. A man of deeply held progressive instincts, Arnold became English-language editor of the Toronto-based Yiddish-English weekly *Vochenblat* before he moved to Vancouver, where for almost 20 years he was editor and publisher of the *Jewish Western Bulletin*, the voice of western-Canadian Jewry.

Returning to Montreal in 1960, for five years he directed publicity and public relations for the Combined Jewish Appeal. He then moved to Winnipeg, where he served eight years as Western Regional Executive Director of the Canadian Jewish Congress in Winnipeg. Reflecting his passion for human rights Arnold was a founder and for a decade executive director of the Manitoba Association of Rights and Liberties. He had a hands-on role in drafting the Manitoba Human Rights Act of 1984, ensuring it was the strongest human rights legislation in Canada.

A self-taught historian, he was also instrumental in founding the Jewish Historical Society of Western Canada. He wrote several books and numerous articles on Canadian Jewish history. Recognizing his dedication to the community the Canadian government awarded him membership in the Order of Canada, the highest honor Canada can bestow on a citizen.

[Harold Troper (2nd ed.)]

ARNOLD, EVE (1913–), U.S. photographer. The first woman to be a member of the prestigious Magnum Photo Agency, Arnold was born in Philadelphia to Russian immigrants (her father, William Cohen, was a rabbi) and took up photography in 1946 after working at a photo-finishing plant in New York City. Her first picture was of a Bowery bum on the New York waterfront "sleeping off his excesses," she said. In 1948, she married Arnold Arnold, an industrial designer, and gave birth to their son, Frank. Arnold began her professional career while living on Long Island, near New York, in the 1950s. "People would come out to Long Island for me to photograph them on the beach," she recalled in an interview. "I took a series of Marilyn Monroe standing among the bulrushes. She was a beginning starlet and had seen photographs I'd done of Marlene Dietrich." She photographed Monroe in six formal sessions over a ten-year period. "Unschooled, clever, intuitive, very smart, she exuded fun and joy, and then as the years went by she became sad, withdrawn, and unhappy." Her pictures of movie stars and celebrities caught off guard resulted in memorable images: a slouchy Dietrich in a recording studio, Paul *Newman glued to a lecture at the Actors Studio, a 50-plus Joan Crawford in the nude, all shot in black and white. These photographs changed the nature of Hollywood photography from formal to informal and set the tone for the celebrity photos now common.

During that period, Arnold also photographed the first five minutes of a baby's life for *Life* magazine. "I photographed birth around the world, the last place Tibet. I photographed more deliveries than most doctors have delivered babies." She said the personal tragedy of losing a child had led her to this subject. "The only way I could lay that pain to rest was by going to the source."

Arnold became best known for her intimate photographs of Monroe on the set of the 1961 film *The Misfits*, which was written for her by her husband Arthur *Miller. The photographs, preserved in more than 200 contact sheets, are considered classics both for the photography and the emotion portrayed between Monroe and her husband. Arnold also photographed Malcolm X in Harlem in the early 1950s, seedy life in pre-Castro Cuba, and the dreadful life inside an insane asylum in Haiti. She additionally took candid shots of Senator Joseph R. McCarthy and Roy Cohn in their hearing room in 1954 as well as stark images of Khrushchev's Soviet Union. She was one of the first photojournalists to work in color, and she made lavish images of mainland China in the 1970s.

In 1962, Arnold moved to London to enroll her son at the boarding school where her husband had studied. The marriage fell apart, and Arnold lived in London and continued to photograph in places mostly closed to the rest of the world. She published 12 books and her work is included in most major museum collections. Her many honors include the Lifetime Achievement Award from the American Society of Magazine Photographers in 1980. In 1995, she was made a fellow of the Royal Photographic Society and was elected Master Photographer, the world's most prestigious photographic honor, by New York's International Center of Photography.

[Stewart Kampel (2nd ed.)]

ARNOLD, PAULA (1885–1968), Israeli columnist. Born in Vienna, the daughter of Leon *Kellner, Arnold taught at girls' high schools until 1933, when she settled in Palestine. She wrote *Austria of the Austrians* (1914) and translated novels and plays into German. For the centenary of the birth of Theodor *Herzl (1960), she prepared an English translation of his *Altneuland* ("Old–New Land") which was published in Israel in that year. She also wrote *Birds of Israel* (1962) and published *Israel Nature Notes* (1965), a selection of articles written for the *Jerusalem Post*.

ARNON (Heb. אַרְנוֹן; Ar. *al-Mawjib*), river in Transjordan having its source east of the al-Karak region and flowing south to north, then turning west for an overall distance of 50 mi. (80 km.). After the Jordan, it is one of the longest water courses in the Ereẓ Israel region. In its lower course it runs through a steep narrow valley and empties into the Dead Sea through a gateway 44 yd. (40 m.) wide of red and rose-colored layers of sandstone. The volume of its waters fluctuates considerably between the rainy season and the summer and autumn months; however, it is one of a few rivers in Israel that contains water all through the year. The average is estimated at 2 cu. m. per second, but due to the steepness of its banks they have so far not been exploited. When the Israelites reached the eastern side of the Jordan in the period of the Exodus, the Arnon marked the boundary between *Moab and the *Amorites (Num. 22:36). The Amorites had previously wrested the northern area from the Moabites (*ibid.* 21:13–15, 24–29). In their war against the Amorites, Moses and the Israelites had to cross the upper reaches of the Arnon (Deut. 2:24); they conquered the territory lying north of it up to the *Jabbok. This area was allotted by Moses (later confirmed by Joshua) to the tribe of *Reuben (Deut. 3:8, 12, 16; Josh. 12:1–2; 13:9, 16; Judg. 11:18, 26), making the Arnon its border with Moab. The border and the fort over the ravine were dominated by the city of *Aroer (Deut. 2:36; 3:12; 4:48; Josh. 12:2; 13:9, 16). In the ninth century B.C.E. Mesha, king of Moab, recovered part of the lands north of the Arnon, and in his inscription (line 26), speaks of the roads (*mesillot*) which he built across it. Moab, in fact, never accepted the Arnon as its northern border, although Jephthah describes it as the established northern frontier of Moab in his message to the Ammonite king (Judg. 11:26). The region north of the Arnon was conquered by Hazael of Damascus, from Jehu, and finally annexed by Tiglath-Pileser III of Assyria in 733 B.C.E. Both Isaiah (16:2) and Jeremiah (48:20) mention the Arnon in connection with Moab. The fords of the Arnon, referred to by Isaiah (16:2 – Mesha's *mesillot*), constituted an important link in the King's Highway connecting Elath with Damascus by way of Transjordan (Num. 20:17; 21:22; cf. 20:19). In Hasmonean times, when first John Hyrcanus and then Alexander Yannai subdued this region, the Arnon formed the border between their kingdoms and the *Nabateans (Jos., Ant., 13:254–55, 397). A legion stationed at "Castra Arnonensia" in Roman times guarded the road from Elath to Bozrah where it crossed the Arnon Valley. The Arab geographer al-Idrīsī speaks enthusiastically of the wildlife in the neighborhood of the Arnon ravine and of the abundance of fish in its waters. Rabbinic sources include the fords of the Arnon among the places at the sight of which the blessing "Blessed be He who performed miracles to our forefathers at this place" must be pronounced, and at the same time they describe the fantastic nature of these miracles performed in Moses' time (Ber. 54b; Tanḥ. B., Num. 127). An ancient road probably built by Mesha, king of Moab, which connected the southern parts of Moab to northern Moab, was discovered near the river.

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ARNON, ABRAHAM (1887–1960), educationalist. Arnon was born in Cherikov, Belorussia. He studied both in *ḥeder* and in the local secular Russian school, and in 1912 graduated in economics from the High School of Commerce and Economies in Kiev. In 1913 he immigrated to Ereẓ Israel and taught in Jerusalem and Tel Aviv. From 1922 to 1931 he was principal of the Laemel School in Jerusalem and active in the Hebrew Teachers' Association. In 1933 he was appointed inspector of schools and in 1948 chief inspector. On the establishment of the State he was appointed a member of the executive of the Ministry of Education and Culture, and from 1953 to 1955 was chief inspector for schools. He contributed numerous articles to pedagogical journals on topical problems of education. He was awarded the Israel Prize for education in 1960.

ARNON, DANIEL ISRAEL (1910–1994), U.S. biochemist. Born in Poland, Arnon received his B.Sc. in 1932 and his Ph.D. in plant physiology in 1936 from the University of California, Berkeley, where later he became professor of cell physiology and biochemistry. After military service in World War II, he set up and directed an experimental nutrient culture center on Ascension Island in the mid-Atlantic Ocean, for the United States Army Air Corps. Except for this military service and sabbatical leaves in England, Sweden, Germany, Switzerland, and Pacific Grove, California, he spent his entire career at Berkeley. His early research was concerned with the utilization of various trace elements by plants, and led to the elucidation of the role of such metals as molybdenum and vanadium. As a result, Arnon began his studies of photosynthesis in 1948. From 1951 until the end of his life, Arnon concentrated on photosynthesis. His major contribution to science dealt with the role of light, showing how light energy is converted by the green pigment (chlorophyll) in plants to chemical energy in the form of adenosine triphosphate (ATP) by a phenomenon which he called photophosphorylation (photosynthetic phosphorylation), and he was the first to demonstrate complete photosynthesis outside the living cell (*New York Times,* December 30, 1954). Arnon received many awards for his pioneering work with photosynthesis. These included membership in the U.S. National Academy of Sciences and Academy of Arts and Sciences, election as a fellow of the American Association for the Advancement of Science (1962), and membership in various international learned societies.

[Sharon Zrachya (2nd ed.)]

ARNON (Aharonowitz), ISAAC (1909–), agronomist. Arnon was born in Antwerp, Belgium, where he completed his studies as an engineer in agronomy in 1931, immigrating to Ereẓ Israel the following year. After working as an agricultural laborer, he was appointed inspector of the Agricultural Experimental Station of the Mandatory Government in Acre in 1933. In this capacity he established a chain of experimental services in settlements throughout Ereẓ Israel, and in 1945 was made responsible for all experimental stations for field crops. On the establishment of the State, he founded an experimental station at Neve Ya'ar in the Jezreel Valley. In 1958 he was appointed director of the Volcani Institute of Agricultural Research, and in 1964 associate professor of field crops at the Hebrew University. He resigned from the Volcani Institute in 1968 to devote himself to research on plant protection. He was sent to many countries on behalf of the United Nations as advisor on agricultural research and development and served as chairman of the World Food Organization. He also represented Israel on the Scientific Committee of the World Bromine Institute in Berne. Arnon published many books and articles in Hebrew and English about agriculture, including his autobiography, *My Life with Plants and Farmers, Memoirs of an Agronomist in Palestine (Ereẓ Israel), Israel and the Rest of the World* (2000). He was awarded the Israel Prize for agriculture in 1971.

ARNON, RUTH (1933–), Israeli biochemist and immunologist. Born in Israel, Arnon graduated from the Hebrew University of Jerusalem (M.Sc. in chemistry in 1955) and received her Ph.D. in biochemistry in 1960 from the Weizmann Institute. She served two years in the Israeli Navy as a second lieutenant (1955–56), beginning her scientific career as a Ph.D. student at the Weizmann Institute of Science under Ephraim *Katzir and Michael *Sela, in the field of chemical immunology. Pursuing her scientific career there, she contributed to the understanding of the chemical basis of antigenicity and to the elucidation of the immunochemistry of enzymes. She became a full professor in 1975 and continued her research in immunology, focusing on autoimmunity and multiple sclerosis as well as on the development of synthetic vaccines. At the Weizmann Institute she was head of the Department of Chemical Immunology (1973–74 and 1975–78), director of the MacArthur Center for Parasitology (1984–94), dean of biology (1985–88), vice president (1988–93), and vice president for international scientific relations (1995–97). Her scientific work led to her receipt of several prizes, including the German Robert Koch Prize in Medical Sciences (1979), the Spanish Jimenez Diaz Award (1986), the French Legion of Honor (1994), the Wolf Prize (1988), the Rothschild Prize (1988), and the Israel Prize (2001). She is an elected member of the European Molecular Biology Organization (EMBO) and was elected to the Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities in 1990. At the academy she served as chairperson of the Sciences Division (1995–2001) and as vice president from 2004. In the international arena she served as president of the European Federation of Immunological Societies (EFIS) in 1983–86 and secretary-general of the International Union of Immunological Societies (IUIS) in 1989–93. Her name is linked with the drug to treat multiple sclerosis, which she invented at the Weizmann Institute and which was developed by TEVA Pharmaceutical Industries under the name Copaxone and is marketed worldwide. She was also involved in the development of an intranasal influenza vaccine and served as Advisor on Science and Technology to the president of Israel.

[Bracha Rager (2nd ed.)]

ARNONA (Heb. אַרְנוֹנָא, from Latin *Arnona*), annual crop tax. As in other Roman provinces the *arnona*, the duty to supply grain either for the Roman Army or for the city of Rome, was imposed in Judea. At the beginning of Roman rule there Julius Caesar made *Hyrcanus II responsible for remitting annually over 20,000 modii for the territory of Jaffa alone. The general tax due annually amounted to one quarter of the yield, but the Jews were exempt from the impost during the sabbatical year. The grain was collected in Sidon where the Roman warehouses for the *arnona* were situated. Information on the *arnona* in Ereẓ Israel in talmudic literature dates from the period after the destruction of the Second Temple.

During the third century C.E., with Ereẓ Israel constantly on the threshold of the arena of intermittent wars between Rome and Persia, taxes reached an intolerable level. This was especially the case with those used to supply the army, such as the *arnona militaris*, which toward the end of the third century, was the most important tax levied in the Roman Empire. It is this tax which is most often mentioned in rabbinic literature. The use of the term was extended to cover a tax not only on land, grain, and livestock, paid in kind (Tosef., Dem. 6:3), but also on bread, wine, meat, oil, clothing, etc. (ARN^1, 22, 71).

Furthermore, as part of this process of tax intensification, the exemption from the *arnona*, formerly granted for sabbatical years, was canceled in the third century. On one occasion, R. Yannai (c. 220–50) announced: "Go out and sow in the seventh year, because of the *arnona*," to aid the farmers in paying the heavy tax of the seventh year (Sanh. 26a; but cf. TJ, Sanh. 6:6, 21b). Isaac Nappaḥa (c. 250–320), extolling the virtues of one who observed the sabbatical laws, declared (Lev. R. 1:1)… "This man has left his field untilled and vineyard untended; yet he gives his *arnona* in silence [i.e., without complaint against God]. Is there one mightier than he?" (a reference to Ps. 103:20; but cf. Margulies ed. 4). However, when the burden became virtually unbearable, the patriarch Gamaliel III saw the need to legislate for a permanent easing of the sabbatical laws (Tosef., Shev. 1:1, 61; et al.; cf. Lieberman, *Tosefta ki-Feshutah*, 2 (1955) 482–3).

The *arnona militaris* was irregular and unpredictable, and therefore had halakhic implications. Thus, TJ, *Ḥallah* 3:4, 59a–b, explains why dough (*issah*) due to the *arnona* is nonetheless subject to the law of *ḥallah* (the removal of the priests' share of the dough) as follows: "In such a case [the dough] is still [considered to be] in the Jew's possession, as the Gentile may change his mind and not take it…" (cf. Lieberman, *ibid.*, 794). In the time of Diocletian (284–305) the *arnona* became a regular tax under a new name of *iugatio*. However, even afterward, it was sometimes levied unexpectedly on the population. Once, in the mid-fourth century Jonah had to order people to bake on the Sabbath in order to supply an *arnona* of bread (TJ, Shev. 4:2, 35a). In modern Israel *arnona* (*arnonah*) denotes municipal rates and property tax.

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[Abraham Schalit / Daniel Sperber]

ARNSTADT, city in Thuringia, Germany. The Jews living in Arnstadt in the middle of the 13th century had close ties with the Jews of *Erfurt, to which many of them later migrated. Four anti-Jewish outbreaks between 1264 and 1466 resulted in massacres, and following the last the Jews were expelled from Arnstadt. A Jewish community was reestablished in the 19th century. It numbered 59 in 1880, 137 in 1910, 87 in 1933, and 39 in 1939. Before the rise of Nazism, most of the Jews living in Arnstadt were prosperous, their main occupations being cattle-dealing and banking. The synagogue, built in 1913, was burned down by the Nazis on Nov. 10, 1938. The Jews still in the city in 1942 were sent to the death camps of the east. The community was not reconstituted after World War II.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Salfeld, Martyrol, 3, 19, 70; Germ Jud, 2 (1968), 21–23; PK. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** Germ Jud, 3 (1987), 27–29.

ARNSTEIN (**Arnsteiner**), family of court purveyors and financiers in Vienna in the 18th and first half of the 19th centuries. The firm owned by the Arnsteins held a high place among the Viennese business houses until overtaken by that of Solomon *Rothschild in the 1820s. It cooperated with the *Fould brothers in France until its breakdown in 1859 and was liquidated in 1873. The Arnsteins became connected by marriage with other leading Jewish families, such as the *Itzig, *Mendelssohn, and *Pereira families. They achieved notable successes in Viennese society and in contemporary intellectual and cultural circles. The second generation tended to assimilate, several embracing Catholicism.

(1) ISAAC AARON (c. 1682–1744), founder of the family firm and fortune, arrived in Vienna in 1705 from Arnstein near Wuerzburg. Starting in the service of Samson *Wertheimer, he successfully negotiated a number of important financial transactions, including the redemption from pawn of the Spanish crown jewels. He later worked in partnership with Samson and Wolf *Wertheimer as well as independently on a large scale, becoming purveyor to the court and military establishment of Emperor Charles VI. He used his financial influence to avert the expulsion of Jews from Vienna in 1736.

(2) ADAM ISAAC (in Jewish sources: Asher Anshel; 1721–1785), son of Isaac Aaron, married Sibylle (Bella), a daughter of Bendit Gomperz-Nymwegen. Adam Isaac became head of the Arnstein firm. As purveyor to the consort of Empress Maria Theresa, from 1762 he was freed from some humiliating restrictions to which the Jews in Austria were then subjected, being exempted from wearing the yellow *badge

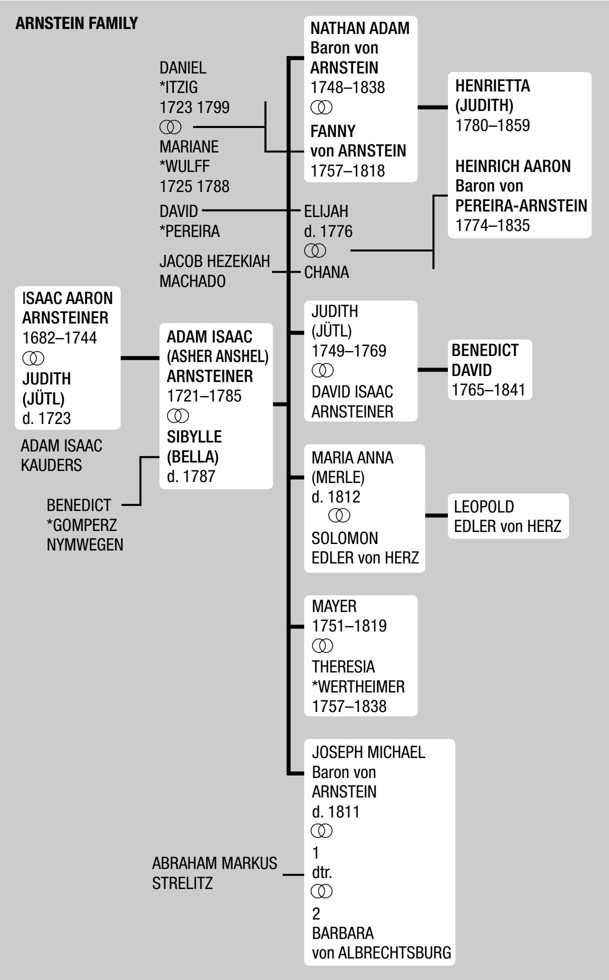
ARNSTEIN FAMILY
DANIEL *ITZIG 1723 1799
MARIANE *WULFF 1725 1788
NATHAN ADAM Baron von ARNSTEIN 1748–1838
FANNY von ARNSTEIN 1757–1818
HENRIETTA (JUDITH) 1780–1859
HEINRICH AARON Baron von PEREIRA-ARNSTEIN 1774–1835
DAVID *PEREIRA
ELIJAH d. 1776
CHANA
JACOB HEZEKIAH MACHADO
ISAAC AARON ARNSTEINER 1682–1744
JUDITH (JÜTL) d. 1723
ADAM ISAAC (ASHER ANSHEL) ARNSTEINER 1721–1785
SIBYLLE (BELLA) d. 1787
ADAM ISAAC KAUDERS
BENEDICT *GOMPERZ NYMWEGEN
JUDITH (JÜTL) 1749–1769
DAVID ISAAC ARNSTEINER
BENEDICT DAVID 1765–1841
MARIA ANNA (MERLE) d. 1812
SOLOMON EDLER von HERZ
LEOPOLD EDLER von HERZ
MAYER 1751–1819
THERESIA *WERTHEIMER 1757–1838
JOSEPH MICHAEL Baron von ARNSTEIN d. 1811
1 dtr.
2 BARBARA von ALBRECHTSBURG
ABRAHAM MARKUS STRELITZ

and permitted to wear a sword. He obtained more privileges in 1768 after threatening to leave Vienna for the Netherlands, but undertook not to ask for tax relief. Active in matters affecting the Vienna community, in 1744–45 he helped secure diplomatic intervention to prevent the expulsion of the Jews from Prague; he secured Austrian intercession with the government of Saxony and the Hamburg senate concerning Jewish rights. His favorite son, JOSEPH MICHAEL VON ARNSTEIN (d. 1811), became a Catholic in 1778, and married, for a second time, into the aristocracy. Joseph was ennobled in 1783, and had considerable social and business success. He was disowned in his father's will for having abandoned Judaism; Adam Isaac, however, had been made to pay him a compensatory sum at baptism.

(3) NATHAN ADAM (1748–1838), son of Adam Isaac, made large-scale loans to the government under *Joseph II. He and his brother-in-law and partner, Bernhard *Eskeles, expanded their business activities during the Napoleonic Wars. They financed inter alia the Tyrolese peasant revolt against the French and Bavarians, and a peak in the Alps was named "Arnstein-Spitze." Although little interested in Judaism, he subscribed to Moses *Mendelssohn's Bible translation and introduced Naphtali Hirz *Wessely to the Trieste community. During the Congress of Vienna (1814–15), he and other Jewish notables signed a petition to the emperor requesting civil rights for Austrian Jews. Historians differ as to the extent of his activities at the Congress on behalf of the Jews. His daughter HENRIETTA (Judith; 1780–1859) married Heinrich Pereira (1774–1835), reputedly a relative of Diego *d'Aguilar. They had their children baptized, and later followed suit themselves.

(4) FANNY (Franziska, Voegelchen; 1757–1818), daughter of Daniel *Itzig of Berlin, married Nathan Adam (see above) in 1776. At her famed salon, Fanny's artistic and cultural interests, together with her feminine charm, combined to attract many of the leading personalities of the day. Among them were the *Varnhagens and the *Schlegels, Mme. de Stael, and the Austrian writer Franz Grillparzer as well as the aristocracy, including Emperor Joseph II. Her sister Rebecca Ephraim, celebrated for her wit, and her niece Marianne Saaling (Salomon), famous for her beauty, enhanced her salon. A count of Lichtenstein was killed in a duel for Fanny's sake. She was a co-founder of the Music Society of Austria and for some time Mozart was on her payroll. Her social influence was greatest during the Congress of Vienna, and "the congress danced" mainly in her ballrooms. Most of the chief delegates, including Metternich, Hardenberg, and Talleyrand, attended her glittering receptions, which became a center of political intrigue. Fanny adopted the way of life, not to say libertine habits, of contemporary non-Jewish society. She had the first Christmas tree known in Vienna. However, she retained sentiments of loyalty to Judaism and felt it a duty to help needy Jews, principles which she tried to instill in her Catholic daughter in her wills of 1793 and 1806. Fanny died a Jewess, her final testament endowing equally the Jewish hospital and a home for aged Catholic priests. She was buried in Waehring cemetery and was eulogized by N.H. *Homberg; her husband gave an ark curtain to the synagogue in her memory.

(5) BENEDICT DAVID (1765–1841), dramatist and banker; grandson of Adam Isaac (2). His first publication, in dramatic form, *Eynige Juedische Familienscene bey Erblickung des Patents ueber die Freyheiten, welche die Juden in den Kayserlichen Staaten erhalten haben, von einem juedischen Juengling* (1782), describes the joy felt by Jewish families at the granting of Joseph II's **Toleranzpatent*. It was the first German work by a Jew published in Hapsburg territory. His later dramas were not concerned with Jewish themes, and he subsequently occupied himself in banking.

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[Meir Lamed]

ARNSTEIN, WALTER LEONARD (1930–), U.S. historian. Born in Stuttgart, Germany, Arnstein immigrated to the United States in 1939 and became an American citizen in 1944. He served in Korea with the U.S. Army from 1951 to 1953 and earned his Ph.D. in 1961 at Northwestern University. He next taught at his alma mater as well as at Roosevelt University (1957–67). He was then appointed professor of history at the University of Illinois. Arnstein served as a member of the Department of History of the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign from 1968 to 1998, and holds the titles Professor of History Emeritus and Jubilee Professor of the Liberal Arts and Sciences Emeritus. He served for four years as department chair and for four years as department director of graduate studies. In 1987 he won the all-campus award for excellence in undergraduate teaching.

A specialist in British history, Arnstein wrote *The Bradlaugh Case: A Study in Late Victorian Opinion and Politics* (1965, 1984); *Britain, Yesterday and Today: 1830 to the Present* (1966, 2001^8); and *Queen Victoria* (2003). He also published two monographs on religious issues in Victorian England and 30 articles. Seven of the articles deal with Queen Victoria, whose papers he examined in the Royal Archives at Windsor.

Arnstein served as president of the Midwest Victorian Studies Association (1977–80), the Midwest Conference on British Studies (1980–82), and the North American Conference of British Studies (1995–97). In 1991 the annual Walter L. Arnstein Prize for Ph.D. students in Victorian Studies was established by the Midwest Victorian Studies Association.

[Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

AROCH, ARIE (1908–1974), Israeli painter and diplomat. Aroch was born as Lyoba Niselevitch in Kharkov, Ukraine, the third child of Rivka Shulamit and Chaim. His father was a Zionist activist. In 1924 Aroch immigrated with his family to Ereẓ Israel, settling in Tel Aviv. He studied art at the Bezalel Academy of Arts and Design in Jerusalem and at the Colarossi Academy in Paris.

During the 1930s and 1940s Aroch had many one-man exhibitions and also participated in group exhibitions of young artists. His friendship with Avraham Halfi and other theater people led him to the design of stage sets. In 1942 he was inducted into the British Army. In the 1950s and the 1960s Aroch served in diplomatic posts in Argentina, Moscow, Brazil, and Stockholm (ambassador in the last two). In 1972 he was awarded the Israel Prize for art.

During the 1950s Aroch's artistic style changed from the figurative to the expressionistic, moving toward abstraction. In these years he developed his unique way of referring to Jewish motifs. He looked for a way to give them in modernist forms. He would thus quote from Jewish icons (for example from *The Sarajevo Haggadah*) but design them differently using a personal modernist method to create a completely new image out of the old icon (*Jewish Motif*, 1961, Tel Aviv Museum of Art).

His best-known art work is *Agrippas Street* (1964, The Israel Museum, Jerusalem). He began the creation of this work in Stockholm, where he painted abstractly his memories of and yearning for both his homes: the one in the Ukraine where he had spent his childhood and his home in Israel. To this end Aroch attached a "found object," which was an enamel street sign. The object integrates memories from his father's shoemaking workshop and from his student life in Jerusalem. The name of the street derives from the name of Jerusalem's market street and the name of the last Jewish governor appointed for Jerusalem in the years 41–44 C.E., referring to a period when Ereẓ Israel country was governed by scions of the Hasmonean dynasty. The linkage in this work between present and past, Israel and the Diaspora, as well as the dialogue between different modernist styles contributed to the fame of this work.

In general Aroch's art works are characterized by significant repetitive motifs, such as bus in the mountain, two cubes, angels, and boats, all of them with ambiguous and complex meanings.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: O. Mordechai (ed.), *Arie Aroch* (2003).

[Ronit Steinberg (2nd ed.)]

AROER (Heb. עֲרוֹעֵר, עֲרֹעֵר), (1) city on the northern bank of the Arnon River belonging to the domain of Sihon the Amorite king (Josh. 12:2), from whom Moses and the Israelites conquered it before they entered Canaan. It was then allotted to either the tribe of Reuben (Deut. 2:36; 3:12; 4:48; Josh. 12:2; Judg. 11:26) or to Gad (Num. 32:34; Josh. 13:9). Jephthah in his message to the Amorite king speaks of Israel as having "dwelt… in Aroer and its towns… 300 years" (Judg. 11:26) and he proceeded to defeat the Amorite cities from Aroer northward (*ibid.* 11:33). One of David's "mighty men," the Aroerite (I Chron. 11:44), may have come from this city (or perhaps from No. 3 below). Aroer was the southernmost city in Israel's territory east of the Jordan and the starting point of David's census (II Sam. 24:5). According to the inscription of Mesha, king of Moab, he fortified the city and also constructed the Arnon fort dominated by Aroer. It was captured by Hazael during the reign of Jehu (842–815 B.C.E.; see II Kings 10:33) and annexed by Tiglath-Pileser III in his campaign against Aram and Israel in 733 B.C.E. At about the same time, Isaiah (17:2) mentioned Aroer as belonging to Damascus, but the reading is doubtful (cf. Septuagint) and another place may be meant. Aroer is the present-day Khirbet Arair where excavations have uncovered a strong Iron Age fortress. (2) An unidentified city opposite the Ammonite capital of Rabbah (Josh. 13:25; Judg. 11:33). (3) Aroer was also the name of a city in the Negev, included among those to which David distributed the booty taken from Amalek (I Sam. 30:28). It is probably included in the southern district of Judah referred to in the corrupted form "Adadah" (Josh. 15:22). It is identified with Khirbet Arara, 12½ mi. (20 km.) southeast of Beersheba, a prominent tell with Iron Age remains, overlooking an important well.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: (1) Abel, Geog, 2 (1938), 250; Glueck, in: AASOR, 14 (1934), 49ff.; Aharoni, Land, index; Olávarri, in: RB, 72 (1965), 77–94. (3) Abel, Geog, 2 (1938), 250; N. Glueck, *Rivers in the Desert* (1959), 184ff.

[Michael Avi-Yonah]

AROLLIA, ISAAC BEN MOSES (16th century), Salonikan rabbi and author. Arollia was a disciple of Joseph *Taitaẓak. He is the author of *Beit Tefillah* (Salonika, 1583), a kabbalistic commentary on the liturgy; *Tanḥumot El* (*ibid.*, 1578), sermons on the Pentateuch; and *Makhil Kohelet* (*ibid.*, 1573), on Ecclesiastes. His halakhic decisions are cited in *Divrei Rivot* (*ibid.*, 1582) of Isaac Adarbi. The Arollia family is widespread in the Middle East, where many of its members are known as Aroyo, Alroy, and Ben Aroloyo.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Conforte, Kore, 39b; Rosanes, Togarmah, 2 (1938), 68.

[Itzhak Alfassi]

AROM, SIMHA (1930–), Israeli-French ethnomusicologist. Arom studied the French horn at the Paris Conservatoire with Jean Devémy and received first prize there in 1954. From 1958 to 1963 he played horn in the Israel Broadcasting Authority Symphony Orchestra in Jerusalem. However, Arom received international recognition first of all as ethnomusicologist. In 1963, Arom was sent to the Central African Republic, where he did extensive fieldwork, founded the Musée National Boganda at Bangui, and was its director until 1967. Subsequently he studied musicology at the Sorbonne and received his Ph.D. in 1985 with a thesis on polyphony and polyrhythmic in the instrumental folk music of Central Africa, based on his African experience. After a long stint as researcher at the Centre national de la recherche scientifique (CNRS) in Paris, he was appointed Directeur de Recherche de Classe Exeptionelle there in 1993. In Israel he was made associate professor at Tel Aviv University (1979–83) and music director of the Israel Broadcasting Authority (1980–82).

Arom's main research interests are connected with Central Africa's folk music (polyphonic and polymetric structures) as well as with Jewish liturgical music of the Yemenite and Ethiopian communities. In 1972 he devised new methodological procedures for analytical recording of oral traditional music, enabling such music to be transcribed and analyzed; in 1989 he developed an interactive experimental method for the perception of the organization of musical scales in orally transmitted music. His fundamental monograph, *Polyphonies and Polyritmies instrumentales d'Afrique Centrale. Structure et méthodologie* (1985), was translated into English in 1991. Among his awards are the Grand Prix International du Disque de l'Académie Charles Cros (1971, 1978, and 1985), and the Silver Medal of the CNRS (1984). In 1992 he won the ASCAP Deems Taylor Award for excellence in music literature.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: NG^2; MGG^2.

[Yulia Kreinin (2nd ed.)]

ARON, German family of medalists. PHILLIP ARON was active in the duchy of Mecklenburg-Schwerin, on the Baltic Sea, from about 1750 to 1787. Early in his career as medalist to the court, he struck an official medal for Duke Christian Ludwig II. He was followed by his younger brother ABRAHAM ARON (1744–1825), who worked first at Schwerin, up to 1776, as assistant to Phillip, then in Stockholm from 1776 to 1778, and then once more in Schwerin. His best known piece was struck to celebrate the accession of Frederick Franz I of Mecklenburg in 1785. This same duke also commissioned him to do a curious 50th anniversary medal of Olaus Gerhard *Tychsen, professor of Oriental languages in Mecklenburg, which shows both Hebrew and Arabic lettering at the foot of a palm tree.

[Daniel M. Friedenberg]

ARON, RAYMOND (1905–1983), French sociologist and writer. Aron, who was born in Paris, taught at Le Havre, Toulouse, Cologne, and Berlin. In 1956 he was appointed professor of sociology at the Sorbonne, and director of studies at the Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes in Paris in 1960. During World War II he was editor of *Free France – La France Libre*, published in London, and subsequently contributed both as writer and editor to *Combat, Le Figaro*, and the *European Journal of Sociology*, and other periodicals. In 1979 Aron was awarded the Goethe Prize of Frankfurt, a major literary award of West Germany. Philosophically, Aron was deeply influenced by the neo-Kantian Léon *Brunschvig and the phenomenologists Heidegger and *Husserl; in sociology he was influenced by Max Weber, and his critical study of several German sociologists, *Sociologie allemande contemporaine* (1936; *German Sociology*, 1957), reflects this influence. His most erudite and probing work is *Introduction à la philosophie de l'histoire* (1938; *Introduction to the Philosophy of History*, 1961), supplemented by *Les grandes doctrines de sociologie historique* (2 vols., 1960–62; *Main Currents in Sociological Thought*, 2 vols., 1965–67). In these works, Aron attempts to strike a balance between a humanistic sociology and a philosophically conceived treatment of the history of ideas, a combination of empiricism and phenomenology. His main interest was the analysis of modern industrial society which, in his opinion, is not so much defined by the class struggle as by the clash of competing political systems. Hence he was rather an exception among French thinkers of his time, and his commitment to liberal democracy set him apart from the then Marxist-dominated intellectual tendencies. Strongly opposed to Sartre's political views, he nevertheless joined him in the movement advocating the rights of Vietnamese refugees in the late 1970s. The return to pluralism and democracy in most French political philosophy in the 1980s and 1990s led to the rehabilitation of his works, which are now considered fundamental. He was a sophisticated commentator on the antecedents of modern society, on the dialectic between democracy and totalitarianism, on international relations, and on the terrifying issues raised by the cold war. Among his major works on these topics are *L'homme contre les tyrans* (1946); *L'Opium des intellectuels* (1955; *The Opium of the Intellectuals*, 1957); *Espoir et peur du siècle* (1957); *Le développement de la société industrielle et la stratification sociale* (2 vols., 1956–57); *Dimensions de la conscience historique* (1961); *Paix et guerre entre les nations* (1962); *Progress and Disillusion* (1968); *Histoire et dialectique de la violence* (1973); *Penser la guerre, Clausewitz* (1976; *Clausewitz, Philosopher of War,* 1983); *Plaidoyer pour l'Europe décadente* (1977; *In Defense of Decadent Europe*, 1984). His *Mémoires* were first published in 1983 (*Memoirs: Fifty Years of Political Reflection*, 1997).

Although not involved in Jewish affairs, Aron remained a conscious Jew. In a series of essays published as *De Gaulle, Israel and the Jews* (1969), he concluded that even if the French president was not himself an antisemite, his notorious press conference after the Six-Day War certainly encouraged the anti-Jewish elements in French society.

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[Alvin Boskoff and Werner J. Cahnman / Dror Franck Sullaper (2nd ed.)]

ARON, ROBERT (1898–1975), French author. After completing classical studies and being wounded in World War I, he engaged in literary activity, as private secretary to the powerful critic R. Doumic and as a participant in the rising publishing enterprise NRF. His main interest was the reform of political life in a broad socialist, universalist, and ethical perspective, known as "personalism." He was active in the movement "Ordie Nouveau," which saw in federalism a remedy against fascism. With Arnaud Dandieu (1897–1933), Aron wrote *Décadence de la nation française* (1931), *Le Cancer américain* (1931), *La Révolution nécessaire* (1933), and (on his own) *La Fin de l'apres-guerre* (1938). Arrested as a Jew in occupied France during World War II and liberated as a result of the intervention of Vichy authorities, he joined the Resistance movement and remained in hiding until he reached free Algiers. There he worked for the provisional French government and returned to his beloved themes in writing: *Fraternité des Français* (1943), *Précis de l'unité française* (1945), and *Principes du fédéralisme* (1948, with Alexandre Marc).

After the liberation of France he devoted himself principally to contemporary and religious history. In addition to general studies on topical problems, *Les Origines de la Guerre d'Algérie* (1962), *Les Grands dossiers de l'histoire contemporaine* (1962), *Les Nouveaux grands dossiers de l'histoire contemporaine* (1963), *Le Socialisme français face au marxisme* (1971), he studied the internal rivalry which had divided the French people in World War II in his books *Le Piege ou nous a pris l'histoire* (1950), *Histoire de Vichy* (1954, with the half-Jewess Georgette Elgey [Lacour-Grayet]), *Histoire de la libération de la France* (1959), *Charles de Gaulle* (1964), and *Histoire de l'epuration* (four volumes, 1967–75). The tragedy of the fate of European Jewry awakened his Jewish consciousness, which he sought to confront with his Christian-based education in works such as *Retour a L'Eternel* (1946), *Portrait de Jésus* (1951), *Ce que je crois* (1958), *Les Années obscures de Jésus* (1960), the first volume of a *Histoire de Dieu* (1963), *Ainsi priait Jesus enfant* (1968), *Discours contre la methode* (1974), *Lettre ouverte a l'Eglise de France* (1975). Towards the end of his life he was reaching a neo-orthodox position – a living approach to the traditional teachings. His prestige in the world of literary criticism led to his election to the Académie française (1974), but he died a few days before the official ceremony.

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[Moshe Catane]

ARONI (Aharoni), TSVI (1917–1990), cantor and professor of music and voice production. Born in Kalisch, Poland, he immigrated to Ereẓ Israel as a child with his parents. In Jerusalem he received his cantorial training under the distinguished cantor and composer Shmuel Kavetsky, whose two volumes of music were published and promoted by his protégé. He was imprisoned by the British as a member of the *Irgun Zeva'i Le'ummi. In 1947 he went to the United States and after holding several positions was appointed cantor of the Shaarey Zedek Synagogue in Manhattan in 1966. Together with Joseph Milo he founded the Manhattan School for Cantors which he directed from 1972. In 1976 he was appointed professor of music and voice production at Long Island University, New York. Later he held a cantorial position in Miami until his death. Besides specializing in the performance of works by Israel Alter, he was a renowned Yiddishist. After his death, his widow Chedva issued a commemorative series of five cassettes of his recordings and live performances. She later helped create the Tsvi Aroni Music Library, which contains sheet music and recordings of both sacred and secular music. This is part of the Molly S. Fraiberg Judaica Collection housed at Florida Atlantic University Libraries. As a concert artist, he performed both in the United States and Israel.

[Akiva Zimmerman / Raymond Goldstein (2nd ed.)]

ARONIUS, JULIUS (1861–1893), German historian. Aronius was born in Rastenberg, East Prussia, and studied history and philology at the universities of Berlin and Koenigsberg. He taught for a short time in the orphanage of the Berlin Jewish community. When the *Historische Commission fuer Geschichte der Juden in Deutschland* was founded in 1885, Aronius was invited to join its staff. In this capacity he gathered source material for the history of the Jews in medieval Germany. His collection, *Regesten zur Geschichte der Juden im fraenkischen und deutschen Reiche bis zum Jahre 1273* (1902), was the first source book on the history of German Jewry prepared according to scholarly principles and influenced similar works produced in other countries. After his early death his colleagues A. Dresdner and L. Lewinsky prepared for the press the last installment of the collection. The full work was published in 1902 (repr. 1970).

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[Zvi Avneri / Marcus Pyka (2nd ed.)]

ARONOVICH (Aranovich, Aharonovitch), YURI MIKHAYLOVICH (1932–2003), conductor. Born in St. Petersburg, he graduated from the St. Petersburg Conservatory, studying with N. Rabinovich, N. Rakhlin, and K. Zanderling. From 1957 to 1964 he was chief conductor of the Yaroslavl Symphony Orchestra and from 1964 to 1972 he was artistic director and chief conductor of the All-Union Radio and TV Symphony Orchestra in Moscow. Aronovich earned a reputation as an interpreter of contemporary music, introducing many new compositions. He also conducted many Jewish composers. In 1972 he immigrated to Israel, occasionally performing with the Israel Philharmonic and radio orchestras, and from 1975 he was chief conductor of the Stockholm Royal Symphony Orchestra and the Cologne Symphony Orchestra. He also conducted often in Frankfurt, performing Shostakovich, especially with the Leningrad Symphony.

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[Marina Rizarev (2nd ed.)]

ARONOWITZ, BENJAMIN (1864–1945), rabbi. Aronowitz was born in Varzhan, Lithuania, and was a student and close disciple of Rabbi Meir Atlas of Shavel. He studied in Volozhin and Telshe. Married in 1885, he continued his studies in Volozhin until 1895, and then moved to Telshe as a *dayyan* (judge). He was ordained by Rabbi Naphtali Ẓevi *Berlin, Rabbi Yeruḥam Lieb of Minsk, and others. While at Telshe, he created preparatory programs for teenage students who wanted to advance their studies at the yeshivah. In 1906 he immigrated to the United States and served as a pulpit rabbi in Lowell, Mass.

In 1910, Aronowitz moved to New York and took a position at the Rabbi Isaac Elchanan Theological Seminary, where he became instrumental in developing Yeshiva University. A close associate of Bernard *Revel, who was also a student from Telshe, after 1915 he assumed an important role in determining the direction of the institution. Revel appointed him director of the rabbinical students and placed him on the ordination committee with Rabbis Moses *Soleveichik and Bernard Levinthal. He remained on the board for 35 years.

Aronowitz was also a supporter of the *Agudat Israel organization in Israel and worked to build the organization in America by helping to establish its branch in New York in 1939. He worked to make their programs successful in the early 1940s. He was a member of the Agudath ha-Rabbonim for almost 40 years and served as the president of the Vaad ha-Rabbonim of New York from 1935 to 1937. During his lifetime, he published a number of works about the Torah and Talmud in *Yagil Torah*.

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[Jeanette Friedman (2nd ed.)]

ARONS, LEO (1860–1919), German physicist and Social Democrat. The son of a wealthy Berlin banker, he became an assistant at the Institute of Physics and a *Privatdozent* in Strasbourg (1888–90) and Berlin (1890–1900). Because of his political convictions and his Jewish faith, he never obtained a professorship. In 1899, the Prussian Ministry of Public Education (Kultusministerium), considering his political activities incompatible with his academic duties, demanded his dismissal. When the faculty refused, the Prussian Diet passed a law ("Lex Arons") establishing the government as a body of appeal against disciplinary decisions of a faculty. Thereupon the faculty again confirmed unanimously its former decision, but the government, using the new law, dismissed Arons from his academic position.

In the area of physics, Arons devoted himself to empirical research on electric phenomena which fall under the Maxwell theory. One of his discoveries was the mercury vapor lamp, which was of considerable practical and scientific importance as a source of ultraviolet rays.

Arons belonged to the revisionist wing of his party. He was a city councilor of Berlin and interested himself mainly in educational matters, land reform, and consumers' cooperatives. He was financially independent and a generous donor, making possible the publication of the German bi-monthly, *Sozialistische Monatshefte*. The establishment of the Workers' Education School (Arbeiterbildungsschule) of the Social Democratic Party and the Trade Union Building in Berlin were also results of his contributions.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Sozialistische Monatshefte* (Nov. 7, 1919), 1058ff. (Albert Einstein, Paul Hirsch, and Wally Zepler as well as others), about the various aspects of Arons' person and work; U.V. Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Erinnerungen 1848–1914* (1928^2), 295.

[Ernest Hamburger]

ARONSON, ARNOLD (1911–1998), U.S. social activist. Aronson co-founded the pioneering Leadership Conference on Civil Rights (LCCR) and was a driving force behind the passage of the landmark civil rights legislation of the 1950s and 1960s. In addition to being president of the LCCR Education Fund until his death, he was also program director for the National Jewish Community Relations Council. His work was driven by the desire to further equality within the American social milieu and an aspiration to create bonds between peoples of differing ethnic backgrounds. Aronson fought for civil rights, civil liberties, immigration reform, and church-state separation. He was also committed to Soviet-Jewish immigration and support for Israel. He was a significant force in what became known as the "golden age" of *black-Jewish relations and one of its most creative figures.

Additionally, Aronson was a founding father of a number of other civil rights organizations including the National Urban Coalition, the National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing, and the National Association of Human Rights Workers. In January 1998, President William J. Clinton awarded Aronson the Presidential Medal of Freedom for his lifelong service.

His son BERNARD WILLIAM (1946–) was also a major public figure, serving as U.S. assistant secretary of state (1989–93). Bernard Aronson graduated from the University of Chicago with a B.A. in 1967 and later served in the U.S. Army Reserves. From 1973 through 1977, Aronson worked for the United Mine Workers, and in 1977 he became a special assistant and speechwriter for Vice President Walter Mondale. Subsequently, starting in 1982, he directed the Democratic National Strategy Council for two years until deciding to strike out on his own by starting a consulting firm, the Policy Project.

In 1989, Republican President George H.W. Bush appointed Aronson assistant secretary of state for inter-American affairs to replace the controversial Elliot *Abrams. Aronson (a Democrat) was chosen for the position in part to soften lingering Democratic Party criticism and skepticism surrounding the office in the wake of the Iran-Contra hearings.

Aronson's post entailed the coordination of U.S. foreign policy vis-à-vis the 34 nations of the Americas. Moreover, he was President Bush's principal foreign policy advisor on U.S. relations with Mexico, the Caribbean, and Central and South America.

Following President Bush's defeat in 1992, Aronson worked in the private sector with corporations like Goldman Sachs & Co., Liz Claiborne, and the Royal Caribbean Cruise Lines. He continued, however, to remain active in developing public policy, serving as a member of the Council of Foreign Relations and on the board of the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs. He also coauthored with William D. Rogers a report on "U.S.-Cuban Relations in the 21st Century." The report urged the U.S. to ease trade restrictions with Cuba and replace the outmoded trade embargo, a leftover from the Cold War, with more lenient policies.

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[Yehuda Martin Hausman (2nd ed.)]

ARONSON, BORIS (1900–1980), U.S. stage designer and artist; son of Solomon *Aronson, chief rabbi of Kiev. Born in Kiev, Aronson was trained at the Kiev State Art School and spent five years in the Yiddish and other theaters in Moscow. From his exposure to the Russian experimental school, he began to formulate his theories of stage design: the set should allow varied movement; each scene should contain the mood of the whole play; and through the fusion of color and form, the setting should be beautiful in its own right. But, he added, "a set is only complete when the actors move through it."

Aronson studied in Berlin and Paris and wrote a book on Marc Chagall (1923). In New York he went to work for the small Unser Theater in the Bronx, and in 1925 designed the dream sets for *Bronx Express*. Thereafter, his rise was rapid, first at Maurice *Schwartz's Yiddish Art Theater and after 1930 on Broadway.

His innovations and his imaginative use of American ideas and fantasies in his sometimes surrealist sets made him the foremost American stage designer by the 1950s. He also held several exhibitions of his paintings and sculptures.

Broadway productions for which he designed the decor include *Walk a Little Faster* (1933), *Three Men on a Horse* (1935), *Battleship Gertie* (1935), *Awake and Sing!* (1935), *Paradise Lost* (1935), *Cabin in the Sky* (1940), *South Pacific* (1944), *Sadie Thompson* (1944), *The Bird Cage* (1950), *Season in the Sun* (1951), *The Country Girl* (1952), *The Rose Tattoo* (1952), *I Am a Camera* (1952), *The Crucible* (1953), *Bus Stop* (1955), *A View from the Bridge* (1955), *The Diary of Anne Frank* (1957), *A Hole in the Head* (1957), *JB* (1959), *Incident at Vichy* (1964), *Fiddler on the Roof* (1964), *Cabaret* (1969), *The Price* (1969), *Zorba* (1969), *Company* (1970), *Follies* (1972), *The Creation of the World and Other Business* (1972), *The Great God Brown* (1973), *A Little Night Music* (1973), *Sondheim: A Musical Tribute* (1973), *Dreyfus in Rehearsal* (1974), and *Pacific Overtures* (1976). His last set design was in 1976 for the ballet *The Nutcracker*, as choreographed by Mikhail Baryshnikov.

Aronson won eight Tony Awards and maintained an active career as a sculptor and painter until his death. His prodigious work in theater, opera (*Mourning Becomes Electra)*, and ballet design proved that Aronson was a well-rounded set designer. His design of two synagogue interiors and his successful career as a painter and sculptor further distinguished him as one of the few leading figures in 20th-century scene design.

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[Mark Perlgut / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

ARONSON, DAVID (1894–1988), U.S. rabbi; born in Ulla-Vitebsk, Russia, a descendant of the Gaon of Vilna. He immigrated to the United States and was educated at New York University (1916) and the Jewish Theological Seminary where he was ordained in 1919. He served as a chaplain in World War I and then at pulpits in Salt Lake City (1920–21) and Duluth, Minn. (1922–24). For 35 years he served as rabbi of the Conservative Beth El Synagogue in Minneapolis. He took an active role in public life, serving as associate editor of the *American Jewish World* and as a member of the Governor's Commission for Human Rights. After the establishment of Israel, he called for the standardization of the Jewish calendar by abolishing the second day of Jewish festivals in the Diaspora. In 1951 he posed a solution to the **agunah* problem by allowing a Jewish court to initiate divorces. From 1959 Aronson was professor of rabbinics at the University of Judaism in Los Angeles. He was president of the Rabbinical Assembly from 1948 to 1950. He wrote *The Jewish Way of Life* (1946, 1957^2), *Torah, the Life of the Jew* (1964), and various articles, including a report on the Warsaw Jewish community, which he visited in 1927.

ARONSON, DAVID (1923–), U.S. painter. Born in Lithuania, Aronson taught at Boston University from 1955. His work, painting or drawing in several media, are often based on Jewish themes, such as Ḥasidim and kabbalists, the Ba'al Shem, and the dybbuk. His powerful figures stare from the pictures with sad, intense eyes in distorted faces.

ARONSON, GRIGORI (1887–1968), journalist, author, and public figure. Aronson, who was the nephew of Mordecai ben Hillel *Hacohen, was born in St. Petersburg and received a rudimentary traditional Jewish education in Gomel. As a youth, he was a Bolshevist, but in 1908 as a result of his growing Jewish awareness, joined the Bund. The following year, he became active in *ORT and the Society for Diffusion of Enlightenment. After the 1917 revolution he was active as a Menshevik and right-wing Bundist, particularly in Vitebsk. Aronson was permitted to leave the Soviet Union in 1922, after which he lived in Germany and France, and after 1940 in the United States. For some time he acted as general secretary of ORT in Berlin. He was engaged in the political activity of the Menshevik émigrés. Aronson's studies of Soviet Russia and Soviet Jewry include *Di Shpaltung fun Bund* (1920); *Di Yidishe Problem in Sovyet-Rusland* (1944); and *Anti-Semitism in Sovyet-Rusland* (1953). In 1966 he coedited a collection of essays, *Russian Jewry: 1860–1917*, with J. Frumkin and others.

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[Moshe Mishkinsky]

ARONSON, NAUM (1872/73–1943), graphic artist and sculptor. Aronson was born into a ḥasidic family in Kreslavka, Vitebsk province (today Kreslava, Latvia) and, as a child, received a traditional Jewish education. In 1889–91, he studied at the Vilna School of Drawing. Having settled in Paris in 1891, he worked as a stonemason at local sculpture workshops and studied both at École des Arts Décoratifs and at the F. Colarossi academy. In 1894, Aronson returned to Russia to serve in the army, but got an exemption and returned to France in 1896. In 1898, he joined the National Society for Fine Arts and participated in its exhibits as well as in exhibitions of other Paris salons. He exhibited his sculptures at the Berlin Secession and in London galleries. In 1900, he was awarded the second gold medal at the Paris World Show, and in 1905, the gold medal at the Liege International Show. He won a reputation as a leading impressionist sculptor. Residing mainly in France, Aronson remained active in Russian cultural life and regularly exhibited in Moscow and St. Petersburg. In 1901, he visited Yasnaya Polyana and did a bust of Leo Tolstoy and a number of portraits in graphics. In 1904, he was among the founders of the New Society of Artists in St. Petersburg. Prior to World War I, Aronson executed many sculptural portraits of prominent figures in Russian and European culture and politics. Many of his works treat "the Jewish theme," among them his composition *Kiddush ha-Shem* dedicated to the memory of victims of the *Kishinev pogrom. For all his fame and success in Europe, Aronson experienced antisemitism among art critics and was subjected to sanctions imposed by the authorities. The persecution only strengthened his national consciousness, which manifested itself in his active participation in Jewish cultural and public life. In 1912, in Paris, he helped a group of young Jewish artists from Russia; in 1915, he was among the founders and later a member of the Jewish Society for the Encouragement of the Arts and participated in its exhibit in 1916 in Petrograd. In 1917–22, Aronson executed a series of busts of Louis Pasteur that were domiciled in Paris and other European capitals and for which in 1924 he was awarded the National Order of the Legion of Honor (from 1938, Aronson was an officer of the Legion of Honor). His retrospective exhibition was held in 1926 in Paris. In the 1920s and 1930s, Aronson actively collaborated with Jewish cultural and public organizations in France. He showed his works at the Exhibition of Jewish Artists and Sculptors in 1924. From the late 1920s, he gave lecture courses on Jewish art at the Jewish People's University. From 1931, he was the chairman of the Union of Lithuanian Jews and participated in the World Congress of Jewish Art in Paris in 1937. In 1940, he fled occupied France to Portugal and later settled in the United States. From 1941, Aronson lived in New York, where he created a number of symbolic works dedicated to the historic fate of the Jewish people.

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[Hillel Kazovsky (2nd ed.)]

ARONSON, SOLOMON (1862–1935), chief rabbi of Tel Aviv and Zionist leader. Aronson was chief rabbi of Kiev, 1906–21, and was active in the Ḥovevei Zion movement, attending its conventions as a delegate. After the First Zionist Congress in 1897, Aronson published several articles in *Ha-Meliẓ*, defending political Zionism against the attacks of its ultra-Orthodox opponents. He later joined the Mizrachi organization. Aronson frequently interceded with the Czarist authorities on behalf of the Jews and helped in the legal defense of Mendel *Beilis in the blood libel of 1913. During World War I he worked for the relief of refugees from Galicia who had come to Kiev. After the Russian Revolution in 1917, he sponsored the national-religious Aḥdut Israel movement, which eventually merged into a nationwide federation. In 1921 he escaped to Berlin, serving as rabbi of the Russian community there until 1923, when he immigrated to Palestine. There he was appointed chief rabbi of the Tel Aviv-Jaffa community. Aronson founded and helped maintain various welfare institutions in Tel Aviv, including a society for the support of Russian refugees, established the Tel Aviv yeshivah, and took an active part in the Mizrachi movement, particularly in the field of education.

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[Zvi Kaplan]

ARPA, ABRAMO DALL' (**Abraham Levi**; c. 1542–c. 1577), Italian musician; the most outstanding of a Mantuan family whose members were known for their skill as musicians, chiefly harpists – hence their name.

A document from 1542 records the participation in a ducal spectacle of "a Jew playing the harp" and assuming the role of the god Pan. This may refer to Abramo, who appears as a musician on the payroll of Duke Guglielmo in 1553 and again in 1577. Between these two dates he got into trouble with the duke and was put into prison in 1566. It is also possible that he can be identified as "Abraham the musician of Mantua" whose presence is recorded in Rome in 1555. There is also record of a passport permitting residence in Vienna being granted to Abraham of Mantua, a harpist who gave music lessons to the children of Ferdinand I (M. Grunwald, *Vienna* (1936), p. 78). He may be identical with the Mantuan banker Abraham Levi, whose banking activities are recorded in 1544 and 1545 and who in 1561 was granted a ten-year monopoly for ritual slaughtering for the Mantuan Jewish community. The date of Abramo's death may be fixed between 1577 (the last mention of his name on the duke's payroll) and 1587, at which date his name appears in the *pinkas* (Ms. Kaufmann, no. 59, fol. 35, col. d) with the the words "may his memory be blessed."

Abramo dall'Arpa's fame as one of the outstanding harpists of his time is attested to by the painter, writer, and poet Giovanni Paolo Lomazzo. He mentions Abramo, together with his father "the Jew of Mantua" and the Neapolitan (non-Jewish) Giovanni Leonardo dall'Arpa, as the three most prominent harp players of their time. Abramo's nephew Abramino ("little Abraham") was also employed as a musician at the ducal court. In 1587 Abramino collaborated in an entertainment given on the lake of Mantua on occasion of a ducal baptism. The same year he followed the dying Duke Guglielmo to his palace at Goito to comfort him in his last days with music.

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[Israel Adler]

ARPAD (Heb. אַרְפָּד; in the Assyrian inscriptions **Ar-padda**), city in northern Syria, today Tell-Rifa'at, north of Aleppo; the capital city of the Aramean kingdom Bît-Aguši. Arpad is first mentioned in sources from the ninth century B.C.E. Archaeological excavations show the city to have been inhabited from the beginning of the Chalcolithic period, and that an Aramean population settled there as early as the last third of the second millennium B.C.E. In 858 B.C.E., Aramé, king of Arpad, dissociated himself from the alliance of north Syrian states against Assyria and paid a levy to Shalmaneser III. A few years later, Shalmaneser III conquered a few cities affiliated with Arpad, annexing them to Assyria. Arpad played an important political and military role in eighth-century Syria when it joined with other states and rose against Assyrian efforts to seize control of the area. The anti-Assyrian policy of the kings of Arpad is illustrated by the war of Ben-Hadad, son of Hazael, king of Aram-Damascus, against Hamath in the second quarter of the eighth century. Bargash, king of Arpad, allied himself with Ben-Hadad. In 754 B.C.E. Ashurnirari V of Assyria waged war against Arpad which was concluded by a treaty in which King Mati'-ilu of Arpad agreed to Assyrian suzerainty. In 745 Mati'-ilu signed a treaty with Bar-Ga'ayah, king of KTK, in which Mati'-ilu probably represented all the Syrian states from the Euphrates to Damascus. The alliance appears to have been made possible by the unified efforts of all the Syrian states to break the power of the Assyrian Empire and free themselves from its domination. In 743 Tiglath-Pileser III, king of Assyria, fought against Arpad, which was aided by the army of *Ararat. After four years of war and siege, Arpad fell and became an Assyrian province. Another attempt at rebellion was made in 720 when the city joined the abortive revolt of Hamath and other Syrian and Ereẓ Israel states against Sargon II. Echoes of the fall of Arpad and its destruction by Assyria are found in II Kings 18:34; 19:13; Isaiah 10:9; 36:19; 37:13; and Jeremiah 49:23. Archaeological data reveal that the place was not completely abandoned, but continued to be settled until the Roman period (fourth century C.E.).

[Bustanay Oded]

ʿARRĀBA (Ar. عرابة), Muslim-Arab village southwest of Jenin, on the rim of the Dothan Valley (called in Arabic Sahl ʿArrāba). In 1967 it had 4,231 inhabitants, increasing to 7,453 in 1997, among them 35% refugees. The economy was based on field and garden crops. It is generally identified with Aruboth (Heb. אֲרֻבּוֹת), the center of Solomon's Third Province (I Kings 4:10).

[Efraim Orni]

ARRABY MOOR (or **Rabbí Mór**), official title for the chief rabbi of *Portugal from the 13th century. A letter sent by Alfonso III to the municipal council of Braganza shows that this office existed at least from 1278. Duties of the *arraby moor* included supervision of the conduct of the rabbis and lay heads of the Jewish communities in Portugal. When he visited a community, any complaints made by its members were recorded in his presence. He was responsible for the property of orphans, whose guardians were answerable to him for any irregularities in their administration of the estates. The *ar-*

raby moor also examined the communal accounts and funds. To prevent dissension among the communal officers, his authority was restricted. He was prohibited from choosing rabbis for the communities, from using communal resources against the wishes of the community, and from issuing privileges such as grants of exemption from communal taxes or services. The *arraby moor* had his special seal, inscribed with the legend "Sello do Rabbí Mór de Portugal." His official staff included a chancellor, auditor, secretary, and "doorkeeper." In response to complaints lodged by the community of *Lisbon against the *arraby moor* Judah Cohen during the reign of John I (1385–1433) the king abrogated some of the privileges of the office. The last person to occupy it was Simon Maimi who died as a result of his sufferings at the time of the forced conversion of 1497.

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[Joseph Kaplan]

ARRAGEL (Al-Ragil), MOSES (15th century), Spanish scholar of Guadalajara. In 1422 he settled in Maqueda and there Don Luis de Guzmán, grand master of the order of Calatrava invited him to translate the Bible into Spanish with a commentary. At first, he declined the offer, stating that a translation and commentary by a Jew would not be acceptable to Christian believers. His objections were finally overridden; and Arias de Enciena, *custos* of the Franciscan Order in Toledo, was attached as consultant. Moses completed the translation and commentary in 1433. His translation followed the *Vulgate version except where it departed from the Hebrew original. His commentaries show close knowledge of Jewish exegesis and familiarity with classical and Christian Latin literature. At times he emphasizes that in certain matters the Jewish version is different from the Christian. The correspondence between him, Don Guzmán, and other Franciscan scholars, concerning their common undertaking, precedes the translation. In these letters he lauded the superiority of Spanish Jews over all their brethren in "lineage, wealth, virtues, and wisdom." The original manuscript includes many illuminations. These come from Christian sources but often betray midrashic elements.

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°**ARRIAN** (**Flavius Arrianus**; c. 96–c. 180 C.E.), Greek soldier, historian, and philosopher. Arrian is best known for his *Anabasis*, a history of Alexander the Great from his accession until his death, and *Parthica*, a history of the Parthians, of which only fragments have survived. In the former, Arrian recounts Alexander's capture of Gaza, though he is silent about Judea. On the other hand, in his *Parthica* (fragment 79), Arrian seems to have described in detail the suppression of the Jewish revolt in Mesopotamia in 116 C.E.

ARROW, KENNETH JOSEPH (1921–), U.S. economist and Nobel laureate. Arrow was born in New York and received his doctorate from Columbia University in 1951. He was appointed professor of economics and statistics at Stanford University, California, in 1953. Appointed in 1962 to the Council of Economic Advisors of the Executive Office of the President of the United States, he was a consultant for the RAND Corporation from 1948 on, which he refers to as "the heady days of emerging game theory and mathematical programming."

He received the John Bates Clark Medal of the American Economic Association in 1957 and was elected a member of the National Academy of Sciences and the American Philosophical Society. He was a fellow of Churchill College, Cambridge, in 1963–64 and 1970, and was appointed professor of economics at Harvard (1968–79). In 1979 he returned to Stanford University, where he held the title of Professor Emeritus in the Department of Economics.

His most significant works are his contributions to social choice theory, notably Arrow's "impossibility theorem," and his work on general equilibrium analysis. For his specialized work in welfare economics and general equilibrium theory, Arrow was awarded the 1972 Nobel Memorial Prize in economic sciences. His impossibility theorem, also known as "Arrow's paradox," shows the impossibility of designing rules for social decisionmaking that obey all of a number of "reasonable" criteria. The general equilibrium theory, a branch of theoretical microeconomics, seeks to explain production, consumption, and prices in a whole economy. It attempts to give an understanding of the whole economy using a bottom-up (as opposed to a Keynesian macroeconomic top-down) approach, starting with individual markets and agents. Working with Gerard Debreu (who won the Nobel Prize for this work in 1983), Arrow produced the first rigorous proof of the existence of a market-clearing equilibrium, given certain restrictive assumptions.

Among Arrow's numerous publications are *Social Choice and Individual Values* (1951); *Studies in Linear and Nonlinear Programming* (with L. Hurwicz and H. Uzawa, 1958); *A Time Series Analysis of Interindustry Demands* (with M. Hoffenberg, 1959); *Essays in the Theory of Risk-Bearing* (1971); *General Competitive Analysis* (1972); *The Limits of Organization* (1974); *The Economics of Information* (1984); *Handbook of Mathematical Economics* (1984); *General Equilibrium* (1984); *The Balance between Industry and Agriculture in Economic Development* (1988); *Barriers to Conflict Resolution* (1995); and *Saving Lives, Buying Time: Economics of Malaria Drugs in an Age of Resistance* (2004). Six volumes of his collected papers were published in 1984–85 and three volumes of essays in his honor (W.P. Heller, D.A. Starrett, and R.M. Starr, eds.) appeared in 1986, dealing, respectively, with equilibrium analysis, social choice and public decisionmaking, and uncertainty information and communications.

[Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

ARROW CROSS PARTY (Hung. **Nyilaskeresztes Párt-Hungarista Mozgalom**), the most extreme of the Hungarian Fascist movements in the mid-1930s. The party consisted of several groups, though the name is now commonly associated with the faction organized by Ferenc *Szálasi and Kálmán Hubay in 1938. Following the Nazi pattern, the party promised not only the establishment of a fascist-type system including social reforms, but also the "solution of the Jewish question." The party's uniform was the green shirt, its badge a set of crossed arrows, a Hungarian version of the swastika based on the weapons of the old Magyar conquerors.

With financial and moral support from Nazi Germany, the Arrow Cross won 16.2% of the votes in the 1939 elections. From 1941 it lost many of its supporters and in August 1944 was dissolved along with all other parties. However, it continued secretly, under German guidance, to prepare a coup d'état against the government of Admiral Horthy. On October 15, 1944, when Horthy announced Hungary's withdrawal from the war, the Arrow Cross seized power with military help from the Germans. The Arrow Cross government ordered general mobilization and enforced a regime of terror which, though directed chiefly against the Jews, also inflicted heavy suffering upon the Hungarians. It was responsible for the deportation and death of tens of thousands of Jews. After the Soviet Army liberated the whole of Hungary by early April 1945, Szálasi and his Arrow Cross ministers were brought to trial and executed.

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[Bela Adalbert Vago]

ART.

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Art Influenced by the Holocaust

Antiquity to 1800

INTRODUCTION: JEWISH ATTITUDE TO ART. Whether there exists a form of art that can be described as "Jewish Art" has long been a matter for discussion. What is indisputable is that at every stage of their history the Jews and their ancestors of biblical times expressed themselves in various art forms which inevitably reflect contemporary styles and fashions and the environment in which they lived. For purposes of cult and of religious observance, as well as for household and personal adornment, Jews have constantly produced or made use of objects which appealed in some fashion to their aesthetic sense. In a famous passage (Shab. 133b), the rabbis, commenting on Exodus 15:2, prescribed that God should be "adorned" by the use of beautiful implements for the performance of religious observances. A problem exists, however, regarding the Jewish attitude toward figurative and representational art. The Pentateuchal code in many places (Ex. 20:4; Deut. 5:8 and in great detail 4:16–18) ostensibly prohibits, in the sternest terms, the making of any image or likeness of man or beast. In the context, this presumably implies a prohibition of such manufacture for the purposes of worship. But this reservation is not stated specifically in the text, and there is no doubt that at certain times the rigidity of the prohibition impeded or even completely prevented the development among the Jews of figurative art, and indeed of the visual arts generally, especially as far as representation of the human form or face was concerned. The inhibitions were stronger against the plastic arts (i.e., relief or sculpture) than against painting or drawing, because of the specific biblical reference to the "graven image." Nevertheless, at various periods and in various environments, in antiquity, as well as in modern times, these inhibitions were ignored. The meticulous obedience or relative neglect of the apparent biblical prohibition of representational art seems in fact to have been conditioned by external circumstances, and in two directions – revulsion, or attraction. In the later biblical period and throughout classical antiquity, in an environment in which the worship of images by their neighbors played a great part, the Jews reacted strongly against this practice and up to a point representational art was sternly suppressed. The same applied to a certain degree in the environment of Roman and Greek Catholicism in the Middle Ages. On the other hand, when the Jews were to some extent culturally assimilated, they began to share in the artistic outlook of their neighbors and the prejudice against representational art dwindled, and in the end almost disappeared. To this generalization, however, other factors must be added. Sometimes, the religious reaction of the Jews was influenced by political considerations. The almost frenzied Jewish opposition to images of any sort toward the close of the Second Temple period seems to have been prompted by the extreme nationalist elements, happy to find a point in which their political opposition could be based on a clear-cut religious issue. A few generations later, in an age of appeasement, their great-grandchildren could be, and were far more broadminded. But during periods of religious iconoclasm among their neighbors, the Jews – the classical iconoclasts – could not very well afford to be more compliant than others. Therefore, it seems, in the Byzantine Empire in the eighth and ninth centuries and in the Muslim world long after this, there ensued an interlude in which representational art was rigidly shunned even though the nonrepresentational made notable progress.

In certain areas during the Middle Ages and Ghetto period representational art, both pictorial and plastic, was tolerated even in connection with religious observances and with cult objects used in the synagogue. At the same period, in other areas, the inhibitions were so strong as to exclude such objects even from secular use. In more recent times, portrait painting and photography have come to be generally – though not quite universally – tolerated even among the extreme orthodox. The emergence of artists from the Jewish community similarly presents no clear-cut picture. The names are known of men active in representational art in the classical period, and there were a few in Christian Europe in the Middle Ages carrying out even ecclesiastical commissions. In the 18th century, Jewish painters and portraitists – artists in the modern sense – began to appear in several European countries. But it is not easy to explain the sudden emergence in recent generations of a flood of artists of outstanding genius, largely of Eastern European origin, in France, the United States, and elsewhere. Until the 19th century the Jewish attitude toward art was in fact not negative, but ambivalent.

BIBLICAL PERIOD. It is known that there was a relatively high development of art in Ereẓ Israel even before the coming of the Hebrews. In the Mesolithic period the inhabitants of the region that is now Wadi Natuf in Western Judea produced some carvings which, while intended for ritual purposes, show a love of full forms and beautiful shapes, a purity of line and balance of masses, which characterize naturalistic art at its best. The Jericho culture of the eighth to fifth millennia B.C.E. has a fresh aesthetic approach, and the clay masks found there, perhaps connected with ancestor worship, are among the chief works of ancient art in the Middle East. The carved bone and ivory figurines produced by the Beersheba culture of the fourth millennium are in advance both chronologically and qualitatively of the earliest productions of Egyptian art. The mysterious hoard of copper and ivory cult-objects of the Chalcolithic period found in 1961 in Naḥal Mishmar, not far from the Dead Sea, shows a sense of form and a high standard of execution. The Canaanite period which immediately preceded the Israelite conquest produced some significant religious art. Moreover, the invaders of Ereẓ Israel, whether Egyptians, Assyrians, or Hittites, all brought with them their own artistic conventions and left behind monuments or objects which inevitably affected the aesthetic conceptions of the inhabitants of the country. Hence the Hebrews arrived in a country which already had, if not an artistic tradition, at least a number of artistic expressions, most of them associated with cult purposes.

THE SANCTUARY AND FIRST TEMPLE PERIOD. According to the Pentateuch, there were among the Hebrews who left Egypt artificers of genius, capable "in all manner of workmanship, to devise curious works, to work in gold and in silver and in brass, and in the cutting of stones for setting, and in carving of wood, to make any manner of skillful work" (Ex. 35:31–35). The women were skilled in embroidery (*ibid.*, 25–26). The sanctuary in the wilderness, whose appurtenances and decoration were traditionally associated with the names of Bezalel son of Uri and Oholiab son of Ahisamach, was presumably designed in accordance with contemporary Egyptian artistic fashion. This fashion no doubt continued to exercise considerable influence on the Hebrews even after they entered Canaan. Artistically, the most memorable detail was the pair of *cherubim, apparently with human faces, whose wings extended over the Ark. The making of these has to be considered as art in the more restricted sense and not as mere skilled craftsmanship. These enigmatic figures, also a feature of the First *Temple until its destruction, were the outstanding exception which proved that the ancient Hebrews did not absolutely shun figurative and plastic art.

In addition to these and similar decorative cherubim, the great laver in Solomon's Temple, called the "molten sea," was supported on the backs of twelve oxen cast in bronze, a construction to which at some later age there were objections.

According to the detailed accounts in the books of Kings and Chronicles, the laver must have been both architecturally impressive and aesthetically memorable, especially in its decorative details.

It is not easy to discern the development of what may be termed native Hebrew art in the period of the Monarchy. Indeed, there is explicit information that the expert craftsmen employed in the construction of the Temple were Phoenicians from Tyre. The relatively few relics that have been preserved in Ereẓ Israel from this period, such as the not uncommon Astarte figurines, are mainly Canaanite in character. On the other hand, the plaques from the "House of Ivory" built in Samaria by King Ahab (876–853 B.C.E.), which show great taste and sensitivity, are under the influence of Phoenician art and were possibly executed by craftsmen introduced by Queen *Jezebel from her native Sidon. Similarly, the admirably executed Israelite *seals of the period are Egyptian or Assyrian both in character and in execution.

SECOND TEMPLE PERIOD. The situation continued into the period of the Second Temple. The handful of returned exiles lacked the conditions of political security and economic well-being that might have fostered the development of a native art. Any attempts in this direction must inevitably have been shaped at the beginning by Persian, and later by Greek, influences. With the Hellenization of the Middle East after the invasion of *Alexander the Great (333 B.C.E.), Greek art began to make its appearance throughout the region. Greek cities were constructed within the area of the historic Ereẓ Israel, with temples, baths, and statuary which inevitably became familiar to the Jewish population. *Antiochus IV's attempt to Hellenize Judea from 168 B.C.E. onward involved the forcible imposition of Greek standards and customs. These included the setting up throughout the land, and even in the Temple itself, not only of decorative statues, but also images for adoration. The religious reaction against this, under the Hasmoneans, inevitably fortified the Jewish opposition to any form of representational art. The latter Hasmonean rulers were nevertheless strongly affected by Hellenistic culture. Their buildings were constructed in accordance with Greek standards, with fine detail. The earliest Jewish *coins, produced in this period, are sometimes beautifully designed, with Greek symbols such as the star, cornucopia, and anchor, executed with great delicacy. It is significant, however, that the effigy of the ruler never figured in these coins, as might normally have been expected.

With the Roman occupation, and in particular under the House of *Herod, new attitudes began to emerge. Herod had no images in his remote, desert palace at *Masada; but he had no objection to the introduction of statues and images into the non-Jewish parts of his dominions, even where there may have been a considerable Jewish population. It is known, too, that even the more resolutely Jewish members of his household did not object to having their portraits painted. On the other hand, Jewish nationalist extremists seem to have found in the biblical prohibition of images, literally and rigidly interpreted, a useful pretext for or stimulus to their anti-Roman feelings. When Roman coins bearing the emperor's effigy circulated in Judea, many persons – patriots perhaps more than pietists – objected strongly and some even refused to handle them. It was natural that there should be frenzied objections when in 37 C.E. the emperor Caligula's statue was placed in the Temple for adoration, even though there was later to be no opposition to the patriotic placing of statues of the ruler in Babylonian synagogues. There was also a loud outcry against the bearing of standards with the imperial effigy by the Roman legionaries when they marched through Jerusalem. Similarly, Herod's placing of an eagle over the Temple gate as a symbol of Rome was the occasion for an incipient revolt – ostensibly on religious grounds, but obviously with patriotic motivation as well. But a talmudic source of a later period reveals a more tolerant attitude when it states (TJ, Av. Zar. 3:1, 42c) that all likenesses were to be found in Jerusalem (before the destruction of the Temple in 70 C.E.) except those of human beings. Although Herod's descendants would not use portraits in the coinage which they struck for Judea, they did not refrain from doing so for their possessions over the border. One of the Herodian palaces in Tiberias had figures of animals on the walls. No one appears to have objected to this until after the outbreak of the war against Rome in 66 C.E. when Josephus, as military governor of Galilee, led a campaign of competitive iconoclasm in order to demonstrate his zeal. There is some evidence that at this period patriotic religious fervor led to a decree forbidding all images. This temporarily stifled any artistic expression of the accepted type, precisely in an age of national resurgence when it might have been expected to flower. Architecture appears to have flourished in the Second Temple period around Jerusalem. Many ambitiously conceived funerary monuments are to be found, particularly in the *Kidron Valley, and a number of delicately decorated sarcophagi and *ossuaries have been unearthed. The Temple of Herod seems to have deserved its reputation as one of the architectural marvels of the Roman Empire.

AFTER THE FALL OF JERUSALEM. With the fall of Bethar in 135 C.E. and the acceptance of Roman rule by the Pharisee elements, conditions changed. Theoretically, the religious inhibitions remained in force, but there was an increasing tendency to interpret the biblical prohibition as applying only to imagery intended for adoration. Hence, in practice, greater tolerance came to be shown. Rabbis of the highest piety did not object to frequenting baths where there was a statue of a heathen deity, maintaining that it was placed there for decoration only. In addition to their architectural significance, the synagogue ruins dating from this period (second–fifth centuries) embody decorative carvings and symbols – including animal forms – which combine a high standard of craftsmanship with a well-developed aesthetic sense. In due course rabbinical pronouncements reflected the changed attitude: to this period belongs the statement quoted above that all images except the human were to be found in pre-Destruction Jerusalem.

In the third century R. *Johanan countenanced the painting of frescoes (TJ, Av. Zar. 3:3, 42d), while in the fifth century, according to a statement in the Jerusalem Talmud (Av. Zar. 4:1, 43d), R. *Abun permitted – or at least tolerated – decorated mosaics and wall frescoes even in synagogues. The sixth-century mosaic of the *Bet Alfa synagogue, vividly depicting the signs of the Zodiac, the Four Seasons, the Chariot of the Sun, and the sacrifice of Isaac, created a sensation when it was discovered in 1928. It is now realized, however, that there was nothing unusual about this form of decoration. Mosaics showing conventional figures and biblical scenes were a normal feature of synagogal decoration in Ereẓ Israel at the time. This is all the more remarkable in view of the fact that prostration in a synagogue on a figured floor would seem to be forbidden by the Bible (Lev. 26:1). Marianos and his son Ḥanina, who were responsible for the Bet Alfa mosaic, are the earliest Jewish artists in the modern sense known by name whose work has been preserved (though the epitaph of a Jewish painter named Edoxios has been found in the Jewish catacombs in Rome). More memorable from the artistic viewpoint are the magnificent third-century frescoes found in the synagogue at *Dura-Europos in Syria, preserved by what was no more than a lucky chance. These comprise an entire series of highly artistic wall paintings, executed in conventional Hellenistic style, which illustrate in great detail certain aspects of biblical history and prophecy. In these paintings the human face and form are lavishly represented. The lavish admission of figurative art to the synagogue, the very place of worship, is important. It is probable that this type of decoration was commonplace in synagogues of the period, even though the Dura specimen is the only one to have been preserved. It clearly represents a fairly long tradition of such art. Indeed, below the frescoes now revealed there have been discovered traces of others of a generation earlier, and these too, presumably, were no revolutionary innovation. Whether or not the Dura frescoes reflected, or were paralleled by, manuscript illuminations of Bible texts remains a problem. In view of the detailed regulations for the writing of the **Sefer Torah* such illuminations would of course be for domestic purposes only, and not for use in the synagogue. But it can be stated categorically that if human figures were tolerated on the walls of the synagogue before the worshiper's eyes, there is no reason why they should not have been permitted in codices or rolls studied in the home.

RELATION TO EARLY CHRISTIAN ART. The analogies between the Dura frescoes and early Christian art are in some cases obvious, and have given rise to the theory that the latter continued the tradition of an earlier Jewish book-art, though this remains a matter of speculation. Indeed, it has been suggested that the earliest specimens of Christian book illumination – the Vienna Genesis of the sixth century (going back probably to a fourth-century archetype), the Joshua Roll of the tenth, the Codex Amiatinus based on a sixth-century original – may be Jewish in origin, or copied from Jewish prototypes in the Diaspora. Three-dimensional figures were more objectionable religiously than two-dimensional ones. But the inhibitions were weakening, for in the catacombs of *Bet She'arim Greek coffins with crudely executed mythological figures in low relief were reused for Jewish burials. In the synagogues at Baram, Kefar Naḥum (Capernaum) and Chorazin in Ereẓ Israel there are fragmentary figures of lions in three dimensions. In Babylon, as has been mentioned, the statue of the ruler was admitted without protest, even in synagogues frequented by outstanding scholars (Av. Zar. 43b).

ART IN THE ROMAN EMPIRE. Clearly, the artistic traditions of the Palestinian and Near Eastern synagogues were imitated, perhaps with fewer inhibitions, in the Western Diaspora. The splendid architectural remains at *Ostia in Italy and *Sardis in Asia Minor show that monumental synagogues with fine attention to detail were common. Discoveries at Aegina in Greece and Hamam Lif in North Africa suggest that decorated floors were also usual. While no figurative art has yet been discovered in the Diaspora synagogues of the classical period (other than conventionally carved lions at Sardis), it is present in abundance on the wall frescoes of the Jewish catacombs in Rome. The emphasis, however, is on mythological figures, without the biblical reminiscences that might be expected. More remarkable are the lavishly decorated sarcophagi found in Rome, one at least bearing three-dimensional putti and other figures in high relief, by the side of the **menorah* or seven-branched candelabrum.

E.R. *Goodenough endeavored to demonstrate in his monumental work, *Jewish Symbols in the Graeco-Roman Period* (1953–65) and in a number of minor studies, that much of this representational art, in defiance of apparent rabbinic proscriptions, was the manifestation of a Jewish synthetic mystery religion. This popular religion was allied to, though not identical with, talmudic Judaism. But whether accepted or not, the theory cannot obscure the fact that within Judaism in the late classical period it was possible for figurative art in the fullest sense to develop.

The question remains, whether there was any continuity of tradition between the Jewish representational art centering in Bible illustration and the later version of the same art in Europe. There is unequivocal evidence of the former down to the sixth century at least, while the latter appeared, fully fledged but obviously of much earlier origin, from the 13th century onward.

Whatever the answer, the relative liberalism and normal development of art among the Jews in the late classical period subsequently received a check. To a certain extent this was the result of or paralleled the iconoclastic movement in the Byzantine Empire, which inevitably affected the Jews. There is evidence that at this time the figures in the Na'aran Synagogue mosaic were mutilated, and that a similar fate was suffered by some of the decorative carvings in other Galilean synagogues.

UNDER ISLAM. More decisive, naturally, was the spread of Islam, which became supreme for centuries in those areas where Jewish life flourished most. The new religion had, with certain exceptions, strong iconoclastic tendencies. Obviously the Jews could not afford to be more tolerant in this matter than their Muslim neighbors. Hence it appears that there was a revulsion in much of the Jewish world against the incipient representational art, and that this revulsion lingered in some vital areas even after the Islamic domination had receded.

The Spanish rabbis were outright in their opposition. The *Sefer ha-Ḥinnukh*, attributed to Aaron ha-Levi of Barcelona (39, 12), emphasized that it was forbidden to make likenesses of a human being out of any material, even for ornament. Maimonides, however, was somewhat more tolerant, forbidding (Yad. Av. Kokh. 3:10–11) only the human (not the animal) form in the round, and permitting it in painting and tapestries. Art expressed itself among the Jews, as among the Arabs, in nonrepresentational forms, making use of ornaments and arabesques, and exploiting to the full the decorative potentialities of the Hebrew alphabet and the patterning of minuscular characters. The exquisite decorations in the surviving medieval Spanish synagogues (especially at *Cordova and *Toledo), though somewhat later in date, are impressive examples of such work. More striking is the testimony of manuscript art. Throughout the Muslim world and the area under its influence, a new tradition established itself, highly Islamic in both feeling and conception. Illuminations in the accepted medieval sense – i.e., actual illustrations of the text – are ostentatiously absent. Instead, many pages are elaborately decorated – with carpet patterns, intricate geometrical designs, and the most skillful use of calligraphic characters both large and small, the last sometimes fashioned with consummate mastery into involved patterns of great ingenuity. Not infrequently, especially in biblical manuscripts, such decorative pages were deliberately and quite irrelevantly included at the beginning of the manuscript, and sometimes at the end as well, in great profusion, merely to enhance the beauty of the volume. The inclusion in the Bible manuscripts of highly stylized representations of the vessels of the Sanctuary seems, however, to form a link between these manuscripts and those of the now submerged tradition of the classical period. This method of Hebrew Bible illumination, divorced from the text, survived in some areas, or in some circles, as late as the second half of the 15th century. This is evidenced by the *Kennicott Bible* in Oxford illuminated by Joseph *Ibn Ḥayyim, and by the Hebrew Bible of the University of Aberdeen, completed in 1494.

NORTHERN EUROPE. Outside the Muslim orbit these inhibitions against representational art did not apply – at least not the same degree – and with the rise of the Jewish communities in Northern Europe, representational art began to reappear. Whether or not there was any direct link with the classical period remains a matter of dispute. Once again, there is a disparity between strict religious theory as reflected in the rabbinic texts and actuality as shown in surviving relics of the period. Although in the 12th century Eliakim b. Joseph of Metz ordered the removal of the stained glass windows from the synagogue of Mainz, his younger colleague *Ephraim b. Isaac of Regensburg permitted the painting of animals and birds on the walls. *Isaac b. Moses of Vienna recalled seeing similar embellishments in the place of worship he frequented at Meissen as a boy. The author of the *Sefer Ḥasidim* expressed his categoric disapproval of representations of animate beings in the synagogue. On the other hand, Rashi knew of, and apparently did not object to, wall frescoes – presumably in the home – illustrating biblical scenes, such as the fight between David and Goliath, with descriptive wording (in Hebrew?) below (Shab. 149a). On the surface, it seems that Rashi is referring to a practice current among the well-to-do Jews of his own circle in northern France and the Rhineland in the 11th century. In the 12th century, the French tosafists discussed and permitted even the three-dimensional representation of the human form, provided that it was incomplete. At the very same time, Jews living in England are known to have used signet rings that bore a human likeness on them.

The emergence at this period of Jewish mint-masters (see *Minting) presupposes some involvement in the production of coins bearing the ruler's head, a tradition which goes back to the activity of *Priscus, who was the court jeweler at the Frankish court during approximately the middle of the sixth century C.E.

ILLUMINATED MANUSCRIPTS. Hebrew manuscripts illuminated in the conventional sense, in accordance with European styles and techniques, began to emerge in Northern Europe not later than the 13th century. Certain inhibitions lingered as regards the human form, which in some manuscripts was quaintly provided with bird or animal heads (see color plate *Laud Maḥzor* vol. 11 between columns 812 and 813), thus observing at least marginally the biblical prohibition against representational art. Whether this indicates a stage in the decline of traditional inhibitions, or a momentary pietistic recession, is a matter for speculation. But toward the close of the Middle Ages the art of the illuminated manuscript – illuminated in the fullest sense – flourished in Northern Europe and spread to Italy. By the 14th century at the latest, the tradition had extended to Spain, where Christian rule was now in the ascendant. It is perhaps best exemplified in a fine series of illuminated **Haggadah* manuscripts, of which the *Sarajevo Haggadah* is the best known.

In some cases the artists were probably Jews (Nathan b. Simeon, *Joel b. Simeon, Meir Jaffe), while in others they were presumably Christians. But there is no need to assume that the work of the Jewish manuscript artists was necessarily restricted to Hebrew manuscripts and to a Jewish clientele. The work on mixing colors for manuscript illumination compiled in Judeo-Portuguese by Abraham ibn Ḥayyim suggests a degree of involvement in the illuminating craft in its wider sense, even though none of his own productions is known. His was certainly not an isolated case. The Catalan Atlas, executed in 1376/7 by Abraham *Cresques and his son Judah, is noteworthy artistically besides being an important monument to cartography and geographical science. Jewish professional painters who are mentioned in contemporary documents include Abraham b. Yom Tov de Salinas with his son Bonastruc (1406), and Moses ibn Forma of Saragossa (1438), as well as Vidal Abraham who, in 1330, was engaged to illuminate the *Book of Privileges of Majorca*.

CRAFTS. That Jews engaged in artistic craftsmanship even for Christian religious purposes is demonstrated by the bull of the anti-Pope *Benedict XIII of 1415, forbidding Jews to be employed in the making of ceremonial objects for Christian use such as chalices and crucifixes. In 1480, Isabella of Castile enjoined her court painter to ensure that no Jew be permitted to paint the figure of Jesus or the Virgin Mary. Official documents refer to Spanish Jews engaged in the manufacture of reliquaries and crucifixes and assisting sculptors of sacred images. It must be borne in mind that for the Middle Ages it is impossible to draw a sharp line of demarcation between the arts and the crafts because the craftsman in many branches was inevitably at the same time an artist in the modern sense. Bookbinding, for example, engaged Jewish craftsmen, even at the highly discriminating Papal court of Avignon; and, in Germany, Jewish experts such as the scribe-bookbinder, Meir Jaffe, mentioned above, were described as supreme artists in the execution of the difficult type of leather work known as *cuir cisélé*.

It must be emphasized that among the Jews pictorial art lacked one impetus which was potent in the outside world. The art of painting, especially frescoes, among Christians was stimulated by the fact that the Bible story was communicated to the almost illiterate common people by means of pictures on the walls of the churches. These served literally as the *Biblia pauperum*, the Bible of the Poor. For the Jews, with their high degree of literacy due to their almost universal system of education and their familiarity with the Scripture story, this was superfluous. Similarly, the cult of the saints rendered pictorial and plastic art essential in the church, whereas in the synagogue it was not needed. This is probably the reason for the late emergence of Jewish sculptors. It was not so much that Jews were opposed to art as that certain categories of art, essential in the world outside, were for them unnecessary.

THE RENAISSANCE PERIOD. In Italy, in the Renaissance period, Jews participated in every branch of activity, including the arts. Some of the most memorable illuminated Hebrew manuscripts belong to this epoch and there is good ground for believing that many of them came from unknown Jewish hands. Cases are recorded of Jews being admitted to the painters' guild, though none of their work can be identified. There were, however, some distinguished metal workers, such as Salomone da *Sessa (subsequently converted to Catholicism as Ercole de' Fedeli), who was in the service of Cesare Borgia. Da Sessa's swords and scabbards were among the finest of the period. His contemporary, Moses da *Castelazzo (d. 1527), was an engraver and medalist of some note. In the next century, Salvatore Rosa's assistant, Jonah Ostiglia of Florence (d. 1675), was proficient enough to be mentioned with deference by contemporary art chroniclers. A number of converted Italian artists of Jewish birth also achieved a reputation. Among them were Francesco Ruschi (c. 1640), a forerunner of the 18th century Venetian Renaissance, and Pietro Liberi (1614–1687), founder of the College of Artists in Venice. While names cannot be taken as conclusive evidence of origin, it must be noted that both in Spain and in Italy men named (de') Levi achieved artistic prominence in the 15th and 16th centuries.

RITUAL ART. It has already been mentioned that the Talmud has a general injunction that the glorification of God implies the use of the finest appurtenances in divine worship. There are ample descriptions both in the Bible and in Josephus of those used in the Temple. There are visual examples in the representations on the Arch of *Titus in Rome and in the synagogal and funerary art of the classical period. But there is no proof of a specifically Jewish ritual art for home and synagogue until a relatively late period. It is perhaps significant that among the many evidences of Jewish religious life around the beginning of the Christian era discovered in recent archaeological investigations, there is nothing with any specific bearing on the emergence of ritual art, even as regards manuscript decoration. Generally in ritual observances objects were used which were not specially manufactured for the purpose. The only exception was the *Ḥanukkah lamp which, because it had to have a definite number of burners – eight or sometimes nine – was from an early date specially manufactured, first in clay and later in stone. During the Middle Ages, however, it became established practice to create objects specifically for every form of ritual use, thus emphasizing the "glorification of the *mitzvah*" ("*hiddur mitzvah*"). The manufacturers were not always Jews. It is paradoxical that while in some areas Jewish craftsmen are to be found executing objects of the most sacred nature, such as crucifixes, for church use – which must, from certain points of view, have been highly objectionable on both sides – in others there is evidence of Christian craftsmen producing some of the commonplace ritual objects required by the Jewish community. Contracts survive relating to such work for Jews in Provence in the 15th century and Frankfurt on the Main in the 16th. It must be noted, however, that with the exception of Hanukkah lamps, virtually no specimens of Jewish ritual art of a date earlier than the end of the Middle Ages have been traced. The earliest positively identifiable is a pair of *rimmonim* (Torah finials) from Sicily, preserved in the Cathedral of Palma, Majorca. The favorite objects of Jewish ritual art were the *Torah ornaments, **Kiddush* cups, *Seder* plates, *Sabbath lamps, and spice boxes for the **Havdalah* ceremony on the conclusion of the Sabbath. It is possible that majolica *seder* plates originated in Spain before the Expulsion of 1492. An entire series was manufactured by several generations of two or three families of Italian-Jewish ceramists in the 17th and 18th centuries. Heavily embroidered brocades, with elaborate decorative inscriptions in gold and sometimes with human figures in stump-work, were used both in the synagogues, for the *Ark curtains, or for the wrappings of the Torah Scroll, and in the home, for Sabbath appurtenances and the like. Often these were made by the women of the community as a pious duty, but in due course a school of Jewish art embroiderers emerged. Certain branches of embroidery were indeed regarded as a Jewish specialty during the period of the Middle Ages.

FUNERARY ART. Surviving Jewish funerary art begins with the sepulchers and sarcophagi of the classical period in Palestine and the decorations in the catacombs of Rome and elsewhere. In the Middle Ages, Jewish tombstones in Europe were for the most part severely simple, owing whatever artistic quality they had to their shape and their impressive Hebrew lettering. After the Renaissance, funerary art began to take on some importance. Symbols indicating the name or profession of the person commemorated were carved above what were now highly ornamental inscriptions. In Italy, family badges – all but coats of arms – were added. In Central Europe, carvings denoting the calling or profession of the dead person were often incorporated. The most remarkable development was in some of the Sephardi communities of the Atlantic seaboard; such as Amsterdam and Curaçao, where the tombstone was enhanced by delicately executed carvings in relief. These generally depicted scenes in the life of the biblical personage whose name was borne by the dead person – for example, the call of Samuel, or the encounter between David and Abigail, or the death of Rachel. In some cases even the deathbed scene of the departed is shown, including, most amazingly, his actual likeness. The derivation of these artistic manifestations still needs investigation, but it seems at present that they were a purely spontaneous, native development in individual communities.

What is most significant is that here there are not flat surfaces but plastic art – precisely that which was most objectionable in talmudic law in its strict interpretation.

THE ART OF THE PRINTED BOOK. With the invention and spread of printing in the 15th and 16th centuries, a new area of artistic expression opened. The earliest printed books tried to imitate manuscript codices, and left space for illumination. This was the case with Hebrew works also, and there are some early examples which were embellished later by hand by skilled book-artists. In due course a genuine Jewish book art developed.

Early productions of the Hebrew printing press, especially of the *Soncino family, were decorated with elaborate borders on the opening pages. Sometimes these were borrowed or copied from non-Jewish productions; sometimes they were presumably original, perhaps in their turn to be copied by Christian printers. The early editions (Brescia, 1491, etc.) of the *Meshal ha-Kadmoni* by Isaac ibn *Sahula, following the example set by the 13th-century author, were accompanied by illustrations. Later on the practice was transmitted to other books of fables and similar literature. But as in the previous epoch, special care was lavished on the Passover **Haggadah*. At the beginning of the 16th century at the latest a fine series of illustrated editions, probably the work of Jewish hands, began to appear. These reached their apogee in the superb editions of Prague of 1526, Mantua of 1560 and 1568, Venice from 1609 onward, and finally the Amsterdam edition of 1695. When the first title pages appeared in printed books, early in the 16th century, these too received special attention.

It will by now have become apparent that it is no longer possible to maintain the commonly accepted generalization that Judaism was fundamentally opposed to representational art, or to give this as the reason for the late emergence of Jews as artists. The utmost that can be said is that in certain environments and at certain periods Jews either imitated the iconoclastic tendencies of their neighbors, as sometimes in Muslim countries, or, in revulsion against their iconolatry, as in some Catholic areas, developed a strong antipathy to such art. It is also true that Jews lacked the initial stimulus to artistic involvement which came to the Christian world from the lavish use of representational art for liturgical purposes in Roman Catholic churches. With these reservations, however, it can be said that Jews accepted representational art as a normal phenomenon of their lives, even in a religious context. They used it not only in the decoration of their homes (though curiously enough the evidence for this is somewhat thin), but in their liturgical manuscripts and printed books, especially the Passover *Haggadah*, and on cult objects such as Passover plates, Ḥanukkah lamps, spice boxes, and brocades. In some areas these representations were even introduced into the synagogue. Nor were representations of the human form restricted to plane surfaces: in metal work they were often three-dimensional. In some places in the Ashkenazi world, figures of Moses and Aaron were incorporated almost as a matter of convention in the appurtenances of the Torah – which was the central object of veneration in the synagogue – both in the brocade wrappings and in relief in the silver *breastplate which hung before the Scroll. Instances are known of such figures being included in the decoration of the Ark toward which the worshiper directed his devotions. Contrary to the universal belief, even the representation of the Deity was not entirely unknown. (See *Anthropomorphism in Jewish Art).

THE REVIVAL OF MANUSCRIPT ART. The art of illumination which had developed so promisingly in Spain, Italy, and Germany at the close of the Middle Ages did not die out. In the Italian Jewish upper classes and in the affluent circle of Court Jews which emerged in Germany in the 17th century, there was to be a notable renewal – it may be more correct to say perpetuation of the former tradition. There is some evidence that in the Middle Ages it was customary for Jews to insert illuminations in the *megillah* from which they followed the reading of the story of Esther in the synagogue on the uninhibited feast of Purim. It may also be significant that the scenes connected with this same story received disproportionate attention in the third-century frescoes of Dura-Europos. Every well-to-do householder now wished to have an illuminated *megillah*. Normally, though not invariably, these seem to have been executed by Jewish artists and some were of really high artistic merit. From the 17th century onward, elaborately engraved borders were provided by competent artists, such as Shalom *Italia, inside which the text would be written by hand. The case was similar with the marriage contract or **ketubbah*, expressing the joy implicit in the formation of a new family in the Jewish community. An isolated specimen has been preserved from the late 14th century, but from the 16th century these illuminated *ketubbot* became common especially in Italy, where some examples were veritable works of art. Some of the artists were probably Gentiles. Most were probably – and in a few cases provably – Jews. While in some countries and in some areas of ritual art the inhibition against the representation of the human figure was still rigorously applied, this was normally overlooked as far as the *megillah* and the *ketubbah* were concerned.

Apart from these and allied productions of illustrators and illuminators within the context of Jewish life, the art of Hebrew book-illumination was continued and in some cases revived in a remarkable fashion. Memorable Italian specimens of the 16th and 17th centuries have recently been brought to light, though in certain cases, the artists were almost certainly non-Jews. In the course of the 17th and 18th centuries, however, there grew up in Central and Northern Europe, especially in Moravia, Amsterdam, and Hamburg, an entire school of gifted Hebrew book-illuminators, who concentrated their attention on books of occasional prayers and benedictions (*Me'ah Berakhot*), circumcision rituals and similar works. The favorite was the Passover *Haggadah*. As in the Middle Ages, wealthy householders vied with one another in having these executed, sometimes as gifts for brides or newly married couples. They were often based on the older printed prototypes, especially of the Amsterdam *Haggadah* of 1695, but were sometimes rendered with a remarkable inventive power of reinterpretation and a fine sense of color. Outstanding among these manuscript artists were Samuel Dresnitz (1720), Aaron Wolf Herlingen of Gewitsch (c. 1700–c. 1768), and Moses Leib *Trebitsch (1723). In certain cases, as for example the Pinḥas family, this involvement in manuscript illumination led to a general training in art and the consequent emergence of artists in the conventional sense.

Meanwhile, in the Sephardi community of Amsterdam, a school of gifted *calligraphers was beginning to appear. The title pages executed for their finely written Spanish or Portuguese manuscripts, sometimes embodying charming vignettes, were works of art, and a few were in due course engraved.

[Cecil Roth]

NEW DEVELOPMENTS. From the 1970s there have been significant new developments in the field of Jewish art. Side by side with increased awareness of the role which the visual arts played in Jewish life, new discoveries have been made and a considerable number of previously little or unknown objects, images, and monuments have come to the fore. The major political events which took place during this period had their impact as well, adding new information and materials. Collections that had been unavailable for decades are now open to the public and accessible to scholars. Paralleling and supporting this growth is the increase in the scholarly publications in Jewish art, including the foundation of an important periodical (*Journal of Jewish Art*) by Bezalel *Narkiss in 1974; as well as growing public awareness in the field, expressed in interests in Judaic exhibitions, lectures, travels to Jewish monuments, and even the production and acquisition of contemporary Jewish art.

In the public arena, the most visible phenomenon concerns the growth of Jewish museums from the last quarter of the 20th century. New museums were established in many towns throughout the Jewish world – from Casablanca to Melbourne, and from Casale Monferrato, Italy, to Raleigh, North Carolina. The recent proliferation of Jewish museums is particularly noticeable in Germany, where many new museums opened towards the close of the 20th century, ranging from small display rooms (e.g., Bissingen, Creglingen) to impressive and sizeable buildings (Berlin, Frankfurt). Many of the small German museums are housed in former synagogues – nearly a hundred of them have been restored to date, especially after the reunification of Germany. In Israel the fashionable search for tangible personal and communal roots has led to the establishment of small "ethnic" museums – notably, Nahon Museum of Italian-Jewish Art in Jerusalem, Museum and Heritage Center of Babylonian Jewry in Or Yehudah, and the museum commemorating the heritage of the Jews from Cochin (Kochi), India, in Moshav Nevatim in the Negev. Along with the established institutions, the new museums play a vital role in increasing the awareness and knowledge of Jewish visual culture and encourage the collection and preservation of Judaic objects, whether from the remote past or the last generations. The stream of large and impressive catalogs that accompanied many of the exhibitions organized by the leading museums constitutes important sources for documentation and scholarly research in the field of Jewish art.

Even before the fall of the Soviet Union treasures hidden behind the Iron Curtain were displayed in the West. It took 15 years of private and public efforts on the highest levels before the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic allowed the landmark exhibition, "The Precious Legacy" – based on the collections of the Jewish Museum in Prague – to tour the United States in 1983. However, the Perestroika brought about many more opportunities for international partnerships and for presentations of significant collections of ceremonial, folk, and ethnographic Jewish art. Some of these collections, for example the collection of more than 400 silver ritual objects at the Museum of Historical Treasures of the Ukraine, Kiev – comprised largely of objects confiscated by the Soviets from many synagogues in the Ukraine in the 1920s and 1930s with the idea of melting them down for the silver – has been fully restored, displayed for the first time to the general public, traveled to capitals abroad, and been the subject of several catalogs. The opening of the borders has allowed, in addition, first hand documentation projects, chiefly conducted by the Center for Jewish Art, Jerusalem, which was founded in 1979 by Bezalel Narkiss with the purpose of documenting and publishing Jewish art treasures. The CJA's researchers have been documenting ceremonial objects, illuminated manuscripts, works by Jewish artists, and the architecture and interior decoration of synagogues, in Israel and abroad, often in locales that could not be visited earlier.

The hopes of scholars to unearth another ancient synagogue with painted walls have not materialized in the decades that have passed since the amazing discovery of the *Dura Europos synagogue in 1932. On the other hand, an exciting and unexpected discovery was made in the summer of 1993, when a well-preserved early fifth century synagogue was uncovered in the talmudic town of Sepphoris (Zippori). The synagogue nave's splendid floor mosaic, comprised of 14 richly decorated panels, has enriched Jewish iconography of the period and provided some new insights into the familiar motifs. Thus, for example, the ubiquitous zodiac cycle significantly deviates from its familiar depictions in the other five ancient synagogues, and exceptionally replaces the pagan sun god, Helios, with a non-figurative image of sun rays. Likewise, the popular Binding of Isaac scene, known from two other synagogues, presents some motifs and episodes in the story that are new to Jewish iconography of this period, though familiar from Christian art. The overall iconographic scheme of the floor has been interpreted as expressing the hope for redemption and the rebuilding of the Temple.

Another major development in the past decades concerns the growing attention to Jewish art and material culture emanating from Islamic lands. Prior to 1970, hardly any attention had been paid to this field of Jewish creativity, whether in the public at large, the world of Jewish museums, or even the scholarly community. Viewed as inferior to European Jewish art, little was done to either conduct fieldwork or save the art treasures from Arab lands before the mass immigration to Israel, and serious negligence followed the resettlement. This situation has changed from the last quarter of the 20th century, and especially in Israel considerable efforts have been made by museums and scholars to display and study the visual heritage of these communities. The Israel Museum in particular has been active in this field and its department of Jewish ethnography has mounted from the mid-1960s on major exhibits accompanied by large catalogs, each dedicated to a selected community. Starting in 1967, with a modest exhibition and catalog on the costumes and some artifacts of the Jews of Bukhara, there followed more comprehensive presentations on the communities of Morocco (1973), Kurdistan (1981), the Ottoman Empire (1990), India (1995), Afghanistan (1998), Yemen (2000), and the Mountain Jews of Azerbaijan (2001). Parallel to these exhibits, studies by local scholars as well as some Americans and Europeans, deal with the art and cultural context of the jewelry, costumes, domestic wares, ceremonial art, and manuscript illumination, in particular the figurative Judeo-Persian miniatures. A monograph by Bracha Yaniv was dedicated to the Torah case (*tik*) in Islamic lands (1997), while in Shalom Sabar's studies on the illustrated *ketubbah* the examples from Islamic lands are examined side by side with those from other parts of the Jewish world.

The monographs mentioned illustrate another recent trend. While most of the monographs in Jewish art in the past were dedicated to the study of selected Hebrew manuscripts, scholars have been focusing in addition on particular categories of Jewish art. In addition to the Torah case and *ketubbah*, mention should be made of Torah crowns (Grafman), Hanukkah lamps (Braunstein), *Shivviti* tablets (Juhasz), papercuts (Shadur), the Wimpel (various authors), synagogues in general and individual buildings in particular (Krinsky, Hubka). There are still, however, many categories missing from this list. Another direction of research, which more closely follows recent trends in the general scholarship of cultural studies, emerged in the 1990s, dealing with the visual experience in Jewish life and culture. Scholars like Richard Cohen, Barbara Kirschenblatt-Gimblett, Margaret Olin, and Kalman Bland, expanded the traditional methodological tools in which Jewish art has been examined, exploring issues such as Jewish art and social studies, historiography of Jewish art, collecting and exhibiting Jewish culture, Jewish attitudes to the visual, etc. Other studies explore the Jewish experience via folk art and daily artifacts, such as New Year cards or cans of Jewish food, as well as the interaction between sacred objects and the people who use them (Joselit, Sabar). The new studies have demonstrated the importance and relevance of the visual to the other, largely text-based, disciplines of Jewish studies, which would open the field to new stimulating cultural discourses.

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[Shalom Sabar (2nd ed.)]

Modern Jewish Art

The definition of Jewish art in the modern period is complex. Formerly, it consisted of objects made for Jewish use, but now it is rarely linked to the Jewish community. Instead, Jewish artists are fully integrated into secular international art and make major contributions to avant-garde movements. Some bow to the pressures of conformity and try to assimilate, and even if they express themselves as Jews, they do so in non-traditional ways. For many of them, the interplay between secular and Jewish factors in their art is problematic. This has led scholars to debate whether all Jews who are artists produce Jewish art or only those who stress their Jewish identity.

Furthermore, modern Jewish art developed parallel to the uneven process of Jewish emancipation that began in the United States and France in the late 18th century, spread through Western and Central Europe between the 1830s and 1870s, and reached Eastern Europe towards the end of the century. Due to this variable chronology, a "first generation" of emancipated Jewish artists continued to be produced into the 20th century, when those who arrived in the West from Eastern Europe faced the same problems that had confronted Jewish artists throughout the 19th century. To complicate matters, although the 18th and 19th centuries produced a few Jewish women artists, the majority began their careers only in the 20th century and were more concerned with problems of gender than of religion. Moreover, the return of Jews to Palestine and the establishment of the State of Israel produced artists who saw themselves as Israelis more than as Jews, while the emigration of Jewish artists from the former Soviet Union produced a reversed Emancipation, allowing them to express their Jewish identity freely. Finally, the gay liberation movement led some Jewish artists at the end of the 20th century to liken coming out of the closet as homosexuals to the problems involved in declaring Jewish identity in art.

In spite of this, modern Jewish art has certain basic characteristics. First of all, despite attempts to establish a "Jewish style," Jewish artists preferred to adopt normative styles in order to be accepted. At first they conformed to academic norms, but from the mid-19th century, they began to take part in avant-garde movements. Yet although they failed, the attempts to develop a "Jewish style" are instructive. In the 1870s Vladimir Stasov, a non-Jewish Russian critic, encouraged Mark *Antokolsky to develop a Jewish national art utilizing Jewish subject matter and an "eastern semitic" style. His ideas on this style are disclosed by his suggestion that the St. Petersburg synagogue be built in the "Arab-Moorish" style and his participation in publishing a book on the ornamental illumination of medieval Hebrew manuscripts from the Cairo Genizah. He thus proposed both the adoption of Near Eastern styles and a return to Oriental Jewish sources. Antokolsky did not agree to create a *Jewish school of art*, but he was stimulated to plan a *Jewish art school* to promulgate handicrafts that were widespread as folk art among Russian Jews. He felt that this education would expose Jews to art and provide them with a livelihood. He thus suggested that folk art was a form of national artistic expression.

Stasov's theories and Antokolsky's plans inspired two simultaneous movements: Russian artists created modern Jewish art based on folk art, and the *Bezalel School of Art was founded in Jerusalem and incorporated Oriental art into its style. These two trends expressed two views of the future: the first called for a continuation of Jewish culture in the Diaspora; the second for a new start to Jewish life in the Holy Land.

The Russian approach was also influenced by S. *An-Ski's idea that emancipated Jews could build a secular Jewish identity on Jewish folk culture. Marc *Chagall both welcomed this secular identity and felt close to folk art, claiming the painter of the Mogilev synagogue as his forefather. In St. Petersburg and Paris, he absorbed avant-garde art styles, one of which – Primitivism – acclaimed the aesthetic power of folk and tribal art. Chagall developed a style that translated Jewish themes into a folk art idiom, and later added Fauvist and Cubist elements to it. This union of Jewish folk art with modern styles was taken up by Nathan *Altman and Eliezar *Lissitzky, who joined Chagall in a Jewish art movement that reached its apogee directly after the Russian Revolution. The clearest expressions of this style are Chagall's murals for the State Jewish Chamber Theater in Moscow (1920) and Lissitzky's *Had Gadya* illustrations (1918–19).

Shortly thereafter, Lissitzky and Altman abandoned this style to join the Russian abstract artists in developing their own revolutionary style. Chagall, who left Russia in 1922, also abandoned this style, but retained a naïve quality in his art and occasionally incorporated folk art motifs into it.

In the mid-1920s, Soviet art enforced the use of Socialist Realism, but this type of Jewish art survived in Anatoli *Kaplan's copies of Jewish folk art in his illustrations. These inspired Michael Grobman in the 1960s to portray Russian and Jewish legends using strange creatures rendered in a folk art style. After Grobman moved to Israel in 1971, he began using bright colors, Hebrew and Russian texts, and kabbalistic symbols in his work. These elements also appear in the art of Grisha Bruskin, where traditional Jews stand beside strange monsters and angels on a background of Hebrew script which defines the figures in kabbalistic terms. He draws on medieval manuscripts, folk art, and Surrealism, blending them in a "naïve" manner. Whereas Grobman and Bruskin use folk art and modern styles in different ways than had Chagall, Lissitzky, and Altman, they are impelled by the same understanding of what Jewish national art should be and by the same need to stress their national identity.

The second movement began in 1906 when Boris *Schatz established the Bezalel School of Art in Jerusalem to teach local Jews to produce art. Influenced by Stasov, Schatz sought to create a Jewish art indigenous to the Near East that would visually express the Jews' return to their land. He united academic Jewish art with contemporary Oriental motifs, and used Oriental Jewish models clothed in Bedouin garb for biblical scenes as both were seen as authentic evidence of the biblical past. Schatz sent the European-born teachers to Istanbul, Damascus, and Cairo to learn Oriental crafts, employed Oriental Jews as experts to weave carpets designed by European students, and taught Yemenite jewelers an "improved" filigree technique. The resulting art was highly eclectic, and only the reaction against Bezalel by young artists in the 1920s would amalgamate these ideas into a coherent style.

These young artists revolted against Schatz's anti-modernist diktats, establishing a Hebrew (as opposed to a Jewish) Artists Association to stress their independence from the Diaspora, but they retained Schatz's ideas. They developed his Orientalist use of models into a cult of the Arab, and tried to create a Jewish national art by combining Near Eastern – i.e., ancient Egyptian, Assyrian, or Byzantine – modes of depiction with the contemporary classical styles of Henri Matisse and Pablo Picasso. They added a "childlike" quality they deemed appropriate to a newborn national art, turning for inspiration to the French naïve artist Henri Rousseau.

This synthesis is evident in Reuven *Rubin's *Dancers of Meron* (1926). The style of his ḥasidic Jews is based on "Eastern" Byzantine church murals from his native Romania; the inclined perspective and individually drawn plants recall naïve art; while the broad, almost flat planes of color were inspired by Matisse. Nahum *Gutman presented a different combination in his *Goatherd* (1926) whose stance is adapted from Egyptian art. Gutman uses this style to make the figure seem both archaic and continuously indigenous to the country, but the plasticity of the body and the childlike background also recall the art of Picasso and Rousseau.

During the 1930s, influenced by Arab onslaughts and the rise of Nazism in Europe, Palestinian Jewish artists rejected this style in favor of a specifically *Jewish* art. They turned to the Expressionism of the Jewish artists in Paris, an art that was Jewish only because of its authors' origins. At the end of the 1930s, Zionism again inspired artists to return to the ancient Near East in search of a national style, but this time they turned to the archeological excavations that were uncovering Jewish roots in Palestine. Yitzhak *Danziger based his sculpture *Nimrod* (1939) on ancient Near Eastern art. The very stone from which it is carved – Nubian sandstone from Petra – unites him with the land and its ancient peoples. Moshe *Castel based his pictographic style of the mid-1940s on the naïve figures in the *Sacrifice of Isaac* from the sixth century mosaic in the Bet Alpha synagogue, thus connecting modern art in Palestine with that practiced there by Jews in ancient times. Later, he used the ancient Hebrew alphabet and figures culled from Mesopotamian cylinder seals to create "ancient Jewish steles" made of colored ground basalt, a technique developed by the Spaniard Antoni Tápies. Rather than waiting for archeologists to uncover proof of Jewish residence in the land, he produced his own "documents" confirming it. Mordecai *Ardon was also influenced by Sumerian and Canaanite images, but turned as well to traditional Jewish sources, borrowing from medieval Hebrew manuscripts and using kabbalistic signs. He felt that the pagan elements in ancient Israelite life could not exist without a traditional Jewish mystical context, and that both must be incorporated into the new Israeli culture in order for it to survive.

Both the Russian and Israeli artists who wished to create a modern Jewish style blended elements from the Jewish past with those taken from contemporary art. Although both models presented viable options for a national style, they were not generally espoused. Even the idea of such a style was not accepted by most Jewish artists, who preferred to adopt the modern styles around them.

In like manner, Jewish artists often adopted contemporary subject matter. Whereas in the 19th century many of them expressed the problems they encountered in emerging from the ghetto and maintaining their Jewish identity in a Christian world, those who arrived from Eastern Europe in the 20th century often embraced secular Western art, preferring not to stress their Jewish roots. Moreover, those who had received a liberal education from emancipated parents preferred neutral subject matter and joined movements that stressed landscape and portrait painting in the 19th century and abstraction in the 20th century. Most of these artists believed that art was an international language and wanted to make their mark as individuals and not as Jews. This approach was also shared by Jewish photographers (e.g., Alfred *Stieglitz), gallery owners (e.g., Herwarth Walden), collectors (e.g., Joseph Hirshhorn), and art critics (e.g., Clement Greenberg). They all would have agreed with Greenberg's advice: "Jewishness, insofar as it has to be asserted in a predominantly Gentile world, should be a personal rather than a mass demonstration." At the same time, many Israelis opted for international styles and neutral subjects, espousing the Zionist desire for normalcy, "to be like unto the nations," while having a nation of their own.

Yet neutral subjects could be adapted to Jewish use. Thus Moritz *Oppenheim's portraits of converted Jews and of those who succeeded while remaining faithful to their religion, express the problems confronting Jews in 19th century Germany. In Russia during a year of pogroms Isaac *Levitan placed a *Jewish Tombstone* (1881) in a landscape. In like manner, Barnett *Newman and Ya'acov *Agam gave Jewish meaning to their abstract works through their theories and titles, although the latter have to be translated into Hebrew to be fully understood.

On the other hand, some Jewish artists sought to express their Judaism in their art, often as part of a dialogue with Christians. One method, the depiction of traditional Jewish life, developed three main approaches in the 19th century. On the one hand, artists such as Oppenheim and Isador *Kauffman painted cheerful scenes of ghetto life, stressing religious rites and a pleasant atmosphere. These works were intended to strengthen the roots of emancipated Jews by showing them nostalgic views of their grandparents' lifestyle which they had cast off, and to prove the inherent beauty of traditional Jewish life to Christians who were curious about the "exotic" Jews around them. Later artists, such as Yehuda Pen, inspired by a Romantic wish to return to their roots, turned from assimilation to depicting the lifestyle of the Orthodox Jewish community. Still later, nostalgic views of shtetl life, such as those by Chagall and *Mané-Katz, were used to memorialize a way of life that was slowly disappearing and was totally destroyed in the Holocaust.

The second, more pessimistic approach was developed in Eastern Europe by Antokolsky and Samuel *Hirszenberg who stressed the poverty and sufferings of the Jews to arouse pity and sympathy. Their works were inspired by the misery they saw around them and by the pogroms in Eastern Europe in the second half of the 19th century, both of which led to mass emigration. Their iconography influenced artists who depicted the hardships of traditional Jewish life during World War I and its destruction in World War II.

The third approach depicted tensions between Jews and Christians. In Oppenheim's *Lavater and Lessing Visit Moses Mendelssohn* (1856), Mendelssohn affirms Judaism despite Johann Caspar Lavater's demands that he convert. The intricacies of the dispute are suggested by the chessboard set between them, but the woman bringing in a tea tray suggests that all will end amicably. In contrast, in *The Spanish Inquisition Breaking in on a Marrano Seder* (1868), Antokolsky symbolized the fears of Jews in Russia where sudden arrest was common, and stated his belief that assimilation would not save Jews from persecution.

Whereas such problems continued to occupy Jews, some 20th century artists turned instead to confrontations within the Jewish community. Raphael *Soyer's *Dancing Lesson* (1926) sets portraits of the Orthodox Russian grandparents above the religious but modern parents, who worriedly regard the young couple attempting to assimilate into American life by dancing to the tune of the boy's harmonica.

A different dialogue with the Christian world utilized Christian themes such as the legend of Ahasver who – like the Jewish people – is doomed to eternal wandering for rejecting Jesus. Maurycy *Gottlieb gave this image a positive twist in 1876 by portraying himself in this role as a crowned prince. He thereby stressed pride in his Judaism, but his expression conveys his melancholy at being an outcast from Christian society. In contrast, Hirszenberg's *Exile* (1904) used this image to show the Jew as a modern refugee heading towards an unknown destination. Hirszenberg's denunciation of Christian antisemitism is even clearer in his rendering of Ahasver fleeing amidst a sea of crosses at the feet of which lie his massacred fellow Jews (1899).

The symbolic image that had the most impact on this type of dialogue was that of Jesus restored to his historical milieu. Antokolsky's *Ecce Homo* (1873) stressed Jesus' Judaism through his facial features, side locks, skullcap, and striped garment. Inspired by the Odessa pogrom, Antokolsky wanted his statue to remind Christians that persecuting Jesus's brothers perverted his teachings. The use of a Jewish Jesus to combat antisemitism became widespread in modern Jewish art, and Chagall's *White Crucifixion* (1938) used this imagery to symbolize Jewish victims in the Holocaust.

This dialogue, as well as problems within the Jewish community, led Jewish artists to inject new meanings into Old Testament themes. This practice began in the early 19th century in works by converted Jews. Thus Mendelssohn's grandson Philipp Veit and his fellow Nazarenes decorated the reception room of his converted relative, the Prussian consul Jacob Salomon Bartholdy, with the story of Joseph. This suggests that Bartholdy had a Jewish precedent both for his high office and for assuming the manners – and in his case, the religion – of a non-Jewish court. In a different vein, Eduard *Bendemann expressed the despair at Judaism's fate that led to his conversion by painting mournful scenes: *By the Waters of Babylon* (1832) and *Jeremiah on the Ruins of Jerusalem* (ca. 1834–35).

Early Zionist artists also turned to the Old Testament. Lesser *Ury's *Jerusalem* (1896) depicts the old exiles in Babylon sitting withdrawn or praying, while younger generations look past the river dreaming of the homeland, thus expressing the hope engendered in the young by Zionism. In like manner, Ephraim Moïse *Lilien depicted Theodor Herzl as Moses (1907–8), and created a parallel between the longing for the Promised Land of a Jew bound in slavery in Egypt and that of a European Jew trapped by thorns (1902). In the *Jerusalem River Project* (1970), Joshua Neustein, Gerard Marx, and Georgette Battle set loudspeakers along a *wadi* to bring the sound of rushing water to Jerusalem's dry environment, fulfilling the prophecy of Zechariah that when Israel is redeemed, "live waters will come forth out of Jerusalem."

Old Testament imagery was also used for personal expression. For instance, Simeon *Solomon used his illustrations to the *Song of Songs* (1857, 1865–68) to express his homosexuality and the despair it caused him, while Jacques *Lipchitz and Jacob *Epstein used their namesake, Jacob, wrestling with the angel to express their own struggles with inspiration during times of crisis (1932, 1940–41).

Biblical images were also employed to express the Holocaust and the birth of the State of Israel. Thus Lipchitz depicted David killing a Nazi Goliath (1933) to demonstrate Jewish resistance to the Nazis, and many artists utilized the Sacrifice of Isaac and Job to symbolize Holocaust victims. After the War of Independence, *Steinhardt used *Cain and Abel* to portray the war between brothers; *Jacob and Esau* embracing to express the coveted peace; and *Hagar* as an outcast Arab refugee. Recently, contemporary artists have been inspired by their times to develop new interpretations. For instance, before leaving Russia, Vitaly *Komar and Alexander *Melamid placed seven photographs of the first page of the text of the *Prophet Obadiah* (1976) in graded degrees of darkness, suggesting that they see their Jewish origins as fluctuating from readability to impenetrability. In like manner, in *The Liberation of God* (1990–96), Helene Aylon underlined all the places in the Old Testament in which the patriarchy was stressed as part of her feminist reassessment of Judaism.

After World War II, biblical imagery was also used to call for reconciliation between Judaism and Christianity. Chagall injected his crucified Jewish Jesus into Old Testament paintings that he wished to house in an interfaith chapel to promote peace by stressing Jesus' Jewish origins to members of both religions. In like manner, the Catholic Church began commissioning Jewish artists to decorate churches such as that at Assy, but the resulting works contain Jewish as well as Christian messages. Lipchitz's statue of the *Virgin* there shows an uninhabited mantle, with only the hands visible, brought down to earth by a dove. For a Catholic, this is a perfect rendering of the Immaculate Conception; for Lipchitz it was a way not to represent the Virgin. His inscription on the back dedicates the work to a better understanding between the two faiths. Chagall decorated the Assy Baptistery with a large *Crossing of the Red Sea*, a Christian prefiguration of baptism. However, at the top of the mural, a Wandering Jew leads the Exodus away from the crucified Christ towards Israel, symbolized by King David and the Tower of David. Such interplays remind us that in interfaith relations each side interprets events according to its own beliefs.

Jewish and Christian artists were also commissioned to produce art for the many synagogues and Jewish community centers that were built from 1945 on. Whereas most Christians produced art deemed appropriate for Jewish use, Jewish artists often felt free to express their own views. This is also true of Jewish book illustration: Arieh Allweil gave his *Haggadah* a Zionist reading (after 1948), while Leonard *Baskin infused his ambiguous feelings towards Judaism into the version he illustrated (1974).

Another common theme in the 19th century expressed the emancipated Jewish artists' feeling that due to their art they had no place in Jewish society: artists such as Gottlieb, Hirszenberg and Jacob Meyer *de Haan identified with outcasts such as Uriel Acosta and Baruch Spinoza. In the 20th century artists were more concerned with their tenuous place as Jews in contemporary society, and manifested this problem in various ways. Chagall hid his often sarcastic messages about the Christian world by translating Yiddish idioms into visual images that could only be understood by Yiddish speakers, and Ben *Shahn and Baskin incorporated Hebrew texts into their works that added dimensions of meaning that were not open to the general public. Many of R.B. *Kitaj's works deal with problems of non-belonging. He depicted himself symbolically as *Marrano* (*The Secret Jew)* (1976), and identified with all outsiders in his book *The First Diasporist Manifesto* (1989).

This outsider stance also connects Jews with other minorities, an identification espoused by Jewish artists with a strong social conscience. Josef *Israels and Max *Liebermann portrayed poor fishermen and peasants in Europe in the 19th century, while the Americans Max *Weber, the *Soyers, and Shahn depicted those rendered poor and homeless by the Depression. They and younger artists, such as Larry *Rivers, later identified with Afro-Americans, believing they were expressing the humanistic doctrines that they saw as Judaism's contribution to American life.

This affinity with the other assumed another dimension in Israeli art. In the 1920s, seeking to reconnect with the land, artists such as Rubin and Gutman identified with Arab fishermen and shepherds. This tendency stopped with the Arab attacks on Jews in 1929, but was revived in the 1950s in depictions of the Bedouin with whom Israel lived at peace, who were seen as living in harmony with the land. Steinhardt painted them, while Danzinger sculpted sheep to resemble Bedouin tents. Igael *Tumarkin developed this concept by adapting into his sculptures the way they tie material to trees in their sacred groves. All these works express a desire for peaceful coexistence, but Tumarkin also dealt with land as a holy object for which blood is shed. Another type of identification developed after 1967, when Tumarkin pointed out the similarity between the former situation of the Jews and that of present-day Palestinian refugees.

Identification with the other can also be linked to criticism of one's own group and even to self-hate. Whereas Alphonse Lévy portrayed Jews with ironic humor, Chagall criticized Jewish traditions. In *Sabbath* (1910) the colors and the expressions of the figures create a hellish atmosphere, while in *Succoth* (1914) the unconscious wish of the Jew who is about to enter a dark synagogue is expressed by a small figure on his head who turns to go the other way. Camille *Pissarro, who saw himself as a socialist-anarchist, depicted hook-nosed Jewish bankers carrying the Golden Calf in an 1890 drawing, and *Maryan Maryan who lost a leg in the Holocaust, portrayed repulsive Orthodox Jews. Chaim *Soutine displayed self-hate by making his own features as ugly as possible. In his series of slaughtered animals, he drenched their carcasses with blood to enrich their color, an action often interpreted as a willful violation of Jewish dietary laws.

In conclusion, the interplay between the personal and the historical has shaped the fabric of modern Jewish art: the artists' choices depend on their background, their attitude to the modern world, and that world's attitude to them. To be accepted in the Christian world they developed a number of strategies: some assimilated into the dominant culture, while others used both "normal" and Jewish subject matter, or expressed their identity in hidden ways. Some chose to be outsiders or had this status thrust upon them by antisemitism or by feelings that the Jewish community rejected them. At other times, they tried to use their art as a bridge between their two worlds, utilizing Christian imagery or socially relevant themes to this end. The creation of Israeli art did not change this situation, although it added its own variations to the characteristics of modern Jewish art. Despite a wish to participate in the international and secular character of modern art in which artists move easily from one country and culture to another, owing allegiance only to Art, many Jewish and Israeli artists at some point reconnected in their art with their Jewish identity.

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[Ziva Amishai-Maisels (2nd ed.)]

WESTERN EUROPE. *The 19th Century.* The removal of legal and social restrictions in the wake of Emancipation opened the way for West European Jews to engage in the arts. However, at first quite a few Jews chose to take up art as a civil profession. Among them was Moritz Daniel *Oppenheim (1800–1882). From the early stages of his career Oppenheim was aware of the bias between his own Jewish tradition, where the visual arts had played only a minor part so far, and the attitude of the surrounding society which considered art as a supreme expression of European culture. His first monumental painting, *Moses Holding the Tablets of the Law,* is like a manifesto of his self-awareness as a Jewish artist. After a brief acquaintance with the "Nazarene" movement in Rome, where he had been shunned as a "Jewish outsider" despite his obvious artistic talents, Oppenheim turned towards painting in a naturalist style. He acknowledged the need to accommodate himself to the requirements of an emerging German bourgeois society and became a successful genre painter, portraitist, and art dealer in Frankfurt, serving Jewish as well as non-Jewish clients. Committed to the progress of the Jewish cause throughout his life, he created several highly significant historical representations such as *The Return of the Jewish Volunteer* (1833), *Moses Mendelssohn Playing Chess with Lavater* (1856) and *Felix Mendelssohn-Bartholdy Playing for Goethe* (1864) to demonstrate Jewish civility but also his ability as a Jewish painter of history. Yet it was only in the mid-1860s that he gained lasting reputation as painter of the *Scenes from Traditional Jewish Family Life*, a series of genre scenes which conveyed religious traditions from the Age of the Ghetto as a source of cultural inspiration. In this case, the customers were foremost Jews, although the printed series had been prepared to address also a non-Jewish public. Subsequently Oppenheim was considered primarily as "the First Jewish painter," a specialist able to fulfil the specific needs of the emerging bourgeois Jewish public.

The career of Moritz Daniel Oppenheim offers a good insight in the kind of challenge that artists of Jewish origin encountered in the 19th century. They were facing not only increasing demands for diversion of a bourgeois society but also had to deal with their own Jewishness as the base of their artistic experience, and moreover were consistently exposed to latent antisemitic feelings.

The most radical solution of the problem was offered by conversion, and this was the case of Philipp Veit (1793–1877), a grandson of Moses Mendelssohn. After his conversion, he became one of the leading members of the Roman Catholic "Nazarene" group, whose rebellion against classicism led to an attempt to infuse a new style into European art on the base of a revival of Christian, i.e. medieval and Renaissance, painting. Veit's talents as a painter of the new style ensured him a successful public career, and eventually he was awarded the position of the director of the municipal Academy of the Arts in Frankfurt, a post never offered to Moritz Daniel Oppenheim. Somewhat similar was the case of Eduard *Bendemann (1811–1889) and Eduard *Magnus (1799–1872). Both came from apostate wealthy Jewish families and were celebrated painters of their time. Bendemann specialized in large historical compositions, obtained many public commissions and eventually followed Wilhelm Schadow as head of the Duesseldorf academy, while Eduard Magnus became a much sought-after portraitist of the Prussian Royal court and the Berlin "haute bourgeoisie."

As a British citizen, it seems to have been somewhat easier for Solomon Alexander *Hart (1806–1881) to ensure a successful public career without being forced to conceal or to defend incessantly his Jewish identity. His realistic paintings of *Interior of a Jewish Synagogue* and *The Feast of Rejoicing the Law* were well received and did not impair his election as a full member of the Royal Academy. However, he concentrated on presenting English historical and literary scenes, which were fashionable at the time, as he did not wish to be seen as "the painter merely of religious scenes." His compatriot Abraham Solomon (1823–1862) first presented some Jewish subjects, but later he and his sister Rebecca (1832–1886) painted small, brilliantly colored moral themes from 16th- and 17th- century dramas as well as genre scenes of mid-Victorian society. In the 1860s, both Rebecca and her younger brother Simeon *Solomon (1840–1905) became acquainted with the circle of Pre-Raphaelite artists, and Simeon soon established a reputation for his Jewish religious subjects such as *Carrying the Scrolls of the Law* painted in the Pre-Raphaelite style. Encouraged by Swinburne and Burne-Jones, he also created themes of Christian or classical pagan background and of religious mysticism sometimes figuring androgynous figures of an idealized male beauty. Arrested in 1873 and convicted for indecency, he was unable to pursue his artistic career and died in poverty.

Like Oppenheim, Solomon J. *Solomon (1860–1927) remained attached to Jewish affairs throughout his life and painted numerous biblical subjects as well as scenes of contemporary Anglo-Jewish life such as *High Tea in the Sukkah*. But this in no way hindered his success as a fashionable portrait painter for Edwardian society following the tradition of Joshua Reynolds and Lawrence. In 1894, he became a member of the Royal Academy. He was followed by Sir William *Rothenstein (1872–1945), an English impressionist who painted delicate landscapes and some remarkable synagogue interiors. In all, the first two generations of Anglo-Jewish painters were able to uphold their Jewish identity without impediment but chose to follow the artistic mainstream of their country which ensured a wider recognition of their artistic talents.

Likewise, the French painters Jacques-Emile-Edouard Brandon (1831–1897) and Edouard Moyse (1827–1908), both of the first generation of French-Jewish artists, also enjoyed freedom of choice regarding their careers. Like their English colleagues, they painted Jewish subjects alongside Christian ones in an academic style, although Brandon became acquainted with Corot, Degas, and Moreau. His initial success derived from a series of works depicting the life of Saint Brigitte, a subject highly fashionable in the time of Napoleon III. In later life, however, he concentrated on Jewish subjects like *A Synagogue Interior – "The Amidah."* Edouard Moyse shared an interest in Jewish subjects with Brandon and painted intimate portraits of rabbis as well as scenes from Jewish life in France at a time when Orientalist painters presented moments of Jewish life in North Africa as an exotic sensation. Like Alphonse Levy (1843–1918), Moyse produced nostalgic renderings of the Hebrew Bible and of the rural Jews from Alsace-Lorraine.

Manifesting his ethnic background in art however, was not of an issue for one of the greatest Impressionists of all, Camille *Pissarro (1830–1903), although he had studied first with the Danish-Jewish artist David Jacobsen. He met Cézanne and became a founding member of the Impressionists in 1874. Famous for his peasant scenes and landscape paintings, he turned to the representation of the modern city life of Paris after 1888. In 1894, however, Pissarro was deeply distressed about the *Dreyfus Affair and the antisemitic accusations of his colleagues Degas and Renoir. He reconsidered his identity but stated that "for a Hebrew, there is not much of that in me." This attitude was somewhat shared by Jules *Adler (1830–1903), who focused on representing the miserable life of the underclass in a naturalist style, a topic favored by many other Jewish painters in the late 19th century, for whom the subject was not alien, as it reminded them of their own backgrounds.

Pissarro's great Dutch contemporary, Jozef *Israels (1824–1911) was also concerned with the life of the poor, and he became internationally famous for his sympathetic renderings of the hard life of Dutch fishermen and peasants in a style which owed much to Rembrandt's somberness, tenderness, and humanity. He only occasionally turned to Jewish themes and personalities, as in *A Son of the Ancient Race*, but these few paintings became veritable icons in the eye of a Jewish public in quest of authentic Jewish art after the turn of the century. His son Isaac Israels (1865–1934) was a leading Dutch impressionist, known for his scenes from the lives of Paris working girls. Like Israels, the Dutch painter Jacob Meijer *de Haan (1852–1895) started from a traditional Jewish background and first painted some Jewish scenes and portraits but later on balked at this heritage and turned to secular painting. He became a close follower of Paul Gauguin in 1889 with a similar interest in painting landscapes and peasant scenes.

At the same time, a new generation of Jewish artists emerged in the Austrian-Hungarian Empire, among them the first Jewish sculptors. The Hungarian Jacob Guttmann (1815–1852), who made busts of the Austrian chancellor Metternich and of Pope Pius X, is now completely forgotten, as is his compatriot Jozsef *Engel (1815–1901), who portrayed Queen Victoria and the Prince Consort. Of sculptors of a later generation, the Austrian (Czech) Samuel Friedrich *Beer (1846–1912) is now remembered chiefly because Herzl sat for him and because he designed the medal for the first Zionist Congress at Basle in 1897.

In contrast, the work of Isidor *Kaufmann (1853–1921), Tina Blau (1845–1916), and Broncia Koller-Pinell (1863–1934) is still remembered today, because each of them made a substantial contribution to art in Austria. Isidor Kaufmann started as a genre painter and portraitist, but later turned to Jewish subjects and became the painter who documented the great heritage of ḥasidic life in Galicia and Moravia in a realist style. As a woman artist, Tina Blau became one of the leading Austrian impressionists, whereas Bianca Koller-Pinell was a major figure in the Viennese art nouveau movement. Both women showed little concern for their Jewish identity and converted later in life, though Blau painted the Jew's street of Amsterdam.

The secular approach to art was also favored by Italian-Jewish artists like Serafino da *Tivoli (1826–1890) and Vito d'*Ancona (1824–1884). Though ardent supporters of the Risorgimento, which led to the abolition of the Ghetto at last, they showed no interest in making their Jewish background artistically visible. Instead, they pursued secular painting and the latest currents of contemporary art. Serafino da Tivoli was the founder of the "Macchiaioli" school, which reacted against neoclassical formulae and applied paint in summary spots to gain an effect of spontaneity. One of the chief painters of this school was Vito d'Ancona, who executed fresh, lively landscapes and nudes and portraits in rich and luminous colors. Vittorio Matteo *Corcos (1859–1933) followed the Macchiaioli school at first, but became an internationally sought-after society portraitist after his marriage and conversion in 1886. Likewise the Swedish impressionist Ernst Josephson (1851–1906) worked also as a portraitist and his fresh, boldly executed portraits of a subject caught at a characteristic moment are among his best achievements.

In Germany, the second generation of Jewish artists like Max *Liebermann (1847–1935) and after him Lesser *Ury

(1861–1931) witnessed the emerging liberalism and became less preoccupied with manifesting their religious and ethnic status. Instead, dealing with the latest artistic trend and the search for pictorial truth prevailed. Max Liebermann as a socially conscious artist started to depict the harsh life of day laborers under the influence of the French Realists Courbet and Millet, thus setting a counterbalance to cozy Biedermeier genre scenes which dominated the German art market by then. However, when the artist sent his *Jesus in the Temple* to Munich in 1879, the public display of the painting set off vicious antisemitic criticism against an artist who had dared to show Jesus as a precocious Jewish boy surrounded by honest Jewish-looking rabbis. Irritated by the result, Liebermann refrained from painting biblical subjects and found his inspiration in the friendship with Jozef Israels and in the life of the small towns and villages of Holland. He adapted French impressionism and became himself the leading German impressionist and a most eminent portraitist. In addition, he made a major contribution to the development of the art of etching. As the founder of the Berlin Secession, Liebermann was elected president of the Prussian Academy of the Arts in the Weimar Republic, but during his entire career he had to withstand harsh attacks like those of the art historian Henry Thode in 1905, who chided him for his "un-German" character. It would seem to be no coincidence that Liebermann painted the famous *Jew's Street in Amsterdam* at that very time. At the end of his life he was confronted with the rise of Nazism and was forced to resign from the Prussian Academy.

Lesser Ury's artistic career resembled somewhat that of Liebermann's. He too started as an impressionist painter of rural life, but after he had settled in Berlin in 1887 he became the first artist to capture the vibrancy and the luster of the emerging modern metropolis in his Berlin cityscapes. At the very same time, he maintained a lifelong interest in the Bible and created many biblical paintings like *Jeremiah*, exhibited in one of the earliest shows of Jewish artists in Berlin in 1903. Alongside Israels, Lesser Ury was considered to be one of the first modern Jewish painters.

The 20th Century. With the 20th century, the general picture changed. Whereas hitherto Jewish artists had been few, now there was a sudden explosion of Jewish talent which left a permanent mark on artistic development. Not only from the teeming ghettos of Eastern Europe, but also from the Balkans and North Africa, from well-to-do homes in Germany, England, and America, a stream of Jewish artists emerged. In most cases their Mecca was Paris where they hoped to take up the latest art fashion. It was in the fruitful surroundings of the Fauves and Cubists that the School of Paris was formed which harbored such eminent artists as Soutine, Modigliani, Pascin, Mane-Katz, and especially Chagall. They played a highly significant role in modern painting and their contribution was so great as to be in some quarters considered dominant. Besides creating avant-garde art, some artists and critics of Jewish origin engaged also in discussing the possibility of establishing authentic Jewish art, but their attempt fell short as most of the members of the Paris School rejected the necessity of such a quest and favored the search for purely individual artistic expression instead. The best example is the Italian-Jewish painter Amedeo *Modigliani (1884–1920), who became famous only after his death for his sensual nudes and intimate portraits capturing the mood of loneliness and isolation of the sitter in simple elongated forms and iridescent colors.

However, the sense of loneliness and uprooting in the face of a modern world, where Jewish traditional life was threatened either by dissolution or deep change, could lead also to a new attempt to create an art based on Jewish themes. This was the case of a group of Anglo-Jewish artists like David *Bomberg (1890–1957), Mark *Gertler (1891–1939), and Jacob *Kramer (1892–1962). Mostly, they were born out of the first generation of East European immigrants centered in Whitechapel in the East End of London and educated at the London-based Slade School of Fine Arts. They started to document their Jewish surroundings, the Yiddish theater as the nucleus of culture or the archetypal Jewish family of immigrants, and tried to evoke tradition as with Jacob Kramer in his painting *Day of Atonement* of 1919.

In Germany, redefining Jewish art had became a major issue through the impact of Martin *Buber, who had proclaimed the necessity of a Jewish national art at the Fifth International Zionist Congress in 1901. Buber's cultural activities stimulated an entire generation of young German and Central European Jewish artists who became involved in creating the "Jewish Renaissance" which reached its climax in Berlin in the Weimar Republic. It was the first time in European art ever that Jewish artists developed their work first and foremost out of their consciousness of a distinct ethnic and religious background. Leading members were graphic artists like Moses Ephraim *Lilien (1874–1925), Herman *Struck (1876–1944), and Joseph *Budko (1888–1940), who leaned first toward art nouveau and later toward expressionism to create a whole new Jewish iconography ranging from Zionist symbols to representations of the world of the shtetl. Lilien's photo of *Herzl Overlooking the Rhine* became as much an icon as Struck's delicately etched portraits of Polish and Russian Jews in *Das Ostjuedische Antlitz*. This group was joined by a wide circle of artists, art historians, and critics like Max *Osborn, Rachel Wischnitzer, and Ernst *Cohn-Wiener. Among the artists were the expressionist painters Jakob *Steinhardt (1887–1968) and Ludwig *Meidner, who were already known for their cityscapes and biblical paintings foreshadowing imminent disaster like Meidner's *I and the City* of 1912 and Steinhardt's monumental *Prophet Jeremiah* of 1913. Of the same generation was the expressionist sculptor Arnold *Zadikow (1884–1943), who later created the portrait bust of Albert Einstein, and an entire group of avant-garde Polish and Russian Jewish artists such as Jankel *Adler, Issai Kulviansky, El *Lissitzky, and Issachar Ber *Ryback, to name but a few. Their art works contributed to Berlin's reputation as an international center for the creation of contemporary art.

At the same time, the ritual objects of the *Bezalel Art School founded in Jerusalem in 1906 had a major impact on the creation of modern European Judaica. This field had been largely neglected during the Age of Emancipation, and it was only in the later 19th century that manufacturers like Lazarus Posen started with mass-produced Judaica in the so called "antique silver style." In the early 20th century, however, a group of young artists emerged like Leo *Horovitz (1876–1961), Ludwig Wolpert (1900–1981), Friedrich Adler (1878–1942), and David Gumbel. They were trained as sculptors like Benno *Elkan (1877–1960), but in addition to secular art they started to create ritual objects under the influence of art nouveau at first and later under that of the Bauhaus.

Nevertheless German Jewish artists of the 1920s were not solely involved in the quest for an authentic Jewish art. Some of them formulated new aspects of art out of progressive political attitudes. Their left-wing views led them to defy the saturated bourgeois society, and they searched for new ways to express the human condition as marked by the vicissitudes of the Weimar Republic. This was the case with Otto *Freundlich (1878–1943), a painter, sculptor, and graphic artist who was attracted by the teachings of the Bauhaus during the Weimar Republic but lived predominantly in Paris. He sculpted a new image of man close to abstraction and engaged in painting of the pure form. Artists like John Heartfield (1891–1968) and Lea (1906–1977) and Hans (1901–1958) Grundig became members of the KPD (German Communist Party) and devoted their artistic talents exclusively to the service of the party by creating anti-fascist posters or presentations denouncing the living conditions of the proletariat. Political engagement was considered also a prerequisite of artistic creativity among the "Das Junge Rheinland" group," founded in 1919, where artists like Gert *Wollheim (1894–1970) and Arthur *Kaufmann (1888–1971) painted portraits and genre scenes denouncing the chaos of postwar life in a tortured and emotional late expressionist style, revealing the influence of the "Neue Sachlichkeit" and of Otto Dix. The Viennese painter Max Oppenheimer (1885–1954), who was influenced by Oskar Kokoschka, created portraits with deep psychological insight while Hanns Ludwig Katz (1892–1940), another late expressionist painter, who came under the influence of Max Beckmann in Frankfurt, followed a similar intention when he painted the portrait of Gustav Landauer in 1919/1920.

After the rise to power of the Nazi Party in 1933, all German Jewish artists were threatened by persecution, and later, during wartime, the entire generation of European Jewish artists born since the late 1880s was dispersed and many of them perished in death camps. The show "Degenerate Art" organized by the Nazi authorities in 1938 served as a prelude to annihilation. There, many of the avant-garde art works of Jews and non-Jews alike were publicly decried as "Jewish-Bolshevik botch" or as marks of insanity. However, artists did not simply give in to terror; they tried to resist by creating art. This was especially the case of Friedl *Dicker-Brandeis (1898–1944), who brought art to hundreds of children in the Theresienstadt concentration camp from 1942 until she was sent to Auschwitz in 1944. Charlotte *Salomon (1917–1943), Rudolf *Levy (1875–1944), and Felix Nussbaum (1904–1944) were among those who were persecuted and went into hiding but continued to work nevertheless. They all perished in the Holocaust, but their masterworks created while living under the most oppressive conditions offer a vivid testimony of humanity withstanding all odds. Felix Nussbaum revealed his feelings of solitude and despair in the face of imminent doom in his many self-portraits in a surrealist style and especially in the *Danse Macabre*, his last painting before deportation to the Auschwitz extermination camp.

While artists all over the world were deeply affected by the Holocaust, the experience of torture and humiliation, of persecution and exile, became a dominant subject for those who had survived. Yet, for many of the artists it was not only about documenting the actual horrors of the death camps but also of visualizing the abyss of human cruelty. Survivors like the Viennese artists Arik Brauer (1929–) and Fritz Hundertwasser (1928–2000) chose to depict scenes of Fantastic Realism in order to convey the inconceivable dimensions of the catastrophe. Other artists who survived in exile, like Jankel *Adler or Ludwig *Meidner, focused on presenting those who were barred from normal life or created monstrous apocalyptic scenes in order to express suffering.

Jankel Adler (1895–1949) was among those artists who could emigrate to England like Jacob *Bornfriend (1904–1976) and Joseph *Herman (1911–) but had a hard time supporting themselves as painters. They brought with them the figurative expressionist heritage from the Continent and continued to work in that style. A new style of painting, based as much on the aesthetic experience of expressionism as on abstract painting, emerged in the next generation of Anglo-Jewish artists with a refugee background. Today, the works of artists like Lucien *Freud (1922–), Leon *Kossoff (1926–), and Frank *Auerbach (1931–) are generally acknowledged as having a major impact on contemporary world art, while their ethnic and religious background is rarely stressed. Fascinated by the sheer physicality of the world, these London-based artists work as figurative painters and graphic artists who convey the vibrancy of life, especially the spirituality of human beings out of the materiality of the body in a sensuous, agitated style of brushwork. For them the visual reality offers the indispensable backdrop for exploring the metaphysical quality of life. They are joined in their efforts by the American born R.B. *Kitaj (1932–) who focuses on presenting the quest for a modern Jewish identity after the Holocaust in his paintings.

[Annette Weber (2nd ed.)]

EASTERN EUROPE. Jewish artists emerged in Eastern Europe, as well as in Western Europe, as a result of modernization and integration of a part of Jewry into European cultural and social life. It appears only natural, therefore, that the fist Jewish figures to appear on the artistic arena of Eastern Europe in the 1840s–1850s came from privileged circles of the

Jewish financial elite that was more prone, in comparison to other sectors of the Jewish community, to acculturation and even assimilation. The most prominent artists of this period (within the borders of the Austrian and the Russian Empire) are Barbu Iscovescu (Itskovich, 1816–1854) and Constantine Daniel Rosenthal (1820–1851) in Romania; Alexander Lesser (1814–1884) and Maximilian Fajans (1827–1890) in Poland.

Those artists' *Weltanschauung* was molded in the intellectual atmosphere of societies and salons of Jewish Reformist bourgeoisie and acculturated intelligentsia. An important element of the *Weltanschauung* was a firm belief that Jews were an integral part of the nations in whose midst they existed and whose historic destiny they thus shared. This belief inspired many works created by Jewish artists of the first generation, a striking example of which is Lesser's *The Funeral of Five Victims of the Warsaw Manifestation of 1861* (1866). The picture portrays the solemn ceremony of burying Polish patriots who were killed in the repression of the Russian imperial regime. Among the participants led by the Catholic archbishop of the Polish capital, Lesser included representatives of all the sectors and ethnic groups of the Warsaw population of the time, including an Orthodox rabbi and a reformist rabbi. The picture was to emphasize the unity of the Polish nation, composed of diverse ethnic groups including the Jews.

Jewish artists, as well as sections of Jewry they belonged to, identified themselves with the rest of the nation, and this feeling of unity brought about sympathy with the nationalist movements of their countries. Moreover, some Jewish artists were active participants in those movements, such as Iscovescu and Rosenthal, whose role in the 1848–49 revolution in Valakhia and Moldavia was quite prominent. Their art, which is believed to have established the foundations of the Romanian national school of painting, was a visual manifestation of the patriotic ideals of the Romanian nation then being in the process of formation (such as the painting by Rosenthal eloquently named *Romania Casting Off Her Handcuffs in the Liberty Camp*, 1849).

However, despite the fact that some Jewish artists of the first half of the 19th century had gained recognition, their works did not have a pronounced impact on the cultural transformation of East European Jewry. Being few in number and striving to merge into the national cultures of their countries, these artists remained at the periphery of contemporary Jewish society together with the thin social layer of Jewish intelligentsia whose ideas they expressed.

Owing to a number of political and cultural factors characterizing the evolution of East European Jewry (among them, complete or partial lack of emancipation, perpetuating the dominant role of the traditional culture, numerous Jews habitually living in mono-ethnic settlements, etc.), the process of modernization took specific forms and unfolded more slowly than in the countries of Western Europe. This is one of the reasons why the Jewish artistic presence in Eastern Europe did not become noticeable before the first decades of the second half of the 19th century, i.e., later than in the West.

In the specific historical conditions of Eastern Europe of that period, the new phenomenon of a professional Jewish artist needed certain legitimizing. Jewish traditionalists condemned the artistic trade, regarding it as breaking with the fundamental commandments of Judaism. The non-Jewish public mind shared a deeply rooted belief that Jews were not capable of creating original plastic art. This negative stereotype was also shared by some members of the Jewish intelligentsia. To overcome these prejudices, Jewish publicists came forth with the genre of art criticism and the esthetic essay. In the early 1880s, the pioneers in this genre were Nahum *Sokolow and Mordechai Zvi Mane (1859–1886), the latter being one of the first Jewish artists and a poet writing in Hebrew.

Despite the impeding factors and a certain "delay," in the early 1870s the Jewish presence in art was established by two outstanding names, those of Marc *Antokolsky, a sculptor living in Russia, and Maurycy *Gottlieb, a Polish painter, whose legacies in the art of their countries in particular and of Europe in general have been quite prominent. Some of their works, influenced by the *Haskalah, manifest a pioneering visual interpretation of images of early Christianity as part of the Jewish history, among them Antokolsky's *Ecce Homo* (1874) and Gottlieb's *Christ Preaching at Capernaum* (1878–79), where Jesus is portrayed, for the first time in the history of art, as a traditional Semitic Jew. Pioneering this interpretation, the artists tried to analyze anew the pattern of relationship between modern European civilization and Judaism and to demonstrate the universal contribution of Jews to the evolution of this civilization. At the same time, Antokolsky and Gottlieb managed to significantly expand the frames of "the Jewish theme" (depicting scenes of Jewish life and history), both in content and expression, having introduced historical and psychological elements and the cogency of realism. In fact, they turned these themes into a means of introspection revolving around the existential experience and national self-identity of a modern Jewish personality.

In Russia, Vladimir Stasov (1824–1906), a prominent art critic and one of the ideologists of liberal art, enthusiastically welcomed the advent of Jewish artists. Stasov was the first to encourage Antokolsky and later became his friend and patron; he authored a number of articles in which he came forward as an ardent apologist of Jewish creative artistic potential. Being a passionate advocate of the idea of creating a Russian national artistic school, Stasov viewed its emergence as a result of the common creative effort made by all the different peoples inhabiting the Russian empire, Jews in particular. He regarded national ("folk") art as a "truthful" portrayal of history and daily popular life, and urged Jewish artists to turn to Jewish national topics. This appeal elicited a response among several Jewish artists in Russia and Poland, who, being younger contemporaries of Antokolsky and Gottlieb, further developed their art in own manner and became active participants of the artistic life of the late 19th and the early 20th centuries. For a number of painters and sculptors, among them Isaac Asknasii, Moisei Maimon, Pinkhas Geller, Yehuda Pan, Yakov Kruger, Naum *Aronson, and Yosif Gabovich (1862–1939) in Russia, and Lazar *Kreinstin, Mauricy *Trebacz, Artur *Markowicz, Leopold *Pilikhovsky and Hanoch *Glitzenstein in Poland, "the Jewish theme" became the focus of their creative work, notwithstanding all the differences in the artistic manner. They went into depth expressing the social meaning of Jewishness, imbued it with actual meaning, and made it serve as a tool of reflection and the search for solutions to national problems. Unlike those non-Jewish artists who chose to turn to "the Jewish theme," Jewish artists refrained from criticizing the Jewish people, seeing their mission rather in its apologia. At the same time, while portraying Jewish life in historic or genre paintings, the artists strove to embody novel esthetic and ethic national ideals expressed in the images they created.

Other artists were inspired by different goals while treating "the Jewish topic," such as Isidore *Kaufmann and Leopold *Horovitz, who both were of East European origin and lived in Austro-Hungary. Their works reflected nostalgia for the traditional "authentic" Jewish world lost by modernized Jewry. This tendency was especially pronounced in Kaufmann's works portraying an idealized image of the Galician Ḥasidism.

However, quite a few Jewish artists dedicated but a small fraction of their work to Jewish themes, or even chose to distance themselves completely from them, concentrating entirely on purely artistic goals. By the end of the 19th century, though, both groups of Jewish artists in Eastern Europe had gained celebrity and held prominent positions in the artistic life of their countries. In Russia, Asknasii and Maimon, as well as sculptor Ilya *Ginzburg were among the first Jews to become members of the Academy of Arts; Yuli Bershadsky (1869–1956) and Solomon Kishinevsky (1862–1942, died in the Odessa ghetto) were among the leaders of the Association of South Russian Artists in Odessa; Boris Anisfeld and Leon *Bakst were notable as leading pioneering artists who brought about dramatic innovation into the Russian stage design; Isaac *Levitan in Russia and Abraham Neumann in Poland were recognized as prominent masters of landscape painting.

At the same time, the ideologists of the Jewish national movement (mostly of East European origin, such as Martin *Buber) had "rehabilitated" art as an element within the set of national values and come to regarding it as an indispensable attribute of a "historical" nation. They envisioned the climax of Jewish national revival in the formation of the historical Jewish nation. This vision was the background against which the Jewish artistic milieu was formed in various centers of Eastern Europe, bringing together not only the artists but all Jewish intellectuals who shared the national ideas. It is within this milieu that an image of a Jewish artist was molded as someone who adhered to the national idea and by way of his creative work promoted the evolution of the national identification of his people.

The bond between the Jewish national ideology and art was strikingly reflected in the works of several artists connected to the Zionist movement, among them Wilhelm Wachtel from Galicia, Samuel *Hirshenberg from Poland, and especially Ephraim Moses *Lilien, a graphic artist from Austro-Hungary. The works of the latter, according to his contemporaries, provided visual means for "bridging" gaps in Zionist theory. Inspired by Zionist ideas and the mission of creating the national art, some of these artists moved to Ereẓ Israel, more precisely to Jerusalem, where in 1906 sculptor Boris *Shatz established "Betzalel," the Jewish school of arts.

The rise of the Jewish national movement, advancement of literature in both Yiddish and Hebrew, penetrated by modernist attitudes, the idea of creating "the New Jewish Culture," including "the New Jewish Art" as part of it – all these factors had an impact on evolution of the *Weltanschauung* of the new generation of Jewish artists. Being of East European origin, these artists emerged prior to World War I. For many of them, it was Paris that became the center of attraction, where they became acquainted with avant-garde art. Artists from Eastern Europe were a sizable and active part of the Parisian international artistic bohemia. In 1912, several young East European artists in La Rouche established the first Jewish artistic group "Makhmadim" ("The Precious Ones"), under the leadership of Leo Koenig (1889–1970), who later became a prominent art critic writing in Yiddish, Isaac Lichtenstein and Joseph Chaikov.

From the early 1910s, among the artists residing in Paris were Jacques *Lipchitz, Osip *Zadkine, Leon Indenbaum (1892–1981), Chana *Orloff, Chaim *Soutine, Pinchas Krémègne (1890–1981), originally from Russia; Henry *Epstein, Marek *Szwarz, Moïse *Kisling from Poland; Béla Czobel (1883–1976) from Hungary; and Jules *Pascin from Bulgaria, together with many other artists who had come from Eastern Europe. In this circle were such artists as Marc *Chagall, Nathan *Altman, and Robert *Falk, who had come from Russia and already gained celebrity, being regarded by art critics as the most prominent figures of "the New Jewish Art."

[Hillel Kazovsky (2nd ed.)]

MODERN EREẒ ISRAEL. Art in modern Ereẓ Israel can be dated from the first Zionist immigration to Palestine. Its evolution followed to a certain extent the pattern of the successive waves of immigration. One of the central questions concerning art in Ereẓ Israel, and later Israeli art, concerns identity, the question of assigning it precise defining characteristics that will distinguish it from the Jewish art of the Diaspora. The art in Ereẓ Israel of the first decades of the 20th century might be considered in terms of the continuity of the artistic and cultural traditions that the artists, who were all immigrants, had brought over with them. However, they also participated in the Zionist project of creating a new identity for an old nation creating itself anew. The creative awareness of artists of later generations fluctuated between, on the one hand, the desire to create a native art based on an indigenous independent language, an organic part of the land, and its physical and social conditions; and, on the other, the attraction to artistic developments overseas, which, particularly until the 1960s, were associated with Paris.

The Creation of the Bezalel School. The creation of new symbols of identity for the Jewish people in its ancient homeland was, indeed, at the heart of Boris *Schatz's life project. In 1906, Schatz (1867–1932) immigrated to Ereẓ Israel from Bulgaria. He was a painter and sculptor and had been head of the Royal Academy of Art in Sofia. In the year of his arrival he realized his dream of founding a school of arts and crafts in Jerusalem. He called it the *Bezalel School after the biblical architect of the Tabernacle. The founding of an art institute in Jerusalem in 1906 was an adventurous undertaking. The Jewish population of the Yishuv was small and the Orthodox were certain to protest vigorously against a school which might violate the biblical prohibition against the making of graven images. Nevertheless, Bezalel received the full backing of the Zionist Organization. The foundation of the school must be considered the beginning of genuine artistic activity. Until then the only art forms produced locally were by Arabs and the small Jewish communities of Jerusalem, Safed, and Tiberias. They consisted of arts and crafts and pictorial representations for devotional purposes. Schatz wanted to establish a cultural-artistic center that would advance the utopian vision of a Jewish homeland. He planned his school to train painters, sculptors, and craftsmen on two levels, which he was careful to define as the "technical level" and the "national level." The teachers he hired included local artisans (goldsmiths and Yemenite weavers) as well as Jewish artists who were already well established in Europe, such as Abel *Pann (1883–1963), Samuel *Hirshenberg (1865–1908), Ephraim Moses *Lilien (1874–1925), Zeev Raban (1890–1970), and Joseph *Budko (1888–1940). They all came from Eastern Europe and their artistic training had tended to lead them away from Judaism, but they had come to know both the horror of the pogroms and the nationalist revival in Europe. They now felt the need to use their academic knowledge to relate to the past as represented by the Bible and to the future as represented by the advent of Zionism. *The Wandering Jew* by Hirshenberg, the biblical pastels of Pann, and the reliefs of biblical figures and Zionist personalities by Schatz represented this outlook. In Lilien's illustrations and etchings, Yemenite Jews, Bedouins and Arabs in their traditional dresses served as models for images of biblical figures. The "Bezalel Style" was consequently quite eclectic, combining Oriental arabesques and Jugendstil flowing lines and decorative flatness. The themes combined biblical motifs, often in a Zionist perspective, and landscapes done in an idealist-utopian and Orientalist spirit. The products included jewelry, religious artifacts, ceramic tiles, postcards, illustrated books, and posters. Bezalel under the directorship of Schatz closed down in 1928 because of economic problems and because its generally conservative orientation seemed inimical to the modernist outlook. It reopened as the "New Bezalel" in the 1930s under the guidance of immigrant Jewish artists from Germany who oriented it toward the spirit of the Bauhaus School.

The 1920s. Early criticism of Bezalel is already in evident in the first important exhibition in Ereẓ Israel, organized in 1923 by the younger generation of Palestine artists. It was held in the so-called Tower of David in Jerusalem and included the work of Nahum *Gutman (1898–1980), Reuven *Rubin (1893–1974), Pinhas *Litvinovsky (1894–1985), and Israel *Paldi (1892–1979), all of whom had been pupils at the Bezalel. The work of newcomers such as Yossef *Zaritsky (1891–1985) was also shown. These young people had realized how anachronistic the style and ideas of their teachers had been and it was this group, who were mainly landscape artists, that formed the nucleus out of which Israeli art developed. With the new waves of immigration of 1919–25, Tel Aviv, a modern new city, became a lively cultural alternative to Jerusalem, drawing writers, artists, musicians, and theater people who felt the need to create a new local Hebrew culture. The three exhibitions of "Modern Artists" at the Ohel Theater during 1926–28 exhibited the modernist orientation of the young artists such as Nachum Gutman, Arieh Lubin (1897–1980), Moshe *Mokady (1902–1975), Israel Paldi, Reuven Rubin, Menachem *Shemi (1897–1951), Tziona *Tagger (1900–1988), Moshe *Castel (1909–1991), Yossef Zaritzky, and others.

The artistic alternatives these artists proposed were defined by a desire to become acculturated in the new Oriental surrounding and adopt the figure of the Arab as a model for the new "Hebrew." They went out to the landscapes in order to bring together the biblical past and the modern pioneers, the local Arabs, and the rooted Oriental Jews. Stylistically, they were guided by the need to create a national art, and, at the same time, to develop universal means of expression which would qualify them as modern artists. The conflict persisted throughout the 1920s and 1930s, even when definition of its components – national art, universalism – underwent slight alteration. Thus, in the 1920s, nationalism was equated with the ideals of pioneering and national renewal. The anti-Diaspora ideal and the demand for an original Hebrew culture found expression in stylistic primitivism (with affinity to the art of the Near and Far East) and exotic-naïve predilections which were realized in flattening and use of color planes with strong contours (corresponding, to some extent, to the expressionistic tendencies in European art which rejected the art of the museum and sought the roots of art in its primitive sources). At the same time, these artists showed a desire to belong to a modern artistic context as evinced by the borrowing of the trappings of modernism as represented by cubist and constructivist trends. These included simplification, even some distortion, and, to a certain degree, geometric construction of form, while preserving the realistic character of the work. Such artists as Tagger, Itzhak *Frenkel (1899–1981), and Mokady found the model in the work of André Derain, whose moderate modernism fitted the needs of a young art lacking in tradition.

The 1930s. In the late 1920s artists from Ereẓ Israel began flocking to Paris; this was accompanied by a tendency to abandon the former modernistic manifestations and folkloristic character and by an intensified desire to root art in an established artistic tradition, all the more so since France in those years was marked by the trend of reverting to traditional artistic values. Paris offered the Ereẓ Israel artists a wide range of choices. There was the French landscape tradition of the 19th century (Corot, Courbet) and various impressionist and post-impressionist trends (Cézanne, the "intimist" artists). The Jewish School of Paris artists (Soutine, Mintchine, Kremegne, Menkès) offered an expressionism based on a dark palette with the paint laid thickly as an element conveying atmosphere and feeling. Artists such as Haim *Atar (Apteker; 1902–1953), Mokady, Frenkel, and Moshe Castel were shaped by the extreme expressionist manifestations, as represented by Soutine. Others, such as Shemi, Haim Gliksberg (1904–1970), Avigdor *Stematsky (1908–1989), Eliahu Sigad (Sigard; 1909–1975), exhibit a more moderate expressionism together with post-impressionist influences.

From 1933, artists and architects who had fled the Nazis constituted an important element of the art scene in Palestine. Some of them were associated with German avant-garde expressionist groups; others studied at the Bauhaus under Itten, Kandinsky, Klee, and the architect Gropius. Jakob *Steinhardt (1887–1968), Mordecai *Ardon (1896– 1992), Miron *Sima (1902–1999), Isidor *Aschheim (1891–1968), and Shalom *Sebba (1897–1975) came in this wave of immigration. With the exception of Sebba, they all settled in Jerusalem. They created a "Jerusalem School" which was dominated by certain aspects of German expressionism. These artists were preceded by two Viennese painters, Anna *Ticho (1894–1980) and Leopold *Krakauer (1890–1954). By the mid-1930s, some of the painters of the first generation of Bezalel graduates had begun to lose their originality and vitality. The coming of new artists, in particular Ardon and Sebba, revived the artistic scene. Mordecai Ardon, a graduate of the Weimar Bauhaus, achieved this through his efficient teaching at the Bezalel School. Sebba aimed at applying a European archaistic-primitivist tendency to a "localism" associated with the figures of shepherds and exerted his influence through stage designs and the decoration of public buildings.

The 1940s. World War II brought about a feeling of isolation from the outside world for the younger artists of the period, but also an increasing sense of a local identity that was antithetical to the image of the Jew of the Diaspora. This trend was exemplified by a group of writers and poets – Amos *Kenan, Benjamin *Tammuz, Aharon *Amir, Jonathan *Ratosh – who became known as the "Canaanites." They called for a separation of the Hebrew identity from Judaism and for its re-attachment to the ancient land of Canaan and its culture. Artists such as Yitshak *Danziger (1916–1977) and Aharon *Kahana (1905–1967) adopted a primitivist-Oriental imagery and borrowed the myths of the Ancient East. Danziger's sculpture *Nimrod*, with its archaism, nudity, and non-Jewish connotations, became a manifesto and a model to young artists such as Yehiel *Shemi (1922–2003), Shoshana Heiman (1923–), and others. In the late 1950s, Danziger abandoned the "Canaanite" orientation and turned to abstract sculpture inspired by the Israeli landscape.

Alongside the "Canaanites," there was another group of artists whose orientation was geared to the expression of social issues. Among the "social realists" were kibbutz artists such as Yohanan Simon (1905–1976) and Shraga Weil (1918–), who endowed daily life in the kibbutz with a religious-mystical romantic mood. There were "engaged" artists, with pronounced socialist leanings, such as Avraham *Ofek (1935–1990), Naftali Bezem (1924–), Shimeon Tzabar (1926–), Moshe Gat (1935–), and others. In the 1950s, in the midst of the great waves of immigration to Israel, Ruth Schloss (1922–) Gerson Knispel (1932–), Bezem and Weil evoked in their works the hardships of the temporary homes for the immigrants in the *ma'barot*.

New Horizons. By 1945, Israel painters had become aware that the two Paris schools had ceased to exist. The Jewish painters had almost all disappeared. A younger generation of abstract painters had succeeded the post-cubist fauvist schools, and these painters now began to exercise a considerable influence on Israeli artists, including several veterans among them. The work of Aharon Giladi (1907–1993), Mordecai *Levanon (1901–1968), Litvinovsky, Paldi, and Frenkel evolved toward a more "modern" style, which in some cases resembled that of Rouault or Picasso, rather than that of the two Paris schools. The influence of Parisian abstraction could be seen in the work of Castel and Mokady. The most important event of this period was the creation of the New Horizons Group in 1947/48. The leaders were Zaritsky and Marcel *Janco (1895–1984), a painter of Romanian origin who had gained renown as a member of the dada movement in Zurich, and who arrived in Palestine in 1941. Around them were grouped Yeḥezkiel *Streichman (1906–1993) and Avigdor Stematsky. They all made a decisive contribution to the development of what became known as "lyrical abstraction," combining free, abstract style with a predilection for the expression of the light and color palate characterizing the local experience. Zaritsky followed his own path with some debt to Braque and French "intimisme"; Streichman and Stematsky were influenced by Picasso as well as by the lyrical trend in the School of Paris. They were joined by Avraham Naton (1906–1959), Kahana, and Yeḥiel Krize (1909–1968) who were still working on figurative though somewhat simplified themes; Jacob Wexler (1912–1995), Avshalom Okashi (1916–1980), Moshe Castel, Zvi *Mairovich (1909–1974), Arie *Aroch (1908–1974), and the sculptors Yitshak Danziger, Yeḥiel Shemi, and Moshe *Sternschuss (1903–1992). A little later the two leaders split over the choice of entries for Israel's first participation in the Venice Biennale. The reactions were so violent that Marcel Janco left the New Horizons Group after its first exhibition at the Tel Aviv Museum in 1949. Zaritsky inherited the leadership. Group exhibitions were held until 1963. Although certain members returned later to figurative work (Kahana), or geometric abstraction (Naton), the formation of the group marked the end of the expressionist phase in Israel art and opened the way to new ideas.

The 1960s. Lyrical abstraction dominated Israeli art until 1955. Streichman and Stematsky, both teachers at the Avni Institute in Tel Aviv, played an important role in the formation of a second generation of artists that took abstraction to new directions, at times more extreme than those of their teachers. Of this group should be singled out Lea *Nikel (1918–2005), whose work was highly abstract, sensual, lively, and colorful, and Moshe *Kupferman (1926–2003), a Holocaust survivor whose paintings might be seen as representing both formal abstract qualities and thematic connotations associated with his personal experiences. The way was already clear, however, for new experimenters. The most important of these was Arie Aroch, whose work may be associated with the spirit of the poetic revolution of the 1950s, embodied by Nathan *Zach, David *Avidan, Meir Wieseltier, and Dalia *Ravikovitch. Aroch proposed an alternative to lyrical abstraction by developing a calligraphy that was based on children's drawings, developing uncommon techniques (rubbing, erasing, scratching) and utilizing motifs and forms taken out of "non-artistic" sources (such as street signs), Jewish manuscripts, and other readymade forms. Aviva *Uri (1927–1989) chose to work with pencil, charcoal, and oil sticks and to develop an expressive line that reflected anxieties and emotional tensions. The third artist to work away from lyrical abstraction was Igael *Tumarkin (1933–), who in the early 1960s began making rather violent assemblages that combined readymade objects, expressionist brushwork, texts sprayed through matrices, art historical citations. These works, with their controversial political-social stand, echoed the new Pop Art and new Realism then current abroad. This new spirit, and the direct influence of Aroch and Uri, were seen in the work of several young painters, notably Rafi *Lavie (1937–), who formed the "Group of Ten." Lavie's work, in its connotation of a municipal billboard, with its torn posters and dynamic and haphazard piling up of images, evoked the essence of the spirit of Tel Aviv. An exhibition entitled "The Want of Matter – A Quality in Israeli Art," curated by Sara Breitberg-Semel at the Tel Aviv Museum in 1986, provided a major summing up of all these trends of the 1960s.

The 1970s. The "Group of Ten" reflected the beginning of the trend of the "Americanization" of Israeli art that was augmented by the greater exposure to American culture brought about by volunteers who flocked to Israel following the Six-Day War and by young Jewish-American artists such as Joshua *Neustein (1940–), who immigrated to Israel in 1964. The art of the 1970s mirrors American trends such as conceptual art, body art, performance, environmental art ("Earth Art"), and minimalist art. The years 1967–83, encompassing three wars, also brought about an eclipse of the former spirit of national identity, with the private identity replacing the collective dream. Michal Na'aman (1951–) searched the limits of language in their application to national or sexual identity; the works of Michael Druks (1940–), Motti Mizrahi (1946–), Yocheved Weinfeld (1947–), David Ginton (1947–), Gideon Gechtman (1942–), Moshe Gershuni (1936–), and Haim Maor (1951–) examine the human body and the limits of pain and suffering, at times in relation to war. Artists such as Avital *Geva (1941–), Micha *Ullman (1940–), Pinchas Cohen-Gan (1942–), Dov Or-Ner (1927–), Dganit Berest (1949–), Menashe Kadishman (1932–), Dov Heller (1937–), Dani *Karavan (1930–), and others, dealt with the question of borders, maps, environment and ecology. Alongside the trends that emphasized themes and contents, there was a more abstract trend, which engaged in examining minimalist form. This trend was amply reflected in the works of Yehiel Shemi, Michael *Gross (1920–2004), Nahum Tevet (1946–), Beni *Efrat (1936–), Rita Alima (1932–), and Ori *Reisman (1924–1991). It should be recalled that there were artists, such as Naftali Bezem (1924–) and Moshe Tamir (1924–2004), who remained figurative painters. A return to themes which were figurative and evocative of the Holocaust and to traditional Jewish subjects, first noticeable in the work of Ardon himself, is illustrated in various ways by Yossl *Bergner (1920–), Shmuel Boneh (1930–1999), and Shraga Weil.

The 1980s and After. Critical post-modernist attitudes, which became quite dominant in Israeli art in the 1980s, express a growing tendency to give voice to the "Other" – artists raised in immigrant families, homosexuals and lesbians, or artists belonging to minority groups. The "Israeli experience," based on a collective, monolithic memory, had fallen apart. The paintings of Yair *Garbuz (1945–), David Reeb (1952–), Tsivi Geva (1951–), and Avishai Eyal (1945–), or the photographs of Micha Kirshner (1947–), Michal Heyman (1954–), Shuka Glotman (1953–), and Adi Ness (1966–) are examples of a new critical and deconstructive examination of the Israeli experience, of local history and its visual representations, and of the manipulations of the collective-political memory. Various aspects of the post-modern condition gained in prominence in the course of the last two decades. These include an erasure of the borders separating illusion from reality (art based on the virtual worlds created in the cinema, for instance, as reflected in the paintings of Anat Ben Shaul; the sense of apocalyptic threat expressed in the works of Dorit Yacoby and Moshe Gershuni). The threat of loss of the family home or the national one is given form by the prominence of the "house" motif in the sculptures of Micha Ulman, Philip Renzer (1956–), Gideon Gechtman, and Buky Schwarz (1932–). For more than a decade now, there has been a growing emphasis on the Holocaust as one of the major constituents in defining the Israeli identity, especially on the part of artists such as Yocheved Weinfeld, Simcha Shirman (1947–), Haim Maor, and Uri Katzenshtein (1951–), who are second-generation survivors.

The particular problems of identity and the tensions surrounding the broad concept of the "Israeli experience" largely account for the development in the Israel of recent years of an art that is fully sensitive and attentive to what is happening both in the public sphere and in the private domain, and that has gained a prominent position in the global art scene, as evinced by the interest shown in exhibitions of Israeli art in various venues abroad.

[Haim Finkelstein and Haim Maor (2nd ed.)]

UNITED STATES. The term Jewish American art, like the more generalized Jewish art, is fraught with complications and variously understood. Critics debate whether Jewish American art need only be art made by a Jewish American, independent of content, or if both the artist's and the artwork's identity must be Jewish. Indeed, working in myriad styles and adopting both figuration and abstraction, some artists address Jewishness and the more specific Jewish American experience, while others make art indistinguishable in subject from their gentile counterparts. If a Jewish American artist should be defined sociologically or by theme remains an open question, and thus in this essay Jewish American artists are accepted by either criteria, leaving the matter for the reader to decide.

Before 1900. While Jews arrived in America as early as 1654, they did not enter the visual arts in a meaningful way until the 19th century. The freedoms accorded Jews enabled them to participate in the plastic arts, but the loosening of religious strictures as well as uneasiness about the respectability of an art career disappeared slowly. Hesitancy was often the result of the Second Commandment, the prohibition against graven images. Myer *Myers was an 18th-century silversmith who made both lay and religious objects for colonial merchants. He created *rimmonim* for several synagogues, including New York's Congregation Shearith Israel and the Yeshuat Israel Congregation in Newport, Rhode Island. In the 19th century, a handful of Jews painted portraits. Wealthy patrons commissioned the brothers Joshua and John Canter (or Canterson) to record their visages. Theodore Sidney *Moïse, Frederick E. Cohen, and Jacob Hart Lazarus are other 19th century Jewish portraitists of note.

Solomon Nunes *Carvalho is the best-known painter from this period. In addition to making portraits of members of the Jewish community, he did allegorical portraits, including one of Abraham Lincoln (1865). Carvalho created a few biblical paintings and landscapes as well, but his fame rests on his work as a daguerreotypist for John C. Frémont's 1853 exploratory expedition through Kansas, Utah, and Colorado. Max *Rosenthal was the official illustrator for the United States Military Commission during the Civil War. Later, Rosenthal painted *Jesus at Prayer* for a Protestant church in Baltimore, presenting Jesus with phylacteries on his forehead and right arm. The altarpiece was promptly rejected. Henry *Mosler began his career as an artist correspondent for *Harper's Weekly* during the Civil War. Like many non-Jewish artists, Mosler went to Europe for artistic training. He soon became a painter of genre scenes, frequently picturing peasant life in Brittany, France. His canvas *The Wedding Feast*, which was exhibited at the Paris Salon, records Breton marriage customs (c. 1892).

The eminent sculptor Moses Jacob *Ezekiel made numerous portrait heads, including a bronze bust of Isaac Mayer Wise in 1899. The B'nai B'rith commissioned Ezekiel's large marble group *Religious Liberty* for the Centennial Exhibition of 1876, and in 1888 he designed the seal for the recently established Jewish Publication Society of America. Ephraim Keyser created commemorative sculptures, for instance President Chester Arthur's tomb at the Rural Cemetery in Albany, New York. Katherine M. Cohen studied with the famous sculptor Augustus Saint-Gaudens and made portrait busts. These early painters and sculptors worked independently and were not readily known to each other. They created in relatively divergent styles along the same trends as the larger American community. It was not until the 20th century that Jewish American artists began interacting and taking art classes together.

1900–1945. Among the large 1880 to 1920 influx of immigrants to the United States were two million Jews. Mostly from poor communities in Eastern Europe, these immigrants were eager to assimilate. The Educational Alliance, a settlement house on the Lower East Side of New York City where many immigrants went to learn American manners and customs, offered art classes starting in 1895. Art classes were discontinued in 1905, resuming in 1917. From the school's reopening until 1955, Russian immigrant Abbo Ostrowsky served as director of the institution. Many well-known artists studied at the Alliance, including the sculptors Saul *Baizerman, Jo *Davidson, and Chaim *Gross, and the painters Philip Evergood, Barnett *Newman, and Moses *Soyer. The Alliance sponsored art exhibitions as did other Jewishly identified venues in New York. In 1912 the Ethical Culture Society's Madison House Settlement arranged a show of Jewish Russian immigrant artists, such as Samuel Halpert, in which Gentile artists also participated. The People's Art Guild held over 60 exhibitions from 1915 to 1918. In May 1917, 300 works by 89 artists were exhibited at the Forverts Building (the Yiddish daily newspaper the *Forward*), of which over half were Jewish. Well-known philanthropists Stephen Wise, Judah Magnes, and Jacob Schiff helped sponsor the exhibition. From 1925 to 1927 the Jewish Art Center, directed by Jennings Tofel and Benjamin *Kopman, held exhibitions focusing on Yiddish culture.

In the early decades of the 20th century some artists, such as Abraham *Walkowitz, William Meyerowitz, and Jacob *Epstein, began their nascent careers by picturing imagery of the Lower East Side. The gentile observer Hutchins Hapgood described East Side imagery in his 1902 text, "The Spirit of the Ghetto" as typically Jewish. Characterizing such work as "Ghetto art," Hapgood named Epstein, Bernard Gussow, and Nathaniel Loewenberg as exemplars of the mode. To illustrate Hapgood's evocation of the cultural and religious nature of the Jewish people, Epstein made 52 drawings and a cover design for the book. Epstein later became an expatriate, settling in London and gaining fame as a sculptor.

The photographer Alfred *Stieglitz championed modernism in the 1910s. While most of the artists that Stieglitz supported were not Jewish, the avant-garde painter and sculptor Max *Weber enjoyed his patronage. An underlying tone of antisemitism, or at least an intense nativism, pervaded some discussions of modernism at this time. The conservative critic Royal Cortissoz described modernism as "Ellis Island art," while others termed it the art of aliens. Indeed, modernism was frequently associated with Jews, a position later adopted by Hitler.

Many artists addressed political, social, and economic issues, especially during the Great Depression. It has been argued that traditions of social justice impel Jewish artists to create imagery of the underdog. Although secular in theme, these works – influenced by the Jewish experience – would be recognized as Jewish American art even by critics who define the term in its strictest sense. Working as Social Realists in the 1930s, the *Soyer brothers (Raphael, Moses, and Isaac) observed the mundane details of life, like waiting in an unemployment line, with gentleness and compassion. Peter *Blume and Ben *Shahn were more overtly politically committed; Shahn made over 20 images decrying the ethnically biased trial and execution of Italian American anarchists Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti. William *Gropper expressed his political sympathies as a cartoonist for the left-wing publications *New Masses* and the Yiddish daily *Morning Freiheit*. Some artists' work appeared in the Yiddish journal *Schriftn* and in *The Menorah Journal*, a periodical devoted to Jewish culture that also attempted at various times to define Jewish art.

Louis *Lozowick, who worked as a Precisionist painter of city scenes and at times as a Social Realist, was also an art critic for *The Menorah Journal*. In a 1924 article on Jewish artists who recently exhibited in New York, Lozowick mentions Theresa *Bernstein, William Gropper, and William *Zorach, among others. Although few of the names devoted their art to Jewish themes (at least at that time), Lozowick's identification of the artists as Jewish indicates that he, like many critics, understood the term Jewish artist as connoting the ethnic identification of the artist rather than the artist's subject matter. A year later Peter Krasnow explicitly defined Jewish art in *The Menorah Journal* as any art produced by a Jew regardless of subject. In this early period of Jewish integration into America, most artists tried to avoid this kind of discourse, fearing that such categorization would pigeonhole their work as Other or parochial. There was, however, ambivalence on the part of many artists. To be sure, even if artists shied away from the classification "Jewish artist," several still displayed their work at the aforementioned Jewish Art Center and the Educational Alliance, among other Jewish locales. The art exhibitions of the Yiddisher Kultur Farband (YKUF), a Communist organization dedicated to fighting fascism, were also quite popular. Established in September 1937 by the World Alliance for Yiddish Culture, YKUF's first art exhibition was held in 1938. Minna *Harkavy, Lionel *Reiss, and Louis Ribak were among 102 artists who showed work on both Jewish and non-Jewish material.

In 1936, nine Jewish artists formed a group they dubbed "The Ten" (the tenth spot was reserved for a guest artist). *Ben-Zion, Ilya *Bolotowsky, Adolph *Gottlieb, Louis Harris, Jack Kufeld, Marcus Rothkowitz (Marc *Rothko), Louis *Schanker, Joseph Solman, and Nahum Tschacbasov exhibited together for four years. That the artists shared a Jewish background is typically understood as a coincidence. No common style or theme pervades the group's work, but most members were committed to modernist developments.

In the 1940s Jack *Levine worked as a Social Realist, although he painted more satirically and expressionistically than did the practitioners of the mode in the thirties. Beginning in 1941, Levine painted and made prints of biblical figures and stories in addition to his politically motivated art. After his first biblical painting, *Planning Solomon's Temple*, Levine rendered hundreds more images inspired by the Bible's narrative. Often employing Hebrew labels to identify figures, Levine's biblical works, he explained, attempt to augment Jewish pictorial expression, which he felt was hampered by the Second Commandment. The Boston-born Levine began a lifelong friendship with Hyman *Bloom when the pair started studying art together at a Jewish Community Center in their early teens. Bloom also retained the human figure in an increasingly abstract art world, painting secular and religious matter in brilliant colors.

1945–1990. A number of the leading Abstract Expressionists were Jewish. Adolph Gottlieb, Philip *Guston, Franz *Kline, Lee *Krasner, Barnett Newman, Ad Reinhardt, and Mark Rothko are among several artists who eschewed representation in the late 1940s and 1950s. The style(s) in which the artists worked are difficult to generalize, but they typically painted on large canvases and were interested in spontaneous expression. Although abstract, Newman's painting has been understood as shaped by his Jewish sensibilities, in part because of titles like *Covenant* and *The Name*, and also because, it has been argued, his knowledge of Kabbalah influenced his "zip paintings," which can be read as symbolic of God and Creation. Some second-generation Abstract Expressionists were also Jewish. Helen *Frankenthaler and Morris *Louis stained unprimed canvases with thinned color that seemed to float on and through the canvas. Louis named a series of his paintings with letters from the Hebrew alphabet. Clement *Greenberg and Harold *Rosenberg, two of the main art critics who promulgated abstraction, were Jewish.

Although better known for his criticism of contemporary art, Rosenberg also wrote one of the canonical articles on Jewish art. Published in *Commentary* in July 1966, Rosenberg's sarcastic and provocative essay "Is There a Jewish Art?" continues to serve as a springboard for scholarly discussions of Jewish art in America and abroad. Influenced in part by the formalist concerns of Abstract Expressionism, Rosenberg argued that an authentic Jewish art must be defined stylistically.

Artists who worked as Social Realists during the 1930s turned their sensibilities toward the civil rights movement of the 1960s. Raphael Soyer made a lithograph titled *Amos on Racial Equality* (1960s), which quotes Amos in Hebrew and English and depicts a white woman carrying a black infant. Ben Shahn's lithograph *Thou Shalt Not Stand Idly By* (1965) portrays an oversized interracial handshake. The title comes from Leviticus 19:16 and is printed in Hebrew and in English at the top of the image. Artists of the next generation also addressed social issues. After the fact, R.B. *Kitaj comments on the integration of blacks into professional baseball with his painting *Amerika* (*Baseball*) (1983–84). Jewish-black relations have become strained since the civil rights movement, a situation Art *Spiegelman tackled with his cover design of a black woman kissing a ḥasidic man for the February 1993 issue of the *New Yorker.*

Two Jewish artists initiated the Feminist Art Movement. At the height of the Women's Liberation Movement, Judy *Chicago and Miriam Schapiro jointly founded the Feminist Art Program at the California Institute of the Arts in 1971. Chicago is especially known for her enormous multimedia installation *The Dinner Party: A Symbol of Our Heritage* (1974–79). Made with over 400 collaborators, *The Dinner Party* was created to raise awareness of a forgotten women's history in a male-dominated society. Audrey Flack and Barbara *Kruger are also important feminist artists; Flack's photorealist paintings comment on stereotypes of femininity and Kruger deconstructs power relations in her photomontage images. Recent scholarship has argued that many of the early feminist artists were Jewish because as perennial outsiders and as the children or grandchildren of radical immigrants, fighting for justice and equality was a natural heritage. With such a link, feminist art by Jews would also be considered "Jewish Art" by critics who feel that elements of the Jewish experience, spiritual or secular, must be a prerequisite for art to receive this label.

In the 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s, Jewish artists worked in diverse manners. Jim *Dine and Roy *Lichtenstein engaged a Pop idiom in the vein of Andy Warhol during the 1960s. Emerging into the public eye in the 1970s, Philip *Pearlstein paints figures in a flat, unemotional style that treats the human form with the same objectivity as the inanimate objects surrounding the model. Also painting figuratively, Alex *Katz typically fills his large canvases with the flattened, simplified heads and shoulders of his sitters rendered in crisp color. Sol *LeWitt explored and wrote about Conceptual Art in addition to making Minimalist sculpture, and Jonathan *Borofsky continues to make multimedia site-specific installations using his own life as source material. In contrast, sculptor and Process artist Richard *Serra asserts that his focus on the physical qualities of material and the act of creation leave little room for expressions of the artist's personality.

Some artists who mostly worked akin to the mainstream for the majority of their careers became interested in Jewish matter later in life. Raphael Soyer illustrated two volumes of Isaac Bashevis Singer's memoirs (1978, 1981) and two short stories by Singer for the Limited Editions Club (1979). Larry *Rivers also illustrated a Singer story for the Limited Editions Club (1984) and painted an enormous three-paneled painting tackling the nearly four-millennia history of the Jews called *History of Matzah* (*The Story of the Jews)* (1982–84). Husband and wife William Meyerowitz and Theresa Bernstein traveled to Israel 13 times after 1948 and painted many images of the land after pursuing a more traditional American art trajectory before this time. Chaim Gross began sculpting Jewish subjects in the 1960s. While Ben Shahn and Leonard *Baskin explored some Jewish topics early on, they more consistently embraced Jewish identity in the visual arts as they aged, notably with *Haggadah* illustrations done in 1965 and 1974, respectively. Earlier in the century Saul *Raskin (1941) illustrated a *Haggadah* with woodcuts.

The Holocaust in Jewish American Art. Many Jewish American artists have treated the events of the Holocaust. Nahum Tschacbasov's 1936 canvas *Deportation* shows a crowd of emaciated deportees restrained by a fence. Ben-Zion was a poet who turned to painting because he felt that words could not adequately express the horrors of fascism and later the Shoah. Exhibited as a whole in 1946, the series *De Profundis* (*Out of the Depths): In Memory of the Massacred Jews of Nazi Europe* comprises 17 expressionistic works conveying the artist's distress at the events of the Holocaust that also pay homage to those who perished by Nazi hands. Leon *Golub's lithograph *Charnel House* (1946) and the *Burnt Man* series of the early 1950s vividly describe victims being exterminated.

Interest in the Holocaust as a subject for art has only increased in the years since artists felt the immediacy of the tragedy. Audrey Flack's photorealist canvas *World War II* (*Vanitas)* (1976–77) presents a still life in collage format, including a Jewish star from her key chain and a photograph of the 1945 liberation of Buchenwald taken by Margaret *Bourke-White. Alice Lok Cahana, a survivor of several concentration camps, uses the visual to work through her memories of the Holocaust in semi-abstract mixed media images. Cahana's art, she explains, is her *kaddish* for those who perished. The sculptor George *Segal symbolically employs the biblical figures Eve, Abraham, Isaac, and Jesus in his *Holocaust Memorial* (1983), which overlooks the Pacific Ocean in San Francisco's Legion of Honor Park. Another Holocaust sculpture group by Segal is at the Jewish Museum in New York (1982). Judy Chicago's enormous installation *Holocaust Project: From Darkness into Light* (1985–93) is anchored by a 4½ by 18 foot tapestry titled *The Fall*, which portrays the disintegration of rationality. While united by an interest in imaging the unthinkable, Holocaust works by Jewish American artists differ greatly in approach, conception, and style.

Last Decade of the Twentieth Century. In the last decade of the 20th century, Jewish identity became an increasing concern in the visual arts. New York City's Jewish Museum investigated this phenomenon in the 1996 exhibition *Too Jewish?: Challenging Traditional Identities*. Paralleling a larger interest in multicultural difference by other marginalized groups, the 18 artists in the show explored Jewish consciousness, while also testing the viewer's and the art world's (dis)comfort with what was perceived by some as excessively conspicuous Jewishness. These highly assimilated younger artists portray vastly different concerns than their immigrant and first-generation predecessors. Long after Andy Warhol, Deborah Kass appropriates Pop techniques and fascination with celebrity in her portraits of Barbra Streisand (1992) and Sandy Koufax (1994). Titling her Streisand silkscreens *Jewish Jackies* (playing on Warhol's iconic silkscreens of Jackie Kennedy), Kass proffers the ethnic star while subverting American norms of beauty. Also influenced by Warhol, Adam Rolston's *Untitled (Manischewitz American Matzos)* (1993) asserts ethnicity into a once "pure" American consumer culture. Dennis Kardon's installation *Jewish Noses* (1993–95) presents an array of noses sculpted from 49 Jewish models, destabilizing the notion that the Jew can be categorized as a monolithic type.

Indeed, just as Kardon demonstrates that the Jew's body cannot be homogenized, neither can Jewish American art. As this essay has described, Jewish American artists (defined broadly) have worked in manifold fashions, partly and sometimes entirely influenced by larger trends, and at the same time making significant contributions in style and content. Jewish American art is a nascent field, rich in material and long due for further exploration.

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[Samantha Baskind (2nd ed.)]

Art in the Ghettos and the Camps during the Holocaust

When the Nazis came to power in 1933, they banned all art which they regarded as subversive – i.e., modern, avant-garde, Communist, Jewish, Negro – or to use their term, *degenerate*. The fate of this art and its creators was very clear: both should be eliminated from society. *Degenerate* works of art were removed from museums, galleries, and other collections; Jewish artists were not allowed to pursue their careers, lost their teaching positions, and were permitted to display their works only in the premises of the *Juedischer Kulturbund. These degenerate works were assembled and put on show in Munich 1937 in the exhibition called "Degenerate Art" (*Entartete Kunst*), which was accompanied by vulgar and provocative quotations, accusing the artists of causing all the malaise of society and the world, thus warning the public of the dangers of such subversive artists.

Although Nazi laws should have been fully implemented in the concentration camp world, in many camps artistic creativity flourished and some of the works produced there were shown in exhibitions. Thus, ironically, the only place where these undesirable artists could produce and exhibit art was in their place of confinement.

During the Holocaust a tremendously rich variety of works of art were produced in the ghettos, hiding places, and camps of Nazi-occupied Europe. It was produced in extermination camps like Auschwitz, in the "model" camp of Theresienstadt, in transit camps like Westerbork in the Netherlands and Malines in Belgium, and in the network of camps set up throughout France, such as Drancy and Gurs. All these artists, whether professional or amateur, men or women, young or old, had one thing in common – they had been labeled *undesirables*, interned in the camps, cut off from society, and ordained to be victims of the Nazi Final Solution.

Artistic creation fulfilled many functions. It gave the artists a sense of self-assurance and allowed them to feel some connection with their past life as artists. It provided a way to pass the many hours of enforced idleness. It had barter value – the paintings that were commissioned by other inmates or by camp officials could be exchanged for food or other favors (such as smuggling out mail or some other improvement in conditions). Above all, art was the only means whereby the inmates could protest against their situation. They hoped that their protest would be heard beyond the barbed wire fences in the outside world, with the help of clandestine couriers mainly from the various welfare organizations and religious representatives who were permitted to enter the camp. Most of the paintings have documentary value, as the artists were aware of the necessity of recording for posterity the world in which they were imprisoned. Art, of course, does not merely portray an objective reflection of reality, but rather shows it through the personal prism of the artist. In other words, the works of art reflect the changing moods and feelings of the inmates/artists/witnesses.

Although the ghettos and the camps were isolated from each other certain themes were prevalent in these works of art. They include depictions of the barbed wire fences and the watchtowers, views of the camps, the daily routine, such as searching for food, attempts at personal hygiene, sickness and death, as well as landscapes and portraits. The common element in all these works is the need to portray and document in the closest detail the tragic and absurd circumstances in which the inmates found themselves. Such a situation was completely unforeseeable and the inmates were in no way prepared for this unimaginable nightmare which recurred in all the various ghettos and camps.

PORTRAITS AND "PRIVILEGED ARTISTS." The works that survived, frequently as the result of astounding resourcefulness, had these common themes regardless of whether they had been produced in Eastern or Western Europe, by professional artists or amateurs. About a quarter of the works are portraits, a fact that is not surprising. Portraying a face or a figure was in itself an act of commemoration, confirming the existence of the individual in a world where existence was so uncertain and arbitrary. These portraits were often used to send greetings to inmates' relatives, to show that they were alive and well. This explains why we frequently find the name of the subject of the picture next to the artist's signature, along with the date and place. It also explains why the figures in the portraits have a slightly better appearance than in reality, for the artist wanted to send a positive message and not show the misery of their situation. These portraits are in many cases the last record of people who soon afterwards were sent to their deaths.

Aizik-Adoplhe Féder (Odessa 1887–Auschwitz 1943) was interned in Drancy, on the outskirts of Paris, where he drew portraits of people from all walks of life who were interned in the camp – workers and intellectuals, observant Jews, women, teenagers, children and infants. Most of the inmates, especially the women, look well, and, except for the additional verbal information alongside the portrait – date and location of the work – there is no indication that the subjects are imprisoned in Drancy, a camp that was also known as the antechamber of Auschwitz.

Féder was part of the "Ecole de Paris," a group of artists, most of them Jews, who immigrated from Western Europe to Paris, hoping to establish their artistic careers there. Many of those artists such as *Benn (Ben-Zion Rabinowicz; Bialystok 1905–Paris 1989), Abraham-Joseph Berline (Niejine, Ukraine 1894–Auschwitz 1942), Jacques Gotko (Gotkowski; Odessa 1900–Auschwitz 1943), David Goychman (Bogopol, Ukraine 1900– Auschwitz 1942), Isis-Israel Kischka (Paris 1908–Paris 1973), Savely Schleifer (Odessa 1881–Auschwitz 1942), and Zber (Fiszel Zilberberg; Plock, Poland 1909–Auschwitz 1942) were interned in various French camps such as Compiègne, Beaune-la-Rolande, Pithiviers, and Drancy, where they portrayed their co-inmates as well as themselves. The portraits usually carry identifying inscriptions, such as Kischka's *Portrait of Uze, Internee in the Compiègne Camp, 29/3/42*, or *Portrait of Goychman by Kischka, 787122, 20/3/42*, giving the artist's camp identification number alongside his name as a signature. Some of the portraits bear moving dedications, which attest to their amicable relationship.

Malva Schalek (Prague 1882–Auschwitz 1944), a daughter of a well-to-do, cultured Jewish family in Prague, established her reputation as an artist in Vienna, specialized in portraits, and was interned in Theresienstadt, where she continued painting her fellow inmates. Many of the portraits Schalek produced in the camp were commissioned, and she received food in payment, a practice which was not uncommon. Artists were commissioned by both inmates and by camp and ghetto administrators, in most cases asked to copy portraits of relatives from photographs or do their own likeness. In turn they received favors like better food or smuggled clandestine letters. This was experienced and attested by many artists such as Halina Olomucki (Warsaw 1919–), who while interned in the Majdanek camp was commissioned by the head of the block to decorate the walls of the building. In return she received improved food rations. She used some of the materials she was given officially to paint her fellow women inmates clandestinely. From Majdanek she was transferred to Auschwitz-Birkenau, and there too she was a "commissioned artist" for the Germans. For this she received more substantial food, which helped her to survive. Esther Lurie (Liepaja, Latvia 1913–Tel Aviv 1998), while interned in the Kovno (Kaunas) ghetto, was commissioned by the Council of Elders (*Aeltestenrat*) to record ghetto life; to this end they arranged that she would not be engaged in any forced labor; later on when, while interned in Stutthof, the artist was asked by women inmates who had boyfriends to draw their portraits in return for a slice of bread. The painter-musician Isaac Schoenberg (Colmar, Alsace 1907–Auschwitz 1942), who was interned in Pithiviers, wrote to his beloved in Paris that he had to decline some of the inmates' requests to do their portraits, although he was paid more than the other artists in the camp, since he was engaged in producing her likeness from photographs, an activity which enabled him to endure life in the camp. Even amateur artists such as Etienne Rosenfeld (Budapest 1920–Paris 1995) were commissioned by their fellow inmates to draw their or their relatives' portraits, as is attested in his letters from the Drancy camp.

PORTRAYAL OF THE CAMPS. Another theme was the portrayal of the camps, particularly the barbed wire fences and watchtowers, which over time have become symbols of the Holocaust. They were part of the everyday experience of the prisoners, a constant reminder that they were confined in a closed camp, cut off from the society of which they had been an integral part up to a short while before. The barbed wire fences are a dominant element in many pictures. They appear in landscapes and genre paintings, while in some cases they have become the actual subject of the picture. Sometimes the fences are shown as a spider's web in which the figures are entangled, as, for example, in the aquarelle by Lou Albert-Lazard (Metz 1895–Paris 1969), depicting women imprisoned in the Gurs camp (France). Albert-Lazard, a German Jew who immigrated to Paris in the 1920s and was interned as a German alien, portrays the women as trapped by the barbed wire fence. Despite the delicacy of the painting, the barbed wire fence restricts their movements and closes in on them like a wall. The imprisoning barbed wire fence and the threatening watchtower, with an all-seeing eye at the top, are the central elements in the drawings and prints done by Jacques Gotko. At times, there is even an element of humor, with the artist painting laundry hung out to dry on the fence, as did the amateur artist Hanna Schramm (Berlin 1896– Paris 1978), a socialist activist who had sought refuge in France and was interned in Gurs on the outbreak of the war and depicted the miserable life there in ironic-humoristic drawings. But, however depicted, the prevalence of this motif stresses the sense of confinement the inmates experienced.

DAILY LIFE – INDOOR AND OUTDOORS SCENES. The forced communal life in ghettos and camps meant living in extremely crowded conditions with the need for privacy denied, no matter what race or sex the inmates were or what social standing they had enjoyed in their previous existence. The feeling of suffocation and the lack of private space is depicted by Malva Schalek in various aquarelles she produced in Theresienstadt. In many of her paintings she depicts the activity, or lack of it, in the camp. Sometimes she draws the interior as crowded and claustrophobic, with women and children lying or sitting on the triple-layered bunks, surrounded by bundles and suitcases. In others she portrays inmates reading or lying down. Similar depictions were produced by Osias Hofstaetter (Bochnia, Poland 1905–Ramat Gan, Israel 1994), who immigrated to Belgium, from where he was sent, after the Nazis invaded this country, to the French internment camps of Saint Cyprien and Gurs, where he depicted the forced idleness of men in and out of the barracks, as well as the overcrowdedness.

Some interior scenes, as those done by Jane Lévy (Paris 1884–Auschwitz 1943) in Drancy or Emmy Falck-Ettlinger (Lubeck 1882–Bet ha-Shtitah, Israel 1960) in Gurs, are characterized by extreme order and cleanliness. They depict kitchen utensils and personal items, a kind of desire to create a feeling of intimacy, warmth, and domesticity. Yet these works evoke a feeling of desolation and emptiness which even the domesticity of the interior cannot overcome.

Countless paintings show everyday, routine activities – bathing, washing one's hair, going to the toilet – since these basic human acts could no longer be taken for granted in the surroundings the inmates now found themselves in. Bathing was extremely difficult, as the water supply was completely inadequate for all the inmates and available only a few hours a day and often had to be done outdoors. Going to the toilet was no less embarrassing. The most intimate bodily functions had to be performed in public, adding to the dehumanization of the inmates. This may seem trifling compared to the acts of mass murder that were taking place at the time, but it should be remembered that the daily life of the inmates consisted in trying to meet the numerous "trifling" needs that are basic to civilized human life.

Many artists depict these activities, sometimes in humoristic drawings or aquarelles. Karl Schwesig (Gelsenkirchen, Germany, 1898–Duesseldorf 1955), a German communist who had fled from Germany after Hitler's rise to power and was a political refugee in Belgium, was interned in four different French camps. From his vast experience he depicted daily life, which became worse with the time. Many of his drawings illustrate the way the inmates were cooped up with a lack of hygienic facilities, as did other artists in the various camps – all attesting to the embarrassment and humiliation which accompanied these activities.

FOOD. The inmates suffered constantly from hunger, which weakened them both physically and mentally. Hunting for food was one of the main occupations of the camp inmates. Many paintings portray the subject of food, or the lack of food, ranging from lining up to get the daily rations (Leo Haas, Opava, Czechoslovakia 1901–Berlin 1983), to guarding a scrap of bread as though it were a treasure (Lili Rilik-Andrieux, Berlin 1914–San Diego 1996), to rummaging through the garbage to find a bite to eat that might ease the pangs of hunger (Karl Schwesig; Sigismond Kolos (Vary, Transylvania 1899–?)). Pictures of this last scene serve to illustrate again the degradation that was forced upon the camp inmates.

In the Auschwitz-Birkenau State Museum at Auschwitz, there is a *Memories Calendar (Kalendarz wspomnień)* comprising 22 small drawings (18 × 10 cm), produced in Auschwitz in 1944 by Ewa Gabanyi, prisoner no. 4739. Gabanyi was born in Czechoslovakia to a Jewish family and interned on April 3, 1942. The pictures in her calendar are mostly theatrical and fantastic – surrealistic dances and balls, elaborate costumes, weird animals, and exotic scenery. One picture stands out as completely different, as she depicts a woman prisoner in her striped dress eating soup, with the inscription *First soup in the camp (Zjada pierwswą Zoupkę Lagrową)*, dated April 27, 1942; hence her first hot meal came three weeks after her arrival in Auschwitz. A picture that seemed completely naturalistic turns out to have a surrealistic aspect in the world of the camps.

DEPORTATIONS. The huge numbers sent to camps and from there deported to the death camps were portrayed by various artists such as Dr. Karel Fleischmann (Klatovy, Czechoslovakia 1897–Auschwitz 1944) and Charlotte Buresova (Prague 1904–Prague 1983) in Thereisienstadt, David Brainin (Kharkov, Ukraine 1905–Auschwitz 1942) in Compiègne, Kurt-Connard Loew (Vienna 1914–Vienna 1980), and Julius-Collen Turner (Schivelbein, Germany 1881–?) in Gurs, and Leo Maillet (Leopold Mayer; Frankfurt-am-Main 1902–Switzerland 1990) in Les Milles. In these pictures the artists usually depict faceless masses rather than individuals being sent on their last journey. Yet in several pictures, amidst the endless lines of people stretching beyond the horizon, the artist reveals the face of one of the deportees, often a child clinging to its mother or a disabled old person guarded by soldiers with pointed weapons. These scenes depict with bitter irony the imbalance of power – the innocence and the helplessness of the deportees versus the power of the executioners.

LANDSCAPES. The camps were often situated in beautiful areas, with snow-covered mountains in the distance or picturesque seaside villages, which were in sharp contrast to the misery of the life within the barbed wire fences (e.g., Karel Fleischmann, Karl Schwesig, Lou Albert-Lazard). Many artists painted these views, which provided them with a kind of connection with the outside world. The colors of a beautiful sunset, while serving to remind them of ordinary life, also brought home the indifference of nature to their suffering.

ART AS A MEANS OF CONNECTION WITH THE OUTSIDE WORLD. Artists sought to use their work as means to make contact with the outside world and let people know what was happening "on the other side of the fence." They did this despite the danger inherent in such activity, as can be seen in the fate of Leo Haas and Dr. Karel Fleischmann, inmates of Theresienstadt, who paid a high price for their efforts to smuggle their works out of the ghetto. In preparation for a visit of the Red Cross in summer 1944, the Germans searched the artists' quarters. They did this because they realized that the truth about their "model ghetto" was likely to be revealed in paintings being smuggled out of Theresienstadt. The artists refused to talk and after being interrogated and tortured were taken to a Gestapo prison. Eventually they were deported to Auschwitz, where Fleischmann died.

Contact with the outside world was of tremendous importance to the camp inmates, and in many cases it was art that paved the way. In some camps, such as Gurs and Compiègne, exhibitions were held. These exhibitions were visited by the Nazi administration and, in some cases, members of the public from the surrounding area. The inmates felt, for a brief moment, as if they had broken through the fence and were involved in the outside world. It should be noted, however, that these events were not mentioned in the press, which used to stress that the camp inmates were parasites and profiteers. Presenting them as creative and productive would not have fit this negative stereotype.

Artists arrived in the camps from all over Europe, from cities, towns and villages and from all levels of society. As we have seen, despite the artistic variety of their work, one unifying factor was common to them all – they all portrayed the grim reality and their cruel experiences, with a sense of longing for their former world which had disintegrated so totally.

The art of the Holocaust is unique in the history of art. In a state of hunger and destitution, with death a constant part of their daily existence, hundreds of artists did not allow the spark of the human spirit to be extinguished. In the universal language of art they portrayed the images of one of the darkest periods in human history.

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[Pnina Rosenberg (2nd ed.)]

Art Influenced by the Holocaust

Reactions in the visual arts to the Nazi persecution of the Jews paralleled Adolf Hitler's rise to power and continue to this day. Unlike Holocaust Art – a name that designates the art produced by inmates in the ghettos and concentration camps (see above) – art that responded to the Holocaust has no clear name and its definition is highly complex. It was created by survivors as well as by refugees who fled to the free world before or during the war; by camp liberators who discovered the shocking truth of the Holocaust for themselves; by the children of survivors or refugees who carry in themselves the burden of memories, pain, and guilt transmitted to them from their parents; and by non-participants who may have lost relatives in the Holocaust or were simply shocked by it or by the idea that its lessons remain unlearned. Some artists reacted immediately, occasionally even anticipating events to come. Others – including survivors who had tried to turn their backs on their past – reacted to events that triggered their emotions: the discovery of the camps, the Eichmann trial, Israel's wars, or other examples of genocide. Such artists came from all religions – Jews, Christians, Muslims, Buddhists, etc. – and all nationalities, including Germans (e.g., Anselm Kiefer) who wish to express their own stance on the subject or to atone for the past. For some, the Holocaust was a specific event occurring in a set period of time; for others, it was an archetypal event which could be used to comment on other catastrophes – Hiroshima, genocide in Africa, or the Aids epidemic.

Moreover, artists had different motivations in using this subject. Some, such as Corrado *Cagli, documented the scenes on the spot or – like Audrey Flack and Nancy *Spero – on the basis of photographs, while others (for instance, William *Gropper and Leon *Golub) emotionally denounced cruelty and mass murder. Whereas survivors and their children often used art as therapy to recover from the past, most artists used it to make sure that the Holocaust would be remembered by memorializing it. Many reacted by affirming their Jewish identity, at first by depicting figures in prayer or the shtetl, as in the works of Max *Weber. More recently a few artists (such as Judy *Chicago) have begun to see the Holocaust itself as their sole means of Jewish identity. Still others, for example, Mark *Rothko and Karel Appel, responded in a highly personal manner by changing their style and subject matter in ways that are not self-evidently connected to the Holocaust but are revealed to be reactions to it on the basis of the artists' statements.

The artists' goals were often linked with the styles they chose to employ. For instance, Realism was used in witness reports as a means of confronting the spectator with the facts and convincing him of their truth, while Expressionism was used to express anger and heighten the denunciatory power of the work. Surrealism was often used to convey the idea that such events were taking place on "another planet," whereas Abstraction was a means of distancing the artist from the Holocaust and allowing it to be confronted from a safe place.

Although painters and sculptors had been working on the subject since 1933, it was the photographs and films taken by the liberators in 1944–45 that had the most immediate and lasting impact on the public at large. Appearing in magazines and newsreels, these reports turned everyone into a witness. It is for this reason that the most common images of the Holocaust in the public imagination are those they recorded: the mounds of corpses, the bald and emaciated survivors barely able to move, and the inmates crowded together behind barbed wire or in their bunks. Some of these images still inspire artists today (for instance, in the paintings of Natan Nuchi), but this source material has now been broadened to include the Nazis' own documentary snapshots of the ghettos, deportations, and executions as well as the identification photographs they took of the camp inmates, a type that influenced Aaron Gluska. Today new documentary photographs have been taken by artists who visit the camps. These images differ from the older ones in showing the camp as empty and clean, well-preserved monuments rather than the hellholes they were.

Several common motifs and themes run through all categories of Holocaust-related art. The primary image of the camp from the mid-1930s was of people behind barbed wire, an image used by John Heartfield because one of the few facts known then about the camps was that they were surrounded by barbed wire fences. This representation was reinforced after the camps were liberated, as photographers such as Margaret *Bourke-White took their stance outside the fence looking into the camp. The image was so pervasive and clearly understood that it could be suggested by including a single piece of barbed wire into an abstract composition, as was done by Igael *Tumarkin. Another primary symbol was the refugee, a subject documented by the refugees themselves (e.g., Marc *Chagall) and by those who wanted to state their plight. This image was transformed after the war by artists such as Lasar *Segall into that of the displaced person to represent survivors who were trying to find a place to stay. This subject slowly disappeared after 1948, as the State of Israel was seen as having solved this problem. It has recently been reinstated, as in a painting by Joan Snyder, in an attempt to identify Palestinian refugees with the victims of the Holocaust. Another image that was popular during the war was that of the Jewish partisan, especially those who participated in the Warsaw Ghetto uprising depicted in the monument by Nathan *Rapaport. Upheld at first as an image of Jewish pride in resistance to the Nazis, it was eventually supplanted by that of the Israeli soldier.

Other symbols became common only after the war, for instance the symbolic use of the crematorium chimney and the image of emaciated corpses or survivors, themes that grew out of the experience of liberating the camps and understanding what had happened there. Whereas the chimney and the survivors were relatively easy for Friedensreich Hundertwasser and George Grosz respectively to handle, the corpses were repugnant and many artists followed Pablo Picasso's lead in translating them into more stylized images. On the other hand, artists such as Zoran Music and Robert Morris later specifically portrayed the corpses in all their expressive reality to awaken the failed conscience of the modern world that continues to commit genocide.

All the above symbols were taken from the camp experience. But artists who were interested in learning moral lessons from the Holocaust also culled other images from religion and mythology to convey their ideas. Thus the victim can be portrayed through biblical symbols, such as the sacrifice of Isaac or Job who questions God, as in the works of Leonard *Baskin and Jakob *Steinhardt respectively. These subjects could also be used to vent anger against God for allowing the Holocaust to happen, as in the work of Mordecai *Ardon. Marc Chagall led the way in depicting the victims as the crucified Jewish Jesus, in an attempt to make Christians understand what was occurring. Resistance to Nazism was symbolized by Jacques *Lipchitz by means of David slaying a Nazi Goliath and Prometheus slaying the vulture.

The portrayal of the Nazis was more difficult: their portrayal as monsters or demons as in the works of Marcel *Janco ignores the fact that those who carried out the Holocaust were human beings. However, portraying them realistically as humans, as Gerhart Frankl did, underplays the horrific dimensions of their deeds. Beginning with Lipchitz, some artists concluded that the problem lay not only with the Nazis, and used their art to warn mankind that there is a beast lurking within us which must be tamed lest we cause other holocausts. Others, such as Matta and *Maryan Maryan, took a more pessimistic view of man's monstrous nature and portrayed ambiguous figures whose nature cannot be clearly defined as good or evil.

The Holocaust also prompted Jewish artists to take a renewed look at their Judaism. While some affirmed their faith and Jewish identity and others expressed their anger against God, a few stressed their lack of faith in the future of Judaism. Thus Samuel *Bak depicted a destroyed and patched-up Ten Commandments that will never be the same. Whereas the establishment of the State of Israel was at first seen by artists such as Chagall and Lipchitz as an answer to the Holocaust and a solution to the problems it caused, Israel's continuing wars – especially the threats to its existence in 1967, 1973, and 1991 – led artists such as Erich Brauer to see in each event a potential renewal of the Holocaust. Moreover, the resurgence of antisemitism in the 1980s caused R.B. *Kitaj and George *Segal to begin to deal with the Holocaust.

On the other hand, the conflicts between Israelis and Palestinians since 1967 have caused left-wing artists to adapt Holocaust imagery to this issue, with the Palestinians replacing the Jews. This generalization of Holocaust imagery is part of a wider phenomenon in which such images are applied to any current conflict in order to activate an inbred, unquestioning hatred against those who have been clothed in the despised Nazi imagery and an equally innate sympathy for those depicted as victims.

The newest developments in art inspired by the Holocaust can best be examined through three themes. First, children of survivors, such as Yocheved Weinfeld and Haim Maor, try to understand their parents' experiences by picturing themselves in their place and exploring how they would have reacted. The second theme – ghosts – is poignantly demonstrated by Shimon Attie's projections of old black and white photographs of the Jewish inhabitants of Berlin and Rome on the walls of these cities, so that they seem to be haunting their streets. The third subject is the expression of constant anxiety, a feeling Jonathan Borofsky explicitly connects with the Holocaust. Such new themes suggest that artists have not finished examining the Holocaust and that they will continue to find new means to express its relevance to the modern world.

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[Ziva Amishai-Maisels (2nd ed.)]

ARTA, Greek town in southern Epirus. Jews were living there in the 11th century while the area was under Byzantine sovereignty. This early community later united around the synagogue known as Kehillat Kodesh Toshavim ("Congregation of the Inhabitants"). In 1167 *Benjamin of Tudela found about 100 Jews (or perhaps 100 families) in Arta. In the 15th century under Ottoman rule, the Jews of the city were relocated to the capital, Istanbul, in the *sorgun*. By the 16th century Jews had repopulated the town. In the 16th century after the arrival of exiles from southern Italy, several synagogues were founded in Arta by communities from various places of origin – Corfu, Sicily, Calabria, Apulia – each one jealously preserving its religious autonomy. The juxtaposition of such diverse cultural elements gave rise to conflicting concepts of ethics and customs, reflected in the numerous disputes and congregational regulations issued during the 16th and 17th centuries. One subject of heated controversy was whether a bridegroom is permitted to visit the home of his betrothed.

The Jews of Arta agreed in regarding the scholars of *Salonika as the highest religious authority, and the youth were sent there to study. *Benjamin Ze'ev b. Mattathias (author of *Binyamin Ze'ev*) was rabbi of the Corfu congregation in the 16th century, and other noted rabbis of the 16th century included Solomon ben Rabi Samuel Sefardi, and Caleb Ben Rabi Yohanan. Many Jews left Arta in the 17th century. The Jews of Arta were mainly merchants, or peddlers who traded in the villages. In the early 19th century, the famous Artan Jewish-born mathematician Hoca Yitzhak Effendi, a convert to Islam, was a translator for the Ottoman navy and Imperial divan, and occupied numerous important diplomatic positions from 1806 onward. In 1869 the Jewish population was estimated at 800. Local Jews were patrons and supporters of Skopos, a local literary-musical association founded in 1896. Thirty-six Artan Jews fought in the Balkan Wars of 1912–3. In 1915 the Zionist organization Mevakshei Zion was established. The bridge of Arta has been the focus of numerous Sephardi romances. In 1940 there were 384 Jewish inhabitants.

Under the Italian occupation during World War II relations between the Jewish community and the Italian authorities were good and life continued almost normally for nearly three years. However, on March 24, 1944 a detachment of Gestapo arrived in Arta, obtained the names and addresses of all Jewish families from the City Hall, and arrested 352 Jews. Only a few managed to escape. Together with the Jews of Preveza, they were taken to Athens (April 2, 1944) and after a few days sent to Auschwitz, where they were put to death. After the German defeat a few Jewish families returned to Arta. Joseph Zakar was a rare survivor among numerous Artan Jews who worked in the *Sonderkommando* in Birkenau. By 1948 there was an attempt to reorganize a Jewish community, but the number of Jews dwindled to only 20 in 1958.

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[Simon Marcus / Yitzchak Kerem (2nd ed.)]

ARTAPANUS (Ἀρτάπανος; second century B.C.E.), Hellenistic Jewish author. Artapanus wrote περὶ Ἰουδαίων ("On the Jews"), fragments of which are preserved in the writings of the Church Fathers. The purpose of this work was to prove that the foundations of Egyptian culture were laid by Abraham, Jacob, Joseph, and Moses. When Abraham came to Egypt, he taught the pharaoh (Pharethothes or Pharetones) the science of astrology. Jacob established the Egyptian temples at Athos and Heliopolis. Joseph was appointed viceroy of all Egypt and initiated Egyptian agrarian reforms to ensure that the powerful would not dispossess the weak and the poor of their fields. He was the first to divide the country and demarcate its various boundaries. He turned arid areas into arable land, distributed land among the priests, and also introduced standard measures for which he became popular among the Egyptians (Eusebius, *Praeparatio Evangelica*, 9:23). But the one who excelled all was Moses, whom Artapanus identifies with Musaeus, teacher of Orpheus, and with Hermes-Thoth, god of Egyptian writing and culture. The name Hermes was given to Moses by the priests who revered him for his wisdom and paid him divine homage. Moses founded the arts of building, shipping, and weaponry, as well as Egyptian religion and philosophy. He was also the creator of hieroglyphic writing. In addition, he divided the city into 36 wards and assigned to each its god for worship. Moses was the founder of the cult of Apis the Bull and of Ibis. All these accomplishments of Moses aroused the jealousy of King Kheneferis, father of Maris, Moses' foster mother. He tried to kill Moses, but failed. After the king's death, Moses was commanded by God to lead the Hebrews out of Egypt. In his story of the Exodus Artapanus generally follows the biblical narrative, although he expands and embellishes it (Eusebius, *ibid.*, 9:27). He devotes special attention to tales of Moses' battles against the Ethiopians and to events stemming from the personal rivalry between Moses and the king of Egypt. Similar accounts are to be found in Josephus (Ant., 2:242ff.), and it may well be that both used a common source. In view of the fact that, like Herodotus and Plato, Artapanus sees in Egyptian civilization the origin of all civilization, it may be said that he regards Moses as the father of universal civilization. It is indeed strange that a Jew should attribute to Moses the introduction of the idolatrous Egyptian rites. But Artapanus envisages Moses primarily as a "benefactor" (εὐεργέτης) in the Hellenistic sense of the word, that is, one who benefits all mankind without distinction of nationality or creed. In this way Artapanus wished to show that the lawgiver of the Jews was not a misanthrope as the enemies of the Jewish people claimed.

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[Abraham Schalit]

ARṬAS, Muslim-Arab village in Judea, 2 mi. (3 km.) S.W. of Bethlehem. In 1967, it had 1,097 inhabitants, rising to 2,679 in 1997. Its economy was based on vineyards, deciduous fruit trees, vegetables, olives, and field crops. The important spring of Ein Etam is located near the village. During the Second Temple period its waters were led to Jerusalem through two aqueducts. British Mandate authorities attempted to pump these spring waters to Jerusalem through the adjacent Solomon's Pools. Arṭās has a Catholic convent, "Notre-Dame du Jardin Ferm" or "Hortus Conclusus," which maintains a girls' orphanage. The village's name may have its root in the Latin *hortus* ("garden").

[Efraim Orni]

°**ARTAXERXES** (Per. *Artakhshacha*; Gr. *Artaxerxes*; Heb. and Aram. אַרְתַּחְשַׁשְׂתְּא and אַרְתַּחְשַׁסְתְּא; in Heb. once also אַרְתַּחְשַׁשְׂתָּא; Aram. Papyri ארתחשסש), name of three Persian kings.

(1) Artaxerxes I was surnamed Makrokheir (Greek) or Longimanus (Latin), meaning "the long-handed." He reigned from 465 to 425 B.C.E. The first 16 years of his reign were troubled, with the Greeks attacking his northwestern holdings and supporting a revolt in Egypt which lasted from 460 to 454, and with Megabyzus, the satrap of Transeuphrates (embracing Syria, Palestine, and Transjordan) who reconquered Egypt for Artaxerxes, himself rebelling in 449–48. To end the war with the Greeks Artaxerxes was compelled to assent to the "peace of Callias" (449), which was a humiliation for Persia. It was probably during these troubled first three-fifths of his reign that the provincial authorities of *Samaria were able to persuade the king that the rebuilding of Jerusalem's walls by the Jews constituted a threat to his authority in the whole of Transeuphrates (Ezra 4:7–23 which belongs chronologically after Ezra 6). In the later, calmer years of his reign, he appointed *Nehemiah governor of Judah with authority to fortify Jerusalem. Regarding the identity of the Artaxerxes of Ezra 7:7, 11, 21; 8:1, who authorized the mission of *Ezra, opinions are divided over whether it was this monarch or the following one (2).

(2) Artaxerxes II, surnamed Mnemon (Gr. *Mnēmōn*, "the Rememberer"), reigned from 404 to 359 B.C.E. Artaxerxes II lost Egypt in 401 B.C.E. (the Jews of *Elephantine dated documents by his regnal years down to Jan. 18, 401 B.C.E.). So far from ever recovering it, he nearly lost all of Western Asia as well, since the revolting western satraps, relying on the Egyptian army which the Egyptian king Tachos led into Syria to aid them, invaded Mesopotamia. However, a revolt in Egypt compelled Tachos to abandon his allies and surrender, and Artaxerxes II reconquered the western satrapies. A growing number of scholars date Ezra's mission in the seventh year of his reign, 398/97 B.C.E.

(3) Artaxerxes III, a son of the preceding, surnamed Ochus by modern writers, because the Greeks, for some reason, refer to him as Okhos, reigned from 354 to 338 B.C.E. He had to quell revolts everywhere, and failure in his first attempt to reconquer Egypt (352–50) may have given the impetus to the revolt (350–45?) of King Tennes of Sidon. Artaxerxes burned the city down and put Tennes to death. In 344/43, a second attempt to reconquer Egypt was successful.

Several Church Fathers report that Ochus exiled a large number of Jews to Hyrcania, the region south of the Caspian Sea, and Paulus Orosius (fifth century), the author of a world history, and George the Syncellus (d. c. 810), a Byzantine chronicler, connect this action with his campaign against Egypt. It has naturally been surmised that this means the first campaign against Egypt and that the ensuing rebellion of Sidon also affected Palestine. D. Barag has sought confirmation for this hypothesis in the archaeology of Palestine and has called attention to seven sites, from Hazor in the north to Jericho in the south, the occupation of which was interrupted – in some cases, terminated – near the end of the Persian period. Although the archaeological evidence alone does not rule out the attribution of this abandonment to the advance of Alexander, hardly more than a dozen years later, the silence of the sources about any resistance to Alexander in Phoenicia apart from Tyre and in Palestine apart from Gaza seems to favor the earlier date for the depopulation, which perhaps partly accounts for the passivity toward Alexander.

A "Hyrcanian exile" such as is reported by the Church Fathers is unknown in Jewish tradition. Nevertheless, there may be a connection between it and the fact that the proper name Hyrcanus is attested among the Jews as early as the third century B.C.E. (II Macc. 3:11).

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[Harold Louis Ginsberg]

ART COLLECTORS AND ART DEALERS. Art collecting in the modern sense can be said to have originated during the period of the Renaissance in Italy, with the emergence on the one hand of individual artists from the anonymity of the Middle Ages, and on the other of families and individuals of wealth who eagerly sought to patronize and collect their work. Italian Jews of the Renaissance period inevitably patronized the arts to some degree, for their houses were furnished and decorated in much the same way as those of their gentile neighbors of the same social class. Jews at this time were active as art dealers as well, particularly as jewelers who bought and sold goldsmiths' work and as dealers in secondhand goods. In the 16th century Cosimo de' Medici, grand duke of Tuscany, bought antiques from Jewish merchants in Venice, while a few decades later David de' Cervi of Rome procured works of art for the dukes of Mantua. The first Jew known to have dealt specifically in paintings was also an Italian, the artist and art expert Jacob Carpi, who was in business in Amsterdam in the middle of the 18th century.

Here and there individual Jews continued to buy and sell objects of art for the next two centuries, but it is not until the early 19th century that one can begin to speak of Jewish art dealers and collectors in the proper sense of the word. In Fritz Lugt's comprehensive three-volume corpus (1938–64), which lists all public sales of art from 1600 on, it is only in the second quarter of the 19th century that the name of *Rothschild is first encountered in connection with an auction at Christie's in London; from this date on, however, art collecting cannot be thought of in England, France, and Germany, without reference to this great banking family. At approximately the same time, there developed other dynasties of Jewish collectors who often started out as bankers.

Among the many prominent 19th-century European collectors were Eduard Huldschinsky and James *Simon in Berlin (the latter's donations to the Kaiser Friedrich Museum, including the famous bust of Nefertiti, greatly enriched that collection); Georg Arnhold (1859–1926) in Dresden, whose son Hans followed him as a patron and collector of the arts; and Ludwig *Mond and Henry Oppenheimer (1859–1932) in England. Mond's collection of Italian paintings from the 15th to the 18th centuries went to the National Gallery in London; Oppenheimer specialized in applied and graphic arts. At the same time, the *Camondo Collection in Paris and the Franchetti Collection in Venice were being built up.

One of the most important modern personalities in international art collecting and dealing was Joseph *Duveen, who became the art consultant of a number of well-known Americans, such as J.P. Morgan, John D. Rockefeller, and Benjamin *Altman. Duveen achieved his reputation with the help of the art historian, connoisseur, and collector Bernard *Berenson, who advised him, especially on Italian art, from 1907 to 1936. Following Duveen's death in 1939, the House of *Wildenstein assumed the leading position in international art dealing.

After World War I the works of the impressionists and postimpressionists were especially collected and dealt in by Jews. The centers of this activity were Berlin, Munich, Vienna, Budapest, Paris, and London, although here interest in the Renaissance and Baroque periods continued. As a result of Jewish emigration from Europe following the Nazi rise to power, many valuable collections reached the United States, among them those of Jacob *Goldschmidt, whose treasures were auctioned after his death in 1955, and of Justin Thannhauser, who donated the greater part of his paintings to the Guggenheim Museum in New York, where they hang in a separate wing.

Among native Americans, Lessing *Rosenwald of Philadelphia collected one of the world's greatest collections of graphic arts. He presented the National Gallery in Washington, D.C., with some 25,000 drawings and etchings. The Cone Collection in Baltimore, which offers an excellent cross section of modern French art, was begun shortly after the turn of the century by the sisters Claribel and Etta *Cone, who acquired their paintings and drawings, particularly the work of Henri Matisse, through their close friendship with Leo and Gertrude *Stein. Instrumental in assembling the large collection of the *Guggenheim family were Solomon R. Guggenheim (d. 1949), whose treasures are housed in the museum in New York named after him, designed by Frank Lloyd Wright, and Peggy G. Guggenheim, whose palazzo in Venice contains many foremost works of surrealism and who was a great collector and friend of modern artists ever since she opened her first gallery in London in 1919. Also deserving of mention are the collections of Otto H. *Kahn, Michael Friedsam, and the Altman, *Lehmann, and *Blumenthal families.

Billy *Rose, the theatrical producer, gave his collection of modern sculpture to the Israel Museum in Jerusalem, where it is exhibited in a special garden that bears his name. The industrialist Joseph H. *Hirshhorn donated his collection of about 4,000 paintings and 1,600 sculptures to the nation, and it is on permanent public exhibit in Washington, D.C. Helena *Rubinstein, founder of the cosmetic enterprise, filled her homes with works of art and applied art and in Tel Aviv she built the Helena Rubinstein Pavilion. Norton Simon, California industrialist, attracted the attention of the international art market when he acquired Rembrandt's "Titus" at an auction in London (1965) and a Rembrandt self-portrait for more than $1,000,000 (1969).

[Lotte Pulvermacher-Egers]

One of the most remarkable art collections, that of Robert von Hirsch of impressionist and modern drawings and watercolors, was dispersed by public auction held in London, the proceeds of which were approximately $35 million. Von Hirsch, a German-born leather merchant, who died in Basel, Switzerland in November 1977 at the age of 94, accumulated his collection over a period of 70 years. It consisted of 608 articles, including superlative works of Cezanne, Van Gogh and Georges Seurat, and pieces of Meissen porcelain.

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ARTEMION, leader of the Jewish uprising in Cyprus during the reign of Trajan (115–17 C.E.). According to Dio Cassius (the only author who actually refers to Artemion by name) the insurrection claimed 240,000 victims; other sources (Eusebius) allude to the total destruction of the capital, Salamis. With the suppression of the revolt, all Jews were prohibited on penalty of death to set foot on the island.

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[Isaiah Gafni]

ARTEMOVSK (until 1923, **Bakhmut**), city in the Ukraine. Jewish settlement in Artemovsk dates from the late 18th century. The numbers increased as a result of immigration from Lithuania and Volhynia. In 1847, 496 Jews were registered in the community; in 1897, 3,259 (16.8% of the total population). In the early 20th century Jews owned big factories producing flour, beer, and soap, stone quarries, sawmills, and most of the oil storage facilities. Five hundred Jews worked in the garment industry. There were 11 *ḥadarim*, a *talmud torah*, and three public schools, one of them a vocational school for girls. In 1926, 6,631 (17.1%) Jews lived in the city and 17,622 (2.3%) in the Artemovsk district. Pogroms in October 1905 led to deaths and injuries and heavy damage to Jewish property. In the Soviet period Jewish sources of livelihood underwent a change: in 1926, 20% were blue-collar workers and clerks, 10% were artisans, 30% remained petty merchants, and the rest were without a defined profession. A Yiddish school with 400 pupils (in 1926) was in operation. The number of Jews dropped to 5,299 by 1939 (total population 55,409). The Germans occupied Artemovsk on October 31, 1941. On December 21, ten Jews were hanged. On January 5, 1942, 3,000 Jews were assembled and then held without food and water until February 15, when they were sealed off in one of the tunnels of the marble quarry and suffocated to death. In 1959, 1,800 Jews were registered in Artemovsk (30% of the total population); by 1979 the number had fallen to about 1,000. Most left in the 1990s.

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[Yehuda Slutsky / Shmuel Spector (2nd ed.)]

ART HISTORIANS AND ART CRITICS. The discipline of art history first made its appearance in Germany, in the middle of the 18th century, but it was more than a hundred years before the lowering of the barriers that had excluded Jews from academic careers enabled them to enter this field. The Jewish inclination toward research and scholarship combined with a latent interest in the visual arts produced in Germany a large number of Jewish art historians, many of whom succeeded in continuing their work in other countries, especially in the United States, Britain, and Israel.

Jews were prominent as directors and founders of some of Germany's leading museums. Julius Friedlaender (1813–1884) and Julius Lessing (1843–1908) were both curators of the State Numismatic Museum in Berlin. Friedrich Lippmann (1838–1903) made the print department of the Berlin State Museum internationally important. One of his successors, Jacob Rosenberg (1893–1980), an authority on the work of Rembrandt and other Dutch artists, became professor of fine arts at Harvard University. Rosenberg's predecessor at Harvard, Paul Sachs (1878–1965), an American-born connoisseur and generous collector, was largely responsible for the university's collection of graphics. Two other art historians who made significant contributions to the history of the graphic arts were Max Lehrs (1855–1939), working in Dresden, Germany, and Franz Kristeller (1863–1931), who worked in Bologna, Italy. Their contribution to scholarship lay in the analytical description of works of art and the development of systems of organization and authentication. In the work of Bernard *Berenson the study and criticism of Italian art delved into the life and achievements of masters scarcely recognized before. Similar research into Dutch painting was undertaken by Max I. Friedlaender (1867–1958), director of the Berlin painting gallery until the advent of the Nazis. In the field of classical studies, the Anglo-American archaeologist Sir Charles Walston (formerly Waldstein; 1856–1927) supervised important excavations and wrote works on ancient Greek art. During the same period the French archaeologist Solomon *Reinach was combining his work on antiquity with a study of art generally. His *Apollo*, a collection of the lectures he delivered at the Ecole du Louvre in 1902–03, came to be for millions of readers the "manual of the history of art through the ages."

The Israel archaeologist Leo Aryeh *Mayer published works on Islamic architecture and archaeology. The art of Islam is also the field of research and teaching of Richard Ettinghausen (1906–1979), who was director of the Freer Gallery in Washington, D.C., and later connected with the Institute of Fine Arts of New York University. Alfred Salmony (1890–1958), formerly in Cologne, taught the history of Chinese art. A scholar in the same field, William Cohn (1880–1961), went from Berlin to Oxford, England. A great contribution to art history in general and to English architectural history in particular was made by Sir Nikolaus *Pevsner. Another noteworthy Anglo-German architectural writer was Helen Rosenau (c. 1910–). A scholar who concentrated on religious architecture was Richard Krautheimer (1897–), one of whose first books dealt with medieval German synagogues. He later wrote a standard work in many volumes on the early churches of Rome as well as a study of the Renaissance sculptor Ghiberti. Paul Frankl (1877–1962) was a thoughtful interpreter of Gothic architecture and Paul Zucker (1890–) related his experience as a Berlin architect to works – the later ones published after his emigration to the U.S. – on such varied subjects as the history of city planning, bridge architecture, and aesthetics. Important contributions to the history of painting and sculpture were made by Jewish scholars, who studied the problems of particular periods and styles. Walter Friedlaender (1873–1966), first in Freiburg, Germany, later in New York, helped to clarify 16th-century mannerism, while Werner Weisbach (1873–1953) enriched the concept of baroque art by relating it to the politico-theological problems of the following century. Many art historians have been influenced by the scholarship and teaching of Adolf Goldschmidt (1863–1944), who occupied the important chair of art history at Berlin University. He was a careful researcher, an exceptionally learned author, and a devoted teacher whose publications encompass many subjects, including medieval ivories, manuscripts, and bronze doors. Another German Jew who devoted himself to the medieval arts was George Swarzenski (1876–1957), whose connoisseurship and administrative skill were of considerable value to the museums of Frankfurt.

The Warburg Institute has had an intense impact on the ideas of art historians who went to the United States from Germany. Founded in Hamburg by Aby *Warburg (1866–1929), it moved to London in 1933. Under the direction of Warburg himself and of Fritz Saxl (1890–1948), the library became a center of humanistic studies and of publications in the field of "Kulturwissenschaft." Erwin *Panofsky, who became a member of the Institute of Advanced Studies at Princeton, transmuted iconography from an amalgam of auxiliary information into the science of iconology. In Panofsky the study of humanism underlying the philosophy of the Warburg Institute found its rich fulfillment. There were three other men with equally wide horizons of scholarship. One was the Russian-born Meyer Schapiro (1904–), whose analysis and interpretation of artists and their works stretches from the classical to the contemporary scene. In 1965 he became professor of art history at Columbia University. The others were Otto Kurz (1908–) and Rudolf Wittkower (1901–), a German by birth, who also held a chair at Columbia, specializing in Italian art of the baroque period. E.H. Gombrich (1909–), director of the Warburg Institute, was interested in the relationship between art and psychology. His *Story of Art* is a popular art history.

The following Italians should be mentioned: Igino Supino (b. 1858), an authority on restoration work; Ettore Modigliani (1873–1947), superintendent of ancient and modern work in Milan and founder of the Scala Theater Museum; and Paolo *d'Ancona (1878–1964), who wrote on Renaissance and modern art.

Since the establishment of the State of Israel and the founding of its Universities, all of the four major institutions have departments of art history, and many regional colleges have instituted instruction in art history as well. Israel's most prominent scholar of art history was Moshe *Barasch, who specialized in the Renaissance period.

Historians of Jewish Art

When the various fields of Jewish studies were defined by the scholars of the 19th century German movement *Wissenschaft des Judentums, Jewish art was not one of them. The prevalent notion in this period was that this aspect of Jewish life was not worthy of serious research since Judaism banned images and one should even question whether Jewish art ever existed. Actually, the first to deal with visual aspects of Jewish culture were Christian scholars, such as the French archeologist Louis-Félicien de Saulcy (1807–1880), who served as the consul of France in Jerusalem, and in 1858 published a book dealing with artistic creativity in biblical times (*Histoire de l'art judaïque*). The first Jewish scholar in the field was the Hungarian David *Kaufmann (1852–1899), who was actually interested in a vast spectrum of Jewish disciplines, including Jewish art and archeology. Kaufmann's seminal articles deal with the problem of art in rabbinical literature, synagogue interior decoration, ancient floor mosaics that were excavated during his lifetime, and Hebrew manuscript illumination. In 1898, Kaufmann collaborated with other scholars on the publication of the first monograph in the field, namely on the 14th-century Sephardi *Sarajevo Haggadah* (*Die Haggadah von Sarajevo: Eine spanisch-judische Bilderhandschrift des Mittelalters*, Vienna, 1898).

Toward the end of the 19th century scholarly attention was drawn for the first time to the study of Jewish ceremonial artistic objects. It was at this time that collections of ceremonial art were first established (e.g., that of Isaac Strauss in Paris), exhibited to the public (e.g., the Anglo-Jewish exhibition in London, 1887), and the first Jewish museums opened in some European-Jewish capitals (e.g., Vienna, 1897; Frankfurt, 1901). While some publications accompanied these events, the real impetus to scientific study of Jewish ceremonial art was given by yet another Christian scholar, the German Heinrich Frauberger (1845–1920). Frauberger served as the director of the Industrial and Crafts Museum (*Kunstgewerbemuseum*) in Duesseldorf, and his curiosity to investigate this topic was aroused when a local architect sought his advice on the design of a Jewish tombstone. In 1901 Frauberger established in Frankfurt the Gesellschaft zur Erforschung jueduscher kunstdenkmaeler, which engaged a number of Jewish scholars (mainly Rudolf Halo and Erich Toeplitz), and issued an illustrated periodical, edited and largely written by Frauberger himself.

The scholarly interest in Jewish art increased in German-speaking lands in the 1920s and 1930s. Some of the more prominent names include the curator of the Berlin Jewish Museum, Karl Schwarz (1885–1962), who was later invited by Meir Dizengoff to head the new Tel Aviv Museum. His most important work, *Die Juden in der Kunst*, which appeared in Berlin in 1928, dealt more with what he defined as "art of the Jews" rather than "Jewish art." A year later there appeared another important work, that of the German-Jewish art historian, Ernst *Cohn-Wiener (1882–1941), *Die judische Kunst: Ihre Geschichte von den Anfangen bis zur Gegenwart* (Berlin, 1929) – a serious attempt to systematically describe the development of Jewish art as it was known in those years.

While these scholars worked in relative isolation and did not endeavor to advance further research in the field, three other writers were more successful in promoting scholarly interest, as they published many more books and articles on many aspects of Jewish art, including ceremonial objects. The first of the three is the German-Jewish art historian Franz Landsberger (1883–1964), who turned to Jewish art only when the Nazis did not allow him to continue his work in general art at Breslau University. From 1935, when his first work on Jewish art appeared, until his death, he published numerous studies. In 1938 he fled Germany to England, and subsequently he was invited to lecture on Jewish art at the Hebrew Union College in Cincinnati and later also to serve as the director of the school's museum of Judaica. His essays and books, now published in English, include topics such as the *mezuzah* and its case, ancient Torah curtains, illuminated *ketubbot*, ritual implements for the Sabbath, Hanukkah lamps (a representative selection is presented in J. Gutmann (ed.), *Beauty in Holiness: Studies in Jewish Customs and Ceremonial Art*, Ktav, 1970).

The second scholar is Rachel Wischnitzer (1885–1989), who was born in Russia, educated in Heidelberg and Paris, established herself in Berlin, and then moved to the U.S., where she worked for many years and taught Jewish art (Stern College). Trained as an architect, Wischnitzer published two major books in English on synagogue architecture – one on American synagogues (1955), and the other on European synagogues (1964). Her third English book deals with the messianic symbolism in the paintings of the newly discovered third century *Dura Europos synagogue (1948). While she was still in Berlin, Wischnitzer co-edited *Rimon* (1922–24), a richly and beautifully illustrated periodical dedicated to the arts in Jewish life which appeared in both Hebrew and Yiddish (under the title *Milgroim*). In Berlin she also issued her first book, dealing with the meaning of Jewish symbols (*Symbole and Gestalten der juedishen Kunst*, 1934), a subject which underlined many of her studies. Her prolific writings in the field are still the basis for research on central issues of Jewish art, though her interpretations are not always accepted.

Mordechai *Narkiss (1897–1957), the last of the three, was actually the first scholar who worked in the Land of Israel and published most of his work in Hebrew. Following his immigration from Poland to Israel in 1920, he served as the chief assistant to Boris *Schatz, the founder of the *Bezalel School of Art in Jerusalem (1906). In 1925 Narkiss was appointed as the director of the newly established Bezalel Museum (later the Israel Museum). In this role Narkiss systematically acquired Judaic objects and Hebrew illuminated manuscripts (including the noted *Birds Head Haggadah*, and gradually devoted more and more time to research on Judaic objects. His education in a yeshivah, sound knowledge of the decorative arts, and mastery of several European languages undoubtedly provided him with the tools required for proper research in the field. Narkiss determined to write on Jewish art in a scientific manner differing from the "amateurish" writing of other scholars whose work he severely criticized in the several book reviews he published. His most important work is undoubtedly the monograph he dedicated to the history of the Hanukkah lamp (Jerusalem, 1939). This innovative work presented for the first time a thorough analysis of a single Jewish object, from its inception in the talmudic period until the modern period, and throughout the Jewish Diaspora. Living in Ereẓ Israel, Narkiss interacted with immigrant Jewish groups from different parts of the Jewish world, which led him to consider the visual heritage of the Jews from the lands of Islam – a subject almost entirely neglected by the scholars who preceded him. Notable in this respect is his short, pioneering book on the handicrafts of Yemenite Jews (Jerusalem, 1941), which paved the way and established the methodology for future studies on the material culture of the communities under Islamic rule.

In 1957, the year of Narkiss' untimely death, there appeared another major contribution, namely the book *Jewish Art*, edited by Cecil *Roth (1899–1970) and Zusia Efron (1916–2002). The first edition included 18 articles by various experts, who systematically discussed the development of Jewish art from biblical times to modern Israel. The book was first published in Hebrew, then translated into several languages, expanded, and given a set of new images (first English edition, 1961). Though a historian by training, Roth, whose name appeared on all the subsequent editions of the book, was attracted to Jewish art and published many articles on the subject but never made it his main field of research. However, unlike other historians of Judaism, he often drew attention to the visual world in his historical studies. Despite its many shortcomings, *Jewish Art* continues to be the standard textbook on the subject to this day.

In the 1950s and 1960s several other scholars joined the field, and made it their primary subject of research. The first is the American (non-Jewish) scholar Erwin Ramsdell *Goodenough (1893–1965), who devoted many years to the interpretation of visual symbols in the talmudic period. His massive 13-volume *Jewish Symbols in the Greco-Roman Period* (1953–65) exhibits nearly every Judaic object and work of art known at the time. While his methodology and conclusions have been generally rejected by scholars, his comprehensive volumes continue to be a major resource, and he is credited for drawing attention to the importance of visual culture in the talmudic period. Another American scholar, Joseph *Gutmann (1923–), dealt with nearly every aspect of Jewish art, including manuscript illumination, ceremonial objects and customs, and ancient synagogues as well as theoretical questions pertaining to the field. Gutmann's many books and articles have demonstrated the contribution of art to Jewish history and its interrelationships with Christian culture. In Europe, on the other hand, the leading scholars in the field have devoted their efforts mainly to book illumination (e.g., Thérèse and Mendel Metzger of Strasbourg, Gabrielle Sed-Rajana of Paris, and Luisa Mortara-Ottolenghi of Milan).

In Israel, Mordechai Narkiss' son, Bezalel *Narkiss (1926–), continued the work of his father. His publications centered on Hebrew book illumination, pointing to their visual sources in the art of the Christian and Islamic societies that hosted the Jewish communities. In 1974, Narkiss started the publication of the annual *Journal of Jewish Art* (from 1986/87 called *Jewish Art*), and in 1979 established the Center for Jewish Art. The center is chiefly active in documenting Jewish works of art, illuminated Hebrew manuscripts, ritual objects, synagogues, and cemeteries throughout the world. In addition, the center issues various publications in the field, and sponsors international conferences. Another institution is the Society for Jewish Art, which promotes the field in Israel and publishes *Rimonim*, the only periodical in Hebrew devoted to the subject. Recent volumes of *Rimonim* (edited by Shalom Sabar) have been devoted to art and objects connected to life cycle events.

The pioneering work of the above scholars showed the way and is being continued by a number of institutions and younger scholars in Israel, the United States, and Europe. At the Hebrew University of Jerusalem classes in Jewish art and material culture are offered by the departments of Art History and Jewish and Comparative Folklore, and both programs allow students to obtain the three academic degrees in the field. Other institutions include partial programs, such as Bar-Ilan University in Ramat Gan and the Jewish Theological Seminary of America in New York. Some of the scholars teaching in these and other schools include Vivian Mann (ceremonial art); Evelyn Cohen (Hebrew manuscript illumination), Bracha Yaniv (the Torah case and its appurtenances), and Shalom Sabar (ketubbot, Jewish folk art and rituals, magic and amulets, postcards, holy sites).

Important contributions to documentation and research of Judaica are also made by the curators of the Jewish museums around the world. The results of the fieldwork conducted by museum staffs culminate not only in a temporary exhibition but are best preserved in the accompanying catalog, often containing a number of pertinent essays. Some of the major exhibitions which pointed to new source materials and directions of research in the field include first and foremost the publications of the ethnography department at the Israel Museum, Jerusalem, and in particular the pioneering catalogs dealing with the arts and daily life of the Jews of Morocco (ed. Aviva Mueller-Lancet, 1973), Kurdistan (ed. Ora Schwartz-Be'eri, 1981), the Sephardim in the Ottoman Empire (ed. Esther Juhasz, 1990), India (ed. Orpah Slapak, 1995), Afghanistan (ed. No'am Bar'am-Ben Yossef, 1998), Yemen (Esther Muchawsky-Schnapper, 2000), and the Mountain Jews of Azerbaijan (ed. Leah Mikdash-Shmailov, 2001). Some of the Jewish museums in Europe and the United States embarked on similar projects. Noteworthy in this respect are the exhibition catalogs co-edited by Vivian B. Mann of the Jewish Museum, New York (for example, *A Tale of Two Cities: Jewish Life in Frankfurt and Istanbul 1750–1870* (1982) and *Gardens and Ghettos: The Art of Jewish Life in Italy* (1989)). In Europe we are witnessing a revival as well, and the leading Jewish museums sponsored major catalogs as well (for example, *Orphan Objects: Facets of the Textiles Collection* – The Jewish Historical Museum, Amsterdam, 1997; *Textiles Catalogue* – Jewish Museum, Prague, 2003).

Despite the significant development of research in Jewish art during the last decades, the tasks facing scholars are still major and require many more of years of groundwork before the foundations of the field are firm and solid. The investigation of art and material culture of the Jews differs from that of other nations and presents problems that are particular to the development of Judaism and Jewish history. Sincere and serious research should take into account the special circumstances in which the objects were created, the Jewish ideas and customs underlying their production and usage, and the influences of the host culture.

Historians of Modern Jewish Art

The bourgeoning field of artistic expression by Jews in the 20th century opened new avenues of research. Among notable scholars of contemporary Jewish Art are Avram Kampf (1919–), who was connected with the Jewish Museum in New York. He analyzed the renaissance of Jewish religious art in the United States in his *Contemporary Synagogue Art* and *From Chagall to Kitaj, Jewish Experience in Twentieth Century Art*. Other prominent scholars include Ziva *Amishai-Maisels (1939–), winner of the Israel Prize in 2004 for her groundbreaking scholarship on Holocaust art, as in *Depiction and Interpretation – the Influence of the Holocaust on the Visual Arts*, Monica Bohm-Duchen in England and Milly Heyd (1945–) of the Hebrew University, who together with Matthew Baigell (1933–) of Rutgers University, published *Complex identities: Jewish Consciousness and Modern Art.*

Jewish Art Critics

The influence on the appreciation of artists and art of Jewish critics writing in the daily press, in journals, and in magazines has grown appreciably since the beginning of the 20th century. Foremost among them were the German writers Max Osborn, from 1914 to 1933, art critic of the *Vossische Zeitung*, Lothar Brieger (1879–1949), and Carl Einstein (1885–1940), an authority on postimpressionism; and the Americans Harold Rosenberg (1906–1978), Clement Greenberg (1906–1994), Hilton Kramer (1928–), art critic for the *New York Times* between 1965 and 1982, and Jed Perl (1951–), art critic for the *New Republic*. In Israel, the veteran artist and art critic Meir Ronnen wrote for the *Jerusalem Post* and Smadar Sheffi for *Haaretz*.

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[Herman S. Gundersheimer /Shalom Sabar (2nd ed.)]

ARTHURIAN LEGENDS. The only Hebrew version of the perennially popular Arthurian legends was written in northern Italy in 1279. It was anonymously translated into Hebrew from an Italian source now lost. Found in a unique manuscript in the Vatican Library, the Hebrew text consists of two stories from the Arthurian cycle and an apology. The apology, directed toward the various authorities that condemned the reading of romances and tales in the vernacular, was needed in order that the translation of such obviously secular and even salacious material could be sanctioned. The translator also stressed the moral benefits to be derived from reading the legends. The two reasons he offers are to drive away melancholy and to induce sinners to repent and return to God. The first Arthurian episode (based ultimately on the Old French prose work *Merlin*) describes the seduction of Igerne by King Uther Pendragon with the aid of Merlin, and the conception of Arthur. The second story is an incomplete fragment from the *Mort Artu*, which, as is learned from the apology, the translator had intended to complete: it includes Lancelot's love affair with King Arthur's wife Guinevere, his meeting with the amorous Maid of Askalot, and his jousts at the tournaments at Winchester. At this point the Hebrew story abruptly and inexplicably breaks off.

The 13th-century Italian Jewish translator's literary methods are as fascinating as are the Arthurian stories in Hebrew dress. The scribe not only translates from Italian, as is evidenced by the gloss: *l'distruzion* for the Hebrew word *shemad* ("destruction"), and several Italian words in the manuscript, but he also changed and Judaized the story. The scribe's manner of Judaization is evident at the outset of the romance; the apology itself is filled with terms from a familiar Jewish world. Various citations from the Bible and the Talmud are used to support the reading of the fox fables: R. *Johanan b. Zakkai and his knowledge of fox fables (BB 134a), the rabbinic commentary on the beneficial uses of a minstrel (Pes. 66b), and the tales read to the high priest on the Day of Atonement (Yoma 1:6–7) are all mentioned for the express purpose of establishing the permissibility of the Hebrew translation, and for showing that diversion is only a means to a higher sacred purpose.

Instrumental to the Judaization of the Arthurian romance are the scribe's choice of plot (the seduction of Igerne by the king, with its parallels to the David-Bath-Sheba story), additions and omissions, use of language, and treatment of certain passages to stress Jewish ideas. For instance, the feast at which Uther meets Igerne is described in the Old French sources as a Christmas feast. In the Hebrew version, the statement "Then the king made a great feast for all the people and all the princes" (based on Esth. 2:18) conveys the aura of a Purim feast. Another example of such transference of concepts occurs when the translator takes the talmudic word *tamḥui* ("a charity bowl from which food was distributed to the needy"), with its uniquely Jewish associations, to describe the grail, an overtly Christian symbol. The constant use of well-known biblical phrases reminds the reader of religious literature and produces the effect of biblical scenes in the midst of the Arthurian narrative. In this fashion, then, the text and the language interact in polyphonic fashion.

The scribe through his translation introduced the Arthurian legends into Hebrew; in effect, however, Hebrew literature is the ultimate source for a number of Arthurian motifs. Many romance writers of the 12th and 13th centuries (see: *Fiction) were clerics who knew the Bible; there was also much contact and exchange of midrashic information between Jewish exegetes and their Christian counterparts, and there were, therefore, numerous channels of transmission for the Jewish tales. Many of the Arthurian motifs, drawn from the Bible and from the Midrash, polarize about the Arthur-David nexus; other Arthurian legends (the Tristan cycle) have many motifs parallel to the adventures of the young biblical heroes Joseph and David.

The Hebrew Arthurian romance is untitled and was first published by Abraham Berliner in 1885. Upon this inaccurate edition, Moses *Gaster in 1909 published an English translation which toned down the sexual elements, neglected the biblical nuances, and condensed the text. Moritz *Steinschneider called the translation *Melekh Artus* ("King Artus"), and considered it one of the great curiosities in Hebrew literature. An edition of the above manuscript, with an English translation facing the Hebrew text, was published in 1969.

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[Curt Leviant]

ARTICLES OF FAITH. The term "dogma" which is well defined in Christianity has as such no place in Judaism. In Judaism the need for a profession of belief did not arise and rabbinic synods saw no necessity for drawing up concise formulas expressing Jewish beliefs. Theologically speaking, every Jew is born into God's covenant with the people of Israel, and membership in the community does not depend on credal affirmations of a formal character. Jewish beliefs are voiced in the form of prayer and in the twice-daily recital of the **Shema*.

In Rabbinic Literature

Outside the liturgy, formulations of specific aspects of the Jewish faith abound in rabbinic literature from the Mishnah onward. The need to define the Jewish position vis-à-vis heretical views (see *Heresy and Heretics) occasioned the statement of the Mishnah (Sanh. 10:1) that, while all Israelites have a share in the world to come, it is withheld from those who deny the resurrection of the dead, the divine origin of the Torah, and from the "*Epicurean." This statement comes close to formulating "dogmas" of Judaism, yet it is neither couched in the form of a credal affirmation nor is it comprehensive enough to serve as a total expression of Jewish beliefs. However, its insertion into the Mishnah invests it with authority, and it can readily be seen why Maimonides' famous formulation of 13 principles of Judaism was offered as a kind of elaboration of this particular passage. The formulation of articles of Jewish faith is largely a medieval development, even though *Philo (first century C.E.) had spoken of eight essential principles of scriptural religion: (1) existence of God; (2) His unity; (3) divine providence; (4) creation of the world; (5) unity of the world; (6) the existence of incorporeal ideas; (7) the revelation of the Law; and (8) its eternity (H.A. Wolfson, *Philo, Foundations of Religious Philosophy*, 1 (1947), 164ff.). In the Middle Ages it arose from the theological discussions which had started in Muslim **Kalām* and which then had spread to Jewish circles. The term *ikkarim* (lit. "roots"), the most widely used Hebrew term denoting the "principles" of Judaism, is a literal translation of the Arabic *uṣūl* denoting the "roots" of various disciplines (*Kalām*; the science of *Ḥadīth* or "tradition"; jurisprudence). The term *uṣūl al-din* ("the roots of religion") is synonymous with *Kalām*. In this sense Maimonides refers to the theologians employing the methods of *Kalām* as people concerned with *uṣūl al-dīn* (*ikkarei ha-dat*; Guide 3:51). Maimonides' formulation of articles of faith was not without precedent. *Hananel b. Hushi'el (in his commentary to Ex. 14:31) declared that faith is fourfold: belief (1) in God; (2) in the prophets; (3) in the world to come; and (4) in the advent of the Messiah. Among the Karaites the first enumeration of fundamental Jewish beliefs is found in Judah *Hadassi's (middle of the 12th century) *Eshkol ha-Kofer*. This author lists ten articles (*ishurim*) of faith: (1) God's unity and wisdom; (2) His eternity and unlikeness to any other being; (3) He is the Creator of the world; (4) Moses and the rest of the prophets were sent by God; (5) the Torah which has been given through Moses is true; (6) the Jews are obliged to study the Hebrew language in order to be able to understand the Torah fully; (7) the holy Temple in Jerusalem was chosen by God as the eternal dwelling place of His glory; (8) the dead will be resurrected; (9) there will be a Divine judgment; and (10) God will mete out reward and punishment. It is not clear whether Judah Hadassi offered this statement as an innovation on his part or whether he followed earlier authorities.

Maimonides

Maimonides' "Thirteen Principles" are set down in his commentary on the Mishnah by way of introducing his comments on *Sanhedrin* 10. Writing in Arabic, Maimonides presents these articles of faith as *uṣūl* ("roots") and *qawāʿid* ("fundamentals") of Jewish beliefs (*iʿtiqādāt*) and of the Law (*sharīʿa*). The Hebrew versions render *uṣūl* by *ikkarim* and *qawāʿid* by either *yesodot* or *ikkarim*. The term *uṣūl* acquires here a new meaning: it no longer denotes the topics of the *Kalām* investigations, but the fundamental tenets of faith or the concise abstracts of religion as seen through the eyes of a philosopher. Maimonides undertook such a presentation to teach the rank and file of the community the true spiritual meaning of the belief in the world to come (*ha-olam ha-ba*) and to disabuse their minds of crude, materialistic notions. Since the ultimate felicity of man depends on the possession of true concepts concerning God, the formulation and brief exposition of true notions in the realm of faith is meant to help the multitude to avoid error and to purify belief. The "fundamentals" listed by Maimonides are (1) the existence of *God which is perfect and sufficient unto itself and which is the cause of the existence of all other beings. (2) God's unity which is unlike all other kinds of unity. (3) God must not be conceived in bodily terms, and the anthropomorphic expressions applied to God in Scripture have to be understood in a metaphorical sense. (4) God is eternal. (5) God alone is to be worshiped and obeyed. There are no mediating powers able freely to grant man's petitions, and intermediaries must not be invoked. (6) *Prophecy. (7) *Moses is unsurpassed by any other prophet. (8) The entire *Torah was given to Moses. (9) Moses' Torah will not be abrogated or superseded by another divine law nor will anything be added to, or taken away from it. (10) God knows the actions of men. (11) God rewards those who fulfill the commandments of the Torah, and punishes those who transgress them (see *Reward and Punishment). (12) The coming of the *Messiah. (13) The *resurrection of the dead.

In a postscript Maimonides distinguishes between the "sinners of Israel" who, while having yielded to their passions, are not thereby excluded from the Jewish community or the world to come, and one who "has denied a root principle" (*kafar be-ikkar*). Such an individual has excluded himself from the community and is called a heretic (*min*) and Epicurean.

Maimonides thus attempted to invest his principles with the character of dogma, by making them criteria of orthodoxy and membership in the community of Israel; but it should be noted that his statement was a personal one and remained open to criticism and revision.

In their credal form ("I believe with perfect faith that…") Maimonides' "Thirteen Principles" appeared first probably in the Venice *Haggadah* of 1566. They are found in the Ashkenazi prayer book as an appendix to the regular morning service. Of the many poetic versions, the best known is the popular **Yigdal* hymn (c. 1300). This hymn has been adopted in practically all rites.

Maimonides' "Thirteen Principles" became the prototype of a succession of formulations of the Jewish creed which first merely varied in the number, order, and the articles of belief selected, but which eventually (in the 15th century) introduced methodological criteria for determining whether a certain belief could be regarded as fundamental. The discussion was at no time purely academic. It was stimulated by the controversy over the allegorical interpretations of traditional beliefs according to Aristotelian doctrine, and it focused on such articles of faith as *creatio ex nihilo*, individual providence, etc. The formulation of *ikkarim* was designed to accentuate the vital beliefs of Judaism and to strengthen Orthodoxy. It was also meant to define the position of the Jewish faith vis-à-vis Christianity.

Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries

In the 13th century David b. Samuel *Kokhavi and Abba Mari *Astruc b. Moses b. Joseph of Lunel offered fresh formulations of the creed. David Kokhavi in his (unpublished) *Migdal David* uses the term *ikkarim* to refer to the three elements of Judaism: (1) commandments; (2) beliefs; and (3) the duty to engage in philosophical speculation in order fully to understand the Torah (M. Steinschneider, *Hebr. Bibliographie*, 8 (1865), 63, 100–3). The "beliefs" are outlined in great detail under seven headings called "pillars" (*ammudim*) of the faith: (1) creation of the world; (2) freedom of the will; (3) divine providence; (4) divine origin of the Torah; (5) reward and punishment; (6) the coming of the Redeemer; and (7) resurrection. The author claims that these articles follow a logical order. Abba Mari, a defender of Orthodoxy in the Maimonidean controversy, arranged, in his *Minḥat Kena'ot* (ed. by M. Bisliches, 1838), Jewish beliefs under three principles: (1) God is eternal, incorporeal, and His unity is absolute simplicity (7–11); (2) *creatio ex nihilo* and its corollary, miracles (11–16); (3) God's individual providence (17–19). In the 14th century, Shemariah of Negropont (Crete), an Italian philosopher and exegete (d. after 1352), chiefly known for his efforts to reconcile Karaites and Rabbanites, presented five principles of Judaism relating to the existence of God: (1) incorporeality; (2) absolute unity; (3) creation; (4) creation in time; and (5) by a divine *fiat* (M. Steinschneider, *Catalogue… Muenchen*, no. 210). Another philosophical writer, David b. Yom Tov *Ibn Bilia of Portugal, in a treatise called *Yesodot ha-Maskil* (published in E. Ashkenazi's *Divrei Ḥakhamim* (1849), no. 8) supplemented Maimonides' 13 articles by 13 of his own. These additional principles include such dogmas as belief in angels, in the superiority of the Torah over philosophy, in the canonicity of the text of the Torah, and in good actions as a reward in themselves. In spite of their stress on the superiority of the Torah they bear a highly intellectual flavor.

Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries

The 15th century and the beginning of the 16th are particularly rich in works on Jewish dogmatics. Some of them are based on strictly methodological considerations, while others stress the purely revelational character of Jewish beliefs. To the first category belong the writings of Ḥasdai Crescas, Simeon b. Ẓemaḥ Duran, Joseph Albo, and Elijah del Medigo; to the second, those of Isaac Arama, Joseph Jabeẓ and Isaac Abrabanel.

HASDAI CRESCAS. Crescas' *Or Adonai* (completed in 1410) is essentially a treatise on dogmatics, the structure of which is determined by a sharp differentiation between various categories of belief. (1) The existence, (2) unity, and (3) incorporeality of God (1:3) form the three root principles (*shoresh vehatḥalah*) of Judaism. A second group of beliefs comprises the six fundamentals (*yesodot*) or pillars (*ammudim*) of the Jewish faith without whose recognition the concept of Torah loses its meaning (2:1–6): (1) God's knowledge of all beings; (2) His providence; (3) His omnipotence; (4) prophecy; (5) free will; and (6) the purpose of the Torah as instilling in man the love of God and thereby helping him to achieve eternal felicity. The third group represents true beliefs characteristic of Judaism and indispensable for Orthodoxy, yet not fundamental (3:1–8; part 2:1–3). Eight in number, they are (1) creation of the world; (2) immortality of the soul; (3) reward and punishment; (4) resurrection; (5) immutability of the Torah; (6) supremacy of Moses' prophecy; (7) divine instruction of the high priests by way of the Urim and Thummim; and (8) the coming of the Messiah. In addition there are three true beliefs connected with specific commandments: (1) prayers are answered by God; (2) repentance is acceptable to God; and (3) the Day of Atonement and the holy seasons are ordained by God. Finally Crescas lists 13 problems concerning which reason is the arbiter; these include such questions as: will the world last forever; are there more worlds than one; are the celestial spheres animate and rational; do the motions of the celestial bodies influence the affairs of men; are amulets and magic efficacious?

SIMEON BEN ZEMAH DURAN. Simeon b. Ẓemaḥ *Duran deals with the problem of dogmatics in his *Ohev Mishpat* (written in 1405; published, Venice, 1589) and *Magen Avot* (3 parts, Leghorn, 1785). He arranges Maimonides' 13 articles under three principles (*ikkarim*): (1) existence of God (implying His unity, incorporeality, eternity, and His being the only object of rightful worship); (2) revelation (implying prophecy, Moses' supremacy as a prophet, the divine origin of the Torah and its immutability); (3) reward and punishment (implying God's knowledge of things, providence, the coming of the

Messiah, resurrection). He finds these three dogmas indicated in the statement of the Mishnah *Sanhedrin* 10:1 (see above). He also mentions earlier attempts to reduce the dogmas to three, and draws a distinction between basic principles of the Torah and other beliefs, the denial of which do not constitute heresy but mere error.

JOSEPH ALBO. Albo's *Sefer ha-Ikkarim*, the most popular work on Jewish dogmatics, is indebted to both Crescas and Duran. Albo criticizes Maimonides' selection of principles, and finds some fault also with Crescas. Like Duran he finds his basic articles in three "root principles" (*ikkarim*): (1) existence of God; (2) divine origin of the Torah; and (3) reward and punishment. From these "root principles" stem derivative "roots" (*shorashim*) which, together with the former, constitute the divine Law. The existence of God implies His unity, incorporeality, independence of time, and freedom from defects. The divine origin of the Torah implies God's knowledge, prophecy, and the authenticity of divine messengers or lawgivers. Reward and punishment implies individual (in addition to general) providence (1:13–15). Of lower rank, although obligatory, are six beliefs (*emunot*), the denial of which does not constitute heresy: (1) the creation of the world in time and *ex nihilo*; (2) the supremacy of Moses' prophecy; (3) the immutability of the Torah; (4) the attainment of the bliss of the next world by the fulfillment of a single commandment; (5) resurrection; 6) coming of the Messiah (1:23).

ELIJAH DELMEDIGO. Elijah Delmedigo's *Beḥinat ha-Dat* (written in 1496; ed. by I.S. Reggio, 1833) is the last of the medieval works on Jewish dogmatics with a strong philosophic orientation. It reflects the doctrine of the "double truth" of the Christian Averroists (see *Averroes). Delmedigo distinguishes between basic dogmas (*shorashim*) which have to be accepted without interpretation (*perush; be'ur*) by masses and philosophers alike, and ramifications (*anafim*) which the masses must accept literally, while the philosophers are required to search for their deeper meaning. For Delmedigo Maimonides' 13 articles belong to the category of basic dogmas. Some of them he holds to be verifiable by reason (existence, unity and incorporeality of God), while the rest have to be taken on trust. The 13 articles are reducible to three: (1) existence of God; (2) prophecy; and (3) reward and punishment. Such topics as the "reasons of the commandments" belong to the category of ramifications as does the whole field of rabbinic *aggadah*. Here the philosopher must exercise great caution in publicizing his interpretations in areas where allegorizing may do harm to the unsophisticated.

ISAAC ARAMA. Isaac *Arama in his *Akedat Yizhak* criticizes Crescas and Albo who saw as the criterion for a "fundamental" of Judaism whether a certain belief was basic to the general concept of revelation, an approach which had tacitly equated Torah with revealed religion in a universal rational sense. According to Arama the Torah reveals principles above and supplementary to reason. Hence a belief in the existence, unity, eternity, and simplicity of God cannot rank as a principle of the Torah (Maimonides and his followers) nor can free will and purpose (Crescas). The principles (*ikkarim*) of the Torah have to be discovered in the Torah itself. They are embedded in the commandments (*mitzvot*), particularly in the laws relating to the Sabbath and the festivals. Arama counts six "principles of the faith" (*ikkarei ha-emunah*): (1) the createdness of the world (Sabbath); (2) God's omnipotence (Passover); (3) prophecy and divine revelation (Feast of Weeks); (4) providence (New Year); (5) repentance (Day of Atonement); (6) the world to come (Tabernacles; ch. 67; in ch. 55 the Sabbath is described as implying all the six principles). Arama lays particular stress on the dogma of creation as the essential dogma of the Torah (ch. 67).

JOSEPH JABEZ. Akin in spirit to Arama are his two contemporaries Joseph Jabez and Isaac Abrabanel. Jabeẓ wrote two small treatises on dogmatics, called *Ma'amar ha-Aḥdut* and *Yesod ha-Emunah* (first published together with his *Or ha-Ḥayyim* in Ferrara, 1554). In the first he rejects Maimonides', Crescas', and Albo's formulations of principles, substituting three of his own, all of which are explications of divine unity: (1) God alone is the Creator; (2) God alone is wondrously active in exercising providence; and (3) God alone will be worshiped in the messianic future. In the second he maintains that Maimonides' 13 principles are traceable to these three, but he now formulates them as: (1) createdness of the world (*ḥiddush ha-olam*); (2) providence; and (3) unity of God. The third dogma implies that God alone will be worshiped in the messianic future. In both treatises the belief in creation is considered the most fundamental principle.

ISAAC ABRABANEL. Isaac *Abrabanel's *Rosh Amanah* (written from 1499 to 1502; Eng. trans., M. Kellner, 1981) is a closely argued treatise on the "roots and principles" of the Jewish faith. Twenty-two of the work's 24 chapters are devoted to an analysis of Maimonides', Crescas', and Albo's respective positions. Abrabanel raises 28 "doubts" or objections to Maimonides' formulation of the creed, but, resolving these questions, he arrives at a complete vindication of Maimonides' views, while those of Crescas and Albo are found wanting. Abrabanel's own attitude, however, is close to Isaac Arama's. The search for "fundamental principles" has its place only in the human sciences which operate with "fundamental principles" that are either self-evident or borrowed from other, more fundamental, sciences. In the case of the Torah, divinely revealed, there is no exterior frame of reference that could furnish the fundamental principles of its laws and beliefs; everything contained therein has to be believed and there is no sense in trying to establish principles of Jewish belief. Were he to single out one principle of the divine Torah, Abrabanel states, he would select that of the createdness of the world (ch. 22).

Spinoza

The medieval Jewish philosophical tradition is still reflected in Spinoza who in his *Tractatus Theologico-Politicus* (publ.

1670) formulates seven "dogmas of universal faith" or "fundamental principles which Scripture as a whole aims to convey": (1) God's existence; (2) unity; (3) omnipresence; (4) supreme authority and power; (5) man's worship of Him in obedience; (6) the felicity of the obedient; (7) forgiveness of penitent sinners (ch. 14). Spinoza's scriptural religion stands between the "universal religion" of the philosopher and the "religion of the masses" (Introd.; chs. 4, 7).

Modern Period

Moses Mendelssohn, the pioneer of the modern phase in Judaism, formulates the following principles of the Jewish religion: (1) God, the author and ruler of all things, is one and simple; (2) God knows all things, rewards the good and punishes evil by natural and, sometimes, supernatural means; (3) God has made known His laws in the Scriptures given through Moses to the children of Israel. Mendelssohn rejects the Christian dogmas of the trinity, original sin, etc., as incompatible with reason, and stresses the harmony between religion and reason within Judaism (*Betrachtungen ueber Bonnets Palingenesie*, in: *Gesammelte Schriften*, 3 (1843), 159–66). The truths to be recognized by the Jew are identical with the eternal verities of reason, and they do not depend on a divine revelation. Only the laws of Judaism are revealed. Hence the Jewish religion does not prescribe belief nor does it lay down dogmas (symbols, articles of faith). The Hebrew term *emunah* means "trust" in the divine promises.

NINETEENTH AND TWENTIETH CENTURIES. Mendelssohn's distinction between the rational truths of Judaism and the revealed laws of the Torah did not appeal to the reformers of the 19th century, but it pervaded the catechisms and manuals of the Jewish religion written by the disciples of Mendelssohn in the early part of the century. It soon came up against opposition once the impact of *Kant's critique of rational theology made itself felt. Moreover, *Hegel's speculative interpretation of Christianity as the "absolute religion" was felt as a serious challenge. Solomon *Formstecher's *Religion des Geistes* (1841) and Samuel *Hirsch's *Religionsphilosophie der Juden* (1842) presented in their turn Judaism as the "absolute religion." In this changed climate of opinion Manuel *Joel (*Zur Orientierung in der Cultusfrage*, 1869) spoke of dogmas in Judaism as the essential prerequisite of its cult and ritual. Abraham *Geiger agreed with his repudiation of Mendelssohn and stressed the wealth of "ideas" with which Judaism entered history. He denied, however, the validity of the term "dogma" as applied to the Jewish religion, since the absence of ultimately fixed formulations of Jewish beliefs rendered the term "dogma" illegitimate. David *Einhorn, on the other hand, had no objection to using this term (*Das Prinzip des Mosaismus* (1854), 11–13). The same view was strongly expressed by Leopold Loew (*Juedische Dogmen* (1871), 138–49). The formulations of the Jewish creed by a number of Jewish theologians of the latter part of the 19th century manifest the strongly felt desire to offer some clear guidance on the essential affirmations of Judaism. To these belong Samuel Hirsch's *Systematischer Katechismus der israelitischen Religion* (1856); Solomon Formstecher's *Mosaische Religionslehre* (1860); and Joseph Aub's *Grundlage zu einem wissenschaftlichen Unterricht in der mosaischen Religion* (1865). The Orthodox creed found its powerful spokesman in Samson Raphael *Hirsch who in his *Choreb, Versuche ueber Jissroels Pflichten in der Zerstreuung* (1837; *Horeb: A Philosophy of Jewish Laws and Observances*, 1962) sought to interpret Judaism from within *halakhah*, expressing the view that "the catechism of the Jew is his calendar." Samuel David Luzzatto's *Yesodei ha-Torah* appeared in 1880, and Michael Friedlaender's *The Jewish Religion* in 1896. It was followed by Morris Joseph's *Judaism as Creed and Life* in 1903. Julien Weil wrote *La Foi d'Israel* (1926). Mordecai M. *Kaplan discussed "Creeds and Wants" in his *Judaism in Transition* (1941), 206–38. A later formulation of Jewish beliefs is given in the form of an epitome of Hermann Cohen's *Religion der Vernunft* in his *The Purpose and Meaning of Jewish Existence* (1964). A modification of Maimonides' creed in the light of modern biblical criticism is offered by Louis Jacobs in his *The Principles of Judaism* (1964).

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[Alexander Altmann]

ARTIFICIAL INSEMINATION. Following earlier experiments on animals, the first human baby produced through artificial insemination on humans was born in the United States in 1866. Since then, particularly in recent decades, tens of thousands of children have been conceived artificially by a physician injecting the husband's or, more usually, a donor's semen into the mother's tract. Such operations are now commonplace, though mostly clandestine, in many countries, including Israel. They raise grave moral, religious, and legal problems. According to the preponderance of Christian teaching and of Western legislation as currently interpreted by the courts, a married woman's recourse to artificial insemination by donor constitutes adultery and any offspring so produced is illegitimate.

A major principle determining the attitude of a Jewish law is enshrined in a talmudic passage which is by far the first literary reference to the feasibility of an impregnation without any physical contact between the parents – a possibility evidently unknown to the Greeks or other nations of antiquity. Discussing the biblical law requiring a high priest to marry a virgin (Lev. 21:13), a third-century sage asked whether a pregnant virgin would be qualified for such a marriage, the pregnancy being explained as due to an accidental impregnation after she bathed in water previously fertilized by a male. The question is answered affirmatively (Ḥag. 15a). This indicates that a conception *sine concubito* does not compromise a woman's legal status as a virgin. Several medieval sources further imply that no bastardy (*mamzerut*) attaches to children born in this way of parents who, had they had normal relations with each other, would have committed adultery or incest (*Alfa Beta de-Ben Sira*, in J.D. Eisenstein (ed.), *Oẓar Midrashim* (1915), 43; and R. Perez of Corbeil, *Haggahot Semak*, see *Turei Zahav* on YD, 195:7). These references are so singular that one of them was quoted as "a legend of the rabbis" by the 16th-century physician *Amatus Lusitanus to clear a nun who had miscarried from the suspicion of fornication.

Following these precedents, virtually all rabbinic rulings on artificial insemination by a donor have refused to brand the act as adultery or the product as a bastard (**mamzer*), with the notable exception of the very first responsum on the subject dated 1930 (J.L. Zirelsohn, *Ma'arekhei Lev* (1932), no. 73). Nevertheless, rabbinic opinion utterly condemns the practice, mainly on moral rather than purely legal grounds. The Jewish conscience, it is emphasized in numerous responsa, recoils in horror from reducing human generation to such artificiality, arbitrariness, and public deceit, from placing into doubt the paternity of children (those conceived by artificial insemination being fraudulently registered in their putative fathers' names, thus investing all paternity claims with some uncertainty), from the resultant risk of incestuous marriages between blood-relations (conceived by a common donor) unknown to each other, from depriving fathers (i.e., the donors) and their natural children of their mutual rights and duties (e.g., maintenance, honor, inheritance), and from many other abuses which would inevitably become rampant.

On artificial insemination from the husband, usually indicated when some impediment in the wife renders a conception by the natural act impossible, most rabbinic authorities adopt a more lenient view, permitting the practice under certain conditions if the duty of procreation cannot otherwise be fulfilled.

The more recent issues of surrogacy and cloning present more complex problems that rabbinic thought is just beginning to contend with.

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[Immanuel Jakobovits]

ARTOM, Italian family originating from *Asti, Piedmont. The origin of the name is unknown but, like the rest of the Asti community, the family probably came from France. Various members of the family have achieved distinction, especially in politics, science, and literature. ISAAC (1829–1900) was a diplomat and writer. During the revolt against Austria in 1848, he fought in the students' battalion. On leaving the university, he joined the Foreign Office and in 1858 became private secretary to Count Cavour, who defended him against clerical opposition. After Cavour's death he was appointed minister plenipotentiary to Denmark (1862). He represented Italy during the 1866 peace negotiations with Austria and on the outbreak of the Franco-Prussian War was sent on a diplomatic mission to Vienna. Undersecretary of state for foreign affairs from 1870 to 1876, in 1877 he was elected to the senate of the kingdom, becoming the first Jewish member. He wrote several odes and poems and also published political, economic, and historical works. Isaac's grandson ALESSANDRO (1867–1927) was a physicist, specializing in radiotelegraphy. He invented the Artom system of telegraphy, and also made discoveries in dielectrics and meteorology. Alessandro was scientific advisor to the Italian navy, and was posthumously awarded the title of baron. A monument in his memory was erected in Asti. BENJAMIN (1835–79), a rabbi, was born in Asti. After occupying rabbinical posts in Italy he became haham of the Sephardi community in London (1866), where he was especially active in education. An eloquent preacher in English, he published a collection of sermons (1873) and also wrote odes and prayers in Hebrew and poems in Italian. ERNEST (1869–1935), diplomat and historian, was the nephew of Isaac. As a member of parliament, he supported a national expansionist policy, founding the Italian Colonial Institute in 1909 and inspiring the Italian Libyan campaign of 1911–12. In 1919 he was made a senator. Ernest published many historical studies on the Risorgimento and a monograph on Isaac, *L'opera politica del Senatore I. Artom* (1906). CAMILLO (b. 1886), a composer, was author of several musical works including the prize-winning *Variazioni sinfoniche*. His brother EUGENIO (b. 1896), attorney and author, rose to the rank of lieutenant colonel in World War I. In 1926 he was appointed attorney to the Supreme Court. An anti-Fascist liberal, he held important public positions (1943–46). In 1946 he became professor of history at Florence University and published several historical and political works. EMANUELE (1915–1944) was the author of an unfinished history of the Jews in Italy, published posthumously in *Rassegna Mensile di Israel* (vols. 15 and 16). He openly expressed anti-assimilationist views during the rise of the Fascists and later founded a resistance group (1943) but was captured and tortured by the Germans. His diary *Diari, gennaio 1940–febbraio 1944* (1966) is of special interest. Other important members of this family were the biologist Cesare *Artom and the scholar Elia Samuele *Artom.

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ARTOM, CESARE (1879–1934), Italian biologist. Artom was born in Asti and went to the university at Turin. In 1903 he was appointed assistant in zoology at the University of Cagliari. Here he acquired his lifelong interest in the biological problems presented by the brine-shrimp *Artemia salina*, which abounds in the nearby salt lake of San Bartolomeo. After a period of study in the Wuerzburg laboratory of Theodor Boveri (1908–12), Artom held academic posts at Genoa, Rome, Siena, and Sassari. In 1926 he was appointed to the chair of zoology and comparative anatomy at Pavia, which he held until his death. Apart from his writings on the brine-shrimp, he made more general contributions on the chromosomal and cellular aspects of heredity.

[Mordecai L. Gabriel]

ARTOM, ELIA SAMUELE (1887–1965), Italian rabbi and author. Born in Turin, Artom graduated from the Rabbinical College in Florence and served as rabbi in various communities, among them Tripoli (Libya, 1920–23) and Florence (1926–35), where he also taught at the university and at the Rabbinical College. He settled in Palestine in 1939, but from 1953 to 1965 he spent part of the year in Italy, teaching at the Rabbinical Schools of Turin and Rome. Among his many pupils was his son Emanuele (1916–). Artom's son Reuven was killed in action during the Israel War of Independence in 1948. A close friendship bound Artom to the distinguished scholar Umberto (M.D.) *Cassuto, who was his brother-in-law. Artom's work includes numerous biblical studies, and he also wrote on literature, grammar, history, *halakhah*, and Jewish thought. Artom's major work is a Hebrew commentary, with introduction, to the Bible (edited by M.D. Cassuto, 1952–57) and a Hebrew translation, commentary, and introduction to the Apocrypha (1958–67). His bibliography is contained in a posthumously published essay on the spiritual problems of modern Israel (*Ḥayyei Yisrael ha-Ḥadashim* 1966).

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[Alfredo Mordechai Rabello]

ARTSCROLL, U.S. Judaica publishing house. Mesorah Publications, best known through its imprimatur, ArtScroll, was established in Brooklyn, New York, in 1976 by Rabbis Meir *Zlotowitz and Nosson *Scherman. It has since grown into one of the largest, most financially successful, and innovative Judaica publishing houses in the English-speaking world. It has well-established markets throughout the U.S., Canada, the U.K., Australia, and South Africa, as well as the anglophone community in Israel, and it enjoys a growing presence in French-, Spanish-, and Russian-language Judaica markets in the Former Soviet Union, France, Argentina, Mexico, and elsewhere. *ArtScroll* furnishes this international market with bilingual Bibles, liturgical and talmudic texts, *halakhic* commentaries, and various "non"-religious genres, including popular history books, biographies and memoirs, youth literature, novels, pop-psychology and self-help books, cookbooks, and curriculum materials for primary Jewish education.

Although *ArtScroll* defines itself as a totally independent Torah publisher, without ties to any of the major institutions of Jewish public life, its editors and authors are intimately related to the **ḥaredi* yeshivah world. *ArtScroll*'s primary mission is to translate (in the sense of moving both from *leshon ha-kodesh* to English and from erudite to popular) Jewish canonical texts, supplanting what the press and its supporters regard as inadequate, distorted, or otherwise illegitimate representations of Jewish ritual practice, historical imagination, and theoretical knowledge, and replacing these with "corrected" editions. Eschewing many of the norms of translation and commentary familiar to other English-language publishers (such as the incorporation of philological and archaeological evidence from diverse sources), the *ArtScroll* cadre seeks a return to what it defines as "Torah-true" interpretations of Jewish texts, the authenticity of which is secured by *ArtScroll*'s close association with the *gedolim* of the yeshivah world. On these terms, *ArtScroll* functions as a vehicle for instilling a deeper understanding of Jewish tradition, a more intensive engagement with Jewish textual practice, and a greater observance of Jewish law, all defined from an unapologetically *ḥaredi* perspective.

ArtScroll has won the loyalty of a large, and apparently growing, constituency of readers and users of Jewish books – especially their *Siddur*, *Chumash*, and *Talmud*, which enjoy considerable appeal among both centrist (or "modern") and *ḥaredi* Orthodox Jews, as well as "Conservadox" Jews, who have become disaffected with the mainstream Conservative movement. Thus *ArtScroll* has effectively displaced many of the key liturgical works of English-speaking Orthodox Jews for the past two generations, such as the *Birnbaum Siddur,* the *Hertz Chumash*, and even the *siddurim* of De Sola Pool and Singer (in the U.K.). More broadly, the press has a commanding presence in Jewish libraries, bookstores, day schools, and community centers throughout the English-speaking world. In part, these successes can be attributed to *ArtScroll*'s distinct institutional structure (operating both as a nonprofit organization and as a business venture), the pool of authors and translators with whom the press works, and its keen marketing sense. *Artscroll*'s prayer books, for instance, are produced in various formats, including interlinear translations and transliterated versions, in different sizes, for daily or weekly usage, as well as slightly modified editions catering to specific clienteles. These include versions of the *ArtScroll Siddur* for Ashkenazi, ḥasidic, and Sephardi services, as well as versions specifically designed for the Orthodox Union, and – to the surprise of many observers – an arrangement with the *Rabbinical Council of America to produce a modified version of the *ArtScroll Siddur* bearing the RCA imprimatur, which included the prayer for the State of Israel, omitted from the standard, haredi version. *ArtScroll* has also embarked on large-scale translation projects that have had little precedent (and not much success) among other English-language Judaica publishers, such as in the case of their widely acclaimed, 73-volume *Schottenstein Talmud* (completed in 2005), which involved a remarkable array of sponsors, translators, and talmudic authorities from both within and outside the *ḥaredi* world.

Despite – or perhaps, because of – its considerable market successes, *ArtScroll* is no stranger to controversy. The press has in fact been a key touchstone in recent struggles among *ḥaredi* and non-*ḥaredi* Jews for authority to interpret the sources of legitimate knowledge and practice in Jewish texts and in public life. On the one hand, there exists a significant population for whom *ArtScroll* books are narrowly "ideological" and are seen to promulgate interpretations of Jewish tradition associated with what some describe as the demagoguery of the *ḥaredi* yeshivah world. *ArtScroll*'s detractors have thus expressed considerable indignation over the way the press translates Jewish texts, as well as its method of selecting commentaries from classical sources, and even the wording of *ArtScroll*'s own commentaries (a famous case is the debate over the translation of *Shir ha-Shirim*, which presents an allegorical rendering of God's relation to Israel rather than a literal, sensual translation). Others have criticized *ArtScroll* for legitimating the Jewish reader's reliance upon the English language at the expense of *leshon ha-kodesh*, enabling one to appear well versed in Jewish knowledge without having made the requisite effort to engage with the original sources. But for a much larger constituency, *ArtScroll* books are praised as instructive, meaningful, authentic, and even empowering. Its enthusiasts thus claim that an "*ArtScroll* revolution" has facilitated an unprecedented degree of access to Jewish knowledge and confidence in ritual performance among English-speaking Jews, forming a readership that extends from the erudite to the culturally illiterate and that transcends the traditional markers of institutional affiliation or local custom. At a further remove, *ArtScroll* has precipitated a reaction among its competitors that one is tempted to describe as an "ArtScrollification" of the Jewish liturgical field as a whole: most notably, with the recent publication of *Eitz Chaim* (the new Conservative *chumash*, designed explicitly to "respond" to *ArtScroll*'s success), and *Mishkan Tefillah* (the new Reform *siddur,* which incorporates many design elements, editorial structure, and instructional material found in *ArtScroll*). Whatever the position taken with regard to *ArtScroll*'s legitimacy as a translator, interpreter, and popularizer of Jewish literature, it would be difficult to ignore the cultural impact this press has had on the modern English-language Jewish public sphere.

[Jeremy Stolow (2nd ed.)]

ARTZI, SHLOMO (1949–), Israeli pop-rock singer-songwriter. Artzi was born at Alonei Abba in Galilee. He made his first public appearance as a singer as a high school student, at an international youth conference in Spain. Like many of his contemporaries Artzi began his musical career during his compulsory national service, though due to his high medical profile he initially began his three-year stint in the IDF as a regular serviceman. It was only a year later that he gained a slot in the Navy band.

In stark contrast with his later career, Artzi debuted with the Navy troupe as a backing vocalist but soon made an impact, becoming the band's soloist in their next show, "Rhapsody in Blue." Artzi's spots in the show included "*Ke-she-Ehyeh Gaddol*" ("When I'm Older"), "*Ha-Malakh Gavriel*" ("Angel Gabriel"), and "*Anshei Ha-Ẓefarde'a Anshei ha-Demamah*" ("The Frogmen, the Silent Ones"), all of which became hits on the pop charts and the road to Artzi's stardom was open. His stellar status was sealed when he won the National Song Festival in 1970, performing in his navy uniform, with a song called "*Pittom Akhshav, Pittom ha-Yom*" ("Suddenly Now, Suddenly Today"). Later that year he released his first solo record, *Shlomo Artzi, The First Record*, which included a new version of "*Pittom Akhshav, Pittom ha-Yom*," and received the prestigious David Harp's award. This was to be the first of many awards.

In 1971 he recorded his second solo effort, *Al Anashim* ("About People"), which primarily comprised original compositions, and took part in the musical movie *Ḥasamba ve-Na'arei ha-Hefker* ("Hasamba and the Gang"). The following year he teamed up with former Navy buddies Dadi Schlessinger and Etchie Stroh to form the Geverret Tapu'akh (Madam Apple) trio, which released four records between 1972 and 1975.

In 1975 it looked like Artzi was about to embark on an international career, when he recorded a single with German lyrics for Decca Telefunken. He was also asked by Switzerland to represent it at that year's Eurovision Song Contest, but ultimately represented Israel with "*At ve-Ani*" ("You and I"), which placed eleventh.

It was three years later that Artzi really hit the jackpot, with his 1978 album *Gever Holekh Le'Ibbud* ("A Man Loses His Way"), on which Artzi managed to lose his image as the baby-faced teen idol and take on a new angst-filled persona. It was an image that was to serve him well and almost all his releases to date have been big sellers.

After teaming up with producer Louis Lahav, in 1984, Artzi recorded *Tirkod* ("Dance") and was voted Singer of the Year. His 1988 release *Ḥom Yuli-August* ("July–August Heat") was the first double album ever made by an Israeli solo artist and, in 2000, his *Ahavtiḥem* CD became his biggest seller to date.

[Barry Davis (2nd ed.)]

ARTZI, YITZHAK (**Herzig**; 1920–2003), Zionist activist, Israeli politician, leader of Romanian Jewry in Israel. Born in Siret (Bukovina) into a ḥasidic family, Artzi received both a traditional and modern education, studying literature and philosophy at Onescu College for Jewish Students, Bucharest, Romania (1940–44). In 1931 he joined Pirḥei Agudat Israel, moving to Ha-No'ar ha-Ẓiyyoni in 1933 and becoming one of its leaders in 1940 after moving to Bucharest. In 1943 he was a member of Ezra (the commission for the aid and rescue of Jews deported to Transnistria) and in December 1943–January 1944 he was part of the official delegation sent to prepare the return of Transnistria orphans to Romania. After World War II he reorganized Ha-No'ar ha-Ẓiyyoni and became a member of the Zionist Executive of Romania. In September 1946 he and his wife left Romania as illegal emigrants to Palestine, but were arrested and sent to Cyprus. They entered Palestine in September 1947. In 1948 Artzi was among the founders of kibbutz Allonei Abba. In 1951 he moved to Tel Aviv and in 1953–57 studied at the School of Law and Economics there, where he became a lawyer. In 1952 he worked at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and changed his name from Herzig to Artzi. From September 1953 to November 1955 he edited the Hebrew daily *Zemanim*. In 1958 he became general secretary of the Progressive Party, and after the founding of the Liberal Party (1961) became one of its two general secretaries. After the party split and the breakaway Independent Liberal Party was formed, Artzi became its general secretary (1965) and director of the Aliyat ha-No'ar Department of the Jewish Agency (1965–69). In 1974 he became deputy mayor and director of the Culture, Youth, and Sport Dept. of the Tel Aviv Municipality. Artzi remained a member of the Municipal Council of Tel Aviv until 1993. In 1984–88 he was a member of the Knesset. Artzi was active in the Claims Conference of the Jews against Germany. He encouraged the study of Romanian-Jewish history and the Holocaust, and was co-president of the Association of Romanian-born Jews in Israel; honorary president and columnist of the Romanian-language daily *Ultima Ora*, Tel Aviv; and president of the World Association of Bukovina-born Jews. In 1998 he published his memoirs in Hebrew, *Davka Ẓiyyoni*.

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[Lucian-Zeev Herscovici (2nd ed.)]

ARUM, ROBERT (**Bob**; 1931–), U.S. boxing promoter, member of the International Boxing Hall of Fame. One of two dominant promoters of his era, Arum promoted more than 400 title fights. Arum was born in the Crown Heights section of Brooklyn and graduated from New York University in 1953 and cum laude from Harvard Law School in 1956. He was hired by Attorney General Robert Kennedy to work for the Justice Department, leaving in 1959 to become a partner in a private law firm. Arum met Muhammad Ali in 1966 and set up a company called Main Bout, Inc. to promote his first fight: Ali's title fight with George Chuvalo, the first fight Arum had ever seen in person. On September 15, 1978, Arum promoted a then record four world title bouts in one night at the Superdome. The boxers he promoted include Roberto Duran, Julio Cesar Chavez, Oscar De La Hoya, George Foreman, and Larry Holmes.

[Elli Wohlgelernter (2nd ed.)]

ARUNDI, ISAAC (**Ibn**; 14th century), philosophical writer, probably from Ronda (Lat. Arundi; Andalusia). He apparently lived in Italy and perhaps Provence. Arundi, who knew Arabic, wrote a commentary on Job, in which he frequently quotes Aristotle and his commentators Themistius and Averroes and in which he disputes the views of his contemporary Levi b. Gershom. A defective manuscript of the commentary is in Cambridge (S.M. Schiller-Szinessy, *Catalogue…*, vol. 1, no. 67) and there are copies at Paris and Oxford (Neubauer, Cat. 2279.4). Arundi also mentions a work entitled *Milḥamot Adonai*, which was directed against Levi ben Gershom's work bearing the same name.

ARUSI, ABRAHAM BEN MOSES HA-LEVI (1878–1934), prolific author and folklorist. Born in Kawkabān, north of San'a, Arusi immigrated to Ereẓ Israel in 1923 and settled in Maḥaneh Yehudah near Petaḥ Tikvah. In Yemen he had traveled from one place to another in order to look for employment. In this way he was able to collect traditional stories and legends about the first Jewish inhabitants of Yemen, of the miracles they had experienced throughout the generations and of Jewish historical personalities in general. After he immigrated to Israel he gathered 85 folklore stories as well as 300 Yemenite Jewish-Arabic proverbs in *Kore ha-Dorot* (Ben-Menaḥem, 1950; Ḥassid, 1956). On his way to Ereẓ Israel he had also stayed in Aden for a few years. His impressions also appeared as part of *Kore ha-Dorot* (Naḥum, 1986). He was talented not only in storytelling but in writing poetry as well, writing in the genre of traditional Yemenite poetry and Sephardi poetry. He left over 15 compositions, including numerous poems which were only partially published. He collected his poems in a special *dīwān* (manuscript), many of which were copied in other manuscripts. In his prose and poetry (detailed bibliography in Ratzaby, 1994, 401–2), Arusi tended to react to personal experience as well as to historical events such as the establishment of the Hebrew University in Jerusalem and the events of 1929 in Ereẓ Israel (*Dam Ẓaddikim*, 1930). He specifically wrote about the spiritual and social transformations which occurred in the Jewish settlement in Ereẓ Israel and especially among the Yemenite Jews. A significant part of his writings deal with the spiritual deterioration and secularization that became widespread among the Yemenite Jews who deserted their fathers' traditions (*Azharot Yegar Sahauta*, 1924). In spite of their importance, his essays were not used in the sociological research of the Yemenite Jewry of Ereẓ Israel.

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[Yosef Tobi (2nd ed.)]

ARVEY, JACOB M. (1893–1977), U.S. attorney and politician. Arvey was born in Chicago, qualified as a lawyer, and entered politics in 1918. In 1923 he was elected alderman from Chicago's heavily Jewish 24th ward, a position he held until 1941; from 1930 to 1934 he also served as master in chancery of the Cook County Court. Under the administration of Mayor Edward Kelly (1933–47), with whom he was closely associated, Arvey rose to prominence in Chicago's powerful Democratic Party machine.

After service as colonel in the Judge Advocate General's Department in the Pacific during World War II, Arvey became a Democratic national committeeman from Illinois, a key post which enabled him to dominate local and state political life and to control the large Illinois delegation at national Democratic conventions over a period of 20 years. He was largely responsible for putting into office such figures as Chicago Mayor Martin H. Kennelly and Senator Paul Douglas. More than any other single individual, it was Arvey who masterminded the campaign that culminated in Stevenson's nomination for the presidency in 1952. His generally liberal outlook, his ability to adapt to changing times, and his eye for promoting individuals of unusual political intelligence and stature served to distinguish him from the ordinary political boss.

Throughout his career Arvey was highly active in Jewish life. He was chairman of the Israel Bond Campaign in Chicago. A Jewish National Fund reclamation project and a forest in Israel bear his name.

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[Hillel Halkin]

ARVIT (Heb. עַרְבִית; "evening" prayer), one of the three regular daily services. The popular name *Ma'ariv* (going back at least to the 16th century) is derived from the occurrence of this word at the beginning and end of the first blessing preceding the **Shema*. Its recital was originally regarded as optional (Ber. 27b, following R. Joshua against the view of Gamaliel II) since the evening service did not correspond to any set Temple sacrifice (unlike the morning and afternoon services). Tradition attributed the institution of *Arvit* to the patriarch Jacob (based on Gen. 28:11; cf. Ber. 26b). In the Talmud, opinions differ as to whether a third daily prayer is obligatory or optional but Psalms 55:18 and Daniel 6:11 are cited to support the view that prayers must be said three times daily. In common with the other services, its recital is the duty of the individual even outside the synagogue and congregational service.

In its present form the service consists chiefly of **Barekhu* (the invitation to congregational prayer), followed by the *Shema* and its framework of benedictions, and the **Amidah*. When *Arvit* is said after nightfall, the service generally opens with Psalms 134. On weekdays the service opens with Psalms 78:38 and 20:10. According to the Mishnah the reading of the *Shema* was obligatory at nighttime. This was based on the biblical phrase "when thou liest down" (Deut. 6:7; 11:19) and only the recital of its third section (Num. 15:37–41) was a matter of controversy (Ber. 1:5).

The theme of the first of the two blessings preceding the *Shema* is the incidence of evening and night. The second blessing is a thanksgiving for the love shown by God for Israel by revealing His Torah to them. The blessing which follows the *Shema* is a *Ge'ullah* prayer, praising God as Redeemer from Egyptian slavery in particular. The two blessings preceding the *Shema* and the one following it thus follow the pattern established in the morning prayer. They are followed by a night prayer *Hashkivenu* ("Grant us to lie down in peace"), imploring God's protection from a variety of dangers and mishaps. The final blessing existed in two versions, one Babylonian and one Palestinian. In the latter a prayer for peace and Zion-Jerusalem (*ha-pores sukkat shalom*; "who spreads the tabernacle of peace") replaces the more general formula (*shomer ammo Yisrael la-ad*; "who guards His people Israel forever"). The Babylonian version is now used on weekdays; the Palestinian on Sabbaths and festivals.

According to the Ashkenazi rite, a group of scriptural verses beginning with Psalms 89:53 (*barukh Adonai le-olam*; "blessed be the Lord for evermore"), and which originally may have numbered 18, is said between *Hashkivenu* and the *Amidah*. It is a late addition, not found in the Sephardi rite but given in **Maḥzor Vitry*. Later, an additional night prayer (*barukh Adonai ba-yom*; "blessed be the Lord by day") and a benediction expressing messianic hopes (*yiru einenu*; "may our eyes behold") were attached to this. Elijah of Vilna discontinued this custom and those who follow his *nusaḥ* (e.g., most Ashkenazim in Israel) omit the whole addition.

The *Amidah* is then read silently. This is the service to which the Mishnah and Talmud refer when they speak of *tefillat ha-erev* or *tefillat arvit* (Ber. 4:1; Ber. 27b). *Arvit* eventually came to be considered as a statutory prayer, though in token of its optional character, the *Amidah* is not repeated by the reader even in congregational prayer; further blessings could intervene between it, and the *Ge'ullah* blessing (cf. *ibid.* 4b, 9b) and the half *Kaddish* which originally marked the end of the service is recited before the *Amidah*.

The *Amidah* is followed by the full *Kaddish*. In post-talmudic times this was still preceded by **Taḥanun* and some other additions found in the morning service before the *Kaddish*. **Aleinu le-Shabbe'aḥ* concludes the service, though in some rites further psalms were added.

The evening service on Sabbaths and festivals differs in some details. Thus on Friday evening, the service is preceded by **Kabbalat Shabbat*, while the *Amidah* (which consists of the usual first and last three benedictions with a special Sabbath one between them) is followed by an abbreviated repetition consisting of Genesis 2:1–3, a shortened version of the *Avot* benediction, a summary of the seven benedictions of the *Amidah*, the middle (fourth) benediction in full, and *Kaddish*. On Sabbaths and festivals **Kiddush* is recited here in many rites (except on the first day(s) of Passover), originally for the benefit of wayfarers. The custom to follow *Hashkivenu* with Exodus 31:16–17 on Sabbath and similarly appropriate verses on the various festivals was abolished in the *nusaḥ* of Elijah of Vilna. On Sabbath and festivals the service ends with the singing of **Yigdal* or **Adon Olam*.

Arvit at the conclusion of the Sabbath follows the normal pattern except for the addition of a **Havdalah* formula to the fourth benediction of the *Amidah* and of sundry readings after its conclusion. These latter consist of biblical and talmudical passages of varying length and are not recited in all rites. At the conclusion of the Sabbath it is the general custom to preface the *Arvit* with the chanting of Psalms 144 and 67. Ideally, *Arvit* should be recited after nightfall and before dawn. It may, however, be recited after twilight and, to meet the convenience of worshipers, it is often immediately preceded by the *Minḥah* service on weekdays.

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[Alexander Carlebach]

ARYEH JUDAH HARARI (13th–14th centuries), *paytan*. The name Harari probably indicates that he lived in Montpellier. He wrote a three-part *Tokheḥah, Shifkhu be-Veit El Siḥah*, which is very similar to the *Tokheḥah, Ba'u Yemei Pekuddatkhem* by Aryeh Judah b. Levi ha-Yarḥi (i.e., of Lunel). It is possible that the two poets are identical and the difference in surnames is to be attributed to a change of residence. Harari may also have been the author of several poems which have his first name in acrostic: *Esh u-Mayim Eikh Davaku*, about the power of the elements and of love (printed with Gabirol's *Tikkun Middot ha-Nefesh*, ed. Lunéville (1807), 6); *Demut Kisse Kavod*, an introduction to *Nishmat* (published by S.D. Luzzatto, *Tal Orot* (1881), 45, no. 57, wrongly attributed by S. Philipp to Judah Halevi); *Ha-Parah Od Yegal El* also has the designation Halevi in the acrostic.

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ARYEH JUDAH LEIB BEN EPHRAIM HA-KOHEN (1658–1720), Moravian rabbi. Aryeh was the younger son of Ephraim b. Jacob ha-Kohen, rabbi of Ofen. He studied under his father together with his nephew Ẓevi Hirsch *Ashkenazi (the Ḥakham Ẓevi). His elder brother Hezekiah died in the plague which broke out in Ofen in 1678 and Aryeh was taken ill. According to his own statement (introduction to the responsa *Sha'ar Efrayim*) his father prayed that he be taken instead of his son. Aryeh Leib recovered; but his father succumbed to the plague. Before he died, he ordered his son to publish his books. After the death of his mother in 1684, Aryeh Judah decided to immigrate to Ereẓ Israel with his family and they were joined by Aaron, son of his deceased brother Hezekiah. They arrived in Jerusalem in 1685. There he began to arrange his father's book for publication although he found the preparatory work difficult; "it involved much trouble because of the confusing handwriting and the loss of many pages." About a year later he returned to Prague and published it under the title *Sha'ar Efrayim* (Sulzbach, 1688). It comprises 150 responsa on the four parts of the Shulḥan Arukh. The end of the work contains *Kunteres Aḥaron* ("Last Pamphlet") consisting of Aryeh's explanatory notes on the Talmud and the *Tur*, *Ḥoshen Mishpat*. Aryeh later returned to Ereẓ Israel, where he died in Safed. His son Jedidiah, pupil and later son-in-law of Abraham Yiẓḥaki (the Sephardi rabbi of Jerusalem), also wrote responsa, only one of which was published.

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[Yehoshua Horowitz]

ARYEH JUDAH LEIB (The "Mokhi'aḥ") OF POLONNOYE (d. 1770), ḥasidic exegete and popular preacher in Poland. Aryeh may have been the first of the early Ḥasidim to accept the charismatic leadership of *Israel b. Eliezer Ba'al Shem Tov, the founder of modern *Ḥasidism. As a preacher, he acquired considerable popular influence and traveled among the communities of the Ukraine and Galicia, which gave him opportunities to spread Ḥasidism. Most of his life was spent at Polonnoye. Aryeh's main theme was of moral exhortation to the simple religious life. He spoke out against overestimation of philosophical and casuistic methods in learning, emphasizing, as did the Ba'al Shem Tov, the primacy of prayer in the scale of religious values. Some of his sermons and exegetical commentaries were collected in *Kol Aryeh* (1798). In *Kol Aryeh*, several dicta of the Besht, unknown from other sources, have been preserved.

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ARYEH LEIB BEN ELIJAH (1808–1888), Ukrainian rabbi and halakhist. Aryeh Leib was born in Satanov. For a time he engaged in trade, but before 1834, he was *av bet din* of Zaslav (now Izyaslav, Ukraine), a position he apparently held until his death. He corresponded on halakhic matters with leading authorities, including Solomon *Kluger. His works are *Arugat ha-Bosem* (1869), novellae on the *Yoreh De'ah* section of the Shulḥan Arukh (1–110), including some responsa; *Shem Aryeh* (1874), responsa to which were added two treatises later republished separately under the same title (1914). His works received the rare approbation of Joseph Saul *Nathanson. He used to sign his halakhic decisions "Aryeh Leibush Bolichover" (Bolichov was his father's birthplace).

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[Abraham David]

ARYEH LEIB BEN SAMUEL ẒEVI HIRSCH (1640–1718), Polish rabbi. Aryeh Leib was the grandson of Joel *Sirkes. He studied under his stepfather David ha-Levi, author of the *Turei Zahav*, and later under Joshua Hoeschel of Cracow. At the age of 23, he was appointed rabbi of Zwierz (in the district of Lemberg) and five years later of Kamorna. In 1666 his stepfather sent him and his stepbrother Isaiah ha-Levi to Constantinople to Shabbetai Ẓevi, who welcomed them and expressed his concern over the persecution of the Jews in 1648–51. Later he was rabbi of Stopnica (1677–78), Zamość (1682), Tiktin (1689), Cracow (1695), and Brest-Litovsk (1701–18). His responsa, entitled *Sha'agat Aryeh*, were published by his grandson Abraham Nathan Neta Meisels, who added his own responsa under the title of *Kol Shaḥal* (Neuwied, 1736; Salonika, 1746). Aryeh Leib also prepared a collection of his grandfather's responsa for publication. However, the work, *She'elot u-Teshuvot Ge'onei Batrai*, which includes three of his own responsa at the end, appeared (Turka, 1764) only after his death. In several responsa Aryeh Leib states that his halakhic decision is to be applied in practice subject to the agreement of his stepfather David ha-Levi, whose comment on these responsa was: "My stepson has determined the *halakhah* exactly."

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[Yehoshua Horowitz]

ARYEH LEIB OF OŹARÓW (d. 1833), ḥasidic *ẓaddik*, founder of the Oźarów dynasty of *ẓaddikim* in Poland. He was a pupil of *Jacob Isaac ha-Ḥozeh ("the seer") of Lublin and of his father-in-law Reuben ha-Levi of Dzierzgowice, author of *Duda'im ba-Sadeh* (1858). He became a *ẓaddik* in Oźarów in 1815 and later moved to Opole, but never gained a large following. His teachings are quoted by his grandson Aryeh Leib in *Birkat Tov* (1938). The Oźarów dynasty continued until World War II, when most of its members perished in the *Holocaust. One of his descendants was the rabbinical author MOSES JEHIEL EPSTEIN of Oźarów (d. 1971), who settled in Israel in 1953. He was awarded the Israel Prize of 1967 for his ten-volume series *Esh Dat* (1951), discourses on the ḥasidic approach to the concepts of "love of Israel" and "love of Torah," and *Be'er Moshe* (1964), a commentary on the Torah.

[Itzhak Alfassi]

ARYEH LEIB OF SHPOLA (1725–1812), ḥasidic **ẓaddik*, a popular miracle-worker and faith healer; known as the *Shpoler Zeide* (the "grandfather from Shpola"). Aryeh Leib belonged to the third generation of *Ḥasidim in the Ukraine, and was a disciple of Phinehas of Korets. While beadle in Zlatopol he became celebrated among the common people as a "saint" and a healer who helped the poor. Stories circulated about the numerous miracles he was said to have performed. Aryeh Leib was also active in communal affairs. He took part in the assembly of Jewish leaders which was held at the end of the 18th or beginning of the 19th century, probably at the initiative of *Levi Isaac of Berdichev, to discuss the anti-Jewish measures which the Russian government was considering. Aryeh Leib encountered opposition from *Baruch of Medzibezh, who despised Aryeh Leib for his affiliation with the common folk. When *Naḥman of Bratslav settled in Zlatopol, near Shpola, serious differences arose between the two ḥasidic leaders, both over matters of principle and out of personal rivalry. Aryeh Leib's simple, popular approach to religion in which he emphasized the importance of unsophisticated faith was incompatible with Naḥman's mode of leadership. Aryeh Leib's teachings show traces of the current messianic expectations that 1840 would be the year of redemption. None of his writings has been preserved. Tales of the miracles he reputedly performed were collected in *Tiferet ha-Maharal* (1914).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Horodezky, Ḥasidut, 3 (1953^{4}), 28–29, 155ff.; A.B. Gottlober, in: *Ha-Boker Or*, 5 (1881), 383–6; A.G. Duker, in: *J. Starr Memorial Volume* (1953), 191–201; Halpern, in: *Tarbiz*, 28 (1958/59), 90–98.

ARYEH LEIB SARAHS (i.e., son of Sarah; 1730–1791), semi-legendary ḥasidic **ẓaddik*. He was born in Rovno, Poland. Although his father's name was Joseph, Aryeh Leib was known as Leib Sarahs after his mother. This unusual form of identification may derive from a prayer in the mystical *Book of *Raziel*, which mentions a Leib b. Sarah. Aryeh Leib was the disciple of the *Maggid* *Dov Baer of Mezhirech. His saying: "I did not go to the *Maggid* of Mezhirech to learn Torah from him but to watch him tie his boot laces" emphasized that the *ẓaddik's* personality and conduct are of prime importance for *Ḥasidism. Aryeh Leib had the personality and popular status typical of the itinerant *ẓaddikim* who preceded *Israel b. Eliezer Ba'al Shem Tov, the founder of Ḥasidism. He wandered from place to place helping the needy, especially by securing the release of imprisoned debtors. His deeds are embellished by popular legend which relates that he came, while invisible, to the court of Emperor *Joseph II in Vienna, to obtain the abrogation of measures included in the **Toleranzpatent* (1782). Legends about Aryeh Leib Sarahs penetrated into Ukrainian folk literature. He died in Yaltushkov (Podolia).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Dubnow, Ḥasidut, 176, 191–3; M. Bodek, *Sefer ha-Dorot he-Ḥadash*, 2 (1965), 43–49; Horodezky, Ḥasidut, 2 (1953^{4}), 7–12; R. Margalioth, *Gevurat Ari* (1911).

[Avraham Rubinstein]

ARZIN, JOSEPH BEN JACOB (16th century), kabbalist of the Lurianic School. Arzin was third *ḥaver* ("member") in the "first class" among Isaac Luria's disciples. According to Ḥayyim *Vital's testimony, Joseph was older than Vital and was probably born before 1540. Ḥayyim Vital relates that Arzin quarreled with R. Elijah Falcon, one of Luria's disciples. Luria expelled Falcon from his group and considered dismissing Arzin, but refrained from doing so. Several of his sermons, as well as "special meditations" (*yiḥud*) which he received from Luria, are mentioned in Ḥayyim Vital's books. He was the author of a commentary on *Idra Rabba*. Arzin was among the 12 *ḥaverim* ("members") of Luria's school who signed a "writ of alliance" with Ḥayyim Vital to learn from him Luria's doctrines. In 1568 Arzin appeared in Salonika on behalf of the

Talmud Torah Association of Safed and the famous scholar R. Moses *Almosnino preached in honor of this mission. Arzin died young, when his father was still alive. In Saadiah Longo's eulogy for his father, the kabbalist Jacob Arzin, Joseph was also lamented. Joseph's son was probably R. Samuel Arizi, who in 1622 entered the meditative study circle of R. Samuel Noah of Safed.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: G. Scholem, in: *Zion*, 5 (1940), 143–4; M. Benayahu, in: *Sefunot*, 6 (1962), 22.

ARZT, MAX (1897–1975), U.S. Conservative rabbi. Arzt was born in Stanislav, Poland, and was brought to the U.S. at the age of four. He was ordained at the Jewish Theological Seminary (1921). During his college years, Arzt developed an interest in Zionism. After serving in Stamford, Conn. (1921–24), Arzt accepted the pulpit of Temple Israel in Scranton, Pa., where he remained for 15 years. The congregation became known as a laboratory for synagogue endeavor in many educational areas. In 1939 he became director of Field Service and Activities of the Jewish Theological Seminary and was a pioneer in educating laymen to support institutions of higher Jewish learning. He was named vice chancellor of the Seminary in 1951 and professor of practical theology in 1962. He wrote *Justice and Mercy, a Commentary on the New Year and the Day of Atonement* (1963) and various talmudic studies. Arzt was a member of the editorial committee of the Jewish Publication Society of America as well as of its translation committee preparing a new translation of the Bible. Other posts he held included president of the Rabbinical Assembly, and vice president of the Synagogue Council of America. *Joy and Remembrance: Commentary on the Sabbath Eve Liturgy* was published posthumously in 1979.

[Alvin Kass]

ASA (Heb. אָסָא; etymology uncertain), king of Judah, 908–867 B.C.E. According to I Kings 15:8 and II Chronicles 13:23, Asa was the son of *Abijah. *Maacah is listed in I Kings 15:2 as the mother of Asa and in II Chron. 15:16 as the mother of Abijah. Some scholars assume, therefore, that Asa and Abijah were brothers. Apparently, Asa acceded to the throne while still comparatively young, upon the death of Abijah; for some time Maacah, the queen mother, served as regent (cf. II Chron. 13:2). Upon reaching his majority, Asa removed her from the regency, along with her followers. The author of the book of Kings attributes this punishment by her son to her having made an image to an *Asherah (I Kings 15:11–13). According to II Chronicles 15:10–16, her removal was part of a general reform that reached its climax in the 15th year of his reign with an assembly in Jerusalem of the people who covenanted to "seek the Lord, the God of their fathers." It appears that Asa made genuine efforts to remove pagan influences and to restore the worship of the Lord in Jerusalem. It is also possible that the religious reformation in Judah resulted from a policy that sought to attract those circles in the kingdom of Israel who were favorable to the Temple in Jerusalem, and thus make possible the reunification of the two kingdoms. The beginning of Asa's reign was peaceful (II Chron. 13:23; 14:5), leaving him free to strengthen his position against possible attacks by outside enemies. He built fortified cities in Judah (14:5–6) adding to the chain of the kingdom's defenses which had been begun by his ancestors (see: *Rehoboam). The northern boundary of Judah had not been fortified at all prior to his reign.

After the years of quiet, Asa, like Rehoboam his grandfather, was faced with an incursion from the south which forced him to go to war. The invader was *Zerah the Nubian ("Cushite"; cf. 14:8–14) who acted either on his own initiative or in collaboration with *Baasha, king of Israel (900–877 B.C.E.). From the fortified border post of Mareshah (cf. 11:8), Asa pushed Zerah and his armies back as far as Gerar, capturing much spoil in the process. As a result of this victory, the tribe of Simeon was able to establish itself more fully in the Negev, seizing the most important wells and pasture lands. According to I Kings 15:16, there was warfare between the kingdoms of Judah and Israel during all of Asa's reign. Baasha evidently recovered most of the territory seized by *Abijah and proceeded to fortify Ramah (I Kings 15:16–22), only five miles north of Jerusalem, which was thus, so to speak, held in check. This threat caused Asa to turn to *Ben-Hadad I, son of Tabrimon, son of Hezion, king of *Aram (I Kings 15:18–19). In response, Ben-Hadad invaded Galilee from the north, breaking the defense chain of Naphtali from Ijon and Dan to the western shore of *Kinneret (cf. II Chron. 16:4). As a result of this two-front war, Israel probably lost northern Galilee and was compelled, in the south, to withdraw from the Ramah area, and Asa occupied Ramah, destroying its fortifications, reusing their materials to strengthen the defenses of Gibeah and Mizpah. In so doing he secured his northern boundary, removing the danger to the capital. H.L. Ginsberg is of the opinion that Asa understood that Judah could not expand northward at the expense of Israel in the foreseeable future. Further, it was clear to him that the new defense line represented a reasonable division between the two kingdoms. II Chronicles 15:8 and 17:2 seem to imply the contrary, but Rudolph has suggested an alternative interpretation.

See Rudolph also on the unfavorable picture of the final phase of Asa's reign that is painted by II Chronicles 15:19–16:12. It has long been suggested that the Chronicler's account of Asa's sin as a reliance on physicians rather than on YHWH (II Chronicles 16:12) resulted from a *Midrash on the name Asa, Aramaic for "physician."

In the *Aggadah*

During the early part of his reign, Asa performed many good deeds. Together with Jehoshaphat he destroyed all the idolatrous cults (Shab. 56b); and he refortified the cities of Lydda, Ono, and Gei ha-Harashim (Meg. 4a). As a reward, he was one of the four kings whose wish to defeat his enemies was immediately granted (Lam. R., introd. 30). The disease of his feet with which he was afflicted (I Kings 15:23), however, was his punishment for having pressed even students of the Law and newly marrieds into military service (Sot. 10a); his was the disease referred to in David's curse of Joab (II Sam. 3:29) "Let there not faileth from the house of Joab one… that leaneth on a staff" (Sanh. 48b). Although Asa retained the magnificent throne of Solomon from among the treasures which he took from Zerah the Ethiopian (Esth. R. 1:2), he gave the rest to Hadrimon the son of Tabrimon (Pes. 119a), which was accounted a grievous sin (SOR 17).

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A.S.A. The Academic Sports Association (A.S.A.) of Israel was established in 1952 by the Sports Committee of the Hebrew University, the Technion in Haifa, and the Tel Aviv School of Law and Economics, but subsequently students from other Israeli institutions of higher learning (in Tel Aviv, Haifa, Reḥovot, and Beersheba) also joined. The Association stimulates interest in sports in an age group which generally tends to show no special concern for physical activity and promotes physical exercise among Israeli academicians.

A.S.A. activity focuses on four areas: physical education classes in the universities for students and academic staff; team sports at the national league level; A.S.A. championship competitions in 15 different sports; and participation in international competitions. The Association is a member of national sports institutions in Israel and since 1953 has been a member of the International Federation of University Sportsmen (F.I.S.U.), and as such participates in the "Student Olympics" (the Universiada) every two years. Each year a different university is chosen to host the A.S.A. International Games (since 1969), and in addition there has been an international championship for windsurfing (since 1985) and winter games (since 1997) in Elath.

[Yehoshua Alouf (2nd ed.)]

ASAD, HAFEZ AL- (1930–2000), president of Syria. Asad was born in Qardaha, an Alawi village in northeast Syria, to a poor peasant family. Although born to the Alawi sect (a heterodox offspring of Shiʿa Islam, regarded as "heretic" by many Sunni Muslims), Asad was also educated as a Syrian-Arab nationalist in the predominantly Arab-Sunni town of Latakia. At the age of 17 he joined the newly formed Baʿth party and reportedly volunteered in 1948 to fight against the newborn State of Israel. Like many Alawi (and Druze) youngsters, Asad enlisted in the Syrian military in 1952, and in 1955 graduated with honors from the Air Force Academy in Aleppo. He was appointed a wing commander in the Syrian air force in 1957 after his party, the Baʿth, had mustered significant influence in the Syrian military and politics. Asad took an active part in the March 1963 revolution; and at the end of 1964 he was appointed commander of the air force with the rank of general. His rapid rise was not only a result of his Baʿthist affiliation but also of his unique qualities of leadership: ruthlessness, organization, manipulation, secrecy, patience, and coolness.

In February 1966, as number two to his fellow Alawi officer, Salah Jadid, Asad co-led the "neo-Baʿth" coup (the 13th coup in Syria) and was appointed also as minister of defense, a position which he used to strengthen his military power base. Despite the crushing defeat of the military in the 1967 war against Israel, Asad managed to shift the blame to the civilian Baʿthist leaders. Backed by the army command, he seized power in Damascus on November 16, 1970, deposing and jailing Jadid and his followers and thus opening a new era in Syrian history, politics, and society. On March 12, 1971, Asad was elected as Syria's president, by 99.2% of the vote in a national referendum, where he was the only candidate. He was subsequently reelected every seven years with 96% to 99% of the vote and served as president until his death on June 10, 2000.

Asad was the first Syrian ruler in modern Syrian history to dominate his country and people for 30 years. Establishing a personal-authoritarian regime, he was able to bring about significant achievements but also suffered major setbacks to Syria, in the domestic, regional, and international arenas.

First, he achieved unprecedented political stability in the country, which had been previously characterized by nearly nonstop military coups and countercoups. Yet this stability was realized not only through socio-political mobilization and cooptation, but also with an iron fist, mass arrests, and murder, torture, and other violations of human rights. The most notorious event was the Hama massacre of February 1982; at least 20,000 people were killed by the army, quelling a major rebellion by the "Muslim Brothers."

Asad's rule was also marked by significant socio-economic mobility of the lower, rural classes, notably the Alawi minority, and development of the educational and health systems as well as the economic infrastructure, but also by failure to solve the big problems of corruption, mismanagement, unemployment in the public sector, and tense intercommunal relations.

Asad succeeded in creating a powerful army and strong independent state, also exercising regional influence, particularly over Lebanon, which in 1989 become a de facto Syrian protectorate. Earlier, in 1980, Asad established a strategic alliance with the revolutionary Iranian Islamic regime. Asad backed Iran in the devastating war with Baʿthist Iraq (1980–88) and, from 1982, coordinated with Teheran support of Hizbullah's military struggle against Israel.

Asad was defeated in his wars with Israel in 1967, 1973, and 1982 (in Lebanon) and failed to reach a strategic balance with the Jewish state. During the 1990s, with American inducements, he was engaged in a peace process with Israel.

Though an agreement was not reached, Asad allowed Syrian Jews – approximately 5,000 – to emigrate after holding them as hostages but also protecting them.

Asad decreased Soviet influence in Syria, attempting to maneuver between the U.S.S.R. and the U.S. He backed the U.S. in its war against Saddam Hussein's Iraq in early 1991 after losing the military and diplomatic support of the U.S.S.R. under Gorbachev's leadership. He developed working relations with U.S. presidents Nixon, Carter, Bush, and Clinton, but failed to substantially improve Syrian-American relations. The relationship was aggravated on the ascendancy of Asad's son BASHAR (1965–) in June 2000. This was because of Syria's continued backing of Islamic terrorist groups – such as Hizbollah, Hamas, and Islamic Jihad, the de facto occupation of Lebanon, the development of chemical weapons, and particularly his opposition to the American attack and occupation of Iraq in March 2003. Domestically Bashar introduced some reforms in Syria's economic infrastructure, but not in the rigid political system.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: M. Ma'oz, *Asad – the Sphinx of Damascus, a Political Biography* (1988); P. Seale, *Asad – the Struggle for the Middle East* (1988); N. Van-Dam, *The Struggle for Power in Syria* (1979); E. Zissar, *Asad's Legacy: Syria in Transition* (2001).

[Moshe Ma'oz (2nd ed.)]

ASAEL, ḤAYYIM BEN BENJAMIN (1650–c. 1707), rabbi in Salonika and later an emissary from Jerusalem. Ḥayyim taught at the yeshivah of Solomon *Amarillo, the foremost house of study in Salonika, and also served as preacher to the Ashkenazi congregation in the city. After his father's death, in 1690, he moved to Jerusalem, where he remained for some years teaching at the yeshivah of "Pereyra" until his appointment as emissary to Turkey in 1704. He died in Smyrna. Ḥayyim wrote the *Sam Ḥayyei*, incorporating responsa given during the course of his travels and sermons. This work was published by his son, Benjamin Asael (Salonika, 1746). His responsa are also quoted elsewhere.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Frumkin-Rivlin, 2 (1928), 164; Rosarnes, Togarmah, 4 (1935), 347; Yaari, Sheluḥei, 115, 352–3, 486, 888.

[Simon Marcus]

ASAHEL (Heb. עֲשָׂה־אֵל, עֲשָׂהאֵל; "God has made"), name of several biblical figures.

(1) Son of Zeruiah, sister of David (I Chron. 2:16), and one of the 30 heroes of David (II Sam. 23:24; I Chron. 11:26). After the defeat of the forces of Ish-Bosheth in Gibeon, Asahel pursued Abner (II Sam. 2:18–19) but was killed by him. The action brought about a blood revenge by the sons of Zeruiah, which led to the murder of Abner (II Sam. 3:27–30).

Asahel is listed among the officers of the monthly militia of David, as the commander of a division for the fourth month (I Chron. 27:7). This is problematical because he was killed early in the reign of David. Therefore, some scholars maintain that his name was added after his death to honor him; others challenge the historical accuracy of the list. Nonetheless, it was probably a prototype of the list of the Davidic militia, which was brought up to date by adding the name of Zebadiah, the son of Asahel and his successor in the same command (cf. I Chron. 12).

In the *Aggadah*

Asahel was so swift and light of foot that he could run over the ears of corn and leave them unbroken (Eccl. R. 9:11). The loss caused to David by the death of Asahel was equal to that caused by the death of the 19 men whom Abner killed at the same time (cf. II Sam. 2:30; Sif. Deut. 52).

(2) A Levite who, together with the high officials and priests of Judah, was sent by King *Jehoshaphat on a teaching mission to the cities of Judah (II Chron. 17:7–9). The purpose of the mission was to instruct the people in "the Law of Yahweh" (*ibid.* 9; cf. II Kings 23:2; Neh. 8:4–18).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Yadin, in: J. Liver (ed.), *Historyah Ẓeva'it shel Ereẓ Yisrael* (1964), 355ff.; Mazar, in: *Sefer Ben Gurion* (1964), 248–67; de Vaux, Anc Isr, 214–8; Yadin, in: BJPES, 15 (1940), 86ff.

ASAPH (Heb. אָסָף), name of four biblical figures.

(1) The ancestor of one of the principal families of singers in the Temple. According to I Chronicles 6:24–26, Asaph himself, who is dated to the Davidic period, was descended from Gershom son of Levi (*ibid.*). The tradition of tracing families of singers back to eponymous ancestors of the age of David appears elsewhere in Chronicles and in Ezra-Nehemiah. Asaph is numbered among the levitical singers who participated in the bringing up of the Ark to Jerusalem (I Chron. 15:17, 19); David appointed him and his brother to serve before the Ark (I Chron. 16:37; cf. 25:1ff.). In many passages a special position is assigned to Asaph among the ancestors of families of singers, and he alone is mentioned in association with David (II Chron. 29:30; Neh. 12:46). Only singers of the family of Asaph appear in the register of the returnees from exile (Ezra 2:41; Neh. 7:44) and in other passages in Ezra-Nehemiah. It is only in the register of inhabitants of Jerusalem in the days of Nehemiah that singers of the descendants of Jeduthun are included along with the Asaphites (Neh. 11:17; I Chron. 9:15–16). Evidently the Asaphite singers, who possibly had already served in the first Temple since they are numbered among those returning from exile, played a leading part in the musical service of the Second Temple.

Asaph is designated in II Chronicles 29:30 as a seer (*ḥozeh*) and in I Chronicles 25:1–2 the musical function of the sons of Asaph was referred to as prophesying (cf. II Chron. 20:14–23). The institution of the levitical chanting of hymns is attributed to him in association with David (cf. Neh. 12:46). The psalms in the collection of Psalms 73–83, as also Psalm 50, have the caption "of Asaph." It is possible that this designation is based on a tradition which assigned their composition to him, although it is also possible that the purport of the caption was that the psalms in question pertained to a collection which the Asaphites used to sing, or perhaps that they were sung in a style peculiar to the Asaphites.

In the *Aggadah*

According to one view, Asaph was not the son of the wicked Korah, but merely a descendant of his branch of the tribe of Levi (Lev. R. 17:1); others, however, regard him as the son of Korah, and as an example of how the son of a wicked person can become religious through the study of the Torah (Song R. 4:4). He helped King David write the Book of Psalms (BB 14b). He sang while the Temple was burning, justifying his action, by stating: "I am happy that God has wrought His vengeance only on wood and stones" (Lam. R. 4:14). Even when God Himself wept at the destruction of the Temple, Asaph refused to do so, but instead exhorted Him to action with the words of Psalms 74:3: "Lift up Thy feet unto the perpetual desolations; even all that the enemy hath done wickedly in the sanctuary" (*Midrash Zuta*, Buber ed. (1894), Lam. 75, p. 166).

(2) The ancestor of a family of gatekeepers according to I Chronicles 26:1, but the name should probably be emended to Ebiasaph; cf. I Chronicles 9:19.

(3) The Father of Joah, "recorder" of King *Hezekiah (II Kings 18:18; Isa. 36:3).

(4) Keeper of the royal park of *Artaxerxes I, king of Persia (Neh. 2:8).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: J.W. Rothstein and J. Haenel, *Kommentar zum ersten Buch der Chronik* (1927), iii, 313ff., 345ff.; Albright, Arch Rel, 126ff.; de Vaux, Anc Isr, 382–5, 389, 392; S. Mowinckel, *The Psalms in Israel's Worship*, 2 (1962), 95ff.; EM, S.V. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** S. Japhet, *I & II Chronicles* (1993), 294–96. AGADDAH: Ginzberg, *Legends*, 3, 462; 6, 105.

ASAPH HA-ROFE (i.e., Asaph the physician; also known as **Asaph ha-Yehudi**, **Rabbenu Asaph**, **Asaph ben Berechiah**, **Asaph ha-Yarhoni**; sixth century), physician who gave his name to a Hebrew book on medicine, *Sefer Asaf ha-Rofe*, written somewhere in the Middle East. As yet unpublished, it is extant in 16 manuscripts, some complete; it constitutes a source of information on ancient customs and Jewish medical ethics as well as of ancient Jewish remedies and Hebrew, Aramaic, Persian, Latin, and Greek medical terminology. Excerpts from Greek medical books, some of which have been lost and are not known from any other sources, appear in Hebrew in this book. The most complete manuscripts are in Munich, Oxford, Brit. Museum London, Florence, and Paris. The book was not written by Asaph himself, but by his disciples. They mention, as teachers, R. Johanan b. Zavda and R. Judah ha-Yarḥoni, as well as Asaph. Some sections of the book are very old, though others were written or translated from other languages as late as the seventh until the tenth century. The antiquity of the work is apparent from its style, similar to that of the older Midrashim, from its use of Persian (rather than Arabic) synonyms, and from the mention of weights current in Palestine during the talmudic period. The many sentences in the book which begin "And I shall teach you" indicate that its contents had, at one time, constituted oral medical teaching. Asaph's close connection with Babylonia, the cradle of astrology, is indicated by the surname Yarḥoni (i.e., one versed in the lunar calendar, or an astronomer) attributed to him, as well as by the nature of some of his medicaments and names of the scholars referred to as authorities. These facts denote that he lived somewhere between Upper Galilee and Babylonia. Since the book contains no indication of the influence of Arabic medicine and mentions pagan witch doctors, it can be assumed that Asaph lived before the Arab conquest of the Middle East.

Several early writers make direct or indirect reference to Asaph. The tenth-century grammarian, R. Judah *Ibn Quraysh, apparently refers to *Sefer Asaf* when he mentions a book of remedies bearing Aramaic names. In the commentary on *Tohorot*, attributed to *Hai Gaon, Asaph is mentioned by name. Al-Razi also mentions him, and in the Latin translation (1279) of his ninth- or tenth-century book, Asaph the Jew – "Judaeus" – is included among the famous medical authors. Ibn al-Gezzar (tenth century), a disciple of Isaac *Israeli, mentions Asaph b. Berechiah in his book *Ẓeidah li-Derakhim* and in its Greek translation, Asaph is referred to as "Ασιψ ὑιὸς Ιρακιου" *Naḥmanides refers to Asaph by name in *Sha'ar ha-Gemul. Sefer ha-Refu'ot shel Shem b. No'aḥ* quoted by R. *Solomon b. Jeroham (920) is apparently *Sefer Asaf ha-Rofe* which mentions Shem in its introduction. The same applies to *Sefer ha-Refu'ot* ("Book of Remedies") mentioned by Rashi (on Judges 15:5) and by *Nathan b. Jehiel of Rome, author of the *Arukh* (s.v. *vatan* which is a sinew mentioned in *Sefer ha-Refu'ot*).

In the introduction to the book, the editor refers to the pillars of medical science Hippocrates, Dioscorides, and Galen, and apparently considers their contemporary Asaph as their equal, referring to him as "the Jew." Asaph translated these Greek sources into idiomatic Hebrew and added commentaries. The book includes a Hebrew translation of the *Aphorisms* of Hippocrates with a short commentary on the first chapter entitled "*Ha-Midrash.*" It notes the basic rules of medical science during the classical and medieval period. This is the first known Hebrew translation and commentary of any Greek medical work. There is also information derived from the lost *Pharmaceutics* of Hippocrates. Foremost among Hippocrates' writings which served Asaph as a model was the famous oath, in which he made basic changes. Although Asaph's medical teachings are fundamentally Hippocratic, they are also influenced by Rufus of Ephesus, Dioscorides, and to a lesser extent, Galen. The Greek influence is especially manifest in Asaph's theories on the nature of water and the Mediterranean climate and in his instructions on healing the poor. In anatomy, Asaph retains early Hebrew medical tradition and terminology. Blood vessels are called *gidim* ("sinews"), *mesillot meforadot* ("separate paths"), *te'alot* ("channels"); limbs are called *maḥlekot ha-guf* ("body parts"); and *ḥadrei ha-mo'aḥ* ("chambers of the brain") are discussed.

According to Asaph, the heart is the seat of the soul. The movement of the blood is explained as follows: "The pulsations of the blood vessels (the pulse) derive from the animating spirit; they originate from the heart, travel to the farthest extremities of the body, from which they return to the heart like water propelled by the wind…." Specific locations are assigned to the *sekhel* ("intellect"), *binah* ("understanding"), *da'at* ("knowledge"), and the *yeẓer* ("will"). "The spirit (*ru'aḥ*) resides in the head; understanding, in the heart; and fear, in the hidden recesses of the body." Asaph asserts that "melancholy is spiritual, not corporeal." He gives the number of bones (*evarim*) from the Talmud (Oho. 1:8; Mak. 23b) as 248, but adds 365 as the number of sinews corresponding to the days of the lunar year. The bones are fed by their marrow. From the Talmud, Asaph accepts the legend of the existence of an imperishable bone – the *luz* ("the nut of the spinal column"; *os resurrectionis*). He adopts the talmudic view that the embryo is completely shaped in its mother's womb 40 days after conception. The section "On the Influence of Diet" is based on Hippocrates, but Asaph devotes greater length to the various foods, drawing on the sayings of Jewish sages as well as on popular wisdom. He mentions only the meat of animals allowed under Jewish law. Asaph generally bases his treatment of illnesses on that of Hippocrates, though his is more comprehensive and is sometimes based on different points of view. He was the first medical writer to recognize the possibility of a hereditary factor in certain diseases.

Asaph's approach to pathology follows the theory of the four humors. Disease, according to this theory, involves a disturbance of the correct blending of the four elements (earth, air, fire, water), and of the four primary qualities (dryness, moisture, cold, heat) in the body. He also deals with prognosis, diagnosis, hygiene, and pharmacology. His rules for hygiene and diet in many cases parallel those of the Talmud. Asaph seeks primarily to prevent disease through a detailed and exact regimen which calls for physical exercise, baths, ointments, massage, sunshine, fresh air, clean water, various beverages, proper choice of foods, rules for sexual intercourse, cupping, blood-letting, and correct breathing. Most of his prescriptions are borrowed from the Greeks, but he also lists formulae from Babylonia, Persia, India, and Egypt; popular remedies from Ethiopia and Sudan; and ancient Hebrew medicaments which Asaph claims were used by *Samuel Yarḥinai and date back to "the days of the Judges, before a king ruled in Israel." Medicines took the forms of liquids, tablets, pills, gargles, eye-, ear-, and nose-drops, incense, ointment, suppositories, enemas, unguents, and oil-perfumes.

Asaph was deeply religious and tried to harmonize his faith and science. He believed that many diseases come as divine retribution for sins and that sincere prayer, together with repentance and charity, are important factors in healing. He saw the objective of the Bible's prohibitions of certain foods and in the distinction between clean and unclean animals, as the prevention of disease. He often emphasized that God is the only true healer and that physicians' first duties are to fear God and to practice virtue. Asaph's teachings reflect his scrupulous medical ethics. He vigorously attacked venality in physicians, bound his students to treat the poor without charge, and listed medicines easily procured or prepared at minimum cost. He addressed himself only to the well-trained professional physician and sharply censured quacks and amateurs who discredit true medicine. Asaph and his colleague, R. Johanan b. Zavda, required of the students whom they qualified as physicians a one-thousand word oath which evidenced the high ethical standards demanded: "… Take heed that ye kill not any man with the sap of a root; and ye shall not dispense a potion to a woman with a child by adultery to cause her to miscarry; and ye shall not lust after beautiful women to commit adultery with them; and ye shall not disclose secrets confided unto you.… Be strong and let not your hands slacken, for there is a reward for your labors. God is with you when ye are with Him. If ye will keep His covenant and walk in His statutes to cleave unto them, ye shall be as saints in the sight of all men and they shall say: 'Happy is the people that is in such a case; happy is that people whose God is the Lord.' … Ye shall not cause the shedding of blood by any manner of medical treatment. Take heed that ye do not cause malady to any man; and ye shall not cause any man injury by hastening to cut through flesh and blood with an iron instrument, or by branding, but shall first observe twice and thrice and only then shall ye give your counsel…."

An Israeli government hospital in Sarafand is named after Asaph ha-Rofe.

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[Suessmann Muntner]

ASARAMEL, word of doubtful meaning used in the description of *Simeon the Hasmonean's appointment as high priest and governor of the Jews in I Maccabees 14:27. It is stated there that these offices were conferred on Simeon the high priest ἐν ἀοαραμέλ. The meaning of the word ἀοαραμέλ has given rise to considerable speculation. Some consider it as a title and others as a place. Those who suggest that it is a title regard it as a transliteration of *sar am El* "a prince of the people of God" (Grimm and Kautsch) or, as the Syrian version has it *sar El* (Osterley). This interpretation is doubtful, however, since the name of God does not otherwise appear in I Maccabees, nor do they explain the preceding word ἐν. The suggestion of Geiger *aẓeret am El* ("the courtyard of the people of God") or the similar one of Ewald *ḥaẓar am El* meets this latter point but leaves the former unanswered. Schalit's emendation ἀοαραμέλ ἀοαρά μεγάλε ("in the great court") meets both difficulties and is the equivalent of the "*ha-azarah ha-Gedolah*" mentioned in II Chronicles 4:9.

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[Isaiah Gafni]

ASCAMA (pl. **Ascamot**), the normal transliteration among the Sephardim of Northern Europe (London, Amsterdam, etc.) of the Hebrew *haskamah*. The term was applied especially to the laws governing the internal organization and administration of the communities. The *Ascamot* of the Sephardi communities of London were drawn up in Portuguese in 1664 and translated into English only in the 19th century. The Reform controversy in London in 1840 revolved around *Ascama* No. 1 forbidding the establishment of a second synagogue. In the Ashkenazi communities the term **takkanot* was used to denote similar internal laws.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: A.M. Hyamson, *Sephardim of England* (1951²), index; L.D. Barnett, *El Livro de los Acuerdos* (1931).

ASCARELLI, DEVORA (16th century), Italian writer. Ascarelli may have been the first Jewish woman whose writings were published. Her book, containing translations of liturgical selections into Italian, as well as her own poetry in Italian, is the only source of information about her. According to the book's dedication, Devora and her husband, Joseph Ascarelli, lived in Rome; the family is associated with exiles from Spain and the leadership of the Catalan community of Rome. Ascarelli's book is usually identified by the title of its first selection, *L'abitacolo degli Oranti* or *Ma'on ha-Sho'alim*, "The Abode of the Supplicants," a translation into rhymed Italian of sections of a Hebrew liturgical poem. Prose translations include *Benedici il Signore o anima mia*, or *Barekhi Nafshi*, a *tokheḥah* prayer in the Roman rite by Rabbenu Baḥya ben Joseph the Pious (11th century) of Saragossa; *La Grande Confessione* by Rabbenu Nissim, identified as the head of the Babylonian Academy; and an *avodah* prayer for the Sephardi Yom Kippur service. The book also contains two of Ascarelli's sonnets, *Il Ritratto di Susanna*, "The Picture of Susannah," based on the apocryphal book *Susannah and the Elders, and *Quanto e' in me di Celeste*, "Whatever in me is of Heaven." The liturgical pieces appear both in Hebrew and Italian; they were apparently intended for liturgical use on Yom Kippur. The contents of the 31-page *L'abitacolo Degli Oranti* were probably completed between 1537 and 1540; the book was published in Venice in 1601, and with some differences in 1609; excerpts appear in A. Pesaro, "Alle Donne celebri Israelite," in *Il Vessilio Israelitico*, 29 (1881), 34–37 and 67–68 (reprinted with many modifications by Pellegrino Ascarelli, *Debora Ascarelli Poetessa*, Rome, 1925). Modern translations of Ascarelli's poems by Vladimir Rus appear in Sondra Henry and Emily Taitz, *Written Out of History: A Hidden Legacy of Jewish Women Revealed Through Their Writing And Letters* (1978), 130–31.

[Howard Tzvi Adelman (2nd ed.)]

ASCARELLI, TULLIO (1903–1959), Italian jurist, whose father, Attilio, was a scholar in forensic medicine. At the age of 23, Tullio Ascarelli was appointed to the chair of commercial law at the University of Ferrara and later taught at Cagliari, Catania, Parma, and Padua universities. Dismissed following Italy's adoption of racial laws in 1938, he left the country and, after a short period of teaching at the London School of Economics and at the Sorbonne, went to Brazil to teach at the University of São Paolo. He also served as juridical counselor to the Brazilian government. Returning to Italy after World War II, Ascarelli taught commercial law at the University of Bologna, and industrial law at the University of Rome. Shortly before his death he was appointed to the chair of commercial law at Rome. Author of essays on commercial, civil, maritime, and company law (collected in miscellaneous volumes published in 1949, 1952, and 1960), he also wrote basic works on commercial law subjects, among them *La moneta* (1928); *Il concetto di titolo di credito* (1932); and *Teoria della concorrenza e dei beni immateriali* (1960).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, 4 (1962), 371–2 (includes bibliography); Roth, Italy, index; Milano, Italia, 385.

[Giorgio Romano]

ASCETICISM. Rigorous abstention from any form of self-indulgence which is based on the belief that renunciation of the desires of the flesh and self-mortification can bring man to a high spiritual state. Asceticism never occupied an important place in the Jewish religion. Judaism did not believe that the freedom of man's soul could be won only by the subjugation of the flesh, a belief which was central in religions based upon anthropological dualism. Apart from the *Nazirites and the *Rechabites who constituted special groups, and the mortification practiced by Ezekiel (4:4–15) which was apparently to induce a vision, the only ascetic practice mentioned as of universal application is fasting which is called in the Bible "affliction of the soul" (Lev. 23:27; Isa. 58:3). In addition to the *Day of Atonement numerous fasts are mentioned as having been instituted on special occasions (see: *Fasting) but they are mostly expressions of remorse, sadness, and grief or acts to aid concentration in prayer rather than religious practices in their own right. The prophets emphasize over and over again the fact that fasting and mortification of the body by themselves do not please God. They are justified only if they help change man's moral actions.

The rabbis went even further; they consider asceticism and privation as a sin against the will of God, that people should enjoy the gift of life. Hillel considered taking care of and bathing the body a religious duty (Lev. R. 34:3). In practice, however, there were many ascetics among Jews during the period of the Second Temple. Y.F. Baer maintains (*Yisrael ba-Ammim* (1955), 22) that during this and the preceding period Judaism possessed a definite ascetic character and furthermore, the teachings of the first *tannaim* also leaned toward asceticism. This doctrine, though later rejected by the *halakhah*, according to him left its permanent traces in all the realms of *halakhah* and *aggadah* and in all spheres of Jewish life, and in it he sees the origin of the ascetic and monastic elements so prevalent in Christianity. Most other scholars disagree with this view. On the contrary Christian theologians (see e.g., Bousset-Gressman, *Die Religion des Judentums in spaethellenistischen Zeitalter* (1966), 428–29) saw in the fact that there is so little emphasis on asceticism in Judaism proof of the inferior religious quality of Judaism as compared with Christianity. This very point was used by Jewish apologists (e.g., M. Lazarus, *Die Ethik des Judenthums*, 1 (1904^2), 272–80) to demonstrate the higher standards of the Jewish religion. The entire subject of the attitude of early rabbinic Judaism to asceticism is summed up against its historical background, in a study by E.E. Urbach (*Y. Baer Jubilee Volume* (1960), 48–68). It maintains that the principal motive for Hellenistic asceticism in all its various manifestations, also found in Philo, does not occur in the Talmud, namely: the antithesis between the body and the soul, between the flesh and the spirit. The motivations for asceticism, according to Urbach, are fear of sin and a strong attraction to the sanctuary and sacrifices. Such cases of asceticism are included within the context of the *halakhah* dealing as it does with practical matters of the world. The heroic religious deeds of the *Ḥasidim during the rule of *Antiochus Epiphanes left no impression in this respect and did not give rise to ascetic ideals. Only the destruction of the Second Temple and the serious religious problems that arose with the cessation of the daily sacrifices gave rise to an ascetic movement and also endowed the fasts with a new significance. The scholars and leaders of that generation spared no effort to deprive this movement of its extremist character. The generation of *Jabneh witnessed its decline, but during the period of persecution and forced conversions that followed the movement spread and grew strong. The Jewish doctrine of **kiddush ha-Shem* crystallized at that time and the problems of theodicy were more deeply considered. Acts of asceticism and the acceptance of suffering were numerous, as evidenced by the fate of many of the sages in Ereẓ Israel and Babylonia. But even in the cases of these scholars, two phenomena generally typical of asceticism were missing: unusual acts of self-denial contradicting human nature, like total sexual deprivation or celibacy, and the establishment of a special caste and closed society of ascetics. The *Essenes and similar Jewish sects practiced austerity as conditional for a life of justice and purity; they did not however laud asceticism as a value in its own right. Instances of asceticism in the Talmud and the Midrashim are, according to Urbach, not remnants of a fanatical ascetic doctrine which degenerated, but the result of definite events in the history of the Jewish people at that time.

Motivations

In addition to historical circumstances, there are also personal motivations for asceticism within Judaism. Abstinence from pleasures in itself is not considered a way of religious worship of God. The characteristic of asceticism when found among the rabbis is not the pains and privations to which a man subjects himself, but the end which he proposes to achieve. Abstinence may be self-imposed as a penance for a mortal sin. In the Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs it is stated that for seven years Reuben drank no wine or other liquor, no flesh passed his lips, and he ate no appetizing food, but continued mourning over his great sin. In the fear of the Lord, Simeon afflicted his soul with fasting for two years for his hatred of Joseph. Judah, in repentance for his sin with Tamar, until his old age took neither wine nor flesh and saw no pleasure. That fasting has an expiatory value is distinctly expressed in the Bible (Isa. 58:3) as well as in the Psalms of Solomon (3:8–9): the righteous man continually investigates his household to remove the guilt incurred by transgression. He makes atonement for inadvertent sins by fasting, and afflicts his soul. R. Sheshet, a Babylonian *amora* of the third century, would have his fasting received as a substitute for sacrifice. When he was fasting he used to pray: "Lord of the Universe, Thou knowest that, while the Temple stood, if a man sinned he brought a sacrifice and they offered only the fat and the blood, and atonement was made for him. And now I have sat in fasting, and my fat and blood have been diminished; may it be Thy will that this diminution of my fat and blood be as though I had offered a sacrifice upon Thine altar, and be Thou gracious unto me" (Ber. 17a). It is perhaps in this aspect that fasting is associated with almsgiving (Ber. 6b; cf. Tob. 12:8).

The regulations of mourning do not prescribe fasting or other afflictions though in the interval between the death and the burial (except on Sabbath) the mourners must abstain from flesh and wine (MK 23b). Yet there is an aspect of fasting which is connected with the mourning for a national calamity, like the fast of the Ninth of Av. Fasting is always a potent auxiliary of prayer. "If a man prays and is not answered, he should fast, as it is written (Ps. 20:2) 'The Lord will answer thee in the day of distress'" (TJ, Ber. 4:3, 8a). Fasting is also mentioned as a preparation for revelation (Dan. 9:3, 20–22; 10:2ff.; cf. Yoma 4b).

The destruction of the Temple in 70 C.E., the disastrous results of the widespread rising under Trajan, and the final catastrophe of the Bar Kokhba War, revived the temper in which the four memorial fasts in Zechariah had been kept (Zech. 7:3–5; 8:19). Private fasting also became more frequent. After the destruction of the Temple some altogether gave up eating meat and drinking wine, because the daily sacrifice and libation had ceased; some of the leading rabbis however disapproved their abstinence. R. *Joshua b. Hananiah pointed out to them that their logic would carry them much farther; they could not eat figs and grapes because the first fruits could no longer be brought, nor bread because there were no more "two loaves" and shewbread, and not drink water because there was no water libation at Tabernacles (Tosef., Sot. 15:11–12).

After the Bar Kokhba War R. Ishmael b. Elisha said: "From the day when the Temple was destroyed we should by right make a decree binding upon ourselves not to eat flesh nor drink wine, but it is a principle not to impose on the community a decree to which the majority of the community cannot adhere (Hor. 3b; Av. Zar. 36a). And from the triumph of the heathen empire which imposes upon us dire and cruel edicts and stops the study of the Law and fulfillment of the commandments, and does not let us circumcise our sons, we should by right make a decree for ourselves not to take a wife or beget sons, so that the seed of Abraham might come to its end in this way. Such a decree, however, would not be observed and the deliberate violation of it would be worse than marrying without seeing anything wrong in it" (BB 60b; cf. Shab 148b; Beẓah 30a).

Whether abstinence was a result of a national or a personal motivation, the rabbis disapproved of it. A vow of abstinence is an iron collar (such as is worn by prisoners) about a man's neck and one who imposes on himself a vow is like one who should find such a collar lying loose and stick his own head into it. Or, a man who takes a vow is like one who builds an illegal altar (*bamah*), and if he fulfills it, like one who sacrifices on such an altar (Ned. 22a). R. Isaac said: "Are not the things prohibited you in the Law enough for you that you want to prohibit yourself other things?" An ingenious interpretation of Numbers 6:11 discovers that the Nazirite had to make atonement by sacrifice for having sinned against his own soul by making himself miserable by abstaining from wine. Such a man is called (in the text) a sinner, and, a fortiori, if one who has denied himself the enjoyment of nothing more than wine is called a sinner, how much more one who denies himself the enjoyment of everything (Ta'an. 11a). In this spirit is also the saying of Rav: A man will have to give account on the judgment day of every good permissible thing which he might have enjoyed and did not (TJ, Kid. 4:12, 66d). For an apt summing up of this principle see Maimonides' *Mishneh Torah* (De'ot 3:1).

[Pinchas Hacohen Peli]

Sectarian Asceticism

In the postbiblical period the ascetic tradition, exemplified before the Exile in the Nazirites, Rechabites, etc., persisted as a "wilderness" tradition. From time to time, especially when conditions in the main centers of population seemed to become religiously or otherwise unbearable, pious Israelites withdrew to the wilderness to resume a more ascetic way of life. Such were the "many who were seeking righteousness and justice" who went down to the wilderness of Judea with their families and cattle to escape the intolerable conditions imposed by Antiochus Epiphanes but were pursued by the king's officers and massacred on the Sabbath (I Macc. 2:29–38). Similar movements in the Herodian period are reflected in apocalyptic works like the Assumption of *Moses, where a levite named Taxo and his seven sons fast for three days and then take up residence in a cave, ready to die there sooner than transgress God's Law (9:1–7), or the Martyrdom of Isaiah, where Isaiah is followed to his desert retreat by his disciples clothed in garments of hair (2:7–11).

The best-known instances of asceticism in the later years of the Second Temple are the *Qumran sect, the *Essenes, and the *Therapeutae. The first of these (c. 130 B.C.E.–70 C.E.), of which the *Zadokites who migrated to the region of Damascus formed a part, is treated in the articles on the Book of the Covenant of *Damascus, the *Dead Sea Scrolls, and **Yaḥad*. The evidence for the Essenes is not entirely consistent: on the one hand they were to be found in considerable numbers in every city (Jos., Wars, 2:124), while on the other hand they are described by Philo and Pliny the Elder (and indeed by Josephus himself) in terms which strongly suggest a desert community. The situation probably was that the fully initiated members of the various Essene orders lived a communal and ascetic life in the wilderness, while they had sympathizers or "associate members" in most of the cities of Palestine, and perhaps of the Diaspora too. The Essene group which Pliny describes (Nat. Hist. 5:17) lived on the west shore of the Dead Sea; its headquarters are nowadays widely identified with the ruined buildings at Qumran. The Essenes maintained themselves by manual labor and were punctilious in their religious observances, which included communal prayer, Bible study, and frugal meals. Full members were bound by such strict oaths that even one who was expelled from the order could not bring himself to break them, and was liable to die of starvation in consequence. They had neither wives nor servants, although Josephus mentions one company of Essenes who, exceptionally, did marry for the sole purpose of begetting children (Wars 2:160f.).

The Therapeutae, of whom Philo speaks (Cont. 2ff.) immediately after his account of the Essenes, were a Jewish ascetic order comprising both men and women, living in the Egyptian desert on the landward side of Lake Mareotis, near Alexandria. Their designation is derived by Philo from the Greek verb *therapeuo*, but he is not sure whether it means primarily "healers" or "worshipers." If it is the former, it recalls a suggested derivation of "Essenes" from Aramaic *ʾāsyā* ("healer"). They lived in individual huts, giving themselves to contemplation, prayer, praise, and Bible study, in which they followed a traditional allegorical interpretation. Every seventh day they met in community to worship and eat. On other days they practiced extreme frugality in food (some even partaking only once a week), and even on the Sabbath their fare was as plain as possible. The weekly meal, according to Philo, was regarded as the eating of the showbread – which suggests a priestly character for their order. A noteworthy feature of their worship was their choral singing, which on the Sabbath eve followed their meal and lasted till dawn. What relation, if any, they bore to the Essenes or any other ascetic group in Israel is uncertain.

John the Baptist is not called an ascetic by Josephus (Ant., 18:116–9), but he is so described in the Gospel tradition. According to Mark (1:6) he wore camel's hair, girt with a leather belt, and lived on locusts and wild honey; according to Q (the non-Markan material common to Matthew and Luke) he ate no bread and drank no wine (Luke 7:33; cf. Matt. 11:18), which may be compared with what is said of the Rechabites in Jeremiah 35:6–10. The material special to Luke suggests rather that John was a lifelong Nazirite (Luke 1:15): he grows to manhood in the desert (1:80) and in his preaching urges his hearers to share their clothes and food with the destitute (3:11). Bannus, another ascetic of the wilderness with whom

Josephus spent some time (c. 55 C.E.), clothed himself with leaves or bark, ate food which grew naturally, and practiced frequent purifying ablutions, both by day and by night (Life, 11–12). The account in the Slavonic Josephus (between Wars 2:110 and 111) of a wild man of the woods who had a confrontation with Archelaus, ethnarch of Judea, seems to be based in part on the portrayals of John the Baptist and Bannus. In another Slavonic addition (after Wars, 2:168) John the Baptist avoids not only bread and wine but also the flesh of animals; here may be traced some influence on the tradition from the Encratites (the second-century ascetic Christian sect who abstained from meat, wine, and marriage). Some forms of wilderness asceticism toward the end of the Second Temple period probably arise from the self-denial imposed on those engaged in a holy war (Deut. 20); this appears in some of the Qumran texts (see *War Scroll).

[Frederick Fyvie Bruce]

In Medieval Jewish Philosophy

Among medieval religious philosophers, the general line of the talmudic approach to asceticism is maintained.

The medieval philosophical approaches to asceticism may be characterized by three stages: (a) a moderate approach, affirming the value of family and social life in accordance with the Aristotelian "golden mean" (Nicomachean Ethics 2:1; see on Maimonides, below); (b) limited asceticism, recognizing the need to sustain the body; (c) absolute asceticism and withdrawal from family and social life. The medieval philosophers regarded these stages as corresponding to levels of perfection: the first, moderate stage is that of the common people and of the first steps on the path to wisdom; the second stage of limited asceticism, making do with the minimum required for continued physical existence, characterizes a more perfect class of people; those who reach the highest level of perfection practice extreme asceticism.

*Saadiah Gaon mentions in his *Book of Beliefs and Opinions* (treatise 10), among the various conceptions of the ideal life, the way of asceticism. He finds it unacceptable as a correct way of life, since, if it were practiced by everyone, it would lead to the end of man's existence on earth. This would be counter to the will of God that the world be peopled and built up by men, who should carry out His commandments in life in this world. Saadiah states that man is constituted by both body and spirit; hence, both must be attended to.

On the other hand, *Baḥya ibn Paquda in his *Duties of the Hearts* prescribes a measure of regular fasting and other ascetic regimens as indispensable for the achievement of ethical perfection (part 9). Solomon ibn *Gabirol, while not advocating asceticism directly, presents a doctrine compatible with Neoplatonic philosophy, from which a proponent of asceticism might derive considerable comfort. According to Gabirol, the soul is the human being, and it should be the aim of man's life to prepare the soul for union with the world of its element. Thus, man's physical appetites are to be held in reign by reason (*Tikkun Middot ha-Nefesh*, passim).

*Judah Halevi in his *Kuzari* describes the righteous person as one who gives every part of his personality its due, thus decidedly protesting against the notion that inflicting mortifications on one's body is itself a virtuous act. "Our religion," says Halevi, "is divided among fear, love, and joy, by each of which one can approach God. Your contrition on a fast day is not more acceptable to Him than your joy on the Sabbath and holy days, if it is the outcome of a devout heart" (2:50; cf. 3:1ff.).

On the other hand, Halevi describes the perfect *ḥasid* as yearning for absolute asceticism and abandonment of social and family life, like the biblical *Enoch and *Elijah (3:1). For Halevi, then, the ideal of extreme asceticism is not desirable in our day because prophecy is no longer possible.

The most pronounced support for asceticism among the medieval philosophers came from *Abraham b. Ḥiyya, who actually advocates sexual abstinence as the ideal (*Meditation of the Sad Soul*, Eng. tr. (1969), 133). However, this view is strongly condemned in the treatise *Iggeret ha-Kodesh*, attributed to *Naḥmanides, where in a mystical vein sexual intercourse is exalted, when motivated by sacred intentions, as a lofty activity of men (see especially ch. 2).

*Maimonides' attitude is consistent with his philosophy of the "middle path." His emphasis on a contemplative, virtuous life naturally has as its corollary a depreciation of terrestrial pleasures; yet, he warns against the other extreme of complete abstinence. In his discussion of the topic in his introduction to the tractate *Avot* (4th chapter) and in his *Mishneh Torah* (*De'ot*, 3), he stresses that the Torah does not wish man to deprive himself of pleasures. God is not the enemy of man's body. The way of the golden mean calls for a conduct of life equidistant from the two extremes of overindulgence and self-deprivation.

While certain individuals may at certain times derive benefit for their moral constitution from a policy of extreme self-deprivation, this should not be made a general program of life. Such deprivation is like certain medicines that may be beneficial for certain sicknesses, but will harm the normal healthy person. Maimonides' interpretation in his introduction to *Avot* of Numbers 6:1, that the Nazirite must offer a sacrifice, because by refraining from such pleasures as wine he "sinned against his [own] soul," was opposed by Naḥmanides, who argued to the contrary that the Nazirite's sacrifice reflects atonement for leaving the higher sanctity of being a Nazirite in favor of returning to ordinary life. The dispute between them reflects talmudic discussions, with Naḥmanides following the opinion of Rabbi Eleazar (in *Ta'anit* 11a) and Maimonides following the view of the rabbis in *Nedarim* 10a.

In any event, in his *Guide for the Perplexed* Maimonides adopts a more pro-ascetic view and hints that extreme asceticism is the goal of such perfect persons as the prophets, and he accepts Aristotle's view that the sense of touch is the most repugnant of all the external senses, and accordingly regards sexual relations negatively.

*Abraham b. Moses b. Maimon expressed a positive attitude toward asceticism in his Arabic work *Kifāyat al-ʿĀbidīn* ("Comprehensive Guide for the Servants of God," Heb. ed. 1965), a philosophy reminiscent of Sufi views.

The ambivalent attitude towards asceticism, on the one hand rejecting it as the recommended moral way for the masses and on the other hand presenting it as an ideal of perfection, continued to permeate medieval Jewish thought. The radical rationalism of the 13th–15th centuries regarded conjunction with the Active Intellect – the beatitude sought by the philosopher – as attainable only after death. For the person who has reached perfection, matter becomes superfluous. Such rationalism led to idealizing extreme asceticism.

Extreme asceticism also came to be idealized as a repressed ideal of the religious Jew in other non-philosophical conceptions of human perfection, in the Kabbalah and in 12th–13th century German Ḥasidism (*Ḥasidut Ashkenaz*), which posit utter self-nullification and assimilation into the divine world.

Mystical tendencies towards asceticism took several forms. First, the mystical way leads to conjunction or communion (*devekut*) with the divine, and in some cases even to union with the divine world. Such views frequently result in an ascetic ethos. Second, the theurgic interest in Kabbalah focuses on repairing (*tikkun*) the divine world, with the result that the terrestrial dimension of physical life is rendered marginal. Third, certain trends, such as German Ḥasidism, developed a series of ascetic techniques in order to effect what was called a "counterbalance of repentance" (*teshuvat ha-mishkal*), namely, in order to attain perfection the penitent had to undergo suffering which would counterbalance his prior sinful pleasure. On the other hand, the movement's tendency towards asceticism was opposed by their concern for the sanctity of sex and for theurgic practices. Mystical attitudes towards asceticism thus remained mixed and complex.

Perhaps Moses Ḥayyim *Luzzatto best summarized the prevalent Jewish attitude toward asceticism. In *Mesillat Yesharim* (end of chapter 13) he explains that, while it is proper for a person to limit his superfluous enjoyments to guard against debasement of his character, it is wrong and sinful to deprive oneself of enjoyments in a manner that will cause one needless suffering and be detrimental to one's bodily and spiritual health.

Thus, while a moderate and balanced morality always dominated Jewish thought, the ascetic motif was never lacking.

[Jacob Haberman / Dov Schwartz (2nd ed.)]

Women and Asceticism

Biblical legislation places limits on ascetic practices women might take upon themselves. According to Numbers 30:4–17, a woman's vows and self-imposed obligations were valid only if her father or guardian, in the case of a minor, or husband, in the case of a married woman, did not object when he learned about them. The vows and self-imposed deprivations of a widow or divorced woman, however, were considered binding.

Issues connected with women's self-imposed ascetic vows are discussed in the Talmud (TB Ned. 81a–84a), including abstention from food, from bathing, from wearing certain clothes, and most importantly, from cohabitation and sexual relations. Following the model of biblical legislation, the rabbis affirmed that the male guardian or husband has the prerogative to annul all such vows as soon as he hears of them; however, if he delays significantly, he cannot annul them later. Generally, the rabbis disapproved of women who assumed obligations requiring extremes of self-denial and expressed particular disapproval of women who devoted themselves to excessive prayer and unusual degrees of fasting. Such a woman would be derelict in her central religious obligation, her domestic duties to her husband and family. Thus, TB *Sotah* 22a understands the "female 'pharisee' … who brings destruction upon the world" in R. Joshua's statement in *Sotah* 3:4, as "a maiden who gives herself up to prayer." In the parallel passage in TJ, the disapproval is extended to a woman "who gives herself up to fasting."

While celibacy and monastic living allowed a significant number of medieval Christian women, and to a certain extent, also, some Muslim women, to cross gender boundaries, engage in a variety of ascetic spiritual exercises, and secure a place alongside men as scholars, saints, and mystics, rabbinic insistence on universal marriage from early adolescence ruled out such life alternatives for medieval and early modern Jewish women. The effort to distance women from asceticism is also indicative of their absence in Jewish mystical life, where such practices were typical of the male elite.

The popular conception that East European Ḥasidism enabled a significant number of women to become mystical leaders with permitted access to the ascetic mortifications usually reserved for male leaders has been shown to be a 20th-century historiographical myth. It was only within the anti-nomian practices of the Shabbatean movement that gender barriers were removed sufficiently to allow for female participation in the spiritualization of physical existence and the advent of a new messianic reality.

[Judith R. Baskin (2nd ed.)]

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ASCH, SHOLEM (1880–1957), Yiddish novelist and dramatist. Born in Kutno, Poland, to parents from scholarly Orthodox families, he was educated in traditional Jewish schools until the age of 17. He began to learn German with the aid of Moses Mendelssohn's Hebrew-alphabet German translation of the Psalms, later learning the Roman alphabet and immersing himself in German classics and Hebrew Haskalah literature. His parents' subsequent suspicions of heresy led him to move to the home of relatives in a Polish village, where he taught the children Torah. He later earned his living by writing letters for illiterate people in the town of Włocławek. Influenced by Hebrew, Yiddish, Russian, Polish, and German, Asch tried his hand at literary composition and, in 1900, took his first literary efforts (in Hebrew) to Warsaw where I.L. *Peretz advised him to concentrate on Yiddish. His early work is pervaded with the experiences of his youth and the influence of A. *Reisen and H.D. *Nomberg, his Warsaw roommates. A turning point in his life was his meeting with the Polish-Jewish writer, M.M. Shapiro, whose daughter Mathilde he married in 1900. His material needs provided for, Asch's literary achievements flourished correspondingly. In 1900 he published a Yiddish story, "Moyshele," and three years later his first book, a collection of Yiddish sketches, *In a Shlekhter Tsayt* ("In an Evil Time," 1903). With *A Shtetl* ("A Town," published in *Fraynd*, 1904–5), Asch introduced a new tone into his own works and into Yiddish literature as a whole; the former gloomy portrayal of Jewish life gave way to an awareness of its warmth and geniality; the work was received enthusiastically by readers. From this period date Asch's first friendships with Polish writers, among them Eliza Orzeszkowa, Stefan Żeromski, Maria Dąbrowska, and above all Stanisław Witkiewicz. His first play *Tsurikgekumen* ("The Return," 1904) (also published as *Mitn Shtrom*, "With the Current," 1909) won him further recognition. The most important of his dramas was *Got fun Nekome* ("God of Vengeance," 1907). In his psychological and socio-nationalist dramas, Asch tried to liberate himself from the spell of the *shtetl*. The same tendency is felt in his first novel, *Meri* (*Mary,* 1913), depicting the 1905 Revolution from a Jewish perspective, and its sequel, *Der Veg tsu Zikh* ("The Way to Oneself," 1914), both of which deal with worldwide Jewish problems and which were written after Asch had traveled in Europe and made journeys to Palestine (1908, which resulted in a collection of sketches, *Ereẓ Israel*, 1911) and the United States (1910), about which he wrote *Der Landsman* ("The Countryman," 1911) and *Amerike*. In 1912 Asch moved to France, and in 1913 he published *Reb Shloyme Nogid*, reverting to the world of the *shtetl* while bringing to the topic a new maturity of outlook; no longer content with lyrical description, he now wished to make a positive statement about this society. The story became the artistic yardstick by which he measured all his subsequent works, few of which reached the required standard. The same year Asch published his biblical stories for children, *Mayselekh fun Khumesh* ("Tale from the Pentateuch," 1913). In 1914 Asch made his second trip to Palestine and moved to New York, where he wrote a play, *Undzer gloybn* ("Our Faith," 1914) and other narratives that appeared in the *Forverts*. In 1915 he helped to raise funds for Jewish war victims. During this creative period he also published the social novel *Motke Ganev* ("Motke the Thief," 1916), a tale of the underworld, and *Onkl Mozes* (1918), which displays greater narrative unity and coherence, the scene now being an Americanized version of the Polish *shtetl* which, no longer the theme for a patriarchal idyll, verges on comedy. He was still more successful with *Kiddush ha-Shem* ("Martyrdom," 1919), one of the earliest historical novels in modern Yiddish literature; it represents Jewish martyrdom in mid-17th-century Ukraine and Poland, although its immediate motivation was the Ukrainian pogroms of 1918–19. In the spring of 1919 he traveled in Europe for the American Jewish Relief Committee. In the following year he became an American citizen, and on the occasion of his 40th birthday, a committee headed by J.L. *Magnes was founded in New York which published Asch's collected works in 12 volumes, with an introduction by S. *Niger. Asch's second grand historical novel, the somewhat melodramatic *Di Kishufmakhern fun Kastilyen* ("The Witch of Castile," 1921), is in spirit a continuation of *Kiddush ha-Shem*, telling of a beautiful girl's resolute death for her faith, contrasting the everyday world of Jewish life with the elevated spirit of the Sabbath, and outer servitude with inner freedom.

In 1924 Asch returned to Warsaw and wrote a social novel, *Di muter* ("The Mother," 1925), one part of which is about Polish Jewry, the other about the United States; *Toyt Urteyl* ("Death Sentence," 1924); and *Khaym Lederers Tsurikkumen* ("Chaim Lederer's Return," 1927), whose hero belongs to the typically Aschian characters who yearn for an ideal and search for faith. After the Polish coup d'état of 1926, Asch published in Warsaw's *Haynt* an open letter to Marshal Józef Piłsudski, which stirred controversy in Jewish circles. In the monumental trilogy, *Farn Mabl* ("Before the Flood," transl. as *Three Cities*): *Peterburg* ("St. Petersburg," 1929), *Varshe* ("Warsaw," 1930), and *Moskve* ("Moscow," 1931), he provides a broad panorama of Jewish life in Russia before and during the Revolution. In 1932 Asch moved to Nice and in the following year was elected honorary president of the Yiddish PEN Club. In the same year, he was awarded the medal *Polonia Restituta* by the Polish government and was nominated for the Nobel Prize in literature. After the monumental *Farn Mabl*, Asch published the less ambitious *Gots Gefangene* ("God's Captives," 1933), *Der Tilim Yid* (1934, trans. as *Salvation*), *Bam Opgrunt* ("The Precipice," 1937), a novel about the years of rampant inflation in Germany before Hitler's rise to power, and *Dos Gezang fun Tol* ("The Song of the Valley," 1938), a poetic depiction of settlers' lives in Palestine. In 1937 Asch again toured the United States to raise funds for European Jews and received an honorary doctorate from the Jewish Theological Seminary. After 1938 he again made his home in the U.S.

His next group of books comprises his christological trilogy, which deal with the founders of Christianity: *Der Man fun Notseres* (1939, trans. as *The Nazarene*), *The Apostle* (1943), and *Mary* (1949) (the last two published only in English). In their psychological content, they develop directly from *Der Tilim Yid*, while the subject matter is connected with that of some of Asch's early stories. They were enthusiastically received by the English, but not by the Yiddish, press. The *Forverts*, to which Asch had hitherto contributed regularly, not only refused to publish the work, but openly attacked the author for encouraging heresy and conversion by preaching Christianity. Only a very few critics discussed the literary merits of the books, most of the Jewish press following the *Forverts*' lead in attacking Asch. The result was an estrangement between Asch and Yiddish literature and Jewish social life. His critics claimed to discern the missionary element in all the writing of the subsequent dozen or so years: his American-Jewish novel *Ist River* ("East River," 1946), his collection of ghetto stories about the Nazi period, *Der Brenendiker Dorn* ("The Burning Bush," 1946), and *Moyshe* ("Moses," 1951). In 1954 *Grosman un Zun* (trans. as *Passage in the Night*) appeared, and in 1955 Asch turned to the prophet Isaiah in *Der Novi* ("The Prophet"). As all his works, they reveal a first-rate storyteller who clothed romantic idealism in a realistic style. He stressed the individuality of his characters as well as their national and social environment, their moral deliberations, and their religious strivings. Controversial, aggressive, and tireless in his search for new horizons, Asch, who began as the poet of the *shtetl*, nevertheless liberated Yiddish literature from these narrow confines. Deeply attached to the legacy of the Jewish past, which he enshrined in novels and dramas of aesthetic beauty and moral grandeur, he connected the Yiddish world to the mainstream of European and American culture, becoming the first Yiddish writer to enjoy a truly international vogue.

In 1956, Asch settled in Tel Aviv, and in the following year he suffered a fatal stroke while in London. In accordance with Asch's request, his house in Bat Yam was converted into a Sholem Asch Museum. Of his notable collections of Jewish art objects, the accumulation of a lifetime, a valuable part is in Los Angeles, while the bulk of his library, containing rare Yiddish books and manuscripts, including the originals of some of his own works, is at Yale University.

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[Shemuel Niger (Charney) / Magdalena Sitarz (2nd ed.)]

ASCHAFFENBURG, city in Bavaria, Germany. Jews are first mentioned as living in Aschaffenburg in 1147. Abraham, a scholar and colleague of *Meir b. Baruch of Rothenburg, lived there in the 13th century. A synagogue is mentioned in 1344. Outbreaks of anti-Jewish violence occurred in 1337 and in 1348–49 the Jews were expelled. They were readmitted in 1359, and granted protection by the archbishop of Mainz in 1384. During the 16th century three or four Jewish families were living in Aschaffenburg, which was the home of Simeon b. Isaac ha-Levi, author of *Devek Tov* (1588) and *Masoret ha-Mikra* (1572). The number of Jewish households increased to 15 by the end of the century, and to 20 by 1705. A new synagogue was built in 1698 and rebuilt in 1893. The Aschaffenburg community was under the jurisdiction of the *Mainz rabbinate during the early and mid-18th century. Isaac Saeckel Ethausen, author of *Or Ne'elam* (1765), officiated as rabbi in the early part of the period. A number of restrictions on Jewish trade in Aschaffenburg were abolished in 1732. The Aschaffenburg *kehillah* was the leading community in the area and regional assemblies of the communities were held there in 1753, 1770, and 1784 to deal with the establishment of Jewish schools. The Aschaffenburg cemetery (near Schweinheim) also served communities in the vicinity, which joined the **ḥevra kaddisha* (burial society) of Aschaffenburg in 1719. In 1807 permission was first granted to a Jew to become a tailor. Rabbis serving in Aschaffenburg in the 19th century include Hillel Wolf Sondheimer, who was assisted by Israel Wertheimer, Gabriel Loew Neuburger, Abraham Adler, and Simon Bamberger, and in the 20th century, Raphael Breuer. The Jewish population of Aschaffenburg totaled 35 families in 1803 and 46 in 1807; 172 persons in 1814–16, 286 in 1871, 604 in 1900, 670 in 1910, 643 in 1925, 700 in 1928 (2% of the total population), and 591 in 1933. The synagogue was destroyed in 1938. Around half the Jews emigrated between 1933 and 1941 and another 121 left for other German cities. The remaining 170 Jews of Aschaffenburg were deported to Izbica and Theresienstadt in 1942. Few Jews returned after the war. A park commemorating Aschaffenburg's former Jewish community was created on the site of the synagogue and a museum documenting local Jewish history was inaugurated in the former rabbinate building in 1984.

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[Ze'ev Wilhem Falk / Stefan Rohrbacher (2nd ed.)]

ASCHAFFENBURG, GUSTAV (1866–1944), criminologist and psychiatrist. In 1899 he converted to Protestantism. Aschaffenburg was born in Zweibruecken, Germany. After an internship in psychiatry under Krafft-Ebing and Mynert in Vienna and under Ball, Charcot, and Pierre Marie in Paris, he became assistant to Kraepelin in Heidelberg, who encouraged him to follow his interests in criminology. In 1904 Aschaffenburg started teaching psychiatry at the Academy of Medicine in Cologne. When the University of Cologne was reestablished in 1919 after World War I he was appointed professor and director of the university's psychiatric clinic. Aschaffenburg, early in his career, turned his attention to the care of prisoners and endeavored to discover the causes of crime and methods of treatment. In *Das Verbrechen und seine Bekaempfung* (1903; 3rd ed. 1923), he described socio-environmental as well as physical, psychological, and the psychiatric factors in crime. He suggested progressive methods of treatment for offenders and stressed, in particular, society's duty to develop preventive measures, making him one of the founders of modern forensic psychiatry in Germany. In 1904 Aschaffenburg founded the *Monatsschrift fuer Kriminalpsychologie und Strafrechtsreform*, which he edited and wrote for until 1935. He also edited *Handbuch der Psychiatrie*. When the Nazi regime came to power, Aschaffenburg was dismissed from his many posts, and in 1939 immigrated to the U.S., where he became a professor at the Catholic University in Washington and subsequently Johns Hopkins in Baltimore.

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[Zvi Hermon / Marcus Pyka (2nd ed.)]

ASCHER, SAUL (1767–1882), German author, philosopher, and pioneer of religious reform. Ascher was born in Berlin and was heavily influenced by the Kantian philosophy. His first work, *Bemerkungen ueber die buergerliche verbesserung der Juden, veranlasst durch die Frage: Soll der Jude Soldat werden* (1788), included a call to the Jews to relinquish their way of life and prejudices in order to obtain civic emancipation. Nevertheless he rejected military service as long as the Jews did not enjoy full emancipation and equality. In 1794 he published a polemical tract against the antisemitic opinions of Fichte, calling him a "second Eisenmanger" and criticizing some of his philosophical ideas. In his main work, *Leviathan, oder: ueber Religion in Ruecksicht des Judentums* (1792), in contradiction to Moses Mendelssohn Ascher considered religion a primary expression of human sentiment that leads to a specific world view and ideals. Judaism's uniqueness lies not in the practical commandments but in this specific world view, which he summed up in 14 dogmas basically corresponding to the 13 Articles of Faith of Maimonides. According to Ascher, the object of Jewish religious law is to stimulate the discernment of its philosophical kernel and should be reformed whenever necessitated by the social and spiritual conditions of the Jews.

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[Jacob S. Levinger / Yehoyada Amir (2nd ed.)]

ASCHERSON, PAUL FRIEDRICH AUGUST (1834–1913), German botanist. Born and educated in Berlin, Ascherson abandoned a medical practice to become involved in botanical research. He founded the Brandenburg botanical society and wrote the classic *Flora der Provinz Brandenburg* (1859–64) which was later expanded and published as *Flora des nordostdeutschen Flachlandes* (1898–99). He traveled widely, making botanical trips in Europe and North Africa. He made a special study of the coastal flora from Alexandria to El Arish and collaborated in G. Schweinfurth's *Illustration de la flore d'Egypte* (1887; suppl. 1889). He was appointed to Berlin University in 1863 and became a full professor in 1908. He and his pupil, Paul Graebner, completed seven volumes of *Synopsis der Mitteleuropaeischen Flora* (1896).

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[Mordecai L. Gabriel]

ASCHHEIM, ISIDOR (1891–1968), Israel painter. For most of the decade after 1940, Aschheim was practically the only Israel artist making etchings and lithographs and was mainly responsible for imparting these techniques to the new generation of Israel artists. Aschheim was born in Posen, Germany, and studied at the Breslau Art Academy under Otto Mueller, a member of Die Bruecke Group. He traveled in Italy and France, and upon his return to Breslau, devoted himself to painting, drawing, printmaking, and lithography. He arrived in Palestine in 1940, settled in Jerusalem, and from 1943 taught drawing at the Bezalel School of Art. Aschheim was a representative of the Jerusalem School, which was created by a group of artists who were refugees from the Nazi regime. Aschheim's work, which in Germany had been close to the moderate expressionism of Mueller, mellowed by contact with the Judean landscape. The importance of his work lies primarily in his printmaking. Aschheim won few prizes during his lifetime: the Diezengoff Prize in 1951 and the Jerusalem Art Prize in 1955. In 1956 he participated in the Venice Biennale. Two of his works, *Tiberias* (1949) and *Oriental Figure*, are on view in the Fine Art Museum at San Francisco.

[Yona Fischer]

ASCHNER, MANFRED (1901–1989), bacteriologist. Born in Ratibor, Germany, Aschner was a member of the Zionist *Blau-Weiss movement in his youth. He was educated at the School of Higher Agricultural Education in Berlin and immigrated to Ereẓ Israel in 1924, settling in kibbutz Yagur as part of the "Zvi group." In 1925, he joined the entomological station in Haifa to study the biology of malaria. In 1926 he was asked to join the Department of Bacteriology in the newly established Hebrew University at Mount Scopus, Jerusalem, and began his research on the symbiotic interaction between pathogenic parasites (Pupipara) and bacteria colonizing the parasites' gut. To complete his doctoral studies he went to the University of Breslau in 1929, returning to Palestine in 1930. In the mid-1940s he was approached by fish breeders from the Jordan Valley when a mysterious agent was causing the death of fish there and threatening to wipe out the entire fish industry in the north of the country. He found that a toxin produced by algae caused the death of the fish. He then developed a strategy for eradicating the algae and saved the fishponds. In 1952, he was appointed associate professor of bacteriology at the Hebrew University and in 1956 he was asked to head the newly established Department of Biotechnology at the Technion in Haifa. For discovering the cause of the fish epidemic and his contribution to the field of biological sciences he received the Israel Prize in 1956. He donated the prize money to a foundation devoted to the security of Israel (Keren ha-Magen). Aschner was a keen scientific observer, a devoted teacher and Zionist, and a pioneer in his field of research.

[Eitan Galun (2nd ed.)]

ASCOLI, Italian family, originating from the city of *Ascoli Piceno near Ancona. Members of the family are known from the 15th century. Among its members was JACOB BEN ABRAHAM OF ASCOLI (15th century), rabbi, physician, and liturgical poet. He wrote two introductions to *Nishmat Kol Ḥai*, one beginning *Yodu le-Shimkha Elyon*, for the Day of Atonement, and the other *Yifros Go'el Sukkat Shalom* for the Feast of Tabernacles. DAVID D'ASCOLI (mid-16th century) was the author of *Apologia Hebraeorum* (1559) in which he protested against the discriminatory anti-Jewish legislation of Pope Paul IV which enforced the Jewish *badge and established the ghetto system. As a result of his protest, David was imprisoned. A street in Ascoli has been named after him. ALBERT ABRAM (b. 1877) was a physician and educator. He was a pioneer in anti-tubercular vaccination and director of the Institute for Anti-Tubercular Vaccines in Milan (1924) as well as professor at Milan University. The author of some 180 publications, he received several decorations for his work. ALDO (b. 1882), a much decorated naval officer, rose to be commander of the Italian fleet in the Aegean (1930) but, after the racial laws came into effect, was forced to resign (1938). ALFREDO (1863–1942) was a jurist. He taught law at Messina, Pavia, and Rome. Alfredo also wrote numerous works, particularly on Roman law, and played a prominent part in elaborating the new Italian civil code. EMILIA (b. 1873) was the author and writer of fables. She wrote under the pseudonym Liana. Her works include *Favole* (1914) and *Canti Tricolori* (1917). GIULIO (1843–96) was a mathematician, and associate professor at the Politechnico in Milan from 1879. He introduced the concept of quasi-uniform convergence and dealt with the theory of functions and problems of calculation. His works appeared in Brioschi's *Annali di Matematica* and other scientific publications. GIULIO (1870–1916), a physicist, was born in Trieste. He was noted for his research on metabolism and uremia. GUIDO (1887–1957), a mathematician and educator, was professor of mathematics at the University of Pisa (1933–34), Milan (1934–38), and Turin (1949–57), specializing in analysis and geometry. MAURIZIO (1876–1958), a pathologist, taught at Palermo (1920–22), held the chair of pathology at the University of Catania (1911–20, 1922–27), and became director of its medical clinic (1927). Among his major contributions were studies on immunity to various diseases, the influence of irradiation on the endocrine gland function, and the effects of drugs. MOISE (1857–1921), a physician, born in Gorizia, was professor of technical physics at the University of Rome. He dealt with the properties of metals, magnetism, and electricity, and published numerous articles in scientific periodicals. VITTORIO (1863–1931), a pathologist, was director of the Clinica Medica Roma and was famous for his studies on malaria, diabetes, and tuberculosis. MAX (b. 1898), a jurist and author, was professor of law at the University of Genoa (1926–31). After the rise of Fascism he migrated to the U.S. where he lectured at the New School for Social Research, New York, and became a member of the "University in Exile." After World War II he participated in the restoration of artistic monuments damaged in the war. He was the author of several works on jurisprudence in Italian, and political writings, mainly on Fascism, in English. He was editor of the American weekly the *Reporter* (1949–68).

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[Nathan H. Winter]

ASCOLI, ETTORE (1873–1943), Italian soldier. Ascoli, who was born in Ancona, was commissioned in the artillery in 1891. As a young man he took part in the African campaign of 1896, which ended in the defeat of Adua. He terminated his studies in 1902, and in 1905 he was appointed captain. For several years before World War I, from 1909 to 1915, he was a senior instructor at the Modena Military Academy.

In 1917 he was appointed colonel commander of the 7th Group of Artillery of the 26th Army Corps on Mount Podgora. He was then appointed divisional commander of Artillery. After the Austrian offensive of 1917, which terminated in the Italian defeat of Caporetto, Ascoli was appointed in June as commander of the Inter-Allied Artillery, which included British and French units.

He returned to instructional duties after the end of the war, by which time he had reached the rank of colonel and had been decorated several times, with the Bronze Medal, the War Cross, and the Knight's Cross of the Order of Savoy, and the Officer's Cross of the Order of Savoy. In 1924 he was appointed head of the Military Schools Service. Ascoli returned to the artillery in 1926, and in 1933, as a major general, was appointed deputy commander general of the Italian artillery. He was inspector of the military zone of Bologna from 1935 until 1937 when, as a lieutenant general, he was appointed an army corps commander. General Ascoli published various manuals for field artillery officers, as well as a book on Italian artillery during World War I.

Shortly before the outbreak of World War II when anti-Jewish legislation was enacted in Italy, Ascoli was compelled to leave the army. After September 1943, when the Germans invaded Italy, Ascoli joined the partisans, and was killed fighting against the Germans on December 14, 1943. He was buried in the cemetery of Cingoli.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Jewish Heroism in Modern Times* (1965); E. Rubin, *140 Jewish Marshals, Generals and Admirals* (1952), 179–80.

[Mordechai Kaplan]

ASCOLI, GRAZIADIO ISAIA (1829–1907), Italian philologist and linguist from *Gorizia. Ascoli was very closely connected with the Jewish cultural milieu of Abram Vita Reggio, Samuel David *Luzzatto, and Filosseno Luzzatto; from 1850 to 1852 he was president of the Jewish community of Gorizia. Ascoli devoted himself to the promotion of scientific philology in Italy. At the age of 16 he published *Sull'idioma friulano e sulla sua affinità con la lingua valaca. Schizzo storico-filologico* (1846), a comparative study of the Friulan dialect and the Wallachian tongue. In 1861, on the basis of his research on Turkish and Oriental languages, *Studii orientali e linguistici* (Gorizia, 1854–61), he was appointed professor of linguistics at the Regia Accademia Scientifico-Letteraria of Milan. He held the chair for over 40 years and influenced many Italian philologists of his own and succeeding generations. His *Lezioni di Fonologia Comparata del Sanscrito, del Greco e del Latino* (Turin, 1870) and *Studi critici* (Turin, 1877) wrought a revolution in comparative Indo-Germanic philology.

Ascoli made important contributions to the field of comparative linguistics, including the theory that the different Romance dialects had been influenced by Celtic dialects before the period of the Roman Empire and the spread of Latin. He was the first scholar to formulate many of the laws of phonetic change. His outstanding work on Romance philology, *Saggi ladini*, was published in the journal *Archivio glottologico italiano*, which he founded in 1873, and was awarded the Bopp Prize by the Berlin Academy in 1874.

In addition, Ascoli published *Die Ziegeuner in Europa und Asien* (Halle, 1865), *Studi Ario-Semitici* (1865), *Lettere Glottologiche* (1879–85), and *Il Codice irlandese dell'Ambrosiana* (Turin, 1877). Ascoli also devoted himself to Jewish historical research and published papers on the Hebrew, Latin, and Greek inscriptions on early medieval Jewish tombstones in southern Italy. The greater part of Ascoli's scientific papers were published in the *Archivio glottologico italiano*, of which 15 volumes had appeared up to 1900. Ascoli received many honors and scientific appointments in Italy and in Europe (mainly in Germany) and he was a member of the Academies of Science at Paris, Leningrad, Vienna, and Budapest and of the Italian Council for Higher Education. In 1889 he became a senator of the Italian Kingdom. His son, MOISÈ ASCOLI (1859–1921), was a distinguished physicist.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: M.E. Loricchio, *Graziadio Isaia Ascoli biografia di un intellettuale* (1999); A. Casella and G. Lucchini, *Graziadio e Moisè Ascoli. Scienza, cultura e politica nell'Italia liberale* (2002).

[Federica Francesconi (2nd ed.)]

ASCOLI PICENO, city in central Italy, south of Ancona. Ascoli Piceno was one of the first towns to authorize Jewish moneylending activities (in 1297). Jewish loan banks flourished there until this occupation was prohibited to Jews in 1458, when a *Monte di Pietà was set up. In 1470 Jewish moneylending was again permitted; other occupations were trade in cloth and agricultural produce. In 1502 the city came under pontifical rule, and so the Jews of Ascoli shared the vicissitudes of the other Jewries of the Papal States. In 1531 they were ordered by the bishop to wear the Jewish *badge. Their position deteriorated under Pope Paul IV. Jewish commerce was restricted, and they were confined to the ghetto. The physician David d'Ascoli was imprisoned for publishing his *Apologia Hebraeorum*, in protest against the restrictions. In 1569 the Jews were expelled from the town. In 1587 they were temporarily readmitted to the city, and in 1593 were again expelled. In 1604, some Jewish merchants were allowed to reopen their stores, but these were closed in 1678. Subsequently Jews were allowed to visit Ascoli only to take part in the three annual fairs. Ascoli Piceno is not to be confused with Ascoli Satriano in Apulia, where, in about 1165, *Benjamin of Tudela encountered 40 Jewish families.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: G. Fabiani, *Gli Ebrei e il Monte di Pietà in Ascoli* (1942); E. Loevinson, in: REJ, 93 (1932), 47.

[Attilio Milano]

ASEFAT ḤAKHAMIM (Heb. אֲסֵפַת חֲכָמִים; "Assembly of Sages"), Hebrew socialist monthly founded by M.L. Rodkinson in 1877 and published in Koenigsberg. *Asefat Ḥakhamim* was the second journal of its kind. It was a successor to A.S. *Liebermann's *Ha-Emet* ("The Truth") and propagated its ideology with mainly the same contributors. Eight issues were published between October 1877 and October 1878. A reprint of these appeared in one volume in 1967, *Asefat Ḥakhamim* (Hebrew University Press, Akademon). The prospectus published in the first issue stated that the journal would deal primarily with the "problem of existence," or the "spoon and fork" dilemma (the problem of earning one's daily bread). M. *Winchevsky, who was influenced by Liebermann, assumed active editorship and, under various pseudonyms, contributed most of the literary material appearing in the journal. The socialist and positivist tendency in his writings was inspired by the radical Russian writers D. Pisaryev and N. Chernyshevsky. Winchevsky's chief assistant, E.W. *Rabinowitz, wrote a series of articles for the journal on the "Problem of the Workers in the United States." Other contributors included Isaac Kaminer and M.L. Lilienblum. Publication ended after Winchevsky was arrested and expelled from Germany because of his political views.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: M. Winchevsky, *Gezamlte Verk*, 9 (1927), 182–316; Klausner, Sifrut, 6 (1958^{2}), 289–301.

[Gedalyah Elkoshi]

ASENAPPER (Heb. אָסְנַפַּר), Mesopotamian king who deported several peoples – Babylonians, Elamites, and others – to Samaria, and elsewhere in Palestine-Syria (Ezra 4:10). Asenapper is commonly identified with Ashurbanipal, king of Assyria (668–c. 627 B.C.E.). Although there is no direct evidence that Ashurbanipal deported peoples to Palestine-Syria, it is plausible that he did – and actually from the very localities named in the text, since he crushed a revolt of southern Mesopotamia and liquidated the kingdom of Elam, which abetted the former. Furthermore, the name Asenapper can hardly be reconciled with that of any other king. The distortion of the name may have taken place with a supposed original Asurbanipal becoming Asurbanipar (*l* > *r* is a common phonetic shift), which then was abbreviated to As[ ]nipar, either through pronunciation or textual corruption. Some such process, if not precisely that one, must have led to the form Asenapper.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: M. Streck, *Assurbanipal*, 1 (Ger., 1916), ccclxivff.; B. Meisler (Mazar), in: EM, 1 (1965), 480–1 (incl. bibl.); Commentaries to Ezra 4:10.

[Jeffrey Howard Tigay]

ASENATH (Heb. אָסְנַת; meaning in Egyptian, "she belongs to, or is the servant of, [the goddess] Neith"), daughter of Poti-Phera, the high priest of On (Heliopolis). Asenath, at Pharaoh's instance, married Joseph (Gen. 41:45, et al.). She bore Joseph two sons, Manasseh and Ephraim, during the seven years of plenty (41:50; 46:20). For the rabbinic attitude to Asenath, see *Joseph (in *aggadah*).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: W. Spiegelberg, *Aegyptologische Randglossen zum Alten Testament* (1904), 18–19; J. Vergote, *Joseph en Egypte* (Fr., 1959), 148ff.; N.M. Sarna, *Understanding Genesis* (1966), 221. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** D. Redford, *Egypt, Canaan, and Israel in Ancient Times* (1992), 424; V. Aptowitzer, in: HUCA, 1 (1924), 239–306.

[Nahum M. Sarna]

ASH (**Asch**; Heb. א״ש), abbreviation of various Hebrew words and transcriptions, later used as a name in its own right in Central and Eastern Europe. (1) Ash was the traditional Hebrew abbreviation of the city name *Eisenstadt. Meir b. Isaac *Eisenstadt is also known as "Maharam Ash"; "Ash" appears on a number of old Eisenstadt tombstones. Meir *Eisenstadter (Asch) made a pun from the Hebrew meaning of the word (אש, "fire") in the title of his work *Imrei Esh* (1852) and so did Abraham b. Joseph *Ash. (2) "Ash" is also used as an abbreviation for Alt-schul, the "old school" (synagogue) quarter of Prague, by Moses b. Ḥanokh *Altschul in the late 15th century; it was later found on tombstones of 1582 to 1727 in the old cemetery of Prague. (3) The Ash family of rabbis (descended from Moses b. Joseph of Mezhirech in Poland, who moved to Stargard in Pomerania), believing that their name literally signified "ash" (Asche in German), "retranslated" it into Hebrew as *Efer* (*Mishpaḥat Efer*), "ash" in Hebrew.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: H. Flesch, in: *Juedische Familien-Forschung*, 2, no. 4 (1926), 188; A. Berliner, *Zur Familiengeschichte Asch* (1913), 15; S. Hock, *Die Familien Prags* (1892), 16–19; B. Wachstein, *Die Grabinschriften des alten Judenfriedhofs in Eisenstadt* (1922), 660.

ASH, family which during the 18th and 19th centuries produced a number of distinguished rabbis, both in Poland and in Germany. These included:

(1) ABRAHAM ASH (18th century), rabbi and author who was born in Posen and became rabbi at Celle. He wrote *Torah Kullah* (Berlin, 1796), which comprises (a) *Yoreh De'ah*, a compendium of ethical essays based on the natural sciences; (b) *Yavin Shemu'ah*, statements from the Talmud and halakhic authorities opposing early burials; and (c) *Ḥerev la-Shem* – against Solomon *Pappenheim and in favor of delaying the interment of the dead. He proposed that "the very earliest rabbinic regulations" be reintroduced, that sepulchral chambers be built in every cemetery, where the deceased be placed and left for three days so that there can be no doubt of death.

(2) Abraham Joseph *Ash (1813–1888), rabbi and halakhic authority. Born at Siemiaticze, in the district of Grodno, he immigrated to New York in 1852 and was among the early founders of what came to be known as the Bet ha-Midrash ha-Gadol, where he was rabbi from 1860 until his death (except for intervals when he tried unsuccessfully to engage in business). He was regarded as an authority and rabbis in Europe paid special attention to him in religious matters. Ash was responsible for several new features relating to a *get* ("bill of divorce"): its text, the procedure of mailing it, its distinguishing marks, and the accepted spelling of American personal and place names. He was involved in halakhic controversies with Jacob *Ettlinger of Altona (*Binyan Ẓiyyon*, no. 63, dated 1858) and Isaac Elhanan *Spektor of Kovno. He wrote a protest against attempts of Reform rabbis to deliver sermons in Orthodox synagogues (1886).

(3) ABRAHAM BEN JOSEPH ASH (late 18th–early 19th century), rabbi and author. Born in Posen, he was rabbi at Zell, near Wuerzburg, in the *bet midrash* of Isaac Rans. He wrote

Mareh Esh ("The Appearance of Fire," "*Esh*" being a play on his surname), containing novellae on various talmudic themes and glosses on all the tractates of the Talmud (Berlin, 1803). The author's introduction includes his ethical will addressed to his son Moses Jacob who published his book.

(4) JOEL BEN MEIR JOSEPH ASH (1745–1811), rabbi and author. Born in Stargard, he studied in Berlin and Frankfurt on the Oder, and was appointed rabbi of Schoenlanke in 1779. He was the author of pilpulistic homilies on the Torah entitled *Yitedot Ohalim* (1788). His son Judah "he-Ḥasid" was rabbi at Samter (1814–1831).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: (1) ASH, ABRAHAM and (3) ASH, ABRAHAM B. JOSEPH: Steinschneider, Cat Bod, 666, no. 4184 (note), additions 87; Zedner, Cat, 56; Zeitlin, Bibliotheca, 6–7. (2) ASH, ABRAHAM JOSEPH: J.D. Eisenstein, in: AJHSP, 9 (1901), 64–71; 12 (1904), 145–6; I. Goldstein, *A Century of Judaism in New York* (1930), 145; P. Wiernik, *History of the Jews in America* (1931^2), 189–91; H.B. Grinstein, *Rise of the Jewish Community of New York* (1945), 93, 253, 486, 488, n. 12. (4) ASH, JOEL B. MEIR B. JOSEPH: S. Wiener, *Kohelet Moshe*, 5 (1904), 629, no. 5134 A; M.L. Bamberger, *Geschichte der Juden in Schoenlanke* (1912), 16–17; A. Berliner, *Zur Familiengeschichte Asch* (1913), 7–13.

[Yehoshua Horowitz]

ASH, ABRAHAM JOSEPH (1813–1887), preacher, Talmud scholar. Ash was born in Semyatitch, Grodno region, Polish Russia, and immigrated to America around 1852. He was one of the founders of the Beth Hamidrash, New York's first Russian-Polish congregation.

Ash was often in disputes with fellow congregants and rabbis. Judah Mittelman, a learned Talmud scholar and founding member of the Beth Hamidrash, had gained the consent of several Galician rabbis to grant Aaron Zvi Friedman a permit to become a *shoḥet*. Ash disapproved of Friedman's appointment and refused to honor his permit to slaughter kosher animals. As a consequence, Mittelman and his followers seceded from the Beth Hamidrash in 1855 and started their own congregation, the Kalvarier Beth Hamidrash. A few years later, as a result of lingering disagreement with the president of the Beth Hamidrash, Ash led a group of his followers to secede from the Beth Hamidrash. In 1859, they established a new congregation, named the Beth Hamidrash Hagadol.

One of the few Talmud scholars in New York at the time, Ash taught advanced Talmud classes. He granted *shoḥetim* permits to slaughter animals for kosher meat and inspected their performance at several New York abattoirs. He prepared religious documents of divorce (*gittin*), which at times created problems for him with the civil courts. The Hebrew text for identifying the city of New York – on the Hudson River but not the East River – developed by Ash for documents of divorce set the standard for subsequent rabbis for more than a generation. He was frequently consulted on issues of practical Jewish law and periodically corresponded with European rabbis.

In the early 1870s, Ash started a business importing kosher wine from California. But Moses *Aaronsohn claimed that the wine Ash was importing was not kosher. As a consequence, Aaronsohn was excommunicated by both Rabbis Ash and Mittelman. When the business met with little success, Ash returned to his responsibilities as religious leader of the Beth Hamidrash Hagadol.

A staunch defender of Orthodox tradition, Ash not only opposed Reform Judaism but engaged in polemics against Reform notables regarding matters of Jewish theology. In particular, he criticized Orthodox synagogues that offered a platform to Reform spokesmen. He censured the Beth Midrash Anshei Suvalk, which in 1884 permitted Kaufman *Kohler, a well-known advocate of Reform, to address the congregation. In 1886 he wrote a satiric polemic against Kohler entitled *Ma le-Shor ha-Mazik be-Reshut ha-Nizuk* ("Regarding the Goring Bull on the Premises of the One Damaged"). On May 6, 1887, Ash died in New York City.

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[Moshe Sherman (2nd ed.)]

ASHAMNU (Heb. אָשַׁמְנוּ; "we have trespassed" or "we are guilty"), opening word and hence the name of a formula of confession of sins which forms part of the *Day of Atonement and of other penitential services, such as **seliḥot*, the daily morning and afternoon prayers (according to most Sephardi and some Ashkenazi rites), and the prayer service recited on the day preceding the New Moon (*tefillat *Yom Kippur Katan*) according to the Ashkenazi rite. Its origin is in the confession recited by the high priest on the Day of Atonement (see *Avodah*). In later periods it was expanded in the more elaborate medieval style. The *Ashamnu* confession lists trespasses of a moral nature only and consists of 24 or more words in alphabetical order, the last letter of the Hebrew alphabet being repeated three times. In the Reform ritual *Ashamnu* appears in an abridged form. *Ashamnu* is also used as the form of confession at the approach of death as well as by the bridegroom and bride before their wedding, that day being considered a sort of "day of Atonement" for them (Shab. 32a; Sanh. 6:2; 43b).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Elbogen, *Gottesdienst*, 149–51, 229.

ASHANSKI (Oshyanski), ABEL-AARON ITSKOVICH (1825–1899), Russian soldier, and the only Jew ever to reach the rank of regimental sergeant in the Czarist army. Ashanski was called up for service in an army labor battalion in 1846, but because of his good service and impressive physique he was transferred in 1863 to the czarina's own cavalry regiment. In 1874 he was promoted to regimental sergeant and served in this rank until 1896. Ashanski was given a state funeral, and was buried in the old Jewish cemetery of St. Petersburg.

ASHBEL, DOV (1895–1989), Israel meteorologist. Ashbel was born in Jerusalem. After serving in the Turkish Army in World War I he was a schoolteacher for some years before going to study at Berlin University. To study the basics of the Ereẓ Israel climate and particularly of the rains at the sources supplying water to the Jordan River, the Sea of Galilee, and the Dead Sea, Ashbel set up a network of gauging stations which soon covered the whole country up to the Negev. In 1928, Ashbel compiled a new rain map and in 1940, a rain map of the Near East. In 1930, Ashbel joined the Hebrew University in Jerusalem, and founded a department, which studied the various basic elements of climate in different parts of the country. He devoted most of his attention to solar radiation in general, and to the division of the spectrum.

One of the agricultural conclusions was the locating of sites where there was no fear of frost and freezing, for growing bananas and citrus. Hitherto, it had been considered that the Jordan Valley was the most suitable place for bananas, and the coastal plain was best suited to citrus groves. In 1950, Ashbel presented a proposal to plant these crops on the Carmel plain around Athlit, and on the plain at the foot of the hills of Western Galilee, around Nahariyyah. Thenceforward, these two areas were filled with plantations of these crops, which have proved to be among the most successful in Israel. At Ashbel's suggestion, a successful experiment was made to plant citrus crops in the western Negev. He was departmental editor of the *Encyclopaedia Judaica* for Jews in meteorology. His works include *Bio-Climatic Atlas of Israel and Neighbour Countries* (1951), *Regional Climatology of Israel* (1951), *Solar Radiation and Sunshine in Jerusalem* (1961), *Soil Temperature* (1965), *Climate of Israel* (1964–67), *Climate of the Near East* (1967, 1968), and *Snow and Rain in the Near East, Maps and Tables of Rainfall on both Banks of the Jordan* (1967).

ASHDOD (Heb. אַשְׁדּוֹד), city in the southern coastal plain of Ereẓ Israel; the ancient city was 3 mi. (4½ km.) from the sea, the modern city is on the seashore.

Ancient Ashdod

In the Late Canaanite period, it served as an important harbor city as is shown by archaeological finds and references to its maritime trade in the archives of *Ugarit. According to biblical tradition, it was a town of the ancient Anakim (lit. "giants"; Josh. 11:22). After its conquest by the *Philistines, it became one of their five chief cities and they erected a temple dedicated to the god Dagon at Ashdod (Josh. 13:3; 15:46; I Sam. 5:1–7; Amos 1:8). Uzziah, king of Judah, breached the fortifications of the town and built in the area (II Chron. 26:6). In 734 B.C.E. the city capitulated to Tiglath-Pileser III of Assyria and in 712 B.C.E. Sargon crushed a rebellion led by Ashdod which then became the capital of an Assyrian province (cf. Isa. 20:1). Although the city was situated on the *via maris*, the trade route near the sea, it was not directly on the coast but possessed an ancient port which was called Ashdod Yam ("Ashdod-on-the-Sea"). With the decline of Assyrian power, the Egyptian pharaoh Psammetichus I conquered the city after a siege of 29 years (according to Herodotus, 2:157). Ashdod was the Philistine capital in the post-Exilic period, so that in the days of Nehemiah, an "Ashdodite" was synonymous with a "Philistine" (Neh. 4:1; 13:24). Nehemiah fought against Ashdod's influence which extended as far as Jerusalem.

The town continued to be a district capital in the Hellenistic period when it was known as Azotus and it served as a Greek stronghold down to the days of the Hasmoneans (I Macc. 5:68). Its suburbs were burnt by Jonathan (I Macc. 10:84; 11:4) and the city was captured by John Hyrcanus (c. 165 B.C.E.; Jos., Ant., 13:324). Ashdod then remained in Hasmonean hands until its conquest by Pompey (63 B.C.E.). It was rebuilt by Gabinius (55 B.C.E.) and later changed hands several times, eventually becoming the property of Herod, who gave it to his sister Salome; she bequeathed it to Livia, the wife of Augustus Caesar, from whom it was inherited by the emperor Tiberius (*ibid.*, 14:75, 88; 17:189; 18:31). From the time of the Hasmoneans until the second century C.E., Ashdod appears to have been a Jewish town. It declined after Vespasian's conquest. In the Byzantine period, the Madaba Map distinguished between inland "Ashdod of the Horsemen" and the bigger coastal town "Ashdod-on-the-Sea." The discovery of a chancel screen of a synagogue at Ashdod-on-the-Sea (Mīnat al-Qalʿa) with a Greco-Jewish inscription gives evidence of a Jewish community there in the sixth century C.E. Part of the Muslim-Arab townlet of Isdūd, which was in existence until the end of the Mandate period, was built on a tell called al-Ra's on the site of the ancient city. Excavations conducted by the Israel Department of Antiquities near the new Ashdod port at Tell Mor (Tell Murra) uncovered remains of Canaanite and Israelite fortifications and a Hellenistic plant for extracting purple dye from murex. A joint Israel-American expedition (directed by Moshe Dothan and for the first two seasons also with David Noel Freedman) started excavating the mound in 1962. This is situated in the arable coastal plain of Philistia, and lies about 2.8 mi. (4.5 km.) from the sea and about 9.4 mi. (15 km.) northeast of Ashkelon. Stratigraphical evidence (22 strata were uncovered) shows nearly continuous occupation from the seventeenth century B.C.E. until the end of Byzantine times. The city was fortified from the end of the Middle Bronze II period onward until the Late Bronze Age (strata XXII–XIV). The Late Bronze Age city (mentioned frequently in Ugaritic texts) was destroyed by the Philistines and Ashdod became one of the cities of the Philistine Pentapolis. At least three Philistine strata have been uncovered (strata XIII–XI) revealing a rich material culture including seals inscribed in an unknown script. Cult objects, including a musicians' stand and many *kernoi* and offering tables, which attest to the local religious practices of the Iron Age II period, were probably manufactured in the potters' quarter of the lower city. The excavation verified the biblical tradition of destructions by Uzziah and by Sargon II of Assyria. After its complete destruction the city reached a new peak in Hellenistic times, afterward gradually declining to a small, unimportant village.

[Michael Avi-Yonah / Moshe Dothan]

Modern Period

During the War of Independence (1948–49), Egyptian forces entered Ashdod and advanced beyond it 6.3 mi. (10 km.) northward to the vicinity of Jabneh. In October 1948, the Egyptian forces were cut off in "Operation Ten Plagues" and they extricated themselves with great difficulty; the local Arab inhabitants abandoned the place with them. The modern city was founded in 1956 at the mouth of Naḥal Lachish, 4 mi. (7 km.) north of the mound of Philistine Ashdod. It received municipal status in 1968. Town planners envisaged Ashdod as Israel's second large port on the Mediterranean coast, thus shortening transport routes in the southern half of Israel, and as a major manufacturing center. The port was opened in 1965 and is biggest in the country. It has a long main breakwater and large-sized harbor basin and terrestrial area. It is linked to the country's railroad network by a trunk line and a gas refinery was later built nearby.

The town plan was based on the principle of self-contained neighborhood units, each with its own social, educational, and economic services; 16 such units were provided for in the Ashdod city plan. A large area was designated an industrial zone. Ashdod's first large industrial enterprise was the power station (a second was also built) which provided most of Israel's southern region with electricity. Large and medium-sized factories were also opened.

Ashdod's population grew rapidly from 200 in 1957 to 2,500 in 1959, 11,000 in 1963, and 30,000 in 1968. By the mid-1990s the population of Ashdod had reached 110,300, and at the end of 2002 there were 187,500 residents in the city, making it the fifth largest in Israel. Its municipal area extends over 23 sq. mi. (60 sq. km.). From the 1990s the city absorbed many new immigrants, who comprise 33% of the population. Of these, 88% are from the Former Soviet Union and the rest mainly from Ethiopia, France, and Latin America. Ashdod's population was fairly young, with nearly 130,000 of its residents below the age of 45.

[Efraim Orni / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Schuerer, Gesch, 2 (1907^4), 96ff.; Beyer, in: ZDPV, 56 (1933), 248; M. Dothan, in: IEJ, 4 (1954), 229–32; 13 (1963), 340–2; 14 (1964), 79–95; 15 (1965), 258–60; Dothan and Freedman, in: *Atiqot*, 7 (Eng., 1967); Dothan, in: D.N. Freedman and J.C. Greenfeld (eds.), *New Directions in Biblical Archeology* (1969), 15–24 (incl. bibl.). **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** Dothan, in, ABD 1:477–82. **WEBSITE:** www.ashdod.muni.il.

ASHDOT YA'AKOV (Heb. אַשְׁדּוֹת יַעֲקֹב), two kibbutzim in the central Jordan Valley in Israel, near the confluence of the Jordan and Yarmuk rivers. It was founded on PICA (*Palestine Jewish Colonization Association) land in 1933, by a group of Ha-Kibbutz ha-Me'uḥad members. The abundant water supply and warm climate enabled the kibbutz to develop highly intensive farming and to become one of the largest collective settlements in the country. In 1953, after the split in Ha-Kibbutz ha-Me'uḥad, Ashdot divided into two communes, one of them joining Iḥud ha-Kevuẓot ve-ha-Kibbutzim. The first settlers in both kibbutzim came mostly from Eastern and Central Europe, or were Israeli-born. In 1968 their economies were based on banana, grapefruit, and other tropical and subtropical plantations, irrigated field crops and fodder, carp ponds, and milch cattle as well as large metal workshops and other industries. They became partners in a large adjacent cellotex factory. The combined population of the two kibbutzim (1968) was 1,200, and in the mid-1990s it was around 1,000. In 2002 the population of Ashdot Ya'akov Iḥud was 564 and the population of Ashdot Ya'akov Me'uḥad was 336. In addition to farming, Ashdot Ya'akov Iḥud produced olive oil and ran a plastic products factory, and both kibbutzim had guest rooms. The name Ashdot ("Waterfalls") refers to the nearby Rutenberg Electricity Works, and Ya'akov to James de *Rothschild.

WEBSITE: www.ashdot.org.il.

[Efraim Orni / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

ASHENDORF, ISRAEL (1909–1956), Yiddish poet, short story writer, and dramatist. Ashendorf grew up and lived in Lemberg (Lwow), Galicia (now Lviv, Ukraine), until World War II, when he fled to Uzbekistan. He spent five years in Paris and immigrated to Argentina in 1953. In Buenos Aires he served as supervisor of Jewish secular schools, taught Hebrew and Yiddish literature, and contributed to the *Yidishe Tsaytung*. His first poems were published in 1927, and thereafter he contributed to Yiddish periodicals in Europe, the Americas, and Israel. In 1929, he was co-editor of the literary journal *Tsushtayer*. Collections of his poetry were published in 1937, 1939, 1941, 1950, and 1956. His biblical dramas *Der Meylekh Shoel* ("King Saul," 1948) and *Der Meylekh Dovid* ("King David," 1956) express a pessimistic worldview. The posthumous collection *Letste Shriftn* ("Last Writings," 1958) includes his poems and short stories.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: LNYL, 1 (1956), 193–4; S. Bickel, *Shrayber fun Mayn Dor*, 1 (1958), 160–4; M. Ravitch, *Mayn Leksikon*, 1 (1945), 56ff.; J. Leftwich, *Golden Peacock* (1961).

[Shlomo Bickel]

ASHENHEIM, Jamaican family. LOUIS ASHENHEIM (1816–1858), born in Edinburgh, was one of the first Jewish graduates from a Scottish university. He immigrated to Jamaica about 1841. By profession a doctor, he was noted for his work in stemming a cholera epidemic. In Jamaica he helped edit a Jewish monthly entitled *Bikkure Hayam, The First Fruits of the West*. He was also the editor and proprietor of the newspaper *Daily Gleaner*. SIR NEVILLE NOEL ASHENHEIM (1900–1984), lawyer and politician, was born in Kingston, Jamaica. He practiced as a solicitor and in 1952 was appointed chairman of the Jamaican Industrial Development Corporation, a post he held until 1957. Ashenheim became a member of the Legislative Council in 1959 and was appointed minister without portfolio in 1962. He served as the first Jamaican ambassador to Washington from 1962 until 1967 and received a knighthood in 1963. In 1967 he was appointed to the Jamaican Senate as the leader of government business, and he was included in the Cabinet as minister of state for finance, serving until his party, the Jamaica Labor Party, was defeated in the elections of February 1973.

ASHER (Heb. אָשֵׁר). (1) Jacob's second son by Zilpah, Leah's handmaid (Gen. 30:12), and his eighth son (in the order of birth); eponymous ancestor of the tribe of Asher. (2) Tribe of Israel and its territory. The individual Asher was named by Leah who declared, "What fortune [*Be-oshri*]! Women will deem me fortunate [*ishruni*]" (30:13). It is thought, however, that the origin of the name is connected with the male counterpart of the goddess *Asherah. It is noteworthy that Zilpah's other son was also named after a heathen deity (see *Gad). Designating the eponym of the tribe as the son of a handmaid indicates a lesser standing for the tribe.

The Tribal Territory

According to Joshua (19:24–31), the tribe of Asher settled in northwest Canaan in the plain of Acre and in upper and lower west Galilee, as well as in the hinterland of Phoenician Tyre and Sidon, and in the westernmost part of the valley of Jezreel. The exact determination of the boundaries of Asher is complicated by two factors: (1) uncertainty as to the identification of several localities referred to in Joshua; and (2) the apparent confusion of two passages in that source, the one describing territorial limits, the other listing cities. In the course of time, the theoretical boundaries of Asher appear to have changed, a portion of its territory being annexed by the tribe of Zebulun, apparently shortly after Israel's successful war against Sisera (Judg. 4–5). The Zebulunites, having played a leading role in it, expanded westward. In the second half of the tenth century B.C.E. Solomon presented some of Asher's territory, "20 cities in the land of Galilee" (I Kings 9:11–13), to the king of Tyre in payment for the materials supplied by him for the Temple building operations. It seems that Solomon in compensation transferred Bealoth, a Naphtalite district, to Asher's territory (I Kings 4:16).

The History of the Tribe

Several genealogies of Asher are preserved in the Bible: Genesis 46:17; Numbers 26:44–46; I Chronicles 7:30–39. The last is the most detailed and much of it is found only in Chronicles. Noteworthy is the inclusion of the Egyptian name Harnepher as well as other foreign names. If historically reliable, the list indicates a "thorough mixture" (Japhet) of Israelite and non-Israelite elements. In addition, the list associates Asher with southern Mt. Ephraim as opposed to the western Galilee of the other biblical sources.

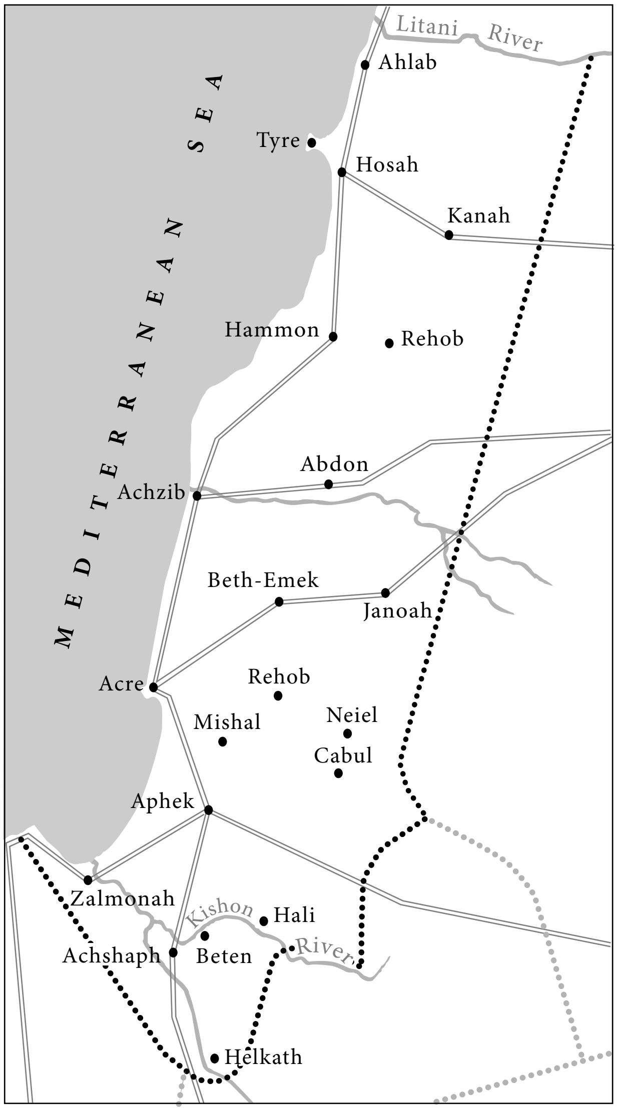

Territory of the tribe of Asher.

The people of Asher appear to be mentioned in an inscription of Seti I (c. 1291–1279) at the temple of Redeshiya and in an inscription in the temple of Rameses II (1279–1212) at Abydos. In Seti's list Asher appears in a geographical sequence between Kedesh on the Orontes and Megiddo, which would agree with those biblical references that locate Asher in the western Galilee. A satirical letter from the 13th century B.C.E. speaks of Qatsra-yadi ("I-am-Powerless," a seemingly fictitious mocking name), ruler of *ysr* or *ʾsr* which may reflect Asher (Papyrus Anastasi 1:23,6, in: COS, 3, 13). The ruler's name is clearly West Semitic. According to Gauthier, the name of Asher is also mentioned in a hitherto unpublished papyrus of the Golénischeff collection. Biblical references to Asher describe the fertility of its land (Gen. 49:20) and its economic potentialities (Deut. 33:24–5; Judg. 5:17). These permitted the tribe to develop in comparative tranquility, but at the same time also deprived it of the impetus and incentive for national activity and political leadership. Apart from Reuben and Simeon, who were afflicted with interminable conflicts over the southern boundaries of Israel, Asher was the only tribe that produced no national spokesman and leader in the period of the Judges. Apparently, at the beginning of the second decade of David's reign, the territorial association of the tribe of Asher with the kingdom of David was a close one. It was incorporated into the administrative division of the monarchy, and cities of the levites were appointed in its territory (see: *History; *David; *Priests and Priesthood). The four cities of Asher that were given to the levites were Mishal, Abdon (apparently the correct reading, and not Ebron mentioned in the passage defining Asher's territory (Josh. 19:28)), Helkath, and Rehob (Josh. 21:30–31; the parallel list in I Chron. 6:60 has, it is true, Hukok instead of Helkath, but this would appear to be a scribal error).

A short while before the destruction of the kingdom of Ephraim, Asher's landholdings were included in the Assyrian satrapy of Megiddo. From time to time, however, the kings of Judah attempted to extend their rule over them, as over other parts of the kingdom of Israel (II Chron. 30:10–12; cf. 34:6). After the return from the Babylonian exile, the Hasmoneans failed to incorporate Acre and the neighboring coastal plain within the confines of their kingdom. Most of the coast of Galilee was inhabited by a substantial non-Jewish population and was regarded, even from the halakhic point of view, as lying outside the limits of Israel.

In the *Aggadah*

The name Asher, meaning "praise," was chosen by Leah to indicate that all would praise her for the fact that, although already blessed with children, she was nevertheless unselfish enough to give her handmaid, Zilpah (Asher's mother) to Jacob (Mid. Hag. to Gen. 30:9); she also prophesied that in times to come, the sons of Asher would praise God for their fruitful possessions in Ereẓ Israel (Targ. Yer., Gen. 30:13). The soil of Asher's inheritance was so fertile that it sufficed to supply all Israel's needs (particularly olives; Sif. Deut. 355), even in a sabbatical year (Men. 85b). Asher himself was also blessed with riches. He never spent a night in an inn as he inherited lofty palaces throughout the world (Gen. R. 71:10). Such was the beauty of his daughters, that they all married high priests and kings (*ibid.*). When he informed his brothers of Reuben's sin against Bilhah, they reproached him (Sif. Deut. 355).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: H. Gauthier, *Dictionnaire des noms géographiques …*, 1 (1925), 105; Alt, in: ZAW, 45 (1927), 59–81; A.H. Gardiner, *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica*, 1 (1948), 191–3, no. 265; Mendenhall, in: JBL, 77 (1958), 52–66; Albright, in: JAOS, 74 (1954), 227–31; EM, 1 (1965), 777–86. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** H.W. Fischer-Elfert, *Die satirische Streitschrift des Papyrus Anastasi I* (1986), 199–200; N. Na'aman, in: JSOT, 49 (1991), 99–111; D. Edelman, in: ABD, 1, 482–83; S. Japhet, *I & II Chronicles* (1993), 185–86; G. Ahlström, *The History of Ancient Palestine* (1993), 278–79; S. Ahituv, *Joshua* (Heb., 1995), 311–15. IN THE AGGADAH: Ginzberg, Legends, index; I. Ḥasida, *Ishei ha-Tanakh* (1964), 81.

ASHER, ABRAHAM (**Adolph**; 1800–1853), bookseller, publisher, and bibliographer. Asher founded the firm of Asher and Co. in 1830 in Berlin, which existed until the Nazi period. His main contribution to Jewish scholarship is his publication of *Benjamin of Tudela's *Itinerary*, including the text, Asher's English translation, critical notes by himself, L. Zunz, and S.J. Rapoport, and a geographical index (2 vols., 1842; repr., 1927). Steinschneider and Zedner cooperated with Asher in compiling important lists of books and manuscripts. Asher also published bibliographical studies on general subjects.

ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY: Th. Keiderling, in: *Berlinische Monatsschrift*, 8 (1996), 55–60; D. Paisey, in: *British Library Journal*, 23:2 (1997), 131–53.

ASHER, ABRAHAM BEN GEDALIAH IBN (known also by the initials of Abraham Ben Asher as "**Aba**"; 16th century), talmudist and commentator on the Midrash. Abraham was apparently born in Safed. He was a disciple of Joseph *Caro and a colleague of Moses *Alshekh. Before 1566 he was serving as rabbi and head of the *bet din* of Aleppo. Asher's fame rests on his commentary to the **Midrash Rabbah*. He set himself the task of establishing the correct text of the Midrash by collating the various manuscripts, and clarifying the meaning by reference to parallel passages. The resultant work is one of the earliest and most valuable commentaries on the Midrash. It has the general title *Or ha-Sekhel*, but is generally known as "*Sefer Aba*." Each individual book of the Pentateuch and of the five scrolls has a separate title. The commentary on *Genesis Rabbah* called *Ma'adanei Melekh* was published by his brother-in-law Shneor b. Judah Falcon (Venice, 1567–68). It is accompanied by the text, and in addition has the commentary ascribed to Rashi, for which Asher prepared a critical edition based on two early manuscripts. The commentary on Exodus is extant in manuscript in Rome. From the eulogy on him by Saadiah Longo, it appears that he died in Ereẓ Israel.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: I. Theodor and Ch. Albeck, *Midrash Bereshit Rabbah*, 3 (1965^{2}), 132–34 ("*Mavo u-Mafteḥot*").

ASHER, DAVID (1818–1890), German philosophical writer and journalist. Born in Dresden, he went to England as a young man. There he published a catechism *Outlines of the Jewish Religion* (1845). He became headmaster of the Hebrew Association School of Manchester (1845) and later was tutor to the son of the chief rabbi, N.M. *Adler. Influenced to a mild degree by M. *Mendelssohn and thinkers of the Enlightenment (*Haskalah), Asher wrote a booklet on faith: *Der religioese Glaube: Eine psychologische Studie als Beitrag zur Psychologie und Religionsphilosophie*. By the time it appeared in 1860, he was mainly influenced by Schopenhauer, with whom he had been corresponding. Schopenhauer's non-belief in the immortality of the individual soul and his teachings on the Will to Live and the world-creating power of the Will, if not his pessimism, were in harmony with Mosaic concepts, argued Asher in *Das Endergebnis der Schopenhauer'schen Philosophie in seiner Uebereinstimmung mit einer der aeltesten Religionen* (1885). A few pages of this booklet are devoted to a refutation of antisemitism.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: JC (Dec. 5 and 12, 1890); Wininger, Biog, s.v.; AZDJ, 54 (1890), 609–10 (incl. bibl.).

[Otto Immanuel Spear]

ASHER, ISAIAH BEN MOSES HA-LEVI (1849–1912), traveler and Hebrew writer. Born in Galicia, Asher traveled throughout Europe in his youth and in 1873 set off on a journey to the Orient where he spent the rest of his life. Working as a shopkeeper and cobbler, he lived in Burma and Calcutta (1885–1900), then in 1902 moved to Darjeeling. He was a prolific writer of Hebrew poetry and prose, especially essays on psychology, history, and religion, including commentaries on the Psalms, Esther, and Song of Songs. All his works remain in manuscript form (Sassoon collection) except part of his autobiography (covering the years 1866–68) which was published in 1938.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: D.S. Sassoon, *Ohel Dawid*, 2 vols. (1932), index; idem, in: JC (July 25, 1930), supplement; A. Yaari (ed.), *Harpatka'otav shel Asher ha-Levi* (1938), 5–14.

[Walter Joseph Fischel]

ASHER, JOSEPH (1921–1990), U.S. Reform rabbi. Asher, born Joseph Ansbacher in Wiesbaden, Germany, was the scion of a line of Orthodox rabbis going back six generations. His father, Rabbi Jonah Ansbacher, learned in science and classics as well as Jewish law, broke with his traditional forebears by embracing the Neo-Orthodoxy of Samson Raphael *Hirsch. At age 17, shortly before *Kristallnacht*, Joseph fled to London, where he enrolled in the Orthodox Tree of Life Yeshiva. But he also gravitated toward Reform Judaism, influenced by Lily *Montagu who had founded the World Union of Progressive Judaism.

In 1940, Asher was interned by the British as a "friendly enemy alien," and endured abusive conditions aboard the HMT *Dunera*, which transported him and 2,000 other German-Jewish refugees to Australia. There he ultimately served as assistant rabbi in the Melbourne synagogue of Hermann Sanger, a German refugee who had established Liberal Judaism in Australia.

Asher, who had been ordained by the Tree of Life (having finished the course of study by correspondence), came to America in the late 1940s and attended Hebrew Union College in Cincinnati in order to familiarize himself further with the Reform movement. After pulpits in Florida and Alabama, he became the spiritual leader of Temple Emanuel of Greensboro, North Carolina, in 1958. He was active in the civil rights struggle, staunchly supporting the nation's first sit-ins held at that city's Woolworth's lunch counter. He became known outside the South with a highly controversial article in *Look* magazine in April 1965, urging reconciliation between Jews and Germans, which remained a lifelong preoccupation.

The quest for social justice at home and abroad characterized Asher's rabbinate at Congregation Emanu-El in San Francisco (1968–85), a synagogue with Gold Rush roots and the largest in Northern California. He opposed the Vietnam War, favored busing to achieve integration of the public schools, and highlighted such issues as world hunger, arms control, and the murder of thousands of Jehovah's witnesses in Africa. Appointed to the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Council by President Carter in 1980, and a close friend of its chairman, Elie *Wiesel, Asher emphasized the figure of 11 million people rather than six million Jews killed by Hitler.

The outspoken Asher was frequently embroiled in local controversies. He joined the national board of Breira, one of the few leading American pulpit rabbis to do so. The organization was sharply critical of Israel's policies toward the Palestinians. He also drew attention to many of the Jewish state's domestic problems, most notably the undue influence of its religious establishment. Yet Asher was decidedly conservative on American social and cultural issues and was offended by the irreverent youth culture and strident gay rights movement that took root in San Francisco in the late 1960s and 1970s. He also opposed and even ridiculed many of the alternative forms of American Judaism. Within Congregation Emanu-El, he and his cantor/educator, Joseph Portnoy, sought to preserve many aspects of the Classical Reform service and resisted attempts to bring the liturgy into the mainstream of Judaism even in the face of declining membership. Still, Asher was deeply respected by his flock and the larger community for the depth of his Jewish and secular learning, his masterfully crafted sermons, and his uncommon devotion to pastoral duties.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: F. Rosenbaum, *Visions of Reform: Congregation Emanu-El and the Jews of San Francisco, 1849-1999* (2000); M. Rischin and R. Asher (eds.), *The Jewish Legacy and the German Conscience: Essays in Memory of Rabbi Joseph Asher* (1991).

[Fred Rosenbaum (2nd ed.)]

ASHER, JOSEPH MICHAEL (1872–1909), rabbi and educator. Asher was born in Manchester, England, and studied at Trinity College, Cambridge, where he met Solomon *Schechter, who greatly stimulated his interest in the rabbinate and Jewish scholarship. He continued his studies in Europe and was ordained by David Tevel Katzenellenbogen of Suwalki, Russia. Asher returned to Manchester, where he organized *talmud torah* schools and for four years acted as *dayyan* for the Jewish cases at the Manchester courts.

In 1900 the B'nai Jeshurun congregation in New York City invited him to become its rabbi. From 1902, when the Jewish Theological Seminary was reorganized, until his death, he taught homiletics in that institution and headed its department of philosophy and ethics. From 1906 until his death he served as rabbi at the synagogue Orach Chaim. Asher earned a reputation as an eloquent orator because of his sermons and popular expositions on Jewish thinkers, which he delivered in Philadelphia and Baltimore as well as New York. He composed an evening service for the house of mourning.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *American Hebrew* (Nov. 12, Dec. 24, 1909); DAB, 1 (1928), 388–9; I. Goldstein, *A Century of Judaism in New York: B'nai Jeshurun 1825–1925…* (1930), 222–5.

[Alvin Kass]

ASHERAH (Heb. אֲשֵׁרָה), in the Bible both a Canaanite goddess and a wooden cult object.

The Goddess

A Canaanite fertility and mother goddess. Asherah is now well known from the Ugaritic texts, where she is called *rabbatu atiratu yammi* ("Lady Athirat of the Sea"). The name is most probably to be understood as a feminine participle of the verb *ʾṯr* (Heb. *ʾshr* "to go, to tread"), thus meaning "The Lady who Treads upon the Sea." It is possible that the name goes back to some early myth in which Athirat defeated the rebellious Yamm, although in the Ugaritic text this deed was accomplished by Baal and in the Egyptian story by Astarte. Alternatively, it is possible that the name indicates some connection of Asherah with the sea. She has been identified by some with the Cyprian Aphrodite, the goddess intimately connected with harbors (as well as with love). Asherah is apparently (although not explicitly) the consort of El, the father and creator of the gods (she is called *qaniyatu el-îma*, "The Progenitress of the Gods"), who are accordingly called "the [70] children of Asherah." Similarly, the gods are also called "sons of *Qudšu*" ("holiness"), which, like *ʾelat* ("goddess"), is to be taken as an epithet of Asherah. The title "*Qudšu*" connects Asherah to the Egyptian figurines of nude goddesses commonly identified as fertility figurines. They show a nude goddess *en face*, frequently with a lion, and are inscribed QDŠ (*qudšu*).

Asherah was popular throughout the ancient Near East. In the Old Babylonian sources, Ašratum is listed as the consort of Amurru and occasionally of Anu (the Babylonian counterpart of El). In the el-Amarna letters, one of the kings of Amurru is known as ʿAbdi-Aširti ("the servant of Asherah"), and a letter from Tell Taanach from the 15th century B.C.E. refers to an *uban* (for *umman*) *Aširat* ("a sage of Aširat"). A Late Hittite tablet contains a myth in which Asherah tries unsuccessfully to seduce Baal and complains to Elkuniršа (*El-qnhʾrs*; "El the world-Creator," cf. Gen. 14:19) that Baal has insulted her. In the Ugaritic Epic of Keret, Asherah is called "Asherah of the Sidonians, goddess of the Tyrians," and was thus intimately connected with the cities of the Phoenician coast. She was brought into the court worship of Israel by *Jezebel, the daughter of the king of Tyre, who also brought with her the cult of the Tyrian Baal. Thus it is related that Elijah vanquished the 450 prophets of Baal and the 400 prophets of Asherah who "dined off Jezebel's table" (I Kings 18:19). Earlier, Maacah, the mother of King *Asa, built an abominable image for Asherah (*la-Asherah*) and was therefore removed from the post of queen mother (I Kings 15:13; II Chron. 15:16). The last case of royal worship of Asherah was in the time of Manasseh, who placed an idol of Asherah in the Temple (II Kings 21:7), from which it was removed by Josiah (II Kings 23:6). During the Israelite period, the worship of Asherah was generally connected with the worship of Baal; the phrase "Baalim and Asheroth" is used to designate foreign gods in general (e.g., Judg. 3:7), and the term Asheroth is used as a synonym for "goddesses."

The Cult Object

There are also references in the Bible to some object called an Asherah which can be built, planted, erected, or constructed; is placed near the altar; and is destroyed by chopping it down and burning it. It therefore seems that Asherah, which is never described in the Bible, is some cult object made out of wood. The traditional explanation of the Asherah as a sacred grove can probably be rejected on the grounds that it seems to have been a man-made object. It is not known whether this object was an image of the goddess Asherah placed near the altar (no evidence at all exists for this), a sacred pole representing her, or an object of some other sort. These objects reportedly found during excavations at Qatna, Megiddo, and Ai are charred pieces of wood, and there is no proof of their identity. The use of the Asherah is found in both Israel and Judah, and is intimately connected with the use of *bamot* and *maẓẓevot* (I Kings 14:23) as one of the elements borrowed from the surrounding religions. It is probable that the use of the Asherah was originally connected with the worship of the goddess Airat. In the 1970s inscriptions from the ninth-century site of Kuntillet Ajrud in the Sinai and from the eighth-century site of Khirbet al-Qom on the West Bank were discovered. These mention *yhwh šmrm wʾšrth* and *yhwh tmn wʾšrth*. These phrases have been interpreted as "Yahweh of Samaria and his Ashera," and "Yahweh of Teman and his Asherah." On this interpretation Asherah would have been Yahweh's consort. Others have rendered *ʾšrth* as "his (Yahweh's) consort," arguing that the original divine name Asherah had become a common noun. Still others maintain that *ʾšr* represents an alternative form of the name of the goddess, either Ashirta, attested as a theophorous element in proper names, or Asheretah. Others have taken *ʾšrth* as a reference to the cultic object, translating "Yahweh of Samaria/Teman and its asherah" (II Kgs. 13:6).

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[Tikva S. Frymer]

ASHER ANSHEL BEN ISAAC OF PRZEMYŚL (17th century), scholar and homiletic author. He is known almost exclusively through his popular collection of sermons *Shemenah Laḥmo* (Dessau, 1701; frequently reprinted). The first part of the work consists of seven major sermons devoted to the Sabbath and the major holidays. The second part consists of homilies on major events in the religious life of man: circumcision, bar mitzvah, marriage, burial, etc. The sermons begin with a series of questions, followed by *teʾamim* (homiletic interpretations). The theme of the last sermon in the book is resurrection.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Steinschneider, Cat Bod, 748.

ASHER BEN DAVID (first half of the 13th century), Provence kabbalist of the second generation of kabbalists and author of the first "book" of any length intended for a wider audience. His grandfather, R. *Abraham b. David of Posquières, is considered the first known kabbalistic personality, although he refrained from acknowledging this status and from composing anything kabbalistic. His son, R. Isaac the Blind, uncle to R. Asher ben David, composed a highly enigmatic commentary to the *Book of Creation*, as he denied any literary activity in a celebrated letter to Nahmanides, in which he proclaimed allegiance to Nahmanides' stated policy of a complete reliance on oral transmission of kabbalistic secrets. R. Isaac suggests in this letter of defense that he has "no sign from heaven" to come himself to Spain and correct, or stop, the damage done by his students who were publicly disseminating texts or teachings, and mentions Asher as a possible emissary who could speak for his position on esotericism. We know, however, of no such visit by Asher, which would amount to an important and authorized link connecting the Provençal school directly with Spanish kabbalistic circles. Curiously, what has survived is a compendium of treatises edited into a lengthy work entitled *Sefer ha-Yiḥud*, the *Book of Unity*, in which Asher explains major kabbalistic concepts. It is unclear if this work was intended for the audience already exposed to ideas which emerged from Isaac's circle or whether it begins a new form of kabbalistic literature intended for other kabbalists. *Sefer ha-Yiḥud* is introduced by the first known kabbalistic poem. The treatises or chapters which comprise the book were often copied by kabbalists and survived in short and intermediate versions relative to the full length book, which may have been edited or expanded later by Asher or a student of the circle. A Latin translation of a section of *Sefer ha-Yiḥud* was prepared by Flavio Mithridates and survives in a single manuscript. An "epistle" attributed to Asher is now understood to be a collection of passages from his work. Finally, a highly popular *Commentary to the Account of Creation* is attributed to Asher, but his authorship of this work remains highly questionable, though it finds its place in a genre of literature which emerged from Provence. Asher makes one passing reference to an "*aggadah*," which might be from the *Sefer ha-*Bahir,* although it is clear that his Kabbalah is not based on the traditions of that work, like that of his teachers and family members in Provence. The Kabbalah of Asher is nevertheless significantly different from that of his contemporaries in Gerona, Ezra and Azriel, students of Isaac. His complete works have been edited in a single volume.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: D. Abrams, *R. Asher ben David. His Complete Works and Studies in his Kabbalistic Thought* (Heb., 1996); J. Dan and R. Elior, *Kabbalat R. Asher ben David*, Jerusalem (Heb., 1980); M. Rong-Wiznitzer, "Is Paris Ms. 767 Actually a Letter of Asher ben David," in: *Jerusalem Studies in Jewish Thought*, 3 (1982), 33–50 (Heb.); G. Scholem, *Origins of the Kabbalah* (1987), 93–94, 148–49, 171–74, 252–56, 303–7.

[Daniel Abrams (2nd ed.)]

ASHER BEN JEHIEL (also known as **Asheri** and **Rosh;** c. 1250–1327), talmudist. His first teachers were his father, one of the Ḥasidei Ashkenaz, who was a follower of *Judah b. Samuel he-Ḥasid, and his elder brother. He spent some time in France, apparently in Troyes, and then lived in Cologne and Coblenz. From there he moved to Worms, where his teacher *Meir b. Baruch of Rothenburg had been appointed rabbi in 1281. Meir esteemed his pupil, and appointed him a member of the local *bet-din*. After the imprisonment of Meir, Asher became the acknowledged leader of German Jewry and headed the unsuccessful efforts to obtain his master's release, toward which he was prepared to contribute a considerable portion of his assets. He distinguished himself for his activities during the period of the *Rindfleisch* massacres (1298) and for his decisions on matters arising from the resulting disruption of family and communal life. Fearing a similar fate to that of Meir of Rothenburg, Asher left Germany in 1303. The following year, he reached Barcelona, via north Italy and Provence, where he was welcomed with great honor by Solomon b. Abraham *Adret. In 1305 he accepted the position of rabbi in Toledo. His son, Judah, relates that shortly thereafter, Asher turned down a request of the German authorities that he return to his native country, for which they were prepared to provide an imperial letter of safe-conduct and an escort of 50 soldiers.

Asher was drawn into the contemporary conflict concerning the study of philosophy. In Provence he had found only "isolated individuals" engaged in exclusive study of the Torah, which fact he attributed to the widespread study of philosophy. From Barcelona he sent a letter of encouragement to Abba Mari *Astruc, a leader of the opponents of philosophy. Alive to the danger of discord, he proposed an intercommunal conference to reconcile the opposing views (*Minḥat Kena'ot*, 51). When Solomon Adret proposed a ban on the study of philosophy by anyone under the age of 25, Asher, already in Toledo, influenced the local leaders to support this ban. He criticized those who used positions of influence at court for their own advantage. He similarly opposed customs which had been influenced by the Christian environment, such as, granting equal rights of inheritance to husband and wife and bequeathing the whole estate to the oldest son, as was the custom among the nobility; chaining of debtors; and compelling a husband to grant his wife a divorce on her declaration of her unwillingness to live with him. His vast influence and moral stature enabled him to overcome the difficulties which he encountered in those activities, and his spiritual influence was acknowledged even by the Castilian queen, Maria de Molina.

His responsa sometimes reflect the modesty and humility that typified the German school, and at others, the firmness and authority of one speaking in the name of the supreme political and judicial body of Spanish Jewry. When the rabbi of Valencia insisted on his view in defiance of accepted practice and the opinion of Asher, the latter threatened him with capital punishment, if all the other deterrents enumerated in a letter to one of the scholars of the community should prove of no avail (*Responsa*, 107, 6). Despite his reservations and doubts as to the right of the rabbis to impose capital punishment, he nonetheless permitted them to act according to the custom prevalent in Spain, and consented to sentences of mutilation, particularly in the case of informers. Asher introduced into Spain the system of study of the *tosafists and tried to establish a German *minhag*. He is regarded as one of the outstanding halakhic authorities who put the final seal to the work of the German and French codifiers, joining to it the Spanish *halakhah*. True to the methods of the tosafists, he subjected the statements of the *rishonim* and *geonim* to a critical examination and did not hesitate to disagree with them whenever talmudic sources did not support their view and conclusions. Virtually all the communities of Spain referred their problems to him and students flocked to his yeshivah from all Europe, including Russia. When he encountered matters not specifically prohibited in the Torah, Asher was prepared to abandon his own opinion in the face of strong opposition, particularly for the sake of peace, but he never hesitated from taking a strong stand against undesirable developments in the communal life. In answer to a complaint that members of distinguished families had not been appointed as cantors, he stated forcibly that neither distinguished descent, nor the possession of a pleasant voice should be the criterion, but only moral standing (*ibid.*, 4:22).

His negative attitude toward philosophy did not extend to science generally, and he encouraged Isaac b. Joseph Israeli to write his *Yesod Olam*. He was familiar with German law and Spanish common law but his knowledge of Arabic was limited to the spoken language. Having lost all his property in Germany, he lived under conditions of financial stress, and his son notes that his father's assets at the time of his death were insufficient for the execution of his will. Asher nevertheless continued in Spain his ancestral custom of tithing all his income. His halakhic works are (1) *Piskei ha-Rosh* (also called *Hilkhot ha-Rosh, Sefer ha-Asheri*), modeled on that of *Alfasi. In it he sums up the decisions of the earlier codifiers and commentators. It covers most of the talmudic tractates to which are added the *Halakhot Ketannot*, such as *Seder Avodah, Tumah, Ẓiẓit, Tefillin, Mezuzah, Ḥaliẓah*, and *Milah*. Contrary to Alfasi, who primarily quotes the talmudic text, Asher discusses the halakhic issues raised by the Talmud and the earlier commentators, especially the tosafists. Rabbi Joseph *Caro considered *Piskei ha-Rosh* to be one of the three pillars (along with Alfasi and Maimonides) that form the foundation for his *Shulḥan Arukh. (2) Responsa (Constantinople, 1517). The extant collection numbers over 1,000 responsa, arranged in 108 chapters, subdivided into sections. They are of the utmost significance in the study of halakhic development and give an insight into the cultural life of Spanish and German Jewry. The collection of responsa, *Besamin Rosh*, has been forged under his name (see *Berlin, Saul b. Ẓevi Hirsch). In 1965 the Institute for Research in Jewish Law of the Hebrew University published a comprehensive index to Asher's responsa. The index includes lists of all biblical, talmudic, and post-talmudic sources quoted in the responsa. (3) Commentary on the Mishnayot to the orders of *Zera'im* (Altona, 1735; new edition, according to Ms., Jerusalem 1965/6) and *Tohorot* (also printed in the Vilna Talmud) being mainly an abridgment of the commentary of *Samson b. Abraham of Sens to these orders. Asher also made use of Maimonides' Mishnah commentary, translated for him by Israel b. Joseph. He also wrote commentaries on the tractates *Sotah* (in part), *Middot, Tamid* (Prague, 1725), and *Kinnim*. The full commentary to *Sotah* was published in Jerusalem, 1968. (4) *Tosafot*. The abridgment of the *tosafot* of Sens with the addition of Meir b. Baruch of Rothenburg's novellae and the opinions of Spanish scholars, was apparently the fruit of his instruction at the yeshivah and covered virtually all the tractates of the Babylonian Talmud (*Ber.* (Warsaw, 1863); *Shek.* (Jerusalem, 1943); *Meg.* (Leghorn, 1785); M.K. (Jerusalem, 1931); *Yoma* (N.Y., 1965); *Suk.* (Jerusalem, 1903); *Yev.* (Leghorn, 1776); *Ket.* (*ibid.*); *Git.* (Warsaw, 1927); *Kid.* (Pisa, 1806); *Ned.* (Vilna, Romm ed.); *Naz.* (*ibid.*); BM (Jerusalem, 1959); *Sot.* (see above); *Shevu.* (Leghorn, 1785); *Hor.* (Vilna, Romm ed.); *Nid.* (*ibid.*)). Many fragments to other tractates have been published. Only a part of his commentaries and *tosafot* have been published; the remainder is still in manuscript. His commentaries and *tosafot* were mainly studied in Spain where they were used almost exclusively, and were practically unknown in other countries. Asher apparently also wrote a commentary on the Pentateuch but the commentary printed in *Hadar Zekenim* (1840) was written by one of his German pupils, prior to 1327. Asher's piety and exemplary conduct are reflected in his celebrated work, known variously as *Hanhagot ha-Rosh, Orḥot Ḥayyim*, and *Ẓavva'at ha-Rosh* (Venice, 1579). It includes 131 ethical sayings grouped for each of the six weekdays, in which he details rules of conduct for a Jew in his private, family, and public life, and in relation to Jews and Gentiles. He demands integrity, courtesy, and sincerity in dealings with Gentiles. *Orḥot Ḥayyim*, a popular work throughout the centuries, was extensively studied in the Lithuanian *musar* yeshivot in the first half of the 20th century.

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[*Encyclopaedia Hebraica* / David Derovan (2nd ed.)]

ASHER BEN MESHULLAM HA-KOHEN OF LUNEL (late 12th century), Provençal talmudist; known as the "Rosh of Lunel." He was the son of *Meshullam b. Jacob of Lunel and brother of *Aaron b. Meshullam of Lunel. He lived an ascetic life and was referred to as a *parush* ("hermit") by Benjamin of Tudela. Judah ibn Tibbon, who copied for Asher the *Tikkun Middot ha-Nefesh* of Ibn Gabirol (Steinschneider, *Oẓerot Ḥayyim*, 366), praised Asher for his positive attitude toward science and encouraged his son's friendship with Asher. Few of his responsa and decisions have been preserved in the works of others, and only fragments of his halakhic works have been preserved. Several talmudic comments quoted in the *Sefer ha-Hashlamah* of his nephew, *Meshullam b. Moses, are attributed to Asher, as well as a treatise on the laws of *niddui* and *ḥerem* ("banning and excommunication"). Asher was the author of *Sefer ha-Mattanot* (extracts of which were published by S. Assaf – see bibliography), a work which is modeled on the *Sefer ha-Mattanah* of Samuel b. Hophni. Asher apparently wrote a comprehensive work covering the whole of civil law of which *Sefer ha-Mattanot* formed only a part. The whole book was based on the *Sefer ha-Din* of Judah b. Barzillai al-Bargeloni.

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[Yehoshua Horowitz]

ASHER BEN SAUL (late 12th and early 13th centuries), one of the "sages of Lunel," later of Narbonne. Few biographical details are known about him and until recently many confused him with Asher b. Meshullam of Lunel. Asher was the younger brother of the kabbalist Jacob *Nazir. Asher's tendency toward mysticism can be detected in his writings. His principal teacher was Samuel b. David Provençal, but he was influenced by Abraham b. David of Posquières and Joseph b. Plat, although it is uncertain whether they were actually his teachers. Asher is the author of *Sefer ha-Minhagot* ("Book of Customs"), parts of which were first published from an incomplete manuscript by S. Assaf (see bibl.). It is the second book of its kind written in Europe (1205–10), having been preceded a few years earlier by the *Ha-Manhig* of Abraham b. Nathan ha-Yarḥi. Many customs were falling into neglect because of ignorance as to their origins. Asher sought to reinforce their observance by giving an extensive variety of sources. In addition to talmudic and midrashic material he quotes the Babylonian *geonim* and the rabbis of Spain and of northern and southern France. However, the only customs mentioned are those of Lunel and Narbonne. The *Minhagot* was well known by the codifiers and was used extensively, particularly by *Aaron b. Jacob of Lunel in his *Orḥot Ḥayyim*. The rest of his work is known only from quotations.

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[Israel Moses Ta-Shma]

ASHI (d. 427 C.E.; pronounced by some with *hireq* under the *shin* and by others with *sere*); the most celebrated Babylonian *amora* of the sixth generation. Ashi, who lived in Mata Mehasya, is reported to be the son-in-law of Rami b. Abba (Ḥul. 111a). Ashi's teachers were Rav Papi I (RH 29b, et al.) and, even more so, Rav *Kahana of Pum Nahara (Ber. 39b et al.; see Cohen, *Ravina*, p.106–7). Ashi interacts with a large number of his contemporaries, but especially Ameimar, Mar Zutra, and *Ravina (Ber. 44a). Ashi had at least three children: Mar bar Rav Ashi, Rav Sama, and a daughter (Ket. 69a).

Ashi flourished during the reign of the Sassanian ruler Yazdigird I (399–421 C.E.). Yazdigird's general policy of tolerance for minorities extended to the Jews as well. The Talmud reports that Ashi met with Yazdigird together with Amemar and Mar Zutra. Ashi must have been wealthy for he possessed a forest, had a servant, and owned fancy utensils (MK 12b; Ned. 62b; Suk. 10b; Ber. 31a; Jacobowitz, p. 91). Aha bar Rava states that "from the time of Rabbi until R. Ashi we don't find anyone who was supreme both in Torah and in worldly affairs." Even the exilarch, Huna b. Nathan, accepted his authority (Git. 59a; Levin, p. 91). Ashi was responsible for several important innovations and was always concerned that a ruling should not cause embarrassment or monetary loss to people (Jacobowits). Among his sayings are "Everyone who is haughty will finally be humbled" (Sot. 5a); "Any scholar who is not as hard as iron is not a scholar" (Ta'an. 4a).

Nineteenth-century scholarship, following the opinion of Rashi (BM 86a) and Maimonides (Yad, Intro), thought that Ashi was the editor of the Babylonian Talmud. However, recent scholarship dates the editing of the Babylonian Talmud one to two centuries after the death of Ashi. The sources used by earlier scholars to prove that Ashi was the editor of the Babylonian Talmud are shown to be unconvincing upon critical analysis. The most important source quoted in this regard is the purported statement of the first-century *amora*, Samuel, who says he saw it written in the book of Adam that "Rebbi and Rav Natan are the end of the Mishnah; Rav Ashi and Ravina are the end of teaching (*hora'ah*)" (BM 86a). Besides the anachronism of Samuel (third cent.) speaking about Ashi and the legendary air of a book of Adam, the meaning of the term *hora'ah* is not at all clear. Early scholars thought *hora'ah* should be understood in parallelism with Mishnah and so must refer to the next major rabbinic compilation after the Mishnah, the Babylonian Talmud. However, *hora'ah* elsewhere simply means an authoritative ruling (Yev. 92a, et al.). The statement actually means that Ashi and Ravina mark the end of the amoraic period in that they are the last to teach in an apodictic style (Halivni) and the last to legislate with the authority of the *amoraim*.

*Sherira Gaon, who did equate the end of *hora'ah* with the end of the Talmud, could not accept that Ashi finished editing the Talmud since there are a number of Rabbis quoted in the Talmud who lived after Ashi such as Mar b. Rav Ashi and Rabba Tosfa'a. Sherirah therefore reads it as referring to Ravina b. Huna (Levin, p. 95) and Assi (ibid. p. 97; Spanish recension reads Yose), both seventh generation *amoraim*. The second major source for Ashi's editorial activity is the report of Ravina that Ashi taught a certain law one way in his first *mahadurah* and a different law in his last *mahadurah* (BB 157b). Early scholars understood the word *mahadurah* according to it modern usage to mean an edition of the Talmud. Sherirah explains, partly based on the customs of his day in the Geonic yeshivot, that Ashi taught for almost 60 years during which he reviewed two tractates each year during the two kallah sessions thus twice completing the 63 tractates of Mishnah (Levin, p. 93–94). However, *mahadurah* can simply mean a review of Ashi's personal teachings which has nothing to do with an official version of the Talmud.

Not only is there no good source for Ashi being the editor of the Babylonian Talmud, Ashi's activity and statements in the Talmud itself show that he could not have been its editor. Many passages in the Talmud cite and analyze sayings or practices of Ashi, which implies that a later group of editors received traditions from or about Ashi and discussed them just as they did for all previous *amoraim*. When Ashi remarks, "I have protected Mata Mehasya from being destroyed," an anonymous questioner says, "but it has been destroyed" (Shab 11a). The questioner here must have lived many years after Ashi. The Talmud is sometimes unsure of whether a certain statement was made by Ashi or someone else; other times it debates which source text was the subject of interpretation in a certain comment of Ashi. This would not occur if Ashi himself was the editor (Kaplan, 104–127).

Nevertheless, it is clear that Ashi contributed significantly to the substance of the Babylonian Talmud. The Talmud mentions Ashi's name well over a thousand times, often in the center of debate together with the illustrious names of his generation. Ashi, more so than other *amoraim*, frequently sits silently while subordinate scholars address arguments to him. Ashi is the dominant figure of his generation and the *amoraim* of his generation are more centralized than those of earlier generations (Kalmin, p. 125). Ashi's circle of students is referred to throughout the Talmud as "the rabbis of the house of Rav Ashi," a mark of distinction accorded to few others (Shab. 41a).

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[Moshe Nahum Zobel]

ASHIMA (Heb. אֲשִׁימָא), deity worshiped by the people of Hamath in Syria, who were deported to Samaria and its environs to replace the Israelites, exiled in 722–21 B.C.E. (II Kings 17:30). Until recently no exact correspondent of the name Ashima was attested, and scholars attempted to identify Ashima with various deities from Phoenicia, Elephantine, and Mesopotamia having names similar to the biblical form. These attempts have been vitiated by the discovery of an Aramaic inscription from Teima in Arabia ca. 400 B.C.E. that refers to Ashima (אשימא) along with Sengalla (שנגלא) as "the gods of Teima (אלהי תימא)." The biblical association of Ashima with Hamath in Northern Syria versus his attestation at Teima may be explained by the gap of several centuries between the occurrences.

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[S. David Sperling (2nd ed.)]

ASHINSKY, AARON MORDECAI HALEVI (1866–1954), U.S. rabbi and religious Zionist leader. Born in Rajgrod, Poland, he was ordained at an early age. In 1895 he went to the U.S., and first held rabbinical posts in Syracuse and Detroit. In 1898 he accepted a position in Montreal, where he organized Canada's first Zionist group and also served as chaplain to Jewish soldiers in the Canadian armed forces. Ashinsky subsequently became rabbi of the Beth Hamidrash Hagadol congregation in Pittsburgh, where he remained for 25 years until leaving for Brooklyn, a decision that was reversed when the congregation took him to a *din Torah*. He served in Pittsburgh for the rest of his life. Ashinsky was devoted to the cause of Jewish education and helped establish *talmud torah* schools in several of the cities where he served as rabbi. An able orator, he was among the founders of the Mizrachi Organization of America, of which he was vice president for many years. Ashinsky was also a founding member of the Union of Orthodox Rabbis of the United States and Canada and was very active in the aid and relief work of the Ezras Torah organization.

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[Aaron Lichtenstein]

ASHKANASY, MAURICE (1901–1971), Australian lawyer and communal leader. Born in London, Ashkanasy was taken to Australia as a child. He studied at the University of Melbourne, practiced law at the Victorian Bar, and was made a king's counsel in 1940. During World War II Ashkanasy served in the Australian Army in Malaya and New Guinea, rising to the rank of lieutenant-colonel. Subsequently he became chairman of the Victorian Bar Council (1952–55). Ashkanasy was a prominent figure in Jewish affairs; by 1945 he was the recognized lay leader of Australian Jewry. He was five times president of the Executive Council of Australian Jewry, president of the Victorian Jewish Board of Deputies, and a member of the executive of the World Jewish Congress. Ashkanasy was also an important figure in the Victorian branch of the Australian Labor Party, and sought election to Parliament, but was unsuccessful. He was a major force in reorienting Australian Jewry into a pro-Zionist direction and towards a greater willingness to assert its group identity forcefully, a path followed by all of his successors.

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[Isidor Solomon / William D. Rubinstein (2nd ed.)]

ASHKAVAH (Heb. אַשְׁכָּבָה; "laying to rest"; also *Hashkavah*), designation of memorial prayer in the Sephardi (Italian and Oriental) ritual. The *Ashkavah* is recited every Sabbath, on festivals, and on Mondays and Thursdays. It is said either after the Torah scroll has been returned to the Ark, or immediately after the Torah portion has been read, at the request of a mourner who had been called up to the Torah reading. After introductory verses from Psalms, Proverbs, etc., the *Ashkavah* continues: "May the repose which is prepared in the celestial abode under the wings of the Divine Presence… be the lot, dwelling, and the resting place of the soul of our deceased (so and so)…" and concludes with the phrase: "May he/she and all His people of Israel, who slumber in this dust, be included in mercy and forgiveness. May this be His will and let us say, Amen." For a deceased Torah scholar extra biblical verses are prefixed (Job 28:12; Ps. 25:12; 31:20; 36:8–9). A different text, opening with Proverbs 31:10–31, is used for women. A much shorter version is used by the Oriental Sephardim. The *Ashkavah* is also recited at the graveside as part of the funeral service. On the Day of Atonement, in many Sephardi congregations, the *Ashkavah* forms part of the evening service, and, as in the Ashkenazi ritual, the names of the deceased members of the community are read. The vows for charity in memory of the departed are, however, made the next day between *Musaf* and *Minḥah*. The full text of the *Ashkavah* may be found in M. Gaster, *The Book of Prayer* (1901), 200–01; De Sola Pool, *Book of Prayer* (1954), 206–7.

ASHKELON (Heb. אַשְׁקְלוֹן; Askelon, Ascalon).

Ancient Period

One of the five Philistine city-states and a seaport in the southern coastal plain of Ereẓ Israel situated 12 mi. (19 km.) north of Gaza and 10 mi. (16 km.) south of Ashdod. The etymology of the name Ashkelon is probably Western Semitic and may be derived from the root (*shkl*; "to weigh"), indicating thereby that it served as a center for mercantile activities. Ashkelon is first mentioned in the Egyptian Execration Texts of the 11th dynasty (c. 20th–19th centuries) as Asqanu. The city would appear to have been a Canaanite city-state under strong Egyptian influence throughout the 18th to 20th Dynasties. Ashkelon appears in several *El-Amarna letters (EA, 287, 320–2, 370). Although it seems to have remained loyal to Egypt on the whole (EA, 320, 322), Abdihiba, the ruler of Jerusalem, complained to Pharaoh that the people of Ashkelon helped the *Habiru, Egypt's enemy (EA, 287:14–16). About 1280 B.C.E., Ashkelon revolted against Ramses II, who put down the rebellion; the conquest is depicted on reliefs at the Karnak temple. It was again captured by Pharaoh *Merneptah approximately 1229 B.C.E., as indicated on his "Israel Stele." Ashkelon is also mentioned in an ivory tablet from *Megiddo. Toward the middle of the 12th century B.C.E. it was taken by the Philistines and was thereafter one of their Pentapolis (Josh. 13:3; I Sam. 6:17; II Sam. 1:20). According to Judges 1:18, the tribe of Judah conquered Ashkelon together with Gaza and Ekron (cf., however, Judg. 1:18 in the Septuagint, which states that Ashkelon, Gaza, and Ekron were not taken). Ashkelon is mentioned in connection with several details of the Samson stories (Judg. 14:19). During the period of the monarchy, it continued to be one of the main Philistine cities and ports (II Sam. 1:20), and Amos predicted its punishment (Amos 1:8). In the eighth century B.C.E. the size of its kingdom was substantially reduced by the Assyrians, who referred to it as Iskaluna or Askaluna, and it was eventually brought under their suzerainty by Tiglath-Pileser III in 734 B.C.E. A first unsuccessful rebellion by the King of Ashkelon against the Assyrians led a severe punishment in 732 B.C.E. Later, Sidqia, king of Ashkelon, became one of the participants in another rebellion against Assyria led by Hezekiah. In Sennacherib's account of his campaign in 701 B.C.E., he describes the capture of some of Sidqia's cities in the vicinity of Jaffa, Ashkelon's submission, and the deportation of its king (Sennacherib Prism, 1:50ff.). Tribute received from Ashkelon is mentioned in the inscriptions of the rulers Esarhaddon and Ashurbanipal. They used the city as a base for their campaigns against Egypt (end of the seventh and early sixth centuries B.C.E.) and the hardships that the city endured were mentioned by the prophets (e.g. Zeph. 2:4; Jer. 25:20). With the collapse of Assyrian rule, Ashkelon fell into the hands of Psammetichus and Necho of Egypt. The city was subdued and destroyed by Nebuchadnezzar (Jer. 47:5–7), who deported many of its inhabitants. In an Aramaic letter found in Egypt, which belongs to this period, a certain Adon, probably the king of Ashkelon, pleads for help, stating that the Babylonian king has reached *Aphek.

In the Persian period, Ashkelon was under the control of Tyre (according to Pseudo-Scylax, fourth century B.C.E.). With the division of Alexander's empire, Ashkelon – Ascalon as it was then known – was included in the Ptolemies' domain and it became a free port and an autonomous city. A Jewish community flourished in the city under their rule. Ashkelon subsequently fell into the hands of Antiochus III and became an important center of Greek civilization in Hellenistic times. In 111 B.C.E. it was minting its own coins. With the decline of the Seleucid kingdom, it regained its independence in 104 B.C.E., from which time it reckoned the beginning of its own era. Ashkelon maintained its independence throughout the reigns of the Hasmonean rulers John *Hyrcanus and Alexander *Yannai who were unsuccessful in their bids to conquer the city. In the Roman period it was considered a "free and allied city" (*Colonia Ascalon liberate et foederata*). Pagan cults included the worship of Isis, Apollo and Heracles, and of Atargatis/Derceto – a goddess with the face and upper body of a woman and the lower body and tail of a fish – whose temple contained pools for sacred fish (Diodorus, 2:4; Pausanias, 1:14, 16).Although not included in the territory ruled by Herod, he nevertheless built market places and public baths there and adorned the town with gardens – perhaps because it was his birthplace. During the war against the Romans (66 C.E), the Ashkelonites clashed with the Jews and defeated them. In the period of the Mishnah and the Talmud, Jews lived in Ashkelon, as the remains of a synagogue from that period show (see below). Talmudic sources mention its orchards and its fair (TJ, Shev. 6:1, 36c; Sif. Deut. 51). The orchards were incorporated within the boundaries of the Holy Land (set by the returnees from Babylonia) but not the city proper, and the latter was therefore exempted from the tithes and sabbatical year regulations (TJ, Shev. 6:1, 36c). In the early years of the Byzantine period, Ashkelon was the seat of a school of Hellenistic philosophy and was strongly opposed to Christianity.

Neolithic and Chalcolithic remains have been reported in the vicinity of Tel Ashkelon (Ar. Tell el-Hadr) and substantial Early Bronze Age I remains have been uncovered in the Afridar neighborhood of the modern city about a mile to the north of the ancient mound. Tel Ashkelon has been the focus of archaeological excavations ever since the first probes made there by W.J. Phythian-Adams and J. Garstang in 1920–21 that brought to light Hellenistic and Roman remains – including remains of a large building identified as a council-house (*bouleuterion*) or forum, as well as earlier Middle Bronze fortifications and pottery in fill layers indicating the links that the city had with Aegean and Cypriot cultures. During subsequent archaeological investigations a remarkable painted tomb was discovered by J. Ory bearing scenes of two nymphs in a Nilotic landscape, the god Pan playing a *syrinx*, a dog chasing a gazelle, a Gorgon mask, etc. Dating from the Byzantine period are the remains of a church and a synagogue with a chancel screen decorated with *menorot*. From 1985 large-scale excavations were initiated at Tel Ashkelon on a yearly basis by L.E. Stager. Apart from scanty remains from the Early Bronze II–III, an impressive Middle Bronze II defensive system and a well-preserved gate flanked by towers were uncovered. Nearby a small shrine (the "sanctuary of the silver calf") was uncovered. Late Bronze Age building remains and sunken burial vaults are known from the site. Philistine remains are represented by fortifications dated to 1100 B.C.E. The discovery of vats suggests that one of the occupations of the inhabitants was wine production. The Philistine city was destroyed in 604 B.C.E. Persian remains of the fifth century B.C.E. include the discovery of an unusual dog cemetery; the town was destroyed c. 300 B.C.E. In addition to these remains, signs of later occupation represented by public buildings and dwellings were also revealed from the Hellenistic, Roman, Byzantine, and Early Islamic periods. A bathhouse/brothel dating from the fourth century C.E. was found with the bones of hundreds of newborn babies in the underground sewers. A hexagonal Byzantine church with decorated mosaic floors has also been uncovered. An inscription from 1150 B.C.E. relates to the refortification of Ashkelon under the Fatimids. These walls, however, did not prevent the eventual capture of the site by the Crusaders.

[Michael Avi-Yonah / Shimon Gibson (2nd ed.)]

Medieval Period

Apparently a Jewish community existed in Ashkelon during the reign of the Abbasids. Under the Fatimids, Jews are mentioned in letters found in the Cairo *Genizah* as *kehal Ashkelon* ("the Ashkelon congregation") and *kahal kadosh* ("holy congregation").

In the first period of Crusader rule over Palestine, a yet unconquered Ashkelon sheltered a large number of refugees, including many Jews. The Jewish community became a sanctuary for those escaping from Jerusalem, and dealt with such matters as ransoming captives and buying ritual objects from looted synagogues in Jerusalem. At the same time, members of the community were in constant touch with Jewish centers abroad. For example in 1110, letters were sent to the head of the "Gaon Jacob Yeshivah," which was exiled from the country. After the Crusader conquest in 1153, part of the Jewish population remained in Ashkelon. *Benjamin of Tudela describes it as "a large and beautiful town, which contains two hundred Jews, and apart from them, several dozen Karaites and about three hundred Samaritans." In 1187 Saladin conquered it and in 1191 he destroyed its fortifications, (which were rebuilt later by Richard the Lion Heart). The town's Christian inhabitants, with the exception of one hundred merchants, were evacuated, and replaced by Muslims, and its Jewish population went to settle in Jerusalem. Judah *Al-Ḥarizi mentions that among the Jewish inhabitants of Jerusalem was "an excellent congregation from Ashkelon." In 1192 it was destroyed again and in 1240 built anew. In 1247 it passed to the rule of the Ayyub sultans and in 1270 Sultan Baybars destroyed it again.

Information also exists on the settlement of Samaritans in Ashkelon in the 13th century. Under Ottoman rule, Ashkelon was a small settlement, inhabited mainly by merchants and commercial agents who used its port. There was no Jewish community in Ashkelon throughout the Ottoman rule.

[Natan Efrati]

Modern Ashkelon

Modern Ashkelon is located 2 mi. (3.5 km.) northeast of the ruins of ancient Ashkelon. The Egyptian governor Ibrahim Pasha founded the town of Majdal (c. 1830) and settled Egyptian weavers there. Nearer the shore and the site of the antiquities was the fishing village of al-Jūra. During the Israel War of Independence (1948), the invading Egyptian army took Majdal but had to evacuate it by sea when Israel forces closed in on it from the land side (October 1948). Shortly after the war, the inhabitants of Majdal left the town for Gaza. After a short time, a Jewish settlement developed known as Migdal-Ashkelon. From 1949 on, Jewish immigrants from many countries settled there. In 1952, on the initiative of the South African Zionist Federation, the South African Jewish

War Appeal undertook the implementation of a planning program, based on the concept of self-contained neighborhood units, and in 1955 Ashkelon was granted city status. Its municipal boundaries, as then laid down, included an area of 17 sq. mi. (43 sq. km.), which subsequently increased to 21 sq. mi. (55 sq. km.). Its five neighborhoods were the town of Majdal (Migdal), which was the commercial and market center; the Afridar quarter, linking up with the hotel area near the bathing beach; the Southern Hills quarter of immigrant housing; the residential Shimshon (Samson) quarter; and the Barnea quarter. The industrial zone was located on the eastern fringe of the town. In 1969 an oil pipeline was constructed from Eilat to Ashkelon. Tourism and recreation, including a camp of the French Mediterranean Club, constituted an important part of the city's economy. In the beginning of the 21st century the city's economy was based on industry, administrative services, commerce, and tourism, employing some 40,000 people and making the city a regional center. About 40 factories and 1,000 workshops operated in the city's three industrial areas (which included an 8,000-acre industrial park), engaged in metalworking, plastics, wood, electronics, food, baked goods, chemicals, and prefab construction.

The city had a branch of *Bar-Ilan University with 180 students in attendance in 1968, which in 1990 became Ashkelon College, a regional institute. In 2000 the college was accredited academically, with a student body of approximately 6,000. The city's population rose from 38,000 in 1968 to 73,000 in the mid-1990s and 103,200 in 2002. Among Ashkelon's population, 33.5% were new immigrants, mainly from the former Soviet Union, with others from Ethiopia, France, and Latin America.

The area of ancient Ashkelon, including the archaeological findings, has been converted into a National Park.

[Efraim Orni / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

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ASHKENAZ (Heb. אַשְׁכְּנַז), a people and a country bordering on Armenia and the upper Euphrates; listed in Genesis 10:3 and I Chronicles 1:6 among the descendants of *Gomer. The name Ashkenaz also occurs once in Jeremiah 51:27 in a passage calling upon the kingdoms of *Ararat, Minni, and Ashkenaz to rise and destroy Babylon. Scholars have identified the Ashkenaz as the people called Ashkuza (Ashguza, Ishguza) in Akkadian. According to Assyrian royal inscriptions the Ashkuza fought the Assyrians in the reign of Esharhaddon (680–669 B.C.E.) as allies of the Minni (Manneans). Since the Ashkuza are mentioned in conjunction with the Gimirrai-Cimmerians and the Ashkenaz with Gomer in Genesis, it is reasonable to infer that Ashkenaz is a dialectal form of Akkadian Ashkuza, identical with a group of Iranian-speaking people organized in confederations of tribes called Saka in Old Persian, whom Greek writers (e.g., Herodotus 1:103) called Scythians. They ranged from southern Russia through the Caucasus and into the Near East. Some scholars, however, have argued against this identification on philological grounds because of the presence of the "*n*" in the word Ashkenaz. In medieval rabbinical literature the name was used for Germany (see next entry).

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[Yehoshua M. Grintz]

ASHKENAZ (אַשְׁכְּנַז), designation of the first relatively compact area of settlement of Jews in N.W. Europe, initially on the banks of the Rhine. The term became identified with, and denotes in its narrower sense, Germany, German Jewry, and German Jews ("Ashkenazim"), as well as their descendants in other countries. It has evolved a broader connotation denoting the entire Ashkenazi Jewish cultural complex, comprising its ideas and views, way of life and folk mores, legal concepts and formulations, and social institutions. The Ashkenazi cultural legacy, emanating from the center in northern France and Germany, later spread to Poland-Lithuania, and in modern times embraces Jewish settlements all over the world whose members share and activate it. The term "Ashkenaz" is used in clear contradistinction to *Sepharad, the Jewish cultural complex originating in Spain.

Terminology

It is difficult to determine when the term Ashkenaz was first applied to Germany. In the Babylonian Talmud (Yoma 10a) the biblical Gomer, the father of Ashkenaz, is rendered as "Germania," although in its original context the reference is to Germanikia in northwestern Syria (cf. Gen. R. 37:1; TJ, Meg. 1:11, 71b). In addition to this incorrect identification, a possible source of explanation may be in the name Scandza or Scanzia, the designation of Scandinavia in several sources, which was regarded as the cradle of some Germanic tribes. The association of Ashkenaz with Scandza is found as early as the sixth century in the Latin addendum to the chronology of Eusebius. According to another theory, the present connotation derives from the phonic resemblance of "Ashkenaz" to "Saxons" who during the period of Charlemagne constituted the predominant Germanic element in the Frankish kingdom. During the 11th and 12th centuries the province incorporating Mainz and Worms was still known as "Lothar" (Lotharingia; Rashi, *Sefer ha-Pardes*, 35:1; Tos. to BB 74a). The rabbis of Regensburg were referred to as "Rabbanei Reinus" (i.e., "of the Rhine"; Responsum of Eliezer b. Nathan, in: *She'elot u-Teshuvot Maharam mi-Rothenburg* (Lemberg, 1860), no. 81). At the same time, however, the term "Ashkenaz" established itself as the accepted Hebrew rendering of Germany. Thus in *Rashi's (1040–1105) commentary on the Talmud, German expressions appear as *leshon Ashkenaz* (Suk. 17a; Git. 55b; BM 73b). Similarly when Rashi writes: "But in Ashkenaz I saw…" (Ket. 77b) he no doubt meant the communities of Mainz and Worms in which he had dwelt. Thus also it is certain that such terms as *Ereẓ Ashkenaz* appearing in his commentaries (e.g., Ḥul. 93a) represent Germany. *Eliezer b. Nathan (early 12th century) distinguishes between Ẓarefatim (French) and Ashkenazim in reference to the crusaders as "a foreign people, a bitter and impetuous nation" (A.M. Habermann (ed.), *Gezerot Ashkenaz ve-Ẓarefat* (1946), 72). Letters from Byzantine and Syrian communities written during the First Crusade also refer to the crusaders as "Ashkenazim" (Mann, in: *Ha-Tekufah*, 23 (1925), 253, 256, 260).

The Cultural Complex

The use of the term "Ashkenazi Jewry" to denote a distinct cultural entity, comprising the communities of northern France and of the Slavonic countries previously known as *Ereẓ Kena'an*, can be discerned in sources dating from as early as the 14th century. *Asher b. Jehiel (d. 1327), who was born in western Germany, wrote after settling in Toledo: "I would not eat according to their [i.e., the Sephardi] usage, adhering as I do to our own custom and to the tradition of our blessed forefathers, the sages of Ashkenaz, who received the Torah as an inheritance from their ancestors from the days of the destruction of the Temple. Likewise the tradition of our forebears and teachers in France is superior to that of the sons of this land" (Responsa 20, 20).

While external influences are apparent in the Sephardi attitude toward religion, the Jews of Ashkenaz tended to be fundamentalist and rigorist, consonant mainly with internal Jewish sources, ideas, and customs. The Ashkenazi scholar's sphere of interest was circumscribed by study of the Bible and Talmud. He devoted more efforts to exegesis of the sacred text, rather than attempting a systematic codification of the *halakhah* or extracting general principles. The Ashkenazi and Sephardi cultural centers did, however, exert a reciprocal influence. The talmudic scholarship of early Ashkenazi authorities found its way into kabbalistic circles in Provence and Spain (see *Kabbalah). The approach of the Ashkenazi *tosafists to

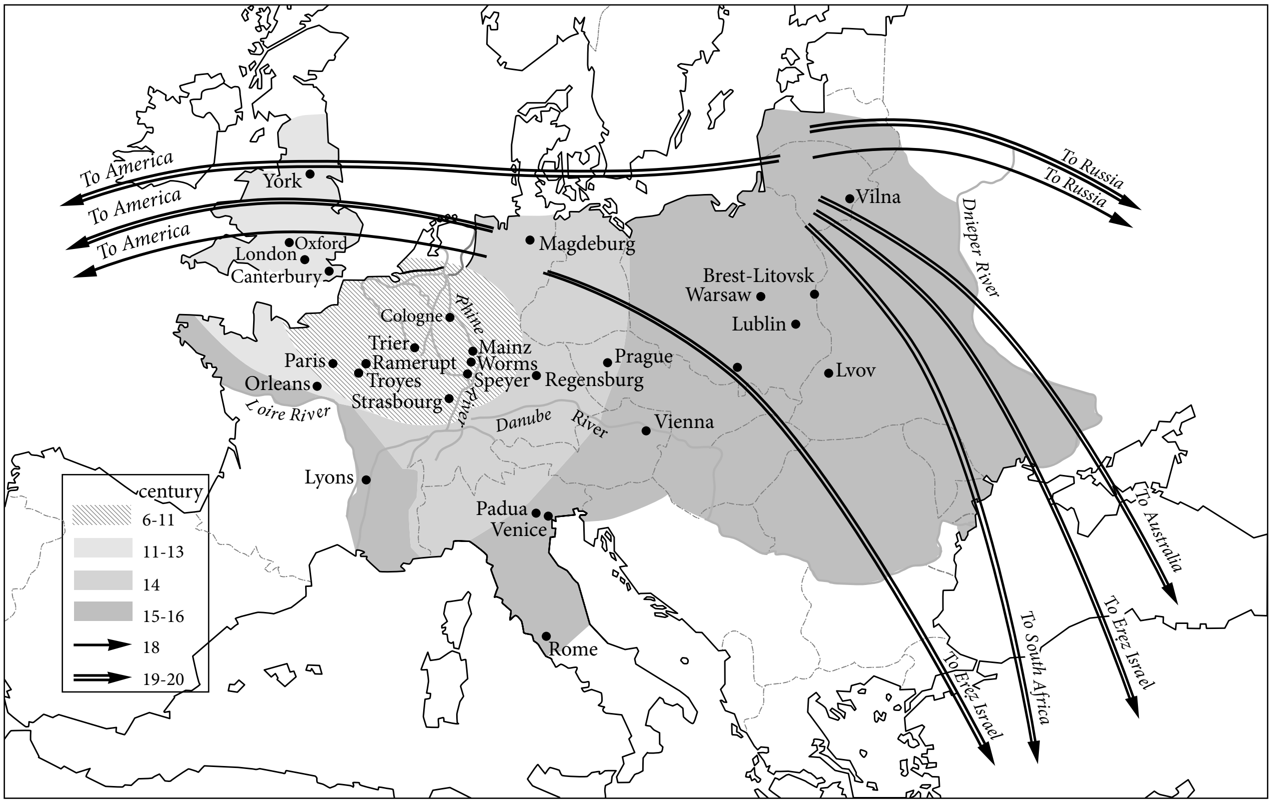
To America
To America
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York
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London
Canterbury
Magdeburg
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Rhine
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Regensburg
Strasbourg
River
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Loire River
Danube
River
Vienna
Lyons
Padua
Venice
Rome
Brest-Litovsk
Warsaw
Lublin
Lvov
Vilna
Dnieper River
To Russia
To Russia
To Australia
To Ereẓ Israel
To South Africa
To Ereẓ Israel
century
6-11
11-13
14
15-16
18
19-20

Areas of Ashkenazi settlement, 6th-16th centuries, and waves of Ashkenazi emigration, 18th-20th centuries.

the Talmud was adopted in Spain by *Naḥmanides and Solomon b. Abraham *Adret. The Ashkenazi Ḥasidim, who evolved original religious and social views, evinced an interest in the concepts of *Saadiah b. Joseph and *Maimonides.

Ashkenazi society was structured on the formally monogamic Jewish family, according to the *takkanah* of *Gershom b. Judah. Its leadership developed new and successful means of exercising *autonomy through the local community and synod. The Jews of Ashkenaz continued the hallowed tradition of **kiddush ha-Shem* ("martyrdom") as well as broadening its concept. Ashkenazi and Sephardi customs gradually established themselves as separate norms, expressed in differences in way of life, pronunciation of Hebrew, and the liturgical rite followed in the respective congregations (see *Liturgy). Ashkenazi scribes developed a distinctive script, and the illuminators of manuscripts, a specific style.

With the emigration of Ashkenazi Jewry from Western to Eastern Europe in the 15th and 16th centuries, the center of gravity shifted to *Bohemia, *Moravia, *Poland, and *Lithuania, developing in each place with local modifications. In the Slavonic territories their use of the Judeo-German language became a prominent distinguishing feature of Ashkenazi Jewry (see: *Yiddish Language). The Ashkenazi *maḥzor* included *seliḥot* and *piyyutim* composed by the liturgical poets of Germany and northern France. The Ashkenazi liturgical rite did not follow a uniform pattern. The southwestern Ashkenazi rite, similar to that followed by the communities of France and Holland, varied from that followed in the area west of the Elbe River; the *minhag* ("custom") of Bohemian Jewry differed from that of Lithuanian Jewry. However these divergences are insignificant as compared with the difference in the basic Ashkenazi and Sephardi rituals.

The parallel development of Sephardi and Ashkenazi religious and social usages was considerably influenced by the works of the codifiers Joseph *Caro on the one hand and Moses *Isserles on the other. Although Caro based his Shulḥan Arukh upon *Jacob b. Asher's *Sefer ha-Turim*, summarizing the *halakhah* of the Ashkenazi rabbinical authorities, Caro's decision in most cases favors the Sephardi codifiers (**posekim*). Isserles provided glosses to the Shulḥan Arukh wherever the Ashkenazi *posekim* disagreed with Caro's decision. Whereas the Ashkenazim accepted Isserles' decision, the Sephardim abided by the norms laid down by Caro.

From about the 17th century the significance of the Sephardi Jewry began to diminish as the Ashkenazim increased in number and importance. After the *Chmielnicki massacres in Poland in 1648, numbers of Ashkenazi Jews spread throughout Western Europe, some even crossing the Atlantic. After a few generations they were to outnumber the Sephardim in those lands. By the close of the 19th century, as a result of persecutions in *Russia, there was massive Ashkenazi emigration from Eastern Europe (see *United States). Ashkenazi Jewry then gained decisive numerical ascendancy in the Jewish communities of Europe, Australia, South Africa, the United States, and Ereẓ Israel. Sephardi Jewry maintained its preponderance only in North Africa, Italy, the Middle East, and wide areas of Asia. Before World War II Ashkenazi Jewry comprised 90% of the global total. The destruction of European Jewry drastically reduced their number and to some extent their proportionate preponderance. With the isolation of Russian Jews from world Jewry, the United States became the main center of Ashkenazi Jews.

Relations between Ashkenazim and Sephardim have varied from time to time and from one cultural region to another. In Holland and France the Sephardi communities excluded Ashkenazim from membership. An extreme example of such an attitude occurred in the Sephardi community of Bordeaux, which was empowered to expel undesired newcomers by a majority vote. In Italy, on the other hand, the contrast between the two was not so sharp and the Ashkenazi settlers adopted the characteristics of the native elements except in matters of ritual. The immigration of Ashkenazi Jews to Jerusalem in the 17th and 18th centuries strained relations with the Sephardim on economic grounds. At the beginning of the 19th century, efforts to obtain the sanction of the Turkish authorities for restoration of the Ashkenazi congregation in Jerusalem were aided by the Sephardim. The two communities existed side by side, each maintaining its own institutions. This division has established itself in the religious life of the present Jewish community in Israel, reflected in the composition of the Chief Rabbinate.

See also *Migration; *History; *Historiography.

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[*Encyclopaedia Hebraica*]

ASHKENAZI, ABRAHAM BEN JACOB (1811–1880), Sephardi chief rabbi of Ereẓ Israel. Ashkenazi was born in Larissa, in Greece, but c. 1820 his family settled in Jerusalem where he studied under Samuel Arvaẓ, and was successively appointed a *dayyan* in the *bet din* of Benjamin Mordecai Navon, *av bet din* (1864), and *rishon le-Zion*, the title given to the Sephardi chief rabbi (1869). He was head of the Bet Jacob Pereira and the Tiferet Israel yeshivot. He was responsible for the purchase of the site of the traditional grave of Simeon ha-Ẓaddik in Jerusalem. During his years of office he introduced many important changes in the organization of the community. He was on friendly terms with the Greek patriarch. Ashkenazi was decorated by Emperor Franz Josef during the latter's visit to Jerusalem, and by the sultan. In 1847 he was sent on a mission to North Africa. Ashkenazi wrote approbations to many books. Some of his responsa have been published (chiefly in the responsa *Benei Binyamin* (1876–81) of Benjamin Navon, and the *Kappei Aharon* (1874–86) of Aaron Azriel); but most of them remained unpublished. Ashkenazi had a remarkable knowledge of halakhic literature and was said to know the responsa of Solomon b. Abraham *Adret by heart. Together with Jacob Kapiluto he edited *Takkanot Yerushalayim* on the regulations and customs of the city (1869). A ruling published under the title *Yismaḥ Moshe* (1874) upholding the will of the caid Nissim Samama of Tunis provoked considerable controversy, but the rabbis of Ereẓ Israel, Egypt, and Smyrna upheld his decision. Ashkenazi's most important work, an extensive commentary on the *Ḥukkat ha-Dayyanim* of Abraham b. Solomon ibn Tazrat, a disciple of Adret, has not been published. In it he assesses the views of the early and late halakhic authorities, particularly of Adret. The work is a real contribution to Jewish jurisprudence. Some of his essays and eulogies were published in *Ha-Levanon, Ḥavaẓẓelet, Yehudah vi-Yerushalayim*, etc. He had an intimate knowledge of the lives of the scholars of Jerusalem, and it was he who encouraged A.L. Frumkin to write his *Toledot Ḥakhmei Yerushalayim*. His son ISAAC, a well-known talmudist, was one of the leaders of the Jerusalem community (1908).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: A.M. Luncz (ed.), *Lu'aḥ Ereẓ Yisrael*, 13 (1908), 85–86; I. Badahab, *Ki be-Yizḥak Shenot Ḥayyim* (1928), 4–5, 24–27; M.D. Gaon, *Yehudei ha-Mizraḥ be-Ereẓ Yisrael*, 2 (1938), 121–2; S. Halevy, *Ha-Sefarim ha-Ivriyyim…* (1963), 66, 80–81, 85, index.

ASHKENAZI, BEḤOR (1840–1909), Turkish government official during the last days of the Ottoman Empire. Known as Beḥor Effendi, Ashkenazi was a member of the council of state from 1869 to 1899, when he became a member of the Ottoman parliament, representing the Jewish community. In 1908 he was made vice prefect of Constantinople and nominated to the Senate, the only Jew in the Ottoman upper chamber. In 1883 he served as vice president of the Jewish lay council of the Istanbul community, and in 1890, 1892, and 1898 he was president of the Jewish lay council.

ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY: A. Levy, in: M. Rozen (ed.), *Yemei ha-Sahar* (1994), 257–61.

[Hayyim J. Cohen / Leah Bornstein-Makovetsky (2nd ed.)]

ASHKENAZI, BEZALEL BEN ABRAHAM (c. 1520–1591/94), talmudist and halakhic authority. Ashkenazi was born in Jerusalem or in Safed, where he studied in his youth under Israel di *Curiel. About 1540 he went to Egypt where he studied in Cairo under *David b. Solomon ibn Abi Zimra. Later he founded a yeshivah there which numbered among its scholars Isaac *Luria and Abraham *Monson. He was a good friend of the poet Israel *Najara. When David b. Solomon ibn Abi Zimra went to Ereẓ Israel (c. 1553), Ashkenazi succeeded him as head of the Egyptian rabbis. A bitter quarrel arose between him and *Jacob b. Ḥayyim Talmid, *nagid* of the Egyptian Jews, and Ashkenazi excommunicated him. Through the intervention of the local authorities, the office of *nagid* was abolished, and the head of the Jews given the title of "*chelebi*" (signifying dignitary in Turkish), with rather limited powers. It is highly probable that it was this quarrel which impelled him to leave Egypt. In 1587 he was head of the rabbis of Jerusalem, apparently succeeding Ḥayyim *Vital. Ashkenazi put new life into the Jerusalem community, instituting numerous communal enactments, exempting scholars from taxation, and persuading the Ashkenazi community to assist in bearing the burden of taxation, though most of them were officially exempt as aliens. He traveled as an emissary to a number of countries, collecting money for the community and encouraging immigration to the Land of Israel. He persuaded the Jews of various countries to set aside Purim as a special day for making contributions to the Land of Israel. Many students from the Diaspora, among them Solomon *Adani attended his yeshivah in Jerusalem. Ashkenazi visited Egypt again in 1591, and appears to have returned to Jerusalem.

Ashkenazi occupied himself a great deal with copying and editing old manuscripts, even hiring scribes to help him. He copied the novellae of the *geonim* and *rishonim* on the Babylonian Talmud, and these served as the basis for his classic *Asefat Zekenim*, better known as the *Shitah Mekubbeẓet*. Through this collection, much of the commentaries and responsa of R. *Gershom b. Judah, *Hananel, Joseph *Ibn Migash, Meir ha-Levi *Abulafia, and others, was preserved. The book in its different parts has been republished many times, and it serves as a supplement to the *tosafot, and the other classical *rishonim.

Much of the *Shitah Mekubbeẓet* is still in manuscript. Part of it has been lost, but is occasionally referred to in books by other authors. All of the available material on some tractates has been published; but only selections of others. The following commentaries under the title *Shitah Mekubbeẓet* have been published: *Berakhot*, the collection in *Berakhah Meshulleshet* (Warsaw, 1863), incorrectly attributed to Ashkenazi, and is most probably by *Yom Tov b. Abraham Ishbili; *Beẓah*, the collection attributed to Ashkenazi at the end of *Naḥalah li-Yhoshu'a* (Constantinople, 1731), of Joshua *Soncino is – according to Epstein's opinion – by a disciple of Nissim Gerondi; *Ketubbot* (Constantinople, 1738); it is doubtful whether *Nedarim* (Berlin, 1860) and *Nazir* (Leghorn, 1774) are by Ashkenazi; *Sotah* (Leghorn, 1800) is contained in *Yagel Ya'akov* of Jacob *Faitusi; *Bava Kamma* (Venice, 1762); *Bava Meẓi'a'* (Amsterdam, 1721); *Bava Batra* (Leghorn, 1774) up to page 133. The remainder was published under the title of *Shi'urei Shitah Mekubbeẓet* in the *Yad Ramah* (Salonika, 1790) of Meir ha-Levi Abulafia; *Sanhedrin* – sections in *Sha'ar ha-Melekh* (Salonika, 1771) of Isaac Nuñes Belmonte and in *Ḥamra ve-Ḥayyei* (Leghorn, 1802) of R. Ḥayyim *Benveniste; *Zevaḥim Bekhorot, Menaḥot*, and most of *Seder Kedoshim* in the Romm Talmud edition (first published in *Mizbaḥ Kapparah* by Jacob Faitusi (Leghorn, 1810) and other books). The *Shitah* to the smaller tractates of *Seder Kedoshim* is very much abbreviated.

Ashkenazi published glosses on the text of the Mishnah and the commentaries on the Mishnah of Samson of Sens and of *Maimonides. His glosses on Samson's commentary on *Pe'ah* and *Demai* were published by J.L. Maimon (*Sinai Jubilee Jubilee Volume* (1958), 102–25), as were his glosses to Maimonides' commentary on the Mishnah of *Zevaḥim* and *Menaḥot* in the same author's *Rabbi Moshe ben Maimon* (1960), 251–90. Ashkenazi also annotated the Babylonian and Jerusalem Talmuds, his glosses on *Yoma* being published by Aaron *Jellinek in *Kunteres ha-Mazkir* (1877), 20–26. *Derekh Tamim*, glosses on the works of Isaac *Alfasi and R. Nissim Girondi were published in *Tummat Yesharim* (Venice, 1622) of Benjamin Motal. His glosses on Books 9–13 of Maimonides' *Mishneh Torah* are in the library of the Jewish Theological Seminary (Ms. 825) in New York. Ashkenazi compiled *Kelalei ha-Talmud*, general rules of talmudic methodology excerpted from the *geonim* and *rishonim* (published by A. Marx in *Festschrift D. Hoffmann* (1914), Hebrew section 179–217). He also wrote responsa (Venice, 1595) and composed sermons and poems.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Neubauer, Chronicles, 1 (1887), 116–7, 160; Conforte, Kore, 41a; Zomber, in: *Ha-Maggid*, 5 (1861), 287; Epstein, in: *Taḥkemoni*, 2 (1911), 33–36; Epstein, Mishnah, 1289–90; Lieberman, in: KS, 13 (1936/37), 105–12; Marx, in: *Festschrift… J. Freimann* (1937), 167–70; Rosanes, Togarmah, 2 (1938), 220–2; 3 (1938), 241–6; Frumkin-Rivlin, 1 (1928), 115–9; Freimann, in: *Sefer… L. Ginzberg* (1946), 334–54 (Heb. vol.); Yaari, Sheluḥei, 225–8; Benayahu, in: *Sinai*, 30 (1951/52), 66–67; Dimitrowski, in: *Zion*, 20 (1955), 175–9; Tamar, *ibid.*, 21 (1956), 236–7; Maimon, in: *Sinai Jubilee Volume* (1958), 89–125; Raphael, *ibid.*, 599–600.

[Abraham David]

ASHKENAZI, DAN (late 13th–early 14th centuries), German talmudist. No details are available of his life in Germany, which he left c. 1300 following the *Rindfleisch persecutions. He migrated to Spain and settled in Toledo, where he founded a yeshivah. He engaged in Kabbalah, and some of his sayings on the subject are preserved. He was among the believers in the "prophecy" of the pseudo-messiah, Abraham of Avila. His responsa are preserved in the works of Solomon b. Abraham *Adret and *Yom Tov b. Abraham Ishbili with whom he carried on a halakhic correspondence; they bear a novel character, departing from usual halakhic tradition. He cites halakhic decisions which are the opposite of all rulings by other halakhists, as Adret sharply comments in his responsa to Ashkenazi and his followers (1:529–530 et al.). Many of his readings of the Talmud bear the same unique and novel character. Some maintained that the statements ascribed to Ashkenazi were forgeries, while others held that he belonged to a group of scholars who were critical of *halakhah* and its recognized exponents. His unique "antinomistic" character tempted the famous forger, Saul *Berlin, to ascribe to him unusual customs, congruent to Berlin's desire to reform the *halakhah* (*Besamim Rosh*, 24). Adret nevertheless greatly esteemed Ashkenazi (responsa ascribed to Naḥmanides, 250 et al.) and *Nissim b. Reuben Gerondi (Responsa, 32) also wrote of him in the highest terms. Ashkenazi wrote commentaries on the Pentateuch; extracts are quoted in *Hadar Zekenim*, and in the commentary on the Pentateuch by *Baḥya b. Asher.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Michael, Or, no. 787; Baer, in: *Zion*, 5 (1939/40), 41, n. 87; Rabbenu Bahya, *Be'ur al ha-Torah*, ed. by C.D. Shevel, 1 (1966), 10.

[Israel Moses Ta-Shma]

ASHKENAZI, ELIEZER BEN ELIJAH THE PHYSICIAN (1513–1586), rabbi and exegete. Eliezer's activities covered many of the Jewish centers of the 16th century. The influential position he held in widely scattered communities indicates the basic unity of Jewish society and culture in the period. A pupil of Joseph b. Solomon *Taitaẓak in Salonika, Eliezer went to Egypt when he was 26, and officiated as rabbi. *Elijah of Pesaro said he "judged all the community of Egypt for 22 years." While there, Eliezer was in contact with the *Safed community and its sages, including Joseph *Caro, who respected and consulted him. In 1561 Eliezer was compelled to leave Egypt, and settled at Famagusta in Cyprus. Elijah of Pesaro, who met him there in 1563, describes him as "well-versed in 12 languages… a sage in many general sciences and in the Talmud… he is wealthy." Azariah dei *Rossi called Eliezer "the greatest of the generation." In 1563 Eliezer was in *Venice; the following year he traveled to Prague, returned for a few years to Famagusta, and again went to Venice. From there he went to Cremona where in 1576 he published his commentary *Yosef Lekaḥ* on the book of Esther, dedicated to Joseph *Nasi. The same year he was invited to Poland as rabbi of Poznan; he was subsequently called to Gniezno, and thence to Cracow, where he died. In Poland his answers to legal queries were accepted as authoritative. Impartial in his decisions, he denied his support to the brother-in-law of Moses *Isserles, Joseph *Katz, who had referred to Eliezer in a discussion with his own pupils. Eliezer's main work, *Ma'aseh Adonai*, a commentary on the Torah, was completed in Gniezno in 1580 and printed in Venice in 1583. It follows the rationalist trend in rabbinical scholarship, calling for freedom in exegesis of the Scriptures: "Each and every one of us, our descendants too, to the end of all generations… is obliged to search for the meaning of the words of the Torah… to accept the truth from whoever says it, after we have understood it. Let us not permit the opinion of someone else – even if of an earlier generation – to hinder us from research… Research and choose: for that you have been created and reason has been given you from heaven" (*Ma'aseh Adonai*, 169). Eliezer suggests that irrational elements in Jewish tradition had accrued through copyists' errors, misunderstandings, and misreadings, or had been precipitated in times of trouble and expulsions, or even inserted by ill-disposed persons. In Joseph Solomon *Delmedigo's estimation "the *Ma'aseh Adonai* should be read in its entirety." He also records that Eliezer wrote a supercommentary on *Naḥmanides' commentary on the Torah and "a thousand refutations of the *Beit Yosef*" of Joseph Caro. Eliezer also wrote *seliḥot* and *piyyutim* printed at Cracow and in Lublin (1618). His glosses on the code of *Mordecai b. Hillel are included in *Gedulat Mordekhai* (Hanau, 1593).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: I.M. Jost, in: *Jahrbuch fuer die Geschichte der Juden* (1861), 30ff.; H.H. Ben-Sasson, *Hagut ve-Hanhagah* (1959), index.

[Haim Hillel Ben-Sasson]

ASHKENAZI (Ulif), GERSHON (d. 1693), rabbi. His teachers were Joel *Sirkes and Menahem Mendel *Krochmal. While still young he was appointed a *dayyan* in Cracow, and afterward served as rabbi in Prossnitz (1650), in Hanau, and in Nikolsburg (Moravia) as chief rabbi of the province (*Landesrabbiner*) from 1661–62. He was then appointed chief rabbi of Austria, where he remained until the expulsion of the Jews from Vienna in 1670, and was noted for his fight against the Shabbateans. With the sanction of Louis XIV, Ashkenazi was appointed *av bet din* of Metz in 1671, remaining there until his death. In 1672 he was authorized by the civil authorities to establish a yeshivah. His responsa *Avodat ha-Gershuni* (1699) utilized the entire corpus of halakhic literature and talmudic commentaries. It is an important source for the *Chmielnicki massacres and the Thirty Years' War. He was renowned as a preacher, and a selection of his sermons, *Tiferet ha-Gershuni*, appeared in 1699. They include halakhic discussions. Ashkenazi, like Judah Rosanes in his *Parashat Derakhim*, frequently puts arguments on halakhic questions into the mouths of biblical personalities. In both works he treats kabbalistic subjects. His *Ḥiddushei ha-Gershuni* (Frankfurt, 1710) contains novellae and glosses on the Shulḥan Arukh. A collection of his responsa and sermons appeared in 1710, and a work on Alfasi and novellae on the Talmud remain in manuscripts. His students included David *Oppenheim.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: S.A. Horodezky, *Le-Korot ha-Rabbanut* (1911), 50ff.; idem, in: *Ha-Goren*, 3 (1907), 141ff.; D. Kaufmann, *Die letzte Vertreibung der Juden aus Wien* (1889), 84ff., 224ff.; H. Fleisch, in: *Juedische Familien-Forschung*, 2 (1930); Michael, Or, 305ff., no. 673; Freimann, in: JJLG, 15 (1923), 36; H. Gold (ed.), *Die Juden … Maehrens* (1929), 50; S.B. Freehof, *Responsa Literature* (1959), 196.

[Isaac Ze'ev Kahane]

ASHKENAZI, JONAH BEN JACOB (d. 1745), Hebrew printer in Turkey. Born in Zalośce (in the province of Lemberg), Poland, Ashkenazi immigrated to Turkey and settled in Constantinople. In 1710 he established a new printing press, using characters which he had engraved himself. Later he cast new ones, together with decorations for the title pages, and finally produced some beautiful books. During the first two years Ashkenazi was in partnership with another Polish emigrant, Naphtali b. Azriel of Vilna. He was compelled to leave Constantinople twice, continuing his work in the nearby village of Ortaköy. In 1720 a consignment of his books was lost at sea, and a dishonest agent of his fled to Poland. Ashkenazi followed him, and on his way back to Constantinople, stopped in Amsterdam. There, in 1721, he printed the *Shitah Mekubbeẓet* of Bezalel *Ashkenazi on *Bava Meẓ'ia* according to a manuscript which he had brought with him from Constantinople. On his return to Constantinople, he printed mainly the works of local rabbis. In 1714 he traveled to Egypt where he received several works of Egyptian rabbis for printing. There he found a manuscript of the *Tikkunei Zohar*, which had been corrected by Ḥayyim Vital, and which he published. In 1728 he established a branch of his press in Smyrna in partnership with R. David Ḥazzan, who later in 1739 immigrated to Palestine. The press then closed down.

During the 35 years of his activity in Constantinople and Smyrna, Ashkenazi printed 125 books. After his death in 1745, the press passed to his three sons: Reuben, Nissim, and Moses; later to his grandsons; and continued until 1778. In all 180 books were printed by three Ashkenazi generations. He printed in Ladino the Bible, a *siddur, Josippon*, and the first edition of *Me-Am Lo'ez*, as well as other works. Ashkenazi made Constantinople the metropolis of Hebrew printing in the Orient.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Rosanes, Togarmah, 4 (1935), 391ff.; Yaari, in: KS, 14 (1937/38), 524ff.; 15 (1939), 97ff., 240ff.; idem, in: *Aresheth*, 1 (1959), 97ff.; H.B. Friedberg, *Toledot ha-Defus ha-Ivri be-Italyah* (1956^2), 127ff.; A. Yaari, *Ha-Defus ha-Ivri be-Kushta* (1967), index, s.v. *Yonah b. Ya'akov mi-Zalaziẓ.*

[Avraham Yaari]

ASHKENAZI, JOSEPH (1525–1577), annotator of and commentator on the Mishnah. Ashkenazi, known as "*ha-Tanna*" of Safed, was the son-in-law of R. Aaron b. Gershon Land, who was rabbi in Prague and later headed the *bet din* of the Poznan community. Ashkenazi fought fiercely against philosophy and theoretical-philosophical Kabbalah. At Prague he denounced Maimonides as a heretic and was threatened with excommunication by the rabbis of Prague if he did not desist. Abraham ha-Levi Horowitz wrote a polemical pamphlet against Ashkenazi's father-in-law, which was mainly directed against Ashkenazi himself. After his father-in-law's death (1560) he went to Verona but it would seem that he did not spend many years there and that he subsequently went on to Egypt where he taught at a yeshivah. Here he was friendly with Bezalel *Ashkenazi and probably also with Isaac *Luria. Perhaps his contacts with these two scholars, who devoted themselves to the study of variant readings of the Mishnah and Talmud as they occur in manuscripts, influenced Ashkenazi to accept the usage of the Egyptian scholars. In 1569/70 he went to Safed, where, as was his custom, he roused violent controversies. He demanded that tithes and *terumot* ("offerings") should be given from crops grown in Ereẓ Israel even when heaped by a Gentile (the obligation of tithing applying from the action of heaping) in contradiction to Joseph *Caro and the ordinance of 1572 which had ruled that these need not be tithed.

His opposition to philosophy in general is expressed in one of his works written in 1565 and preserved in manuscript (discovered by G. Scholem, Oxford Ms. 1664 and Budapest, Kaufmann Library, Ms. 290). Ashkenazi attacks Maimonides and his ideas; he opposes the use of allegory as well as the philosophic concept that "God is pure unchangeable intellect." According to Ashkenazi this heresy is the source of all other heresies. From it stem the denial of Providence; of reward and punishment; of the *mitzvot*; of resurrection in the world to come. His accusations are leveled mainly against Maimonides, Abraham *Ibn Ezra, *Levi b. Gershom, and

Joseph *Albo. Ashkenazi contends that the esoteric world is merely a dimension added to the exoteric one which applies to matters of the heavenly world; that the books of Kabbalah ascribed to the *tannaim* and *amoraim* are the true Kabbalah and must not be disputed. He sharply criticizes the kabbalists of the Middle Ages who tried to compromise with philosophy. According to him, even *Naḥmanides, Solomon b. Abraham *Adret, and *Baḥya b. Asher vacillated between true Kabbalah and philosophy. The authors of speculative kabbalism are "false kabbalists" and by this he means *Azriel of Gerona and Meir ibn *Gabbai. Manuscript copies of Ḥayyim *Vital's *Oẓerot Ḥayyim* contain kabbalistic sayings which Vital had heard from Ashkenazi and which resemble those of the late German Ḥasidim.

It was probably in Safed that he started to devote himself mainly to the textual criticism of the Mishnah. He annotated the complete Mishnah on the basis of various manuscripts. His annotations were widely used by students and commentators of the Mishnah.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: D. Kaufmann, in: MGWJ, 42 (1898), 38–46; O. Bloch, *ibid.*, 47 (1903), 153ff. (reprinted, Pressburg, 1903); Ẓevi ha-Levi Ish Hurwitz, in: *Sinai*, 7 (1940), 311ff.; J.N. Epstein, Mishnah, 2 (1948), 1284ff.; G. Scholem, in: *Tarbiz*, 28 (1958/59), 59–89, 201–35.

ASHKENAZI, JUDAH BEN JOSEPH (1730?–1791), rabbi and *rosh yeshivah* of Smyrna. Ashkenazi was a judge in matters of tax assessment and taught Talmud and codes in the city's yeshivot. Moses b. Joshua Soncino later financed the establishment of a yeshivah (Maḥazikei ha-Torah) for him. Ashkenazi's foremost pupil was Raphael Isaac Mayo, who later became chief rabbi of Smyrna. Another pupil, Ḥayyim Joshua Soncino, son of the yeshivah's founder, financed the publication of his teacher's first work. Ashkenazi wrote many works which were edited posthumously by his son, Raphael. *Maḥaneh Ye'udah* (Salonika, 1793) was originally intended as a commentary on the talmudic tractate *Bava Batra* but since it is essentially a clarification of the relevant *halakhah* in *Jacob b. Asher's Tur, it was rearranged and edited by his son as a commentary to the *Tur Ḥoshen Mishpat*. Among his other works are *Yad Ye'udah* (1816), on the tractate *Shevu'ot*, etc.; *Gevul Ye'udah* (1821), on tractate *Gittin*, etc.; *Kehal Ye'udah* (1825), on *Yoreh De'ah*, including a commentary to tractate *Beẓah; Seridei Ye'udah* (1831), homilies delivered at weddings, and eulogies, published by his grandson Abraham b. Raphael. Ashkenazi's first name appears in the title of all his works as "Ye'udah" in accordance with the pious custom of not writing the name as it is spelled since it contains the letters of the Tetragrammaton.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: R. Ashkenazi, *Mareh Einayim* (1816), 222a–b; idem, *Mareh ha-Gadol*, 2 (1831), 29a; R.I. Mayo, *Pe'at Yam* (1832), 23a; Azulai, 1 (1852), 38 no. 48.

ASHKENAZI, JUDAH BEN SIMEON (18th century), German codifier. Ashkenazi was born in Frankfurt on the Main where his father was a scribe and *parnas* of the community. Ashkenazi was serving as *dayyan* in Tiktin, Poland, before 1742. He wrote *Ba'er Heitev*, a brief commentary on Joseph Caro's Shulḥan Arukh. His commentary on *Oraḥ Ḥayyim* was published together with the text (Amsterdam, 1742); and on *Yoreh De'ah* (*ibid.*, 1736; with additions, 1777); on *Even ha-Ezer* (*ibid.*, 1739); *Ḥoshen Mishpat* was not published.

Three other works on the Shulḥan Arukh were published under the name *Ba'er Heitev*. These are not so much commentaries as résumés of the opinions of other codifiers. They are by Isaiah b. Abraham ha-Levi on *Oraḥ Ḥayyim* (*ibid.*, 1708); Moses b. Simeon Frankfurt on *Ḥoshen Mishpat* (*ibid.*, 1749); and by *Zechariah Mendel b. Aryeh Leib of Belz on *Yoreh De'ah* (*ibid.*, 1754) and *Ḥoshen Mishpat* (*ibid.*, 1764). In later editions of the Shulḥan Arukh the *Ba'er Heitev* of Ashkenazi on *Oraḥ Ḥayyim* and *Even ha-Ezer* are published, while those of *Yoreh De'ah* and *Ḥoshen Mishpat* are by Zechariah Mendel of Belz.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Benjacob, Oẓar, 585–7; S.M. Chones, *Toledot ha-Posekim* (1910), 92–93; H. Tchernowitz, *Toledot ha-Posekim*, 2 (1947), 306–12. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** M. Nadav, *Pinkas Kehal Tiktin*, 1 (1996), 22, 26, 43, 48, 51, 63.

[Abraham David]

ASHKENAZI, JUDAH SAMUEL (1780?–1849), Palestinian scholar. Ashkenazi went on a mission on behalf of the Tiberias community in 1820, probably to North Africa; visited Gibraltar and Italy; and paid a second visit to North Africa in 1833. Ashkenazi went to Leghorn c. 1842 in order to arrange for the publication of his works, but died there. The following are his most important works: (1) *Yissa Berakhah* (Leghorn, 1822), an exposition and halakhic clarification of section 22 of part 2 of the *Toledot Adam ve-Ḥavvah* of Jeroham b. Meshullam dealing with the laws of marriage. The continuation was not published. (2) *Geza Yishai*, a compendium of laws in alphabetical order (part 1, letters *Alef-Yod*, Leghorn, 1842). Ashkenazi was especially interested in the Sephardi prayer book. He assembled all the relevant rules and published them. (3) *Beit Oved* (1843), on prayers for weekdays; (4) *Beit Menuḥah* (1843), for the Sabbath; (5) *Beit Mo'ed*, part 1 (*Beit ha-Sho'evah* (Leghorn, 1849)) for Sukkot and Simḥat Torah. He died while the book was in the process of publication, and as a result of his death the manuscript of the remaining three sections on the other festivals was lost.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Yaari, Sheluḥei, 644.

ASHKENAZI, LEON (1922–1996), French-Israeli educator and rabbi. Son of the last Great Rabbi of Algeria, Leon Ashkenazi once defined himself as "a son of Algeria, of Jewish denomination" and envisioned the course of own life, from Oran and Algiers to Paris and then Israel, as emblematic of the Jewish people's identity struggle and destiny. Raised in Oran in the specific cultural context of Algerian Jewry, where the Arab, Sephardi-Jewish, and French cultural worlds blended (Algerian Jews being largely assimilated and recognized as French citizens since the 1870 Crémieux Decree), Ashkenazi joined the Jewish Eclaireurs Israelites de France boy scout movement when it joined the Resistance against the Vichy government and the German presence in North Africa. The discriminatory laws promulgated by the Vichy regime, and the distressing fact that most of these laws remained in force for a while even after Algeria was liberated by Allied forces, and that Algerian Jewry did not immediately regain French citizenship, left Ashkenazi deeply affected, uncertain whether he could best define himself as "a Jew from Algeria and of French culture" or "a French Jew of Algerian culture." Mobilized in the French Foreign Legion, Ashkenazi was wounded near Strasbourg. After the war, he married the daughter of Holocaust victims and took part in the creation of the Ecole d'Orsay educational center devoted to the training of future Jewish teachers and to the spiritual rebirth of the French Jewish community. He was influenced by the teachings of Jacob *Gordin, who urged Ashkenazi to stay at Orsay and teach Judaism. Ashkenazi was appointed director of the school in 1949 and presided over the Union of France's Jewish Students (UEJF). This period deeply affected Ashkenazi's perception of Jewish identity: as a leader of Jewish youth and student movements, he was closely connected with the mainly Ashkenazi Jewry of France and became aware of the national, and not merely religious, dimension of the Jewish people, which eventually led him to adopt Zionist views. Besides, Gordin's teaching as well as his academic studies (ethnology and anthropology) led Ashkenazi to consider a new kind of relationship between Judaism and Western thought that can be defined as Modern Orthodox. His first visits to the State of Israel confirmed his conviction that Jews formed a national group and that their return to their Hebrew identity constituted a revolutionary change. In 1968, he immigrated to Israel, where he took part in the creation of several educational bodies, some of them for new immigrants, in the spirit of religious Zionism. In his Israeli years, he continued to be involved in Jewish education in France and in interreligious dialogue.

One of the most influential spiritual leaders of French and French-speaking Jewry, "Manitou" (his nickname from the boy scout period) personified, to a certain extent, the evolution of this community from a merely religious group of individuals to a community strongly linked to Zionism and the State of Israel.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: L. Ashkenazi and M. Goldman, *La parole et l' écrit: Penser la tradition juive aujourd'hui* (2000); idem, *Penser la vie juive aujourd'hui* (2005); M. Koginsky, *Un Hébreu d'origine juive* (1998).

[Dror Franck Sullaper (2nd ed.)]

ASHKENAZI, MALKIEL (d. c. 1620), kabbalist. He probably settled first at Safed, where he was close to the circle of Isaac *Luria's disciples, and subsequently in Hebron. He was probably the rabbi of Hebron and, according to reports that Ḥ.J.D. *Azulai heard from the elders of Hebron, Ashkenazi was responsible for consolidating Jewish settlement in Hebron. Ashkenazi had an important library at his house, including six scrolls of Lurianic Kabbalah corrected in Ḥayyim Vital's own hand (Ms. Montefiore 348). R. Solomon ha-Narboni of Hebron mentions a manuscript which was shown to him by "the accomplished scholar, pietist, and saint" (J. Kastaro, *Oholei Ya'akov* (1783), no. 113). R. Isaiah ha-Levi *Horowitz mentions in his book *Shenei Luḥot ha-Berit* (1648) the customs of Hebron according to R. Malkiel Ashkenazi. The impression left by Malkiel in the sources is of a learned man whose opinions were accepted; nevertheless none of his writings survived.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Rosanes, Togarmah, 3 (1938), 306; M. Benayahu, *Sefer Ḥida* (1959), 69–70, 83, 89.

ASHKENAZI, MEIR BEN BENJAMIN WOLF (second half of the 17th century), German rabbi. Ashkenazi was the first appointed rabbi of the united communities of Altona, Hamburg, and Wandsbeck in 1664. He left his post in 1667, stipulating that he be reinstated within a given period. However, the Hamburg and Wandsbeck communities appointed another incumbent in his absence. Jacob *Sasportas, then *ḥakham* of the Sephardi community in Hamburg, arbitrated in the ensuing conflict in favor of the two communities. The union was temporarily dissolved and Ashkenazi remained rabbi of Altona until 1669.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: O. Wolfsberg (Aviad), *Die Drei-Gemeinde* (1960), 50–51.

ASHKENAZI, MORDECAI BEN ISAAC KOHEN (late 16th–early 17th century), rabbi and preacher in Syria. His major work *Rosh Mor Deror* (Venice, 1615), written in 1613, was influenced by his teacher and father-in-law, R. Samuel *Laniado. A collection of homilies on the Torah readings, written in the classical tradition of Jewish preaching, it treats the redemption, God's revenge on the Gentiles, and Israel's blessed condition after the coming of the Messiah. While Ashkenazi sometimes employed kabbalistic terms in his preaching, they are generally based directly on the Midrash.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: D.Z. Laniado, *Li-Kedoshim asher ba-Areẓ* (1952), 46ff. (second pagination).

ASHKENAZI, MOSES DAVID (c. 1780–1856), talmudist and author in Hungary and Ereẓ Israel. Ashkenazi was born in Galicia where his father Asher served as rabbi. From 1803 to 1843 he held the office of rabbi at Tolcsva, Hungary. Thereafter he settled in Ereẓ Israel where he became a rabbi of the Ashkenazi community in Safed, a position he held until his death. The following works of his have been published: (1) *Toledot Adam*, novellae to several talmudic tractates (Jerusalem, 1845); (2) *Be'er Sheva*, a collection of homiletical discussions of the Pentateuch (1853); (3) his will was printed as an addendum to *Shemen Rosh*, a responsa collection of his grandson Asher Anschel (1903). A responsum of Ashkenazi appears in the responsa *Heshiv Moshe* of Moses *Teitelbaum (2 (1866), no. 67). He also corresponded with Moses *Sofer.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: M. Sofer, *Ḥatam Sofer* (1858), *Even ha-Ezer* (1858), no. 29; Benjacob, Oẓar 65, no. 180; 618, no. 102; Z. Schwartz, *Shem ha-Gedolim me-Ereẓ Hagar*, 1, pt. 2 (1913), 12b, no. 190; 3 (1915), 8a, no. 9; 39a, no. 5.

ASHKENAZI, NAPHTALI BEN JOSEPH (c. 1540–1602), rabbi in Safed. Ashkenazi studied in the two great yeshivot of the Ashkenazi community in Safed and was later appointed preacher there. He suffered great privation as a result of the deterioration in the economic situation and in 1595 went to Egypt and then Italy. In Mantua he made the acquaintance of Moses *Berab. In 1601 he published in Venice *Imrei Shefer,* a volume of sermons which shows kabbalistic influence. Leone *Modena held Ashkenazi in high esteem and wrote a poem in praise of his book. In Venice, he was received with great honor and the *rosh yeshivah*, Ben Zion Ẓarefati, invited Ashkenazi to join his staff. During his stay in the city he was the guest of the wealthy Kalonymus Belgrado, founder of the yeshivah. He discovered the manuscripts of Solomon b. Abraham Adret's *Avodat ha-Kodesh* and Abraham b. David of Posquières' *Ba'alei Nefesh* and published them in Venice in 1602. He planned to return to Ereẓ Israel, but died in Venice. Leon Modena's eulogy of him was published in his *Midbar Yehudah* (78 ff.).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Ghirondi-Neppi, 273–5; L. Blau (ed.), *Leo Modenas Briefe und Schriftstuecke* (1905), 117; S. Bernstein, *The Divan of Leo di Modena* (1932), 73.

ASHKENAZI, NISSIM ABRAHAM BEN RAPHAEL (1790?–1860), *dayyan* and rabbi of Smyrna. Ashkenazi was taught by his father, and one of his first responsa, dated 1816, notes his father's approval of his ruling. He was appointed rabbi in 1838. Ashkenazi compiled *Neḥmad le-Mareh*, a commentary on the Jerusalem Talmud, in which he collected comments of the tosafists, the other early commentators, and, in particular, of later commentators. To these he added his own explanations of difficult passages. The work was published in four parts: *Zera'im* (Salonika, 1833), *Mo'ed* (*ibid.*, 1846), *Nashim* (Smyrna, 1857), *Nezikin ve-Niddah* (*ibid.*, 1861). His other published works are *Darash Avraham* (Salonika, 1841–48), in two parts, a collection of sermons arranged in the order of the Pentateuch (to which are appended his father's sermons, entitled *Mareh Adam*, with his notes); *Ma'aseh Avraham* (Smyrna, 1855), the first part of his two volumes of responsa; and *Na'eh le-Hodot* (Leghorn, 1865), a homiletical commentary on the Psalms. Ashkenazi also published his father's book, *Mareh ha-Gadol* (1820–31). Ashkenazi was known for his saintly ways and was a friend of the great sage, Ḥayyim Palaggi, whose eulogy to Ashkenazi is printed in his *Ḥelkam ba-Ḥayyim* (1874).

ASHKENAZI, SAMUEL JAFFE BEN ISAAC (16th century), rabbi in Constantinople. He wrote a number of works, some of which are still in manuscript. Most of them are homiletic commentaries on the major Midrashim: e.g., *Yefeh To'ar*, a homiletic exegesis on *Midrash Rabbah* (Genesis, Venice, 1597–1606; Exodus, *ibid.,* 1657; Leviticus, Constantinople, 1648), and *Yefeh Anaf* (Frankfurt, 1696), an exposition of the *Midrash Rabbah* on the five scrolls. Most of his writings in *halakhah* are unpublished. His responsa, however, were often quoted by 17th-century authorities.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Azulai, 1 (1852), 175, no. 110, s.v. *Shemu'el Yafeh Ashkenazi*; Steinschneider, Cat Bod, 2427–28, no. 7037.

ASHKENAZI, SAUL BEN MOSES HA-KOHEN (c. 1470–1523), philosopher. Ashkenazi was born in Candia, Crete, and studied there with Elijah *Delmedigo. Later he lived in Constantinople. His best-known work is a set of 12 questions directed to Isaac *Abrabanel concerning the proper understanding of certain passages in Maimonides' *Guide of the Perplexed* and in works by the Muslim philosophers al-Ghazālī and Averroes. It was published under the title *She'elot ha-Ray Sha'ul ha-Kohen* (Venice, 1574; repr. Jerusalem, 1967–68) with Abrabanel's answers and some additions by other authors. Two other works of his are mentioned in his questions: *Ir Elohim* ("City of God") and *Yekholet Adonai* ("Power of the Lord"). Another of his works, *Sefer ha-Takhliyyot* ("Book of Goals"), devoted to problems of physics, is known to have been in the possession of Moses b. Samuel Kasani, who inherited his library.

In addition, Ashkenazi wrote glosses on Averroes' *Physics*. Reference is made to a syllogism composed by him. Finally, an epilogue he wrote to the book *Beḥinat ha-Dat* by his teacher Elijah Delmedigo is known. His opposition to the kabbalists drew the criticism of Joseph Solomon Delmedigo, who otherwise thought highly of him.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: A. Geiger, *Melo Ḥofnayim* (1840), xxii–xxiii, 23, 64, 66, 72; M. Steinschneider, *Catalog… Leiden* (1858), 107–8; Steinschneider, Cat Bod, 2507, no. 7098. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** B. Netanyahu, *Don Isaac Abravanel* (1972), index.

[Jacob Haberman]

ASHKENAZI, SOLOMON (c. 1520–1602), Turkish physican and diplomat; born in Udine, northern Italy. His father Nathan apparently belonged to the *Basevi family, the name "Ashkenazi" indicating German origin. After studying medicine at Padua, Solomon went to Cracow, where he served for 16 years as court physician at the court of Sigismund II Augustus. In 1564, he settled in Constantinople, where he was physician and dragoman to Marcantonio Barbaro, the Venetian Bailo, and to the grand vizier, Mehmet Sokollu. During the war with Venice which broke out in 1570 (largely through the influence of Joseph *Nasi, duke of Naxos) Barbaro employed him for secret communications with the grand vizier, Nasi's political rival. After the Turkish disaster at Lepanto, Ashkenazi conducted the preliminary negotiations which led to the peace treaty of 1573. In the following year he was sent to Venice as the vizier's personal representative to propose an alliance to the Venetian government. It was determined that he should be treated as though he were an ambassador from the sultan, and he was formally received in this capacity by the doge and signoria in 1574. During the following decade, as "Aleman Oglou," Ashkenazi continued to wield great influence. He claimed to be responsible for the exertion of Turkish support when Henri de Valois was elected to the Polish throne in 1573, and when the Polish throne was again vacant in 1574–5 he promised to secure the support of the Sublime Porte for the duke of Ferrara. He advised the grand duke of Tuscany on procedure when the latter wished to resume diplomatic relations with Turkey in 1578. In 1583 his services were used to settle a minor dispute between the English and Venetian representatives. In 1586 he signed the preliminary articles of the treaty with Spain on behalf of the sultan. In 1591, he used his influence to secure the appointment as voivode of Moldavia of Emanuel Aron (who was probably of Jewish extraction). When he went to Jassy in 1593 in the hope of obtaining compensation for his efforts, he was handed over to the prince of Transylvania and thrown into jail; ultimately, the English ambassador in Constantinople secured his release. He died shortly afterwards. His final diplomatic activities took place under greatly changed circumstances during the reign of the Sultan Murad III, whose attitude to the Jews in the empire was negative.

His widow, Boula Eksati, inherited some of his medical secrets, and early in the 17th century cured the boy-sultan Ahmed I of smallpox. His son, Nathan Ashkenazi, likewise a physician, was officially received by the doge when he visited Venice in 1605, probably on a secret diplomatic mission, bringing letters of recommendation from the sultan.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: M. Brosch, *Geschichten aus dem Leben dreier Grosswesire* (Gotha, 1899), 34–42, passim; C. Roth, *The House of Naxos* (1948); M.A. Levy, *Don Joseph Nasi* (Ger., 1859); Rosanes, Togarmah, 3 (1938), 349–54; C. Roth, in: *Oxford Slavonic Papers*, 9 (1960), 8–20. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** A. Galanté, ISIS, 9, 86–87; idem, in: *Sinai*, 3 (1940), 462–73; A. Aschkenasy, in: RHMH, 128 (1979), 5–10; S.W. Baron, *Social and Religious History*, 18, 130–31, 484–85; B. Arbel, in: G. Benzoni (ed.), *Gli ebrei e Venezia (secoli XIV–XVIII)* (1987); B. Arbel, in: *Il mondo ebraico* (1991), 105–28; M. Rozen, in: A. Rodrigue (ed.), *Ottoman and Turkish Jewry, Community and Leadership* (1992), 157; A. Levy, in: A. Levy (ed.), *The Jews of the Ottoman Empire* (1994), 76–77, 720; B. Arbel, *Jews and Venetians in the Early-Modern Eastern Mediterranean* (1995), 77–94.

[Cecil Roth / Leah Bornstein-Makovetsky (2nd ed.)]

ASHKENAZI, ẒEVI HIRSCH BEN JACOB (also known as the **Ḥakham Zevi**; 1660–1718), rabbi and halakhist. Both his father, Jacob Sak, a renowned scholar, and his maternal grandfather, *Ephraim b. Jacob ha-Kohen, had escaped from Vilna to Moravia during the 1655 Cossack uprising. It was there that Ashkenazi studied under them as a youth. He wrote his first responsa in 1676, about the time he was sent to the yeshivah of Elijah Covo in Salonika to study the Sephardi scholars' method of study. During his stay in Salonika (1676–78?) and Belgrade (1679), he adopted Sephardi customs and manners and, despite his Ashkenazi origin, assumed the title "*ḥakham,*" the Sephardi title for a rabbi, and also the name "Ashkenazi." In 1680 he returned to Ofen and continued his studies. After his wife and daughter were killed during the siege of Ofen by the Imperial army of Leopold I, Ashkenazi escaped to Sarajevo where he was appointed *ḥakham* of the Sephardi community. His parents were taken prisoner by a Brandenburg regiment after the fall of Ofen and ransomed by Jews in Berlin. It seems that only much later Ashkenazi received the news that his parents were alive. He arrived in Berlin via Venice and Prague in 1689. There he married the daughter of Meshullam Zalman Neumark-Mirels, the *av bet din* of the "Three Communities" of Altona, Hamburg, and Wandsbeck. He later moved to Altona where for 18 years he devoted himself to teaching in the *Klaus*, which was founded for him by leading members of the congregation. On the death of his father-in-law (1707), he was elected rabbi of Hamburg and Wandsbeck, although he shared the position at Altona with Moses Rothenburg. It was eventually a violent controversy on a halakhic question between them (the "chicken without a heart," see below), which compelled him to resign his position in all three communities in 1709. He continued to act as the head of the yeshivah in the Altona *klaus* until invited to serve as rabbi of the Ashkenazi community in Amsterdam in 1710. There, Ashkenazi's relations were initially excellent. His responsa, published in Amsterdam in 1712, were highly regarded by the rabbis of the Portuguese (Sephardi) community there, and he was on intimate terms with the Sephardi rabbi, Solomon *Ayllon. This relationship, however, deteriorated with the arrival in Amsterdam of Nehemiah *Ḥayon, the emissary of *Shabbetai Ẓevi, who sought the help of the local Portuguese community in circulating his writings. Having been asked by the Portuguese elders (who did not rely on Ayllon) to rule on the matter, Ashkenazi and Moses *Ḥagiz – who was then in Amsterdam as a rabbinical emissary from Jerusalem – decided against Ḥayon and his writings and later excommunicated him. In revenge for not having been consulted about Ḥayyon's writings, Ayllon managed to transform the issue into one of supremacy of the old Portuguese community over the newcomers' Ashkenazi community. A new commission under Ayllon was appointed and found Ḥayon's writings to be in accordance with traditional Kabbalah. Upon Ashkenazi's refusal to apologize to Ḥayon, a bitter controversy took place between the Portuguese and Ashkenazi. As a result of his opponents' incessant personal attacks, Ashkenazi finally resigned his position in Amsterdam in 1714. After a brief stay in London (at the invitation of the Sephardi community), and a short sojourn in Emden, he proceeded to Poland and settled in Opatow. From there he was invited once more to Hamburg to take part in a complicated lawsuit. In the beginning of 1718 he was appointed rabbi of Lemberg, but he died there after a few months.

Ashkenazi's chief work is his collection of responsa *Ḥakham Ẓevi* (Amsterdam, 1712). These responsa reflect his stormy life and his many wanderings. Questions were addressed to him from all parts of Europe – from London to Lublin and from Hamburg to "Candia in Italy" – dealing in particular with problems which arose from the condition of the Jews in various countries. They shed light on the communal organization, its privileges and regulations (e.g., no. 131).

Three responsa (74, 76, 77) deal with the celebrated problem of the chicken which was allegedly found to have no heart. His decision that such a bird was *kasher* created a sensation in the rabbinic world, and was vigorously opposed by such leading rabbis as Moses Rothenburg, Naphtali Katz of Frankfurt, David Oppenheim, and Jonathan Eybeschuetz, who vehemently attacked the decision. He was supported by his son, Jacob *Emden. In one of his responsa (no. 93) Ashkenazi deals with the question of whether a golem could be counted in a *minyan* ("religious quorum"), one such being having been fashioned by his grandfather, Elijah of Chelm. Ashkenazi decided that a golem cannot be counted in a *minyan*. When in 1705 David Nieto of London expressed views which were deemed by his community to be heretical and bordering upon the doctrine of Spinoza, the matter was brought before Ashkenazi, who accepted Nieto's explanations (no. 8). The mutual relations between Ashkenazim and Sephardim are dealt with in a number of responsa (14, 38, 99). For example, on the question of whether it is permissible for Ashkenazim to use a Sephardi scroll, written in accordance with the views of Maimonides for the public reading of the Torah, he concludes that Ashkenazi and Sephardi scrolls are equally valid since the subdivision into sections is the same in both cases. As to the question of whether the Zohar should be given priority and relied upon in halakhic rulings, he declares emphatically that "even if the Zohar were to contradict the halakhic authorities we could not discard the opinions of the halakhic authorities in favor of what is written in the esoteric law; for in the laws and their practical application we are not concerned with mystic lore. But in cases where halakhic authorities differ, it is proper to follow the decision of the Zohar" (no. 36). In 1692 he published his glosses to the *Turei Zahav* on the *Ḥoshen Mishpat*. Opposed to *pilpul* in the study of the Talmud, he demanded a systematic and fundamental analysis of the subject matter. His son, Jacob Emden, praised him for his qualities of "abstinence, meticulousness, true saintliness, and inner reverence." One of his other sons, Abraham Meshullam Zalman, was *av bet din* in Ostrog from 1745. His son, Ẓevi Hirsch, published his father's responsa and novellae under the title *Divrei Meshullam* (1783).

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[Yehoshua Horowitz]

ASHKENAZY, VLADIMIR DAVIDOVICH (1937–), Russian-born pianist. His mother was Russian Orthodox, his father Jewish and himself a pianist. Ashkenazy made his first public appearance at the age of eight, in a performance of a Haydn piano concerto. He later studied at the Moscow Conservatory with Lev Oborin. In 1955 he was awarded second prize in the International Chopin piano competition in Warsaw and, the following year, first prize in the Queen Elizabeth international music competition in Brussels. In 1962 he shared the first prize in the Tchaikovsky competition with the British pianist John Ogdon. Ashkenazy's success in Brussels led to concert tours throughout the world. He soon achieved fame as a great virtuoso whose playing was marked by technical perfection, poetic expression, and a unique range of interpretation. He settled in England after a tour in 1963. He subsequently became a citizen of Iceland and was awarded the Icelandic Order of the Falcon. Ashkenazy served as music director of the London-based Royal Philharmonic Orchestra between 1987 and 1994 and of the Deutsches Symphonie-Orchester of Berlin from 1988. From 1998 he was director of the Czech Philharmonic Orchestra. He wrote an autobiography, *Beyond Frontiers* (with Jasper Parrott, 1984).

[Michael Goldstein / Rohan Saxena (2nd ed.)]

ASHKHABAD (formerly **Askhabad;** (1919–1927) **Poltoratsk**), capital of Turkmenistan. Jewish soldiers in the czarist army settled in Ashkhabad after the Russian conquest of the area in 1881, but they were expelled soon afterward by the governor-general of Turkestan. Later, Jewish artisans moved here from European Russia. By 1897, 310 Jews lived in the town (1.6% of the total population). At the end of the 1920s it served as a deportation center for Zionists exiled from European Russia. In 1939, 711 Jews (0.56% of the total) lived in the town and 1,202 in the entire district. In 1959 the Jewish population was 1,276. Around 600 remained in 2005.

[Yehuda Slutsky]

ASHLAG, YEHUDAH (1886–1954), Israeli kabbalist and rabbi. Ashlag, the most important 20th century kabbalist, who was born in Warsaw, was educated in ḥasidic schools. He was a disciple of Shalom Rabinowicz of Kalushin, and of his son Yehoshah Asher of Porissov. He also had a teacher of Kabbalah whose name, he maintained, he was not allowed to divulge. Ashlag immigrated to Palestine in 1920 and settled in the Old City of Jerusalem, where he established a yeshivah, named Bet Ulpena le-Rabbanim, and instructed his pupils in *halakhah* and Kabbalah. Between 1926 and 1928 he resided in London, where he wrote his first kabbalistic works, *Panim Me'irot* and *Panim Masbirot* (1927–30), a double commentary to the *Ez Ḥayyim* by Ḥayyim *Vital. In 1946 he moved to Tel Aviv. Ashlag wrote extensive commentaries to the Lurianic corpus and the Zohar. His writings include *Or Pashut*, a commentary to the Lurianic compilation *Beit Sha'ar Ha-Kavanot* (1941); *Talmud Eser Sefirot* (1955–67), on the kabbalistic doctrines of Isaac *Luria; *Ha-Sullam* ("The Ladder," 1945–60), a commentary on the entire *Zohar and *Zohar Ḥadash* (completed by his brother-in-law Yehuda Ẓevi *Brandwein). Apart from his kabbalistic writings, Ashlag published in 1933 a journal which included articles intended for the larger public. Other writings of Ashlag, letters to his disciples, commentaries, and homilies, were published posthumously in four volumes entitled *Peri Ḥakham* (1985–2003). Ashlag, who adopted socialist and communist ideas and integrated them in his kabbalistic systems, led discussions with various leaders of Israel's Labor Party, including Israel's first prime minister, David *Ben-Gurion.

In his extensive writings, Ashlag presents a highly complex and innovative kabbalistic doctrine. The central notion of his new kabbalistic system is that the Creator, who is defined as the infinite "will to bestow," created through a complex and dialectical process of emanation a "will to receive" the benefits bestowed by Him. Human beings stand at the end of the emanation process as a pure egoistic will to receive. Yet, recognizing their situation, human beings are able to change their nature, and try to transform their egoistic "will to receive" into a quasi-divine "will to bestow." As such a transformation is achieved, the gap between human and divine nature diminishes and man achieves spiritual perfection. This process also has a social feature, as the road to spiritual perfection is also the road to establishing a perfect, communist community in which every individual contributes according to his ability and receives according to his needs. Ashlag believed that Kabbalah should not be kept esoteric and attempted to disperse Kabbalah to the larger public through his popular treatises and his Zohar translation. After Ashlag's death, his kabbalistic doctrines were taught by his sons, R. Barukh Shalom and R. Shelomo Benjamin, and by his disciples, R. Levi Krakovsky and R. Yehuda Ẓevi *Brandwein. Various contemporary kabbalistic movements, including the Kabbalah Center headed by R. Philip *Berg and Bnei Baruch headed by R. Michael Leitman are based on the kabbalistic system of Yehudah Ashlag.

[Yehuda Ẓevi Brandwein / Boaz Huss (2nd ed.)]

ASHMAN, AHARON (1896–1981), Israeli playwright, poet, and editor. Ashman, who was born in Russia, was active in the Jewish self-defense units during the Petlyura pogroms in the Ukraine at the end of World War I. His literary career began after his arrival in Palestine in 1921. He wrote poems (some of which became popular when set to music) and dramas, including a biblical trilogy *Mikhal Bat Sha'ul* ("Saul's Daughter, Michal," 1956) and a play about *ḥalutzim, Ha-Adamah ha-Zot* ("This Earth," 1943). Ashman translated many librettos for the Palestinian opera. In addition to teaching, Ashman edited school textbooks for the study of Hebrew, such as *Aleh* and *Dabber Ivrit*. From 1956 to 1961 he was president of the Israel Authors and Composers Association.

[Getzel Kressel]

ASHREI (Heb. אַשְׁרֵי; "Happy are they"), the first word and the name of a reading from the Book of Psalms which occupies an important place in the liturgy. The reading consists of Psalms 84:5, 144:15, 145, and 115:18. The Talmud states that anyone who recites *Ashrei* three times a day is sure of life in the world to come (Ber. 4b), and therefore it is read twice in the morning service (in the *Pesukei de-Zimra* and toward the end), and at the commencement of the afternoon service. The addition of the first two verses is explained as a reference to the pious who arrive early before the start of the service proper (Ber. 32b; cf. Yal., II Sam. 146). *Ashrei* is recited before the *Seliḥot* of the months of Elul and Tishri. On the Day of Atonement the Sephardim recite it both at *Minḥah* and *Ne'ilah*, whereas the Ashkenazim say it only at *Ne'ilah*.

Psalm 145 is the only psalm to bear the title *tehillah* (literally "praise") from which the entire book of Psalms takes its Hebrew name, *Tehillim*. It is alphabetic with the strophe of the letter *nun* missing. A talmudic homily suggests that this is because the letter *nun* also begins a verse prophesying the destruction of Israel (Amos 5:2; Ber. 4b). However, in the Psalm Scroll discovered among the *Dead Sea Scrolls (ed. J.A. Sanders (1966), 64) there is a *nun* verse reading *ne'eman Elohim bi-devarav ve-ḥasid be-khol ma'asav* ("God is faithful in His words, and pious in all His works"). In the scrolls each line ends with the refrain *Barukh Adonai u-varukh shemo le-olam va-ed* ("Blessed is the Lord, and blessed be His name for evermore") which would indicate that the psalm was used liturgically as early as the Second Temple. In the psalm the author declares that he will praise God because He is "gracious," "merciful," "slow to anger," and "good"; "He supports the fallen" and gives mankind its "food in due season." God is close to all "who call upon His name in truth" and "preserves all who love Him."

Ashkenazim customarily touch the *tefillin* at verse 16: "Thou openest Thy hand, and satisfiest all living," whereas the Sephardim open their hands in symbolic gesture. In Reform synagogues *Ashrei* is recited in the vernacular; in many Conservative synagogues it is read responsively in Hebrew.

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[Raphael Posner]

ASHRIKI, MORDECAI (second half of 18th century), known as Lahazan Bakha, personal adviser to the ruler of Morocco, Muhammad ibn Abdallah (1754–90) in Meknès. Ashriki was entrusted with important matters of administration, and was also a leader in the Meknès Jewish community; he tried to use his political position to improve the situation of his coreligionists. When Muhammad's son Yazīd tried to rebel against him, Ashriki advised the ruler to banish his son, fearing that the Jews would suffer under Yazīd. When Muhammad died, his son succeeded him. Yazīd (1790–92), in fact, hated the Jews and wanted to destroy them; and among his many Jewish victims was Ashriki, whom he ordered to be burned. Before the sentence was carried out, Ashriki was given the option of converting to Islam to stay alive, but he refused.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: S.A. Romanelli, *Massa be-Arav* (1834^{2}), 63–64, 81; J.M. Toledano, *Ner ha-Maʿarav* (1911), 165–8, 171; Hirschberg, *Afrikah*, 2 (1965), 292, 295–301.

ASHTAROTH, ASHTEROTH-KARNAIM, KARNAIM (Heb. עַשְׁתָּרוֹת, עַשְׁתְּרֹת־קַרְנַיִם, קַרְנָיִם; "horns"; Amos 6:13), Canaanite city in Bashan, named after the goddess *Ashtoreth. Ashtaroth is mentioned in the Egyptian Execration Texts (19th–18th centuries B.C.E.), in the inscriptions of Thutmosis III (No. 28 in his list), and in the El-Amarna letters (EA 197, 256). With the addition of neighboring *Karnaim, it appears in the list of *Chedorlaomer's conquests (Gen. 14:5). Together with *Edrei, Ashtaroth was the capital of Og, king of Bashan (Deut. 1:4), and after the Israelite conquest it was allotted to the tribe of *Manasseh (Josh. 13:31). It was a levitical city (I Chron. 6:56; Josh. 21:27 – "Beeshterah") and the home of Uzziah, one of David's "mighty men" (I Chron. 11:44). Ashtaroth was captured by Tiglath-Pileser III in 732 B.C.E.; a relief depicting the deportation of its inhabitants has been preserved. The temple of Atargatis there was stormed by Judah Maccabee (I Macc. 5:26, 43–44; II Macc. 12:21, 26). In talmudic literature it appears as Ashtor, a city of proselytes (TJ, Bik. 1:4, 64a). In the time of Eusebius (fourth century), two villages, one called Ashtaroth and the other Karnaim, still existed in the Bashan, nine (Roman) miles apart. It is identified with Tell Ashtareh, 21 mi. (34 km.) east of the Sea of Galilee.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: W.F. Albright, in: BASOR, 19 (1925), 15; A. Alt, in: PJB, 29 (1933), 21; Abel, Geog, 2 (1938), 255; Press, Ereẓ, 4 (1955), 760; Aharoni, Land, index.

[Michael Avi-Yonah]

ASHTOR (Strauss), ELIYAHU (1914–1984), Israel historian. Born and educated in Vienna, Ashtor went to Palestine in 1938. From 1939 until 1957 he served as librarian of the Oriental department of the Jewish National and University Library, Jerusalem. He taught from 1952 at the Hebrew University (later professor of Islamic civilization). In his programmatic *Prolegomena to the Medieval History of Oriental Jews* (JQR, 50 (1959)), he pointed out that it was the task of the historian to understand the Oriental Jewish communities as an integral element of Muslim society and at the same time to note their affinities with Jews from other countries and periods. Ashtor's *Toledot ha-Yehudim be-Miẓrayim ve-Suryah Taḥat Shilton ha-Mamlukim* ("History of the Jews in Egypt and Syria under the Rule of the Mamluks," 2 vols., 1944, 1951) reveals his familiarity with the relevant Muslim literature, much of which is still in manuscript, his apt use of the accounts of the European travelers, and of Jewish sources. He also wrote *Korot ha-Yehudim bi-Sefarad ha-Muslemit* ("History of the Jews in Muslim Spain," 2 vols., 1960, 1966). Ashtor made important contributions to Islamic social history and economic history in the Near East during the Middle Ages.

[Shelomo Dov Goitein]

ASHTORETH (Heb. עַשְׁתֹּרֶת), Canaanite goddess. Possibly, the deliberate corruption of the name *ʿštrt* (*ʿaštart* or *ʿašteret*) is meant to conform to the vocalization of the Hebrew word *boshet* ("shame"; see *Euphemism and Dysphemism). Ashtoreth is the preeminent goddess in the Bible, and the plural Ashtaroth is a generic term for goddesses, used together with *Baal(im) as a collective term for illicit worship (e.g., Judg. 2:13, "Baal and Ashtaroth"; I Sam. 7:3, "strange gods and Ashtaroth"; Judg. 10:6; I Sam. 7:4; 12:10, "Baalim and Ashtaroth"). In Israel, her worship is associated with the Sidonians, but Solomon in his later years went after "Ashtoreth, goddess of the Sidonians" (I Kings 11:5), and *Josiah destroyed the cult places which Solomon had built on the "Mount of Corruption (see: *Mount of Olives) for Ashtoreth, the abomination of the Sidonians" (II Kings 23:13). Ashtoreth (Greek *Astarté*) is known from the Ugaritic texts, where, however, her role is overshadowed by that of her alter ego, the goddess Anath. Both Astarte and Anath are the sisters and consorts of Baal and share the dual character of goddesses of love and of war; both are also associated with horses and the hunt. According to Ugaritic texts, Anath and Ashtoreth also share the same abode. It seems therefore that Anath and Ashtoreth are different aspects of the same goddess. This supposition is corroborated by the figure of the Aramaic goddess Atargatis, whose name results from a conflation of the names Astarte and Anath.

Astarte is a fierce warrior goddess and the goddess of sexual love (eros) and fertility. Like her Akkadian counterpart Ištar, she is an astral deity and is associated with the evening star. The name ʿAṯtart is a feminine form of the name ʿAṯtar, a god known from Ugarit and South Arabian sources, and associated with the morning star. The name is also known from the inscription of King *Mesha of Moab (1. 17, in: Pritchard, Texts, 320), where Ashtar-Chemosh occurs as a variant of Chemosh, the name of the national god of Moab. Since Ashtoreth as warrior goddess carries the full title *ʿAštart-šem-Baʿal* both in Ugarit (e.g., Pritchard, Texts, 130) and in the Eshmunazor (*ibid.*, 505, 1.18) inscriptions from Sidon 1,000 years later, it has been suggested that the name is derived ultimately from some root meaning "sparkle" and "splendor," but the evidence is far from conclusive. As the goddess of reproduction, her name became a common noun meaning "increase [of the flock]" in Deuteronomy 7:13; 28:4, 18, 51. (But it is possible that "increase," or "womb of flock," was the original meaning.) As witnessed by numerous personal names, Astarte was already popular in the Late Bronze Age. She played a large role in the cult at Ugarit, and her name appears often in ritual texts and sacrificial lists. From Egypt there is the Astarte papyrus (19th dynasty, in Pritchard, Texts, 17–18), an Egyptian recounting of the Canaanite myth of the revolt of the sea, in which Astarte is given as bride to the sea god Yamm, who is ultimately defeated. (In the Baal cycle from Ugarit, Astarte appears as the ally of Baal in his defeat of Yamm.) There are also numerous Egyptian representations of her as a naked young girl seated astride a stallion, carrying a bow and arrow or javelin and shield. The so-called Astarte Plaques, clay figurines of a mother goddess generally associated with the fertility cults, may be another representation of the goddess. She is most probably the "Queen of Heaven," for whom the women of Judah kneaded cakes, libated, and burned incense in order to assure fertility and plenty (Jer. 44:17–19; cf. Jer. 7:18).

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[Tikva S. Frymer]

ʿĀSHŪRĀʾ, the name of the fast of the tenth day of Muḥarram (the first month of the Muslim year), which according to ancient Islamic tradition was introduced by Muhammad when he came to Yathrib-Medina in 622. It is a fast from evening to evening, i.e., a full day. Both the name and the date of the fast are evidence that Muhammad based himself on the Day of Atonement (Lev. 16:29). Nearly a year and a half after he settled in Yathrib, however, as a result of a dispute with the Jewish community there, Muhammad abolished the ʿĀshūrāʾ and substituted for it the month-long fast of Ramadan (Koran, Sura 2:179–81). Nevertheless the instructions for this fast, both in the Koran and in Islamic tradition, show evidence of Jewish influence. Although ʿĀshūrāʾ thus ceased as a compulsory fast, the tenth of Muharram is still regarded as a most suitable day for voluntary fasting. In Shiʿite Islam this day enjoyed special historical importance as the day when Ḥusayn, the son of Ali, fell in the battle of Karbalaʾ in 650. Many processions are conducted since the previous day is a fast day for Shiʿite ascetics.

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[Haïm Z'ew Hirschberg]

ASIA.

History

Jewish history originated in this continent, in the Near-Eastern complex of the Fertile Crescent. The journeyings of the *Patriarchs led from *Ur of the Chaldees in present-day *Iraq through the Fertile Crescent to *Egypt. In antiquity, *Canaan controlled the highway linking Asia with Africa (Egypt). The crescent had ties with Hellenic Europe. These were initially established through *Crete, and somewhat later through the contact with the *Philistines and *Phoenicians. Despite the many ties with Egypt, few traces of Egyptian cultural influence are found in Ereẓ *Israel of the biblical period. The effects of this geopolitical background are, however, clearly discernible. The cultural differences existing between the kingdoms of *Israel and *Judah and their separate destinies largely resulted from the exposure of the northern kingdom to influences emanating from *Syria, Assyria, and *Babylonia, and its commercial or other ties with the Asiatic area of the crescent.

After the Assyrian conquest of the northern kingdom of Israel in 722 B.C.E., a considerable number of its population were deported further into the Asian interior. Thus began the myth of the Lost Tribes of Israel which was destined to have a pivotal role in the later development of relations between Jews and much of Asia. With the Babylonian conquest of Judea in 586 B.C.E., the transference of the center of Jewish life to *Mesopotamia was momentarily almost complete. Some historians believe that *monotheism crystallized in its pure form in Judaism from the impact of the Babylonian exile and the close confrontation with Babylonian paganism. Manifold religious and cultural concepts, the nomenclature of the months, the so-called Assyrian characters of the Hebrew script, were acquired in Mesopotamia and carried back to Ereẓ Israel. During the Second Temple period these became central and integral elements in Jewish mores, thought, and literature. A large proportion – possibly the bulk of Jewry – stayed on in Mesopotamia after the Return to Zion, often in flourishing trade centers such as Nippur. Thus Babylonia also became a Jewish national cultural center.

On the other hand, European influences began to penetrate Jewish life and culture with greater force after the conquests of *Alexander the Great. These emanated from Seleucid Syria in the north, as well as from Ptolemaic Egypt in the south. When acculturation was pressed by forcible measures under the Seleucid *Antiochus IV Epiphanes, the sharp Jewish reaction culminated in the *Hasmonean revolt. Jewish influence on its part was evident in some of the Asian principalities. The royal house of *Adiabene adopted Judaism. The Hasmonean revolt was the only instance of a religio-national uprising by an Asiatic society against Hellenistic domination. In the protracted Roman-Byzantine period (63 B.C.E.–641 C.E.) Jewish resistance to alien domination continued, erupting in the Jewish War of 66–73 and subsequent revolts (see *History of Israel, Second Temple Period; *Bar Kokhba). The Jewish image and the horizon of the Near East influenced the European conception of Asia until the modern era.

The Babylonian Jewish center, however, continued to develop independently under Arsacid Partho-Persian rule. The Jewish area of settlement expanded into Persia and toward Central Asia. Jewish settlements on the borders of the Roman and Persian empires in Asia developed a vital Jewish communal life and culture. Evidence of their exceptionally resplendent synagogue art is the *Dura-Europos synagogue and its paintings. The most important contribution of the Babylonian center for subsequent Jewish culture was evolved in the environment of the restored Sassanian Persian Empire. The Babylonian *Talmud exerted its powerful influence on Jewish life on all subsequent generations. Thus Sassanian cultural and folk elements absorbed into the Talmud were integrated into Jewish culture in addition to the former Babylonian and early Persian accretions.

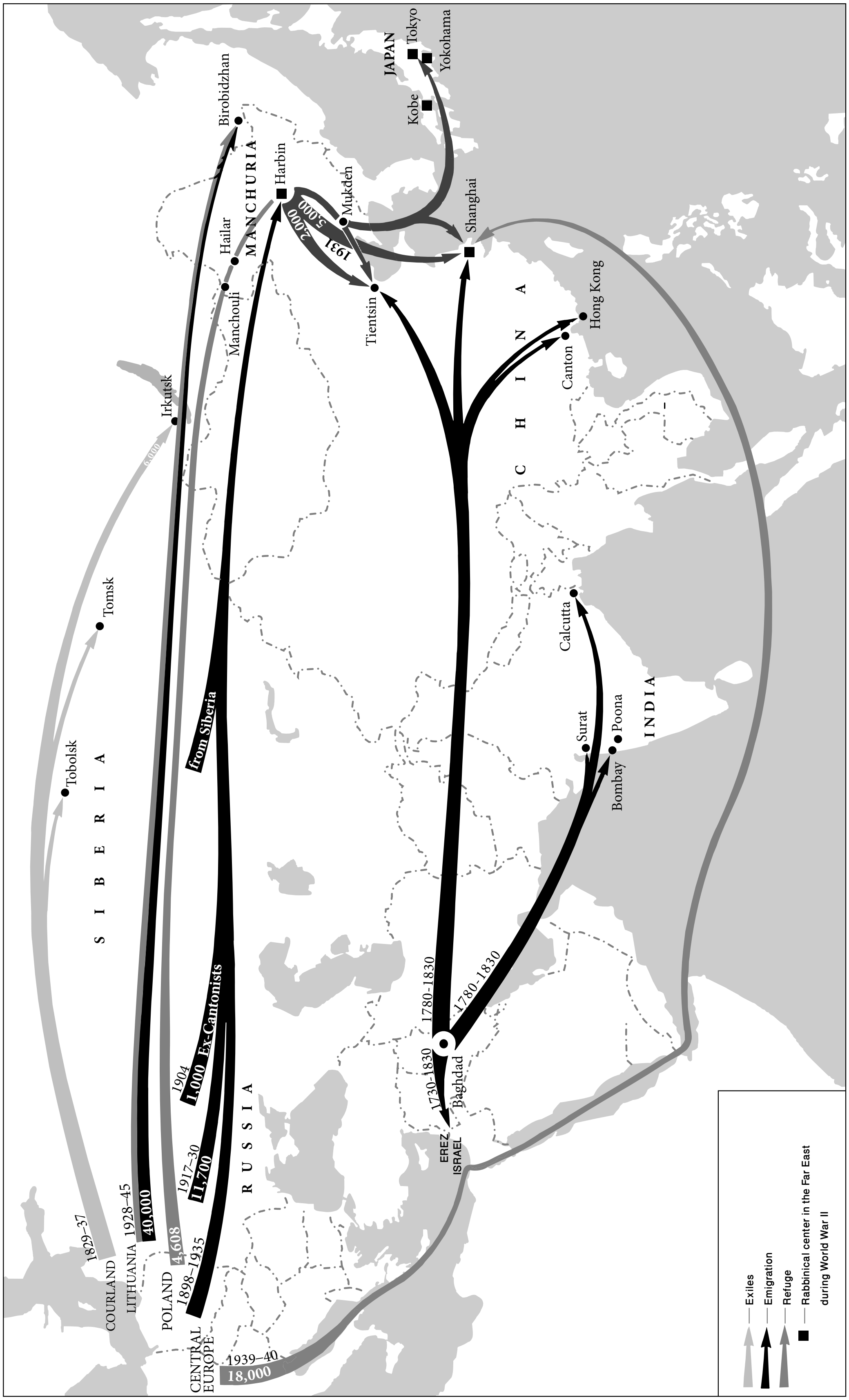
COURLAND
1829–37
6,000
Tobolsk
Tomsk
Irkutsk
S I B E R I A
LITHUANIA 1928–45
40,000
POLAND
4,608
1898–1935
1917–30
11,700
1904
1,000 Ex-Cantonists
from Siberia
R U S S I A
CENTRAL EUROPE
1939–40
18,000
Birobidzhan
Harbin
M A N C H U R I A
Hailar
Manchouli
Mukden
1931
2,000
5,000
Tientsin
Shanghai
JAPAN
Tokyo
Yokohama
Kobe
C H I N A
Canton
Hong Kong
Calcutta
I N D I A
Surat
Poona
Bombay
Baghdad
1780–1830
1780–1830
1730–1830
EREZ ISRAEL
Exiles
Emigration
Refuge
Rabbinical center in the Far East during World War II

Figure 1. Dispersion of Jews in Asia from the early 1700s to 1945.

The Arab conquest of Ereẓ Israel, Mesopotamia, and the adjacent areas in the seventh and succeeding centuries brought the whole of North Africa, and for a time *Spain, within the sphere of influence of the Muslim caliphate. The fact that its center of gravity and seat of government lay in the Fertile Crescent (*Abbasids, *Umayyads, *Damascus) had an incalculably important effect on Jewish life for generations. The Mesopotamian scene under Arab rule centering on *Baghdad formed the background for an outstandingly creative period in Jewish history. This was the age of the *exilarchs and *geonim, lasting approximately from the seventh to the eleventh centuries. Meanwhile, the pax arabica enabled the area of Jewish settlement to extend increasingly farther eastward. The commercial and industrial revolution of the ninth century gave particular impetus to this advance. Trade with *India, where Jewish communities existed perhaps as early as the fifth century, was commonplace in the geonic period. The ancient Jewish settlement at *Kaifeng in China apparently owed its origin to the flourishing silk trade in about 1000. Jewish travelers of the 12th century, *Benjamin of Tudela and Pethahiah of Regensburg, reported dense and flourishing Jewish populations in most of the Near-Eastern areas. Source evidence from the Cairo *Genizah mirrored the diversified nature of Jewish international trading activities in the Indian Ocean in the 12th century. Links were established from the Near East and Egypt with the Far East via the staging post in *Yemen. The violence surrounding the *Crusades and the Tatar invasions of the 13th century critically endangered the Jewish communities throughout Western Asia. In Ereẓ Israel many Jews were massacred, and after the 11th century the Jewish settlement there stood in need of constant replenishment by immigration from the Diaspora. In the 13th century Mesopotamian Jewry was also almost annihilated though a remnant remained. Meanwhile the communities of Asia Minor had dwindled as a result of the traditional intolerance of the Byzantine rulers. However, a fairly robust Jewish society was flourishing in the areas comprised by the Ottoman *Empire in the second half of the 15th century. An isolated Arabized community of some numerical importance continued to exist in Yemen and the Arabian Peninsula, in conditions which remained largely unchanged for many centuries. In India the *Bene Israel of mysterious origin were settled in Bombay, in addition to the ancient communities in Cranganore (later transferred to *Kochi (Cochin)).

An important reinforcement of the Jewish existence in Asia was provided after the expulsion from Spain in 1492. Large numbers of Jewish exiles, followed later by Portuguese *Marranos, found new homes in various places within the Ottoman Empire. Their settlement was not confined to Ottoman territory in Europe, but also extended to Asia Minor, Syria, and other parts of Asia. The new immigration not only reinvigorated communities surviving from former days, but actually transformed their original character. Whereas these communities were formerly autochthonous, preserving an ancient native Jewish culture, they now assumed more European characteristics. They became largely Spanish speaking and followed the Spanish rite. Probably the former Jewish traditions were genuinely preserved only in Persia, in the Yemen, and in the small surviving Jewish community of Iraq. The post-expulsion period also witnessed a revival of Jewish settlement in Ereẓ Israel. The neo-kabbalistic school of *Safed (see *Kabbalah) renewed Palestinian cultural and religious influences in Jewish life after a recession of many centuries.

The record of Jewish life and creativity in Asia in the late medieval and early modern periods still awaits its definitive presentation. The state of research in modern Jewish historiography reflects its European focus. Numerically there was a Jewish decline in Asia and no certain data exist. Nevertheless the ancient matrix remained. In Yemen and in *Kurdistan Jewish creativity was manifested in specific folk art and customs. The national center of Ereẓ Israel drew to it devoted men and women in each generation. If the Asian communities failed to make their mark on European Jewry in the period, this was mainly the result of the general political predominance then achieved by Europe as a whole.

Two new waves of Jewish migration penetrated deep into Far Eastern Asia in the 19th century. Both were numerically small, but significant in their geographical scope and economic attainments. Both followed in the wake of European imperialism. The first was the considerable eastward emigration from Baghdad and other cities in Iraq, mainly to areas in the British sphere of influence. Small communities that were established in India and farther east, in points as far away as Hong Kong, became extremely affluent and correspondingly important. The second migratory wave to penetrate the fastnesses of Asia made the overland trek from Russia. Initially Jews went to live in *Siberia, mainly for trade for a limited period or when sentenced to exile. Others went on to *Manchuria, especially after World War I, and temporarily important communities were established in places like *Harbin. The industrialization of Asian regions of the Soviet Union, and the development of scientific centers there, again stimulated Jewish movement to Asia. Despite its failure, the autonomous Jewish region of *Birobidzhan, created on Far Eastern soil, still harbors a Jewish community.

With the commencement of Nazi persecution, a considerable increase in the number of Jews in Russian Asia was reported, although the actual figures are not known. World War II completely changed the Far Eastern picture. Many refugees from German-occupied countries and Russia escaped to territories under Japanese rule. The Japanese, although responsible for having introduced certain antisemitic measures, did not carry them out to the extreme. The communist victory in China after the war made it impossible for the Jews to continue there in their former occupations. The recently established communities disappeared. In the Middle East the reorganization of the Turkish state after World War I along nationalist lines and the changes in the Turkish economy had adverse effects on the local Jewish communities, which dwindled considerably. In Ereẓ Israel, however, new forces were at work. The rise of *Zionism revitalized the Jewish settlement. After the 1880s the yishuv played a role of increasing significance in world Jewry, growing rapidly in numbers and developing a character and culture of its own. Jewish settlement proceeded despite obstacles, and foundations were laid for state institutions. The achievements of the pioneers had their effect. By the *Balfour Declaration Ereẓ Israel became the declared Jewish national home. From 1920, after the *League of Nations gave the mandate for Palestine to Britain, an entirely new situation was created. Within the next few decades after the creation of the State of *Israel in 1948, almost all the Jews of the historic communities of Syria, Lebanon, Iraq, and the Yemen had emigrated to Israel. Only small communities remained. Israel also attracted numerous immigrants from other Asian countries, especially from those where economic conditions were poor, such as Turkey and Persia, as well as India. (See Table: Jewish Population of Asia.) The "black" Jews of Cochin, established on the Malabar coast from antiquity, migrated almost en masse. Scattered communities, however, continued to maintain themselves here and there in the Asian continent. In 1970 there were 2,518,000 Jews in the State of Israel, forming about 15% of world Jewry and the third largest Jewish concentration in the world. By the early 21st century it had passed the 5 million mark and constituted nearly 40% of the world Jewish population.

Demography and Statistics

The growth of the Jewish population on the Asian continent during a period of a bit more than 120 years, from 1840 to 1961, shows a steadily increasing tempo. This was, no doubt, in keeping with the general improvement in Asian health and hygienic standards, especially among urban populations, affected by the penetration of European influence. In the first 60 years (1840–1900) the Jewish population increased by only 70%; over the next 40 years (1900–40) it more than doubled, and in the next 21 years (1940–1961) the figure almost tripled, mainly due to the increase of the Jewish population in Ereẓ Israel. (See Table: Aliyah from Asian Countries.)

The drop in the ratio of Asian Jewry to total world Jewry during the first 60 years stemmed from the fact that population increase in Asia lagged considerably behind that in other continents. But the situation changed in the 20th century, and more especially in the period 1940–61, when the percentage more than tripled that at the outset of the period. This percentage increase, however, was not due solely to the absolute numerical growth of the Jewish population in Asia, since it was conditioned in the main by the annihilation of European Jewry, which changed the relative scale. By the 1970s Jews constituted everywhere barely a fraction of 1% of the total population. About 100,000 Jews were scattered over this gigantic continent (outside of Israel) as minority groups engulfed by overwhelming – and in the Arab countries, usually hostile – majorities and were thereby seriously exposed to various dangers. Complete assimilation threatened Asiatic Soviet Jewry, dispersed over the vast expanses of Asiatic Russia, among whom the rate of mixed marriages had been as high as 25–30% before World War II. Over the following decades, however, the trend continued. The various communities of Asia emigrated, often to Israel. Thus the remnant of the Yemeni and Syrian communities left and many thousands left Iran. There were still sizeable communities in Azerbaijan (6,000), Uzbekistan (7,000), Tajikistan (1,100) Kazakhstan (5,000), and Iran (11,500). However, the overall population of

Jewish Population of Asia in 1966 and in 2002 (excluding Israel)

	1966		2002	
Country	**Total Population**	**Jewish Population**	**Total Population**	**Jewish Population**
Far East				
Afganistan	15,352,000	800		
Burma	25,246,000	200		
China	700,000,000	20	1,287,900,000	1,000*
Hong Kong	3,836,000	200		
India	498,680,000	16,000	1,049,500,000	5,200
Indonesia	104,500,000	100		
Japan	97,960,000	1,000	127,096,000	1,000
Pakistan	105,044,000	300		
Philippines	33,477,000	500	80,000,000	100
Singapore	1,914,000	600	4,200,000	300
Near East				
Cyprus	603,000	30		
Iran	23,428,000	88,000	65,600,000	11,000
Iraq	8,262,000	2,500		
Lebanon	2,400,000	6,000		
Syria	5,399,000	3,000	17,200,000	100
Turkey	32,005,000	35,000	67,300,000	18,000

* Including Hong Kong.

Main Periods of *Aliyah* from Asian countries

Country	Main period of *Aliyah*	Number of Immigrants to Israel	Jewish Population in 1945
Turkey	1919–1950	37,000	80,000
Lebanon+Syria	1950–1955	12,000	25,000
Iraq*	1950–1951	106,662	90,000
Iran	1950–1965	18,000	50,000
Afganistan	1950	1,200	5,000
China	1949	5,000	9,000
Manchuria	1949	1,000	10,000
Japan			2,000
Philippine Islands	1950–1955	22	1,000
Pakistan	1949–1953	1,500	1,500
India	1950–1955	4,000	30,000
Indonesia	1950	20	2,000
Yemen	1948–1950	43,000	45,000
Aden	1950	2,825	6,000

* Iraq served as an assembly center for immigrants from other places. The high emigration figures do not indicate that all the Jews left Iraq in this period.

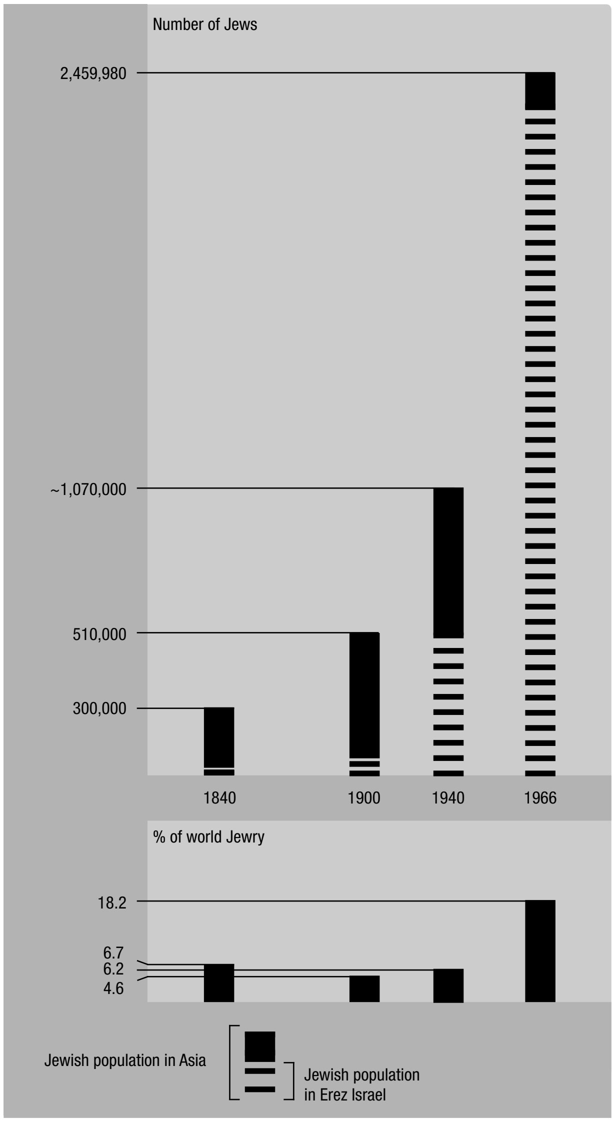

Figure 2. The growth of the Jewish population in Ereẓ Israel and its decrease in other parts of Asia from 1840 to 1966.

Jews in Asia (outside Israel) declined to no more than 47,000 in 2005. Over the same period Judaizing movements in *India and elsewhere did something to raise the total.

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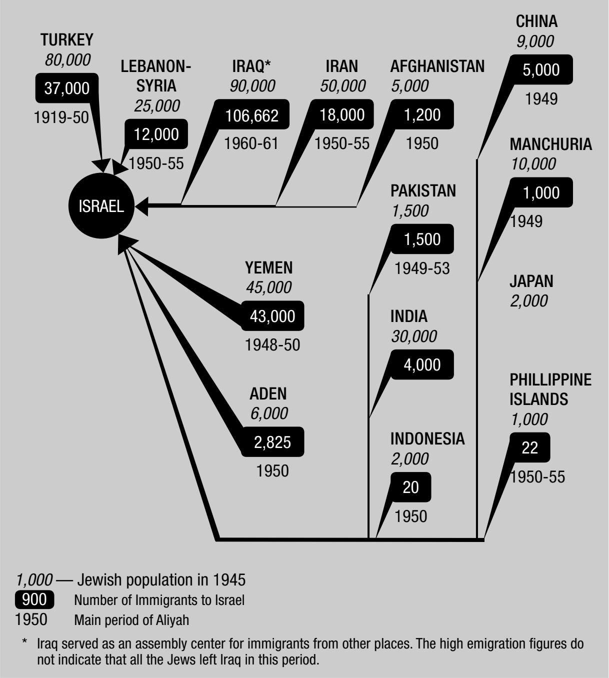
TURKEY
80,000
37,000
1919-50
LEBANON-SYRIA
25,000
12,000
1950-55
IRAQ*
90,000
106,662
1960-61
IRAN
50,000
18,000
1950-55
AFGHANISTAN
5,000
1,200
1950
CHINA
9,000
5,000
1949
ISRAEL
MANCHURIA
10,000
1,000
1949
PAKISTAN
1,500
1,500
1949-53
YEMEN
45,000
43,000
1948-50
JAPAN
2,000
INDIA
30,000
4,000
ADEN
6,000
2,825
1950
PHILLIPPINE ISLANDS
1,000
22
1950-55
INDONESIA
2,000
20
1950
1,000 — Jewish population in 1945
900 Number of Immigrants to Israel
1950 Main period of Aliyah
* Iraq served as an assembly center for immigrants from other places. The high emigration figures do not indicate that all the Jews left Iraq in this period.

Figure 3. Figures for main periods of Aliyah *from Asian countries.*

ASIA MINOR. The westernmost peninsula of Asia, also known as Anatolia. There is no specific information as to when Jews first reached Asia Minor, but it was probably not later than the sixth century B.C.E. Evidence is found in Joel (4:4–6) which apparently refers to slave traders of the Phoenician coastal cities. In Isaiah (66:19) too, there is some evidence that Jews were living in certain regions of Asia Minor at that time. The Sepharad of Obadiah (1:20) is apparently *Sardis in Asia Minor. According to a report by Clearchus of Soli (mid-fourth century B.C.E.), a disciple of Aristotle, Aristotle met a Jew in Asia Minor who was "a Greek not only by speech but also in spirit." At the end of the third century B.C.E. *Antiochus III issued a command to transfer 2,000 Jewish families from Babylonia to *Phrygia and *Lydia in order to settle them in the fortified cities as garrisons. The first synagogues in Asia Minor were apparently built at that time. Important evidence of the distribution of Jews in Asia Minor has been preserved in the Roman circular of 139 B.C.E. to the Hellenistic cities and states. It mentions Caria, Pamphylia, and Lycia as places of Jewish settlement (I Macc. 15:23). Cicero's account of the confiscation of the money which the Jews of Pergamum, Adramythion, Laodicea, and Apamea had designated for the Temple in Jerusalem, during the governorship of L. Valerius Flaccus, provides additional evidence of the spread of Jews in Asia Minor. *Philo of Alexandria testifies that in his day in Asia Minor, as in Syria, there were many Jews. But the most extensive and detailed information on Jewish settlements throughout Asia Minor is furnished by numerous inscriptions and documents preserved by Josephus in *Antiquities* (book 14), and by accounts of the Jewish communities in the New Testament – in Acts and in Paul's Epistles. According to these inscriptions, Jews were settled in the following regions of Asia Minor: Ionia, Mysia, Lydia, Caria, Lycia, Phrygia, Lycaonia, Cappadocia, Galatia, Bithynia, Paphlagonia, Pisidia, Cilicia, and other localities. It may be assumed that the Jews in the cities of Asia Minor did not possess full citizenship, although probably many individuals enjoyed an exceptional status. Josephus states that Seleucus I Nicator (305–280 B.C.E.) had already given the Jews equal rights. But as the Jewish population grew in the cities of Ionia and in other regions, the hostility of the Greeks increased. In 14 B.C.E., the Jews of Ionia complained to Marcus Vipsanius *Agrippa, requesting that he confirm their special privileges. As a result of the intercession of Herod, who was staying with Agrippa at that time, these rights were confirmed. In this respect the numerous documents assembled in Josephus' *Antiquities* are of considerable importance. They include a defense of the Jewish religion from attacks by non-Jews in the Diaspora as well as resolutions of Greek cities (Sardis, Halicarnassus) on the need to guarantee the Jews their religious rights. There is reason to suppose that Jewish influence in Asia Minor was then considerable. Judaism attracted both the enlightened Gentiles and the masses. There is cogent proof of this at Apamea whose inhabitants associated the biblical story of the Deluge with legends connected with their city and inscribed Noah's ark on their coins. Jewish customs became popular throughout the towns of Asia Minor. Josephus reports that the kindling of Sabbath lights was customary among Gentiles. Many attended synagogues on Sabbaths and festivals. A movement of worshipers of the Supreme God, "God fearers" (σεβόμενοι, φοβούμενοι τὸν θεόν) was very popular throughout Asia Minor, and many groups of pagans practiced the cult of the "Supreme God" without renouncing their own religions. The fact that Jews were also conspicuously active in municipal government attests to their firm economic and social standing in Asia Minor.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Jos., Ant., 12:119, 147ff.; 14:223ff., 234ff., 241ff.; 16:27; Jos., Apion, 1:176ff.; 2:39, 282; Cicero, *Pro Flacco*, 28:69; Philo, *De Legatione ad Gaium*, 33:245; 36:281; Klausner, Bayit Sheni, 3 (1950^2), 243–50; J. Klausner, *Mi-Yeshu ad Paulus*, 1 (1954^3), 18–59; Juster, Juifs, 1 (1914), 188–94; Frey, Corpus, 2 (1952), 8–54; A. Galanté, *Histoire des Juifs d'Anatolie*, 2 vols. (1937–39). On Jewish military colonies in Phrygia and Syria, see Schalit, in: JQR, 50 (1960/61), 289ff.

[Abraham Schalit]

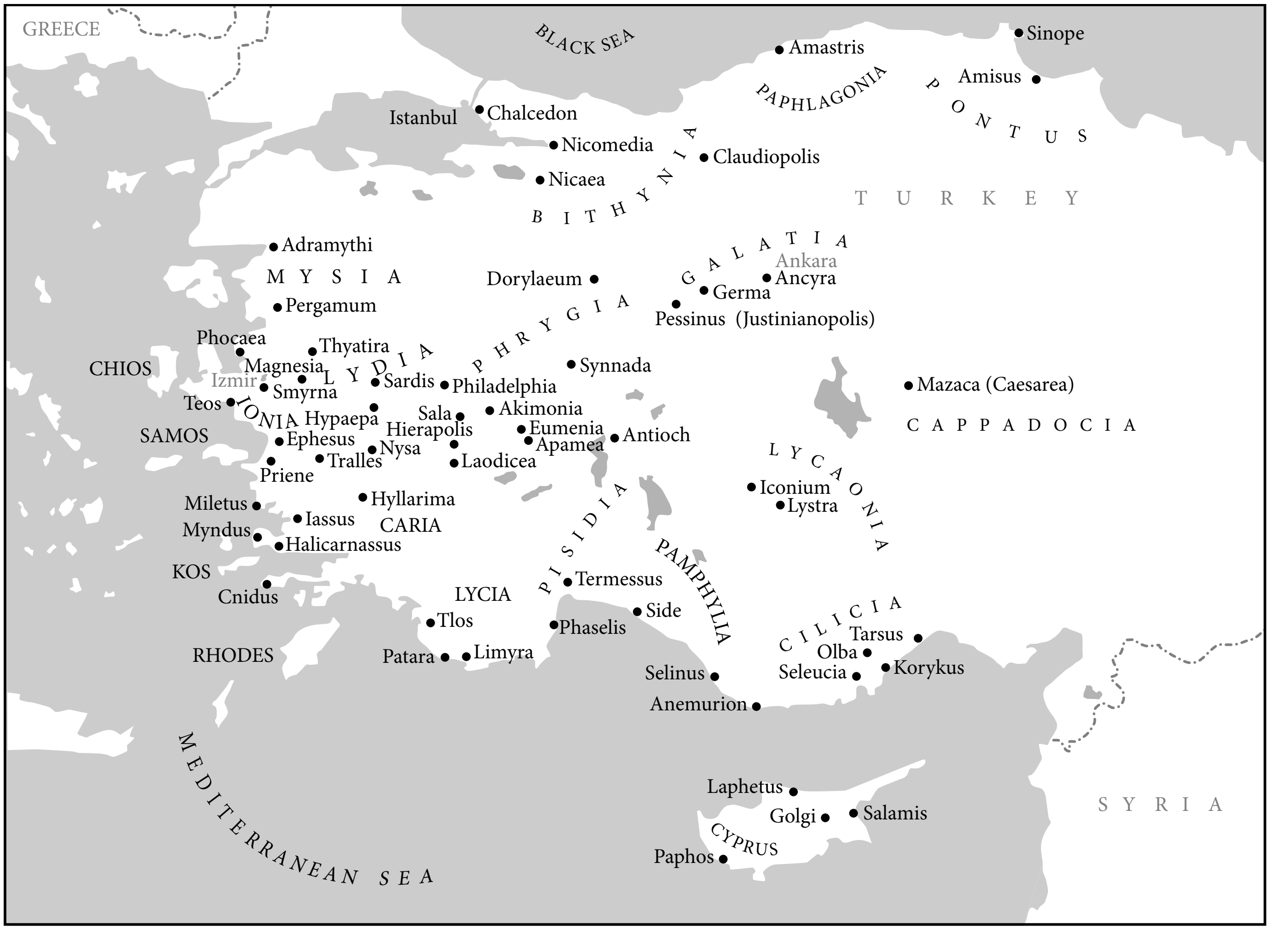
GREECE
BLACK SEA
Sinope
Amastris
PAPHLAGONIA
Amisus
PONTUS
Istanbul
Chalcedon
Nicomedia
Claudiopolis
Nicaea
BITHYNIA
TURKEY
Adramythi
MYSIA
Dorylaeum
GALATIA
Ankara
Ancyra
Germa
Pergamum
PHRYGIA
Pessinus (Justinianopolis)
Phocaea
Thyatira
CHIOS
Magnesia
LYDIA
Synnada
Izmir
Smyrna
Sardis
Philadelphia
Mazaca (Caesarea)
Teos
IONIA
Hypaepa
Sala
Akimonia
SAMOS
Ephesus
Hierapolis
Eumenia
Apamea
Antioch
CAPPADOCIA
Nysa
Tralles
Laodicea
LYCAONIA
Priene
Iconium
Lystra
Miletus
Hyllarima
Iassus
CARIA
PISIDIA
Myndus
Halicarnassus
PAMPHYLIA
KOS
Termessus
Cnidus
LYCIA
Side
Tlos
Phaselis
CILICIA
Tarsus
RHODES
Patara
Limyra
Olba
Selinus
Seleucia
Korykus
Anemurion
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
Laphetus
Golgi
Salamis
SYRIA
CYPRUS
Paphos

Ancient Jewish settlements in Asia Minor.

ASIMOV, ISAAC (1920–1992), U.S. biochemist and author of over 500 books. Born in Petrovichi, Russia, Asimov was raised in the U.S. from the age of three. He taught at Boston University's medical school, where he became associate professor of biochemistry in 1955. His work in enzymology was no less impressive than the many scientific books that he published from 1950. These include the textbook *Biochemistry and Human Metabolism* (1952, 1957^2), *Life and Energy* (1962), and *Asimov's Biographical Encyclopedia of Science and Technology* (1964). He also wrote *The Wellsprings of Life* (1960) on evolutionary theory; popular guides to science *A Short History of Biology* (1964), *A Short History of Chemistry* (1965), and *Asimov's New Guide to Science* (1984); and science books for juveniles, including *Inside the Atom* (1956), *Breakthroughs in Science* (1959), *Of Time and Space and Other Things* (1965), and *Near East: 10,000 Years of History* (1968). His contributions to science notwithstanding, it was for his work as a science fiction writer that Asimov was best known. A member of Mensa and a prolific writer, Asimov was widely considered the father of modern science fiction. He wrote many novels that are considered classics in the field and countless short stories. Under the pseudonym Paul French, he wrote such sci-fi novels as *David Starr: Space Ranger* (1952) and several Lucky Starr novels, namely *Lucky Starr and the Pirates of the Asteroids* (1953); *Lucky Starr and the Oceans of Venus* (1954); *… the Big Sun of Mercury* (1956); *…the Moons of Jupiter* (1957); *…and the Rings of Saturn* (1958). Among Asimov's novels under his own name are *I, Robot* (1950), in which he first formulated the famous "Three Laws of Robotics"; *The Caves of Steel* (1954); *The End of Eternity* (1955); *A Whiff of Death* (1958); *Fantastic Voyage* (1966); *The Gods Themselves* (1972); *Foundation's Edge* (1982); *Foundation and Earth* (1986); *Fantastic Voyage II: Destination Brain* (1987); *Prelude to Foundation* (1988); *Nemesis* (1989); *Forward the Foundation* (1993). His *Foundation* trilogy (1951–53) was considered one of the most famous series of science fiction novels. In addition, his short story "Nightfall" was voted the most famous ever written in the genre. His short story collections include *Nine Tomorrows* (1959); *Asimov's Mysteries* (1968); *The Bicentennial Man and Other Stories* (1976); *Casebook of the Black Widowers* (1980); *The Complete Robot* (1982); *The Winds of Change and Other Stories* (1983); *The Best Mysteries of Isaac Asimov* (1986); *Azazel: Fantasy Stories* (1988); *Gold* (1995); and *Magic* (1996). He also edited collections of Soviet science fiction. Asimov published three autobiographical volumes: *In Memory Yet Green; In Joy Felt;* and *I. Asimov: A Memoir* (1994).

In 1986 he received the Science Fiction Writers of America Grand Master award, presented to a living author for a lifetime's achievement in science fiction and/or fantasy. He received a total of six Hugo awards, science fiction's most prestigious literary prize, for his novels *The Mule*, *The Gods Themselves,* and *Foundation's Edge*, as well as for his novelettes *The Bicentennial Man* and *Gold* and for his memoirs *I. Asimov: A Memoir.* He received Nebula awards for *The Gods Themselves* and *The Bicentennial Man.*

Although Asimov wrote about "the gods themselves," he regarded himself as an atheist. And although he penned story after story about the far-flung reaches of space and time, he was afraid of air travel and generally disliked travel of any kind. In fact, he had a penchant for confined spaces and liked to work in rooms that had no windows.

[Rohan Saxena / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

°**ASINIUS POLLIO, GAIUS** (76 B.C.E.–5 C.E.), Roman writer and political figure. Josephus cites him (Jos., Ant., 14:138) to show that the high priest Hyrcanus invaded Egypt in support of Julius *Caesar during the latter's Alexandrian campaign (48–47 B.C.E.). Asinius Pollio, like Caesar, may have been partial to the Jews. He may also have been in some way associated with Pollio the Pharisee (Jos., Ant., 15:1), who was probably identical with the sage Avtalion. But these are vague conjectures. Contrary to previous suggestions, it seems now unlikely that *Herod's sons lived in Asinius Pollio's home when they went to Rome in 24 B.C.E. (rather than 22) to complete their education (Jos., Ant., 15:343). Publius Vedius Pollio appears now to have been in a much better position: several amphora stamps bearing his name (PVE POL) have so far been found only in cities and residences built by Herod the Great (Caesarea, Sebastia, Masada, Herodium), clear evidence of amphorae having been derived from Vedius' estates in Chios. His career is paralleled by that of Herod and their paths may have crossed during their respective trips to western Asia Minor and to Rome. In any case, Asinius Pollio was only tolerated in the circle of Augustus at that time.

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[Jacob Petroff / Gérald Finkielsztejn (2nd ed.)]

ASKENASY, EUGEN (1845–1903), German botanist. Born in Odessa, Russia, Askenasy was brought up in Dresden. While studying agriculture, Askenasy came under the influence of Julius von Sachs (1832–1897), the outstanding botanist and plant physiologist. Askenasy, who qualified in botany at Heidelberg University, was appointed to the staff in 1872 and became a full professor in 1891. His important contributions to the fields of algology and plant physiology include studies of chlorophyll and other plant pigments; physiology of growth and flowering; and the physical forces involved in the rise of water in plant stems. He wrote *Beitraege zur Kritik der Darwin'schen Lehre* (1872).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: M. Moebius, in: *Berichte der Deutschen Botanischen Gesellschaft*, 21 (Nov. 1903), 47–66, includes bibl.; NDB.

[Mordecai L. Gabriel]

ASKENASY, PAUL (1869–1934), German chemist and pioneer in the field of electrochemistry. Born in Breslau, Askenasy became professor of electrochemistry at the Technische Hochschule in Karlsruhe and an editor of the *Zeitschrift fuer Elektrochemie*. He took out some 50 patents, dealing with electrodes, industrial chemicals, and photographic materials. He also published papers in scientific and technical journals, dealing with electric furnaces, the production of potassium permanganate and of aluminum, arsenic acid, the fixation of atmospheric nitrogen by barium oxide and carbon, titanium, the oxidation of toluene, etc. His *Einfuehrung in die technische Elektrochemie* (2 vols., 1910–16) became a standard work.

[Samuel Aaron Miller]

AŠKENAZY, LUDVÍK (1921–1986), Czech author, playwright, and journalist. Born in Český Těšin and a Communist from his youth, Aškenazy joined the Czechoslovak Army brigade established in the U.S.S.R. during World War II. He adopted the principles of "socialist realism," which he expressed in his books, short stories, and radio plays. His works include *Ulice milá a jiné reportáže z Polska* ("Nice Street and Other Reports from Poland," 1950), *Německé jaro* ("German Spring," 1950), and his impressions of Austria, Greece, and other countries, *Všude jsem potkal lidi* ("I Met People Everywhere," 1955). In three volumes of short stories – *Sto ohňů* ("A Hundred Fires," 1952), *Vysoká politika* ("High Politics"; 1953), and *Květnové hvězdy* ("Stars in May," 1955) – Aškenazy repeatedly stresses the idea that the lives of ordinary people are influenced and determined by politics. A visit to Palestine with A. *Lustig in 1948 inspired *Kde teče krev a nafta* ("Where Blood and Oil Flow," 1948). In this Aškenazy gave expression to his anti-colonialism, showing scant sympathy for the emerging Jewish state.

Aškenazy often turned to the world of children and wrote some of his best stories about them, such as "Dětské etudy" ("Children's Etudes," 1955, 1966), "Ukradený měsíc" (1956, "The Stolen Moon"), also adapted for the stage as *Milenci z bedny* (1959, "Lovers from the Box"). Similarly he wrote the text for a book of photographs called *Černá bedýnka* (1960, "The Black Box") and published a collection of allegorical stories on animals for children, *Psí život* (1959, "The Dog's Life"). In the relatively liberal atmosphere of the 1960s he continued to write stories – *Vajíčko* (1963, "The Egg"), *Malá vánoční povídka* (1966, "A Small Christmas Story") – as well as fairy-tales for children – *Putování za švestkovou vůní* (1959, "Wandering toward the Plum's Scent"), *Osamělý létající talíř* (1963, "A Lonely Flying Saucer"), *Praštěné pohádky* (1966, "Dotty Fairy Tales"), *Pohádka na klíč* (1967, "Fairy Tale on Demand"), and *Cestopis s jezevčíkem* (1970, "Travel Story with a Dachshund"). In addition, he produced many radio and television scripts and was active as a playwright with *Host* (1960, "The Guest"), *Rasputin* (1967), etc. After the Soviet occupation of Czechoslovakia he left the country and lived in Germany, where he actively published his works in German after they were banned in Czechoslovakia. He died in Bolzano, Italy, and is buried in the Jewish cemetery there.

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[Avigdor Dagan / Milos Pohar (2nd ed.)]

ASKENAZY, SIMON (1867–1937), Polish historian. Askenazy studied at the universities of Warsaw and Goettingen and taught modern history at the University of Lemberg from 1897 to 1914, the last seven years as professor. During World War I he was a member of the Polish National Council in Switzerland. After the establishment of an independent Poland he served as its first representative at the League of Nations until 1923, when the National Democratic government dismissed him from his post because he was a Jew. From 1927 to 1937 he was a guest professor at the University of Warsaw. Askenazy's main historical studies dealt with the period from the partition of Poland in 1772 to the rebellion against Russia in 1863. His chief works were a monograph on Prince Joseph Poniatowski (1905) which was translated into English, French, and German; *Lukasinski* (1908); *Napoleon a Polska* (3 vols., 1918–19); *Uwagi* ("Notes on the Polish Problem," 1924); and *Gdansk a Polska* (1919; *Danzig and Poland*, 1921). He also wrote the chapters on Russia and Poland in the *Cambridge Modern History*. In 1929 he discovered manuscripts relating to Napoleon, which he published under the title *Rękopisy Napoleona, 1793–1795*. Askenazy raised a generation of students of Polish history who came to hold prominent positions in their country's cultural and political life. In 1912 a quarterly journal for the study of Jewish history in Poland, *Kwartalnik poświęcony badaniu przeszłości Żydów w Polsce*, was founded on his initiative. As a Jew, he was regarded as a spokesman for the assimilationists.

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[Nathan Michael Gelber]

ASKNAZI, ISAAC LVOVICH (1856–1902), Russian painter. Born near Vitebsk (Belorussia) to a wealthy ḥasidic family, Asknazi attended the Academy of St. Petersburg where he formed a lifelong friendship with the sculptor Antokolski, whom he greatly admired. At the Academy he won a scholarship to study in Italy for four years. On his return from Italy he settled in St. Petersburg. Asknazi was a proud and observant Jew. As a student he was unique in being excused from attendance at the Academy on the Sabbath and Jewish holidays. He was reproached, however, by the Academy for his preoccupation with Jewish subjects, derived from the Bible, Jewish history, and the Jewish life of his day. A painstakingly academic artist, he made elaborate preparations for his compositions, including sculptures of the accessories. Some of his more important works are *Abraham Driving out Hagar and Ishmael*, *Moses in the Wilderness*, *Kohelet*, *The Death of Judah Halevi*, *A Jewish Wedding*, and *Sabbath Eve*.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Vyestnik Izyashchnykh Iskusstv* (1886), 418–9; D. Maggid, in: *Sefer ha-Shanah*, 2 (1901), 56–72.

ASKOWITH, DORA (1884–1958), U.S. scholar and college educator. Born in Kovno, Russia, in 1884, Askowith was brought to America that same year. After earning a B.A. at Barnard College in 1908, she entered Columbia University, where, in 1915, she earned her Ph.D. for her first book, *The Toleration and Persecution of the Jews in the Roman Empire: Part I: The Toleration of the Jews Under Julius Caesar and Augustus*. As the title suggests, Jewish history was and would remain her abiding passion, and she continued her studies at the American School for Oriental Research in Jerusalem, the American Academy in Rome, and New York's Jewish Institute of Religion.

Beginning in 1912 and continuing until 1957, just a year before her death, Askowith taught generations of New York's Hunter College female students ancient, medieval, and Renaissance history as well as comparative religion. In 1912, she founded the school's Menorah Society, a Jewish student organization. Askowith, who spent much of her career teaching in the college's evening and extension division, never acquired the regular faculty appointment she so desired. Nevertheless, she continued throughout her life to publish, writing more than a hundred articles on history, biography, and contemporary Jewish affairs. Her second book, *Three Outstanding Women* (1941), celebrated the achievements of the Zionist philanthropist Mary Fels, Jewish communal activist Rebekah Kohut, and Barnard College founder Annie Nathan *Meyer.

Askowith's interests in the Jewish people extended from the past to the present. A committed Zionist, she sat on Hadassah's Central Committee in its early years. She became national director of the Women's Organization for the American Jewish Congress in 1917. Her pamphlet *A Call to the Jewish Women of America* (c. 1917), urging America's Jewish women to turn out to vote for the Congress, revealed her fascination with Jewish women's history, a topic which surfaced in other of her writings and in her work with the Menorah Society. Askowith herself earned a place in that history when she tried, but failed, to be admitted as a regular student in the rabbinical program at the Jewish Institute of Religion in the 1930s.

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[Pamela S. Nadell (2nd ed.)]

°**ASLAKSSEN, CORT** (**Conradus Aslacus Bergensis**; 1564–1624), Scandinavian Hebraist. Born at Bergen, Aslakssen studied Hebrew and Aramaic in Germany with Johannes Piscator in Herborn and J. Buxtorf I in Basle. Eventually, he became professor of theology at Copenhagen. His Hebrew grammar (*Grammaticae Hebraeae libri duo*… (1606), including an analysis of Ps. 25), was the first printed in Scandinavia and was designed to replace that of Avenarius, considered too difficult for beginners; it was reprinted in 1608 (but not again in 1684 as erroneously reported by Steinschneider in *Zentralblatt fuer Bibliothekwesen*, 13 (1896), 353). Aslakssen was one of the founding fathers of Scandinavian Hebrew studies, most Danish and Norwegian 17th-century Hebraists being his direct or indirect pupils.

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[Rafael Edelman]

ASMAKHTA (Aram. אַסְמַכְתָּא; "support," "reliance"), legal term with two connotations in the Talmud.

(1) In rabbinical exegesis it denotes the use of a biblical text merely as a "support" for a *halakhah* without suggesting that the *halakhah* is thus actually derived from this exegesis. Thus for the institution of the **prosbul* by Hillel for reasons which are explicitly given, the Talmud in addition gives Deuteronomy 15:9 as an *asmakhta* (TJ, Shev. 10:3, 39c). Its purpose was to give as much pentateuchal authority as possible to a purely rabbinic enactment but it was also used as a mnemotechnical aid (see: Herzog, Instit, 1 (1936), 2; Jastrow, Dict, s.v.).

(2) In civil law *asmakhta* is an important concept with regard to contracts and acquisition. It applies to such contracts in which one of the parties binds himself to an unreasonable penalty, which presumes that there was a lack of deliberate intention (*gemirat da'at*) on the part of the person entering into it. As a result the general rule is laid down that "an *asmakhta* does not give title" (BB 168a). It is only valid if it can be proved that the contract was regarded as binding (*semikhat da'at*).

Maimonides is of the opinion that every contract, even in writing, introduced by the conditional "if" constitutes an *asmakhta* and takes effect only from the time that the condition is fulfilled, since the person entering into the condition hopes that its nonfulfillment will nullify it. There is a difference of opinion as to the extent to which *asmakhta* applied to gambling and other games which depend upon chance. *Asmakhta* as a legal term is inherently connected with *semikhat da'at* ("mental reliance") and *gemirat da'at* ("perfect intention"), both highly significant concepts in the Jewish law of contract and acquisition. The underlying idea is that the validity of an obligation or a transaction depends on the confidence of one party that the other party's intention is serious, deliberate, and final. *Semikhat da'at* and *gemirat da'at* are complementary terms not only because most transactions impose reciprocal obligations, but also because, logically, no finality of intention can be presumed on either side as long as there might be reason that confident reliance is lacking on the part of one or the other. The connotation of "reliance" is evident in the word *asmakhta* from סמך, "to lean" (but see Gulak, Yesodei, 1 (1922), 68, especially n. 1) and, in the context of obligations or conveyance, it must originally have meant that in respect of that "reliance" the transaction was somehow problematic; eventually it came to be associated with transactions which were definitely defective in respect of reliance. It is clear that *asmakhta*, as a legal term, implies the absence of reliance. Thus, Gulak describes it as the absence of *gemirat da'at* and *semikhat da'at* (Gulak, loc. cit.). This description is much too wide as an exact definition of *asmakhta*. Firstly, the lack of *gemirat da'at* and *semikhat da'at* would undoubtedly invalidate the transaction, whereas there is a controversy in the Talmud as to whether or not *asmakhta* invalidates the transaction. *Asmakhta* must be seen as restricted, therefore, to cases where the question of finality of intention and reliance is debatable. Secondly, the cases in which the Talmud raises the question of *asmakhta* are all associated with conditional transactions (BM 48b; 66a–b; 109a–b; et al.). More precisely, the conditions visualized are suspensive conditions (conditions precedent) usually introduced simply by the word *im* ("if") which project the finalization of the obligation into the future in such a way that the obligation is not operative unless and until the condition is fulfilled, in contradiction to resolutive conditions (conditions subsequent) which allow for the immediate operation of the obligation (*me-akhshav*, "from now"), though the obligation may be reverted if the condition was not fulfilled. In fact, according to Jewish law, an obligation (or conveyance) would, as a rule, be valid only if it was immediately effective, by explicitly stipulating "from now," i.e., by letting the person obligated to take possession of the property in question actually or symbolically perform an act of *acquisition (*kinyan*), or the like. Maimonides (Yad, Mekhirah, 11, esp. para. 2 and 6) consequently draws the conclusion that all conditional transactions (i.e., not using the standard formulae of a condition such as *me-akhshav* (from the present moment) and *al-menat* (on condition that) but merely *im* (if)) are invalid on account of *asmakhta*, because the person obligating himself may be relying (*samkhah da'ato*) on the fact that the condition may not be fulfilled so that he will not be obligated. Since there has been no perfect intention of obligating oneself, the obligation is invalid *ab initio*, even if the condition were to be fulfilled.

Linking *asmakhta* with the rule of condition made the post-talmudic authorities introduce the whole range of the theory of condition into the discussion of *asmakhta*. There are, for example, fine distinctions between different conditions, the fulfillment of which is dependent on the person binding himself, on the other party or on both parties mutually, on a third person or on an accident. Rabbinic literature is replete with arguments showing how these and other distinctions may be of consequence in considering whether or not a certain transaction is defective on account of *asmakhta* (cf. glosses to Maim. Yad, Mekhirah and to Sh. Ar., ḤM 207). The linking of *asmakhta* with the problem of conventional penalties is particularly significant – this is emphasized by Solomon b. Abraham Adret (Resp. 1:933). Accordingly, the term *asmakhta* would be applicable to cases where a person promises to pay a conventional amount as a penalty, should there be a breach of a primary obligation. The validity of such a promise would be dependent on whether or not the penalty was "extravagant and unreasonable" and whether the fulfillment of the condition was dependent on the person binding himself, or on an accident, etc. The points involved here can be illustrated by the case presented in *Bava Batra* 168a. The Mishnah there speaks of a debtor who, while paying a part of his debt, allows the *shetar* ("bill of indebtedness") to be left in trust with a third person, with the instruction that the *shetar* for the full amount be handed to the creditor, in the event of the nonpayment of the balance at a time stipulated. The transaction comprises, in effect, two obligations, one relating to the actual debt (or rather to the outstanding balance) and the second to the payment of the penalty (the full amount of the *shetar* instead of the balance). It is clear that the minds of the parties were primarily set on the original obligation, whereas reliance and finality of intention may be in doubt over the matter of the penalty. The fulfillment of the condition is dependent on the person binding himself, which is to be viewed as diminishing reliance on the part of the person he is obligated to. In addition, the extravagance of the penalty is a relevant factor, unlike a case discussed in *Bava Meẓia* 104a–b, where in respect of land farmed on a percentage basis, the tenant obligates himself to pay a penalty if he lets the land lie fallow. Here the penalty is seen as justified, since it compensates the owner of the land for his damages (see: BM 109a, also Tos., Sanh. 24b–25a). There is a striking similarity to the differentiation in English law between "liquidated damages" and "penalty" proper (*in terrorem*, or extravagant and unconscionable). From the discussion in the Talmud (BB 168a) in the above quoted passage it would appear that such a penalty arrangement is invalid on account of *asmakhta*; on the other hand, from *Nedarim* 27b it appears that, if the arrangements were concluded with the due formalities of a *kinyan* before a recognized court, it is valid.

Thus already in talmudic times, remedies were sought to secure the validity of penalty clauses in practice, even though on principle they were defective because of *asmakhta*; this problem continued to occupy the post-talmudic authorities. The authorities in medieval Spain devised the following method to evade the pitfalls of *asmakhta*. *A* obligates himself to *B* to pay a penalty of 100 dinars if he does not fulfill a certain obligation on a stipulated day. A document is drawn up whereby *A* undertakes in absolute terms without a penalty clause to pay *B* 100 dinars. A separate document is then drawn up whereby *B* waives his claim to the 100 dinars, on condition that *A* fulfills his primary obligation on the stipulated day. Both documents are given to a third person to be handed over to *A* after he fulfills his primary obligation as stipulated, otherwise they are to be handed to *B*, who can then enforce his claim for 100 dinars on the strength of the first document (Maim. *ibid.*, 18, and see Isserles to Sh. Ar., ḤM 207:16).

It would appear that such arrangements were current in medieval England, at a time when finance was largely controlled by Jews, but later, the obligation to pay a certain amount and the conditional waiver came to be included in one document, now designated as a "conditional bond" (see:

J.J. Rabinowitz, EH, s.v. *asmakhta* and the literature indicated there).

It appears that this device was applied particularly to *shiddukhin* ("marriage contracts" – see: *Betrothal) in which were included very heavy penalties against breach of promise. The Ashkenazi authorities however tend to the opinion that the rule of *asmakhta* does not apply at all in this context, since the penalties may justifiably be considered as fair compensation for the damage, insult, and shame caused by a breach of promise (see Tos. to BM 66a; Sanh. 24b–25a and Sh. Ar., ḤM 207, 16). In the discussion whether and under what circumstances *asmakhta* applied to gambling contracts, the fact that the conditions are mutual and reciprocal is of significance (see: Sanh. 24b and Tos. in loc.). *Asmakhta* does not apply to a vow to *hekdesh* (Sh. Ar., YD 258:10); nor to any transaction strengthened by vow, oath, or handshake, even if it would otherwise be defective on account of *asmakhta* (ḤM 207:19). If *A* obligates himself unconditionally to *B*, there can be no question of *asmakhta*, and the obligation is valid, even if there was no actual justification for the obligation, as "*B* owed him nothing" (*ibid.* 20). The implication of this statement is twofold: (a) *asmakhta* relates to conditional transactions; and (b) although the defect of penalty arrangement is primarily that it is unjustified, lack of justification does not invalidate a promise, if it was absolute and unconditional. In the Jerusalem Talmud *asmakhta* is designated as *izzumin* (TJ, BB 10, 17c; Git. 5, 47b).

[Arnost Zvi Ehrman]

Another view explains *asmakhta* as a promise, having the same meaning as the term "utterance" (*devarim*). A promise is not binding (BM 66b), although not necessarily for the reason given by Maimonides, namely, the absence of a deliberate and final intention to be obligated thereby (se*mikhut da'at*). Geonic literature draws a distinction between the two rationales. There are variant understandings of the difference between a binding and non-binding *asmakhta*, and inconsistent, contradictory explanations of the distinction between them. All these stem from a failure to distinguish between two basic positions: the position that denies any validity to promises as such; and that which views them as faulty due to the absence of full intent to be obligated thereby. A distinction must be made between these two positions. According to the former, the difficulty inherent in the promise can only be resolved by its conversion into a contemporaneous transaction – "from now" (*me-akhshav*). This is the rationale behind the mode of transaction known as *kinyan suddar* (acquisition affected through the (symbolic) raising of a small garment – (i.e., symbolic barter); cf. entries on *Contract and *Acquisition (*ḥalifin*), in which the party's obligation becomes effective immediately upon completion of the (symbolic) act of acquisition, by virtue of the undertaking to bind oneself).

A conditional transaction (of the kind which does not as a rule allow for its immediate validity as a transaction "from now") in which the condition is expressed using the phrase "on condition that," is a particular example of a promise to perform an act in the future.. The problem that arises regarding the absence of *semikhut da'at* is no more serious than in other cases in which the parties wish to perform an action in the future. To solve this problem, Maimonides proposed (*Yad*, *Hilkhot. Gerushin* 9:1–5) using the fixed rules governing "terminology of conditions" (see entry on *Conditions) to indicate a conditional transaction, which begins "now," thereby solving the problem of *asmakhta*, and remains in effect until the fulfillment of the condition.

[B. Lifshitz (2nd ed.)]

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ASMODEUS (**Ashmedai**), an "evil spirit" or "evil demon." In the talmudic *aggadah*, Asmodeus is described as "king of the demons" (Pes. 110a). According to Rapoport, the concept of such a personage originated in Babylonian myth, though the name is Hebrew, derived from the root שמד, "to destroy." It is more likely, however, that the name derives from the Persian *aesma daeva* or *aesmadiv*, i.e., "the spirit of anger" which accompanies the god of evil.

Asmodeus first appears in the apocryphal book of Tobit (3:8, 17), which describes how in a fit of jealousy he slew the successive husbands of a young girl. He is again depicted as a malefactor – and in particular as the sower of discord between husband and wife – in the Testament of Solomon (first century C.E.). Throughout the later *aggadah*, however, Asmodeus is a gay creature, inclined at worst to drunkenness, mischief, and licentiousness. The Talmud nowhere identifies him as an evildoer, and in fact often assigns him the specific function of preserving the ethical order of the world. Asmodeus does, to be sure, usurp the throne of King Solomon in the celebrated talmudic account of his confrontation with the king (Git. 68a–b; Num. R. 11:3). But even here the demon is not vindictive: his actions are presented as opening the king's eyes to the emptiness and vanity of worldly possessions. What is more, the Asmodeus of this story is the source of considerable benefit to Solomon. He provides the king with the *shamir,* a worm whose touch cleaves rocks, and so enables Solomon's builders to hew stones for the Temple without the use of prohibited iron tools.

Asmodeus is described in the Talmud as "rising daily from his dwelling place on the mountain to the firmament," where he "studies in the academy on high" (Git. 68a). As a result of this practice, he possesses exact foreknowledge of the fate of human beings, knowledge which often prompts him to act in a seemingly inexplicable fashion. While on his way to Solomon, for example, Asmodeus weeps at the sight of a wedding party, only later explaining that the bridegroom has but a short time to live. Similarly, on the same journey, the demon goes out of his way to set a drunkard on the right path; "it was proclaimed in heaven," he later reveals, "that he is wholly wicked, and I have conferred a boon upon him in order that he may consume his share in the world to come in this world" (Git. 68b). Such stories of Asmodeus' enigmatic behavior provided the model for a long line of Jewish folktales, in which the apparently unjust acts of an angel or prophet are eventually justified by circumstances and thus demonstrate the infinite wisdom of God.

In Jewish folklore, though still the king of demons, Asmodeus often appears as a degraded hero – the butt of popular irony and humor. Typical stories relate how he is duped by the men with whom he enters into a partnership, or how his various lusts and loves on earth are exposed. For the most part, however, Asmodeus is regarded as a beneficent demon and a friend of man. He plays a similar role in the Kabbalah, where his name is frequently invoked in spells and incantations. The story of Asmodeus' enigmatic deeds and sayings (Git. 68a–b) are the narrative nucleus of the widespread international style type, known as "Angel and Hermit." The talmudic and the Jewish oral traditions of the Solomon-Asmodeus cycle penetrated the early Russian apocryphal literature and became the narrative archetype of the Solomon-Kitovras folk legends.

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ASNER, EDWARD (1929–), U.S. actor. Born in Kansas City, Kansas, to an Orthodox Jewish family, Asner first gained attention as the gruff but gentle television station manager Lou Grant on the long-running sitcom *The Mary Tyler Moore Show* (1970–77). A spin-off from this successful production provided Asner with his own star vehicle, the drama series *Lou Grant* (1977–82).

Asner has received six Emmy Awards and five Golden Globe Awards for his TV performances on *Lou Grant*; *Roots*; *The Mary Tyler Moore Show*; and *Rich Man, Poor Man.* To date, Asner is the only actor to win Emmys for playing the same character (Lou Grant) in both a comedy and a drama series. A long-time political activist considered left of center, Asner accused the CBS network of canceling his show over his publicized disapproval of U.S. involvement in Central America. But he continued to prosper professionally after *Lou Grant.* Asner starred in many TV movies, had guest and repeat roles in a wide variety of TV dramas and comedies, and starred in two regular series, the sitcom *Off the Rack* and the drama *The Bronx Zoo*. He also appeared in the weekly sitcoms *Hearts Afire* and *Thunder Alley.*

In 1981 he had a starring role in the film *Fort Apache, The Bronx*. Other feature films include *O'Hara's Wife* (1982); *Daniel* (1983); *JFK* (1991); *The Golem* (1995); *The Fanatics* (1997); *The Bachelor* (1999); *Above Suspicion* (2000); *Bring Him Home* (2000); *Donzi: The Legend* (2001); *Academy Boyz* (2001); *The Commission* (2003); *Missing Brendan* (2003); and *Elf* (2003). In addition, Asner has lent his voice to a myriad of animated film and television characters.

Asner served two terms as president of the Screen Actors Guild (1981–85). In 1996 he was inducted into the TV Academy Hall of Fame, and in 2002 he was awarded the Life Achievement Award by the Screen Actors Guild.

[Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

ASPER, ISRAEL H. (**Izzy**; 1932–2003), Canadian lawyer, politician, media magnate, philanthropist. Izzy Asper was born in the small community of Minnedosa, Manitoba, where his musician parents settled after immigrating to Canada from the Ukraine. The family moved to Winnipeg, where Asper's father ran several movie theaters. Izzy Asper began practicing tax law after graduating from the University of Manitoba in 1957. An up-by-the-bootstraps entrepreneur, in the early 1970s Asper and a partner founded an independent television station in Winnipeg, Also drawn to politics, Asper became Manitoba's Liberal Party leader in 1970, and in 1973 he was elected to the provincial legislature, heading a small opposition Liberal caucus of only five members.

Unhappy in opposition, in 1975 Asper withdrew from electoral politics and turned to building a media empire, CanWest. In 1974 he helped rescue the financially floundering Global Television in Toronto and began weaving Global together with a number of independent CanWest television stations across Canada into Global Television Network, Canada's second largest independent television network. CanWest's media investments eventually extended beyond Canada to include holdings in Australia, New Zealand, Chile, Ireland, and, more recently, Israel. In 2000 Asper's CanWest bought Conrad Black's Hollinger media holdings which gave Asper control of a number of Canadian newspapers, including the *National Post,* and several important off-shore newspapers and journals.

While Toronto had emerged as the undisputed center of media and investment in Canada, Asper, regarding himself as something of an establishment outsider, refused to move to Toronto. Instead he remained in Winnipeg, where he was a strong booster of western Canada and western Canadian Jewish life. Through the Asper Foundation which he established, he was generous in his support of Jewish and non-Jewish causes in western Canada, including the arts, education, and medical research. A jazz lover, Asper ensured that a jazz radio station broadcast in Winnipeg, and he was a patron of many western arts institutions, including the Royal Winnipeg Ballet. In recognition of his charitable contributions to the University of Manitoba, in 2000 the university's faculty of management was renamed the Asper School of Business. Asper also generously supported the medical research foundation at Winnipeg's St. Boniface Hospital. The recently opened Jewish community center in Winnipeg, which houses a Jewish community school, archives, museum, state-of-the-art athletic facilities, and meeting facilities, was also named in Asper's honor. Along with several honorary doctorates, in 1995, Asper was conferred with the Order of Canada, the highest award Canada can bestow on a citizen.

Izzy Asper was an outspokenly partisan supporter of Israel. This generated some controversy. Some media observers accused Asper of interfering in the editorial independence of CanWest publications, censoring out any criticism of Israel or its policies and, instead, dictating that CanWest publications tow a tight pro-Israel line. Asper, in turn, accused the media in general and Canada's public broadcaster, the CBC in particular, of anti-Israel bias.

All three of Asper's children are lawyers and even before Izzy Asper's death in 2003 they began taking on major responsibilities in managing CanWest's vast corporate empire.

[Harold Troper (2nd ed.)]

ASS (Heb. חֲמוֹר, *ḥamor*), in the Talmud the feminine form *ḥamorah* occurs, or *aton* whose colt is called *ayir.* The ass belongs to the genus *Equus* to which belong the horse and the wild ass. Various strains exist in Ereẓ Israel. The most common is small, usually brown in color (*ḥamor* is connected with Ar. *ḥamar*, "to be red"). However, other kinds exist such as the Damascus ass, which is tall, strong, and usually white or pale brown. This species is probably referred to in Judges 5:10 as ridden by the upper classes. Among other peoples the ass is regarded as a foolish animal; in ancient Jewish sources, however, it is the symbol of patience and understanding. Issachar, who chose the life of the modest farmer, is likened to a "strong-boned ass" who bowed his shoulder to bear (Gen. 49:14–15). One of the best-known incidents associated with the animal is the story of *Balaam (Num. 22:22–30) whose ass sees an angel unperceived by his master and is given the power to speak in order to reprove Balaam for his obstinacy and quick temper. Unlike the horse which was regarded as a luxury or for war, the ass exemplifies the life of work and peace. The prophet Zechariah describes the savior of the people as "lowly and riding upon an ass, even upon a colt the foal of an ass [*aton*]." It is possible that the statement in the Talmud that "he who sees an ass in a dream should hope for salvation" (Ber. 56b) is connected with this passage. Today the ass is still employed in Israel as a beast of burden.

[Jehuda Feliks]

In Folklore

According to medieval bestiaries, the ass "has no sense at all" and this was the general attitude toward the domesticated ass in folkloric beliefs and tales, especially in Mediterranean countries. It played an essential role in the European medieval Feast of Fools; and in oral animal tales current among Jewish storytellers, it is the most foolish of all animals. The view of the ass in Jewish tradition stems from the aggadic fable of the lion, the fox, and the ass (Yal. 1:182; cf. Aesop-Chamdry, no. 199, ed. Span, no. 22), which ends with the statement of the ass "having no heart (brains)." The derogatory notion that the ass is the most stupid of all animals gave rise to the aggadic comparison of the Gentile to an ass (based on Gen. 22:3). The concept is relatively late, as the old aggadic attitude toward the ass was positive (see above). In Hebrew proverbial lore, the ass ascending a ladder denotes an incredible and impossible feat, such as the elephant "passing through the eye of a needle" mentioned in the Talmud (Ber. 55b; BM 38b), and the similar camel in the Synoptic Gospels (Matt. 19:24) and the Koran (7:40). It serves as a metaphor for the wisdom attributed to fools in medieval and later literature.

[Dov Noy]

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ASSAF, MICHAEL (1896–1983), Israeli author and specialist in Arab affairs. Born in Lodz, Poland, Assaf settled in Palestine in 1920 and became secretary of the cultural department of the Histadrut in 1921. He later went to Berlin to study Arabic and returned to edit the Arabic section of the Histadrut daily *Davar.* From 1937 he edited the paper's Arabic weekly, and from 1948 the Arabic daily *Al-Yom*. He published *Toledot ha-Araviyyim be-Ereẓ Yisrael* ("History of the Arabs in Ereẓ Israel"; 3 vols., 1935), and devoted himself to seeking understanding with the Arabs of Israel. For some time he was chairman of the Israel Journalists' Association.

ASSAF (Osofsky), SIMḤA (1889–1953), rabbinic scholar and Jewish historian. Assaf studied at the yeshivah in Telz and was ordained in 1910. He then served as rabbi in Luban and Minsk. From 1914 to 1919 he taught Talmud at the "modern" Odessa yeshivah founded by Chaim Tchernowitz and from 1915 to 1919 served as its director. When the yeshivah was closed by the government in 1919, he spent two years studying in France and Germany and at the end of 1921 went to Jerusalem as an instructor in Talmud at the Mizrachi Teachers' Seminary. When the first classes opened at the Hebrew University in 1925, Assaf was appointed lecturer on the geonic period and its literature; from 1929 he also taught rabbinic literature, becoming full professor in 1936. For many years he served the Hebrew University as a member of the executive board, as chairman of the Institute of Jewish Studies, as dean of the faculty of humanities, and from 1948 to 1950 as rector. From 1931 to 1943 he was a member of the Asefat ha-Nivḥarim and of the Va'ad Le'ummi, as well as chairman of its educational committee. After the establishment of the State of Israel, Assaf was appointed a member of the Supreme Court, although he was not a trained lawyer. Special retroactive legislation had to be passed in order to legalize his position. There was no sign of lack of legal training in his decisions, and his contribution was one of the greatest importance in introducing the concepts of rabbinic law into the legal system of the new state. He was active in many public and academic institutions. Assaf published articles and studies – almost all in Hebrew – on the literature of the *geonim*, the history of Jewish law, medieval Jewish culture, and the history of the Jewish community in Palestine. Some of them were collected in his *Be-Oholei Ya'akov* ("In the Tents of Jacob," 1943) and in *Mekorot u-Meḥkarim* ("Sources and Studies," 1946). In addition, in the same period, Assaf wrote important volumes based on source material, *Ha-Onshin Aḥarei Ḥatimat ha-Talmud* ("Penalties after the Redaction of the Talmud," 1922) and *Battei ha-Din ve-Sidreihem Aḥarei Ḥatimat ha-Talmud* ("Religious Courts and Their Procedures…," 1924). A comprehensive four-volume work, *Mekorot le-Toledot ha-Ḥinnukh be-Yisrael* ("Sources for the History of Jewish Education," 1925–43), is a remarkable anthology of sources relating to education which is at the same time a significant contribution to Jewish social history. Of outstanding importance are his critical editions of manuscripts and responsa of the geonic period (particularly from the *Genizah*) and the early codifiers. In collaboration with Israel Davidson and Issachar Joel, Assaf edited the *Seder R. Sa'adyah Ga'on* (1941) and, together with L.A. Mayer, he edited vol. 2 of the *Sefer ha-Yishuv* (*Mi-Ymei Kibbush Ereẓ Yisrael al Yedei ha-Aravim ad Masei ha-Ẓelav* "From the Arab Conquest to the Crusades," 1944), to which he wrote a comprehensive introduction. In his works Assaf combined a vast and expert knowledge of Jewish literature with a keen appreciation of the vital movements and characteristic features of the periods with which he dealt. This, added to his engaging personality, made him a popular and inspiring teacher. In 1955 Assaf's disciple, Mordecai Margalioth, edited a volume comprising lectures delivered by Assaf on the geonic period at the Hebrew University over a period of 27 years under the title *Tekufat ha-Ge'onim ve-Sifrutah*.

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[Moshe Nahum Zobel]

ASSAULT, the infliction of any degree of violence on the body of another person, whether injury results or not. The biblical injunction, "he may be given up to 40 lashes but not more" (Deut. 25:3), which applies to *flogging by way of punishment, was interpreted as prohibiting, a fortiori, the nonauthorized flogging of an innocent person (Maim., Yad, Ḥovel u-Mazzik 5:1; Sh. Ar., ḤM 420:1). As it violated a negative biblical injunction for which no other penalty was prescribed, assault itself was punishable with flogging (Mak. 16a; Ket. 32b). Striking one's father or mother was an assault punishable with death (Ex. 21:15), but the capital offense was later restricted only to such blows as caused bodily injury (Sanh. 11:1). Criminal assaults, which result in any assessable injury and which also give rise to claims for damages, prompted the question of whether the civil or the criminal sanction was to prevail, it being common ground that for any one wrong not more than one sanction could be imposed (Mak. 4b; 13b). While as a general rule the lesser (civil) remedy would merge with the greater (criminal) remedy, so that the assailant would be liable to be flogged rather than held liable in damages, it was held that the sanction of payment of damages should prevail over the criminal sanction – for the practical reason (as distinguished from several hermeneutical ones) that having the assailant flogged would not relieve the victim's injury, and "the Torah has regard for the money of the injured" (Tos. to Ket. 32a). Thus, flogging came to be administered only where the assault had not caused any assessable injury (Ket. 32b; Maim., Yad, Ḥovel u-Mazzik 5:3; Sh. Ar., ḤM 420:2). This state of the law apparently failed to satisfy the rabbis, and in consequence they prescribed *fines for assaults which were insulting, but which had not caused substantial damage. The amounts of the fines were fixed, varying in accordance with the severity of the assault (e.g., kicking, slapping, punching, spitting, hair pulling, etc.) – always leaving it to the discretion of the court to increase or reduce the fine in special circumstances (BK 8:6; Maim., Yad, Ḥovel u-Mazzik 3:8–11; Sh. Ar., ḤM 420:41–43).

While criminal liability depended on the availability of sufficient evidence of warning previously administered to the assailant and of the act of the assault itself, liability for damages could be established on the strength of the assailant's own admission or other simplified modes of proof (Maim., Yad, Ḥovel u-Mazzik 5:4–8). Damages were to be estimated and assessed by the court, the biblical law of talion (Ex. 21:23–25; Lev. 24:19–20) being replaced for this purpose by an elaborate system of assessing the value of injured limbs in terms of money (BK 83b–86a).

Another distinction between criminal and civil assaults is that the criminal assault is deemed to be spiteful and malicious (Maim., Yad, Ḥovel u-Mazzik 5:1), whereas the civil assault might be unintentional: the warning, "nor must you show pity," given in connection with talion (Deut. 19:21), was interpreted so as to render even the unintentional assailant liable in damages (Maim., Yad, Ḥovel u-Mazzik 1:4), apart from the rule that the civil responsibility of a man never depends on the willfulness of his acts (BK 2:6). The amount of damages, however, would be reduced in cases of unintended assaults (see: *Damages). Mutual or anticipated assaults, as in boxing or wrestling matches, even if they result in grievous injury, do not give rise to claims for damages (Asher b. Jehiel, *She'elot u-Teshuvot* (1803), 1^{a} (2nd pagination), no. 101:6; Sh. Ar., ḤM 421:5); but where two men assault each other maliciously, the one who suffered the greater injury has a claim for the damage suffered in excess of the damage inflicted by him (BK 3:8).

Assaults may be intentional, though not spiteful: for instance, if an injury results from surgical treatment, the surgeon – provided he was duly qualified – is not liable for damages (Tosef., BK 9:11). The same rule applies to a father beating his son, a teacher his pupil, and the messenger of the court assaulting a person in the course of duty (*ibid.*). In all those cases, liability may, however, be established by proving that the assailant exceeded the measure of violence necessary to achieve his legitimate purpose (*ibid.*). Still, if only by way of exhortation, assailants of this kind are warned that while they go free under the laws of men, they may yet be judged by the laws of Heaven (Tosef., BK 6:17). The assailant can only cite the consent of the victim to being assaulted if the victim has expressly waived beforehand any claim to damages, and if no grave injury was caused, for no man seriously consents to be injured (BK 8:7; BK 93a). The injunction, "nor must you show pity," was applied also where the assailant was indigent: that being no ground for reducing the damages (Maim., Yad, Ḥovel u-Mazzik 1:4). But, however generous the award might appear, where it was made according to the letter of the law, it was of no use when the victim could not collect the judgment debt, and, being practically unenforceable, did not provide any sanction against the assailant. Ways and means had to be found also to deter people who resorted to violence and against whom damages were no effective sanction: thus R. Huna is reported to have ordered the hand of one such recidivist to be cut off (Sanh. 58b) – a drastic measure which was sought to be justified by the extraordinary powers of the court to impose extralegal punishment in situations of emergency (Sanh. 46a), but also explained away as a mere curse which was not actually carried into effect (cf. Nid. 13b). The precedent of Huna was followed in Spain several centuries later, when an assailant who had attacked a rabbinical judge at night and wounded him badly, had both his hands cut off (Judah b. Asher, *Zikhron Yehudah* (Berlin, 1846), 6a, no. 36). Cutting off the hand that sinned is reminiscent of biblical law (Deut. 25:12), and it was used as a threat to a husband who habitually beat his wife and wounded her (Beit Yosef, Tur., EH 74, end). Huna, however, did not rely on the biblical law, but on the verse, "the high arm shall be broken" (Job 38:15), a precept which would scarcely warrant the hand being cut off. Indeed, in later sources the breaking of the hand is a punishment meted out to one who beat a rabbi with his fist (*Sefer Ḥasidim*, 631).

Jurisdiction in matters of personal injuries (*Dinei Ḥavalot*) is held not to have devolved on post-exilicy courts: these are regarded as "agents" of the ancient courts only in such common matters as contract and debt, but not in matters as rare and exceptional as personal injuries (BK 83b). This assumption of infrequency was disproved soon enough; and Jewish courts everywhere and at all times in effect assumed jurisdiction in personal injury cases, not only awarding discretionary damages, but also inflicting punishments, such as fines (e.g., Asher b. Jehiel, *She'elot u-Teshuvot* (1803), 13b, no. 13:14; Mordecai b. Hillel, *Sefer Mordekhai*, Kid. 554), and floggings (*Sha'arei Ẓedek*, 4:7:39; *Halakhot Pesukot min ha-Ge'onim*, 89; *Teshuvot ha-Ge'onim, Sha'arei Teshuvah*, 181; J. Weil, *She'elot u-Teshuvot* (1834), 8b–9b, no. 28; 23a–b, no. 87; et al.), as well as lesser penances such as fasting and beardshaving (Isaac b. Moses of Vienna, *Or Zaru'a* (1887); BK 51, no. 329; 52–53, no. 347). The legal basis for such punitive measures were normally **takkanot* or local custom (Asher b. Jehiel, *She'elot u-Teshuvot* (1803), 1ᵃ (2nd pagination), 101:1), but courts certainly followed also the precedents provided by the usage of earlier authorities. It is said that an ancient *ḥerem* ("*ḥerem kadmonim*") hangs over those who do violence to others (Moses Isserles and *Me'irat Einayim*, Sh. Ar., ḤM 420:1), and that, on the strength of that ban, they may not be admitted to communal worship or any matter of ritual, unless the *ḥerem* was first lifted from them by order of the court, after compliance with any judgment that may have been given against them (M. Sofer, *Ḥatam Sofer* to Sh. Ar., ḤM (1958), 68a–b, no. 182). Notwithstanding this preexisting *ḥerem*, both the imposition of and the threatening with bans and excommunication was a common measure against violence (Meir b. Baruch of Rothenburg, *She'elot u-Teshuvot Maharam…* (1895), 12a, no. 81; 129a, no. 927; et al.).

[Haim Hermann Cohn]

In the State of Israel

Harming (a person) as a civil wrong (assault) is defined in section 23 of the Torts Ordinance (New Version) 5728–1968, as consisting of the intentional application of force *of any kind* on a person's body.

Harming (a person) as a criminal offense is defined in the Penal Law 5733–1977, in sections 34(24), 327–344. The Law distinguishes between *grievous* harm, namely, harm that causes permanent disfigurement or injury to the victim's body, and *dangerous* harm, meaning harm that endangers the individual's life. The law further prescribes different rules for harm with aggravated *intent,* harm under aggravated *circumstances*, harm caused with particular *appurtenances*, and *negligent* harm.

IN THE SUPREME COURT. *Harm as an Act of Self-Defense.* An assailant's plea that he acted under the necessity of personal defense is discussed at length in the case of *Afanjar v. State of Israel* (33 (3) PD 141). The Supreme Court was required to resolve the question as to whether the *necessity defense* could be of avail to an accused who had used violence against policemen. The latter, dressed as civilians, had burst into an apartment in the dark of the night. The assailant claimed that he did not know that they were policemen and that he acted under the assumption that he was protecting the bodies and dignity of himself and his other friends in the apartment. The Supreme Court (Justice Elon) opened (pp. 150–51 of the judgment) with a discussion of the duty imposed upon every Jewish person to save another person from the hands of one who is pursuing him in order to kill him – a duty that appears in the Bible ("Do not stand idly by the blood of your fellow" – Lev 19:16) and in the Talmud (Sanh. 73a–74a) and is codified in the halakhah (Maim., Yad, *Hilkhot Roẓe'aḥ u-Shemirat ha-*

Nefesh, 1.6–16). The judgment then continues with a discussion of the right to protection against an assailant even when there is no threat to life, as expounded in the post-Maimonidean responsa literature: "If one sees a Jew attack his fellow and he cannot rescue him without hitting the attacker, even though his blow is not lethal, he can hit the attacker in order to prevent him from committing a crime" (*Piskei ha-Rosh, Baba Kamma*, Ch. 3, §13). This was also the view of R. Solomon *Luria (Poland, 16th century – *Yam shel Shelomo, Bava Kamma*, Ch. 3, §9).

Regarding the permissible degree of force, the Court cited, inter alia, the comments of Mordecai, a contemporary of Asheri: "Similarly, if people are engaged in a fight, one should not push them; rather, they should be gently restrained. If he did push, he is answerable to him in court" (*Mordekhai*, *Bava Kamma*, §38; cf Asheri, *ad loc.*; R. Israel Isserlein (Poland, 15th century), *Pesakim u-Ketavim* §208; *Teshuvot Maharam mi-Rothenburg,* quoted in *Mordekhai, Bava Kamma* §196). The Court summed up the discussion with the comments of R. Joseph *Caro:

> Where two people were fighting, if one person started, the second person is not liable, as he has the permission to injure him [the attacker] in order to save himself. However, it must be determined whether he could have saved himself by inflicting a minor injury but instead inflicted a major injury; [in such a case] he is liable. The same rule applies if one sees a Jew hitting his fellow and can only save him by hitting the attacker; in such a case, he can hit him in order to prevent him [the attacker] from committing the crime (Sh. Ar., ḤM 421:13) (*ibid.*, 153–54)

Justice Elon summed up the rules emerging from this analysis, ruling:

(1) Under Jewish law, every person is obligated to come to the aid of his fellow if the victim is pursued by one who is, in light of the circumstances, about to inflict a life-threatening injury. If the pursuit [involves the threat of] a lesser injury, most halakhic authorities take the view that there is no obligation [to aid], but one is permitted to rescue his fellow, even by injuring the pursuer. It goes without saying that in both cases, the pursued himself has the right to self-defense.

(2) The above-mentioned permission and obligation [to rescue] applies to every person and with regard to any victim – even one not related to the rescuer. *A fortiori*, it is not premised on any relationship between the rescuer and the victim in the framework of which the rescuer is legally responsible for his supervision or welfare.

(3) The above-mentioned permission and obligation [to rescue] only apply if, under the circumstances, they are required in order to protect the victim from the pursuer – that is, so long as there is a fear that the pursuer will continue his attack on the victim. They do not apply if, in light of the circumstances, it appears that the danger has passed and the intervention of the "defender" is no longer of a defensive nature, but is based on other motives.

(4) The basic rule is that the amount of force used by the intervener to rescue the pursued must be proportionate. His exemption from criminal liability is conditional upon his using only the minimal amount of force necessary to rescue the pursued – in talmudic terminology, "that he could have saved him [the victim] by maiming a limb [of the pursuer]." "If he fails to do so, he is criminally liable for the injury he inflicts on the pursuer, and he certainly bears criminal responsibility if he kills him…" (*ibid.,* 154).

This was the basis for the Court's acquittal of the appellant, and the Court stated that: "he was entitled under the principle of personal [self-]defense, to forcefully push the intruders through the door and out of the apartment. By doing so he sought, first of all, to prevent injury to himself … and the appellant could still claim that his actions were in the defense of others … to protect his 'pursued' friends from the two 'pursuers'… fearing injury or bodily harm to his friends" (*ibid*., 157–58).

In discussing the question raised by the judgment, the Court further discussed the question of the appropriate construction of concepts rooted in public policy and in a moral and social world-view. Summing up, the Court observed:

> As we have seen, the principle of defending others involves concepts rooted in public policy and in a social and moral view of the duty to come to the aid of another person who is in danger of bodily injury. This conclusion is compelled by the logic and nature of civilized social life. We find this notion expressed by American and English legal scholars who see it as a matter of public policy and as "a peremotory response to injustice that the good man has ingrained," last and most important, this is the view reflected in the sources of Jewish law, in which the rule "Do not stand idly by the blood of your fellow" constitutes a basic principle of the world outlook of Judaism. In my opinion, fundamental concepts founded on moral attitudes and cultural values should be interpreted in the light of the moral and cultural heritage of Judaism (see also CA 461/62 *Zim v. Mazier* 17(2) PD 1319, 1332; CA 148/77 *Roth v. Yeshupe*, PD 33 (1) 617).

Harm Incidental to Medical Care – the Doctor's Liability in Negligence. Moral and legal questions arising in the area of medical practice have often been litigated from the perspective of the laws of causing harm, in both general and Jewish Law.

An example of this is provided by the case of *Levital v. Health Fund Center* (CA 552/66, 22 (2) PD 480) where the Supreme Court heard an appeal against the non-imposition of liability on a doctor in the wake of an injury caused during an operation. The Court cited the advice of Justice Denning, who warned against the imposition of exaggerated liability on surgeons, for reasons of public policy – i.e., to prevent a situation in which medical practitioners would be primarily concerned for their own welfare rather than that of the patient. The Israel Supreme Court (Justice Kister) added to this, ruling that Jewish Law distinguishes between an ordinary person who harms his fellow man – being forewarned by definition, and consequently liable even if acting inadvertently – and a doctor:

> Jewish Law recognizes the consideration of public policy in the context of medical practitioners – and surgeons in par-

> ticular. In principle, Jewish Law imposes liability on a person who harms his fellow man, even accidentally, because "a man is always forewarned," but liability was significantly reduced with respect to physicians engaged in their professions "with the court's permission"[i.e., in accordance with a license from a public authority]; that is to say – to the specific cases of negligence defined in the sources (Tos. BK 6:6, 9:3; Tos. Git. 3:13; these sources were the basis of *Naḥmanides' ruling in *Torat Adam, Sha'ar ha-Sakanah* (…); Resp. Tashbez, vol. 3, 82; Sh. Ar. YD. 336).
>
> The physician's liability was limited for reasons of "public policy," as stated in the *Tosefta* and explained by Tashbez in the above-mentioned responsum, "for if we do not exempt him where there was an accident, people are liable to desist from healing." In his book *Torat Adam*, Naḥmanides sees an analogy between the role of the physician and that of the judge, who is commanded to adjudicate and to rule. On the one hand a judge must be cautious, and on the other hand he has nothing but the evidence before him. The same applies to the doctor, who is duty-bound to heal, and if he refrains from healing it is tantamount to bloodshed. Conversely, he must be cautious just as one must be "cautious in capital matters, and not cause harm by his negligence," but nevertheless, "it [treating patients] is not forbidden because of the fear of causing harm." Indeed, the physician is commanded to act in order to save the patient, and as such it would be injudicious of him to fear that he might fail, whether by dint of chance or accident, and avoid performing actions that he deems necessary in accordance with his evaluation of the circumstances. While it is true that science and technology have progressed since then, even today operations involve dangers, albeit of a lesser degree than in the past. Consequently, the doctor must occasionally operate even where it involves a certain degree of danger or the possibility of mistake or accident" (pp. 483–84 of judgment).

According to these principles, Justice Kister ruled that in the particular case the doctor's actions did not diverge from the boundaries of a reasonable mistake ("*sheggagah*") and liability should not be imposed.

Harm Incidental to Medical Act – Performance of Tissue Examination. Another medical matter adjudicated by the Supreme Court in which it relied on the principles of Jewish Law regarding harm is the *Sharon v. Levi* case (CA 548/78, 35 (1) PD 736).

The Supreme Court needed to decide whether a person may be compelled to perform a tissue test so as to clarify the paternity of a small child. The Court (Justice Elon) ruled that, in the absence of an explicit statutory provision, it was prohibited to compel a person to perform this kind of test, because it violates the basic right of every person to personal freedom, which includes the inviolability of his body. In substantiating its ruling, the Court invoked the provisions of Jewish Law, while discussing the boundaries of the prohibition on harming others, and the validity of a victim's consent [to be harmed]. "This basic right, as expressed in Jewish Law, is particularly instructive: 'he who strikes his neighbor with a blow inflicting less than a penny's worth of damage [i.e., without injuring him] transgresses a negative precept' (Sanh. 85b, Maim. Yad, *Hilkhot Ḥovel u-Mazik* 5:3). Moreover, even where the person being struck consents to it, his consent has no legal validity (BK 92a; Sh. Ar., ḤM. 420:1ff). What then is the legal source for permitting a person to let the blood (i.e., to wound) of another person in order to cure him? According to the amora Rav Matna (Sanh. 84b) this permission is not grounded in the patient's consent, whether express or implied, for, as stated above, his consent has no legal validity. The permission is derived, rather, from the verse "And thou shall love thy neighbor as thyself" (Lev 19:18) from which it is inferred, according to Rashi, that "Jews were only warned against doing the things to their fellow man that they would not want to do themselves" (Rashi, Sanh. 84b, s.v. *ve-ahavta;* cf. *Kitvei Ramban* (ed. Chavell, Jerusalem: Mosad Harav Kook, 1964))., Vol. II, *Torat ha-Adam,* 42ff.; M. Elon, "Halakhah and Modern Medicine" (Heb.), in: *Molad,* N.S. 4, 27 (5731–1971), 228, 232) (p. 755 of judgment).

A Wounded Person's Waiver Regarding Bodily Injuries. Another case in which the Supreme Court endorsed the approach of Jewish Law to bodily wounding was in *Lagil Trampoline v. Nachmias* (CA 285/73, 29 (1) 63). The case concerned a company operating a trampoline installation for sports purposes. The company claimed that it was not responsible for bodily damage caused to persons exercising on the installation, relying on a sign at the entry to the facilities that stated: "The company takes no responsibility for any accident, injury or wound caused to jumpers." Justice Kister invoked the approach of Jewish Law to the sanctity of life, and its implications: a person's obligation to take precautions so as not to cause injury to his fellow man (Tos. BK 23a); the duty to adopt measures to prevent injuries to others (Maim. Yad, Hilkhot Roẓe'aḥ u-Shemirat ha-Nefesh 11:1–4); the prohibition against a person injuring himself (Maim., *ibid.*, §5); and the presumption that a person cannot give a waiver in respect of damage to his own body (BK 93a) (p. 80 of judgment). According to these principles, the Court ruled that, even though a waiver and a release from liability clause for bodily injury are not invariably invalid, the circumstances in the particular case in question precluded the imposition of a duty of care on the individual exercising, and hence the exemption clause should be voided (pp. 481–83 of judgment).

[Menachem Elon (2nd ed.)]

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ASSCHER, ABRAHAM (1880–1955), Dutch Jewish leader, Zionist, and politician. He founded the largest diamond processing plant in his native Amsterdam, and, in 1907, served as president of the Amsterdam Chamber of Commerce. He was elected to the North Netherlands Provincial Council as a member of the Liberal State Party in 1917. Asscher was active in the affairs of the Amsterdam Jewish community from his youth and was elected to chair the Amsterdam Ashkenazi Community Council. In 1932 he became chairman of the Union of Dutch Ashkenazi Congregations (Nederlandsch-Israëlitisch Kerkgenootschap). In 1933 Asscher and David *Cohen founded the Comité voor Bijzondere Joodse Belangen ("Committee for Special Jewish Affairs") to combat Nazi antisemitism and policies, and to help refugees from Germany; for this purpose a special Sub-Committee for Jewish Refugees was established, which became one of the most powerful organizations in Dutch Jewry of the 1930s. In February 1941 Asscher and Cohen were charged by the German occupation authorities with the task of forming an Amsterdam Joodsche Raad ("Jewish Council"). This council utilized the personnel and administrative experience of the Jewish Refugees Committee, and its authority was soon extended by the Germans to include the whole of Dutch Jewry. Despite its intentions to help Jews, it became one of the tools of the Germans, first to control the Jewish population and later to deport it to the extermination camps (see *Netherlands, *Amsterdam). Asscher himself was arrested, and on September 23, 1943, was taken first to *Westerbork and then to *Bergen-Belsen. Asscher returned to Holland after the liberation (1945). There, he was denounced by some of the Jewish survivors. An honorary (Jewish) court of law condemned him, but Asscher rejected the court's verdict, and severed his connections with the Jewish community. After his death, he was buried in a non-Jewish cemetery. His and his colleague David Cohen's behavior has been a major theme of historiography and popular discussions of the fate of the Dutch Jews during the Holocaust.

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[Jozeph Michman / Dan Michman (2nd ed.)]

°ASSEMANI, Lebanese-Maronite family of Orientalists who were active in Italy. The most important member of the family, JOSEPH SIMON (1687–1768), was director of the Vatican Library. During two visits to Egypt and Syria, sponsored by Pope Clement XI, he bought thousands of manuscripts for the Vatican Library. Assemani edited a catalogue of Oriental manuscripts in the library, which was planned for 12 volumes, but because of a disastrous fire, only four volumes dealing with Syriac manuscripts were published (1719–28). STEPHANUS EVODIUS (1707–1782), his nephew, issued a catalogue of Oriental manuscripts in the Florence Library (1742) and with his uncle prepared a catalogue of all the manuscripts in the Vatican Library; but only the first part, a catalogue of Syriac and Hebrew manuscripts, appeared (3 vols., 1756–59). This was the main reference work for Hebrew manuscripts at the Vatican.

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ASSEMBLY OF JEWISH NOTABLES, convocation of rabbis and Jewish communal leaders from the communities situated in the territories of the French Empire and the "Kingdom of Italy" convened by a decree of Napoleon *Bonaparte, issued in May 1806 to clarify the relations between the Napoleonic state and the Jews.

The process of Jewish adaptation to the conditions of the modern state and society had already begun before the Napoleonic era, after the granting of Jewish *Emancipation during the French Revolution. The Napoleonic regime attempted to subject all public activity to its authority, including the activities of the various religious denominations. Napoleon attained this objective in regard to the Catholics when he concluded the Concordat with the Pope in 1801. Later, government supervision was also extended over the Protestants. Attention was finally turned to the Jews, but this problem was more complicated because it was necessary to establish a central Jewish religious framework before subjecting it to the authority of the state. When early in 1806 complaints were made that the Jews of Alsace were engaging in usury, Napoleon accepted that there was ground for investigation, attributing this practice to a specifically separatist and undeniable Jewish character. He therefore passed consideration of the Jewish question to the Council of State. Subsequently its majority proposed either the adoption of general legislation against usury, or the expulsion of Jews from the country, if it became clear that they were unable for religious reasons to qualify as citizens of a non-Jewish state. Napoleon objected to the majority view, however, and decided to call a meeting of "Jewish estates" to clarify their situation for the benefit of both Jews and non-Jews. The decree of May 30, 1806, convening the Assembly of Jewish Notables, was issued on this basis. At the same time, the public debate in France about Jews and Judaism was resumed: in addition to the arguments of the rationalists, who advocated separating the "political," separatist, and harmful traits in Judaism

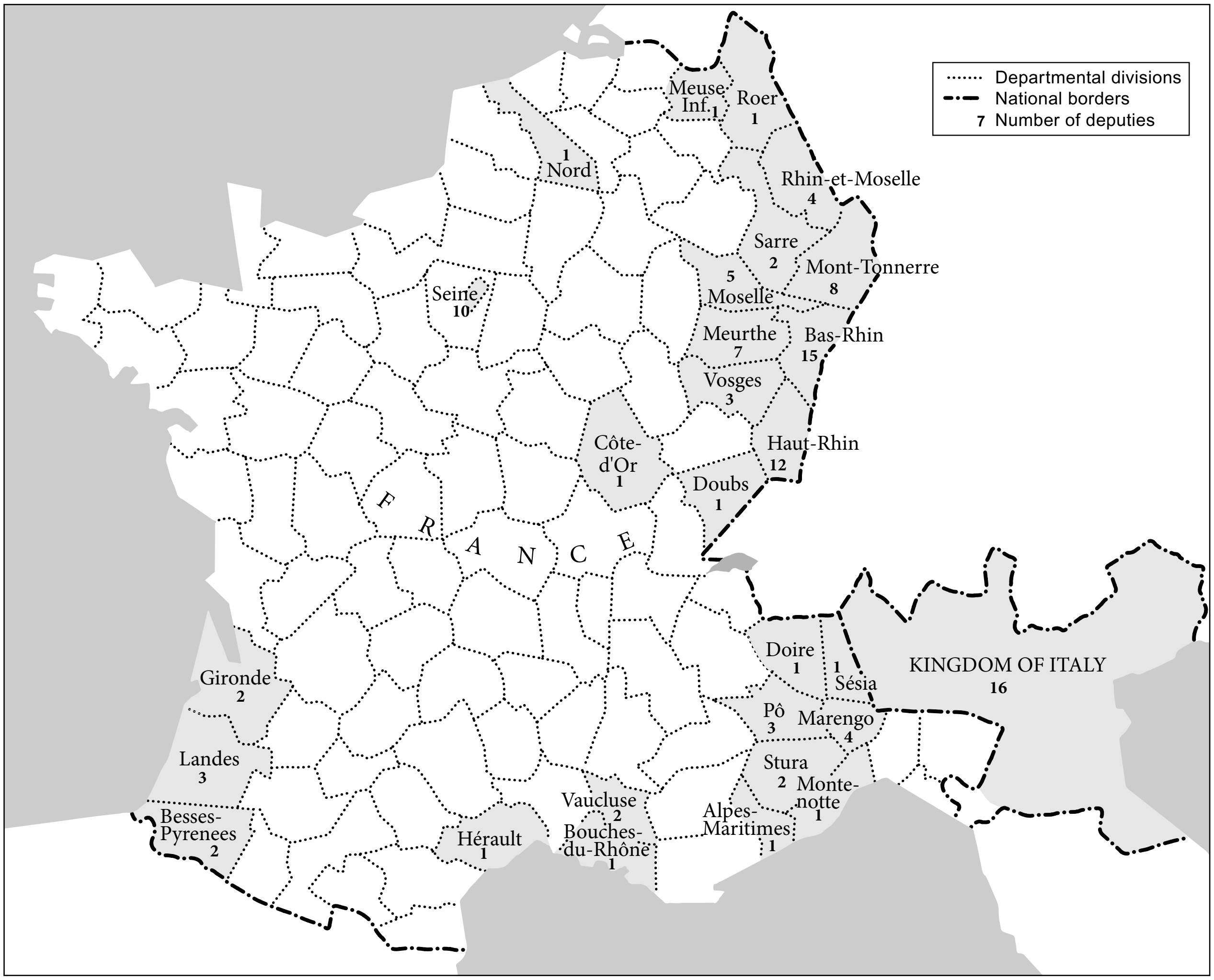
Departmental divisions
National borders
7 Number of deputies
Meuse-Inf. 1
Roer 1
1 Nord
Rhin-et-Moselle 4
Sarre 2
Mont-Tonnerre 8
5 Moselle
Seine 10
Meurthe 7
Bas-Rhin 15
Vosges 3
Côte-d'Or 1
Haut-Rhin 12
Doubs 1
F R A N C E
Doire 1
1 Sésia
KINGDOM OF ITALY 16
Gironde 2
Pô 3
Marengo 4
Landes 3
Stura 2
Monte-notte 1
Vaucluse 2
Alpes-Maritimes 1
Besses-Pyrenees 2
Hérault 1
Bouches-du-Rhône 1

Delegations to the Assembly of Jewish Notables convened by Napoleonic decree in 1806.

from its "religious" aspects and abolishing the former, new arguments were advanced, typifying the Catholic-Romantic approach of intellectuals such as Louis-Gabriel-Ambroise *Bonald and Count Louis Matthieu Molé. Molé was the most active and influential of the three commissioners Napoleon appointed to the assembly and the expert in the Council of State on the Jewish question. The other two were Pasquier and Portalis junior.

The Assembly of Jewish Notables met on July 26, 1806. Its deliberations in plenary session and committees continued almost uninterruptedly to April 6, 1807; its final membership was 111. The delegates had been elected by local Jewish leaders, in consultation with the district prefects, on the basis of one representative to every 100–500 Jews. The assembly thus reflected most of the social patterns and attitudes of the Jewish communities of Central and Western Europe. The delegates from districts of overwhelmingly German Jewish culture, *Alsace-Lorraine, and other formerly-German areas which had been annexed to the empire, formed its largest group. Many of them were orthodox in outlook. The communities and "national organizations" in this area had been little affected by the upheavals that had taken place after the French Revolution. Some of the members from Alsace-Lorraine were disciples of Moses *Mendelssohn, of the conservative type and, while observant, would have liked to see social and educational reforms (for instance Berr Isaac *Berr). Only a small minority professed the radical ideas of the Enlightenment (see *Haskalah), such as Michel *Berr (son of Berr Isaac Berr). On the other hand, the Portuguese Jews from southern France and the Jews of Paris were largely radical. They were headed by Abraham *Furtado of Bordeaux, an adherent of Voltaire and a former Girondist, who was elected chairman of the assembly. The "Portuguese" delegates were few but, as the most radical upholders of the state views, they became the leaders of the assembly. The 16 representatives from Italy were mostly observant Jews, and members of organized communities anxious to preserve Jewish autonomy and traditional way of life, like Rabbi Jacob Israel Carmi (*Karmi) from Reggio (the exception being A. *Cologna). They included noted talmudic scholars, such as Hananel (Graziadio) *Neppi.

At the second session of the Assembly of Jewish Notables Molé presented 12 questions on four main aspects of social and political life:

A: THE CIVIL-MATRIMONIAL ASPECT.

(1) Is it lawful for Jews to marry more than one wife?

(2) Is divorce allowed by the Jewish religion? Is divorce valid when not pronounced by courts of justice, but by virtue of laws in contradiction to those of the French Code?

(3) Is intermarriage with Christians permitted to Jews or does the law allow the Jews to intermarry only among themselves?

B: THE POLITICAL-PATRIOTIC ASPECT.

(4) In the eyes of Jews, are Frenchmen considered as their brothers or are they considered as strangers?

(5) In either case, what line of conduct does their law prescribe toward Frenchmen not of their religion?

(6) Do Jews born in France and treated by the laws of French citizens, consider France as their country? Are they bound to defend it? Are they bound to obey the laws and to conform to the civil code?

C: THE FEAR OF A "STATE WITHIN STATE."

(7) Who appoints the rabbis?

(8) What police jurisdiction do rabbis exercise among Jews? What judicial power do they enjoy among themselves?

(9) Are the forms of choice of rabbis and their police judicial jurisdiction regulated by law, or are they only sanctioned by custom?

D: THE MORAL-SOCIO-ECONOMIC ASPECT.

(10) Are there professions which the law of the Jews forbids them from exercising?

(11) Does the law forbid the Jews to take usury from their brothers?

(12) Does it forbid or does it allow the taking of usury from strangers?

Formulation of the answers was entrusted to a "committee of twelve," headed by the halakhic scholar David *Sinzheim of Strasbourg. Sinzheim applied a remarkable degree of flexibility to his formulation, and while avoiding any infringement of halakhic principles, he was careful not to prejudice the civic status of French Jewry, which, it was thought, would be endangered should the answers fail to satisfy the emperor. Patriotic declarations were adopted unanimously at the plenary session in reply to questions 4 to 6, stating inter alia: "A French Jew considers himself in England as among strangers, although he may be among Jews… To such a pitch is this sentiment carried among them, that, during the last war, French Jews have been fighting desperately against other Jews, the subjects of countries then at war with France."

The answer to question 3 was fiercely disputed in the assembly. While the "progressives" favored mixed marriages, the upholders of orthodoxy insisted that such marriages had no validity from the religious point of view. The latter view was incorporated in the answers. Another difficulty arose, regarding questions 11–12 on usury, a problem widely disputed in Europe over many centuries. The answer stated that post-Mosaic Judaism, which no longer retains its egalitarian-agricultural character, permits "interest" (the assembly rejected the term "usury" for the Hebrew *neshekh*) to all alike, Jews as well as non-Jews. This is based on an apologetic definition, current from the 17th century, where in the biblical text "brother" denotes a citizen of the same state, whatever his religion may be, while "stranger" denotes a citizen of a foreign state. This point additionally reinforced the previous answers concerning civil brotherhood.

In reply to questions 7–9 the delegates stated inter alia that the rabbis had no authority over communal life. They also stressed that the communal authority had become impaired by lack of organization and lack of funds, after communal dues had become voluntary since the French Revolution and Emancipation.

An introduction to all 12 answers reiterated that according to *halakhah* the secular "prince" is the final authority in political or civil matters. Consequently, should their religious code, or its various interpretations, contain commands on civil or political matters at variance with those of the French code, those commands would, of course, cease to influence and govern them.

The content of these answers, as well as letters from the delegates of various countries, show that the majority of the assembly considered such statements to be a compromise, in form but not in substance, between the laws of the state and those of *halakhah*.

The deliberations of the assembly aroused interest among both Jewish and non-Jewish circles in Europe. Its "Transactions" consisting of the questions, answers, minutes (after internal censorship), and part of the public debates before and during the sessions, were published in French. They were republished the following year with the deliberations and decisions of the *Sanhedrin, and subsequently in English, Italian, and German at different times and places in varying versions.

The answers generally suited Napoleon. He decided to establish in accordance with their spirit an ecclesiastical organization to lead the Jews as French citizens of the Mosaic faith. The latter sessions of the assembly were therefore devoted to framing statutes to regulate the "ecclesiastical structure" of the Jewish religion. They provided for the abolition of communal organizations and establishment of the *Consistories, whose authority was limited to the appointment of rabbis, determination of their salaries, regulation of religious services, and the maintenance of synagogues; a central consistory was established in Paris. The budget was secured by a compulsory Jewish consistorial tax. The statutes were received with satisfaction by almost all participants. For the delegates from Alsace-Lorraine, they provided a setting for the continuation of their communal life with an assured budget, while other delegates welcomed the statutes as an expression of their own ideas for improving Jewish society. The sole exception was the

Italian delegates, who also wanted to include education and welfare in the jurisdiction of the consistories.

The answers of the assembly and the institutions it created have shaped the opinions and actions of certain Jewish circles confronted with the problem of regulating Jewish existence in a modern absolutist state. They furnished a rationale for conformity with the postulates of a modern centralized state and society which had already become, or were about to become, nationalist in character. The ad hoc answers of the assembly are, in historical perspective, a modern, if extreme, formulation of the old maxim "the Law of the land is [binding] Law" (BK 113a).

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[Baruch Mevorah]

ASSEO, DAVID (1914–2002), chief rabbi of Turkey. Born in Istanbul, Asseo first attended a religious school in Hasköy, then the Alliance Israélite school there. In 1928 he was sent on a scholarship of the Loge D'Orient Béné Berith to the Rhodes yeshivah. He studied there for six years and in 1933 returned to Istanbul. He started to work as a Hebrew teacher at the Jewish High School in Istanbul. In 1936 he became a member of the Bet Din. After Rafael Saban was elected chief rabbi in January 1953 he became his private secretary. In December 1961 he was elected chief rabbi, and served until October 2002, when he retired. He worked hard to keep the community together and represented it before the Turkish authorities with tact and dignity.

[Rifat Bali (2nd ed.)]

ASSER, family of lawyers and public figures in Holland. The founder of the family was MOSES SOLOMON ASSER (1754–1826), Amsterdam merchant and jurist. He was one of the protagonists of Jewish civic emancipation in the Netherlands after 1795 and a founder of *Felix Libertate, a society for attaining Jewish civic emancipation. He wrote many of its pamphlets and memoranda. In 1798 he became the first Jewish member of the Amsterdam district court. He took an active part in the constitution of the pioneering *Reform congregation in Amsterdam, Adath Jeshurun. He was appointed in 1808 to a commission to prepare the commercial code of the Bonapartist Kingdom of Holland, a work in which he laid the foundations of Dutch commercial law. His son CAREL (1780–1836), jurist, was one of the first Jews to practice law in Holland. He became secretary of the Department of Justice, and was responsible for much of the legislation of the Napoleonic period in the Netherlands and thereafter. Among the many government positions he filled, the most important were department head of the Council of State, secretary of the National Legislative Committee, and service as one of the authors of the Legal Code of 1830. He drew up the constitution of the Jewish *Consistory at the request of Louis Napoleon in 1808. From 1814 until his death, he was a member of the Supreme Committee on Israelite Affairs, of which he was appointed president in 1828. He was the founder of the Charity Board of the Ashkenazi community in Amsterdam. He wrote, among other things, a comparative study of the Dutch and French civil codes, *Het Nederlandsch Burgelijk Wetboek vergeleken met het Wetboek Napoleon* (1838), and, prompted by his sister-in-law, Rachel Varnhagen van *Ense (Lewin), a *Précis historique pour l'état des Israélites du Royaume des Pays-Bas* (1827, unpublished). Carel's brother, TOBIAS (1783–1847), was a lawyer as well. He married Caroline Itzig, the daughter of the prominent Berlin Jew Izak Daniel *Itzig. He succeeded his brother as a member of the Supreme Committee on Israelite Affairs (1836–47) and was chairman of the Charity Board. Tobias' son, CAREL DANIEL (1843–1898), jurist, was appointed judge at the district court of The Hague and subsequently professor of civil law at Leiden University. Later editions of his textbook on civil law, *Handleiding tot de beoefening van het Nederlandsch Burgelijk Recht* (5 vols., 1885–1915; in collaboration with Ph.W. van Heusde), are still in use at most Dutch universities. From his marriage with Rosette Godefroi, the sister of the first Jewish minister in the Netherlands, Michel Henry *Godefroi, TOBIAS MICHAËL CAREL (1838–1913) was born. He was a statesman and jurist specializing in international law. In 1860 he was appointed Dutch representative on the International Commission on the freedom of navigation in the Rhine. From 1862 to 1893 he was professor of commercial and private international law at the University of Amsterdam. Asser helped to found the Institut de droit international in 1873. In 1893 he was appointed a member of the Council of State, and in 1898 chairman of the royal commission on private international law. Asser participated in The Hague Peace Conferences of 1899 and 1907 and was appointed a member of The Hague Permanent Court of Arbitration in 1900, where he frequently arbitrated on international issues, such as the dispute between Russia and the United States over fishing rights in the Bering Straits. He shared with two others the Nobel Peace Prize in 1911. He was a member of the board of trustees of the Dutch Israelite Seminary (1882–87), but broke with Judaism around 1890. Asser was a cofounder and coeditor of the *Revue de droit international et de législation comparée* (1869). He wrote works on the codification of private international law (translated into French) and on Dutch commercial law, a standard work.

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[Charles Boasson / Bart Wallet (2nd ed.)]

ASSI (late third and early fourth century C.E.), Palestinian *amora*. In the Jerusalem Talmud, he is also known as Issi, Yassi, and Assa; the name is probably a shortened form of Joseph. In both the Jerusalem and Babylonian Talmud, Assi is one of the most frequently mentioned *amoraim*, often together with his colleague, *Ammi. Assi, who was born in Babylonia, studied together with Ammi at Samuel's academy in Nehardea (cf. TJ, Shek. 2:5, 46d; Er. 6:8, 23d) and Huna's in Sura (MK 25a). As a result of a misunderstanding with his mother, he left for Ereẓ Israel (Kid. 31b). Here he attended lectures by such well-known *amoraim* as Ḥanina (Men. 50b) and *Joshua b. Levi (Ḥul. 28a). He settled in Tiberias, studying at the academy of *Johanan Nappaḥa in whose name he transmitted many halakhic sayings (Pes. 106a, Ḥul. 55b). Among Assi's colleagues in Tiberias was *Eleazar b. Pedat. It was the latter who succeeded Johanan as the head of the academy, although Assi possessed greater knowledge, especially in mysticism (Ḥag. 13a) and was lauded by Eleazar b. Pedat himself as "the prodigy of his generation" (Ḥul. 103b). Another of Assi's associates was *Ḥiyya b. Abba (Er. 32b, 65b, etc.). Assi, Ammi, and Ḥiyya were all priests who emigrated from Babylonia to Ereẓ Israel, and they are often mentioned together (e.g., Yoma 73a; TJ, Er. 4:6). *Judah III put them in charge of supervising schools in the country (TJ, Ḥag. 1:7, 76c). After the death of Eleazar b. Pedat (c. 279 C.E.) Ammi was appointed head of the Tiberian academy, Assi having declined to assume public office. He assisted Ammi, however, and taught with him "amid the pillars" of the Tiberian school (Ber. 8a). The two were held in highest esteem as the "distinguished priests of the Holy Land" (Meg. 22a) and were regarded as the most important "judges of the Land of Israel" (Sanh. 17b). Many of Assi's aggadic teachings were transmitted by his pupil *Avira (Ber. 20b, Pes. 119b, etc.). The son of Eleazar b. Pedat was his "*amora*" (TJ, Meg. 4:10, 75c). When Assi died in Tiberias, his death was likened to the collapse of a tower (TJ, Av. Zar. 3:1, 42c).

His Aggadic Teachings

He explained the practice of children beginning their Bible studies with Leviticus rather than with Genesis as a matter of the pure (i.e., the young) engaging in the study of the pure (i.e., the laws of purity in Leviticus (Lev. R. 7:3)). One of his famous teachings (based on Isa. 5:18) is that the evil inclination though initially fragile as a spider web, eventually attains the toughness of cart rope (Suk. 52a). Once, being reproached by his wife for siding with his maidservant rather than with her in a dispute, he justified his stand by quoting Job 31:13, "Did I despise the cause of my manservant or of my maidservant when they contended with me?" (Gen. R. 48:3). Among his sayings are: "The pangs of earning one's bread are twice as great as those of childbirth" (Gen. R. 20:9); "A man should eat and drink beneath his means, clothe himself in accordance with his means, and honor his wife and children beyond his means" (Ḥul. 84b). Assi is sometimes confused with the Babylonian *amora* of the same name.

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[Meir Ydit]

ASSI, RAV (early third century), Babylonian *amora*. Assi was a contemporary of *Rav and *Samuel and a friend of R. Kahana. He lived in Huẓal near Nehardea and was wealthy (Ḥul. 105a). His authority was respected throughout Babylonia, and various regulations which he promulgated in Huẓal are referred to in the *halakhah* (Meg. 5b; Ḥul. 26b). While submitting to the authority of Rav in all that concerned traditions about the oral law which Rav had brought from Palestine, Assi freely contended with him on points of *halakhah*, in which he was no less conversant than Rav. His independent views were respected even by Rav (Sanh. 36b; Shab. 146b, etc.). Indeed, for fear that the opposing views of Assi might be correct, Rav preferred to conform to them in practice even though he personally differed from him (Kid. 44b, etc.). It would appear that Assi was considered greater than Samuel (BK 80a–b). In his controversies with Ray, he was not always successful in winning the majority of the scholars to his opinion. This was a source of contention between Assi and Rav's pupil Shila b. Avina (Nid. 36b) culminating in the excommunication of Shila by Assi. Assi's death, which apparently occurred not long after that of Rav in 246, was attributed by his colleagues to his excommunication of Shila (*ibid.*). When Assi was nearing death his nephew came to him and found him in tears. In answer to his question "Master why do you weep? Is there the least portion of Torah that you have not learned and have you not also taught many disciples? Is there any charity you have not performed? Have you not, despite all your virtues, always refused to sit in judgment and always refrained from accepting public office?" Assi replied, "My son, that is precisely what I bewail. Who knows if I shall not be made to answer for not having done what was in my power to regulate in the affairs of Israel?" (Tanḥ., Mishpatim, 2).

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[Yitzhak Dov Gilat]

ASSIGNMENT (OF DEBT).

History and Development

Basically, Jewish law did not recognize the concept whereby personal rights or obligations (whether arising from contract or from a liability for damages in tort) could be legally assigned, either by the creditor or the debtor, to one who was not a party to the obligation itself. This was because a debt was considered intangible and therefore incapable of legal transfer (Rashi, Git. 13b; R. Gershom, BB 147b; Tos. to Ket. 55b). It was compared to the case of an object that was not yet in existence (*davar she-lo ba la-olam*) which also could not be transferred (see Tos. to BK 36b).

The development of commerce and its increasingly sophisticated requirements made it necessary however to overcome this difficulty in the law, and the assignment of debts, whether verbal or by deed, is already mentioned in the tannaitic period (Tosef., BM 4:3, et al.). Two principal methods of assignment were invented: (1) a form of novation, whereby an existing debt was canceled and an identical, but new debt created between the debtor and the creditor's assignee – all three parties consenting; and (2) a formula whereby the creditor appointed an agent to recover a debt on his behalf, but empowered the agent to retain the proceeds for himself. From these two methods were developed the two legal forms of assignment of debts dealt with in the Talmud, namely *Ma'amad Sheloshtan* (lit. "a meeting of the three") and *Mekhirat Shetarot* ("sale of bonds"). In addition, there was the *Shi'buda de Rabbi Natan* a process of legal execution entrusted to the court.

Ma'amad Sheloshtan, as an authorized legal transaction, is first mentioned by the early *amoraim* (Git. 13b). All three parties – the creditor, the debtor, and the assignee – being present together, the creditor would say to the debtor: "There is a debt owing to me by you; give it to – (the assignee)." On this simple oral declaration the assignee acquired good legal title to the debt and could claim it direct from the debtor. In the same way it was possible to transfer a pledge. The Talmud concludes that there was no legal reason for this arrangement, it having been evolved merely to facilitate commercial dealings (Tos. to Git. 14a).

However, some *amoraim* do suggest a legal basis for it. For example, Amemar opines that its legal justification rests on the assumption that, when the obligation first arises, the debtor is deemed to render himself liable not only to the principal creditor but to anyone claiming through him. On the other hand, R. Ashi takes the view that the benefit which the debtor enjoys from the cancellation of the original obligation to the creditor and the creation of a new one to the assignee, with a different date of payment, is itself sufficient to demonstrate, without further act or formality, the debtor's willingness to bind himself to the assignee as his new creditor. Relying on R. Ashi's reasoning, some held that the debtor's actual consent was required to complete a *Ma'amad Sheloshtan*, but others held that only his presence was necessary (*Ran* on *Rif*, Git. 13b). Thus, according to R. Ashi, the institution of *Ma'amad Sheloshtan* would appear to be equivalent to novation and it may be assumed that before *Ma'amad Sheloshtan* was recognized the assignment of debt was done by canceling the old debt and creating a new one through the formal act of *kinyan* ("acquisition"), constituting, in effect, a novation (Git. 14a).

Mekhirat Shetarot ("sale of bonds") was a method whereby a debt, embodied in a bond, was assigned by selling the bond and was effective when the bond was delivered to the assignee (BB 76a). However, although one opinion of the *tannaim* was that physical delivery was sufficient in the case of a bond, another opinion (by which the *halakhah* was ultimately decided) held that a further deed was required in the assignee's name, because whereas the act of delivery validly assigned the bond itself, i.e., the actual paper on which it was written, the debt, and the creditor's rights to the debt were not an intrinsic part of the paper and therefore not assigned with it. Accordingly, in the ancillary deed the creditor would confirm that the assignee should "acquire [the bond] and any rights contained therein" (BB 76b).

As to the sale of bonds, the *amora* Samuel stated: "If one sells a bond of indebtedness to another and then releases the debtor from his liability, the release is valid [and therefore binding on the assignee], and such release can even be given by the creditor's heir [with the same third-party consequences]" (Ket. 86a). The basis for this ruling was that since the initial premise (stated above) was that a debt was intangible and thus incapable of legal transfer, the creditor is really doing no more than giving the assignee a power of attorney to recover the debt and keep the proceeds. This is, in fact, the second of the two earlier methods of assignment already referred to. As the assignee is, from the strictly legal point of view, no more than an agent of the creditor, the latter remains competent to release the debtor or even to recover the debt himself. In such a case, however, it was accepted as the *halakhah* that the creditor would be liable to compensate the frustrated assignee for any loss he sustained.

As the *Ma'amad Sheloshtan*, unlike the sale of bonds, was not based on the principle of agency, it would seem that after its completion the original creditor could no longer give a valid release to the debtor (Tos. to Git. 13b). Nor could a *Ma'amad Sheloshtan* be used as a means of selling a bond (*Siftei Kohen*, no. 97 to Sh. Ar., ḤM 66:29), since being a form of novation whereby a new debt is substituted for an old one, the old debt ceases to exist and becomes valueless. The Talmud explains (Ket. 86a) that if a new bond is addressed to the assignee the original creditor is no longer competent to release the debtor – his debt having ceased to exist and there being no question of agency, as in the case of sale of bonds.

Other explanations have also been advanced to justify the validity of a release by the original creditor, even after he has sold his bond. One is that whereas the sale of bonds was *mi-de-rabbanan* ("instituted by the sages"), the legality of a release of a debt was *mi-de-orayta* ("stemming from biblical law"; Maim., Yad, Mekhirah 6:12; Tos. to BB 76b). This explanation is, however, questionable, as in other cases of sale instituted by rabbinical enactment (including the *Ma'amad Sheloshtan*) a subsequent release by the assignor was not recognized. Another explanation suggests that the original creditor has two rights from his debtor – one proprietary and the other personal, the latter being inalienable. This also presents difficulty since a debt itself is intangible and therefore inalienable; it is strange therefore that the idea of a personal right, which is not mentioned elsewhere, should be introduced here, when the general rule would be equally applicable. If the original creditor transferred a pledge he was holding to the purchaser he cannot then release the debtor (see *Pledge).

It may be assumed that in tannaitic times the assignment of debts, whether verbal or under bond, was also effected by means of a power of attorney proper, known in the Babylonian Talmud as *urkhata* (BK 70a). However, although tannaitic sources mention powers of attorney with regard to the assignment of debts (Rashi, Kid. 47b), in the Babylonian Talmud – where such a device is not recognized as applying to intangibles (such as debts) – the references mentioned are interpreted differently (Kid. 47b; *Or Zaru'a*, BK 296). Presumably the formula "institute proceedings, acquire and take for yourself," forming part of the text of a power of attorney, was a relic from the tannaitic period when the assignee was appointed as attorney to recover the debt and then retain the proceeds. In Babylonia this form of attornment was only used for the recovery of movables, not debts, and certainly not for the assignment of debts (BK 70a and Tos.), leaving unanswered the question of why this device was necessary in view of the well-established rule that "a man's agent is like himself" (*Yam shel Shelomo*, BK 7:12).

Assignment by the Debtor

Although the Babylonian Talmud does not mention the case of a debtor assigning his liability to another, reference to this can be found in the Mishnah (BM 9:12) and in the Jerusalem Talmud (cf. BM 4:1), but only in relation to a banker or shopkeeper, both commonly engaged in financial transactions (Gulak, in: *Tarbiz*, 2 (1930/31), 154–71). It is possible that assignments of this kind were effected by a means similar to the *Ma'amad Sheloshtan*, to which they are compared by the codifiers (Rif, *Halakhot*, BM 111a). Details of such assignments are unknown, however, particularly as the *Ma'amad Sheloshtan* is not mentioned in the Jerusalem Talmud.

Post-Talmudic Developments

In post-talmudic times the power of attorney was used for the recovery of debts, but not for their assignment (Tos. to BK 70a; Maim., Yad, Sheluḥin ve-Shutafin 3:7; see also *Attorney). Some authorities held that a bond of indebtedness, drawn in favor of the creditor and anyone claiming through him, enabled it to be assigned by mere delivery and thereafter precluded the original creditor from releasing the debtor; but others disagreed (Sh. Ar., ḤM 66:26). It was also customary to draw a bond in favor of "whomsoever may produce it"; this being assignable by mere delivery and precluding the debtor's release by the assignor (Responsa Rosh 68:9), and the bond thus became negotiable (cf. J.J. Rabinowitz, *Jewish Law* (1956), 342ff.). In Poland, from the 16th century onward, a bond drawn in favor of "whomsoever may produce it," bearing only the debtor's signature, the amount of the debt, and the date of payment, became customary. Such a bond was known as a "*Memoram*" and was, in effect, a negotiable instrument like a promissory note (*Levush*, Ir Shushan 48; *Sma* to ḤM 48:1).

Modern Israel Law

In the State of Israel the assignment of debts is governed by the Assignment of Obligations Law, 1969, under the provisions of which every obligation or any part of it can be assigned either by the creditor or by the debtor. The debtor's assignment can only be made with the agreement of the creditor. Promissory notes and checks are in common use and are governed by the Bills of Exchange Ordinance, 1929, which permits the assignment of a debt by the mere delivery of the relevant bill. According to some authorities, the assignment of debts, too, is given by an obligation in the form of "undertaking to bind himself" (*mesha'abbed nafsho*) (Git. 13b), in other words by obligating himself (see Lifshitz, Bibliography).

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[Shalom Albeck]

ASSIMILATION. In general the sociocultural process in which the sense and consciousness of association with one national and cultural group changes to identification with another such group, so that the merged individual or group may partially or totally lose its original national identity. Assimilation can occur and not only on the unconscious level in primitive societies. It has been shown that even these societies have sometimes developed specific mechanisms to facilitate assimilation, e.g., adoption; mobilization, and absorption into the tribal fighting force; exogamic marriage; the client relationship between the tribal protector and members of another tribe. In more developed societies, where a stronger sense of cultural and historical identification has evolved, the mechanisms, as well as the automatic media of assimilation, become more complicated. The reaction of the assimilator group to the penetration of the assimilated increasingly enters the picture.

Various factors may combine to advance or hinder the assimilation process. Those actively contributing include the position of economic strength held by a group; the political advantages to be gained from adhesion or separation; acknowledged cultural superiority; changes in religious outlook and customs; the disintegration of one group living within another more cohesive group; the development of an "open society" by either group. Added to these are external factors, such as changes in the demographic pattern (mainly migration) or those wrought by revolution and revolutionary attitudes. Sociologists have described the man in process of assimilation as "the marginal man," both attracted and repelled by the social and cultural spheres in which he lives in a state of transition.

Antiquity and Middle Ages

Within its environment in antiquity, as far as known, the Jewish national and social group mainly operated as the assimilator, aided by the attraction of monotheism and exerting the power of its social cohesion and state mechanism. During the period of the conquest of Ereẓ Israel, Jewish society gradually absorbed many of the ethnic elements living there. The process continued well into the reigns of David and Solomon. While the prophets of the time deplored the cultural influence exerted by the assimilated group, they did not reject the end results of the process. The isolated yet striking instance of Naaman the Syrian demonstrates the element of partial assimilation into *Judaism. In Judaism the very concept of *proselytism involves readiness on the part of the Jews to accept and assimilate a group or an individual prepared to adopt the religion and become assimilated. The attitude of *Ezra and *Nehemiah, who opposed the assimilation of other ethnic elements, did not prevail. Some of the *Hasmonean rulers, John *Hyrcanus and Alexander *Yannai – adopted a clear-cut policy of forcible proselytization; the assimilation of the Idumeans was so complete that the last dynasty to rule the Jewish commonwealth in the Second Temple period was the Idumean house of *Herod, and some of the most devoted fighters in the war against Rome were Idumeans. Both Jewish and external sources yield plentiful information about groups and individuals living within the Roman Empire that had totally or partially adopted Judaism and assimilated the Jewish way of life. According to some scholars, the large number of Jews in the later period of the Roman Empire was the result of the assimilation of the Phoenician diaspora into the Jewish communities. On the other hand, sources dating from as early as the reign of *Antiochus Epiphanes (175–164 B.C.E.) mention the Hellenizers, a group wishing to accept the mode of life and culture of *Hellenism. *Tiberius Alexander, the nephew of Philo of *Alexandria, exemplifies assimilation by Jewish individuals of Hellenistic-Roman culture, particularly in the *Diaspora. To some degree the path of early Pauline *Christianity is viewed from the Jewish standpoint as a process of assimilation of the early Jewish Christian apostles and groups into the gentile ethnic identity and way of life.

In the course of Jewish history, processes that began as quasi-assimilatory were later transmuted to become hallmarks of continuing Jewish consciousness and identity. This applied to the adoption of the Greek language in the ancient period and of German and Spanish in the Middle Ages. As the alien language gained acceptance, it became not only a vehicle of Jewish cultural and religious creativity, but also gradually became converted into a specifically Jewish idiom and mark of Jewish identity that even formed barriers to later assimilation. *Yiddish became the idiom of East European Jewry amid a Slavic linguistic environment, and hence of Jewish emigrants from this area in the Anglo-Saxon countries. Similarly the Spanish Jews carried their language of Castile with them after the expulsion from Spain, developing it into *Ladino. During the Middle Ages the strength of Jewish cohesiveness was so powerful that only *apostates from Judaism became assimilated into the adopted environment, and not always even then (see *Anusim*; *Marranos).

From the Period of Enlightenment

Assimilation has been a major centrifugal force in Jewish life since the second half of the 18th century. It became an element of increasing magnitude in Jewish thought and society and helped to mold a new image of the Jew in literature and art, in which the problems it posed were reflected. Various factors combined to create this situation. The *Court Jews, their families, and social circle gradually, sometimes imperceptibly, assimilated the mores of the Christian court. The Enlightenment (*Haskalah) movement was accompanied by a certain readiness on the part of groups of Christian and Jewish intellectuals to create an "open society." The grant of civic *emancipation apparently premised that Jews could enter the emancipating society as equals if they relinquished their Jewish national cohesion. In rejecting the medieval system of corporation, the attitude of early capitalistic society militated against a continuance of Jewish *autonomy and its institutions. Similarly, the dictates of the modern state, postulating observance of a single legal code and an undifferentiated legal status for its citizens, militated against Jewish judicial autonomy while assisting Jewish emancipation. All these elements hastened the assimilatory process. As members of the upper strata of Jewish society in Central and Western Europe became assimilated, they left their positions of leadership in the autonomous Jewish body, thereby weakening it further. Other Jews in less influential positions followed their example. Jewish intellectuals who accepted the values and criteria of the Enlightenment and Christian culture and society tended to regard the Jewish counterpart as barren and primitive. Their attitude became devastatingly critical. They measured the Jewish past and culture by alien and historically inimical standards.

The first wave of assimilation carried Jews toward the ahistoric society envisioned by the 18th-century Enlightenment, a society that would not insist on national or religious definitions. For some Jews, assimilation served as a shortcut to attaining individual emancipation and advancement, hence there were many nominal apostates like Heinrich *Heine. Later, their admiration for the modern national state, a growing appreciation of the mores and social structure of the dominant nations, and the idea of progress combined to create the conception that the perpetuation of a Jewish national existence was obsolete. Such Jews also felt that they were guilty of intellectual and emotional dishonesty in cherishing Jewish messianic hopes. The evaluations, way of life, writings – both in German and in Hebrew – and influence of intellectuals like Moses *Mendelssohn and David Friedlaender, although formulating no clear-cut theory of assimilation, furthered the tendency. Socialite assimilation in the salons of Berlin and Vienna, fostering freedom in thought and with their romantic attractions, drew both the gifted and the wealthy away from the Jewish fold to a humanistic, cosmopolitan, and Christian allegiance. Rachel *Varnhagen-Levin saw her life vitiated by the blemish of her Jewish descent. Moses Mendelssohn's daughter, Dorothea *Schlegel, not only left her faith but also developed the feeling of self-hatred typical of many modern assimilated Jews. In 1802 she wrote to Friedrich Schleiermacher:

> … according to my own feeling, Protestant Christianity [is] much purer and to be preferred to the Catholic one. Catholicism has for me too much similarity to the old Judaism, which I greatly despise. Protestantism, though, seems to me to be the total religion of Jesus and the religion of civilization. In

> my heart I am completely, as far as I can understand from the Bible, a Protestant.

The ideology of assimilation gained momentum in the first half of the 19th century as it developed an eschatological message. This trend was part of the new direction which assimilation took when projected on the intense nationalistic society and state that prevailed in Europe with the romantic movement. The former nexus between the Jewish people and its religion and law was rejected; attempts were made to purge the Jewish religion of its nationalistic elements in order to relieve individual Jews in dispersion of the sense of being an alien and an exile. Instead of looking to Ereẓ Israel for redemption, the assimilationists stressed their attachment was to the land in which they and their forefathers had lived for generations. Nevertheless Jewish identity would be preserved in a redefinition as "Germans of Mosaic faith" or "Frenchmen of Mosaic faith," and so on.

The desire for emancipation blended with the will for religious reform and with revolutionary fervor for change at first in the liberal, and later in the socialist sense. The "messiah" envisaged by Leopold *Zunz was civic and political revolution in Germany and Europe, bearing on its wings freedom for mankind and equality for Jews. Derision of the former Jewish messianic hopes was intrinsic to burning faith in the new assimilationist form of existence. Thus in 1848, the year of the "Spring of Nations," Jews of the ancient community of Worms formulated the following program for religious reform, motivated by the ideal of assimilation:

> …We have to aspire to truth and dignity in Divine worship, coordination between faith and life, to put away empty concepts and shape new institutions for the spirit of Judaism. We must no longer utter prayers for the return to Palestine while we are wholeheartedly attached to the German fatherland whose fate is indissolubly our fate; all that is beloved and dear to us is contained in this fatherland. We must not mourn in sackcloth and ashes the destruction of the Temple when we long ago came into the possession of a fatherland that has become so dear to us. We may commemorate yearly the destruction of the Temple, but why be in heavy mourning, which no longer comes from feelings of the heart, and sing songs of mourning about an historical fact, for which we praise the loving hand of God? We should not try to enlighten our children in the religious schools with facts that the living Jewish spirit looks upon as dead ballast, to be thrown overboard; no longer teach them to pray in a language that is dead, while the word and sound of our German mother tongue is understandable and dear to us and therefore is the only one fit to be raised in praise to our Creator. It is time to put a stop to this conflict, this sin of dishonesty in our midst.

Attachment to German soil, language, culture, and statehood was the compelling reason for effecting the change in prayer and its language, and for eradicating the hope for redemption in Ereẓ Israel. This attitude continued to persist in some circles; it led the British Liberal rabbi Israel Mattuck in 1939 to the conclusion that "the position which the Jews should seek and the world should give is one which combines separatism in religion with assimilation in all the other elements of national life, political, social, and cultural" (*What are the Jews?* (1939) 239).

The Late 19th and the 20th Century

Assimilation through the 19th and 20th centuries was not a unified process and was beset with a host of problems and complications. The position taken by assimilationists oscillated between the cosmopolitan and nationalist aspects of assimilation. Their theories clashed with the national spirit of exclusiveness of the assimilator group: Germans, Frenchmen, and others, resented the pollution of their race and culture by alien elements. Jews wishing to assimilate became involved in the array of conflicting assimilating nationalities and cultures within the same territorial arena. With the national awakening of the Czechs, the Jews of Prague, for instance, were confronted simultaneously by German and Czech demands for assimilation into one or the other national camp. The same conflict occurred between the demands of the Magyar and German cultures in Hungary; the Polish, German, and Russian cultures in Polish lands; the German, Polish, and Ukrainian cultures in East Galicia. In many countries the process of assimilation was deliberately assisted by social and educational measures. In Russia, *Nicholas I tried to promote assimilation of the Jewish youth through the mechanism of army mobilization (see *Cantonists). On the other hand the complications of the assimilation process itself necessarily acted to spur Jewish nationalism, and offered it a springboard. At the same time a school of historical thought that viewed each epoch and culture as a distinct phenomenon to be judged by its own system of values was gaining ascendancy. Thus, appreciation of the Jewish culture and history, achievements, values, and criteria strengthened, while the arrogance and ridicule on which the assimilationists based their arguments lost ground.

Assimilation into modern nationalities was described by Solomon *Schechter in 1901 upon viewing the disappointment that was felt when the concept of assimilation intrinsic to the hopes for a humanist, non-nationalistic society was definitively superseded by assimilation into different militarist, nationalist states. Schechter saw "… the ancient chosen people of God going about begging for a nationality – clamoring everywhere 'We are you!'… Using the last crumbs of the sacred language, in which God-Shalom addressed His children, to invoke His blessing upon the '*Mitrailleuse*,' the 'Krupp gun,' 'dum-dum' and 'Long Tom,' and other anti-messianic contrivances" ("Epistles to the Jews of England," in *Jewish Chronicle*, 1901). The disappointment at these developments in European society and the reaction that Jewish assimilation had provoked did not deter assimilationists from their beliefs. Even after World War II and the experience of the *Holocaust, and after his disillusionment with the Communist revolution, Boris *Pasternak clung to the Christian Orthodox faith and his Russian cultural identity. He dared to call upon Jews to assimilate as salvation from the fate which their nationality imposes. In the wake of the martyred Jews, he denied that there could be any sense in retaining a separate Jewish identity: "In whose interests is this voluntary martyrdom?… Dismiss this army which is forever fighting and being massacred, nobody knows for what?… Say to them: 'That's enough. Stop now. Don't hold on to your identity. Don't all get together in a crowd. Disperse. Be with all the rest.'" (*Dr. Zhivago* (1958) 117–8).

When this call for assimilation was pronounced, several years had elapsed since the suicide of a man who wrote at the beginning of Nazi rule and the end of the liberal German society of the early 20th century:

> I thought of my terrible joy when I realized that nobody would recognize me for a Jew; of the first day of the war and my passionate longing to prove that I was a real German by offering my life to my country; of my writing from the front to the authorities to say that they could strike my name from the list of the Jewish community. Had it all been for nothing? Had it all been wrong? Didn't I love Germany with all my heart? Had I not stood in the rich beauty of the Mediterranean landscape and longed for the austere pine woods, for the beauty of the still, secret lakes of north Germany? And wasn't the German language my language, the language in which I felt and thought and spoke, a part of my very being? But wasn't I also a Jew? A member of that great race that for centuries had been persecuted, harried, martyred and slain; whose prophets had called the world to righteousness, had exalted the wretched and the oppressed, then and for all time. A race who had never bowed their heads to their persecutors, who had preferred death to dishonor. I had denied my own mother, and I was ashamed. It is an indictment of society at large that a child should have thus been driven to deception. How much of me was German, how much Jewish? Must I then join the ranks of the bigoted and glorify my Jewish blood now, not my German? Pride and love are not the same thing, and if I were asked where I belonged I should answer that a Jewish mother had borne me, that Germany nourished me, that Europe had formed me, that my home was the earth and the world my fatherland (Ernst Toller, *I Was a German*, London, 1934, 280–2).

This anguished cry powerfully expresses the dynamics and problems that persisted after the doctrine of assimilation had been tested for over a century and a half. The assimilationist remained torn between his ideals and rejection by the assimilator society, between the allegiance he was seeking and the pride awakened by Jewish nationalism; he oscillated between the choice of assimilation into one nation and internationalist assimilation.

More recently the ideals of assimilation have assumed a different form. This has been determined by the combined impact of the Holocaust, the creation of the State of Israel and its struggle for survival, and the emergence of a monistic nationalism in Eastern and Central Europe. But if the advocates of assimilation have sometimes changed their formula, the substance of their arguments remains. This viewpoint clearly emerges in the evaluation of Jewish assimilation made by a philosopher of history hostile to Jewish nationalism, Arnold Toynbee. Toynbee regards assimilation and *intermarriage as beneficial and a natural process. By assimilating, a Jew is "deserting the Diaspora individually in order to lose himself in the ranks of a modern, Western, gentile, urban bourgeoisie. The liberal Jew [is]… assimilating himself to a gentile social milieu that had previously gone far, on its side, to assimilate itself socially and psychologically to the Jewish Disapora" (*Study of History*, 8 (1954), 310). Nevertheless, in volume 12 of the same study, published in 1961, Toynbee describes the solution he proposed for the Jews in 1954 as the fate of the Ten Tribes, who "lost their national identity through being assimilated. The Ten Tribes' way is passive, involuntary, and inglorious, and it is natural that the Jews should be on their guard against meeting the fate of their lost kinsmen." What he proposed in 1961 was that the Jews become "denationalized" without becoming totally assimilated. As an alternative to emigration to Israel he proposes that they "incorporate Gentiles in a Jewish religious community by converting them to the religion of Deutero-Isaiah" (p. 517). Thus, ideationally, the process has turned full circle. An opponent of *Zionism and the creation of the State of Israel, Toynbee proposed to the Jews of the Diaspora in 1961 that they undertake the conversion of the peoples in their environment to a non-national Jewish religion. For all practical purposes, however, the goal is the same: the abolition of Jewish national identity.

[Haim Hillel Ben-Sasson]

United States.

The term "assimilation" or "identification assimilation" is usually taken to mean the process by which members of an ethnic, religious, or national immigrant group takes on the identity of their host country or society, and simultaneously shed the identity of their "home" society. (Other forms of assimilation include "structural assimilation," which is the process by which immigrants enter into the structures – education, employment, political – of the host society; and "marital assimilation," which is intermarriage.) "Assimilation," which is about identity, is often confused with "acculturation" (or "cultural assimilation"), which is the process by which members of an immigrant group adopts aspects of the culture of the host society – modes of dress, language, cuisine, and so on – while retaining their ethnic, religious, or national identity.

The American Jewish community was created by three waves of immigration: the Sephardi-dominated handful of colonial times, several tens of thousands from Central Europe who arrived in the middle of the 19th century, and the mass of almost three million, mostly from Eastern Europe, who came between 1882 and 1914. The later and much smaller immigrations after both world wars and during the Hitler era have added certain colorations to the American Jewish scene, but the history of American Jewry and the changes in its modes of acculturation to the fluctuating composition of American society largely are the tale of these three immigration impulses.

There were so few Jews in the United States during colonial times (perhaps 2,000 at the time of the American Revolution) that they were regarded as exotics. Their acculturation was deep and broad, and their assimilation into the largely

English majority population was the result of neither conscious assimilationist pressure nor ideological choice. So small a Jewish population, with fewer women than men among it, inevitably had a considerable rate of intermarriage. A recent study of Jewish marriage before 1840 has shown that at least one in seven colonial Jews and their immediate descendants married unconverted Christians; after that year, in the fourth and fifth generations of colonial Jewish families, intermarriage was so dominant that most of these families disappeared from the Jewish community. Ideological factors were clearly secondary in this situation, for what increased assimilation was the family's length of the residence in a society almost totally open, at that point, to its handful of Jews. Isaac Harby, who led in the creation of a reformed synagogue in Charleston in 1824, wrote two years later that not all who agreed with him had joined his group, but that "the Jews born in Carolina are mostly of our way of thinking" and that the only consideration that kept them in the Orthodox synagogue was "a tender regard for the opinions and feelings of their parents."

The situation of the second major wave of Jewish immigration to the United States, which arrived in the middle of the 19th century, was significantly different. The American majority had crystallized as an assimilating force. Some of the rabbis among the Central European Jews who were then arriving in the United States had participated in the early stirrings of Reform Judaism in Europe; they believed in acculturation, even in religious practices, as a desirable value. Their efforts went unchecked by an entrenched Orthodox establishment. In the first generation after their arrival, many of these new immigrants lived out their secular lives not among the American majority, but in the more accessible environment of the gentile German immigrants; but this soon passed. Their American-born children looked to the world of their economic peers in American business for their social environment. The choice of life styles was not a problem until the 1870s, when the first signs of social antisemitism appeared. The Gentile *nouveau riche* were establishing their prestige on other than economic grounds, and they began by excluding the quite visible, even more recently enriched German Jews. In 1876 the first known advertisement by a resort hotel that it was barring Jews was printed in the *New York Tribune*, and in the next year the prominent banker Joseph Seligman was excluded as a Jew from the Grand Union Hotel in Saratoga. This kind of discrimination increased in the next several decades. Those Jews who remained identifiable as such turned to creating a network of social and philanthropic institutions within which they could live a life that largely paralleled that of their gentile peers. Their isolation, therefore, was partly willed and partly forced. This social ghetto was dominated by the ideals of middle class liberalism and by a special concern for the latest Jewish arrivals – those from Eastern Europe. The German-Jewish elite continued to dominate and to provide most of the social services for the American Jewish community during the period between 1881 and World War I, when almost three million Jews came to the United States from Eastern Europe. By the 1920s, however, the German group was clearly losing its hold for at least two reasons. The new immigrants and their children were losing their "strangeness," beginning to achieve some power in their own right, and growing ever less willing to accept the tutelage of the German-Jewish "Uptown." Some of the German-Jewish leadership associated itself within the new Jewish masses; larger numbers, however, were following after the pattern of the colonial Jews, so that by the third generation the rate of intermarriage was large enough as to bring into question the continued existence of many of these families as Jews. By the end of the 19th century, a new form of acculturation, leading to secular apostasy, had come into view. Thus it had become possible to vanish as a Jew without accepting any other religious identity.

The Eastern European Jewish immigrants brought with them the identity of a deprived national minority, sustained by great forces of religious, cultural, and communal cohesion. Political action in the name of Jewish interests, Jewish efforts toward social reform, pressure on society at large to regard the Jewish community as by right equal to all other communities, including the majority itself – in short, the total stance of a group fighting to express itself in all its peculiarities and to be accepted by society as such – all this became the new mode of American Jewish life among the immigrants and most of their children in the 20th century. The Yiddish language, socialism, union activities, Zionism, and orthodoxy in religion (locked in combat with other ideologies such as Marxism or atheism) composed the cultural temper of this mass community, which existed in large numbers in specific neighborhoods not only in New York, but also in most major American cities.

There were two contesting views on how to bring this community into the larger American society. Such thinkers as Horace *Kallen and Mordecai M. *Kaplan envisaged the American society of the future as one of cultural pluralism, in which the descendants of various European national traditions would retain their distinctiveness but have the ability to participate in an American society that is informed by many ethnic and religious groups. As such, they would retain and nurture substantial knowledge of their past and loyalty to it. This meant that American Jews would be able to exist as a separate community, as they would not be unique in this aspect; and that any group membership and association would be purely voluntary.

The counter theory was held by the dominant American Protestant cultural and political establishment; their vision was the model of the "melting pot," the notion that the ideal condition was one of complete assimilation in which all ethnic and religious differences would disappear. Upon arrival in the United States the new immigrant was to undergo the process of Americanization as rapidly as possible and surrender his foreignness, that is, he was to learn to behave and live in imitation of the dominant modes. The older American Jewish community was overwhelmingly committed to the second idea, and the institutions that it created to help the Jewish newcomers, such as the Educational Alliance on the lower

East Side of New York and the Yiddish newspaper *Forverts* (*Forward*), had as their primary purpose the Americanization of the immigrants. In the second generation, some younger Jewish intellectuals tried to live in both American and Jewish cultures with very complicated and often painful results. Because Jews remained in the position of a minority suffering from substantial disabilities until after World War II, some became an important part of reform and left-wing political movements. The overwhelming bulk of this generation, as was the case with its predecessors in the earlier migrations, simply tried to make their individual way in the American economy and society. In actual fact they had no choice but to adopt the way of life demanded by the "melting pot," while harboring very substantial Jewish emotions and commitments on a more personal level.

The ideal of bicultural existence in America was attacked by some of the American-born children of East European-Jewish immigrants as a form of schizophrenia. Jessie Bernard, writing as late as 1942, said that a child of immigrant parents "can never achieve complete oneness save he deliberately turn his back on one or the other [culture]." Kurt Lewin, a social theorist who arrived in the United States in those very years as a refugee from Hitler, had expressed the same insight in coining the phrase "marginal man" (see above). Both of them, however, offered different prescriptions for this discomfort: Bernard suggested conscious and total assimilation, and Lewin became a passionate believer in Zionism. The American Jewish community of the next generation did not follow either prescription. In the generation that followed after World War II, there was very little sign of any conscious assimilation. American society became more open to Jews than any country has ever been throughout the whole history of the Diaspora, and this acted to remove the need for any willed assimilation. The creation of the State of Israel and (after 1967) the Holocaust informed a reaffirmation on the part of many American Jews of their Jewish identity. The rapid economic rise of the bulk of the American Jewish community into the middle and upper-middle classes during the postwar period remade the lifestyle of American Jews, so that in many aspects Jews became part of the American establishment. This was particularly true in the realms of academic and artistic endeavor, where Jews became a dominant force during this era. It was thus no longer necessary to play down the fact of one's Jewishness or to make the defensive choice of highlighting it, because the open society, within which older traditions – including the dominant Christian one – were clearly under attrition, was then making no assimilatory demands in the name of an American ideology.

The behavior pattern of this post-World War II generation has been described in innumerable sociological studies. Jews associate socially overwhelmingly with other Jews, and the great majority of their children, in towns outside New York, receive some minimal amount of Jewish education. On the other hand, the rate of intermarriage has risen steadily, to the point at which it is between 40 and 50 percent for marriages started between 1985 and 2001, especially among the most highly educated. While Yiddish as a spoken language has experienced some measure of renaissance amongst academics, there has not been a revival of the language, and its use as a spoken language is limited to some sectarian Orthodox groups. In point of fact, English (and not Hebrew) has become the *lingua franca* of the Jewish people. The countertendencies to this pattern of nonideological attrition are to be found in one or two social groups within American Jewry and in some of the work of the organized community as a whole. Jewish parochial schools have become the dominant form of education among the Orthodox and some of the Conservative Jews; such schools now contain a very large number of students. The postwar immigration from Europe reinforced pockets of Hasidic ghetto existence and created a number of new ethnic neighborhoods and enclaves, chiefly in New York. American Zionism had never had the fostering of *aliyah* to Israel as one of its prime purposes, and the increase in numbers who have chosen to immigrate to Israel from almost nothing in the early 1950s to more than 5,000 in 1969 was nonetheless relatively small. Yet there have been increased efforts on the part of almost every American Jewish body aimed at intensifying Jewish education and increasing the connection between American Jews and Israel.

The worsening of race relations in America in the 1960s and the concomitant tensions between Jews and blacks again posed the question of assimilation in an ideological way. Black emphasis on black identity has evoked much more identification with blacks among some younger Jews than with their own Jewish identity. In the 1960s and early 1970s the New Left tended to align itself with the "Third World," and thus sided with the Arabs against Israel. Many young Jews, heavily represented in these causes, tended to see their inherited Jewish identity as bourgeois and belonging to the camp of the oppressors, and thus need to be exorcised. During the *Six-Day War, however, the overwhelming majority of American Jewish youth were as involved as were their parents. Yet the emphasis on black identity also had a paradoxically important affect on American Jews, who felt free to emphasize their own Jewish experience in public and to proclaim it explicitly. Young Jews felt free to wear a "*yarmulke*" in public and Jewish stars as jewelry, an explicit affirmation of identity. On the university campuses, the introduction of Black (later Afro-American) Studies paved the way for the explosion of Jewish Studies, which soon became mainstream.

From the perspective of the history of Jewish assimilation in the United States, these ideological issues are quite secondary. The basic undertow continues to be the family's length of residence in the United States in a non-ghetto, middle class, Western educated milieu within a relatively open society. It is far from certain, even with the revived energy for Jewish particularists living in the United States that has recently been evoked, that the process of unreflective assimilation can be seriously checked. The minority of American Jews that is sectarian appears to be successful in surviving; so do those moving toward *aliyah* to Israel. Some sectarian Jews show remarkable degrees of acculturation. Chabad has mastered the American media and uses a telethon as an important means of fundraising. It also engages in two very American means of organizational management: charismatic leadership was replaced by management and marketing based on the charisma of the founder and local Chabad rabbis are franchises with assigned territories for their work. ArtScroll Publications with its contemporary designs and the emergence of a significant English-language ultra-Orthodox literature also indicates the emergence of English, not Yiddish and Hebrew, as a dominant language even among sectarian Jews.

Substantial numbers of American Jews, however, however, have not yet found an answer to the problem of how to continue to live permanently both within the mainstream of American life and within a Jewish community of their own.

[Arthur Hertzberg / Jerome A. Chanes (2nd ed.)]

In Other Western Countries

The major Jewish communities in this area, those in England and France, seemed on the surface to be going in different directions. In England an increasing rate of intermarriage, a birth rate so small that it was not adequate to maintain the size of the community, and substantial intellectual defection by the young were the marks of ongoing assimilation. On the other hand, Zionist consciousness remained high and the official establishment of Anglo-Jewry has consistently moved in more Orthodox directions (in the religious sense) for the last generation. In addition, Reform and Liberal judaism increasingly provided a set of Jewish religious institutions for non-Orthodox Jews and those not regarded as halakhichally Jewish by the Orthodox.

The so-called "remote" Jewish communities in the English-speaking world – Australia, South Africa, and New Zealand – all reflect a welcome departure from the picture of increased assimilation in the larger English-speaking communities. In Australia, Jewish numbers have steadily risen since World War II, and a range of Jewish institutions, especially a large day school system, has grown up since the late 1940s. More than one-half of school age Jews in Australia attend one or another of Australia's 19 Jewish day school, according to most estimates. Support for Israel and Zionism probably remain stronger and more central to Jewish identity among Australian Jewry than among American or British Jews. Intermarriage rates, too, are remarkably low by normal Diaspora standards and show little signs of rising. After many decades of decline, New Zealand Jewry also appears to be increasing in both size and Jewish identity, with the establishment in the recent past of two Jewish day schools. South African Jewry was long a by-word for an intensely committed, Zionistic Diaspora community, with a long-established range of institutions, including a major day school system in Cape Town, Johannesburg, and elsewhere. The traumas associated with the decline phase of the apartheid system and the institutionalization of a black majority government in the early 1990s of course shook South African Jewry to its core, and the community has declined in size by perhaps one-third, thanks to heavy emigration elsewhere, in the post-apartheid period. Nevertheless, the long-established core institutions of the South African Jewish community have remained intact.

In France, assimilation seemed even more advanced in the immediate aftermath of World War II, for organized Jewish life had been weak even before the Nazi occupation as the assimilating power of French culture had been, and remained, strong. With the end of the Algerian war, Jews were a significant element among the many hundreds of thousands of French citizens who chose to come to France rather than remain in Algeria. This element was far more religious and more consciously identified as Jews than was usual in France at the time. A number of moribund Jewish communities, especially in the south of France, were revived by their presence. The intensified connection with Israel however, was the factor that made the crucial difference in France. For more than a decade, from before the *Sinai Campaign of 1956 until the Six-Day War of 1967, France was Israel's major political and military ally. This relationship served to encourage the involvement of French Jews in affairs concerning Israel. De Gaulle's 1967 turnabout to the policy of arms embargo, followed soon thereafter by his remarks about the particularistic character of the Jews and his anger at their continued involvement with Israel after his policy had changed, acted, contrary to his will, to reinforce that very involvement. Among significant numbers of formerly alienated young people there arose a very visible tendency to study Hebrew, to reassert Jewish identity, and to settle in Israel.

In the ensuing years, the percentage of Jews identifying themselves as Sephardim (70 percent in 2002) continued to increase, indicating a decline through assimilation of the old Ashkenazi population. Though most of these French Jews were now French-born, they still had a strong sense of their Jewishness. According to a survey commissioned by the Fonds Social Juif Unifié and published in 2002, 80 percent of the Jews surveyed would choose to be born Jews, 70 percent had Jewish spouses (60 percent in the under-30 group), 86 percent considered Jewish education important, and 86 percent felt close to Israel. Half lit Sabbath candles and only 30 percent defined themselves as non-practicing Jews.

[Arthur Hertzberg / William D. Rubenstein and Fred Skolnik (2nd ed.)]

In the Soviet Union

After the October Revolution (1917), the Soviet government, under the leadership of *Lenin, was faced with a complicated Jewish problem. On the one hand, Bolshevik doctrine regarded the total assimilation of Jews as an essential feature of social progress and an indispensable prerequisite of the socialist order. On the other hand, the revolutionary regime found millions of Jews living in territorial concentration – mainly in the former *Pale of Settlement – with their own language, culture, and, for the most part, a strong sense of Jewish identity, either in its original religious form or in its national, or even

"Bundist" variation. Even Jews in the metropolitan centers and the large cities, who had embraced the Russian language and culture, were, in large measure, "Russians outside and Jews in their tents" (to adapt the famous phrase of J.L. Gordon). The new Soviet regime was therefore forced to regard the Jews as a "nationality" with its own linguistic and cultural character, similar to all the other ethnic groups ("nationalities") that the Revolution had promised to liberate from the forced Russification practiced under Czarist rule. Thus, a special Soviet system of Jewish education, press, literature, and theater – almost all in Yiddish – came into being, an "official" Soviet-Jewish culture which sought to dissociate itself from the prerevolutionary sources of the Hebrew language, Jewish culture, and historical consciousness. In spite of its official character, this Soviet-sponsored culture served hundreds of thousands of Jews and their children in the 1920s and early 1930s as the means of preserving their Jewish identity, while in their hearts many of them remained true to Hebrew language and the genuine Jewish culture.

Side by side with these efforts to retain some Jewish identity, many Soviet Jews streamed to the centers of government and constructive action and also sought to enter professions from which they had been barred in the Czarist past. Hundreds of thousands of Jews converged upon Moscow, Leningrad, and other urban centers, and a great many were absorbed in the government administration, the party apparatus, and in the economic, legal, and military professions. Although most of them made no attempt to hide their Jewish origin, they and their families quickly adopted the Russian culture and language, and their Jewish identity soon became devoid of any cultural content. Nevertheless, even these "assimilationists" could not call themselves "Russians," "Ukrainians," etc., for these terms define a person's ethnic origin. The Soviet Union does not use the word "Soviet" as a general term denoting national belonging, (the way "American" is used in the United States). Thus there were two parallel and seemingly contradictory processes at work; one being the development of an official Yiddish culture, and the other a drive toward rapid acculturation, especially among the masses of Jews who had left the Jewish towns for the metropolitan centers. Most of the latter regarded their Jewish "nationality" as a marginal detail, which in the course of time would be superseded by the emerging "supra-national" socialist society. Those who continued to adhere to Yiddish were able to express themselves as Jews, though only within the confines of official Yiddish culture. There was, however, a third kind of Jew, who, by semi-legal or illegal means, gave his children a Jewish religious education (especially among the Ḥasidim in Western Russia and the non-Ashkenazi Jewish communities in the Caucasus and in the Asian republics). Some even made efforts to foster Hebrew language and literature. The number of these Jews, however, was pitifully small, and they had little contact with one another.

The territorialist experiment of *Birobidzhan was too small and of too short a duration to have any effect upon these developments, for the entire project came to an abrupt end when the Jewish leadership of the "Autonomous Region" was liquidated in the great purges. The purges of the late 1930s also brought about the almost-complete liquidation of the institutions and machinery of Soviet Yiddish culture and deprived the great mass of nonassimilated Jews even of this tenuous official framework of Jewish life. Thus a new period was ushered in before World War II, in which the Jewish population was practically deprived of the last shreds of a legitimate Jewish culture and forced to assimilate to the majority i.e., Russian culture. Jews were, however, denied the possibility of a complete social assimilation and disappearance into the majority population for they continued to be identified as Jews "by nationality," in accordance with the traditional ethnic structure of East European society. The reintroduction at the end of 1932 of the czarist-style "passports" system, under which every Soviet citizen was obliged to have an identity card on his person, meant that every Jew, both of whose parents were Jewish, was marked in his personal documents as a Jew "by nationality." This greatly facilitated the various subtle methods of anti-Jewish discrimination employed by the Soviet authorites since the days of *Stalin; but it also served as a significant factor for the retention of Jewish consciousness by the Jews themselves, notwithstanding their deracination from all roots of Jewish religion and culture. During and after World War II Soviet Jews had twice a traumatic experience which shattered their belief in genuine equality and security under the Soviet regime, thus renewing and reinforcing their feelings of Jewish solidarity and identity: first, the fact that large segments of the Soviet population, including young people, actively helped the German occupants to exterminate their Jewish fellow citizens and that even army men and anti-German partisans often displayed hostile anti-Jewish attitudes; and later, Stalin's undisguised antisemitic policy in 1948–53, during the "anti-cosmopolitan" campaign and the "*Doctors' Plot" But even in normal times, the paradox between forced deracination and cultural assimilation, on one hand and official identification of Jews "by nationality," on the other, created a peculiar "Marrano" atmosphere among much of Soviet Jewry. This applied in particular to many of the young people who, unlike their parents in their youth, had no faith in any "supra-national" future socialist society. The increasing rebellion of Soviet Jewish youth against the humiliating discrimination contained in this paradox drew more and more upon a positive Jewish consciousness. This in turn, was based upon a profound emotional attachment to the State of Israel, which, for them, represented the "normal" and proud Jewish people. The rebellion expressed itself in a widespread search for the sources of genuine Jewish culture, in attempts to study the Hebrew language, and to acquire knowledge of Jewish history. The mass gatherings of Jewish youth around the synagogues, especially on Simḥat Torah in Moscow and Leningrad, became, in the late Soviet period, a demonstration of their identification with the Jewish people and with Israel and of their protest against the forced assimilation which singled out the Soviet Jew alone among more than 100 Soviet nationalites, to be deprived of his dignity as the son of a historical nation.

[Binyamin Eliav]

With the collapse of the Soviet Union, and even before under Gorbachev's liberalization policies, a great exodus of Soviet Jews commenced, paralleled in the former Soviet Union itself by a revival of communal Jewish life. Thus, in the 1990s, around a million immigrants arrived in Israel from the former Soviet Union. Large numbers also arrived in the United States, Germany (90,000), and Canada. In 2004, just 395,000 "core" Jews (identifying themselves as Jews in official questionnaires) remained in the former Soviet Union, of whom 243,000 lived in the Russian Federation and 89,000 in Ukraine.

In Israel a process of Israelification has definitely set in, most markedly, as was to be expected, among the young and those born to immigrant parents. Ironically, then, the same processes that have historically worked toward assimilation in other host countries, drawing the second generation of Jews away from its ethnic roots, serve to fortify the sense of Jewishness when the assimilation occurs in a Jewish state. To the extent that Russian immigrants cling to something in their past, it is to *Russian* culture and the Russian language.

In the former Soviet Union, a full range of community services under the auspices of the Federation of Jewish Communities, including an extensive educational system, has also fortified Jewish identity. In Germany too, active Jewish community life has been revived by the newcomers.

[Fred Skolnik (2nd ed.)]

In the modern era, acculturation of Jews to the dominant society has occurred quite rapidly whenever educational and economic opportunities have been even partially opened. Any prolonged period of such openness has universally produced substantial numbers of almost completely assimilated Jews. The forces which have fostered Jewish identity throughout this period have been the power of the religious tradition, especially of Jewish education; the repeated reappearances of antisemitism, with its climax in the Nazi era; the assertion of a Jewish national identity, through Zionism and its realization in the establishment of Israel in the last generation; and a growing weariness among some younger people at remaining Jews, marginal even under the best of circumstances, to the majority society. The ultimate result of these forces is an increasing polarization, in which part of world Jewry is quietly disappearing into various forms of secular apostasy and another part is evermore consciously affirming its Jewish character in increasing association with Israel. Each of these elements is presently growing at the expense of a rather tepid middle group, which remains very Jewish, especially in times of crisis, but is slowly evaporating. This middle group is still the majority of world Jewry.

[Arthur Hertzberg]

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ASSOCIATION FOR JEWISH STUDIES (AJS), U.S. learned society and professional organization, founded in 1969, that promotes and maintains teaching, research, and related endeavors in Jewish Studies in institutions of higher education. In the first decade of the 21st century, the AJS had a membership base of approximately 1,500 scholars, teachers, and graduate students, sponsored a well-attended annual conference each December, and published a scholarly journal, *The Association for Jewish Studies Review*, and a newsletter, *AJS Perspectives*. It also served as a focal point for filling academic positions in Jewish Studies. A constituent society of the American Council of Learned Societies since 1984, the AJS had offices at the Center for Jewish History in New York City.

The AJS was established to address the academic needs of its members throughout North America at a time when growing universities with increasingly diverse student populations were open to new academic disciplines. Its growth was stimulated by increasing interest in academic Jewish Studies, inspired in part by the Holocaust, the creation of the State of Israel, and the maturing of the Jewish community in the post-World War II era.

Under the leadership of its first president, Leon Jick, the AJS addressed issues connected with teaching Jewish Studies in secular institutions rather than in seminaries. The organization debated how Jewish Studies should relate to the general university curriculum and whether Jewish Studies should be taught in a separate department or if each subject area within Jewish Studies should be integrated within its academic discipline. Questions were also raised about whether the Jewish Studies professor should function solely as an academic scholar and teacher, or also serve as an adviser and mentor to the Jewish student body. The AJS attempted to delineate academic qualifications for positions in Jewish Studies and to develop guidelines for how and where professors of Jewish Studies might be trained. Many of these issues continue to be discussed almost four decades later.

The governance of the AJS was based on that of other American learned societies, with a president and executive committee, a board of directors, and an executive secretary. The annual conferences were organized to allow for intense scholarly discourse and personal communication. The AJS inaugurated a *Newsletter*, first edited by A.J. Band, designed to incorporate AJS business, abstracts of lectures, and reviews of scholarly books in the field. The Association also offered its services as a professional address for bringing together new positions and potential candidates for them. In the 1970s, Baruch Levine, the second president, secured a grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities to sponsor a series of regional conferences to bring accomplished scholars in a variety of areas to universities throughout the land. These events yielded both a host of lecture abstracts published in the *AJS Newsletter* and a series of five volumes of conference proceedings edited by S.D. Goitein (*Religion in a Religious Age*, 1974), J. Katz (*The Role of Religion in Modern Jewish History*, 1974), H. Paper (*Jewish Languages: Themes and Variation*, 1978), F. Talmage (*Studies in Jewish Folklore*, 1980), and J. Dan and F. Talmage (*Studies in Jewish Mysticism*, 1982).

These various undertakings, primarily performed by successive presidents with the crucial assistance of Charles Berlin, the third executive secretary (1973–95), propelled the AJS to the central position it obtained in the academic world. In the late 1990s, the title of executive secretary was changed to executive director, and the position was successively filled by Aaron Katchen (1995–2003) and Rona Sheramy (2003-).

Between 1973 and 1984, the *AJS Newsletter* (from 2000, *AJS Perspectives*) published conference abstracts, précis of selected papers from the annual conferences, and serious reviews of scholarly books in Jewish Studies. In 1976, publication of a scholarly journal, *The AJS* Review, was inaugurated, edited first by Frank Talmage (1976–83). An AJS website was established in the early 21st century.

The annual conferences developed from modest beginnings in 1969 and continued to expand in attendance and content throughout the next three and a half decades. By the mid-1980s a separate Conference Program was published; in 2004, the conference met for two and a half days, and offered more than 120 different panels, sessions, and other events of scholarly interest. The venue of the early conferences was not fixed; from the mid-1970s to the mid-1990s it convened at the Copley Plaza Hotel, Boston, before moving to other larger Boston locations. Beginning in 1999, the AJS began scheduling the annual conference in other cities, as well, including Washington, D.C., Chicago, Los Angeles, and San Diego.

Special interests sessions focusing on specific aspects of Jewish Studies were introduced by 1979. The most enduring of these has been the Women's Caucus, founded independently of AJS in 1986. The Caucus, which is now affiliated with AJS and open to all AJS members, sponsors a breakfast meeting at each year's conference, co-sponsors an academic session at each conference, and has prepared a syllabus collection and directories of its members to further academic and professional networking. While the first conference in 1969 was attended by only one female scholar, by the 1990s over one-third of participants were women.

AJS Review editors have been the following:
 Frank Talmage, 1976–1983, I–VIII
 Robert Chazan, 1984–1989, IX–XIV
 Norman Stillman, 1990–1999, XV–XXIV
 Jay M. Harris, 2000–2004, XXV–XXVIII, 1
 Hillel Kieval and Martin Jaffee, 2004– , XXVIII, 2–

AJS Executive Secretaries/Directors have been the following:
 Bernard Reisman, 1970–1971
 Michael Fishbane, 1972
 Charles Berlin, 1973–1995
 Aaron Katchen, 1995–2004
 Rona Sheremy, 2004–

AJS Presidents have been the following:
 Leon Jick, 1969–1971
 Baruch Levine, 1972
 Arnold J. Band, 1973–1975
 Marvin Fox, 1976–1978
 Michael A. Meyer, 1979–1980
 Jane Gerber, 1981–1983
 Nahum Sarna, 1984–1985
 Ruth R. Wisse, 1986–1988
 Robert Chazan, 1989–1991
 Herbert Paper, 1992–1994
 Robert Seltzer, 1995–1997
 David Berger, 1998–2000
 Lawrence Schiffman, 2001–2003
 Judith R. Baskin, 2004–

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[Arnold J. Band (2nd ed.)]

ASSOCIATION OF HOLOCAUST ORGANIZATIONS (**AHO**), organization established in 1985 to serve as an international network of organizations and individuals for the advancement of Holocaust programming, awareness, education, and research. Among its functions and services are annual conferences held every June, a winter seminar at the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum held every January, a listserv for members, a guide to curriculum evaluation, and a website (www.ahoinfo.org). There are also regional branches which meet independently. The AHO publishes an annual directory of its membership which is intended to facilitate the aims of the organization. It is distributed, free of charge, to all organizations and individuals who can make use of the information which it contains. The 1988 AHO Directory listed 48 members; the 2005 AHO Directory lists 231 full and affiliate members, representing a new type of organization, Holocaust museums, education, documentation and commemoration centers that have come into being from the late 1970s onward in the United States and increasingly throughout the world.

The AHO is governed by a nine-member board of directors, which is elected by and from the membership at its annual business meeting. The term of office is two years. The AHO is run on a volunteer basis. Membership dues cover the expenses of the organization.

[William Shulman (2nd ed.)]

ASSUMPÇÃO, DIOGO DA (1579–1603), Marrano martyr. Assumpção was born at Viana in Portugal. Only partly Jewish by descent, he was brought up as a devout Christian and became a Franciscan friar. His attention was directed to Judaism because of the ferocity with which it was persecuted, and in due course he made no secret of the fact that he accepted its tenets. Arrested by the Inquisition while attempting to escape abroad, he at first professed penitence, but later proudly confessed himself an adherent of the Law of Moses, "in which he lived and hoped to die, and to which he looked for salvation." Even in prison, he attempted to observe the Sabbath and dietary laws as he understood them, refused to take an oath on the Gospels, and argued vigorously against the theologians brought to convince him of his error. His execution by burning alive at the auto-da-fé held at Lisbon on Aug. 3, 1603, created a profound impression. He was considered one of the exemplary martyrs of the Inquisition by the communities abroad, and a number of elegies were composed in his honor. In Portugal, some devout Marranos formed a religious association in his memory, called the Brotherhood of S. Diogo in order to divert suspicion. His martyrdom inspired in particular the Marrano group in the University of Coimbra led by Antonio *Homem.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Roth, Marranos, 149–51; Barnett, in: JQR, 15 (1924/25), 213–19; Archives of Torre do Tombo, Lisbon, *Inquisicão de Lisboa*, proc. no. 104 (in the course of publication).

[Cecil Roth]

ASSUR (Heb. אַשּׁוּר, Ashur), city situated on the west bank of the Tigris about two-thirds of the way between the confluence of the Great and Little Zab rivers; in the province of Mosul in northern Iraq. The ancient ruins are known as Qalʿat Sharqāt, which means "the Fortress of the Sharqātis." The Sharqātis are a local Arab tribe which, thanks to the experience acquired at this site, subsequently provided skilled labor for other excavations in the region. Reports about this imposing site overlooking the Tigris were brought back to the West by travelers early in the 19th century. Excavations were first undertaken by several British expeditions between 1847 and 1880 under the direction of A.H. Layard and H. Rassam, whose publications helped to arouse European interest in Assyriology. From 1903 to 1914 the site was systematically excavated by W.H. Andrae for the Deutsche Orientgesellschaft. That organization's reports provided a running account of the finds and furnished the definitive report on the site (W.H. Andrae, *Anu-Adad-Temple in Assur,* 1909). The statement in Genesis 2:14 that the river Tigris flows "east of Assur" is assumed by some to mean the city Assur rather than the country Assyria, since the Tigris actually passes west of the Assyrian cities named in Genesis 10:11–12. But the phrase may mean, rather, "in the eastern part of Assyria," since Assyria was often regarded as extending westward practically, or even actually, to the Euphrates (cf. Isa. 7:20; 8:7; 11:15–16).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: B. Mazar, in: EM, 1 (1965), 754–60 (incl. bibl.).

ASS WORSHIP. Numerous Greek and Latin writers allude to a widespread belief that Jews, and subsequently Christians, observed some form of ass worship. The earliest mention of this cult is by Mnaseas of Patras (third–second centuries B.C.E.) who, according to *Apion (Jos., Apion, 2:112ff.), refers to the "golden head of an ass" in the Temple sanctuary. Apion maintains that this ass's head was worshiped by the Jews, the fact coming to light "on the occasion of the spoliation of the Temple by Antiochus Epiphanes, when the head, made of gold and worth a high price, was discovered" (*ibid.*, 80). This account is similar to that of Posidonius of Apamea (c. 135–51 B.C.E.), who claims that Antiochus Epiphanes found in the Temple the statue of a bearded man, apparently Moses, sitting upon an ass and holding a book. Another Greek writer, Damocritus (first century B.C.E.–C.E.; see Suidas, *Lexicon*, ed. by A. Adler, 2 (1931), 5, no. 49, s.v. Δαμόκριτος), in his book "About the Jews" charges the Jews with sacrificing a human being to the head of a golden ass once every seven years. Suidas himself shortens the interval to three years (*ibid.*, 641, s.v. ᾿Ιούδας καὶ ᾿Ιουδαὶος). Plutarch (*Quaestiones convivales*, 4:5) also refers to the Jews' worship of the ass, giving it as a reason for their abstention from the flesh of the hare, whose flesh is similar to that of the ass. Tacitus (*Historiae*, 5:3ff.) tells of a herd of wild asses which led Moses and the Jews to a spring when they were sorely in need of water, the Jews, in consequence, elevating the ass to an object of worship (cf. Gen. 36:24).

The Christians apparently inherited the ass-cult accusation from the Jews. According to Tertullian (*Apologeticus* 16; *Ad Nationes* 1:2) the close relationship between Judaism and Christianity causes some people to believe that "an ass's head is our God." A presumably satiric graffito found in Rome in 1856 depicts a man with the head of an ass nailed to a cross. Christian Gnostic sects may indeed have observed some form of ass worship. In the Gnostic book Γέννα Μαρίας (Epiphanius of Salamis, *Adversus Haereses*, 26:10, 12) the spirit Sabaot is said to have had the form of an ass, and the prophet *Zechariah saw a man in similar form in the Temple of Jerusalem.

None of the above, however, solves the basic question of the origin of Jewish ass-worship legends. It has been pointed out that the Jewish religion was often identified with the Dionysus-Bacchus cult (see Frankel, in MGWJ, 9 (1860), 125ff.) which held the ass sacred, both Bacchus and his companion Silenus constantly riding upon an ass. Hence, Greek and Roman writers who were unfamiliar with Jewish worship may have associated the Jews with some form of ass worship. Another solution would associate the Jews with the Egyptian cult of Typhon-Seth, in which the ass played an important part (Tcherikover, *Hellenistic Civilization and the Jews* (1959), 365; Finkelstein, in HTR, 35 (1942), 301). It is interesting to note that the Septuagint translates *ḥamor* usually as ὄνος, but 12 times there is the uncommon ὑποζύγιον. It has been suggested that when the Scriptures deal with some aspect of religious belief, the translators of the Septuagint, in their awareness of the ass-worship accusations, attempted to eliminate any association with ὄνος (e.g., Zech. 9:9).

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[Isaiah Gafni]

ASTI, city in Piedmont, N.W. Italy. Jews are mentioned in Asti in a document of 812, but its authenticity is doubtful. In the 14th century a number of Jews expelled from France found refuge in Asti, then an important commercial center, and neighboring towns. They retained the French rite, specifically for the New Year and the Day of Atonement: the "Apam" (properly "Afam") rite (מנהג אפם), so called after the Hebrew initials of the three towns Asti, Fossano, and Moncalvo (see *Liturgy). Now long relinquished, the prayers have been preserved in many manuscripts. There was a *blood libel accusation in 1553. The Regie Costituzioni of 1723 and 1729 established separate quarters for the Jews in all the royal domains. The ghetto became compulsory in 1730. Napoleon's decrees of December 1798 and February 1799 abolished the ghetto. It is difficult to establish the number of the Jews in Asti before the census ordered by King Carlo Emanuele III in 1761; in that year there were 38 families, numbering 196 Jews. In 1774 the number of Jews rose to 400. There were anti-Jewish riots in Asti in 1803. The *Artom family derived from here. During the Nazi persecution 51 members of the community were killed. In 1970 about 20 Jews lived in Asti. At the turn of the 20th century Asti no longer had a functioning Jewish community and was under the jurisdiction of the community of Turin, as were all the other nonfunctioning communities of Piedmont (Alessandria, Carmagnola, Cherasco, Cuneo, Mondovì, Saluzzo, and Ivrea).

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[Attilio Milano / Manuela Consonni (2nd ed.)]

ASTORGA, city in the province of Leon, N.W. Spain. Jews were living in the fortified section of Astorga as early as the 11th century. Later they inhabited two quarters in the city. A street called the Garden (Paseo) of the Synagogue formerly ran beside the old city wall. Many Jews in Astorga were forcibly converted to Christianity in 1230–31. Although there is no record of the fate of the Jews of Astorga during the 1391 massacres, they suffered in the persecutions of 1412. At the synod held in *Valladolid in 1432, the Astorga community claimed privileges exempting them from payment of crown taxes. The community existed until the expulsion of the Jews from Spain in 1492.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Baer, Spain, 2 (1966), index; Baer, Urkunden, 2 (1936), index; M. Rodríguez Díez, *Historia de Astorga* (1909); F. Cantera, *Sinagogas Españolas* (1955), 166–7; Suárez Fernández, Documentos, index.

ASTRAKHAN, Volga port, capital of Astrakhan district, Russia. The "Jewish Statute" of 1804 (see *Russia) included the province (*gubernia*) of Astrakhan in the *Pale of Settlement. However, in 1825 Jewish settlement in this government was prohibited. The "Jewish Statute" of 1835 excluded the province of Astrakhan from the Pale and the 49 Jews were ordered to leave. Shortly afterward a community was again established by Jewish soldiers stationed in the town. In 1850 Jewish merchants from the Caucasus obtained permission to visit Astrakhan twice yearly for a total of not longer than six months in the year. In the second half of the 19th century, Jews in categories with the right of domicile outside the Pale moved there. An Ashkenazi synagogue was established in 1866, and in 1879 the Oriental Jews, who used to visit Astrakhan on business, also founded a synagogue. In 1897 there were 2,164 Jews living in Astrakhan; in 1926, 5,904 (3.4% of the total population); and in 1939, 4,077 (1.61%). In 1970 there were 3,462 Jews in Astrakhan with a synagogue and a cemetery. The synagogue was attacked in 1964 and there were reports of Jews having been murdered. Hooligans were arrested but were not brought to trial. Jewish community life revived in the 1990s. The restored synagogue was reopened in 2003, and Shlomo Zalman Goldenberg became the first rabbi to serve the city in 70 years. The number of Jews was estimated at 3,000 in 2002.

[Eliyahu Feldman]

ASTROLOGY, the study of the supposed influence of the stars on human events and the predictions based on this study.

Bible and Apocrypha

There is no explicit mention of astrology in the Bible, but two biblical passages dealing with the diviner (*menaḥesh*) and soothsayer (*me'onen*; Lev. 19:26; Deut. 18:10) were understood by the rabbis as bearing relation to astrology (Sanh. 65b–66a; cf. Maim. Yad, Avodah Zarah 11:8, 9). The prophets were aware of the practices of "star-gazers" (*ḥoverei ha-shamayim*) among the Babylonians and other peoples but they scoffed at them

(Isa. 47:13; Jer. 10:2). In the book of Daniel the Babylonian astrologers are called *kasdim* (Chaldeans), and in Aramaic *kasda'ei* (2:2, 4, 5, 10; 4:14; 5:7, 11). *The Sibylline Oracles* (219–231) praise the Jewish people for refraining from astrology, which is a delusion. The Book of Jubilees (12:16–18) depicts the patriarch Abraham as overcoming the beliefs of the astrologers. The first Book of Enoch (8:3) includes astrology among the sins spread among mortals by the primeval giants (*nefilim*). Josephus, however, writes that astrology was common among the Jews in his days and that Jewish misinterpretation of celestial signs was partially responsible for the outbreak of the revolt against the Romans and its continuation for four years (Jos., Wars, 6:288ff.).

Talmud and the Midrash

In the Babylonian Talmud astrologers are known as *kaldiyyim* (Pes. 113b), Aramaic *kalda'ei* (Shab. 119a, 156b; Yev. 21b) – a term used by the Greeks, Romans, and Syrians. *Iẓtagninin* ("astrologers") and *iẓtagninut* ("astrology") were also common terms. In the Jerusalem Talmud and in Palestinian Midrashim *astrologos* and *astrologiyya* are the most frequent terms. The majority of the talmudic sages believed in the decisive role played by celestial bodies in determining human affairs in the sublunar world. On the one hand the patriarch Abraham and his descendants are spoken of as having been elevated beyond subjection to the stars (Gen. R. 44:12; Yal., Jer. 285), but on the other hand, the blessing bestowed on him in Genesis 24:1 is interpreted as the gift of astrology (Tosef., Kid. 5:17). Astrological consultation is one of the methods suggested by Jethro to Moses for governing the Children of Israel (Mekh., Amalek 2). Several instances are cited of astrologers whose predictions of future events came true (e.g., Shab. 119a). Gentile rulers were considered to have been especially well versed in astrology or to have consulted astrological experts; but knowledge of astrology was also attributed to King Solomon (Eccl. R. 7:23 no. 1). Nevertheless, the rabbis of the Talmud were skeptical of the astrologers' ability to interpret the stars correctly; they conceded the possibility that the astrologers might be able to predict the future by consulting the stars, but claimed that they err in understanding the contents of their forecasts. On the basis of the phrase in Isaiah 8:19, "the familiar spirits that chirp and mutter" (*ha-meẓafẓefim ve-ha-mahgim*), they developed the exegesis: "They gaze (*ẓofin*) and know not at what they gaze, they ponder (*mehaggin*) and know not what they ponder" (Sot. 12b). In several places in the Talmud it is stated that every man has a celestial body (*mazzal*), i.e., a particular star which is his patron from conception and birth (Shab. 53b; BK 2b) and which perceives things unknown to the man himself (Meg. 3a; Sanh. 94a). Two people born under the same star have a bodily and spiritual kinship (Ned. 39b; BM 30b). Not only human beings are influenced by the stars; but "there is not a blade of grass that has not its star in the heavens to strike it and say to it: grow!" Stars in certain constellations (the Pleiades, Orion, Ursa Major) were connected with the growth and ripening of fruits (Gen. R. 10:6).

As among most ancient peoples, eclipses were thought to be an evil portent, particularly for Jews, "because they are accustomed to calamities." According to another opinion, a solar eclipse was a bad omen for the Gentiles, a lunar eclipse for the Jews, since the Jews based their calendar on the moon, while the Gentiles based theirs on the sun (Suk. 29a).

Some held that there was a direct connection between the signs of the days of the week and the characters of those born on those days: a person born on Sunday would have one perfect attribute, either good or bad; a person born on Monday would be irascible, and so forth. According to another opinion, "it is not the sign of the day, but the sign of the hour, that determines." Thus, for example, he who was born under the rule of Venus would be rich and adulterous; he who was born under Saturn (Heb. *Shabbetai*) would have his plans annulled (*maḥshevotav yishbotu*); he who was born under Jupiter (Heb. *Ẓedek*) would be a righteous observer (*ẓidkan*) of the commandments (Shab. 156a).

A number of important *tanna'im* and *amora'im*, such as R. Akiva, R. Johanan, Mar Samuel, Rav Naḥman b. Isaac, were of the opinion that the power of the stars over ordinary mortals did not extend to the People of Israel. "R. Johanan said: there is no star (*mazzal*) for Israel" (Shab. 156a; cf. the statement by R. Samuel, 156b; also, Suk. 29a). R. Ḥanina b. Ḥama held the opposite opinion: "The stars make one wise, the stars make one rich, and there are stars for Israel" (*ibid.*, 156a). The rabbis were divided as to whether a fully virtuous person could transform and abrogate the decrees of the astral configurations for himself. Mar Samuel, who was an astrologer as well as an astronomer, formulated several rules of health and agriculture on the basis of astrological principles (Shab. 129b; Er. 56a); it was his opinion that "righteousness delivers from death" (Prov. 10:2) as it is ordained by the stars (Shab. 129b). Such deliverances were said to have been granted to R. Akiva's daughter and to R. Naḥman b. Isaac and his mother. The contrary position was upheld by Rava: "Life, children, and sustenance – these things depend not on merit, but on the stars" (MK 28a); by way of illustration he cited the histories of several great men of learning and faith. Because of the warnings of the "Chaldeans," R. Joseph refused appointment as head of a yeshivah (Ber. 64a); but R. Yose of Huẓal decreed that "one must not consult the Chaldeans" (Pes. 113b); cf. Rashi and Samuel b. Meir *ad loc.*

In several places in the Talmud (MK 27a; Ned. 56a; Sanh. 20a), one of the customs mentioned is clearly a survival of an ancient astrological belief: an unslept-in bed, called "the bed of Gad" (*arsa de-gadda*), would be kept in the house as a good luck charm. The astrological character of this custom was forgotten and the noun *gad*, originally the name of a star, came to mean simply "luck," as was eventually the case with the term *mazzal* ("star of luck") itself.

Dark Ages

During the eighth to the tenth centuries several famous Jewish astrologers lived in Islamic lands and wrote books on astronomy and astrology. First among these both in chronology and importance was Māshā'allāh; of his many astrological treatises only two in Hebrew translation from the Arabic remain: *Sefer She'elot* ("Book of Queries") and *Sefer be-Kadrut ha-Levanah ve-ha-Shemesh* ("Book on the Lunar and Solar Eclipse"). Both were found among the astrological manuscripts of Ibn Ezra, and accordingly, it has been conjectured that Ibn Ezra himself was their translator. Second to Māshā'allāh in time and rank was Sahl ibn Bishr, who wrote many books on astrology, at least one of which was translated into Hebrew under the title *Kelalim* ("Principles"). Toward the end of the Middle Ages the Hebrew translations of both these astrologers were translated into Latin and printed. Ibn Ezra refers several times to the Persian Jewish astrologer Andruzgar b. Zadi Faruk (ninth century). The Jewish astrologer Abu Dā'ūd, who lived in Baghdad at the beginning of the tenth century, composed the *Sefer Nevu'ot* ("Book of Prophecies") which also appeared in Arabic. Several astrological treatises in Arabic composed in the ninth and 11th centuries, some anonymous, were translated into Hebrew, and some of them, apparently by Jewish translators, into Spanish. Hebrew translations of Arabic version of the astrological works of Ptolemy, the *Tetrabiblos* and *Centiloquium*, have also been preserved.

Middle Ages

Among medieval Jewish scholars and philosophers who were versed in astrology and considered it to be a true science were *Saadiah Gaon, whose Arabic commentary on the *Sefer Yeẓirah* contains astrological material; Shabbetai *Donnolo, also the author of a commentary (*Ḥakhmoni* or *Taḥkemoni*) on the *Sefer Yeẓirah* possessing special importance for the histories of astronomy and astrology, and of a commentary on the *Baraita di-Shemu'el*, a type of Midrash on astronomy, astrology, and the science of intercalation; Samuel b. Joseph ha-Nagid; Solomon ibn *Gabirol, whose *Keter Malkhut* includes a detailed account of the influence of each of the seven planets on the events of the sublunar world, and who, according to Ibn Ezra (end of his commentary on Daniel), "wished to show that the end of days was dependent on a 'conjunction' of the two superior stars"; and Abraham *Ibn Daud, whose book *Emunah Ramah* argues that the positions of the stars were set at Creation and predictions can be made on the basis of them.

ABRAHAM BAR HIYYA. Abraham b. Ḥiyya and Abraham *Ibn Ezra took a positive position toward astrology. The former even based decisions in practical affairs on astrological considerations. He also undertook to prove from the Talmud that the rabbis of that time in their use of astrology agreed in principle with the gentile sages about the role played by the stars, differing only in that "they say that the power of the stars and the constellations is not a perfect power … all being at the beck and call of God, who can at will set aside their rule and abrogate their decrees whenever He desires." The reason for prohibiting consultations with "Chaldeans" was that in talmudic times certain astrological techniques were compromised by idol worship. In his *Megillat ha-Megalleh* Abraham b. Ḥiyya predicted the date of the coming of the Messiah as 1358.

ABRAHAM IBN EZRA. Abraham ibn Ezra's reputation as a great student of astrology spread beyond Jewish circles. He believed that all beings in the sublunar world were influenced by the configurations of the stars and the zodiac, and that most men were entirely enslaved by the powers of the seven planets (Commentary on Ex. 23:28). Nonetheless, it is within the power of man to free himself of the dictates of the stars by perfecting himself spiritually. In his commentary on Deuteronomy 4:19 Ibn Ezra writes: "It is known from experience that every nation has its own star and constellation and similarly there is a constellation for every city; but God bestowed His greater favor on Israel by rendering them starless and Himself their adviser." In his commentaries on the Bible Ibn Ezra discusses astrological matters at length. To reconcile predestination by the stars and divine providence, he assigns an astrological significance to the two biblical names for God: *Elohim* refers to the Creator in His "natural" manifestations, revealed in conjunction with patterns of the stars, while the Tetragrammaton refers to the Creator as He is manifested miraculously, i.e., as "the pattern smasher." Ibn Ezra interpreted the word *mishpat* ("law") in the phrase *ḥoshen ha-mishpat* ("the breastplate of the Law" – Ex. 28:30) as an allusion to astrology (*mishpetei ha-kokhavim*), that is, to the prediction of events by means of contemplating the astral configurations. This accords with his opinion that the *Urim and Thummim of the high priest were an astrological instrument akin to the *astrolabe, and that by consulting them it was possible to read the future. Ibn Ezra composed a large number of astrological books; some of these were printed, but the majority are in manuscript. Most of these writings were translated into Latin at the close of the 13th century and were printed in 1507; several were also published in a French translation.

JUDAH HALEVI. Judah Halevi never took a definite stand concerning the value and reliability of astrology. He admitted (*Kuzari* 4:9) that the celestial bodies had an influence over terrestrial affairs, that terrestrial (sublunar) life was due to the changing constellations, and that all astrological sayings attributed to the rabbis of old were based on genuine traditions. At the same time, however, he rejected the astrologers' claim that it was possible to determine the exact influence of the stars on sublunar beings. Halevi complained that the Jewish people continued to be seduced by astrological charlatanry despite the biblical injunction to the contrary (*ibid.*, 4:23).

HASDAI CRESCAS AND JOSEPH ALBO. Ḥasdai *Crescas' attitude toward astrology was also skeptical. Inquiring whether the movements of celestial bodies really exercised "leadership and governance over the events of human life," he came to the conclusion that while there is no clear evidence rebutting the assumptions of the astrologers, in view of human free will and divine providence it is nevertheless impossible to attribute an absolutely decisive character to "the dictates of the configurations" (*Or Adonai* 4:4). Crescas' pupil Joseph *Albo followed his approach. He launched a series of attacks against the beliefs of the astrologers based not only on dogmatic considerations but on empirical events as well: many times thousands of people had perished by plague, in war, or had been drowned at sea, yet it was unimaginable that the horoscope of each should have been responsible for his untimely death in the general disaster. Accordingly, Albo fell back upon the opinion of Abraham ibn Ezra that there are several factors capable of annulling the destinies of private individuals (*Sefer Ikkarim* 4:4).

MAIMONIDES. Among the Jewish philosophers of the Middle Ages *Maimonides alone rejected astrology completely, referring to the astrologers' beliefs as vain superstitions unworthy to be called a science. Upon being asked by the rabbis of southern France whether it was possible to combine the theories of astrology with the principles of Judaism, Maimonides replied: "… This science, which is called the decree of the stars … is no science at all, but mere foolery … and it behooves us never to engage in it…. Those who composed treatises upon it… were the Chasdeans, the Chaldeans, the Canaanites, and the Egyptians … however, the wise men of Greece … scorned, mocked, and condemned these four nations… and compiled proofs to reject their notions completely… . I well know that you may seek and find in the Talmud and the Midrashim isolated sayings implying that the stars at the time of a man's birth will have a certain effect upon him… but this need not perplex you," inasmuch as "he is unworthy of pursuing knowledge … who would forsake it for the isolated saying of a rabbi of old who may perhaps have been mistaken…." Maimonides goes so far as to criticize the Jews of antiquity severely for their superstitious faith in astrology, as a result of which they brought upon themselves the destruction of the Temple and exile (Maimonides' epistle to *Jonathan b. David ha-Kohen of Lunel). He also ruled: "Who is a *me'onen* ["soothsayer"]? He who allots dates in the manner of the astrologers, who say … such-and-such a day … is good for performing such-and-such a task, such-and-such a year or month is bad for such-and-such… and even though he does nothing but tell lies, the foolish believe that his words are the truths of the wise. Thus, whosoever heeds the astrologers when he chooses to do something or go somewhere at a certain time, such a one should be punished by stripes, for it is written 'Ye shall not soothsay'" (Yad, Avodah Zarah 11:8–9). Similarly, in his commentary on the Mishnah he speaks of "the falsifying astrologers, who are wise and enlightened in their own eyes" (Sanh. 10 beginning).

Later Thinkers

Despite Maimonides' great prestige, his criticism of astrology had practically no influence on subsequent Jewish writers. With the exception of Joseph b. Judah ibn *Aknin and his enthusiastic admirer R. *Jedaiah ha-Penini (Bedersi), none of the Jewish philosophers of the succeeding generations opposed or deprecated astrology. Even the rationalistic *Levi b. Gershom maintained that the activities and events of a man's life were predestined by the positions and movements of celestial bodies. The astrologers fail, he asserted, first of all because of insufficient knowledge about the movements of the stars and the effects of their changed positions on sublunar beings, and secondly, because of the intervention of intellect and free will, "for the intellect and the will are empowered to carry us beyond the limitations imposed by the celestial bodies" (*Milḥamot Adonai* 2:2). Shem-Tov ibn *Falaquera also considered astrology a true science and made use of it. Many of the great rabbis, commentators, preachers, and ethical teachers dealt with astrology and were favorably disposed toward it; *Abraham b. David of Posquières, in his *Hassagot*, a commentary on Maimonides' *Mishneh Torah*; *Naḥmanides (Commentary on Gen. 1:16; Lev. 23:24, and passim) and his pupil Solomon b. Abraham *Adret (Responsa, no. 652); *Baḥya b. Asher (Commentary on Ex. 11:4; and passim); Isaac *Aboab (*Menorat ha-Ma'or*, 143; passim); Simeon b. Ẓemaḥ *Duran (*Magen Avot*, 72bff., and *Tashbeẓ*, no. 513); Isaac *Abrabanel, who cited many proofs "from the science of astronomy in regard to the celestial conjunctions" for his opinion that the redemption of Israel would begin in 1503 and come to completion in 1531 (*Ma'yenei ha-Yeshu'ah*, 12:2); Isaac *Arama (*Akedat Yiẓḥak*, 34, 56), though he disapproved of eschatological reckonings based on astrology; Moses b. Ḥayyim *Alshekh; *Judah Loew b. Bezalel (Maharal) of Prague, who is reputed to have practiced astrology in the company of his friend Tycho Brahe; David *Gans; Leone of *Modena; Joseph Solomon *Delmedigo of Candia, Jonathan *Eybeschuetz; and *Elijah, *Gaon* of Vilna (Commentary on *Sefer Yeẓirah*). A definitely negative attitude toward astrology was assumed by Azariah dei *Rossi (*Me'or Einayim*, 42, 43).

KABBALISTIC LITERATURE. The Sefer Yeẓirah contains several astrological passages concerning such topics as the relationship of the seven Hebrew consonants that take a *dagesh* to the seven planets and the seven days of the week, and the relationship of the 12 simple consonants to the 12 houses of the zodiac and the 12 months. In the *Sefer Razi'el ha-Malakh* ("Book of the Angel Raziel") the principle basis for a systematic astrology is found, for example: "How can the seers know what a man's life will be as soon as he is born? The ruling planet ascending in the East [at the hour of his birth] is his life's house. If the house of Saturn is in ascension, he will live to be 57, if it is the house of Jupiter, he will live 79 years, and so forth… Saturn presides over wealth, poverty, and the like… Jupiter presides over life, well-being, favorable circumstances, happiness, riches, honor, greatness, and royalty; Mars presides over blood, the sword, and the like… Venus presides over comeliness, grace, appetite… and the like."

The Zohar takes astrology for granted and in several places employs imagery and terminology that are clearly astrological (e.g., 3, *Ki Teẓe*, 281b. *Raya Meheimna*). It is stated explicitly: "All the stars and constellations in the heavens were appointed to be rulers and commandants over the world… there is not a single blade of grass in the entire world over which a star or a planet does not preside, and over that star one [angel] is appointed who serves in the presence of the Holy One Blessed Be He, each according to his merit" (2:171d; see *Mishnat ha-Zohar*, Tishbi-Lachower trans. vol. 1, 1957, 486). Astrological reasons for the commandments (*mitzvot*) are occasionally also given 3:251a–b, *Raya Meheimna*). On the whole, however, the Zohar's kabbalistic system deprives astrology and astrological beliefs of most of their relevance and importance. In Part 3 (*Pinḥas*, 216b, *Raya Meheimna*) it is stated that prior to the giving of the Torah all earthly creatures were dependent on the stars; after the revelation at Sinai, however, God exempted those children of Israel who studied and observed His Law from the rule of the stars, whereas the ignorant and the skeptical "were not absolved from the stars' jurisdictions." In the *Tikkunei Zohar* and other kabbalistic works the seven planets were linked with the seven days of the week and the seven nether spheres; the 12 houses of the zodiac were linked with the 12 months of the year, the 12 tribes of Israel, and the 12 permutations of the Tetragrammaton. According to the *Sefer ha-Peli'ah*, the higher powers descend on the seven planets from the divine name of 42 letters, each planet receiving the influx appropriate to it from six of the letters of that name.

Jewish Astrologers at the Courts of Christian Kings and Popes

Several Jewish astronomers and astrologers served in various royal capitals of Southern and Western Europe as court astrologers. Among them were Judah b. Moses ha-Kohen at the court of Alfonso X of Castile (1252–84); Jacob Alcorsono and Crescas de Vivers at the courts of Pedro IV (1336–87) and John I (1387–89) of Aragon; and Abraham *Zacuto (1450–1510), the author of the *Sefer Yuḥasin*, at the court of Manuel I of Portugal from 1494 until the expulsion of the Jews from Portugal in 1497. Jacob b. Emanuel Provinciale (Bonet de Lattes) served as physician and court astrologer to popes Alexander VI and Leo X. In his *Prognosticum*, dedicated to cardinals Valentiniani and Borgia, he expressed the opinion, based on the prophecies of Daniel and on a conjunction of Jupiter with Saturn in the house of Cancer due to take place on June 10, 1504, that the Messiah would appear in 1505.

Vestiges of Astrology in Jewish Folklore

In the Jewish religious literature of modern times there remain only vestiges of earlier astrological beliefs. On joyful occasions in individual and family life, Jews everywhere congratulate each other by saying *mazzal tov* ("good luck"). A successful person is popularly referred to as a *bar-mazzal* ("one of luck"), and a perennial failure is known as a *ra-mazzal* ("poor luck"; Yid., *shlimazl*; Aram., *bish-gadda*). It was customary in some parts to begin no new undertaking on Mondays or Wednesdays (Sh. Ar., YD 179:2, on the basis of the responsa of Naḥmanides, no. 242), since Mondays were ruled by the moon and nothing could be properly done on them, while Wednesdays were ruled by Mars, a hard patron. Another custom was to perform marriages only in the first half of the month while the moon was waxing (*ibid.*; Naḥmanides, responsum no. 282). R. Mordecai Jaffe explains the custom of fasting on the anniversary of a parent's death (Isserles to Sh. Ar., YD 402:12) as deriving from the belief that on that day the luck of the child is vulnerable. Until recently it was the custom in certain localities to prepare a bed (or table; see Isserles, *ibid.*, 65:11) in a mother's room on the eve of her son's circumcision so that the child should enjoy good luck (*ibid.*, 178:3).

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[Alexander Altmann]

ASTRONOMY.

In the Bible

Although the Bible contains no explicit mention of the science of astronomy, it nevertheless has many references to topics such as the laws of the heavens (Jer. 31:34 [35]; 33:25; Job 38:33) and the movements of the sun and the moon (Josh. 10:13; Ps. 19:6–7; Job 31:26; Eccles. 1:5–6).

The Israelites did not study the stars as did the Babylonians, Egyptians, and Greeks. They may have refrained from too close observation of the celestial bodies out of a fear of idolatry – "When you look up to the sky and behold the sun, and the moon, and the stars, the whole heavenly host, you must not be lured into bowing down to them or serving them…" (Deut. 4: 19). Nevertheless, some basic knowledge of astronomy was essential to fix the dates of festivals and holidays.

THE STARS AND THE PLANETS. The firmament or heavenly vault, the abode of the two "great lights" and the stars, was stretched between the waters above and the waters beneath (Gen. 1:14–18), and was rigid and strong "as a molten mirror" (Job 37:18). The stars of the heaven are as numerous "as the sands on the seashore" (Gen. 22:17); they are also frequently called "the host of heaven." The planets (*mazzalot*; II Kings 23:5) are, according to most biblical interpreters, in the twelve regions of the firmament which are later referred to as the signs of the *Zodiac. Other constellations, the five planets, the sun and the moon, and various individual stars are referred to in the Bible (e.g., cf. Job 38:31–32).

THE SUN AND THE MOON. The sun and the moon are frequently mentioned: the sun is referred to as *shemesh* (Ex. 22:2; Deut. 24:15), *ḥammah* (Isa. 24:23; Job 30:28), and *ḥarsah* (Judg. 14:18). The usual term for the moon *(yare'aḥ)* was also used to designate the lunar cycle (e.g., Ex. 2:2; Deut. 21:13; I Kings 6:37). The moon is also called *levanah* (Isa. 24:23; Song 6:10), and the full moon is called *kese(h)* (Ps. 81:4; Prov. 7:20). The word *ḥodesh* ("month") originally meant "the renewal of the moon," and described the day of the new moon (I Sam. 20:24, 34; Ezek. 26:1) and the length of its cycle (Gen. 29:14).

THE PLANETS SATURN AND VENUS. It is generally agreed that Chiun (Amos. 5:26) refers to Saturn (called *kaiwānu, kai[a]mānu* in Assyrian, and *kaivana* in Syrian). Lucifer (*Heilel*), the "son of the morning" is, according to most interpreters, the planet Venus that is visible at dawn (Isa. 14:12). In Arabic, Venus is called *al-Zuhara* ("the bright one.").

THE FIXED STARS. In the Bible *kesil* is mentioned four times (Isa. 13:10; Amos 5:8; Job. 9:9; 38:31). Views on its interpretation vary, but it is sometimes taken to represent Orion, which was considered to be one of the giant angels (Gen. 6:4). The Targum Jonathan rendered *kesil*, the "giant" (*nefila*; Job 9:9; 38:31); and in Isaiah 13:10 reference is made to "the stars of the heavens and their titans (*kesileihem*)." *Kimah* is, according to several interpreters, the constellation of the Pleiades. Other commentators identify it as Aldebaran, Arcturus, or Sirius. *Ash* (or *ayish*; Job 38:32) is mentioned with *kesil* and *kimah* (Job 9:9), and R. Judah b. Ezekiel claimed that it is the star called *Yuta*, "the lamb's tail," in Aramaic (Ber. 58b), which is probably Aldebaran. In the Vulgate, *ash* is translated as the Hyades, while the Septuagint gives it as "the Evening Star," i.e., Venus. *Ḥadrei-Teiman* (Job 9:9) is thought to represent the twinkling stars of the Southern firmament – the ship Argo, the Southern Cross, Centaurus and others – which could be observed in the land of Israel in the time of Job but cannot now, because of the precession of the equinoxes (that is, the slow westward movement of the earth's axis which makes the position of the stars change continuously), and thus the zodiac seems to change its position in relation to the horizon over hundreds of years. *Mezarim* in Job 37:9 is possibly a nickname for *mazzalot*, though according to some modern interpreters the *mezarim* are the Great Bear and the Little Bear.

In the Apocrypha

In the Book of Enoch several chapters are devoted to the courses of the heavenly bodies, to the fixing of the length of day and night in the different months, to the moon's course during the month, and to the difference between the solar and lunar years. These astronomical ideas, often inaccurate, were interspersed with legends about angels and spirits. Thus, the angels elevate Enoch through the various spheres of the heavens, and at the fourth he perceives the sun and the moon and a multitude of stars.

In the Talmud and Midrash

It is difficult to discuss fully the knowledge of astronomy in the talmudic period on the basis of the limited material in the Talmud and Midrashim. The knowledge of astronomy possessed by the *tannaim* and *amoraim* was not committed to paper, and only was recorded after its compilation by the *geonim*. The talmudic sages viewed astronomy – the computing of seasons and planets – and knowledge of the month order and the *calendar (intercalation) as important adjuncts to the study of the Torah. They attributed these studies to the ancients of the Bible, and interpreted the verse "And of the children of Issachar that had understanding of the times, to know what Israel ought to do" (I Chron. 12:33) as meaning that the children of Issachar knew how to compute the cycles of the planets in order to learn how Israel would determine the months and leap years. The study of this science was even considered an obligation for the talented person (Shab. 75a). Many of the *tannaim* and *amoraim* were experts in astronomy as, for example, *Johanan b. Zakkai (Suk. 28a), *Gamaliel II, and Joshua b. Hananiah. The last named knew of the existence of a comet which appeared once every seventy years and led mariners astray (Hor. 10a). This was probably Halley's Comet. Among the Babylonian *amoraim*, *Samuel was important in the field of astronomy. He claimed that he could calculate and adjust the festival calendar of the Diaspora, without recourse to an eyewitness' report of the new moon in Israel (RH 20b), and he even made intercalary calculations covering a period of years. The first generations of the *amoraim* were acquainted with a *baraita called "Secrets of Intercalation," in which were written precepts for the sanctification and intercalation of the month (RH 20b). In general, this knowledge was rarely committed to paper, being "secrets of the Torah not to be passed on to all and sundry" (Ket. 112a).

In the eyes of the talmudic sages the earth was the center of creation, with heaven as a hemisphere spread over it. The Midrash conceived the heavens as being made up of several spheres or vaults – the sun, moon, stars, and planets being fixed in the second one (Ḥag. 12b). Nevertheless, a knowledge of the order of the celestial bodies, their path and distances from the earth, existed alongside of the above mythological picture. At the horizon, the heaven and earth "kiss each other," and the earth's diameter from east to west is equivalent to the height of the heavens above the earth (Tam. 32a). The earth is usually described as a disk encircled by water. In the Midrash it is pictured as standing on twelve columns, for the tribes of Israel, or seven columns, for the pillars of wisdom. The columns rest upon water, the water upon mountains, the mountains upon the wind, the wind upon the storm, and the storm is dependent on the arm of the Almighty. Yet with all this there existed a clear recognition of the earth as a sphere (TJ, Av. Zar. 3:1, 42C; Num. R. 13; 14).

MOTIONS OF THE CELESTIAL BODIES. In one *baraita* (Pes. 94b) there are differing opinions regarding the circles of rotation and the planets. "The Jewish sages say 'The sun moves by day beneath the firmament, and by night above the firmament'; the learned of the nations say, 'The sun moves by day beneath the firmament and by night beneath the earth.'" This *baraita* is most important, as it is evidence of a serious interest in celestial mechanics, of an early knowledge of scientific concepts, and of an objective approach to the solution of astronomical problems. The daily changes in the positions of sunrise and sunset in the annual cycle of the sun were well known. These phenomena are explained by the existence of 365 windows in the firmament – 182 in the east, where the sun rises; and 182 in the west, where it sets; and one in the center of the firmament, the place of its first entrance at the time of the Creation (TJ, RH 2:5, 58a; Ex. R. 15:22). The distance traversed in 30 days by the sun, is traversed by the moon in two and one-half days. The sun is called the "Greater Light" and the moon, the "Lesser Light" because the solar year is longer than the lunar year by 11 days (Ex. R. ibid.). As for the courses of the planets, it is said (Gen. R. 10:4) " there is a planet that finishes its cycle in 12 years – that is Jupiter; and there is a planet which finishes its cycle in 30 years – that is Saturn; except for Venus and Mars that do not finish their cycles for 480 years." The figures given for Jupiter and Saturn are correct, according to the geocentric system of the motion of the planets, but the figures relating to Venus and Mars were wholly inaccurate and they seem to have been regarded as doubtful in quite early times.

A concept of the solar motions is found in the *baraita* (Ber. 59b), which is explained by a great cycle of 28 years, at the end of which the sun returns to its original position relative to the stars and planets. The *aggadah* even accurately works out the time of the start of both the solar and lunar cycles (Targ. Jon., Gen. 1:16). The great cycle of the moon is also mentioned, being 21 years (Pd–RE 7); there is also a possible hint of a cycle of 19 years (Targ. Jon., Gen. 1:14). This length of time is the basis for calendar calculation, having been fixed at a much later period, and it remains valid up to the present day. The monthly changes in the shape of the moon are also well described (Ex. R. 15:26), and it is clear that various writers on this problem were not too far from the truth.

THE FOUR SEASONS. (*Tekufot*). The change of season and the comparison of day and night are fairly well described: "there are four seasons of the year, from the Nisan season to the Tammuz season the day borrows from the night, and from the Tammuz season to the Tishri season the day repays the night; from the Tishri season to the Tevet season the night borrows from the day, and from the Tevet season to the Nisan season the night repays the day; during the Nisan season and Tishri season, neither one owes anything to the other" (Mid. Ps. 19:3). Samuel gives reasonably accurate figures regarding the periods between the seasons (Er. 56a), but when he discusses the fixing of the dates of the seasons, he allows imaginary bases to be included.

THE PLANETS, THE ZODIAC, STARS, AND COMETS. The names of the planets – Saturn, Jupiter, the Sun, Mars, Venus (or *Kokhevet*), Mercury (or *Kokhav Ḥammah*), and the Moon – are referred to collectively in an acrostic as שצ״מ הנכ״ל. The 12 signs of the Zodiac and their relation to the months of the year are Aries (Nisan), Taurus (Iyyar), Gemini (Sivan), Cancer (Tammuz), Leo (Av), Virgo (Elul), Libra (Tishri), Scorpio (Marḥeshvan), Sagittarius (Kislev), Capricorn (Tevet), Aquarius (Shevat), and Pisces (Adar). From the astrological viewpoint, the 12 signs of the Zodiac have different influences on the "four winds of heaven," and sometimes there is a symbolic connection with the 12 tribes of Israel (Yal., Ex. 418; Yal., I Kings 185). In addition to the stars mentioned in the Bible, there is also a reference to the Milky Way (Ber. 58b). The meteors mentioned in the Mishnah (Ber. 9:2) are comets (Ber. 58b), and Samuel admitted that he did not know their nature. The "*Baraita* of Samuel," which was traditionally written by the *amora* Samuel, is ascribed by some to the ninth century (see below).

Astronomy in the Middle Ages

The principal contributions of medieval Jewry to astronomy were the calculation of the Hebrew *calendar; the translation of Arabic works and the diffusion of knowledge from the Arabic world; and the compilation of astronomical tables for scientific and navigational purposes. *Ptolemy, the Alexandrian astronomer of the second century C.E., compiled the *Almagest (Syntaxis Mathematica)*, a long work in 13 books systematizing the structure of the universe and Greek astronomy. The *Almagest* dominated astronomical and astrological thought for 14 centuries, becoming the authority on astronomy and the major source for astronomical commentaries and translations in the medieval period. The Jews were of major importance to scholastic Europe and the beginning of the Renaissance, in that they provided a link between the Arabic translations, commentaries, and compilations of the *Almagest* and the Christian astronomers, mostly by means of their own translations and commentaries in Hebrew or Latin. One of the first Hebrew translations of the Arabic version of the *Almagest* was made by Jacob *Anatoli between the years 1231 and 1235 as *Ḥibbur ha-Gadol ha-Nikra al-Magesti*. Anatoli also translated *Averroes' summary of the *Almagest* under the title *Kiẓẓur al-Magesti*, and *Kitāb fial-Ḥarakāt al-Samāwiyya* ("The Book on the Heavenly Movements") by the ninth-century Arabic astronomer al-Farghānī (Alfraganus) under the title *Yesodot ha-Tekhunah*. The compendium of Ptolemy's *Almagest* in Arabic by Ibn Aflaḥ ha-Ishbili (the 12th-century Spanish astronomer), known also as Abu-Muhammad Jābir ibn Aflaḥ, is mentioned by *Maimonides in the *Guide of the Perplexed* (2:9). Ibn Aflaḥ's book (*Kitāb al-Hay'd*, "The Book of Astronomy") is important for its critical appraisal of the Ptolemaic system of the universe, and was translated into Hebrew in two versions: one by Moses ibn *Tibbon (the 13th-century French physician and translator in 1274), and another, apparently, by Jacob b. Machir ibn *Tibbon (Don Profiat), which was abridged by Samuel b. Judah of Marseilles (the 14th-century French physician) in 1335. Moses ibn Tibbon also translated *Eisagōgē eis ta Phainomena* ("Introduction to Celestial Phenomena") of the first-century B.C.E. Greek philosopher, Geminus, under the title of *Ḥokhmat ha-Kokhavim* or *Ḥokhmat Tekhunah ha-Kaẓar* or *Sefer ha-Ḥokhmah ha-Kaddurit*, in 1246 at Naples. He also translated *Kitâb al-Hay'a* ("The Book on Astronomy") by the Arab astronomer al-Biṭrūjī of Seville (d. 1185) under the title *Ma'amar bi-Tekhunah* in 1259. The latter work had a great influence on Jewish scholars up to the 16th century. Jacob b. Machir translated around 1271 *Fi-Hay'at al-ʿÂlam* ("On the Astronomy of the Universe" as *Sefer ha-Tekhunah*) by Abuʿali ibn al-Haytham (11th century), describing the quadrant and astronomy. Samuel b. Judah of Marseilles translated the treatise on the movement of the fixed stars (*Ma'amar bi-Tenu'at ha-Kokhavim ha-Kayyamim*), by Abu Isḥaq Ibrahim ibn Yaḥya al-Zarqālī (also known as Zarqāla or Zarqallah) of Cordova (second half of the 11th century). Moses b. Elijah the Greek (probably the 15th-century Moses Galeno) translated a study of astronomy by Omar ibn Muhammad under the title, *Sefer Mezukkak*. The Christian Jacob Christmann translated into Latin the Hebrew translations of the summary of the *Almagest* by Jacob Anatoli and al-Farghānī's book on astronomy (Frankfurt, 1590). Abraham de *Balmes (d. 1524) translated into Latin Moses ibn Tibbon's Hebrew translation of Geminus' work on astronomy (see above), under the mistaken title *Isagogicon Astrologiae Ptolemaei*, as well as Jacob b. Machir's Hebrew translation of the above work by Ibn al-Haytham, under the title *Liber de Mundo*.

The following are among those who published commentaries on the *Almagest*: Samuel ben Judah of Marseilles (14th century), David ibn *Naḥmias of Toledo (beginning of 14th century), and Elijah *Mizraḥi (d. 1525). Commentaries on the Hebrew translation of al-Farghānī's work were composed by Moses Handali (possibly 13th century), Isaac b. Samuel abu al-Khayr (c. 1340), Maimon of Montpellier (of unknown date; see *Montpellier), and Judah ibn Verga (1457). There exists a shortened version of the *Almagest* which was possibly written by Ḥayyim *Vital.

At the end of the Middle Ages books in Latin were also translated into Hebrew. The essay by the German astronomer, Johannes de Gamundia (1380–1442), "*De ratione componendi et usu novi instrumenti*" was translated by David Kalonymus b. Jacob Meir Kalonymus under the title *Marot ha-Kokhavim* (1466). *Theorica Planetarum* of Georg Peuerbach (1423–1461) was translated twice: once by Ephraim Mizraḥi, and a second time by Moses b. Baruch *Almosnino (1510–1580). John de Sacrobosco (John of Holywood, the Parisian mathematician and astronomer who died in 1256) wrote the famous *Tractatus de Sphaera*, which elucidated and incorporated Ptolemy's *Almagest* and the work of al-Farghānī (see above) and which soon replaced both these books. It was translated into Hebrew around 1399 by *Solomon b. Abraham (Avigdor) of Montpellier as the *Mareh ha-Ofannim*.

Several Arabic essays were translated into European languages, especially Latin and Spanish. These translations were, in fact, the main channels for the progress of astronomy in medieval Europe. In 1256 Judah b. Moses ha-Kohen of Toledo translated into Spanish the *Kitāb al-Kawākib* ("Book of the Stars") of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Sūfī (tenth century) under the title *Libro de las figuras* and the astrological treatise *Kitāb al-Bārie* by Ibn Abu al-Rijāl (11th century) under the title *Libro complido*. Commentaries on the *Tractatus de Sphaera* by John de Sacrobosco were published in the 16th and 17th centuries by Moses b. Baruch Almosnino, Mattathias *Delacrut (1550), and Manoah Handil b. Shemariah (Polish author who died in 1612). A commentary on Georg Peuerbach's *Theorica Planetarum* was written by Moses *Isserles in the early 17th century.

In the Middle Ages Jews compiled most of the astronomical tables. Among these, the heretic Jew Sind ibn Ali (829–33) was a principal contributor to the astronomical tables of Caliph Maimun. *Abraham b. Ḥiyya ha-Nasi compiled (before 1136) tables called "*Luḥot ha-Nasi*" ("The Tables of the Prince or al-Battānī's *Tables*"), named after the Arab who died in 929, on whose calculations they were based. Al-Battānī had a great influence on astronomy; Maimonides relied on his tables for computing the sun's path, and his works were also mentioned by *Judah Halevi (12th-century), Abraham *Ibn Ezra (1092–1167), Isaac *Israeli (ninth to tenth century), and several other Hebrew authors. Abraham ibn Ezra compiled astronomical tables on the movements of the seven planets, and translated in 1160 the "Reasons for the al-Khwārizmī Tables" by Ahmad b. Elmenthi. Twelve Jewish astronomers, under the leadership of the Cordovan astronomer, Ibn Arzarkāli (Azarchel), helped to compile the "Toledo Tables" in the 12th century. In 1263 these were translated into Latin by John of Brescia and Jacob b. Machir ibn Tibbon, and later served as a basis in a Spanish version for the famous "Alphonsine Tables." These were prepared in 1272 by a group of astronomers, headed by Isaac *Ibn Sa'id (also Sid). The Latin Tables were translated into Hebrew in 1460 by Moses b. Abraham of Nimes, while a new corrected edition was made by Solomon Davin of Rodez. Commentaries were written by Moses Botarel Farissol in 1465 and Mattathias Delacrut in the 16th century.

Specially significant to the Hebrew astronomers were the "Persian Tables" in Greek, which were compiled late in the 14th century by Georgios Krisokaka. Solomon b. Elijah drew up (in about 1374) a set of astronomical tables with notes, the first section according to the Ptolemaic system and the second "in the manner of the Persians." Before 1525 Elijah Mizraḥi wrote a commentary on the tables "drawn up by the Persian sages."

Astronomical tables were also devised by *Levi b. Gershom (1288–1344), based on sources found in Persia, Egypt, etc. Isaac b. Solomon ibn Elhada (14th to 15th century) prepared tables for periods and seasons based on Ibn al-Raqqān, al-Battāni, and Ibn al-Kammād. Joseph b. Isaac b. Moses *Ibn Waqar, writing in Arabic in 1357, drew up tables for the years 720–840 of the Muslim calendar (i.e., 1342–1462) and in 1396 he translated his book into Hebrew with additions and alterations. Other tables were compiled by Jacob b. Machir (1300), Jacob b. David b. Yom Tov (1361), and Abraham *Zacuto, whose tables and *Almanach Perpetuum* in Latin and Spanish were used by Columbus on his voyages.

EARLY JEWISH ASTRONOMERS. There were comparatively few original works by medieval Jewish astronomers, but of these a number were equal to works of contemporary non-Jewish writers. Of importance was the group of men in the eighth and ninth centuries who took up astronomy professionally. Generally, they practiced as astrologers and their knowledge was derived from Greek and ancient Indian writers. Unfortunately, comparatively few of their writings have been preserved. Some were translated into Latin, and a few works have been found in Hebrew.

Māsha'allāh, whose Hebrew name was possibly Joab or Joel, lived during the second half of the eighth and the beginning of the ninth century, and served in the courts of the caliphs in Baghdad. His essay, "*Sefer be-Kadrut ha-Levanah ve-Ḥibbur ha-Kokhavim u-Tekufat ha-Shanim*" has been preserved in Hebrew. The Persian Jewish astronomer Andruzager b. Zadi Faruch, who lived in the ninth century, is often identified with the expert in intercalation Eliezer b. Faruch, to whom the Arab chronologist al-Bīrūnī (early 11th century) attributed the fixing of the Jewish calendar. The "Baraita of Samuel" which dealt with the secrets of intercalation, dates from the ninth century but was attributed to the *amora* Samuel; it is regarded by some as the first original Hebrew work on astronomy in the Middle Ages.

During the late tenth century Ḥasan ibn Ḥasan wrote three books on intercalation; unfortunately they have not been preserved, but reference to their contents was made by Abraham ibn Ezra and Isaac Israeli. Shabbetai *Donnolo (tenth century) wrote a commentary on the Sefer *Yeẓirah. Although they demonstrate the author's knowledge of the subject, the astronomical terms are confused with concepts belonging to astrology and mysticism. A calendar is given, showing the location of the heavenly bodies in 4706 (summer of 956). This work is important in that it constitutes the main source of *Rashi's astronomy.

The greatest of the Jewish astronomers who wrote in Hebrew at the beginning of the Spanish period was Abraham b. Ḥiyya ha-Nasi, whose works influenced generations of Jewish writers. Those of his works which were translated into Latin had an important influence on the development of European science. Apart from his astronomical calendars and Arabic astrological work which he translated into Latin, Abraham b. Ḥiyya wrote the following important works: *Ẓurat ha-Areẓ*, an astronomical-geographical text; *Sefer ha-Ibbur*, which included series of calculations of years, and determinations of new moons and cycles; *Ḥeshbon Mahalakhot ha-Kokhavim*, a book to which comments were added by Abraham ibn Ezra.

In his hymn, "*Keter Malkhut*" Solomon ibn *Gabirol describes the structure of the universe according to Aristotle and Ptolemy. This work contains detailed calculations of the length of the cycle of each star and its size in relation to the size of the earth.

Abraham Ibn Ezra, in addition to his works on astrology and his calendars and commentaries, wrote the following texts on theoretical astronomy: *Sefer ha-Ibbur* which is on the subject of cycles, new moons, seasons, and signs of the Zodiac; *Shalosh She'elot*, replies to three questions on intercalation posed by David b. Joseph of Narbonne (c. 1139); and *Kelei Neḥoshet* an explanation of the use of the instruments of the astrolabical type. This last was followed by *Kelei Neḥoshet ha-Sheni* which analyzes the fundamentals of intercalation and the sources of astronomy. It has been passed on by Maimonides who also gives a detailed description of the laws of the spheres (Yad. Yesodei ha-Torah, 3). He maintains (*ibid.*, 4:10) that it was to this that the talmudists referred in their commentaries on the creation (ch. 1). Maimonides' writings show him to have been a foremost astronomer of his time, and demonstrate a scientific approach in his analysis of apparent contradictory data.

The main Jewish astronomers of the 13th century were Judah b. Solomon ha-Kohen ibn Matkah of Toledo, the author of an encyclopedia, *Midrash ha-Ḥokhmah*, part of which consists of summaries of the great Greek and Muslim astronomers; *Gershom b. Solomon, whose work *Sha'ar ha-Shamayim* contains a section on the works of Ptolemy, Aristotle, Avicenna, and Averroes. This book was held in high esteem in the Middle Ages, and Meir *Aldabi (c. 1360) used it extensively in the astronomical section of his *Shevilei Emunah*.

In the *Zohar – probably a 13th-century Spanish composition – there is a passage which gives as a cause of the day's changing into night the revolution of the earth. Some 250 years before Copernicus the Zohar stated that "the whole earth spins in a circle like a ball; the one part is up when the other part is down; the one part is light when the other is dark, it is day in the one part and night in the other."

Of great importance is *Yesod Olam* by Isaac b. Joseph *Israeli. This work, written in 1310, includes a study of astronomy and cosmography. The author deals with the system of intercalation and with laws of the sanctification of the month according to Maimonides. He gives a method for calculating the parallax of the moon, the importance of which was appreciated up to the time of Kepler. This was the leading textbook on astronomy written during the Middle Ages, and was held in high esteem for hundreds of years. Commentaries and explanations to it were written by Isaac Alhadib, Elijah Mizraḥi, and others. In the yeshivot of the 19th century it was the main text for the study of the calendar. Isaac ben Solomon Israeli translated a summary of it into Hebrew entitled *Kiẓẓur Yesod Olam*. Isaac Israeli also wrote *Sha'ar ha-Shamayim* which dealt with the subject of periods and seasons and *Sefer Sha'ar ha-Millu'im* on the movement of the planets, their order, and positions.

The greatest of the Jewish astronomers of the Middle Ages was undoubtedly Levi b. Gershom. Curtze, the historian of astronomy, numbers him among the forerunners of Copernicus in that he pioneered new methods of research, from which evolved his own original system of astronomy. Levi b. Gershom was an independent and original scholar, and although he did not produce a work specifically devoted to astronomy, his knowledge of astronomy is clearly brought out in the first section of the fifth book of his *Milḥamot Adonai*. This section of the work was known to later generations as *Sefer ha-Tekhunah*. Levi b. Gershom explains in detail: a) his discovery, or improvement, of the cross-staff, a device for measuring angles and spherical distances. The inventor called it "the depth finder," while it became known in Europe as "Jacob's staff" (*baculus Jacobi*) b) his method of passing a light ray from a star through a small aperture in a darkened chamber on to a board. This is the first recorded use of the *camera obscura*. By these methods Levi b. Gershom carried out numerous measurements and rectified many erroneous conceptions regarding the position of the stars. Among his achievements was the measurement of the relationship of the diameters of the sun and the moon to the lengths of their apparent orbits, and the relationship between the parts of the surfaces covered during an eclipse, and the size of the total area. As a result of his corrections of the originally accepted distances and data, he was able to arrive at a new conception of the distances separating the bodies of the universe and their position in space, and hence (in ch. 9) at a rejection of the basic assumptions of the astronomy of Ptolemy and al-Biṭrūjī. Chapter 99 of the text contains his "Astronomical Tables" (*Luḥot*) on which commentaries have been written by Moses Botarel Farissol. The importance of the work may be gauged from the fact that part of the book was translated into Latin during the author's lifetime (in 1342). The entire book was not translated until the 15th century.

Other Jewish inventors of astronomical instruments in the later Middle Ages were Jacob b. Machir, who invented an angle measuring device, a quadrant, which he described in his work *Rova Yisrael*; Isaac b. Solomon b. Ẓaddik*Al Ḥadib (also al-Aḥdab) wrote *Keli ha-Mizzu'a* about his invention of a new instrument which was a combination of astrolabe and quadrant; Jacob (Bonet) de *Lattes (15th to 16th centuries) designed a device in the shape of a ring for measuring the height of the sun and the stars. His work on this was written in Latin (*De annuli astronomii utilitate*) and was reprinted no less than six times within 50 years. Immanuel b. Jacob *Bonfils (the 14th-century physician and astronomer of Tarascon) wrote many works on astronomy including one on the construction of the astrolabe, as well as tables of the determination of Venus from 1300 to 1357, and tables for the declination of the sun, etc.

Abraham Zacuto was an influential astronomer of the 16th century. His main work was originally written in Hebrew, but was very soon translated into Spanish, and the Latin synopsis of it, *Almanach Perpetuum* ("The Continual Almanac") was translated into Spanish and Arabic. All of Zacuto's works, his improved astrolabe, and his astronomical tables were of great importance, particularly in the voyages of discovery of the Spanish and Portuguese explorers.

Knowledge of Jewish medieval astronomy is limited to a very small part of the extensive writings on the subject. Much material remains undiscovered and most of what is available has yet to be studied carefully. Yet, over 250 Jewish astronomers are known to have lived before 1500.

Jewish Astronomy in the late Renaissance

The Jewish contribution to astronomy after Copernicus was relatively small. Most writers concerned themselves with transcriptions from old writings or with summarizing these. Thus, the writings on astronomy of the 18th century and in the rabbinical literature of the 19th century are basically derived from the Ptolemaic school.

In the 16th century *Judah Loew b. Bezalel had a high reputation as an astronomer. However, apart from his few astrological discussions, nothing can be found in his few writings to support this. Moses Isserles (d. 1573) showed a real knowledge of astronomy, particularly in his books *Torat ha-Olah* (Prague, 1569) and his commentary on *Theorica Planetarum*.

David *Gans was well acquainted with the development of astronomical knowledge. He was a colleague of Kepler and Tycho Brahe; for the latter he translated parts of the "Alphonsine Tables" into German. His most important astronomical work was *Neḥmad ve-Na'im* written in 1613 and published in Jessnitz, 1743, which presented the first Hebrew exposition of the Copernican system, but the author rejected it because of his traditional Ptolemaic outlook. Mordecai b. Abraham *Jaffe wrote *Levush Eder ha-Yakar* in *Levush Or Yekarot* (Lublin, 1594), which contains a commentary on Maimonides' laws of the sanctification of the month as well as a lesson on astronomy; his *Be'urei Yafeh* is a commentary on *Ẓurat ha-Areẓ* by Abraham b. Ḥiyya.

Joseph Solomon *Delmedigo was a pupil of Galileo. In his *Elim* two chapters are devoted to astronomy: the first, "The Laws of the Heavens" is an exposition of the first two chapters of the *Almagest*, the second, "The Mightiness of God," is devoted to an explanation of other parts of the *Almagest* and of writings by Copernicus and al-Battānī. Delmedigo was the first outstanding exponent of the Copernican theory in Hebrew literature within the framework of traditional Judaism. His method was to reply to questions from the viewpoint of the ancients, and from that of the astronomers who followed Copernicus.

Tobias *Cohn, the physician, remained faithful to the ancients, although he was quite familiar with the astronomy of Copernicus. In his *Ma'aseh Tuviyyah* (Venice, 1707–8) he analyzed the geocentric conception in its classic form, and in the one revised by Tycho Brahe. The heliocentric view is analyzed and rejected, mainly on religious and traditional grounds.

*Jonathan b. Joseph from Ruzhany, another commentator on *Ẓurat ha-Areẓ*, wrote *Yeshu'ah be-Yisrael* ("Salvation in Israel," Frankfurt, 1720), an explanation of Maimonides' laws of the sanctification of the month.

Raphael ha-Levi of Hanover (1685–1788) wrote *Tekhunat ha-Shamayim* (Amsterdam, 1756), a study of astronomy as related to Maimonides' law, and "Tables of Intercalation" (pt. 1, Leiden, 1756; pt. 2, Hanover, 1757).

Israel b. Moses ha-Levi of Zamosc in his book, *Neẓaḥ Yisrael* (Frankfurt on the Oder, 1741), classified certain obscure parts of the Talmud which dealt with engineering and astronomy. He also wrote a commentary on *Yesod Olam* by Isaac Israeli, and a textbook called *Arubbot ha-Shamayim. Shevilei de-Raki'a* (Prague, 1785) by Elijah b. Ḥayyim of Hochheim is devoted to an explanation of Maimonides' laws of the sanctification of the month. In it the author distinguishes between the geocentric assumptions of Maimonides, and the theories of the new astronomy. In the 19th century, Israel David b. Mordecai *Jaffe-Margoliot wrote *Ḥazon Mo'ed* (Pressburg, 1843), dealing with astronomy, the mathematics of intercalation, as well as with the additional day of festivals in the Diaspora.

Jews in Modern Astronomy

The frequently repeated statement that Sir William Herschel, astronomer to King George III and his sister Caroline, were of Jewish origin has been shown to be not in accordance with the facts. Among those who contributed to the development of astronomy in the 19th century were Wilhelm Beer (1797–1850), specialist in the mapping of the features of the moon; Hermann *Goldschmidt is especially noted for his work from 1852 to 1861 in discovering 14 new asteroids between Mars and Jupiter; Rudolph Wolf (1816–1893), at the turn of the century, organized systematic solar work at Zurich; Adolph Hirsch (1830–1901) conducted mainly geophysical work in Switzerland; Maurice *Loewy invented, at the Paris Observatory, the Coudé telescope; Edmund Weiss (1837–1917), was director of the Vienna Observatory in the mid-19th century; Friedrich Simon Archenhold (1861–1939) was a well-known writer of popular books on astronomy; Adolph Marcuse (1860–1930), participated in several astronomical expeditions; Fritz Cohen and Samuel Oppenheim conducted important work in celestical mechanics; as did Erwin Finlay *Freundlich, first in Berlin and then at St. Andrews in Scotland. During this century, Richard *Prager, at first at the University Observatory, Berlin, and from 1938 at the Harvard Observatory, worked on variable stars through the continuation of the *Geschichte und Literatur der Veraenderlichen Sterne*. Sir Arthur *Schuster, in England, founded in 1919 the forerunner of the International Astronomical Union, to whose subsequent rapid development was due much of the well-organized effort and success of present-day astronomy. Frank *Schlesinger, in the U.S.A., was the first to devise photographic methods for a large scale derivation of stellar distances ("parallax-determinations"). Karl *Schwarzchild, director of the Astrophysical Observatory in Potsdam, did fundamental work in many fields; for example, the laws of stellar motions, photometry, optics, the astrophysical application of atomic physics, and the theoretical exploration of stellar atmospheres. His son Martin *Schwarzschild, who taught at Princeton, U.S.A., was an expert in stellar evolution, and the design of satellite-borne telescopes. Albert *Einstein was noted also for his researches in astrophysics. Other contemporary American astronomers of Jewish origin were Luigi Jacchia (1911–1996), on solar-terrestrial relationships, and David Layzer (1925–), who researched in theoretical atomic astrophysics, both at Harvard University. At the University of Texas, Gerard de Vancouleurs (1918–1995) was involved in research into the structure and systems of extragalactic nebulae. Rudolph Minkowski (1895–1976) up to 1934 at Hamburg University, investigated at Pasadena the intricate problems of supernovae. Herbert A. *Friedman, at the U.S. Naval Research Laboratory in Washington, was a leader in the new field of outer-space spectroscopy. At Rochester University, Emil Wolf (1922–) was concerned with optical research with astrophysical applications. Leo Goldberg (1913–1987), at the Smithsonian Astrophysical Observatory, organized teamwork for the initiation of new solar and stellar space research. At the California Institute of Technology, Jesse L. Greenstein (1909–2002) carried out fundamental astrophysical work, particularly in high-dispersion spectroscopy.

Before going to Israel, George Alter (1890–1972) was at the University of Prague, and at the Sidmouth Observatory in England, where he was mainly concerned with problems of star clusters. Arthur Beer (1900–1980), formerly at Breslau and Hamburg, and, from 1934, at the Universities of London and Cambridge, investigated problems of spectroscopic binaries, new stars, stellar photometry, large-scale spectrophotometric determination of distances of stars in the outer regions of our galaxy, its spiral structure, and problems in the history of astronomy. At the Royal Greenwich Observatory, stellar evolution and the abundance of chemical elements in the stars were investigated by Bernard Pagel (1929–).

Modern cosmological theories, which began in the 1920s, have been developed by Thomas Gold (1920–2004), Hermann *Bondi, Dennis Sciama (1930–), Leon Mestel (1930–), and Franz Kahn (1926–1998).

Cosmological and other astronomical work of great originality and ingenuity was developed in Soviet Russia; outstanding among the researchers were Vitoli Lazarevich Ginzburg and Joseph S. Shklovski (d. 1985). Leading French astronomers included: the former general secretary of the International Astronomical Union, Jean-Claude Pecker (Observatoire de Paris), and Evry Schatzman (Institut d'Astrophysique, Paris), both active in studies of stellar evolution.

See also *Physics.

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[Arthur Beer]

ASTRUC, ELIE-ARISTIDE (1831–1905), French rabbi and author. Astruc was born in Bordeaux and studied at the rabbinical college of Metz. He became assistant to the chief rabbi of Paris in 1857, chief rabbi of Belgium in 1866–79, and rabbi of Bayonne in 1887–91. He took part in the Rabbinical Synod of Leipzig in 1869. Astruc was a founder of the *Alliance Israélite Universelle. A successful writer, Astruc often shows originality and independence in his treatment of Jewish themes. His main works are *Histoire abrégée des juifs et de leurs croyances* (1869; 1880^2), a collection of sermons *Entretiens sur le juda-*

ïsme (1879), and *Origines et causes historiques de l'anti-sémitisme* (1884). He also composed *Olelot Eliyahu* (1865), a French metrical translation of the *piyyutim* of the Sephardi rite.

ASTRUC, JEAN (1684–1766), French physician and a founder of classical biblical criticism. The name Astruc was common among the Jews of southern France, and some have supposed that he was ultimately of Jewish extraction. Astruc learned Hebrew and Bible from his father, a former Huguenot preacher who had converted to Catholicism following the Edict of Nantes (1698). He served as professor of anatomy at Toulouse, Montpellier, and Paris. In 1729, he was court physician for a short time to King August II of Poland, and then to Louis XV of France. He wrote numerous tractates on medicine, the most important being his work on venereal diseases, *De morbis veneriis*, which appeared in 21 editions and numerous translations from 1736 onward.

Astruc is remembered principally as a Bible scholar who helped pioneer a method of biblical analysis which continues to hold an important place in biblical scholarship. The orthodox Astruc reacted to the criticism of freethinkers toward the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch. He published in Brussels (and secretly in Paris) an anonymous book entitled *Conjectures sur les mémoires originaux, dont il parait que Moyse s'est servi pour composer le livre de la Genèse* (1753) in which he attempted to show that Moses, the redactor of Genesis and the first two chapters of Exodus, made use of two parallel sources and ten fragments written before his time. The two primary sources can be distinguished by the fact that one refers to the deity as *YHWH* and the second as *Elohim*. Astruc assigned various repetitions, materials foreign to Hebrew history, glosses, and additions by later copyists to the ten fragments. He, however, was not aware of the work of H.B. Witter, *Jura Israelitarum in Palaestinam* (1711), which demonstrated that the first half of Genesis uses parallel sources and different divine names. The varying names for the deity had already been noted and discussed by older scholars such as Jean Le Clerc (Johannes Clericus) and Richard *Simon, but none of these went beyond the generalization that the Pentateuch was composed of different documents. Astruc's documentary hypothesis was received with ridicule in some circles and was unnoticed in others until J.G. *Eichhorn gave considerable attention to it, thus salvaging the theories of Astruc and Witter from oblivion.

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[Moses Zevi (Moses Hirsch) Segal]

ASTRUC, SAUL HA-KOHEN (d. after 1395), physician and scholar. Astruc was the leader of a group which emigrated from Spain to Algeria before 1391. While physician to the ruler of Tlemcen, he generously supported the needy of all communities and was esteemed by both Jews and Gentiles. He was *dayyan* of Algiers, but ceded this position to R. Isaac *Bonastruc, when the latter arrived from Spain or Majorca, and Astruc gave him financial support. He was on friendly terms with R. *Isaac b. Sheshet Perfet, who was appointed chief *dayyan* of Algiers as a result of Astruc's intervention with the ruler of the Ziyānid dynasty.

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[Abraham David]

ASTRUC, ZACHARIE (1839–1907), French sculptor, painter, and writer. Astruc went to Paris from Angers as a boy. He studied art there and while still a student founded the *Quart d'Heure: Gazette des Gens à Demi-Sérieux*. A member of the Society of French Artists, Astruc contributed sculptures and paintings to the Salon des Champs Elysées. He was very successful and received many awards. Some of his more celebrated sculptures are his bust of Manet, *Mars et Venus*, *Hamlet*, *Le Roi Midas*, and his copy of Alonzo Cano's statue of St. Francis of Assisi. Astruc was also a versatile writer who wrote art criticism, poems, novels, short stories, and plays. He published a novel and a book of poems in Spanish. Astruc was the author of a collection of art criticism, *Les Quatorze Stations du Salon de 1859*, with a preface by George Sand.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Dictionnaire biographique du départment de Marne-et-Loire* (1894).

ASTRUC HA-LEVI (end of 14th and beginning of 15th century), rabbi of *Alcañiz and vigorous representative of its community at the Disputation of *Tortosa (1413–14). A fellow townsman of Joshua *Lorki, Astruc took issue with him soon after Lorki's conversion to Christianity over a treatise he had directed against the Jews and Judaism. During the disputation, Astruc ably clarified the basic differences between the Jewish and Christian religions, as well as the futility of holding religious debates. Later, in 1414, he composed a joint memorandum with *Zeraḥiah b. Isaac ha-Levi of Saragossa, which formed the basis for the second half of the disputation. Although unyielding on questions of dogma, toward the end of the debate Astruc refused to continue the defense of the Talmud against allegations that it contained heresy and immorality, a course he undoubtedly pursued for reasons of policy. His close friend Solomon *da Piera addressed a number of poems to him.

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ASZÓD, town in Pest-Pilis-Solt-Kiskun county, Hungary, N.E. of Budapest. Jews, mostly of Moravian origin, settled in Aszód at the beginning of the 18th century. The first community was established in 1724. Between 1746 and 1784 the number of Jews increased from 60 to 395, largely due to the influx of Jews from Buda who were expelled by Maria Theresa in 1746. A burial society was founded in 1747 and a synagogue was built in 1757. By 1840, the town had a Jewish population of 530 (24% of the total population). The community organized itself on a Neolog (Conservative) basis. The community was joined by the small congregations from the neighboring villages, including Bag, Boldog, Dány, Domony, Galgamácsa, Héviz, Hévizgyörk, Iklad, Kartal, Ócsa, Tura, Újfalu, Váchartyán, Vácrátót, Vácszentlászló, Valkó, Veresegyház, Verseg, and Zsámbék.

During the Hungarian Revolution of 1848–49 against Austria, the community contributed a considerable sum to the fund for the militia. By the mid-19th century there were only 330 Jewish residents (21%). In 1908 the community erected an imposing new synagogue. After World War I the census recorded 311 Jewish residents (9.5%), occupied in commerce, crafts, and industry. Aszód was the birthplace of Simon Hevesi, Budapest's chief rabbi during the interwar period. During World War II Aszód served as a major recruitment center for Jewish males called up for labor service.

According to the census of 1941, the town had a Jewish population of 278 (4.9% of the total) and 19 (0.3%) converts or Christians identified as racially Jewish. In 1944, the community consisted of 230 Jews, led by Adolf Glück, a lawyer, Rabbi József Berg serving as spiritual leader. Rabbi Berg was preceded in that position by Benjamin Ze'ev Wolf *Boskowitz (1785); Samuel (Weisz) Budapitz (1789–1818), the founder of the local yeshivah; Ẓevi Isaac Hirsch Hirschfeld (1830–60); Mark Handler (1866–70), father of Simon *Hevesi; and Joseph L. Schreiber (1881–1921).

Shortly after the German occupation of Hungary on March 19, 1944, the Jews were first concentrated in a local ghetto and later transferred to Rákoscsaba, an assembly point. From there they were deported in early July 1944 together with the Jews from the neighboring communities in Aszód district, including Bag, Domony, Galgagyörk, Galgahéviz, Galgamácsa, Hévizgyörk, Kartal, Tura, and Verseg.

Only 21 Jews returned to Aszód – two survivors of concentration camps and 19 labor servicemen. Their number grew to 32 by 1949, but in the wake of the Communist anti-Jewish drive they all left by 1956. The synagogue was demolished in 1954.

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[Laszlo Harsanyi / Randolph Braham (2nd ed.)]

ASZOD, JUDAH BEN ISRAEL (1794–1866), Hungarian rabbi. Born in Aszód (Pest region), he studied at the yeshivah of Mordecai *Banet in Nikolsburg (Moravia). From 1826 to 1830 he served as *dayyan* in Dunaszerdahely (then Hungary), and later in other communities, and from 1853 he headed a large yeshivah there, which attracted hundreds of pupils. Aszod conducted halakhic correspondence with Moses *Sofer and with his son, as well as with other leading Hungarian rabbis of the time. He was a member of the Orthodox rabbinical delegation to the emperor Franz Joseph in Vienna in 1864, which appealed to him to cancel the proposed plan for a government-sponsored rabbinical seminary. The emperor requested his blessing, whereupon Aszod invoked on him the blessing of long life. His collection of responsa, *Teshuvot Maharia* (*Moreno ha-Rav Judah Aszod*), also called *Yehudah Ya'aleh* (pt. 1, (1873); pt. 2 (1880); repr. 1965), arranged according to the four divisions of the Shulḥan Arukh, is regarded as one of the best works of its kind. Of his other works there have been published *Ḥiddushei Maharia*, aggadic novellae on the Torah and some on talmudic themes (1912) and novellae to tractate Ketubbot (1913); *Divrei Maharia* (1931, with an additional part published in 1932), aggadic novellae on Torah and some sermons and eulogies, together with the novellae of his son Aaron Samuel Aszod. His novellae on Torah were published in the *Yalkut Efrayim* (1905). Judah was succeeded as rabbi of Dunaszerdahely by his son, Aaron Samuel Aszod (1830–1905).

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ATAKI (also **Otaci**), village in northern Moldavia (Bessarabia), on the River Dniester, opposite Mogilev-Podolski. During the Moldavian rule in Bessarabia (before 1812) Ataki was among the few settlements in the region where there was any trading activity and a regular market day. By the second half of the 18th century there was in Ataki a relatively large Jewish community. Its members traded in the village and had connections with other towns in Bessarabia and in the Ukraine. In 1817, 353 Jewish families were living in Ataki (out of a total of 773). The community grew during the first half of the 19th century, with the influx of Jews into Bessarabia, and in 1847 there were 559 Jewish families registered in Ataki. In 1897 the community counted 4,690 persons (67.2% of the total population) and in 1930 there were 2,781 Jews there (79.4% of the total population). A Jewish kindergarten and school run by the *Tarbut organization were established in the 1930s. In June 1940 Ataki together with all of Bessarabia was annexed to the Soviet Union and included in the Moldavian S.S.R. In the beginning of the German-Soviet war Ataki was taken by German and Romanian forces. The latter accused the Jews as being pro-Soviet and probably killed many of them.

[Eliyahu Feldman / Shmuel Spector (2nd ed.)]

No information is available on the fate of the Jews of Ataki during World War II. But situated as it was on the route taken by the deportation transports to *Transnistria, many thousands of Bessarabian and Bukovinan Jews were murdered at Ataki and thrown into the Dniester River. Probably the remaining Jews of Ataki were also murdered and deported to Transnistria. So far as is known, no Jews subsequently lived there.

[Jean Ancel / Shmuel Spector (2nd ed.)]

BIBLIOGRAPHY: BJCE; M. Carp, *Cartea Neagrā*, 3 (1947), 155.

ATAR (also **Attar**, **Ibn Atar**, **Benatar**, **Abenatar**, **Abiatar**), family of Spanish origin. Many members of the Atar family left Spain during the persecutions of the 14th and 15th centuries. In the 17th century the name reappeared in Amsterdam, Turkey, and, particularly, Morocco, and afterward in Hamburg, London, and Curaçao. Many of the Abenatars in these communities were descended from Marranos; the family relationship among them is certain. ABRAHAM (I) BEN SOLOMON ABIATAR (17th–18th century) was a poet, talmudist, and kabbalist who lived in Fez, Morocco. ḤAYYIM (I) ABENATAR (same period) was a notable of the community there. Ḥayyim settled in Salé, founding and heading a yeshivah, where his distinguished grandson Ḥayyim Ben Moses (II) *Attar studied; his brother SHEM-TOV (d. 1701), a wealthy philanthropist, was *nagid* at Salé. Shem Tov's son MOSES (d. c. 1725) began his career as secretary-adviser to the viceroy of southern Morocco. He succeeded his father as *nagid*, directed the family's large commercial enterprises, and was appointed treasurer to King Mulay Ishmael. When Moses Mocatta of London failed to negotiate a peace treaty with Morocco on behalf of King George I of England, Moses Abenatar was chosen to replace him. He began by freeing English captives in Morocco and successfully concluded the treaty in 1721, introducing a clause stipulating that Moroccan Jews who had settled in the British Empire would be given the right to be judged in Jewish courts. However, his success aroused jealousy. Unjustly accused of embezzlement, he escaped death only by paying the king a huge fine. After the death of his rival, the *nagid* Abraham Maimaran in 1723, Moses was appointed *nagid* of all the Jews in the Sherifian Empire. Pious, generous, and learned, he built and maintained many schools for poor children. ABRAHAM (II) succeeded his brother Moses as *nagid*. Another brother, JACOB, became governor of the port of Tetuán. At the beginning of the 19th century JOSEPH ABENATAR represented Portugal and Denmark as consul in Rabat-Salé. His son ABRAHAM (III), *av bet din* in Mogador, composed religious poetry. His funeral oration was published under the title *Abi'a Ḥidot* (Leghorn, 1881).

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[David Corcos]

ATAR (Aptheker), HAIM (1902–1953), Israeli painter and pioneer. Born in Zlatopol, Russia, Atar joined the "Flowers of Zion" Zionist youth organization and in 1919 became a member of the Jewish defense group set up to combat the pogroms that swept the Ukraine. In 1922 he went to Palestine and was a founder-member of kibbutz En Harod. In 1933 and 1937–38 he studied art in Paris, where he met some of the Jewish leading artists of the day. Atar was a socially committed artist and felt it his task to encourage the kibbutz to aspire to beauty. In 1948 he founded Art Center at En Harod, which he directed. In his own work he was influenced by *Soutine and other Jewish painters of the *Paris School as well as East European Jewish art. His paintings have an atmosphere of melancholy. He painted portraits, still-life subjects, and flowers. He left nearly 300 paintings and about 1,000 drawings, including a series of the members of the *Palmaḥ drawn at the British internment camp at Rafa. Some of his works are on view at the Haim Atar Hall in the En Harod's Art Center.

WEBSITE: www.museumeinharod.org.il.

ATAROT (Heb. עֲטָרוֹת; "crowns"), moshav, north of Jerusalem, evacuated and destroyed during the War of Independence (1948). A small group of laborers settled on the site in 1914 but had to abandon it in the course of World War I. Another group, of East European origin, established the moshav in 1922 and were joined in the 1930s by immigrants from Germany. The moshav withstood Arab assaults in the 1929 and 1936–39 riots. Atarot began to develop model hill culture but suffered a setback when its best lands were expropriated by the British authorities for the Jerusalem airport. During the first stages of the War of Independence, Atarot served crack *Palmaḥ units as a forward position, but on May 17, 1948, the isolated settlement had to be evacuated. A year later, the settlers founded Benei Atarot near Lydda (in 2002 it had a population of 548). Atarot remained in Jordanian territory and almost no trace was found of the settlement when Israeli soldiers captured the site during the Six-Day War (1967). Together with the adjoining airport, it was included in the municipal boundaries of united Jerusalem and an industrial area was developed there.

[Efraim Orni]

ATAROTH (Heb. עֲטָרוֹת), name of several biblical towns or settlements. (1) A city in the territory beyond the Jordan, conquered from the Amorites by Moses and the Israelites and allotted to Gad (Num. 32:3, 34), even though it was situated within the inheritance of Reuben (cf. Josh. 13:16). According to the Stele of Mesha, king of Moab, he captured the city from Israel: "Now the men of Gad had always dwelt in the land of Ataroth and the king of Israel had built Ataroth" (lines 10–11). It is now called Khirbat ʿAttārūs, 8 mi. (13 km.) N.W. of Dibon (modern Dhībān) and about 10 mi. (16 km.) E. of the Dead Sea. Moabite, Nabatean, Roman, Byzantine, and Arab potsherds have been found there. (2) Atroth-Shophan

(עַטְרֹת שׁוֹפָן), a place in the vicinity of the above-mentioned Ataroth (Num. 32:35). (3) A city on the southern border of Ephraim (Josh. 16:2) which is perhaps identical with Atroth-Addar (עַטְרוֹת אַדָּר; Josh. 18:13). The Palestinian Targum translates Tomer Devorah ("palm tree of Deborah"; Judg. 4:5) as Atroth Devorah. A village with that name was located in this region in Byzantine times and is also mentioned in the Crusader period as Atarbereth (Atar Be'erot). (4) A city on the northern border of Ephraim (Josh. 16:7); its suggested identification is ʿAwja al-Fawqā or Tell Sheikh al-Dhiyāb, north of Jericho. (5) Atroth-Beth-Joab (עַטְרוֹת בֵּית יוֹאָב) in Judah (I Chron. 2:54) is unidentified.

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[Michael Avi-Yonah]

ATHALIAH (Heb. עֲתַלְיָה, עֲתַלְיָהוּ; perhaps: "Yahweh-is-lord"; cf. Akkadian *etellu*, "lord"), sole reigning queen of Judah (842–836 B.C.E.), daughter of *Ahab and *Jezebel (or perhaps a daughter of Omri) of Israel. Athaliah's marriage to *Jehoram (Joram), crown prince of Judah, sealed the alliance between Israel and Judah. It also led to the introduction of Baal (probably = Melqart) worship in Jerusalem alongside the worship of Yahweh, both during the period of her husband's rule and her son *Ahaziah's one-year reign (II Kings 8:16–18, 25–27; II Chron. 21:5 ff.; 22:2–4). When Ahaziah was murdered by Jehu in the course of the anti-Omride revolt, Athaliah the queen-mother seized power, murdering all possible rivals in the royal family, just as her husband had done on his accession, possibly on her prompting. Only one infant son of Ahaziah, *Joash, escaped, saved by his aunt Jehosheba, the sister of the dead king and the wife of High Priest *Jehoiada (II Kings 9:27–28; 11:1–3; II Chron. 22:8–12). Six years later, Jehoiada carefully conspired to have Joash crowned in the Temple as the legitimate king, and Athaliah, who had hurried to the scene crying "treason," was led to the "horse entrance" ("The Horse Gate?"), where she was killed (II Kings 11:4–16; II Chron. 23:1–15). The Temple of Baal was destroyed and its priest Mattan, apparently a supporter of Athaliah, put to death (II Kings 11:18; II Chron. 23:17).

Athaliah's violent end was inevitable, as her reign must have been odious not only to the priesthood of the Yahweh Temple but also to the royal guard, who saw in her a foreign usurper and the murderer of the royal Davidic line. However, there is some reason to doubt that young Joash was really in danger, as he, a minor, would have given legitimacy to Athaliah's reign; there is also the suggestion that she herself placed him in the guardianship of the high priest.

In the *aggadah*, Athaliah is grouped with Jezebel, *Vashti, and Semiramis as one of the four women who achieved power in the world (Esth. R. 1:9).

[Hanoch Reviv]

In the Arts

Athaliah's violent career appealed to the taste of the late 17th-century theatergoer for grand and austerely moral themes. The outstanding treatment of her story was by the French dramatist Jean *Racine, whose *Athalie* (1691) became a classic tragedy. The part of the villainous queen was one of Sarah *Bernhardt's great roles. One of the play's many adaptations was *Gemul Atalyah* ("Athaliah's Revenge," 1770), a Hebrew version by the Dutch author David *Franco-Mendes.

Incidental music for the first performance of *Athalie* was written by J.B. Moreau and for later productions by F.A. Boieldieu (1809), Felix *Mendelssohn (1845), and Frank Martin (1946). Handel's oratorio *Athalia* (1733) was also based on Racine's play. Operas on the Athaliah theme were written by J.S. Mayr (1822) and Hugo *Weisgall (1964). Weisgall's work used some Jewish liturgical motifs to create a biblical atmosphere.

In Christian art, Athaliah's murder of the children of the House of David was treated as a prefiguration of Herod's "Massacre of the Innocents." There are interesting representations of Athaliah's story in the 14th-century Wenceslas Bible, the 15th-century Chaise-Dieu tapestry, Renaissance stained glass windows in Cologne and King's College Chapel, Cambridge, and some 15th-century French miniatures.

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ATHENS, city in Greece. In ancient Jewish history, Athens occupied a position of secondary importance, especially when compared to Alexandria, Antioch, Rome, even Cyrene, and other known cities in Asia Minor. Nevertheless, it must be noted that relations between Athens and Palestine can be traced as far back as the beginning of the sixth century B.C.E. Large quantities of Attic dark-visaged and red-visaged potsherds have been found in various places in the region which was exposed, during the Persian era, to the economic influence of Athens. Coins minted during the occupation of Judea by Persian governors were inscribed "Yahud," and had the image of an owl imprinted upon them, bearing a definite likeness to the Attic drachma.

After the conquest of Palestine by Alexander the Great, there was, apparently, an increase in the activities of the Athenians in the conquered land, though there is only limited information on this phase. The presence of an Athenian in Palestine is evidenced by a contract entered into by an Athenian in the purchase of a female slave in Transjordania, dating to the year 259 B.C.E. Among the signatories who witnessed the document, appears the name of "Heraklitus son of Phillip the Athenian" (Tcherikover, Corpus, 1 (1957), 119–20), who was in the service of Apollonius, minister of the treasury under Ptolemy II. There was an Athenian in command of the troops sent by Antiochus Epiphanes to Palestine to enforce his religious policies (II Macc. 6:1).

With the establishment of the Hasmonean state, Athens was one of the cities to enter into relations with the new state. Josephus records (Ant., 14:149ff.) a resolution adopted by the Athenian people in honor of Hyrcanus the high priest, ethnarch of the Jews. The decree stated that Hyrcanus had always maintained friendly relations with the Athenians, and always received them cordially when they came to him, and therefore it was resolved to bestow upon him a crown of gold, and to place his statue in bronze in the temple of Demos and the Graces in the city. Josephus himself relates this document to Hyrcanus II, but most modern scholars are inclined to attribute it to Hyrcanus I, specifically to the year 106/5 B.C.E. (the year in which Agathocles served as archon in Athens). Herod also continued the traditional friendship with Athens, to the advantage of the city (Jos., Wars, 1:425). There are documents extant substantiating the existence of friendly relations between Athens and the House of Herod.

Concrete information about a Jewish community in Athens is available only from the beginning of the first century C.E. Agrippa I, in a letter to Gaius Caligula, mentions the land of Attica among other places inhabited by Jews (Philo, Legat., 281). Similarly, when Paul came to a synagogue in Athens, he found there, beside the Jews, many devout Gentiles who revered the Jewish religion (Acts, 17:17). Inscriptions testify that Samaritans lived at Athens (I.G., ed. minor, vol. 2–3, part 3/2, nos. 10219–22) as well as Jews (no. 12609) including one Jerusalemite (no. 8934).

Much attention has been lavished in Judeo-Hellenistic literature on Athens as the most celebrated city in Greek civilization. Philo refers to Athens with profound respect, in a style customary with Greek writers (see Prob. 140); he also mentions famous figures in the history of Athens, such as Solon (Spec. 3:22), as well as historic events relating to Athens, including the conflict between the Athenians and the Lacedaemonians (Spartans; Mos. 2:19). Josephus often refers to Athens and its customs especially in his *Contra Apionem.*

Athens also occupies a place in the talmudic-midrashic literature. The Midrash on Lamentations contains in its introduction many stories the intention of which is to emphasize the superior wit and wisdom of the Jerusalem Jews over the Athenians. Many such stories begin with the phrase: "An Athenian came to Jerusalem." The Babylonian Talmud relates the story of the *tanna*, Joshua b. Hananiah, who at the advice of the Roman emperor came to Athens and challenged the elders of the city to a dispute and defeated them (Bek. 8b).

[Menahem Stern]

Turkish Period and Greek Independence

After the Turkish conquest of Athens (1456) Muhammad II the Conqueror granted its inhabitants the right to prohibit Jewish residence. However, a number of exiles from Spain and their descendants took refuge there after 1492. In 1705 a French traveler found some 15–20 Jewish families living in Athens.

The Jewish community in Athens was one of those destroyed at the time of the Greek uprising against the Ottoman Empire (1821–29). A community with a corporate identity and interests developed after 1834, with the establishment of Athens as the capital of independent *Greece. A number of Jewish families from Germany were attracted to Athens; the financier Max de Rothschild was included in the retinue of the new king, Otto I. A large site for building a synagogue was acquired (1843) through the duchess of Plaisance, Sophie Barbé Marbois, who settled in Athens in 1831 and developed a deep sympathy for Judaism through her intensive Bible studies. In 1847 the Greek authorities banned a popular religious procession during which an effigy of Judas Iscariot was customarily burned, since it might have offended the Baron de Rothschild, then staying in Athens. In revenge, an angry mob sacked the house of David Pacifico, a British subject and honorary consul of Portugal, who was responsible for the completion of the duchess' plans. The British government pressed for his indemnification, and finally the foreign secretary, Lord Palmerston, sent a fleet to Piraeus in 1850, which seized a number of ships. In 1852 the municipality rescinded the gift of the site for the planned synagogue.

Jewish settlement in Athens increased from 60 in 1878 to about 250 in 1887. The Athens community was officially recognized in 1889. In 1890, Charles de Rothschild (1843–1918) became its president, and three small synagogues were established in Athens. In the first decade of the 20th century, as the Ottoman Empire deteriorated, economic decline set in, and there was a fear of political instability and eventual military conscription; many Jews migrated from Ioannina to Athens, eventually establishing their own synagogue.

As a result of the improved economic situation following the Balkan Wars (1912–13), a number of Jews from old Greece and Asia Minor – in particular from Salonika – moved to Athens. The migration increased after the great Salonika fire of 1917, and by the eve of World War II there were 3,000 Jews in Athens. Most of the wealthier businessmen were Ashkenazim while the Sephardi immigrants, originally from other parts of Greece and Turkey, were often peddlers, rag dealers, or small shopkeepers.

[Simon Marcus]

Holocaust and Postwar Period

The numbers of Jews in Athens increased with an influx of refugees from Salonika who fled the Italian air raids of 1940. When Germany invaded Greece in 1941, Greece was subdivided into German, Italian, and Bulgarian zones of occupation; Athens was under the relatively benign rule of the Italians, who, despite their alliance with Germany, were less interested and less disciplined about imposing the "Final Solution." After July 1942, when the Nazis carried out a manhunt of Jews in Salonika until August 1943, about 3,000 fled to Athens. Though Athens was under Italian occupation, the Gestapo began arrests of Jewish leaders in the city, expropriated the congregational records, and requested that the Italians surrender their authority over the Jewish inhabitants. The Italians, however, claimed their authority and tried to prevent Nazi persecution. After the fall of *Mussolini in September 1943, the Germans, having wiped out the congregations of Macedonia, began exterminating the Jews on the Greek mainland and in the islands, at which time Dieter Wisliceny, *Eichmann's assistant, arrived in Athens and tried to force Rabbi Elijah Barzilai to cooperate with him. The rabbi fled to Karpenisia in the mountains with the help of the leftist Communist-leaning ELAS-EAM Greek Resistance movement. Many Jews followed his example and were saved by the Greeks. A Council of Jews was set up by the Germans to organize the local Jewish community. On Oct. 7, 1943, General Jurgen *Stroop published an order dated October 3, ordering Athens Jews to register at the synagogue. The vast majority of them managed to go into hiding, aided by the Greek police and by the Greek Orthodox Church, on the instructions of Archbishop Damaskinos. The local Catholic Church assisted hundreds of Jews in Athens through its rescue stations and harbored Jews in monasteries, found them hiding places, and assisted them financially and with food. Hundreds of families escaped by means of small boats to the shores of Asia Minor, making their way from there to Palestine. However, a significant number did fall into Nazi hands. On March 24, 1944, a total of 800 Jews were captured by the Nazis in the vicinity of the Athens synagogue, after the Nazis had announced that flour for unleavened bread and sugar were to be distributed at the synagogue. They were interned in a camp at Haidari and on April 2 sent to Auschwitz along with other Jews who were caught in Athens. Most of the Jews sent from Athens arrived at Auschwitz; 155 Spanish nationals and 19 Portuguese nationals were sent to *Bergen-Belsen. A total of 1,500 Jews were sent from Athens.

When Greece was liberated from German occupation, about 4,500–5,000 Jews emerged from hiding to reassemble in Athens, but over 1,500 later immigrated to Ereẓ Israel in 1945–46 via illegal immigration boats from the Sounion coast. The Joint Distribution Committee enabled Athenian and Greek Jewry to recover economically from their losses in World War II. In 1957–58 there were over 2,500 Jews in Athens, and in 1968, 2,850, about half the total Jewish population of Greece. Many of those who returned were able to build themselves good positions in business, industry, and the professions. The community had a synagogue (Sephardi), a cemetery, a club, and an elementary school, and an ORT vocational school and welfare institute as well. In 1979, the Jewish Museum of Greece was established in Athens, and a Holocaust memorial was established in the late 20th century. At the outset of the 21st century there were about 3,000 Jews living in Athens.

[Joseph Nehama / Yitzchak Kerem (2nd ed.)]

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AT(H)IAS. Sephardi family originating in Spain and later widely spread among the communities of Marrano origin, where it was divided among numerous branches such as Da Costa Athias, Athias Pereira, etc. Among the earliest prominent members was YOM TOV ATHIAS, formerly Jeronimo de Vargas, publisher of the Ferrara Bible (in Spanish) of 1553. MOSES ISRAEL (d. 1665) was the first reader and minister appointed by the Sephardi community of London in 1656, and served it until he died in the Great Plague. JACOB was rabbi in Bordeaux and preached the sermon (subsequently printed) for the restoration of the health of Louis XV in 1744. DAVID (d. 1806) was among his successors. SOLOMON DA COSTA (1690–1769), a London merchant and broker, in his youth an adherent of the Shabbatean movement, presented to the British Museum in 1759 a collection of Hebrew books formerly owned by Charles II, which formed the nucleus of its Hebrew library. DAVID ISRAEL (d. 1753) was *ḥakham* of the Sephardi community of Amsterdam for 25 years. MOSES (1898–) of Jerusalem made important contributions to Sephardi studies, including an edition of folk-ballads (*Romancero Sefaradi*, Jerusalem, 1956).

The family was prominent in Leghorn where, in the 17th century, JOSEPH ATHIAS was highly regarded in Christian literary circles for his scholarship, and MOSES composed in 1701 a discourse in celebration of the recent embellishments to the synagogue. He was possibly the father of DAVID BEN MOSES who, in consequence of his travels in the East as a merchant, became a master of many languages (including Turkish, Serbian, and Russian). He turned his knowledge to good account in his book in Ladino, *La guerta de oro* ("The Golden Garden"; Leghorn, 1778), comprising proverbs, fables, and sympathetic remedies, together with a treatise on physiognomy and a guide to rapid mastery of Greek and Italian, to which was incongruously appended the text of the "Letters Patent of the French Kings in favor of the Portuguese Jews," with a Ladino translation. The Athias mansion, in a central square in Leghorn, was one of the landmarks of the city.

The Athias family was memorable also in rabbinic scholarship, Hebrew printing (see Joseph *Athias), and the annals of Inquisitional martyrdom (Abraham Athias was burned at the stake in Cordova, 1665). It figured in America (Philadelphia, Savannah) from the mid-18th century.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Roth, Marranos, index.

[Cecil Roth]

ATHIAS, JOSEPH and IMMANUEL (17th century), publishers and printers in Amsterdam. Joseph ben Abraham (Spain or

Portugal, 1634/35–Amsterdam, 1700) was a man of considerable learning. According to David Franco Mendes, the Dutch poet Joost van den Vondel sought the opinion of Joseph before publishing a political stage play.

He founded a printing house, producing works in many languages, especially in Hebrew, Yiddish, Portuguese, and Spanish, which proved successful. In 1681, after the death of Daniel Elsevier, Joseph bought the stock and equipment of Elsevier's publishing house, which also included the non-Hebrew type cut by Christoffel van Dijck. Where the Hebrew material came from is not clear. Probably the Hungarian typecutter Nikolas Kis worked for Joseph, who also experimented with stereotypy and textile printing.

Joseph's first book, a prayer book according to the Sephardi rite, was published in 1658. The famous Hebrew Bible he produced in 1661 was prepared under the editorial supervision of the distinguished scholar Johannes Leusden; a second edition appeared in 1667, for which the States General awarded him with a gold medal and chain. He also published translations of the Bible, and in 1687 he announced that he had printed more than a million Bibles for England and Scotland. Athias' designs were also copied elsewhere. Joseph was accused of appropriating long-term copyright and reprint privileges that had been given by the Polish Jewish authorities in order to produce a Yiddish translation of the Hebrew Bible.

On Joseph's death in 1700 his son Immanuel (Amsterdam, ca. 1664–1714), who had been a partner since 1685, took over the business. He completed the elegant four-volume edition of Maimonides' *Code* which the elder Athias had begun. This edition, of 1150 copies, was dedicated to Moses Machado, army purveyor for King William III of England, who had given economic support to the Athias business. After the completion of the *Code*, Immanuel began the production of Boton's commentary to it, the *Lehem Mishneh*, of which three volumes were published by the time of his death in 1709. Father and son published about 450 books.

The punches and matrices of the firm later passed into the possession of a distant relative of Immanuel, Abraham b. Raphael Hezkia (Amsterdam, ca. 1684–1746), who printed Hebrew books in Amsterdam from 1728. In 1761 the material was acquired by the Proops brothers, Joseph, Jacob, and Abraham, and used by them and successive members of this printing dynasty until 1917, when the so-called Athias Cabinet was sold by auction and acquired by the Tetterode firm (Typefoundry Amsterdam). In 2001 the Amsterdam University Library received the cabinet with its unique contents on permanent loan.

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[Abraham Meir Habermann / A.K. Offenberg (2nd ed.)]

ATHLIT (Heb. עַתְלִית), ancient port on the Mediterranean coast of Ereẓ Israel, 19 mi. (31 km.) south of Cape Carmel; now site of a Jewish village. It has been identified with Kartha, a city of Zebulun, mentioned in some Greek versions of Joshua 21:34. The road station Certha was still mentioned in its vicinity in 333 C.E. Excavations have shown that the site was inhabited in the Iron Age, probably by Phoenicians. A colony of Greek mercenaries with Egyptian and native wives settled at Athlit in Persian-Hellenistic times. In 1217 Crusader pilgrims built a castle there called the Château des Pélerins (Castrum Peregrinorum); it was held by Templar knights. This served through most of the Crusader period as a kind of immigrants' hostel and absorption and clearing station for newly arrived knights of the Cross who were sent from here to their posts. It successfully resisted an attack by Sultan Baybars in 1264–65. Evacuated in 1291, a few months later than Acre, the fall of Athlit marked the final end of the Crusades. The castle was built on a promontory, jutting out into a bay which served it as a harbor. It was defended by a flooded fosse, a low outer wall, and an inner wall with two towers, 98 ft. high, one of which is still standing. Inside are vaulted store rooms, the foundations of an octagonal church, a vaulted refectory, and other ruins. A town with its own wall, church, and fort in the southeastern corner was attached to the castle; it contained a bath, and large smithies and stables. Near Athlit was a rock-cut passage (*Bāb al-Hawā*; in Latin: *Petra incisa* or *Destrictum*; now *Khirbat Duṣṭrī*) near which Baldwin I was attacked and wounded in 1103. The ruins of Athlit served as a quarry for the construction of Acre.

[Michael Avi-Yonah]

The modern village (moshavah) was founded in 1903 by Baron Edmond de *Rothschild's administration. Most of its lands were bought from Arab fishermen who had built their shacks among the Crusader ruins. One of the country's pioneer industrial enterprises, a plant for extracting table salt from sea water led into large evaporation pans, is located at Athlit. In 1911 an agricultural station was founded there by Aaron *Aaronsohn. In World War I it became a center of *Nili, the clandestine pro-British intelligence organization. During the Mandatory period, the British set up a prison there, and in the 1940s a detention camp for "illegal" immigrants (see *Immigration, "illegal"). A *Haganah raid on the camp in 1945 freed 200 inmates. After the establishment of the State of Israel in 1948 the camp became for a time a large immigrant reception center. In 1950 Athlit received municipal council status. In 1968 it had 2,110 inhabitants, increasing to 3,530 in the mid-1990s and 4,440 in 2002 on a municipal area of 5.5 sq. mi. (14 sq. km.).

In 1980 a bronze ram from a 2nd century B.C.E. warship was discovered about 200 yards off the coast of Athlit

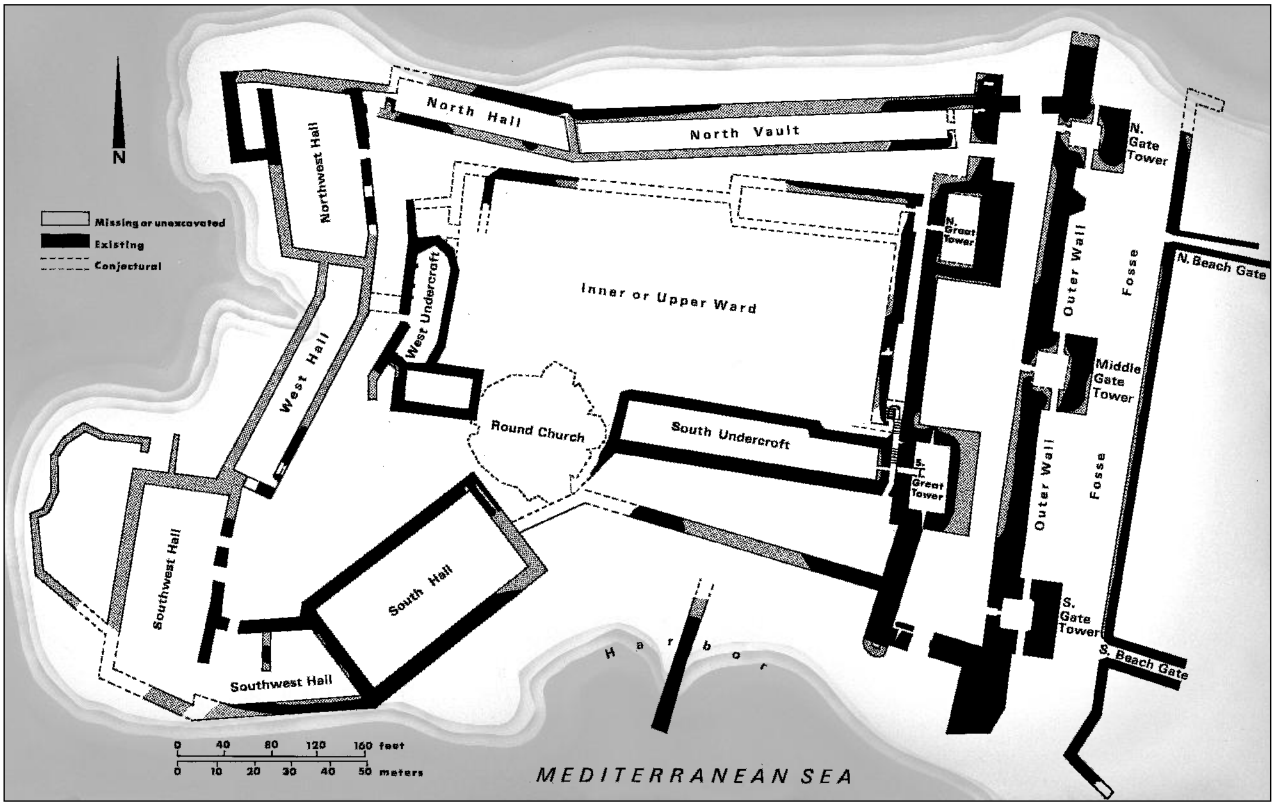
N
Missing or unexcavated
Existing
Conjectural
North Hall
North Vault
Northwest Hall
West Undercroft
Inner or Upper Ward
N. Great Tower
Outer Wall
Fosse
N. Gate Tower
N. Beach Gate
Middle Gate Tower
Round Church
South Undercroft
S. Great Tower
West Hall
Southwest Hall
South Hall
Outer Wall
Fosse
Southwest Hall
Harbor
S. Gate Tower
S. Beach Gate
0 40 80 120 160 feet
0 10 20 30 40 50 meters
MEDITERRANEAN SEA

Plan of the 13th-century Crusader castle at Athlit.

(the "Athlit ram"), about 7.5 ft. long (2.26 m.) and weighing 1,000 lbs. (465 kg.). It is now on display at the Haifa Maritime Museum.

[Efraim Orni / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

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ATHRIBIS, city in Lower Egypt on the Nile Delta, near the present Benha. Various inscriptions and papyri attest to a Jewish community in Athribis during the Ptolemaic and Roman periods. Two inscriptions dealt with a synagogue built there in the second or third century B.C.E. Jewish property in Athribis was confiscated by the Roman administration following the revolt of 115–17 C.E.

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[Isaiah Gafni]

ATHRONGES, shepherd, rebel, and pretender to the Judean throne following the death of Herod (4 B.C.E.). Athronges was known for "his great stature and feats of strength." After Herod's death, Athronges claimed the Judean throne. His claim was supported by his four brothers, each of whom led an armed band. The rebels began a campaign of terror and guerilla warfare that was originally aimed at Romans and royalists. Later, they mistreated all their captives without discrimination. The rebels' best-known feat was their attack near Emmaus (20 mi. west-northwest of Jerusalem) on a Roman company which was hauling grain and arms to the Roman Army. The rebels surrounded the Roman detachment and killed 40 soldiers and their commander, Arius, but Athronges' troops were driven off by counter-attacking royalist troops from Sebaste. Athronges and his brothers were finally subdued. However, it is not clear what happened to Athronges. Archelaus captured the eldest brother. Two other brothers were conquered by the troops of Ptolemy and Gratus. A fourth brother surrendered to Archelaus. An attempt has been made to identify Athronges with Ben-Batiaḥ, one of the heroes of the Jewish war against Rome (see S.J.L. Rapoport, *Erekh Millin* (1852), 257, s.v. *etrog*).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Jos., Wars., 2:60ff.; Jos., Ant., 17:278ff.

[Isaiah Gafni]

ATIL or **ITIL** (Turkish "river"), the *Khazar capital on the Volga (itself also called Atil or Itil). According to the *Murūj al-Dhahab* of the Arab historian al-Masʿūdī, the Khazar capital was transferred from *Samandar to the site on the Volga during the first Arab invasions of the Caucasus (seventh century). Accounts of the Arab-Khazar wars in the seventh and eighth centuries refer to al-Bayḍāʿ, apparently the early Arabic name for the capital of the Volga. Surviving descriptions of Atil date from the ninth and tenth centuries. It was then a double town, the western part of which, on the right bank of the Volga, was walled, and consisted chiefly of felt tents with a few clay houses. Some accounts mention that the citadel stood on an island. The minaret of the Friday Mosque of the Muslims of Atil is said to have been higher than the castle. Numerous Christians lived in Atil, under the jurisdiction of their bishop. The eastern commercial part of the town, on the left bank of the Volga, is not described in detail. The double town is referred to by several Turkish names: Sarighshin (from which the later Saqsin is probably derived), the first part of which (cf. *sari*, "yellow") presumably refers to the same feature as indicated by the Arabic name al-Bayḍāʿ, "the white"; and, for the other half, Khanbaligh or Khamlikh (Khamlij). It appears a mistake to interpret the latter as "town of the Khan"; Sarighshin evidently refers to the western half and Khanbaligh to the eastern half of the town. The exact site of Atil cannot at present be determined, but it is placed by M. Artamonov at approximately 87 mi. (144 km.) above *Astrakhan in the region of Yenotayevka-Selitryanoye. L.N. Gumilev, who with others made an archaeological survey of this locality in 1959, found no traces of Atil.

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[Douglas Morton Dunlop]

ATLAN, HENRI (1931–), French biologist and philosopher. Born in Algeria, Atlan became doctor of medicine and earned a Ph.D. in sciences. From 1966 to 1968, he was a research fellow in NASA's Ames Research Center and from 1970 to 1973 professor at the Weizmann Institute of Science in Reḥovot, Israel. In 1993, he was appointed to the French National Advisory Committee of Ethics for Sciences of Life and Health, remaining a member for seven years. He is emeritus professor of biophysics at the University of Paris VI and at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, director of studies at the School of Higher Studies in Social Sciences (EHESS, Paris), and director of the Research Center in Human Biology at the Hadassah academic hospital of Jerusalem.

Atlan is a leading researcher in such fields as genetic applications of biophysics, cell biology, immunology, and artificial intelligence. He has notably developed a theory of complexity and self-organization in various fields, such as biophysics, and has devoted much thought to the philosophical implications of the development of biology, mainly in regard to ethical questions. He wrote *L'organisation biologique et la théorie de l'information* (1972); *Entre le cristal et la fumée* (1979); *A tort et à raison, intercritique de la science et du mythe* (1986); *Enlightenmen to Enlightenment: Intercritique of Science and Myth* (1993); *Tout, non, peut-être. Education et vérité* (1991); *La fin du tout génétique? Vers de nouveaux paradigmes* (1999); *Etincelles de hasard, T.1: Connaissance spermatique* (1999); *La science est-elle humaine?* (2002); and *Etincelles de hasard, T.2: Athéisme de l'écriture* (2003), an analysis of the relationship between science and ethics inspired by talmudic and kabbalistic sources as well as by Spinoza's philosophy.

Atlan has been awarded the highest French distinctions (Chevalier de la Légion d'honneur, Officier dans l'Ordre du Mérite, Officier dans l'Ordre des Arts et des Lettres), and, in 1999, the Prize of the Italian Senate Presidency.

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[Dror Franck Sullaper (2nd ed.)]

ATLAN, JEAN (1913–1960), French painter, one of France's leading abstract artists after World War II. Atlan, who was born in Constantine, Algeria, went to Paris in 1930 to study philosophy and remained a student there until the Nazi occupation. He took up painting after he was forced to hide from the Germans in a psychiatric hospital. Atlan believed that a painting should present a concept different from that of the external world, but equally organic and alive. Critics have detected various elements in his work forms, which are half vegetable and half animal, the influence of Afro-American sculpture, the art of pre-Columbian America, and the nonfigurative art of North Africa. He was fascinated by the primitive, the magical, and the erotic and was considered the most "mystical" among modern French abstract painters. His style developed gradually, reaching its fullest expression in the last five years of his life.

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ATLANTA, capital of the state of Georgia, U.S. General population of greater Atlanta: 4,400,000; Jewish population: 97,000. Atlanta was chartered in 1837 as Terminus and developed as an important transportation center. German Jews lived in the area starting in the early 1840s. The first Jew who lived in Atlanta was Jacob Haas; he opened a dry goods business with Henry Levi in 1846. Moses Sternberger, Adolph Brady, and David Mayer followed shortly as did Aaron Alexander and his family, who were American-born Sephardim from Charleston, South Carolina. The Hebrew Benevolent Society established in 1860 became the Hebrew Benevolent Congregation in 1867. This occurred following a visit by Rev. Isaac Leeser of Philadelphia, who came to conduct a wedding. Leeser was the *ḥazzan* of Mikveh Israel of Philadelphia in the middle of the 19th century. He established the monthly *Occident* newspaper in 1844 which became a major media vehicle for American Jewry. He stood for traditional Judaism as Isaac Mayer *Wise began to pioneer Reform Judaism in the U.S. Leeser urged the leadership to form an actual congregation which was incorporated that year. Later the synagogue came to be known as the "Temple." The first rabbi was appointed in 1869, and the first building was constructed in 1877. Although Reform from its inception, several of the rabbis in the late 1800s were more traditional, but with the arrival of Dr. David Marx in 1898, the character of the Temple became almost Radical Reform with even Sunday services substituted for Sabbath services from 1904 to 1908.

East Europeans emigrating in the late 1870s established several Orthodox congregations in the following decade. They merged into the Ahavath Achim synagogue in 1887. After several breakaway shuls were formed and then disappeared, the congregation built a synagogue in 1901. In 1896 a visitor from Palestine came to Atlanta to collect money to issue his new book. When it appeared in Jerusalem in 1898 as *Ẓir Ne'eman*, the author, Yehoshua Ze'ev Avner, listed the 18 Atlanta contributors, including the Moses Montefiore Relief Society and the Ahavath Achim congregation. The descendants of some of the contributors still lived in Atlanta in 2005. One of the early rabbis, Berachya Mayerowitz (1902–6), gave his sermons in English. He also led a major fundraising effort at the city's Bijou Theater for the survivors of the Kishniev pogrom in April 1903. On December 5–6, 1904, he welcomed Jacob deHaas, director of the Federation of American Zionists, on his boom trip of three weeks throughout the south. DeHaas characterized the members of the congregation as "muscular Jews committed to Zionism."

One of the breakaway Orthodox congregations in the early 20th century, Shearith Israel, was incorporated in 1904 and survived. Several others did not. In 1910 Rabbi Tobias *Geffen became the rabbi of the synagogue, which was seeking a rabbi with "outstanding learning credentials" and one whose "sermons could touch the hearts of the people." His 60-year career in Atlanta was a blend of Orthodoxy and modernism. His determination to raise the level of Jewish education succeeded when he and later his children personally taught in the Atlanta Jewish Preparatory School and Shearith Israel Sunday School. Nine Atlanta men and one Chattanooga individual, who boarded, became Orthodox and Conservative rabbis. In two areas, he was the authority not only for Atlanta but throughout the South. He was the *mesader gittin*, issuing Jewish divorces throughout his career, and he checked the *shoḥetim* in Atlanta and 15 other cities. In 1916 in Atlanta 48 Jewish families, who did not live in the "center of the Jewish community," petitioned Rabbi Geffen to permit a slaughterer of chickens to be available in their area, outside of his normal jurisdiction, once a week to do kosher killing at "five cents a chicken." Rabbi Geffen's most notable halakhic decision, giving a *hekhsher* to Coca-Cola, an Atlanta company, was made in 1934.

In 1919 Rabbi Tobias Geffen met with Bishop Warren Candler, chancellor of Emory, a Methodist college which had just moved to Atlanta from South Georgia. Geffen's concern about Saturday classes prompted Candler to permit observant Jewish students who attended Emory to be present on the Jewish Sabbath and holidays without having to take notes and stand for exams. (Rabbi) Joel *Geffen and (Professor) Moses *Hadas were the first two Jewish students in this category. After a decade the Saturday classes ended, which resolved the issue.

The Jewish student body at Emory remained small until the 1950s. Professor Nathan *Saltz, who graduated from the Emory medical school in 1940, made *aliyah* in 1949 and established the surgical systems for all the major hospitals in Israel. In 1998 he was awarded the Israel Prize in Medicine. In the 1950s the number of Jewish students in all the Emory University schools was between 150 and 175. By the 1970s Emory's reputation was attracting Jewish students from the entire United States. Hillel statistics in the 1990s suggested that between 30 to 40% of the 5,500 undergraduates were Jewish. Parallel to the student growth was the faculty growth both in academic Judaica and general academia. Professor David Blumenthal was given the Jay and Leslie Cohen chair in Jewish Thought in 1976 when it was established. When the Carter Center came into being in the early 1980s, Professor Ken Stein, a Middle East specialist, was chosen as the academic director. In 2004 there were 12 full-time faculty members teaching in all areas of Judaica. The Dorot Professor of Jewish History is the noted Holocaust specialist, Deborah Lipstadt. A masters program in Jewish Studies exists and a doctoral program was being planned. When Arthur *Blank of Home Depot gave Emory a major gift, the department was given Blank's spiritual leader's name, Rabbi Donald Tam Jewish Studies Department.

In addition to the thousands of new Judaic volumes in Hebrew, English, Yiddish, and many other languages purchased by the Woodruff Library of Emory in the last 25 years, the Special Collections department under the leadership of Dr. Linda Matthews, now head of all libraries at the school, began to receive diverse collections of Jewish interest. The Rabbi Jacob Rothschild papers, Holocaust collections from various sources, the Elliot Levitas papers (Rhodes Scholar and Georgia congressman), the Morris Abrams papers, the Geffen papers, and numerous other collections are all in Emory's Special Collections. Nineteenth century Judaica Americana has both been donated and purchased.

Atlanta's earliest Jews were mostly merchants. Some, primarily members of the Temple, were active in such fields as banking, brokerage, insurance, and real estate and pioneered in the manufacture of paper products and cotton bagging. The East European Jews had small stores, and a large number were pawnbrokers on Decatur Street in the heart of the city. Throughout the 1920s, Jewish lawyers and physicians were not allowed to join most law firms and could only practice at certain hospitals. Prior to World War II those barriers were broken down, and the number of Jewish professionals increased dramatically. The main department store in the city, founded in 1884, was Rich's until it was purchased by a conglomerate in 1991. In 2005 the name Rich's disappeared completely from the store's nomenclature. Starting with its arrival in Atlanta in 1987, the Home Depot became the major Jewish-owned firm in the city.

Jews have held public office in Atlanta since the post-Civil War era. Samuel Weil and Lewis Arnheim served in the Georgia legislature in 1869 and 1872. Aaron Haas became the city's mayor pro tem in 1875. Victor Kriegshaber was president of the Atlanta Chamber of Commerce from 1917 until 1922. A founding member of the Atlanta Board of Education, David Mayer, was known as the "father of public schools." In the 1930s Max Cuba, Charles Bergman, and Louis Geffen served on the Atlanta City Council and Board of Education. After being a vice mayor of Atlanta from 1961 to 1968, Sam *Massell Jr. ran for mayor against the candidate of the Atlanta power structure, labeled as antisemitic in the course of the campaign. He won the election with 20% of the white vote and 90% of the black vote. After a very successful four-year term, Massell lost to Maynard Jackson, the first black to be elected mayor of the city.

Elliot Levitas was elected to Congress for four terms, the first Jew from Georgia in the U.S. House of Representatives. Liane Levitan was the County Commissioner of DeKalb County for 20 years (1983–2003). The major electoral change in the Atlanta area was in Cobb County. There in 1915 Leo *Frank was lynched by vigilantes in the town of Marietta near the home of the young white Protestant girl whom he was convicted of murdering by circumstantial evidence. Few Jews lived in Marietta and Cobb County until the 1980s. In 2000 Sam Olens, an attorney and active Conservative Jew, was elected chairman of the Cobb County Council. After his reelection in 2004, he was chosen chairperson of the Atlanta Regional Planning Board. Two other Marietta Jews were elected as judges in the county judicial system and statewide to the Georgia Court of Appeals.

Dr. David Marx (1872–1962) was rabbi of the Temple for 52 years. A leader in interfaith activities, Marx was extremely anti-Zionist, helping to found the American Council for Judaism. In 1945 his Yom Kippur sermon was a "tirade against the establishment of a Jewish state." He was challenged publicly by one of his own members, Albert Freedman, director of the Southeastern Region of the Zionist Organization of America. When Dr. Jacob *Rothschild succeeded Marx in 1947, he brought a deep commitment to social justice and also became a Zionist advocate. Rothschild was so outspoken for the civil rights of blacks that in 1958 the Temple was bombed, fortunately when no one was in the building. From the Atlanta mayor to the Georgia governor to President Eisenhower, strong support poured out against the perpetrators of this act. Ralph McGill, editor of the *Atlanta Constitution* and a visitor to Palestine and Israel in 1946 and 1950, won a Pulitzer Prize for his moving editorials condemning the bombing. In the 1960s Rothschild worked closely with Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. as new federal legislation was passed assuring American blacks their rights. When King was awarded the Nobel Prize, Rothschild organized the dinner in King's honor in Atlanta. Rothschild died a very young man and was succeeded by his associate Dr. Alvin Sugarman, an Atlanta native. Sugarman took the lead in the Atlanta Jewish community in regard to developing closer relations between the blacks and the Jews. The Rich's store, whose owners belonged to the Temple, was the first major Atlanta store to allow its cafeteria to be integrated. Many Jewish firms hired blacks for administrative positions prior to such hiring becoming widespread in the general community. The Anti-Defamation League's southeast region office in Atlanta and the American Jewish Committee's regional office worked diligently to aid blacks in court and through demonstrations. The changing attitude of the blacks toward American Jews was influenced by funding from Muslim groups and anti-Israel propaganda, which reached deeply into the South in general and Atlanta in particular.

From 1928 until 1982 Dr. Harry *Epstein served as the rabbi of Ahavath Achim. Ordained at the Hebron Yeshiva in 1925, where his brother was killed in the 1929 riots, Epstein possessed all the training necessary to be an Orthodox rabbi but chose to move his congregation into the Conservative movement after World War II. A marvelous orator in English and Yiddish, Epstein was the key Zionist leader in Atlanta and attended national conferences in major American cities where the foundation of the State of Israel was forged during World War II. He and Rothschild traveled to Israel together in 1950. On their return, they co-chaired the annual Welfare Fund Drive. In 1953 Epstein joined the Rabbinical Assembly and brought his congregation into the United Synagogue of Conservative Judaism. He was most adept at training individuals to be communal and synagogue leaders. Once he moved his synagogue to the Northside of the city where most of his members lived, the congregation grew to over 2,000 families. From 1971 until 1995, Cantor Isaac Goodfriend, a Holocaust survivor, served as the cantor of Ahavath Achim. Goodfriend developed a full-scale music program at Ahavath Achim. In addition he became a community leader in his own right. He campaigned throughout the United States in 1976 for President Jimmy Carter, and he was asked to sing "The Star-Spangled Banner" at the Inauguration in Washington. Once elected, Carter appointed Stuart *Eizenstat his domestic policy advisor and attorney Robert Lifshitz, as White House counsel. Eizenstat played a major role in the legislation for the Holocaust Memorial in Washington and Cantor Goodfriend served on the first Holocaust Memorial Commission. Lifshitz was a significant figure in the negotiations between Menahem Begin and Anwar Sadat, which led to the Camp David agreements in 1979.

Epstein was succeeded by Dr. Arnold Goodman, who led Ahavath Achim for the last 20 years of the 20th century. He taught at one of the black colleges in Atlanta and was an outspoken advocate for Israel.

In the period just after World War II the only synagogue facility available on the north side of Atlanta was the educational building of Ahavath Achim. A group of Orthodox Jews established in 1947 a small congregation, Beth Jacob, on

Boulevard in that area. There was no way of predicting how this synagogue would change the Jewish character of Atlanta. In 1951 Dr. Emanuel Feldman came from the Ner Israel Yeshiva in Baltimore to be Beth Jacob's rabbi. His commitment to Orthodoxy helped develop the congregation into the first of a string of Orthodox congregations and day schools. This growth coincided both with the **Ba'al Teshuvah* movement in Judaism and the evangelical revival in American Christianity. Feldman was an outstanding speaker, had the knowledge to give *shi'urim*, and had a very fine secular education. Once Beth Jacob moved to the Toco Hills area near Emory University, Rabbi Feldman was able to build a community of Sabbath observers, many of whom taught at the university and worked at what is now known as the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention. His experience as a congregational rabbi was so successful that he wrote a "love letter to his congregation," a rare document in the American Jewish rabbinate. His son Ilan Feldman succeeded him as rabbi in 1995, and Rabbi Emanuel Feldman and his wife moved to Jerusalem.

The Sephardi congregation, Or VeShalom, was founded in 1914. The majority of the early Sephardi Jews in Atlanta, who arrived in the first decade of the 20th century, were from Rhodes. Rabbi Joseph Cohen, a Hebraic scholar and a *sofer,* was the spiritual leader of the congregation from the mid-1930s until 1973. Under his leadership the synagogue built a new building in the Toco Hills area in 1968.

In 1904 the Reform and Orthodox Jews formed the YMHA. By 1908 it had become the Jewish Educational Alliance, and by 1911 a building was completed on Capitol Avenue. In 1954 the Alliance moved to Peachtree Street as the Jewish Community Center. As the Jewish community began to grow beyond the perimeter highway, a satellite facility of the JCC was built in 1979 in the Dunwoody area. Then the community in Cobb County expanded into a new center of Jewish life, and another satellite facility of the JCC was constructed in Marietta in 1989. Because the JCC locale in Dunwoody had major acreage, the leadership decided to sell the intown facility and build a new campus. In 1995 the JCC and adjacent Federation facilities were closed. The campus in Dunwoody was named for Bernard Marcus, who gave a major gift to the $60 million capital campaign. In the early years of the 21st century the JCC grew from 10,000 units to over 26,000 units. At the Marcus JCC campus programming is provided for all ages with athletic facilities, a professional theater, a children's discovery museum, and a kosher cafeteria.

Two organizations, the Moses Montefiore Relief Society (1896) and the Free Kindergarten and Social Settlement (1903), merged into the Federation of Jewish Charities in 1912. In 1924 the Jewish Social Services evolved out of the Federation. In 1928 Ed Kahn came to Atlanta as the head of Social Services. Then in 1936 Harold Hirsch, a noted leader in the Jewish and Atlanta legal community, pioneered the establishment of the Jewish Welfare Fund for combined fundraising, headed by Ed Kahn until 1960. He was succeeded by Mike Gettinger, an Orthodox Jew who broadened the scope of the Federation and brought in major donors from different sectors of the community. Gettinger was followed by David Sarnat, who took over in 1984.

At the end of 1984 the Metropolitan Atlanta Jewish Population Study pointed to the growth of the Jewish population from 9,630 at the end of World War II to 59,084. Affiliation with synagogues had dropped from 90% in 1947 to 44% in 1984. The key to the future of Atlanta Jewry lay in the fact that a quarter of the population were 18 and below; 22% were in the 30–39 age bracket and only 12.6% were above 60. The Jews had moved, according to the study, to suburban areas north of Atlanta in Gwinett and Cobb counties. Because of the needs of youth and younger parents, five synagogues had been formed in these counties. In total there were 15 synagogues in the Atlanta area in 1984. In 2005 there were 34 synagogues in the Greater Atlanta area; six of which were Chabad, six Orthodox, one Gay, and the rest Reform and Conservative. In the 1984 study number 23 on the priority agenda for community needs were Jewish educational programs. Once that became known to the Federation leadership changes began to occur.

In 1985 the Torah Day School joined the Greenfield Academy (1953), Yeshiva High School (1970), and Epstein Solomon Schechter School (1973). Since then the Davis Academy (Reform) (1992), Temima Girls High School (1996), Weber Community High School (1997), and Yeshiva Ohr Yisrael (2002) have been established. There is a Tichon Communal High School for all students who are graduates of elementary day school programs and congregational religious schools. There are active Jewish educational programs at all 34 synagogues as well as afternoon Hebrew schools and Sunday schools in some congregations. The Jewish Community Center has many Jewish educational programs and lectures including the largest Melton program in the United States.

In November 1983 the General Assembly of the Jewish Federations was held in Atlanta. Featured at the newly opened Schatten Gallery in the Woodruff Library at Emory University was an exhibit on the history of Georgia Jewry from 1733 to 1983. That exhibit proved to be a key step in the founding of the Breman Jewish Museum. The Museum and Archives were established in 1996 after a major exhibit on Atlanta Jewry at the Atlanta History Center's new annex. The Breman Museum has two permanent displays: one on the Holocaust and the other on Atlanta Jewry. The Museum has been quite active, and new exhibits have been created just for display. Other traveling exhibits have also been shown at the Museum. As an archival center, the Breman Museum has major collections on Atlanta Jews and communal institutions. In addition archival material from various parts of the South is now being housed at the Museum.

The Jewish Federation of Greater Atlanta acquired its new name in 1997. Since that time the Federation's professional leadership went from David Sarnat to Steve Rakkitt. The endowment program of the Federation now contains over $125 million. The Federation is the major initiator of programs for the Jewish community, although it does not provide any grants for synagogue programs. The Federation has seen a major age change in the Jewish community, so in 1998 a new Jewish Home was constructed on the campus where the older Jewish Home stood and the Jewish Tower. The Jewish Home built in 1975 was renovated and became an assisted living facility. The campus gives senior citizens the opportunity to move from one facility to the other as per their needs.

The entrepreneurial skills of Atlanta Jewish merchants were evident in the Dalton Carpet Mart Centers, Home Depot, and dot.com startup companies. The heads of these companies, Nate Lipson, Arthur *Blank, and Bernard Marcus, have become major donors in the community. Arthur Blank purchased the Atlanta Falcons Professional Football team; Bernard Marcus was building a $250 million Aquarium in the center of Atlanta. Many other communal projects are under Jewish leadership.

When Atlanta won the right to host the Summer Olympics in 1996, the leadership of the Jewish Federation of Greater Atlanta allied itself with the Southeastern Office of the Israel Consul based in Atlanta to ensure that during the Games the martyred Munich 11 were remembered. Negotiations occurred for several years, and the Olympics Board was trying to avoid this public type of memorial. Steve Selig, at the time of the Olympics in 1996, worked incessantly until the breakthrough occurred. On the site of the Federation Offices, the Selig Center, there was a public dedication of a memorial to the Munich 11. The international president of the Modern Olympics participated in the moving event along with the families of the Munich martyrs who came from Israel to be at the Games and a very large group of Jewish Olympians from all over the world.

Atlanta has always had Anglo-Jewish papers from early in its history. There were four different English papers and one in Yiddish prior to World War I. In 1925 the *Southern Israelite* moved from Augusta to Atlanta and became the only weekly southern Jewish paper aside from the *Baltimore Jewish Comment*, which became the current *Baltimore Jewish Times*. The *Southern Israelite*, now the *Atlanta Jewish Times*, had three notable editors: Adolph Rosenberg, Vida Goldgar, and Neil Rubin. In the early 21st century the paper was owned by Jewish Renaissance Publications headed by Michael Steinhardt.

A writer and a playwright have helped to enlighten the American Jewish community and the world Jewish community about Atlanta Jewry. Eli Evans published *The Provincials* in 1973, the first book on the Jews in the South. The popularity of the book has kept it in print since then. The revised edition has several illuminating chapters on Atlanta Jewry through the year 2000. The playwright Alfred Uhry made Atlanta Jewry come to life in his award-winning play *Driving Miss Daisy*. Uhry captures the spirit of the Atlanta Temple crowd through the interaction of Miss Daisy and her chauffeur Hoke. The play has been produced in many languages and was an Oscar award-winning movie with Jessica Tandy and Morgan Freeman. Alfred Uhry has donated his papers to Special Collections at Emory University.

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[David Geffen (2nd ed.)]

ATLANTIC CANADA, designation for the Canadian provinces of New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, Prince Edward Island, and Newfoundland. The Jewish communities of Atlantic Canada often are overlooked in discussions of Canadian Jewry or simply lumped together with other small Jewish communities. Sometimes they even take on an exotic quality, as if there were something mystical about Jewish existence in Atlantic Canada. Yet Jewish life in the region continues to exist, and although it may not be as vibrant as in others, some communities in fact are thriving.

History

The Jewish community of Atlantic Canada is one of the oldest in Canada. In New Brunswick, Jewish settlement is traced back to Solomon Hart, who came to Saint John from England in 1856. Over the next decades this community grew and became a center of Jewish life in New Brunswick. The Moncton Jewish community was established by 22 families from Durbonne, Lithuania, who immigrated at or about the same time, while the Fredericton community is much more recent (the first family arrived around 1912).

The beginnings of a Jewish community in Nova Scotia can be traced back to the mid-1700s when there were approximately 30 Jews in Halifax. This small community disappeared by the mid-19th century and was not re-established until the 1880s. Halifax emerged during this period as the center of Jewish population in Nova Scotia. Halifax was also one of the major debarkation points for thousands of Jewish immigrants coming from Europe throughout the 20th century. There are very few Canadian Jews whose families did not arrive through Pier 21 in Halifax. For many, it was off the ships and onto the trains to destinations west.

The other area of significant Jewish settlement in Nova Scotia was Cape Breton, with Jewish communities in Sydney, Glace Bay, New Waterford, and Whitney Pier. Prince Edward Island never had more than a handful of Jews most of whom arrived after the 1920s. Their numbers limit Jewish organization there. Newfoundland's population, largely concentrated in St. John's, is more recent.

Demography

The Jewish population of Atlantic Canada is small, numbering only 3,915 persons in 2001 and constituting only 1.1% of the Jewish population of Canada. The vast majority (71%) of Jews in the region resided in Nova Scotia (2,780). The remaining Jewish population was distributed as follows: New Brunswick, 21.5%; Newfoundland and Labrador, 4.9%; and Prince Edward Island, 2.7%.

Over half of Atlantic Canadian Jews resided in Halifax. Pockets of Jewish population were found in the smaller cities (Fredericton, 290; Moncton, 265; Cape Breton, 235; St. John's, 145; and St. John, 135). These smaller communities, however, experienced population decline in the late 1990s, particularly Saint John, while Halifax experienced increases in Jewish population. Communities also varied greatly by age. For example, the median age in Saint John and Cape Breton was 57.1 and 62.0 respectively, while the median age for Halifax was 41.1. Half of Cape Breton's Jewish population – but only 16% of Halifax's population – was 65 years of age or older. As these demographics suggest, Halifax has become an important center for Jewish life in the region.

The viability of the region's Jewish communities must be set in the context of these demographic factors. Not only does Nova Scotia have the largest Jewish population of the region, it is the only Atlantic Province that has experienced positive growth in the last number of decades, growing by 21.1% since 1971. The Jewish populations of New Brunswick and Newfoundland, on the other hand, declined by 27.6% and 28.3% respectively. These demographics have important repercussions as they impact on mechanisms for Jewish identity such as visibility, integration, and institutional support structures.

Community Life

Because of their numbers, Atlantic Canada Jews cannot be identified as living in certain residential areas or belonging to certain social clubs. Even in Halifax there are no homogenous Jewish neighborhoods. This lack of a critical mass means that Atlantic Jews lack collective visibility and also have become integrated into the larger society. While integration occurs everywhere in Canada, in Atlantic Canada, Jews participate not only in the impersonal aspects of the larger society such as politics and economics, but also in the more personal areas such as friendship networks and kinship ties through intermarriage. In the smaller communities of the region this participation is further encouraged by the limited number of fellow Jews.

One does not find in the smaller Jewish communities in Atlantic Canada the panoply of Jewish support systems, both religious and secular, that are found in metropolitan centers, e.g., synagogues, Jewish Ys, community centers, and day schools. In Atlantic Canada, there are synagogues only in a few communities. Only Moncton, Fredericton, and Halifax have both synagogues and rabbis (Halifax has two synagogues as well as Lubavitch activity). Cape Breton, Saint John, and St. John's synagogues do not have rabbis.

These factors would lead one to conclude that Jewish life in Atlantic Canada is highly precarious. While this is possibly true for centers with declining and aging Jewish populations, it is important to understand that the differences among the communities are not only quantitative differences but translate into qualitative differences in the struggle for viability of the Jewish communities. What supports this struggle and how are these differences manifested?

Mechanisms for Survival

(1) THE SYNAGOGUE. For religiously affiliated Jews in Atlantic Canada, synagogues, where they exist, are important conservers of Jewish life. The synagogue, as well as the rabbi, takes on a much more critical role in organized Jewish life than in larger centers where there are a variety of Jewish institutional connections. Communities where there are no synagogues and/or rabbis are less likely to grow and survive than those communities with active synagogues. Halifax has the most developed (but still limited) religious institutional base for maintaining Jewish identity. It is, however, difficult for the synagogue alone to address all aspects of Jewish identity. Nor does the synagogue address the needs of secular Jews. There are, however, a number of other mechanisms that reinforce Jewish life.

(2) THE ATLANTIC JEWISH COUNCIL (AJC). The AJC, created in 1975, serves as an umbrella organization for Jewish activities in the entire region, offering a range of services such as youth programming, campus services, young leadership, seniors' programming, conferences, chaplaincy, and Camp Kadimah (a Jewish Zionist camp in Nova Scotia). It not only affords a secular focus for Jewish identity, but also is an important link to the external Jewish community. The AJC's participation in national organizations such as the Canadian Jewish Congress, the United Israel Appeal, and Canada-Israel Committee reinforces the region's sense of belonging to the Canadian Jewish community. As such, the parameters of the Jewish community have grown beyond the geographical boundaries of Atlantic Canada. Aided by advanced communication and transportation, community can be disentangled from spatial constraints. Through participation in activities such as national organizations, national newspapers, and the Internet, important mechanisms for preservation of Jewish identity have been developed.

(3) INTERPERSONAL SUPPORTS. In addition to these structural and institutional supports, there are unique interpersonal supports that are important in maintaining Jewish identity. In Atlantic Canada, Jews include all Jews in their communities and are friendly and welcoming to everyone. Whether this is necessitated by small numbers, or reflects the larger regional culture of hospitality, the result is the same – a better integration of Jews into the Jewish community. Having to rely on one's fellow Jews for services such as a *minyan* or *shiva* meals creates a sense of community that is not found in metropolitan centers. Jewishness cannot be taken for granted when one is not surrounded by Jews.

Postscript

It is often surprising for Jews from other regions to recognize that there is Jewish life in Atlantic Canada. While some communities are aging and declining, and one is pessimistic about their future, for others there remains limited but ongoing Jewish life. Yet, often one hears from larger centers that if Jewish survival is important, Atlantic Jews should simply pack their bags and move west.

Advocates for a continued presence have responded to this challenge. They argue that Atlantic Jewry must be maintained and supported for reasons that go beyond the economic impracticability of relocation. Firstly, there is the Jewish responsibility that the entire Jewish community is obligated to help fellow Jews survive (both physically and spiritually). Secondly, there is much about Atlantic Jewry that is worthwhile maintaining, for example, the friendliness, national participation, and sense of community discussed earlier. Finally, Jews in Atlantic Canada carry the larger Canadian Jewish agenda to their communities. If there were no Jews in Moncton or Halifax to carry the torch for Jewish causes (e.g., Israel, antisemitism, etc.), then non-Jews in these cities would know nothing about Jewish issues. Because they are often friends and neighbors of political decision makers, they can carry the torch more successfully than Jews in larger communities. The Jewish community of Atlantic Canada, it is hoped, will remain a vital piece in the Canadian Jewish mosaic.

[Sheva Medjuck (2nd ed.)]

ATLANTIC CITY, one of the most frequently visited tourist sites on the East Coast of the United States, located off the southern New Jersey coast and part of a two-county area rich in Jewish culture and identity opportunity. At the outset of the 21st century, over 15,000 year-round Jewish residents lived in the Atlantic/Cape May bi-county area, which more than triples in population in the summer months. The gaming mecca with its nearby historic Boardwalk exists basically on Absecon Island, which includes Atlantic City, Ventnor, Margate, and the downbeach community of Longport. The area has various synagogues of most denominations including two thriving Reform congregations, several well-attended Conservative congregations, and a small but growing Orthodox population. Wildwood, part of Cape May County, is home to another Conservative congregation.

The first Jewish settlers arrived in 1880, when the city was already a summer resort for Philadelphians. Ten years later the first congregation, Beth Israel (Reform), was founded, followed by Rodef Sholom (Orthodox) in 1896. From the outset Jews gravitated to the tourist-oriented industries. They have continued in this capacity and in the professions, while also playing a leading role in the city's cultural and philanthropic activities. Jewish organizational life developed gradually. As precursors to what now exists a Young Men's Hebrew Association was founded in 1911, and in 1916 the Hebrew Sheltering Home was founded to provide a temporary haven for indigent persons needing food and lodging. This then evolved into the 155-bed Hebrew Old Age Center, now formally known as Seashore Gardens Living Center, providing geriatric care. From the Montefiore True Sisters, who provided food baskets to the needy, evolved the Federation of Jewish Agencies, founded in 1923 to coordinate all fundraising, budgeting, and community planning for local, national, and overseas agencies. There was a community weekly, the *Jewish Record*, founded in 1939, which existed until the early 1990s. As with many northeastern cities and even the famed Catskill Resort area in New York, during the middle of the 20th century, Atlantic City underwent a decline. With the advent of air conditioning and with non-Jewish hotels ending their policy of excluding Jews, the Jewish hotels declined and went out of business. The introduction of gaming was intended to revive investment in the city and to make it a tourist destination once again. By then many Jews and most Jewish institutions had left the city. By the turn of the 20th century Atlantic and Cape May counties rather than Atlantic City had become the center of Jewish life.

Atlantic County boasts two popular kosher restaurants, two day schools (Jewish Community Day School of Atlantic and Cape May Counties, housed in a new building in Northfield, and the Trocki Hebrew Academy, which is located in Egg Harbor Township), a *mikveh*, and a newly expanded network of social service agencies. They include the brand new Katz Jewish Community Center and Jewish Family Service, both housed as part of the "community campus" environment in Margate City. Also part of the campus is the Jewish Federation of Atlantic and Cape May Counties as well as the local Board of Jewish Education. During the summer season the well-known Camp By the Sea is a thriving area for local and summer youth held at the JCC.

Atlantic City is home to the Jewish Older Adult Services agency and in nearby Galloway Township the Seashore Gardens Living Center accommodates both assisted living and long-term care in a magnificent facility opened in 2003. Seashore Gardens offers kosher living to all of its residents. Nearby Cape May is a peaceful paradise for summer and year-round visitors who want pristine beaches, a beautiful walkway, lots of hotels, and bed and breakfast choices along with top-notch restaurants. A newspaper, the *Jewish Times*, located in Pleasantville, serves the local community with its weekly publication.

The Richard Stockton College of New Jersey, a growing college in the New Jersey State Higher Education system, is also the center for the Holocaust Resource Center. Here those interested in this academic area find a study environment conducive to this highly regarded program. The RSCNJ campus offers a myriad of degree choices, including a baccalaureate degree in Jewish Studies and a masters degree program in Holocaust and Genocide Studies.

[Linda S. Kulp (2nd ed.)]

ATLAS, mountain range in Morocco and Algeria.

History

Arabic literary sources tell of some *Berber tribes in the Atlas Mountains which observed the tenets of Judaism: e.g., the Jarawa in the Aurès Mountains of eastern Algeria (see *Kahina), the Nafusa, the Fandalawa, and Madyuna (west Algerian tribes), and the Bahlula, the Ghayata, and the Fazaz in the Moroccan Atlas. The Islamization of these tribes is ascribed to Idris the Great (ninth century). It is significant that in Jewish sources there is no mention of these tribes. The *Almohads did not succeed in conquering the Atlas tribes and, apparently, many Jews found shelter among them during the persecutions. Until 1956, many Jewish *mellahs* existed in the Atlas Mountains and on their slopes. Situated on the main communication routes in their quarters near the Berber villages, these small isolated communities remained closely attached to their faith and traditions. Their primary occupations included small business, peddling, metal crafts (silversmiths and blacksmiths), and wine production. According to legends, these tribes had once been strong enough to sustain themselves and to aid the Berbers in their internecine struggles. Many Jews in the Middle Atlas and in Sous Valley either converted voluntarily to Islam or were forced to convert during the *marabout* movement in the 16th century. During the 19th century the Atlas communities were finally subjugated and sometimes reduced to semi-slavery. The Jewish communities of the Atlantic Atlas disappeared. Throughout the Atlas region old Jewish cemeteries and sanctuaries served as shrines for both Jews and Muslim Berbers.

[David Corcos]

In Recent Times

In 1948 there were about 10,000 Jews living in the Atlas Mountains area of Morocco. About half were peddlers and artisans, while some engaged in agriculture. They were scattered in many settlements, in which there were often no more than a few dozen families. These Jews were observant, although the majority were illiterate. They lacked teachers in their villages, and frequently they had no contact even with Jewish communities in the area. Some of the villages were so isolated that their very existence was unknown, until they were discovered in the 1950s when the exodus to Israel began. Between 1952 and 1955 dozens of villages in the area were abandoned. In the largest of these, Tamzert, there were 68 families consisting of 340 persons. During this period a total of 532 families (2,914 persons) went to Israel from the Atlas Mountains, the rest, some 5,000 persons, migrating there later. The fact that they possessed no property facilitated their migration, for even the farmers among them did not own land but were tenants in exchange for a quarter of the crops. On the other hand, they were in need of basic medical attention, since many suffered from skin diseases, and from partial or total blindness resulting from trachoma. Almost all immigrants from the Atlas Mountains settled in cooperative villages in Israel and engaged in agriculture.

[Haim J. Cohen]

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ATLAS, DAVID (1924–), U.S. meteorologist. Born in New York, Atlas joined the Air Force Cambridge Research Laboratory in 1948, and became chief of the weather radar branch. In 1965 he accepted a professorship at the University of Chicago's Department of Geophysical Sciences. Atlas was active in the field of meteorology for six decades. He is best known for his research in the field of radar technology. Other dimensions to Atlas' career are those of inventor, educator at the University of Chicago, laboratory director at the Air Force Cambridge Research Laboratory, division director at the National Center for Atmospheric Research, and laboratory director at the Goddard Laboratory for Atmospheric Science. He served the AMS in many capacities, including the position of president. In recognition of his accomplishments, Atlas received the AMS Meisinger, Charney, and Rossby awards. He is also a member of the National Academy of Engineering.

Atlas has had a profound influence on meteorology in general through his research and through the people with whom he worked and whom he touched as a mentor. Atlas' contributions to aviation safety include a device for detecting severe storms, which was adopted by all major commercial airlines, based upon the use of the Doppler effect in radar systems to comprehend the structure of the tornado as well as devices for the automatic plotting of wind velocity at set altitudes within storms. He made further major contributions to radar meteorology by inventing a method for the measurement of atmospheric turbulence and also by developing means of detecting the sea breeze and the echoes of lightning channels descending from the tops of thunderstorms. His recognition of the exceptionally wide radar reflections received from hailstones enabled pilots to detect hail conditions in advance and to avoid them. The safety of modern air travel is largely due to these contributions to radar research, which have also greatly helped the science of agrometeorology.

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[Dov Ashbel / Bracha Rager (2nd ed.)]

ATLAS, ELEAZAR (1851–1904), Hebrew scholar and critic. He was born in Beisagola (district of Kovno) and educated at the yeshivah of Zager, where under the influence of *maskilim* he secretly devoted himself to the study of Jewish history and literature. His literary work was first published in *Ha-Karmel* (1875); later he became a principal contributor to *Ha-Ẓefirah* and published critical essays on important works on Jewish history in *Ha-Asif*; these included discussions of the works of A.H. Weiss, Graetz, and others. In 1888 he published *Ha-Kerem* in which leading Hebrew writers were to participate; it was intended to be a periodical, but only one issue appeared. Financial difficulties forced him to move from place to place, until he settled in Bialystok in 1895 and became a bookkeeper. His severe criticism of the growing political Zionist movement, Herzl, Aḥad Ha-Am, and of new trends in Hebrew literature is contained in a collection of articles, *Mah le-Fanim u-Mah le-Aḥor* ("What is Progressive and What is Retrogressive," 1898). During his later years he served as a private tutor in Moscow and wrote articles on the history of the Jews in Poland. These were stolen from him shortly before his death, while on a journey to Bialystok, to which he was compelled to return when Jews were no longer permitted to live in Moscow.

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[Getzel Kressel]

ATLAS, JECHEZKIEL (1913–1942), physician and a leader of Jewish partisans fighting the Nazis in Poland. Atlas was born in Rawa-Mazowiecka, Poland, and studied medicine in France and Italy. With the German invasion of Poland in September 1939 Atlas and his parents were in Kozłowszczyzna, an area under Soviet occupation. When the Germans invaded the Soviet Union in June 1941, they sent *Einsatzgruppen* to murder Jews, Soviet commissars, and gypsies. Ghettoization followed the murder. Atlas' parents and sister died in the ghetto on November 24, 1941. He remained alone and like so many partisans without the bonds of family. He went to serve as a doctor in the village of Wielka-Wola and as a physician to Soviet troops who had escaped to the forests. Atlas organized young Jews who had managed to escape from the nearby Dereczyn ghetto on the day of its liquidation as a partisan group. He obtained weapons for them and became their commander under the authority of a Soviet partisan commander. The Soviets initially wanted his services as a physician, but as he was a skilled tactician, the partisans insisted that he lead a combat team. Atlas initiated attacks on the German garrisons in Dereczyn in August 1942, in Kozłowszczyzna in September killing 44 policemen, and in Ruda-Jaworska in October of that year, killing 127 Germans, capturing 75, and seizing much needed arms and ammunition. He headed a sabotage team which blew up a train on the Lida-Grodno line, and which burned a strategic bridge on the Niemen (Neman) River. He also led his fighters into battle when the Germans carried out a reprisal against the partisans (Sept. 15, 1942) and captured a German plane that had made a forced landing in the area (Oct. 2, 1942). Atlas was wounded in the battle at Wielka-Wola, dying from his wounds in December 1942.

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[Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

ATLAS, SAMUEL (1899–1977), philosopher and talmudist. Born in Kamai, Lithuania, Atlas studied at rabbinic schools there and afterward at universities in Russia and Germany. He taught in Warsaw and in England before going to the United States in 1942. He joined the faculty of the Hebrew Union College in Cincinnati as professor of philosophy and Talmud, and from 1951 taught in its New York school. Despite his Reform institutional affiliation, Atlas retained a life-long, intimate friendship with the outstanding Orthodox rabbinic scholar, Jehiel Jacob *Weinberg. Atlas was essentially a follower of Hermann *Cohen's critical idealism, in the light of which he pursued his studies in both Jewish legal and philosophical thought. For Atlas, God is the idea of the ultimate coincidence of the "ought" and the "is" that occurs only in infinity. Until then all action and thought strive toward this noumenal goal; these strivings constitute, respectively, human ethical history and the history of philosophy. However, as opposed to Cohen who held that God "guarantees" the ultimate consummation, Atlas stressed that God only assures "the possibility of its realization," and it is up to man to bring about the realization ("Man and the Ethical Idea of God," in: the *Central Conference of American Rabbis Journal*, 15 (1968), no. 1, 40–53). Atlas wrote *From Critical to Speculative Idealism: The Philosophy of Solomon Maimon* (1965), a series of monographs, especially on Maimonides and Maimon, and was the editor of texts from medieval Jewish legal literature. He published an annotated edition of R. Abraham b. David's (Ravad's) novellae to the Talmud on tractate *Bava Kamma*, and miscellaneous chapters of Maimonides' *Yad.* Atlas' *Netivim ba-Mishpat ha-Ivri* (1978) was published posthumously.

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[Steven S. Schwarzschild / Marc B. Shapiro (2nd ed.)]

ATOMISM, theory that physical bodies consist ultimately of minute, irreducible, and homogeneous particles called atoms (Greek *atomos/atomon* = indivisible). In medieval Arabic and Hebrew works atomism derives from Greek (Democritus, Epicurus) and Indian sources. Common Hebrew terms for the atom are: "*ha-ḥelek she-eino mitḥallek*" ("indivisible particle") or simply "*ḥelek*"; "*ha-eẓemha-pirdi*" ("separate substance") or simply "*eẓem*"; in Karaite texts also "*ḥatikhah*" = "*juz'*," "*ḥelek,*" and "*dak*" ("minute [body]"). The majority of Jewish thinkers rejected atomism, except for Karaite authors who adhered to the *Muʿtazilite* system of *Kalām, along with its atomism; e.g., Joseph al-Basir (11th century), his pupil *Jeshua b. Judah, and *Aaron b. Elijah of Nicomedia (14th century; *Eẓ Ḥayyim*, ed. by F. Delitzch (1841), 12ff.). Judah Hadassi (12th century) is a prominent exception (*Eshkol ha-Kofer* (1836), ch. 28, 19b). While propounding a Muʿtazilite-type system, Saadiah Gaon (tenth century) rejected its atomism, and affirmed the virtual infinite divisibility of matter (*Beliefs and Opinions*, tr. by S. Rosenblatt (1948), 45, 50ff.). Objections to atomism are also raised by Saadiah's contemporary, the Neoplatonist Isaac b. Joseph *Israeli (*Sefer ha-Yesodot*, ed. Fried, ch. 2, pp. 43 ff.), and by the later Neoplatonist, Solomon ibn *Gabirol (11th century; *Fons Vitae*, ed. by C. Baeumker (1895), 52, 57–58). *Maimonides (12th century) followed the physics of Aristotle with its rejection of atomism (*Guide of the Perplexed*, tr. by Pines, 1 (1963), 51, 112). In a historically significant context, Maimonides criticized the atomism of the later Ashʿarite Kalām, maintaining that its doctrine of constant creation of new atoms by God and rejection of natural causality was induced by preconceived religious opinions concerning creation (*ibid.*, 177 ff., 194 ff.). Aaron b. Elijah defended the Kalām by arguing that atomism is necessitated by reason and is neutral per se with respect to the question of creation, as is evident from its advocacy by Epicurus, who viewed atoms as primordial. Maimonides' strictures were accentuated by later Aristotelians, e.g., *Levi b. Gershom (14th century; *Milḥamot Adonai* (1560), pt. 6, 1; ch. 3), who also gives a sophisticated explanation of the infinite divisibility of extension (*ibid.*, pt. 6:1, ch. 11). Ḥasdai *Crescas (14th–15th century), a critic of the Aristotelian system, defended the atomistic theory (H.A. Wolfson, *Crescas' Critique of Aristotle* (1929), 121, 569–70).

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[Joel Kraemer]

ATONEMENT (Heb. כִּפֻּרִים, *kippurim*, from the verb כפר). The English word atonement ("at-one-ment") significantly conveys the underlying Judaic concept of atonement, i.e., reconciliation with God. Both the Bible and rabbinical theology reflect the belief that as God is holy, man must be pure in order to remain in communion with Him. Sin and defilement damage the relationship between creature and Creator, and the process of atonement – through *repentance and reparation – restores this relationship.

In the Bible

The basic means of atonement is the sacrificial rite, which functions to purify man from both sin and uncleanliness (e.g., Lev. 5; Pederson, pp. 358–64). In its most spiritualized aspect, however, the sacrificial rite is only the outward form of atonement, and in order for it to be effective, man must first purify himself. This was the constantly reiterated message of the prophets during periods when Israel came close to viewing the atoning efficacy of the rite as automatic (Isa. 1:11–17; see de Vaux, Anc Isr, 454 ff.). Fasting and prayer are also specified as means of atonement (Isa. 58:1–10; Jonah 3; see *Kipper).

In Rabbinic Literature

After the destruction of the Temple and the consequent cessation of sacrifices, the rabbis declared: "Prayer, repentance, and charity avert the evil decree" (TJ, Ta'an. 2:1, 65b). Suffering is also regarded as a means of atonement and is considered more effective than sacrifice to win God's favor (Ber. 5a). Exile and the destruction of the Temple (Sanh. 37b, Ex. R. 31:10) were also reputed to bring about the same effect. Above all, death is the final atonement for sins (Mekh. Jethro 7); "May my death be an expiation for all my sins" is a formula recited when the end is near (Sanh. 6:2). Atonement for some sins is achieved immediately after the individual repents, while for others repentance alone does not suffice. If a person transgresses a positive commandment and repents, he is immediately forgiven (Yoma 85b). For a negative commandment, repentance suspends the punishment, and the Day of Atonement procures atonement: "For on this day shall atonement be made for you… from all your sins" (Lev. 16:30). For a graver sin, punishable by death or extirpation, repentance and the Day of Atonement suspend the punishment and suffering completes the atonement (cf. Ps. 89:33). If one has been guilty of profaning the Divine Name, however, penitence, the Day of Atonement, and suffering merely suspend punishment, and death procures the final atonement: "The Lord of hosts revealed Himself in my ears; surely this iniquity shall not be expiated by you till ye die" (Isa. 22:4; Yoma 86a).

Atonement is only efficacious in the above way if the sin concerned does not involve suffering or material injury to a second party. If it did, full restitution must be made to the wronged party and his pardon must be sought. This law was derived from the verse "… all your sins before the Lord…" (Lev. 16:30), i.e., the Day of Atonement is effective for transgressions between man and God, but for sins against a fellow man, restitution and forgiveness are also necessary (Yoma 8:9). The general rabbinic approach was to deritualize atonement and center it more on the personal religious life of the individual in his relationship to God: "Now that we have no prophet or priest or sacrifice, who shall atone for us? In our hands is left only – prayer" (Tanḥ. Va-Yishlaḥ. 10). A similar idea is found in the dictum that after the destruction of the Temple a man's table atones in place of the altar, i.e., his everyday behavior is all important. Although a rite analogous to that of sacrificial atonement is found in the post-talmudic custom of slaughtering a cock on the eve of the Day of Atonement, as a symbolic replacement for the sinner himself (*kapparot*), this practice was not universally accepted (Sh. Ar., OH 605).

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ATRAN, FRANK Z. (1885–1952), U.S. businessman and philanthropist. Atran was born in Russia. He immigrated to Belgium in the wake of the Russian Revolution and established a textile business there. Subsequently he moved the firm to France and then to New York City, where it was highly successful. Toward the end of his life Atran contributed generously to various charitable causes and Jewish organizations, particularly to the Jewish Labor Committee, which established the Atran Jewish Culture House. In 1950 he contributed a million dollars for a laboratory building for Mount Sinai Hospital. Several months before his death he established a chair in Yiddish Language, Literature, and Culture at Columbia University.

[Hillel Halkin]

ATTAH EḤAD (Heb. אַתָּה אֶחָד; "Thou art One"), name of the central section of the Sabbath afternoon *_Amidah_. The prayer emphasizes the Oneness of God: "Thou art One, Thy Name is One," and the uniqueness of Israel: "and who is like Thy people Israel, a nation one on earth" (I Chron. 17:21). In the prayer, the Sabbath is called "a crown of distinction and salvation" which God gave to His people as a day of rest and holiness. The patriarchs Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob all found joy and rest on the Sabbath. The prayer closes with the invocation: "May Thy children know that from Thee cometh their rest, and by their rest they hallow Thy name." This prayer, which originated with the *geonim* (eighth–tenth century C.E.), is based upon the Midrash (cf. Tos. Ḥag. 3b) that God, Israel, and the Sabbath mutually testify to the Oneness of God, the peerlessness of Israel His people, and the uniqueness of the Sabbath as a day of holy rest.

ATTAH HORETA LADA'AT (Heb. אַתָּה הָרְאֵתָ לָדַעַת; "Unto thee [Israel] it was shown"), verses recited responsively on *Simḥat Torah before the Scrolls of the Law are taken out of the Ark to be carried in a procession in the synagogue. The verses occur in different order in the southern Ashkenazi and Polish rites. Sephardim also recite a shorter collection of verses on Sabbaths and holiday mornings when the Scrolls are taken from the Ark. The prayer is named after its introductory verse (Deut. 4:35) which is followed by 15 others, glorifying God, etc., and invoking His acceptance of prayers.

ATTAH ZOKHER (Heb. אַתָּה זוֹכֵר; "Thou rememberest"), opening words of the *_Zikhronot_ section of the Additional Service of *Rosh Ha-Shanah. This prayer is designated as "*Teki'ata de-Vei Rav*," since its authorship is ascribed to the third century C.E. Babylonian *amora* *Rav. The prayer starts by emphasizing the character of Rosh Ha-Shanah as a "Day of Remembrance" from Creation onward. Ten verses from Scripture are quoted describing God as remembering His creatures, especially Israel. The prayer closes with the benediction: "Blessed art Thou, O Lord, who rememberest the Covenant."

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ATTALI, BERNARD (1943–), French civil servant and businessman, twin brother of Jacques *Attali. Born in Algeria, Bernard Attali studied law and political science in Paris. In 1966, he entered the prestigious Ecole Nationale d'Administration (ENA), France's major school for the civil service, and two years later began his career as a high-level civil servant, occasionally working for private and semi-private companies. From 1988 to 1993, he served as managing director of Air France, and eventually published a book about the evolution of French civil aviation in this same period (*Les guerres du ciel*, 1994).

Attali was honored with the highest French distinctions, Officier de la Legion d' Honneur and Commandeur de l'Ordre National du Mérite.

[Dror Franck Sullaper (2nd ed.)]

ATTALI, JACQUES (1943–), French economist and special adviser to President Mitterrand. Attali was born in Algiers and was educated there and in France. In 1981 he was appointed special adviser to President Mitterrand and in that capacity was influential on both internal and foreign issues and was sent on several highly confidential missions. In addition to being an economist (he holds a Ph.D. in economics among many other high-level degrees from prestigious French academic institutions), he is a philosopher and has written a number of works which include *Analyse économique de la vie politique* (1973), *Modèles politiques* (1973), *L'Anti-économique* (1974), *La parole et l'Outil* (1975), *La Nouvelle economie française* (1978), and *Les Trois Mondes* (1981). Before taking office in the Socialist government, Attali was very active in Jewish affairs and held the post of vice president of the Fonds Social Juif.

In 1990 Attali was appointed to a four-year term as president of the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development (BERD) with headquarters in London. From 1993 he was chairman of A&A, an international consulting firm, and in 1998 founded Planet Finance, an international non-profit organization devoted to fighting poverty through the development of microfinance. His wide knowledge in numerous fields combined with his interest in the evolution of civilizations led him to write essays on futurology such as *Lignes d'horizons* (1990) and *L'Homme nomade* (2003) as well as novels, from science fiction (*La vie éternelle*, 2000) to historical novels (*La Confrérie des Eveillés*, 2004). In 2001, he analyzed from an historical perspective the relationships between Jews and money in *Les Juifs, le monde et l'argent*.

[Gideon Kouts / Dror Franck Sullaper (2nd ed.)]

ATTAR, ḤAYYIM BEN MOSES (IBN) (1696–1743), rabbi and kabbalist. Born in Salé, Morocco, he received his early education from his grandfather, Ḥayyim *Atar. Attar settled in Meknes after the death of his great-uncle Shem Tov in order to manage his business in partnership with Shem Tov's son, whose daughter he married. There he studied and taught but the deterioration of the economic and political situation in Morocco and his belief that redemption was imminent induced him to settle in Erez Israel. He was encouraged in this decision when he learned that Ḥayyim *Abulafia had renewed the community of Tiberias. Desirous of establishing a college in Erez Israel to which Diaspora students would flock in order to hasten the redemption, he set out for Erez Israel together with his closest disciples, among whom were David

Ḥasan and Shem Tov Gabbai, reaching Leghorn in 1739. There Attar's saintly nature soon earned him an eager audience. His home in Leghorn became a center for students who gathered to study under him, and there he preached to large audiences, urging them to repent. R. Moses *Franco states that "all the people used to come early in order to find seats and it became impossible to enter because of the multitude." Groups were organized to assist his yeshivah and philanthropists financed the publication of some of his works. He sent proclamations to Jewish communities throughout Italy, urging immigration to Ereẓ Israel, and for that purpose he traveled extensively, visiting Venice, Ferrara, Modena, Reggio, and Mantua. Learning about the epidemics in Ereẓ Israel, some of his disciples became hesitant about making the journey to the Holy Land, but Ḥayyim declared: "It is immaterial to me who comes and who remains; he who has ideals will immigrate and inherit the Land."

In 1741, Attar with a group of 30, including Jews from Morocco and young rabbis from Italy, set sail from Leghorn. Moses Franco and Abraham Ishmael Sangvinetti describe the voyage in their writings. The group reached Acre in the late summer. Hearing of the epidemics raging in Jaffa and Jerusalem, Attar decided to establish a temporary yeshivah in Acre which continued for nearly a year. He then decided to move to Peki'in, attributing the deaths of two of his disciples to the fact that Acre, according to the Talmud, was not within the historic boundaries of Ereẓ Israel. During a visit to Tiberias Ḥayyim Abulafia urged him to reestablish his school there, but when the epidemic subsided, the group set out for Jerusalem.

There Attar established the Midrash Keneset Israel Yeshivah, which had one division for advanced and one for young scholars. He acted as head of the former division which did not study the Talmud with the commentaries, but concentrated on the codes and their connection with the talmudic sources. Special attention was paid to reconciling the decisions of Maimonides with the Talmud. *Rishon le-Ẓiyyon* (Constantinople, 1750), whose author was apparently David Ḥasan, is the fruit of those researches. It contains novellae on the Shulḥan Arukh, *Yoreh De'ah*, and Maimonides, as well as a commentary on the Prophets, the five scrolls, and Psalms, Proverbs, and Job. The students indulged in ascetic practices, spending their nights in supplication and prayer for the redemption and peace of Diaspora Jewry. The group also used to prostrate themselves in prayer on holy graves in supplication for the Jewish community. Ḥ.J.D. *Azulai, who studied at the "Midrash," describes it in reverential terms, and in his works he gives details of Attar's customs as well as sermons and explanations which he heard from him. Attar died approximately a year after settling in Jerusalem.

His first work was the *Ḥefeẓ Adonai* (Amsterdam, 1742) on the Talmud. His best-known and most important work is the *Or ha-Ḥayyim* (Venice, 1742), a commentary on the Pentateuch, often republished with the biblical text. It had an extensive circulation in Germany and Poland especially among the Ḥasidim. In many communities it was read along with the weekly portion of the Torah. Only one of his responsa has been published (in *Benei Yehudah*, Leghorn, 1758, of Judah Ayyash, no. 47, pp. 115–9) and a few still exist in manuscript (*Malkhei Rabbanan*, 35). In his halakhic work, the *Peri To'ar* on the Shulḥan Arukh, *Yoreh De'ah* (Amsterdam, 1742), he does not hesitate to contradict his predecessors. He is particularly critical of the *Peri Ḥadash* of *Hezekiah da Silva. He laid great store by his own ideas, suggesting that he was divinely guided in reaching them. Many tales about him have been preserved. A ḥasidic legend relates that *Israel Ba'al Shem Tov attempted to go to the Holy Land to have the merit of studying under him.

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ATTAR, JUDAH BEN JACOB (IBN) (known as "Rabbi al-Kabbir" (the great teacher); 1655–1733), talmudic scholar in Morocco. Attar was born in Fez and at a young age he was appointed head of the Moroccan *dayyanim*, after refusing to accept any remuneration for this function. He earned his living in trade and devoted his life to the well-being of his coreligionists. In collaboration with his disciple, Jacob Abensur, he published the *takkanot* of the first Spanish exiles in Fez and drew up new regulations which continued to serve as the basis of Judeo-Moroccan jurisprudence. His published works include *Minḥat Yehudah* on the Pentateuch (1940); customs and practices of Fez regarding *terefot* published in *Mekor Ḥayyim* (1897). Many responsa were published in *Mishpat u-Ẓedakah le-Ya'akov* (pt. 1–1894, pt. 2–1903) and others appear in works of various Moroccan rabbis. Many of Attar's writings still exist in manuscript including a commentary on *Midrash Rabbah*. Attar's grandson, JUDAH B. OBED (1725–1812), was a *dayyan* in Fez and among other works wrote *Zikkaron li-Venei Yisrael*, on the persecution of the Jews in Morocco during 1790–1792. Several excerpts from this work have been published.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Azulai, 1 (1852), 67, no. 55, s.v. *Yehudah Attar*; J.M. Toledano, *Ner ha-Ma'arav* (1911), passim; J. Ben-Naim, *Malkhei Rabbanan* (1931), 46–50; Judah Attar, *Minḥat Yehudah* (1940), preface; G. Vajda, *Recueil de textes historiques judéo-marocains* (1951), 79–96.

[David Obadia]

ATTELL, ABRAHAM WASHINGTON (**Abe**; "The Little Hebrew," "The Little Champ"; 1884–1970), U.S. boxer, underworld figure; world featherweight champion for 11 years (career record 107–16–19, with 53 knockouts); member of Boxing Hall of Fame and International Boxing Hall of Fame. Considered one of the greatest pound-for-pound fighters in history at 5′4″, 122-pounds, Attell was born February 22 – hence the middle name Washington – the 16th of 19 children to a poor family in San Francisco, and learned to fight as a kid on the streets of his Irish neighborhood. His father abandoned the family when Attell was 13, and he had to find a job selling newspapers to support his family.

Attell fought his first professional fight at age 16 on August 19, 1900, winning a $15 purse with a KO in the second round over Kid Lennett. He promised his mother it would be his "first and last fight," but after he came home with the $15, his mother encouraged his career and even bet on him. Attell won his first ten fights by knockout, and 23 of his first 29. On October 28, 1901, Attell won the disputed world featherweight title by defeating George Dixon in 15 rounds, and won the undisputed world championship on his 22nd birthday in 1906, beating Jimmy Walsh in a 15-round decision. Attell lost a 20-round decision to Johnny Kilbane in 1912 on his 28th birthday – becoming the only boxer to win and lose championships on his birthday – ending an 11-year reign as world champion. He fought sparingly afterward for five years, with his final bout on January 8, 1917. Attell claimed to have fought 365 times, and although his official record indicates less than half that number, the little pugilist was known to have fought as often as three times a week, often giving away as many as 25 pounds to an opponent.

Attell's story does not end there. Involved with mobsters during his boxing career and part of the entourage of renowned gambler Arnold Rothstein, he allegedly was the bagman between *Rothstein and players of the Chicago White Sox in the fix of the 1919 World Series known as the Black Sox scandal. Attell was indicted after several Chicago White Sox players testified before an Illinois grand jury that he was involved in fixing the games. Attell claimed that it was a different Abe Attell, and the charges against him were subsequently dropped because of insufficient evidence.

MONTE (The "Nob Hill Terror"; 1885–1960), Abe's younger brother, fought from 1903 to 1916, winning the world bantamweight title on June 19, 1909, when he defeated Frankie Neil. It was the first time brothers held world titles simultaneously. He fought and won seven more times in seven months following his title win, until losing the championship to Frankie Conley on February 22, 1910. Monte left the ring in 1916 because of an eye infection, which eventually led to blindness. He finished with a record of 24–20–17, with 10 KOs. An older brother, CAESAR (1880–1979), fought from 1902 to 1906, compiling a record of 5–6–1 with three KOs.

[Elli Wohlgelernter (2nd ed.)]

ATTIA, ISAAC BEN ISAIAH (18th–19th century), rabbi in Aleppo. He served as *dayyan* and taught in the yeshivah in Aleppo. Attia's wife and children perished in the plague of 1787. He was in halakhic communication with the scholars of Aleppo and also in 1790 with Ḥayyim Joseph David *Azulai. In c. 1814 he set out on a journey which lasted more than seven years. Attia traveled from Syria to Ereẓ Israel and then to Egypt, France, and Italy, staying in Leghorn for at least five years. There he published many of his books. Among his works are (1) *Zera Yiẓḥak* (Leghorn, 1793), sermons on Genesis. The book also included *Yekara de-Ḥayyei*, eulogies, as well as *Pilpelet Kol she-Hu*, on the tractate *Sukkah*; (2) *Rov Dagan* (Leghorn, 1818), on the Babylonian Talmud together with *Ot le-Tovah*, responsa and halakhic novellae in alphabetical order; (3) *Eshet Ḥayil* (Leghorn, 1821), on the last chapter of Proverbs; (4) *Zekhut Avot* (Leghorn, 1821), on *Avot*; (5) *Mesharet Moshe* (Leghorn, 1821), on Maimonides' *Yad*, to which is appended a collection of articles on the Shulḥan Arukh; (6) *Va-Yikra Yiẓḥak* (Leghorn, 1825), a homiletical commentary on Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy, and the five scrolls. Included with it are *Doresh Tov*, on Genesis and Exodus and *Ekev Anavah*, sermons and eulogies; (7) *Tanna ve-Shiyyer; Penei ha-Mayim* (Leghorn, 1831), responsa, and novellae on the Talmud, together with a commentary on Rashi and Elijah *Mizraḥi.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: M. Benayahu, *Rabbi Ḥ.Y.D. Azulai*, 1 (1959), 109, 218.

ATTIA, SHEM TOV (c. 1530–after 1601), rabbi and kabbalist. He lived in Salonika but settled in Safed before 1570. Attia was one of the 12 disciples of Isaac *Luria who requested Ḥayyim *Vital to reveal to them the secrets of the Kabbalah which he had learned from their master. His only extant halakhic work is his responsa on the laws of the sabbatical year, published in the responsa *Avkat Rokhel* (1791, no. 25) of Joseph Caro. Nathan Shapira included Attia's responsum on wine made by Gentiles in the introduction to his book, *Yayin ha-Meshummar* (Venice, 1660). In Safed he gave an approbation to the responsa of Moses *Galante and was a signatory to the regulation passed by the scholars of Safed exempting rabbis from taxation. Apparently, Attia left Safed, for in 1591 he was mentioned among the scholars of Adrianople. In 1601 he was again in Safed where he headed the Bet Va'ad (the local community council). In this capacity, his signature appears first among the 20 leading scholars of Safed.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Tamar, in: *Tarbiz*, 27 (1957/58), 108–10.

°ATTLEE, CLEMENT RICHARD, EARL (1883–1967), British Labour Party leader (1935–55), deputy prime minister in Churchill's war cabinet (1940–45), and prime minister (1945–51). As a social worker in London's East End in the 1920s, Attlee had contact with Jewish labor organizations. Before he became prime minister, he expressed sympathy for the Jewish cause in Palestine and opposed the 1939 White Paper (see *Israel, Historical Survey). In December 1944 Attlee supported Labour's official pronouncement in favor of a Jewish majority in Palestine. As prime minister, however, he gave full support to the policy of his foreign secretary, Ernest *Bevin, which involved Britain in a violent conflict with the Jews in Palestine in their struggle for full-scale immigration, especially of the survivors of the Holocaust, and for Jewish independence in Palestine. As Attlee was a Fabian socialist, the ideological basis of Zionism had no appeal for him. Later, Attlee defended his policy in Palestine, claiming that incompatible assurances had been given to Arabs and Jews and blaming American "irresponsibility." His government recognized Israel in January 1949.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: C.R. Attlee, *As It Happened* (1954); Hugh Dalton, *Memoirs (1945–1960)* (1962), index. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** K. Harris, *Attlee* (1995); M. Jones, *Failure in Palestine* (1986), index; ODNB online.

ATTORNEY. Biblical law requires that "the two parties to the dispute shall appear before the Lord, before the priests or magistrates" (Deut. 19:17), i.e., in person and not by proxy. It was considered essential that the court should hear all pleadings and arguments, as well as all testimony, directly from the mouths of litigants or witnesses; even interpreters were not to be admitted (Mak. 1:9; Maim., Yad, Sanhedrin 21:8). While legal and economical developments subsequently necessitated changes in the practice of the courts, the prejudice against proxies could never be eradicated, and the courts which admitted advocates did so only by way of accommodation to a necessary evil (Meir b. Baruch of Rothenburg, *Responsa* (1895), 67b, no. 357). This prejudice was enhanced by the fact that those who acted as spokesmen for litigants were often found to be sly and untruthful (Isaac b. Sheshet, *Responsa* (1805), 125, no. 235). The Talmud applies the verse "oppressors and robbers who did that which is not good among his people" (Ezek. 18:18) to attorneys (Shevu. 31a). Furthermore, there were legal difficulties to contend with: e.g., a debtor was presumed never to be impertinent enough to prevaricate in the presence of his creditor (BK 107a, et al.), but there could not be any such presumption in the face of the creditor's attorney; or a party may have to take an *oath, which could not be administered to his proxy. The general rule that "a man's agent is as himself" (Kid. 42a) was not applied to agents for litigants – an anomaly which it has been found difficult to justify but which can be explained only by the overriding desire "to discourage litigation by outsiders" (Herzog, Instit, 1 (1936), 203 ff.).

However, ways had to be found to enable plaintiffs to be represented if injustice was to be avoided – e.g., where the plaintiff himself was absent, or where he was weak and timid and the defendant violent and powerful (Tos. to Shevu. 31a; Tur, ḤM 123:16 and Beit Yosef *ibid.*). Nevertheless, talmudic jurists still would not accept a power of attorney in favor of another, unless the plaintiff had therein transferred his rights in the chose in action to the attorney, so that the attorney in effect claimed in his own right (BK 70a) – not unlike the *mandatum in res suam* of Roman law. The result of this rule in the past was that a defendant was unable to appoint an attorney on his behalf, as he had no chose in action to transfer (Asher b. Jehiel, *Tosefei Rabbenu Asher*, Shevu. 30a, Sh. Ar., ḤM 124). Gulak has shown that the rule is of Babylonian origin and influenced by Babylonian laws; but it became Jewish law (Sh. Ar., ḤM 122–23). The requirements for such a transfer to be inserted in powers of attorney were in the course of time radically mitigated and Maimonides expressed regret at reforms by which purely fictitious transfers were admitted to validate powers of attorney (Maim., Yad, Sheluḥin ve-Shutafin 3:7). While transfers continued to be inserted in all powers of attorney, they were nearly always fictitious: anything the attorney recovered by virtue thereof, although ostensibly for himself, would have to be accounted for immediately to his principal (3:1).

With regard to the representation of defendants, there is a tradition in the Jerusalem Talmud that the high priest, when sued in court, could appoint an attorney (*entelar*) to represent him (TJ, Sanh. 2:1, 19d). Whether it was this tradition or the pressure of changing conditions, attorneys for defendants were soon admitted into the courts, and instead of powers of attorney containing the formal transfer, even oral authorization of the attorney by the defendant before the court was accepted as sufficient (Menahem b. Solomon ha-Me'iri, *Beit ha-Beḥirah* to Sanh. 18a). Where the parties were present in person and the court could, if necessary, administer oaths directly to them and perceive their bearing and demeanor, their being assisted by skilled pleaders was not considered too reprehensible and could even be useful (cf. *Urim ve-Tummim* and J.H. Epstein, *Arukh ha-Shulḥan* to ḤM 124). The rule then evolved that a plaintiff, by presenting his claim, submitted to the court's jurisdiction and thus also by implication submitted to its procedure, including any customary or equitable admission of defendants' attorneys (cf. *Siftei Kohen*, Sh. Ar., ḤM 124). But apart from custom (and equity), the purely legal position has never been resolved (see Bezalel Ashkenazi, *Shitah Mekubbeẓet* to BK 70a).

The stipulation of fees was regarded as an assurance of the attorney's good faith (Isaac Alfasi, *Responsa* (1954), 98, no. 157; *Be'er Heitev* to Sh. Ar., ḤM 123:10, 11), eliminating the suspicion that he might engage in champerty or unlawful enrichment. Such stipulations were usually very generously enforced by the courts (Solomon b. Abraham Adret, *Responsa* 2 (1811), 56a (erroneously 58), no. 393; 3 (1812), 21a, no. 141; 5 (1884), 123, no. 287.

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[Haim Hermann Cohn]

ATZMON, MOSHE (1931–), Israeli conductor. Atzmon was born in Hungary and immigrated to Israel in 1944. He studied piano and horn and graduated in composition and conducting in Tel Aviv (1962) and at the Guildhall in London. He won several international prizes such as the GSM school's conducting prize (1963) and the international conducting competition sponsored by the Royal Liverpool PO (1964). From 1969 to 1971, he was chief conductor of the Sydney Symphony Orchestra (Australia), and in 1972 he became chief conductor of the Hamburg (NDR) Radio Symphony Orchestra and of the Basel Symphony Orchestra. Later he was a musical adviser for the Tokyo Metropolitan SO (1978–82), served as principal conductor of the American Symphony Orchestra (1982–84), and was the permanent conductor of the Nagoya Philharmonic Orchestra, Japan (1986–92). In 1991 he was appointed Generalmusikdirektor at Dortmund. His operatic debut occurred in October 1969 with Rossini's *La Cenerentola* at the Deutsche Oper, Berlin. His first recording was as conductor of the New Philharmonia Orchestra in 1968.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Grove online.

[Israela Stein (2nd ed.)]

AUB, JOSEPH (1805–1880), German moderate Reform rabbi. Aub was rabbi in Bayreuth from 1830 to 1850, in Mainz, and in Berlin from 1865. He was among the first rabbis in Bavaria to preach in German. Aub published a polemical tract on the Bavarian edict regarding rabbinical qualifications (*Betrachtungen und Widerlegungen*, 2 vols., 1839), a weekly periodical *Sinai* (1846), a prayer book (1866), and a religious educational textbook *Biblisches Spruchbuch* (1868); he collaborated in the writing of periodicals published by A. *Geiger. He participated in the rabbinical synods of 1869 and 1871. HIRSCH AUB, Joseph's cousin (1796–1876), was rabbi of Munich from 1827 to 1876. Aub acted as mediator, keeping peace between the Reform and Orthodox wings. He was largely responsible for the abolition of the restrictions on the number of Jewish marriages in Bavaria by the *Matrikelgesetz*.

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AUB, MAX (1903–1972), Spanish poet, novelist, and playwright. Aub was born in Paris of a German father and a French mother, but on the outbreak of World War I the family moved to Valencia and he eventually took Spanish citizenship. A staunch anti-Fascist, Aub fled to France after the Spanish Civil War. After the defeat of France in 1940, he was imprisoned in several concentration camps. The last of these was Djelfa, in North Africa. In 1942 he escaped from Djelfa to Mexico, where most of his writing was done. Aub's first play, *Narciso*, written under the influence of the Vanguardist movement, appeared in 1928 and his first novel, *Geografía*, in 1929. His best-known works, while difficult to classify, deal primarily with the political and social realities of contemporary life. The novels *Campo Cerrado* (1944), *Campo de Sangre* (1946), *Campo Abierto* (1951), and *Campo del Moro* (1963) are based on the Spanish Civil War. *La Calle de Valverde* (1961) recreates the artistic and literary life of pre-war Madrid. Aub's bitter three-act tragedy, *San Juan* (1943), is about some Jewish refugees on an old cargo ship in the Mediterranean who are refused permission to land anywhere. *Diario de Djelfa* (1944) is a poetic account of Aub's internment in North Africa. *Jusep Torres Campalans* (1958) is a light-hearted literary hoax about a Catalan painter invented by Aub.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Primer Acto*, no. 52 (May, 1964), 6–41; *Manual de Historia de la Literatura Española*, 1 (1966), contains bibliography.

[Kenneth R. Scholberg]

AUCKLAND, largest city in *New Zealand, situated in the North Island. The Auckland community was founded by David Nathan (a Londoner who removed from northern Kororareka in 1840) with the assistance of other Jewish traders. By 1842 a crown grant of land had been obtained for a cemetery, and in 1855 the congregation, now called Beth Israel, leased a wooden synagogue building. A breakaway congregation called "Gates of Hope," with Rev. J.E. Myers of London as minister, existed briefly in 1859. The congregation developed vigorously under the lay leadership of P.S. Solomon (later an outstanding Fijian lawyer and legislator) and Rev. Moses Elkin (1864–79). From 1880 to 1934, the Auckland community was under the spiritual leadership of Rabbi S.A. Goldstein. He was assisted until 1931 by Rabbi Solomon Katz, and then by Rabbi Alexander Astor (d. 1988). David Nathan, by then a business magnate, lived to open the Prince's St. Synagogue in 1885. He and his sons, L.D. and N.A. Nathan, were the community's lay leaders almost continuously during the period that Goldstein served as minister. The present synagogue and community center were dedicated in 1968.

The Auckland community is vigorous and prosperous. It provides many Jewish educational, cultural, social, and welfare amenities. Strong support has always been in evidence for Zionism and Israel, and Jewish education fostered. A Liberal community was formed in 1959. Auckland Jews have played a notable part in the city's banking, commercial, and industrial life as well as in the legal and medical professions. The many Jewish benefactors include members of the Myers, Davis, and Nathan families. There have been six Jewish mayors of Auckland, including P.A. Philips, H. Isaacs, Sir Arthur *Myers, Sir E.H. Davis, and D.M. Robinson. In 1967 the Jewish population numbered about 2,000 but by 2004 it had grown to about 3,100 (of a total population of 1.1 million), thanks to immigration from Russia, South Africa, and elsewhere.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: L.M. Goldman, *History of the Jews in New Zealand* (1958), index. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** A. & L. Gluckman, *Auckland Jewry Past and Present* (1994).

[Maurice S. Pitt]

AUER, LEOPOLD (1845–1930), Hungarian violinist and teacher. Born in Veszprém, Auer studied at the Budapest, Vienna, and Paris conservatoires and with Josef *Joachim. In 1868 he was appointed soloist of the Russian Imperial Orchestra and professor at the conservatoire in St. Petersburg. His baptism into the Russian Orthodox Church probably took place shortly before this time. In 1895 he was ennobled by the czar. He left Russia in 1918 and ultimately settled in New York, but he died in Germany. Auer was one of the greatest violinists and teachers of his time, renowned for his nobility of interpretation and for fostering the individuality of his pupils. These included Joseph Achron, Mischa Elman, Jascha Heifetz, and Nathan Milstein. Auer's works for the violin included cadenzas, études, and arrangements. His *Graded Course of Violin Playing* was published in 1926–27. He also wrote three books on his life and work: *Violin Playing as I Teach It* (1921); *Violin Master Works and Their Interpretation* (1925); and *My Long Life in Music* (1923).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Riemann-Gurlitt; Grove, Dict; Baker, Biog Dict; Sendrey, Music.

[Bathja Bayer]

AUERBACH, German rabbinical family. The Austrian branch of the family was also known as Wolf. MESHULLAM ZALMAN B. SHALOM (d. Vienna, 1622) belonged to the Wolf branch of the family which later became known as Auerbach-Fischhof. There were also other branches of the family in Vienna at that time: Linz-Auerbach and Metzlein-Auerbach. MOSES AUERBACH was court Jew to the bishop of Regensburg in 1497. SIMEON WOLF was a rabbi at Lublin (1578–84), Przemysl, Poznan (1625–29), Vienna, and finally Prague. His tombstone mentions his writings which, however, remained unpublished. SAMUEL OF LUBLIN, grandson of Simeon Wolf, wrote *Ḥesed Shemu'el* (1699) on the Pentateuch, which also contains a short account of the *Chmielnicki massacres in Poland. MESHULLAM ZALMAN FISCHHOF, son of Simeon Wolf and head of the Vienna community, was expelled from the city in 1670 and died in Mikulov (Nikolsburg). Simon (1611–1638), son of Meshullam, lived in Cracow. At the age of 23 he composed a *seliḥah* to commemorate an epidemic that ravaged Vienna in 1634. This poem was published posthumously in 1639 in Cracow, went through several editions, and was republished with a commentary as *Rav Shalom* (1712), by his grandson, MESHULLAM ZALMAN FISCHHOF II, who was martyred in Lublin in 1692.

MENAHEM MENDEL (1620–1689), considered the founder of the Polish branch of the family, was *dayyan* in Cracow in 1665, and also served as the rabbi of Prausnitz (Prusice) and Krotoszyn. He wrote *Ateret Zekenim*, a commentary on *Oraḥ Ḥayyim* of the Shulḥan Arukh. His grandson MENAHEM MENDEL BEN MOSES (d. 1732) succeeded him as rabbi of Krotoszyn, and was a leader of the *Council of the Lands. Responsa and 12 approbations of his are extant. PHINEHAS, son of Simeon Wolf, who had succeeded his father as *av bet din* of Cracow, left Poland for Frankfurt in 1714 and died in Vienna. His *Halakhah Berurah* on the Shulḥan Arukh was published in 1891; the part on *Oraḥ Ḥayyim* was published in 1717. NATHAN of Satanov, son of MOSES, who was Simeon Wolf's brother, had three sons: JACOB, *maggid* in Haissin (Podolia); JUDAH, rabbi of Glogory, near Lvov; and SELIG, *av bet din* in Gorokhow. ẒEVI BENJAMIN (HIRSCH; 1690–1778), son of Selig and *dayyan* in Brody in 1710, moved to Vienna and later to Worms, where he was appointed rabbi in 1763. His son SELIG AVI'EZRI (1726–1767?), was rabbi of Edenkoben, near Worms, in 1750, and Buxweiler, Alsace, in 1763. His son *Abraham was a noted rabbi and author.

The Auerbach family had other noteworthy rabbis among its members. ABRAHAM BEN ISAAC was rabbi of Coesfeld, Westphalia (17th century). When he was slandered by an apostate, Abraham's fortune was confiscated and he and his family expelled in 1674. He took refuge in Amsterdam but was later reinstated. In 1677 on the eve of the execution of the slanderous apostate he initiated a fast in his community with the recitation of *seliḥot*, which he composed. ARYEH LEIBUSH BEN MORDECAI MARDUSH (c. 1740), rabbi of Stanislav, Ukraine, was the uncle and teacher of Meyer Margulies, author of the responsa *Me'ir Netivim*. His great-grandson was ISRAEL MATTATHIAS (b. 1838), *av bet din* of Bauska, Latvia, and rabbi of Ciechanow, Poland. He wrote seven halakhic works.

ḤAYYIM BEN ISAAC (1755–1840) was born in Leszno, Poland, and served there as *dayyan*. He was rabbi of Leczyca, Poland, from 1818. He wrote *Divrei Mishpat* (1835), glosses on the *Ḥoshen Mishpat* with those by his sons Menahem and Isaac. At the end of his son Isaac Itzik's *Divrei Ḥayyim* there is a selection of Ḥayyim's glosses on the *Oraḥ Ḥayyim* and *Yoreh De'ah* called *Mayim Ḥayyim*. MENAHEM BEN ḤAYYIM (1773–1848) was rabbi of Ostrow, Poland, in 1822. He wrote the introduction to his father's *Divrei Mishpat* and appended to it some interpretations of the Pentateuch. ISAAC ITZIK BEN ḤAYYIM (19th century) was rabbi of Dobra, Plock, and, after his father's death, of Leczyca. His responsa, *Divrei Ḥayyim* (1851–52), were published posthumously by his son Meir Ben Isaac *Auerbach, together with some glosses by his brother. MENAHEM ẒEVI HIRSCH BEN MENAHEM (b. Ḥayyim) was rabbi of Leszno and Konin. He wrote *Divrei ha-Torah* on Shulḥan Arukh *Ḥoshen Mishpat* (1881).

ELIEZER BEN ḤAYYIM, known as Reb Leizerl of Kalisz, wrote *Migdanot Eli'ezer* (1911), a commentary on Esther and Psalms. PEREZ BEN MENAHEM NAHUM (18th century) wrote *Pe'er Halakhah* (1738), glosses to the Talmud and Maimonides' Code. JUDAH LEIB BEN ISRAEL was rabbi of Torchin in 1801 and Wiszmowice from 1807–08. He wrote *Meḥokek Yehudah* (1792), on the Passover laws.

[Yehoshua Horowitz]

After 1763 the Auerbach family was mainly concentrated in Germany and Alsace where its members served as rabbis, becoming prominent in the German Orthodox rabbinate, as well as in Jewish scholarship. The modern line of the family began with Abraham, who had 15 children, the oldest of whom was ẒEVI BENJAMIN (HIRSCH; 1808–1872), a rabbi and rabbinical scholar. He belonged to the first generation of German rabbis with a university education. Ẓevi Benjamin's first rabbinate was Darmstadt (1831–57), where he preached in High German; selections of his sermons were published in 1834 and 1837. He resigned on account of his disagreement with leaders of the congregation, who wished to introduce Reform, and settled in Frankfurt, where he devoted his time to research and

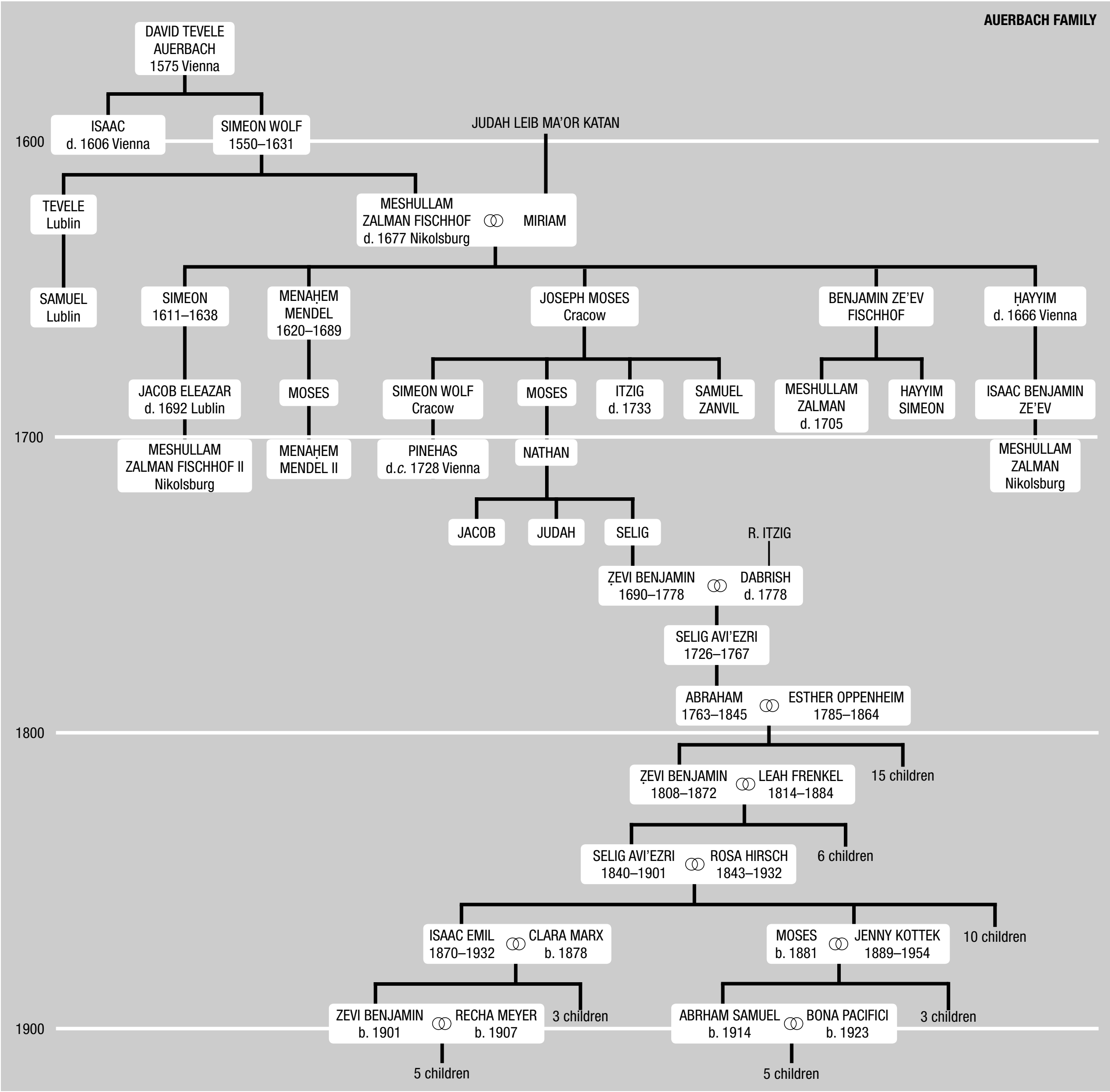
AUERBACH FAMILY
DAVID TEVELE AUERBACH 1575 Vienna
1600
ISAAC d. 1606 Vienna
SIMEON WOLF 1550–1631
JUDAH LEIB MA'OR KATAN
TEVELE Lublin
MESHULLAM ZALMAN FISCHHOF d. 1677 Nikolsburg
MIRIAM
SAMUEL Lublin
SIMEON 1611–1638
MENAḤEM MENDEL 1620–1689
JOSEPH MOSES Cracow
BENJAMIN ZE'EV FISCHHOF
ḤAYYIM d. 1666 Vienna
JACOB ELEAZAR d. 1692 Lublin
MOSES
SIMEON WOLF Cracow
MOSES
ITZIG d. 1733
SAMUEL ZANVIL
MESHULLAM ZALMAN d. 1705
HAYYIM SIMEON
ISAAC BENJAMIN ZE'EV
1700
MESHULLAM ZALMAN FISCHHOF II Nikolsburg
MENAḤEM MENDEL II
PINEHAS d.c. 1728 Vienna
NATHAN
MESHULLAM ZALMAN Nikolsburg
JACOB
JUDAH
SELIG
R. ITZIG
ẒEVI BENJAMIN 1690–1778
DABRISH d. 1778
SELIG AVI'EZRI 1726–1767
ABRAHAM 1763–1845
ESTHER OPPENHEIM 1785–1864
1800
ẒEVI BENJAMIN 1808–1872
LEAH FRENKEL 1814–1884
15 children
SELIG AVI'EZRI 1840–1901
ROSA HIRSCH 1843–1932
6 children
ISAAC EMIL 1870–1932
CLARA MARX b. 1878
MOSES b. 1881
JENNY KOTTEK 1889–1954
10 children
1900
ZEVI BENJAMIN b. 1901
RECHA MEYER b. 1907
3 children
ABRHAM SAMUEL b. 1914
BONA PACIFICI b. 1923
3 children
5 children
5 children

writing. In 1863 he became rabbi at Halberstadt. In 1868–69 Auerbach published the 12th-century halakhic compendium *Sefer ha-Eshkol* by *Abraham b. Isaac of Narbonne with a commentary, *Naḥal Eshkol* (repr. 1962). In 1909 Shalom *Albeck published an "Open Letter" accusing Auerbach of forgery. He maintained that the Old Spanish manuscript on which Auerbach said he based his edition did not exist and that Auerbach, while in Frankfurt, had copied from the Carmoly manuscript, but with alterations and additions of his own. J. Schorr, H. Ehrentreu, D. Hoffmann, and A. Berliner wrote *Ẓidkat ha-Ẓaddik* (1910) in defense of Auerbach; Albeck wrote *Kofer ha-Eshkol* (1910) in reply. Albeck's own edition of the *Sefer ha-Eshkol* (1910, completed by his son Ḥanokh, 1935–38) shows wide divergences from Auerbach's edition. The alleged Spanish manuscript has never been found. Among Auerbach's other works are *Berit Avraham* (1880), on the liturgy of circumcision; *Mishnat R. Natan* (1862; repr. 1962), on Nathan *Adler's *Seder Zera'im* (1862; repr. 1962); *Torat Emet* (1893^3), a manual of the Jewish religion; and *Ha-Ẓofeh al-Darkhei ha-Mishnah* (1861), a polemic against Z. Frankel's *Darkhei ha-Mishnah*, whose orthodoxy he questioned together with S.R. *Hirsch and G. Fischer (see Hirsch's *Jeschurun*, 7, 1861).

SELIG AVI'EZRI AUERBACH (1840–1901), son of Ẓevi Benjamin, was a rabbi and educator. After serving as head of the Jewish High School at Fuerth, he succeeded his father as rabbi at Halberstadt. His son ISAAC EMIL (1870–1932) succeeded his father and directed the local Jewish school. For many years he was chairman of the Association of Orthodox Congregations (*Halberstaedter Verband*) and of the German *Agudat Israel.

MOSES (1881–1976) was rabbi, educator, and historian. He went to Palestine from 1909 to 1917 to direct the network of schools established by Orthodox German Jews (*Freie Vereinigung*), including the Neẓaḥ Yisrael school in Petaḥ Tikvah. Moses then served for a short time as principal of the Ḥavaẓẓelet Girls' School in Warsaw but left to teach at the Cologne Talmud Torah under his brother-in-law Benedict (Pinḥas) Wolf. In 1934 he returned to Palestine and once more became principal of Neẓaḥ Yisrael. In 1947–48 he and his son ABRAHAM SAMUEL reorganized Jewish schools in Tripoli. In 1949 he began lecturing at the Beth Jacob Seminary in Tel Aviv. Among his published writings are the following: on Jewish history, *Der Streit zwischen Saadiah Gaon und dem Exilarchen David b. Zakkai* (1928); *Zur politischen Geschichte der Juden unter Hadrian* (in: Wohlgemuth's *Jeschurun*, 10 (1923), 398 ff.; 11 (1924), 59 ff., 161 ff.); *Toledot Am Yisrael* (4 vols., 1944–62); and on education, *Torat ha-Ḥinnukh* (1958). Auerbach was the last chairman of the *Juedische Literarische Gesellschaft and last editor of its *Jahrbuch*.

[Alexander Carlebach]

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AUERBACH, ABRAHAM BEN SELIG AVI'EZRI (1763–1845), Alsatian rabbi. Auerbach, a nephew of David *Sinzheim, was born in Bouxwiller. He was in charge of the affairs of the Strasbourg community, subsequently serving as rabbi of Forbach (Alsace), Neuwied, Coblenz, and Bonn. During the Reign of Terror Auerbach was arrested in Strasbourg and imprisoned for a year because of his connection with Herz *Cerfberr, who was suspected of royalist sympathies. He composed prayers and a poem commemorating the abolition in 1784 of the Jewish poll tax, in which Cerfberr was instrumental, and wrote the preface to the second edition of Sinzheim's responsa *Yad David* (1799).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Fuenn, Keneset, 277; AZDJ, no. 98 (1839), 593.

AUERBACH, BEATRICE FOX (1887–1968), U.S. retail pioneer, philanthropist. Beatrice Fox was born in Hartford, Connecticut, part of an affluent family steeped in the retail business. As president of G. Fox & Co. for almost three decades, she was one of the leading merchants in the United States, one of the few women to achieve such a lofty position, and she established a pattern of labor reforms for her employees that became a model for the industry. What is even more remarkable, she did not begin her retail career until she was in her middle years. Her parents were Teresa and Moses Fox and both sets of her grandparents – German-Jewish immigrants – had already established their own stores in the United States by the time she was born. Gerson Fox, her grandfather, built his establishment in Hartford in 1845, a one-room shop selling fancy goods. It would eventually become a 14-story New England landmark known as G. Fox & Co., one of the nation's premier department stores. When Fox died (1880), his son, Moses, took over and embarked on a series of buying trips to Europe, often accompanied by his family, including his daughter Beatrice. On one such trip she met a retailer named George S. Auerbach. They were married in 1911 and settled in Salt Lake City, Utah, where Auerbach's family operated a department store. Six years later, G. Fox was gutted by fire and the Auerbachs returned to Hartford to help rebuild it. Moses Fox appointed his son-in-law secretary-treasurer of the new G. Fox, while Beatrice continued raising their two daughters. In 1927, George died and Beatrice – at the age of 40 – became involved in the business, slowly at first and then more intensely as her father's health began to fail. In 1938, upon the death of Moses Fox, she became president and launched a significant expansion program. Under her stewardship, annual volume grew tenfold to about $60 million. G. Fox became the largest privately owned department store in the United States. Beatrice Fox Auerbach had more than a sharp eye for what merchandise would sell. She was also a visionary, instituting a series of fair employment practices for her more than 3,500 employees that were unusual for the times. G. Fox staffers enjoyed retirement plans, a five-day, 40-hour week, interest-free loans, and non-profit medical and lunchroom facilities. She was one of the first white retailers to hire African-Americans for meaningful jobs. G. Fox also provided free delivery service, a toll-free telephone order department, and fully automated billing. In 1965, Mrs. Auerbach stepped down as president, selling the company to May Department Stores Co. for $40 million. For the remaining few years of her life, she was actively involved in philanthropy and civic affairs, serving on numerous hospital, educational, and cultural committees and boards. She launched the Beatrice Fox Auerbach Foundation to help college students. She also founded the Service Bureau for Women's Organizations in Hartford, a clearinghouse for charitable and civic organizations that became the host organization for the U.S. State Department's foreign visitor program.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: S. Brody, *Jewish Heroes and Heroines of America: 150 True Stories of American Jewish Heroism* (1996); *New York Times* (Dec. 1, 1968).

[Mort Sheinman (2nd ed.)]

AUERBACH, BERTHOLD (1812–1882), German author and a leader of Jewish emancipation. His work is marked by the constant attempts to reconcile his different identities as a religiously free-thinking Jew, as a writer from southwest Germany with strong regional bonds, and as a liberal *kleindeutsch*-borussian patriot. Born at Nordstetten in Wuerttemberg, Auerbach, after some initial training for the rabbinate at Hechingen (1825–27), became interested in law and philosophy and continued his studies at the universities of Tuebingen, Munich, and Heidelberg. As a *Burschenschafter* he was persecuted by the authorities and arrested for two months at the Hohenasperg stronghold, where he wrote his first novel, *Spinoza, Ein Denkerleben* (1837). Four years later, Auerbach published his five-volume translation of the philosopher's works. In this early period of his work, he tried to establish himself as a firmly Jewish author, e.g., in his pamphlet *Das Judentum und die neueste Literatur* (1836). In this he criticized the "Junges Deutschland" authors like Heine as well as their German nationalist opponents gathered around the influential editor, Wolfgang Menzel, but he also recognized the ambivalence of many liberal non-Jewish authors in their attitude towards Jews. Nevertheless Auerbach stressed in his second historical novel (*Dichter und Kaufmann* (1840), about the German-Jewish poet Ephraim Moses *Kuh) the importance of *Bildung* as the only means for full bourgeois emancipation. The failure of his Jewish writings made Auerbach turn to a more general discussion on *Heimat* in his popular *Schwarzwaelder Dorfgeschichten* (1843–54). After the failure of the revolution of 1848, Auerbach wrote several long social novels, *Auf der Hoehe* (3 vols., 1864, popular in English as *On the Heights*), *Das Landhaus am Rhein* (5 vols., 1869), and *Waldfried* (3 vols., 1874), whose old-fashioned esthetics let their popularity soon decline.

Auerbach fervently strove for a reconciliation of Jewish emancipation and the German national movement. Judaism meant to him a rather ethical monotheism ("Mosaism"), probably one of the reasons for his popularity among a broad educated public. His specific point of view, however, was denounced by Reform rabbi and journalist Ludwig Philippson as "lack of religion" ("Confessionslosigkeit," AZDJ, 39 (1875), 466). In private letters to his relative Jakob Auerbach (*Briefe*, 2 vols., 1884), the author shows full awareness of the threat to the position of Jews in German society by the newly emerging antisemitism.

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[Marcus Pyka (2nd ed.)]

AUERBACH, CARL A. (1915–), U.S. law professor. Born in New York, Auerbach graduated from Long Island University in 1935 and from Harvard Law School in 1938. He then took a position on the legal staff of the Department of Labor's Wage and Hour Division, followed by positions in the National Defense Commission and the Office of Price Administration (O.P.A.). In the latter agency he served as assistant general counsel. For two of the war years he served in the army, and then reentered federal government service, where he held important legal positions, including that of general counsel of the O.P.A. From 1947 to 1961 he was a professor at the University of Wisconsin Law School and then served for 25 years as a professor at the University of Minnesota Law School. As a law teacher and legal scholar, Auerbach selected as his chief subjects administrative law, constitutional law, civil rights, legal education, and law and the social sciences. Auerbach obtained a Fulbright Advanced Research Award at the London School of Economics and Political Science (1953–54), and then became a fellow with Stanford University's Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences (1958–59). In 1972 Auerbach was appointed acting dean at Minnesota, and was dean from 1973 to 1979.

Auerbach is the author or co-author of several books on the regulation of transportation and on the legal process. He identified himself with the mainstream of American liberal thought, with the reform-liberal program and policies of Hubert Humphrey; he was one of the founders of Americans for Democratic Action. He believed that the best critical legal thought should have a bearing on important social and political issues and policies. His writings contributed to the planning that resulted in the civil rights legislation of Congress; and while he questioned the wisdom of the Communist Control Act of 1954, he defended its constitutionality. He has also written numerous articles in the areas of administrative law, civil rights, constitutional law, legal education, and law and the social sciences. Since 1985, Auerbach has been distinguished professor at the University of San Diego School of Law. As an eminent scholar in administrative law and constitutional law, Auerbach was the 1994 recipient of the American Bar Foundation Award for outstanding research in law and government. He is a member of the American Law Institute and the American Academy of Arts and Sciences.

[Milton Ridvas Konvitz and Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

AUERBACH, ELIAS (1882–1971), Israeli physician, biblical scholar, and historical writer. Auerbach emigrated from Berlin to Ereẓ Israel in 1909 and settled in Haifa. He published *Die Juedische Rassenfrage; Palaestina als Judenland* (1912); *Joab, ein Heldenleben* (1920), a novel; *Die Prophetie* (1920), a psychological probe into the nature of prophecy based mainly on the religious experience of Jeremiah; and *Wueste und Gelobtes Land* (2 vols., 1938²), his main work, which also appeared in Hebrew as *Ha-Midbar ve-Ereẓ ha-Beḥirah* (2 vols., 1957–62), a history of Israel from its beginning until the period of the return from Babylon. From 1950 he lectured on biblical subjects and the history of Israel at various European universities.

Auerbach was heavily influenced by Eduard *Meyer. On the occasion of his 70th birthday a volume of essays was published in his honor by the Ḥevrah le-Ḥeker ha-Mikra be-Yisrael, *Sefer Auerbach*, ed. by A. Biram (1955). Auerbach's autobiography up to 1918 has appeared under the title *Pionier der Verwirklichung* (1969).

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AUERBACH, EPHRAIM (1892–1973), Yiddish poet and essayist. Born in Belz, Bessarabia, Auerbach began publishing in Russian and Hebrew, but turned to Yiddish after 1909. In 1912 he worked in various colonies in Palestine. Expelled by the Turkish authorities at the outbreak of World War I, he joined the Jewish Legion and took part in the Gallipoli campaign. In 1915, he immigrated to the United States and worked as a teacher in Yiddish schools. For 50 years he was associated with New York Yiddish dailies and among other public functions was president of the League for the Rights of Yiddish in Palestine. He published numerous volumes: *Oyfn Shvel* ("On the Threshold," 1915); *Karavanen* ("Caravans," 1918) describes his experiences in Palestine and Gallipoli; *Di Vayse Shtot* ("The White City," 1952) and *Vakh iz der Step* ("The Steppe is Awake," 1963) treat, respectively, the experiences of Jews on Israel's first Independence Day, and memories of Bessarabia; *Loyter iz der Alter Kval* ("The Ancient Spring Is Pure," 1940); *Yankevs Getseltn* ("Jacob's Tents," 1945); and *Gildene Shkie* ("Golden Sunset," 1959). A Hebrew translation of Auerbach's poems by Eliahu Meitus appeared in 1966. His memoirs of the Second Aliyah appeared in Hebrew (1954), the prose translated by Y. Twersky, and the lyrics by Avigdor Hameiri.

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[Shlomo Bickel]

AUERBACH, ERICH (1892–1957), literary critic. Auerbach is remembered foremost for his innovative book *Mimesis*, a survey of what he defined as "the representation of reality in Western literature" (1946), which he wrote during his exile years in Istanbul. The book was gradually appreciated as the most valuable contribution to the field of literary criticism in the 20th century, especially in the English-speaking world.

Auerbach was born in Berlin and first took a degree in law before changing over to Romance studies. After his doctorate he was appointed in 1929 as ordinarius university professor in Marburg. In 1936 he left Germany for Turkey and taught there at Istanbul State University until 1947. He then lectured in several American universities before he was appointed Sterling Professor at Yale, a year before his death. His other books include *Dante, Poet of the Secular World* (trans. Ralph Manheim, 1961), and *Scenes from the Drama of European Literature* (1984).

Although he lacked an adequate library during his exile in Istanbul, he managed to write an introduction for his Turkish students called *Introduction to Romance Languages and Literature*, as well as further articles. He never mentioned being a Jew in his writings. His ten years of Turkish exile and then the several universities in the U.S. where he taught made him a symbol of the wandering Jewish scholar who had fled Nazi Germany. His intimate self-reflective linguistic and stylistic examination of diverse texts ranging back almost 3,000 years has made his work indispensable for critics and scholars of Western culture. In his efforts to explain the workings of literary allegory in European literature he coined the word "Figura." This could be summarized as a personage or event that prefigures or signifies another. Both are distinct historical personages or incidents, related to each other in many ways.

In 1993, on the 50th anniversary of *Mimesis*, Edward Said, who recognized Auerbach as a fellow-émigré, wrote an introduction to the new edition of this essential work.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: S. Lerer (ed.), *Literary History and the Challenge of Philology. The Legacy of Erich Auerbach* (1996); "Auerbach-Alphabet," Karlheinz (Carlo) Barck zum 70. Geburtstag, in: *Trajekte* (special edition, 2004); D. Caroll, "Mimesis Reconsidered: Literature, History, Ideology," in: *Diacritics* (1975), 5–12.

[Ittai Joseph Tamari (2nd ed.)]

AUERBACH, FRANK (1931–), English artist. Auerbach was sent to London from Berlin by his parents at the age of eight; he never saw them again. Auerbach studied in London at the St. Martin's School of Art and the Royal College of Art, and also attended classes held by David *Bomberg, who influenced his work. Auerbach held his first exhibition in 1956. His work is expressionist, showing delicate care in composition and sound draftsmanship, and often evokes a sense of tragedy. He is also known for his figurative paintings, often of his friends, and for his urban landscapes. Major exhibitions of his works were held at the Hayward Gallery in London in 1978, the National Gallery in 1995, and the Royal Academy in 2002. In 2000 the Tate Modern opened a room devoted to his works. Auerbach is regarded as one of the most important and influential contemporary expressionistic artists. He has worked from the same studio in Camden, London, for more than 50 years, painting every day.

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AUERBACH, ISAAC EISIG BEN ISAIAH (also known as **Reis**; early 18th century), German grammarian and commentator. Auerbach's father was known as "*ha-kadosh*" ("the martyr"). Ignorant of grammar, Auerbach was unable to understand Rashi's commentary and as a result became interested in philology. The scholars of Fuerth (his place of residence) ridiculed this interest. Auerbach thereupon went to Amsterdam where he studied Hebrew grammar under Samuel Posen and wrote a Hebrew grammar entitled *Girsa de-Yenuka* ("A Schoolboy's Study," 1718). The book consists of excerpts from grammar books and the principles of grammar. The popularity of the work in Frankfurt, where Auerbach had settled, encouraged him to write another Hebrew grammar, *Shuta de-Yenuka* ("Schoolboy's Talk," 1725). Having meanwhile devoted himself "to interpreting and explaining … Rashi's grammatical comments on the Pentateuch," he published his work, *Be'er Reḥovot* (Sulzbach, 1730; a supercommentary on Rashi's commentary on the Pentateuch). In his introduction, Auerbach states that he followed in the footsteps of Elijah *Mizraḥi and that his purpose was not "to criticize the great scholars but rather to comprehend and understand the literal and true meaning of Rashi's grammatical comments." He also translated into Yiddish *Jedaiah ha-Penini's *Beḥinat Olam* under the title of *Ẓafenat Pa'ne'aḥ* (1743).

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[Yehoshua Horowitz]

AUERBACH, ISAAC LEVIN (1791–1853), German preacher and pioneer of the *Reform movement. From 1815 Auerbach served as preacher in the Berlin synagogue established by Israel *Jacobson; he was co-founder of the *Verein fuer Kultur und Wissenschaft des Judentums, taught for some years at a girl's school, and for 25 years, until 1851, was preacher in Leipzig. Auerbach, as an advocate of Reform, preached in German and wrote a thesis using talmudic argumentation justifying the use of German in divine service (1818). He also published sermons on contemporary problems (1828), a call for tolerance (1833), and for Reform based on historical grounds (1845). His attitude to assimilation and religion can be discerned in his sermon on the *Damascus Affair; while not especially identifying himself with his coreligionists in the East, he defended the Jewish religion against the degradation it had suffered. His brother BARUCH AUERBACH (1793–1864) founded the Berlin Jewish Orphanage in 1833, directing it until his death.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: H.G. Reissner, *Eduard Gans* (Ger., 1965), index; Altmann, in: YLBI, 6 (1961), 4–16; Ottenheimer, in: MGWJ, 78 (1934), 481–8.

AUERBACH, ISRAEL (1878–1956), Zionist writer. Auerbach was born in Wissek, Posen province (then Germany). He joined the Zionist group at the University of Berlin, together with his brother Elias *Auerbach, his two brothers-in-law, Arthur *Hantke and Heinrich *Loewe, and Alfred *Klee, all of whom became leaders of German Zionism. Auerbach was active in Zionist circles in Berne where he became a teacher. From 1908 until 1920 Auerbach directed the educational network in Constantinople of the *Hilfsverein der Juden. He enlisted the sympathies of many influential personalities for the Zionist cause. After returning to Berlin in 1920, he became secretary-general of the Hochschule fuer die Wissenschaft des Judentums. Auerbach directed the *Keren Hayesod office in France from 1933 to 1936, and its Jerusalem office from 1936. Auerbach contributed articles to the Zionist and Jewish press, outstanding of which are his reports from Constantinople written for the central Zionist organ, *Die Welt*. He also published poetry, essays, and a play, *Mose* (1925, in German), which was performed on the occasion of the 14th Zionist Congress.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Davar* (June 18, 1956); MB (June 8, 1956).

[Getzel Kressel]

AUERBACH, LEOPOLD (1828–1897), German physician and biologist; one of the pioneers of modern embryology. Auerbach was born in Breslau and studied there and at Leipzig and Berlin. From 1863 until his death he held teaching posts at Breslau University, being appointed assistant professor of biology and histology in 1877, but because he was Jewish never becoming a full professor. Auerbach pursued research in almost every field of botany and biology, but his major achievements lay in the investigation of cell division and embryonic development in animals. In his *Organologische Studien* (1874) he provided a basis for the new science of cellular biology. He was ahead of his time in concluding that differences in the cells of the embryo are the result of differences in the various parts of the organism to which they belong. He was also among the first to realize that during cell division the nucleus does not disintegrate, but merely changes its form and structure. The lymphatics in the intestinal walls are named after him.

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[Joshua O. Leibowitz]

AUERBACH, MEIR BEN ISAAC (1815–1878), rabbi of Jerusalem. Auerbach was born in Dobra, central Poland, and served as rabbi of the Polish towns of Kowal, Kolo, and Kalish (Kalisz). In 1860 he migrated to Jerusalem where, at the request of Samuel *Salant, one of the leading Jerusalem rabbis, he was elected rabbi of the Ashkenazi congregation. He refused to accept a salary, living on the great wealth he had brought with him. "The rabbi of Kalish," as he was usually called in Jerusalem, was noted for his efforts to develop Jewish settlement in Ereẓ Israel and to extend and strengthen the Jewish settlement in Jerusalem. He headed a society which attempted unsuccessfully to purchase land in Jericho for an agricultural settlement. In Jerusalem he gave generous aid to various charitable institutions and supported such projects as arranging the affairs of the **ḥalukkah*, founding the general council of Keneset Yisrael, and the yeshivah Ohel Ya'akov. One of the founders of the Me'ah She'arim quarter, he was a vigilant defender of tradition, and fought vehemently against reformers, especially the supporters of secular education in Jerusalem. He was author of *Imrei Binah*, novellae on the Shulḥan Arukh and responsa on *Oraḥ Ḥayyim* and on *Ḥoshen Mishpat* (pts. 1, 2, Jerusalem, 1869–76); part 3, novellae to *Even* *ha-Ezer*, and part 4, glosses on the Talmud and on Maimonides' *Mishneh Torah*, as well as sermons, were not published. His glosses to Aryeh Leib Ginsburg's *Turei Even* were published along with that work in 1860. His will was published by A. Yaari (see bibl.).

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[Abraham David]

AUERBACH, PHILIPP (1906–1952), German-Jewish political activist. Born in Hamburg, Auerbach received a traditional Jewish education and began an apprenticeship in the chemical export and import business of his father. During the Weimar Republic he was actively engaged in the Liberal Party (DDP). After a brief detention in 1933 he immigrated to Belgium in 1934, where he established a successful chemical business. His father was murdered in the concentration camp of Fuhlsbuettel in July 1938. Auerbach was arrested by German occupation forces on the day of their capture of Antwerp. After internment in various French camps he was brought to a Berlin prison in 1942 and deported to Auschwitz in January 1944. After the war, he was accused of mistreatment of other camp inmates, but the ensuing investigations were suspended with no proof of his misbehavior.

After his liberation, Auerbach soon rose to become the most prominent political spokesman of the reconstituted German-Jewish community. His political career began in the British Occupied Zone as a high official for the affairs of those persecuted under Nazi rule. Suspended from his office by the British authorities a few months later, he was employed by the Bavarian government as "State Commissioner for Racial, Religious, and Political Persecution" and was responsible for the establishment of the Bavarian Office for Restitution. He established the Union of Jewish Communities in the North Rhine Province in December 1945 and, following his move to Munich, was the leader of the Bavarian Jewish community and one of the chairpersons of the Central Council of Jews in Germany founded in 1950. He was an outspoken advocate of immediate financial restitution to Nazi victims and total exposure of Nazi crimes. His activities were recorded with much interest and often opposition by the German public.

In 1949 allegations were made by Bavarian government ministers against Auerbach concerning the misuse of his office, fraud, and the illegal use of an academic title. He was arrested in early 1951. The trial of August 1952 resulted in his acquittal of the most serious allegations, but he was found guilty of corruption, attempted blackmail, perjury, and the illegal use of his academic title. He was sentenced to two and a half years in prison. The following night, Auerbach committed suicide, convinced of his innocence. His activities are still disputed. While most historians agree that he did not mishandle money for personal use, they also stress his unorthodox political style.

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[Michael Brenner (2nd ed.)]

AUERBACH, "RED" (**Arnold Jacob**; 1917–2006), U.S. basketball coach and executive, member of the Basketball Hall of Fame. Auerbach was born in the Williamsburg section of Brooklyn, New York. He was a star at Eastern District High School and after graduating from George Washington University in 1941 with a master's degree, he coached high school basketball for three years in the Washington, D.C. area and played a year (1942–43) in the American Basketball League with the Harrisburg Senators. Following a three-year tour of duty in the Navy, Auerbach began his professional coaching career in 1946 with the newly formed Basketball Association of America, later to be renamed the National Basketball Association (NBA). Auerbach coached the Washington Capitols to a league-best 49–11 record his first year, but lost in the playoff semifinals to the Chicago Stags. He went to the finals two years later in 1949, where he lost to the Minneapolis Lakers, 4–2. He then left to coach the Tri-Cities Blackhawks for one season, posting the only losing season in his career with a 29–35 record. Auerbach then moved to the Boston Celtics, and history was about to be made. Inheriting a team that had a 22–46 record the previous season, the Celtics then went 39–30 in his first year with the help of rookie guard and future Hall of Famer Bob Cousy.

Five years later, Auerbach made the first of many shrewd trades for which he would become famous, landing Bill Russell with the second pick of the 1956 NBA draft. After winning the NBA championship in Russell's rookie season, the Celtics lost in the NBA finals in 1958 when Russell was injured. Boston won the next eight NBA titles, a record streak that remains unmatched in the history of any American professional sport. Auerbach popularized the concept of the role player and the "sixth man," providing his teams with an added boost from the bench with an established player. Auerbach was famous for his habit of lighting up a cigar on the bench when he felt his team was assured of victory.

When Auerbach retired, he was the first coach to exceed 1,000 wins, finishing with a combined BAA/NBA record of 938–479 in the regular season for a .661 percentage, and 99–69 (.589) in the playoffs for an overall record of 1,037–548. He also coached 11 future Hall of Famers. Auerbach remained Boston's general manager when he retired and named Russell as the team's player-coach, the first African-American head coach in NBA history. Auerbach rebuilt the Celtics as general manager as well, winning two titles in the 1960s and 1970s before drafting Hall of Famers Larry Bird and Kevin McHale and trading for Robert Parish, which led to three more titles in the 1980s. Auerbach was replaced as president in 1997, but returned as team president in 2001. Overall, he won nine NBA titles as a coach and seven more as Boston's GM. He was named NBA Coach of the Year in 1965, NBA Executive of the Year in 1980, the NBA's 25th Anniversary All-Time Team coach, and the greatest coach in NBA history by the Professional Basketball Writers Association of America (PBWAA) in 1980. The Red Auerbach Trophy is now presented each year to the NBA's Coach of the Year. Auerbach is the author of *Basketball for the Player, the Fan and the Coach* (1953) and, with co-author Paul Sann, *Winning the Hard Way* (1966).

[Elli Wohlgelernter (2nd ed.)]

AUERBAKH, ROKHL (**Rachel**; 1903–1976), prolific Yiddish and Polish author, historian, and essayist. Born in Lanovtsy (Galicia), in the prewar period Auerbakh founded and edited the literary journal *Tsushtayer* in Lemberg (Lvov). In Warsaw from 1933, she published in the central Yiddish and Polish Jewish press on literature, education, psychology, folklore, art, linguistics, and theater. Under German occupation, she was active in the underground archives of the Warsaw ghetto and served in Jewish self-help organizations. In postwar Poland, she worked to document and collect testimonial accounts and materials and was co-founder of the Central Jewish Historical Commission in Lodz. In Israel from 1950, she collected testimony from survivors and published her Holocaust period writings and testimonial memoirs in various forms. She was founder and director of the Department for the Collection of Witness Testimony at *Yad Vashem; her personal archives are classified as Inventory no. P-16, Yad Vashem. Her publications include *Oyf di Felder fun Treblinke* (1947); *Der Yidisher Oyfshtand: Varshe 1943* (1948); *Undzer Kheshbn mitn Daytshn Folk* (1952); *Behutsot Varsha 1939–1943* (1954); *Varshever Tsavoes* (1974); *Baym Letsten Veg: In Geto Varshe un oyf der Arisher Zayt* (1977).

[Carrie Friedman-Cohen (2nd ed.)]

AUERNHEIMER, RAOUL (1876–1948), Austrian author (pseudonyms **R. Heimern**, **R. Othmar**). Auernheimer was born in Vienna, where he studied law (Ph.D., 1904). Under the aegis of his mother's cousin, Theodor *Herzl, he became editor of the Viennese *Neue Freie Presse*. A minor member of the "Young Vienna" group of writers, Auernheimer gained prominence with his numerous plays, novels, and books on historical and social themes. These works include *Talent* (1899), *Das Paar nach der Mode* (1913), *Casanova in Wien* (1924), *Gewitter auf dem Rigi* (1932), and *Wien* (1938). His many volumes of short stories are reminiscent of the impressionistic style of Arthur *Schnitzler. From 1922, he was vice president of Austrian PEN. After internment in the Dachau concentration camp (Feb.–Aug. 1938), Auernheimer immigrated to the U.S., settling in Hollywood, where he wrote biographies of Metternich and of the Austrian dramatist Franz Grillparzer (1948). His autobiography, *Das Wirtshaus zur verlorenen Zeit*, was published posthumously (1948).

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[Harry Zohn / Marcus Pyka (2nd ed.)]

AUFRUFEN (Yid. "call up"), traditionally a designation among Ashkenazim for the honor bestowed upon a groom to ascend the *bimah* for the reading of the Torah at a synagogue service (see Reading of the *Torah) on the Sabbath prior to his wedding. He may be called up with a special chant (*reshut*). In some congregations the groom receives the *maftir aliyah* and reads the prophetic portion (*haftarah*). There may be a similar celebratory Torah honor on the first Sabbath after the wedding called *Shabbat Kallah* marking the change in status of the bride. Among Sephardi Jews this custom is called *Shabbat Ḥatan* (the bridegroom's Sabbath) and takes place the Sabbath after the wedding. This public recognition of change of status was originally based on a talmudic tradition that King Solomon built a special gate through which bridegrooms would pass on the Sabbath and be greeted by family and friends. After the destruction of the Second Temple, the custom was moved to the synagogue.

In recent decades, brides within the Conservative, Reform, and Reconstructionist movements have begun to share these honors with their bridegrooms or have their own Torah honors. In some modern Orthodox congregations, the bride may be called to the Torah before her wedding at a special women's prayer group (*tefillah*). The bride and groom may be showered with sweets and the rabbi will express the good wishes of the community to the couple through a *Mi she-berakh* (May the One who blessed our ancestors, bless this bride and groom) prayer.

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[Rela Mintz Geffen (2nd ed.)]

AUGSBURG, city in Bavaria, Germany; a free imperial city from 1276 to 1806. Documentary evidence of Jews living in Augsburg dates from 1212. Records from the second half of the 13th century show a well-organized community, and mention the *Judenhaus* (1259), the synagogue and cemetery (1276), the ritual bathhouse, and "dancehouse" for weddings (1290). The Jews were mainly occupied as vintners, cattledealers, and moneylenders. The Augsburg municipal charter of 1276, determining the political and economic status of the Jewish residents, was adopted by several cities in south Germany. Regulation of the legal status of Augsburg Jewry was complicated by the rivalry between the episcopal and municipal powers. Both contended with the emperor for jurisdiction over the Jews and enjoyment of the concomitant revenues. Until 1436 lawsuits between Christians and Jews were adjudicated before a mixed court of 12 Christians and 12 Jews. In 1298 and 1336 the Jews of Augsburg were saved from massacre through the intervention of the municipality. During the *Black Death (1348–49), many were massacred and the remainder expelled from the city. The emperor granted permission to the bishop and burghers to readmit them in 1350 and 1355, and the community subsequently recovered to some extent. Later, however, it became so impoverished by the extortions of the emperor that the burghers could no longer see any profit in tolerance. In 1434–36 Jews in Augsburg were forced to wear the yellow *badge. The community, then numbering about 300 families, dissolved within a few years; by 1340 the last Jews had left Augsburg. The Augsburg town council paid Albert II of Austria 900 gulden to compensate him for the loss of his **servi camerae*. Thereafter Jews were only permitted to visit Augsburg during the day on business. They were also granted the right of asylum in times of war. From the late 16th century Jewish communities existed in the close-by villages Pfersee, Kriegshaber, and, temporarily, Oberhausen.

In the late Middle Ages the Augsburg yeshivah made an important contribution to the development of the **pilpul* method of study and analysis of the Talmud. The variant of the *pilpul* method evolved in Augsburg is referred to as the "Augsburg *ḥillukim*." The talmudist Jacob *Weil lived in Augsburg between 1412 and 1438. While some Hebrew pamphlets were printed in Augsburg by Erhard Oeglin as early as 1514 on the initiative of the apostate J. Boeschenstein, a Hebrew press was established in 1532 by Ḥayyim b. David Shaḥor, the wandering printer from Prague, together with his son Isaac and son-in-law Joseph b. Yakar who had learned printing in Venice. Between that year and 1540 nine books appeared including Rashi's Pentateuch commentary (1533); an illustrated Passover *Haggadah* (1534); Jacob b. Asher's *Turim* (1536); a *Melokhim Buch*, in Yiddish (1543); a *maḥzor*; and a *siddur*. In 1530 *Joseph Joselmann of Rosheim convened a synod of German community representatives in Augsburg, the seat of the Reichstag (see *Germany). An organized Jewish community was again established in Augsburg in 1803. Jewish bankers settled there by agreement with the municipality in an endeavor to redress the city's fiscal deficit. In practice, the anti-Jewish restrictions in Augsburg were eliminated in 1806, with the abrogation of the city's special status and its incorporation into Bavaria; however, the new Jewish civic status was not officially recognized until 1861. In 1871 Augsburg was the meeting place of a rabbinical assembly dealing with liturgical reform. The Jewish population increased from 56 in 1801 to 1,156 in 1900. It numbered 1,030 in 1933. In 1938, the magnificent synagogue, dedicated in 1917, was burned down by the Nazis. In late 1941, after emigration and flight to other German cities, the last 170 Jews were herded into a ghetto, with 129 of them sent to Piaski in Poland in April 1942 and the rest mostly to the Riga ghetto and Theresienstadt. In the immediate postwar period, a camp was established in Augsburg to house displaced Jews. A few weeks after the liberation, services were resumed in the badly damaged synagogue by survivors of the Holocaust and Jewish soldiers of the U.S. Army, and the community was eventually reestablished. The synagogue was restored and rededicated in 1985. As a result of the immigration of Jews from the Former Soviet Union, the number of community members rose from 199 in 1989 to 1,619 in 2003.

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[Zvi Avneri / Stefan Rohrbacher (2nd ed.)]

°AUGUSTINE (354–430), bishop of Hippo (North Africa) and outstanding *Church Father of Western Christianity. Born in Tagaste in North Africa to mixed Christian/pagan parentage, Augustine was educated at the University of Carthage, abandoned his faith temporarily and fathered a son, was eventually ordained and became the bishop of Hippo in 395. As an influential ecclesiastic and prolific theological writer, Augustine attacked various Christian sects and heresies and also took issue with Judaism. His religious and philosophical views reveal the influence of a great variety of spiritual movements and trends (Neo-Platonism, Manichaeism, the Stoics, Cicero, Aristotle, etc.) but most of his major doctrines are completely foreign and indeed opposed to traditional Jewish teaching (e.g., his concepts of the innate sinfulness of man, and predestination). Nevertheless, Jewish influences are also discernible, though these are mainly derived from the common biblical background and from Hellenistic Jewish philosophy (Philo of Alexandria), the Neoplatonic character of which had an obvious affinity with Augustine's own thinking. Thus Augustine's emphasis upon the absolute transcendence and unity of God is such that the doctrine of the Trinity assumes a relatively secondary importance. His theology of history, as developed in his *City of God*, has Jewish overtones only in the sense that its historical perspective contains some traditional eschatological and apocalyptic elements and insists on Israel's universal religious mission in history. In spite of his unequivocal rejection of post-Christian Judaism (e.g., in his *Tractatus adversus Judaeos*) – in keeping with the basic tenets of Christian thinking – Augustine evinces in some of his writings (e.g., in his commentary on the Psalms), and quite unlike the violently anti-Jewish diatribes of his contemporary, John Chrysostom, a positive (i.e., missionary attitude) to the Jewish people as being destined ultimately to join in the fullness of the Divine promise as realized in the church. The definitely anti-Jewish tracts circulating in the Middle Ages under the name of Augustine are later compositions wrongly attributed to him.

More than any other Church Father of his time, Augustine studied the "Old Testament," quoted from it and commented upon it. Biblical history, as the history of Israel, the people of God, formed the basis of Augustine's philosophy of history, and his division of world history into periods was derived from it. His method of interpreting the Bible is partly rationalistic, partly allegorical and mystical. Augustine had little or no knowledge of Hebrew, although he was probably familiar with the rudiments of the related Punic language. In order to overcome this handicap he occasionally consulted African Jews. Two legends (that of Adam's second wife and of Abraham in the furnace) are explicitly quoted by him as of Jewish origin but he often mentions rabbinic opinions without quoting their source. In his work *De doctrina christiana* (ch. XXXIV, col. 15–122), Augustine seeks to establish guidelines for biblical exegesis and states that a knowledge of Hebrew was essential for the understanding of Scripture. At the same time he regarded the Vulgate text as authentic from the point of view of the church and attacked Jerome for embarking upon a new Bible translation from the Hebrew. His opposition to Jerome's work, which was only temporary, may have resulted from his hostility to Judaism and to Jews in general, whom he accused of failing to understand the Bible, or deliberately misunderstanding it (*Tractatus adversus Judaeos*).

There has been no noticeable influence of Augustine's doctrines upon Jewish religious philosophy. The attacks of Saadiah Gaon on the concept of the Trinity and of God as a hypostasis of three attributes – being, living, and knowing (*Emunot ve-De'ot*, ch. 2; cf. *De libero arbitrio*, ch. II, 3 no. 7) were surely directed at Christianity as such and not specifically at Augustine. Like Augustine, Saadiah taught that time was created by God, but this doctrine has its roots in the philosophy of Plato (*Timaeus*) and was also accepted by Philo. There are similarities in the doctrine of God's will and of Divine omniscience as propounded by Augustine, Saadiah, and Maimonides, respectively (Kaufmann). Jewish authors who mentioned Augustine in their writings are Judah Romano, in the notes to his translation of Averroes' *De substantia orbis (Eẓem ha-Shamayim)*; Isaac Abrabanel, who according to Joseph Delmedigo took considerable interest in Augustine; Hillel b. Samuel of Verona, in his work *Tagmulei ha-Nefesh*; and several anonymous authors, such as *Sefer Ḥokhmah Kelalit*, the translation of a pseudo-Aristotelian work.

There is an incomplete translation into Hebrew of Augustine's *Confessions* by Paul Levertoff ("*Vidduyei Augustinus*," 1908).

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[Jacob Klatzkin / Shimon Gibson (2nd ed.)]

AUGUSTOW, district town in Bialystok province, Poland. Jewish inhabitants are mentioned for the first time in 1630 and numbered 239 in 1765. Many were occupied in the local lumber industry, rafting logs to Danzig. The Russian limitations on Jewish settlement in border towns, in operation from 1823 to 1862, barred further Jewish settlement in Augustow in this period, although the community did not decrease until the regulations were stringently enforced. The Jewish population numbered 3,764 in 1860 (45% of the total), and 3,637 in 1897 (28.5%). The first synagogue was founded in the 1840s. There were five synagogues in Augustow by the beginning of the 20th century. During World War I, Augustow was heavily damaged and the community diminished, in 1921 numbering 2,261 (25.8%) members, mainly employed in ready-made tailoring.

[Nathan Michael Gelber]

Holocaust Period

Nearly 4,000 Jews were living in Augustow prior to the outbreak of World War II. On Sept. 20, 1939, the Soviet Army entered the town. Jewish political parties were outlawed and a few local leaders arrested, but the cultural and religious institutions continued to function. On June 22, 1941, the German Army captured the town. Shortly after, about 1,000 Jewish males rounded up in the town were concentrated in the forest near Szczebre and executed. In October 1941 a ghetto was established. In June 1942 all the remaining Jews, mostly women and children, were deported to the camp in Bogusze, near *Grajewo, where about 7,000 Jews from the vicinity were concentrated. Within a few weeks about 1,700 of them died of hunger and disease. In August 1942 the German and Polish police conducted an *Aktion*. The Bogusze camp was liquidated and all its Jewish prisoners deported to *Treblinka and *Auschwitz death camps, where all but a few were put to death.

[Stefan Krakowski]

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Sefer Yizkor li-Kehillat Augustow ve-ha-Sevivah* (1966, Heb. and partly Yid.; incl. bibl.).

°**AUGUSTUS** (**Caius Julius Caesar Octavianus**; 63 B.C.E.–14 C.E.), first Roman emperor (27 B.C.E.). The policies of Augustus toward the Jews of the Roman Empire in general, and the inhabitants of Judea in particular, followed the favorable line established by Julius *Caesar. But with respect to Judea, the emperor's personal friendship with Herod probably played the decisive role. Herod's rule in Judea (37–4 B.C.E.) was contemporaneous with the rule of Augustus, and a close relationship existed between the two monarchs. It was Augustus, together with Mark Antony, who had been instrumental in the Senate's appointment of Herod as ruler of Judea (Jos., Ant., 14:383; Wars, 1:283–5). After the defeat of Antony at Actium (31 B.C.E.), Herod had been summoned by Augustus to Rhodes to explain his relations with the defeated Antony, and had succeeded in gaining the favor and friendship of the new emperor. After Augustus had confirmed his rule, and occupied

Egypt, he annexed to Herod's kingdom "the territory which Cleopatra had earlier appropriated [in 34 B.C.E., i.e., mainly the territory of Jericho] with the addition of Gadara, Hippos, and Samaria and the maritime towns of Gaza, Anthedon, Jaffa, and Strato's Tower [later Caesarea]" (Wars, 1:396; Ant., 15:217). Aware of Herod's difficulties within his realm, Augustus did everything to support him in his effort to fulfill his obligations as a faithful vassal of the Roman Empire. Augustus thought highly of Herod's ability as a ruler and valued his personal friendship. He approved of Herod's efforts to introduce Roman culture into Judea and for this reason paid little heed to the claims of Herod's enemies, foreign and domestic. The deterioration of their relationship toward the end of Herod's reign was only a minor interlude, after which the friendship was restored. Knowing the Jewish aversion to pork, it is reported that Augustus, on hearing of Herod's execution of his own son *Antipater, made the pun that he would rather be Herod's pig (Greek: ὑς) than Herod's son (ὑιος). In spite of this friendship, Herod's rule as a Roman vassal was never changed by Augustus. After Herod's death in 4 B.C.E. Augustus did not confirm his will but divided the country among the king's three sons. Archelaus was appointed to rule over Judea, Idumea, and Samaria, but only as ethnarch and not as king, as had been the will of Herod. The two other sons, Herod Antipas and Philip, were assigned tetrarchies in the north of the country. The Hellenistic cities of Gaza, Gadara, and Hippos were detached from the territory by Augustus. Archelaus failed to live up to the hopes reposed in him, and in 6 C.E. Augustus accepted the demands of two embassies from Judea, both urging abolition of the monarchy, as a result of which Archelaus was banished and Judea came under direct Roman rule.

Jews throughout the Diaspora were favorably treated by Augustus. In one edict the rights of Jews in Asia Minor were upheld, including the privilege of sending money to the Temple treasury (Ant., 16:102 ff.). Augustus also issued decrees in favor of the Jews of Cyrene (*ibid.*, 169 ff.). He also ensured the "inviolability of their sacred books and synagogues" and exempted them from the need to give bond to appear in court on the Sabbath or Friday after the ninth hour. The emperor's praise of his grandson, Gaius, for not worshiping in Jerusalem (Suetonius, *De Vita Caesarum*, 2:93) does not imply antagonism toward the Jews, but reflects his rejection, in general, of the Eastern religious rites which were penetrating Rome at that time. Probably in Augustus' lifetime, several synagogues were founded in Rome (cf. the Synagog Augustasion).

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[Isaiah Gafni]

AUMMAN, ROBERT J. (**Yisrael**; 1930–), Israeli mathematician, Nobel Prize laureate in economics. Aumman was born in Frankfurt, Germany, and immigrated with his family to New York in 1938. He studied mathematics, and graduated from the City College of New York in 1950 and received his M.A. and Ph.D. in mathematics from MIT in 1955. In 1956 he immigrated to Israel and joined the Institute of Mathematics at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, where he taught until his retirement. After completing his Ph.D. he shifted his interest to practical science and began to study game theory, then a novel scientific discipline, at Princeton (1960–61). From 1966 until 1968 he was the chairman of the Institute of Mathematics and in 1968 became a professor. Aumman was the first to conduct a full-fledged formal analysis of so-called infinitely repeated games. His research identified exactly what outcomes can be maintained over time in long-run relations. He introduced measure theory into the analysis of economies with an infinite number of agents, where each agent has little influence on the end result. Aumman also applied game theory to political conflicts, such as the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. During his long academic career, he wrote about 100 articles and six books and was a visiting professor a many universities. He received several prizes for his research: Harvey Prize in Science and Technology (1983), the Israel Prize in economics (1994), Lanchester Prize in Operations Research (1995), Erwin Plein Nemmers Prize in Economics (awarded by Northwestern University, 1988), and EMET prize in economics (2002). In 2005 he received the Nobel Prize with Thomas C. Schelling for their contribution to conflict solution in fields such as commerce and war.

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[Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

AURICH, town near Hanover, Germany. Jews from Italy apparently first settled in Aurich around 1378 by invitation of the ruler of the region; this community came to an end in the 15th century. In 1592 two Jews were permitted to perform as musicians in the villages around Aurich. A new community had formed by 1647 when the *Court Jew Samson Calman settled there. Aurich was the seat of the *Landparnass* and *Landrabbiner* (see **Landesjudenschaft*) of East Friesland from 1686 until 1813, when it was transferred to *Emden. Under Dutch rule (1807–15) the Jews enjoyed the civil rights which they had lost in 1744 during Prussian rule. A cemetery was established in Aurich in 1764; the synagogue was consecrated in 1811. The Jews in Aurich numbered 14 in 1708, 166 in 1804, 420 in 1900 (7% of the total), and 398 in 1933. The synagogue was burned down on *Kristallnacht* (Nov. 9–10, 1938). In 1940 the remaining 155 Jews in Aurich fled to other German towns before a rumored evacuation. About 150 had managed to emigrate, and in all, about 160 died.

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AURUM CORONARIUM (Latin "gold for the crown"), term for two separate taxes paid in ancient times.

(1) It was originally a voluntary gift donated by the provinces to victorious Roman generals and later to emperors upon accession. The gift had the form of a golden crown. In time it became a mandatory tax, collected by every new emperor. When, from the third century C.E., Roman rule changed hands every two or three years, it became a heavy burden. It is not surprising, therefore, that Romans and Jews alike tried to evade payment of the tax. The Talmud tells of "the crown for which the inhabitants of Tiberias were called upon to find money." After demanding that R. Judah ha-Nasi, who was apparently responsible for transfer of the money, distribute the heavy burden equally among all residents, half the citizens of Tiberias finally fled to avoid payment (BB 8a).

(2) For the Jews, however, *aurum coronarium* took on another meaning, namely the voluntary contributions of world Jewry to support the Patriarchate in Palestine. These funds, called *Demei Kelila* (דְמֵי כְּלִילָא) in rabbinic sources (BB 143a), were collected by official messengers (ἀπόστολοι) of the patriarch, and as a result were also known as *apostolé*. According to Epiphanius (Adv. haereses 1:30, 3–12) these emissaries were of the highest rank and participated in the patriarch's councils. A similar description appears in the letter of authorization given to R. Ḥiyya b. Abba: "We are sending you a great man, our messenger, who shall be treated on a par with ourselves until he returns to us" (TJ, Ḥag. 1:8, 76d; TJ, Ned. 10:10, 42b). The emperor Julian, probably in an attempt to secure the good will of those Jewish communities who were forced to carry the burden, ordered the discontinuation of the Jewish tax (362–3 C.E.). This pause however, was only temporary (as was a similar one in 399–404 C.E.) and collection of the *aurum coronarium* continued until 429 C.E. After the suppression of the Patriarchate in 425 C.E., the funds were delivered to the Palestinian academies. In an edict dated May 30, 429 C.E., the *aurum coronarium* was officially converted by the emperors Theodosius II and Valentinian III into a special Jewish tax to the state treasury (*Codex Theod.* 16, 8:29).

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[Isaiah Gafni]

AUSCHWITZ (**Oświęcim**), Nazi Germany's largest concentration and extermination camp. The word "Auschwitz" has become a metaphor for the Holocaust in general, and the phrase "after Auschwitz" has come to signify the great historical rupture wrought by the murder of six million Jews.

These meanings often overshadow the particular and specific history of Auschwitz. Founded by German settlers and known to them as Auschwitz and to the Poles as Oświęcim, the town of Auschwitz/Oświęcim has existed since 1270 (see *Oswiecim). Since World War II, however, the name Auschwitz refers to the concentration and annihilation camp the Germans established in spring 1940. This camp, which came to encompass a whole complex of sections and sub-camps, remained in operation until January 27, 1945, when the Red Army arrived.

The character and scope of the atrocities that took place in Auschwitz fully justify the identification of the camp as the symbolic center of the Holocaust. It was there that the single largest group of Jews was murdered: over one million men, women, and children; in total more than 90 percent of the 1.1 million Jews deported to the camp. To put this number in perspective: 750,000 Jews were murdered at the death camp of Treblinka; nearly 500,000 at Belzec; 200,000 at Sobibor; and 150,000 at Kulmhof (Chelmno). Jewish citizens from more European countries (at least 12) were deported to Auschwitz than to any other camp. Thus the history of Auschwitz also testifies to the pan-European character of the Holocaust. Then too the Germans killed more than 100,000 non-Jews at Auschwitz: 75,000 Poles (or some 50 percent of the 150,000 Poles deported to the camp), at least 18,000 Sinti and Roma (about 80 percent of the 23,000 imprisoned there), 15,000 Soviet prisoners of war (nearly 100 percent of those in the camp), and some 15,000 others (or 60 percent of that group). Auschwitz therefore testifies as well to the often forgotten Nazi aim to create a "New Order." This German plan called for the total annihilation of the Jews and the genocide of other groups, including selected population strata of the Slavs, undesirable Sinti and Roma, and the mentally ill and physically handicapped.

Finally, Auschwitz holds a key place in history because its technology and organization were so thoroughly "modern." With its central location in the European railway infrastructure, its business relationships with many large and small industries that relied on slave labor, its medical experiments conducted by highly qualified physicians working in collaboration with distinguished research institutions, and its large and efficient crematoria equipped with logically designed killing installations for those deemed "unfit for labor," Auschwitz stands for industrial civilization. In its use of gas chambers, it stands, too, for the deliberate nature of the genocide of which it became a center. People shot with rifles, or even machine guns, are killed with arms designed, manufactured, and purchased for use in combat. The use of these weapons to massacre civilians is an aberration. Like the gallows, the guillotine, and the electric chair, gas chambers are designed and built to kill non-combatants. Unlike these other means of execution, gas chambers permit many people to be executed, anonymously, at the same time. The 52 ovens built in the five crematoria of Auschwitz, with a total incineration capacity of 4,756 corpses per day, testify to the genocidal purpose of the Nazi state.

Located in the historical borderland between Germany and Poland, the town of Auschwitz was established by Germans in the 13th century, became a Polish fief called Oświęcim in the 15th century, merged into the Hapsburg patrimony as part of Austrian Galicia in the First Polish Partition (1772), and, with the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian Empire (1918), become part of the Polish Republic. After their conquest of Poland in 1939, the Germans annexed Oświęcim to the Reich, and called it Auschwitz once again. They designated eastern Upper Silesia, the region in which the town was located, a high-priority area for political, social, and economic development. For the Germans, Auschwitz signified a return to the pristine, lost past of medieval German achievement: it betokened opportunity and promise to new generations.

Reichsführer-SS Heinrich *Himmler acquired responsibility for the redevelopment of eastern Upper Silesia, as well as of the other annexed territories (Wartheland, Danzig-West Prussia) in his role of Reich Commissioner for the Consolidation of the German Nation. Himmler initiated a policy of ethnic cleansing in the annexed territories, deporting Poles and Jews and bringing in ethnic Germans from the Baltic countries, the part of Poland annexed by the Soviet Union, and Romania. Population transfers proceeded smoothly in the predominantly rural areas of the Wartheland and Danzig-West Prussia, but proved more difficult in eastern Upper Silesia. This area was heavily industrialized, and its mainly Polish workers could not be deported without crippling production in the area. Aiming to intimidate the hostile population, Himmler decided (April 27, 1940) to transform a former Polish military base, located in the Zasole suburb of Auschwitz, into a concentration camp. He appointed SS-Captain Rudolf *Hoess as its first Kommandant, and sent him off to Auschwitz to build the camp.

Hoess chose five SS men to assist him, obtained 15 SS men stationed in Cracow to serve as guards, and selected 30 German common criminals imprisoned in Sachsenhausen to be transferred to Auschwitz as prisoner functionaries and 40 Polish inmates from Dachau as a construction crew.

Refurbishing the former military base to fulfill its new function as a concentration camp to incarcerate recalcitrant Poles proved laborious. The army barracks were in poor condition, and Hoess had great difficulty obtaining barbed wire for fences and building materials for repairs and construction. Inmates were used as construction laborers, mainly in excavation works, transportation, demolishing nearby houses, leveling the roll-call area, paving roads, and as skilled workers. The first transport of 728 Polish prisoners arrived from Tarnow on June 14, followed by a transport of 313 on June 20. The reasons for their arrest varied: some of them had tried to cross the border, others were resistance organizers, political activists, member of the intelligentsia, and Jews. By July 6, the camp counted 1,282 inmates. Tadeusz Wiejowski escaped that day, and the SS punished all the inmates by forcing them to stand for roll call for 20 hours. One inmate, David Wongczewski, did not survive the ordeal. He was the first Auschwitz inmate to die. Significantly, Wongczewski was a Jew.

The camp grew rapidly throughout the summer; on September 22 prisoner number 5,000 was issued, and by year's end 7,879 inmates had been registered. Many were victims of random street roundups in Warsaw. Witold Pilecki, by contrast, had voluntarily joined a group of men seized during such a *Razzia*. A prominent resistor, Pilecki sought to set up a resistance organization within Auschwitz. One of his goals was to improve living conditions in the camp. This was necessary: within six months, almost 1,900 men had died from exhaustion, deprivation, beatings, and execution.

Populated primarily by Poles, whom the Germans considered disposable, Auschwitz was a particularly violent place even by concentration camp standards. If in the camps in the Reich proper the *Arbeit Macht Frei* ("work will set you free") motto inscribed above the gate of Dachau carried at least an echo of the idea that the camps were meant not only to paralyze opposition to the regime but also to bring the "politically misguided" or "asocials" back to the true German community, in Auschwitz this ideology did not apply – despite the fact that Hoess hoisted the same motto above a camp gate. Poles could never be part of the German community. With no restraint imposed by ideology, the judiciary, or public opinion, Auschwitz quickly became a closed universe in which inmates had no rights at all. Tadeusz Borowski described the total and unremitting domination to which he and his fellow inmates were subjected in intimate detail.

> If the barrack walls were suddenly to fall away, many thousands of people, packed together, squeezed tightly in their bunks, would remain suspended in mid-air. Such a sight would be more gruesome than the medieval paintings of the last Judgment. For one of the ugliest sights to a man is that of another man sleeping on his tiny portion of the bunk, of the space which he must occupy, because he has a body – a body that has been exploited to the utmost: with a number tattooed on it to save on dog tags, with just enough sleep at night to work during the day, and just enough time to eat. And just enough food so it will not die wastefully. As for actual living there is only one place for it – a piece of bunk. The rest belongs to the camp, the Fatherland. But not even this small space, not the shirt you wear, nor the space you work with are your own. If you get sick, everything is taken away from you: your clothes, your camp, your "organized" scarf, your handkerchief. If you die – your gold teeth, already recorded in the camp inventory, are extracted. Your body is burned, and your ashes are used to fertilize fields, or fill in the ponds. Although in fact so much fat and bone is wasted in the burning, so much flesh, so much heat.

Living on a starvation diet, without warm clothes or shoes, with little sleep, no privacy, subject to an arbitrary regime imposed by the SS and prisoner functionaries such as the Kapos, and exhausted by 12 hours of hard labor, every inmate struggled to survive each day. Most of the work involved outdoor construction. In the fall and winter, exposure, exhaustion, and malnutrition led to quick physical decline. Inmates called a prisoner who began to slip a *Muselmann* (Muslim). A breathing corpse, unable to keep himself clean, indifferent to his surroundings, and only dreaming about food, a *Muselmann* became a burden on the lives of other inmates. Inhabiting a limbo between life and death, the *Muselmaenner* document the triumph of total power over human beings and the negation of dignity. All prisoners faced the prospect of becoming *Muselmaenner.* But those assigned to the penal company were likely to end that way. Established in August 1940, this especially punitive work detail comprised those who broke camp rules, all Catholic priests, and all Jews.

The high mortality at Auschwitz called for a crematorium to dispose of corpses. The former ammunition depot served. In summer 1940 the SS took delivery of one double-muffle oven manufactured by the Topf company in Erfurt. Its official incineration capacity of over 100 corpses per day proved insufficient, and in fall 1940 the Auschwitz SS ordered a second double-muffle oven. A third (summer 1941) brought the official daily cremation capacity to 340 corpses. Clearly, the SS perceived murder to be a growth industry in Auschwitz. While many of the dead were registered inmates, the camp also functioned (from November 1940) as an execution site of prisoners of the Gestapo office in Kattowitz, the provincial capital of Upper Silesia. These people were transported to Auschwitz for court-martial and summary execution in the courtyard of Block 11, the camp prison. They were not registered into the camp.

While death had become common and killing a daily occurrence, the SS initially remained somewhat squeamish about conducting the mass killings that characterized Auschwitz later that year. When the SS selected 573 invalid and chronically ill inmates for execution in July 1941 as part of the so-called 14f13 program, they did not kill them in Auschwitz but transported them by train to Sonnenstein asylum. There the victims were killed in carbon-monoxide gas chambers constructed in the T4 program initiated two years earlier to "eliminate" the insane, the handicapped, and others deemed "unworthy of life." This inefficient solution of shipping inmates to a mass murder facility prompted SS-Captain Dr. Friedrich Entress to experiment in cheap ways to kill by means of injection. After trying hydrogen and gasoline, Entress settled on phenol. From September 1941 to April 1943 this became the preferred way of killing *Muselmaenner* who refused to die quickly enough, or inmates who were to be liquidated on orders of the so-called Political Department, the camp Gestapo. The task to kill by injection usually fell to SS medics like the notorious SS-Sergeant Josef Klehr. Assuming the crucial role of executioner, Entress set an important precedent in Auschwitz. He and the other SS physicians working in the camp were central to the annihilation system at Auschwitz, selecting inmates for death and selecting new arrivals "unable to work" for immediate dispatch to the gas chambers. Entress and his colleagues, all of whom had sworn the Hippocratic Oath, condemned a million people, mostly Jews, to death.

In the fall of 1940 the camp acquired two economic functions: to provide prisoners to work in adjacent gravel pits owned and exploited by the SS company DEST, and to serve Himmler's policy of ethnic cleansing. Poles living in the rural areas immediately south of Auschwitz were targeted for deportation, and ethnic Germans from Romania were to move into the area. In order to provide practical support to help the new arrivals establish economically viable farms, Himmler made the concentration camp the center of a huge agricultural experiment estate. The camp claimed ever larger territories for its new role as a scientific farm. Himmler began to envision a different future for Auschwitz than he had originally intended. As a concentration camp, Auschwitz would be a temporary facility; as an agricultural estate it claimed permanence. Much labor was needed to create drainage canals to improve the land, build dikes along the Vistula, and clean the large fishponds. By August 1941, some 20,000 inmates had been admitted into the camp. Of these, 12,000 were still alive. Yet Himmler was pleased with Hoess' performance as Kommandant. In recognition of his achievements, the latter was promoted to SS-Major.

Originally a small compound surrounded by a double barbed wire fence, the camp had grown by the beginning of 1941 to include a 15-square-mile SS "Zone of Interests." Himmler needed an enormous influx of money and building materials to develop this zone and he therefore sought to generate income by attracting the huge chemical conglomerate, IG Farben, to Auschwitz. The terms of the bargain were that the camp would grow to 30,000 inmates to supply labor to construct Farben's synthetic rubber ("Buna") plant. A new satellite to the concentration camp, Birkenau, to be populated initially by 100,000 Soviet prisoners of war (a number increased to 125,000 in the fall of 1941), was to provide labor to transform the town of Auschwitz into a handsome, 60,000-German-strong city worthy of an IG Farben enterprise and exemplary of Himmler's ambitions in the East. In return, IG Farben was to finance and supply building materials for Himmler's Germanization project in the area. This included the expansion of the concentration camp and the construction of an idyllic village for the SS guards.

The designs for the new town showed that the German inhabitants of Auschwitz were to get the very best: beautiful houses, elegant shops, restaurants, cinemas, and hotels to house tourists. The slave workers to actualize these dreams received the worst. The German government did not feel obliged to treat the Soviet prisoners of war according to the Geneva Convention. Under direction of SS-Captain Karl Bischoff, the chief architect of the Auschwitz *Zentralbauleitung* (Central Construction Agency), the young Bauhaus-trained architect SS-Second Lieutenant Fritz Ertl designed an enormous compound subdivided into three large sections by barbed wire (named *Bauabschnitt* (Building Sector) I, II, and III, or BA I, BA II, and BA III), which were in turn divided up into smaller compounds (BA Ia–b, BA IIa–f, etc). Ertl's housing plan consisted of rows upon rows of the most primitive brick barracks. Heated by two tiny stoves and with no washing or toilet facilities of any kind, each barrack was designed to house 748 men on three tiers of shelves, four to each shelf of 2 × 2 meters. The living conditions of these barracks were infinitely worse than those of the barracks of concentration camps such as Dachau, Buchenwald, and Sachsenhausen, and considerably worse than the overcrowded barracks in the Auschwitz main camp. In the end, only 30 of these barracks were built in BA Ia and BA Ib, but the alternative, wooden horse stables designed and manufactured for the army which filled the compounds of BA II, was not much better. While these horse stables could be built quickly, they proved stiflingly hot in the summer and bitterly cold in the winter.

The SS expected many deaths from endemic and epidemic disease in Birkenau, with its targeted population of 125,000 Soviet POWs, and in the main camp located in a suburb of Auschwitz called Zasole, where 30,000 Polish prisoners were to be interned. The existing crematorium capacity of 340 corpses per day was deemed insufficient. The SS commissioned (fall 1941) a very large, state-of-the-art crematorium that could manage 1,440 corpses per day. The initial design was worked out between Bischoff, Topf engineer Kurt Pruefer, and the architect Georg Werkmann, who was employed in SS headquarters in Berlin. The main features of their plan were a large incineration hall with five triple-muffle ovens above ground, and two large morgues below ground. The main access to the morgues was by means of a corpse-slide – a feature that had become standard in concentration camp underground morgues. It was to be built in the main camp, right next to the existing crematorium, but to service Birkenau. This staggering cremation capacity was considered appropriate to cope with the anticipated "normal" mortality of the 155,000 slave laborers to be worked to death. Given the rapidity with which the 9,890 Soviet prisoners of war who had been brought to Auschwitz since October had died, the dimensions of the crematorium did not seem out of place: 1,255 Soviet prisoners of war died as the result of deprivation or killings by phenol injections or beatings in October; 3,726 in November; and 1,912 in December. The crematorium did not provide execution facilities. Nothing in the original conceptual sketches of the crematorium, nor in the worked-out blueprints which date from January 1942, suggests homicidal gas chambers, or their use in what the Nazis called the "Final Solution to the Jewish Problem." When large-scale mass murder of Jews began in the summer and fall of 1941 in the wake of Operation Barbarossa, the *Kommandantur* in Auschwitz was still fully focused on Himmler's project to develop the town and the region.

Step by step, however, the camp at Auschwitz became part of the Nazis' genocidal apparatus. The SS began to send Soviet POWs they considered "commissars" to be executed in Auschwitz in addition to POWs for forced labor. Initially these men were executed by rifle and machine gun in the DEST gravel pits. In August 1941, camp officials considered whether a more efficient and – for the SS – less disturbing manner of execution could be found. They settled on the use of a gas chamber.

Gas chambers had been used in animal pounds to kill stray dogs and cats since the 1880s. Persuaded that gassing would cause a quick and merciful death, the state of Nevada installed a gas chamber in 1924 to execute convicted criminals. By the end of the 1930s, eight American states had followed Nevada's example. Besides its allegedly humane procedure, gas chamber executions were popular with the prison authorities because they were effective (unlike failed hangings or failed electrocutions, there is no record of a failed gassing) and clean: no blood, and no sudden evacuations of the bowels or bladder.

Unlike in the United States, gas chambers did not gain a foothold in the Third Reich as a means to execute those convicted to death by regular courts. In prisons, guillotines chopped off the heads of the "legally" condemned and, from 1943 onwards, gallows were used for multiple executions. In the fall of 1939 German officials began to construct gas chambers in selected asylums to kill groups of mentally ill and handicapped patients (T4 program) and, from 1941 on, groups of selected concentration camp inmates (14f13 program) by bottled carbon monoxide. When the Auschwitz SS considered gas chambers as a tool of mass execution, they followed the precedent of the T4 chambers, but decided to use Zyklon B instead of carbon monoxide.

Zyklon B was the commercial name of a fumigation agent that had been developed by Drs. Bruno Tesch and Gerhard Peters at the Kaiser Wilhelm Institute in Berlin with the support of IG Farben. The active ingredient of Zyklon B was hydrogen cyanide, which was mixed with an irritant tear gas to serve as a "warning," and which was soaked at a ratio of 1:2 in diatomaceous earth, a porous, highly absorbent material. The resulting mixture consisted of solid granules that could be packed in tins of 200, 500, 1,000, and 1,500 grams. When the tins were opened and the granules exposed to air, the hydrogen cyanide evaporated from the diatomaceous earth. Safe to transport, Zyklon B proved a very efficient agent for the fumigation of whole buildings, ships, and railroad cars without damaging the contents. An important characteristic of Zyklon B was that, upon opening the tin, the granules "degassed" for a 24-hour period – important when seeking to kill lice and other vermin, which can survive up to 14 hours in a highly toxic environment.

Zyklon B was patented by IG Farben, which assigned the patent and the production license to its (partial) subsidiary Degesch, the Deutsche Gesellschaft fuer Schaedlingsbekaempfung (German Society for the Destruction of Vermin). In turn, Degesch used two companies, the Dessauer Werke and the Kalin Werke at Kolin, for the production of the solution. The sale of Zyklon B was highly regulated both because of the nature of the product and the various special permissions needed to obtain the product in a time of rationing. To take the administrative pressure off Degesch, a pest control company created in 1923 by Dr. Tesch and a certain Paul Stabenow, known as Tesch and Stabenow (TeSta), was appointed to act as a general clearing-house for all Zyklon B orders east of the Elbe River. TeSta thus oversaw the purchase of Zyklon B for Auschwitz.

Developed to kill lice and other insects, Zyklon B proved its versatility when the city of Vienna adopted it (1938) as the preferred means to kill pigeons, praising its "easy and inconspicuous practicality offering the possibility to conduct mass exterminations in the shortest possible time." In early September 1941, the Auschwitz SS expanded on the Vienna example and used Zyklon B on people. They packed 600 Soviet prisoners of war and 250 Polish inmates behind barred gates in the basement of Block 11 and, protected by gas masks, opened tins with Zyklon B in full view of the inmates and emptied a tin with pellets on the floor. Hoess claimed after the war that he had adopted Zyklon B because it ensured a quick and easy death for the victims. He lied. It took some of the Soviet prisoners more than a day of terrible agony to die.

The poison had been effective, but the SS had difficulty ventilating the basement of Block 11 after the killing, and this impeded the clean-up procedure. The SS therefore decided to move the killing operation to the crematorium, and they transformed the morgue adjacent to the room with the ovens into a Zyklon gas chamber. This morgue had already been used for some time for the execution of people convicted by the Gestapo summary court from Kattowitz, and so the precedent for killing people in the morgue had been established. As the morgue had a flat roof, it was easy to create holes in the roof that allowed camp personnel to drop Zyklon pellets into the gas chamber below. An existing ventilation system, created at the request of Gestapo executioners nauseated when shooting their prisoners in the foul-smelling morgue, ensured that the hydrogen cyanide could be removed easily after everyone had died. A gas chamber thus in place, the Auschwitz crematorium became a small but efficient "factory of death," with killing and incineration facilities under one roof. This killing installation, later called crematorium 1, was not meant to operate on a continuous basis, however. It was too visible. Located right next to the main camp, neither the building nor the arrival of victims to be killed inside its gas chambers were screened or hidden.

The creation of the new killing installation proves that murder had become important business in Auschwitz. But it does not establish whether, in the late summer of 1941, Himmler intended Auschwitz to have a central role in the murder of Jews. Two statements made by Hoess after the war suggest that Himmler had already designated Auschwitz as a death camp for Jews as early as June 1941 and that the killing experiments with Zyklon B were preparatory to their anticipated arrival. Hoess' statements are not supported by other evidence, however. Given what we know about the origins of the "Final Solution," it is clear that in the early summer of 1941 the Germans had not yet envisioned the total annihilation of the Jewish people. To be sure, wide-scale murder of Jews by *Einsatzgruppen* in the East had begun in July and become policy in August, but the Nazi leadership had not adopted those actions as a model for the fate of all of Europe's Jews. While Germans experimented in the late summer with gas vans to lighten the burden on killing squads, the concept of mass killing installations with stationary gas chambers evolved only in the late fall of 1941, after they had embraced the policy to kill all Jews. Thus, Hoess' postwar statements conflict with the history of the Final Solution.

They conflict, too, with the history of the Germans' designs for Auschwitz. Though planning for the large new crematorium with a daily incineration capacity of 1,440 corpses began in fall 1941, the drawings for this building do not show any accommodation for gas chambers, and the anticipated location of the new crematorium in a tight but very public place right next to the main camp is such that it would not physically accommodate the smooth arrival, selection, and killing of great numbers of Jews, nor provide camouflage. There is evidence, however, that crematorium 1 was used in early 1942 to kill small groups of Jews from Upper Silesia who had been sent to forced-labor camps run by the so-called Organization Schmelt.

Established by SS-Major-General Albrecht Schmelt, this organization oversaw the forced labor of 50,000 Jews in Upper Silesia. In early 1942, Schmelt decided that Jews "unfit for work" should be killed, and he got Hoess to agree to do the dirty work for him. These murders were not part of the Europe-wide policy of concentration, deportation, and killing overseen by the Reich Security Main Office which brought more than 1.1 million Jews to Auschwitz between March 1942 and November 1944. It appears likely that when Hoess made his statement after the war, he conflated three separate events: the development of the Zyklon gas chamber in the summer of 1941, the killing of the Schmelt Jews in early 1942, and the arrival and killing of Jews pursuant to the Nazis' policy of genocide in the summer of 1942.

Himmler, in short, did not designate Auschwitz as an annihilation camp for Jews in June 1941. It was only when Reichsmarshall Hermann *Goering, who was in charge of the war economy, directed Soviet POWs from Auschwitz to German armament factories in January 1942 that Himmler began to consider how he could use the emerging "Final Solution" policy to promote his "Auschwitz Project." Committed to Auschwitz as the centerpiece of his racial utopia, he now turned to the use of Jewish slave laborers instead of Soviet POWs. At the *Wannsee Conference in January 1942, Heydrich secured for Himmler the power he needed to negotiate with German and foreign civilian authorities for the transfer of Jews to his SS empire. SS headquarters informed Hoess immediately after the conference that transports of Jews would be sent to Auschwitz. The Soviet prisoner-of-war camp was officially dissolved on March 1. Of the 10,000 Soviet prisoners sent to Auschwitz, 945 survived and they merged into the general camp population that then counted 11,500 inmates.

The SS did not lack for trapped Jews to send. The Germans had incarcerated almost 9,000 Jews in occupied France since May 1941, most of them refugees. Section IV-B4 of the Reich Security Main Office, the Gestapo Bureau for Jewish Affairs headed by SS-Major Adolf *Eichmann, saw these Jews as a source of slave labor for Auschwitz, and dispatched 1,112 in March. But France was far from Auschwitz; Slovakia was much nearer.

Established in the wake of the German occupation of the Czech lands in 1939, Slovakia was a German satellite state. The Slovak government had agreed to send 120,000 workers to the labor-strapped Reich, but they soon regretted their decision. When the Germans insisted in summer 1941, the Slovaks offered to send 20,000 young Jews. The Germans declined: they were not interested in bringing Jewish forced laborers into the Reich. But when the SS looked for a new supply of labor for Auschwitz in January 1942, they remembered the Slovak offer and negotiations began that ended in an agreement to ship 10,000 Jews to Auschwitz and 10,000 to *Majdanek, another camp that was to have had Soviet POWs. Once again, the Slovak government had second thoughts: sending those who were young and fit to the camps would leave children and old people as a burden on the state. When the Slovak government then suggested that Himmler also take Jews unfit for labor, he dispatched SS Construction Chief SS-Brigadier General Hans Kammler to Auschwitz. Kammler toured Birkenau, identified a peasant cottage close to the northern boundary of the prisoner compound, and ordered the building department to transform it into a gas chamber. It was to be known as "The Little Red House," or "The Bunker." During that same visit, he also ordered that the large crematorium then in design for the main camp was to be erected in Birkenau close to the bunker. Kammler's command reflects the leadership's intent to hide the annihilation program. Upon his return to SS headquarters in Berlin, Kammler reported that Auschwitz would be prepared to receive Jews both fit and unfit for work. Berlin then concluded a deal with Bratislava to take all its Jews. The Slovak government paid 500 marks in cash for every Jew deported. They raised the funds by seizing Jewish property. Section IV-B4 of the Reich Security Main Office organized the transports.

The bunker was brought into operation on March 20. No Slovak transports had arrived yet. A small group of Schmelt Jews was brought to the bunker and killed. Prisoners buried the bodies nearby and were brought in turn to the infirmary, where they were killed by phenol injection.

The first transport with 999 female Slovak Jews arrived in Auschwitz on March 26. As all of these women were considered fit for labor, they were not subjected to a selection. Sent to a section of the main camp in Zasole separated from the rest by a barbed-wire fence, they were the first inmates of the women's camp. In the next five months, 17,000 women were imprisoned in that sub-camp, 5,000 of whom died. The surviving 12,000 women were brought to Birkenau in August and imprisoned in compound BA Ia. As the women's camp expanded, it needed more space, and in July 1943 a new sector, BA Ib, was added. The women's camp was run by Johanna Lagerfeld (until October 1942), Maria Mandel (October 1942–November 1944), and Elisabeth Volkerrath (November 1944–January 1945). In 1942, 28,000 women were admitted, of whom 5,000 were alive at the end of the year; in 1943, 56,000, of whom 28,000 died; and in 1944 some 47,000 were admitted. Of the 131,000 women prisoners, 82,000 were Jews and 31,000 Poles.

All 9,000 Slovak Jews who arrived in March, April, and June 1942 were considered fit for labor and were admitted into the camp. But the SS put the bunker to use. Impatient with the slow death of some 1,200 ill inmates in the medical isolation ward in Birkenau, the SS transported some 1,000 selected by a medical officer and brought them to the bunker. From then (May 4) on, inmates selected for death were killed by phenol injection and, if a gas chamber was available, by gas. More transports of Jews from the local area were brought to Auschwitz that May and, without selection, some 5,200 people were killed in the bunker. While the murder of Jews was still secret, information about Auschwitz leaked out on July 1 when an article in the *Polish Fortnightly Review*, an English-language newspaper published by the Polish government-in-exile, mentioned it as a particularly violent concentration camp where inmates were gassed. Events had gone far beyond the scope of this news: the article referred to the experiments of fall 1941.

As the bunker created to cope with the deportation of the Slovakian Jews was already in full use before any Slovakian transport with "unfit" Jews had arrived, the SS converted a second peasant house into a killing installation. It was known as the "Little White House," or bunker 2. The "Little Red House" was now renamed bunker 1.

The first transport of Jews from Slovakia that included children and the elderly arrived on July 4, 1942. Unloading the train on a makeshift platform between Auschwitz and Birkenau, SS men separated the men from the women and children and an SS doctor selected 264 able-bodied men and 108 women for work. The elderly, children, mothers with children, and pregnant women were loaded onto trucks and brought to bunker 1, where they were killed. As before, prisoners were forced to empty the bunker and bury the bodies. Unlike their predecessors, who had been killed after each "action," the prisoners who did the work on July 4 were not murdered. Imprisoned in a special barrack in Birkenau, they lived totally isolated from the rest of the inmates. Assigned the designation *Sonderkommando* (Special Squad), they became the specialists assigned to operate the killing machine. And as the killing machine became more sophisticated, their tasks increased. By the time the crematoria came into operation, it was they who gave instructions to the victims in the undressing room, maintained order and led them to the gas chamber, dragged out the corpses, checked body orifices for valuable objects, extracted gold teeth and cut women's hair, brought the corpses to the incineration rooms, and cremated the bodies – day in, day out. After three months of work, the *Sonderkommandos* were murdered and a new special squad was assigned. Their first task was to cremate the remains of their predecessors. In Auschwitz, in survivor (and chemist and author) Primo *Levi's view, the National Socialists' most demonic crime was the conception and organization of the *Sonderkommando*.

These procedural steps – selection on arrival and the establishment of the *Sonderkommando* – moved the annihilation of Jews at Auschwitz from "incidental" practice (the murder of the Schmelt Jews from Upper Silesia) into what one could call "continuing" practice. But it had not yet become policy. The bunkers were still a particular solution to a situation created by the collision of Slovak unwillingness to provide for old and very young Jews and German greed for labor and money.

The turning point in the history of Auschwitz as an annihilation camp came when Himmler acquired responsibility (around mid-July 1942) for German settlement in Russia. He had coveted that authority for more than a year, and he turned his attention to the vast possibilities this promised. His Auschwitz Project was no longer of interest to him. The camp could be used for the systematic killing of Jews. Practice became policy. Transports from ever-farther destinations arrived in Auschwitz on a daily basis. Regular trains began to arrive from France in June, from Holland in July, and from Belgium and Yugoslavia in August. Throughout the summer an average of 1,000 deportees arrived every day at the so-called *Judenrampe* located between the main camp and Birkenau. A quick selection by a cadre of SS physicians found most of them "unfit for work." Loaded on trucks and brought to bunkers 1 and 2, they were forced to undress and were killed.

Himmler visited the camp on July 17 and 18. There were various items on his agenda. Discussions with Albert Speer, the newly appointed minister for armaments and war production, had led to an agreement to employ 25,000 inmates at Auschwitz and four other camps to produce carbines. Himmler ordered the expansion of Birkenau to accommodate 200,000 inmates and instructed Eichmann to fill the camp with Jews able to work. He then checked on the construction progress and toured the grounds. At Birkenau, he watched the selection of a transport of 2,000 Dutch Jews at the *Judenrampe*, the killing in Bunker 2 of 449 of them considered unfit for work, and the burial of the corpses. According to Hoess, "Himmler very carefully observed the whole process of annihilation.… He did not complain about anything." Himmler also visited IG Farben. The next day he returned to the camp, and told Hoess that Auschwitz would become a major destination for Europe's Jews. "Eichmann's program will continue," he announced, "and will be accelerated every month from now on. See to it that you move ahead with the completion of Birkenau. The gypsies are to be exterminated. With the same relentlessness you will exterminate those Jews who are unable to work." To bolster Hoess' motivation, Himmler promoted him to SS-Lieutenant-Colonel.

The architects at Auschwitz got to work. So did Kurt Pruefer at Topf and Sons. In addition to building the large crematorium, commissioned in late 1941 for the main camp, they were to add its mirror image in Birkenau. These were to be known as crematoria 2 and 3, while the crematorium in the main camp was now called crematorium 1. The original design, sketched in October 1941 and drafted in great detail in early 1942, did not show gas chambers. Now the design team moved to include homicidal gas chambers. Walther Dejaco transformed the basement plan, adding new stairs that allowed for easy access below and removing the corpse-slide. He changed the larger of the two underground morgues into an undressing room and the smaller, which already was planned to have a powerful ventilation system in its wall and ceiling, into a gas chamber which could hold up to 2,000 victims at one time. He reversed the swing of the chamber door to open outwards, not inwards, to allow access to the room after a gassing. He also equipped each gas chamber with four so-called gas columns – hollowed-out, wire mesh columns with a kind of basket in the center that could be lowered down into the gas chamber or hoisted up through an opening in the ceiling. This simple mechanism not only allowed for the easy introduction of Zyklon pellets into the crowded room but also for the quick removal of the still degassing pellets when all the victims had died 20 minutes later. Once the pellets were removed and the ventilators turned on, the gas was cleared from the room in half an hour, allowing for corpse cremation in the 15 large ovens to begin without delay. In this manner, one "load" of victims could be killed and cremated in a 24-hour period. This streamlined murder system facilitated a regular daily schedule of arrivals, selections, and killings.

Efficient as crematoria 2 and 3 were, they were also large, expensive, and unwieldy. Underground gas chambers created many problems that required complex solutions: the mechanical ventilation system, the gas columns, and an elevator to move the corpses to the incineration ovens on the main floor. The camp administration's experience with the bunkers had shown that primitive gas chambers could work very efficiently and that combining simple above-ground gas chambers without mechanical ventilation and with an adjacent undressing room and an incineration facility provided a simple, functional killing installation. Following these principles, the camp architects and Pruefer developed a design for a crematorium with an incineration capacity of 768 corpses per day, an undressing room that also could function as a morgue, and three homicidal gas chambers in a lower annex. This design, euphemistically referred to in the architects' meeting minutes as "Bath Installations for Special Actions," became crematoria 4 and 5, built near the bunkers.

Killing hundreds of thousands of people created problems the Auschwitz administrators did not anticipate. Decomposing corpses in mass graves near the bunkers began to pollute the ground water. Kommandant Hoess and architect Dejaco traveled (September 16) to the annihilation camp at *Chelmno to examine open-air incinerators constructed by SS-Colonel Paul Blobel. Back in Auschwitz, Dejaco built copies near the bunkers. Beginning September 21, 1,400 inmates began to exhume the bodies from the mass graves and burn the corpses. It was a wretched and dangerous job. With bare hands, standing knee-deep in decomposing flesh, the prisoners emptied the pits. The bodies of those killed thereafter were burned on these pyres immediately after gassing. By November a total of 107,000 corpses had been incinerated in this manner, including all 1,400 inmates who had done the work, killed on the job or upon completion of the work. Primitive as this method of corpse disposal may have been, it did not limit the rate of murder: in 1942, some 200,000 Jews were killed in Auschwitz.

The Germans sent most Jews to their death upon arrival. But not all. They continued to admit worker Jews into the camp. By December 1942, the inmate population had grown to 30,000 and, four months later, to 50,000, the majority of whom were Jews. Auschwitz had become the largest camp in the SS concentration camp system, and the only one that had a large Jewish inmate population. According to an order of Himmler, the other camps in the Reich had been made "Jew-free."

If Jews comprised the great majority of the inmates, they also sat at the bottom of the camp pyramid of privilege. Auschwitz had been an extraordinarily violent camp from the outset, and that violence intensified over time. What Polish inmates had suffered in the first two years was a pale foreshadowing of the fate of Jewish inmates. Most Polish prisoners could be reasonably sure that their families were alive. Most Jews arrived with their families, were torn from them during selection, and knew that their loved ones had been killed in the gas chambers. They also knew, for certain, that they had been given only a reprieve from death, and that every day could be their last. In addition to this crushing emotional burden, the living and working conditions of Jewish inmates were even harsher than those of Polish inmates. If a significant proportion of Polish inmates had been fated to become the nameless and emaciated *Muselmaenner,* amongst the Jews they were the majority. According to Primo Levi, they were "an anonymous mass, continually renewed and always identical, of non-men who march and labor in silence, the divine spark dead in them, already too empty to really suffer. One hesitates to call them living: one hesitates to call their death death."

The SS did not expect any of the Jews to survive. On September 26, 1942, the chief of the SS Economic Administrative Office, SS-Lieutenant General Oswald Pohl, instructed Hoess that the belongings of the deportees were not to be stored in view of a possible release, as was the practice in "normal" concentration camps. Hoess was to ship currency, valuables, and precious metals to SS headquarters in Berlin; rags and unusable clothes to the Reich Ministry of Economy for use as raw materials in industrial production; and all usable garments, shoes, blankets, bed linens, quilts, and household utensils to the Ethnic German Liaison Office (VOMI) for distribution among ethnic German settlers. The yield was enormous. In an interim report Pohl submitted to Himmler on February 6, 1943, he noted that 824 boxcars of goods had left Auschwitz: 569 to the Reich Ministry of Economy, 211 to VOMI, and 44 to other concentration camps, various other Nazi organizations, and the IG Farben works at the other end of town.

These mass murders and massive distribution of goods could not be kept secret. The Polish resistance well knew that Auschwitz had become a central site for the annihilation of Jews. In March 1943, a secret radio station operated by the Polish resistance broadcast that 65,000 Poles, 26,000 Soviet prisoners of war, and more than 520,000 Jews had been killed in the camp. The figures were inflated, but the basic message was correct: Jews had become the main victim group in the camp.

The broadcast did not mention the Roma and Sinti, perhaps because they were recent arrivals. Just a month earlier, the SS had established the so-called gypsy camp in section BA IIe of Birkenau in response to a Reich Security Main Office decree (January 1943) that all German Roma and Sinti were to be deported to Auschwitz. In total, 32 transports arrived from Germany, four from Bohemia and Moravia, three from Poland, one from Yugoslavia, and four mixed transports, bringing 23,000 Roma and Sinti to the camp. No selections took place upon arrival. The Roma and Sinti families remained intact, housed together in the so-called gypsy camp. Some 10,000 died from illness, deprivation, and individual murders. Another 2,700 sick with typhoid were gassed in two actions in 1943. At least 3,000 Roma and Sinti were gassed when the Germans liquidated the gypsy camp in 1944. More than 4,000 of the remaining 7,000 Roma and Sinti merged with the general camp population and at least 2,500 were transferred to Buchenwald and Ravensbrueck. Few survived.

In the late winter and early spring of 1943, when the killing reached 800 people per day, the first of the new crematoria in Birkenau came into operation. In their final form, all the crematoria provided for murder and corpse disposal. People walked in, and exited the building as smoke through the chimneys and ashes that were dumped in the nearby Vistula River. Between entrance and exit the Germans built a logical sequence that included undressing rooms, gas chambers of different sizes, places to cut women victims' hair for industrial use and to extract gold tooth crowns from men and women, and fuel-efficient ovens that allowed for high-rate multiple corpse incinerations. The official total incineration capacity of the four large crematoria in Birkenau was 4,416 corpses per day. In 30 adjacent storehouses, nicknamed "Canada" for the wealth they contained, inmates sorted and packaged arrivals' belongings. All usable items were shipped back to the Reich for the use of less fortunate Germans. Most importantly, the new crematoria offered the SS the opportunity to kill anonymously. The SS doctors who undertook the selection of the victims could tell themselves that, as all Jews who arrived at Auschwitz were a priori condemned, they actually saved the lives of those whom they chose as slave laborers. The SS medics who introduced the Zyklon B into the gas chambers never saw their victims. In the case of crematoria 2 and 3, they just opened some vents that emerged from the grass, emptied a can of Zyklon into the hole, and closed the top. The dying below was invisible to them and everyone else. Jewish *Sonderkommandos* cleaned the gas chambers after the killing and incinerated the corpses: Germans were not involved.

Oddly enough, upon their completion, the crematoria appeared superfluous. The Holocaust itself had peaked when all four crematoria were ready for use in the summer of 1943. The genocide had begun in 1941, and the Germans had killed some 1.1 million Jews that year. In 1942 they murdered another 2.7 million Jews, of whom less than 10 percent died in Auschwitz. The year the crematoria of Auschwitz came into operation the number of victims dropped to 500,000, half of whom were killed in Auschwitz. All the Jews whom the Germans had been able to catch easily had been trapped. In June and July 1943 average daily transports brought 275 Jews into the camp. The crematoria could easily keep up, despite the fact that crematoria 2 and 4 were out of commission because of technical difficulties. This lull gave the Germans the opportunity to liquidate the nearby Sosnowiec Ghetto in August. It was in Sosnowiec that, two years earlier, the Oświęcim Jewish community had been imprisoned to make space for German settlers and IG Farben personnel. The camp numbered 74,000 inmates that month, or one-third of the total prisoner population of the entire German concentration camp system. In the fall and winter the number of arrivals dropped again to some 250 people per day.

Almost all transports were still subjected to selection. A train of 5,006 Jews of all ages from Theresienstadt on September 9 was a notable exception. The Theresienstadt Jews were allowed to keep their clothes and hair, and they were quartered in section B IIb of Birkenau, the so-called Czech family camp. This unusual event occurred again on December 16, when 2,491 Jews arrived from Terezin, and on December 20 with another transport of 2,471 Jews. Everyone was registered into the camp. In the context of Auschwitz, this seemed to be a stable situation, so stable that the well-known educator Freddy Hirsch established a children's program in Block 31. But nothing in Auschwitz was secure. On March 7, all those who had come on the first transport were forced to write postcards to their family and friends in Theresienstadt. Then they were killed. The Germans had waited six months to murder them because the Red Cross had visited Theresienstadt and the SS wanted to be able to prove to that charitable organization that inmates shipped from Theresienstadt to Auschwitz were alive and well. They could have saved themselves the trouble: the Red Cross never asked what happened to deported Jews.

As killing abated in the fall of 1943, the regime in the camp became less violent. An SS judge, Konrad Morgen, initiated an investigation into corruption and theft of valuables in the camp, and he focused on the head of the camp Gestapo, SS-Second Lieutenant Maximilian Grabner. Morgen ordered Grabner's arrest in October for corruption and for having exceeded the boundaries of his authority in killing at least 2,000 prisoners "beyond the general guidelines." Morgen did not bring a case against Hoess, but he was sufficiently implicated to be relieved of his duties as Kommandant in November 1943 and transferred to Berlin. His successor was SS-Lieutenant Colonel Arthur Liebehenschel, a manager in SS headquarters who had never worked in a concentration camp. In an attempt to improve the situation for the inmates, Liebehenschel abolished the selection of the *Muselmaenner* and somewhat lightened the regime in the main camp. He also reorganized the camps administratively. Auschwitz, Birkenau, and Monowitz became separate camps, known as Auschwitz I, II, and III. Liebehenschel took control of Auschwitz I and appointed SS-Major Friedrich Hartjenstein as Kommandant of Auschwitz II. SS-Captain Heinrich Schwartz took charge of Auschwitz III.

The major project of the Auschwitz SS at this time was to foster an increasingly lucrative collaboration between German industry in Upper Silesia and the camp. They established three satellite camps in 1942 to provide slave labor to the IG Farben synthetic rubber and fuel plant in Monowitz, the coal mines in nearby Jawischowitz, and German industry in Chelmek; in 1943, five more satellite camps were set up; and in 1944, another 19. In 1942, 4,600 prisoners (of 24,000) worked for outside firms; in 1943 the number had increased to 15,000 (of 88,000); and in 1944 some 37,000 (of 105,000). When the camp was evacuated in early 1945, more than half the prisoners provided slave labor outside of the camp. The rest worked in the construction and maintenance of the camp, in SS-owned companies, and in the amelioration of the 15-square-mile estate around the camp. All of it – the outside firms, SS-owned companies, mines, factories, construction, and fieldwork – was lethal. Prisoners worked long hours on starvation diets, with insufficient clothing in the winter, no safety protections, and subject to brutal treatment by supervisors and guards. Regular selections ensured that any prisoner who could not keep the pace was sent to the gas chambers.

Prisoners were not dispatched as slave laborers alone. They were also given to physicians as guinea pigs. Doctors experimented on concentration camp inmates from the beginning of the war. In Dachau, recent medical graduates of the SS medical academy in Graz were offered inmates for surgery practice. In the same camp, Dr. Claus Carl Schilling injected inmates with live malaria cells, assuming they would develop resistance to it. Hundreds died. Testing the survival chances of airmen who had to bail out of planes at high altitude, or sailors on the open sea, physicians put Dachau inmates into low-pressure low-oxygen chambers, submerged them for long periods in ice-cold water, or gave them seawater to drink. They died horrible deaths. "Research" in Auschwitz concentrated on mass sterilization of able-bodied Jews without impairing their ability to work. One professor of medicine, Dr. Carl Clauberg, subjected women inmates to massive doses of X-rays in Block 10 of the main camp, which killed many.

The most assiduous and notorious medical "researcher," Jozef *Mengele, arrived in Auschwitz on May 30, 1943. His interests grew out of his work at the Kaiser Wilhelm Institute in Berlin, where he had served as research assistant to Otmar von Verschuer, a pioneer in the study of inherited diseases through research with twins. Mengele well knew that comparative autopsies on twins would provide ideal study conditions, but twins rarely died simultaneously and at a convenient location for the researcher. Auschwitz offered him an opportunity to do what was impossible elsewhere. He set up a block for twins in the gypsy camp where he conducted brazenly diabolical "experiments." Interested in eye color, he injected dye into the eyes of his human subjects. Curious about the course of infectious disease and resistance to it, he inoculated inmates with infectious agents. Fecundity, sterility, and gender fascinated Mengele. He conducted sex change operations, castrating boys to transform them into girls; he burned the uteri of girls to sterilize them, and he forced incestuous impregnations. One twin served as the control while the other underwent medicalized torture. If one twin died during surgery, the other was killed by phenol injection and comparative autopsies were performed. Mengele's zeal to identify twins on arriving transports prompted him to volunteer regularly to conduct selections. His became the face of the SS physician conducting selections on the arrivals ramp.

For Jews continued to arrive. By the end of 1943 the Germans closed down the death camps built specifically for annihilation: Chelmno, Sobibor, Belzec, and Treblinka. Auschwitz remained to mop up the remnants of the Jewish communities of Poland, Italy, France, the Netherlands, and the rest of occupied Europe. In 1944 another 600,000 Jews were killed in Auschwitz, most of them Hungarians. By that time, information about the role of Auschwitz as an annihilation center was available as the result of the successful escape of two young Slovak Jews, Rudolf Vrba and Alfred Wetzler. With a lot of planning and even more luck, Vrba and Wetzler managed to slip out of Auschwitz on April 10, 1944. They had been imprisoned for two years and they fled to Slovakia in the hope of warning the Jews of Hungary, the last large community of Jews. The Jewish underground debriefed them and their information yielded the first substantial report on the use of Auschwitz as a death factory. But it did not reach the Hungarians in time.

As the camp prepared for new heights of murderous activity, SS headquarters transferred Liebehenschel to Lublin. He was considered too soft on the inmates of the main camp and not tough enough to conduct the planned Hungarian Action. Hartjenstein was also relieved of his duties in Birkenau. He was blamed for delays in the construction of the railway spur into the camp. Knowing that in the midst of the Hungarian Action a new Kommandant would not have time to ease into the job, Himmler dispatched Hoess to Auschwitz to run both the main camp and Birkenau. Hoess appointed SS-Master Sergeant Otto Moll as head of the crematoria. Under Moll's direction, crematoria 4 and 5 were brought back into operation, as was bunker 2, closed down since the spring of 1943. The number of *Sonderkommando* was increased to 1,000.

In the months of May and June almost 7,000 Hungarian Jews arrived in Auschwitz every day, and nearly all were killed on arrival. The crematoria could not keep up, and once again large pyres disposed of many corpses. Most able-bodied deportees were registered and admitted to the camp, but at least 30,000 of them were not tattooed with an identification number. These "transit Jews" were temporarily held in Auschwitz to be shipped to other camps as slave laborers. Hitler had decided earlier that year to allow Jews into the officially "Jew-free" but labor-strapped Reich – but only as slave workers in concentration camps.

Hungarian transit Jews were not the only ones sent to the Reich. The SS combed the camps for other able-bodied Jews. Most of the inmates were already deployed, but the Czech family camp in Birkenau held many able-bodied men and women who had arrived on the December transports from Theresienstadt and had survived. Some 3,000 of them were now prepared for transport to other concentration camps. The remaining 3,000 women and children who were considered of no use to the German economy were brought to the crematoria on July 10. The Czech family camp was closed.

The Vrba-Wetzler report reached Switzerland as the murders continued unabated, and by the middle of June various copies were in circulation. By the beginning of July, the British and American governments had summaries of the Vrba-Wetzler report which stated explicitly: "authors set number of Jews gassed and burned in B[irkenau] between April 1942 and April 1944 at from 1.5 to 1.75 million." The *New York Times* had already run a substantial story on Auschwitz under the heading "Inquiry Confirms Nazi Death Camps," subtitled "1,715,000 Jews Said to Have Been Put to Death by the Germans Up to April 15."

By the time the *New York Times* had published the news, the king of Sweden, the Pope, and the chairman of the Red Cross had approached the Hungarian regent Miklos Horthy. He realized Germany had lost the war and he had credible information about the fate of Hungarian citizens in Auschwitz. Unable to claim ignorance, he fired the main supporters of the deportations in the government. Within days, the Hungarian government assured ambassadors of neutral countries that the *Aktionen* would cease. And the trains stopped, leaving 260,000 Jews who had been destined for Auschwitz in limbo in Budapest. According to a report by the German plenipotentiary in Hungary, a total of 437,402 Jews had been taken "to their destination" – Auschwitz.

The suspension of deportations also brought some relief in the offices of the American and British air forces. Requests to bomb the railway lines that carried the transports had been made from early June onwards. The generals dragged their feet. The American military believed it to be "impracticable," and British Bomber Command pleaded that it was "out of bounds of possibility" because of the distance and the fact that the British bombed at night. When Hungarian deportations stopped, the generals and their civilian superiors in the American War Department and the British Air Ministry felt they were no longer under any obligation to do anything (see *Auschwitz, Bombing Controversy).

Hoess' tour of duty at Auschwitz now came to an end. The Hungarian transports had ceased in mid-July and Hoess handed over a camp of 100,000 inmates to SS-Major Richard Baer at the end of the month. Over a third of the camp population, 37,000 inmates, slaved for German companies, with IG Farben as the largest employer.

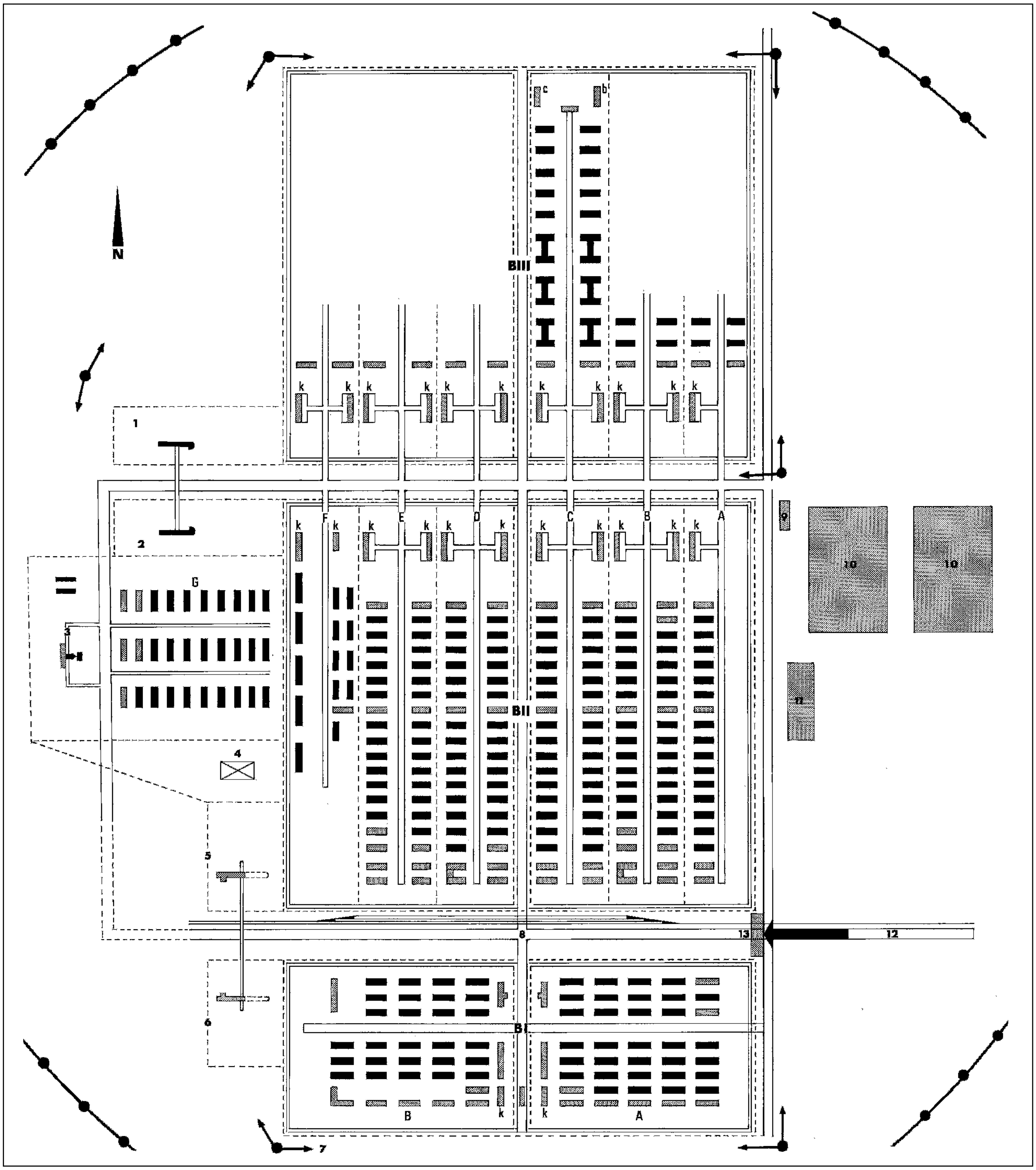

1. Crematory 4
2. Crematory 3
3. Disinfection Station
4. Cleansing Station
5. Crematory 2
6. Crematory 1
7. Guard Posts
8. Railway Station
9. Headquarters

10. Military Camp, SS Hospital
11. Water Supply
12. Road to Auschwitz
13. Main Entrance

K Kitchen
▨ Administration and Service Facilities
---- Barbed Wire Fence
BI A. Women's Isolation Camp and Hospital
BI B. Women's Forced Labor Camp

BII A. Men's Isolation Camp
BII B. Family Camp for Jews from Czechoslovakia
BII C. Camp for Hungarian Women
BII D. Main Men's Camp
BII E. Family Camp for Gypsies
BII F. Hospital Camp for Men
BII G. Storage Camp ("Kanada")
BIII b. Bunker no. 4
BIII c. Bunker no. 5

Plan of the Birkenau camp.

The last large group to arrive at Auschwitz came from Lodz, which had survived, a remnant of itself, as a labor camp until August 1944. Baer oversaw the murder of nearly 65,000 Lodz Jews in a few short weeks.

Shortly thereafter, a number of Jewish and gentile prisoners began to prepare a general uprising in the camp. Perhaps they knew that Germany had lost the war and they believed their tormenters would kill every inmate before surrender. Or perhaps, given the enormous mortality rate at Auschwitz, it was only then that the inmates were able to develop a resistance organization committed to uprising. One of the resisters, 23-year-old Rosa Robota, recruited women working in the Union Munitions Plant, a factory operating within the camp, to smuggle gunpowder off the premises. Robota passed the explosives to Borodin, a Russian technician, who carried it to the *Sonderkommando* of the crematorium. But the planned general uprising went awry. The *Sonderkommando* heard that the slave workers of crematoria 4 and 5 were going to be gassed, and they revolted sooner than anticipated, on October 7. They killed three SS men, wounded 12, blew up crematorium 4, and attempted to break out. Some made it as far as a barn in nearby Rajsko. But none escaped, and in total 451 members of the *Sonderkommando* were killed. In the subsequent investigation, the camp Gestapo identified Rosa Robota and three other Jewish women, Regina Sapirstein, Ala Gartner, and Esther Weisblum. After weeks of torture, they were publicly hanged in the women's camp on January 6, 1945.

Himmler, too, knew Germany had lost the war, but he believed that, were it not for the image of the camps in the foreign press, he could have an honorable future in Germany after military collapse. The Red Army had liberated Majdanek on July 23 and by the end of August articles published by the Allies provided horrifying accounts by journalists who had visited the camp. "I have just seen the most terrible place on the face of the earth – the German concentration camp at Maidanek, which was a veritable River Rouge for the production of death," wrote journalist Bill Lawrence in his article on "Nazi Mass Killing Laid Bare in Camp," which ran on the front page of the *New York Times* of August 30. *Time* published a full-page article called "Murder, Inc." A joint Soviet-Polish forensic commission issued a report in October that described a "huge death factory" at Majdanek. Himmler considered all of this "a public relations" disaster and was determined that it would not continue. As he had "solved" the "Jewish Question" as far as it had been in his power to do, he ordered the SS to cease gassings in Auschwitz and to dismantle the gas chambers in the crematoria. Inmates continued to die, but from shootings, starvation, and disease.

The Red Army began its winter offensive on January 10, 1945. The SS prepared to evacuate the remaining prisoners at Auschwitz. When the Red Army reached the outskirts of Cracow on January 17, the SS held a last roll call. They counted 15,317 male prisoners and 26,577 female prisoners in Auschwitz and Birkenau and 33,023 male and 2,095 female prisoners in Monowitz and the 23 other satellite camps. The total came to a little over 67,000. A day later the death march began. Everyone well enough to walk out of the camp was forced to leave. The SS kept a brutal pace. Prisoners who fell behind were shot. The 52,000 survivors arrived in Loslau, some 45 miles (70 km.) west of Auschwitz, and then were transported in open freight cars to camps in the west. Many froze to death. An SS squad in Auschwitz blew up the last remaining crematorium, number 5, on January 26. The next day, units of the 28th and 106th Corps of the First Ukrainian Front liberated the Auschwitz camps. They found 600 sick inmates in Monowitz, the slave labor camp attached to the IG Farben Buna works; 1,200 in the Auschwitz main camp; and 5,800 in Birkenau. The Soviets also found the blown-up remains of the four crematoria in Birkenau and a large compound with 32 burned storage houses. The four huts that were not utterly destroyed were filled with 5,525 pairs of women's shoes; 38,000 pairs of men's shoes; 348,820 men's suits; 836,255 women's garments; 13,964 carpets; 69,848 dishes; huge quantities of toothbrushes, shaving brushes, glasses, crutches, false teeth; and seven tons of hair.

With more than 1.1 million victims, of whom one million were Jews, Auschwitz had become the most lethal death camp of all by the end of the war. But Auschwitz was also the camp with the greatest number of survivors. Only a few people survived Belzec, and a couple of hundred people survived Sobibor and Treblinka. Those camps were annihilation centers. Auschwitz had other functions and ultimately served as an enormous slave labor pool. Many more inmates thus survived Auschwitz than any of the other death camps. Of the 1.1 million Jews deported to Auschwitz, some 100,000 Jews left the camp alive, either in 1944 as transit Jews, or in the death march of 1945. Many of those survivors died or were shot on the long way to the west, or during their imprisonment in spring 1945 in concentration camps like Buchenwald and Bergen-Belsen. Yet tens of thousands saw liberation and testified about their ordeal after the war. Some 100,000 Gentiles, 75,000 of whom were Poles, survived Auschwitz and they too bore witness to the camp as an annihilation center for Jews. These testimonies, and the testimony given by Hoess in Nuremberg and during his own trial in Warsaw, ensured that Auschwitz would figure prominently in the memory of the Holocaust.

The survival of significant parts of the camp also has ensured the continued importance of Auschwitz in the collective memory of the Western world. Visitors to Treblinka, Belzec, and Sobibor, where 1.5 million Jews were murdered, will see nothing of the original arrangement. In Auschwitz, by contrast, much remains, due largely to the preservation efforts of the State Museum Auschwitz-Birkenau, established in 1947 when the Polish Parliament adopted the law "Commemorating the Martyrdom of the Polish Nation and other Nations in Oświęcim."

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[Deborah Dwork and Robert Jan Van Pelt (2nd ed.)]

AUSCHWITZ BOMBING CONTROVERSY. The debate over whether the Allies could have bombed the gas chamber-crematoria complexes of *Auschwitz-Birkenau, or the rail lines leading to them, had its origins in 1944. Jewish groups appealed to the U.S. and British governments to do something in the face of the Nazis' frighteningly rapid concentration and deportation of Hungarian Jews that quickly followed the German occupation of Hungary, a shaky ally of Hitler's Reich, beginning on March 19. Word of the preparations in Auschwitz for a major new gassing campaign reached the Slovakian resistance in late April with the escape of two Slovakians from the camp, Rudolf Vrba, a name he assumed – his original name was Walter Rosenberg – and Alfred Wetzler. The so-called Vrba-Wetzler Report was smuggled through underground channels and reached Allied representatives and Jewish groups in Switzerland only in June. Earlier in May, the mass deportations began, leading to specific Slovakian requests for the Allies to bomb two rail lines leading to Auschwitz in order to disrupt these movements. These requests, followed by summary versions of the report, filtered to the top of the U.S. War Department in late June, where they met a chilly reception. Requests to divert military resources to "rescue" operations were viewed unsympathetically by Assistant Secretary John McCloy as only likely to slow victory at a time of climactic battles in Europe.

On June 11, 1944, the Jewish Agency in Jerusalem, in a meeting chaired by David *Ben-Gurion, voted against requesting that Auschwitz be bombed. Their reasoning: "It is forbidden for us to take responsibility for a bombing that could very well cause the death of even one Jew." Early in July 1944, presumably after the Vrba-Wetzler report informed the Jewish leadership of the true nature of Auschwitz, two leaders of the Jewish Agency in Palestine, Chaim *Weizmann and Moshe *Shertok, went to London to appeal to the British government. Although Prime Minister Winston *Churchill subsequently told Foreign Secretary Anthony *Eden "to get anything out of the Air Force you can and invoke me if necessary," the idea of attacking the rail lines or crematoria met bureaucratic resistance in the Air Ministry. Inertia only increased when word leaked out that the Hungarian regent, Admiral Horthy, ordered a stop to the deportations on July 7, following Allied air raids on Budapest mistakenly interpreted as punishment for the Holocaust. Renewed appeals to the U.S. government during the summer and fall also got nowhere. McCloy's claims that such air attacks were unfeasible, however, is belied by the fact that U.S. four-engine heavy bombers based in Italy attacked the IG Farben plant at Auschwitz III-Monowitz, only 5 mi. (8 km.) from the gas chambers, on August 25. A follow-up raid on September 13 damaged Auschwitz SS barracks as an accidental by-product, and two further raids against Monowitz took place in December, after the gassing operations had already stopped at Birkenau. In the interim, however, trains full of Jews from all parts of Europe had continued to roll toward Auschwitz, if with less frequency than during the Hungarian campaign.

The futile attempt to get Allied air power to intervene in mid- to late 1944, the only time when U.S. or British bombers had the realistic capability to attack the extermination camps, had been carried out almost entirely through secret government channels and was little known after the war. Combined with the fact that public interest in and understanding of the Holocaust rose only rather slowly through the 1960s, it is perhaps not surprising that the "bombing of Auschwitz controversy" did not erupt until 1978. The catalyst was the publication of an article by the historian David A. Wyman. He summarized powerfully the futile appeals to the U.S. government in 1944, and presented four possible scenarios for attacking the Birkenau crematoria or the rail lines leading to them: (1) a diversion of U.S. B-17 and B-24 heavy bombers from IG Farben to the crematoria; (2) the employment of two-engine B-25 medium bombers, which would presumably bomb more accurately from a lower altitude; (3) a dive-bombing raid by two-engine P-38 fighters, such as the U.S. Army Air Forces carried out on the Romanian oil complex of Ploesti on June 10, 1944; (4) a special mission by Royal Air Force Mosquito two-engine bombers, like the ones executed against Gestapo prisons and headquarters in Western Europe. In 1979, CIA photo-analysts Dino Brugioni and Robert Poirier reinforced Wyman's arguments by presenting to the public dramatic aerial reconnaissance photos of Auschwitz taken by Allied aircraft in 1944 and early 1945, showing prisoners being marched to the gas chambers, albeit through the use of magnification unavailable to Allied photo-interpreters 35 years earlier. Allied intelligence had photos of the Auschwitz-Birkenau complex, but ignored them because no priority was placed on a bombing mission, and because camps were viewed only as places to avoid in an attack.

Wyman's arguments in the American media drew only scattered opposition at the time, mostly from veterans who pointed out that bombing accuracy left much to be desired in 1944. Knowledge of the appeals to Britain, which greatly expanded in the late 1970s and early 1980s, notably through the publication of Martin *Gilbert's *Auschwitz and the Allies*, only seemed to strengthen the Wyman case. Scholarly replies were slow to appear, in part because the military history community was mostly dismissive of ex post facto hypothetical arguments for a raid. Retired physician Richard Foregger wrote the first articles in the 1980s against the Wyman thesis, and was reinforced in the 1990s by James Kitchens, an Air Force archivist writing unofficially, and by Richard Levy, a retired engineer, both of whom published articles in scholarly journals. Their major arguments were (1) that bombing accuracy of heavy bombers was indeed often poor in World War II, and such a raid on Birkenau might have led to untold prisoner deaths in the barracks while failing to put any or most of the crematoria out of order; (2) that B-25 range was marginal and accuracy was no better, and that the P-38 raid on Ploesti was such a disaster that U.S. Army Air Force leaders had been scarcely likely to try that method again; (3) that Wyman consistently underestimated the effectiveness of German fighter and anti-aircraft artillery defenses and overestimated Allied intelligence knowledge of Auschwitz-Birkenau; (4) that breaking rail lines through bombing was difficult to do, especially from high-altitude bombers, and breaks were easy to repair; (5) that RAF Mosquitoes in the Mediterranean theater were the wrong type of aircraft for a precision raid and the elite squadron used for the raids in northern Europe would not likely have been diverted south for such a mission.

Stuart Erdheim, a theologian and filmmaker, in turn defended Wyman, responding in detail to the above arguments, and a U.S. Air Force officer, Rondall Rice, independently published a detailed analysis of bombing accuracy and types of missions, arguing for the feasibility of attacking the Birkenau crematoria. Others have noted that Soviet air forces were much closer, but in view of Josef *Stalin's indifference to the Holocaust, this attack scenario has not received close attention. In 2002, after examining the actual and hypothetical response of the Auschwitz SS to air raids, Joseph Robert White concluded, however, that they would likely have found ways to continue the killing even after the complete destruction of the Birkenau crematoria complexes.

As the debate is by its very nature hypothetical, it can never be settled, but a few conclusions can be reached: (1) a raid or raids on Birkenau were certainly feasible, but it remains debatable whether such attacks would have been effective in taking out the gas chambers, and what the cost would have been in prisoner lives; (2) such raids were only possible in late spring 1944 at the earliest, at a rather late stage of the Holocaust; (3) bombing railroads at the long ranges needed for such missions was indeed very unlikely to succeed; (4) the use of U.S. heavy bombers, being the smallest diversion from the practice of the Army Air Forces in the summer of 1944, is a historically much more likely scenario than others presented by Wyman; (5) that sustained pressure from top Allied leaders, most notably President *Roosevelt and Prime Minister Churchill, would have been required to overcome the inertia of the Allied military command, which was tasked with winning a gigantic war with resources that were always less than ideal. It appears, however, that Roosevelt was unsympathetic to the idea and most appeals never reached him anyway; Churchill did not sustain his interest. Ultimately, the failure to give much consideration to bombing Auschwitz in 1944 is symbolic of the Western Allies' failure to do anything except verbally denounce the genocide. A raid would likely have had a strong symbolic value even if it was unlikely to actually save many lives.

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[Michael J. Neufeld (2nd ed.)]

AUSCHWITZ CONVENT. In 1984 Cardinal Macharski, archbishop of Cracow, announced the establishment of a Carmelite convent in Auschwitz in a building on the camp periphery which had originally been a theater but was utilized during World War II to store the poison gas used in the Auschwitz-Birkenau crematoria. When a Catholic organization called Aid to the Church in Distress issued an appeal to mark the pope's visit to the Benelux countries in 1985 under the slogan "Your gift to the Pope – a convent in Auschwitz," the Jewish community – initially in Belgium – reacted with outrage. They were joined in their protest by leading Catholic dignitaries in Western Europe. Jews stressed that although others had suffered there, Auschwitz had become a symbol of Jewish martyrdom and while not objecting to a convent devoted to commemoration of Catholic suffering in Auschwitz, it should not be situated within the boundaries of the camp. Although similar Christian institutions existed in other camp sites, Auschwitz, it was felt, was different. The presence of the convent would contribute to the minimization of the Jewish aspect, already scarcely mentioned in the official communist era descriptions on the site as prepared by the Polish government. One reaction in Polish circles was to emphasize the theme of the fate of Poles for whom Auschwitz was also "a synonym for martyrdom and extermination." The issue energized the Jewish world and became the major subject in Jewish-Catholic discussions, overshadowing all other aspects of the ongoing dialogue.

Two top-level meetings in Geneva in 1986 and 1987 (attended on the Catholic side by four cardinals and on the Jewish side by West European leaders) led to the undertaking by the Catholics to create a new "center of information, education, meeting, and prayer outside the area of the Auschwitz-Birkenau camps" with the Carmelite convent transferred to this new area. Cardinal Macharski, who was one of the participants, agreed that the nuns would be moved to the new site within two years.

The issue then dropped to the background and only came again to the fore as the two-year deadline approached and there was still no sign of progress and indications that the Catholics were not fulfilling the Geneva promises. Macharski claimed that the problems encountered with the Polish authorities over the new site made postponement inevitable. Moreover the nuns in the convent and some elements in the Polish Catholic Church were opposed to the move. Tensions rose as the Catholics announced a delay, and the Jews complained that no indication was being given for the fulfillment of the original agreement. Jews were further incensed by reports that a large cross had been erected on the grounds of the convent. Protests and demonstrations were held in various countries. A French-Belgian delegation attempted to deliver a petition signed by 800 Belgian Catholics requesting the removal of the convent but were not received by the nuns. On the other side, over a thousand inhabitants of the town of Oświęcim (Auschwitz) protested "the illegal demands of the Jews to ruthlessly carry out an unwarranted eviction of the nuns," while other anti-Jewish reactions were reported from elsewhere in Poland.

As the new deadline of July 22, 1989, approached, tensions rose still higher. One indication was the call of the Board of Deputies of British Jews for prayers to be recited in all synagogues in Britain calling for the removal of the convent. The Catholics restated that they intended to keep the agreement but that an educational program had first to be implemented in Poland. The situation reached a flashpoint when an American rabbi, Avraham "Avi" Weiss, and six colleagues dressed in concentration camp garb scaled the walls of the convent blew a *shofar*, and screamed "Nazi antisemites." Polish workmen at the site demanded that they leave and then poured paint and water on the protesters and physically removed them from the site. Reactions were divided in the Jewish world to the demonstration, but Polish sources portrayed it as an attempted attack on the nuns. The deadline passed with a march around the convent by 300 European Jewish students, to the sound of the *shofar.* In August Cardinal Macharski announced that in reaction to the Jewish campaign, the agreement was to be canceled and the nuns would remain where they were.

At this time the archbishop of Warsaw, Cardinal Glemp, delivered a sermon in Czestochowa to a congregation of 100,000 including the Polish premier, which was seen as antisemitic when he called on the Jews "not to talk to us from the position of a superior nation and do not dictate terms that cannot be fulfilled…. Your strength is in the mass media, at your disposal in many countries. Do not use it to spread anti-Polonism." Glemp's remarks were condemned not only by Jews but also in Polish quarters, with Lech Walesa calling them "a shame and a disgrace." Glemp's attacks on the Geneva agreement were also seen as revealing a rift with his fellow prelate, Cardinal Macharski, and indicating a division in the Polish Catholic hierarchy and also divisions between those Poles who sought a pro-Western orientation and hence friendlier relations with the Jews and those who sought to build Polish nationalism in another way. The three Western cardinals who had signed the agreement – Cardinal Decourtray of Lyons, Cardinal Lustiger of Paris, and Cardinal Daneels of Brussels – also publicly opposed Glemp.

The convent controversy revealed the conflicting claims to Auschwitz. When Jews heard the word Auschwitz, they naturally thought of Auschwitz-Birkenau, the death camps, which were the site of the murder of some one million Jews, or Auschwitz III (Buna Monowitz), the work camp where many Jews were worked to death or to near death before they were sent to the gas chambers. They thought of Auschwitz in purely Jewish terms. They did not think of Auschwitz I, the prison camp, which had been the site of Polish incarceration, torture, and death. For Poles of a certain generation reared on the notion of Auschwitz as the site of Polish martyrdom, Auschwitz was a sacred site of Polish nationalism, as they had been taught; they believed four million had been murdered at Auschwitz, two million Jews and two million Poles. Consequently, they confidently advanced the notion of this site as a Roman Catholic, Polish national site. It took time – much time – for the revised figures of the dead at Auschwitz, 1.1 million, 90% of them Jews, to seep into Polish culture and Polish consciousness. The number of people killed at Auschwitz was a figure determined by chief historian Franciszek Piper of the post-Communist Auschwitz State Museum, who dramatically revised the figures; the perceptions of what happened at Auschwitz I, II, and III took a much longer time to change.

Shortly thereafter the Vatican spoke out for the first time, supporting the relocation of the convent in order to restore good relations with the Jews, and even expressed its willingness to contribute financially to the project. Cardinal Glemp, who was then visiting England, executed a volte-face and two days after delivering a speech calling the agreement "a form of wishful thinking," he wrote a letter (the Vatican statement had appeared in the meanwhile) stating that the convent should be moved as soon as possible. With this the crisis was defused.

Although the original deadline for the new complex, set in 1990, proved overly optimistic, work progressed on the interfaith center and the convent, which was ready in 1993. Nevertheless the nuns continued to be reluctant to leave the old building, and this was only accomplished in the summer of 1993 following a letter from the pope and pressure from the Polish Bishops' Conference. Seven of the 14 nuns agreed to move to the new convent, the others going elsewhere. Jewish-Catholic relations returned to normal and the dialogue was resumed. In particular Jews were encouraged by the understanding that had been evinced towards Jewish sensibilities by many Catholic quarters.

Jewish sensitivity to Auschwitz was also recognized by the new Polish regime, which succeeded the communists, and a special commission was set up, with the participation of Jewish scholars, to prepare completely new texts for the information and inscriptions presented in Auschwitz-Birkenau and the literature available there, in which due prominence would be given to the Jewish aspects of the site and to the fact that of the then current figures of 1,100,000 victims at Auschwitz, 90% were Jews (the others being approximately 83,000 Poles, 19,000 gypsies, and 12,000 Soviet prisoners of war).

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[Geoffrey Wigoder (2nd ed.)]

AUSCHWITZ TRIALS. In the Moscow Declaration of October 30, 1943, the Allied Powers agreed that Germans guilty of war crimes would be extradited to the country which had been the scene of their activities. Accordingly, Germans arrested in connection with the Auschwitz issue were handed over to Poland. On April 2, 1947, Rudolf Hoess, the first commandant of the camp, was sentenced to death in Warsaw and hung on a gallows adjacent to the gas chamber at Auschwitz I. This was followed by a trial in Cracow, at which 23 SS members were condemned to death. Twenty-one of the sentences were carried out, including those of Arthur Liebehenschel, Hoess' successor as commandant of the camp, Maximilian Grabner, and the camp leaders Hans Aumeier and Maria Mandel. Two of the accused, camp doctors Johann Paul Kremer and Arthur Breitwieser, had their sentences commuted to prison terms. Sixteen of the accused were given prison terms ranging from three years to life, and one Hans Munch, an official of the Hygiene Institute in Rajsko, was acquitted. At a later stage, a long series of minor trials connected with Auschwitz was held in Poland, bringing the total up to at least 617 defendants, of whom 34 were sentenced to death.

By no means did these trials bring to justice all those, or even most of those, men and women who served at Auschwitz. And the Ukrainians on the grounds were also never brought to trial. Historians at the Auschwitz State Museum estimate that the SS staff of Auschwitz numbered approximately 700 people in 1941, 2,000 in 1942, 3,000 in April 1944, and reached its peak with the evacuation in January 1945, with 4,415 SS men and 71 SS women overseers. Between 7,000 and 7,200 people served on the staff of Auschwitz at one time or another according to the card files of personnel.

SS men from Auschwitz were also tried by the tribunals of other countries; according to available information, there were 11 such trials held by British, American, Soviet, French, and Czech courts, culminating in 24 convictions, with sentences ranging from prison terms to death. At the trial for the mass murders committed at *Bergen-Belsen, the sentences also took into consideration crimes committed at Auschwitz, since many of the accused had been transferred to Belsen when Auschwitz was evacuated (on January 18, 1945). There is no information available on the summary trials held by Soviet military tribunals. The trials against officials of the firms IG Farben-Werke and Krupp were in some respects also Auschwitz trials, for the indictment included crimes committed against Auschwitz prisoners whom these firms had used as forced labor. Bruno Tesch, who built the crematoria at Auschwitz, was sentenced to death in Hamburg. Gerhard Peters, general manager of Degesch Company, which had supplied the poison gas to Auschwitz, was acquitted at his Frankfurt trial. After 1951 all the *laender* (states of the German Federal Republic) commuted the prison terms that had earlier been passed by Allied tribunals.

Until 1960 the only trials by German and Austrian courts on record were one against seven SS men from Auschwitz, as well as those of several Auschwitz inmates who became functionaries in the camp. It was not until 1958 that German courts began a systematic inquiry into the Auschwitz issue, prompted by complaints submitted by camp survivors as well as by the investigations carried out by the newly established central office for the prosecution of Nazi criminals (*Zentralstelle der Landesjustizverwaltungen* – "central agency of the ministries of justice of the *laender*" – in Ludwigsburg). First to stand trial in November 1960 in Muenster was the camp doctor Kremer, who had been released from his Polish prison. He was sentenced to ten years' imprisonment, but his Polish prison term was taken into account and he did not have to serve any further sentence. The trial of Carl Clauberg, the gynecologist, who had been sentenced in Russia and later released, came to an abrupt end when the defendant died in jail.

On December 20, 1963, after 5½ years of preparation, the lengthy Auschwitz trial began in Frankfurt lasting 183 sessions and ending on August 20, 1965. Six of the accused were given maximum sentences (life imprisonment), three were acquitted, two were released because of ill health, and the rest received prison terms ranging from 3¼ to 14 years. The verdict was appealed to the Federal Supreme Court, and with one exception all appeals were rejected.

Simultaneously with the German Auschwitz trial, investigations of SS men from Auschwitz were also initiated in Austria, on the basis of complaints lodged by survivors. However, no indictment was issued. In East Germany inquiries started at a later date. In the summer of 1965 camp doctor Horst Fischer, who until then had been permitted to carry on his practice under his own name, was arrested and, after a brief show trial, sentenced to death and executed. On completion of the major trial, several minor trials were held at Frankfurt: the second Auschwitz trial (with three defendants) from December 14, 1965, to September 16, 1966; and the third Auschwitz trial, which began on August 30, 1967, and ended on June 14, 1968. More trials were in the stage of preparation. Some of the guilty men of Auschwitz committed suicide after the war; others managed to escape. One of the latter was Horst Schumann who, like Clauberg, had carried out sterilization experiments at Auschwitz, and who found refuge in Ghana until November 1966, when he was extradited to Germany.

In total no more than 15% of the Auschwitz concentration camp staff ever stood before the bar of justice in any country. Yet the percentage tried because of their work at Auschwitz is significantly larger than at any other camps, perhaps owing to the emblematic nature of Auschwitz as the epicenter of the Holocaust.

The Auschwitz trials formed the subject of a play by Peter *Weiss which was performed in several countries.

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[Hermann Langbein]

AUSLAENDER, NAHUM (**Nokhem Oyslender**; 1893–1962), Soviet Yiddish critic, literary historian, and writer. Auslaender, who was born near Kiev, studied medicine in Berlin and Kiev, was drafted into the Red Army as a physician in 1919, and settled in Moscow in 1921. He early became a leading figure of the Yiddish literary criticism and research. From 1917, when his first volume of poetry, *Lider* ("Poems"), appeared, he published in various Soviet Yiddish journals – poetry, prose, and especially critical essays dealing with the classics of Yiddish literature, as well as with contemporary writers. After teaching Yiddish at the Moscow Western University, he headed the Yiddish literature section at the Belorussian Academy of Sciences in Minsk from 1926 to 1928 and the literature section at the Institute for Jewish Proletarian Culture of the Ukrainian Academy of Science, Kiev, from 1928 to 1931, institutions most active in studying and editing Yiddish texts. In 1946, he was on the historical commission of the anti-Fascist committee but was spared during the purges of 1948 to 1953. He was on the editorial staff of *Sovetish Heymland* from its launching in Moscow in 1961 until his death. His most important studies are *Grundshtrikhn fun Yidishn Realizm* ("Main Characteristics of Jewish Realism," Kiev (1919; Vilna, 1928)); *Veg Ayn, Veg Oys* ("Through All Pathways," 1924); *Goldfaden*, *Materialn far a Biografie* ("Goldfaden: Materials for a Biography," together with U. Finkel, 1926); *Der Yunger Sholem-Aleykhem un Zayn Roman "Stempenyu"* ("The Younger Sholem Aleichem and His Novel *Stempenyu*," 1928); *Yidisher Teater* ("Yiddish Theater," 1940).

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[Shlomo Bickel]

AUSLAENDER, ROSE (**Rosalie Scherzer**; 1901–1988), German poet. Born and raised in Czernowitz, Auslaender emigrated in 1921 and settled with her husband Ignaz Auslaender in New York, where she worked mainly as an editor of several German-language journals and also started publishing her first poems. Although granted American citizenship in 1926, Auslaender returned to Bukovina five years later and finally settled in Bucharest in 1933, earning her living as an English secretary in an oil company. After publishing her first lyric anthology, *Der Regenbogen*, she returned to New York in the face of the coming German invasion of Romania in October 1939. Concern for her mother led her to return to Czernowitz at the end of the year despite her premonition that this would mean a fight for her life.

Under the German occupation, Auslaender was forced into slave labor. Later she went into hiding with her mother until Czernowitz was taken by the Russian Army in 1944. During this time of suffering, she wrote her famous cycle *Gettomotive* and met Paul *Celan, with whom she built up a literary circle following the liberation. When the Soviet Union annexed Bukovina, she fled to Bucharest, ultimately deciding to go back to New York, where she joined "The New Yorkers," a circle of German-speaking Jewish survivors. Subsequently, she began to write poetry in English. She regained her American citizenship in 1948. Auslaender's return to the German language came with a visit to Europe in 1957, when she met Celan again in Paris. In 1963, she settled in Vienna. From there she took several trips with stops in France, Italy, Spain, and Israel, which was remembered in her second book, *Blinder Sommer* (1956), as the "forthcoming / myland yourland" (*das "zukuenftige / Meinland Deinland"*). The fate of Jewry, the experience of persecution as well as the hope of Jerusalem, and a narrator in a dialogue with thousands of years of tradition remained recurring motifs in Auslaender's poetry henceforth, but did not dominate her poetics. As characteristic one might stress the pneumatological aspect of Auslaender's use of language, since time and again the poems appear to be celebrations of world creation by words – it is a language that calls its speaker into being. (A conceptual background to her poetics can be found in the philosophy of Constantin *Brunner, to whom Auslaender referred for a long time as her "*Meister*.")

In 1971 Auslaender moved to Duesseldorf, Germany, where she spent the rest of her life in a nursing home; despite progressing frailty that confined her to bed, she continued to dictate poems and completed almost 2,500 of them before her death in 1988.

She was awarded the Droste-Preis (1967), the Andreas-Gryphius-Preis (1977), and the Grosses Verdienstkreuz des Verdienstordens der Bundesrepublik Deutschland (1984).

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[Phillipp Theisohn (2nd ed.)]

AUSLANDER, JOSEPH (1897–1965), poet. Born in Philadelphia, Auslander published *Sunrise Trumpets* (1924), poems on romantic figures and exotic themes, five other volumes of verse, two poetry anthologies, and translations from Petrarch and La Fontaine. Auslander became editor of the *North American Review* in 1936.

AUSPITZ, Moravian family connected with the *Gomperz and Lieben families. The name is derived from the German name of the Moravian town Hustopeče. ABRAHAM SHAYE AUSPITZ was *Judenrichter* (Jewish judge) in 1755 and *Landesaeltester* (head) of the Bruenn district from 1769. He was instrumental in curtailing the powers of the *Landesrabbiner* (chief rabbi) of Moravia by an imperial decree, issued in 1776. In 1781 SAMSON was elected *Landesaeltester*. Abraham Shaye's son LAZAR (1772–1853) established the textile industry in Bruenn and was the first to export wool from Moravia to England. With M.L. *Biedermann he was instrumental in transferring the center of the wool trade from Budapest to Vienna. In 1815 he signed the petition for Jewish rights in Austria with Nathan *Arnstein, but himself broke with Jewish tradition. His only son SAMUEL moved to Vienna and opened a bank. Samuel left two sons, KARL, EDLER VON ARTENEGG (1824–1912), an art patron, and RUDOLF (1837–1906), one of the leading beet sugar manufacturers in Moravia. With his cousin Richard Lieber, Rudolf published a highly regarded book on price theory (*Untersuchungen ueber die Theorie des Preises,* 1889; repr. 1993). He entered the Moravian Diet in 1871 and the Austrian Parliament in 1873, and became spokesman of the German Liberal Party. From 1900 he was a member of the Vienna communal board. Rudolf was a member of the parliamentary commission investigating the antisemitic riots of *Holesov in 1899. HEINRICH (1835–1886), who was baptized, was also a member of this family. He taught medicine at Vienna University, was a dermatologist, and wrote many works on the subject.

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[Meir Lamed / Marcus Pyka (2nd ed.)]

AUSTER, DANIEL (1893–1962), Israeli lawyer and mayor of Jerusalem. Auster, who was born in Stanislav (then Western Galicia), studied law in Vienna, graduated in 1914, and moved to Palestine. During World War I he served in the Austrian expeditionary force headquarters in Damascus, where he assisted Arthur *Ruppin in sending financial help from Constantinople to the starving *yishuv.* After the war he established a law practice in Jerusalem that represented several Jewish-Arab interests, and served as secretary of the Legal Department of the Zionist Commission (1919–20). In 1934 Auster was elected a Jerusalem councillor; in 1935 he was appointed deputy mayor of Jerusalem; and in 1936–38 and 1944–45 he was acting mayor. Auster represented the Jewish case against the internationalization of Jerusalem brought before the United Nations in 1947–48. In 1948 Auster (who represented the Progressive Party) was elected mayor of Jerusalem, the first to hold that office in an independent Israel. Auster held the post until 1951. He also served as a member of the Provisional Council of Israel in 1948. He headed the Israel United Nations Association from its inception until his death.

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[Isaac Abraham Abbady]

AUSTER, PAUL (1947–), U.S. writer. Born in New Jersey, Auster studied at Columbia University, and after receiving his M.A. became a merchant seaman, spending the years from 1971 to 1974 in France. His early notable work encompasses translations and poetry, for example, *A Little Anthology of Surrealist Poems* (1972) and *Unearth: Poems, 1970–1972* (1974). Auster – as well as critics – has pointed out his multiple literary heritages: Jabes, Kafka, Blanchot (whom Auster translated), Hawthorne, and Hamsun, to name but a few. Running throughout most of his works is a quest for certainty, and if not that, at least the demarcation of a figure or event bestowing a putative coherence upon history and memory.

He recounted to Adam Begley, in the latter's "Case of the Brooklyn Symbolist" (*New York Times*, August 30, 1992), that 1979 was a shattering year: "I had run into a wall with my work. I was blocked and miserable, my marriage was falling apart, I had no money, I was finished." The death of Auster's father opened up, for the "blocked" author, both the possibilities of writing a memoir as well as questions about fiction's capacity to recount the world by accounting for itself. His search for his father's self, and the recovery of the past, is found in *The Invention of Solitude* (1982), which suggest the roles that chance, the violation of expectation, and the power of memory play in literature's creation of order which is, nonetheless, paradoxical. Heraclitus provided Auster's epigraph as well as a clue to much of his later writing: "In searching out the truth be ready for the unexpected, for it is difficult to find and puzzling when you find it."

Auster's novels, making much of the self in its relation to others, as well as to its own nature, offer dazzling inventiveness, a taste for a metaphysical playfulness, and often despair regarding the limits of writing and cognition. His major works are "The New York Trilogy" consisting of *City of Glass* (1985), *Ghosts* (1986), and *The Locked Room* (1986); *The Music of Chance* (1990); *Leviathan* (1992); and *Mr. Vertigo* (1994). His screenplays can be found in *Three Films: Smoke, Blue in the Face, and Lulu on the Bridge* (2003). His *Collected Prose* appeared in 2003; his *Collected Poems* in 2004.

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[Lewis Fried (2nd ed.)]

AUSTERLITZ (Cz. **Slavkov u Brna**; also **Nové Sedlice**; Ger. **Neu-Sedlitz**), town in S. Moravia, now the Czech Republic, famous as the site of Napoleon's victory in 1806. Its Jewish community was one of the oldest in Moravia. It had a cemetery dating from the 12th century and is first mentioned as the place of origin of Moses b. Tobiah, whose *Sefer ha-Minhagim* is dated 1294; about the same time the existence of a yeshivah there is mentioned. In 1567 the sale of houses between Jews and Gentiles was prohibited, and its Jews owned fields. There were 65 houses in Jewish ownership in Austerlitz before the Thirty Years' War (1618–48), and 30 after it. In 1662 and 1722 the Moravian synod (see *Landesjudenschaft) convened there, and the "*shai*" (311 = שי״א) *takkanot* were signed there. At the end of the 17th century the destruction of the Jewish cemetery was ordered. Most of the Jewish quarter, with the synagogue, was burnt down in 1762 and all the Moravian communities contributed toward its reconstruction. Seventy-two families were authorized to reside in Austerlitz in 1798 (see *Familiants). A new synagogue was built in 1857, at which time the Jewish population was 544. In 1905 there was an outbreak of antisemitic riots. There were only 66 Jews living in Austerlitz in 1930. Under the Nazi occupation they were deported to Theresienstadt in 1942, and from there to Auschwitz. Synagogue equipment was sent to the Central Jewish Museum in Prague. The Jewish quarter is preserved in its original form.

Austerlitz gave its name to several Jewish families who are found in Central Europe.

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AUSTIN, geographic and political center of Texas and the state's capital, with a Jewish population of around 13,500 in 2001. Jewish settlers arrived as early as the 1840s. The first well-known Jewish settler was Phineas de Cordova, born in Philadelphia and grandson of a 1749 Amsterdam immigrant to Curaçao, Netherlands West Antilles. De Cordova arrived in Texas sometime after 1848 with his wife, Jemimina Delgado. During a brief time in Galveston and Houston, he formed a land company and newspaper publishing business with his brother Jacob de Cordova, then settled in Austin at the request of Governor P.H. Bell in 1850.

Once in Austin, Phineas de Cordova published a weekly, the *Southwestern American*, for two years. As the de Cordova land agency grew, he became an expert in Texas land laws and published a topographical map of Austin in 1872. He developed a number of political associations, and served in the Texas Senate for three terms during the Civil War years. Other notable Jewish families in Austin during this period included the family of Henry Hirshfeld, who fought for the Confederacy during the Civil War.

Hirshfeld, de Cordova, and a handful of other Jewish pioneers met in the mayor's office of the City of Austin to organize its first congregation, Temple Beth Israel, in 1876. Chartered by the State of Texas in 1879, the congregation built its first house of worship in 1884 on the corner of 11th and San Jacinto streets in the heart of downtown Austin.

As Austin grew through the end of the 19th and into the beginning of the 20th century, its Jewish population grew slowly relative to other Texas cities, and unlike places such as Dallas, Houston, San Antonio, and Waco, a merchant prince who was philanthropist or benefactor never emerged. The Jewish population included peddlers who eventually founded small Main Street types of businesses and intellectuals drawn to teach or study at the University of Texas at Austin. Temple Beth Israel remained the cornerstone of the organized Jewish community until 1924, when the Federation of Jewish Charities was formed.

Orthodox Jews formed a *minyan* as early as 1914, which was chartered to become Austin's second congregation, Congregation Agudas Achim, in 1924. In 1931, the congregation built its first building at 909 San Jacinto, and occupied this location for more than 30 years. The members affiliated with the Conservative Jewish movement in 1948. Among the founders was Jim Novy, whose longstanding relationship with President Lyndon Baines Johnson served as a springboard of congregational growth. In the early 1960s, Johnson helped Novy trade the synagogue's land downtown for an easement along the Missouri Pacific railroad, in an expanding and newer part of Austin. The site of the old synagogue became the site of Austin's Federal building, a move that helped ensure the financial viability of the congregation for years to come.

In 1963, the congregation moved, but its dedication ceremony, which was to include then Vice President Johnson, had to be postponed in the wake of the assassination and mourning of President John F. Kennedy. On December 30, 1963, President Johnson returned to Austin, and in his first non-official address as president, dedicated the new synagogue, the second time in U.S. history for a sitting U.S. president to do so.

Austin's beginnings as a center of high technology began shortly after the Great Depression. The city grew steadily through the World War II years, and by the 1950s, several research laboratories and think tanks had been founded. As these formed and began to draw innovative thinkers and high-tech companies to the area, the Jewish population grew as Jewish engineers, doctors, intellectuals, and inventors followed the trend. Rapid growth in the 1970s contributed to more political activity, this time at the local level.

During the 1970s, local Jews contributed to the growth and development of the state's cultural and political life. Michael R. Levy founded *Texas Monthly* magazine, and Austin's first Jewish mayor, Jeff Friedman (also the youngest ever to hold that position, and fondly known as "the hippie mayor"), was elected in 1975. Also during the 1970s, local philanthropist Helen Smith became the first Texan to serve as international president of B'nai B'rith Women. Helen's husband, Milton Smith, was among those responsible for purchasing land to move Congregation Beth Israel from its downtown location to the suburbs in the 1960s.

While Austin's Jewish population steadily rose and remained at about 1% of the total population of Austin for over a century, its communal growth trajectory differed from most Texas Jewish communities. Unlike Houston, Dallas, San Antonio, and other cities, the concept of a united Jewish community was slow to catch on, and support for Zionism was fairly limited. From the late 1970s to the 1990s, the Austin Jewish Federation had a small community center located in an old church and small trailer park. During the late 1970s and 1980s, signs of communal growth manifested itself through a preschool of about 100 children, a Jewish Book Fair, and a Jewish Family Service.

The high technology boom of the 1990s caused an unexpected influx of hundreds if not thousands of new Jewish families to Austin and stretched the longtime traditional bi-congregational infrastructure to the breaking point. In addition to the hi-tech think tanks and start-up shops, Dell Computers, founded by a member of Austin's Jewish community, Michael Dell, also played a large part in the community's growth. As a member of the community, Dell became Austin's first major Jewish philanthropist.

The tone of the community changed dramatically in response to population growth in the 1990s, and new members called for organizations and structures from the Jewish community that had never before existed. Perhaps most emblematic of its unique hi-tech tone was the innovative consolidation of the Austin Jewish Federation and Jewish Community Center. Michael Dell and his wife, Susan Lieberman Dell, purchased and donated a 40-acre site in central Austin, which has become the Jewish Community Association of Austin's Dell Jewish Community Campus. Ground was broken in December 1996 for the new campus facility, which would house Congregation Agudas Achim, a community center, and space that allows for the operation of the Austin Jewish Academy, Early Childhood Program, and a number of youth and family programs. While the campus has become the physical center of Austin's burgeoning Jewish community, the community's growth since 1997 has also spawned two new Reform congregations, as well as growth of its existing Conservative and Orthodox *minyans*.

The innovative "campus" approach to Jewish communal life has set the tone for the second century of Jewish life in Austin and is actively watched by other mid-sized communities throughout the United States as a model for operating Jewish communities in dynamic and changing times.

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[Cathy Schechter (2nd ed.)]

AUSTRALIA, island continent, within the British Commonwealth. At least six Jewish convicts who arrived at Botany Bay, New South Wales, in 1788 were later among the first settlers, including John Harris who, when freed, became the first policeman in Australia. The first *minyan* and burial society date from 1817, and the 1828 census records about 100 Jews in New South Wales and 50 in Van Diemen's Land (Tasmania). In the 1830s Jews arrived in increasing numbers, mainly from England, and by 1841 Jews had also settled in Victoria, South Australia, and Western Australia, bringing the total in the continent to 1,183 (0.57% of the whole population). The number of Jews in Australia reached 59,343 by 1961. (For updated information, see below.) Australian censuses trace the increase in the Jewish population, showing the rise and fall in each state and the percentage of Jews in the total population. (See Table: Australian Jewish Population and Table: Australasia Age Distributions.)

There were several waves of immigration – in the 1850s due to the prosperity following the discovery of gold; from 1891 to 1911 an influx of Eastern European Jews fleeing from pogroms; in the 1930s German refugees; and in the post-World War II period the displaced *persons who survived the Holocaust in Europe.

Nineteenth Century

In 1828 Philip Joseph Cohen was authorized by England's chief rabbi to perform marriages. R. Aaron Levy (Levi), a member of the London *bet din*, paid a visit in 1830 to arrange a divorce. The first synagogue in *Sydney was constructed in 1844. Organized communities were established in Hobart (1845), Launceston (1846), *Melbourne (1841), and *Adelaide (1848). Several small communities which came into being during the gold rushes had all but disappeared in the 1960s: Forbes, Goulburn, Maitland, Tamworth, Bendigo, Geelong, Kalgoorlie, Toowoomba, and Launceston (see Map: Australian Jewry). Economic conditions made the country towns most attractive to the new Jewish settlers who came with little money, but fear of assimilation induced many to move to larger urban centers as soon as their material situation permitted. In the 1860s almost one-quarter of all Jews lived in country towns (14%) and rural areas (10%), whereas the 1961 census showed that 96.4% lived in the six large cities, 2.7% in small towns, and 0.9% in rural areas. Jacob *Saphir of Jerusalem, who visited Australia in 1862, gives an interesting account of Jewish conditions in his *Even Sappir.*

Australian Jewry in this early period was numerically small and scattered and consequently in danger of assimilation. Ministers and teachers were scarce, and religious observance was lax. The shortage of Jewish women (in 1881 there were only 78 women to every 100 men) led to a high rate of intermarriage. Many, however, still maintained their Jewish observances, often traveling hundreds of miles to take part in religious services or to have a child circumcised. Nor did they fail in charitable and social endeavor, and several Australian Jewish philanthropic institutions have a history of well over a century. Until free and compulsory state education was introduced in the last quarter of the 19th century, the Jewish communities maintained their own Hebrew day schools. The early Jewish settlers made a considerable impact on the colony's development, in the civic, and in some instances agricultural, spheres. Religious life was based on the English-Jewish tradition, which remained dominant, and the authority of the British chief rabbinate was respected. Civil rights and the right of Jews to vote and sit in Parliament were never subject to restrictions. The government acceded to Jewish requests for land for cemeteries, synagogues, schools, and ministers' residences, and limited subsidies were granted at different periods for Jewish religious establishments.

The synagogue was the focal point of communal life. Jews were generally highly respected; Judaism was recognized as a "denomination"; and the rabbinical office enjoyed a prestige seldom found in other lands. It is characteristic that throughout Australian Jewish history many Jews who were prominent in public life, at times occupying some of the highest positions in the land, were also active in the congregation. These include Sir Saul *Samuel, minister of the crown in New South Wales and president of the Sydney Great Synagogue; Sir Benjamin Benjamin (1836–1905), lord mayor of Melbourne and president

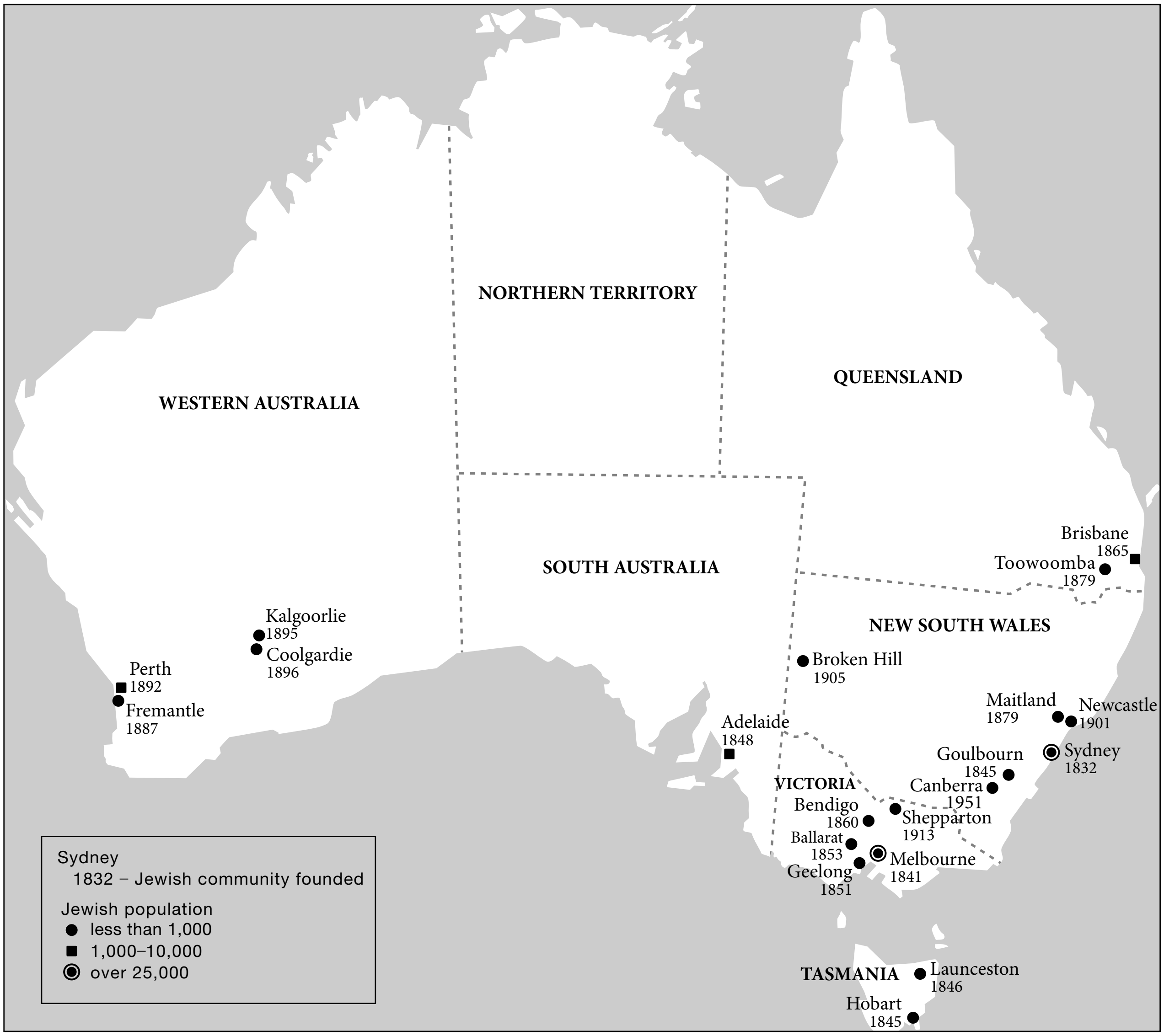
NORTHERN TERRITORY
QUEENSLAND
WESTERN AUSTRALIA
SOUTH AUSTRALIA
NEW SOUTH WALES
VICTORIA
TASMANIA
Brisbane 1865
Toowoomba 1879
Kalgoorlie 1895
Coolgardie 1896
Perth 1892
Fremantle 1887
Broken Hill 1905
Maitland 1879
Newcastle 1901
Adelaide 1848
Goulbourn 1845
Sydney 1832
Canberra 1951
Bendigo 1860
Shepparton 1913
Ballarat 1853
Melbourne 1841
Geelong 1851
Launceston 1846
Hobart 1845
Sydney
1832 – Jewish community founded
Jewish population
● less than 1,000
■ 1,000–10,000
◉ over 25,000

Distribution of Australian Jewry, giving date when the communities were organized.

of the Melbourne Hebrew Congregation; Sir Julian Emanuel Salamons (1835–1909), solicitor general in New South Wales; Sir Daniel *Levy, speaker of the House of Representatives and editor of *The Australian Hebrew*; Vabian Louis *Solomon, premier of South Australia and leader of the community there; George Judah Cohen, a leader in commerce and president of the Great Synagogue from 1878; and Sir Archie Michaelis (1889–1975), speaker of the Victorian parliament and president of the St. Kilda Synagogue. Other Jews who achieved prominence were Barnett Levy, founder of the first theater in Australia, and the composer Isaac *Nathan, described as the "father of Australian music." The historian Joseph *Jacobs and the philosopher Samuel *Alexander were also Australians. The close integration of the Jews in Australian life is exemplified in the careers of Sir Isaac Alfred *Isaacs, the first Australian-born governor-general, and General Sir John *Monash, who commanded the Australian forces in France in World War I.

[Israel Porush / Yitzhak Rischin]

Role of Sephardi Jewry

Two of the convicts in the First Fleet which arrived in Australia in 1788 were apparently Sephardi Jews. A. Aaron estimates that at least 30 of the 384 Jewish convicts transported to Australia by 1830 were of Sephardi origin.

During the 19th century, representatives of several Sephardi mercantile families from Britain were prominent among free settlers. Solomon Mocatta operated a shipping agency; Benjamin Mendes da Costa and his sister Louisa bequeathed substantial property to a private school and public hospital in Adelaide; Alfred Mendoza served as choirmaster to the Melbourne Synagogue. Edward Cohen was elected to the Parliament in Victoria in 1861 and served for a time as a

Australian Jewish Population

Year	New South Wales	Victoria	Queensland	South Australia	Western Australia	Tasmania	Northern Territory	Total	% of Total Population
1841	856	57		10*	1*	259		1,183*	0.57
1851	979	354		100*	9*	435		1,887*	0.47
1861	1,759	2,903	49	420*	12*	343		5,486*	0.48
1871	2,395	3,751	291	435	22	232		6,946*	0.42
1881	3,266	4,330	457	762	27*	282	1	9,125*	0.41
1891	5,484	6,459	809	840	130	84	3	13,809	0.43
1901	6,447	5,907	733	786	1,259	107		15,239	0.40
1911	7,660	6,270	672	765	1,790	130		17,287	0.38
1921	10,150	7,677	1,003	743	1,919	121	1	21,615	0.40
1933	10,305	9,500	1,041	528	2,105	70		23,553	0.36
1947	13,194	14,910	1,011	454	2,294	123	7	32,019	0.42
1954	19,583	24,016	1,340	722	2,555	158	8	48,436	0.56
1961	24,026	29,932	1,334	985	2,782	136	23	59,329	0.57
1971	25,971	30,117	1,491	1,137	3,102	98	46	61,962	0.48
1986	28,197	32,358	2,631	1,144	3,919	160	98	68,507	0.43
2001	34,345	38,374	4,271	1,072	5,072	180	149	83,463	0.43

* approximate figure

member of cabinet. In 1864, Charles Dyte won a seat in the Victorian Parliament; Maurice Salom entered the South Australian Parliament in 1882; and Jacob Levi Montefiore served in the Parliament of New South Wales (NSW).

The Montefiores were closely associated with progress in Australia throughout the century. Jacob Montefiore was one of the commissioners appointed to establish the first non-penal colony, South Australia, in 1836. His brother Joseph Barrow Montefiore became the president of the first formal Jewish congregation on the continent, founded in Sydney in 1832 and run according to Ashkenazi rites. He was a businessman with interests in the various colonies and a cofounder of several banks. Eliezer Levi Montefiore was instrumental in the formation of the Jewish community in Adelaide, promoted the establishment of lending libraries and art galleries, and served as the first director of the Art Gallery of NSW from 1892 until his death in 1894.

In 1854 and 1855 Sephardi Jews in Melbourne held Rosh ha-Shanah and Yom Kippur services according to their tradition in a classroom of the Melbourne synagogue. The synagogue management complained that a number of Ashkenazi Jews had joined the Sephardi *minyan* to avoid paying pew rent required in the main synagogue, so the next year the Sephardim held their services in a private home and applied to the Spanish and Portuguese congregation in London for assistance to form a separate Sephardi community. However, they returned to the synagogue in 1857 and maintained a Sephardi *minyan* until 1873. This folded when a quorum of Sephardi worshipers could no longer be found.

The Sephardi Jews in Australia in the 20th century (estimated at 6,000 in 1970) are not the descendants of the 19th-century Spanish and Portuguese Jews from Britain but largely immigrants who have arrived since World War II. The main sources of immigration were Egypt and Jews of Iraqi origin who had resided in India and Britain's prewar colonies in the Far East. Smaller numbers also came from southern Europe, Turkey, and North Africa. From the 1960s there was a steady inflow from Israel, of all backgrounds, but particularly Iraqi Jews. The main centers of settlement were Sydney and Melbourne.

[Meyer Samra]

Twentieth Century

At the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th centuries Australian Jewry was reinforced by further immigration, mainly from Europe. The *Perth and *Brisbane communities were firmly established, and additional synagogues were founded in Sydney and Melbourne. In 1878 the Great Synagogue of Sydney was opened. Notable leadership in the sphere of religious affairs was provided by such rabbis as Alexander B. *Davis of the Sydney Synagogue (1862–78) and of the Great Synagogue (1878–1903); Joseph Abrahams of the Melbourne Hebrew Congregation (1883–1919); Abraham Tobias *Boas of Adelaide (1870–1918); David Isaac Freedman of Perth (1897–1939); Francis Lyon Cohen of the Great Synagogue (1905–34); Jacob *Danglow (1905–60); and Israel *Brodie of the Melbourne Hebrew Congregation (1922–37), who was later chief rabbi of the United Hebrew Congregation of the British Commonwealth.

The periods immediately before World War I and between the two world wars brought a number of Eastern European Jews to Australia and also some from Palestine who settled in Perth. Mass immigration followed the rise of Hitler. Although the Australian authorities were at first reluctant to encourage non-British immigration, at the *Evian Conference in 1938 the Australian government allotted 15,000 entry permits to victims of oppression. The outbreak of war in 1939, however, prevented the complete realization of this scheme, but some 7,000 refugees, almost all Jews, settled in Australia between 1935 and 1940. In the 1920s Australian Jewry was in danger of losing its identity and becoming fully assimilated into Australian life when judged by the high incidence of intermarriage, poor synagogue attendance, lack of knowledge of the Hebrew language and Jewish studies, and inadequate educational facilities. Jewish cultural life and Zionism were practically nonexistent. (The Zionist Federation of Australia was founded in 1927 with Israel Brodie as its first president and Sir John Monash as its honorary president.) At the most there were a few social and philanthropic institutions and even these activities were uncoordinated. There was no united body to represent or speak in the name of the whole community. Community affairs were largely in the hands of the Australian-born segment whose activities centered around the synagogues and who had little or no experience of the organization or the vast range of cultural activities known to the European *kehillot*. They deemphasized elements of Jewish distinctiveness and group particularism, believing that in this way it would be easier to integrate into Australian society. Feeling that Jews should maintain a few basic religious differences but not be socially segregated or institutionally isolated, they formed State Advisory Boards with only the synagogues represented.

The newer immigrants from Europe brought with them deep religious convictions, Hebrew and Jewish scholarship, Yiddish culture, and Zionist sentiments. During the late 1930s a struggle for community control was launched by these new elements. Their impact on community life brought into being state Boards of Deputies on which not only the synagogues but all major organizations (secular, Zionist, cultural) were represented. The Board of Deputies in each state could speak in the name of the whole community. The state Boards of Deputies amalgamated in 1944 to form the Executive Council of Australian Jewry to represent the community on all federal matters and in world Jewish organizations. These new bodies embarked on programs in the spheres of education, Zionism, the combating of antisemitism, and Jewish immigration into Australia with remarkable results, stemming the tide of assimilation and building up a virile Jewish community life. As a result the large majority of Australian Jews adhered moderately to Jewish rituals, was strongly opposed to intermarriage, supported the Jewish day schools, and had strong sympathies with Israel.

The Executive Council of Australian Jewry in 1946 dissociated the community from the anti-Zionist views of Sir Isaac Isaacs and wholeheartedly supported the demands for a Jewish state and free immigration to Palestine. From 1945 it strongly influenced the Australian immigration policy, obtaining many concessions from Arthur A. Calwell, minister for immigration, to admit Jews on humanitarian grounds. Later it kept a vigilant eye on the entry of Germans to Australia, ensuring there would be adequate screening to prevent the entry of former Nazis. From the 1950s it succeeded in its efforts to secure Australian government support for the rights of Jews in the U.S.S.R.

[Israel Porush / Yitzhak Rischin]

Demography

Australia's Jewish community more than doubled in size between 1933 and 1954 (increasing from 23,553 to 48,436 persons), as a result of both natural increase and of an immigration policy favorable toward Jewish refugees from Europe. The 1966 census indicated that 63,271 persons had registered as Jews, whereas informed estimates calculated the actual number of Jews in 1968 at 70,000 (constituting 0.5% of the total population). In the last third of the 20th century, Australia was one of the few Diaspora societies whose Jewish population continued to rise steadily, thanks to continuing immigration, low rates of intermarriage and assimilation, and a relatively high birthrate. Our knowledge of Australia's Jewish population derives primarily from the Australian census, which is held every five years and always includes an optional religious question. In 1971, the declared Jewish population of Australia, according to the census of that year, was 62,208. This figure rose to 69,088 in 1986, to 74,386 in 1991, 79,805 in 1996, and 83,993 in 2001, an increase of 35 percent in 30 years. This steady increase has shown little sign of leveling off, with Australian Jewry experiencing an increase of 5.2 percent in the five years between 1996 and 2001 alone. These figures are, moreover, widely regarded as underestimates, since, as noted, the census question of religious identity is optional. In 2001, 27.92 percent of the Australian population stated they were of "no religion" or declined to answer the religious question ("religion not stated"). Assuming that the Jewish population's non-response rate is similar to that of the general population, the actual number of Jews in Australia was about 116,527 in 2001. Most demographers regard the actual figure as in the range of 110–115,000. There is, however, some evidence that even this figure is too low. The Melbourne Jewish Welfare Society maintains a master list of all Jews in the state of Victoria (which includes Melbourne) that is constantly updated. In the early 1990s it contained about 48,000 names, over 40 percent in excess of the census figure of about 34,000.

Most Australian Jews continue to live in the two principal centers of Jewish life, Melbourne (in Victoria) and Sydney (in New South Wales). Both contain a wide range of Jewish institutions – often seen by visitors to Australia as extraordinary in their scope for so remote a community – especially an extensive Jewish day school system. In 1971 the census Jewish population of Victoria was 30,117. This grew to 32,358 in 1986, 35,963 in 1996, and 38,374 in 2001. The rise in the declared Jewish population of New South Wales was as follows: 1971: 25,971; 1986: 28,197; 1996: 32,652; 2001: 34,345. Jewish communities exist in all other states, with the Jewish population of Perth (Western Australia) and the Gold Coast, a resort area in Queensland, having increased significantly during the past 30 years. On the other hand, the smaller Jewish communities have not experienced much growth. The Jewish populations of the smaller states in 1971, 1986, and 2001 were as follows: Queensland – 1971: 1,491; 1986: 2,631; 2001: 4,271; South Australia (Adelaide) – 1971: 1,137; 1986: 1,144; 2001: 1,072; Western Australia – 1971: 3,102; 1986: 3,919; 2001: 5,072; Tasmania – 1971: 98; 1986: 160; 2001: 180; Northern Territory – 1971: 46; 1986: 98; 2001: 149; Australian Capital Territory (Canberra) –1971: 251; 1986: 501; 2001: 529. Within the largest centers of Jewish life there are a number of heavily Jewish areas, especially Caulfield-East St. Kilda in Melbourne, Bondi-Randwick and the North Shore in Sydney, and Dianella in Perth. By and large, these have been notably stable during the past 40 years, with few new Jewish areas of heavy settlement established outside them.

During the past 35 years, Jewish immigration to Australia has come from a number of main sources, especially the Former Soviet Union and South Africa, as well as from a steady stream of migrants for normal professional reasons from the English-speaking world, particularly Britain, and smaller numbers from Israel and elsewhere. Probably the largest single source of recent Jewish immigration to Australia has been the Former Soviet Union. An estimated 25,000 Soviet Jews have come to Australia since 1970 (many of whom are probably not included in the census figures). In 1971, of Australia's total of 62,208 declared Jews, 41.7 percent (25,964) were born in Australia, 9,302 (15.0%) in Poland, 5,663 (9.1%) in Britain, 3,506 (5.6%) in Hungary, 3,303 (5.3%) in Germany, and 3,081 (5.0%) in Israel and "other Asia." In 1986, 31,619 (45.8%) of the declared Jewish population of 69,088 were born in Australia, with the largest foreign-born sources being Poland– 6,663 (9.6%); Britain – 5,135 (7.49%); the U.S.S.R. – 3,611 (5.2%); and South Africa – 3,420 (4.0%). In 2001, 46.4 percent (38,940) of Australia's 83,993 Jews were born in Australia, followed by South Africa – 10,473 (12.5%); the former U.S.S.R. – 6,751 (8.0%); Britain – 4,329 (5.2%); Israel – 3,886 (4.6%); and Poland – 3,838 (4.6%).

Intermarriage rates among Australian Jews were, by other Diaspora standards, extremely low, and declined significantly between the 1933 Census and the 1961 Census, consistent with the arrival in Australia of the Holocaust survivors, and a greater sense of Jewish identity. In 1961, 6.3 percent of Jewish wives were married to a non-Jewish husband, and 12.3 percent of Jewish husbands to a non-Jewish wife. In 1981 (Victoria and New South Wales only) these figures were respectively 11.2 percent and 14.0 percent; in 2001, these figures were 11.2 percent and 15.6 percent. The 2001 statistics were, specifically, for women and men married to adherents of another religion. Several thousand other Jews were married to spouses giving "no religion" or "religion not stated" in response to the census question, many of whom are believed to be Jewish. Additionally, many Jews married to non-Jews are believed to be divorced (or widowed) and remarried, often late in life. Intermarriage rates were consistently lower in Victoria than in New South Wales, which were in turn lower than in the smaller states. It seems reasonable to conclude that Australia, especially in its main centers of Jewish life, has managed to avoid the disturbing rates of intermarriage found elsewhere in the Diaspora, especially the United States. While one can debate the reasons for this, observers pointed to the high levels of attendance at Jewish day schools and to the fact that in Australia, unlike the United States and other Diaspora societies, university students generally live at home, attending a local college, and thus often continue to draw their associational networks from among their school friends.

Australian Jews are, for the most part, situated in the upper middle classes, with relatively high income levels and socio-economic attainments. Plainly, not all Australian Jews share in high income levels, although the community has no obvious and well-defined areas of poverty, except among recent immigrants and the elderly. As elsewhere in the Diaspora, Australian Jewry contains a disproportionate number of elderly persons, with 18.97 percent of those declaring themselves to be Jewish by religion in 2001 aged 70 or more, compared with 11.51 percent of the whole Australian population. (On the other hand, it should be noted that the Australian Jewish percentage of children was not much lower than the whole Australian population, with 17.22 percent of Jews aged 0–14 in 2001, compared with 21.7 percent of the whole Australian population.)

Community Life

The great influx of Jewish immigrants rejuvenated community life in the 1950s. This trend sharply contrasted with the diminishing influence of Jewish communal life and the typical rising intermarriage rates of the previous decade. Synagogues, centers, and schools sprang up in the suburbs of the capital cities. By the end of the 1960s a number of day schools and over 45 synagogues existed throughout Australia. Brisbane, Adelaide, and other communities with small Jewish populations carried on religious and Jewish cultural activities. In the new federal capital, Canberra, the Jewish community was granted a site for a synagogue. An estimated 55–65% of the adult members of the communities were members of synagogues, 80% of them Orthodox and 20% Liberal. The first Sephardi synagogue was established in Sydney in 1962. The congregations' rabbinical courts were located in Melbourne and Sydney. The Orthodox congregations in Sydney were organized in the United Synagogues of New South Wales. All six Liberal congregations, which were first introduced in 1935, were affiliated with the Australian Union for Progressive Judaism.

Between 1970 and 2004 the Australian Jewish community grew and developed on the foundations of community life which had been, for the most part, laid between about 1935 and 1955, when the community was transformed by the arrival of refugees and migrants from Europe and the institutional bases of the community were altered to a considerable extent. The Australian Jewish community has remained centered on much the same framework of communal governing bodies, synagogues, day schools, and even areas of neighborhood residency as 40 years earlier. This stability probably accounts for its relative success. Australian Jewry remains notably pro-Zionist, while Australia's mainstream political culture has been generally favorable to Israel and the West. The growth and development of the community which has occurred during the past 45 years has generally come by additions and extensions of the institutional framework which developed in the c. 1935–55 period rather than through any sharp break with the past. For instance, in recent decades, Sydney Jewry has become more like Melbourne Jewry in its patronage of Jewish day schools and its religious Orthodoxy, while most new Jewish immigrants to Australia have chosen to live in or near existing Jewish neighborhoods where this has been financially possible. There are no signs that this is likely to change in the near future.

Education

One of the most notable features of the modern Australian Jewish community is the extent of its Jewish day school system, which is arguably without parallel in the Diaspora with the possible exception of South Africa. In 2004, 15 full-time Jewish day schools existed throughout Australia, attended by an estimated 60 percent of Australian Jewish children. Most of these were founded between 1949 and about 1970, although some schools have been established since. In Melbourne and Sydney, Jewish day schools were established by different religious and secular factions within the overall community, whose outlook was not, in their view, well-served by any existing Jewish school. Eight Jewish day schools exist in Melbourne: Mount Scopus (Orthodox Zionist), Bialik (secular Zionist), Sholem Aleichem (secular Yiddish), Leibler Yavneh (Mizrachi), Adass (non-Lubavitcher Strictly Orthodox), Yeshivah College (boys' Lubavitcher), Beth Rivkah (girls' Lubavitcher), and King David (Liberal Judaism). All take students from ages 5–18 except for Sholem Aleichem, which is only a primary school. For many decades, Mount Scopus, the oldest of these day schools, was regarded as the largest day school in the Diaspora, although in recent years its numbers have declined slightly, from about 2,200 students in the 1980s to about 1,700 in 2004. Overall, about 6,000 students attend these Melbourne day schools.

In Sydney, there are six Jewish day schools: Moriah (Orthodox), Yeshivah College (Lubavitcher), Yeshivah Girls' High School (Lubavitcher), Masada College (Orthodox, on Sydney's North Shore), Mount Sinai College (Orthodox, in Sydney's south), and Emanuel College (Liberal Judaism). Throughout most of the period since the first of these schools, Moriah College, was founded in 1951, a lower percentage of Jewish students have attended a Jewish day school in Sydney than in Melbourne, although the percentage gap has narrowed since the 1980s. There are also three Jewish day schools in other Australian cities: Carmel College (Orthodox) in Perth, Western Australia; Sinai College in Brisbane; and Massada College, a primary school, in Adelaide.

Jewish children who do not receive a full-time Jewish education often attend a Jewish Sunday school or receive tuition from United Jewish Education Boards which exist in Melbourne and Sydney. There have been many concerns that, in very recent years, the high cost of education at Jewish day schools – in 2004 up to A $20,000 (U.S. $13,000) per year for senior students – is driving students into the state sector, although the number of students at Australia's Jewish day schools continues to grow.

While there has been a growth in Jewish-interest courses at the university level in Australia in recent years, these have certainly not kept pace with the growth of "Jewish studies" at college level in America and elsewhere. Monash University in Melbourne and Sydney and New South Wales universities do offer sequences in Jewish studies. It should be pointed out that courses in Australia last for three years (not four) and are more career-oriented than in American institutions of higher education. An Australian Association for Jewish Studies was founded in 1987. It holds well-attended annual conferences and publishes the *Australian Journal of Jewish Studies*. Hillel organizations exist on some campuses. There are also a number of *kolelim* conducted by Orthodox synagogues. It might also be noted that Australian Jewish millionaires have been notably more reluctant to fund university chairs and research compared with their equivalents elsewhere.

Congregations

The broadening and extension of the religious bases of Australian Jewish life, which also began in the 1935–55 period, has continued into the 21st century. Most Australian Jews who are affiliated to a synagogue are Orthodox, with a minority as members of Progressive (Liberal) (affiliated to the World Union for Progressive Judaism) congregations. Recently, a small Conservative (Masorti) movement, unknown before the 1990s, has emerged in Melbourne. By 2004, there were 50 synagogues in Melbourne, 34 of which were Orthodox, of which eight were Strictly Orthodox – seven Lubavitcher and one Adass, non-Lubavitcher Strictly Orthodox – one Mizrachi, and two Sephardi; the others were mainstream Orthodox representing both British United Synagogue and European origins. Four Melbourne synagogues were Progressive, one Masorti, and one Independent. Another Orthodox synagogue also existed in Ballarat, Victoria, about 100 miles (160 km.) north of Melbourne. In Sydney, there were 19 synagogues, with the same denominational breakdown: three were Progressive, two Sephardi, the rest Ashkenazi Orthodox, of which four or five were Strictly Orthodox. Two synagogues existed in New South Wales outside of Sydney, in Byron Bay and Newcastle. Among the smaller states, there were five synagogues (four Orthodox, one Progressive) in Perth, Western Australia; five in Queensland (two Orthodox, three Progressive); three in Tasmania (all Orthodox); as well as both Orthodox and Progressive services at the Jewish community center in Canberra. There were thus approximately 87 synagogues in Australia in 2004. Some, especially the Great Synagogue in central Sydney and the Melbourne Hebrew Congregation near central Melbourne, are historically important or architecturally distinguished. Both the Orthodox and Progressive movements held national rabbinical conferences. Orthodox and Progressive *battei din* existed in Melbourne and Sydney, with Melbourne's Orthodox Beth Din involved in controversy over its structure from the 1990s on. A number of postwar Australian rabbis have become nationally known, among them Yitzhak Groner, Chaim *Gutnick, Israel *Porush, Raymond *Apple, and Ronald Lubofsky among the Orthodox rabbinate and Herman Sanger and John S. *Levi among Progressive rabbis. Several Progressive synagogues appointed women rabbis, the first (Karen Soria) in Melbourne in 1981. Relations between the Orthodox and Progressive movements have, with some striking exceptions, been notably bad, with animosity between the two surfacing at regular intervals. As in Britain, it is probably fair to say that congregational growth during the past generation has come at the extremes, among Strictly Orthodox and Progressive synagogues, while moderate Orthodoxy has, in the main, not grown as rapidly.

Community Organization and Services

The Australian Jewish community has evolved a recognized structure of bodies who are entitled to speak on its behalf on public issues, make representations to the government, liaise with the media, and so on. Each state has a local Board of Deputies (which, in Victoria, has since 1988 been known as the Jewish Community Council of Victoria) headed by a president and other office holders, and composed of delegates from affiliated Jewish bodies, including most synagogues. In New South Wales (but not elsewhere) there is a measure of direct election of delegates from the Jewish community. Nationally, the Jewish community's central body is the Executive Council of Australian Jewry (ECAJ), whose president usually serves for a two-year term, the post normally rotating between a leading figure in Melbourne and Sydney. Among the presidents of the ECAJ, Maurice *Ashkanasy, Syd *Einfeld, Jeremy Jones, and, in particular, Isi *Leibler, have been recognized as influential spokesmen for the Australian Jewish community. Before making *aliyah* in 1998, Isi Leibler had unquestionably been the dominant Jewish lay leader in Australia during the previous quarter-century. Australia also contains a strong Zionist movement, based in organizations in each state and a national Zionist Federation of Australia (ZFA). *WIZO, with 3,000 members, is a particularly strong component, which also includes *Po'alei Zion, *Mizrachi, *Revisionists, and youth groups. The ZFA has often lobbied politicians as equal partners with the ECAJ, often to good effect, especially under the presidency of Mark *Leibler in the 1980s and 1990s.

Since 1976, the Australian Zionist movement has been associated with a well-known semi-independent bimonthly magazine, known until the late 1990s as *Australia-Israel Review* and, since then, as *The Review*. Apart from publishing pro-Israel material, it examines antisemitic and anti-Zionist extremists in Australia. In 1996 *The Review* received considerable publicity in the mainstream media for publishing a list of financial donors to One Nation, a right-wing anti-Asian, anti-Aboriginal party, an act which was widely criticized as an invasion of privacy. Since 1983 its editor has been Dr. Colin Rubenstein (1942–), formerly an academic at Monash University.

Since 1968, when the *Australian Jewish Herald* ceased publication, the Australian Jewish community has had one weekly community newspaper, the *Australian Jewish News*, published in both Melbourne and Sydney editions with the same national news but different local coverage. A high-quality, wide-ranging paper, it was edited in the 1980s and 1990s by Sam Lipski (1936–), a respected communal figure and formerly the Washington correspondent of *The Australian*. Its Sydney edition was edited by Susan Bures. In the early 21st century the newspaper was edited by Dan Goldberg. Until the early 1990s, it also contained a weekly Yiddish supplement, *Die Yiddishe Naes*, which ceased publication due to the decline in the number of Yiddish speakers. A number of other Australian Jewish publications have existed, such as *The Bridge*, a quarterly which existed in the 1960s; *Generation*, another quarterly journal of commentary and fiction, edited in the 1980s and 1990s by Melbourne historian and novelist Mark Baker; and the *Melbourne Chronicle*, a Yiddish-English quarterly edited by Melbourne writer Serge *Liberman. Unfortunately none of these publications became a permanent fixture. The Australian Jewish Historical Society, founded in 1938, has, however, published a continuing *Journal* since the 1950s, which, since 1988, has appeared twice annually, with its Melbourne and Sydney committees each producing an annual issue. The *Australian Jewish Historical Society Journal* has also included memoirs and commentary.

Welfare provisions in the Australian Jewish community are, for the most part, in the hands of the Australian Jewish Welfare Society (known since 1999 as Jewish Care). The Welfare Society was founded in Melbourne and Sydney in the 1930s as an immigrants' aid society, specifically to assist German Jewish refugees. It remained mainly a refugees' aid society until the 1970s and helped to bring thousands of former Soviet Jews to Australia then and after the collapse of the USSR. Since the 1970s, it has chiefly functioned as a welfare society in the more normal sense, assisting the disabled, the elderly, and other disadvantaged groups.

Many other Jewish groups exist, especially in Melbourne and Sydney, including women's groups such as the National Council of Jewish Women and WIZO, youth groups, and Hillel on campuses. From about 1983 until 1998 the Australian Institute of Jewish Affairs existed, headed by Isi Leibler. It conducted significant research, brought well-known overseas speakers to Australia, and published a journal, *Without Prejudice*, designed to combat antisemitism. Australia is also home to a significant *B'nai B'rith movement, which is particularly well known for combating antisemitism. Virtually all are pro-Zionist, with support for Israel unusually strong. A number of left-wing groups, critical of right-wing Israeli policies, and with a progressive agenda on such issues as Aboriginal rights, exist, most notably the Jewish Democratic Society.

From the early 1940s until about 1970 a controversial but, in its early phase, very influential body existed, the Jewish Council to Combat Fascism and Antisemitism. From the late 1940s it was accused by conservative sources of being a

Communist front group, and lost much of its influence. Three Jewish museums were founded in Australia in the 1980s, the A.M. Rosenblum Jewish Museum in Sydney, founded in 1982, which includes exhibits on Australian Jewish history and the Holocaust; the Jewish Museum of Australia in Melbourne, also founded in 1982; and the Holocaust Museum and Research Centre, also in Melbourne, founded in 1984, whose guides are mainly Holocaust survivors.

Jews in Public Life

Fewer Jews have been elected to public office in contemporary Australia than in many other Diaspora societies. Nine Jews have served as members of the federal Parliament since World War II, most notably Peter *Baume, Moss *Cass, Barry *Cohen, Sam *Cohen, and Michael *Danby. On the other hand, one of Australia's most distinguished Jews, Sir Zelman *Cowen, served as governor-general of Australia in 1977–82.

Jews are prominent in the spheres of business and professional life, with an estimated 15–20 percent of Australia's annual "rich lists" being Jewish, mainly Melbourne Holocaust survivors and their relatives. Jews also comprise a disproportionate percentage of Australia's lawyers and doctors, especially in Melbourne and Sydney. Jews are not as numerous in academic and cultural life as in other societies, with only a handful of Jewish "public intellectuals," such as Frank Knopfelmacher (1923–95), a right-wing political commentator; Robert Manne (1947–), an academic political commentator; Dennis Altman (1947–), a well-known social critic and advocate of gay rights; and Peter Singer, internationally known for his views on animal rights. In general, however, Jews are much less publicly visible as opinion leaders and trendsetters than elsewhere. It is perhaps indicative of this that unquestionably the Australian work about Jews which has had the greatest international impact was written by a non-Jew: *Schindler's Ark*, by gentile Australian writer Thomas Keneally, which formed the basis for Steven *Spielberg's famous film, *Schindler's List*.

Australia-Israel Relations

In general, relations between Australia and Israel have been unusually good, a continuation of a trend which began with the foundation of the State of Israel. Most Australian governments have consistently sided with the small minority of states of the U.N. and other bodies which have supported Israel when anti-Israel measures were proposed. Australia sent troops to the *Sinai MFO in the 1980s to enforce the peace treaty between Israel and Egypt. Trade between the two states, despite their geographic remoteness, is not inconsiderable and an Australia-Israel Chamber of Commerce has existed since the 1950s. The absence of a direct air link between Israel and Australia as of 2004 (travelers must change at Bangkok or some other midway point) remains a barrier to increasing tourism.

There has only been one notable exception to this pattern of bilateral friendliness, the Whitlam government of 1972–75, which went out of its way to stress its pro-Third World credentials and alienated many Jews. In contrast, Malcolm Fraser (Australia's prime minister in 1975–83), Bob Hawke (prime minister in 1983–91), and John Howard (prime minister from 1996) have been notable supporters of Israel, with Hawke's warm backing for Israel being legendary. It is, however, probably accurate to state that most Australian governments, especially its Australian Labor Party administrations, are much happier with a Labor government in power in Israel than with a Likud government and also that, as everywhere, the left and the organs of opinion it controls or influences have turned sharply against Israel in recent decades.

Antisemitism, Anti-Zionism, War Crimes

Australia has also been relatively free of extreme right-wing antisemitic groups or activists. On the far right, the best-known continuing antisemitic group is the League of Rights, loosely related to the Social Credit movement. Individual antisemitic activists and local "Holocaust deniers" exist, and some antisemitic attacks occur periodically. On the far left, Australia has long had a series of extremist anti-Zionist activists. From 1978 until the late 1980s very extreme anti-Zionist groups had air time on Radio 3CR, a Melbourne "community radio" station dominated by the extreme left, especially the far left of the Victorian branch of the ALP. In 1978–80 the local Jewish community appealed to the Australian Broadcasting Tribunal to remove these programs from the air, with mixed success at the time, although they largely disappeared by about 1990. More recently, several left-wing members of the Australian Parliament, particularly from Sydney seats with high concentrations of Muslims, have caused concern. The number of Muslims in Australia rose from 100,000 to 300,000 during the period from 1970 through 2001. Most were Turks or east Asians rather than Arabs. Nevertheless, antisemitic extremism from Muslim fundamentalists, especially from Sheik Taj El-Hilaly of Sydney, has caused considerable concern to Australian Jews.

From the mid-1980s, efforts were made to bring to justice former Nazi war criminals who, it was widely believed, migrated to Australia after World War II. Most were Balts or Ukrainians. The effort was chiefly sparked by a series of radio broadcasts in 1985 by Mark Aarons, an investigative journalist. After a full investigation by a Government Commission, which found that up to 50 serious Nazi war criminals had migrated to Australia, in 1989 Australia's Parliament, after bitter discussion, passed a War Crimes Act allowing alleged Nazi war criminals to be tried in Australia. For a variety of reasons, especially the lack of interest by Paul Keating, Australia's prime minister, 1991–96, in pursuing these efforts, no prosecutions have ever been commenced, and it is now most unlikely that any ever will.

Summary

In many respects, Australia is a model Diaspora community; if any Diaspora Jewish community has a viable future, it is Australia's. This has probably been due, in part, to the concentration of resources on what some sociologists describe as the "bottom half" of the community, especially the Jewish day school system, rather than on the "top half," on the college-educated or cultural sector, or in grandiose monuments. If anything the past 45 years have seen a considerable strengthening of the Australian Jewish community, which has managed to escape many of the problems found elsewhere in the Diaspora.

[Israel Porush and Yitzhak Rischin / William D. Rubinstein (2nd ed.)]

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AUSTRIA, country in Central Europe.

Middle Ages

Jews lived in Austria from the tenth century. However the history of the Jews in Austria from the late Middle Ages was virtually that of the Jews in *Vienna and its environs. In the modern period, Austrian Jewish life was interwoven with that of other parts of the Hapsburg Empire. Austria's position as the bulwark of the Holy Roman Empire against the Turks, as a transit area between Europe and the Middle East, and later as a center attracting East European Jewry, conferred on Austrian Jewry, and on legal formulations of their status, an importance far beyond its size and its national boundaries.

According to legend, a Jewish kingdom named *Judaesaptan was founded in the territory in times before recorded history. Jews apparently arrived in Austria with the Roman legions. They are mentioned in the Raffelstatten customs ordinance (c. 903–06) among traders paying tolls on slaves and merchandise. The earliest Jewish tombstone in the region, found near St. Stephan (Carinthia), dates from 1130. The first reliable evidence of a permanent Jewish settlement is the appointment (1194) of Shlom the Mintmaster. During the reign of Frederick I of Babenberg (1195–98) there was an influx of Jews from Bavaria and the Rhineland. A synagogue is recorded in Vienna in 1204. By then, Jews were also living in *Klosterneuburg, *Krems, Tulln, and *Wiener Neustadt. In the 13th century, Austria became a center of Jewish learning and leadership for the German and western Slavonic lands. Prominent scholars included *Isaac b. Moses, author of *Or Zaru'a*, *Avigdor b. Elijah ha-Kohen, and Moses b. Ḥasdai *Taku. At this time, Jews held important positions, administering the taxes and mints, and in trade. *Frederick II of Hohenstaufen granted the Jews of Vienna a charter in 1238. In 1244 Duke Frederick II of Babenberg granted the charter known as the "Fredericianum" to the Jews in the whole of Austria. It became the model for similar *privilegia* granted to the Jews of Bohemia, Hungary, and Poland during the 13th century. *Rudolph of Hapsburg confirmed the charter in 1278, in his capacity as Holy Roman Emperor. It was ratified by the emperors Ludwig IV of Bavaria in 1330 and Charles IV in 1348. Although Jews were excluded by the charter from holding public office, two are mentioned as royal financiers (*comites camerae*) in 1257. Immigration from Germany increased in the second half of the 13th century, but meanwhile the Jews encountered growing hostility, fostered by the church (for example, by the ecclesiastical Council of Vienna, 1267). Four instances of *blood libel occurred. The massacres of Jews in Franconia instigated by *Rindfleisch spread to Austria. Some protection was afforded by Albert I, who in 1298 endeavored to suppress the riots and imposed a fine on the town of St. Poelten. However, in 1306, he punished the Jews in *Korneuburg on a charge of desecration of the *Host. *Frederick I (1308–30) canceled a debt owed by a nobleman to a Jewish moneylender, thus introducing the usage of the pernicious *Toetbrief.* He also prohibited Jews in his domains from manufacturing or selling clothes. Under *Albert II wholesale massacres of Jews followed the host libel in *Pulkau. A fixed Jewish tax is mentioned for the first time in 1320. Rudolph IV (1358–65), who unified all the legal codes then extant, retained the former enactments granting Jewish judicial autonomy, and took measures to prevent Jews from leaving Austria. The position of the Jews became increasingly precarious during the reigns of *Albert III and Leopold III. Cancellation of debts owed to Jews, confiscations of their property, and economic restrictions multiplied. In consequence, they became greatly impoverished. Their wretchedness culminated when *Albert V ordered the arrest of all the Jews after the host libel in Enns (1420); 270 Jews were burnt at the stake that year, a calamity remembered in Jewish annals as the **Wiener gesera*. The rest were expelled and the property of the victims was confiscated. Austria became

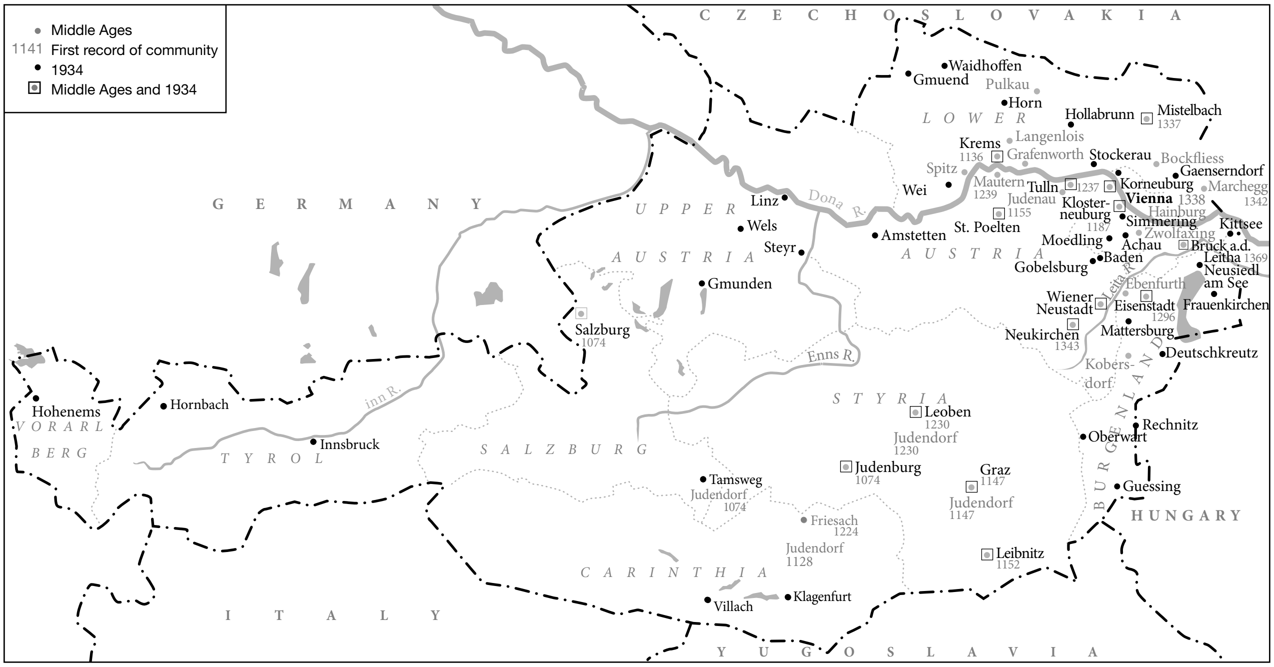
● Middle Ages
1141 First record of community
• 1934
▣ Middle Ages and 1934
CZECHOSLOVAKIA
GERMANY
UPPER AUSTRIA
LOWER AUSTRIA
SALZBURG
TYROL
VORARLBERG
STYRIA
CARINTHIA
BURGENLAND
HUNGARY
ITALY
YUGOSLAVIA
Dona R.
Enns R.
Inn R.
Leitha R.
Waidhoffen
Gmuend
Pulkau
Horn
Hollabrunn
Mistelbach 1337
Krems 1136
Langenlois
Grafenworth
Stockerau
Bockfliess
Gaenserndorf
Spitz
Mautern 1239
Tulln 1237
Korneuburg
Marchegg 1342
Wei
Judenau 1155
Kloster-neuburg 1187
Vienna 1338
Hainburg
St. Poelten
Simmering
Zwolfaxing
Kittsee
Amstetten
Moedling
Achau
Bruck a.d. Leitha 1369
Gobelsburg
Baden
Neusiedl am See
Ebenfurth
Wiener Neustadt
Eisenstadt 1296
Frauenkirchen
Neukirchen 1343
Mattersburg
Deutschkreutz
Kobersdorf
Linz
Wels
Steyr
Gmunden
Salzburg 1074
Hohenems
Hornbach
Innsbruck
Leoben 1230
Judendorf 1230
Rechnitz
Oberwart
Judenburg 1074
Graz 1147
Judendorf 1147
Guessing
Tamsweg
Judendorf 1074
Friesach 1224
Judendorf 1128
Leibnitz 1152
Villach
Klagenfurt

Jewish population of Austria in Middle Ages and 1934.

notorious among Jewry as "*Ereẓ ha-Damim*" ("the blood-stained land").

Jewish settlement was subsequently renewed, and despite the persecutions, Austria became a center of spiritual leadership and learning for the Jews in southern Germany and Bohemia. The teachings of its sages and usages followed in its communities were accepted by Jews in many other countries. Austrian usage helped to determine the form of rabbinical ordination *(*semikhah*), mainly owing to the authority of R. *Meir b. Baruch ha-Levi. His colleague R. Abraham *Klausner compiled *Sefer Minhagim*, a Jewish custumal, which was widely used.

During the reign of Ladislaus (1440–57), the Franciscan John of *Capistrano incited popular feelings against the Jews, leading to the expulsion of almost all of them from Austria proper. Under *Frederick III (1440–93) the position improved; with papal consent he gave protection to Jewish refugees and permitted them to settle in *Styria and *Carinthia. Yeshivot were again established, and under the direction of Israel *Isserlein, the yeshivah in Wiener Neustadt provided guidance for distant communities. Hostility to the Jews on the part of the Estates caused Emperor *Maximilian I (1493–1519) to expel the Jews from Styria and Carinthia in 1496, after receiving a promise from the Estates that they would reimburse him for the loss of his Jewish revenues. However, he permitted the exiles to settle in Marchegg, *Eisenstadt, and other towns then annexed from Hungary. A few Jews, including Meyer *Hirshel, to whom the emperor owed money, settled in Vienna.

*Ferdinand I (1521–64) agreed only in part to requests by the Estates to expel the Jews, ordering their exclusion only from towns holding the "privilege" *de non tolerandis Judaeis*, i.e., the right to exclude Jews. Ferdinand employed a Jew in the mint. In 1536 a statute regulating the Jewish status (*Judenordnung*) was published, which included a clause enforcing the wearing of the yellow *badge on their garments.

Counter-Reformation to 19th Century

In the period of the Counter-Reformation, during the reigns of Maximilian II (1564–76), *Rudolph II (1576–1612), and Matthias (1612–19), there were frequent expulsions and instances of oppression. Under Rudolph the Jewish population in Vienna increased; certain families enjoying special court privileges ("*hofbefreite Juden*") moved there and were permitted to build a synagogue.

In 1621 *Ferdinand II allotted the Jews of Vienna a new quarter outside the city walls. In the rural areas the jurisdiction over the Jews and their exploitation for fiscal purposes increasingly passed to the local overlords. Important communities living under the protection of the local lordships existed in villages such as Achau, Bockfliess, Ebenfurth, Gobelsburg, Grafenwoerth, Langenlois, Marchegg, Spitz, Tribuswinkel, and Zwoelfaxing. In Vienna also, *Ferdinand III (1637–57) temporarily transferred Jewish affairs to the municipality. The *Chmielnicki massacres in Eastern Europe (1648–49) brought many Jewish refugees to Austria, among them important scholars. The situation of the Jews deteriorated under *Leopold I (1657–1705). In 1669 a commission for Jewish affairs was appointed, in which the expulsion of the Jews from Vienna and the whole of Austria was urged by Bishop Count Kollonch. In the summer of that year, 1,600 Jews from the poorer and middle classes had to leave Vienna within two weeks; and in 1670 the wealthy Jews followed. The edict of expulsion remained nominally in force until 1848, although sometimes transvened. A number of *Court Jews in particular, such as Samuel *Oppenheimer, Samson *Wertheimer, Simon Michael, and Joseph von Geldern, were permitted to live in Vienna. Their households included Jewish clerks and servants. In 1752 it is estimated that there were 452 Jews living in Vienna, all of whom were connected with 12 tolerated families. Restrictive legislation was enforced in most localities in the Hapsburg Empire; often Jews were segregated from Christians. In 1727, in order to limit the Jewish population, the *Familiants laws were introduced, allowing only the oldest son of a Jewish family to marry. They remained in force until 1848. By the peace treaty of Passarowitz between Austria and Turkey (1718), Jews who were Turkish subjects were permitted to live and trade freely in Austria. Their position was thus more favorable than that of Jews who were Austrian subjects. In 1736, Diego d'*Aguilar founded the "Turkish community" in Vienna.

The Jewish policy of Maria Theresa (1740–80) wavered between the mercantilism which stood to gain from increased settlement of wealthy Jews and their participation in economic activities, and her own deeply ingrained enmity toward the Jews. A special decree was issued in 1749 encouraging Jews to found manufacturing establishments. The *Judenordnung* of 1753 regulated all aspects of Jewish public and private life, and was based on full judicial autonomy for the communities. At this time some Jewish financiers and industrialists, such as Nathan von *Arnstein, Lazar Auspitz, Bernhard *Eskeles, Israel *Hoenigsberg, and Abraham *Wetzlar, moved to Vienna, having the status of "*Tolerierte*" (tolerated) Jews. Some of them received titles for activities benefiting the Hapsburg Empire; many of their descendants left Judaism. The annexation of *Galicia in 1772 more than doubled the Jewish population of the monarchy, and inaugurated a continuous stream of migration from there, mainly to Vienna.

From the end of the 18th century, with the growing centralization of the government of the empire and new political developments, the position of the Jews in Austria proper became increasingly linked with the history of the empire as a whole. As part of his endeavors to modernize the empire, *Joseph II (1780–90) attempted to make the Jews into useful citizens by introducing reforms of their social mores and economic practices and abolishing many of the measures regulating their autonomy and separatism. Although not altering the legal restrictions on Jewish residence (mainly affecting Vienna) or marriage, he abolished in 1781 the wearing of the yellow badge and the poll tax hitherto levied on Jews. Joseph II's *Toleranzpatent*, issued in 1782, in which he summarized his previous proposals, is the first enactment of its kind in Europe. Jews were directed to establish German-language elementary schools for their children, or if their number did not justify this, to send them to general schools. Jews were encouraged to engage in agriculture and ordered to discontinue the use of Hebrew and Yiddish for commercial or public purposes. It became official policy to facilitate Jewish contacts with general culture in order to hasten assimilation. Jews were permitted to engage in handicrafts and to attend schools and universities. Jewish judicial autonomy was abolished in 1784. Jews were also inducted into the army, which in due course became one of the careers where Jews in Austria enjoyed equal opportunities, at least in the lower commissioned ranks. The "tolerated" Jews in Vienna and the intellectuals who, influenced by the enlightenment movement (see *Haskalah), tended toward assimilation, accepted the *Toleranzpatent* enthusiastically. The majority, however, considered that it endangered their culture and way of life without giving them any real advantages. The implementation of these measures promoted the assimilation of increasingly broader social strata within Austrian Jewry. In 1792 the Jewish Hospital was founded in Vienna, which benefited Jews throughout the empire for many years. In 1803, there were 332 Jewish families living in Austria proper (including Vienna), and approximately 87,000 families throughout the Hapsburg Empire.

19th Century

The position of the Jews in Austria deteriorated after the death of Joseph II, though the *Toleranzpatent* remained in force. Francis I (1792–1835) introduced the Bolletten-tax (see *Taxation), and ordered that measures should be taken against "Jewish superstitions" and "vain rabbinical argumentation." Efforts to "enlighten" the Jews during his reign included the activities of Herz *Homberg, whose catechism "Benei Zion" was introduced into schools for the teaching of religion. Until 1856, Jews were compelled to pass an examination in it before they were permitted to marry. A decree issued in 1820 required all rabbis to study philosophy, and to use only the "language of the state" for public prayers; Jewish children were required to attend Christian schools. The period between the issue of the *Toleranzpatent* and 1848 saw further fundamental changes in Jewish life. A number of Jews were instrumental in the expansion and modernization of industry, transportation, commerce, and banking in the Hapsburg Empire. Lazar Auspitz, Michael *Biedermann, and Simon von *Laemel developed the textile industry; Salomon Mayer *Rothschild built the first railway; the Rothschilds, Arnstein-Eskeles, and *Koenigswarters were the outstanding bankers and were on the board of the newly founded National Bank. Many Jews had a university education and became prominent in journalism and German literature. Prominent among them were Moritz *Saphir, Ludwig August *Frankl, Moritz *Hartmann, and Leopold *Kompert. The less wealthy classes of Jews also prospered, opening workshops, or selling and peddling products of the developing industries. Their heightened awareness of human dignity evoked by their economic and cultural attainments and the relaxation of humiliating restrictions emphasized the basic inequality of their status, even among the wealthy and the nobility. It was even more bitterly resented on the background of Jewish emancipation in France, the liberalizing edict passed in Prussia in 1812, and the budding liberal, revolutionary, and nationalist ideologies in Europe.

During the Congress of Vienna (1814–15), Nathan von Arnstein with other Jewish notables applied unsuccessfully to the emperor for the conferment of civil rights on Austrian Jewry. Joseph von *Wertheimer's anonymously published work on the status of Austrian Jewry (1842) advocated extensive reforms. In 1846 the humiliating *oath *more Judaico* was abolished. The number of Jews actively participating in the 1848 revolution, such as Adolf Fischhof, Joseph Goldmark, Ludwig August Frankl, Hermann *Jellinek (the brother of Adolf *Jellinek and later executed) – some of whom fell victims in the street fighting, among them Karl Heinrich *Spitzer – in part reflected the spread of assimilation among Jews who identified themselves with general political trends, and in part expressed the bitterness of those already assimilated. The new election law passed in 1848 imposed no limitation on the franchise and eligibility to elective offices. Five Jewish deputies, Fischhof and Goldmark from Vienna, Abraham Halpern of Stanislavov, Dov Berush *Meisels of Cracow, and Isaac Noah *Mannheimer of Copenhagen, were elected to the revolutionary parliament meeting at Kromeriz (Kremsier; 1848–49). On the other hand, the revolution resulted in anti-Jewish riots in many towns, and the newly-acquired freedom of the press produced venomous antisemitic newspapers and pamphlets (see Q. *Endlich, S. *Ebersberg, S. *Brunner). Isidor *Busch published his short-lived but important periodical *Oesterreichisches Central-Organ fuer Glaubensfreiheit, Cultur, Geschichte und Literatur des Judenthums*, in which Leopold Kompert was the first to advocate emigration as a solution of the Jewish problem in Austria (and initiated the Auf nach Amerika! ("Forward to America!") movement). After the revolution the specifically Jewish taxes were abolished by parliament. The imposed constitution ("*Octroyierte Verfassung*") of 1849 abrogated discrimination on the basis of religion. The hated *Familiantengesetz* became ineffective. Freedom of movement in the empire was granted. As a result old communities were dissolved and new ones emerged. Some Jews were admitted to state service. On Dec. 31, 1851, the imposed constitution was revoked. Although religious freedom was retained in principle, Jews were again required to obtain marriage licenses from the authorities, even if the number of marriages was no longer limited. The right of Jews to acquire real estate was suspended. Other restrictions were introduced up to 1860. In 1857 the establishment of new communities was prohibited in Lower Austria. Attempts were made to expel Jews from cities, based on the rights afforded by medieval charters. In 1860 a new, more liberal, legislation was promulgated, although in some parts of Austria Jews still were unable to hold real estate. In general, however, the position of the Jews was now improved. Jewish financiers in partnership with members of the nobility founded new industries and banks, outstanding among them the Creditanstalt. Jews founded leading newspapers and many became journalists. In 1862 Adolf *Jellinek, the successor of Isaac Noah Mannheimer, founded his modernized *bet ha-midrash* in Vienna. The new constitution of Austria-Hungary of Dec. 21, 1867, again abolished all discrimination on the basis of religion. The Vienna community then rapidly grew, attracting Jews from all parts of the monarchy. Jews increasingly entered professions hitherto barred to them and assimilation also increased. Communal organization remained, based on laws of 1789; in towns where there had not formerly been a Jewish community, only a "congregation for worship" (*Kultusverein*) could be established. A law issued in 1890 authorized the existence of one undivided community in each locality, supervising all religious and charitable Jewish institutions in the area, and entitled to collect dues; only Austrian citizens were eligible for election to the communal board. In 1893 a rabbinical seminary, the *Israelitisch-Theologische Lehranstalt, was founded which also provided instruction for teachers of religion, and received aid from the authorities.

The upper strata of Austrian Jewry identified themselves with German culture and liberal trends. This was reflected in the views of Jewish members in both houses of parliament such as Ignaz *Kuranda, Heinrich Jacques, Rudolph *Auspitz, Moritz von *Koenigswarter, and Anselm von *Rothschild. The German Schulverein (Association for German minority schools) supported Jewish schools in non-German towns.

ANTISEMITISM. Toward the latter part of the 19th century, antisemitism rapidly developed in the Austro-Hungarian Empire, the blood libel case of *Tisza-Eszlar being followed by rioting and other false accusations. Antisemitism manifested two tendencies. The Catholic-religious form later found expression through Karl *Lueger and his *Christian-Social party; and in its pan-Germanic nationalistic form it was expressed by Georg von *Schoenerer and his party (see *antisemitic political parties). The government, however, opposed antisemitic propaganda. The manifestation of antisemitism brought a change in ideological attitude on the part of the Jews, strengthening the national elements. Efforts were made to combat antisemitism in Austro-Hungary by Joseph Samuel *Bloch with the help of his weekly *Oesterreichische Wochenschrift* (founded 1884) and the Oesterreichisch-Israelitische Union (later *Union Oesterreichischer Juden), founded in 1885. An association to combat antisemitism ("Verein zur Abwehr des Antisemitismus"), consisting of members of the higher strata of Austrian society, was founded in 1891 under the presidency of Arthur Gundaccar Freiherr von Suttner (1850–1902). The historian Heinrich *Friedjung continued to urge complete Jewish integration into the German nation. Some Jews ascribed the wave of anti-Jewish hostility to the immigration at this period of masses of "uncultured" Jews from Eastern Europe. In opposition to the assimilationist Oesterreichisch-Israelitische Union a Juedisch-politischer Verein (later Juedisch-nationale Partei) advocated an independent Jewish policy. Jewish nationalist ideology penetrated Austrian circles through the influence of Perez *Smolenskin, Leon *Pinsker, and Nathan *Birnbaum. The first Jewish national students' society, *Kadimah, was founded in Vienna in 1882.

ZIONISM. Vienna was the city of Theodor *Herzl, and the Zionists combined to strengthen the Jewish national viewpoint and opposition to assimilation. Herzl was opposed not only by the majority of the Jewish community executive and by his employees, the prestigious "*Neue Freie Presse*," but also by Chief Rabbi Moriz Guedemann, the successor of Adolf Jellinek. After the passage of the General Franchise Law in 1907, four representatives of the Jewish National Party were elected to parliament. They founded a Jewish *"Parlamentsklub." In the 1911 elections the Jewish national candidates were not returned. The Zionist influence in Jewish public life increased during World War I and was significantly reinforced after Hirsch (Zevi) Perez *Chajes became chief rabbi of Vienna in 1918.

During the war, 36,000 Jewish refugees arrived in Vienna from Galicia and Bukovina alone. The *Zentralstelle fuer juedische Kriegsfluechtlinge was formed to provide them with social assistance. The Zionist social worker and politician Anitta Mueller Cohen founded numerous social institutions to support the refugees. Many stayed on after the war and influenced the revival of Jewish culture and life in hitherto stagnant communities. In 1918 there were 300,000 Jews in 33 communities in the Austrian Republic, with 200,000 Jews living in Vienna in 1919. Distribution of the communities was as follows: ten in Burgenland, one in Carinthia, sixteen in Lower Austria, one in Salzburg, one in Styria, one in Tyrol, two in Upper Austria, one in Vorarlberg. (See Table: Jews in Austrian Provinces.)

Jews in Austrian Provinces

Province	1910	1934
Burgenland	4,837	3,632
Carinthia	339	269
Lower Austria	9,287	7,716
Salzburg	285	239
Styria	2,708	2,195
Tyrol	469	365
Vienna	175,318	176,034
Vorarlberg	126	42
Total	193,369	190,492

After 1918

JEWISH RIGHTS AND POLITICAL ACTIVITY. The Treaty of St. Germain (1919) guaranteed the Jews *minority rights. The Zionists founded a Jewish National Council (Juedischer Nationalrat). On November 5 they forced Alfred Stern, a former city councillor and the assimilationist president of the Jewish community since 1903, to resign. Stern died on December 1 at age 88. His successor became in 1920 the *Generaloberstabsarzt* (senior medical officer of the Austrian-Hungarian army) Alois Pick, who remained in office until 1932. A Jewish militia (Juedische Stadtschutzwache) was founded and protected Jews in the postwar unrests.

The Zionist Robert *Stricker was elected to the first Austrian National Assembly in February 1919. In October 1920, due to a change of the election law, he was not reelected. Besides his political involvement as board member and later vice president of the Jewish community Stricker also edited the *Juedische Zeitung*, the daily the *Wiener Morgenzeitung*, and the *Neue Welt*. Three Zionists (Jakob Ehrlich, Bruno Pollack-Parnau, and Leopold Plaschkes) were also elected to the Vienna city parliament. Jews who had settled in Austria after the outbreak of the war were deprived of the right to vote, and the reorganization of the Vienna electoral districts also adversely affected the Jewish voting strength. Special measures disqualifying the war refugees from becoming Austrian citizens were introduced in 1921. In the postwar era, many Zionist youths intending to immigrate to Ereẓ Israel passed through Austria. In 1919 therefore the first Palaestinaamt (Palestine Office) was founded in Vienna, directed by Emil Stein and Egon Michael Zweig. Among Jews, chiefly in Vienna, the Social-Democratic Party gained many supporters, attracting the lower-middle-class electorate. Some of its leaders of Jewish descent, such as Otto *Bauer and Julius Deutsch, were widely popular; in Jewish affairs they adhered to a policy of assimilation. Their leading positions, however, drew antisemitic invective. The Social Democrats were careful to avoid the label of a Jewish party and the display of too many Jews in prominent positions.

In the period 1919–1939, a number of Jewish educational institutions opened their doors to students. These included the Jewish Realgymnasium (since 1927 named Chajesgymnasium), the Paedagogium (a Hebrew teachers' seminary), and a seminary for religion teachers. The Jewish community maintained a museum – the oldest Jewish museum worldwide, opened in 1896 – a famous library, which was directed by the historian Bernhard Wachstein, and a renowned historical commission. In 1927 Chief Rabbi Chajes died; he was succeeded in 1932 by David Feuchtwang, who also was the honorary head of the Vienna Mizrachi. After Feuchtwang's death in 1936 the scholar Israel Taglicht became chief rabbi. In addition, youth movements had many supporters. Reforms were introduced in communal institutions and new ones were established. These included the Organisation fuer juedische Wanderfuersorge ("Organization for the Care of Jewish Migration"), established in 1930 to cope with the huge transitory Jewish migration, which became even greater with the influx of emigrants from Germany after 1933. From 1932 until 1938 the Zionists formed the majority in the executive of the Vienna Jewish community.

After the suppression of the Social Democrats in 1934, the Jewish situation declined, mainly through an insidious discrimination. Jews were quietly deprived of their means of existence under various pretexts while the authorities continued to emphasize that all citizens had equal civic status. In schools Jewish and non Jewish pupils were segregated. Jews were permitted to join the Vaterlaendische Front which in 1934 replaced the political parties. In January 1938 it was proposed that Jewish youth should be organized in a separate subdivision of the youth division of the Front. This the Zionists accepted willingly, but it angered those in favor of assimilation.

The Christlich-Soziale Partei (*Christian Social Party), which formed the majority of the governments in Austria, under Ignaz Seipel, Engelbert *Dollfuss, and Kurt von Schuschnigg, was not racist antisemitic; the dependence of Austria on the League of Nations and the Western powers, and the growing menace of National Socialism, made the government play down antisemitism and seek Jewish support.

Federal Chancellor Schuschnigg sent Desider *Friedmann, the president of the Vienna community from 1932 until 1938, on a mission abroad to mobilize support for the Austrian currency. There was a wide discrepancy between the attitude of the government and of the Austrian public toward the Jews. When, for instance, Schuschnigg congratulated Sigmund *Freud on his birthday in 1936, the letter was not published in the press. On the other hand, the official policy to emphasize everything specifically Austrian enhanced the reputation of writers and intellectuals of Jewish origin living there. Outstanding were the writers Franz *Werfel, Stefan *Zweig, Arthur Schnitzler, Richard Beer-Hofmann, Felix *Salten, Hermann Broch, Peter *Altenberg, and Alfred *Polgar, the musicians Bruno *Walter and Arnold *Schoenberg, and the theatrical producer Max *Reinhardt.

In 1932 the Austrian association of Jewish frontline fighters (Bund Juedischer Frontsoldaten Österreichs) was founded. It was headed by Major-General Emil von *Sommer and later by Captain Sigmund Edler von Friedmann and had about 20,000 members. Efforts to combat antisemitism, including reminders of the part played by Jewish soldiers in World War I, could do nothing to counter the violent hatred against the Jews ingrained in wide sectors of the Austrian population. Many Jews, outstanding among them Emil von Sommer – who founded in 1934 the monarchist association of Jewish frontline fighters (Legitimistische Jüdische Frontkämpfer) – yearning for Hapsburg rule, became monarchists.

[Nathan Michael Gelber and Meir Lamed / Evelyn Adunka (2nd ed.)]

The Holocaust

1938–1939. The liquidation of Austrian Jewry began with the *Anschluss* (annexation) to Germany on March 13, 1938. According to the Israelitische Kultusgemeinde, the Jewish community of Vienna, there were at the time 181,778 Jews in Austria, of whom 91.3% (165,946) were living in Vienna. According to Himmler's statistics, however, the number of Austrian Jews persecuted under the *Nuremberg Laws reached 220,000; in addition, tens of thousands of persons of Jewish descent were affected by the racial laws. The new Nazi regime immediately introduced decrees and perpetrated acts of violence of an even greater scope and cruelty than those then practiced in the Reich itself. The Jews were denied basic civil rights, and they and their property were at the mercy of organized and semi-organized Nazi gangs. The activities of Jewish organizations and congregations were forbidden. Many Jewish leaders were imprisoned, and several were murdered in *Dachau concentration camp. A fine of 800,000 schillings ($30,800) was levied on the Jewish communities. At the same time, the first pogroms took place in Vienna and in the provinces, and synagogues, including the Great Synagogue of Vienna, were desecrated and occupied by the German Army. The main victims of systematic terrorization were the Austrian Jewish intelligentsia and property owners. The former were immediately banned from any public activity, from educational and scientific institutions and from the arts. Many of them – including Sigmund Freud, Stefan Zweig, and Hermann *Broch – were among the first Austrian Jewish refugees. Freud left for London by plane but before he left he gathered his disciples, pioneers of psychoanalysis, and invoked the memory of Rabban *Johanan ben Zakkai, who after the destruction of the Temple in Jerusalem made the Torah portable. The biggest property owners were arrested by the Gestapo and forced to turn over their property, most especially their artworks. Some of those who refused were murdered and many others were sent to Dachau, where they were either killed or committed suicide. In addition, street attacks and brutal persecution became daily occurrences in the lives of Austrian Jews of all social classes. The dramatic change in circumstances led to great despair among Austrian Jews. In March alone, 311 cases of suicide were registered in the Viennese community, and in April, 267. During these two months, at least 4,700 Jews escaped from Austria. Systematic deportation of Jews and the confiscation of their property began in several Austrian provinces. The ancient Jewish communities of *Burgenland were deported over the Czech border. A group of 51, which was returned to Austria, was sent up and down the Danube for four months and denied entry to all the countries bordering on the river. As a result of the persecutions, a stream of Jews from the provinces, most of them destitute, began to flow to Vienna. In May 1938 the Viennese Jewish community renewed its activities and several of its leaders were released from prison in order to help organize mass emigration which the Nazi authorities encouraged. The Zionist Palestine Office in Vienna was permitted to organize both legal and "illegal" immigration to Palestine. In the same month, the Nuremberg Laws were officially enforced in Austria. In August 1938, under *Eichmann's aegis, the "Zentralstelle fuer juedische Auswanderung" was established in Vienna, headquartered in a confiscated Rothschild palace. This organization was to be responsible for the "solution of the Jewish problem" in Austria. Its "efficient" methods of persecution and deportation were later copied in Germany and in several of the German-occupied countries. A special body, the Vermoegensverkehrsstelle, was responsible for the transfer of Jewish property to non-Jews. With the help of the major Jewish welfare organizations in the world, the community and the Palestine Office were able to assist in the emigration of thousands of Jews. The importance of this aid grew with the straitened circumstances of Austrian Jewry; as against 25% of the emigrants who needed financial assistance in May and July 1938, 70% needed assistance in July and August 1939. Between July and September 1938 emigration reached a monthly average of 8,600. Hundreds of training courses were organized to prepare emigrants for new occupations in the countries of immigration. (In Vienna, these had 31,306 participants up to the end of 1939.) Thousands of young people received agricultural training at the farm owned by the *He-Ḥalutz Zionist movements (in August 1939, there were 1,801 people in 18 training camps) and *Youth Aliyah wards received special agricultural and technical training. The community also took care of those whose education had been interrupted by their expulsion from educational institutions, and of the thousands of Jews whose livelihoods had been taken from them and who were in urgent need of assistance. In October 1938 antisemitic riots again broke out and Jews were once more deported from various places. On the eve of the Day of Atonement (October 5) thousands of Jewish families were evicted from their homes in certain districts of Vienna and elsewhere, and ordered to leave the country, though this decree was subsequently canceled through the intervention of Eichmann. On October 10, Hitler gave personal instructions "to act for the deportation of 27,000 Viennese Jews of Czech nationality." On October 28, thousands of Jews who were Polish nationals were deported into the no-man's-land on the German-Polish border. Of these, only 1,300 were able to cross the frontier. The rest remained in Austria as stateless persons (see *Germany). During the pogroms of November 9–11 (see **Kristallnacht*), approximately 8,000 Jews were arrested, and of these 5,000 were sent to Dachau. Six hundred and eighty others committed suicide or were murdered that single night. In Vienna alone, 42 synagogues were burned and 4,038 Jewish shops were looted. Almost all Jewish homes were destroyed and cemeteries desecrated. Synagogues were also destroyed in Graz, Salzburg, Klagenfurt, Linz, Innsbruck, Baden, Eisenstadt, Berndorf, and Bad Voeslau. In Linz, all the Jewish inhabitants were arrested, and all Jews in the district were ordered to move to Vienna within three days. The president of the Innsbruck Jewish community, Richard Berger, was murdered and the chief rabbi of Graz and Styria, David Herzog, was almost beaten to death. He was able to immigrate to England, where he wrote his memoirs (published in 1995). One-third of the fine of a billion marks ($83,300,000) imposed on the whole of the German Reich Jewry was levied on Austrian Jews. During the November pogroms employees of the Jewish community and the Palestine Office were released from prison and ordered to continue organizing emigration. In February 1939 began the publication of the official Jewish newspaper, *Juedisches Nachrichtenblatt*, under the supervision of the Gestapo. The paper appeared until the end of 1943, and was intended to inform the Jewish public of official decrees. Most of those arrested during the pogroms were released before the end of April 1939, having agreed to leave the country as soon as possible. At the end of April 1939, under a special law, almost all Austrian Jews were evicted from their homes, and most were gathered into certain streets in selected districts of Vienna. By the eve of World War II, 109,060 had succeeded in emigrating and only 66,260 Jews were left in Austria. Only 438 still lived outside Vienna while whole regions, such as Salzburg and Carinthia, were devoid of Jews. With the exception of isolated cases, all were deprived of a livelihood and all 25,898 factories and places of business belonging to Jews had been confiscated and shut. With the outbreak of war in September 1939, emigration opportunities lessened, and 17,000 Jews possessing entry visas to enemy countries were forbidden to use them. In the new wave of arrests, hundreds of Austrian Jews were sent to concentration camps. All Jews lived under martial law and additional restrictions were imposed upon them. On October 20, 922 Viennese Jews were exiled to Nisko on the San River. (Some of the Nisko deportees succeeded in crossing the border into the Soviet Union; the remaining 152 were returned to Vienna in April 1940.) In November 1939 Eichmann informed the leaders of the community that all Jews who did not emigrate within one year would be exiled to occupied Poland. During the first four months of the war, 11,240 Jews succeeded in immigrating to neutral countries. Of the 53,403 persons registered with the Viennese community at the end of 1939, 45,140 were dependent on social welfare. However, the community continued to arrange technical training in preparation for emigration, and 5,017 children of school age studied in its 14 educational institutions. Among the community's projected activities for 1940 was its own gradual dissolution, so that, by the end of that year, it would be merely an institution for the care of 24,000 aged and infirm, who were unable to emigrate.

1940–1945. Between February and March 1941, desperate attempts to continue limited emigration resulted in the deportation of 5,000 Jews to five places in the *Lublin district. It is assumed that all met their death within the year, being murdered either locally or in the gas chambers of *Belzec. From October to the beginning of November, another 5,486 Jews were deported to the *Lodz Ghetto. After the official prohibition on emigration, there remained approximately 40,000 Austrian Jews. Very few could leave the country after this date. Of the 128,500 who had emigrated up to that time, 30,800 had gone to England, 24,600 to other European countries, 28,600 to the United States, 9,200 to Palestine, and 39,300 to 54 other countries. At the end of 1941, with the Nazi occupation of territories in the Soviet Union, 3,000 Austrian Jews were deported to the ghettos of Riga, Minsk, and Kovno; many were put to death upon arrival in the vicinity of these ghettos. After the Wannsee Conference, Eichmann announced to the Viennese community his general *Aussiedlung* ("evacuation") program under which 3,200 more Austrian Jews were deported to Riga, 8,500 to Minsk, and 6,000 to Izbica and several other places in the Lublin region. This last group was almost entirely exterminated. Between June and October, 13,900 people were deported to *Theresienstadt, most of them aged 65 and over. On Oct. 10, 1942, the last transport of 1,300 persons left for Theresienstadt. There still remained 7,000 Jews in Austria (about 8,000 according to the Nuremberg Laws). The majority were spared because they were married to non-Jews. All able-bodied persons were compelled to do forced labor. On November 1, 1942, the Israelitische Kultusgemeinde was dissolved and the Aeltestenrat der Juden in Wien took over its remaining duties. It represented Austrian Jewry in dealings with the authorities, and was responsible for running the Jewish hospital, the home for the aged, the soup kitchen, and burying the dead. This council was headed by Josef Loewenherz (the former Zionist vice president and executive director of the Vienna Jewish community) from 1938 until the end of the war. In 1942 Desider Friedmann and Robert Stricker were deported to Theresienstadt; from there they were taken to Auschwitz in autumn 1944 and murdered after their arrival.

Loewenherz's deputy was the former community rabbi and lecturer at the Israelitisch-theologische Lehranstalt Benjamin Murmelstein. In January 1943 he was deported to the ghetto Theresienstadt. In December 1944 he became the "*Judenaelteste*" (Elder of the Jews) of Theresienstadt after Jakob Edelstein and Paul Eppstein. In June 1945 Murmelstein was arrested by the Soviet authorities. He was imprisoned in Leitmeritz and accused of collaboration with the Nazis. After 18 months the Czechoslovak prosecutor released him for lack of evidence. Murmelstein later went to Italy; he lived in Rome as a businessman and private scholar, researching in the Vatican library, until his death in 1989.

Isolated deportation continued from January 1943 until March 1945, and consisted of not more than a hundred persons in each transport. At least 216 Jews were sent to *Auschwitz and 1,302 Jews to Theresienstadt. Most of the victims were former communal workers, and Jews whose non-Jewish spouses had died.

In the summer of 1943, there were still approximately 800 Jews left in Vienna. They had gone underground and were secretly helped by members of the community and the Budapest Jewish rescue committee (*Va'adat ha-Hazzalah*). A few managed to escape to Hungary, but many others were caught by the Gestapo and sent to Auschwitz. Some managed to stay underground until Vienna fell to the Soviet Army. In July and December 1944, approximately 60,000 Hungarian Jews were deported to Vienna and Lower Austria, to be employed by the Nazis in building fortifications. A few were permitted to receive treatment at the Vienna Jewish hospital. Just before Vienna was liberated, 1,150 were deported to Theresienstadt. During the last months of the war, thousands of Jewish evacuees from various concentration camps crossed Austria. A few remained in Vienna and the Vienna district or were transferred to Austrian camps. The remnant of the Viennese Jewish community organized itself into a committee to save the victims, and extended help to them in conjunction with the International Red Cross and Jewish welfare organizations. A report by the Red Cross representative described the last synagogue in the Third Reich located in the cellar of the Viennese Jewish hospital. Of the approximately 50,000 Jews deported from Austria to ghettos and extermination camps only 1,747 returned to Austria at the end of the war. (The largest group of survivors, which numbered 1,293, was liberated from the Theresienstadt Ghetto.) Among the Austrian victims of the Holocaust there were over 20,000 Austrian Jews who had migrated to other European countries later conquered by the Nazis. The number of Austrian Jewish victims of the Holocaust is estimated at 65,000. One of the largest and most terrible of concentration camps, *Mauthausen, where thousands of European Jews met their death, was situated in Austria. A large part in the campaigns to exterminate European Jewry was played by Austrian Nazis, including Eichmann, *Globocnik, *Kaltenbrunner and Hitler himself. In 1946, a documentation committee (Juedisch historische Dokumentation) was set up in Vienna by Tuvia Friedman for the tracing and prosecution of Nazi war criminals.

[Dov Kulka]

Early Postwar Period

At the end of World War II, there were many displaced persons in Austria, most of them from Hungary. They had been sent to Austrian concentration camps during the last two years of the war. Their number was then estimated at about 20,000. Though some returned to their countries of origin after the liberation, postwar Austria had one of the largest concentrations of still unsettled Jewish displaced persons. It was the main transit country for Jewish refugees from Poland, Hungary, Romania, and other East European countries, on their way to Palestine or to the main concentration of refugees in the American Zone of Germany. The number of displaced persons reached its peak in late 1946, when it was estimated at 42,500, of whom over 35,000 were in the American-occupied area of Austria, i.e., in the western part of the country. The most important and biggest displaced persons' camp in Vienna was the "Rothschildspital," the former hospital of the Jewish community, which was later sold and demolished in 1960. Head of the committee of former concentration camp prisoners and Jewish refugees was Bronislaw Teichholz. The number of the refugees later dropped, particularly as a result of mass emigration following the establishment of the State of Israel in 1948. By 1953 only 949 refugees were left in displaced persons camps.

In May 1945 Josef Loewenherz was arrested by the Soviet occupation authorities and taken to Czechoslovakia. After several weeks he was released. With the help of his family he immigrated via London to the United States, where he died in 1960. The same as Murmelstein, he never came to Vienna again.

The secretary of state of the new Austrian government, who was responsible for the Jewish community, the prominent Communist writer Ernst Fischer, appointed in summer 1945 the 75-year-old well known physician Dr. Heinrich Schur, who had survived, because he was married to a non-Jewess, as the first provisional chairman of the Jewish community. After complaints about Schur's age and inability to cope with the many problems of the community Fischer appointed in September 1945 as Schur's successor the Communist journalist David Brill, who had worked as a journalist and private secretary of the chairman of the Communist party in Austria, Johann Koplenig. Brill organized, together with other party members, the first free elections of the community executive, for which only one party, called "Unity" (Einigkeit), stood, and where Brill was confirmed as community president. His group also founded in January 1946 the first Jewish newspaper, called *Der Neue Weg* (The New Way). Brill bitterly complained there that the Jewish survivors of the concentration camps were treated as if they were criminals and he actually wrote that the Jews in Austria at that time were really not allowed to live. In February 1946 he stated in an unpublished report that all the Jews in Vienna were filled with disgust for the present and the future. Both the Jewish community and the reports of mainly Jewish visitors and correspondents from abroad, which were published in the Jewish press worldwide, warned Austrian Jews against returning. In the first years the Jewish community lived from the American Care parcels, and from the contributions of the American Joint Distribution Committee, which lasted until the 1960s.

In 1946 the community celebrated the 120-year-jubilee of the only surviving synagogue, the famous Stadttempel in the Seitenstettengasse, which was built in the backyard of other houses, because of the Austrian law in the 19th century. Nevertheless provisional benches could only be erected in 1947. The temple could be restored to its former glory only in 1963. It took some three years, until 1948, until a new chief rabbi, Akiba Eisenberg, the former rabbi of the city of Györ in Hungary, could be found for the spiritually deserted Jewish community. Eisenberg was a very outspoken person and a strong Zionist. He remained chief rabbi until his death in 1983.

After the second elections for the community executive in 1948, in which several parties stood for election, the blind lawyer David Schapira, a survivor of Theresienstadt and devoted Labour Zionist (of the Poale Zion), became president. He was the head of the so-called Jewish Federation and was strongly supported by Ernest Stiassny, the director of the Vienna office of the World Jewish Congress, who founded an association of Austrian Jews as a counter-institution against the then Communist-led Jewish community. During Schapira's term of office, in August 1949, the remains of Theodor Herzl were transferred to the State of Israel according to his last will. The ceremony and the surrounding festivities were the biggest and most impressive demonstration of the existence and will to survive of the Viennese Jewish community after the Shoah. The State of Israel sent the then 78-year-old Isidor Schalit, once a close collaborator of Herzl and a member of the famous student union Kadimah, to Vienna. The various Zionist associations organized 14 events. This was only one example of the many activities of the Zionist movement (that included the always quarreling Zionist Federation, the Landesverband, the Poale Zion, the General Zionists, the Revisionists, the Mizrachi, the WIZO, and the youth organizations) until the late 1960s. They organized many lectures and courses as well as convening large conferences three times. The Zionist Federation was strongly supported by the two emissaries S.J. Kreutner and Aron Zwergbaum from the Organization Department of the World Zionist Organization in Jerusalem. Their aim was not only *aliyah*, but also education, fostering of Jewish identity, and a democratic takeover of the Jewish community executive, at which they were no longer successful after 1952. A Hebrew school, which was supported by the Zionists, had to close down in 1967 because of lack of pupils and funding. The culmination of the community's support of Israel was reached when after Israel's Six-Day War, in a financially strained situation, the Jewish community sent a check of ATS 10 million to Israel with the help of a bank credit.

After two short and turbulent presidencies of the General Zionist Wolf Hertzberg and the Communist Kurt Heitler, both of them lawyers, there began in 1952 the long era of the rule of the Social Democratic party Bund werktaetiger Juden (Union of Working Jews). They stood for an assimilationist and strongly anti-Communist policy. Their first president was the lawyer Emil Maurer, who had been governor (*Bezirksvorsteher*) of the seventh district of Vienna until 1934, had been imprisoned in the concentration camps Dachau and Buchenwald in 1938, and had immigrated to Britain in 1939. Although Maurer was on good terms with several prominent Socialist Austrian politicians, the Jewish community did not succeed in achieving a satisfying result for the restitution of property. Maurer's successor in 1963 was Ernst Feldsberg, a bank official and survivor of Theresienstadt. In the 1930s he had been a board member of the Union Oesterreichischer Juden and a member of the executive of the Jewish community. Feldsberg was undoubtedly the most active functionary of the Jewish community in many of its bodies both before and after the Shoah.

In the 1960s the building of a community center failed because of lack of funding, although the cornerstone was laid in a public ceremony in the presence of prominent politicians. Community plans to erect a Jewish museum, for which a provisional room was opened in 1964 and closed a few years later, and to reorganize and open the library, failed. In 1966 the Jewish community opened a youth center. In 1967 the ceremonial hall in the main Jewish cemetery was built. In June 1975 the cornerstone was laid for a monument to the Jewish victims of the Holocaust at the site of the former concentration camp of Mauthausen.

The Jewish community published from 1958 the monthly *Die Gemeinde*. The Association of Jewish Students began, in 1952, to publish an outstanding cultural journal, *Das Juedische Echo*, which continued as an annual. Among its founders was Leon Zelman, who from 1978 was the director of the Jewish Welcome Service. The General Zionists published *Die Stimme* (from 1947 until 1963), the revisionist Zionists publish *Heruth* (1957–) and *Die Neue Welt und Judenstaat* (from 1948 until 1952). It was continued as a cultural Jewish journal under the name *Die Neue Welt* and from 1974 it has appeared as *Illustrierte Neue Welt*, edited by Joanna Nittenberg.

In 1967 Desider Stern of the Vienna B'nai B'rith lodge Zwi Perez Chajes organized an exhibition of 400 books by German Jewish authors and published an expanded catalogue in 1970 with 700 entries, which became one of the most important reference works for the studies of literature in exile. The exhibition was later also shown in Germany and South America, but the Hebrew University was not interested in it.

In 1961 Simon *Wiesenthal settled in Vienna. As in Linz he directed the documentation center for Nazi criminals, first as an official of the association of Austrian Jewish communities. After a conflict with the executive director of the Vienna Jewish community Wilhelm Krell he left this position and founded the "Bund juedischer Verfolgter des Naziregimes" (Union of the Jewish Persecuted of the Nazi Regime). The Bund also stood for the elections to the board of the Jewish community, tried in vain to break the majority, and published in its journal – *Der Ausweg* (The Way Out) – numerous reports about its defects and its cold, bureaucratic character.

Feldsberg's successor was the lawyer Anton Pick. In the interwar years he was a functionary of the Socialist Democratic Party, close to their leader Otto Bauer, and had spent time in Palestine, where he published articles in *Davar.* In 1976 younger members of the community founded a new party, called the "Alternative." Their aim was the renewal of the Jewish community and their most important reproach concerned the selling of a great deal of real estate at cheap prices to the city of Vienna, which began in the 1960s and which the opposition, the group of Simon Wiesenthal and the Zionists, polemically called the "second Aryanization." They and a second list, called the "Young Generation" (Junge Generation), eventually gained the majority of the community board and produced the next two presidents, the lawyer Ivan Hacker from 1981 until 1987 and the furrier Paul Grosz.

The number of Jews living in Austrian communities rose with the return of several thousand Jews from camps in Eastern Europe, from the countries to which they had fled (mainly Great Britain, China, and Palestine), and from their hiding places. A small percentage of displaced persons settled in Austrian towns. The number of Jews in these communities reached a peak in 1950 with 13,396 registered. As in the past, the large majority lived in Vienna (12,450), and the rest in the capitals of the provinces (*Laender*) of Graz, Linz, Salzburg, and Innsbruck. From 1950 their number began to decrease. In 1965, 9,537 persons were registered as members of the community, of whom 8,930 lived in Vienna. It is estimated that another 2,000 Jews, not registered as community members, lived in the country. Thereafter the number of Jews remained more or less stable, with a slight tendency to fall. The ancient communities of Burgenland, on the Austro-Hungarian border, which before the *Anschluss* had numbered about 4,000 persons, were not rebuilt. In 1968 nearly 65% of Austrian Jewry was aged 50 and over. Austria became a country of transit for the Jewish migration from Eastern Europe to Israel and the West. In general, these travelers spent only a few days in Austria, in camps in and around Vienna. However, after the Hungarian Revolution of 1956, about 20,000 Jewish refugees fled to Austria. Most continued on their way after a short while, between 200 and 300 remaining in Austria.

ANTISEMITISM. The tradition of antisemitism was not uprooted in Austria, nor confined to ex-Nazis or neo-Nazis, who found sanctuary in the Freiheit (Freedom) Party. Only a few months after the end of World War II, a leader of the large Christian Party (the People's Party), Leopold Kunschak, declared that he had always been antisemitic. This did not prevent his being elected president of Parliament. The universities were often the scene of antisemitic demonstrations. There was the case of the Austrian university professor Taras Borodajkewycz, who boasted about his Nazi past and made vicious antisemitic remarks during his lectures. A demonstration with about 6,000 students against and 1,000 for him escalated into a street riot. In the course of it an elderly demonstrator was mortally beaten by a neo-Nazi student, who was later sentenced to ten months' imprisonment. Borodajkewycz was suspended on most of his pay.

The official attitude toward Nazi criminals, when brought to trial, was generally lenient; among the cases that aroused international indignation was the acquittal of the brothers Johann and Wilhelm Mauer, accused of mass murder in the Stanislaw Ghetto. Public pressure caused their retrial and sentence. In 1964 Franz Murer, who was responsible for the murder of the Jews of Vilna, was acquitted. Although the Austrian Supreme Court quashed this verdict, Murer was not tried again.

There was an antisemitic campaign against Bruno *Kreisky, leader of the Social Democratic Party, of Jewish origin, who served for several years as foreign minister. After an election victory in 1970 Kreisky became federal chancellor (prime minister), the first Jew to hold this high office. Kreisky's governments from 1970 until 1983 included six former Nazis, for which he was publicly attacked by Simon Wiesenthal. In the 1970s Bruno Kreisky made libelous vicious lying attacks on Wiesenthal. The Kreisky-Wiesenthal affair was followed by a series of court actions, in which Kreisky and the Austrian journalist Peter Michael Lingens, who attacked the chancellor, were eventually found guilty. Only in the 1990s did the climate change and many official Austrian honors bestowed on Wiesenthal.

Negotiations between the executive committee for Jewish claims on Austria, headed by Nahum *Goldmann, and the Austrian government started in 1953, but the process of legislation on the return of property and the payment of indemnification to victims of Nazi persecution was concluded only in 1962 and was considered inadequate. No satisfactory progress was made with regard to the solution of problems stemming from the Nazi period. Legislation on indemnification to victims of Nazi persecution did not satisfy the most elementary demands and could not compare with that of West Germany. On the other hand, Austria showed a humanitarian approach in granting transit facilities or temporary residence for Jews and as a result played a major role in enabling Soviet Jews to leave the country when they received permission to immigrate to Israel. They were first housed in Schoenau Castle, but it was closed as a result of a terrorist attack in September

1973. Two armed Arab terrorists took three Russian-Jewish immigrants and an Austrian customs official hostage, and the government succumbed to their demands to close the transit camp. After the Yom Kippur War, however, the emigration of Russian Jews from the U.S.S.R. attained unprecedented proportions and Austria continued to grant them facilities in a former army camp in Woellersdorf starting in December, and in September 1974 the camp site was again moved to Simmering, near Vienna.

[Chaim Yahil / Evelyn Adunka (2nd ed.)]

The 1980s

It was estimated that no less than 90% of the Jews of Austria resided in Vienna at the end of the 1970s, the remainder being in small communities in Salzburg, Linz, and Graz. Some 7,500 Jews were registered members of the Jewish community of Vienna, and it was estimated that there were between 3,000 and 4,000 who were not registered. More than two-thirds of the community was over the age of 60 and the major share of the communal budget was expended on aid to the aged, of whom nearly 1,000 were supported from communal funds.

On August 29, 1981, Arab terrorists attacked the Seitenstettengasse synagogue in Vienna, killing two and wounding 18. Police who were guarding the synagogue apprehended the perpetrators (police guards had been on duty at the synagogue from 1979 when an Arab terrorist group claimed it was responsible for causing an explosion on the synagogue grounds).

In 1985 the first conference of the World Jewish Congress in Vienna was overshadowed by the populist Freedom Party's defense minister's act of sending his official helicopter to pick up the Nazi war criminal Walter Reder when he was released from an Italian prison. (He had slaughtered 1,500 Italian civilians.)

The year 1986 was dominated by the election of President Kurt Waldheim – the most important event of the 1980s for the Austrian state and the Jewish community, causing a most serious crisis for both. The World Jewish Congress charged Waldheim with wartime involvement in Nazi activities in the Balkans as a staff member of General Löhr, who was executed as a war criminal by the Yugoslavs in 1947. During Waldheim's election campaign strong antisemitic feelings were openly expressed by parts of the population, and also by several politicians and the media, especially by the two dailies, *Die Presse* and *Die Neue Kronen Zeitung*. The latter, which had a circulation of 1.5 million in a country of 7 million, had already published in 1974 a notorious series about the Jews by Viktor Reimann which was strongly attacked as antisemitic and discontinued. Waldheim's election was opposed by many intellectuals and artists, who formed a new club called "New Austria" and organized demonstrations, symposia, vigils, press conferences, and publications in order to recall Austria's responsibility for the Nazi crimes. Many Jews considered emigrating and felt homeless again. Israel recalled its ambassador and replaced him by a chargé d'affaires. The coolness between the two countries lasted until Waldheim left the presidency in 1992.

Because of the Waldheim affair the so-called "*Bedenkjahr*" (year of commemoration), which in 1988 marked the 50th anniversary of the "*Anschluss*" of Austria to Nazi Germany, was taken very seriously. At the state ceremony and the festive event in Parliament on March 11 the leading role was played by the socialist Austrian chancellor Franz Vranitzky. Whole series of symposia, exhibitions, lectures, discussion groups, etc., were organized, especially at universities and schools (including many events fostering Christian-Jewish dialogue). This was a new experience for Austria, at last confronting historic truth. In June 1988 the heads of the Austrian Jewish community, Chief Rabbi Chaim Eisenberg and President Paul Grosz, were received by Pope John Paul II during his visit to Vienna. In July Helmut Zilk, the mayor of Vienna, commissioned from the sculptor Alfred Hrdlicka a monument to commemorate "the victims of war and fascism" in the center of Vienna. It shows a kneeling Jew being forced by the Nazis to clean the streets in 1938. This caused great controversy in the Jewish community because of the Jew's humiliating posture.

In June 1987 the deputy mayor of Linz, Carl Hoedl, wrote an open letter to Edgar *Bronfman, head of the *World Jewish Congress, comparing his attitude to Waldheim with the "show trial of the Jews about Jesus." In November of that year Michael Graff, the general secretary of the People's Party, resigned after saying: "As long as there is no proof that Waldheim strangled six Jews with his own hands, there will be no problem"; however, he remained active in politics.

COMMUNAL AND CULTURAL LIFE. In September 1981, the Austrian Constitutional Law amended the *Israelitengesetz* of 1890 after an application by Benjamin Schreiber, the head of the Vienna Agudah. The amendment allowed more than one *Kultusgemeinde* in any geographic region.

In 1982 the Austrian Jewish museum in Eisenstadt near Vienna – the first in Austria – was opened. It was initiated by Kurt Schubert, the founder of the institute of Jewish studies of the University of Vienna. Its director is Johannes Reiss.

In 1983 the late Chief Rabbi Akiba Eisenberg was succeeded by his son Chaim Eisenberg, who was still serving in 2005. In 1988 he was appointed chief rabbi of Austria, a title which did not exist before the Holocaust.

In 1984 a series of events called "*Versunkene Welt*" on the lost culture of Eastern Jewry was organized by Leon Zelman's Jewish Welcome Service. In 1984 the Art Nouveau Synagogue in St. Poelten was renovated and in its building was established a new Institute for the History of the Jews of Austria. It was directed until 2004 by Klaus Lohrmann; his successor was Martha Keil.

In 1983 the city of Vienna began inviting former Jewish citizens to visit their old home for a week. Organized by the Jewish Welcome Service, headed by Leon Zelman, several thousand Viennese Jews returned to Vienna in the framework of the program.

Several new institutions were built or founded, among others the Jewish community center in 1980, the Jewish High

School (the Chajesgymnasium) in 1984, a second Jewish high school by Chabad in 1987, and a Jewish trade school in 1997. In 1999 the Lauder Chabad Campus was opened. It was named after Ronald *Lauder, the former U.S. ambassador to Vienna, who financed it. The square in front of it was named for the Lubavitcher Rebbe Menachem Mendel *Schneersohn. (He is the only rabbi after whom a square or street has been named in Vienna.)

In 1988 the home for the care of the aged was enlarged and named after Maimonides (Maimonides Zentrum). The historic Stadttempel, the main synagogue of Vienna, was reopened after its renovation in the presence of Chancellor Vranitzky, who in 1989 received the gold medal of the Austrian Zwi Perez Chajes B'nai B'rith lodge. In 1988 the Vienna yeshivah was founded; it included a boarding school and was praised in 1991 by the well-known former Viennese rabbi Schmuel (Schmelke) Pinter from London in the highest terms. In 1989 the Jewish Institute of Adult Education was founded by Kurt Rosenkranz. It also organized guest performances of Yiddish theater groups from Tel Aviv, Montreal, and Bucharest. After ten years, in 1998, it published a Festschrift.

The 1990s and After

From 1990 a Liberal Jewish congregation called Or Chadasch functioned in Vienna. Its president from the beginning through the year 2005 was the dermatologist Theodor Much. It had many visiting and some permanent rabbis; amongst the latter were Michael Koenig, Walter Rothschild, Robert L. Lehmann, Eveline Goodman-Thau, and in 2004/5 Irit Shillor. In February 2004 it opened its own synagogue and community center, with the financial help of the city of Vienna and the Austrian government, in rent-free premises belonging to the Jewish community.

In 1992 President Klestil opened the Sephardi Center with two synagogues, a Bukharian and a Georgian one. In March 1993 the newly built synagogue of Innsbruck – which had about 40 members – was consecrated.

In June 1993 the Vienna Jewish community organized a large-scale commemoration of Aaron Menczer, the charismatic leader of Viennese Youth Aliyah, who was murdered in 1943 in Auschwitz. His surviving pupils unveiled a large memorial to Menczer in the foyer of the Stadttempel.

After the retirement of Chief Cantor Abraham Adler in 1993 the Jewish community took on Israeli-born Shmuel Barzilai, another first-rate chief cantor.

In September 1994, the Vienna Jewish community opened the Esra psychological and social case center, an outpatient center particularly for people suffering from the so-called Holocaust syndrome. In 2004 it celebrated its first ten years of existence with a main speech given by the new Social-Democrat Austrian president Heinz Fischer and publication of a Festschrift.

In June 1991 Vranitzky made a speech in Parliament, in which he fully acknowledged Austria's moral guilt and responsibility for the Nazi crimes – the first such speech by the head of an Austrian government. In 1993 an Austrian *Gedenkdienst* was founded, which gave young Austrians the opportunity to work at Holocaust memorial sites instead of doing compulsory military or civilian service. Up to 2002 about 150 young men and some women had worked in the framework of this service in 15 countries.

In 2001 the Archive for the Austrian Resistance (Dokumentationsarchiv des oesterreichischen Widerstands) finished a project to document the Austrian victims of the Holocaust. The names and data of 62,000 victims were published on their website and on a CD-ROM.

In 1998 the Austrian Parliament decided to inaugurate a commemoration day for the victims of racism and violence. The day is commemorated around May 5, the day of the liberation of the Austrian concentration camp Mauthausen.

The real estate tycoon Ariel Muzicant initiated the Austrian Historical Commission of the Republic of Austria. It was founded in 1998, headed by the distinguished judge and head of the Administrative Court Clemens Jabloner, and operated until 2003. In 47 projects, 160 historians were asked "to investigate and report on the whole complex of expropriation in Austria during the Nazi regime and on restitution and/or compensation (including other financial or social benefits) after 1945 by the Republic of Austria." All the reports were published by the German publisher Oldenbourg.

In several official statements the Austrian Republic promised – at last – to pay adequate compensation to the surviving Austrian victims of National Socialism. In summer 1995 a National Fund was established by the Austrian Parliament, which was endowed with 500 million ATS. It was directed by Hannah Lessing and paid about 20,000 Austrian victims of National Socialism 70,000 ATS as individual compensation and 80,000 ATS for stolen property and apartments.

In 1996 more than 600 art objects, whose owners could not be identified, were at last paid for by the Republic of Austria to the Jewish community. They were sold at the internationally acclaimed Mauerbach auction by Christie's (named for the former monastery where they were hidden). The proceeds of 155 million ATS were given to Jewish and some non-Jewish Holocaust victims.

In April 1998 Ariel Muzicant was elected president of the Vienna Jewish community. He was the first president born after the Holocaust. In 2002 he was reelected.

In November 1998 the synagogue of Vienna's Josefstadt district in the Neudeggergasse was reproduced in full size for six weeks in commemoration of the pogrom in November 1938. Former Jewish residents of the district were invited, a book was published, and a film was made by the Austrian filmmaker Käthe Kratz.

In June 1999 the Vienna Jewish community celebrated the 150th anniversary of its existence with a gathering of 1,300 people in the Vienna Burgtheater.

In October 2000 a monument to the Austrian victims of the Shoah, showing a stylized library of untitled books in a 70-sq.-m. space, designed by the British artist Rachel

Whiteread and initiated by Simon Wiesenthal, was unveiled on the historic Judenplatz in the heart of the city of Vienna. The Vienna Jewish museum opened a branch in the historic Mizrachi building on the Judenplatz. It showed a multimedia reconstruction of the Vienna Or Sarua synagogue, which was destroyed in the **Wiener Gesera* in 1420 and which was discovered in the course of the excavation of the monument. In 2000 the Mizrachi published a Festschrift about its first 100 years; in 2001 it began to organize a series of symposia on the history of the Jews of Vienna, in the course of which the first volume of the new edition of the talmudic commentary *Or Zaru'a* by Rabbi *Isaac ben Moses of Vienna was launched.

In November 2000 the newly built synagogue of Graz, the second largest city of Austria, was consecrated.

The square in front of the synagogue was named after Chief Rabbi David Herzog. The Graz Jewish community then had 135 members. At the University of Graz a Center for Jewish Studies was established.

In January 2001 the Vienna Jewish community celebrated the 175th anniversary of the historic Stadttempel together with President Thomas Klestil and tenor Neil Shicoff. In contrast to the jubilees in 1976 and 1988 they did not publish a Festschrift.

In June 2001 the Jewish community of Salzburg – which had 70–80 members – celebrated its 100th jubilee together with President Thomas Klestil. In 2004, at the University of Salzburg, a Center for Jewish Cultural Studies was founded.

In 1999 the Jewish community founded a Holocaust victim's information and support center. In 2000 the Austrian Reconciliation Fund was created in order to compensate forced laborers in the NS era. In January 2001 U.S. President Bill Clinton's deputy secretary of finance and chief negotiator for restitution Stuart *Eizenstat and the Austrian government agreed on the sum of $360 million. With this money the General Settlement Fund, which is administered by the National Fund, was created. The Fund received about 20,000 applications, but was still not effective. Austria demanded a legally binding guarantee that no further legal action would be taken by anyone for restitution, which was not possible because of several ongoing class actions in the U.S. In June 2002 the Jewish communities signed an agreement with the Austrian federal provinces, which pledged to pay 18.2 million Euro in the next five years as restitution for stolen community property. The city of Vienna promised to rebuild the premises of the historic Jewish Ha-Koaḥ sports club.

From 1945 until 1980 the community had to sell 170 of its 230 real estate properties in order to cover its deficit. After 1980 it had to apply for bank credit in order to cover its expenses. In 2003 the financial situation of the community became extremely difficult. Reports in the national and international press spoke about the possible closing down of the Jewish community. In the end the insolvency of the Jewish community was prevented through an advance payment of half of the Austrian provincial restitution money. Finally, in May 2005 an agreement was reached for payment of 18.2 million Euro by the Republic of Austria to the Vienna Jewish community, which therefore withdrew its applications to the General Settlement Fund.

Beginning in the 1980s, in Vienna and in the provinces a number of plaques or monuments commemorating destroyed synagogues or Jewish communities were erected. In November 2002 Austrian President Thomas Klestil unveiled a monument in memory of the 65,000 Austrian Holocaust victims in the hall of the Stadttempel.

In 2001 a Center for Austrian Studies, financed by the Austrian Society of the Friends of the Hebrew University, was opened at the Hebrew University. Its academic chair was Robert S. Wistrich; its first director was Professor Hanni Mittelmann.

In autumn 2003 the federal land of Lower Austria, the city of Baden, and the Jewish community of Vienna decided to finance the renovation of the historic synagogue in Baden near Vienna.

In February 2004 a rabbinical conference of the Chabad movement was held in Vienna, with more than a hundred rabbis participating. The guest of honor was Romano Prodi, head of the EU commission, who was personally blessed by the Ashkenazi chief rabbi of Israel, Yonah Metzger.

In July 2004 a square on the Vienna park ring was named after Theodor Herzl. Austria, Hungary, and Israel issued, uniquely, a joint and identical stamp with the portrait of Herzl. The city of Vienna held its fifth international Herzl Symposium.

In autumn 2004 the statutes of the Vienna Jewish community were changed and the federal association of the Austrian Jewish communities (Bundesverband der israelitischen Kultusgemeinden) became the Israelitische Religionsgesellschaft. This meant that instead of being an association it was now a state corporation (Koerperschaft des oeffentlichen Rechts).

In November 2004 the Vienna Jewish community had 6,894 members. It was estimated that altogether about 14,000 Jews lived in Austria.

COMMUNAL AND CULTURAL LIFE. From 1990 Chief Rabbi Chaim Eisenberg organized an annual cantorial concert with distinguished international cantors. In 1993 and 1994 they took place in the former synagogues of Mikulov (Nikolsburg) and Trebitsch in Moravia in order to help with their renovations. In spring 1992 a week of Jewish culture was for the first time part of the Vienna "*Festwochen*." It was organized in collaboration with the city of Vienna, and attracted over 10,000 people. From 1990 Vienna also had a Jewish street festival and annual Jewish film festival.

In 1991 a Jewish museum opened in Hohenems in the Austrian province of Vorarlberg; its director was Hanno Loewy. In November 1993 the Jewish Museum of the city of Vienna, which was initiated by the Vienna mayor Helmut Zilk, was opened in the historic Palais Eskeles in the heart of Vienna by the Vienna-born mayor of Jerusalem, Teddy Kollek. Its first director was the German-Jewish historian Julius H. Schoeps; his successor in 1998 was Karl-Albrecht Weinberger. The city of Vienna bought the famous Judaica collection of Max Berger for the museum. In November 1994 the library of the Vienna Jewish community (with 30,000 volumes) was reopened. It could be made public only with the aid of the Vienna Jewish Museum, which had the library on permanent loan.

ANTISEMITISM. When in October 1991 the Jewish cemetery of Vienna was desecrated, 10,000 people took part in a silent march against antisemitism in Vienna. In October 1992, the Jewish cemetery of Eisenstadt was desecrated and Chancellor Vranitzky and Paul Grosz attended a commemorative ceremony.

In spring 1991 Jörg Haider, the populist leader of the Freedom Party, praised the "decent and proper employment policies" in Nazi Germany, for which he was voted out of office as governor of Carinthia. A year later a committee of prominent artists and publicists organized a "concert for Austria" on the Heldenplatz in Vienna against rightist tendencies in Austrian politics. Elie *Wiesel was invited to speak from the huge balcony, the first person since Hitler to speak from there. Even more people – about 250,000 – took part in a "sea of lights" in January 1993 opposing a petition of Haider's Freedom Party against the immigration of foreigners, which was signed by 417,000 people, far fewer than expected.

In May 1992 the popular columnist of the country's most widely read daily *Neue Kronen Zeitung*, Richard Nimmerrichter, published two articles in which he asserted that relatively few Jews had been gassed and that anyone who survived Hitler would also survive Mr. Grosz, the president of the Vienna Jewish community. The Jewish community and Paul Grosz subsequently sued Nimmerrichter, winning partial victories in eight trials and getting the newspaper to moderate its tone.

In 1995 German television showed a video of a meeting of former SS-men in the Austrian village of Krumpendorf with Heinrich Himmler's daughter as guest of honor. At the meeting Jörg Haider praised the SS-men for having remained decent and despite enormous pressures loyal to their convictions until today.

Opinion polls throughout these years showed that the number of antisemites in the Austrian population can be estimated at 20%.

In 1994 and 1995, Austria was shocked by several neo-Nazi terrorist bombings. In December 1993, a letter bomb was sent to the popular Social Democrat mayor of Vienna, Helmut Zilk, which cost him his left hand and almost killed him. In the same week, letter bombs were sent to several politicians, journalists, and other people working for the integration of foreigners; three of them were injured. The letter bombs were sent by the mentally ill Austrian neo-Nazi and antisemite Franz Fuchs. He also planted a bomb which killed four gypsies. He was sentenced to life imprisonment and committed suicide.

In 1997 the monthly magazine *Wiener* published an article by Thomas Köpf entitled "Scandal in the Jewish Community, Good Business with a Bad Conscience," which was full of antisemitic stereotypes and phrases and illustrated with a red Magen David composed of bank notes. The Jewish community responded with a press conference and a court order and received an apology.

[Evelyn Adunka (2nd ed.)]

Austria-Israel Relations

The establishment of relations between Austria and Israel was involved with the question of whether the 1938 *Anschluss*, by which Austria became part of Nazi Germany, should influence the relations between the two countries. The government of Israel adopted the thesis that was at the basis of the Austrian "State Treaty"; that is, that Austria was the victim of Nazi aggression in 1938. However, the adoption of this policy encountered obstacles of public opinion in Israel arising out of Austria's identification with Germany. Great significance was ascribed to Austria's unsatisfactory response to Jewish claims for restitution and indemnification for crimes committed by the Nazi regime in Austria. This situation gradually changed as a result of Austria's friendly attitude to Israel in the context of the implementation of the "State Treaty," which imposed complete neutrality upon her. Austria's political stand at the UN, as well as in other international arenas, and her support of Israel during the *Six-Day War, contributed much to the development of friendly ties. Relations were established on a consular level almost immediately after the formation of the State of Israel. From 1956, normal diplomatic relations existed, which soon were on the ambassadorial level. Friendship leagues exist in the two states, as well as mutual chambers of commerce. Trade between Israel and Austria steadily increased since 1948. In 1968 Israel exported $6.8 million worth of goods to Austria, headed by citrus fruits (of which Israel was the main supplier to Austria) and phosphates and chemicals. Austria exported $6.2 million worth of goods to Israel, chiefly timber and machinery. By 2002 the figures had risen to $68 million (mostly manufactured goods) and $154 million, respectively.

[Yohanan Meroz]

Austria declared itself in favor of Security Council Resolution 242 of November 1967. It voted for the right of Yasser Arafat, then leader of the PLO, to address the United Nations General Assembly, but the Austrian delegation abstained on the vote to grant the PLO observer status at the UN.

The visit of Israel foreign minister Shimon Peres in November 1992 and his official invitation to President Klestil and Chancellor Vranitzky to Israel, together with the inauguration of several Austrian-Israeli projects, marked a new era in the relationship of the two countries.

In 1994 four leading Austrian politicians – President Thomas Klestil, Chancellor Franz Vranitzky, Vice Chancellor Erhard Busek, and the president of Parliament, Heinz Fischer – visited Israel. This demonstrated the excellent relations between Austria and Israel since Kurt Waldheim's presidency ended in 1992 (see above). In his capacity as Austria's science minister, Busek inaugurated a new chair for Austrian culture and history at the Hebrew University, named after the former archbishop of Vienna, Cardinal Franz Koenig. Vranitzky was awarded an honorary doctorate from the Hebrew University. In May 1995 a multifunctional encounter hall in the renovated high school in Reḥavia in Jerusalem was opened, which was financed by the Austrian branch of the Jerusalem Foundation on the initiative of Professor Leon Zelman of the Jewish Welcome Service. An Austrian committee for the support of Amcha, an organization for the psychological and social treatment of victims of the Holocaust, collected money for Simon Wiesenthal House in Ramat Gan.

In 1997 Prime Minister Benjamin Netanjahu visited Austria. During his visit in the Stadttempel he appealed to the Jews of Austria to immigrate to Israel.

In 2002 the Austrian minister for foreign affairs Benita Ferrero-Waldner and the secretary of state for the arts Franz Morak and the then president of Parliament Heinz Fischer visited Israel. In December 2003 the charge d'affaires of the state of Israel Avraham Toledo was appointed ambassador. (In 2000 Israel formerly withdrew its ambassador because of the inclusion of Jörg Haider's Freedom Party in the Austrian government.) In October 2004 the first state visit of an Israeli president took place in Austria. During four days President Moshe *Katzav visited amongst other places the Stadttempel and the Mauthausen concentration camp.

[Evelyn Adunka (2nd ed.)]

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For further bibliography see *Vienna.

AUSUBEL, DAVID PAUL (1918–), U.S. educator and psychiatrist, who contributed significantly to the study of psychological factors in the development of ethnic culture. Born in Brooklyn, New York, Ausubel began his career as a practicing physician and psychiatrist, especially concerned with drug addiction; he became senior psychiatrist at Buffalo State Hospital in 1947. He taught psychology at Long Island University and psychiatry at Yeshiva University. In 1950 he became head of the Bureau of Educational Research at the University of Illinois. In 1957 Ausubel was awarded a Fulbright research grant for study in New Zealand. There he continued his work in psychological development by comparative cross-cultural research on the Maori ethnic minority. The resulting books, *The Fern and the Tiki, an American View of New Zealand* (1960) and *Maori Youth, a Psychoethnological Study of Cultural Deprivation* (1961), expressed his belief that educational malfunctioning could result from cultural deprivation, and that the systematic use of culture as a variable in psychological research is of primary significance.

Ausubel developed the theory of significant learning, one of the basic concepts of modern constructivism. It applies to the cognitive concept of learning, where a person interacts with his or her surroundings and tries to give meaning to what he or she perceives.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: In 1963 he wrote *The Psychology of Meaningful Verbal Learning*. Other books by Ausubel include *School Learning* (1969); *Ego Psychology and Mental Disorder* (1977); *Theory and Problems of Adolescent Development* (1978); *What Every Well-Informed Person Should Know about Drug Addiction* (1980); and *The Acquisition and Retention of Knowledge* (2000).

[Ronald E. Ohl / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

AUSUBEL, NATHAN (1899–1986), U.S. author and folklorist. Born in Galicia, he went to the U.S. as a small child. Ausubel published anthological works. His popular collection, *A Treasury of Jewish Folklore* (1948), went through over 20 editions, and was followed by further anthologies, all of which included useful contributions in the form of prefaces, summaries, and notes by the editor. Among his many compilations are *A Treasury of Jewish Humor* (1951) and *A Pictorial History of the Jewish People* (1953). He wrote *The Book of Jewish Knowledge* (1964).

[David Niv]

AUTHORITY, RABBINICAL, the authority of the halakhic scholars in maintaining the creativeness and development of Jewish law, by means of its legal sources.

Development of the Law

An important tenet of Judaism and a guiding principle of the halakhists is that, together with the Written Law (*Torah she-bi-khetav*), Moses received also the *Oral Law (*Torah she-be-al peh*) (Meg. 19b), the latter, within its wider meaning, embracing all the *halakhah* not explicit in the Written Law (Sifra Beḥukotai 8:12). However, the talmudic sages themselves clearly distinguished between that part of the Oral Law based on a tradition handed down from generation to generation, from the time of Moses who received it from God Himself (Avot 1:1; ARN^1 1:1; Maim., Yad, Mamrim 1:1–2), and the other parts of the Oral Law, created and developed by the halakhic scholars. The sages of the Midrash in answer to the question whether Moses learned the whole Torah in 40 days while he was on Mt. Sinai, answered that "God taught Moses the principles" (Ex. R. 41:6). These words are interpreted by Joseph *Albo to mean that "the law of God cannot be (given) in complete form so as to be adequate for all times… and therefore at Sinai Moses was given general principles… by means of which the sages in every generation may formulate the details as they present themselves" (*Ikkarim*, 3:23). A study of the statements of the halakhic scholars reveals that just as they emphasized in unequivocal terms the supra-human and divine nature of the source of *halakhah*, so too – and with the same degree of emphasis – they insisted upon the human element, the exclusive authority of the halakhic scholars to continue to develop and shape the *halakhah*. This dual image of *halakhah* finds expression in two basic and apparently contradictory dicta: on the one hand, the basic tenet that "the Torah is from Heaven" (*Torah min ha-Shamayim*) – on the other, the principle that "the Torah is not in Heaven" (*Torah lo ba-Shamayim*; BM 59b based on Deut. 30:12; Maim., Yad, Yesodei ha-Torah 9:4). In other words, the source of the *halakhah* is divine, but its place, its life, development, and formation, is with mankind, in the life of society. The halakhic scholars saw no inconsistency in these two principles, believing as they did that in their exegesis, enactments, innovations, and creativeness, they were merely giving practical expression to a further unfolding of the revelation at Sinai, destined from the beginning for the needs of each particular generation (Ex. R. 28:6; Tanḥ. Yitro 11).

Authority of the Halakhic Scholars

Even in the written law problems are encountered to which no solutions are given within the framework of the existing law – such as the case of the blasphemer (Lev. 24:10–16), the gatherer of sticks on the Sabbath (Num. 15:32–36), and the inheritance of the daughters of Zelophehad (Num. 27:1–11; 36:1–10) – but are explicitly made known by God to Moses. On the other hand, a number of biblical passages, particularly Deuteronomy 17:8–13, enjoin that a decision for every future problem, whether arising from a precept governing man's relationship with the Divine, or with his fellow man, must be sought at the hands of "the priest, the levite, and the judge," sitting at the particular time in the midst of the people, in judgment over them. This combination of priest, levite, and judge was designed to ensure, according to the halakhic interpretation, that the law should be determined by teachers and judges deciding according to their human knowledge and understanding, since the function of the priest and levite was to instruct and teach the people (cf. Deut. 33:10; Ezek. 44:23–24; Mal. 2:7; Josephus' reference to the prophet (Ant., 4:218) within the context of Deuteronomy 17:9 is contrary to the plain meaning of the text). Hence, when in the course of time the teaching of the law ceased to be the exclusive function of the priests and levites, it was decided that while it was proper for priests and levites to be members of the *bet din*, their absence would not affect its competence (Sif. Deut. 153).

Authority in Deciding the *Halakhah*

The prophet in his function as a bearer of the divine vision is assigned no part in determining the *halakhah*. "'These are the commandments – henceforth a prophet may no longer make any innovations" (Sifra 27:34). A halakhic rule that is forgotten may not be recalled by means of "divine spirit" but by way of study and logical reasoning (Tem. 16a; see Maim., intro. to Comm. to the Mishnah).

The sages of the Talmud carried this basic conception concerning the exclusive authority to interpret the Torah and continue its development to an extreme but inevitable conclusion – "even if they tell you that left is right and right is left – hearken unto their words" (Comm. on Deut. 17:10, 11; Mid. Tan. to *ibid.*; Sif. Deut. 154 et al.; cf. the version in TJ, Hor. 1:1, 45d: "until they tell you that right is right and left is left." For a reconciliation between the texts see Abrabanel to Deut. *ibid.; Divrei David* (of David b. Samuel ha-Levi, author of the *Turei Zahav*) ad loc.; D. Hoffman, in Bibliography. It is possible that the two versions are related to the conflicting views between R. Kahana and R. Eliezer concerning the **Zaken Mamre* (Sanh. 88a)). Thus the *halakhah* is so identified with its scholars and tradents that even their errors are binding as *halakhah* – a notion clearly expressed by Naḥmanides (Comm. on Deut. *ibid.*; see also Nissim Girondi, *Derashot ha-Ran*, nos. 7 and 11). This twofold principle of the exclusive authority of the halakhic scholars and of excluding any supra-human influence on the determination of the *halakhah* is vividly exemplified in the well-known *aggadah* of the dispute between R. Eliezer b. Hyrcanus and R. Joshua b. Hananiah and his colleagues concerning the "oven of Aknai" (BM 59b). Although a heavenly voice (*bat kol*) came forth to confirm the correctness of the former's minority opinion, R. Joshua refused to concede, countering with the argument that the Torah "is not in Heaven," "the Torah has already been given… embracing the rule that the majority must be followed" (Ex. 23:2). The *aggadah* concludes that even God accepted the majority view, and "rejoiced that His children had vanquished Him." Thus the absolute truth may be according to the opinion of an individual and the majority may err, but the halakhic truth lies with the majority opinion, since the *halakhah* was entrusted to the scholars, whose decision is accepted, as it were, by the Lawgiver Himself. It is true that some scholars took a contrary view, attributing a certain influence to supra-human authority in the determination of the *halakhah*, particularly with regard to the visions of the prophets, whose halakhic statements were interpreted as the Torah itself. Even after prophecy had ceased there were scholars who attached significance to supra-human influence, as illustrated in the *aggadot* of the *bat kol* intervening in the above-mentioned dispute and in that between Bet Hillel and Bet Shammai (Er. 13b). These must be seen, however, as the opinion of individual scholars, and it is clear that the opinion of Joshua prevailed, that "no attention is paid to a *bat kol*" (Ber. 52a; Pes. 114a). Maimonides (introd. to Yad.) assigns to the prophets and their courts an honorable place as links in the chain of tradition of halakhic transmission, stressing however that this was by virtue of the prophets' functioning as scholars and not in the role of prophets, and he explains that "the prophet does not come to make law but to command about the precepts of the Torah, to warn people that they shall not transgress them." A prophet who claimed divine instruction as to what was law or the *halakhah*, was to be branded "a false prophet" (Yad., Yesodei ha-Torah 9:1–4), from which it follows that "even if a thousand prophets, all of them equal to Elijah and Elisha, should hold to a reasoned opinion, and a thousand and one scholars reason otherwise, the majority must yet be followed" and the *halakhah* decided according to the words of the latter (Yad. introd.). Some seven centuries later Aryeh Leib b. Joseph ha-Kohen succinctly summarized the matter, stating: "The Torah was not given to the angels, but to man who possesses human intelligence… the Torah was given to be determined by human intelligence, even if human intelligence errs… and the truth is determined by the agreement of the sages by using human intelligence" (introd. to *Keẓot ha-Ḥoshen* to Sh. Ar., ḤM).

Authority in Every Generation

This guiding principle in the *Weltanschauung* of the halakhists dictated the development of the *halakhah* in all its history. From time to time there emerged new spiritual centers of the Jewish people. When Jabneh became such a center, after the destruction of the Temple, it was laid down that the court there was to be the central determining authority (Sif. Deut. 153), and Yose ha-Gelili explains the words "in those days" in that verse (Deut. 17:9) as referring to "a competent judge functioning at the particular time" (Sif. Deut. 153). The possibility is recognized that future scholars might not be as wise as their predecessors; nevertheless contemporary scholars and judges should be regarded with the same esteem as those of past generations and "whoever is appointed leader of the community, even if he be the least worthy, is to be regarded with the same esteem as the mightiest of earlier generations." Moreover, "Say not, 'How was it that the former days were better than these?' for it is not out of wisdom that you enquire concerning this" (RH 25b based on Eccles. 7:10; Tosef. RH 2:3). The enduring continuity and vitality of the *halakhah* dictate that the scholars of each generation exercise the authority conferred on them in the cause of its continued creativity and development, and to refrain from using such authority, or to question it, on the grounds that the wisdom of later scholars does not match that of their precursors, would show lack of understanding.

Evolution of the *Halakhah*

The halakhic scholars exercised the authority given them by the basic norms of the *halakhah* – i.e., Written Torah, in certain established ways, recognized by the halakhic system itself for the purpose of its own evolution, i.e., by utilizing *halakhah's* legal sources. The primary legal source is *Midrash (i.e., interpretation and construction), various modes of which were employed to find solutions to new problems, first by interpretation of the written law and thereafter of the Mishnah and successive halakhic sources (see *Interpretation). When interpretation offered no means of a solution, or the proffered solution provided no answer to contemporary requirements, a second legal source was used: namely, legislation or enactment by way of the *takkanah* and *gezerah* (see **Takkanot*). Other legal sources employed were **minhag* (custom), *ma'aseh* (precedent), and *sevara* (legal logic). In pursuing, by means of the above-mentioned legal sources, their task of fashioning the *halakhah* – which gave order to daily vicissitudes of life, while itself being shaped by them – the halakhic scholars clung to a twofold objective. On the one hand they maintained an unswerving concern for the continued evolution and development of the *halakhah*, and, on the other, for the great and onerous responsibility of preserving its spirit, orientation, and continuity.

The Rule of “*Hilkheta Ke-Vatra’ei*”

The substantive rule of “*hilkheta ke-vatra’ei*” (i.e., that “the law is according to later halakhic scholars”) was a development of the post-talmudic period, endorsed by the fundamental principle of the halakhic scholars’ authority. In the history of the *halakhah*, the terms “*rishonim*” and “*aḥaronim*” are commonly accepted as signifying the scholars from the middle of the 11th to the 16th centuries and those from the 16th century onward, respectively. These terms, however, are also applied to halakhic scholars prior to the 11th century to indicate not only their chronological order but also the greater authority halakhically attributed to earlier scholars as compared with later ones. R. Johanan stated: “The hearts of the *rishonim* were like the door of the *ulam* (‘the larger hall of the Temple’) and those of the *aḥaronim* like the door of the *heikhal* (‘the smaller hall’) but ours are like the eye of a fine needle.” *Abbaye, *Rava, and Rav *Ashi compared with even more modesty their own standing with that of earlier scholars (Er. 53a). **Amoraim* were not permitted to dispute statements of the **tannaim*, a relationship of deference preserved in turn by the **geonim* and the *rishonim* and *aḥaronim* of the rabbinic period toward their respective predecessors.

The high regard paid to the statements of earlier scholars did not prevent Jewish law from developing in the course of time an important rule, essential for the purpose of bestowing authority on contemporary scholars to decide the *halakhah* according to the prevailing circumstances and problems of their time. This rule – that the law is according to later scholars – dates from the geonic period. It laid down that until the time of Abbaye and Rava, i.e., the middle of the fourth century C.E., the *halakhah* – in case of any difference of opinion among the scholars – was to be decided according to the views of the earlier scholars rather than those of later dissenting scholars; from the time of Abbaye and Rava onward and also in case of disputes among the post-talmudic scholars, the opinions of later scholars would prevail over the contrary opinions of an earlier generation in deciding the *halakhah* (Asher b. Jehiel, *Piskei ha-Rosh*, BM 3:10; 4:21; Shab. 23:1). Certain sources render this rule applicable also to the period preceding Abbaye and Rava (see L. Ginzberg, *Geonica*, 2 (1909), 21–22, 32). The principle of *hilkheta ke-vatra’ei* is applicable also when a pupil dissents from his teacher (Resp. Maharik, 84; Malachi b. Jacob ha-Kohen, *Yad Malakhi*, no. 17) and even when an individual disputes the views of a number of earlier scholars (*Yad Malakhi*, no. 169; *Pitḥei Teshuvah* no. 8, Sh. Ar., ḤM 25).

Among the reasons advanced for this rule are those of Asher ben Jehiel. “All matters not elucidated in the Talmud, as compiled by Rav Ashi and Ravina, may be controverted and reconstructed even when the statements of the *geonim* are dissented from… The statements of later scholars carry primary authority because they knew the reasoning of earlier scholars as well as their own, and took it into consideration in making their decision” (*Piskei ha-Rosh*, Sanh. 4:6; idem, 55:9); Joseph *Colon gives the somewhat similar reason that since the later scholars knew of the statements of earlier scholars and deliberated them, yet did not heed them, “it is a sign that they knew that the statements of earlier scholars were not to be relied upon in the particular matter” (Resp. Maharik, 84). So, too, various reasons were given as to why this rule was only relevant from the time of Abbaye and Rava onward, one view being that from their time onward pupils learned not only the system of their own teacher but other systems as well, and therefore the pupils’ decision was to be preferred (Colon, *ibid.*); in the *tosafot* (Kid. 45b) the view is given that later scholars “took greater pains to present the *halakhah* in a sound form.”

It follows from the above-mentioned reasons that the rule of *hilkheta ke-vatra’ei* only applied when the later scholar had considered the statements of his predecessor, and, after weighing them, was able to prove the correctness of his opposing view in ways acceptable to his contemporaries (*Piskei ha-Rosh, ibid.*; Resp. Maharik, 94). Thus, too, the rule was accepted by *Isserles as a guiding principle in deciding Jewish law (to Sh. Ar., ḤM 25:2). Some of the scholars, particularly among the *aḥaronim*, laid down several additional reservations concerning the operation of the rule. The rule should not be understood as diminishing in any way the esteem in which scholars of an earlier generation were held by later ones, but rather as inspiring the later **posek* (decider) to reach his decision with a sense of responsibility, awe, and humility, once having reached his conclusion, the *halakhah* was as he and not as earlier scholars had decided.

On the meaning of the rule that “a *bet din* may not set aside the ruling of another *bet din* unless it exceeds the latter in wisdom and standing,” and the resultant conclusions, see **Takkanot*.

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[Menachem Elon]

AUTO DA FÉ (“Act of Faith”), name given in Portugal to the ceremony of the pronouncing of judicial sentence by the Inquisition and the “reconciliation” of penitents: the corresponding Spanish form is “Auto de Fé,” the Italian “Atto di Fede,” etc. While the torture, the trial, and the testimony of the Inquisition were conducted in complete secrecy, the auto de fé ceremony was generally held with great pomp in a principal church or central square, in the presence of the chief dignitaries and great crowds (for further details see *Inquisition). Such an auto de fé was called *Auto público general*. At the *Auto particular* only the inquisitors were present. Other types of autos de fé were *Auto singular,* involving one individual, and the *Autillo*, which was held on the site of the Inquisition, in the presence of the Inquisitors and some special guests. The

Inquisition imposed a variety of punishments, ranging from imprisonment, confiscation of property, and death. The burning of heretics did not strictly form part of the auto da fé, since the church did not desire to be formally associated with the shedding of blood. Those adjudged guilty were instead "relaxed" (i.e., handed over) to the secular authorities who were responsible for their execution at the place of burning (*quemadero*), sometimes outside the town. The condemned persons were dressed in special garb, the *sanbenito.* A procession was formed which moved to the location of the auto de fé. A feature of the autos was the delivery of vituperative sermons by some eminent cleric; these were frequently published and 70 are extant that were delivered in Portugal alone between 1612 and 1749. In Portugal the programs of the autos with names of those who appeared in them (*listas*) were published in uniform quarto form: in Spain, less regularly, and mainly in octavo. The earliest auto of the Spanish Inquisition took place in Seville in 1481, the latest recorded in Valencia in 1826. All told, some 2,000 autos took place in the Peninsula and its dependencies between these two dates. The total number of those who appeared runs into hundreds of thousands, many of whom were however charged with offenses carrying less stringent penalties, such as bigamy. Those who suffered the death penalty have been reckoned at upward of 30,000. These however, include not only *Marranos and Crypto-Jews, but also Protestants, Crypto-Muslims, and others.

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[Cecil Roth / Yom Tov Assis (2nd ed.)]

AUTOGRAPHS. Jews occupy a prominent place among founders and owners of autograph collections. Although collections of Hebrew manuscripts, and of manuscripts of Jewish contents in other languages, have been in existence for many centuries, a special systematic Jewish autograph collection is of fairly recent origin. Its creation is largely the work of Avraham Sharon (Schwadron), who spent some 30 years on it, and by 1928 had succeeded in establishing a universal Jewish collection, consisting of over 2,900 autographs of c. 1,950 prominent personalities of Jewish origin. This collection covers, approximately, the period from 1480 to the present. In 1927 it was presented as a gift to the Jewish National and University Library in Jerusalem, which then proceeded to open an autograph and portrait section. The collection represents a valuable source for Jewish graphology, especially of the Hebrew script, and it contains documents which by their contents are of great significance for Jewish cultural history. Today the collection contains more than 12,000 autographs and 700 portraits.

The scientific value of a Jewish autograph collection is to be found in the means that it provides for the identification of manuscripts whose authors are unknown, as well as of forgeries (the latter being quite frequent in the case of rabbinical and ḥasidic autographs). Special difficulties were encountered in locating the autographs of Jewish personalities of Eastern Europe, particularly those whose activities were restricted to the Jewish sphere; among other reasons the reluctance to part with such autographs stems from the belief that a letter of a great rabbi or *ẓaddik* has the power of warding off evil, and often such a document would be buried with its owner. Autographs of the early Jewish socialists and revolutionaries in Eastern Europe are also very rare, as they were frequently destroyed, either out of fear of the police, or by the police itself. Older manuscripts originating in Eastern Europe, insofar as they have come to light, are usually in a poor condition. In the West, on the other hand, the systematic collection of autographs and the trade in them have tended to ensure their retention and proper preservation.

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[Abraham Schwadron (Sharon)]

AUTONOMISM. A term coined by Simon *Dubnow in 1901 to designate a theory and conception of Jewish nationalism in the Diaspora, based on a specific view of Jewish history. This gave rise to a program for the future of the Jews, who were to be politically and territorially members of the states in which they were dispersed but at the same time exist as a national-cultural entity.

The Theory

At the basis of Autonomism is the view that in "the evolution of national types… we can distinguish the following stages…: (1) the tribal…; (2) the territorial-political…; (3) the cultural, historical, or spiritual…" (S. Dubnow, *Nationalism and History…* (1958), 76). The Jewish nation is regarded as exemplifying the development of this third stage: "This people, after it had passed through the stages of tribal nationalism, ancient culture, and political territory, was able to establish itself and fortify itself on the highest stage, the spiritual and historical-cultural, and succeeded in crystallizing itself as a spiritual people that draws the sap of its existence from a natural or intellectual 'will to live'" (*ibid.*, 84–85). In the view of the Autonomists, this development within Jewry has a general historical significance, for to reach this third stage and continue to exist in it is a "rigid test for the maturity of a nation…. Such a people has reached the highest stage of cultural-historical individuality and may be said to be indestructible, if only it cling forcefully to its national will…. We find only one instance… of a people that has survived for thousands of years despite dispersion and loss of homeland. This unique people is the people of Israel" (*ibid.*, 80).

The survival of the Jewish people in this "third and ultimate stage" of national existence was brought about in the Diaspora through the strength of "the chain of *autonomy – the essential source of power of the Jewish communities in all lands. Were it not for this chain… Israel would not have survived all these generations after the destruction of its state and its land. The secret of national survival is dependent on the positive command of the ancient prophecy, 'the scepter shall not depart from Judah' (Gen. 49:10). It is indeed possible to say that kingship never ceased in Israel. It merely shed one form to assume another.… The state is destroyed and the national body separates into its parts – the communities. In this way the people build for themselves in every place something like a kingdom in miniature. Our enemies… in modern times… call it 'a state within a state.' But the congregation of Israel goes on in its historical path and says: 'Indeed, a state within a state,' an internal autonomous group within an external political group and the nature of things sanctions it" (*ibid.*, 48–49). On this basis Dubnow insisted – in opposition to both the Zionist view as he understood it and to the assimilationist view – that it is only "the Autonomists [who] recognize Jewry, not only as a nation of the past or of the future, but also as a nation that is of the present, which has never ceased to exist and which will never cease to exist in time to come" (*ibid.*, 167). The Autonomists conceive that Jewry is a nation in spite of and in the fact of its dispersion throughout many countries and amid many peoples.

Although the Autonomist theory is based on an overall view of Jewish history, its application and even its theoretical premises are in reality limited by the European outlook of its founders. This is apparent in the intrinsic nexus between Autonomism and *Yiddish. Dubnow stated that "among the forces which are the basis of our autonomy in the Diaspora I also set aside a place for the powerful force of the folk language used by seven million Jews in Russia and Galicia.… Insofar as we recognize the merit of national existence in the Diaspora, we must also recognize the merit of Yiddish as one of the instruments of autonomy, together with Hebrew and the other factors in our national culture" (*ibid.*, 51). In practice, Yiddish was the only cultural factor stressed by most Autonomists and in the main they were concerned solely with Jewish problems in Europe.

The Program

The European centrism of the Autonomists was also conditioned by the fact that even their theory was founded on their prognosis for the future development of states within Europe, particularly those areas where the greatest masses of Jews were then concentrated. They believed that the concept of statehood in Europe must logically lead to the autonomy of various nationalities within the framework of a "multinational state," such as was bound to evolve from the struggle for cohesion within the vast complexes of *Austro-Hungary and czarist *Russia. In its resolution of 1890 the "Austrian school of Social Democracy" formulated a program for an autonomous coexistence of the separate nationalities within Austro-Hungary. Otto *Bauer stated the theoretical foundation of this policy in his *Die Nationalitaetenfrage und die Sozialdemokratie* (Vienna, 1907). This is the background to Dubnow's affirmation "that Jewish nationalism… is concerned with only one thing: protecting the national individuality [of the Jewish people] and safeguarding its autonomous development in all states" (*ibid.*, 97). On the basis of what he considered the immanent tendency of the past and the victorious trend of the future, Dubnow thought that "the chief axiom of Jewish autonomy may thus be formulated as follows: Jews in each and every country who take an active part in civic and political life enjoy all rights given to the citizens, not merely as individuals but also as members of their national groups" (*ibid.*, 137). Since it was impossible to evade the fact that the Jews did not live in a single compact territory even within one state, the Autonomists had to insist on "personal autonomy" to be granted to the communities scattered throughout a given state.

The policy of the Autonomists was accepted by the Folkspartei, the Sejmists and, after lengthy hesitation, by the *Bund. Although Zionism never accepted the Autonomist doctrine, in its program of "*Gegenwartsarbeit*" (as formulated at the *Helsingfors Conference, 1906) – especially in Eastern Europe – the movement shared most of the goals of its policy.

After World War I the realization of Autonomist hopes seemed ensured by the affirmation of *minority rights by the peace treaties and the autonomous institutions established in the Baltic states and the U.S.S.R. The blatant infringement of these rights, however, in the 1930s and later the *Holocaust put an end to the existential foundation of Autonomism. Theoretically the philosophy is as valid or invalid as before; in practice neither the philosophy nor the policies based on it have any force in the thinking or the aspirations of the Jewish people today.

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[Haim Hillel Ben-Sasson]

AUTONOMY, the religious, legal, social, and cultural self-sufficiency of the Jewish community within the sovereign non-Jewish state or its subdivision; Jewish self-government. Jewish autonomy was conditioned by both external and internal forces. By definition it did not exist during the periods of political sovereignty in the days of the Jewish independent states. During the periods of Persian and Greco-Roman subjugation the Jews enjoyed considerable self-government, especially in the form of *polyteuma*, an autonomous community within the Hellenistic city, as in *Alexandria. Throughout the Middle Ages, when European society generally was constituted of distinct corporate groups each with its own way of life, the Jews were also governed by their own laws and institutions. The Christian authority in the lands of Europe, whether emperor, king, pope, duke, or municipality, as well as the Muslim caliph or other ruler, granted them various privileges of serf-rule. These dealt mainly with their rights of commerce, moneylending, or litigation with Gentiles. The internal political and social life of the Jews was left inviolate. The basic Christian legal concept permitted the Jews to live according to their law (*secundum legem eorum vivere*). In Islam the very idea of the "People of the Book" predicated the toleration of Jews and Christians to live according to their respective sacred scriptures. The trend toward civic emancipation and the onset of the Enlightenment (*Haskalah) movement within Judaism in the 18th century tended to curtail group autonomy in favor of the rights of the individual. The tendency was afforded external stimulus by the insistence of the modern state on the complete allegiance of its citizens, demanding the elimination of corporations. The 20th century has seen brief experimentation with a special form of self-rule based on *minority rights, only to witness the dissolution of Jewish autonomy in its traditional form in many places. In countries with a pluralistic society, such as the United States, a new, voluntary Jewish internal leadership structure is emerging.

Throughout more than 2½ millennia powerful internal forces bolstered the Jewish autonomous institutions. Most pronounced were the religious element and national cohesion. From their law the Jews evolved a unique way of living, a regimen of holiness and pietism; the freedom to practice it was cherished above life. The messianic hope for eventual political sovereignty was never abandoned. The Jews clung to the eschatological vision of redemption from *galut* ("exile") and of national revival and reunification in Ereẓ Israel. The basic institutions of Jewish self-government were developed in ancient times: the congregation, which enabled ten adult males anywhere to form a viable group; the association (see **Ḥevrah*); the court of justice; and self-taxation. According to the formulation of *Saadiah b. Joseph, the Jews formed "a nation by virtue of their laws." No matter how far the Jews exerted themselves to observe the talmudic rule that "the law of the land is law" (BK 113a), they still clung tenaciously to their autonomous institutions. They also preferred physical segregation from the other religious, ethnic, and professional groups among whom they lived. Topographical isolation enabled them to enjoy the religious, educational, and social advantages of contiguous living. Moreover, the instinct for self-preservation dictated communal solidarity, a united front to face the often hostile outside world. Finally, the sense of alienation from the surrounding population engendered primary loyalty to their own community. With all the structural and functional diversity occasioned by the manifold conditions in the countries of dispersion, the autonomous Jewish community succeeded in maintaining a continuity with the past and an essential unity with far-flung Jewry.

Three main instruments of Jewish self-government have been the national or regional agency, the local community, and the association.

Centralization

When the Arabs conquered Persia in 637 C.E., they maintained there the hereditary exilarchate in its traditional glory (see *Exilarch, **Geonim*, *Academies). The Jews were responsible for the collection of the poll and land taxes demanded from them by the central government. Otherwise, they were free to govern themselves. They levied taxes for internal needs, regulated imposts on ritually slaughtered meat, and appointed judges. Government of the community was aristocratic. All communal affairs were guided by the leadership strata constituted roughly of (1) a hereditary aristocracy of scholarly families, institutionalized in the academies; (2) the "Davidic" dynasty of the exilarchs; (3) from the tenth century, wealthy and influential court bankers. During most of the Islamic period, Ereẓ Israel formed a kind of center of Jewish autonomy, with *geonim* of its own; later, with the breakup of the caliphate, provincial leaders, such as the **nagid*, made their appearance.

Medieval European society was structured into corporate groups, each governed by its own laws. Noblemen and serfs in the feudal system, burghers and guild members in the municipality, the clergy and religious orders within the church, all enjoyed some degree of autonomy. The corporate body in turn owed fealty to a more embracing power. Jews were generally under the direct protection of the monarch; they were, therefore, often exempt from obligations to intermediate powers. Christendom kept the Jews apart and in subjection to remain as visible witnesses testifying to the truth and victory of Christianity. These factors favored Jewish autonomy. The synagogues and Jewish cemeteries were protected; litigation among Jews was left to the rabbinical courts, while the community as a whole had powers of taxation, excommunication, and, in some cases, capital punishment. The greater the fiscal contribution to the state by the Jews in comparison to that of the Christian population, the more the rulers tended to rely on the Jewish autonomous organization as their fiscal agents.

Jews enjoyed considerable autonomy in the *Byzantine Empire. In Christian *Spain self-rule achieved heights rivaled only in the Muslim lands and by the Councils of the Lands of Poland-Lithuania. In order to foster strong communal cohesion, the Jewish authorities in Spain were granted wide powers to deal with informers, including the imposition of capital punishment. Jewish autonomy in Spain attained its peak in the 13th century. In Germany, France, England, and the Netherlands the institution of the corporation was particularly developed and powerful. The Jews were increasingly placed outside the framework of Christian society, more so than in Spain. Within this political framework, and against this social and legal background, therefore, the Jewish community in Northern Europe, as in the south, acquired the status of a corporation. The individual communities were governed by a variety of privileges granted by imperial, royal, ducal, episcopal, or municipal rulers. The similar institutions in Poland and Lithuania were patterned after those of Central Europe. Early legislation was modeled on privileges granted to the Jews in neighboring Austria and Bohemia. Gradually, the Polish king expanded the autonomy granted to the Jews. Sigismund II, for example, decreed in 1551 that any Jew who resists "the censures and bans imposed upon him by the rabbi, judge, or other Jewish elders… shall be beheaded." After a certain point in the second half of the 16th century, Jewish autonomy in Poland-Lithuania developed in explicit recognition by the monarch of the fiscal functions of central organs and tacit acceptance of their activities in other fields as well (see *Councils of the Lands). However, in 1764 the Jewish self-governing agencies were abolished on the express order of the disintegrating Polish state.

Central Organs of Self-Rule

The European communities in medieval and early modern times did not perpetuate the hereditary exilarchate, or patriarchate, or the geonate of the earlier period. Central organs of self-rule, however, developed as a result of two factors: (1) the built-in ideological and practical endeavors of the Jews to preserve an inclusive national unity, as far as communications and the respective political framework permitted; and (2) the practice of rulers of imposing a lump sum of taxes upon the Jews of a country. Central agencies were formed in order to distribute the fiscal burden among the provinces and communities. In addition to functioning as an arm of the state, these agencies also regulated the internal affairs of their constituents.

The Jewish striving for a central, national, autonomous leadership often took the form of *synods. Recourse was also made to the personal authority of a great rabbi, such as Jacob b. Meir *Tam. In addition, institutional authority was delegated through the representatives of the leading communities and the congregation of many scholars combined in them. They usually sought some form of confirmation of their resolutions by the secular ruler. The earliest Jewish synods on record are those held by the French and Rhenish communities; they were later convened from time to time in various countries and in various periods from the Middle Ages to early modern times. The synods generally attempted to deal with the whole gamut of problems relevant at their time of meeting, even though a single central problem often seemed to dominate their deliberations. Sometimes the synods were coterminous with a national framework and boundaries (see *Bohemia-Moravia; *Aragon; *Italy); sometimes they were regional only (see *Germany). (In the modern period the synod form of communal leadership has been revived by the Jewish *Reform movement.)

The Local *Community (Heb. קְהִלָּה, *kehillah*)

The *kehillah*, the cell of Jewish societal life and leadership, was based on the concept of partnership shared by the Jews as inhabitants of a certain locality. Much as the individual Jew was affected by his national or regional autonomous institutions, he enjoyed the fruits of self-government directly only through his own local community and the various associations within it. The foundations of the local community are to be found in the early days of the Second Temple, when the congregation took root and every town had its administrative machinery. The hallmarks of community life evolved as communal prayer, charity, mutual aid, a judiciary, and the power to enforce communal decisions. The *kehillah* did not figure prominently in the days when the exilarchs and *geonim* appointed local functionaries. It came into its own again in North African and Spanish communities and in those on the Rhine in the second half of the tenth century. The *kehillah* acquired a legal character with the right to judge and to impose taxes. The rabbis of that age reinterpreted talmudic law in the responsa to strengthen the autonomous institutions by giving them authority over the individual.

In time, marked similarities developed in the widely scattered communities in regard to both structure and function. Nearly every *kehillah* possessed written *takkanot*, many of them of a constitutional character. There were regularly scheduled meetings of the entire membership, as well as of the elected elders to the *kahal* ("community board"), who were usually drawn from the aristocracy of wealth or learning. The elders were designated by a variety of titles in Hebrew or in the local vernacular. Each community was served by paid communal officials, such as the rabbi, *dayyan*, or preacher, who offered religious, educational, judicial, financial, and welfare services to the residents. Notwithstanding the underlying uniformity of autonomous practices in the countries of the dispersal, the councils, *kehalim*, and associations were not all of one cloth. In Central and Eastern Europe there was only one *kahal* for every local community. On the other hand, the advent of refugees from Spain in Italy, Holland, and the Ottoman Empire sometimes produced differentiation within each community on the basis of the country or city of origin, or by Sephardi or Ashkenazi descent. On the other hand, in some places the various elements, while maintaining separate religious institutions, were treated as a corporate body vis-à-vis the outside world in relations with the government.

The Association

The smallest cell of Jewish communal life was the local association (*ḥevrah*). Whereas the community board had powers of taxation and legal standing, the association was a voluntary membership group. Throughout the Middle Ages it was controlled by the *kahal* to serve the public weal. As the *kahal* dissolved in the Emancipation era, the association often took over its essential functions. A major characteristic of most *ḥavarot* was the assurance to every member that upon his death the survivors would intercede before God for his soul through prayer and study.

The four major categories of associations were (1) religious, to maintain synagogues or chapels, or for worship or mystical activities; (2) educational, for provision of school facilities for the poor, or adult study groups; (3) philanthropic, for visiting the sick, or care of paupers; and (4) vocational, mainly consisting of craft guilds. Outstanding among the philanthropic associations was the burial society, **ḥevrah kaddisha gomelei ḥasadim*, which often achieved wide powers through its monopoly over the cemetery, a major source of secured income. In Central and South America the *ḥevrah kaddisha gomelei ḥasadim* for many years also controlled most other communal activities. In the United States it lost its power as two of its functions were commercialized; funeral parlors passed to private ownership and cemeteries to **Landsmanschaften* and congregations.

Decline of Autonomy

The era of civic emancipation ushered in a gradual dissolution of the self-governing community. The evolution of centralized monarchies, the crumbling of the medieval social structure, the harnessing of Jewish leadership in the service of the state, Enlightenment as an inner solvent, early capitalism with its emphasis on individualism, loss of status of the rabbinical courts, financial bankruptcy – these were some of the powerful internal and external factors that spelled the doom of Jewish autonomy. Many declared that emancipation and autonomy were inherently contradictory; that once the individual Jew is granted equal civic rights he can no longer claim group privileges.

Between the two world wars, efforts were made in Eastern European countries to grant Jews, along with other nationalities, certain *minority rights. In Russia, Alexander Kerensky's short-lived provisional government of 1917 stirred Jewish hopes for national self-determination. Upon seizing power the Soviets too proclaimed the rights to autonomy of territorial nationalities. For a while autonomous regions and soviets enjoyed linguistic, judicial, and educational self-rule. *Birobidzhan was proclaimed such a region. However, atheistic and assimilationist trends as well as the incipient anti-Jewishness gradually eradicated Jewish communal life. The claim for minority rights was based on the ideology of Diaspora nationalism, or *Autonomism, which demanded from the state group rights along with individual equality. The experiment did not last long. Intense nationalism among the ruling states and the force of economic rivalry between the Jews and the local populations tended to shatter all good intentions. In Ereẓ Israel the central and local self-government granted by Turkey and by the Mandatory power offered the Jewish community wide autonomy, which was used constructively to help prepare for eventual independence. Only one community, the Keneset Israel, was recognized, the exception being the separate Orthodox community network (see *Agudat Israel).

The Voluntary Post-Emancipation Community

Hardly any trace is left in the post-World War II period of either state-enforced group autonomy or of the minority rights program. Emancipated Jewry developed wholly voluntary associations and communal organs. These serve a wide variety of purposes, mainly religious and social organizations abound for cultural, recreational, and social services. There have also arisen societies for the defense of Jewish rights and for developing institutions that serve both the Jewish and non-Jewish residents of the state on a non-sectarian basis, such as hospitals, recreational centers, and universities, as well as employment and vocational agencies. The *Board of Deputies of British Jews, the *American Jewish Committee, the *American Jewish Congress, and many other national bodies specialize in defense or in broader community services. The Orthodox, Conservative, and Reform religious groups in Western Europe and the United States each have their own network of local congregations and of regional and national institutions.

See also sections on Minority Rights in articles on various European countries.

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[Isaac Levitats]

AUTONOMY, JUDICIAL, the right granted to Jews under non-Jewish rule to administer justice and to execute judgment according to their own law and by their own judges. The practical administration of justice in the Jewish society of the Diaspora was conditioned by the general socio-political conditions and government legislation; but Jewish factors also played an important role in obtaining and maintaining legal status for the Jewish judicature.

Certain general trends in Jewish autonomy are apparent throughout Diaspora history despite persistent exceptions and a variety of practices. Religious and family matters were subject exclusively to Jewish jurisdiction. Civil and often criminal cases involving Jews only were also the sole domain of the Jewish court. Sometimes the privileges granted to the communities in Europe in the Middle Ages allowed a Christian to cite a Jewish defendant only in cases tried by Jewish judges. In mixed cases involving both Christians and Jews an equal number of Christian and Jewish witnesses (e.g., three of each, as stipulated in some grants of privileges) or an equal number of judges was often stipulated. The *bet din* followed Jewish law, except in such matters as taxes or pledges on loans, which were often disposed of according to the law of the land. In several countries the Jewish legal system was under the jurisdiction of a chief rabbi. The Jews sometimes resisted the imposition of such authority from the outside. In England the *Presbyter Judaeorum* (see *Archpresbyter) seems to have exercised judicial functions only in matters affecting the royal exchequer; he was mainly an administrative officer.

From an early period of the Jewish settlement in Europe, the consensus of Jewish society insisted on recourse both to its own law and to its own judges. A responsum delivered by a rabbi of the Rhine district in the 11th century (in *Ma'aseh ha-Ge'onim*) concerns a case in which Jewish litigants "came before the *camerarius* (chamberlain) of the Gentiles; and he ordered Jews – as the case was brought before him – to judge them according to [Jewish] law." The Christian official then pronounced judgment as his Jewish advisers had counseled. Although the successful litigant thought that he had won his suit "according to [the law of] both Jews and Gentiles," the rabbi decided "that what has been adjudged to him by Jews through the Gentile court is null and void"; a Jewish judge had to consider the matter.

Long before municipalities originated in Europe, the Jews had more than a millennium of experience in self-government. Nor were they subject to irrational procedures. The rules of evidence in Jewish law were rational. They admitted the testimony of witnesses or legal documents only. Thus as early as the days of the Carolingian Empire, Jews were granted exemption from the ordeals of fire and scalding water.

Judicial autonomy was stipulated in privileges issued by kings and lesser authorities. Only in the *Byzantine Empire were Jews sometimes denied their own tribunals. In Muslim countries the *exilarchs and **geonim* supervised local Jewish courts, which enjoyed extensive jurisdiction. Jewish courts were generally free to use their own system of sanctions and punishment; in Christian Spain they had the right to impose capital punishment against informers. A pronouncement of the *ḥerem* ("excommunication") by Jewish courts was not usually interfered with by the authorities, who often had recourse to it for their own purposes.

As early as 1084 Bishop *Ruediger of Speyer granted the Jews within his diocese the right to try suits between Jews in a Jewish court. A Christian plaintiff against a Jewish defendant also had to take his case to this court. If the court found itself unable to pass judgment, the suit might come for decision before the bishop or his chamberlain. The privilege granted by Emperor Henry IV to the Jews of Worms in 1090 became the model for many subsequent documents of this sort. It states: "… not the bishop, nor the chamberlain, nor the count, nor the bailiff, nor anyone else, shall presume to interfere in any judicial issue arising between Jews, or with Jews as defendants, but [such matters shall be treated] only by the person elected by them [i.e., the Jews] and appointed by us to exercise authority" in matters of justice among Jews according to Jewish law. The same attitude is found in the oldest code of Castile, that of Alfonso VI (c. 1042–1109). The principle was confirmed with slight variations by succeeding emperors, princes, and municipal authorities throughout medieval Christian Europe. In several cities, however, such as Zurich and Nuremberg, attempts were made to compel Jews to bring their suits before municipal courts.

In Spain – both in Aragon and in Castile – the exercise of maximum Jewish judicial autonomy found confirmation not only in the various grants of privileges and laws but also through long-established precedent. Capital punishment was sometimes meted out in the 13th and 14th centuries, and even in the 15th, by Jewish rabbis. Their procedure, however, was often modeled on that of the Christian courts rather than on strict talmudic rules. Pedro III of Aragon (1276–85) ordered Solomon b. Abraham *Adret and Jonah b. Abraham *Gerondi, the two most respected rabbis of Catalonia, to pass judgment on an informer accused by the communities of Aragon, and urged them to arrive at a decision. They finally informed the king "that he may proceed according to his law; that we have found him deserving of the death penalty, if he should wish to put him to death." The informer was publicly executed.

From the end of the 13th century a trend to limit Jewish judicial autonomy in Christian Spain began, particularly in criminal matters, and became increasingly pronounced during the 14th and 15th centuries. Jewish jurisdiction in criminal cases was abolished in Castile in 1380 by Juan I, although reinstated in 1432. In 1412 a decree of Juan II of Castile abolished Jewish judges for both civil and criminal cases. Evidently shelved for a time, the decree was renewed and extended to all Spain by Ferdinand and Isabella in 1476.

In Poland–Lithuania the Jewish community exercised considerable judicial autonomy; in the first half of the 16th century the kings even granted the chief rabbis appointed by them the sanction of capital punishment for "… any Jew who ventures to take censures and bans lightly." The courts of the *Councils of the Lands and of single communities administered and executed justice, but capital punishment is rarely mentioned in the sources.

Referring to the Jews of the territories annexed from Poland in 1772, Catherine II of Russia decreed that "the administration of law and justice by Jews shall continue to be vested in their present tribunals." However, as early as 1786 such autonomy was withdrawn and the statute of 1804 states that "Jews, too, in their lawsuits… shall seek law and justice in the general courts." The *bet din* was recognized only as a court of arbitration. In this decision Russian absolutism reflected the general trend in Europe commencing with the *Haskalah movement against the exercise of Jewish judicial autonomy within the state.

In practice, the Jews of Russia, and all other countries where there was a vibrant Jewish life, jealously guarded their judicial autonomy and in the majority of cases prevented Jews from appearing in non-Jewish courts. The case of *Novaya Ushica (Russia), where, as late as 1836, rabbis sentenced two informers to death, exemplifies the strength of the Jewish determination to be governed by Jewish law.

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[Isaac Levitats]

AUTOPSIES AND DISSECTION. Respect for the dead, and the utmost reverence for the human body after death are enjoined by both Jewish law and custom. The rabbis deduce the prohibition of the desecration of the corpse (*nivvul ha-met*) as well as the duty of the reverent disposal of the body by burial as soon as possible after death from Deuteronomy 21:22, 23. Mutilation of the body, whether for anatomical dissection or for post-mortem examination, would appear to violate the respect due to the dead and is consequently to be forbidden. Reverence for the corpse (*kevod ha-met*) must yield, however, to the superior value of life and its preservation. In fact, the duty of saving and maintaining life (**pikku'aḥ nefesh*), which includes even cases of a doubtful nature, overrides all but three commandments of the Torah. Hence the question of the permissibility of the dissection of human bodies for the study of medicine, and of autopsies for the purpose of establishing the cause of death and for the development of medical research revolves therefore round the interpretations of the two principles: *nivvul ha-met* and *pikku'aḥ nefesh*. For while any tampering with the corpse comes under the former category and is therefore prohibited, it can be argued that as a result of dissections and autopsies the lives of others can be saved or prolonged, and hence the prohibition of *nivvul ha-met* would be overridden by the prime commandment of *pikku'aḥ nefesh*.

In the Bible there would appear to be two clear instances of the dissection of the body of a deceased person: the embalming of Jacob (Gen. 50:2–3) and of his son Joseph (*ibid.*, 26). According to all evidence the process of *embalming as practiced by the ancient Egyptians consisted of disemboweling the body and filling the cavity with certain unguents. The view was put forward in a question addressed to Ezekiel *Landau (see below), that this act should be permitted since it was performed out of the principle of respect for the dead, and what is done out of respect for the dead cannot be considered as *nivvul ha-met*, which is essentially disrespect for the dead. This principle is explicitly laid down in the Talmud to justify certain cases of postponement of burial so that proper respect may be shown to the dead (Sanh. 47a), and it has been advanced again as an argument in favor of permitting autopsies.

In the Talmud there are two noteworthy references to the possibility of autopsies, each for different reasons. One (Ḥul. 11b) clearly states that an autopsy may be performed on the victim of a murder in order to establish whether he was viable at the time of the assault. Were he not, no charge of murder could be laid against the assailant. This case would come within the framework of permissibility of *pikku'aḥ nefesh*. Such a consideration, however, does not apply to the second instance. The question was raised, in an actual incident, whether the corpse of a boy could be exhumed for examination to ascertain whether he was a major or a minor at the time of death, the question of the disposition of an estate being involved. In this case the exhumation was forbidden, but only because it would have had to be performed by relatives, who stood in a special category with regard to the deceased, and because of the possibility of changes having taken place in the corpse after burial, thus rendering the examination inconclusive. The whole discussion, however, suggests the possibility of the examination of a body for reasons not connected with *pikku'aḥ nefesh* (BB 154a–b). There are in the Talmud various instances of the dissection of human bodies for anatomical research (cf., e.g., Bek. 45a), but in all these instances it would appear that the corpses of non-Jews were employed.

It was not until the 18th century, when human bodies began to be used systematically for medical research as a regular practice, that the permissibility of autopsies for medical research and saving lives became a practical question of *halakhah*. A query addressed from London to Ezekiel Landau, of Prague, inquired as to the possibility of performing an autopsy on the body of a Jew, in order to reveal the cause of death and thus find a cure for others suffering from the same malady. The questioner gave his reasons for permitting this, citing, inter alia, the embalming of Jacob. Landau dismissed his arguments but conceded that, should there be at the time of death, in the same hospital, another patient suffering from the same symptoms, so that the autopsy could immediately help, it could be permitted on the grounds of *pikku'aḥ nefesh*. Strictly limited though this permission was, it was the first clear, recorded ruling permitting autopsies in the interest of the living, and all subsequent discussions on the subject have used it as their starting point (responsa *Nodabi-Yhudah, Mahadurah Tinyana*, YD 310).

The problem became an acute and practical one with the establishment of the Medical School of the Hebrew University in Jerusalem. It was obvious that bodies would have to be made available for the study of anatomy and that the cause of medical research would necessitate autopsies. Chief Rabbi A.Y. *Kook, usually liberal in his approach, entirely forbade the use of Jewish bodies for such purposes (*Da'at Kohen*, 199), but in 1944, his successor, Rabbi I.H. *Herzog, and Ẓevi Pesaḥ *Frank, chief rabbi of Jerusalem, reached an agreement with Dr. H. Yasski on behalf of the Hadassah Hospital, permitting autopsies in the following cases: (1) when the civil law demanded it in cases of crime and accidental death; (2) to establish the cause of death when it was doubtful; (3) in order to save lives; and (4) in cases of hereditary disease. The authority to perform such autopsies was made conditional upon the signatures of three doctors. All organs dissected were to be handed over for burial after the necessary examinations had been performed. This agreement was the basis for the Law of Anatomy and Pathology passed by the Knesset in 1953.

The Sephardi Chief Rabbi B.M. *Ouziel devoted two responsa to the halakhic basis of the question (*Mishpetei Uziel* (1935), 1:28 and 29; cf. 11 (1952), no. 110). Arguing that dissection of the body for anatomical study and autopsies in the interests of the advancement of medicine did not constitute *nivvul ha-met*, Ouziel ruled that "the essence of the prohibition of *nivvul ha-met* is that it refers specifically to cases where there is a deliberate intention to desecrate a body or to treat it with disrespect without any advantage to others. Whenever others can benefit, however, and most certainly when there is a possibility of thereby saving life, the prohibition does not apply. Anyone with a knowledge of the development and progress of medicine will not for a moment doubt the benefits which accrue from autopsies and dissections. Autopsies are of inestimable value in establishing the cause of the ailment and its effect upon other organs of the body. In addition, where the preservation of life and the interests of the living are concerned, there is neither *nivvul ha-met* nor desecration of the body."

Other rabbinic authorities (e.g., Rabbi I. *Jakobovits), taking modern developments into account, suggest that autopsies, especially in cases of heart disease and cancer, not only belong to the category of *pikku'aḥ nefesh* in a general way, but are even sometimes imperative, especially in connection with determining the effects of new medicines. "As it is the duty of the rabbi to prevent autopsies where no *pikku'aḥ nefesh* is involved, so is it his duty to insist on it where there is the slightest possibility of it being of benefit" (R. Isaac Arieli, in: *Torah she-be-al Peh* (1964), 66).

In 1965, following allegations of widespread abuse of the safeguards contained in the Law of Anatomy and Pathology, certain Orthodox circles in Israel agitated to have the law amended by reverting to the strictly limited permission given by Ezekiel Landau. A ruling to this effect was issued under the signatures of the two chief rabbis (Y. *Nissim and I.Y. *Unterman) and the heads of yeshivot.

Although from the halakhic point of view the objections that apply to autopsies also apply to dissection for the purpose of anatomical study, enough people bequeath their bodies for this purpose so that the religious opposition has been confined largely to autopsies, despite the fact that the halakhic permission for such bequests is doubtful. Similarly, there has been a universal consensus of opinion permitting autopsies in the case of violent or accidental death or where crime is suspected. In such cases the talmudic precedents quoted above would apply. Most of those who oppose autopsies made an exception in the case of corneal transplants which restore sight to a blind person. In this specific instance Rabbi Unterman stated that the deceased would consider it an honor for his eye to be used for such a purpose, thus overcoming the prohibition of *nivvul ha-met*., In the same responsum, Rabbi Unterman put forward the interesting view that an organ from a deceased person is "revived" when successfully grafted on to a living person and ceases to be regarded as part of a corpse. Though resistance to transplants remains widespread, there has been a tendency to greater leniency, as in the case of heart transplants where the position has shifted from total opposition to conditional consent.

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[Louis Isaac Rabinowitz]

AUVERGNE, former French province including the present departments of Cantal, Puy-de-Dôme, and part of Haute-Loire. The presence of Jews in Auvergne is known from the end of the fifth century. In the second half of the 13th century they were settled in the localities of Auzon, Clermont, Ennezat, Langeac, Monton, Oilac, Peissin, Pont-du-Château, Puy-Roger, Ris, Rochefort, Taleine, Veyre, and Vichy. Banished together with the other Jews of France in 1306, they returned after 1359 to settle in Ennezat, Lignat, and Montaigut-en-Combraille until the expulsion of the Jews from the kingdom in 1394.

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[Bernhard Blumenkranz]

AUXERRE, capital of the department of Yonne, north central France. The first reference to the presence of Jews in Auxerre is found in a responsum addressed by *Rashi to the scholars of this area. Representatives of the Auxerre community took part in the *synod which met at Troyes around 1160. Jurisdiction over the Jews was divided between the count, the cathedral chapter, and the abbey of Saint-Germain of Auxerre. One of the Jewish quarters was situated near the Féchelle gate; the former Rue du Puits des Juifs is today included in the Rue du Pont. A wall of the clock tower has a stone bearing the Hebrew inscription: "Meir son of R. Solomon the valiant," perhaps referring to a Jew who had been imprisoned there. An anonymous 12th-century work, dedicated to a certain Count Guillaume (perhaps Guillaume II) of Auxerre, deals mainly with circumcision, and supplies the count with arguments for use in religious *disputations with Jews. The Jews were expelled from Auxerre by Count Pierre, between 1184 and 1206. Letters addressed to the bishop of Auxerre and the count of Nevers by Pope *Innocent III in 1207 and 1208, complain that the Jews of Auxerre had refused to pay the ecclesiastical tithe on their fields and vineyards, and that they sold so much of the surplus wine they produced to Christians that the latter were using it for the sacrament of the Mass. The Jews were again expelled in 1306, returning to Auxerre in 1315, and in 1322, returning in 1359. In 1393 the city of Auxerre turned to the authorities in Paris to expedite the expulsion of Jews from its territory. It is not known whether this was effected immediately or in conjunction with the general expulsion of the Jews from France which took place the following year. It was not until 1398 that a royal ordinance declared null and void all the debts owing to Jews by Christian debtors of Auxerre. At the beginning of World War II there were 70 Jews living in Auxerre, most of them refugees from Nazi persecution. There is no Jewish community in Auxerre today.

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[Bernhard Blumenkranz]

AV (Heb. אָב), post-Exilic name of the fifth month in the Jewish year. Occurring in Assyrian inscriptions, in *Megillat Ta'anit*, and all later branches of rabbinic literature but nowhere in the Bible, it is etymologically connected with *abib* (or *aviv*; "spring"), the pre-Exilic biblical name of the first month (Nisan); the verbal root *v'v* denoting "fresh growth." The zodiacal sign of this month is Leo. In the present fixed Jewish calendar it invariably consists of 30 days, the first of Av never falling on Sunday, Tuesday, or Thursday. In the 20th century, Av in its earliest occurrence, extended from July eighth to August sixth and in its latest, from August seventh to September fifth. Traditional days in Av comprise: (a) First of Av, the anniversary of the death of Aaron according to Numbers 33:38

(in the masoretic text and all the ancient versions, except the Syriac), once observed as a fast (Meg. Ta'an., last chapter, Neubauer). (b) The Ninth of *Av, still observed as the strictest of the four fasts commemorating the destruction of the Temple, is the culmination of a period of nine days of semi-mourning. Connected with it are two special Sabbaths, the one preceding the fast called *Shabbat Ḥazon* (cf. Isa. ch. 1) and the one following the fast called *Shabbat Naḥamu* (cf. Isa. 40) after the respective Sabbath *haftarah* readings. (c) The Fifteenth of *Av, once a joyous popular festival, the main day of wood offering to the altar (Ta'an. 4:5, 8; Jos., Wars, 2:17). (d) The Eighteenth of Av, once observed as a fast commemorating the quenching of the Eternal Light in the Temple in the reign of King Ahaz (Meg. Ta'an., loc. cit.). Predominantly joyful in Temple times, with the fifth, seventh, tenth, and twentieth of Av as additional festive days of wood offering (Ta'an. 4:5, 8), this month's character became increasingly somber after the Romans' destruction of the Temple and as more and more national catastrophes occurred (or were held to have occurred) in it, with increasing restrictions on sundry expressions of joy, in keeping with the mishnaic ruling "When Av comes in, gladness is diminished" (*ibid.* 4:6).

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[Ephraim Jehudah Wiesenberg]

AV, THE FIFTEENTH OF (Heb. ט״ו בְּאָב, Tu be-Av), minor holiday in the days of the Second Temple, marking the beginning of the vintage in ancient Palestine. According to the Mishnah, on this day (as well as on the *Day of Atonement) the daughters of Jerusalem dressed in white raiments (which they borrowed that "none should be abashed which had them not") and went forth to dance in the vineyards chanting songs (Ta'an. 4:8; TB, *ibid.* 31a). This was also the day of the wood offering when all people brought kindling wood for the Temple altar (see: Neh. 10:35). This festival was instituted by the Pharisees who, according to Graetz, celebrated their victory over the Sadducees on this day (Graetz, Gesch, 3 (1960^{5}), 460, 572). Josephus, however, gives the 14th of Av as the date of this holiday (Wars, 2:6). The Talmud (Ta'an. 30b–31a; BB 121a, b; TJ, Ta'an. 4:11, 69c) gives six more events that occurred on this date as reasons for this minor holiday: (1) the tribes were allowed to intermarry (Num. 36:8ff.); (2) the Benjamites were readmitted into the community (Judg. 21:18ff.); (3) the death of the Israelites in the Sinai Desert for their sin regarding the report of the spies to Canaan ceased (Num. 14:32); (4) the last king of the Israelite kingdom, *Hosea b. Elah, removed the checkposts which *Jeroboam I installed to prevent the Israelites from making their pilgrimage to Jerusalem (I Kings 12:29; II Kings 18:4); (5) the Romans permitted the burial of the soldiers who fell in the defense of Bar Kokhba's last stronghold, *Bethar; and (6) from this day onward no more wood was chopped for the Temple because the sun was no longer strong enough to dry it. Since this holiday was celebrated by torches and bonfires some scholars believe that it originated in a pagan festival of the summer solstice (such as the 15th of Shevat which falls on the day of winter solstice). On Av the Fifteenth the *Taḥanun* prayer is omitted and there are no eulogies at burials.

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AV, THE NINTH OF (Heb. תִּשְׁעָה בְּאָב, Tishah be-Av), traditional day of mourning for the destruction of the Temples in Jerusalem.

Historical Background

The First Temple, built by King Solomon, was destroyed by the Babylonian king Nebuchadnezzar in 586 B.C.E. on the 10th of Av, according to Jeremiah 3:12, whereas in the corresponding record in II Kings 25:8–9, the date is given as the 7th of Av. The Tosefta *Ta'anit* 4:10 (also Ta'an. 29a) explains this discrepancy by stating that the destruction of the outer walls and of the courtyard started on the 7th of Av while the whole edifice was destroyed on the 10th of Av. R. Johanan declared that he would have fixed the fast on the 10th of Av because it was on that day that the greater part of the calamity happened. The rabbis however decided that it is more fitting to commemorate the "beginning of the calamity."

The Second Temple was destroyed by the Romans in 70 C.E., on the 10th of Av, according to the historian Josephus (Wars, 6:249–50). This day is still observed as a day of mourning by the Karaites. The Talmud (Ta'an. 29a), however, gives the date as the 9th of Av, which became accepted as the anniversary of both destructions.

The Talmud justifies the 9th of Av as the major day of mourning because a series of calamities occurred on this day throughout Jewish history. The Mishnah (Ta'an. 4:6) enumerates five disasters: (1) on the 9th of Av it was decreed that the Children of Israel, after the Exodus from Egypt, should not enter the Promised Land; (2) the First and (3) the Second Temples were destroyed; (4) Bethar, the last stronghold of the leaders of the *Bar Kokhba war, was captured in 135 C.E.; and (5) one year later, in 136, the Roman emperor Hadrian established a heathen temple on the site of the Temple and rebuilt Jerusalem as a pagan city which was renamed *Aelia Capitolina* and which the Jews were forbidden to enter.

The expulsion of the Jews from Spain in 1492 is said also to have occurred on the 9th of Av.

The 9th of Av thus became a symbol for all the persecutions and misfortunes of the Jewish people, for the loss of national independence and the sufferings in exile. The massacres of whole communities during the Crusades intensified this association.

Mourning Rites

It is uncertain whether or how the 9th of Av was observed as a day of mourning before 70 C.E. in memory of the destruction of the First Temple. In Zechariah 7:5 such an enquiry is quoted and the prophet's answer is that instead of fasting they should love truth and peace, as a result of which the former days of fast and mourning would become days of joy and gladness (*ibid.* 8:16–19). The Talmud tells that R. Eliezer b. Zadok, who lived before and after the destruction of the Second Temple, did not fast on the 9th of Av, which was deferred because of the Sabbath to the following day since it was his family's traditional holiday of "wood-offerings" for the altar (Ta'an. 12a; TJ, Ta'an. 4:4; also Tosef., Ta'an. 4:6). This would indicate that fasting on the 9th of Av was observed during the period of the Second Temple too. In any case, fasting on the 9th of Av was observed in the mishnaic period (RH 1:13). Some rabbis advocated permanent abstention from wine and meat in memory of the destruction of the Temple, but this was regarded as an excessive demand (BB 60b; Tosef., Sot. 15:11ff.). The general rule in the Talmud for the mourning rites of Tishah be-Av is that a person is obliged to observe on it all mourning rites which apply in the case of the death of a next of kin (Ta'an. 30a). These mourning rites have to be observed from sunset to sunset (Pes. 54b). Some mourning rites are already observed during the weeks prior to Tishah be-Av, from the fast of the 17th of Tammuz (see *Three Weeks). On the 1st of Av, the mourning rites are intensified. On the eve of Tishah be-Av, at the final meal before the fast, one may neither partake of two cooked dishes nor eat meat nor drink wine. It is customary to eat a boiled egg at this meal as a symbol of mourning, and to sprinkle ashes on it. Grace after this meal is said individually and silently.

The following rules are observed on the fast of Tishah be-Av: (1) Complete abstention from food and drink. (2) Bathing is strictly forbidden. Washing of the face and hands is permissible for cleansing purposes only (Ta'an. 13a). (3) The use of any oils for anointing and the application of perfumes are forbidden, as is sexual intercourse. (4) It is forbidden to put on footwear made of leather. Therefore the tenth blessing in the Morning Benedictions, originally recited when putting on shoes, is omitted. (5) One must sit either on the ground or on a low stool. (6) It is customary to abstain from work and business because Tishah be-Av was regarded as an inauspicious day. A person who works on the 9th of Av would derive no benefit from his efforts (Ta'an. 30b). (7) The study of Torah is forbidden because it is a source of joy, except for the reading of the Scroll of *Lamentations and its Midrash (*Lamentations Rabbah*), the Book of Job, the curses in Leviticus (26:14–42), some chapters in Jeremiah (e.g., 39), the aggadic tales in the Talmud describing the destruction of Jerusalem (e.g., Git. 55b–58a), and similar texts.

On the night of Tishah be-Av the pious used to sleep on the floor with a stone as a pillow. Many fasted until noon of the 10th of Av. Meat and wine may not be consumed until the afternoon of the 10th of Av, although some of the mourning rites are lessened from Tishah be-Av afternoon onward based on the belief that Tishah be-Av will again be a holiday since the Messiah will be born then (TJ, Ber. 2:4). Toward the end of the 17th century strict observance of Tishah be-Av also became a mark of adherence to Orthodox rabbinic Judaism, after the pseudo-messiah, Shabbetai *Ẓevi, had abolished the fast of Tishah be-Av and turned it into a day of rejoicing.

In Liturgy and Synagogue Ceremonial

The mourning rites of Tishah be-Av are reflected in the following changes in the synagogue liturgy and usage: (1) the lights in the synagogue are dimmed and only a few candles are lit, as a symbol of the darkness which has befallen Israel. In some rites (Sephardi, Yemenite), it is customary to extinguish all lights immediately after the conclusion of the evening service prior to the reading of the *Kinot* (Dirges), and the oldest member of the congregation or the *ḥazzan* then announces: "This year is the… so and so… since the destruction of the Holy Temple." Afterward he addresses the congregation with words of chastisement and repentance in the spirit of the saying: "Each generation in which the Temple is not rebuilt should regard itself as responsible for its destruction." This is answered by wailing and crying. Then the lights are lit again. (2) The curtain of the Ark is removed in memory of the curtain in the Holy of Holies in the Temple which, according to talmudic legend, was stabbed and desecrated by Titus. In some Sephardi synagogues where the Ark normally has no curtain, a black curtain is hung and the Torah scrolls themselves are draped in black mantles. (3) The congregants sit on low benches, footstools, or on the floor as mourners do during the *shivah* period. (4) The *ḥazzan* recites the prayers in a monotonous and melancholy tune. (5) Some people change their customary seats in the synagogue. (6) In some congregations the Torah scroll is placed on the floor and ashes put on it while the congregants recite the words "the crown is fallen from our head" (Lam. 5:16), or other appropriate verses (see Sof. 18:7). (7) The prayer service is the regular weekday service, with the following changes: In the evening, the Scroll of Lamentations (*Eikhah*) is followed by special dirges, *Kinot*. In the Sephardi rite the Song of Moses, Deuteronomy 32, is substituted for the Song of Moses, Exodus 15, which is normally recited after the morning Psalms. After the main part of the morning service *Kinot* are recited commemorating many of the tragic events in Jewish history (in the Sephardi rite they are recited before the Reading of the Torah). In the Ashkenazi rite these include *Sha'ali Serufah be-Esh* by R. Meir of Rothenburg (occasioned by the burning of the Talmud in Paris in 1242), *Arzei ha-Levanon* (commemorating the death of the "Ten Martyrs"), the Odes to Zion, beginning with the famous *Ẓiyyon ha-lo Tishali* of Judah Halevi and concluding with *Eli Ẓiyyon ve-Areha* sung to a special melody (see *Eli Ẓiyyon*). The Sephardi *Kinot* differ from the Ashkenazi and do not include those mentioned. There is, however, one which is based upon the Four Questions of the Passover Seder, the opening stanza of which is "I will ask some questions of the holy congregation: How is this night different from other nights? Why on Passover eve do we eat *maẓẓah* and bitter herbs, while this night all is bitterness…?" (8) During the reader's repetition of the *Amidah* the *Anenu* prayer is inserted between the seventh and eighth benedictions as on all fast days. In the silent *Amidah* it is recited in the 16th benediction of the afternoon service and in the Sephardi and Yemenite rites at all services. The Italian rite recites it in the morning and afternoon services. In the afternoon service a special prayer *Naḥem* is added to the benediction for the restoration of Jerusalem. (9) From the Middle Ages it became customary except among certain Oriental communities not to wear *tallit* and *tefillin* during the morning service. (They are considered to be ornaments, and the *tefillin* in particular are held to be Israel's "crown of glory.") They are worn instead during the afternoon service. (Thus the blessing "who crowns Israel with glory" is omitted from the Morning Benedictions, because it refers to the *tefillin*.) (10) The morning service as well as the afternoon service include readings from the Torah. In the morning the reading is Deuteronomy 4:24–40, and the *haftarah* Jeremiah 8:13–9:23; in the afternoon service Exodus 32:11–14 and 34:1–10, and, as *haftarah*, Isaiah 55:6; 56:8 as on all fast days. The Sephardi *haftarah* is Hosea 14:2–9. In some rituals the person called up to the Torah says: "Blessed be the righteous Judge" – the verse by which mourners are greeted. (11) Some people sprinkle ashes on their head as a symbol of mourning. In Jerusalem it is customary to visit the Western Wall on Tishah be-Av, where Lamentations and the *Kinot* are recited by the different communities according to their rites. There are many other local mourning customs. Visits to cemeteries, especially to the graves of martyrs and pious men, were frequent, in order to implore the deceased to intercede for the speedy redemption of Israel. Schoolchildren used to throw seed-burrs of plants at each other in Poland and in Russia. The *shofar* was blown in Algiers in memory of the ancient fast day ceremonies in the time of the Temple. Women anointed themselves with fragrant oils and perfumes on the afternoon of Tishah be-Av, for they believed that the Messiah would be born (or appear) on this day and it would become a great holiday (Egypt). In the evening after the fast, some people greet each other with the formula: "You shall soon enjoy the comfort of Zion."

In Modern Israel

Beside the special synagogue services for Tishah be-Av, public places of entertainment and restaurants are closed on the eve of Tishah be-Av. The *Eikhah* dirges and talks about the significance of the day replace music or entertainment on the radio. Newspapers devote articles and pictures to the Old City of Jerusalem, the Western Wall, the Mount of Olives, and other holy places. With the reoccupation of the Old City of Jerusalem in 1967, the problem arose as to whether the mourning practices for the destruction of Jerusalem should be modified. A modified ritual, based upon a passage in the Talmud envisaging a situation in which Jews in Ereẓ Israel would not be oppressed, but the Temple still not rebuilt, is advocated by some.

Reform Judaism and the Ninth of Av

Classical Reform Judaism of the 19th century did not observe the mourning ritual of Tishah be-Av. The rationale for the abolishment of these rites was summed up by David *Einhorn (*Olat Tamid*, prayer book, p. 100) as follows: "Reform Judaism beholds in the cessation of the sacrificial services, the termination of a special nationality, and the scattering of the Jews among all nations, the fundamental conditions for the fulfillment of their mission among mankind. Only after the destruction of Jerusalem was it possible for Israel to become a kingdom of priests and a holy nation, a conception which even in the Talmud is intimated in the saying: 'On the day of the destruction of the Temple the Messiah was born.'" In the last decades, however, Reform circles have come to feel that Tishah be-Av should not be ignored but rather that it should be reinterpreted to make it relevant and meaningful in modern times. This conforms to the practice of Reform Judaism with regard to all festivals whose original symbolism was reinterpreted.

The laws and customs of the Tishah be-Av ritual are to be found in Maimonides (Yad, Ta'anit, ch. 5), and in Sh. Ar., OḤ 549–61.

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[Meir Ydit]

AV BET DIN (Heb. אֲב בֵּית דִּין; "father of the law court"), title of (a) one who presided over a Jewish ecclesiastical court (**bet din*); (b) the vice president of the *Bet Din ha-Gadol* ("Supreme Court of Justice") during the Second Temple period. The origin and history of the office are obscure. It is first mentioned in the Mishnah which states that, while one of the (pairs of sages listed in Mishnah *Avot* 1) was the **nasi* (president) of the court, the second held the office of *av bet din* (Ḥag. 2:2). The Talmud quotes a tradition that even as early a personality as King Saul was the *nasi*, and his son Jonathan the *av bet din* (MK 26a). According to some scholars, however, the institution originated at the beginning of the Hasmonean period, when the high priest was the *nasi*; as he was not usually a great scholar, he needed an assistant to act as the effective president of the Sanhedrin. Indeed, the main duty of the *av bet din* was evidently to superintend the administration of the court; and it was an official position even in the Lesser Sanhedrin of 23 members found in every city (Ruth R. 2; et al.). A body of regulations affecting the *av bet din* of the Great (and, according to some opinions, also of a Lesser) Sanhedrin was gradually established by the *halakhah*. His appointment was to be made orally (TJ, Hor. 3:2 end, 47a). He could not decide a law in the presence of the *nasi* (Ḥag 16b). The scholars were to rise before him and honor him in the street and on his entry to the Sanhedrin (Kid. 33b; Hor. 13b). Everyone had to rend his garments on the death of an *av bet din* (MK 26a). At *Usha, it was enacted that if an *av bet din* was guilty of an offense he was not to be placed under a ban but was to be told: "Preserve your honor and remain at home" (*ibid.* 17a).

During the geonic period, the term was used to designate the deputy to the principal, *gaon*, of the academies of Babylonia and Ereẓ Israel. Usually the *av bet din* was also the heir-designate of the *gaon*, generally his son. The deputies are also referred to as *rabbenu ha-av* ("our rabbi the father"), or simply *av* ("father").

In the 14th and 15th centuries, the title *av bet din* was occasionally employed by communities as a synonym for the local rabbi. The title appears more frequently in the communal documents of Poland-Lithuania during the 16th and 17th centuries, and of Russia in the 19th century. *Av bet din* then designated the principal of the yeshivah who promulgated halakhic rulings and took part in the communal administration; in particular it was used as the title of the district rabbi of a large community. A rabbi who presided over a *bet din* was termed *rav av bet din* (abbreviated as ראב״ד *ravad*). This traditional connotation has remained. In the State of Israel, *av bet din* also designates the chairman of a civil or a rabbinical court.

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AVDAN (also known as **Avidan**, **Abba Dan**, **Abba Yudan**; c. 200 C.E.), pupil and *amora* ("interpreter") of *Judah ha-Nasi. Avdan lived in Ereẓ Israel during the transition from the tannaitic to the amoraic period (late second and early third centuries C.E.), and his duty was to convey to the student assembly the teachings which Judah ha-Nasi whispered to him (TJ, Ber. 4:1, 7c). In the Talmud, some of his teacher's *halakhot* are cited in his name (Ber. 27b). The Talmud (Yev. 105b) describes an incident in which Avdan was involved. On one occasion R. *Ishmael b. Yose, who was rather corpulent, was still making slow progress to his seat in the academy of Judah ha-Nasi after the latter had already arrived, and the rest of the audience had already seated themselves. Avdan pointedly enquired, "Who is it that steps over the heads of the holy people (in order to get to his seat)?" The reply was "I am Ishmael ben Yose, come to learn Torah from Rabbi (Judah ha-Nasi)." Avdan then asked him, "And are you fit to learn Torah from Rabbi?" Ishmael continued the exchange by enquiring, "Was Moses worthy to learn from the Almighty?" "And are you Moses?" rejoined Avdan. "And is your master the Almighty?" retorted Ishmael. While this exchange was going on, a certain matter was brought before Judah ha-Nasi, and he sent Avdan to clarify an attendant point. Ishmael b. Yose, however, cited a ruling on the subject, which Judah ha-Nasi accepted, making Avdan's mission unnecessary. He thereupon instructed him to return to his place for which purpose he was obliged to make his way over the assembled students. Ishmael thereupon exclaimed, "He of whom the holy people have need may step over (their) heads, but how dare he of whom the holy people have no need step over (their) heads?" "Remain where you are!" said Judah ha-Nasi to Avdan. Legend relates that at that instant Avdan was stricken with leprosy and two of his sons were drowned. This led R. *Naḥman b. Isaac to comment: "Blessed be the All-Merciful, who put Avdan to shame in this world [so that his share in the world to come remains undiminished]."

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Hyman, Toledot, 62.

[Zvi Kaplan]

AVDIMI (**Dimi**) **BAR ḤAMA** (probably of the third–fourth century), *amora*. Avdimi is mentioned only in the Babylonian Talmud and is best known for his aggadic interpretation of Exodus 19:17: "The Holy One, blessed be He, overturned the mountain (Sinai) over them (Israel) like an inverted bowl and said to them: 'If you accept the Torah, it is well; but if not, here shall be your burial place'" (Shab. 88a). Aḥa b. Jacob observed (*ibid.*) that since this implied duress, it could provide an excuse for the nonobservance of the Torah. On the verse "But his delight is in the law of the Lord" (Ps. 1:2) he commented that God fulfills the desires of whosoever engages in the study of the Torah (Av. Zar. 19a). A halakhic statement of his is quoted in *Horayot* 10a.

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[Zvi Kaplan]

AVDIMI (**Avdimai**, **Avdima**, **Avudama**, **Dimi**) **OF HAIFA** (c. 400 C.E.), Palestinian *amora*. His teachers were *Levi b. Sisi and Resh Lakish (see *Simeon b. Lakish; TJ, Ber. 2, 4, 4d; TJ, Kil. 4, 4, 29b). He apparently possessed compilations of *beraitot* since he refers to "my Mishnah" (i.e., a collection of Mishnayot not included in that of Judah ha-Nasi; Tanḥ., Ẓav, 12; et al.). Several of his aggadic remarks have mystical content (Yal. Ps. 751; et al.). Avdimi is the author of a statement dealing with the proper respect to be shown to a *nasi*, an *av bet din*, and an ordinary scholar respectively (Kid. 33b). His sayings include: "From the day the Temple was destroyed prophecy was taken from the prophets and given to the wise" (BB 12a), and "Before a man eats and drinks he has two hearts [i.e., he is at odds with himself], but after he has eaten and drunk he has only one" (*ibid.*, 12b). According to tradition, Avdimi was buried in Haifa, where his grave is venerated to this day.

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[Yitzhak Dov Gilat]

AVEDAT (**Ovdat**; Ar. "Abde") (Heb. עֲבְדַת), former town in the central Negev, probably named after the deified Nabatean king Obodas; a UNESCO World Heritage Site. It is referred to in ancient sources as Oboda (*tabula Peutingeriana*) Eboda (Ptolemaeus 5:16, 4), and Oboda (Stephanus Byzantinus s.v.).

The site was discovered and mapped in 1870 by E.H. Palmer and C.F. Tyrwhitt-Drake, while a more detailed survey was made by A. Musil in 1902. Survey expeditions conducted

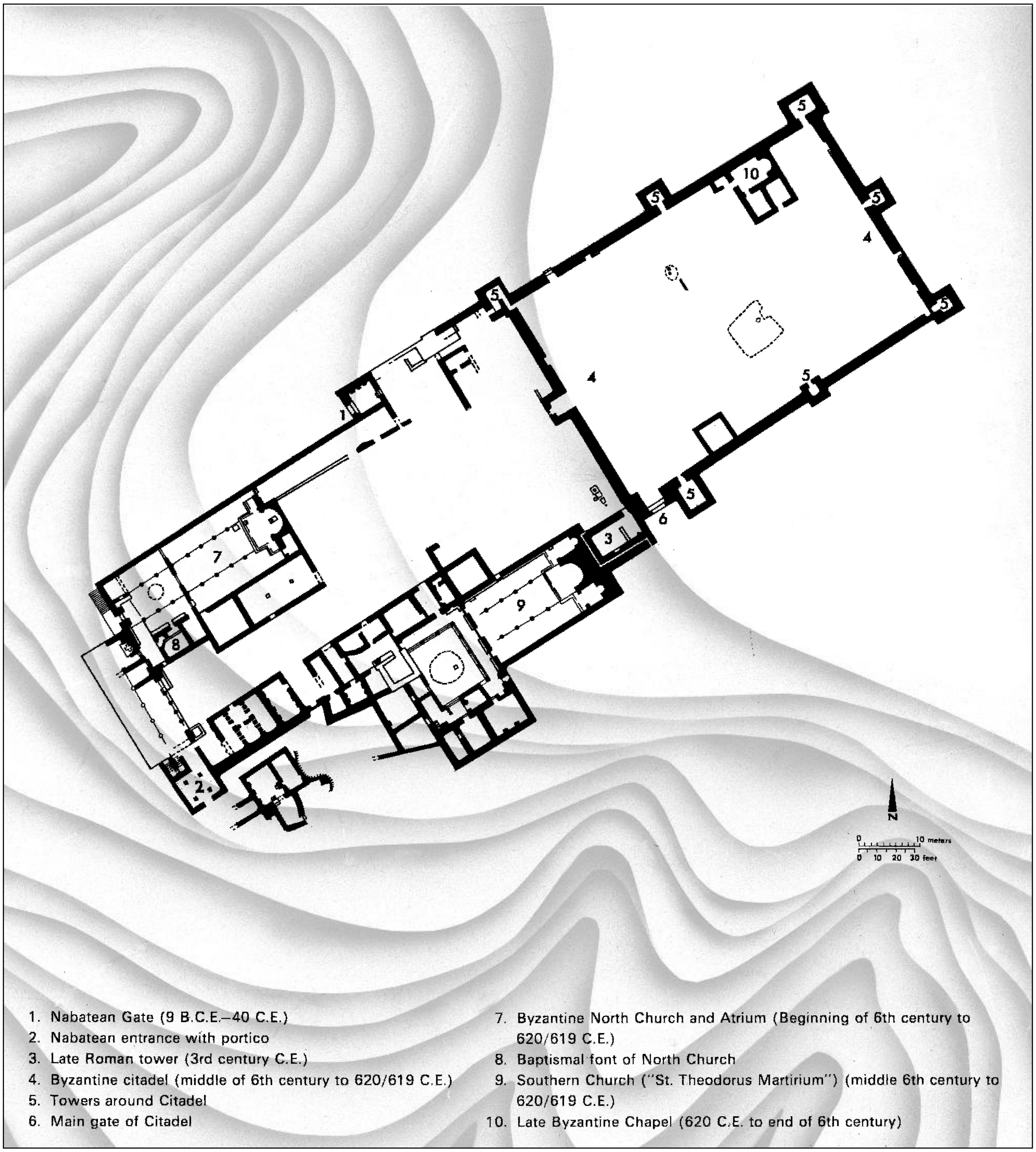
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1. Nabatean Gate (9 B.C.E.–40 C.E.)
2. Nabatean entrance with portico
3. Late Roman tower (3rd century C.E.)
4. Byzantine citadel (middle of 6th century to 620/619 C.E.)
5. Towers around Citadel
6. Main gate of Citadel
7. Byzantine North Church and Atrium (Beginning of 6th century to 620/619 C.E.)
8. Baptismal font of North Church
9. Southern Church ("St. Theodorus Martirium") (middle 6th century to 620/619 C.E.)
10. Late Byzantine Chapel (620 C.E. to end of 6th century)

Plan of the reconstructed city of Avedat.

more detailed investigations in 1904 (A. Jaussen, R. Savignac, and H. Vincent) and 1913/14 (C.L. Woolley and T.E. Lawrence), with trial digs at the site by D.H. Colt in 1937. Large-scale excavations were undertaken in the 1950s directed by Michael Avi-Yonah (1958) and Avraham Negev (1959–60). Negev resumed excavations in the 1970s (with R. Cohen) and later in 1989 excavated on the acropolis. More recent excavations were conducted at the site by T. Erickson-Gini (1999–2000). Avedat is situated near the point where the two main routes from *Petra and *Elath converge to form one road leading north to Ḥaluẓah and the Mediterranean coast. Here, in the third century B.C.E., the *Nabateans established a road station for the supply of their caravans with water and food (campsites existed to the north and east of the acropolis), as is shown by the pottery and coins dating back to that period. The diverse nature of the archaeological finds indicates that Avedat occupied a position of great importance in Indo-Arabian commerce. Little more is known of the first few centuries of the city's existence, but it is clear that the site was abandoned at the beginning of the first century B.C.E., perhaps as a result of Alexander Jannaeus' (*Yannai's) conquests in the central Negev. A road leading to Oboda was established in the late first century C.E. and was guarded by a series of small forts. The Nabatean settlement reached its zenith during the reign of Aretas IV (9 B.C.E.–40 C.E.), when a large temple was apparently built on the city's acropolis, though very few remains of it have survived. The Nabatean town appears to have extended over the northern part of the mountain ridge at the edge of which the acropolis was situated. A Roman army camp, situated north of the city, has the remains of a Nabatean building of the first century C.E., on its western side under the *principia*. A Nabatean fort dating to the first and second centuries C.E. was also excavated at En Avdat not far to the southwest of Oboda. A building built of fine ashlars which has been identified as a temple was unearthed to the northwest of the town. In the days of Aretas IV, Avedat was the site of a flourishing ceramic industry. A potter's workshop for the manufacture of the thin painted Nabatean ware was excavated in the eastern part of the city.

By the mid-first century C.E. the Nabatean trade diminished and Avedat began to decline. The Roman conquest in 106 C.E. and the city's annexation to the Roman Empire produced little change. Thamudic and Safa'itic tribes intruded into the area at the beginning of the second century C.E. and scores of inscriptions in their dialects have been found at Avedat. They indicate that these tribes were responsible for the city's destruction sometime after 126 C.E. In about the mid-third century the Romans incorporated southern Ereẓ Israel and Transjordan into their chain of defenses to protect the Empire's southern frontier. Avedat, situated on this line, became a settlement for discharged soldiers who received land grants and other benefits in return for guaranteed military service in times of emergency. A new residential quarter was established on the southern end of the mountain ridge at Oboda. It was not fortified, but consisted of a number of well-built houses along two short roads. A temple dedicated to Zeus-Obodas and to Aphrodite was built, or rebuilt, on the acropolis. A burial cave on the southwestern slope also dates to this period. The Roman settlement was short-lived and the latest Roman epigraphic remains are from the end of the third century. The houses of the residential quarter close to the North Tower were rebuilt c. 300 C.E. and were still in use at time the site was rocked by an earthquake in the early fifth century C.E.

Avedat flourished in the Byzantine period (in the early sixth century). On the acropolis a large citadel, two churches, and a monastery were built. The settlement itself moved down to the western slopes of the mountain ridge. The Byzantine dwellings consisted of houses erected over rock-hewn caves. These caves served for storing and processing agricultural produce. A small bath-house which drew its water from a nearby well was built in the valley west of the city. Extensive remains of dams, irrigation canals, and the many other water-storage installations, as well as winepresses and fruit-drying apparatus, all demonstrate that in the Byzantine period Avedat's economy was based mainly on agriculture and wine production.

The citadel and two churches were razed and the city itself suffered partial destruction in the Persian invasion in 614. Twenty years later, the Arab invaders found there hardly more than a village. While there is evidence of partial rebuilding and repair, the total absence of early Arabic pottery indicates that after the middle of the seventh century the city was completely deserted.

The ancient city of Avedat has been reconstructed by the Israel Department for Landscaping and Preservation of Historic Sites and is open to visits by the general public. An experimental agricultural station was established in 1959 near Avedat, with research conducted on methods of ancient desert agriculture, under the direction of Michael *Evenari. The farm was based on methods presumed to have been used by the builders of the ancient terraces and runoff systems in the Negev. The farm made use of field walls and installations that had been preserved at that location since ancient times.

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[Avraham Negev / Shimon Gibson (2nd ed.)]

AVEDON, RICHARD (1923–2004), U.S. photographer. Born in New York City, the son of a Russian-Jewish immigrant, Avedon carved out a long and successful career as a photographer of fashion models and celebrities, becoming the first staff photographer of the influential magazine the *New Yorker*, in 1992. He studied philosophy at Columbia University in 1941–42, before entering the U.S. Merchant Marine during World War II, where he served in the photography section until 1944. He studied photography in New York at the New School for Social Research, where one of his teachers was Alexey Brodovitch, the influential art director of *Harper's Bazaar* magazine. Avedon became Brodovitch's protégé, and he made his first photographs for the fashion magazine at 21.

In 1946 he established the Richard Avedon Studio in New York. He remained a staff photographer for *Harper's Bazaar* until 1966, during which time his fresh energetic photographs created a "democratic" vision of high fashion, with his models, often clothed by Dior, strolling down the streets of Paris and chatting with shopkeepers and street performers. He virtually reinvented portraiture as a photographic genre, making arresting, though not always flattering, images of the country's cultural elite (artists, fashion designers, writers, actors) and culturally destitute (drifters and carnival workers he photographed in the western United States in the early 1980s). Posing his subjects against empty white backdrops and removing the descriptive devices of setting and props, Avedon called attention to the subject's gesture and expression, to the drama and psychology revealed in that person's gaze or the lines of his or her face. He worked as an advertising photographer, director, and visual consultant for film and television. One of his most famous fashion photographs, made in 1995 in Paris, shows the then famous model Dovina, in a gown by Dior, before several live elephants. The 1957 film *Funny Face*, with Fred Astaire and Audrey Hepburn, was loosely based on his life. In 1959 Avedon's first book of photographs, designed by Brodovitch, with a text by Truman Capote, was published under the title *Observations*. He joined *Vogue*, a rival fashion magazine to *Harper's Bazaar*, in 1966.

Traveling widely, Avedon produced several notable bodies of work. In 1963 he went to the American South and photographed the civil rights movement, collaborating with James Baldwin on the book *Nothing Personal*. In the late 1960s and 1970s he photographed antiwar demonstrators, and in 1971 he went to Vietnam to document military leaders and war victims. From 1985 to 1992 his editorial work appeared exclusively in *Egoiste*, the French literary and art magazine.

His work is in the permanent collections of major museums, and he has been the subject of numerous solo exhibitions, including a display of his fashion photography at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York in 1978. He was also the recipient of numerous honors, including an honorary doctorate from London's Royal College of Art in 1989, the International Photography Prize from the Erna and Victor Hasselblad Foundation in 1991, and the Master of Photography Award from the International Center of Photography in 1993, the year his book, *An Autobiography*, was published.

"A portrait is not a likeness," Avedon said. "The moment an emotion or fact is transformed into a photograph it is no longer a fact but an opinion. There is no such thing as inaccuracy in a photograph. All photographs are accurate. None of them is the truth."

Avedon once described himself as "completely agnostic, someone who doesn't believe in anything." John Avedon, his son, described his father in a film about him, similarly, and with affection and a bit of humor. "My father, who has absolutely no religious sentiment of any kind, and has no cultural sentiment in terms of Jewish culture, has a very standard Jewish personality, if that's not too big a generalization to make. And by that I mean he thrives on anxiety. It's a way of life."

In *Richard Avedon: Darkness and Light*, a documentary produced in 1995, Avedon, who considered himself unequivocally secular, said his Jewishness was "connected to something pure in the genes, something in me that was a Jew." He tells of an intimate revelation with his experience of touching an ancient Torah in a synagogue in Europe. "I was shaking," he said. "I can't explain it."

[Stewart Kampel (2nd ed.)]

°AVÉ-LALLEMANT, FRIEDRICH CHRISTIAN BENEDICT (1809–1892), German criminologist and writer. Avé-Lallemant was a senior police official in Luebeck from 1843 to 1868 who studied the psychopathology of criminals and wrote novels about the underworld. In his studies of the language of the underworld, he had noted the large proportion of Yiddish words in the vocabulary, chiefly derived from Hebrew and Aramaic and therefore unintelligible to police and criminologists. He therefore included a translation and analysis of approximately 8,000 words and idiomatic expressions, an elucidation of 1,200 abbreviations, a basic Yiddish grammar, and illustrative texts. In 1889 the linguistic section was reprinted under the title *Dolmetsch der Geheimsprache* as a manual for court officials and was recommended for businessmen. The nonlinguistic sections were reprinted in 1914.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Rejzen, Leksikon, 1 (1926), 48–50; F. Avé-Lallemant, *Das deutsche Gaunerthum* (1914), v–xi (introd.); NDB, 1 (1953), 465; *Algemeyne Entsiklopedye*, 1 (1934), 175–6.

[Sol Liptzin]

AVELEI ZION (Heb. אֲבֵלֵי צִיּוֹן; "Mourners of Zion," based on Isa. 61:3), groups of Jews devoted to mourning the destruction of the Temple and to praying for the redemption of Zion. The customs of this group can be traced to the period immediately following the destruction of the Second Temple. Perhaps the group itself arose in Jerusalem. The Babylonian Talmud (BB 60b) mentioned that after the destruction of the Temple many became *perushim* (ascetics) and abstained from meat and wine as a sign of mourning. Rabbis such as Joshua b. Hananiah and Ishmael, while sympathizing with their sentiments, felt that these customs could not be universally applied. After the Bar Kokhba War (132–5) Jews were no longer allowed to live in Jerusalem and could only visit it on the Ninth of *Av. After the Arab conquest, however, the Jewish community resettled in Jerusalem and this led to the revival of the Avelei Zion. They were obviously inspired by mystical and messianic ideas which found expression in writings such as the *Orot ha-Mashi'aḥ, Nistarot de-R. Shimon b. Yoḥai*, and the *Tefillot R. Shimon b. Yoḥai*. The ninth-century author of the *Pesikta Rabbati* may have belonged to the group: he praises them highly, although they were held in ridicule by the community at large (158a/b).

The Avelei Zion would not engage in either commerce or trade and therefore lived in great poverty; for their meager subsistence they depended on the charity of Diaspora communities and pilgrims. The Chronicle of Ahimaaz reports a donation of 1,000 dinars pledged by Paltiel in Fostat (c. 969) for the benefit of the *Avelei Beit Olamim*. After Paltiel's death, his son reinterred him and his wife in Jerusalem and donated a considerable sum for the *Avelei ha-Heikhal*. Both these terms are evidently identical with Avelei Zion. Avelei Zion is mentioned for the first time in the *Halakhot Keẓuvot* (Italy, first half of the ninth century) where it is incorporated into a prayer of consolation as part of the grace recited in the home of a mourner ("Comfort, O Lord our God, the mourners of Zion and the mourners of Jerusalem"). This phrase was also included in the prayer *Naḥem* of the afternoon service on the Ninth of Av, although it is not mentioned either in the order of prayers in the Jerusalem Talmud (Ber. 4:3, 8a) or in *Seder Rav Amram*. The new formula is found in *Maḥzor Vitry*, 269.

Groups of Avelei Zion existed also in Germany, Italy, Yemen, and other Oriental countries. In Germany, one of the prominent members of this group was the liturgical poet *Meir b. Isaac, a contemporary of Rashi. With the conquest of Palestine by the Seljuks (1071) and by the Crusaders (1099) the Avelei Zion disappeared from Jerusalem, though *Benjamin of Tudela, who visited the city about 1179, talked to "R. Abraham Alcostantini, the saintly ascetic, who was one of the mourners of Jerusalem." Benjamin also heard of Avelei Zion in Yemen "who live in caves or secluded houses and fast every day except for Sabbaths and holidays and pray to God to have mercy upon dispersed Israel," and of others like them in Germany.

Most of the Karaites who settled in Jerusalem in the first half of the ninth century ordered their lives according to the customs of the Avelei Zion. Their scholars, for example, Daniel al-Kumisi and *Sahl b. Maẓli'aḥ, sent messages to the Karaites in the Diaspora calling upon them to abandon the vanities of this world and go to Jerusalem to spend their days there in prayer for the redemption of Israel. Some scholars believed, in fact, that the Avelei Zion were a Karaite sect, but this can hardly be maintained as they seem to have developed before the emergence of Karaism. Possibly the Karaite scholars Tobias b. Moses (11th century), who lived in Jerusalem for a time, and Judah Hadassi (12th century) of Constantinople belonged to the Avelei Zion.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Mann, in: JQR, 12 (1920), 271; S. Schechter, *Studies in Judaism*, 3 (1924), 6–7; Baron, Social, 2:5 (1957), 185, index; Zucker, in: *Sefer ha-Yovel… Ch. Albeck* (1963), 378 ff.

[Zvi Avneri]

AVELIM or **OVELIM** and other variants (Heb. אֲבֵלְים or אוֹבְלְים; "vale" or "pasture"), a valley and village in Galilee, about 7½ mi. (12 km.) northwest of Sepphoris. It was inhabited in the Late Bronze Age and rebuilt in Roman times. The *tannaim* Yose b. Peredah and Eliezer b. Judah lived in Avelim (Tosef., Er. 1:1; Er. 11b; Tosef., Ma'as. Sh. 1:9). One of the caravan routes leading from Egypt to Damascus and Mesopotamia passed near it, as did the Roman road connecting Acre and Sepphoris. According to the *amora* Abba b. Kahana (c. 400), Job's oxen and asses were stolen by marauders (Job 1:14) in the valley of Avelim (PdRK 66; et al.), which may reflect the insecurity of the region in his own time. Avelim is the present-day village of Ibillīn, with a population of about 1,500 in 1970 (60% Christian and 40% Muslim). In 2002 the population was over 10,000 (55% Muslim and 45% Christian). Income was about half the national average.

Relics from several periods have been discovered in the area. From the Roman period there is a *mikveh*, from the Byzantine period a dwelling, and a wall dating to the Crusaders period was also found. A synagogue of the talmudic period, including part of a decorative lintel with an Aramaic inscription and a stone decorated with a *menorah*, was found at Khirbat ʿIbillīn.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Press, Erez, 1 (1951^{2}), 4; S. Klein, *Sefer ha-Yishuv*, 1 (1939), 1; S.J.L. Rapoport, *Erekh Millin*, 1 (1914), 4; Neubauer, Géogr., 259–60; Press, in: *Jeschurun*, 17 (1930), 261–7; J. Braslavi (Braslavski), *Le Heker Arzenu* (1954), 74, 277–80; Ginsberg and Klein, in BJPES, 2, nos. 3–4 (1935), 47–48 (inscription not in Frey, Corpus).

[Michael Avi-Yonah / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

°**AVEMPACE** (**Abu Bakr Muhammad ibn Yahya ibn Bajja**, called **Ibn al-Ṣāʾigh**; d. 1138), Muslim philosopher, born in Saragossa; lived in Seville, Granada, and Fez where he died supposedly as the result of an accusation of heresy. He was a celebrated philosopher, mathematician, musician, poet, and served as vizier. His influence on Spanish philosophical studies was profound and continued the tradition of *al-Fārābī. Through the writings of *Averroes, he influenced the whole later Jewish philosophical school, writing in Hebrew, in Spain, Southern France, and Italy until the 16th century. His *Governance of the Solitary* was summarized by *Moses b. Joshua of Narbonne and, until the publication of the original Arabic text in 1946, the Hebrew summary was the only source for the knowledge of Avempace's political thought. He describes the way of life the philosopher ought to follow in the existing corrupt communities in order to achieve union with the Active *Intellect. Perhaps under the impact of the chaotic conditions then existing in Spain and North Africa, he seems to counsel the sage to withdraw from society rather than to attempt to influence it toward a more philosophic course. In this he influenced Maimonides in his *Guide of the Perplexed* which at times also seems to suggest that the solitary way is the best. His *Epistle of Farewell*, translated into Hebrew in the first half of the 14th century by Ḥayyim ibn Vivas, may be considered a summary of Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics*. It contains his doctrine of the immortality of the intellect which can be achieved only through philosophic study, not through mystical exercises. He later developed this theme at greater length in his *Epistles of Conjunction*. Excerpts from these works were translated by Shem Tov ibn *Falaquera in his philosophical source book to *Maimonides' *Guide of the Perplexed* entitled

Moreh ha-Moreh. In general, Avempace influenced the Jewish world through Maimonides and Averroes in the field of political theory and the doctrine of the immortality of the intellect. In addition he was also known for his views on physics and astronomy (Maimonides, *Guide*, 2:9, 24; 3:29). Ḥasdai *Crescas frequently refers to him in connection with the interpretation of certain passages of Aristotle's *Physics*. Crescas' knowledge derives from quotations of Avempace's views by Averroes.

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[Lawrence V. Berman]

AVENARY, HANOCH (formerly **Herbert Loewenstein**; 1908–1994), musicologist. Born in Danzig, he immigrated to Palestine in 1936. He studied musicology, literature, and art history at the universities of Leipzig, Munich, Frankfurt, and Koenigsberg (Kaliningrad). His musicological work centered on the history of Jewish music from the Middle Ages to the 19th century. After serving as a major in the research department of the Israeli Air Force from 1948 to 1965, he became a lecturer and research fellow at the Hebrew University (1965–72) and senior lecturer at Tel Aviv University. He was appointed professor in 1972 and was a guest professor in Vienna (1973) and Heidelberg (1982–83). In 1994 he received the Israel Prize for his achievements in Jewish music research. His scientific editions include *Il primo libro delle canzonette* (1975) and *Il secondo libro de madrigali* (1989) of S. Rossi. His publications include *Wort und Ton bei Oswald von Wolkenstein* (1932); *Formal Structure of Psalms and Canticles in Early Jewish and Christian Chant* (1953); *Studies in the Hebrew, Syrian and Greek Liturgical Recitative* (1963); *The Cantorial Fantasia of the 18th and 19th Centuries* (1968); *The Ashkenazi Tradition of Biblical Chant between 1500 and 1900* (1978); *Encounters of East and West in Music* (1979); *Kantor Salomon Sulzer und seine Zeit: Eine Dukumentation* (1985); *The Aspects of Time and Environment in Jewish Traditional Music* (1987); and several articles on Jewish music for encyclopedias, including *Juedische Musik* in *MGG VII* (1957) and the section on music (from the Middle Ages to the present) in the *Encyclopedia Judaica*. His personal archive is at the JNUL Music Department.

ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY: Grove online; MGG^{2}.

[Gila Flam and Israela Stein (2nd ed.)]

AVENDAUTH (**Avendeuth**, **Avendeath**; mid-12th century), translator active in Toledo, Spain, in 1135–53. His activities took place mainly under the patronage of Archbishop Raimundode la Sauvetat. Later generations thought him to have been a convert to Christianity, and he was identified by some scholars with John Hispanus, a translator of considerable importance. It has been suggested that not only was he a loyal Jew throughout his life, but, on the basis of an analysis of the introduction to the *De Anima*, that he is also probably the well-known philosopher and historian Abraham *Ibn Daud (c. 1110–80). A thorough examination and investigation by the French scholar Mme. M.T. d'Alverny of the manuscripts containing the rendering into Latin of *Avicenna's *De Anima*, and of the dedicatory preface found in many of them, made her realize that Jourdain, the first bibliographer to call attention to this work, had erroneously supplied the translator with the first name John; in so doing, he had prepared the ground for the alleged change of faith and the assumptions and conjectures of subsequent scholars. The correct reading of the dedication is *reverendissimo Toletanae episcopo Johanni*, not Johannes. The work, it follows, was dedicated to John, archbishop of Toledo (1151–66), and not to his predecessor Raymond, as had been thought from the time of Jourdain. In this introduction, and in others, the translator is identified as "Avendehut Israelita philosophus," or simply "Avendeuth Israelita"; the name John does not appear in any of them. Besides the introduction to the *De Anima*, the first chapters of Avicenna's *Shifaʾ* in Latin begin with *Verba Avendeuth Israelitae*; a small part of the work, bearing the title *De Universalibus*, also has in the manuscripts the name Avendeuth or Avendeath. He translated philosophical and scientific works. In his work, Avendauth collaborated with Dominicus Gundisalvi. It is doubtful that the latter, a well-known scholar who was instrumental in the transmission of Arabic culture to Europe, knew the original language of the works that he rendered into Latin. Painstaking study of the style and terminology are needed before a conclusive statement can be made; it may, however, be that Ibn Daud was the intermediary between the Arabic and the Latin version. He was the author of *Epitome totius astrologie.*

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[Abraham Solomon Halkin]

AVERAH (Heb. עֲבֵרָה; "transgression"), term used in rabbinic literature to designate a transgression of the *halakhah*. It is also used as the opposite of *mitzvah.*

AVERBAKH, LEOPOLD LEONIDOVICH (1903–1938?), Soviet Russian critic and the leading spirit of the Russian Association of Proletarian Writers (RAPP), which dominated the Soviet literary scene from 1929 to 1932. A fanatical, dogmatic Communist, Averbakh, unlike the later exponents of socialist realism, claimed that the regime had nothing to fear from the truth and did not flinch from writing about the more unpleasant aspects of Soviet life. After the dissolution of RAPP and the establishment of the even more strictly regimented Union of Soviet Writers, Averbakh was accused of a multitude of crimes, ranging from Trotskyism to the fact that he was a brother-in-law of the disgraced secret police chief Yagoda.

These attacks on Averbakh had a strongly antisemitic flavor. He disappeared during the purges in the late 1930s.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: H. Borland, *Soviet Literary Theory and Practice During the First Five-Year Plan 1928–1932* (1950); E.J. Brown, *Proletarian Episode in Russian Literature 1928–1932* (1953).

[Maurice Friedberg]

°**AVERROES** (**Abu al-Walid Muhammad ibn Rushd**; 1126–1198), qadi, jurist, noted physician, and one of the greatest Islamic philosophers. Averroes, who lived in Spain, is best known as the outstanding commentator of the medieval period on Aristotle's works. He commented on most of Aristotle's works and on five of them composed three different kinds of commentaries – long, middle, and short or epitome. He also wrote a commentary on Plato's *Republic* (trans. R. Lerner, 1974), an epitome of Ptolemy's *Almagest*, and commentaries or paraphrases on logical, scientific, and medical writings of authors such as *Galen, *Alexander of Aphrodisias, al-*Farabi, and *Avicenna, and on a book on the principles of Islamic jurisprudence by al-*Ghazālī. His major independent work was *Tahāfut al-Tahāfut* ("The Incoherence of the Incoherence," trans. S. van den Bergh, 1954), a defense of Islamic Aristotelian philosophy against the attacks made on it by al-Ghazālī in his *Tahāfut al-Falāsifa* ("The Incoherence of the Philosophers," trans. M.E. Marmura, 1997). In addition he wrote short treatises on the relationship of philosophy, religion, and society (see G.F. Hourani (trans.), *Averroes on the Harmony of Religion and Philosophy*, 1961); some medical works; and works on astronomy and Islamic law.

Philosophic Teachings

Averroes' views on the position of the philosopher in society account for some of the main characteristics of his writings. He holds that it is incumbent upon philosophers to observe the religious law; but this law contains pointers to philosophic truths which they, and only they, are capable of understanding. They must hide this knowledge from the generality of people, i.e., the masses, and they may reveal it only to the chosen few, whose intellectual ability and philosophic training enable them to understand it. With other Islamic philosophers, Averroes shared the vision of an ideal state ruled by philosophers (patterned after Plato's *Republic*). However, unlike them, he does not expect that political revolution will bring this state into being in the near future, though he does not altogether exclude the possibility that a succession of enlightened rulers may bring it about. The absence of the ideal state in the present does not bring Averroes to Ibn Bājja's (*Avempace) position that the philosopher should live as a solitary stranger within the community in which he finds himself. Instead Averroes advocates that the philosopher should live within the state as an integral part, working for its welfare. At the same time, the philosopher must pursue his philosophic studies by himself or with likeminded people, but not propagate philosophy, since the public teaching of philosophy destroys the community. In his commentaries Averroes endeavors to grasp the intentions and conceptions of Aristotle, whom he calls "the perfect man." As part of his exposition he polemicizes against *Avicenna who, according to his view, had compromised some Aristotelian teachings by capitulating to theological concerns. Averroes sometimes resorts to philological methods to establish the text on which he comments and, not knowing Greek, he compares the Arabic versions. While a number of Averroes' interpretations deal with fine points of Aristotelian philosophy, there are major doctrines which serve to determine his position. Thus he objects to Avicenna's view that essence and existence are ontologically distinct, that is to say, that existence is an accident superadded to essence, holding instead that they are merely analytic distinctions within individual substances. Differing once again with Avicenna who considers God an intelligence apart from the world, Averroes inclines to identify God with the mover of the first celestial sphere. Whereas for Avicenna the essential attributes of God must be understood negatively, for Averroes they have a positive meaning. Considering the origin of the world, Averroes rejects the Neoplatonic doctrine of emanation, holding instead that the world is eternal. In psychology Averroes changed his views over time, but his final position on the intellect seems to be a doctrine of the unity of the material intellect in all human beings, from which it follows that human immortality is collective rather than individual. All in all, while Avicenna's interpretation of Aristotle had a certain theological bent, Averroes' was more naturalistic. While Averroes had little influence on Islamic thought, Latin and Hebrew translations of his works made him a central figure in Christian and Jewish philosophy from the 13th century on.

Role in Jewish Philosophy

In late medieval Jewish philosophy, Averroes became, next to Maimonides, the most important influence. He arrived at this stature as a result of Maimonides' high recommendation of him and by means of the many Hebrew translations of his works, especially of the commentaries. Jewish philosophers describe him by such appellations as "the great sage," "the chief of the commentators [on Aristotle]," and "the soul and the intellect of Aristotle." Among Jewish philosophers (as among Christians) there were some who tried to harmonize Averroes' teachings with those of Judaism, while there were others who had a purely philosophic interest in his views. Since Maimonides and Averroes disagreed on certain philosophic topics, some Jewish philosophers also attempted to reconcile their divergent views. Nearly all of Averroes' commentaries and independent works were translated into Hebrew, many of them more than once, but most of these translations exist at present only in manuscript form. Critical editions of the Arabic, Hebrew, and Latin versions of Averroes' commentaries, as well as modern translations of them, have appeared under the collective title *Corpus Commentariorum Averrois in Aristotelem* (see H.A. Wolfson, in: *Speculum*, 6 (1931) and 37 (1963), and G. Endress, "Averrois Opera," in: Endress and Aertsen, *Averroes and the Aristotelian Tradition* (1999)).

Hebrew Translations of His Works

The range of the translations of the commentaries may be gathered from the following partial list: Jacob b. Abba Mari *Anatoli translated in 1232 the middle commentary on Porphyry's *Isagoge* and those on the first four books of Aristotle's *Organon*; Moses b. Samuel ibn *Tibbon translated between 1244 and 1258 almost all of the epitomes of Aristotle's works on natural science and metaphysics, and in 1261 the middle commentary on the *De Anima*; Zerahiah b. Shealtiel Hen (*Gracian) translated in 1284 the middle commentaries on the *Physics* and the *Metaphysics*; Jacob b. Machir translated in 1289 the epitome of the *Organon*, and in 1302 the epitome of part of the *De Animalibus*; Kalonymus b. Kalonymus of Arles translated between 1313 and 1317 the middle commentaries on the *Topics, Sophistical Refutations, Physics, On Generation and Corruption, Meteorology*, and *Metaphysics*, as well as the long commentaries on the *Posterior Analytics* and, it seems, the *Physics* and *Metaphysics*; Samuel b. Judah of Marseilles translated in 1320–22 the middle commentary on the *Nicomachean Ethics* and the commentary on Plato's *Republic*; Todros Todrosi of Arles translated in 1337 the middle commentaries on the *Rhetoric* and *Poetics*.

In addition to the commentaries on Aristotle, Averroes' independent works were also translated into Hebrew. The *Tahāfut al-Tahāfut* was translated twice: once under the title *Happalat ha-Happalah* by *Kalonymus b. David b. Todros, who completed his translation in 1328; a second time anonymously under the title *Sefer ha-Tekumah*. The anonymous translation was used by *Moses b. Joshua of Narbonne. There also exist medieval Hebrew translations of the *Fasl al-Maqāl* (the treatise on the connection between religion and philosophy); of logical, physical, and metaphysical questions; the treatises on the conjunction of the hylic and the active intellects, and the *De Substantia Orbis*. The Hebrew translations of Averroes' commentaries, in turn, gave rise to supercommentaries on these works. The most famous of the authors of the supercommentaries was *Levi b. Gershom (Gersonides) (see R. Glasner, in: JQR, 86 (1995), 51 ff.). Other commentators on the commentaries by Averroes include *Jedaiah ha-Penini, Solomon of Urgul, R.S. ha-Levi, Isaac Albalag, Judah b. Isaac ha-Kohen of Provence (second half of the 14th century), Moses of Narbonne, Joseph *Kaspi, Abraham *Avigdor, Mordecai Natan, Abraham *Bibago, Isaac *Ibn Shem Tov, Shem Tov ben Joseph *Ibn Shem Tov, *Judah b. Jehiel (Messer Leon), Eli Habillo, and Elijah *Delmedigo. In addition, Levi b. Gershom, Moses of Narbonne, Joseph *Ibn Shem Tov, and Elijah Delmedigo also wrote commentaries on some of Averroes' original works.

Influence on Jewish Philosophy

Since Averroes and Maimonides were both born in Cordova, some historians (for example, Leo Africanus) assumed that the two were close to one another; it has even been maintained that Maimonides was a pupil of Averroes. Some have found Averroes' views in the *Guide* (for example, Isaac Abrabanel in his commentary on *Guide* 1:51). However, all of these conjectures are incorrect, for, while some of Maimonides' views appear to be similar to those of Averroes, it seems certain that Maimonides was not familiar with Averroes' commentaries when he wrote the *Guide* (S. Pines (trans.), *Guide of the Perplexed* (1963), CVIII–CXXIII; H.A. Wolfson, *Crescas' Critique of Aristotle* (1929), 323). Maimonides mentions Averroes' works in two letters. In 1190, when Maimonides had completed at least some portions of the *Guide*, he wrote to his pupil Joseph b. Judah Ibn Shem Tov that he had received only recently Averroes' commentaries with the exception of the one on *De sensu et sensato*. He also wrote that, while he had not had time to study them carefully, he was favorably impressed by their content (*Iggerot ha-Rambam*, ed. I. Shailat (1995), I, 299, 313). Similarly, in a letter to Samuel ibn Tibbon, the translator of the *Guide*, in 1199, Maimonides strongly recommends the commentaries of Averroes as an aid for understanding Aristotle (ibid., II, 552–53). As a result perhaps of Maimonides' high praise for Averroes' commentaries, they became in Hebrew translation the prime source for studying Aristotelian science, supplanting even the works of the Stagirite himself. Among the philosophers of the 13th and 14th centuries, Levi b. Gershom and Moses of Narbonne are usually considered faithful followers of Averroes. However, this applies only to Moses of Narbonne, whose commentary on Maimonides' *Guide* is pervaded by Averroes' ideas (see esp. on 1:68 and 1:70), not to Gersonides. While the latter accepts a number of Averroes' teachings, e.g., the eternity of the world (but only partially); that the existence of a thing is identical with its essence, not something superadded to it; that God can be described through positive attributes; he differs from him on a number of others (*Milhamot Adonai*, passim). R. Glasner has shown in several studies that in his supercommentaries on Averroes' epitomes and middle commentaries on Aristotle's books on natural science, Gersonides rejects certain fundamental Aristotelian positions presented therein, such as the Aristotelian accounts of natural motion and violent motion (see, e.g., Glasner, in C. Sirat et al. (eds.), *Les méthodes de travail de Gersonide* (2003), 90–103, esp. 98–101). Averroes' commentaries served as the principle source for the first two 13th-century encyclopedias of science and philosophy, the *Midrash ha-Ḥokhmah* by Judah b. Solomon ha-Kohen ibn *Matkah and the *De'ot ha-Filosofim* (ascribed incorrectly in the manuscripts to Samuel ibn Tibbon) by Shem Tov b. Joseph ibn *Falaquera. While the *Midrash ha-Ḥokhmah* presents a much abridged version of Averroes' commentaries, the *De'ot ha-Filosofim* quotes them at length, often blending sections of the various commentaries together for the sake of clarification and comprehensiveness. Falaquera explains his reliance on Averroes in his introduction where he states: "All that I write are the words of Aristotle as explained in the commentaries of the scholar Averroes, for he was the last of the commentators and he incorporated what was best from the [earlier] commentaries." This view of Averroes is explicitly shared by another 13th-century encyclopedist, Levi ben Hayyim of Villefranche, who writes that "the books of Aristotle are better than the books of anyone else" and the "commentaries of Averroes are superior to all other commentaries." Falaquera in another work, his commentary on Maimonides' *Guide*, writes that Averroes "inclines toward the views of our sages" (*Moreh ha-Moreh*, ed., Y. Shiffman (2001), intro., 116), and he cites him in his commentary over 80 times. In his *Iggeret ha-Vikku'aḥ*, he bases his own attempt to harmonize philosophy and religion on that of Averroes' *Fasl al-Maqāl*. Gershom b. *Solomon, the author of the popular late 13th-century encyclopedia, *Sha'ar ha-Shamayim*, also cites many of Averroes' views, although he generally does not incorporate his commentaries on Aristotle. Other philosophers influenced by Averroes include Isaac Albalag, Jedaiah ha-Penini, Joseph Kaspi, Nissim of Marseilles, and Moses ben Judah Nogah. *Hillel b. Samuel of Verona in his *Tagmulei ha-Nefesh* follows Averroes in teaching that there exists only one universal soul (1:5) and that the human intellect is ultimately united with the cosmic active intellect (1:6), but, contrary to Averroes, he holds that the human intellect is part of the individual human soul and that it is subject to reward and punishment in the hereafter (2). Many of Averroes' opinions are also cited by the 14th-century Karaite philosopher *Aaron b. *Elijah in his *Eẓ Ḥayyim*, though this philosopher opposes Averroes on the whole. Ḥasdai *Crescas was very familiar with Averroes' commentaries, in particular those on Aristotle's natural science, and relies on them for his knowledge of Aristotelian science. While a severe opponent and learned critic of Averroes, he accepts his view that God can be described by means of positive attributes, a view also accepted by Abraham *Shalom in his *Neveh Shalom*. During the late Middle Ages, which saw the gradual decline of Jewish philosophy, there still existed Jewish philosophers who studied Averroes and followed his teachings. Simeon *Duran uses Averroes' treatises on philosophy and religion in his *Keshet u-Magen* (directed against Islam), while he attacks his system in his *Magen Avot*. Even Averroes' opponents accepted his views on theologically neutral topics, which were not in conflict with religious teachings, for example in logic, or in instances in which his views supported Jewish teachings. Judah b. Jehiel (Messer Leon), who commented on Averroes' logic, also followed him in his *Mikhlal Yofi*, a compendium on logic. Obadiah *Sforno, who in his *Or Ammim* defends Jewish tradition against Aristotle (interpreted according to Averroes), accepts some of Averroes' views concerning God's knowledge and will, as set down in his *Tahāfut al-Tahāfut*. Joseph b. Shem Tov, who composed commentaries on Averroes' treatises on the material intellect and on conjunction, cites, in his *Kevod Elohim*, many of Averroes' views even though, in general, he is against philosophy and the "stubborn" Averroes. The last important Jewish Averroist was Elijah Delmedigo, who, in 1482, composed a work concerning the intellect and prophecy according to the teachings of Averroes and who used Averroes' *Fasl al-Maqāl* in his treatise on faith and reason, *Beḥinat ha-Dat*. Elijah was a faithful student of Averroes and was very familiar with Averroes' philosophic works, some of which he translated into Latin, some of which he commented upon, and many of which he used in his independent treatises on psychology, metaphysics, and especially natural science. In the 15th century when Jewish thought assumed a more conservative theological character, Jewish thinkers gradually moved away from the radical theological teachings of Averroes. Thus Isaac *Abrabanel, who at times bases himself on Averroes in his commentary on Maimonides' *Guide*, polemicizes against him in his *Shamayim Hadashim* and in other works. Similarly Abraham *Bibago, who wrote commentaries on several of Averroes' writings, including one on Averroes' middle commentary on the *Metaphysics* (in which he also refers to Averroes' short and long commentaries), attacks him in his *Derekh Emunah*. For a variety of reasons Averroes' scientific commentaries also became less popular, although, as is evident also from the many Hebrew copies of them written in the 16th century, they continued to be studied. However, by the mid-16th century, their impact seems to have become minimal.

Medical Writings

Among Averroes' medical works, the most important is *Kitāb al-Kullīyāt fī al-Tibb*, a seven-book summary of the medicine of his day. This work was translated into Latin under the title *Colliget* in 1255 in Padua by Jacob Bonacosa, and was printed many times (1490, 1496, 1497, 1514, 1531, and 1533). Jacob *Mantino translated the fifth book of the *Kullīyāt* (on special drugs) into Latin. This translation was made from the first (?) Hebrew translation and also printed a number of times. On Averroes' approach to pharmacology, as expressed in the fifth book of the *Kullīyāt*, and the contexts through which his famous medical work should be understood, see T. Langermann's suggestive study, "Another Andalusian Revolt?" (in: J.P. Hogendijk and A.I. Sabra, *The Enterprise of Science in Islam* (2003)).

There are two Hebrew translations of the *Kullīyāt* extant in manuscript. The first one, by Solomon b. Abraham ibn Daud (beginning of 14th century), is called *Mikhlal* (Bodleian Library, Ms. Opp. 176; Paris, Ms. Heb. 1172). Another copy was found by S. Muntner (Rome, Bibl. Casenateanse, Ms. 2762; also Ms. Jerusalem). The second translation, at one time thought to be an anonymous one, was apparently made by *Jacob ha-Katan in Provence as is evident from the separate use of medical terms in Provençal and Hebrew.

Averroes' *Kullīyāt* is mentioned by a number of Jewish authors. Shem Tov b. Joseph ibn Falaquera cites the work and praises it as follows: "The *Kullīyāt* is small and good and has no impurities, and all its words are true and of much use." Gershom b. Solomon mentions the work in his encyclopedia, *Sha'ar ha-Shamayim*. Samuel ibn *Zarza, who lived in the 14th century, refers to the *Kullīyāt* in his philosophical commentary on the Pentateuch and, a century later, Abraham Bibago mentions that he had composed a commentary on the *Kullīyāt*, but this is lost. Isaac Abrabanel writes in his commentary on the Bible (Lev. 15, beginning), when speaking of the three digestive systems in the living body: "… and the third digestion is in the organs and that is the true opinion as written by Averroes in the book *al-Kullīyāt* and not as written by Maimonides that the third digestion is in the openings of the veins and the fourth digestion is the organs." In addition to the *Kullīyāt*, there are Hebrew translations of other medical works of Averroes, among them that of Moses ibn Tibbon of Averroes' commentary on the *Urjūza* of Avicenna.

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[Shlomo Pines, Bernard Suler, and Suessmann Muntner / Steven Harvey (2nd ed.)]

AV HA-RAḤAMIM (Heb. אַב הָרַחֲמִים; "Merciful Father"), memorial prayer for Jewish martyrs and martyred communities. This prayer, by an unknown author, was composed in memory of the martyrs massacred in Germany during the First Crusade. It is first known from a prayer book dated 1290. The prayer emphasizes the merit of the martyrs who died for *kiddush ha-Shem*. Several scriptural verses (Deut. 32:43; Joel 4:21; Ps. 79:10; 9:13; 110:6, 7) are quoted, and God is asked to remember the martyrs, to avenge them, and to save their offspring. The wording of the last part of the prayer, invoking Divine retribution on the persecutors, has undergone many changes. Originally this prayer was recited in southern Germany only on the Sabbaths preceding Shavuot and the Ninth of Av and at the conclusion of the *Hazkarat Neshamot* (*Yizkor*) memorial service. In the Ashkenazi ritual it became part of the Sabbath morning service. In the Polish rite it is recited either every Sabbath (except when the Prayer for the *New Moon is said, Sabbath falls on a New Moon, or a circumcision takes place), or only on all the Sabbaths of the *Omer* period between Passover and Shavuot, and on those of the Three Weeks between the Fast of Tammuz and the Ninth of Av. The prayer is recited after the Torah reading before the scroll is returned to the Ark (see *Magen Avraham*, Sh. Ar., OH 284:7). Another short prayer of the same name "May the Father of mercy have mercy upon a people that has been borne by Him," etc., is recited in Orthodox synagogues immediately before the reading from the Torah.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Hertz, Prayer, 482–3, 510–5; Elbogen, Gottesdienst, 203; Davidson, Oẓar, 1 (1924), 3, no. 40.

AVIA (fourth century), Babylonian *amora*. Avia studied in Pumbedita under R. *Joseph b. Ḥiyya (Ber. 28b). He appears to have been a colleague as well as a disciple for R. Joseph addressed a problem to him (Shab. 63a). He married the sister of Rami b. Ḥama (Ket. 56b–57a) and was a colleague of Rabbah b. Rav Hanan (Kid. 39a). Avia once visited *Rava who wished to trap him with difficult halakhic problems, but Avia avoided the pitfalls, whereupon R. *Naḥman b. Isaac remarked, "Blessed be the All-merciful that Rava did not put Avia to shame" (Shab. 46a–b). Avia settled in Ereẓ Israel and studied under R. *Ammi in Caesarea, later transmitting his teachings (Ḥul. 50a). Avia's teachings in *halakhah* are recorded in many passages in the Talmud (e.g., Shab. 23a; BK 35a). The *amoraim*, R. Adda, R. Aḥa, and R. Hilkiah, were apparently his sons.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Hyman, Toledot, 107; Margalioth, Ḥakhmei, 1 (1964), 61f.

[Zvi Kaplan]

AVIAD, YESHAYAHU (**Wolfsberg**, **Oscar**; 1893–1957), author and leader of religious Zionism. Aviad, who was born in Hamburg, studied at the universities of Heidelberg, Wuerzburg, and Berlin. After serving as medical officer on the Eastern Front during World War I, he settled in Berlin where he practiced as a pediatrician. Aviad became a member of the central committee of the Mizrachi movement in Germany, edited its organ *Juedische Presse*, and was a delegate to many Zionist Congresses. In 1926 he was elected president of Mizrachi in Germany. Settling in Palestine in 1933, Aviad continued in medical practice there. He became a leading member of Ha-Po'el ha-Mizrachi, as well as a member of the executive of Mosad ha-Rav Kook, of Brit Ivrit Olamit ("World Hebrew Union"), and of the Court of Honor of the World Zionist Organization. One of the founders of the religious youth village Kefar ha-No'ar ha-Dati near Haifa (1938), he was also its spiritual mentor. He served as Israeli envoy in Scandinavia in 1948–49, and in 1956 was Israeli minister in Switzerland, where he died. His principal works are *Theory of Evolution and the Faith of the Jews* (1927); *Zur Zeit-und Geistesgeschichte des Judentums* (1938); *Yahadut ve-Hoveh* ("Judaism and the Present," 1962); a collection of essays, *Ba-Perozedor* ("In the Corridor," 1943); *She'arim* ("Gateways," 1948); and *Iyyunim be-Yahadut* ("Studies in Judaism," 1955). He also wrote books on the philosophy of history and profiles of prominent Jewish personalities. A list of his works appears in *Shai li-Yshayahu* (1956), 47–63.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: EẒD, 1 (1958), 12–18; Kressel, Leksikon, 1 (1965), 9f.

[Yosef Burg]

AVI AVI (Heb. אָבִי אָבִי; "My father, My father"), refrain of "*Bore ad anna*," *kinah* by a certain Benjamin sung on the Ninth of *Av in the Sephardi rite. The fifth verse of the original version makes a derogatory reference to the Trinity, and was modified in some western communities. The tune, though substantially the same from Aleppo to London, exhibits interesting local variations. The European-Sephardi style is illustrated best by the Bayonne version: most of the typical Sephardi characteristics disappeared, however, in the London variant. The Oriental versions are in the *maqām Bayāt-Nawā* and combine the melodic phrases at random to form a typical Eastern "endless melody." In some communities the hymn is sung in *Ladino under the title "La paloma" ("The Dove").

BIBLIOGRAPHY: M.J. Benharoche-Baralia, *Chants hébraiques traditionnels … de Bayonne* (1961), 98–99, no. 131; E. Aguilar and D.A. de Sola, *Sephardi Melodies* (1931), 53, no. 59; Idelsohn, Melodien, 4 (1923), 168, no. 135; 179, no. 177.

[Hanoch Avenary]

°**AVICENNA**, as he is known in the West, or **Abu Ali al-Hussein ibn ʿAbdallah ibn Sīnā** (980–1037), physician, scientist, statesman, and one of the greatest Islamic philosophers.

His writings cover a wide range of topics. His encyclopedic work *Kitāb Shifa-aʾl Nafs* ("The Book Concerning the Healing of the Soul") is a magisterial summary of the kind of Neoplatonized Aristotelianism which at that time dominated philosophy in the Islamic East. Divided into four parts, dealing, respectively, with logic, physics, mathematics, and metaphysics, the work contains summaries, analyses, and reconceptualizations of those Aristotelian doctrines that appeared sound to Avicenna. In his expositions Avicenna was influenced by Aristotle and his Greek interpreters, Neoplatonic thinkers and writings (some of which were incorrectly ascribed to Aristotle), and by earlier Islamic philosophers, primarily, al-*Fārābī. Avicenna later composed an abridgment of the *Shifaʿ*, entitled *Kitāb al-Najat* ("Book of Deliverance"). His *Isharat wa-al-Tanbihat* ("Pointers and Reminders"), however, is generally regarded as his most mature work and the last major statement of his philosophy.

Avicenna wrote on all the branches of Aristotelian philosophy, but was primarily a metaphysician. As such, he maintained that in all beings other than God their essence or quiddity (e.g., horseness) is ontologically distinct from *both* their concrete existence (e.g., this white horse beside me) and from the universal concept of it (horse) that can be predicated of all instances. Thus, from *what* a thing is (its essence or quiddity), we cannot infer *that* it is, i.e., that it exists concretely, because existence is not a constituent part of its essence. We can infer only that its existence is possible. Assuming that the essence is internally consistent and that a concrete instance of it does exist, however, some other thing external to the essence would be necessary to cause it to exist concretely in space and time. In that respect, existence would have to be an accident added to essence. Closely related to this analysis is Avicenna's more general distinction between contingent and necessary being, according to which the world and everything in it are contingent (possible in themselves, and, if they exist concretely, necessary through some other being or beings acting as their cause), while God is the only being who does not depend on anything external to bring about or assure His existence because God is necessary through Himself. This is to say that God's essence is identical with His existence. This distinction between necessary and contingent being led Avicenna to formulate his famous metaphysical proof for the existence of God (later used by *Maimonides, Thomas *Aquinas, and others), according to which the existence of God as a being necessary through Himself can be demonstrated from the contingent nature of the world. For the actual existence of the world and any thing within it, which are possible in themselves, cannot be caused or explained by other beings that are *only* possible in themselves, for these might or might not exist. Rather, such beings must be "specified" to exist by external, necessitating causes. Since there cannot be an infinite number of such causes coexisting through time, there must be one that is necessary, not through yet another cause, but through itself. This Necessary Existent is God. In his description of God, Avicenna was the champion of the theory of negative attributes, according to which, essential attributes applied to God, such as existing, being one, and being wise, do not have a positive meaning but must be understood as denying the opposite characteristics of God. To explain creation Avicenna turned to the Neoplatonic theory of *emanation. From God's contemplative activity there emanates a series of intelligences, souls, celestial bodies, and finally the sublunar world of generation and corruption. The intelligences, ten in number, are hierarchically ordered; and the tenth intelligence, according to Avicenna, fulfills a dual function. As the "Giver of the forms" (a distinctively Avicennian notion), it provides sublunar matter with the all of the various forms that characterize concrete particulars, while as the "Agent Intellect" it is the decisive cause in producing actual knowledge within suitably prepared individual minds. It should be noted, however, that Avicenna understood this entire emanative process as atemporal and ongoing, which is to say that the world, according to him, is co-eternal with, yet dependent on, God. In human psychology, Avicenna maintained that each human soul is a simple, independent substance, created by God, and by nature immortal. In his political thought, Avicenna emphasized the social nature of man and the need for both laws and a legislator, who, in the best case, is a prophet. In addition to other works, Avicenna also wrote philosophical allegories, chief among them *Ḥayy Ibn Yaqẓan* ("The Recital of Ḥayy Ibn Yaqẓan," in: H. Corbin, *Avicenna and the Visionary Recital*, 1960). This latter work served as a model for similarly entitled works by Ibn Tufayl and Abraham *Ibn Ezra.

Influence on Jewish Philosophy

The influence of Avicenna on Jewish philosophy remains largely to be studied. While it is quite clear that he influenced a number of Jewish philosophers, it is often difficult to determine just what his influence was. When Jews used Arabic as the language of philosophy, they had direct access to Avicenna's writings; but when the language of philosophy became Hebrew, they had to rely on Hebrew translations of his works, and on accounts of his teachings in other works available in Hebrew. Only a few of Avicenna's philosophical works were translated into Hebrew, and most of these, according to Steinschneider, were based on Latin translations. A work by

Avicenna entitled *Sefer ha-Shamayim ve-ha-Olam* (*De caelo et mundo*) was widely read, as the number of extant manuscripts testifies. This work, apparently part of the *Shifa*ʿ, was translated by Solomon b. Moses of Melgueuil (middle or second half of 13th century), most likely from the Latin. Solomon translated, from the Latin, a treatise *Ha-Shenah ve-ha-Yekiẓah* (*De somno et Vigilia*) attributed to Aristotle, but probably written by Avicenna. Todros Todrosi, between the years 1330 and 1340, translated Avicenna's *Najāt* under the title *Hazzalat ha-Nefesh*, though the one extant manuscript (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Cod. Hebr. 1023) contains only the physical and metaphysical sections of the work. There also exists a Hebrew translation of *Ḥayy Ibn Yaqẓan* together with a commentary (ed. by D. Kaufmann, 1886). Avicenna's views became known, also, through al-Ghazālī's *Maqāṣid al-Falāsifa* ("Intentions of the Philosophers"), Hebrew translations of which circulated widely in the Jewish world during the late Middle Ages.

Influence on Maimonides

Among Jewish philosophers, Maimonides made use of certain Avicennian doctrines, but it would be false to describe his philosophy as essentially Avicennian. In a famous letter to Samuel ibn *Tibbon (Marx, in: JQR, 25 (1934–35), 380), Maimonides registers some reservations about Avicenna's philosophical views. A number of Maimonidean teachings that medieval and modern commentators on the *Guide of the Perplexed* attribute to Avicenna, are, in fact, already found in al-Fārābī. Nevertheless, some typical Avicennian doctrines are found in the *Guide* (see S. Pines, *Guide of the Perplexed* (1963), XCIII–CIII (introduction)). In metaphysics, Maimonides accepts the Avicennian distinctions between essence and existence, and between necessary and contingent beings. He holds, with Avicenna, that God's essential attributes are to be understood negatively and he uses the Avicennian proof for the existence of God, known as the proof from necessity and contingency. In politics, Maimonides agrees with Avicenna that man must live in a community, and that prophets are needed to establish the law of the community. Maimonides further agrees with Avicenna that the appearance of prophets is due to teleological provisions of nature. Avicennian influences also seem to be at work in Maimonides' contention that prophets can reach knowledge of reality without having previously grasped the theoretical premises for such knowledge, and in his view that meditation is superior to worship.

Prior to Maimonides, Abraham *Ibn Daud in his *Emunah Ramah* was strongly influenced by Avicenna's views, so much so, that certain sections of the work seem to be almost a compendium of Avicenna's views. Ibn Daud follows Avicenna in his psychology and often makes use of Avicenna's demonstrations. From Avicenna, Ibn Daud takes the proof of the existence of God as a necessary being, and the proof that there can be only one such being. *Judah Halevi who, in his *Kuzari*, polemicizes against Neoplatonic Aristotelian philosophy, presents as its spokesman a philosopher whose views show many connections with the teachings of Avicenna (*Kuzari*, 1:1). However, Halevi returns to several of these themes much later in the dialogue (*Kuzari,* 5:12), when he has his own principal spokesman, the Jewish sage, present Avicenna's views on the soul, its faculties, and the possibility of conjunction with the Agent Intellect after death much more sympathetically. Abraham *Ibn Ezra (commentary on Genesis 18:21) and *Levi b. Gershom (*Milḥamot*, 3:5) adopt Avicenna's view that God knows only universals, not individuals. Similarly, Ibn Ezra's view that God exercises His providence by means of the separate intelligences and the celestial spheres (commentary on Ex. 20:2) is probably also derived from Avicenna. Shem Tov *Falaquera based his *Sefer ha-Nefesh* on Avicenna's views (chapter 18 is an almost literal translation from the *Najāt*), and he accepted in his *Moreh ha-Moreh* (1:34) Avicenna's view that singular individuals receive illumination through the "holy intelligence." Avicenna's psychology also influenced the authors of the philosophical compendium *Ru'aḥ Ḥen*, as well as *Hillel b. Samuel of Verona in his *Tagmulei ha-Nefesh*. Avicennian influences are found in Hillel's proof of the existence of the soul (ch. 1) and in his contention that the soul is not body, property, or accident but substance and form (ch. 2). Avicenna's influence on Simeon b. Ẓemaḥ *Duran is evident in the latter's description of the internal senses and their position in the brain (*Magen Avot*, 4:21, 4:22, 5:1, 5:7, 5:8). The "Physics" of *al-Shif'a*, in particular the "Meteorology," was used by Samuel ibn Tibbon in his *Yikkavu ha-Mayim*. In this work he also cites Avicenna's view that it is possible that man may be generated from earth, a view for which *Immanuel of Rome (c. 1268–c. 1328) in his *Maḥberet ha-Tofet ve-ha-Eden*, the last section of his *Maḥbarot*, assigns Avicenna to hell.

[Shlomo Pines]

Medical Writings

Among Avicenna's medical writings, his greatest work is his *al-Qānūn fī al-Ṭibb* ("Canon of Medicine," called Avicenna's Canon). Divided into five books, the work deals with such topics as the description of the human body, the causes and complications of common ailments, treatment of diseases, the diseases that affect only parts of the body, diseases which affect the body as a whole, and pharmacology. Basing himself on Hippocrates and Galen and drawing on his own extensive experience, Avicenna is mainly concerned with practical matters rather than with theoretical discussions. The work achieved world fame and was accepted as authoritative not only by Muslim physicians, but also by Jews and Christians. The popularity of the work is attested to by the fact that many manuscript copies (in the Arabic original, and in Hebrew and Latin translations) are still extant. The work has been published, at different times, in Arabic, Hebrew, and Latin, and is still considered authoritative in parts of the Muslim world.

The principal Hebrew translation of the Canon (books 2–5) was made by Nathan ha-Me'ati (1279); printed at Naples in 3 vols. (1491–92). A beautifully illustrated manuscript of this translation exists at Bologna, Italy (Cod. 2197). Parts of the work were also translated by Zerahiah b. Isaac b. Shealtiel

*Gracian (1249), and by Joseph b. Joshua Lorki (1408, book 1, included in the Naples edition). There exists also an abridged version in ten tractates of the Canon prepared by someone other than Avicenna (Arabic original in single manuscript, Ms. Escurial 863) which was translated into Hebrew twice: once by Moses ibn *Tibbon (*Ha-Seder ha-Katan*, 1272), a second time by an anonymous translator who entitled his translation *Olam Katan* (see Steinschneider, Uebersetzungen, p. 696). The anonymous translation has been preserved in many manuscripts (e.g., Bodleian Library, Ms. Mich. Add. 17).

Like other authors, Avicenna also composed a medical treatise in verse entitled *Manẓūma* (or *Urjūza*) *fī al-Ṭibb*. Averroes wrote a commentary to one version of this poem. The poem with its commentary was translated into Hebrew, in prose form, once by Moses ibn Tibbon (1260) and a second time by an anonymous translator (apparently by *Jacob ha-Katan). Solomon ibn Ayyūb of Granada (1261) and the physician Ḥayyim Yisraʾeli (1320) prepared a Hebrew verse translation of the work. Another medical work by Avicenna entitled *al-Adwiya al-Qalbiyya* ("On Remedies for the Heart") was translated into Hebrew twice: once under the title *Sammim Libbiyyim*, a second time under the title *Sefer ha-Refuʾot ha-Libbiyyot*. Baruch ibn Yaʿish ibn Isaac composed a commentary on the first one (c. 1485, Italy) as did an anonymous commentator (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Mich. Add. 15, fol. 122).

[Bernard Suler]

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AVIDA (Zlotnick), YEHUDA LEIB (1887–1962), communal worker, rabbi, and writer. Born in Plock, Avida studied in the yeshivah of Volozhin. During World War I he was held hostage by the local Russian commander against possible spy activities by members of his community. He was a founder (1917) and general secretary of *Mizrachi in Poland until 1920. Ordained in 1910, he was appointed rabbi of the city of Gabin (Gombin), Poland (1911–19). In 1920 he went to Canada and successively held positions as Jewish National Fund director for Canada, director of Montreal Hebrew schools, and rabbi in Vancouver. In 1938 he immigrated to South Africa, where as director of the South African Board of Jewish Education he substantially strengthened the Hebrew educational structure by establishing a seminary for teacher training later called in his name, a model nursery school, and the beginnings of a day school. In 1949 he immigrated to Jerusalem where he spent the rest of his life. His wide-ranging personality is reflected not only by the breadth of his activities in Zionism, education, and religion but also by his prolific literary activities in Hebrew, Yiddish, and English as a Zionist publicist, philologist, folklorist, and ethnologist. His first contributions in these fields appeared in 1917, when he was still rabbi in Gabin. He wrote under the pen name Yehuda Elzet (formed from the initials of his name Leib Zlotnik), fearing that the common people, who could not appreciate the importance of such studies, would deem them unworthy of a rabbi. In his latter days he served as president of the Israel Institute of Folklore and Ethnology. Outstanding in Yiddish philology is his *Vunder Oytser fun der Yudisher Shprakh* (4 vols., 1918–20). His *Koyheles, der Mentsh un dos Bukh* (1929) is another well-known work of his Yiddish period. During his South African period he favored Hebrew. At that time he produced such works as *Bereshit ba-Meliẓah ha-Ivrit* (1938) and *Maʾamarim mi-Sefer Midrash ha-Meliẓah ha-Ivrit* (1939). He also wrote *Koso shel Eliyahu ha-Navi* (1958). The Hebrew periodical of Jewish folklore *Edot* (April–June 1947) was dedicated to him on his 60th birthday. For a complete list of Avida's works see S. Assaf, et al. (eds.), *Minḥah li-Yhudah… Zlotnick* (1950).

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AVIDAN, DAVID (1934–1995), Israeli poet. Avidan was born in Tel Aviv. During his student years at the Hebrew University (1952–54) he became intimate with the group of poets called *Li-Kraʾat* ("Towards") after the journal of that name which they published and to which Yehuda *Amichai and Nathan *Zach belonged. Like theirs, his first volume, *Berazim Arufei Sefatayim* (1954), was unfavorably reviewed, though it was to transpire that these poets contributed more than others to the transformation which took place in the new Hebrew poetry and they are today considered the characteristic representatives of the poetry of the 1950s. Their poetry represents a reaction against the poetry of Abraham *Shlonsky and Nathan *Alterman and their followers of the "Palmaḥ generation." They attempted to reflect the problems associated with the existence of the individual, seen both in their subjects and in their vocabulary and images, which were less literary and closer to the realities and landscape (particularly the urban settings) of Israel.

Unlike the majority of them, however, Avidan continued to develop and change, a fact which is closely connected with his poetics. His early poetry was social, under the clear influence of communist ideology, but he abandoned it at an early age and social revolution gave way to individual revolution, with contempt for social and poetic conventions. Characteristic is his mockery of the masses and accepted social norms with an emphasis on the individuality of the poet. More than any other contemporary poet he abandoned the usual poetic language and coined new words, and did not hesitate to describe his own and other thought processes in an almost detached manner. This refusal to follow conventional paths brought in its train a fear of old age and death, as well as a profound interest in science and technology of the future. These subjects already appear in various forms in his earliest poetry.

In addition to the volume mentioned he published *Be'ayot Ishiyot* ("Personal Problems," 1957), *Sikkum Benayim* ("Interim," 1960), *Shirei Laḥaẓ* (1962), *Ma-she-hu Bishevil Mi-she-hu* ("Something for Somebody," 1964), *Shirim Bilti Efshari'im* and *Doaḥ Ishi al Masa L.S.D.* ("Impossible Poems," one volume, 1970), *Shirim Ḥiẓoni'im* ("External Poems," 1970), *Shirim Shimushi'im* ("Practical Poems," 1973), *Shirei Milḥamah ve-Meḥa'ah* ("Poems of War and Protest," 1976), *Shirim Ekroniyim* ("Axiomatic Poems," 1978), *Avidaniyum* 20 (1987), and the collection *Berazim Arufei Sefatayim*, which appeared posthumously (2001). He also published a play, *David Avidan Magish Te'atron Mufshat* (1965).

A selection of his poems written between 1952 and 1966 has appeared in English translation (mostly by himself) under the title *Megaovertone.*

Towards the end of the 1960s Avidan applied himself to other artistic pursuits, holding a number of exhibitions and producing short films, but without the success which accompanied his poetry. During his last years, Avidan, one of the best-known bohemian figures on the artistic scene of Tel Aviv, suffered from severe asthma attacks and lived in abject poverty. M. Ben published a long interview with him, which comes close to a biographical portrait, entitled *David Avidan* (2003).

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[Abraham Balaban]

AVIDOM (Mahler-Kalkstein), MENAHEM (1908–1995), Israeli composer. Avidom, who was born in Stanislav, Poland, immigrated to Palestine in 1925. He went to Paris to study music and was a music teacher in Tel Aviv from 1935 to 1946. From 1945 to 1952 he was general secretary of the Israel Philharmonic Orchestra and from 1952 to 1955 an adviser on the arts to the Ministry of Tourism. From 1955 to 1980 he was director-general of the Israel Performing Rights Society (ACUM) and chairman of the Israel Composers' League. As a composer, Avidom, using modern techniques, succeeded in interweaving Oriental musical elements – rhythmic, melodic, and stylistic – with Israeli dance rhythms. His works include ten symphonies; a concerto for flute and strings and a violin concerto; two string quartets, a brass quartet, and *Enigma* for five wind instruments, percussion, and piano; seven operas, including *Alexandra* and *In Every Generation*; and an opera buffa, *The Crook*. Avidom's more recent works include *The Pearl and the Coral*, ballet music for ten instruments written for the Inbal Theater (1972); *Passacaglia for Piano* (1973); *Hommage à Rubinstein*, six inventions on his name, commissioned for the 1973 International Rubinstein Competition; *Yemenite Wedding Suite*, for piano (1973), commissioned by Gerick Edition, Germany; an overture (*Spring*), commissioned by the Jerusalem (Radio) Symphony Orchestra (1973); and *The Farewell* or *Louise*, a radiophonic opera (1969). He was awarded an Israel Prize in 1961.

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[Herzl Shmueli]

AVIDOV, ZVI (formerly **Henry Klein**; 1896–1984), Israeli agricultural entomologist. Avidov was born in Znin, Germany, into an Orthodox Jewish family. While in high school, he joined the Blau Weiss Zionist youth movement which duly oriented him in the direction of agriculture as the first step toward the realization of his idealistic aspirations, namely, to immigrate to Palestine and become a farm worker in the Land of Israel. In 1916 Avidov was drafted into the German Army and served for two years in the Signal Corps on both the Eastern and Western fronts of World War I. In 1921 he immigrated to Palestine, where he worked as a farm laborer in Galilee and the Sharon regions. In 1923 he accepted an offer to join F.S. *Bodenheimer as a field entomologist of the Agricultural Experiment Station established in Tel Aviv by the Palestine Zionist Executive (later the Volcani Institute in Reḥovot). During their 30 years of collaboration, Bodenheimer and Avidov laid the foundation and built the structure of the science of agricultural entomology in Israel. In 1958 he joined the Hebrew University and was appointed professor of agricultural entomology at the Faculty of Agriculture at Reḥovot, where he was credited with the training of a whole new generation of specialists in the field of applied entomology. Avidov's contribution to entomological research in Israel was particularly prominent in the field of pest control, a field he pioneered. Apart from being instrumental in the training of the first cadres of practitioners and instructors, Avidov also established and headed the Department of Entomology at the Hebrew University's Faculty of Agriculture. During 1959–62 he served as dean of the Faculty of Agriculture, an office which provided him with the opportunity to make unique contributions to shaping the country's higher education and research programs, not only in entomology but also in agriculture as a whole. Even after retiring from university teaching and administrative chores in 1965, Avidov continued full time with an intensive research program and supervision of graduate student work, concentrating mainly on the biology of natural enemies of citrus scale insects and the development of methods for their mass rearing. He edited *Studies in Agricultural Entomology and Plant Pathology* (1966) and wrote several books, including *Plant Pests of Israel* (1969) with I. Harpaz which is still the standard manual on the subject. In 1977 Avidov received the Israel Prize in agriculture.

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[Isaac Harpaz / Sharon Zrachya (2nd ed.)]

AVIGAD (formerly **Reiss), NAḤMAN** (1905–1992), Israeli archaeologist. Avigad was born in Zawalow in the Ukraine (then Austria) and studied architecture at the University of Brno, Czechoslovakia, before immigrating to Palestine in 1925. In 1928 he joined the Hebrew University of Jerusalem and over the years participated in numerous excavations, some conducted by E.L. *Sukenik, including the Ophel, Beth Alpha, Hammath Gader, Samaria (joint expedition), Tel Jerishe, Afulah, and others, as well as participating in hikes, as part of a youth group, to historical sites around the country. As a result of his earlier architectural training, Avigad had become an accomplished draftsman and graphic artist, and many excavation drawings in publications of the 1930s to 1940s were his work. Avigad's first article in English, on a seal of a slave-girl, was published in the *Palestine Exploration Quarterly* in 1946. Avigad began his formal studies in archaeology in 1941 and in 1952 completed his Ph.D. and his thesis, *Ancient Monuments in the Kidron Valley*, was published in 1954. It was at this point that he was appointed lecturer in archaeology in the Department (later Institute) of Archaeology at the Hebrew University. Throughout his subsequent career, Avigad divided his scholarly interests between archaeology and Hebrew and Aramaic epigraphy. Avigad was the coauthor (with Yigael *Yadin) of *A Genesis Apocryphon. A Scroll from the Wilderness of Judea* (1956). From 1953 to 1958 he directed the excavations at Bet She'arim, where he uncovered a subterranean necropolis of the second and third centuries C.E. He also participated in the 1955 survey of Masada and in two expeditions to the Judean Desert caves (1960–61). A specialist in Hebrew epigraphy, he deciphered a number of important inscriptions, notably the "Epitaph of a Royal Steward" at Silwan in the Kidron Valley (see *Shebna), inscriptions on the synagogue lintel at *Kefar Neburaya, and additional inscriptions in Jason's tomb, Jerusalem. He was awarded the Israel Prize for Jewish studies in 1977. Between 1969 and 1982 Avigad conducted a series of important excavations in the Jewish Quarter in Jerusalem. Hillel Geva, his assistant on the excavations, wrote that "despite his advanced age, Avigad spent many hours at the excavations every day during the hot summer months and showed no signs of tiring as the years passed. He did not neglect the opportunity to excavate in any area in which excavation was possible and would climb down into the deep pits to personally examine details of the architectural remains and stratigraphy. It is no exaggeration to say that the excavations in the Jewish Quarter rejuvenated him." Among his many archaeological achievements, Avigad will always be remembered for the three very important archaeological discoveries he made in Jerusalem: the finding of the Israelite "broad wall" of the city, the fire-blackened "burnt house" dating from the time of the Roman destruction of the city in 70 C.E., and the uncovering of the main street (*cardo*) of the Byzantine city. His popular account of these excavations appeared in a book entitled *Discovering Jerusalem* (1983).

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[Shimon Gibson (2nd ed.)]

AVIGDOR (Heb. אֲבִיגְדוֹר), moshav in the southern coastal plain of Israel near Kiryat Malakhi. It was founded in 1950 by ex-servicemen of the British Army's World War II Jewish Transport Unit (Yael), who had first attempted to settle with the veteran farmers at Menaḥemiyyah. Its economy was based on intensive field crops, milch cattle, and citrus. Large pecan nut plantations existed nearby. In 2002 the population of Avigdor was 615. The settlement was named after the English Zionist Sir Osmond *d'Avigdor-Goldsmid and his son Henry.

[Efraim Orni]

AVIGDOR, ABRAHAM, also known as **Abram Bonet Avigdor** and **Bonet Ben Meshullam Ben Solomon Avigdor** (second half 14th century), French physician, translator from Latin to Hebrew, and philosophic author. Avigdor was born in Arles, Provence, of a distinguished family of physicians. Abraham spent 12 years in Montpellier, where he pursued medical and philosophical studies. He is the first Jewish writer to mention his studies in this well-known School of Medicine. It is not excluded that he even taught there. He settled in Arles, where he practiced medicine.

Avigdor's only independent work is *Sefer Segullat Melakhim*, which he composed in 1367 at the age of 17 as a student in Montpellier. Written in rhymed prose, the work is influenced by al-*Ghazālī's *Maqāṣid al-Falāsifa*. In it Avigdor emphasizes the importance of logic and complains that the natural philosophers do not esteem this discipline highly enough. Statements dispersed throughout the work disclose that Avigdor was a pious Jew. In spite of his love of science and philosophy he takes to task those scholars who through imprecision of expression foster error and heresy. His work echoes the controversy between the followers and opponents of philosophy that had engaged the Jews of southern France in the 13th century (Mss. Paris Cod. Hebr. 990; Munich 44, 1; and Parma, de'Rossi, 402, 3; 1342, 2). Avigdor also composed a supercommentary on Averroes' middle commentary on the first three sections of Aristotle's *Organon* (Ms. Munich 63, 3–5). His translations from the Latin include (1) *Higgayon* or *Higgayon*

Kaẓer or *Trattato*, a translation of Peter of Spain's *Summulae logicales*. The translation is precise, though the order of the chapters is changed at times and there are occasional additions and deletions (Bodleian Library, Ms. Mich, 280; Bodl. 56); (2) *Mavo bi-Melakhah*, a translation of Bernard Alberti's *Introductorium in practicam pro provectis in theorica*. It is a work devoted to medicines and based on the fourth book of Avicenna's *Canon* (Mss. Berlin, Or. Qu. 544; Munich 297, 2; Paris, Cod. Hebr. 1054, 12; (3) *Mevo ha-Ne'arim* is the wrong name, preserved in many manuscripts, of the Hebrew translation of two parts of a well-known medical textbook written by Gerard de Solo, a prominent 14th century professor, the *Tractatus de febrivus*. Avigdor finished it in 1379, and it was preserved in no fewer than 21 manuscripts (Mss. Hamburg 308, 4; Munich 296, 297; Parma, de'Rossi 399; Bodleian, Mich. 135; etc.). Lola Ferre edited the Latin text and the Hebrew translation (*Miscelánea de Estudios Árabes y Hebreos,* secc. Hebr., 45 (1996) 149–83); (4) *Be'ur,* a commentary also by Gerard de Solo on *Ad Almansorem*, a Latin translation of part of al-Rāzī's *Kitāb al-Manṣūrī*, to which Avigdor added valuable comments (Munich, 296, 1); (5) *Pirkei Arnau*, a translation of the *Medicationis parabolae* or *Regulae generales* written in 1300 by Arnoldus de Villanova (Arnau de Vilanova), a famous Spanish physician. It was finished around 1388, and has been preserved in seven manuscripts (Munich, Cod. Hebr. 286; Firenze Pl. 88, C. 36, f. 15; London, Brit. Libr., Or. 10507; Macerata, Bibl. Com. 310, 2; Hamburg 308, 3; Munich, Cod. Hebr. 297; Milano 137). The work has been published by Lola Ferre, based on Munich, Cod. Hebr. 286, in: J.A. Paniagua, L. Ferre, E. Feliú: *Medicationis parabole. Pirqé Arnau de Vilanova*, AVOMO, Vol. VL, 1, Barcelona: Universidad de Barcelona, 1990; (6) *Megillah*, translated in 1380, a reference book dealing with digestive and purgative drugs, the *Practica* by Johannes of Parma, extant in seven manuscripts (Paris, Bibl. Nat. 1054, 11 and 1128, 10; Hamburg 308, 2; London, Brit. Libr., Or. 1036; Berlin, Staatsbibliothek 71, 3 and 245; Jerusalem, NUL B 1, 8º 85 B 140), edited, translated and studied by Lola Ferre (*Práctica de Johannes de Parma,* Granada: Univ. de Granada, 2002).

Avigdor also aided his son Solomon in translating an astronomical work by Arnoldus de Villanova entitled *De judiciis astronomiae* or *Capitula astrologiae*, whose title in the Hebrew translation was *Panim ba-Mishpat*.

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[I.M. Salkind / Angel Saenz-Badillos (2nd ed.)]

AVIGDOR BEN ELIJAH HA-KOHEN (c. 1200–1275), talmudic scholar in Italy and Austria. Avigdor was born in Italy and studied under Eleazar b. Samuel of Verona, Isaac of Verona, and later Simḥah b. Samuel of Speyer. For a number of years Avigdor lived in northern Italy in Ferrara, in Mantua, and in Verona. Students flocked to his school at Verona, among them members of the distinguished Anav family of Rome, including Zedekiah b. Abraham *Anav. For a time Avigdor lived in Halle, Germany, from where he conducted halakhic correspondence with *Hezekiah b. Jacob of Magdeburg concerning a letter of divorce. On the death of *Isaac b. Moses Or Zaru'a of Vienna, Avigdor was invited to succeed him at Vienna. For about 25 years he was the central rabbinic figure in Austria, and transplanted the talmudic scholarship of Italo-German Jewry to Austria, which eventually became the most important center of Ashkenazi Jewry. Both Isaac Or Zaru'a and Abraham of Pesaro referred to him as one of "the greatest scholars of our generation." He was one of the teachers of *Meir b. Baruch of Rothenburg. His responsa are included in the responsa of Meir of Rothenburg, in the *Haggahot Maimoniyyot*, in *Mordekhai*, in the responsa of R. Asher b. Jehiel and of Ḥayyim b. Isaac of Vienna, and in the *Shibbolei ha-Leket*. His *tosafot* to the talmudic tractates of *Ketubbot* and *Eruvin* have survived, as well as a commentary on the Pentateuch and the Five Scrolls.

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[Irving A. Agus]

AVIGDOR BEN JOSEPH ḤAYYIM (18th–19th centuries), rabbi in Poland, one of the leading opponents of *Ḥasidism in Poland-Lithuania in the late 18th century. In 1785 he became rabbi of Pinsk and its district, but through the influence of the Ḥasidim he was dismissed in 1794, two years before the end of his term. He lodged a complaint with the civil courts, claiming the balance of his salary and damages resulting from loss of office. He also took up the matter with government officials in St. Petersburg. During the six years of embittered litigation with the leaders of the community, Avigdor embarked on a campaign of denunciation against Ḥasidism. He lodged a second complaint in 1800 with the office of Czar Paul I containing charges against Ḥasidism in which he brought arguments from Scripture to prove that it was a heretical sect in conflict with the accepted values of religion, morality, and the laws of the state, and that it continued to adhere to the beliefs of the pseudo-messiah, *Shabbetai Ẓevi. When, on investigation, the authorities failed to find anything exceptional in the behavior of the Ḥasidim, Avigdor did not relax his efforts and as a result of his denunciations *Shneur Zalman of Lyady, the founder of Ḥabad Ḥasidism, was reimprisoned. Avigdor subsequently drew up 19 questions accusing Shneur Zalman, in which he continued to denounce the Ḥasidim as disloyal both to the state and to Judaism. In December 1800 he lodged another accusation before the government in which he cited extracts from Shneur Zalman's *Sefer ha-Tanya*, in an attempt to prove that Ḥasidism was inimical to Christianity.

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AVIGDOR BEN SIMḤAH HA-LEVI OF GLOGAU (or **Glogauer**; pseudonym **Alem**; c. 1725–1810), teacher and author. In his youth he was one of the *maskilim* of Moses *Mendelssohn's circle in Berlin. He later (1768) moved to Prague where he wrote a short Hebrew grammar, *Davar Tov*, which he published together with the treatise *Marpe Lashon* by R. Moses b. Ḥaviv (Prague, 1783). Avigdor also published a collection of Mendelssohn's letters to him, *Iggerot Remad* (in two pamphlets, Vienna, 1792, 1797), in one of which Mendelssohn explains his purpose in translating the Pentateuch into German. The second volume also contains a selection of Avigdor's poems entitled *Ḥotam Tokhnit*. In 1802 he published Mendelssohn's Pentateuch with German translation, adding a preface.

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AVIGNON (sometimes called in Hebrew *Ir ha-gefanim* "city of grapes"; *gefen* = vigne, i.e., vine), capital of the department of Vaucluse, southeastern France, formerly part of *Provence. Avignon was the residence of the popes for some years after 1309. In 1348 Joanna, countess of Provence, sold the city to Pope Clement VI and it belonged to the French states of the Holy See until the French Revolution. In consequence the Jews were permitted to remain there and in the adjacent area of the *Comtat-Venaissin even when they were excluded from the rest of France. According to legend the Jews took part in a revolt against Bishop Stephen of Avignon in 390. The first archaeological evidence of their presence there dates from the fourth century and is given by a stamp with the five-branched *menorah* and the inscription: *Avin* (*ionnensis*); the first written evidence dates from 1178 when Emperor Frederick I entrusted the protection of the Jews of Avignon to Bishop Pons. The Jewish quarter was at first situated at the present Vieille Juiverie street. About 1221 it was transferred to the neighborhood of the Church of St. Peter. Its location is marked by Rue Jacob and the former Place Jérusalem (today Place Victor-Basch). The old synagogue which stood on this site was destroyed by fire in 1845 and replaced on the same spot by the existing circular synagogue in the Roman manner. Near the synagogue, or *escole*, there was also a wedding hall, a butchery, and the oven for baking unleavened bread. The Jewish quarter, or *carrière des Juifs*, was surrounded by walls and closed by three gates. The Jews of Avignon were obliged to pay a tax to the collegiate chapter of St. Peter's (Arch. départ. G IX. 10). Although covering an area of approximately 100 yards by 100 yards, the quarter nevertheless housed over 1000 persons in 1358. One of the cemeteries was located on the site formerly called La Pignotte.

The statutes of the city of Avignon of 1243 mention the *Communitas Iudeorum* several times. It was specifically laid down (art. 84) that animals killed according to Jewish ritual were not to be sold outside the carrière. Jewish commerce flourished during the period of papal residence in Avignon, supplying the papal court with victuals, bed and table linen, horses, perfumes, coral and pearls for rosary beads, parchment, and other commodities. The tailor of Gregory XI was a Jew, as was the papal bookbinder. The less wealthy Jews generally engaged in brokerage. In 1374, 87 of 94 textile dealers and 41 of 62 timber merchants were Jews. In the 14th century, Jewish moneylending on interest, practically nonexistent in the previous century, gradually developed, although limited in scale. At the time of the *Black Death in 1348 a massacre of the Jews was prevented by the energetic intervention of Pope *Clement VI and the city councilors; nevertheless two or three Jews were burned by the populace. After the popes returned to Rome, the attitude of the populace and the civic authorities became increasingly hostile to the Jews.

The first evidence of ordinances promulgated by the Jewish community dates from 1413. Its administration already comprised *baylons*, or delegates, and a council. The first extant ordinances date from 1452. They include a detailed tariff of dues of the charity fund, or *hekdesh*. The 1558 ordinances show the financial organization: community members were divided into three categories, or *mains* ("hands"), according to financial status. The "manifest," or tax declaration, was based on property, not on income. The officials and administrators of the community were members of the council which included the various *baylons*, notably those in charge of the manifest, charity, the sick, study, etc., and the secretary, cantor, preacher, translator of services into the vernacular for women, and beadle. The police regulations of the city of Avignon of 1458 prohibited Jews from keeping their shops open or transacting business on Christian holy days, and from accepting as pledges church ornaments or Christian religious objects. Restrictions were imposed on Jewish trade in textiles and clothing. A bull of Pope Sixtus IV (Aug. 1, 1479), relatively favorable to the Jews, was annulled at the beginning of 1480 after opposition from the city council and guilds of Avignon. During the anti-Jewish disturbances at *Tarascon and *Arles in 1484, the town council of Avignon took security measures. These precautions prevented more violent outbursts when students and artisans attacked the Jews in Avignon in May of the following year. In 1486, after refugees from anti-Jewish violence in other towns of Provence had begun to arrive in Avignon, the municipal councilors demanded their expulsion. In 1493 they again asked for measures to be taken against the influx of Jews from other parts. It was then that Jews expelled from Spain also began to take refuge there.

From the end of the 15th century, the Jewish community of Avignon undertook to pay annuities or allowances to wealthy Christian families against the deposit of capital sums of various sizes ranging from 40 to 500 florins. This was probably not only a way of coping with temporary financial difficulties, but also of interesting influential citizens of Avignon in maintaining the Jewish right of residence. The policy bore fruit in 1500 when Pope *Alexander VI imposed a tax of 1/20 of Jewish property; the inhabitants of Avignon managed to enlist the opposition of the pontifical governor to this levy until a formal order from Rome confirmed it. Such an exceptional levy was in addition to the regular dues and taxes required from Jewish residents beside their share of the general charges. In 1510 the archbishop and papal legate in Avignon granted the Jewish community a comparatively favorable constitution. This confirmed that the *baylons* could not be arrested for debt during their period of office, modified the former regulations which imposed the wearing of the Jewish *badge, and obliged the Jews to attend only one compulsory missionary sermon a year. From the 17th century the main occupations of Avignon Jewry were dealing in second hand goods, horses and mules, and peddling. From the beginning of the 18th century many left Avignon and emigrated to Paris, Bordeaux, and Bayonne.

In September 1791 Avignon ceased to be a papal possession (together with the adjacent Comtat-Venaissin) and was united with France. The Jews of Avignon were granted full civil rights in June 1791. The egalitarian aspirations of the new regime were not without influence on the inner structure of the Jewish community. In October 1790 the rabbi Elie Vitte Spire maintained in a sermon that in conformity with the new principles the syndics should no longer be elected to represent the existing groups of taxpayers. This marked the end of the old system of minority control. Following the Napoleonic decree of 1808 on the organization of the Jewish *consistoire, the community was included in the regional consistory of Marseilles. However the cultural level of the Jews seems to have suffered from these changes, and, from 1789, to have reflected the activities of single individuals rather than a communal entity. The number of Jews in Avignon dwindled to 149 (54 families) in 1892 and thereafter communal life almost ceased until somewhat revived by North African immigration.

Avignon Jewry had its own rite of prayers, similar to, though not identical with, that which was followed in *Carpentras and the other two "Holy Communities" of the Comtat-Venaissin: the volumes for the New Year, Day of Atonement, and Penitential Prayers only were published (Amsterdam, 1765, 1766, 1763). In addition, the daily prayers (*Seder ha-Tamid*) were published for all four communities (2 vols., Avignon, 1767) along with occasional prayers and hymns (*Seder ha-Kunteres*; Avignon, 1765). Many manuscripts of the ritual according to the Avignon rite are extant in various libraries. For the specific nature of the rite see *Comtat-Venaissin. Avignon Jewry shared also the peculiar Hebrew pronunciation, Judeo-Provençal patois, synagogue architecture, and folklore common to the other communities of the region.

A local Purim was observed at Avignon on the 8th of Shevat to celebrate a providential escape of the community in 1757.

Notable among the many Jewish scholars and writers born or living in Avignon were Mordecai b. Joseph, Joseph Samuel b. Abraham b. Joseph b. Abraham Baruch b. Neriah, *Kalonymus b. Kalonymus, *Levi b. Gershom, *Jacob b. Ḥayyim, Israel b. Joseph ha-Levi (Crescas Caslari), Judah b. Solomon Nathan (Maestro Bonjudas Nathan), Abraham b. Mordecai Farissol, and *Joseph ha-Kohen. The first Hebrew printing venture was attempted at Avignon in 1446 when the Jew Davin de Caderousse acquired Hebrew characters from the Prague engraver Procop Waldfoghel against an obligation to teach him the craft of cloth dyeing. Davin's failure to do so involved him in a lawsuit, and he had to return the type. The early prayer books of Avignon were, however, printed in Holland, and a Hebrew press did not function in Avignon until 1765 when the *Seder ha-Kunteres* was published. The Jewish religious periodicals *La Loi Divine* and *La Famille de Jacob* were published there in the second half of the 19th century.

During World War II, many Jewish refugees, especially from Alsace, settled in Avignon. According to a census of June 1941, 300 Jews were living there. But on April 17, 1943, several Jewish families were arrested and deported.

[Bernhard Blumenkranz]

Since World War II

North African Jews brought the Jewish population to 500 in 1960 and to almost 2,000 in 1968. There is a synagogue of mixed rite, Ashkenazi and Sephardi, and various communal and educational institutions. Avignon is the seat of the Consistoire Israélite de Vaucluse, which covers the department comprised of the ancient communities of the Comtat Venaissin – Cavaillon, *Carpentras, and L'Isle-sur-Sorgue (no Jewish population today).

[Georges Levitte]

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AVIGUR (Meirov), SHAUL (1899–1978), key figure in the *Haganah. Avigur was born in Dvinsk, Russia. He went to Ereẓ Israel in 1912 and, six years later, became a member of the *kevuẓah* Kinneret, participating in the defense of *Tel Ḥai in 1920. Later he took charge of the Haganah's central arms depot in Kinneret. He was an active member of the *Aḥdut ha-Avodah Party and then of *Mapai. From 1922 Avigur was a member of the national committee of the Haganah. He devoted himself to purchasing arms, to underground arms manufacture, and to the organization of the Haganah's intelligence service (Sherut Yedi'ot). During World War II Avigur was active in organizing "illegal" *aliyah* from Middle Eastern countries. When the war ended, he headed the vast underground operation for the transportation of the survivors of European Jewry (Ha-Mosad le-Aliyah Bet; see *Immigration, "Illegal"), working from Paris in close contact with the *Beriḥah ("Escape") organization. In 1948, during the Israeli War of Independence, Avigur was in charge of the purchase of arms in Europe. Until the mid-1950s he was a chief assistant to Minister of Defense David Ben-Gurion, and thereafter served in special capacities on behalf of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs and the Prime Minister's Office. He was a member of the editorial board of *Sefer Toledot ha-Haganah* ("The History of the Haganah"), and published a book of reminiscences, *Im Dor ha-Haganah* ("With the Haganah Generation"), 1962.

Avigur was a central figure in the fight for emigration of Soviet Jewry. He was the recipient of the Israel Prize in 1973.

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[Yehuda Slutsky]

AVIGUR-ROTEM, GABRIELA (1946–), Israeli novelist. Avigur-Rotem was born in Buenos Aires, Argentina, and came to Israel in 1950. She studied Hebrew and English literature and worked for several years as a high school teacher. Later she worked as an editor at the Haifa University Publishing House. Following the publication of two poetry collections (1980; *Ḥomot ve-Keisarim*, 1990), Avigur-Rotem published in 1992 her first novel, *Moẓart lo Hayah Yehudi* ("Mozart Wasn't a Jew"; Italian, 1997) and was awarded the Peter Schwisert Prize for Young Writers. The novel, which was highly praised by critics and readers alike, is a family saga set against the historical backdrop of early Zionism, Baron Hirsch's support of a Jewish colony in Argentina, and, later, the Spanish Civil War and World War II. Leon Gidekel has to give up his dream of becoming a great singer, transferring his hopes of musical success to his nine children, for each of whom he buys a piano. Avigur-Rotem unfolds an exuberant epic tapestry, displaying a fine touch for nuanced characterization and a sensitive ear for various layers of Hebrew. In 2001, Avigur-Rotem published a second novel, *Ḥamsin ve-Ẓipporim Meshuga'ot* ("Heatwave and Crazy Birds"; Italian, 2004; French, 2005), the story of Loya Kaplan who at the age of 48 tries to uncover the story of her family. Her journey into the past discloses the fate of her parents during the Holocaust and brings her finally to her elderly mother, who had chosen to return to Czechoslovakia for ideological reasons. Undoubtedly one of the most interesting voices in contemporary Hebrew literature, Avigur-Rotem was twice awarded the Prime Minister's Prize for Literature as well as the President's Prize (2002).

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[Anat Feinberg (2nd ed.)]

AVIḤAYIL (Heb. אֲבִיחַיִל; "father of strength"), moshav in central Israel, N.E. of Netanyah. In 1921 veterans of the *Jewish Legion of World War I settled on desert land allocated to it by the British Mandatory government in the northeastern Negev, near Tel Arad. This effort failed when no water was found. On July 19, 1932, they founded Aviḥayil on a wasteland stretch of sand dunes in the Ḥefer Plain. In 1946 Aviḥayil merged with the neighboring moshav, Ein ha-Oved. Its settlers were from Ereẓ Israel, Russia, the United States, Canada, and other countries. In 1967 there were 605 inhabitants. The economy was based on intensive mixed farming including citrus. In the mid-1990s the population of Aviḥayil was approximately 880, increasing to 1,090 in 2002. It established "Bet ha-Gedudim," a museum of the Jewish Legion and clubhouse for veterans.

[Efraim Orni]

ÁVILA, city in Castile, central Spain. Jews are mentioned there in 1085. The first documentary evidence of a Jewish community is from 1144. In 1176 the king granted one-third of the taxes levied on the Jews to the bishop of Ávila. However, they evidently refused to pay it to him, although ordered to do so by the crown in 1285 and again in 1293. By the end of the 13th century the community was one of the largest in Castile. Among some of its leading members was Yuc'af de Ávila, a very important tax collector under Sancho IV. In 1303 the community numbered about 50 families, or about 250 people, occupying 40 houses on diocesan land. The majority were artisans and shopkeepers, some were moneylenders, and others engaged in farming and sheep- and cattle-raising. Prominent were "R. Judah the dyer" and Yuc'af de Ávila, mentioned in 1285 as tax-collector for the province of Ávila, and owner of several houses in the city. By the end of the 13th century Ávila had become a center of mysticism and messianic activities (see Ávila, Prophet *of). Yuc'af was a patron of mystics and scholars. The famous kabbalist *Moses de Leon resided for a while in the city. During the civil war in Castile, when a moratorium was imposed on debts to Jews in 1366, the Jews in Ávila and other communities were attacked by rioters who seized their promissory notes and securities. The Jews of Ávila were forced to attend a religious disputation in church between the apostate *Juan de Valladolid and *Moses ha-Kohen of Tordesillas in 1375. Nothing is known of the fate of Ávila Jewry during the 1391 massacres. In the 15th century the community was still important and consisted of 107 families, more than 500 Jews, constituting some 8% of the city population. In 1474 the community had to pay taxes amounting to 12,000 maravedis, and in 1489 a war levy of 86,900 maravedis. Abraham Melamed of Ávila farmed various taxes in this period. *Anusim* ("forced converts") were already living in Ávila in the 15th century. During the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella a number of restrictive measures were imposed, and in 1480 the Jews were segregated into a separate quarter of the city. In 1490 the *La Guardia blood libel trial was transferred from Segovia to Ávila. The proceedings so inflamed the populace that after the accused had been burned at the stake a Jew was stoned to death. Later a royal order of protection was issued. After the expulsion of the Jews from Spain, the two synagogues of Ávila were sold and the Jewish cemetery was given to a monastery in 1494. An inquisitional tribunal was set up in Ávila in 1490. In 1499, 75 victims were burned at the stake, as well as the bones of 26 who had already died "in sin."

A document from 1303 shows that the Jews of Ávila lived then with Christians in different parts of the city. Many, however, were concentrated in the area of the *Mercado Grande* and the *Mercado Chico* (today's Reyes Católicos and Vallespín). Near the San Vicente church the Jews had a synagogue and a slaughterhouse. In 1412 the Jews had to live within a *judería* situated on the southwest part of the city wall, in the Santo Domingo quarter. In 1481 the *judería* was completely enclosed. Another Jewish quarter was on the east side of the wall. The documents refer to many synagogues in Ávila.

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[*Encyclopaedia Hebraica* / Yom Tov Assis (2nd ed.)]

AVILA, DE, Sephardi family. Several of its members held prominent positions in Spain, both when professing Jews and after they became ostensibly converted to Catholicism, in the 15th century. From the second half of the 17th century the family appears in Morocco, England, and later in the United States. The most notable member living in Spain was the Converso DIEGO ARIAS DE AVILA, secretary and auditor of the royal accounts, one of the most disliked courtiers of his day. The marriage of his son into the nobility was the subject of a satire. His enemies dwelt on his depravity and asserted that he sucked the blood of his country. His son PEDRO succeeded to his father's post, while another son, JUAN ARIAS D'AVILA (Dávila) became bishop of Segovia and was subjected to the persecution of the Inquisition. Among the members of the family in Morocco were ISAAC (d. 1717), MEIR B. JOSEPH (c. 1724), author of responsa, in Rabat-Salé, and MOSES (d. 1725), philanthropist and talmudist in Meknès, author of responsa (preserved in Berdugo's *Mishpatim Yesharim*, 1 (Amsterdam, 1891), 93a, 94a). Moses was the father of Samuel *Avila and grandfather of Eliezer *Avila. SOLOMON DE AVILA (d. after 1791), son-in-law of Eliezer, talmudist and *dayyan* in Rabat, was also the banker and adviser of the sultan Muhammad ben Abdullah. Under the reign of Moulay Yazid, Solomon was cruelly persecuted. His son SAMUEL (d. after 1810) was the author of *Oz ve-Hadar* (Leghorn, 1855).

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[David Corcos]

AVILA, ELIEZER BEN SAMUEL BEN MOSES DE (known from the initials of his name as "**Rav Adda**"; 1714–1761), Moroccan rabbinical scholar; son of Samuel *Avila, born in Salé, Morocco. His commentaries on the Talmud, written while he was still a youth, are noteworthy for their acumen and independence. His works, published posthumously, are *Magen Gibborim*, on the Talmud (2 vols., Leghorn, 1781–85); *Milḥemet Mitzvah*, also on the Talmud (Leghorn, 1805) and including sermons entitled *Ḥesed ve-Emet; Be'er Mayim Ḥayyim*, responsa (Leghorn, 1806); *Ma'yan Gannim*, on the *Turim*. Another part of his responsa, entitled *She'elot u-Teshuvot de-Rav Adda*, and a work on the Bible, remain in manuscript. His responsa are a valuable source of information on the condition of the Jews of Morocco in the 18th century. He died in Rabat. To this day the Jews of Morocco go on pilgrimage to his grave.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Azulai, 1 (1852), no. 42; 2 (1852), 77, no. 56; J.M. Toledano, *Ner ha-Ma'arav* (1911), 191; J. Ben-Naim, *Malkhei Rabbanan* (1931), 226.

AVILA, PROPHET OF, name given to a seer who declared himself at Avila, Spain, in 1295. The prophet, an illiterate man, purportedly experienced visions through the medium of an angel, who "dictated" to him a Book of Wondrous Wisdom, on which the seer immediately compiled a detailed commentary. A synopsis of 50 chapters was forwarded to R. Solomon ibn *Adret, who treated the matter with reserve (Resp. 1:548). The work has not been preserved, but evidently resembled the Christian mystical prophecies of this type common in the 13th and 14th centuries. The prophet of Avila is also mentioned by the apostate *Abner of Burgos, who records that a prophet announced that the ram's horn of the Messiah would be blown on the last day of the month of Tammuz. The Jews of the district prepared themselves by prayer and fasting, and on the appointed day gathered in the synagogue robed in white, whereupon crosses suddenly appeared on their garments. The community was panic-stricken; some were induced to adopt Christianity.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Baer, Spain, 1 (1961), 278–81, 288, 439; idem, in: *Zion*, 5 (1939–40), 40.

AVILA, SAMUEL BEN MOSES (b. 1688), talmudic scholar in Morocco. Born in Meknès, Avila studied under Ḥayyim ibn Attar (the First), whose granddaughter he married, and under Joseph b. Bahatit. He began preaching publicly when he was about 20 years old. An affluent merchant, he left Meknès for Salé and Rabat because of the excessive taxes levied upon him by the community. Part of his work, *Keter Torah* (Amsterdam, 1725), which he calls "a guide for scholars and for the conduct of communal affairs," was written to prove that scholars should be exempt from communal taxation, probably as a result of his own experiences. At the end of this work is his commentary to tractate *Nazir*. He also wrote *Ozen Shemu'el* (Amsterdam, 1715), homilies and eulogies; and *Me'il Shemu'el*, still in manuscript.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Steinschneider, Cat Bod, 2409, no. 7011; J.M. Toledano, *Ner ha-Ma'arav* (1911), 148 ff.; J. Ben-Naim, *Malkhei Rabbanan* (1931), 123b.

AVIMI (second half of the third century C.E.), Babylonian *amora*. He was the teacher of R. *Ḥisda who declared: "Many times I have been vanquished by Avimi," referring to a *halakhah* which Avimi had taught him (Ar. 22a). However, when Avimi forgot the tractate *Menaḥot*, he went to the *bet midrash* of R. Ḥisda his pupil, to be reminded. Avimi took the trouble to go to him personally, rather than sending for him, believing that in this way he would the better succeed in his purpose. This was in keeping with the statement, "I have toiled and achieved," meaning that he had gone out of his way and this had proved worthwhile (Men. 7a, and Rashi, *ibid.*). R. Ḥisda transmitted many *halakhot* in the name of Avimi (Suk. 16b; Ket. 71b, 100b; et al.), and also the *aggadah* that after the First Temple was built, the Tent of Meeting was stored away beneath the crypts of the Temple (Sot. 9a).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Hyman, Toledot, 87–88.

[Zvi Kaplan]

AVIMI BEN ABBAHU (beginning of the fourth century C.E.), Palestinian *amora*. He had commercial contacts with Babylonia (Ket. 85a). Of his teachings almost nothing has been preserved, but he is held up as an exemplar of filial respect, his father himself praising him highly in this regard. The Talmud relates that although Avimi had five grown-up sons, when his father R. Abbahu (whose identity is a subject of dispute) would visit him, he would rush to open the door himself. Once, R. Abbahu, after asking Avimi to bring him some water to drink, fell asleep. Avimi waited at his side until he awoke (Kid. 31b). Avimi said: "One son may give his father pheasants to eat, and yet be driven from the world if he does so grudgingly, while another son may cause him to grind in a mill, and yet be brought to the world to come if he does so respectfully and solicitously" (see *ibid.*, 31a–b). He is said to have stated: "The days of Israel's Messiah will be 7,000 years, as it is written (Isa. 62:5): 'As the bridegroom rejoiceth over the bride, so shall thy God rejoice over thee'" (Sanh. 99a, and Rashi *ibid.*, the bridegroom's rejoicing being seven days, and God's day a thousand years).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Bacher, Pal Amor; Hyman, Toledot, 88; Frankel, Mevo, 60.

[Zvi Kaplan]

AVIN (**Ravin**, **Avun**, **Bun**), variations of the same name. Ravin, an elision of R. (or Rav) Avin, occurs in the Babylonian Talmud, Avun and Bun in the Jerusalem Talmud and Avin in both. Many *amoraim* were called by this name, mostly with the addition of their patronymic but also without it, thus making it at times impossible to identify the author of a halakhic or aggadic statement.

(1) Babylonian *amora*, c.300. Emigrating to Ereẓ Israel where he met R. Johanan and Resh Lakish, he studied under Abbahu in Caesarea, R. Zeira in Tiberias, and R. Ilai. He was one of the *naḥutei*, i.e., sages who journeyed from Ereẓ Israel to Babylonia or vice versa, conveying to the scholars of one the teachings of the other. Hence the frequent statement in the Talmud: "When Ravin came" (i.e., from Ereẓ Israel to Babylonia). With the increased persecution in Ereẓ Israel after the Edict of Milan, the *naḥutei* settled in Babylonia. Ravin went to live in Pumbedita where he was a close associate of *Abbaye, the head of the local academy.

(2) Palestinian *amora* of the fourth century, apparently the son of the above, according to the tradition that "on the day Avin died, Avun his son was born" (Gen. R. 58:2; cf. TJ, Kid. 1:7, 61b). He was a colleague of R. Mana, the head of the yeshivah of Sepphoris, with whom he was involved in many halakhic controversies. Once when Avun built gates for a large *bet midrash* and joyfully showed them to R. Mana, the latter, quoting the verse "For Israel hath forgotten his Maker, and builded palaces" (Hos. 8:14), replied that it would be preferable if he had occupied himself with obtaining support for students (TJ, Shek. 5:4, 49b). A parable quoted in the name of Avun (either 1 or 2) is directed against the various Christian sects who were then arguing among themselves as to which of them represented the spiritual continuity of Israel. It is to the effect that the straw, the chaff, and the stubble disputed with one another, each contending that on its account the earth was sown. The wheat said to them: "Wait until the harvest, when we shall know on whose account the field was sown." When the crop was harvested and the owner came to winnow it, the chaff was blown away by the wind, the straw was thrown to the ground, the stubble burnt and the wheat heaped up. It is so with the various nations of the world who claim: "We are Israel and on our account the world was created." Israel said to them: "Wait until the coming of the day of the Lord. Then we shall indeed know on whose account the world was created" (Song R. 7:3).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Frankel, Mevo, 60b; Hyman, Toledot, 89–93; Bacher, Pal Amor.

[Yitzhak Dov Gilat]

AVINA (third–fourth century), amora. Avina was a Babylonian who later emigrated to Ereẓ Israel. In Babylon he studied under R. *Huna (Git. 66a) and transmitted *halakhot* in the names of R. Jeremiah b. Abba (Shab. 137b), R. *Ḥisda (Pes. 59a), and *Rav (TJ, Ket. 13:4, 36a). He was friendly with Geniva, the opponent of the exilarch, Mar Ukva, and when Geniva was sentenced to death by the civil authorities, he gave instructions that 400 zuz from his estate should be given to Avina (Git. 65b). In Ereẓ Israel he became the colleague of R. Imi, R. Zeira, and R. *Jacob b. Aḥa, with whom he held halakhic discussions, and they transmitted his statements (TJ, Shev. 4:2, 35a; Pes. 5:5, 32c). The Talmud also relates an argument between Avina and a sectarian (Sanh. 39a–b).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Hyman, Toledot, 97ff.

[Yitzhak Dov Gilat]

AVINERI, SHLOMO (1933–), Israeli political scientist and educator. Born in Bielsko, Poland, Avineri arrived in Palestine in 1939 with his family who settled in Herzliyya. Avineri studied political science and history at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, and received his doctorate for a thesis "The Concept of Revolution."

Avineri has served on the academic faculty of the Hebrew University since 1959. In 1974 he became professor and in 1975–76 he served as dean of the Faculty of Social Sciences. In 1999–2001 he was director of the Institute for European Studies and in 2001 became professor emeritus. Over the years he was also a visiting professor in universities in the U.S. and Britain.

His research work was initially an extension of his doctoral thesis, dealing with the social and political thought of Karl Marx. It was connected to the discovery and publication of the philosophical manuscripts of the young Karl Marx. His research addressed the relationship between the philosophical, humanistic, and anthropological writings of the young Marx and his economically-orientated later writings. He claimed there was a degree of continuity in Marx's thought and that the mature Marx cannot be understood without the presuppositions of earlier thought. This research led Avineri to consider the philosophy of Hegel and its relationship with modern totalitarianism (of the left and the right). His research showed that the view presented by Karl Popper of Hegelian philosophy as a form of modern totalitarianism did not present an adequate picture of the Hegelian philosophy and its heritage. Avineri was awarded the Rubin Prize in 1969 for his research, the Naftali Prize in 1971, and the Present Tense Award (American Jewish Communities) in 1982. In 1996 he received the Israel Prize for political science.

In 1970 Avineri published an article in *Commentary* calling for a dialogue with the Palestinians. In the following year he edited a book *Israel and the Palestinians*, which explored the possibility of negotiations with the PLO. When he was appointed director-general of the Foreign Ministry by Foreign Minister Yigal Allon, the Likud opposition took exception to Avineri's statements calling for the establishment of a Palestinian state in the West Bank and tried unsuccessfully to block his appointment by a parliamentary motion.

After his year in the Foreign Ministry, Avineri devoted himself to researching the intellectual origins of Zionism. He tried to place Zionism in the context of 19th-century socialism and nationalistic movements. He has taken a deep interest in recent developments in East Europe where he was one of the first Israeli academics to be invited to give talks in seminars in the Soviet Academy of Sciences in the U.S.S.R., Poland, Hungary, and the former German Democratic Republic. He was an observer to the 1989 elections in Hungary and Czechoslovakia.

His books include several works on Marx and Marxism as well as *The Making of Modern Zionism* (1982), *Moses Hess: Prophet of Communism and Zionism* (1985), *Arlosoroff: An Intellectual Biography* (1989), *Communitarianism and Individualism* (with De-Shalit, eds., 1992), *Jews of the Former Soviet Union: Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow* (with Chelnov and Gitelman, 1997), *Integration and Identity: Challenges to Europe and Israel* (with Weidenfeld, eds., 1999), and *Politics and Identities in Transformation: Europe and Israel* (with Weidenfeld, eds., 2001).

[Elaine Hoter / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

AVINERI, YITZḤAK (1900–1977), Israeli grammarian and philologist. Avineri was born in the Ukraine and first came to Ereẓ Israel in 1913, and studied at the Herzliyyah Hebrew Gymnasia. He returned to Europe, however, to study in Berlin and Paris, and after graduating from the Sorbonne in mathematics, he took up permanent residence in Ereẓ Israel in 1926. Despite his proficiency in mathematics he devoted himself entirely to research in the Hebrew language, and his encyclopedic knowledge of sources made him an outstanding expert in his field.

His major work *Heikhal ha-Mishkalim*, on which he worked for 40 years, garnered him the Prize of the Academy of the Hebrew Language, but his four-volume *Heikhal Rashi* is regarded as his most important work. He was engaged in the preparation of a revised edition at the time of his death. His book *Yad ha-Lashon* is a collection of the numerous articles he published in the course of his life, arranged alphabetically as an encyclopedia of modern Hebrew linguistics and grammar.

AVIN THE CARPENTER, man of outstanding piety in Babylon in the third century C.E. R. *Huna said to him that as a reward for his piety, two great men would emerge from his home. This prophecy was fulfilled in the person of his sons, the two *amoraim* R. *Idi b. Avin and R. *Ḥiyya b. Avin (Shab. 23b). In the printed text of the Talmud he is given the title *Rav* but this is omitted in some manuscripts, thus suggesting that he was not a scholar.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Hyman, Toledot, 96–97; Rabinovitz, Dik Sof, 7 (1875), 44.

[Yitzhak Dov Gilat]

AVINOAM (Grossman), REUVEN, (1905–1974), poet and translator. Avinoam, who was born in Chicago and educated in New York, received a thorough Hebrew education fostered by his father, a Hebrew writer. In 1929 he immigrated to Palestine and taught English language and literature at the Herzliyyah High School in Tel Aviv. In 1950 he was appointed supervisor of English studies at the Israel Ministry of Education and Culture. On behalf of Israel's Ministry of Defense, he published the literary remains of the young men – including his own son, Noam – who had fallen in the Israeli War of Independence, under the title *Gevilei Esh* (3 vols., 1952–61). Excerpts were published in English under the title *Such Were Our Fighters …* (1965). Avinoam's literary contributions have appeared in many Hebrew periodicals. Several volumes of his poetry, a volume of stories on Jewish life in America, and translations from the work of Jack London, Edgar Allan Poe, H.G. Wells, Israel Zangwill, and Ludwig Lewisohn were published in Israel. Avinoam also translated Tennyson's *Enoch Arden*, Thoreau's *Walden*, and Shakespeare's *Romeo and Juliet, King Lear*, and *Anthony and Cleopatra.* He edited a Hebrew anthology of English verse. Avinoam and H. Sachs compiled a Hebrew–English dictionary which was revised and edited by M.H. Segal (Tel Aviv, 1938).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: R. Wallenrod, *The Literature of Modern Israel* (1956), 243–5.

[Eliezer Schweid]

AVINU MALKENU (Heb. אָבִינוּ מַלְכֵּנוּ; "Our Father, our King"), a litany recited during the *Ten Days of Penitence and, in some rites, on fast days. Each line begins with the words *Avinu Malkenu* and ends with a petition. The number and order of the verses vary considerably in the different rites: in *Seder Rav Amram Ga'on* there are 25 verses, in the Sephardi rite 29, 31, and 32, the German 38, the Polish 44, and in that of Salonika 53. According to Jacob b. Asher (Tur, Sh. Ar., OH 602), Amram Gaon's *Avinu Malkenu* consisted of 22 verses arranged in alphabetical order. It became the Ashkenazi custom to recite them each morning and evening during the Ten Days of Penitence after the *Amidah*. The prayer is not found in the prayer books of Saadiah Gaon and Maimonides. The origin of *Avinu Malkenu* is R. Akiva's prayer on a fast day proclaimed because of a drought: "*Avinu Malkenu*, we have no King but Thee; *Avinu Malkenu*, for Thy sake have compassion upon us" (Ta'an. 25b). Other such litanies containing some of the same petitions but opening with *"*Avinu she-ba-Shamayim*" ("Our Father who art in Heaven") are still in use in some rites. *Avinu Malkenu* now opens, in the Ashkenazi rite, with "Our Father, our King, we have sinned before Thee" and contains petitions such as "Inscribe us in the book of good life; inscribe us in the book of redemption and salvation; inscribe us in the book of prosperity and sustenance." In the *Ne'ilah* service of the Day of Atonement "seal us" is substituted for "inscribe us," and on fast days "remember us" is used. In the Ashkenazi rite *Avinu Malkenu* is not recited on the Sabbath, since supplications should not be presented on that day (Tur, Sh. Ar., OH 602; cf. TJ Shab. 15b). If the Day of Atonement occurs on a Sabbath, *Avinu Malkenu* is recited only during the *Ne'ilah* service. In Spain, though, it was the custom to recite it on the Sabbath of the Ten Days of Penitence, presumably on the grounds that this was warranted by the gravity of the period (Tur, *ibid.*, and *Beit Yosef*, ad loc.; cf. Ta'an. 19a and Rashi ad loc.). Originally, the words *Avinu Malkenu* were chanted by the congregation and the rest of each verse was recited by the Reader who could add verses freely. It became the custom for the congregation to recite the whole prayer in an undertone except for some of the middle verses, which are repeated individually after the Reader. In many congregations the last verse is sung to a popular tune. The ark is opened for the prayer. The opening appeal to God as both "Our Father" and "Our King" expresses two complementary aspects of the relationship between God

'AVINU MALKÉNU 1.

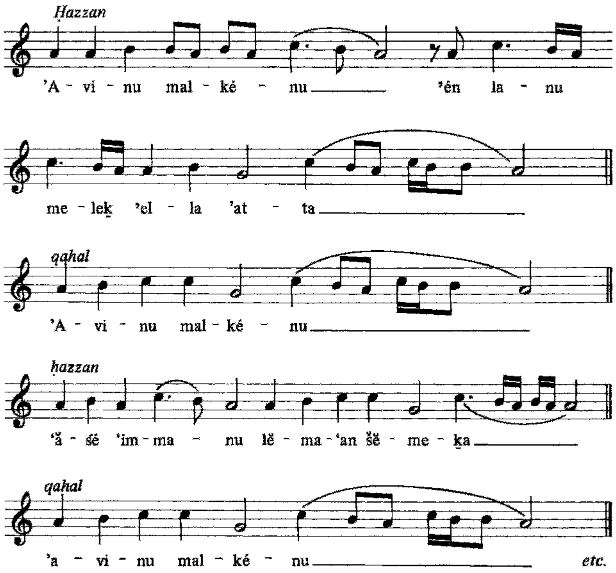
Hazzan
'A - vi - nu mal - ké - nu 'én la - nu
me - lek 'el - la 'at - ta
qahal
'A - vi - nu mal - ké - nu
hazzan
'ă - sé 'im - ma - nu lĕ - ma - 'an šĕ - me - ka
qahal
'a - vi - nu mal - ké - nu
etc.

'AVINU MALKÉNU 2.

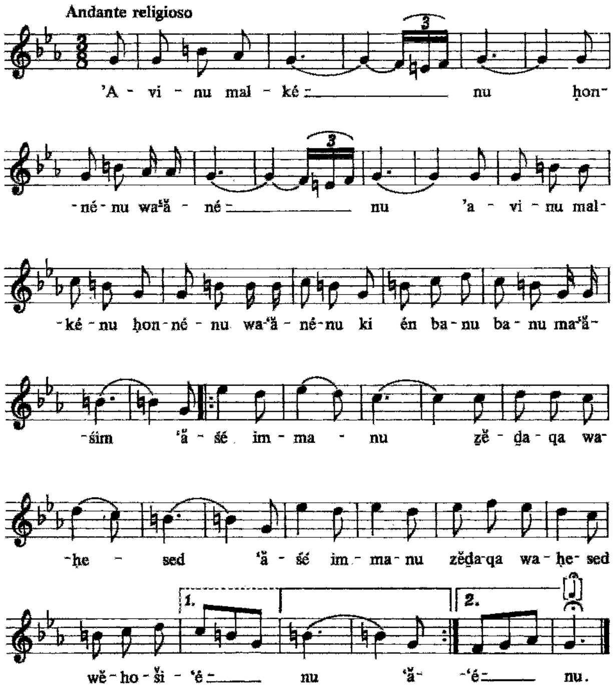
Andante religioso
'A - vi - nu mal - ké - nu hon-
-né - nu wa'ă - né - nu 'a - vi - nu mal-
-ké - nu hon - né - nu wa-'ă - né-nu ki én ba - nu ba - nu ma'ă-
-śim 'ă - śé im - ma - nu zĕ - da - qa wa-
-he - sed 'ă - śé im - ma - nu zĕda-qa wa - he - sed
wĕ - ho - ši - 'é - nu 'ă - -'é - nu.
1.
2.

and man, striking a balance between the intimacy of the one and the awe of the other.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Hertz, Prayer, 161; Abrahams, *Companion*, lxxiiif.; Elbogen, Gottesdienst, 147–8, 223–4; J. Heinemann, *Ha-Tefillah bi-Tekufat ha-Tanna'im ve ha-Amora'im* (1966^{2}), 95–96.

AVINU SHE-BA-SHAMAYIM (Heb. אָבִינוּ שֶׁבַּשָּׁמַיִם; "Our Father in Heaven"), form of adoration frequently found at the beginning of prayers of petition, based on the rabbinic epithet of God as "Father in Heaven." The description of God as "Father" occurs in the Bible, e.g., "Thou art our Father…" (Isa. 63:16), or "O Lord, Thou art our Father; we are the clay, and Thou our potter" (*ibid.* 66:8), and the prayer of David in I Chronicles 29:10, "Blessed be Thou, O Lord, the God of Israel, our Father for ever and ever." The tendency to describe God's relationship to Israel as analogous to the intimate father-child relationship was balanced by the desire to emphasize God's sovereignty and transcendence. Consequently, the rabbis of the talmudic period in formulating prayers preferred formulae in which God's position as King and Ruler is stressed as much as the father-child relationship. Piety and observance of the Law are described in early rabbinic parlance as "doing the will of our Father in heaven." The intimate relationship with God, as cultivated in particular by Eastern European Ḥasidism, found expression in the Yiddish language too, where, especially in private petitions and prayers, reference to God as "Father in Heaven" ("*foter in himl,*" "*tate in himl*") was common.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: J. Heinemann, *Ha-Tefillah bi-Tekufat ha-Tanna'im ve-ha-Amora'im* (1966^{2}), 116, 120.

AVIRA.

(1) Palestinian *amora* of the third and fourth century. Avira was a colleague of R. *Ḥelbo and R. Yose b. Ḥanina. He frequented the *bet ha-midrash* of Judah II where he held the office of "*maftir kenesiyyot*" (according to Rashi, supervising the assembly and dismissal of the students). Avira went to Babylon in the time of Abbaye and transmitted *halakhot* in the name of R. Judah II (Ḥul. 51a) and *aggadah* in the names of R. Ammi and R. Assi, e.g., "A man should always eat and drink for less than his means allow, clothe himself in accordance with his means, and honor his wife and children beyond his means for they depend upon him, while he depends upon God" (Ḥul. 84b).

(2) A fourth century, Babylonian *amora*, Avira, transmitted *halakhot* in the name of *Rava (BB 131b; Ḥul. 55a). He discussed halakhic problems with Ravina (Pes. 73a; Ket. 103a). His son was Aḥa (Ber. 44a).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Hyman, Toledot, 970.

[Zvi Kaplan]

AVIRAM, JOSEPH (1917–), director of the *Israel Exploration Society (IES) in Jerusalem, which has been at the forefront of Israeli archaeological activity especially since the 1950s. Born in Suwalki, Poland, Aviram completed his studies at the Tarbut Hebrew Teachers Seminary in Vilna in 1936, immigrating that year to Palestine and subsequently furthering his studies in the Bible and Hebrew Literature departments of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. Prior to the War of Independence in 1948, Aviram worked as an elementary school teacher. After serving as an officer in the Israel Defense Forces, he was appointed as deputy director of the *Youth Aliyah organization. Between the years 1955 and 1969 Aviram served as the academic secretary of the Faculty of Humanities at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, and in 1969–1983 he was the director of the Institute of Archaeology.

Serving first as the honorary secretary of the Israel Exploration Society in 1940, then as an Executive Board member, and eventually as its director from 1983, Aviram was the guiding light of the Society. During his time many major excavation projects were sponsored by the IES, with Aviram taking an integral part in their administration, notably at Beth Shearim, Haẓor, Masada, the Judean Desert Cave surveys (1960–61), and in different parts of Jerusalem (the Temple Mount, Jewish Quarter, and City of David projects). The IES was also the publisher of numerous publications of very high scientific quality, overseen by Aviram himself. These include the *Israel Exploration Journal*, *Qadmoniot* (in Hebrew), the *New Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land*, the *Ancient Pottery of Israel and Its Neighbors from the Neolithic through the Hellenistic Periods,* and the final reports on Beth Shearim (3 vols.), the Judean Desert (3 vols.), the Jewish Quarter (2 vols.), Jericho (3 vols.), Yokne`am (3 vols.), Dor (2 vols.), Masada (6 vols.), and Arad (3 vols.), among other sites.

Aviram was the recipient of many awards and distinctions, notably the prestigious Israel Prize (together with the Israel Exploration Society) in 1989 and the P. Schimmel Prize of the Israel Museum in 1990. The 25th volume of the *Eretz-Israel* scholarly series was dedicated as a *Festschrift* to Aviram in 1996 in recognition of his important services to the field of archaeology in Israel.

[Shimon Gibson (2nd ed.)]

AVI-SHAUL (Mandel), MORDEKHAI (1898–1988), writer and translator. Avi-Shaul, who was born in Szolnok, Hungary, studied at yeshivot and at the Budapest rabbinical seminaries. He went to Palestine in 1921 and was a teacher until 1948. He was active in Berit Shalom and pro-Communist organizations. Avi-Shaul's writings include *Ha-Maḥarozet* and *Bein Iyyim* (plays, 1928); *Ba-Azikin* (poems, 1932); *Yugurnat* (poems, 1945); *Ha-Melekh Karakash u-She'ar Ḥullin* (stories, 1965); *Kevarim Li* (a novel about the Holocaust, 1968); and various articles on current affairs. He also wrote pacifist literature, *Baladah al Shalom* being one such work. He edited the literary and social science anthology *Temurot* (1951–52), and translated the works of Thomas Mann, Goethe, Feuchtwanger (*Jew Suess*, which he also dramatized), Stefan Zweig, Bertolt Brecht, Jaroslav Hašek, Joseph Conrad, and others.

ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY: E. Ben Ezer, in: *Yedioth Ahronoth* (April 21, 1967).

[Getzel Kressel]

°**AVITUS** (sixth century), bishop of *Clermont-Ferrand, France. Following a series of missionary sermons Avitus had addressed to the Jews, one of them accepted baptism on Easter Day, 576. The convert was subsequently insulted by a Jew and Avitus restrained the Christians from taking revenge at the time, but on May 14 (Ascension Day) they destroyed the synagogue. He then issued an ultimatum to the Jews, ordering them to convert to Christianity or leave Clermont. More than 500 submitted and were baptized at Pentecost. Those who refused took refuge in *Marseilles.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: B. Blumenkranz, *Les auteurs chrétiens latins…* (1963), 64ff., 70.

[Bernhard Blumenkranz]

AVITZUR, SHMUEL (1908–1999), geographer and specialist in cultural studies. Avitzur was born in Russia and immigrated to Ereẓ Israel in 1931. He early evinced an interest in the geography of Ereẓ Israel, on which he taught and lectured and in which he undertook research. His main area of study was the history of daily life in the past and especially methods of work, housing, clothes, food, utensils, and equipment. For that purpose he established a special museum in Tel Aviv, which was the first historical museum in Israel. Avitzur published more than 300 papers, including an atlas on the history of work, equipment, and production facilities in Ereẓ Israel. He was involved in the Sites and Buildings Restoration Council and participated in the establishment of many museums and sites. In 1977 he was awarded the Israel Prize for geography and cultural studies.

AVIV, HAIM (**Greenshpan**; 1940–), Israeli scientist. Aviv was born in Arad, Romania, and immigrated to Israel at the age of ten. He received his B.Sc. (1962) and M.Sc. (1965) in agriculture from the Hebrew University of Jerusalem and his Ph.D. in molecular biology from the Weizmann Institute, Rehovot (1970). His work as a postdoctoral fellow at the U.S. National Institutes of Health (1970–73) and at Weizmann (1973–80) led to the introduction of new probes for isolating genes and their cloning. This work has had important applications in the study of gene regulation and recombinant DNA technology. Aviv is prominent in Israel's biotechnology industry and academic biotechnology institutions, including Ben-Gurion University, as a board member, and Yeda, the commercial arm of the Weizmann Institute; he has served as chairman of Israel's National Biotechnology Committee and other public functions in the bio arena in Israel and is a recipient of the Israel Biochemistry Society Prize. Aviv is a scholar in Judaic studies and ethical issues in the life sciences.

[Michael Denman (2nd ed.)]

AVI-YITZHAK, DAN (1936–), Israeli attorney. Born in Jerusalem, Avi-Yitzhak graduated magna cum laude from the Hebrew University law faculty in 1957. He was admitted to the Israeli bar in 1959 and was a lecturer at the law faculty of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem and its Tel Aviv branch in 1957–70 in family law, estates, and principles of jurisprudence. From 1965 to 1975 he held key positions in the Israeli Bar Association. In 1975–78 he was a member of the Judges Appointment Committee.

For 45 years, Avi-Yitzhak engaged in active private law practice, appearing in a series of lengthy and complex criminal and civil cases. Several (civil) cases led to important legal principles in Israel law, such as Knesset Member Pinḥasi v. Knesset, in which the Supreme Court adopted new criteria for review of Knesset decisions and in regard to substantive immunity of Knesset members. Criminal defendants whom he represented in high-profile public interest cases include the "Jewish underground," Interior Minister Aryeh *Deri, and *Maariv* newspaper publisher Ofer *Nimrodi. He provided legal opinions of public interest and frequent legal commentary and declined several requests by the Israeli government to serve as attorney general.

[Leon Fine (2nd ed.)]

AVI-YONAH, MICHAEL (1904–1974), Israeli classical historian, historical geographer, and archaeologist; remembered for his extraordinary breadth of knowledge and didactic approach to scholarship. A native of Galicia from the Polish city of Lemberg, then in Austria, Avi-Yonah came from a very creative family. He wrote: "My father, who was a lawyer by profession, played the violin to orchestral standards, would enthusiastically attend operas and concerts, and became one of the founders of the local Jewish Society of Music. Both he and my mother appreciated paintings and sculpture, and, whenever possible, they would commission pictures from young Jewish painters who came to our house…" Avi-Yonah left for Palestine in 1921 and worked as Records Officer of the Palestine Department of Antiquities from 1931 to 1948. In 1931 he assisted L.A. *Mayer, the librarian of the PDA, with the task of editing the *Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities of Palestine* (QDAP). Eventually he took over the editing of QDAP between 1933 to 1950 and some of his most important articles were published within its pages: on mosaic pavements, on lead coffins, and on the map of Roman Palestine. Avi-Yonah became the scientific secretary of the Israel Department of Antiquities, serving from 1948 to 1953, at which point he was appointed professor of classical archaeology and the history of art at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. Avi-Yonah later received a doctorate from the University of London in recognition of his major contribution to scholarship. He participated in numerous archaeological excavations at Avdat, Ḥusifa, Beth-Shean, Nahariyyah, Bet Yeraḥ, and Caesarea and was a member of the Masada Survey (1955). There were many scholarly subjects that Avi-Yonah had an interest in, but one subject in particular that always fascinated him was the study of the history and archaeology of Jerusalem, and one result of his endeavors in this field was undoubtedly the Holy Land Model of Second-Temple Period Jerusalem, which was built under his supervision (and later relocated to the grounds of the Israel Museum). He was a very prolific writer and among his works (some in Hebrew) may be counted *In the Days of Rome and Byzantium* (1946, 1962^3), *The Madaba Mosaic Map* (1954), *The Antiquities of Israel* (1955, with S. Yeivin and M. Stekelis), *Oriental Art in Roman Palestine* (1961), *Our Living Bible* (1962, with E. Kraeling), *The Holy Land From the Persian to the Arab Conquests (536 B.C. to A.D. 640). A Historical Geography* (1966), *Carta's Atlas of the Period of the Second Temple, the Mishna and the Talmud* (1966), and *Gazetteer of Roman Palestine* (1976). For many decades Avi-Yonah served as the editor of the leading scholarly journal *Israel Exploration Journal* and participated in the editing of a number of books and encyclopedias, including *Sefer Yerushalayim* (*The Book on Jerusalem*, vol. 1, 1956) and the *Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land*. He also contributed numerous entries on archaeological and historical-geographical subjects to editions of the *Encyclopedia Hebraica*, the *Encyclopaedia Judaica,* and the *Atlas of Israel*. His *Illustrated Encyclopedia of the Classical World* (edited with Israel Shatzman) appeared not long after his death.

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[Shimon Gibson (2nd ed.)]

AVNERY (Ostermann), URI (Helmut; 1923–), Israeli journalist, writer, and peace activist. Member of the Sixth, Seventh, and Ninth Knessets. Avnery was born in Beckum, Westphalia, in Germany. His father was a private banker and financial advisor. Avnery immigrated to Eretz Israel with his family in 1933. Owing to the family's financial difficulties, he left school at the age of 14 to go to work, turning to journalism at 18. At the age of 15 he joined the *Irgun Tzeva'i Le'ummi, remaining a member until 1942. In 1946 he founded a group called Eretz Yisrael Hatze'irah, which argued that the Jewish community in Palestine constituted a "new Hebrew nation" within the Jewish people and was part of Asia and a natural ally of the Arab nation. Avnery advocated turning the Middle East into a "Semitic region."

In the War of Independence he served in the Givati Brigade, and later volunteered for the famous Shu'alei Shimshon commando unit that fought on the southern front, being badly wounded toward the end of the war.

While on active service Avnery reported from the front to the *Ha'aretz* daily. In 1949–50 he was on the *Ha'aretz* editorial board but left due to his radical views on such issues as the expropriation of Arab land after the war. He then purchased a failing magazine called *Ha-Olam ha-Zeh*, which he soon turned into a popular weekly tabloid combining sensationalism with serious writing on issues that no other paper in Israel dared touch, especially corruption in government. Consequently he gathered around him a large group of admirers while provoking the wrath of the establishment. From 1950 to 1990 he served as both publisher and editor-in-chief of *Ha-Olam ha-Zeh*, whose name David *Ben-Gurion could not bring himself to pronounce.

In 1956 Avnery established, together with Nathan *Yellin-Mor, a political group called Ha-Pe'ullah ha-Shemit ("Semitic Action"). In 1965 he formed a party by the name of Ha-Olam ha-Zeh–Ko'aḥ Ḥadash ("This World–New Force") and ran in the elections to the Sixth Knesset, winning a single seat. In the elections to the Seventh Knesset, which took place after the Six-Day War, his party won two seats but soon split in two. In the Knesset Avnery was one of the most prolific speakers, holding forth on a large variety of topics, including the two-state solution to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Following the Yom Kippur War, after he lost most of his radical voters to the new Ratz party, and consequently lost his Knesset seat, Avnery turned to extra-parliamentary political activity, advocating direct contacts with the PLO. In 1975 he was one of the founders of the Israeli Council for Israeli-Palestinian Peace, and was part of a secret dialogue that began between Israeli personalities and PLO representatives Sa'id Hamami and Issam Sartawi, both of whom were eventually assassinated by fellow Palestinians for their meetings with Israelis. In the elections to the Ninth Knesset in 1977, Avnery ran within the framework of a new radical party called Sheli, serving in the Knesset for a short period between 1979 and 1981. In July 1982, during the Israeli siege of Beirut, which ended with the departure of the PLO leadership from Lebanon to Tunisia, Avnery met with *Arafat in the Lebanese capital, and was thus the first Israeli to openly meet with the Palestinian leader. In 1983 he established a new party called Alternativah, which joined the Progressive List for Peace – a joint Jewish-Arab party – the following year. Avnery became the chairman of the new party, which won two seats in the Eleventh Knesset, but he himself did not run for election, and in 1988 left party politics altogether.

After *Ha-Olam ha-Zeh* closed down in 1990, Avnery continued to write as a columnist in *Ma'ariv*, and to participate in demonstrations and other protest activities against the Israeli occupation and in favor of a two-state solution. In 1993 he was one of the founders of a peace movement called Gush Shalom. Later he published a regular column on the Internet. Avnery has received numerous prizes abroad for his peace and human rights activities.

His writings include *Bisdot Pleshet: Yoman Kravi* ("In the Fields of the Philistines," 1948), an account of the War of Independence; *Ha-Ẓad ha-Sheni shel ha-Matbe'a* ("The Other Side of the Coin," 1950); *Ẓelav ha-Kerres: Eichmann – Ish u-Tekufato* ("The Swastika: Eichmann – the Man and His Time," 1961); *Israel without Zionists: A Plan for Peace in the Middle East* (1968); *Milḥemet ha-Yom ha-Shevi'i* ("The War of the Seventh Day," 1969); *My Friend the Enemy* (1986); *Lenin Lo Gar Po Yotter* ("Lenin Doesn't Live Here Anymore," 1992).

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(1968); *Die Jerusalemfrage: Israelis und Palaestinenser im gespraech* (1996).

[Susan Hattis Rolef (2nd ed.)]

AVNET, JON (1949–), U.S. producer, director. Born in Brooklyn, New York, Avnet grew up in Great Neck, Long Island. He began his entertainment career directing off-Broadway theater productions before winning a directing fellowship at the American Film Institute that steered him towards filmmaking. Avnet's early success in the film industry came as a producer. In 1977, he received his first feature film producing credits as an associate producer of *Checkered Flag or Crash* and *Outlaw Blues*. The same year, he co-founded Tisch/Avnet Productions with producer Steve Tisch. The fruitful Avnet/Tisch partnership produced films such as *Risky Business* (1983), which launched Tom Cruise's career, and the made-for-television success *The Burning Bed* (1984), starring Farrah Fawcett in a breakthrough performance. In 1986 Avnet joined forces with former ABC executive Jordan Kerner to found the Avnet/Kerner Company. The Avnet/Kerner Company's first feature production was *Less Than Zero* (1987), adapted from the Bret Easton Ellis novel of the same name. After his success in the 1980s as a producer, Avnet made his directorial feature film debut with the surprise hit *Fried Green Tomatoes* (1991). Avnet continued to juggle his producing and directing efforts throughout the 1990s, directing *The War* (1994), *Up Close and Personal* (1996), and the acclaimed television miniseries about the Warsaw Ghetto, *Uprising* (2001). His notable credits as a producer included the popular *Mighty Ducks* trilogy, *George of the Jungle* (1997), and *Inspector Gadget* (1999). More recently, Avnet produced the television series *Boomtown* (2002), directing the show's pilot episode, and the sci-fi thriller *Sky Captain and the World of Tomorrow* (2004).

[Walter Driver (2nd ed.)]

AVNI, AHARON (1906–1951), Israel painter. Born in Yekaterinoslav in the Ukraine, Avni studied art at the Art Academy of Moscow. He arrived in Palestine in 1925 and continued his studies at the *Bezalel School of Art, Jerusalem, until 1928. He traveled widely before settling in Tel Aviv in 1929. Between 1930 and 1932 he was in Paris. In 1936, Avni founded the Histadrut Seminary for Painting and Sculpture in Tel Aviv and remained its director for 15 years. In 1948 he founded the College of Art Teachers and taught architecture and mathematics. He worked as an architect at the Jaffa municipality. Avni was at first influenced by the work of Cézanne, but later his style became more expressionistic. He painted members of the Haganah underground movement, in which he took part, and during the War of Independence he portrayed soldiers on the battlefield. Paintings such as *Visit to a Wounded Soldier* bear witness to his warm sense of humanity and patriotism. Avni won the Histadrut Prize in 1935 and the Dizengoff Prize in 1947–48.

AVNI, HAIM (**Steindling**; 1930–), historian of Latin American and contemporary Spanish Jewry. Born in Vienna, Avni immigrated with his family to Israel in 1933. He became acquainted with Latin America through his educational work with leaders of youth movements at the Institute for Young Leaders from Abroad (Makhon Le-Madrikhei Ḥuẓ La-Areẓ) of the World Zionist Organization in Jerusalem. He studied at the Hebrew University and wrote his master's thesis on the attitude of Franco's Spain towards Jewish refugees during the Holocaust and his Ph.D. dissertation on the Jewish agricultural colonization promoted by the Baron Maurice de *Hirsch in Argentina. Avni served as head of the Division of Latin America, Spain, and Portugal at the Institute of Contemporary Jewry of the Hebrew University from its establishment in 1967. In the years 1983–95 he was the co-director of the Graduate Jewish Studies Program of the Universidad Iberoamericana, Mexico City. After his retirement in 1999 he became (in 2000) the academic director of the Central Zionist Archives.

Avni bases his studies of the Jews in Spanish-speaking countries on a thorough analysis of the host societies as well as on the broad Jewish context, emphasizing the relevance of Latin American cases both to the local arena and to general Jewish history. Among his major publications are *Argentina "The Promised Land"* (Heb., 1973), *Spain, the Jews and Franco* (1982), *Argentina and the Jews: A History of Jewish Migration* (1991), *Emancipation and Jewish Education* (Heb., 1986), and *Judíos en América: cinco siglos de historia* (1992). He was the editor of the entries on Latin America in the first edition of the *Encyclopaedia Judaica* (1971).

Avni's studies on Latin American Jewry opened a new field of research in contemporary Jewry. In 1982 he took part in the foundation of LAJSA – Latin American Jewish Studies Association.

[Margalit Bejarano (2nd ed.)]

AVNI, TZEVI (1927–), Israeli composer. Avni was born in Saarbruecken, Germany, and immigrated to Eretz Israel in 1935. He studied theory and composition with Paul *Ben-Haim, *Ehrlich, and *Seter and graduated from the Academy of Music in Tel Aviv. From 1962 to 1964 he studied music librarianship in the U.S. and branched into electronic music under Vladimir Ussachewsky. Avni was director of the Central Music Library in Tel Aviv; editor of *Guitite*, the journal of the "*Jeunesses musicales*" in Israel; and chairman of the Rubinstein International Piano Contest (1989). He was the recipient of the ACUM, Engel, and Lieberson *Kurstermeier* composition prizes, and he was awarded the Israel Prize in 1998.

Avni was appointed professor of musical theory and composition at the Rubin Academy of Music in Jerusalem in 1976, a position he held until his retirement. There, he developed an advanced studio for electro-acoustic music. In 1977 he was appointed general secretary of the National Music Council, and in 1978 chairman of the Executive of the Festival of Contemporary Music.

His diversified style ranges from folk-like choral songs, such as *Psalms*, to the austere contrapuntal texture of the String Quartet *Summer Strings*. After his studies in the U.S. he turned to large-scale orchestral forms, marked by his powerful *Meditation on a Drama*, in which he reached a synthesis of influences ranging from Arnold *Schoenberg to Edgar Varese. The same pluralistic tendencies were even more prominent in his *Programme Music* (1980). In *Ecce Homo* to an Italian text by Primo Levi for soprano and orchestra, Avni reached an apex of poignant expression. In his more experimental electronic music he retained traditional elements, as in *Vocalise*, in which the pure soprano sounds of the singer Pnina (1927–73), Avni's first wife, are electronically worked out and elaborated with synthesized sounds. Avni regularly collaborated with the leading dance troupes in Israel (*Bat-Sheva, Bat-Dor, Kol Demama) for whom he composed both electronic music and instrumental scores.

ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY: Grove online.

[Uri (Erich) Toeplitz / Jehoash Hirshberg (2nd ed.)]

AVODAH (Heb. עֲבוֹדָה; literally "service"), name for *Temple ritual, applied to the central part of the *Musaf* liturgy on the *Day of Atonement. This poetically recounts the sacrificial ritual in the Temple on the Day of Atonement. The ritual, based on Leviticus 16, is described in detail in Mishnah *Yoma* (chs. 1–7) and in the talmudic tractate of that name.

After the destruction of the Second Temple, the description of this ancient ritual became the core of the *Musaf* service on the Day of Atonement. In early times it was also recited during *Shaḥarit* and *Minḥah* (cf. *Siddur* of Saadiah Gaon). The Day of Atonement was the only occasion during the year when the high priest entered the Holy of the Holies in the Temple, and he had to make special preparations for the ritual. Seven days prior to the Day of Atonement, the high priest was moved to a special apartment in the Temple court (*palhedrin*) where he studied with the elders every detail of the sacrificial cult for the Day of Atonement. A deputy priest was appointed to take the place of the high priest should he be prevented by defilement or death from performing his duties. The day before the Day of Atonement, the high priest was escorted by the elders to his chamber in the Temple compound where he joined the other priests. The elders earnestly entreated him to perform all the minutiae of the sacrificial cult carefully as interpreted by the Pharisaic school, and took leave of him. On the Day of Atonement, the high priest himself performed the offering of the daily sacrifice, the incense offering, and the other sacred duties. After a series of immersions and ablutions he offered a bull as his personal sin-offering. He confessed his own and his family's sins, the sins of the tribe of Aaron (the priests), and those of all Israel (Lev. 16:6). Every time he uttered the holy name of God, the Tetragrammaton which was uttered only on the Day of Atonement, the people prostrated themselves and responded: "Blessed be His Name whose glorious kingdom is forever and ever" (see Tosef., Sot. 13:8; Yoma 39b). During the service of the high priest, this procedure was repeated ten times (Tosef., Yoma 2:2), or, according to another source (TJ, Yoma 3:7), 13 times.

The high priest then drew two lots from a wooden box, one inscribed "For *Azazel" and the other "A sin-offering for the Lord." The role of each of two he-goats participating in the ritual was determined by the lots. The high priest sent the goat "For Azazel" into the desert and he offered the other as a sin-offering. After a special incense-offering in the Holy of the Holies, the high priest recited a prayer (Yoma 5:1) that the climate in the coming year be moderate, neither too hot nor too wet; that the sovereignty of Judah be preserved; that Israel be prosperous (Yoma 53b; Ta'an. 24b); and that no earthquake harm the inhabitants of the Sharon Plain.

This traditional, and to some extent idealized, account of the ceremony served as the base for the subsequent development of the *Musaf* liturgy of the Day of Atonement. Originally, the *Avodah* was of a simple nature, being an unadorned description of the Temple service following the Mishnah *Yoma*. The main section was composed, at latest, in the fourth century C.E. but was enriched in the Middle Ages by elaborate *piyyutim*, most of them of an acrostic pattern. The *Avodah* texts currently in use contain compositions by Yose b. Yose, Solomon ibn Gabirol, Judah Halevi, and Moses ibn Ezra. The *Avodah* service, according to the Sephardi rite, opens with the *piyyut* "*Attah Konanta Olam*" by an unknown *paytan*, or with an introductory poem "*Be-Or Divrei Nekhoḥot*" (Roman rite), followed by a series of acrostics where the initial letter is repeated up to eight or even 16 times. The Piedmont rite opens with another *piyyut* entitled "*Attah Konanta Olam*" by Yose b. Yose. The Yemenite *Avodah* is similar to the Piedmont rite. In the Ashkenazi rite the *Avodah* opens with an introductory *piyyut*, "*Amiẓ Ko'aḥ*" by the poet Meshullam b. Kalonymus, which gives a short account of biblical history, the creation of the world, the sinfulness of the early generations, the election of the Patriarchs and of Israel, up to the priestly ritual of atonement in the Holy of Holies in the Temple. These themes are found in all of the later *Avodah* services. Next follow detailed descriptions of the sacrificial cult on the Day of Atonement in the Temple. There is also an opening *Avodah piyyut*, entitled "*Asoḥe'aḥ Nifle'otekha*," found in the ancient French rite and attributed to Meshullam b. Kalonymus. In both the Ashkenazi and the Sephardi rite (but not the Yemenite), the order of the confession of the high priest is recited three times as is the response of the people: "And when the priests and the people that stood in the court (of the Temple) heard the glorious Name (of God) pronounced out of the mouth of the high priest, in holiness and purity, they knelt and prostrated themselves, and made acknowledgment to God, falling on their faces and saying: Blessed be His name, whose glorious kingdom is forever and ever." This response is recited a fourth time in the Sephardi rite. At this passage, it is still customary in the Orthodox Ashkenazi rite and in some Sephardi communities for worshipers to prostrate themselves on the floor of the synagogue.

Other parts of the *Avodah* (e.g., "*Tikkanta Kol Elleh li-Khevod Aharon*" ("All this didst Thou establish for the glory of Aaron") in the Sephardi and Yemenite rites) then describe in great detail the high priest's actions, including the counting of the blood-sprinklings of the sacrifices, which are recited in solemn melody "And thus he counted: One, One and One, One and Two…" etc.

This elaborate poetic description of the sacrificial cult of the Day of Atonement closes with an account of the festivity which the high priest arranged for his friends in gratitude for the successful performance of the Day of Atonement ritual "in peace and without harm" (Yoma 7:4). After a free poetic rendition of the high priest's prayer for the welfare of the people of Israel, this section of the *Avodah* closes with the nostalgic *piyyut, "Ashrei Ayin Ra'atah Kol Elleh"* ("Happy is the eye that saw these glorious services…"), based on a hymn in Ben Sira 50.

This is followed by a series of acrostic *piyyutim* deploring the misfortune of Israel, now deprived of the Temple and its sacred cult, and subjected to the sufferings and persecutions of exile. This cycle of *piyyutim*, which closes with an ardent prayer for the reestablishment of the Holy Temple, its cult and institutions, destroyed because of the sins of Israel, is immediately followed by the penitential *Seliḥot* prayers of *Musaf*, thus linking up again with the main motif of the Day of Atonement service.

In the Reform ritual, only the confession of the high priest "*Anna Adonai Kapper Na*," is recited, in Hebrew and the vernacular. The details of the ancient sacrificial cult are not dwelt upon and the congregation does not prostrate itself during the service. In that ritual the prayers inserted instead of the traditional *Avodah* emphasize the moral duties to which Israel has to consecrate itself anew to bring about the kingdom of God among all mankind. The last Hebrew poet to compose an entire *Avodah* was S.D. *Luzzatto in his *Kinnor Na'im* (1913), 341–62 (this was not composed for synagogue use). In the Conservative ritual, most parts of the traditional Hebrew *Avodah* service are retained, but, instead of their exact rendition in English, new meditations and prayers of contemporary relevance are inserted as well as modern interpretations of the symbolism of the ancient sacrificial cult.

[Meir Ydit]

Musical Settings

The descriptions and emotional content of the *Avodah* have always been a challenge to musical inventiveness. It was set to especially solemn melodies in many Jewish communities, for example that of Rome. The most distinguished *Avodah* tunes, however, can be heard in Ashkenazi synagogues. These possess a uniform tradition for the chapter *Ve-ha-kohanim ve-ha-am*; less distinctive tunes are given to the texts *Ve-khakh hayah Omer* and *Ve-khakh hayah moneh*. In addition, the cantors of Eastern Europe used to perform their own versions of sections such as *Amiẓ Ko'aḥ* (*Bachmann), *Nilvim elav nevonim* (*Abrass), or the elegiac *U-mi-she-ḥarav Beit Mikdashenu* (Bezalel Shulsinger).

The *Ve-ha-kohanim* tune is common to all Ashkenazi communities, both eastern and western, and belongs to the cycle of unchangeable *Mi-Sinai* melodies. Its musical character is that of a "cantorial fantasia," in which sustained passages of vocalize are inserted between short groups of words. In *Ve-ha-kohanim*, the brief textual statements are interrupted by almost explosive coloraturas which are intended to give expression to the vision of the overwhelming power of the former atonement ritual.

The traditional Ashkenazi *Ve-ha-kohanim* tune comprises nine themes, the majority extended vocalizes, each attached to one word or at most a few words of the text. The complete series of themes is repeated three times. The musical substance of these themes has to be sought for in a melodic idea which is conceived only as a general outline; auditory shape and final elaboration are provided by the individual performer. Thus there are as many "realizations" of the fundamental idea as there are written (and recorded) versions, but all of them remain closely related to an imagined archetype.

The unending process of variation can be illustrated by samples taken from four Ashkenazi versions, two eastern and two western. The examples demonstrate Theme VII of the *Avodah* melody (which follows *Shome'im et ha-Shem*). The first western version changes from E-flat major to F minor, and the second one remains in the major key, while the eastern versions are in the characteristic scale of a **Shtayger*. Nevertheless their common origin is clearly perceptible. Western Ashkenazi cantors generally tend to favor diatonic progression of the coloraturas and to curtail or even omit some of the longer vocalizes. The *Ve-ha-kohanim* tune remains, however, one of the most grandiose creations of Ashkenazi synagogue song.

[Hanoch Avenary]

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AVODAH ZARAH (Heb. עֲבוֹדָה זָרָה; "Idolatrous Worship"), tractate of the Mishnah, Tosefta, and Jerusalem and Babylonian Talmuds in the order of *Nezikin*; its name is already referred to in the Babylonian Talmud (Av. Zar. 56b). The tractate was assigned to the order of *Nezikin*, since it is linked with the tractates *Sanhedrin* and *Makkot* which include some laws on idolatry (cf. Tos. Av. Zar. 2a).

The Mishnah, which consists of five chapters, treats of the following subjects: (1) prohibitions concerning dealings with Gentiles (who are presumed to be idolaters) in their festival periods; objects which may not be sold or hired to Gentiles as they may be required for idol worship; objects which may not be sold to Gentiles as they may cause public damage (e.g., arms); prohibitions of sale or lease of real estate in Ereẓ Israel to Gentiles (chapter 1); (2) prohibitions arising from Gentiles being suspected of incest and murder (2:1–2); (3) laws concerning articles belonging to Gentiles – differentiating between those which are entirely prohibited for benefit, or only for food, since they may be offered up in idolatrous worship, and those which are entirely permitted (2:3–7); (4) the prohibition of actual idolatrous objects (images, shrines, etc.) and the ways in which they are to be abolished or destroyed (3:1–4:7); (5) laws about wine produced or handled by non-Jews, which is presumed to have been used, or intended for use, as a libation before an idol; the procedure of making utensils that have been bought from a Gentile fit for use (4:8–5:12).

The Mishnah (4:7) contains a question asked by "philosophers" of some sages, apparently R. Gamaliel, R. Joshua, and R. Eleazar b. Azariah, when they were in Rome:

"If [your God] does not want idolatry, why does He not abolish it?"

The sages answered: "If something is worshiped which the world has no need of, He would abolish it. But the sun, the moon, and the stars are worshiped. Should God, then, destroy His world because of fools?"

"If so, He should destroy what the world has no need of, and leave what is essential for the world."

"We would then merely be strengthening the hands of those worshiping these things, since they would say, 'See, these are deities, for they have not been destroyed.'"

The Tosefta of the tractate has eight chapters, is longer and much fuller than the Mishnah, and contains quite a few aggadic matters. The redactor of the Tosefta used not only *beraitot* which complement the Mishnah but also parallel sources as well as various others which deal with subjects not mentioned in the Mishnah. The relation between the different sections of the Tosefta also differs from that of the Mishnah, half of the former (its first four and a half chapters) being devoted to subjects which occupy only a quarter of the latter (1:1–2:2). The first two chapters of the Tosefta correspond to the first chapter of the Mishnah, while the third and first half (1–6) of the fourth chapter of the Tosefta correspond to the Mishnah (2:1–2); these *halakhot* in the Tosefta treat, in passing, of laws concerning Cutheans (Samaritans), of dealings with an **am ha-areẓ*, of one who purchases a slave from gentiles or sells his slave to them or abroad, as well as laws which apply specifically to Ereẓ Israel and to Syria and which conclude with the duty to live in Ereẓ Israel. The rest of the fourth chapter (7–13) of the Tosefta corresponds to the Mishnah 2:3–7; chapters 5–6 of the Tosefta correspond to the Mishnah 3:1–4:7, while Tosefta 7:1–8:3 corresponds to the final part of the Mishnah. The final part of the Tosefta (8:4–8), which is completely unconnected with the Mishnah, is devoted to the seven Noachian commandments, which include the prohibition against idolatry.

An examination of the names of the sages mentioned in the Mishnah and the Tosefta shows that most of these belong to the period after the Bar Kokhba revolt. One passage in the Mishnah (2:6) mentions Rabbi and his *bet din*. The parallel text in the Tosefta (4:11) reads R. Judah, which is understood by some to refer to Judah Nesia II and his *bet din*. If this understanding is correct, then this is a late addition to the text of the Mishnah in line with the *baraita* in the Tosefta.

The tractate in the two Talmuds contains much aggadic material, important historical traditions, especially on the relations between Jews and non-Jews in general and between Jews and non-Jewish authorities in particular. It also conveys much information on idolatrous, including Oriental, religions, on Christianity, and Gnosticism. The Babylonian Talmud deals also with the Persian religion. Nonetheless the Babylonian *amoraim* admitted that not everything in the Mishnah was clear to them: "R. Ḥisda said to Avimi: There is a tradition that the (tractate) *Avodah Zarah* of our father Abraham consisted of four hundred chapters. We have learnt only five, and yet we do not know what we are saying" (Av. Zar. 14b). It is doubtful if parallels between the Mishnah of *Avodah Zarah* and Tertullian's *de idolatria* indicate an influence of Jewish *halakhah* on Christianity in this sphere.

Copies of the tractate were rare even at an early period, probably because in the course of the centuries it suffered greatly at the hands of Christian censors. This led many Jewish scholars to issue apologetic declarations to the effect that the statements in the tractate are directed only against the nations of antiquity, and to adopt a lenient attitude to some of its prohibitions (see Meiri, *Beit ha-Beḥirah* on Av. Zar., 53).

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[Moshe David Herr]

AVOT (Heb. אָבוֹת), a tractate of the Mishnah, is the most popular rabbinic composition of all time. Its timeless lessons and uncomplicated language have made the work accessible to vast audiences beyond the learned few who traditionally were well versed in the rhyme and reason of rabbinic discourse. The custom of studying *Avot* on the Sabbath, which spread from geonic Babylonia to Jewish communities all over the globe, enhanced the public profile of the work and led to *Avot*'s mass circulation in the Siddur. Over the centuries, *Avot* inspired hundreds of commentaries and was translated into many languages such as Latin, Greek, English, German, French, Italian, and Spanish. No other rabbinic composition has sustained such widespread interest and popular appeal.

Structure

The first four of *Avot*'s five chapters present an anthology of wisdom sayings attributed to rabbinic (and proto-rabbinic) sages and the central principle structuring these chapters is the chain of transmission. This chain is prominently introduced in the opening statement of *Avot* 1:1, a statement that constructs the earliest stages of the transmission of the Torah from its initial reception on Mt. Sinai until the early Second Temple period: "Moses received the Torah from Sinai and passed it on to Joshua, and Joshua to the elders, and the elders to the prophets, and the prophets passed it on to the Men of the Great Assembly." *Avot* 1:2 states that Simeon the Just was of the remnants of the Great Assembly and 1:3–12 states that Antigonus of Sokho and then five pairs of leading sages from Second Temple times each received the Torah from their predecessors. The frequent repetition of the keyword "received," "קִבֵּל," conveys the impression that each sage received the Torah from his predecessor in the chain and chronological gaps are thereby glossed over. After the fifth pair of sages receives the tradition, however, the teacher-disciple pattern is disrupted and a genealogy of the patriarch's family is introduced without any explicit mention of their "receiving" the Torah (see *Patriarch). The shift from the teacher-disciple chain to a familial genealogy reflects a literary rift in the text and the significance of the location of this genealogy will be discussed below. The teacher-disciple chain resumes in 2:8, after the presentation of the genealogy of the patriarchate, with Rabban Johanan ben Zakkai "receiving" the Torah from Hillel and Shammai, the final pair of sages from Second Temple times. Chapter two continues with literary material that focuses on five disciples of Rabban Johanan ben Zakkai, and then concludes with two sayings attributed R. Tarfon, another disciple of Rabban Johanan ben Zakkai. Thus, the chain of transmission in the first two chapters of *Avot* constructs the history of the Torah's reception from biblical times until the early tannaitic period. Though commentators have often assumed that the Torah under discussion is the "Oral Torah," this rabbinic term, which refers to an oral Torah delivered to Moses on Sinai, probably postdates the original formulation of *Avot*'s chain of transmission. On the other hand it seems unlikely that a chain of transmission would have been employed solely to defend the veracity of a written corpus, i.e., Scripture, and indeed, the three other chains of transmission in the Mishnah all relate to specific extra-biblical materials (see Yadayim 4:3; Pe'ah 2:6; Eduyyot 8:7). Thus, it seems that the Torah of *Avot*'s chain of transmission included extra-biblical traditions though these traditions were apparently envisioned as natural offshoots of Scripture.

Chapters three and four also adhere to a chronological structure though they are structured by a generational rather than by a teacher-disciple schema. Chapter three opens with statements attributed to sages from the end of the Second Temple period such as Akavyah ben Mahalalel and R. Hananiah deputy of the priests, and then cites sages from the first three generations of the tannaitic period with only a few minor exceptions. Chapter four picks up with a few sages from the third generation of *tannaim* such as Ben Zoma and Ben Azzai, and then records statements, attributed, for the most part, to sages from the fourth and fifth generation of *tannaim*. This rough, generational schema suggests that chapters three and four were designed to continue the chain of transmission down through the tannaitic period. Thus, a bird's eye view of the text notes the continuous historical theme of the first four chapters of *Avot* while a closer examination reveals that this historical theme is developed in two ways; the explicit transmission of the Torah in the first two chapters and the implicit transmission in the latter two chapters.

Earlier Jewish literature certainly records familial genealogies, but there is no pre-rabbinic precedent for a teacher-disciple chain of transmission extending over a number of generations. Rather, *Avot*'s chain of transmission is most closely akin to the contemporary successions genre that was common in the Graeco-Roman world. Successions, which emerged within philosophical academies during the second century B.C.E., ascribed the origin of a philosophical school to a legendary sage from the past and then portrayed each successive "scholarch" as the disciple of his immediate predecessor. Successions were scholastic (or doctrinal) in nature, since they outlined the transmission of proper doctrine over the course of time and thereby served to ground the traditions of a school in the hallowed past. Yet, since the links in succession lists were "scholarchs," i.e., the heads of philosophical academies, successions were also supposed to reflect the line of the legitimate institutional authority of an academy. In time, successions spread beyond philosophy to other intellectual traditions such as law, medicine, and Christianity while becoming in the process a standard element in the construction of the history of an intellectual discipline in the Graeco-Roman world.

The similarities between *Avot* and successions suggest that this Graeco-Roman literary genre was introduced into the Jewish setting in order to construct the history of the rabbinic academy. Like successions, *Avot*'s chain of transmission opens with a legendary sage of the past and then traces the transmission of Torah through a list of successors portrayed within a teacher-disciple framework. Moreover, like successions, *Avot*'s chain is not a straightforward reflection of historical reality but rather a rhetorical construct designed to demonstrate the continuity of a school and thereby ground its current teachings within the ancient past. By legitimating one particular school, *Avot* rejected the claims of all other competing groups, at least implicitly.

The institutional and scholastic dimensions of successions appear to be intertwined in the earliest stratum of the rabbinic chain of transmission but then separate as the chain is developed in two distinct trajectories. The earliest stratum of the chain which comprises the teacher-disciple chain from Moses until Rabban Johanan ben Zakkai consists of personalities who were both tradents in the history of the transmission of the Torah and leaders of the Jewish people. Like scholarchs in successions, they represented both continuous scholastic tradition and legitimate leadership. The scholastic dimension of this early stratum finds its continuation amongst the students of Rabban Johanan ben Zakkai who appear in chapter two and the sages of the implicit chain of transmission in chapters three and four. These sages represent the continuation of Jewish scholarship throughout the early rabbinic period and through them the tannaitic movement is portrayed as the preserver of authentic Torah knowledge. In contrast, the institutional dimension of the early stratum finds its continuation in the genealogy of the patriarchate of chapters one and two. The genealogy of the patriarchate was juxtaposed to the earliest stratum of *Avot* in order to portray the patriarchs as the proper heirs to the Jewish leadership of earlier eras. Thus the genealogy of the patriarchate and the implicit chain of transmission both seek to present the rightful heirs of Hillel and Shammai during the tannaitic period though from two different perspectives; the former focusing on the institutional dimension of successions and the latter on the scholastic.

Content

The sayings attributed to the sages in the first four chapters of *Avot* are quite unlike the halakhic materials that comprise the core of the Mishnah. Instead, they are akin to the contents and style of wisdom literature, a literature which includes such works as Proverbs, Ecclesiastes and Ben-Sira. *Avot* 4:4 paraphrases Ben-Sira 7:17, *Avot* 4:19 cites Proverbs 24:17, and other *Avot* sayings employ literary techniques often employed in wisdom literature such as riddles, numerical sayings, lists, anadiplosis, dialogue and metaphor. Moreover, the hallmark of Hebrew wisdom, the bipartite proverb, leaves traces throughout *Avot* as attested by the following examples: "Make for yourself a master and possess for yourself a comrade" (1:6); "Love work and hate mastery" (1:10); "He who makes his name great, loses his name," (1:13); "Say little and do much" (1:15); "And not study is the essential thing but action" (1:17); "Everything is seen (or: foreseen) and free will is granted" (3:15); "Be a tail to lions and not a head to foxes" (4:15); "Look not at the pitcher but at what is in it" (4:20). Numerous themes that appear in ancient wisdom literature also surface in *Avot* such as the search for life's secrets, reward and punishment, groping after order, self-evident intuitions about mastering life, and a bias against women. It is especially noteworthy that ethics receives more attention than any other traditional wisdom theme. *Avot* portrays kindness as one of the three pillars of the world; extols disinterested righteousness; exhorts the opening of one's house to the poor; urges one to select worthy companions and a virtuous way of life; commends truthful testimony; praises the pursuit of peace and love of humanity; counsels how to avoid transgression; cautions one to cherish the honor and property of others; and calls upon one to receive every person with joy and a pleasant countenance. In short, since *Avot* expresses wisdom themes by means of artistic literary forms it should be considered a member in the trajectory of Hebrew wisdom.

The prominence of Torah in *Avot* sayings, however, is unparalleled in earlier wisdom compositions. Although Torah plays a role in post-biblical wisdom, *Avot* elevates Torah to new heights by establishing the study of Torah and the observance of its precepts as fundamental Jewish values. *Avot* depicts Torah as a pillar of the world and the instrument through which it was created; as a crown of the Jewish people and the purpose of their creation. Torah is not to be viewed as an inheritance that is acquired without effort, rather it is to be toiled after constantly, sought even in distant places, established in one's home, discussed at one's dinner table, studied on the road and carefully preserved in one's memory. Torah is to be honored, cherished and implemented meticulously, and *Avot* guarantees that knowledge and observance of Torah will be rewarded in this world and in the world to come. Through this depiction of Torah, *Avot* transforms and updates the traditional understanding of wisdom by identifying wisdom with the tannaitic conception of Torah and rabbinic notions of religious piety.

Like wisdom literature and rabbinic thought, the Graeco-Roman literary setting also provides, at times, an illuminating backdrop for the contents of *Avot*'s sayings. For example, the counter-intuitive definitions of wisdom, strength, wealth and honor attributed to Ben Zoma in *Avot* 4:1 are highly reminiscent of well known Stoic paradoxes. In a related vein, the five-part saying attributed to R. Tarfon, "The day is short, and the work is great, and the laborers are sluggish, and the recompense is great, and the master of the house is urging" (2:15) is extraordinarily similar to Hippocrates's five-part aphorism, "Life is short, the Art long, opportunity fleeting, experiment treacherous, judgment difficult" (*Aphorisms* 1.1) The literary similarities between these two statements suggest that the short *mashal* attributed to R. Tarfon is a variation on a well-known aphorism of the period, while their differences contrast the world-views of a Greek physician and a rabbinic sage. Whereas Hippocrates bemoaned the difficulty of acquiring medical knowledge during the course of a human's short lifetime, *Avot* stressed the temporal limitations that bound and challenge the *homo religiosus*.

Saying Collections

The collection of attributed wisdom sayings in chapters one through four is unusual for a Hebrew wisdom composition since collections of multiple author named-sayings simply do not appear in the Hebrew and ancient Near Eastern wisdom tradition. In Graeco-Roman antiquity, however, collections of proverbs and aphorisms were very popular and one type of Greek saying, the chreia, was technically defined as an attributed maxim. This distinctive feature of the chreia is precisely what also distinguishes the attributed sayings in *Avot* and therefore it appears that *Avot* sayings should be viewed as chreiai (despite the differences in content and tone between chreiai and rabbinic sayings). Many chreiai were both attributed to and collected by philosophers and therefore it is highly likely that chreiai collections served to preserve and propagate the teachings of philosophical schools. Moreover, chreiai were aggregated in various sorts of sayings collections including successions and thus the synthesis of the chain of transmission and attributed sayings in *Avot* was apparently modeled on the succession literary genre, a genre which included both chreiai and a succession list. In other words, the idea of conjoining a teacher-disciple chain with collected chreiai diffused into the rabbinic world from the overarching Graeco-Roman environment. In the wider Graeco-Roman setting as in *Avot*, the joint succession list-chreiai collection was apparently designed to legitimate and preserve the teachings of a scholastic tradition.

The Fifth Chapter of Avot

Chapter 5 is the only chapter of *Avot* that is not structured by an explicit or implicit chain of transmission. Instead, the chapter employs a descending numerical framework for the ordering of its mostly anonymous materials. This numerical structure commences with eleven lists of ten items apiece (5:1–6), continues with two lists of seven (5:7–8) and seven lists of four (5:9–15) and concludes with four bipartite sayings (5:16–19). The first ten lists are also chronologically ordered and run from creation until the period of the Temple. This historical overview suggests perhaps that chapter five provided the historical backdrop for the chain of transmission and, more generally, that *Avot* was designed to offer a chronology of Jewish experience from creation through the tannaitic period. In any event, the contents of these anonymous materials are in keeping with the spirit of the contents of the other chapters. After the numerical sayings, two sayings are attributed to Judah ben Tema (5:20) and, as the only attributed sayings in chapter five, these sayings supply a stylistic link to the first four chapters of *Avot*. It is possible that *Avot* originally concluded with Judah ben Tema's first saying, but the prayer of *Avot* 5:20 which beseeches God to grant his people a portion in his Torah is also well attested and provides a fitting conclusion for the tractate as a whole. In short, *Avot* encouraged the observance and study of rabbinic Torah traditions by developing a theological vision of a God who prizes adherence to the Torah, by demonstrating the sagacity of the rabbis via their sayings and by offering an historical justification for rabbinic authority.

After the redaction of *Avot*, some mishnayot were appended to chapter five and a sixth chapter called *Kinyan Torah*, also found in *Kallah Rabbati* and *Seder Eliahu Zuta*, was attached to the end of the tractate during the Geonic period. Furthermore, siddurim in the Sephardic tradition, assorted *genizah* fragments and the commentary attributed to R. Nathan b. Abraham Av ha-Yeshivah omit various *mishnayot* found in most versions of *Avot*. This shorter version of the tractate has been interpreted as an abridged version of an originally longer tractate or as an alternate and perhaps even more original version of the tractate.

Date of Redaction

The prominent role of the genealogy of the patriarchate in *Avot* suggests that a member of the patriarch's circle, if not the patriarch himself, redacted this treatise. Indeed, R. Judah ha-Nasi, the famous patriarch and editor of the Mishnah, strikingly appears in the opening mishnah of chapter two (in parallel position to Moses at the beginning of chapter one) within the context of the genealogy of the patriarchate. This genealogy establishes his family credentials and his authority is further legitimated by the institutional dimension of the succession in chapters one and two. R. Judah ha-Nasi appears for a second time in *Avot* 4:17 (though not according to certain Sephardic siddurim) where he functions as the penultimate tradent in the scholastic chain of transmission, a position which perhaps intimates that he should also be viewed as heir to the scholastic traditions of the past. Thus, the resounding recommendation of R. Judah ha-Nasi and the *tannaim* in *Avot* suggests that with the publication of the Mishnah or shortly thereafter, *Avot* was designed to legitimate the Mishnah and to justify the authority of its editor and his family. It should be noted, however, that some scholars prefer to date *Avot* to the fourth century or later.

Title

Since the Middle Ages, *Avot* has frequently been called *Pirkei Avot*, "the chapters of the fathers," but its name in earlier periods was simply, Avot. This title is often thought to be a shortened form of "*avot ha-olam*" ("the fathers of the universe") or "*avot ha-rishonim*" ("the first fathers"). In either case, *Avot* translates as "Fathers" and apparently refers to the many sages included in the tractate. An alternative interpretation suggests that the name of the treatise should be translated as 'Essentials' or 'First Principles'. According to this interpretation, the name refers to the wisdom of the sages, the fundamental principles of rabbinic Judaism expressed in the sayings of the tractate. This alternative interpretation has the added advantage of belonging to a literary practice in the Graeco-Roman world attested, for example, by the *Kyriai Doxai* ("Crucial Principles") of the Epicureans and the *Regulae Iuris* (Rules of law) of Roman law; similar literary collections which were also designed to describe the world-view of their respective intellectual traditions. The ambiguity of the title *Avot* is fortuitous and perhaps even intentional since it highlights the importance of both the structure, i.e. the sages of the chain of transmission, and the contents of the composition.

Location in the Mishnah

Avot is the penultimate tractate in the fourth order of the Mishnah, Seder Nezikin, and lacks both a companion Tosefta and talmudic commentary (though see *Avot de Rabbi Nathan*). The inclusion of *Avot* within an order that discusses civil law, criminal law and the judiciary process, led Maimonides to conclude that *Avot* was designed to legitimate the authority of rabbinic magistrates and to complement the legal code with a moral and spiritual guide (cf. Ex. 22:20–23:9).

Others have suggested that *Avot* be viewed as an epilogue to the Mishnah since *Nezikin* may have once been the last order in the Mishnah or at least the final order to be studied. This suggestion is striking in light of the similar placement of *Regulae Iuris* at the end of Justinian's Digest and *Kyriai Doxai* at the end of Diogenes Laertius's *Lives of Eminent Philosophers*. It is possible that just as the abstract and general format of the *Regulae Iuris* and *Kyriae Doxai* made them suitable conclusions for larger compositions, *Avot*'s survey of rabbinic principles and the transmission of the Torah made it a suitable epilogue for the Mishnah as a whole.

Commentaries

As noted above, classical and modern translations and commentaries to *Avot* abound. For lists of classical and select modern commentaries, see Cohen, Kasher-Mandelbaum, Kohn and Lerner. S. Sharvit deserves special mention due to his investigations into the language and style of *Avot* and the recent publication of his critical edition of the tractate.

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[Amram Tropper (2nd ed.)]

AVOT DE-RABBI NATHAN (Heb. אָבוֹת דְּרַבִּי נָתָן; "The Fathers according to Rabbi Nathan"), a commentary on, and an elaboration of, the mishnaic tractate *Avot*. The work contains many ethical sayings, but also historical traditions, stories and bits of folklore. The work has come down to us in two highly different versions, customarily termed Version A (40 chapters) and B (49 chapters). It was known and used by many rabbinic authorities throughout the Jewish world in the middle ages. Version A has been included among the so-called "minor tractates" of the Talmud in printed editions of the Talmud since 1550. It should be emphasized, however, that the work was never considered part of "minor tractates" before the printed publication of the Babylonian Talmud. Version B was first published by Solomon Schechter (1887, together with a critical edition of Version A). The two versions seem to be two distinct forms (and the only forms known at least since the Middle Ages) of an earlier work.

ARN consists of three different sections in both versions, reflecting the varying character of the five chapters of *Avot* in the Mishnah: (a) a detailed *commentary* on most of the sayings in Mishnah *Avot* 1:1–2:12, except 1:16–2:7 (see below); (b) *supplementary* material to Mishnah *Avot* chapter 3–4, consisting of diverse sayings of Tannaim; (c) an *elaboration* of the numerical sayings in Mishnah *Avot* chapter 5. Versions A and B both follow this threefold division: neither version includes any commentary on the sayings of the two students of Rabban Johanan ben Zakkai cited in Mishnah *Avot* 2:13–14 and neither version comments on Avot 1:16–2:7. These features, as well as others, shared by both versions, indicate that both must have evolved from one source. Indeed, they basically share the same core of material throughout the work, although the wording in each version is unique, and each contains additional material unparalleled in the other.

ARN is probably not to be attributed to Rabbi Nathan (late 2nd century C.E.), but its name cannot be easily explained according to the texts as we have them. The skipping of *Avot* 1:16–2:7 in the first section of both versions indicates that the text of the mishnaic tractate *Avot* did not yet include this section (which is a later interpolation designed to introduce sayings by members of the Patriarch's family up to Rabbi Yehuda ha-Nasi's grandson Hillel). To be sure, parallel sayings of these same sages, who flourished at the beginning of the amoraic period, are included elsewhere in ARN in both versions. However, no other sayings attributed to later *amoraim* are to be found in either version.

From these data one may conclude that the earliest form of ARN goes back to a time not much later than the first half of the 3rd century C.E. However, a detailed comparison of the material in *Avot de-Rabbi Nathan* (in both versions) with the parallel material in other compositions of the talmudic literature leads to the conclusion that the present form of the two versions of ARN is post-talmudic. The *terminus post quem* for the final redaction of the work is thus after the redaction of the Babylonian Talmud (5th century C.E. [?]) and the *terminus ante quem* is probably sometime in the 8th century, since the earliest manuscripts of ARN are from the 9th century, or somewhat earlier. In several cases it can be demonstrated that an older form of a story was replaced (sometimes in both versions) by a newer, more elaborate one. Moreover, traditions known from elsewhere are frequently paraphrased in ARN, thereby distorting their original form. The two versions seem to be basically of Palestinian provenance, but at least in Version A there are evident indications of secondary Babylonian coloring. The general outlines (but usually not the wording) of a common core, from which the two versions evolved, can often be reconstructed by careful comparison between them. This also means that each version is frequently unintelligible by itself. By and large, it seems that Version A tends to be more remote from the common source of the two versions than is Version B; yet, there are many examples in which one must rely on Version A in order to make sense of Version B. This complex history of composition and transmission was noted by Schechter, the first editor of both versions, but was subsequently played down in research. Kister has strongly emphasized that both Version A and Version B are post-talmudic works, although there are certainly ancient elements in the traditions included in them.

The textual transmission of *Avot de-Rabbi Nathan* is also problematic. According to Kister, the textual witnesses (manuscripts and testimonia of ARN in the writings of medieval rabbinic authorities) of Version A fall into two principal branches, but often the original reading is contained in neither of them. An acquaintance with the two textual families, however, enables one in many cases to suggest, through cautious philological analysis, what the original reading might have been. An early *genizah* fragment (9th century?) of Version A seems not to represent an entirely new branch of that version, as suggested by some scholars, but rather a secondary text which attempted to reckon with textual defects found in the manuscript from which it was copied, defects that occur in later manuscripts of Version A (Kister). Only a few manuscripts of Version B survive, most of them stemming from a single, rather late, medieval copy. Errors in this manuscript cannot often be corrected without conjecture.

Current research into ARN owes much to S.Z. Schechter, who published the two versions, with *variae lectiones*, notes, and a general introduction. Schechter's edition was a pioneering philological achievement in his time. Although it does not conform to the prevailing standards of modern philology, his notes are of durable importance for the student. A synopsis, and eventually also a new critical edition, are being prepared for publication by Menahem Kister.

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[Menahem Kister (2nd ed.)]

AVOT NEZIKIN (Heb. אֲבוֹת נְזִיקִין; lit. "Fathers of Damage"), the classification of *torts. Certain passages in the Pentateuch (Ex. 21–22) have been expounded in the Talmud to form the basis on which tortious liability in Jewish law can be classified. The Mishnah (BK 1, 1) classifies the tort-feasors into four categories: ox, pit, grazing, fire. Basically, three sources of common danger – (1) animals, (2) pits, and (3) fire – have been developed as the principal categories of the talmudic law of torts.

1) Animals

The Talmud distinguishes between two kinds of damage that an animal can cause – habitual or common damage, termed *shen*, (Heb. שֵׁן, "a tooth") and *regel* (Heb. רֶגֶל, "a foot"); and unusual or uncommon damage, termed *keren* (Heb. קֶרֶן "a horn"). These terms are derived from instances of damage by animals referred to in the Torah (*ibid.*).

(a) SHEN AND REGEL: the former refers to acts of damage caused by an animal while grazing, while the latter refers to acts of damage caused by an animal while walking, i.e., both occurring during the course of an animal's normal activities. The fact that *shen* and *regel* torts result from an animal's normal activities distinguishes them from *keren* – the abnormal, unexpected act of an animal, such as goring, biting, or kicking. In cases of *shen* and *regel* damage is presumed to be foreseeable and the owner is therefore required to take suitable precautions, and, if negligent, is held fully liable for the damage caused. However, such liability is limited in that it attaches only when the damage is caused on the premises of the injured party or in any other place not commonly frequented by the animal. When the damage occurs on the owner's premises, or in the public domain, or in any other place commonly frequented by animals, the owner is exempt from *shen* or *regel* liability on the grounds that he is entitled to expect that the injured party would take reasonable precautions to protect himself against such foreseeable risks. Furthermore, the owner is also exempt from liability where the damage occurs in a place which neither the animal nor the injured party commonly frequent, since the presence of either of them there (especially the injured party) was not foreseeable (BK, 14a).

(b) KEREN: this term covers an animal's unexpected, vicious acts; i.e., goring, biting, or kicking, as mentioned above. The ox was the popular beast of burden and thus was frequently encountered in public places. Its nature and propensities made it a common cause of damage and the term *keren* was extended to include all the unforeseeable acts of an animal. Unlike *shen* and *regel* acts, *keren* damage is not the result of an animal's normal behavior, and since it is accordingly unforeseeable the owner cannot be accused of negligence. On the other hand, *keren* is not so uncommon as to exclude negligence altogether and exempt the owner from liability entirely. In fact, *keren* was deemed to be midway between negligence and inevitable accident and the authorities differed as to whether it should be included as a tort of negligence or not. Whatever the viewpoint adopted, however, all agreed that the owner should be liable for half the cost of the damage caused – this being regarded according to the accepted opinion as a fine to encourage the owner to take greater care in preventing his animal from causing even unusual (*keren*) damage. The owner is exempt from all liability, however, where the injury caused by a *keren* act was completely unforeseeable, e.g., where his ox gored a pregnant woman, causing her to miscarry – this being an unexpected degree of damage (as far as the miscarriage is concerned). Similarly, the owner is not liable for acts of *keren* committed on his own premises – there being no negligence on his part – but such acts committed anywhere else, including the public domain, result in his being liable for half the damage caused.

This "half-damages" liability was deemed a charge on the carcass of the offending animal, so that the owner did not have to make up any shortfall. This was not interpreted, however, as implying that the animal itself was "liable," since the law is that a person who acquired an animal that had committed an act of *keren* while it was ownerless was exempt from the charge. The *tannaim* disputed the question whether the injured party's right was a lien on the carcass or created a part-ownership therein.

The first two times an animal commits an act of *keren* the damage is called *keren tammah* (i.e., caused by an animal considered harmless), but after the third such act (witnesses having duly testified to the facts before the court so that the owner was made fully aware of the position), the animal becomes *mu'ad* ("forewarned") and the damage is called *keren mu'edet* – the owner thereafter being liable for all further damage caused by similar acts of the animal, even if committed in the public domain. But the animal becomes a *mu'ad* only for the same kind of act, remaining a *tam* ("innocent") in respect of any other unusual act causing damage. For example, an ox *mu'ad* to gore other oxen is not *mu'ad* to bite a person; if he does, it is a *tam* with regard to that act unless and until it commits it three times as well. A *mu'ad* can be restored to the status of *tam* if it can be proved that it has ceased displaying the particular propensity that made it a *mu'ad* – although three further acts of the same kind would result in the status of *mu'ad* again. Wild animals are always regarded as *mu'ad* and their owners fully liable in all cases. After the talmudic period, *keren* liability, whether of the *tam* or *mu'ad* variety, was not enforced because of its rarity; instead, the owner of the offending animal was placed under a ban until he came to terms with the injured party (Maim. Yad, Sanhedrin, 5:17; see also *Damages).

(c) *Ẓerorot* (צְרוֹרוֹת; "pebbles"): this is the talmudic term for damage caused by an animal without bodily contact – the term being derived from the most common form of this type of damage, namely when an animal dislodges pebbles or the like which fall and break something. This category was extended to cover the case of a cock shattering a glass with the resonance of its crowing. Where *ẓerorot* damage is common, it is treated as a form of *regel* and where it is uncommon, it is treated as a form of *keren*. It appears that the Palestinian Talmud rendered the owner fully liable in the former case (*regel*), but only half liable in the latter case (*keren*; TJ, BK 2:1, 2d). The Babylonian Talmud discusses whether the owner is fully or only half liable, but the dispute seems to center on whether *ẓerorot* is as common as *regel*. The *halakhah* accords with the view of Rava that in the case of common damage the owner is liable for half, while in the case of uncommon *ẓerorot* damage there is doubt whether he pays half or only quarter damages (BK 17b–19b).

(d) KILLING A HUMAN BEING: an animal which kills a human being, whether it is a *tam* or a *mu'ad*, is stoned to death. Some regard this as a punishment for the animal, while others are of the opinion that it is simply to eliminate a public menace. A third view is that, as an animal has no mind, it cannot be subjected to punishment and its execution is therefore a punishment for the owner. If the animal was *mu'ad* as a killer, its owner had to indemnify the victim's heirs (*ibid.*, 41a), since he was negligent in failing to guard his animal properly. It follows, therefore, that such liability would not result from a killing that occurred on the owner's premises, as presumably there was there no negligence on his part (*ibid.*, 23b).

2) Pit (בּוֹר, *bor*)

This is the name given to another leading category of tort and covers cases where an obstacle is created by a person's negligence and left as a hazard by means of which another is injured. The prime example is that of a person who digs a pit, leaves it uncovered, and another person or an animal falls into it. Other major examples would be leaving stones or water unfenced and thus potentially hazardous. The common factor is the commission or omission of something which brings about a dangerous situation and the foreseeability of damage resulting. A person who fails to take adequate precautions to render harmless a hazard under his control is considered negligent, since he is presumed able to foresee that damage may result, and he is therefore liable for any such subsequent damage.

If the *bor* (i.e., the hazard) is adequately guarded or left in a place where persons or animals do not normally pass, such as one's private property, no negligence or presumed foreseeability can be ascribed and no liability would arise (BK 49b, 52a). Furthermore, no liability attaches to a person whose property became a public hazard through no fault of his and he had abandoned it, e.g., where by an inevitable accident a vessel breaks and the owner abandons the broken pieces, which subsequently cause damage (Rif, *Halakhot*, BK 29a, 31a) – just as a mere passerby is under no legal obligation to render harmless a hazard he happens to encounter. A person is not liable for a *bor* he creates if he could not have foreseen that it would not have been rendered harmless before it was likely to cause injury; e.g., where he digs a well in a public place and then entrusts it to the proper public authority (BK 50a), or where he is the part-owner of a well and he leaves it uncovered while it is still being used by his co-owner (51a–b). In these cases, the lack of any negligence absolves him.

One who commits the tort of *bor* is liable for foreseeable damage, but not for unusual or unforeseeable damage. Thus, if one digs a pit and leaves it uncovered in the daytime in a place where it is clearly visible, he would not be liable because persons or animals passing by are expected to be able to look where they are going. It is thought by most authorities that this rule also applies to cases where vessels are dropped into and damaged by the *bor*, since a similar standard of care is expected from those who carry such vessels (52a, 53b). Furthermore, no liability attaches in the case where a *bor* causes damage or injury to someone or something for whom or for which it would not normally be considered a hazard (48b). On the other hand, a *bor* that is not a hazard by day may become one at night, or may not be a hazard to big animals but one to young animals, who may not be so capable of guarding against such dangers. There would also be liability in respect of a *bor* that could only cause injury to human beings, but not death, as people do not usually pay much attention to such minor hazards (28b). If an animal dies from falling into a pit less than ten handbreadths deep there is no liability, for such a small pit is not normally expected to cause death (3a). Where two people create a *bor* jointly, or where one enlarges a *bor* created by another, each is liable for half the resulting damage – if liability attaches at all under the rules outlined above.

3) Fire (אֵשׁ, Esh)

The third leading category of tort covers damage caused by a hazard, such as fire, that can spread if not adequately contained or guarded. A person is liable for such damage if it is caused by his own negligence, but not otherwise. Accordingly, he is liable for damage caused by fire carried by a normal wind (which he should have foreseen), but not if the wind was exceptional (BK 60a). Similarly, he is liable if the fire spread over a foreseeable distance, but not if it spread further than could reasonably have been anticipated (61a–b). Yet another example given is the sending of fire or burning objects in the hands of an imbecile, for which the sender would be liable if damage resulted – but not if he sent a mere flickering coal, which is presumed harmless (59b). Thus the underlying rule is that the tort-feasor is liable for foreseeable damage – because he is negligent if he does not prevent it – but not where the damage was unforeseeable and thus no negligence was involved.

One who is negligent in guarding a fire created by him is only liable to the extent of foreseeable damage. For example, a fire that consumes hidden articles would not render the tort-feasor liable for them, whereas he would be liable in respect of exposed articles, damage to them being foreseeable. However, the *tanna* R. Judah extended the liability to cover hidden articles as well, on the grounds that it should have been foreseen that articles may have been hidden (61b). Some scholars interpret this discussion as being a question of evidence only, i.e., the acceptability of the plea that the articles have been there (*Siftei Kohen* to Sh. Ar., ḤM, 388:6).

The Talmud records a dispute over the substantive nature of damage caused by fire, i.e., whether it is to be considered as damage caused by a person's property (*ke-mamono*) like damage caused by his animal, or as damage caused by the person himself (*ke-gufo*) as if he had shot an arrow. The difference is relevant in determining the measure of compensation, since higher damages are payable for damage caused directly by one person to another (*ke-gufo*). The conclusion seems to be that even those who consider *esh* to be a tort *ke-gufo* concede that sometimes it can only justly be regarded as a tort *ke-mamono*, thus incurring a lower measure of damages (BK 22a–b, 23a).

State of Israel

The Civil Wrongs Ordinance, 1944, makes no substantive distinction between liability for damage caused by animals or obstacles or fire and damage caused in other ways; in all cases there is liability if there has been negligence. However, if damage is caused by a dangerous animal or by a dangerous explosion or fire, the onus is on the possessor to prove that there was no negligence on his part.

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[Shalom Albeck]

AVRIEL (Ueberall), EHUD (1917–1980), Israeli diplomat. Born in Vienna, Avriel settled in Palestine in 1939 and became a member of kibbutz Ne'ot Mordekhai. During World War II he was active in the *Haganah rescue of European Jews. From 1942 to 1944 he was stationed in Istanbul. In 1948 he went to Czechoslovakia to purchase arms. Avriel was Israel's first minister to Czechoslovakia and Hungary (1948), and was later minister to Romania (1950). From 1955 to 1957 he was a *Mapai member of Knesset. He later served as ambassador to Ghana, Congo (Leopoldville), and Liberia (1957–60). From 1961 to 1965 Avriel was deputy director general of the Foreign Ministry, in charge of African affairs, and one of the pioneers of Israel's policy of developing close ties with the new African nations. From 1965 to 1968 he was ambassador to Italy. At the 27th Zionist Congress in 1968 he was elected chairman of the General Zionist Council. His autobiography, *Open the Gates*, appeared in 1975.

[Benjamin Jaffe]

AVRUNIN, ABRAHAM (1869–1957), Hebrew philologist and grammarian. Born in Russia, he joined the Ḥibbat Zion movement there and became an ardent Zionist. From 1898 he taught Hebrew in Minsk and devoted himself to the study of Hebrew philology. In 1910 Avrunin settled in Ereẓ Israel, where he taught in public schools in Tel Aviv and at the college for kindergarten teachers founded by Yeḥiel *Halperin who had been one of Avrunin's students in his youth. Avrunin fought for the use of pure and correct Hebrew and reintroduced archaic idioms. He wrote etymological and linguistic studies, poems and epigrams, a Hebrew grammar *Netivot ha-Dikduk* (together with A. Pepper, 1922), edited the linguistic column of the newspaper *Ha'aretz*, and was coeditor of the periodical of *Va'ad ha-Lashon*, *Leshonenu la-Am* (see *Academy of the Hebrew Language). His works include a commentary on the Book of Job (with A.Z. Rabinowitz, 1916); a study on Hebrew medieval poetry (1929); philological studies on Bialik and Y.L. Gordon (1943); and an edition of Judah Al-Ḥarizi's *Sefer ha-Anak* with an introduction and notes (1945).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Moznayim*, 28 (1957), 60ff.; D. Sadan, in: *Leshonenu la-Am*, 7 (1957), 223–7; M. Shamir, *Be-Kulmos Mahir* (1960), 356–60.

AVRUTICK, ABRAHAM N. (1909–1982), U.S. Orthodox rabbi and communal leader. Born in Russia, he received his early education in Montreal and rabbinical ordination from the Isaac Elchanan Theological Seminary of Yeshiva University in 1936. He held pulpits in Fitchburg, Mass. (1936–38), Newburgh, N.Y. (1938–46), and at Congregation Agudas Achim in Hartford, Conn. (1946–82). One the unique characteristics of the Hartford area in the post-World War II era was that its rabbinical leadership in all denominations served for decades at a time and the synagogues enjoyed uniquely stable leadership. He was a leader during a time of transition, when American Orthodoxy was moving from a European-educated Yiddish-speaking rabbinate to American-educated, English-speaking rabbis who appealed to the young. He was instrumental in establishing a Va'ad Hakashruth in Hartford, which established one standard of *kashrut* for the community, was a long-time vice president of the Yeshiva of Hartford (later known as the Bess and Paul Sigel Hebrew Academy of Greater Hartford), and active on many communal Jewish Boards of Directors, including the Federation, Hebrew Home, and Mikveh. Nationally, he held every office in the *Rabbinical Council of America (RCA) including president (1962–64), was a founder and the first president (1951) of the Rabbinical Council of Connecticut, a member of the national board of the *Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations of America, and, as a life-long, passionate Zionist, was active in the Mizrachi Organization. In 1976, together with other rabbinic colleagues, he traveled to the Soviet Union to meet and encourage a group of refuseniks. He was honored by Yeshiva University with a Distinguished Alumnus Award and an honorary Doctor of Divinity degree (1965) and by the Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations with a National Award for Outstanding Rabbinic Leadership (1964). He attracted a large and devoted following because of his high religious and ethical standards combined with a pleasant demeanor, unusual sensitivity, and an ability to see God's reflection in all human beings, even those he disagreed with.

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AVSHALOMOV, AARON (1894–1965), composer, father of Jacob *Avshalomov. Born in Siberia, Avshalomov was almost an autodidact in composition (except for one term of study at the Zurich Conservatoire). In around 1917 he settled in China, remaining there for 30 years and working as librarian of the Municipal Library of Shanghai (1928–43) and conductor of the Shanghai Symphonic Orchestra (1943–46). In 1947 he immigrated to the United States. In his compositions he strove to create an Oriental atmosphere by incorporating Chinese motifs and rhythms into European music. Among his works are three operas, *Kuan Yin* (Beijing, 1925), *The Twilight Hour of Yan Kuei Fei* (1933), and *The Great Wall* (Shanghai, 1945, later produced in Nanjing, under the sponsorship of Mmes. Sun Yat Sen and Chiang Kaishek); a ballet, *The Soul of the Ch'in* (1933); a symphonic poem, *Peiping Hutungs* (1933); three symphonies (conducted by Leopold Stokowski, Pierre Monteux, and Artur Rodzinski); and concertos for piano, violin, and flute.

ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY: *American Composers Alliance Bulletin, X*/2 (1962), 18–19.

[Marina Rizarev (2nd ed.)]

AVSHALOMOV, JACOB (1919–), U.S. composer; son of the Russian composer Aaron *Avshalomov. Jacob Avshalomov was born in China and immigrated to the U.S. in 1937. He studied there with Ernst Toch in Los Angeles and with Aaron *Copland at Tanglewood (1947). At Columbia University, where he taught from 1946 to 1954, he conducted the university chorus and orchestra and performed with them in the American premieres of Bruckner's *Mass in D minor*, Tippet's *A Child of our Time*, and Handel's *The Triumph of Time and Truth*. In 1968, President Johnson appointed him to the National Council of the Humanities. His compositions are marked by Asian sonorities absorbed at an early age in China and his predilection for Renaissance counterpoint. His many vocal works include *Inscriptions at the City of Brass* (1964) and more than 30 songs. His instrumental output comprises a "Sinfonietta" (1946); a symphony, *The Oregon* (1962); and *Open Sesame* (1984).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Grove online.

[Amnon Shiloah (2nd ed.)]

AVTALYON (late first century B.C.E.), colleague of *Shemaiah. Together Shemaiah and Avtalyon constitute the fourth of the *zugot ("pairs"), receiving the tradition from *Judah b. Tabbai and *Simeon b. Shetaḥ. Shemaiah was *nasi* and Avtalyon *av bet din*. Like Shemaiah, Avtalyon is said to have been a descendant of proselytes (Git. 57b; Sanh. 96b). Avtalyon and Shemaiah were called "the two great men of their generation" (Pes. 66a), and "great sages and interpreters" (*ibid.*, 70b), and the people held them in higher esteem than the high priest (Yoma 71b). In the earliest dispute recorded in the Talmud, concerning the laying of hands on the head of a festal sacrifice (see *Semikhah of sacrifice), Avtalyon's views coincided with those of the *nesi'im* who preceded him viz., that it "may not be performed" (Ḥag. 2:2). It was from Avtalyon and Shemaiah that *Hillel learned that the paschal sacrifice is offered even on the Sabbath (Pes. 66a). Avtalyon's decisions are also quoted in *Eduyyot* (1:3; 5:6).

Some scholars identify Avtalyon with the Pollio mentioned by Josephus as one of the Pharisaic leaders in the days of *Herod (Ant. 15:1–4, 370). According to a manuscript variant to *Antiquities* 14:172, it was Pollio, and not Samaias, as in the printed text, who was "the upright man and for that reason superior to fear" who denounced Hyrcanus and his colleagues in the Sanhedrin for their cowardice in refusing to judge Herod. Avtalyon on that occasion prophesied the bitter fate that awaited them. He persuaded the people to accept Herod and to open the gates of Jerusalem to him. Consequently Herod favored him when he became king.

Some hold that Avtalyon's exhortation, "Scholars be careful with your words, lest you incur the penalty of exile and be banished to a place of evil waters (heretical teachings), and the disciples who follow you into exile are likely to drink of them and die" (Avot. 1:11), reflects contemporary conditions and refers to the punishment of expulsion meted out by the regime. The allusion seems to be to Avtalyon's teachers, who fled to Alexandria during the reign of Alexander Yannai, and it may also refer to the Herodian persecution in Avtalyon's time.

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[Bialik Myron Lerner]

AVTINAS, family in charge of mixing the incense in the Temple (Shek. 5:1). Originally the sages denounced the house of Avtinas for refusing to teach the manufacture of the incense (Yoma 3, 11). They sent for skilled perfumers from Alexandria, but when the column of smoke from their incense did not rise in a straight shaft, as that produced by the Avtinas family, the sages reached an agreement with them and doubled their remuneration (Yoma 38a; TJ, Yoma 41a; Tosef., Yoma 2:6–7), which was paid from the public treasury (Tosef., Shek. 2:6). Later generations did not agree with the censure. It was explained that the reason for their refusal to disclose their secret formula was that they had a tradition that the Temple would soon be destroyed, and if their formula became known, the incense would be used for idol worship. The *aggadah* relates that an old man of the Avtinas family gave Johanan b. Nuri a written recipe for the incense, and when Akiva heard this, he said, "We need no longer mention them with censure" (Yoma 38a). They also were praised because they did not permit their wives to perfume themselves, lest they be accused of using the incense as ointment. The Mishnah mentions the upper chamber of the house of Avtinas where the high priest was brought during the days preceding the Day of Atonement. This was where members of the house of Avtinas prepared the incense which was guarded by the priests (Yoma 1:5; Tam. 1:1).

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[Lea Roth]

AVVIM (Heb. עַוִּים): (1) a people who dwelt in "villages near Gaza," and were conquered and displaced by the Caphtorim (Philistines; Deut. 2:23). The difficult verse Joshua 13:3 may indicate that they were still living in the Philistine region at the time of the Conquest. (2) The Avvim in II Kings 17:31 were a group brought by the king of Assyria from their homeland Avva, perhaps the Elamite city Ama, and resettled in Samaria.

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[Tikva S. Frymer]

AX, EMANUEL (1949–), U.S. pianist of Polish birth. After World War II, the Ax family immigrated to Canada, moving to New York in 1961. Ax's first teacher was his father, a coach at the Lvov Opera. In 1966 he begun his studies with M. Münz at the Juilliard School of Music and also attended Columbia University (B.A. 1970). Ax had already received several honors in competitions and made his New York debut in 1973. In 1974 he won the first Arthur Rubinstein International Piano Competition in Tel Aviv. The following year he received the Young Concert Artists' Michaels Award and in 1979 he won the Avery Fisher Prize. Ax developed an international career that brought him acclaim in equal measure for his concert, chamber, and recital performances. He appeared in the U.S. (Philadelphia Orchestra, New York PO, and the LPO) and abroad with major orchestras. In 1991 he made his debut at the Proms in London, performing Brahms' First Piano Concerto. Devoted to chamber music literature, Ax regularly performed with artists such as Young Uck Kim, Yo-Yo Ma, and Jaime Laredo and was a frequent collaborator with the late Isaac *Stern. In addition, he made regular festival appearances at Aspen, Blossom, and Tanglewood. Acclaimed for his poetic lyricism, brilliant dramatic technique, and dynamic control, Ax is noted for his playing of the Classic and Romantic repertoire. As a particular supporter of 20th-century composers, he gave several world premieres of their work, including *Century Rolls* by John Adams (1997), *Seeing* by Christopher Rouse (1999), and *Resurrection* by Krzysztof Penderecki. He also performed works by Tippett, Hans Werner Henze, Hindemith, and Piazzolla. Many of his recordings won top honors.

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[Naama Ramot (2nd ed.)]

AXEL, RICHARD (1946–), U.S. medical scientist and Nobel laureate in medicine. Axel was born in New York City and graduated with a B.A. from Columbia University (1967) and an M.D. from Johns Hopkins University School of Medicine, Baltimore (1970). He was a professor at Columbia University from 1978 and a researcher at Howard Hughes Medical Institute from 1984. Axel's research interests concern the interpretation of sensory signals by the brain. He was awarded the Nobel Prize (2004) jointly with Linda Buck for their work on the olfactory system. They showed that there is only one type of receptor cell for odors in the nose and that these recognize a very limited number of odors. The nerve fibers of individual cells transmit signals to discrete regions of the olfactory bulb (glomeruli) in the brain where they activate receptors on cells controlled by many different genes, up to 1,000 in some species. Signals from these cells are relayed to different parts of the brain and processed to allow a wide range of odors to be recognized. Thus the olfactory and visual systems have many common features. Axel's many honors include election to the U.S. National Academy of Sciences (1983) and the Gairdner Award (2003).

[Michael Denman (2nd ed.)]

AXELRAD, AVRAM (**Adolf**; 1879–1963), Romanian poet and publicist, editor, teacher of literature in Jewish schools. Axelrad was born in Barlad, where he finished his schooling. In 1900 he edited the literary review *Aurora* in Barlad and then moved to Bucharest. The poems in his first collection, *Spre rasarit* ("Eastward," 1900), were inspired by Jewish emigration by foot (the "*Fussgeyers*") from Romania on the way to America (1900); while those of his second, *Ladita cu necazuri* ("Box of Troubles," 1919), bewailed Jewish homelessness. The latter collection was republished in 1945 under the title *La raul Babilonului* ("Near the River of Babylon") with new poems on the Holocaust of the Romanian Jews. Although his poems are not of great literary value, written in popular form they were disseminated among simple people. Axelrad was called the "poet of Jewish suffering." As a publicist he edited some popular science reviews, such as *Revista ideilor* ("Review of Ideas") and *Oameni si idei* ("People and Ideas"), under the pseudonym A.A. Luca. Axelrad also managed a small publishing house, Lumen (1908), publishing popular editions of translations of classical philosophical works. He also translated parts of the Book of Psalms and Ecclesiastes into Romanian.

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[Lucian-Zeev Herscovici (2nd ed.)]

AXELROD, ALBERT (**Albie**; 1921–2004), U.S. fencer; one of the greatest American fencers in history, competing in five consecutive Olympics from 1952 to 1968, winning the bronze in 1960. Axelrod was ranked no. 1 in the U.S. in 1955, 1958, 1960, and 1970 (at age 49), no. 2 nine times, no. 3 twice, and among the U.S. top ten from 1942–70, except for three years during World War II. Axelrod was a member of five National Foil Team Championships (1940, 1950, 1952, 1954, 1958), and five times a member of the National Three-Weapon team championship (1949, 1952, 1954, 1962, 1963).

Born in New York to Russian immigrants, Axelrod learned to fence at Stuyvesant High School and continued fencing at City College after naval service in the Pacific. He won the U.S. Intercollegiate Foil Championship and led CCNY to the National Team Foil Championship in 1948.

At the 1956 Olympics, Axelrod competed on a U.S. foil team that was entirely Jewish – Axelrod, Daniel Bukantz, Harold Goldsmith, Nathaniel Lubell, and Byron Krieger. At the 1960 Olympics, when he won his bronze medal at age 39, he defeated 79 opponents in a seven-hour competition held in a heat wave. It was only the fourth-ever individual Olympic fencing medal won by an American and the last in foil through 2004.

Axelrod won two gold medals (1959, 1963) in team foil at the Pan Am Games and is the only men's foil fencer in U.S. history to make the finals of the world championships. He competed in six consecutive *Maccabiah Games from 1957 to 1977. Axelrod also served as U.S. head coach in 1981 and as manager of the team in 1985.

[Elli Wohlgelernter (2nd ed.)]

AXELROD, GEORGE (1922–2003), U.S. comedy writer, movie director, and producer. Axelrod, who was born in New York City, was the son of silent film actress Betty Carpenter. He started out writing scripts for radio and television. He wrote several successful plays – *The Seven Year Itch* (1953), *Will Success Spoil Rock Hunter?* (1955), *Bus Stop* (1956), *Once More, with Feeling* (1958), *Goodbye Charlie* (1964) – and began his film career writing the adaptations for *The Seven Year Itch* (1955) and *Bus Stop* (1956). Associated with several films as co-writer and co-producer, including *A Visit to a Small Planet* (1957), *Breakfast at Tiffany's* (1961), *Paris When It Sizzles* (1964), and *How to Murder Your Wife* (1965), he also wrote the screenplays for *Phffft!* (1954), *The Manchurian Candidate* (1962), *The Lady Vanishes* (1979), *The Holcroft Covenant* (1985), and *The Fourth Protocol* (1987). He wrote, directed, and produced *Lord Love a Duck* (1966) and *The Secret Life of an American Wife* (1968). For his work on *Breakfast at Tiffany's*, Axelrod won the Writer's Guild of America award for Best Written American Comedy and was nominated for an Academy Award for his screen adaptation. In 1971 he wrote the novel *Where Am I Now When I Need Me?*

At the outset of his career as a playwright, Axelrod specialized in blending sex farce with social satire, though the film versions of his works had to be toned down to get past the censors. But he was very adept at writing for the screen and was at one point the highest-paid scriptwriter in Hollywood. *The Manchurian Candidate* is regarded as one of the best film dramas of all time, albeit, as Axelrod once commented, "It broke every rule. It's got dream sequences, flashbacks, narration out of nowhere … everything in the world you're told not to do."

[Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

AXELROD, JULIUS (1912–), U.S. biochemist, pharmacologist, and Nobel Prize laureate. Born in New York City, the son of Polish immigrants, he obtained his B.Sc. in 1933 from New York's City College, his M.A. in 1941 from New York University, and his Ph.D. in 1955 from George Washington University. In 1949 he joined the staff of the National Heart Institute, Bethesda, Maryland, and in 1954 he was invited to establish a pharmacology section and was appointed chief of the section, Laboratory of Clinical Science, National Institute of Mental Health (NIMH). In 1957 he began his most famous research project which focused on the activity of neurotransmitter hormones. Axelrod specialized in the field of biochemical mechanisms, drug and hormone actions, and glandular research. His achievement was based on Euler's discovery of noradrenaline (norepinephrine), a chemical substance that transmits nerve impulses. Axelrod identified the mechanisms that regulate the formation of noradrenaline in nerve cells as well as the mechanisms in its inactivation. He discovered the enzyme that neutralizes noradrenaline by an enzyme, and named it catechol-o-methyl transferase. The enzyme was shown to be useful in dealing with the effects of certain psychotropic drugs and in research on hypertension and schizophrenia. Axelrod's work enabled researchers during the 1970s to develop a new class of antidepressant medication such as Prozac. Over the next 30 years, until his retirement in 1984, he worked on many research projects in pharmacology. He shared the 1970 Nobel Prize for physiology and medicine with the British biophysicist Sir Bernard *Katz and the Swedish physiologist Ulf von Euler. Axelrod remained an active scientist and researcher and distinguished lecturer throughout the 1970s. He was the recipient of many awards and a member of many editorials boards and committees of scientific journals. In 1984 he formally retired from NIMH and was named Scientist Emeritus of the National Institute of Health in 1996.

[Gali Rotstein (2nd ed.)]

AXELROD, LUBOV (**Esther**; pseudonym **Otodox**; 1868–1946), Russian revolutionary and philosopher. Axelrod was born in Dunilovichi (Lithuania). From the age of 16 she was a member of the Narodnaya Volya revolutionary organization, propagating its ideas in workers' circles and traveling around the country with illegal literature. In 1887 she was compelled to leave for France and later settled in Switzerland. In 1892 she turned to Marxism, joined the Osvozhdzenie Truda (Freedom for Labor) group, and became the closest adviser of its leader, P. Plekhanov. In 1900 she received her Ph.D. from Bern University and her thesis on Tolstoy was published in German in Stuttgart in 1902. She was one of the major contributors to the newspapers *Iskra* and *Zaria*. In 1906 she returned to Russia, and became the leading authority on Marxist philosophy (after Plekhanov). In the same year she published an anthology on the subject, criticizing Berdyaev, Struve, Kant, and others. In social-democrat circles, she earned a reputation as the defender of the "pure" Marxist philosophy. Probably because of this, she did not have to pay the price of being a member of the Central Committee of the Menshevik Party after the Bolshevik October Revolution of 1917, even after she sharply criticized Lenin's *Materialism and Empirio-Criticism*. In the 1920s she lectured in various academic institutes. She published several books, but in the beginning of the 1930s she was included in the "*makhanisty*" group of philosophers, and banned from teaching, publishing, etc., and forgotten. When she had left Russia in 1887 she cut off all her ties with her rabbinical family and with Jewish life.

[Shmuel Spektor (2nd ed.)]

AXELROD, MEYER (1902–1970), Russian painter, graphic artist, and stage designer. Axelrod was born in Molodechno, Vilna province, Belorussia. As a child, he received a traditional Jewish education. During World War I, the family lived in Tambov, where he attended N. Perelman's private art studio. In 1918–19 he lived in Minsk, where he finished a technical school and made advertisement boards for Minsk movie theaters. He was drafted and served in the army in 1919–20. Serving in Smolensk, he attended the local Proletkult ("Proletarian Culture") Art Studio and occasionally visited Vitebsk, where he took painting classes with Y. Pan. In 1921, he displayed his works at the First All-Belorussia Exhibition in Minsk. From his earliest works and throughout his life, Axelrod was keenly interested in Jewish themes, depicting scenes and characters from the Belorussian shtetl as well as capturing the trauma of pogroms. In 1921–27, Axelrod studied at the Faculty of Graphics at the High Arts and Technical Workshops (VHUTEMAS) in Moscow. He was a member of the "4 Arts" group and participated in its exhibits. In the 1920s and 1930s, he regularly exhibited in Moscow and Minsk and worked for various publishers, mainly designing books written in Yiddish or translated from Yiddish into Russian. In the early 1930s, Axelrod paid several visits to Jewish kolkhozes in the Crimea and executed a series of paintings portraying the life of Jewish agriculturists. From 1932, he worked for theaters, mostly Jewish, in Moscow, Belorussia, and the Ukraine, designing sets for several productions. In 1941–43, he lived in Alma-Ata, where he had a one-man show in 1942. In the 1940s, Axelrod continued to work as a set designer for Jewish theaters and designed editions of Yiddish literary classics. In the 1960s, he created a series of paintings called "Memories of the Old Minsk" and "The Ghetto." In 1968, he had a one-man exhibition in Rostov-on-Don.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: G. Fiodorov, *Meer Akselrod* (Rus., 1982); E. Akselrod, *Meer Akselrod* (Rus., 1993).

[Hillel Kazovsky (2nd ed.)]

AXELROD, PAVEL BORISOVICH (1850–1928), Russian revolutionary, one of the founders of the Russian Social Democratic party. He was born in a small village in the province of Chernigov and spent his childhood in great poverty. While still at school, he published his first article on the condition of the Jewish poorer classes. He started his revolutionary activity in 1872 among Jewish students in Kiev where, attracted by anarchist ideas, he was anxious to work among Russian peasants and workers. In 1874, during a period of severe czarist repression, he escaped abroad and lived for a while in Berlin, where he studied the German socialist movement. He later settled in Geneva and married Nadezhda, daughter of the socialist Hebrew poet Isaac *Kaminer. Living at starvation level, Axelrod continued his revolutionary activity both in Russia and abroad. He maintained close contact with the "Land and Liberty" movement (Zemlya i Volya), editing its organ of that name, but left because of his opposition to the use of terror advocated by most of its members. Together with George Plekhanov, he founded the "Chorny peredel" group, which favored distributing the nobility's landholdings among the peasants.

In 1881, during the anti-Jewish pogroms in southern Russia, Axelrod was briefly attracted by the ideas of Ḥibbat Zion and prepared a pamphlet describing the disillusionment of young Jewish radicals with the attitude of the revolutionary movement to the specific problems of Russian Jewry. His ideas found little response among his closest friends, however, and he became a Marxist and an opponent of both the Bund and Zionism. In 1883 he was one of the founders of the "Liberation of Labor" (Osvobozhdeniye Truda) movement, which was to develop into the Russian Social Democratic party, and he edited the movement's newspaper, *Iskra* ("The Spark"). When in 1903 the party divided into Bolsheviks and Mensheviks, he became one of the Menshevik leaders, and from 1913 represented the party at socialist conferences. Axelrod returned to Russia in 1917 but after the October Revolution went to live in Germany. Later he took part in congresses of the Socialist International and was a member of its international bureau. He was an uncompromising opponent of the communist regime. Axelrod was the author of several works on social democratic ideology and tactics; his memoirs, *My Life and Thoughts*, appeared in 1922.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: L. Deutsch, *Yidn in der Rusisher Revolutsie* (1924); L.S. Dawidowicz (ed.), *Golden Tradition* (1967), 405–10.

[Simha Katz]

AXELROD, SELIK (1904–1941), Soviet Yiddish poet. Born in Molodetchno, Vilna province, Axelrod lived in Tambov during the war, then studied literature in Moscow. He began to publish poetry in 1920 and contributed to various Yiddish journals in the Soviet Union, especially *Royte Velt* (Kharkov, 1925–26) and *Shtern* (Minsk, 1927–40). He also wrote parodies and translated Russian and Belorussian poets. His own lyrics gained much appreciation, and two collections of his poetry appeared in Russian (1937, 1939). Some Soviet Jewish critics, however, complained of his continued attachment to existential themes. In 1939 Axelrod went from Minsk to Bialystok and Vilna in the newly occupied Soviet territories to meet with refugee Jewish writers from Poland. After his return, he was arrested in June 1941 and executed shortly before German troops occupied Minsk. He published *Tsapl* ("Quiver," 1922); *Lider* ("Poems," 1932); *Un Vider Lider* ("And More Poems," 1935); *Oyg oyf Oyg* ("Eye-to-Eye," 1937), *Roytarmeyishe Lider* ("Red Army Poems," 1939). A selection of his poems, *Lider,* with an introduction by Nakhman Mayzl, was published in New York (1961). In Moscow a collection of his poems in Russian translation by the poet Elena Axelrod (1963) and a volume in Yiddish, *Lider* (1980), were published.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: LNYL, 1 (1956), 159–60; *Pismeniki Sovetskoy Belorusi* (1959), 31–32. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** R. Rubin, in: *Sovetish Heymland*, 1 (1963), 105–9; Ch. Shmeruk (ed.), *A Shpigl oyf a Shteyn* (1964, 1987^2), 767–70.

[Elias Schulman]

AXENFELD, ISRAEL (1787–1866), pioneering Yiddish novelist and dramatist. He was born in Nemirov and was originally a follower of the ḥasidic rabbi *Naḥman of Bratslav, in Podolia, Ukraine, but after traveling through Germany as a supplier of the Russian Army in 1812–13 and coming into contact with the early *maskilim* of Brody, Galicia, Axenfeld became staunchly anti-ḥasidic. In 1824 he settled in Odessa as merchant and attorney. Two years before his death he moved to Paris, to join his sons, Auguste Alexander (1825–76), professor of internal pathology at the Sorbonne, and Henri, a painter who frequently exhibited in Paris and London.

Axenfeld completed 30 novels and plays in which he portrayed Jewish life according to a realist esthetic (analyzed by Dan Miron). In the cause of Enlightenment, he satirized ḥasidic beliefs, ridiculed ḥasidic rabbis, and sought to improve his readers' manners, etiquette, and morals. He contrasted Jewish life in Poland and the Ukraine with "civilized" life in Western Europe, often exaggerating the backwardness of the *shtetl.* Though his characters are alive and convincing, his plots are often melodramatic. The only two printing presses then allowed in Russia refused to publish his works because of their anti-ḥasidic bias; they were therefore circulated in manuscript form. Only his novel *Dos Shterntikhl* ("The Head-Band," 1861) and the drama *Der Ershter Yidisher Rekrut* ("The First Jewish Recruit," 1861) appeared during his lifetime. The latter deals with the confusion caused by the Czar's edict to draft Jews for the army. A modernized version by Aaron Kushnirov was staged in the 1930s in Russia, Poland, and the U.S.A. His plays *Man un Vayb* ("Husband and Wife") and *Di Genarte Velt* ("The Foolish World"), and his story *Noch Tsvey Hozn* ("Two More Hares," retranslated by L. Reznik from the Russian) appeared posthumously. The rest of his valuable writings have disappeared. Whatever was extant was reprinted in two volumes (1, Kiev, 1931; 2, Moscow, 1938).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: LNYL, 1 (1956), 159–63; Z. Rejzen, *Fun Mendelssohn biz Mendele* (1923), 355–418; M. Wiener, in: *I. Axenfelds Verk*, 1 (1931), v–xvi, 3–142; S. Niger, *Dertseylers un Romanistn*, 1 (1946), 52–60; I. Zinberg, *Geshikhte fun der Literatur bay Yidn*, 8:2 (1937), 172–202. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** M. Wiener, in: *Tsu der Geshikhte fun der Yidisher Literatur in 19stn Yorhundert* (1945), 65–204; D. Miron, *A Traveler Disguised* (1973, 1996^2).

[Elias Schulman]

AYALON, AMI (1945–), Israeli soldier and security services chief. Ayalon was born in kibbutz Ma'agan. He received a B.A. degree in social sciences from Bar-Ilan University and an M.A. in public administration from Harvard University. In 1963 he joined the commando unit of the Israeli navy. In 1969 he was honored for bravery for his actions in the Green Island raid in Egypt. He also received a citation from the army chief of staff for carrying out 22 actions as a commander without casualties. In 1992 he became commander of the navy, retiring from the IDF in 1995. After the murder of Prime Minister Yitzhak *Rabin in 1995, he became head of Israel's general security services (the Shin Bet or Shabak), rehabilitating the organization after what was perceived as a breakdown in security at the time of the assassination. After leaving the Shin Bet in 2000 he became chairman of Netafim, a successful kibbutz plant for irrigation equipment. In 2003 he sponsored with Dr. Sari Nusseibeh, president of Al-Quds University, the "People's Voice" peace initiative aimed to advance the peace process between Israel and the Palestinians. Their well-publicized peace plan was based on the idea of two states for two nations and the relinquishment by the Palestinians of the right of return. In 2004 Ayalon registered with the Labor Party and announced his intention to enter politics.

[Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

AYALON (formerly **Neustadt**)**, DAVID** (1914–1998), Israeli Arabist and historian, specializing in the social and military history of the medieval and early modern Muslim world. Born in Haifa, Ayalon studied at the Hebrew University, as well as a year at the American University of Beirut, receiving his Ph.D. in 1946. During World War II he served in the British Army, and subsequently worked in the political department of the Jewish Agency. After the establishment of the State of Israel, he was employed at the Foreign Ministry until 1950, when he joined the staff of the Hebrew University as lecturer in the history of the Islamic peoples. He became a professor in 1959 and in 1962–66 served as director of the university's Institute of Asian and African Studies. Ayalon's early publications were in the field of medieval Jewish history, but he soon turned to the study of *Mamluk military and social history as well as other topics in pre-modern Islamic history. His many publications included *Gunpowder and Firearms in the Mamluk Kingdom: A Challenge to a Medieval Society* (1956; Hebrew translation 1994), several volumes of collected studies published in the 1970s to 1990s, and the posthumous *Eunuchs, Caliphs and Sultans: A Study in Power Relationships* (1999). His series of essays on "The Great Yasa of Chingiz Khan: A Re-examination" (published 1970–73) was a major contribution to the study of Mongol history. In 1947, together with the Arabist Pesaḥ Schusser (later Shinar), Ayalon published an Arabic-Hebrew dictionary, which for five decades was the mainstay of teaching Arabic among Hebrew speakers in Israel. Subsequently its revision and expansion were undertaken by the scholars of the Institute of Asian and African Studies. Ayalon was awarded the Israel Prize for humanities in 1972.

ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY: R. Amitai, "David Ayalon, 1914–1998," in: *Mamluk Studies Review*, 3 (1999), 1–12 (with a complete list of publications); Heb. version in *Ha-Mizraḥ he-Ḥadash*, 41 (2000), 3–5.

[Norman Itzkowitz / Reuven Amitai (2nd ed.)]

AYALTI (**Klenbart**)**, HANAN J.** (1910–1992), Yiddish writer and cultural activist. At the age of 19, Ayalti left Bialystok for Palestine. In 1933 he went to Paris to study at the Sorbonne. During World War II he escaped from occupied France, lived in Uruguay 1942–46, and subsequently moved to New York, where he became editorial secretary for the Zionist publication *Der Yidisher Kemfer.* After a first novel in Hebrew (1934), he turned to writing in Yiddish: short stories, novels, travel sketches, and a collection of proverbs. Some of these works were translated into Hebrew, English, and Spanish. His best-known novel is *Tate un Zun* ("Father and Son," 1943). His experiences during the Spanish Civil War in 1936 as a war correspondent are reflected in his novel *Der Hotel Vos Ekzistirt Nit* ("The Non-Existent Hotel," 2 vols., 1944). Ayalti's literary work generally gives a detailed description of the social milieu and is characterized by his skeptical analysis of ideologies, his distrust of his heroes, a tendency to see the darker sides of ideas and personalities, and the exaltation of physical love. Translations of his stories appeared in such significant American journals as *Commentary* and *Midstream*; several were gathered into a volume entitled *The Presence Is in Exile, Too* (1997).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: LNYL, 1 (1956), 43–4; J. Glatstein, *In Tokh Genumen* (1956), 448–52; S. Bickel, *Shrayber fun Mayn Dor*, 2 (1965), 402–8; Kressel, Leksikon, 1 (1965), 94.

[Shlomo Bickel / Alan Astro (2nd ed.)]

AYANOT (Heb. **עֲיָנוֹת**; "springs"), agricultural school in central Israel, near Nes Ẓiyyonah. Founded in 1930 by *WIZO as an agricultural training farm, Ayanot initially absorbed immigrant girls only, but later also accepted Israeli-born girls. In 1947 Ayanot became a coeducational school. Vocational training and secondary school education included the Ministry of Education curriculum. Subsequently Ayanot operated as an agricultural boarding school. Students were new immigrants who came to Israel on their own from Brazil and the former Soviet Union. Intensive farming included a computerized dairy. In the mid-1990s there were approximately 340 inhabitants in Ayanot, increasing to 399 in 2002.

[Efraim Orni / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

AYASH (**Ayyash**), family of rabbis and scholars. JUDAH AYASH (d. 1760), son of the widely revered Algiers rabbi Isaac (d. 1727), was himself one of the most famous rabbis of Algiers. As *av bet din* (1728–56) all disputes were referred to him and he carried on a voluminous correspondence with the rabbinical authorities of Morocco, Italy, and Egypt. He had gathered many pupils and his Sabbath sermons drew crowds of listeners. In 1756 Ayash decided to go to Palestine and devote himself entirely to study. He visited Leghorn in 1756 and then reached Jerusalem. Judah Ayash's works (published in Leghorn) include *Leḥem Yehudah*, notes on Maimonides (1745); *Beit Yehudah* (1746); responsa followed by *Minhagim*, customs of Algiers from the 15th century (1746); *Benei Yehudah* (1758); *Ve-Zot li-Yhudah* (1760); commentaries on the *halakhah; Matteh Yehudah* and *Shevet Yehudah* (1783), critical notes on the code of Joseph Caro; and *Afra di-Ara* (1783). Judah's son JACOB MOSES (c. 1750–1817) returned to Algiers in 1783 as a fundraising agent for the *kolel* of Jerusalem. He went to Leghorn and eventually settled in Ferrara where he became chief rabbi of the community there. Jacob had many famous disciples. He was the compiler of *Derekh Ḥayyim*

(Leghorn, 1790), and also edited his father's *Matteh Yehudah* and *Shevet Yehudah*. Judah's second son JOSEPH edited *Kol Yehudah* (1793). A third son, ABRAHAM (d. 1791), traveled to Leghorn to publish *Ve-Zot li-Yhudah* (1790). JUDAH-LEON (d. 1846) was an officer-interpreter in the French Army, who showed great courage in the campaign against Abd-el Kader. He died of wounds received in action.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Prefaces to Judah Ayash's works mentioned above; I. Bloch, *Inscriptions Tumulaires … d'Alger* (1888), 74–78; Yaari, Sheluḥei.

[David Corcos]

AYDAN, DAVID (1873–1954), Tunisian rabbi and printer. Aydan was born in Djerba and was a founder of the Zionist movement Ateret Zion (1919). He acquired a printing press in Tunis, and in 1912 founded the first Hebrew printing press at Djerba, to which he gave the name Defus Ziyyoni (Zion Press). The first work which came off this press was *Me'il Ya'akov* by R. Jacob ha-Kohen. He opened two more presses in Djerba, publishing more than 1,000 works by rabbis from Djerba, Tunis, and the rest of North Africa. One of these presses was still functioning in the late 1960s.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: S. and Ḥ. Aydan, *Mazkeret Neẓaḥ* (1956).

[Robert Attal]

AYDIN, capital city of Aydin province in western Turkey. Population (2004): 156,600. There was a Jewish community in Aydin (then called *Tralles*) from the Roman era until the Ottoman period. At the beginning of the 20th century the community numbered approximately 3,000. The community was led by a rabbi, who together with a number of its members formed a communal council. The community had three synagogues, a hospital, charitable institutions, a *talmud torah*, and a yeshivah. In 1894 an Alliance Israélite Universelle school for boys was founded and in 1904, one for girls. The Jews were primarily engaged in import and export trade. The community, however, gradually declined and virtually ceased to exist after World War I, mainly because of the Greek invasion of western Turkey. Some of the Jews moved to Smyrna (Izmir), others to Rhodes, and about 200 families to South America.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: A. Galanté, *Histoire des Juifs d'Anatolie*, 2 (1939), 127–42; EIS^2, 1 (1960), 782–3 (includes bibliography). **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** P.R. Trebilco, *Jewish Communities in Asia Minor* (1987).

[Abraham Haim / David Kushner (2nd ed.)]

'AYIN (Heb. עַיִן ;ע) (fricative pharyngeal), the 16th letter of the Hebrew alphabet; its numerical value is 70. Its earliest representation is the acrophonic pictograph of an eye (*ʿayin)* 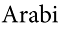. The pupil of the eye disappears already in the early evolution of the letter. In the later Proto-Canaanite, Phoenician, Hebrew, and Samaritan on the one hand and in South-Arabic and Ethiopic on the other, though with variations, the *ʿayin* has a circular shape. Thus also in Greek and Latin, in which the consonantal value of the letter turns into the vowel "o".

In the Aramaic script as early as the seventh century B.C.E. the top of the circle opens: (compare with *bet, dalet,* and *resh*). It is written mainly with two bars (first the left and then the right) meeting at the base . As there is a cursive tendency to draw the pen toward the next letter, the right bar becomes longer and longer 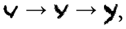, and thus the classical shape of this letter develops, which is known in the Jewish scripts until the present: ע. The Nabatean and Palmyrene scripts also adopt this Aramaic letter: the Arabic ـع develops through the Nabatean cursive 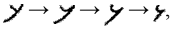, and the Syriac ܥ through the Palmyrene cursive 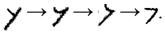. The Ashkenazic Jewish cursive develops as follows: 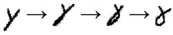. See *Alphabet, Hebrew.

[Joseph Naveh]

AYLLON, SOLOMON BEN JACOB (c. 1655–1728), rabbi and kabbalist. Ayllon was born in Salonika, and received his rabbinical training there. As a young man he joined the followers of *Shabbetai Ẓevi and was in personal contact with *Nathan of Gaza. The accusation made by Ayllon's opponents that he was among those followers of Shabbetai who had adopted Islam (*Doenmeh) and the insinuation that his first wife had not been properly divorced from her first husband, have never been proved. He seems, in fact, to have belonged to those moderate Shabbateans who remained faithful to rabbinical tradition. After 1680 he settled in Safed in Ereẓ Israel, spending several years there, and later went to Europe as an emissary of the Safed community. In 1688 he arrived in Leghorn and established close ties with the Italian followers of Shabbetai Ẓevi. In 1689 he went to London and was appointed haham of the Jewish community, although not without opposition, which was further aggravated when his earlier connections with Shabbetai Ẓevi became known.

In 1700 he was appointed rabbi of the Portuguese community at Amsterdam, a post he occupied until his death, and was greatly respected there. Ayllon supported efforts to print one of the most important works of the Shabbatean Abraham Miguel *Cardoso, declaring that in his opinion the work was above suspicion from the theological point of view. Nonetheless, the book was burned as heretical in accordance with the contrary opinions of learned authorities in Smyrna. During the summer of 1713 Ayllon, together with the president of the Portuguese community, came into serious conflict with Ẓevi *Ashkenazi, who had in the meantime been appointed chief rabbi of the Amsterdam Ashkenazi community. The dispute started when the Shabbatean author Nehemiah Ḥiyya *Ḥayon came to Amsterdam and requested Ayllon's approval to distribute his book *Oz le-Elohim*. It was clear that he looked upon Ayllon as a secret fellow believer, despite the fact that Ayllon in his Amsterdam years had behaved most cautiously in matters that concerned the Shabbateans. Before Ayllon and six other scholars from his community had had an opportunity to examine the book, Ẓevi Ashkenazi and Moses *Ḥagiz issued a ban on Ḥayon forbidding him to publish or disseminate his book, which they declared a Shabbatean work. In this case, they were undoubtedly right. Ayllon and his community, however, saw in Ashkenazi's ban a slur upon their authority and placed themselves on the side of Ḥayon. They declared his book a mere kabbalistic work, and although they objected to certain passages, they declared that they found nothing heretical in it. The official defense, part of which was doubtless written by Ayllon himself, appeared in Amsterdam in 1714 in Hebrew as *Kosht Imrei Emet* ("Certainty of the Words of Truth"), and in Spanish as *Manifesto*. The dispute caused much excitement in Amsterdam and in other communities as well, especially in Italy. Much correspondence and many pamphlets and tracts testify to the furor raised. Ayllon and the council of his community applied to the magistrate of Amsterdam and forced both Ẓevi Ashkenazi and Ḥayon to leave Amsterdam. Later Ayllon avoided Ḥayon, and when the latter reappeared in Amsterdam in 1726 Ayllon refused to receive him.

Ayllon died shortly afterward. A collection of his responsa is preserved in manuscript no. 125 of the London *bet ha-midrash* and in the Ets Ḥayim Library in Amsterdam. A few responsa of his have been printed in various other collections of contemporary rabbis. There remains a complete treatise of his kabbalistic writings, probably written before his arrival in London, as well as a large number of separate pronouncements and explanations, in two manuscripts. Their Shabbatean character is evident; it is not certain whether in his later years Ayllon entirely relinquished his Shabbatean views or whether he continued to hold these convictions secretly.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: M. Gaster, *History of the Ancient Synagogue of the Spanish and Portuguese Jews in London* (1901), 22–30; Nadav, in: *Sefunot*, 3–4 (1959–60), 301–47 (with detailed bibliography); Emmanuel, in: *Sefunot*, 9 (1965), 209–46 (Documents from the Archives of the Portuguese Community of Amsterdam).

[Gershom Scholem]

AYRTON, HERTHA (née **Marks**; 1854–1923), British physicist of Jewish parentage. She married Professor W.E. Ayrton, whom she greatly assisted in his research, especially on the electric arc. She later established the laws that govern the behavior of the electric arc. She presented many papers on this and other subjects before the Royal Society of London and other scientific bodies. During World War I, she invented an anti-gas fan which was distributed to thousands of British troops. Ayrton explained the formation of sand ripples on the seashore and, at the time of her death, was investigating the transmission of coal gas. She was the first woman to become a member of the Institution of Electrical Engineers and in 1902 was nominated for election as a Fellow of the Royal Society. However, the election of a woman to the society was impossible at the time. She played a militant role in the campaign for woman's suffrage. Hertha Ayrton had two daughters, one of whom was the wife of Israel Zangwill and the other, BARBARA AYRTON GOULD (d. 1950), was a Labour member of Parliament and chairman of the Labour Party (1939–40), and a forceful supporter of the Zionist cause in the House of Commons. Her son was the painter and sculptor, MICHAEL AYRTON (1921–1975).

[J. Edwin Holmstrom]

AYYELET HA-SHAḤAR (Heb. אַיֶּלֶת הַשַּׁחַר; "Morning Star," deriving from the Arabic name for the site, Nijmat-al-Ṣubḥ), kibbutz in northern Israel, near ancient *Hazor. Ayyelet ha-Shaḥar, affiliated with Iḥud ha-Kevuẓot ve-ha-Kibbutzim, was founded in 1918 by Second Aliyah pioneers who were joined by members of *Gedud ha-Avodah to secure exposed land holdings of *ICA and increase food production for the Jewish urban population which during World War I suffered severe hunger. The existence of Ayyelet ha-Shaḥar, together with *Tel Ḥai and *Kefar Giladi, resulted in the inclusion of the Ḥuleh Valley in the borders of Palestine after World War I. The kibbutz economy was based on intensive mixed farming – industrial field crops, fodder, dairy cattle, carp ponds, and particularly fruit (mainly apple) orchards. It operated a museum of the findings from nearby Hazor and a popular guest house. Its population in 1967 was 710, increasing to 925 in the mid-1990s and 1,270 in 2002.

[Efraim Orni]

AYYUBIDS, dynasty of sultans in Egypt and Syria (1171–1250). The founder of the Kurdish family of Ayyūb was one of the commanders of Zangī, a freed Turkish slave and one of the greatest emirs in the court of Malik Shāh the Seljuk (1072–92). His son *Saladin Yusuf, who was educated in Syria in the Turkish-Seljuk military tradition, succeeded in founding the Ayyubid dynasty in 1171, in conquering Jerusalem in 1187, and expanding his country from Egypt to East Asia in the east and Yemen to the south. Even before his death Saladin divided his country between his sons and his brothers. One of his sons, al-Malik al-Afḍal, received Damascus in 1186 and Ereẓ Israel, but his uncle ʿAdil took Damascus from him in 1196. The second son, al-Malik al-Ẓāhir (1186–1216), received Aleppo. But ʿAdil, the brother of Saladin, succeeded in the early 13th century in uniting most of the areas under him. After his death in 1218, the Ayyubid rulers were compelled to fight harsh wars with the Crusaders, losing Safed, Tiberias, and Ashkelon. In 1229 ʿAdil's son, the sultan Kamil (1218–38), who ruled in Egypt and in Ereẓ Israel, gave Emperor Frederick II Jerusalem and Bethlehem, as well as a corridor of free passage to them from Jaffa. In 1244 with the aid of the Khwārizmis Jerusalem was returned to Ṣāliḥ the Ayyubid (1240–49), the ruler of Egypt and Syria. An energetic sultan, Ṣāliḥ succeeded in uniting almost all the kingdom of Saladin under him. His death and the murder of his son al-Muʿazzam Tūrān Shāh put an end to the Ayyubid dynasty, and after ten years of changes of succession, the Mamluks established their reign in Egypt (Baybars, 1260). Ayyubid rule only lasted about 80 years and was accompanied by many wars. Despite this, the Ayyubid reign was a period of cultural development. Their devotion to orthodox *sunna* Islam, their war against the sects of the *shīʿa*, and their concern for the spread of learning did not affect their tolerance toward Jews and Christians. Saladin opened Jerusalem to the Jews in 1190, and the number of Jews in Ereẓ Israel increased under the Ayyubids. *Egyptian Jewry also benefited from the stable regime and Jewish scholars from Christian countries settled in Egypt.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Mann, Egypt, 1 (1920), 255–8; Mann, Texts, 1 (1931), 412–34; Ashtor, Toledot, 1 (1944), 46f., 117–24; EIS; EIS^3. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** N.A. Stillman, “The Non-Muslim Communities: The Jewish Community” and M. Chamberlain, “The Crusader Era and the Ayyubid Dynasty,” in: *The Cambridge History of Egypt*, vol. 1; Petry, C.F. (ed.), *Islamic Egypt, 640–1517* (1998), 198–211, 211–42.

[Haïm Z’ew Hirschberg]

AẒANCOT, Moroccan family. SADIA BEN LEVI AẒANCOT (early 17th century) of Marrakesh taught in Holland and published a paraphrase of the Book of Esther in rhymed prose (*Iggeret ha-Purim*, Amsterdam, 1647). He transcribed *Maimonides’ *Guide of the Perplexed* into Arabic characters for the Orientalist Jacob Golius. From 1600 to 1770, several members of this family were leaders of the Marrakesh community. Deprived of their possessions by the sultan, they eventually settled in Tangier and played a diplomatic role during the bombardments of Tangier (1844) and the war with Spain (1859–60). MOSES AẒANCOT (19th century) was kidnapped by the Franciscan mission at the age of nine and was converted in Madrid, his godfather being Fernando VII. Moses became a tutor to the future Alfonso XII, and his daughter was lady of honor to Isabella II. His brother DAVID (19th century) was a diplomat and an antiquarian. In Tangier he received Delacroix who painted many portraits of his family, and in 1846 he was host to Alexandre Dumas who wrote at length about him in his *Impressions de Voyage*.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Benjacob, Oẓar, 13; Neubauer, Cat, nos. 1240, 1438; J.M. Toledano, *Ner ha-Ma’arav* (1911), 137; I. Larédo, *Memorias de un viejo Tangerino* (1935), 97–108.

[David Corcos]

AZARIAH (end of the first century C.E.), one of the first generation of *tannaim* after the destruction of the Second Temple. His son was the *tanna* *Eleazar b. Azariah (Yev. 16a). An affluent merchant, Azariah supported his brother Simeon, also a *tanna*, so that he might devote himself to his study. It was because of this that Simeon was referred to as “the brother of Azariah” (Zev. 1:2; see Sot. 21a and Rashi, *ibid.*).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Frankel, Mishnah, 69, 105ff.; Hyman, Toledot, 980.

[Zvi Kaplan]

AZARIAH (early fourth century C.E.), Palestinian *amora*. He is believed to have been the pupil of R. *Mana, in whose name he transmitted *halakhot* (e.g., TJ, Shab. 7:1, 9b). Some scholars have identified him with the *amora* Ezra, but erroneously, since they flourished in different generations. Azariah is often quoted in the *aggadah* of the Palestinian Talmud and even more often in midrashic literature where he transmits *aggadot* in the names of R. *Aḥa (Gen. R. 39:6), R. *Joshua b. Levi (Gen. R. 15:7), and Yudan b. Simeon (Gen. R. 39:8).

Azariah himself was a prolific and versatile aggadist. He explains the verse “As an apple tree among the trees of the wood, so is my beloved among the sons” (Song 2:3): As the apple ripens only in the month of Sivan, so Israel emitted a sweet fragrance in the month of Sivan (i.e., at the giving of the Torah at Sinai); and as there are 50 days between the budding and the ripening of its fruit, so did Israel take 50 days between the Exodus and the giving of the Torah (Song R., to 2:3). In the word אֶשֶׁל (*eshel*, “tamarisk”), which Abraham planted at Beer-Sheba (Geb. 21:33), Azariah sees an allusion to the three duties of hospitality toward guests, who must be provided with food (אֲכִילָה; *akhilah*), drink (שְׁתִיָּה; *shetiyyah*), and escort (לְוָיָה, *levayah*; Mid. Ps. 110:1, ed. Buber, 465, n. 4). The reading “lodging” (לִינָה; *linah*) for the last does not appear in ancient texts.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Bacher, Pal Amor; Hyman, Toledot, 980.

AZARIAH BEN ELIYAH (d. after 1838), one of the leaders of the Karaite community in Chufut-Kale and its chronicler. Very little is known about his life. He signed a letter (1810) from the community of Chufut-Kale to that of Constantinople, concerning financial support for the Karaite community in Jerusalem. He wrote an important chronicle in which he describes the events of the civil war in the Crimea during the Russian invasion (1777–83) and the rule of the last Crimean Khan, Shahin Giray. As an eyewitness Azariah depicts the suffering of the population of the Crimea, including Karaites. He gives unique information about the events in the Crimea in general, and in particular about the Karaite communities of Chufut-Kale and Eupatoria (Yevpatoriya), the relations between Karaites and Rabbanites and other communities of the Crimea, the rates of taxation levied on the Karaites, etc. This work, with many biblical citations incorporated into the text, is written in a very lively and fascinating way. It was published twice in the Russian translation of A. *Firkovich and recently in the Hebrew original text.

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[Golda Akhiezer (2nd ed.)]

AZARIAH BEN SOLOMON (late 10th–early 11th centuries), exilarch in Babylonia after 953. Azariah’s father, Solomon, was the son of Josiah (Ḥasan) but nevertheless supported by *Saadiah Gaon against Josiah’s brother *David b. Zakkai. From documents of the Cairo *Genizah*, it is known that Solomon held office during the years 951–53. His precise term of office is, however, unknown. It seems that his son Azariah succeeded to his position. The latter was the founder of several families of *nesi'im* in various countries. One of Azariah's sons, Zakkai, settled in Mosul and his descendants were *nesi'im* for several generations. His second son, Daniel, was *gaon* and *nasi* in Palestine from 1051 to 1062 and is mentioned in the Scroll of *Abiathar as well as in letters and other documents. His third son, Solomon, seems to have settled in Aleppo, where he established a dynasty of *nesi'im* which was still in existence in the 14th century.

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[Abraham David]

AZARKH, RAÏSA MOYSEYEVNA (1897–1971), author. Azarkh was a Bolshevik commissar during the civil war and fought with the International Brigade in Spain, where she organized the Republican army's medical corps. She survived the purges of the 1930s and post-World War II era, publishing reminiscences of the civil wars in Russia and Spain, *Doroga chesti* ("The Path of Honor," 1956–59).

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AZAZEL (Heb. עֲזָאזֵל), name of the place or the "power" (see below) to which one of the goats in the Temple service of the *Day of Atonement was sent. There is a great deal of confusion regarding the exact meaning of the word. The name appears in Leviticus (16:8–10): "And Aaron shall cast lots upon the two goats; one lot for the Lord, and the other lot for Azazel. And Aaron shall present the goat upon which the lot fell for the Lord, and offer him for a sin-offering. But the goat, on which the lot fell for Azazel, shall be set alive before the Lord, to make atonement over him, to send him away for Azazel into the wilderness."

The goat which was dispatched to Azazel was not a sacrifice since it was not slaughtered. From the actual verses themselves it is not even certain whether the goat was killed; thus it seems that the two goats can be compared to the two birds used in the purification ritual of the leper. Just as there one of the birds is set free to fly over the field (Lev. 14:4–7), so here too the goat of Azazel was sent into the wilderness. The goat was dispatched in order to carry the sins of Israel into the wilderness, i.e., to cleanse the people of their sins. This is also the reason why the ritual took place on the Day of Atonement.

The idea that the goat was loaded with the sins of Israel is expressed in the Mishnah (Yoma 6:4) which relates that the Babylonians (or the Alexandrians) used to pluck the hair of the goat and proclaim "Take and go" which is explained as meaning "why is this goat waiting here when the sins of the generation are many and are upon them" (Yoma 66b., cf. the text cited by R. Hananel ad loc.).

A detailed description of the ritual in the Second Temple is found in the Mishnah in the general description of the *ʿavodah* of the Day of Atonement: the high priest cast lots – upon one the word *L*-YHWH ("For the Lord") was written and upon the other *La-ʿAzazel* ("For Azazel"). Afterward he drew lots and on the head of the goat chosen for Azazel he bound a thread of crimson wool and stood the animal opposite the gate through which it would ultimately be taken (Yoma 4:1–2). After the high priest had performed several other rituals he returned to the goat, placed his hands on it and confessed: "O God, Thy people, the house of Israel, has sinned and transgressed before Thee…." He then handed the goat over to the person who was going to take it, called *I'sh ʿItti* (Lev. 16:21), i.e., the man who had been prepared for that time (*et*). Although any Jew was qualified to fulfill this function, the high priests did not allow non-priests to do it (Yoma 6:3). When the *I'sh ʿItti* reached the cliff, he pushed the goat over it backward and it hardly reached the halfway mark in its descent before it was completely dismembered (Yoma 6:2–6).

It seems that even in the time of the Second Temple when they used to kill the goat, its actual death was not considered indispensable since, as soon as the goat reached the desert, the high priest was permitted to continue with the divine service and was not required to wait until the goat was killed. It is possible that the goat was killed in order to ensure that it would not return – laden with the sins – to inhabited places.

There have been efforts to compare the ritual of the goat to several customs of the ancient world. In Babylonia, for instance, it was customary on the festival of *Akītu* (the New Year) to give a goat as a substitute for a human being (*pūḫ*) to Ereshkigal (the goddess of the abyss). In an Akkadian magical inscription from the city of Assur which deals with the cure for a man who is unable to eat and drink, it is prescribed that a goat should be tied to his bed and that thus the sickness will pass to the goat. On the following morning, the goat is to be taken to the desert and decapitated. Its flesh is then cooked and put in a pit together with honey and oil, perhaps as an offering to the demons. During plagues, the Hittites used to send a goat into enemy territory in order that it should carry the plague there. On the head of the goat they would bind a crown made of colored wool, comparable perhaps to the thread of crimson wool which was tied to the head of the goat in the Second Temple period (Yoma 4:2). In the Hellenistic world there were also "scapegoat" rituals, but they had the custom to take a man as "scapegoat" and not an animal. In some places these rituals were performed in times of trouble, in others at fixed appointed times of the year. However, in the Hellenistic world the important part of the ceremony was not the killing of the "scapegoat," but its being sent out of the city and indeed, in some places, it was not even killed.

The exact meaning of Azazel was a point of dispute already in the times of the talmudic sages: some held that it is the name of the place to which the goat was sent, while others believed that it was the name of some "power." According to the first opinion, the word Azazel is a parallel to "a land which is cut off" (Lev. 16:22), meaning (according to the rabbinic interpretation) an area of rocks and cliffs, i.e., inaccessible. The word Azazel is also interpreted as meaning strong and hard as though it were written עזז אל, namely, hardest of the mountains (Yoma 63b; cf. Sifra Aḥarei Mot 2:8; Targum Jonathan to Lev. 16:10). It does appear, however, that this is an attempt to reconcile the meaning of the word Azazel with the actual usage in the time of the Second Temple, namely to bring the goat to a cliff and to push it over. The interpretation does not quite fit the written form of the word עזאזל. The second opinion, which sees Azazel as a supernatural power, also treats the word as though it were written עֲזָזֵאל. This opinion is based on Leviticus (16:8): "One lot for the Lord and the other lot for Azazel," i.e., just as the first goat is set aside for the Lord so the second is set aside for Azazel, Azazel being a parallel to the Lord (cf. PdRE ch. 46, p. 111a). God gets a burnt offering while Azazel gets a sin offering. This view is reinforced by the widespread belief that the wilderness was the habitat of demons (see Lev. 13:21; 34:14; esp. Lev. 17:7). The demonic identification would indicate that the original purpose of the ritual was to get rid of the evil by banishing it to its original source.

Ibn Ezra and Naḥmanides both interpret Azazel as the name of the goat and this view is also found in the Talmud: "The school of Rabbi Ishmael explained it is called Azazel because it atones for the acts of the fallen *angels *Uzza and Azael" (Yoma 67b, cf. Targ. Jon., Gen. 6:1; Deut. R. 11:10). In the various Greek translations of the Bible and the Vulgate the word Azazel is interpreted in a different form – as being made up of the word עֵז ("goat") and the Aramaic root אזל ("to go") thus making "the goat which goes." The Septuagint has χίμαρον… ἐπ᾽ αὐτὸν ὁ κλῆρος τοῦ ἀποπομπαίου (Lev. 16:10, cf. 8, i.e., the goat on which went the lot of dismissal); also, verse 26, i.e., the goat which goes free. Symmachus has τράγως ἀπερχόμενος and the Vulgate *caper emissarius*.

David Kimḥi in his *Book of Roots* explains the word as being the name of the mountain to which the goat was taken and the mount was so called because the goat was taken there. Latterly N.H. Tur *Sinai has explained the word as meaning a wild goat.

In the retelling of the story of the sons of God and daughters of men (Gen. 6:1–4) in the First Book of Enoch, Azazel (or Azael) is one of the leaders of the angels who desired the daughters of men (6:4), and it was he who taught human beings how to manufacture weapons and ornaments (8:1–2). The identification of this Azazel with the biblical Azazel is clear from the continuation of the story, as the angel Raphael is commanded to "bind the hands and feet of Azazel and cast him into the darkness. Make an opening to the wilderness which is in Dudael and cast him there. Put upon him hard sharp rocks" (10:4–5). Dudael is the Bet Hadudo (or Bet Harudo) which is mentioned in the Mishnah (Yoma 6:8) and the association is certainly with the cliff from which the goat was cast. The remnant of a *pesher* (commentary) on Azazel and the angels found in Cave 4 at Qumran resembles the account in the Book of Enoch. Although the remnant is deficient, it is possible to learn from it that the *pesher* is dealing with Azazel and the angels who lusted after the daughters of men so that they might bear them strong men, and that Azazel taught human beings how to deal wickedly. Azael is also identified with Azazel in several late Midrashim (cf. Yalkut Shimoni, Gen. 44; Jellinek, *Beit ha-Midrash*, vol. 4, p. 127). Azazel also appears in the Apocalypse of *Abraham where he takes the form of a fallen angel.

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[Shmuel Ahituv]

AZEFF, YEVNO FISHELEVICH (1869–1918), agent of the czarist secret police and simultaneously a leader of the Russian social revolutionary movement. Azeff was born in Lyskovo, Russia, into a poor family and studied in Rostov-on-Don until the age of 21. He wandered from one unremunerative job to another. In 1892, faced with arrest for alleged revolutionary activities, he fled to Germany. Azeff enrolled as a student at the Polytechnic in Karlsruhe, where he became a member of a socialist group. Reduced to poverty, he wrote a letter to the Russian secret police offering his services, and thus began his double life as a secret informer and an ardent advocate of the revolutionary struggle among Russian students abroad. In 1899, on receiving his diploma in electrical engineering at Darmstadt University, Azeff returned to Russia. During the 15 years that he was in the pay of the czarist secret police (1893–1908) he betrayed many revolutionaries. At the same time he acquired a reputation as a courageous leader of the Social Revolutionary Party and its "fighting organization." He planned a number of assassinations, including that of the Russian minister of the interior, von Plehve, in 1904. Though Azeff usually tended to ignore his Jewish background, he blamed von Plehve for the notorious Kishinev pogrom. In 1902 rumors of his double dealing began to circulate, but it was not until 1908 that his activities were revealed before a party court. This was the result of long investigations by V.L. Burtsev, a socialist historian of the revolutionary movement, who managed to obtain the testimony of Lopukhin, former director of the Russian secret police. Azeff fled abroad, and went into hiding. He was sentenced to death *in absentia*. In World War I he was incarcerated in a German prison as a dangerous revolutionary, and died there in April 1918.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: R. Seth, *Russian Terrorists* (1966), index; B. Nikolaevsky, *Aseff: the Russian Judas* (1934).

°**AZEGLIO, MASSIMO TAPARELLI, MARCHESE D'** (1798–1866), Italian statesman and writer; prominent figure in the Italian National Revival. D'Azeglio was born in Turin, the son of the Marchese Cesare d'Azeglio and of the Cristina Marozzo di Bianzé. Driven from his youth by intense and eclectic interests and traveling with his father, a diplomat of the Piedmontese court, he had a chance to frequent the literary and artistic clubs of different Italian cities, being especially interested in painting. It was, however, as a novelist that d'Azeglio won fame among his contemporaries, mostly owing to the publication in 1833 of the novel *Ettore Fieramosca o la Disfida di Barletta*, a real bestseller at the time. A keen advocate of the civil emancipation of the Regno di Piemonte's religious minorities (Hebrews and Protestants), d'Azeglio played a leading role both in the preliminary ideological stage (with the 1844 political pamphlet *I casi di Romagna*) and in the political stage of the 1848 uprisings (the first Italian War of Independence). After the defeat of the Piedmontese army at Novara, d'Azeglio was appointed prime minister of the Kingdom of Piedmont through the Austrians on May 7, 1849. In this role he instituted a judicious and balanced reform of public institutes. With the abrogation of ecclesiastic jurisdiction in 1850, d'Azeglio began the transformation of Piedmont into a liberal, secular, and modern state. He resigned as prime minister in 1852 and was replaced by Cavour but continued holding positions of political importance, without ever abandoning his literary interests. He died while at work on his autobiography (*I miei ricordi*), one of the most interesting literary works on the Italian National Revival.

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[Massimo Longo Adorno (2nd ed.)]

AZEKAH (Heb. עֲזֵקָה), biblical town in the Shephelah on the road leading north from Lachish to Beth-Horon. Eusebius describes Azekah (Onom. 18:10–12) as a village situated between Eleutheropolis (Bet-Guvrin) and Jerusalem. After the second battle of Ai, Joshua pursued the fleeing Canaanites down the ascent of the Beth-Horon road to Azekah and a hailstorm wrought havoc among them as far as Azekah (Josh. 10:10, 11). The town was included in the northern district of Judah (*ibid.* 15:35). In the days of Saul the border between Israel and Philistia ran between Socoh and Azekah in the valley of Elah and it was here that the armies of the two peoples were drawn up during the battle between David and Goliath (I Sam. 17:2). The town was fortified by Rehoboam to protect Judah against Egypt and the Philistine cities (II Chron. 11:9). Because of Judah's involvement in the Ashdod-led rebellion of 713–12 B.C.E., a part of the Assyrian army invading Philistia in 712 attacked and captured Azekah which lay close to the Philistine border and almost due east of Ashdod (Sargon II Inscription). A reference to this attack, which probably resulted in Judah's submission, may be contained in Isaiah 20ff. In 588 B.C.E. Lachish and Azekah were the last two provincial fortresses of Judah to hold out against Nebuchadnezzar (Jer. 34:7). A passage in a Lachish ostracon which dates from this period seems to imply that Lachish was still standing after Azekah had fallen. The campaigns of both Sargon II and Nebuchadnezzar indicate that Azekah lay astride the approach road to Jerusalem. After the fall of Jerusalem Azekah continued to be a Jewish town (cf. Neh. 11:30). It is generally identified with Tell Zakariyeh where excavations carried out in 1899–1900 uncovered remains of a rectangular fortress with square towers from the period of the Kingdom of Judah. Azekah is possibly mentioned in a *baraita* (Dem. 5:2, 53; Yev. 122a) as a place producing quality fruit, although the meaning of the passage is uncertain.

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[Michael Avi-Yonah]

AZEMMOUR, city on the Atlantic coast of Morocco. In the 15th century Azemmour was a free city with 20,000 inhabitants, of whom 2,500 were Jews, mainly occupied as fishermen and craftsmen, and including wealthy merchants. Exiles from Portugal in 1496 found refuge there. It was subsequently raided by the Spanish, but the Jews were afforded protection by the Portuguese, who occupied Azemmour in 1513 without bloodshed. A grant of privileges was conferred on the Jews on June 14, 1514, which also fixed their annual tax payment. Joseph Adibe was appointed rabbi of Azemmour and invested with wide powers (c. 1512). The community flourished and prominent members included the families of Adibe, *Roti, Valensi, Buros, Rodrigues, and Cordilha. Numerous *Marranos were welcomed in Azemmour and enabled to go to the interior where they could return to the Jewish faith. The community supported financially and diplomatically the pretensions of David Ha-*Reuveni when he arrived in Portugal in 1525. Azemmour was captured by the Moors in 1541; during the siege John III ordered the evacuation of all Jewish noncombatants to Arzila, and compensated them for the losses they had incurred. A community was reestablished in 1780. Most of the more wealthy members immigrated to Mazagan c. 1820, after the sultan ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Hishām permitted Jews to trade there. Only the Jewish craftsmen remained in Azemmour, which continued to have a Jewish population until the emigration from Morocco after 1948. In 1968 there were no Jewish inhabitants in the town.

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[David Corcos]

AZENBERG, EMANUEL (1934–), U.S. theatrical producer. Born in a Yiddish-speaking household in the Bronx to Joshua Charles Azenberg, the manager of a Labor-Zionist organization, and Hannah Kleiman Azenberg, he attended New York

University and served in the United States Army . He said he first became interested in theater when he went to see his uncle portray a rabbi in a play with John *Garfield in 1948 called *Skipper Next to God.* Azenberg worked for David *Merrick, a prolific Broadway producer, on 22 shows and for Alexander *Cohen before teaming with Eugene Wolsk in 1966 to produce *The Lion in Winter* with Robert Preston and Rosemary Harris. That was followed almost immediately by *Mark Twain Tonight!* with Hal Holbrook. Both were successes.

In 1972 Azenberg produced his first Neil *Simon play, *Sunday in New York*, which was followed by 60 other Broadway stage productions, including virtually all of Simon's 30 comedies, among them: *The Sunshine Boys, Chapter Two, They're Playing Our Song, Brighton Beach Memoirs, Biloxi Blues, Broadway Bound,* and *Lost in Yonkers,* all major successes. In addition Azenberg produced for Broadway *Ain't Misbehavin', Children of a Lesser God, Master Harold … and the Boys, The Real Thing, A Moon for the Misbegotten, Sunday in the Park With George, Long Day's Journey Into Night,* and *The Iceman Cometh.* He received 134 Tony nominations and won 41 Tony Awards. He also taught at Duke University from 1985.

In Azenberg's office are reminders of his commitment to Jewish causes, including photographs with Israeli notables. He said he was pulled out of school in 1948 to meet Chaim *Weizmann when he traveled to New York as the first president of the new Jewish state. Azenberg spent most of his childhood summers at Camp Kinderwelt, a Labor-Zionist retreat in Highland Mills, New York. Kinderwelt left a strong enough impression on him that a camp photograph from 1948 adorned his office. His fellow campers included the novelist Leonard Michaels, the sculptor Chaim *Gross, and the film directors Martin *Ritt and Sidney *Lumet. "All of Manny's ethical values he learned at camp," said a long-time friend. "Manny is the epitome of Yiddishe neshuma."

[Stewart Kampel (2nd ed.)]

AZERBAIJAN, one of the independent states of the C.I.S.; formerly part of Persia and the Soviet Union. It gained its independence with the breakup of the U.S.S.R.

Persian

Former northwestern province of Iran. There have been Jewish settlements in Azerbaijan ever since Jews first settled in Persia. However, their presence is attested by documentary evidence only from the 12th century. *Benjamin of Tudela (c. 1165) refers in his *Travels* to a chain of "more than a hundred congregations in the Haftan mountains up to the frontiers of Media," which included Persian Azerbaijan. *Samuel b. Yaḥyā al-Maghribī relates that David *Alroy (12th century) found adherents for his messianic movement in such cities as Khoi, Salmas, *Tabriz, Maragha, and Urmia (*Rizaiyeh).

When after 1258 Hūlāgū Khān established his residence in Tabriz, the new center attracted many Jewish settlers. Saʿad al-Dawla (d. 1291) made his career there as courtier. Tabriz, Sulṭāniyya, and other places in Azerbaijan continued to be a scene of Jewish events in the 13th and 14th centuries. Azerbaijan was also a *Karaite center. Under the Safavids, Jews are mentioned in several districts.

The Jews in Azerbaijan survived persecutions in the 17th century. Between 1711 and 1713 an emissary (*shali'aḥ*) from Hebron, Judah b. Amram Dīwān, visited many communities in Azerbaijan. The sufferings of the Jews under the Kajar dynasty (from 1794) in Maragha, Urmia, Salmas, and Tabriz is graphically described by Christian missionaries and various travelers of the 19th century, including *David d'Beth Hillel. The dialect of the Jews in various communities in Azerbaijan has been the object of investigations by western scholars such as *Noeldecke, Socin, Duval, *Gottheil, Maclean, and J.J. *Rivlin.

[Walter Joseph Fischel]

Russian

Soviet Socialist Republic, eastern Transcaucasia, from 1921. It was ceded to Russia in 1813 and finally incorporated in it in 1828; before the 1917 Revolution it formed the governments of (provinces) *Baku and Yelizavetpol. Up to the late Middle Ages this region was called Albania, Azerbaijan then comprising only the present Persian area. When the region was first annexed by Russia the Jewish population mainly consisted of Tat-speaking *Mountain Jews. Their main centers were the city of *Kuba and district as well as the villages of Miudji and Miudji-Aftaran in the government of Baku, and the village of Vartashen in the government of Yelizavetpol. The Jewish residents in Kuba and district numbered 5,492 in 1835, of whom 2,718 lived in the city itself, which had a separate Jewish quarter. In 1866 a Jewish traveler reported 952 Jewish households in Kuba, 145 in Miudji, and 190 in Vartashen, while a Russian traveler recorded that year 6,282 Jews in Kuba, 957 in Miudji, and 1,396 in Vartashen. The Jews of Azerbaijan generally engaged in agriculture, petty trade, and manual labor; on average, their economic position was poor. They also suffered from persecution by the local Muslim population, and were often the victims of violent attacks. The region was closed to residence for Jews from European Russia during the czarist regime (see *Pale of Settlement). With Baku's rapid growth as an oil-producing center, however, a considerable number of European Jews took an active part in developing the industry. The census of 1897 records 12,761 Jewish residents in Baku government and 2,031 in Yelizavetpol. The largest urban communities were in Kuba (6,662 Jewish residents) and Baku (2,341). A secular Jewish-Russian school was opened in Kuba in 1908.

During the civil war following the 1917 revolution and in subsequent years, many Jews in Azerbaijan left their villages, mainly for Baku, which also attracted Jews from European Russia. Miudji was completely deserted, and about 3,500 Jews left Kuba; Baku then became the most important Jewish center in Azerbaijan. After the establishment of the Soviet regime, all Jewish traditional schools were closed and government schools were opened for the Jewish population. By the end of the 1920s there was a Turkish-Jewish school in Vartashen and a school for Mountain Jews in Baku; a Jewish club was functioning in Kuba, and a group of Tat-speaking writers was active in Kuba and in Baku. Attempts were made to settle Jews on the land, and 250 Jewish families were occupied in agriculture by the end of 1927. The census of 1926 recorded 19,000 European Jews and 7,500 Mountain Jews in Azerbaijan, and that of 1959 showed 40,204 Jews in Azerbaijan (1.1% of the total population); of the 38,917 living in urban communities, 29,197 were settled in Baku and its environs; 8,357 declared Tat their mother tongue and 6,255 Yiddish. A religious congregation was reported to exist in Baku in 1955, and a congregation of Mountain Jews was active in Kuba in 1964, but the synagogue was then under threat of closure. In 1959 one Jew was serving on the Supreme Soviet of the Republic (out of 325 members).

[Yehuda Slutsky / Eliyahu Feldman]

C.I.S. Republic

In 1970 there were 41,288 Jews in the Azerbaijan S.S.R. and in 1989 30,800 (of whom 22,700 were Ashkenazi Jews living in Baku). In the wake of the continuing warfare between Azerbaijan and Armenia over Nagorno-Karabakh in 1989, 1,981 Jews (97.5%, or 1,933 of them, from Baku) emigrated. In 1990, 7,673 Jews emigrated to Israel from Azerbaijan and in 1991 5,968 (with 5,513 of them coming from Baku). Baku had a Jewish culture club, called "Alef." In 1992 Azerbaijani Jews began issuing the newspaper *Aziz* (an abbreviation of "Azerbaijan-Israel"). In deference to local nationalism, the newspaper published anti-Armenian articles. The government and the Popular Front of Azerbaijan publicly condemned antisemitism and the Jewish Agency was allowed to operate openly in Baku.

[Michael Beizer]

In June 1993, as a result of a coup, Geidar Aliev, a former top Communist Party official, became president. Aliev's relatively favorable stance vis-à-vis Iran resulted in an increased number of Iran-financed periodicals, including *Islamic World* and *Word of Truth*, with antisemitic and anti-Israel contents. In October 1993 the newspaper *And* launched a series of articles signed by a certain Eloglu (The Nation's Son), the first of which attributed the problems of Azerbaijan to the "Jewish mafia, Armenians, and the Russian Empire." Antisemitism, however, did not constitute a problem in the country.

There were an estimated 17,300 Jews in Azerbaijan at the end of 1993. The rate of emigration from Azerbaijan to Israel continued to be high, with an estimated 7,500 Jews remaining in 2003.

[Daniel Romanowski (2nd ed.)]

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AẒERET (Heb. עֲצֶרֶת), word used in the Bible to convey "a general assembly" (Amos 5:21) or a "concluding celebration" (II Chron. 7:9). In the Torah, *aẓeret* refers to the final (seventh) day of *Passover (Deut. 16:8) and to the concluding celebration which takes place on the eighth day of Sukkot (Lev. 23:33ff.; Num. 29:35ff.). The Jewish religious calendar considers Sukkot as one seven-day festival, and *aẓeret* (see Feast of *Sukkot) as a separate celebration with a distinct ritual. In the Second Temple period, however, *aẓeret* was used exclusively to designate the third pilgrim festival, *Shavuot. Shavuot is closely related to Passover (Lev. 23:15ff.), and so rabbinic literature treated it as the *aẓeret*, the "concluding celebration," of that festival.

AZEVEDO (**D'Azevedo**), Portuguese Sephardi family whose members were found in N. Africa as *Marranos in the 16th century, and from the 17th century in Amsterdam, where they reverted to Judaism; a branch of the family moved to London. MELCHIOR (BELCHIOR) VAZ, born in Arzila (Morocco; 16th century), Marrano diplomat and sea captain, was appointed by the king of Navarre as an emissary to conclude a peace treaty with the ruler of Morocco in 1559. He commanded the corsair ships which attacked Spanish galleons returning from America, and established contact with Queen Elizabeth's minister Cecil. On his return from a visit to London, Azevedo brought a ship with a large cargo of Bibles and Hebrew works for Jews living in Morocco; the Portuguese ambassador in Paris was dispatched to England to protest against this traffic, which the Catholics regarded as harmful to Christianity. Azevedo was twice denounced to the Inquisition for practicing Judaism. FRANCISCO LOPES (alias Abraham Farrar; c. 1650) was the London agent of the *Spinoza family in Holland. HENRICO (c. 1661) was one of the first ambassadors of Holland to the dey of Algiers. The same position was held by LOUIS (c. 1675). DAVID SALOM (d. 1699), minister-resident of the dey of Algiers in Amsterdam; he concluded a commercial treaty between Holland and Algiers, and was on the building committee of the Great Synagogue of the Portuguese communities in Amsterdam. MOSES RAPHAEL SALOM (d. 1703), son of Louis, was a physician in Amsterdam. JOSEPH COHEN (d. 1705), of London, a notorious speculator, was a director of the Scottish East India Company, later suppressed.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: SIHM, France, 1 (1905), 177–221; Angleterre, 1 (1918), 27–40, 44–49; Portugal, 5 (1953), 50–54, 84–85; T.S. Williams, *Studies in Elizabethan Foreign Trade* (1959), 107–8; A. Baião, *Inquisição em Portugal* (1921), 183; D.H. de Castro, *Keur van Grafsteenen-Auswahl von Grabsteinen* (Dutch and Ger., 1883), 89–90, 97–98; J.S. da Silva Rosa, *Geschiedenis der portugesche Joden te Amsterdam* (1925), 100; Hirschberg, Afrikah, 1 (1965), 321; 2 (1965), 50.

[David Corcos]

AZEVEDO (Ferme), MOSES COHEN D’ (1720–1784), English rabbi. Azevedo, who was born into a rabbinic family in Holland, immigrated to London, where he married in 1749 the daughter of haham Moses Gomes De *Mesquita. His appointment to the **bet din* in 1757 led to the resignation from the rabbinate of Isaac *Nieto; after a four-year interval Azevedo was appointed haham. On the public fast day of December 13, 1776, marking the revolt of the American colonies, he preached the sermon, which was published both in English and in Spanish.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: A.M. Hyamson, *Sephardim of England* (1951), 182–3; M. Gaster, *History of the Ancient Synagogue of the Spanish and Portuguese Jews* (1901), 131–41; Roth, Mag Bibl, 312, 324, 325.

[Cecil Roth]

AZHAROT, AZHARAH (Heb. אַזְהָרוֹת sing. אַזְהָרָה; “warning”), category of liturgical poems for the Feast of Weeks (Shavuot) in which are enumerated the 613 *Commandments. The term originates from the opening of the early *piyyut, “Azharah reshit le-ammekha nattata”* (“Thou gavest thy people a preliminary warning”); and also because the numerical value of the word *azharot* is 613. At first, the style of the *azharot* was simple and devoid of psalmodic embellishments, but with time they were infused with the spirit of *piyyut*. First mentioned by R. *Natronai Gaon, the *azharot* were already accepted in his day, even though there were some who, then and later, opposed them. One reason for this opposition was that the composers were *paytanim* and not halakhists.

Occasionally the poems dealt with subjects other than the 613 commandments, e.g., the number of Mishnayot, the 70 names of God, etc. Since no composer’s name is found on the early *azharot* they are known as *azharot de-rabbanan* (*azharot* of the rabbis) or *azharot de-metivta kaddisha de-rabbanim de-Pumbedita* (the *azharot* of the holy yeshivah of the rabbis of Pumbedita). *Azharot* are known in the liturgy of Ereẓ Israel, Babylonia, Spain, Italy, Germany, Provence, and Romania (i.e., Byzantium), and have also been included in other liturgies. *Saadiah Gaon, two of whose *azharot* were printed in his *Siddur,* wrote in his introduction that he composed his *azharot* because his contemporaries were accustomed to such poems, in particular “*attah hinḥalta*” (“Thou hast bequeathed”), and also because the existing *azharot* did not mention all the 613 commandments and were repetitious and long-winded. Subsequent *azharot* were composed by the outstanding poets, including Joseph ibn Abitur, Solomon ibn *Gabirol, and Isaac b. Reuben *al-Bargeloni. In later generations, introductions to *azharot* were also composed; and, since the language of the *azharot* was often difficult and complicated, scholars wrote commentaries on them. *Azharot* were usually said at the *Shaḥarit* or at the *Musaf* Services, while among northern Sephardim they were also said at the *Minḥah* Service. Beside the *azharot* for the Feast of Weeks which include the 613 commandments, there are *azharot* for other times of the year, e.g., for the Sabbath before Sukkot, the Sabbath before Shavuot, the Great Sabbath (the Sabbath before Passover), and also Rosh Ha-Shanah, Ḥanukkah, Purim, and New Moon. These include sections pertaining to their particular season. In most Ashkenazi rites, *azharot* are not recited at all, even though they are printed in the festival prayer book. The Sephardim and Yemenites recite the *azharot* by Solomon ibn Gabirol – on the first day of Shavuot, the positive commandments, and on the second day, the negative commandments. Over 60 *azharot* are known.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Gaguin, in: *Essays… J.H. Hertz* (1942), 45–51 (Heb.); Zunz, Lit Poesie, 21, 35, 127; Elbogen, Gottesdienst, 217–9, 558; Benjacob, Oẓar, 32, no. 635; Davidson, Oẓar, 4 (1933), 493, no. 3; Idelsohn, Liturgy, 42, 197.

[Abraham Meir Habermann]

AZIKRI, ELEAZAR BEN MOSES (sometimes mispronounced **Azkari**; 1533–1600), kabbalist, talmudist, preacher, and poet. He was born in Ereẓ Israel and studied under Joseph Sagis and Moses *Cordovero in Safed. In 1596 he was ordained by Jacob *Berab II. His mystical diary, which has survived in his own handwriting (New York, J.T.S.A., Ms. Adler 74; published in M. Pachter’s *From Safed’s Hidden Treasures*, Jerusalem, 1994, pp. 121–186), contains meditations, revelations, and dreams, jotted down in the course of mystical experience, in a brief and obscure manner, lacking all order and unity. It covers the period from 1564 until close to his death, and reveals the inner world of an ecstatic kabbalist, whose sole aim was repentance (*teshuvah*), self-purification, spiritual ascent, and communion (*devekut*) with God. In 1571 he divided his day: one-third to be devoted to writing, and two-thirds – to a quiet, if peculiar, meditation. During this time he would not even study, but would sit in awed silence, without moving, his phylacteries on him and his eyes incessantly “focused upon God.” During the following years in which he continued to practice asceticism and spiritual solitude while adhering to this behavior, he advanced in the stages of *devekut*. At the same time he was very active as the founder and spiritual leader of two groups (*ḥavurot*) of mystics and ascetics, called “*ḥaverim makshivim*” (“the hearkening companions”) and “*sukkat shalom*” (“The tabernacle of peace”). In 1575 he drew up a “deed of association” with the members of (apparently) the first group for the purpose of spiritual partnership and cooperation. The partners undertook “not to relinquish the Law of God,” to refrain from all worldly activity, commerce, and work, and to devote all their time to the study of the Torah and the worship of God. In another deed which they (or perhaps the members of the second group) drew up in 1588, the following rules are specified: unity of the group, love of people, not to judge anyone and to respect everyone; to accept the law of the Torah without reservations, to study it with fervor and to study the Mishnah; to constantly concentrate their thoughts on God and the **Shekhinah* and to pray with zeal and awe. The members of both groups did not accept any public function and did not officiate as rabbis. They appeared in public only in order to exhort the people to repent. This was also Azikri’s main, if not sole, purpose in his public activity which culminated in the authorship of his ethical-kabbalistic treatise *Sefer Ḥaredim* (Venice, 1601). This classic of ethical-kabbalistic literature, the composition of which was completed by Azikri in 1588, actually reflects the ethos and worldview of the two groups over which he presided. Thus it includes four of Azikri's poems which were recited by the members of the groups as love poems to God; the best known is the poem "*Yedid Nefesh*" ("Faithful friend"), called by him "prayer for union and the desire of love." This *piyyut* was accepted in all Jewish communities and is printed in the prayer book (Eng. tr. in JQR, 9 (1896/97), 290). Furthermore, the most important and influential part of *Sefer Ḥaredim*, the section called *Divrei Kibbushin*, is actually a compilation of chapters from *Milei De-Shemaya*, originally composed by Azikri as a collection of ethical-kabbalistic directives and rules of conduct toward God and fellow men for his personal use and the use of his companions in the two groups. In writing *Sefer Ḥaredim* Azikri probably saw the completion of his public activity and from 1578 until his death he retreated more and more into his seclusion and solitude with God. He only thought of means by which he would entrust to God his spirit and soul, and apparently in 1589 he drew up a "deed of association" with God, in the form of a legal document, the witnesses being Heaven and Earth. In it he totally subdued himself to God. In 1601 he died childless after a lifelong yearning for children (his two sons apparently died as young children at the beginning of 1573 or a little before that).

Azikri wrote:

(1) Comments on the Jerusalem Talmud; his commentary on tractate *Berakhot* was first printed together with the Zhitomir Jerusalem Talmud (1860); and since then in all editions (Bodleian Library, Ms. Mich. 199), and the commentary on *Beẓah* (New York, 1967) was completed in 1577.

(2) Commentary on the Babylonian Talmud. This was not printed, and only preliminary notes on certain subjects have survived. His comments on the tractate *Nedarim, Peri Megadim,* are in manuscript (Ms. Adler 74, fols. 28–58).

(3) A homiletic commentary on the Pentateuch (*ibid.*).

(4) Commentary on Lamentations (published under the title *Kol Bokhim* (Venice, 1589).

(5) A commentary, *Ahasuerus Scroll*, passages from which are found at the beginning of Ms. Adler 74.

(6) *Milei de-Shemaya* (*ibid.*; published and edited with introduction and notes by M. Pachter, Tel Aviv, 1991).

(7) *Sefer Ḥaredim* (Venice, 1601). This book had a wide circulation and was printed in over 27 editions. It was also abridged, and a commentary was added to it.

(8) Responsa (in responsa of Moses di Trani, 1 (1768), no. 235; Responsa of Joseph di Trani, 1 (1768), no. 17).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: S. Lieberman, in: *Sefer ha-Yovel… A. Marx* (1950), 304–13; M. Benayahu, in: *Sefer Yovel… Y. Baer* (1961), 262; J. Franzos (ed.), *Talmud Yerushalmi, Beẓah*, with commentary by R. Eleazar Azikri (1967), introd.; M. Pachter (ed.), *Milei de-Shemaya* (1991), intro.

[Mordechai Pachter (2nd ed.)]

AẒILUT (Heb. אֲצִילוּת), a short treatise schematizing the theories of the older Kabbalah, written in the style of a *baraita*. The significance and age of this small volume are matters of controversy. In various passages the author appears as Elijah b. Joseph, but further on, with reference to a Midrash on the name Elijah (Ex. R. 40), also as Jaareshiah b. Joseph, Zechariah b. Joseph, and Jeroham b. Joseph. According to A. *Jellinek (see bibliography) the reference is to the prophet Elijah who thus appears as the pseudepigraphical author of the book. Jellinek's opinion, adopted by D. *Neumark, was that it was written by Jacob *Nazir, to whom, according to old traditions, the prophet Elijah first disclosed the Kabbalah; in consequence, Jellinek dates it to the first half of the 12th century. The definite statement, "ben Joseph," in connection with the prophet Elijah, whose father is never mentioned by name, is quite inexplicable, as well as the whole of the style which nowhere gives the impression of a revelation from on high. It points rather to a certain person of that name. The factual author, Elijah b. Joseph, was manifestly fond of replacing his name by synonyms, as is often done by Abraham *Abulafia. Jellinek thought that he had found a quotation from the book in a **piyyut* by Jacob *Tam, but the relevant passage is already found in the *Heikhalot*.

The treatise contains general thoughts on esoteric doctrines, a great deal about *angelology and *demonology, as well as the teaching of the four worlds: *Aẓilut*, the world of divine emanation (*pleroma*); *Beri'ah*, the world of the throne and the seven palaces; *Yeẓirah*, the world of the divine chariot (*Merkabah) and the ten angel choirs; *Asiyyah*, the world of the lower angels and the good and evil spirits, which here, however, is not in any way identical with the terrestrial sensual world. Finally, in connection with I Chronicles 29:11, the system of the ten *Sefirot* conceived both as modes and instruments of divine activity is developed. An explanation of the relationship of the ten *Sefirot* to the four worlds is not given. Neumark (see bibliography) considered the book to be "the first classic of the Kabbalah" which supplied the pattern for the book **Bahir*. P. *Bloch (see bibliography) discerned the superficial nature of the book's schematization and dated it in the first half of the 13th century (as did Karppe). The work was not significant for the development of Kabbalah; it came into being most probably at the end of the 13th or the beginning of the 14th century. The linguistic usage and terminology of the work are certainly influenced by the *Zohar and even by its latest parts. From it, for instance, come the use of אוליפנא (*olifna*) in the sense of "we learn" instead of "we teach," the names of the seven palaces of the world of creation, and the description of the four worlds which corresponds exactly with that of the *Ra'aya Meheimna* (Zohar, 2, 43). Noteworthy, in connection with the corresponding theme in the Zohar, is also the teaching that "Darkness," the veiled power of the demonic which punishes evildoers, is none other than the rudiment of the destroyed primeval worlds left by the withdrawal of the divine light. The angelology, and especially the demonology of the book also point decisively to the period around 1300.

The stress laid here on the secrecy of the teaching is no proof of the early date of the book but accords with the literary style of the older Kabbalah well into the 14th century.

The work *Aẓilut* does not appear in kabbalistic literature and is nowhere quoted; nor is any manuscript of it now in existence. Abraham, son of *Elijah b. Solomon Zalman, the Gaon of Vilna, first published it in 1802 from a manuscript (now lost; at the end of the edition of the *Aggadat Bereshit*). Isaac Chower wrote a commentary to it, entitled *Ginzei Meromim*, which was published by N.H. Herzog in *Yalkut ha-Ro'im* (1885, p. 11–39). The text was published by Jellinek in his *Auswahl kabbalistischer Mystik* (1853).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: A. Jellinek, *Auswahl kabbalistischer Mystik* (1853), 1–9 (Germ. sec.), 1–8 (Heb. sec.); P. Bloch, *Geschichte der Entwickelung der Kabbalah und der juedischen Religionsphilosophie* (1894), 45; S. Karppe, *Etude sur les Origines et la Nature du Zohar* (1901), 251–5; D. Neumark, *Geschichte der juedischen Philosophie des Mittelalters*, 1 (1907), 195–7; idem, *Toledot ha-Filosofyah be-Yisrael*, 1 (1921), 179–81, 260f.

[Gershom Scholem]

°**AZIZ**, king of Emesa in Syria (d. 54 C.E.). Aziz succeeded Sampigermos, who had diplomatic and family relationships with *Agrippa I, king of Judea. These ties were strengthened when Aziz married Drusilla, Agrippa II's sister, and even agreed to undergo circumcision. The marriage did not last long, for *Felix, the procurator of Judea, was infatuated with her and married her. Aziz died in the first year of Nero's reign and was succeeded by his brother Soemis.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Jos., Ant., 18:135; 19:338; 20:139ff., 158; J. Marquardt, *Roemische Staatsverwaltung*, 1 (1881), 403–4; Schuerer, Gesch 1 (1904^{4}), 537, n. 2, 573, 591.

[Lea Roth]

AZMON (Heb. עַצְמוֹן), a point on the southern boundary of Ereẓ Israel between Hazar-Addar and the Brook of Egypt (Wadi al-ʿArīsh; Num. 34:4–5; cf. Josh. 15:4). In the *Targumim* it is called קֵיסָם or קְסָם. *Abel has identified it with Ayn al-Quṣayma but exploration of the Kadesh Oasis has suggested a height nearer Be'erotayim (Bīr (Biʿr) Bīrayn). Azmon is mentioned by Eusebius (Onom. 14:14) and also appears on the Madaba Map, south of Elusa. Azmon is also the name of a mountain near Sepphoris to which the Jewish rebels fled at the approach of *Cestius Gallus and his army during the Jewish War in 66 C.E. (Jos., Wars, 2:511). Mt. Azmon (Arab: Jebel al-Daydaba) is 1,798 ft. (548 m.) high, composed of dolomitic and chalky rock. The name Azmon was erroneously applied to Mt. Meron.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Abel, Geog, 1 (1933), 79, 306; 2 (1938), 47; Avi-Yonah, *Madaba Map* (1954), 100; Avi Yonah, Geog, 135; Aharoni, Land, 63, 65.

[Michael Avi-Yonah]

AZNOTH-TABOR (Heb. אַזְנוֹת תָּבוֹר), place on the southern boundary of the tribe of Naphtali (Josh. 19:34). Its suggested identification is with Khirbat Umm-Jubayl, north of Mt. Tabor, where potsherds of the Israelite period have been found.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Aharoni, Land, 239; EM, s.v.; A. Saarisalo, *Boundary between Issachar and Naphtali* (1927), 127; Alt, in: PJB, 23 (1927), 42. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** R. Frankel, in: ABD, 1:540.

[Michael Avi-Yonah]

AZOR (Heb. אָזוֹר), a place southeast of Tel Aviv-Jaffa on the road to Jerusalem.

Ancient Period

Azor is not mentioned in the masoretic text of the Bible but the Septuagint adds the name to the list of cities in Danite territory together with Jehud, *Bene-Berak, and *Gath-Rimon (Josh. 19:45). It also appears in the Annals of Sennacherib as one of the cities he conquered on his march south against Egypt together with Beth-Dagon, Jaffa, and Bene-Berak. The name has been preserved at Yāzūr where remains from the Canaanite and Israelite periods have been discovered.

A collective burial tomb from the Late Chalcolithic period (c. 3500–3100 B.C.E.) was accidentally discovered at Azor in 1957. The tomb consisted of an egg-shaped chamber 36 ft. (11 m.) long and 26 ft. (8 m.) wide cut deeply into the hard sandstone layers; access was through a circular shaft on the side. Inside, clay ossuaries had been deposited containing the desiccated bones of the dead in a secondary type of burial. The Azor *ossuaries belong to a culture remains of which were found at Teleilat Ghassl, in the Jordan Valley, and at Beer-Sheba.

Four groups of ossuaries were distinguished: (1) simple chests; (2) jar-shaped ossuaries, with rounded tops and openings on the shoulders; (3) clay chests in the shape of animals (sheep or dogs) or monsters; (4) house-shaped receptacles, the most prevalent type. The normal type of this group is a box-like clay chest, approximately 2 ft. (60 cm.) long, 1 ft. (30 cm.) wide, and 2 ft. (50 cm.) high, with a rounded top and projecting front and back walls at each end. A square opening in the upper part of the facade, sometimes closed by a door, served to introduce the skull. Above this entrance is often found a schematic human or owl-like figure, which could have had some prophylactic purpose. Some of the ossuaries resemble models of houses, with gabled roofs, walls pierced by windows, and imitations of protruding wooden beams used in a decorative way. Some of the "houses" are mounted on an imitation of piles. The painted ornamentation on the walls and roofs utilizes motifs (palms, lattices) which recall vegetal materials used in buildings. In the Crusader period Richard Coeur-de-Lion built at Azor (Yāzūr) a small fort, Casal des Plains (1191), which served as a meeting place with Muslim representatives. The remains of this tower are still visible inside the old village.

[Jean Perrot]

Modern Period

Modern Azor is a small town 3 mi. (5 km.) southeast of Tel Aviv. Before 1948 this was an Arab village (Yāzūr, يازور) which enjoyed prosperity thanks to Tel Aviv's growth, but during the 1936–39 riots, Arabs in Yāzūr repeatedly attacked adjoining *Mikveh Israel as well as traffic on the highway which passes through it to Jerusalem and the South. In the 1948 War of Independence, the highway was blocked by Arabs who killed a detachment of seven Jews (who were commemorated in the neighboring moshav, Mishmar ha-Shivah, "Guard of the Seven," founded in 1949). In the ensuing battles the Arabs fled, and after the end of 1949 the place was settled by Jewish immigrants. In 1951 Azor received municipal council status, forming part of the Tel Aviv conurbation, whose largest industrial zone, Ḥolon-Azor, bordered on it. The town's area was 1.1 sq. mi. (2.9 sq. km.). By 1968 its population had reached 5,100 and in 2002 it was 9,670.

[Efraim Orni / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

BIBLIOGRAPHY: ANCIENT PERIOD: Aharoni, Land, index; Abel, Geog, 2 (1938), 258; Perrot, in: *Attiqot*, 3 (1961), 1–83. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** S.S. Ahituv, *Joshua* (1995), 322.

AZORES, archipelago in the N. Atlantic; Portuguese possession. *New Christians from Portugal presumably settled in the Azores in the 16th and 17th centuries, but there is no consistent record of them. The first known settlement of Jews in the islands began in 1818 with the arrival of five merchants from Morocco. By 1848 the Jews in the Azores numbered 250; several small communities had been established, the most important being in Ponta Delgada (founded in 1836) where there were 150 Jews. Among the founders were several members of the *Bensaude family, whose descendants became influential in international commerce, banking, and philanthropy. The number of Jews in the islands has dwindled steadily in recent years.

Bibliography: Amzalak, in: *Revista de Estudios Hebraícos*, 1 (1928), 239–40. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** I. Da R. Pereira, in: *Arquipélago* 1 (1979), 181–201; 2 (1980), 143–87; 3 (1981), 167–85; A.M. Mendes, in: *Boletim* (Instituto Histórico da Ilha Terceira), 40 (1982), 673–92.

AZRIELI, DAVID (1922–), architect, property developer, philanthropist. Azrieli was born in Makow, Poland. In 1939 he escaped the Nazi invasion of Poland, journeying east into Central Asia before arriving in British Mandate Palestine. Azrieli began architectural studies at the Technion in Haifa but left the program to fight in Israel's 1948 War of Independence.

In 1954 he moved to Montreal. Encouraged by Canada's postwar construction boom, in 1958 Azrieli built four duplexes in suburban Montreal. Thus began what grew into a major development company, Canpro Investments, with commercial holdings across North America and Israel. Azrieli revolutionized shopping in Israel by building Israel's first North American-style mall and transformed urban skylines with state-of-the-art skyscrapers, including Tel Aviv's Azrieli Center and a commercial development in *Modi'in, a planned community between Tel Aviv and Jerusalem.

At 73 Azrieli returned to university, earning a master's degree in architecture from Ottawa's Carlton University. Azrieli extended his philanthropic support to architectural and Jewish studies in North America and Israel. Concordia University, Carlton University, Yeshiva University, the Technion, and Tel Aviv University have all benefited from Azrieli's generosity. He was honored with Israel's Jubilee Award and the Order of Canada, the highest award Canada can bestow upon a citizen.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: D. Azrieli, *One Step Ahead* (2001).

[Harold Troper (2nd ed.)]

AZRIEL OF GERONA (early 13th century), one of the outstanding members of the kabbalist center in Gerona, Spain. Azriel is not to be confused with his older contemporary *Ezra b. Solomon, also of Gerona; this mistake has repeatedly been made from the 14th century onward. *Graetz's opinion, that as far as the history of Kabbalah is concerned the two are to be regarded as one, has lost its validity since the works of both authors have been more closely studied. No details of his life are known. In a letter to Gerona that has been preserved, his teacher, *Isaac the Blind, seems to have opposed his open propagation of kabbalistic doctrines in wider circles (*Sefer Bialik* (1934), 143–8). The poet Meshullam Dapiera of Gerona in various poems hailed him as a leader of kabbalists in Gerona and as his teacher. An Oxford manuscript found by S. Sachs containing his alleged discussions with philosophic opponents of the Kabbalah is the plagiarization of a genuine Azriel manuscript by an anonymous author of a century later, who prefixed it with his own autobiography.

The clear separation of the works of Ezra from those of Azriel is largely the achievement of I. *Tishby. Azriel's works have a characteristic style and a distinctive terminology. All, without exception, deal with kabbalistic subjects. They include (1) *Sha'ar ha-Sho'el* ("The Gate of the Enquirer"), an explanation of the doctrine of the ten *Sefirot* ("Divine Emanations") in question and answer form, with the addition of a sort of commentary by the author himself. It was first printed in Berlin as an introduction to a book by Meir ibn *Gabbai, *Derekh Emunah*, "The Way of Belief" (1850); (2) commentary on the *Sefer *Yeẓirah*, printed in the editions of this book but ascribed to *Naḥmanides; (3) a commentary to the talmudic *aggadot*, a critical edition of which was published by Tishby in Jerusalem in 1943. This commentary represents a revision and, partly, an important expansion of the commentary of Ezra b. Solomon, particularly clarifying the differences from the version of his older colleague; (4) a commentary on the liturgy; actually a collection of instructions for mystical meditations on the most important prayers; it generally appears under the name of Ezra in the extant manuscripts. Large sections are quoted under Azriel's name in the prayer book of Naphtali Hirz Treves (Thiengen, 1560); (5) a long letter sent by Azriel from Gerona to Burgos in Spain, dealing with kabbalistic problems. In some manuscripts, this letter is wrongly ascribed to *Jacob b. Jacob ha-Kohen of Soria; it was published by Scholem in *Madda'ei ha-Yahadut*, 2 (1927), 233–40; (6) a number of shorter treatises, the most important of which is a large section of a partly-preserved work, *Derekh ha-Emunah ve-Derekh ha-Kefirah* ("The Way of Belief and the Way of Heresy"), as well as essays on the mysticism of prayer (published by Scholem in *Studies in Memory of A. Gulak and S. Klein*, (1942), 201–22), as well as the yet unpublished treatise on the mystical meaning of sacrifice, *Sod ha-Korban*.

Azriel is one of the most profound speculative thinkers in kabbalistic mysticism. His work most clearly reflects the process whereby Neoplatonic thought penetrated into the original kabbalistic tradition, as it reached Provence in the *Sefer ha-*Bahir*. He was acquainted with various sources of Neoplatonic literature, from which he quotes many passages directly. It is as yet impossible to say how he became acquainted with concepts belonging to the philosophy of Solomon ibn *Gabirol and the Christian Neoplatonic thinker John Scotus Erigena; but, somehow, Azriel must have come into contact with their way of thinking. Most significantly, the status and importance of the will of God as the highest potency of the deity, surpassing all other attributes, closely associated with God and yet not identical with Him, corresponds to the doctrine of Gabirol. Other points such as the coincidence of opposites in the divine unity, which plays a special role in Azriel's work, appear to come from the Christian Neoplatonic tradition. Azriel particularly stresses the disparity of the Neoplatonic idea of God, which may be formulated only in negatives, and that of the biblical God, about whom positive assertions may be made and to whom attributes may be ascribed. The former is *Ein-Sof*, the Infinite; the other is represented by the world of the *Sefirot*, which in various emanations reveals the creative movement of the divine unity. The logic, by which Azriel established the need for the assumption that the existence of the *Sefirot* is an emanation of divine power, is entirely Neoplatonic. Yet, in contrast with the doctrine of Plotinus, these emanations are processes taking place within the deity, and not extra-divine steps intermediate between God and the visible creation. Rather, the process takes its course in God Himself, namely between His hidden being, about which nothing positive can actually be said, and His appearance as Creator to which the Bible is testimony. In probing the mysteries of this world of the *Sefirot*, Azriel displays great daring. The same boldness is exhibited in those theosophical speculations which he carries into the talmudic *aggadah*. The Kabbalah of Azriel knows nothing of a true creation from nothingness although he uses this formula emphatically. However, he changes its meaning entirely: the "nothingness" out of which everything was created is here (as with Erigena) only a symbolic designation of the Divine Being, which surpasses all that is comprehensible to man, or of the Divine Will, which in itself has no beginning.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: I. Tishby, in: *Zion*, 9 (1944), 178–85; idem, in: *Sinai*, 16 (1945), 159–78; idem, in: *Minḥah li-Yhudah (Zlotnick)* (1950, jubilee volume… J.L. Zlotnik), 170–4; G. Scholem, *Ursprung und Anfaenge der Kabbala* (1962), ch. 4.

[Gershom Scholem]

AZ ROV NISSIM (Heb. אָז רוֹב נִסִּים; "Then many miracles"), alphabetical acrostic by the early *paytan* *Yannai (sixth century). Its theme is the events which, according to the Midrash, took place on the night of Passover (cf. Num. R. 20:12, Tanḥ. B., Num. 69). Since the 13th century it has been included as the first of the hymns and folk songs in the final section of the Passover *Haggadah*. The *piyyut* consists of seven stanzas, each concluding with the refrain "and it came to pass at midnight" (Ex. 12:29). The first six are of three lines each; the last verse, of four lines, is a prayer for the advent of the messianic age. The song formed part of the *kerovah* prayer *Onei Pitrei Raḥamatayim*, found in the Western (Ashkenazi) rite for the Sabbath before Passover. *Az Rov Nissim* passed also into the Eastern (Polish) rite.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Davidson, Oẓar, 1 (1924), 102, no. 2175; Baer S., Seder, 705 ff.; M. Zulay, *Piyyutei Yannai* (1938), 92; D. Goldschmidt (ed.), *Haggadah* (1960), 96, 106–7. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** Tz.M. Rabinovits, *Maḥzor Piyyutei Rabbi Yanai la-Torah ve-la-Mo'adim* (1985); Sh. Spiegel, *Avot ha-Piyyut* (1996); N.M. Bronznick, *Piyyutei Yanai* (2000).

[*Encyclopaedia Hebraica*]

AZUBIB, Algerian rabbinical family prominent in the 17th and 18th centuries.

JOSEPH BEN NEHORAI AZUBIB was in Alexandria in 1665. The following year he wrote to Moses Tardiola, an emissary from Jerusalem in Tripoli, informing him of the appearance of *Shabbetai Ẓevi and giving him important information about *Nathan of Gaza. SAADIAH BEN NEHORAI (late 17th–early 18th centuries), younger brother of Joseph, was the head of the Algerian community during a period of exceptional economic hardship and stern decrees on the part of the local authorities, among them an order for the destruction of all the city's synagogues (1706). Only the intervention of "leading courtiers" brought about the repeal of this decree. Saadiah was author of *Tokhaḥat Musar* (Leghorn, 1871), a commentary on Proverbs, and of *Limmudei Adonai*, an unpublished commentary on Psalms (Mss. Ginsburg, no. 26, Moscow). His novellae on the Talmud are referred to by Judah Ayyash in *Leḥem Yehudah* (1745). Saadiah was among those who banned the books of Nehemiah *Ḥayon, the follower of Shabbetai Ẓevi. A copy of the ban, with his name at the head of the Algerian signatories, is published in the *Milḥamah la-Adonai* of Moses *Ḥagiz (Amsterdam, 1714, 51b). NEHORAI BEN SAADIAH (d. c. 1785), nephew of the brothers, compiled a short commentary on an anthology of *piyyutim* according to the Algerian rite (Leghorn, 1793), and *Purim Tammuz shel Algir* (1775), thanksgiving prayers to commemorate the departure of the Spanish Army from Algiers. JOSEPH BEN NEHORAI (1740?–1794), disciple of his father, and of Judah Ayyash. He was appointed assistant to his father in the rabbinate and their names appear together with those of other Algerian rabbis on commendations to the *Matteh Yehudah* (1783) of Judah Ayyash and the *Zera Ya'akov* (1784) of Jacob b. Na'im. Joseph succeeded his father in 1784. A most erudite scholar and an influential speaker, he had many disciples. He published *Yamim Aḥadim* (Leghorn, 1794), sermons on Sabbaths and festivals, and his talmudic novellae are quoted by Abraham Bushʿara in *Berit Avraham* (1791). He died at Blida.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: I. Bloch, *Inscriptions tumulaires* (1881), 66–68, 83–85; Davidson, Oẓar, 4 (1933), 452; Scholem, Shabbetai Ẓevi, 1 (1957), 163, n. 1,230, n. 1,263; idem, in: *Zion*, 6 (1940/41), 85–87; 19 (1953/54), 16, n. 53; Hirschberg, Afikah, 2 (1965), 53, 187.

AZUBY, ABRAHAM (1738–1805), first paid minister (rabbi-*ḥazzan*) of K.K. Beth Elohim Congregation in Charleston, South Carolina. Born in Amsterdam, Azuby went to Charleston in 1784 with a knowledge of Hebrew and synagogal experience in the Sephardi rite as practiced in the Dutch city, which was also the practice at Beth Elohim. He was engaged in 1785 to succeed Abraham *Alexander, Sr.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: B.A. Elzas, *The Jews of South Carolina* (1905), passim; C. Reznikoff and U.Z. Engelman, *The Jews of Charleston* (1950), 113, 245f., 284. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** J.W. Hagy, *This Happy Land: The Jews of Colonial and Antebellum Charleston* (1993), 68.

[Thomas J. Tobias]

AZULAI, Italian family of makers of majolica; active from the early 16th to the early 18th centuries. The Azulais were of Spanish origin. Together with the *Cohen family, the Azulai family was noteworthy for having produced most of the majolica **seder* dishes that have come down from Renaissance Italy. The first name recorded is that of Jacob Azulai, who worked in Padua. His *seder* dish, made in 1532, was formerly in the Jewish Museum in Vienna, but is no longer in existence and is known from photographs. Isaac, who lived in Faenza, was another 16th-century member of the family. Two other members of the family, named Jacob, lived in Pesaro. There is in existence a *seder* dish by Jacob Azulai II dated 1652 and another by Jacob Azulai III dated 1732.

AZULAI, family of scholars and kabbalists of Castilian origin which settled in Fez, Hebron, and Jerusalem after the expulsion from Spain.

ABRAHAM BEN MORDECAI *AZULAI (1570–1643), the kabbalist, is the first of the family whose works are known. His son, Isaac (17th century), born in Hebron, was also a kabbalist and achieved a reputation as a wonder-worker. There is extant a manuscript pamphlet by him in which each of the letters of the books of Ecclesiastes and Ruth is turned into a word. It was written in 1652 and echoes the controversy over the Hebron rabbinate which took place at that time. Ḥayyim Joseph David Azulai mentions his *Zera Yiẓḥak*, which is no longer extant. He also wrote *Segullot Neḥmadot* (of which fragments are in the Benayahu collection). He was the teacher of Israel Ze'evi, his sister's son, later rabbi of Hebron. He died in Constantinople while on a visit there as an emissary. His son Isaiah, a disciple of Hezekiah da Silva, died in Jerusalem in 1732. Isaac Zerahiah ben Isaiah (1702–65), grandson of Isaac b. Abraham, born in Jerusalem, was a halakhist, kabbalist, and rabbinic emissary. He was a member of the *bet ha-midrash*, Bet Ya'akov; headed the Gedulat Mordecai yeshivah; was a member of the *bet din* of Eliezer Nahum, and later of that of Meyouhas b. Samuel Meyouhas. In 1741, when the Jerusalem community was heavily burdened by debt, he was chosen, together with Abraham Asher, to visit Turkey and Europe on its behalf. While in Constantinople he became ill and returned to Jerusalem. It was at that time that the name Raphael was added to his original names. In 1758 he was one of the scholars in the yeshivah of Jacob Pereira. He was considered one of the seven greatest scholars in Jerusalem and, together with the others, signed the communal *takkanot* between 1749 and 1762. His son, the famous scholar Ḥayyim Joseph David *Azulai, published four of his father's responsa and refers to his writings in his books.

RAPHAEL ISAIAH AZULAI (1743–1826), the son of Ḥayyim Joseph David Azulai, was a talmudist and emissary. He accompanied his father on his mission to Constantinople in 1764. In 1774 he visited Smyrna, possibly as an emissary for Ereẓ Israel, and three years later was in Leghorn. In 1782 he was again in Italy, this time as an emissary for Tiberias. Apparently, he also visited Germany. After completing his assignment as an emissary to Amsterdam in 1783, he stayed on there until 1787, engaging in the book trade. From 1788 until

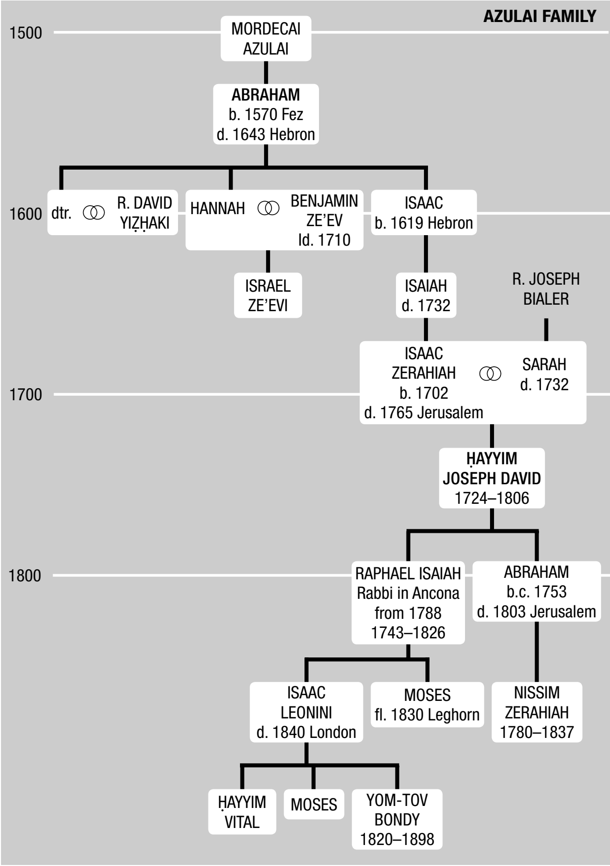
AZULAI FAMILY
1500
1600
1700
1800
MORDECAI AZULAI
ABRAHAM b. 1570 Fez d. 1643 Hebron
dtr.
R. DAVID YIZḤAKI
HANNAH
BENJAMIN ZE'EV ld. 1710
ISAAC b. 1619 Hebron
ISRAEL ZE'EVI
ISAIAH d. 1732
R. JOSEPH BIALER
ISAAC ZERAHIAH b. 1702 d. 1765 Jerusalem
SARAH d. 1732
ḤAYYIM JOSEPH DAVID 1724–1806
RAPHAEL ISAIAH Rabbi in Ancona from 1788 1743–1826
ABRAHAM b.c. 1753 d. 1803 Jerusalem
ISAAC LEONINI d. 1840 London
MOSES fl. 1830 Leghorn
NISSIM ZERAHIAH 1780–1837
ḤAYYIM VITAL
MOSES
YOM-TOV BONDY 1820–1898

his death he served as rabbi of Ancona. His son Moses (19th century) published his responsa, *Imrei No'am*, under the title *Tiferet Moshe* at the end of *Zikhron Moshe,* pt. 1 (Leghorn, 1830). Raphael Isaiah's responsa and novellae are quoted in the works of his father.

ABRAHAM (before 1753–?1803), another son of Ḥayyim Joseph David Azulai, was a talmudist and emissary. Born in Jerusalem, he accompanied his father to Egypt (1765–69), and returned with him to Hebron. In 1778 he was one of the seven community leaders of Hebron. From 1782 to 1795 he was in Europe and North Africa as an emissary. An account of his mission to Poland in 1791 is extant (Ms., J.T.S.A., New York). He died in Jerusalem.

Abraham's son, NISSIM (before 1780–1837), was born in Jerusalem. He was in Leghorn in 1803, and the following year is mentioned as one of the scholars of Jerusalem. Nissim traveled to Turkey and was appointed head of the *bet din* of Magnesia, near Smyrna. He was in Smyrna in 1811 and appears also to have been in Baghdad. He visited Safed in 1831 and there published the prayer book according to the Sephardi rite *Sefat Emet*, with an introduction, commentary, and regulations. He visited Damascus in 1835 and the following year published his *Shulḥan ha-Tahor* in Safed. Nissim was a victim of the great Safed earthquake of 1837.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Yaari, Sheluḥei, index; M. Benayahu, *Rabbi Ḥ.Y.D. Azulai* (1959); idem, in: *Aresheth*, 4 (1966), 273 ff., 281 ff.; Brilling, in: M. Benayahu (ed.), *Sefer ha-Ḥida* (1959), 141–77.

AZULAI, ABRAHAM BEN ISRAEL (c. 1660–c. 1741), kabbalist. Azulai was born in Marrakesh. He was related to R. Abraham b. Mordecai *Azulai, and was the disciple of R. Isaac de-Levayah and a friend of R. Solomon Amar II and R. Abraham ibn Musa. He lived for some time in Tetuan and in 1724 he was in Meknès, Morocco. R. Ḥayyim b. *Attar knew him and praised his erudition in Kabbalah. He told Ḥ.J.D. *Azulai that Abraham b. Israel used to write amulets for sick people, but without writing any of the names of God on them. There were many legends about him in Morocco. He wrote a commentary on the Zohar, extracts from which are quoted by his disciple R. Solomon *Buzaglo in *Mikdash Melekh*. Azulai also wrote annotations and corrections to R. Ḥayyim *Vital's *Oẓerot Ḥayyim* (Leghorn, 1854). His responsa are scattered in various manuscripts; one of them was published in the collection of responsa *Mishpat u-Ẓedakah be-Ya'akov*, by R. Jacob b. Ẓur (paragraph 161). His most notable disciples were R. Jacob Pinto and R. Isaiah ha-Kohen.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Azulai, s.v. *Avraham Azulai*; J. Ben-Naim, *Malkhei Rabbanan* (1931), 11a.

AZULAI, ABRAHAM BEN MORDECAI (c. 1570–1643), kabbalist. Azulai, who was born in Fez, first mastered the study of the Talmud and philosophic literature and then Kabbalah. He did not agree with the interpretations of the Zohar which his teachers provided, and he did not really enter this subject until he obtained Moses *Cordovero's *Pardes Rimmonim*. Thereafter, he was preoccupied with the question of the relation between Kabbalah and philosophy, until he forsook philosophy and dedicated himself entirely to Kabbalah. He decided to go to the center of kabbalism in Ereẓ Israel, but did not realize his wish until after he had lost all his wealth during the anti-Jewish persecutions in Morocco (1610–13). He drifted between Hebron, Jerusalem, and Gaza during the epidemic of 1619, and finally settled in Hebron where kabbalists from Safed had congregated and where he found all the books of Cordovero and the majority of Isaac *Luria's works in Ḥayyim *Vital's version. R. Eliezer b. Arḥa became his friend there.

Azulai's numerous writings were not published during his lifetime. Those books he had written while still in Fez, were lost at sea. He wrote three treatises on the Zohar: (1) *Or ha-Levanah* ("The Light of the Moon"), annotations and textual corrections based sometimes on conjecture and sometimes on early manuscripts (1899); (2) *Or ha-Ḥammah* ("The Light of the Sun"), a complete commentary on the Zohar (completed 1619 and published 1896–98), based mainly on Cordovero's book and also on Luria's commentary, and on a commentary on the Zohar by Ḥayyim Vital written before he knew Luria, and marginal notes on the Zohar by an unknown author. Azulai abbreviated Cordovero's phraseology; occasionally he quoted statements by Cordovero and added his own interpretations. The result is a comprehensive and important commentary to the Zohar; (3) *Or ha-Ganuz* ("The Hidden Light"), an explanation of the profound expressions in the Zohar, which was never published. To these three works he gave the all-inclusive title *Kiryat Arba*, alluding to the four above-mentioned commentators and the city of Hebron. In 1622, Azulai abridged R. Abraham *Galante's (Cordovero's disciple) commentary on the Zohar, *Yare'aḥ Yakar,* under the title *Zoharei Ḥammah* (Gen., 1655; Ex., 1882). His book *Ḥesed le-Avraham* (Amsterdam, 1685) is devoted to a thorough analysis of the principles of the Kabbalah in the spirit of Cordovero with his own and Luria's additions, as well as to a refutation of the arguments of the philosophers.

Azulai adhered to Lurianic kabbalism and believed that it superseded Cordovero's system. He reedited the Lurianic *Sefer ha-Kavvanot* ("The Book of Intentions") and wrote two books based on it: *Kenaf Renanim* and *Ma'aseh Ḥoshev* (1621/2; in Mss.). He also wrote a commentary on the Bible in a somewhat mystical style, entitled *Ba'alei Berit Avraham* (1873), and a commentary on the Mishnah, *Ahavah be-Ta'anugim*, in manuscripts. The part on *Avot* was printed in Jerusalem, 1910.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: G. Scholem, *Kitvei Yad ba-Kabbalah* (1930), 144; M. Benayahu (ed.), *Aggadot Zacut* (1955), 151–2; M. Benayahu, *Rabbi Ḥ.J.D. Azulai*, (Heb, 1959), 275–7.

AZULAI, ḤAYYIM JOSEPH DAVID (known by his Hebrew acronym **Ḥida**, **Ḥayyim Yoseph David Azulai**; 1724–1806), halakhist, kabbalist, emissary, and bibliographer. Azulai was born in Jerusalem; he was descended on his father's side from a prominent family of rabbis and kabbalists from Spain while his mother was a daughter of Joseph Bialer who had gone to Ereẓ Israel with *Judah Ḥasid in 1770. He studied under some of the outstanding Jewish scholars of his age including Jonah *Navon, Isaac ha-Kohen *Rapoport, and Ḥayyim ibn *Attar. Azulai attained early eminence in Jewish studies and was regarded by the Jewry of the Ottoman Empire and of Italy as the leading scholar of his generation. He was highly esteemed, too, by the Jews of Germany, especially after the publication of his works.

Possessed of great intellectual powers and many-faceted talents, he combined a religious and mystical ardor with an insatiable intellectual curiosity. Added to these were critical ability, a facile pen, and a boundless capacity for work. He spent most of his active years traveling abroad as an emissary of the communities of Ereẓ Israel for the collection of funds for the upkeep of the academies and scholars. Between 1753 and 1758 he visited Italy, Germany, Holland, France, and England as *shali'aḥ* of the Hebron Yeshivah. During these travels he refused the call to become *ḥakham* of the Sephardim in Amsterdam. On his return to Jerusalem, where he remained for some seven years, he served as *dayyan* and engaged in communal activities. He also became a member of Shalom *Sharabi's esoteric group of kabbalists, Ahavat Shalom. He left Ereẓ Israel again in 1764, having been delegated to travel to Constantinople to intercede on behalf of the scholars in their disputes with the communal leaders, but learning *en route* that the communal leaders had triumphed in the dispute and of the consequent futility of his proceeding on his mission, he remained in Cairo where he served briefly as rabbi. Azulai returned in 1769 and settled in Hebron where he was held in high esteem. In 1772 he again went abroad as the emissary of Hebron, this time devoting most of his efforts to Italy where, on his earlier visit, he had gained many admirers. Having sent a large sum of money to Hebron which relieved the financial difficulties of its community, he ended his mission in 1778 in Leghorn, where he spent the rest of his life.

During his highly successful missions, Azulai earned a great reputation for his involvement in communal activities. Once, when he was taken to the court of Versailles, he attracted royal attention through his striking appearance. At Leghorn, for his annual discourse, the streets were crowded with admirers who wished to catch a glimpse of his person. Azulai devoted himself, however, also to writing, study, and research. He exchanged views with Jewish as well as non-Jewish scholars and investigated scholarly literature. Everywhere he went he visited libraries, both private and public, and noted down their rarities, both in early printed books and also in manuscripts, almost as Moritz *Steinschneider, the father of Jewish scientific bibliography, was to do in the following century.

In his literary diary *Maʿagal Tov* (Good Path) which covers the years 1753–78, with some later jottings (full ed. by A. Freimann, 1921–34), he entered every idea and novel thought in the field of Jewish scholarship, history, and folklore which occurred to him on his travels. This diary is an invaluable source of information regarding not only his own experiences but also the circumstances, personalities, and bibliographical treasures of the places which Azulai visited, in particular in Italy, Holland, and France. From this diary he later drew the material for his numerous works on a variety of subjects to which he devoted the latter part of his life. His chief claims to fame as a halakhist rest on his glosses to the Shulḥan Arukh, contained in his *Birkei Yosef* (1774), *Maḥazik Berakhah* (1785), and *Shiyyurei Berakhah* (1771–76), which complemented Ḥayyim *Benveniste's *Keneset ha-Gedolah* with citations from later halakhic works and from numerous manuscripts. In his books *Va'ad la-Ḥakhamim* (1796) and *Shem ha-Gedolim* (1, 1774; 2, 1786; scholarly ed., 1853), Azulai followed in the footsteps of Shabbetai *Bass, adding 1,300 bibliographical references to the approximately 2,200 already contained in the *Siftei Yeshenim*.

Azulai seems to have been the first Hebrew writer to be interested in collecting Jewish folk-stories in a systematic way. In his *Zikhron Ma'asiyyot ve-Nissim* he listed hundreds of these; in most cases he wrote down only a detail or two, to identify them, whereas less famous stories were given in greater detail or in full.

Many stories were related of the wonders and miracles Azulai performed. Pilgrimages were made to his tomb at Leghorn until, some 150 years after his death, in 1960, his remains were reinterred in Jerusalem.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Toaff, in: L. Jung (ed.), *Guardians of Our Heritage* (1958), 155–64; M. Benayahu, *R. Ḥayyim Yosef David Azulai* (1959); idem (ed.), *Sefer ha-Ḥida* (1959); idem, *Ha-Ḥida* (1960); KS, 35 (1959–60), 285–9, nos. 1612, 1616; Yaari, Sheluḥei.

[Moshe Shraga Samet]

AZULAI, MASʿUD (17th century), kabbalist and rabbi; also called **Masʿūd *Ma'aravi*** ("the Westerner") and **Masʿūd *Saggi-Nahor*** (euphemism for "the blind"). Azulai, who went from Safed to Morocco, was a kabbalist ascetic and in 1601 he became a member of the Beit ha-Va'ad ("The Academy of Scholars") in Safed. About 1612 he was among the six Safed scholars who ordained R. Azriel b. Meir ha-Levi Ashkenazi, one of the Ashkenazi scholars in Salonika. He was still alive in 1621. His disciples included R. Solomon Shlomel Dreznitz, about whom Azulai wrote, in a letter dated 1607, that he had read all Isaac *Luria's writings three times and was as familiar with them as with the letters of the alphabet. No writings of Azulai are known, except MS. Guenzberg 1760, the contents of which are described as "Sermons of R. Mas'oud Saggi Nahor" (66 folios).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: S. Assaf, *Iggerot mi-Ẓefat* (1940), 125–7; M. Benayahu, in: *Sefer Yovel … Y. Baer* (1960), 268–9.

***Safed Landscape*, 1950, by Menachem Shemi (1896–1951), Israeli painter. Oil on canvas, 50 x 65 cm.** *Collection, The Israel Museum, Jerusalem. Purchased through the Batsheva Fund L'Omanuth v'Haskala. Photo © The Israel Museum.*

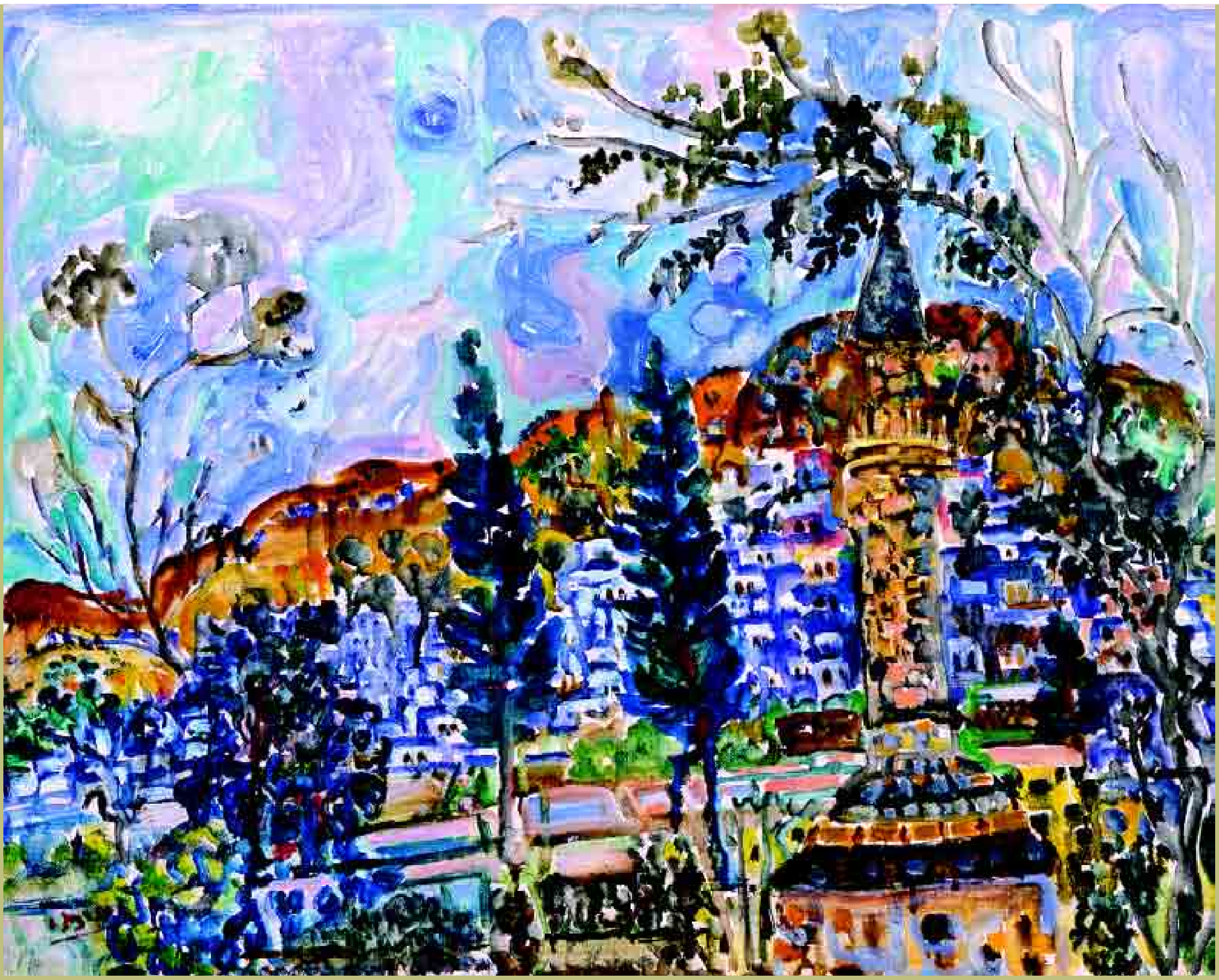

Throughout the twentieth century there has been some debate as to what makes a work of art "Jewish." Does the art have to contain Jewish themes and images, or is the fact that the artist is Jewish enough to call it Jewish art? Jewish art that fits either definition is presented here to show its diversity, including a sampler of calligraphic work that was created during the latter part of the twentieth century, when there was a renewed interest in the applications of Hebrew calligraphy.

ART AND CALLIGRAPHY

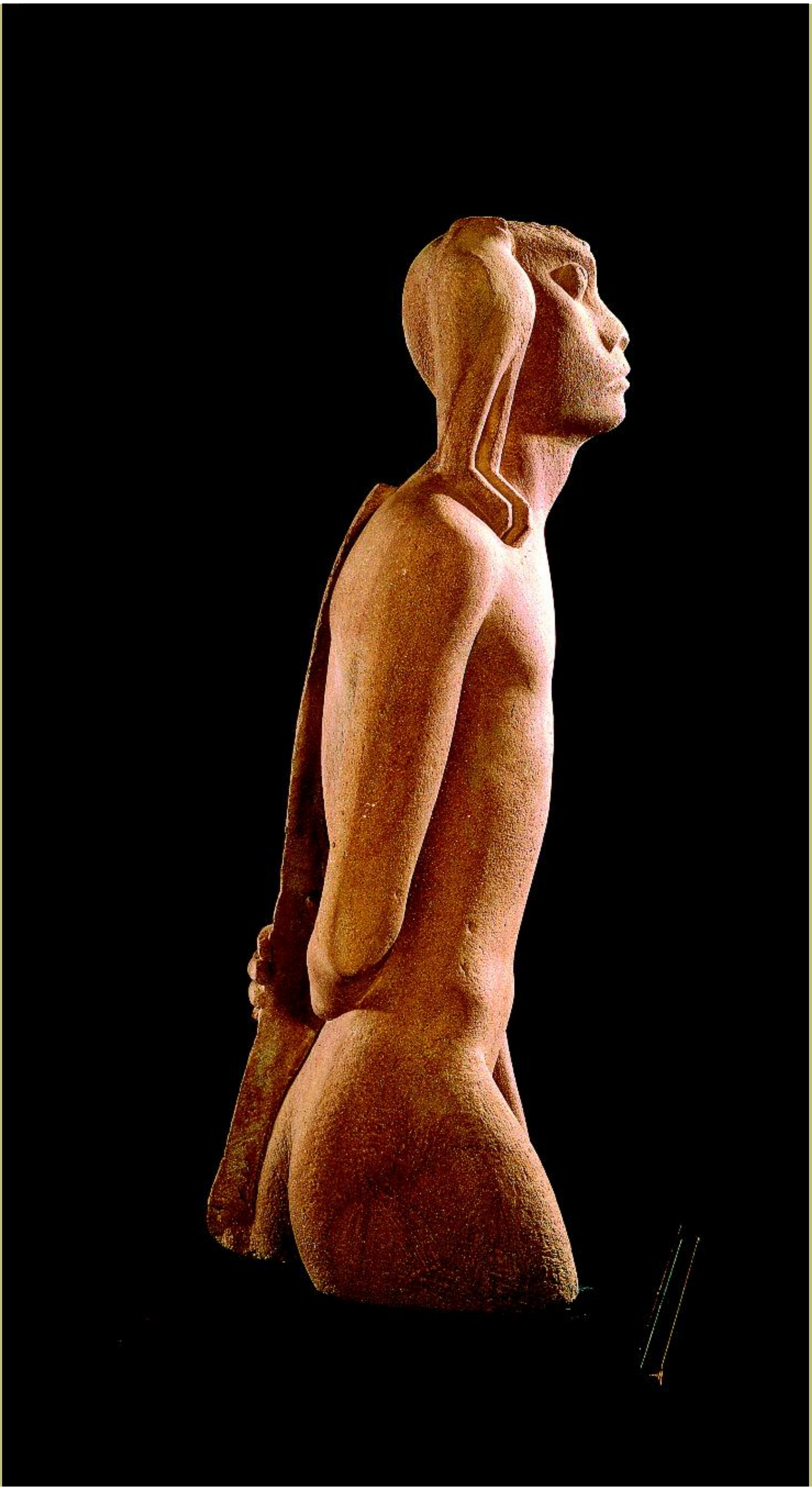

***Nimrod*, 1939, by Yitshak Danziger (1916–1977), Israeli sculptor, born in Germany. Nubian sandstone, 95 x 33 x 33 cm.** *Gift of Dr. David H. Orgeler, Zurich and Jerusalem. Collection, The Israel Museum, Jerusalem. Photo © The Israel Museum, by Nahum Slapak.*

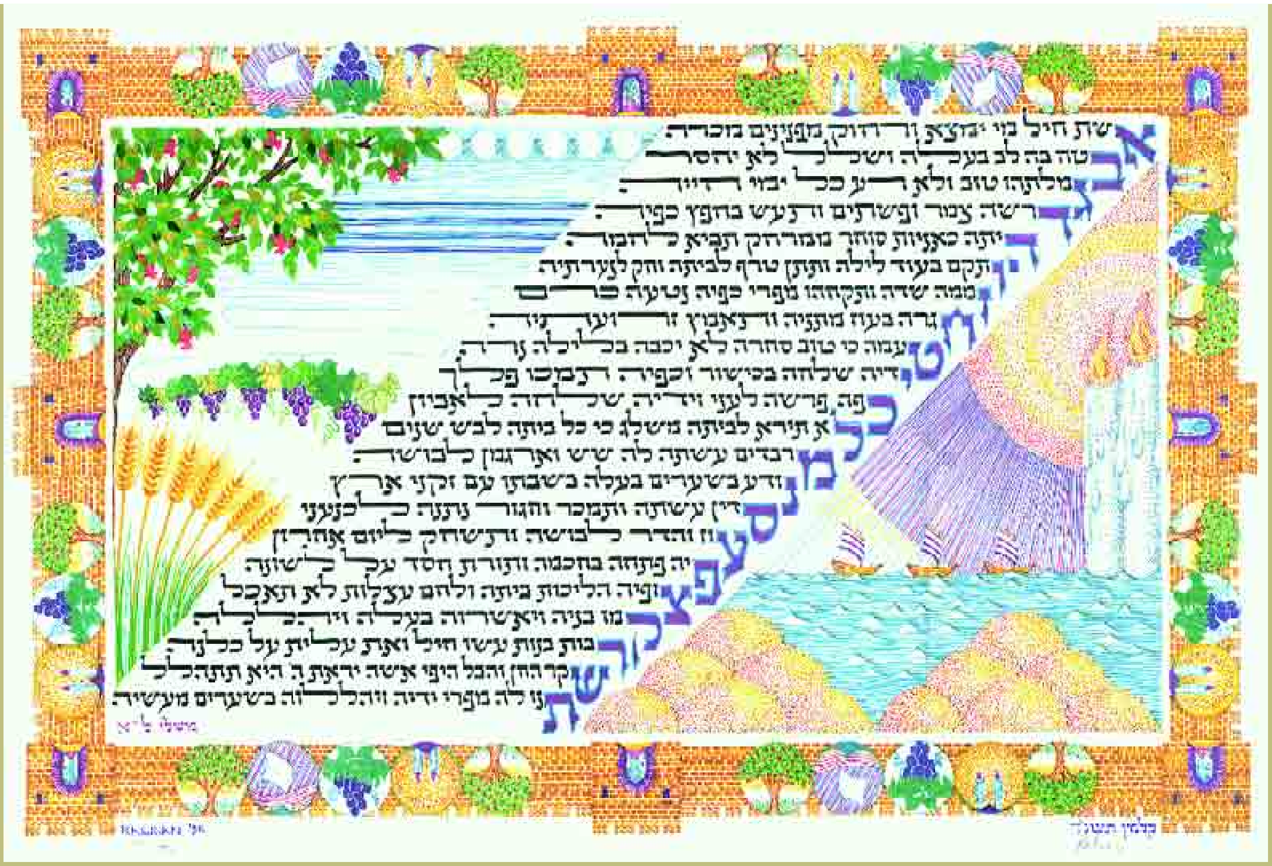

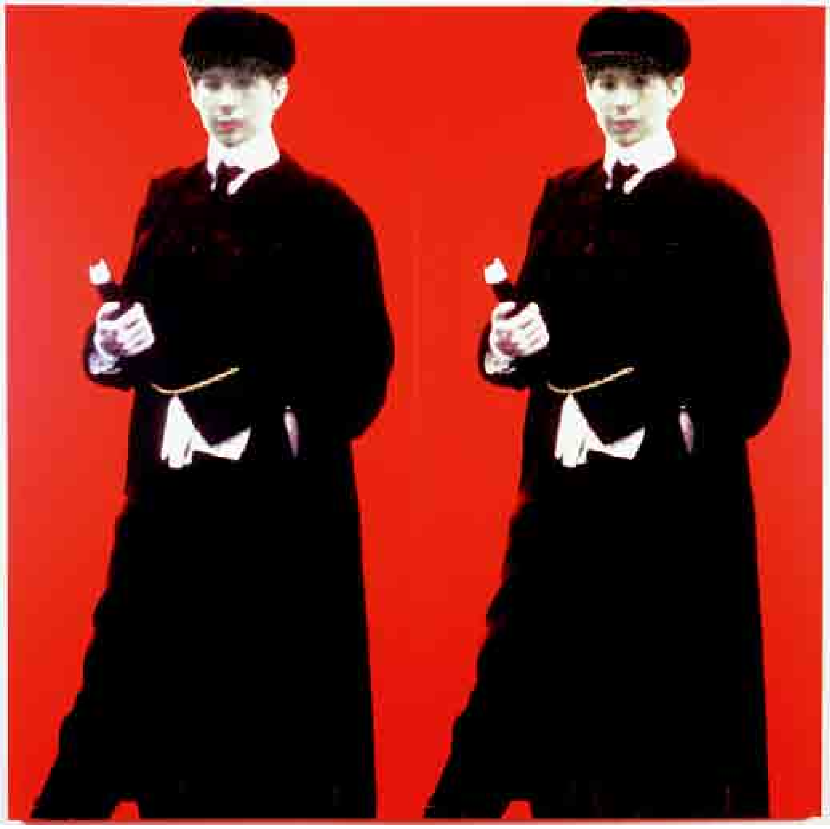

ABOVE:
Proverbs 31. “Woman of Valor” (Eshet Chayil), Hebrew calligraphy, by Kalman Freidus.

LEFT:
***Double Red Yentl, Split (My Elvis)*, 1993, by Deborah Kass (1952–), American painter. Screenprint and synthetic polymer on canvas, 1835 x 1829 cm.** *Courtesy the artist. The Jewish Museum, NYArt Resource, NY.*

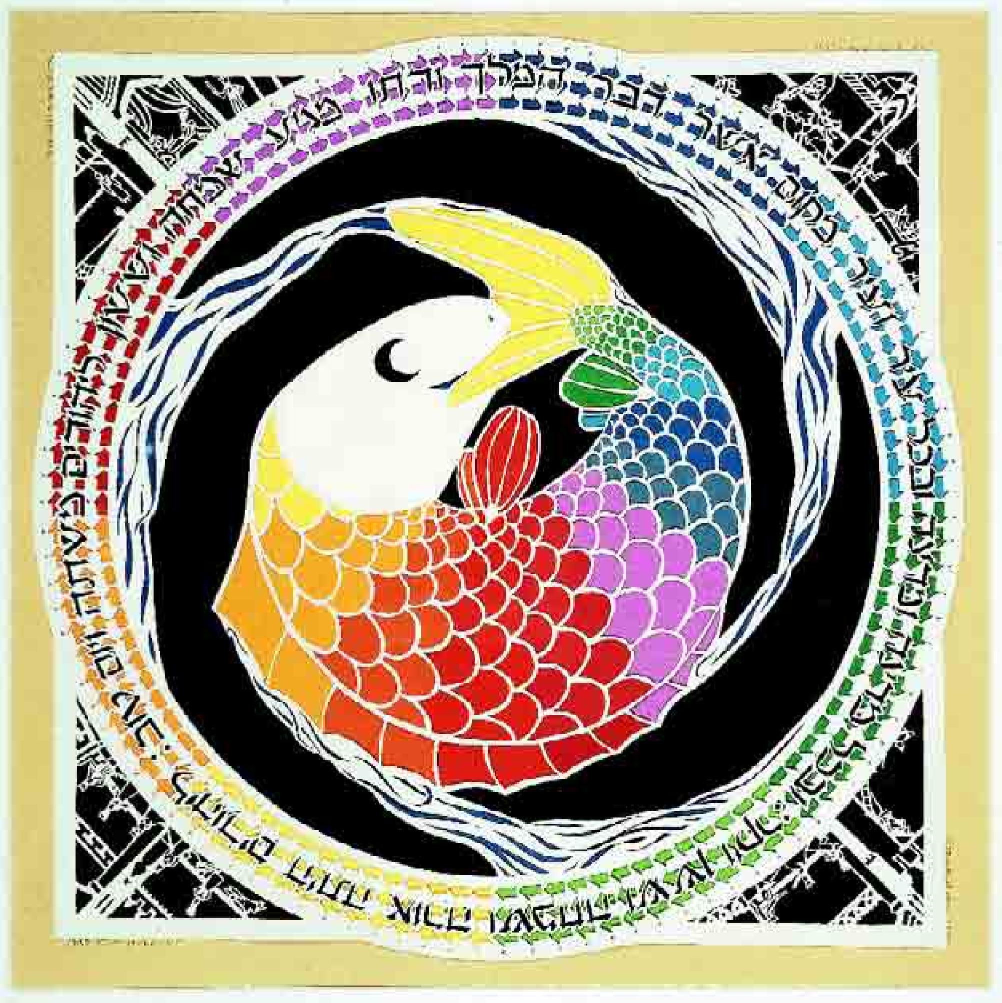

RIGHT: **Purim paper cut, 1985, by Daniel Howarth, with a fish, the symbol of the month of Adar, and text from Esther 8:17.** *© Daniel Howarth.*

BELOW: **The main gate of the Knesset, Jerusalem, 1966, by David Palombo (1920–1966), Israeli sculptor.** *Photo: Shlomo Gafni, Jerusalem.*

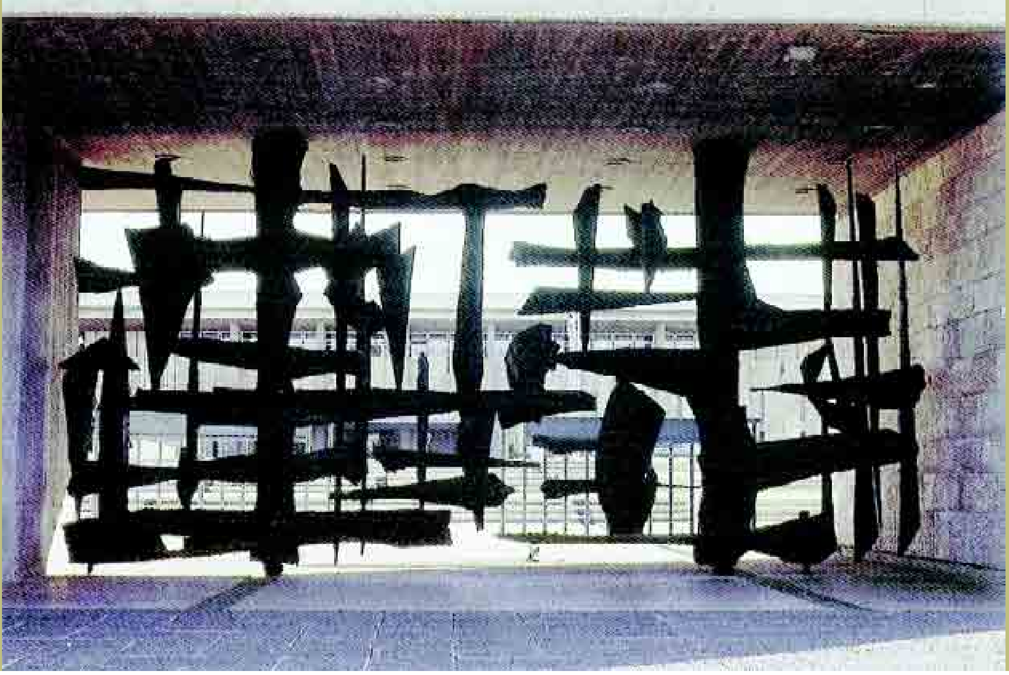

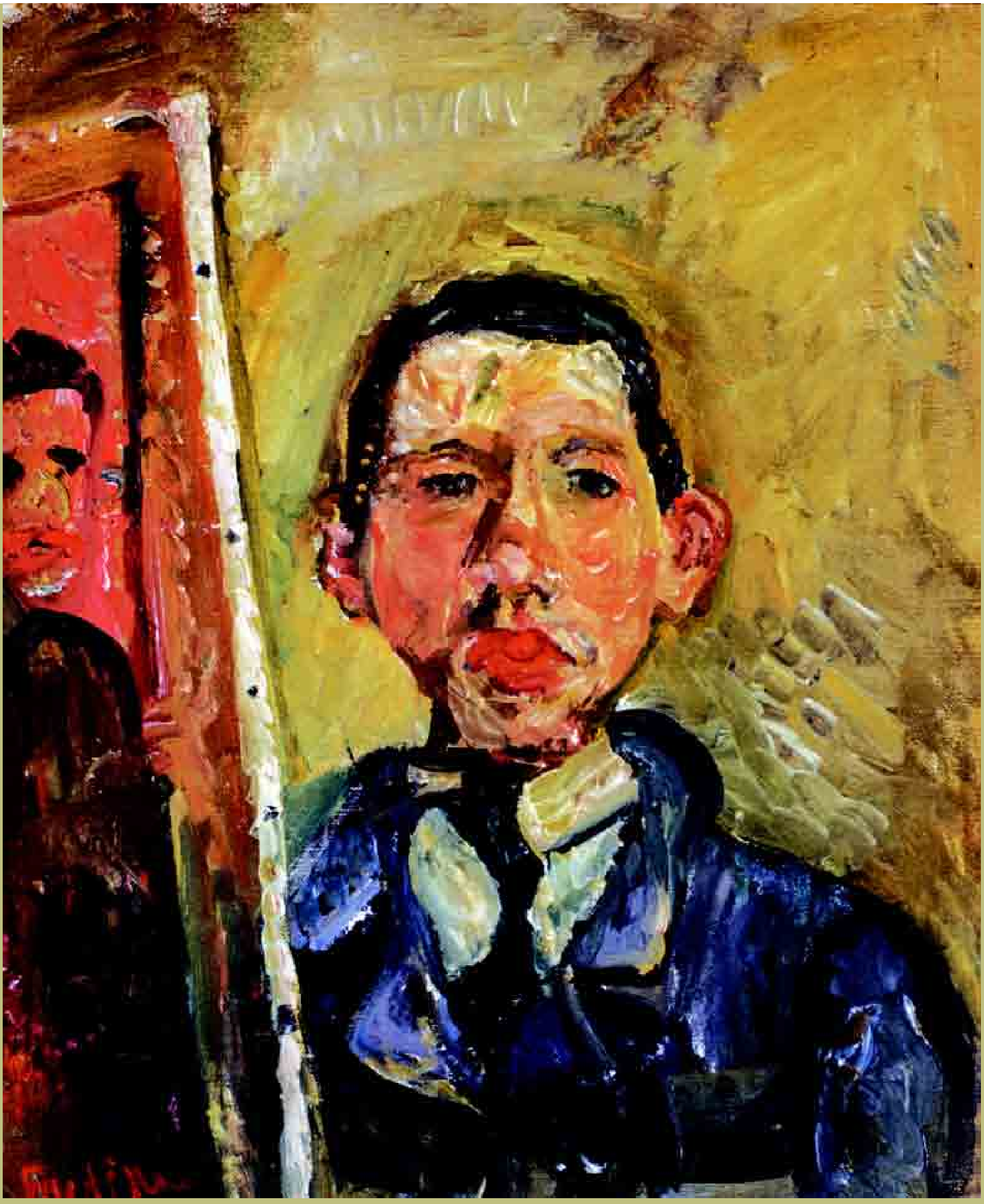

Self-Portrait, 1918, by Chaim Soutine (1893–1943), born in Russia, active in France. Oil on canvas. © *Corbis.*

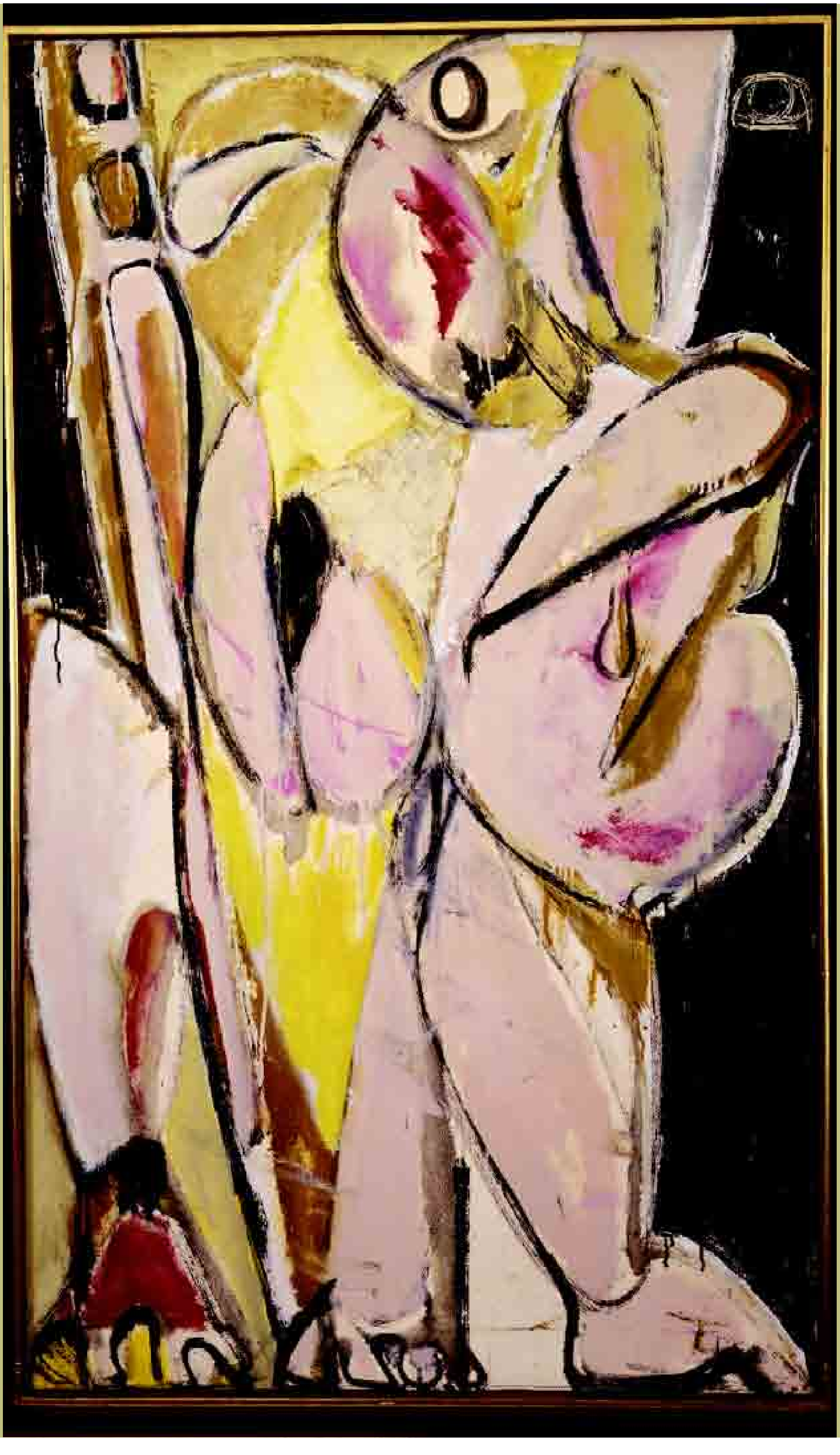

Prophecy, 1956,
by Lee Krasner
(1908–1984),
American painter.
Oil on cotton duck.
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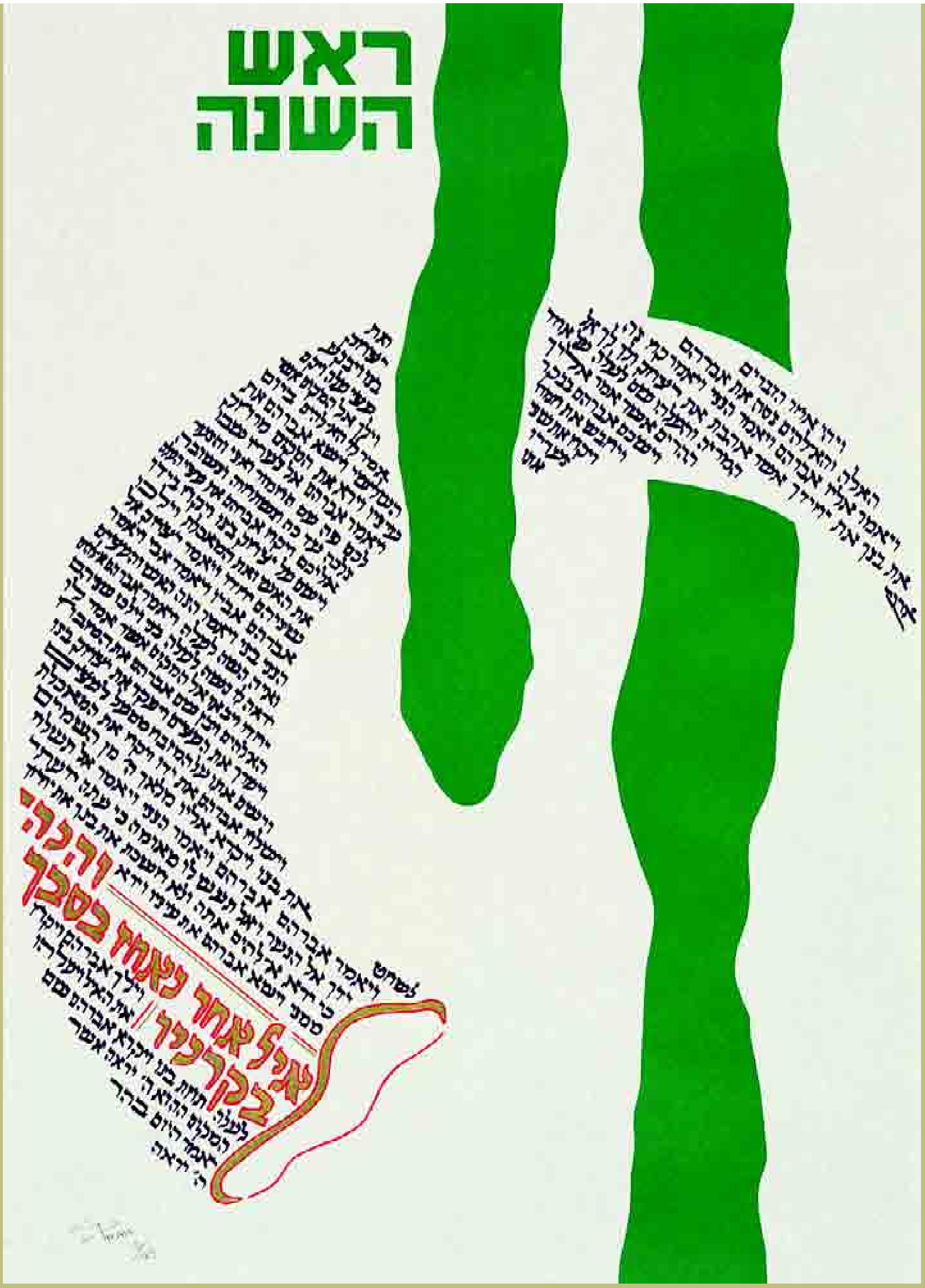

Rosh Ha-Shanah, text of the *Akedah*, the binding of Isaac. *Simon Prais, Birmingham, England, 1986.*

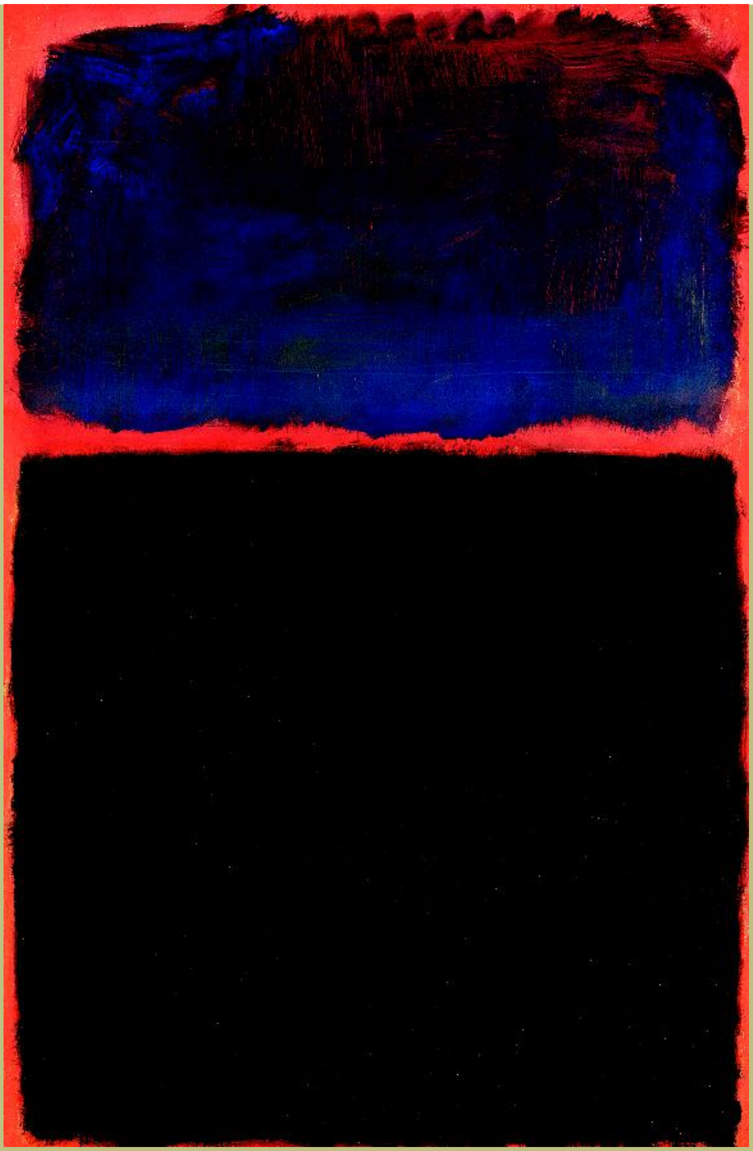

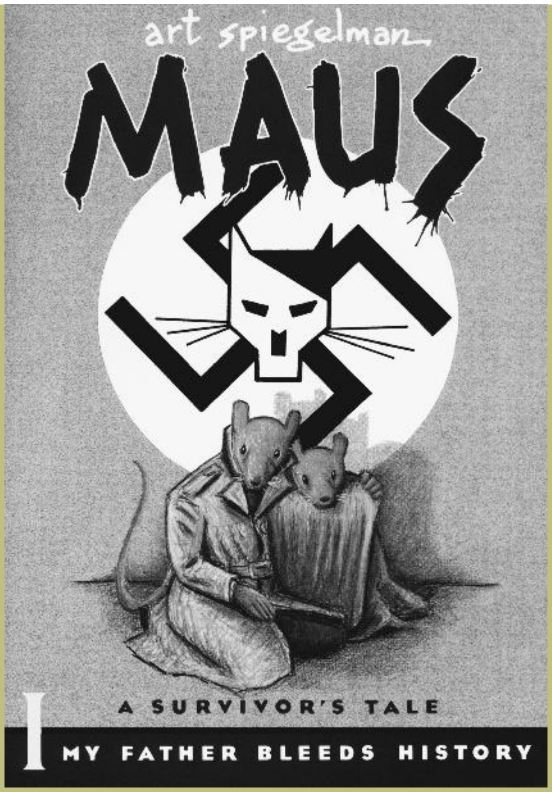
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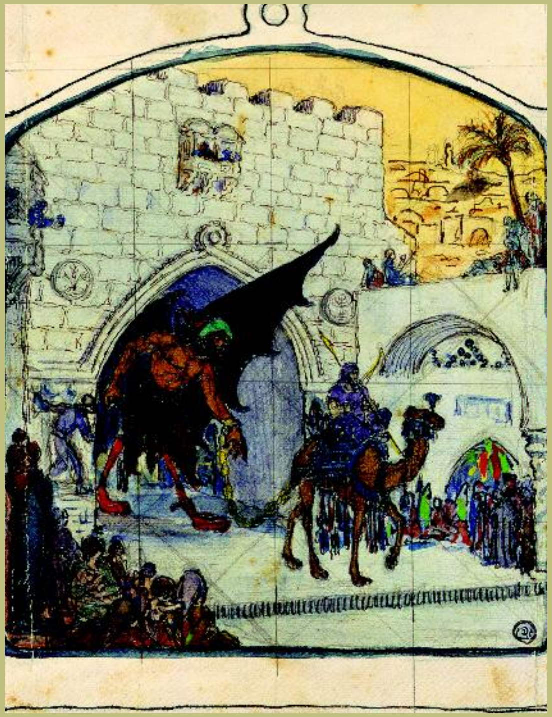

ABOVE: ***Untitled*****, 1967, by Mark Rothko (1903–1970), American painter, born in Russia. Oil on paper, mounted on canvas.** *© Philadelphia Museum of Art/Corbis.*

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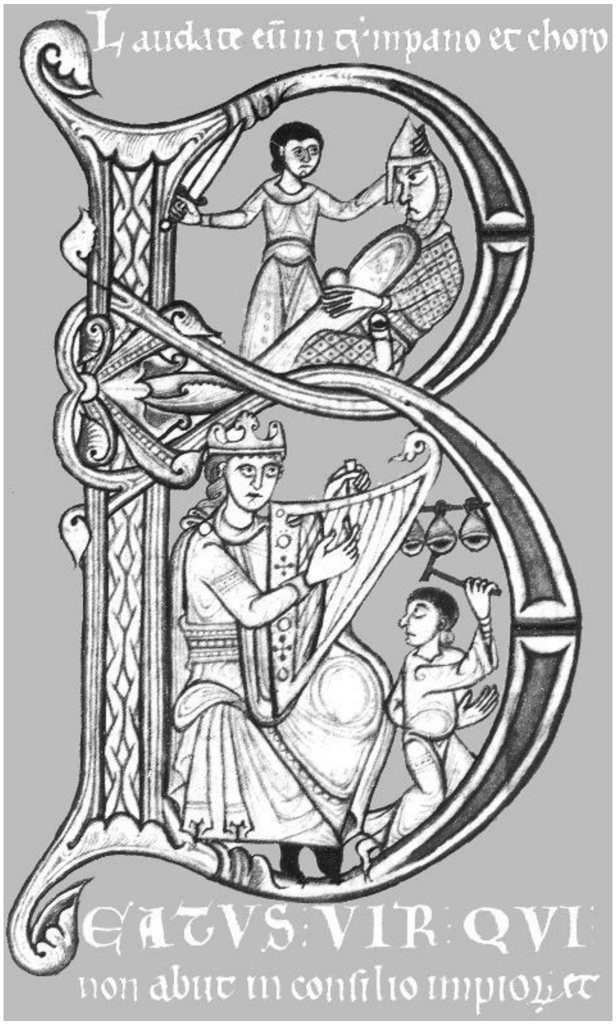
Laudate eũ in tympano et choro
BEATVS: VIR: QVI:
non abiit in consilio impioȝ et

The illuminated letter "B" at the beginning of the Psalms in Extracts from Gregory the Great *shows King David playing his harp and the young David killing Goliath. N. France, 12th century, Douai, Bibliothèque Municipale, Ms. 315A, Vol. 1, fol. 5.*

Ba–Blo

BAALAH (Heb. בַּעֲלָה), name of several biblical localities, evidently associated with the worship of Baal. (1) Mount Baalah is mentioned as one of the demarcation points on the northwestern boundary of the territory of Judah, between Shikkeron and Jabneel in the vicinity of Ekron (Josh. 15:11). Its location is dependent on the identification of *Ekron, but the prevailing opinion is the ridge of Mughār, near Wadi Qaṭra. (2) A city of Baalah is listed in the Negev district of Judah (Josh. 15:29). It is also among the settlements of Simeon as Balah (Josh. 19:3) or Bilhah (1 Chron. 4:29). Its identification is unknown. (3) Baalah is mentioned as another name for *Kiriath-Jearim (Josh. 15:9–10); in 1 Chronicles 13:6 it is called Baalath (Heb. version). (4) A city of Baalath appears in the list of Danite settlements (Josh. 19:44) after Eltekeh and Gibbethon; this is perhaps identical with the Baalath fortified by Solomon (1 Kings 9:18). It has been identified with the mound Mughār or of Qatra; in this case it would be identical with (1).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: (1) Kallai, in: BIES, 17 (1952), 63; Aharoni, in: PEQ, 90 (1958), 28–30; Mazar, in: IEJ, 10 (1960), 70; (2) Abel, Geog, 2 (1938), 258; (3) Mazar, in: *Sefer Dinaburg* (1949), 317; EM, s.v.; Aharoni, Land, index.

[Michael Avi-Yonah]

BAAL-BERITH (Heb. בַּעַל בְּרִית; "Lord of Covenant"), the name of the deity worshiped in the earliest Israelite period at the Temple of Shechem (Judg. 9:4). That temple was destroyed in the 12th century B.C.E. by *Abimelech, the half-Shechemite son of the great judge Gideon (Jerubbaal), after his suppression of a counter-revolt. Abimelech himself had come to power as "king" with the aid of funds from the Baal-Berith temple. As Abimelech's revenge moved apace, the terrified populace sought refuge in the "stronghold of El-Berith" (9:46), where they died en masse. The polemic of the narrative is directed against Abimelech and the conspirators who had profaned the great Shechem temple; it was never again rebuilt, except as a granary, as archaeological work has shown. Critics have suggested that the narrative of Abimelech seems to be an old pre-Deuteronomic account later inserted into the historical work because it explicated a brief Deuteronomic reference to an early particularist tendency in 8:33–35. In that place it is asserted that Israel's whoring after the Baalim consisted of making Baal-Berith their god and forgetting YHWH when they betrayed the family of YHWH's charismatic deliverer. In later circles the original significance of the "house of Baal-Berith" had long been lost, and the element "baal" in such a combination could only smack of the repudiated fertility cult. Something of its earliest significance can be glimpsed, however, in patriarchal stories connecting Abraham, Jacob, and Joseph with the site in various ways and in the archaeology of Shechem. The Baal-Berith temple was preceded on the same site by a Middle Bronze Age fortress-temple, which in turn perpetuated a piece of ground considered holy since the first half of the 18th century B.C.E. Genesis 34:2 personifies Shechem as one of the sons of Hamor ("ass"), reminiscent of Amorite treaty terminology at Mari, where "killing an ass" is a technical term for concluding a covenant. That Joshua-Judges contains no developed conquest tradition for the Shechem area is largely due, according to some scholars, to the influence of the Baal-Berith sanctuary (Josh. 24). According to tradition, such a situation had been anticipated by the strategists (Deut. 27; Josh. 8:30–35).

The Hebrew term Baal-Berit is also applied to the father of the child at a *circumcision (*berit*) ceremony, and in modern Hebrew the term means "ally" based on the plural form in Genesis 14:13.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: G.E. Wright, *Shechem: Biography of a Biblical City* (1965), 80–138. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** T.J. Lewis, in: JBL, 115 (1996), 401–23; M. Mulder, in: DDD, 141–44.

[Robert G. Boling]

BA'ALEI TESHUVAH (pl. of *ba'al teshuvah*; literally "penitent ones"). Beginning with the Bible (see Deut. 30), Jewish tradition has always encouraged those who stray from the path of mitzvah observance to return, to do "teshuvah" and readopt a traditional life style. The talmudic sages speak about repentance, "teshuvah," on numerous occasions, their most famous statement being, "where *ba'alei teshuvah* stand, a complete *ẓaddik* cannot stand" (*Yalkut Shimoni*, Gen. 20). In the post-talmudic period, innumerable scholars wrote about "*teshuvah*," encouraging even the observant Jew to become a *ba'al teshuvah* and improve his fulfillment of God's commandments. Maimonides codified the laws of "*teshuvah*" in his *Mishneh Torah*; Jonah ben Abraham *Gerondi wrote the classic, *Gates of Repentance*; and in modern times, Abraham Isaac *Kook wrote *The Lights of Repentance.* Unfortunately, we have no statistical record of the number of *ba'alei teshuvah* throughout history, just as we have no record of the number of Jews who abandoned their Judaism and its observance.

In the second half of the 20th century, the words *ba'alei teshuvah* took on new significance. Beginning in the 1960s in the U.S., the rise of the counterculture in general American society together with the search for new meaning and spirituality led an increasing number of college-age Jews to explore Jewish observance, many for the first time. For most of these young Jews, the exploration led them to Orthodoxy, of one form or another.

The essential factor that turned individual searching into a full-fledged movement was the internal state of Orthodoxy itself. Orthodoxy was enjoying a resurgence, following the semi-moribund state which largely characterized it during the first half of the century. The first to take advantage of the new interest in Judaism was the *Chabad-Lubavitch ḥasidic movement. By the mid-1960s, the Lubavitcher Rebbe, Menaḥem Mendel *Schneersohn, had "emissaries" in place on most of the large college campuses with high concentration of Jews. Trained to reach out to other Jews, Chabad was most instrumental in assisting numerous young people to become *ba'alei teshuvah*, even if they did not become Chabad ḥasidim per se. At the same time, the first generation of "baby-boomers" graduated the Orthodox day schools and went to college. Through their involvement in Hillel, Yavneh (the religious Jewish students' organization), and NCSY (see below) they became a potent force in creating the *Ba'al Teshuvah* movement.

The *Ba'al Teshuvah* movement was further bolstered by the organized and institutionalized Orthodox community. A number of institutions that were in place began to have an increasing effect on the movement. The *Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations of America, commonly known as the OU, established the National Conference of Synagogue Youth (NCSY) that effectively used Orthodox college students as counselors for the burgeoning number of non-Orthodox high school students who were interested in Judaism and in Jewish observance. To this day, NCSY continues to teach Orthodoxy to non-Orthodox high school children. Yeshiva University offered beginners-level Jewish studies for *ba'alei teshuvah* in its James Strier School. Many of those who graduated from this program went on to become Jewish educators and rabbis. Numerous other, more "right-wing" yeshivot opened their doors to *ba'alei teshuvah*. They include She'ar Yashuv, Far Rockaway, N.Y.; Hadar Ha Torah (Lubavitcher), Brooklyn, N.Y.; Maḥzikei Torah (Bostoner Rebbe), Brookline, Mass.; Or Yosef, Strasbourg, France. This helps explain one of the more interesting phenomena of the *Ba'al Teshuvah* movement. Throughout the 1970s, 1980s, and 1990s, increasing numbers of *ba'alei teshuvah* opted for stricter norms and uncompromising observance of "right-wing," "yeshivish" Orthodoxy.

In the wake of the Six-Day War, the nascent *Ba'al Teshuvah* movement in the former U.S.S.R. went public with demonstrations and an open call for more observance as well as permission to immigrate to Israel. As a result the KGB hounded those who wished to fulfill the Zionist dream and renew their Jewish observance. Hundreds of *refuseniks* were jailed. Ultimately, the Soviet Union opened its gates and the mass *aliyah* to Israel began. Two prominent *refuseniks*, Joseph Mendelevich and Eliyahu Essas, currently reside in Israel and continue to teach Judaism to the Russian immigrant community.

Eventually, the *Ba'al Teshuvah* movement spread to Israel. On the one hand, numerous institutions and organizations were created to teach and influence English-speaking students who arrived in Israel to continue their studies and enhance their Jewish observance. The most prominent are: Kefar Ḥabad (Lubavitcher), Kefar Ḥabad; Magen Avraham, Bene Berak; Diaspora Yeshiva (Har Ẓion), Jerusalem; Or Sameaḥ, Jerusalem; Kollel Or Sameaḥ, Zikhron Ya'akov; Or Sameaḥ Work and Study Program, Givat Ada; D'var Yerushalayim, Jerusalem; Aish HaTorah, Jerusalem; Kehillat Yaakov, Jerusalem; Hamivtar, Efrat; Shapell College, Jerusalem; Neve Yerushalayim, Jerusalem; Isralight, Jerusalem; Machon Pardes (co-ed), Jerusalem. These institutions, in many cases, function not only as schools, but as the centers of living communities. Many of their students marry, set up homes within the community, continue their studies and, even after the end of formal studies, continue to maintain strong ties with the yeshivah or school. Thus these yeshivot may be seen as the vital center of the entire *Ba'alei Teshuvah* movement. On the other hand, the native, Israeli society has also witnessed a growing, Hebrew-speaking *Ba'al Teshuvah* movement. Here, the movers and shakers are primarily Sephardi rabbis, many of whom preach to large crowds, exhorting them to return to their religious roots. On the whole, the Israeli *Ba'al Teshuvah* movement can be characterized as "right-wing" or ultra-Orthodox.

In the U.S., in 1987 an organization called National Jewish Outreach Program (NJOP) was created to provide support and in-service training for those engaged in outreach to potential *ba'alei teshuvah*. Founded by a leading outreach rabbi, Ephraim Buchwald, NJOP has guided thousands of volunteer teachers and tens of thousands of Jewish adults. They participated in programs advertised via the mass media and taught at Reform, Conservative, and Orthodox synagogues, as well as Jewish non-religious organizations, such as Jewish community centers. There is also a complementary organization called Association for Jewish Outreach Professionals & Programs (AJOP), which was founded in 1988.

The *Ba'al Teshuvah* movement, both in Israel and throughout the Diaspora, can certainly claim great success. Though no accurate records exist, literally thousands of Jews have returned to Jewish observance over the past 45 years of the movement's history. The movement has generated a whole library of books aimed at *ba'alei teshuvah*, strengthened existing and built new communities in Israel and abroad, and experienced its own unique set of problems, such as the growing difficulties in educating and maintaining the observance of the second generation, i.e., the children, of *ba'alei teshuvah*. Nevertheless, the movement has been an integral element in the resurgence of Orthodoxy throughout the Jewish world over the last half century.

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[Jonathan Chipman / David Derovan (2nd ed.)]

BAAL-GAD (Heb. בַּעַל גָּד), biblical locality below Mount Hermon that was apparently sacred to *Gad, the god of fortune. Perhaps the name of the locale means "Baal is fortune." Baal-Gad is described as the northernmost point conquered by Joshua (Josh. 11:17; 12:7) and, accordingly, the "land that yet remaineth" (i.e., that the tribes did not conquer), extends "… from Baal-Gad under Mount Hermon unto the entrance of Hamath" (Josh. 13:5) or, as in a parallel passage "… from Mount Baal-Hermon unto Lebo-Hamath" (Judg. 3:3). The exact location of Baal-Gad is not known, but the sources clearly indicate that it must be situated in the southern part of the Lebanon Valley, at the foot of Mount Hermon, not far from Dan. It has been proposed to identify it with Ḥaṣbayyā on the Ḥasbani River.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Maisler (Mazar), in: BJPES, 12 (1946), 91ff.; Abel, Geog, 2 (1938), 258ff.; Aharoni, Land, index. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** N.S. Ahituv, *Joshua* (1995), 214; Na'aman, in: DDD, 144.

[Yohanan Aharoni]

BA'AL HA-BAYIT (Heb. בַּעַל הַבַּיִת, pl. *Ba'alei Battim*, "Head of the household"; in Yid., pronounced "*Balebos*"), head of a family. The term is often also associated with the notion of wealth and is used to describe a man of wealth and secure economic position, e.g., a landlord. The Yiddish adjective *balebatish*, in the sense of bourgeois, is derived from this term. *Ba'al ha-bayit* was also applied to married and taxpaying members of the congregation, as opposed to *baḥur ("young man"). In the learning sense *ba'al bayit* means a man whose Torah learning is basic but superficial, as against *baḥur yeshivah* (Yid. *yeshiveh bucher*) whose learning is intensive and deep. The feminine form is *ba'alat bayit*, in Yiddish *baleboste*, denoting a housewife, often in the sense of a good housekeeper.

BAAL-HAZOR (Heb. בַּעַל חָצוֹר), biblical locality "which is beside Ephraim" (II Sam. 13:23; a Greek version reads Tophraim, i.e., Ophrah?) where *Absalom had *Amnon killed to avenge his sister Tamar at the feast of sheepshearing. It may be identical with the *Hazor mentioned in the territory of Benjamin in the post-Exilic period (Neh. 11:33). The identification of Baal-Hazor with the highest point in the central range of Mount Ephraim, Jebel al-ʿAṣūr, a mountain 3,293 ft. (1,003 m.) high, north of Beth-El and near Ophrah (al-Ṭayba), has been strengthened by the mention of Ramath-Hazor as a high observation point in the *Genesis Apocryphon* found among the Dead Sea Scrolls. Baal-Hazor is possibly the "mountain of Azor," a proposed emendation of Azotus, which is found in I Maccabees 9:15 in the account of the battle of Eleasa, but the version is doubtful.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: EM, s.v.; N. Avigad and Y. Yadin, *Genesis Apocryphon* (1956), 28; Alt, in: PJB, 24 (1928), 12ff.; 25 (1929), 11ff.; Abel, in: RB, 23, p. 386–7.

[Michael Avi-Yonah]

BAALIS (Heb. בַּעֲלִיס), king of Ammon during the first half of the sixth century B.C.E. The name appears to be composed of the theophoric root "Baal" and a suffix of unclear meaning; it is ancient and appears in *Ugaritic documents in alphabetic writing as *Bʿls* and in syllabic writing as *Baʿala-si*. Although a connection has been made between the biblical Baalis and a stamp impression c. 600 B.C.E. from Ammonite territory reading *lmlkmr ʿbd bʿlyšʿ* this last, Baal-Yasha, is etymologicaly distinct from Baalis. The Bible mentions Baalis only once (Jer. 40:14), in connection with the murder of *Gedaliah, who had been appointed by the Babylonian king as governor of the Judean cities after the conquest of Jerusalem in 586 B.C.E. Johanan son of Kareah and some army officers warned Gedaliah that Baalis had dispatched Ishmael son of Nethaniah to murder him. For his motives, see *Ammonites and *Ishmael.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Bright, Hist, 310; Ginsberg, in: *A. Marx Jubilee Volume* (1950), 366ff.; Yeivin, in: *Tarbiz*, 12 (1940/41), 261–2, 265–6; W. Rudolph, *Jeremia* (Ger., 1947), 685ff. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** S. Ahituv, *Handbook of Ancient Hebrew Inscriptions* (1992), 241.

[Bustanay Oded]

BAAL-MAKHSHOVES (pen name of **Israel Isidor Elyashev**; 1873–1924), Yiddish literary critic, pioneer, and creator of Yiddish literary criticism as an art form. Born in Kovno, Baal-Makhshoves was educated at a Courland yeshivah which combined the moral severity of the *Musar movement with a modern curriculum, including mathematics, geography, and German. The influence of the Musar movement intensified his skepticism, melancholy, and analytic sagacity. After completing his studies at a Swiss high school, he studied medicine at Heidelberg and Berlin. Although he practiced medicine in Kovno, Vilna, Riga, Warsaw, and St. Petersburg, and also translated a few popular works of science into Yiddish, his main interest was in belles lettres. In 1896 he began to write in German and Russian and in 1901 published his first Yiddish critical reviews in *Der Yud*. Influenced by the writer I.L. *Peretz, Baal-Makhshoves continued to write in Yiddish. In a brilliant essay, "Tsvey Shprakhn – Eyneyntsike Literatur" ("Two Languages – One Literature"), he stressed the unity of Jewish literature despite its linguistic duality. In another famous essay, "Dray Shtetlakh" ("Three Towns") he called attention to the three different interpretations of *shtetl* culture in the works of Peretz, Sholem Asch, and I.M. Vaisenberg. An early admirer of Theodor Herzl, he translated *Altneuland* into Yiddish (1902) and participated in the Fifth and Twelfth Zionist Congresses. His war years were spent as a medical officer in the Russian Army. Another burst of literary activity as Yiddish editor of *Klal-verlag* (Berlin, 1922–23), was cut short by his illness and subsequent death. Baal-Makhshoves introduced European aesthetic standards and norms into his interpretation of Yiddish literature. He discovered new talents and encouraged H. *Leivick, David *Bergelson, and the postrevolutionary Kiev Group. He held that both Hebrew and Yiddish should be recognized as Jewish national languages, the former because it linked the Jewish people with its historic past and the latter because it united Jews in the Diaspora. He saw himself fulfilling a role in Yiddish literature similar to that of critics like Byelinski and Lessing in Russian and German literature, respectively, and as heralding a Jewish literary renaissance whose pioneers were Sholem Yankev *Abramovitsh (Mendele Mokher Seforim), *Sholem Aleichem, I.L. *Peretz, Sholem *Asch, and Ḥ.N. *Bialik, to each of whom he devoted a penetrating essay. He accepted Taine's theory that historical, geographical, and ethnic environment determined the character of literary creativity, and formulated the view that true creativity led from regionalism to national culture, illustrating it in his essay on the impact of South Russian Jewish life on Yiddish literature. He translated authors like Turgenev (*Foters un Kinder,* "Fathers and Children," 1922) and Tolstoy (*Kozakn*, "Cossacks," c. 1920) into Yiddish.

Less well-known but no less valuable are his *Ironishe Mayselekh* ("Ironic Tales," after 1910), in which he expressed his increasing pessimism and disillusionment. His selected works appeared in five volumes (1915, 1923^2, 1929^3) and in a single volume in 1953.

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[Simha Katz and Shlomo Bickel / Shifra Kuperman (2nd ed.)]

BAAL-MEON (Heb. בַּעַל מְעוֹן), city in Transjordan also called Beth-Baal-Meon (Josh. 13:17), Beth-Meon (Jer. 48:23), and apparently Beon (Num. 32:3). It was allotted to the tribe of Reuben (Num. 32:37–38; Josh. 13:17) and remained in Israelite hands until the revolt of Mesha, king of Moab (mid-ninth century B.C.E.). According to Mesha's stele (1.9), he captured the city from Israel and rebuilt it, constructing a pool or water channel there (*ashu'aḥ*). Baal-Meon is listed among the cities of Moab by Jeremiah (48:23) and Ezekiel (25:9). Its identification with the modern village of Maīn, 4½ mi. (7 km.) southwest of Madeba, coincides with Eusebius (Onom. 44:21; 46:2), who identified Beelmaus with a large village nine miles from Heshbon near the hot springs of Ba'aru. The village is built on ancient remains, and the most important find there has been the mosaic pavement of a church on which a number of churches of the Holy Land are depicted. The Tosefta (Shev. 7:11) contains a reference to Baal-Meon in the Shephelah of Transjordan.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Conder, Survey, 176–7; A. Musil, *Arabia Petraea*, 1 (1907), 397–9; Abel, Geog, 2 (1938), 259; Press, Ereẓ, s.v.

[Michael Avi-Yonah]

BAAL-PERAZIM (Heb. בַּעַל פְּרָצִים), locality (perhaps an old Canaanite sanctuary) near Jerusalem, where David defeated the Philistines in their attempt to conquer Jerusalem from the Israelites (II Sam. 5:20 and I Chron. 14:11, where the name is explained etiologically; called Mount Perazim in Isa. 28:21, where the same victory is referred to). Proposals for the identification of the site include the mountain of Sharafāt, the mountain of Ramat Raḥel, and Deir Abu Tor; the latter two are supported by the mention of the valley of Rephaim in the same context.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: EM, s.v.; Noth, Hist Isr, 187–8; Abel, Geog, 2 (1938), 259.

[Michael Avi-Yo\nah]

BA’AL SHEM (Heb. בַּעַל שֵׁם, “Master of the Divine Name”; lit. “Possessor of the Name”), title given in popular usage and in Jewish literature, especially kabbalistic and ḥasidic works, from the Middle Ages onward, to one who possessed the secret knowledge of the Tetragrammaton and the other “Holy Names,” and who knew how to work miracles by the power of these names. The designation *ba’al shem* did not originate with the kabbalists, for it was already known to the last Babylonian *geonim*. In a responsum, Hai Gaon stated: “They testified that they saw a certain man, one of the well-known *ba’alei shem*, on the eve of the Sabbath in one place, and that at the same time he was seen in another place, several days’ journey distant.” It was in this sense that Judah *Halevi criticized the activities of the *ba’alei shem* (*Kuzari*, 3:53). In medieval German ḥasidic tradition this title was accorded to several liturgical poets, e.g., Shephatiah and his son Amittai of southern Italy (in *Abraham b. Azriel, *Arugat ha-Bosem*, 2 (1947), 181). The Spanish kabbalists used the expression *ba’alei shemot* from the middle of the 13th century onward. Some even said that there were different methods used by the *ba’alei sefirot*, the theoretical kabbalists, and the *ba’alei shemot*, the magicians, in their kabbalistic teachings. Isaac b. Jacob *ha-Kohen, Todros ha-Levi Abulafia, and *Moses de Leon all mentioned this tendency among the kabbalists without disapproval, whereas Abraham *Abulafia wrote disparagingly of the *ba’alei shem*. From the end of the 13th century, the term *ba’al shem* was also used for writers of amulets based on Holy Names (*Oẓar Neḥmad*, vol. 2, p. 133). There were large numbers of *ba’alei shem*, particularly in Germany and Poland, from the 16th century onward. Some were important rabbis and talmudic scholars, such as Elijah *Loans of Frankfurt and Worms, Elijah Ba’al Shem of Chelm, and Sekel Isaac Loeb *Wormser (the *ba’al shem* of Michelstadt). Others were scholars who devoted themselves entirely to the study of Kabbalah, such as Joel Ba’al Shem of Zamosc and Elhanan “Ba’al ha-Kabbalah” of Vienna (both 17th century), Benjamin Beinisch ha-Kohen of Krotoszyn (beginning of the 18th century), and Samuel Essingen. In the 17th and 18th centuries the number of *ba’alei shem* who were not at all talmudic scholars increased. But they attracted a following by their real or imaginary powers of healing the sick. Such a *ba’al shem* was often a combination of practical kabbalist, who performed his cures by means of prayers, amulets, and incantations, and a popular healer familiar with *segullot* (“remedies”) concocted from animal, vegetable, and mineral matter. The literature of that period teems with stories and testimonies about *ba’alei shem* of this kind, some of which, however, were written in criticism of their characters and deeds. It was generally thought that the *ba’alei shem* were at their most efficacious in the treatment of mental disorders and in the exorcism of evil spirits (see *Dibbuk). There is a variation to the title *ba’al shem*, known as “*ba’al shem tov.*” The founder of modern *Ḥasidism, *Israel b. Eliezer Ba’al Shem Tov, usually referred to by the initials “BeShT,” is the most famous and practically unique bearer of this title. The title “*ba’al shem tov*” existed before the Ḥasid, but it did not designate a special quality or a distinction between bearers of this title and *ba’alei shem*. For example, Elhanan Ba’al Shem Tov, who died in 1651; Benjamin Krotoschin, who so styled himself in his book *Shem Tov Katan* (Sulzbach, 1706); and Joel Ba’al Shem I, who actually signed himself “*BeShT,*” in common with the founder of Ḥasidism. In the 18th century, Samuel Jacob Ḥayyim *Falk, the “*ba’al shem* of London,” achieved considerable prominence. He was called “Doctor Falk” by Christians. The theory propounded by several scholars that these wandering *ba’alei shem* were responsible for spreading Shabbateanism has not been proved. Several books by these *ba’alei shem* have been published concerning practical Kabbalah, *segullot* (“remedies”), and *refu’ot* (“healing”). These include: *Toledot Adam* (1720) and *Mifalot Elohim* (1727), edited by Joel Ba’al Shem and based on the works of his grandfather Joel Ba’al Shem I, *Shem Tov Katan* (1706) and *Amtaḥat Binyamin* (1716). The deeds of the *ba’alei shem* became legendary. Fictitious characters of the same type were sometimes invented, such as Adam Ba’al Shem of Binger, the hero of a series of miraculous stories in Yiddish which were printed as early as the 17th century. Ḥasidic legend subsequently created an imaginary connection between this character and Israel Ba’al Shem Tov. The leaders of the Haskalah generally regarded the *ba’alei shem* as charlatans and adventurers.

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[Gershom Scholem]

BAAL WORSHIP

Name and Etymology

The word *baʿl*, common Semitic for “owner, master, husband,” became the usual designation of the great weather-god of the Western Semites. In spite of the fact that the word is used as the theophorous element in personal names, such as Eshbaal, Merib-Baal, Jerub Baal, it was long believed that the term remained an appellation and did not become a proper name, except in the case of the Mesopotamian Bel and in late theological speculation. The basis for this view was the fact that in biblical usage the plural of the term, with the article, “the

Baalim," appears to designate minor local gods (Judg. 2:11; 3:7; 8:33), while the singular of the word in combination with other terms apparently designated minor or local gods, such as Baal-Berith, Baal-Gad, Baal-Hamon, Baal-Hazor, Baal-Hermon, or, in the feminine form, a goddess, Baalat-Beer, Baalat-Gebal. Further, in biblical usage when applied to the great weather-god, the singular regularly has the article, "the Baal," which suggests that the word was not regarded as a proper name. Nevertheless, despite the biblical tendency to avoid the use of the word as a proper name, it is now quite clear that by pre-Israelite times the term had become the usual name of the weather-god of Syria-Palestine. In the El-Amarna letters the logogram for the weather-god is conventionally read *Addu*, but that it is sometimes to be read *Baʿlu* is indicated by the addition of the phonetic complement-*lu*, as well as by the names like *Mut* ^{d}*Im* written syllabically as *mu-ut-ba-aḫ-lum*. In the El-Amarna letters Canaanite clients addressed the Egyptian king as "My Baal, my Addu." In the Ugaritic mythological texts Baʿlu (*bʿl*) is the name of the god which is used more than twice as often as his next most frequent name, Haddu (*hd*). The latter name (Amarna, Addu) is to be related to Arabic *hadda* ("break," "crash") with reference to thunder. The variant form Hadad (*hdd*) is attested to only once in Ugaritic.

That there were minor Baalim also at Ugarit is indicated by a god list in Akkadian (see *Ugaritica*, 5, p. 44 ll. 4–10; reconstructed text) which after the great "Weather-god, Lord of Mount Ḫazi" presents six other "weather-gods," numbered two through seven. In the parallel Ugaritic list, which is unfortunately very fragmentary, the "Weather-god, Lord of Mount Ḫazi" apparently corresponds to Baal Ṣapān, while those following are termed simply Baalim (*bʿlm*). It may be, however, that these extra Baalim are Baal's attendants, mentioned as the seven or eight lads whom Baal is ordered to take with him in his descent into the netherworld.

Other Titles and Epithets

Besides the names Baal and Haddu, the Ugaritic texts furnish a variety of other titles, such as "Mighty Baal" (*ʾaliyn bʿl*) and "Prince, Lord of Earth" (*zbl bʿl arṣ*). The latter title has a biblical echo in the corrupted form Baal-Zebub (II Kings 1:2ff.), from an original Baal-Zebul, which is preserved in this form in the New Testament (Matt. 10:25, 12:24; Mark 3:22; Luke 11:15, 18). A frequent epithet is "Cloud Rider" (*rkb ʿrpt*) which has an almost identical parallel in Psalms 68:5. A vivid description of theophany in a thunderstorm is found in Psalms 18:7–15 (= II Sam. 22:8–16). Of special interest is the designation *ʿAliy*(*ʿly*) which is twice applied to Baal in the Krt Epic:

To the earth Baal rained,
To the field rained ʿAliy.
Sweet to the earth was Baal's rain
To the field the rain of ʿAliy.

Before the discovery and recognition of this name in Ugaritic, H.S. Nyberg had restored it in Deuteronomy 33:12; I Samuel 2:10; II Samuel 23:1; Isaiah 59:18, 63:7; and Hosea 7:16. Since the Ugaritic verified the antiquity and authenticity of this divine name, additional instances have been alleged in the Psalter and in Job.

A common designation of Baal in the Ugaritic myths is *bn-dgn* "son of Dagān"; but Baal is also considered the son of El who is called "Bull El his [i.e., Baal's] father; El King who begot him [Baal]" (*tr il abh; il mlk dyknnh*). Since El and Dagān are distinct deities, this seeming confusion over Baal's paternity needs explanation. A solution has been supplied by a tradition ascribed to the ancient Phoenician priest Sakkunyaton (Greek Sanchuniathōn) that when El-Kronos defeated Ouranos, he captured in the battle Ouranos' pregnant concubine and gave her to Dagān. The divine child was named Demarous, one of the cognomens of Zeus-Baal-Hadad. The Semitic original of this name has been recognized in one of Baal's names in Ugaritic:

Then said Mighty Baal:
Foes of Hadd why haste ye?
Why haste ye opponents of Dmrn?

(The name is to be connected with the root ‡*dmr*, "be strong, brave," and is probably the same as that of Abraham's son Zimrān (‡*damarān*), the *-n* afformative being preserved in the genitive case of the Greek form Demarountos). Thus, according to Sakkunyaton, Baal's natural father was Ouranos and Dagān became his foster-father, while El-Kronos effected the transfer. That Baal appears to be a relative newcomer in the Ugaritic pantheon has been generally recognized, and it may be that Sakkhunyaton's story about Baal's paternity reflects a mythologizing of the process by which Baal was integrated into the family of El.

Baal's Residence

Baal's abode was Mount Ṣapān, identified as Jebel el-Aqraʿ ("Mount Baldy") some 30 mi. north of Ugarit. A god Baal Ṣapān was known from Egyptian and Akkadian sources before the discovery of the Ugaritic documents. In an Akkadian catalogue of Ugaritic deities Baal Ṣapān is listed as ^{d}*IM be-el ḫuršān ḫa-zi*, "Storm-God, Lord of Mount Ḫazi" (see above; Ḫaz [z] i being the Hurrian name of Mount Ṣapān which survives in the Greek and Latin Kasios/Casius as the name of the storied mountain of the gods). Isaiah 14:13 alludes to this divine abode as "the Mount of Assembly in the recesses of *ẓafon*" (*har moʿed be-yarkete ẓafon*), the latter phrase being the equivalent of Ugaritic *mrym ṣpn* or *ṣrrt ṣpn*, the height or fastness of Ṣapān. The cosmic character of *ẓafon* leads to its use as a synonym for "sky" in Job 26:7: "who stretched out *ẓafon* on emptiness who suspended earth on naught." That *ẓafon* designated the "north" in Hebrew is presumably due to the fact that Mount Casius lies directly north of Palestine. In Psalms 89:13 *ẓafon* and *yamin*, in parellelism with Tabor and Hermon, hardly designate the directions north and south; *yamin* is almost certainly a corruption of Amana, the southern portion of the Taurus mountains, the alteration of *ʾamanah* to *yamin* being occasioned by the misunderstanding of *ẓafon* as the direction rather than the name of the holy mountain. In Psalms 48:2–3, Mount Zion is equated with "the recesses of *ẓafon*" (the phrase quoted above from Isa. 14:13). The association of the name Baal-Zephon with Israel's exit from Egypt (Ex. 14:2, 9; Num. 33:7) has been made the basis of intriguing speculation by Eissfeldt.

Baal in the Ugaritic Myths

The bulk of the Ugaritic mythological texts is concerned with the activities of Baal. In correlating the sequence of events, Baal's victory over the sea-god, Yamm, is probably to be placed near the beginning of the action, since it was presumably this exploit which gained him the dominant position among the gods, just as *Marduk achieved preeminence by defeating the sea-monster Tiamat. With the help of wonder weapons supplied and blessed by the versatile Koshar (the craftsman god), Baal was able to defeat and rout the sea-god. It has been suggested that this clash was indirectly a conflict between Baal and El, with Yamm serving as champion for the venerable El, as the Titans fought on behalf of Kronos in the Greek version of the myth and the stone colossus Ulikummi for Kumarbi in the Hurrian-Hittite version which is roughly contemporary with the Ugaritic texts.

The biblical allusions to YHWH's victory over the sea preserve echoes of the older exploit of Baal (cf. Isa. 27:1, 30:7, 51:9–10; Ezek. 29:3–5, 32:2–6; Nah. 1:4; Hab. 3:8; Ps. 74:13–14, 89:9–10, 93:1ff.; Job 3:8, 7:12, 9:13, 26:12–13, 38:8–11, 40:25). YHWH's victory over the waters is connected either with the rescue of Israel at the Exodus (Ps. 114) or with eschatological victory (Isa. 27:1). The eschatological traits were taken over with the Canaanite myths. The triumph of Baal recounted in the myths and perhaps reenacted in ritual drama gave assurance of help in the present and the future as in the past. The prize of the victory was kingship over the gods and the enthronement ritual guaranteed the natural order of life and the welfare of the society. The motifs of these myths were adopted and adapted in Jewish and Christian eschatology.

The longest of the texts deals with the construction of Baal's house on top of Mount Ṣapān. A complaint is made to Bull El, father of the gods, that Baal has no house like other gods. Apparently in anticipation of developments the artisan god Koshar had cast furnishings of gold and silver. Asherah, mother of the gods, was prevailed upon to intercede with El to gain permission for the building. El is praised for his wisdom in granting the request since now it is insured that Baal will give his rain in season. The building materials, gold, silver, and lapis lazuli, were procured and the architect-builder Koshar was invited to dinner and consultation. Koshar twice recommended that a window be installed and Baal twice vetoed the suggestion, although Koshar insisted that Baal would have to reconsider. Baal's objection to the window somehow concerned his three daughters and the sea-god (Yamm), but the text is broken at this point. (The suggestion that Jer. 9:20 presents a parallel is mistaken since the Ugaritic text mentions the sea-god and not Death (Mot) in connection with the window.) Baal's house was constructed in an extraordinary fashion. For seven days a fire burned inside the building, and when it subsided, the house was plated with gold, silver, and lapis lazuli. Baal rejoiced and celebrated with a banquet. After a sortie against the sea-god, Baal returned to his house and ordered Koshar to install a window; Koshar laughed, reminded Baal of the debate, and complied. Through the window, a cleft in the clouds, Baal gave forth his holy voice which convulsed the earth and sent his enemies scurrying to the hills and woods. Issuing a challenge to his enemy Mot (death), who presumed to rule gods and men, Baal dispatched his messengers to Mot's infernal, filthy abode, warning them not to get close to Mot's rapacious jaws.

The sequel to this action is furnished by the group of texts which recount Baal's confrontations with Mot. In the first encounter, Baal is invited to a banquet at which he is to be both guest and main course. Baal's response to Mot's invitation to come and be devoured is abject surrender: "Thy slave am I, thine eternal." Before descending to the realm of death, Baal copulates with a heifer and begets a male offspring. After a textual gap, there is a report that Baal's corpse has been found. El and Anath mourn violently, mutilating their faces and bodies. With the help of the sun-goddess Shapsh, Anath locates the dead Baal, carries him to the height of Ṣapān, and weeping buries him with funerary sacrifices. Ashtar the Awful (*ʿṯtrʿrẓ*) was then nominated to replace Baal, but when he ascended the throne, his feet did not reach the footstool nor his head the top and so he declined to reign on the heights of Ṣapān and descended from Baal's throne, but ruled over all El's earth. Since the root *ʿtr* in Arabic is connected with artificial irrigation, it is apparent that Ashtar's failure to measure up to Baal represents the inadequacy of irrigation as a substitute for natural rainfall.

Baal's sister-consort Anath demanded that Mot release her brother. Mot refused and boasted how he had mangled Baal. Anath then dismembered Mot, scattered and burned the pieces, and gave them to the birds. Baal's resurrection followed Mot's demise, the good news being transmitted through a dream of El:

In a dream of Beneficent El Benign,
A vision of the Creator of Creatures,
The skies rained oil,
The wadies flowed honey.
So I knew that Mighty Baal lives,
The Prince, Lord of Earth, exists.

The fields were still parched from the drought and again Anath and Shapsh set out to find Baal. Next both Mot and Baal appear reconstituted and reactivated and again in conflict. They clash violently until both are prostrate and the Sun-goddess warns Mot not to fight with Baal lest El hear and overthrow him. This time, Baal puts up a fight and holds Mot off in battle. Thus it is clear that Baal, representing the life-giving rains, fluctuates in his ability to withstand the power of Mot, who represents drought, sterility, and death.

YHWH Versus Baal

The worship of Baal in Syria-Palestine was inextricably bound to the economy of the land which depends on the regularity and adequacy of the rains. Unlike Egypt and Mesopotamia, which depend on irrigation, the Promised Land drinks water from the rain of heaven (Deut. 11:10–11). During the summer months the rains cease, but the temporary drought is no threat unless it is abnormally prolonged. Figs and grapes ripen during the dry season and the grain harvest also takes place before the rains resume. In a normal good year, when the rains come in due season, there is no hiatus in productivity, for the land yields its increase, the trees produce their fruit, the threshing overlaps, the vintage overlaps the sowing, and there is food aplenty, prosperity, and peace (Lev. 26:4–6). But not all years are good, and in a bad year, or a series of bad years, when the rains fail, the skies become like iron, the land like brass, and man's toil is futile for the earth will not yield its increase (Lev. 26:19–20). A series of bad years, which were apparently believed to come in seven-year cycles (cf. Gen. 41; II Sam. 1:21), would be catastrophic. Thus in any year anxiety about the rainfall would be a continuing concern of the inhabitants which would suffice to give rise to rites to ensure the coming of the rains. Thus the basis of the Baal cult was the utter dependence of life on the rains which were regarded as Baal's bounty.

Biblical narrative incorporates tales of Baal worship into the traditions of the wilderness wandering, thus tracing Baal worship to the earliest period of Israel's existence. At Shittim they attached themselves to Baal-Peor, ate sacrifices for the dead, and indulged in sacred sexual orgies (Num. 25:1–11; Ps. 106:28). Life in a land dependent on rainfall enhanced the appeal of the Baal cult and its pervasive influence persisted through the centuries, as the unrelenting protests of the prophets and the sporadic efforts at reform attest. Horrendous and repulsive aspects of the worship – sexual excesses and perversions (Isa. 57:3–10), perhaps including copulation with animals (Hos. 13:2) such as Baal himself performed in the Ugaritic myth – are depicted in the prophetic tirades. Virtually all reference to Baal's consort, the violent "Virgin Anath" – with whom Baal copulates by the thousand in one of the Ugaritic mythological fragments – has been excluded from the Bible, but the goddesses Ashtart (Judg. 2:13) and *Asherah (Judg. 6:30; II Kings 16:32–33) are associated with him.

The conflict of Yahwism and Baalism reached a crisis with Elijah's challenge to Baal's prophets to settle the question whether it was Baal or YHWH who really supplied the rain (I Kings 18). The spectacular victory for Yahwism did not have a lasting effect. Extra-biblical evidence for the flourishing Baal cult at Samaria in the ninth and eighth centuries B.C.E. was furnished by Harvard University excavations in the form of personal names containing Baal as the theophorous element, such as *bʾybʿl*, "Baal is my father," *bʿl zmr*, "Baal sings" or "Baal is strong," *bʿl zkr*, "Baal remembers," *bʿl mʿny*, "Baal is my answer," etc. Jehu's massacre of the Baal worshipers (II Kings 10:18–28) did not eradicate bull worship (II Kings 10:31). In Judah the murder of the queen mother, *Athaliah, and of Mattan, priest of Baal, and the smashing of the altars and cult images in the Baal temple (II Kings 11:18) did not wipe out the cult (II Kings 12:3–4). Ahaz fostered Baal worship (II Chron. 28:2); Hezekiah attempted to eliminate it; Manasseh his son again gave it royal support (II Kings 21:3); and Josiah in his turn purged the Temple of YHWH of the utensils made for Baal and Asherah (II Kings 23:4).

The contest on Mount Carmel was reported as demonstrating that Baal was an impotent non-entity and that the rain came only from YHWH. This viewpoint was developed as the basic and final argument against Baalism. With Baal's functions accredited to YHWH, it was natural and fitting that some of Baal's titles would also be taken over. Portions of ancient Baal liturgy were adapted to the praise of Israel's God, as the Ugaritic poems have shown. To accommodate Baal ideology to Yahwism required some radical transformations. The summer drought did not mean that YHWH had died (like Baal), nor did the return of the rains signal the resurrection. The rains were fully controlled by YHWH who called them from the sea and poured them out on the surface of the earth (Amos 5:8b; 9:6b). He could, and did, withhold the rain from one city and lavish it on another (Amos 4:7). None of the foolish practices of the heathen could bring the rains; only YHWH could and did (Jer. 10:11–13; 14:22). If the rains failed and drought and death came upon the land and people, it was not because Mot had mangled Baal and made the glowing sun-goddess destructive; it was rather YHWH's way of meting out merited punishment to a faithless and sinful people (Deut. 11:17; I Kings 8:35–36; Jer. 3:2–3). The continued worship of Baal was given as one of the causes for the destruction of Judah (Jer. 19:5ff.). Payment of the full tithe to the food stores of the Temple, some thought, would guarantee that YHWH would open the windows of heaven and pour down overflowing blessings (Mal. 3:10; cf. Avot 5:11 on the connection between tithing and rain). The prophet Haggai attributed the drought and scarcity in his day to the failure to rebuild the Temple (Hag. 1:7–11).

When the rain failed, it was inevitable that some would question YHWH's power and resort to Baal. In distress some would naturally revert to the old ways of reviving or reactivating the rain-god – prayer, mourning, self-laceration, dancing, and water-pouring (I Kings 18:26–28; Hos. 7:14–16). The right remedy, according to Israel's prophets, was to repudiate Baal completely and to seek and return to Israel's true God (Isa. 55:6–13; Jer. 4:1–2; Hos. 14:2).

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Canaanite Religion (1969). **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** W. Hermann, in: DDD, 132–38; M.S. Smith, *The Ugaritic Baal Cycle* (1994).

[Marvin H. Pope]

BAAL-ZEPHON (Heb. בַּעַל צְפֹן), a location, perhaps a sanctuary, in Egypt which, according to the Bible, the Israelites passed during the *Exodus from Egypt (Ex. 14:2, 9; Num. 33:7). Presumably the toponym takes its name from the god Baal Zephon known from texts beginning in the early second millennium B.C.E. and continuing well into the first. Scholars disagree as to the site of Baal-Zephon and locate it according to their view of the route that the Bible claims was followed by the Israelites when they departed from Egypt. Those who assume that a southern passage was meant suggest Jebel Abu Ḥasan, 8 mi. (13 km.) N. of Suez, which is identified with a Migdal Baal-Zephon mentioned in a papyrus from the Hellenistic period (Cairo papyrus 31169). Others who prefer a northern route identify Baal-Zephon with the sanctuary of Zeus Casius, which is known of from the fifth century B.C.E. onward in the vicinity of the Serbonic Lake (Baḥr al-Bardawīl, the "Reed Sea," according to this theory). Since another mountain called Mons Casius (Jebel Aqra on the Syrian coast) was known in earlier times as Baal-Zephon, it is consequently assumed that the southern Baal-Zephon was also called Casius. The site is identified with a hillock on the western extremity of the lake called *Maḥmūdiyya*. W.F. Albright has identified Baal-Zephon with the Egyptian port Taḥpanḥes (Daphne). A survey in 1967 directed by M. Dothan has identified Baal-Zephon with Ras Kasrun near the Serbonic Lake; the survey also identified it as the site of the Hellenistic-Roman city of Casius.

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[Michael Avi-Yonah]

BAAR, EMIL N. (1891–1985), U.S. Reform lay leader. Born in Vienna, Austria, Baar immigrated to the United States with his parents at the age of two. He received his J.D. degree from Columbia University in 1915 and practiced law until 1951, when he became a justice of the Supreme Court of the State of New York. He served as chairman of the board of the *Union of American Hebrew Congregations from 1959 to 1963, becoming lifetime honorary chairman in 1964. He was also a vice president of the *World Union for Progressive Judaism.

Baar presided over the UAHC during the stormiest period of Rabbi Maurice *Eisendrath's controversial social action leadership. Although a moderate Republican in his personal politics, Baar gave strong support to the Union's bold positions in support of civil rights, opposition to the war in Vietnam, and admission of a gay congregation into the UAHC. He will be remembered especially for leading the Union through the deeply emotional and potentially divisive battle that culminated in the establishment of the Religious Action Center in Washington, D.C., in 1961.

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[Bezalel Gordon (2nd ed.)]

BAAR, HERMAN (1826–1904), U.S. rabbi and educator. Born in Stadthagen, near Hanover, Germany, Baar received his early education at the gymnasium of Hanover and after graduation took a course in philology and theology at the University of Goettingen. On the completion of his studies he took a position as teacher at the school at Seesen, Germany, which he held eight years. In 1857 he was named rabbi in Liverpool, England, where he received what was then called the ministerial appointment in the Seel Street synagogue, where he spent a decade. When he lost his voice, he left the congregation and opened a school in Brussels. In 1870 he came to Washington, D.C., but believing a change of climate advisable he went to New Orleans, La., where he directed a school. From there he went to New York, where in 1876 he was appointed superintendent of the Hebrew Orphan Asylum, New York City – a position he filled with great success until his resignation in 1899. He earned his national reputation as an educator with his addresses to students that were published in *The American Hebrew.* They were collected in a two-volume study called *Homely and Religious Topics*. He retired in 1900 and wrote for Jewish periodicals and published Bible stories for use by children.

[Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

BAASHA (or **Baasa**; Heb. בַּעְשָׁא), son of Ahijah of the tribe of Issachar, king of Israel (906–883 B.C.E.). (A ninth century Aramean king bears the same name.) Baasha, perhaps an officer under King *Nadab, who was besieging *Gibbethon, then held by the Philistines, assassinated him there and proclaimed himself king. He massacred all the members of the House of Jeroboam I, which he had supported. By this act he overthrew the hegemony of Ephraim over the other tribes. Like his predecessor, he resided at Tirzah (I Kings 15:27ff.). After ensuring by alliance the friendship and neutrality of his northern neighbors – the Arameans of Damascus – he turned to the south. According to I Kings 15:16, 32, he was at war with King *Asa of Judah throughout his reign. He succeeded in occupying Ramah, a dominating height north of Jerusalem, and began to fortify it, threatening the Davidic capital. Asa, in turn, bribed Ben-Hadad, king of *Aram, to break his alliance with Baasha and invade Israel (*ibid.* 17–21; II Chron. 16:1–5), and Baasha was forced to withdraw from Ramah. It has been suggested that he fell in battle while fighting the Arameans, but the biblical report suggests a peaceful death at home (I Kings 16:16). Like Jeroboam before him, Baasha seems to have been sponsored by the prophet Jehu son of Hanani, who gave him the charismatic title *nagid*, and like Jeroboam he disappointed his sponsor (*ibid.* 16:1–4, 7).

According to rabbinic legend (Mid. Ag. to Num. 30:15), it was Baasha who murdered the prophet *Shemaiah.

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[Hanoch Reviv]

BAAZOV, HERZL (1904–1945), Georgian writer. Born several weeks after Theodor *Herzl's death and named after him, Baazov grew up in Kutaisi in the house of his father, David Baazov, which was the first Zionist, Hebrew-speaking home in Georgia. Baazov became a well-known Georgian playwright and poet, and most of his writings were dedicated to Georgian Jewish life. At the age of 19, he translated the Song of Songs into Georgian. His first play, about the life and death of Itzko (Abraham Isaac) Rizhinashvili – a young Jewish revolutionary who was killed during the upheaval of 1905 in a fight with Czarist gendarmes – was staged at the Tbilisi (Tiflis) State Theater. Another of his plays, *The Dumb Opened Their Mouths*, dealt with the social changes in the life of the Tat-speaking *Mountain Jews after the Russian Revolution. He also wrote poetry, including the well-known poem "Cain." In the 1930s he began to write a trilogy about the changes in Jewish life in Georgia after the revolution. In spite of his positive attitude to the revolution as a social phenomenon, he was suddenly arrested and deported in 1937, after the publication of the first part of the trilogy. No indictment against him was ever published, but it is assumed that he was accused of "Jewish bourgeois nationalism." In 1945 he died in exile, somewhere in the Soviet far north. An indirect rehabilitation of his name occurred in 1964, when the official Georgian Writers' Union celebrated his 60th birthday. Several of his writings were republished, but were not translated into Russian. The Georgian writer G. Tsitsishvili published a book on Baazov's life and work (1964) that, inter alia, mentions his close relations with S. *Mikhoels, P. *Markish, and other Soviet Jewish writers and artists.

His younger brother, MEIR BAAZOV (1915–1970), an engineer, was also a Hebrew scholar and served in the 1940s as director of the Hebrew section of the Georgian National Library in Tbilisi.

[Mordkhai Neishtat]

BAB, JULIUS (1880–1955), German drama critic and literary historian. Born in Berlin, where he studied literature and philosophy, Bab was a critic of the Berlin theater for more than three decades. He was also lecturer and adviser to the Berlin people's theater, the *Volksbuehne*. In June 1933, in an attempt to maintain cultural life among the Jews after the rise of Nazism, Bab founded the *Juedischer Kulturbund*, which had its own theater. In 1940 he fled to the U.S., where he became the dramatic critic of the *New York Staatszeitung*. Bab's collected reviews of the Berlin theater, *Die Chronik des deutschen Dramas* (1921–22), are an important source for the history of modern German drama. His other works include monographs on Shakespeare, Shaw, Dehmel, and Albert Bassermann and a volume of essays, *Am Rande der Zeit* (1915). A book of verse, *Ausgewaehlte Gedichte…* (1930), includes the poem "Der Jude."

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[Rudolf Kayser / Bjoern Siegel (2nd ed.)]

BABAD, a family of rabbis. The founder of the family was Isaac of Cracow, son of Issachar Berish, a *parnas* of the Council of Four Lands, and grandson of Heschel, *av bet din* of Cracow. He served as rabbi of Brzezany and then of Brody, where he died in 1704. His children added the word Babad (an acronym of **B**enei **A**v **B**et **D**in, "children of the *av bet din*") to their signatures, and it eventually became their surname. Among members of the family were the following:

JOSHUA HESCHEL B. ISAAC BABAD (1754–1838). Joshua Heschel b. Isaac Babad grandson of the communal leader, Jacob Jekel Babad of Brody, who served as rabbi of Budzanow and, from 1801, of Tarnopol. He was one of the opponents, in 1813, of the teaching system in the school founded by Joseph *Perl, where secular studies were also taught. After a short stay in Lublin (1828), he was compelled to leave the city because of his dispute with the *Mitnaggedim* there, and he returned to Tarnapol, where he died. Joshua's responsa on the four parts of the Shulḥan Arukh, *Sefer Yehoshu'a* (Zolkiew, 1829), was considered a basic halakhic work, upon which contemporary rabbis relied for their rulings.

MENACHEM MUNISH B. JOSHUA HESCHEL BABAD (1865–1938). Menachem Munish b. Joshua Heschel Babad a well-known personality in Galician Jewry and a halakhic authority of note. He was born in Brody where he was educated by his father and afterward by his father-in-law. He succeeded his father as *av bet din* of Strzyzow in 1892, and in 1894, after the death of his father-in-law, he accepted a call to serve as rabbi of Jaworow, a post which he occupied until 1911. The rest of his life was spent in Tarnopol. Menahem participated in rabbinical conferences of 1925 and 1927 in Cracow and Lvov. His method of study, resembling that of the Lithuanian yeshivot, was characterized by a logical analysis of the words of the sages, a comprehensive review of every aspect of the subject under discussion, and a summation of all the relevant views. His many responsa were collected in *Ḥavaẓẓelet ha-Sharon* (1931–38), covering all four parts of the Shulḥan Arukh.

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[Josef Horovitz]

BABAD, JOSEPH BEN MOSES (1800–1874/5), Polish rabbi and author. Little is known about him. His father was *av bet din* at Przeworsk. Babad served as rabbi at Bohorodezany, Zabariz, Sniatyn, and Tarnopol. Babad's best-known work is his *Minḥat Ḥinnukh*, consisting of expositions of the *Sefer *ha-Ḥinnukh* ("The Book of Education") ascribed to Aaron ha-Levi of Barcelona (1869, frequently republished; the 1952 edition containing 26 addenda (commentaries, novellae, notes, and emendations) to *Sefer ha-Ḥinnukh* and *Minḥat Ḥinnukh* by various authors). The publisher, Reuben Kohen Rappaport, stated in the introduction that he had long tried to persuade the author to publish it, but in his modesty he had refused and finally agreed only after the theft of a manuscript containing his novellae on the Torah. As Babad himself states, the arrangement of his work is based on that of *Sefer ha-Ḥinnukh*. On each *halakhah* he quotes commentators and halakhic authorities. *Minḥat Ḥinnukh* together with *Sefer ha-Ḥinnukh* covers all the principles, laws, and customs concerning the commandments, from talmudic times to the *aḥaronim*. In his novellae and legal statements, Babad arrives at no final conclusion, but instead poses questions and problems, stimulating the reader to new ideas and further research. The many supplementary comments and novellae on *Minḥat Ḥinnukh* have created an entire literature around these two works.

There are extant two responsa addressed to Babad by his grandfather Joshua Hoeschel Babad, two from Joseph Joel Deutsch to Babad when he was *av bet din* at Zabariz and Sniatyn, and one responsum of Babad, dated 1850 (*Kovez Teshuvot*, Supplement to *Minḥat Ḥinnukh* (1952), 120ff.). His son Simeon Babad, who served as rabbi at Tarnopol until 1909, wrote glosses to *Minḥat Ḥinnukh*. He was succeeded in turn by his son Joshua Hoeschel who occupied the position until his death in 1919.

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[Yehoshua Horowitz]

BABAI BEN FARHAD (18th century), author of a versified short history of the Jews mainly of *Kashan and *Isfahan. His chronicle is called *Ketāb-e sargozasht-e Kāshān* and comprises approximately 1,300 verses written in Judeo-Persian (Persian using Hebrew script). The chronicle deals with the persecutions of the Jews in the above cities in the years 1729–30, when they were forced to convert to Islam for a period of seven months. The chronicle also notes some interesting details about the Afghan invasion of Isfahan and Kashan, as well as Naderqoli Khan's (later Nader Shah) wars against them. The author mentions Mahmud and Ashraf, the leaders of the Afghans (especially the latter), favorably while he criticizes Naderqoli for his harsh measures against the Jews. We know from other historical sources that the Zoroastrians also mention the Afghan conquests favorably and even assisted them (as in the occupation of Kerman). The Jews and Zoroastrians were accorded by the Afghan conquerors superior status to Shiʿites in the socio-political structure of Iran. According to the chronicle, the Jewish community of Kashan was wealthy, mostly involved in the silk trade. According to the author, there were 13 synagogues in Kashan; nevertheless, he mentions with disapproval the lack of religious observance among most of the Jews of his town. Another Jew from Kashan named Mashi'aḥ ben Raphael appended approximately 80 verses to Babai ben Farhad's narrative in which he mentions favorably Mollā Ebrāhim, the leader of the Jews of Kashan, who together with a number of supporters was instrumental in getting the Jews who had been forced to accept Islam to return to Judaism.

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[Amnon Netzer (2nd ed.)]

BABAI BEN LUṬF (17th century), historian of Kashan who left the first and only written history of his time, covering a period from about 1613 until the beginning of the year 1662. His history, which contains about 5,300 lines of poetry in Judeo-Persian (Persian language written in Hebrew script), is called *Ketāb-e Anusi*. The work still remains in manuscript form, of which six copies are known to us in the major libraries of the U.S., Europe, and Israel. The author depicts the savage persecution of the Jews all over Iran by the two Safavid kings, *Abbas I (1588–29) and *Abbas II (1642–66). He mentions 19 cities by name whose Jewish population were killed, tortured, and forced to embrace Islam. The veracity of Babai's account is supported by the Iranian historians of the period, by the travelogue of Pietro della Valle, and by Arakel, the Armenian priest of Tabriz. The author speaks favorably of two Shiʿite priests with a strong Sufi orientation who interceded on behalf of the Jews: Shaikh Bahā al-Dīn Ameli (d. 1621), and Mollā Moḥsen Feiz of Kashan (d. 1680). Babai also mentions with respect Shah Safi (1629–42) who reigned after Abbas I. *Ketāb-e Anusi* is a valuable historical document also containing important information regarding Jewish demography and communal organization as well as historical events concerning Iran. We also know of a short Judeo-Persian poem, *Monājāt-Nāmeh*, composed by Babai ben Luṭf in praise of the prophet Elijah.

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[Amnon Netzer (2nd ed.)]

BĀB AL-ABWĀB ("Gate of the Gates"; Persian **Darband**; modern *__Derbent__), a pass and town at the eastern end of the Caucasus range, where the road narrows between the mountains and the Caspian Sea. Bāb al-Abwāb is mentioned in both the "Letter of Ḥasdai" and the "Reply of King Joseph" (see *Khazars), in the latter specifically as marking the southern limit of the Khazar domain. This agrees in general with the accounts of the Arabic geographers and historians. The latter described Bāb al-Abwāb as guarding one of the two main passes of the Caucasus through which the Khazars invaded the lands of Islam. Extensive arrangements for the defense of Bāb al-Abwāb are reported by the geographer al-Iṣṭakhrī (tenth century). Previously, the town had more than once been overrun from the north, though the successful Khazar attack against Ardabil (apparently in 730), referred to in the "Reply of King Joseph," was made via Dariel (now Daryal).

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[Douglas Morton Dunlop]

BABA RABBAH (or **Baba ha-Gadol,** "the Great Baba," 4th cent. C.E.), Samaritan high priest, eldest son of the high priest Nethanel (300–332 C.E.). According to the dating of the Samaritan chronicles, Baba Rabbah lived in the middle of the fourth century C.E. He is regarded as the most outstanding Samaritan political leader and reformer. His epithet "the Great" distinguishes him from other high priests called Baba, before and after his time. All information about Baba Rabbah is derived solely from the Samaritan chronicles: the *Tolidah*, the Samaritan *Book of Joshua*, the *Kitāb al-Taʾrīkh* of *Abu al-Fat, and the *New Chronicle* (see *Samaritans, Literature). The last three embellish their narrative with much legendary material. Of special interest is the legend of the Roman agent Jarman or Jarmūn related in the Samaritan *Book of Joshua*. By the emperor's decree, the Roman had been posted at the high priest Nethanel's door to prevent him from circumcising his eldest son Baba Rabbah; but Jarman was a God-fearing man who preferred to obey the law of the Eternal King rather than the earthly ruler. In gratitude, the Samaritans continue to bless his name at every circumcision ceremony at the conclusion of a poem composed by Markah in glorification of this act. According to the other two chronicles, however, the high priest in this story is Akbon, Baba's brother, who succeeded him in office.

Baba Rabbah lived in an age of great political and religious upheaval; pagan Rome had been succeeded by the Byzantine Empire. This turning point, when the foreign rulers were preoccupied with their own affairs, provided a brief respite for the oppressed Samaritan community. Baba Rabbah achieved numerous victories over the Romans and some neighboring states and time and again succeeded in driving the enemy out of Samaritan territory. To secure the safety of his country, he maintained an army of 3,000 men on constant alert. After he led his people for 40 years, the Byzantine emperor invited him to Constantinople to conclude a peace treaty. On his arrival he was received with princely honors but was held as a prisoner until his death.

During his rule, Baba Rabbah divided the country into 12 administrative districts, each under the leadership of a layman and a priest. The list of these districts indicates that at this time Samaritan communities existed in all parts of the Holy Land. Baba founded a legislative council of three priests and four laymen and conferred upon each member the title *ḥakham*. They constituted, after Baba Rabbah himself, the highest authority in the community. One of their tasks was to tour the country at regular intervals to ensure that people were instructed in the laws of the Torah and to decide on difficult halakhic matters. In conjunction with his administrative reforms, Baba Rabbah made efforts to promote a revival of religion and literature. He reopened all the synagogues and schools that the Romans had closed and founded many new ones, building one of the nine new synagogues at the foot of Mt. Gerizim. He had a cistern installed at this holy place for the purification of the people who came to pray there. Many old manuscripts of the law were then collected and preserved. It was probably also at this time that the foundations of the *Defter,* the Samaritan common prayer book, were laid by *Amram Darah and his son Markah, who composed liturgical and midrashic poems in Aramaic.

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[Ayala Loewenstamm]

BABBITT, MILTON (1916–), U.S. composer and theorist. Born in Philadelphia, Babbitt started playing violin at the age of four and played in jazz performances and composed popular songs in high school. His father's involvement in mathematics stimulated Babbitt's interest in the subject. In 1931 he began studying mathematics at the University of Pennsylvania, but soon he transferred to the study of music at New York University. In 1935 he was a student of Roger Sessions in composition at Princeton University and in 1938–42 became a staff member there. During World War II Babbitt was active as a mathematician both in research (Washington) and teaching (Princeton University). In 1948 he rejoined the Department of Music at Princeton University, where in 1960 he became Conant Professor of Music. From 1973 he was a member of the composition faculty of the Juilliard School, and taught as a guest lecturer in the U.S. and Europe. His 1983 Madison lectures were published as *Words about Music*. Babbitt received several honors, including membership in the American Academy of Science and Letters (1986) and its Gold Medal in Music (1988).

Together with Roger Sessions, Elliot Carter, and George Perle, Babbitt represents the stratum of the American avant-garde which was devoted to the rational methods in composition. He wrote the first formal and systematic research paper on Schoenberg's compositional method (1946). In his articles of the 1950s and 1960s Babbitt was a pioneer in his thinking on music, involving terms from mathematics, such as "source set," "secondary set," "derived set," "combinatoriality." In his innovative compositions of that time Babbitt sought to use and sometimes to combine Schoenberg's and Webern's technique of composition. From the 1970s and on the composer continued his intellectual search in 12-tone sound combinatoriality. During the 1960s and 1970s he also worked with the synthesizer, experimenting with electronic sounds.

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[Yulia Krenin (2nd ed.)]

BABEL, ISAAC EMMANUILOVICH (1894–1940), Russian writer. He was born in Odessa, then the center of Yiddish as well as Hebrew literature (both Mendele and Bialik lived there), of Jewish communal and political life (Odessa was, simultaneously, the center of Zionist and Socialist movements), a cosmopolitan port with a strong Western European orientation. Although Russian was not, strictly speaking, Babel's native or even second language (he grew up in a Yiddish-speaking milieu, and his first literary efforts were written in French), he is now generally acknowledged as one of the truly great Russian stylists, and probably the most sophisticated Russian prose writer to emerge by mid-20th century. At the same time Babel is a profoundly Jewish writer not only in his choice of settings and of subject matter, but also in a more profound sense. His imagination is nourished primarily by the tension between his Jewish ethos and the non-Jewish environment and by his inability to conquer within himself traces of residual Jewishness, particularly those of a moral character.

Babel was not a prolific writer. His renown rests chiefly on two collections of short stories, *Red Cavalry* (*Konarmiya*, 1926) and *Odessa Tales* (1927). Together with two plays, *The Sunset* (1928) and *Maria* (1935), several tales and a few film scripts, these constitute his entire literary legacy.

The incongruities and paradoxes that are so characteristic of Babel's work are also, by a strange coincidence, to be found in Babel's biography. He fought for the Communist cause in the ranks of Cossack horsemen, those traditional archenemies of Jewish shopkeepers, whose role in the antisemitic pogroms Babel knew from personal experience and had, in fact, described in sharp outline in "The History of My Dovecote." A peaceful intellectual, he sought acceptance by fierce warriors. Only recently emancipated from a religious orthodoxy, he desperately tried to embrace a secular faith that was even more rigid. The author of a book that made an army immortal, he was denounced by that army's commander, Semyon Budyonnyi, as a slanderer. A fighter for the Soviet regime, he was executed by it..

A disciple of Flaubert and Maupassant, Babel excelled in the highly polished *conte*, often an extended anecdote related by the protagonist in his own language – be it a peasant dialect, soldier slang, or the strongly Yiddish-accented Russian of Odessa slums. Few writers could equal Babel in the ability to portray a character by means of a few malapropisms, a partiality for a single "fancy" foreign word, or a slightly irregular syntactical construction.

In the neo-Romantic Babel the traditional motif of infatuation with a "noble savage" is found often and in many different forms. Babel, however, posits the problem somewhat differently. Where other writers – from Rousseau to Tolstoy – saw a confrontation between an intellectual and the natural man, Babel sees a Jew aspiring to the status of a pagan, yet destined to remain frustrated in his desire by the restraints of the Jewish ethic. Try as he may, he will never learn the ways of violence and will, therefore, never gain acceptance into the gentile world: in one of his tales the narrator vainly implores Providence to grant him "the simplest of all proficiencies, the ability to kill fellow men." He loses his best friend, Afonka Bida (to an ear attuned to Yiddish, "the Russian Misfortune") because he would not shoot a wounded comrade. To be admitted into a circle of Cossacks, he must first hideously kill a goose – but then, that night, he must wrestle with his Jewish conscience which abhors murder. Babel's Jewish narrator envies his non-Jewish protagonists' ability to kill one's own father, trample to death a former master, or shoot a black marketeer masquerading as a helpless mother. His Jewishness and hence his alienations have numerous attributes – he wears glasses, he cannot learn to swim, he is a poor horseman, he carries with him books.

It is this envy of what he saw as gentile physical strength and absence of moral restraints that caused Babel to create a gallery of Jewish protagonists who bore little resemblance to pathetic Jews described in certain Yiddish literature or to the Zionist dreamers and visionaries in certain modern Hebrew novels. Babel's Odessa Jews who "bubble like cheap red wine" include an imposing amazon, who presides over a den of thieves and a brothel, dignified beggars with patriarchal beards who oversee Jewish cemeteries and discourse on the vanity of human existence, and the legendary Benya Krik ("Bennie the Howl"), a colorful gangster, the terror of Odessa's merchants and policemen. Babel's scenes of resplendent Jewish wedding feasts and magnificent funeral processions are reminiscent of the lush canvases of a Breughel.

The picturesque world of Polish Ḥasidim and Odessa cart drivers, of waterfront philosophers and ritual slaughterers was disappearing before Babel's eyes, a victim of secularism, pogroms, and the Revolution. Its death was recorded in some of Babel's best tales. A few of these relate only an amusing or a paradoxical incident – e.g., an old-age home receives a new lease on life as a funeral cooperative, but only for as long as it continues the swindle of not burying the corpse together with the only coffin it owns; the first honest funeral arranged by it will also spell its doom. Other stories have moral overtones of varying degrees of significance. An infant is named Karl by its Communist atheist parents in honor of Marx; but the grandparents conspire to have it secretly circumcised and the infant emerges with the hybrid name Karl-Yankel (i.e., Jacob). A rabbi's son joins the Communist Party but, for the time being, continues to live with his parents because he does not want to leave his mother. Just as Babel, long after ceasing to believe in God, could not shed the commandment "thou shalt not kill," so the rabbi's son remains faithful to another commandment which makes it incumbent upon us to honor our parents. In another story, the rabbi's son ultimately leaves his parental home to fight and then to die for the Revolution, but the break with his past is tortured and incomplete: among the killed soldier's belongings his comrades find a portrait of Lenin and another of Maimonides, Communist Party resolutions with Hebrew verse written in their margins, the text of the *Song of Songs*, and some empty cartridges.

The inability to shift one's allegiances completely was most poignantly illustrated in the short story "Gedali." The protagonist, an old Jew, the owner of a Dickensian curiosity shop, is puzzled because murder and looting are his town's lot no matter whether its current masters are Communist or anti-Communist: how then, he asks, can one tell which is the Revolution and which the counter-revolution? Old Gedali cannot agree to the proposition that ends justify means. He is troubled because the Revolution demands that all of the old values, the good as well as the bad, be discarded: "To the Revolution we say 'yes,' but can we say 'no' to the Sabbath?" And he tells his Communist visitor that what the world really needs is not more politics, but an International of Good Men, in which all men could live in peace and harmony, and in which "every soul would get first category rations."

After some twenty years of disgrace, Babel – or, more precisely, his memory – was cleared by the Soviet authorities of the false charges which caused his arrest and death. His best known works were reprinted in the 1950s and in 1966 but subsequently he was again ignored in the Soviet Union.

[Maurice Friedberg]

His Life

Until the age of 16, Babel was provided, by private tutors, with a thorough Jewish education, including Hebrew, Bible, and Talmud. At the same time he attended a Russian commercial school in Odessa. During his student years he seems to have been active in Zionist youth circles. In 1915, after graduating from the Kiev Institute of Financial and Business Studies, he went to Petrograd, where he had to avoid the police because as a Jew he had no residence permit. It was in prerevolutionary Petrograd that his first two stories were published in Maxim Gorki's *Letopris* (November 1916; in English in *The Lonely Years*, 1964). After the revolution, he served on the Romanian front in 1918 and contracted malaria. According to his autobiographical note, the details of which are sometimes contested, he subsequently served the new regime in various functions, e.g., in the Cheka (security police), the Commissariat of Education, in "expeditions for provisions" (i.e., confiscating agricultural products in the villages), in the northern army against the White counterrevolutionaries, etc. During his service on the Polish front in Budyonny's 1st Cavalry Army, he developed asthma, and while convalescing in Odessa and the Caucasus, between 1921 and 1924, he wrote and published most of his Jewish *Odessa Tales*.

In 1931, while reporting on the collectivization in the Ukraine, Babel conceived a full novel or a cycle of stories on the collectivization. One chapter appeared in *Novy Mir* (October 1931), but it did not meet ideological requirements and the publication was stopped. Only one other chapter was found and published posthumously (both are in *The Lonely Years*). A fragmentary story called "The Jewess" (published for the first time in the New York Russian magazine *Novy Zhurnal*, June 1968, and in English in *You Must Know Everything*) also seems to have originated in the same period as the beginning of a full-fledged novel. In 1928 and 1932 he was allowed to visit his wife and daughter, who had emigrated to Paris. Babel was sent abroad for the last time as a member of the Soviet writers' delegation to a left-wing congress in Paris in 1935, but in the meantime he had virtually stopped publishing. The literary authoritarianism inaugurated in 1934 with the establishment of the Soviet Writers Union induced him to become "a master of silence." He continued writing incessantly but evaded publishing by finding various excuses. "With the death of Gorki" (1936), says his daughter, Natalie, "Babel lost not only a friend but a powerful protector. The ground crumbled under him." Babel was arrested and disappeared in 1939, and all his manuscripts, except those which were deposited with personal friends, were probably destroyed by the secret police. The reason for his arrest is unknown, though Ilya *Ehrenburg indicated in a speech in 1964 that it was somehow connected with his frequent visits to the house of the head of the secret police (NKVD), Nikolai Yezhov, whose wife Babel had known for a long time. Since Yezhov was deposed and executed in 1938, there might be something to this theory. Officially the date of his death was subsequently given as 1941, but after his arrest he was never seen in a camp or in exile, and apparently he was executed in January 1940.

Babel's ties with Judaism never ceased. Six of his stories appeared in 1926 in Hebrew translation, "edited by the author," in the only issue of *Bereshit*, a Hebrew literary almanac in the U.S.S.R. In 1937 he was given the task of preparing the jubilee edition of *Sholem Aleichem's works. He reported for a newspaper on the new Jewish agricultural settlements established in 1928. Though not religious, he went to synagogue on the Day of Atonement, celebrated with his friends the Passover *seder*, and in his letters always reminded his family of approaching festivals. Jewish themes were constantly on his mind as a writer, from the folkloric "Shabbos Nahamu" (intended as the first story in a cycle centered on the figure of Hershele Ostropoler) to the Judaic concept of a "revolution of good people" in the *Red Cavalry* story "Gedali."

The first English edition of *Red Cavalry* appeared in 1929 and the *Collected Stories* (with introduction by Lionel Trilling) in 1955. His other writings became known in the West only in the 1960s, when his daughter, Nathalie, edited and published in English *The Lonely Years*, 1925–1939 (1964) containing unpublished stories and private correspondence and *You Must Know Everything* (1969), which also includes a biographical introduction and speeches and reminiscences by I. Ehrenburg, Konstantin Paustovsky, and others. Since that time his stories have appeared in various English editions along with his 1920 diary (1995) depicting the cruelty of the Polish and Russian armies toward the Jews. A definitive edition of his collected works, edited by his daughter, was published in 2001.

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BABEL, TOWER OF, the edifice whose building is portrayed in Genesis 11:1–9 as the direct cause of the diversity of languages in the world and the dispersion of mankind over all the earth. According to the preceding narrative, mankind after the flood was descended from one common ancestor, *Noah. The story of Babel thus explains how the descendants of this one man came to be so widely scattered and divided into separate nations speaking so many different languages.

The story relates how, at the time when all men still spoke one language, there was a migration from the East to the plain of *Shinar (Babylonia). At this site it was decided to build a "city and a tower with its top in the sky," so that the builders would be able to make a name for themselves and avoid being scattered over the entire world. However, their building project was frustrated by the Lord who confounded their language. As a result, mankind was distributed over the face of the earth. The unfinished tower was called Babel, a name which was explained by its resemblance to the Hebrew verb *bll* ("to confuse"), since here the Lord "confounded the speech of the whole earth."

Scholars agree that the edifice referred to in Genesis 11 is clearly a *ziqqurat*, or Mesopotamian temple tower. The *ziqqurat* (from Akk. *zaqāru*, "to raise up," "elevate") was the central feature of the great temples which were built in all important Mesopotamian cities. Rising in progressively smaller, steplike levels from a massive base, these towers ranged from three or four stories to as many as seven and were ordinarily constructed of crude sun-dried bricks covered with kiln-fired bricks. Clearly, the writer of the account in Genesis 11 was familiar with the building techniques of Mesopotamia, since he is at pains to point out that bricks and bitumen were used in the construction; that is in contrast to the stone and clay which were the common building materials in Canaan.

The particular *ziqqurat* described here was formerly identified with the tower of Ezida, the temple of the god Nebo (Nabû) in Borsippa, a city southwest of Babylon. However, the discovery at the end of the 19th century of Esagila, the great temple of *Marduk in *Babylon, has led most scholars to agree that it is the tower of this temple which inspired the writer of Genesis 11. This *ziqqurat*, which was called E-temen-an-ki, "house of the foundations of heaven and earth," rose to a height of about 300 feet, and contained two sanctuaries: one at its base, which was 300 feet square, and one at its summit. The tower was probably constructed at the time of *Hammurapi, but was damaged or destroyed several times and repaired by Esarhaddon (seventh century B.C.E.) and Nebuchadnezzar II (sixth century B.C.E.), among others. It is interesting to note that the Babylonians believed that Esagila was built by the gods, thus making the statement in Genesis 11:5 "… which the sons of men had built," particularly meaningful, since it may be understood as a polemic against this belief. This tower, which was the object of such pride among the Babylonians, was the product of strictly human endeavor which can be quickly and easily destroyed in accordance with the Divine Will. In fact, it is quite likely that it was the sight of the ruins of Esagila (which was destroyed in the mid-16th century B.C.E with the destruction of Babylon by the Hittites) which inspired the creator of the Tower of Babel narrative.

Although it is clear from the story that the work on the city and tower displeased the Lord, the specific sin of the builders is nowhere mentioned. Many scholars believe that it was the presumption of these men in thinking that they could build a tower with "its top in the sky," and their conceit in wanting "to make a name" for themselves, which incurred the wrath of the Lord. Others believe that their goal was to storm the heavens and that it was for this sin that mankind was punished.

Modern scholars (already anticipated by R. *Samuel ben Meir) have pointed out that the desire to remain together in one place was in direct conflict with the divine purpose as is expressed to Noah and his sons after the flood: "Be fertile and increase and fill up the earth" (Gen. 9:7) and was, therefore, an affront to God and so necessarily doomed to failure. It is hardly likely that the expressed wish to "make a name for ourselves" could be construed as sinful, since a similar phrase is used in connection with the divine promises to Abraham (Gen. 12:2). Further, Babylonian temple inscriptions frequently refer to the "making great" of the name of the king under whom the particular temple was built or repaired, thereby demonstrating that this formula was commonly used in such instances and need not be understood as expressing an inordinate desire for fame. As for the phrase "with its top in the sky," it has been noted that there are several examples of Babylonian temple inscriptions which describe buildings as reaching to heaven so that the phrase should be understood not as an expression of the presumption of these people or of their desire to ascend to heaven, but rather as a borrowing by the biblical writer from the technical terminology of Mesopotamian temple inscriptions with which he was evidently familiar. According to this interpretation the sin of these people was, therefore, not presumption or a desire to reach heaven and gain fame, but rather an attempt to change the divinely ordained plan for mankind.

A new link to an ultimate cuneiform background of the Tower of Babel narrative has been provided by a Sumerian literary work, no doubt composed during the third Dynasty of Ur, which states that originally mankind spoke the same language, until Enki, the Sumerian god of wisdom, confounded their speech. Though the reason for the confusion of tongues is not stated, Kramer has suggested that it may have been inspired by Enki's jealousy of another god, Enlil. Hence, in the Sumerian version it was a case of the rivalry between two gods, whereas in the Bible the rivalry was between God and man (see below, "The Meaning of the Story").

The etymology of the name Babel given in this narrative is a contrived one, used ironically. The Babylonians understood it to mean "the gate of the god" (*bāb-ilim*), thereby endowing the city with additional honor and importance. By a play on words, the Bible has given it a pejorative sense, making the pride in this city seem almost ludicrous.

The Tower of Babel narrative is a turning point in history, as understood by the Bible, in that it signals the end of the era of universal monotheism which had existed since the beginning of time. Since the divine election of Abraham and his descendants immediately follows, it must be tacitly assumed that the incident led to the introduction of idolatry into the world.

[Myra J. Siff]

The Meaning of the Story

The bridge which some modern writers have constructed between the single short clause "and fill the earth" in Genesis 1:28 (or 9:7) and the account of the vain attempt of an early generation of men to avoid dispersal in Genesis 11:1–9, is superior homiletics but (quite apart from the finding of source analysis that the one belongs to document P and the other to document J) unsound exegesis. Genesis 1:28 reads as follows: "God blessed them [namely, the human beings, male and female, whose creation has just been narrated in the preceding verse] and God said to them, 'Be fertile and increase, fill the earth and master it; and rule the fish of the sea, the birds of the sky, and all the living things that move about on earth.'" This purports to be, and is, not a command but a blessing; moreover "and fill the earth" is preceded by "be fertile and increase." It is absurd to read into it a wish of God that the human species shall spread over the earth otherwise than as, with increasing numbers, its own interests may dictate. And in 11:1–9 there is nothing to suggest that the human population has already attained such a figure that there is a need for a migration of colonists to realms beyond the confines of the plain of Shinar; and neither is there a word in 11:1–9 about that being the Deity's motive in bringing about the dispersal. Instead, there is an explicit declaration of an entirely different motive by no less an authority than the Lord himself, who explains to the divine beings, verses 6–7; "If this is what, as one people with one language common to all, they have been able to do as a beginning, nothing they may propose to do will be beyond their reach. Come, let us go down, etc." It takes a willful shutting of the mind to avoid hearing the same anxiety lest man should wrest complete equality with the divine beings (or worse) in these words as in the Lord's earlier explanation to the same audience, in 3:22, of his motive in driving man out of the Garden of Eden: "Now that man has become like one of us in knowing good and bad [i.e., in being intellectually mature, the first evidence of which was his newfound modesty], what if he should stretch out his hand and take also from the tree of life and eat, and live forever!" Once, to obviate the danger of further baleful results from cooperation between man and snake, the Lord set up a barrier of enmity between them (3:15); now, in order to eliminate the threat of disastrous consequences from the cooperation of men with each other, he is erecting among them barriers of language and distance.

[Harold Louis Ginsberg]

In the Aggadah

The biblical account of the Tower of Babel is singularly brief and vague (Gen. R. 38). The prevailing opinion of the rabbis is that it was designed to serve the purposes of idolatry and constituted an act of rebellion against God (Sanh. 109a; Gen. R. 38:6; et al.), for which reason they also associated Nimrod ("the rebel") with its building (Ḥul. 89a). Many additional reasons are also suggested, among them the fear of a recurrence of the flood and the need to guard against such a recurrence by supporting the heavens or by splitting them so that waters would drain away slowly from the earth's surface (*Ma'asim al Aseret ha-Dibberot*; cf. Sanh. 109a). According to Josephus they were trying to dwell higher than the water level of the flood (Ant., I, IV). In this way the builders thought they would be spared, believing as they did that God had power over water alone (PdRE 24). At the same time the rabbis laud the unity and love of peace that prevailed among them (Gen. R. 38), as a result of which they were given an opportunity to repent, but they failed, however, to seize it (*ibid.*). Various opinions are expressed as to the punishment which the builders incurred (Tanḥ. B., 23). According to the Mishnah (Sanh. 10:3), they were excluded from a share in the world to come. In the view of one *amora*, their punishment varied with the differing aims that inspired them; those who thought to dwell in heaven being dispersed throughout the world, those who sought to wage war against God being transformed into apes and demons, and those bent on idol worship being caught up in a confusion of tongues (Sanh. 109a). One-third of the tower was destroyed by fire, one-third subsided into the earth, and one-third is still standing. It is so high that to anyone ascending and looking down from the top, palm trees look like locusts (*ibid.*). This *aggadah* testifies to the existence of ruins at that time, which were popularly believed as being of the Tower of Babel. *Aggadot* about the tower are also to be found in Josephus and in the apocrypha (cf. Jub. 10:18–28), while several of its motifs are much discussed in Hellenistic Jewish literature.

[Israel Moses Ta-Shma]

In the Arts

The biblical story of the tower of Babel appears repeatedly in medieval and Renaissance literature, treated as an historical incident with strong moral overtones. Some examples are the *Chronicon* of Isidore of Seville (c. 560–636 C.E.), the *Weltchronik* of Rudolf von Ems (1200–1254), and the *Speculum humanae salvationis* (c. 1324), a Dominican manual of devotion which was frequently copied. Giovanni *Boccaccio wrote on the subject in his *De casibus virorum illustrium* (1355–60), as did an anonymous poet of Lyons in *Le Triumphe de Haulte Folie* (c. 1550). Two 17th-century Spanish works were entitled *Torre de Babilonia*: one was an *auto sacramentale* by the eminent dramatist Pedro Calderón de la Barca, the other by the Marrano author Antonio Enríquez *Gómez. Modern treatments include *Tower of Babel* (1874) by the English poet Alfred Austin and *Babel* (1952), an apocalyptic work by the French poet Pierre Emmanuel (1916–1984).

The subject appealed to medieval artists, appearing in 12th-century mosaics at Palermo and Monreale in Sicily and in the 13th-century Cathedral of St. Mark, Venice. There are representations in illuminated manuscripts from the 12th to the 14th centuries, including the German *Hortus Deliciarum* (Garden of Delights) and the Sarajevo *Haggadah*. Two 15th-century painters who used the theme were the Frenchman Jean Fouquet and the Italian Benozzo Gozzoli, who painted the fresco of Campo Santo, Pisa, now destroyed. With its landscape setting and the opportunities it offered for fantasy and close observation of the daily scene, the Tower was of considerable interest to the early Flemish painters. It was generally depicted either as a multistory structure, diminishing in size as it rose or, more often, as a square or circular building surrounded by a ramp. Some artists illustrated contemporary building methods, a fine example occurring in the Book of Hours of the Duke of Bedford (Paris, c. 1423), where the construction of the Tower proceeds at night under the stars. In Pieter Brueghel's *Tower of Babel* (1563), the building – leaning slightly – is shown in a vast landscape near the banks of a river, with a king arriving to inspect the progress of the work.

Although the Babel story might appear to be a temptation to composers, since the confusion of tongues can be expressed most effectively in music, very few works have in fact been written on the theme. These are mainly oratorios including César Franck's *La Tour de Babel* (1865) and Anton Rubinstein's markedly unsuccessful *Der Turm zu Babel* (1858; revised as an opera, 1872). Two 20th-century works are *La Tour de Babel* (1932) by René Barbier and Igor Stravinsky's *Babel*, a cantata for narrator, men's chorus, and orchestra (1944, published in 1952).

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BABILÉE (Gutmann), JEAN (1923–), French dancer and choreographer. Babilée studied at the Paris Opera's ballet school and as a child showed astonishing technical facility and natural grace. His career began in Cannes during the German occupation, where he distinguished himself in *Le spectre de la rose* and the Bluebird pas de deux from *The Sleeping Beauty*. In 1945 he became the star of Roland Petit's Le Ballets des Champs Elysées (1945–50) in the role of *Jeune Homme et la Mort* (1946). His own choreography includes *L'Amour et son Amour* (1948) and *Til Eulenspiegel* (1940), as well as one of his best for the Monte Carlo opera – *Balance à trois* (1955). During the 1950s and 1960s he acted in French films and stage productions. In 1967 he earned the Gold Star for best dancer at the International Festival Dance in Paris. In 1979, at the age of 56, he danced in *Life,* created for him by Béjart. In 1995 a film, *Babilée '95,* was shown in France.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *International Enyclopedia of Dance*, vol. 1, p. 251.

[Amnon Shiloah (2nd ed.)]

BABIN, VICTOR (1908–1972), pianist and composer. Babin was born in Moscow. He graduated from the Riga Conservatory in 1928, and then studied composition with Franz Schreker and piano with *Schnabel in the Berlin Hochschule fuer Musik (1928–31). He married the Russian pianist Victoria (Vitya) Vronsky in 1933 and with her formed a two-piano team, which soon became the most celebrated in the world. They immigrated to the United States in 1937; from 1951 to 1955, Babin was director of the Aspen Institute, Colorado, and director of the Cleveland Institute of Music from 1961 until his death. Babin composed mostly for Vronsky/Babin performances. Among his works are two concertos for two pianos and orchestra and other compositions for one and two pianos, chamber music and songs.

[Max Loppert and Marina Rizarev (2nd ed.)]

BABI YAR, ravine on the outskirts of *Kiev which has come to symbolize the murder of Jews by the *Einsatzgruppen* (mobile killing units) in the German-occupied Soviet Union and the persistent failure to acknowledge Jewish memory.

On September 19, 1941, the advancing German army captured Kiev, the capital of the Ukraine. Within a week, a number of buildings occupied by German military and civilian authorities were blown up by the NKVD, the Soviet secret police. In retaliation, the Germans proceeded to kill all the Jews of Kiev. An order was posted throughout the city in both Russian and Ukrainian:

> Kikes of the city of Kiev and vicinity! On Monday, September 29, you are to appear by 7:00 A.M. with your possessions, money, documents, valuables and warm clothing at Dorogozhitshaya Street, next to the Jewish cemetery. Failure to appear is punishable by death.

From the cemetery, the Jews were marched to Babi Yar, a ravine only two miles from the center of the city. A truck driver at the scene described what he saw:

> I watched what happened when the Jews – men, women and children – arrived. The Ukrainians led them past a number of different places where one after another they had to remove their luggage, then their coats, shoes, and overgarments and also underwear. They had to leave their valuables in a designated place. There was a special pile for each article of clothing. It all happened very quickly … I don't think it was even a minute from the time each Jew took off his coat before he was standing there completely naked….
>
> Once undressed, the Jews were led into the ravine which was about 150 meters long and 30 meters wide and a good 15 meters deep…When they reached the bottom of the ravine they were seized by members of the Schultpolizei and made to lie down on top of Jews who had already been shot. That all happened very quickly. The corpses were literally in layers. A police marksman came along and shot each Jew in the neck with a submachine gun … I saw these marksman stand on layers of corpses and shoot one after the other … The marksman would walk across the bodies of the executed Jews to the next Jew who had meanwhile lain down and shoot him.

In the days between Rosh Hashanah and Yom Kippur, the Jewish New Year and the Day of Atonement, 33,771 Jews were murdered at Babi Yar. In the following months, Babi Yar remained in use as an execution site for "gypsies" (Roma and Sinta) and Soviet prisoners of war. Soviet accounts after the war speak of 100,000 dead. Research does not substantiate such a number. The true number may never be known.

In August 1943, in the face of the Red Army advance against German troops, the mass graves of Babi Yar were dug up and the bodies burned in an attempt to remove the evidence of mass murder. Paul Blobel, the commander of *Sonderkommando* 4a, whose troops had slaughtered the Jews of Kiev, returned to Babi Yar. For more then a month, his men and workers conscripted from the ranks of concentration camp inmates dug up the bodies. Bulldozers were required to reopen the mounds. Massive bone-crushing machinery was brought to the scene. The bodies were piled on wooden logs, doused with gas, and ignited.

When the work was done, the workers from the concentration camp were killed. Under cover of darkness on September 29, 1943, 25 of them escaped. Fifteen survived to tell what they had seen.

Despite efforts to suppress the memory of Babi Yar, after the war the Soviet public at large learned of the murders through newspaper accounts, official reports, and belles lettres. In 1947 I. Ehrenburg in his novel *Burya* ("The Storm") described dramatically the mass killing of the Jews of Kiev in Babi Yar. Preparations were made for a monument at Babi Yar as a memorial to the victims of Nazi genocide. The architect A.V. Vlasov had designed a memorial and the artist B. Ovchinnikov had produced the necessary sketches.

But since the Soviet antisemitic campaign of 1948–49, an effort was made to eliminate all references to Babi Yar. This policy had as an objective the removal from Jewish consciousness of those historical elements that might sustain it. Even after the death of Stalin, Babi Yar remained lost in the "memory hole" of history. Intellectuals, however, refused to be silent. On Oct. 10, 1959, the novelist Viktor Nekrasov cried out in the pages of *Literaturnaya Gazeta* for a memorial at Babi Yar, and against the official intention to transform the ravine into a sports stadium. Far more impressive was the poem *Babi Yar* written by Yevgeni *Yevtushenko published in the same journal on Sept. 19, 1961.

> No gravestone stands on Babi Yar;
> Only coarse earth heaped roughly on the gash:
> Such dread comes over me.

With its open attack upon antisemitism and its implied denunciation of those who rejected Jewish martyrdom, the poem exerted a profound impact on Soviet youth as well as upon world public opinion. Dmitri Shostakovich set the lines to music in his 13th Symphony, performed for the first time in December 1962.

Russian ultranationalism struck back almost immediately. Yevtushenko was sharply criticized by a number of literary apologists of the regime and then publicly denounced by Premier Nikita Khrushchev in *Pravda* on March 8, 1963. The theme of a specific Jewish martyrdom was condemned. But Babi Yar would not remain suppressed. It again surfaced during the summer of 1966 in a documentary novel written by Anatoly Kuznetsov published in *Yunost* (Eng. tr. 1967). Earlier that year the Ukrainian Architects Club in Kiev held a public exhibit of more than 200 projects and some 30 large-scale detailed plans for a memorial to Babi Yar. None of the inscriptions in the proposed plans mentioned Jewish martyrdom. Only after the collapse of the Soviet Union did the new Ukrainian government acknowledge the specific

Jewish nature of the site and an appropriate rededication was held.

By the 2000s plans were underway for the creation of a Jewish Community Center and an appropriate Jewish memorial on the site. No stranger to controversy, the new use of the site has been challenged by some as being too close to the massacre site and being built therefore on sacred soil.

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[William Korey / Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

BABOVICH, SIMḤAH BEN SOLOMON BEN NAHAMU (1790–1855), Karaite *ḥakham* in the Crimea, living in Eupatoria (Yevpatoriya). Babovich mainly devoted himself to obtaining more rights for the Karaites in Russia. In 1827, in conjunction with the Karaite scholar Joseph Solomon *Luzki, he obtained exemption of the Karaites from the law pertaining to military service for Jews. The Karaites in Eupatoria commemorated this event in an annual prayer. In 1829/30 M. Jost asked Babovich to send him some Karaite books and to give him some information about these books. In 1830 Babovich made a pilgrimage to the Land of Israel together with A. *Firkovich, who at that time was a tutor of his children and his secretary. They visited Jerusalem, Hebron, Cairo, and Constantinople. In 1839 the Karaite Spiritual Council was founded through his support and he was appointed its head and remained so until his death, although he was not distinguished as a scholar. At the same year Babovich was instructed by the government to provide exact information on the origin, nature, and history of the Karaites. Babovich turned to A. *Firkovich, who then proceeded to produce a series of documents, some partly falsified.

He financially supported the Karaite community, donating the income from his mill to the community and after his demise bequeathed to it the village he had received from the government.

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[Golda Akhiezer (2nd ed.)]

BABYLON (Heb. *Bavel*, בָּבֶל, Gk. Βαβυλὼν), ancient city on the eastern bank of the Euphrates River in what is now Iraq. (In contemporary convention, "Babylon" is used for the city name and "Babylonia" for the country. In biblical Hebrew בבל is used for both.) Its ruins lie within the suburbs of the modern city of Baghdad. No satisfactory etymology for the city's name has been proposed. Akkadian scribes derived the name from the words *bāb-ili* ("gate of god"), but in Genesis 11:9 the name is explained derogatorily as a derivation from the root *bll* ("to confuse"). The English word follows the Greek spelling.

Biblical tradition lists the city with Erech and Akkad in the land of Shinar (Gen. 10:10), as one of the earliest cities in Babylonia. This view of the antiquity of Babylon was also current in Babylon itself in the period after *Hammurapi, but in fact before 2050 B.C.E. the city was only a small provincial town.

The first certain mention of Babylon in cuneiform texts is from the time of the Third Dynasty of Ur (2112–2004 B.C.E.), when it served as a provincial capital and seat of a governor. During the Isin-Larsa period (2017–1794) it became the capital of a small independent kingdom under an Amorite dynasty. Its kings enjoyed unusually long reigns, and this may symbolize the stability which allowed them eventually to take a dominant role in Mesopotamian politics. The city gained fame during the time of Hammurapi (1792–1750 B.C.E.), when it extended its influence over most of southern Mesopotamia through diplomacy and then military conquest. The kings of Babylon saw themselves as heirs of the Old Akkadian rulers who had first unified Mesopotamia 400 years before. Under Hammurapi's son Samsu-iluna, however, the southern part of the kingdom was lost.

During the subsequent Middle Babylonian period Babylon continued as a capital city in southern Mesopotamia. Assyria in northern Iraq tinkered in Babylon's politics. Under the Assyrian king Tukulti-Ninurta I (1244–1208), Babylon was partially destroyed. When Tiglath-Pileser III (745–727) took Babylon, he gave it the status of an independent kingdom united to Assyria. In Babylon he reigned under another name, Pulu, which is found in the Bible (II Kings 15:19). Shalmaneser V (726–722) continued the practice of employing another name in Babylon, Ululayu, an adjective meaning "of the sixth month," commemorating the month of his birth. The Chaldean Marduk-apla-iddina (biblical *Merodach-Baladan (Akk. Marduk-apla-iddina)) proclaimed an independent kingdom upon Shalmaneser's death, but *Sargon II (722–705) overthrew him in 710; and, though he did not adopt a different throne name in Babylon, he made it his residence for a time and added "the king of Akkad, governor of Babylon" to his titles.

Following Sargon's death Merodach-Baladan Marduk-apla-iddina returned, and this may be the time of his correspondence with *Hezekiah of Judah (2 Kgs. 20:12–19, II Chr. 32:31). Babylon again became a center of resistance to Assyria, inspiring the Assyrian king Sennacherib to destroy the city in 689, an act widely viewed as sacrilegious. His son Esarhaddon (680–669) rebuilt the city and expressed piety toward its gods. At the end of his life he divided his kingdom between his two sons, making Shamash-shum-ukin his heir in Babylon and Assurbanipal in Assyria. But Shamash-shum-ukin thwarted his father's plans by trying to make southern Mesopotamia completely independent of Assyria. Assurbanipal besieged

Babylon and recovered it from his brother, but at considerable cost to the strength of the empire.

As Assyria was collapsing, in 626 Nabopolassar, a Chaldean, made himself king of Akkad at Babylon. He and his successor, *Nebuchadnezzar II, proceeded to build the Neo-Babylonian empire at the expense of the Assyrians.

As the capital of the Neo-Babylonian empire, to which Judah was forcibly annexed in 586, Babylon underwent a vast program of public building and fortification. After the fall of the empire to the Persians, Babylon still maintained its dominant position. With the fall of the Persian Empire to Alexander the Great, Babylon offered no resistance and was made the capital of his new empire. But Seleucus I Nicator (312–281), Alexander's successor, founded Seleucia not far away on the Tigris, and the inhabitants of Babylon slowly moved to Seleucia, deserting Babylon, which may have been uninhabited in the first centuries of our era.

As early as the 1780s visitors observed that the site had been looted. Major excavations were conducted by the German architect R. Koldewey (1855–1925) from 1899 to 1917. These excavations revealed data for all levels of occupation from Old Babylonian (1894–1595 B.C.E.) to Parthian times (250 B.C.E.–224 C.E.), but their main importance lay in the extensive evidence for the Neo-Babylonian period (625–539 B.C.E.). Old Babylonian levels were rarely reached, and the high water table impeded excavation of early periods. The excavations are important also in the history of archaeology because Koldewey was the first European systematically to try to trace mud brick architecture and to distinguish between buildings and later pits, leading to what we call stratigraphy.

Koldewey uncovered two palaces of Nebuchadnezzar and an ancient fortress that adjoined the interior wall of the city. The façade of one palace was made of enamel-covered bricks, decorated with pillars and capitals in various colors on a blue background. The royal throne was located in an alcove in the wall opposite the entrance. The hanging gardens referred to by Greek authors including Diodorus Siculus (60–30 B.C.E.) (2, 10:1, "the garden called hung") and considered one of the wonders of the world have never been identified archaeologically. In the palace were discovered clay tablets upon which were inscribed allocations of food for those who ate at the king's table, including *Jehoiachin, the last legitimate king of Judah.

To the east of the palaces passed the main road, which was used for processions of the Babylonian New Year celebration. At the road's northern end the processions passed into the inner city by way of the Ishtar Gate, which was decorated with reliefs of fanciful animals with lion's feet. This gate has been partly reconstructed in Berlin and features in all histories of Mesopotamian art.

South of Nebuchadnezzar's palace, at the end of the parade road, was a large temple of Marduk, Esagila ("The house lifting [its] head [proudly]") whose walls were made of trees decorated with gold, marble, and precious stones. North of it stood the *ziqqurat*, a pyramid-shaped structure built in stepped stages on a square base. Each of its sides was 295 ft. (91 m.) long. The highest tower had a great temple according to Herodotus (1:181), who, however, may never have visited the city. The city and its suburbs, which extended to the west of the Euphrates, were connected by a bridge. Herodotus said that the city had many three- and four-story buildings (1:180).

The greatness of Babylon left its mark in biblical sources. Isaiah 13:19 called Babylon "the glory of kingdoms, the splendor and pride of the Chaldeans" while praying for its fall. Jeremiah was deeply concerned about Babylon, and his book has more than half of the references to the city in the Bible; in his day how one was to relate to Babylon was a major issue, and the prophet himself may have been seen by the Babylonians as a collaborator since he counseled not resisting Babylonian power.

Babylon's city-god, Marduk, became the dominant state god perhaps when Nebuchadnezzar I (1125–1104) recovered Marduk's statue from *Elam; the god was represented in the Creation Epic as having supremacy over the entire pantheon conferred on him by the other gods. Later the god was called Bel, "lord." Both names are known in the Bible, in Jeremiah 50:2 ("Bel is put to shame, Merodach is dismayed") and 51:44 ("and I will punish Bel in Babylon") and in Isaiah 46:1 ("Bel bows down, Nebo [another Babylonian god] stoops").

Babylon became synonymous in apocalyptic thought with decadence and evil and was sometimes equated with Rome and its empire. (For the figure in Christian apocalyptic see Rev. 17). But for most Jews it remained a real place where members of a thriving Jewish community made their homes. The Babylonian Talmud, for example, recalls that Babylon's Jewish community was healthy in terms of its orthodox practice in contrast to others in Media and Elam (Kid. 71b).

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[Daniel C. Snell (2nd ed.)]

BABYLONIA, ancient country in Mesopotamia between the Tigris and the Euphrates Rivers; corresponding approximately to modern *Iraq. Babylonia is the Greek form of the name *babili* – sometimes translated as "gate of God" – known from cuneiform texts.

Introduction

The area was settled by the Sumerians in the third millennium B.C.E. Sargon I (24th century B.C.E.) founded the Akkadian dynasty, which dominated the area for 200 years. At a later period (c. 1850 B.C.E.) the *Amorites (*mar-tu*, "people of the west") ruled over northern Babylonia. The city gained greater strength during the time of *Hammurabi (1792–1750 B.C.E.) when it extended its influence over most of southern Mesopotamia, as well as over parts of northern Mesopotamia. Later rulers of the area were the *Hittites, Kassites and the Assyrians. The Assyrian kingdom was overthrown in 612 B.C.E. and succeeded by the neo-Chaldean kingdom of which the outstanding figure was *Nebuchadnezzar II (604–562 B.C.E.). However, 25 years after his death, the country was captured by *Cyrus, king of Persia, and ceased to exist as an independent kingdom.

For a full description of this period up to Cyrus see *Mesopotamia.

Achaemenid Period

A turning point in Near Eastern history was heralded by the Medes' conquest of the Assyrian capital, Nineveh, in 612 B.C.E., and arrived when Babylon fell to the Achaemenid Persians in 539. After two millennia of Semitic rule in the ancient Near East, an age was beginning in which Iranians and then others would dominate; but the new masters of the area would continue to draw heavily on the older cultural heritage.

The first important Achaemenid, Cyrus, conquered Media in 549, Lydia in 546, and Babylon in 539; next, Cambyses took Egypt in 525; then *Darius extended the empire into northern India by some time before 513. This conquest ranks in its speed and its scale with the later exploits of Alexander (for whom it may have served as a model) and with the initial spread of Islam. While Persepolis, in an upland valley of what is today southwestern Iran, remained the Achaemenids' ceremonial capital, much of the business of the extended empire was handled from Susa, at the edge of the Mesopotamian plain. Babylon, further to the west, became a more local administrative center.

Organized into a score of satrapies or provinces and held together by an effective system of roads, communications, and standardized coinage, the empire introduced a largely new conception of legitimacy or imperial ideology to the area. The ancient Near Eastern empires had often ruled by the forcible displacement of local institutions or had placed them in subservient vassal relationships by treaty. The Achaemenids, though still relying on the universal language of force, sought to exercise it by posing as heirs of local dynastic traditions and by following wherever expedient the local idiom. Thus in Egypt the Persian kings ruled as pharaohs, and in Babylon as kings of Babylon; and Isaiah 45 provides evidence that Jews in Babylonia on the eve of the Persian conquest expected Cyrus to be the anointed of the Lord. On taking Babylon, Cyrus did not in fact promulgate the Judean cult but restored a variety of local cults. He relates in a cylinder inscription (Pritchard, Texts, 315) that he restored to their localities the divine images which Nabonidus, the last Babylonian king, had carried off to Babylon. Later, Darius reprimanded his satrap Gadatas in Asia Minor for abuse of local shrine property (text in A.T. Olmstead, *History of the Persian Empire*, 156). The policy seems to have been one of religious tolerance provided that subject populations were politically docile (Ezra 1 and 4–7); Xerxes' inscription in which he tells of suppressing the worship of *daevas*, gods false by Zoroastrian standards (text *ibid.*, 232) could be interpreted either as a case of political rebellion or of heresy in the Iranian heartland, to which the lenient policy of more westerly regions was inapplicable. In any event, diversity of religion under imperial patronage appears to have replaced the Near East's earlier close association of palace and temple wherever Jews were concerned.

Exiled from Judea by the Babylonians in 597 and 586 B.C.E., a small community of leading Judeans whose experience was to be adopted as the spiritual heritage of all Israel had been settled along the canals of Babylon (Ps. 137:1), such as the Chebar (Ezek. 1:1) and in ruined sites, such as Tel-Abib (Ezek. 3:15), Tel-Melah, and Tel-Harsha (Ezra 2:59; Neh. 7:61), which they were apparently expected to rebuild and cultivate (cf. Jer. 29:4–5). The initial feeling in this "foreign land" was one of intense yearning for Jerusalem (Ps. 137). Some not clearly datable biblical materials may describe this experience, such as the Tower of Babel account (Gen. 11, commonly regarded as much earlier), which associates the problem of linguistic diversity with the locality of Babylon; but Ezekiel provides the clearest contemporary evidence for conditions at the start of the Exile.

Following the Achaemenids' permission to return to Palestine and restore the Judean cult, there is virtually no specific evidence concerning the status of the Jewish community of Babylon. That such a community remained there is evident from its mention, for example, as the home of Ezra, and from its existence in post-Achaemenid times. Later tradition emphasizes the continuity of the Babylonian community; the *Seder Olam Zuta* sets forth a line of exilarchs back to the deported Jehoiachin (Jeconiah), the next to last of the kings of Judah – evidence at least that the idea of exiles who did not return was credible later on. Scholars have sought to document Jewish business success in Babylonia on the basis of personal names in cuneiform texts of the family of Murashu in Nippur from the reign of Artaxerxes I, an attempt which while plausible puts severe strain on the linguistic evidence. That, in the course of time, Jews attained positions of privilege and responsibility is inferred from Nehemiah's service as cupbearer at the Achaemenid court. Some may not have been trusted; Eusebius (*Eusebius Werke*, ed. by R. Helm 7 (1956), 112–3) relates Artaxerxes III's deportation of Jews to Hyrcania, on the Caspian Sea, as the result of a revolt around 350 B.C.E.

Seleucid Period

Alexander led a Macedonian army in the conquest of Babylon in 331 B.C.E. and died there after his Bactrian and Indian campaigns in 323. His generals thereupon dismembered his empire in a struggle for control of it. The dynasty of Seleucus, which was to rule Mesopotamia for two centuries, was heir to a domain without a stable ethnic base or heartland.

Whereas Persians had been rulers of "Iran and non-Iran," as later usage put it, the Macedonian Seleucids were rulers only of non-Macedonia. Seleucid imperial policy, therefore, began as a colonial policy throughout all the realm: it called for the founding of new cities, populated by immigrant Macedonian and Greek garrisons, administrators, and merchants, strategically situated and fortified along the principal roads and rivers. Seleucia on the Tigris, founded by Seleucus I, was one of these, and it tended to flourish at Babylon's expense. Antiochus I transferred a considerable Semitic population to Seleucia from Babylon in 275 B.C.E., a policy of centralization causing a decline in Babylon's material fortunes which is documented in cuneiform literature.

The initial Hellenization of Babylonia was followed in time by a more complex interaction between Seleucid institutions and those of the indigenous populations. In the name of royal if not divine prerogative, Antiochus III began to tap temple treasuries to pay the indemnity he owed after losing to the Romans, but encountered stiff resistance and was killed during one such attempt at a temple in Elam in 187. Antiochus IV sought to strengthen a shaky empire by extending Greek communities and institutions in the older centers of the empire, including a refurbishing of Babylon. But it was a desperate and futile attempt to stem the tide of history, and amounted to a Greek veneer on Semitic Babylon; the old local institutions survived, and individuals bore double, Greek-Babylonian, names. The Babylonia which came under Parthian rule in 129 B.C.E. was still ethnically and culturally heterogeneous.

With the Greeks as a ruling minority in Babylonia, the Jews as a subject minority appear to have prospered by trusting and being trusted. Josephus reports that Alexander reaffirmed the privileges which the Persians had accorded them (Ant., 11:338). Jews served in the Greek armies: Josephus (Apion, 1:192) mentions Alexander's excusing Jewish soldiers on grounds of religious scruples from the army's work on the temple of Bel in Babylon; and a Jewish contingent (in c. 220 B.C.E.) aided in the defense of Babylonia against a Galatian invasion (II Macc. 8:20). Antiochus III sent 2,000 Jewish families, about 210 B.C.E., as settlers to assist in an effort to control Asia Minor (Jos., Ant., 12:147–53).

The extent to which during the second century B.C.E. the declining fortunes of the Seleucids undermined any common interest between the Jews of the Babylonian Diaspora and the imperial government is difficult to judge, again owing to the scarcity of sources; but Babylonian silence during the Maccabean uprising in Palestine suggests that, to the end of Seleucid rule, loyalties were determined with reference primarily to local rather than distant conditions. A mark of Seleucid times which lasted when others passed was the Babylonian Jews' use of the Seleucid era (counting the years from 312 B.C.E.) as the basis of dating under Parthian and Sassanian rule down to the time of the *geonim*.

[Willard Gurdon Oxtoby]

Parthian Period

The Parthians, an Iranian people, were originally a nomadic tribe called the Parni. They had settled in the region east and north of the Caspian, called Parthia, and so came to be called by the name of that territory. The Arsacid dynasty was founded about 240 B.C.E. by Arsaces, and all subsequent rulers bore that name. The expansion of the Parthian territory began with the annexation of Hyrcania, but moved slowly until the Seleucid Empire had been weakened elsewhere. Then the Parthians rapidly inherited the portions of the empire east of the Euphrates. Mithridates I, the real founder of the Parthian Empire, ascended the throne in 171, reached Media in 155, and Seleucia on the Tigris in 141. For the next 20 years, Babylonia was contested by Parthians, Seleucids, and the Hellenistic state of Characene. By 120, however, Mithridates II had permanently established his rule on the Euphrates' frontier. Since the Parthians were fundamentally a military aristocracy, they were concerned with fostering local support among indigenous populations. They made little effort to win over the conquered peoples to their culture and religion. They preserved Greek legal forms and allowed the Jews to continue their usual way of life. The Greek colonies in the region accepted Parthian rule, which promised free access to, and preserved the security of, the trade routes of Central Asia. The Seleucids' attitude to the Jews was favorable, and the Jews allied themselves with their regime.

From around 120 B.C.E. to their fall in 224 C.E., the Parthians treated the Jewish settlements well. Palestinian Jewry under the Hasmoneans and Arsacid Parthia had a common interest in the destruction of Seleucid power. In 140/39, a circular from Rome informed the various countries of the civilized world, including Parthia, of Roman friendship for the Jews (I Macc. 15:16–24; Jos., Ant., 14:145–7). In 129 B.C.E. Hyrcanus was forced to accompany the Seleucid Antiochus VII in a Parthian campaign. As soon as he could, he returned to Palestine and reestablished his independence of the Seleucids. According to tannaitic tradition (TJ, Ber. 7:2, 11b; Naz. 5:5, 54b; Eccles. R. 7:12) a Parthian embassy was sent to the court of Alexander Yannai (104–78 B.C.E.). It may be that the embassy was intended to arrange joint opposition to the rise of the Armenian Tigranes, who invaded both Palestine and Parthian Babylonia around 87 B.C.E., and exiled Palestinian Jews to his empire. After their great victory over Rome at Carrhae, in 53 B.C.E., the Parthians for more than a decade became the dominant power in the Middle East, and attempted to contest Roman rule in Palestine. In 40–39 B.C.E., they deposed Herod, the ally of Rome, and put in his place as ruler of Judea Antigonus, nephew of Hyrcanus the Hasmonean. Elsewhere in the Middle East they replaced pro-Roman with pro-Parthian dynasties. The Parthian general, Pacorus, was killed in a brief engagement in 38 B.C.E., whereupon the Parthians withdrew across the Euphrates. Rome quickly reestablished her hegemony, which was never again seriously threatened by the Parthians. For the next century, domestic instability paralyzed the Parthian government.

Information on Babylonian Jewry under Parthian rule is not abundant. There is information on a Babylonian Jew, *Zamaris (Zimri), who emigrated to Palestine during Herod's reign. He went with his feudal retinue (Jos., Ant., 17:23 ff.). All the information about him points to him as a Babylonian Jewish noble, who had fully mastered the arts of war as practiced by the Parthians. In later times, we hear of Babylonian Jews called Arda, Arta, and Pyl-y Barish; Arda/Arta would be the equivalent of the Hebrew Barukh, justified or blessed. Pyl-y Barish, meaning elephant rider, is also an Iranian name. These Jews (referred to in Git. 14b; TJ, Kid. 3:4, 64a) were dressed like Parthian nobles, in the tall *bashlyk* ("high hat") characteristic of the nobility. They were, moreover, well acquainted with the common law, for they insisted that rabbinical collectors of funds for the Palestinian schools supply them with a quit-claim for a silver cup being transported to Palestine. The Palestinians reported that the nobles had great power: "If they give an order to arrest you, you are arrested; to kill you, you are killed." They enjoyed the usual retinue of horses and mules. It may therefore be inferred that among the Jews in Babylonia was an upper class of "assimilated" nobility, familiar with Parthian culture and possessing considerable legal learning, as well as authority in the Jewish community. About the traditions and culture of the mass of Jews, who were farmers and tradesmen, nothing is known. It may be supposed that they revered the Scriptures, Jerusalem, and the Temple cult. There are many references to Babylonian pilgrimage before 70 C.E. The Babylonian Jews accepted the Jewish calendar from the Jerusalem authorities. Traditions on Hillel and Nahum "the Median" are confused, enigmatic, and in no way probative. What sects or groups existed is not known. About 40 C.E., the royal family of *Adiabene, situated between two tributaries of the Tigris, converted to Judaism. Josephus reports (Ant., 18:314 ff.) that two Jewish brothers, *Anilaeus and Asinaeus (Ḥanilai, Ḥasinai) established a "Jewish state" in Babylonia, which lasted from about 20 to about 35 C.E.

Babylonian Jewry did little, if anything, to support the war against Rome. Its chief interest lay in the Temple cult. When the Temple was destroyed, the Romans quickly employed Josephus to absolve them of war-guilt, and he addressed himself specifically to "our brethren across the Euphrates." Similarly, the Bar Kokhba Revolt of 132–135 attracted no perceptible support from the Babylonian Jews. By contrast, when *Trajan invaded the Parthian Empire, in around 114 to 117, a great rebellion broke out behind his lines in the Jewish-occupied territories he had taken. The Jews in Cyprus, Egypt, and Cyrenaica also revolted. The chronology of Trajan's campaign is difficult to establish. It is not known for sure when the Jewish rebellions took place, or whether they were coordinated. The Babylonian one, however, seems clearly related to the Parthian cause.

The Jews normally profited from their position on both sides of the contested frontier between Rome and Parthia. The exilarch and patriarch, moreover, cooperated in the silk trade, one of the chief commodities of international commerce. Silk was imported to Babylonia from the Far East, transshipped for reweaving according to Roman taste from the coarse, thick fabric of China to the preferable sheer weave desired in Rome, and then manufactured into garments. The textile factories of Syria and Palestine thus depended upon a steady supply of silk. Ḥiyya, Simeon the son of Judah ha-Nasi, and Rabban Simeon b. Gamaliel together traded in silks at Tyre (Gen. R. 77:2) and Judah b. Bathyra of Nisibis and Abba b. Abba, father of Samuel, similarly were in the silk trade (Mid., Sam I. 10:3). Other evidences of Jewish participation in the silk trade are found in Christian Syriac sources (W. Cureton, *Ancient Syriac Documents*, 14). Silk merchants were, indeed, among the chief transmitters of Pharisaic Judaism and Christianity in the Orient. The earliest Christian apostles to Edessa and elsewhere in the Parthian Empire were originally Jewish silk merchants. Any effort to rearrange the trading routes of the Middle East thus would adversely affect the Jewish merchants of Babylonia and Palestine. Jewish opposition to Trajan may well have been motivated by considerations of international trade. But even without that the memory of the Roman destruction of the Temple would certainly have supplied a sufficient cause for opposition. Whether a messianic impulse motivated still others is not proved one way or the other. Further unrest in Palestine in the time of Parthian-Roman struggles, specifically in 161–165 and 193–197, suggests that some Jews regarded Parthian success as the harbinger of the Messiah. This is made quite explicit by Simeon b. Yoḥai, who said that if a man saw a Persian (Parthian) horse tethered to a gravestone in Palestine, he should listen for the footsteps of the Messiah.

Pharisaic Judaism exercised little influence in Babylonian Jewry before the destruction of the Temple. Only two Pharisaic authorities resident in the Parthian empire are known. One was Judah b. Bathyra, who was stationed at Nisibis, and was in charge of collecting and transmitting the contributions of the Jews of Mesopotamia to the Temple in Jerusalem. The other collection center was at Nehardea, in Babylonia, where lived Nehemiah of Bet Deli, about whom little more is known than that he lived in Babylonia before 70 C.E. and was originally a Palestinian Pharisee (Yev. 16:7). The first rabbinical academies were established in Parthian territory as a direct consequence of the Bar Kokhba Revolt. During the war and the consequent repressions, the students of Ishmael fled from Palestine to Huzal, in central Babylonia, and some of those of Akiva went to Nisibis. The latter, however, soon returned while those of Ishmael remained. There they educated the first native-born and -bred rabbis of Babylonia, in particular Aḥai the son of Josiah, and Issi b. Judah; other Babylonian *tannaim* included the group from Kifri, Ḥiyya, Rav, Rabbah b. Ḥana; and among the later figures were Ḥanina b. Ḥama, and the Nehardeans Abba b. Abba, father of Samuel, and Levi b. Sisi.

Nathan, son of the exilarch, was sent by his father to Palestine for studies with Akiva. The exilarch probably extended a warm welcome to Palestinian refugees, and certainly made use of the graduates of their academies in his courts and administration. Among Babylonian Jewry was a class of native-born aristocrats, who probably acted, like other Parthian nobles, as local strongmen. In attempting to create a central administration for the Jewish community, the exilarch found useful the well-trained lawyers coming out of the Pharisaic-rabbinic schools, who were eager to enforce "the Torah" as they had learned it in Pharisaic traditions, and, unlike the Jewish nobility, were dependent solely upon the exilarch for whatever power they might exercise. For his part, the exilarch made use of the rabbinical bureaucrats to circumvent the power of the local Jewish nobility. Their claim to exposit "the whole Torah" as revealed to Moses at Sinai would have won for themselves and their patron considerable popular attention and support. The Palestinian schools after 140 were anxious to retain control of the new academies in Babylonia. When, therefore, in about 145 C.E. Hananiah, a nephew of R. Joshua b. Hananiah, presumed to proclaim the Jewish calendar in Babylonia, the Palestinians sent two sages, one of them the grandson of the last high priest in Jerusalem, to rebuke him (Ber. 63a; TJ, Sanh. 1:2, 19a; Ned. 6:13, 40a).

Sasanian Period

The change of dynasty from Arsacids to Sasanians represented more than the mere exchange of one Iranian royal family for another. The Parthians had, as stated, few, if any, cultural pretensions. They bore no special fealty to a particular divinity or cult. They ruled their vast empire mostly through local satraps or (as in the Jewish instance) ethnic-religious figures, dependent upon them for legitimation, but bound mainly by ties of feudal loyalty. Throughout the whole period of their rule, they made extensive use of the Jews, in particular, as allies in international politics and trade. When Artapan V fell, Rav lamented, "The bond is parted" (Av. Zar. 10b–11a), and rightly so, for the ancient alliance between Iran and Israel in Babylonia had come to an end.

The Sasanians on the other hand sought not merely to reign but to rule. They originated as a priestly family in a temple in Staxr, in Fārs (Persia), and never neglected the divinities who, they believed, had favored them with a royal throne and empire. They moreover determined to rule directly, not merely through feudal powers, and so established great bureaus of administration in the capital Ctesiphon. They claimed the Achaemenids as their ancestors, and intended to recreate the glorious empire of their alleged forebears, including its religion. Unlike the Arsacids, they had had no experience in ruling a heterogeneous population. While the Arsacid Empire had gradually expanded from northeastern Iran so that it slowly gained experience in governing Hellenes, Jews, Syrians, Babylonians, and other Semites, not to mention other Iranian peoples, the Sasanians came to power suddenly. They emerged in a few years from the obscurity of a provincial temple to the authority of the whole Iranian Empire. They supposed, therefore, that they might quickly convert everyone to the worship of Ohrmazd, Anahita, and other divinities held sacred in Persia proper, and they founded a "state-church," hierarchically organized just like the secular bureaucracy, to achieve just that end. As a result the situation for Jewry suddenly deteriorated.

The Sasanian administration used the Mazdean religion to strengthen its hold on Iran proper, including Babylonia, as well as on Armenia, Georgia, Adiabene, and other regions. The Jews probably suffered, but certainly not alone. The times of Ardashir (224–41) proved difficult. There are, however, few unequivocal accounts of "persecutions of the Jews" or of Judaism. Two important talmudic stories show that the status of the Jewish community had changed radically. First, the Babylonian Talmud, *Bava Kamma* 117a contains the story of the execution of capital punishment in a Babylonian Jewish court by R. Kahana. Rav thereupon said, "Until now, the Greeks [= Parthians], who did not punish bloodshed, were here, but now the Persians, who do punish bloodshed, are here." R. Kahana was advised to flee to Palestine. Second, R. Shila administered lashes to a man who had intercourse with a gentile woman. The man informed against the Jewish judge, who successfuly hoodwinked the Persian agent (*frestak*) who had come to investigate the execution of judgment without proper government authorization (*hermana*). These stories prove that the status of the Jewish government required renegotiation. Apparently at the outset the Jews supposed they could continue as before. The Sasanian regime quickly made it clear that they could not. There are, moreover, some references to "decrees against Judaism." The Babylonian Talmud, *Yevamot* 63b, records that the Mazdean Mobads "decreed concerning meat… the baths… and they exhumed the dead." Use of fire on Mazdean festivals was restricted; Rav was asked whether one may move a Ḥanukkah lamp "on account of the Magi" on the Sabbath (Shab. 45a). An equivocal reference suggests that "the Persians destroyed synagogues" (Yoma 10a). In any event, Jews clearly at this time preferred the rule of Rome, as is clear from Rav's statement (Shab. 11a).

When *Shapur I came to power in 242, however, he extended freedom of religious and cultural life to all the disparate peoples of the Iranian Empire, hoping eventually to unify the disparate empire, possibly through the syncretistic teaching of Mani, who included in his pantheon Jesus, Zoroaster, and Buddha (though not Moses). Further, since the Persians planned to renew war with the West, it was to Shapur's advantage to reconcile the peoples of the Tigris-Euphrates Valley, whose brethren lived on the other side of the frontier. Shapur's success with Babylonian Jewry was complete. During his raid into Asia Minor in 260, he besieged Caesarea-Mazaca, the greatest city in Cappadocia. The Talmud (MK 26a) reports that when the amora Samuel heard Shapur had slain 12,000 Jews there, "he did not rend his clothes." The same account reports that Shapur told Samuel he had never killed a Jew in his life, "but the Jews of Caesarea-Mazaca had brought it on themselves." In the west, however, Shapur's armies pillaged, burned, and killed; they were out not to build a new empire in the Roman Orient, but to destroy an old one. So the Jews, among other peoples behind the Roman lines, fought for their lives and for Rome. A far greater threat to Babylonian Jewry came from the transient Palmyrene Empire, created by Odenathus (Papa b. Nezar of talmudic sources), who in 262–263 conducted a quick invasion of central Babylonia and devastated Jewish settlements there. Since Jewish and Palmyrene merchants competed with one another, an economic motivation may have played some part in the attacks on the Jews. The Palmyrene siege of Ctesiphon was raised by Shapur, but not before Nehardea was destroyed. The Jews of both Palestine and Babylonia applauded the fall of Odenathus' wife and successor, Zenobia.

Since the chief threat to Jewry lay in the cessation of the right to self-government, it was important to Samuel and to the exilarch whom he served to regain autonomous government. The early Sasanian regime, as noted, insisted upon supervising the Jewish court system. The best way to end that supervision was to agree at the outset that "the law of the land is law." This Samuel decreed (see *Dina de-Malkhuta Dina). The saying specifically applied to rules of land acquisition and tenure, collection of taxes, and similar matters of interest to the state. It was a strictly temporary and narrowly political agreement, which did not affect the religious or cultural policies of the Persians. The rabbis continued to work through prayer and study of Torah to hasten the coming of the Messiah, who would end the rule of all pagan kings and put into power the King of the king of kings.

Shapur I was succeeded by Hormizd I (272–73), Bahram I (273–76), Bahram II (276–92), and Bahram III (292). In the time of the Bahrams, Kartir, a leading Mazdean religious official, became a powerful influence in state policy. Calling himself "Soul-savior of Bahram," Kartir first saw to the martydom of Mani and the banishment of Manichaeans. He then turned to the extirpation of other non-Mazdean religions; in his famous inscription, he refers to his "opposition" to Jews, Brahmans, Nazoreans, Christians, and Manichaeans, among others. Shapur's policy of religious toleration, not to mention syncretism, was thus effectively reversed. There is little evidence in rabbinical sources to verify Kartir's claim to have given the Jews much trouble. The Babylonian Talmud, Gittin 16b–17a, tells the story that a Magus came and removed a lamp from the room of the ailing master, Rabbah b. Bar Ḥana, who thereupon exclaimed, "Merciful Lord! Either in your shadow or in the shadow of the son of Esau!" *Judah b. Ezekiel further refers to the exclusion of Jews from the offices of canal supervisor and chiliarch (Ta'an. 20a). But the Jews seem to have suffered less than did the Manichaeans, who were martyred and banished, and the Christians, whose churches were destroyed. No rabbi is known to have enjoyed the attentions of the king of kings, but possibly the rabbis simply did not preserve stories of what contacts did take place, presumably because exilarchic agents and not they were involved in the negotiations. In the time of Narseh (293–301), whatever persecutions earlier took place were brought to an end. Narseh renewed the tolerant policy of his father, Shapur. The reference of *Seder Olam Zuta* to a persecution of Jews in 313 is unverified by any earlier, more reliable source. Shapur II (309–79), crowned king at his birth, was then four years old. The Sasanian government was weak, and the empire was in a state of disorder. Perhaps a local Mobad or government authority somewhere made trouble for the Jews. In 331, Rabbah b. Naḥamani, head of the academy of Pumbedita, was arrested because he was accused of assisting Jews to evade taxes. According to a legendary account the heavenly court required Rabbah's traditions on a matter of ritual cleanness, so he was called to heaven (BM 86a), but one can hardly base upon that a general persecution of the Jews. The Talmud contains stories about the friendship for the Jews of Shapur's mother, Ifra Hormizd, who is otherwise unknown (BB 8a, 10b; Ta'an. 24b; Nid. 20b, Zev. 116b). In any event, during the reign of Shapur II, the Jewish community was unmolested. That is an important fact, for in the same period, particularly after Shapur II unsuccessfully besieged Nisibis in 339, the Christian community was devastated. Priests and bishops were put to death and monks and nuns tortured and forced to violate their vows. Ordinary Christians were pressured to apostatize. In 363, *Julian "the Apostate" invaded the Iranian Empire and besieged Ctesiphon. Among the many towns and villages he destroyed was one Jewish town, Birta, specifically referred to by Ammianus Marcellinus and Sozomen (3,20). Piruz Shapur, with its large Jewish population, and probably Maḥoza, the Jewish suburb of Ctesiphon, were also destroyed. After Julian had proclaimed his intention of rebuilding a Jewish temple in Jerusalem, a local Babylonian pseudo-messiah called upon Maḥozan Jewry to follow him to Palestine. The Persian government massacred those who did so. The fortunes of war, rather than a specific Jewish policy, thus caused considerable hardship between 360 and 370. In his Armenian campaigns after 363, Shapur II deported from Armenia to Isfahan and other parts of the Persian Empire large numbers of Armenian Jews and Christians, with the intention of strengthening the economy of the territories sheltered from Rome by the Zagros mountains, including Fārs proper.

The Babylonian Talmud contains references to Yezdegerd I (397–417), who supposedly had some contacts with leading rabbis as well as with the exilarch. The persecution of Christians, renewed in 414, was not marked by similar treatment of the Jewish communities. Bahram V (420–38) is not referred to in Jewish sources. Yezdegerd II (438–57) in 456 decreed that the Jews might not observe the Sabbath. He was, according to Jewish sources, shortly thereafter swallowed by a serpent, in answer to the prayer of the heads of the academies Mar b. R. Ashi and R. Zoma. Firuz (459–86) persisted in his father's anti-Jewish policy. The Jews of Isfahan were accused of having flayed alive two Magi. Half of the Jewish population was slaughtered and their children given to Mazdeans. Firuz "the Wicked" also killed the exilarch Huna Mari, son of Mar Zutra I. The year 468 is called in the Talmud "the year of the destruction of the world," and, from that date to 474, synagogues were destroyed, study of Torah was prohibited, children were forcibly delivered to the Mazdean priesthood, and, possibly, Sura was destroyed. The next significant trouble took place in the time of Kovad I (488–531), when Mazdak arose as a prophet of the doctrine of community of property and women. Kovad accepted the doctrine and, among other groups, the Jews were persecuted when they rejected Mazdakism. The exilarch Mar Zutra II gathered an armed force and defended the Jewish community for seven years. He was captured and killed in 520, in Maḥoza. Nevertheless, a number of Jews then served in the Persian armies fighting the Byzantines. Information on the century between Kovad's death and the Arab conquest (640) is slight. Chosroes (531–78) was well liked by Iranian and Arab historians. The Jews were apparently well treated. The Christian Nestorians in his day found refuge in Persia from Christian Byzantine persecution. Apparently some persecutions of Jews recurred under Hormizd IV (579–80), and Pumbeditan rabbis took shelter in Firuz Shapur, near Nehardea, then under Arab rule. Under Chosroes Parwez (590–628) Jewish life returned to normal. When the Persians invaded Palestine and took Jerusalem in 614, they were enthusiastically welcomed by local Jewry.

For the continuation of Jewish history in this area see *Iraq. See also *Academies; *Exilarch; Babylonian *Talmud.

[Jacob Neusner]

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BACALL, LAUREN (**Betty Joan Perske**; 1924–), U.S. actress. Born in New York, Bacall studied at the American Academy of Dramatic Arts and then turned to modeling. She was featured on the cover of *Harper's Bazaar* and within one month had a Hollywood contract. At the age of 19, Bacall co-starred in her first film with Humphrey Bogart, whom she married one year later (1945). Bacall made four of her first films with Bogart – *To Have And Have Not* (1944), *The Big Sleep* (1946), *Dark Passage* (1947), and *Key Largo* (1948). She also appeared in *How to Marry a Millionaire* (1953), *Woman's World* (1954), *The Cobweb* (1955), *Blood Alley* (1955), and *Designing Woman* (1957). After Bogart died in 1957, Bacall continued her career in films, which spanned more than half a century and included performances in *Written on the Wind* (1956), *Sex and the Single Girl* (1964), *Harper* (1966), *Murder on the Orient Express* (1974), *The Shootist* (1976), *The Fan* (1981), *Health* (1982), *Appointment with Death* (1988), *Mr. North* (1988), *Tree of Hands* (1989), *Misery* (1990), *A Star for Two* (1991), *Ready to Wear (Pret a Porter)* (1995), *The Mirror Has Two Faces* (1996), *My Fellow Americans* (1996), *Diamonds* (1999), *The Venice Project* (1999), *Presence of Mind* (1999), *The Limit* (2003), *Dogville* (2003), and *Birth* (2004).

In 1961 Bacall married actor Jason Robards, Jr. They divorced in 1969. Their son, Sam Robards, is a film and TV actor.

Bacall won a Tony Award for her performance in the Broadway musical *Applause* (1970). In 1997 she was nominated for an Academy Award as best supporting actress in *The Mirror Has Two Faces.* That same year *People* magazine chose her as one of the 50 Most Beautiful People in the World.

Her autobiography, *Lauren Bacall by Myself*, won a National Book Award in 1980.

In 1994 she wrote a book entitled *Now*, which is described as "part career memoir and part meditation on what it's like to be a single woman of lingering glamour, enduring vitality, and advancing age."

[Jonathan Licht / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

BACAU (Rom. **Bacău**), city in Moldavia, Romania. A Jewish community is attested there in the 18th century. A *ḥevra kaddisha* was established in 1774. In 1820 there were 55 Jewish taxpaying heads of families in Bacau. The Jewish population numbered 3,810 in 1859 and 7,902 (48.3% of the total) in 1899. From 1803 to 1858 Isaac of Botosani ("Botoshaner"), who acquired renown as a miracle worker (*ba'al mofet*) was rabbi there. A *talmud torah* was founded in 1828, the Po'alei Ẓedek Tailors' Association in 1832, a Ḥevrat Gomelei Ḥasadim (mutual aid society; their minute books are in the YIVO Archives) in 1836, and a Ḥevrat Mishnayot in 1851. When the Jewish autonomous organization lost its official status in Romania in 1862, communal activity in Bacau also disintegrated. After 1866 Bacau became one of the centers of anti-Jewish agitation in Romania, and the community suffered frequent persecution. During the last quarter of the 19th-century secular education began to spread among the Jews of Bacau and at the end of the 1870s and beginning of the 1880s one-third of the pupils in general schools in Bacau were Jewish. The first Jewish elementary school was founded in 1863. The main occupations of the Jews in Bacau were commerce and crafts: of the commercial enterprises in the town in 1899, 563 (85.6%) were Jewish, and there were 573 (66.6%) Jewish artisans in 1901. Bacau was also a center of Hebrew printing.

The Jewish population numbered 9,593 (30.8% of the total) in 1930, of whom 50.8% declared Yiddish as their mother tongue. By this time the community had a well-organized communal framework. It maintained a kindergarten, two primary schools (for boys and girls), a hospital, an old age home, an orphanage, and a *mikveh*, as well as 25 synagogues. Bacau was also a center of the Zionist movement. Among the rabbis of Bacau was Bezalel Ze'ev *Safran (1866–1930), who officiated there from 1905 until his death. A ḥasidic center operated in the Leca Street synagogue.

[Eliyahu Feldman / Lucian-Zeev Herscovici (2nd ed.)]

Holocaust Period

With *Antonescu's rise to power, the Jews of Bacau were subjected to repression; their property and shops were confiscated, and a part of the Jewish cemetery was adapted for agriculture. When war against the Soviet Union broke out (June 22, 1941), the Jews from towns and villages in the district were driven from their homes and sent to Bacau, whose Jewish community did its best to help as the city's Jewish population rose to 12,000. The community kitchen dispensed 1,000 meals a day and 1,000 families received financial aid. The men were sent to Transylvania and Bessarabia on forced labor. In the spring of 1944, when the front was drawing near, the Jews were forced to dig defense trenches. Under Soviet occupation in the summer of 1944, all the local officials fled and the Jewish community took over municipal affairs, keeping law and order, burying the non-Jewish dead, running the municipal hospital, and paying the salaries of the municipal employees. The postwar Jewish population reached a peak of 18,000 but most subsequently emigrated to Israel. In 2004 there were 359 Jews in Bacau.

[Theodor Lavi]

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°**BACCHIDES** (second century B.C.E.), Syrian general and governor of Seleucid territories west of the Euphrates. A friend of Demetrius I, Bacchides was given the task of installing Alcimus as high priest. To this end he was assigned a large body of troops, for it was evident that opposition would be forthcoming from Judah Maccabee and the other leaders of the Hasmonean uprising. The pious *ḥasidim, rejoicing at the sight of a priest from the tribe of Aaron assuming the office of high priest, were inclined to accept the peaceful overtures of Bacchides. However, he disregarded his oath and immediately slew 60 of the *Ḥasidim*, thus reuniting the bulk of the Jewish population behind Judah. Leaving an army with Alcimus, Bacchides handed the country over to him and returned to Syria. Meanwhile, Judah decisively defeated another Syrian general, Nicanor (13 Adar, 161 B.C.E.). Within two months Bacchides returned to Judea, accompanied by a force of 20,000 foot soldiers and 2,000 horsemen. Judah's army, camped near Elasa, dwindled from 3,000 to 800, and in the fierce battle that ensued Judah was killed. Bacchides again entrusted the administration of Judea to the Hellenists, while the rebels, led by Jonathan and Simeon, dispersed and fled south and beyond the Jordan. Bacchides succeeded in tracking Jonathan down, but waited until the Sabbath to attack the Jewish army, thinking that they would not fight. However, Jonathan fought back and the Syrian general suffered many casualties in an indecisive battle. Bacchides retreated to Jerusalem and fortified the citadel there. He also fortified many places around Jerusalem in order to strengthen the Seleucid hold on the city. Believing that the royalist rule was secure, Bacchides returned to Syria and remained there for two years (until 158). His last expedition to Judea, at the request of the Hellenists, was virtually a disaster. By that time Bacchides had become dissatisfied with those Jews who repeatedly urged him to attack the Hasmonean brothers. Sensing this, Jonathan proposed peace and a release of prisoners. Bacchides agreed, considering this the most dignified way of withdrawing, and returned for the last time to Syria.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: I Macc., 7:8–20; 9; Jos., Ant., 12:393–7, 420–34; 13:4–33; Schuerer, Gesch, 1 (1901^4), 216ff.; Klausner, Bayit Sheni, 3 (1959^2), 40–41, 46–53.

[Isaiah Gafni]

BACHARACH (**Bacherach**), town in the Rhine Valley, Germany. Jews were living in Bacharach in the first part of the 12th century and were engaged in moneylending. While the troops were assembling there in preparation for the Second *Crusade, several families left the town and took refuge in the nearby castle of Stahleck. Three householders who went on royal orders to collect their debts were martyred by the crusaders on the eve of Pentecost, 1147. In 1283, 26 Jews were massacred as the result of a *blood libel. Heinrich Heine's incomplete epic, *Der Rabbi von Bacherach*, was based on a massacre in 1287 following a blood libel in Oberwesel. The Jews in Bacharach were attacked by the *Armleder in 1338–39, and others lost their lives in the *Black Death persecutions, 1348–49. A document dated 1510 shows that the Jewish community had by then been reestablished. In the early modern era a synagogue and a ritual bath, probably used by the Jews of Bacharach, existed in nearby Steeg. There were 34 Jews living in the town in 1924 and 200 in the area in 1932. The five Jews who remained in Bacharach were deported by July 26, 1942 by the Nazis. A number of noted Jewish families derived their name from Bacharach (see next entry).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Germ Jud, 1 (1963), 17; 2 (1968), 44; AWJD (June 9, 1967), 17; Kahlenberg, in: *Zwischen Rhein und Mosel…*, 17 (1967), 643ff. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** H. Kuenzl, in: G. Heuberger (ed.), *Mikwe* (Ger., 1992), 23–88; K.H. Debus, in: *Bacharach und die Geschichte der Viertaelerorte* (1996), 319–26.

[Zvi Avneri]

BACHARACH (**Bachrach;** also spelled **Bacherach, Bachrich**), name of several families originally from *Bacharach on the Rhine. GOTTSCHALK OF BACHARACH is mentioned in Frankfurt in 1391 and EPHRAIM GUMBRECHT BACHARACH in 1457. MENAHEM (Man) BACHARACH was rabbi in Worms from 1506 to 1520. Two *dayyanim* named Bacharach are mentioned in 15th-century Mainz. There were two branches of the family living in Frankfurt in the 16th and 17th centuries. ISRAEL and TOBIAS BEN JOSEPH SOLOMON were martyred in *Ruzhany on Sept. 19, 1659, following a *blood libel. Tobias' descendants lived at Tiktin and include the talmudist *Judah b. Joshua Ezekiel Bachrach and Jacob b. Moses *Bachrach, author of a history of the Hebrew script. The first Bacharach known in Vienna is JUDAH LOEB BEN AARON (d. 1657). His grandson JACOB found refuge in Třebíč, Moravia, in 1670 and became a leader of the community there. His descendants are found in Konice and Třešt (both in Moravia). Two Bacharachs are mentioned in a list of Nikolsburg (Mikulov) Jews of 1765. The best-known line, founded in Bohemia, is represented first by ABRAHAM SAMUEL BEN ISAAC BACHARACH (1575–1615), who was rabbi in Worms. His wife Eva (Ḥavvah; 1580–1651) had a wide knowledge of Hebrew and rabbinical literature rarely found among women in her day. She died in Sofia on her way to Ereẓ Israel. Their son was Moses Samson *Bacharach and their grandson was Jair Ḥayyim *Bacharach. Common in Bohemia was the abbreviation Bacher. Others of the family in Hungary include the Hebrew poet Simon *Bacher and his son the scholar Wilhelm *Bacher.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: I.T. Eisenstadt and S. Wiener, *Da'at Kedoshim* (1897–98), 32–41, 213–4 (first pagination); Flesch, in: *Zeitschrift fuer die Geschichte der Juden in der Tschechoslowakei*, 2 (1931), 229–35.

BACHARACH, family of business, political, and communal leaders in Atlantic City, New Jersey. BENJAMIN (1865–1936) was a local merchant and banker. Born in Philadelphia, he and his brothers Isaac and Harry were brought to Atlantic City in 1881 by their parents. Benjamin served as president of the Beth Israel Synagogue of Atlantic City, in which the entire family was active. ISAAC (1870–1956) was a businessman and banker who pursued a political career. After serving on the Atlantic City Council (1907–13), Isaac, a Republican, was elected to the State Assembly in 1911 and in 1915 to Congress, where he represented the Second District of New Jersey until 1936. A member of the House Ways and Means Committee, Bacharach wrote the 1931 act providing for emergency loans based on the value of insurance policies. HARRY (1873–1947), a Republican, was appointed postmaster by President McKinley (1901) and was reappointed by President Roosevelt in 1905 and 1909. He won elections as mayor of Atlantic City in 1911, 1916, and 1932. He served for many years as member and chairman of the New Jersey Public Utilities Commission and as a member of the Water Policy Commission. He was also active in local banking, real estate, and civic affairs, and was a founder of the Jewish Community Center of Atlantic City (1924–25). The Betty Bacharach Home for Afflicted Children (Longport, New Jersey) was founded by the Bacharach brothers and two sisters in 1924 in memory of their mother.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Biographical Directory of the American Congress* (1961); Philip R. Goldstein, *Centers in My Life* (1964), 76, 159.

[Joseph Brandes]

BACHARACH, ALFRED LOUIS (1891–1966), British chemist and writer on musical subjects. Bacharach was an innovator in the fortification of baby milks with vitamin D, which brought about the almost complete eradication of rickets in the northern cities of Britain. He was born in London, and graduated from Cambridge. After five years in the Wellcome Research Laboratory, he joined the Glaxo Laboratories in 1920. He pioneered the development of biological assay methods for vitamins and also in microbiological assay procedures. He wrote *Science and Nutrition* (1938), and edited *The Nation's Food* (1946), *Evaluation of Drug Activities: Pharmacometrics* (in two volumes, with D.R. Laurence, 1964), *Exploration Medicine* (with O.G. Edholm, 1965), and *The Physiology of Human Survival* (1965). Bacharach, an accomplished pianist, edited *The Musical Companion* (1934; new edition, 1957), *Lives of the Great Composers* (1935), *British Music of Our Time* (1946), and *The Music Masters* (1957).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Chemistry in Britain*, 3 (1967), 395.

[Samuel Aaron Miller]

BACHARACH, BURT (1928–), composer and pianist. Born in Kansas City, Missouri, Bacharach studied cello, drums, and piano from an early age. He studied music at the Mannes College of Music in New York, at the New School of Social Research, and at McGill University in Montreal. Among his composition teachers were Darius *Milhaud, Bohuslav Martinů, and Henry Cowell. He subsequently worked as an accompanist for several popular singers such as Polly *Bergen, Steve *Lawrence, Paula Stewart, and Marlene Dietrich from 1958 to 1961. He began composing popular songs in the mid-1950s, collaborating with the lyricist Hal David and later writing hit songs for Dionne Warwick. Bacharach's style includes heterogenous elements such as variable meter, pandiatonic and jazz harmonies, rhythmic ostinatos, and effects from black American styles. He won two Academy Awards for *Butch Cassidy and the Sundance Kid* (1969) with the well-known song "Raindrops Keep Failing on my Head." In the 1990s he collaborated with Elvis Costello. His compositions include the musicals *Promises, Promises* (1968) and *Lost Horizon* (1973), the film score for *Alfie*, and many popular songs

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Grove online; B.A. Lohof, "The Bacharach Phenomenon: a Study of Popular Heroism," in: *Popular Music and Society*, 1 (1972), 73–82.

[Israela Stein (2nd ed.)]

BACHARACH, EVA (**Ḥavvah**; 1580–1651), a rare example of a learned woman, credited with writing commentary on midrash and targum, although these writings are no longer extant. Born into an illustrious and scholarly family, Eva was the maternal granddaughter of the famous Rabbi *Judah Loew ben Bezalel (the Maharal) of Prague. Her father was Rabbi Isaac ha-Kohen (Katz), also a learned rabbi, and her mother was Vogele Kohen. Eva's two brothers, Ḥayyim and Naphtali, were respected rabbis in Poland. Eva married Rabbi Abraham Samuel Bacharach (see *Bacharach family), a student of both her grandfather and her father, and was the mother of two daughters and a son. Left a widow at 30, Eva spent most of the rest of her life in Prague. Her son Moses Samson *Bacharach became the rabbi of Worms and his son, Rabbi Yair Ḥayyim, is the main source on Eva Bacharach's life and learning. In the introduction to his book of responsa, Rabbi Yair Ḥayyim explains that the title, *Ḥavvat Yair*, evokes his famous and erudite grandmother Ḥavvah, whom he calls "my elder, the pious woman, Marat Ḥavvah, the mother of my father … who helped me to develop…." His grandmother, he continues, "was unique of her kind in her generation in Torah. She had an original explanation of *Midrash Rabbah*. She taught … through her comprehension and knowledge … and she explained in such a manner that all who heard her understood that she was correct…. She explained the festival and petitionary prayers and Rashi's commentary on the Torah, and the whole Bible, and the Targum and Apochrypha…. Her writing was superlative and her speech was clear and polished." Rabbi Yair Bacharach relates that Eva never remarried, although she had the opportunity to do so. At the age of 66, she died in Sofia en route to the Land of Israel; there she was honored, as she had been throughout her travels, "because her name was known."

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[Emily Taitz (2nd ed.)]

BACHARACH, ISAAC (1870–1956), U.S. congressman, philanthropist, and civic leader. Born in Philadelphia, Bacharach and his two brothers were brought to Atlantic City by their parents in 1881, thereby being among the very first Jews to live in that seaside resort community. Their father helped found Atlantic City's first synagogue, the Reform Beth Israel. Isaac's brother BENJAMIN (1865–1936) would serve as the synagogue's president for more than 20 years.

Starting with a single clothing store, Isaac Bacharach and his brothers expanded their interests into banking, real estate, and lumber. The brothers put together a syndicate that developed Brigantine, a resort community on nearby Absecon Island, and built the seaside resort's first hotel. Brother HARRY (1873–1947) was the first to enter politics, winning a seat on the Atlantic City City Council in 1900. In 1911, he was elected mayor, an office he would hold on-and-off until the mid-1930s. Together, the three brothers founded and helped underwrite the Jewish Community Center of Atlantic City.

Although limited to a high school education, Isaac excelled in business. Before he turned 30, he had become president of the Second National Bank of Atlantic City and a director of the city's Safe Deposit Company. Isaac joined brother Harry on the Atlantic City City Council in 1907. In 1912, he was elected as a conservative Republican to the New Jersey State Assembly. In November 1914, he was elected to the first of 11 terms in the U.S. Congress. Following the overwhelming victory of the national Republican Party in 1920, Bacharach, now a member of the majority, was appointed to the powerful House Ways and Means Committee. During his tenure in Congress, Bacharach was appointed, along with former House Speaker Nicholas Longworth of Ohio and future speaker (and vice president) John Nance Garner of Texas, to oversee the construction of a new House office building. Today the building is known as the "Longworth Building." In 1924, the three brothers, along with their two sisters, built and dedicated a Home for Afflicted Children in Longport, New Jersey. More than 80 years later, there is still a Betty Bacharach Rehabilitation Center in Pomona, New Jersey, and a Betty Bacharach Hospital in Longport, New Jersey.

Following his defeat in the 1936 elections, Bacharach returned to Atlantic City to oversee his many business interests.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: K.F. Stone, *The Congressional Minyan: The Jews of Capitol Hill* (2000), 10–11.

[Kurt Stone (2nd ed.)]

BACHARACH, JAIR ḤAYYIM BEN MOSES SAMSON (1638–1702), German talmudic scholar, with an extensive knowledge in the general sciences. Bacharach was the son of R. Moses Samson b. Abraham Samuel *Bacharach. Born in Leipnik, where his father officiated as rabbi, Bacharach, in his childhood, accompanied his father to Prague where the latter functioned as preacher, and then to Worms, where his father assumed the position of rabbi of the community. In 1653 Bacharach married Sarlan, the daughter of R. Sussmann Brilin of Fulda. He spent six years at the house of R. Sussmann, acquiring a profound knowledge of the Talmud and its commentaries, with special emphasis on Alfasi and Asher b. Jehiel. Deeply immersed in kabbalistic studies, he, like his father, became very much interested in the Shabbatean movement. He accumulated an impressive library of writings connected with Shabbetai Ẓevi's messianic pretensions. Moreover, a group of 13 talmudic scholars obligated themselves to meet daily under his leadership for purposes of study and self-sanctification in preparation of the impending redemption. Even decades later, after he recognized Shabbetai Ẓevi as a pseudo-Messiah, he always referred to him as "Rabbenu Shabbatai Ẓevi." His stepbrother, Tobias b. Moses *Cohn, in his *Ma'aseh Tuviyyah*, wrote apparently alluding to him: "Even many of the sages of the land and the great renowned rabbis, whom I would not want to mention publicly, accepted him as master and king over them."

In 1666, Jair was appointed rabbi and *rosh bet din* ("head of rabbinic court") at Coblenz. This was a position that carried prestige and comfort with it. Suddenly, in 1669, he was compelled to leave his office. This must have been the result of partisan intrigue. His character is shown by the fact that he did not record the names of the offenders. The same year he again settled at Worms. When his father died in 1670, Bacharach temporarily functioned in his place as rabbi of Worms. However, he was disappointed in his hope of assuming the rabbinate of Worms, the pretext being that it was against the rule to appoint a resident of the city as rabbi. His resentment at being passed over in favor of R. Aaron Teomim, whom he deemed far inferior in scholarship, appears to have found a measure of satisfaction in his work *Matteh Aharon*, left in manuscript, in which he severely criticized the scholarly methods of the elected rabbi who had just published a commentary on the Passover *Haggadah* under the same title. After the latter had suffered a violent death, Bacharach placed parentheses around the sharper expressions, solemnly instructing any future publisher to soften the more offending passages. The work was finally published by Jellinek in *Bikkurim* (1865), 4–26; and again in *Ha-Misderonah* (1887), 348–64.

In 1689 when Worms was occupied by the French armies of Louis XIV, Bacharach fled to Metz with his family. In March 1690 he left for Frankfurt by himself in an unsuccessful attempt to collect some debts, and at this time his family was in such dire straits that his wife, with his consent, sold his extensive library for 250 Reichsthaler. During the next few years he was often forced to change his domicile, residing in various cities in the Rhineland. At Frankfurt in 1699 he published his monumental collection of 238 responsa under the name *Ḥavvat Yair.* The title comes from Numbers 32:41, and means "The Tent-Villages of Jair," implying that his decisions were but modest expressions of his opinions in contrast to former respondents whose works were like fortified towns. In the German pronunciation the title becomes "Ḥaves Yoir," meaning also "the Jair of Ḥavvah," and thus constituting a tribute to his erudite grandmother, Ḥavvah or Eva, the granddaughter of *Judah Loew b. Bezalel and the female founder of the Bacharach house. This epoch-making work, which has gone through many editions, demonstrates not only Bacharach's exhaustive knowledge of all branches of traditional rabbinic learning, but also the whole extent of his knowledge of the general sciences, such as mathematics, astronomy, and music, and shows also his opposition to the distorted type of *pilpul* current in his day. It contains some writings of his father and his grandfather.

Other printed works of Bacharach include *Ḥut ha-Shani* ("Scarlet Thread," 1679) containing responsa of his father and grandfather, as well as 17 refutations of R. Samuel ben David's *Naḥalat Shivah* (1677) and notes on Alfasi published in the Vilna edition. Altogether he is said to have left 46 volumes of manuscripts (some of these being excerpts or collections of the works of others). The more important of these are *Eẓ Ḥayyim*, a compendium on the Jewish religion; glosses to Maimonides' *Guide*; a commentary on the *Shulḥan Arukh*; chronological tables and genealogical lists.

In 1699, the reestablished Jewish community of Worms finally chose Bacharach, now deaf, old, and sick, as their rabbi. He had been granted his dearest wish: the satisfaction of being elected by this historic congregation to succeed his father and grandfather. He lived three more years. Bacharach's method was one of strict logic. He manifested his independence vis-à-vis his father, citing the precedent of Maimonides. Thus, he says in one passage, vindicating his right to disagree with earlier authorities: "The spirit of God has made me, as it has made them" (Responsum no. 155). He was strict with respect to the obligatory nature of established religious custom. While he was a believer in the Kabbalah and busied himself with *gematria*, he warned against giving oneself over to the study of Kabbalah or philosophy – placing great value on simple faith.

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[Jacob Haberman]

BACHARACH, MOSES SAMSON BEN ABRAHAM SAMUEL (1607–1670), rabbi and author. Bacharach was born in Pohořelice, Moravia, where his father Abraham Samuel (a prominent scholar in rabbinics and in other fields) was then rabbi. His mother Ḥavvah, the daughter of Isaac Katz, son-in-law of R. Judah Loew ben Bezalel of Prague, was also distinguished for her learning and even wrote comments on Midrash and Targum. At the age of eight, upon the death of his father, Bacharach was taken to Prague, where he was educated under the tutelage of his two uncles, R. Ḥayyim and R. Naphtali ha-Kohen, both distinguished scholars. In 1627 he married a daughter of R. Isaac b. Phoebus, chief rabbi of Moravia. His father-in-law was taken prisoner, and the payment of a 10,000 gulden ransom left Moses impoverished, forcing him to accept the rabbinate of Hodonin (Moravian Slovakia) in 1629. In 1632 he became rabbi and head of the yeshivah at Leipnik. He experienced the travails of the Jews in the Thirty-Years' War, to which he gave expression in a *seliḥah* which the Jewish community of Leipnik recited annually on the 17th of Tammuz. Subsequently, on the foundation of a charitable religious association (the *Barukh she-Amar* society), he composed a joyous song of thanks for deliverance from danger during the war, which was recited every year on Simḥat Torah. In 1650 he was chosen rabbi of the community of Worms – perhaps the most influential position in German Jewry. He was in that office 20 years until his death. Some of his writings were included in the published works of his son, the famed R. Jair Ḥayyim *Bacharach.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: D. Kaufmann, *R. Jair Chajjim Bacharach…* (Ger., 1894), 23–28, 45, 53–54, 129 30; F. Hillel, *Leipniker Rabbiner* (1928), 16–43; A.E. Franklin, *Records of Franklin Family* (1935^2) 4, 45.

[Jacob Haberman]

BACHARACH, NAPHTALI BEN JACOB ELHANAN, kabbalist who lived in the first half of the 17th century. The dates of his birth and death are unknown. Bacharach was born in Frankfurt, but also spent some years in Poland with the kabbalists before he returned to his home town, and in 1648 he published his comprehensive book *Emek ha-Melekh* ("The King's Valley"), one of the most important kabbalistic works. The book contains a wide and systematic presentation of theology according to the Lurianic Kabbalah. It was based on many authorities, but relied mainly on Israel *Sarug's version presented in his book *Limmudei Aẓilut* (1897), which Bacharach included almost in its entirety into his own book with hardly an acknowledgment of the fact. Bacharach's claims that he brought back the sources of Luria's Kabbalah with him from Ereẓ Israel, where he supposedly lived for some time, do not deserve credit. He also accused Joseph Solomon *Delmedigo who he claimed had been his pupil, of transcribing kabbalistic manuscripts which were in Bacharach's possession, and then publishing them, with noticeable distortions, in his books *Ta'alumot Ḥokhmah* (1629) and *Novelot Ḥokhmah* (1631). However, the contrary seems much more likely; that it was Bacharach who culled from Delmedigo's work as well as from many other sources without acknowledging them. While Delmedigo's interest lay in the abstract philosophical aspect of Kabbalah, which he attempted to explain to himself, Bacharach appears as an enthusiastic and fanatical kabbalist, with a special flair for the mystical and non-philosophical traits of Kabbalah – in Isaac Luria's Kabbalah as well as in the Kabbalah of the early kabbalists. This accounts for the strong emphasis given to such elements as the doctrine of the *Sitra Aḥra* ("Other Side" – the Evil) and demonology. He wove the old kabbalistic themes together with the later ones in an elaborately detailed style. Without referring to Sarug, who is his most important source, Bacharach claims to derive his teachings from the books of Ḥayyim *Vital, although important chapters of his doctrine, such as his version of the doctrine of *Ẓimẓum* ("Withdrawal") and all it entails, are completely foreign to Vital's writings. The merger of both these traditions characterizes this book, written with talent and clarity. Bacharach also borrowed liberally from certain parts of the book *Shefa Tal* by R. Shabbetai Sheftel *Horowitz (1612). His style is pervaded by messianic tension. The book *Emek ha-Melekh* had a great impact on the development of the late Kabbalah. It was widely recognized as an authoritative source on the doctrine of Isaac Luria and kabbalists from many countries, especially Ashkenazim, the great Ḥabad Ḥasidim, and the school of the Gaon *Elijah b. Solomon Zalman of Vilna, quoted him extensively. His influence is also noticeable in Shabbatean literature, in Moses Ḥayyim *Luzzatto's system of Kabbalah, and in the book *Kelaḥ* [138] *Pitḥei Ḥokhmah*. On the other hand, strong criticism of the book was soon expressed. Already in 1655, Ḥayyim ha-Kohen of Aleppo, a disciple of Ḥayyim Vital, in the introduction to his book *Mekor Ḥayyim* (1655), protested against Bacharach's claim of being the true interpreter of Luria's doctrine. The protests of Benjamin ha-Levi in his approbation to *Zot Ḥukkat ha-Torah* by Abraham *Ḥazkuni (1659), and of the preacher Berechiah Berach, in his introduction to *Zera Berakh* (2nd part, 1662), against misrepresentations of Luria's Kabbalah were also intended for Bacharach. Moses *Ḥagiz says in *Shever Poshe'im* (1714) that *Emek ha-Melekh* is called *Emek ha-Bakha* ("Valley of Weeping"). Isaiah Bassan complains to M.Ḥ. Luzzatto about the numerous translations of chapters from *Emek ha-Melekh* in Latin referring to the *Kabbalah Denudata* by *Knorr von Rosenroth "which were among the important causes of prolonging our exile" (*Iggerot Shadal*, 29). Ḥ.J.D. *Azulai also wrote: "I have heard that no genuine writings got into his (Bacharach's) hands… therefore the initiated refrain from reading either it or the *Novelot Ḥokhmah*." In *Emek ha-Melekh* there is a reference to many other books by Bacharach concerning aspects of the kabbalist doctrine. Of these only a part of the *Gan ha-Melekh* on the Zohar is extant in an Oxford manuscript.

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[Gershom Scholem]

BACHAUER, GINA (1913–1976), Greek born pianist of Austrian and Italian parentage. Bachauer studied at the Athens Conservatory under Woldemar Freeman. She then went to Paris, where she took lessons with Cortot. Between 1933 and 1935 she received lessons from Rachmaninoff in France and Switzerland. Her French solo début took place in the Salle Chopin, Paris, in 1929, and she first played in England in 1932. In 1933 she won the medal of honor at an international piano competition in Vienna, and in the 1930s played concertos with the Paris Symphony Orchestra conducted by Monteux and the Athens Symphony Orchestra under Mitropoulos. During World War II she lived in Alexandria and played numerous concerts for the Allied forces in the Middle East. In 1946 she made her début at the Albert Hall, playing Grieg's Piano Concerto with the New London Orchestra under Alec Sherman, who became her second husband in 1951. After her New York début in 1950 she received unanimous acclaim from the critics and her career was assured. She toured in the U.S. and Israel. Her unusually wide repertoire ranges from Mozart to Stravinsky. In both standard and modern works, she displayed impeccable taste. Her flair, grand style, big line, and exciting vigor are put to best use in big virtuoso works. Among her recordings are concertos by Beethoven, Brahms, Chopin, and Grieg, as well as solo works by Debussy. After her death in Athens, a Gina Bachauer International Piano Competition was founded. The Bachauer Archive at Brigham Young University preserves diaries, scores, and recordings from her distinguished career.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Grove online; MGG^2; *Baker's Biographical Dictionary* (1997); W. Graham. *Gina Bachauer: A Pianist's Odyssey* (1999).

[Naama Ramot (2nd ed.)

BACHE, U.S. family of investment bankers and art collectors. BACHE, JULES SEMON (1862–1944) was born in New York. After some years with his father's trading firm he became a cashier in 1880 for Leopold Cahn and Co., investment bankers. Twelve years later he became head of the firm, which he renamed J.S. Bache and Co. Under his leadership the company became prominent in investment banking and securities trading, with interests in railroads, mining, manufacturing, trading, and insurance. Bache's philanthropy included donations to hospitals and scientific research, civic institutions, and the arts. He gave his outstanding collection of paintings, sculptures, tapestries, enamels, furniture, and porcelains to the State of New York for the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

[Joachim O. Ronall]

BACHER, EDUARD (1846–1908), Austrian lawyer and journalist. Bacher was born in Postelberg (Postoloprty), Bohemia. While studying law in Prague and Vienna, he became interested in parliamentary affairs and soon was appointed stenographer of the Bohemian Parliament (c. 1861). After completing his studies, he became chief stenographer of the Vienna *Reichsrat* and practiced as a successful lawyer. In 1872, he joined the staff of the leading liberal Vienna daily *Neue Freie Presse* (est. 1864 by Max Friedländer and Michael Etienne) as parliamentary reporter. The same year, on Friedländer's death, he was appointed editor of the domestic politics section and on May 1, 1879, after Etienne died, became editor-in-chief (later also publisher and part owner). In 1881, Bacher was joined by Moritz *Benedikt as co-editor. For almost three decades the *Neue Freie Presse* was closely linked to Bacher's personality and political orientation, serving as an organ of the German Liberal Party in Austria. His editorials had considerable influence on Austro-Hungarian domestic politics, promoting a centrist structure set against anti-liberal, national, or federal aspirations, and therefore opposing the conservative Austrian government of Count Taaffe (until 1893) and later Count Badeni (1897). Bacher was a corresponding member of the Society for Promoting Science, Arts and Literature in Bohemia and served as literary adviser of the Austrian prince royal, Archduke Rudolf, who committed suicide in 1889. From 1896/97, Bacher's political creed also led him to reject the new Zionist movement of Theodor *Herzl, who had joined the *Neue Freie Presse* as Paris correspondent in 1891. As frequently deplored in Herzl's diaries, Bacher would not let him publish any reports on the Zionist movement or the Zionist Congresses in the paper. After Bacher's death, the *Neue Freie Presse* was continued by Benedikt until 1920.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Neue Freie Presse* (Jan. 1908); *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judentums* (Jan. 24, 1908), supplement *Der Gemeindebote*, 4; E. Dovifat, in: *Neue Deutsche Biographie*, I (1953), 496; A. Wandruszka, *Geschichte einer Zeitung. Das Schicksal der „Presse" und der „Neuen Freien Presse" von 1848 zur Zweiten Republik* (1958). **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** Th. Herzl, *Briefe und Tagebuecher* (ed. A. Bein et al.), 7 vols. (1983–96), index; H. Schmuck (ed.), *Jewish Biographical Archive*, (1995), F. 46, 41/109, 344–356; Series II (2003), F. II/35, 422–425; S. Blumesberger et al. (eds.), *Handbuch oesterreichischer Autorinnen und Autoren juedischer Herkunft*, 1 (2002), 55 (No. 422).

[Johannes Valentin Schwarz (2nd ed.)]

BACHER, ROBERT FOX (1905–2004), U.S. physicist. Born in Loudonville, Ohio, Bacher joined the staff of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology in 1932. After teaching at Cornell University for a time, he returned to MIT as a research associate in the radiation laboratory. During World War II he worked on the bomb project at the Los Alamos laboratory, and he became head of the bomb physics division. He was a member of the Atomic Energy Commission from 1946 to 1949. He was then appointed professor of physics at the California Institute of Technology, heading the Mathematics, Physics, and Astronomy Division. He retired in 1976.

BACHER, SIMON (1823–1891), poet and Hebrew translator. Bacher was born in Szent Miklos, Hungary, and was the father of the Orientalist Wilhelm *Bacher and a descendant of Jair Ḥayyim *Bacharach. When writing in Hebrew, he used the latter's surname. In 1867 he moved to Budapest, where he was employed as a bookkeeper. From 1874 until his death he served as the treasurer of the Jewish community. Bacher wrote poetry in the flowery style of the Haskalah and also translated German and Hungarian poetry into Hebrew. He was a regular contributor to the Hebrew periodicals *Ha-Ḥavaẓẓelet* and *Kokhevei Yiẓḥak*. In 1865 his Hebrew translation of Lessing's *Nathan der Weise* appeared in Vienna, and in 1868 he published *Zemirot ha-Areẓ* ("Songs of the Land"), an anthology of translations from Hungarian poetry. His selected works, *Sha'ar Shimon* (3 vols., 1894), were published posthumously by his son.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: W. Bacher, in: *Sha'ar Shimon*, 1 (1894), 9–36; J. Patai, *Mi-Sefunei ha-Shirah* (1939), 31–35.

[Gedalyah Elkoshi]

BACHER, WILHELM (1850–1913), Hungarian Semitic scholar. Bacher was born in Liptó-Szent-Miklós (now Liptovsky Svätý Mikuláš, Slovakia), the son of the Hebrew poet Simon *Bacher. In 1876 he was ordained and appointed rabbi of Szeged, Hungary, and the following year professor at the newly founded rabbinical seminary in Budapest, where he taught biblical exegesis, Midrash, homiletics, and Hebrew poetry and grammar. From 1907 until the end of his life he was head of the seminary. In 1884 with Joseph Banoczi he founded the Hungarian Jewish monthly *Magyar Zsidó Szemle*. In 1894 he helped found a Jewish-Hungarian literary society, Izraelita Magyar Irodalmi Társulat, and was the editor of its yearbook until 1899; this society instituted the publication of a Hungarian translation of the Bible (1898–1907). At the same time Bacher served as a consulting editor for the *Jewish Encyclopedia* (1901–06) and wrote a number of monographs for it. Bacher's fields of study included biblical exegesis, Hebrew philology, *aggadah* and Midrash, and Judeo-Persian literature. Many of his works were translated into Hebrew by A.Z. *Rabinovitz. In his works on *aggadah* he classified aggadic sayings by author determining the contribution of each *tanna* and *amora*. These works include *Die Agada der Babylonischen*

Amoräer (1878, also in Hg., 1913^2); *Die Agada der Tannaiten* (2 vols., 1884–90); *Die Agada der Palaestinischen Amoräer* (3 vols., 1892–99; repr. 1965; *Die Prooemien der Alten juedischen Homilie* (1913); *Rabbanan, Beitrag zur Geschichte der anonymen Agada* (1914); and *Tradition und Tradenten in den Schulen Palaestinas und Babyloniens* (1914). In the last work Bacher discusses the manner in which the *amoraim* in Babylonia and Palestine transmitted the teachings of the early scholars, especially the *tannaim* of the *beraitot*. Of particular significance from the standpoint of content and style is Bacher's *Exegetische Terminologie der juedischen Traditionsliteratur* (2 parts, 1899, 1905, repr. 1965). In the first part of this work Bacher arranged the Hebrew and Aramaic terms used by the *tannaim* in their exegesis in alphabetical order and in the second part, those of the Palestinian and Babylonian *amoraim*. He also dealt with the terms used by the *amoraim* to explain the terminology of the *tannaim*. Bacher dealt extensively with medieval Jewish biblical exegesis. In addition to *Die Juedische Bibelexegese vom Anfange des Zehnten bis zum Ende des Fuenfzehnten Jahrhunderts* (1892), he wrote detailed studies on Abraham ibn Ezra's works, Saadiah's Arabic translation of the Book of Job (in: Derenbourg, *Oeuvres Complètes de R. Saadiah*, 1899), Moses ha-Kohen ibn *Gikatilla's work on the same book, and on *Samuel b. Hophni. He published a study in German and Hungarian on the biblical exegesis of Jewish religious philosophers before Maimonides, *Die Bibelexegese der Juedischen Religionsphilosophen des Mittelalters vor Maimûnis* (1892), and on the exegetical methods of Maimonides, *Die Bibelexeges Moses Maimünis* (1896). He wrote two works on the biblical commentaries of Ibn Janaḥ, *Leben und Werke des Abulwaîd Merwân ibn Ganâh* (1885), and a detailed study of the biblical exegesis of the Zohar. Bacher dealt extensively with the development of Hebrew during the Middle Ages, including the masorah, the beginning of the study of Hebrew grammar (*Die Anfaenge der hebraeischen Grammatik*, 1895), and the pioneering work of Judah ibn *Ḥayyuj in the field of Hebrew grammar (*Die Grammatische Terminologie des Jehuda b. Dawid Hajjug*, 1882). Bacher was the only Jewish scholar of his generation to deal with Judeo-Persian literature. His continuous flow of publications, based on the collection of Judeo-Persian manuscripts of Elkan Nathan *Adler, made him the undisputed authority in this field. Among his many works on Judeo-Persian literature are *Hebraeisch-Persisches Woerterbuch aus dem vierzehnten Jahrhundert* (1900) by Solomon b. Samuel of Turkestan; "Ein persischer Kommentar zum Buche Samuel" (in ZDMG, 51 (1897), 329–425); *Zwei juedisch-persische Dichter, Schahin und Imrani* (1907–08); and "Juedisch-Persisches aus Buchârâ" (in ZDMG, 55 (1901), 244–57; 56 (1902), 729–59). Bacher helped lay the foundations for the study of Hebrew grammar from the talmudic period to the end of the Middle Ages; he was the first scholar to deal with the Hebrew and Arabic poetry of Yemen. Above all, he was one of the first scholars to engage in the scientific study of *aggadah* and Midrash.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: S. Kraus, in: *Ha-Shilo'aḥ*, 30 (1914), 168–78, 384 92, 487–97; *Magyar Zsidó Szemle*, 27 (1910), 1–81, articles honoring Bacher, including bibliography of his works; L. Blau, *Bibliographie der Schriften Wilhelm Bachers* (1910), completed by D. Friedmann, *Nachtrag zu L. Blau's Bibliographie der Schriften Wilhelm Bachers* (1928); M. Liber, in: REJ, 67 (1914), 161–9; B. Heller, in: *Zsidó Plutarchos* (1928), 9–38 (Hg.); W.J. Fischel, in: L. Finkelstein (ed.), *The Jews, Their History, Culture and Religion*, 2 (1960), 1149–1190 (with bibliography); J.I. Dienstag, in: *Sinai*, 55 (1964), 65–82.

[Moshe Nahum Zobel]

BACHI, ARMANDO (1883–1943), Italian soldier. Born in Verona, Bachi went into the artillery where he was commissioned in 1902 and remained in this branch of the army for most of his career. In World War I he became deputy chief of staff of the 48th and 30th divisions, and was awarded the Military Cross. After the war he was a lecturer in artillery at the Turin Military Academy and in 1934 was given command of an artillery corps. By 1938 he had become a lieutenant general in command of a motorized army corps, but when the racial laws were enacted that year, he was forced to resign his commission. In 1943 he and his family were arrested in Parma and died in Auschwitz.

ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY: A. Rovighi, *I Militari di Origine Ebraica nel Primo Secolo di Vita dello Stato Italiano* (1999), 96.

[Massimo Longo Adorno]

BACHI, RAPHAEL (1717–1767), French miniature painter. Born in Turin, he moved to Paris where he set up as tobacconist and snuff merchant. He learned the art of miniature painting through the decoration of snuff-boxes. His work was recognized when the French court employed him to paint miniature portraits on snuff-boxes presented to foreign notables. His clientele included many members of the nobility such as the Duke of Modena and the Prince de Condé. In an official list of the Jews residing in Paris during the years 1755–1759, he is mentioned as "peintre en miniature, de beaucoup de talent."

BACHI, RICCARDO (1875–1951), Italian economist and statistician. Bachi was born in Turin and studied in Venice. He laid the foundations for the scientific study of price fluctuations and wrote on the economic history of the Risorgimento. From 1904 to 1908 Bachi edited the Italian Labor Department bulletin on employment, and from 1909 to 1921 he issued *L'Italia Economica*, an annual publication which he founded. From 1915 Bacchi taught statistics and economics at the universities of Macerata, Parma, and Genoa, and in 1926 he was appointed to the chair of political economy at the Royal Institute of Economic Sciences in Rome. After the enactment of the anti-Jewish laws in Italy in 1938, he went to Palestine, where from 1940 to 1946, he lectured at the Tel Aviv branch of the Hebrew University. In 1946 he returned to the University of Rome. Interested in Zionism from the 1920s, he investigated the economic history of Jews, in particular the economic relations between Jews and non-Jews in the Diaspora. Noteworthy among Bachi's writings are his *Principi di scienza economica*, 2 vols. (1937–40), *Israele disperso e ricostruito* (1952), and his introduction to the Hebrew translation of Simḥah Luzzatto's "On the Jews of Venice" (*Ma'amar al Yehudei Venezyah,* 1950).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: L. Einaudi, *Riforma Sociale* (1931), 416ff.; RMI, 16 (1950), 14–216; A.M. Ratti, *Vita e opere di Riccardo Bachi* (1961), 69–100 (bibliography).

[Joseph Baruch Sermoneta]

BACHI, ROBERTO (1909–1995), statistician and demographer. Bachi was born in Rome and completed his studies in law and statistics at the University of Rome. He taught statistics in various universities in Italy and was appointed full professor in 1937. In 1938 he emigrated to Palestine soon after the decree of the Racial Laws by Fascist Italy. He worked as a statistician in the Hadassah Medical Organization, and during 1945–47 in the Department of Statistics of the Mandatory Government. From the early 1940s he taught statistics at the Hebrew University and was appointed full professor in 1947.

With the foundation of the State of Israel Bachi was appointed government statistician. He founded Israel's Central Bureau of Statistics, which he directed until 1971, and was responsible for its independent status and academic integrity. He was among the founders of the Faculty of Social Sciences of the Hebrew University and served as its first dean (1953–56). During the 1950s he headed the Department of Statistics and Demography and in 1959–60 he was pro-rector of the Hebrew University. In 1960 Bachi founded the Department of Demography and Statistics at the Institute of Contemporary Jewry of the Hebrew University, which became an international center. He devoted much attention to the practical implications of demographic studies, which are of vital importance to the Jewish people throughout the world. Under Prime Ministers Ben Gurion and Eshkol he chaired a committee on Israel's demographic policy. Bachi taught generations of students, many of whom have long occupied prominent positions in academic institutions. After his retirement in 1977 he concentrated on the two fields of methodological research, which occupied him throughout his life – geostatistics and graphical representation of statistical data. He developed innovative methods for reducing vast quantities of geographical-statistical data and their graphic representation in computerized maps. His most important work, summarizing these methods, was published posthumously: *New Methods of Geostatistical Analysis and Graphical Presentation: Distribution of Populations over Territories* (1999). Bachi published a large number of works, including: *La Mobilità della Popolazione all'interno delle grandi Città Europee* (Rome, 1933), *Graphical Rational Patterns* (Jerusalem, 1968), *Population Trends of World Jewry* (Jerusalem, 1976), and *The Population of Israel* (Jerusalem, 1977). He was member of the Israel Academy of Sciences and honorary member of the American Statistical Society.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Scritti in onore di Roberto Bachi* (1950); U.O. Schmelz and G. Nathan, *Studies in the Population of Israel in Honor of Roberto Bachi* (1986); "Roberto Bachi: A Selected Bibliography," in: *Scripta Hierosolymitana,* 30 (1986), 417–24; S. Della Pergola and N. Gad, "Le-Zekher Roberto Bachi," in: *Ma'adei ha-Yahadut,* 36 (1996), 187–89.

[Margalit Bejarano (2nd ed.)]

BACHMANN, JACOB (1846–1905), Russian *ḥazzan* and composer of synagogue music. Bachmann served as a boy-singer with the *ḥazzan* of his native town of Berdichev. He developed a phenomenal voice and was admitted to the Petrograd Conservatoire in 1864. Anton *Rubinstein became his teacher and later took him on his concert tours as a solo singer. Bachmann, nevertheless, decided to be a *ḥazzan* and established his reputation at the synagogues of Berdichev, Rostov, and Constantinople. During his stay at Lemberg until 1884, Bachmann founded a mixed choir and took up composition. As successor to Osias *Abrass at Odessa (1884–85), he was acclaimed by the public. He later settled in Budapest. Bachmann's voice is said to have covered the entire range from dramatic tenor to powerful bass, highlighted by an extraordinary echo-falsetto. His compositions are influenced by Rubinstein, the "Westerner" in Russian music. Bachmann was eager to show command of contemporary musical devices (*Schirath Jacob*, pp. 54, 79, 89, 95, 96), including reminiscences of Bach (*ibid.*, p. 188) or Meyerbeer (*ibid.*, p. 89), and was able to write striking, though rather conventional, choral settings (*ibid.*, pp. 18–19). However, Bachmann has to be judged by his improvisations in traditional *ḥazzanut*, a small part of which is included in his printed works. Bachmann's cantorial recitative was at its best at the sublime moments of the High Holy Days' liturgy (*ibid.*, 159–64). Works: *Cantata* (Ps. 45) for the silver jubilee of Francis I (1879); *Schirath Jacob* (1884); *Uwaschofor godol* (1889); and *Attah Zokher* (after 1905). Unpublished works exist in manuscript form in the David Putterman Library, N.Y.

See also G. Ephros, *Cantorial Anthology*, 2 (1929), 117–119.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Wininger, Biog, 1 (1925), 214–5; E. Zaludkowski, *Kultur-Treger fun der Yidisher Liturgye…* (1930), 191–2; Sendrey, Music, indexes; Minkowski, in: *Reshumot*, 5 (1927), 145–60.

[Hanoch Avenary]

BACHRACH, JACOB BEN MOSES (also called **Ba'al ha-Ma'amarim** or **Jacob ha-Bachri**; 1824–1896), rabbi and grammarian. Bachrach, a descendant of Jair *Bacharach, was born in Sejny in the district of Suwalki; he studied with his grandfather Judah *Bachrach. In addition to being an accomplished talmudist he was versed in secular knowledge. For many years he was superintendent of the Hebrew department of a printing establishment in Koenigsberg. In 1858 he published in that press his *Mazref ha-Avodah*, which deals with the controversy over Ḥasidism between Benjamin Wolf of Slonim, a disciple of *Elijah b. Solomon Zalman the Gaon of Vilna, and Joseph of Nemirov, a disciple of *Levi Isaac of Berdichev. Later editions of this book carry the title *Vikkuḥa Rabbah* ("Great Debate"). In 1858 he also published the *Sefer Yuḥasin* of Abraham *Zacuto with corrections and comments. Between 1861 and 1864 he published Jacob b. Asher's *Turim* with his own annotations. From Koenigsberg he moved to Sebastopol. There, while managing a refinery, he began to take an interest in the literature of the *Karaites and engage in polemics with them. In 1893 his book *Me-ha-Ibbur u-Minyan ha-Shanim* ("Concerning Intercalation and the Calendar") appeared in Warsaw. In it he attempted to prove the antiquity of the Hebrew *calendar, in opposition to the Karaite theory on one side and to the opinion of Ḥ.Z. Slonimsky on the other side. From there he moved to Bialystok, where he played an important role in founding the Ḥovevei Zion movement and was sent to Ereẓ Israel in 1882. His findings during his visit there are contained in his *Sefer ha-Massa le-Ereẓ Yisrael* (Warsaw, 1884), one of the earliest propaganda books of the Ḥovevei Zion. For a short time, he was also private secretary to Samuel *Mohilever. Bachrach also engaged in scientific study of the Hebrew language. Among other things, he tried to prove the antiquity of the Hebrew vowels and accents, in opposition to the opinion of Elijah *Levita who had held that these were not introduced until after the conclusion of the Talmud. These studies appeared in *Sefer ha-Yaḥas li-Khetav Ashuri ve-Toledot ha-Nekuddot ve-ha-Te'amim* ("History of the Assyrian Script, Vowels, and Accents," Warsaw, 1854) and *Hishtaddelut im Shadal* ("Engagement with Samuel David Luzzatto," Warsaw, 1897), a kind of extension to his earlier work. Despite the great acumen shown in his works, they did not meet with the general approval of the scholars of his time.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: E. Atlas, in: *Ha-Asif*, 1 (1884), 246ff.; S. Wiener, *Kohelet Moshe* (1893–1918), nos. 3311, 4521, 4723; *Lu'aḥ Aḥi'asaf*, 5 (1898), 326; EZD, 1 (1958), 291–3; Kressel, Leksikon, 1 (1965), 241–2.

BACHRACH, JUDAH BEN JOSHUA EZEKIEL (1775–1846), Lithuanian rabbi and author. Judah succeeded Isaac Avigdor as *av bet din* of Sejny (near Suwalki in Poland) where he remained until his death. After his death, his novellae and glosses to the Talmud and to Alfasi were published in the Vilna (Romm) edition under the title *Nimmukei ha-Grib* (= **Ha-G**aon **R**abbi **J**udah **B**achrach). His glosses to Maimonides' *Mishneh Torah* are also known. Bachrach is particularly important because of his ties with *Elijah b. Solomon Zalman Gaon of Vilna, who was a relative of his father-in-law, Israel Burlioner. Bachrach possessed a number of tractates of the Talmud which had been used by Elijah Gaon and which contained manuscript glosses by him, differing from those published in the Vienna edition of the Talmud of 1826–31. These volumes were purchased by the Romm publishers from Bachrach's children and the glosses were published in the Vilna edition of 1880–86.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: I.T. Eisenstadt and S. Wiener, *Da'at Kedoshim* (1897–98), 68; R.N.N. Rabinowicz, *Ma'amar al Hadpasat ha-Talmud*, ed. by A.M. Habermann (1952), 129, 176.

[Yehoshua Horowitz]

BACHRACH, MOSES BEN ISAIAH MENAHEM (also known as **Moses Mendels**; 1574–1641), talmudic scholar. Bachrach was *av bet din* in Szydlow, Wlodzimierz, Cracow, and Frankfurt from before 1605 until after 1614. Apparently he then went to serve in a similar capacity in the district of Cracow since Meir b. Gedaliah *Lublin mentions him in one of his responsa of that period as being there. He carried on a halakhic correspondence with Benjamin Aaron *Slonik in 1619, at which time he was in Vladimir. In 1636 he was succeeded by R. Yom Tov Lipmann *Heller as *av bet din* in Prague, moving from there to Posen, where he succeeded Simeon Wolf b. David Auerbach as *av bet din*, and where he remained for the rest of his life. He participated in the sessions of the Council of the Four Lands in Yaroslav (1614) and in Lublin (1639). Jacob *Reischer in his *Shevut Ya'akov* refers to him as an outstanding talmudic scholar. *Moshel ba-Elyonim Attah Yadata*, a *seliḥah* he wrote during an epidemic, is still extant. It is included in the *Seliḥot* of Posen, Cracow, Prague, Worms, and Alsace. One of his responsa is included in the responsa *Ḥinnukh Beit Yehudah* of Judah Leib b. Ḥanokh (Amsterdam, 1708, no. 76). His son ISRAEL wrote *Sefer Marot ha-Ẓedek* and an index to the *Shelah* of Isaiah *Horowitz (Amsterdam, 1682). His daughter, Edel, translated an abridged version of *Josippon into Yiddish (Cracow, 1770).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: M. Horovitz, *Frankfurter Rabbinen* (1969^2), 38, 47, 62, 280–1; Dembitzer, in: *Oẓar ha-Sifrut*, 4 (1892), 230–1; Wettsein, in: *Ha-Eshkol*, 5 (1905), 253; Halpern, Pinkas, 61, 490; Davidson, Oẓar, 3 (1930), 107 no. 834; D. Avron (ed.), *Pinkas ha-Kesherim shel Kehillat Pozna* (1966), 72, 120.

BACK, SAMUEL (1841–1899), rabbi and scholar. Back, who was born in Galgocz (now Hlohovec, Slovakia), served as rabbi in Prague-Smichov from 1872. He wrote on philosophical, historical, and talmudical subjects. His published works include *Josef Albos Bedeutung in der Geschichte der juedischen Religionsphilosophie* (1869), *Das Synhedrion unter Napoleon I* (1879), *R. Meir ben Baruch aus Rothenburg* (1895), *Entstehungsgeschichte der portugiesischen Gemeinde in Amsterdam und Rabbi Menasse ben Israel* (1883), *Elischa ben Abuja-Acher* (1891), and "Die Fabel in Talmud und Midrash" (in MGWJ, vols. 25, 29, 30, 33). Back also published sermons and eulogies as well as articles in learned periodicals.

BACKER, GEORGE (1902–1974), U.S. publisher, politician, and communal leader. Backer was born in New York. He worked briefly in the family's real estate firm, but devoted himself mainly to politics and the arts. In 1937 and 1938 Backer ran unsuccessfully for Congress as an American Labor Party candidate, and served on the New York City Council. From World War II he was a leader of the reform wing of New York

Democrats, and was closely associated, as friend and political adviser, with W. Averell Harriman. In 1939 Backer purchased the *New York Post*, became its publisher and editor, and imbued it with a strong liberal outlook. His former wife, Dorothy *Schiff, assumed control of the newspaper after their divorce in 1942. Backer had a deep interest in music and drama, sponsoring theatrical productions and writing plays. His novel *Appearance of a Man* was published in 1966. Backer's Jewish activities date from the early 1930s when he became alarmed at the rise of Nazism. He visited Germany and Poland in 1933, 1934, and 1936, urging Jews to emigrate, and was active in American organizations aiding refugees. Among the Jewish groups with which he was affiliated are the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee, American ORT, Jewish Telegraphic Agency, and American Jewish Committee.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *New York Times* (July 20, 1966).

[Morton Rosenstock]

BACKMAN, JULES (1910–1982), U.S. Reform lay leader. Backman was born in New York and received his D.C.S. from New York University in 1935. He became an economic advisor to federal and state governments, a professor at NYU, and an editorial writer for the *New York Times*. Backman served as national chairman of the Reform Jewish Appeal (1965–69) and was a member of the executive committee of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations. He was elected to the Board of Governors at Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion in 1963, rising to become its chairman from 1976 until his death. Backman, who was instrumental in relocating the New York school of HUC-JIR to its present home near Washington Square and the NYU campus, received the seminary's American Judaism Award in 1970.

[Bezalel Gordon (2nd ed.)]

BACON, HIRSCH LEIB (1875–1928), *ḥazzan*. Hirsch Leib Bacon was born in Kolbuszow into the Bacon family of cantors. He studied in the yeshivah in Tarnow and during the period of his studies sang with Cantor Eliyahu Brandsdorfer. He moved to Nowy Sacz and established a choir that performed ḥasidic melodies and Psalms. In 1905 he was appointed cantor in the great synagogue of Chryzanow. He composed music for the Sabbath and holiday prayers, and for other occasions. He wrote hundreds of compositions. His son, Prof. Yitzhak Bacon, chairman of the department of Yiddish at Ben-Gurion University in Beersheba, is now publishing his father's compositions, which he wrote down from memory. In 1919 Hirsch Leib Bacon moved to Berlin and served as cantor in the *bet midrash* at Grenadierstrasse 37 until 1924, when he returned to Chryzanow.

[Akiva Zimmerman]

BACON, ISRAEL (1910–1943), *ḥazzan*. Bacon was born in Chryzanow, to a family of cantors, originating from Kolbuszow in Galicia. He was the son of Hirsch Leib Bacon. At the age of nine he went with his parents to Berlin and sang in his father's choir. At the age of eleven he was asked by the Jewish theater in Berlin to sing at a performance. His father did not approve and as a result he returned to Chryzanow with his son. Israel Bacon studied in the yeshivot of Tschebin and Bobov. At the age of 21 he appeared in various cities of Europe. He served as a cantor in Czechoslovakia and sang in concerts in London, Hamburg, Antwerp, and Berlin, where he also participated in activities of the Kulturbund. In Berlin he produced several records, including selections of Psalms and songs in Yiddish and Hebrew. Among his piano accompanists on these records was the musician Arno *Nadel. In 1939 he was appointed cantor at the *bet midrash* "Ahavat Re'im" in Cracow, but when he arrived there, the war broke out. He was transferred to the Tarnow ghetto where he encouraged the Jews with his singing. In 1943 he was taken to the extermination camp in Belzec where he was killed.

[Akiva Zimmerman]

°BACON, ROGER (c. 1214–1294), English philosopher and Hebraist. Bacon studied at Oxford (probably) and – from 1236 at the latest – Paris. He learned Hebrew, and his transliterations, reflecting Sephardi pronunciation, imply Jewish assistance. Bacon's advanced criticisms of scientific and theological methodology led Bonaventura, general of the Franciscans, to stop his teaching at Paris; after Stephen Tempier's Paris condemnation (1277) of the 219 propositions and of magical instruction, he was allegedly imprisoned for 14 years by Jerome de Ascoli, later Pope Nicholas IV. Meanwhile, in 1266, Clement IV (Guy du Foulques) had directed him to disregard his order's instructions and to write up, *in extenso*, his scholarship and views on ecclesiastical abuses. Bacon's resultant writings contain frequent references to Hebrew as the fountainhead of all philosophical knowledge and as indispensable for Bible study, all Latin versions being corrupt. While criticizing *Andrew of Saint Victor for his addiction to Jewish exegesis and deprecating contemporary acknowledgment of Andrew as authoritative, Bacon commended the former's resort to the original Hebrew text. He extolled Robert Grosseteste's endeavors to promote Hebrew studies, and a certain "*homo sapientissimus*" (probably William of Mara) for pursuing them.

Besides substantial competence in biblical Hebrew, Bacon evinced interest in the Jewish calendar and a grasp of linguistic science; he appreciated the affinity of Hebrew, Aramaic, and Arabic as comparable to that of the Romance languages. He contemplated writing a Hebrew grammar, and a fragment – the earliest known Hebrew grammar by a named gentile scholar in the West – survives (Cambridge Ms. Ff. 6. 13; appended to Bacon's *Greek Grammar*, ed. E. Nolan, 1902). Hirsch, who assembled and translated the relevant passages in Bacon's works, tentatively connected some correspondence (Ms. Toulouse 402) regarding Hebrew grammar and the calendar with Bacon (S. Berger, *Quam Notitiam…* (1893), 37–38).

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[Raphael Loewe]

BACON, SHLOMO REUVEN (1899–1986), *ḥazzan*. Shlomo Reuven Bacon was born in Tchekova near Chryzanow into the Bacon family of cantors originating from Kolbuszow in Galicia. From childhood he had a beautiful voice and sang in the choir of father cantor Haim Bacon, who served as *ḥazzan* in the cities of Des, Berlin, and Klausenberg, and was killed in the Holocaust. Shlomo Reuven Bacon also sang in the opera in Klausenberg and won great acclaim, but his father's opposition caused him to leave the opera. He was appointed as a cantor in London and from there moved to South Africa, serving for many years as a cantor in the Yovel Synagogue in Johannesburg. He was the secretary of the Cantorial Association in South Africa.

[Akiva Zimmerman]

BACON, YEHUDA (1929–), Israel painter. Born in Moravska Ostrava, Czechoslovakia, Bacon spent the years 1942–45 in concentration camps and was later sent on the "death march" to *Mauthausen, where he was liberated. In 1946 he was taken to Israel by *Youth Aliyah and studied at the *Bezalel School of Art, Jerusalem, and then continued his studies in Italy, London (1956–57 at the Central School of Art), New York, and Paris (1957–58, Beaux Arts). He was the head of the department of etching and lithography at the Bezalel School of Art and taught at Haifa University. Bacon concentrated on graphic work, but turned to a variety of media including oils, watercolors, and inks. The horror of the Holocaust was present in his work, tempered by faith in humanity. His later work, however, had a gentle, romantic quality. He was a witness at the Eichmann Trial in Jerusalem, and the Auschwitz Trial in Frankfurt. He won the Gold Medal of the Academie International in 1972, the Moshe Kol Prize in 1984, and the Sussman Prize for Artists from Yad Vashem for using the Holocaust as a subject. His drawing *In Memory of the Czech Transport to the Gas Chambers* depicting his father's murder is displayed at the Yad Vashem Museum.

BACON, YIDEL (1886–1954), *ḥazzan*. Yidel Bacon was born in Kolbuszow and belonged to the Bacon family of cantors. He studied cantorial singing with Cantor Baruch Shorr in Lvov. He sang in the choir of Cantor Eliezer Goldberg in Cracow, where he studied at the conservatory. He served as a cantor in Lancut in Galicia and from there moved to Leipzig. Later he moved to the United States and served as cantor at the Attorney Synagogue in New York City. He composed music for many sections of the prayer service and assisted in the training of cantors. Some of his compositions for the prayers of the High Holy Days have been published by the Cantorial Council of America.

[Akiva Zimmerman]

BACRI, Algerian family prominent near the end of Ottoman rule, with special status within the community and at the dey's court. The family had an important role in diplomatic relations between the Ottomans and several European states as well as in ransoming Jewish captives and arming neutral fleets in the Mediterranean. It had two branches, one in the capital, *Algiers, which had relations with France in Napoleon's time, the other near the western borders, in *Oran, which had connections with Spain. Relations with France, however, were not smooth, as in 1795 when the authorities impounded their merchandise in retaliation for the family's arming a pirate ship. After the Napoleonic era the Bacris did increased business with Spain.

[Shalom Bar-Asher (2nd ed.)]

JOSEPH COEN BACRI (1740–1817), banker, trader, and communal leader, was born in Algiers. He founded the Bacri Frères firm which played a significant role in Algerian politics for fifty years. The firm was an important wheat supplier to France during the Napoleonic period. In 1811, after the execution on a charge of treason of his son David, who had been active manager of the firm for several years, Joseph reassumed the management of the firm's affairs and was appointed leader of the Algerian Jewish community by the dey. However, in 1816, the dey confiscated his possessions and banished him from Algiers. According to other sources, he fled because of the anti-Jewish atmosphere. Bacri died in poverty in Leghorn.

DAVID COEN BACRI (1770–1811), son of Joseph, was a financier and communal leader. David had widespread shipping and trading interests and served as the financial agent for many European firms and governments. In 1797 he married Aziza, a niece of Naphtali *Busnach. Busnach, a statesman who was able to manipulate the Algerian Regency for his own purposes, became a partner in the firm. Under David's management, the firm of Bacri Busnach became so powerful and its operations so extensive that it was able to defy the British government and buy captured allied vessels from French privateers.

Acting on the advice of Bacri Busnach, the dey authorized a five-million franc loan to the French Directory. The credit for the loan was later transferred to the firm. The subsequent 30-year-long dispute over the settlement of the loan was one of the factors which exacerbated relations between Algiers and France, and led eventually to the French occupation of Algeria in 1830. After Naphtali's assassination by a soldier of the dey's palace guard in June 1805, Bacri Busnach became insolvent. David was imprisoned for allegedly owing the government five million francs. The European governments, however, which had profited by David's business activities, put pressure on the Algerian Regency and secured his release. These same governments then helped David set up the Bacri firm in payment for his past services to them. In 1806 the dey named him head of the Jewish community. Subsequently, his enemy, David Duran, who wanted the leadership for himself, denounced Bacri to the authorities and he was executed for treason.

JACOB COEN BACRI (1763–1836), a financier, served as French consul in Algiers under the restored Bourbon monarchy. In 1827, he represented Charles X in negotiations with Dey Hassan in regard to a French claim. Hassan, angered by Bacri's impassioned defense of French interests, insulted him. The French government regarded the dey's action as a national insult and as an immediate excuse to declare war. The war resulted in the French conquest of Algiers in 1830 and the banishment of the dey.

Bacri, who had left Algiers at the outbreak of the war, settled in Paris. During the last years of his life, he was continually importuned by creditors because of his inability to collect a 35-million-franc debt from the Spanish government.

[Joachim O. Ronall]

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BACRI, JEAN-PIERRE (1951–), French actor, playwright, and screenwriter. Bacri was born in Castiglione (French Algeria), where his father was a mailman and part-time worker at the local movie theater. The family moved to Cannes at the end of Algeria's war of independence war and Bacri began to write copy for an advertising company in Paris in 1976 while studying theater at the prestigious Cours Simon and writing his first comedies, including the 1980 *Le grain de sable*, which was awarded the Tristan Bernard Prize. He began to make a name for himself as an actor in Alexandre Arcady's feature film *Le Grand Pardon*, dealing with the Jewish-Algerian mafia, and in Luc Besson's *Subway* (1985), where he established his trademark character, taciturn and grouchy but sensitive. After collaborating regularly with satiric playwright Jean-Michel Ribes, Bacri went on to create several witty, ironic, and biting but humanistic comedies, co-written with his wife, Agnes Jaoui, which became tremendous popular successes that were adapted for the screen: *Cuisines et dépendances* (1993) and *Un air de famille* (1995). The couple also adapted two plays by Alan Ayckbourn for the screen, *Smoking* and *No Smoking*, for renowned avant-garde film director Alain Resnais (1993). The collaboration with Resnais later gave birth to the musical comedy *On connait la chanson* (1997), a witty exploration of French popular culture. Actor and co-screenwriter in Agnes Jaoui's first movies, *Le goût des autres* (2002) and *Comme une image* (2005), Bacri was also worked in films by Sam Karmann, Alain Chabat, Nicole Garcia, and Claude Berry, establishing himself as one of France's most popular actors.

[Dror Franck Sullaper (2nd ed.)]

BADAJOZ, city in Castile, western Spain, near the Portuguese frontier. Jewish settlement evidently began to develop in the 11th century, when Jewish artisans and merchants engaged in international trade are mentioned. After the Christian reconquest, the Jews of Badajoz were ordered to pay the *oncena* in addition to other taxes for which they were liable (1258). In the 15th century the Badajoz community claimed that it had been exempted from all taxes and imposts and was required to produce evidence at the synod of *Valladolid. The tax assessment for Castilian Jewry of 1474 required the Badajoz and Almendral communities to pay the sum of 7,500 *maravedis*. The enactment ordering the segregation of Jews from Christians was implemented in Badajoz during the 1480s, and many Jews were turned out of their homes. After the edict of expulsion of the Jews from Spain in 1492, large numbers of the exiles passed through Badajoz on their way to Portugal. Badajoz remained an important Converso center. Between 1493 and 1499 the local inquisitional tribunal punished no fewer than 231 New Christians. David *Reuveni was burned at an auto-da-fé in Badajoz in 1535 after a long imprisonment there. The temporary union of Portugal and Spain in 1580 facilitated the return of some descendants of the Castilian refugees to Castile. In 1635 a large group of Portuguese Marranos was discovered in Badajoz and was relentlessly pursued by the Inquisition. In 1639 some members of the Acosta family, one of the most important families in the city – two sisters and their sister-in-law – were accused by the Inquisition in nearby Llerena of remaining loyal to Judaism. The family's Jewish origin was well known in the city. The family had arrived from Portugal at the end of the 16th century. The scandal that the trial of members of a very wealthy and influential family caused was devastating. The three women, Isabel, Beatriz, and Clara, belonged to a family that had originally left Castile for Portugal in 1492 because they wanted to remain Jewish but soon found themselves trapped in Portugal and forcibly converted in 1497. The three were thrown into prison. The trial was the consequence of a love affair between a female member of the family and an employee of the family business who was of Morisco origin. During the trial the differences between the members of the same New Christian family became clear: Some were Crypto-Jews, others wished to integrate within Christian society, while a few wished to maintain the family link at all costs.

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[Haim Beinart / Yom Tov Assis (2nd ed.)]

°**BADÈ, WILLIAM FREDERIC** (1871–1936), biblical archaeologist. Born in Carver, Minnesota, Badè taught Old Testament literature at Moravian Theological Seminary, Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, from 1898 to 1902; from 1902 to 1936 he was professor of Old Testament literature and Semitic languages at the Pacific School of Religion, Berkeley, California. He excavated Tell al-Naṣba (Mizpah?), north of Jerusalem, in five campaigns between 1926 and 1935, clearing the mound almost completely. Badè published *Old Testament in the Light of Today* (1915), *A Manual of Excavations in the Near East* (1934), and *Excavations at Tell al-Naṣba, 1926 and 1927: A Preliminary Report* (1928).

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[Michael Avi-Yonah]

BADEN, part of the *Land* of Baden-Wuerttemberg, Germany. The former grand duchy was created in 1806 from parts of various territories (including the Palatinate), where until then the Jews had formed no united community or shared a common history. The earliest records of the presence of Jews in these territories relate to Gruensfeld (1218), Ueberlingen (1226), *Freiburg (c. 1230), Lauda and *Tauberbischofsheim (1235), *Constance (1241), and Sinsheim (early 13th century). The Jews had been expelled from several of these areas at various times: the Palatinate in 1391, the margravate of Baden in 1470, Austrian Breisgau in 1573, and the diocese of Basle in 1581. Until 1806 the history of the Jews in the margravate of Baden, which subsequently formed the nucleus of the state of Baden, may be summarized briefly. After the *Black Death, 1348–49, few Jews lived there but even these were expelled in 1470, as a result of the blood libel of *Endingen (South Baden). Jews were allowed to return to Baden at the beginning of the 16th century. In 1535 the margravate of Baden was divided into Baden-Baden and Baden-Durlach, to be united again in 1771. The Jews were expelled from Baden-Baden in 1614, but readmitted during the Thirty Years' War (1618–48). According to the first legislation concerning the status of the Jews in Baden-Baden in 1714, the territorial organization of the Jewry was headed by two lay officers (*Schultheisse*) and a rabbi. In Baden-Durlach Jews were first tolerated officially in 1537, but were expelled during the Thirty Years' War and readmitted in 1666. The Jewish population numbered 24 families in 1709, increasing to 160 families by 1738.

After the grand duchy of Baden was created, the position of its *Schutzjuden* ("protected Jews") improved. In the first constitutional edict of May 14, 1807, Judaism was recognized as a tolerated religion; a year later, the sixth edict afforded the Jews irrevocable civil rights and abolished the marriage restrictions imposed on them (see *Familiants' Laws). Local civil rights, however, remained severely restricted. The ninth edict (the so-called "*Judenedikt*" of Jan. 13, 1809) granted the Jews an officially recognized state organization, required them to adopt permanent family names, and determined their as yet very curtailed civil status. The constitution of 1818 implicitly confirmed the civil rights granted to the Jews by the edicts but denied them equal political rights. The struggle for emancipation focused on local civil rights and met with fierce and sometimes violent resistance in many villages and towns. Baden's liberal movement failed to endorse the idea of Jewish emancipation, most of its leading figures echoing public sentiment on the matter instead. Anti-Jewish outrages, often connected with the issue of emancipation, occurred in Baden in 1819 (*Hep-Hep), 1830, 1848, and 1862. Severe and widespread anti-Jewish rioting accompanied the revolution of 1848, especially in Northern Baden, and as a consequence the Diet pulled back from granting full emancipation to the Jews once more. In 1862 local civil rights were eventually granted, and the last of Baden's cities to exclude Jews (Baden-Baden, Freiburg, Constance, and Offenburg), allowed them to settle there. Nevertheless, animosity toward the Jews continued to be expressed in Baden, where Adolph *Stoecker's antisemitic Christian Social Party found numbers of adherents. After the Baden Army Corps was incorporated into the Prussian army, no Jew was promoted to the position of reserve officer or medical officer. Professorships too were granted almost exclusively to baptized Jews.

In 1868 Grand Duke Frederick I appointed the Durlach lawyer, Moritz *Ellstaetter, his minister of finance, making

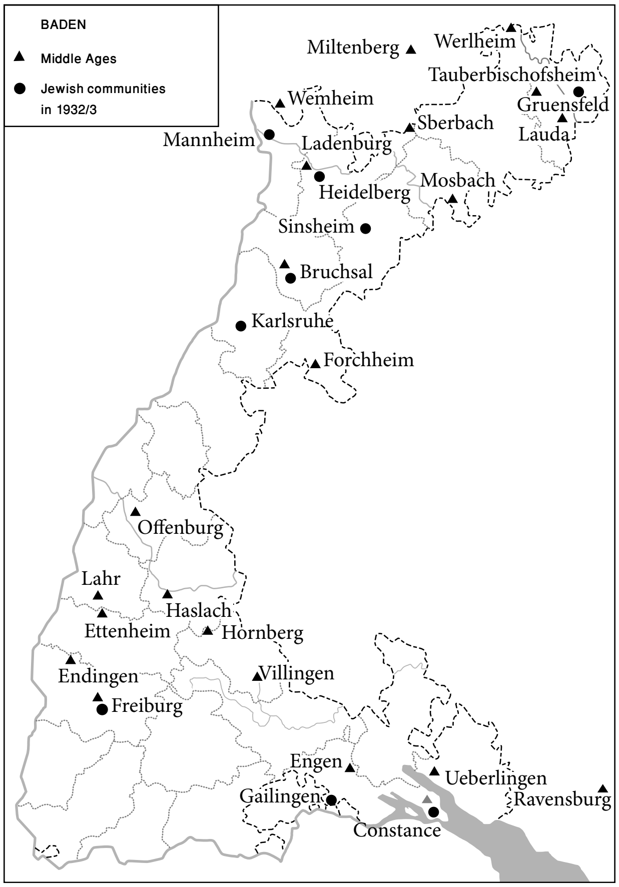

Jewish centers of population in Baden, Germany.

him the first German Jew to hold a ministerial position. Theodor *Herzl tried to interest the German emperor in Zionism through the intervention of the grand duke. The Jews of Baden also participated in its political life. In 1862 the lawyer R. Kusel was elected to represent Karlsruhe in the second chamber, and Ludwig Frank of Mannheim was elected to the Landtag and later to the Reichstag as Social Democratic member. He was among the 589 Baden Jews who fell in World War I. Two Jews were in the first postwar cabinet of Baden, L. Marum (minister of justice, murdered by the Nazis in 1933) and Ludwig *Haas (minister of the interior), who was also active in Jewish affairs.

In the Middle Ages Baden Jewry engaged in commerce and moneylending, later in livestock-dealing (which was the main source of income for the Jews in the countryside) and retail trading. In the 19th century occupational difficulties, the lack of progress in the struggle for emancipation, and anti-Jewish riots resulted in Jewish immigration to America. Baden Jewry was one of the earliest German Jewish Territorial Organizations to establish a state-recognized central organization (1809) – the Oberrat ("supreme council") – which in conjunction with the Synod (established in 1895) represented and directed the affairs of the community. Until its reorganization on May 14, 1923, the Oberrat was under state control. Religious controversy between the Orthodox and *Reform factions began in the early 19th century, the Reform later tending to predominate with the decline of the rural communities. When the *Karlsruhe community included an organ in its new synagogue (1868) and introduced reforms into the services, the Orthodox Jews, led by B.H. Wormser, established a separatist congregation there, the only one in Baden, which was given state recognition.

In 1806 Baden had a Jewish population of about 12,000, which had risen to 24,099 by 1862. As the result of emigration after the rise of Nazism, it decreased from 20,617 in 1933 to 8,725 by 1939. The Jews of Baden were among the first to be deported from Germany. On Oct. 22, 1940, some 5,600 Baden Jews, along with others from the Palatinate and the Saar, were transported to *Gurs concentration camp (southern France), from where they were further deported to Poland from 1942 onward. Approximately 500 Jews from Baden survived in France. The Oberrat was reestablished after the war. In 1962 the cemetery in Gurs was leased to the Baden Oberrat for 99 years. In 1969 there were 1,096 Jews in six communities (66 Jews in Baden-Baden, 248 in Freiburg, 135 in *Heidelberg, 260 in Karlsruhe, 387 in *Mannheim and Constance), with N.P. Levinson as chief rabbi. After 1989 new communities were founded in Emmendingen, Loerrach, *Pforzheim, and Rottweil-Villingen. As a result of the emigration of Jews from the former Soviet Union, the number of community members rose to 4,485 in 2003.

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[Bernhard Brilling / Stefan Rohrbacher (2nd ed.)]

BADEN BEI WIEN, spa in N.E. Austria. During the later Middle Ages Jews doing business there lived in nearby Tribuswinkel. In 1805 Isaac Schischa of Mattersdorf was granted permission to settle in the town, opened a Jewish restaurant, and established a prayer room. From around 1800 there was a *Judenbad*, a bath frequented by Jews in Baden, but Jews were not granted the right of residence in the city until 1861. A synagogue for 500 was built in 1873, and the community of 80 members was officially recognized in 1878. The first rabbi, W. Reich, installed in 1880, brought about a compromise between Orthodox and Liberal elements and was active in the foundation of the Agudat Israel orphan home. The community increased mainly by settlers from Hungary. By 1928 it numbered 1,500 (6.7% of the total population), and was the third largest in Austria, but in 1934 there were only 1,108 Jewish inhabitants. On Nov. 10, 1938, the synagogue and all community buildings were blown up, and the Jewish population was arrested to "make room" for Aryans. In 1946 the congregation was reconstituted, with a prayer room; it had 30 members. There were about 80 Jews in Baden in 2004. A synagogue was built in 2004/5.

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[Henry Wasserman]

BADER, GERSHOM (Gustav; 1868–1953), Hebrew and Yiddish journalist and writer. Bader, who was born in Cracow, taught there after attending rabbinical seminaries outside Galicia. From 1893 until 1912 he lived in Lvov, where in 1904 he founded the first Yiddish daily in Galicia, the *Togblat* (from 1906, *Nayes Lemberger Togblat*), and contributed regularly to *Ha-Maggid* and other Hebrew papers. From 1896 to 1912 he published and edited the *Yidisher Folkskalender*, a popular Galician literary almanac. He translated Genesis into Polish and published Hebrew language textbooks. His anthologies, *Leket Peraḥim* and *Zer Peraḥim* (1895–96), helped to popularize Hebrew literature and in 1896 he edited the fifth volume of the literary miscellany *Oẓar ha-Sifrut*. From 1896 to 1912 he produced the *Lukhes* annuals in Yiddish, and from 1903–04 a parallel Hebrew annual miscellany, *Ḥermon*. In 1912 Bader settled in New York, where he contributed to the *Togblat* and the *Jewish Morning Journal*. Of his Yiddish plays, the most successful was *Dem Rebens Nign* ("The Rabbi's Melody"), produced in 1919. His writings include: *Ḥelkat Meḥokek*, a life of Jesus (1889); *Medinah va-Ḥakhameha*, a lexicon of Galician Jewish cultural figures (1934); and *Mafte'aḥ le-Rashei Tevot*…, a dictionary of talmudic abbreviations (1951); *Jewish Spiritual Heroes* (3 vols., in English 1940); and his memoirs, *Mayne Zikhroynes* (1953).

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[Getzel Kressel]

BADGE, JEWISH, distinctive sign compulsorily worn by Jews.

Muslim World

The introduction of a mark to distinguish persons not belonging to the religious faith of the majority did not originate in Christendom, where it was later radically imposed, but in Islam. It seems that Caliph Omar II (717–20), not Omar I, as is sometimes stated, was the first ruler to order that every non-Muslim, the *dhimmī*, should wear vestimentary distinctions (called *giyār*, i.e., distinguishing marks) of a different color for each minority group. The ordinance was unequally observed, but it was reissued and reinforced by Caliph al-Mutawakkil (847–61). Subsequently it remained in force over the centuries, with a few variations. Thus, in Sicily the Saracen governor in 887/8 compelled the Christians to wear on their garments and put on their doors a piece of cloth in the form of a swine, and the Jews to affix a similar sign in the form of a donkey. In addition, the Jews were compelled to wear yellow belts and special hats.

Christendom

Although written documentary testimony concerning distinctive signs worn by Jews from the 12th century is still lacking, pictorial representations of this period, especially in the Germanic countries, introduce the pointed hat. This is subsequently referred to as the "Jewish hat," worn by Jews or depicted in allegorical representations of Judaism ("Synagoga"). It would seem, however, that this distinction was instituted by the Jews themselves. There are some ambiguous references to the compulsory imposition of distinctive Jewish clothing in documents from the beginning of the 13th century (Charter of Alais, 1200: Synodal rules of Odo, bishop of Paris, c. 1200). The consistent record, however, can be traced back only to canon 68 of the Fourth *Lateran Council (1215): "In several provinces, a difference in vestment distinguishes the Jews or the Saracens from the Christians; but in others, the confusion has reached such proportions that a difference can no longer be perceived. Hence, at times it has occurred that Christians have had sexual intercourse in error with Jewish or Saracen women and Jews or Saracens with Christian women. That the crime of such a sinful mixture shall no longer find evasion or cover under the pretext of error, we order that they [Jews and Saracens] of both sexes, in all Christian lands and at all times, shall be publicly differentiated from the rest of the population by the quality of their garment, especially since that this is ordained by Moses…." Both the allusion to biblical law (Lev. 19), and the inclusion of the canon among a series of others regulating the Jewish position indicate that the decree was directed especially against the Jews.

Implementation of the council's decision varied in the countries of the West in both the form of the distinctive sign and the date of its application.

ENGLAND. In England papal influence was at this time particularly strong. The recommendations of the Lateran Council were repeated in an order of March 30, 1218. However, before long the wealthier Jews, and later on entire communities, paid to be exempted, notwithstanding the reiteration of the order by the diocesan council of Oxford in 1222. In 1253, however, the obligation to wear the badge was renewed in the period of general reaction, by Henry III, who ordered the *tabula* to be worn in a prominent position. In the *statutum de Judeismo* of 1275, Edward I stipulated the color of the badge and increased the size. A piece of yellow taffeta, six fingers long and three broad, was to be worn above the heart by every Jew over the age of seven years. In England the badge took the form of the Tablets of the Law, considered to symbolize the Old Testament, in which form it is to be seen in various caricatures and portraits of medieval English Jews.

FRANCE. In 1217 the papal legate in southern France ordered that the Jews should wear a *rota* ("wheel") on their outer garment but shortly afterward the order was rescinded. However, in 1219 King Philip Augustus ordered the Jews to wear the badge, apparently in the same form. Discussions regarding the permissibility of wearing the badge on the Sabbath when not attached to the garment are reported by *Isaac b. Moses of Vienna, author of the *Or Zaru'a*, who was in France about 1217–18. Numerous church councils (Narbonne 1227, Rouen 1231, Arles 1234, Béziers 1246, Albi 1254, etc.) reiterated the instructions for wearing the badge, and a general edict for the whole of France was issued by Louis IX (Saint Louis) on June 19, 1269. This edict was endorsed by Philip the Bold, Philip the Fair, Louis X, Philip V, and others, and by the councils of Pont-Audemer (1279), Nîmes (1284), etc. The circular badge was normally to be worn on the breast; some regulations also required that a second sign should be worn on the back. At times it was placed on the bonnet or at the level of the belt. The badge was yellow in color, or of two shades, white and red. Wearing it was compulsory from the age of either seven or thirteen years. Any Jew found without the badge forfeited his garment to his denunciator. In cases of a second offense a severe fine was imposed. When traveling, the Jew was exempted from wearing the badge. Philip the Fair extracted fiscal benefits from the compulsory wearing of the badge, by annual distribution of the badges by the royal tax collectors at a fixed price.

SPAIN. The obligation to wear the Badge of Shame was reenacted by the secular authorities in Spain shortly after the promulgation of the decrees of the Lateran Council, and in 1218 Pope Honorius III instructed the archbishop of Toledo to see that it was rigorously enforced. The Spanish Jews did not submit to this passively, and some of them threatened to leave the country for the area under Muslim rule. In consequence, the pope authorized the enforcement of the regulation to be suspended. The obligation was indeed reenacted sporadically (e.g., in Aragon 1228, Navarre 1234, Portugal 1325). However, it was not consistently enforced, and Jews who had influence at court would often secure special exemption. Alfonso X the Wise of Castile in his *Siete Partidas* (1263) imposed a fine or lashing as the penalty for a Jew who neglected the order. In 1268 James I of Aragon exempted the Jews from wearing the badge, requiring them on the other hand to wear a round cape (*capa rotunda*). In Castile, Henry III (1390–1406) yielded in 1405 to the demand of the Cortes and required even his Jewish courtiers to wear the badge. As a result of Vicente *Ferrer's agitation, the Jews were ordered in 1412 to wear distinctive clothing and a red badge, and they were further required to let their hair and beards grow long. The successors of Henry III renewed the decrees concerning the badge. In Aragon, John I, in 1393, prescribed special clothing for the Jews. In 1397 Queen Maria (the consort of King Martin) ordered all the Jews in Barcelona, both residents and visitors, to wear on their chests a circular patch of yellow cloth, a span in diameter, with a red "bull's eye" in the center. They were to dress only in clothing of pale green color – as a sign of mourning for the ruin of their Temple, which they suffered because they had turned their backs upon Jesus – and their hats were to be high and wide with a short, wide *cuculla*. Violators were to be fined ten *libras* and stripped of their clothes wherever caught. When in 1400 King Martin granted the Jews of Lérida a charter of privileges, he required them, nevertheless, to wear the customary badge. In 1474 the burghers of Cervera sought to impose upon the local Jews a round badge of other than the customary form. In the period before the expulsion of the Jews from Spain in 1492, the wearing of the Jewish badge was almost universally enforced, and some persons demanded that it should be extended also to Conversos.

ITALY. Presumably the order of the Lateran Council was reenacted in Rome very soon after its promulgation in 1215, but it was certainly not consistently enforced. In 1221–22 the "enlightened" emperor Frederick II Hohenstaufen ordered all the Jews of the Kingdom of Sicily to wear a distinguishing badge of bluish color in the shape of the Greek letter τ and also to grow beards in order to be more easily distinguishable from non-Jews. In the same year the badge was imposed in Pisa and probably elsewhere. In the Papal States the obligation was first specifically imposed so far as is known by Alexander IV in 1257: there is extant a moving penitential poem written on this occasion by Benjamin b. Abraham *Anav expressing the passionate indignation of the Roman Jews on this occasion. The badge here took the form of a circular yellow patch a handspan in diameter to be worn by men on a prominent place on the outer garment, while women had to wear two blue stripes on their veil. In 1360 an ordinance of the city of Rome required all male Jews, with the exception of physicians, to wear a coarse red cape, and all women to wear a red apron. Inspectors were appointed to enforce the regulation. Noncompliance was punished by a fine of 11 scudi; informers who pointed out offenders were entitled to half the fine. The ordinance was revised in 1402, eliminating the reward for informing and exempting the Jews from wearing the special garb inside the ghetto. In Sicily there was from an early period a *custos rotulae* whose function it was to ensure that the obligation was not neglected. Elsewhere in Italy, however, the enforcement was sporadic, although it was constantly being demanded by fanatical preachers and sometimes temporarily enacted. The turning point came with the bull *Cum nimis absurdum* of Pope Paul *IV in 1555, which inaugurated the ghetto system. This enforced the wearing of the badge (called by the Italian Jews *scimanno*, from Heb. *siman*) for the Papal States, later to be imitated throughout Italy (except in Leghorn), and enforced until the period of the French Revolution. In Rome, as well as in the Papal States in the south of France, it took the form of a yellow hat for men, a yellow kerchief for women. In the Venetian dominions the color was red. In Candia (Crete), then under Venetian rule, Jewish shops had to be distinguished by the badge. David d'Ascoli, who published in 1559 a Latin protest against the degrading regulation, was severely punished and his work was destroyed.

GERMANY. In Germany and the other lands of the Holy Roman Empire, the pointed hat was first in use as a distinctive sign. It was not officially imposed until the second half of the 13th century (*Schwabenspiegel*, art. 214, c. 1275; *Weichbild-Vulgata*, art. 139, second half of 13th century; cf. Council of Breslau, 1267; Vienna, 1267; Olmuetz, 1342; Prague, 1355, etc.). The church councils of Breslau and Vienna, both held in 1267, required the Jews of Silesia, Poland, and Austria to wear not a badge but the pointed hat characteristic of Jewish garb (the *pileum cornutum*). A church council held in Ofen (Budapest) in 1279 decreed that the Jews were to wear on the chest a round patch in the form of a wheel. The badge was imposed for the first time in Augsburg in 1434, and its general enforcement was demanded by Nicolaus of *Cusa and John of *Capistrano. In 1530 the ordinance was applied to the whole of Germany (*Reichspolizeiordnung*, art. 22). In the course of the

15th century, a Jewish badge, in addition to the Jewish hat, was introduced in various forms into Germany. A church council which met in Salzburg in 1418 ordered Jewish women to attach bells to their dresses so that their approach might be heard from a distance. In Augsburg in 1434 the Jewish men were ordered to attach yellow circles to their clothes, in front, and the women were ordered to wear yellow pointed veils. Jews on a visit to Nuremberg were required to wear a type of long, wide hood falling over the back, by which they would be distinguished from the local Jews. The obligation to wear the yellow badge was imposed upon all the Jews in Germany in 1530 and in Austria in 1551. As late as in the reign of Maria Theresa (1740–80) the Jews of Prague were required to wear yellow collars over their coats.

Discontinuance

In the new communities which became established in Western Europe (and later America) from the close of the 16th century under somewhat freer conditions the wearing of the Jewish badge was never imposed, though sometimes suggested by fanatics. In Poland, partly probably because the Jews constituted a distinct ethnic element, it was likewise virtually unknown except in some major cities under German influence. Similarly the Court Jews of Germany were unable to perform their function unless dressed like other people. In the course of the 18th century, although there was no official modification of the established policy, the wearing of the Jewish badge came to be neglected in a good part of Europe. In Venice the red hat continued to be worn by elderly persons and rabbis through sheer conservatism.

From the 17th century, there were some regional suspensions of the distinctive sign in Germany, as also for the Jews of Vienna in 1624, and for those of Mannheim in 1691. It was abrogated at the end of the 18th century with Jewish emancipation. Thus, on Sept. 7, 1781, the yellow "wheel" was abolished by Emperor Joseph II in all the territories of the Austrian crown. In the Papal States in France the yellow hat was abolished in 1791 after the French Revolution reached the area, although some persons retained it until forbidden to do so by official proclamation. In the Papal States in Italy, on the other hand, the obligation was reimposed as late as 1793. When in 1796–97 the armies of the French Revolution entered Italy and the ghettos were abolished, the obligation to wear the Jewish badge disappeared. Its reimposition was threatened but not carried out during the reactionary period after the fall of Napoleon, and it then seemed that the Badge of Shame was only an evil memory of the past.

It was to commemorate the yellow badge or hat that Theodor Herzl chose this color for the cover of the first Zionist periodical *Die Welt*. It was in the same spirit that the *Juedische Rundschau*, the organ of the Zionist Organization in Germany, wrote on the morrow of the Nazi rise to power: "Wear it with pride, this yellow badge" (no. 27, April 4, 1933).

[Bernhard Blumenkranz]

Yellow Badge in the Nazi Period

In 1938 the Nazis compelled Jewish shopkeepers to display the words "Jewish business" in their windows but did not introduce distinctive signs to be worn by Jews until after the occupation of Poland. The first to issue an order on his own initiative, without awaiting instructions from the central authority, was the town Kommandant of Wloclawek, S.S. Oberfuehrer Cramer, who, on Oct. 24, 1939, ordered that every Jew in Wloclawek was to wear a distinctive sign on the back in the form of a yellow triangle at least 15 cm. in size. The order was published in the *Leslauer Bote* (Oct. 25, 1939). The order applied to all Jews, without distinction of age or sex. This device was rapidly adopted by other commanders in the occupied regions in the East and received official approval, in consideration of the antisemitic sentiments prevailing among the local Polish public, which received the new German measure with enthusiasm. The dates of application of the measure varied. There were regions where the instructions were applied even before they were issued in the General-Government, such as in Cracow, where the Jews were compelled to wear the sign from Nov. 18, 1939, whereas the date throughout the General-Gouvernment was Dec. 1, 1939. In Lvov the order was applied as from July 15, 1941, and in eastern Galicia from Sept. 15, 1941. On the other hand, in certain places the instruction is known to have been applied only after publication of the general order, as for example in Warsaw on Dec. 12, 1939, and not on Dec. 1, 1939, even though Warsaw was included in the General-Government. In the smaller communities, the official German instructions were replaced by an announcement of the *Judenrat.

In the West, the situation was totally different. In the *Reichsgebiet* (the territory of the Reich proper, as opposed to the occupied territories), the order was issued on Sept. 1, 1941. It was published in the *Reichsgesetzblatt* and was applied as from Sept. 19, 1941. This date was also valid for the Jews of Bohemia, Moravia, and Slovakia. The age from which the wearing of the sign was compulsory was six years for Germany and Western Europe and ten years for Eastern Europe. In certain places the age differed. In Holland the order was applied as from May 1942, while in Belgium and France the Jews were compelled to wear the distinctive sign from June 1942. A meeting had been held in Paris in March 1942 to coordinate the application of the order in these three countries. In Bulgaria the order was applied from September 1942, in Greece from February 1943, and in Hungary from April 1944. The type of distinctive sign varied, the following being the principal forms: a yellow Shield (Star) of David inscribed with *J* or *Jude*, etc.; a white armband with a blue Shield of David on it; a Shield of David, with or without inscription and in various colors; a yellow armband with or without inscription; a yellow button in the form of a Shield of David; a metal tag inscribed with the letter *J*; a yellow triangle; a yellow circle. This general use of the Shield of David as the Jewish badge was unknown in the Middle Ages. The inscriptions appearing on the badges were specially chosen to resemble Hebrew characters. After the Jews were compelled to reside in ghettos, they were also forced to wear the distinctive sign in conformity with the order applying to the region in which the ghetto was located. In the concentration camps they wore the sign which designated political prisoners on which was sewn a triangle or a yellow stripe to distinguish them from non-Jewish prisoners. In the *Reichsgebiet*, as well as in several of the occupied countries, the Germans introduced distinctive signs on Jewish business premises, passports, and ration cards, where the letter *J* was overprinted in a most conspicuous manner.

REACTIONS. Jews reacted with dignity to the order and wore the sign as if it were a decoration. However, they did not realize the danger which lay in wearing a distinctive sign. Non-Jews, especially in Eastern Europe, generally accepted this anti-Jewish measure with enthusiasm and saw in it an opportunity to remove the Jews from commercial, economic, and public life. In the West, reactions varied. The Jews could often rely on the hatred of the Germans by the public, and this even brought active support to the Jews. The Dutch wore the badge out of solidarity with the Jewish citizens. Three-hundred thousand replicas of the badge were produced and distributed throughout Holland bearing the inscription: "Jews and non-Jews stand united in their struggle!" In Denmark the badge was never introduced as a result of the courageous resistance of King Christian X, who was said to have threatened to wear it himself.

CONSEQUENCES. The principal objective in introducing distinctive signs for the Jews was to erect a barrier between them and non-Jews and to restrict their movements. The Germans achieved this objective to a large extent, despite the various reactions which rendered application of the order difficult. The Jews increasingly concentrated in closed districts, even before the establishment of the ghettos by the Nazis, for fear of being arrested and deported to concentration camps. A Jew had the choice of concealing the sign and thus becoming an offender liable to a deportation sentence to the concentration camps, or of wearing the sign and becoming an easy prey to his enemies. The distinctive signs were thus an effective means in the hands of the Germans to facilitate their plan to exterminate the Jews.

For special articles of clothing worn compulsorily or voluntarily by Jews, see *Dress.

[B. Mordechai Ansbacher]

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BADḤAN (Heb. בַּדְחָן; "entertainer"), merrymaker, rhymester who entertained guests, especially at weddings. The Talmud mentions professional jesters who cheered the melancholy (Ta'an. 22a) or who amused bride and groom (Ket. 17a; Ber. 30b–31a). Jewish itinerant singers, called *badḥanim* or *leiẓanim* ("jesters") are mentioned in medieval rabbinical literature (e.g., R. Elijah b. Isaac of Carcassonne's *Asufot*); they seem to have appeared as professional entertainers at weddings and at Ḥanukkah and Purim celebrations, much after the pattern of the troubadours and ballad singers. The merrymaking of these *badḥanim*, who were also the forerunners of Jewish theatrical art, consisted not only of folksongs and comic stories but also of skillful puns on scriptural verses and talmudical passages, which required a certain amount of Jewish learning. As a result, the rabbinical authorities protested against the *badḥanim* who parodied the *Kaddish* at wedding festivities or who committed the near-blasphemy of "amusing the guests with jests on scriptural verses and holy words. Happy the man who abstains from such" (R. David ha-Levi, in *Turei Zahav* to Sh. Ar., OH 560:5).

In Eastern Europe the *badḥan* (or *marshalik*, from Ger. *marschalc*, in the sense of "master of ceremonies," and not from Heb. *mashal*, "proverb"), acted as the professional wedding jester. The *Chmielnicki persecutions (1648–49), and the rabbinical opposition to unbridled merrymaking, even at weddings (based upon Sot. 9:14), led the *badḥanim* to introduce a new style of entertainment – the *forshpil* – in which the *badḥan* addressed the bride with a rhymed penitential exhortation while the women performed the ceremony of *bedeken*, i.e., covering the bride with the veil before proceeding to the *ḥuppah* (see *Marriage Customs). In the case of orphans, the *badḥan's* rhymes invoked the memory of the departed parents and injected a sorrowful note. Later, at the wedding feast, the *badḥan* entertained the guests with music and with jests that contained personal allusions to the important guests and participants. In the course of time the literary style of the *badḥan* developed into a sort of Hebrew and Yiddish folk-poetry, the most renowned exponent of which was Eliakum *Zunser of Vilna, who composed over 600 songs of this kind. A fine portrayal of the *badḥan* is the character of Breckeloff in I. *Zangwill's *Children of the Ghetto*. In recent times the institution of the *badḥan* has been replaced by more modern forms of entertainment.

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[Meir Ydit]

BADHAV, ISAAC BEN MICHAEL (1859–1947), Jerusalem rabbi and scholar. Badhav was born in Jerusalem and was the maternal grandson of Isaac *Covo. In his youth he studied in the *bet ha-midrash* Doresh Zion and in the yeshivah Shevet Aḥim. He engaged to a considerable extent in communal matters, and in 1886 was one of the founders of the Jerusalem Ḥevrat Shomerei Mitzvah u-Malbishei Arumim. In 1887 he was sent on a mission to Tripoli by the Beth El congregation, returning in 1889. In 1901 he was appointed teacher in the *bet ha-midrash* of Ḥayyim Hezekiah *Medini, Sedei Ḥemed in Hebron, but he remained there for a short time only, returning to Jerusalem. He lived in poverty all his life. Badhav devoted himself to collecting old Hebrew books and manuscripts and assembled a large library containing exceptionally important documentary archives which included ancient and valuable documents and records. These he obtained from members of the old Jerusalem families by persuading them to furnish him with their personal accounts of Israel and Jerusalem. They are a valuable source for research, particularly into Jerusalem.

In 1900 he published a catalog of his manuscripts entitled *Ginzei Ẓiyyon vi-Yrushalayim*. A second catalog, *Pardes ha-Torah ve-ha-Ḥokhmah*, was published in 1910. These manuscripts which contain materials dealing with the fields of *halakhah, aggadah*, philosophy, grammar, Kabbalah, geonica, medieval literature, history, poetry, and folklore are of great importance, because some of them are unique. Badhav also published many pamphlets containing laws and customs, poems and parables, amulets, prayers, petitions and memoirs, as well as responsa of early authorities, including some of the responsa of Maimonides. He translated into Ladino various historical studies. Because of his lack of means the pamphlets were issued in an irregular and haphazard manner. His two most important books are still in manuscript form: *Sefer ha-Gittin*, containing formulae of bills of divorce of the different communities, particularly those from Oriental countries – a book of importance not only for practical purposes but also for the purposes of research into Jewish history and folklore; and *Shem ha-Gedolim ha-Kelali*, an encyclopedia of great Jewish scholars and their works, both those which have been published and those which are extant in manuscript form.

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[Abraham David]

BADIḤI, YAḤYA BEN JUDAH (c. 1810–1887), Yemenite author of works on the Pentateuch and *halakhah*. Badiḥi belonged to one of the distinguished wealthy families of San'a, members of which were skilled goldsmiths by trade and served as minters to the Imams. This was a responsible but dangerous task for Jews since false accusations were frequently brought against them by the authorities. This was the case when Badiḥi and his father were imprisoned by the reigning Imam El-Mahdi (1815–1835). The father regained his freedom by paying a high ransom, but Badiḥi, faced with the choice between death or apostasy, succeeded in escaping to Karokaban, where the ruler treated the Jews with greater tolerance. Here he served as head of the local *bet din*. When Jacob *Saphir visited Yemen in 1859, he met Badiḥi, whom he described as one of the leading and most God-fearing scholars of Yemen Jewry. Badiḥi wrote three works which are still in manuscript: *Ḥen Tov*, a collection of rabbinic commentaries on the Pentateuch to which he added his original explanations with an appendix of 52 of his own responsa; *Zivḥei Shelamim*; and *Leḥem Todah* (based on the *Zevaḥ Todah* of Yaḥya Ṣalaḥ) both on the laws of *sheḥitah* and *terefot*. This latter work, a resume of the laws of *sheḥitah* and *terefot* according to Yemenite customs, was written both to supply exact information for *shoḥetim* in the villages and to stimulate Torah study, which had declined considerably.

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[Yehuda Ratzaby]

BADINTER, ELIZABETH (1944–), French philosopher. Elizabeth Badinter is the daughter of Marcel Bleustein-Blanchet, founder of the Publicis advertising group, and remains its principal shareholder. Holding an "*agrégation*" degree in philosophy, she taught at the prestigious École Polytechnique for science and engineering. Married to the left-wing lawyer Robert Badinter, she was part of his successful fight against the death penalty during the 1970s, which led to its abolition by newly elected president Francois Mitterrand in 1981. Strongly influenced by the Enlightment movement, as an academic specialist in 18th-century philosophers, Badinter dealt mainly with questions related to secularism, separation of religion and state, and, under the influence of Simone de Beauvoir's works, the position of women in society. Herself an "intellectual" in the French, Sartrian sense of the term, meaning a thinker involved in the evolutions of society, "*engagée*" (politically committed), she took a deep interest in the intellectual history of France and its connection to politics, which she depicted in her major book *Les passions intellectuelles*, and which is central to her biography of Condorcet (*Condorcet, un intellectuel en politique*, co-written with Robert Badinter, 1988). The history of feminism since its inception in the 18th century (*Émile, Émilie: l'ambition feminine au XVIIIe siècle*) is also a major theme of hers. Reflections on the masculine and the feminine, on sexual identity, which she first developed in her book about the history of maternal love from the 17th to 20th century (*L'amour en plus*) and then in her essay *XY, le syndrome de l'identité masculine*, ultimately led her to take a sharp turn towards sharp criticism of the evolution of the feminist movement, which she developed in polemically in *Fausse route* (2003). She advocated a "moderate" feminism against what she viewed as the excessive claims of the feminists. Her provocative views were the subject of much controversy.

[Dror Franck Sullaper (2nd ed.)]

BADINTER, ROBERT (1928–), French lawyer and minister of justice. Born in Paris, Badinter studied law there and at

Columbia University. A lawyer and a professor of law, Badinter was a well-known opponent of the death penalty and fighter for civil rights. After taking office as minister of justice in 1981 he promoted and had passed – sometimes in the face of considerable opposition – legislation towards the abrogation of the death penalty, abrogation of the special tribunal for security offenses ("Cour de sécurité de l'Etat"), and curtailment of the powers of the police. His militant stand on these and related issues made him the target of virulent attacks, sometimes of an antisemitic nature. Prior to his joining the government he had been active in Jewish organizations.

Before the change in the political majority in 1986, Badinter was appointed president of the Constitutional Council, which is the highest authority in France for interpreting the constitution. He remained in this position till 1995. The same year, he was elected senator from the Hauts-de-Seine district and was reelected nine years later.

Badinter published *L'Execution* (1973); *Liberté* (1976); *L'abolition* (2000, about his fight against the death penalty); and two historical studies: *Libres et égaux, l'émancipation des Juifs sous la Révolution française* (1989), on the emancipation of Jews by the French Revolution, and *Un antisémitisme ordinaire, Vichy et les avocats juifs* (1997), on the treatment of Jewish lawyers by the Vichy regime.

[Gideon Kouts / Dror Franck Sullaper (2nd ed.)]

BADT, HERMANN (1887–1946), German civil servant and constitutional lawyer, active in the Zionist movement. He was the son of the classical scholar Benno Badt. Born in Breslau, he maintained Orthodox traditions and joined the *Mizrachi Party. From 1905 to 1908 he studied law in Breslau and Munich. During World War I Badt served as Feldkriegsgerichtsrat. In 1919, he was the first Jew in Prussia to be admitted to the civil service after the revolution of 1918, first as *Regierungsassessor*, then as a *Regierungsrat* in the German foreign office. From 1922 to 1926 he was a Social Democratic member of the Prussian Diet and then became the Ministerialdirektor in the Prussian Ministry of the Interior in charge of constitutional affairs. In 1932 he represented Prussia before the Staatsgerichtshof (State Court) of the German Reich in its unsuccessful legal action against Chancellor von Papen, who had deposed the legal government and instituted himself as a dictatorial "Reichskommissar" (Reich Commissioner) in Prussia. After his dismissal in 1933, he emigrated to Palestine, which he had visited several times before. Among other enterprises, he founded the Kinneret company to promote middle-class settlement on the land where kibbutz Ein Gev was founded.

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BADT-STRAUSS, BERTHA (1885–1970), writer, Zionist, feminist. Badt-Strauss was born in Breslau. She was descended from a well-known family of Jewish scholars and studied literature, languages, and philosophy in Breslau, Berlin, and Munich. One of the first women awarded a doctoral degree in Prussia, she worked as a researcher and publisher. She became a Zionist and deeply involved in the Jewish Renaissance: the creation of a Jewish community with a special Jewish culture. With her husband Bruno Strauss, a teacher and expert on Moses *Mendelssohn, she lived in Berlin from 1913 on. In 1921 their only son, Albrecht, was born. Shortly after his birth Badt-Strauss fell ill with multiple sclerosis. In spite of this she continued writing numerous articles for Jewish publications, such as the *Jüdische Rundschau* and the *Israelitische Familienblatt*, and also for leading non-Jewish newspapers. She also co-edited the first scholarly edition of Annette von Droste-Huelshoff's works and translated and edited volumes of works by Gertrud Marx, Profiat *Duran, *Suesskind von Trimberg, Heinrich *Heine, Rahel *Varnhagen, and Moses Mendelssohn. She contributed to the *Juedisches Lexikon* and the *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, wrote short stories, a serial novel, and a collective biography of Jewish women.

As a religious Jewess and a patriotic German, Badt-Strauss became not only one of the protagonists of the Jewish Renaissance, she also participated in the German women's movement, wrote about German literature and included (supposed) "*Assimilanten*" like Moses Mendelssohn or converts like Rahel Varnhagen in her agenda. She tried to reinterpret the return of prominent Jews to Judaism as a self-determined step in the right direction and offered new role models for identification.

Badt-Strauss' intensive engagement with Jewish women should also be mainly attributed to her aim of creating new role models. Her only belief was in the need to return to Judaism and eventually to Ereẓ Israel. By not specifying too narrowly what this return should be like and what role women had to play in Judaism and in the "*Jischuw*," she invited women to take part in the creation of a Jewish community that had not seen women's role in this context because of the rigid male definition of Jewish femininity. Badt-Strauss was most successful with her individual interpretation of the aims of the Jewish Renaissance – her list of publications includes more than 600 editions and articles.

In 1939 Badt-Strauss immigrated to the United States. She continued writing and published a biography of the American Zionist Jessie *Sampter.

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[Martina Steer (2nd ed.)]

BAECK, LEO (1873–1956), German rabbi and religious thinker, leader of Progressive Judaism. Baeck was born in Lissa (now Lenzno, Poland) the son of Rabbi Samuel Baeck. Leo Baeck first studied at the Conservative Jewish Theological Seminary of Breslau, and remained close to its approach throughout his life. From 1894 Baeck studied at the Liberal *Hochschule fuer die Wissenschaft des Judentums in Berlin. At the same time he also studied philosophy at the University of Breslau under J. Freudental and at the University of Berlin under the philosopher Wilhelm Dilthey. Baeck served as rabbi in Oppeln (1897–1907), Duesseldorf (1907–12), and Berlin (from 1912 on), and as an army chaplain in World War I. He began lecturing on midrashic literature and homiletics at the Hochschule in 1912 and became a close adherent of Hermann *Cohen.

Baeck was a member of the committee of the Central-Verein deutscher Staatsbuerger juedischen Glaubens and published numerous articles in its journal, *C.V. Zeitung*, and periodical, *Der morgen*, Baeck was a non-Zionist member of the Jewish Agency and occasionally contributed to the German Zionist weekly *Juedische Rundschau*. From 1922 he served as the chairman of the Rabbinerverband in Deutschland, which included Liberal as well as Orthodox rabbis. From 1933 he was president of the Reichsvertretung, the representative body of German Jews, and devoted himself to defending the rights remaining for Jews under the Nazis. He refused all invitations to serve as a rabbi or professor abroad, declaring that he would remain with the last *minyan* (prayer quorum) of Jews in Germany as long as possible. At Terezin (*Theresienstadt) concentration camp, to which he was deported in early 1943, he was named honorary president of the Aeltestenrat and continued the work of encouraging his people. Thus, he became a "witness of his faith," a theme that had long occupied a central position in his writings. According to a testimony he allegedly gave to Eric Boem, he was informed in 1943 of the death camps but decided not to share the information with the Jewish leadership of the camp in order not to undermine Jewish hope, a decision that was sharply criticized by some and provoked a bitter public debate. After the war, in July 1945, he moved to London, where he became president of the council of Jews from Germany and the chairman of the World Union for Progressive Judaism. From 1948 until his death he taught intermittently in the United States as professor of history of religion at Hebrew Union College in Cincinnati.

Thought and Works

Baeck saw himself primarily as a rabbi and a preacher, who understood his mission beyond the borders of his own Liberal affiliation, as shaped by his responsibility to the entire German Jewish community and the Jewish people at large. His philosophical-theological thought as well as his works on history of religion should be read and measured in light of his rabbinic mission. In 1901 he published a polemic article against *Wesen des Christentums* by the Protestant theologian Adolf von Harnack. Four years later Baeck published his main work *Wesen des Judentums* (1905; *The Essence of Judaism*, 1936). Many further editions and printings of it were published, as well as English (1948^{3}), Japanese, and Hebrew (1968) translations. The apologetic character that dominated the first edition was considerably modified in the second and the extreme rationalism was eliminated. This transformation was the result of the influence of mysticism and Jewish nationalism. He identified the essence of Judaism with biblical prophecy, namely the direct experience of God's presence and the command to worship Him, a view he adopted from Rabbi *Judah Halevi. Hence, the essence of Judaism is a dialectic polarity between "mystery" and "command." The commands, according to Baeck, do not necessarily form a system of commandments like the established *halakhah*, which imposes a required and fixed way of life; rather they appear from time to time in the form of instructions for action like flashes of lightning that break through the cloud covering the divine "mystery." Baeck adhered to Hermann Cohen's interpretation of Judaism as "ethical monotheism." He believed that piety is achieved by the fulfillment of the duties between man and man, but in contrast with Cohen he gradually developed a deep appreciation of mysticism, which he understood to be a creative, artistic imagination, based on myth and symbolic language, which point to a supreme spiritual sphere transcending art and imagination. Ritual observances are directed toward this ethical religious aim as well as the deepening of "mystical prophecy." His religious worldview was in that sense clearly liberal and deeply religious, though in practice he was quite traditionally observant.

Baeck sharply rejected Christianity, a religion that he regarded as a "romantic" one of the abstract spirit longing for redemption and as sharply distinguished from Judaism, the "classical" religion of the concrete spirit working for the improvement of this world. Judaism, in contrast with Christianity, is thus not aimed at the salvation of the individual soul but rather at the collective redemption of humanity and of the world. In line with his national and this-worldly view of Judaism and the Jewish people, Baeck had a sympathetic, although critical attitude towards Zionism. He thought that the building of Palestine was a valuable prospect for embodying the spirit of Judaism, but not a guarantee that it would be realized.

Other works of Baeck include *Wege in Judentum* (1933), a collection of essay and speeches; *Aus drei Jahrtausenten* (1938), a collection of scholarly papers destroyed by the Nazis and reprinted in 1958; *Die Pharisaeer* (1934; *The Pharisees and other essays*, 1947), *Maimonides, der Mann seine Werke und seine Wirkung* (1954) *Dieses Volk Israel* (2 vol., 1955–57; *This People Israel*, 1965), a work that he began to write in 1942 and whose first volume he completed while imprisoned in Terezin; *Judaism and Christianity* (1958). In 1954 Leo Baeck Institute for the study of the history of the Jews from German-speaking countries was established in his name, and he served as its first president. Other institutions carry his name, such as Leo Baeck College in London.

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[Akiba Ernst Simon / Yehoyada Amir (2nd ed.)]

BAECK, SAMUEL (1834–1912), German rabbi and scholar. Baeck, who was born in Kromau (Moravia), the son and grandson of rabbis, served as rabbi of Leipa (Bohemia) and Lissa (Lezno, Poland) and was active in German-Jewish communal affairs. He successfully advocated the teaching of Jewish religion in Prussian high schools, for which he wrote some textbooks. His *Geschichte des juedischen Volkes und seiner Literatur…* (1888) went into three editions. To J. Winter and A. Wuensche (eds.) *Die juedische Literatur* (1894–96) Baeck contributed the sections on the halakhic, homiletic, and other literature from the 15th to the 18th centuries (also separately printed, 1893). Leo *Baeck was his son.

BAENA, JUAN ALFONSO DE (c. 1445), Spanish poet and scribe to Juan II of Castile. Most probably he was born a Jew and decided to convert. His conversion to Christianity enabled him to enter the court of Juan II and become one of his high officials. The *Cancionero de Baena*, an anthology of 14th- and 15th-century poetry which he compiled and presented to the king in 1445 deals with the social and political life of the period and includes many references to Jews and conversos. Hostility toward the conversos is expressed in several poems by Alfonso Alvarez de Villasandino (nos. 140–2, 183). Two *decires*, or poetic compositions, of the monk Diego de Valencia (probably a converted Jew himself) deal with conversos; the text of the first (no. 501) contains a number of Hebrew words. The *Cancionero* also includes poems celebrating the birth in 1405 of the future King Juan II. One of these (no. 230), the composition of a certain Don Mossé (described as surgeon to Henry III), indicates the part played by the Jews in Spanish cultural life. Baena's poetry is very rich and harmonious in its rhymes. Another Juan de Baena (also known as Juan de Pineda) rose from obscurity as a tailor in Córdoba to eminence at the court of Toledo. A converso, he was brought to trial and condemned to death in 1486.

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[Kenneth R. Scholberg]

BAER, ABRAHAM (1834–1894), cantor. Baer was born in Wielen (Filehne), Poznan (Poland). He was a teacher and *ḥazzan* in various towns in western Prussia and in Posen, before becoming assistant cantor in Goteborg, Sweden, in 1857 and chief cantor in 1860. Collaborating with the organist of the synagogue, Joseph Czapek, he published a two-volume collection of hymns (principally those of *Sulzer) for choir, with organ accompaniment, *Musik till sångerna vid Gudstjensten* (2 vols., 1872). Five years later came his great work *Baal T'fillah*, a collection of melodies and recitatives according to the Polish, German, and Sephardi rituals, which became the basic manual for European cantors. The fruit of 15 years' work, it contains about 1,500 melodies which cover the liturgy of the year. Among them are several melodies of Sulzer, *Naumburg, and *Lewandowski, and some of his own. The collection went through five editions between 1877 and 1930.

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[Haim Bar-Dayan]

BAER, GABRIEL (1919–1982), historian. Born in Germany, Baer immigrated to Ereẓ Israel in 1933. His special field was the social history of the Middle East, particularly of Egypt, in modern times. A professor of Oriental Studies at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, he was awarded the Israel Prize in 1976. His books include *A History of Landownership in Modern Egypt 1800–1950* (1962), *Egyptian Guilds in Modern Times* (1964), *Population and Society in the Arab East* (1964), *Studies in the Social History of Modern Egypt* (1969), and *Fellah and Townsman in the Middle East: Studies in Social History* (1982). Baer was also editor of two Middle Eastern quarterlies published in Jerusalem: *Hamizrah Hehadash* and *Asian and African Studies.*

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[Jacob M. Landau (2nd ed.)]

BAER, MAX (**Maximilian Adelbert**; 1909–1959), U.S. prizefighter, world heavyweight champion 1934–35, member of the World Boxing Hall of Fame and the International Boxing Hall of Fame. Born in Omaha, Nebraska, Baer dropped out of school in the eighth grade to work with his father on a cattle ranch in California, where he developed his muscles and a powerful right hand. He began to box in 1929 and won 22 of his first 24 fights, nine with first-round knockouts. In a fight on August 25, 1930, heavyweight Frankie Campbell was killed in a fight with Baer in San Francisco, which led to a grand jury investigation of local boxing. Baer was charged with manslaughter but was later cleared of all charges, though he was suspended from fighting in California for a year. He quit boxing for several months after Campbell's death and then lost four of his next six fights, partly, it was said, because of his reluctance to go on the attack.

Baer recorded a major victory on June 8, 1933, when he beat Germany's Max Schmeling, a former world champion, with a 10th-round TKO in front of 56,000 fans at Yankee Stadium. Baer won the heavyweight title on June 14, 1934, knocking down Italy's Primo Carnera 11 times in 11 rounds, before winning by a TKO in the 11th. Baer lost the title in his first defense on June 13, 1935, to Jim Braddock, "The Cinderella Man," who was listed as a 10–1 underdog. It is considered by many the greatest upset in boxing history. Baer then lost in his next fight in four rounds to Joe Louis on September 24, 1935, before 88,000 fans at Yankee Stadium. On June 1, 1939, Baer fought Lou Nova at Yankee Stadium in the first boxing match ever televised. Baer lost his last professional fight to Nova again in 1941, retiring with a record of 71 victories (53 by knockout), 13 defeats, and one no-decision. He later refereed boxing and wrestling matches. In *Ring Magazine*'s 2003 list of the 100 greatest punchers of all time, Baer was ranked 22nd.

Baer wore a *Magen David* on his boxing trunks beginning with his fight against Schmeling, whom he taunted with "That one's for Hitler" between blows. "I wore the insignia because I thought I should, and I intend to wear it in every bout hereafter," he said after the fight. Baer claimed "Jewish blood" through the paternal line of his immigrant father Jacob, a German-Jewish immigrant who worked as a butcher, cattle dealer and rancher in Colorado and California. Jacob's father, Aschill Baer from Alsace-Lorraine, married a non-Jew from Vienna, Fanny Fischiel. Baer became an actor while he was boxing and appeared in some 20 movies, including *The Prizefighter and the Lady*, which was banned in Germany because of Baer's Jewish grandfather. He also had a successful nightclub act both solo and with Slapsie Maxie *Rosenbloom. His son, MAX, JR. (1937–), was an actor famous for playing "Jethro" on the 1962–71 television series *The Beverly Hillbillies*.

BUDDY (Jacob Henry; 1915–1986), a brother, also boxed in the heavyweight division, fighting Joe Louis for the championship twice. Baer lost the first time on a disqualification in the seventh round on May 23, 1941, when his manager claimed a foul and refused to leave the ring; and again on January 9, 1942, when Louis knocked him out in the first round. These were Buddy Baer's last two fights, and he retired with a 50–7 record, with 44 KOs.

[Elli Wohlgelernter (2nd ed.)]

BAER, SELIGMAN ISAAC (1825–1897), Hebrew grammarian, masorah scholar, and liturgist. Born at Mosbach (Baden, Germany), Baer was a pupil of Wolf *Heidenheim, who left him many of his manuscripts. At the age of 19 he turned to masoretic studies. Franz *Delitzsch was impressed by Baer's scholarly approach and together they published the Psalms with masorah (1860) followed by most of the other books of the Bible with masorah texts. Delitzsch prefaced each book with a Latin introduction (except the last two, which appeared after his death, Jeremiah in 1890 and Kings in 1895). These masoretic editions were compiled by Baer from manuscripts representing the variants of the masorah of *Ben Asher, *Ben Naphtali, and other masorah texts. All his life, Baer remained in the humble position of a teacher in the Jewish community school at Biebrich (Rhineland), but on the initiative of Delitzsch he was awarded an honorary Ph.D. by the University of Leipzig (1876). Baer's masoretic Bible edition was generally regarded as a genuine rendition of the traditional masorah text although it also evoked some criticism, notably by C.D. *Ginsburg and E. *Kautzsch. Baer's masorah text was printed in the widely accepted Vilna edition of the rabbinic Bible (*Mikra'ot Gedolot*). He also wrote a book on the cantillation in the poetical books of the Bible (*Torat Emet*, 1852) and on the secondary accent, the *meteg* (*Die Methegsetzung*, 1867); and published Ben Asher's *Dikdukei Te'amim* (together with H.L. Strack, 1879) and *Zwei alte Thorarollen aus Arabien* (1870).

Baer's greatest achievement lay in the field of liturgy. His many editions of liturgical texts, in which he followed the example and standards set by Heidenheim, were not only a scholarly feat but added dignity and decorum to Orthodox synagogue services throughout Western Europe, where his editions gained great popularity. The most important of these is his *Avodat Yisrael* prayer book with a scholarly commentary *Yakhin Lashon* (1868, several times reprinted, the latest in 1937) which has been accepted as the standard prayer book text by most subsequent editions of the *siddur*. Besides this major work, Baer edited *Seliḥot, Kinot, Seder ha-Berakhot* (1858), a handbook for mourners, cemetery use, etc., in three versions (*Toẓe'ot Ḥayyim*, 1862; *Sefer Gemilut Ḥasadim*, 1880; *Derekh la-Ḥayyim*, 1926); *Tikkun ha-Sofer ve-ha-Kore*, a handbook for scribes and readers of the Torah (1875); a prayer book, *Tefillat Yesharim* (18765, with prayers in German at the end; these also appeared separately as *Kol Bat Ẓiyyon*, 18753); *Piyyutim* (1874); *Divrei ha-Berit*, circumcision service (1874). These handsome little books ran into several editions and were reprinted after World War II.

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[Isaak Dov Ber Markon]

BAER, YITZHAK (**Fritz**; 1888–1980), historian. Born in Halberstadt, where he obtained a thorough Jewish education, Baer studied philosophy, classical philology, and history (the latter under Heinrich Finke) at the universities of Berlin, Strasbourg, and Freiburg. From 1919 Baer was research associate of the Akademie fuer die Wissenschaft des Judentums in Berlin, under whose auspices he went twice to Spain (1925–26) to collect archival source material on the history of the Jews in Christian Spain. In 1928 he was appointed lecturer and in 1930 professor of medieval Jewish history at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem. From 1932 to 1945 he was professor of general medieval history; he served from 1930 to 1959 as head of the university's department of Jewish history. Baer was one of the founders and editors of the Jewish historical review *Zion*. A coeditor of the "Historiographical Library" and *Sefer ha-Yishuv*, he took a leading part in the Israel Historical Society and was one of the 20 founding members of the Israel Academy of Sciences. He also contributed important articles to the German *Encyclopaedia Judaica* and its Hebrew counterpart

(*Eshkol*). Baer's first extensive research was into the history of the Jews of Christian Spain. On this subject he wrote his dissertation *Studien zur Geschichte der Juden im Königreich Aragonien während des 13. und 14. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin, 1913); *Untersuchungen über Quellen und Komposition des Schebet Jehuda* (Berlin, 1923; second printing 1936); *Probleme der jüdisch-spanischen Geschichte* (in KAWJ, 6 (1925), 5–25); articles on Abner of Burgos (in *Tarbiz*, 11 (1939/40), 188–206), on the disputations of Paris, Barcelona, and Tortosa, on Isaac Abrabanel (in *Tarbiz*, 8 (1936/37), 241–59); *Die Juden im christlichen Spanien* (1929, 1936), an important two-volume collection of unpublished documents on Spain, which served as the basis for his *History of the Jews in Christian Spain* (Heb., 1945, 19592, repr. 1965; Eng. ed., 2 vols., 1961–66), which is regarded as the standard work on the subject. Baer's work is remarkable for its broad historical outlook, accuracy in detail, and scholarly synthesis. These qualities enabled him to throw new light on the economic, social, legal, political as well as the religious and cultural condition of Spanish Jewry. His works are a model of historiography. Especially important among his studies of the development and history of the Jewish communal organization are his *Das Protokollbuch der Landjudenschaft des Herzogtums Kleve*, 1 (1922, repr. 1936), and his article on the beginnings and fundaments of Jewish communal organization in the Middle Ages (*Zion*, 15 (1949/50, 1–41). His method seeks to bring to light the internal forces that fashioned the Jewish communities within the framework of general history and local conditions. Baer believed that the essential features of Jewish communal organization were already set during the early generations of the Second Temple period and that these forms of organization were a product of the religious and national experiences of the people, and not that the Diaspora gave birth to them, although there were changes reflecting special conditions of time and place. Baer also investigated the spiritual and religious world of the Jewish people from the Second Temple period and the Middle Ages. Among his studies in this area are a series of articles in *Zion* written between 1932 and 1961 dealing with the theology of the *Sefer Ḥasidim* (see also Baer's contribution to *G. Scholem… Festschrift*, 1968) and the *Ḥasidei Ashkenaz* in general; with the historical basis of *halakhah*; with the relations between Jews, the early Christian Church, and the Roman Empire until Constantine; and his books *Galut* (Ger. 1936; Eng. 1947, Port. 1952) and *Yisrael ba-Ammim* (1955), and the article "Social Ideals of the Second Commonwealth" (in *Cahiers d'Histoire Mondiale*, 11 (1967/68), 69–91). From all these emerges an original view of the entire course of Jewish history. According to Baer the driving force of Jewish history lies in the continuing socioreligious activity of groups of pious and practical men of faith who aimed at perfecting the world. They succeeded in influencing the active elements among the people, with their beliefs and teachings, maintaining close ties with the non-Jewish world, and participating in its religiocultural and socioethical development. Baer reveals keen understanding of hellenistic and Christian culture and society. From this vantage point he examined the history of the Jews in the days of the Second Temple. His conclusions may be evaluated from his above-mentioned works as well as from articles in *Molad* (21 (1963), 308ff.) and *Zion* (23–24 (1958–59), nos. 3–4) and on *Serekh ha-Yaḥad* ("The Manual of Discipline," *Zion*, 29, 1964), which he sees as a Judeo-Christian document of the beginning of the second century C.E. He also dealt with the image of Judaism in the synoptic gospels (*Zion*, 31, 1966) and came to the conclusion that the polemics reflect conditions of the period following the destruction of the Temple. Baer is recognized as one of the most fruitful students and teachers of Jewish history of modern times. A jubilee volume was published in his honor in 1961 on the occasion of his 70th birthday (including his bibliography up to 1959).

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[Benzion Dinur (Dinaburg)]

BAERWALD, ALEX (1878–1930), one of the first Jewish architects in Ereẓ Israel. He was born in Berlin, and studied architecture at Charlottenburg. In 1910, he was invited by the Hilfsverein to plan the Technion buildings and the Reali school in Haifa. In these buildings, Baerwald tried to create a Jewish style of architecture, based on Muslim architecture.

Baerwald settled in Palestine in 1925, when he was appointed a lecturer at the Technion (which had been opened in 1924), and founded its Faculty of Architecture. He built many buildings in Haifa, Tel Aviv, and elsewhere in Palestine, in the same style that he developed in the Technion buildings (Bet Struck, the Anglo-Palestine Bank in Haifa). In spite of the quality of these buildings and their high architectural standard their influence on the development of architecture in Jewish Palestine was very limited. Baerwald himself designed a number of buildings in the contemporary modern European style. These include the Central Jezreel Valley Hospital and the Electricity Company's power stations at Haifa and Tiberias. He also planned two buildings in kibbutz Merḥavyah, combining rural European architecture with Middle Eastern motifs.

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[Abraham Erlik]

BAERWALD, MORITZ (1860–1919), German lawyer and politician. Baerwald was born in Thorn, West Prussia, and founded a law firm in Bromberg, Posen, where Jewish business and professional men constituted the nucleus of the urban bourgeoisie and enjoyed privileges not easily available to them elsewhere in Germany. Baerwald was elected to the board of attorneys, to the Bromberg city government, and to the Prussian Diet in 1912. In 1919 he was elected to the German National Assembly but, like all the other deputies from

Posen, resigned when Posen was reincorporated in Poland. Baerwald was vice president of the assembly of representatives of the Jewish community of Bromberg.

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[Ernest Hamburger]

BAERWALD, PAUL (1871–1961), banker and philanthropist. Baerwald, born in Frankfurt, was the scion of a family of German bankers. He began his career with a banking firm in Frankfurt. In 1896 he immigrated to the U.S. and in 1907 became a partner in Lazard Frères of New York City. In subsequent years Baerwald held directorships in a number of corporations. Baerwald's Jewish communal work began in 1917 when he was asked to become associate treasurer of the *American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (JDC) by his close friend, Felix M. *Warburg. He became treasurer (1920) and later chairman (1932). Baerwald's chairmanship of the JDC coincided with the Nazi period. During that time the JDC aided most of the European Jews who found haven in overseas countries. In 1938 Baerwald joined President Roosevelt's Advisory Committee on Political Refugees, which tried to find means to aid Nazi victims. He supervised the rescue work of the JDC during World War II and, risking its credit, sent money to Europe which had to be borrowed from New York banks. A high percentage of the President's War Refugee Board funds (1944–45) came from the JDC under Baerwald's direction. This financial policy was carried on in the postwar years when the JDC aided more than 500,000 refugees to reach Israel. In 1957 the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee, the *Hebrew University of Jerusalem, and the Israel Ministry of Social Welfare founded the Paul Baerwald School of Social Work at the Hebrew University.

[Yehuda Bauer]

°BAETHGEN, FRIEDRICH WILHELM ADOLPH (1849–1905), German Bible critic and Semitic scholar, son of a Lutheran pastor in Lachem. After Baethgen completed his studies at Goettingen and Kiel, he was appointed lecturer in biblical studies at Kiel in 1878, and six years later became assistant professor of theology there. During this period he did pioneering work in the fields of biblical Hebrew poetry, Syriac grammar, and Peshitta on Psalms (*Die Psalmen*, 1897^2, 1904^3). In 1888, the year in which his *Beitraege zur semitischen Religionsgeschichte* first appeared, he went to Halle as assistant professor of theology. In the following year he became professor of theology at Greifswald, where he was also an influential member of the Pomeranian consistory. From 1895 until his death he was professor of theology in Berlin.

BAEYER, ADOLF VON (1835–1917), German organic chemist and Nobel Prize winner. Baeyer was born in Berlin. His mother was the daughter of J.E. *Hitzig, literature historian and authority on criminal law and his father, Johann Jacob Baeyer, a non-Jewish scientist. Adolf Baeyer made his first chemical discovery – a double carbonate of copper and sodium – when he was 12. He went to Heidelberg, where he came under the influence of his lifelong friend, August Kekulé, the German chemist, with whom he went to Ghent in 1858. In 1860 he returned to Berlin and was appointed professor of organic chemistry at the Gewerbeinstitut (later the Charlottenburg Technische Hochschule). There he worked on the study of uric acid, and began 20 years of research on indigo. This was the basis of synthetic indigo, which eventually completely displaced the natural product, and was the foundation of the German dyestuffs industry. His work on alizarin also led to alizarin dyes, driving the natural pigment off the market. His field then extended into physiological chemistry. In 1872 Baeyer became professor at Strasbourg and in 1875 in Munich, where he continued to teach and experiment until he was 80. His work covered many fields, including acetylenic compounds, strain within chemical molecules, the structure of benzene, the constitution of terpenes, oxygen compounds with quadrivalent oxygen, carbonium compounds, and the relationship between color and chemical constitution. His many papers in chemical journals helped to lay the foundations for the new science of organic chemistry. He was awarded the Nobel Prize in 1905 for "the advancement of organic chemistry and the chemical industry, through his work on organic dyes and hydroaromatic compounds." His numerous other awards included the Davy Medal of the British Royal Society in 1881 and a German patent of nobility in 1885.

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[Samuel Aaron Miller]

BAGHDAD, capital city of *Iraq. Baghdad was the capital of the *Abbasid dynasty from its foundation in 762. From then a Jewish community existed there which eventually became the largest Jewish community of Iraq, and the seat of the exilarch. During the gaonic period the Jews lived in a special quarter, Dār al-Yahūd (Jewish Quarter). The bridge in the western section of the town, which led to the Karkh quarter, was named Qanṭarat al-Yahūd (Bridge of the Jews). A tomb situated in this quarter was until recently the site of prayer gatherings. The local Jews believed it to be the tomb of Joshua son of Jehozadak, the high priest. By the end of the ninth century the famous yeshivot of Sura and Pumbedita were established in Baghdad. The Karaites also played an important part in the life of the city.

Early and Early Modern History

During the tenth century there were two distinguished Jewish families in Baghdad, *Netira and Aaron. They were both influential in the royal court and they showed concern for the welfare of the community. At the end of the tenth century R. Isaac b. Moses ibn Sakrī of Spain was the *rosh yeshivah*. He had traveled to Iraq and "had been ordained as *Gaon* in order to fill the position of Rav Hai, of saintly memory." During the 12th century, but beginning with the reign of Caliph al-Muktafī (902–908), the situation of the Jews in Baghdad greatly improved. A short while before 1170 *Benjamin of Tudela, the traveler, found approximately 40,000 Jews living peacefully in Baghdad, among them scholars and exceedingly wealthy people. He noted that there were 28 synagogues and ten yeshivot. During the reigns of Caliph al-Muktafī and his successors, the rights and the authority of the exilarch were increased and with it the prestige of the Baghdad community also grew. In that period the exilarch *Daniel b. Ḥasdai was referred to by the Arabs as "Our lord, the son of David." The Baghdad community reached the height of its prosperity during the term of office of *rosh yeshivah* *Samuel b. Ali ha-Levi (c. 1164–94), an opponent of *Maimonides, who raised Torah study in Baghdad to a high level.

During the late 12th century through the middle 13th century, some prominent poets, as well as the great scholars and the *rashei yeshivot* appointed by the caliphs, lived in Baghdad. The most important were R. Eleazar b. Jacob ha-Bavli and R. Isaac b. Israel, whom Judah *Al-Ḥarizi, the poet and traveler, referred to as the greatest Iraqi poet. Isaac b. Israel headed the Baghdad yeshivah from 1221 to 1247. There were many physicians, perfumers, shopkeepers, goldsmiths, and moneychangers among the Jews of Baghdad; however, Judah Al-Ḥarizi considered this period as one of decline in view of the past importance of the community.

In 1258 Baghdad was conquered by the *Mongols and the Jews were not maltreated, as was the case with the Muslims. Arghūn Khān (1284–91) appointed the Jew *Saʿd al-Dawla, who had previously been the sultan's physician, director of financial administration of Iraq. During the few years he held office, Saʿd al-Dawla developed the economic importance of Baghdad and as a result of this he was appointed chief vizier of the Mongol Empire in 1289. After the death of Arghūn, Saʿd al-Dawla was executed on the pretext that he had not given the khān the appropriate medical care. After their final conversion to Islam in the early 14th century, the Īl-Khānids reinstated decrees which they formerly had abolished, concerning the discriminatory dress of the Jews and Christians and the special taxes which applied to all "unbelievers" under Muslim rule. When Baghdad was conquered for a second time in 1393 by Tamerlane, many Jews fled to Kurdistan and Syria, leaving almost no Jews in Baghdad until the end of the 15th century.

During the struggle between the Ottomans and the Persian kings of the Safavid dynasty for the domination of Iraq, the political situation of the Jews of Baghdad underwent many changes. Generally, the Jews were oppressed by the Persians, who were fanatical Shiʿites and haters of non-Muslims; on the other hand they enjoyed fair treatment under the *Ottomans. The conquest of Baghdad in 1514 by Shah Ismāʿīl I did not worsen the situation of the Jews, but with the beginning of the reign of his son Ṭahmāsp I (1524–76), they suffered greatly from the hostile attitude of the Persian authorities. During the first part of the Ottoman rule, which lasted from 1534 to 1623, there was again an improvement in the situation for the Jews. Their economic position improved; their trade with foreign countries increased; and there were several wealthy merchants among them. In the early 17th century Pedro *Teixeria, the Portuguese Marrano explorer, found 25,000 houses in Baghdad, of which 250 belonged to Jews. In 1623 the Persians again conquered Baghdad, and during their rule, which lasted until 1638, there was a new deterioration in the situation of the Jews. Because of this, they gave their support to Sultan Murād IV, who conquered Baghdad in 1638. The day of the conquest, Tevet 16, 5399, was fixed as a *yom nes* (day of miracle). Additional evidence of the sympathy of the Jews toward the Ottomans is the custom fixing 11 Av, 5493 (1733), the day that the Persians were defeated trying to reoccupy Baghdad, as a *yom nes*. Carsten Niebuhr, a Danish traveler and scholar who visited Iraq some 30 years later, relates that there was a large Jewish community in Baghdad and that its influence was felt in the economic life of the city.

During the second half of the 18th century and the early 19th century Ottoman rule deteriorated in efficiency and the attitude of the government toward the Jews became harsh. Even so, some Jewish bankers were involved in the affairs of the governing circles, especially in the attempted rebellion of the governors.

During the reign of Sultan Mahmud II, the banker Ezekiel *Gabbai supported the removal of the governor of Baghdad, who had rebelled against the sultan in 1811. The last Mamluk governor, Dāʿūd Pasha (1817–31), who had also tried to rebel against the sultan, oppressed the Jews of Baghdad, and many of the wealthier ones fled to Persia, India, and other countries. Among them was David S. *Sassoon, a member of the distinguished Baghdad family.

The number of Jews at that time was still considerable. R. *David D'Beth Hillel, who visited the city in 1828, found 6,000 Jewish families there led by a pasha, also known as "king of the Jews," who was also responsible for the judicial affairs of the community. The English traveler Wellsted, who visited Baghdad in 1831, praised the remarkable moral conduct of the Jews, which he attributed to their religious upbringing. Wellsted made special note of the feeling of mutual responsibility among the Jews of Baghdad. According to him, there were no poor among them because anyone who lost his means of livelihood was assisted by his companions. R. Jehiel Kestelmann, an emissary from Safed, claims to have found 20,000 Jews in Baghdad in 1860. With the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869 and the improvement of the city's economic situation, the economic status of the Jews also improved. Many Jews from other localities settled in the city. According to the traveler Ephraim *Neumark, the Baghdad community numbered 30,000 in 1884; 50,000 in the early 20th century; and 100,000 in the 1930s.

Community Leaders

In the 18th and 19th centuries important changes in cultural and religious life occurred, because of the activities of outstanding rabbis in the community. A notable improvement took place with the arrival of R. Ẓedakah *Ḥozin from Aleppo in 1743. Ḥozin improved the educational system of the city and Jewish religious education improved. During the 18th century Palestinian emissaries visited the Baghdad community, strengthening its ties with the Palestinian population and reinforcing religious values within the community. Besides collecting funds for the communities of Jerusalem, Safed, and Hebron, these emissaries also delivered sermons and resolved halakhic problems. The most prominent of Baghdad's rabbis during the 19th century was R. ʿAbdallah *Somekh, who is considered the greatest Iraqi rabbi of the last generations. In 1840 he founded a rabbinical college, Beit Zilkha, whose graduates filled rabbinical positions in many different localities. Among the Jews of Baghdad in the 19th century were still some writers of *piyyutim*, such as R. Sasson b. Israel (1820–1885). In the same century there were wealthy philanthropists who contributed generously to the community projects, especially to educational and religious institutions. The most prominent of them were Jacob Ẓemaḥ (d. 1847), Ezekiel b. Reuben Manasseh (d. 1851), Joseph Gurji (d. 1894), Eliezer Kadoorie (1867–1944), and Menaḥem *Daniel (1846–1940).

Until 1849 the community of Baghdad was led by a *nasi*, who was appointed by the vilayet governor, and who also acted as his banker (*ṣarrāf bāshī*). The first of these leaders claimed to be descendants of the house of David and their positions were inherited by members of their families. Later, however, the position was purchased. The most renowned of these leaders were Sassoon b. R. Ẓalaḥ (1781–1817), the father of the *Sassoon family, and Ezra b. Joseph Gabbai (1817–24). From 1849 the community was led by the *ḥakham bashi* who represented the Jews to the Turkish authorities. The first one was R. Raphael Kaẓin. The *nasi*, and later the *ḥakham bashi*, were assisted by a council of 10 and later 12 delegates, which included three rabbis and nine laymen drawn from the wealthier members of the community. The council collected the taxes and dealt with community affairs. The collection of the *ʿaskarlī* ("military service ransom tax"), which replaced the *jizya* (poll tax), was sometimes the cause of violent conflicts within the community.

World War I and After

Until the British conquest of Baghdad in March 1917, the Jews were oppressed by the vilayet governor and the police commissioner, who attempted to extort money from them and to recruit their youth for the Turkish army. Hundreds of young men were recruited and the majority were sent to the Caucasus where many died of starvation and cold. Wealthy Jews were tortured and killed after being accused of devaluating the Turkish pound. The Jews naturally rejoiced when the British occupied Baghdad. The day of their entry was fixed as a *yom nes* (17 Adar, 5677, or February 3, 1917). From the conquest until 1929, the Jews of Baghdad enjoyed complete freedom. Many of them were employed in the civil service, while others were even appointed to important government positions. Zionist activities also prospered for some time. However, in 1929, when the British decided to grant independence to Iraq, many Jewish officials were dismissed from government services, Zionist activity was prohibited, and, in general, there was an increase of antisemitism. This was especially so after Dr. A. Grobbe, the German ambassador in Baghdad, began to propagandize in 1932.

In 1934 there were large-scale dismissals of Jewish civil servants, and from 1936 murders of Jews and bombing of their institutions were added to even more dismissals. These attacks reached a climax on Shavuot 5701 (June 1–2, 1941) with Rashīd ʿĀlī's pro-Axis revolution against the British. During those two days savage mobs massacred Jews and looted their property with the passive support of army and police officers. Neither the regent ʿAbd al-Ilāh, who had arrived in the city before the beginning of the riots, nor the British troops, who were stationed outside the city, made any effort to intervene. According to various sources 120 to 180 Jews, including women, elderly people, and children, were killed and 800 injured during some 30 hours. This was accompanied by cases of rape and abduction of women. The value of the looted property was estimated at 1,000,000 dinars (or 1,000,000 pounds sterling – then 4,000,000 dollars). Thousands of Jews left the city, most of them for India and Palestine. However, many of them returned before the end of the year after failing to integrate themselves in these countries and having heard that the situation in Baghdad had improved. A period of prosperity ensued and continued until 1945; even though the decrees concerning their employment in government service and their admission to public schools had not been repealed, the Jews lived in Baghdad at ease and without fear.

After 1945 there were frequent demonstrations against the Jews and especially against Zionism. With the proclamation of the partition of Palestine, November 1947, even greater danger threatened the Jews of Baghdad. There was fear of a massacre, and the Jewish underground defense, organized with help of Palestinian Jews, was in a state of preparedness; the catastrophe was averted when martial law was proclaimed by the government. Nonetheless, many Jews were brought before military courts and fines were levied on the majority of them.

Immediately after the establishment of the State of Israel, hundreds of Baghdadi Jews were arrested. Many of the detainees were accused of communist or Zionist activities. A few hundred Jewish youth had joined these clandestine movements, especially after 1948. Two communist and two Zionist leaders were hanged publicly in Baghdad. During the government of ʿAbd Al-Karīm Qassem (July 1958–February 1963) the attitude toward the Jews was more favorable. Even so, there were severe periodical restrictions on departure from Iraq, property confiscation, and a strengthening of economic pressure on the community.

Fourteen Iraqis, including nine Jews, were hanged publicly in Baghdad on January 27, 1969, after being convicted on charges of spying for Israel. Two other Jews were hanged in August of the same year. In April 1973 the total number of the innocent Jews who were hanged, murdered, or kidnapped and disappeared reached 46; dozens more were detained.

There were 77,000 Jews in Baghdad in 1947. After the mass exodus to Israel in 1950–51, approximately 6,000 Jews were left. Subsequently, Jews continued to leave Baghdad, so that only about 3,000 remained in 1963 when Qassem was toppled by ʿAbd al-Salām ʿĀrif. This figure remained nearly the same until 1971, when the Jews began to escape from the country to Iran via Kurdistan and the authorities began to issue passports to Iraqi Jews. From this point on, the number of Jews dropped steadily to be about 350 in 1975. In 2005 there were only a few Jews still living in Baghdad.

[Abraham Ben-Yaacob / Nissim Kazzaz (2nd ed.)]

Institutions and Community Life – 1917–1970

During the British administration and after World War II, the number of Jewish educational institutions, especially the secondary ones, increased. In spite of the restrictions on the number of Jews admitted to government secondary schools, their number in these institutions was higher in 1950 than in 1920; but, because of lack of data, only the number in Jewish educational institutions will be mentioned. In 1920 there were some 6,000 Jewish youngsters in Jewish educational institutions: 2,500 in *talmud torahs*, 3,350 in kindergartens and elementary schools, and 150 in secondary schools; for 1950, the total was 13,476 pupils, of which 1,800 were in the *talmud torahs*, 8,970 in kindergartens and elementary schools, and 2,626 in secondary schools.

During this period there were also important social changes within the Baghdad community. The majority of women removed the gown (Arabic, *ʿaba*ʾ) and the veil (Persian, *pūshī*), which they formerly wore in the street. The number of girls engaged in teaching and in clerical work increased and some of them received a university education. There was also a change in the occupations of the Jews. Whereas in 1920 they were engaged in trade, banking, labor, and public services, in 1950 thousands earned their livelihood by clerical work or in the professions such as law. Immediately after the British conquest, the Jews began to leave their quarter to settle in all parts of the city. In the 1930s the Battāwīn and Karrāda quarters were established and inhabited by the wealthy. The attitude toward religion also underwent a change. During the first years after the British conquest there were only a few Jews who profaned the Sabbath or ate non-kosher food, whereas at the end of this period the number of Sabbath observers decreased.

From the end of the Ottoman period until 1931 the Jews of Baghdad had a "General Council" of 80 members, which included 20 rabbis and was led by the chief rabbi. The General Council elected a council for religious matters and a council for material welfare. The former dealt with ritual slaughter, burials, and the rabbinical courts, while the latter was responsible for the schools, hospitals, and charitable trusts. In 1926, however, a group of intellectuals gained the upper hand in the latter council and attempted to remove the chief rabbi, Ezra *Dangoor. After a stormy period, in 1931, the community passed the "Law of the Jewish Community." It deprived the rabbis of the community's leadership and made it possible for a nonreligious person to assume leadership. In spite of this in February 1933 R. Sasson *Kadoorie was elected chairman of the community. His position was, however, a secular one, while a rabbi without any community authority was elected to the position of chief rabbi. Just before the mass emigration of 1951, there were about 20 Jewish educational institutions in Baghdad; 16 were under supervision of the community committee, the rest were privately run. In 1950 about 12,000 pupils attended these institutions while many others attended government and foreign schools; approximately another 400 students were enrolled in Baghdad colleges of medicine, law, economy, pharmacy, and engineering. All but two of the Jewish educational institutions closed in 1952. These two had approximately 900 pupils in 1960, while about 50 Jewish pupils attended government schools. The Baghdad community also had a school for the blind, founded in 1930, which was the only one of its kind in Iraq. It closed in 1951.

Pupils in Jewish educational institutions in Baghdad in 1920 and just before the mass exodus of 1950–51

Year	Talmud Torah	Kindergartens and Elementary Schools	Secondary Schools	Total
1920	2,500	3,350	150	6,000
1950	1,880	8,970	2,626	13,476

The Jews of Baghdad had two hospitals; one, a general hospital named for Meir Elias, founded in 1910, and the second, an eye hospital named for Rima Kadoorie, founded in 1924. At both these hospitals, Jews received treatment, and operations were performed for the needy for little or no payment. Every school in town had a clinic. The community also had several philanthropic societies to provide dowries for girls without means, help to mothers, maintenance of yeshivah students, and for the vocational training of poor children. All these institutions, including the hospitals, eventually closed. Afterward, the community committee arranged for the sick to be admitted to various hospitals in the town.

Only seven synagogues remained in 1960 of the 60 synagogues of Baghdad in 1950. The community committee had subcommittees for religious affairs and administration. These two subcommittees were elected by the general committee, elected in turn by men of the community every four years. In November 1949, Sasson Kadoorie was forced to resign, when local Jewry blamed him for not acting to free the numerous young Jews arrested on charges of Zionism. He was replaced by Ezekiel Shemtob, who served until 1953, when Kadoorie again became president of the community. Kadoorie still presided in 1970. In accordance with an Iraqi law of 1954, a council elected every two years and supervised by the Ministry of Justice worked with the president. The subcommittees were abolished and a government law in December 1951 also abolished the rabbinical court in Baghdad.

[Hayyim J. Cohen]

Hebrew Printing

The first Hebrew (lithographic) printing press in Baghdad was founded by Moses Baruch Mizraḥi in 1863. The press printed a Hebrew newspaper named *Ha-Dover* (The Speaker) or *Dover Mesharin* (Upright Speaker) until 1870 and three small books. A second printing press with movable characters was founded in Baghdad in 1868 by Raḥamim b. Reuben, a resident of Baghdad, who had previously gained printing experience in Bombay. The brothers Moses and Aaron Fetaya later formed a partnership with Raḥamim, and after his death they continued his work until 1882. Fifty-five books were printed on this printing press.

In 1888 a new press was founded in Baghdad by Solomon Bekhor Ḥutz (1843–1892), a scholar, poet, author, journalist, bookseller, and communal worker. He brought his printing letters from Leghorn, Italy. Besides prayer books, he also printed many books which he considered useful to the members of his community. These included tales and works by Baghdad scholars which had been in manuscript until then. After his death, the printing press was taken over by his son, Joshua Ḥutz, and operated until 1913. Seventy-five books were printed on it.

In 1904 a new press was founded in Baghdad by R. Ezra Reuben Dangoor (1848–1930), who was also *ḥakham bashi* of Baghdad. This printing press was in existence until 1921 and over 100 books were printed on it. For the greater part they were books of prayers and *piyyutim* according to the custom of the Baghdad Jews, but there were also some popular books in the Judeo-Arabic jargon and a Hebrew weekly, *Yeshurun*, of which five issues were published in 1920. This was a second and last attempt at Hebrew journalism in Baghdad. During the British Mandate in Iraq, two small Hebrew printing presses were founded in Baghdad: the al-Waṭaniyya al-Isrāʾīliyya (The Israel Homeland) press, which printed about 20 books between 1922 and 1927; and the Elisha Shoḥet press, which printed more than 40 books between 1924 and 1937. When the British Mandate ended, these printing presses declined and finally ceased operation altogether.

[Avraham Yaari]

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BAGINSKY, ADOLF ARON (1843–1918), German physician and founder of modern pediatrics. Baginsky was born in Silesia and in 1881 joined the faculty of Berlin University, being appointed associate professor in 1892. In 1890, with the assistance of Virchow, he founded the children's hospital, Kaiser und Kaiserin Friedrich Kinderkrankenhaus, of which he became director. His main contributions to pediatrics were in the fields of infectious diseases, the study of milk, and hygiene. Baginsky was a leader in the movement for the promotion of child welfare and his services in this field won him orders and decorations from many governments. He was founder and editor of the pediatric journal, *Archiv fur Kinderheilkunde* (1879). His works included *Lehrbuch der Kinderheilkunde* (1982; "Textbook of Pediatrics," translated into a number of languages), *Handbuch der Schulhygiene* ("Manual on School Hygiene," 1877), and *Praktische Beitraege zur Kinderheilkunde* ("Practical Contributions to Pediatrics," 1880–84), as well as many articles on physiological and chemical subjects.

Baginsky was an active member of the Jewish community in Berlin and of the movement to check antisemitism in Germany. He also wrote an interesting essay on the significance of hygiene in Mosaic legislation in which he expresses his admiration for the hygienic laws in the Bible.

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[Suessmann Muntner]

BAGLEY, DAVID (1932–), *ḥazzan*. Bagley was born in Vilna where his musical talents were revealed at an early age. He spent the war years in Japan and China and studied in Mir Yeshiva in Shanghai. In 1947 he went to America, where he continued his religious studies and also furthered his cantorial learning. One of his outstanding teachers was Cantor Joshua Lind. His first post in the United States was in Atereth Zion Synagogue in Brooklyn, after which he went on to many important positions in the United States. He was chief cantor of the *Nidḥe Israel* congregation in Mexico City, and from 1967 to 1969 he was chief cantor in Ramat Gan, Israel. He has held posts in Johannesburg and Cape Town and has been chief cantor of Beth Shalom Synagogue in Toronto. He has produced many records of cantorial music (many under his own Shirei David label) and has composed several prayers, besides appearing in concerts throughout the world. Chanan Winternitz, a well-known Israeli liturgical arranger/accompanist, was for many years responsible for his concert repertoire. Besides two compilations of Recitatives and Melodies (*Ne'ilah* and *Hallel*), the Toronto Council of *ḥazzanim* together with the Council of Ḥazzanim of Greater Montreal has issued a volume of David Bagley's compositions entitled: *'Al Yedei David* (2000).

[Akiva Zimmerman / Raymond Goldstein (2nd ed.)]

BAGOHI (Gr. Βαγώας), governor of the Persian satrapy Yehud (Judea) in the time of Darius II and Artaxerxes II. Among the *Elephantine papyri there was found a letter sent in 408 B.C.E. by the Jews of Elephantine-Yeb to "Bagohi, governor of Judah," in which it is written that a similar letter had been sent to "Delaiah and Shelemiah, sons of Sanballat, governor of Samaria." In this letter they appeal for assistance in the reconstruction of their temple, which had been destroyed by the priests of the Egyptian god Khnub. This letter reveals that a similar appeal had been made three years earlier to "Bagohi, governor of Judah," to Johanan, the high priest in Jerusalem, to Ostanes the brother of Anani, and to the nobles of the Jews, but no reply had been received. It is probable that the reason for the failure of the high priest to reply was his negative attitude toward this temple, but it may also have been the tense relations existing between the Persian governor and the high priest. Josephus (Ant. 11:297–301) relates that when Johanan the high priest murdered his brother Joshua in the Temple (probably at the beginning of the fourth century B.C.E.), Bagohi forced his way into the Temple, declaring to the priests who opposed his entry (since he was a Gentile) that his defilement of the Temple was less than that of a person guilty of fratricide. The discovery of the Elephantine documents has disposed of the attempts of Wilrich and Wellhausen to dismiss the story as a legend on the grounds that no person of this name was known.

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[Abraham Schalit]

BAGRIT, SIR LEON (1902–1979), British industrialist and automation pioneer. Bagrit was born in Kiev, Russia, but his family arrived in England as refugees from Belgium at the beginning of World War I. He studied engineering at London University, helping to support himself at college by playing the violin in a philharmonic orchestra. He was employed for several years by engineering companies for which he designed machinery but in 1935, in order to be free to use his patents, he established his own firm. In 1937 it was taken over by Elliott Brothers, Bagrit becoming managing director. In 1962, as chairman of the company, now renamed Elliott-Automation, he turned to the development of automated control systems for nuclear, aeronautical, and industrial purposes. The company was the first in Europe devoted to automation. In 1967 Elliott-Automation was taken over by the English Electric Company, with Bagrit as deputy chairman.

He was a member of the Council for Scientific and Industrial Research (1963–65) and the Advisory Council on Technology (from 1964). A director of the Royal Opera House, he founded the Friends of Covent Garden. He became a consultant on automation to the Israeli government. He was knighted in 1962. In 1964 Bagrit delivered the prestigious BBC Reith Lectures on "The Age of Automation."

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[Moshe Eliahu Berman]

BAGRITSKI, EDUARD GEORGIYEVICH, pseudonym of **E.G. Dzyuba** (1895–1934), Soviet Russian poet. Bagritski, who was born into a middle-class Odessa family and had a traditional Jewish upbringing, was a dedicated communist. His verse, at first complex and influenced by Symbolism, gradually became simpler and more graceful, earning him a place among the leading Russian poets of the 20th century. Like his fellow writers from Odessa, *Babel, Olesha, *Ilf, and the Katayev brothers, Bagritski successfully combined literary sophistication with romantic naïveté in his perception and salutation of reality. This combination of highly polished craftsmanship and childlike wonder constitutes the most endearing quality of his lyric verse. It also accounts for the success even of his propagandist poems. Bagritski's most important work was the poem "Duma pro Opanasa" (1926; "The Lay of Opanas"), a blend of lyric and narrative verse which contains elements of Ukrainian folk poetry and of the old Slavic epic. "The Lay of Opanas" describes a Ukrainian peasant who deserts from a Red Army unit commanded by a Jew named Kogan, joins an anarchist band, captures his former commander, but later offers to release him. Kogan, a devoted Communist, proudly refuses, and is thereupon shot by Opanas, who is himself subsequently executed by the Reds. Bagritski's is one of the most successful treatments of the revolutionary theme in Soviet literature. Some of Bagritski's best poetry appeared in the collection *Yugo-zapad* (Southwest, 1928). He was also known for his Russian translations of English, French, Yiddish, and Ukrainian verse.

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[Maurice Friedberg]

BAHIA, the first region to be colonized in *Brazil and today a state within the federal republic situated in the northeast of the country. In 2005 the general population was 13,085,769, and the Jewish population about 800.

Colonial Period

The presence of Portuguese *New Christians began with the discovery, conquest, and colonization of Brazil, then inhabited by dozens of groups of indigenous peoples. When the tribunal of the *Inquisition was established in Portugal (1536; operating until 1821), and after the first *auto-de-fé* (1540), the immigration of New Christians to the Brazilian colony grew, and many of them arrived in Bahia with the first governors. Some sources maintain that one New Christian, Gaspar da Gama, was part of Pedro Álvares Cabral's fleet, in 1500. There were a significant number of Jews involved in sciences and the art of navigation in Portugal during the period of overseas expansion in the early 1400s. The Tribunal do Santo Ofício da Inquisição, created in Portugal, did not settle permanently in colonial Brazil. As of 1591, the Tribunal do Santo Ofício made several visits to Brazil, powers were delegated to some bishops, like for instance the bishop of Bahia, and clergymen would indict people for Jewish practices directly in Lisbon.

In the second half of the 16th century, Bahia absorbed New Christians who contributed to the establishment of the first villages, to the mercantilist state, and to the Church struggle against the Indians, to the finance of and participation in the expeditions to the interior, and to cultivation of the land and of sugar cane in particular. Production and trade in sugar cane became the chief source of wealth of Brazil in the second half of the 16th and the 17th centuries. Besides sugar-mill lords, New Christians were slave merchants, farmers, and craftsmen, among other occupations. They ascended socially and economically, but they were faced with the restrictions of belonging to religious orders or political spheres, such as the Irmandades de Misericórdia and Câmaras Municipais.

News about the New Christian prosperity, their increasing numbers, and slight attachment to Catholicism led the inquisitors to set up a board of inquiry in Bahia to locate judaizers. Their sessions, known as *Visitações* (visitations), were held initially in 1591–95 and in 1618 aiming at judaizers, condemned sexual practices, witchcraft, and Holy Church slanderers. Between 1618 and 1619 a total of 134 people were indicted, of whom 90 were accused of being judaizers. Most of them were not taken to court and many fled from Brazil to other regions colonized by the Spaniards.

Between 1624 and 1625 the Dutch Colonial Empire conquered Bahia. Then religious tolerance was established, although just a few New Christians were in the region and a few Jews came to Bahia with the Dutch expeditionary forces.

An important investigation, known as the 1646 Inquiry, was carried out in Bahia in the 17th century, at the Jesuit seminary. With the aid of various testimonies, this inquiry revealed the role that the Portuguese of Jewish descent played in the political, economic, and administrative life in Bahia. In the 18th century many members of Brazilian families were still prevented from assuming public office because they were descendants of those denounced in 1646.

The New Christians continued to hold important positions in Bahian society until the end of the 18th century. In 1773, during the liberal government of Marques de Pombal, general governor of Brazil, the differentiation between new Christians and old Christians was abolished and the inquisitional procedures came to an end. Consequently the New Christians were then totally integrated into society at large, their descendants being among the prominent and ancient families of Bahia.

The Inquisition in Brazil was less systematic and more infrequent then its Portuguese counterpart, probably owing to the difficult control of the colony, the fact that a permanent tribunal was never established, and the greater permeability within the social and religious relations established in the Portuguese New World.

According to Wiznitzer, around 25,000 people were brought to court by the Portuguese Inquisition, out of whom 1,500 were condemned to capital punishment. In Brazil, approximately 400 judaizers were sued, most of them condemned to imprisonment, and 18 New Christians were condemned to death in Lisbon.

The presence of New Christians in colonial Bahia and Brazil has always been a controversial issue in both Brazilian and Portuguese historiography. More studies on Jewish history have been published in Brazil with regard to the colonial period than about modern times, which shows the broad interest aroused by the theme of the New Christians and the Inquisition in Brazil. Some historians believe that the interventions of the Inquisition Tribunal in Brazil, supported by the nobility and the Catholic clergy, aimed at expropriating the New Christians' possessions and impeding the social ascension of a group with bourgeois aspirations. Therefore, the Inquisition created a myth regarding origin and purity of blood which discriminated against those with "infected blood" according to the Statutes on Blood Purity. Other historians see strictly religious and political reasons related to the history of the Portuguese Catholic Church and Portuguese Empire.

Meanwhile, some historians maintain that Judaism or Crypto-Judaism was "fabricated" during the inquisitional processes (that is, by means of intimidating, indicting, menacing, and torturing, the inquisition "created" such Judaism ito justify its own existence and legitimacy); some others argue that New Christians deliberately and furtively professed Judaic or Crypto-Judaic elements inherited from their ancestors. According to Anita Novinsky, the New Christian was a "split human being," socially and existentially, with a differentiated identity in the Portuguese-Brazilian colonial world.

The antisemitism found in the Inquisition's procedures did not lead to the spread of antisemitism among the population in Bahia or Brazil, although the mental hold of the Inquisition and the terror it possessed can hardly be assessed. There are no apparent connections between the history of the New Christians and contemporary 20th-century Jewish history in Bahia. Nevertheless, the remote (and secret) Jewish origin of many traditional Catholic Portuguese families is quite well known, as a memory of the Jewish community and the Bahian population at large, specially among its elites.

Contemporary Period

The Jewish community in Salvador, the capital of Bahia, consisted of approximately 200 families with an active cultural and political life, which reached its peak between the 1930s and 1950s. Jewish immigrants coming from Eastern Europe started settling in Salvador in the 1920s.

Records show that small groups of Jewish immigrants also settled in Ilhéus and Itabuna, in the region where a local economy based on cocoa flourished, and in Bonfim, Petrolina, Juazeiro, and Jacobina, along the banks of the São Francisco River (the most important in the State). In Salvador, a synagogue started to function at a private household in 1924, in 1925 the Jewish Jacob Dinenzon school was created. During the 1930s, a second school was founded, Ber Borochov, with Zionist leanings, differing from the Jacob Dinenzon school in its progressive and Yiddishist orientation. The new school operated slightly over a decade, after which the community favored the older school. In 1970, there were 120 students registered at the latter, which closed down in 1978 because many families had immigrated to other cities. In addition, the Jewish community in Salvador opened a cemetery and ran the Sociedade Beneficente. Zionist women's organizations emerged, such as WIZO and Naamat-Pioneiras, and the Jewish minority organized itself around the Sociedade Israelita da Bahia, founded in 1947. In 1968 the Hebraica Club of Salvador was founded. In politics, Mário Kertesz was mayor of the capital and Boris Tabacof was finance secretary of the State of Bahia. In 2004, those who remained organized themselves around the synagogue.

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[Roney Cytrynowicz (2nd ed.)]

BAHIR, SEFER HA- (Heb. סֵפֶר הַבָּהִיר; "Book of Brightness"), kabbalistic, pseudoepigraphic and midrashic anthology which enigmatically depicts a sexualized, divine theosophy considered by scholarship to mark the literary emergence of Kabbalah at the beginning of the 13th century.

The Work and Its Titles

The *Sefer ha-Bahir* should not properly be considered a book as it has no known author and certainly no single author. It is comprised of numerous tradition-complexes, divided by Gershom *Scholem into 140 numbered passages. Many medieval Jewish esotericists contributed and revised the passages contained in this anthology, from its early and all but lost Ashkenazi version which lacked theosophic symbolism and on through its canonical status amongst kabbalists in Spain. The earliest manuscripts lack any title, although it was widely referred to in the 13th century as *Sefer ha-Bahir, or Midrash R. Nehunya ben ha-Kanah*, based upon the opening passages wherein this tannaitic figure interprets a verse from Job (37:21) which mentions the bright light (*Or Bahir*).

Historical Setting and Earliest Use by the Kabbalists

Scholem placed the *Bahir* historically after the German Pietists and before the emergence of the Provençal kabbalists, so that the *Bahir* stood out as the earliest kabbalistic text. However, it is now understood that the first known kabbalist who composed a kabbalistic work in Provence, R. *Isaac the Blind, did not know the *Sefer ha-Bahir.* Accordingly, traditions quoted in the name of R. Isaac the Blind conclude with citations of passages from the *Sefer ha-Bahir,* but these citations are additions. No evidence exists that the Provençal kabbalists of his circle used or even knew of the work, although if they did, they certainly ignored it, preferring their own traditions and esoteric sources. R. Isaac's nephew, R. *Asher ben David, possibly cites the *Bahir* once in his *Sefer ha-Yiḥud* by the name *aggadah*, but here too, even if so, the lengthy book draws on other sources. R. Isaac's students in Gerona incorporated the *Sefer ha-Bahir* into their canon and writings, but only into their later works, suggesting the independent sources and development of these literary and esoteric circles. The anti-kabbalistic polemicist, R. *Meir ben Simeon of Narbonne, distinguished between what he heard from or about the Provençal kabbalists from what he read in the *Sefer ha-Bahir,* once again separating the Provençal kabbalistic phenomenon from this work.

Composition and Redaction: Between Germany and Spain

Accretions or revisions to certain passages display the mark of Provençal Kabbalah, although it cannot be determined when and by whom these passages were altered. One view places the main redactional activity as late as the kabbalists of Gerona. The 13th-century kabbalist, R. Isaac ha-Kohen, reports that the *Sefer ha-Bahir* "came from the Land of Israel to the early pietists, the sages of Ashkenaz, the kabbalists of Germany and from there to the early wise men in Provence who chase after all sorts of written [records of] wisdom, those who know the divine, supernal knowledge. But they saw only part of the book and not all of it because they did not see it in its entirety, in its complete form." R. Isaac's testimony points to the Ashkenazi origin of some literary sources of the *Sefer ha-Bahir* as he denies that the Provencal kabbalists edited the work. Citations from the pre-theosophic version of the *Sefer ha-Bahir* by R. Ephraim bar Samson and other passages from *Sod ha-Gaddol* by R. Moses ben Eleazar ha-Darshan, both 13th-century German Pietists, point to the Ashkenazi origin of the textual sources to what later became the commonly accepted, theosophic version of the *Sefer ha-Bahir.* Scholem built an argument on the latter's quotations, suggesting that the work, *Sod ha-Gadol* can be traced back to the "Orient," based on the mention of the title *Raza Rabba* in a ninth-century Karaite polemic against some rabbinic, magical works. This claim has since been dismissed as no citations can be offered to compare the works, amongst a host of early and medieval works known by the title "Book of Secrets." Recent scholarship has suggested that some passages in the *Bahir* are based on the Babylonian vocalization, pointing to ancient sources in the East. These claims aside, the literary production and kabbalistic recension are the products of unidentified circles of medieval, European esotericists which did not feed into, nor cause, the apparent "eruption" of kabbalistic thinking and literature at the end of the 12th and the beginning of the 13th centuries.

Literary Character of the Bahir

The *Sefer ha-Bahir* was not intended and should not be seen as a primer for kabbalistic study nor should it be understood through the lenses of the highly structured sefirotic symbolism which crystallized in the decades following its final stages of its composition and editing. The *Bahir* is rudimentary in its literary style, as it offers very complex mythic images, defying simple and structuralist interpretations based on the term *sefirot*. Many of its passages are based on parables of a king and his son or sons and a daughter, pointing to the *sefirotic* understanding, but effectively elucidating only some of the relationships within the supernal world, more than explicating any one, set doctrine.

Influences and External Sources

Scholem argued that the *Bahir* is the product of a merging of rabbinic and Gnostic traditions, at one point claiming that the work contains a literal translation of the Greek term *male*, pleroma (or: fullness), in describing the godhead. These phenomenological or hermeneutical parallels aside, no evidence can be shown to suggest the literary influence of Gnostic works on these early Jewish esotericists and the emerging Kabbalah. More recent attempts to explain the appearance of the *Sefer ha-Bahir,* have sought to explain the work as the first text to feminize the **Shekhinah* and focus on Her as the grade of the divinity closest to the kabbalist adept. Accordingly, the 12th-century Christian rites which focus on Mary in Provence are seen to be the impetus and influence which informed the kabbalistic invention of the feminized theosophy. Here again, only impressionistic parallels can be suggested between the two corpora and religious traditions, which in any event are anachronistic as the literary sources of the *Seer ha-Bahir* predate this Christian phenomenon and the work emerges from a different geographical location, Ashkenaz. The *Sefer ha-Bahir* does offer many sexualized interpretations of the drama within the divine structure although it rarely mentions the *Shekhinah*. Locutions from *Sefer Yeẓirah* are central to a number of passages although no systematic attempt is made to transform the ancient esoteric work into a kabbalistic interpretation. The term "*sefirah*," taken from *Sefer Yeẓirah*, rarely appears and there is no systematic use of the sefirotic names more commonly found in the later works to depict the ten divine grades of the divine theosophy. The term "kabbalah" is also not mentioned as the proper name for the esoteric lore, although there are two important uses of the root in other forms.

The Text and its Editions

The earliest dated manuscript from 1298 formed the basis for Scholem's annotated German translation which comprised his doctoral dissertation in 1923. Scholem "corrected" or rather amended his Hebrew transcription, which formed the basis of his translation, with "better" readings from 13th-century kabbalists, changing the earliest textual witness in key places. The discrepancies between the earliest manuscript and the many citations which appear in later kabbalistic works, demonstrate that even the kabbalistic editing of the *Sefer ha-Bahir* was still in flux after the literary and social emergence of the Kabbalah. This process continued through the early modern period and on through the 20th century, when Reuven Margolioth edited a very popular edition of the Hebrew text by integrating all the readings from three late manuscripts, including words and phrases not found in the early manuscript witnesses. A number of passages cited as coming from the *Sefer ha-Bahir* but not found in the main manuscripts are quoted in other kabbalistic works. Numerous commentaries and translations were prepared from the 14th century to the present. In 1994 an edition based on the earliest manuscripts was published including a facsimile of the first printed edition (Amsterdam 1651), the celebrated Munich manuscript copied in 1298, listings of the Bahiric passages not found in the *Sefer ha-Bahir,* variant readings from citations found in manuscript works, listings of all translations and commentaries and a bibliography of references to the *Sefer ha-Bahir* in printed works and modern scholarship.

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[Daniel Abrams (2nd ed.)]

BAHLUL, family of rabbis in Meknès, Morocco. DANIEL BEN JUDAH (second half of 17th century) was a halakhist, kabbalist, and preacher. He wrote copious notes on *Yazeḥ Yakar*, a work by Abraham Galanté on the Zohar to Exodus (Jerusalem National Library Ms.), and a volume of sermons which is frequently quoted in the work of his son Eleazar. His other sons were Samuel and Joseph.

SAMUEL was also a rabbi of Meknès. His signature occurs on the halakhic rulings of the community, one of which is dated 1732. ELEAZAR was one of the important scholars of Meknès. His signature appears on the decisions given in 1726 and 1730. Of his many works, which are extant in manuscript, the most important is *Sefer Mareh Einayim* (Jerusalem National Library), composed in Fez between 1710 and 1712, a collection of sermons by Castilian exiles and Moroccan rabbis from the 16th century, as well as sermons which Eleazar had heard from Ereẓ Israel emissaries. He also wrote *Pekuddat Elazar* on Proverbs, and a commentary on rabbinic maxims. In 1718 he edited and adapted *Refu'ot u-Segullot* and *Tivei Asavim* of Jacob Katan of Fez. JOSEPH was the secretary to the *bet din* of Meknès in 1834 and was later appointed *dayyan*.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: J.M. Toledano, *Ner ha-Ma'arav* (1911), 145; J. Ben-Naim, *Malkhei Rabbanan* (1931), 22b, 29a, 61b, 94a, 126a; G. Scholem, *Kitvei Yad be-Kabbalah* (1937), 102–4.

BAHRAIN (**Bahrein**), territory extending along the Arabian shore of the Persian Gulf southward from *Basra including many small islands. Talmudic references to ports and islands on the Persian Gulf indicate that Jews were already settled in this region. The Jews in the old capital of Bahrein, Hajar, are recorded in Arabic sources as having refused to accept Islam when Muhammad sent a force to occupy the territory in 630. In the 12th century *Benjamin of Tudela refers to 500 Jews living in Qays and to a Jewish population of 5,000 in al-Qatīfa (undoubtedly an exaggeration) who were said to control the pearl fishery. In the 19th century, Jewish merchants from Iraq, Persia, and India went to Bahrein, and there was a small Jewish colony. It has dwindled as a consequence of the political situation. In 1968 only some 100 Jews remained in the new capital city of Manama.

At the turn of the 20th century around 30 Jews remained in Bahrein, with services held in private homes on holidays. The Jewish community maintained its cemetery. Most of the Jews were prosperous and had good relations with their Muslim neighbors. Up until the Oslo Agreements (1993) between Israel and the Palestinians, the rulers of Bahrein had no official relations with Israel, but subsequently semi-official relations – commercial, in particular – were established.

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[Walter Joseph Fischel]

BAḤUR (Heb. בַּחוּר). In the Bible *baḥur* is first used to mean "selected for military fitness" and applied especially to handpicked warriors (I Sam. 26:2; II Sam. 10:9; Judg. 20:15; I Chron. 19:10; et al.). Later, *ne'arim* was used for "youngsters," and *baḥur* came to mean young men in the prime of their life; cf. "The glory of young men is their strength" (Prov. 20:29). In many cases it is mentioned with *betulah* meaning virgin (Deut. 32:25) and Jeremiah contrasts *baḥur-betulah* with old-man–boy and with man-woman (51:22). Later the term was used for an unmarried man (Ket. 7a). The Talmud uses it also in the sense of an innocent young man who has not "tasted sin" (Pes. 87a), and eventually as a student at a talmudical school (yeshivah). In Yiddish, pronounced *boḥer*, it is also the term for an unmarried young man. In modern Hebrew it means a young man and the feminine *baḥurah*, an unmarried girl.

BAḤURIM (Heb. בַּחֻרִים, בַּחוּרִים), a biblical locality southeast of Jerusalem to which *Paltiel accompanied Saul's daughter Michal when he was forced to return her to her former husband, David (I Sam. 25:44; II Sam. 3:16). On his flight from Absalom, David passed Baḥurim after ascending the western slope of the Mount of Olives. He was cursed there by Shimei, son of Gera, a native of the place (II Sam. 16:5ff.; I Kings 2:8). Jonathan and Ahimaaz, who acted as intermediaries between David and his secret supporters in Jerusalem, hid there in a well when they fell under suspicion (II Sam. 17:18ff.). Its accepted identification is with Ra's al-Tamīm on the eastern slope of the Mount of Olives, where Iron Age pottery has been found.

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[Michael Avi-Yonah]

BAḤUẒIM (probably from the Hebrew בַּחוּץ, "outside"), name given by the Jews to the apparently Jewish tribes living in the 15th and 16th centuries along the Algerian-Tunisian border in the regions of Kabylia and Constantine in Algeria and of Le Kef in Tunisia, whom the Arabs named Yahūd al-ʿArab (Arab Jews). These seminomadic tribes were agriculturists in Tunisia, and peddlers and jewelers in Algeria. Completely illiterate, the Baḥuẓim observed the Sabbath and swore by *Sīdnā Mūsā* ("our Master Moses"). They had their sons circumcised by the rabbi of the nearest town, who also officiated at their marriages and funeral rites. The theory brought forward by N. *Slouschz that these tribes were originally Berbers who had adopted Judaism was followed by several authors; hence they used the term "Judaized Berbers." However, Ḥ.Z. *Hirschberg asserted that they were really marginal elements of the Jewish community living outside the Jewish centers. Their existence as such during the 16th century and their ignorance of the Berber language seem to confirm the latter's theory.

In 1852 there were about 1,500 Baḥuẓim in Algeria, and in 1912 there were still about a hundred Baḥuẓim tents in Tunisia. After the end of World War I these tribes steadily disappeared. Some of them converted to Islam, while others settled in the surrounding Jewish communities, which willingly accepted them.

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[Rachel Auerbach]

BAḤYA (**Pseudo**), name given to the author of the Neoplatonic work *Kitāb Maʿānī al-Nafs* ("On the Essence of the Soul," Ar. version ed. by I. Goldziher, 1902; translated into Heb. by I.D. Broydé, 1896), at one time attributed to *Baḥya ibn Paquda. Nothing is known of the author. It appears that Pseudo-Baḥya wrote this work sometime between the middle of the 11th and the middle of the 12th centuries, since he cites *Avicenna and *Nissim ben Jacob who lived in the first half of the 11th century, but gives no indication that he was influenced by the late 12th-century developments in Islamic and Jewish philosophy.

On the Essence of the Soul presents the structure of the universe as a hierarchy of ten emanations created by God. These emanations are the active intellect, soul of the universe, nature, matter, bodies of the spheres, stars, fire, air, water, and earth. Each emanation is dependent on its predecessor for the divine power necessary to activate it. From the ten emanations are formed the composite substances of the sensual world to which the soul must descend. Criticizing the naturalist position that the soul is an accident of the body, the author maintains that the rational soul is spiritual, a product of the soul of the universe. While passing through each emanation in its descent, the soul acquires "outer garments" of impurities until it finally reaches earth and is embodied in man. Different degrees of impurity depending on the length of the soul's stay in each of the emanations through which it descends provide the differences between souls, which, however, are all similar in essence. Once it inheres in a body, the rational soul unites with the lower vegetative and animal souls, and it loses its original suprasensual knowledge. In order to reverse this process and ascend to the spiritual source from which it derived, the rational soul must purify itself by cultivating virtue and by governing the lower souls.

The author bases the immortality of the soul after death on the fact that all things composed of elements return back to their elements. Hence the soul returns to its origin, which is the spiritual soul of the universe, by means of an ascent which the soul can make once it has attained moral and intellectual perfection. Souls possessing only moral perfection can rise to an earthly paradise where they can acquire the knowledge necessary for their ascent to the suprasensual world. Souls possessing only intellectual perfection or no perfection at all are doomed to their earthly surroundings. As a part of their punishment these souls strive unsuccessfully to ascend to the suprasensual world. There is no direct evidence of the work having had any influence in medieval Jewish philosophy and it is not cited by other critics.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: A. Borrisov, in: *Bulletin of the Academy of Sciences of USSR, Class of Humanities* (Rus., 1929), 785–99; 41 (1897), 241–56; Husik, Philosophy, 106–13; Guttmann, Philosophies, 124–7.

[David Geffen]

BAḤYA BEN ASHER BEN ḤLAVA (13th century), exegete, preacher, and kabbalist. His great commentary on the Pentateuch (Naples, 1492) was written in 1291. According to tradition, he lived in Saragossa and served there as *dayyan* and preacher. He was a disciple of Solomon b. Abraham Adret, whom he called "my master," whenever he quoted from his commentaries. Curiously enough, Baḥya mentions neither his teacher's kabbalistic sayings nor his commentaries on the mystical teachings of Naḥmanides as did Solomon b. Adret's other disciples. There are also kabbalistic matters quoted anonymously by Baḥya which are attributed to Solomon b. Adret by other authors. This might confirm the assumption of J. Reifmann (*Alummah*, 1 (1936), 82) that Baḥya was not Solomon b. Adret's disciple in Kabbalah. It is also possible that he did not have his teacher's permission to quote him in kabbalistic matters. Isaac b. Todros of Barcelona, the commentator on Naḥmanides' esoteric teachings, is quoted by Baḥya only once, without the attribute "my teacher."

His Writings

Following *Botarel and for various reasons, spurious works (as well as writings whose authors are unknown) have been attributed to Baḥya. J. Reifmann's assumption that Baḥya wrote *Ha-Emunah ve-ha-Bittaḥon* (Korets, 1785), *Maʿarekhet ha-Elohut* (Mantua, 1558), and *Maʾamar ha-Sekhel* (Cremona, 1557), does not stand up to critical examination. Béla Bernstein has pointed out that a commentary on Job published in Baḥya's name was really a compilation made from two of his books: *Kad ha-Kemaḥ* (Constantinople, 1515) and *Shulḥan shel Arba* (Mantua, 1514). There was also the opinion that Baḥya's mention of *Ḥoshen Mishpat* was simply a printing error.

The clarity of Baḥya's style and his easy exposition have made his books (which draw their material from a variety of sources) popular with the public, particularly his commentary on the Pentateuch which has been published frequently from 1492 (with explanations and references, 2 vols., 1966–67). Additional testimony to its popularity are the numerous quotations from it in the book **Ẓeʾenah u-Reʾenah*. In his work Baḥya interprets the Pentateuch in four ways: literal, homiletical, rational, and according to the Kabbalah. He uses many different sources, beginning with talmudic and midrashic literature, exegetic and philosophic literature, and ending with kabbalistic literature. The way of *sekhel* ("reason") does not always mean philosophic-rationalistic interpretation. According to Baḥya, all that is outside the divine world, including demonological matters, belongs to "the way of reason," insofar as it is necessary to explain the verses or the *mitzvot* according to the subject. Baḥya is considered of great importance in Kabbalah and is one of the main sources through which the kabbalistic sayings of Naḥmanides' contemporaries have been preserved. As a rule, Baḥya does not divulge his kabbalistic sources. With the exception of the *Sefer ha-*Bahir*, which he considers an authentic Midrash, and Naḥmanides, who is his guide in Kabbalah, he rarely mentions other kabbalists, although he uses extensively the writings of Jacob b. Sheshet *Gerondi, *Asher b. David, Joseph *Gikatilla, and others. He treats the Zohar in a similar manner. Parts of the Zohar were known to him, and he copied from them. However, he mentions it only twice (as "Midrash Rabbi Simeon b. Yoḥai"). *Kad ha-Kemaḥ* contains alphabetically arranged clarifications on the foundations of faith and had a wide circulation. The best edition is that of Breit which contains a commentary (1880–92). A critical edition of *Kad ha-Kemaḥ, Shulḥan shel Arba*, and Baḥya's commentary to *Pirkei Avot* was published by C.B. Chavel (*Kitvei Rabbenu Baḥya*, 1970).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: J. Reifmann, in: *Alummah*, 1 (1936), 69–101; B. Bernstein, *Die Schrifterklaerung des Bachja B. Asher* (1891); Gottlieb, in: *Tarbiz*, 33 (1963/64), 287–313; idem, in: *Bar-Ilan Sefer ha-Shanah*, 2 (1964), 215–50 (Heb.), 27 (Eng. summary); 3 (1965), 139–85; 4–5 (1967), 306–23 (Heb.), 61 (Eng. summary); idem, *Ha-Kabbalah be-Khitvei R. Baḥya ben Asher* (1970).

[Efraim Gottlieb]

BAḤYA (Bahye) BEN JOSEPH IBN PAQUDA (second half of 11th century), moral philosopher. Little is known about the particulars of Baḥya's life beyond the fact that he lived in Muslim Spain, probably at Saragossa. Baḥya was also known as a *paytan* and some of his *piyyutim* are metered. Twenty *piyyutim*, either published or in manuscript, signed with the name Baḥya are assumed to be his. Baḥya's major work, *Kitāb al-Hidāya ilā Farā'iḍ al-Qulūb* (ed. A.S. Yahuda, 1912), was written around 1080. It was translated into Hebrew by Judah ibn *Tibbon in 1161 under the title *Ḥovot ha-Levavot* ("Duties of the Hearts"), and in this version it became popular and had a profound influence on all subsequent Jewish pietistic literature. Joseph *Kimḥi also translated portions of it, but his version gained no circulation and is still in manuscript. Several abridgments were made of the Hebrew translation, and the work was translated into Arabic, Spanish, Portuguese, Italian, and Yiddish. In more recent times it has been translated into English (*Duties of the Heart*, text and translation by M. Hyamson, 1962), German (*Choboth ha-L'baboth. Lehrbuch der Herzenspflichten*, tr. by M. Stern, 1856), and French *Introduction aux devoirs des coeurs*, tr. by A. Chouraqui, 1950). In his *Ḥovot ha-Levavot* Baḥya drew a great deal upon non-Jewish sources, borrowing from Muslim mysticism, Arabic Neoplatonism, and perhaps also from the *Hermetic writings. From Muslim authors he borrowed the basic structure of the book as well as definitions, aphorisms, and examples to illustrate his doctrines. In most cases his immediate sources cannot be identified, and the theory that he was influenced by *Al-Ghazali does not seem to be well-founded.

Despite the fact that Baḥya borrowed so liberally from non-Jewish sources, *Ḥovot ha-Levavot* remains an essentially Jewish book. In the introduction to this work Baḥya divides the obligations incumbent upon the religious man into duties of the members of the body (*ḥovot ha-evarim*), those obligations which involve overt actions; and duties of the hearts (*ḥovot ha-levavot*), those obligations which involve not man's actions, but his inner life. The first division includes the various ritual and ethical observances commanded by the Torah, e.g., the observance of the Sabbath, prayer, and the giving of charity, while the second consists of beliefs, e.g., the belief in the existence and unity of God, and attitudes or spiritual traits, e.g., trust in God, love and fear of Him, and repentance. The prohibitions against bearing a grudge and taking revenge are also examples of duties of the hearts. Baḥya explains that he wrote this work because the duties of man's inner life had been sorely neglected by his predecessors and contemporaries whose writings had concentrated on religious observances, that is, the duties of the members of the body. To remedy this deficiency Baḥya wrote his work, which may be considered a kind of counterpart to the halakhic compendia of his predecessors and contemporaries. Just as their halakhic compendia contained directions for the actions of the religious man, so Baḥya's work contained directions for his inner life. *Ḥovot ha-Levavot* is modeled after the works of Muslim mysticism, which attempt to lead the reader through various ascending stages of man's inner life, toward spiritual perfection and finally union (or at least communion) with God. In similar fashion *Ḥovot ha-Levavot* is divided into ten "gates" (chapters), each of which is devoted to a particular duty of the heart, which the Jew must observe if he is to attain spiritual perfection. The ten chapters deal with the affirmation of the unity of God (*yiḥud*), the nature of the world disclosing the workings of God (*beḥinat ha-olam*), divine worship (*avodat ha-Elohim*), trust in God (*bittaḥon*), sincerity of purpose (*yiḥud ha-ma'aseh*), humility (*keni'ah*), repentance (*teshuvah*), self-examination (*ḥeshbon ha-nefesh*), asceticism (*perishut*), and the love of God (*ahavat ha-Shem*).

In accordance with Platonic teachings (probably influenced partially by the Epistles of the Sincere Brethren), he maintains that man's soul, which is celestial in origin, is placed, by divine decree, within the body, where it runs the risk of forgetting its nature and mission. The human soul receives aid from the intellect and the revealed Law in achieving its goal. To elucidate this point Baḥya makes use of the Muʿtazilite (see *Kalām) distinction between rational and traditional commandments. He holds that the duties of the members of the body may be divided into rational commandments and traditional (religious) commandments, while the duties of the hearts are all rooted in the intellect. With the aid of reason and the revealed Law the soul can triumph over its enemy, the evil inclination (*yeẓer*), which attacks it incessantly in an effort to beguile it into erroneous beliefs and to enslave it to bodily appetites. Since the basis of religion is the belief in the existence of God, the first chapter of the work is devoted to a philosophical and theological explication of the existence and unity of God and a discussion of His attributes. In the second chapter Baḥya examines the order in the universe and the extraordinary structure of man, the microcosm. Such an examination leads to a knowledge of God, and to a sense of gratitude towards Him as creator. In the third chapter he discusses divine worship which is the expression of man's gratitude to God. To fulfill his duties to God without faltering and to achieve his true goal, man must diligently practice a number of virtues. One of these is trust in God, which is based on the belief that

God is good, and that he has a knowledge of what is best for man, and the power to protect him. To trust in God does not mean that one should neglect one's work, leaving everything to Him, but rather that one should conscientiously attempt to carry out one's duties, trusting that God will remove any obstacles which lie in the way of their fulfillment. While man has the freedom to will and choose, the realization of his actions is dependent on God's will. Further, a sound spiritual life requires sincerity, a perfect correspondence between man's conscience and behavior. Man's intentions must coincide with his actions in aiming toward the service of God. Humility, repentance, and self-examination are also essential. Another virtue is asceticism or temperance. Baḥya considers total asceticism, involving the breaking of all social ties, an ideal rarely attained in the biblical past and hardly to be recommended in the present. Actually, he recommends the pursuit of the middle way prescribed by the revealed Law, defining the genuine ascetic as one who directs all his actions to the service of God, while at the same time fulfilling his functions within society. The observance of these virtues leads to the highest stage of the spiritual life, the love of God. True love of God is the ardor of the soul for union with the Divine Light, a concept of a distinctly mystic character. Baḥya does not, however, develop this concept in all its implications. The love of God, in his view, is a synthesis of the degrees of perfection described above, but does not go beyond them. The lover of God, such as described by him, keeps at a distance from his loved one. Despite Baḥya's dependence upon Muslim mysticism, which is here more pronounced than elsewhere in the work, his teaching remains in the line of Jewish tradition, and he cannot be called a mystic in the strict sense of the term. It has been definitely established that the Judeo-Arabic Neo-platonic tract, *Kitāb Maʿanī al Nafs* (ed. by I. Goldziher, 1907; translated into Hebrew by I. Broydé as *Sefer Torat ha-Nefesh*, 1896) at one time attributed to Baḥya, was not written by him (see *Baḥya (Pseudo)).

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[Georges Vajda]

BAIA-MARE (Hg. **Nagybánya**), mining and industrial town in Transylvania, Romania, within Hungary until 1918 and between 1940 and 1944. The prohibition against Jewish settlement in Hungarian mining towns (issued in 1693) was abolished in 1848. The oldest document indicating a Jewish presence dates from the year 1664 and mentions a Jew trading in the locally mined metal. In a document dated 1725 the absence of the Jews is noted. In 1850 Jewish artisans, businessmen, and farmers began to settle in Baia-Mare. Subsequently Jews did much to develop local commerce and industry. A community was organized in 1860, and a burial society founded in 1862. The first synagogue was opened in 1887. During the *Tisza-Eszlar blood libel case in 1882, a mob attacked the synagogue and pillaged it. The community always remained Orthodox, and Satmar Hasidism (see *Teitelbaum) had a strong following. There was also a flourishing Zionist movement. In the period between the two world wars there was increasing tension between the ḥasidic community and the Zionists. The Jewish population numbered 701 in 1890 (out of a total of 9,838); 1,402 in 1910 (out of 12,877); 2,030 in 1930 (out of 13,904); and 3,623 in 1941 (out of 21,404).

[Yehouda Marton / Paul Schveiger (2nd ed.)]

Holocaust Period

Between the two world wars the Jewish population suffered from attacks by the Romanian Iron Guard. Between 1941 and 1944, the town served as the headquarters of Labor Service Battalion No. x, the recruitment center for many of the Jewish males of military age in Northern Transylvania. The Battalion was under the command of Lt. Col. Imre Reviczky (1896–1957), a decent Hungarian officer who saved a large number of Jews after the German occupation in 1944 by recruiting them into labor service and thus rescuing them from deportation. In 1962 he was posthumously recognized by Yad Vashem as a Righteous Among the Nations.

The roundup of the Jews of Baia Mare began on May 3, 1944, together with those from Northern Transylvania. The ghetto for the Jews of Baia-Mare was established in the vacant lots of the Koenig Glass Factory; at its peak, it held close to 4,000 victims. The approximately 2,000 Jews from the communities in the District of Baia-Mare, including Alsófernezely, Hagymáslápos, Kapnikbánya, Láposbánya, Misztófalu, Nagysikárló, Tomány, and Zazár, were concentrated in a stable and barn in Valea Burcutului (Hung. Borpatak), which could accommodate only 200 people; the others had to be quartered outdoors. The 5,917 Jews concentrated in these two ghettos were deported to Auschwitz in two transports on May 31 and June 5, 1944, respectively.

[Randolph Braham (2nd ed.)]

The Jewish population in Baia-Mare numbered 950 in 1947. Subsequent emigration to Israel, Western Europe, and the United States reduced the community considerably. In 1969 it numbered 120 families. In 2004 a very small number of Jews remained in the town.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Magyar Zsidé Lexikon* (1929), 626. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** R.L. Braham, *Politics of Genocide: The Holocaust in Hungary* (1994^{2}); PK Romanyah, 86–89.

BAIERSDORF, village in Bavaria, Germany, formerly the summer residence of the margraves of Kulmbach-Bayreuth. Tombstones in the Jewish cemetery indicate the presence of Jews in Baiersdorf at the end of the 14th century, although the first document in which they are mentioned dates from 1473. In 1632 they numbered 12 families. The synagogue, established before 1530, was rebuilt in 1651. After persecutions in 1680, the margrave issued an order in 1695 granting the Jews freedom of trade. In 1699 a "Jewish pharmacy" was opened in Baiersdorf. The community increased to 40 families (300 persons) in 1713 and 83 families in 1771. Baiersdorf was the seat of a district rabbinate in the 18th and 19th centuries. The Bavarian restrictions limiting Jewish households (*Matrikel-Gesetz*) led many of the younger sons to emigrate to England and America (for instance, the *Seligman family), and by about 1900 only 12 Jewish families remained. The rabbinate was dissolved in 1894. The synagogue built in 1711 was destroyed under the Nazi regime in November 1938; only three Jews remained in Baiersdorf at the time.

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[Ze'ev Wilhem Falk]

BAIERSDORF, SAMSON SOLOMON (d. 1712), son of Judah Selke, court agent of the margrave of Brandenburg-Bayreuth. Baiersdorf entered the margrave's service in 1670. He influenced him to issue a decree in 1695 granting the Jews in the margravate freedom of trade. In 1698 he bought real estate from the margrave. Although later involved in a court intrigue, Baiersdorf managed to retain his position. He donated the money for the synagogue of *Bayreuth, consecrated in 1711. Baiersdorf's daughter married Moses, the son of *Glueckel of Hameln, who became rabbi of *Baiersdorf in 1700. His sons, Veit and Solomon, known by the family name of Samson, and his son-in-law and brother also became court agents; the latter was permitted to retain an armed guard.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: H. Schnee, *Die Hoffinanz und der moderne Staat*, 3 (1955), 222–3; 4 (1963), 33; S. Stern, *The Court Jew* (1950), 100, 198, 251; Glueckel von Hameln, *Memoirs* (1932), 204–8, 220f., 232–5.

BAIGNEUX-LES-JUIFS, village northwest of *Dijon. Jews settled in the commune at its establishment in the middle of the 13th century, giving the locality its name. They were expelled with the other Jews in the duchy of Burgundy in 1306. The inventory made of their debts and property indicates that the community was fairly numerous and prosperous. Green and red wax, parchment, ink, and paint were taken from a Jew referred to as Rebi or Rabi – most probably the scribe of the community. The medieval synagogue was located on the present Rue Vergier-au-Duc.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: J. Garnier and E. Champeaux, *Chartes de Communes… Bourgogne* (1898), 161f.; Gauthier, in: *Mémoires de la société d'émulation du Jura*, 3 (1914), 78, 225–32.

[Bernhard Blumenkranz]

°**BAIL, CHARLES-JOSEPH** (1777–1827), French soldier, publicist, and civil servant. Bail was in charge of the administration of the Bonapartist kingdom of *Westphalia, and thus had close contacts with the heads of the Jewish *Consistoire there. After the fall of Napoleon, he continued to defend the basic principles of the revolution. In this spirit he published a pamphlet on "The Jews in the 19th Century or Considerations of their Civil and Political Status in Europe" (*Les Juifs au XIXe siècle*… Paris, 1816). He here defended the basic principles of equality, ascribing the separatist characteristics of the Jews to their depressed civil and political status. The same year, following criticism from the Catholic Romantic side, Bail published a second edition in which he imputed some of the separatist characteristics of the Jews to their religion and form of society, although in the main still defending his original thesis. Bail took part in a competition held by the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres on the history of the Jews in Europe in the Middle Ages. Although unsuccessful, Bail subsequently published his work "The Situation of the Jews in France, Spain and Italy" (*Etat des Juifs en France*… Paris, 1823).

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[Baruch Mevorah]

BAILYN, BERNARD (1922–), U.S. historian. Born in Hartford, Connecticut, Bailyn received a B.A. from Williams College in 1945 and his M.A. (1947) and Ph.D. (1953) degrees from Harvard. Bailyn then joined the faculty of Harvard in 1953 and became professor of history in 1961. He was editor-in-chief of the John Harvard Library of American Cultural History from 1962 until 1970. He also served as coeditor of the journal *Perspectives in American History* (1967–77, 1984–86) and director of the Charles Warren Center for Studies in American History (1983–94).

Bailyn became Winthrop Professor of History in 1966, a position he held until 1981, when he became the first Adams University Professor. He was also named James Duncan Phillips Professor of Early American History, emeritus, at Harvard. He served as a senior fellow in the Society of Fellows and as director of the International Seminar on the History of the Atlantic World. In 1993 he received the Thomas Jefferson Medal and in 1994 the Henry Allen Moe Prize of the American Philosophical Society. In 1998 he was appointed the Jefferson Lecturer by the National Endowment for the Humanities and he delivered the first Millennium Lecture at the White House. In 2000 he was awarded the Bruce Catton Prize of the Society of American Historians for lifetime achievement in the writing of history, and in 2001 he received the Centennial Medal of the Harvard Graduate School of Arts and Sciences. He also received two Pulitzer Prizes in history (1968 and 1987).

Among his many publications, Bailyn wrote *The New England Merchants in the Seventeenth Century* (1955); *Massachusetts Shipping, 1697–1714* (with Lotte Bailyn, 1959); *Education in the Forming of American Society* (1960); *The Ideological Origins of the American Revolution* (1967), for which he received the Pulitzer and Bancroft prizes in 1968; *The Origins of American Politics* (1968); *The Ordeal of Thomas Hutchinson* (1974), awarded the National Book Award in History in 1975; *The Peopling of British North America: An Introduction* (1986); *Voyagers to the West* (1986), which won the Pulitzer Prize in history and other awards; *Faces of Revolution* (1990); *On the Teaching and Writing of History* (1994); and *To Begin the World Anew: The Genius and Ambiguities of the American Founders* (2003).

Specializing in American colonial and revolutionary history, Bailyn is known for meticulous research and for interpretations that sometimes challenge conventional wisdom, especially with regard to the causes and effects of the American Revolution. Bailyn taught his students that history is primarily about change and movement, and that however hard one has to work to understand what the past was like, the deeper challenge is to explain how one part of the past gave way to another. And because change can only be described through narrative, historians must be sensitive to all the matters of exposition that make narrative effective, which always involves understanding that expository decisions are as essential to historians as their mastery of sources and all the other technical skills on which historical scholarship depends.

[Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

BAITLER, ZOMA (1908–1994), Uruguayan painter. Born and educated in Lithuania. Baitler, an impressionist, went to Uruguay in 1927 and exhibited for the first time at the "Free Artists Salon" in 1931. He was one of the founders of the atelier ETAP. Exhibitions of his work were held in North and South America as well as in Israel. In 1936 he issued the Art Magazine *Perseo* and wrote essays on art and on art criticism. In 1963 he was appointed cultural assistant to the Uruguayan Embassy in Israel for three years. His works are in the National and Municipal Museums of Uruguay and Israel.

BAITOS (Boethus) BEN ZONIN (beginning of second century), respected and wealthy resident of Lydda, whose home was a meeting place for scholars. It is related that the rabbis, headed by Rabban *Gamaliel of Jabneh, "reclined in the home of Baitos b. Zonin in Lydda and discussed Passover *halakhot* the whole of that night [of the *Passover Seder] until cockcrow" (Tosef., Pes. 10:12). He also discussed halakhic problems with the rabbis (TJ, Pes. 2:end of 4, 29c; Pes. 37a). Baitos conducted his life in accordance with the teachings of the rabbis, particularly *Eleazar b. Azariah (Meg. 27b; BM 63a; BB 13b), and his conduct is cited in tannaitic sources as evidence for the *halakhah* in both ritual and monetary matters (BM 5:3; Av. Zar. 5:2).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Hyman, Toledot, 270.

[Zvi Kaplan]

BAIZERMAN, SAUL (1899–1957), U.S. sculptor. Baizerman was born in Vitebsk, the same Russian town in which Marc *Chagall was raised. At 13 he decided to become a sculptor. He received some artistic training in Russia; the first of his teachers there told him he was not talented enough to succeed as an artist. After escaping from an Odessa prison where he had been incarcerated for a year and a half for revolutionary activities, Baizerman arrived in America in 1910 at the age of 22. In 1911 he began classes at the National Academy of Design, and then continued his artistic training at the Beaux-Arts Institute of Design in New York for four years. He also studied at the Educational Alliance, where he became acquainted with Moses *Soyer and Chaim *Gross.

In the early 1920s Baizerman began a series of carved plaster figures, later cast in bronze, to inhabit a model of New York City. Until his death he worked on this project, titled *The City and the People.* Approximately 56 pieces show urban life on a small scale; some of the figures are only three inches high. The actual city is a nearly abstract, geometric form in which the laborers of the metropolis might toil. Even so, Baizerman exhibited the small sculptures as independent entities rather than creating a narrative for figures such as *Man with Shovel* (1921–23) and *Rabbi* (1922).

While *The City and the People* is Baizerman's most ambitious project, he is better known for the sculptural technique he adopted in 1926. He hammered copper sheets into representational forms, a physically exhausting procedure that displays the artist's labor as much as the subject represented. This approach had its roots in Baizerman's Russian childhood; his father, a harness maker, hammered leather into harnesses. Being concave as well as convex, Baizerman's sculptures are meant to be seen in the round. Although the sculptures appear solid and heavy, the hammered metal is thin. A January 1931 fire in his New York studio destroyed much of his sculpture, but with renewed energy he created a new body of work that was shown in exhibitions in the 1930s and 1940s, including one-man shows in 1933, 1938, and 1948. His work occasionally took on biblical themes, such as *Eve* (1949), *Crucifixion* (c. 1947–50), and *Creation* (1950–57), which stands eight feet high. He also did a portrait head of Albert Einstein (1940–49).

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[Samantha Baskind (2nd ed.)]

BAJA, the seat of Bács (earlier Bács-Bodrog) county situated on the Danube in southern Hungary. Jews settled there in 1725. In 1753 there were ten and in 1773 16 families, mainly merchants in wool, leather, and tobacco. In 1773 the Jews, mostly immigrants from Moravia, received permission to build a synagogue and appoint a rabbi. In March 1840 the communal buildings, including the synagogue, were devastated in a fire that swept through the town. A new synagogue was built in 1842. The community opened a secondary school in 1878, complementing the primary school that had been in existence since 1771. In addition to several communal and charity organizations, the community also built a hospital in 1882. In 1885, the smaller Jewish communities of the neighboring villages, including those of Baracska, Bátamonostor, Borsód, Csátalja, Csávoly, Dantova, Felsöszentiván, Gara, and Vaskut, affiliated themselves to Baja organizationally. Baja's Jewish population ranged from 516 in 1840 (3.7% of the total) to 1,648 (5.9%) in 1930, with a maximum of 2,542 (13.2%) in 1880. Among the rabbis who served the Jewish community of Baja were József Márkus, who built the first synagogue in 1768; Rabbi Meir *Ash (Eisenstadt), a student of Ḥatam Sofer, who served from 1805 to 1815; and Rabbi Eliakim Schwerin Goetz Kohn, who served from 1815 to 1845.The latter also founded and headed a yeshivah. In 1941, Baja had a Jewish population of 1,378, representing 4.3% of the total of 32,369. In addition it had 149 (0.5%) converts who were identified as Jews under the racial laws then in effect. During the period of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, two Jews – Mór Hauser and Gyula Erdélyi – had served as the city's mayor. Hauser was also elected to the lower house of the Hungarian parliament.

After the German occupation of Hungary on March 19, 1944, the largely Neolog community numbered approximately 1,200 members. They were led by Zsigmond Weidinger and Rabbi József Klein. On April 14, the authorities arrested 150 prominent Jews, who were first taken to the Topolya internment camp and then deported to Grossrosen – a month before the start of the mass deportations from Hungary. Among the victims were Rabbi Klein, Lipót Kertész, the communal notary, and cantor Mór Rubovics. From Grossrosen, Rabbi Klein was eventually taken to Stettin (Szczecin), where he was beaten to death by German guards.

Baja served as a major concentration point for Jews rounded up in several neighboring districts, including those of Apatin, Baja, Hódság, Palánka, and Zombor. The roundup of the Jews was directed by Police Chief Béla Jeles. The Jews, including those brought in from the neighboring ghettos, were concentrated in three different locations, where they lived under miserable conditions until their deportation. Two of these ghettos were set up for the Jews of Újvidék (Novi Sad). The ghetto of Baja was led by a seven-member Jewish Council that included Ferencz Stein and László Biró. The approximately 8,200 Jews concentrated in Baja were deported to Auschwitz in two transports that left the town on May 28 and June 18, respectively. Prior to their deportation the Jews were subjected to still another round of expropriations under brutal conditions.

During the immediate post-liberation period, Baja had approximately 400 Jewish inhabitants, including those who moved in from the neighboring villages. The survivors reestablished the Neolog community in 1947 under the leadership of President Sándor Rostás, Rabbi József Rosenfeld, and Rabbi Tibor Klein. After 1948, the membership gradually declined. By 1953 only 180 identified themselves as Jews. This number had shrunk to 70 by 1964. By the turn of the century only a handful were still left in the city. In 1985 the synagogue was transformed into a public library.

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[Laszlo Harsanyi / Randolph Braham (2nd ed.)]

BAK (also **Pak**), a family of Jewish printers of Ashkenazi origin, who lived first in Venice and later in Prague. According to Zunz, the name represents the initials of *Benei Kedoshim* (Children of the Martyrs).

GERSON, the progenitor of the family, lived in Italy in the early 16th century, where his son JACOB followed the printing trade. Jacob printed the *Midrash Tanḥuma* in Verona (1595) and in Venice *Tanna de-Vei Eliyahu* (1598), and *Tiferet Yisrael* by *Judah Loew (the Maharal) of Prague in 1599. Apparently his connections with the latter brought him to Prague. From 1605 until his death in 1618 he printed numerous Hebrew and Judeo-German books. He was succeeded by his sons JOSEPH and JUDAH, who in 1623 set up a new printing house called "Jacob Bak's Sons." Their output was considerable, despite the temporary slowing down during the Thirty Years' War and the persecutions of 1648/49 and 1656. In about 1660 Joseph left the printing business, and Judah carried on alone. A libel action brought against the press led to its closing down in 1669. Judah died in 1671, and two years later his sons, JACOB (1630–1688) and JOSEPH (d. 1696), were authorized to resume printing books, as "Judah Bak's sons," but a special permit was required for each book. In 1680 Joseph completed a *maḥzor* at nearby Weckelsdorf – the only Hebrew work ever printed there. Between 1680 and 1683 Joseph apparently continued alone in Prague, while Jacob worked under the name "Judah Bak's Sons" (1682–88). Joseph was joined by Jacob's son MOSES (d. 1712), in 1686. From 1697 Moses ran the firm with his cousin, Joseph's son (later "The Bak Press"). Moses' son JUDAH (d. 1767/68), who was a compositor, managed the press from 1735 to 1756. In 1757 Judah's brother YOM TOV LIPMANN joined as his partner, and the firm became "Moses Bak's Sons." The firm later became "The Bak and Katz Press" (1784–89), and afterwards passed into other hands entirely. The Bak family members were pioneers in the field of Jewish printing, while also making an important contribution to the Jewish community of the time. Israel *Bak, the printer of Safed and Jerusalem, does not seem to have any connection with this Bak family.

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[Abraham Meir Habermann]

BAK, printers and pioneers in Ereẓ Israel. ISRAEL BAK (1797–1874) was born in Berdichev, Ukraine, into a family of printers. Later he owned a Jewish press in Berdichev, printing about 30 books between 1815 and 1821 when the press closed down. In 1831, after various unsuccessful efforts to reopen the works, he immigrated to Palestine and settled in Safed. There he renewed the tradition of printing Hebrew works, which had come to an end in the last third of the 17th century. During the peasant revolt against Muhammad Ali in 1834 his printing press was destroyed and he was wounded. Later he reopened his press, and also began to work the land on Mount Yarmak (Meron), overlooking Safed. His was the first Jewish farm in Ereẓ Israel in modern times. After the Safed earthquake in 1837 and the Druze revolt in 1838, during which his farm and printing press were destroyed, he moved to Jerusalem. In 1841 he established the first – and for 22 years, the only – Jewish printing press in Jerusalem. One hundred and thirty books were printed on it, making it an important cultural factor in Jerusalem. Bak also published and edited the second Hebrew newspaper in Ereẓ Israel, *Ḥavaẓẓelet* (1863). After a short time its publication stopped and was renewed only in 1870 by his son-in-law I.D. *Frumkin and others. Israel Bak was a leader of the ḥasidic community; as a result of his efforts and those of his son Nisan, a central synagogue for the Ḥasidim, called Tiferet Israel (after R. Israel of Ruzhin), came into being. In Jerusalem it was also known as "Nisan Bak's synagogue." It was destroyed in 1948 during the War of Independence.

NISAN (1815–1889), only son of Israel, was born in Berdichev and immigrated to Palestine with his father in 1831. Nisan managed the printing press after the death of his father until 1883, when he sold the business; thereafter he devoted himself exclusively to communal affairs in Jerusalem. He was an active worker in the ḥasidic community and the representative of the Ruzhin-Sadagura dynasty in Jerusalem. Through his contacts with the Turkish government he did much to modify decrees aimed against the *yishuv*. He initiated and executed several building projects in Jerusalem, such as the Kiryah Ne'emanah quarter, first named Oholei Moshe vi-Yhudit, but better known as Battei Nisan Bak. He and his brother-in-law I.D. Frumkin were pioneers of the Haskalah in Jerusalem; they also opposed the methods of **ḥalukkah* distribution. In 1884 Nisan and others founded the Ezrat Niddaḥim Society, which fought the missions and established the Yemenite quarter in Jerusalem.

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[Getzel Kressel]

BAK, SAMUEL (1933–), painter. Bak was born in Vilna. A few years later the area was incorporated into the independent republic of Lithuania. He was eight when the Germans occupied the city. Bak began painting while still a child and, prompted by the well-known Yiddish poet Abraham Sutzkever, held his first exhibition (in the Vilna ghetto) in 1942 at the age of nine. From the ghetto the family was sent to a labor camp on the outskirts of the city. Bak's father managed to save his son by dropping him in a sack out of a ground floor window of the warehouse where he was working; he was met by a maid and brought to the house where his mother was hiding. His father was shot by the Germans in July 1944, a few days before Soviet troops liberated the city. His four grandparents had earlier been executed at the killing site outside Vilna called Ponary.

After the war, the young Bak continued painting at the Displaced Persons camp in Landsberg, Germany (1945–48), where he also studied painting in Munich. In 1948, he and his mother immigrated to Israel, where he studied for a year at the Bezalel Art School in Jerusalem. After fulfilling his military service, he spent three years (1956–59) at the École des Beaux-Arts in Paris. He then moved to Rome (1959–66), returned to Israel (1966–74), and lived for a time in New York City (1974–77). There followed further years in Israel and Paris, then a long stay in Switzerland (1984–93). From 1993 Bak lived and worked outside Boston, in Weston, Massachusetts. In 2001 he published a detailed autobiography, *Painted in Words: A Memoir* (Indiana University Press).

Bak's paintings have been exhibited in museums and galleries and hang in public collections in England, the United States, Israel, Germany, and Switzerland. Many later works may be viewed at the Pucker Gallery (171 Newbury Street) in Boston. The editors of *Between Worlds: The Paintings and Drawings of Samuel Bak from 1946 to 2001* (Pucker Art Publications, 2002), a survey of more than a half-century of his work, summarize the sources of his vision as follows:

> Bak's life has inevitably influenced his choice of images and themes. The particulars of Vilna and the Holocaust, of surviving and being a wandering Jew, are part of his individual biography; but all are also aspects of our shared human condition. Bak has always sought to find the universal in the specific. His ongoing dialogues with the long-dead members of his family, with his early teachers, with the great masters of all epochs, with contemporary culture, and with the Bible and the diverse host of Jewish traditions – all come from his desire to represent the universality of loss and the endurance of man's hope for a *tikkun*.

The fragile balance between ruin and repair remained a central theme of his efforts to create for modern consciousness challenging visual images of our contemporary world.

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[Lawrence L. Langer (2nd ed.)]

BAKAN, DAVID (1921–2004), U.S. psychologist. Born in New York, Bakan held several university positions from 1961, teaching at the University of Chicago, Ohio State, Harvard, and York University in Toronto, Canada. Bakan wrote on a wide range of topics including psychoanalysis, religion, philosophy, and research methodology, as well as child abuse. In his book *Sigmund Freud and the Jewish Mystical Tradition* (1958) he attempted to trace the roots of early psychoanalytic concepts and methods in the Kabbalah, the Zohar, and talmudic interpretations. His *Duality of Human Existence: An Essay on Psychology and Religion* (1966) made important contributions to the history of psychology, especially in relation to the problem of introspection, research methodology, and the psychology of religion.

Other books by Bakan include *On Method: Toward a Reconstruction of Psychological Investigation* (1967); *Disease, Pain, and Sacrifice: Toward a Psychology of Suffering* (1968); *Slaughter of the Innocents: A Study of the Battered Child Phenomenon* (1971); *And They Took Themselves Wives: The Emergence of Patriarchy in Western Civilization* (1979); and *Maimonides on Prophecy* (1991).

Professor emeritus in York University's Department of Psychology, Bakan retired from teaching in 1991.

[Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

BAKER, EDWARD MAX (1875–1957), U.S. investment broker and communal leader. Baker was born in Erie, Pennsylvania. His maternal grandfather was Rabbi David *Einhorn, and his uncles were Rabbis Emil G. *Hirsch and Kaufmann *Kohler, leaders of Reform Judaism. In 1901 Baker entered the brokerage business in Cleveland. He became resident manager of a national brokerage firm in 1911 and served as president of the Cleveland Stock Exchange for 14 years. Baker was a founder of the Cleveland Federation of Jewish Charities (1903), serving as its president (1923–27) and as a trustee for more than five decades. He was also a member of the national board of the American Jewish Committee and of other major Jewish institutions. Equally active in Cleveland civic affairs, Baker served as chairman of the Republican County Committee (1907–08). He was a founder of the Cleveland Legal Aid Society; a founder and president of the Cleveland City Club, a community forum; and member of the first Board of Trustees of the Associated Charities of Cleveland.

[Judah Rubinstein]

BAKHCHISARAI, town in Crimea, Ukraine. From the 16th to the 18th centuries it was the capital of the khans of Crimea. A settlement of Rabbanite Jews (Krimchaks) as well as of *Karaites evidently existed in Bakhchisarai in the second half of the 18th century. In the 1870s the Karaites abandoned *Chufut-Kale, approximately 1¼ mi. (about 2 km.) to the east, and moved to Bakhchisarai. A Jewish traveler in the 1870s found about 20 families of Rabbanite Jews and some 70 Karaite families there: in 1897 there were 210 Rabbanites and 967 Karaites. The Hebrew poet Saul *Tchernichowsky wrote several poems about Bakhchisarai. During the Soviet period the number of Jews remained stable, numbering 228 souls in 1939. Bakhchisarai was occupied by the Germans on November 2, 1941, and they soon murdered 90 Jews. In the first half of July 1943 they murdered over 1,000 from the town and the surrounding area. The Karaites were not considered Jewish by the Germans and were therefore not harmed by them.

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[Yehuda Slutsky and Eliyahu Feldman / Shmuel Spector (2nd ed.)]

BAKI (Heb. בָּקִי; "expert"), person possessing expertise in a particular field of ritual law, e.g., in divorce law ("*Baki be-tiv Gittin*") or in dietary laws ("*Baki bi-terefot*"); also a person well versed in Talmud and rabbinic literature is called "*Baki be-Shas u-Fosekim.*"

BAKKASHAH (pl. *bakkashot*; Heb בַּקָּשָׁה, בַּקָּשׁוֹת, "Supplication(s)"), liturgical compositions of the same type as **seliḥot*. The word denotes a wide range of prayers in prose or verse, petitionary and abstract in content, mainly for recitation throughout the year. A number of *bakkashot* found at the beginning of the Sephardi prayer books from the 17th century onward are meant to be recited by congregants before dawn while waiting for the regular service to begin. Groups of Sephardim in Jerusalem called *Omerei Bakkashot* ("Sayers of Supplications") continue this practice every Sabbath from midnight until sunrise. At first these *bakkashot* had been said daily, but later, as a result of reduced attendance, they were confined to the Sabbath except during the month of Elul. The custom apparently originated in Safed among the followers of Isaac *Luria, and from there spread to other communities. It is first mentioned in a letter of Solomon Shlumal dated 1603 (S. Assaf, in: *Kobez al Jad*, 3 (1939), 123). This practice is not to be confused with Ashkenazi societies of Shomerim la-Boker ("Morning Watchers"), which recite hymns on Monday and Thursday mornings before dawn. The term was, however, often applied arbitrarily to certain hymns included in the service. Saadiah *Gaon's two *bakkashot*, that of *Baḥya ibn Paquda, and Solomon ibn *Gabirol's *Keter ha-Malkhut* (Venice, 1572) are examples. The term also refers to some of the short hymns by such poets as Abraham and Moses *Ibn Ezra and *Judah Halevi. Different collections of *bakkashot* exist, and all of them include the poem *Yedid Nefesh* by Eleazar *Azikri. Each composition concludes with a collection of scriptural verses beginning with "And Hannah prayed…" (I Sam. 2:1). Different collections have appeared, such as the volume of hymns published by Mordecai Ḥayyim Elijah Levi (1929) and the *Tehillat Yesharim ha-Shalem* (ed. by Z.J. Manẓur, 1954).

[Ernst Daniel Goldschmidt]

Musical Tradition

Under the influence of the *Zohar and 16th-century kabbalists of Safed, the custom developed of rising at midnight to chant hymns from the Psalms, refrains, and *bakkashot* until dawn. The concomitant for *piyyutim* stimulated the creativity of talented poets steeped in mystical doctrine. Although the singing of *bakkashot* is traditional in many communities, it evolved into an organized form of semi-religious activity particularly in Syria (Aleppo and Damascus) and Morocco. The first of the great poets whose hymns were introduced in the Syrian and Moroccan *bakkashot* was Rabbi Israel *Najara. The melodies set to the appropriate hymns are extremely varied and include sophisticated and popular idioms, the latest innovations, and traditional tunes, which have disappeared from contemporary cultures. The musical factor is prominent and often tends to overshadow the basically religious purpose of the meeting. The singing of *bakkashot* may thus be considered as half religious concert and half prayer meeting, attended equally for religious, aesthetic, and social reasons.

The Aleppo *bakkashot* consist of certain fixed *piyyuṭim* and optional ones, which are selected for the occasion according to circumstances and the character of the audience. Each *bakkashah* is performed antiphonally by two groups. Between one *bakkashah* and the next, a soloist or smaller group takes turns in singing the so-called *petiḥah* (opening), which may be a psalm or a verse which derives from the preceding *piyyut* or from the classical Hebrew poetry. Their melodies are improvised, highly melismatic, and constructed so as to establish a modulation from the **maqām* (melodic pattern) of the preceding to that of the following song. The concluding *bakkashah, Yedid Nefesh*, is sung in the *maqām* of the current Sabbath. In the Moroccan *bakkashot*, the repertoire is standardized, it is grouped into several series of different *piyyutim* – except for three or four recurring ones – for each series, which also has its own dominant musical mode (*nūbā*'). The general structure of each set is conceived in relation to the form of the "Andalusian" *nūba* of Moroccan art music, which is a kind of vocal and instrumental suite. Since instruments are not permitted, the singers add their own vocal imitations of instrumental passages. The Moroccan *bakkashot*, however, are also sung at celebrations outside the synagogue, and then the appropriate instruments are used. The *piyyutim* in the Moroccan *bakkashot* were collected into anthologies. One, entitled *shir yedidot*, which contains 550 *piyyutim* and was published in Marrakesh in 1921, is still used today.

After the establishment of an important community of Aleppo Jews in Jerusalem at the beginning of the 20th century, Aleppo *bakkashot* became a model for other Middle Eastern communities, but were themselves much modified by the participation of non-Aleppo singers. The result was the generalized *bakkashot* style now common to several ethnic groups. The Syrian community in Brooklyn, New York, also perpetuates the Syrian tradition.

See also *Aleppo, Musical Tradition and *Africa, North: Musical Traditions

[Amnon Shiloah]

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°BAKRI, MOHAMMED (1953–), controversial Israeli Arab actor/director whose 2002 documentary *Jenin Jenin*, about the IDF incursion into Jenin, was banned by the Israeli censor. Although the ban was lifted later, it focused attention on the movie, which was widely distributed on DVD. Many pointed out its inaccuracies and accused Bakri of inciting hatred. Prior to directing this inflammatory film, Bakri, who was born in the village of Al Bineh in the Galilee, had a distinguished career as a film and theater actor. His most famous role was as the Palestinian inmate who joins forces with Israeli prisoners in the 1984 film *Beyond the Walls*. He has appeared in more than 25 other films, including several in which he portrays Israeli Jews. His film credits include *Hanna K.* (1983), *Esther* (1986), *Cup Final* (1991), *Desperado Square* (2001), and *Private* (2004). He subsequently concentrated on acting in and directing theater in Galilee.

[Hannah Brown (2nd ed.)]

BAKSHI, RALPH (1938–), U.S. animator and film director. Bakshi was born in Haifa, Israel, but moved with his family to Brooklyn, New York, when he was a year old. He showed an early talent for drawing, winning an award in animation upon graduation from high school. He went to work for Terrytoons, an animation studio, and during his ten years there he directed episodes of the television series *Deputy Dawg* and worked on the popular cartoons *Hekyll and Jekyll* and *Mighty Mouse*. By 1965 he was in charge of Terrytoons and was asked to put together a "superhero" TV cartoon series. He demonstrated disdain for the assignment by creating odd superheroes: Tornado Man, Cuckooman, Ropeman, and Diaper Baby. The CBS Television network, which then owned Terrytoons, loved the concept and broadcast *The Mighty Heroes*, a short-lived series.

After Terrytoons shut down, Bakshi moved to Paramount's cartoon division and stayed until 1967, when the studio closed it down. After working for Steve Krantz Productions on its adaptation of the Spider-Man comic book series in 1967, Bakshi produced his first theatrical animated feature, an obscenity-laced adaptation of Robert *Crumb's underground comic strip *Fritz the Cat* in 1972. The X-rated feline who uttered profanities onscreen stirred controversy. "There was talk about if I were a pornographer or not," Bakshi said. "What I did was anti everything animation was about." Animated characters, he felt, could elicit more powerful emotions than flesh-and-blood actors. His next feature, *Heavy Traffic*, was even more outrageous than *Fritz,* which went on to gross more than $90 million worldwide, creating a previously unknown market, adult animation. *Traffic* was a nihilistic, highly scatological tale of a young New York artist's drawing board fantasies. It featured several Jewish characters. In 1975 Bakshi released *Coonskin*, a savage attack on Hollywood racial stereotypes. It was one of the first animated features to depict black characters (drug dealers). Civil rights organizations boycotted the film to protest its unflattering portrayal of blacks.

After three urban animated dramas, Bakshi turned to fantasy in 1977 with *Wizards,* "about the creation of the State of Israel and the Holocaust, about the Jews looking for a homeland, and about the fact that fascism was on the rise again," he said. Bakshi withdrew from animated films but returned in 1981 with *American Pop*, a social history about four generations of Jewish-American immigrants. He devoted the next decade to painting but returned to animation with the 1992 film *Cool World.*

[Stewart Kampel (2nd ed.)]

BAKSHI-DORON, ELIAHU (1941–), rabbi, Sephardi chief rabbi of Israel. Bakshi-Doron was born in Jerusalem, where he studied at Hebron yeshivah and in the *kollelim* of Mosad Ha-Rav Kook and Kol Ya'akov.

He served as a neighborhood rabbi in Bat Yam, becoming the city's chief rabbi in 1972. In 1975 he was appointed chief Sephardi rabbi of Haifa, serving in that capacity until elected Sephardi chief rabbi of Israel in 1993. His ten-year term ended in April 2003.

On September 12, 2001, Chief Rabbi Bakshi-Doron called on the Islamic clerics who had published a *fatwa* (religious edict) ordering suicide-bombings and declaring the bombers *shahids* – martyrs – to rescind it and call on the world to preserve the sanctity of life, and to forbid large-scale attacks on innocent civilians. At times, Bakshi-Doron has taken controversial stands. At one point, he suggested that the Moslems retain their authority over the Temple Mount. However, he did decry the unsupervised Arab construction that has taken place on the Temple Mount in recent years. Bakshi-Doron also suggested that Israel's Marriage Law be rescinded, thus ending the Chief Rabbinate's monopoly on marriage and divorce. Since the rabbinic process was creating more enemies than friends of Judaism among secular Jews, perhaps the time had come for radical change. This particular statement caused a great uproar in religious circles.

Bakshi-Doron published dozens of articles reflecting his Torah learning, studies dealing with halakhic solutions to medical, economic, legal, and social problems as well as facets of political science. His work *Binyan Av* (vol. 1, 1982; vol. 2, 1989) deals with many facets of *halakhah* and also gives rabbinic responses to current issues. A third volume appeared following the order of the weekly Torah readings to which Rabbi Bakshi-Doron brings new light to *aggadah* and Jewish thought. The book also contains speeches given by the rabbi. Throughout his career, Rabbi Bakshi-Doron has worked for Torah education, establishing, among others, a *kolel* in Tel Aviv, an advanced *bet midrash* in Bat Yam, and a Torah learning center in Haifa. Bakshi-Doron also served as president of the Committee of Sephardi Communities and was a board member of numerous social and charitable foundations. He was also a member of the Board of Directors of LIBI.

[David Derovan (2nd ed.)]

BAKST, LEON (born **Lev Samuilovich Rosenberg**; 1864–1924), Russian artist. Born in St. Petersburg, he took the name Leon Bakst to honor his maternal grandfather. In his youth he was baptized but later returned to Judaism. At the age of 15, on the advice of the sculptor *Antokolski, he enrolled in the Academy of Fine Arts. In 1890 he met Alexander Benois, a Russian artist who introduced Bakst to the Mir Iskusstva ("World of Art") group that tried to overcome the prevailing provincialism of Russian art and to link Russia to the West. The impresario Serge Diaghilev was a member and he employed Bakst as chief designer of costumes and décors for his ballets. From its start in Paris, in 1909, until his death, Bakst was associated with Diaghilev's Ballets Russes. The subjects for the ballets were usually taken from Russian folklore, or from Oriental tales. Bakst, with his vivid imagination and his predilection for bright color, provided an atmosphere that carried the audience into a fairyland. While his creations are no longer in use on the stage, his sketches in pencil, pen-and-ink, crayon, watercolor, gouaches, or mixed media often appear in exhibitions of Russian art. They have become particularly appreciated since the recent revival of interest in *art nouveau*. As a teacher at the Svanseva School in St. Petersburg, Bakst had a strong influence on the young Marc *Chagall.

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[Alfred Werner]

BAKST, NICOLAI (Noah) IGNATYEVICH (1843–1904), Russian scientist, writer, and public figure. Born in Mir, Belorussia, Bakst studied at the rabbinical seminary in Zhitomir, where his father Isaac Moses taught Talmud, and thereafter at the University of St. Petersburg. After graduating, he was sent to Germany by the Russian Ministry of Public Instruction. There he continued his studies under the noted physiologist Hermann Helmholtz and others. In 1867 he was appointed lecturer in physiology at the University of St. Petersburg, specializing in the study of the nervous system. He wrote a number of works in German and Russian on physiology and the nervous system.

The emergence of antisemitism in Germany and the pogroms in Russia of 1881 awakened Bakst's interest in the Jewish question. For him the solution was to grant full civil rights to the Jews in Russia and improve their material and moral condition. Bakst became a highly esteemed public figure in Russian Jewry; he was one of the initiators of *ORT and active in its management. He served as an expert on the Pahlen Commission (1883–88), set up to examine the laws regulating Jewish life. This prompted Bakst to publish a series of articles on different aspects of Jewish life and thought in Jewish and non-Jewish journals.

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BAKU, port on the western shore of the Caspian Sea, capital of Azerbaijan S.S.R. 1920–1991, from 1992 capital of *Azerbaijan. Jews are first mentioned in the area in the 13th century. A community of Persian Jews existed in Baku in the 18th century. The inhabitants, who were Muslims, harassed the Jews there and in 1814 threatened their lives following a blood libel. Although the Russian authorities offered them their protection, the Jews left and took refuge in *Kuba, also in the province of Baku, where there was a large community of *Caucasian Mountain Jews. Later, however, some returned to Baku.

A new chapter in the history of the community began in the 1870s with the development of the oil industry in Baku and its surroundings. Although restrictions were imposed to discourage Jews coming from European Russia, and on Jewish participation in the industry, the number of Jewish concessionaires and professional and skilled workers increased. Jews took a large share in initiating new enterprises and providing capital, in exploiting oil wells and setting up refineries, in developing transport facilities, and in marketing oil and oil products within Russia and abroad. Among pioneer industrial companies owned by Jews was that of Dembo and Kagan, founded by A. Dembo of Kovno and Ḥayyim Cohen of Brest-Litovsk. Also active in this sphere were the Dembot brothers, in collaboration with Baron H. Guenzburg, Bikhowsky, Leites, Ickowich, and A.M. Feigel. A central position in oil exploitation, transportation, and marketing was occupied by the *Rothschilds, who founded the Caspian-Black Sea Company and by the end of the 19th century headed a syndicate of many of the large oil companies. Another large company was Polak and Sons, owned by Grigori Polak and his sons Saveli (Shevaḥ) and Michael. Prominent in the field of technology was the chemical engineer Arkadi Beilin, who worked in a number of companies, including those of the Rothschilds, and after marrying the daughter of Grigori Polak joined Polak and Sons. In 1913–14 the share of the Jewish companies in kerosene production in Baku reached 44% while the proportion of Jews occupied in oil products marketing was even greater.

Jewish communal and Zionist institutions followed in the wake of the economic development. According to the 1897 census there were 2,341 Jews in Baku, of whom the majority were Caucasian with some from European Russia. The Jewish population continued to increase after the 1917 revolution through the influx of Mountain Jews who, deprived of their traditional livelihoods in the villages, moved to the towns. In 1926 the Jewish population numbered 21,995 (19,583 of European origin, 1,985 Caucasian Jews (Tats), and 427 Georgian Jews). In 1939 they numbered 31,050 and comprised about 4% of the total population. According to the 1959 census they numbered 29,179 (3% of the total) in Baku and its vicinity. In 1970 the Jewish population was 29,716 (2.2% of the total). Most of the non-European Jews resided in the old part of the city. The European, Tati, and Georgian communities each had their synagogue. The Tati synagogue was the oldest and largest. While *maẓẓot* could be obtained on Passover, ritually slaughtered meat was not available. Two local rabbis signed *Izvestia's* denunciation of the Sinai Campaign (on November 29, 1956). Consequently the European Jewish community was deprived of its rabbis who apparently were not replaced. In the 1990s most of the Jews emigrated to Israel and the West.

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[Simha Katz]

°BAKUNIN, MIKHAIL ALEKSANDROVICH (1814–1876), Russian revolutionary, one of the founders and theoreticians of Anarchism. While imprisoned in the Petropavlovsk fortress in St. Petersburg (1851), he wrote his "Confession" (*Ispoved*), in which he reproached the Polish independence leaders Adam *Mickiewicz and Joachim Lelewel for their favorable attitude toward Jews. Through his conflict with *Marx, *Hess, and other Jewish Socialists at the end of the 1860s, Bakunin's hatred of the Jews grew beyond bounds. In his answer to a letter of Moses Hess in the review *Le réveil* (October 20, 1869), he referred to the Jews as a nation of exploiters, entirely opposed to the interests of the proletariat. At another time he stated that the Jews were more dangerous than the Jesuits and constituted a real power in Europe: they reigned despotically over commerce and banking, and had taken over three-quarters of German journalism as well as a large portion of the press in other countries. Bakunin considered Marx as the modern Moses, a typical representative of the Jewish people.

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°BAKY, LÁSZLÓ (1898–1946), Hungarian antisemitic politician. Baky was a leading member first of the Hungarian National Socialist Party and later of *Szálasi's *Arrow-Cross Party, which he left temporarily in 1941. In March 1944 he became undersecretary of state in the Ministry of the Interior, in charge of Jewish affairs. He presided at the secret meeting of April 4, 1944, where the arrangement for the deportations of Jews was drawn up, and was one of those who directed the setting-up of ghettos and the deportations. On June 29–30, 1944, Baky attempted an unsuccessful fascist coup against

Horthy. Nevertheless, he retained his position until September 5. Later he was one of the founders of a group of right-wing deputies who sought to give a legal framework to the Szálasi regime. Baky was sentenced to death by a Budapest People's Court and executed in 1946.

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[Bela Adalbert Vago]

BALAAM (Heb. בַּלְעָם, בִּלְעָם), son of Beor, a non-Israelite diviner famous for his effectiveness, enlisted by Balak, king of Moab, to pronounce curses over the Israelites. The pronunciation Balaam reflects the Greek rendering of the name in the Septuagint. Balaam's exploits are related in Numbers 22:2–24:25, known in modern research as "The Balaam Pericope," and traditionally recognized as a distinct literary unit within the book of Numbers. There we read that the numerous Israelites, encamped in the Steppes of Moab on their way to the land of Canaan, were feeding off the land, causing great apprehension in Moab. Balak despaired of driving them away by force, and he hoped to achieve victory by means of Balaam's execrations. To Balak's chagrin, however, Balaam refused to succumb to his offers of reward, and surprisingly, pronounced blessings over Israel instead of curses, predicting Israelite victories. His orations represent some of the most beautiful examples of early Hebrew poetry. Balaam's firm obedience to God's will is viewed with great favor. Similar praise is expressed in Micah 6:5, where Balaam's role in thwarting the design of one of Israel's enemies is evoked as a sign of God's providence over his people.

In contrast, Balaam is seen in a hostile light in several other biblical sources where he is mentioned. In a certain sense, the derogation of Balaam begins in the Tale of the Ass (Num 22:22–35), which mocks his reputed gifts as a seer (see further). And yet, as the tale unfolds, Balaam falls into line, and ends up obeying God's instructions. The attitude toward Balaam is decidedly unfavorable, however, in Numbers 31:8, 16, which report that Balaam's counsel had led to Israelite worship of Baal Peor, and that he was slain by the Israelites together with the kings of Midian in the course of the war against the Midianites. A resonance of the same episode is found in Joshua 13:22, where, in addition, Balaam is referred to as *ha-qôsem* ("the diviner"), as if to discredit him. In Joshua 24:9–10, within a narration of Israel's history, we read that God protected Israel, refusing to allow Balaam to curse the people, The underlying assumption is that Balaam had intended to do just that. Finally, according to Deuteronomy 23:5–6, the mere fact that Balaam had been retained by Balak, king of Moab, to curse Israel is adduced as a basis for prohibiting marriage with Ammonites and Midianites (cf. Neh. 13:2). It is difficult to explain this negativity toward Balaam against the background of the Balaam Pericope. Rather than following traditional explanations that Balaam's allegiances changed, it is more likely that subsequent Israelite misfortunes at the hands of neighboring nations, with whom Balaam was identified, brought him into disrepute.

Recent archaeological discoveries have added significant information about Balaam. In 1967, a Dutch expedition under H. Franken discovered fragments of inscriptions written on plaster at a Transjordanian site named Tell Deir ʿAlla, located about 5 mi. (8 km.) east of the Jordan, not far from the northern bank of the Jabbok (Zerqa) river that flows into the Jordan. In the Hebrew Bible this area is known as *cēmeq Sukkôt,* "the valley of Sukkoth" (Ps. 60:8, 108:8, cf. Gen. 33:17, Judg. 8, 1 Kings 7:46). Many of the plaster fragments were restored in the manner of a jigsaw puzzle, and the resulting "combinations" were published by J.A. Hoftijzer and G. van der Kooij in 1976. Composed in a language similar to biblical Hebrew, and dated in the late ninth to early 8th centuries B.C.E., the inscriptions attest the name of a seer, *blʿm brbʿr* – "Balaam, son of Beor"– for the first time in an extra-biblical source of the biblical period. Previously, Balaam had been known outside the Hebrew Bible solely from post-biblical sources (Baskin 1983).

The Deir ʿAlla inscriptions relate how a certain *blʿm brbʿr,* referred to as "a divine seer" (*'zh < lhn*), was visited at night in a dream by gods who revealed to him that an impending misfortune would devastate the land. The seer, greatly distressed at this news, assembles his people to disclose to them what he has learned. In these inscriptions Balaam is depicted as an heroic figure, who strove to save his people and the land. In content and style, the inscriptions noticeably resemble the Balaam Pericope of Numbers, and other biblical sources as well, so that any discussion of the role of Balaam in biblical literature must henceforth take the Deir ʿAlla inscriptions into account.

The Name Bilʿam and the Identity of the Person

There are essentially two ways of parsing the name *Blʿm*: (a) *Bil+ʿam*, whereby the component *ʿam* is a kinship term, and *bil* would represent the divine name Bel, yielding the sense: "Bel is my kinsman." As such, the Hebrew/Deir ʿAlla name has been compared with Akkadian *Bill-am-ma* and *Amma-baʾli* "Bel is a kinsman," or: "a kinsman of Bel" (*HALAT* 130, s.v. *Bilʿam* 1). (b) A name incorporating the verb *b-l-ʿ* "to swallow up, destroy," + *m*, an affix that can be represented as *åm* (elsewhere also *ån* and *–ôn*), and that characterizes the actor of the verb, hence: "the swallower, destroyer." Reference would be to the potency of Balaam's spells and execrations. This understanding of the name gains support from its uncanny similarity to the name of the first Edomite king, *Belaʿ*, son of *Beʿôr,* as recorded in Genesis 36:32. This resemblance can hardly be coincidental, and may argue for the identification of Balaam as a nearby Ammonite, Moabite, Midianite, or Edomite by origin, rather than as a more distant Aramean.

In fact, there appear to be two traditions concerning Balaam's homeland. One identifies Balaam as an Aramean, an extraction explicit in the opening verse of his first oration (Num. 23:7): "From Aram did Balak import me/ the king of Moab – from the mountains of Qedem." At the same time, there are indications that Balaam was perceived as a Transjordanian, or son of an inland nation. It is noteworthy that both the Vulgate and the Samaritan versions read in Num 22:5 *ʿereṣ benê ʿAmmô*[*n*] "to the land of the *Ammonites*." in place of Hebrew *benê* > *ammô*, "the land of his people."The attribution to a seer named Balaam of the inscriptions found at Deir ʿAlla which were, given their language and exposition, composed in the immediate area, would further endorse his identity as a figure who came from a neighboring, inland country. It is best, therefore, to allow for alternative traditions regarding Balaam's place of origin (Levine, 2000, 145–48).

The Structure and Contents of the Balaam Pericope

The Balaam Pericope consists of prose narratives that serve as a rubric for the poems of the pericope and poetic compositions.

(A) THE POETIC REPERTOIRE. There are four major orations, followed by a series of three, brief prophecies. Each oration is introduced as a *mashal* "balanced verse." Only the third and fourth orations explicitly identify Balaam as the speaker, though the first and second refer to Balak by name, making it virtually certain that Balak is the speaker. In the first oration (Num. 23:7–10), the speaker relates that he was called from Aram by Balak to pronounce curses over Israel, but was powerless to do so because Israel had been blessed by El/YHWH. Overlooking the Israelite encampment from the heights, Balaam was awed by its vast expanse, impressed that the Israelites needed no allies, and were capable of achieving victory on their own. He would willingly share the fate of such heroes! In the second (Num. 23:18–24), the speaker addresses Balak directly, insisting that El will not renege on his promise to bless Israel, and consequently his own mission could not be countermanded. YHWH would not countenance any misfortune overtaking Israel, a people strong as a lion and protected by a powerful deity who directly informs them of the future, thereby rendering divination unnecessary. In the third oration (Num. 24:3–9), entitled "The speech (Hebrew *ne'um*) of Balaam. Beor's son," the speaker's professional gifts are enumerated. He is "one who hears El's utterances," and "who beholds the vision of Shadday" (the fourth oration adds: "who is privy to Elyon's knowledge"). Balaam describes the beauty of the Israelite encampment in words that have become part of Jewish liturgy: "How lovely are your tents, oh Jacob/ your dwellings, oh Israel." Alluding to Saul, king of Israel, he predicts that Israel will prevail over the Amalekite king, Agag (I Sam. 15). In the fourth oration (Num. 24:15–19), similarly entitled, Balaam alludes to David's conquests of Moab and Edom.(II Sam. 8:2, 12–14), characterizing that king dramatically as a shooting star, as a meteor. In the three brief orations that follow (Num. 24:20–23) Balaam assumes the role of a "prophet to the nations" and predicts the ultimate downfall of the Amalekites and Kenites, and possibly of Assyrians, west of the Euphrates.

Viewing the Balaam orations in their entirety, it is clear that the agenda changes after the second poem. Having proclaimed Israel's victorious destiny on the way to the Promised Land, Balaam proceeds in the third and fourth orations to predict Israelite victories over the Canaanite peoples and over hostile neighboring peoples in the interior. This purview is expanded in the brief prophecies to the nations. It is also the case that after the second oration Balaam ceases to justify his refusal to carry out Balak's wishes, and, invoking his preeminent status as a seer, predicts without apology dramatic Israelite victories, including the subjugation of Moab itself.

The poetic sections employ several designations of divinity, in addition to YHWH and *ʾelōhîm*, namely, Shadday, Elyon, and most frequently, El. It has been customary to interpret these names as epithets of YHWH. Although originally the names of discrete deities, they had, so the argument goes, been synthesized with YHWH, thereby becoming merely another way of referring to the God of Israel. On this basis, we would translate Numberss 23:7 as follows: "How can I curse whom *the deity* has not condemned? How can I doom whom YHWH has not doomed?"

Though the El-YHWH synthesis (Eissfeldt, 1956) is indeed evident in biblical literature, it remains to be determined whether it is expressed in the Balaam orations, or in other poems that may hark back to a stage in the development of Israelite religion when the worship of the Syro-Cannanite deity, El, was regarded as acceptable. It is in this spirit, after all, that the worship of El, sometimes registered as El Shadday, is imputed to the Patriarchs (Gen. 28:3, 31:13, 35:11, 46:3), an attribution explained in so many words in Exodus 6:2–3. This is the view most recently adopted by Levine (2000, 217–34), who sees evidence of an El archive in biblical literature, parts of which were redacted so as to conform to the El-YHWH synthesis. In Levine's view, some of the El poems, most notably the Balaam orations, themselves were retained in their unredacted form, so that their references to El, in particular, should be understood as designations of the Syro-Canaanite deity by that name, not as epithets of the God of Israel. As will be observed, it is likewise El who presides over the gods in the Balaam inscriptions from Deir ʿAlla. Read in this manner, the biblical Balaam orations present a distinctive view of Israelite religion: YHWH is acknowledged as Israel's national God, their divine King, who is present in their midst to assure them victory. At the same time, it is powerful El who liberated Israel from Egypt, and who has blessed Israel irreversibly, keeping faith with them. This earlier religious outlook would be precisely what Exodus 6:2–3 was aimed at disavowing.

This understanding of the religious predicates of the Balaam orations, and of the posture of Balaam, explains why there is no battle projected between YHWH and the gods of Moab, and why Balaam is powerless to curse Israel. It is not only YHWH who is providential over Israel, but El, Shadday, and Elyon, as well. It is as if to say that Moab's own gods, members of the traditional West-Semitic pantheon, were arrayed against them. Most scholars, however, view the Balaam orations as expressing the El-YHWH synthesis, in essence proclaiming YHWH's exclusive providence over Israel, as well as his dominance over pagan seers like Balaam. In this perspective, the poetic orations are understood to express the same religious outlook as do the prose sections of the Balaam Pericope.

Just as the divine appellations in the Balaam orations are unusual, so are the designations of the Israelite collective. With only one exception (Num. 24:18–19), the consistent classification is (a) Jacob, (b) Israel, expressed in parallelism (Num. 23:7, 10, 21, 23, 24:5, 17). This nomenclature recalls the change of Jacob's name from *Yacaqôb* to *Yisra'el* after his combat with the angel, which, appropriately, occurred at Penuel, in the Valley of Sukkoth (Gen. 32), where the Deir ʿAlla inscriptions were found!

There has been considerable progress in the exegesis of the Balaam orations, which because of their relative antiquity and the dialectal features they manifest have resisted interpretation. They employ rare, even unique forms that afford little basis for comparison. W.F. Albright (1944) achieved a breakthrough by reducing the Masoretic text to its consonantal base, and reading the poems as West-Semitic epigraphy. Sh. Morag (1981) sought to shed light on unrecognized meanings through linguistic analysis. More recent attempts are presented in commentaries on the Book of Numbers by Milgrom (1990) and Levine (2000).

(B) THE PROSE NARRATIVES. The prose sections pursue a sequential narrative, except for the tale of the ass (Num. 22:22–35), which derives from a separate source. It was undoubtedly inserted as a satire, poking fun at Balaam's reputed clairvoyance as a seer. In a mode familiar to us from Aesop's fables, and from ancient Near Eastern wisdom literature, as well, it depicts Balaam as being blind to what even the ass he was riding was able to see! Its theme is that the God of Israel initially objected to Balaam's willingness to accompany Balak's messengers to Moab, and sent an angel to block his path. The ass made several attempts to avert the angel, and each time Balaam struck her, until God gave speech to the ass, so that she could explain to Balaam what was going on. Ultimately, God opens Balaam's eyes, as well, and he submits to God's will, offering to return home. Balaam is then told by the angel that he is permitted to accompany Balak's emissaries on condition that he speak only what YHWH communicates to him.

The Tale of the Ass is preceded in Numbers 22:2–21 by a narrative of Balak's invitation to Balaam to pronounce curses over Israel on his behalf. Balaam at first refuses, insisting that he is under the authority of Israel's God. However, God appears to him at night and authorizes him to accompany the men, but to speak only what he is told. The intervening tale effectively brings us back to this point, in Numbers 22; 35. In the ensuing narrative (Num. 22:36–23:6), we read that Balaam arrives in Moab and is welcomed by Balak, who offers him great rewards. After a feast prepared by Balak, Balaam proceeds to the mountain-top of Bamoth-Baal, where he is afforded a view of part of the Israelite encampment. There he pronounces his first blessings of Israel (Num. 23:7–10). When the prose narrative resumes, we read that Balak is furious, but Balaam repeats that he can speak only what YHWH instructs him to say. In an effort to achieve greater efficacy, Balaam is advised to move to a more propitious site, the peak of Pisgah, where he erects altars and offers sacrifice. YHWH encounters Balaam and places an oracle in his mouth. Balak asks him: "What has YHWH spoken?" which indicates that he now accepts Balaam's subservience to Israel's God (Num. 23:11–17). Then follows Balaam's second oration (Num. 23:18–24). At this point, Balak is all but ready to give up, but again suggests moving to a different site, the summit of Peor, where altars are erected and sacrifices offered, prior to a third attempt by Balaam, who now realizes that it pleases YHWH to bless Israel. Without further ado, he prepares to declaim his third oration (Num 23:25–30, 24:1–2), which predicts Israel's victory over the Amalekites of Canaan (Num. 24:3–9). When the prose narrative resumes, we read that Balak dismisses Balaam in anger, but that before returning to his own land, Balaam tells him that he will reveal what the Israelites will do to Moab (and Edom) in the future (Num. 24:10–14). This is the theme of Balaam's fourth oration (Num. 24:15–19). Numbers 24:20–29 present the three brief prophecies against neighboring nations.

Throughout the prose sections, YHWH and *ʾelohim* alternate exclusively as designations of the God of Israel, who is perceived as totally controlling the activities of Balaam from the outset. In fact, in Numbers 22:18 Balaam already refers to YHWH as *elohai* "my God," and in a manner not dissimilar from that of Pharaoh in the Moses sagas, Balak also becomes increasingly aware of YHWH's power, and of Balaam's subservience to it. In contrast to the Egyptian sagas, however, which repeatedly refer to the gods of Egypt, the prose sections of the Balaam Pericope nowhere refer to any other divine power, or use what would be regarded, in context, as epithets of YHWH or *ʾelohim.*

The Balaam Texts from Deir ʿAlla

Notwithstanding their poor state of preservation, the plaster texts from Deir ʿAlla add to our understanding of the Balaam Pericope, and in a reciprocal manner, the biblical sources enlighten us as to the meaning of the Deir ʿAlla texts. Like most new discoveries, the Deir ʿAlla texts raise problems of a literary and historical nature. The inscriptions were restored from plaster fragments that had fallen to the ground from the walls of a regional distribution center, where some cultic activity took place. (For transcriptions, translations, archaeological background and commentary see Levine, 2000, 241–75; idem, COS II, 140–45.)

COMBINATION I OF THE INSCRIPTION. Combination I relates that Balaam was visited at night by gods sent to convey to him a message from the high god, El. The message consisted of a celestial omen of disaster. A council (*mwʿd* = Hebrew *moʿed*)) of deities who opposed El had ordered the goddess Shagar-we-Ishtar, a Venus figure of light and fertility, to sew up the heavens, thereby producing darkness and dread. Upon hearing this, Balaam became greatly distressed, and took to weeping and fasting. He assembled his people and described the content of this revelation to them. Vultures will fly about shrieking, and wild beasts will occupy grazing lands. Although at this point the text becomes less clearly comprehensible, it is reasonable to read it as a recounting of Balaam's heroic attempt to free the goddess from the decree of the evil council, thereby saving the land from misfortune. Balaam admonishes the adversaries of Shagar-we-Ishtar, and takes the goddess to various diviners, oracles, priestesses, and magical practitioners to safeguard her from the punishment decreed upon her. His efforts were successful, and order was re-established in the land, which accounts for the commemorative installation of the inscriptions on the walls of the building at Deir ʿAlla.

COMBINATION II. Combination II, which is even more fragmentary, vividly describes a necropolis (*byt ʿlmn*) erected by El, a "house" where no traveler enters, nor any bridegroom. The portrayal recalls the Sheol oracle of Isaiah 14, and speaks of an unnamed, wise counselor, who will no longer be consulted, and who will be punished by being deprived of his ability to pronounce oracles and execrations. Although the name of Balaam does not occur in Combination II, it is suggestive to relate this text to Balaam. The opening title of Combination I, "The misfortunes of the Book of Balaam, the son of Beor," undoubtedly included Combination II, as well as additional compositions which may have been lost, or whose fragments have not as yet been restored in coherent form

Both Combinations exhibit shared vocabulary and diction with the biblical Balaam orations, and with other biblical poems of the El archive. Indeed, the Deir ʿAlla inscriptions resonate with biblical imagery.

The Phenomenology of Balaam's Performance

Now that we possess information from the Deir ʿAlla inscriptions, we can draw up a more complete profile of Balaam. Albright (1971), and others have compared him with the Mesopotamian *barû* ("diviner"). The parallel West Semitic functionary would be the *qosem*, a title given to Balaam only in Joshua 13:22, although Numbers 22:18 does in fact report that the elders of Moab (and Midian) brought to Balaam payment for *qesamim* ("divination"), indicating that he practiced that art. We are also told in Numbers 24:1 that for a time, Balaam also engaged in *nehashimā* ("augury"), but eventually gave that up (Num. 24:1).

For the most part, the biblical poems inform us that Balaam beholds visions, both while awake and asleep; he hears divine utterances, and possesses secret knowledge. He sees into the future and predicts events, and has a reputation for pronouncing effective curses. We may conclude that Balaam was expert at pronouncing effective blessings, which is what he actually did. The narratives provide additional information on Balaam's techniques: He offers burnt sacrifices as a means of attracting YHWH to particular sites, while also perambulating, walking around in search of an encounter with YHWH, and possibly in search of omens, as well. In this connection, one notes that visual access is a factor in Balaam's praxis. In the preparations for what Balak hoped would be effective curses, sites were sought out that afforded a partial, or complete, view of the Israelite encampment, which was the target of the curses.

There are two additional points to be made about Balaam's performance. First, as is true of ritual experts, polytheistic and monotheistic, Balaam acted under divine authority. Balaam could only do what he was authorized to do by the divine power, or powers, that controlled him. It was only after the gods signaled their approval that diviners and exorcists and other ritual experts could undertake the prescribed operations. Secondly, both the poems and the prose narratives portray Balaam in personal terms. In the poems, he is said to be awed by the strength and heroism of the Israelites, and by a realization, based on his own observation, that this people had been blessed and protected, and was not marked for misfortune. In the prose narratives and in the Tale of the Ass, Balaam is depicted as one given to anger and frustration, who is not tempted by wealth, and, above all, who is honest in accepting the limitations of his own powers. Balaam is also reactive; his acceptance of subservience to the God of Israel increases as his encounters with YHWH progress, until he becomes more than willing to bless Israel. Thus, the fourth, and final oration was not requested by Balak, but offered to him voluntarily, as were the three, brief prophecies.

The Deir ʿAlla texts shed further light on the performance of Balaam. We read more about his divinatory crafts, most notably his ability to interpret celestial omens, and of his admonitions directed at malevolent divine powersAlthough the atmosphere of the Deir ʿAlla inscriptions is polytheistic, and affords more attention to specific ritual practices, the difference between the Deir ʿAlla inscriptions and the biblical pericope is more a matter of degree than of kind, especially if we accept the interpretation that in the biblical Balaam orations, El, Elyon, and Shadday are proper names of West Semitic gods and not merely epithets of YHWH and *ʾelohim*.

The Sitz-im-Leben of the Balaam Pericope

According to the internal, Biblical chronology, the encounters related in the Balaam Pericope would have occurred during the late 13th century B.C.E., or thereabouts, but we must be careful not to confuse temporal setting with time of composition. There are problems in attempting to assign both the poetic and narrative sections of the Balaam Pericope to the usual documentary sources, J and E, as pointed out most clearly by A. Rofe (1981). It would be preferable to seek clues in the poems themselves as to their time and place of composition. As for the Balaam narratives, it is safe to say that they postdate the poems.

The Deir ʿAlla inscriptions help us to fix the context of the Balaam poems in more than one respect. For one thing, they raise the possibility that the biblical Balaam poems were also composed in Gilead, in central Transjordan, where an active Israelite community lived for several centuries until driven out after the Assyrian invasions of the late eighth century B.C.E. The Valley of Sukkoth, where Deir ʿAlla is located, figures notably in certain biblical traditions, such as the narratives of Genesis 32–33 and Judges 8. There is also a basis for seeing the Deir ʿAlla inscriptions themselves as Israelite compositions, notwithstanding the absence of any mention of the God of Israel, and despite their polytheistic character (Weippert 1991). In this connection, the highlighting of El in the Balaam poems fits in well with the veiled references to El worship in Hosea 6:8, 12:12 by the Israelites of Gilead. Perhaps these very Transjordanian Israelites, regarded as sinful by Hosea, were the ones, or similar to the ones, who installed the Balaam plaster inscriptions on the walls of the building at Deir ʿAlla.

Historically, the Balaam orations reflect a situation of conflict between Israel and Moab, wherein Israel is declared victorious. This context would suit conditions in the early to-mid-ninth century B.C.E., under the Omride dynasty, when northern Israel exercised hegemony over northern Moab. This would have been prior to Mesha's successful reconquest of that territory in the mid-ninth century, as recounted in the famous stele of that Moabite king. This is also the period during which the Heshbon Ballad of Numbers 21, which depicts the Israelite conquest of North Moab, would have been composed. As such, the biblical Balaam poems might have antedated the Deir ʿAlla inscriptions by about 50 years.

Thanks to the Deir ʿAlla discoveries we can now speak of Balaam as a biblical personage also known from external, Transjordanian sources. We know him better than we did before, whether we regard him only as a figure of legend or as an historical personage of legendary proportions.

[Baruch Levine (2nd ed.)]

In the *Aggadah*

Some rabbis inflated the importance of Balaam. They saw in him one of "The seven prophets who prophesied to the peoples of the world" (BB 15b; "God raised up Moses for Israel and Balaam for the peoples of the world" – Num. R., 20:1; Tanḥ., Balak, 1), and believed that in many respects he was greater than Moses: "No prophet like Moses had risen in Israel, but such a one has risen among the peoples of the world. Who is he? Balaam the son of Beor. But there is a difference between the prophecy of Moses and that of Balaam. Moses did not know who spoke with him but Balaam knew…. Moses did not know when [God] would speak with him till he was addressed by Him, whereas Balaam knew…. Moses did not speak with Him till he had stood up… whereas Balaam spoke with Him as he was falling" (Sif. Deut. end). They explained Balaam's power to curse by the fact that he could ascertain the exact hour of God's anger (Av. Zar. 4a–b; Sanh. 105b). Others, however, identified him with Elihu the son of Barachel the Buzite (Job 32:2) for Barachel means "God has blessed"; the epithet "Buzite" is derived from "*buz*" ("contempt"), hence it teaches that Balaam's prophecy was of a low order and contemptible (T.J. Sot. 5:8, 20d). Some rabbis saw in him an immoral figure: "An evil eye, a haughty spirit and a proud soul" are the marks of the disciples of "Balaam the Wicked" (Avot, 5:19). Balaam was one of Pharaoh's counselors and it was he who advised that the male children should be cast into the Nile (Sanh. 106a); and in the end he wished "to uproot an entire people for naught and for no reason" (Num. R. 20:1; Tanḥ. Balak, 1) and counseled Balak how to destroy them. It was this act which caused the departure of the holy spirit from the gentile peoples (*ibid.*), and since then prophecy was preserved in Israel alone. There is no basis for the theory put forward by some scholars that Balaam in the *aggadah* represents Jesus (but see *Jesus in Talmud and Aggadah).

[Yehoshua M. Grintz]

In Islam

Balaam is not mentioned by name in the Koran, and it is not even clear that he is intended by the inference in Sura 7 (lines 174–5), as read by several interpreters of the Koran, historians, and authors of *Legends of the Prophets* (*Qiṣaṣ al-Anbiyā*). The verses read: "Relate to them of him to whom we gave our signs, and who turned away from them; and Satan followed him, and he was of those who were led astray. But had it been our will, we would have exalted him through our signs, but he clung unto the earth, and followed his desire. He is like the dog who puts forth his tongue whether you chase him away or let him alone. That is the parable of the people who deny our signs. Tell them this history, that they may consider it."

It is the general opinion that the inference is to Balaam who acquiesced to the request of Balak, king of Moab (Num. 22–24), as related in the Bible and Jewish legend, and who was responsible for the going astray of the children of Israel with the daughters of Moab (*ibid.* 25). However, some interpret Muhammad's words as referring to *Umayya ibn Abī al-Salt, Muhammad's contemporary and competitor as a prophet who was sent to the Arabs. Others maintain that the inference is to Luqmān, an Eastern sage, to whom Muhammad dedicated Sura 31. Nevertheless, B. Heller presents a number of convincing arguments against this identification.

[Haïm Z'ew Hirschberg]

In the Arts

Balaam is regarded with general disfavor in Hebrew literature, and it was exclusively in Christian literature that he was accorded any importance – mainly because he was alleged to have predicted the advent of Jesus (Num. 24:17). By the Middle Ages, however, Balaam had become a figure of fun, and it is in this spirit that he is portrayed in such medieval miracle plays as the *Ordo Prophetarum*, the Chester and Stonyhurst cycles, and the *Mistère du Viel Testament*. Such treatment destroyed Balaam's literary standing, although the 16th-century French Christian kabbalist Guillaume Postel resurrected the "prophet of the Gentiles" in some of his patriotic visionary works. One rare later treatment is the dramatic poem *Balaam* (1787) by C. Davy.

Among artists, portrayal of the subject was largely influenced by Christian theological interpretation of Balaam's prophecy, that "a star rises from Jacob," which was seen as a prefiguration of the star of Bethlehem that according to the Gospels appeared to the Magi. Balaam is represented as a bearded figure wearing an antique tunic and mantle and a Phrygian cap or Oriental turban. Such early representations are found in third and fourth century catacombs. The figure of Balaam is sometimes placed next to the Madonna and Child and often appears on sarcophagi. In Byzantine art, Balaam is depicted as one of the foretellers of Jesus in a fresco on Mount Athos. There are similar treatments in the West, such as the 12th-century "Tree of Jesse" window at Chartres and the 14th-century ceiling of St. Michael's at Hildesheim. Balaam appears with his ass in a late 12th-century bronze door at Monreale and a 14th-century facade at Orvieto. There are other representations in illuminated manuscripts and incunabula, such as the Luebeck Bible (1494). Artists who painted the subject include Taddeo Zuccari (1529–66), Luca Giordano (1632–1705), and Rembrandt. There are also cycles covering Balak's command, his sacrifice, and Balaam and Balak on Mount Peor; a notable example of this is the illuminated Bible of San Paolo Fuori le Mura (c. 850). Others occur in later baroque Bible illustrations.

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BALABAN, BARNEY (1887–1971), U.S. motion picture executive. Balaban was born in Chicago and worked at the age of 12 as a messenger for Western Union. In 1908, along with partner Sam Katz, he formed a company that developed a chain of deluxe movie and stage-show theater palaces. In 1917 they built what historians consider the city's first movie palace, the Central Park on West Roosevelt Road. Referred to as a "dream theater," it had a seating capacity of 2,200. It was here that they began working out the service system which soon spread to all quarters of the theater world. They outfitted their ushers in military-style uniforms, had them salute the theater patrons, and trained them to give quick, intelligent service.

At its peak, their cinema chain included 125 theaters in Chicago and the Midwest, such as the Riviera, the Tivoli, the Chicago, the Uptown, the McVickers, the Roosevelt, and the Norshore. The company introduced raked floors, comfortable seats, balconies, and air-conditioning. To keep patrons entertained, Balaban and Katz supplemented the theater's first-run motion pictures with lavish stage shows, a policy that would become standard at Chicago movie palaces during the 1920s. In 1926 they opened the Palace Theatre. Modeled after Versailles, the Palace had rose-marbled walls, crystal chandeliers, gold plaster ornamentation, and immense mirrors. That year they also opened the Oriental Theatre in Chicago's Loop area. A virtual museum of Asian art, the ornate three-level theater had a large domed ceiling graced by seahorses and goddesses. Turbaned ushers led patrons from the lobby – with polychrome figures and large mosaics of an Indian prince and princess – through an inner foyer with elephant-throne chairs and multicolored glazed Buddhas, to the auditorium's "hashish-dream décor."

In 1928 Balaban and Katz opened the Paradise on Chicago's West Side. Throughout their career the partners had been haunted by sentimental memories of the West Side, where they were born and raised and had first overcome poverty. Wanting to give their home turf the finest theater of all, they built the Paradise in the center of the city's population. Larger than any other theater outside of New York City, more daring and original in its architecture than any theater in the world at that time, their opulent 3,600-seat French Renaissance-style Paradise embodied the farthest reaches of their imagination.

Ultimately, Paramount Pictures bought a two-thirds interest in their cinema chain, and in 1936 Balaban was elected president of Paramount Pictures in Hollywood. Under his guidance, Paramount invested in television and pioneered the wide screen. Balaban was active in Jewish affairs.

Over the decades, many of the movie palaces fell into disrepair. The Paradise, for example, billed as "the world's most beautiful theater," was demolished in 1965. With the advent of talking pictures, fatal flaws in the acoustics and design of the building were exposed, so Balaban and Katz decided to demolish the theater and sell the land to a supermarket chain. Built to last forever, it took two years to tear it down.

In 1996 Chicago Mayor Richard Daley announced that the Oriental would be restored to its original grandeur for the presentation of live stage musicals. Renamed the Ford Center for the Performing Arts in 1997, the theater opened its doors to the public in 1998. Similarly, the Palace was purchased by General Motors and, renamed the Cadillac Palace Theater, opened in 1999 to present live stage productions.

[Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

BALABAN, MEIR (**Majer**; 1877–1942), historian of Polish Jewry. The Balaban family had been active in Lemberg and Zolkiew (Zholkva) as Hebrew printers from 1830 to 1914. After studying law at the university of his native Lemberg, Balaban taught for seven years in Galician towns in schools founded by Baron de Hirsch. He later returned to the university, devoting himself to the study of history. In those years he was active in the Zionist movement and served on the editorial staff of the Zionist weekly *Wschód* (The East). After graduating, Balaban continued teaching religion in various secondary schools. During World War I he served as a military chaplain in Lublin and as an official of Jewish affairs for the Austrian occupation authorities in Poland. From 1918 to 1920 he was head of the Jewish High School in Czestochowa. From 1920 to 1930 he directed the rabbinical seminary Taḥkemoni in Warsaw, and from 1928 lectured on Jewish history at the University of Warsaw, becoming associate professor in 1936. He was one of the founders of the Institute for Jewish Studies in Warsaw (1927) and served as its director for several years.

Balaban published about 70 historical studies and about 200 short papers and reviews in various periodicals. He was justly considered the founder of the historiography of Polish Jewry, especially of its communal life. His studies were based on a wealth of source material found in government and municipal archives, as well as in the archives of the Jewish communities. His first book, *Zydzi lwówscy na przełomie XVI–XVII wieku* (The Jews of Lvov [Lemberg] at the Turn of the 17th Century, 1906), received a prize from the University of Lemberg. In this work he displayed a thorough grasp of his subject, scholarly meticulousness, and a capacity for presenting lucidly the various aspects of life in great detail. These characteristics also mark his second monumental work *Dzieje żydów w Krakowie i na Kazimierzu, 1304–1868* ("A History of the Jews of Cracow," 2 vols., 1931–36). His book on the Jews of Lublin, *Die Judenstadt von Lublin* (Berlin, 1919), is a vivid survey of history of the Jews in that city. A series of articles on the organization of the Jewish communities in old Poland reflect his vast legal knowledge. These papers first appeared in Russian but were later revised and published again in Polish in the monthly publication of the Jewish community of Warsaw (1937–39). To the 11th volume of *Istoriya yevreiskogo naroda* ("A History of the Jewish People," 1914), of which he was a coeditor, Balaban contributed an exhaustive study of the Council of the Four Lands. Collections of his articles and treatises, containing the biographies of rabbis, doctors, and communal leaders, and the history of printing houses, blood accusations, and the Karaites in Poland, were published in German, Polish, and Yiddish. Balaban contributed over 150 articles to the Russian-Jewish Encyclopedia *Yevreyskaya Entsiklopediya*. Particularly significant are his studies on the Shabbatean and Frankist movements, summarized in his *Le-Toledot ha-Tenu'ah ha-Frankit* (History of the Frankist Movement, 2 vols., 1934–35). He also wrote a book on the synagogues and other antiquities of the Jews in Poland, *Zabytki historyczne Żydów Polsce* (Jewish Antiquities in Poland. 1929). A summary of the history of the Jews in Poland until the end of the 18th century is contained in the second and third volumes of a textbook entitled *Historja i literatura żydowska* (The History of the Jewish People and its Literature, 1925; first of 3 vols. also in Hebrew, 1931); most of the historical chapters are included in *Beit Yisrael be-Polin* (vol. 1, 1948). His studies of the history of the Jews in 19th-century Poland are confined to Galicia. From the outset of his scholarly career Balaban applied himself to collecting a bibliography on the history of the Jews in Poland; his first prizewinning publication in this field appeared in Polish in 1903. The first part of his own bibliography for the years 1900–30 appeared in 1939. When the Nazis overran Poland, Balaban refused to flee. He died in Warsaw in November 1942 before the liquidation of the ghetto and was thus vouchsafed burial in the Jewish cemetery.

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[Raphael Mahler]

BALABANOFF, ANGELICA (1878–1965), European socialist and political activist. Balabanoff was born in Chernigov, near Kiev in the Ukraine, to a wealthy Jewish family. The daughter of a landowner and businessman, she was the youngest of 16 children, several of whom had died before her birth. Like most girls of her class and time, she was educated privately at home. At age 19 she left Chernigov to study at the Université Novelle in Brussels, Belgium, an institution noted for its radicalism. In her autobiography, *My Life as a Rebel*, Balabanoff asserted that a guilty awareness of her privileged background and a poor relationship with her mother, whom she considered dictatorial, motivated her to pursue goals of social justice. After receiving a doctorate in the philosophy of literature in Brussels, she began a wandering life of commitment to socialism which involved significant contact with prominent personalities and great historical events. In Brussels she came under the influence of George Plekhanov, a founder of the first Communist Party in Russia. Her acquaintances and comrades included Alexander *Berkman, Emma *Goldman, V.I. Lenin, Rosa *Luxemburg, Benito Mussolini, Leon *Trotsky, and Clara Zetkin. As an organizer and agitator, Balabanoff rejected feminism as a bourgeois philosophy. She was fluent in many languages, a firebrand speaker, and a talented journalist and editor. Balabanoff developed a close and lasting relationship with the Italian Socialist movement early in her political career. She also had a leadership role in the Swiss-based Zimmerwald Group, which attacked imperialism and demanded immediate peace. During and after World War I, Balabanoff became more sympathetic to the left wing of Socialism. After the Bolsheviks came to power, she returned to Russia, where she was appointed secretary of the Communist International. A year later, ousted from that position, she left Russia disillusioned, assailing the government and the movement it represented as corrupt and authoritarian. In response, the Bolsheviks attempted to malign her reputation. Balabanoff spent the interwar years in Paris and Vienna. During World War II, she found refuge in New York City where she became a friend of American socialist Norman Thomas and contributed occasionally to the *Socialist Review Journal*. Balanbanoff also spoke out against Italian Fascism. She settled in Rome after the war and was active in the Italian Socialist movement. Balabanoff was the author of *Impres-*

sions of Lenin (1934); *My Life as a Rebel* (1938); and *The Traitor: Benito Mussolini and the "Conquest" of Power* (1942–3); she also wrote poetry in English, French, German, Italian, and Russian.

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[Libby White (2nd ed.)]

BALAGUER, town in Aragon, northeastern Spain. At the time of the Christian reconquest at the end of the 11th century, several Jews already owned houses and land there. In 1280 Pedro III ordered an inquiry regarding violations of the interest laws by the local Jews. Efforts by the counts of Urgel to restore the community after the *Black Death and the anti-Jewish disorders accompanying it in 1348–49 were apparently successful. During the persecutions of 1391 the Jews in Balaguer took refuge in the citadel but were forced to leave by King John I. In 1416 Alfonso V, after suppressing a revolt, imposed a fine of 45 pounds of silver upon the Jews of the town, notwithstanding the fact that the community had become impoverished through migration to the estates of the nobility and the conversions to Christianity at the time of the *Tortosa disputation. New settlers were not granted exemption from taxes. The community existed until the expulsion of the Jews from Spain in 1492.

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[Haim Beinart]

BALAK (Heb. בָּלָק), son of Zippor; the first king of Moab whose name is known. Balak's memory survived only because of his ill-fated association with *Balaam, whom he had hired to curse Israel after the latter's victories over the Amorites (Num. 22–24; et al.). In Joshua 24:9 (cf. Judg. 11:25) he is described as having fought Israel. Micah 6:5 refers to the frustration of Balak's design as exemplifying God's kindness to Israel. No satisfactory explanation of the name has so far been advanced.

For bibliography, see *Balaam.

BALANCE (Heb. פֶּלֶס, *peles*; Isa. 40:12; Prov. 16:11; cf. *pilles* "make straight, level," Isa. 26:7; Ps. 78:50; synonomous by synecdoche with pair of scales, *moznayim* – Lev. 19:36; Isa. 40:12; Jer. 32:10; et al. – and with balance beam קָנֶה, *kaneh*; Isa. 46:6). The equal arm balance of the ancient Near East (as distinguished from the unequal arm balance with counterpoise introduced by the Romans) consisted of a horizontal beam moving freely on a central fulcrum, with the object to be weighed and standard weights suspended at opposite ends in pans or on hooks. In its earliest form the beam was suspended at its center by a cord held in the hand, and equilibrium was estimated visually. Under the 18th dynasty in Egypt larger balances were developed, supported by an upright frame resting on the ground. From the frame was suspended a weighing plummet (Heb. *mishkolet*, II Kings 21:13; Isa. 28:17) which could be compared with a pointer extending downward at right angles from the pivotal point of the beam.

The principle of the balance was probably derived from the yoke of the burden bearer (Isa. 9:3), with its two equalized loads. The earliest mechanical balances were small, and were used only for objects of high value in relation to their size, e.g., gold, silver, jewels, spices, etc. The oldest known example is a stone balance beam from the pre-dynastic Gerzean civilization in Egypt. Weights from the Sumerian and Indus civilizations show that the balance was in use there in the third millennium. Hand balances and large standing balances are illustrated in many Egyptian reliefs and wall paintings, the former also on a Hittite relief from Carchemish and the latter on one from ninth century Assyria. From ancient Israel a crude sketch of a man holding a pair of scales, incised on the base of a scale-weight of the seventh-sixth centuries B.C.E., is extant (unpublished). Biblical references to the balance are both literal (Lev. 19:36; Jer. 32:10; Ezek. 45:10; et al.) and figurative (Isa. 40:12; Ps. 62:10; Job 6:2; et al.). Fraudulent weighing is repeatedly denounced in the Bible, i.e., substandard weights (Amos 8:5), different sets of weights for buying and selling (Deut. 25:13), and false balances (Hos. 12:8; Prov. 11:1). An effort to standardize weights by marking them with an official shekel sign, attributable on archaeological grounds to Josiah, may have been accompanied by regulations for the construction and operation of balances. In later times the levites were made custodians of "all measures of quantity and size" (I Chron. 23:29).

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[Robert B.Y. Scott]

BALANJAR, town of the *Khazars located between *Bāb al-Abwāb and *Samandar in the north Caucasus region. It was formerly identified by Artamonov (see bibliography) with the ruins of Endere near Andreyeva, or as the site of present-day Buinaksk, but is now placed by him south of Makhachkala, where the remains of a town have been found (communication of November 1964). Balanjar is mentioned in Arabic sources as existing in the seventh and eighth centuries. Originally the name appears to have been an ethnic designation. A Pehlevi source cited by the historian al-Ṭabarī (vol. I, 895–6) states that in the time of the Sassanid ruler Khusraw Anūshirwān (531–79) a tribal group within the West Turkish empire was called Balanjar. According to the historian al-Masʿūdī (*al-Tanbīh*, 62), Balanjar was formerly the Khazar capital. It was the principal objective of the Arabs after they reached the Caucasus in 641 or 642. In 652 the Muslims attempted unsuccessfully to besiege Balanjar, then a fortified town, and were heavily defeated nearby. In 723, during the second Arab-Khazar war, it was captured by al-Jarrāḥ ibn ʿAbdallah al-Ḥakamī and is occasionally mentioned later.

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[Douglas Morton Dunlop]

BALASSAGYARMAT, city in Nógrád county, northern Hungary. Jews first settled in the town toward the end of the 17th century. The poll of 1725 mentions only one Jewish family; in 1746 there were 19 families, and by 1778, 47 families. The number of Jews ranged from 529 in 1784 to 2,013 (17.4% of the total) in 1930, reaching a peak in 1920 with 2,401 (21.1%). According to the census of 1941, the town had 1,712 Jews, representing 13.9% of the total of 12,347. The Jewish community was organized in 1730, and its Chevra Kadisha in 1742. The community's first synagogue was destroyed in a fire in 1776; on its site a new synagogue was built in 1868. Among the rabbis who served the community were Judah Leb Engel (from 1730); Benjamin Ze'ev Wolf *Boskowitz; Mordecai and Ezekiel *Banet; and successive members of the Deutsch family (Aaron David, Joseph Israel, and David) from 1851 to 1944. The Jewish community, which was organized as Orthodox in 1868, was joined in 1885 by the smaller communities in the neighboring villages, including those of Dejtár, Érsekvadkert, Örhalom, Patak, and Szügy. During the interwar period, the community supported a number of social and welfare institutions, and together with the Jewish community of nearby Salgótarján published a Hungarian-language paper called *Szombati Értesitö* ("Sabbath News"). Located near the border with Slovakia, Balassagyarmat was a magnet for many Polish and Slovakian Jewish refugees who escaped persecution in their own countries.

After Hungary entered the war in June 1941, the Jews were subjected to ever harsher measures. Jewish males of military age were conscripted for labor service. The situation of the Jews took a turn for the worse after the German occupation of Hungary on March 19, 1944. According to a census conducted after the occupation, the Orthodox congregation had 1,516 members, led by President Mihály Lázár and Rabbi David Deutsch. The Jews were rounded up early in May 1944 under the direction of Mayor Béla Vannay. Balassagyarmat served as a major concentration and entrainment center for 5,820 Jews rounded up in Nógrád county. These Jews were concentrated in two ghettos: the approximately 2,000 local Jews were concentrated in the so-called "large ghetto," in and around Kossuth Lajos, Thököly, and Hunyadi Streets; the Jews brought in from the neighboring towns and villages in Nógrád county were concentrated in the so-called "little ghetto," located in Óváros Square. Among these were the Jews of Alsópetény, Apátújfalu, Becske, Bercel, Cserháthaláp, Diósjenö, Érsekvadkert, Galgaguta, Hugyag, Losonc, Noográdmarcal, Örhalom, Szécsény, Szügy, and several other locations. The Jewish Council was composed of Mihály Lázár (chairman), Dezsö Sándor, Pál Sándor, Ferenc Hajdú, Imre Léván, and János Weltner. Internally, the ghettos were guarded by a Jewish police force headed by Pál Sándor and András Fleischer. Externally, they were guarded by units of the police headed by László Eördögh and a gendarmerie unit from Miskolc. Just before their deportation, the Jews were relocated to the tobacco barns at Nyírjespuszta about 3 miles (5 km.) from the town. The Jews were deported to Auschwitz in two transports that left Nyírjespuszta on June 12 and June 14. The Germans used the synagogue as a munitions depot, and destroyed it prior to their departure.

Among the first survivors to return to the town were labor servicemen. They, together with the concentration camp survivors who returned in 1945–46, reorganized the community under the leadership of Rabbi Pinkász Kálmán. The Jews began to leave the town after 1948 and especially after the Hungarian Revolution of 1956. By 1970 only a handful of Jews were still in Balassagyarmat.

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[Laszlo Harsanyi / Randolph Braham (2nd ed.)]

BALÁZS, BÉLA (1884–1949), Hungarian author and motion picture critic. Balázs was born in Szeged and studied at Budapest. After the revolution in 1918–19 he moved to Vienna and Berlin and finally settled in the U.S.S.R., where he lectured at the Moscow Film Academy. He returned to Hungary after World War II and taught at the Budapest Academy of Dramatic Art. Balázs' interest in philosophy is evident in all his writing. His books include *Halálesztétika* ("Aesthetics of Death," 1907), *A tragédiának metafizikus teóriája* ("Metaphysical Theory of Tragedy," 1908), and *Dialógus a dialógusról* ("Dialogue about the Dialogue," 1913). He also wrote poems and several plays, of which *A kékszakállu herceg vára* ("Duke Bluebeard's Castle," 1912), provided the libretto for an opera by Béla Bartók. Bartók also set to music Balázs' fairy-tale ballet, *A fából faragott királyfi* ("Wooden Prince," 1912). Balázs was a pioneer of motion picture criticism, and wrote two books on film technique (1952, 1961). The Hungarian communist regime established a prize in his name for work in cinema art.

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[Jeno Zsoldos]

BALBO, MICHAEL BEN SHABBETAI COHEN (1411–after 1484), rabbi and poet in Candia (Crete). Although Candia was his permanent home, he is occasionally mentioned in nearby Canea and three sermons which he preached there in 1471, 1475, and 1477, are extant (Vatican Ms. 305). He functioned as *condostablo*, the leader of the Jewish community of Candia. Moses *Capsali in a responsum of 1458 refers to him as one of the communal leaders. Balbo's signature is found on many ordinances enacted in Candia between the years 1468 and 1479. He wrote letters and poems to many contemporary scholars, one poem dealing with the capture of Constantinople by the

Turks in 1453. In this lament on the fall of Constantinople, he associated the fate of the Jews with that of the defeated Greek-Orthodox. Balbo took issue with scholars on various topics; in his polemic against Moses Ashkenazi (who was known by the curious name of *Esrim ve-Arba* – "Twenty-Four") he vigorously attacked Ashkenazi for his rejection of the doctrine of metempsychosis. Balbo also wrote on behalf of the Candia community on such topical subjects as the ransoming of captives and *agunot*. These writings are valuable material for the history of his time. In a colophon at the end of a manuscript of the *Sefer Mitzvot Katan*, which he copied, he refers to the deaths of his son Isaiah and of Isaiah's son Michael in 1484.

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[Yehoshua Horowitz]

BALCON, SIR MICHAEL (1896–1977), British film producer. Born in Birmingham, he began filmmaking in 1920 and during the next 40 years was responsible for many outstanding British films which opened new avenues in realism and humor. Among them were *The Captive Heart, It Always Rains on Sunday, Passport to Pimlico, Kind Hearts and Coronets, The Lavender Hill Mob, Whisky Galore, The Cruel Sea, Dunkirk*, and *The Long and the Short and the Tall*. His book *Michael Balcon Presents … A Lifetime of Films* was published in 1969. He was knighted for his services to the industry in 1948. Balcon was born and educated in Birmingham. He founded Gainsborough Pictures Ltd. in 1928, was director of production for Gaumont-British, director and producer at Ealing Studios, and chairman of British Lion Films.

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°BALFOUR, ARTHUR JAMES, EARL OF (1848–1930), British statesman, signatory of the *Balfour Declaration. In 1902, he became prime minister, but was defeated in the general election of 1905. He returned to Asquith's coalition as first lord of the admiralty in 1915 and served as foreign secretary in Lloyd George's coalition government, formed in December 1916. Balfour began to take an interest in the Jewish question in 1902–03, when *Herzl conducted negotiations with Joseph *Chamberlain, the British colonial secretary, and with Lord Lansdowne, the foreign secretary, regarding Jewish settlement in areas adjoining Palestine, such as the Sinai Peninsula. In 1906 he met Chaim *Weizmann in Manchester and was impressed by his personality. Balfour's interest in Zionism revived and grew more intense during World War I, when he became foreign secretary, in which capacity he signed the Balfour Declaration of Nov. 2, 1917. He was enthusiastically welcomed by the Jewish population when he visited Palestine in 1925 to attend the dedication ceremony of the Hebrew University in Jerusalem, at which he delivered the opening address. His anthology, *Speeches on Zionism* (1928), was translated into Hebrew. The motivation behind Balfour's attraction to Zionism has been the subject of conjecture. Being a rationalist it is doubtful whether religious tradition was a factor although his biographer Blanche *Dugdale introduces his Scottish ancestry with its Old Testament tradition. A more likely theory is that of Leonard Stein, who points out that Balfour had spoken out against the persecution of the Jews saying "The treatment of the race has been a disgrace to Christendom" and he saw the establishment of a Jewish state as an historic act of amends. Streets were named after him in Jerusalem, Tel Aviv, and Haifa. There is also a Balfour Forest at Ginnegar, and a moshav, *Balfouriyyah, founded in 1922 in the Jezreel Valley. The Balfour family continued the tradition of interest in the Zionist movement. Robert Arthur Lytton 3rd Earl of Balfour (1902–1969), his nephew, supported *Youth Aliyah. In 1939 he offered the family estate and home, Whittingham, to a Jewish committee as a training school for refugee boys and girls from Germany. Balfour's niece and biographer Blanche Dugdale worked in the political department of the Jewish Agency in London as a close collaborator of Chaim Weizmann.

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BALFOUR DECLARATION, official statement which Arthur James *Balfour, the British foreign secretary, addressed to Lionel Walter Rothschild (2nd Baron Rothschild) on November, 2, 1917. It conveyed a declaration of sympathy with Jewish Zionist aspirations. The British government viewed with "favour the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people."

The Declaration was a deliberate act of the British cabinet and part of its general foreign policy. It was a national policy in the sense that it represented the views of the three British political parties. It had acquired international status since the principal Allies – Russia, France, Italy, and the United States – had given it their prior approval. It was subsequently endorsed by the League of Nations and incorporated into the *Mandate.

The Balfour Declaration recognized the collective right of world Jewry to Palestine and the "Jewish People" became an entity in the context of international law. Recognition of Zionism was in line with the principle of self-determination and with the struggle of small nationalities for freedom and independence.

There were many hands, both Jewish and non-Jewish, which shaped the policy which led to the Declaration, but it was Chaim *Weizmann who emerged as the central figure in the struggle. His scientific achievements early in the war enabled him to render important services to the British government which brought him to the notice of David *Lloyd George, minister of munitions. The latter's personal admiration for Weizmann proved invaluable to the cause of Zionism when Lloyd George was serving as prime minister. Weizmann had met Arthur James Balfour for the first time in Manchester, in 1905. British statesmen, public men, and officials listened readily to Weizmann because he was able to show that he could influence Jewish opinion and that Zionism was advantageous to Britain.

C.P. Scott, the celebrated editor of the *Manchester Guardian*, was one of the leading public men whom Weizmann converted to Zionism. It was Scott who cemented Weizmann's relationship with Lloyd George and introduced him to Herbert *Samuel, then president of the Local Government Board, at that time the only Jewish member of the cabinet. Like Weizmann, Samuel realized that Turkey's entry into the war on November 5, 1914, opened up great possibilities. He went further than Weizmann and envisaged that, with the probable disintegration of the Ottoman Empire, the foundation of a Jewish state in Palestine could be laid. He confided his views first to Sir Edward Grey, the foreign minister, and found him favorably disposed towards the idea. Lloyd George was also keen to see the establishment of a Jewish state in Palestine; his interest predated Grey's.

However, several weeks later, Samuel concluded that, since the number of Jews in Palestine did not exceed one-sixth of the total population, the time was not ripe for the establishment of an independent and autonomous Jewish state. In a memorandum circulated in January 1915 (and in a revised version in March 1915), he advocated the annexation of Palestine to the British Empire, as only under British rule would Jewish colonization prosper and immigration be encouraged, so that in course of time when the Jews would become a majority they would be conceded "such a degree of self-government as the conditions of that day may justify."

On February 5, 1915, when Samuel met Grey again, he found him still anxious to promote Jewish settlement in Palestine but very doubtful of the possibility or desirability of the establishment of a British Protectorate. Neither Samuel nor Weizmann gave sufficient weight to the fact that Britain was disinclined to undertake new imperial responsibilities and that the wishes of the French in that region were to be respected. The inter-departmental committee, better known as the De Bunsen Committee, appointed in April 1915, recommended that maintenance of an independent Ottoman Empire, but with a decentralized system of administration, would serve British interests best. With regard to Palestine the committee suggested that it should be neutralized and placed under an international regime. This concept ran counter to Samuel's and Weizmann's wishes. It was not until early in 1917 that their doctrine began to appear relevant to British strategic interests. But during 1915–16 it was still condemned to the sidelines. Weizmann and Nahum *Sokolow, a member of the World Zionist Executive who arrived in England in December 1914, pursued their activity in a low key, and it was only in 1916 that a collection of essays, edited by Harry *Sacher, entitled *Zionism and the Jewish Future*, was published with the intention of enlightening public opinion on the essence of Zionism.

If the British government's interest in Zionism persisted, it was not in order to establish a claim to Palestine, as was manifested a year later, but in order to win over American Jewry, whose influence was thought to be considerable in the press, in finance, and in politics. Wooed by both belligerent camps, the attitude of the Jews in the United States was governed by the czarist government's hostile treatment of their kin in Russia. The British government regretted Russia's conduct but felt powerless to influence her. It was Horace *Kallen, a professor at the University of Wisconsin and an ardent Zionist, who first put to the Foreign Office (November 1915) an alternative method of winning over the American Jews to the Entente: should the Allies issue a statement similar to German promises in favor of Jewish national rights in Palestine, it would, he was convinced, counter German moves and elicit pro-British and pro-French sympathies among the Jewish masses.

Independently, a month later, Lucien *Wolf, a journalist and a historian, then secretary of the Conjoint Foreign Committee of the Board of Deputies of British Jews and of the Anglo-Jewish Association, made a similar proposal. Wolf was not a Zionist and deplored the Jewish national movement. But he was too much of a realist to ignore the shift in the balance of power which had taken place since the outbreak of the war. In America, he conceded, Zionism had captured Jewish opinion, and in view of the forthcoming American Jewish Congress he thought it important that "in any bid for Jewish sympathies … very serious account must be taken of the Zionist movement … This is the moment for the Allies to declare their policy in regard to Palestine." On March 3, 1916, he suggested a formula as a basis for a public pronouncement.

The Foreign Office was favorably disposed to the idea but had reservations about Wolf's eligibility to be the recipient of such a proclamation. Moreover, doubts later developed as to whether his suggested formula would make a strong enough appeal to Jewish communities all over the world.

While the matter was being considered, a rival proposition came from an unexpected quarter. Its author was Edgar Suarès, a prominent businessman and head of the Jewish community in Alexandria. Should the British government give concrete assurances on the Palestine question, he told Sir Henry McMahon, the High Commissioner in Egypt, it would "convert the indifference, if not hostility of American and other Jews into enthusiastic support." Suarès' scheme followed the familiar Zionist pattern but what made an impact on the Foreign Office, and particularly on Grey, was the allusion to the prospect of a German protectorate in Palestine.

On March 11, 1916, Lord Crewe, who was deputizing for Grey, drafted a cable to the British ambassadors in Paris and Petrograd asking them to sound out the French and the Russian governments about making a joint declaration with regard to Palestine which would satisfy Jewish aspirations. He quoted Wolf's formula but suggested instead a scheme which he thought would be far more attractive to the majority of Jews. It consisted of creating conditions which would enable Jewish settlers in Palestine to grow strong enough to cope with the Arab population and lay the foundation for Jewish self-government. Neither McMahon nor Grey, nor any other member of the Foreign Office, saw any inconsistency between this scheme and the British promise made to Sharif Hussein of Mecca at that time to recognize Arab independence. It was understood that, like Lebanon, Palestine was excluded from the deal.

Against all expectations, Sazonow, the Russian foreign minister, approved of Grey's *aide-mémoire* but Briand, the French premier and foreign minister, gave it its *coup de grâce*. The British gave the French arguments little credence but did not want to irritate their ally at a time when mutual trust was of supreme importance. The idea of a joint declaration was shelved but the need for it did not decrease, especially since German propaganda in the United States was gaining the upper hand. The situation was all the more critical since growing estrangement from England stood in a direct ratio to her increasing financial dependence on the United States. At this juncture, Sir Cecil Spring-Rice, the British ambassador to Washington, remarked: "The Zionist movement is growing in importance and we can well sympathize with it. Perhaps here would be a basis of common action."

With Lloyd George's accession to the premiership in December 1916, British policy in the Middle East altered radically. One of his primary objectives was the acquisition of Palestine. He had advocated its annexation since the outbreak of the war, and to him British and Jewish Palestine were almost synonymous. He had a long-standing interest in Zionism and Samuel's memorandum made a strong appeal to him. It also fitted in well with his strategic and political concepts. He had had no hand in making the *Sykes-Picot Agreement, which he regarded as an inconvenient legacy. The longer the war lasted, the stronger became his determination that Palestine, if recaptured, must be "one and indivisible."

However, the broader aim of Lloyd George's policy was to forestall the possibility of Turco-German predominance in Palestine. Herein lay the *raison dêtre* of the alliance with British Zionism. It provided a way to outmaneuver the French without breaking faith, and a useful card at the future peace conference to play against any German move to rally the German-oriented and Turcophile Jews to buttress her claim.

Late in 1916 the British began to suspect that Germany was bent on an aggressive course in the East. Events lent support to this suspicion. The resounding defeat of Serbia by the German army and Bulgaria's adherence to the Central Powers virtually opened the road from Hamburg to Baghdad. A German foothold on the eastern bank of the Suez Canal would have placed British imperial communications in grave jeopardy. In these circumstances destruction of the Ottoman Empire became an unavoidable necessity. It was also essential that Palestine come under sole British control. Samuel's thesis, expounded in his memoranda of January and March 1915, was now fully vindicated.

However, British strategic requirements clashed with the principle of non-annexation enunciated by President *Wilson and upheld by the Provisional Government in Russia. It constituted the most serious threat to British war aims. Henceforth, one of the greatest dilemmas of British diplomacy was how to achieve its desiderata without giving offense to its allies. This could be done only by marriage with the principle of self-determination. It was here that the importance of Zionism, as far as Palestine was concerned, came in. It provided a cloak under which Britain could appear free from any annexationist taint. The anti-Turkish crusade was essentially negative in nature, and as such could hardly commend itself to American and Russian opinion; but, when clothed in the ideological garb of struggle for the liberation of small nationalities, it acquired a different aspect.

The first step, which was to lead to a compact with Zionism, was taken by Sir Mark *Sykes, a leading expert on the East and a signatory to the Agreement with his French opposite number, François-Georges Picot. His conversion to Zionism was of particular importance. In January 1917 Lloyd George promoted him to the key position of assistant secretary to the war cabinet and delegated authority in Middle Eastern affairs to him. With his status enhanced he was in a position to play a major role in shaping British policy in that part of the world. His crucial meeting with the Zionist leaders, which included Rabbi Moses *Gaster, Lord Rothschild, Herbert Samuel, Harry Sacher, as well as Sokolow and Weizmann, took place on February 7, 1917. He heard from them what he had expected. The common denominator in the spectrum of their views was the desire for a British protectorate of Palestine. This played directly into his hands. He remained silent about the agreement reached with Picot and Sazonow in Petrograd in March 1916, but pointed to possible difficulties from France. He thought it would be useful if the Zionists appointed a representative to discuss the matter with them. The representative chosen to put the Zionist point of view to Picot, then in London, and subsequently to the Quai d'Orsay, was Sokolow. In the meantime, quite independently, the French government had changed its policy drastically and, when Sokolow arrived in Paris, he was told that France took a sympathetic interest in Jewish national aspirations, which, however, could be sanctioned only if France had a rightful share in the administration of Palestine. Nonetheless, Sykes considered it a step in the right direction. Thereafter, Sykes paved the way for Sokolow's visit to the Vatican. On May 1, he was received by Cardinal Gasparri, the papal secretary of state, who reassured him that the Zionists need fear no opposition from the Church. "On the contrary, you may count on our sympathy." Pope Benedict XV expressed himself in even warmer terms. "The return of the Jews to Palestine is a miraculous event. It is providential; God has willed it … I believe that we shall be good neighbors."

Sokolow's success did not go unnoticed by the Italian government and on May 8, Di Martino, the secretary-general of the Foreign Ministry, handed Sokolow an official declaration of sympathy with Zionist aspirations. Nor did the French government remain a passive onlooker. On June 4 Jules Cambon, the secretary-general of the French Foreign Ministry, gave Sokolow a letter which for the Zionists constituted a political victory of the highest order. The Italian and French declarations enabled the British to follow suit. Had the French government objected, as it did in 1916, there would have been no Balfour Declaration.

Another factor that told strongly in the Zionists' favor was the situation in Russia. Since April there were growing indications that Russia was drifting out of the war. Particularly disturbing was the demand by the Council of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies for the early conclusion of peace. Russia's collapse or the conclusion of peace would have transformed the whole strategic situation and the moral effect would have been devastating. Propaganda therefore was badly needed but the British were handicapped in getting their message through. Anglophobia was deep-seated under the czarist regime. Nor did the March Revolution improve the situation. The Russians had an ingrained dislike of outside interference and Lloyd George's message to Prince Lvov enjoining the Russian people to strengthen their resolve in preventing the war failed to achieve the desired effect. This helps explain why the Zionists were *personae gratae* at the Foreign Office. In return for meeting their wishes, they could produce in Russia and elsewhere an army of voluntary propagandists, all the more effective since they had the obvious advantage of being citizens of their respective countries. Russian Jews disliked the war. It was not of their choosing and they had nothing to gain from its continuation. Both for political and economic reasons they were inclined more towards Germany than to England, but recognition of their rights in Palestine might make all the difference. Not only would it immunize them against German-inspired pacifist propaganda but their influence in the press and public life could be brought to bear. The military campaign in Palestine would be presented as an act of liberation and Britain's presence there linked to the principle of self-determination. Moreover, having a close interest in the success of Allied arms, they would be all the more eager to support the moderate element in the Provisional Government against the extremists and, considering the precarious balance of power within the coalition, this was not without significance.

After the March Revolution the position of Russian Jews, 5,000,000 strong, was transformed. The abolition of civic disabilities released tremendous sources of vitality which became manifest in all fields of cultural and political activity. Although they comprised only four percent of the total population, their influence far exceeded their numerical strength.

The most influential party in post-revolutionary Russia was the Zionist party. Its rise was spectacular. The number of enrolled members, which before the war amounted to 25,000, rose steeply in the spring of 1917 to 140,000. By the beginning of 1918 there were 1,200 registered local Zionist societies all over the country with 300,000 active members. The elections to an All-Jewish Congress held in Southern Russia showed that the Zionist movement enjoyed overwhelming support within the Russian Jewish community. These figures say nothing of those outside the movement, who by tradition and sentiment were attached to Palestine. British Military Intelligence estimated that "the great mass of the 6,000,000 Jews in Russia have been more or less in sympathy with the Zionist cause." Jehiel *Tschlenow was not exaggerating when, in his inaugural address to the Zionist Conference in Petrograd on June 6, 1917, he stated that Zionism had become a mass movement and as such, in a free country, was a formidable political factor.

In the United States, too, the Zionist movement had made much headway. Louis D. *Brandeis' leadership transformed it from a parochial organization into a significant force in Jewish communal life. One of its greatest assets was Woodrow Wilson, the president of the United States, who had come to believe that the Zionist program would help solve the Jewish question and had promised to lend his support to implement it.

In April 1917, when Balfour visited the United States, he thought it important to meet Brandeis, Palestinian policy being one of the subjects on which Balfour intended to explore American feeling. The broader aim of Balfour's mission was to prepare the ground for full Anglo-American co-operation and stimulate goodwill. He was fully aware that Brandeis' position in the President's Council might well facilitate friendship between the two countries. His meetings with Brandeis, both private and official (May 1), were rewarding. He gave Brandeis firm assurances of support for the Zionist cause but thought that the moment was not ripe to make a public pronouncement as Brandeis wished him to do.

International complexities apart, there was another difficulty that hindered Balfour from issuing an official statement. Aware of the strong opposition to Zionism among influential Jews, he was wary of antagonizing them. It was not before the controversy was resolved in the Zionists' favor at a meeting of the Board of Deputies on June 17 and the dissolution of the Conjoint Foreign Committee that the British government could move freely on the road to a public declaration.

The episode became a *cause célèbre* in Anglo-Jewish history. It resulted from mutual misunderstanding. The assimilationists feared that the recognition of Jews as a separate nationality would cause their alienation in the lands of their domicile and would play into the hands of antisemites. It was based on an erroneous assumption and was caused by misreading the term "nationality," mistaking conformity for civic loyalty.

On the other hand, the Zionists were guilty of indiscretions which tended to magnify their opponents' suspicions. Sensible enough to restrict the application of the concept of Jewish nationality to Palestine, they blundered in not making those most concerned aware of their thinking. A timely gesture might well have averted the crisis. With their diplomatic status in the spring of 1917 elevated, they chose to go it alone in their dealings with the British government. But since the agreement between the Conjoint Committee and the Foreign Office was still in force, such tactics could not lead them far. It is indeed doubtful whether the British government would have ventured to issue a declaration of sympathy with Zionism before consulting all sections of the Anglo-Jewish community.

By June it became clear that a public statement by the British government could no longer be delayed. For some time the German press, ranging from the Conservative *Reichsbote* to the Liberal *Frankfurter Zeitung*, had been urging the Reich government to show a more accommodating attitude to the Zionist movement. On June 12 Weizmann called on Sir Ronald Graham, the under-secretary of state for foreign affairs, and told him that he had received some disquieting information. For Zionism to fall under German influence would have been a serious blow to his efforts to anchor the movement firmly to Britain, particularly at a time when it was emerging as a leading force in the Jewish world. He insisted that it was essential for the British government to counter German moves and give public expression of its sympathy and support.

On June 19, Balfour invited Lord Rothschild and Weizmann to submit a draft proposal for a declaration of support. However, a month elapsed before they were able to forward a text to Balfour. Members of the Political Committee were remarkably modest in their claims. They refrained from using the words "Jewish state," on which some radical members like Harry Sacher insisted, and hit upon the more moderate "Jewish National Home." It originated in the *Heimstaette* of the Basle Program to which in November 1916 Sokolow prefixed the word "national." It was this word that infuriated leading British Jews so much. A term "home" or even "state" would have been less objectionable since such an entity would in no way have interfered with the loyalty of Jews outside Palestine.

After the dissolution of the Conjoint Foreign Committee, the attack was led by Edwin Montagu, a leading Jewish anti-Zionist who was secretary of state for India. The Zionist draft proposal filled him with horror. His memorandum, "The Antisemitism of the Present Government (August 23, 1917)," was the first in his campaign to suppress the proposed declaration. None of his memoranda convinced the cabinet. Ronald MacNeill, MP, subsequently under-secretary of state for foreign affairs, dismissed his views as unrepresentative and erroneous. However, in order to still his opposition and speed up the publication of the declaration, Leopold Amery (a member of the war cabinet secretariat) inserted (on October 3, 1917) two provisos. The first was to safeguard the rights of the native Moslem and Christian communities and protect them against possible dispossession; the word "in" (the national home was to be established "in Palestine") was the operative word intended to insure against the imposition of Jewish domination on other inhabitants of Palestine. The purpose of the second proviso was to dispel the misconception that Jews *qua* Jews, irrespective of their convictions and place of domicile, "belonged to Palestine" and owed allegiance to the National Home. The provisos, however, as Amery recorded, "gave away nothing that was not self-evident," and were not meant to impair the substance of the proposed declaration.

The Balfour Declaration

"His Majesty's Government view with favour the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, and will use their best endeavours to facilitate the achievement of this object, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine, or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country."

Brandeis was instrumental in convincing President Wilson to approve the proposed draft, whereas Sir Mark Sykes demolished Lord Curzon's contention that Zionism was "a dream incapable of realization." He pointed to the success of the Zionist colonization and felt certain that, given the proper conditions, the population in Palestine could be doubled within seven years without dispossessing anyone.

Sykes drew his information from Aaron *Aaronsohn, who, on October 1, had arrived in London. Both the War Office and the Foreign Office had a high opinion of his contribution to Military Intelligence and his presence weighed heavily in the Zionists' favor. Sykes did not flatter him unduly when acknowledging his share in Allenby's victory.

By October the news that the German government had begun to consider Zionism seriously instilled a sense of urgency in the Foreign Office and the cabinet. The British press was also clamoring for action. With the anti-Zionists' arguments defeated, Balfour was able, on October 31, to wind up the debate in the war cabinet, which had lasted for two months. None of the members present (Montagu was away in India) contested his motives for publishing the declaration in favor of the establishment of the Jewish National Home in Palestine. Nor did anyone disagree with his interpretation of its meaning. On November 2, 1917 a letter signed by Balfour was sent to Lord Rothschild but was made public only on November 9 so that it could be first published in the *Jewish Chronicle*.

The enthusiastic response to the Balfour Declaration among Jewish communities all over the world, especially in Russia, made the Foreign Office staff regret that the document had not been published earlier. Sir Ronald Graham, who throughout the latter part of 1917, had pressed unremittingly for an early statement, minuted: "It is a misfortune that our declaration was so long delayed." Belated as it was, London was still to reap some notable advantages from it. Zionism helped to legitimize Britain's position in Palestine, which otherwise would have been based solely on military conquest. Britain acquired a friendly base in Palestine and massive popularity among Jews everywhere.

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[Isaiah Friedman (2nd ed.)]

BALFOURIYYAH (Heb. בַּלְפוּרִיָּה), moshav in the Jezreel Valley, Israel. The settlement was founded on Nov. 2, 1922, north of Afulah, on land owned by the American Zionist Commonwealth Federation. Some of the founders were immigrants from the United States, the others from Eastern Europe. Balfouriyyah's economy was based on field and garden crops, cattle, and poultry. In 2002 the population was 287. The moshav's name refers to the date of its founding which was the fifth anniversary of the *Balfour Declaration.

[Efraim Orni]

BALI, ABRAHAM BEN JACOB (second half of the 15th to the beginning of the 16th century), Karaite author and physician living in Turkey. Bali was a pupil of the Rabbanite R. Shabbetai b. Malchiel ha-Kohen. Although disagreeing with the Rabbanites, Bali refers with respect to the contemporary Rabbanite scholars Mordecai *Comtino, Moses ha-Yevani Capuzato, and Solomon "Sharvit ha-Zahav" in his works. Most of them survived in manuscripts kept in various libraries. They include *Iggeret Issur Ner Shabbat*, upholding the Karaite prohibition against burning lights on the Sabbath (contrary to the reform introduced by Elijah *Bashyazi; non-critical print, Ashdod 2002); *Iggeret ha-Kohanim*, on the status of Rabbanites of priestly descent who become Karaites; *Perush Inyan Sheḥitah*, a commentary on the chapter dealing with ritual slaughter in *Aaron b. Elijah of Nicomedia's *Gan Eden* (non-critical print, Ashdod 2003); a commentary on al-*Ghazālī's *Maqāṣid al-Falāsifa*, in which Bali used a Hebrew translation of it and followed the commentary of Moses Narboni, which he much admired; and *Perush al Ḥamishah Perakim min ha-Haysharah le-Abu Nasr,* a commentary on the first five chapters of al-*Fārābī's *Logic*, translated into Hebrew under the title *Iggeret le-Petiḥat Sifrei ha-Higgayon*.

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[Isaak Dov Ber Markon]

BALI, MOSES BEN ABRAHAM, Karaite poet, physician, and *ḥakham* in Cairo in the late 15th and early 16th centuries. Two volumes of his liturgical poems have been preserved in the *Firkovich collection in Leningrad: the first, *Sefer Zeraḥ*, completed in 1489, consists of 224 *piyyutim* arranged in the order of the weekly lessons; the second, *Taḥkemoni*, contains 237 *piyyutim* for Sabbaths and festivals.

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[Isaak Dov Ber Markon]

BALI, RIFAT (1948–), Turkish scholar. Bali was born in Istanbul and graduated from Sorbonne University, Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes. His fields of expertise are antisemitism, conspiracy theories, relations between the Turkish state and the non-Muslim minorities, the Jews in the Republican period, and the appearance of the new bourgeoisie in Turkey after 1980. His works include: *Cumhuriyet Yıllarında Türkiye Yahudileri Bir Türkleştirme Serüveni, 1923–1945* (1999); *Musa'nın Evlatları Cumhuriyet'in Yurttaşları* (2001), *Les Relations entre Turcs et Juifs dans La Turquie Moderne* (2001), *Tarz-ı Hayat'tan Life Style'a* (2002), *Cumhuriyet Yıllarında Türkiye Yahudileri, Aliya Bir Toplu Göçün Öyküsü, 1946–1949* (2003), *Devlet'in Yahudileri ve 'Öteki' Yahudi* (2004), *Anadolu'dan Yeni Dünya'ya* (2004), *Türkiye'de Yayımlanmış Yahudilikle İlgili Kitap, Tez ve Makaleler Bibliyografyası 1923–2003* (2004), *Avram Benaroya: Un Journaliste Juif Oublié suivi de ses Mémoires* (2004).

[Jacob M. Landau (2nd ed.)]

BALIDEH (al-Balideh), MOSES (15th century), Yemenite scholar. Balideh was the author of more than ten works on diverse subjects, mostly in the form of commentaries and expositions of rabbinic sayings. With the exception of his Midrash on the last chapter of Proverbs, *Sharḥ Eshet Ḥayil*, all his works are in manuscript in the British Museum (Margoliouth, Cat, no. 1101). Although he enjoyed a distinguished reputation, his works did not achieve wide circulation among Yemenite Jewry and were therefore almost unknown to succeeding generations. They include a commentary on the *Midrash Yelammedenu*, a commentary bearing a marked resemblance to the *Midrash ha-Gadol* in respect to sources, arrangement, and tenor. Balideh wrote a commentary concerning the ten items recounted as having been created on the (first) Sabbath at twilight (Avot 5:6) in addition to commentaries on some works of Maimonides.

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[Yehuda Ratzaby]

BALIN, MARTY (**Martyn Buchwald**; 1942–), U.S. singer and songwriter. Born in Cincinnati, Ohio, the young Balin and his family moved to San Francisco in 1948. Balin founded the seminal Bay Area rock group Jefferson Airplane (1965–71). In 1975, Balin re-formed the band under the new name of Jefferson Starship and immediately had a top-of-the-chart album, *Red Octopus.* He became president of the Great Pyramid Ltd. and owner of Diamondback Music Co.

Balin's distinctive, soulful voice became one of the hallmarks of the Airplane/Starship's sound, and he composed many of the band's most memorable songs, including "It's No Secret" (1966), "Plastic Fantastic Lover" (1967), "Young Girls" (1968), "Sunday Blues" (1969), "Volunteers" (1970), and Jefferson Starship's biggest hit, "Miracles" (1975).

Balin left the group in 1978, writing the rock opera *Rock Justice,* a fantasy about a rock star on trial for not having a hit. He then began a solo career with his 1981 album *Balin*, which generated the singles "Hearts" and "Atlanta Lady." After issuing *Lucky* in 1983, he joined former bandmates Paul Kantner and Jack Casady to form the KBC Band (1985–87). In 1989, all three participated in a Jefferson Airplane reunion, which yielded a new studio album and tour. In 1991, Balin issued *Better Generation* and two years later joined Kantner's Jefferson Starship – The Next Generation project, concurrently continuing his solo career with his 1997 album *Freedom Flight*. Balin's 1999 album *Marty Balin's Greatest Hits* was a compilation of re-recordings of past favorites.

With nine platinum and three gold records to his credit, Balin was inducted into the Rock & Roll Hall of Fame, and "Miracles" was inducted into BMI's Millionaires Club, having been played more than 2.7 million times.

Besides being a recording artist, Balin is a painter as well. His artwork depicts many of the musicians with whom he shared the stage, such as Janis Joplin, Jimmy Hendrix, Elton John, Jerry Garcia, John Lennon, Kiss, Bob Marley, and Grace Slick, as well his idols Otis Redding, Robert Johnson, and Jerry Lee Lewis. In 1999 his exhibit "World of Rock & Roll Legends" toured art galleries in the U.S.

[Jonathan Licht / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

BALINT, MICHAEL (1896–1970), psychoanalyst. Born Mihaly Maurice Bergmann in Budapest, the son of a physician, he changed his name to Michael Balint against his father's wishes. He also changed religion, from Judaism to Unitarian Christianity. In the 1930s Balint settled in Manchester, England, moving to London in 1945.

Balint devoted a lifetime of research and practice to the development of psychoanalysis as a science. Entering the field while it was still young and taking on form, Balint spent much time studying psychoanalytic technique as well as the patient's response to various forms of therapy. This work is discussed in his books *The Doctor, His Patient, and the Illness* (1957) and *Psychotherapeutic Techniques in Medicine* (1961). Balint also devoted much research to understanding the mechanisms of human sexuality, concentrating in large part on sexual perversions and their relation to neurotic and psychotic symptoms. In addition to writing *Problems of Human Pleasure and Behavior* (1957), he edited many anthologies on the subject of sexuality. In 1968 he was elected president of the British Psychoanalytical Society.

The Balint Society was founded in 1969 to continue the work begun by Balint in the 1950s. The aim of the society is to help general practitioners attain a better understanding of the emotional content of the doctor-patient relationship. The Balint method consists of regular case discussion in small groups under the guidance of a qualified group leader. Their objective is to reveal feelings unwittingly harbored by the doctor towards his or her patient, usually engendered by purely subjective factors, which interfere with the doctor's approach to a patient, thus jeopardizing not only the patient but also blurring or blinding the doctor's mind with regard to proper diagnostic procedures and further treatment. Balint societies have been formed in a number of countries. In 1972 the first international Balint conference was held in London.

[Maurice Goldsmith / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

BALKH, town in northern Afghanistan (within medieval Khurasan). Balkh was formerly the stronghold of Jewish settlements in Afghanistan. According to Persian and Muslim traditions, it was founded after the destruction of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar (586 B.C.E.), who is said to have settled the exiled Jews there. It was to Balkh, according to Muslim tradition, that the prophet Jeremiah fled, and where the prophet Ezekiel was buried. According to the Muslim historian al-Ṭabarī, another Jewish prophet with the unidentifiable name of *SMY* conducted religious disputations with Zoroaster in Balkh. Reference by Arab geographers to a *Bāb al-Yahūd* (Gate of Jews) in Balkh, and to "*al-Yahūdiyya*" ("Jewish territory" or "Jewish town") provide additional evidence that a large Jewish settlement existed there. The name *al-Yahūdiyya* or *al-Yahūdān-al Kubrā* (the Great Jewry) was, however, later euphemistically changed to *al-Maymana* (the 'auspicious' town) since the term "*al-Yahūdiyya*" was rejected by the Muslims. It was at Balkh that the sectarian *Hiwi al-Balkhī was born in the ninth century. The Jews of Balkh were forced to maintain a public garden. Maḥmūd of Ghazna (1034) imposed special taxes on the Jews of the town, stipulating, however, that not more than 500 *dirham* should be accepted from them. The Jewish community continued well into the 13th century, when a Jewish merchant from Balkh named Khawāja Rashīd al-Dīn al-Ḥakīm went from Khurasan to India. However, the community was evidently destroyed during the Mongol invasions.

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[Walter Joseph Fischel]

BALLAGI (formerly **Bloch**), **MÓR** (1815–1891), linguist and theologian. Born in Inocz, Hungary, he attended yeshivot and studied mathematics at Pest, continuing in Paris and Tuebingen. In 1843 he became a Protestant. During the Hungarian revolution in 1848, Ballagi served as secretary to General Görgey. He taught Hebrew, Greek, and biblical exegesis at the theological academy of the Reformed Church at Kecskemét from 1851, and in Pest from 1855 to 1877. While still a Jew Ballagi published a monograph, *A zsidókról* (1840), advocating the emancipation of Hungarian Jewry and the establishment of a rabbinical college. He translated into Hungarian the Hebrew prayer book (1841), the Pentateuch (1840–41), and the Book of Joshua (1842), and wrote a primer of the Hebrew language, *A héber nyelv elemi tankönyve* (1856; 2nd edition revised by Ignaz Goldziher in 1872), *Renaniana* (Hg., 1864), and biblical studies (*Bibliai tanulmányok*, 2 vols., 1865). Ballagi also compiled a dictionary of the Hungarian language, and published a Hungarian-German, German-Hungarian dictionary.

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[Alexander Scheiber]

BALLARAT, country town in Central Victoria, Australia. After the gold rush in 1851 a number of Jews went to Ballarat and in 1853 there was a *minyan* on the gold fields on the High Holidays and in 1859 there were 347 male Jews in the town. A Jew, Charles Dyte, took a leading part in the diggers' revolt in 1854 (known as the Eureka Stockade) against unjust government licensing. Later he became mayor of Ballarat. In 1855 a small synagogue was dedicated, the congregational president being Henry Harris. D. Isaacs was first minister, *shoḥet*, and teacher, followed in 1864 by S. Herman, I.M. Goldreich (1868), B. Lenzer (1905), M. Rosenthal (1922), L. Goren (1926), and Z. Mandelbaum (the last resident rabbi of Ballarat who ministered until 1942). A more commodious building, including rooms for a minister's residence and a Hebrew day school, was erected on land granted by the government in 1861. A *mikveh* was built and a burial plot consecrated. A Philanthropic Society, founded in 1857, was affiliated with the *Anglo-Jewish Association. In 1908 the congregation separated into two factions and the Central Hebrew Congregation was formed, with M. Levy as minister, but lasted only four years. In these early days Ballarat was regarded as the center of Orthodox Judaism in Australia.

Two Ballarat Jews achieved distinction in the arts: Nathan Spielvogel, a well-known short-story writer, and Abbey Alston, an artist whose works are found in most Australian national galleries. With the drift to Melbourne, the Ballarat community declined. In 1969 the Jewish population had dwindled to about 10–15 families. By the early 21st century a few families remained, as well as a historic Orthodox synagogue, open on High Holidays. Sovereign Hill, a popular local tourist attraction featuring a village from the Gold Rush era, includes Emanuel Steinfeld's Furniture Factory, an authentic recreation of the business of a prominent Jewish pioneer.

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[Shmuel Gorr]

BALLAS, SHIMON (1930–), Israeli writer. Born in Baghdad, Iraq, Ballas immigrated to Israel in 1951 without any knowledge of Hebrew. Like his colleague Sami *Michael, Ballas had been close to the Iraqi Communist Party and was not particularly interested in Zionist ideology. He began his literary career in Israel with the local Arab press and later spent four years in Paris, where he earned his Ph.D. from the Sorbonne. He is the author of a comprehensive study called "Arab Literature under the Shadow of War" (1978; French translation 1980) and taught Arab Literature at the University of Haifa. His first Hebrew novel, *Ha-Ma'abarah* ("The Transit Camp," 1964), is one of the first Hebrew novels to shed light on the harsh realities, tensions, and struggle for power in an immigrant settlement in Israel of the 1950s. This realistically narrated story was followed by novels and collections of stories. Among these are *Ḥoref Aḥaron* ("Last Winter," 1984), relating the experiences of a founding member of the Egyptian Communist Party who lives as an exile in Paris; *Ve-Hu Aḥer* ("And He is Different," 1991), depicting the fate of three protagonists in Iraq under a ruthless tyrant: the dictator's historian, a Jew who converted to Islam; a Communist; and an Arab-Jewish poet who later emigrates to Israel. The novel *Solo* (1998), set in Paris during the notorious *Dreyfus affair, is the story of an Egyptian-Jewish dramatist who fights for the independence of his homeland. Among his other prose works are the novels *Lo bi-Mekomah* ("Not in Her Place," 1994) and *Tel Aviv Mizraḥ* ("Tel Aviv East," 2003). The collections of stories include among others *Mul ha-Ḥomah* ("Facing the Wall," 1969) and *Otot Setav* ("Signs of Autumn," 1992). The stories in the latter collection are set – typically for Ballas – in Baghdad, Paris, and Tel Aviv: "Aya" tells of a Moslem nanny bidding farewell to the Jewish family for which she had worked; "Otot Setav" focuses on the complex identity of an old Egyptian intellectual torn between cultures. Ballas consciously abstains from Oriental exoticism and nostalgia. An English translation of "The Shoes of Tanboury" appeared in 1970.

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[Anat Feinberg (2nd ed.)]

BALLIN, ALBERT (1857–1918), German shipping magnate. He was the 13th child of a Danish Jew who settled about 1830 in Hamburg, where he opened a wool-dyeing shop. Later his father established an agency for shipping immigrants, which young Ballin expanded after his father's death. During the large-scale emigration of the 1880s, Ballin, as chief passenger agent for the English Carr Line, adapted the company's vessels for the transportation of steerage passengers. After keen competition with Hapag (the Hamburg–America Line), Germany's leading shipping line, the two companies merged in 1886; Ballin became head of the passenger department and in 1899 he started to lead the company. Hapag rapidly grew into one of the world's foremost shipping lines. This success was due mainly to Ballin's foresight and his setting of new standards of speed and comfort. His capacity for negotiation and compromise enabled him to form the first trans-Atlantic shipping conference, called the North-Atlantic Steamship Lines Association. In 1901 he established the International Mercantile Marine Company, in cooperation with Morgan's shipping interests. Kaiser William II frequently turned to him for counsel on economic matters. Ballin became a behind-the-scenes negotiator. He was one of the few Jews, like Emil *Rathenau and Walther *Rathenau, who could get close to the antisemitic emperor. As an unbaptized Jew he married a Protestant woman. Not being close to the Jewish community of Hamburg he followed the ideal of acculturation as a Jew. Before World War I he failed in his efforts, together with Sir Ernest *Cassel, to create the basis for German-British agreement on naval armaments. In 1914, Ballin undertook the organization of food supplies for the blockaded Reich and set up its central purchasing agency. During the war he remained a moderate in his ideas about "Mitteleuropa" and his plans concerning possible territorial gains by the Reich. These views conflicted with those of the military and reduced his influence with the Kaiser around 1917. In 1918 Ballin was entrusted with negotiations for an armistice and peace preparations. On Nov. 9, revolution broke out in Germany. Kaiser William II fled the country and Ballin – in despair over the collapse of his company and the loss of the monarchy that he admired – presumably committed suicide.

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[Joachim O. Ronall / Christian Schoelzel (2nd ed.)]

BALLIN, JOEL (1822–1885), Danish engraver and painter. He was born at Vejle, Jutland, and studied painting in Copenhagen, and engraving at Leipzig and Paris. His first painting was exhibited in 1841. Ballin lived from 1846 in Paris and London where he produced a series of reproductions of the paintings of Ostade and Protais and of some English and French artists. In 1861 he was awarded the gold medal of the Paris Salon. On his return to Denmark in 1883 Ballin was commissioned to engrave the works of prominent Danish artists. His "Procession on Simḥat Torah in the Synagogue of Copenhagen" is owned by the Copenhagen Jewish community.

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[Julius Margolinsky]

BALLIN, MOEGENS (1872–1914), Danish post-impressionist painter. Ballin settled in Paris in 1891. After meeting Jean Verkade, he was active in the Nabi group. In 1892 he went to Italy, where he converted to Catholicism. In 1894 he returned to Copenhagen. In 1943 Danish intellectuals organized a retrospective exhibition of his paintings as a protest against Nazi policies.

BALLIN, SAMUEL JACOB (1802–1866), Danish physician, best known for his efforts to combat Asiatic cholera. Born and educated in Copenhagen, he was early recognized as an expert in the treatment of Asiatic cholera and in 1831–32 traveled abroad by royal order to study the disease further. His published findings became a valuable source of information concerning the disease. During the great cholera epidemic in Copenhagen (1853) he was appointed chief physician of the cholera hospital and a member of the Board of Health. In honor of his achievements, he was appointed a member of the Royal Medical Society and given a professorship. Ballin was an active member of the National Liberal Party and an enthusiastic supporter of a Scandinavian union. Ballin was physician of the Jewish community for a number of years.

[Nathan Koren]

BALLMER, STEVE (1956–), U.S. business executive. As the first business manager hired by Bill Gates at the Microsoft Corporation, Ballmer, over 25 years with the computer giant, rose to become chief executive officer. In the process, he became one of the richest Jews in the world.

Steven Anthony Ballmer was born in Detroit, Michigan, the son of a Ford Motor Company employee. Shy as a child, he remembered hyperventilating before heading off to Hebrew school. His mother studied Hebrew with him. A scholarship student at Detroit Country Day School, he turned out to be a whiz in math, ranking in the top 10 among high school students on a statewide test. Thus he was able to fulfill his Protestant Swiss-born father's dream, a Harvard education. There he got his start as a leader, as manager of the football team, the student newspaper, the *Harvard Crimson*, and the literary magazine. It was at Harvard that Ballmer met Gates; they lived at opposite ends of a dormitory floor. Their shared passions for math and science brought them together.

In 1980 Gates persuaded Ballmer to drop out of Stanford University's business school to help run a fledgling Microsoft that was growing so fast it was nearly out of control. Gates valued Ballmer's management experience at Procter & Gamble, where he had helped market Duncan Hines cake mixes. Microsoft was then grossing $12.5 million in annual sales and had 43 employees. After taking over Windows in 1984, Ballmer drove engineers relentlessly to meet a launch deadline. But when Windows 1.0 was released, it flopped. It took Ballmer six more years to produce Windows 3.1, which took the world by storm. Ballmer played a classic role in tech start-ups: "He was the bottom-line–oriented grown-up," an article in the *New York Times* said, "who freed the computer nerds to focus on writing code." Gates was the code writer, Ballmer the hard-driving, charismatic, behind-the-scenes tactician, the arm twister and deal closer. Ballmer, and Microsoft, were highly competitive, and Ballmer was intimately involved in the company's tough tactics. In 2000, at the age of 43, Ballmer became executive vice president of sales and support, where he drove all activities related to Microsoft's sales, support, and marketing, and president, responsible for broadening the leadership of the company and positioning it to take advantage of future growth opportunities. But Ballmer also became known for his blunt, aggressive style. By 2002, Microsoft had a stock market valuation of $250 billion, and Ballmer was one of the leading businessmen in the world. He was also instrumental in making more than 10,000 Microsoft employees millionaires through stock options. According to F.A. Maxwell's biography, which was unauthorized, Ballmer "didn't turn his back on his Jewish heritage, even when doing so might have benefited him."

[Stewart Kampel (2nd ed.)]

BALLY, DAVICION (1809–1884), merchant and banker, a leader of the Sephardi community of Bucharest and its president for some time and a fighter for emancipation. Bally, who was self-educated, promoted *Haskalah among Sephardi Jewry in Romania, tending to favor assimilation into Romanian culture. In 1836 he was appointed treasurer of the police, a position which he held on an honorary basis for ten years; at the same time he was sympathetic to the national revolutionary movement in Walachia. Bally called for administrative reforms in the Sephardi community and for new methods of educating Jewish youth. In 1861, when a boys' school was founded in the Sephardi community of Bucharest, Bally was appointed president of the executive committee. He emphasized the study of Romanian in the community school and also proposed the establishment of an educational framework for girls. However, his proposals and reforms encountered strong opposition; some were not accepted at all, while the remainder were short-lived. Bally fought against antisemitism and published articles in defense of the Jews in the press; as a result of his intervention the governor (*Caimacam*) of Walachia withdrew a sharply anti-Jewish work from circulation in 1858. When anti-Jewish policy was enforced after 1866 by the government led by the former revolutionaries of 1848, Bally unsuccessfully attempted to influence them to abandon it. In 1882 Bally went to Ereẓ Israel to spend his last years there and died in Jerusalem.

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[Eliyahu Feldman / Lucian-Zeev Herscovici (2nd ed.)]

BALLY, ISAAC DAVID (1842–1922), Romanian rabbi and educator, son of the banker Davicion *Bally. Born in Bucharest, Bally received a traditional Jewish Sephardi education together with a modern one. He later studied at the Rabbinical Seminary of Breslau and was ordained as a rabbi. He was influenced by the ideas of Rabbi Zacharias *Frankel and attempted to apply them to the Sephardi and general Jewish milieu of Romania. Bally also received a doctor of philosophy degree from Breslau University. After returning to Bucharest he taught Jewish religion and Hebrew language and became the principal of the modern girls' school of the Sephardi community and secretary of the Ḥevra Kaddisha Association of the Sephardi Jews. Because of his dual cultural background – Sephardi and Ashkenazi – he could serve institutions associated with both communities for the good of all Romanian Jews. In 1881 he became secretary of the "Infratirea Zion" Association, which later became *B'nai B'rith. In 1886 the Julius Barasch Jewish Historical Society was founded in his home and he became its librarian and treasurer. In these offices he fought for the emancipation of the Romanian Jews and for their return to Jewish life. In 1882–85 he published five textbooks on Judaism in the Romanian language for pupils of Jewish schools. Bally also published popular books on *halakhah* (marriage and family purity) and Jewish history for Romanian-speaking Jews, manuals of biblical Hebrew, and a manual of Judeo-Spanish for Sephardi Jewish children. He also published a translation and commentary in Romanian on the Passover Haggadah (1902). Some of his didactic and moralistic works remained unpublished.

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[Lucian-Zeev Herscovici (2nd ed.)]

BALMES, ABRAHAM BEN MEIR DE (c. 1440–1523), physician, philosopher, translator, and grammarian. His grandfather, also called Abraham de Balmes (d. 1489), mentioned repeatedly in the royal records between 1463 and 1480, was court physician to King Ferdinand I of Naples (1472). Balmes was born in Lecce, southern Italy, and obtained doctorates in medicine and philosophy at the University of Naples in 1492 by special permission of Pope Innocent VIII. In 1510 when the Jews were expelled from Naples, Balmes appears to have gone to northern Italy. Later he became personal physician to Cardinal Domenico Grimani, who was deeply interested in Hebrew literature. Under Grimani's auspices, Balmes translated the works of a number of medieval Arabic authors from their Hebrew versions into Latin. These included the *Liber de Mundo* (On the Quadrant) of Ibn al-Hayham (11th century), the *Epistola expeditionis* based on a philosophical work by Avempace, Geminus' work on astronomy under the title "Introduction to Ptolemy's Almagest," *Averroes' "Epitome of Aristotle's Organon," "Middle Commentary on the Topics," and on "Sophistical Refutation," part of *De Substantia Orbis*, and logical questions by Averroes and other Arabic authors. The translation of the "Long Commentary on Aristotle's Posterior Analytics" published in Venice about 1520 seems to have been part of a more ambitious project which was to have included, besides other versions, an original philosophical work of his own (*Liber de demonstratione Abrami de Balmes*), no longer extant. Balmes' Averroistic materials were incorporated in the standard 16th-century edition of Aristotle, published in Venice in 1560. The Christian printer Daniel *Bomberg urged Balmes to write his famous Hebrew grammar *Mikneh Avram*. This appeared together with a Latin translation entitled *Peculium Abramae* in Venice at the end of 1523, some months after the author's death. The final chapter (on biblical accent marks) was completed by a fellow physician, Kalonymus b. David. In this work Balmes relied upon the grammarians *Ibn Janaḥ and Profiat *Duran. He mentioned Plato's *Cratylus* (which deals with semantics) – an indication of his interest in the philological conceptions of the Greek philosophers. His grammatical teachings lean too heavily on the theory of logic, and because of this and his attempt to use Latin philology to explain various aspects of Hebrew grammar, he exerted only limited influence upon Hebrew grammatical literature. Balmes' attempt to codify Hebrew syntax, to which he devoted a special section of his book (*Sha'ar ha-Harkavah ve-ha-Shimmush*) is, however, of some significance. The work was greatly used by Christian Hebraists of the ensuing period. According to Gedaliah *Ibn Yaḥya, who was present at Balmes' funeral, he had taught officially at the University of Padua, and many of his gentile students followed his bier.

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[Joseph Elijah Heller]

BALOGH, THOMAS, BARON (1905–1985), British economist whose main interests were planning, development, and labor economics. Born in Budapest, he worked as a Rockefeller Fellow at Harvard University, from 1928 to 1930. In 1931 he joined the economic staff of the League of Nations and settled in London, working as an economist until 1939, when he became associated with the Oxford University Institute of Statistics. From 1955 to 1960 he taught in England and in the United States. Balogh served as a consultant to various United Nations agencies and foreign governments, including India, Malta, Greece, Peru, and Turkey. In 1964 he became an economic adviser to the British Labour government under Harold Wilson. He received a life peerage in 1968. Balogh's publications include: *Dollar Crisis* (1949), *Unequal Partners* (1963), *Planning for Progress* (1963), and *Economics of Poverty* (1966). When Labour returned to office in February 1974, Balogh was appointed minister of state in the Department of Energy, a post he held until December 1975. In 1976–78 he served as chairman of the National Oil Corporation.

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[Joachim O. Ronall / William D. Rubinstein (2nd ed.)]

BALSAM, spice designated in the Bible by various names: בֹּשֶׂם (*bosem*), בֶּשֶׂם (*besem*), צֳרִי (*ẓori*), נָטָף (*nataf*), and, in rabbinic literature, קָטָף (*kataf*), בַּלְסָם (*balsam*), אַפּוֹבַּלְסַמוֹן (*appobalsamon*), אֲפַרְסְמוֹן (*afarsemon*), *afarsemon* occuring most frequently in the Talmud and Midrash and designating the perfume extracted from the sap of the *Commiphora opobalsamum*. It was the only tropical, and the most expensive, spice grown in Ereẓ Israel. According to Josephus (Ant., 8:174–5), balsam was originally brought to Ereẓ Israel by the Queen of Sheba as one of the gifts included in the "hundred and twenty talents of gold, and of spices very great store, and precious stones; there came no more such abundance of *bosem*" (I Kings 10:10). Generally, in the Bible, *bosem* signifies spices of all kinds. Yet in the Song of Songs, in the verses "I have gathered my myrrh with my *bosem*" (5:1) and "the beds of *bosem*" (5:13; 6:2), the reference is to balsam alone. At present the tree grows wild in the valley of Mecca where it is called *beshem*. Many strains of this species are found, some in Somalia and Yemen. As a perfume it is hardly used today. It serves in the Orient as a healing agent for wounds and as an antidote to snakebite and the sting of scorpions. Apparently, the *ẓori* of the Bible also signifies some remedy compounded of balsam sap and other ingredients. The "balm (*ẓori*) of Gilead" is mentioned as having healing properties. *Nataf* was one of the elements constituting the incense burned in the Tabernacle (Ex. 30:34) and is identified as *ẓori* in an early *baraita* dating back to the Second Temple (Ker. 6a). The word in another context designates balsam oil (Shab. 25b–26a), and this identification appears to be correct (see also *Storax). Balsam oil was highly regarded in rabbinic literature and by Greek and Roman writers. Among the latter, Theophrastus, Strabo, Diodorus, and Pliny the Younger lavished high praise on the balsam grown in orchards near the Dead Sea. Pliny's remarks are especially enlightening. In their struggle against the Romans, the Jews strove desperately to destroy the balsam orchards and prevent them from falling into the hands of the enemy. The Romans, however, captured them and, in his triumphal march in Rome, Titus displayed balsam trees brought from Judea. The orchards in Jericho and En-Gedi henceforth provided the Romans with an important source of revenue (*Historia Naturalis*, 12:25). Admiration was expressed in the Talmud for the balsam "of Rabbi (Judah ha-Nasi's) household and the household of the emperor." It was the best and most expensive spice of ancient times, and accordingly Rav, the Babylonian *amora*, composed for it a special blessing: "Who creates the oil of our land" (Ber. 43a). The perfume has a pungent odor and the Midrash cites it as one of the enticements of the sinful daughters of Zion: "She would place the balsam between her heel and her shoe and, when she saw a band of young men, she pressed upon it so that the perfume seeped through them like snake poison" (Lam. R. 4:18). Tradition has it that, after King Josiah hid away the "holy oil" with which the kings of Judah were anointed, balsam oil was used in its stead (Ker. 5b). In the messianic era, the righteous will "bathe in 13 rivers of balsam" (TJ, Av. Zar. 3:1, 42c). Remains of the terraces in the hills of En-Gedi, where balsam trees once grew, can still be seen. Excavations in the vicinity have uncovered a workshop complete with its ovens and its vessels. From his investigations in the Arabian Peninsula, the German botanist Schweinfurth has reconstructed the process of balsam production. The bark of the tree was split and the sap soaked up in cotton wool. The sap was then squeezed into oil which absorbed the pungent odor. The tree is a thorn bush with trifoliate leaves, and belongs to the genus *Commiphora* which includes several species, among them myrrh.

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[Jehuda Feliks]

BALTA, city in Odessa district, Ukraine. At the beginning of the 16th century, when Balta lay on the border between Poland and Turkey, there were Jews living in both sectors of the city (in the Józefgrod quarter on the Polish side). Many of the Jewish inhabitants together with refugees who had fled there from other districts were massacred by the *Haidamacks in 1768. The city was incorporated into Russia in 1791. Balta's importance as a commercial center increased after the construction of the Odessa-Kiev railroad in 1866. The Jewish population, which numbered 8,413 in 1863, mainly engaged in wholesale and retail grain dealing, the processing of agricultural products, tobacco and soap, tanning, flour milling, and liquor distilling. A pogrom broke out in 1882 in which over 1,200 Jewish houses and shops were pillaged; an attempt to organize Jewish *self-defense was suppressed by the police. Balta subsequently became the center of the Zionist movement in Podolia, Volhynia, and Bessarabia. The Zionist leader M. *Sheinkin served there as a government-appointed rabbi (*rav mi-ta'am*) in 1901–1904. Pogroms again broke out in the wake of the October revolution of 1905. The community was severely affected during the civil war of 1919, in which Balta repeatedly changed hands between the Bolsheviks and the troops of *Petlyura, the Ukrainian nationalist leader. Threatened by general pillage and massacre, many Jews fled to Odessa. The Jewish population, which numbered 13,234 in 1897 (57% of the total), had decreased to 9,116 by 1926 (39.6%). Owing to emigration to the big cities the Jewish population decreased further to 4,711 in 1939 (total population 17,945). At the beginning of the Soviet period the *He-Ḥalutz movement was still active and operated a farm, but during mass arrests on September 18–22, 1922, including He-Ḥalutz members, it was liquidated. In 1924 there were two Yiddish schools with 530 pupils in the city. Among the artisans there were many shoemakers. About 30 Jewish agricultural cooperatives operated in Balta county. Some were liquidated and the rest were turned into kolkhozes.

During World War II Balta was incorporated in the Romanian-occupied zone of *Transnistria. On August 8, 1941, 140 Jews were executed. About 1,500 who remained in Balta were confined in a ghetto together with deported Jews from Bessarabia and Bukovina, and a number were later executed. With the help of money received from Bucharest the Judenrat opened workshops. two orphanages, and inexpensive restaurants. About 1,795 Jews (including 175 from Bukovina) remained after the liberation on March 29, 1944. Fourteen hundred Jews were listed in Balta in the 1959 census. Most of the Jews emigrated in the 1990s. A number of small Jewish communities formerly existed in the vicinity of Balta, of which the largest were Bogopol, Krivoye Ozero, and Golovanevsk.

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[Yehuda Slutsky / Shmuel Spector (2nd ed.)]

BALTAZAR, CAMIL (pseudonym of **Leopold Goldstein**; 1902–1977), Romanian poet. Baltazar's first poems appeared in 1921 in *Sburatorul Literar*, a review edited by the Romanian critic Eugen Lovinescu, and his contributions were published thereafter in many of the leading literary periodicals. Baltazar's poetry was written mainly before World War II. His first collection, *Vecernii* (Vespers), appeared in 1923. This was followed by *Flaute de matase* (Silken Flutes, 1924), *Reculegeri in nemurirea ta* (Meditation on Your Immortality, 1925), *Biblice* (Biblical Poems, 1926, a volume of erotic poems with ancient Hebrew Biblical themes), *Strigari trupesti pe langa glesne* (Poems on Amorous Yearnings, 1927), and *Cina cea de taina* (The Last Supper, 1929). In his themes and mode of expression, Baltazar was, from the outset, hailed as an innovator. Though his sensitivity led to preoccupation with human suffering, he was widely known as "the poet of light" because of the serenity with which he transfigured the most somber themes. During the early 1930s, Baltazar published an anthology of Russian prose (1930) and translations from such German writers as Thomas *Mann, Franz *Werfel, and Jakob Wassermann. His completion of this work was marked by the verse collection *Intoarcerea poetului la uneltele sale* (The Poet's Return to his Tools, 1934), which are poems in prose about his work as a writer and a literary editor, written under the influence of Apollinaire and Blaise Cendrars. *Taram transcendent* (Trancendental Realm) appeared five years later. In 1928 he edited the literary review *Tiparnita literara* (The Literary Printer) and in 1932 was secretary of redaction of the literary weekly *Romania literara* (Literary Romania), edited by Liviu Rebreanu. After World War II, Baltazar became a contributor to the Romanian Jewish newspaper *Revista Cultului Mozaic* (c. 1965–77) and published further collections of his poems. He also published literary essays, memoirs, and publicistic writings in the volumes *Scriitor si om* (Writer and Man, 1947), *Contemporan cu ei* (Contemporary with Them, 1962), *Scrisori catre Camil Baltazar* (Letters to Camil Baltazar, 1965). Owing to the artistic dictates of the new (Communist) regime, Baltazar's "socialist" verse was largely devoid of literary value.

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[Dora Litany-Littman and Abraham Feller / Lucian-Zeev Herscovici (2nd ed.)]

BALTIMORE, city in Maryland, U.S. When Abraham *Rice of Bavaria accepted the rabbinic post at Baltimore Hebrew Congregation in 1840, the congregation became the first in America to employ an ordained rabbi. While Baltimore Jewry remains justly proud of this distinction, for Rabbi Rice, the experience was not a happy one: as he famously wrote his mentor in Germany, "The religious life in this land is on the lowest level, most people eat foul food and desecrate the Sabbath in public…. Under these circumstances my mind is perplexed and I wonder whether it is even permissible for a Jew to live in this land."

In Baltimore's defense, Rice's comment did not apply to Baltimoreans alone; his words pointed to the state of American Jewry in the mid-19th century. As an immigrant port of entry and border town between North and South, as a gateway to the nation's interior and a manufacturing center in its own right, Baltimore has been well-positioned to reflect developments in American Jewish life. Yet the Baltimore Jewish community has maintained its own distinctive character as well, reflective of the personality of Baltimore itself – a city known for its cohesive communities, periodically fractious citizenry, and occasional eccentricities.

Settlement Patterns and Demographics

Founded in 1729 on an inlet of the Chesapeake Bay in the colony of Maryland, Baltimore remained a small waterfront village until emerging as an important trading center in the late 18th century. Few Jews arrived in the early years. In addition to the town's slow start, they may have been deterred by Maryland's discriminatory constitution, which required that public office holders swear an oath of allegiance to Christianity. Not until the Maryland legislature passed the "Jew Bill" in 1826, enabling Jewish public officials to swear a substitute oath, did Jews achieve full civic equality in the state.

Greater religious toleration and a rising economy came at the right time to draw a good number of the Jewish immigrants beginning to stream into America from German lands. Baltimore's Jewish population surged from around 125 in 1825 to approximately 1,000 in 1840 and more than 8,000 in 1860. By 1880, Baltimore had some 10,000 Jews, mostly of Bavarian and Hessian origin. This profile would soon change dramatically, however. The mass migration of East European Jews that gathered force in the 1880s made an immediate impact, with Baltimore attracting many early arrivals, particularly from Lithuania. The city's Jewish population reached 24,000 by 1890, 40,000 by 1907, and 65,000 by 1920. Although Lithuanians continued to have a major presence, Baltimore received Jewish immigrants from across Eastern Europe between the 1880s and 1920s. The city also welcomed subsequent waves of Jewish migration, notably German-Jewish refugees from Nazism in the 1930s, Holocaust survivors in the post-World War II era, Iranians in the late 20th century, and Soviet and post-Soviet Jews in the late 20th century.

The diversity of Baltimore's Jewish population mirrored that of the city itself. As a busy immigrant port of entry, Baltimore became a multi-ethnic patchwork of neighborhoods. East Baltimore, the original site of German Jewish residence, became the area of settlement for most East European Jewish immigrants. American-born descendants of German Jews began moving to more affluent precincts on the city's northwest side by the late 19th century, where they tended to re-concentrate in predominantly Jewish enclaves. This pattern continued through the 20th century, as Jews moved away from the old East Baltimore neighborhood to a succession of residential areas in northwest Baltimore. As each Jewish sub-group moved up the economic ladder and into wealthier surroundings, its place was often taken by a less well-off sub-group.

At the turn of the 20th century, some 92,000 Jews lived in Baltimore: around one-quarter within the city limits, 70 percent in suburban Baltimore County, and the remainder in Carroll County. Most resided in predominantly Jewish areas in the northwest part of the metro region, in places such as Upper Park Heights, Mount Washington, Pikesville, Reisterstown, and Owings Mills. Jewish households made up 6 percent of households in the Baltimore area.

Economic Life

From the beginning, Baltimore's Jews found opportunity for economic advancement, though never without struggle. Widow Shinah Etting arrived in 1780 with five children and opened a boardinghouse; another widow, Judith Cohen, came with her children in 1803. Their sons rose to become prominent business and civic leaders. The German Jews who settled in Baltimore after the Ettings and Cohens started primarily as poor peddlers and small shopkeepers. In time, most achieved a measure of success. German Jewish entrepreneurs were the pioneering founders of Baltimore's most well-known retail establishments: Gutman's, Hutzler's, Hochschild Kohn's, Hamburger's, and Hecht's. Others established small clothing manufacturing firms that became the basis of Baltimore's nationally significant garment industry.

East European immigrants found a niche in the lowest rungs of that industry. Harsh conditions and low pay led them to forge a dynamic labor movement that met with bitter employer opposition, and for many years Baltimore's garment industry was wracked by strikes and lockouts. In 1914 the Amalgamated Clothing Workers and the Sonneborn firm, one of the nation's largest men's clothing factories, signed a landmark collective bargaining agreement. During the struggle, Orthodox leader Rabbi Avraham Schwartz interceded on behalf of workers about to be fired for refusing to work on the Sabbath, enlisting the support of the Sonneborn family's Reform rabbi, William Rosenau.

Many East European Jews left the sweatshops and factories (or avoided them altogether) to set up small family enterprises that relied on the labor of husbands, wives, and children. Pushcart peddlers and small shopkeepers reigned on Lombard Street, East Baltimore's bustling marketplace. Other entrepreneurs ranged well beyond the Jewish community. Lithuanian immigrant Jacob Epstein built the Baltimore Bargain House into a multimillion dollar wholesale business. The peddlers he sent out on the rail lines emanating from Baltimore became small shopkeepers and founders of Jewish communities from Pennsylvania to North Carolina. Louis *Blaustein and his son Jacob began selling kerosene door-to-door in 1910; their American Oil Company became one of the country's largest, pioneering the drive-in filling station. In less spectacular ways, many of Baltimore's East European Jews established successful businesses by the 1920s and began to exhibit an upward mobility that would extend in the coming decades despite reversals during the Great Depression.

Immigrants from later waves of Jewish migration also started low on the economic ladder, as door-to-door salesmen, cabdrivers, technicians, and the like. Coming from the upper professional levels in Germany, Iran, and the Soviet Union, most suffered a difficult loss of status, but their educated backgrounds helped many to advance. In the post-World War II era, Baltimore Jews increasingly gravitated to the professions, although business remained an important economic activity.

Religious Life

Abraham Rice would no doubt have been surprised to learn that Baltimore hosted the highest proportion of Orthodox Jews of any large American Jewish community at the end of the 20th century. The internationally known Ner Israel Rabbinical College and other highly regarded Orthodox institutions combined with Baltimore's relative affordability to enable the Orthodox community to attract new members from New York and other cities. But all branches of Judaism have been well represented in Baltimore. Jewish religious life has been marked by innovation as well as devotion to tradition, conflict as well as cohesion, and by leaders whose actions influenced the course of American Jewry.

With nationally prominent rabbis heading its congregations, Baltimore in the mid-19th century became the battleground of conflicting religious ideologies. The Baltimore Hebrew Congregation (incorporated as Nidchei Israel), the city's first, was established in 1830 by around 20 Jews of German and Dutch extraction. For the next 60 years, traditionalists and reformers clashed within the congregation or split off from it. Some German immigrants founded Har Sinai as a Reform counterpoint in 1842 and constructed America's first building specifically created as a Reform temple in 1849. Congregation Oheb Shalom formed in 1853 as a midway alternative to Baltimore Hebrew's Orthodoxy and Har Sinai's radical Reform. Its first rabbi, Benjamin *Szold, found himself in a bitter feud with Har Sinai's fiery Rabbi David *Einhorn shortly after arriving in Baltimore in 1859. Meanwhile, Baltimore Hebrew continued its slow but sure movement away from traditionalism. Rabbi Rice left in 1849 and two years later founded Shearith Israel, which upheld German-Jewish Orthodoxy for decades and remained an Orthodox congregation into the 21st century. In 1870, Baltimore Hebrew's remaining traditionalists, led by the Friedenwald family, split off to form the Chizuk Amuno Congregation. By the early 1900s, Baltimore Hebrew and Oheb Shalom had joined the Reform movement, while Chizuk Amuno became a founding member of the Conservative movement's United Synagogue of America.

Amidst all the *Sturm und Drang* among the Germans, a small congregation named Bikur Cholim opened in 1865, the first congregation in Baltimore to follow the Polish style of worship. As East Europeans began to trickle in, small *landsman*-based congregations sprang up, mostly in East Baltimore. Dozens of these shuls were established over the next several decades. Two of the most influential, B'nai Israel (founded by Lithuanians in 1873) and Shomrei Mishmeres (founded by Volhynians in 1892), took over the imposing synagogue buildings on Lloyd Street built by Chizuk Amuno and Baltimore Hebrew, respectively, after those congregations relocated to more upscale neighborhoods. A second phase of East European synagogue development began in the early 1920s when the first American-born generation founded several congregations in northwest Baltimore, including Beth Tfiloh, one of the nation's first "synagogue centers." In ensuing years, small immigrant shuls either merged into larger synagogues or disappeared. By 1999 Baltimore hosted more than 50 synagogues, representing every branch of Judaism.

Jewish Education and Philanthropy

Innovation has been a hallmark of Jewish education in Baltimore. The first known community Hebrew school opened as early as 1842, and community-operated schools such as East Baltimore's Talmud Torah flourished from the late 1880s to the 1940s. Samson *Benderly, the father of modern Jewish education in America, started his revolutionary experiments in Baltimore in 1900 and the city benefited from his direct influence until he left for New York in 1910. In 1917 Rabbi Avraham Schwartz of Shomrei Mishmeres founded the Talmudical Academy, the first Jewish day school outside of New York. In the late 20th century, a dramatic rise in Jewish day schools (16 by 2004) gave Baltimore one of the largest day school populations in the nation. The two institutions of higher Jewish learning have been *Baltimore Hebrew University, founded in 1919 by Israel *Efros, and the Ner Israel Rabbinical College, founded by Rabbi Jacob I. *Ruderman in 1933.

Baltimore Jewry's long tradition of philanthropy and mutual aid started with the United Hebrew Benevolent Society, founded in 1834. Two key institutions, Sinai Hospital and the Levindale Hebrew Geriatric Center, also date back to the 1800s. Some charities established by German and American-born Jews in the late 19th century focused on helping poverty-stricken East European immigrants. East European Jews started their own aid societies shortly after their arrival, and by the first decade of the 20th century, two parallel philanthropic networks had arisen: the German-sponsored Federated Jewish Charities and the East European-sponsored United Hebrew Charities. In 1921 the two combined into the Associated Jewish Charities. Ever since, the Associated has supported a comprehensive network of agencies offering social services, health care, and educational, recreational, and cultural programming. Widely recognized as one of the nation's leading Jewish federations, the Associated is known for its innovative programs, fundraising effectiveness, and leaders who have played important roles at the national Jewish communal level.

Community Life

Baltimore Jewry created a wide array of cultural, social, and recreational institutions through the years, as each wave of immigrants acted to meet the needs of its members. Several clubs and literary associations were established by the 1850s, including the first YMHA in the country (1854). A German-Jewish "high society" emerged by the 1880s, complete with debutante balls and exclusive social clubs. East European Jews developed a thriving Yiddish-based cultural scene in East Baltimore. Yiddish theaters, kosher restaurants, and bathhouses drew scores of neighborhood residents. Zionists and socialists, Orthodox and secularists aimed to enrich the immigrants' lives with classes, concerts, and lectures. Some *maskilim* collaborated with native Baltimorean Henrietta *Szold (daughter of Rabbi Benjamin Szold) to form the Russian Night School in 1889, a pioneering effort in immigrant education. The Jewish Educational Alliance, established in 1913, offered everything from youth sports leagues to adult English classes, and became a second home for thousands of newcomers.

For many decades the Jewish social scene was divided in two, with seemingly irreconcilable religious and cultural differences (as well as garment industry labor-management conflict) separating the "uptown" German Jews from the "downtown" Russian Jews. The rift began to heal in the post-World War II era. By century's end, new waves of Jewish immigration, generational change, and the emergence of a significant ultra-Orthodox community became more salient factors in shaping a pluralistic Jewish social and cultural life. A variety of sub-groups supported numerous organizations, activities, and newspapers – but all within relatively close proximity in northwest Baltimore, as the flowering of communal diversity did not alter the desire of most Jews to live in Jewish neighborhoods. Some institutions were shared by all, notably a popular two-campus Jewish Community Center and the well-read weekly *Jewish Times* (established in 1919). The Jewish Museum of Maryland remained in East Baltimore to preserve the legacy of the immigrant past. The nation's largest regional Jewish museum, its complex includes America's third-oldest surviving synagogue, the Lloyd Street Synagogue (1845).

National and International Jewish Issues

Baltimore Jews have provided leadership on the national Jewish stage since the mid-nineteenth century. David Einhorn launched his influential monthly *Sinai* in 1856, and America's first Hebrew weekly, *Ha-Pisgah*, appeared in Baltimore in 1891. Simon *Sobeloff was the inaugural president of the American Jewish Congress. Real estate magnate Joseph *Meyerhoff served as national chair of the United Jewish Appeal and State of Israel Bonds, demonstrating that the two organizations were complementary and not competitive. His son, Harvey Meyerhoff, became chairman of the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum in 1987 and, despite doubtful prospects, brought the Museum to its successful opening in 1993. Rabbi Arthur *Hertzberg's Orthodox upbringing in East Baltimore strongly influenced his contributions to national Jewish life.

Baltimore women have a history of "firsts." The first woman to head a major American Jewish congregation was Helen Dalsheimer, installed as president of Baltimore Hebrew Congregation in 1956. Shoshana Cardin became the first woman to lead a major Jewish federation when she assumed the presidency of Baltimore's Associated Jewish Charities in 1983. Cardin went on to be the first woman to preside over the national Council of Jewish Federations.

Baltimore has been an important center of Zionist activity. One of America's first *Ḥibbat Zion groups organized here in 1884, and the only American delegate to the First Zionist Congress was a Baltimorean, Shearith Israel's Rabbi Shepsel Schaffer. Henrietta Szold, founder of Hadassah, began her Zionist activities in this city. Harry *Friedenwald served as second president of the American Zionist Federation. In 1947, a group of Baltimore Zionists secretly acquired, rebuilt, and launched an old Chesapeake Bay steamer which picked up refugees in France and unfurled its new name, *Exodus 1947*, upon being attacked by the British on its way to Palestine.

The Baltimore Scene

From the beginning, Baltimore's Jews have actively engaged in their region's political, civic, and cultural life. Ettings and Cohens participated in the pivotal battle of Fort McHenry during the War of 1812. During the Civil War, Jews were as divided as the rest of the population in this border city. Rabbi Einhorn led the antislavery faction, Rabbi Bernhard *Illowy of the Baltimore Hebrew Congregation defended the status quo, and Rabbi Szold spoke for Jewish neutrality. Einhorn's tenure at Har Sinai was abruptly cut short in 1861 when his newspaper, *Sinai*, was destroyed by a pro-slavery mob and he fled with his family to Philadelphia. Jews have served throughout state and local government, from Solomon Etting and Jacob Cohen – elected to the City Council immediately after passage of the "Jew Bill" in 1826 – to popular 1970s Maryland governor Marvin *Mandel (whose political career was cut short by corruption charges).

Jews have played a critical role in Baltimore's cultural scene as patrons and participants. Jacob Epstein's personal art collection became a core holding of the Baltimore Museum of Art, while Etta and Claribel Cone gave the BMA the unparalleled collection of modern art they acquired in their European travels. Joseph Meyerhoff's philanthropy created Meyerhoff Symphony Hall, home of the Baltimore Symphony Orchestra, in 1982. Academy Award-winning film director Barry Levinson made significant contributions to American cinema with his three-part chronicle of Baltimore Jewish life, *Diner* (1982), *Avalon* (1990), and *Liberty Heights* (1999).

Jewish–Gentile Relations

Relations between Baltimore Jews and non-Jews have been generally amicable, though ethnic and religious prejudice, social snobbery, and discrimination occasionally vexed the Jewish community. In the 19th century, the city's large German population of Jews and non-Jews shared German-speaking clubs and many Jewish children attended Zion Lutheran Church's well-respected school, where instruction was in German. However, the local Catholic press, German and English, specialized in antisemitic articles until the appointment of Archbishop James Gibbons in 1877. Local antisemitism increased with the rise of Nazism in the 1930s, spurring the 1939 formation of the Baltimore Jewish Council, a community relations organization that continues to fight antisemitism, promote dialogue between Jewish and other local communities, and address broader urban issues.

The relationship of Jews to Baltimore's African American community has been complex. Jews participated in the civil rights movement, but the movement also targeted Jewish storeowners who maintained discriminatory policies. In one historian's words, a state of "intimate antagonism" existed between the two groups for much of the 20th century, as economic relations and geographic proximity promoted considerable interaction between Jews and blacks.

The close-knit nature of Baltimore's Jewish community arose from a combination of gentile prejudice and Jewish ties of kinship and culture. Residential discrimination kept Jews out of some areas until the mid-20th century, contributing to the emergence of intensely concentrated Jewish neighborhoods. Upper-class social and educational discrimination encouraged Jews to create separate clubs and "ecumenical" (largely Jewish) private schools. Such discrimination dissipated in the post-World War II era. By the dawn of the 21st century Baltimore Jewry emerged as a confident and assertive community determined to maintain its own distinct identity, neighborhoods, and institutions, while its members pursued ever-expanding ways to involve themselves in the broader society.

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[Deborah Weiner (2nd ed.)]

BALTIMORE, DAVID (1938–), U.S. molecular virologist and Nobel laureate. Born in New York City, Baltimore received his B.A. with high honors in chemistry from Swarthmore College in 1960 and his Ph.D. from Rockefeller University, N.Y. He started his postgraduate work in 1963 at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology in biophysics, decided to work on animal viruses, moved to the Albert Einstein College of Medicine, Bronx, New York, and later to the Rockefeller Institute. After finishing his postdoctoral fellowships in 1965, he became a research associate at Salk Institute for Biological Studies, La Jolla, California (1965–68), and associate professor of microbiology at MIT (1968–72). From 1972 to 1997 he was an institute professor of biology at MIT and from 1973 he was an American Cancer Society professor of microbiology. He was founding director of the Whitehead Institute for Biomedical Research at MIT and served from the institute's creation in 1982 to 1990, when he became president of Rockefeller University. In 1997 Baltimore became president of the California Institute of Technology. His career has been distinguished by his dual contribution to biological research and to national science policy. Baltimore helped pioneer the molecular study of animal viruses, and his research in this field had profound implications for understanding cancer and, later, AIDS. As one of the nation's most distinguished biologists, he was awarded the 1975 Nobel Prize for his work in virology.

Baltimore has been a major figure in Washington as head of the National Institutes of Health AIDS Vaccine Research Committee from 1996 to 2002, and also in 1986 as co-chair of the National Academy of Sciences and Institute of Medicine's Committee on a National Strategy for AIDS. In 1999 he was awarded the National Medal of Science. He was a co-recipient of the 2000 Warren Alpert Foundation Prize and was awarded the 2002 AMA Scientific Achievement Award.

[Bracher Rager (2nd ed.)]

BALTIMORE HEBREW UNIVERSITY. The Baltimore Hebrew College and Teachers Training School was founded in 1919 by the noted Hebrew poet and scholar Israel *Efros. According to its charter, the purpose of the college was "to establish a College for Higher Hebrew and Semitic learning; to study the Hebrew and cognate languages and literature; to train and qualify teachers for Jewish religious schools; and for such cognate purposes as may from time to time be determined by the Board of Directors of this corporation, with power to confer degrees." The first class met on November 2, 1919, in the Chizuk Amuno synagogue and the first graduation took place in June 1923. Dr. Efros resigned in 1928, and in 1930 he was succeeded by Dr. Louis L. *Kaplan, who served as president until 1970. The college was housed at 1201 Eutaw Place from the mid-1920s until 1959, when it moved to Park Heights Avenue. The college became a constituent of the Associated Jewish Charities and Welfare Fund (now the Associated: Jewish Community Federation of Baltimore) in 1930. The college received accreditation from the state of Maryland in 1963 and from the Middle States Association of Colleges and Schools in 1974. It was renamed Baltimore Hebrew University in 1987 when Middle States conferred university status on it.

Over the years the university expanded its academic outreach to offer a number of degree programs. In 1971 the university opened its graduate school, which in 1975 was named the Peggy Meyerhoff Pearlstone School of Graduate Studies. In addition to the B.A. degree in Jewish Studies which is offered by the University's Bernard Manekin School of Undergraduate Studies, the graduate achool offers programs leading to the Masters and Ph.D. degrees in Jewish Studies. The graduate school also developed degree programs to train Jewish educators and communal professionals. These programs lead to the Master of Arts in Jewish Education or the Master of Arts in Jewish Communal Service. Graduates of these programs have become teachers, principals, and other educational specialists in the field of Jewish education and others have become executives in federations, Jewish Community Centers, community relations councils and in the field of Jewish family service. The university also maintains cooperative relations with Baltimore area colleges through the Baltimore Collegetown Network, which enables area colleges to share resources and jointly enhance the academic and social life of students.

While remaining committed to academic Jewish Studies and to the training of Jewish educators and communal professionals, the university also provides opportunities for Jewish learning to non-degree students through its program of Lifelong Learning. The program has featured weekend retreats with scholars, artists, and public figures; classes in Jewish Studies; a Distinguished Lecture series with major scholars, authors, playwrights, and filmmakers; and the Meah Program, a two-year 100-hour course of study covering the Jewish experience from biblical times to the present.

The University maintains the Joseph Meyerhoff Library, which contains over 70,000 books and periodicals in English, Hebrew, Yiddish, German, French, Russian, and other languages and includes a number of rare books going back to the 16th century. The library also houses the Baltimore Jewish Community Video Archive for Holocaust Testimonies and a collection of books that survived the Holocaust acquired through the Jewish Cultural Reconstruction Organization.

Among the distinguished scholars who have served on the faculty of the university are Moshe Aberbach, Joseph M. Baumgarten, Adele Berlin, Avram Biran, Cyrus *Gordon, Samuel Iwry, and Harry M. *Orlinsky.

The presidents who have served Baltimore Hebrew University are Israel Efros (1919–28), Louis L. Kaplan (1930–70), Leivy Smolar (1970–92), Norma Fields Furst (1992–95), Robert O. Freedman (1995–2001), and Rela Mintz Geffen (from 2001).

[George L. Berlin (2nd ed.)]

BAMBERG, city in Bavaria, Germany. There were Jews living in Bamberg before the First Crusade (1096), when they were forcibly baptized but later allowed to return to Judaism. Establishments in the medieval "Jewish Lane" (today Pfahlplaetzchen) included a dance hall for weddings, a hostel (*hekdesh*) for the needy sick and transients, a *mikveh*, and a synagogue. In 1298 during *Rindfleisch massacres 135 Jews were martyred in Bamberg. During the persecution following the outbreak of the *Black Death in 1348 the Jews there set fire to their homes and perished in flames. Between the 14th and 17th centuries Jews repeatedly attempted to settle in Bamberg, paying high "protection" taxes, only to be later attacked and expelled. In 1633 they numbered ten families, whose right of residence was recognized in 1644. An annual "plum fast" (*Zwetschgen Taanit*) was observed by the Bamberg community, to commemorate the preservation of the Jews there during the riots of 1699 by one of their number who averted greater damage by pouring plums over the mob. The community increased from 287 in 1810 to 1,270 in 1880 (4.3% of the total population), subsequently declining to 812 in 1933 (1.6%) and 418 in May 1939.

Prominent members of the community included the talmudist and *paytan* Samuel b. Baruch *Bamberg (13th century). Notable rabbis were Moses *Mintz who served there from c. 1469 to 1474; Samuel Meseritz (c. 1661–65), author of *Naḥalat Shivah*; and Joseph Kobak (1862–82), editor of *Jeschurun*. A. Eckstein, rabbi of Bamberg (1888–1935), wrote a number of studies on the history of the Jewish communities in Bavaria.

During the Nazi regime, the synagogue was burned down on Nov. 10, 1938, and 30 to 40 Torah scrolls were destroyed. In 1933–41, 443 Bamberg Jews left Germany and another 66 fled to other German cities. The 300 who remained at the end of 1941 were deported to Riga, Izbica/Lublin, Theresienstadt, and Auschwitz. After the war many displaced persons assembled in Bamberg (14,000 in 1947), but only 17 of the former Jewish residents were among them. In 1965 the cemetery was desecrated. The community then numbered 70. In 1989, there were 106 community members; their number rose to 893 in 2003 as a result of the immigration of Jews from the former Soviet Union.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: PK; Germ Jud, s.v.; H.F. Brettinger, *Juden in Bamberg* (1963); A. Eckstein, *Geschichte der Juden im ehemaligen Fuerstbistum Bamberg* (1898); idem, in: *Festschrift zur Einweihung der neuen Synagoge in Bamberg* (1910); idem, *Die israelitische Kultusgemeinde Bamberg, 1803–53* (1910); *Bilder aus der Vergangenheit der israelitischen Gemeinde Bamberg* (1933); R.M. Kloos, in: *Bericht des historischen Vereins Bamberg*, 103 (1967), 341–86. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** N. Haas, *Juden in Bamberg 1868–1906;* H. Loebl, *Juden in Bamberg. Die Jahrzehnte vor dem Holocaust* (1999).

[Ze'ev Wilhem Falk]

BAMBERG, SAMUEL BEN BARUCH (first half of the 13th century), rabbi and *paytan*. Samuel was born in Metz, but lived in Bamberg, after which he was called. He studied under his father, *Baruch b. Samuel of Mainz, and *Eliezer b. Samuel of Metz. He corresponded on halakhic problems with *Eliezer b. Joel ha-Levi, *Simḥah b. Samuel of Speyer, and *Isaac b. Moses of Vienna, and was highly esteemed by leading contemporary scholars. Like his father, he was a talented poet, and fragments of his prayer book have survived. The name is mentioned in the *Memorbuch* of Nuremberg, but it is difficult to assume that he was one of the martyrs there. *Meir b. Baruch of Rothenberg was his pupil. For a time Samuel was regarded as the author of *Likkutei ha-Pardes* (Venice, 1519), but this view is no longer accepted. Of his works no more than excerpts and fragments of his responsa remain. His decisions are of a very independent nature, though his style is modest and austere.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Michael, Or, nos. 1203, 1205; Urbach, Tosafot, 354–6, passim; A. Eckstein, *Geschichte der Juden im ehemaligen Fuerstbistum Bamberg* (1898), 140, 297–8.

[Itzhak Alfassi]

BAMBERGER, BERNARD JACOB (1904–1980), U.S. Reform rabbi, scholar, and author. Bamberger was born in Baltimore, Maryland, educated at Johns Hopkins University (1923), and ordained at Hebrew Union College (1926). After serving as rabbi of Temple Israel in Lafayette, Indiana, where he continued to study at HUC earning a D.D. (1929), Bamberger moved to Congregation Beth Emeth in Albany, where he remained until 1944. He next served as rabbi of Congregation Shaarey Tefila in New York City until his retirement in 1970. Bamberger combined his service as a pulpit rabbi with an active life of community service and scholarship. He wrote several scholarly and popular books. They include *Proselytism in the Talmudic Period* (1968^2); *Fallen Angels* (1952), a study of Jewish demonology and its influence on Christian thought; *The Bible: A Modern Jewish Approach* (1995); and *Story of Judaism* (1957). He served as president of the Synagogue Council of America (1950–51), and of the Central Conference of American Rabbis (1959–61) and later as president of the World Council for Progressive Judaism. He was a member of the interdenominational Jewish Publication Society's Bible translation committee that led to the new translation of the Bible and was the author of a modern commentary on Leviticus (1979) that served as part of the Union of American Hebrew Congregation's modern commentary published in its entirety after his death.

[Hillel Halkin]

BAMBERGER, EDOUARD-ADRIEN (1825–1910), French politician and physician. Born in Strasbourg, he moved in 1858 to Metz where he became vice president of the Metz Education League. He strenuously opposed the policies of Napoleon III and campaigned to bring about the anti-Empire majority in Metz in 1870. Elected as a Republican deputy in the National Assembly, Bamberger considerably influenced the votes on Napoleon III's responsibility for France's debacle and the subsequent deposition of the emperor. He voted against the treaty ceding his native Alsace to Germany and led the deputies from the annexed province out of the Assembly when the treaty was accepted. Recalled by Thiers following the 1871 insurrection, Bamberger resumed his seat at Versailles and voted regularly for the Republican majority. He was defeated in the 1881 elections, retired from politics, and became assistant librarian in the Museum of Natural History. During the parliamentary debates on the law concerning child labor, he moved an amendment – which was rejected – demanding that Jewish apprentices be exempt from working on Saturday.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Biographie complète des 534 députés…* (1876).

BAMBERGER, EUGEN (1857–1932), German chemist; a pioneer in the field of semi-microtechniques. Bamberger studied at Berlin University and in 1883 became an assistant to Baeyer in Munich, where he was appointed professor in 1891. From 1893 he was professor of general chemistry at the Zurich Polytechnic. From 1905 he was semi-paralyzed but continued his experimental work. Bamberger was meticulous in his work, and he inculcated clean and safe experimental techniques in his assistants. He insisted on following up not only the main product of any reaction under study, but also the minor products. He was an entirely "pure" chemist, his vast output covering most of the contemporary aspects of organic chemistry. His contributions were notable in the field of constitutions of natural products.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Berichte der deutschen chemischen Gesellschaft*, 66 (1933), 32; *Helvetica Chimica Acta*, 16 (1933), 644ff.

[Samuel Aaron Miller]

BAMBERGER, FRITZ (1902–1984), philosophical scholar and author. Born in Frankfurt, Bamberger from 1926 to 1933 was a research fellow of the *Akademie fuer die Wissenschaft des Judentums and until 1938 occupied various teaching posts in Berlin. Emigrating from Germany to the United States, he became professor of philosophy at the College for Jewish Studies, Chicago, from 1939 to 1942, and was on the staff and later editor in chief of *Coronet* magazine from 1942 to 1961. He was a founder of the Society of Jewish Bibliophiles. From 1962 Bamberger was professor of intellectual history and assistant to the president of the Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion in New York. His collection of Spinoziana was considered to be the finest private collection of its kind.

Bamberger's main interest in the field of Jewish philosophy centered on Moses *Mendelssohn (*Moses Mendelssohns geistige Gestalt* (1929) and "Moses Mendelssohns Begriff vom Judentum," in: *Wissenschaft des Judentums im deutschen Sprachbereich*, ed. by K. Wilhelm (1967), 521ff.), and he edited three volumes of the bicentenary edition of Mendelssohn's writings (1929–32; cf. also *Denkmal der Freundschaft* (1929), and *Living Legacy* (1963), 86ff.). Other philosophers to whom he devoted studies were Spinoza (SBB, 5 (1961), 9ff.); Maimonides (*Das System des Maimonides*, 1935); Julius Guttmann (*Philosopher of Judaism*, 1960; also in German in: *Deutsches Judentum, Aufstieg und Krise* (1963), 85–119); and Leo Baeck (*The Man and the Idea*, 1958). Bamberger edited *Die Lehren des Judentums* (3 vols., 1928–30, together with S. Bernfeld); *Juedische Gestalten und ihre Zeit* (1936); *Das Buch Zunz* (1931; cf. also Zunz's *Conception of History* in PAAJR, 1941); and an anthology of ancient Jewish aphorisms (*Books Are the Best Things*, 1962).

BAMBERGER, HEINRICH VON (1822–1888), Austrian physician and teacher. Bamberger was born in Prague and studied medicine there. In 1854 he was appointed special professor of pathology at Wuerzburg University, where he remained until 1872, when he became professor at the University of Vienna. Bamberger became famous for his brilliant lectures and for his diagnostic techniques. He is especially known for his textbook on cardiac diseases and for his diagnoses of symptoms of cardiac diseases. His name was given to Bamberger's disease, Bamberger's bulbar pulse, and Bamberger's sign for pericardial effusion. He advocated the use of albuminous mercuric solution in the therapy of syphilis and reported albuminuria during the latter period of severe anemia. He also described muscular atrophy and hypertrophy. During the last two years of his life Bamberger was president of the Vienna Medical Association.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: S.R. Kagan, *Jewish Medicine* (1952), 292.

[Suessmann Muntner]

BAMBERGER, LOUIS (1855–1944), U.S. merchant and philanthropist. Bamberger was born in Baltimore, Maryland. As a boy, he began work in a dry goods store, but while still a young man he moved to New York to engage in wholesale merchandising. In 1892 he and his brother-in-law, Felix Fuld, founded L. Bamberger and Co., a small department store, in Newark, New Jersey. Adopting advanced methods of merchandising and the latest techniques of publicity, Bamberger's grew into one of the largest and most profitable American establishments. In 1929 R.H. Macy of New York took over the Bamberger firm but Louis Bamberger continued to serve as president of the Newark store until 1939. He gave his employees a cooperative interest in the firm, established a pension program for them, and marked his own retirement by distributing cash gifts and annuities to workers who had been employed for a minimum of 15 years. Another of Bamberger's successful enterprises was the Newark radio station WOR, which he built in the 1920s. Bamberger's philanthropies covered a wide range of interests. He gave generously to Newark's hospitals and Community Chest, and to the furtherance of the arts and sciences. The long list of Jewish causes and institutions to which he contributed included the *Jewish Theological Seminary of America. A charter member of the Newark Museum, and later its honorary president, he provided the funds for the new building, opened in 1926, and donated a vast quantity of art, archaeological, scientific, and industrial objects. Bamberger's greatest philanthropic act, which he shared with his sister, Mrs. Felix Fuld, was a gift of $5,000,000 for the establishment of the Institute for Advanced Study at Princeton. He and his sister also contributed to the Fuld House at Princeton, which provided quarters for the Institute.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Newark Museum Association, *Louis Bamberger … a Tribute…* (1944); T. Mahoney, *Great Merchants* (1955), 167–70, 194.

[Morton Mayer Berman]

BAMBERGER, LUDWIG (1823–1899), German banker, politician, and economist; leading advocate of a gold standard for German currency. He studied law at Heidelberg and practiced as an attorney in his native city of Mainz. He joined the revolutionary movement of 1848 and edited the republican newspaper *Mainzer Zeitung* which advocated the unification of Germany and democratic government. He took part in the insurrection of 1849, fled to Switzerland, and was condemned to death in absentia. When, in 1866, a general amnesty was declared, Bamberger returned to Germany, and entered politics as a liberal, sitting in the German Reichstag from 1871 to 1893. During the years of his exile in London and in Paris he had entered the family firm of *Bischoffsheim where he acquired considerable knowledge of finance. In 1870 he was a leading founding figure of the Deutsche Bank (together with Adelbert Delbrueck) and became one of Bismarck's principal advisers on financial matters after the Franco-Prussian war of 1870. Later, Bamberger disagreed with Bismarck's policy of protective tariffs which he considered reactionary and in 1884 he and other followers seceded and formed the more liberal Freisinnige Partei. Though in opposition, he continued to exercise great influence on legislation of economic or financial character. He was an enthusiastic advocate of the gold standard and a champion of free trade and founded an association for its promotion. Bamberger was not a practicing Jew but in his memoirs he deplores German antisemitism. Stung by the antisemitic attacks of the German historian, Heinrich von Trietschke, he published a pamphlet "*Deutschtum und Judentum*" which was a vigorous rejoinder. He made numerous contributions to political and economic literature and his articles in the weekly *Die Nation* were published in book form under separate titles: *Wandlungen und Wanderungen in der Sozialpolitik* (1898); *Bismarck Posthumus* (1899). He also published his collected writings in five volumes (1894–98), and his memoirs appeared posthumously (1899).

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[Joachim O. Ronall / Marcus Pyka (2nd ed.)]

BAMBERGER, SELIGMANN BAER (Isaac Dov ha-Levi; 1807–1878), rabbinical scholar and leader of German Orthodoxy. Born in the Bavarian village of Wiesenbronn, Bamberger studied at the yeshivah of Fuerth and in his native village. Bamberger opposed the proponents of Reform at a meeting of Jewish communities of Lower Franconia in 1834, and at an assembly of notables called by the Bavarian government in 1836 where he represented A. *Bing, the district rabbi of Wuerzburg. In 1840 he was elected to succeed Bing in the face of fierce opposition from the Reformers. Bamberger continued the local yeshivah, founded an elementary school in 1855, and a teachers' training college in 1864.

By the middle of the 19th century, the Frankfurt Jewish community was dominated by the Reform movement. As a result, the community closed the *mikveh* and refused financial support to the Orthodox community. In response, the Orthodox Jews withdrew from the larger community and formed the *Religiongesellschaft*, appointed Samson Raphael *Hirsch their rabbi, and began a 25-year struggle for official autonomy. In July 1876, the Orthodox community was officially recognized by the State. The Reform-led general Jewish community offered to restore all the support it had previously rescinded, but the group led by Hirsch refused the offer. To help settle the controversy, Orthodox community members turned to Bamberger. Contrary to their expectations, Bamberger ruled that it was unnecessary to secede from the Reform-led community since it was providing for all of the needs of the Orthodox. Throughout the ensuing year, Hirsch and Bamberger engaged in a public, somewhat acrimonious polemic. The central issue of their argument was whether or not the Reform Jews were to be considered heretics. Hirsch said yes, while Bamberger said no. In the end, only a small portion of the entire Orthodox community seceded with Hirsch from the larger Reform-led community. Ironically, Hirsch, who represented the more modern Orthodox perspective, became the forerunner of 20th century ultra-Orthodox communities who try to cut themselves off as much as possible from the surrounding non-Orthodox and secular Jewish community. Despite his religious conservatism, Bamberger's position became the basis for modern Orthodox openness and acceptance of the surrounding non-Orthodox and secular Jewish community.

The "Wuerzburger Rav," as he was called, was one of the last great German-style talmudists, and his literary work was chiefly devoted to subjects of practical *halakhah; Melekhet Shamayim* (on the writing of Torah Scrolls etc., 1860^2); *Amirah le-Veit Ya'akov* (laws of interest to women, originally German in Hebrew characters, 1858); *Moreh la-Zoveḥim* (handbooks for *shoḥatim*, 1864^2); *Naḥalei Devash* (on the law of *ḥaliẓah*, 1867). Bamberger also wrote a commentary on Isaac ibn Ghayyat's halakhic compendium (*Sha'arei Simḥah*, 2 pts., 1861–62) and a treatise on the *Al Tikrei* formula in Talmud and Midrash (*Korei be-Emet*, 2 pts., 1871–78). His responsa appeared posthumously in *Zekher Simḥah* (1925), *Neti'ah shel Simḥah* (1928), and *Yad ha-Levi* (1965), all published by one or another of his descendants. Together with A. Adler and M. Lehmann, Bamberger published a German translation of the Pentateuch (1873, 1913^7) on behalf of the Orthodox-Israelitische Bibelanstalt to counter L. Philippson's Bible translation, against which he had published a polemical pamphlet (1860).

Descendants

Bamberger became the founder of a widespread rabbinical family. Five of his six sons became rabbis, and his three daughters all married rabbis. His son SIMON SIMḤAH (1832–1897) was rabbi at Fischach and Aschaffenburg (Bavaria). He published *Ḥinnukh la-Ne'arim* (on the laws of *ẓiẓit* and *tefillin*; with Yiddish translation, 1882^3); *Pekuddat ha-Levi'im* (Aaron b. Joseph of Barcelona's commentary on Alfasi, *Berakhot* and *Ta'anit*, with notes, 1874); *Avodat ha-Levi'im* (Jonathan b. David of Lunel's commentary on Alfasi, *Ḥullin*, 1871). SOLOMON (1835–1918) was rabbi at Lengnau, Niederlangenthal, and Sennheim (the latter two in Alsace). His talmudic research dealt mainly with Nathan b. Jehiel's *Arukh* (*Limmud Arukh* on various talmudic tractates, 1868–97; *Hegyon Shelomo*, 1878). MOSES LOEB (1838–1899) was district rabbi at Kissingen, Bavaria. SECKEL ISAAC (1839–1885) was *dayyan* at Frankfurt. NATHAN (1842–1919) succeeded his father as rabbi and seminary principal at Wuerzburg. He published *Likkutei ha-Levi*, on the religious customs of Wuerzburg (1907), and collaborated with his brother Simon Simḥah on *Pekuddat ha Levi'im*. He also wrote a memoir of his father (1897).

In the third generation: SECKEL (1863–1934), son of Simon Simḥah and district rabbi at Kissingen, wrote a halakhic tract on the immersion of vessels (*Tevilat Kelim*, with German translation, 1887); an edition of the *Midrash Lekaḥ Tov* on the Song of Songs and Ruth (1887); and a translation with commentary of *Avot* (1897, 1935^3). MOSES LOEB (II; 1869–1924), also a son of Simon Simḥah, was rabbi at Schoenlanke (Pomerania, now Trzcianka, Poland). He edited J. Ettlinger's essays and addresses (1899) and Joseph ibn Naḥmias' commentary on Esther (1891–93), Proverbs (1911), and Jeremiah (1913). He also wrote on book censorship in the duchy of Baden (1902), on the history of the Jews of Wuerzburg (1905), and of Schoenlanke (1912). SELIG (1872–1936), son of Solomon and rabbi of the Hamburg *Klaus*, edited and translated into German a large number of halakhic, aggadic, and liturgical texts. He also edited Maimonides' commentary on tractate *Ḥallah* (1895). SOLOMON MENAḤEM (1869–1920), son of Seckel Isaac, was rabbi at Bingen, Burgpreppach, and Hanau. He was a cofounder of the *Juedisch-Literarische Gesellschaft. SIMON SIMḤAH (II; 1871–1961), son of Nathan and rabbi at Aschaffenburg (Bavaria), wrote on circumcision (*Beschneidungsakt*, 1913) and the creation (*Die Schoepfungsurkunde*, 1903).

The next generation included SIMON SIMḤAH (III; 1899–1957), son of Seckel Isaac, rabbi at Stuttgart and later in Israel, and his brother MOSES LOEB (III; 1902–1960), rabbi in Mainz and Nottingham and founder-principal of the Jewish Boarding School in Gateshead, England. Erich *Fromm, the social psychologist, and Saul Esh, the historian, were also descendants of S.B. Bamberger, as was the bookseller-publisher Nathan Wolf Bamberger (1888–1948), who in 1934 co-founded in Jerusalem the firm of Bamberger and Wahrmann which specialized in rare Jewish books.

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BAMBERGER, SIMON (1846–1926), U.S. mining industrialist, railroad builder, and governor of Utah. Born in Germany, Bamberger immigrated to the United States when he was 14. He worked first in the store of his elder brother, Herman, in Wilmington, Ohio, and later the brothers became clothing manufacturers in St. Louis, Missouri. In pursuit of a debtor, Simon Bamberger found himself at Piedmont, Wyoming, a Union Pacific Railroad work camp. He decided to stay, erected shacks and tents which he rented to workers on the new railroad, and cashed their paychecks at a discount. He then moved on to Ogden, Utah, where he bought an interest in a hotel, and in 1869 settled in Salt Lake City. He was joined there by his brothers and they tended to his business interests, leaving him free to seek his fortune in gold mining. He found it in the lucrative Centennial Eureka Mines. Subsequently he built a railroad to a coalfield in southern Utah, and after a struggle lasting 17 years against competing interests and harassing litigation, the Bamberger Railroad went into operation between Salt Lake City and Ogden, with Simon Bamberger as director and treasurer.

In 1898 Bamberger entered public service as a member of Salt Lake City's Board of Education, where he devoted himself to improving teachers' conditions. From 1903 to 1907 he sat in the State Senate and then was elected governor of Utah (1916–20), the first Democrat and non-Mormon to become governor. During his administration Bamberger sponsored legislation for the control and supervision of public utilities, improved public health services, guaranteed full-year salaries for teachers, the right of workers to voluntary association, benefits for farmers, and other liberal measures.

Bamberger was one of the founders of Utah's first Jewish congregation, Bnai Israel, and was later its president. He supported the Utah colonization fund established by the Jewish Agricultural Society which attempted to settle 140 Jews from New York and Philadelphia in the Clarion Colony. He was also prominent in several Jewish philanthropic and communal institutions.

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[Morton Mayer Berman]

BAMBUS, WILLY (1863–1904), one of the first German Jews to join *Ḥibbat Zion. He propagated the organization's ideas in the periodical *Serubabel*, edited by him in Berlin (1887–88). Bambus became a leading member of *Esra, a society founded in 1883 for the advancement of Jewish agricultural settlement in Palestine and Syria. Later, together with Hirsch *Hildesheimer, Emile *Meyerson, and Isaac Turoff, he established the central committee of Ḥovevei Zion in Paris, with branches in many countries. His intention was to transform the movement into a world organization. Herzl's creation of the Zionist Organization led him to abandon his idea and for a time he became a political Zionist. However, disagreeing with Herzl's rejection of the so-called "infiltration", i.e., small-scale settlement in Palestine without prior international agreement, he became strongly opposed to political Zionism. He expressed this primarily in the periodical *Zion* which he edited from 1895. In 1901 he was instrumental in the creation of the *Hilfsverein der deutschen Juden of which he became the first general secretary. After the Kishinev pogrom (1903) he worked in the defense organization against antisemitism (Komitee zur Abwehr Anti-semitischer Angriffe) in Berlin, and endeavored, unsuccessfully, to establish a bank for Jewish emigrants. His works included *Palaestina, Land und Leute* (1898), articles for *Die Welt* and the *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judentums,* as well as several works on Jewish settlement in Ereẓ Israel.

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[Oskar K. Rabinowicz / Marcus Pyka (2nd ed.)]

BA-MEH MADLIKIN (Heb. בַּמֶּה מַדְלִיקִין; "with what may one kindle?"), opening words of the second chapter of the Mishnah tractate *Shabbat* which deals with the oils and wicks proper to be used for the Sabbath lights, and with what must be done on Fridays before the commencement of the Sabbath. This chapter, which consists of seven paragraphs, is recited, according to traditional practice, during the Friday evening service either before the start of the *Arvit* prayer (Sephardi and Ashkenazi ritual in Ereẓ Israel) or at the end of it (Ashkenazi ritual). Some ḥasidic rites do not recite it at all. The reading of the chapter of the Mishnah was instituted in the geonic period as a reminder of the duty of kindling the Sabbath lights, as a precaution against any unintentional desecration of the Sabbath caused by adjusting the lamp, and as a safeguard for latecomers to the synagogue (the recital of this chapter by the congregation made it possible for latecomers to finish their prayers with the other congregants and to leave for home together without fear of injury in the dark). *Ba-Meh Madlikin* is not recited on a Sabbath falling on or immediately following a holiday because latecomers to the service would be few.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Eisenstein, Yisrael, 3 (1909), 95; Eisenstein, Dinim, 46ff.; Baer, Seder, 192; Elbogen, Gottesdienst, 11ff.

BANAI, family of Israeli actors and pop-rock singer-songwriters. For over half a century the Banais provided the country with leading theater and film actors, directors and pop and rock stars.

Foremost among the clan was YOSSI BANAI (1932–2006), one of Israel's leading actors and comedians, who also released a number of big-selling albums based on the French *chanson* singing style, and published several books. Banai followed in the footsteps of his older actor brother Ya'akov, joining the Nahal entertainment troupe at the start of his military service in 1951. On his return to civilian life Banai enrolled at the *Habimah acting school and took part in numerous stage productions.

Banai always had a penchant for the comic side of his profession and in the 1960s joined forces with Rivka Michaeli in a program of humorous sketches and songs called *Yaldut Kashah* ("Difficult Childhood"). The songs from the show were later released on record. In 1968 Banai collaborated with Eli Gurelitzki in a comic-musical production, directed by Nissim *Aloni, called *Ḥakhamim ba-Layla* ("Smart Alecks") for which he wrote some of the sketches and two songs. A record of songs from this show, too, was subsequently released.

During the 1960s Banai spent some time in Paris and was later among the leading performers of French music, which was popular in Israel during the 1950s and 1960s. Banai performed translated versions of French hits in several of his productions, including *Tel Aviv ka-Ketanah* ("Little Tel Aviv") and *Yossiakhzakyuna*, and in 1969 he presented an entire show based on the music of popular French crooner Georges Brassens. In the early 1970s Banai released records that included the works of Belgian-born singer Jacques Brel and French singers Barbara and Georges Moustaki. Around this time he also put out several albums of original Hebrew compositions.

In 1973 Banai, Michaeli, and Aloni reunited for the comic production *Nissuin Nussakh Gerushin* ("Divorce-Style Marriage") which spawned two successful albums. It was around this time that Banai joined forces with one of Israel's top songstresses, Naomi *Shemer, with Banai providing the lyrics for Shemer's music to "Sefirat Mellai" ("Stock Taking").

In 1979 Banai created his most successful one-man show, *Ani ve-Shimon u-Moise ha-Kattan* ("Me, Shimon and Little Moise"), based on Banai's childhood in Jerusalem. The show closed with Naomi Shemer's composition *Al Kol Elleh* ("For All These") which quickly took on anthemic popularity. Throughout the 1980s Banai continued making popular albums, including teaming up with leading pop-rock figures such as Matti *Caspi and Yoni Rechter. In 1990 he recorded a song entitled "*Eyfo Ani ve-Eyfo Hem*" ("Where Am I and Where Are They"), written by his rock star son Yuval. Throughout this period Banai continued to be active in serious theater, participating in the Cameri Theater's *Gam Hu be-Aẓilim* (1989), *Mareh me-al ha-Gesher* (1990) for the Habimah Theater, and the 1999 production of *Melekhet Ḥayyim* for the Beit Lessin theater.

In 2000 Banai was awarded the Israel Prize in recognition of his contribution to the entertainment industry.

Other entertainers in the Banai clan include Yossi's younger brother GAVRI, who was a member of the country's leading comic team, *Ha-Gashash ha-Ḥiver, from its establishment in 1963.

Yossi's son, YUVAL (1962–), was a founder-member of rock band Mashina in 1984, following a stint as the soloist of short-lived rock band Shelom ha-Ẓibbur. Mashina soon found success and became the country's top rock act for much of its lifetime up to 1995. Yuval and Mashina were heavily influenced by British punk rock and American funk and started out performing cover versions of punk, funk, and blues numbers in small venues in and around Tel Aviv. There was also something revolutionary and anti-establishment about the band. The debut album, *Mashina 1*, included several hits, such as "*Rakkevet Layla le-Kahir*" ("Night Train to Cairo"), with lyrics written by Yuval's cousin Ehud, and "*Ha-Tottakh Meẓalẓel Pa'amayim*" ("The Cannon Rings Twice"), the latter about a soldier who can't get the sounds of artillery out of his head after returning from battle. Mashina's material often touched on political and social issues, and its music had mass appeal as the band continued to fill the country's largest venues and its albums sold consistently well. The group disbanded in 1995, after a sell-out tour, reuniting in 2003. In the interim, Yuval released three solo albums and toured with Mashina members Iggi Dayan and Shlomi Brakha.

Yuval's cousin EHUD BANAI (1953–), the son of Yossi's brother Ya'akov, took cello lessons from the age of 10 and was inspired by the hits of Elvis Presley, Cliff Richard, and The Beatles. He began developing his guitar-playing skills as an IDF soldier and honed his craft entertaining on the streets of London after his release from the army. After his return home he started writing songs and worked as a stagehand for his uncle Gavri's Ha-Gashash ha-Ḥiver comedy team. Over the next few years Ehud wrote a number of hit songs and in 1982 tried, unsuccessfully, to start his own band together with vocalist Avi Mattos. At this time, his on-stage efforts received a welcome boost when he was hired to play guitar and provide backup vocals for his uncle Yossi's production *Kemo Ẓipporim* ("Like Birds") which was based on gypsy music. Ehud's first breakthrough came in 1985 when he recorded the hit single "Ir Miklat" ("City of Refuge") and the following year he established his Plittim (Refugees) band. Two years later, at the age of 34, Ehud finally got a recording contract and released his first album, *Ehud Banai ve ha-Plittim,* which was a smash hit. Ehud Banai became one of Israel's most popular rock artists, including a generous amount of ethnic material in his records and performances. He had put out seven albums by 2005, the last, the eagerly awaited *Anneh Lee*, being his first in six years and selling well.

Other successful members of the Banai "dynasty" include rock guitarist-vocalist MEIR (1961–); his younger brother, rock, dance, electronic music pianist-vocalist EVYATAR (1973–); and actress-comedienne ORNA (1969–).

[Barry Davis (2nd ed.)]

BANAT, region in the southwestern part of Romania which for many years was regarded as belonging administratively to Transylvania, though it also benefited from an independent administration in the framework of the medieval Transylvanian principality. It was inhabited for many centuries by Romanians, Hungarians, Germans (Swabians), Serbs, and Jews. The languages spoken there were German and Hungarian as the official languages and other vernacular languages.

The region is still considered to be a classical multicultural one.

The Jewish population of the region belonged to two principal Jewish groups, the Ashkenazim and the Sephardim, who coexisted under satisfactory conditions. However, the *Hapsburg authorities saw in the Jews of the region a certain danger because of the privileged relations they had with the Turks in the Ottoman Empire, who were contending for the region.

After 1867 there was a degree of competition between the Austrians and the Hungarians in the two-headed empire over who would better succeed in assimilating their Jews, a situation which had consequences for the Jews of Banat as the competing parties tried to Germanize and Hungarize them, respectively. After 1919, with the dismemberment of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, Banat became part of Greater Romania, which posed a language problem as most Jews did not speak the language. After the unification of Banat (as part of historical Transylvania) with Romania the region lost many of its multicultural specificities and a certain diversification set in. With the majority of Germans and Jews leaving the region under the Communist regime of Ceausescu, it underwent the most significant changes in its multinational history.

[Paul Schveiger (2nd ed.)]

BAND, ARNOLD (1930–), U.S. modern Hebrew literature scholar. Educated at Harvard University (where he trained as a classicist, writing a dissertation on Aristophanes) and Boston's Hebrew College, Band was the founding director of the Center for Jewish Studies at the University of California in Los Angeles and the founder of the Comparative Literature Department there. He also taught at Harvard College, Boston Hebrew College, Brandeis University, the Hebrew University, Tel Aviv University, Yale University, and the Jewish Theological Seminary of America. In the 41 years he spent teaching at UCLA, Band had a major impact on the historical and critical study of Hebrew literature, through his teaching, publishing, and training of graduate students, some of whom are now leading scholars in their own right. Band stressed historical contextualization in all his work; he was keenly aware of the need to place modern Jewish creativity in its broader contemporary context, as well as in its relation to earlier Jewish creative expression. Further, he insisted that 19th- and early 20th-century Hebrew literature is best appreciated when studied in tandem with literature written in Yiddish, the two literatures being seen as one cultural continuum. In more recent years he turned his attention to Kafka. Band's books, published in both Hebrew and English include *Ha-Re'i Bo'er ba-Esh* (a collection of Hebrew poetry), *Nostalgia and Nightmare: The Fiction of S.J. Agnon* (1968) and the *The Tales of Nahman of Bratlav* (1978). Band also published more than 125 articles in Hebrew and English on a range of topics in modern Jewish literature and Jewish cultural life. He was the recipient of many major awards, including a Guggenheim Fellowship, the UCLA Distinguished Teaching Award, and the National Endowment for the Humanities Award, and the National Foundation for Jewish Culture's award for lifetime achievement in social, literary and cultural studies.

[Jay Harris (2nd ed.)]

BANET (Baneth, Benet, Panet, Benedict, Binet, Bineter), family of Moravian rabbis and scholars. Its first known member, MORDECAI BEN YOM TOV, approved a *maḥzor* following the Polish ritual in Nikolsburg (Mikulov) in 1716. ABER (Aberl; d. 1758), possibly Mordecai's son, was *dayyan* in Nikolsburg. A responsum (*Noda bi-Yhudah, Mahadurah Tinyana* ḤM no. 12) was addressed by Ezekiel *Landau to JOHANAN BANET, a *dayyan* in Alt-Ofen (Budapest). Johanan's son JACOB (d. 1812) was *dayyan* in Alt-Ofen. One of Jacob's four sons was Ezekiel b. Jacob *Baneth. FRADL, a daughter of Aber, married Abraham Bia of Csurgo (Hungary). Their son Mordecai *Banet, who took his mother's family name, became head of the Nikolsburg branch of the family. In the 19th and 20th centuries members of the family distinguished themselves in various fields of modern Jewish scholarship.

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[Heinrich Haim Brody]

BANET (Benet), MORDECAI BEN ABRAHAM (1753–1829), Moravian rabbi, one of the leading talmudists of his time. Banet was born in Csurgo, Hungary. He studied at the yeshivah of Fuerth under Joseph Steinhardt, author of the responsa *Zikhron Yosef*. In 1784 he was appointed *dayyan* in Nikolsburg, Moravia. In 1787 and 1788 he served as rabbi of Lundenburg, Moravia, and subsequently of Sasvar, Hungary, and from 1789 as rabbi and head of the yeshivah of Nikolsburg, and district rabbi of Moravia. Banet's yeshivah attracted students from near and far, and during the 40 years that he headed it several thousands of students passed through. Banet fought vigorously against the Reform movement, particularly against Aaron *Chorin, and vehemently opposed the founding of the Reform Temple in Hamburg. At the same time he displayed a certain understanding of the spiritual needs of his contemporaries. At the request of the government, he prepared two courses of study for students for the rabbinate which included secular studies. His proposals were published in the *Toledot Mordekhai Banet* (1832) of his son Jacob Abraham. Under Banet's influence, his son Naphtali *Banet compiled a handbook (in Hebrew and German) on the fundamentals of the Jewish religion. Because of his great influence on his community, his talented leadership, and the support of the government, Banet succeeded in postponing the disintegration of Moravian Jewry for at least one generation later than that of the breakup of Bohemian Jewry. He was one of the chief opponents of Saul *Berlin in the controversy over his work *Besamim Rosh* (Berlin, 1793).

Of Banet's works, only *Be'ur Mordekhai* (2 vols. Vienna, 1805–13), novellae to the *Mordekhai* of Mordecai b. Hillel, was published during his lifetime. After his death the following were published: *Magen Avot* (Zolkiew, 1835; 1903^2; with notes by Shalom Mordecai ha-Kohen), on the main categories of work forbidden on the Sabbath; *Har ha-Mor* (Prague, 1861), responsa, published together with the *Hokhmat Shelomo* of Solomon Kwetsch, his pupil; *Parashat Mordekhai* (1889), responsa on the Shulḥan Arukh, together with notes by the publisher, Abraham Isaac Glueck; *Tekhelet Mordekhai* (1892), aggadic homilies and talmudic novellae, also containing a biography of the author; *Maḥashevet Mordekhai* (1902), aggadic novellae to the Pentateuch; *Sefer Maharam Banet* (also called *Divrei Mordekhai*; 1906), novellae on aspects of the dietary laws with notes by the publisher Abraham Jungreisz.

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[Moshe Nahum Zobel]

BANET (Benet), NAPHTALI BEN MORDECAI (1789–1857), Moravian rabbi and author, third son of Mordecai *Banet. Banet officiated as rabbi and principal of the yeshivah in Safov (Schaffa, Moravia) from 1836 to 1857. He enjoined a fast and a penitential prayer to be recited on the 24th of Sivan in memory of the great conflagration of 1822 which almost destroyed the entire Jewish quarter of Schaffa; the custom was adhered to by the community until the Holocaust. Banet's writings include *Berit Melaḥ* on *meliḥah* (salting) laws (Prague, 1816); *Emunat Yisrael*, a catechism of the fundamentals of Judaism for Jewish youth, in Hebrew and German (*ibid.*, 1832); *Torat Dat Moshe ve-Yisrael*, on the principles of Judaism, in Hebrew and German (*ibid.*, 1826). The latter were intended to serve as a substitute for Herz Homberg's catechism *Benei Ẓiyyon* and expressed a conservative point of view.

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[Moshe Nahum Zobel]

BANETH, family of scholars. EDUARD EZEKIEL BANETH (1855–1930), talmudic scholar, was a descendant of the well-known *Banet family of rabbis and scholars. He was born in Liptó-Szent-Miklós (Slovakia). From 1882 to 1895 he served as rabbi at Krotoszyn (near Poznan) and then as lecturer of Talmud at the Lehranstalt fuer die Wissenschaft des Judentums in Berlin. In 1919 the Prussian Ministry of Education awarded him the title of professor. Baneth's work was devoted mainly to talmudic and rabbinic literature, the development of *halakhah*, and the Jewish calendar. Among his published works are *Ursprung der Sadokaeer und Boethosaeer* (1882); *Maimunis Neumondberechnung* (4 vols., 1898–1903); *Der Sederabend* (1904); *Avot mit Maimunis arabischem Kommentar* (1905); *Maimonides als Chronologe und Astronom* (1914); *Soziale Motive in der rabbinischen Rechtspflege* (1922); *Bilder talmudischer Ethik* (1926); and *Der juedische und buergerliche Kalender* (1928). Baneth also contributed to the Samter-Hoffmann German translation and commentary of the Mishnah (order of *Mo'ed*, 1927^2).

His son DAVID HARTWIG (ZVI; 1893–1973) was an Arabist. Born in Krotoszyn, from 1920 to 1924 he was an assistant at the Akademie fuer die Wissenschaft des Judentums. He then went to Palestine where he was a lecturer at the Hebrew University on Arabic philosophy, language, and literature. From 1946 he was professor of Arabic language and literature. In his earlier years David made important contributions to ancient Aramaic and Canaanite studies, but his life's work consisted in the study of Jewish thought as expressed in Arabic, Arabic as used by Jews, and medieval Hebrew. He wrote on the enigmatic Jewish rationalist *Ibn Kammuna (MGWJ, vol. 69, 1925), on the relationship between *Judah Halevi and the Muslim theologian *Ghazali (*Korrespondenzblatt*, vol. 5, 1929; see also *Keneset*, vol. 7, 1942), and on the use made by both Ghazali and the Jewish pietist Baḥya ibn Paquda of a passage in a book by a Christian author (*Magnes Jubilee Volume*, 1938).

Baneth was at his best in the editing and criticism of texts, such as his edition of Maimonides' letters (*Iggerot ha-Rambam*, 1946), his revisions of Maimonides' *Terminology of Logic* (edited by L. Roth, 1935) and of the *Book of Beatitude*, ascribed to Maimonides (prepared for publication by H.S. Davidowitz, 1939), as well as his discussion of the Hebrew translations of Maimonides' treatise on resurrection (*Tarbiz*, vol. 11, 1939/40, and vol. 13, 1941/42) and of Maimonides' Hebrew usage (*Tarbiz*, vol. 6, 1934/35 and vol. 23, 1951/52). He published many detailed reviews of Judeo-Arabic works in *Kirjath Sepher.* Of particular importance are Baneth's studies of the language and contents of the Cairo *Genizah* documents (cf. S. Shaked, *A Tentative Bibliography of Geniza Documents* (1964), 268–9). Most of the Arabic *Genizah* texts published by S. *Assaf were prepared for publication and translated into Hebrew by Baneth. By emphasizing that most deviations from classical Arabic grammar in the *Genizah* documents were not "mistakes," but represented the living language of the period, Baneth pointed the way for a sound approach to the understanding of those medieval writings.

[Moshe David Herr / Shelomo Dov Goitein / Samuel Miklos Stern]

BANETH (Benet, Paneth), EZEKIEL BEN JACOB (1773–1854), rabbi, born in Alt-Ofen (Budapest), Hungary. In 1810 Ezekiel was appointed rabbi of Szecseny. He became rabbi of *Paks in 1825 and subsequently of *Balassagyarmat, and from 1847 officiated at Nyitra. He corresponded on halakhic matters with Moses Sofer, Judah Aszód, and other rabbis. His yeshivah was attended by pupils from various parts of the country. One of his most talented students was his youngest son Jerachmeel Bernhard (1815–1871), rabbi of Liptoszentmiklos (Liptovsky Svaty Mikulas). Ezekiel was also an eloquent preacher. Recognized by his contemporaries as a halakhic authority, he left no written work, having destroyed his commentary on the Tosefta before his death. His grandson was Eduard Ezekiel *Baneth.

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[Jeno Zsoldos]

BANIAS, ruined city at the foot of Mount Hermon on the Hermon Brook, one of the sources of the River Jordan. The brook drains an area of about 60 sq. mi. (150 sq. km.), running swiftly for 2 miles (3.5 km.) and then dropping 600 ft. (190 m.). After another 5.5 miles (9 km.) it joins the Dan River and runs into the Jordan. The brook contains water all year round, with an annual total of 125 million cu. m. The city was called by the Jews *Dan or Mivẓar Dan ("the Fort of Dan"; a suggested identification with the biblical Beth-Rehob is uncertain). It stood over a cliff with a grotto dedicated to the Greek god Pan and the nymphs, and hence was named Paneas (Banias being an Arabic corruption). In 198 B.C.E., Antiochus III conquered Palestine from the Ptolemies by his victory near this place. Later the city belonged to the Itureans, from whom it was transferred by Augustus to Herod who named it Caesarea in honor of Augustus and to whom he erected a temple there. Philip the Tetrarch (*Herod Philip), Herod's son, developed the city, resided there, and struck coins with images of its buildings. It was generally known as Caesarea Philippi ("of Philip") to distinguish it from the better-known Caesarea-by-the-Sea. As such it is mentioned in the New Testament (Matt. 16:13; Mark 8:27) in connection with Jesus' visit to the area. In 61 C.E. *Agrippa II renamed it Neronias in honor of the emperor Nero, but it kept this name only until 68. In 70 *Titus held games there to celebrate his victory and many Jewish captives were put to death. In the Talmud, Caesarea is called Keissariyyon or Little Caesarea; the Mishnah also mentions the cave of Pamias referring to the same place. Caesarea's territory extended as far as Hadar and the Phiale Lake; the Ḥuleh Valley also belonged to it. A statue of Hadrian which stood there was regarded by the early Christians as representing Jesus healing a woman. The Talmud refers to the emperor Diocletian's oppression of the people of Paneas (Lieberman, in JQR, 36 (1946), 350ff.; TJ, Shev. 9:2, 38d). In Roman-Byzantine times Caesarea belonged to Phoenicia; its bishops took part in church councils from 325 to 451. In Crusader times it was called Belinas and a powerful castle (Qalʿat al-Subayba) was erected above it.

Banias and its rich archaeological remains were frequently visited by European and American explorers during the 19th century, who noted especially the rock escarpment to the north of the site with its caves, carved niches, and inscriptions. Small-scale Israeli excavations were conducted at the site in the 1970s and 1980s, with a very large ongoing archaeological project there since the 1990s, concentrating in two areas: the work directed by Z. Maoz in the area of the spring-cave and adjacent temples, and the other directed by V. Tsaferis in the central civic area of the site to the south of the springs. The Roman-period cultic compound next to the main spring comprised at least two temples, dedicated to the gods Pan and Zeus, with adjacent halls and installations. Among the finds was a good representation of Roman statuary. In other parts of the city, fragments of buildings from the Hellenistic period through medieval times were discovered. An important discovery close to the civic center was that of a large palace complex comprising underground vaulted chambers, halls, and courts and dating from the first century C.E. This palace was apparently built by one of Herod the Great's successors, i.e., Philip or Agrippa II. In addition to these finds, the expedition also brought to light remains of a bath house, a columned street from the Byzantine period, and a synagogue dating from the 11th century C.E.

[Michael Avi-Yonah / Gideon Biger and Shimon Gibson (2nd ed.)]

Since Banias was situated on the main road from Palestine to Damascus it served in the Middle Ages as an administrative center to a district with the same name. During the 11th century there was a relatively large Jewish community, whose members were called the Baniasites. They were frequently mentioned in *genizah* documents. A document of 1056 shows that the Banias community was well organized and had a *bet din*.

Since Babylonian Jews had settled in Banias, the community was split into two sections, the Palestinians and the Babylonians, who differed in their versions of prayers. These two sections existed to the beginning of the 12th century. A Karaite pseudo-messiah is reported in 1102. *Benjamin of Tudela mentions no community in Banias in 1170 and it is possible that it ceased to exist during the Crusades. Later, Banias was reinhabited by Jews. Even during the early Ottoman period, Jews still lived at Banias, as attested by a document from 1624 which mentions the murder of a Jewish physician, by the name of Elijah ha-Kohen of Banias, by an Arab sheik (Ben Zvi, in *Tarbiz*, 3 (1932), 442). From 1948 to 1967 Banias served the Syrians as a base for attacks on *Dan. In June 1967 it was occupied by the Israel Defense Forces. Later the area was declared a nature reserve, under the supervision of the Nature Reserves Authority. The reserve includes the river and its natural surroundings as well as the archaeological relics scattered around the river route.

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BANISHMENT, a form of punishment widely imposed throughout the ancient world. India, the Greek cities, the Roman republic, and the Teutonic peoples all used this practice to rid themselves of undesirables, ranging from criminals to political agitators who threatened the safety of the state and the authority of its rulers. Bereft of his property and prohibited from ever returning home, the victim was reduced to the level of an outcast, a permanent stranger or wanderer in foreign lands. The custom seems to have been known in Canaan, as attested by the *Ugarit texts (*Aqhat*, 1:152–5: T.H. Gaster, *Thespis* (1961), 365–6; cf. 366n.). In ancient Israel, too, banishment was not unknown, although it appears almost exclusively as a form of divine punishment. Thus Adam was expelled from the Garden of Eden (Gen. 3:23–24) and Cain was doomed to be a wanderer, hidden from the presence of God (4:14–16). Two notable cases in the Bible are the banishment by Solomon of Abiathar the high priest to his family estate in Anathoth (I Kings 2:26; cf. Jer. 1:1) and the banishment of Amos from the Northern Kingdom of Amaziah the priest (Amos 7:12). Collective banishment, or exile, was considered the ultimate punishment that could be meted out to the entire people for acts of defiance against God (cf. Deut. 28:64 ff.), which were variously interpreted in different times (see *Galut). *Karet was an extreme form of this divine punishment, involving the actual "cutting off" of the individual from life on earth (Lev. 20:2–6; cf. Zimmerli in bibl.). The only form of banishment still in existence in biblical society was that imposed on a man guilty of manslaughter or involuntary homicide, for whom *Cities of Refuge were provided (cf. Num. 35:10 ff.; Deut. 4:41–43; 19:1 ff.; Josh. 20). It has been conjectured that banishment was not otherwise sanctioned as a punishment because residence abroad was viewed as something that cut the victim off entirely from God (Hos. 9:3–5; cf. Gen. 4:14; Ezek. 11:15) and even forced him to worship idols (Deut. 4:27–28; I Sam. 26:19; Jer. 16:13). For this reason too, exile was dreaded (cf. Deut. 28:65; Ezek. 37:11) and deemed to have horrendous consequences. In later centuries, milder forms of banishment from the religious community were resorted to by means of excommunication, though, contrary to the view of some scholars, there does not seem to be any definite evidence of this practice in the Bible (cf. Greenberg in bibl.).

[David L. Lieber]

Second Temple and Talmud Periods

Banishment was resorted to by the Romans as part of their repressive policies. Thus *Archelaus the son of Herod I was banished by the Romans to Vienne in Gaul and probably remained there until he died. It is possibly to these administrative acts that *Avtalyon refers in his statement, "Ye sages, be heedful of your words lest ye incur the penalty of banishment [*galut*] and be banished to a place of evil waters" (Avot 1:11). Nevertheless the Pharisees seem also to have exercised this power. Josephus (Wars, 1:111) states that when they were in power they banished and brought back whomsoever they chose. The gravity of the punishment was not only that the victims would be exiled "to a place of evil waters and the disciples who come after you will drink thereof and die" (see above) but that they were also banished from the Divine Presence. On the verse, "For they have driven me out this day that I should not cleave to the inheritance of the Lord" (I Sam. 26:19), the Talmud comments that "he who lives outside the Land of Israel is regarded as worshiping idols" (Ket. 110b), and this sentiment is reflected in the words of the *Musaf* prayer for festivals: "But on account of our sins we were banished from our land and removed far from our country, and we are unable to appear and prostrate ourselves before Thee and to fulfill our obligations."

[Louis Isaac Rabinowitz]

Middle Ages to 18th century

In the Middle Ages banishment continued to be one of the punishments imposed on offenders in communities having a measure of criminal jurisdiction over their members (see Judicial *Autonomy) or able to withhold or withdraw domiciliary rights (*ḥezkat ha-yishuv*). Hence it was imposed most frequently in Spain and Poland and Lithuania, although also occasionally elsewhere. A distinction was drawn between banishment of the offender from the city and from the realm, as also banishment for a limited period and for life. The Spanish kingdoms, especially at the height of Jewish autonomy in the 13th century, recognized the right of the communal organizations to banish recalcitrants or exclude new members. James I of Aragon (1213–76) gave the communities the right to punish offenders by fine, ban, flagellation, or expulsion. Privileges accorded to the Barcelona community in 1241 and 1272 empowered the communal elders "to eject or expel [recalcitrant members] from the Jewish quarter or the entire city." A similar ordinance for Calatayud Jewry empowered the community in 1229 to expel two individuals of bad repute. In the 1280s the *kahal* of Alagon banished six butchers from the city for four years and excommunicated all members who ate meat purchased from them. James II of Aragon, on a complaint from the Valencia community in 1294, instructed the local prefect and judge to prevent influential Christians from concealing offenders condemned by the community to deportation. In 1280 Pedro III of Aragon, in a basic privilege granted to all Catalonian communities, empowered their elders to punish with incarceration and exile all crimes of assault and battery, libel, and the like, in accordance with Jewish law and their own judgment. The same privilege, granted by John I of Aragon to the Huesca community in 1390, provided that the elders could summarily sentence offenders to death, mutilation, flogging, or exile, without appeal. Offenses for which banishment was imposed included murder for which there was only one witness (Solomon b. Jehiel Luria, *Yam shel Shelomo le-Bava Kamma*, 8, no. 7), or for which no witness was available but where hearsay was convincing (Resp. Judah b. Asher, no. 58), and attack on a victim who dies after a lapse of a certain time (Resp. sent to Salamanca by Isaac b. Sheshet, no. 251). In Spain in particular banishment was meted out to delators and informers (communal statutes of the delegates of Castile, 1432). R. Menahem of Merseburg (early 14th century) banished a man for two or three years for viciously beating his wife (*Nimmukei Maharar Menaḥem me-Resburk* at the end of Resp. Jacob Weill, Venice, 1549). Prostitution and adultery were punished by life banishment by *takkanot* of Prague of 1612. There is even a report of a man who was excommunicated and "run out" of Ereẓ Israel by the Safed rabbis in 1548 for indulging in unnatural practices with his wife (Eleazar Azikri, *Sefer Ḥaredim* (1601), part 3, ch. 2). Forfeiture of domiciliary rights throughout Lithuania was applied by the Council of Lithuania to thieves, receivers, and forgers, and could be broadened also to any persons engaged in suspicious or prohibited dealings, infringing ethics, or disturbing the peace of the community. Since the whole community was liable to make good a claim by a gentile for money he had lent to a defaulting Jewish debtor, in Lithuania the Jew wishing to borrow from a gentile had first to obtain permission from the *av bet din*. A borrower who failed to do so could be banished, and his right of domicile forfeited (*Pinkas ha-Va’ad*, paras. 163 and 637). The Lithuanian Council also withdrew the right of domicile from and imposed banishment on a person provoking a gentile by quarrels or blows (idem, para. 21). Its regulations of 1623, when itinerant beggary and unlicensed behavior was widespread, lay down expulsion for a beggar, if necessary with the assistance of gentile officers. In 1628 the Lithuanian Council withheld the right of domicile from any Jew absent ten years from his community of origin who had failed to pay his fiscal contribution. Banishment was frequently applied in the Sephardi community of *Hamburg, its governing body (**mahamad*) being empowered by the Hamburg senate to expel from the community any of its members infringing morals or engaged in dishonest business dealings, among other offenses. The offender thus sentenced was served with a writ from the beadle (*shamash*). If he proved unable to travel for lack of funds, the *mahamad* lent his relatives money to defray the expenses of the journey. Sometimes the offender was sent abroad, mainly to Amsterdam, and if his conduct subsequently improved was permitted to return. This punishment was also meted out to juvenile offenders.

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BANJA LUKA (**Banya Luka**), city in northern Bosnia. The earliest reference to a Jewish community dates from 1713, when Jewish merchants of Banja Luka appealed to the French government to appoint one of them French mercantile consul in the town. The community had both a Sephardi and an Ashkenazi synagogue and numbered 226 persons in 1875, 336 in 1895, and 457 in 1927. A joint community center was built in 1936. It was damaged by Allied bombing in 1944. Each congregation had its own rabbi: Menachem Romano for the Sephardim, Pinchas Keller and Mavro Frankfurter for the Ashkenazim. There was some Zionist activity under the leadership of Judah Levy and Hans Bramer. Both synagogues were destroyed during the Holocaust, when most of the local Jews perished.

From the 1990s Banja Luka was the seat of the Republika Srpska (Serbian Republic) as part of the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina. A small Jewish community was reestablished.

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BANKING AND BANKERS

Antiquity

There is little likelihood that financial transactions played a prominent role in the pre-Exilic epoch in Ereẓ Israel; according to the ethos of Jewish society, then founded on a pronounced agrarian structure, lending was part of the assistance a man owed to his neighbor or brother in need (cf. Deut. 23:21). During the Babylonian era Jews had greater opportunities to come into contact with a highly developed banking tradition and to participate in credit operations. After the Exile, commerce and credit certainly had a place in Ereẓ Israel. Though the society remained predominantly agrarian, Jerusalem had a number of wealthy families, including tax agents and landowners, who speculated and deposited their gains in the Temple, which had in some ways the function of a national bank (see *Heliodorus). Organized banking probably arose in connection with *Ma’aserot* ("tithes"), in particular *Ma’aser sheni*, and the pilgrimages to Jerusalem, through the activities of the *money changers. The use of Greek terms indicates a strong Hellenistic influence on the establishment of banking. Meanwhile, the Jewish communities forming in the Diaspora, the most important at first being that of *Babylonia, were given an impulse toward a new way of life by the longstanding traditions of a capitalist type of economy existing around them (see Nippur and *Murashu's sons). In Babylonia, Jews engaged in financial transactions: some were farmers of taxes and customs, and the wealthiest of them were landowners; among the latter were *Huna, the head of the academy of Sura, and Rav *Ashi. However, talmudic references show that the standards of an agrarian economy were still dominant and therefore gamblers and usurers were not thought trustworthy witnesses (see e.g., Sanh. 3:3).

Another important Jewish colony was to be found at *Alexandria, center of the trade between the Mediterranean and the Arabian and Indian world, where Jews were engaged not only in commerce and international trade but in moneylending too. According to *Josephus, a Jewish tax agent was able to make a loan of 3,000 talents. The *alabarch Alexander Lysimachus, who loaned King *Agrippa I 200,000 drachmas (Jos., Ant., 18:159–160), was also the steward of Antonia, mother of Emperor Claudius. Another Alexandrian Jew was treasurer to Candace, queen of Ethiopia.

Middle Ages

THE CALIPHATE. With the rapid development of city life and commerce in the caliphate of Baghdad from the late eighth century and the transition of the majority of Jews under caliphate rule from agriculture and a village environment to the cities, banking became one of the occupations of some upper-class Jews, especially in Baghdad and later under the Fatimids (from 968) in Egypt. This *Jahbadhiyya*, as it was called, was a form of banking based on the savings and economic activities of the whole Jewish merchant class and not only on the fortunes of the very rich: the bankers loaned to the state and its officers money deposited with them as well as from their own fortunes. The vast sums at the disposal of these Jewish bankers and their relative immunity from confiscation by the autocratic authorities both tend to confirm that these Jewish "court bankers" from the beginning of the tenth century onward were well-known to their Muslim debtors as a kind of "deposit banker" for Jewish merchants. Under the Fatimid caliph al-Mustanṣir the brothers *Abu Saʿd al-Tustarī and Abu Naṣr Ḥesed b. Sahl al-Tustarī (both died in 1048) were influential in the finances of Egypt. With the rise of *Saladin and the foundation of the Ayyubid dynasty in Egypt (1169), the position of the Jews deteriorated but they were able to continue their moneychanging activities at least. Toward the end of the Mamluk period (1517), Samuel, a moneychanger in Cairo, must have possessed considerable wealth, for the Arab chronicler Ibn Iyās tells that the sultan extorted from him more than 500,000 dinars. During the Muslim rule on the Iberian peninsula, Córdoba Jews were active in the financial administration in the tenth and eleventh centuries. The responsa of this period show a highly developed money economy existing before the First and Second Crusades.

EARLY MERCHANTS IN EUROPE. Persecution, such as occurred in Alexandria in 414 or the oppressive measures promulgated in the Byzantine Empire beginning with *Constantine and intensified under *Justinian, may have contributed to the fact that from the fifth century Jewish merchants followed their Greek and Syrian counterparts to Gaul and not only traded in luxury goods but also loaned money. With the disappearance of the Syrians and Greeks from Europe in the seventh century, the Jewish merchants were able to expand. Within the administration of the Merovingian kings (from 481) Jews possibly farmed taxes or advanced money on revenues to high officials; according to Gregory of Tours (c. 538–94), the count of Tours and his vicar were indebted to the Jew Armentarius. During the Carolingian period (from the mid-eighth century), Jews settled in the Rhineland again as they had done during the Roman Empire – some of them lending money on pledges or giving money to merchants in a kind of commenda partnership. Archbishop Anno of Cologne (d. 1075), as well as Emperor Henry IV (1056–1106), borrowed money from Jews.

THE MONEYLENDERS IN EUROPE. After the First Crusade (1096) the Jewish merchant, in his necessarily long journeys, no longer enjoyed even minimal physical security. In Western and Central Europe, especially in *Spain, the crystallization of the essentially Christian nature of the rising city communes combined with this insecurity to drive out the Jews from commerce and prohibit them from engaging in crafts. In France, England (up to 1290), Germany, Austria, Bohemia, Moravia, and northern and central Italy, Jews had to turn to loan-banking on a larger or smaller scale in order to make a living. The canonical prohibition against taking interest by Christians, which was stressed in successive *Church councils (especially the Fourth Lateran Council of 1215), and the vast opportunities for capital investment in land and sea trade open to the wealthy Christian made lending on interest for consumer and emergency needs virtually a Jewish monopoly in Western and Central Europe between the 12th and 15th centuries. By the 13th century the notion that the *Wucherer* ("usurer") was a Jew was already current, for example, in the writings of *Berthold of Regensburg, Walther von der Vogelweide, and Ulrich von Lichtenstein. The word *judaizare* became identical with "taking interest." Testimony from the 12th century shows that moneylending was then becoming the main occupation of the Jews; this was the case of those of Bacharach (1146) and of Muenzenberg (1188). However, there is little data to suggest that Jewish banking transactions were on a large scale even in the 13th century, but there is evidence that the bishop of Basle had debts with Basle Jews and that various monasteries had Jewish creditors.

The transition from a natural economy to a money economy in the course of the "commercial revolution," and the stabilization of territorial principalities opened new possibilities for Jewish banking activity, especially in the Rhineland and in southern Germany. Jews from Siegburg, Trier, Mainz, Speyer, Strasbourg, and Basle as well as from Ulm and Nuremberg appear as sources of credit. The most important banking transaction in the first half of the 14th century went through the hands of Vivelin the Red, who transmitted 61,000 florins in gold which King Edward III of England paid to Baldwin of Trier for becoming allied with him against France. Margrave Rudolf III of Baden was indebted to David the Elder, called Watch, and to Jekelin of Strasbourg and his partners. Muskin and Jacob Daniels served the archbishop of Trier in the administration of his finances; during the first half of the 14th century, Daniels was probably the most important Jewish banker of the Rhineland. He was followed in the service of the archbishop by his son-in-law Michael. At the same time Abraham von Kreuznach at Bingen had a similar position with the archbishop of Mainz. Gottschalk von Recklinghausen and his company was another group on the lower Rhine. Such banking activity is recorded in other parts of Central Europe as far as Silesia.

Moneychanging and coinage privileges were often combined with moneylending, and Jews were frequently the sole agents arranging loans. From the first half of the 12th century moneychanging as a special form of banking is supported by documentary evidence. To spread the risk, partnerships of between two and ten persons were formed. As security, custom at first recognized mainly pledges, but from the middle of the 13th century the letter of credit came into use, though princes still preferred to pledge jewels. Often, instead of a pawn, bail was given by several persons. In western Germany hypothecation of real estate was preferred, and in this way Jews acquired in pledge houses, vineyards, farms, villages, castles, towns, and even seigneuries. Interest rates do not seem to have exceeded 36% but in the case of deferred payment they could rise to 100% or beyond. From the 12th century popes and princes exploited the financial capacity of the Jews by frequent remission of debts or forced loans. The *Black Death and consequent persecutions of Jews gave rulers an opportunity forcibly to seize property and to restore pawns and letters of credit to debtors. The liquidation of Jewish debts by King *Wenceslaus IV of Bohemia around the end of the 14th century is a well-known example of such royal rapacity. With these and other measures and the rise of the merchant class, who gradually took over the function of loan-bankers to the princes and even to emperors during the 15th and early 16th centuries, the Jews were deprived of imperial protection and forced to leave the towns. They retired to the small seigneuries or migrated to Eastern Europe, where a less-developed economy offered them possibilities of making a livelihood. In Bohemia, Hungary, and in Poland and Lithuania both princes and nobility made use of their financial help. As the Eastern European kingdoms developed with the colonization of the forests, Jews played an increasing part in commerce and especially in the **arenda*. In the larger towns some engaged in moneylending and banking activities.

In 12th-century France moneylending was an important Jewish business, but in the 13th century Jewish lenders came up against the superior competition of the Lombards, a rivalry even more intense in the Netherlands. In England, where *Aaron of Lincoln and *Aaron of York were powerful bankers, a special *Exchequer of the Jews was set up to centralize Jewish transactions. However in the 13th century the crown began to rely on the greater resources of the Cahorsins and Italian bankers and in 1290 the Jews were expelled. In Italy Jewish bankers could expand their sphere of activity under the silent protection of the popes, despite resistance on the part of the Christian burghers (see *Popes and the Jews). From the second half of the 13th century they spread throughout central Italy and gradually expanded toward the north, migrating at first to the smaller and medium-sized towns. In Pisa and then in Florence the Da *Pisa family became important loan-bankers; in Florence in 1437 Cosimo de' Medici permitted a Jewish group to establish four loan-banks; in Venice in 1366 Jews, probably of German origin, obtained the right to lend on pledges. Here as in other places in northern Italy, Jewish loan-bankers from the south came into competition with Jews migrating from Germany or southern France. Finally only a few towns, such as Milan and Genoa, refused to admit Jewish loan-bankers. However, their activities were seriously challenged when the anti-Jewish preaching of the *Franciscans resulted in the establishment of branches of the *Monti di Pietà toward the middle of the 15th century.

The Iberian Peninsula after the Christian reconquest offers many examples of large-scale credit activities and tax farming by Jews. It is known that they provided money for armaments against the Moors. El Cid borrowed from Raquel and Vidas, Jews of Burgos, for his expedition against Valencia. King Alfonso VI of Castile (1072–1109) also obtained loans from Jews for his military expeditions. His successors employed Jews in the financial administration, especially as *almoxarifes* (revenue collectors), an activity combined with moneylending. Thus, Judah Ibn Ezra was in the service of Alfonso VII, Joseph Ibn Shoshan of Alfonso VIII, and Solomon *Ibn Zadok (Don Çulema) and his son Çag de la Maleha were *almoxarifes* in the service of Alfonso X, while Meir ibn Shoshan served as his treasurer. When Sancho IV (1258–95) came to the throne, *Abraham el-Barchilon was prominent in the financial administration, supervising the farming of the taxes. Generally, in Castile the Jews abstained from farming the direct taxes, which from 1288 the Cortes opposed. The Jews therefore tended to prefer the administration of the customs and other rights belonging to the office of *almoxarife*. The court of Aragon relied on Jewish financial administrators in a similar fashion. King James I employed *Benveniste de Porta as a banker, probably giving him as security for his advances the office of bailiff of Barcelona and Gerona. Judah de la *Cavalleria, the most powerful Jew in the Aragonese administration, had control over all the bailiffs of the kingdom. Under Pedro III the family of *Ravaya were most influential. Though during the 14th century the Jews in Aragon and Navarre were subjected to increasing pressures, Judah Ha-Levi and Abraham Aben-Josef of Estella were general farmers of the rents under Charles II and Charles III of Navarre. In Castile – in spite of the Cortes' opposition – Jews such as the *Abrabanel family in Seville continued to be active as *almoxarifes*. The young Alfonso XI appointed Joseph de *Écija as his *almoxarife mayor* (c. 1322); Pedro the Cruel (1350–69) made Samuel b. Meir ha-Levi *Abulafia of Toledo, known as the richest Jew of his time, his chief treasurer, and Henry of Trastamara had Joseph *Picho as his financial officer (*contador mayor*) despite his promise to remove all Jews from royal office (1367).

THE CONVERSOS. The persecutions of 1391 and the mass conversions which followed brought an important change. Some of the Conversos were able to use the act of baptism to climb to high positions in the financial administration: examples are Luis de la *Cavalleria, chief treasurer under John II of Aragon, Luis *Sánchez, royal bailiff of the kingdom of Aragon (c. 1490), and his brother Gabriel *Sánchez, who was treasurer-general. Under Henry IV of Castile (1454–74) Diego Arias de Avila was the king's secretary and auditor of the royal accounts; in spite of Diego's unpopularity his son Pedro succeeded him. Even Isabella the Catholic depended on the financial advice of the Jew Abraham *Senior, from 1476 chief tax gatherer in Castile, and Isaac *Abrabanel, who after having been banker of Alfonso V of Portugal served as the queen's private financial agent and loaned her a considerable sum for the war against Granada. The Converso Luis de *Santangel, chancellor and comptroller of the royal household and great-grandson of the Jew Noah Chinillo, loaned Isabella money to finance Columbus' expedition to America. Though some men like Isaac Abrabanel, who went to Naples, remained faithful to Judaism, a number of Jews of Spanish origin stayed in Portugal and, after accepting baptism, rose to financial influence there, especially in combination with the East Indian spice trade. Prominent among them were Francisco and Diogo *Mendes. The latter, who took up residence in Antwerp, became one of the most important merchant bankers there, lending money to the king of Portugal, the emperor, and Henry VIII of England. The firm "Herdeiros de Francisco e Diogo Mendes" was administered for some time after Diogo's death (1543) by Francisco's widow, Doña Beatrice de Luna (Gracia *Nasi) and her nephew João Miques (Joseph *Nasi). They subsequently immigrated to Turkey, where the latter combined commercial and banking activity with political influence. Another to rise to high position was Alvaro Mendes from Tavira, Portugal, who in Constantinople took the name Solomon *Abenaes. Jewish money-changers and tax farmers were to be found in many places of the Ottoman Empire. After the union between Spain and Portugal (1580), a number of influential Conversos took the opportunity to invest their capital in financing the various ventures of the crown, provisioning the army in Flanders and in the East Indies, and supplying contracts for Africa. Their activities expanded especially after the financial crisis of 1626 and continued until the Portuguese revolt of 1640 which restored independent sovereignty to the country. After this all members of the *gente de nação* (as Conversos were called) living in Spain became suspect. The last important financial venture by *New Christians in Portugal was the financing of the Brazil Company established in 1649. However, Jewish involvement in banking proper really begins with the activities of those Conversos who, fleeing the Inquisition in Portugal and Spain, settled in *Antwerp, *Hamburg, and *Amsterdam, some remaining nominally Christian and some openly returning to Judaism. In Antwerp the Ximenes and Rodrigues d'Evora families were outstanding among an important group of merchant bankers who had commercial relations extending as far as the East Indies and Brazil. While they remained Catholics (like the Mendes de Brito group in Portugal), those who emigrated to Hamburg and Amsterdam formed Sephardi communities. In Hamburg they participated in the founding of the bank in 1619; 30 (by 1623, 46) local Jews were among its first shareholders, and some of them were financial agents for various North European courts, especially those of Denmark and Schleswig-Holstein. Most famous in Antwerp were Diego Teixeira de Sampaio (Abraham *Senior), consul and paymaster general for the Spanish government, and his son Manuel (Isaac Ḥayyim Senior), who succeeded him as financial agent of Christina of Sweden. Manuel Teixeira was an outstanding member of the Hamburg exchange and participated actively in the transfer of Western European subsidies to the German or Scandinavian courts.

At Amsterdam at first only a few Jews were shareholders in the bank founded in 1609 and of the East India Company. One hundred and six Portuguese had accounts in 1620. Generally their resources were not sufficiently great to add any special weight to the formative stage of Amsterdam capitalism. Through Holland's developing overseas trade, especially with Brazil (until 1654) and then with the West Indies, as well as through the growth of the Amsterdam capital market and the transfer of subsidies and provisioning of armies through Amsterdam, Jewish financiers rose to importance in the exchange market, and were especially active in trading company shares. Outstanding were the *Pinto family and Antonio (Isaac) Lopez *Suasso (Baron d'Avernas le Gras); nevertheless the wealth of the Sephardi families remained far below that of their Christian counterparts. In the second half of the 18th century the Pinto family remained prominent, and another influential financier of Sephardi origin was David Bueno de *Mesquita.

Partly as a consequence of the marriage between Charles II of England and Catherine of Braganza (1662), and especially after William and Mary became joint sovereigns of England (1689), London, too, became a center of Sephardi banking, leading figures being Anthony (Moses) da Costa, Solomon de *Medina, and Isaac Pereira. In the reign of Queen Anne (1702–14), Manasseh *Lopes was a leading banker; during the 18th century Samson *Gideon, Francis and Joseph *Salvador, and the *Goldsmid brothers, leading members of the Ashkenazi community, were outstanding. In the middle of the 18th century Jacob Henriques claimed that his father had planned the establishment of the Bank of England (1694).

THE HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE. Only a few Jewish financiers, such as Joseph zum goldenen Schwan at Frankfurt or Michel *Jud, were active in the German principalities in the 16th century. In the early 17th century the Hapsburgs employed the services of Jacob *Bassevi of Treuenberg of Prague, Joseph Pincherle of Gorizia, and Moses and Jacob Marburger of Gradisca. The rise of the absolute monarchies in Central Europe brought numbers of Jews, mostly of Ashkenazi origin, into the position of negotiating loans for the various courts, giving rise to the phenomenon of *Court Jews. The most famous and most active of them in financial affairs were, in the second half of the 17th and the beginning of the 18th century, Leffmann *Behrends in Hanover, Behrend *Lehmann in Halberstadt, Bendix Goldschmidt in Hamburg, Aaron Beer in Frankfurt, and Samuel *Oppenheimer and Samson *Wertheimer in Vienna. Later Diego d' *Aguilar, and the *Arnstein and *Eskeles families became prominent. In the early 18th century Joseph Suess *Oppenheimer was the outstanding figure in southern Germany; his financial influence was widespread, especially in Wuerttemberg, until his fall and execution in 1738. Important court bankers around the end of the 18th century were Israel *Jacobson in Brunswick, the *Bleichroeder family in Berlin, Simon Baruch and Solomon Oppenheimer in Bonn, the *Rothschilds in Frankfurt, the Reutlinger, Seligmann, and *Haber families in Karlsruhe, the Kaulla family in Stuttgart, and Aron Elias Seligmann, later baron of Eichthal, in Munich.

ITALY. In the 15th and beginning of the 16th century the Italian loan-bankers reached their greatest eminence, including the Pisa, *Volterra, Norsa, Del Banco, *Rieti, and Tivoli families. In their wealth and style of life these men belonged to the Renaissance milieu as much as the artists and men of letters. However, with the expansion of the institution of the *Monte di Pietà* and the restrictive policy of the popes of the Counterreformation, their influence declined. The Da Pisa disappeared from Florence in 1570. However there were still between 60 and 70 loan-bankers operating in Rome toward the end of the 16th century and a century later about 20 were still in existence. In the first half of the 16th century about 500 loan-bankers were active throughout Italy; toward the end of the century about 280 remained in 131 places. Abraham del Banco was involved in the establishment of the famous Venetian Banco Giro in 1619.

[Hermann Kellenbenz]

WOMEN BANKERS. Jewish matrimonial and property laws permitted women to manage capital they acquired through dowry, inheritance, and, in case of innocent divorce or widowhood, their *ketubbah*. While *ketubbah* payments to a widow or divorcée might include real estate and houses, highly portable pawn pledges and bonds were particularly suitable. The percentage of women involved in moneylending was high: they were responsible for half of all loans in Northern France in the 13th and 14th centuries and in many communities in 13th century England, one-third in 41 German communities between 1350 and 1500, and from one-twentieth of the larger to one-third of the small loan sums in Austria. These figures represent loans granted by women alone (often widows) or at the head of a business consortium and do not include the many women who acted in conjunction with their husbands or relatives. Some women, most of them widows, were active in top-level business with the nobility or rulers. Such female "top bankers" with loans from 1,000 to 12,000 florins, like *Licoricia of Winchester (active 1242–77), Plume of Klosterneuburg (Austria, 1320–40), Reynette of Koblenz (1365–94), Zorline of Frankfurt (ca. 1380–95), Gentlin of Konstanz (ca. 1420–30), Eva (Hefe) *zum Buchsbaum* of Frankfurt (1401–52), Ricke of Frankfurt (1451–71), and Sara, called Gutlein of Wiener Neustadt (c. 1475–80), sometimes achieved considerable influence. Due to their high tax contributions, some gained administrative power as tax collector (Selda of Radkersburg, Styria, 1338) and even as *parnesset*, an elected officer of the local Jewish community (*Kaendlein of Regensburg 1354, Joseppine of Regensburg 1374). Like wealthy male Jews, women were arrested to extort high ransoms and became victims of burglary and murder (*Dulce of Worms 1196, Licoricia of Winchester 1277, Kaendlein of Regensburg c. 1364). In contrast to the Sephardi world, women's mobility was not restricted in Ashkenaz. Although contrary to halakhic standards of female personal modesty, contacts with Christians in connection with business dealings were permitted; businesswomen traveling alone were allowed to disguise themselves as men or as nuns for self-protection (*Sefer Hasidim*). Some women used their husband's seal (Reynette of Koblenz 1374, 1384, Ricke of Frankfurt 1451–71), others had their own seals (Disslaba of Regensburg 1398). Some signed their records with their Hebrew signature (Mirl of Friesach, Carinthia 1372, Plumel of Maribor 1442, Priba of Maribor 1468, Leah of Voitsberg, Carinthia 1496). Ricke of Frankfurt left a German will (1470). Many women submitted their financial cases to non-Jewish courts and took oaths. Although systematic research on women's business activities in early modern Europe has yet to be done, it appears that the rate of female involvement was not as high as in medieval times. The outstanding personality was *Glueckel of Hameln (1646/47–1724); also important were other wives and widows of the early "Court Jews," Brendele of Frankfurt (active c. 1541–60), Gertraud Munk of Vienna and Prague (1590–1614), and Esther *Liebmann of Berlin (1677–1713).

[Martha Keil (2nd ed.)]

19th and 20th centuries

Jewish banking in the 19th century begins with the rise of the house of *Rothschild in Frankfurt, a city which became the new banking center of Europe as a result of the political upheaval caused by the French Revolution and the Napoleonic Wars. The founder of the house (which became the symbol of the 19th-century type of merchant banking), Meyer Amschel Rothschild started as a banker to the elector of Hesse-Kassel. His sons rose to prominence as the major European bankers Amschel Mayer in Frankfurt, Solomon Mayer in Vienna, Carl Mayer in Naples, James Mayer in Paris, and Nathan Mayer in London. After the death of Abraham Goldsmid and Francis Baring in 1810, Nathan Rothschild became the dominant figure in the London money market. The majority of the English financial dealings with the continent went through the Rothschilds' offices. After the Congress of Vienna (1815) the Rothschilds extended their business into most European states, specializing in the liquidation of inflated paper currencies and in the foundation of floating public debts. In 1818 they made loans to European governments, beginning with Prussia and following with issues to England, Austria, Naples, Russia, and other stales, partly in collaboration with Baring, Reid, Irving and Company. Between 1815 and 1828 the total capital of the Rothschilds rose from 3,332,000 to 118,400,000 francs.

THE MERCHANT BANKERS. Prominent merchant bankers in Germany besides the Rothschilds were Joseph *Mendelssohn and Samuel *Bleichroeder. Mendelssohn founded his firm in Berlin in 1795, and was joined by his brother Abraham *Mendelssohn in 1804; they issued state loans for industrial development to several foreign countries, particularly Russia. Samuel Bleichroeder, Berlin correspondent of the Rothschilds, established his own business in 1803. His son Gerson Bleichroeder became a confidant of Bismarck and served as his agent for financing the war of 1866 and for the transfer of the French war indemnity in 1871. The Bleichroeder bank also made loans to foreign states. After the death of Gerson

Bleichroeder in 1893 his partner Paul Schwabach continued the business. The brothers Moses, Marcus, and Gerson *Warburg founded a bank in Hamburg in 1798. Its main business was concerned with the Hamburg overseas trade, especially transactions with England and the United States. Paul M. *Warburg, a brother of Max M. *Warburg, head of the Hamburg bank before World War I, established a branch office in New York. Toward the end of the 18th century J.M. *Speyer, through his bank's provisioning of armies and exchange business, had a capital of 420,000 florins, the largest Jewish fortune in Frankfurt at that time. In 1809 G.J. Elissen opened a banking house which took the name of J.L. Speyer-Elissen in 1818 and Lazard Speyer-Elissen in 1838. Philipp Speyer and Co., the U.S. branch, negotiated the American credit during the Civil War, participated in the development of the railroads in America, and conducted transactions in Mexico and Cuba, partly in association with the Deutsche Bank. In 1928 Speyer amalgamated with C. Schlesinger, Trier, and Company to form Lazard Speyer-Elissen K.a.A., Frankfurt and Berlin. The bank established by Solomon *Oppenheim in Bonn in 1789 acquired a leading position; at the beginning of the 19th century Solomon moved to Cologne, where his son Abraham became one of the most influential bankers in the Rhineland, financing insurance associations, railroad construction, and industrial investment.

Jewish bankers played an important part in the development of joint stock banks. Ludwig *Bamberger and Hermann Markuse were among the founders of the Deutsche Bank (1870), which was active in financing German foreign trade. The Disconto-Gesellschaft, established by David Hansemann in 1851, which amalgamated with the Deutsche Bank in 1929, had several Jewish partners. Eugen *Gutmann was the main founder of the Dresdner Bank, and Abraham Oppenheim was one of the founders of the Bank fuer Handel und Industrie (Darmstaedter Bank; 1853). The leading personality in the Berliner Handelsgesellschaft (established in 1856) was Carl *Fuerstenberg. Richard Witting, brother of Maximilian Harden, was one of the directors of the Nationalbank fuer Deutschland; when it merged with the Darmstaedter Bank in 1921, Jacob *Goldschmidt, then director of the latter, took control of the new enterprise. In 1932 the two other most important banks in Germany, the Deutsche Bank and the Dresdener Bank, were directed by Oskar *Wassermann and Herbert Gutman respectively.

In England, banks were established by Sir David *Salomons (London and Westminster Bank, 1832), the Stern brothers (1833), Samuel *Montagu (1853), Emile Erlanger (1859), the Speyer brothers, *Seligman brothers, and S. Japhet and Co., many of them immigrants from Frankfurt; the Speyer bank negotiated loans on behalf of Greece, Bulgaria, and Hungary, as well as for Latin American states. David *Sassoon and Company, established in Bombay in 1832, had branches throughout the Orient, handling extensive transactions. Sir Ernest *Cassel, partly in association with Sir Carl Meyer, established banks in Egypt and Turkey. Industrial banks were organized by Sir Moses *Montefiore and the Anglo-American Corporation, which was connected with the diamond and finance corporation of A. Dunkelsbueler, established by Sir Ernest *Oppenheimer. In South Africa the General Mining and Finance Corporation was set up by Hamilton Ehrlich and Turk, and one of the most important enterprises in South African financing was the Barnato brothers' company.

In France Achille *Fould, a competitor of the Rothschilds, was a supporter of Napoleon III and later his finance minister. Together with his brother Benoit he inherited the Paris firm of Fould, Oppenheimer et Cie., which had been established by his father. Meanwhile the brothers Emile and Isaac *Péreire, who moved to Paris from Marseilles in 1822, financed railway construction in France and Spain. Through the Crédit Mobilier, organized in 1852, they mobilized credit for various investment projects, but ran into difficulties in 1867. Among the other important Jewish banks was the Banque de Paris et des Pays-Bas (1872), with Henri Bamberger as one of the directors. The leading position among the private banks was held by Rothschild; from 1889 to 1901 all loans to Russia from Paris were issued through the Rothschild bank. Baron Maurice de *Hirsch from Munich, son-in-law of the Brussels banker Raphael Jonathan *Bischoffsheim, invested successfully in railroad construction. Other Jewish banks were those of Louis Dreyfus and Lazard Frères. In Italy, where Luigi *Luzzatti's agricultural associations were largely philanthropic, Jewish bankers played a leading part in the foundation of the Banca Commerciale Italiana and the Credito Italiano. The Rothschilds, Sterns, and Goldsmids also invested money in Spain and Portugal.

RUSSIA AND EASTERN EUROPE. A number of Jewish banks were established in Vienna during the 19th century, the most influential of which was Arnstein and Eskeles. This bank however was declared bankrupt in 1859. Weikersheim and Company and from 1821 Salomon Rothschild also established banks in Vienna. Jews participated in the foundation of the Niederoesterreichische Eskomptgessellschaft (1853) and the Kreditanstalt (1855), which made an essential contribution to the development of the Vienna stock exchange and extended international loan facilities, also investing in industry and railroads. Leading private banks in Hungary were of Jewish origin, such as the Ungarische Allgemeine Kreditbank (Hungarian General Credit Bank; established in 1867) with Siegmund Kornfeld as a general director, the Pester Ungarische Kommerzial-bank (Hungarian Commercial Bank at Pest), established in 1841 by Moritz Ullmann, and the Ungarische Hypotheken-bank (Hungarian Hypothecary Credit Bank; 1869) with Nándor (Ferdinand) Beck de Madarassy as its general director. In Prague the *Petschek family established a bank in 1920; in Galicia, under the Austrian regime, Brody (Nathanson, Kallir) and Lemberg had Jewish banks. Between the end of the 18th century and the beginning of the 19th Jewish banks of some importance rose in Russia. In St. Petersburg Nicolai and Ludwig *Stieglitz, immigrants from Germany, opened a bank in 1803, which under Ludwig (who with his brother was converted to Christianity in 1812) became one of the leading financial institutions in Russia. Otherwise Jewish banking activity was limited to southern Russia, especially to Berdichev and Odessa. In 1860 Yozel (Yerzel) *Guenzburg, originally a tax farmer, established the St. Petersburg bank J.Y. Guenzburg, and later the discount and credit bank there, managed by his son Horace; Guenzburg also established banks in Kiev and Odessa. Lazar (Eliezer) *Poliakoff opened a bank at Moscow in 1860 and participated in the foundation of the Moskowsky Zemelny Bank and other Moscow banks. Poliakoff and his two brothers also founded banks in southern Russia. Abram *Zak was director of the Petersburg Discount and Credit Bank (1871–93), and Soloveitchik established the Siberian Trade Bank. At the beginning of the 20th century private banks of some importance were those of H. *Wawelberg in St. Petersburg, and O. Chayes and R. Sonschein and Company in Odessa.

Toward the end of the 18th century several bankers such as Koenigsberger, Levy, and Simon Simoni emigrated from the west to Poland. Jacob *Epstein, court purveyor to King Stanislas II Augustus, founded an important dynasty of bankers. The Polish revolt of 1863 caused the bankruptcy of many Jewish banks. The bank of Wilhelm Landauer in Warsaw, established in 1857, closed in that year. However, Landauer returned to Warsaw some years later and opened a joint stock company in 1913. Mieczyslaw Epstein founded the Warsaw Discount Bank in 1871. Leopold *Kronenberg took part in the foundation of the Warsaw Credit Union in 1869 and the following year established the first joint stock bank in Poland, Bank Handlowy at Warsaw. The Natanson family bank was in operation between 1866 and 1932. In Romania, Maurice *Blank (d. 1921) established the house Marmorosch, Blank and Company, which his son, Aristide, directed after him.

SCANDINAVIA AND THE NETHERLANDS. The Goeteborgs Bank in 1848 was established in Sweden through the agency of L.E. Magnes, Morris Jacobsson, Edward Magnus, and others. Theodor *Mannheimer was the first managing director of Scandinaviska Kreditakteibolaget, and Louis *Fraenkel managed Stockholm's Handelsbank from 1893 to 1911. The Danish merchant financiers Joseph *Hambro and his son Carl Joachim *Hambro settled in London in 1832 and founded Hambro's Bank there. A leading Danish banker was Isaac *Glückstadt, who managed the Landsmans-Bank at Copenhagen from 1872 until his death in 1910; he was succeeded by his son Emil. A. Levy Martin was finance minister in 1870 and from 1873 till 1897 director of the Copenhagen Handelsbank. From 1913 until his death in 1923, Markus Rubin was director of the Danish Notenbank. In Holland the firm of Lissa and Kann was established in 1805. Another Dutch firm of the same era was Wertheimer and Gompertz, later known as the Bankassociatie. In 1859 the firm of Lippman, Rosenthal and Company was established as a subsidiary of the International Bank of Luxembourg. Its international activities were widespread, especially through Netherlands state loans. The bank of Elzbacher in Amsterdam later merged with the Amsterdamsche Bank. In Rotterdam Rothschild was represented by Moses Ezechiels en Zonen (liquidated in 1888). The bank of Benjamin Marx (established in 1869), later Marx and Company, was in existence until 1922. In Belgium Jacques Errera, Joseph Oppenheim, and Isaac Stern, all from Brussels, and the brothers Sulzbach and J. May from Frankfurt participated in the foundation of the Banque de Bruxelles in 1871. Private banks were those of F.M. Philippson and Company, the Societé Henri Lambert and Cassel and Company. Moving from Alsace to Switzerland in 1812, Isaac Dreyfus established a bank in Basle; after 1849 the firm was known as Isaac Dreyfus Soehne. It participated in the foundation of the Basler Handelsbank as well as the Basler Bankverein. The Hitler regime spelled the end of Jewish banking in the greater part of Europe; all Jewish banks in Germany were liquidated or transferred to a non-Jewish company (Solomon Oppenheim Jr. and Company in Cologne, for example, was changed into the firm of Pferdmenges and Company).

THE UNITED STATES. Already in early colonial times individual Jews were active in America as money brokers, such as Asser *Levy, who functioned in New York City during the second half of the 17th century. Often such figures were helped by their extensive family or fellow-Jewish contacts overseas, as was the case with David *Franks, who was instrumental in raising money for the British army during the French and Indian War with the aid of his brother Moses, a London financier. The best known Jewish financier of the times was the legendary patriot Haym *Salomon, an immigrant from Poland who succeeded under extremely trying conditions in raising large amounts of desperately needed cash for the American Revolution by negotiating bills of exchange with France and the Netherlands. Yet another figure who helped finance the war for American independence was Isaac *Moses, later among the founders of the Bank of New York. It was not until the middle of the 19th century, however, with the arrival in America of a large German-Jewish immigration, that Jewish banking houses on the European model came to exist in the United States. Some of the founders of these firms, like Philip and Gustav *Speyer of Speyer & Co., went to the United States as American representatives of already established European concerns; others, like August *Belmont, crossed the Atlantic with a degree of previously acquired banking experience; still others, like the *Lehman brothers, Meyer and Emanuel, were essentially self-made men. Among other Jewish banking houses started by immigrants from Germany that developed into financial powers during the years 1840–1880 were Kuhn, Loeb Co., Lazard Frères, J.W. Seligman Co., Goldman, Sachs & Co., and Ladenburg, Thalman & Co. All of these firms functioned essentially as investment bankers – the more established field of commercial banking offered relatively few opportunities to the German-Jewish immigrant – a capacity in which they helped to finance large numbers of American utilities and corporations whose rapid growth throughout the latter half of the 19th century created an insatiable demand for capital. To raise such funds these Jewish houses not only freely utilized their widespread European connections, particularly in France, England, and Germany, but created a chain of interlocking associations and directorates among themselves which enabled them quickly to mobilize sums many times larger than their individual holdings and to compete successfully with gentile firms several times their size. Not only was it common for the children and relatives of a given firm to marry each other, but marital alliances frequently occurred as well among different Jewish banking families, as was the case with the *Loebs, the *Kuhns, the *Schiffs, and the *Warburgs. Frequently too the children of such families married into families of large German-Jewish companies in a variety of other fields and the latter would then proceed to raise capital through the banking houses which they had joined. Socially, the result of such commercial and kinship ties was the creation of a German-Jewish banking and business aristocracy based in New York City whose descendants continued for over a century to play a dominant role in the financial, cultural, and political life of the American Jewish community, and to a lesser extent, of the nation at large. The contribution of such Jewish banking houses to the process of capital formation in the United States in the late 19th and early 20th century was considerable by any standard. Several of them, such as Speyer & Co., August Belmont & Co., and J. & W. Seligman, raised large sums for the federal government both during and after the Civil War (the Jewish house of Erlanger Co., on the other hand, obtained sizeable loans for the Confederacy); others, such as Kuhn, Loeb, were particularly active in the westward expansion of the railroads. In the late 19th century Seligman Co. alone was capitalized at an estimated $10,000,000, while during the Russo-Japanese War of 1905 Jacob *Schiff of Kuhn, Loeb was able on short notice to float a bond issue of $200,000,000 on behalf of the Japanese government. Although the total assets of such Jewish firms were nevertheless small when compared to those of the American banking system as a whole, their clannishness and ability to coordinate their actions made them the focus of antisemitic agitation from the 1890s on, when caricatures of ruthless Jewish oligarchs at the head of an international Jewish money conspiracy began to abound in the ranks of the Populist movement. In reality, however, the fiscal policies of the German-Jewish firms tended to be highly conservative and their owners exercised their fortunes with an unusual degree of social as well as fiscal responsibility. Although a number of the great 19th-century Jewish banking houses such as Lazard Frères and Kuhn, Loeb have survived into the present, none has continued as a family or even exclusively Jewish concern and even the most prosperous of them have lost their former importance as a result of the steady trend in the American financial market toward the predominance of ever larger and more impersonal corporations. At the same time, the general field of commercial banking in the United States has remained relatively closed to Jewish participation despite heavy Jewish involvement in such related fields as stock brokerage, investment analysis, and corporate management. A study undertaken by B'nai B'rith in 1939 revealed that out of 93,000 bankers in the United States only 0.6% were Jewish, and that even in New York City Jews formed only 6% of banking executives as compared to 28% of the general population. Similar statistics for a later period are unavailable, but reports of discrimination against Jews in major banks throughout the country persist and in 1968 the American Jewish Committee publicly filed a complaint before the Human Rights Commission of New York City charging the banking system with job bias against Jews.

[Hermann Kellenbenz]

In the latter years of the 20th century and the early years of the 21st, the banking industry consolidated, and some old-line "Jewish" firms were bought or incorporated into others as buyouts and mergers changed the landscape. As Jews assimilated into American life, many advanced in the workplace less along ethnic lines and more along lines of achievement. To be sure, there were many Jews in leadership positions in prominent financial institutions: Felix *Rohatyn at Lazard Frères, Bruce *Wasserstein at several large firms, Sanford *Weill at Citibank, and others, but their financial success was largely attributed to their business acumen rather than to their religious or ethnic background.

George Soros, a Hungarian immigrant, became one of the most successful investors and later spread his wealth to nonprofit organizations and to political causes. Michael Steinhardt and others made their mark in hedge funds or as independent venture capitalists, accumulating great wealth but also making large philanthropic contributions. Carl *Icahn and Irwin L. *Jacobs developed reputations as corporate raiders. Abby Joseph Cohen was the leading investment strategist for Goldman Sachs, and Henry Kaufman, a well-known economist, offered advice about the stock market that was followed by many. In addition, on Wall Street, such firms as Schwab & Co., headed by Charles *Schwab, achieved great success as a low-price stock-market firm.

Some investors – Ivan *Boesky, Michael *Milken, Marc *Rich – became infamous for their questionable financial activities, but whether their religion played a role is highly unlikely. They were perceived as corrupt financial figures, not corrupt Jewish financial figures.

In the last years of the 20th century, a number of Jews had important positions in the nation's economic community. Alan *Greenspan, a Republican, headed the Federal Reserve System for almost 20 years and became a powerful force in Washington. During the Clinton administration, Jewish economists, including Robert *Rubin, the Treasury secretary, and Lawrence *Sommers, his successor and later president of Harvard University, held Cabinet-level positions, and James D. *Wolfensohn headed the World Bank from 1995 to 2005. His successor, chosen by President George W. Bush, was Paul

D. Wolfowitz, a veteran foreign policy and defense official in Republican administrations.

[Stewart Kampel (2nd ed.)]

Assessment of the Role of Jewish Bankers

As shown above, Jewish activity, in particular in the late Middle Ages and in the 18th and 19th centuries, often played an important, sometimes a central, constructive role in the economy and social life of various countries, sometimes even internationally. However, banking always remained a subsidiary Jewish economic activity. Frequently, when Jews appeared to command large assets, they gave this impression because they mostly owned mobile property. The wealthy Jews always formed a small group, particularly in comparison with the wealthy nobles or Christian merchants. It was really only in the 19th century that Jewish financiers achieved remarkable wealth, largely resulting from the activities of some European courts in consequence of the upheavals brought about by the French Revolution and the Napoleonic Wars. With the growth of joint stock banks and of central banks in the middle of the 19th century the field of private banking became limited. Around the beginning of the 20th century, Jewish influence in finance and banking had reached its zenith; afterward it declined at an accelerating rate.

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BANNER, a recognized symbol shared by a large group of people: a family, tribe, military unit, or nation. In the Bible, banner is denoted by the word *nes*. Although scholars differ concerning the exact meaning of another term, *degel*, this term apparently designates a military unit (perhaps originally the emblem of the group). The *nes* was composed of two parts: a long pole with a symbol, the *ʾot*, carved or drawn on it. Isaiah 30:17 gives a clear description of the pole: "Till you are left like a flagstaff on the top of a mountain, like a signal [*nes*] on a hill." Numbers 21:8 distinguished the *nes* from the symbol that it bears: "Make a *seraf* [fiery] figure and mount it on a standard [*nes*]…" The *nes* (and the *ʾot* which was on it) was positioned so that the community to whom it belonged could see it from a distance and converge around it. During the period of Israel's wandering in the desert, the special design of each tribe's *nes* and *ʾot* enabled each of them to recognize and gather around its own standard and unit (Num. 2:2). The motif drawn on the *ʾot* was apparently related to the tradition of the community, or was significantly associated with it, in a manner similar to the totem in use among certain present-day tribal societies. The term *nes* is also used symbolically in the Bible to denote a sign which can be seen from a distance and can serve as a summons not only for a tribe or the nation of Israel but also for the entire world (Isa. 5:26). When the people of Israel went into exile, this concept came to be the symbol for the gathering of the exiles scattered over the face of the earth, and for the redemption of Israel in general (Jer. 4:6). The verb derived from this noun, *nss*, serves as a metaphoric description for divine inspiration in the soul of man (Isa. 59:19). With a meaning closer to that of the word *nẓẓ*, this verb also describes the landscape in which precious stones are scattered (Zech. 9:16). Many Egyptian monuments from all periods depict standards or flags attached to poles which are carried by men. The symbols which appear on these standards or flags include illustrations of gods, cartouches, and other religious symbols. Some of the standards consist of a shield of metal or some other material mounted on a pole, with a group of ribbons attached to the join of the symbol and pole. Two different types of standards are depicted on Assyrian monuments from Nineveh. The first type, consisting of a pole bearing a ring to which streamers were attached, was placed on the side of a chariot, toward the rear, in a special place designated for it. The second, consisting of a pole with an opening at the top into which the symbol, probably of metal, was inserted, was carried by the charioteer. There are two recurring symbols on these monuments: one depicts two animals, and the other, a king or god standing on a bull. As is the case with other practical objects, these banners also served ritual needs. This type of ritual banner was found at Hazor (Stratum 1b). It consists of a silver-coated bronze tablet of approximately 4 in. (10 cm.). The snake goddess, surrounded by various other symbols, is depicted on it in relief. The base of the banner from Hazor was designed to be joined to the top of a pole as were the large banners.

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[Ze'ev Yeivin]

BÁNÓCZI, Hungarian literary family. (1) JÓZSEF (1849–1926), Hungarian literary historian, philologist, and Jewish educator. József was born in Szentgál, abandoned his rabbinical studies for a university education, and graduated from Leipzig. In 1878 he became a lecturer in philosophy at Budapest University, and later an associate professor. From 1879 József was a corresponding member of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. He was appointed principal of the Budapest Jewish Teachers' College in 1887 and held the post until his death. József distinguished himself mainly by his research into the history of the Hungarian language and literature. He also helped to create Hungarian terminology for philosophical expressions. He wrote biographies of Miklós Révai, the first Hungarian philologist (1879), and of the poet Károly Kisfaludy (1882–83). József encouraged Jewish studies and founded the *Izraelita Magyar Irodalmi Társulat* (the Hungarian-Jewish Society for Literature), whose annual he edited. József, together with Wilhelm *Bacher and Samuel *Krauss; published a Jewish-sponsored Hungarian translation of the Bible. (2) LÁSZLÓ (1884–1945), son of József Bánóczi, Hungarian playwright, author and translator. László graduated from the university of his native Budapest. He was responsible for the establishment of the Thália theater, which catered to working-class audiences and was its first director. László was prominent in the Hungarian Social Democratic Party, which he represented on the Budapest Municipal Council. His books on the drama included *Shakespeare a mai szinpadon* ("Shakespeare on the Contemporary Stage," 1910). During World War II, László was active in the theater fostered by the OMIKE, a Jewish association for popular education, and it was mainly due to his efforts that Hungarian-Jewish cultural life was maintained in a wide field of activities.

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[Alexander Scheiber]

BANSKA BYSTRICA (Hg. **Besztercebánya**; Ger. **Neusohl**), town in Slovakia. As Banska Bystrica was a mining town and settled partially by ethnic Germans, Jews were not permitted to live there until 1858. The Jewish congregation was established in 1868. The congregation chose the *Neolog (reform) rite. After World War I, Jews moved to the town from the neighboring village of Radvan, where a congregation had existed for about 100 years, and established an Orthodox congregation.

Local Jews engaged in intense Zionist and Jewish national activity. The local Zionist branch was established in 1897. In 1936 the *Maccabi World Union held its winter games in the town.

Most of the local Jews perished in the Holocaust after deportation to labor and concentration camps. During the Slovakian national uprising (Aug. 18–Oct. 28, 1944), thousands of Jewish refugees arrived in the town. About 1,000 were executed by the Germans near the neighboring village of Kremnička. A number of Jewish paratroopers from Palestine were among the victims, including Radvan-born Havivah Reik (Ada Robinson). After the fall of Communism in Czechoslovakia in 1994 a memorial was erected in Kremnička consisting of a Menorah and the Hebrew word ZAKHOR.

In 1947 there were 98 Jews in Banska Bystrica. Most emigrated to Israel in 1948–49. A small congregation continued to exist with prayer services for Jews in the vicinity on the high holidays.

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[Yeshayahu Jellinek (2nd ed)]

BANUS (first cent. C.E.), ascetic who according to Josephus "dwelt in the wilderness, wearing only such clothing as trees provided, feeding on such things as grew of themselves, and using frequent ablutions of cold water, by day and night, for purity's sake" (Jos., Life, 11–12). In his youth, Josephus claims to have been a devoted disciple of Banus, living with him for three years (c. 54–56 C.E.) before returning to the city to lead the life of a Pharisee. It is probable that Banus was an adherent of one of the many sects which were spread over the whole country, especially in the wilderness of Judea, not necessarily an *Essene or a member of the *Qumran sect. He may have been a hemerobaptist.

[Isaiah Gafni]

BANUS, MARIA (1914–1999), Romanian poet. Born in Bucharest, Banus' first poems were published in 1928. She gained fame with her first collection of verse, *Tara fetelor* ("The Maidens' Land," 1937), a lyrical description of the awakening sensuality of adolescence. Maria Banus came to be regarded as Romania's outstanding poet on feminine themes. Despite her early detachment from Judaism, she adopted a more positive attitude toward Jewish life in the shtetl as a result of her experiences during the Holocaust. *Bucurie* ("Joy," 1949) includes some important poems about Jewish suffering during the Holocaust. After World War II, Banus regarded the Communist Party as the savior of mankind. Social and humanitarian themes dominate her *Torentul* ("The Torrent," 1959) and *Magnet* ("The Lodestone," 1962), in which the poet denounces war and calls on mothers everywhere to join in the effort to secure lasting peace. In the "liberalization" period, she went back to writing personal poems, but as an aged woman. Her collections of verse include *Fiilor mei* ("To my Sons," 1949); *Versuri alese* ("Selected Poems," 1953); *Despre pamant* ("About the Earth," 1954); and *Se arata lumea* ("The World Shows Up," 1956). She also wrote two social dramas, *Ziua cea mare* ("The Great Day," 1951) and *Indragostitii* ("The Lovers," 1954), and published translations of Goethe, Pushkin, Rilke, and Shakespeare. Many of her poems have been translated into English, Russian, and Chinese, and some of them into Hebrew. She published *Din poezia de dragoste a lumii* ("Love Poetry in World Literature," 1965), including poems by Hebrew and Yiddish poets. In 1978 she published parts of her World War II journal, *Sub camuflaj* ("Under Camouflage"), which caused controversy because of its descriptions of her erotic experiences and her attitude to her Jewish identity. Although she identified with Jewish suffering, she preferred to be a Romanian, identifying with the Romanian language and culture.

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[Dora Litani-Littman / Lucian-Zeev Herscovici (2nd ed.)]

BAPTISM, FORCED. The nature of the Christian sacrament of baptism created special problems when it was carried out compulsorily, which differentiated it sharply from forced conversion to Islam (see *Anusim; *Jadid al-Islam). There is evidence that when Christianity established itself as the dominant religion in the Roman Empire, from the fourth century, large numbers of Jews were forcibly baptized: a detailed account is extant of the process in the island of *Minorca in 418. In due course, the church doctrine regarding this matter crystallized. From the time of Pope *Gregory I, it was generally agreed that by its very nature baptism should be accepted willingly and not imposed by force. Various problems however still remained. It was difficult to define what baptism by force actually implied, apart from sheer physical immersion: did it cover also "willing" acceptance of conversion under menace of death, or under a remoter anticipation of violence, or with the alternative of expulsion? Moreover, when baptism was illegally imposed, did it remain valid, or was the victim at liberty to return to his former faith unmolested? This last was a peculiarly complicated problem in the context of medieval Christianity, for if baptism was valid however conferred, the backsliding was an act of heresy, punishable by death according to the code later elaborated by the Inquisition. In any case, the conception of forcible baptism did not apply in the case of the children or grandchildren of the unwilling converts, who were frequently taken by their parents to church for baptism as a matter of routine when they were born (see *Conversos, *Marranos). Another problem presented itself in the case of infants: at what age could they be presumed to have minds of their own and to accept baptism "willingly" and not passively, or in return for some trivial temptation? On the whole, it may be said that whereas the church doctrine on the matter of forced baptism, which it theoretically condemned, remained unchanged, its attitude as regards *ex post facto* problems hardened through the centuries.

In the seventh century a wave of forced conversions spread over Europe, sparked off when in 614 Emperor *Heraclius forbade the practice of Judaism in the Byzantine Empire. He is said to have summoned his fellow sovereigns to follow his example; and similar steps were taken in Gaul in 626 by King Dagobert; in Italy in 661 by the Lombard sovereign Perctarit; and in Spain from 616 under successive Visigothic rulers. In the Byzantine possessions, including southern Italy, Heraclius' example was imitated in 873–4 under *Basil I. It is difficult however in most such cases to determine how effectively, and for how long a period, the edicts were put into execution; while on the other hand it is debatable how far baptism with the alternative of exile can be strictly considered in the category of "forced conversion." Moreover the mob sometimes took matters into its own hands and imposed baptism on the steadfast believers who had prepared themselves for the heroic alternative. This is what seems to have happened for example at the time of the campaign of the Byzantine emperor *Romanus I Lecapenus in 932–36 to suppress Judaism in his dominions, when a number of Jewish leaders died rather than submit.

Apart from such cases of mass baptism to escape expulsion as mentioned above, the earliest recorded instance of forced baptism in the more restricted sense seems to have been shortly after 820 in Lyons, where as part of his campaign to convert the Jews (described in his *Epistola de baptismo Judaicorum*), Archbishop *Agobard of Lyons assembled the children who had not been sent into safety by their parents and baptized all those who to his mind appeared to show some desire for conversion. When about 938 the archbishop of Mainz asked Leo VII whether he should force the Jews of his diocese to be baptized or expel them, the pope advised on the latter course. Many Jews, especially in the Rhineland, were baptized literally by force during the first and subsequent *Crusades, and the antipope *Clement III protested violently against their being permitted subsequently to revert to Judaism. On the other hand, after Benedict, the leader of the Jews of York was forcibly baptized on the day of Richard I's coronation (Sept. 3, 1189), the archbishop of Canterbury declared that if he desired to return to worship the devil he should be given free choice. One of the clauses in the *Constitutio pro Judaeis* issued by successive popes (including some of those least favorable to Jews) from the beginning of the 12th down to the close of the 15th century (see *Popes) declared categorically that no Christian should use violence to force Jews to be baptized so long as they were unwilling – though without specifying what was to happen if the illegal process actually took place. Indeed, Pope *Innocent III, in a letter of 1201 to the archbishop of Arles, considered that a Jew who submitted to baptism under threat of force expressed a conditional willingness to accept the sacrament, with the corollary that he was not at liberty to renounce it. On the other hand, Innocent IV in 1246 categorically forbade the forced baptism of children, the same presumably applying a fortiori to adults. However, in the last decades of the 13th century the strength of the Jewish communities of the Kingdom of Naples was broken by a wave of forced baptisms, sparked off by an apostate from Trani named Manuforte: the descendants of the victims, known as neofiti (see *Crypto-Jews), long remained a recognizable group, suspected of secret fidelity to their ancestral religion.

The events in the Kingdom of Naples in a way set the example for the wholesale wave of compulsory baptisms which swept Spain in and after 1391. This left in its train the phenomenon of the Marranos, which continued to be a problem in the Iberian Peninsula for centuries to come. It may be noted that a very large number, perhaps the majority, of these insincere conversions, especially after the initial episodes, were not the immediate result of actual violence, but were ostensibly quasi-spontaneous in anticipation of it or as the result of moral rather than physical pressure. This did not however apply to the large-scale happenings in Portugal in 1496/97, when practically the whole of the considerable Jewish community of that country were hounded into Christianity by actual violence or were baptized forcibly notwithstanding their protests. This explains the greater tenacity of Marranism in that country in subsequent generations, and down to the present day.

Pope *Martin V categorically forbade (c. 1419) the baptism of Jewish infants below the age of 12 without the parents' permission, to counteract an abuse which was at this time becoming widespread. But a new chapter in the history of forcible baptism began with the institution in Rome in 1543 of the House of *Catechumens (Casa dei Catecumeni), speedily followed in other cities. To justify their existence these institutions had to elaborate a system of propagating the faith, in which ultimately it became difficult to differentiate force from persuasion. Any person who could be imagined by whatever casuistry as having shown an inclination toward Christianity, or who could be considered to be under the authority of a person already converted, could be immured in the House of Catechumens in order to "explore his intention," meanwhile being submitted to unremitting pressure. In 1635 it was decided that the baptism of the head of a household could entail, if he expressed the desire, that of all those members of his family who were under age or dependent upon him, and this was subsequently extended to cover even more remote cases. There had moreover grown up a popular superstition that any person who secured the baptism of an unbeliever was assured of paradise, this leading to a spate of such ceremonies, verging on parody in execution though not in their tragic outcome, throughout the Catholic world.

At Reggio Emilia, during the plague of 1630, a barber summarily christened after his own style 17 or 18 Jewish children in the pest-house that had been set up – the survivors being thereafter brought up as Christians. In 1747 Pope *Benedict XIV decided that once baptized, even against the prescriptions of canon law, a child was to be considered a Christian and educated under church influence. In 1762, the son of the rabbi of Carpentras was pounced on and baptized in ditch water by a callous ruffian and thereafter lost to his family. The kidnapping for baptism of Terracina children in 1783, at the request of a remote relative, caused a veritable revolt in the Roman ghetto. Similar abuses took place in the Catholic lands of Central Europe and in Poland, where the *Jesuits were said to be the principal culprits in the mid-18th century. After the Napoleonic wars, the abuse in its worst form was restricted to those areas in Italy where the popes, now driven by circumstances into reaction, still wielded temporal power. The best-known instance was the *Mortara Case (1858) in Bologna; but it was neither the worst nor the last. In the Russian Empire in the second quarter of the 19th century the institution of the *Cantonists – involving the virtual kidnapping for military service of Jewish male children from the age of 12, or even 8 –was introduced in the expressed hope of compelling them to abandon Judaism. The number of forced or virtually forced baptisms which resulted probably exceeded all similar cases in other lands throughout history. During the Nazi persecutions in Central and Eastern Europe in 1940–45, many Jewish children were baptized by well-meaning Christians in order to help in saving their lives, or when contact with their parents was lost.

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[Cecil Roth]

BĀQĀ AL-GHARBIYYA; BĀQĀ AL-SHARQIYYA, two Muslim-Arab villages in central Israel, east of Ḥaderah. The first became part of Israel following the 1949 armistice agreement with Jordan. The village's economy was developed by the introduction of new farming methods and the establishment of workshops and preserves-industry enterprises. It served as an administrative center for the Arab villages of the vicinity and the seat of the Muslim Shariʿa Court for central Israel. In 1968 it had a population of 6,400, tripling to 19,800 by the end of 2002, with an area of 3.5 sq. mi. (9.1 sq. km.). In 1996

Bāqā al-Gharbiyya received municipal status. Bāqā al-Sharqiyya, which remained on the Jordanian side of the border in 1949, was occupied by Israel during the Six-Day War of 1967. In contrast to Bāqā al-Gharbiyya, its layout and economic and social structure remained largely traditional. Its population in 1967 was 1,205, rising to 3,054 in 1997.

[Efraim Orni]

BAʿQŪBA, town c. 25 mi. (40 km.) north of Baghdad. Under the Abbasid caliphate, Baʿqūba was a district center, with a prosperous Jewish community. At the end of the eighth century, Manasseh b. R. Joseph of Baʿqūba, was head of the academy of *Pumbedita. Even later, many Jews lived in the town. In the early 12th century, a self-styled herald of the messiah, Ibn Shadad, appeared in Baʿqūba and began a movement which was suppressed by the Muslim authorities. The community existed into the 19th century.

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[Eliyahu Ashtor]

BAR, town in Vinnitsa oblast, Ukraine. Bar passed to Russia at the second partition of Poland in 1793, and from 1796 to the 1917 Russian Revolution was a district capital in the province (government) of Podolia. The Bar community was one of the oldest in the Ukraine. Jews are first mentioned there in 1542. By an agreement concluded in 1556 with the citizens of Bar, the Jews were permitted to own buildings and had the same rights and duties as the other residents; they were permitted to visit other towns in the district for business purposes but were forbidden to provide lodging for Jewish visitors in the city. The agreement was formally ratified the same year by the Polish king Sigismund II. The community grew during the second half of the 16th and the first half of the 17th century, and Jews from Bar engaged in trade in places as far away as Moldavia. According to a contemporary chronicler, the Bar community in 1648 numbered some 600 Jewish families, "men of wealth and standing." During the *Chmielnicki uprising in that year, many of the Jews in Bar were massacred. There was a further slaughter of the Jewish inhabitants by Cossacks and Tatars in 1651. There were 17 houses (out of 107) in Jewish ownership in Bar in 1565, 23 in 1570–71, and approximately 20 in 1661. In 1717, authorization to erect a synagogue in Bar was granted by the bishop. After 1793, under Russian rule, the community also developed. The Jewish population numbered 4,442 in 1847, 5,773 in 1897 (58% of the total), and 10,450 (46%) in 1910. Between 1910 and World War I, Jews opened factories based on agricultural products, such as sugar, linen, tobacco, and vodka. They owned most of the shops in town, and the only pharmacy and were the majority of artisans. Twenty Jews in Bar lost their lives during a pogrom in the summer of 1919. Religious and communal life came to an end with the establishment of the Soviet government. In the 1920s some 300 families lived from workmanship, 28 were clerks and workers, 150 heads of families worked in agriculture, some of them in a Jewish farm cooperative. The Jewish population totaled 5,270 in 1926 (55%) and 3,869 (total population – 9406) in 1939. In the 1930s 1,000 worked in various factories and 400 in industrial cooperatives; 53 families were members of a Jewish kolkhoz. The Germans occupied Bar on July 16, 1941. In December two ghettos were created, surrounded by barbed wire. On August 19, 1942, 3,000 Jews of the first ghetto were concentrated and kept for three days without food and water. In the nearby Jewish cemetery 1,742 Jews were killed, and the others, mostly young people, were taken to the abandoned ghetto, which turned into a working camp. On October 15, 1942, the 2,000 Jews of the second ghetto were murdered. Most of the working youngsters were killed one by one or died from hunger or diseases. Bar was liberated on March 25, 1944. In 1993 there were 199 Jews living there.

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[Yehuda Slutsky]

BAR, SHLOMO (1944–), singer, composer, drummer, and flutist. Bar was born in Morocco and came to Israel at the age of six. In 1977, against a background of social and cultural unrest in Israel, Bar founded a small ensemble which he called Ha-Breirah ha-T'ivit ("The Natural Selection"), whose very name hinted at the prevailing tensions. His first group included musicians of different origins: an American guitarist, an Indian Jewish violinist, and an Israeli-born Jew of Bokharian origin as contrabassist. They created an amalgamated, completely new style, dominated by his powerful personality. Bar supported the artistic ideals of the East in a broad sense, which stood in clear opposition to those of the West. In contrast to the complexity and sophistication of the architectonics of sound – the crowning achievement of Western musical art – Bar placed spontaneity at the center of his work, in improvisations characteristic of Eastern music. He created a style in which he integrated widely divergent musical traditions while endowing his work with a pervasive "Oriental" spirit. It thus represents a balance of stylistic plurality and stylistic fusion. From around the mid-1990s, the group evolved and changed, so that the music, like the group, came to represent a much greater range of cultures. The group made several tours, including trips to the U.S., Canada, and Europe, and participated in various international music festivals. Thus, Bar and some other musicians turned "Orientalization" into a conscious ideology, which reflected, in the field of music, the culturally as well as politically motivated aspiration to achieve "separate but equal" status for Oriental culture in Israel.

[Amnon Shiloah (2nd ed.)]

BARA, THEDA (**Theodosia Goodman**; 1885–1955), U.S. film actress. Born in Cincinnati, Ohio, Theda Bara was noted for her femme fatale roles. William Fox recognized her potential and cast her in *A Fool There Was* (1915) under the name by which she came to be known as the foremost "vamp" of the silent screen. Among her other films were *The Devil's Daughter* (1915), *The Serpent* (1916), *Heart and Soul* (1917), *The Forbidden Path* (1918), *Devil* (1918), *The Soul of Buddha* (1918), *When a Woman Sins* (1918), and *Lure of Ambition* (1919). However, of the more than 40 films she made from late 1914 through 1926, only three and a half remain.

Born in the wealthy, largely Jewish Cincinnati suburb of Avondale, Bara was close to her immigrant parents and siblings and had a happy childhood. Extremely intelligent and an avid reader, she attended college for two years. But she dropped out of school, dyed her blonde hair black, and set out to pursue her love of theater. Although she was not very successful on the Broadway stage, her role as the vampire in *A Fool There Was*, at the age of 30, made her an overnight success.

The first sex symbol for the masses, Bara was renowned for her portrayal of sinful, smoky-eyed women who lured proper husbands away from their wives, playing the relentless vamp in such films as *Sin* (1915), *Destruction* (1915), *The Vixen* (1916), and *The Rose of Blood* (1917). As the movie industry's first fabricated movie star, publicists billed Bara as "The Serpent of the Nile," who was born in the shadow of the Pyramids. They claimed that her first name was an anagram for "death" and her last name was "Arab" spelled backwards. Constantly being photographed with snakes, skulls, crystal balls, and opulent accouterments, Theda Bara epitomized evil at its most lavish. Because of her fatal allure for America's husbands and her influence on young women, clergymen across the country regularly denounced her from their pulpits.

After a while, Bara began to demand better roles and succeeded in playing such heroines as Cleopatra (1917), Salome (1918), Carmen (1916), Juliet (1917), Madame DuBarry (1917), and Marguerite Gautier in *Camille* (1918). But her two favorite parts were the staunch Foreign Legion girl in *Under Two Flags* (1916) and the innocent Irish peasant in *Kathleen Mavourneen* (1919). However, her film career ended with the latter, as Irish and Catholic groups protested not only the way Ireland was depicted but also the fact that a Jewish actress had been given the leading role. The film was pulled out of circulation after several bomb threats and movie-theater riots.

Undaunted and unscathed, Bara married successful director Charles Brabin in 1921. The wealthy couple lived well and traveled widely; and when they were at home, Bara's charm as a hostess and her skill as a gourmet cook made their Beverly Hills estate a haven for their friends in the film community. Bara wrote a memoir of her professional experiences entitled "What Women Never Tell," but it was never published.

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[Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

BARACS, KÁROLY (1868–1929), Hungarian communal leader and bibliophile. Baracs, the maternal grandson of Immanuel *Loew, was born in Budapest, where he studied engineering. On the completion of his studies he entered the service of a railway company, eventually becoming manager, and was regarded as an outstanding expert on public transport in the country.

Baracs had broad humanistic interests and his home served as a center for intellectuals and men of the spirit. Before World War I he was one of the founders of the Radical Party in Hungary and an intimate of Count Michael Karolyi, who headed the republican revolution of 1918 and became the first president of the Republic. After World War I he began to interest himself in Jewish communal affairs, serving as president of the Buda Community Synagogue, the oldest in the capital, from 1921 to 1926. He was responsible for the establishment of the Pro Palesztina Szovetsség (the Pro-Palestine Association), the purpose of which was, according to his definition, "to atone for the dissociation of contemporary [Hungarian] Jews from the work of upbuilding the Land of Israel." Through his advocacy, his congregation, unlike others in Budapest, contributed to the Jewish national funds. He engaged in other pro-Zionist activity, although there was no official government sanction for this at the time.

Baracs was also active in other spheres of communal life, particularly higher education, and was a member of the directorate of the Budapest Rabbinical Seminary. He was a noted bibliophile, particularly of the works of Goethe.

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[Baruch Yaron]

BARAITA, BARAITOT (Aram. בָּרַיְתָא, pl. בָּרַיְתוֹת), Aramaic for the Hebrew word *ḥiẓonah* ("external") and an abbreviated form of the phrase *matnita baraita* – "external mishnah," i.e., a tannaitic tradition which is not included in the Mishnah of Rabbi *Judah ha-Nasi (see *Mishnah). The term *baraita* occurs primarily in the Babylonian Talmud, where it is usually used in opposition to the Hebrew term *mishnatenu* or to the parallel Aramaic term *matnitin*, both meaning "our" Mishnah. The content of a given *baraita* may stand in opposition to the content of a parallel mishnah. Alternatively, it may provide additional information which supplements the tradition presented in the mishnah (Ber. 2b, Er. 2b). In this use, the term *baraita* is similar to the related Palestinian term *tosefet* ("addition" – see below). The content of a given *baraita* may in fact be unrelated to that of the mishnah under discussion, merely presenting another tradition for consideration (Ber. 34b). The term is sometimes used as a synonym for the general term *matnita* (Shab. 19b), without being juxtaposed to any particular mishnah at all. This more general sense is particularly characteristic of post-talmudic usage, where the term *baraita* is regularly used to designate any tannaitic source whatsoever – whether quoted in the *Talmudim,* or found in one of the original tannaitic works, like the *Tosefta, the *Sifra, *Sifrei, *Mekhilta, etc. In this sense, the *baraita* is often opposed to later and less authoritative traditions which derive from the amoraic period, which are usually referred to in the Talmud by the term *shemata* (tradition), or more rarely by the term *memra* (statement).

The term *baraita*, then, is used in a number of different ways, both within talmudic literature and in the post-talmudic commentaries. In order to minimize confusion, it will be necessary to clarify not only the meaning of the term itself, along with a number of related terms – *matnita, shemata, memra, tosefet* – but also the nature of the sources to which these terms refer, and particularly the way in which these sources function within the context of the talmudic *sugya* (discussion).

The Baraita as a Literary Source within the Talmudic Sugya

The vast literature of the Babylonian Talmud is made up of many distinct literary units, called *sugyot*. Taken as a whole, the Talmud is structured in the form of an elucidation and elaboration of the Mishnah of Rabbi Judah ha-Nasi, and the individual *sugya* usually takes the form of an extended commentary to, or discussion of, some particular mishnah. While the *sugya* as a finished literary unit usually has the appearance of a continuous and expansive dialectical discussion in Aramaic, one almost always finds embedded within it a number of discrete, relatively terse and well-defined literary sources, usually composed in rabbinic (mishnaic) Hebrew. These literary sources derive from the two primary historical periods of talmudic literature – the earlier tannaitic period (see *Tanna) and the later amoraic period (see *Amora). The Babylonian Talmud regularly distinguishes between its two primary types of literary source and employs certain terms in order to indicate this distinction.

An important terminological distinction is made between *matnita* (= tannaitic source) and *shemata* (= amoraic source). For example, in TB, Niddah 26a we are given a list of five related traditions, all terse and well-defined literary sources composed in identical rabbinic Hebrew. These five traditions are introduced by standard technical formulae, which indicate to which category they belong. The first tradition is introduced by the words *teno rabbanan*, two by the word *tanya*, and the last by the phrase "*teni Rav Ḥiyya*." These four formulae all include a form of the verb "*teni*" – "to repeat," "recite," or "relate" – and they are all understood to indicate tannaitic traditions, or in the words of the Talmud: *matniyata*. Only one of the five is introduced by the formula *amar Rav Yoḥanan* ("Rabbi Johanan said"), and it is therefore to be understood as an amoraic tradition – a *shemata*, or a *memra* (from the verb *amar*, "to say").

The continuation of this passage provides an important insight into the nature of the difference between these two categories. Following these five traditions, the Talmud provides a summary – more of their form than of their content – stating that three (!) of these five traditions are *matniyata*, and two (!) *shemata*. Now since four of the traditions were introduced by tannaitic formula, and only one was presented as an amoraic statement (*shemata*), the Talmud emends the wording of the fifth and final tradition, changing it from *teni Rav Ḥiyya* to *amar Rav Ḥiyya*. The only difference here is the change in the introductory formula from *teni* (= *matnita*) to *amar* (= *shemata*). In his commentary to this passage Rashi explains the difference between these terms: the words *teni Rav Ḥiyya* mean that Rabbi Ḥiyya related or transmitted the following tradition, whereas the wording *amar Rav Ḥiyya* indicates that Rabbi Ḥiyya was speaking in his own name, expressing his own opinion (*memra*), and not repeating an authoritative source (*matnita*).

From this we learn two important things. First, there is often no difference whatsoever between the actual wording of tannaitic and amoraic traditions. Secondly, the primary difference between the meanings of the verbs *teni* and *amar* lies in the fact that the former indicates the transmission of a received tradition, whereas the latter indicates that the rabbi whose name is linked to the tradition is expressing his own opinion and not reporting a received tradition. These two phenomena can, however, lead to certain ambiguities concerning the nature of the talmudic *baraitot*.

Baraitot and Memrot

First of all, the Talmud often introduces a given tradition by the following *double* formula: "Rabbi Abahu (or the name of some other *amora*) said and others report that it was recited as a *matnita*," etc. This formula reflects the first fact mentioned above, namely that there is often no difference between the wording of tannaitic and amoraic traditions. As a result, an identical halakhic tradition may circulate both as a *shemata* in the name of a specific *amora* and at the same time also as a *matnita* – usually transmitted anonymously but sometimes in the name of a specific *tanna*.

Similarly, the use of the verb "*teni*" as the sole criterion for identifying ancient and authoritative tannaitic traditions is complicated by an ambiguity inherent in the meaning of the term as explained by Rashi above. According to Rashi, the verb "*teni*" indicates that a given rabbi is reporting a tradition, whereas the verb "*amar*" indicates that the rabbi is expressing his own opinion. But what happens when the disciples of an *amora* "report" his words – when the *amora*'s "own opinion" becomes a tradition? This situation is reflected in the common talmudic formula in which a form of the verb "*teni*" is used explicitly with regard to an amoraic tradition: *matni la leha shemata* = "they reported the following amoraic tradition." This and other similar formulae reflect the obvious fact that amoraic traditions were also repeated, recited, studied, and transmitted alongside tannaitic traditions within the talmudic academies.

The Amoraic Baraita

When combined, these two phenomena give rise to a particularly difficult issue, namely, the amoraic *baraita*. We frequently find in the Talmud that the verb *teni* is used in association with the name of an *amora*, for example: *teni Rav Yosef*. This specific formula occurs dozens of times in the Babylonian Talmud, and there are many other similar formula. Does this formula intend to introduce an ancient tannaitic tradition, preserved and transmitted in the school of Rabbi Joseph? Or alternatively does it intend to introduce a later post-tannaitic tradition, first formulated and recited within the school of Rabbi Joseph himself, or within the school of one of his teachers? We may still accept Rashi's distinction and assume that the use of the introductory term *teni* serves to designate a "tradition" preserved and transmitted by Rabbi Joseph or by his school, and to distinguish it from the individual opinion of the *amora* himself. It does not, however, provide clear evidence as to the historical roots of that tradition, whether it derives from the tannaitic period, or from the later amoraic period.

The Baraita as a Legal Category

An important distinction emerges from the previous discussion: between the *baraita* as a literary category and the *baraita* as a legal category. Up to this point we have dealt mostly with the *baraita* as a literary phenomenon – a distinct and well-defined source, usually in Hebrew, appearing in the talmudic discussion and introduced by certain standard formulae which indicate that it reports a received tradition. The term is also used in a more specific sense, to designate a tradition deriving from sources of the tannaitic period and hence presumably possessing a greater legal authority than similar sources deriving from the later amoraic period – a *shemata* or *memra*. In order to clarify this point, we must return to our discussion of the role that these sources play in the talmudic *sugya*.

The legal sources which provide the foundation for the talmudic *sugya* can be divided (using standard post-talmudic terminology) into three categories: mishnah, *baraita*, and *memra*. While the sources belonging to all three categories are considered to be authoritative, they are not equally authoritative. A mishnah is usually (but not always) held to be more authoritative than a parallel *baraita*. On the other hand, either a mishnah or a *baraita* – as a tannaitic source – is generally considered more authoritative than any parallel amoraic *memra*. This question of relative authority, however, only becomes relevant when these sources come into conflict with each other. Thus two sources of equal authority (e.g. two *baraitot* or two *memrot*) can be treated as mutually contradictory (*rumya*, *raminhi*) for the purpose of talmudic analysis and interpretation, but one cannot be used to refute the other. A tannaitic source (a mishnah or a *baraita*), however, can be used to refute (*mativ*, *etive*, *tiyuvta*) the *memra* of an *amora*. Thus, in the case where there is no obvious way to resolve a contradiction between a *memra* and an alternative legal source, it becomes crucial to clarify whether that source is in fact a *baraita*, in the legal sense of an authoritative tannaitic source, or whether it is "merely" a *memra*, which the *amora* may dispute (cf. Git. 42b).

It is therefore significant that not all types of *baraitot* seem to possess equal authority in the context of the talmudic *sugyot*, as H. Albeck has shown in his classic study *Meḥkarim ba-Baraita u-va-Tosefta* (1944), pp. 15–60. He especially singled out the *baraitot* associated with the names of *amoraim* mentioned above (and similar groups of *baraitot*), pointing out that they seem to possess little authority in the eyes of some *amoraim*, who felt free to disagree with them.

The Baraita as a Historical Source

Having distinguished between the *baraita* as representing a literary form and the *baraita* as representing a tradition deriving from sources of the tannaitic period, we will now introduce a second distinction – between the *baraita* as a *legal category* and the baraita as an *historical category*. This is an issue which has occupied scholars in recent years, especially Shamma Friedman, who has devoted a number of important studies to it (see Bibliography).

The legal authority of a talmudic *baraita* – the fact that it can be used to refute the *memra* of an *amora* – depends to a large extent on the presumption that the tradition it contains actually derives from the tannaitic period. Does this mean that a *baraita* found in the Babylonian Talmud, which reports the opinion of a rabbi of the tannaitic period and which clearly is accepted by the Talmud as authoritative, can be assumed to reflect the original views of that rabbi as they were first formulated in second century Palestine? The difficulty of this question is compounded by the fact that these talmudic *baraitot* often differ significantly in both form and content from the parallel versions of the same traditions found in earlier Palestinian tannaitic collections, such as the Tosefta, Sifra, Sifrei, etc.

One of the most influential views concerning this issue was elaborated by H. Albeck. Basing himself on the conclusions of his previous work, *Untersuchungen zur Redaction der Mishna* (1923), Albeck assumed that tannaitic sources – once they had received final redactional form – were not changed substantially, either with regard to their form or to their content. Significantly different versions of the same tannaitic halakhic source must therefore reflect ancient parallel traditions which developed independently in different tannaitic schools (see *Mishnah). Given that the form and the content of the *baraitot* in the Babylonian Talmud usually differ from the parallel halakhic sources found, for example, in the Tosefta, he concluded that the Talmud neither knew nor used the Tosefta as a source for its *baraitot*. From this it follows that the Talmud must have had access to alternative collections of tannaitic halakhic sources – all of which were subsequently lost (*Meḥkarim ba-Baraita u-va-Tosefta,* 1944, 89–138).

A radically different understanding has emerged from the recent work of Shamma Friedman. In Friedman's view, "the *baraitot* in the Babylonian Talmud which have parallel versions in the Tosefta do not reflect a different tradition. On the contrary, they are very similar to their parallel texts in the Tosefta in content, order, language, and in structure. The differences are by and large localized, and derive from redactional considerations. In other words, there is no justification for the assumption that the differences in these *baraitot* are ancient, nor that they preserve independent traditions which originated in the tannaitic period. The opposite is the case. They do not present alternative traditions, but rather redactional parallels" (*Tosefta Atiqta*, 78). This position has been substantially confirmed in numerous case studies, carried out both by Friedman and by his students, which have examined in detail the development of individual traditions, tracing the various steps through which original tannaitic traditions passed on the way to their final and often significantly different form as *baraitot* in the Babylonian Talmud sources.

This of course does not mean that the phenomenon of ancient independent traditions is not to be found in many individual cases. But it does mean that this phenomenon is not the only legitimate explanation for the existence parallel tannaitic texts, as Albeck would have us believe. As a result, we may have to reexamine the assertion, put forward by a number of scholars of the last century, that many alternative collections of tannaitic *baraitot* circulated in later talmudic times, since much of the evidence for this assertion is valid only if one accepts Albeck's views regarding this issue. Friedman's approach also has consequences for the historian, who may no longer use talmudic *baraitot* as direct and independent historical evidence for the state of rabbinic law and lore as they existed in second century Palestine, without first examining the redactional history of the tradition included in the *baraita*.

The Development of the Terms Baraita and Tosefet

The *baraita*, both as a literary and as a legal phenomenon, provided the foundation for the development of amoraic halakhic literature, from the very earliest literary levels of the Palestinian and Babylonian *Talmudim* to the very end of the amoraic period. At the same time, it is striking that the term itself only appears in the Babylonian Talmud, the sole exception being the case of the Jerusalem Talmud, Nid. 3:3, 50d. Even in the Babylonian Talmud, it is found almost exclusively in the words of Babylonian amoraim from the fourth generation onwards, as pointed out by Neil Danzig. Danzig suggested that the use of the term *baraita*, meaning "external mishnah," as opposed to the more neutral term *matnita*, meaning "mishnah," reflected the growing establishment of the Mishnah of Rabbi Judah ha-Nasi as the central and uniquely authoritative source of tannaitic *halakhah* in the later Babylonian academies, after an extended transitional period in which the various collections of tannaitic *halakhah* were accepted on a more equal basis. It remains questionable whether this transitional period, documented by J.N. Epstein (*Mavo le-Nusaḥ ha-Mishnah*, 166–352), extended to the fourth generation of Babylonian *amoraim*. Moreover, the distinction between mishnah and *baraita* in the Babylonian Talmud is as often literary as legal, emphasizing the simple fact that a given tradition is part of the Mishnah of Rabbi Judah ha-Nasi – and so provides the literary foundation for a talmudic *sugya* – whereas some other tradition is not part of this foundational literary work. It would seem that the acceptance of the Mishnah of Rabbi Judah ha-Nasi as a unique literary document for the purpose of study preceded its acceptance as a unique legal source of authoritative halakhah by several generations.

Moreover, there may be a connection between the use of the term *baraita* in later Babylonian rabbinic literature and the use of the term *tosefet* ("addition") in earlier Palestinian rabbinic literature. In a number of places, tannaitic sources provide summaries of different categories of traditional study. Mishnah *Nedarim* (4:3), for example, mentions instruction in *mikra* (Bible) alongside instruction in *midrash*, *halakhot*, and *aggadot*. In another passage, Tosefta *Berakhot* (2:12) lists the same four categories of traditional study under two headings: the first category – *mikra* – is connected to the verb *likro* (= "to read"), while the other three (*midrash*, *halakhot*, and *aggadot*) are grouped together under the heading *mishnah* and connected to the verb *lishnot* (= "to recite"). In Palestinian rabbinic sources of the amoraic period (e. g. TJ, Hor. 3 5, 48c; Gen. R. 15, p. 147; Pesikta de-Rav Kahana 27, p. 405; cf. Ex R. 10, p. 225) we find similar lists, with the difference that the terms *tosefet*, *tosefot* have been added to the familiar list of tannaitic terms, *mikra*, *midrash*, *halakhot,* and *aggadot*. What is the significance of the inclusion of the term *tosefet* here, and how does it relate to the term *halakhot*, which was already a member of the original tannaitic list?

An answer to this question, as well as a possible connection to our term *baraita*, can be found in a midrash, which interprets the words of the Song of Songs (6:8): "There are sixty queens … and there is no end to [the number of] handmaidens." The version found in Song of Songs Rabbah (6 [9]:2) interprets the phrase "sixty queens" as a reference to the "sixty tractates of *halakhot.*" It then interprets the second phrase, saying: "there is no end to handmaidens – there is no end to *tosefot.*" When this tradition was restated in later midrashic collections (Num. R. 18:17, Tanḥuma Koraḥ 12), the first interpretation was abbreviated to "sixty tractates" (an obvious reference to the sixty tractates of the Mishnah of Rabbi Judah ha-Nasi); and the second interpretation was reformulated in the following words: "And there is no end to handmaidens – *mishnah ḥiẓonah.*" As mentioned above, *mishnah ḥiẓonah* is the Hebrew translation of *matnita baraita*, and was one of standard ways of referring to *baraitot* in the early post-talmudic period (the period to which these late midrashic collections belong). It would seem therefore that the Palestinian term *halakhot* refers to the Mishnah of Rabbi Judah ha-Nasi, while the term *tosefot* ("additions") refers to that body of supplementary tannaitic *halakhot,* which is commonly referred to in the Babylonian Talmud by the term *baraitot*.

One additional factor may also have influenced the use of the term *baraita* in the Babylonian Talmud in place of the earlier Palestinian term *tosefet*. At some point in the development of the Babylonian talmudic tradition, the term *tosefet* – or more precisely its Aramaic equivalent *tosefta* – came to refer to a particular corpus of supplementary halakhic traditions (Meg. 28b, Kid. 49b, Sanh. 86a, Shavu. 41b), or perhaps even a particular literary work – like our Tosefta (see *Tosefta). As a result it may no longer have been able to serve as a "generic term" – as the name for an entire category of individual literary sources as well as a name for the individual sources themselves.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: B.M. Lewin (ed.), *Iggeret R. Sherira Ga'on* (1921), 6, 27, 34–47; Malachi b. Jacob, *Yad Malakhi* (18562); N. Krochmal, *Moreh Nevukhei ha-Zeman* (1928), ch. 73; idem, in: *He-Ḥalutz*, 3 (1856), 110–31; Weiss, Dor, vol. 2, 239–58; Halevy, Dorot, 2 (1923), 114–52, 162–216; Ch. Albeck, *Meḥkarim ba-Baraita…* (1944); M. Higger, *Oẓar ha-Beraitot* (1948), 9–134; Epstein, Mishnah (1948), 30–63, 171–4, 673–706, 726–803, 1291; Bacher, in: *Yerushalayim*, 10 (1913), 59–82; Bacher, Trad; E.Z. Melamed, in: *Sefer ha-Zikkaron M.Z. Ilan* (1959), 71–84; Neusner, in: PAAJR, 30 (1962), 79–127; **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** Danzig, in: *Sinai*, 85 (1979), 217–24; Sh. Friedman, *Tosefta Atiqta* (2002), idem, in: D. Boyarin (ed.), *Ateret le-Ḥayyim* (2000), 163–201; idem, in: Y. Elman et al. (eds.), *Neti'ot le-David* (2004), 195–274.

[Stephen G. Wald (2nd ed.)]

BARAITA DE-MELEKHET HA-MISHKAN (On the Building of the Tabernacle), ancient collection containing 14 chapters, giving a description of the building of the Tabernacle. The *baraita* is quoted by early authorities, including Hai Gaon, Rashi, the tosafists, and Naḥmanides, under the name *Baraita de-Melekhet ha-Mishkan* or *Mishnat Melekhet ha-Mishkan*. It is written in mishnaic Hebrew and contains practically no later additions. The sages quoted in it are *tannaim*, the latest of them being Judah ha-Nasi and his contemporaries. Extracts from it are cited in the amoraic literature. It was therefore evidently compiled at the same time as the other *beraitot*, i.e., after the close of the Mishnah but before that of the Babylonian Talmud. The chapter arrangement is as follows: chapter 1 – the dimensions of the Tabernacle, its boards, their appearance and arrangement; 2 – the curtains of *tekhelet* (blue), their preparation and the manner in which they were placed over the Tabernacle; 3 – the curtains of goats' skins and the other covers of the Tabernacle – the rams' skins dyed red and the *taḥash* (unidentified animal mentioned in the Bible) skins; 4 – the weaving of the veil and the screen at the entrance; 5 – the court of the Tabernacle; 6 and 7 – the ark of the covenant and the tablets which it contained; 8 – the table and the showbread; 9 and 10 – the candelabrum, its construction and manner of kindling; 11 – the altar of incense and the altar of burnt offerings; 12 – the laver; 13 – the work of the levites in the Tabernacle and the Israelite encampments in the wilderness; 14 – the clouds of glory. The priestly garments are not treated at all. Extracts from *Baraita de-Melekhet ha-Mishkan* are included in the *Baraita of 49 Rules*. Some are even of the opinion that the last two chapters, in which the aggadic element is considerable, originally belonged to the *Baraita of 49 Rules* (L. Gruenhut, *Sefer ha-Likkutim*, 2 (1898), 11–13). The *baraita* was first published in Venice in 1602, and a critical edition was published in 1908 by Meir Ish Shalom (Friedmann), on the basis of various manuscripts and editions, together with an introduction.

[Yitzhak Dov Gilat]

In 1992 Robert Kirschner published a new critical edition of *Baraita de-Melekhet ha-Mishkan,* based on early medieval manuscripts and *genizah* fragments, along with an introduction and translation. He raised a number of new issues and reexamined a number of old ones. The genre to which this work belongs is particularly problematic. On the one hand, it is similar to the literature of the Mishnah, in that it is organized by topic. On the other hand, it is closely tied to the biblical description of the Tabernacle and is concerned with the explication of the biblical text. It is somewhat similar to certain extended passages in tannaitic literature which restate biblical events and institutions. As a whole, it must be viewed as a unique synthesis, or hybrid, of these literary forms. Kirschner also reopened the question of its date of composition. He examined the character of the mishnaic Hebrew in which it is composed, the exegetical terminology it employs, the tradents quoted in it, and compared the text of the work to parallel passages found in rabbinic literature. Kirschner's conclusions confirm the view that the *Baraita de-Melekhet ha-Mishkan* is essentially an authentic work of the tannaitic period.

[Stephen G. Wald (2nd ed.)]

BIBLIOGRAPHY: A. Jellinek (ed.), *Beit ha-Midrash*, 3 (1938^2), xxix–xxx; S. Buber, *Yeri'ot Shelomo* (1896), 15–16; L. Ginzberg (ed.), *Ginzei Schechter*, 1 (1928), 374–83. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** R. Kirschner (ed.), *Baraita de-Melekhet ha-Mishkan* (1992).

BARAITA DE-NIDDAH, ancient work on ritual purity of sectarian character, already known in the early geonic period. It is mentioned in *Sefer ha-Mikẓa'ot* (cited in Aggur, sect. 1, Or Zaru'a esct. 360), and in Naḥmanides' commentary (Gen. 31:35), and is referred to by German-French talmudists of the 13th century, who were probably only indirectly acquainted with it in a fragmentary fashion and were not clearly aware of its sectarian nature. It was published in 1890 by C.M. Horowitz. The *baraita* consists of *aggadah* and *halakhah* concerning the biblical and post-biblical laws of the menstruant woman (*niddah*; Lev. 15:19–33). There is no mention of any Babylonian scholars and the chronology of *tannaim* and *amoraim* is ignored. The tendency of the *baraita* is to oppose the lenient rulings of the school of *Hillel and of R.*Akiva. The account in the Talmud (Er. 13b; TJ, Ber. 1:7, 3b) of a heavenly voice deciding in favor of the Hillelites is rendered in the *baraita* as follows: "Blessed be the strict. Both [Hillel and Shammai] speak the words of the living God; but we must regulate ourselves according to the teachings of the School of Shammai" (Horowitz, p. 21).

The *baraita* lays special stress on the laws of ritual cleanness, particularly with regard to food. B.M. Lewin (*Metivot* (1933), 108–12) points out that the stringencies referred to have no basis in the Talmud, but did exist among Jews in Ereẓ Israel. S. Lieberman, however, maintains that although some of the passages are difficult to understand and were not accepted as *halakhah*, a talmudic basis can be found for them (*ibid.*, addition to paragraph 78, p. 115–8). He is of the opinion that the laws concerning ritual cleanness and uncleanness contained in the *baraita* come from a rabbinic source in Ereẓ Israel and not from the Samaritans or the Sadducees. There appears to have been a section of the community in Ereẓ Israel that laid great stress on the laws of cleanness, as is reflected in Samaritan literature. It is possible that this *baraita* originated within such a framework. However, there may also be Sabaeen influences reflected in it. Thus, Maimonides, who rejects several of the rulings listed in it, describes customs of the late Zoroastrians (Guide 3:47) which bear definite affinities to some customs mentioned in the *baraita* (cf. W.W. Malandra, *An Introduction to Ancient Iranian Religion,* 1986, pp. 173–75). Its exact authorship and date of composition remain uncertain to the present day.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: C.M. Horowitz, *Tosefata Attikata*, 4 and 5 (1890). **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** S. Lieberman, *Shekiin* (1939); A. Aptowitzer, *Meḥkarim be-Sifrut ha-Ge'onim*, (1941), 166; *Sefer ha-Ḥillukim*, ed. M. Margaliot (1938), 135; M. Higger, *Alim* 3:3 (1938), 61–69; Y. Dinari, *Tarbiz* 49 (1980), 302–24; D. Sperber, *Masekhet Derekh Ereẓ Zuta* (1994), 136.

[Michael James Goldman / Daniel Sperber (2nd ed.)]

BARAITA OF 32 RULES, *baraita* giving 32 hermeneutic rules to be used in the aggadic interpretation of Scripture. Rashi makes frequent use of the *Baraita of 32 Rules* in his commentaries on the Bible and Talmud, referring to it by this name or as the *baraita* of Yose b. Eleazar, the Galilean. Until the 19th century it was known only from being quoted in the 14th century *Sefer Keritot*, the methodological work of *Samson b. Isaac of Chinon.

The *baraita* now appears at the beginning of the *Midrash Mishnat R. Eli'ezer* (discovered and published by H.G. Enelow (1933), 10ff.); and at the beginning of *Midrash ha-Gadol* to Genesis (ed. by M. Margaliot (1947), 22ff.). Although ascribed to Yose b. Eleazar, who lived about 150 C.E., many examples of the application of its rules are attributed to later *tannaim* and even to the *amoraim* Johanan, and Yose b. Ḥanina. It is therefore probable that the original *baraita* merely listed the rules, the examples being added later as a kind of *Gemara*. The *Midrash ha-Gadol* version contains the introductory statement, "These are the rules whereby the *aggadah* is to be understood," clearly indicating that these rules were to be applied only to the *aggadah* and not to the *halakhah*. The *baraita* deals mainly with the syntax, style, and subject matter of Scripture, and after each rule gives one or more examples of its application. Although the 13 halakhic rules of R. Ishmael (see *Hermeneutics) are included in the *baraita*, all the examples given are taken from aggadic passages, even Ishmael's rules being applied with less rigor. Under *ribbui* ("addition") for instance, the example given is that the word "and" in Genesis (Gen. 21:1) teaches that all the barren women in the world were blessed with children at the same time as Sarah. The word "also" in "I also saw in my dreams" (Gen. 40:16) teaches that in addition to his own dream the chief baker saw in his dream the interpretation of the chief butler's dream. Some of the rules are almost word games. Number 29 is *gematria* computing the numerical value of words. The numerical value of Eliezer, servant of Abraham, for instance, is 318. Hence, it is inferred that when Abraham went to war with 318 men to save Lot (Gen. 14:14) the reference is to Eliezer only. Number 30 is *atbash*, the substitution of the last letter of the alphabet for the first, of the penultimate letter for the second, etc. Thus לֵב קָמָי (Lev-Kamai; Jer. 51:1) becomes כַּשְׂדִּים (*Kasdim*; Chaldees). Number 31 is *notarikon*, the interpretation of each letter of a word or its breaking up as an anagram or acrostic. Thus אַבְרֵךְ (*avrekh*; "Abrech") applied to Joseph (Gen. 41:43) becomes the two words *av* ("father," in wisdom), and *rakh* ("tender" in years), describing the qualities of Joseph. Lieberman points out that some of these eccentric methods of interpreting texts were common literary devices among the Greeks, and were also used by them and by the rabbis in the interpretation of dreams. Being current literary devices, they were well-known and used by the rabbis both in aggadic interpretation and in finding some support in the biblical text for a decision. They were never used however, to derive halakhic decisions from the text. Lieberman finds support for this view in an anonymous Midrash, appended to the *Baraita of 32 Rules* in the *Midrash ha-Gadol*. Commenting on "For a dream cometh through a multitude of business" (Eccles., 5:2), the author says, "If the contents of dreams, which have no effect, may yield a multitude of interpretations, how much more then should the important contents of the Torah imply many interpretations in every case."

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Zunz, Vortraege, 90; Bacher, Tann, 2 (1890), 293–8; H.L. Strack, *Introduction to the Talmud and Midrash* (1945), 95–98, 289–96; S. Lieberman, *Hellenism in Jewish Palestine* (1950), 68–78.

[Barnet David Klien]

BARAK (Heb. ברק; "lightning"), Israelite military commander during the period of the Judges (Judg. 4–5), son of Abinoam, from Kedesh in Naphtali. It appears that Barak was well-known as a capable military leader before the prophet *Deborah encouraged him to go to battle against King *Jabin of Hazor. For this purpose Barak succeeded in organizing people mainly from his own tribe of Naphtali, along with warriors from the tribe of Zebulun. After mustering his forces on Mount Tabor, he advanced toward the vicinity of the Wadi Kishon, where the battle was waged under his command; in the ensuing battle, the army led by *Sisera, Jabin's military commander, was utterly routed.

There is no biblical datum available as to the nature and activities of Barak either before or after the aforementioned war. He is neither portrayed as endowed with the spirit of the Lord nor described as a judge. Because of a possible similarity in meaning between his name, Barak, and that of Deborah's husband, Lappidoth, some of the medieval commentators identified the two (David Kimḥi and Levi b. Gershom;

cf. *Midrash Yalkut Shofetim*, 42). However, this is not borne out by the context.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: EM, 2 (1965), 363–4 (incl. bibl.); Y. Amit, Judges (1996), 87; for further bibliography see *Deborah.

[Yehoshua M. Grintz]

BARAK, AHARON (1936–), Israeli jurist. Barak was born as Arik Brik in Kaunas (Kovno), Lithuania, where he was raised as a child and survived the horrors of World War II. During the war the Brik family lived in the ghetto. In 1943 his parents arranged for the six-year-old boy to escape the ghetto and stay with a family of Lithuanian farmers until the end of the war, when his family was reunited again. Shortly after the war, the Brik family planned to immigrate to Mandatory Palestine. After a long journey through Poland, Romania, Hungary, and Austria, it settled eventually in Rome, Italy, where Aharon attended formal school for the first time in his life. In 1947 the family finally immigrated to Israel and settled in Jerusalem, where Barak completed his elementary and high school education. While attending the Bet ha-Kerem high school, Barak met his future wife, Elisheva (later deputy president of Israel's National Labor Court). Upon the completion of his high school studies, Barak was selected to do his compulsory military service at the Academic Reserve (a military unit combining university studies with active military duty) and went on to study law, economics, and international relations at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. During his military service, Barak completed a combat officers' course and received the rank of lieutenant. Between the years 1958 and 1963, he completed his LL.B., LL.M. and Ph.D. at the HU, followed by appointments there as lecturer in civil law (1963). In 1968 Barak was appointed associate professor of law and in 1974 full professor. Barak was also awarded the Israel Prize for law in 1974.

In the early 1970s Barak served as legal adviser to the UN Committee on International Trade Law. In 1974 he was appointed dean of the Hebrew University Law Faculty. A year later, however, Barak's career took a sharp turn when he was appointed attorney general and legal advisor to the government of Israel. Not only had Barak assumed public office but he also had to master public and criminal law. During Yitzhak *Rabin's first term as prime minister of Israel (1974–77), Barak was officially involved in several political affairs that turned out to be instrumental in bringing down Rabin's coalition and paving the way for the first transfer of power in Israel's history, in the elections of 1977. Barak had backed a series of investigations on charges of corruption involving the government's candidate for governor of the Bank of Israel, an acting minister, and finally the prime minister himself. When faced with the prospect of criminal charges for maintaining an illegal foreign bank account, Prime Minister Rabin resigned on the eve of the 1977 elections, thus providing the final blow to Labor's chances of retaining power. During that stormy period Barak had introduced into the legal culture the term "Buzaglo Test," a phrase pertaining to the principle of impartial equality before the law for ordinary people and influential officeholders alike.

Barak then served for another year as attorney general under newly elected Prime Minister Menaḥem Begin. During that time he was also a member of the Israeli delegation to the Camp David talks with Egypt in September 1978. Despite his resignation from the office of attorney general upon his return to Israel and his appointment as a justice of the Supreme Court of Israel, during the negotiations on the peace treaty with Egypt in October 1978, he was asked yet again by the government to join the negotiating team and special permission for this purpose was granted by the minister of justice and the president of the Supreme Court. In this role Barak proved to be a key figure in reaching and drafting the peace agreement with Egypt.

As a Supreme Court justice, Barak served on many public committees, the most notable one being the *Kahan Commission created in September 1982 to investigate Israel's involvement in the 1982 massacres at the Sabra and Shatilla refugee camps in Lebanon. The Kahan Commission found that no Israeli was "directly responsible" for the massacre, but determined that Defense Minister Ariel Sharon bore "personal responsibility." It ruled that he was negligent in ignoring the possibility of bloodshed in the camps following the assassination of Lebanese leader and president-elect Bashir Jumayyil on September 14, 1982.

As one of the youngest justices ever named to the Israel Supreme Court, Barak became the most influential figure in Israeli jurisprudence, creating new legal doctrines and becoming the object of praise and attack from different quarters in Israeli society. Barak's contention that every human dilemma can be answered by a legal doctrine led to the development of several such doctrines that gradually expanded the Court's powers of review. One judicial doctrine which played an important role in the expansion of the Court's review was the doctrine of *reasonableness*: In HC 389/80 Barak drew the lines of reasonableness as an independent standard, ruling that an administrative act may be invalidated if it is unreasonable. This legal doctrine was later used to strike down a government decision to appoint to a high post a senior ex-Secret Service officer who had been granted a pardon for his part in a cover-up related to the deliberate killing of two captured terrorists (HC 6163/92). By exercising this measure of reasonableness, the Court also forced the resignation of a cabinet minister who maintained the right to remain silent during a criminal investigation (HC 3094/93).

Barak was the driving force in lowering the standing requirement that served as a barrier preventing citizens from petitioning the High Court of Justice. In the landmark Ressler case (HC 910/86), the Court affirmed the existence of the "public petitioner," providing that whenever a petition raises an issue of constitutional merit, or when there is suspicion of serious executive violations of the principle of the rule of law, *any* person is entitled to bring the petition into court, *regardless* of one's personal standing or interest in the outcome of the litigation. In writing the Court's decision Barak also referred to the legal question of *judicability*, and outlined a legal theory that would haunt him in later years: "…Any [human] action is susceptible of determination by a legal norm, and there is no action to which there is no legal norm determining it."

Barak proved to be the mastermind in a series of decisions in the mid-1980s and early 1990s that redefined the power relations between the branches of government and established the Supreme Court as a key institute of Israeli politics. The initial success, however, brought with it political resentment against the court. Barak became the target of *ad hominem* attacks uniting all forces that resisted limits on political autonomy and the increased involvement of the Supreme Court in public affairs. These attacks intensified after the passage of two Barak-supported basic laws in 1992 that pertained to human rights (Basic Law: Freedom of Occupation and Basic Law: Human Dignity and Freedom). In his academic writings Barak defined this new legislation as a "constitutional revolution," thereby alarming the conservative and religious parties that traditionally resisted the adoption of a formal constitution. Those attacks have intensified following Barak's involvement in two court decisions viewed by many as interference with religious authority: In the Bavli case (HC 1000/92) Barak ruled that the Higher Rabbinical Court acted outside its jurisdiction by not applying a state law giving equal property rights to women and men in a case of divorce. Later, in the Danilowitz case (HC 721/94), Barak sat on the panel that granted the same-sex partner of an El Al male flight attendant the same privileges the company accorded the spouses of its other employees. Knowing that according to seniority, Barak was about to assume the office of president of the Supreme Court, personal attacks against him and against the alleged judicial activism of the Supreme Court became a common feature of Israeli public life, thereby eroding the Court's image as an institution standing over and above everyday political "squabbles." Barak received the appointment as president of the Supreme Court of Israel in 1995. During his term as president, the court turned out to be less active than before, showing more restraint and caution in political matters. Yet Barak was involved in several major decisions, among them the Ka'adan case (HC 6698/95), which accorded Israeli Arabs the same rights accorded to Jews to live on a communal settlement located on state land; the decision to outlaw torture during security-related investigations (HC 5100/94); a decision to release Lebanese detainees imprisoned in Israel as "bargaining chips" for securing the safe return of an Israeli air force navigator (Ron *Arad) captured on a combat mission (FH 7048/97); and redrawing the lines of the security fence in the West Bank (HC 2056/04) by taking the approach that the army's discretion related to lands under "belligerent occupancy" is not unlimited and that the fence's route must balance security considerations against the needs of local residents.

While serving as the president of the Supreme Court and head of the Judiciary, Barak continued to be active in academic writing, publishing numerous books and articles including several volumes in a series of books on "Interpretation in Law." "The Judge in a Democracy" (Heb.) was published in 2004.

Aharon Barak was a member of the Israeli Academy of Sciences and the American Academy of Sciences.

[Menachem Hofnung (2nd ed.)]

BARAK, EHUD (1942–), Israeli military commander and politician; member of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Knessets and prime minister of Israel. Barak was born in Kibbutz *Mishmar ha-Sharon. He joined the IDF in 1959, beginning his military service in the Armored Corps. In the Six-Day War he fought as the commander of a reconnaissance unit and a year after the war received his B.Sc. in physics and mathematics from the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. From 1971 to 1973 he served in the legendary special forces unit at GHQ and was appointed its commander. In May 1972 he commanded the rescue operation to free the passengers of a Sabena plane that had been hijacked by members of Black September and landed at Lydda Airport. In the Yom Kippur War Barak commanded an armored battalion that fought on the southern front in the Sinai. In 1976 he was one of the planners of the Entebbe Operation, which freed the Jewish passengers of an Air France flight hijacked to Uganda, after all the non-Jewish passengers had been released by the hijackers.

Barak was promoted to the rank of major general in 1981 and became head of the Planning Branch of the General Staff. During Operation Peace for Galilee he served as deputy commander of the unit that fought in Baka'a. In 1983 he was appointed head of the Intelligence Branch, and in February 1986 commander of the Central Command. In 1987 he completed a second degree in systems analysis from Stanford University in California and in the same year was appointed deputy chief of staff under Dan *Shomron, serving four years. In 1991 Barak became Israel's 14th chief of staff, serving in that capacity until 1995. Though he did not participate in the Oslo talks, he was reported to have had reservations about the agreement reached with the Palestinians. After the signing of the Declaration of Principles in September 1993, he dealt with the implementation of the security arrangements and the redeployment of the IDF. Before leaving active service he met his Syrian counterpart twice in Washington. By the end of his military service Barak was the most highly decorated officer in the IDF.

After the mandatory six-month cooling-off period, Barak was appointed minister of the interior in *Rabin's government, and after Rabin's assassination was appointed by Shimon *Peres as foreign minister in his government. Barak was elected to the Fourteenth Knesset, and on June 4, 1997, won the Labor primaries for party leadership. In the elections to the Fifteenth Knesset and the premiership in 1999, Barak won a decisive victory over Binyamin *Netanyahu as head of the One Israel list, which included the Labor Party, Gesher, and Meimad. He set up a coalition that included *Meretz, *Shas, the Center Party, Natan *Sharansky's Yisrael be-Aliyah, and the *National Religious Party.

Barak fulfilled his election promise to take the IDF out of Southern Lebanon within a year of being elected prime minister. However, his attempts to reach a permanent settlement with Syria failed. Despite his willingness to make far-reaching concessions to the Palestinians, talks held with Yasir *Arafat under the auspices of President Bill Clinton in Camp David in July 2000 failed, and the second *intifada* broke out in the beginning of October. However, as a result of his willingness to reach an agreement with the Palestinians on the basis of far-reaching territorial concessions, Shas, the NRP, and Yisrael be-Aliyah left the government. Consequently Barak resigned and new elections for the premiership were held in February 2001, with Barak suffering a crushing defeat by Ariel *Sharon. After considering the possibility of joining Sharon's new government, Barak resigned from leadership of the Labor Party and his Knesset seat, deciding to take time out from political activity. In the beginning of 2004 he indicated that he was planning to make a political comeback towards the elections to the Seventeenth Knesset.

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[Susan Hattis Rolef (2nd ed.)]

BAR-AM, MICHA (1930–), Israeli photographer. Born in Berlin, Bar-Am immigrated with his parents to Palestine in 1936. He joined the Haganah and the Palmaḥ, and after the War of Independence became a member of kibbutz Malkiyyah and later of kibbutz Gesher ha-Ziv. Bar-Am began his photographic work with the 1954 archeological expedition to the Judean Desert led by Yigael *Yadin. His next large photographic venture, during the Suez Campaign in 1956, led to his first book of photographs, *Across Sinai.* This was followed by a nine-year engagement as staff photographer with the Israel army weekly *Ba-Maḥaneh.* In 1967 Bar-Am covered the Six-Day War with Cornell *Capa, and later was associated with the prestigious Magnum Agency. From 1968 he was a regular contributor to the *New York Times*. In 1974 Bar-Am embarked on a new phase of work in photography as curator and photo-historian, first at the Israel Museum in Jerusalem, and from 1977 until 1992 with the Tel Aviv Art Museum, where he staunchly promoted Israeli photography. He also established the first photography department at the Israeli Museum. His works are exhibited in various museums, such as the Israel Museum, Tel Aviv Museum, and Museum of Modern Art in New York. In 2003 he was awarded the Israel Prize.

Perhaps Israel's most prominent contemporary photographer, Bar-Am had his pictures praised for values that extended beyond reportage and photojournalism into the world of esthetic journalism. According to one critic, "Bar-Am's bromides transcend the realistic aspect of photography by wrapping the event into a comprehensive esthetic package." Another point of synthesis in Bar-Am's work was related to the particular conditions of his work and existence. The *New York Times* called him "a deeply committed Israeli and a fiercely independent journalist." Bar-Am expressed concern about being pigeonholed as a "combat photographer," being deeply interested in human beings and their behavior. He sought to take photographs that contain all the information related to a certain event but that are also elevated above the event.

Bar-Am was a brilliant student of world photography and succeeded in assimilating its achievements despite his lack of formal photographic education. He created his own unmistakably recognizable personal style. This transmits a strong sense of directness, an intuition for immediacy as well as for formal compositional qualities. His pictures prove that in photography a work of art maintains it umbilical link to its original context.

[Yeshayahu Nir]

BARAM, MOSHE (1911–1986), Israeli politician. Baram was born in Zdolbunov in Russia. As a boy, he joined the *He-Ḥalutz and the Freiheit Dror movement connected to *Po'alei Zion, and immigrated to Palestine in 1931, settling in Jerusalem. Baram was employed as a construction worker and was active in the *Histadrut and the *Haganah. In 1934 he started to work in the *Jewish Agency and in 1938 became a member of the Secretariat of the *Mapai branch in Jerusalem, becoming secretary in 1943. In 1944 he was a delegate to the Fourth Elected Assembly of the *Yishuv*. During the War of Independence he was a member of the Emergency Commission and of Haganah Headquarters in Jerusalem. In 1948 he was appointed secretary-general of the Jerusalem Labor Council and in 1955 was elected to the Jerusalem Municipal Council, serving as chairman of the coalition executive. Baram was first elected to the Fourth Knesset in 1959 and was appointed chairman of the Knesset Labor and Welfare Committee. In the Sixth Knesset he served as chairman of the Coalition Executive, chairman of the Unemployment Insurance Commission, and head of the Jerusalem branch of the Labor Party. In 1974 Baram was appointed minister of labor in Rabin's first government, holding this position until the elections in May 1977. In the government he chaired the Ministerial Committee on Wages and the Inter-Ministerial Committee on Employment. In 1975, despite Histadrut opposition, he introduced the Work Sanctions Bill.

Moshe Baram's eldest son, Uzi *Baram, was a member of the Ninth to Fifteenth Knessets for the Israel Labor Party.

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[Susan Hattis Rolef (2nd ed.)]

BARAM, UZI (1937–), Israeli politician. Member of the Ninth to Fifteenth Knessets. Born in Jerusalem and the son of Moshe *Baram, Uzi Baram studied political science and sociology at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. In 1964–65 he was chairman of the Mapai National Students Union and in 1965 was one of the founders of the Young Guard in Mapai, serving as its secretary general in 1968–70. In 1970–72 Baram was responsible for the emigration of academics from North America in the Jewish Agency offices in New York and in 1972–74 he was chairman of the Future Generation Section in the Jewish Agency. In 1975–77 he was secretary of the Jerusalem Branch of the Labor Party. Baram was first elected to the Knesset in 1977. In the Tenth Knesset he served as chairman of the Knesset Immigration and Absorption Committee, and in the years 1984–89 as secretary general of the Labor Party, fighting for the internal democratization of the Labor Party and the adoption of primaries for the election of its leaders, Knesset list, and candidates for mayor. In 1984 Baram tried to get former President Yitzḥak *Navon to run for the Labor Party leadership against Shimon *Peres, but was unsuccessful. In 1988 he fought against Labor's entry into another National Unity Government under Shamir, believing that under the changed circumstances Labor would suffer ideologically and electorally. Baram, who supported Yitzḥak *Rabin in his leadership contest against Peres, was appointed minister of tourism in the government Rabin formed after the elections. He strongly supported the Oslo Accords. He served briefly as minister of the interior in 1995 but resigned for personal reasons. In the primaries for the Labor list towards the elections to the Fourteenth Knesset, Baram was unexpectedly elected to first place on the list after Shimon Peres. After Peres' defeat in the elections, Baram was one of those who demanded his resignation. He considered running for the party leadership, but finally decided not to and supported Ehud *Barak in the 1997 Labor leadership contest. He was not, however, appointed to a ministerial position in Barak's government. Like many other promising Labor politicians of his generation, Baram became disenchanted with developments in the party and decided to leave active politics towards the elections to the Sixteenth Knesset. Subsequently he was regularly invited by the media to act as a political commentator.

[Susan Hattis Rolef (2nd ed.)]

BARANGA, AUREL (**Leibovici**; 1913–1979), Romanian playwright and poet. Born in Bucharest, Baranga qualified as a physician and first published poems in the avant-garde review *Unu* (1928–32). In 1930–31 he edited *Alge*, a journal that cultivated the absurd. Later he wrote for the left-wing press. After World War II Baranga devoted himself entirely to writing: he became a reporter and wrote poems. When Romanian Nazis were put on trial in Bucharest in 1945, he was among the first to make the Romanian public aware of the full extent of Nazi crimes. His articles on the deportation of Romanian Jews to the Transnistria concentration camps were collected in *Ninge peste Ucraina* (Snow Falls over the Ukraine, 1945, 1946)

It was, however, in the theater that Baranga increasingly displayed his creative talents. From 1947 he wrote many stage successes, some of which were translated into English, French, Russian, and Chinese. Among them are *Iarba rea* (The Ill Weed, 1949), *Mielul turbat* (The Rabid Lamb, 1953), *Reteta fericirii* (Recipe for Happiness, 1957), *Sfantul Mitica Blajinul* (Saint Demeter the Kind-Hearted, 1965), *Opinia publica* (Public Opinion, 1967), *Simfonia patetica* (The Pathetic Symhony, 1969), *Travesti* (The Mask, 1968) and *Farsa infernala* (The Infernal Farce, 1969). These advocate a society based on the author's ethic of humanistic socialism and satirize Romanian inertia, bureaucracy, old-fashioned ideas, and insincerity. *Opinia publica*, which ran for a year in Bucharest, satirized "socialist realism" and parodied the Communist political trial, though it is evident that his satiric plays were written, performed, and published with the consent of the Communist Party, since Baranga was a privileged person. Nevertheless, his plays were popular with Romanian youth. Twice the winner of Romania's state prize for literature, Baranga was assistant director of the Bucharest National Theater, and coeditor of the periodical *Viata Romaneasca* (Romanian Life). In 1968 he published the verse collection *Poezii.* Some plays and verses contain "Jewish" allusions: a character speaks Yiddish, a poem is called *Kadis* (Kaddish), a play contains an allusion to the Six-Day War favorable to Israel.

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[Dora Litany-Littman / Lucian-Zeev Herscovici (2nd ed.)]

BARANOVICHI (Pol., **Baranowicze**), capital of Baranovichi district, Belarus (from 1921–39 in Poland). After Baranovichi became a railroad junction at the end of the 19th century, Jews from the surroundings began to settle there without official permission (see *Russia). In 1897 the Jewish community of Baranovichi, then still a village, numbered 2,171 (total population 4,692). Jewish domicile was authorized in 1903 and the community rapidly expanded. In 1921 there were 6,605 Jews (57.5% of the total population). They were employed in the lumber, resort, and food industries.

After World War I Baranovichi became the center of residence of the *admorim* (ḥasidic rabbis) of the *Koidanovo and *Slonim dynasties. Educational institutions included Hebrew and Yiddish schools and two large yeshivot. Six Yiddish weeklies were published in Baranovichi between 1928 and 1939. The Zionist parties and youth movements and the Bund were very active. A kibbutz training center, Shaḥariyyah, of the He-Ḥalutz movement, was established near the city. In 1931 the Jewish population was 9,680. Jewish communal and cultural activities ceased and the economy was nationalized when Baranovichi became part of the U.S.S.R. in 1939. Jewish party activists and wealthy industrialists and merchants were exiled into the interior of the Soviet Union.

[Yehuda Slutsky]

Holocaust Period

On the eve of the Holocaust, 12,000 Jews lived in Baranovichi. Under Soviet rule (1939–41), Jewish community organizations were disbanded and any kind of political or youth activity was forbidden. Some youth groups organized flight to Vilna, which was then part of Lithuania, and from there reached Palestine. The Hebrew Tarbut school became a Russian institution. A Jewish high school did continue to function, however. In the summer of 1940 Jewish refugees from western Poland who had found refuge in Baranovichi after September 1939 were deported to the Soviet interior. When Germans captured the city on June 27, 1941, 400 Jews were kidnapped, leaving no trace. A *Judenrat was set up, headed by Joshua Izikzon. The community was forced to pay a fine of five kg. of gold, ten kg. of silver, and 1,000,000 rubles. The ghetto was fenced off from the outside on Dec. 12, 1941. The ghetto inhabitants suffered great hardship that winter, although efforts were made to alleviate the hunger. The Jewish doctors and their assistants fought to contain the epidemics. On March 4, 1942, the ghetto was surrounded. In a *Selektion* carried out by the Nazis to separate the "productive" from the "nonproductive", over 3,000 elderly persons, widows, orphans, etc., were taken to trenches prepared in advance and murdered. Resistance groups, organized in the ghetto as early as the spring of 1942, collected arms and sabotaged their places of work. Plans for rebellion were laid, but the uprising never came to pass, partly due to German subterfuge. In the second German *Aktion* on Sept. 22, 1942, about 3,000 persons were murdered. On Dec. 17, 1942, another *Aktion* was carried out, in which more than 3,000 persons were killed near Grabowce. Baranovichi was now declared **judenrein*. At the end of 1942 Jews were already fighting in groups among the partisans. A few survivors from the ghetto were still in some of the forced labor camps in the district, but most of them were liquidated in 1943. On July 8, 1944, when the city was taken by the Soviet forces, about 150 Jews reappeared from hiding in the forests. Later a few score more returned from the U.S.S.R.

[Aharon Weiss]

Postwar Period

In 1954 a monument was erected in the city as a memorial to the Jews murdered by the Nazis. Later it was destroyed and in its place a public latrine was built. The big synagogue was confiscated by the authorities, leaving a small one for the 3,000 Jews (1969 estimate). Most of the Jews emigrated in the 1990s. Societies of emigrants from Baranovichi function in Israel, the U.S.A., Argentina, Chile, and South Africa.

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BARANOWICZ, DAVID ELIEZER (1859–1915), Hebraist. Baranowicz, who was born in Vilna, lived in great poverty. He wrote several books on Hebrew grammar which were well received and published in several editions. He wrote the following books: *Oraḥ Selulah le-Dikduk Sefat Ever* (1883) on Hebrew grammar with an appendix in Yiddish on vocalization; *Luḥot ha-Pe'alim* (1889); *Kunteres Yefalles Nativ* (1909), which is an abridgment of his major unpublished work by the same name containing a critique of the Hebrew grammarian Koestlin's *Sefer ha-Maslul* ("Book of the Path") and of the methods of the ancient Hebrew grammarians; *Derekh Ḥadashah le-Ve'ur Kitvei ha-Kodesh* ("A New Way to Explain the Holy Scripture," 1910), a commentary on the Scriptures based upon a grammatical approach. His best-known works are *Messibbot ha-Shem* ("Rules of the Noun") and *Messibbot ha-Po'al* ("Rules of the Verb") which contain analyses of the Hebrew nouns and verbs (last edition, 1945). He also edited several books of Hebrew grammar. His autobiography was printed in *Ha-Toren* 3 (1915), 226–7.

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BÁRÁNY, ROBERT (1876–1936), Austrian otologist and Nobel Prize winner. Bárány qualified at the University of Vienna in 1900, and for the next five years did research in hospitals in Frankfurt, Heidelberg, and Freiburg, returning to Vienna in 1905. By 1914 his research encompassed all aspects of the physiology and pathology of the inner ear. His greatest innovation in the clinical study of ear diseases was the discovery of a method of examination of each of the two labyrinths separately, using cold and hot water. He was also the first to describe a practical operative procedure for otosclerosis ("hardening of the ear") cases. During World War I Bárány served as a surgeon in the Austrian Army. He was captured by the Russians in 1915. They released him after it became known that he had been awarded the Nobel Prize for medicine in 1914. Bárány was not made a full professor at Vienna because he was a Jew. However, in 1917 he was appointed professor of otology at the University of Uppsala, Sweden. Bárány only began to display interest in Judaism and Jewish questions toward the end of his life, when the Nazis came to power. In his will he left his valuable library to the National Library in Jerusalem. His major works are *Der primaere Wundnaht bei Schussverletzungen des Gehirns* (in: *Wiener klinische Wochenschrift*, 21 (1916)); and *Die Radikaloperation des Ohres ohne Gehoergangplastik bei chronischen Mittelohreiterungen* (1923).

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[Yehiel G. Gumpertz]

BARASCH, JULIUS (Judah; 1815–1863), physician, writer, and communal leader from Walachia, Romania. Barasch, who was born in Brody, began his education in traditional Torah studies, but later came to the ideas of the *Haskalah and studied philosophy in Leipzig and medicine in Berlin. In the period of his studies, he published several articles in German and Hebrew in Jewish journals and became friends with Moritz *Steinschneider. In 1841, after becoming a doctor of medicine, he settled in Bucharest where he practiced. From 1843 he served as a government physician, at first in Calarasi and Craiova and from 1859 in Bucharest. In addition he taught science in several colleges, being the first teacher in this field in Walachia. Barasch did much to popularize science by organizing lectures and courses for the public and publishing textbooks and periodicals on popular topics. His Romanian-language book *Minunile Naturii* ("Natural Wonders," 1 vol., 1850; 3 vols., 1852) and periodical *Isis sau Natura* ("Isis or Nature," 1856–59) were the first of their kind in Romania. In these publications Barasch attempted to formulate a scientific terminology in Romanian. He played a decisive role in spreading Enlightenment (Haskalah) among Bucharest Jewry. Barasch initiated the establishment of the first secular Jewish school in Walachia, which opened in Bucharest in 1851. For a time he served as its principal. He polemicized against Orthodoxy and also against baptism, and advocated a Judaism for every Jew. From his point of view, reform had to be very moderate and mostly esthetic in order to attract wayward Jews to Jewish religious life. Barasch encouraged the founding of the Societatea de Cultura Israelita ("Association for Jewish Culture") in 1862, which he directed. In 1857 he helped to found the first Jewish periodical in Walachia, *Israelitul Roman*, which appeared in Romanian and in French and was established principally to further the cause of Jewish emancipation in Walachia. Barasch saw Hebrew as the unifying bond of the Jewish people and did much to promote Hebrew literature. He conceived the idea of publishing a scientific encyclopedia in Hebrew for East European Jews who were not fluent in West European languages, spreading scientific knowledge and Haskalah ideas among them, but only one volume, on philosophy, was published – *Oẓar Ḥokhmah*, 1856). Barasch wrote on Jewish subjects in German, describing Jewish communities in countries and localities he visited. The accounts are an important source of knowledge of Jewish life in the mid-19th century in the communities concerned and particularly of the history of the Jews in Romania.

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[Eliyahu Feldman / Lucian-Zeev Herscovici (2nd ed.)]

BARASCH, MOSHE (1920–2004), Israeli art scholar. Barasch can be considered the father of art history in Israel, a fact acknowledged by the State in 1996 when it awarded him the first Israel Prize in art history. Born in Czernowitz, he was a child prodigy as a painter and writer. He had his first exhibition of Expressionist paintings in 1933, and in 1935 published his first book, *Die Glaubens schwere Wege*, stating his belief in Judaism and Zionism. During World War II, he joined the Romanian Resistance and later enlisted in the Red Army to fight the Nazis, as well as the Haganah's *Beriḥah organization. Arriving in Israel in 1948, he fought in the War of Independence and published in *Abysmal Reflections* (1948) drawings reflecting his reactions to World War II. In 1956 he began teaching art history at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, and in 1965 inaugurated there a Department of Art History, the first in Israel. He believed that one should be able to teach all periods of art and stressed the importance of a broad knowledge of philosophy and culture in understanding art. He began to publish books on the Renaissance and Crusader Art, and later broadened his scope to include studies on the depiction of God, the iconography of gestures and facial expressions, aesthetics and the theory of color in Renaissance art, the ways that art communicates with the spectator, and the way the mental concept of blindness is imaged in art.

His published works on art history include *Michelangelo* (1961); *The Image of Man in the History of Art* (1967); *Introduction to Renaissance Art* (1968); *Crusader Figural Sculpture in the Holy Land* (1971); *Gestures of Despair in Medieval and Early Renaissance Art* (1976); *Approaches to Art 1750–1950* (1977); *Light and Color in the Italian Renaissance Theory of Art* (1978); *Icon: Studies in the History of an Idea* (1981); *Theories of Art: from Plato to Winckelmann* (1985); *Giotto and the Language of Gesture* (1987); *Modern Theories of Art,* vol. 1 (1990), vol. 2 (1998); *Imago Hominis: Studies in the Language of Art* (1991); *The Language of Art: Studies in Interpretation* (1997); *Das Gottesbild: Studien zur Darstellung des Unsichtbaren* (1998); *Blindness: The History of a Mental Image in Western Thought* (2001).

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[Ziva Amishai-Maisels (2nd ed.)]

BARASH, ASHER (1889–1952), Hebrew writer. Born in Lopatin, Eastern Galicia, at an early age he was already well acquainted with modern Hebrew literature; however, most of his juvenilia was written in Yiddish, the rest in German and Polish. At the age of 16, Barash left home and wandered all over Galicia, returning from time to time to Lvov. This period is reflected in several of his more important works: *Pirkei Rudorfer* ("Rudorfer's Episodes," 1920–27), *Sippurei Rudorfer* ("Rudorfer's Stories," 1936–44), and other autobiographical stories. At that time, Barash began to publish his literary efforts, first in Yiddish and then in Hebrew, the latter in 1910 with a number of Hebrew poems in the second *Me'assef Sifruti*, edited by David Frischmann, and in *Shallekhet*, edited by Gershon Shofman. His first long story, "*Min ha-Migrash*" (1910), also appeared in *Shallekhet*. In 1914, Barash moved to Ereẓ Israel, where he taught, first at the Herzlia secondary school in Tel Aviv and, after World War I, at the Reali high school in Haifa. This period is described in his work *Ke-Ir Neẓurah* ("As a Besieged City," 1944).

After World War II he composed his best works in poetry and prose, wrote criticism, and edited several works. In conjunction with Ya'akov *Rabinowitz, he edited the prose volumes *Hedim*, the *Mizpeh Almanac*, and *Atidot*, a youth journal. He was also active in the organizational work of the Association of Hebrew Writers, and established the bio-bibliographical institute, Genazim, which now bears his name. Barash's works were collected in three volumes (*Kol Kitvei Asher Barash*, 1961^2). In 1931, he wrote *Torat ha-Sifrut* ("Theory of Literature," in two volumes) which was the first attempt in modern Hebrew literature to present the Hebrew reader with a systematic theory of literature.

It is, however, as an author of fiction that Barash left his impact. His works mainly highlight the world he left behind. His description, often touched by nostalgia, is at the same time indicative of the author's awareness that this world must inevitably disintegrate. Barash was also aware of the new life evolving in Ereẓ Israel, and this consciousness he conveyed in three works, *Ke-Ir Neẓurah, Ish u-Veito Nimḥu* ("The Man and His Home Perished," 1933–34), and *Gannanim* ("Gardeners," 1937–38). Among his historical fiction are two stories, "*Mul Sha'ar ha-Shamayim*" ("Facing the Gates of Heaven," 1924) and "*Ha-Nishar be-Toledo*" (1944; "Last in Toledo," in *Israel Argosy*, 8 (1962), 144–71).

Barash's literary works are characterized by a rather personal style, precise language, and a quiet tone tending to simplicity and clear and unsentimental description. He rejected both the traditional style of the school of *Mendele Mokher Seforim and the extreme impressionistic and psychological style of some modernists. These stylistic qualities rapidly won him the title of a cool realist, uninvolved in the world he creates.

Barash's affection for the "good people," who are mostly marginal characters in his stories, was interpreted as an "objective" description of the more pleasant aspects of life. This simplistic and superficial approach to his works, however, ignores the cracks in his seemingly tranquil world through which can be glimpsed the hidden abyss that he keenly sensed. In his essay on Barash (in *Arai va-Keva* (1942), 147–58) Halkin dwells on this hidden but basic aspect in Barash's writing. He points to the strange but consistent contrast between the seemingly realistic tranquility and the knowledge (which Barash may have tried to conceal from himself) that this pleasant existence is but a thin shell protecting the individual from the chaos which threatens to erupt at any moment and engulf him or her.

The early story "*Aḥim*" ("Brothers," 1911) describes two brothers, one anchored in the full life of a traditional Jewish family, and the other living in debauchery and poverty. When engaged on a mission of mercy to his brother's family, the rich brother finds himself strangely jealous of the other's way of life. In his early book, *Temunot mi-Beit Mivshal ha-Shekhar* ("Sketches from the Brewery," 1915–28), considered his best, the theme of the story of "The Burning Bed" sharply offsets the peaceful enterprise at a brewery and hints at the inevitable destruction of this idyllic setting.

In *Ammud ha-Esh* ("The Pillar of Fire," 1936) Barash depicts the contrast between a good, stable, and humdrum provincial life, with its lovable yet ridiculous Zionist activity, and the explosion of the oil well, a pillar of fire. The burning oil well transforms the small town and its industrious life into a hell, simultaneously attractive and repelling, which threatens the sanity of the people. The thematic juxtaposition, found in almost all of Barash's stories, lends them depth and ambiguity. The same is evident in his method of characterization. Some of his characters appear to serve his "healthy" realistic tendencies, while others result from his romantic affinity for the strange, the rare, and the threatening.

Structurally, Barash's stories and novels follow a conservative, ordered, and clear pattern that seems to avoid confusion. Each story opens with a systematic exposition that acquaints the reader with the significance of events and characters. At times, the author introduces an omniscient narrator who defines the characters clearly. The dramatis personae, however, do not conform to this characterization. In the denouement of the plot and events, their deeds and behavior, whether openly or secretly, contradict the authoritative evaluation of the narrator. What at first seemed a simple structure is actually a literary device through which the complexity of the characters, originally imagined to be much more artless, is revealed. Barash tends toward short and limited narratives. This is clearly evident even in his more extensive works which are composed of more or less independent "sketches" or "episodes." *Ke-Ir Neẓurah* is a collection of random contemporary historical fiction, narratives, and personal experiences which are organically disconnected. These portrayals may provide the main outlines of characters and events for a full-length novel, but they cannot sustain its necessary unity and complexity.

The novel *Ahavah Zarah* ("Alien Love," 1930–38) poignantly describes events and experiences characteristic of the problematic coexistence of Jews and non-Jews in a small Galician town. The "grandmother" is undoubtedly one of Barash's best-drawn satirical characters. Barash's simplistic solution to the love conflict of a Jew for a non-Jewish girl introduces a foreign tendentious element into the novel which reduces its tragic significance. Barash thus presents, but does not resolve, the problems in the sphere of human emotions. The girl marries a policeman who is an antisemite; the boy recognizes the evil that is rooted in the non-Jew, even in his own beloved. The solution is ideological and logical, stultifying the human elements in the story and the humanity of the characters.

In *Torat ha-Sifrut*, Barash attempts to guide the "novice poet" and the teacher of literature. His normative approach was undoubtedly useful and served as a guide to the teacher and the student of literature in the technique of writing. Today, however, Barash's dogmatic statements seem old-fashioned and at times even incorrect: they often unnecessarily limit literary concepts and terms. The anthology of Hebrew poetry edited by Barash, *Mivḥar ha-Shirah ha-Ivrit ha-Ḥadashah* (1938), attests to good taste and knowledgeable choice of material and is still a faithful and discerning reflection of the best of Hebrew poetry. In 1969, *Selected Stories of Asher Barash* appeared.

A list of his works translated into English appears in Goell, Bibliography, index.

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[Yosef Ewen]

BARASH, EPHRAIM (1892–1943), head of the Judenrat in Bialystok. Barash, who was born in Volkovysk (then Russian Poland), was active from his youth in communal life, in Jewish self-defense, and the Zionist movement. During World War I he was a refugee in Russia. After the war he formed the municipal council of Volkovysk where he became president of the Jewish Trade Bank, a member of the community council, chairman of the local Zionist organization, and honorary chairman of He-Ḥalutz. In 1934 he settled in Bialystok and became general manager of the Jewish community council. When the Germans captured the town at the end of June 1941, Barash was appointed vice chairman of the Judenrat of which he was the guiding spirit. He represented a continuity of leadership of the Council. He organized ghetto life, established industrial enterprises, and, although well aware of German plans concerning the Jews, believed that the Jews would be spared if they could be employed in work essential to the German war effort, a view shared by Mordecai Chaim Rumkowski in Lodz. Unlike some other Judenrat leaders, including Rumkowski, Barash actively collaborated with the local Jewish fighting organization (led by Mordecai *Tenenbaum), and helped it financially and by providing material for manufacturing arms. Relations, however, broke off before the ghetto uprising in Bialystok. He was in personal contact with some of the Germans, and believed that they would give him ample warning of their intention to destroy – what the Nazis termed *liquidate* – the ghetto, at which time he intended to join the partisans. The Uprising commenced after the large deportations began on August 16, 1943. It took five days to suppress. The ghetto was destroyed on August 21–27, 1943, with the deportation of 25,000 Jews to Treblinka. For a short period of time Barash and his wife along with other Judenrat members and several hundred Jews were put in a small ghetto and from there they were sent to the Majdanek death camp, where he was killed.

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[Nachman Blumental]

BAR-ASHER (Ben Harosh), MOSHE (1939–), Hebrew scholar and linguist. Born in Ksar es-Suk (now Rashidiya), district of Tafilalt in southeast of Morocco, he immigrated to Israel in 1951 in the framework of *Youth Aliyah, studied in the Beiteinu "children's village" in Ra'anana (1951–53) and in Yeshivat ha-Darom, Reḥovot (1953–58), and served in the Israeli Army (1959–62). Bar-Asher received his academic training in Hebrew, linguistics, Bible, and Talmud, at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem (1963–76). He also studied at the Sorbonne and College de France (1967–68) and at Harvard (1977–79). Bar-Asher's major fields of research are Palestinian (esp. Syro-Palestinian) Aramaic, biblical, rabbinic, and modern Hebrew, Qumran texts, and the *sharh* (oral Maghrebian translations of the Bible and liturgical Jewish texts). Teaching at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem since 1964, he was appointed full professor in 1984 and chaired the Department of Hebrew Language (1981–83) and the Institute for Jewish Studies (1983–86). He was elected a member of the Hebrew Academy in 1977 and was appointed its vice president (1987–93) and president (from 1993). He taught as a visiting professor at various universities in France and the U.S. and lectured in many other universities around the world. He is regarded as the leading scholar in rabbinic Hebrew of the last generation and was the adviser of 28 Ph.D. students. He received the Israel Prize in 1993. Among his major publications are *Ha-Surit shel Eretz Israel u-V'ayot Nivḥarot be-Dikdukah* (1977); *La composante hebraïque du judeo-arabe algèrien* (1992); *Masorot u-lshonot shel Yehudei Tzefon Afrikah* (1998; 1999^2); *L'hébreu Mishnique: études linguistiques* (1999); and *Leshon Limmudum le-Rabbi Raphael Berdugo* (3 vols., 2001). A full list of Bar-Asher's works and scientific publications appeared in *Reshimat ha-Pirsumim shel Prof. Moshe Bar-Asher* (ed. S. Elkayam, 1999).

His father R. Abraham b. Harosh (d. 2003. in Jerusalem) was one of the last greatest informants of *sharh* and oral Hebrew and Arabic traditions, some of which are represented in the research of Bar-Asher; others are preserved as recorded materials in the Jewish Oral Traditions Research Center at the Hebrew University.

[Aharon Maman (2nd ed.)]

BARATZ, HERMANN (Hirsch; 1835–1922), jurist and historian born in Dubno, Volhynia. He graduated from the government rabbinical seminary in Zhitomir (1859) and from the law faculty of the University of Kiev (1869), and in 1863 was appointed adviser on Jewish affairs to the governor general of Kiev; from 1871 to 1901 he served as censor of Hebrew books. In 1881, with Max *Mandelstamm, he represented the Jews in the province of Kiev before the commission to investigate the causes of the pogroms in southern Russia. Baratz, who contributed to the Russian Jewish press from its beginnings in 1860, was one of the founders in 1904 of the Kiev branch of the *Society for the Promotion of Culture among the Jews in Russia. He wrote on the history of the Jews in Kiev, and published studies on the history of ancient Russian law; his chief work concerned the influence of the Bible and talmudic sources on ancient Russian literature. Three volumes of his studies were published posthumously by his sons, the first dealing with the Jewish sources of the ancient Russian chronicle *Povest vremyonnykh let* (1922), and the second and third with the Jewish element in ancient Russian literature (1926, 1927).

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[Yehuda Slutsky]

BARATZ, JOSEPH (1890–1968), Zionist labor leader; a founder of the collective settlement movement in Ereẓ Israel. Baratz was born in Kamenets, Ukraine. In Ereẓ Israel, where he settled in 1906, he worked as a laborer. In 1910, he became one of the founders of the first kevuẓah, *Deganyah. He was a leading figure in the *Ha-Po'el ha-Ẓa'ir Party (and later in *Mapai), and opened the founding conference of the *Histadrut in Haifa in 1920. During World War II and the Israel War of Independence, Baratz devoted himself to the welfare needs of the Jewish soldiers in Ereẓ Israel, becoming chairman of the Israel Soldiers' Aid Committee in 1948. The Soldiers' House (Beit ha-Ḥayyal) in Tel Aviv is named for him. He was a member of the First Knesset. His books include *A Village by the Jordan: the Story of Degania* (1954), which appeared in 13 languages; and *Im Ḥayyaleinu* ("With Our Soldiers," 1945). His wife, Miriam (née Ostrovsky), was one of the first settlers of the Second Aliyah, living and working in Deganyah from its founding.

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[Abraham Aharoni]

BARAZANI, ASENATH, daughter of the eminent Rabbi Samuel b. Nethanel ha-Levi of Kurdistan (1560?–1625/1635?). Her father, a scholar and mystic with a large following, aimed to rectify a dearth of educated leaders by building a yeshivah in Mosul, where he hoped to train young men who would become community leaders and scholars. Since he had no sons, he trained his daughter to be a learned scholar of the highest order. Asenath was married to one of her father's finest students, Rabbi Jacob Mizraḥi, who promised her father that she would do no domestic labor and could spend her time as a Torah scholar. R. Mizraḥi, who succeeded Asenath's father as head of the yeshivah, became so involved in his studies that his wife essentially taught the yeshivah students and provided them with rabbinic training. Following her husband's death, the leadership of the yeshivah naturally passed to his widow in a painless transition. Since neither her father nor her husband had been successful fundraisers, the yeshivah was always in financial straits, and Asenath wrote a number of letters requesting funds in which she described the dire situation that had befallen herself and her children. Her home and belongings had been confiscated, as had their clothing and books. She was still teaching Torah, but the debts were adding up and, as a woman, she felt it was inappropriate to travel in search of financial support. In letters addressed to her, one sees the respect and admiration of fellow rabbis from far and near. Her few extant writings demonstrate a complete mastery of Torah, Talmud, Midrash, Kabbalah, and Hebrew, for her letters are lyrical as well as erudite. A recently discovered manuscript provides additional insight into her life, revealing inter alia an attempt to deceive her regarding transmission of contributions intended for her support. Nevertheless, she successfully ran a yeshivah which continued to produce serious scholars, including her son, whom she sent to Baghdad upon request, where he continued the dynasty of rabbinic scholars.

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[Renée Levine Melammed (2nd ed.)]

BARAZANI, MOSHE (1926–1947), Jew condemned to death by the British in Palestine. Barazani was born in Arbel, Syria, and came to Ereẓ Israel with his parents as a child and lived in Jerusalem. He joined Leḥi and was arrested in 1947 when, during a search, a hand grenade was found in his pocket. He was sentenced to death by a military court after a trial lasting less than two hours. Together with Meir *Feinstein, however, he cheated the gallows by taking his own life on the eve of his intended execution.

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BARAZANI, SAMUEL BEN NETHANEL HA-LEVI (1560?–1630?), rabbi and kabbalist. His name derives from the town Barazan in Kurdistan, where he was probably born. His numerous wanderings were apparently the result of the political situation. He maintained yeshivot in Barazan, Akrah, Mosul, and Amadiyah. During his last years, he was the most distinguished scholar of Kurdistan and the acknowledged leader of Kurdistan Jewry. His authority was absolute though he held no official position. He revived the Jewish community of Kurdistan, where his disciples filled positions in many of the important communities. Barazani sent letters of rebuke and of comfort to the communities with the aim of preventing the prevalent religious laxity. He lived in great poverty and want. He was regarded as a saint, and his grave in Amadiyah became a place of pilgrimage. Barazani's books, many of which have been lost, are permeated with kabbalistic themes, and reflect an acquaintance with philosophy. Some of his *piyyutim*, festival prayers, and *reshuyyot* are included in the liturgy of Kurdistan, and some have been published. Among Barazani's works extant in manuscript are *Avnei Zikkaron* of which many copies exist, on the laws of ritual slaughter, *Sefer ha-Iyyun, Sefer Derashot*, and fragments of *Sefer Ḥaruzot*.

His daughter was Asenath *Barazani. The Barazani family included many rabbis of Mosul, other Kurdish towns, and until recently, Baghdad.

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BARBADOS, Carribean island. The uninhabited island of Barbados was visited in 1625 by Captain John Powel, who took possession of it in the name of James I, king of England. The first Jews reportedly arrived by the year 1628. Later on Jews arrived in three waves: (1) 1654 – after the Portuguese retook the province of Pernambuco in Dutch Brazil. The first official warrant of residence given to a Jew was to the physician from Dutch Brazil, Abraham de Mercado, and his son, the sugar production specialist David Raphael de Mercado; (2) 1664 – after the dispersal of the Jewish settlement in Remire on the island of Cayenne–French Guyana; (3) 1674 – when England surrendered Surinam to the Dutch and some Jews chose to leave with the English for Barbados.

In 1654 a Jewish community was founded in the capital Bridgetown and the Nidhei Israel synagogue was established. The Semah David synagogue was established in the second city, Speightown.

Jews, all of Spanish-Portuguese origin, also came from Hamburg and other Hanseatic cities in Germany, and from England, Guadeloupe, and Leghorn.

Jewish exiles from Brazil were needed in Barbados to help transform its lagging economy (its cotton plantations could not compete with the Carolinas; its tobacco was inferior to the product of Virginia) into a sugar-producing center. The Jewish newcomers introduced special modern methods of sugar refining and crystallizing sugar for export. The Jews, being Spanish-speaking, excelled in their commercial exchange with the Spanish colonies, mainly with Jews living in them as *Conversos.

The Jewish success and the support they received from the English governors Francis Lord Willoughby and his brother William Lord Willoughby stirred the envy and enmity of the local English colonists. This prompted the levy of special taxes on the Jews, disallowing them to employ Christians and limiting them to holding only one slave. This meant the Jews could not maintain plantations.

In 1739 the Jews left Speightown after a mob of English colonists attacked and destroyed the Semah David synagogue. As a result, a gradual abandonment of the island by the Jews began, with their new destinations being Nevis, Newport (Rhode Island), or England.

Jewish life was strictly Orthodox and distinguished owing to the prominent Hahams (rabbis) who served there: Eliahu Lopez, who was born in Malaga, Spain, as a Converso (1679); Meir Hacohen Belinfante (d. 1752), of a Dalmatian (Croatian) family; and Rafael Haim Isaac *Carigal from Hebron, who was in Barbados from 1774 to 1777. Jews only received full civil rights in 1820.

Nidhei Israel was finally abandoned in 1928 when the one remaining practicing Jew died. Led by Paul Altman, the synagogue, however, was rededicated by Jews from Trinidad and Eastern Europe, who reached the island in the 1930s. A group of Jews initiated the formation of a Caribbean Jewish Congress.

Israel is represented by its ambassador in Santo Domingo and an honorary consul in Bridgetown, Beny Gilbert. In the early 2000s the Jewish population numbered some 30 families.

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[Mordechai Arbell (2nd ed.)]

BARBARA (**Monique Serf**; 1930–1997), French singer and songwriter. Daughter of an Alsatian Jew, André Serf, and a Jewess of Moldavian descent, Ester Brodsky, Monique Serf was born in Paris and raised in Marseille and Roanne in a state of relative poverty. During World War II, the family had to flee to Southern France and move several times after being denounced as Jews. Back in Paris after the war, the young girl was able to study music. In 1950 she ran away from home and found shelter in Brussells, then Charleroi, where she began singing in a small cabaret, L'etoile du Sud. With some bohemian friends and artists, she took part in the creation of a cabaret in Charleroi, "Le vent vert," but her piano playing and her voice were somewhat diffident and awkward and the audience was unappreciative. She persisted, and her style became more and more personal, and was soon to find a growing audience in various cabarets and concert halls in Paris and Brussels. She began working with France's major songwriters (Régine, Brassens, Georges Moustaki) and popular composers and arrangers like F. Rauber. Her songs were full of intimate childhood memories and uneasy feelings, and her long black clothing and thin silhouette earned her the nickname of "Dame en Noir" (Black Lady). Her relationship with her fans was passionate and immediate, as exemplified by the song "Ma plus belle histoire d'amour, c'est vous" ("You're My Most Beautiful Love Story"), which she would dedicate to her audiences. Often sad, even under a guise of lightness, sometimes humorous but never trivial, her songs ("Goettingen," "L'aigle noir," "Nantes," "Une petite cantate," "Perlimpimpin") deal with the departure of loved ones, the tragedy of incest, the deep, ambiguous mixture of sadness and joy that characterizes childhood. She was a committed supporter of the left-wing politics often associated in the collective memory with President Francois Mitterrand. Towards the end of her career, she became involved in the struggle against AIDS ("Sid'amour a mort"), and when she died of illness in 1997, the general feeling was that an icon of French song, "une grande dame de la chanson française," had disappeared.

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[Dror Franck Sullaper (2nd ed.)]

BARBARIANS, people of the Germanic linguistic group (Vandals, Franks, Goths, Burgundians, Lombards, Angles, and Saxons), of the Indo-Iranian group (Alans and Sarmatians), and the Hunnic peoples who were recruited by, allied to, or invaded the Roman Empire during the fourth, fifth, and sixth centuries C.E. Most of the barbarians were pagans when they entered the empire but were eventually converted to orthodox Christianity. One important exception were the Goths who, when they settled in Italy, Gaul, and Spain were Arian Christians. Even these were eventually converted to orthodox Christianity. During the barbarian invasions the Jews, mostly city dwellers who were outwardly assimilated to their neighbors, no doubt suffered together with the rest of the population. Although no factual record survives, it may be assumed that this contributed to the numerical decline of the once prosperous Jewish communities of the Roman Empire. On the sack of Rome in 455, the Vandals carried off to Africa the spoils of the Temple brought back from Jerusalem by Titus.

When the barbarians entered the Roman Empire, they were profoundly influenced by the Christian-Roman population. In general it can be said that, while the barbarians were pagans, they treated the Jews well, probably better than the vanquished Christians who posed a threat to their power, since a community of interest existed between Jews and barbarians as a result of the opprobrium with which they both were regarded by the orthodox population. The same favorable attitude existed when they adopted Arian Christianity. Once, however, the barbarians became members of the Orthodox church, the position of the Jews rapidly deteriorated. Restrictions were placed upon them, they were persecuted, and they were ultimately faced, especially in Spain, with the choice of conversion, exile, or death. General expulsions were decreed in Gaul in 626, in Burgundy about the same time, and in Lombardy in 661. More is known of the long attempt of the Visigothic kings of Spain to suppress Judaism from 613 onward. In this the Jews suffered equally with all those minorities who were not Orthodox Christians.

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BARBASH, SAMUEL (c. 1850–1921), banker, leader of Ḥovevei Zion and of political Zionism in Russia. Barbash was born in Podolia. In the early 1880s he moved to Odessa, where he established a large bank, heading it until the Russian Revolution of 1917. He was one of the two guarantors to the Russian government for the legalization of the *Odessa Committee, the center of the Ḥovevei Zion movement, and served as its treasurer throughout the committee's existence. He was a member of the board of directors of the *Jewish Colonial Trust in its first years and its representative in Russia. He was active in many economic spheres affecting Zionism. Throughout his life he supported Hebrew cultural and literary projects.

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[Getzel Kressel]

BARBASTRO, city in northern Aragon, Spain. Ramón Berenguer IV, count of Barcelona, conferred an estate upon a Jew named Zecri of Barbastro in 1144 as a reward for his services. In 1179 the bishop of Huesca granted Benjamin Abenbitals and Joseph b. Solomon permission to erect shops near the cathedral. Toward the middle of the 13th century the Jews occupied the Zuda, the citadel of Barbastro, which became the Jewish quarter. The charter of privileges granted to them in 1273 allowed them to request the bailiff to execute informers (*malshinim*) and prosecute Jews of dissolute morals. During the 13th–14th centuries the community of Barbastro, with a population of 200–300 Jews, was one of the important Aragonese communities of the group following the leading Jewish centers in Saragossa, Calatayud, and Huesca.

In 1285 Pedro II endorsed new communal tax regulations. The Jews of Barbastro paid for the right to maintain a bureau in which the promissory notes for loans were drawn up. In 1330 Alfonso IV acceded to the request of the community to abrogate his instruction that a Christian burgher should be appointed to administer Jewish communal affairs, and endorsed the continuation of the former administrative system. The circumstances of the community were so straitened at this period that a special levy imposed by the king did not amount to more than 20 Jaca *sólidos*. In 1363, however, a levy of 500 Jaca *sólidos* was imposed by Pedro IV to meet the cost of the war with Castile. In 1383 the king renewed the privilege of the Barbastro community prohibiting apostates from entering the Jewish quarter and preaching missionary sermons there, while Jews could not be compelled to enter into religious disputations with Christians.

During the massacres of 1391 the Jews of Barbastro took refuge in the citadel, which was subjected to a siege and on August 18, King John I instructed the local authorities to take measures against the culprits. The Jews of Barbastro suffered little compared to other communities. The community evidently ceased to exist after the disputation of *Tortosa and as a result of the pressure exerted by the Dominican preacher Vicente *Ferrer. In 1415 Benedict XIII ordered the synagogue to be converted into a church, known as the hermitage of San Salvador, because all the Jews in the city had become baptized and left the faith. It remained, however, a *Converso center. Many Conversos lived near the plaza del Mercado.

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[Haim Beinart / Yom Tov Assis (2nd ed.)]

BARBIE, NIKOLAUS (“**Klaus**”), **TRIAL OF**, trial in Lyons, France, of SS Hauptsturmfuehrer (captain) Klaus Barbie (b. 1913). Known as “the Butcher of Lyons” for his wartime activities in France, Barbie joined the Nazi Party in 1932 and in 1935 became the personal adjutant to the head of the local Nazi Party office in Trier. In late September 1935 he also joined the SS, working in the SD (Security Service) main office and then as a specialist in the Duesseldorf region. On April 20, 1940, he was made an SS second lieutenant (Untersturmfuehrer). On May 29, 1940, shortly after the fall of the Netherlands. Barbie was assigned to the “culture” section of the SD in Amsterdam. His job was to monitor anti-Nazi tendencies in the fields of science, education, religion, sport, entertainment, and propaganda. In November of that year he was promoted to SS first lieutenant (Obersturmfuehrer); exactly two years later he would reach the rank of Hauptsturmfuehrer. During the disturbances in Amsterdam in February 1941, Barbie had acid thrown into his face by the Jewish owners of the Koko ice cream parlor. In reprisal over four hundred young Jewish men were arrested and sent to Mauthausen, where most of them perished.

Barbie was made the head of the Gestapo (KDS) in Lyons in November 1942 and remained in that post for nearly two years. To foil the Resistance, Barbie ordered that raids be conducted against arbitrary targets as well as places suspected of underground activity. His work was characterized by a combination of guile and cruelty. He was apparently responsible for the arrest of René Hardy, a resistance leader. Twice tried after the war, Hardy was found innocent of charges that he had divulged the names of French underground leaders to Barbie. Nevertheless, shortly after Hardy was interrogated, Barbie arrested Jean Moulin, Charles de Gaulle’s representative in southern France. Moulin had unified the major undergrounds and resistance movements under the National Resistance Council, which was founded on May 27, 1943. During the course of Barbie’s interrogation, Moulin was brutally tortured, but apparently gave away nothing before he died. Barbie was involved in the deportation of at least 842 other people from Lyons and its environs. Half of them belonged to the Resistance, and half of them were Jews. He also personally shot a number of persons and was responsible for the death of others from the villages of St. Rambert-en-Bugey, Evosges, Nivollet-Montgriffen, the Montluc prison in Lyons, and other places.

Perhaps his most ignominious act was the seizure and deportation of 41 children and five women who were found hiding in Izieu, a village about 44 miles (70 km.) east of Lyons on April 6, 1944. They were sent to Auschwitz on August 11, 1944. Barbie also was responsible for the deportation of 85 Jews taken in a raid on the headquarters of the Union Générale des Israélites de France (UGIF), on February 9, 1943, in Lyons.

In the spring of 1947, Barbie began working for the Counter Intelligence Corps of the U.S. Army in Germany. He became such a valuable informant that his superiors protected him from French attempts to extradite him and helped him escape to Bolivia. Arriving in Bolivia in 1951, he assumed the alias Klaus Altmann, eventually becoming an important advisor to several Bolivian governments. Barbie was tried in absentia in France in 1952 and in 1954. In the first trial he was charged with atrocities committed in the Jura region against the civilian population and the underground. In the second trial he was charged with committing a massacre at St. Genis-Laval and numerous shootings at the Montluc prison in Lyons. Both trials led to his conviction and sentences of death. In 1971 Barbie was found in La Paz, Bolivia, by Beate and Serge *Klarsfeld, French hunters of Nazis. It was not until 1983, however, following repeated appeals by the French, that he was expelled from Bolivia and brought to France for trial.

Barbie was charged with the raid on the UGIF office and the deportation of the Jews from Izieu, two acts for which he had not been previously tried. Coming under the rubric of “crimes against humanity,” these acts were not subject to the statute of limitation in France. The main proceedings against Barbie took place between May 11 and July 4, 1987. The trial aroused a great deal of interest in France and the rest of the world. Many Frenchmen had mixed feelings about the trial or opposed it. Some Jews thought it might arouse antisemitism or become a forum for the denial of the Holocaust. Extreme right-wingers actually advanced the claim that Barbie’s behavior was no worse than that of the Allies, who had bombed German cities and caused the death of civilians. Some feared it would raise the question again of events surrounding the death of Jean Moulin and of French collaboration with the Nazis.

Barbie himself, after making an early appearance in the courtroom, refused to be present for most of the trial. He was found guilty on July 4, 1987, and given the maximum penalty under French law, life imprisonment. He died in 1991.

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[Robert Rozette]

BARBY, MEIR BEN SAUL (1729?–1789), rabbi of Pressburg. Barby took his name from his birthplace, Barby, a small town near Halberstadt. He studied under Ẓevi Hirsch b. Naphtali Herz Bialeh (Ḥarif) of Halberstadt and Jacob Poppers, rabbi of Frankfurt. On his return from Frankfurt, he was appointed *dayyan* of Halberstadt, was rabbi of Halle for a year, and was then appointed rabbi of Pressburg in 1763. In Pressburg he established a large yeshivah. Barby issued many community *takkanot*, some of them designed to prevent laxity in Jewish life – such as frequenting the theater and card playing. A vehement opponent of the *Shabbateans, he excommunicated one of their adherents, Nathan Erholz, and dismissed him from the post of rabbi of Stampen. In 1771 he was a candidate for the vacant post of rabbi of Frankfurt, but was not elected. He was in halakhic correspondence with many prominent scholars, including Ezekiel *Landau, Isaiah *Berlin, and Meir Posner, and he gave approbations to many works. Aside from his Torah erudition, Barby had a good knowledge of medicine and music. Though he opposed the publication of his responsa, many of his novellae are cited in the works of his contemporaries. His only published work is *Ḥiddushei Hilkhot Maharam Barby* (2 vols., Dyhrenfurth-Prague, 1786–92).

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[Itzhak Alfassi]

BARCELONA, Mediterranean port in Catalonia, northeast Spain, seat of one of the oldest Jewish communities in the country. Amram *Gaon sent his version of the prayer book to "the scholars of Barcelona." In 876/7 a Jew named Judah (Judacot) was the intermediary between the city and the emperor Charles the Bald. Tenth- and eleventh-century sources mention Jews owning land in and around the city. The prominence of Jews in Barcelona is suggested by the statement of an Arabic chronicler that there were as many Jews as Christians in the city, but a list of 1079 records only 60 Jewish names. The book of *Usatges* ("Custumal") of Barcelona (1053–71) defines the Jews' legal status. Jewish ownership of real estate continued: the site of the ancient Jewish cemetery is still known as Montjuich. A number of Jewish tombstones have been preserved. From the end of the 11th century the Jews lived in a special quarter in the heart of the old city, near the main gate and not far from the harbor. The area known as Call, the name of the Jewish quarter throughout Catalonia, is still echoed in the names of some of its streets that contain the word, such as Carrer del Call. (The word *call* derives from the Latin *callum*). Barcelona's Jews were subject to the jurisdiction of the counts of Barcelona. The forms of contract used by Jews there from an early date formed the basis of the *Sefer ha-Shetarot* of *Judah b. Barzillai al-Bargeloni, written at the beginning of the 12th century. In the first half of the 11th century, some Barcelonan Jews were minters, and coins have been found bearing the name of the Jewish goldsmith who minted them. In 1104, four Jews of Barcelona received the monopoly to repatriate Muslim prisoners of war to southern Spain. Shortly afterward, *Abraham b. Ḥiyya was using his mathematical knowledge in the service of the king of Aragon and the counts of Barcelona, possibly assisting them to apportion territories conquered from the Muslims. Abraham's role in the transmission of Greco-Arabic culture to the Jews north of the Pyrenees who did not know Arabic was crucial. His encyclopedic works in Hebrew presented the scientific and philosophical legacy that was available in Arabic to the Jews of Christian Europe. It was probably due to his residence in Barcelona, a city that was for a very brief period under Muslim rule, but otherwise the most important city in Christian Spain in the early stages of the *Reconquista*, that Abraham b. Hiyya was so appreciative of the need to disseminate in Hebrew the treasures of the Greco-Arabic world. The Jewish community reached the peak of its prestige in the 13th century, when the Crown of Aragon, under James I, doubled the size of its territories. Besides the important members of the community who served the kings and counts, the community had very distinguished scholars who were among its political, financial, religious, and intellectual leaders.

Communal Life

Documents of the second half of the 11th century contain the first mention of *nesi'im* ("princes"; see *nasi) of the house of Sheshet (see Sheshet b. Isaac *Benveniste), who served the counts as suppliers of capital, advisers on Muslim affairs, Arab secretaries, and negotiators. From the middle of the 12th century the counts would frequently appoint Jews also as bailiffs (*baile*) of the treasury; some of these were also members of the Sheshet family. Christian anti-Jewish propaganda in Barcelona meanwhile increased. In 1263 a public *disputation was held at Barcelona in which *Naḥmanides confronted Pablo *Christiani in the presence of James I of Aragon. The bailiff and mintmaster of Barcelona at the time was Benveniste de Porta, the last Jew to hold this office. In 1283, as a result of the French invasion following the conquest of Sicily by Pedro I, "the Great," the Catalan noblemen, joined by their Aragonese and Valencian counterparts, forced Pedro to give up his Jewish civil servants who had occupied numerous positions throughout the Kingdom of Aragon. The Jews were subsequently replaced by Christian aristocrats and burghers and Jews from families whose ancestors had formerly acquired wealth in the service of the counts now turned to commerce and moneylending. Many of them returned to the communal political arena and aspired to hold important positions in the community leadership. However, learned Jews such as Judah *Bonsenyor continued to perform literary services for the sovereign. In 1294 Jaime II gave him the monopoly on all Hebrew and Arabic documents drawn up in the territory of Barcelona. By the beginning of the 13th century, a number of Jewish merchants and financiers had become sufficiently influential to displace the *nesi'im* in the conduct of communal affairs. In 1241, James I granted the Barcelona's Jewish community a constitution to be administered by a group of *ne'emanim* (*secretarii*, or "administrative officers") – all drawn from among the wealthy, who were empowered to enforce discipline in religious and social matters and to try monetary suits. James further extended the powers of these officials in 1272. The class struggle within the Jewish community that erupted in 1263 in Saragossa and spread throughout the communities in the Kingdom of Aragon did not greatly affect the political regime in Barcelona. Nevertheless, one of the institutions that served as the community's parliament, the Council of Thirty or *Eẓat ha-Sheloshim*, was established on the model of the municipal Council of the Hundred or Concell de Trente. Solomon b. Abraham *Adret was now the leading halakhic authority and public figure in Barcelona, a position he enjoyed for about 50 years. Under his guidance, the Barcelonan Jewish community became foremost in Spain in scholarship, wealth, and public esteem. He and his sons were among the seven *ne'emanim*, and he must have favored the new constitution. The *ne'emanim* did not admit to their number either intellectuals whose beliefs were suspect or shopkeepers and artisans. When the controversy over the study of sciences and philosophy took place in the years 1303–5 at the end of Adret's life, the intellectuals of Barcelona did not therefore dare to voice their opinions. In 1305, Adret prohibited, under ban, youth under 25 years of age from studying sciences and philosophy (except medicine): this provision was also signed by the *ne'emanim* and the 30 members of the Community Council.

A third constitution was adopted in 1327, by which time the community had been augmented, in 1306, by 60 families of French exiles. The privileges, such as exemption from taxes, enjoyed by Jews close to the court, were now abolished, and, alongside the body of *ne'emanim*, legal status was accorded to the "Council of Thirty," an institution that had begun to develop early in the 14th century. The new regulations helped to strengthen the governing body. Several Spanish Jewish communities used this constitution as a model. *Berurei averot* ("magistrates for misdemeanors") were appointed for the first time in 1338 to punish offenders against religion and the accepted code of conduct. In the following year *berurei tevi'ot* ("magistrates for claims") were elected to try monetary suits. The communal jurisdiction of Barcelona, which at times acted on behalf of all the communities of the Crown of Aragon, that is, Catalonia, Aragon, Valencia, Majorca, and Roussillon, extended to several communities, both small and large, which were included in its *collecta*. The *collecta* was an inter-communal organization originally created to facilitate the collection of the royal taxes but subsequently served other purposes as well. The *collecta* of Barcelona was headed by the community of Barcelona and included the communities of Tarragona, Montblanch, Villafranca, and Cervera. The other Catalan *collectas* were those of Gerona-Besalú, Léida (Lleida), and Tortosa. A nationwide body, consisting of seven members acting on behalf of Catalan Jewry, operated under the leadership of the community of Barcelona.

The community of Barcelona, called *aljama* as in the rest of the peninsula, had a number of institutions that were found in most communities throughout the medieval Jewish world. It had several synagogues, some of which had special characteristics. The *sinagoga mayor* was the Great Synagogue that was visited by James I during the *Barcelona Disputation. This synagogue has recently been restored. Another synagogue was the *sinagoga de les dones* (The Ladies' Synagogue), probably so called because it had special sections for women. The *sinagoga de los franceses* (The Synagogue of the French) was founded by the 60 Jewish families that were absorbed in Barcelona after the expulsion of 1306. The Jewish cemetery was situated on Montjuich (the Mountain of the Jews), where some tombstones with Hebrew inscriptions were found. An interesting inscription was discovered in a building in the *call* indicating that it was donated by the famous Rabbi Samuel ha-Sardi, probably to serve as a *talmud torah*.

The community suffered severely during the *Black Death of 1348. Most of the "thirty" and the *ne'emanim* perished in the plague, and the Jewish quarter was attacked by the mob. Despite protection extended by the municipality, several Jews were killed. In December 1354, delegates for the communities of Catalonia and the province of Valencia convened in Barcelona with the intention of establishing a national roof organization for the Jewish communities of the kingdom in order to rehabilitate them after the devastations of the plague. In the second half of the century R. Nissim *Gerondi restored the yeshivah of Barcelona to its former preeminence. Among his disciples were R. *Isaac b. Sheshet and R. Ḥasdai *Crescas, both members of old, esteemed Barcelonan families who took part in the community administration after the late 1360s.

Economic Life

The Jews of Barcelona owned extensive property in the city and its surroundings. In the 13th century they held quite a substantial part of the real estate in the region. This property was mostly in the hands of the wealthy class. The Jews were mainly occupied as artisans and merchants, some of them engaging in overseas trade. They played an important role in maritime trade thanks to their international connections with Jewish merchants throughout the Mediterranean basin, their easy communication in Hebrew, which was universally used by Jews, and their ability to have partners, agents, and hosts in many localities. They overcame some of the difficulties that Christian and Muslim merchants encountered in trade between their two worlds. Sources from the *Archivo Capitular* of Barcelona show the extent of the participation of the Jews of the city in the trade between Catalonia and Muslim countries in the eastern Mediterranean. The Catalans spared no effort in putting an end to the predominance of Jewish merchants from Barcelona in trade with Muslim countries. They turned to the law prohibiting trade of certain merchandise with the Muslims. When this failed they used the Papal Inquisition to make trade with the east risky and costly. Many Jews returning from the east found themselves arrested and charged as soon as they landed in Barcelona. The king yielded to the demands of the Christian merchants of Barcelona and practically put an end to the commercial activities of the Jews overseas, particularly in Egypt and Syria. By the beginning of the 14th century Jews no longer played an important role in the trade with Muslims. The elimination of Jewish competition in maritime trade was considered a vital goal that was finally achieved. In another field of economic activity where there was much criticism of the Jews but no alternative was found, the Jewish moneylenders continued their credit transactions.

Most of the Jews in Barcelona were engaged in crafts and other professions. We know that the Jewish bookbinders of Barcelona had their own confraternity. There were also some professionals, such as physicians, translators, and interpreters.

The Decline

Around 1367 the Jews were charged with desecrating the *Host, several community leaders being among the accused. Three Jews were put to death, and for three days the entire community, men, women, and children, were detained in the synagogue without food. Since they did not confess, the king ordered their release. However, Nissim Gerondi, Isaac b. Sheshet, Ḥasdai Crescas, and several other dignitaries were imprisoned for a brief period.

The community gradually recovered after these misfortunes. Jewish goldsmiths, physicians, and merchants were again employed at court. After Isaac b. Sheshet's departure from Barcelona and Nissim Gerondi's death, Ḥasdai Crescas was almost the sole remaining notable; he led the community for about 20 years. The main element in the Barcelona community was now the artisans – weavers, dyers, tailors, shoemakers, carpenters, blacksmiths, and coral-workers. These were organized into confraternities and now demanded their share in the communal administration. After the long period in which the ruling oligarchy had been exercising their authority to their own advantage, the 1327 charter was abolished by royal edict in 1386. A new charter was approved by which representatives of the two lower estates, the merchants and artisans, shared in the administration.

During the persecutions of 1391, the city fathers and even the artisans of Barcelona tried to protect the Jews of the city, but without success. The violence in Barcelona was instigated by a band of Castilians, who had taken part in the massacres in Seville and Valencia and arrived in Barcelona by boat. News of the onslaught on the Jewish quarter in Majorca set off the attack on Saturday, August 5. About 100 Jews were killed and a similar number sought refuge in the "New Castle" in the newer and second Jewish quarter. The gate of the *call* and the notarial archives were set on fire and looting continued throughout that day and night. The Castilians were arrested and ten were sentenced to the gallows. The following Monday, however, the "little people" (*populus minutus*), mostly dock workers and fishermen, broke down the prison doors and stormed the castle. Many Jews were killed. At the same time, serfs from the surrounding countryside attacked the city, burned the court records of the bailiff, seized the fortress of the royal vicar, and gave the Jews who had taken refuge there the alternative of death or conversion. The plundering and looting continued throughout that week. Altogether about 400 Jews were killed; the rest were converted. Only a few of them (including Ḥasdai Crescas, whose son, newly married, was among the martyrs) escaped to the territories owned by the nobility or to North Africa. At the end of the year John I condemned 26 of the rioters to death but acquitted the rest. In 1393 John took measures to rehabilitate the Jewish community in Barcelona. He allotted the Jews a new residential quarter and ordered the return of the old cemetery. All their former privileges were restored and a tax exemption was granted for a certain period, as well as a moratorium on debts. Ḥasdai was authorized to transfer Jews from other places to resettle Barcelona, but only a few were willing to move. The project failed. Reestablishment of a Jewish community in Barcelona was finally prohibited in 1401 by Martin I in response to the request of the burghers. Thus the Jewish community of Barcelona ceased to exist a hundred years before the expulsion.

The Conversos

While Jews no longer resided in the city, the *Conversos, those forcibly converted during the massacres, continued to live there. The renewed prosperity of Barcelona during the 15th century should be credited in part to the Conversos, who developed wide-ranging commercial and industrial activities. Despite protests by the city fathers, in 1486 Ferdinand decided to introduce the Inquisition on the Castilian model in Barcelona. At the outset of the discussions on procedure the Conversos began to withdraw their deposits from the municipal bank and to leave the city. The most prosperous merchants fled, credit and commerce declined, the artisans suffered, and economic disaster threatened. The inquisitors entered Barcelona in July 1487. Some ships with refugees on board were detained in the harbor. Subsequently several high-ranking officials of Converso descent were charged with observing Jewish religious rites and put to death. In 1492 many of the Jews expelled from Aragon embarked from Barcelona on their way abroad.

20th Century

At the beginning of the 20th century a few Jewish peddlers from Morocco and Turkey settled in Barcelona. After Salonika came under Greek rule in 1912 and the announcement by the Spanish government of its willingness to encourage settlement of Sephardi Jews on its territory (1931), Jews from Turkey, Greece, and other Balkan countries migrated to Barcelona. Other Jews arrived from Poland during World War I, followed by immigrants from North Africa, and by artisans – tailors, cobblers, and hatmakers – from Poland and Romania. There were over 100 Jews in Barcelona in 1918, while in 1932 the figure rose to more than 3,000, mostly of Sephardi origin. After 1933 some German Jews established ribbon, leather, and candy industries. By 1935 Barcelonan Jewry numbered over 5,000, the Sephardim by now being a minority. During the Spanish Civil War (1936–39), many left for France and Palestine. Some of the German Jews left the city after the Republican defeat in 1939, but during and after World War II Barcelona served as a center for refugees, maintained by the *American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee, and others returned to resettle.

The Barcelonan community, consisting of approximately 3,000 people in 1968 and 3,500 in 2000, is the best organized in Spain. The communal organization unites both Sephardi and Ashkenazi synagogues. There is also a community center, which includes a rabbinical office and cultural center. The community runs a Jewish day school and Chabad is active in the city. Youth activities include summer camps and a Maccabi movement. An old-age home supported by Jewish agencies outside Spain is maintained. The University of Barcelona offers courses in Jewish studies. Together with leaders of the Madrid community, Barcelona community heads were received in 1965 by General Franco, the first meeting between a Spanish head of state and Jewish leaders since 1492.

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[Zvi Avneri and Haim Beinart / Yom Tov Assis (2nd ed.)]

BARCELONA, DISPUTATION OF, religious disputation between Jews and Christians in 1263. The apostate Paulus [Pablo] *Christiani proposed to King James I of Aragon that a formal public religious disputation on the fundamentals of faith should be held between him and R. Moses b. Naḥman (*Naḥmanides) whom he had already encountered in *Gerona. The disputation took place with the support of the ecclesiastical authorities and the generals of the Dominican and Franciscan orders, while the king presided over a number of sessions and took an active part in the disputation. The Dominicans *Raymond de Peñaforte, Raymond *Martini, and Arnold de Segarra, and the general of the Franciscan order in the kingdom, Peter de Janua, were among the Christian disputants. The single representative for the Jewish side was Naḥmanides. The four sessions of the disputation took place on July 20, 27, 30, and 31, 1263 (according to another calculation, July 20, 23, 26, and 27). Naḥmanides was guaranteed complete freedom of speech in the debate; he took full advantage of the opportunity thus afforded and spoke with remarkable frankness. Two accounts of the disputation, one in Hebrew written by Naḥmanides and a shorter one in Latin, are the main sources for the history of this important episode in Judeo-Christian polemics. According to both sources the initiative for the disputation and its agenda were imposed by the Christian side, although the Hebrew account tries to suggest a greater involvement of Naḥmanides in finalizing the items to be discussed. The initiative in the debate remained on the Christian side throughout.

Basing himself on the Talmud as a whole, and in particular on the aggadic and homiletical passages, the Christian contestant sought to prove three points: that the Messiah had already appeared; that he was "both human and divine," and had died to atone for the sins of mankind; and that, in consequence, the precepts of Judaism had lost their validity. Against this Naḥmanides argued that the literal meaning of the passages quoted from the Talmud do not admit this christological interpretation. On the question of *aggadah* he claimed that the homiletical passages in the Talmud are not obligatory for Jews. Rabbis and eminent scholars, such as Yitzhak Baer, H.H. Ben-Sasson, and Martin Cohen maintained that Naḥmanides' claim was purely political, put forward in a disputation that had been imposed on him, so that he even had to use arguments in which he did not believe in order to overcome the Christian attack. Other scholars, such as Cecil Roth and Robert Chazan, expressed a more moderate opinion. Chavel, H. Maccoby, and B. Septimus suggested that Naḥmanides' view was fully compatible with a well-established Jewish tradition. Marvin Fox argues that this latter attitude is based on a complete misunderstanding of Naḥmanides' views and beliefs as they are found so clearly throughout his commentary on the Torah and that Nahmanides' view follows a Jewish tradition that, though paying full respect to the midrashic commentaries, does not accept them as necessarily binding, and avows that the main issue between Judaism and Christianity does not depend on belief in the Messiah. Naḥmanides even went on to attack the illogicality in Christian dogma concerning the nature of the Divinity. Some of his utterances hint at the future destruction of Christendom. He referred slightingly to the fate of Jesus, who was persecuted in his own lifetime and hid from his pursuers. Rome, which had been a mighty empire before Jesus lived, declined after adopting Christianity, "and now the servants of Muhammad have a greater realm than they." Naḥmanides also made the point that "from the time of Jesus until the present the world has been filled with violence and injustice, and the Christians have shed more blood than all other peoples." He similarly attacked the whole concept of the combination of human and divine attributes in Jesus.

A number of ecclesiastics who saw the turn the disputation was taking urged that it should be ended as speedily as possible. It was, therefore, never formally concluded, but interrupted. According to the Latin record of the proceedings, the disputation ended because Naḥmanides fled prematurely from the city. In fact, however, he stayed on in Barcelona for over a week after the disputation had been suspended in order to be present in the synagogue on the following Sabbath when a conversionist sermon was to be delivered. The king himself attended the synagogue in state and gave an address, an event without medieval precedent. Naḥmanides was permitted to reply on this occasion. The following day, after receipt of a gift of 300 *sólidos* from the king, he returned home.

The disputation had far-reaching consequences. It prompted the Dominican Raymond Martini to devise a better method of providing christological interpretations to the *aggadah*. In 1280 Martini concluded his book *Pugio Fidei* (Paris, 1651), and henceforward it was used indiscriminately by every Christian controversialist wishing to invalidate Judaism. The king cooperated with missionary activities throughout the realm and the Jews were forced to listen to the sermons preached by the Dominican friars. An order was issued by the latter between August 26 and 29 directing the Jews to erase from their copies of the Talmud any passages vilifying Jesus and Mary. Failure to do so was punishable by a fine, and books which had not been censored as required would be burned. The *Mishneh Torah* of *Maimonides was also condemned to be burned because of the references to Jesus in the chapter on the laws of kingship at the end of the work. Subsequently, the bishop of Gerona obtained a copy of Naḥmanides' own account of the disputation. Perhaps through his agency, proceedings were then instituted against Naḥmanides in 1265 before the court of the Inquisition on the charge that he had blasphemed Jesus. James' intention to sentence him to two years' banishment and to condemn his work on the disputation to be burned, evidently did not satisfy the Dominicans. He thereupon ordered the case to be tried before him personally, intending to adjourn it until the fanaticism had abated. The militant Christian religious mendicant orders acted as the instrument of the church in its war on Judaism. It was at the request of the friars that Pope Clement IV ordered the archbishop of Tarragona to collect all the Jewish books in the Kingdom of Aragon and surrender them to the Dominicans and Franciscans for examination; Paulus Christiani was recommended as a trustworthy and able assistant for this task. The bull *Turbato Corde*, also issued by Clement, became the basis of the Inquisition policy for prosecuting suspected Judaizers (see papal *bulls), and may also be regarded as an outcome of the disputation. The inference drawn by Naḥmanides is self-evident: he left Spain for Ereẓ Israel, arriving there in 1267. Judeo-Christian polemics continued in Barcelona in the days of *Adret, Nahmanides' outstanding disciple. On the Christian side Martini and Ramon Lull participated in the debates that took place in a more private forum. The use of Jewish classical texts by Paulus in his confrontation with the foremost rabbinic authority in Spain was an innovation in Judeo-Christian polemics. The Barcelona Disputation was the first arena where Paulus Christiani was able to try out his new technique of missionizing and where Naḥmanides provided Jewish counterarguments to the newly formulated Christian claims. While the Disputation may have been a great achievement for Paulus Christiani in his innovative use of rabbinic sources in Christian missionary efforts, for Naḥmanides it represented an additional example of the wise and courageous leadership which he offered his people.

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[Haim Beinart / Yom Tov Assis (2nd ed.)]

BARCINSKY (Barczinsky), HENRYK (Henoch; 1896–1941?), painter and graphic artist. Barcinsky was born in Lodz, Poland. As a child, he received a traditional Jewish education and prior to World War I attended a private art school in Łodz. In 1915–16 he studied at Henryk Glitzenstein's studio in Warsaw. As a teenager, he became close to the circles of young Jewish writers and artists who made it their aim to develop "contemporary national art." These ideas were a formative influence on the development of Barcinsky's national and artistic *Weltanschauung*, and the artist maintained close ties with this environment all through his life. In 1918, he participated in the exhibition in Białystok organized by the Artistic Section of the local Kultur-Liga. In 1919, in Łodz, he joined the "Yung Yiddish" modernist group and published his drawings in its anthologies. In the same year, he moved to Dresden, where he attended the Academy of Arts. In 1924, upon completing his studies at the Academy, he traveled around Spain and then settled in Berlin. He joined Elsa Lasker-Schüeler's group, which brought together German-Jewish intellectuals and cultural figures. In the 1920s, he participated in a number of exhibitions in Berlin and Dresden. Living in Germany, he never broke ties with Poland and regularly sent his works to be shown at exhibitions there. In 1933, when Hitler came to power, Barcinsky returned to Poland and settled in Łodz. In 1934, the Jewish Society for the Encouragement of Artists organized his solo exhibition in Warsaw, in the Jewish community building. Barcinsky is one of the most remarkable and original representatives of expressionism in Polish art. He drew his themes from the Jewish life around him, as well as from Jewish folklore. When German occupation troops entered Poland and were approaching Łodz, Barcinsky fled to Tomaszow in the hope of finding refuge with friends there. After 1941, no trace of him remained..

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[Hillel Kazovsky (2nd ed.)]

BARD, BASIL JOSEPH ASHER (1914–2002), English lawyer and chemist. Bard studied chemistry at the Royal College of Science and also became a barrister. During World War II he worked in the legal departments of various government ministries dealing with the production and supply of explosives and aircraft. In 1950 he entered the government National Research Development Corporation and successively served as commercial manager, technical director, executive director, and chief executive and was appointed its managing director in 1971. Bard became the first chairman of the British branch of the Licensing Executives Society and served on a number of government committees. Bard was actively interested in Jewish communal and Zionist affairs. From 1977 to 1981 he was chairman of the Birmingham Mint.

[Samuel Aaron Miller]

BARDACH, ISRAEL (Isaac ben Ḥayyim Moses; c. late 18th century), Hebrew grammarian. Bardach, who lived in Lithuania, is known as the author of *Ta'amei Torah* (Vilna, 1822), a book on the accents (cantillations) of the Torah which was published by his brother Meir Bardach. The second part of this work contains a treatise on Hebrew grammar. In the introduction to *Ta'amei Torah*, Bardach mentions that he had also written commentaries on the *Idra Rabba* (of the *Zohar), on the Babylonian and Jerusalem Talmuds, and on the Shulḥan Arukh. However, the existence of all of these is unknown.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Benjacob, Oẓar, 211, no. 122.

BARDAKI, ISAIAH BEN ISSACHAR BER (1790–1862), Polish rabbi and later head of the Jerusalem community. Bardaki was born in Pinsk and settled in Ereẓ Israel in 1810, after the death of his first wife. In 1823 he married the daughter of R. *Israel b. Samuel of Shklov who mentions Bardaki with great affection. This marriage assured him of a leading position in the growing Ashkenazi community of Jerusalem. Upon the death of his father-in-law, he became head of the community. Wherever he went he was accompanied by his own interpreter and his personal attendant. Bardaki greatly strengthened the community, although he was opposed to all modern trends. Several buildings adjoining the Or ha-Ḥayyim Yeshivah were constructed under his auspices and the compound was named after him Ḥaẓar Rabbi Yeshayahu. He was a vice consul of Austria (a post of great importance in the *capitulations regime prevailing in Jerusalem), and received the title of *ḥakham bashi* ("chief rabbi"). Several of his works are extant in manuscript.

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[Itzhak Alfassi]

BARDANASHVILI, JOSEF (1948–), Israeli composer. Born in Batumi, Georgia, Bardanashvili studied at the Music Academy in Tbilisi under Alexander Shaverzashvili, where he graduated with a Ph.D. in composition in 1976. He was the director of the Batumi College (1986–91) and cultural vice minister of Adjaria (1993–94). He settled in Israel in 1995 and was composer-in-residence of the Israel Sinfonette Orchestra of Ra'anannah from 1996 to 1999. He taught at Camera Obscura College in 1998–99, at the Rubin Academy of Music, Tel Aviv, in 1998–2000, and at the Bar-Ilan University and Sapir Academy College. He served as musical director of the Tel Aviv Biennale for Contemporary Music in 2002 and 2004.

Bardanashvili composed the first Georgian rock-opera, *Alternative* (1976), and rock-ballet, *Tutor* (1982). Among his other works are three operas, *Moving Stars* (1982), *Eva* (1998), and *A Journey to the End of the Millennium* (2004); two ballets (1972, 1991); two symphonies (1980, 2001); concertos for guitar, flute, piano, and violin; a triptych for voices and orchestra, *Children of God*, with texts from the Talmud, Koran, New Testament, and Book of Psalms (1997); *Time to Love* with texts from the Song of Songs, the Evangelists, Samuel ha-Nagid, and Nahapet Kuchak (1999); string quartets, quintets, piano trios, piano sonatas, choir music, and music for over 20 films and 40 theater productions. Having been influenced by Schnittke's polistylistic music and Kancheli's music, Bardanashvili was one of the first postmodern composers in the former Soviet Union to build his compositions on Georgian folklore and the music of Caucasian Jews.

Bardanashvili's compositions have been successfully performed all over the world by famous soloists, conductors, and orchestras such as the Israel Philharmonic, the St. Petersburg Marinsky Theater, the Berliner Symphoniker, Jerusalem Symphony, Dochnanyi (Hungary), and festivals in Israel and abroad. Among his honors are the title of Honored Artist of Georgia (1988), the Paliashvili Award (1997), the AKUM Composer Prize (1998), the AKUM Prize for Lifetime Achievement (2002), the Margalit Prize (1999) for incidental music for the *Dybbuk*, the Israeli Prime Minister's Award (2000), and Israel Theater Music Oscar (2003).

[Dushan Mihakek (2nd ed.)]

BAR-DAROMA (Schermeister), ḤAYYIM ZE'EV (1892–1970), Israeli geographer. Bar-Daroma was born on a farm near Volkovysk, Poland, and in his youth studied in the famous Lithuanian yeshivot of Mir and Slobodka, secretly acquiring at the same time a knowledge of Russian and secular subjects.

In 1911 he joined his parents who had settled in the ICA settlement of Sejera (see *Ilaniyyah) and later moved to Petaḥ Tikvah. In 1918 he moved to Jerusalem where he adopted the name of Bar-Daroma and was one of the first students of the Hebrew University, studying among other subjects the geophysical history of Ereẓ Israel, geology, and archaeology. After receiving his M.A. in 1938, he proceeded to the United States where he continued his education at Dropsie College, receiving his doctorate in 1942.

Returning to Israel in 1946, he engaged in teaching until ill health forced him to relinquish it in 1951. Thereafter he devoted himself to research in the geography of Ereẓ Israel and published articles on topical subjects and literary criticism.

His first major work on the geography of Ereẓ Israel, *Ha-Negev*, was published in 1935. A physical geographical study of the area from Beersheba to the Suez Canal and the Red Sea, which according to Bar-Daroma was mistakenly called Sinai, this book won him the Bialik Prize from the City of Tel Aviv in 1936. In the same year his book *Jerusalem*, on the topography of the Old City, was published. His most important work, *Ve-Zeh Gevul ha-Areẓ* (1958), was awarded the Rabbi Ouziel Prize of the City of Jerusalem in 1959 and the Ramat Gan literary prize.

BARDEJOV (Hg. **Bartfa**; Ger. **Bartfeldt**), town in Slovakia, on the eastern Polish border. The first Jews probably appeared in Bardejov in the 13th century, after the Tartar invasion, when the Hungarian king Bela IV invited foreigners to settle in the devastated country. The Jews engaged in trade and established inns along the Tokay (Hungary)–Brody (Poland) highway. Jews again appeared in the town in the 18th century, and with them Ḥasidism and the *Halberstam (Sanz) dynasty. Several Halberstams served as local rabbis. In 1808 the Hevra Kaddisha (burial society) was founded and in 1830 the Great Synagogue was built. In all, there were five synagogues in Bardejov. Jews continued to engage in the export of wine to Poland as a principal occupation and Jewish enterprise helped develop Bardejov as a fashionable health resort in the early 19th century. Two printing shops published Hebrew books. Jews from Bardejov participated in the First Zionist Congress on 1897 and the *Mizrachi Zionist religious movement became a strong force in the town.

The Jewish population numbered approximately 300 in Bardejov and its surroundings in 1848, 181 in the town itself in 1851, 480 in 1862, 1,710 in 1900 (of whom, in 1901, 220 owned businesses, 24 kept taverns, and 89 worked as artisans), and 2,264 in 1930. Most of the local Jews were deported by the Germans to the Lublin area of Poland on May 15–17, 1942.

After the war Bardejov became a rehabilitation center for Jewish survivors from the concentration camps and a transit center for "illegal" immigration to Palestine. (See *Beriḥah). In 1947, 384 Jews lived in the town, including 79 children. Antisemitism was still rife and Jews were attacked in June 1947 without being protected by the police. In 1965 only one Jewish family remained. Ritual objects from Bardejov are preserved in the Divrei Ḥayyim synagogue in Jerusalem, named in honor of R. Ḥayyim *Halberstam, the founder of the Sanz ḥasidic dynasty.

The New York filmmaker Jack Gurfein, a native of Bardejov, produced a film on the Holocaust in his town called *The Journey Back*. In 2003 a volunteer group of architects from Israel restored a part of the former Jewish quarter of Bardejov, including the Great Synagogue.

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[Yeshayahu Jellinek (2nd ed.)]

BARDIN, SHLOMO (1898–1976), educator. Bardin was born Shlomo Bardinstein in Zhitomir, Ukraine, and emigrated to Palestine in 1918. After working as an administrative assistant at the Hebrew Secondary School in Haifa, he left to study at the University of Berlin in 1923 and University College in London in 1925. Returning to Haifa in 1926, Bardin taught at the Hebrew Boarding School before setting off for New York City and earning his M.A. at Columbia University's Teachers College in 1930 and his Ph.D. in 1932. In 1933, he returned to Haifa to establish the Haifa Technical Institute, to which he added the Haifa Nautical School in 1938. In 1939, he went back to the United States, where he remained when World War II broke out. He was naturalized as an American citizen in 1943. He was appointed concurrent director of the Youth Department of Hadassah and the newly established American Zionist Youth Commission (1939), under whose auspices he founded a summer leadership-training program for young adults in 1941. Located in Amherst, New Hampshire, the summer institute was an innovative leadership program styled on the kibbutz model; in addition to daily classes and study sessions, he instituted gardening and physical labor. Shabbat was the centerpiece of the week, celebrated in song, drama, pageantry, and egalitarian services. In 1943, Bardin moved the program to the Poconos, naming it the Brandeis Camp Institute in honor of the recently deceased Supreme Court justice, whose philosophy of American patriotism combined with the commitment to Judaism and Zionism Bardin espoused. Bardin recast his own definition of Zionism from physical relocation to a Jewish homeland to a return to "the spiritual center of one's mind." Bardin expanded his summer operations to comprise a western camp in the Simi Valley near Los Angeles (1947) and a southern camp in North Carolina (1949). He soon took the camps out of the Zionist fold and established a separate camp organization that attracted young people from the entire spectrum of Reform, Conservative, and Orthodox Judaism and gave them, as Bardin promised, "an experience that will last a lifetime." In 1951, he moved to Los Angeles and began transforming the west coast camp into an experiential educational center that comprised a summer camp program for youth and weekend institutes for young adults, couples, and families during the rest of the year. Enriched by the contribution of Hollywood writers and producers, the programming at the Brandeis Camp Institute in southern California became a model for Jewish educators everywhere. In 1974, Boston Hebrew College honored him with its Philip W. Lown distinguished service award. Bardin wrote two books, *Pioneer Youth in Palestine* (1932) and *Jews and the Sea* (1943). In 1977, the name of the institute in southern California was officially changed to the Brandeis-Bardin Institute, honoring its founder. It is now the largest Jewish institutional landholding outside of the State of Israel and features year round educational activities for Jews of all ages and all levels of learning and observance.

WEBSITE: www.americansforjews.org.

[Bezalel Gordon (2nd ed.)]

BAREKHI NAFSHI (Heb. בָּרְכִי נַפְשִׁי; "Bless the Lord, O my soul"), initial words of Psalm 104. The central theme of this psalm is the glorification of God as the Creator of the universe, the majesty and beauty of which testify to the wisdom of the Master of all creatures. This psalm is regarded as one of the loftiest and most beautiful examples of ancient Hebrew poetry and a magnificent expression of monotheism. According to traditional Ashkenazi custom, this psalm is recited in private, on the afternoons of the Sabbaths between Sukkot and Passover, together with the 15 "Psalms of Ascent" (120–134). The reason for this custom may well be the analogy of this psalm with the account of creation given in Genesis and read on the Sabbath following the Sukkot festival (*Shabbat Bereshit*). After Passover the recitation of *Pirkei *Avot* replaces that of the Psalms. The praise of the Creator and the creation is also the reason why Psalm 104 is recited on New Moons after the morning service (and in the Sephardi rite also before the evening service).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Baer S., Seder, 266 ff.; Eisenstein, Dinim, 56.

BAREKHU (Heb. בָּרְכוּ), opening word of the call to worship by the *sheli'aḥ ẓibbur* at the formal beginning of the daily morning and evening services. The full invocation is *Barekhu et Adonai ha-mevorakh* ("Bless ye the Lord who is [to be] blessed"). The congregation responds *Barukh Adonai ha-mevorakh le-olam va-ed* ("Blessed be the Lord who is [to be] blessed for ever and ever"). "Bless," in this context, is the equivalent of "praise." *Barekhu* is also recited by the person who is called up to the Torah reading and is followed by the same congregational response. In the morning and evening services *Barekhu* also serves to introduce the reading of the *Shema*; this accounts for the absence of *Barekhu* before the **Minḥah* service which lacks the *Shema. Barekhu* is considered to be one of the *devarim she-bi-kedushah* (lit. "holy things") and may only be recited in the presence of a quorum of at least ten grown male Jews (*minyan*; Sof. 10: 7; Sh. Ar. OḤ 55:1). The invocation *Barekhu* possibly originated in the time of Ezra, as might have the practice of standing at *Barekhu*; compare with Nehemiah (9:5) "Then the Levites… said, 'Stand up [cf. the practice of standing at *Barekhu*] and bless the Lord your God from everlasting to everlasting and let them say: Blessed be Thy glorious Name, that is exalted above all blessing and praise.'" A shorter formula, *Barekhu et Adonai*, occurs in Psalms 134:1–2 and 135:19. In the opinion of R. Akiva, the liturgical invocation, in accordance with scriptural precedent, should consist simply of *Barekhu et Adonai*, whereas the formula *Barekhu et Adonai ha-mevorakh* was advocated by his contemporary, R. Ishmael (Ber. 7:3). The latter formula was preferred by most of the *amoraim* (Bet. 50a; TJ, Ber. 7:4, 11c), and became standard. There is evidence that in the early period *Barukh Adonai ha-mevorakh*… was the response to *Barekhu* only in the Torah reading, while different responses were used for *Barekhu* as the invocation to worship. These were *Barukh Shem kevod malkhuto le-olam va-ed* ("Blessed be His Name, whose glorious kingdom is for ever and ever"), the standard response when the Divine Name was mentioned in the Temple of Jerusalem; and *Yehe Shemeih rabba mevarakh le-alam u-le-almei almayya* ("Let His great Name be blessed for ever and to all eternity"; Sif. Deut. 306, ed. by M. Friedmann (1864), 132b). In the course of time, however, *Barukh Shem kevod*… became the response to the *Shema* only: *Yehe Shemeih rabba*… was reserved for the *Kaddish*; and *Barukh Adonai ha-mevorakh*… became the exclusive response to *Barekhu*. At one time *Barekhu* was also used as a summons to recite Grace after Meals, but in the amoraic period, it was felt that this second-person form of address removed the leader from group participation and the invitation was standardized to *Nevarekh* ("Let us bless"; Ber. 7:3 and 49b–50a; TJ, Ber. 7:2–3, 11b–c; Tosef. Ber. 5:18). This objection, however, did not apply to *Barekhu* in the synagogue. The Reader may employ the "you" form but only when inviting the congregation to join him in prayer. Even then, he repeats the congregational response, thus associating himself with the praise of God. The Sephardi rite, as well as some ḥasidic congregations, retained the paradoxical practice (Sof. 10:7) of reciting *Barekhu* at the conclusion of the daily morning and evening services when there is no Torah reading. The custom accommodates worshipers who arrive too late to hear *Barekhu* at the opening of the services.

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[Herman Kieval]

BARENBOIM, DANIEL (1942–), Israeli pianist and conductor. Born in Buenos Aires to parents of Jewish Russian descent, Barenboim started piano lessons at the age of five with his mother, and then with his father, who remained his only other teacher. He gave his first public recital at the age of seven. Further education included Markevich's conducting classes in Salzburg (1954), and studies in Paris and Rome. Barenboim settled in Israel in 1952. Following his British and American debuts (1955, 1957), he toured widely and soon became known as one of the most versatile pianists of his generation. He first conducted in Israel (1962), and from 1965 was active as conductor and soloist with the English Chamber Orchestra. In 1967 Barenboim married the cellist Jacqueline *du Pré in Jerusalem. They performed and recorded together in the coming years until her career was tragically cut short by multiple sclerosis.

Following his debut as conductor with the New Philharmonia Orchestra (London, 1967), Barenboim was in demand by all the leading European and American symphony orchestras. He conducted opera for the first time at the Edinburgh Festival in 1973, and from 1981 was a regular visitor at the Wagner Bayreuth Festival. He was music director of the Orchestre National de Paris (1975–1989), the Chicago SO (1991), and the Deutsche Staatsoper Berlin (1992).

In 2000 the Staatskapelle Berlin appointed him chief conductor for life. He works on a regular basis with the Berlin and the Vienna Philharmonics. Barenboim has always been active as a chamber musician, performing with, among others, *Perlman, *Zukerman, and singer Fischer-Dieskau. His numerous recordings include the complete Beethoven sonatas and piano concertos and the Mozart concerti. As a conductor, he has been most successful with scores from the Romantic era. He also championed contemporary works, and in recent years moved into popular and crossover repertory, such as Argentine tango. He provoked an outcry in Israel by defying the country's ban on Wagner, playing the Prelude from *Tristan und Isolde* with the Berlin Staatskapelle as an encore in concert at the Israel Festival (2001). He has been a prominent advocate of peace in the Middle East. In the early 1990s, he met the Palestinian-born writer and Columbia University professor Edward Said, who shared his vision of peaceful coexistence in the area. This led to Barenboim's first concert on the West Bank, a piano recital at Bir Zeit University. Barenboim and Said established a foundation that promotes music and co-operation through projects targeted at young Arabs and Israelis. They jointly received Spain's Prince of Asturias Concord Prize (2002). Among Barenboim's other honors are the Tolerance Prize (2002) and in 2004 the Buber-Rosenzweig Medal, the Wolf Prize for the Arts, and the Haviva Reik Peace Award. A new version of Barenboim's autobiography, *A Life in Music*, was published in 2002, as was his book with Said, *Parallels and Paradoxes: Explorations in Music and Society*.

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[Naama Ramot (2nd ed.)]

BARGAS, ABRAHAM DE (c. 1740), Spanish Marrano author and physician. After escaping from Spain, Bargas settled first in France, where he was personal physician to the duke of Gramont, and later in Italy, where he became physician to the Leghorn Jewish community. There he composed a volume of ethical discourses on the Bible, *Pensamientos sagrados y educaciones morales…* (Florence, 1749). He also wrote an account of the earthquake of 1742, *Fiel relación de los terremotos…* (Leghorn, 1742), and translated into Spanish the order of service for the fast-day instituted to commemorate that event: *Traducción de la oración del ayuno y de los temblores de tierra…* (Pisa, 1746). He wrote some occasional poems, among them *El Casto Niceto* (Leghorn, n.d.).

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[Cecil Roth]

BAR GIORA, SIMEON, Jewish military leader in the war against Rome (66–70 C.E.). Simeon was born, according to Josephus, in *Gerasa, a large Hellenistic city in Transjordan, where the Jews lived in peace with the city's non-Jewish population. Some scholars, however, identify his birthplace with the village of Jerash in the neighborhood of Hartuv (Press, Ereẓ, 1 (1951^2), 174, s.v. *Geresh*), others with Kefar Jorish near Shechem on the grounds that Simeon's activity began in its vicinity, i.e., in the province of Acrabatene. Since the word *giora* means proselyte in Aramaic, many scholars hold that his father was a convert to Judaism. The main source of information about Simeon is Josephus who is to be treated with circumspection, especially where an appraisal of the man and his activities are concerned, since Josephus entertained feelings of intense animosity toward him.

Simeon, already apparently known as a partisan leader, first distinguished himself in the battle at Beth-Horon against *Cestius Gallus (66 C.E.), in which the Jews inflicted a crushing defeat on the Roman army. Despite this achievement, however, Simeon was relegated to the background, since in Jerusalem the moderate party in control was disposed to come to terms with Rome. Simeon gathered around him a band of ardent patriots and, according to Josephus, engaged in brigandage. It is obvious, however, even from Josephus' own biased account, that these acts of "brigandage" were military operations conducted by the rebels under the leadership of Simeon against their internal enemies, opponents of the revolt, and sympathizers with Rome. In retaliation for these operations, the forces of the moderate government in Jerusalem compelled Simeon to take refuge among the *Sicarii who, under the command of *Eleazar b. Jair, had captured *Masada. For a time Simeon remained with them, taking part in their raids. Subsequently leaving them, he parted company, and "terrorized" the southern part of Ereẓ Israel. Although growing increasingly stronger, he was unable to capture Jerusalem. The Zealots in Jerusalem, who were fearful of him, seized his wife but released her because of his threats. In addition to his continuous war against the party in control in Jerusalem, Simeon also fought against the Idumeans and succeeded in occupying Idumea with the help of supporters among the Idumeans themselves. Hebron, too, fell into his hands. In April 69 C.E. he entered Jerusalem, the gates of the city having been opened to him by the enemies of *John of Giscala, who had called on

Simeon to come to their aid. Simeon thus gained control of the larger part of Jerusalem, both of the Upper and a considerable section of the Lower City.

The struggle between Simeon and John of Giscala continued. Constant hostilities were waged between them in the city, and came to an end only when Titus' forces reached the outskirts of Jerusalem (April 70 C.E.). Although all the rebels joined together during the siege to fight against the Romans and performed deeds of astounding bravery, the advantage enjoyed by the Roman army proved decisive. The Temple was burned and the devastated city captured by the enemy. Simeon and several of his most loyal friends hid in an underground passage among the ruins, but, unable to escape, Simeon finally surrendered to the Romans and was taken prisoner. The circumstances of his surrender were extremely strange. Josephus relates that Simeon suddenly appeared among the Temple ruins, as though out of the bowels of the earth, dressed in white and covered with a purple mantle. At the sight of him the Romans were terrified, but after recovering from their fear, bound him in chains. His strange appearance was probably connected with messianic expectations on his part; or by submitting to the victorious enemy he may have deliberately invited martyrdom.

Simeon was led as a prisoner in the triumphal procession held in Rome by Vespasian and his sons to celebrate their victory over the Jews. Scourged all the way, he was taken to the Mamertine prison, at the northeast end of the Forum, and executed at the moment of the culmination of the triumph. That he and not John of Giscala played this part in the triumphal procession shows that the Romans regarded him as the most important leader in Jerusalem and as the rebel commander. This is evident from other extant information as well. His army was far larger than that of his rivals, having numbered about 15,000 at the beginning of the siege of Jerusalem. His soldiers were also the best organized and disciplined. The fact that he was invited to Jerusalem by the priests and the people may have provided him with some legal basis for his leadership, although not all the patriot elements recognized his authority. Since information about them is very sparse, it is difficult to comprehend and explain the basis of the conflict between their different parties. At times it is even difficult to distinguish between the parties themselves. Nevertheless, from extant information it would appear that Simeon b. Giora was the leader of a clear eschatological trend in the movement of rebellion against Rome, and possibly filled the role of "king messiah" within the complex of eschatological beliefs held by his followers. His exceptional bravery and daring, mentioned by Josephus, undoubtedly attracted many to him, and won him preeminence among the rebel leaders. In contrast to the bitter hostility that existed between him and John of Giscala, there was a measure of understanding between him and the Sicarii at Masada.

Conspicuous among Simeon's characteristics was the enmity he bore toward the rich and the sympathy he showed to the poor, even to the extent of freeing slaves. This approach of his doubtless had its origin in his party's social outlook, opposed as it was to the existing order also in regard to the economic system and social justice.

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[Uriel Rappaport]

°**BAR HEBRAEUS** (or **Bar ʿEbhraya** or **Ibn al-ʿIbri**), **JOHANAN** (later: **Gregorius** or **Abu al Faraj**; 1226–1286), the last of the important writers in Syriac. He was the son of an apostate Jewish physician, Aaron (hence the appellation Son of the Hebrew), and knew Hebrew. Born in Malaṭīya (in Asia Minor) he went with his father to Antioch, where he became a monk. He also pursued secular studies, at first under his father's tutelage and later with a Nestorian scholar in Tripoli (Syria). In 1246 he was ordained Jacobite (Monophysite) bishop of Gubos (near Mulafryn) and assumed the name Gregorius. In 1252 he was appointed Maphriyan (archbishop) of Mesopotamia and Persia. Bar Hebraeus traveled widely, supervising the congregations of his church. He died at Maghāra in Azerbaijan.

Bar Hebraeus was a prolific writer. His commentary *Oẓar Razei* ("Treasury of Secret Wisdom") on the Old and New Testaments, reveals the influence of traditional Jewish exegesis. In addition to theological works such as *Ḥokhmat Ḥokhmeta*, which contains a systematic exposition of Aristotle's teaching, he also wrote on Syriac grammar and composed a Syriac *Chronicle*, a history of the world from creation to his own time, in two parts: ecclesiastical history and secular history. It was translated into English by E.A.W. Budge in 1932, and became widely known. Bar Hebraeus also wrote many poems and compiled a collection of entertaining stories (English translation, *Oriental Wit and Wisdom, or the Laughable Stories*, 1889). In addition, he translated Arabic works into Syriac (including the philosophical work of *Avicenna, *Kitāb al-Ishārāt*), and also wrote works in Arabic, including an abridgment of the secular portion of his *Chronicle* with some revisions and addenda, and an epitome of the large work of al-Ghāfikī on medications (part published in the original with an English translation, with a commentary by M. Meyerhof and G.P. Sohby, 1932).

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[Eliyahu Ashtor]

BAR HEDYA (fl. first half of the fourth century), Babylonian scholar. Bar Hedya was one of the *neḥutei, amoraim* who moved between Babylonia and Ereẓ Israel, transmitting the rabbinical traditions of both countries. He testified, among other things, that in Ereẓ Israel care was taken to ensure that Hoshana Rabba (the 7th day of Tabernacles) did not fall on a

Sabbath (Suk. 43b). Known for his interpretations of dreams, *Abbaye and *Rava turned to him in this connection. Abbaye, who paid him, received favorable dream interpretations; Rava, who did not pay him, received unfavorable interpretations. Upon the materialization of Bar Hedya's predictions, Rava also began to pay him, whereupon his dreams were then favorably interpreted. It finally became clear to Rava that the secret of Bar Hedya's ability lay in the fact that "all dreams follow the mouth" (of the interpreter) (Ber. 56a).

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[Yitzhak Dov Gilat]

BAR-HILLEL, YEHOSHUA (1915–1975), philosopher and theoretical linguist. Bar-Hillel was born in Vienna, educated in Germany, and after 1933, at the Hebrew University. He served in World War II, and lost an eye fighting in the Israeli War of Independence. At the end of the war, he returned to the Hebrew University. He became a professor in 1961, a member of the Israel Academy of Arts and Sciences in 1963, and president of the International Union of History and Philosophy of Science in 1967. Bar-Hillel's early writings were concerned with the philosophy of mathematics, and culminated in the publication of his book with A.H. *Fraenkel, *Foundations of Set Theory* (1958). This sets out the major foundational approaches to mathematics and emphasizes their connection with broader philosophical issues. As distinct from Fraenkel's Platonism, Bar-Hillel's contributions stress that mathematical entities have only a pseudo-existence. Bar-Hillel's writings deal with the philosophy of language, philosophy of science, inductive logic, machine translation, mechanization of information retrieval, algebraic linguistics, and the semantics of natural languages. Some of these latter topics form the subject of his *Language and Information* (1964), which is concerned with the development of a science of language.

[Avrum Stroll]

BARI, Adriatic port in southern Italy. Bari was one of the flourishing Jewish centers of *Apulia which according to tradition were founded by captives brought to Italy by *Titus. However, no inscriptions have survived to show that the community may be traced back to the Roman period, as is the case in neighboring towns. The community in Bari evidently rose to importance somewhat later. An epitaph dating from the ninth century preserves the memory of Eliah ben Moses "strategos" and a stele (of uncertain date) commemorates Moses ben Eliah, devoted teacher of the law and poet, compared to the biblical Moses. In the ninth century the miracle-worker *Aaron of Baghdad visited Bari. The names of scholars who taught at the local rabbinical academy in the tenth and eleventh centuries are recorded, including Moses Calfo, who is mentioned in the *Arukh* of *Nathan b. Jehiel. Legend talks of "four rabbis," who sailed from Bari in 972, were captured at sea by Saracen raiders, and sold into slavery in Spain and North Africa; after being ransomed, they founded famous talmudic academies (see *Moses b. Hanokh). The legend at least indicates that Bari was known as a center of talmudic learning. This is confirmed by the adage cited by Rabbenu *Tam in the 12th century: "From Bari shall go forth the Law and the word of the Lord from Otranto" (a paraphrase of Isa. 2:3). The theological teaching of the Bari schools evidently attained a wide influence: Andrea, archbishop of Bari (d. 1078), actually became converted to Judaism (see *Obadiah the Proselyte).

The Jews of Bari underwent a number of vicissitudes. They were included in the edicts of forced conversion issued by the Byzantine emperors in the ninth and tenth centuries (see **anusim*). In about 932, the Jewish quarter was destroyed by mob violence and several Jews were killed. Between 1068 and 1465 the Jews in Bari suffered from the rival claims of the king and the archbishop on taxes levied on the Jews in the city. The Jews in Bari were also victims of the campaign to convert Jews to Christianity initiated by Charles of Anjou in 1290; in 1294, 72 families were forced to adopt Christianity, but continued to live in Bari as *neofiti* (see *Crypto Jews). There followed a century and a half of tranquility until the Jewish quarter was again attacked in 1463. A notable figure in this period is the physician David Kalonymus of Bari. In 1479 David Kalonymus and his family were offered Neapolitan citizenship along with exemption from commercial taxes, and in 1498 he requested the Sforza Duke of Bari to confer on him the same special rights in Bari as he already possessed in Naples. In 1495, during the unrest that accompanied the French invasion, Jewish property worth 10,000 ducats was pillaged. The expulsion of the Jews from the kingdom of Naples in 1510–11 sealed the fate of those in Bari: a small number were readmitted in 1520 and finally forced to leave in 1540–41. The Via della Sinagoga in Bari remains to attest the existence of the former community, and several early medieval tombstones are in the Museo Provinciale. Jewish communal life was briefly resumed during World War II, when in 1943 many Jews from other parts of Italy and from Yugoslavia took refuge in Bari from Nazi-occupied territories. Toward the end of the war a refugee camp was established at Bari. The beginning of the "illegal" immigration to Palestine movement in Italy was situated in the area around Bari. During this period Jewish soldiers, mainly from Palestine, were active in aiding and organizing the refugees.

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[Attilio Milano / Nadia Zeldes (2nd ed.)]

BAR-ILAN, DAVID (1930–2003), Israeli journalist and pianist. Bar-Ilan was born in Haifa. A gifted pianist, he won a scholarship to Juilliard School of Fine Arts in New York at the age of 17. As a soloist he appeared with major orchestras and recorded six albums, including the works of Chopin, Beethoven, Mussorgsky, Tchaikovsky, and Brahms. In 1961 he was the first Israeli to perform in Germany. He began his writing career in the 1960s, becoming a staunch defender of Israel's case in articles he published in the American media. He also helped found Americans for a Safe Israel. Bar-Ilan was identified with Zionist Revisionist ideology and the Land of Israel Movement. He returned to Israel in 1990, where he joined *The Jerusalem Post*, first as editorial page editor and in 1992 as executive editor. Editorial policy under Bar-Ilan was characterized by right-wing positions on Arab-Israeli matters and support for the *Likud party. He wrote a weekly column, "Eye on the Media," castigating foreign media reporting on Israel. Yet, as editor he zealously kept the paper's op-ed pages open to a broad spectrum of political views. In 1996, after Netanyahu won the elections in Israel, Bar-Ilan joined Netanyahu's staff as his chief of information and policy planning. After Netanyahu's failure in the 1999 elections, he returned to *The Jerusalem Post*.

[Yoel Cohen (2nd ed.)]

BAR-ILAN (Berlin), MEIR (1880–1949), leader of religious Zionism. Bar-Ilan was born in Volozhin, Russia, the son of R. Naphtali Ẓevi Judah *Berlin. He completed his studies in yeshivot at Volozhin, Telz, Brisk (Brest-Litovsk), and Novogrudok. As a young man he joined the *Mizrachi movement, representing it at the Seventh Zionist Congress (1905), at which, unlike the majority of Mizrachi delegates, he voted against the *Uganda Scheme. In 1911 he was appointed secretary of the world Mizrachi movement, working in Berlin, and he coined the Mizrachi slogan "*Ereẓ Yisrael le-Am Yisrael al Pi Torat Yisrael*" ("The land of Israel for the people of Israel according to the Torah of Israel"). He moved to the United States in 1915, served as president of the U.S. Mizrachi, and from 1925 was a member of the Board of Directors of the *Jewish National Fund. In 1926 Bar-Ilan settled in Jerusalem where he served as president of the World Mizrachi center and as the Mizrachi representative in Zionist and *yishuv* institutions, including clandestine committees for defense. Between 1929 and 1931 he was a member of the Zionist Executive. A leading opponent of the Palestine partition plan in 1937, and of the British White Paper of 1939, he advocated civil disobedience and complete noncooperation of the Jewish population toward the British government. After the establishment of the State of Israel, he organized a committee of scholars to examine the legal problems of the new state in the light of Jewish law, and was an initiator of the National Religious Front, the group of religious parties that presented a united platform in the first Knesset elections. A central figure in the Zionist religious movement, Bar-Ilan founded and edited a religious Zionist weekly, *Ha-Ivri* ("The Hebrew"), which was published in Berlin from 1910 to 1914 and in New York from 1916 to 1921. Between 1938 and 1949 he was editor in chief of the Mizrachi daily, *Ha-Ẓofeh*, in Tel Aviv. Some of his articles were collected in his books *Bi-Shevilei ha-Teḥiyyah* ("In the Paths of Renaissance," 1940) and *Kitvei Rabbi Meir Bar-Ilan* (1950). His memoirs, *Mi-Volozhin ad Yerushalayim* ("From Volozhin to Jerusalem," 1939–40), were originally published in Yiddish. He also wrote a book about his father, entitled *Rabban shel Yisrael* ("Rabbi of Israel," 1943). He initiated and organized the publishing of the *Talmudic Encyclopaedia*, begun in 1947. He also founded the institute for the publication of a new complete edition of the Talmud. Bar-Ilan University near Tel Aviv, founded by the American Mizrachi movement, is named in his honor, as is the Meir Forest in the Hebron hills, and the moshav Bet Meir near Jerusalem.

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[Zvi Kaplan]

BAR-ILAN UNIVERSITY, a religiously oriented university, founded in 1955. In the mid-1990s Bar-Ilan was the third largest university in Israel. The university's aim is to advance knowledge in both Jewish studies and general science in accordance with the ideology of *Torah im Derekh Ereẓ* ("Torah with general knowledge") and to serve as a bridge between religious and secular in Israel.

In the late 1940s a plan evolved to establish a religious university in Ereẓ Israel, supported by the *Mizrachi movement in the United States. The idea received further impetus under the leadership of Prof. Pinkhos *Churgin of Yeshiva University in New York, and the university was inaugurated in 1955. Classes opened with 80 students and 19 lecturers. At the opening ceremonies, Prof. Churgin said that Bar-Ilan would "demonstrate that Judaism is not a cloistered way of life, removed from scientific investigation and worldly knowledge." Named for Meir *Bar-Ilan (Berlin), Bar-Ilan received little encouragement in Israel at the outset. The government doubted the need for another university in addition to the Hebrew University in Jerusalem. *Agudat Israel and similar Orthodox groups were fearful of imperiling certain types of religious education, particularly the yeshivot. However, it gradually became clear that Bar-Ilan served an important function in combining modernity with tradition, and in expanding the country's scientific and Jewish studies' capabilities. Prof. Churgin served as first president of the University. In 2005 Moshe Kaveh was president. In 1957 Prof. Joseph Lookstein was appointed chancellor, holding the position until 1976. Under Lookstein's leadership the university grew rapidly and received a charter from the State of New York (the only institution of higher learning in Israel to do so).

The Bar-Ilan campus is located east of the city of Ramat-Gan and administers another five regional colleges throughout the country. The campus includes 63 buildings, 165 classrooms, 130 laboratories, and 25 libraries. It employs 1,650 academic staff, teaching in six faculties and 38 academic departments: exact sciences, natural sciences, social sciences, humanities, Jewish studies, and law. The campus also includes schools of education, social work, engineering, and business administration. In 2005 Bar-Ilan had 31,200 students and 59,000 alumni. Its annual budget was $130 million.

Bar-Ilan is the only Israeli university where all students benefit from a compulsory enrichment program in Jewish heritage (Bible, Jewish literature and history, ethics, culture, etc.), in addition to the full university curriculum. The university offers over 500 elective courses in Basic Jewish Studies. Degrees offered by Bar-Ilan's academic departments include: B.A., B.Sc., LL.B., M.A., M.Sc., M.S.W., LL.M., M.B.A., and Ph.D.; diplomas in communications, local government, music therapy, teaching, translation and interpreting. It has also taken a leading role in applied scientific research in the biomedical and pharmaceutical fields, and houses several national scientific centers, such as the Israel National Center for Magnetic Measurements. The university also houses high-level research centers in the fields of physics, medical chemistry, mathematics, brain research, economics, strategic studies, psychology, music, archaeology, and Jewish philosophy and law. Unique to Bar-Ilan are the Institute for Advanced Torah Studies and the counterpart Midrasha for Women, through which over 1,300 students combine intensive yeshivah-style studies with a full academic curriculum.

Bar-Ilan maintains academic cooperation agreements with 54 leading universities around the world. There are 64 endowed chairs and 66 research centers operating at the university, including several leading research institutes in physics, medical chemistry, mathematics, brain research, economics, strategic studies, developmental psychology, musicology, Bible, Talmud, Jewish education, Jewish law and philosophy. A special project of the university is the publication of responsa texts, historical and present, with special computer applications developed for this purpose. Bar-Ilan University Press published to the mid-1990s some 350 publications in addition to 20 periodicals and professional journals. The university owns the Bar-Ilan Research & Development Company aimed at marketing research results to private companies. The university sponsors many social and community outreach projects, including a prisoner rehabilitation effort, a big-brother program, legal aid, study programs for senior citizens, educational counseling, and a network of social counselors in development towns.

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[David M. Weinberg / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

BARISHANSKY, RAPHAEL (1864–1950), rabbi. Barishansky was born in Lipnishtok, Lithuania, and studied at the outstanding yeshivot of Eishishok and Mir as well as the kolel in Kovno and with the Gaon Rabbi Ḥayyim Lev. In Bialystok he studied with Rabbi Samuel *Mohilewer. Mohilwer influenced him to become a religious Zionist and Barishansky joined Hovevei Zion (see *Ḥibbat Zion).

For 30 years, beginning in 1893, Barishansky was the pulpit rabbi in a large congregation in the town of Gomel in Belorussia, even attracting non-observant Jews to Judaism. He worked to help Jewish soldiers in the Russian Army by sending them kosher food and ritual items for Jewish holidays.

Barishansky was a committed religious Zionist who sought to bring others to the cause; he attended several World Zionist Congresses. Barishansky's Zionism also brought him into conflict with the fairly large community of Lubavitcher Ḥasidim in Gomel. When *Mizrachi opened a chapter in Gomel, and there was community opposition, Barishansky vigorously defended the ideology of religious Zionism.

In the early 1920s, Barishansky publicly criticized Jewish communists for closing Jewish schools and discrediting Zionism. As a result, he was sentenced to two years in prison, but was released after six months, thanks to the intervention of several Zionists. By February 1924, he had fled Russia and arrived in New York. Because of his experiences in the "old country," when the American Jewish community wanted to ameliorate the conditions of the Jews in Soviet territories, he opposed attempts to keep them there, because even the Jewish communists were anti-religious and were suppressing Judaism, especially around the Jewish holy days.

Once in New York, Barishansky accepted a teaching position at the Talmud Torah Torat Moshe in the Bronx. He became an active member in the American Mizrachi movement and a member of the Agudat Harabbonim, but left when he disagreed with their policy of denying the certification of kosher meat in factories that also produced non-kosher meat. In 1926 he was a rabbi in Washington, D.C. When he retired in 1929, he returned to the Bronx. An autobiographical memoir of the trial in Russia in 1922 appeared in the *Morgen Journal* (Nov. 19, 1923) and was reprinted in M. Altshuler, "The Rabbi of Homel's Trial," in: *Michael*, 6 (1980), pp. 9–61.

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[Jeanette Friedman (2nd ed.)]

BARIT, JACOB (1797–1883), Russian talmudist and communal leader. Born in Simno, Suvalki province, he left in 1822 for Vilna, where he kept a distillery. Attracted by the ideas of the *Haskalah, he studied foreign languages, mathematics, and astronomy. In 1850 he became principal of the yeshivah founded by R. Ḥayyim Naḥman Parnas, a position he held for 25 years. By the end of 1840 he was the acknowledged leader of the Vilna community. When Sir Moses *Montefiore visited Vilna in 1846 Barit advised him on his petition to Nicholas I. He was a member of the delegation sent to St. Petersburg in 1852 in connection with the oppressive new conscription law.

On several rabbinical committees summoned by the Ministry of the Interior, Barit was eloquent in advocating Jewish rights. In 1871 when the governor general of Vilna formed a committee to investigate the accusations made against the Jews by the apostate Jacob *Brafmann, Barit successfully convinced the committee of their falsehood.

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BARKAI (Heb. בַּרְקָאי; "first morning light"), kibbutz in central Israel, at the western entrance of the Iron Valley, affiliated with Kibbutz Arẓi ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir. It was founded on May 10, 1949, by pioneers from North America, joined later by newcomers from Romania and from English-speaking and other countries. In the mid-1990s the population was approximately 500, and by the end of 2002 it had decreased to 327. Farm branches included dairy cattle, poultry, avocado plantations, and field crops. The kibbutz runs a factory for polyethylene products.

WEBSITE: www.barkai.org.il.

[Efraim Orni / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

BAR KAPPARA (beginning of third century C.E.), Palestinian scholar in the transition period between the *tannaim* and the *amoraim*. When quoted in *tannaitic* sources, he is called by his full name, "R. Eleazar ha-Kappar Beribbie." In his role as an *amora*, both when expressing his own opinion and when transmitting earlier tannaitic sources, he is referred to by the more informal title "Bar Kappara." The term "Beribbie," often used as a title of respect, may serve here as an abbreviation for "Beribbie Eleazar ha-Kappar," i.e., "the son of R. Eleazar ha-Kappar," as it seems that the father and the son were called by the same name. This fact has lead to some confusion as to which traditions, especially those mentioned in the later literary levels of the tannaitic works and in the talmudic *beraitot* are to be ascribed to the father and which to the son. Some scholars tend to ascribe almost all of the R. Eleazar ha-Kappar traditions to the father, and others to the son, while others have claimed that they are one and the same person. While there is clear evidence for the distinction between the father and the son – for example the use of the long form "R. Eleazar ben Eleazar ha-Kappar Berribie" (e.g., Tosef., Beẓah 1:7), to refer to the son – the notion that the two engaged in an halakhic dispute with each other (cf. Ḥul. 27b–28a) seems unfounded, as it fails to distinguish between Bar Kappara's role as a *tanna*, and his role in transmitting earlier tannaitic sources (cf. Sifra, Sheraẓim 10:1, Sifre Deut. 78).

Bar Kappara was a disciple of *Judah ha-Nasi and like his contemporaries, *Ḥiyya bar Abba and *Oshaya Rabbah, was the author of a compilation of *halakhot*. These were called "The Mishnah of Bar Kappara" or "The Great Mishnayot of Bar Kappara" (BB 154b; Eccles. R. 6:2). This collection, a supplement to the Mishnah of Judah ha-Nasi, was used to explain obscure passages in the standard Mishnah and brought to the knowledge of the *amoraim* various traditions and opinions that differed from the Mishnah of Judah ha-Nasi.

The academy of Bar Kappara was reported to be in the "south" (TJ, Nid. 3:2, 50c), perhaps in Caesarea or in nearby Parod (Av. Zar. 31a). It has also been suggested that it was in Lydda (Lieberman, p. 123). In 1969, however, a stone, which was apparently the lintel over the main entrance to a *bet midrash*, was found in the Golan area, inscribed with the words: "This is the *bet midrash* of Rabbi Eliezer ha-Kappar." It is unclear whether this inscription refers to the father or to the son. Some scholars have suggested that Bar Kappara was the final compiler of *Sifrei Zuta*, and, though a number of their proofs have been challenged, more research is still needed in order arrive at a definite conclusion in this matter. Among his associates were some of the outstanding scholars of the generation, such as *Oshaya and *Joshua b. Levi, who transmitted his *halakhah* and *aggadah* (Ker. 8a; Ber. 34a, et al.).

In addition to his role in the transmission of halakhic tradition, Bar Kappara's opinions on a number of important aggadic traditions have been preserved. For example, it is reported in his name: "Whosoever can calculate the movements of the solstices and planets, but fails to do so, to him is applied the verse [Isa. 5:12] 'But they regard not the work of the Lord; neither have they considered the operation of His hands'" (Shab. 75a). This tradition reflects the notion, common also among gentile sages of the time, that the celestial order reflects both divine wisdom and power, and so represents an early form of "natural theology." He apparently also looked favorably upon the use of Greek, even recommending it to his disciples: "Let the words of Torah be uttered in the language of Japheth [Greek] in the tents of Shem" (Gen. R. 36:8, in reference to Gen. 9:27). While permitting metaphysical speculation, he placed limitations on such speculations (Gen. R. 1:10; cf. Tos. Ḥag. 2:7. TJ, Ḥag. 2:1 77c), perhaps in response to the excesses of Gnostic teaching that were widespread at that time. Commenting on the verse, "For ask now of the days past, which were before thee, since the day that God created man upon the earth, and from one end of heaven unto the other" (Deut. 4:32), Bar Kappara stated: "You may speculate upon what came after creation and not upon what came before it. You may investigate from one end of heaven unto the other, but not what is beyond it." His opposition to asceticism is seen in the statement, "to what does Scripture refer when it says [of the Nazirite, Num. 6:11], 'Make atonement for him, for that he sinned by reason of the soul?' Against which soul did he sin? Against his own soul, in that he denied himself wine. And if one who denied himself only wine is termed a sinner, how much more so he who denies himself the enjoyment of all permitted things" (Ta'an. 11a, and parallel passages).

Bar Kappara showed great talent as a poet, and as an author of fables and epigrams. The Jerusalem Talmud (Ber. 1:8, 3d) quotes a beautiful prayer which he composed and which he used to recite during the repetition of the Thanksgiving blessing in the *Amidah*. It is related that during the marriage feast of Simeon, son of Judah I (or of his son, see Lev. R. 28:2), Bar Kappara told 300 *fox fables, and so intently did the guests listen that they completely ignored the fact that their food was becoming cold. According to the Talmud, tensions existed between Bar Kappara and the house of Judah ha-Nasi: "On one occasion, Simeon, son of Judah, and Bar Kappara were studying together when a difficulty arose about a certain *halakhah*. Simeon said to Bar Kappara, 'Only my father, Rabbi Judah, can explain this.' Bar Kappara retorted, 'There is no rabbi in the world who understands it' [Rashi to MK 16a]. Simeon told his father, who was vexed, and when Bar Kappara next presented himself, Judah said to him, 'I have never known you'" (MK 16a), thus disowning him. On another occasion, Bar Kappara and Ben Elasah, the rich but ignorant son-in-law of Judah, were in the *nasi's* house at a gathering of scholars who were engaged in learned discourse. Bar Kappara proposed to Ben Elasah that he too take part in the discussion, and to this end composed for him a poetic riddle to present to his father-in-law as a genuine problem. The riddle was in fact a criticism of the conduct of Judah's household and of the fear which he inspired. The *nasi*, realizing from the smile upon Bar Kappara's face that he was the author of the riddle, exclaimed, "I do not recognize you as an elder" (i.e., "I do not wish to grant you recognition"), and Bar Kappara understood that he would not be ordained (TJ, MK 3:1, 81c). It is nevertheless told that Bar Kappara was the first to inform the sages, in moving words, of the *nasi's* death: "Mortals and angels have been wrestling for the holy ark; the angels have won and the ark has been taken captive."

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[Yitzhak Dov Gilat / Stephen G. Wald (2nd ed.)]

BARKAT (Burstein), REUVEN (1906–1972), Israeli politician. Member of the Sixth and Seventh Knessets and speaker of the Knesset, 1969–72. Barkat was born in Tavrig (Taurage), Lithuania, where his father, Abraham Aaron Burstein, headed the local yeshivah. Barkat attended a Hebrew secondary school in Ponevezh (Panevezys). He was one of the founders of He-Ḥalutz ha-Ẓa'ir and chairman of Ha-Ivri ha-Ẓa'ir in Lithuania. He studied literature and law at the Sorbonne in Paris and was chairman of the Hebrew Students Union in the Diaspora. He immigrated to Ereẓ Israel in 1926 and immediately entered political life. In 1933–38 he was involved in the **Ha'avarah*. Subsequently, in 1940–46 he was secretary general of the National Committee for the Jewish Soldier, directing cultural and welfare activities for the members of the Palestinian Jewish units of the British Army and subsequently of the Jewish Brigade. At the end of the war these activities also involved clandestine activity connected with the rescue of Jewish survivors of the Holocaust (see *Beriḥah). In 1946 Barkat joined the Political Department of the *Histadrut. In 1949 he was appointed head of its International Department, a position he held until 1960. He was also appointed chairman of the Arab Department of the Histadrut. In 1961 Barkat was appointed ambassador to Norway. He was soon offered the position of ambassador to the Soviet Union, but finally he declined the post to become secretary general of *Mapai. He held this position in the years 1962–66, when the party was torn by internal dissension over the "Lavon Affair" (see Pinḥas *Lavon). Barkat was first elected to the Sixth Knesset on the Alignment list, serving in the Knesset Foreign Affairs and Defense Committee. He was elected to the Seventh Knesset and chosen to become speaker, a position which he held until his sudden death on the last day of Passover 1972.

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[Susan Hattis Rolef (2nd ed.)]

BAR KOCHBA ASSOCIATION, an organization of Jewish university students in Prague. It was founded in 1893 by students of the Prague German University and subsequently became a focal point of Zionist intellectual activities. Among the members who later played prominent roles in the Zionist movement were Shmuel Hugo *Bergman, Oskar Epstein, Hugo Hermann, Leo *Hermann, Hans Kohn, and Robert *Weltsch. The members of Bar Kochba contributed much to the deepening of Zionist ideology, particularly in the years preceding World War I. They were largely influenced by Martin Buber who, between 1909 and 1911, delivered his *Drei Reden über das Judentum* before this group. The Zionist outlook of these young men found expression in the weekly *Selbstwehr*, which they edited for a time, and in *Vom Judentum*, a collection of essays on the problems of Zionism and Judaism in general (1913). There were small-scale attempts at renewing the activities of Bar Kochba after World War I, including the publication of *Juedische Jugendblaetter* (jointly with *Blau-Weiss). Its functions were taken over by its sister society, Theodor Herzl, which consisted of Czech-speaking Jewish university students in Prague.

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[Oskar K. Rabinowicz]

BAR KOKHBA (d. 135 C.E.), leader of the revolt in Judea against Rome (132–135 C.E.).

The Man and the Leader

Bar Kokhba is known in talmudic sources as Ben Kozevah, Bar Kozevah, or Ben Koziva (Heb. בן כוזבה, בר כוסבא, בן כוזיבא; Sanh. 93b; BK 97b; TJ, Ta'an. 4:8, 68d), and in Christian sources as Βαρχωχεβας (Eusebius, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, 4:6, 2). In the recently discovered contemporary letters addressed to or originating from him, he is referred to as Simeon bar Kosevah, Bar or Ben Koseva (בר כוסבא שמעון בר כוסבה, בן כוסבא, the last form being found also in a contemporary Greek letter). The name שמעון (or its abbreviation שמע), which appears on coins of the revolt, undoubtedly refers to him. His original name was probably Bar Koseva, and it is doubtful whether it was derived from a settlement in the Judean mountains or whether it indicates his father's name or a general family name. The appellation Bar Kokhba was apparently given to him during the revolt on the basis of the homiletical interpretation, in a reference to messianic expectations, of the verse (Num. 24:17): "There shall step forth a star [כּוכָב, *kokhav*] out of Jacob." Bar Kokhba was general midrashic designation for the "king messiah" (see *Messiah), and customarily used before the destruction of *Jerusalem. Thus, in the verse "a star out of Jacob … a scepter … out of Israel" (*ibid.*), Onkelos renders "star" as *malka* ("king") and "scepter" as *meshiḥa* ("messiah"), a midrashic interpretation current among the *Zealots who joined in the war against the Romans. While this appellation became the popular one, his original name was retained in documents and letters. The disappointment that followed in the wake of the defeat (and perhaps even at the height of the revolt) may have led the people to give a derogatory turn to his original name of Bar Koseva by altering it to Bar Kozivah (בר כוזיבה) in a punning allusion to "a lie" (*kazav*). Even the homiletical interpretation of "a star out of Jacob" quoted by R. *Akiva was from then on interpreted ambiguously, as evidenced by R. *Simeon b. Yoḥai's statement: "'There shall step forth a star out of Jacob' – Kozeva stepped forth out of Jacob" (TJ, *loc cit.*). Similarly, in talmudic sources Bar Kokhba coins are referred to specifically as those of Ben Koziva. "A coin of one who rebelled, such as Ben Koziva," or "Koziva coins" (BK 97b; TJ, Ma'as. Sh. 1:1, 52d; Tosef., *ibid.*, 1:6).

Bar Kokhba's personality does not emerge clearly from the scant and obscure sources available, some of which, like those in the Talmud and Midrash, have legendary overtones, while later ones, such as the sparse references by Church Father Eusebius, are tendentious. The few traits of his personality that emerge from the administrative and economic documents found in the Judean Desert do not contradict the main features of his character as incidentally portrayed in the literary sources. He may be described as a leader who, in charge of both the economy and the army, ruled imperiously, concerned himself even with minor details, and did not refrain from threatening senior officers of his army with punishment or even from inflicting deterrent punishment.

Bar Kokhba's title in documents is נשיא ישראל or הנסי על ישראל ("*nasi* of Israel"), the former occurring also on coins of the revolt. According to the Talmud, Akiva said: "This is the king messiah" whereupon Johanan b. Torta answered him derisively: "Akiva, grass will grow in your cheeks and the son of David will still not have come" (TJ, Ta'an. 4:8; Lam. R. 2:2, no. 4). Eusebius states that Bar Kokhba regarded himself as the savior who had come down to the Jews like a star from heaven, to deliver them from their somber troubles. Some adduce proof of Bar Kokhba's messiahship from the *Vision of Peter*, a Christian work written a few years after the revolt, which refers to a deceiver who falsely represented himself as a messiah and was – according to this tendentious account – nothing but a murderer. But these are simply expressions of the Christian authors' hatred which distorted their outlook, and are devoid of real historical value. Nevertheless, the messianic hopes which were cherished by the nation centered on Bar Kokhba. As might be expected from such a powerful, dominant personality, he himself probably had pretentions to being a redeemer and fostered these hopes. That the very appellation Bar Kokhba expresses a messianic belief in the "star out of Jacob" as an ideal ruler can be seen from apocryphal literature (Test. Patr., Levi 18:3; and Judah 24:1; and cf. Rev. 22:16; *The Damascus Document*, 7:19–20; and *War of the Sons of Light with the Sons of Darkness*, 7:5, 1). *The Damascus Document* states that the "star out of Jacob" will be "the *nasi* of the entire community" and accordingly it might be contended that Bar Kokhba's title of *nasi* had a messianic allusion. But the documents contain no hint of a messianic reference, and the sway of the *nasi* applied to wholly mundane affairs such as the army, administration, and the economy. According to coins struck during the revolt, the *nasi* may have assigned in a compromise matters relating to worship and faith to Eleazar ha-Kohen (perhaps on the basis of the division between the *nasi* and the priesthood, as described in Ezek. 44–46). The basically authentic statement about a Sanhedrin at Bethar (Sanh. 17b) suggests that at a certain time a *bet din* participated in Bar Kokhba's rule. Therefore, the title *nasi* may itself have indicated a more restricted role than that regarded as implicit in "king messiah."

The *aggadah* which relates how Bar Kokhba's men were selected – by having a finger cut off or by uprooting a cedar tree (TJ, *loc cit.*; Lam. R. 2:2 no. 4) – reflects the exclusiveness of an elite rebel army and the harshness and even cruelty of its leader. The controversies between him and the sages, and his reliance on his own powers rather than on help from Heaven, are depicted in the *aggadah* as self-aggrandizement against God: "When he went forth to battle, he said 'Neither assist nor discourage us.'" To decide precisely the historical kernel that has been preserved in this tradition is difficult, but Bar Kokhba's letters to his subordinates (such as to Jeshua b. Galgolah or Jonathan and Masbelah) confirm that he was a stern leader who vigorously insisted on his views and with a firm hand controlled not only the population but also his senior officers. In contrast to the situation during the Jewish War (66–70/73 C.E.), the nation was now united under the leadership of a single commander-in-chief. This is evident from documents indicating that even in the final stages of the revolt he still exercised unlimited authority over his men. Presumably the unity of the nation in this war derived not only from the *nasi's* powerful personality, but also from the memory of past sufferings and the yearning for liberation. Geography, too, may have been a factor in this unity, for while the revolt spread to Galilee and Transjordan, it was mainly although not exclusively centered in Judea, making it both possible and practicable to exercise effective control.

Such was the background to the acceptance of a strong leader's authority, unopposed apparently by the soldiers. This unanimity of the nation can be inferred from Eusebius (as from the *Book of Revelation*) where Bar Kokhba is described as a murderer and bandit who deceived the people. Even in later generations, despite the disappointment engendered by his defeat, his image persisted as the embodiment of messianic hopes. This is evident from Maimonides who, in referring to the "king messiah," states: "Rabbi Akiva, the greatest of the sages of the Mishnah, was a supporter of King Ben Koziva, saying of him that he was the king messiah. He and all the contemporary sages regarded him as the king messiah, until he was killed for sins which he had committed" (Maim. Yad, Melakhim, 11:3).

The Bar Kokhba Revolt

Only sparse and fragmentary information exists, some of it late, on the Bar Kokhba revolt, its origins, course, and outcome. The main source consists of the scant statements of the Roman historian Dio Cassius in the 69th part of his history of Rome, written between 194 and 216 C.E. As for Bar Kokhba's documents, they contain nothing specific about the war itself or about its political and military significance, being mainly economic and administrative records. The revolt most probably broke out in 132 C.E. Dio Cassius states that before it began Hadrian had established a new city in Jerusalem, called Aelia Capitolina (after his own name Aelius and in honor of Jupiter Capitolinus). He built a temple to Jupiter in the new city, thereby infuriating the Jews and provoking "a fierce and protracted war." On the other hand, Eusebius declares that Aelia Capitolina was established after the revolt. Hadrian probably began to build Aelia Capitolina before the revolt, and its non-Jewish character inflamed the Jews against Rome, but the work was not completed until after the war (see *Hadrian and "New Archaeological Finds" below, for a contrary view). During 129–132 C.E. Hadrian stayed in Ereẓ Israel and its neighborhood, and his departure for Greece in the summer of 132 was the signal for the outbreak of the revolt. There were other factors that aggravated the situation, e.g., the harsh rule of *Tinneius Rufus, the new Roman governor of Judea; and the disillusionment of the Jews who had hoped that Hadrian would restore the ruins of Jerusalem, when rumors that he was rebuilding the Temple fostered messianic expectations. Their hopes, speedily shattered, were replaced by profound resentment. Agitation against Rome had, it seems, existed in Judea many years before the outbreak of the revolt, and the sages may have tried to mitigate it, as may be inferred from the account of the assembly in the valley of Rimmon at which *Joshua b. Hananiah calmed the turbulent mood of the people (Gen. R. 64:10). Ultimately, however, the revolt was a continuation of the uprisings of the Jews of the Diaspora against Rome in 115–117 C.E., which included "the war of *Quietus" ending in 117. Even if Hadrian intended no particular enmity against the Jews and behaved in Judea with the same degree of cultural universalism that he adopted in other places, his innovations, bearing as they did a Hellenistic-Roman stamp, provoked the vehement opposition of the Jews both against non-Jewish culture and more especially against emperor-worship.

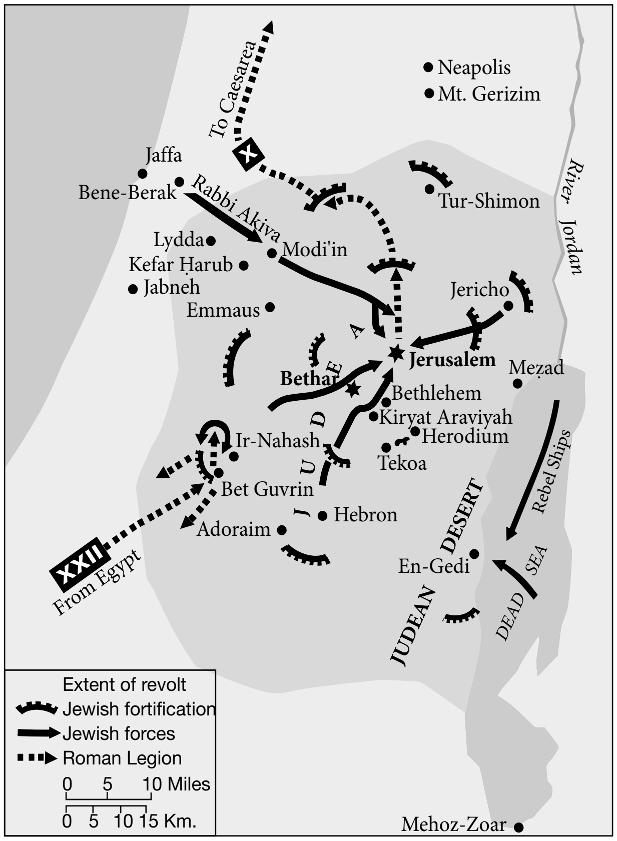

Map 1. Extent of the Bar Kokhba revolt in its first year, 132 C.E. After Y. Aharoni, Carta's "Atlas of the Bible," Heb. ed., 1966.

Dio Cassius gives a brief account of the course of the revolt. Accumulating arms by deceiving the Roman authorities, the Jews awaited a suitable opportunity, and when Hadrian left they openly rebelled. At first the Jews did not fight pitched battles. Instead they seized towns which they fortified with walls and subterranean passages. In an increasing number of clashes the rebels inflicted losses on the Romans. Hadrian was compelled to hurriedly send for one of his ablest generals, *Julius Severus, who specially came from Britain to Judea. Due to the large number of the rebels and their desperate fury, Severus refrained from waging open war and preferred to surround their fortresses and hem them in to prevent food from reaching them. Gradually he succeeded in wearing down the Judean fighters, on whom he inflicted heavy blows without respite until he reduced them to a state of complete submission. Dio Cassius relates that the Romans demolished 50 fortresses, destroyed 985 villages, and killed 580,000 people in addition to those who died of hunger, disease, and fire. He adds that many Romans perished as well, and when Hadrian informed

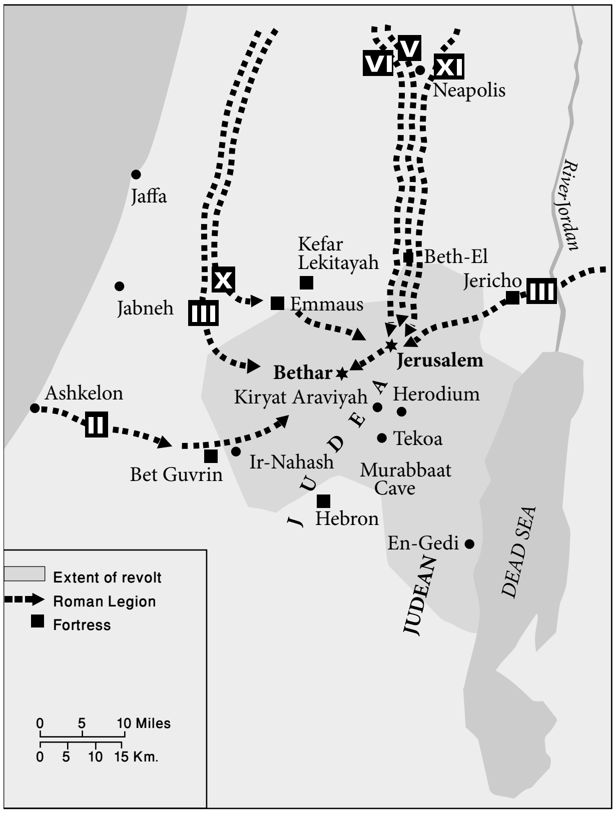

Map 2. Extent of the Bar Kokhba revolt in its third and fourth years. After Y. Aharoni, Carta's "Atlas of the Bible," Heb. ed., 1966.

the Senate of his victory he did not begin with the usual formula: "I and my army are well." Dio Cassius states that the insurrection, which was prepared in detail, spread until "the whole of Judea was in revolt" (he referred apparently to most of Ereẓ Israel, including Galilee and Golan). He further states that the Jews "throughout the world" supported the uprising as did non-Jews, too, and it was "as though the whole world raged." In its scope and vehemence, the revolt assumed the dimensions of a war which constituted a threat to the empire. As usual with Roman historians, Dio Cassius cites a supernatural omen, to show that the destruction of Judea was predestined, when he states that the "sanctified" tomb of Solomon had fallen down of itself.

Greek and Roman inscriptions mention the participation in the war of detachments of legions brought from all parts of the empire, from Egypt and as far away as Britain – the Tenth "Fretensis," the Third "Cyrenaica," the Fourth "Scythica," the Second "Trajana," the Twenty-Second "Diotrajana" legions, and perhaps also the Sixth "Ferrata" legion. The Syrian navy also presumably took part in the war. Although exact figures cannot be computed since these were auxiliary troops and detachments of legions, the magnitude of the Roman army indicates the dimensions of the war. Isolated evidence – an inscription on a tomb, third-century talmudic references to the destruction of Galilee (BK 80a; TJ, Pe'ah 7:1, 20a), the remarks of Sulpicius Severus (fourth century C.E.) on the rebellion of the Jews in Syria and Palestine in the days of Hadrian – shows the revolt spread to the north of Ereẓ Israel, to Beth-Shean and Galilee. However, the main conflict took place in Judea, the Shephelah, the mountains, and finally in the Judean Desert.

The war apparently lasted about three and a half years, during which Jerusalem was taken by the rebels, as evident both from the inscription לחרות ירושלים on coins of the revolt and perhaps also from the Judean Desert documents. Appian, a contemporary of the revolt, Eusebius, in his *De Theophania*, and Jerome (fifth century C.E.), in his commentary on Jeremiah 31:15, all state that Jerusalem was destroyed in the days of Hadrian. It would therefore appear that Bar Kokhba captured the city and only after his military defeat did Hadrian regain control and destroy it. There may be an allusion to this in Midrashim which tell of Hadrian's entry into Jerusalem and his desecration of the Temple Mount (Tanḥ. B., Ex. 128; Ex. R. 5:5, Deut. R. 3:13). Some maintain that the design on coins of the revolt, depicting a four-columned building surmounted by a star, symbolizes the Temple, and if the undated coins bearing the inscription לחרות ירושלים or simply ירושלים are indeed to be assigned to the third year of the revolt, Jerusalem was still in Bar Kokhba's hands toward the end of the revolt in the third year of the war, that is, in Tishri 134 C.E. This is confirmed by one of the Judean Desert documents which is dated (שנ)ת תלת לחרות יר(ו)שלים ("the third year of the freedom of Jerusalem"). This scant evidence shows that during the Bar Kokhba revolt Jerusalem not only symbolized the yearning for freedom but also served the political expression of the consolidation of the revolt and of its sway in Judea. There is, however, no evidence that the Temple was rebuilt at that time, nor is there any proof that Bar Kokhba was about to rebuild the Temple. However, an altar may have been erected for sacred worship.

Bar Kokhba made a final stand at *Bethar in the Judean Hills, but from the finds in the Judean Desert it would appear that after the fall of the last stronghold the flame of revolt continued to flicker in the desert and in the vicinity of the Dead Sea. Nevertheless, in talmudic and midrashic sources Bethar represents the fortress in which the rebels found refuge, and its fall, along with the defeat of Bar Kokhba who met his death there, symbolizes the end of the revolt. The place was apparently chosen as the rebels' main stronghold because of its strategic situation on the edge of a mountain overlooking the Valley of Sorek and dominating the important Jerusalem-Bet Guvrin road, and possibly also because of its fertile soil. Since it was not adequately fortified, Jerusalem could not serve as a stronghold. At that time Bethar was considered a large city (*kerakh*; TJ, Ta'an 4:8, 69a; Lam. R. 2:2 no. 4; cf. Mid. Hag. to Deut. 28:52), perhaps because numerous inhabitants from the entire neighborhood had gathered there, as attested by Jerome (in his commentary on Zech. 8:19), who mentions that many thousands of Jews found refuge in it – *Bether ad quam multa milia confugerant Judaeorum* (and cf. the midrashic references to 400 synagogues in Bethar).

The actual siege of Bethar began apparently after the recapture of Jerusalem. Whether Bar Kokhba's men had intended it from the outset to be their principal fortress or were driven there by the force of circumstances cannot be known. Even during the siege those in Bethar maintained contact with camps of fighters in the Judean Desert. One of the documents states: "Near the well of Ben Koseva, Nasi of Israel, in the camp," referring probably to the camp of Bethar, which is not mentioned, however, in the Dead Sea documents. Severus' strategy was to intensify the siege on the fortress, and a siege wall (*circumvallatio*) was built for this purpose. It was attacked by the besieged in desperate sallies, while the blockade grew tighter. A clear reminder of the Roman armies' presence in Bethar itself was preserved in a Latin inscription which was engraved on a rock near the well of Bethar and mentions detachments of the Fifth "Macedonica" and the Eleventh "Claudia" legions. The inscription is now illegible.

Eusebius states that Bethar was besieged in the 18th year of Hadrian's reign, that is, in 134 C.E., about two years after the outbreak of the revolt, and that its fall was caused by hunger and thirst. According to the talmudic account (TJ, Ta'an 4:8, 68d; Lam. R. 2:2, no. 4), Hadrian unsuccessfully laid siege to Bethar for three and a half years, until a Samaritan pretended that *Eleazar of Modi'in (ha-Moda'i) had conspired with him to surrender the city to the Romans. Incensed at this, Bar Kokhba killed Eleazar. "Immediately Bethar was captured and Ben Koziva met his death." Presumably great importance was attached in besieged Bethar to sages such as Eleazar of Modi'in, one of the leading rabbis of his generation, but whether he is identical with the Eleazar whose name appears on coins of the revolt cannot be determined. (In one of his letters, Bar Kokhba mentions a רבנו בטניה בר מיסה, whom he regarded as a great man.) These circumstances suggest that eventually a dispute broke out between the sages and the commander-in-chief and spread among the besieged. In any event these reports, like the statement of Eusebius, indicate that the capture of Bethar was difficult and was achieved under unusual circumstances.

The death of Bar Kokhba is enveloped in a legendary halo. The accounts of the massacre perpetrated in Bethar attest to the ferocity of the struggle (Git. 56a–b; Song. R. 2:17; cf. ARN 138, 115: "Not a soul escaped"). The sages state that on Av 15th the burial of the slain was permitted (Ta'an. 31a). Tradition has it that Bethar was taken on the Ninth of Av (*ibid.*, 29a), and Jerome (*loc. cit.*) also says that it occurred in August: *in hoc mense* (scil. *Augusto*). On the basis of the latest date – the fourth year of the liberation of Israel – mentioned in one of the documents, Bar Kokhba's rule lasted more than three years. In Jewish tradition the fall of Bethar was a disaster equal to the destruction of the First and Second Temples.

The Jewish population of Judea was largely exterminated in the period of repression which followed the fall of Bethar. The subjugation was associated with massacres and religious persecution, the sale of Jews into slavery, and uprooting of the people from the soil. The Jewish center of gravity now moved northward, chiefly to Galilee. Thus ended the final and perhaps greatest war of liberation of the Jews in ancient times. The independence of Judea had come to an end.

The Judean Desert Documents

The finds, dating from the days of Bar Kokhba and brought to light in the Judean Desert in 1952–61, contain additional facts of great importance for an understanding of the social and economic conditions prevailing during the Bar Kokhba war in 132–135 C.E. The first documents were found in 1952 in Wadi Muraba'at about 11 mi. (18 km.) southwest of *Qumran. Among them are commercial contracts, letters of divorce, two letters from Bar Kokhba, and one from the administrators of the community addressed to Jeshua b. Galgolah. An archaeological expedition undertaken in the Judean Desert south of En-Gedi in 1960–61 uncovered, alongside material finds such as skeletons, linen, remnants of clothes, metal and glass vessels, and remains of food, many documents of the time of the Bar Kokhba war, chiefly in one of the caves in Naḥal Ḥever, now named "The Cave of the Letters." The letters and economic documents in Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek uncovered in the cave testify to the economic position in southern Judea on the eve of the revolt and at the height of the war (on the documents, their language, literary form, and historical significance see *Dead Sea Scrolls).

The letters, written apparently in Bar Kokhba's name but not personally by him, deal with everyday matters. Some of them are not entirely clear. The dates mentioned in them range from the second to the fourth year of the liberation of Israel (132–134 C.E.). The letters open with an almost identical formula:

> משמעון בן כוסבה לישע בן גלגולה לאנשי הכרך שלו. משמעון לישוע בן
> גלגולה שלום; שמעון בר כוסבה הנסי על ישראל ליהונתן ולמסבלה סלם;
> משמעון בר כוסבא לאנשי עינגדי למסבלא .בעין שלום; שמעון ליהודה
> בר מנשה לקרית ערביה (ר)ליהו(נ)תן ב(ו).
>
> "From Simeon ben Kosevah to Jeshua ben Galgolah and the men of his fortress!"; "From Simeon to Jeshua ben Galgolah, peace!"; "Simeon bar Kosevah the *nasi* ["prince"] of Israel to Jonathan and Masbela, peace!"; "From Simeon bar Koseva to the men of En-Gedi to Masbela (and) to Jonathan B(ar) Ba'ayan peace!" "Simeon to Judah bar Manasseh to Kiryat Araviyah."

In a letter to Jeshua b. Galgolah, one of his army commanders, Bar Kokhba refers to the גללאים (*gll'ym*), who are to be protected and, sternly reminding his men of this, threatens them with irons: "I call Heaven to witness against me … that I shall put your feet in irons." The actual occasion and the identity of the גללאים are not clear from the letter. In another letter to Jeshua, Bar Kokhba orders him to offer hospitality on the Sabbath to men who were bringing wheat to the camp and to provide them with accommodation until "after the Sabbath."

In other letters found in Naḥal Ḥever, the *nasi* writes to Masbelah b. Simeon and Jonathan b. Bayahu, who were apparently in command of the En-Gedi front, about the wheat supply, the grain harvest, the confiscation of property, the supervision of the men, and the mobilization of the men of *Tekoa on the border of the Judean Desert. His language is harsh, and he frequently threatens them with punishment if they fail to carry out his orders ("and if you will not do this, you will be punished"). In a Hebrew letter to Jonathan and Masbelah of En-Gedi, Bar Kokhba orders them to attend to the loading of a boat anchored in the harbor there. To the commanders in the rear and the population of the inhabited area of the desert, with whom he was incensed for having failed to supply food as he had commanded and who had neglected their duty, Bar Kokhba uses stern language: "You are living well, eating and drinking off the property of the house of Israel, and care nothing about your brethren."

In an Aramaic letter to Judah b. Manasseh of Kiryat Araviyah, Bar Kokhba orders Judah to supply him with the *Four Species for Tabernacles and apparently reminds him about separating the tithe: ותקן יתהן ("and give the dues from them"). Such references, made incidentally or hinted at in the letters, may indicate that Bar Kokhba's men, even under danger, strictly and quite naturally kept the commandments of Judaism, such as the sanctity of the Sabbath, the laws of the priestly and levitical dues, and the fullest observance of festivals.

The letters and other documents uncovered in the Judean Desert contain nothing specific about the attitude of the sages toward the rule of Bar Kokhba nor is there any mention in them of Bethar and of the war there. Nevertheless it is possible to comprehend from them explicitly and at first hand about Bar Kokhba's aggressive personality and his status, the economic straits in which the fighters of Judea found themselves, and the geographic extent of the revolt. The *nasi* was concerned about supply problems, food for his camp, and matters pertaining to real estate. The economic documents found in Wadi Muraba'at show that leases were made in the name and with the sanction of Bar Kokhba: "On the instructions of Simeon b. Koseva." Apparently the land belonged nominally to the *nasi*, it being clearly stated in a lease, "You have leased the ground from Simeon, the Nasi of Israel." In his name the lessors laid down the quota of grain that was to be given to them. As was to be expected in a time of war, the authorities insisted on the cultivation of the fields and confiscated the lands of those who neglected to till them. They "were dispossessed of the land and lost everything." In effect, Bar Kokhba regarded himself as holding the authority of the Roman emperor and transferred the lands of liberated Judea to his own possession. His orders concerning leases, sales, and confiscations were grounded on a juridical succession to the Roman rule, by virtue of which he was empowered to exercise control over the lands of Judea and confiscate property for the public good. Contracts found in Naḥal Ḥever indicate that Bar Kokhba wished to prevent the concentration of the lands of En-Gedi in the hands of a few owners in order to increase the supply of food in a time of stress.

From the names of the settlements mentioned in these documents, Bar Kokhba's men apparently controlled extensive areas, in the frontier regions of the Judean mountains, in the neighborhood of Bet Guvrin (Ir-Nahash), and in the Judean Desert, and maintained contact, it seems, with regions east and south of the Dead Sea, such as Ma'aleh ha-Luḥit in the district of Eglatin in Moab and Zoar in the Aravah. Herodium, the town of Herod about 6 mi. (10 km.) southeast of Jerusalem and mentioned in the documents, became an economic center in which the *nasi's* representatives were stationed; En-Gedi was an important supply harbor for the rebels. The settlements of Tekoa and Kiryat Araviyah in the vicinity of Bethlehem are mentioned in the documents. According to the reconstruction of ב ...שלים as Jerusalem, proposed by J.T. Milik who made a study of the Wadi Muraba'at documents, that city is referred to in two of them, one dating from the second, and the other from the fourth year "of the liberation of Israel" (Elul, 133 and Tishrei, 134, respectively). After the defeat, the fugitives from the war in Judea gathered in the Judean Desert, which then became the rebel center. The remains of Roman military camps found above the caves in Naḥal Ḥever show that the legions besieged the remnants of the fighters who, together with their families, had taken refuge in these hiding places. Surrounded by the Romans, there they met their death.

[Samuel Abramsky]

New Archaeological Finds

Since the writing of the above in the late 1960s new archaeological information concerning the Bar Kokhba revolt has emerged as a result of the intensive investigation of hundreds of refuge caves and underground hiding complexes. Refuge caves are found mainly in the Judean Desert and in the cliffs overlooking the Dead Sea, and were used as shelters for Jewish refugees at the close of the Bar Kokhba revolt. Underground hiding complexes, however, were subterranean warrens hewn artificially under or near residential buildings within Jewish towns and villages (some 125 sites according to a recent count). They have been found in the Judean Shephela, and in the Beth-El and Hebron Mountains, and reflect the general boundaries of the area that was under Bar Kokhba's administration. Excavations at the Abi'or Cave in the Judean Desert in 1986 and later in 1993 brought to light numerous fragments of new documents written on papyri in Greek and Aramaic. Additional finds from the cave consisted of textiles, ropes, and parts of sandals. These items were brought to the cave and hidden there towards the end of the revolt.

Excavations conducted in 1984 by Tel Aviv University confirmed that Khirbet al-Yahud (10 acres in size) is indeed *Bethar, the last bastion of Bar Kokhba. Hastily erected fortifications were uncovered and the discovery of slingstones and arrowheads indicates that a battle took place there. Roman siege camps were also identified in the vicinity of Bethar (present-day Battir).

Various artifacts dating from the time of the revolt have been unearthed at a number of sites and within underground hiding complexes, notably various forms of pottery, stone vessels, and coins. An important discovery was that of a lead weight found at Horvat 'Alim in the Shephela, bearing the name and title of Bar Kokhba, which was evidently used for administrative purposes. A signet ring bearing the name of Bar Kokhba is also reported from the vicinity of Quneitra in the Golan, and perhaps was brought to this destination by Jews fleeing persecution at the end of the Bar Kokhba revolt. A number of coin hoards have become known, many of them through clandestine digging, containing Jewish coins mixed with those produced in Aelia Capitolina. Clearly, Aelia Capitolina was founded before the outbreak of the revolt. There is no evidence that Bar Kokhba at any time held Jerusalem (see above for contrary view). Coins dating from the Bar Kokhba revolt have also begun emerging from controlled excavations, especially within the refuge caves and underground hiding complexes.

[Shimon Gibson (2nd ed.)]

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BARLAD (Rom. **Bârlad** or **Bîrlad**), town in Moldavia, E. Romania. The Jewish community there is first attested in 1738 when the prince of Moldavia, Grigore Ghica, appointed Marco (Mordechai) as leader (*staroste*) of the Jews of Barlad "according to ancient custom." "A row of Jewish stores" is mentioned in 1767 and a "Jewish street" in 1819; 53 Jewish households were recorded in 1803. In 1838 the Jews were accused of desecrating Christian holy objects, and 23 notables of the community, including three women, were imprisoned. They were released only after payment of a heavy fine. In December 1867, there was an outbreak of violence when the Jews were accused of murdering an antisemitic priest. The community numbered 2,000 in 1859; 5,883 (24% of the total) in 1899, about one-third of the merchants and artisans in the city being Jews; and 3,727 in 1930 (14% of the total), mainly occupied in commerce (many as clerks) and as artisans. There were then in Barlad a Jewish kindergarten and two Jewish schools, for boys and for girls. Aizic Taubes (1834–1920) was among the prominent rabbis. Barlad was also a Zionist center.

In November 1940, all Jewish men were sent to forced labor. However, the intellectuals were liberated due to protests by Romanian intellectuals. When the war against the U.S.S.R. broke out (June 22, 1941) the Jews from towns in the district were driven from their homes and sent to Barlad. The community founded a gymnasia and aided many pauperized Jews. After World War II Jewish life was reorganized for a short period only due to the considerable decrease in population through emigration, mainly to Israel. In 1969, 100 Jewish families lived in Barlad where there was one synagogue. In 2004, 46 Jews lived in Barlad.

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[Eliyahu Feldman and Theodor Lavi / Lucian-Zeev Herscovici (2nd ed.)]

BAR-LE-DUC, capital of the Meuse department, northeastern France; former capital of the Duchy of Bar. The 12th-century Jewish community in Bar-le-Duc was reputedly expelled by the count of Bar, but Jews are again found there from 1220. They were expelled in 1309 but were allowed to return to the county in 1321, and settled in 30 localities. In 1322 the Jews were again expelled, but had returned by 1328 to be banished again in 1477. They resided in Bar-le-Duc in the Rue des Juifs, the present Rue de la Couronne. After the French Revolution Jews again settled in Bar-le-Duc. From 1808 the community was affiliated to the Consistory of Nancy and administered by the rabbinate of Verdun. It numbered 170 in 1892. During World War II 18 Jews living in Bar-le-Duc were deported or shot. In 1968, 40 Jews lived there.

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[Georges Weill]

BAR-LEV (Originally **Brotzlewsky), HAIM** (1924–1994), eighth chief of staff of the IDF and Israeli politician; member of the Ninth to Twelfth Knessets. Bar-Lev was born in Vienna, and immigrated to Palestine in 1939 from Yugoslavia. In 1942 he graduated from the Mikveh Israel agricultural school and served in the *Palmaḥ until 1948. In 1946 he participated in the detonation of the Allenby Bridge near Jericho, as part of the struggle against the British. In the War of Independence he served successively as commander of the Eighth Battalion in the Negev Brigade, commander of a mechanized battalion, and brigade operations officer. In 1956, after attending the Senior Officers' School in Britain, he became director of training in the General Staff. During the Sinai Campaign he commanded an armored brigade which reached the Suez Canal. In 1958–61 he was commanding officer of the Armored Corps. He then went to the United States for two years and studied for an M.A. in economics and business administration at Columbia University. After returning to Israel, he served in 1964–66 as head of the Operations Branch in the General Staff, after which he went to Paris to study political science. He was recalled the following year, however, and appointed deputy chief of staff on the eve of the Six-Day War. In 1968–72 he served as chief of staff. In this period the Bar-Lev Line was constructed as Israel's defensive system along the Suez Canal – a system which collapsed in the first days of the Yom Kippur War, largely due to complacency. In the course of the Yom Kippur War Bar-Lev was recalled to active service as commander of the front with Egypt.

Even though he was not elected to the Eighth Knesset, Bar-Lev was appointed by Golda *Meir as minister of commerce and industry and development in the government she formed in March 1974 – a post he continued to hold under Yitzhak *Rabin. Bar-Lev was elected on the Alignment list to the Ninth Knesset, and after the Alignment's electoral defeat was appointed secretary general of the Labor Party – a position he held until 1984. In this period he acted together with Party Chairman Shimon *Peres to rehabilitate the party's organization and finances. In the National Unity Government of 1984–90 Bar-Lev served as minister of police. In 1992, following the resumption of diplomatic relations with Russia, Bar-Lev was appointed Israeli ambassador, a position he held until his death.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: K. Guy, *Bar-Lev* (1998).

[Susan Hattis Rolef (2nd ed.)]

BARLEY (Heb. שְׂעוֹרָה; *se'orah*), one of the seven species (see *Food) with which Ereẓ Israel was blessed (Deut. 8:8). In biblical times barley bread was a staple food and was extensively cultivated, especially as it grows even in poor soil and in areas with a low rainfall. The fact that barley was so widely sown accounts for the biblical ruling that the value of a field is to be estimated on the basis of the amount of barley required to sow it (Lev. 27:16). In the days of the Judges the farmer in Ereẓ Israel sustained himself mainly on barley, a cake of barley bread symbolizing the agricultural Israelites (in contrast to the nomadic Midianites) in the dream of the Midianite soldier (Judg. 7:13). It formed part of the diet of David's army (II Sam. 17:28) and also of the hewers of the timber in Lebanon for the Temple of Solomon (II Chron. 2:9).

In mishnaic times wheat largely replaced barley as human food, and barley was used mainly as animal fodder (it is referred to in this connection only once in the Bible (I Kings 5:8)) and the rabbis, therefore, in a homiletical view, give as the reason for the offering of barley meal in the ordeal of a woman suspected of adultery (Lev. 5:15) "that she had behaved like an animal" (Num. 5:15; cf. Sot. 9a). It became principally the poor man's food; hence the proverb, "Why do you eat barley bread? – Because I have no wheaten bread" (Sif. Num. 49). In the Bible the price of barley flour is given as half that of fine wheaten flour (II Kings 7:1), which was also the ratio of their prices in mishnaic times (Tosef., BM 9:10), the nutritive value of the former being regarded as half that of the latter (Pe'ah 8:5). The Karaite Anan held that for fulfilling the commandment on Passover unleavened bread made of barley was to be used, this being in his view, "the bread of affliction" and poverty. Of the cereals, barley ripens first (Ex. 9:31) and "the barley harvest season" is the designation of the spring (Ruth 1:22). On the second day of Passover, the *Omer* ("sheaf"), the first fruit of the harvest, was reaped (Lev. 23:9–15), and although there is no specific reference to its being barley, the rabbinic tradition to that effect is undoubtedly correct (Men. 84b) as the barley harvest begins at Passover time. One kind of beer was brewed from barley (BB 96b), another from a mixture of barley, figs, and blackberries (Pes. 107a), and yet another called "Egyptian *zythos*" from a third part of barley, a third part of safflower, and a third part of salt (*ibid.*, 42b). The brewing of beer has a long tradition in Egypt; it is depicted in ancient Egyptian drawings. *Se'orah*, the Hebrew name for barley, derives from the long hairs (Heb. *se'ar*, "hair") of its ears, and the cereal is designated by cognate words in almost all Semitic languages. The Greeks regarded barley as the very earliest crop grown in the world. In Ereẓ Israel there are at present cultivated species of two- and six-rowed barley (*Five Species). These species have been found in Egyptian tombs. A wild barley (*Hordeum spontaneum*) which grows in Ereẓ Israel is thought to be the origin of two-rowed barley. In excavations at Gezer four-rowed barley has been uncovered, and in the caves of En-Gedi and of the Judean Desert, two- and four-rowed barley of the mishnaic and talmudic periods has been found.

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[Jehuda Feliks]

BARLIN, FREDERICK WILLIAM (fl. early 19th century), English portrait painter. Barlin, who worked in London, was the son of Berliner, the ḥazzan of the Chatham synagogue. Barlin exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1802 and 1807. Two of his portraits are of particular significance: that of Solomon *Herschel, chief rabbi of the Ashkenazi Jews in England, and that of the Sephardi haham Raphael *Meldola. The latter was painted wearing a three-cornered hat in a courtly, elegant, and typically English manner. This portrait was later engraved and published by Joshua Lopez.

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BARMAS, ISSAY (1872–1946), violinist and teacher. Born in Odessa, Barmas studied with I. Grzimali in Moscow and with J. Joachim in Berlin. He made his debut as a soloist in Berlin in 1899 and toured Europe. He also formed his own quartet in 1919. From 1900 to 1929 he taught in Berlin (Stern Conservatoire, 1900–05; Klindwort-Scharwenki Conservatoire, 1905–29) and later moved to London. Among his publications are *Die Loesung des geigentechnischen Problems* (1913), *Ton-*

leiter-Spezialstudien, Doppelgriff-Spezialstudien, redactions, and editions of classical works.

BAR MITZVAH, BAT MITZVAH (Heb. masc. בַּר מִצְוָה, fem. בַּת מִצְוָה; lit. "son/daughter of the commandment," i.e., a person under obligation, responsible), term denoting both the attainment of religious and legal maturity as well as the occasion at which this status is formally assumed for boys at the age of 13 plus one day, for girls at 12 plus one day (Maim. Yad, Ishut, 2:9–10). Upon reaching this age a Jew is obliged to fulfill all the *commandments (Avot 5:1; cf. Yoma 82a). Although the term occurs in the Talmud for one who is subject to the law (BM 96a), its usage to denote the occasion of assuming religious and legal obligations does not appear before the 15th century (*Sefer Ẓiyyoni* of R. Menahem Ẓiyyoni to Gen. 1:5). A special celebration for a girl, the bat mitzvah, is not found mentioned before *Ben Ish Ḥai*, the legal code by Joseph Ḥayyim b. Elijah (19th cent.).

While the occasion of becoming bar/bat mitzvah was thus formalized only in later times, it is obvious from various sources that the status of obligation for boys of 13 was assumed in early times. According to Eleazar b. Simeon (second century C.E.), a father was responsible for the deeds of his son until the age of 13. For example the vows of a boy 13 and a day old are considered valid vows (Nid. 5:6). From then on a person can perform acts having legal implications, such as being a member of a *bet din*, being reckoned as part of a *minyan*, and buying and selling property. Yet there are notable exceptions, e.g., the testimony of a 13-year-old is not valid regarding real estate because he is "not knowledgeable about buying and selling" (Maim. Yad, Edut, 9:8).

Jewish law fixed 13 as the age of responsibility considering this the time of physical maturity for boys (and 12 for girls; Kid. 16b). At this age young people are thought to be able to control their desires (ARN^{2} 16, 62–63). Rashi claims that bar mitzvah as a status of obligation was "in the category of biblical laws, as it was given to Moses at Sinai" (comment. to Avot 5:1). Midrashic literature gives many references for 13 as the turning point in the life of a young person, e.g., Abraham rejected the idols of his father at this age (PdRE 26), and at 13 Jacob and Esau went their separate ways, the former to study Torah, the latter to idol-worship (Gen. R. 63:10). Until 13 a son receives the merit of his father and is also liable to suffer for his parent's sin; after that each one bears his own sin (Yal. Ruth 600). This is also the time of transition from elementary school to the *bet ha-midrash* (*ibid.*). A tradition recorded in talmudic literature (Sof. 18:7, ed. M. Higger 1937) alludes to the fact that in Jerusalem during the period of the Second Temple, it was customary for the sages to bless a child who had succeeded in completing his first fast day at 12 or 13.

Being Called to the Torah

The calling up to the reading of the Torah is a symbol of a boy's attaining maturity. He is called up on the first occasion that the Torah is read following his 13th birthday according to the Jewish calendar. This is the first public demonstration of his new role as a full member of the community and, in modern times, it is to this occasion that the term bar mitzvah usually refers. When the boy's father is called to the Torah, he recites the benediction, "Blessed is He who has now freed me from the responsibility of this one" (Gen. R. *loc. cit.*). Among observant Jews in Eastern Europe the boy was usually called up to the Torah on the Monday or the Thursday following his birthday. In Western Europe, the occasion took on a more ceremonial importance, and it was customary for the bar mitzvah boy to be called up to the Torah to read the *maftir* portions and the *haftarah* on the first Sabbath after his birthday. For this task he had previously been prepared. According to an old Ashkenazi custom in Lithuania, Ereẓ Israel, etc., the boy recited the *maftir* on the Sabbath just before becoming fully 13, and immediately upon coming of age he received an ordinary *aliyah*. In the 17th and 18th centuries the custom was recorded in Worms, Germany, that those boys who were able and had pleasing voices conducted parts or all of the service. In some communities it was and still is customary for the young man to read the whole portion of the week. On a Sabbath when a bar mitzvah is celebrated, the morning service assumes a more festive atmosphere. Members of the boy's family are also called up to the reading of the Torah, and a special sermon is frequently delivered by the rabbi, stressing the boy's new responsibilities and privileges. In many modern synagogues, the rabbi ends his sermon by invoking the *Priestly Blessing or other blessing, and the bar mitzvah boy is given a gift from the congregation. After the service, a festive *Kiddush* is often held, with a banquet on the same or the following day. Some authorities ruled that parents must arrange a banquet when their son became bar mitzvah just as they do on the day of his wedding (see Magen Avraham on Sh. Ar., OḤ 225:2). Among the Jews of Morocco a special *piyyut* is recited when a bar mitzvah boy is called up to the Torah and, in most synagogues, a special **Mi she-Berakh* blessing is made at the end of the reading for the boy and his family.

Putting on Tefillin

The major ritual innovation obligatory on a boy reaching bar mitzvah is that henceforth he is required to put on *tefillin* for the morning prayer. He is usually coached in the forms of the rite some time before the bar mitzvah. The Sephardim and some of the Ḥasidim, interpreting the Kabbalah very exactly, insist that *tefillin* cannot be worn one day before bar mitzvah. Only when the boy has become fully 13 and one day does he keep this commandment. For the Sephardim the first occasion of putting on the *tefillin* was part of the celebration of the bar mitzvah itself. At that time a scholar or elder was honored with aiding the young man in donning the *tefillin*. Ḥasidim of the *Ḥabad* school taught that boys began putting on *tefillin* two months prior to the actual bar mitzvah, the first month without pronouncing the blessing, and the second month saying it.

The Bar Mitzvah Derashah

Solomon Luria (16th century) states that the bar mitzvah celebration was customary among Ashkenazim and that the boy was tutored to deliver a *derashah* ("talmudic discourse") during the banquet (*Yam shel Shelomo* BK 7:37). It usually dealt with some aspect of the rite; Sephardim call it the *tefillin derashah*. The discourse frequently serves as an occasion for the boy to thank his parents for their love and care, and the guests for their participation in his celebration. The custom is still observed today, with sons of traditional families giving a talmudic discourse, and others a more general talk. In Conservative, Reform, and some Orthodox synagogues a prayer before the ark is sometimes said by the bar mitzvah boy in place of the *derashah*.

Most congregational Hebrew schools have special classes for the preparation of bar/bat mitzvah students. In some congregations (notably the United Synagogue of Great Britain) the boy is not allowed to celebrate his bar mitzvah until after he passes an examination in Hebrew and the fundamentals of the Jewish religion.

Since 1967, some boys from Israel and abroad celebrate their bar mitzvah at the Western Wall. Some Jews from outside Israel make a special pilgrimage to celebrate their son's bar mitzvah there.

Confirmation

Reform congregations have instituted what is known as a Confirmation ceremony. This was originally in 19th century German Reform a substitution for bar mitzvah. The ceremony was held at a later age – 16 or 17 – on the grounds that before that age a young person cannot really understand the implications of the rituals. In modern times, especially in the U.S., confirmation has been adopted as a ceremony additional to bar mitzvah which is celebrated in a more traditional manner. The main intention of confirmation was to prolong the period of a child's Jewish education, and as such it is usually a ceremony with a "class" of young people being confirmed at the same time. The ceremony is usually held on or about Shavuot. The confirmands recite various sections from Scriptures and publicly declare their devotion to Judaism. The boys and girls frequently receive a special certificate, testifying their acceptance into the Jewish community.

[Zvi Kaplan]

Bat Mitzvah

The term bat mitzvah occurs only once in the Talmud (BK 15a), in reference to the time a girl becomes subject to the obligations of Jewish law incumbent on adults. While Avot 5:21 asserts that 13 is the age of adult responsibility, Niddah 5:6 rules that the vows of a girl who is 12 and one day are deemed valid, as are the vows of a boy who is 13 and one day. Similarly, after their respective 12th and 13th birthdays, girls and boys must fast on Yom Kippur (Yoma 85). Talmudic discussion in Kiddushin 16b clarifies that a boy is of age when physical signs of adulthood appear after he is 13 plus one day. Maimonides (Yad, Ishut 2:9–10) completes the equation and specifies that a girl's signs of adulthood are those that appear only after her 12th birthday plus one day. Aside from assuming ritual obligations, adult responsibility meant that a young woman was no longer dependent on her father, mother, or brother in marital arrangements and could act on her own behalf. Prior to the modern era this change in a female's status was rarely celebrated in a communal context. It is not until the 19th century that indications of ceremony or public recognition come from Italy, Eastern and Western Europe, Egypt, and Baghdad. These acknowledgements of female religious adulthood include a private blessing, a father's *aliyah* to the Torah, a rabbi's sermon and/or a girl's public examination on Judaic matters. Bat mitzvah as a female ceremony equivalent or identical to the male bar mitzvah is not found until the middle of the 20th century and is an American innovation, discussed in more detail below.

ITALY. The earliest source, from Verona on Passover 1844, refers to an *iniziazione religiosa delle fanciulle* and *la maggiorita delle fanciulle*. This reference to entrance "into minyan" was used for boys and girls. By the end of the century, this ritual had also spread to other cities such as Ancona, Bologna, and Rome. During this confirmation-like process the girl recited some biblical verses and a liturgical selection and a rabbi delivered a sermon. There was great debate in the 19th century Italian community as to whether this was a permitted rite. In Italy today a 12-year-old female is examined by a rabbi, usually on Shavuot or Purim, after which she reads special prayers in Hebrew and Italian in the synagogue; a celebratory party follows. Edda Servi Machlin describes her 1938 bat mitzvah experience in her cookbook, *The Classic Cuisine of Italian Jews* (1981), p. 69.

EUROPE. Some scholars have mentioned Rabbi Jacob *Ettlinger of Germany as favoring some form of puberty lifecycle event. It is clear, however, in Ettlinger's *Binyan Ẓiyyon* 107 (1867), p. 145, that he opposed confirmation or any similar celebration. Rather, in accordance with Danish regulations, he gave some girls a public exam on the completion of their religious studies (*limmudei kodesh*) and then delivered a sermon. All this took place in the synagogue. Intriguing references to bat mitzvah celebrations in various European cities include a confirmation in Warsaw in 1843 and a party in Lvov in 1902. Rabbi Musafiya notes that bat mitzvah celebrations were held in France towards the end of the 19th century. Anecdotal references to bat mitzvah celebrations include that of Charlotte Salomon (1917–1943) in Berlin (see Mary Lowenthal Felstiner, *To Paint Her Life* (1997)).

EGYPT. Rabbi Elijah Hazzan held a synagogue celebration for *benot mitzvah* (pl.) girls who had completed studies in religion and Jewish history in 1907 in Alexandria.

BAGHDAD. One significant early reference to a celebration for a girl is found in the book *Ben Ish Ḥai* by Rabbi *Joseph Ḥayyim b. Elijah of Iraq (1834–1909). In his discussion of *parashat Re'eh*, note 17, vol. 1, p. 132, Rabbi Ḥayyim posits that there is an equal sense of *simḥah* for boys and girls as they reach juridical responsibility; he recommends celebrating the girl's 12th birthday in some liturgical fashion. He declared that even though it was not the custom in his community (Baghdad) to make a *se'udat mitzvah*, nonetheless the event should be celebrated on that day and the girl should wear special (Sabbath) clothing. If at all possible, her father should buy her a new dress so that she could say the benediction *sheheḥeyanu* on the occasion of her bat mitzvah.

ISRAEL. In Israel it became customary to celebrate a girl's 12th birthday with a party. It was called a bat mitzvah but there was rarely any liturgical or synagogue component. In the early 21st century, often all the girls in a class prepare for a group celebration after studying relevant material throughout the school year. Some synagogues and schools do enable a ritual format for girls while some families go to Rachel's tomb or other sacred sites for a party. Tourists and Israelis who desire a liturgical and Torah element for a girl's bat mitzvah may go to the Western Wall to pray with the Women of the Wall.

NORTH AMERICA. There are reports of various forms of bat mitzvah ceremonies in the American Midwest as early as 1907, but the best-known bat mitzvah ritual was created in 1922 by Rabbi Mordecai *Kaplan for his daughter Judith Kaplan *Eisenstein. Although innovative in concept and held in a synagogue, it was not identical to a contemporary bar mitzvah which would have included an *aliyah* and the ritual recitation of a *haftarah.* Rather, Judith Kaplan read a section selected by her father from a printed *Ḥumash* (Five Books of Moses). The egalitarian bat mitzvah format, identical to a bar mitzvah, is not documented until 1940 and did not spread across North America until after the 1960s. The history of these ritual performances developed along denominational lines. Initially, the Reform movement was divided over any bat mitzvah rite as many congregations preferred a group confirmation ceremony for girls and boys at age 15 or 16. However, by the early 1960s, many North American Reform congregations offered prepared girls the option of bat mitzvah as well as confirmation. Although these early *benot mitzvah* generally read from the Torah scroll, their liturgical roles were often less than those of a bar mitzvah. Within the Conservative movement of the 1950s and 1960s there was debate as to where to place a ceremony for girls and what its content should be. During the 1970s and 1980s, the ritual celebration of bat mitzvah became ensconced within Reform, Conservative, and Reconstructionist congregations. At the beginning of the 21st century, most *benot mitzvah* in the Reform, Conservative, and Reconstructionist movements perform the same liturgical roles as a bar mitzvah, including reading from the Torah scroll and recitation of a *haftarah*. For some the ceremony is held on Friday night; but for most it takes place during Sabbath morning services.

By the 1970s many in Orthodox movements also sought ways to fit a bat mitzvah into the established order of worship in ways that were halakhically permissible. One option, established by Hebrew day schools in response to an Orthodox preference for home- or school-based rituals for girls, was a group bat mitzvah celebration. Another choice was to hold a ceremony in the synagogue at a time when no prayer services were taking place. An alternative possibility was to celebrate the bat mitzvah at a separate women's prayer service during which a non-liturgical reading from the Torah could occur. Even in contemporary ḥasidic and ḥaredi communities some format for the recognition and celebration of a girl's initiation as an adult Jew now exists

The major impact of bat mitzvah celebrations has been to increase the level of women's Jewish education and synagogue ritual participation. By the first decade of the 21st century adult bat mitzvah ceremonies had also become a common occurrence in synagogues of all denominations.

LEGAL RESPONSA. Rabbi Moses *Feinstein forbids the use of the sanctuary for an official bat mitzvah. He does allow a special birthday *kiddush* in the sanctuary, adding that the girl may say some appropriate words there after services; he also permits some form of public celebration in synagogue social halls or in the family home. Rabbi J.J. *Weinberg recommends a modest home-based celebration to strengthen the girl's education and attachment to Jewish traditions. A number of 20th century rabbinic decisors, including Rabbi Y. *Nissim, (*Noam* 7:4), Rabbi Ovadiah *Yosef (*Yabi'a Omer* 6:29.4, *Yehaveh Da'at* 2:29, 3:10), and Rabbi Chanoch Grossberg (*Ma'ayan*, 13:42), assert that a *se'udat mitsvah* (obligatory festive meal) is held in honor of a girl's bat mitzvah on her birthday. Rabbi Abraham Musafiya, writing in the latter part of the 19th century (first printed in *Noam* 7 (5724, 1964) p. 4), claims that there is no difference between a boy and a girl in terms of the obligatory nature of the festive meal and that this festive meal is customarily held for boys and girls in France.

RELATED BLESSING. At the time of a bar mitzvah blessing a father traditionally says *Barukh she-petarani me-onsho shel zeh*, indicating that he has been released from responsibility for his son's acts. There is disagreement within Orthodox Judaism whether this blessing is also recited for a girl. Some decisors claim that a father cannot say it on the occasion of a bat mitzvah since he is not obligated to teach his daughter Torah. Others claim that the girl's coming of age at 12 years requires the same parental blessing as that for a boy at thirteen years. Rabbi Ovadiah Yosef favorably quotes Rabbi A. Aburbia, who recommends saying the blessing without God's name (*Yabi'a Omer* OH 6:29, p. 98).

[Norma Baumel Joseph (2nd ed.)]

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BARNA, VICTOR (**Vic**, formerly **Gyozo Braun**; 1911–1972), table tennis champion, winner of 22 world championships in singles, doubles, and team play. Born in Budapest to a printer, Barna learned table tennis playing at the local sports club before joining the Hungarian national team that won the 1929 Swaythling Cup. Barna won his first world singles title in 1930 in Berlin, eventually winning five world singles titles, including four consecutively in the 1930s, plus 17 others in men's and mixed doubles and team championships for Hungary. He also won several open tournaments in North America, Europe, and Australia. Barna's singles career ended when his right (playing) arm was severely injured in an auto accident in 1935, though he continued playing doubles and indeed won the 1939 world championships in mixed doubles. Barna moved to France in 1936 and played there professionally, before moving to England just before the outbreak of World War II. He adopted British nationality and competed for Britain the rest of his career. He played his last world championships in 1954, when he was runner-up in the men's doubles. Barna was noted for his legendary backhand drive, known as the "Barna Flick," and for being extremely agile on his feet, with terrific powers of anticipation and concentration. He is credited with popularizing the sport of table tennis worldwide. He was recognized in his native Hungary as "the most successful Hungarian sportsman of the twentieth century." He wrote *Table Tennis Today* (1962).

[Elli Wohlgelernter (2nd ed.)]

BARNACLE GOOSE MYTHS. The barnacle goose is a migratory bird, whose winter habitat is the Arctic region, when it is seldom seen outside the Arctic circle. In summer, however, large flocks are found on the western shores of the British Isles and other parts of the temperate zone. According to a popular medieval fable, the barnacle goose was produced out of the fruit of a tree, or grew upon the tree attached by its bill (hence called the tree goose), or was produced out of a shell. This fable – the origin of which is obscure – was taken quite literally by both Jews and non-Jews, and in consequence it was a matter of doubt whether it was to be regarded as bird, fish, or a completely distinct species. *Isaac b. Moses of Vienna (*Or Zaru'a*) quotes R. Tam – who was the first to deal with the subject – as ruling that it may be eaten after ritual slaughtering like poultry. This decision was in opposition to the views of contemporary famous scholars who permitted it to be eaten in the same way as fruit. Samuel he-Ḥasid and his son *Judah he-Ḥasid of Regensburg agreed with R. Tam. R. *Isaac b. Joseph of Corbeil forbade it (*Sefer Mitzvot Katan* no. 210), as he regarded it as a species of shellfish. The Zohar (3:156) states that R. Abba saw a tree from whose branches grew geese. The Shulḥan Arukh (YD 84:15) rules that birds that grow on trees are forbidden since they are regarded as creeping things. The fable was disputed, however, by various scholars but as late as 1862 R. Bernard Issachar Dov *Illowy in New Orleans quoted a conflict of authorities whether it might be eaten and vigorously denounced those who would permit it. He too referred to the belief of many early naturalists that it grows on trees.

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[Harry Freedman]

BARNATO, BARNEY (**Barnett Isaacs**; 1852–1897), South African financier and mining magnate. Born in London, Barnato was educated at the Jews' Free School and went to Kimberley, South Africa, in 1873, during the diamond rush. He joined his brother Henry and they began buying diamonds as well as claims which were becoming unworkable as separate units. Within a short time the mines were bringing in an income of $9,000 a week. In 1881 the Barnato brothers formed the Barnato Diamond Mining Company, with capital of over $500,000. It soon rivaled the De Beers Mining Company of Cecil J. Rhodes, who was aiming at control of the diamond fields. The struggle between Rhodes and Barnato ended in 1888 with the amalgamation of the two companies into the De Beers Consolidated Mining Company, in which Barnato became a life governor. In the same year he was elected to the legislative assembly of Cape Colony. With the discovery of the Witwatersrand gold fields, Barnato acquired large holdings in Johannesburg, where the Barnato group eventually became one of the big mining units. In 1895 his optimism and business acumen saved the Rand from a serious slump. He denounced the Jameson Raid of that year which was aimed at overthrowing the government of Paul Kruger, but interceded with Kruger to reduce the offenders' sentences. Barnato was a colorful figure who loved to act in Shakespeare and sport fancy waistcoats. His wealth, financial shrewdness, and mode of living made him almost legendary. His vast interests, however, imposed a considerable strain on him and on a voyage to England in 1897, apparently emotionally disturbed, he jumped overboard and was drowned.

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[Lewis Sowden]

BARNAY, LUDWIG (1842–1924), German actor. Son of the secretary of the Hebrew congregation in Budapest, Barnay had a remarkable career as a leading German actor, first in Bohemian Trautenau, then in Budapest, Graz, Leipzig, Vienna, and Frankfurt/Main. In 1874 he became member of the famous ensemble of Meiningen Hoftheater, with which he toured Europe and the U.S. several times. He distinguished himself in heroic roles in Schiller and Shakespeare, winning particular acclaim as William Tell and Mark Antony. Together with Adolph L'Arronge he founded the Deutsche Theater in Berlin in 1883. Despite his famous quarrels with the actor Joseph Kainz, he remained an influential and important figure in German theater life. In competition to L'Arronge, he was founding director of the Berliner Theater from 1887 to 1894 and later he acted in Wiesbaden as director at the Koenigliche Schauspielhaus Berlin and eventually at the Koenigliche Hoftheater in Hannover. His main achievement of lasting effect was the foundation for the union of professional actors (*"Genossenschaft deutscher Buehnenangehoeriger"*) in 1871, which considerably improved the position of actors in German society. Barnay published his memoirs, *Erinnerungen* (2 vols), in 1903.

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[Marcus Pyka (2nd ed.)]

BARNEA, EZRA (1935–), ḥazzan, educator, and head of Renanot – Institute for Jewish Religious Music. Barnea was born in Jerusalem and from his youth was familiar with Sephardi cantorial music. He studied with Shaul Abbud, author of *Shirei Zimrah*, and with the Jerusalem cantor Moses Ner-Gaon. From the age of ten he was a chanter of the Torah readings and after his bar mitzvah a cantor in the Bukharan neighborhood in Jerusalem. In 1985 he opened a school for Sephardi cantorial music in Jerusalem and was appointed in 1986 the principal of Renanot in Jerusalem. In 1989 he received the Prize of the Ministry of Religious Affairs for his activities on behalf of Jewish music. Among his activities were the documentation and production of recordings of traditional Jewish music, especially liturgical pieces recorded from cantors and other knowledgeable individuals. He also organized a yearly conference on Jewish music during Hanukkah and published books and the periodical *Dukhan* on Jewish music.

[Gila Flam (2nd ed.)]

BARNEA, NAHUM (1944–), Israeli journalist. Barnea was born in Tel Aviv. and graduated in history and political science from the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, where he began his writing career on the university student newspaper. Subsequently, he joined **Davar*, where he worked first as the paper's Jerusalem affairs correspondent, then as the paper's representative in Washington, D.C., for six years, and later as a columnist. In 1981 he won the Sokolow prize for journalism. In 1982 he co-founded the **Koteret Rashit* news magazine. After its closure due to economic difficulties, Barnea joined **Yedioth Ahronoth* as a political columnist. He covered most important political, military, and economic stories in Israel. His reportage was characterized by broad knowledge, analytic acumen, and the ability to give a perspective to events. These qualities, together with his regular presence at news events and an easy pen, made him one of the most widely read newspaper journalists in Israel. His son was killed in a Jerusalem terrorist attack.

[Yoel Cohen (2nd ed.)]

BARNERT, NATHAN (1838–1927), U.S. businessman, public figure, and philanthropist. Barnert was born in Santomischel near Posen, Prussia, and was taken to the U.S. in 1849. After his travels in California during the gold rush, Barnert moved to Paterson, New Jersey, at 20, and opened a clothing establishment. During the Civil War, he filled large contracts for Union Army uniforms, using his profits for business expansion and acquisition of real estate holdings. Barnert retired from mercantile life at the age of 40 to devote all his attention to his profitable real estate interests. He used his capital to create a new industry in Paterson, the furnishing of supplies for paper mills. He also had great success in building large, modern textile mills as speculative projects. A Democrat in a normally Republican city, Barnert was elected to the Paterson Board of Aldermen in 1876 and 1879. He was elected mayor of Paterson in 1883 and 1889, and pursued a reform administration. An observant Jew, Barnert never appeared at City Hall on the Sabbath or festivals. He was a devoted worshiper at Congregation B'nai Jeshurun, to which, in 1889, he donated the land and assumed construction costs for a new synagogue building, whose dedication was attended by President William McKinley. Barnert built a Hebrew school (1904), and a nonsectarian hospital and nurses' home. Among his other philanthropic gifts were the construction of a synagogue for the Jewish community of Santomischel and an orphan asylum in Jerusalem. A statue of Nathan Barnert was dedicated in Paterson's City Hall Square in 1925.

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[David H. Panitz]

BARNET, WILL (1911–), U.S. painter, graphic artist, and teacher. Barnet was born in Beverly, Massachusetts. He started drawing at age six, recording his childhood home and family. His artistic studies began at the Art School at the Boston Museum of Fine Arts in 1928. In 1931, the year he issued his first lithograph, he received a scholarship to study at the Art Students League (1931–34) in New York City. There he began classes with Stuart Davis and Charles Locke. By 1935 he began serving as the League's official printer, supervising editions by William *Gropper, among others; two years later he became an instructor of graphic art at the League. During these early years Barnet depicted social themes influenced by the work of the Mexican muralists, particularly José Clemente Orozco. He recorded city life in prints such as *Idle Hands* (1935), which shows the mind-dulling effect of the Depression on a homeless man, and in prints such as *Cafeteria Scene* (1934) and *Conflict* (1934). This latter scene depicts a group of bulky men storming a city building. Barnet held his first one-man show at the Eighth Street Playhouse in New York in 1935 and served as the technical adviser in graphic art for the Federal Art Project of the Works Progress Administration in 1936.

In the 1940s he showed his works in various venues in New York and beyond. At this time he began to focus on painting, making colorful, simplified canvases of his children and wife. He taught in several settings, most notably painting at the Art Students League (until 1980) and graphic art at the Cooper Union in New York. Other institutions at which Barnet taught include the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts and the University of Minnesota at Duluth. Students who later went on to illustrious art careers include Mark *Rothko, Audrey Flack, and Donald Judd. In the 1950s, Barnet's printwork and painting became even more abstract, influenced by the simple design and balance of American Indian handicraft design. This interest relates to his goal of creating a "real American art." Throughout his career, Barnet oscillated between abstraction and figuration.

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[Samantha Baskind (2nd ed.)]

BARNETT, JOEL, BARON (1923–), British politician. Educated in Manchester and by profession an accountant, Joel Barnett was a Labour member of Parliament from 1964 until 1983. After serving as an Opposition spokesman on economic affairs from 1970 to 1974, Barnett held office as chief secretary to the Treasury from March 1974 until the fall of the Labour government in May 1979. From February 1977 until May 1979 he served in James Callaghan's cabinet. Barnett is probably best known for devising the Barnett Formula, under which grants to Scotland and Wales were greater per capita than grants to England, in order to reflect the geographical problems of service provision in these two areas. He is the author of *Inside the Treasury* (1992) and was given a life peerage after he retired from the House of Commons in 1983.

[William D. Rubinstein (2nd ed.)]

BARNETT, JOHN (1802–1890), composer. Barnett was born in Bedford, England. His father Bernhard Beer, a cousin of Giacomo Meyerbeer, had changed his name to Barnett upon settling in England. John Barnett was a prolific composer for the London stage. In his opera *The Mountain Sylph* (1834) he reintroduced the composed recitative into English opera in place of the spoken dialogue. His attempt to establish an opera house at St. James's Theater was unsuccessful. In later life he settled at Cheltenham as a music teacher. He composed chamber music and songs, and published some writings on singing. His daughter, Clara Kathleen Rogers (1844–1931), became a well-known opera singer.

BARNETT, JOHN FRANCIS (1837–1916), composer. Born in London, nephew of the composer John *Barnett, he won the Queen's Scholarship at the Royal Academy of Music at the age of 12, and played Mendelssohn's piano concerto at a performance conducted by Louis Spohr. He was appointed professor at the Royal College of Music, London, in 1883. His works include piano, chamber, and orchestral music, and choral cantatas; the most successful were settings of Coleridge's *Ancient Mariner* (1867) and Keats' *Eve of St. Agnes* (1913).

BARNETT, LIONEL DAVID (1871–1960), British Orientalist. Barnett, who was born in Liverpool, was keeper of the department of Oriental printed books and manuscripts at the British Museum from 1908 to 1936. He was an authority on Indian literature, and lectured in Indian history at the London University School of Oriental and African Studies until 1946. He wrote *Antiquities of India* (1913) and *Hindu Gods and Heroes* (1922), and his translations included *A History of Greek Drama* (1900) and, from the Sanskrit, *Brahma-Knowledge* (1907). Barnett was an elder of the Spanish and Portuguese congregation in London, and in 1931 published *El libro de los acuerdos*, an English translation from the earliest records of the congregation, for the years 1663 to 1681. He also edited the Bevis Marks records of the contributions made to history by the congregation (2 vols., 1940–49).

Lionel Barnett's son, RICHARD DAVID BARNETT (1909–1986), like his father, made his career at the British Museum. Born in London, he began in 1932 as assistant keeper in the department of Egyptian and Assyrian antiquities and in 1955 was appointed head of the newly established department of Western Asiatic antiquities. From 1933 to 1935 he was secretary of the British School in Athens. Richard Barnett's research extended to Assyriology, the cultures of Syria, Phoenicia, and Asia Minor as well as biblical archaeology. In 1956 he organized the special exhibition at the Victoria and Albert Museum in London commemorating the tercentenary of the resettlement of Jews in the British Isles, and his catalog of the exhibition was one of his most distinguished publications. He was president of the Jewish Historical Society of England (1959–61) and contributed several important papers on the history of the Sephardim in England to its transactions. His publications include: *Carchemish: Report on the Excavations* *at Djerabis* (vol. 3 (with Sir L. Woolley, 1952)); *Catalogue of the Nimrod Ivories in the British Museum* (1957); *Assyrian Palace Reliefs and Their Influence on the Sculptures of Babylonia and Persia* (1960); *The Sculptures of Aššur-naṣir apli II…* (1962); and *Illustrations of Old Testament History* (1966). After his death the Jewish Historical Society of England established an annual lectureship in his honor.

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[Penuel P. Kahane]

BARNETT, SIR LOUIS EDWARD (1865–1946), New Zealand surgeon and professor. Barnett was born in Wellington, New Zealand, and in 1895 received a permanent lectureship in surgery at Otago University, where from 1905 to 1924 he was professor. He served with the rank of lieutenant-colonel in the Royal Australian and New Zealand Medical Corps (1915–17) and was knighted for his overseas war service. Barnett was one of the founders of the Radium Insitute in Dunedin and a pioneer in X-ray and radium research at Otago University. Most of his work was in the fields of cancer and hydatids research, and as a result of his efforts the incidence of hydatids in New Zealand was considerably reduced.

[Maurice S. Pitt]

BARNETT, ZERAH (1843–1935), pioneer of the modern Ereẓ Israel settlement and one of the founders of Petaḥ Tikvah. Barnett, who was born in Tytuvênai, Lithuania, settled in London in 1864 as a fur manufacturer and trader. There he organized communal life for the East European immigrants who remained outside the Anglo-Jewish community. After acquiring British nationality in 1871, he went to Ereẓ Israel for the first time and helped establish the Me'ah She'arim quarter outside the walls of Old Jerusalem. Having spent all his savings, Barnett returned to London to earn money and then went back to Ereẓ Israel – a process which he repeated 15 times. Wherever he went, he advocated Jewish settlement in Ereẓ Israel. In 1878 Barnett joined the group that established Petaḥ Tikvah. As London Ḥovevei Zion delegate to the *Katowice Conference (1884), he described the experiences and hardships of the new settlers from first-hand knowledge. Early in the 1890s Barnett settled in Jaffa, where, in order to improve living conditions, he built the Neveh Shalom quarter, and moved there with his family. He helped build the Sha'arei Torah school, introducing Hebrew as the language of instruction. He also founded the Or Zore'aḥ Yeshivah in Jaffa. Barnett published his memoirs, *Zikhronot*, in 1929. He died in Jaffa and was buried in Jerusalem.

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[Getzel Kressel / Yehuda Slutsky]

BARNOWSKY, VIKTOR (1875–1952), German actor and theater director. Born in Berlin, Barnowsky became director of the Kleines Theater in 1905. From 1913 to 1924 he managed the Lessingtheater, and from 1925 to 1930 the Theater in der Koeniggraetzerstrasse and the Komoedienhaus, becoming one of the most important figures in the privately owned German theaters. He left Germany when Hitler came to power and went to the U.S., where he wrote film scripts and taught theater history at Fordham University and Hunter College, New York City.

BARNSTON, HENRY (1868–1949), U.S. Reform rabbi and scholar. Barnston was born Henry Barnstein in Dover, England, and ordained at Jews College, London. He attended University College in London and earned his Ph.D. in ancient Semitic languages at the University of Heidelberg, where he published *The Targum of Onkelos, According to the Yemenite Manuscripts* and collaborated on Aramaic and Chaldean dictionaries. In 1900, seeking an atmosphere more conducive to the practice of liberal Judaism, he immigrated to the United States to serve as the rabbi of Congregation Beth Israel in Houston, Texas. Beth Israel, the oldest and wealthiest synagogue in the city, had suffered a split when more traditional members left in protest against the congregation's move to Reform. Barnston, who changed his name after World War I in order to sound less German, took maximum advantage of his congregants' financial resources to build a temple widely considered to be the finest in the Southwest. At the same time, under Barnston's leadership, the congregation's membership increased tenfold to become the city's largest synagogue. Barnston's influence extended far beyond his congregation: he founded the Jewish Welfare Service, served as president of the local B'nai B'rith, and lectured on behalf of the Jewish Chautauqua Society and the Houston Conference of Christians and Jews. Statewide, he co-founded the Texas Kallah of Rabbis (comprising Orthodox, Conservative, and Reform members) and was elected president of the Texas Association of Rabbis. Over the course of his half-century in Houston – he became rabbi emeritus in 1943 and held that position until his death – Barnston emerged as a civic leader as well: he founded the Community Chest and is credited with forming the Houston Symphony Society and nurturing it into the renowned Houston Symphony Orchestra. He was also active in Houston's Ministerial Alliance and Rotary Club. While Barnston would not take any public stand on civil rights, he did join together with the First Methodist Church in an unprecedented gesture of ecumenical defiance of the Ku Klux Klan. Although he was a member and supporter of the anti-Zionist American Council for Judaism, he resisted his congregation's pressure for him to become a more outspoken activist in the organization. By the time Barnston was promoted to rabbi emeritus, he was the dean of Houston clergymen.

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[Bezalel Gordon (2nd ed.)]

BARON, BERNHARD (1850–1929), industrialist and philanthropist. Born in Rostov-on-Don, Russia, Baron immigrated to the United States as a boy and worked in a Maryland cigar factory. In 1890 he began manufacturing cigarettes by hand, to be sold at a cheap price. He opened a factory in Baltimore in 1894 and two years later perfected his own cigarette-making machine. In 1896 he took his invention to London, where he set up a company for manufacturing cigarettes. Seven years later he purchased Carreras, one of the oldest tobacco companies in England, and as a result of an extensive advertising campaign expanded it into one of the largest cigarette companies in the world. Within 20 years Baron had accumulated a fortune with over $20 million, much of which he proceeded to give away on an unprecedented scale. He set up two charitable trusts in his name, which distributed over £1 million to hospitals and children's homes, and made substantial gifts to the Jewish National Fund, the Keren Hayesod, and the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. He also made possible the erection of a new building for St. George's Jewish welfare settlement in the East End of London. Despite his enormous wealth – he left £4.9 million – Baron remained simple in his tastes and despised opulence. He refused a title but after his death his son, Louis Bernhard Baron (1876–1934), was made a baronet.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: P.H. Emden, *Jews of Britain* (1943), 491–5; DNB, *Concise Dictionary*, pt. 2 (1961), s.v. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** G. Black, "Bernhard Baron: Tobacco and Philanthropy," in: TJHSE, 36 (1999–2001), 71–80; ODNB online; DBB, I, 177–81.

BARON, DEVORAH (1887–1956), Hebrew author. Daughter of a rabbi, she was born in Ozdah, Belorussia, and published her first Hebrew stories in Eastern European periodicals (**Ha-Meliẓ* and **Ha-Ẓefirah*). In 1911 she settled in Ereẓ Israel and later married Yosef *Aharonovitz, a prominent Labor Zionist leader and the editor of **Ha-Po'el ha-Ẓa'ir*, for which she was the literary editor.

She published *Sippurim*, her first volume of short stories in 1927, and in 1934, when the Bialik Prize was instituted, she was its first recipient. Following her husband's death in 1937, she edited his collected works together with Eliezer Shoḥat. She received awards for *Le-Et Attah* (1943), a volume of short stories drawn from her experiences as an exile in Egypt during World War I, and for her collected short stories *Parshiyyot* (1951). Childhood reminiscences and Jewish life in Eastern Europe are major themes in Devorah Baron's fiction. Her style, influenced by 19th-century European fiction, combines realism with impressionism. She writes movingly of her parents' home and her mother is often her favorite heroine. She is first described in "*Bereshit*" ("In the Beginning"), in "*Meẓulah*" ("Depths"), and in other stories, frequently portrayed as an unfortunate widow, struggling to maintain her orphaned children. Devorah Baron's Jewish town is permeated by a deep sense of loneliness experienced in the midst of an alien world and of the insecurity caused by poverty and anti-Jewish prejudice. At the same time, until the Holocaust, the Jewish town throbbed with a life which drew upon the inner resources of a deep faith. Its spirit was nurtured by a remarkable historical memory; its physical existence was safeguarded by the fertility of its families. The story "*Mishpaḥah*" ("Family"), for example, describes how an attempt to force divorce upon a childless couple is prevented, and ends with a miracle of triumphant motherhood. *Me-Emesh* ("Since Last Night," 1956), the last volume to be published during the writer's lifetime, contains four stories which describe Ereẓ Israel during World War II, the volunteers who joined the British Army, and an encounter with the remnants of European Jewry. The short story of one bereaved mother epitomizes the fate of the Jewish town and of all Eastern European Jewry, from the period of the slaughter of the defenseless in "normal" times to the "final solution" under the Nazis.

In her later years, while confined to her sickbed, Devorah Baron composed a group of stories depicting the world as seen through the window of an "invalid's room" ("*Be-Lev ha-Kerakh*," in *Parashiyyot*). Her perception remained sharp to the end, and her stories are animated by a deep empathy for the weak and the innocent. No other woman writer in Israel was as familiar with the sources of Judaism as Devorah Baron. Every human experience in her stories finds an echo in the age-old heritage of her people and in its literature. The rhythm of almost every period of Hebrew prose is clearly felt in the flow of her narrative. She is a true poet of the lost world of the Jewish town. In the wake of the growing interest in the works of Hebrew women writers, various academic studies and plays (e.g., those by Avivah Gali) have dealt with the life and writing of Baron. A selection of her stories translated into English appeared in 1969 under the title *The Thorny Path*, followed in 2001 by *The First Day and Other Stories*. A list of her works translated into English appears in Goell, Bibliography, 62. Bibliographical information and 118 letters appear in the posthumously published *Aggav Orḥa* (1960).

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[Rachel (Katznelson) Shazar]

BARON, JOSEPH ALEXANDER (1917–1999), English novelist. Born Joseph Alexander Bernstein in Maidenhead, Berkshire, Baron's first work, *From the City, from the Plough* (1948), was inspired by World War II service during the invasion of Normandy. Anglo-Jewish tensions are explored in *With Hope, Farewell* (1952; reissued in 1962 as *The Thunder of Peace*); and the East London of Baron's childhood is the setting of *The Lowlife* (1963) and its sequel, *Strip Jack Naked* (1966). He also wrote a historical novel, *The Golden Princess* (1954), and *King Dido* (1969). During the 1930s, Baron was a Communist but increasingly broke with radical politics. His current reputation is that of an outstanding but neglected writer.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: ODNB online.

[William D. Rubinstein (2nd ed.)]

BARON, JOSEPH LOUIS (1894–1960), U.S. Reform rabbi and author. Baron was born in Vilna, Poland (then Lithuania), and immigrated with his family at the age of 13 to the United States, where they settled in New York City. He attended the Rabbi Isaac Elchanan Yeshiva and Columbia University, where he earned his B.A. (1914) and M.A. (1916). While at Columbia, he also studied at the Jewish Theological Seminary, helped found the Zionist youth movement *Young Judaea (1910), served on the staff of the New York Board of Education, and contributed articles to several New York newspapers and magazines. In 1920, Baron was ordained at *Hebrew Union College, having interrupted his rabbinical studies to serve Temple Sholom of Chicago when the congregation's rabbi entered the U.S. Army Chaplaincy during World War I. He had also attended the University of Cincinnati, edited the Hebrew Union College Monthly, and organized both the Young Judaea Council of Cincinnati and the Jewish Center of Norwood, Ohio. He earned a Ph.D. from the University of Chicago in 1932.

In 1920, Baron became rabbi of Tri-City Temple Emanuel, which served the Jewish populations of Davenport, Iowa, and Moline and Rock Island, Illinois. During his six-year tenure, he established the Tri-City Jewish Charities, the *Tri-City Scribe*, the Ezra School, the Emanuel Religious School, the Davenport Lodge of B'nai B'rith, and the local Council of Jewish Youth Clubs. He also taught at an extension of the University of Iowa and helped found Congregation Judah of Cedar Rapids, Iowa. In the summers, Baron traveled to New York City to work in social service under Rabbi Stephen *Wise of the Free Synagogue.

Baron's second – and last – congregation was Temple Emanu-El (later Emanu-El B'ne Jeshurun) in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, where he was to spend 35 years as a religious and civic leader (1926–51 as rabbi, 1951–60 as rabbi emeritus). Under his stewardship, the congregation grew to comprise a library, a museum, a modernized religious school, and auxiliary organizations. In the larger community, he was instrumental in establishing the Milwaukee Round Table of the National Conference of Christians and Jews, the Milwaukee Jewish Council, the Milwaukee Chapter of the American Jewish Committee, and the Yavneh School for Unaffiliated Jewish Children. In addition, he served on the boards of the Milwaukee Jewish Community Center, Federated Jewish Charities, and the Jewish Welfare Fund.

Statewide, Baron helped establish a number of synagogues and organizations. He also served on the Governor's Commission on Human Rights. On a national level, Baron was a member of the Board of Governors of Hebrew Union College (1937–40) and of the Joint CCAR-UAHC Commission on Religious Education (1926–27). In 1939, the Union of American Hebrew Congregations adopted his plan for a network of youth clubs that was to become, under the full-time guidance of Rabbi Samuel *Cook, the National Federation of Temple Youth (now called the North American Federation of Temple Youth).

Baron, who lectured on philosophy at State Teachers' College and the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, as well as for the Jewish Chautauqua Society, also developed a reputation as a scholar. A frequent contributor to academic journals and encyclopedias, he was the author of four books: *Death in Jewish Folk Religion* (1932); *In Quest of Integrity* (1936); *Candles in the Night* (1940); and *Stars and Sand* (1943). He is best known, however, for researching, compiling, and editing the valuable compendium of Jewish wisdom from throughout the ages, *A Treasury of Jewish Quotations* (1956, 1985). With its vast collection of 18,000 quotations, it remains one of the greatest Jewish reference resources of the 20th century.

[Bezalel Gordon (2nd ed.)]

BARON, SALO (Shalom) WITTMAYER (1895–1989), historian. Baron was born in Tarnow (Galicia) and taken to Vienna early in World War I. He studied at the university there and received doctorates in philosophy (1917), political science (1922), and law (1923); he was ordained by the Jewish Theological Seminary in Vienna in 1920. Baron taught history at the Jewish Teachers College (Juedisches Paedagogium) in Vienna during the years 1919–26. He went to the United States at the invitation of Stephen S. Wise to teach at the Jewish Institute of Religion in New York and remained at the Institute from 1927 until 1930. From 1930 to 1963 he taught at Columbia University, and served as director of the Center of Israel and Jewish Studies at Columbia from 1950 to 1968. From 1957 he also taught at the Jewish Theological Seminary. Baron was the first member of an American history faculty to teach Jewish studies. The many such chairs that now exist owe much to his example, and a substantial number of his former students are among their occupants.

Among Baron's many involvements in public and academic affairs were his presidency of the American Academy for Jewish Research (1940–43, 1958–66, and 1968 on); his presidency of the Conference on Jewish Social Studies (1941–54, 1963–67), and honorary presidency (1955–62 and 1967 on); his presidency of the American Jewish Historical Society (1953–55); his founding and presidency of Jewish Cultural Reconstruction, which after World War II worked in identifying and reclaiming the libraries and other cultural treasures despoiled by the Nazis; and his trusteeship of Tel Aviv University from 1967. From 1952 he was a corresponding member of the International Commission for a Scientific and Cultural History of Mankind. Baron's first major work, *Judenfrage auf dem Wiener Kongress* (1920), dealt with the Jewish question at the Congress of Vienna. He began to write articles as a youth and subsequently wrote many hundreds. Using his exceptional range of talents in many languages and disciplines, Baron undertook the largest synthetic work of Jewish history in the contemporary period, *A Social and Religious History of the Jews* (3 vols., 1937; 2nd ed., vols. 1–17, 1952–80; index to vols. 1–8, 1960). His emphasis has been on the social history of the people, rather than on the achievements of individual figures; on elements and areas of cross-fertilization between Jews and their environment, rather than on pogroms and suffering; and on the Jewish Diaspora and Ereẓ Israel as the two centers of Jewish creativity, contrary to the views both of a Diaspora-oriented historian, such as Simon *Dubnow, and the new school of Israel-centered scholars, such as Ben Zion *Dinur. A bibliography that covers his works to 1955 appears in a Festschrift in his honor (*Essays on Jewish Life and Thought*, 1959). In addition to the works mentioned above, Baron's major publications are *Bibliography of Jewish Social Studies 1938–39* (1941), *The Jewish Community* (3 vols., 1942), *Modern Nationalism and Religion* (1947), *Jews of the United States*, 1790–1840, *A Documentary History* (edited with J.L. Blau) 3 vols., 1963, *Russian Jews Under Tsars and Soviets* (1964), and *History and Jewish Historians* (1964). Baron edited *Essays on Maimonides* (1941), *Judaism, Postbiblical and Talmudic Periods* (1954); he coedited *Freedom and Reason* (1951), a Festschrift in memory of Morris Raphael Cohen, and wrote the introductory essay for *Jerusalem: City Holy and Eternal* (1954). Baron's *Ancient and Medieval Jewish History* (1973) is a volume of essays written over a long period of time which deal in particular with the status of Jews in Christian lands during the Middle Ages. He was also one of the editors of the quarterly *Jewish Social Studies* from its appearance in 1939, and a consulting editor of the *Encyclopaedia Judaica*.

[Arthur Hertzberg]

BARON DE HIRSCH FUND, fund established by Baron Maurice de *Hirsch, the financier and philanthropist who dedicated his fortune to the welfare of East European Jews at a time when worsening conditions in Russia made mass emigration a stark necessity. Convinced that modern secular education could ameliorate the lot of his oppressed brethren, De Hirsch hoped to regenerate them into a class of independent farmers and handicraftsmen in the New World. In 1889, on the advice of Oscar S. *Straus and Michael *Heilprin, De Hirsch allocated the proceeds of a $2,400,000 fund toward agricultural colonies and trade schools in the United States. With the cooperation of Jacob Schiff and other American Jewish leaders, the Baron de Hirsch Fund was incorporated in New York in 1891. Judge Myer S. Isaacs became president; Schiff, vice president; and the trustees included Straus, Mayer Sulzberger, and William Hackenburg. A subsidized rural community, Woodbine, was established in southern New Jersey, with an agricultural school which functioned until 1917. In New York the Baron de Hirsch Trade School continued to serve a generation of immigrants. Significant also was the fund's support of the Jewish Agricultural Society and of classes in English, legal aid, and other services to integrate newcomers in America.

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[Jehoshua Brand]

BARONDESS, JOSEPH (1867–1928), U.S. labor and communal leader. Barondess was born in Kamenets-Podolsk, Ukraine. He immigrated to the U.S. in 1888, working in New York City as a cloakmaker. Soon after, he joined the United Hebrew Trades and became a labor organizer in the garment industry, helping to lead the first great cloakmakers' strike in 1890. Indicted in 1891 on an extortion charge brought against him by the cloak manufacturers, Barondess was sentenced to a 21-month prison term but was released in a few weeks, after widespread protests and petitions for his pardon. His career as an organizer ended when he led an unsuccessful strike in 1894, but he remained active in the Socialist Labor Party, joining its moderate wing in 1898 in the battle against Daniel *De Leon, which led to the founding of the Socialist Party in 1901. By then, however, Barondess had retired from socialist politics and was devoting himself largely to an insurance business that he had started. In his new role as a successful businessman, Barondess accepted appointment to the National Civic Foundation in 1900 and to the New York City Board of Education in 1910. Partly as a reaction to the Russian pogroms of 1903, Barondess became active in the Zionist movement and during the last years of his life served as an honorary vice president of the Zionist Organization of America. He was also among the founders of the American Jewish Congress and a member of the American-Jewish delegation to the Versailles peace talks in 1919. His career typified that of many immigrants, whose process of integration in the U.S. was marked by initial disillusionment with American society, socialism, a higher economic status, and finally a retreat from radical political activity and a return to the Jewish fold.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *New York Times* (June 20, 1928), 25; B. Weinstein, *Di Yidishe Yunions in Amerike* (1929), 116, 319–36.

BAROU, NOAH (1889–1955), economist. Born in Poltava, Russia, Barou became involved in revolutionary activities as a student and was exiled. After studying in Germany, he returned to Russia in 1913 and was general secretary of the central committee of the illegal left-wing Zionist organization, *Po'alei Zion. After the 1917 Revolution he was one of the three secretaries of the Ukrainian Trade Union Congress. In 1922 he left Russia and eventually settled in England, where he served from 1923 to 1936 as general secretary of the Po'alei Zion World Federation. He was one of the founders of the *World Jewish Congress and an active member of the *Board of Deputies of British Jews. In the early 1950s, Barou made the first contacts with representatives of the West German Federal Republic that led to the meeting of Nahum *Goldmann, president of the Jewish Material Claims Conference, with Chancellor Konrad Adenauer. This meeting laid the foundations for the *reparations eventually made to Jews for material losses at the hands of the Nazis. An authority on cooperative finance, Barou published numerous monographs in English. They include *Cooperative Banking* (1932), *Cooperation in the Soviet Union* (1946), and *British Trade Unions* (1947). He edited *The Cooperative Movement in Labour Britain* (1948).

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[Cecil Roth]

BARR, ROSEANNE (1952–), U.S. actress and comedian. Brought up in Salt Lake City, Utah, Barr had a checkered youth and adolescence. Dropping out of high school, she worked as a waitress and regaled her customers with her brash, irreverent humor. She made her way into comedy, working punk clubs and motorcycle bars. She evolved an act that, in her own words, could "get inside the stereotype [of the housewife] and make it three-dimensional from within." She toured nationally on the comedy club circuit, where she fine-tuned her characterization of the frumpy, controlling, acid-tongued "Domestic Goddess." She made well-received appearances on late night talk shows before starring in her own comedy specials on HBO. In 1985 she successfully auditioned for the Comedy Store in Los Angeles. In 1986 the Carsey-Werner Company approached her with a proposal for developing a situation comedy based on her stand-up routines. By 1987 *The Roseanne Barr Show* had won cable television's Ace awards for best special feature and Barr herself was named best female in a comedy.

Barr rose to American media superstardom with *Roseanne* on ABC (1988–97). With John Goodman playing her husband in the series, Barr succeeded, as the eponymous mother of three, in presenting a realistic, no-holds-barred portrayal of working-class American life. In 1993 Barr won an Emmy and a Golden Globe award for outstanding lead actress in a comedy series.

The popularity of her sitcom broadened the audience for Barr as a public persona and greatly increased her power within show business. She pushed boundaries by having the series take risks and raising such issues as gender, homosexuality, and family dysfunction. The forthrightness of these dramatic moments was rare in primetime sitcoms, but the series continued to appeal to a wide audience. She did not write the scripts but had a good deal of artistic control. Many of the plots drew on aspects of her life prior to her success or referred to events in her own life at the time. Other episodes included dialogues that she proposed which addressed particular themes or issues.

In 1998 Barr was the host of her own daytime talk show, which lasted two seasons.

She appeared in several films: *She-Devil* (1989); the voice of Julie in *Look Who's Talking Two* (1990), *Freddy's Dead* (1991); *Even Cowgirls Get the Blues* (1994), *Blue in the Face* (1995), and the voice of Maggie in *Home on the Range* (2004).

Like certain other high-profile celebrities such as Madonna, Sandra Bernhard, Britney Spears, and Demi Moore, Barr became involved in Kabbalah, asserting that it was the force behind her own reinvention and helped her transform chaos into serenity. Barr has written two books – *Roseanne: My Life as a Woman* (1989) and *My Lives* (1994).

[Rohan Saxena and Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

BARRASSA, JACOB (17th century), Marrano physician and writer. Born as Diego de Barros, probably in Portugal, he studied science, medicine, and astronomy in Spain, and published an annual "prognostication and calendar," *Prognóstico e lunario* (e.g. Seville, 1630 and 1635), based in part on Semitic sources. He embraced Judaism in Amsterdam shortly afterward and wrote a polemical work (still unpublished) on the ostensibly difficult passages of Scripture. He was one of the "Parnasim de Talmud Torah" in 1642, and a warden of the community in 1651.

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[Cecil Roth]

BARRENNESS AND FERTILITY, the inability or ability of man and woman to procreate. Procreation is considered a blessing in the Bible and it is a commandment (Gen. 1:28; 9:7; Rashi, *ibid.*) applicable to all Jewish men, although not to Jewish women (Yev. 65b–66a). The world was created to be inhabited (Isa. 45:18) and God's blessings bestowed on Israel always included fecundity (Lev. 26:9; Deut. 28:11) and the absence of barrenness (Ex. 23:26; Deut. 7:14). Children are seen as the greatest blessing: "a heritage of the Lord" (Ps. 127:3–5); "Thy wife shall be as a fruitful vine… thy children like olive plants…" (*ibid.*, 128:3–4). The prodigious fertility of the Israelites in Egypt antagonized the Egyptians (Ex. 1:7, 12) and is interpreted by the Midrash (Tanh. and Rashi ad loc.) to imply that the women bore "six (children) at once." Procreation is one of the main purposes of marriage, and in later times an offspring (especially a male offspring) was also prized because it meant that *Kaddish* would be recited in one's memory; hence the popular phrase "to have a *Kaddish*" for a (male) child. Barrenness was a curse and a punishment (Lev. 20:20–21; Jer. 22:30, and MK 27b); Abimelech and his wives were punished, though only temporarily, with barrenness (Gen. 20:17–18), and so was Michal, Saul's daughter and David's wife (II Sam. 6:23). Sarah, Rebekah, Rachel, Samson's mother, Hannah, and the Shunamite woman were all barren at first, but God, who holds the key to fecundity (Ta'an. 2a; cf. Men. 98a), granted their and their husbands' prayers (cf. Ps. 113:9). The Midrash fully acknowledged the domestic suffering of childless women: even if the barren wife had no religious obligation to fulfill, she had failed to fulfill the primary expectation of her social role, since "it is children who assure a wife's position in her home" (Gen. R. 71:5). The childless matriarchs became important metaphors for consolation and comfort. Enumerations of these seven barren women whose yearnings for children were ultimately fulfilled included the personified Israel of some future time, based on the characterization of Zion as a barren woman in Isaiah 54:1 (Pesikta de-Rav Kahana 20:1).

Rachel preferred death to childlessness (Gen. 30:1), which prompted the comment of the *amora* Joshua b. Levi that to be without children is death (Ned. 64b). A childless scholar is not eligible to sit on the Sanhedrin (San. 36b. However, teaching Torah to the son of another person is equivalent to having fathered him (Sanh. 19b, 99b). Ben Sira said that it was better to die childless than to have children who were without the fear of the Lord (Ecclus. 16:1–4). According to a rabbinic story, King Hezekiah had refrained from procreation because he had foreseen that his children would be sinners but was rebuked by the prophet Isaiah, "What have you to do with the secrets of the All Merciful? You have to do your duty and let God do what it pleases Him" (Ber. 10a). The cause of sterility may lie as much with the husband as with the wife; this is suggested by Abraham (Gen. 15:2) and by the Talmud for both Abraham and Isaac (Yev. 64a; cf. Num. R. 10:5). A husband should divorce his wife after ten years of childless marriage; though she may marry again (Yev. 6:6; Sh. Ar., EH 154:6). Some men in childless marriages chose to take a second wife rather than divorce an apparently infertile spouse (Yev. 65a). Conversely, the Talmud records instances of childless wives who successfully petitioned rabbinic courts to compel their unwilling husbands to divorce them after 10 years of infertile marriages based on their fears of an impoverished widowhood and old age without the support of offspring (Yev. 65b). Aggadic texts generally deplore dissolution of marriages, even when male procreation is at stake, presenting preservation of a loving childless marriage as a situation where human needs and feelings overrule legal prescriptions. Such midrashic traditions emphasize instead the efficacy of prayer and the necessity of faith in God (*Pesikta de-Rab Kahana* 22:2; Song R. 1, 4:2).

Distinction ought to be made between accidental sterility and congenital or self-inflicted impotence or barrenness. Deuteronomy 23:2 prohibits an impotent man to marry a free-born Israelite (see Yev. 8:2) when the impotence is self-inflicted (*ibid.*, 75b; cf. Jos., Ant., 4:290). A priest who "hath his stones crushed" is unfit for Temple service (Lev. 21:20). The Talmud defines an *eilonit* ("ram-like, barren") as a woman who by the age of 18 or 20 is without the symptoms of feminity (ET, 1 (1947), 243–46 and ref.). According to some authorities, marriage to an *eilonit*, when contracted in ignorance of her condition, is invalid. Impotence and sterility may be only temporary, due to undernourishment (Ket. 10b). Certain foods, such as eggs, fish, garlic, wine, milk, cheese, and fat meat increase sexual potency (Ber. 40a; Sot. 11b; Yoma 18a–b, BK 82a), while salt, egg-barley, sleeping on the ground, bloodletting, and crying are detrimental to it (Git. 70a–b; ARN1 41:132). The *duda'im* (mandrakes, "love-flowers"), which Reuben brought to his mother Leah, who gave them to her sister Rachel (Gen. 30:14ff.), have been interpreted to be an aphrodisiac flower, though this is far from certain (see B. Jacob, Genesis, ad. loc.). The Talmud suggests that the suppression of the urge to urinate is a cause of sterility in men, and many pupils of the *amora* Huna (third century) became sterile on account of his over long lectures (Yev. 64b). See also *Birth Control; *Castration; *Vital Statistics.

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[Alexander Carlebach / Judith R. Baskin (2nd ed.)]

°BARRÉS, AUGUSTE MAURICE (1862–1923), French writer and politician. His extreme individualism and nationalism greatly influenced his generation. He contributed regularly to the nationalist antisemitic daily *La Cocarde* (founded in 1888), which he edited for a while, and there propounded many of the views on blood purity, the state, and the individual which were later developed and put into practice in Germany. He also expressed these opinions in his novels. Like Charles *Maurras, Barrès was influenced by H.A. Taine, who emphasized race and environment as the determinant factors in history, and by *Proudhon, who identified capitalists with bankers and bankers with Jews. With Maurras, Barrès laid the ideological foundations of the *Action Française, a forerunner of the Fascist movement. At the time of the *Dreyfus case, Barrès was among the most vehement of Dreyfus' accusers. During World War I, however, he became an ideologist of the "Union sacrée," and temporarily setting aside his prejudices accepted the Jews as members of the "spiritual family" of France.

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BARRETT, DAVID (1930–), Canadian social worker, politician. Barrett was born in Vancouver, British Columbia, and raised in a secular Jewish home on the city's east side, where his father ran a produce market. Barrett studied philosophy and social work in the United States. He returned to Canada in 1957 and began work for the British Columbia Department of Corrections. Angered by what he regarded as wretched working conditions in an archaic prison system, he was soon an outspoken critic of the provincial penal system and organizer of a prison employee union. He was fired.

Carrying his battle into the political arena, in 1960 Barrett was elected to the provincial legislature for the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation (CCF), forerunner of the democratic socialist New Democratic Party (NDP). In 1969 he was elected leader of the British Columbia NDP and in 1972 led his party to victory with a major reform agenda. His was the first NDP government in British Columbia history and Barrett was the first Jewish provincial premier in Canadian history.

Defeated in 1975, he served for a time as leader of the opposition followed by a stint in broadcasting. He went on to become an NDP member of the federal Parliament from 1988 to 1993, when he retired.

[Harold Troper (2nd ed.)]

BARRIOS, DANIEL LEVI (Miguel) DE (1635–1701), Spanish poet and playwright. Barrios was born in Montilla, of a Portuguese Marrano family, and was one of the most eminent exiles who contributed to Spanish literature. Following the execution in 1655 of a relative, Marco (Isaac) de Almeyda *Bernal, Barrios' family left Spain, his parents settling in Algiers and he in Italy. After a sojourn at Nice and Leghorn (where he reverted to Judaism), he sailed with his first wife, Debora Váez, to Tobago, where she soon died. Barrios then moved to the Netherlands and in 1662 married Abigail de Pina in Amsterdam. At about the same time he took a commission as a captain in the Spanish Netherlands, and for the next 12 years lived outwardly as a Christian in Brussels, while simultaneously maintaining a connection with the Jewish community in Amsterdam. In 1674, Barrios renounced his military commission and thereafter lived openly as a professing Jew in Amsterdam. A follower of Shabbetai Ẓevi, Barrios had mystical delusions and often fasted for long periods. This so alarmed his wife that she hurried to R. Jacob *Sasportas on the first day of Passover, 1675, and pleaded for his assistance. Sasportas found Barrios prepared for the Messiah's advent before the New Year and convinced that the Christians, headed by the Dutch monarch, would convert to Judaism. As he dryly records in his *Ẓiẓat Novel Ẓevi* (1737), Sasportas found it necessary to remind the deluded poet of his immediate family obligations and of the perilous state of his health.

Barrios' work can be divided into two periods, before and after 1674. In Brussels, he emphasized classical and pagan allusions and in Amsterdam stressed his Jewishness, while retaining a great admiration for the Spanish poet Luis de Góngora. His first work, *Flor de Apolo* (Brussels, 1665), is a collection of poetry on varied themes; in the same volume he published three plays, *Pedir favor al contrario, El canto junto al encanto* and *El Español de Orán*, which were typical of the contemporary Spanish theater. An allegorical drama, *Contra la verdad no hay fuerza* (Amsterdam, undated, but before 1672), glorified the memory of three martyrs who died in an auto-da-fé in Cordoba in June while *Coro de las Musas* (Brussels and Amsterdam, 1672) contains poetic eulogies of the Spanish provinces and of famous people and cities, preceded by a panegyric on Charles II of England.

Barrios was one of the outstanding men of letters of 17th century Spain, who, together with other New Christians, contributed a great deal to the Spain's Golden Age. Like most Jews who left the Iberian Peninsula, as Jews in 1492 or as New Christians in subsequent years, Barrios retained the Spanish tongue as his language for every need and occasion. Whereas the Sephardi refugees developed Judezmo or Ladino, written in Hebrew script, the New Christians who returned to Judaism continued to use the Spanish and Portuguese languages as they were accustomed to in the Peninsula. Even though they returned to Judaism, many like Barrios continued to live in a culturally Spanish and Portuguese milieu, in Amsterdam or in Venice. Besides the cultural and linguistic legacy from the Peninsula, writers like Barrios brought with them into the Sephardi Diaspora certain concepts that can best described as Marranism. This consisted mainly of relying on the Old Testament part of the Bible as well as the apocryphal books, preserving certain very elementary dietary regulations, and celebrating in some way some Jewish festivals. Quite a number of Christian practices were adopted as a matter of course. To gain Jewish knowledge from books was difficult in Spain, but not impossible, thanks to the Spanish Hebraists. Poets of New Christian origin had different experiences once they returned to Judaism. Barrios had enough Jewish knowledge while a Crypto-Jew, but he found it rather difficult to adjust. He finally adopted messianic tendencies which might have been Christian-inspired. This affected the style and mood of his poetry.

The works of Barrios' Amsterdam period constitute five major collections. *Sol de la vida* (Antwerp, 1679) contains the *Libre albedrío*, a defense of the doctrine of free will. His *Triumpho del govierno popular y de la antigüedad holandesa* (Amsterdam, 1683), of which at least seven versions exist, includes sections on the history of the Amsterdam Sephardi community and its organizations. Some copies contain two religious poems: *La mayor perfección de Ley santisima* and *Triumpho canta la inmortalidad del Pueblo de Israel*. The undated treatise, *Relación de los poetas y escritores españoles de la Nación judaica amstelodama* (republished by M. Kayserling in REJ, 18 (1889), 276–89), is a rich, though sometimes highly romanticized, source of information on Sephardi literary figures. *Alegrías o pinturas lucientes de himeneo* (Amsterdam, 1686), a collection of wedding poems and panegyrics, commemorates some eminent Sephardi families. The most notable compositions in *Estrella de Jacob sobre Flores de Lis* (Amsterdam, 1686) are "*La Memoria renueva el dolor,*" on the death of the poet's wife, and two religious compositions, "*Providencia de Dios sobre Israel*" and "*Diás penitenciales.*" *Metros nobles* (Amsterdam, 1675?) contains the religious poems also found in the (presumably earlier) *Triumpho del govierno popular*. Outstanding among Barrios' many other writings is his *Imperio de Dios en la harmonía del mundo* (Brussels, 1673?), the first part of a grandiose work intended as a poetic version of the Pentateuch. Barrios' literary output is uneven in quality, since he wrote to gain patronage to provide for himself and his family. As the poet laureate of Amsterdam Jewry he was a facile versifier, but some of his religious poems, thanks to their sincerity of feeling and elegance of expression, deserve wider recognition. Their general themes are the permanence and excellence of the Jewish faith, belief in free will, the author's repentance for the sin of posing as a Christian, and the harmony of Creation. Barrios glorified Sephardi culture (and its prime center, the Jewish community of Amsterdam), and perpetuated the memory of notable victims of the Inquisition. There is some evidence that Rembrandt's painting, "The Jewish Bride" (c. 1665) was a portrait of Barrios and his second wife.

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[Kenneth R. Scholberg / Yom Tov Assis (2nd ed.)]

BARRIS, CHUCK (**Charles**; 1929–) U.S. television producer. Barris is known for his role as the producer of popular TV game shows, including some of the earliest forms of "reality television." Barris was born in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, and attended the Drexel Institute of Technology. After graduating, he moved to New York, where he began his career in the television industry with a low-level job at NBC. Laid off a year later, Barris was unemployed for a year before being hired by ABC, where he worked with Dick Clark, the host of *American Bandstand*. Barris later sold the pilot of his own show, *The Dating Game*, to ABC. *The Dating Game* was an immediate hit, moving to primetime in 1966 and paving the way for Barris' popular *The Newlywed Game*. Barris continued to utilize the same formula in three more shows, *The Family Game*, *Dream Girl of 1968*, and *How's Your Mother-in-Law?* In 1968, he founded his own company, Barris Industries, which would produce television programs such as *The Game Game* and *Operation Entertainment*. *The Newlywed Show* was canceled in 1974, and Barris struggled to find a new niche in the television market until 1976, when he made his first appearance as the host of the talent competition *The Gong Show.* Barris' antics as the host of *The Gong Show* transformed the producer into a celebrity during the show's four-year run. Barris wrote his autobiography *Confessions of a Dangerous Mind* in 1986, which made the controversial claims that he had lived a double-life during the 1960s, working both as a TV producer and as an international CIA assassin. Barris also published a second autobiography, *The Game Show King* (1993), which made no reference to his alleged involvement with the CIA. In 2002, *Confessions of a Dangerous Mind* was made into a feature film of the same title directed by George Clooney.

[Walter Driver (2nd ed.)]

BARRON, JENNIE LOITMAN (1891–1969), U.S. lawyer, suffragist, judge, and community leader. Barron was born in Boston, the third of four daughters of Fannie and Morris Loitman. An outstanding student, she earned her undergraduate, law and master of law degrees from Boston University between 1908 and 1914 while working at night teaching Americanization classes. She opened a law practice in Boston in 1914. An active suffragist, Barron become the first president of the Boston University Equal Suffrage League and continued working for women's causes throughout her life, including women's rights to serve on juries, to become notaries, and to have uniform laws on marriage and divorce. Following her 1918 marriage to Samuel Barron, a graduate of Harvard Law School, she and her husband founded Barron and Barron, a law firm that continued until 1934 when Jennie Barron began a 30-year career in the judiciary when she was appointed a special judge for Norfolk County, Massachusetts. Barron and her husband had three daughters. Throughout her life she hosted Friday night Sabbath dinners at her home for her children and their growing families. Barron was awarded the National Mother of the Year Award by American Mothers, Inc. in 1959 when she was already a grandmother several times over.

In 1937, Barron was named an associate judge of the Boston Municipal Courts. In 1957 she was the first woman appointed as a full-time justice of the Massachusetts Superior Court. Active in numerous volunteer organizations, Barron was the president of the Massachusetts Association of Women Lawyers, the first president of the Women's Division of the American Jewish Congress, a national board member of Hadassah, and chair of the League of Women's Voters, among numerous other appointments.

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[Judith R. Baskin (2nd ed.)]

BARROS BASTO, ARTURO CARLOS DE (1887–1961), leader of *Marrano revival in Portugal. Born at Amarante near Oporto, of a New Christian family, he was introduced to the secret practices of the Marranos by his grandfather, entered a military career in 1906 after he moved to Lisbon, where he tried to be accepted by the local Jewish community, and in the revolution in 1910 hoisted the Republican flag on the town hall of Oporto. On returning from World War I, he studied Hebrew, entering Judaism officially at the age of 33 in Tangiers, where he was circumcised, assuming the name Abraham Ben-Rosh. In Lisbon he married a member of a prominent Jewish family. He was the founder of the revivalist movement among the New Christians in Portugal that flourished under his leadership in the 1920s and 1930s. In 1923, together with some East European Jews he organized a community at Oporto, called *Mekor Haim*, secured foreign support for the construction of a monumental synagogue, set up a rudimentary seminary, called Yeshivat Rosh Pinnah in connection with it, and went on missionary journeys through the Marrano centers of northern Portugal. Two months after its establishment in June 1923, the community was officially recognized by the Portuguese authorities. Barros Basto served as the leader of the community in Porto. Barros Basto established a Portuguese periodical, *Ha-Lappid* ("The Torch"), to spread Jewish ideas among the Marranos. In some articles he published in *Ha-Lapid* he referred to the mysteries of the survival of Crypto-Jewish life in Portugal. He also edited various handbooks of religious guidance and wrote a history of the Jews of Oporto. He found in Samuel Schwarz (1880–1953), a mining engineer from Poland who settled in Portugal in 1915, an enthusiastic supporter for his plans to help descendents of New Christians return to normative Judaism. As a result of the activities of Barros Basto and Schwarz, some international Jewish organizations jointly sent Lucien *Wolf in 1926 to investigate the situation of Crypto-Jews. His report did not favor the intensive activity the Lisbon community or Barros Basto advocated. The latter continued to engage in an active educational and religious campaign designed to bring back to Judaism as many descendents of Crypto-Jews as possible. Barros Basto went on publishing his journal *Ha-Lapid*, which appeared until 1958. He attracted the attention of a number of Jewish personalities, such as Paul *Goodman, Cecil *Roth, and David de Sola *Pool. Rabbi Barukh Ben-Jacob, from Salonica, visited northern Portugal in 1931 and was deeply impressed by Barros Basto. It was in 1932 that the synagogue in Oporto was inaugurated, after the *Kadoorie family extended substantial financial support. Students and graduates of Rosh Pinnah helped Barros Basto in his task. He was able to establish communities in Bragança (*Sha'arei Pidyon* synagogue), in Covilhã (*Sha'arei Kabbalah* synagogue), and some religious activities were conducted in Belmonte. As anti-Jewish feelings increased in the early 1930s, opposition to the activities of Barros Basto spread. In December 1934 he was accused of homosexual relations with the students in Rosh Pinnah. In 1936 renewed accusations were leveled against him. In 1937 the Supreme Disciplinary Council declared him unfit to serve in the army. Although the military tribunal decided that the accusations were unfounded, he was not restored to the army. Even Schwarz no longer supported him. He died in 1961, almost blind, a disappointed man. He was buried, in accordance with his will, next to his grandfather in Amarante, his birthplace.

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[Cecil Roth / Yom Tov Assis (2nd ed.)]

°**BARRUEL, AUGUSTIN** (1741–1820), French Jesuit and anti-revolutionary polemicist. Barruel specialized in propagating fantastic stories about the part played by Freemasonry and secret societies in the Revolution. In 1807 Barruel alerted the French Government to an alleged world Jewish conspiracy. A mysterious Italian called Simonini (whose existence is doubtful) had delivered to Barruel the "plans of world Jewry" to become "masters of the world, turning the churches into as many synagogues, and reducing Christians to utter serfdom." Barruel's fantasies received the endorsement of Pope *Pius VII and were possibly the cause of *Napoleon's sudden decision to dissolve the French *Sanhedrin. In the longer perspective it was to have graver consequences, for the "Jewish plot" theme has served as a prototype for other deliberate fabrications, last but not least the Protocols of the *Elders of Zion.

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BARSHAI (Borisovich), RUDOLF (1924–), conductor, founder and leader of the Moscow Chamber Orchestra, viola soloist and orchestrator. Barshai was born in Stanitza Labinskaja in Russia. His grandfather was a high-ranking Cossack officer of the Subbotnik (Seventh Day Adventist) sect who had married a Jewish woman. During World War II his father fled to Central Asia and finally to the Moscow area. There, at the age of 15, Barshai started to play the violin. He entered the Special School for Musicians and later the Moscow Conservatory, where he became a pupil of the famous violinist Lew Zeitlin. He played the viola in the orchestra of the Bolshoi Theater and was a co-founder of the Borodin Quartet and the founder and leader of the Moscow Chamber Orchestra, which toured the world during the 1960s and 1970s. His soloists were Maria Judina, Svjatoslav Richter, David *Oistrach, and other well-known Russian musicians as well as Yehudi *Menuhin. Barshai and his orchestra produced numerous highly acclaimed recordings.

In 1967 Barshai begun to conduct major orchestras in the U.S.S.R. and in 1969 he conducted the premiere of Shostakovich's 14th Symphony. He made numerous transcriptions for small orchestra, notably of Shostakovitch's String Quartet No 8, Prokofiev's piano suite *Visions fugitives*, Bach's *Kunst der Fuge*, and Mahler's Symphony No 10. In 1976, Barshai decided to immigrate to Israel, where he worked with the Israel Chamber Orchestra. He then moved on to England, where he became chief conductor of the Bournemouth Symphony Orchestra. Subsequently he settled in Switzerland, touring the world and conducting well-known orchestras. He is the last of a generation of conductors with a singular and deep understanding of the great Viennese tradition of music.

[Bernd Feuchtner]

BARSHEFSKY, CHARLENE (1950–), U.S. lawyer and government trade representative. A native of Chicago, Barshefsky was born to Polish parents who did not speak English. She graduated from the University of Wisconsin, B.A. (1972) and the Catholic University, J.D. (1975). She was in private practice in the prestigious Washington firm of Steptoe and

Johnson from 1975 and 1993 and was then appointed by President Bill Clinton to serve as deputy trade representative under the president's key political ally, Mickey *Kantor. She was nominated to the office of trade representative when Kantor was named commerce secretary. Her nomination generated considerable controversy because as a private attorney Barshefsky had represented foreign governments in trade agreements. She was confirmed and was instrumental in negotiating agreements in China and Japan regarding piracy and movies. As the United States trade representative and a member of the president's cabinet, Ambassador Barshefsky was at center stage in global economic policymaking and international relations. As the administration's leader in the opening of foreign markets and the elimination of regulatory and investment barriers around the world, and as the architect of U.S. trade policy, she was a central figure for international business.

Barshefsky is best known for negotiating the historic market opening agreement with China on its entry into the World Trade Organization, which helped lead to the voluminous trade between the United States and China. She was an essential actor in the opening of foreign markets at the World Trade Organization and throughout the world, overseeing the negotiations of hundreds of complex trade and commercial agreements with virtually every major market, from Japan and the European Union to the smallest states of Latin America, Africa, and the Middle East. She negotiated agreements for the emerging information age, concluding global agreements covering the world's telecommunications markets, global financial services, information technology products, intellectual property rights, and cyberspace.

In addition to the China agreements, she was the architect of the negotiations to create a hemispheric free trade zone, the Free Trade Area of the Americas. She negotiated historic market opening agreements with Vietnam and Jordan that transcend international economic relations and are used as a basis for further regional integration. She also initiated free trade negotiations with Singapore and Chile, which further extended the broad trade agenda that she shaped.

After leaving the government, she became senior international partner at Wilmer, Cutler, Pickering Hale and Dorr, LLP and served on the corporate Board of Directors of the American Express Company; The Estee Lauder Companies Inc.; Intel, Idenix Pharmaceuticals, Inc., and Starwood Hotels & Resorts Worldwide, Inc.

[Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

BARSIMSON, JACOB, regarded as the earliest Jewish resident of New Amsterdam (later New York). Barsimson probably arrived there on July 8, 1654, aboard the ship *Peartree*, from Holland, thus preceding the 23 Jews who arrived in September of that year from Brazil. A man of small means, he was taxed below the majority of other New Amsterdam residents. In November 1655 Barsimson joined with Asser *Levy in petitioning for the right held by other inhabitants to stand guard and thus avoid payment of a special tax. The Dutch West India Company overruled Governor Peter Stuyvesant, who had rejected the petition. Barsimson may have returned to Amsterdam in 1659.

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[Leo Hershkowitz]

BART, LIONEL (1930–1999), playwright and composer. Born Lionel Begleiter in London, Bart first won success with the lyrics and music of *Fings Ain't Wot They Used t'Be* (1959), which had a two-year run. This was followed by other shows, including *Blitz* (1962) and *Maggie May* (1964). His greatest success, *Oliver!* (1960), was made into a motion picture in 1968. *Oliver!* became probably the most famous musical ever written by an English composer. Its depiction of Fagin is notable for its balance and humanity. Bart was unable to repeat his success in later works.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: ODNB online.

[William D. Rubinstein (2nd ed.)]

BARTH, JACOB (1851–1914), Semitic linguist. Barth was born in Flehingen, Baden. Among his teachers in Talmud was his future father-in-law, Azriel *Hildesheimer. He studied Semitic philology at the universities of Berlin, Leipzig (under H.L. Fleischer), and Strasbourg (under Th. Noeldeke). From 1874 until his death he taught Hebrew, biblical exegesis, and Jewish philosophy at the Orthodox Rabbinical Seminary founded by Hildesheimer at Berlin. In 1876 he was appointed lecturer in Semitic philology at the University of Berlin, and in 1880 associate professor. Being a Jew, he was not appointed full professor, but he received the title of Geheimer Regierungsrat. Barth was one of the most important Semitic linguists of his time, and at least two of his works are still standard reference books: *Die Nominalbildung in den semitischen Sprachen* (1894), and *Die Pronominalbildung in den semitischen Sprachen* (1918). Despite Barth's tendency to adopt odd etymologies and to excessive schematization, these works, as well as others, show his genius in discerning linguistic analogies. Barth was also one of the outstanding Arabic scholars of his time. He edited grammatical, poetical, and historical texts as well as the commentary of Maimonides to Mishnah *Makkot* (1880). His contributions to the study of Hebrew include both linguistics and lexicography (especially his *Etymologische Studien zum semitischen, inbesonders zum hebraeischen und aramaeischen Lexikon* (1902). Being strictly Orthodox, he avoided higher criticism, but accepted the separate authorship of Isaiah 40ff., which, in his view, was supported by the Talmud. Similarly, he usually refrained from emendation of the Bible text, although he had a natural tendency to text corrections (as exhibited in his Arabic studies). His commentary on almost all the books of the Bible, which originated in his lectures at the Hildesheimer Seminary, has not been published.

[Joshua Blau]

His son, AHARON (1890–1957), was an Israeli banker and Zionist leader. Born in Berlin, as a young man he became an active leader in the Mizrachi movement in Germany, representing it at most of the Zionist Congresses after 1920. From 1921 to 1938 he served as attorney for the Zionist Congress court, and from 1946 as its chairman. He settled in Palestine in 1933 and was appointed director-general of the Anglo-Palestine Bank (later Bank Leumi le-Israel) in 1947, retaining this post until his death. Of his articles and brochures on various Zionist and religious topics, the most important is *Dorenu mul She'elot ha-Neẓaḥ* published in 1954 and republished in 1955 (Eng. tr. *The Modern Jew Faces Eternal Problems*, Jerusalem 1956). In it, he summarized his views on traditional and modern aspects of Judaism. He is noted for his modern religious interpretation of Orthodoxy, stressing the contemporary relevance of Orthodox Jewish practice. He wrote the brochure *Letter to an English Friend* (1948), in which he propounds the religious basis for the Jewish claim to Palestine, and *The Mitzvoth: Their Aim and Purpose* (1949).

ELIEZER (LAZAR) (1880–1949), Aharon's elder brother, was a leader and central figure in the religious Zionist movement in Germany. Born in Berlin, he became a leader of the Zionist Organization of Germany, participated in most Zionist Congresses after 1903, and served as a member of the Zionist General Council. During 1929–31 he represented Mizrachi on the Zionist Executive in London. He published numerous articles on Zionist topics.

[Benjamin Jaffe]

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°**BARTH, KARL** (1886–1968), Swiss Protestant theologian. From 1922, he served as professor of theology in various German universities. With the Nazi rise to power in Germany and the consequent split in German Protestantism, Barth helped to found the Confessing Church (Bekennende Kirche) which opposed Hitler and the National-Socialist ideology as incompatible with Christian commitment to the teaching and kingship of Jesus. In 1934, he drafted the theological declaration of Barmen, whereby the German Lutherans and Reformed united to define and defend their position against the totalitarian claims of the state. Expelled from Germany in 1935, he returned to his native Basle, where he was appointed professor of dogmatics.

His principal theological work, the monumental *Kirchliche Dogmatik*, which remained incomplete at his death, was published between 1932–53. While Barth took a courageous stand against antisemitism, seeing in hatred and persecution of the Jews an attack on the very foundations of the Christian message, his work evinces no understanding of actual Judaism. Throughout Barth's writings Judaism appears as a theoretical construction, a kind of figment of theological imagination, whose purpose it is to serve as a foil to the message of the gospel.

While not hostile in its intention, Barth's representation of Judaism is a complete caricature and falsification of Jewish reality. According to Barth, Israel is God's Chosen People and in spite of its obstinacy in assimilating to other peoples, the Divine election remains valid. Since the crucifixion of Jesus, there simply cannot be any normal existence for the Jewish people, for the Jew represents man as such, sinner, called by God's grace and rejecting this grace. In this exemplary role of man, the Jew necessarily irritates the nations of the world by acting as a kind of mirror in which the nations see their sinful humanity reflected. The Nazis sought to destroy the Jews, the people of Jesus, in order to liberate themselves from the rule of God and to break, as it were, the mirror in which fallen man sees himself reflected. Beside his numerous theological, literary, and political writings, Barth also wrote some works on the church in the Third Reich, and on the existence of Christians in the countries under communist rule.

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BARTHOLDY, JACOB (1779–1825), Prussian diplomat and art connoisseur. Born in Berlin into a prosperous Jewish family as Jacob Salomon, he was an uncle of the composer Felix Mendelssohn. He converted in 1805 and adopted the family name Bartholdy from a rented estate near Berlin. He was one of the group of gifted apostate Jews whose services were enlisted by von Hardenberg, the Prussian chancellor. Bartholdy studied law and philosophy, traveled extensively in Western Europe before becoming an officer in the Austrian army in the 1809 war against France. After entering the Prussian diplomatic service, he was appointed Prussian consul-general in Rome and took part in the conference of Aix-la-Chapelle (1818). In the same year he became Prussian chargé d'affaires at the court of Tuscany with the title of privy councillor of legation.

Bartholdy was an enthusiastic art patron and his home was decorated with frescoes by the Nazarenes, a group of contemporary German artists devoted to the revival of Christian art. After his death, the murals were bought by the Prussian government who also acquired his important collection of Etruscan vases, bronze, and ivory.

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[Ernest Hamburger]

°**BARTOLOCCI, GIULIO** (1613–1687), Italian Christian Hebraist and bibliographer. Bartolocci was taught Hebrew by the convert Giovanni Battista Jonah Galileo (formerly Judah

Jonah of Safed), and in 1651 became professor of Hebrew language and rabbinic literature at the Collegium Neophytorum (for Jewish converts) in Rome; at the same time he served as *scriptor hebraicus* in the Vatican Library. He is remembered above all for his *Bibliotheca Magna Rabbinica… de scriptoribus et scriptis hebraicis, ordine alphabetico hebraice et latine digestis* (Heb. title *Kiryat Sefer*), a comprehensive bibliography of Jewish books (Rome, 4 vols., 1675–93). The last volume was edited by Bartolocci's student Carlo Giuseppe Imbonati, who added a fifth volume, *Bibliotheca Latina-Hebraica* (1694; all 5 vols. repr. 1969), containing a bibliography of Latin works by Christian authors on the Jews or on Judaism. Bartolocci's work is the first systematic, all-inclusive bibliography of Jewish literature. It served as the basis for Wolf's *Bibliotheca Hebraea* and for subsequent works in the field. Some of the works which Bartolocci regarded as most important he presents in full, in the Hebrew (or Aramaic) original and in Latin translation. Among these are the *Antiochus Scroll, Alphabet of Ben Sira*, and *Otiyyot de-Rabbi Akiva*. Occasionally, he gives biographies of important writers. His biographies of biblical commentators, such as Rashi, Ibn Ezra, David Kimḥi, Gersonides, and Abrabanel, were published also in A. Reland's *Analecta Rabbinica* (Utrecht, 1702). His work still retains some importance. Other works by Bartolocci remain in manuscript.

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[Cecil Roth]

BARTOV, HANOCH (1926–), Israeli novelist. Bartov, who was born in Petaḥ Tikvah, served in the Jewish Brigade during World War II and during the War of Independence served in the Israel Army. Bartov was a member of kibbutz Ein ha-Ḥoresh, and a reporter for the daily *La-Merḥav*. He served as cultural attaché at the Israel Embassy in London, in 1966–68. A prolific writer, his writings include stories, novels, plays, and journalism, written in the more than five decades that have passed since the publication of his first novel, *Ha-Ḥeshbon ve-ha-Nefesh* ("The Reckoning and the Soul," 1953), in which he discussed the ideological disillusionment of Israeli youth when they returned to civilian life after the War of Independence. Problems of new immigrants are treated in the novel *Shesh Kenafayim le-Eḥad* (1954; *Everyone Had Six Wings*, 1974), which he later adapted for the stage. A visit to the U.S. is vividly recorded in the travel-book *Arba'ah Yisre'elim ve-Khol Amerikah* ("Four Israelis and All The U.S.A.," 1961). The subject of *Piẓei Bagrut* (1965; *The Brigade*, 1967) is the Jewish Brigade during World War II and the conflict between Jewish morality and the wish to avenge the Holocaust. For this novel, one of the finest Hebrew examples of an Israeli *Bildungsroman*, Bartov was awarded the Shlonsky Prize. Another novel in this genre is Bartov's *Shel Mi Attah Yeled?* (1988; *Whose Little Boy are You?*), recollecting childhood experiences in one of Israel's oldest moshavot. Bartov's realistic style is always suffused with humor and a touch of irony. The complex, dynamic Israeli identity is at the heart of all his works. Other works include: *Ha-Shuk ha-Katan* ("The Small Market," 1957); *S'a ha-Bayta, Yonatan* ("Go Home, Jonathan," 1962). *Be-Emẓa ha-Roman* ("In the Middle of It All," 1988), which won Bartov the Bialik Prize, tells the life story of Balfour Shub, a writer, as it is reconstructed by his son, who returns from the United States with his father's coffin and a literary inheritance consisting of 26 tapes. The gap between generations, the relations of fathers and sons, is a recurring motif in the prose of Bartov. The protagonist in *Zeh Ishl Medaber* ("Ishl Speaking," 1990), is yet another account of a life full of activity intertwined with political events in Israel. *Regel Aḥat Ba-Ḥuẓ* ("Halfway Out," 1994), describes the effects of World War II on life in British-ruled Israel, while the novella *Lev Shafukh* ("A Heart Poured Out," 2001) tells of an encounter between two men representing two worlds: Amos Gefen, a well-known Hebrew writer of Ashkenazi origin, and Sami Sasson, a house painter of Oriental origin, hired to whitewash the writer's apartment. The ups and downs of married life is one of the main issues in the novella, as in Bartov's 2004 novel *Mi-Tom ad Tom* ("From Innocence to Innocence").

In 1978 Bartov was awarded the Yiẓḥak Sadeh Prize for military literature for his *Dado*, a study of Lt.-General David *Elazar (Eng. trans. 1981). Other works include *Arba'a Yisra'elim be-Ḥaẓar Saint James* (1969); *An Israeli at the Court of St. James* (1971) and the travel account "A Fair in Moscow" (1988).

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[Gitta (Aszkenazy) Avinor / Anat Feinberg (2nd ed.)]

BARUCH (Heb. בָּרוּךְ; "blessed"), son of Neriah son of Mahseiah, scribe and trusted companion of the prophet *Jeremiah, who set down in writing all the latter's prophecies and may have composed the biographical narrative about Jeremiah (Jer. 36:4). Baruch's brother Seraiah was the quartermaster of Zedekiah (51:59), the last king of Judah. In the fourth year (or possibly the fifth) of the reign of *Jehoiakim, Baruch wrote down, at Jeremiah's dictation, all of the prophet's oracles and read them in the temple court before the entire community, which had assembled for a fast day proclaimed in Kislev of that year. Baruch then read them before the king's ministers

(36:4ff.). When the king was informed of these events, he ordered the scroll to be read before him. When he heard the prophet's message forecasting doom, Jehoiakim tore the scroll, cast it into the fire, and ordered Jeremiah and Baruch to be placed under arrest; they, however, succeeded in hiding from him. Then Jeremiah redictated the contents of the destroyed scroll and added to it (36:32). As a reward for Baruch's loyalty, Jeremiah declared that he would be saved (45:1ff.).

In the tenth year of Zedekiah's reign, when Jerusalem was under siege by the Babylonians, Jeremiah bought a field from Hanamel, his uncle's son. He entrusted the deeds of purchase to Baruch, asking him to place them in an earthenware vessel for safekeeping "that they may last for a long time" (32:1–16). The Babylonian commanders released Baruch together with Jeremiah and did not force him to go into exile to Babylon (40:1–7). Baruch apparently exerted a great influence over Jeremiah. When *Gedaliah son of Ahikam was killed and the remnant of the population that had escaped exile, fearing the vengeance of Nebuchadnezzar, asked Jeremiah whether they should stay in the country or go down to Egypt, he advised them to remain. But they suspected him of acting under Baruch's instigation, thinking that Baruch, out of hatred for them, planned to place them at the mercy of the Babylonian king. Baruch was then taken along with Jeremiah and the remnant of the population to Egypt.

In the *Aggadah*

Baruch is held to be a priest as well as a prophet and one of the descendants of Rahab (Meg. 14b; SOR, 20). He is identified with Ebed-Melech the Ethiopian, who saved Jeremiah from the dungeon (Sif. Num., on 12:1). Five years after the destruction of the Temple, Baruch (with Jeremiah) was taken from Egypt to Babylon, where he died (Meg. 16b; SOR 26:1; cf. Jos. Ant., 10:181–2). He is also said to have prophesied there in the second year of the reign of Darius, but was unable to return to Judah because of his advanced age. According to this tradition, Ezra was his pupil (Song. R. 5:5; Meg. 16b).

In the Middle Ages the Iraqi Jews possessed several legends about Baruch's grave, which was said to be near that of Ezekiel in Mushid A'li. A certain Arab ruler in Baghdad – at the time of the exilarch Solomon – wished to see the graves of Ezekiel and Baruch. When the grave was opened, Baruch's body was found in a marble coffin, looking as if alive. It was decided to transport him some distance from Ezekiel's grave, but, after a mile-long journey, the cart stopped and would not move, and he was buried at that spot (*Travels of R. Petachia of Ratisbonne*…, ed. and tr. by A. Benisch (1856), 21, 23, 49, 51). Jewish tradition extolled Baruch's piety and several apocalypses were attributed to him as well as an apocryphal letter.

Baruch came to have considerable importance in the apocryphal literature where a number of books were attributed to him. Moreover, there are apparently fragments of Baruch and Jeremiatic apocryphal literature among the Dead Sea Scrolls. According to the apocryphal books he received many visions and revelations of an apocalyptic nature. In II Baruch his assumption is foretold (II Bar. 25.1, 76:1).

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[Yehoshua M. Grintz]

BARUCH, name of several kabbalists.

BARUCH SHELI'AḤ ẒIBBUR TOGARMI. Baruch Sheli'aḥ Ẓibbur Togarmi, as is suggested by his cognomen Togarmi, was a cantor of eastern origin. He wrote a treatise, extant in several manuscripts (Paris, Oxford, New York), called *Mafteḥot ha-Kabbalah* ("The Keys to Kabbalah"), which contains a short, factually complete commentary on the Sefer *Yeẓirah, identical with the one described by Abraham *Abulafia in his *Oẓar Eden Ganuz* as being by his master, Baruch (no surname). In the early 14th century, *Isaac b. Samuel of Acre quotes a Baruch Togarmi in *Me'irat Einayim* in such a way as to suggest a scholar who lived at least one generation earlier. He says, "I saw written in the name of Baruch Togarmi" and ends with the eulogy for the dead. The three quotations display the same characteristic of short allusions to kabbalistic secrets through wordplay as the above-mentioned treatise, *Mafteḥot*. This is significant for the early history of the Abulafian current in the Kabbalah. The author already knows a distinct group of such kabbalists who are occupied with the (mystical) knowledge of the name of God. From his statements, it is to be understood that he belonged to a circle whose members believed themselves able to discover "by the three ways of the Kabbalah," i.e., *gematria* ("numerical value of words"), *notarikon* ("interpretation of each letter in a word as abbreviation of other words"), and *temurah* ("interchange of letters according to certain systematic rules") particularly profound mysteries of the mystic cosmology and theology. However, according to his testimony, he was not allowed either to divulge in public or even merely to set down in writing most of it. The treatise is full of obscure wordplay and peculiar *gematriot*. For example, the word "body" here means the evil principle, through the equation גוף רע (*guf ra*, "evil body" – 359) equals שטן (*satan* – 359). The work originates clearly from the same circle as the book *Sod ha-Levanah* (ed. by J. Klausner, in *Madda'ei ha-Yahadut*, 2 (1927), 240–1), which has survived in the name of Jacob Cohen (c. 1260–70, that is at the time of R. Baruch). According to this, Baruch would have lived in Spain. Thus, it is a plausible assumption that it was through him that Abulafia, during his stay in Barcelona in 1270–73, was introduced to the Kabbalah of this circle.

BARUCH THE KABBALIST. Baruch the Kabbalist was author of the book *Mafte'aḥ ha-Kabbalah* ("Key to Kabbalah") which was in Carmoly's possession (Cod. 249 of the Kirchheim Catalogue of Carmoly's Mss. of 1876). This book has no connection with the work of the above-mentioned Baruch Sheli'aḥ-Ẓibbur Togarmi. It belongs to an entirely different literary environment and it dates from the 14th century. This author already quotes the *Zohar and the *tikkunim*, and is familiar with the homily on Jeremiah 9:22 from the end of the 13th century and possibly later (preserved in the Berlin Hebr. Ms. 193, fol. 79–98 and dated by Steinschneider not before 1350; cf. also HB, 18 (1877), 20). He also copied several passages from Shem Tov *Ibn Gaon's work *Baddei ha-Aron*, which was completed in 1325. That is the origin of all the passages which are common to Baruch the Kabbalist's work, and that of Shem Tov's *Sefer ha-Emunot*. Since Baruch undoubtedly knew Shem Tov ibn Gaon's works, there is nothing to uphold Carmoly's assumption that Baruch's book was the one used in the *Emunot. Mafte'aḥ ha-Kabbalah* was not a comprehensive work (Carmoly's manuscript, which is incomplete, contains only 28 folios) and did not add anything novel to the doctrines of Kabbalah, only excerpts from other sources in defense of the Kabbalistic tradition. Moses Botarel relied apparently on this book when he quoted in length from a spurious work *Ḥoshen ha-Mishpat* in his *Yeẓirah* commentary (to ch. 4, mishnah 4). It is possible, however, that Botarel had in mind Baruch Togarmi as the author of a *Yeẓirah* commentary. Botarel also named Baruch among the authorities who dealt with the technique of *She'elat Ḥalom* ("Dream Queries") and, as a matter of fact, Baruch's exposition is still extant in manuscripts (Gaster 603, fol. 9 and in other manuscripts). Apart from this, an older kabbalist named Baruch, who could not have lived after 1400 since he is already mentioned in manuscripts from that period, is mentioned occasionally in manuscripts dealing with practical Kabbalah. In the old Paris manuscript no. 602, he is described as the "father-in-law of the kabbalist Menahem," who is himself unknown. In the Gaster manuscript no. 720, the theurgic use of the so-called *shem ha-kanaf*, i.e., of the mystic "name" *Ẓemarkad*, was transmitted "from the tradition of Baruch." In a work of similar character such as his *Yeẓirah* commentary (which is partly preserved in a Jerusalem manuscript), Botarel attributes a commentary on the *Ḥagigah* talmudic tract, particularly its second chapter, to a kabbalist called Baruch of Narbonne. It is to be assumed that he means by this the same person, who therefore belongs to the second half of the 14th century. S. Sachs, who mistakes this Baruch for the one mentioned above, ascribes *Ma'amar ha-Sekhel* (Cremona, 1557), which gives the 613 commandments a kabbalistic explanation, to him.

BARUCH ASHKENAZI. Baruch Ashkenazi who is called by Shem Tov *Attia, in the introduction to his commentary on the Psalms, an "old kabbalist," is, as clearly shown by his surname, a third person. There are no further details about him.

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[Gershom Scholem]

BARUCH, prominent U.S. family.

SIMON (1840–1921)emigrated from his native Posen, Prussia, to America in 1855. He settled in South Carolina, where his first employers, impressed with his talents, assisted him in his studies at the medical colleges of South Carolina and Virginia. Baruch received his degree in 1862 and became a surgeon in Lee's Confederate Army, serving at the front for three years. Captured and interned at Fort McHenry, he wrote a book on military surgery, *Two Penetrating Wounds of the Chest*, which remained a standard work through World War I. In 1864 he was sent to Thomasville, North Carolina, to prepare hospital facilities for Confederate troops pursuing Sherman. After the war he lived in South Carolina, where he was elected president of the State Medical Association (1874) and chairman of the State Health Board (1880). In 1881 he moved to New York to escape the turbulence of Reconstruction, occupying the chair of hydrotherapy at Columbia University's College of Physicians and Surgeons. Credited with being the first doctor to successfully diagnose and remove a ruptured appendix, he also contributed to the treatment of malaria, childhood diseases, and typhoid fever. He edited the *Journal of Balneology*, the *Dietetic and Hygienic Gazette*, and *Gailland's Medical Journal*.

Simon's wife, the former ISOBEL WOLFE of Winnsboro, South Carolina, was a descendant of Isaac Rodriguez Marques, an early colonial settler. The couple had four sons, Hartwig, Bernard Mannes, Herman Benjamin, and Sailing Wolfe (1874–1962). HARTWIG (1868–1953), the eldest, became a Broadway actor. HERMAN (1872–1953) received a medical degree from the College of Physicians and Surgeons in 1895. He practiced medicine until 1903, when he joined his brother Bernard's Wall Street firm and became a member of the New York Stock Exchange. In 1918 Herman became a lifetime partner in H. Hentz and Company. He entered public service in 1943 when he participated in a Brazil conference sponsored by the board of Economic Warfare. After World War II Herman served as U.S. ambassador to Portugal (1945–47) and as ambassador to the Netherlands (1947–49).

BERNARD BARUCH (1870–1965), stock analyst, self-styled "speculator," and statesman, was born in Camden, South Carolina. He received a B.A. from the City College of New York, and in 1889 he joined the Wall Street firm of Arthur A. Housman. Bernard became a partner in 1896, and a member of the New York Stock Exchange. By 1902, by means of his financial wizardry and careful market research into raw materials such as gold, copper, sulfur, and rubber, he had amassed a fortune of over three million dollars.

Bernard first entered public life in 1916. Then, as a result of his keen knowledge of the raw materials market, President Wilson appointed him to the advisory commission of the Council of National Defense and made him chairman of the Commission on Raw Materials, Minerals, and Metals. During World War I he served as chairman of the War Industries Board with power to virtually mobilize the American wartime economy. At the war's end he served on the Supreme Economic Council at the Conference of Versailles, where he was President Wilson's personal economic adviser, and from that time on his advisory services were sought by every president of the United States. During World War II President Franklin Roosevelt named him chairman of a committee to report on the rubber shortage and to plan a solution. In 1943 he became adviser to War Mobilization Director James Byrnes, and in 1946 he was named the U.S. representative to the United Nations Atomic Energy Commission. In 1939 Bernard advocated a "United States of Africa" in Uganda, as a refuge for Jews and all victims of persecution. The founding of Israel he saw as only a part-way solution. No Zionist, he opposed the establishment of any state on the basis of religion, and looked upon himself always as first an American and then a Jew. Bernard was the formal author of the first official U.S. policy on the control of atomic energy, which he proposed before the United Nations on June 14, 1946. His plan called for the creation of an International Atomic Development Authority, empowered to universally control all dangerous uses of atomic energy and to inspect all atomic installations. It did not prohibit atomic weapons outright, which the Russians demanded, although they rejected inspection. It was vetoed by the U.S.S.R. in 1948 and it was never adopted. Bernard wrote *American Industry in the War* (1941), *My Own Story* (1957), and a sequel, *Public Years* (1960).

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[Margaret L. Coit]

BARUCH, ADAM (1945–), Israeli columnist, writer, and editor. Born Baruch Rosenblum in Jerusalem to a rabbinical family of the old Yishuv, Baruch was brought up in Ramat Gan and educated at Midrashiyat Noam Yeshivah High School. He studied law at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem and later traveled extensively in the U.S. He began his journalistic career in the art section of **Haaretz* and in 1971 began writing a personal column in **Yedioth Ahronoth*. He edited *Mussag*, a periodical dealing with art and culture (1974–75) and the monthly magazine *Monitin* (1978–82). During the 1980s and early 1990s Baruch served as a senior editor at *Yedioth Ahronoth* and then at **Maariv* and was the editor of the business daily **Globes* (1992–96). From 1997 he wrote a weekly column in *Maariv* dealing with a wide range of issues but most notably with modern interpretations of rabbinical law. The column had a wide following in Israel and won him the Avi Hai Prize and the Yeshayahu Leibowitz Prize. The column's popularity also built his image as a spiritual mentor to many Israelis, and he became known as the *admor* (ḥasidic leader) of the *ḥilonim* (secular Israelis).

In addition to journalism, Baruch was active in Israeli art and photography. He was the curator of the Israeli exhibition at the international bianale for art in Venice (1988, 1990) and served as president of the Camera Obscura art school in Tel Aviv (1996–2002). Among his books are "Lustig" (1984), a political novel; an appreciation of the sculptor Yeḥi'el Shemi (1988); "He Was a Hero" (1998), a collection of short stories; a series of three books on contemporary Judaism and Jewish law; and "How Are Things at Home" (2004) on Israeli society.

[Anshel Pfeffer (2nd ed.)]

BARUCH, APOCALYPSE OF (Syriac) (abbr. II Bar.), an apocalyptic work ascribed to Jeremiah's scribe Baruch and purportedly containing the visions of Baruch on the eve of and subsequent to the destruction of Jerusalem. The work has been preserved partly in Greek and all of it in Syriac.

Contents

Chapters 1–4: In the 25th year of Jeconiah, king of Judah, Baruch is commanded to leave Jerusalem as its hour of destruction has come, and as long as he and his righteous companions are in the city, God is unable to destroy it. Baruch is informed in a vision that the destruction will be temporary, affecting only the earthly Jerusalem, the reflection of the heavenly and eternal Jerusalem. Chapters 5–8: The following day Baruch sees four angels with torches setting fire to the city at its four corners, while a fifth angel descends and stores away the sacred vessels of the Temple until the end of days. Chapters 9–12: After seven days Baruch is commanded to beg Jeremiah to accompany the exiles to Babylonia, but he himself is to remain with the ruined Temple. Baruch laments that Zion is destroyed whereas Babylonia is preserved. Chapters 13–20: Seven days later a mysterious voice informs Baruch that he will survive until the end of days. Chapters 21–30: After Baruch has fasted for seven days, the voice answers his question: "When will the messianic age come?" He is told that it will come in due time, but not before all the souls destined to be born will have been created. Chapters 31–34: Baruch prophesies to the people that the Temple will be rebuilt, destroyed again, and once more rebuilt for all eternity. Chapters 35–41: While Baruch sits on the ruins of the Temple, a vision is revealed to him. He sees a forest planted in a valley and surrounded by mountains. Opposite the forest is a vine, below which flows a spring. Rising to a mighty stream, the spring overturns the forest, leaving only a cedar standing, but it, too, is soon swept away by the waters of the spring. The interpretation of the vision is: The mountains and the forest are four future kingdoms, the forest being the fourth one; the spring represents the messianic age; the vine is the Messiah; and the cedar is the last ruler of the wicked kingdom (Rome). Chapters 42–52: Baruch goes to Hebron and after he fasts there for seven days, he is informed by the voice that the righteous will be resurrected at the end of days and exalted above the angels. Chapters 53–74: In a final vision, which the angel Ramiel explains to him, Baruch sees a cloud rising from the sea and shedding 12 times alternately dark and bright waters. Lightning, flashing above the black cloud, restores the places destroyed by the dark waters. Twelve rivers arise, but submit to the lightning. The interpretation of the vision is as follows: The six dark waters refer to the sins of man (those of Adam, the Egyptians, the Canaanites, Jeroboam, Manasseh, and the Babylonians), while the six bright waters represent the elect of the nation (Abraham and his progeny; Moses, Aaron, Joshua, and Caleb; David and Solomon; Hezekiah; Josiah; the restoration of Jerusalem in the Second Temple era). The last dark waters refer to the interval between the Second Temple and the advent of the Messiah, a period of causeless hatred and social revolutions, the final flash of lightning being the messianic kingdom. Chapters 75–87: Baruch thanks God for the revelations he has received and writes two letters, one to the ten tribes and the other to the two and a half tribes. Only the contents of the former are given. In this letter, carried by an eagle to the captives in Babylonia, Baruch promises a speedy redemption, if they make full repentance.

The Apocalypse of Baruch and Talmudic Literature

There are many parallels between the Apocalypse of Baruch and *aggadot* in the Talmud and Midrash. According to the *aggadah* (PR 26:131) God likewise commands Jeremiah to leave Jerusalem on the eve of its destruction (II Bar. 2:1); angels set fire to the city (*ibid.*, chs. 6–8); the priests hand over the keys of the Temple to Heaven (Ta'an. 29a; Lev. R. 19:6; PR *ibid.*; ARN^{1} 4, 12; II Bar. 10:18); Baruch enters Paradise alive (II Bar. 13:3–4; cf. Sif. Num. 99). There are several other features common to the Apocalypse of Baruch and the *aggadah*, such as that Manasseh made an idol with five faces (II Bar. 64:3; Sanh. 103b; Deut. R. 2:13 (20)); that he was burnt to death by the Assyrians (II Bar. 64:7; PdRK 162); that some sacred articles of the Temple (missing subsequently in the Second Temple) were swallowed up by the earth (II Bar. 6:7–8; Yoma 21b; Num. R. 15:10); that the patriarchs knew the Torah (Yoma 28b); and that Abraham, when eating secular meals, observed the rules of levitical cleanness required for sacred food (BM 87a).

There are further parallels between the Apocalypse of Baruch and the *aggadah*: The Heavenly Jerusalem (the counterpart of the earthly Temple), revealed to Adam (II Bar. 4:3; Sif. Deut. 37) and to Abraham in "the covenant between the pieces" (Gen. R. 44:21; 56:10; II Bar. 4:4); the souls in the "treasury" (II Bar. 30:2; Yev. 62a; Sif. Num. 139; ARN ch. 12; Shab. 152b); and the abundance and fertility that would be in time to come (Ket. 100a–b). The language of many ancient prayers is very similar to that of Baruch (cf. 11:4 "those that sleep in the dust"; 54:13 – which resembles the language in the **Nishmat* prayer).

In form and purpose the Apocalypse of Baruch is close to IV *Ezra, but it is impossible to determine which was composed first. In any event the Apocalypse of Baruch was written shortly after the destruction of the Second Temple (see II Bar. 20:2–4) and before the Bar Kokhba revolt. The Syriac version, which is derived from the Greek translation, was published in 1861 in Latin by A.M. Ceriani (*Monumenta sacra et profana*, t. 1^{2}, I–IV, 73–98), as well as in facsimile (1876–83). The work was undoubtedly written originally in Hebrew (see II Bar. 21:14; see Greek Apocalypse of *Baruch; Rest of the Words of *Baruch).

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[Yehoshua M. Grintz]

BARUCH, BOOK OF (abbr. I Bar.), an apocryphal book which together with the Epistle of *Jeremiah is associated in the Septuagint with the writings attributed to the prophet Jeremiah and is regarded as canonical in both the Eastern and Latin churches. It purports to be a letter sent by *Baruch, Jeremiah's amanuensis, from Babylonia to Palestine after the destruction of the First Temple (1:1–4). It contains five chapters which fall into two or three sections. The first (1:1–3:8) opens with Baruch's reading of the book to the people assembled in Babylonia on the banks of the river Soud (LXX Σοῦδ, Syriac *ṣwr*; cf. 4Qp Jer *swr*) and the assembled multitude's repentance and mourning (1:1–14). This is followed by a penitential prayer which comprises the remainder of the prose section. The first part of this prayer strongly resembles the prayer in Daniel 9:4–19 and a comparison leads to the conclusion that the prayer in Baruch is based on that in Daniel. The continuation of the prayer (2:20–3:8) is composed of a mosaic of biblical verses and some original sections. Prayers of repentance associated with public fasts and lamentation are mentioned in the literature of the period (cf. I Macc. 3:46–54; Judith 4:8ff.; and Ta'an 2:1). In form, the prayers in Baruch and Daniel show a strong resemblance to the liturgical texts from Qumran called *Divrei ha-Me'orot* (Baillet, in RB, 58 (1961), 195–250). The second section (3:9–44) is sapiential in character. It is addressed to Israel (3:9) and in part reproaches Israel for abandoning wisdom and in part praises wisdom. This poem contrasts the true wisdom known to Israel with that of the peoples of the East, famed for their wisdom. The passage, in common with Ben Sira and later wisdom writing, identifies true wisdom with that revealed to Israel, i.e., with the Torah. The final section of the book is composed of two poems of lamentation and comfort. The first (4:9–29) is a message of solace addressed to Israel by a personified Jerusalem, seen as a mother bewailing her children (4:10, 12, etc.). In 4:30 the speaker changes and Jerusalem is herself comforted with the message of the eventual redemption of Israel. The book is extant in Greek, Syriac, Syro-Hexaplar, three Old Latin versions, as well as Armenian, Arabic, Ethiopic, and Coptic. It has been suggested that the translation of the first section into Greek was the work of the translator of the second part of Septuagint Jeremiah (Thackeray, in: JTS, 4 (1903), 261–6). The question of the original language is intimately related to that of the literary unity of the work. A number of scholars have proposed that the book is a compilation of two or three original documents: the prayers of confession, the wisdom poem, and the laments. In general, all agree that the first section (1:1–3:8) was written in Hebrew, and most scholars who accept the documentary theory consider the third section (4:9–5:9) to be originally Greek and dependent on Wisdom of Solomon II (Charles, Apocrypha, 1 (1913), 572–3). This stance, modified by a vigorous defense of the coherence of the present form of the book as the work of a single "author-redactor" has been supported by Wambacq (*Biblica*, 47 (1966), 574–6), while A. Cahana in his Hebrew edition maintained the theory of literary unity and original Hebrew (*Ha-Sefarim ha-Ḥiẓonim*, 1 (1936), 350ff.). The book has been dated variously between the late Hasmonean period (*ante quem non* – dependence on Daniel) and the destruction of the Second Temple (the historical framework of the book). The existence of further Baruch-Jeremiah apocrypha at Qumran weakens this latter argument considerably.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Charles, Apocrypha, 1 (1913), 569–95; J.J. Kneucker, *Das Buch Baruch* (1879); R. Harwell, *The Principal Versions of Baruch* (1915); B.N. Wambacq, in: *Sacra Pagina*, 1 (1959), 455–60; idem, in: *Biblica*, 40 (1959), 463–75; O. Eissfeldt, *The Old Testament, an Introduction* (1965), 592–4 (includes bibliography).

[Michael E. Stone]

BARUCH, GREEK APOCALYPSE OF (abbr. III Bar.), an apocalypse describing the journey of *Baruch through the heavens. Baruch, Jeremiah's scribe, weeps over the destruction of Jerusalem and questions God's righteousness. He is granted this heavenly journey in order to subdue his anger and console him in his grief. In the introduction, the angel of the Lord offers to show the mourning Baruch the secrets of God. He takes him to the First Heaven where they see men in monstrous form who are identified as the people who built the Tower of Babel. The angel also explains certain measurements of the First Heaven. In the Second Heaven they meet doglike human monsters who initiated the building of the tower. In the Third Heaven, the angel shows Baruch the dragon in Hades; he also tells him how it came about that God permitted Noah to plant the cursed vine which had been the cause of Adam and Eve's sin (the vine being identified with the forbidden fruit of the Garden of Eden – cf. Ber. 40a; Gen. R. 19:5). God promises him to change the curse into a blessing; the angel, however, warns against overindulgence in wine, for the most awful sins result from it. In this heaven Baruch also observes the coming and going of the sun and the moon. The sun's chariot is driven by four angels; other angels are busy purifying the sun's crown, defiled by men's daily sins. The phoenix absorbs with his wings most of the fiery rays of the sun, so as to prevent life on earth from burning up. Baruch is frightened by this spectacle and by the accompanying thunder. Next, the angel and Baruch pass the dwelling place of the righteous souls. In the Fifth Heaven, Baruch sees the archangel Michael weighing the good deeds of people, brought by the angel appointed over each individual, and sending them their reward. The angels who could not bring any good deeds from their protégés are ordered to attend upon the sinners until they repent, and if they do not, to inflict upon them all the prophesied evils. Baruch then returns to the earth and is instructed to reveal to the sons of men those of God's secrets which he has seen and heard.

In the present form the Greek Apocalypse of Baruch is the work of a Christian writer: the Christological interpretation of the vine in chapter 4; the citation from the New Testament in chapter 15; and the technical terms deriving from a Christian background, namely ἐκκλήσίά ("church") and πνευματικοὶ πατέρες ("spiritual fathers") in chapter 13 are organic parts of the present story and cannot possibly be explained as mere interpolations. It is obvious however that this is not the original form of the book. The ultimate aim of the traveler through the heavens is to see the Glory of God, an aim usually attained in the Seventh Heaven (cf. Slavonic Enoch, ch. 9ff.; Test. Patr. Levi 3:8; Ḥag. 12b. etc.). Indeed, twice in the book (III Bar. 7:2; 11:2) the guiding angel assures Baruch, "Wait and you shall see the Glory of God," a promise which is never fulfilled, for Baruch reaches no further than the Fifth Heaven. This reinforces the probability that the present work is a later version of an apocalypse of Baruch which in an earlier version, mentioned by *Origen (*De principiis* 2:3, 6), included the Seven Heavens.

The main issues dealt with in the Greek Apocalypse of Baruch are the heavenly mechanisms of, and causes behind, cosmological matters, and man's just reward for his deeds. The latter brings it into the realm of the testament- and Adam-literature; it is in the light of this genre and not in that of direct New Testament influence (as M.R. James avers) that the lists of sins (III Bar. 4:7; 8:5; 13:4) should be understood. The uranological traditions of the Greek Apocalypse of Baruch are closely related to the Enoch books (cf. Ethiopic Enoch chs. 72, 73; Slavonic Enoch chs. 3–9, esp. 6); some stories have parallels in aggadic literature (see Ginzberg, and Artom's notes in Kahana); the theme that the souls of the righteous dwell as birds around a lake (ch. 10) might well be of Egyptian origin (in the hieroglyphics the bird designates the heavenly soul).

The Apocalypse is written in a very simple Koine-Greek of late antiquity; there is no evidence that it was translated from a Semitic language. Two Slavonic versions (see Picard, pp. 70–71 and Turdeanu) mainly follow the Greek text.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: S. Novaković, in: *Starine*, 18 (1886), 203–9; M.I. Sokolov, in: *Drevnosti*, no.4, 201–58; M.R. James, *Apocrypha Anecdota*, 2 (1897), li–lxxi, 83–102; V. Ryssel, in: E. Kautzsch (ed.), *Die Apocryphen and Pseudepigraphen*, 2 (1900),.446–57; L. Ginzberg, in: JE, 2 (1902), 549–51; W. Luedtke, in: ZAW, 31 (1911), 219–22; H.M. Hughes, in: Charles, Apocrypha, 2 (1913), 527–41; E.S. Artom, *Ha-Sefarim ha-Ḥiẓonim, Ḥazon Barukh* 2 (1967); idem, in: A. Kahana (ed.), *Ha-Sefarim ha-Ḥiẓonim*, 1 (1936), 408–25; E. Turdeanu, in: RHR, 138 (1950), 177–81; J.-C. Picard (ed.). *Apocalypse Baruchi graece* (1967), 61–96.

[Jacques Yakov Guggenheim]

BARUCH, JACOB BEN MOSES ḤAYYIM (late 18th century), editor and author. Baruch lived in Leghorn. In 1875 he edited (Leghorn, Castello & Saadun) *Shivḥei Yerushalayim* ("The Praises of Jerusalem"; or *Shabbeḥi Yerushalayim*, from

Psalms 147:12, "Praise, O Jerusalem"), an anthology of texts on the Land of Israel containing extracts from the following works: (1) *Tzaḥve-Adom* by Raphael Treves (Constantinople, 1740), on the holy places in the Land of Israel; (2) *Imrei Kadosh* from the *Sha'ar ha-Gilgulim* of Samuel ben Ḥayyim Vital, on the graves of sainted rabbis; (3) an Eretz Israel travelogue, whose author remained unknown until the scholarly edition of the manuscript by Izhak Ben-Zvi (1938), who identified him (after A. De Rossi's indication in *Meor Einayim*, ch. 46, ed. Cassel 449–50) with the rabbi Moses *Basola. Ben-Zvi criticized Baruch's publication, which omitted the beginning and the end of the manuscript, and was sometimes inaccurate; 4) *Masa'ot* of Benjamin of Tudela; (4) prayers of kabbalistic inspiration concerning the pilgrimage to the graves of the sainted rabbis, opposite the Temple Mount (also from Basola's travelogue), etc.; (5) *Kitzur Shenei Luḥot ha-Berit* of Yeḥiel Epstein; (6) a list of currencies and weights. *Shivḥei Yerushalayim* had considerable success and was published at least six times until the late 19th century.

In 1790 Baruch edited (and financed publication of) *Sha'ar ha-Ḥeshek* ("The Portal of Delight," Livorno, Falorni), a large part of *Shir ha-Ma'alot*, the introduction to Johanan *Alemanno's *Ḥeshek Shelomo* on Song of Songs, an elaboration on King Solomon's wisdom. Baruch added an introduction in which he praised the religious value of science (quoting Y. Del Medigo's *Sefer Elim*) and many notes to the text (under the name *Ashiv*, "Amar Shafel Ya'akov Barukh," "said the humble Jacob Baruch"), in which he emphasizes the Jewish origin of all the sciences (esp. p. 12a). These notes refer mainly to kabbalistic literature (from *Sefer Yetzirah* to Ḥayyim Joseph David *Azulai) but also take into account the Italian, rationalist tradition (A. De Rossi, p. 55a; A. *Portaleone, p. 23b). *Sha'ar ha-Ḥeshek* was published a second time in Halberstadt in 1862.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: I. Ben Zvi, *Masot Eretz Yisrael le-R. Moshe Basola* (1938), 7–11; A. David, *In Zion and Jerusalem. The Itinerary of Rabbi Moses Basola, 1521–1523* (1999), 7, 28–29; M. Steinschneider, *Hebraeische Bibliographie* 5 (1862), 28–29.

[Alessandro Guetta (2nd ed.)]

BARUCH, JOSEPH MARCOU (1872–1899), early Zionist propagandist in Western Europe and Mediterranean countries. Baruch, born in Constantinople, conducted an anti-assimilation campaign among Jewish students in Berne and was wounded in a duel with a non-Jewish student over an antisemitic remark. In 1893 Baruch went to Vienna and joined the student circle of the Zionist Kadimah association. In 1894, in Algeria, he edited the newspaper *Le Juge*, in which, despite the opposition of local Jewish leaders, he tried to awaken the national consciousness of Algerian Jewry. Registered with the police as an anarchist, Baruch was compelled to leave the country. In 1895, after returning to Vienna, he went to Bulgaria and established a Zionist group in Sofia. In Philippopolis (Plovdiv) he published a French-language newspaper with a Ladino supplement, called *Carmel*, and helped establish Zionist associations in various Bulgarian towns, until he was imprisoned. He was released under the protection of Prince Konstantinov, and in 1896 left Bulgaria for Egypt where he continued his Zionist activity in Port Said, Alexandria, and Cairo. Some of his ideas later reached Herzl, particularly his criticism of "infiltration" (i.e., small-scale settlement in Palestine without prior political guarantees), and his advocacy of the foundation of an internationally recognized Jewish state. Toward this end he proposed war with Turkey, even joining the group called Garibaldi's army, which eventually fought for the liberation of Crete from Turkish rule. When Herzl appeared on the Zionist scene, Baruch was among his supporters. He attended the Second and Third Zionist Congresses (1898, 1899), and went on Zionist propaganda tours. Herzl's feelings for Baruch alternated between sympathy and dislike, as a result of the latter's eccentric personality, and Herzl was even afraid he might make an attempt on his life. Baruch's last days were spent in Italy, where he published his book *Le Juif à l'Ile du Diable*, a defense of Alfred Dreyfus. He committed suicide in Florence.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Y. Weinschal, *Marcou Baruch, Nevi Milḥemet ha-Shiḥrur* (1949); T. Herzl, *Complete Diaries*, ed. by R. Patai, 5 (1960), index; Molcho, in: *Haolam*, 33 (1946), 16–18; M.D. Gaon, *Yehudei ha-Mizraḥ be-Ereẓ Yisrael be-Avar u-va-Hoveh*, 2 (1938), 172–5.

[Getzel Kressel]

BARUCH, REST OF THE WORDS OF, apocryphal book, also called *Paralipomena Jeremiae* (Chronicles of Jeremiah) in its present form, a Christian reworking of a patently Jewish source. It is connected with the wider Baruch and Jeremiah literature represented also by the Syriac and Greek Apocalypses of *Baruch, the Greek Book of *Baruch, the Epistle of *Jeremiah, as well as fragments from Qumran Cave 4.

Its story opens with the destruction of the Temple, which is announced by God to Jeremiah. At God's orders, Jeremiah buries the Temple vessels beneath the Temple, where they are to remain until the coming of the Messiah. He also enquires what is to be done with the slave Abimelech (Ebedmelech of Jer. 38, and one Armenian recension) and is instructed to send him to Agrippa's vineyard where he would be hidden until the return from exile. Jeremiah was to go with the exiles of Babylon (cf. Jer. 43, but see SOR 26), while Baruch was to remain in Jerusalem.

The role played by Abimelech is unique to this book. He arrives in Agrippa's vineyard to pick some figs and, it being midday, lies down to rest and awakens only after 66 years. He examines his figs and finds them fresh. Going to Jerusalem, he does not recognize the city and, in his confusion, accosts an old man who tells him of what has happened while he slept. He is led to Baruch by an angel and they rejoice over the miracle of the figs in which they see a sign of redemption. Baruch prays for guidance in sending a letter to Jeremiah and the following morning a miraculous eagle appears and carries Baruch's letter and some of the figs to Jeremiah. To prove its genuineness, the eagle alights on the body of a dead man and he is restored to life. Jeremiah then reads the letter to the people in Babylon; they repent and weep, and the exiles set forth for

Jerusalem. Before they depart, however, Jeremiah examines them to ensure that there are no uncircumcised among them and none married to foreign women. Those who are thus disqualified desire to return to Babylon, but are not permitted to do so by the Babylonians, and so they build themselves the city of Samaria. The story concludes with the offering of sacrifices in Jerusalem and Jeremiah's death in the Temple. The sequel is Christian and, as generally agreed, not part of the original work. This story is extant in Greek, various Slavonic, Ethiopic, Coptic (P. Morgan Ms. 601), and three different Armenian recensions. The problem of textual history and the relationship between the various text forms have not been adequately studied. Klausner (EIV, s.v.) defends the primacy of the Ethiopic but, like most previous students of the work, he was not familiar with the Armenian recensions. The Jewish nature of the original is apparent from many distinctive features. Thus the approval of sacrifice, the rejection of foreign women, and the attitude to circumcision, to mention the most prominent, clearly disprove the theory of a Christian original.

It is probable that the book was composed after the destruction of the Second Temple, and some would even suggest that the hatred displayed toward the Samaritans indicates a date in the reign of the emperor Hadrian. It depends at many points on the Syriac Apocalypse of *Baruch. Recent studies have emphasized the prominence of Jewish religious ideas and terminology in this work.

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[Michael E. Stone]

BARUCH BEN DAVID YAVAN (18th cent.), *Court Jew of the Polish king August III, financier of his minister Count Bruehl. He was a leader in the *Council of Four Lands and as **shtadlan* for the Council used his influence at court for furthering Jewish causes. Baruch received a talmudic education under R. Jacob Joshua *Falk and knew several languages. He was prominent in combating the remnants of *Shabbateanism and the *Frankists. In the controversy over Jonathan *Eybeschuetz' adherence to Shabbateanism he upheld Jacob *Emden (who was related to him by their children's marriage) in his condemnation of Eybeschuetz. Baruch did not hesitate to effect the removal of Ḥayyim b. Abraham, an adherent of Eybeschuetz, from his post of rabbi of Lublin and his imprisonment in 1751. Baruch took a leading role in Jewish diplomatic efforts to counter the Frankists. When the disputation between the talmudists and Frankists became in 1757 the occasion for an ecclesiastical order to burn the Talmud, Baruch, aided by the *shtadlan* Mordecai Merkil, sought the help of Count Bruehl. He obtained access to the papal nuncio and succeeded in saving many talmudic works. Baruch also persuaded Count Bruehl to use his influence at the papal curia to thwart the *blood libel instigated by Frank. In 1764 he frustrated Frank's intrigues with Russia, using his connections with the Russian nobility to convince the synodal authorities of the Russian Orthodox Church that Frank's application for acceptance into their faith was insincere.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: H. Graetz, *Frank und die Frankisten* (1868); A. Kraushar, *Frank i Frankiści* (1895); M. Balaban, *Le-Toledot ha-Tenu'ah ha-Frankit* (1934). **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** Halpern, Pinkas, 361 (Barukh me-Ereẓ Yavan).

[Nathan Michael Gelber]

BARUCH BEN ISAAC OF ALEPPO (c. 1050–c. 1125), scholar. Baruch appears to have been born in Spain, where he studied together with his younger kinsman *Baruch b. Samuel of Aleppo. From there he went to Aleppo where he was the head of a large yeshivah. From 1085 his signature appears on various documents, among them a letter of recommendation on behalf of Obadiah the Proselyte of Normandy. He wrote a commentary on the order *Kodashim*, of the Babylonian Talmud, which was highly recommended by *Joseph Rosh ha-Seder, who considered it equal to the commentaries of *Hananel b. Ḥushi'el on the orders *Mo'ed, Nashim*, and *Nezikin* and of *Isaac b. Melchizedek on *Zera'im* and *Tohorot*. He also wrote commentaries on other tractates, including *Shabbat* (quoted by Isaiah di Trani in his commentary on this tractate) and *Bava Meẓia* (see *Ginzei Kedem*, 5 (1934), 131–4). S. Assaf was of the opinion that the commentary on tractate *Zevaḥim* (Jerusalem, 1942), attributed to Hananel, was by Baruch, but this identification does not appear to be correct.

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[Israel Moses Ta-Shma]

BARUCH BEN ISAAC OF REGENSBURG (second half of 12th century), talmudic scholar. He was a member of the *bet din* of Regensburg, together with *Isaac b. Jacob Ha-Lavan of Prague, Abraham ben Moses of Regensburg, and *Judah he-Ḥasid b. Samuel (*Sefer Ḥasidim*, ed. by J. Wistinetzki (1924^2), 390). Baruch was one of the teachers of *Abraham b. Azriel, the author of *Arugat ha-Bosem*. There is record of a question addressed to Baruch and his two fellow judges by R. *Joel ben Isaac ha-Levi (*Sefer Ravyah*, no. 1031). Baruch engaged in disputations with his older contemporary *Eliezer b. Nathan of Mainz, who esteemed him highly, and with *Isaac b. Samuel ha-Zaken of Dampierre. Some scholars have incorrectly identified him with *Baruch b. Isaac of Worms, author of the *Sefer ha-Terumah*.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: H. Gross, in: MGWJ, 34 (1885), 558–60; idem, in: ZHB, 11 (1907), 179; J. Wellesz, in: MGWJ, 48 (1904), 442; V. Aptowitzer *Mavo le-Sefer Ravyah* (1938), 174, 326–9; Urbach, Tosafot, 286ff., 299, 334; idem, *Arugat ha-Bosem* (1963), index; idem, in: *Tarbiz*, 10 (1938/39), 86ff.

[Moshe Nahum Zobel]

BARUCH BEN ISAAC OF WORMS (late 12th–early 13th century), German tosafist. Although Baruch lived in Worms, he probably came from France and is sometimes referred to as Ha-Zarefati ("the Frenchman"). Baruch was a pupil of *Isaac b. Samuel the Elder of Dampierre, and after his teacher's death, spent a considerable amount of time in France with Judah of Paris. Baruch immigrated to Ereẓ Israel (1237?). It seems certain that he is not to be identified with *Baruch b. Isaac of Regensburg.

He is renowned as the author of *Sefer ha-Terumah* (written shortly before 1202; first published Venice, 1523), which comprises a summary of the established *halakhot* on several subjects, including the laws pertaining to Ereẓ Israel, combined and arranged according to the chapters of the relevant tractates of the Talmud. The whole work reflects the teachings of Isaac b. Samuel. In it Baruch mentions *Samuel b. Meir (Rashbam) and *Isaac b. Meir, as well as statements of Rabbi Jacob *Tam and his pupils; however, very few German scholars are referred to. By virtue of its wealth of material and its terse, easy style, well adapted to its purpose of leading, through discussion, to the practical *halakhah*, the book spread through France, Germany, Italy, and Spain, and was widely quoted by many later authorities among them, *Eliezer of Worms, *Isaac b. Moses Or Zarua, *Moses b. Jacob of Coucy, Zedekiah *Anav, *Aaron b. Jacob of Lunel, and *Naḥmanides. Entire halakhic passages from the work were inserted by copyists into the *Maḥzor Vitry. Numerous manuscripts of *Sefer ha-Terumah* and some manuscripts of an anonymous abridgment are extant. Baruch also wrote *tosafot* to several tractates of the Talmud, but only those on *Zevaḥim* have been preserved and they are printed in the standard editions of the Talmud. A. Epstein held that the anonymous commentary on *Tamid* attributed to Abraham b. David (Prague, 1725) should be ascribed to Baruch, but – despite a measure of similarity between the commentary and a number of quotations in Baruch's name which are known – this is unlikely. E.E. Urbach has maintained that the commentary on the *Sifra* ascribed to Abraham b. David was written by Baruch, but this too is uncertain.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: A. Epstein, *Das talmudische Lexikon "Yiḥusei Tanna'im ve-Amora'im"* (1895); Urbach, Tosafot, 263, 286–99, 511–2; V. Aptowitzer, *Mavo le-Sefer Ravyah* (1938), 327–8.

[Israel Moses Ta-Shma]

BARUCH BEN JEHIEL OF MEDZIBEZH (1757–1810), ḥasidic *ẓaddik*; grandson of *Israel b. Eliezer the Baal Shem Tov, the founder of modern *Ḥasidism. Baruch, who studied under Phinehas Shapira of Korets, officiated from 1780 as rabbi in Tulchin, but encountered opposition and returned to Medzibezh in 1788. He attributed great importance to his descent and regarded himself as the heir to the Ba'al Shem Tov's leadership. He held that the *ẓaddik* could save and lead the whole world; the duty of the common man was only "to destroy the evil impulses and abandon his desires." Regarding himself as the leader of Ḥasidism by hereditary right, he held "court" in Medzibezh in a highly autocratic and luxurious fashion, though preaching asceticism to others. He kept a "court jester," Hershele Ostropoler. His behavior aroused opposition from other ḥasidic leaders. In 1808 he met Shneur Zalman of Lyady in an effort to settle their differences. Baruch attached mystical importance to the custom practiced by Ḥasidim of giving presents to the rabbis (*pidyonot*). He encouraged Ḥasidim to immigrate to Ereẓ Israel. He took part in the assembly of ḥasidic rabbis at Berdichev (1802–03) that discussed the government's prohibition of Jewish settlement in the villages among other matters. His writings include *Amarot Tehorot* (1865; first published in his brother's (*Moses Ḥayyim Ephraim) *Degel Maḥaneh Ephraim*, Zhitomir, 1850) and *Buẓina di-Nehora* (1880).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: M. Bodek, *Seder ha-Dorot he-Ḥadash* (1865), 23; Horodezky, Ḥasidut, 3 (1953^4), 12–17; Dubnow, Ḥasidut, 1 (1930), 205–8; M. Buber, *Tales of the Ḥasidim*, 1 (1947), 87–97; M.E. Gutman, *Mi-Gibborei ha-Ḥasidut*, 3 (1928).

[Nachum Arieli]

BARUCH BEN SAMUEL (d. 1834), adventurer and physician. Baruch was born in Pinsk and emigrated to Safed in 1819. The reports of a messenger who traveled from Safed to Yemen and back in 1825 gave rise to wondrous tales about a Jew from the tribe of Dan whom he allegedly met in Yemen and of stories about the "Sons of Moses" and the Ten Tribes. The community of Safed decided to send a messenger to these remote Jews to come to the aid of their brethren in Palestine. They chose Baruch who, in their opinion, possessed the qualities necessary for such a bold undertaking. They gave him a letter addressed to the Ten Tribes and made him swear to devote himself wholly to this task.

Baruch started his journey in 1831. His travels took him to Damascus, Aleppo, Kurdistan, Mesopotamia, Baghdad, Basra, Bushire, Muscat, and Aden. Toward the end of 1833 Baruch reached Yemen. The rabbis of San'a received him cordially and one of the members of the community (*dayyan* Māri Yiḥye al-Abyat) accompanied him to Ḥaydān at the northern extremity of Yemen, where, according to the rumor, the tribe of Dan lived. Baruch and his companion made their way into the desert where they met a shepherd, who appeared to them like a Danite. They gave him the letter and he promised to deliver the answer to them in Ḥaydān. Then Baruch and his companion hurried back to San'a for the autumn Holidays. The Jews of Ḥaydān promised to forward the anticipated answer to San'a, but it never came.

When Baruch returned to San'a, he offered to cure the sickly imam of Yemen, al-Mahdi. He hoped thereby to enlist the imam's aid in the completion of his mission. After his recovery, the imam appointed Baruch his court physician. Baruch began to behave haughtily toward the Muslims, and thus aroused their enmity and jealousy. In 1834 Ibrahim Pasha of Egypt attacked Yemen and captured Mocha. Baruch assured the imam that if he would give him an army, he would drive out the conqueror on condition that afterward he himself be appointed the ruler of that city. This proposal served Baruch's enemies as a pretext for charging him with spying for Egypt. The imam believed this false accusation and in February 1834, during his daily walk in the garden with Baruch, the imam shot his physician. The dying Baruch predicted that the Imam and his family would lose their kingdom. His prediction came true in less than a year.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: J. Saphir, *Even Sappir*, 1 (1866), 83–86; E. Brauer, *Ethnologie der jemenitischen Juden* (1934), 42–44; Yaari, Sheluḥei, 147ff.

[Yehuda Ratzaby]

BARUCH BEN SAMUEL OF ALEPPO (also called **Baruch of Greece**, or **the Sephardi**; 1070/80–1130/40), talmudic commentator. It is surmised that he was either from southern Italy or Spain. He immigrated to Ereẓ Israel and then to Aleppo, from where he sent questions to Samuel b. Ali, head of the Baghdad yeshivah. His commentaries are frequently quoted by the scholars of Germany, Italy, Provence, and Spain, among them *Isaac b. Moses of Vienna, author of *Or Zaru'a* and *Isaiah b. Mali di Trani. He is mostly quoted by Zechariah *Aghmati in his commentary on *Bava Kamma, Bava Meẓia* and *Bava Batra*. Baruch relied mainly on *Hananel's commentary and *Perushei Maganẓa* (Mainz) attributed to *Gershom b. Judah. He followed the method of giving a precis of the talmudic text and interweaving his own commentary. Like *Nissim b. Jacob and Hananel b. Ḥushiel he referred to the talmudic sources, *Sifra, Sifrei*, and Tosefta, and was meticulous with regard to variant readings. He also wrote *Ḥibbur Tohorot*, which is mentioned by Isaiah di Trani, and a book of halakhic decisions. Only his commentary to *Horayot* has survived and is printed in the Romm editions of the Talmud, although erroneously ascribed to Hananel.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: S. Assaf, in: *Tarbiz*, 1 no. 1 (1930), 126; Epstein, *ibid.*, 1 no. 4 (1930), 27–62; 16 (1944/45), 49–53.

[Josef Horovitz]

BARUCH BEN SAMUEL OF MAINZ (c. 1150–1221), scholar and *paytan*. Baruch was a pupil of Moses b. Solomon ha-Kohen, whom he succeeded as a member of the *bet din* of Mainz. There is no basis for Aptowitzer's statement that a dispute for the position between him and his kinsman, *Eliezer b. Samuel of Metz, took place. Baruch also studied under *Judah b. Kalonymus b. Meir of Speyer, and possibly *Ephraim b. Isaac of Regensburg. He was in halakhic correspondence with many contemporary scholars, including *Judah he-Ḥasid.

Baruch is best known for his *Sefer ha-Ḥokhmah*, a comprehensive work (now lost) covering the subject matter of *Nashim* and *Nezikin*, as well as the laws of *Issur ve-Hetter*; it also included his responsa. The work was still extant in the 16th century when Solomon *Luria and Bezalel *Ashkenazi used it. It is extensively quoted by the *rishonim*, particularly by *Mordecai b. Hillel and by *Meir b. Baruch of Rothenburg, sometimes being referred to as "The Book of Baruch of Mainz." Baruch is not mentioned at all by name in *tosafot*, although some ascribe to him the authorship of the printed *tosafot* to *Sotah*. Of Baruch's *piyyutim*, 33 of which have been preserved (published by Habermann – see bibl.), some deal with the persecutions in *Blois (1171), *Speyer and *Boppard (1196), and Wuerzburg (before 1221), and are a valuable historical source. One *piyyut* is devoted to the talmudic discussion "*ilan de-Ulla*" ("the tree of Ulla," BB 26b–27a), a rare phenomenon in *piyyut*. These *piyyutim*, some of which are rhymed, excel in their variety and their style – biblical language being interspersed with the language of rabbinical and early mystical literature. Baruch revised a number of his *piyyutim* in order to bring them up to date, as in the *seliḥot, Be-Terem Noledu Harim* and *Be-Terem Harve-Givah*. Highly popular among congregants, his *seliḥot* were affectionately termed "*berukhah,*" "*mevorekhet,*" and "*mevorakh*" ("blessed," a play on words from his name). His son, R. SAMUEL OF BAMBERG, the teacher of R. *Meir b. Baruch of Rothenburg, was also noted as an halakhic scholar and as a *paytan*.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Urbach, Tosafot, 134–6, 352–4; Habermann, in: YMḤSI, 6 (1945), 47ff.; Epstein, in: *Tarbiz*, 12 (1940/41), 190–6; idem, in: MGWJ, 83 (1939, 1963^2), 346–55; Davidson, Oẓar 4 (1933), 373; Germ Jud, 1 (1934), 201; V. Aptowitzer (ed.), *Mavo le-Sefer Rayyah* (1938), 313–4, 329–30.

[Israel Moses Ta-Shma]

BARUCH (BEN ABRAHAM) OF KOSOV (c. 1725/30–1795), kabbalist. He was a disciple of *Menahem Mendel of Vitebsk and also studied with *Menahem Mendel of Przemyslany for a short while. Baruch became *Maggid* in Kosov. In his sermons he tried to make the kabbalist doctrine, as taught mainly by Isaac *Luria and Ḥayyim *Vital, easily comprehensible by the use of explanatory metaphors. According to Baruch, Luria was the highest authority on Kabbalah. Therefore, he advised all who wished to study the *Zohar, first to read Luria and Vital. Baruch interpreted (as did Joseph *Ergas) Luria's doctrine of "*ẓimẓum*" (i.e., God's self-willed withdrawal), as a metaphor and not as an actual fact. On this point he argued against the realistic interpretation of Immanuel Ḥai *Ricchi. Baruch taught that the true life of every material entity was conditioned by its spiritual aspect. He therefore contended that full surrender and complete attachment to God was possible because this was an intellectual discipline originating in a love which knows no limits. He maintained that it was possible to attain a concept of things, first through the senses, then on a higher level, through the imagination, and finally, at the highest stage, through wisdom. It was only through wisdom that one could perceive the spiritual quality inherent in every material being. Only wisdom had the capacity to feel the pain which the soul inevitably felt when man committed a sin. Baruch conceded that the questions of predestination and free will were so difficult as to be unanswerable. Nevertheless he believed in both, and counseled unconditional belief in them (*Ammud ha-Avodah*, 54–55, 107; *Yesod ha-Emmunah*, 76–99). Baruch was totally and aggressively against the followers of *Shabbetai Ẓevi and Jacob *Frank. In 1760 his antagonism to the latter apparently motivated him to begin writing the above books with the aim of refuting the anthropomorphism applied by Frankists to the basic concepts of Kabbalah. From 1761 he had started to collect from learned authorities their written commentaries on the manuscripts of his books. However, it was only in 1854 that they were actually printed in Czernowitz: (1) *Yesod ha-Emunah*, on the Pentateuch and miscellanies; (2) *Ammud ha-Avodah*, on the basic questions of Kabbalah, including "a lengthy introduction to explain the essence of the spiritual entities."

BIBLIOGRAPHY: A. Yaari, *Meḥkerei Sefer* (1958), 453–4; I. Tishby, in: *Zion*, 32 (1967), 24–29.

[Samuel Abba Horodezky]

BARUH, BORA (1901–1941), Yugoslav painter. After studying law, he devoted himself to painting, moving to Paris in 1938. On returning to Belgrade in 1941, he joined the partisan movement in Serbia but was captured and executed. He painted landscapes, portraits, and Spanish Civil War scenes, mainly in oils.

BARUK, HENRI (1897–1999), French psychiatrist. In 1931 he was appointed chief physician at the Charenton mental institution, and in 1946 became professor at the Sorbonne. His early scientific studies concentrated on psychiatric disorders caused by tumors on the brain. He succeeded in creating, by artificial means, aggression psychoses in animals. This led him to study the connections between psychiatric illness and defective moral awareness in human beings, and he subsequently displayed a tendency to extend psychiatry into the area of general anthropology. In 1957 he became chairman of the French Neurological Society. Baruk compared biblical medicine with that of Greece and wrote studies on religious belief and medical ethics. He opposed scientific experiments on the human body and all methods of psychiatric treatment which suppress or diminish the personality. Deeply linked to Jewish tradition and texts, Baruk was active in Jewish affairs in France, as chairman of the Society for the History of Hebrew Medicine in Paris and of the French Friends of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. His works include *Hebraic Civilization and the Science of Man*, 1961 (originally a lecture in Edinburgh in 1960); *Le Test Tzedek, le jugement moral et la délinquance* (1950); *Psychiatrie morale, expérimentale, individuelle et sociale; Psychoses et neuroses* (1965); *La Psychanalyse devant la médecine et l'idolâtrie* (1978); *La Psychiatrie et la crise morale du monde d'aujourd'hui* (1983); and *La Bible hébraïque devant la crise morale du monde d'aujourd'hui* (1987). He also published his memoirs: *Des hommes comme nous,mémoires d'un neuropsychiatre* (1975; *Patients are People Like Us: The Experiences of Half a Century in Neuropsychiatry*, 1977).

[Joshua O. Leibowitz / Dror Franck Sullaper (2nd ed.)]

BARUKH (Heb. בָּרוּךְ), initial word of the **berakhah* pattern of prayer. *Barukh* is conventionally translated "blessed," but the etymology is disputed. The root (ברך) seems to have meant originally "bend (or fall) upon the knees (*berekh* = knee)" in prayerful obeisance (Ps. 95:6; Isa. 45:23). Cassuto maintains, however, that it meant originally "bestow a gift" (Gen. 24:1, 35; 33:11, et al.). *Barukh* is a homonym expressing a reciprocal relationship: man can address God as *barukh* by expressing feelings of thanksgiving, reverence, love, and praise, while he is *barukh* by God who bestows His material and spiritual gifts. The person upon whom the divine blessing rests is called *berukh Adonai*, "blessed of the Lord" (Gen. 24:31, 26:29). *Barukh Adonai*, in the sense of man blessing God, occurs 24 times in the Bible.

The pattern *barukh Attah Adonai* ("blessed art Thou, Lord") occurs only twice in biblical literature (Ps. 119:12; I Chron. 29:10). This second person form attained currency no earlier than about the fourth century B.C.E. There is, however, no substantive difference between the second and third person forms. As applied to God "blessed" is identical with "praised" and the formula of blessing viz. benediction is, in fact, one of praise.

The prototype of the classical *berakhah* is to be found in the biblical formula, *barukh Adonai… asher…* (e.g., Gen. 24:27; Ex. 18:10), in which he who has experienced the marvelous or miraculous expresses adoration and awe. This pattern persisted for centuries and was eventually adapted for liturgical use as the Jew's response to "the miracles of every day." But the insertion of the pronoun *Attah* ("Thou") was slow in gaining exclusive acceptance. Some of the variant forms of the *berakhah* persisted until the third century C.E. when the standard pattern was fully established (Ber. 40b). In third-century Babylonia, Rav and Samuel were still debating whether *Attah* was required in the formula (TJ, Ber. 9:1, 12d). Rav's pattern, *barukh Attah Adonai*, became the standard opening phrase; but the old biblical formula in which *barukh* (*Attah*) *Adonai* was followed by the characteristic phrase, *asher* ("who," i.e., "performed some beneficent act") remained in use. This juxtaposition of direct address to God and a sequel in the third person created a syntactical paradox which has exercised commentators and theologians down to the present. Many commentators explain the juxtaposition of second and third person homiletically as indicating both God's nearness and transcendence. The second person address is referred to in traditional sources as *nigleh* ("revealed") and the third person as *nistar* ("hidden").

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Blank, in: HUCA, 32 (1961), 87–90; Bamberger, in: *Judaism*, 5 (1956), 167–8; M. Kadushin, *The Rabbinic Mind* (1965^2), 266–70 (theological aspect); J. Heinemann, *Ha-Tefillah bi-Tekufat ha-Tanna'im re-ha-Amora'im* (1966^2), 29–77 (textual criticism).

[Herman Kieval]

BARUKH SHE-AMAR (Heb. בָּרוּךְ שֶׁאָמַר; "Blessed be He who spoke"), benediction opening the section of *Shaḥarit called "passages of song," i.e., the morning psalms (*Pesukei de-Zimra* or *Zemirot*). In the Ashkenazi rite the benediction is placed at the beginning of the whole section, while in the Sephardi and other rites some verses and psalms are recited before *Barukh* *she-Amar.* In the original Sephardi prayer books (Leghorn, Amsterdam, and Vienna) there is a longer version, with additions for Sabbath. In the Eastern Sephardi rites – according to the Kabbalah – there is a shorter version of 87 words, which is similar to the Ashkenazi rite with slight variations. In its present form it is a combination of two separate prayers of which only the second part can be considered a benediction. The first part is a hymn praising God, the Creator and Redeemer. In spite of numerous variations and later accretions, the prayer may be of talmudic origin. It is first mentioned by Moses Gaon (c. 820) and is found in the prayer book of Amram Gaon (also ninth century), where the prayer is introduced as follows: "When Jews enter the synagogue to pray, the *ḥazzan* of the congregation rises and begins…" Nathan ha-Bavli reports a century later that at the ceremony of the installation of the exilarch *Barukh she-Amar* was sung antiphonally, and hence some scholars have suggested that the response *Barukh Hu* ("blessed be He"), was repeated as a refrain after every clause, and not only for the first one as in the present text. According to Saadiah's *Siddur* it was recited only on Sabbaths. The style of the hymn is midrashic and most of the phrases used are found in various passages of Talmud and Midrash (see S. Baer, *Siddur* (1868), 58). Eleazer b. Judah of Worms of the 12th–13th centuries, quoting from the *Heikhalot* texts of the early mystics, refers to the esoteric significance of the 87 words contained in *Barukh she-Amar* (at least in the Ashkenazi rite (Rokeaḥ 320)); the extant texts of the *Heikhalot* do not, however, have this passage. D. *Hoffmann has interpreted the first part of the prayer as an exposition of the various meanings of the Tetragrammaton. In Prague a Barukh she-Amar Society was active from the 16th century until World War II. The members rose early in order to be in the synagogue before the reciting of *Barukh she-Amar*.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Abrahams, Companion, 31ff.; Elbogen, Gottesdienst, 82ff.; Idelsohn, Liturgy, 80f.; D. Hoffmann, *Das Buch Leviticus*, 1 (1905), 95ff.

BARUKH SHEM KEVOD MALKHUTO LE-OLAM VA-ED (Heb. בָּרוּךְ שֵׁם כְּבוֹד מַלְכוּתוֹ לְעוֹלָם וָעֶד; "Blessed be His name, whose glorious kingdom is forever and ever" (Singer, Prayer, and *Union Prayer Book*) or "Blessed be His glorious kingdom for ever and ever" (*Rabbinical Assembly Prayerbook*)), a doxology of ancient origin, based upon Nehemiah 9:5, "Stand up and bless the Lord your God from everlasting to everlasting; and let them say: Blessed be Thy glorious Name, that is exalted above all blessing and praise." Talmudic sources state that in the Temple it was not customary to respond "Amen" after blessings pronounced by the priests (Tosef., Ber. 7:22), but rather the aforesaid *Barukh Shem Kevod Malkhuto le-Olam va-Ed.* This was also the custom after the high priest pronounced the Holy Name (the Tetragrammaton) in his public confessions on the Day of Atonement (Yoma 35b, 39a, 66a; Ta'an. 16b; Tosef., Ta'an. 1:12; Sif. Deut. 306; see **Avodah*). This formula is pronounced in the daily prayers after the first verse of the *Shema* before continuing with the verses of Deuteronomy 6:4–9. In the Orthodox ritual, however, this formula is pronounced in a whisper, either because it is not biblical as is the rest of the *Shema* (Pes. 56a; Gen. R. 98:3) or because it is recited by the angels in heaven, corresponding to the people of Israel's reciting of the *Shema* (Deut. R. 2:36). It has also been suggested that precisely because the phrase was recited aloud in the Temple (Ta'an. 16b), it should be whispered after its destruction. For the second reason, this doxology is pronounced aloud in Orthodox synagogues only on the Day of Atonement, since on this day "Israel is as pure as the angels" (Deut. R. 2:36). Another explanation for uttering this formula in a whisper is that martyrs used to pronounce the *Shema* as they met their death while their relatives, out of fear of the oppressors, responded quietly. But on the Day of Atonement, when all are ready for martyrdom, it is pronounced aloud (see M.A. Mirkin's commentary to Deut. R. 98:3). In the Ashkenazi rite, at the close of the *Ne'ilah* service on the Day of Atonement, this formula is pronounced aloud three times as a solemn affirmation of the Jewish faith and in anticipation of the day when this belief will be realized by all mankind.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: J. Heinemann, *Ha-Tefillah bi-Tekufat ha-Tanna'im ve-ha-Amora'im* (1966^{2}), 79, 84; E. Munk, *World of Prayer* (1961), 114; Werner, in: HUCA, 19 (1945–46), 282–9.

BARUKH SHE-PETARANI (Heb. בָּרוּךְ שֶׁפְּטָרַנִי; "Blessed be He who has relieved me," i.e., from the responsibility for my son's conduct), benediction pronounced by the father at his son's *bar mitzvah (see: Isserles, to Sh. Ar., OH 225:1; Maim. Yad, Teshuvah, 6:1). This benediction is based upon the Midrash: R. Eleazar said, "A man is bound to occupy himself with his son until the age of 13, thereafter he should say: Blessed be He who has released me from the responsibility (literally 'punishment') for my son's conduct" (Gen. R. 63:10), because from now on the boy assumed responsibility for his actions as a member of the community. At bar mitzvah ceremonies in Reform congregations, the *She-Heḥeyanu* blessing has been substituted for *Barukh she-Petarani* since they objected to the idea that parents are accountable for the religious transgressions of their offspring. In Yiddish *barukh she-petarani* became a familiar expression after getting rid of any annoying thing or person.

BAR-YEHUDAH (Idelson), ISRAEL (1895–1965), Israeli labor leader, born in Konotop, Ukraine. He studied mining engineering and joined the Ẓe'irei Zion movement. After he became secretary of its left wing (Ẓiyyonim Soẓialistim) in 1921, he was arrested by the Soviet authorities and exiled to the Arctic region. Released in 1923, Bar-Yehudah left for Berlin. There he served, with Berl *Locker, as secretary of the World Union of *Po'alei Zion. In 1926, upon settling in Palestine, he became secretary of the Petaḥ Tikvah Workers' Council and was imprisoned for leading a picket group that demanded the introduction of Jewish labor in the local citrus groves. After joining kibbutz *Yagur in 1930, he became a leading member of Ha-Kibbutz ha-Me'uḥad, mainly as coordinator of its defense committee. As a member of the *Mapai faction, Bar-Yehudah was active in the central institutions of the *Histadrut, the *yishuv*, and the Zionist organizations. When Mapai split, in 1944, he joined *Aḥdut ha-Avodah and became one of its leaders and later a member of its Knesset faction. During his term as minister of interior (1955–59) the question of "Who is a Jew" according to Israel law became a public issue in connection with identity-card registration. From 1962 until his death Bar-Yehudah served as minister of transport. During 1960–62 he was his party's secretary-general.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: D. Lazar, *Rashim be-Yisrael*, 1 (1953), 107–11.

[Abraham Aharoni]

BARYLKO, JAIME (1936–2003), Argentine educator and writer. Barylko was born in Buenos Aires and graduated from the Teachers Seminary in Moisesville. He taught in Jewish schools in the provinces of Argentina as well as in Buenos Aires. He directed the Rambam secondary school and, later, the Vaad Hachinuch Hamercazi (Central Council of Jewish Education). After obtaining a Ph.D. in philosophy from La Plata University, Barylko was appointed professor in various Argentine universities and dean of humanities in the private Maimonides University in Buenos Aires. He wrote a large number of books on Judaism, philosophy, psychology, and pedagogy, among them: *El aprendizaje de la libertad* (1982), *De Adán al mesías* (1989), *Usos y costumbres del pueblo judío* (1991), *El miedo a los hijos* (1992), *Los hijos y los límites* (1993), *Cábala de la luz* (1994), *Sabiduría de la vida* (1995), *Educar en valores* (1997), *Ética para argentinos* (1998), *El significado del sufrimiento* (2000), *El hombre que está solo y no espera* (2002), *Cómo ser persona en tiempos de crisis* (2002), *Jacob, drama y esencia* (2002), *La revolución educativa* (2002), *La Filosofía, una invitación a pensar* (2003), *Reflexiones filosóficas: Los múltiples caminos hacia la verdad* (2003). He also lectured for Jewish and non-Jewish organizations and frequently appeared on radio and television.

[Efraim Zadoff (2nd ed.)]

BAR-YOSEF, OFER (1937–), Israeli prehistorian of the southern Levant. Born in Jerusalem, Bar-Yosef undertook at the age of 18 his compulsory service with the Israel Defense Forces, and afterwards in 1960 began his studies at the Institute of Archaeology in the Hebrew University, concentrating primarily on prehistoric archaeology, which eventually led to his writing a Ph.D. (1966–70) on the Epi-Palaeolithic cultures of Palestine under the supervision of Moshe *Stekelis. During the 1970s Bar-Yosef taught at the Hebrew University, serving as associate professor between 1973 and 1979 and then as professor from 1979, influencing a generation of students of prehistoric archaeology in Israel.

Having first excavated with Stekelis at the Natufian and Neolithic site of Naḥal Oren in 1959–60, Bar-Yosef went on to participate in two other major projects associated with Stekelis at the important sites of Ubeidiya (1960–66) and Ein Gev I (1963–64). From the 1960s onwards Bar-Yosef directed numerous projects of field research, notably at Hayonim Cave in western Galilee, at Ubeidiya, in various parts of Sinai (including Gebel Maghara, Ain Hudeirah, and Kadesh Barnea), at the Qafzeh Cave at El-Wad Terrace and the Kebara Cave on Mount Carmel, and at the Neolithic site of Netiv Hagdud in the Lower Jordan Valley. Side by side with his continued excavations at Hayonim Cave in the 1990s and early 2000s, Bar-Yosef actively participated in excavations and researched materials from sites situated in different parts of the world: Turkey (Karain and Őkuzini Caves, Mezra'a Tleilat), China (sampling of the Zhoukoudian site, Yuchanyan Cave), Republic of Georgia (Dzudzuana Cave, Kotia's Klde), and the Czech Republic (Stranska Skala).

Bar-Yosef has numerous publications to his credit: 15 books and monographs and close to 300 research papers. He was a co-editor of *Geoarchaeology* and *Eurasian Prehistory* and served on the advisory board of numerous prestigious international scientific journals.

From 2005 Bar-Yosef was professor of prehistoric archaeology in the Department of Anthropology, Peabody Museum, Harvard University.

[Shimon Gibson (2nd ed.)]

BAR-YOSEF (Zenwirth), YEHOSHUA (1912–1992), Israeli novelist and playwright. Bar-Yosef was born in Safed and studied in yeshivot in Transylvania and Jerusalem. Bar-Yosef realistically describes the world of the old *yishuv*, the pre-Zionist Jewish settlers in Ereẓ Israel. His trilogy *Ir Kesumah* ("Enchanted City," 1949) is set in Safed. Bar-Yosef views life as a constant battle between the spiritual and the temporal, the Will to Evil and the Will to Good, the sacred and the profane. Bar-Yosef's plays *Be-Simta'ot Yerushalayim* ("In the Alleys of Jerusalem") and *Shomerei ha-Ḥomot* ("Guardians of the City Walls") were produced at the Ohel Theater. While his early work is graphically realistic, he later showed a tendency to symbolism. Recipient of the Bialik Prize (1984), his late works include the novels *Ha-Dag ve-ha-Yonah* ("The Fish and the Dove," 1989), *Utopi'ah be-Kaḥol Lavan* ("Utopia in Blue and White," 1990), and *Gevilim u-Besarim* ("Parchment and Flesh," 1993). Bar-Yosef's memoirs, *Bein Ẓefat li-Yerushalayim*, were published in 1972.

His son YOSEF (1933–) received an Orthodox education and later studied Jewish philosophy, Kabbalah, and English literature. He began publishing in 1962 and after the success of his play *Tura* (1963), which dealt with problems of an Oriental family´s integration into Israeli society, he continued to focus on playwriting. Among his plays, many of which were staged in Russia, Poland, Brazil, and Great Britain, are *Ha-Pardes* ("The Orchard," 1986), *Anashim Kashim* ("Difficult People," 1973) and *Ḥagigat Ḥoref* ("Winter Feast," 1992). An English translation of "Difficult People" is included in the volume *Modern Israeli Drama in Translation* (edited by M. Taub).

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[Yitzhak Julius Taub / Anat Feinberg (2nd ed.)]

BARZILAI, Italian family. GIUSEPPE (1824–1902), Orientalist. Born in Gradisca (Goerz), Giuseppe studied at Padua and was at one time secretary of the Trieste Jewish community. His work on the relations between the Semitic and Indo-Germanic languages (1885) won a prize from the *Académie Française*. He also translated the Song of Songs and Lamentations into Italian verse (1865 and 1867).

SALVATORE (1860–1939), son of Giuseppe, Italian politician, played no part in Jewish life. An ardent supporter of the Italian claim to Trieste, at the age of 18 he was found guilty of treason against Austria, but was acquitted on appeal after a year of imprisonment. Salvatore studied law at Bologna and began to practice in 1882, specializing in criminal law. Later he became recognized as an eminent legal authority. He was foreign editor of *La Tribuna* of Rome from 1883 to 1891, and entered the Chamber of Deputies in 1890 as an extreme left-wing republican advocating Italy's withdrawal from the Triple Alliance. His irredentism was so great that he became known as "the Deputy from Trieste." He strongly supported Italy's declaration of war against Germany and Austria in 1915, and was later appointed minister for the liberated territories. Salvatore was an Italian delegate at the peace conference in 1919 and became a senator in 1920. Among his writings are *La criminalità in Italia* (1885); *La recidiva* (1883); and *Il nuovo Codice Penale* (1889).

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BARZILAI (Eisenstadt), YEHOSHUA (1855–1918), leader of the Ḥibbat Zion movement and writer. Barzilai was born in Kletsk, Minsk region, Belorussia, to a rabbinical family, and from an early age became active in the Ḥibbat Zion movement. He first visited Ereẓ Israel in 1887, but a year later returned to Russia, where he became one of the founders of the clandestine *Benei Moshe, which was led by *Aḥad Ha-Am and became a center of modern spiritual and national thought. He was elected deputy member of the Odessa Ḥovevei Zion Committee, which was then the central body for activities on behalf of the new settlements in Ereẓ Israel.

Barzilai returned to Ereẓ Israel in 1890 and was appointed secretary of the Executive Committee of Ḥovevei Zion in Jaffa. He was instrumental in the founding of several educational and community institutions, wrote numerous articles and reports on life in the Yishuv in various Hebrew papers in Russia, and from 1893 to 1895 edited, jointly with Yehudah Grasovski (*Goor) *Mikhtavim me-Ereẓ Yisrael* (Letters from Ereẓ Israel), a bulletin on the life and problems of the Jewish community in Ereẓ Israel. He was also active on behalf of the settlers in their disputes with the administration of Baron Rothschild.

Barzilai joined the Zionist movement and participated in the Minsk Conference of Russian Zionists (1902). He was among the opponents of the Uganda Plan. From 1904, he was an official of the Anglo-Palestine Bank in Jerusalem and was one of the founders of the Hebrew Gymnasium in Jerusalem, the first modern high school in Ereẓ Israel, and the Beit Ha-Am community center of Jerusalem. At the beginning of World War I he returned to Europe, and after a long illness died in Lausanne, Switzerland. His remains were reinterred in 1933 on the Mount of Olives. A collection of his writings was published in 1912.

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[Benjamin Jaffe]

BARZILLAI (Heb. בַּרְזִלַּי), name of two biblical persons.
(1) Barzillai the Gileadite (Heb. הַגִּלְעָדִי), a wealthy man of Rogelim. When David and his men fled to Mahanaim in Gilead because of *Absalom's rebellion, he, like two other prominent Transjordanians, Machir son of Ammiel of Lo-Debar and Shobi son of Nahash, the Ammonite, welcomed them with food. Barzillai also sustained David throughout his stay in Mahanaim. On David's return to Jerusalem, Barzillai accompanied him as far as the west bank of the Jordan; however, owing to his advanced age, Barzillai did not accept David's invitation to come to Jerusalem and reside at the royal court (II Sam. 17:27; 19:32–41). Instead, he sent his son Chimham (or Chimhan) with David and from this time Chimham and his family lived at the king's court (I Kings 2:7). It seems that a quarter near Bethlehem was set aside for Chimham and his relatives and was therefore called "Chimhan's (*keri*; *ketiv*: "Chemoham") Residence" (Geruth Chimham, Jer. 41:17). In post-Exilic Judah two priestly families, Habaiah and Hakkoz – which claimed descent from Barzillai, were disqualified from the priesthood. The sons of Hakkoz were readmitted in the same generation (Ezra 2:61; Neh. 7:63).

(2) Barzillai of Abel-Meholah (a city in Transjordan), the father of *Adriel, the husband of *Merab, the daughter of King Saul (II Sam. 21:8, where it reads Michal instead of Merab, cf. I Sam. 18:19). It has also been suggested that Barzillai from Meholah was Barzillai the Gileadite.

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[Israel Moses Ta-Shma]

BASCH, VICTOR GUILLAUME (1863–1944), French philosopher and a defender of human rights. Basch was born in Budapest and studied German at the Sorbonne. He served as a professor at the universities of Nancy, Rennes, and Paris. In 1918 he held the newly established chair of aesthetics at the Sorbonne. Basch became well-known when he championed Alfred Dreyfus. He was a founder of the League for the Rights of Man and its president in 1926. Basch was a socialist supporter of the left-wing coalition known as the Popular Front and a leader of the Alliance Israélite Universelle. During World War II, Basch was a member of the central committee of the French underground. He and his wife were executed by the Vichy government.

His writings include *Essai critique sur l'esthétique de Kant* (1896); *La guerre de 1914 et le droit* (1915); *Les doctrines politiques des philosophes classiques de l'Allemagne* (1927), and *Essais d'esthétique de philosophie et de littérature* (1934), as well as other works on literature, philosophy, and political issues.

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BASCHKO, ẒEVI HIRSCH BEN BENJAMIN (1740–1807), rabbi and halakhist. Baschko was the last to occupy the position of rabbi (which he held from 1802) of the joint communities of Altona, Hamburg, and Wandsbek (the "Three Communities") before the union was dissolved. Born in Zamosc, Poland, of a distinguished family, he was rabbi first of Tischwitz (Tyszowce), then from 1771 of Brody, and from 1788 of Glogau, where he established an important yeshivah. He was one of the greatest rabbis of his day; among those who addressed halakhic questions to him were Isaiah Berlin, Solomon Zalman Fuerth, Phinehas Horowitz of Frankfurt, and Meir Posner, while Ezekiel Landau and Akiva Eger referred to him in unusually high terms of esteem. He wrote *Tiferet Ẓevi*, responsa on the Shulḥan Arukh in two parts, the first on *Oraḥ Ḥayyim* and *Yoreh De'ah* (Warsaw, 1816 (?)) and the second on *Even ha-Ezer* (Jozsefov, 1867). His responsa also appear in the works of contemporary rabbis. Some of his commentaries and homilies are still in manuscript. He died in Ottensen, near Altona, and was buried at Altona, his tombstone bearing the inscription, "There arose none, nor will there ever be another, like him." His sons were also rabbis: Moses at Tomaszow, and Judah Loeb at Komarno.

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[Itzhak Alfassi]

BASEVI, Italian family of German origin, especially associated with Verona. In Hebrew, they called themselves Bath-Sheba and in abbreviation, Bash (ב״ש). The name Naphtali was common in the family, and therefore some of its members took a deer's head as their crest and became known as "Basevi Cervetto" (Italian: "little deer"), in accordance with the Blessing of Jacob (Gen. 49:21). Others took a boat as their crest, in accordance with the Blessing of Moses (Deut. 33:23), and became known as "Basevi della Gondola." It is not clear what precise relationship existed between this family and the Bassevi family of Prague (see *Bassevi, Jacob von Treuenberg). The brothers ABRAHAM and JOSEPH, sons of Sabbatai Mattathias Bath-Sheba, were printers in Salonika (1594–1605). Abraham subsequently became a printer in Damascus (1605–06), while his brother had been a proofreader in the Verona press, a Midrash *Tanḥuma* appearing with his name (1595).

GIOACCHINO (1780–1867), originally from Mantua, moved to Milan at the beginning of 19th century and was one of the earliest Italian Jews to attain distinction as a lawyer. He defended the Tyrolese hero Andreas Hofer in his trial for armed rebellion against Napoleon. In Milan, he wrote and published his principal works, *Il commento al Codice Civile Austriaco* (seven editions from 1845 to 1857) and *Il Trattato delle leggi attinenti al Processo Civile* (1850). EMANUELE (1799–1869) was a physician and medical writer from Pisa, where he took the university degree in 1817. In 1823 he published his first work, *Discorso,* and in 1824 *L'esposizione della Medicina Fisiologica di Broussais*. Among his other works were *Cenni sulla Medicina Fisiologica confrontata colla Dottrina Medica Italiana* (1825) and *Sugli uffici del medico* (1826). In 1825 the Grand Duke of Tuscany appointed him secretary of the Jewish community of Leghorn. ABRAMO (1818–1885), although a qualified physician, devoted himself to music, composed some operas, launched the publication of musical texts, and organized popular orchestral concerts. He founded in Florence the *Beethoven Matinées* (1859) and afterwards the well-known *Società del Quartetto*, which exerted a great influence on Italian music life. His writings (e.g., *Della Certezza*, 1842) anticipated the theories of the American programists. Giuseppe Basevi (?–1884) from Verona was a rabbi in Sabbioneta, Spalato and Verona.

In the 18th century some of the Basevi family emigrated to England. NATHAN OR NAPHTALI (1738–1808), of Verona, settled in London in 1762 and was an early president of the *Board of Deputies of British Jews. His daughter, Maria, was the mother of Benjamin *Disraeli. The conversion of the Disraeli children in 1817 was followed by that of the family of JOSHUA, Maria's brother. A Lloyds underwriter, he moved to Brighton, where he was chairman of the magistrates from 1838 to 1843 and also a deputy lieutenant of the County of Sussex.

Joshua's son, NATHANIEL (1792–1869), was the first Jewish-born barrister to practice in England. Another son, GEORGE (1794–1845), an architect and a nephew of Maria d'Israeli, and himself a convert to Christianity, was articled to Sir John Soane, the most original British architect of his time. In 1816–19 Basevi traveled in Italy and Greece and his first buildings reveal the influences of classical architecture. These include St. Mary's Church, Greenwich, England, designed in 1823, when Basevi was 29 years old. His best-known building, the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, England, begun in 1836, already reveals a trend to more dramatic, baroque treatment which is fully evident in the famous building of the Conservative Club (now the Bath Club) of 1843, in St. James's Street, London, designed with Sydney Smirke. Earlier in his career Basevi designed several country houses and the main part of Belgrave Square, the largest and most elegant of early 19th century London thoroughfares. Basevi died as a result of a fall from the spire of Ely Cathedral, of which he was resident architect. Casts of a plaster bust of Basevi, attributed to T.I. Mazzotti, are in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, the Soane Museum, London, and the Royal Institute of British Architects, London. Other members of the family include JAMES PALLADIO (1832–1871), Anglo-Indian surveyor and explorer; JACOB BASEVI CERVETTO (1682–1783), generally known as James Cervetto, musician, who introduced the playing of the cello into England, and his illegitimate son, JAMES CERVETTO (1746–1837), also a musician and one of the best cellists of his time. Both father and son composed various musical works, especially for the cello. Most of the members of this family were not professing Jews.

JOSEF BASEWI (b. 1840) founded the Giuseppe Basewi sugar firm in Trieste, which attained considerable importance in opening Oriental markets to Austrian export.

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[Vivian David Lipman / Federica Francesconi (2nd ed.)]

BASHAN (Heb. בָּשָׁן, הַבָּשָׁן), a region north of the Yarmuk River and east of the Jordan and lakes Ḥuleh and Kinneret. In biblical times, the city of *Salchah (Salcah) was at the eastern extremity of Bashan (Deut. 3:10; Josh. 13:11) and the city of Dan at its western (Deut. 33:22). Most of its area, some 4,334 sq. mi. (11,200 sq. km.) is covered with basalt as a result of lava eruptions occurring during the Pleistocene period or later. In some parts of Bashan, the volcanic material has eroded into fertile soil, but others are still covered with rocks.

The meaning of the name is not clear; by analogy with the Arabic word *batan* it may mean a rockless plain. Targum Onkelos and the Palestine Targum translate Bashan as *Matnan* (a possible variant of Batnan) and the Syriac Peshitta as *Matnin*. The Palestine Targum has *Butnaya* as a variant (Deut. 33:22) as does the Jerusalem Talmud, probably through Greek influence (cf. Ma'as 4:6, 51b, et al.).

With its sufficient rainfall in normal years and lava soil, Bashan is a very fertile region. Once possessing forests and pastures, it is praised in the Bible for its lofty trees (Isa. 2:13; Ezek. 27:6; Zech. 11:2), its cattle and sheep (Deut. 32:14; Amos 4:1; Ps. 22:13), and, with the Carmel, it is mentioned as an area of outstanding fertility (Isa. 33:9; Jer. 50:19; Nah. 1:4). Although its forests disappeared many generations ago, good pasture is still found in Upper *Golan and on Jebel Druze. The Plain of Bashan is noted for its hardy, superior wheat, but years of drought occur there more often than on the western side of the Jordan, with the exception of the Negev. The ancient "King's Highway" from Elath to Damascus passed through Bashan (Num. 20:17), merging with a branch of the Via Maris that crossed the Jordan near the Sea of Galilee; a second branch led to Damascus by way of Dan and Banias. Today Bashan is crossed by a highway that follows the same route and, in the east, also by the Hejaz railroad.

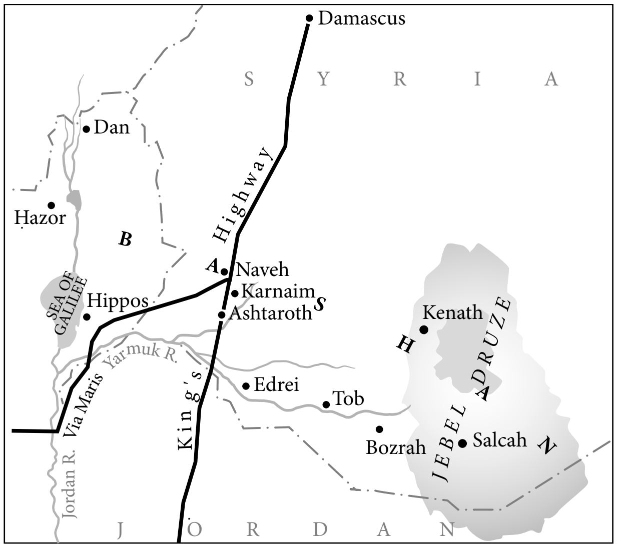

Map of the Bashan area in ancient times.

The ancient inhabitants of Bashan were the *Rephaim, one of whom was *Og, king of Bashan (Deut. 2:11; 3:11), whose 60 fortified cities were proverbial (Deut. 3:4; I Kings 4:13, etc.). Some of Bashan's important cities are mentioned in Egyptian documents from the Middle and New Kingdoms: Ashtaroth, Bozrah, Zer, Kenath, Tob, etc. Ashtaroth and *Edrei were the main cities of Og (Josh. 12:4–5), whom Moses defeated at Edrei (Num. 21:33). He allotted his land to the half-tribe of Manasseh (Num. 32:33–42), but most of the original inhabitants remained there (Num. 32:17). Foreign enclaves, such as those of the Geshurites east of the Sea of Galilee, and the Maacathites in Upper Golan south of Mt. Hermon survived into the early days of the monarchy (Josh. 13:13; II Sam. 10:6–8; 13:37). In the period of the First Temple, Damascus attacked Bashan and *Gilead and, from time to time, imposed its rule on them (I Kings 22:3). *Joash and his son *Jeroboam II were the last Israelite kings to hold Bashan (II Kings 13:25; 14:25). In 732 B.C.E. it was conquered by Tiglath-Pileser III who exiled many of its inhabitants (II Kings 15:29; cf. Isa. 8:23) and established two Assyrian provinces there – Karnini (Karnaim) and Hawrina (Hauran) – that evidently existed through Babylonian and Persian rule.

Under the Ptolemies, Bashan was divided into three provinces: Gaulanitis, Batanea, and Trachonitis. The Seleucids consolidated the whole of Transjordan north of the Arnon into a single unit called Galaditis (Gilead). In 164 B.C.E *Judah Maccabee went to the aid of the persecuted Jews of Bashan, defeated their enemies led by a certain Timotheus, and evacuated the Jews from Transjordan (I Macc. 5:9ff.;

Jos., Ant., 12:330ff.). Alexander *Yannai in 85 B.C.E. wrested Golan from the Nabateans, who, by the latter part of the second century, had spread out from their settlements in Edom and reached as far as Damascus. Some 20 years later, however, Pompey conquered Golan from the Jews and gave it to the Itureans, who controlled most of Bashan. He granted autonomy to the Greek cities Hippos (Susita) in Lower Golan and Raphana and Kanatha in the Plain of Bashan and included them in the *Decapolis. From 30 to 20 B.C.E. Herod gradually received all of Bashan from Emperor Augustus, and it remained the domain of his heirs Herod Philip and Agrippa I and II until about 100 C.E. In the days of Herod, Jews from Western Palestine and Babylonia were settled there. His army commander *Zamaris (Zimra), a Babylonian Jew, cleared Trachonitis (al-Lijā) of marauders and the area was later named for him – Terakhona de-Zimra, or Terakona. For halakhic purposes this region was considered part of Ereẓ Israel (Tosef., Shev. 4:11). In 106 C.E. Bashan was annexed to the Provincia Arabia, the capital of which was Bozrah.

In Byzantine times the al-Jafna dynasty of the Ghasān tribe ruled Bashan; its capital was Jabiyya, northwest of Nawe. Chosroes II, king of Persia, penetrated into Bashan in 614 and defeated the Byzantines near Edrei (Darʿa). The Muslims invaded in 634 and after the battle of the Yarmuk (Aug. 20, 636) Golan was included in Jund al-Urdun (Jordan Province), the capital of which was Tiberias. The rest of Bashan apparently became part of the district of Damascus – capital of the caliphate from 660 to 750. Because of its proximity to the centers of power and of Muslim culture, Bashan flourished under the Umayyad dynasty; thereafter it declined rapidly until, in Turkish times, it was inhabited by Bedouins, who plundered its few remaining villages. In 1711 Druze from Mt. Lebanon began to settle on Mt. Bashan, which was later renamed for them (Jebel Druze). Their number increased considerably there in 1860, when many Druze fled from Mr. Lebanon. Far from submitting to the Bedouin, the Druze established their authority over many tribes. The attempts of the Egyptians (from 1832 to 1840) and of the Turks (from 1840 to 1918) to extend their sovereignty over Jebel Druze were only partly successful. In 1925 the Druze rebelled against the French, who subdued the revolt, and subsequently granted the Bashan Druze area broad autonomy. Until the end of the British Mandate, Bashan was the most tranquil part of Syria; after 1944, it became part of the Republic of Syria. Attempts by the Damascus government to treat it like other provinces met with constant opposition and periodic rebellions.

On the Bashan Plain and in Golan, Turkish rule succeeded in enforcing its sovereignty over the inhabitants in the late 19th century. To strengthen its authority in these districts, the Turkish government settled Circassian refugees there in 1880–84. At the end of the 19th century, a French company laid a railroad line in Bashan from Damascus to al-Muzayyīb, north of the Yarmuk, to expedite the export of its wheat. In 1907 the Hejaz railway was built parallel to the French line as far as Edrei (Darʿa), and then branching off to cross the Yarmuk, thus connecting Bashan with Haifa. The French tracks were removed by the Turks during World War I. Good roads were constructed during the French Mandate, linking up with the road networks of Syria, Transjordan, and Palestine. During the 1890s, Baron Edmond de Rothschild purchased thousands of acres on both sides of Nahr al-ʿAllān and founded a Jewish settlement, but the pasha of Damascus expelled the settlers in 1899. A small private settlement called Benei Yehudah was founded in 1886 by Jews from Tiberias and Safed in the Golan, east of Lake Kinneret, but it was abandoned in 1920 as a result of the Arab riots and attacks after contact was broken between the two banks of the Jordan. In 1967 the area was captured from the Syrians and Israeli settlement there began. In 1981 the Golan Law declared the area part of Israel. In the early 2000s the Golan Heights included 33 settlements, mainly rural, with a population of 15,500 Jewish settlers and another 18,000 Druze concentrated in four large villages.

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[Abraham J. Brawer / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

BASHIRI, YAḤYA (Yahya b. Abraham b. Sa'adiah al-Bashiri; Heb. name **Abner bar Ner ha-Sharoni**; 17th century), Yemenite kabbalist and scribe. His extant work is characterized by accuracy and beauty. Later Yemenite scholars, particularly Yaḥya *Ṣaliḥ, refer to Bashiri in their writings, while popular legends extol his piety and the miracles he performed by virtue of his knowledge of practical Kabbalah. His two extant works, still in manuscript form, are *Ḥavaẓẓelet ha-Sharon*, a kabbalistic work on the letters of the Hebrew alphabet, and *Bashiri*, a pentateuchal commentary based on *gematria*. He is known to have written other works, which have not survived: two commentaries on the *Ein Ya'akov* of Jacob ibn Ḥabib and *Amirat ha-Emunot*, the contents of which are unknown. The numerous quotations from Bashiri in the *Ḥelek ha-Dikduk* of Ṣaliḥ reveal the *variae lectiones* collected by Bashiri in the course of copying the books of the Pentateuch, on which he may even have compiled a distinct work. His love of books is evidenced by his written vow (appearing in a colophon to the *Midrash ha-Gadol*, on Deuteronomy) never to sell a book "in his lifetime or thereafter," i.e., even if this be necessary to provide funds for his burial shroud.

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[Yehuda Ratzaby]

BASHYAZI (Heb. בשיצי; traditional Rabbanite transcription for the Turkish name Bashyatchi), family of Karaite scholars in Adrianople and Constantinople. Although the family moved to Constantinople in 1455, they retained the cognomen "Adrianopolitans" even in later generations. The Karaite school of Adrianople tended toward liberalism. The Bashyazi family, its leading exponents, advocated the kindling of Sabbath lights contrary to the prevalent Karaite custom of spending Sabbath in darkness. MENAHEM B. JOSEPH BASHYAZI first permitted this practice around 1440. His grandson Elijah found support for this ruling in liberal Karaite halakhic sources and through his influence it was accepted in the Karaite communities of Turkey, Crimea, Poland, and Lithuania, although in Egypt, Syria, and Ereẓ Israel the Karaites continued to refrain from kindling lights on the Sabbath at least until the 19th century. Menahem also abolished the Karaite custom of starting the weekly Torah readings from the beginning of the Pentateuch in the month of Nisan and directed that the cycle should start in Tishri, conforming to Rabbanite practice. The more conservative Karaites opposed the change.

His grandson ELIJAH B. MOSES (c. 1420–1490) was the ideologist of the Karaite rapprochement with Rabbanism and a codifier of Karaite law. Elijah, in addition to upholding the rulings of his grandfather Menahem and father Moses, provided them with a theoretical basis and expanded them (e.g., concerning intercalation). He remains the supreme Karaite authority. Elijah is reported to have begun the compilation of his great code *Adderet Eliyahu* in about 1480, but the section on the calendar refers to the year 1457. After his death his pupil and son-in-law Caleb *Afendopolo attempted to complete the work. The *Adderet* was distributed chapter by chapter and its contents were recognized as binding even during the author's lifetime. It was also one of the first Karaite works to appear in print (Constantinople, 1530–31; Eupatoria, 1835; Odessa, 1870 [the latter repr. Ramle 1966]). Its Sabbath laws became the subject of much Karaite polemical literature. Other sections, especially those dealing with the sanctification of the new moon (Elijah was the first to draw up an official calendar for this, which was virtually a permanent one), the ten principles of faith (new and final formulation of the Karaite credo), and the laws of *sheḥitah* and incest were submitted to a series of adaptations, abridgments, and interpretations by Karaite religious leaders in different countries. Bashyazi's leniency on Karaite *halakha* stands in juxtaposition to the strict positions of *Aaron ben Elijah. In addition to reflecting the various schools of late medieval Karaite thought, the *Adderet* attests to Bashyazi's knowledge of both general and Jewish subjects. In the statements and sections concerning beliefs Bashyazi often tends towards Aristotelian positions.

Particularly noteworthy is Elijah's use of Rabbanite techniques and sources, even where they were antagonistic to Karaism. Elijah interpreted their hostility as a device to achieve publicity so as to cover their actual sympathy toward Karaism. However, he also polemicized against several Rabbanite scholars, including Mordecai *Comtino. While one of his three polemical works, *Iggeret ha-Yerushah* (published in the Eupatoria edition of *Adderet*), is directed against the Rabbanites, his *Iggeret ha-Ẓom* and *Iggeret Gid ha-Nasheh* are written to refute his Karaite opponents. Elijah's correspondence with Karaite leaders in Lithuania shows that his reputation had spread to the northern Karaite communities. He introduced the Lithuanian Karaites to his relaxation of Karaite *halakhah* and customs, recommending the establishment of a *bet din* of three in *Troki on the model of that in Constantinople, and the institution of kindling the Sabbath lights. His pupils included the Rabbanite *Moses of Kiev (with whom he also had sharp disputes), well-known among Lithuanian Karaites. The Karaite prayerbook contains several prayers and hymns composed by Elijah, including *Meliẓat ha-Mitzvot*, recited on Shavuot.

MOSES (first half of 16th century), great-grandson of Elijah, died relatively young. He renewed the connections with the Arabic-speaking Karaite communities. He also traveled to the East, returning with ancient Karaite manuscripts in Arabic and isolated pages of *Sefer ha-Mitzvot* by *Anan b. David in Aramaic on which he based his *Zevaḥ Pesaḥ* and *Sefer Re'uven* (in manuscript). His explanation of the laws of incest, *Sefer Yehudah*, was published by I. Markon, and an important part of his *Matteh Elohim*, on the history of the Karaite schism, was incorporated into *Mordecai b. Nisan's *Sefer David Mordekhai*.

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°BASIL I, Byzantine emperor 867–886. Basil first attempted to achieve the conversion of the Jews by persuasion and invited rabbis to a *disputation to defend their faith, vainly offering them material benefits if they would confess defeat. When this attempt failed he issued in 874 an edict ordering all his Jewish subjects to become converted to Christianity. The decree was also connected with his policy to propagate orthodox Christianity among the Bulgars, Russians, and other peoples, and forcible conversion of nonorthodox sects, notably the Paulicians, whom he probably associated with iconoclasm. His attempt to convert by force the Jewish communities in southern Italy then under Byzantine rule is recorded in the 11th-century Hebrew chronicle of *Ahimaaz b. Paltiel, which portrays Basil as a cruel and persistent enemy of the Jews and Judaism. Despite his decree, the legal status of the Jews remained unchanged and there was no curtailment of their existing rights. The decree, whether formally rescinded or not, eventually fell into disuse under Basil's son and successor Leo VI.

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[Andrew Sharf]

BASILEA, SOLOMON AVIAD SAR-SHALOM (c. 1680–1749), rabbi and kabbalist in Mantua, Italy. Solomon received instruction from the most learned scholars in the city, including his father, Menahem Samson Basilea, Judah b. Eliezer *Briel (Bariel), Moses *Zacuto, and *Benjamin b. Eliezer Ha-Kohen Vitale of Reggio. He also studied geometry and astronomy. Solomon became rabbi of Mantua in 1729. At the age of 44 he began a methodical study of Kabbalah according to the system of Isaac *Luria. In 1733 he was accused by the Inquisition of having mocked Catholicism and of retaining unexpurgated Hebrew works, and was imprisoned for a year. He was subsequently confined to his house and finally to the ghetto. He courageously supported Moses Ḥayyim *Luzzatto against his accusers in the controversy over the latter's kabbalistic practices. Solomon Basilea's main work *Emunat Ḥakhamim* (Mantua, 1730) was intended to emphasize the continuity in Jewish tradition of the mystic significance of the Torah and the error of scholars opposing that interpretation. To support his thesis, Solomon reviewed not only the whole of Hebrew literature but also Greek, Arabic, and Renaissance philosophy. Basilea did not believe that the Zohar was written by Simeon b. Yoḥai, but that it nevertheless contained his esoteric doctrines as handed down to his disciples. Basilea also rejected the views which ascribed the authorship of the Zohar to *Moses b. Shem Tov de Leon. The book was very well received by the kabbalists, but opponents of the Kabbalah were critical of it. Jacob *Emden wrote a refutation of the *Emunat Ḥakhamim* in *Mitpaḥat Sefarim*, 2 (1768). Some rabbinical decisions of Solomon Basilea are included in the collections of his fellow student Isaac *Lampronti and others. He also wrote on the calendar and a commentary on Euclid's *Elements* as well as notes on the 1715 edition of *Tofteh Arukh* by Moses Zacuto. In his collections, he includes the responsa of his father MENAHEM SAMSON BEN SOLOMON (d. 1693), rabbi in Alessandria and from 1630 in Mantua. Menahem's responsa also appear in collections of his contemporaries, Moses Zacuto and Nethanel b. Aaron *Segrè.

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[Attilio Milano]

BASILICA (Greek βασιλική, talmudic בָּסִילְקִי), elongated rectangular building divided by colonnades. During the Roman period this term was broadened from the narrow meaning of a meeting place for merchants to any assembly hall. In particular the term referred to a hall used in the philosophers' schools and in wealthy homes for reading and lectures. In these basilicas, the apse was the area set aside for the lecturer or teacher. The entire hall was oriented toward the podium set in the apse, which had a concave roof serving as an acoustical ceiling. This type of basilica was the prototype for the early synagogues and churches. Talmudic sources refer to three types of basilicas, which served as palaces, bathhouses, and treasuries (Av. Zar. 16b). They note that the basilica also served as a hall of justice (Gen. R. 68:12) and as a place for the sale of grain (as in Ashkelon, Tosef. to Oho. 18 end).

An early example of the basilica construction is found in the "Royal Stoa" which Josephus (Ant., 15:411–416) describes as having been erected along the southern wall of the Temple Mount by Herod when he had the Temple rebuilt. This basilica had four rows of pillars each 23 ft. (7 m.) high. According to Josephus, its length was one *stadion* (606 ft. (185 m.)), but it appears to have been longer – about 920 ft. (280 m.). The central hall was 30 cubits wide and 60 cubits high. The width of the side aisles was 20 cubits, and the height, 30 cubits, giving the structure a true basilical form. Two partially carved stone pillars have been found in Jerusalem which by their size indicate that they were destined for this basilica. However, they were cracked and therefore not used. It is possible that Herod modeled his stoa after the Great Synagogue in Alexandria which has been described as "a kind of basilica with a stoa within a stoa" (Tosef. to Suk. 4:6). Conceivably this expression refers to the central area which was constructed between two colonnades. Another interpretation is that this refers to an additional stoa which extended the width of the hall. Such construction was typical of the early synago-gues, remains of which have been found at Masada and in Galilee.

The Christians adopted the western form of basilica, and most of the early churches (fourth–sixth centuries) were built on that model, although the term "basilica" was no longer in common usage. In the early Christian basilicas, the apse served as the seat of the priests. The altar was set before it, and this part of the building was separated from the remainder by a grille which crossed the width of the church. Two or more rows of columns extended the length of the building, separating the main hall in the center from the narrower aisles at either side.

The first churches in Palestine and elsewhere, e.g., the Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem and the Church of the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem, were built according to this design. In the fifth century a vestibule (*narthex*) was added to the front facade of the basilica churches.

Basilicas were also used for secular purposes in the Jewish community in Palestine. One structure of this nature (135 × 49 ft. (40 × 15 m.)) was found in Bet She'arim. It consists of an enclosed paved court, a vestibule, and a basilica with two rows of five columns each. At the far end of the building, opposite the entry, is a low platform. It would appear that this was a hall of justice in the time of R. Judah ha-Nasi.

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[Michael Avi-Yonah]

BAṢĪR, JOSEPH BEN ABRAHAM HA-KOHEN HARO'EH AL- (**Yūsuf al-Basir**; first half of 11th century), Karaite halakhist and philosopher, who originated from Iraq or Persia. Because he was blind he was euphemistically called al-Baṣīr Abū Yūsuf Yaʿqūb "ha-Ro'eh" ("the Seeing"). Many Karaite authors confused him with Abū Yūsuf Yaʿqub al-*Kirkisani who lived 100 years prior to him. *Firkovich and later P. Frankl and *Harkavy have shown that he lived in the 11th century (he mentions in some of his works Samuel b. Hophni [d. 1013]). It is now known that he met Samuel b. Hophni in Baghdad. Though blind, he traveled extensively, probably as a Karaite propagandist. One of the most important Karaite scholars, he studied Talmud and rabbinic literature. He knew many languages and was well versed in Islamic philosophy. While in Baghdad he met also with Muslim theologians, with whom he had oral and written disputes. At the beginning of the 11th century he settled in Jerusalem, where he died around 1040.

In his philosophic views he followed the Baṣīran branch of the Muʿtazilites, notably ʿAbd al-Jabbār (see *Kalām). His teachings, with the additions and refinements of Yeshuʿa b. Judah, became the recognized theology of Karaism for centuries to come. He strongly upholds the belief in the essentially rational character of ethics and gives priority to reason over revelation. He embraces the atomistic views of Islamic Kalām as the basis for the proof of the createdness of the world. Only reason can prove God's wisdom and omnipotence, which imply His existence. Other predicates of God are will, oneness and simplicity, incorporeality, and eternity. Of primary importance in al-Baṣīr's philosophy are the questions of God's justice, of the nature of good and evil, and of free will. God does good always because of His wisdom, not by necessity, and even if He inflicts pain it is for the good. Considering God's foreknowledge, al-Baṣīr has no doubt that man is free to determine his actions, though God knows beforehand how he will act. The commandments are God's means of guiding man in the right path and the obedient are eternally rewarded in the next world. If a sinner repents of his evil deeds, it is the duty of God to accept his repentance and remit his punishment. Al-Baṣīr authored two theological compendia, several theological and halakhic monographs and numerous epistles and response, some of which survived in manuscript fragments of various lengths in several libraries. His main works are the following:

(1) A concise work entitled *al-Tamyīz* ("The Distinction"), also *al-Manṣūrī*, consisting of 31 chapters. This work was translated with some additions by Tobiah b. Moses under the title *Maḥkimat Peti* (non-critical print Ashdod 2004). In a final chapter the author criticizes the esoteric book *Shi'ur Komah* and rejects the doctrine of Benjamin al-*Nahāwendī that the world was created by an angel.

(2) *al-Muḥtawī* ("The Comprehensive"). Divided into 40 chapters, the work tries to bring the main principles of the Muʿtazilite Kalām into agreement with the Karaite dogmas. The author polemicizes frequently against Christians, dualists, Magians, Epicureans, and other sects. A critical edition by Vajda was published with extensively annotated French translation (see bibl.). The book was translated from Arabic into Hebrew under the title *Sefer ha-Ne'imot* or *Zikhron ha-Datot*, probably by Tobiah b. Moses (non-critical print Ashdod 2004; individual chapters of the medieval Hebrew translation were published in critical editions, see Vajda).

(3) *al-Istibṣār* ("Careful Examination"), dealing with the precepts, includes also lengthy discussions of theological topics. It seems that the sections of the work had initially been composed as separate treatises and later compiled into one compendium. Several sections of the work are extant in the Russian National Library and the British Library. The section concerning the holidays, which contains a polemic in eight chapters against Saadiah, was translated by Tobiah b. Moses.

Several theological and halakhic works have been apocryphally ascribed to al-Baṣīr. The Karaites considered al-Baṣīr as one of their most important authorities. Judah *Hadassi, Aaron b. Joseph ha-Rofe, Bashyazi, and other Karaite authors often cite his halakhic views and his scriptural interpretations. His philosophic views were also esteemed by later Karaite scholars down to *Aaron b. Elijah in the 14th century, who often cites him in his *Eẓ Ḥayyim*. Of special significance is the reform, encouraged by him, of the Karaite law of consanguinity. This reform was developed further and made effective by his pupil *Jeshua b. Judah, who was likewise an important Karaite authority.

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[Isaak Dov Ber Markon / Leon Nemoy]

BASKIN, JUDITH R. (1950–), U.S. scholar of women in late antiquity and the Middle Ages. Baskin was born in Hamilton, Ontario, Canada, the eldest child of Rabbi Bernard and Marjorie Shatz Baskin. Educated at Antioch College (B.A., 1971) and Yale University (Ph.D., 1976), she served as professor of religious studies and director of the Harold Schnitzer Family Program in Judaic Studies at the University of Oregon from 2000, where she was named Knight Professor of Humanities in 2002. Prior to that, she led the Department of Judaic Studies at the State University of New York at Albany and taught at the University of Massachusetts, Amherst. She is the author of *Pharaoh's Counsellors: Job, Jethro and Balaam in Rabbinic and Patristic Tradition*, (1983) and *Midrashic Women: Formations of the Feminine in Rabbinic Literature* (2002). The editor of several volumes, including the widely used collection of essays *Jewish Women in Historical Perspective.* (1991, 1998), she has written dozens of articles on various aspects of Jewish life and culture in late antiquity and the Middle Ages. In 2004 Baskin assumed the presidency of the *Association for Jewish Studies. She also served as editor of the Women and Gender division for the second edition of the *Encyclopaedia Judaica.*

[Jay Harris (2nd ed.)]

BASKIN, LEONARD (1922–2000), U.S. sculptor, printmaker, watercolorist, and illustrator.

Born in New Brunswick, New Jersey, Baskin was the son of a leading Orthodox rabbi. His earliest education was at a yeshivah in Brooklyn, where his family had moved when he was seven. After developing an interest in sculpture at age 14, he would attend day classes at the yeshivah and take evening art classes at the Educational Alliance (1937–39). Baskin also attended New York University (1939–41) and Yale University (1941–43). While at Yale, Baskin discovered William Blake. Impressed by Blake's role as a poet-artist-bookmaker, Baskin founded the Gehenna Press in 1942 and learned printmaking. The Press has published over 100 books, including Homer's *Iliad* (1962) and Dante's *Divine Comedy* (1969).

Three years in the Navy during World War II temporarily curtailed Baskin's artistic activity. After the war he completed his B.A. at the New School for Social Research (1949). In the early 1950s he also studied in Paris and in Florence. From 1953 to 1974, Baskin taught printmaking and sculpture at Smith College in Northampton, Massachusetts. He spent 10 years in England, in part to be close to Ted Hughes, with whom he collaborated on several books. Upon returning to the U.S., he taught at Hampshire College (1984–94).

Baskin's frequent subject is the human condition, often fragile and anxiety-ridden, rendered in a manner that shows the artist's debt to expressionist artists. Although he first gained acclaim for his printmaking, sculpture was his favored medium. He preferred printmaking over painting, and especially the medium of wood, because of the more democratic nature of prints, which can be reproduced widely. He often worked on a monumental scale; his 1952 woodcut *Man of Peace* measures five feet tall and *The Altar* (1977), a wood sculpture depicting the binding of Isaac, is nearly six feet long.

Many of Baskin's drawings and prints concern Jewish subjects. In 1974 he illustrated *A Passover Haggadah*, for which he provided watercolors, as well as hand lettering of much of the Hebrew text. Baskin received many important commissions, including a bas relief for the Franklin D. Roosevelt Memorial in Washington, D.C., and a seven-foot-tall bronze figure for a Holocaust Memorial in Ann Arbor, Michigan.

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[Samantha Baskind (2nd ed.)]

BASLE (**Basel, Bâle**), Swiss city. The earliest information on a Jewish community dates from the beginning of the 13th century when Basle was still a German free city. The medieval Jewish cemetery was discovered in recent years and the remains were transferred in 1938 to the present Jewish cemetery. In the Middle Ages the Basle Jews were free to acquire and sell real estate. They engaged in commerce and moneylending, sometimes providing loans to the bishops of Basle. Juridically they were under imperial protection: according to a roster of 1242 the Jews of Basle had to pay the crown an annual tax of 40 marks. During the *Black Death they were accused of poisoning the wells; the members of the city council attempted to defend them, but finally yielded to the guilds who demonstrated before the town hall. Six hundred Jews, with the rabbi at their head, were burned at the stake; 140 children were forcibly baptized. This ended the first Jewish community in Basle (Jan. 16, 1349). In 1362 a Jew from Colmar in Alsace was permitted to settle in Basle; he was soon followed by others. In 1365 the emperor transferred his prerogatives over the Jews of Basle to the town. The second half of the 14th century was a period of prosperous growth despite restrictions imposed by the Church. However, in 1397, the slander of well poisoning was renewed. The Jews fled in panic and the community again came to an end. In 1434 a church council held in Basle introduced compulsory attendance of Jews at conversionist sermons. For four centuries there was no Jewish community in Basle. From the mid-16th century Basle authorities alternately issued residence permits to individuals and expulsion edicts. At the end of that century Basle became a center for Hebrew printing. The printing houses were owned by Christians, but they had to have recourse to Jewish proofreaders for whom they obtained residence permits. Johannes *Froben published the Psalms in 1516. His son Jerome in 1536 published a Bible in Hebrew. In 1578–80 Ambrosius Froben was permitted to print a duly censored edition of the Talmud, which had been banned under Pope Julius III in 1553 and placed on the Index in 1559. Also printed there were the works of Johannes *Buxtorf (father and son) who taught Hebrew at Basle University (1591–1664). From the 1560s Jews lived in rural communities in nearby Alsace.

In 1789, when anti-Jewish propaganda was rife in Alsace, many Alsatian Jews fled to Basle and were permitted to stay there temporarily. On the request of the French government the city authorities in 1797 exempted French Jews entering Basle from payment of the "body-tax" usually imposed on Jews, and in 1798 the tax was abolished completely in the whole of Switzerland. Under Napoleon several Jews, mainly French citizens from Alsace, settled in Basle. They numbered 128 in 1805 and were organized in a community. In 1835, however, Jews were expelled from the new separatist canton of Basle Land and the French government broke off relations. Some of the Jews returned after a brief interval, but in 1851–54 were again forced to leave both cantons of Basle. After the granting of free settlement to the Jews of Switzerland in 1866 Jews were able to return and live in Basle. A synagogue was consecrated in 1868. The first Zionist Congress was held in Basle in 1897 where the "*Basle Program" was adopted; other Zionist Congresses were subsequently held there: the second (1898), the third (1899), the fifth (1901), the sixth (1903), the seventh (1905), the 17th (1931), and the 22nd (1946). Prominent members of the Basle community were J. Dreyfus-Brodsky, representative of Swiss Jewry in the Jewish Agency (1859–1942), Rabbi Arthur Cohn, a leader of Agudat Israel, and his son, the lawyer Marcus Mordecai Cohn (1890–1953), an active Zionist and rabbinical scholar, who later became adviser on Jewish law to the Ministry of Justice in Israel. Other prominent Basle Jews were the chemist Markus Guggenheim (1885–1970) and Tadeus *Reichstein (1897–1996), who was awarded the Nobel Prize for Medicine in 1950. During World War II Basle served as a temporary refuge for many Jewish refugees. Most of them left after the war. In 2000 there were 1,421 Jews in Basle City and 318 in Basle Land The community maintained a community house from 1958 and an old-age home (Holbeinhof) from 2001, relocated in the city. A Jewish school was opened in 1961 and named after Rabbi Leo Adler. The Orthodox community (founded in 1927), with a membership of approximately 90 families, had its own network of services (e.g., a separate primary school and a small Jewish high school preparing students for yeshivah attendance). The Union of Jewish Women in Switzerland is centered in Basle and there are also WIZO and other Zionist organizations. Two youth movement are active in Basle, the unaffiliated Emuna and Bnei Akiva. From 1960 a small but excellent Jewish museum was open and from 1940 the weekly *Juedische Rundschau Maccabi* was published, later merging with the new Swiss Jewish weekly *Tachles*. In 1973 the community was formally recognized by the canton of Basle City, the first such case in Switzerland. Consequently, women received voting rights in 1975. An international congress honored the 100th anniversary of the first Zionist Congress in Basle (1997).

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[Zvi Avneri / Uri Kaufmann (2nd ed.)]

BASLE PROGRAM, original official program of the Zionist Organization, named after the city where the First Zionist Congress (see *Zionism) was held (August 23–31, 1897), and where the program was formulated and adopted. Its first sentence, stating the objective of the Zionist movement, was followed by a four-point program: "Zionism seeks to establish a home for the Jewish people in Palestine secured under public law. The Congress contemplates the following means to the attainment of this end: (1) The promotion by appropriate means of the settlement in Palestine of Jewish farmers, artisans, and manufacturers; (2) The organization and uniting of the whole of Jewry by means of appropriate institutions, both local and international, in accordance with the laws of each country; (3) The strengthening and fostering of Jewish national sentiment and national consciousness; (4) Preparatory steps toward obtaining the consent of governments, where necessary, in order to reach the goal of Zionism." While the term "Basle Program" includes both the statement of aim and the enumeration of means, the phrase is frequently used to refer solely to the first fundamental sentence.

The text of the Basle Program was prepared by a special commission set up by the Preliminary Conference that met in Basle two days before the opening of the Congress. It consisted of Nathan *Birnbaum, Max *Bodenheimer, Siegmund Mintz, Siegmund Rosenberg, Saul Rafael *Landau, Hermann *Schapira and Max *Nordau – all except the last two being lawyers. The draft constituted a compromise between opposing viewpoints, and a synthesis of various elements. One of these was Herzl's London Program, proposed during his visit to London in July 1897, according to which the aim of Zionism was "the acquisition of a territory, in accordance with the Law of Nations, for those Jews who are not able or willing to assimilate themselves." Also of importance in the genesis of the Basle Program were Schapira's ideas on the colonization of Palestine and, in particular, the theses of the Cologne Nationaljuedische Vereinigung, headed by Bodenheimer, which postulated a Jewish commonwealth guaranteed by international law, the furtherance of the colonization of Palestine, dissemination of Jewish knowledge, and improvement in the social and cultural position of the Jews.

Not only Herzl in his *Judenstaat* (1896) but others, such as Bodenheimer, had expressly advocated a Jewish state, but the commission regarded it as prudent to refrain from using the word "state" in the official Zionist program. They felt that it was liable to antagonize Turkey, from which Herzl hoped to obtain the charter, and might also frighten certain Jewish circles. They therefore employed the term "*Heimstaette*" (home, or more exactly, homestead), suggested by Nordau, who submitted the draft proposal of the program to the Congress. This draft spoke of a "home secured by law" (*rechtlich gesicherte Heimstaette*).

Representatives of the younger generation, such as Fabius Schach and Leo *Motzkin – who spoke on this subject in the plenary session of the Congress – took exception to the term and proposed replacing it by "secured by International Law" ("*voelkerrechtlich gesicherte Heimstaette*"), wishing to emphasize the political character of the World Zionist Organization and to distinguish it clearly from the Ḥibbat Zion, whose cautious approach and exclusively philanthropic methods they strongly resented. It was Herzl himself who provided a compromise formula, which he had already used in his speeches – "*oeffentlichrechtlich gesicherte Heimstaette*" ("home secured by public law") and this formula met with universal approval. With this amendment the commission's draft proposal was unanimously passed by the Congress and became the official program of the World Zionist Organization for more than half a century. Parts of the first sentence of the Basle Program were incorporated into the *Balfour Declaration (1917) and the League of Nations Mandate over Palestine (1922).

After the declaration of Israel's independence (1948), it was felt that the Zionist program should be adapted to the new situation created by the establishment of the State of Israel, which had fulfilled the main postulate of Zionism. The most important among the proposals for a new Zionist program were those drafted by a committee established by the Zionist Organization of America and headed by the jurist Simon Rifkind, and another put forward by the American Section of the Jewish Agency Executive (both in 1949). These proposals assumed that the establishment of the state was a step toward, rather than a full realization of, the Zionist goal.

The question of the Zionist program figured high on the agenda of the 23rd Zionist Congress (Jerusalem, 1951), the first to meet after the proclamation of the state. The Congress committee charged with reformulating the Zionist program was headed by Ezra Shapiro (U.S.). Rather than abolishing the Basle Program and replacing it by a new one, the committee proposed completing it by a declaration that was officially styled "the task of Zionism." Generally known as the Jerusalem Program, this document reads as follows: "The task of Zionism is the consolidation of the State of Israel, the ingathering of the exiles in Ereẓ Israel and the fostering of the unity of the Jewish people." The Basle Program was retained and its first sentence – as well as the whole Jerusalem Program – was incorporated into the new constitution of the World Zionist Organization of 1960. There were several reasons for the affirmation of the Basle Program. First, a majority could not be found at the Congress for an entirely new reformulation of the goal and aim of Zionism. There were differences of opinion between the delegates from the United States and other English-speaking countries on the one hand and Israel and some Diaspora countries on the other, concerning the "Redemption of Israel through the Ingathering of Exiles" and other propositions. Further, it was felt that, at a time when little more than 10% of the Jewish people were living in the State of Israel, the "home" mentioned in the Basle Program could not be regarded as fully established. The desire to observe a time-honored tradition and to emphasize the continuity of the Zionist movement also played a part in the decision to retain the original platform of the Zionist Organization.

After the Six-Day War in 1967, when the Jewish people all over the world had shown its solidarity with embattled Israel, at least two points of the Jerusalem Program – those regarding the consolidation of the state and the unity of the Jewish people –had become common ground for the overwhelming majority of all Jews. It was felt, therefore, by many Zionists that the Jerusalem Program had lost much of its distinctive Zionist character, precisely because it was so widely accepted. The demand was increasingly voiced to keep the Basle Program unchanged but to revise the Jerusalem Program by making it more outspokenly Zionist. This revision, prepared by the Zionist Executive, was accomplished at the 27th Zionist Congress (Jerusalem, 1968). The Revised Jerusalem Program read as follows: "The aims of Zionism are: the unity of the Jewish people and the centrality of Israel in Jewish life; the ingathering of the Jewish people in its historic homeland Ereẓ Israel through *aliyah* from all countries; the strengthening of the State of Israel which is based on the prophetic vision of justice and peace; the preservation of the identity of the Jewish people through the fostering of Jewish and Hebrew education and of Jewish spiritual and cultural values; the protection of Jewish rights everywhere." This Revised Jerusalem Program was not merely an amplification and elaboration of the 1951 version; it introduced new points, some of which had been included in minority proposals at the 23rd Congress but had not been passed by the Plenary Session. These are the postulates of immigration from all lands; of Jewish and Hebrew education, as well as emphasis on the centrality of Israel in the life of the Jewish people and, consequently, of every Zionist.

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[Aharon Zwergbaum]

BASMAN BEN-HAYIM, RIVKE (1925–), Yiddish poet. One of the leading Yiddish poets of the post-Holocaust period, she was born in Vilkomir (Lithuania) and survived the Vilna Ghettto and the forced labor camps of World War II. In 1947 she immigrated to Palestine and participated in the War of Independence. After training as a teacher, she studied literature at Columbia University in New York and was a co-founder of the literary movement *Yung Yisroel*. Her poetry, which problematizes the tensions between an annihilated world and a new homeland, attempts to come to terms lyrically with the Holocaust while affirming life in all its manifestations. A sober poetic style and a boldly visual lexical metonymy express great sensitivity, quiet joy, and restrained sorrow. The poems on the death of her husband (Mulah ben Hayim) are elegiac and pantheistic. Her book publications include: *Toybn baym brunem* ("Doves at the Well," 1959), *Bleter fun vegn* ("Leaves on Paths," 1967), *Likhtike shteyner* ("Glittering Stones," 1972), *Tseshotene kreln* ("Scattered Pearls," 1982), *Onrirn di tsayt* ("Touching Time," 1988), *Di shtilkeyt brent* ("Burning Silence," 1992), *Di erd gedenkt* ("The Earth Remembers," 1998), and *Oyf a strune fun regn* ("On a String of Rain," 2002).

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[Astrid Starck (2nd ed.)]

°**BASNAGE, JACQUES CHRISTIAN** (also called **Basnage de Beauval**; 1653–1725), Protestant divine and historian. Basnage was born in Rouen, France. In 1676 he became pastor there but after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes he accepted a call first to Rotterdam (1686) and later to the Hague (1691). He wrote several books, the most famous being *L'histoire et la réligion des Juifs depuis Jésus Christ jusqu'à present* (5 vols., 1706–11; Eng. *The History and Religion of the Jews from the time of Jesus Christ to the Present*, 1708), which was praised by Voltaire. The book was intended to supplement and continue the history of Josephus, but is marred by the author's inadequate knowledge of Hebrew, which obliged him to rely on Latin translations of Jewish sources and authors. He made use of the works of Buxtorf and Arias Montano and other Christian scholars. Despite Basnage's dry style and occasional inability to control the vast material, his book enjoyed great popularity and was the basis for later, more informed Jewish histories. In 1713 Basnage published another book on Jewish history *Antiquités judaïques ou Remarques critiques sur la république des hébreux*. His books are important as the first comprehensive and truly erudite history of the Jews in the Christian era, filling a gap between early Jewish historical writings and modern Jewish historical research.

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[Benzion Dinur (Dinaburg)]

BASOLA, MOSES BEN MORDECAI (I) (1480–1560), Italian rabbi. Basola was apparently of French extraction, since he signed himself "Ẓarefati" ("The Frenchman"); it has been conjectured that his surname is identical with Basilea, i.e., Basle. From the age of nine he resided in Soncino. Basola served as teacher and tutor in the household of the banker Moses Nissim of Poligno in Pesaro. After he was ordained as a rabbi by R. Azriel *Diena of Sabionetta in 1535 he became a rabbi in Ancona and was the head of a Jewish academy (yeshivah) there and also a district rabbi of Marches. He was also involved in financial ventures with his son Azriel, and from 1554 owned a bank in the city of Rocca in the Marches. In the years 1557–58 he was a rabbi in Pesaro. Shortly afterward he immigrated to Ereẓ Israel and settled in Safed, where he died.

Although Basola's halakhic decisions have never been collected, some have been preserved as independent documents while others have been appended as approbations to rabbinic decisions issued in his day. Both types can be found in the collected responsa (published and manuscript versions) of his contemporaries. He had a central role in some of the halakhic debates and affairs that electrified Jewish society in Italy and elsewhere. For example, he took a strong stand against the planned international boycott of Ancona promoted by the Ottoman sultan's courtiers, Don Joseph *Nasi and Dona Gracia *Nasi. The courtiers' plan to shift the center of commerce between Italy and the East from Ancona to Pesaro was sparked by Pope Paul IV's execution of 25 *Conversos who had settled in Ancona. Basola joined other rabbinic figures and the Anconan and Levantine merchants whose livelihood was threatened (and who feared the wrath of the local authorities) in opposing the short-lived boycott that began in July 1556. He was deeply involved in the dispute over the printing of kabbalistic (Jewish mystical) works, which was significantly in Italy in the years 1557–58. Leone *Modena (1571–1648) testified that Basola was "a great sage in Kabbalah," but no kabbalistic works by Basola are extant. He even made a specific prediction that the "end of days," namely redemption, would occur between 1575 and 1578. Basola's contacts in the world of Kabbalah extended to Christian kabbalists. He was particularly close to the French-Christian kabbalist and Hebraist Guillaume *Postel. In 1521 Basola went as pilgrim from Venice to Ereẓ Israel, remaining there for a year and a half. His travelogue appeared as an anonymous text in Livorno (1785) in a collection of treatises called *Shivḥei Yerushalayim* ("Praises of Jerusalem") which was edited by Jacob b. Ḥayyim. With the publication of the Itzhak Ben-Zvi edition of this travel book in Jerusalem in 1938 the identity of its author was definitively established. The work is remarkable for its clarity, critical faculty, and clear delineation of economic and social conditions. At the end are appended an account of the organization of Jewish communal life in Jerusalem, reports on the (mythical) river *Sambatyon, and advice to Jewish sea travelers. Basola's book is not only a travel diary that records the impressions of the pilgrim as he prays at a venerated gravesite or enjoys Jerusalem's unique urban atmosphere. Rather, Basola envisioned his treatise primarily as a useful guide whose purpose was to provide European Jewish pilgrims and potential settlers in Ereẓ Israel with helpful information for planning their voyage.

MOSES BASOLA (II) (16th century), kabbalist originally from Safed and possibly the grandson of Moses Basola I, settled in Italy, where he edited, together with Gedaliah b.

Moses Cordovero, *Or Ne'erav* (a compendium of *Pardes Rimmonim*, Venice, 1587) and *Tomer Devorah* (Venice, 1589), both by Moses Cordovero.

MOSES BASOLA (III) (16th century), properly Della Rocca, was grandson through his mother of Moses Basola I. He was the teacher of Leone *Modena at Ferrara (1582–84). Subsequently he went to Cyprus where he died. Modena wrote a poem in his memory, which can be read either as Hebrew or Italian.

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[Cecil Roth / Avraham David (2nd ed.)]

BASRA, port in southern Iraq, on the Shaṭṭ al-Arab, the outlet into the Persian Gulf of the rivers Tigris and Euphrates. Jews settled there under the *Umayyad regime and one of the nine canals near the town is called Nahr al-Yahūd ("River of the Jews"). Jews also settled in Ubulla, then the port of the town of Basra and now the site of Basra. Toward the end of the Umayyad caliphate, Māsarjawayh, a Jewish physician from Basra, gained fame for his Arabic translations of Greek medical books. In the first generation of *Abbasid rule, the court astrologer was the Jew Misha b. Abra, called Māshāallah. Besides many artisans and merchants, the Basra Jewish community comprised many religious scholars, including Simeon Kayyara of Ṣabkha (suburb of Basra), who wrote *Halakhot Gedolot* about 825 C.E. The sages of Basra were in close contact with the academy of *Sura, to which the community sent an annual contribution of 300 dinars. In the tenth century, when the academy closed, the last *Gaon*, Joseph b. Jacob, settled in Basra. But until about 1150 the Jews of Basra continued to direct their questions on religious matters to the heads of the yeshivah in Baghdad, and especially to *Sherira Gaon and his son *Hai Gaon. From these questions, it appears that the Jews of Basra had close commercial ties with the Jews of Baghdad. Both a Rabbanite and a *Karaite community existed in Basra. A Karaite, Israel b. Simḥah b. Saadiah b. Ephraim, dedicated a *Ben-Asher version of the Bible to the Karaite community of Jerusalem. In the 11th century, Basra was gradually abandoned as a result of civil wars in Mesopotamia; and many of its Jews emigrated. Solomon b. Judah (d. 1051), head of the Jerusalem yeshivah, mentions religious scholars and physicians from Basra in Palestine and Egypt.

However, throughout the Middle Ages there remained an important community in Basra. *Benjamin of Tudela (c. 1170) reports that approximately 10,000 Jews, including many wealthy men and religious scholars, lived in the town. He also mentions the grave north of the town, believed to be that of *Ezra and also venerated by the Muslims. According to an early 13th century letter by Daniel b. Eleazar b. Nethanel Ḥibat Allah, head of the Baghdad yeshivah, there was also a synagogue in the town named for Ezra. When the *Mongols conquered Iraq in the mid-13th century, Basra surrendered and was not severely damaged. However, when Tamerlane conquered Mesopotamia in 1393, many Jews were killed and all the synagogues in the town were destroyed. Nevertheless, a small community continued to exist.

The community regained its importance during the 18th century. Its wealth increased; rich landowners in the community liberally distributed alms and even sent contributions to Ereẓ Israel. The liturgical poem *Megillat Paras* ("Persian Scroll") by the emissary from Hebron, Jacob Elyashar, describes the siege of Basra by the Persians and the town's deliverance in 1775, when the Jewish minister of finance, Jacob b. Aaron, who had been captured, was released. Afterward, Nisan 2nd – the day on which the siege was lifted – was celebrated in Basra as the "Day of the Miracle." Jews played such a vital role in the commercial life of Basra that in 1793 the representative of the East India Company was forced to live in Kuwait for nearly two years, because he had quarreled with the Jewish merchants. In 1824 David d'Beth Hillel reported 300 Jewish households belonging to merchants and artisans in Basra and a Jewish finance minister. During the persecutions of Jews which took place under the rule of Daʾūd Pasha in the early 19th century, several wealthy members of the Basra community emigrated to India. The traveler, Benjamin II, mentions that in 1848, he found about 300 Jewish families in Basra. But in 1860 Jehiel Fischel, an emissary of the rabbis of Safed, reports 40 Jewish families in the town out of a population of 12,000. After the British occupation in 1914, the number of Jews increased from 1,500 to 9,921 in 1947, when Jews constituted 9.8% of the total population. Most of the Jews were traders and many worked in the administration service of the railroads, the airport, and the seaport. The legal status of the community was regulated by a 1931 law, according to which a president and a chief rabbi were assigned to head it. A boys' school was founded by the Alliance Israélite Universelle in 1903, and later became a high school. In 1950 it had 450 pupils. In 1913 an Alliance Israélite Universelle girls' school was founded, and attended in 1930 by 303 pupils. All schools were under the supervision of the community committee. In the 1930s, a theosophical group was formed and headed by the Jew Kadduri Elijah ʿAani (who went to Palestine in 1945 and died in Jerusalem). The community excommunicated this group, and its Jewish members were forced to establish their own synagogue, cemetery, and slaughter-house. A Zionist association, formed in Basra in 1921, was not allowed freedom of action.

[Eliyahu Ashtor]

Modern Period

In May 1941, under the pro-Nazi regime of Rashīd ʿĀlī al-Kailānī, Jewish shops were looted by an incited mob. In 1942 the newly founded Zionist movement of Basra trained Jewish youngsters to use arms in anticipation of further attacks and organized groups for *aliyah*. After a few years of relative calm, the Jews were again in danger. In 1948, with the declaration of the State of Israel, a military regime was declared in Iraq and many Jews were arrested and accused of cooperating with Israel. In September 1948, Shafiq Adas, a Jewish millionaire, was accused of selling arms to Israel via Italy. In fact he dealt with scrap metal left behind by the British forces. He was sentenced to death and fined L5 million; he was then hanged in front of his home in Basra. As the wave of arrests continued, thousands of Jews tried to leave Iraq and reach Israel using clandestine routes. Most of them arrived in Basra, and in 1949–50, the city served as a center for the flight of Jews to Iran, on their way to Israel, with the Jewish population rising to 13,000. Thousands were helped by smugglers to cross the Shatt al-ʿArab to the Iranian shore. Under ʿAbd al-Karīm Qāsim's military regime (1958–63), the Jews were given some freedom and civil rights, but after the Baʿathist counterrevolution, they were again persecuted. In 1969, many of Basra's Jews were arrested and transferred to *Baghdad. Nine of them were hanged. In 1968 fewer than 300 Jews were living in Basra. After American and British forces entered Iraq in 2003 and put an end to Saddam Hussein's dictatorship, the few remaining Jews in Basra and Baghdad emigrated to Israel, with the help of Jewish organizations.

[David M. Sagiv (2nd ed.)]

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BAṢRI, MEER (1911–), Iraqi author and economist. Active in Baghdad commercial life, Baṣri published a volume of essays on economics (1948) and two collections of short stories, notably *Rijāl wa-Ẓilāl* ("Men and Shadows," 1955). Unlike most of Iraq's Jewish writers, Baṣrī did not immigrate to Israel and made no mention of Jews or Judaism in his works of fiction.

[Shmuel Moreh]

BASS (Bezprozvany), HYMAN B. (1904–1983), Yiddish educator and essayist. Born in Vilnius (now Lithuania), Bass immigrated to New York in 1922 and taught in Yiddish schools. From 1953 he served as executive secretary of the *Congress for Jewish Culture and in 1966 as president of the Jewish Book Council of America. He edited textbooks for Yiddish schools and wrote extensively on Jewish education. His book of essays *Undzer Dor Muz Antsheydn* ("Our Generation Must Decide," 1963), embodied his ideas on Jewish education and cultural survival. S. *Dubnow, Y.L. *Peretz, and Chaim *Zhitlowsky were his mentors and he adapted their ideas to a mid-20th century American Jewish context.

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[Sol Liptzin]

BASS (or Bassista; Heb. מְשׁוֹרֵר), **SHABBETAI BEN JOSEPH** (1641–1718), the first Jewish bibliographer. Bass's parents were killed in a pogrom in Kalisz (Poland) by the Cossacks in 1655, but he and his elder brother were saved and fled to Prague. Possessing a pleasant voice, Bass was engaged as an assistant singer (hence his nickname Bass) to the cantor Loeb at the Altneu synagogue (Altneuschul) in Prague. In Prague he acquired a thorough knowledge of the Talmud, and also a general education which included Latin. His love of books and a critical spirit drew him to publication and printing. In 1669 in Prague he printed a revised edition of the Yiddish commentary on the Pentateuch and the Five Scrolls by Moses Saertels, *Be'er Moshe*, with an appendix on "grammatical rules." As there was no complete list in Hebrew of Jewish literature, he undertook to compile one. Between 1674 and 1679 Bass visited libraries in Poland, Germany, and Holland. In Amsterdam he studied the art of printing and proofreading, and published *Massekhet Derekh Ereẓ*, a guide book for travelers (1680); the Pentateuch with a super-commentary on Rashi, *Siftei Ḥakhamim* (1680), a popular commentary often reprinted; and *Siftei Yeshenim* (1680), a list in Hebrew of some 2,200 Hebraica and Judaica. This was the first Jewish bibliography in Hebrew giving, apart from the names of the books, the name of the author, content, format, place and year of printing, and sometimes also where it could be found. He also listed manuscripts. In some copies a prayerbook was appended to the list. In 1688 Bass obtained a permit to set up a Hebrew printing press at Auras, and this was shortly afterward transferred to *Dyhernfurth. The first book printed by Bass was Samuel b. Uri Shraga's commentary *Beit Shemu'el* (1689), on Shulḥan Arukh *Even ha-Ezer*. He also successfully engaged in bookselling. When the Jesuits accused Bass of spreading hatred against the Christians and the government, he at first succeeded in refuting the accusations; but in 1712 the Jesuits repeated the accusations and he was arrested. In the trial he succeeded in proving the ignorance of his accusers and was released. His sons and grandsons continued to print books at Dyhernfurth up to the second half of the 18th century.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Bloch, in: *Studies in Jewish Bibliography…* (1929), index; Shunami, Bibl, index.

[Abraham Meir Habermann]

BASSAN, ABRAHAM HEZEKIAH BEN JACOB (18th century), proofreader and poet. Abraham's father, JACOB, was the rabbi of the Spanish and Portuguese community of Hamburg. From 1735 to 1756 Jacob lived in Amsterdam and in 1755 published an order of service for the fast day proclaimed on the occasion of the great earthquake in Lisbon.

Abraham Hezekiah was proofreader for the Hebrew press in Amsterdam. He is mentioned as the proofreader of Benjamin Raphael Dias Brandon's *Orot ha-Mitzvot* (1753) to which his father wrote an approbation, and to which Abraham contributed an introduction and poem consisting of 13 stanzas. Other poems by Abraham were published in works by various authors: in the *Gemul Atalyah* (1770) of David *Franco-Mendes, in the *Se'ah Solet* (1757) of Raphael b. Gabriel Norzi, and in the *Maskiyyot Kesef* (1760) of Mordecai b. Isaac Tamah. In about 1773 he moved to Hamburg where he succeeded his father as rabbi of the local Spanish and Portuguese community. He was the author of a book of eulogies, *Sermões Funebres* (Amsterdam, 1753), written in Spanish. It is doubtful that he is the author of the *Yashresh Ya'akov* (Nuremberg, 1768), a work on grammar and the text of the prayer book, as has been conjectured (see Benjacob, Oẓar, 234 no. 503).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Ghirondi-Neppi, 10 no. 40; Kayserling, Bibl, 26.

[Yehoshua Horowitz]

BASSANI, GIORGIO (1916–2000), Italian writer. Bassani, who was born in Bologna, lived for many years in Ferrara and was active in the anti-Fascist Resistance. After World War II he moved to Rome, but Ferrara, and especially its Jewish community, remained at the heart of Bassani's literary world. His first published work was a volume of stories and poems entitled *Una città di pianura* (1940), published under a pseudonym because of the Fascist antisemitic laws. In 1945 he made his reputation with a book of poems, *Storie di poveri amanti*. His collection of short stories *Cinque storie ferraresi* (1956) deals with provincial life in Ferrara. One of them, "Una lapide in via Mazzini" is the story of a Jewish survivor of a concentration camp: his presence is an embarrassing reminder to the people of his native town, who wish to forget the tragedy. *Gli occhiali d'oro* (1958; *The Gold-Rimmed Spectacles*, 1960) is the story of two men rejected by society, one because he is a homosexual, the other because he is a Jew. The Jewish theme is omnipresent in Bassani's fiction: Jewish identity is a paradigm of the malaise of modern man, who has lost his stable system of values. This theme is intertwined with the theme of memory, particularly in *Il giardino dei Finzi-Contini* (1962; *The Garden of Finzi Contini*, 1965), which has been translated into a number of languages, including Hebrew. Reality and fiction are mixed in this novel, which deals with the fate of an old and wealthy Jewish family during the Fascist years and the war, and stops just before its deportation. In *L'airone* (1968; *The Heron*, 1969) a Jewish bourgeois who leaves his property to his Christian wife and the Communist peasants represents the European bourgeois unable to establish a healthy relationship with the surrounding world. The association of a problematic Jewish identity with the crisis of the contemporary bourgeosie is also a key theme of *Dietro la porta* (1964; *Behind the Door*, 1972), the most autobiographical of his novels. Jewish characters are also present in *L'odore del fieno* (1972; *The Smell of Hay*, 1997). In 1980 Bassani revised his short stories and novels and published them in one volume under the title *Il romanzo di Ferrara*. His poems were collected in 1982 in *In rima e senza*; among them some texts dealing with the Jewish condition, such as "Le leggi razziali" (1974). *Di là dal cuore* (1984) is a collection all of Bassani's critical essays. From 1948 to 1961 he edited the literary review *Botteghe Oscure* and from 1948 to 1961 he was a vice president of Italian radio and television; for many years he was also president of Italia nostra, an association for the preservation of the country's artistic and natural heritage. In addition he taught the history of theater at the National Academy of Dramatic Art in Rome.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: M. Grillandi, *Invito alla lettura di Bassani* (1972); G. Bassani *Opere* (1998), with a chronology and bibliography; A. Dolfi, *Giorgio Bassani: una scrittura della malinconia* (2000); C. Kroha, "Judaism and Manhood in the Novels of Giorgio Bassani," in: T. Di Napoli (ed.), *The Italian Jewish Experience* (2000); P. Prebys, *Giorgio Bassani, Bibliografia sulle opere e sulla vita* (2002).

[Alessandro Guetta (2nd ed.)]

BASSANI, MORDECAI (**Marco** in Italian; the name **Hezekiah** was added on the occasion of his last illness, c. 1632–1703), Italian rabbi and polemicist. In 1666 he became preacher to the Ashkenazi community of Verona, and in 1680 he became its rabbi; in 1695 he was appointed rabbi of the entire Verona community. He was the author of *Sefer Bikkurim* (Venice, 1710) containing deathbed prayers and usages (adapted from *Ma'avar Yabbok* of *Aaron Berechiah ben Moses of Modena, and *Shenei Luḥot Ha-Berit* of Isaiah *Horowitz) written for the Bikkur Ḥolim fraternity of Verona, but later widely adopted. His treatise on divorce, entitled *Mikhtav le-Ḥizkiyyah*, and one on *ḥaliẓah*, entitled *Ma'amar Mordekhai*, were included by his great-grandson Menahem Navarra in his *Penei Yiẓḥak* (Verona, 1743). In his will he mentions a collection of "moral sermons" which he had compiled (*Avnei Binyan*, 1 (1938), 65). He was friendly with the Roman Catholic polemicist Fra Luigi Maria Benetelli. His criticisms of Benetelli's polemical work, *Le saette di Gionata…* (Venice, 1703) together with those of Samson *Morpurgo and Abraham Joel *Conegliano prompted Benetelli's rejoinder, *I dardi rabbinici infranti…* (Venice, 1705). In this work Benetelli speaks in the highest terms of the gentle manner, great charity, and admirable character of Bassani. Bassani is also the author of a lengthy responsum on the relationship between the Ashkenazi community of Verona and the smaller Sephardi community there.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: S. Baron, in: *Sefer… S. Krauss* (1936), 217–54; Sonne, in: *Zion*, 3 (1938), 123ff.; Simonsohn, in: KS, 35 (1959), 127 n. 1; 253 n. 109; C. Roth, *Gleanings…* (1967), 203, 206–7, 213.

[Cecil Roth]

BASSANO, small town in Veneto (Northern Italy). The first mention of Jews in Bassano is from a document of October 7, 1264; a certain Aicardo was said to own a vineyard. Only from the beginning of the 15th century, when Bassano passed over to

Venetian rule, is there more information. A certain Calimano had a bank in the town in 1404. Venetian authorities allowed Jews to settle in the town. However, moneylenders could only stay for a short time. Via Bricito was known as Via dei Zudei, because of the presence of many Jewish banking establishments. A notarial deed of 1435 reveals, however, that by then Jews resided in all parts of the city. Freedom of worship was granted by the Venetian Republic, but Jews were not allowed to have a synagogue and had to observe their festivals "in the houses in which they dwelled." Relations between the local population and the Jews were quite good. Once in 1486 some Bassano city dwellers attended a Jewish wedding. They were excommunicated by church authorities, but the town council had the excommunication repealed. It is not known if Bassano Jews had to wear the yellow badge, obligatory according to the Venetian decree of 1429. The preaching of Bernardino da Feltre and the creation of **monti di pietà* (savings and loan agencies) in 1423 brought a decline to the Jewish community. In 1468, a decree of perpetual banishment was issued against them. Nevertheless they returned. In 1475, following the ritual murder charge concerning Simon of *Trent, the municipality of Bassano requested permission from Venice to expel the Jews. They were banished again by the city council in 1481. However, they were soon readmitted. During the War of the League of Cambrai (1508), the Jews in Bassano paid a heavy tribute, but this did not prevent their expulsion from Bassano at the end of the war in 1509. The banks, however, closed completely only around 1510.

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[Attilio Milano / Samuel Rocca (2nd ed.)]

BASSANO (Bassan, Bassani), name of Italian family deriving from the town *Bassano. In the 17th and 18th centuries, it produced several rabbis and scholars, outstanding among whom are: MORDECAI *BASSANI (c. 1632–1703), rabbi of Verona and ISAIAH BEN ISRAEL HEZEKIAH (d. 1739), rabbi in Cento, Padua, Ferrara, and Reggio Emilia. Many of his responsa are included in the second volume of *Todat Shelamim* by his son Israel (see below) and in the *Paḥad Yiẓḥak* of Isaac *Lampronti and *Shemesh Ẓedakah* of Samson *Morpurgo. His other responsa, glosses on the Talmud, a number of poems, notes on the gospels, sermons, and a book, *Kur le-Zahav*, comprising critical notes on Solomon *Algazi's *Halikhot Eli*, remain in manuscript. His pupils included Moses Ḥayyim *Luzzatto. His son, ISRAEL BENJAMIN (1701–1790), one of the outstanding Italian Jewish poets of his day, published two collections of Hebrew poetry accompanied by Italian versions. He dedicated both to Francesco III of Este, duke of Modena (1750–53), calling the second *Corona Estense*. His *Todat Shelamim* (Venice, 1741, 1791) includes his own halakhic writings and responsa by his father. According to the Christian scholar G.B. *De' Rossi, he was highly esteemed in Jewish circles.

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[Cecil Roth]

BASSEVI OF TREUENBERG (Treuenburg), JACOB (1570–1634), Court Jew descended from a noted Prague family. He was probably the first European Jew outside Italy to be ennobled. Bassevi and his brother Samuel engaged in large-scale trading and in 1599 obtained a safe-conduct from the emperor exempting them from the restrictions imposed on most Jews. In 1611 Matthias II confirmed Bassevi's privileges and added the right of settling in Vienna. In 1622 because of the emperor's increased need of money during the Thirty Years War, Bassevi formed a consortium with Prince Liechtenstein and the imperial general Wallenstein, which leased the mint for an enormous sum and issued debased coinage. Bassevi, whose profit per silver mark was the lowest within the consortium, provided the financial expertise, and bought most of the necessary silver abroad. When currency dropped to one-seventh of its former value, the depreciated thaler was nicknamed the "Schmilesthaler," the Thaler of Shmil. In 1622 Ferdinand II granted Bassevi a coat of arms. This, however, evidently still did not endow Bassevi with unqualified noble rank, for shortly afterward he requested other privileges connected with his new status, which were nearly all granted.

Like other Court Jews, Bassevi took an active part in Jewish communal life. After the imperial troops left Prague in 1620, Bassevi organized a guard to defend the Jewish quarter from pillage. He obtained for the Jews in Prague in 1623 some 40 houses bordering on the Jewish quarter which had been confiscated from the rebels. He also paid 12,000 Reichsthaler toward the enormous indemnity demanded from Yom Tov Lipmann *Heller in 1629. As head of Prague Jewry for several years, Bassevi was largely responsible for apportioning the communal taxes, as a result of which the opposing faction complained about him to the authorities. After Prince Liechtenstein's death in 1627 the authorities took steps against the former members of the consortium, the complaints providing a welcome excuse for confiscating Bassevi's property and arresting him (1631). However, because of Bassevi's privileged status, Wallenstein succeeded in securing his release (1632). Bassevi then lived at Wallenstein's residence in Jicin, as fiscal administrator of his duchies. Bassevi survived the murder of Wallenstein in 1634 by only a few weeks and was buried at Mlada Boleslav. After his death all his privileges were declared illegal and abrogated.

Bassevi, who maintained his Jewishness while holding his high position, was considered a "princely Jew" ("Juden-fuerst") by his fellow Jews – a fact which seems to have been of some comfort to them in those dark days.

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[Ruth Kestenberg-Gladstein]

BASSIN, MOSES (**Moyshe**; 1889–1963), Yiddish poet. Bassin, who was born in Nivki, Belorussia, deserted the Russian army in 1907 and immigrated to New York. From 1909 he contributed lyrics, essays, folk ballads, and children's songs to American Yiddish journals. His reputation rests on two works: a two-volume, 600-page anthology, *Finf Hundert Yohr Yidishe Poezye* (1917, 1922^2), with notes on the earlier selections by Ber *Borochov, which became a standard work; and an anthology of American Yiddish poetry *Amerikaner Yidishe Poezye* (1940), encompassing 31 poets. Bassin's own lyrics appeared in his anthologies but were never collected in book form.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Inzikh* (1940), 164–76; LNYL, 1 (1956), 228; J. Leftwich, *Golden Peacock* (1939), 411. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** K. Hellerstein, in: *Shofar* 9/4 (1991), 9–23.

[Moshe Rosetti]

°**BASSUS, LUCILIUS** (d. 72 C.E.), Roman governor of Judea after the fall of Jerusalem in 70 C.E. Bassus was instructed to subdue the fortresses of *Herodium, *Machaerus, and *Masada, which still remained in Jewish hands. He first attacked Herodium, which fell without a battle. Then he marched on Machaerus, which was so strongly fortified as to "inspire its occupants with high hopes of security." The defenders fought bravely until one of their leaders, Eleazar, was captured and the Romans threatened to crucify him opposite the walls. The defenders then agreed to surrender the fortress if Eleazar's life were spared. Bassus kept his promise and allowed the occupants to escape, but followed some *Sicarii who had escaped to a forest called Jardes, where they were all killed. Bassus died as he was preparing to begin operations against Masada. It was during his administration of Judea that Jewish-held lands were confiscated to become imperial domain, and that the poll-tax of the *Fiscus Judaicus was put into operation.

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[Edna Elazary]

BAS TOVIM, SARAH (18th century), author of highly popular *tkhines*, women's supplicatory prayers. Bas Tovim was born in Satanov in Podolia (present-day Ukraine), the great granddaughter of Rabbi Mordecai of Brisk. Her works contain a strong autobiographical voice: She refers to herself as "I, the renowned woman Sarah bas Tovim, of distinguished ancestry," and tells the story of her fall from a wealthy youth to an old age of poverty and wandering. Sarah composed two works published in the 18th century, *Tkhine shaar ha-yikhed al oylemes* (The *Tkhine* of the Gate of Unification concerning the Aeons) and *Tkhine shloyshe sheorim* (The *Tkhine* of Three Gates). Like other *tkhine* authors, Sarah often includes portions of earlier works; these excerpts from other sources date her *tkhines* to the middle of the 18th century. Because 18th-century *tkhines* published in Eastern Europe only rarely contain a notice of place or date of publication, it is very difficult to establish the bibliographic history of her works.

Tkhine shaar ha-yikhed al oylemes (a title with kabbalistic overtones) contains one long *tkhine* to be recited *Mondays and Thursdays (considered minor penitential days) and on fast days. The work concludes with a *tkhine* to be said before making memorial candles for Yom Kippur, a theme which recurs in *Tkhine shloyshe sheorim,* her better-known work. This composition contains *tkhines* for the three women's *mitzvot* (the first "gate"), the Days of Awe (the second "gate"), and the New Moon (the third "gate"). The most distinctive material is found in the second and third "gates." Sarah's powerful *tkhine* calls on the forefathers and foremothers of the Jewish people to aid their descendents with a healthy and prosperous New Year, and also to bring the Messiah, the end of death, and the resurrection of the dead. The *tkhine* for the Sabbath before the New Moon contains a great variety of material to be recited at the Blessing of the New Moon, much of it drawn from kabbalistic sources.

The figure of Sarah bas Tovim lived on in popular legend and in the literary imagination of Yiddish authors. Because her works were so popular, 19th-century *maskilim* who wrote *tkhines* to sell often attached her name to their own creations. In addition, Sholem Yankev *Abramovitsh (Mendele Moykher Sforim) mentions Sarah's *tkhines* in his fictional autobiography, *Shloyme, Reb Khayims* (*Ba-Yamim ha-Hem,* "In Those Days"), which includes a description of women making memorial candles before Yom Kippur, reciting a version of Sarah's *tkhine* for *kneytlakh legn.* Sarah also became the subject of a short story, "Der ziveg; oder, Sore bas Tovim," ("The Match; or, Sarah bas Tovim") by I.L. *Peretz, in which she appears as a sort of fairy godmother, helping those who faithfully recite her *tkhines*.

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[Chava Weissler (2nd ed.)]

BAT (Heb. עֲטַלֵּף; *atallef*). About 20 species of insect-eating bats are found in Israel and one, the *Rousettus aegyptiacus*, which feeds on fruit. The bat is actually a mammal, but because of its wings which enable it to fly, the ancients were in doubt whether it was to be classified with birds or mammals. In the Bible it is last in the list of the unclean birds (Lev. 11:19) but the Talmud declares that "although it lays eggs, it suckles" (Bek. 7b). Apparently the rabbis attributed to the bat the eggs laid by other birds in their caves. The bat is long-lived (up to 30 years) and many legends were woven about its development (BK 16a). The bat causes extensive damage to fruit trees, particularly the date palm, as is indicated in the Jerusalem Talmud (TJ, Pe'ah 8:1, 20d).

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[Jehuda Feliks]

°BAṬALYAWSĪ, ABU MUHAMMAD ABDALLAH IBN MUHAMMAD IBN AL-SĪD AL- (1052–1127), Arab grammarian, philosopher, and author. He was born in Badajoz (Arabic: Baṭalyaws), Spain, is known to have lived in Saragossa for some time, and died in Valencia. His main philosophical work is the *Kitāb al-Ḥadā'iq* ("The Book of Circles") which was translated independently into Hebrew, in whole or in part, three times. The book was quoted widely by Jewish religious philosophers down to the beginning of the 17th century. It is composed of seven chapters in each of which an explanation is given of a statement of the neoplatonic philosophers. The separate chapters center on the following themes:

(1) The procession of existing things from the First Cause imitates an imaginary circle. The explanation of this statement is that from God, the cause of all causes, all existing things emanate in hierarchically descending order, that is, the ten intellects, the soul, form, and matter. Then minerals, plants, animals, and man come into being in hierarchically ascending order. The souls of men are also arranged in ascending order from the vegetative, vital, rational, philosophic to the prophetic which contacts the divine and closes the circle. According to this doctrine, the soul of the prophet is intrinsically superior to that of the philosopher. (2) Man's knowledge imitates an imaginary circle. This may be understood in two ways. First of all, man begins his quest for knowledge with mathematics, and then rises to physics and metaphysics. He then descends to politics and reaches himself once again. Secondly, he descends from himself to the knowledge of animals, plants, minerals, the four elements, matter and then rises to contemplate form, the soul, and the Active *Intellect in which man's rationality has its source. (3) The individual soul may conceive the forms which are in the universal intellect. (4) Number is composed of imaginary circles in each of its stages. (5) The attributes of God should be expressed negatively. (6) The Creator knows Himself alone. (7) The soul is immortal. I. Brill's assertion that the work was wrongly ascribed to al-Baṭalyawsi is without foundation. The substitution of quotations from the Koran and Islamic traditional literature by citations from the Bible and Talmud is standard practice in the medieval Hebrew translations from Arabic which Moses ibn *Tibbon followed in his translation. Some quotations from the Koran are translated and introduced by the formula: "One of the founders of the religions says …"

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[Lawrence V. Berman]

°BATE, JULIUS (1711–1771), English Christian Hebraist. As a member of the Hutchinsonians (a Christian sect) he was involved in a controversy with Bishop William Warburton (1698–1779) on the latter's *Divine Legation of Moses* (1737), and with Benjamin Kennicott (1718–1783) on the published emendations of the masoretic text (1751). Bate's mastery of the Hebrew Bible is demonstrated in his most famous work *Critica Hebraica* (1767), a Hebrew-English dictionary in which the biblical words are reduced to their original roots and their specific forms illustrated and exemplified by passages cited at length from the Scriptures. A strong Christian piety pervades this work and his translation of the Bible which goes to the end of II Kings (1773). He wrote various pamphlets in defense of biblical mysticism.

[Zev Garber]

BATH, spa in Somerset, England. A fashionable resort from the 18th century, Bath early attracted Jewish residents, among them the physician Isaac *Schomberg, as well as visitors. Shortly after 1800, Moses Samuel, formerly warden of the Great Synagogue in London who had retired to Bath, organized a congregation there, and on his death in 1839 left money for building a synagogue. The community subsequently dwindled, and regular services had ceased by 1874. The synagogue closed in 1910. Short-lived congregations have since been set up more than once. By the 1960s there was no Jewish community in Bath, but in 2004 services were being revived under Progressive Jewish auspices.

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[Cecil Roth]

BATH, BATHING. Bathing is referred to in the Bible not only for physical cleanliness but also for ritual purposes. Jacob charged his family to wash themselves before they built the altar at Beth-El (Gen. 35:3). Before the revelation at Sinai, the entire Jewish nation was bidden to sanctify themselves by washing their bodies and their garments (Ex. 19:10). Ritual immersion was associated with levitical purity and was stressed in the Book of Leviticus (see **Mikveh*). When Jeremiah described the sinfulness of Israel, he exclaimed, "For though thou wash thee with niter, and take thee much soap" (Jer. 2:22), it still would not remove the sins of the nation.

Talmudic Period

The Talmud declared it forbidden for a scholar to reside in a city which did not contain a public bath (Sanh. 17b). Rome was said to contain 3,000 public baths (Meg. 68) and despite the animosity to the Romans they were praised by the rabbis for constructing baths in Palestine (Shab. 33b). It is related that Rabban Gamaliel utilized the Bath of Aphrodite in Acre although the image of the idol adorned the bath (Av. Zar. 3:4). Originally the baths were communal institutions (Ned. 5:5). Afterward, smaller baths were also built by private individuals (BB 1:6; 10:7) and competition between them to attract customers was permitted (BB 21b). The bath attendants received checks or tokens from intending patrons so they would know in advance how many to expect and what preparations to make (BM 47b and Rashi ad loc.). The larger baths contained separate areas for bathing in lukewarm water, hot water, and steam baths (Shab. 40a). On entering the bathhouse, the rabbis ordained the following prayer: "May it be Thy will, O Lord, my God, to deliver me from the flames of the fire and the heat of the water, and to protect me from a cave-in." Upon leaving, the individual recited, "I thank Thee, O Lord, my God, for having delivered me from the fire" (TJ, Ber. 9:6, 14b; cf. Ber. 60a). Hillel the Elder told his disciples that he considered bathing in the communal bathhouse a religious duty for just as the custodians scour and wash the statues of the kings, likewise must man, created in God's image and likeness, do to his body (Lev. R. 34:3).

Middle Ages and Modern Times

The public bath and adjoining *mikveh* were maintained by Jewish communities throughout the Middle Ages as part of the institutions of Jewish social life and welfare. Hygienic habits and the ritual requirements of the Jewish religion made the Jews regard bathing as part of their living routine during a period when bathing was generally considered a form of rare luxury in Europe. By the end of the 11th century, some Jewish communities erected imposing buildings to house their baths and regularly attended to their servicing and upkeep. The refusal of Christians to allow Jews to share the municipal baths and the fear that Jewish women might be molested there increased the need for separate institutions. The fact also, that, with the exception of Poland, Jews were prohibited from bathing in the same river as Christians finally led them to build their own bathhouses, which often became landmarks, such as the *Badehaus* of the Jews of Augsburg, or "Bakewell Hall" in London, which was probably originally "Bathwell Hall." In Moslem Spain, Ramon Berenger IV allowed his court physician, Abraham, to build the only public bathhouse in Barcelona, which his family ran from 1160 to 1199. In the Middle East, and in modern times, particularly in Eastern Europe, Jews became addicted to the "Turkish bath" which has found its way into Jewish folklore. Several ancient baths have been discovered in Ereẓ Israel such as the swimming pool and hot baths that Herod built at *Herodium, which had waiting rooms, dressing rooms, hot rooms, and cool rooms with all the comforts of the baths at Rome. Among the best-preserved and beautifully finished baths that have been uncovered in Ereẓ Israel are those on Masada, where no less than four baths and one swimming pool were built by Herod. In the northern palace there is a small, private bathhouse finished in Roman style, and south of the palace there is a large swimming pool with cubicles for keeping clothes; Herod built a small bathhouse in the west palace as well, which was unusually heated by an oven in an adjoining room and fitted with a niche for an oil lamp. More important, however, are the remains of the large bathhouse near the north palace where more than 200 stands, the remnants of the piping system for the hot air, were discovered, as well as elaborate facilities for steam baths, cold baths, etc., adorned with frescoes and mosaics. At a later period the Zealots built a large bathhouse in the southern corner of Masada, consisting of a small *mikveh* and two connecting larger ones, which conform to *halakhah*. Near Tiberias are the remains of the hot, mineral baths of *Hamath of the Roman period.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Y. Brand, *Kelei ha-Ḥeres ba-Sifrut ha-Talmudit* (1953), 27–35; G. Krauss, *Talmudische Archaeologie* (1910); U.E. Paoli, *Das Leben im alten Rom* (1948); J. Carcopino, *Daily Life in Ancient Rome* (1940); Th. Birt, *Zur Kulturgeschichte Roms* (1917); Baron, Social 2, 4 (1956), 37; I. Abrahams, *Jewish Life in the Middle Ages* (1932), 89, 426.

BAT ḤEFER (Heb. בת חפר; "Daughter of Ḥefer"), urban community located in the *Ḥefer Plain in central Israel. The settlement is located near the border of Samaria, near *Tūl Karm, and is part of the regional council of Emek Ḥefer. Its area is 0.4 sq. mi (1 sq. km.). The settlement was part of the "seven star" plan of Ariel *Sharon to establish settlements near the border of Samaria. Building began in 1994 and the first settlers arrived in 1996. At the end of 2002 the population of Bat Ḥefer was 4,610.

[Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

BATH-SHEBA (Heb. בַּת־שֶׁבַע, in I Chron. 3:5 בַּת־שׁוּעַ), wife of *David and mother of *Solomon. Bath-Sheba was originally the wife of *Uriah the Hittite, one of David's warriors. During the war against Rabbath-Ammon (II Sam. 11), David saw Bath-Sheba and ordered her brought to his palace. When David knew that she was pregnant by him, he attempted to return Uriah to his house (see II Sam. 11:6–13). Failing to do so, he sought and found a pretext to have Uriah killed in battle (11:14–27); he then married Bath-Sheba. The prophet *Nathan rebuked David for this act (12:1–12), but subsequently took Bath-Sheba's side and supported the enthronement of her son Solomon (I Kings 1:8 ff.). She later agreed to present to Solomon *Adonijah's request for David's concubine *Abishag. In addition to Solomon, Bath-Sheba gave birth to at least three other sons, Shimea, Shobab, and Nathan (I Chron. 3:5). It seems that her first son, who died soon after his birth because of the sin of his father, is included in this list (II Sam. 12:13 ff.).

According to II Samuel 11:3, Bath-Sheba was the daughter of Eliam, and according to I Chronicles 3:5, she was the daughter of Ammiel, who the rabbis of the Talmud (Sanh. 69b) identify with Eliam son of *Ahithophel the Gilonite (II Sam. 23:34); hence the opinion of early commentators (Kimḥi and Levi b. Gershom) and several recent scholars that the opposition of Ahithophel to David during the revolt of Absalom stemmed from his wish to avenge Uriah's death. Others believe that these opinions are unacceptable, because, if indeed Eliam was the son of the famous Ahithophel, the Bible would not have failed to mention the fact. It is also difficult to believe that Ahithophel, if he was the grandfather of Bath-Sheba, would have taken part in such an action which would undoubtedly have endangered the position of his granddaughter and her son in the royal court. On the other hand, there is reason to suppose that Bath-Sheba was of a family that existed in Jerusalem before its conquest by David.

[Yehoshua M. Grintz]

In the *Aggadah*

If she was Ahithophel's granddaughter, the prophecies which he believed foretold his own royal destiny, in fact applied to her (Sanh. 101b). Bath-Sheba was predestined for David; his sin was that he took her before the appointed time (Sanh. 107a). She was not guilty of adultery since it was the custom that soldiers going to war gave their wives bills of divorce which were to become valid should they fail to return and Uriah did fall in battle (Ket. 9b). She was a prophet in that she foresaw that her son would be the wisest of men. She is numbered among the 22 women of valor (Mid. Hag. to Gen. 23:1).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Bright, Hist, 181, 188n., 189, 230; de Vaux, Anc Isr, index; M.Z. Segal, *Sifrei Shemu'el* (1964^2), 299, 326–7; S. Yeivin, *Meḥkarim be-Toledot Yisrael ve-Arẓo* (1960), 198–207, 230–1; Noth, Personennamen, 146–7. IN THE AGGADAH: Ginzberg, Legend*s*, 4 (1947), 94–95, 103–4; 6 (1946), 256–7, 264–5.

BATHYRA, place in the toparchy of Batanea (i.e., *Bashan, east of Golan) founded by Jewish military settlers from Babylonia. Desirous of defending his borders from attacks by the neighboring Trachonites, *Herod decided to settle a large number of Jews in the area of Bathyra with the further intention that it would serve also as a base for his own military offensives. Upon learning that *Zamaris, a Jew from Babylon, had crossed the Euphrates with five hundred horsemen and was staying near Antioch under the patronage of Saturninus, the governor of Syria, Herod offered them the territory for the proposed buffer-zone, promising to rescind all taxes and tributes. The Babylonians took possession of the land, building fortresses and a village named Bathyra. The settlers defended not only the local population from Trachonite brigandage, but also Jewish pilgrims from Babylonia on their way to Jerusalem.

The family of Zamaris became a major ally of Herod, supporting his policies as well as those of the two Agrippas. Although Bathyra remained their base, members of the family also resided throughout the neighboring territories. Relatives of Philip, grandson of Zamaris, were among the prominent residents of Gamala at the beginning of the Roman War (66 C.E.). Philip played a vital if somewhat ambiguous part during that uprising, as well as in the events in Jerusalem on the eve of the outbreak of the war in 66. It was his task to secure Batanea from insurrection against Agrippa II and the Romans. Numerous scholars have made the connection between Bathyra and the rabbis referred to in the Talmud as "the sons of *Bathyra," who held high offices in Jerusalem until they were superseded by Hillel. However, it is improbable that there was any connection between the warriors of Bathyra and the rabbinical "sons of Bathyra."

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Jos., Ant., 17:23ff.; Jos., Life, 46ff., 177ff.; H. Graetz, in: MGWJ, 1 (1851), 115ff.; Stern, in: *Tarbiz*, 35 (1965/66), 251–3; Neusner, Babylonia, 1 (1965), 38ff.

[Isaiah Gafni]

BATHYRA, SONS OF (according to TB; in TJ known as "Elders of Bathyra"), members of a famous Jewish family who were prominent from the first century B.C.E. to the second century C.E. Some scholars conjecture that the family was named after the city of *Bathyra in northern Transjordan. It is inferred from talmudic sources that members of this family were the religious authorities of their time, but that when Hillel demonstrated his superior knowledge of Torah (on the question of whether the paschal offering overrides the Sabbath) "they set him at their head and appointed him *nasi* over them" (TJ, Kil. 9:4, 32b; Pes. 66a; BM 85a). As a result of this abdication they were regarded exemplars of humility; Judah ha-Nasi said of them "whatever I am bidden I am prepared to do except what the Elders of Bathyra did for my ancestor (Hillel), namely abdicating from their high office in order to elevate him" (TJ, Ket. 12:3, 35a). The talmudic sources do not specify their names. According to the Jerusalem Talmud they were *nesi'im*. In other talmudic sources, while they were not specifically designated as such, it is implied that they held the patriarchate before Hillel was appointed. According to Halevy, the Sons of Bathyra carried out the functions of the patriarchate when the Sanhedrin was not functioning (possibly at the beginning of Herod's rule). Apparently members of this family exercised influence even after the destruction of the Temple, when the Sanhedrin was in Jabneh. Johanan b. Zakkai was said to have consulted the Sons of Bathyra in regard to certain legal rulings. A number of *tannaim* known by this patronymic, e.g., Judah b. Bathyra, Joshua b. Bathyra, and Simeon b. Bathyra, presumably belonged to this family.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Halevy, Dorot, 1 pt. 3 (1923), 36–89; 1 pt. 5 (1923), 190–9; Hyman, Toledot, 365ff.; Graetz, in: MGWJ, 1 (1851), 115–20; Klausner, Bayit Sheni, 4 (1950^2), 56, 143; Neusner, Babylonia, 1 (1965), index, s.v. *Bathyrans*.

[Zvi Kaplan]

BAT KOL (Heb. בַּת קוֹל; lit. "daughter of a voice," i.e., an echo of a heavenly voice, or a divine voice "once removed"), a heavenly or divine voice which revealed God's will, choice, or judgment to man. According to rabbinic tradition, the *bat kol* was already heard during the biblical period. It proclaimed Tamar's innocence; declared that the prophet Samuel had not materially benefited from his public position; and validated Solomon's judgment in awarding the child to the true mother (Mak. 23b). Before the death of Moses, a heavenly voice proclaimed that God Himself would attend to his burial (Deut. R. 11:10), and after his death a *bat kol* heard over an area 12 miles square announced his demise (Sot. 13b). A *bat kol* informed David that Rehoboam and Jeroboam would divide his kingdom (Shab. 56b); and when Solomon sought to emulate Moses a heavenly voice rebuked him (RH 21b). According to the Talmud a *bat kol* was often heard at the death of martyrs. After the death of the mother and her seven sons (see *Hannah and Her Seven Sons), a voice proclaimed: "A joyful mother of children" (Ps. 113:9; Git. 57b). When Ḥanina b. Teradyon was cruelly executed, a *bat kol* called out: "R. Ḥanina b. Teradyon and the Roman who hastened his death have been assigned to the world to come" (Av. Zar. 18a). After R. Akiva's execution, a "heavenly voice" resounded: "Happy art thou, R. Akiva, that thou art destined for the life of the world to come" (Ber.61b). When a Roman officer sacrificed his life so that R. Gamaliel II would be spared, a *bat kol* declared: "This high officer is destined to enter into the world to come" (Ta'an. 29a).

With the cessation of prophecy, the *bat kol* remained the sole means of communication between God and man (Yoma 9b). In most instances, where reference is made to a *bat kol*, it refers to an external voice which is heard by the recipient of the message. However, at times the *bat kol* was only perceived in dreams (cf. Ḥag. 14b). The "heavenly voices" mentioned in stories concerning R. Bana'ah (BB 58a) and Rabbah b. Bar Ḥana (BB 73b–74a) also were heard in dreams (see Chajes in bibl.).

The authority granted to a *bat kol* in determining *halakhah* is discussed in two different talmudic passages. In one instance, after three years of controversy between Bet Shammai and Bet Hillel, the sages accepted a *bat kol*'s pronouncement that "the words of both are the words of the living God, but the *halakhah* is in agreement with the rulings of Bet Hillel" (Er. 13b). However, R. Joshua refused to abide by a *bat kol* which ruled in favor of R. Eliezer in his dispute with the sages regarding the ritual purity of the oven of "*Akhnai*" (BM 59b). R. Joshua explained that the Torah "is not in heaven" (Deut. 30:12), and therefore no attention is given to a "heavenly voice," and it is rather the majority of the sages who determined the *halakhah*. Later commentaries accepted R. Joshua's viewpoint, and explained that the *bat kol* was only effective in determining the ruling in the Bet Shammai and Bet Hillel controversies, since the sages were themselves in doubt whether to rule in accordance with the larger school of Bet Hillel or the more profound thinkers of Bet Shammai (Tos. to Er. 6b s.v. כאן).

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[Aaron Rothkoff]

BATLANIM (Heb. בַּטְלָנִים; "men of leisure"), originally an honorable title conferred on those who either wholly or partly abstained from work to free themselves for community service. In ancient as well as medieval times there existed the institution of the *asarah batlanim* ("ten men of leisure"). The Mishnah (Meg. 1:3) states that a town was regarded as large if it had "ten *batlanim*" who "frequent the synagogue" (TB Meg. 5a; TJ, Meg., 1:6, 70b) and "abstain from work" (TJ, *ibid.*). Among the population of 120 who make a town "eligible for a Sanhedrin" (Sanh. 1:6) are included "the ten *batlanim* of the synagogue" (Meg. 17b). The ten verses of the Torah read publicly on Mondays and Thursdays "correspond to the ten *batlanim*" (BK 82a). R. Judah, characterized the "ten *batlanim*" as "those who, like ourselves, have no need of our studies" (TJ, Meg. loc. cit.), meaning, probably that they needed no occupation in addition to their studies. The ten *batlanim*, at that time, were scholars. Rashi explains that they refrain from work and are supported by the community in order to attend prayers in the synagogue (Meg. 5a; cf. Rashi to Sanh. 17b). R. Nissim notes that they need not "abstain from work and be supported by the community" for their town to be reckoned a large one in connection with the variant practices concerning the reading of the scroll of Esther. It is sufficient if they attend prayers in the synagogue both mornings and evenings (commenting on Alfasi; beginning of *Megillah*). Elsewhere (BK 82a) Rashi states that an additional function of the ten *batlanim* is to occupy themselves with the needs of the community, and Maimonides sees them as "assigned to the synagogue for communal needs" (Yad, Megillah 1:8). Benjamin of Tudela records that in 12th-century Baghdad, the ten heads of the yeshivah "are called *batlanim*, their sole occupation being to engage in communal affairs…. They render decisions on legal and religious questions for all the Jewish inhabitants of the country." In later Yiddish usage the term became pejorative and meant a man who was lazy, loafed, and could not make his way in the world.

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[Zvi Kaplan]

BAT-MIRIAM (Zhelezniak), YOKHEVED (1901–1980), Hebrew poet. Born in Keplits, Belorussia, Yokheved Bat-Miriam attended the universities of Odessa and Moscow. Although her poems began appearing in 1923, her first volume of poetry *Me-Raḥok* ("From Afar") was published in 1932, four years after she settled in Ereẓ Israel; it was followed by six other volumes of poetry. The bulk of her poetry was written between the two world wars against the background of the Jewish tragedy of this period, and her personal experiences as a child in Russia and a settler in Israel. Influenced by Russian symbolist poetry, her verse is written against a dreamlike landscape, charged with symbols from nature drawn from the world of childhood. One image fades into another, with past and present merging. This coalescing of imagery is reinforced by a similar shifting of her idiom by means of assonance, alliteration, and other sonal devices. Her works include *Ereẓ Yisrael* (1937); *Re'ayon* (1949); *Demuyyot me-Ofek* (1942); *Mi-Shirei Rusyah* (1942); *1943 – Shirim la-Getto* (1946); and *Shirim* (1963). A list of her works translated into English appears in Goell, Bibl. She was awarded the Israel Prize in 1972.

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BATO, LUDWIG YOMTOV (1886–1974), Zionist and writer. Bato was born in Dolní-Kubín in Slovakia (then Hungary) and in 1904 edited the first Zionist publication in Hungarian. While a student in Turin (1906–07), he founded the Piedmontese Zionist Federation. Returning to Hungary in 1908, he joined the editorial board of the Zionist newspaper *Zsidó szemle*. In 1910 he went to Vienna, where he lived until 1933. There he was one of the leaders of the Austrian Zionist Federation and from 1914 to 1918 edited its organ *Juedische Zeitung*. With O. *Abeles he published the literary almanac *Juedischer Nationalkalender* (6 vols., 1916–22). Between 1933 and 1940 Bato was director of the Jewish National Fund in Romania and in 1940 he settled in Tel Aviv. Bato wrote *Die Juden im alten Wien* (1928) and *Don Yosef Nasi* (Heb., 1942).

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[Getzel Kressel]

BAT SHELOMO (Heb. בַּת שְׁלֹמֹה; "Daughter of Solomon"), Israel moshav in the Manasseh Hills northeast of Zikhron Ya'akov. It was founded in June 1889 by the administration of Baron Edmond de *Rothschild, to provide farmsteads for children of Zikhron Ya'akov settlers. The small village, with wine grapes as its principal branch of farming, made little progress. After the establishment of the State of Israel, immigrants from Hungary and Yemen settled in Bat Shelomo. In the mid-1990s the population was approximately 275, rising to 365 in 2002. The village was named for Baron James (Jacob) Rothschild's wife, whose father was Solomon Mayer Rothschild of Vienna.

[Efraim Orni]

BATSHEVA AND BAT-DOR DANCE COMPANIES. In 1964, Baroness Bethsabee de *Rothschild founded the Batsheva Dance Company, which has become the flagship of Israeli dance. Establishment of the troupe marked the beginning of the influence of American modern dance in Israel and contributed to the professional level of dance there. From the middle 1960s until the early 1970s, the troupe drew heavily on the techniques of Martha Graham, who was also its artistic adviser. The company's repertoire included seven important works by Graham: *Errand into the Maze*; *Diversion of Angels*; *Embattled Garden*; *Dark Meadow*; *Herodiade; Cave of the Heart*; and the *Learning Process*. In 1974, Graham created *Jacob's Dream* especially for Batsheva.

Graham and Bethsabee encouraged the dancers to create their own works, which was accomplished by Oshra Elkayam and Moshe Efrati, dancers and the troupe's outstanding choreographers.

The repertoire also included works by well-known choreographers, among them: Robert Cohan, Glen Tetley, Norman Morrice, Jerome *Robbins, and Jose Limon. Distinguished soloists were Rina Schenfeld, Rena Gluck, Nurit Stern, Ehud Ben-David, Moshe Efrati, and Rachamin Ron.

In spite of its many successful performances abroad and its great following in Israel, in the 1970s and 1980s the troupe went through a difficult period with a relentless turnover of artistic directors (Jane Dudley, Norman Walker, William Louther, Brian McDonald, Robert Cohan, Paul Sanasardo). Most of them came for short periods, their works were performed, and then they left. The guest list of choreographers who worked with the Batsheva Dance Company in that period, and whose creations the company staged, were: John *Cranko (*Song of My People*), Gene Hill Sagan, Anna *Sokolow, Daniel Ezralow, and Christopher Bruce. After Rothschild distanced herself from the troupe, its attitude of not accepting the works of Israeli choreographers who were not members of the company changed. In the second half of the 1970s, Caj Lottman was named its artistic director, the first Israeli one, soon followed by Moshe Romano, Sheli Shir, and David Dvir. In 1983 and 1986, they launched workshops for the purpose of encouraging original local creations. Discovered in those workshops was the young generation of choreographers: Yossi Tmim, Siki Kol, Alice Dor-Cohen, Tamar Ben-Ami, Nir and Liat Ben-Gal. Despite the fact that the company continued to be very much admired in Israel, it lost its intrinsic essence and novelty, lacking a clear and specific artistic direction.

In 1990, Ohad *Nahari was appointed artistic director of the Batsheva Dance Company and created a rich tapestry of productions for the troupe. His style greatly influenced Israeli dance. The troupe was rejuvenated and a young audience flocked to its performances. Among the prominent choreographers whose works were represented in its repertoire were: Wim Vandekeybus, Anjelin Prelojocal, Arvo Pärt, William Forsythe, and Jiri Kylian.

In 1991, the Batsheva Ensemble was founded. It is smaller, and most of its dance pieces are local choreographies which were auspicious beginnings for many Israeli artists, among them Itzik Galili, Inbal Pinto, and Anat Daniel.

The Baroness continued to support Batsheva financially until 1977, when the Israel Ministry of Education and Culture granted the troupe a subsidy.

Bat-Dor

In 1967, Rothschild established the Bat-Dor Dance Company for Jeannette Ordman, a classical ballet dancer from South Africa who captured the heart of the Baroness. Ordman was the artistic director, principal dancer, and headmaster of its dance school. From the beginning, Bat-Dor's style was a combination of modern dance with a strong emphasis on the technique of classical ballet. The Baroness gave her generous financial support to Bat-Dor, making it possible for the ensemble to purchase works of important artists all over the world.

Among the Israeli choreographers who worked with the ensemble were Domi Reiter-Sofer, Mirale Sharon, Gene Hill-Sagan, Yehuda Maor, Igal Perry, and, in the past decade, Tamir Gintz. The importance of Bat-Dor lies, essentially, in its school of dance in Tel Aviv and the branch in Beersheba, which have produced generations of young dancers who have permeated the dance companies in Israel. Rothschild's death (1999) brought an end to the stream of cash flowing into the company, and its ongoing work was soon in crisis. Requests for government subsidies were made subject to reorganization of the ensemble's management practices and, today, it only operates the school, which receives government support.

[Ruth Eshel (2nd ed.)]

BATTAT, REUBEN (1882–1962), Iraqi jurist. Battat studied law in Baghdad and in Constantinople and served as judge in various courts of Iraq. In 1923 as judge in Basra, he handed down a decision in favor of transferring the property of the Jewish philanthropist Gourji Shemtov to the Keren Hayesod. That decision was used against him in 1949, when he was tried by a military tribunal on charges of being a Zionist and sentenced to three years imprisonment. He was, however, released after four months. From 1924 Battat represented the Jews of Iraq for several terms in parliament; he was also one of the supporters of the Zionist organization in Baghdad. Before 1936 he published an important work about the constitution of the kingdom of Iraq (in Arabic). He died in Switzerland.

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[Haim J. Cohen]

BATTLE OF CABLE STREET, name popularly given to a major altercation in the East End of London, England, when Sir Oswald Mosley, leader of the British Union of Fascists, attempted to march with his supporters through this heavily Jewish area of London. On October 4, 1936, Mosley attempted to lead a march of 3,000 black-shirted British Fascists from the City of London through Whitechapel, where about 100,000 Jews lived. At Cable Street, at the edge of the East End, Mosley's men were forcibly prevented from advancing further by a large throng of left-wing protesters, comprised of local Jewish and Irish inhabitants as well as "cockney" dockers and other workers, organized in part by the British Communist Party, and they were forced to turn back. The term "Battle" is something of a misnomer, since the only violence occurred between anti-Mosley protesters and the police, on whom the anti-Fascists turned, and not between the Fascists and anti-Fascists. Nevertheless, the "Battle of Cable Street" has become legendary as one of the few times during the 1930s when the left and far right apparently clashed, and the far right was defeated. Since most of the anti-Mosley protesters were probably gentiles, "Cable Street" was also seen by many as a prime example of what a "popular front" could achieve to stop the seemingly irresistible spread of Fascism in Europe. It also probably enhanced the prestige of the British Communist Party, which attracted a significant level of support in the Jewish East End during the latter 1930s (but probably not earlier). Presumably in retaliation, the following week many windows of Jewish shops in Whitechapel were smashed by vandals.

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[William D. Rubinstein (2nd ed.)]

BATUMI (until 1936 **Batum**), port on the eastern shore of the Black Sea; capital of the Autonomous Adzhar Republic, within *Georgia. A Jewish community was established there in 1878 after the town was incorporated into Russia. In 1889 many of the Jews living there without official authorization (see *Pale of Settlement) were expelled. According to official statistics there remained 31 Jewish families, and according to unofficial sources about 100 Jewish families. The number, however, again increased rapidly. By 1897 there were 1,179 Jews living in Batum. One of the oil refineries was owned jointly by the Rothschild family and Jewish investors in Russia. The Jewish population numbered 3,700 in 1923 (6.1% of the total population) and 1,778 in 1939 (2,54% of the total population). Subsequent data are unascertainable.

[Abraham J. Brawer / Abba Ahimeir]

BAT YAM (Heb. בַּת יָם; "Daughter of the Sea"), city in central Israel, on the seashore south of Tel Aviv-Jaffa, founded in 1926 by 24 religious families who called themselves and the quarter they established "Bayit va-Gan" ("House and Garden"). In the 1929 Arab riots, this isolated group found refuge in Tel Aviv, returning to their homes in 1931. From 1933 the population increased as immigrants from Germany built their homes there. In 1937 the quarter received the status of a local council and changed its name to Bat Yam. In the War of Independence (1948), the town, then numbering approximately 1,000 inhabitants, had to defend itself against strong Arab attacks. With the mass immigration following the founding of Israel, the population grew rapidly. Receiving city status in 1958, it formed part of the Tel Aviv conurbation, bordering on the city of Tel Aviv-Jaffa in the north, Holon in the east, and Rishon le-Zion in the south. Manufacturing and recreation facilities were the mainstays of its economy. The food industry (light beverages, beer, ice cream) was a leading employer and the city was a popular resort with a seashore of 2 mi. (3.2 km.), three-quarters of it open for bathing. It also had a municipal museum, art galleries, and the Sholem *Asch House. Asch resided in Bat Yam in his last years.

The population of Bat Yam was 10,000 at the end of 1953, 62,000 in 1967, and 133,900 in 2002, making it the 11th largest city in Israel. It had a large concentration of recent immigrants from the former Soviet Union, Syria, and Ethiopia. The municipal area was 3.1 sq. mi. (8 sq. km.).

[Simha Moretzky / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

°**BAUDISSIN, WOLF WILHELM, GRAF VON** (1847–1926), German Bible critic and historian of religion. Baudissin was born in Holstein and taught at the universities of Leipzig, 1874–1876; Strasbourg, 1876–1881; Marburg, 1881–1900; and Berlin, 1900–1921. He belonged to the Wellhausen school of thought in regard to the understanding of the Pentateuch as a whole, but he departed from its philosophy in his *Die Geschichte des alttestamentlichen Priesterthums* (1889) where he argued for the priority of P, the pre-Exilic Priestly Source, over the D, Deuteronomic, Source. In *Kyrios als Gottesname im Judentum und seine Stelle in der Religionsgeschichte* (4 vols., 1929), published posthumously, Baudissin championed the theory that the substitution of Adonai for YHWH first originated among Greek-speaking Jews. His main contributions in the area of comparative religion are *Studien zur semitischen Religionsgeschichte* (2 vols., 1876–78); *Jahve et Moloch* (1874); and *Adonis und Esmun* (1911). These studies deal with the influence of the Canaanite cult on the history of Israel.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: ZAWB, 33 (1918) (= *Festschrift … Baudissin*) includes bibliography; O. Eissfeldt, *Kleine Schriften*, 1 (1962), 115–42, 234–8.

[Zev Garber]

°**BAUER, BRUNO** (1809–1882), German Protestant theologian, philosopher, and historian. He became influenced by the philosophy of Hegel while a student in Berlin, and because of radical criticism of the New Testament expressed in numerous works, was dismissed from his post as lecturer at Bonn in 1842. Bauer then returned to Berlin where he devoted himself to writing historical works and critical studies of the rise of Christianity. He also wrote on contemporary political issues, defending Prussian conservatism, and strongly opposed granting emancipation to the Jews in Germany. In his essay *Die Judenfrage* ("The Jewish Question," 1843), he stresses, like Hegel, the Oriental character of the "Jewish national spirit" (*Volksgeist*) which failed to comprehend the ideals of freedom and reason and saw its highest duty in fulfilling unreasonable ceremonies. In particular, Bauer attacked the representatives of Reform Judaism, who called for a return to a pure or purified "Mosaism." In his view, "pure Mosaism" was only possible in the land of Canaan, and only in a sovereign Jewish state. It was therefore impossible in contemporary circumstances. Bauer argued that the observance of Jewish laws made faith illusory and that Judaism was exclusive and unrealistic. As long as Jews were not ready to forsake their specific character, their emancipation was out of the question. The work gave rise to sharp controversy in which Abraham *Geiger, Gabriel *Riesser, Samuel *Hirsch, and Karl *Marx, among others, took part.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: N. Rotenstreich, in: YLBI, 4 (1959); 3–36; Ẓ. Rosen, in: *Zion*, 33 (1968), 59–76; K. Marx, *A World Without Jews* (1959).

[Reuven Michael]

BAUER, HANS (1878–1937), scholar of Semitic languages. Bauer, who was born in Bavaria, studied theology and Semitic languages and in 1922 was appointed professor of Semitic languages at the University of Halle. After working on medieval Arabic philosophy (especially Al-Ghazālī), and other Arabic studies, he turned to Hebrew grammar in the context of the other Semitic languages, employing the methods developed by Indo-Germanic linguists. In his book *Die Tempora im Semitischen* (1910), he dealt with the Semitic tenses. He worked on the assumption (which others had made before him) that the imperfect was in the early stages of the language the only defined verbal form (i.e., the all-tempora: Aorist), while the perfect was orginally a nominal form (i.e., a type of participle: nominal), and thus close in meaning to the present tense. The nominal participle has two temporal qualities, according to the meaning of each verb: an act done now or continuously; or an act, completed in the past, whose results are felt in the present. The second quality (*perfectum praesens*) is likely to develop into the *praeteritum*. In each of the Semitic languages, one of these qualities became the primary: in Akkadian, the former (Bauer equates the form *ikaššad* with the perfect of the other languages); in Aramaic, Arabic, Ethiopic, and even Phoenician, the latter. As a result, the semantic field of the all-tempora form became limited in its meaning. In Akkadian it is used as the perfect, but in the other languages as the present-future. Biblical Hebrew, which Bauer considered a mixed language, in this respect stands midway: the conversive tenses reflect the Akkadian usage, while the regular tenses are comparable to the use in other Semitic languages. His view of the mixed nature of Hebrew ("early Canaanite base," close to Akkadian, with a "late layer" which is closer to the other Semitic languages) derives from certain cases of phonetic inconsistency, such as the vowels after the *kof* in קָם (*kam*) as opposed to מָקוֹם (*makom*) which both are in Arabic *ā* (*qām*, *maqām*). This problem is discussed in his book *Zur Frage der Sprachmischung im Hebraeischen* (1924). With Pontus Leander, he wrote the *Historische Grammatik der hebraeischen Sprache des Alten Testaments* (1922; repr. 1965). They also collaborated in writing the *Grammatik des Biblisch-Aramaeischen* (1927). In 1930 he succeeded in deciphering most of the Ugaritic alphabet embodying the results of his study in *Die alphabetischen Keilschrifttexte von Ras Shamra* (1936); others followed him in completing this work. Bauer also wrote a book on the origins of the alphabet, *Der Ursprung des Alphabets* (1937).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Wehr-Halle, in: ZDMG, 91 (1937), 175–84, obituary and bibliography; NDB, 1 (1952), 639.

[Hans Jacob Polotsky]

BAUER, JACOB (**Jehiel ben Gershom**; 1852–1926), *ḥazzan* of the Turkish-Israelite Temple in Vienna and adaptor of its liturgical music. Bauer was born in Szenice, Hungary, and went as a youth to Vienna. During his school days in that city, he was a soprano singer with the *ḥazzan* Pesaḥ Feinsinger. After regular training of his adult voice, Bauer was employed as *ḥazzan* at Ottakring, a suburb of Vienna, Szigetvar (Hungary, 1875), and Graz (1878). In 1880, the governors of the Vienna Sephardi congregation decided to adapt the musical part of their service "to the needs of modern times." They commissioned Bauer and the choir-director Isidor Loewit to arrange their melodies and to organize a temple choir. At first this modernized service was, more or less, in the common Ashkenazi style. In the course of time, Bauer and Loewit worked on arrangements of the original Turco-Sephardi melodies which were published as *Schir-Hakawod* in 1889.

Bauer founded and edited the *Oesterreichisch-Ungarische Kantoren-Zeitung* from 1881 to 1898 and was co-founder and temporarily chairman of the Oesterreichisch-Ungarischer Kantoren-Verband from 1883.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Friedmann, Lebensbilder; E. Zaludkowski, *Kultur-Treger fun der Yidisher Liturgye…* (1930), 196.

[Hanoch Avenary]

BAUER, MARION EUGÉNIE (1882–1955), U.S. composer, teacher, and music critic. Bauer was the daughter of French Jewish immigrants to the U.S. Part of the "forgotten vanguard" of modernism, her work bridged the lush harmonies of French impressionism and the dissonant modernism of the late 1920s. She studied composition with Henry Holden Huss and Eugene Heffley and was Nadia Boulanger's first American pupil. Bauer taught composition and theory at New York University (1926–51) and the Juilliard School of Music (1940–55). Through teaching and mentoring, she maintained numerous ties to a younger generation of modernists including Milton *Babbitt and Ruth Crawford.

Bauer wrote reviews and criticism for the *Musical Leader* and *Musical Quarterly* and published four books on music, including the popular appreciation text *Twentieth Century Music* (1933). A fervent advocate of modern music, she helped found the American Music Guild, served as secretary for the Society for the Publications of American Music, and was on the executive boards of the League of Composers, the American Composers Alliance (ACA), and the Society of American Women Composers.

Aside from brief experiments in 12-tone writing in the 1940s and 1950s, Bauer's music never completely broke with tradition. Her impressive and frequently performed compositions include *Symphonic Suite* (1940), *American Youth* for piano and orchestra (1943), and *First Symphony* (1950). Her most successful work, *Sun Splendor* (1947), was premiered by the New York Philharmonic under Leopold Stowkowski.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: J.M. Edwards, "Marion Eugénie Bauer," in: S. Sadie (ed.), *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (2001^2); E.M. Hisama. *Gendering Musical Modernism: The Music of Ruth Crawford, Marion Bauer, and Miriam Gideon* (2001).

[Melissa de Graaf (2nd ed.)]

BAUER, OTTO (1881–1938), Austrian socialist leader; first foreign minister of the Austrian Republic (1918–19). Bauer, the son of a Jewish industrialist, became one of the most important Austro-Marxist theoreticians soon after joining the socialist movement along with many other young Jewish intellectuals of his time. In 1907, together with Karl Renner and Adolf *Braun, he founded the monthly *Der Kampf*, which became a forum for socialist discussion. In his famous study *Die Nationalitaetenfrage und die Sozialdemokratie* (1907), he contended that no socialist could disregard the problem of nationalities, and provided an original definition of the nation: "the totality of men united through a community of fate into a community of character." Bauer favored the granting of cultural autonomy to every national group in the Austro-Hungarian Empire. He praised the Jewish role in history, but argued that the Jews could not be regarded as a nationality, especially in Western Europe. He advocated assimilation and was sharply criticized by Zionists as a consequence. In November 1918, with the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian Empire at the end of World War I, Bauer became foreign minister of the new Austrian Republic. He resigned in 1919 when his main objectives, a merger with Germany and retention by Austria of the German-speaking parts of the Tyrol, failed to materialize. When the Dollfuss regime came to power in 1934, Bauer took a leading part in the uprising of the workers in Vienna and subsequently took refuge in Czechoslovakia after its suppression. In May 1938, he fled to Paris and died there a few weeks later – on the day the London *News Chronicle* published his appeal to world conscience to save the 300,000 Jews of Austria. Bauer was an outstanding figure within the Socialist International, where, although an opponent of Communism, he represented the Marxist left wing. He was a prolific writer on socialist problems, including the books *Bolschewismus oder Sozialdemokratie?* (1920), in which he contrasted the economic conditions of Soviet Russia and Western Europe, and *Kapitalismus und Sozialismus nach dem Weltkrieg* (1931), which was intended to be his magnum opus. After his death, his *Die illegale Partei* was published in Paris by Friedrich *Adler (1939).

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[Robert Weltsch / Lisa Silverman (2nd ed.)]

BAUER, SIMON HARVEY (1911–), U.S. physical chemist. Bauer was born in Kaunas, Lithuania, and immigrated to the U.S. in 1921. Awarded his Ph.D. degree from the University of Chicago (1935), he was a postdoctoral fellow at the California Institute of Technology (1935–37), and an instructor at Pennsylvania State University (1937–39) before being invited to join the Chemistry Department at Cornell University, where he became professor in 1950. Subsequently he was appointed adjunct professor at the Institute of Molecular Science in Okazaki and served as consultant to Los Alamos National Laboratory, Calspan, Arco-Harvey Tech Center, and Lockheed Cal. His research studies include structure determinations by electron and X-ray diffraction techniques; molecular spectroscopy in the IR measurements of rapid chemical conversions induced in shock tubes or via laser irradiation; measurements of physical, kinetic, and thermochemical properties of boron hydrides; and formulation of kinetics of condensation from supersaturated vapors.

[Bracha Rager (2nd ed.)]

BAUER, YEHUDA (1926–), historian of the Holocaust. Bauer was born in Prague, Czechoslovakia (now Czech Republic). He immigrated with his family to Palestine on March 15, 1939; the day German troops marched into Prague and Germany took control of Bohemia and Moravia. He later joined the Palmaḥ and fought in Israel's War of Independence. He completed his B.A. and M.A. at the University of Cardiff in Wales (1946–48; 1949–50) and then became a founding member of Kibbutz Shoval in the Negev, in Israel, in 1952. He completed his Ph.D. at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem in 1960 with a dissertation that focused on the Mandate period in Palestine. In 1961, Bauer joined the faculty of the Institute of Contemporary Jewry, where he began teaching about the Holocaust several years later and until his retirement in 1995. Bauer held many additional important positions in academia and research, among them: academic chairman of the Institute of Contemporary Jewry (1978–95); founding chair of the Vidal Sassoon International Center for the Study of Antisemitism at the Hebrew University (1982–95); chairman of the Study Circle at the Home of the President of Israel on the Jewish People in the Diaspora and the State of Israel (1980–95); founding editor of the *Journal of Holocaust and Genocide Studies* (1985–95); head of the International Institute for Holocaust Research at Yad Vashem (1995–2000); academic advisor at Yad Vashem (from 2000). In 1998 he was awarded the Israel Prize for his life's work in teaching and heightening awareness about the Holocaust, and in 2000 he was elected a member of the Israel Academy of Sciences.

Bauer's vast knowledge, sharp analytical capabilities, keen ability to synthesize many sources and much research into coherent observations, along with his written and spoken articulation and his dynamic teaching ability helped him reach broad audiences in Israel and around the world. He is considered to be one of the major scholars of the Holocaust, as well as one of the most important and influential voices to raise consciousness of the event and of its ongoing major impact on the world.

Bauer's approach to understanding the Holocaust is multifaceted. He believes that the Holocaust was an unprecedented event when it happened, but as an event that was part of human history, it is both accessible to human understanding and is an event that can be repeated once the precedent has been set.

Bauer has advocated and promoted meticulous empirical research in all relevant languages, both of official German and other documents, and of Jewish documents from the period and later, including oral history. Bauer argues that official government documents, and certainly Nazi documents, cannot automatically be taken as objective reflections of reality, or as being entirely true. He has cited numerous examples of German Nazi era documents that were sanitized or carefully edited (e.g., the Protocol of the Wannsee Conference, January 20, 1942) in order to create a particular impression at the time. Although oral testimony needs to be read critically and cross-referenced, in the same way as other documentation, such source material remains for Bauer an integral and necessary part of Holocaust research. Fundamentally, without a thorough examination of the story of the Jews in the Holocaust, our understanding of the event can be only partial.

Bauer has been influential in introducing a number of fundamental concepts to our understanding of the Holocaust, such as the distinction between information and knowledge of the event around the world as it unfolded. He has also advocated against mystification or glorification of the Holocaust or of those who played a role in it. He has kept his observations on the event grounded in human history, examining the participants in the event as human beings. In looking at the Jews, he has promoted the examination of their daily lives and struggles to get through to another day. He has always sought to keep the individual in perspective when discussing the mass of details and data. He frequently resorts to individual stories in his writing and speaking as a way to personalize the Holocaust and retain the humanity of its victims.

Bauer has also stood out in his willingness to engage in comparative analyses of the Holocaust with other genocides (e.g., of the Armenians by the Turks and of the Sinti and Roma by the Nazis), highlighting both their commonalities and their differences. Although he sees a number of basic common characteristics in all these events, the Holocaust remains for him a singular event, particularly in its totality and universality – attempting to murder all Jews everywhere – and in the central role played by race theory. It is fundamental in Bauer's understanding of the Holocaust that the Nazis saw in the Jews both a threat of cosmic proportions to human existence and the embodiment of the enlightened Western values that the Nazis despised. The Nazi attack on the Jews was an attack on the very foundations of Western civilization.

Bauer has published numerous books and articles. His research topics have included American Jewish responses to the Holocaust; the responses of the victims; the decision-making process in Nazi Germany; the events in Hungary, Romania, and Slovakia; Jewish attempts to rescue Jews via negotiations with the Nazis; events and Jewish life in the small and medium-sized towns of Eastern Europe, and more. A number of his articles have become basic introductory reading for students regarding a number of central subjects in the Holocaust (e.g., Jewish responses, rescue, Jewish leadership). Among his major books are *Flight and Rescue: Brichah* (1970), on the clandestine movement by survivors to Palestine; *My Brother's Keeper* (1974), on the Joint Distribution Committee through the 1930s; *The Holocaust in Historical Perspective* (1978), lectures delivered at the University of Washington; *American Jewry and the Holocaust* (1981); *A History of the Holocaust* (1982), a textbook (2001²); *Jewish Reactions to the Holocaust* (1989); *Jews for Sale?: Nazi-Jewish Negotiations, 1933–1945* (1994); and *Rethinking the Holocaust* (2001), which is a collection and reworking of some of his major essays on the Holocaust and Holocaust historiography over the past decades.

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[David Silberklang (2nd ed.)]

BAUM, HERBERT (1912–1942), German Communist and anti-Nazi fighter. Baum was a member of the German communist youth movement from 1932 and led a clandestine Jewish communist cell in Berlin from 1936. In 1937 he and his wife Marianne organized a political circle with communist leanings frequented by young Jews (both party members and others), including some Zionists. According to communist sources, this group continued its activities even after the outbreak of World War II by mimeographing leaflets and illegal newspapers and establishing contacts with French and Belgian forced laborers in Germany, mainly in the Siemens plant in Berlin where Baum worked. On May 18, 1942, Baum and a number of his comrades set fire to the Nazi propaganda exhibit *Das Sowjetparadies* ("The Soviet Paradise"). Shortly afterward Baum and members of his group were arrested. He died in jail, probably by his own hand, while his comrades were tried and sentenced to death or deported to death camps. At the request of the group's sole survivor, Charlotte Holzer, Baum and his comrades were buried in the Jewish cemetery at Weissensee, East Berlin.

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[Lucien Steinberg]

BAUM, MENAḤEM MENDEL BEN AARON OF KAMENETZ (1800?–1873), prominent member of the Ashkenazi community of Safed and Jerusalem, author of a travel book in Hebrew and Yiddish, and one of the first modern hoteliers in Ereẓ Israel. Baum was born in Kamenetz-Litovsk (Lithuania), but immigrated to Ereẓ Israel in 1833, settling in Safed, where he witnessed the anti-Jewish riots by the peasants who rebelled against Ibrahim Pasha (1834). He remained in Ereẓ Israel for a short period, visiting Tiberias, Jerusalem, and Hebron. He then traveled abroad both for personal economic considerations and also on a mission to collect funds for the community of *Perushim* (disciples of Elijah of Vilna) in Safed and Jerusalem. In 1842–43 he returned to Jerusalem and was active on behalf of the Grodno community (*kolel*). During this period he established a guesthouse, which evolved into the group of Kaminitz hotels of Jerusalem, Jaffa, and Hebron in the second half of the 19th century, and which reached their heyday in the lifetime of his son Eliezer Lipa Kaminitz. Run by members of the family, they supplied hostelry services on a European standard.

His travel book *Korot ha-Ittim li-Yshurun be-Ereẓ Yisrael* (Hebrew, 1839; Yiddish translation, 1841) was intended to serve both as a guide for East European immigrants and as a chronicle of the peasant revolt of 1834, so as to arouse concern about the fate of the Ashkenazi community of Safed and to encourage financial contributions. The historical section is essentially a description of the events of 1834, and is an authentic historical document, as the author himself witnessed many of the events described. The other two sections of the book briefly depict the process of immigration, as experienced by the author, and give a detailed guide to the professional, economic, and cultural conditions of the country. These sections are of great value for the study of the lifestyle of the period. The style of the Hebrew edition is simple and straightforward. The language of the Yiddish version is more popular and the trend of prayer and lamentation in it is more prominent. *Korot ha-Ittim* was reprinted in Hebrew by Meir Anshin (1931) and with an introduction and notes by G. Kressel, Jerusalem (1946). A new edition of the first printings in both languages with an introduction and indexes was issued in Jerusalem, 1975.

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[Israel Bar Tal (2nd ed.)]

BAUM, MORTON (1905–1968), U.S. lawyer, politician, and patron of the arts. Baum was born in New York City. He became a Republican district leader on Manhattan's West Side. In 1934 he was elected to the city council. As Mayor La Guardia's tax counsel, Baum devised New York City's first sales tax. He served as a tax consultant to subsequent New York mayors and to several governors. A lover of the performing arts, Baum was elected to the board of the Metropolitan Opera Company in 1941. In 1943 he helped found the New York City Center of Music and Drama, and was instrumental in developing its renowned ballet troupe and opera company. He was the first president of New York's Metropolitan Synagogue (1959).

BAUM, OSCAR (1883–1941), Czechoslovak author who wrote in German. Baum was a member of the Prague circle of Max *Brod and Franz *Kafka. Losing his sight as a boy, Baum was trained at the Vienna Institute for the Blind as an organist and pianist and subsequently became a music critic. Brod took down in shorthand his first short stories and persuaded Baum to publish them. *Uferdasein* (1908), *Das Leben im Dunkeln* (1909), and *Nacht ist umher* (1929), hailed by Stefan *Zweig as the "most moving document in German from the lightless world" were all taken from the life of the blind. They reflect his opposition to the compassion displayed by society and his call for equality of opportunity, which influenced modern education of the handicapped. Baum's *Die boese Unschuld* (1913) has acquired significance as a document of Jewish life in Bohemia against the background of the Czech-German nationality struggle. Baum also wrote a drama, *Das Wunder* (1920). His last novel, *Das Volk des harten Schlafes* (1937), ostensibly a story about the Jewish kingdom of the *Khazars, actually deals with problems of Jewry in the first years of Nazi rule. It was dedicated to Baum's "son and friend" Leo, who was later killed in the King David Hotel explosion in Jerusalem (1946).

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BAUM, SHEPARD (c. 1900–1977), U.S. *kashrut* supervisor and Jewish community activist. Known to have been an amateur boxer in his youth, Baum was best known for his work as chief supervisor for Kosher Law Enforcement for the Department of Agriculture in the State of New York. Despite the separation of Church and State in the laws of the United States, the State of New York could have an official *kashrut* supervisor to ensure that consumers were not misled and fraud was not being practiced and that the food they were purchasing was indeed kosher.

An avid Zionist, he was national vice president of B'nai Zion, the American Zionist fraternal organization, and wrote many articles for B'nai Zion publications. Baum was also a founder of American Magen David Adom; president and chairman of The Bridge; president of the New York Jewish Conference; chaplain of the Bronx-Lebanon Hospital; member of the Commission on Synagogue Relations for the Federation of Jewish Philanthropies; chaplain for the Grand Lodge of Freemasons for the State of New York; and a U.S. Army chaplain during World War II.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *The New York Times*, (July 23, 1977), 17.

BAUM, VICKI (1888–1960), novelist. Born in Vienna, Vicki Baum began her career as a professional harpist but her success as a short story writer led her to leave music. In 1921 she became an editor in the Berlin publishing house of Ullstein. Of her 25 novels, the best known is *Menschen im Hotel* (1929; *Grand Hotel*, 1930), which became a worldwide best seller and a popular film. In 1931 she settled in the United States. Vicki Baum often repeated the pattern of *Grand Hotel* – a montage of stories of interrelated characters – in her novels, for which she chose a wide range of historical, sociological, and psychological themes. Her autobiography, *Es war alles ganz anders* (1962), was published posthumously.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: J. Bithell, *Modern German Literature* (1959^3), 333–5; *Britannica Book of the Year 1961* (1962), 511.

[Samuel L. Sumberg]

BAUMAN, ZYGMUNT (1925–), sociologist. Born in Poznan, Poland, to assimilated Jewish parents. At the start of World War II Bauman escaped to the Soviet-occupied zone, where he fought in a Polish division of the Red Army. After the war, he entered the University of Warsaw and rose to the rank of professor of sociology. In 1948, Bauman married a survivor of the Warsaw ghetto. Following a wave of antisemitism in 1968, they left Poland for Israel and in 1971 Bauman became professor of sociology at the University of Leeds, U.K. A leading, prolific, and iconoclastic scholar in contemporary social thought, Bauman is best known for his theories of postmodernity, which he applied to the study of the Holocaust in his work *Modernity and the Holocaust* (1989). The book provoked considerable controversy as Bauman argues that the Holocaust was a result of modernity, that is, technology and bureaucracy, rather than specific German nationalism. While critics believe that his thesis absolves National Socialism of its responsibility, Bauman counters that blaming Germany exclusively – though clearly National Socialism is to blame – absolves all others who were complicit in adopting and promoting ideas such as eugenics, which were popular with well-respected thinkers at that time in both Europe and the U.S.

Professor emeritus at the University of Leeds from 1990, Bauman continued to write about the human condition in the postmodern age.

[Beth Cohen (2nd ed.)]

BAUME, PETER (**Erne**; 1935–), Australian politician. Born in Sydney, and a consulting physician, Baume served as a Liberal Party senator for New South Wales from 1974 to 1991. He held a number of cabinet posts under Malcolm Fraser (1975–82), including minister for aboriginal affairs (1980–82), minister for health (1982), and minister for education (1982–83). He was vice president of the Australia-Israel

Inter-Parliamentary Group from 1985 to 1991. After his political career, Baume went back to the medical academic world, becoming professor of community medicine at the University of New South Wales and, subsequently, chancellor of the Australian National University.

[William D. Rubinstein (2nd ed.)]

BAUMGARDT, DAVID (1890–1963), philosopher. In 1924 he was appointed lecturer in philosophy at the University of Berlin where he later was professor (1932–35). In 1935 he was visiting professor at the University of Madrid where he lectured on Maimonides at the congress organized by the Spanish government to commemorate the eighth centenary of Maimonides' birth. From 1935 Baumgardt taught at Birmingham (England) and from 1939 at Pendle Hill, Wallingford, Pennsylvania. From 1941 to 1954 he was consultant on philosophy to the Library of Congress in Washington, D.C. Baumgardt, a Zionist from his early youth, conceived the idea of founding a Hebrew philosophical journal. In his earlier works (particularly in his *Das Moeglichkeitsproblem der Kritik der reinen Vernunft, der modernen Phaenomenologie und der Gegenstandstheorie*, 1920) he treated the modalities (possibility, reality, and necessity) in the philosophy of Kant, Husserl, and Meinong (the late 14th-century German philosopher). He then turned his attention to historical studies, particularly to the history of philosophical romanticism in Germany at the beginning of the 19th century. This culminated in the publication of his book on Franz von Baader and philosophical romanticism (1929). Another work of Baumgardt is devoted to an investigation of the relations between Mendelssohn and Spinoza (1932). In *Der Kampf um den Lebenssinn unter den Vorlaeufern der modernen Ethik* (1933) he related the systematic study of ethics to the study of history. In this book he undertook a penetrating critique of Kant's system of ethics, showing that Kant's ethical system was derived from the basic idea of a Higher Unity pervading all human striving but that this derivation is merely a formal one, devoid of content. Baumgardt examined Hermann Cohen's attempt to rescue Kant's ethics but even here he arrived at negative conclusions. He likewise examined the attempts, undertaken by thinkers at the end of the 18th century (Herder, Hemsterhuis, Jacobi), to create a system of ethics possessed of content. In opposition to Kant, Herder extolled Hebrew ethics because they preserve man's unity. In connection with this investigation, Baumgardt assembled the literary material relevant to the relations between Herder and Spinoza. His search for ethical fundamentals possessing content led him to become particularly interested in Bentham's ethical system, to which he devoted a large volume on *Bentham and the Ethics of Today* (1952). In 1961 Baumgardt published *Great Western Mystics; Their Lasting Significance*. He sought a reconciliation of the ethics of force and the ethics of love.

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[Samuel Hugo Bergman]

BAUMGARTEL, ELISE J. (1892–1975), Egyptologist. Elise Baumgartel, who was born in Berlin, became a leading figure in the field of Egyptian prehistory. She left Germany for England during the Hitler era, and from 1948 to 1950 was keeper of the department of Egyptian antiquities at Manchester University. In 1951 she went to Oxford, where she engaged in research at the Griffith Institute until 1955. She then went to live in the United States, and became a member of the Oriental Institute at the University of Chicago. Elise Baumgartel's major publications are *Culture of Prehistoric Egypt* (2 vols., 1948–50) and the chapter on "Predynastic Egypt" in the *Cambridge Ancient History* (1963).

[Penuel P. Kahane]

BAUMGARTEN, EMANUEL MENDEL (1828–1908), Austrian economist, journalist and communal leader, Hebrew writer and poet. Baumgarten was born in Kremsier (Kroměříž), Moravia, into a traditional Jewish family of Talmud scholars. He first studied at Moravian yeshivot but also acquired secular knowledge. He heard lectures in economics at Pressburg and, from 1848, at Vienna University. While successfully devoting himself to commercial life, he also became active in the journalistic and literary fields, contributing to several political and Jewish papers in Vienna. With Mayer, he edited an economic paper, *Der Fortschritt*, and with I.H. Weiss the scientific Hebrew monthly *Beit ha-Midrash* (1865–66). In 1861, Baumgarten was elected to the municipal council of Vienna as one of the first Jews and later granted an order of merit by the emperor for his care for the wounded during the 1866 war. In 1870, he became warden of the Jewish Temple in Vienna. In 1872, he was elected to the council of the Jewish community (which he also represented in the state's boards of education), and in 1873 to the council of the newly founded Israelitische Allianz, assisting Jewish refugees from Russia and Romania. Though critical of Zionism, he also supported Jehiel *Brill's colonization plans in Palestine. In 1893, he was among the founders of the Israelitisch-theologische Lehranstalt in Vienna and was elected to its council. In honour of Baumgarten's 70th birthday (1898), his sons published a *Festschrift* (1899).

Among Baumgarten's published works are the first German translation of R. Bahya ibn Paquda's *Ḥovot ha-Levavot* ("Duties of the Heart"), on the basis of R. Judah ibn Tibbon's Hebrew translation, with an appendix by S.G. Stern, *Arugat Peraḥim*, containing biographies of Ibn Paquda, Ibn Tibbon, and Joseph Kimḥi (1854); several Hebrew poems, e.g., *Ruth*, with an introduction by M. Letteris (1864); *Einige Worte ueber den Weinhandel und die Weinkultur in Oesterreich* (1866); and *Die Juden in der Steiermark* (1903). In response to the new antisemitic movement, Baumgarten edited two apologetic works: *Die Blutbeschuldigung gegen die Juden. Von christlicher Seite beurtheilt* (1883) and *Gutmeinung ueber den Talmud der Hebraeer* by the Christian Hebraist C. Fischer (1883, originally completed in 1802). In addition, Baumgarten edited several sources for the history of Moravian Jewry: *Megillat Se-*

darim (1895), the memoirs of Abraham Broda Leipniker on the expulsion of the Jews from Usov (Maehrisch-Aussee) in 1722; *Yeshu'at Yisrael* (1898), the memoirs of Benjamin Israel Fraenkel from the 18th century; and *Maria Theresia's Ernennungsdekret für den Maehrischen Landesrabbiner Gerson Chajes* (1899).

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[Johannes Valentin Schwarz (2nd ed.)]

BAUMGARTEN, SÁNDOR (1864–1928), Hungarian architect. Baumgarten, together with Ö. Lechner, designed the building of the Postal Bank in Budapest (1900). Using Hungarian folkloristic motifs he built the Institute for the Blind and the Erzébet high school for girls.

[Eva Kondor]

°BAUMGARTNER, WALTER (1887–1970), Swiss Bible scholar and Orientalist. Baumgartner studied classical and Oriental philology and theology, and taught at the University of Marburg from 1916 (professor, 1928). From 1947, he was professor of Semitic languages at Basle. Baumgartner's position among biblical scholars and Orientalists is assured by the results of his work in the field of Bible and Semitic philology. His important studies on the Aramaic sections of the Bible include *Das Buch Daniel* (1926) and the Aramaic sections of L. Koehler and W. Baumgartner's *Lexicon in Veteris Testamenti Libros* (1953, 1958, 1967 ff.). In his doctoral dissertation, *Die Klagegedichte des Jeremia…* (1916), he employed critical methodology to prove that the monologues of Jeremiah were not later additions but may be attributed to the prophet himself. In his monographs *Alttestamentliche Religion* (1928) and *Israelitische und altorientalische Weisheit* (1933) he helped pioneer the study of ancient Near Eastern religion and wisdom literature. His book *Zum Alten Testament und seiner Umwelt*, a collection of previously published essays on the Bible and Oriental studies, was published in 1959 in honor of Baumgartner's 70th birthday (includes complete bibliography, pp. 1–26) and the jubilee volume *Hebraeische Wortforschung* was presented to him on his 80th birthday.

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[Zev Garber]

BAUMHORN, LIPÓT (1860–1932), Hungarian architect who built 25 synagogues in Austria-Hungary. Born in Kisbér, Baumhorn was educated at the Technische Hochschule in Vienna and started practicing in Ödön Lechner's office in Budapest, where he adopted the characteristic combination of plain plastered surfaces and red or yellow brick wavy decoration (string-courses, lysens, gables). Nevertheless, Baumhorn's style was slightly more conventional, using Moorish, Renaissance, or Gothic elements instead of the Hungarian national style.

His first building was the Neo-Moorish synagogue in Esztergom (1888), followed by synagogues at Rijeka (1895), Szolnok (1898), and Szeged (1903). The last is the most grandiose, expressing the aspirations of assimilated Hungarian Jewry with elaborated details and very rich ornamentation. It shows Baumhorn's typical nearly central floor plan with eastern *bimah*, emphasized central dome, and four subordinated corner-turrets containing the staircases for *ezrat nashim.*

Artistically the most noted synagogues are in Novi Sad (1906) and Budapest-Aréna-Út (1909) where affluent decoration disappears and the clarity of Proto-Modern architecture took over.

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[Rudolf Klein (2nd ed.)]

BAUMOL, JOSHUA (1880–1948), rabbi. Son of Nahum, the communal rabbi of Krachinka, who was his primary teacher, Baumol received rabbinical ordination from Rabbi Samuel Engel of Radomysl and Rabbi Benjamin Weiss of Chernovtsy, author of the *Even Yikarah*. Baumol taught Talmud in Vishnitz in the Bet Israel yeshivah from 1908 to 1911. He fled to Bohemia during World War I and became a pulpit rabbi in Brno at Congregation Maḥzekei ha-Dor.

Baumol arrived in the United States in 1920 and became the pulpit rabbi at Kehillath Adath Jeshurun in Williamsburg, Brooklyn, N.Y. As a member of the Agudat ha-Rabbonim, he became vice president of its Kashruth Committee. He was best known for handling issues confronting American Orthodox Jewry with tact and diplomacy. He was one of the founders and the first president of the *Agudat Israel of America, an umbrella group for Orthodox organizations and an advocacy organization. He was deeply involved in policymaking and administration of the Agudah and remained involved with the group until his death.

Baumol's peers respected him as a halakhic authority and often asked him for his opinions on contemporary matters. Among many things, he was asked about post-mortems, lie detector tests, and questions concerning survivors of the Holocaust. His two-volume set of responsa, *Emek Halakhah*, was published in 1934. In 1976, a revised edition, with addenda, was issued.

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America: A Biographical Dictionary and Sourcebook, (1996), 26–27; *Morgen Journal* (Sept. 9, 1948), 9; *New York Times* (Sept. 9, 1948), 27.

[Jeanette Friedman (2nd ed.)]

BAUR, HARRY (1883–1943), French actor. Born of poor Alsatian parents, Baur was compelled at the age of 12 to work on the Marseilles docks but managed to study at the Marseilles Conservatory of Music. He appeared briefly on the Paris stage but after the outbreak of World War I joined the army. Wounded, he returned to civilian life, continuing to act on the stage until movies became his chief interest. The French called Baur the "king of the character actors," and indeed, his heavy features and bushy brows lent themselves to a great range of parts including Beethoven in the *Life and Loves of Beethoven*. He also played in *Rasputin* and in *The Golem*. Baur was arrested in Berlin in 1942 on charges of forging a certificate of (Aryan) ancestry. Ironically, the Germans had to destroy a costly film because Baur had the main role. He was subsequently tortured for 4 months and died shortly after his release from prison.

[Louisa Cuomo]

BAUSKA (Yid. **Boysk**), town in S. Latvia, near the Lithuanian border. Originally in the duchy of *Courland, it was incorporated in Russia in 1795 and became a district town in the government (province) of Courland. Jews were permitted to settle there by a special law of 1799. At first their right of residence was restricted to a suburb on a bank of the river Aa (Lielupe), but the restriction was lifted in the 1820s. The community, most of whose members came from Lithuania, retained its "Lithuanian" character, with its stress on Torah learning and Orthodoxy. It numbered 2,669 in 1835 but by 1850 had decreased to 2,226 as a result of the settlement of 82 families (692 persons) from Bauska in the agricultural colonies in the province of Kherson in 1840 and of an outbreak of cholera in the area in 1848. The Jewish population numbered 2,745 in 1897 (42% of the total population). During World War I many Jews were forced by the Russian military authorities to evacuate Bauska, which was in the area of hostilities, for the Russian interior. Many did not return after the war and by 1920 there remained only 604 Jewish inhabitants. Their number rose to 919 in 1925. Most of the trade was in Jewish hands, supported by a Jewish cooperative bank. Well-known rabbis who officiated in the community in the second half of the 19th century were Mordecai *Eliasberg and Avraham Yitzḥak *Kook. During Soviet rule in 1940–1941 all Jewish life and trade was eliminated. Bauska was occupied by the Germans on June 26, 1941. On August 3, 50 Jews were murdered by Latvian police, and on September 30, 1941, all the remaining Bauska Jews, about 800, were executed.

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[Simha Katz / Shmuel Spector (2nd ed.)]

BAVA BATRA (Aram. בָּבָא בָּתְרָא, "last gate"), tractate of the Mishnah with *Gemara* in the Jerusalem and Babylonian Talmuds. The tractates *Bava Kamma, *Bava *Meẓia, and *Bava Batra* were originally one large tractate, *Nezikin*. The division into three apparently took place in Babylonia: in the Babylonian Talmud there are indications that the *Gemara* of each of the three sections was edited by a different hand, while in the Jerusalem Talmud they are uniform.

Chapters 1–3 of *Bava Batra* deal essentially with laws relating to ownership of real estate. Chapter 1 discusses the division of a courtyard held by joint owners whose homes open onto it. They may build a stone partition, each owner contributing an equal amount of land for its construction. Consequently, if the partition falls, "the place and the stones belong to them both." This law is similar to *Bava Meẓia* 10:1, for the last chapter of *Bava Meẓia* opens the discussion on ownership continued here. A courtyard containing several houses is a small community, and the Mishnah discusses the obligations of the individual to this community. Next, the mutual obligations of "neighbors" are presented for the dwellers of one city. The Tosefta adds to these communal obligations: "The citizens of a town can compel each other to build a synagogue, and to purchase a scroll of the Torah and the Prophets. The citizens are permitted to fix price ceilings and control weights and measures …" (Tosef., BM 11:23). In chapter 2, the Mishnah imposes limitations upon the actions of the property owner within the bounds of his own property, when such acts are a source of damage or nuisance to neighbors. Personal privacy is protected by a law prohibiting construction of windows which command a close-range view into a neighbor's windows. The section on ownership concludes with chapter 3, which discusses the rules of **ḥazakah*, according to which evidence of three years' undisturbed use of property can serve as proof of ownership. The Babylonian Talmud records many actual cases involving *ḥazakah* and disputed ownership, indicating the wide application of these laws in the area of Jewish real estate in Babylonia.

Concerning the acquisition of real estate, chapter 4 gives precise definitions of terms, so as to prevent a dispute between buyer and seller over what was included in the purchase. The list of legal definitions is continued in chapter 5 and extended to cover sale of movables. The variety of objects thus treated presents a wealth of precise Hebrew terminology and a rich description of the *realia* of Palestine during the mishnaic period. The remainder of this chapter expands on the requirement of justice in weights and measures (Lev. 19:35–36; Deut. 25:13–16), a topic related to purchase. Chapter 6 returns to definitions of objects of sale, not with regard to extent of inclusion but with regard to quality, i.e., to what degree the seller is required to replace inferior goods. The remainder of the chapter defines the minimum legal dimensions of various structures and tombs. Definitions of specific quantities of land mentioned in the sale of real estate are presented in chapter 7. This concludes the unit of "definitions," which began with chapter 6. The chapters discussed above deal with acquisition of property through purchase; chapters 8 and 9 consider acquisition of property by inheritance.

Chapter 10 contains rules for the proper preparation of legal documents by scribes, as well as the correct interpretation by the court of certain legal documents, especially bonds of indebtedness. This is a fitting conclusion to the tractate, since legal documents figure in acquisition, ownership, and other matters discussed in earlier chapters. The last Mishnah was intended, perhaps, as an apt conclusion for the entire tractate of *Nezikin* (the three *Bavot, Bava Kamma, Bava Meẓia*, and *Bava Batra*): "He that would become wise, let him occupy himself in cases concerning property, for there is no branch of law greater than they, for they are like a welling fountain" (10:8).

The Tosefta of *Bava Batra* contains 11 chapters. Generally the Tosefta follows the Mishnah, supplementing and paralleling it, but there are chapters where the material in the Tosefta is richer than the Mishnah and has an original and interesting order of its own.

The first chapter, dealing with the prevention of torts, parallels chapter 2 of the Mishnah (ch. 1 of which is paralleled by the second half of the Tosef., BM 11). Chapter 2:1–14, paralleling the Mishnah 2:1–6, deals with *ḥazakah*; while 2:14–17, paralleling Mishnah 2:2–8, is a supplement to chapter 1 of the Tosefta. It is probable that the connection between this supplement and the preceding section is *Samuel b. Meir's definition of a Tyrean window (14a) and the prohibition against opening a window facing that of a neighbor (14b). Chapters 3–4, paralleling Mishnah 4:1–5:5, deal with the regulations of selling; 5:1–6:21, paralleling Mishnah 5:6–6:3, deal with commercial honesty; the last part of this section differs from the Mishnah, in that the transition to the following two sections is clearly recognizable. Thus the subject of 6:22–23, paralleling the Mishnah at the end of chapter 6, deviates only slightly from the main discussion on commercial honesty, as it deals with the language used by a seller, a subject covered previously, and the subject of Tosefta 6:24–28 parallels the Mishnah of chapter 7. Chapters 7–10, discussing the *halakhot* of inheritance, contain a wealth of sources on details not mentioned at all in the parallel Mishnah (ch. 8 and 9). Chapter 11, dealing with deeds, parallels Mishnah chapter 10.

The rabbinic tradition regarding the order and authorship of the books of Scripture is recorded in *Bava Batra* 14b. The report of the travels of Rabbah bar Bar Ḥana (BB 73–74) contains fantastic descriptions of marvelous creatures and visions of the corpses of the Israelites who left Egypt and died in the wilderness of Sinai.

In the standard printed editions of the Babylonian Talmud more pages are found in this tractate than in any other (BB's last page is numbered 176). However, there are other tractates whose talmudic text is longer (see *Talmud). The size of the *Bava Batra* volume is due to the fact that the commentary of *Rashi is printed through page 29a only (in the Pesaro edition the termination of the commentary is marked: "Here died Rashi"), and the remainder of the tractate contains the more lengthy commentary of Samuel b. Meir. An English translation of the Talmud was made by I. Epstein (Soncino edition, 1935).

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[Shamma Friedman]

BAVA BEN BUTA (first century B.C.E.), sage and judge during the reign of *Herod. Bava, although a disciple of Shammai, agreed with Hillel, that the "Laying of Hands" (cf. Lev. 3:2) on sacrifices during festivals is permissible and was instrumental in establishing this law (Beẓah 20a–b). As a judge, Bava was noted for his thorough investigations and for his just decisions (Git. 57a). He offered daily guilt-offerings prescribed in cases of doubtful trespass, for fear that he had committed a sin (Ker. 6:3). This sacrifice came to be called "the guilt-offering of the pious." Bava overlooked an insult to himself to make peace between husband and wife (Ned. 66b). According to another legend Bava was the only Jewish sage who was not put to death by Herod; instead, Herod blinded him so that he could seek his counsel incognito. When Herod finally disclosed who he was and asked how he could make amends, Bava advised him to rebuild the Temple (BB 3b–4a). Josephus refers to "The Sons of Bava," who were among the noblemen of Jerusalem, and were beloved by the people. They were strong opponents of Herod, and for a long time "The Sons of Bava" remained in hiding for fear of him. Ultimately they were executed by him (Ant., 15:260–6).

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[Zvi Kaplan]

BAVA KAMMA (Aram. בָּבָא קַמָּא), tractate of the Talmud, the first of the order *Nezikin*.

Name

Bava Kamma was originally not a separate tractate, but the first part of a larger tractate, whose name was identical with the name of the order. The title *Bava Kamma* is the abbreviated form for *Bava Kamma de-Massekhet Nezikin* ("the first gate (section) of the tractate *Nezikin*"). Tractate *Nezikin* ("torts") comprised 30 chapters, covering the entire range of pecuniary law (*dinei mamonot*). However, according to the Midrash, the size of *Nezikin* discouraged the student: "What does the fool say? 'Who can study the Torah? *Nezikin* has 30 chapters; *Kelim* has 30 chapters!'" (Lev. R. 19:2). For this reason *Nezikin* was divided into three sections, each consisting of ten chapters. The second and third parts are now called *Bava Meẓia* ("the middle gate") and *Bava Batra* ("the last gate"). The division seems to have taken place in Babylonia (*bava* as "gate" is unique to Babylonian Aramaic; see: Ned. 66b), where the size of *Nezikin* must have interfered with the regular practice of the academies to study one tractate each term. Palestinian sources indicate no division. (*Genizah* fragments of the Jerusalem Talmud treat it as one tractate.)

A similar division took place in the Tosefta, where the original tractate *Nezikin*, which contained 33 chapters, was divided into three sections of 11 chapters each. The mechanical nature of this division is evident from the fact that chapter 11 of Tosefta *Bava Meẓia* contains some material that parallels the last chapter of Mishnah *Bava Meẓia* and some that parallels the first chapter of Mishnah *Bava Batra*.

Contents

The first three *mishnayot* of *Bava Kamma* belong to one of the most ancient strata of mishnaic material, and contain, in succinct phrases, the underlying laws of *Torts (see *Avot Nezikin): "There are four *avot* (lit. 'fathers' or 'main categories') of torts – the *shor* ('ox'), the *bor* ('pit'), the *maveh* ('man' or 'tooth') and the *hever* ('fire').… If I am responsible for the care of a thing, it is I who make possible the injury it may do.… Assessment of the monetary equivalent [of an injury] must be made before a court of law, based upon the testimony of witnesses.… The laws of torts apply equally to women.…" The antiquity of this section is indicated by the use of numerical listing (four *avot*), first person constructions, biblical phrases, archaic forms, and terse rules. One of the earliest of the Babylonian *amoraim*, Rav, alluded to the character of this section when he stated: "The *tanna* of this Mishnah was a Jerusalemite, who taught in a terse style" (BK 6b).

The list of four *avot* in the Mishnah is a convenient summary of the various sources of damage mentioned in Exodus 21:28–22:5. In the *beraitot*, other lists of *avot nezikin* are found, one containing 13, and others 24, according to varying schemes of inclusion (see BK 4b; Tosef. to BK 9:1).

CHAPTERS 1:4–3:7. Chapter 1:4 is another ancient Mishnah, again in the form of a numbered list, dealing, now in greater detail, with the *avot* of "horn," "tooth," and "foot," and, finally, "man." In chapter 2 each entry on the list in 1:4 is defined and expanded. For example, if an animal, while walking, kicks some pebbles, which hit another object and cause damage, this is "foot," only half of the damage is to be paid. Thus, chapter 2 of the Mishnah is a sort of "*Gemara*" on 1:4.

The first laws in chapter 3 come under the category of "pit": "If a man left a pitcher in the 'public domain,' and another stumbled over it… the owner is liable for the injury." The middle part of chapter 3 deals with "man": "If two pot-vendors [carrying their wares] were walking, one behind the other, and the first one stumbled.…" The end of chapter 3 again deals with "horn" and appears to be a new discussion of the same subject covered in chapter 2. It has therefore been suggested by A. Weiss that 1:4–3:7 was originally an independent Mishnah section, dealing with the *avot* of "ox" ("horn," "tooth," "foot"), "pit," and "man." It would thus appear to be an expansion of the list of *avot* at the beginning of chapter 1, until *maveh*, in consonance with the interpretation that *maveh* is "man."

CHAPTER 3:8–6 END. This is another section, treating in detail the categories "horn," "pit," "tooth and foot," and "fire." It, too, is an expansion of 1:1, taking "ox" as "horn," and *maveh* as "tooth and foot." Thus the dispute between Rav and Samuel as to the meaning of *maveh* (BK 3b) did not originate with them; it had its origin in the underlying organizational scheme of early *mishnayot* which are independent expansions of the ancient Mishnah: "There are four *avot* ..."

CHAPTER 7. Chapter 7 is a comprehensive treatment of the laws of theft. It concentrates on the fines of "double," and "four or five" fold found in Exodus 22:3 and 21:37. Virtually each aspect of the theft and subsequent trial of the thief is scrutinized; each term of the pertinent scriptural verses is carefully defined and analyzed. In respect to the fine of "four or five" fold imposed by Scripture for the sale or slaughter of a stolen animal, the Mishnah determines that if the thief sold part of the animal but retained partial ownership, however minute, he is not liable to the fine of "four or five fold," but only to that of "double." Thus "sells it" in the scriptural verse is defined as the sale of the entire animal. Similarly, "if he slaughtered it and it became unfit under his hand [through a ritually improper slaughtering]" (7:5), he is exempt from the fine of "four or five" fold, such an act not being properly deemed "slaughter."

CHAPTER 8. This chapter is a comprehensive unit devoted to the laws of assault and battery.

CHAPTERS 9–10. Chapters 9 and 10 deal with laws of robbery. It would appear that a more natural position for these chapters would be after chapter 7, which deals with the related subject of theft. Their position is perhaps determined by their concentration upon the regulations governing transference of ownership of the stolen object through physical alteration or the original owner's despair of recovery, which makes them more closely related to the laws of acquisition and ownership in the succeeding chapters (see *Bava Meẓia) than to the laws of torts in the preceding ones.

It has been suggested that the function of "monetary law" in rabbinic sources is to prevent offenses of law, and to instruct the common man in moral behavior, rather than merely to provide for redress after a wrong has been committed (i.e., that such law is duty-oriented, rather than right-oriented, as explained by Silberg). Along these lines, types of damages are described in *Bava Kamma* for which one is "not liable according to human law, but guilty according to the laws of heaven" (55b–56a). Since there are acts which, even though not rendering one liable to suit, are morally wrong, it becomes an act of piety to take extreme care in preventing harm to the person or property of others. R. Judah held that the study of the laws of damages in *Bava Kamma* is a prerequisite for achieving true piety (30a).

Jerusalem Talmud

S. Lieberman has shown that the tractate *Nezikin* in the Jerusalem Talmud is of a different nature from the rest of that Talmud. The differences are attributed to its having been edited in Caesarea, no later than 350 C.E., while the rest of the Jerusalem Talmud was edited in Tiberias, some 50 years later. Among its distinguishing features are the short, pithy nature of the discussions, indicating a minimum of editing; a more primitive talmudic terminology; archaic Hebrew words; a relatively wider use of Greek and Latin (Caesarea was the seat of the Roman government in Palestine); and a distinctive orthography (e.g., -לָ for לָא). Anonymous statements in *Nezikin* are quoted elsewhere in the Jerusalem Talmud in the name of "the sages of Caesarea," or in the name of specific *amoraim* who lived in Caesarea. When points of law relating to *Nezikin* are discussed elsewhere in the Jerusalem Talmud, the treatment differs from the parallels in *Nezikin*. Conversely, sections of *Nezikin* which discuss matters relating to other tractates do not correspond to the material found in the relevant section of those tractates, although it is reasonable to assume that they were present in the corresponding tractates of the Talmud collection used by the editor of *Nezikin*. All this leads to the conclusion that *Nezikin* differs from the other tractates of the Jerusalem Talmud and constitutes the only existing remnant of the "Talmud of Caesarea." This issue has recently been reexamined by Y. Sussman, who arrived at different conclusions.

Aside from the regular editions, commentaries and translations, *Bava Kamma* has received special scholarly attention with the publication of a new critical edition of the Jerusalem Talmud of *Massekhet Nezikin*, edited by E.S. Rosenthal with commentary by S. Lieberman, and a comparative study of the Mishnah and Tosefta by Abraham Goldberg.

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[Shamma Friedman]

BAVA MEẒIA (Aram. בָּבָא מְצִיעָא, "middle gate"), tractate of the Mishnah, with *Gemara* in the Jerusalem and Babylonian *Talmuds. Originally *Bava Meẓia* was not a separate tractate but the second part of the tractate *Nezikin* (see *Bava Kamma). Chapters 1 and 2 deal with the laws of *acquisition (*kinyan*) of lost or abandoned articles and describe the cases in which the article may not be acquired by the finder but must be held until claimed. These regulations are thus related to the laws of the last two chapters of *Bava Kamma*, which determine how and under what circumstances stolen articles may be legitimately acquired and under what circumstances they must be returned. Great religious importance is attached to the commandment of returning lost property: if a man returns a lost animal and it escapes again, he must continue to return it, even "100 times" (31a). Nonetheless, exemption is granted from this commandment if its performance would require violation of a ritual prohibition, entail behavior which is an affront to the personal dignity of the finder, or require the finder to neglect his own work and thereby sustain a financial loss greater than the object's value (30a). Chapter 2:9 reads like a new beginning and probably represents the incorporation of a new source, originally a Midrash on Deuteronomy 22:1. It closes with a section which is religious and moral in tone, thus marking the end of a unit.

An unpaid guardian, with whom goods were deposited for safekeeping, is discussed in chapter 3. He resembles one who guards found property (ch. 2), and also must, on some occasions, sell perishables deposited with him and hold the proceeds for the owner. If the guardian misuses the object, he is considered a robber and must assume all responsibility for subsequent damage. Chapter 4 opens with the general rules for acquiring movable property in a business transaction. Transfer of title to the buyer occurs, not at the time of payment, but only when the buyer takes the item (or symbolically "draws" it to himself). This means that the sale can be legally canceled even after payment, as long as the goods have not been "drawn"; but the sages said, "He that exacted punishment from the generation of the Flood … will exact punishment from him that does not abide by his spoken word" (4:2). However, R. Johanan held that originally payment of some amount of money effected the transfer of title, but that since this law led to abuse – the seller would not deliver but say, "Your wheat was destroyed by fire in the storeroom" – the rule was changed to its present form (46b). The remainder of the chapter contains a detailed section on *ona'ah*, unfair and illegal business practices (based on Lev. 25:17). Much attention is given to overcharging; the law guarantees redress to the party defrauded of one-sixth or more of the value of the purchase.

Chapter 5 is a self-contained unit dealing with the laws of interest (see Lev. 25:36); it appears here probably by virtue of its association with the regulations on commerce found in chapter 4, and closes with a section emphasizing the ethical seriousness of the prohibition (see Tosef. 6:17). Chapter 6 opens with cases of deception between employer and craftsmen, which can be considered a continuation of the theme of *ona'ah* found in chapter 4. The first Mishnah is followed by a series of *mishnayot* each beginning with the words, "If a man hired…." They deal with breach of contract in cases of hiring craftsmen or work animals. The final section concerns itself with craftsmen who work with others' material but on their own premises; they have the status of "paid guardian" and are responsible for loss or theft. Chapter 7 gives rules of labor relations and the right of the employee, especially the agricultural worker, to eat from the produce of the field. This law reflects the interpretation that Deuteronomy 23:25–26 refers specifically to the agricultural worker and not to any passerby, for granting to the latter the rights of eating the field's produce would not yield a viable situation for the owner (92a). The duty of the farmer to allow his animal to eat of the produce (Deut. 25:4) is also treated. The discussion of the right of those who guard produce (but do not work with it) to partake of the food is the occasion to introduce an ancient Mishnah delineating the laws of the four kinds of guardian: an unpaid guardian, a borrower, a paid guardian, and a hirer (Ex. 22:6–14). The beginning of chapter 8 continues the subject of guardians, specifically elaborating on Exodus 22:14 – that the borrower of an animal may not be liable for payment on unavoidable accidents when he had also borrowed or hired the personal services of the lender. The chapter closes with laws of renting houses (related to "hiring" above).

Chapter 9 opens with a related issue: leasing of a field where the lessee gives the owner a percentage of the produce, or a fixed amount of produce, instead of rental money. The last two parts of the chapter complement laws found earlier in the tractate; they deal with the duty to pay employees promptly and limitations of the creditor's right to exact a pledge from the borrower. The religio-moral tone of this section is typical of the close of a unit. Chapter 10 does indeed open a new topic, the ownership of real estate (continued through *Bava Batra), and deals basically with the property rights of neighbors whose properties are situated one above the other.

Among several aggadic passages in *Bava Meẓia*, the section beginning at the bottom of 59a is of special interest. R. Eliezer's arguments regarding the purity of a certain oven did not convince his colleagues. He then called for a series of miraculous acts to vindicate him. Although heavenly interventions were forthcoming, the miracles were deemed valueless in settling legal disputes. R. Eliezer then declared," If the law is according to my opinion, may it be proved from heaven." A heavenly voice (**bat kol*) issued forth saying, "Why do you challenge R. Eliezer, for the law is according to his opinion in all matters?" Whereupon R. Joshua rose and declared, "It is not in the heavens" (Deut. 30:12) "… since the giving of the Torah at Mt. Sinai, no attention is paid to a heavenly voice, but the opinion of a majority of the scholars determines authentic law." An English translation of the Talmud was made by S. Daiches and H. Freedman (Soncino edition, 1935). A students' edition, vocalized, with translation, commentary and notes in English, appeared as part of the *Talmud El-Am*.

[Shamma Friedman]

The Tosefta of *Bava Meẓia* contains 11 chapters. The *beraitot* in the Tosefta, in addition to giving supplementary and sometimes parallel passages to the Mishnah, also contain much more material than the Mishnah, dealing with entire subjects not mentioned in it.

Chapter 1 of the Tosefta parallels chapter 1 of the Mishnah, but it ends with a series of laws dealing with deeds and surety. They begin with the words (1:15), "if two have hold of a bill, the one saying it is mine but I lost it" etc., which are directly connected with the main subject of the chapter; since the editor did not want to fragment the source, he gives it in full on account of the first *halakhah*. Chapter 2 parallels Mishnah chapter 2, but from its last *halakhah* (33) it can be inferred to whom lost property need not be returned – "heretics, apostates, and informers" (cf. Av. Zar. 26b; and see Ch. Albeck, *Meḥkarim be-Varaita ve-Tosefta*, 1944, 138 n.4). Chapter 3:1–12, parallels chapter 3 of the Mishnah, and 3:13–29 parallels chapter 4 of the Mishnah. Chapter 5 of the Mishnah dealing with interest is paralleled by chapters 4–6 of the Tosefta. Tosefta 7:1–14 parallels 6:1–5 of the Mishnah, dealing with *ona'ah* in the hiring of laborers and cattle and the requirement not to deviate from traditional custom in the conditions of hire; while Tosefta 7:14–19 parallels Mishnah 6:6–8, dealing with the *halakhot* of craftsmen in respect of guarding articles in their care. It is probable that this chapter preserves richer and more original sources than those contained in the Mishnah.

Chapter 8:1–12, parallelling Mishnah 7:1–7, deals with the duties and rights of laborers, as well as the rights of cattle employed in work (in respect of eating the produce). Tosefta 8:13–26 deals with the four bailees and parallels Mishnah 7:8–8:5, but here too the Tosefta appears to preserve a more original order. It is not clear whether Tosefta 8:25–26 was brought in because of the previous cases of conflicting statements by the two litigants or whether it is merely the supplement of the body of *halakhot* in 7:1–14. Tosefta 8:27–33 parallels Mishnah 8:6–9 and discusses the laws of the hiring and borrowing of houses, inns, and shops. Tosefta chapter 9 deals with hiring and the renting and tenant-hiring of fields. (The Mishnah has nothing on hiring, whereas from the Tosefta the connection [in the Mishnah] between the renting of houses and the leasing of fields becomes clear.) Chapter 10:1 ("He who lends to his fellow") may be a supplement to the previous chapter (9:14, 20–21: "one may not deviate from local custom") or it may have been brought in because of the laws which follow dealing with remuneration for hire. Tosefta 10:2–7, dealing with the laws of hired men and their hire, parallels accordingly Mishnah 9:11–12, and subsequently 8–11 parallels Mishnah 9:13 in dealing with the taking of a pledge. Tosefta chapter 11, dealing with the laws of partners and neighbors, parallels chapter 10 of Mishnah *Bava Meẓia* together with chapter 1 of *Bava Batra*.

[Moshe David Herr]

Aside from the regular editions, commentaries and translations, *Bava Meẓia* has received special scholarly attention with the publication of a new critical edition of the Jerusalem Talmud of *Massekhet Nezikin*, edited by E.S. Rosenthal with commentary by S. Lieberman, and the monumental work *Talmud Arukh, Talmud Bavli Bava Meẓia VI*, by Shamma Friedman.

[Stephen G. Wald (2nd ed.)]

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BAVARIA, *Land* in S. Germany, including Franconia. Jews are first mentioned there in the *Passau toll regulations of 906. Their settlement was apparently connected with the trade routes to Hungary, southern Russia and northeastern Germany. A Jewish resident of *Regensburg is mentioned at the end of the tenth century. The communities which had been established in *Bamberg and Regensburg were attacked during the First Crusade in 1096, and those in *Aschaffenburg, *Wuerzburg, and *Nuremberg during the Second Crusade in 1146–47. Other communities existed in the 13th century at Landshut, Passau, *Munich, and *Fuerth. The Jews in Bavaria mainly engaged in trade and moneylending. In 1276 they were expelled from Upper Bavaria and 180 Jews were burned at the stake in Munich following a *blood libel in 1285. The communities in Franconia were attacked during the *Rindfleisch persecutions in 1298. The *Armleder massacres, charges of desecrating the *Host at *Deggendorf, Straubing, and Landshut, and the persecutions following the *Black Death (1348–49), brought catastrophe to the whole of Bavarian Jewry. Many communities were entirely destroyed, among them *Ansbach, Aschaffenburg, *Augsburg, Bamberg, *Ulm, Munich, Nuremberg, Passau, Regensburg, *Rothenburg, and Wuerzburg. Those who had fled were permitted to return after a time under King Wenceslaus.

In 1442 the Jews were again expelled from Upper Bavaria. Shortly afterward, in 1450, the Jews in Lower Bavaria were flung into prison until they paid the duke a ransom of 32,000 crowns and were then driven from the duchy. As a result of agitation by the Franciscan John of *Capistrano, they were expelled from Franconia. In 1478 they were expelled from Passau, in 1499 from Nuremberg, and in 1519 from Regensburg. The few remaining thereafter in the duchy of Bavaria were expelled in 1551. Subsequently, Jewish settlement in Bavaria ceased until toward the end of the 17th century, when a small community was founded in *Sulzbach by refugees from *Vienna. During the War of the Spanish Succession (1701–14) several Jews from Austria serving as purveyors to the army or as moneylenders settled in Bavaria. In this period a flourishing community grew up in Fuerth, whose economic activities helped to bring prosperity to the city. After the war the Jews of Austrian origin were expelled from Bavaria, but some were able to acquire the right to reside in Munich as monopoly holders, *Court Jews, mintmasters, and physicians. Several Court Jews belonging to the Frankel and *Model families

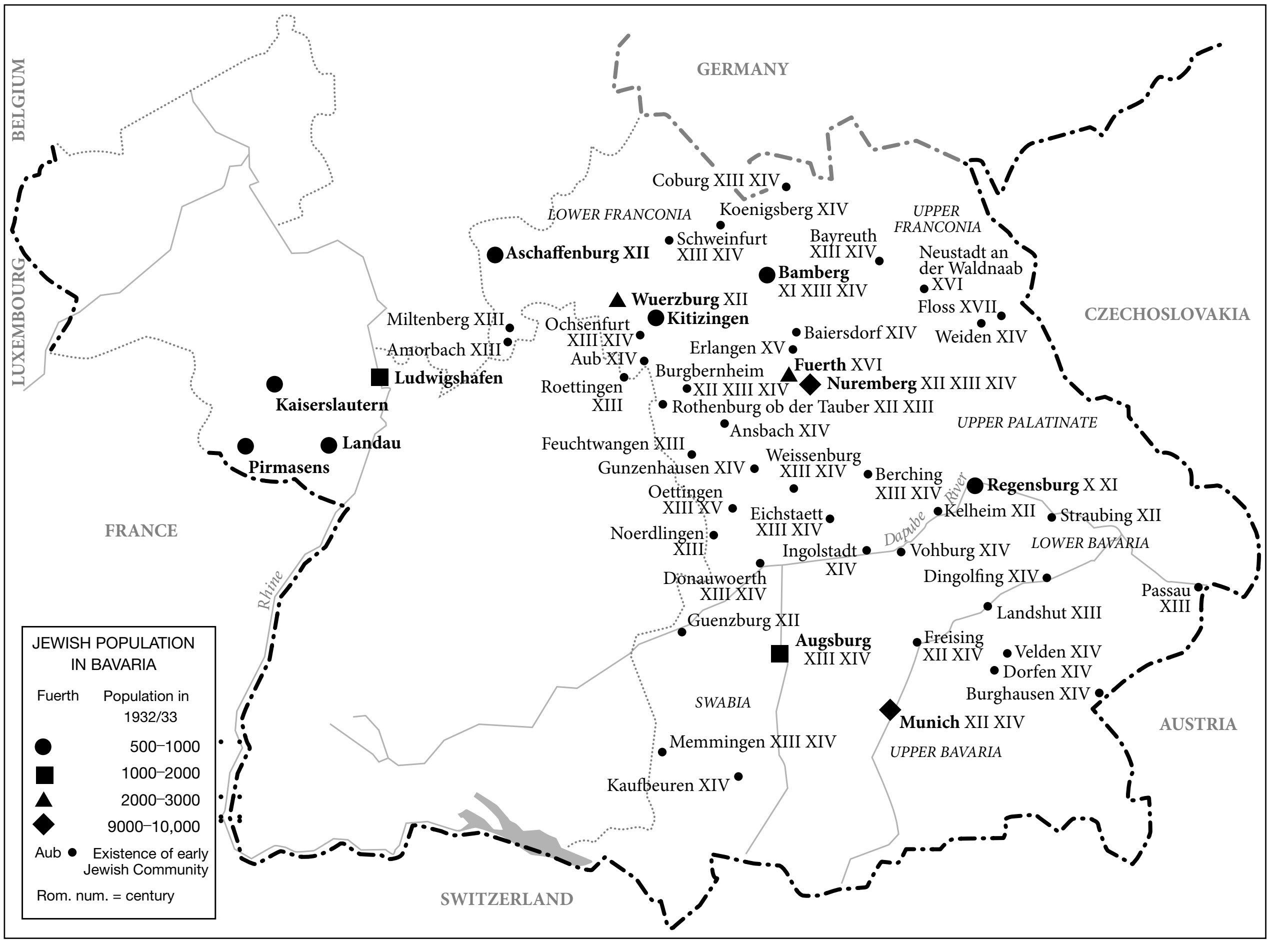
GERMANY
BELGIUM
LUXEMBOURG
FRANCE
SWITZERLAND
CZECHOSLOVAKIA
AUSTRIA
LOWER FRANCONIA
UPPER FRANCONIA
UPPER PALATINATE
LOWER BAVARIA
SWABIA
UPPER BAVARIA
Rhine
Danube River
Coburg XIII XIV
Koenigsberg XIV
Schweinfurt XIII XIV
Bayreuth XIII XIV
Neustadt an der Waldnaab XVI
Aschaffenburg XII
Bamberg XI XIII XIV
Wuerzburg XII
Kitizingen
Floss XVII
Weiden XIV
Miltenberg XIII
Amorbach XIII
Ochsenfurt XIII XIV
Aub XIV
Erlangen XV
Baiersdorf XIV
Burgbernheim XII XIII XIV
Fuerth XVI
Nuremberg XII XIII XIV
Ludwigshafen
Kaiserslautern
Roettingen XIII
Rothenburg ob der Tauber XII XIII
Ansbach XIV
Pirmasens
Landau
Feuchtwangen XIII
Gunzenhausen XIV
Weissenburg XIII XIV
Berching XIII XIV
Regensburg X XI
Oettingen XIII XV
Eichstaett XIII XIV
Kelheim XII
Straubing XII
Noerdlingen XIII
Ingolstadt XIV
Vohburg XIV
Donauwoerth XIII XIV
Dingolfing XIV
Passau XIII
Landshut XIII
Guenzburg XII
Augsburg XIII XIV
Freising XII XIV
Velden XIV
Dorfen XIV
Burghausen XIV
Munich XII XIV
Memmingen XIII XIV
Kaufbeuren XIV
JEWISH POPULATION IN BAVARIA
Fuerth Population in 1932/33
● 500–1000
■ 1000–2000
▲ 2000–3000
◆ 9000–10,000
Aub • Existence of early Jewish Community
Rom. num. = century

Map of Bavaria showing Jewish population centers from the tenth century to 1932-33.

became prominent in Ansbach and Fuerth for a while in the 18th century, particularly because of their services in managing the state's economy.

In the Napoleonic era Jewish children were permitted to attend the general schools (1804), the men were accepted into the militia (1805), the poll tax was abolished (1808), and Jews were granted the status of citizens (1813). However, at the same time their number and rights of residence were still restricted, and only the eldest son in a family was allowed to marry (see *Familiants Laws). In 1819 anti-Jewish disorders broke out in Franconia (the "*Hep! Hep!" riots). Owing to the continued adverse conditions and the restrictions on families a large number of young Bavarian Jews immigrated to the U.S. A second wave of emigrants left for the U.S. after the 1848 Revolution, which had been accompanied by anti-Jewish riots notably in rural Franconia. In 1861 the discriminatory restrictions concerning Jews were abolished, and Jews were permitted to engage in all occupations. However, complete equality was not granted until 1872 by the provisions of the constitution of the German Reich of 1871. Certain special "Jewish taxes" were abolished only in 1880. The chief occupation of Jews in 19th century rural Bavaria was the livestock trade, largely in Jewish hands (see *Agriculture). By the beginning of the 20th century Jews had considerable holdings in department stores and in a few branches of industry.

A number of Jews were active after World War I in the revolutionary government of Bavaria which was headed by a Jew, Kurt *Eisner, who was prime minister before his assassination in 1919. Another Jew, Gustav *Landauer, who became minister of popular instruction, was also assassinated that year. In the reaction which followed World War I there was a new wave of antisemitism, and in 1923 most of the East European Jews resident in Bavaria were expelled. This was the time when the National Socialist Movement made its appearance in the region, and antisemitic agitation increased. Jewish ritual slaughter was prohibited in Bavaria in 1931.

The size of the Jewish population in Bavaria varied relatively little from the Napoleonic era to 1933, numbering 53,208 in 1818 and 41,939 in 1933. A Bavarian Jewish organization, the Verband bayerischer israelitischer Gemeinden, was set up in 1921 and included 273 communities and 21 rabbinical institutions. In 1933 the largest and most important communities in Bavaria were in Munich (which had a Jewish population of 9,000), Nuremberg (7,500), Wuerzburg (2,150), Augsburg (1,100), Fuerth (2,000), and Regensburg (450). At this time the majority of Bavarian Jews were engaged in trade and transport (54.5%) and in industry (19%), but some also in agriculture (2.7% in 1925 compared with 9.7% in 1882). Over 1,000 Jews studied at the University of Bavaria after World War I, a proportion ten times higher than that of the Jews to the general population.

Regensburg was a center of Jewish scholarship from the 12th century. Regensburg was the cradle of the medieval Ashkenazi *Ḥasidism and in the 12th and 13th centuries the main center of this school. The traveler *Pethahiah b. Jacob set out from there in about 1170. Prominent scholars of Bavaria include *Meir b. Baruch of Rothenburg (the leading authority of Ashkenazi Jewry, 13th century); Jacob *Weil (taught at Nuremberg and Augsburg, beginning of the 15th century); Israel *Bruna (settled in Regensburg, mid-15th century); Moses *Mintz (rabbi of Bamberg, 1469–1474); and the Renaissance grammarian Elijah *Levita (a native of Neustadt). In the 19th/20th centuries there lived in Munich the folklorist and philologist Max M. *Gruenbaum; Raphael Nathan Nata *Rabinovicz, author of *Dikdukei Soferim*; and Joseph *Perles, rabbi of Augsburg, 1875–1910.

The Jews in Bavaria were among the first victims of the Nazi movement, which spread from Munich and Nuremberg. Virulent and widespread antisemitic agitation caused the depopulation of scores of the village communities so characteristic of Bavaria, especially after the **Kristallnacht* in 1938. The first concentration camp was established at *Dachau in Bavaria and many Jews from Germany and other countries in Europe perished there.

After World War II thousands of Jews were assembled in displaced persons' camps in Bavaria; the last one to be closed down was in Foehrenwald. Almost all of the 1,000 Bavarian Jews who survived the Holocaust were saved because they were married to Germans or were born of mixed marriages. A year after the end of hostilities a Nazi underground movement remained active in Bavaria, and the neo-Nazi anti-Jewish demonstrations of June 1965 started in Bamberg. Antisemitic sentiment was also aroused when the minister of Jewish affairs, Philip Auerbach, was prosecuted for misappropriation of funds in 1951.

In 1969 there were in Bavaria about 4,700 Jews, forming 13 communities, the majority from the camps of Eastern Europe. The largest communities were in Munich (3,486), Nuremberg (275), Wuerzburg (141), Fuerth (200), Augsberg (230), and Regensburg (150). There were smaller numbers of Jews in *Amberg, Bamberg, *Bayreuth, Straubing, and Weiden. In 1989 there were 5,484 community members. Due mainly to the emigration of Jews from the former Soviet Union, the number rose to 18,387 in 2003, the largest communites being those in Munich (8,917), Straubing (1,713), Augsburg (1,619), Nuremberg (1,286), and Wuerzburg (1,027).

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[Zvi Avneri]

BAVLI (Rashgolski), HILLEL (1893–1961), Hebrew poet and educator. Bavli, who was born in Pilvishki, Lithuania, attended yeshivot in Kovno and Vilna. In 1912 he immigrated to the United States and studied at Canisius College and Columbia University. From 1918 he taught modern Hebrew literature at the Jewish Theological Seminary of America, after 1937 with the rank of professor. Bavli's first poems appeared in a children's periodical, *Ha-Peraḥim*, in 1908. His first book of poetry, *Neginot Areẓ* ("Melodies of the Land"), was published in 1929. Subsequent collections of his poetry, *Shirim* ("Poems," 1938), *Shirim le-Raḥelah* ("Poems for Raḥelah," 1950), and *Adderet ha-Shanim* ("The Mantle of Years," 1955), also appeared in Israel. Conservative in style and structure, Bavli covers a broad range of themes in his work: personal love; love of his people; love of Ereẓ Israel. He was one of the first Hebrew poets to deal with the American milieu. "Mrs. Woods" is an idyll about an American woman of simple tastes and honest demeanor. Bavli's critical essays *Ruḥot Nifgashot* ("Winds Meet," 1958) deal mainly with Hebrew and American writers. Bavli translated Dickens' *Oliver Twist* (1924) and Shakespeare's *Antony and Cleopatra* into Hebrew (1952). He also translated works by the black writers James D. Corrothers, W. Burghardt du Bois, and Claude McKay into Hebrew. He edited a miscellany, *Nimim* (1923); a yearbook, *Massad* (2 vols, 1933–36); the Ẓevi Scharfstein Jubilee Volume (1955); and several modern Hebrew classics for school use. He published a number of articles in English on modern Hebrew literature, including "The Growth of Modern Hebrew Literature" (1939) and "Some Aspects of Modern Hebrew Literature" (1958).

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[Eliezer Schweid]

BAVLI, MENAHEM BEN MOSES (fl. 16th century), rabbi and kabbalist of the Safed school. There is little information about his descent. The title "*Bavli*" (Babylonian) probably stands for "Roman," and it is possible that he came from Italy. In 1522 and in 1525 he signed himself as *dayyan* in Trikkala, Greece. Later he immigrated to Ereẓ Israel and in 1531 he was in Safed together with his father and brother Reuben (responsa R. Moses b. Joseph di Trani, 1 (1641), no. 43). They made their living in the wool-dyeing trade. Menahem was considered one of the great scholars of the town. One of his responsa was published in the responsa collection *Maran le-Even ha-Ezer* (no. 14) and in it he quotes a ruling of R. Jacob *Berab, whom he calls "our teacher the Great Rabbi," which suggests that Bavli may have been a student at Berab's yeshivah in Safed. After 1553 he traveled to Egypt. From Safed Bavli went to Hebron probably in connection with the expansion of the Jewish settlement there, in which the scholars of Safed took part. In the introduction to his *Peri Ḥevron* (*Ta'amei ha-Mitzvot*) (Lublin, 1571), he wrote that he dedicated the income of this book to "Hebron, as a contribution for its reconstruction."

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°BAYAZID II (c. 1447–1512), sultan of the Ottoman Empire (1481–1512), son and successor of Sultan Mehmet II, conqueror of Constantinople. Following the expulsion from Spain, great numbers of Jews streamed into the Ottoman Empire and settled in various towns of the Balkans and Anatolia. According to R. Elijah *Capsali, Sultan Bayazid issued an order to the governors of the provinces not to refuse those Jews entry or cause them difficulties but to receive them cordially and provide them with the help they needed to settle themselves. Nevertheless, according to the same source, Bayazid was a devout Muslim and was responsible for certain cases of forced conversion of Jews to Islam. He was also the only sultan to enforce the prohibition against building new synagogues. Immanuel *Aboab attributes to Bayazid the famous remark that the Catholic monarchs (Ferdinand and Isabella) were considered wise, but wrongly so, since they impoverished Spain (by the expulsion of the Jews) and enriched the Ottoman Empire. During the reign of Bayazid the position of rabbi in the capital was held by R. Moses *Capsali, who was succeeded by R. Elijah *Mizraḥi. Joseph *Hamon was the sultan's physician and influential at court. European sources accuse Hamon of complicity in the sudden death of Bayazid after his forced abdication in favor of his son Selim I.

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[Aryeh Shmuelevitz (2nd ed.)]

BAYEFSKY, ABA (1923–2001), Canadian artist and teacher. Bayefsky was born in Toronto, where he was first encouraged to paint by Canadian Group of Seven artist Arthur Lismer. In 1942 Bayefsky joined the Royal Canadian Air Force and became an official war artist in 1944. In May 1945 he was among the first to enter the newly liberated *Bergen-Belsen concentration camp. "For the first time," wrote Bayefsky," I had become aware of man's monstrous capacity for evil. It was the determining factor in everything I have done since." His camp images are part of the art collection of the Canadian War Museum. After the war Bayefsky returned to Europe to study at the Académie Julian in Paris and continued to paint and draw images based on the lives of Jewish displaced persons.

Back in Toronto, Bayefsky's drawings, paintings, watercolors, murals, and publications celebrated people and their everyday lives. Well traveled, he created works reflecting the diversity of human experience from the marketplaces of India to the traditional tattoo artists of Japan. Yet it was his Jewish heritage, his anger at what he witnessed during the Holocaust and at the resurgence of antisemitism during his later years that engendered Bayefsky's most vibrant work. "Tales from the Talmud" illustrated 18 talmudic folk tales and parables; large murals depicted scenes from Jewish history's joys and sorrows; "Epilogue," his last works, encompass 50 years of reflection on the Holocaust. "Epilogue" was donated to Yad Vashem in 1999.

Bayefsky exhibited in more than 45 one-man exhibitions and taught Fine Art at the Ontario College of Art from 1957 to 1988. He was also president of the Canadian Group of Painters and the Canadian Society of Graphic Art, a member of the Royal Canadian Academy, and appointed to the Order of Canada, the highest honor Canada bestows upon a citizen.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: A. Bayefsky, *Aba Bayefsky in Kensington Market* (1991).

[Paula Draper (2nd ed.)]

BAYER, BATYA (Bathja; 1928–1995), Israeli musicologist, music archeologist, and librarian. Born in Bingen, Germany, Bayer immigrated to Eretz Israel in 1936 with her family. She earned her Ph.D. at the University of Zurich in 1959. Subsequently she received a librarian's degree from the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. From 1964 to 1974, she was the director of the Music Department at the National and University Library and played a vital role in shaping the research of the major music research library in Israel. She was also a senior lecturer at the Department of Musicology of the Hebrew University. Bayer was a pioneer in the interdisciplinary study of music and archeology in relation to the ancient civilizations of the Near East, and one of the creators of a new field of study: music archeology. She made a significant effort to gather archeological and iconographical data from the biblical period in Palestine with a view to elucidating the musical passages and musical instruments mentioned in the biblical text and post-biblical writings. Her thorough investigation is exemplified by her monograph *The Material Relics of Music in Ancient Palestine and Its Environs* (1963), by the entry "*Neginah ve-Zimrah*" in the *Encyclopedia Biblica* 5 (1980), and, in particular, by her two extensive studies "The Biblical Nevel" (*Yuval* 1, 1968) and "The Titles of the Psalms" (*Yuval* 4, 1982).

Bayer was broadly cultured and an individual of enormous erudition and perfectionism. An eloquent example is her coverage of the extensive musical material related to biblical figures and stories for the first edition of the *Encyclopaedia Judaica* as well as her other entries on a wide variety of subjects.

[Amnon Shiloah (2nd ed.)]

BAYHAN (Bayḥān), county and its central city, Bayḥān al-Kaṣab, in South Arabia. This was a desert area with shifting sands on the ancient Perfume Road. In the Roman period the area flourished because of the perfume trade, but it deteriorated when Christianity became widespread. In *Nūr al-Ẓalām* by Rabbi *Nethanel ben Isaiah, Bayhan was referred to as Diklah (Gen. 10:27). At the end of the 15th century a Jewish false messiah orated in the area, but after he had been seized and killed by the authorities the area was evacuated of all Jews. In the 19th century the Jews suffered from the struggle between the Turkish and the British. Jews lived in Bayhan and in four villages in the area: Aylan, Shirka, Aliya, and Rawna, which were controlled by the Sheikh Husayn ibn Aḥmad. There were approximately 30 houses belonging to Jews in the town and about 20 families in the nearby villages. Most Jews were blacksmiths and weavers but some were merchants. A number of families had land in the neighboring city of Ḥarib. Jews and Muslims lived side by side and had good relations. There was one synagogue in Bayhan, established by R. Sa'id Kasha of Ṣan'a. Another rabbi from San'a was Salim Joseph Ṣan'ani. The cemetery was located in the western part of the city. One synagogue was situated in Aylan and was used by all Jews in the village area. The rabbibical court was staffed by the Mori and Menasheh families, which, according to their testimony, had lived in Bayhan for many generations, coming there from Bayda, Ḥabban, Rada', Suwadi, San'a, and other places. Jewish professions in the last generation included: blacksmithing, weaving, retail commerce, and some farming. The 88 Jews of Ḥabban were brought to Aden by a British air force flight in 1949 and from there immigrated to the State of Israel on December 4, 1949. They settled in the abandoned village of Ajur.

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[Yosef Tobi (2nd ed.)]

BAYONNE, town in southwestern France. The first Jewish settlement in Bayonne, in the suburb of Saint-Esprit, consisted of *Marranos originally from Spain and Portugal, who settled there early in the 16th century. In 1550 they were granted rights of residence as "New Christians" by the central authorities, but the Bayonne merchants prohibited them from retail trading. In 1636 several Marrano families were expelled from Bayonne, and some of them found refuge at Nantes. From the middle of the 17th century, the Bayonne community organized a congregation, *NefuẓotYehudah* ("The Dispersed of Judah"). Their cemetery was established in 1660. The right of the community to observe Judaism openly was not officially recognized until 1723. Rabbis of Bayonne in this period included Ḥayyim de Mercado in the second half of the 17th century, succeeded by Raphael *Meldola (1730–1792) of Leghorn, and Abraham David Leon, author of *Instrucciones sagradas y morales* (1765). At the beginning of the 18th century the community numbered 700, and 3,500 in 1753.

The Bayonne community claimed jurisdiction over the small communities in Bidache, Peyrehorade, and other places in the vicinity. Marranos from Spain and Portugal continued to settle in Bayonne until late in the 18th century. The regulations of the community were drawn up in 1752, and confirmed by the "intendant du roi." Bayonne Jewry helped to introduce the chocolate industry into France; in the mid-18th century the import of salt and glue into Bayonne was in Jewish hands. Bayonne Jews were among the first to establish trade connections with the French West Indies. About one-third of the municipal tax revenue was derived from the Jewish residents. Despite opposition from their Christian neighbors, the Jews participated in the elections to the States-General in 1789. They were recognized as French citizens in 1790, with the rest of the "Portuguese, Spanish, and Avignonese" Jews in France. During the Reign of Terror, most of the members of the *Comité de surveillance* of Saint Esprit (known then as "Jean Jacques Rousseau") were Jews; it is noteworthy that no guillotinings took place. In the Napoleonic period the community benefited from the city's increasing prosperity. A new synagogue was built in 1837, using the Torah Ark erected during the reign of Louis XVI. The Jewish population nevertheless fell to 1,293 in 1844, and by 1926 had decreased to 45 families.

[Zvi Avneri]

Holocaust Period

After the Franco-German armistice (June 1940) Bayonne became a stopover for dozens of Jewish refugees, particularly from *Belgium and *Luxembourg. A great many could not get to Spain, and the official police census of March 15, 1942 registered 308 Jewish families there at that time. In April 1943 the majority of them were expelled, while 193 pieces of Jewish property were confiscated. Fortunately, the Ark, built in the style of Louis XVI, and the Torah scrolls, some of which were of Spanish origin, were hidden in the Basque Museum, and restored to the synagogue after the Liberation. Few of Bayonne's Jews survived the war. The rabbi of Bayonne, Ernest *Ginsburger (1876–1943) directed religious activities on behalf of the Jews interned in French concentration and labor camps. He was subsequently deported and murdered by the Germans. In April 1943, almost all the Jews in Bayonne and the surrounding district were forcibly evacuated.

After the war the community slowly rebuilt itself, with about 120 families recorded living in the city in 1960. With the arrival of immigrants from North Africa, the Jewish community more than doubled, so that in 1969 close to 700 Jews lived in Bayonne. The community maintained an old-age home. A rabbi was engaged to preside over regular community services, led according to the ancient Sephardic ("Portuguese") rites of the old synagogue, which was restored. The old Jewish cemetery, dating back to 1660, continued to be in use. The Basque Museum maintains two rooms with a large display of Jewish religious objects and historic documents relating to the Bayonne Jewish community. René *Cassin, the Nobel Prize winner and president of *Alliance Israélite Universelle, was born in Bayonne in 1887.

[Georges Levitte]

BIBLIOGRAPHY: L.F. de Beaufleury, *Histoire de l'établissement des juifs à Bordeaux et Bayonne* (1799); H. Léon, *Histoire des juifs de Bayonne* (1893); Gross, Gal Jud, 92f.; M. Schwab, in: REJ, 38 (1899), 272–4; Liber, *ibid.*, 64 (1912), 254–61; Genevray, *ibid.*, 74 (1922), 127–47; E. Ginsburger, *Le Comité de surveillance de Jean-Jacques Rousseau* (1934); Szajkowski, in: PAAJR, 24 (1955), 137–64; idem, in: HUCA, 30 (1959), 217–32; *Guide religieux de la France* (1967), 982f. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** *Le Guide Culturel des Juifs d'Europe* (2002).

BAYRAMIÇ, town near *Çanakkale in Turkey in an area where many important ancient cities like Skamandros, Skepsis, called *Israillü* in the Ottoman Era, and Kebrene developed. Ottoman rule in this region started in the mid-14th century. Due to Jewish overpopulation in Çanakkale, some Jewish families emigrated to Bayramiç where they established a small quarter composed of 30 households in 1884 and 60 Jews in 1894. By 1910 the number of Jewish households had increased to 50. There were 800 Muslims, 190 Greeks, and 200 Armenians in the district in the 1890s. From time to time there were conflicts, as in the case of a Christian blood libel against the Jews in 1884. During the Gallipoli Campaign, the Jewish population in Bayramiç temporarily increased due to mass flight from the battlefields in Çanakkale. The Jews in Bayramiç had their own cemetery after the Gallipoli Campaign, whereas they had previously buried their dead in Çanakkale. The Jewish community was well organized in the sense that it had a synagogue, *talmud torah*, rabbis, and charitable institutions to provide relief for the needy. Economic activities like exporting cereal and bonito, small-scale manufacturing, and ironmongery were common among the Bayramiç Jews. According to the census of 1927, 93 Jews remained in the district. The Jewish presence in Bayramiç ended in the 1960s.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *BOA (Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi), TD* 166; *Karasi Vilayet Salnamesi* (H. 1305), 141; V. Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie,* 3 (1894), 696, 765; A. Galanté, *Histoire des Juifs d'Anatolie*, 4 (1987), 221–23; J.M. Cook, *Troad: An Archeological and Topographical Study* (1973), 279.

[M. Mustafa Kulu (2nd ed.)]

BAYREUTH, city in Bavaria, Germany, and former principality. Jews lived in the principality of Bayreuth at the beginning of the 13th century and are mentioned in *Meir b. Baruch of Rothenburg's responsa. In 1248 several Jews were admitted into the city of Bayreuth. In the course of the riots accompanying the *Black Death (1348–49) many Jews in the principality were killed. After this, the emperor Charles IV entrusted authority over the Jews of Bayreuth to the margrave. In 1372 the latter appointed a chief rabbi for all his territory, including at that time the communities of Kulmbach and Hof. Until the end of the 15th century the Jews were permitted freedom of movement and the right to bring claims against Christians before a mixed tribunal. In 1409 a charter was granted to the Jews of Neustadt an der Aisch (where 71 Jews had perished in the massacre of 1218) and in 1421 Jewish trade in the principality was regulated. In 1422 the Jews were compelled to renounce all claims against Christians and subsequently left the principality. However, six Jewish families resettled in the "Jewish lane" of the city of Bayreuth in 1441, and the position of the Jewish residents improved. A number of refugees from *Bamberg were admitted into the towns of Pegnitz, Steinach, *Baiersdorf, Erlangen, Neustadt an der Aisch, and Kulm (later called Chlumec in Czechoslovakia), and several *Court Jews were in the margrave's service at Bayreuth. In 1488 the Jews were again made to cancel all the debts owing to them as a condition for setting aside an expulsion order. Nevertheless, they were expelled several times from various parts of the principality during the 16th and 17th centuries, though most of the expulsion orders were short-lived.

Their position began to improve as a result of the influence of the Court Jew, Samson of Baiersdorf. In 1695 the margrave granted concessions and protection to Jewish tradesmen. The seat of the provincial rabbinate was Baiersdorf since Jews had been excluded from the city of Bayreuth from 1515. Further improvements followed after 1735, in the main a reflection of the liberal attitude of Margrave Frederick, who had a Jewish chess player and a Jewish painter at his court. The Jewish population of the principality rose from 135 families in 1709 to 346 families (1,727 persons) in 1771. Ten Jewish families were admitted into the city of Bayreuth in 1759, and there were 65 families (401 persons) resident in the city in 1771. In 1805 there were 2,276 Jews living in the principality, which was incorporated into Bavaria two years later. During the 19th and the beginning of the 20th centuries the number of the Jews declined. In spite of their shrill antisemitism, Richard *Wagner and his circle in Bayreuth did not affect the position of the Jews there. In 1933 the Jewish population of Bayreuth numbered 261 (0.7% of the total).

On Nov. 10, 1938, the synagogue (built in 1760) was ransacked and homes and shops were pillaged by the SA. The populace committed further acts of vandalism the next day, and the cemetery was desecrated beyond recognition. After flight and emigration, just 120 Jews remained in the city at the time. On Nov. 27, 1941, 60 persons were deported to *Riga; on Jan. 12, 1942, the last 11 were transported to Bamberg en route to *Theresienstadt. After World War II a new community was established which numbered 550 in 1949 and had decreased, through emigration, to 40 in 1967. As a result of the immigration of Jews from the former Soviet Union, the number of community members rose to 473 in 2003.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: A. Eckstein, *Geschichte der Juden im Markgrafentum Bayreuth* (1907); FJW (1928–29), 125f.; Germ Jud, 1 (1963), 24; 2 (1968), 60–61; Y.L. Bialer, *Min ha-Genazim*, 2 (1969), 54–58; PK. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** E. Huebschmann (ed.), *Physische und behoerdliche Gewalt* (2000).

[Ze'ev Wilhem Falk]

BAY TREE. The *oren*, mentioned only once in the Bible (Isa. 44:14), is identified in the Talmud (RH 23a) with *ara*, the bay tree. It is mentioned in the Mishnah (Par. 3:8) as being among the trees that were used in preparing the fire for the burning of the red heifer. From it (according to one reading) long poles were made for the beacons that were kindled to announce the New Moon (RH 2:3). In Israel it is an important forest-tree that grows extensively on moist mountain slopes. An evergreen, its aromatic leaves are used for seasoning food, and were, according to the Talmud, an ingredient in a cure for intestinal worms (Git. 69b). In modern Hebrew *oren* denotes the pine tree, an identification that is based on the Septuagint, but the pine is the biblical *eẓ shemen*. The translation of *oren* as "ash" (AV) or as "cedar" (RV) is untenable, the latter being the biblical *erez*. In modern Hebrew the bay tree is called *dafnah* or *eẓ aẓil*.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Loew, Flora, 2 (1924), 119–23; J. Feliks, *Olam ha-Ẓome'aḥ ha-Mikra'i* (1957), 92. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** Feliks, Ha-Ẓome'aḥ, 21.

[Jehuda Feliks]

BAYUDAYA, group of adherents of Judaism in Mbale, Uganda. Numbering some 600 people who live in villages a few miles north of Mbale, this group owes its origins to a remarkable Ugandan soldier and traditional leader, Semei Kakungulu. At the beginning of the 20th century Kakungulu emerged as a powerful military leader on the British side against Muslim forces. Rewarded by the colonial authorities with a post as a semi-autonomous administrator in a large area around Mbale in the eastern part of the country, he decided to follow biblical teaching and become circumcised. In 1920 he declared of himself and his followers: "We shall be known as the Jews," and in 1922 published a book which was essentially a guide to Judaism. His followers in Mbale have maintained their Jewish practices (despite persecution at the time of Idi Amin). Orthodox conversions carried out in 2001 and 2002 have transformed the community into a substantially Orthodox community with links with western Jewry and Israel.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: M.Twaddle, *Kakungulu and the Creation of Uganda* (1993); A. Oded, "The Bayudaya of Uganda:a Portrait of an African Jewish Community," in: *Journal of Religion in Africa*, 6 (1974); T. Parfitt, *The Lost Tribes of Israel: The History of a Myth* (2002).

[Tudor Parfitt (2nd ed.)]

BAZA (Arabic **Basta**), town N.E. of Granada in S.E. Spain. Baza was annexed to Granada after Almeria's defeat by the army under *Samuel b. Joseph ha-Nagid's command (c. 1039). In the 11th century there was a Jewish community in Baza whose residents were employed mostly in the silk industry. The Jewish quarter was located opposite the present-day cathedral of Santiago. A *mikveh* with three bath chambers has been uncovered and is a good example of 11th-century Arabic bathhouse architecture.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: EI, 1 (1960^2), S.V. *Basta*; M. Gómez-Moreno, in: *Al Andalus*, 12 (1947), 151–5; Ashtor, Korot, 2 (1966), 92–93.

BAZELON, DAVID L. (1909–1993), U.S. judge. Bazelon was born in Superior, Wisconsin, and was educated in Chicago. Admitted to the Illinois bar in 1932, he practiced law until 1949. In 1946 Bazelon was appointed an assistant attorney general of the U.S., and in 1949 President Truman appointed him judge of the U.S. Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia Circuit, often described as the country's most influential court next to the Supreme Court. At 40, he was the youngest judge ever appointed to that court. From 1962 to 1978 he served as chief judge, retiring in 1986 as a senior judge. From 1960 he was a member of the board of trustees of the Jewish Publication Society of America. In 1987 Bazelon's book *Questioning Authority* was published.

An authority on the relationship between law and psychiatry, Bazelon held several university lectureships, and in 1962 was elected honorary fellow of the American Psychiatric Association. As a member of the National Institutes of Health Advisory Commission, he was one of the key architects of early guidelines for genetic engineering. He expressed his particular interest in psychiatry related to the law as a lecturer in law and psychiatry at Johns Hopkins University, the University of Pennsylvania, and the Menninger Clinic. He was an active member of the American Orthopsychiatric Association, serving as its president from 1967 to 1970, and was the only non-psychiatrist included in the first U.S. Mission on Mental Health to the U.S.S.R. in 1967.

Rather than follow precedent set in a simpler time, Bazelon questioned the status quo and sought to apply new findings in the social sciences and psychiatry to issues the court faced. One of his landmark opinions from the appellate bench established the right of a mental patient to appropriate treatment in the least restrictive alternative setting.

At the forefront of the new legal advocacy was the Mental Health Law Project, formed by some of the lawyers and mental health professionals who worked on early cases. In 1993 MHLP celebrated its 20th anniversary by rededicating its mission to Bazelon and renaming itself in his honor. The Judge David L. Bazelon Center for Mental Health Law is a legal advocate for people with mental disabilities. Its precedent-setting litigation has outlawed institutional abuse and won protections against arbitrary confinement. For its clientele, the center's advocacy has opened up public schools, workplaces, housing, and other opportunities for community life.

[Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

BDELLIUM (Heb. בְּדֹלַח) twice mentioned in the Scriptures, once in the description of the land of Havilah, which contained "gold, bdellium, and onyx stone" (Gen. 2:12), and again in the description of the manna, "its appearance was as the appearance of bdellium" (Num. 11:7). In both passages the Septuagint understands it as the name of some precious stone, as do Rashi, who interprets it as "a precious stone, crystal" and Saadiah Gaon, as "pearls." The Midrash gives two opinions. According to one, it is a precious stone, and according to the other the reference is to "the *bedolaḥ* of perfumers." In Genesis the Midrash decides in favor of the first interpretation because there it is associated with gold and onyx (Gen. R., 16:2). Josephus (Ant. 3:28) explains that "the manna resembled the spice bdellium." The reference is presumably to the sweet-smelling sap called in Greek βδέλλιον and in Latin *bdellium*, a semi-transparent resin extracted from trees of the genus *Commiphora*. According to Pliny (*Historia Naturalis*, 12:36) the best variety is Bactrian bdellium from Baluchistan, which is similar to that obtained from Nubia. In effect the sap of both the Bactrian, *Commiphora roxburgii*, and the Nubian, *Commiphora africana*, were used as incense. The former variety is known among Arabs as *mokul*, a name they also give to the resin issuing from the tree *Hyphaene thebaica*, a species of palm with a branching trunk that grows in the Arabah (at the approach to Elath), and in Sinai. The Arabs call it "Jewish bdellium." It is apparently this species that is referred to by Dioscorides as "the bdellium imported from Petra" (*De Materia Medica*, 1:80).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Loew, Flora, 1 (1928), 304f.; J. Feliks, *Olam ha-Ẓome'aḥ ha-Mikra'i* (19682), 259.

[Jehuda Feliks]

°BEA, AUGUSTIN (1881–1968), Catholic prelate. Born in Baden, Germany, Bea joined the Jesuit Order and had a distinguished ecclesiastical and scholarly career. From 1930 to 1949 he was rector of the Pontifical Biblical Institute in Rome, and editor of the periodical *Biblica* from 1930 to 1951. During World War II, he served as confessor to Pope Pius XII. He was created cardinal by Pope John XXIII in 1959. Pope John had already begun preparing for an ecumenical council to meet at the Vatican, and he appointed Bea head of the Secretariat for the Promotion of Christian Unity. Among his tasks was the preparation of a statement on the relation of the Catholic Church to non-Christian religions, including Judaism. The declaration, submitted to the Council's second session, met with considerable opposition on political and religiously conservative grounds. Bea accepted some changes, but continued to work for a forceful draft, which he submitted at the Council's third session in 1964. It was again deferred, over the protest of the large liberal element among the churchmen present. At the fourth session in November 1965, the statement, though weaker than Bea and other liberals had hoped for, was adopted by an overwhelming vote. Placed now in the context of friendly declarations on the church's attitude toward Islam and other religions, that on the Jews made two important points: that Jews of today should not be burdened with the guilt of the crucifixion of Jesus, and that the church "decried" antisemitism and hostility in any form. It further expressed the hope that friendly dialogue between Christians and Jews would in time eradicate all hostility. After the council's adjournment, Cardinal Bea wrote *The Church and the Jewish People* (1966), explaining the declaration and emphasizing its favorable aspects.

[Solomon Grayzel]

BEAME, ABRAHAM DAVID (1906–2001), first Jewish mayor of New York (but see *Lewis, Samuel). Beame was born in London, but was brought to New York by his parents before he was a year old. He grew up on the Lower East Side and graduated from the City College of New York in 1928. He practiced accounting during 1928–46, becoming a Certified Public Accountant in 1930, and from 1929 taught accounting and commercial law at Rutgers University. In 1946 he was appointed assistant budget director of the City of New York, and director in 1952, serving as a member of many city and state committees and commissions dealing with management, social services, the courts, city employees, the state constitution, and intergovernmental fiscal relationships.

In 1962, and again in 1969, Beame was elected comptroller and in 1965 won the mayoral nomination of the Democratic Party in a primary election. In 1967 he was a delegate to the New York State Constitutional Convention. In November 1973, at age 67, Beame defeated State Senator John Marchi and won the election for mayor of New York by a landslide victory, which included 63% of the Jewish vote and 68% of the black vote. He assumed office on January 1, 1974, as the 104th mayor of New York.

During his term of office, the city endured such crises as terrorist bombings, a citywide power failure that resulted in violence and looting, and the Son of Sam serial killings. At the same time, Beame faced the worst fiscal crisis in the city's history and spent most of his term trying to ward off bankruptcy. He slashed the city workforce, froze wages, and restructured the budget, which proved insufficient until reinforced by actions from newly created state-sponsored entities and the granting of federal funds. After a tumultuous four years as mayor, he ran for a second term in 1977 but was succeeded in 1978 by Edward *Koch, also a Jew. Despite criticism about his methods, Beame left office with a $200 million surplus for the city, having entered the mayoralty facing a $1.5 billion deficit.

Beame retired from politics but remained active as head of the Advisory Board of the UMB Bank and Trust, and later senior advisor of Sterling National Bank. He also served on the board of directors of a number of civic and corporate foundations.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Chris McNickle, *To Be Mayor of New York* (1993).

[Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

BEANS. Ancient Jewish sources refer to several species of beans under the Hebrew name of *pol* qualified by various epithets. *Pol* itself is the broad bean (*Vicia faba*) which was included in the food brought to David's forces by his loyal supporters from Ammon and Gilead (II Sam. 17:28). Its flour was added to the bread that Ezekiel was commanded to eat to symbolize the approaching destruction of Jerusalem (Ezek. 4:9). In mishnaic and talmudic times the broad bean was widely grown, being a cheap food popular especially among the poor (Tosef., BM 3:9; Sof. 21:4) and eaten with or without the husk. Another important plant was the *pol ha-mizri* which, identified with the cowpea (*Vigna sinensis*), is a creeper which grows in summer. In mishnaic times it was highly regarded as a food for human consumption (Ned. 7:1; Shev. 2:8–9) but is now grown as fodder. To the botanical genus *Vigna* belongs another plant called *pol he-ḥaruv* which is the legume known as the yard-long bean (*Vigna sesquipedalis*), its Hebrew name being derived, according to the Jerusalem Talmud (Kil. 1:2, 27a), from the shape of its pods, which resembles that of the carob (*ḥaruv*). Another variety of the cowpea is called *she'u'it* (Kil. 1:1); this is the legume *Vigna nilotica*, which grows wild in Israel climbing river banks, or is sown as fodder. The Mishnah (*ibid.*) states that it is not a *mixed species (*kilayim*) with *pol ha-lavan*, the hyacinth bean (*Dolichos lablab*), the seed of which is used as food.

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[Jehuda Feliks]

BEAR (Heb. דֹּב; *dov*). In ancient times the Syrian brown bear, *Ursus arctos syriacus*, had its habitat within the borders of Ereẓ Israel; it was found in the forests of Lebanon until World War I and is still occasionally reported in Lebanon and northern Syria. The bear is omnivorous, and when driven by hunger, it preys on large animals, including the ox or cow (cf. Isa. 11:7). In the Bible the bear is portrayed as an animal dangerous to man, like the lion. Especially emphasized is the danger of a (female) bear bereaved of its cubs (II Sam. 17:8; Hos. 13:8). This was a frequent occurrence as the cubs were taken from the dam to be trained. The bear was common in the period of the Mishnah, which forbids their sale to Gentiles (Av. Zar. 16a). One of the miracles ascribed to R. *Ḥanina b. Dosa was that after being attacked by bears, each of his goats came home with a bear on its horns (Ta'an. 25a). Because the second world kingdom of Daniel 7 was identified as the Persian one, the fact that it is represented by a bear (Dan. 7:5) is explained by the observation that the Persians "eat and drink like the bear, are fat like the bear, are hairy like the bear, and are restless like the bear" (Kid. 72a).

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[Jehuda Feliks]

BEARD AND SHAVING. The characteristic manner in which the beard and hair were shaved, cut, curled, or groomed identified specific peoples in the ancient world. Egyptian, Assyrian, and Babylonian monuments depict the unique way various peoples treated facial hair, thereby illustrating their ethnic identity. The Semites appear with thick beards or with thin and groomed beards; the Lybians are shown with pointed beards, while the Hittites, Ethiopians, and Sea Peoples are portrayed as clean-shaven. The Babylonians and Persians are represented with curly and groomed beards, and the majority of the images of Egyptian males reveal clean-shaven faces, with the exception of a number of pharaohs who appear with plaited beards extending from the chin only. Shaving was performed either by the individual himself or by a barber (Heb.

galav) who also attended to bodily ailments in a quasi-medical fashion. Razors were made entirely from metal or from flint blades fixed in a stone handle. Shaving was also connected with cosmetic treatment of the face (see *Cosmetics). According to Leviticus 19:27 and 21:5 in an apparent reference to the hair between the head and the cheeks (sidelocks) it is forbidden to destroy the "corners" of the beard. It is difficult to determine the reason for the ban, but it is possible that it was promulgated in order to differentiate Israelites from other peoples. Another possible explanation is that shaving specific areas of the face was associated with pagan cults or symbolized those who ministered to their gods and just as the Bible opposes imitation of pagan practices so it opposes this form of ritual shaving. In the Bible shaving of the head and beard is considered a sign of *mourning (e.g., Job 1:20) and degradation. Shaving was identified with the spontaneous plucking of the beard, an expression of great sorrow (Ezek. 5:1ff.). To humiliate a man, it was the practice to forcibly shave half of the beard as in II Samuel 10:4, where the elders, because of this humiliation, were commanded to hide in Jericho until their beards grew again. Shaving is also part of rituals of purification (Lev. 14:8; Num. 6:9; 8:7). Priests were forbidden to shave the "edges" of their beards (Lev. 21:5), and "the priests, the Levites, the sons of Zadok" (Ezek. 44:15) were allowed neither to shave their heads nor let their locks grow long, but only to trim their hair (*ibid.* 44:20).

[Ze'ev Yeivin]

In Talmudic Times

The Talmud regards the beard as "the adornment of a man's face" (BM 84a); a man without a beard was compared to a eunuch (Yev. 80b; Shab. 152a). Young priests whose beards had not yet grown were not permitted to bless the people (TJ, Suk. 3:14, 54a). *Sennacherib was punished by God by having his beard shaved off (Sanh. 95b–96a). Rabbinic authorities permitted only those who had frequent dealings with the Roman authorities to clip their beard with forceps (*kom*; BK 83a). Objection to the removal of the beard was on the ground that God gave it to man to distinguish him from woman; to shave it, was therefore an offense against nature (see Abrabanel to Lev. 19:27).

In the Middle Ages

Jews living in Islamic countries cultivated long beards whereas those in Christian Europe clipped them with scissors. This was permitted by *halakhah* (Sh. Ar., YD 181:10). Rabbinical courts punished adulterers by cutting off their beards (C.M. Horowitz, *Toratan shel Rishonim*, 1 (1881), 29; 2 (1881), 18). The post of *ḥazzan* was only bestowed upon a man with a beard (*Baḥ*, OH 53). Kabbalists ascribed mystical powers to the beard (and hair). Isaac *Luria refrained from touching his, lest he should cause any hairs to fall out (*Ba'er Hetev*, YD 181:5). With the spread of kabbalism to Eastern Europe, trimming the beard was gradually prohibited by leading rabbinic authorities (*Noda bi-Yhudah, Mahadura Tinyana*, YD 80) and with the rise of Ḥasidism, the removal of the beard became tantamount to a formal break with Jewish tradition. Nevertheless, from a strictly traditional point of view, shaving was permitted as long as it was done in a certain fashion. *Halakhah* forbids only the shaving proper of the beard; this is defined as the act of removing the hair with an instrument with one cutting edge. Chemical means (depilatory powder), scissors, or an electric shaver with two cutting edges, are permitted. Although it is customary not to use a single-edge razor to shave any part of the beard, the strict letter of the law forbids its use only for five parts of the face. Considerable difference of opinion among the rabbis as to the exact location of these five places had led to the practice of not using a single edge at all. In Western Europe and especially among Sephardi Jews, rabbinic authorities (S.D. *Luzzatto among others), consented both to the trimming of the beard and even of its entire removal by chemical agents. This became the accepted custom (from the second half of the 17th century). The question of cutting and shaving the beard on *ḥol ha-mo'ed*, prohibited by the Talmud (MK 3:1), was a matter of much controversy at the turn of the 19th century. R. Isaac Samuel *Reggio tried to prove that this talmudic injunction no longer applied because of changed circumstances (*Ma'amar ha-Tiglaḥat*, 1835) but the traditional opinion of the Shulḥan Arukh (OḤ 531) prevails among strictly observant Jews, who also refrain from cutting their beard (and from shaving) during the *Omer period (*Sefirah*) and the *Three Weeks (see also *Mourning Customs). To trim the beard (and have a haircut) in honor of the Sabbath and the festivals is regarded as a pious duty. Several rulers (e.g., Nicholas I of Russia) tried to force the Jewish population to cut off their beards and earlocks; others (e.g., Maria Theresa of Austria) ordered Jews to have beards so as to be easily singled out as a foreign element by their Christian neighbors.

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BEARSTED, MARCUS SAMUEL, FIRST VISCOUNT (1853–1927), founder of the Shell Oil Company. Marcus Samuel was educated at Jewish schools in London and Brussels before joining the firm established by his father Marcus Samuel, who had prospered in the Far Eastern trade, principally from selling fancy shells and ornamental shell boxes. In 1878, the younger Marcus Samuel formed his own business partnership with his brother Sam (1855–1934), who later sat as a member of parliament for 20 years. Marcus Samuel successfully traded in the Orient, particularly Japan. Subsequently he became London banker to the Japanese government. Samuel entered the oil trade in 1892, built a fleet of tankers, and founded the Shell

Transport and Trading Company in 1897. His neglect of his business during his year as lord mayor (1902–03) resulted in Shell's amalgamation with the Royal Dutch Petroleum Company on what seemed disadvantageous terms, but he proved indispensable to the new organization. This move served Britain well in World War I. Another momentous war service was the supply of toluol, an essential ingredient in explosives. Marcus Samuel made generous donations to both Jewish and non-Jewish charities. The Bearsted Memorial Hospital, a maternity hospital in London, bears his name and was financed by him. Samuel was lord mayor of London in 1902–03, the fifth Jew to hold this office. In 1921, he was made baron, and in 1925, Viscount Bearsted. Although holding no important Jewish communal offices, Samuel used his influence to help persecuted Jews. While lord mayor of London he refused, in the face of opposition, to invite the Romanian ambassador to the lord mayor's banquet as a protest against Romania's treatment of its Jewish citizens. His brother Samuel Samuel was the founder of M. Samuel, a prominent City of London merchant bank.

His son WALTER HORACE SAMUEL, SECOND VISCOUNT BEARSTED (1882–1948) succeeded his father as chairman of Shell in 1920. A notable art collector, he was chairman of the trustees of the National Gallery in London. He also held various Jewish communal offices. The third viscount MARCUS RICHARD SAMUEL (1909–86) was chairman of the Bearsted Memorial Hospital and president of the Jewish Home and Hospital.

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[Vivian David Lipman]

BEATITUDE (Heb. הַצְלָחָה, *hazlahah*; *osher*), the blissful state of the soul in the World-to-Come (*Olam ha-Ba) that constitutes the ultimate end of human life. Medieval Jewish philosophy fused rabbinic religious ethics and eschatology with the teleological and rationalist conception of happiness (*eudaimonia*) as analyzed by Aristotle in the *Nicomachean Ethics*, thus investing them with new shades of meaning that were conceptual rather than pictorial. Within a rationalist teleological framework, Jewish philosophers maintained that the attainment of religious perfection requires the acquisition of moral and intellectual virtues through the study of philosophy, culminating in the knowledge of God or even in a mystical union of the rational soul, or intellect, with God. Within this broad framework, the interpretation of beatitude varied over time, reflecting changing anthropological schemas within Jewish philosophy, the interplay of Jewish philosophy with Islamic and Christian cultures, the rivalry between Judaism and the monotheistic religions concerning individual salvation, and the internal Jewish debate between rationalists and traditionalists about the ideal life for Jews. Jewish reflections on beatitude were part of the larger discourse on happiness in premodern Judaism.

*Saadiah Gaon, an exponent of the Jewish *Kalam school, was the first Jewish philosopher to reflect systematically about the ultimate end of human life and to articulate a philosophical anthropology as the basis for Jewish ethics. According to Saadiah human beings are a temporary combination of two substances – body and soul. Both are created by God and both are united by Him. The substance of the soul is refined, "comparable in purity to that of the heavenly sphere [and] like the latter, it attains luminosity as a result of the light which it receives from God" (*Beliefs and Opinions*, 242). After analyzing what people commonly consider the good life for humans, Saadiah shows that no social good can be pursued for its own sake and that the ultimate end of human life is intellectual – knowledge and devotion to God. Although the two substances, body and soul, separate at death and the soul of the righteous person continues to live on as an immortal substance, at the end of time, as a result of divine intervention, the individual soul will be recombined with its corresponding body. Saadiah interprets the rabbinic statement, "In the world to come… the righteous will sit with their crowns on their heads and enjoy the splendor of the *Shekhinah*" (Ber. 17a) to mean that life in the hereafter consists in the enjoyment of a specially created luminous substance which sustains the righteous and burns the sinners (*Beliefs and Opinions*, 9:4–5).

In Jewish neoplatonic philosophy, however, a different philosophical anthropology prevailed. Here the bliss of the World-to-Come is understood as the climax of the soul's ascent from its entanglement in matter to union with the supernal world. Isaac *Israeli was the first to link traditional Jewish eschatology with neoplatonic mysticism. Holding that the soul in its ascent passes through three stages, purification, illumination, and union with the supernal light, Israeli identifies the bliss experienced in the afterlife with the last of these stages. However, this union can already be achieved in this world, provided that man withdraws from the influence of the flesh and of the lower souls. The union achieved by the soul at its highest stage is not union with God (though Israeli speaks of the soul's being attached to God), but with "wisdom" which, together with "first matter," occupies a place just below God in Israeli's metaphysical scheme. Israeli identifies the soul's final stage with the religious notion of "Paradise" (*Book of Definitions*, in A. Altmann and S.M. Stern (eds.), *Isaac Israeli* (1958), 25–26). By contrast with his spiritual concept of human blessedness, he provides a more physical account of punishment in the hereafter. The soul of the sinner will be sad, in pain, tortured by fire (*ibid.*, 26–27). Some prominent features of Israeli's eschatology occur also in Joseph Ibn *Ẓaddik's *Olam Katan*.

In the 11th century, both Solomon ibn *Gabirol and *Baḥya ibn Paquda followed essentially the same pattern of neoplatonic thought, although they represent different social programs. Ibn Gabirol was a product of the Jewish courtier class and its commitment to the *adab* culture, whereas Bahya ibn Paquda was a jurist and a critic of a superficial adaptation of the *adab* culture by Jews who only cared about social advancement and worldly success. Ibn Gabirol saw the goal of the existence of man in the "attachment" of his soul to the supernal world that is the "return of like to like." This goal is to be reached by "knowledge," i.e., the contemplative life of the intellect, and by "work," i.e., the practice of the ethical virtues. The former is the exercise of intellectual virtues, whereas the latter pertains to the acquisition of moral virtues, which are linked to parts of the body. Ibn Gabirol explained the precise connection between specific moral traits and human physiology in his *Islah al-Akhlaq* translated into Hebrew as *Tikkun Middot ha-Nefesh* ("The Improvement of Moral Qualities"). This was a manual for the cultivation of proper character traits composed for the sake of the Jewish *adib* and reflecting the commitment of Jews to the social ideals of *adab* culture. Together moral and intellectual perfections free the soul from the captivity of nature, and purify it from its turbidity and darkness (*Mekor Ḥayyim*, 1:2). Ibn Gabirol holds that "knowledge" leads to "works," which, in turn, enable the soul to rise to the contemplation of the spiritual world. The highest level of contemplation consists in the ecstatic vision of the "first universal matter" in which all supernal forms are contained (3:56–58). There is, however, a still higher goal to be attained. Beyond universal matter (and universal form) there exists, in Ibn Gabirol's ontological scheme, the "will" of God and, in the final passage of his *Mekor Ḥayyim*, he speaks of a progress of knowledge leading to a knowledge of the "will." Holding that a still higher stage may be achieved, Ibn Gabirol calls for an ascent to the "will's" beginning and source, i.e., God. The fruit of this effort is freedom from death and man's "attachment" to the "fountain of life" (*mekor ḥayyim*), i.e., communion with God. Beatitude in the hereafter is, in Ibn Gabirol's view, not a mere continuation of the bliss of the contemplative life, but a gift of God (5:43, end).

With Ibn Gabirol, Baḥya shares the new intellectualist piety characteristic of Jewish philosophy in Muslim Spain. He too sees the upward way as the "road to felicity" (*Ḥovot ha-Levavot*, 1:7), passing through the stages of purification, illumination, and the vision of the "supernal and exalted forms" (8:4). He identifies the love of God with the soul's longing for union with the supernal light, i.e., supernal wisdom (10:1), holding that it arises from the purifying effects of the ascetic life (10:11) and from the scrutiny of the soul (10:8). According to Baḥya, man is an "exile" in this world (8:3), and the "bliss of the next world" should be his most cherished goal (4:4, end). The reward promised for the hereafter is said to consist in the "utmost distinction [conferred on man] by God" and in the "approximation to the supernal light" (4:4). This definition combines the notion of reward as a gift from God with the neoplatonic concept of illumination and union as a result of the soul's ascent. *Judah Halevi, another member of the courtier class in Muslim Spain who was critical of some of its tendencies, even though he absorbed the neoplatonic schema, teaches that the bliss of the World-to-Come is essentially identical with the supreme stage attainable in this world. This stage is conceived in neoplatonic terms as an "attachment" to the "supernal world" and to the "divine light" (*Kuzari*, 1:103; 3:20), and is more sharply defined as a suprarational prophetic stage. In Halevi's view the life of piety is essentially of the same order as the prophetic stage of illumination and communion with God. Accordingly, the pious man can achieve the bliss of attachment to God already in this world.

Discussions of beatitude became more sophisticated in Jewish Aristotelianism, but also more problematic from Jewish traditional perspective. While Jewish Aristotelians interpreted beatitude solely as a cognitive state in which the human intellect conjoins with the incorporeal intelligence, they disagreed on whether immortality is individual or collective, reflecting thereby a difference of opinion which also existed among Islamic philosophers. Among the Muslims, *al-Farabi (in his earlier works) and *Avicenna affirmed that the individual human intellect becomes immortal once it has achieved the stage of the "acquired intellect" (see *Intellect), while *Avempace and *Averroes held that in the afterlife there exists one intellect for all men, denying thereby that anything individual remains after death. Closely related to the question of immortality was that of man's "ultimate felicity," a state which Aristotelians generally identified with the "conjunction" of man's "acquired intellect" with the "agent intellect," or sometimes even with God. Reflecting the differences of opinion concerning immortality, those affirming that immortality was individual allowed for "ultimate felicity" in this world and the next, while the proponents of collective immortality held that "ultimate felicity" was possible only in this world.

The position of *Maimonides concerning immortality cannot be easily determined. In his *Guide of the Perplexed* (1:74, the seventh method), the discussion implies that he inclines to Avempace's doctrine of the unity of souls in the hereafter, which amounts to the denial of individual immortality. By contrast, he speaks of the "acquired intellect" as "separate from the organic body" (1:72), and sharply distinguishes the potential intellect with which man is born, and which is a "mere disposition," from the actual intellect, which remains after death, thus implying that immortality is individual (1:70; see also 1:41). Moreover, the whole tenor of his description of the state of man's attachment to God (3:51) points in the direction of an individual afterlife. Concerning beatitude, Maimonides holds that "ultimate felicity" is possible in this world, as well as in the next. While still in his bodily state a human being may achieve the state of continually being with God (whereby Maimonides seems to refer to "conjunction" with the agent intellect), by means of the intellectual worship of Him. Among humans, Moses achieved this state in the most excellent manner, but approximating this intellectual perfection is, in principle, also possible for others. This stage of ultimate felicity is continued in the afterlife. Maimonides' endeavor to impress his readers with the spiritual character of the bliss of the afterlife is particularly pronounced in his discussion in his commentary on the Mishnah (introd. to Sanh., *perek Ḥelek*), and reappears in his *Mishneh Torah* (*hilkhot Teshuvah*, ch. 8). Maimonides interprets the meaning of the previously cited rabbinic dictum: "In the world to come there is no eating, no drinking, no bathing, no anointing, no sexual intercourse; but the righteous sit with crowns upon their heads and enjoy the splendor of the *Shekhinah*" in the following manner: "'crowns upon their heads' means the survival of the soul by virtue of the survival of knowledge, the two being one and the same thing; 'enjoying the splendor of the *Shekhinah*' means taking delight in the intellection of the Creator, even as the holy *ḥayyot* and the other angelic orders delight in their comprehension of His existence." Maimonides, it should be noted, distinguished between the World-to-Come, which is an incorporeal state, and Paradise, which is a place here on earth. The treatise known as *Perakim be-Haẓlaḥah* ("Chapters on Beatitude") has been wrongly ascribed to Maimonides, but it expresses views similar to his. Affirming that felicity is possible in this world and the next, the treatise distinguishes between the ecstatic experience of prophecy and the ultimate felicity of the soul's union with God in the next world. Prophecy is described as the stage of human perfection at which the rational soul, like a polished mirror, reflects the light of the supernal world. At this stage one is happy, though one's joy is tempered with the fear of God. Prophecy can be reached only after a search for wisdom and after subjecting the senses to a rigorous discipline. Imagination functions at this level under the complete control of the intellect (cf. Maimonides' letter in *Kovez̤ Teshuvot ha-Rambam*, 2:39b, where the same motif is quoted in the name of Abraham Ibn Ezra's commentary on Ex. 23:20). The ultimate felicity, on the other hand, is the reward which all righteous may expect in the next world according to the measure of their worthiness. The author adds that this view of the afterlife is in agreement with the views of the philosophers, whereby he seems to refer to al-Farabi (in his earlier works) and Avicenna. The author assures his reader that every man can rise to a rank close to Moses' (for which there is a parallel in Guide, 3:51), and, echoing neoplatonic traditions, he states that ultimate felicity consists in the union with God following the purification of the soul and its illumination by the supernal light.

The meaning of beatitude and its implication for Jewish culture became a hotly debated issue, constituting the so-called Maimonidean Controversy of the 13th century. Its first phase (1202–4) concerned the fate of the human soul after death and the resurrection of the body; the second phase (1232–35) was about the composition of Jewish education; the third phase (c. 1290) pertained to the allegorical interpretation of the Torah; and the fourth (1303–5) to the validity of astrology, the discipline that most captured scientific naturalism, in traditional Jewish society. All of these debates were aspects of a larger question: what is the necessary and sufficient knowledge for the attainment of the ultimate end of human life defined as beatitude? The debates were exceptionally acrimonious because what was at stake was the salvation of the individual soul, a topic hotly debated not only among Jews but also between Judaism and Christianity. As Jewish rationalism spread in Spain, Provençe, and Italy during the 13th century, Jewish philosophers differentiated between two orders of felicity: one in this world and one of a still higher degree in the hereafter. This distinction is found in Shem Tov ibn *Falaquera's *Sefer ha-Ma'alot* (ed. L. Venetianer (1894), 15–19), where the "true happiness of the soul at its ultimate perfection" is said to lead to the eternal life. Invoking the notion of a twofold felicity, *Hillel b. Samuel in his *Tagmulei ha-Nefesh* (Lyck, 1874) states that humans, through the perfection of the moral and intellectual virtues, may achieve a rank even higher than that of the angels, but the beatific vision becomes possible only after death. The perfected human is then illumined by the "eternal light," rises from rank to rank, and at the end is granted the vision of God. This state, in Hillel's view, is the meaning of Paradise (*ibid.*, 23a–24a). Hillel's analysis of ultimate felicity manifests a familiarity with and influence of Christian scholastic discourse, especially of Thomas *Aquinas.

Jewish philosophers who accepted *Averroes' epistemology either openly or implicitly denied the validity of the belief in individual immortality. Thus, for example, Samuel ibn Tibbon appears to subscribe to Averroes' doctrine of the unity of souls, when in his *Ma'amar Yikkavu ha-Mayim* (ed. M. Bisliches, Pressburg, 1837) he says of the soul which has become perfect and separate from matter at death that it conjoins with the agent intellect, and that "they become one single thing, for now the soul becomes divine, of a superior and immortal order, like the agent intellect with which it is united" (p. 91). It may be assumed, especially in the light of his commentary on Ecclesiastes, that Ibn Tibbon speaks here of a "total fusion" which leaves no room for individual survival (see G. Vajda, *Recherches sur la philosophie et la Kabbale* (1962), 27 n. 3). *Levi b. Gershom, on the other hand, upheld the notion of individual immortality and of individual degrees of bliss in the hereafter. In his *Milḥamot Adonai* (1:13) he says that the "degrees of the happy ones" vary greatly according to the degree of unity achieved by the acquired intellect in its conception of the intelligibles. The degree of bliss in the hereafter – identified by him with Paradise – depends on the degree and type of knowledge achieved while on earth.

Traditionalist Reaction

The pronounced intellectualism of the philosophers' concept of beatitude provoked a great deal of indignant protest from the traditionalists who regarded the life of piety rather than intellectual pursuits as the gateway to eternal felicity. The kabbalist Jacob b. Sheshet *Gerondi (in his *Meshiv Devarim Nekhoḥim*; see Vajda, op. cit., 110–1) attacked Samuel ibn Tibbon's interpretation of the ladder in Jacob's dream as an allegory of man's intellectual progress. The Zohar was profoundly concerned with ultimate felicity and could be viewed as a dramatization of an ethical theory about the intrinsically good life as well as an implicit polemic against the systematic discourses of the rational philosophers. For the Zohar the Torah itself is considered as the source of the well-lived life in this world and the blissful life of the World-to-Come. Unlike the philosophers, for whom cognizing intelligibles culled from the observation of nature leads to enlightenment, for the Zohar, enlightenment comes only from fathoming those mysteries of the Torah that pertain to the inner life of the Godhead. The kabbalists, who possess this esoteric knowledge, are able to fathom the inner meaning of each and every mitzvah and perform it correctly, thereby producing holiness in the performer and in the world and even increasing the holiness of the Godhead, by bringing about the re-union of the masculine and feminine aspect of God. The ultimate end of the pursuit of religious perfection is thus the perfection of God. According to Zoharic anthropology the very fact of the afterlife is not a theoretical problem because the soul is an individuated entity even before its association with the particular body. When the body dies, the individual soul survives the event; its very existence as a separate substance does not depend on the body itself. The career of the soul after the death of the body depends on the balance between the merits and sins that one has accrued throughout life. If one lived a holy life, the soul returns to her divine source.

During the 14th century the path toward beatitude became the focal point of the Jewish-Christian polemics, when learned rabbinic Jews such as *Abner of Burgos, converted to Christianity and debated with their former coreligionists. Abner challenged his conversation partner, Isaac *Polleqar, to differentiate between faith and rational knowledge and argued that the highest expression of faith is the love of God but that love is not commensurate with the degree of intellectual perfection. Abner's position influenced Ḥasdai *Crescas, who was the main critic of the philosophic conception of beatitude. In his *Or Adonai* (3:3), he rejected the theory that the soul achieves its immortality only through the process of knowledge. The degrees of bliss in the hereafter correspond to the degrees of love of God and attachment to him. Crescas replaced the Maimonidean view of ultimate felicity with a non-intellectualist interpretation of human love that focused on the willingness of the individual to be committed to God. For Crescas ultimate felicity consists of a kind of life that is commensurate with the nature of the soul as in incorporeal substance; the happiness of the soul is predicated not on cognitive activity but on the ability of the will to freely choose the good. Human love for God is reflected not in the contemplation of intelligibles but in the actual performance of the commandments. The anti-intellectualist attitude gained ground in the last phase of Jewish life in Spain.

During the 15th and 16th centuries, philosophic reflections on beatitude changed in response to traumatic events in Jewish history: the persecutions and mass conversion of Jews in Spain in 1391 and the expulsions from Spain (1492) and Portugal (1497), growing Jewish familiarity with Christian scholasticism and Renaissance humanism, and increasing blending of rationalist philosophy and Kabbalah. In Italy the typical example of this intellectual syncretism was Johanan Alemanno, for whom the final end of human life was a mystical union with God's attributes, the *Sefirot*, or more particularly with the central sefirah, *Tiferet* ("Beauty"). Alemanno understood the mystical union with God in accord with his spiritual mentor, Abraham *Abulafia, who envisioned this state as prophecy. Using the Platonic characterization of "divine madness," Alemanno depicted this ecstatic state as the culmination of the erotic pursuit of wisdom. In that state the human soul loses any taint of corporeality and is able to become one with the form of the Good. The highest example of erotic spirituality, according to Alemanno, is the Song of Songs, which Alemanno read as a guide to the attainment of a mystical union with God in this life.

For Sephardi exiles in the Ottoman Empire reflections on ultimate felicity, or beatitude, became an obsession, looming large in their biblical commentaries, sermons, and systematic theology. Moses *Almosnino harmonized Jewish Aristotelianism and the Zohar in order to provide answers to Jewish perplexity after the expulsion from Iberia. His analysis of the pursuit of perfection agrees with Crescas that love of God is the ultimate end of human love. Through the love of God one attains the perfection of all virtues in this world for which one is rewarded with eternal life. The love of God is everlasting and inexhaustible because it is an unconditional love. This love is not a communication between two perfect intellects but the love of the infinite details of the beloved. Only a perfect will that can discern the infinite variations of particulars can love God, the most perfect Will, unconditionally. Therefore, those who unconditionally love the Torah, the manifestation of God's infinite love, love God and enjoy everlasting salvation. Love of God yields the blissful union of the separated soul with God, enjoying an incomparable spiritual delight. The bliss of personal immortality is reserved for perfect Jews, a community that includes men and women. Women could enter the World-To-Come, because for Almosnino, in contrast to the rationalist tradition, ultimate felicity does not depend on philosophical wisdom but on faith, the perfection of the will, and the actual performance of mitzvot. Almosnino did not ignore the traditional hope for the coming of the messiah but depoliticized it by spiritualizing its meaning. In the Messianic Age, a total transformation of human existence from corporeality to spirituality will take place so that all Jews will envision the "face of the *Shekhinah*" during their lifetimes because their bodies will no longer be material entities. The bliss of immortality could thus be enjoyed despite the continuation of political exile.

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[Alexander Altmann / Hava Tirosh-Samuelson (2nd ed.)]

BEAUCAIRE (Heb. בלקיירי), town in France. Documents attest the existence of a Jewish community in Beaucaire in the 12th century; its Jews served the counts of Toulouse as fiscal administrators. After the death of Count Raymond in 1194 there were anti-Jewish outbreaks. With the annexation of lower Languedoc to France in 1229 the privileges formerly enjoyed by the Jews in Beaucaire were revoked. In 1294 Philip the Fair relegated the Jews to a special quarter, between the fortress and the present Rue Haute, today the Roquecourbe quarter. A year later he ordered the imprisonment of several Jews in order to extort money from them. The Jews had to leave Beaucaire when they were expelled from France in 1306. They were allowed to return in 1315, when their resettlement was supervised by Christian and Jewish agents sent by the king. In 1317 the Jews in Beaucaire were required to wear the Jewish *Badge. They were again expelled in 1322. The further rehabilitation of the community after 1359 came to an end with the general expulsion of the Jews from France in 1394; most of the exiles settled in Provence, then outside French administration, and in the Papal State of the *Comtat-Venaissin, where many Jews retained Beaucaire as a family name. The former Jewish quarter of Beaucaire was demolished during a siege in 1578.

The poet Judah Al-Ḥarizi, on his visit to Beaucaire in about 1210, found poets and philosophers living there. In about 1321, Samuel b. Judah of Marseilles (Marseilili) finished his Hebrew translation of *Averroes' "middle" commentary on Aristotle's *Ethics* while imprisoned in the fortress of Beaucaire. Moses b. Solomon of Beaucaire translated Averroes' long commentary on the *Metaphysics* (1342); Beaucaire was also the birthplace of the translator Tanḥum b. Moses.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: G.Saige, *Les Juifs du Languedoc* (1881); Steinschneider, Uebersetzungen, 171, 217, 666; Gross, Gal Jud, 119–21; Kahn, in: REJ, 65 (1913), 181–95; 66 (1913), 75–97; G. Caro, *Social-und Wirtschaftsgeschichte der Juden*, 1 (1924), 386–90, 510; Z. Szajkowski, *Franco-Judaica* (1962), index.

[Zvi Avneri]

BEBAI.

(1) Third-century Palestinian *amora*. Bebai studied under R. Johanan (BK 61a), Resh Lakish (TJ, Nid. 3:3, 50d), R. Eleazar b. Pedat (Zev. 70b), and R. Joshua b. Levi (Ber. 62b). He was a close associate of Ammi and Assi (Shab. 74a; TJ, Ter. 8:5, 45c). He interpreted Deuteronomy 28:66 in terms of his own poverty: "'The life you face shall be precarious' – this refers to him who purchases provisions from one year for the next; 'You shall be in terror night and day' – refers to him who purchases provisions from one Sabbath eve to the next, 'with no assurance of survival' – refers to him who is dependent upon the bakery." Although Bebai engaged chiefly in *halakhah*, his opinions being frequently cited in both Talmuds, he was also a competent aggadist. Particularly well-known is his application of the commandment, "You shall not swear falsely by the name of the Lord God" (Ex. 20:7), to hypocrites: "Do not don *tefillin*, wrap yourself in a *tallit*, and then commit a sin" (PR, 22:111b).

(2) Fourth-century Babylonian *amora*. Bebai studied under R. *Naḥman and the Talmud quotes halakhic problems that he discussed with his teacher (BM 23b; BB 36b). He taught *beraitot* in the school of Naḥman (Ḥag. 22b; Yev. 12b) and sat before Hamnuna (Nid. 27a). He transmitted teachings in the names of Rav and Samuel and was endorsed by R. Joseph: "Adopt the version of Bebai" (Meg. 18b). He was friendly with R. Joseph (Kid. 81a), who placed him in charge of religious affairs in his city (Kid. 76b). The exilarch Isaac was his sister's son (Yev. 115b).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Hyman, Toledot, 264ff.

[Yitzhak Dov Gilat / Zvi Kaplan]

BEBAI BAR ABBAYE (fourth century), Babylonian *amora*. Bebai was a son of *Abbaye, head of the Pumbedita academy, and studied under him and R. *Joseph. He served as *dayyan* in Pumbedita and appears to have succeeded his father (Yev. 75b). According to the Talmud (Ket. 85a) his colleagues R. *Papi and R. *Huna b. Joshua, who sat with him as judges, at times opposed his rulings with the words, "Because you are a descendant of short-lived people your words are incomplete, lacking a beginning and making no sense" (referring to his descent from Eli the priest whose descendants were condemned to die young, cf. I Sam. 2:32; see *Arukh*, s.v. *mal*). However, R. Papi greatly respected him, referring to him as "master" even in his absence (Ḥul. 43b). Bebai was a prosperous farmer, leasing land in addition to his own (BM 109a; BB 137b). Many legends are related of him. According to one, the angel of death visited him frequently and disclosed to him the secrets of the other world (Ḥag. 4b–5a). Another relates that he perceived demons at work, and was stricken down, whereupon the scholars prayed for him and effected his recovery (Ber. 6a).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Hyman, Toledot, 265f.

[Yitzhak Dov Gilat]

BEBE, PAULINE (1965?–), French reform rabbi. After studying the English and Hebrew languages in Paris, Pauline Bebe attended the rabbinical seminary at the London-based liberal Leo Baeck College, one of the few rabbinical institutions in Europe welcoming women. She completed her Hebrew cursus in Jerusalem (Hebrew Union College) and earned a degree from the Institut des Langues Orientales in Paris. Her first rabbinical appointments, while a student rabbi, were in Southport and Cardiff. Her academic interests were the attitude of Judaism towards proselytism and conversion and the ethics of language, both themes providing her with the background of a strongly liberal and passionate exploration of the dynamics of Jewish tradition.

Back in France, she became the country's first female rabbi in 1990, serving the MJLF (Mouvement Juif Liberal de France, the most liberal of the two branches of the Reform movement in France at the time), which she left in 1995 to start her own movement, the Communauté Juive Liberale, now embraced by more than 200 families. Her first book, *Le judaisme libéral* ("Liberal Judaism"), was published in Paris in 1993, followed in 2001 by an ambitious dictionary of women and Judaism (*Isha: un dictionnaire des femmes et du judaisme*).

[Dror Franck Sullaper (2nd ed.)]

°**BECCARI, ARRIGO** (1909–), priest and teacher at the Catholic seminary in Nonantola, near Bologna, Italy; Righteous Among the Nations. In July 1942, a group of 50 Jewish children arrived at the seminary, having fled from the war zone in Dalmatia, Yugoslavia, between Italian troops and local partisans. With the help of Delasem, the officially recognized Jewish emigration and welfare agency, the children were housed in the Villa Emma home. There, Josef Itai, the group's leader, became friendly with Father Arrigo Beccari. Nonantola seemed a safe place to sit out the war, but when Italy surrendered to the Allies on September 8, 1943, and the Germans overran the parts of the country not yet in Allied hands, a reign of terror began for the Jews. In order to keep the children at the Villa Emma from falling into German hands, Beccari, without necessarily consulting his superiors, took as many children as possible into the seminary for hiding and arranged for others to be housed with friendly villagers. Food for all of them was provided by the seminary's kitchen. As the Nazis and their local collaborators stepped up the search for Jews, it became urgent for the children and their adult leaders, a total of 120 persons, to be moved somewhere else. It was decided to take the whole group north and across the Swiss border. With the help of Dr. Giuseppe Moreali, Nonantola's physician, all 120 persons were provided with forged documents identifying them as Italians. Then they boarded a train for the Swiss frontier, a ride fraught with terrible but unavoidable risks, for most of them could hardly speak Italian and the forged papers may not have saved them during a police check. Luckily, no mishaps occurred during the long train ride, and on Yom Kippur eve of 1943 the group passed safely into Switzerland. The Gestapo, discovering the loss of the children, seized Beccari and imprisoned him in Bologna. Despite the tortures inflicted on him over the next few months, he refused to disclose the names of the persons who had helped him or to reveal the whereabouts of others Jews in hiding. His religious superiors interceded on his behalf and he was released. Years later he wrote: "It would be difficult for me to erase the memory of the terror and suffering of those days or of my joy at doing the small good which was my duty and which had to be done." In 1964, Don Beccari was awarded the title of Righteous Among the Nations by Yad Vashem.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Yad Vashem Archives M31–35; M. Paldiel, *The Path of the Righteous* (1993), 356–57.

[Mordecai Paldiel (2nd ed.)]

BECHER, SIEGFRIED (1806–1873), Austrian economist. Becher was born in Plany (Bohemia) and educated in Prague and Vienna. After his conversion to Catholicism, he became professor of geography and history at the Vienna Polytechnic and was frequently consulted by the Austrian authorities on statistical and tariff questions, and represented his country in several international negotiations. In 1848 he was made a counselor at the Ministry of Commerce, and later was granted the title of "Hofrat" (court counselor). After a denunciation because of democratic inclinations he was dismissed in 1852 and died eventually in poverty. In addition to statistical investigations Becher's interests centered on labor and population economics. His publications include *Handelsgeographie* (2 vols., 1836–37); *Oesterreichisches Muenzwesen 1524–1838* (2 vols., 1838); *Die Bevoelkerungsverhaeltnisse der oesterreichischen Monarchie* (1846); *Organisation des Gewerbewesens* (1849); and *Die Volkswirtschaft* (1853).

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[Joachim O. Ronall / Marcus Pyka (2nd ed.)]

BECHHOLD, JACOB HEINRICH (1866–1937), German colloid chemist, born in Frankfurt. Bechhold was the director of the Institute of Colloid Research, Frankfurt, and took out several patents on filtration and on adhesives. He was the author of: *Die Kolloide in Biologie und Medizin* (1912; 1919^5); *Handlexikon der Naturwissenschaften und Medizin* (1920); *Ultrafiltration* (1923); and *Einfuehrung in die Lehre von den Kolloiden* (1934).

BECHYNE (Get. **Bechin**), town in Bohemia, Czech Republic. Legends are connected with R. Ḥayyim, living in Bechyne in the 16th century, who apparently forbade the building of a burial hall at the cemetery. Five Jewish taxpayers are mentioned in 1570. In 1685 the representatives of Bohemian Jewry complained that the community of Bechyne had failed to comply with its ordinances. In 1695 the Jews there were prohibited from residing in the same building as Christians. The community numbered 81 persons (14 families living in six houses) in 1715, and 56 persons in 1725. In 1898 the community's German-language school was closed down. The community numbered 145 persons in 1902 and 32 in 1930. It was liquidated by the Nazis in 1942. Several of the Jewish houses in the Jewish street, and the cemetery with remarkable tombstones from the last quarter of the 17th century, were preserved. There were also Jewish communities in the vicinity in Bernartice and Stadlec.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Chleborád, in: H. Gold (ed.), *Juden und Judengemeinden Boehmens* (1934), 23–25. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** J. Fiedler, *Jewish Sights of Bohemia and Moravia* (1991), 42–43.

BECK, KARL ISIDOR (1817–1879), Hungarian-born poet, writing in German, who gave voice to the Hungarian people's struggle for liberation against the Austrian Empire. His work was filled with despair and disillusion with the state of Jewry and the world. His first poems, *Naechte, Gepanzerte Lieder* (1838), and *Stille Lieder* (1840), contained such glowing rhetoric, passionate imagery, and consuming love of freedom that he was hailed as a new Byron. When his *Lieder vom armen Mann* appeared in 1846, Friedrich Engels saw in him a future Goethe. The *Lieder vom armen Mann* are lyrics of great depth of feeling and clarity of vision, ranging from savage invective against social injustice to pathetic pictures of starvation in working-class homes. Beck prefaced the volume with the allegation that Rothschild had enslaved the masses with his gold and had failed to liberate his own unredeemed people. Beck was the first German lyric poet to write about slum conditions; in his lyrics there broods a vague hope of better days to come and a fear of impending social strife. Beck's Jewish despair found utterance in a cycle of poems entitled *Das junge Palaestina*, that bewail his unreciprocated love for Germany. His biblical drama *Saul* (1840) has as its climax David's vision of the Jewish people: he sees them as eternal fugitives who have become mere caricatures of a people that was once pure, simple, and glorious. His verse epic, *Jankó, der ungarische Rosshirt* (1841), contains some excellent descriptions of Hungarian life. The refrain of one of his poems, "an der schoenen blauen Donau" inspired Johann Strauss' famous "Blue Danube" waltz. Although he was baptized in 1843, Beck continued to be haunted by the fate of Jewry. He sank into a state of pessimistic resignation, which was intensified by the failure of the Hungarian rising of 1848. Filled with bitterness, he made his peace with the Austrian government, renounced his radical activities, and virtually ceased writing poetry for the rest of his life.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: S. Liptzin, *Lyric Pioneers of Modern Germany* (1928), ch. 3; E. Thiel, *Karl Becks literarische Entwicklung* (1938).

[Sol Liptzin]

°**BECK(IUS), MATTHIAS FRIEDRICH** (1649–1701), German Lutheran Orientalist. Born in Kaufbeuren (Swabia), Beck studied at Augsburg and Jena (1668–70), under the renowned philologist Johann Frischmuth. His competence in Oriental languages was very broad, Jewish interests being reflected in his translation into Latin of the Targum to Chronicles (1680–83) and publication of Jewish antiquities discovered in Augsburg (*Monumenta antiqua judaica Augustae Vindelicorum reperta*,1686). His voluminous unpublished works, now mostly dispersed, included translations of Benjamin of Tudela's and Petaḥiah of Regensburg's travelogues.

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[Raphael Loewe / Giulio Busi (2nd ed.)]

°**BECK, MICHAEL** (1653–1712), German Lutheran theologian and Hebraist. Beck studied in Jena, like his namesake M.F. *Beck, under the apostate Frischmuth. He left a tract on the Masoretic accents as a hermeneutic device (Jena, 1678; repr. in G. Menthen, *Thesaurus theologico-philologicus*, 1, 1701), as well as *Hannaḥatan ve-Ḥalizatan shel Tefillin* or *Usus Phylacteriorum* (Jena, 1675), which is a public dissertation on phylacteries by Beck with the reply of Matthew Kreher.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: J.G.W. Dunkel, *Historisch-critische Nachrichten von verstorbenen Gelehrten*, 3 vols. (1753–57); A. Weyermann, *Nachrichten von Gelehrten… aus Ulm* (1798); ADB, 2 (1875), 218; J.C. Adelung, *Allgemeines Gelehrten-lexicon*, 1 (1784), 1580 (bibl.).

[Raphael Loewe]

BECK, MORITZ (**Meir**; 1845–1923), rabbi, educator, and leader of Romanian Jewry. Born at Pápa in Hungary, Beck studied at the University of Breslau and the Breslau rabbinical seminary. He went to Romania in 1873, and was appointed preacher (in 1900, rabbi) at the "Choir Temple" and principal of the Loebel Jewish School for Boys in Bucharest. Beck was considered rabbi of the progressive elements in the Bucharest community. He promoted the expansion of Jewish education in Romania, encouraging the formation of new schools with adequate financial support. He also helped establish social welfare institutions, and worked toward the renewal of the Bucharest community organization, which had disintegrated in the second half of the 19th century (see *Romania). Beck took a prominent part in the fight against antisemitism and discrimination in Romania and for the emancipation of Romanian Jews. He contributed to the general and Jewish press, and published the journal *Revista Israelită* from 1886 to 1892 and from 1908 to 1910. Aside from his sermons and numerous articles on various subjects, Beck compiled a Hebrew-Romanian dictionary of the Torah (1881). Toward the end of his life he was attracted by Zionism.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *M. Beck, Cuvânt de omagiu: Viața și opera* (1925); A. Stern, *Insemnări din viața mea*, 2 (1921), passim.

[Eliyahu Feldman]

BECK, WILLY (1844–1886), Hungarian painter and cartoonist. He exhibited portraits and scenes from daily-life at the Budapest salon. He later earned his living by publishing the *Zeitgeist*, a humorous periodical in German, contributing all the prose and cartoons. In 1849 he settled in Vienna and edited the *Charivari*, a political and satirical journal, until the police suspended publication. He then returned to Hungary.

BECKELMAN, MOSES W. (1906–1955), U.S. social worker. Beckelman was born in New York City. He was a lecturer in social work at the City College of New York (1927–30), and managing editor of the *Jewish Social Service Quarterly* (1936–39). At the outbreak of World War II Beckelman was sent by the *American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee to Lithuania, where he helped large numbers of refugees to emigrate, until he was forced to leave in 1941. In 1942 Beckelman joined the U.S. Office of Strategic Services, and in 1943 directed a refugee camp in Morocco for UNRRA. After serving as an assistant director of the Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees, from February 1945, he rejoined the "Joint" in 1946 and became its director general in Europe in 1951. Until his death Beckelman supervised the liquidation of the displaced persons camps, the establishment of *Malben in Israel for the social care of immigrants, and extensive social work programs for Jews, especially in Morocco and Iran.

[Yehuda Bauer]

BECKER, U.S. family of bankers and philanthropists. ABRAHAM G. BECKER (1857–1925), U.S. banker and philanthropist, was born in Warsaw, Ohio, and eventually settled in Chicago. He organized his own commercial paper house, A.G. Becker and Company, which pioneered in the syndication of large loans. Active in communal affairs, Becker helped found the Associated Jewish Charities of Chicago and served as its president for eight years. He was a trustee of Hebrew Union College and the Chicago Orchestral Association and bequeathed large sums to the Chicago Art Institute and the Chicago Jewish charities. His son, JAMES HERMAN (1894–1970), was also a banker and communal leader. In 1914, while an undergraduate at Cornell University, he helped convoke the original Jewish War Relief Conference in Chicago. Becker served with the U.S. Army in Europe from 1918 to 1921, assisting war victims through the American Relief Association and later as director general of the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee in Europe. Upon his return to America in 1921, Becker joined his father's firm, becoming director (1926), president (1947), and chairman (1961). He also directed several other companies and served with many Jewish organizations. In 1936 he was chosen president of the Chicago Jewish Welfare Fund, a post that he held for nearly 30 years.

[Edward L. Greenstein]

BECKER, AHARON (1906–1995), Israeli labor leader. Born in Kobrin, Belorussia, Becker grew up in Brest-Litovsk, where he joined the Zionist labor youth movement and *He-Ḥalutz. In 1925 he settled in Palestine. He was a construction worker in Petaḥ Tikvah and Tel Aviv and cofounder of Ha-Baḥarut ha-Soẓyalistit ha-Ivrit, the union of young members of *Aḥdut ha-Avodah. He started his career as a *Histadrut worker in 1929 as the secretary of the workers' council in Ramat Gan; he later worked in Tel Aviv in various trade unions and was on its workers' council. He was an initiator of the cost-of-living scale for wages and salaries. In 1947 Becker was appointed by Ben-Gurion to organize the supply department of the Haganah and later of Israel's army, but in 1949 returned to Histadrut work, becoming the chairman of its executive's trade union department, a post he held for 12 years. From 1961 until 1969 he served as the Histadrut's secretary-general. He maintained many international contacts, and regularly attended the conferences of the International Labor Organization in Geneva, serving on its governing body from 1957 until 1971. Becker was elected to the Knesset (from the Third to the Seventh Knesset) on the Mapai and Labor Party ticket. He published a book entitled *Bi-Ymei Shilton ha-Labor* ("In the Period of Labor Government," 1955), after visiting Britain in the early 1950s, and *Ha-Oved be-Yisrael* ("The Worker in Israel," 1970).

[Shmuel Soler]

BECKER, EDWARD ROY (1933–), U.S. jurist. Becker was born in Philadelphia, Penn. He received his B.A. from the University of Pennsylvania in 1954 and his LL.B. from Yale Law School in 1957. He practiced law in Philadelphia with Becker, Fryman and Ervais from 1957 until 1970. In 1970, President Richard M. *Nixon nominated Becker, then only 37 years old, to the U.S. District Court, Eastern District of Pennsylvania. In 1981, President Ronald *Reagan nominated him to the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Third Circuit. He was Chief Judge from 1998 to 2003 and achieved a remarkable collegiality in the Court.

Federal appellate courts often decide cases with a single word: "Affirmed." Becker felt that this was a mistake, "that we owed the bar more." Providing a rationale for a judicial decision, Becker said, "was the right thing to do." When he began his term as Chief Judge, the Third Circuit resolved 53% of its cases without comment. By the end of 2002, the number was 3%. His passion for writing comprehensive opinions, leaving no hard issue behind and clarifying the law no matter how complex, led colleagues to chide him for his predilection for extensive footnotes In fact, his article "In Praise of Footnotes" has become a judicial classic.

He was deeply involved in efforts to improve the administration of justice, serving on the executive committee of the Judicial Conference and the board of the Federal Judicial Center. He helped simplify the management of complex litigation, improve the Federal Rules, and coordinate state and federal judicial efforts. He wrote and lectured extensively on cutting-edge legal issues and produced more than 1,000 opinions, a significant number of which were precedent-setting. His expertise – particularly in anti-trust, securities, class actions, scientific evidence, and tort law – is widely recognized, and his opinions are often cited by other judges, including justices of the Supreme Court.

In 2002, the American Judicature Society conferred its prestigious Devitt Distinguished Service Award upon him. This award honors a federal judge whose "career has been exemplary and who has made significant contributions to the administration of justice, the advancement of the rule of law, and the improvement of society as a whole." His nomination was co-signed by every judge on the Third Circuit.

Judge Becker served in leadership roles in his synagogue, but judicial rules precluded active participation in many Jewish organizations committed to fundraising, or to social issues that may come before the Court. Jewish leaders – cultural, philanthropic, civic, and entrepreneurial – have consulted with him often to benefit from his wisdom and insight.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: S.B. Burbank, "Making Progress the Old-Fashioned Way," in: *University of Pennsylvania Law Review* (2001), 1231; M.A. Hamilton, "A Truly Remarkable Judge," ibid., 1237; D.H. Souter, "Tribute to the Honorable Edward R. Becker," ibid., 1229.

[Jerome J. Shestack (2nd ed.)]

BECKER, GARY STANLEY (1930–), American economist, Nobel Prize winner. Born in Pottsville, Pennsylvania, Becker was educated at Princeton and the University of Chicago. He was the Arthur Lehman Professor of Economics at the University of Chicago and, from 1985, a columnist for *Business Week* magazine. A free-market philosopher, Becker applied the methods of economics to aspects of human behavior previously considered the domain of sociology, anthropology, and demography. Early in his career, for example, he decided that racial and ethnic bias could be maintained only if markets were not completely competitive. The idea that discrimination takes a financial toll on the discriminator is an accepted concept among economists today, thanks to Becker. And in his 1964 book *Human Capital*, he raised the idea of considering education as an economic decision.

In the late 1960s he postulated that the way to reduce crime was to raise the probability of punishment or make the punishment more severe. His insights into crime helped develop a new branch of economics. He also examined the family unit, considering the household as a small business the behavior of which could be analyzed by applying economic principles.

In 1967 Becker won the John Bates Clark Award of the American Economic Association and served as president of the association in 1987. In 1992 he was awarded the Nobel Memorial Prize in Economic Science "for having extended the domain of economic theory to aspects of human behavior which had previously been dealt with – if at all – by other social science disciplines such as sociology, demography, and criminology." Other books by Becker include: *The Economics of Discrimination* (1957), *The Allocation of Time and Goods Over the Life Cycle* (1975), *A Treatise on the Family* (1981), *The Economic Approach to Human Behavior* (1992), *The Essence of Becker* (1995), and *The Economics of Life: From Baseball to Affirmative Action to How Real World Issues Affect Our Everyday Life* (1996) – a collection of Becker's popular *Business Week* columns.

[Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

BECKER, JULIUS (1881–1945), German Zionist journalist and politician. Becker was born in Gottesberg, Silesia, into an acculturated German-Jewish trading family. He studied at Berne University (Ph.D. in graphology). While in Switzerland, he joined the Zionist Democratic Fraction of Ch. *Weizmann, who had been appointed assistant lecturer at Geneva University in 1901. Shortly after, Becker moved to Berlin and joined the staff of the renewed Zionist weekly *Juedische Rundschau* (1895–1938), which, in Oct. 1902, had been taken over by H. *Loewe. Originally established as *Berliner Vereinsbote* (1895–1901) and first renamed *Israelitische Rundschau* (1901–02), it served as the official organ of the *Zionistische Vereinigung fuer Deutschland* (est. 1897). When Loewe resigned in Dec. 1908, Becker became editor-in-chief, followed by Felix Abraham in Oct. 1911. From 1906 to 1913, he also frequently contributed to the central Zionist organ *Die Welt* (1897–1914), signing himself "JB." In 1908, immediately after the Young Turk Revolution, he assisted R. *Lichtheim and V. *Jabotinsky in Constantinople to win the new regime's support for Zionism. Soon, Becker became a prominent figure in German Zionist organizations and was elected to both the Executive and Central Committee of the *ZVFD*. In addition, Becker contributed to political publications, especially those of the Ullstein company, such as *Berliner Morgenpost* (est. 1898) and *Vossische Zeitung* (taken over in 1913 and edited by G. *Bernhard). After 1919, Becker became correspondent of the *Vossische Zeitung* at the League of Nations in Geneva, for a time also chairing the assembly of press correspondents assigned to the League. From 1925, he extended considerable help to V. *Jacobson, the delegate of the Jewish Agency at the League, taking over this post on the latter's death in Aug. 1934. In 1935, Becker went to Shanghai to organize the Chinese Information Service for the Kuomintang government, returning to Switzerland in 1937. As a stateless person, he had to emigrate to the United States in 1941, where he continued his journalistic activities. In his *History of German Zionism* (1954), Lichtheim described Becker as "a very gifted journalist and a charming companion who, due to his numerous contacts, served Zionism a great deal."

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[Johannes Valentin Schwarz (2nd ed.)]

BECKER, JUREK (1937–1997), German writer of Polish-Jewish background. Born in Lodz, Becker grew up in the Lodz ghetto and the concentration camps of Ravensbrueck and Sachsenhausen. In 1945 he moved with his parents, who had survived the war together, to East Berlin. He joined the Freie Deutsche Jugend Communist youth organization and the Communist Party (SED) while studying philosophy. In 1960 he was ousted from the university for political reasons. After he studied at the Film School of Babelsberg he worked as a playwright and writer in East Berlin. Becoming more critical of the East German regime and defending dissidents publicly, he was thrown out of the Communist Party in 1976. A year later he left East Germany and, after a brief stay in the United States, settled in West Berlin.

Becker's best-known book is his first novel *Jakob der Lugner* (1968; *Jacob the Liar*, 1996), which tells the story of Jacob, who owns a radio in the Warsaw ghetto and invents hopeful stories about an imminent liberation. It became the basis of one of the most successful East German movies. *Der Boxer* (1976) describes the new existence of a concentration camp survivor, while *Bronsteins Kinder* (1986; *Bronstein's Children*, 1991) deals with the revenge of survivors against their Nazi torturers. In the 1980s and 1990s he became well known as a scriptwriter for many German TV comedies. Becker never denied his Jewish background, which is apparent in most of his major works, but stressed that in his life, Judaism played no active role.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: S.L. Gilman, *Jurek Becker: A Life in Five Worlds* (2003).

[Michael Brenner (2nd ed.)]

BECKER, LAVY M. (1905–2001), Canadian rabbi, communal official, businessman. Lavy Becker was born in Montreal to Russian immigrant parents. His father was a *shoḥet* and cantor there. Becker attended high school in Montreal and New York, where he studied Talmud at Yeshiva College (*Yeshiva University). He earned a B.A. at McGill University in 1926. In 1930 he was ordained by the *Jewish Theological Seminary.

While at JTS, Becker came under the influence of Mordecai *Kaplan, founder of Reconstructionist Judaism (see *Reconstructionism). Like his classmates and friends Ira Eisenstein and Milton Steinberg, Becker's career reflected a profound commitment to Kaplan's ideal of Judaism as a civilization, a Judaism more expansive than what was usually defined as the religious domain. After graduation, he became rabbi at the Sunnyside Jewish Center and over the next ten years he assumed executive positions at the Jewish Community Centers of Detroit and New Haven as well as taking on the position of executive director of the YM-YWHA in Montreal. Ever ready to assume significant communal challenges, in 1945–46 Becker became the country director for displaced persons in the American Zone of Occupation, under the auspices of the Joint Distribution Committee and UNRWA, responsible for the welfare of the thousands of Holocaust survivors.

After Becker's return to Montreal, he never again assumed a paid position within the Jewish community. He worked first in the family business and then went on to work for others and then himself, when he set up Lavy Becker Consultants. However, he remained deeply involved in Jewish communal life. In 1951, he was the founding rabbi at a new Conservative synagogue (Congregation Beth-El) in the new Jewish community of Mount Royal. Nine years later he realized his ideal of setting up a Reconstructionist synagogue in Montreal, Dorshei Emet, which he served as unpaid rabbi until 1977. During those same decades, Becker served on the executive of the Canadian Jewish Congress and the World Jewish Congress, where he had special responsibilities for smaller Jewish communities. He traveled extensively through the Caribbean and Latin America, including Cuba, as well as to Iceland. In Canada, he was appointed the chairman of the Centennial Interfaith Council, helping organize Canada's 1967 centennial celebrations.

Many regarded Lavy Becker's life as an embodiment of Mordecai Kaplan's Reconstructionist ideals. Within the Reconstructionist movement he was highly regarded, becoming president of the Federation of Reconstructionist Synagogues (1969–72) and chairman of the Board of Overseers of the Reconstructionist Rabbinical College (1969–74). In Montreal, the Jewish Community Federation established in his honor the Lavy M. Becker chair at the Reconstructionist College in Philadelphia.

[Richard Menkis (2nd ed.)]

BEDA (**Fritz Loehner**; **Fritz Loewy**; 1883–1942), Viennese journalist, satirist, and operetta librettist. Born in Wildenschwert, now Usti nad Orlici in the Czech Republic, the Loewy family changed its name to Loehner soon after moving to Vienna. There Beda, whose name is short for Bedrich, Czech for Friedrich, studied law, though already during his school days he had begun to write satirical verse, including some which ridiculed Jews who were attempting to assimilate into Austrian society. In the 1920s Beda became one of the most popular librettists in Vienna. Several of his works provoked scandals, and quotations from them became household words. The satires were published in contemporary Zionist periodicals, and subsequently collected in *Getaufte und Baldgetaufte* ("Baptized and Newly Baptized," 1908); and in *Israeliten und andere Anti-semiten* ("Israelites and Other Anti-Semites," 1909). A collection of personal lyrics is *Ecce ego* (1920). His best-known libretti (with co-authors) were for Franz Lehar's *Land of Smiles* (1929) and Paul Abraham's *Ball in Savoy* (1932); he also collaborated with Fritz Gruenbaum. He was active in the Zionist student organization *Kadimah, and president of the *Hakoah sports club, for whose benefit he organized the "Beda-Abende," one of the highlights of the Vienna season. In 1925 he married Helene Jellinek, with whom he had two daughters. In 1938 Beda was arrested and sent to Dachau, and subsequently deported to the *Buchenwald concentration camp. There he organized cultural activities and in a competition initiated by the camp commandant for a "camp song," Beda's entry (submitted in a "kapo's" name), the "Buchenwaldlied," was chosen as the winner and later became widely known as a reaffirmation that "whatever our fate we still say 'yes' to life." Beda's wife, her mother, and both their daughters were deported to Minsk in 1942. Beda himself died in *Auschwitz that same year.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: A. Baar (ed.), *50 Jahre Hakoah* (1959), 27, 227–8, 258–60; W. Barrel et al., *Buchenwald* (Ger. 1960), index; S. Czech, *Schoen ist die Welt* (1957), 34, 258–86, 292; MGG; G. Schwarberg, *Dein ist mein ganzes Herz. Die Geschichte von Fritz Löhner-Beda* (2000); B. Denscher and H.Peschina, *Kein Land des Laechelns. Fritz Löhner-Beda 1883–1942* (2002).

[Lisa Silverman (2nd ed.)]

BEDACHT, MAX (1883–1972), U.S. Communist leader. Bedacht was born in Munich, Germany. After an impoverished childhood and a career as a journeyman barber and trade union leader in Germany and Switzerland, he immigrated to New York City in 1908, where he supported himself as a barber and German-language newspaper editor. He moved to Detroit and then to San Francisco (1919), where he worked as an editor for the German press. In the same year he was made a member of the national executive committee of the newly formed Communist Labor Party, renamed the American Communist Party in 1921. In this capacity Bedacht was sent as a delegate to the Comintern Congress in Moscow (1921), from which he returned an apostle of the militant new line. While primarily a labor agitator, Bedacht rose to serve on the central executive committee's secretariat (1927–29), and in 1933 was named general secretary of the International Workers Order. He built its Jewish fraternal section into the party's largest auxiliary, while editing its publication *The New Order*. In 1946, following the post-World War II changes in Communist leadership, Bedacht was expelled from the party for factionalism, and retired to become a poultry farmer in New Jersey.

In 1949 he appeared before a hearing of the House Un-American Activities Committee to deny charges made against him by the former Russian espionage agent Whittaker Chambers that for many years he had served as a permanent link between Soviet military intelligence and the central committee of the American Communist Party. In his 1952 autobiography *Witness*, Chambers wrote: "About both brief, tidy men [Heinrich Himmler and Max Bedacht] there was a disturbing quality of secret power mantling insignificance – what might be called the ominousness of nonentity, which is peculiar to the terrible little figures of our time."

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[Edward L. Greenstein / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

BEDARIDA, GUIDO (1900–1962), Italian author and historian. Born in Ancona of a family of south French origin, Bedarida ultimately settled in Leghorn. The Jewish environment had a deep influence on him, inspiring his poetical and literary work and his eagerness to proclaim his Jewish and Zionist identity. Most of Bedarida's poems deal with Jewish subjects. His first collection of verse, *Io Ebreo* (1927), appeared under the pen name of Eliezer ben David, which he thereafter used frequently. Bedarida wrote plays such as *La casa vuota* (1928) and *Io t'ho chiamato* (1930), and three in the Jewish dialect of Leghorn: *Lucilla fa da sé* (1924), *Vigilia di sabato* (1934), and *Il siclo d'argento* (1935). In the verse dialogues *Alla "banca di Memo"* and *Il lascito del sor Barocas* (1950) and in a collection of sonnets, *Ebrei di Livorno* (1956), he gave a lively picture of the life of the Jews of Leghorn and the local Jewish dialect. His *Ebrei d'Italia* (1950) described the Jewish contribution to Italian culture.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: E. Toaff, in: *Scritti… in memoria di G. Bedarida* (1966), 5–13 (complete bibliography on p. 15).

[Giorgio Romano]

BÉDARRIDE, ISRAÉL (1798–1869), French jurist and historian. In 1823 Bédarride won a prize from the Institut de France for his essay on the Jews in the Middle Ages, which he later enlarged and published as *Les juifs en France, en Italie et en Espagne* (1859). The following year Bédarride became a lawyer in Montpellier and was reputed to be one of the best jurists of southern France. He wrote many articles on legal subjects, but Jewish history remained his main interest. In 1867 he published his *Etude sur le* "Guide des égarés" *de Maimonide*, and in 1869 his *Etude sur le Talmud*. Bédarride was also interested in contemporary Jewish life and wrote against proselytism and in favor of religious liberty, *Du proselytisme et de la liberté religieuse, ou le judaisme au milieu des cultes chrétiens dans l'état actuel de la civilisation* (published posthumously). He was the author of *Harcanot et Barcanot*, a comedy on life in Carpentras, written in the local Jewish dialect (1896, 2nd edition 1925).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: M.E. Lisbonne, *Etude nécrologique sur Israél Bédarride* (Montpellier, 1870); Felix, in: AI, 30 (1869), 717–23; Z. Szajkowski, *The Language of the Jews in the Four Communities of Comtat Venaissin* (New York, 1948), 32–36 (Yid. with Eng. summary).

BÉDARRIDES, village in the department of Vaucluse, near Avignon, S. France. The small Jewish community established in Bédarrides in the Middle Ages was expelled by the vice legate of Avignon in 1694. One of the prominent Jewish families of southern France originated in Bédarrides. Its members include: GAD BEN JUDAH OF BÉDARRIDES, who composed a hymn for a local Purim established at *Cavaillon to commemorate escape from rioters in 1713; JASSUDA BÉDARRIDE (1804–1882), jurist, who became mayor of Aix-en-Provence after the 1848 revolution; ISRAÉL (ISAIAH) *BÉDARRIDE; and GUSTAVE EMANUEL BÉDARRIDES (1817–1899), magistrate, the first French Jew to be appointed public prosecutor (*procureur général*) at Bastia, in Corsica (1862), and vice president of the Central Consistory from 1872. A branch of the family which established itself in Italy assumed the name-form *Bedarida.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Bauer, in: REJ, 29 (1894), 254–65; Gross, Gal Jud, 105; *Dictionnaire de Biographie Française*, 5 (1951), 1256f.

[Cecil Roth]

BEDDINGTON, English family of businessmen, philanthropists, and soldiers, originally named Moses. HENRY MOSES (c. 1791–1875) became a wealthy wholesale clothing merchant in London, with links to the New Zealand wool trade, and left £500,000 at his death. In 1868, his children changed their surname to Beddington, a suburb in south London, giving rise to much humorous commentary. Henry Moses' son MAURICE BEDDINGTON (1821–1898), a London wool broker, left over £1 million. The family also branched out into the tobacco business and founded the Abdullah cigarette company. ALFRED HENRY BEDDINGTON (1835–1900) was active in the life of the London Jewish community. In World War I, 37 members of the family served in the British forces. They included Lieutenant-Colonel CLAUDE (1868–1940) who fought in the South African War and was in command of the Mounted Troops of the 20th Division in France in World War I. He became an enthusiastic yachtsman. SIR EDWARD HENRY LIONEL (1884–1966) was a career officer in the British cavalry and, after having taken part in World War I, retired from active service in 1920. At the outbreak of World War II he rejoined the army, became deputy director of Military Intelligence, and rose to the rank of brigadier. WILLIAM RICHARD (1893–1975) entered the British army shortly before World War I, served in France and the Mediterranean area, and was wounded in action. In 1939 he became officer commanding the 2nd Royal Dragoon Guards (The Queen's Bays). He held various staff appointments in the Middle East, Italy, and North Africa, and finally joined Supreme Headquarters, Allied Expeditionary Forces (SHAEF). In 1946 he rose to the rank of major general and retired in 1947. Henry Moses' grandson JOHN LOUIS ("JACK") BEDDINGTON (1893–1959) became one of the most famous advertising poster designers of the 20th century.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: P.H. Emden, *Jews of Britain* (1943), 447,449, 548; J. Ben Hirsh, *Jewish General Officers* (1967), 76–77. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** L.D. Nathan, *As Old As Auckland* (1984); "John Louis Beddington," in: ODNB online.

BEDERSI, ABRAHAM BEN ISAAC (c. 1230–c. 1300), Hebrew poet in southern France. The designation "Bedersi" indicates that he originated from Béziers (Heb., בדריש). He may be identical with the Abraham Mosse de Montepessulano (Montpellier; otherwise Abram de Sala) mentioned in secular documents. Abraham settled as a youth in Perpignan where he was a pupil of Joseph Ezobi. He stayed for some time in Arles and once took refuge in Narbonne, but apparently lived most of his life in Perpignan, then under Aragonese sovereignty. The Jewish community there had been granted a charter of privileges by James I to protect them from molestation. Abraham is the conjectured author of a letter from the community to the Jews of Barcelona, appealing to them to persuade the king through the medium of the bishop of Huesca to uphold the rights granted under the charter and reduce the communal tax obligations. Letters of recommendation written by Abraham in the name of the Perpignan community on behalf of petitioners and fund-raising emissaries have also been preserved. In 1275 Todros b. Joseph ha-Levi *Abulafia, who had accompanied the Castilian monarchs to France, spent some time in Perpignan and the two exchanged verses. A well-known poem of Bedersi on the pen and the sword, inspired by Arabic verses, was written in his honor and sent to him on the occasion of this visit. Abraham also composed for Todros a poem in the style of the Passover *Haggadah*, the first attempt to parody it. He gave some financial assistance to the poet Isaac Gorni, although deriding his literary talents. Abraham wrote numerous poems and satires, apparently collected by his son *Jedaiah ha-Penini (mostly still in manuscript; the most complete manuscript is in the British Museum (Add. Ms. 27, 168); others are in Vienna, Amsterdam, and Leningrad). Despite his bombastic style, Abraham's works contain interesting historical details and provide an insight into the contemporary cultural scene. Between 1290 and 1295 he wrote *Ha-Ḥerev ha-Mithappekhet* ("The Revolving Sword"), a lengthy poem of 210 verses (according to the numerical value of the Hebrew letters in *ḥerev*). In it, Abraham mentions his birthplace and his father, and comments on the Hebrew poets who preceded him in Provence and Spain. He considered himself their inferior. He did, however, contend that he was the best poet of his generation and challenged his contemporaries to a competition for which he proposed judges. Abraham also composed *Ḥotam Tokhnit*, the first dictionary of Hebrew synonyms in the Bible. Both works were published in 1865, the latter with a commentary by Samuel David Luzzatto. There is some doubt whether Abraham or his son Jedaiah composed the prayer *Elef Alfin* (so called because its thousand (Heb. *elef*) words all begin with the letter *alef*; published in *Kerem Ḥemed*, 4 (1839), 57–65) and *Shir ha-Lamedin* (Frankfurt on the Oder, 1812), a *bakkashah* for the Day of Atonement, in which each word contains the letter *lamed*, and all subsequent letters of the alphabet are excluded.

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[Jefim (Hayyim) Schirmann / Zvi Avneri]

BEDFORD, English county town. In the Middle Ages a small community existed in Bedford, which housed one of the *archae* for registration of Jewish debts. Local Jews suffered from violence during the Barons' Wars in 1263 and again in 1274. Three Jews were hanged for coin clipping in 1278. By the time of the expulsion of the Jews from England in 1290, the community seems to have been almost extinct. Jews resettled in Bedford at the end of the 18th century, and a tiny community existed from 1803 to 1827 and from 1837 to c. 1879. Organized Jewish life was revived briefly in 1903 and again during the evacuation from London in 1939–45. In 1968 there were 55 Jews in Bedford and in 2004 the population was estimated at 45.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: C. Roth, *Rise of Provincial Jewry* (1950), 29–31; Roth, England, index; M. Lissack, *Jewish Perseverance* (1851); Rigg-Jenkinson, Exchequer. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** JYB, 2004.

[Cecil Roth]

BEDIKAT ḤAMEẒ (Heb. בְּדִיקַת חָמֵץ; "searching for leaven"), ceremony of searching for leaven, instituted in order to ensure that not even the smallest particle of **ḥameẓ* remains in the house during Passover. The biblical injunction, "Even the first day shall ye put away leaven out of your house" (Ex. 12:15), was interpreted by the rabbis as referring to the eve of Passover, i.e., the 14th of Nisan. The ceremony of *bedikat ḥameẓ* takes place on the 13th of Nisan (or the 12th if the 13th should be on a Friday). It follows the *Ma'ariv* prayer immediately after nightfall and before any other kind of activity is undertaken. The ceremony is preceded by the blessing: "Blessed art Thou O Lord our God, King of the Universe, Who hast sanctified us by Thy commandments and commanded us concerning the removal of the leaven."

By the light of a wax candle, with a wooden spoon and a whisk made of several chicken or goose feathers tied together, the master of the house searches every corner in the house for stray crumbs. Every room into which *ḥameẓ* may have been brought during the past year has to be searched. Since a blessing must never be recited without good reason, a few crumbs of bread are deliberately left on window sills and in other obvious places. The ceremony of *bedikat ḥameẓ* takes precedence even over the study of Torah on that evening. If the husband is not available, the ceremony has to be performed by the wife or another member of the family. The kabbalistic school of R. Isaac Luria hid ten pieces of bread for *bedikat ḥameẓ*. Leaven to the mystics symbolized the ferment of base desires and evil impulses which had to be purged. Upon completion of *bedikat ḥameẓ*, the leaven collected is put away in a safe place and the master of the house recites these words: "May all leaven that is in my possession, which I have not observed, searched out or had cognizance of, be regarded as null and be common property, even as the dust of the earth." On the morning of the 14th of Nisan, no later than 10 A.M., the leaven is burned and a similar Aramaic formula is recited. This observance is called *Bi'ur ḥameẓ* – the removal or the burning of *ḥameẓ*. The laws concerning *bedikat ḥameẓ* are codified in Shulḥan Arukh (OḤ 431 to 445).

[Harry Rabinowicz]

BEDZIN (Yid. **Bendin**), town in the Zaglembie Dabrowskie area, Kielce district, Poland. A Jewish settlement existed in Bedzin from the beginning of the 13th century with a privilege from Casimir the Great and his successors to work as merchants The development of Bedzin was interrupted by the Swedish invasion of the mid-17th cent. In 1765 the Jewish population numbered 446; in 1856, 2,440 (58.6% of the total); in 1897, 10,839 (45.6%); in 1909, 22,674 (48.7%); in 1921, 17,298 (62.1%); and in 1931, 21,625 (45.4%). A large number of Jewish workers were employed in Bedzin's developing industries at the beginning of the 20th century, and the town became the center of Jewish and Polish socialist activity and Jewish workers parties like the Bund and Po'alei Zion during the 1905 Russian revolution. Zionist activities were begun in Bedzin by Ḥovevei Zion in the 1880s and expanded in interbellum Poland to comprise various Zionist youth organizations. After World War I Jews took a considerable part in iron-ore mining, metallurgy, zinc and tin processing, and the production of cables, screws, nails, and iron and copper wire. Jewish-owned undertakings included chemical works and factories for paints, candles, and bakelite products, in particular buttons for the garment industry, which expanded in the area during 1924–31. Most Jews earned their livelihoods as merchants and craftsmen.

Jewish schools and a gymnasium (secondary school) were supported by the community with the help of donations from local Jewish industrialists. The Jewish community was very active organizing social and cultural institutions. The first pioneers of the Third Aliyah came from Bedzin. Dr. S. Weinzier was elected as member of Parliament (Sejm). The chain of credit cooperatives and free loan societies established in Bedzin through the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee had a membership of nearly 1,000.

[Nathan Michael Gelber / Shlomo Netzer (2nd ed.)]

Holocaust Period

The German army entered the town on Sept. 5, 1939, and five days later they burned the Great Synagogue in the Old City. About 50 houses surrounding the synagogue, which were inhabited exclusively by Jews, went up in flames and 60 Jews were burned to death. During 1940–41 the situation in Bedzin was considered somewhat better than in most other places in occupied Poland (Bedzin and its neighbor *Sosnowiec were for a long time the only large cities in Poland where no ghetto was established). For this reason thousands of Jews from central Poland sought refuge there. Several thousand Jews from the district were expelled and forced to reside in Bedzin, among them all the Jews from Oswiecim (German name – Auschwitz), who arrived in April–May 1941, prior to the construction of the Auschwitz camp. About 6,500 Jews in the town were sent to forced labor camps and others were put to work locally making clothing and boots for the German army. In May and June 1942 the first deportations took place in which 2,400 "nonproductive" Jews were sent to their death in Auschwitz. On Aug. 15, 1942, about 8,000–10,000 Jews were sent to Auschwitz, while others were shot on the spot for disobeying German orders. In spring 1943 a ghetto was established in the suburb of Kamionka. On June 22, 1943, 4,000 Jews were deported and on August 1, 1943, the final liquidation of the ghetto began. In all, about 30,000 Jews were sent to Auschwitz from Bedzin. Only a limited number of Jews survived the concentration camps by hiding. The Jewish underground resistance in Bedzin became active at the beginning of 1940. They circulated illegal papers and made contact with the Warsaw Ghetto underground. After the establishment of the ghetto, the underground concentrated mainly on preparations for armed resistance. A unified fighting organization came into being with strong ties with the Jewish Fighting Organization of the Warsaw Ghetto. On Aug. 3, 1943, during the last deportation, some armed resistance broke out. Among the fighters who fell in battle was the leading Jewish partisan Frumka Plotnicka. Deportees from Bedzin played a major role in the underground and uprising in the Auschwitz death camp (among them – Jeshajahu Ehrlich, Moshe Wygnanski, Ala Gertner, and Rosa Sapirstein). Although some Jewish survivors settled in Bedzin after the war (in 1946 the Jewish population numbered 150 people), all of them left after some time.

[Stefan Krakowski]

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BEE (Heb. דְּבוֹרָה). Beekeeping was practiced early in the Mediterranean region. However, there is no reference to it in the Bible where the bee is mentioned only four times and only once in connection with honey (Judg. 14:9). References to bees stinging those who approach them (Deut. 1:44; Ps. 118:12) may refer to the gathering of wild honeycombs, and the finding of honey is mentioned (I Sam. 14:25; Prov. 16:4). Bees swarm when the land is desolate and untilled, so that a child will then eat "butter and honey" (Isa. 7:22). On the other hand, the honey of "a land flowing with milk and honey" (Deut. 8:8) is date honey according to the rabbis. There are frequent references to beekeeping in the talmudic era. The rabbis give detailed accounts of the beehives which were made of wicker and attached to the ground with clay (Oho. 8:1; Uk. 3:10) and discuss the number of honeycombs which it was permitted to take from the hives in the case of a man who acquires them for one year only (BB 5:3). Bee honey is permitted as food and the rule "that which derives from the unclean is itself unclean" does not apply to it. The reason adduced is that the bee does not produce the honey but sucks it from the flowers and discharges it through the mouth (Bek. 7b). The bee referred to is the *Apis mellifica* whose sting is especially acute. For this reason in recent times the Italian species *Apis ligustica*, which is easier to handle, has been introduced into Israel.

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[Jehuda Feliks]

°**BEEK, MARTINUS ADRIANUS** (1909–1987), Dutch Bible scholar and Orientalist. He was minister of the Dutch Reformed Church and professor of the exegesis of the Hebrew Bible (in the Faculty of Theology) and of Hebrew language and literature (in the Faculty of Humanities) at the University of Amsterdam (1946–74). He was the successor to Judah L. *Palache, who was dismissed from his position in November 1940 and murdered in Auschwitz (1944).

Beek's books include works on Jewish apocalyptic literature, the literature and history of the Mesopotamian area, the history of Ancient Israel, a general introduction to the Bible, the modern State of Israel, and Martin Buber. Most of his books have been translated into English and/or German. From his many articles mention should be made of his "Saturation Points and Unfinished Lines in the Study of Old Testament Literature" (in Dutch, 1968; transl. in: *Voices from Amsterdam*, 1994) which became a stimulus for his students to explore new methods of interpretation. He was an initiator of the Societas Hebraica Amstelodamensis, which became known for the *Amsterdamse Cahiers* series and the translation of Ruth, Jonah, and other biblical books into Dutch ("to be read aloud"), published by the Dutch Bible Societies.

Of his many administrative activities outside the university mention should be made of his longstanding work for the Liberal Protestant radio corporation in the Netherlands (VPRO), the Netherlands-Israel Friendship League, the Bible Museum in Amsterdam, and the Praemium Erasmianum.

He was succeeded by Karel A. Deurloo (Faculty of Theology) and by Maas Boertien (Faculty of Humanities), who edited Tractate *Nazir* in the Giessener Mischna (1971).

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[F.J. Hoogewoud (2nd ed.)]

BEER (Heb. בְּאֵר; "a well"), the name of several biblical localities. (1) One of the stations where the Israelites stopped during the Exodus, north of the Brook of Zered in Transjordan (Num. 21:16–18). It is possibly identical with Beer-Elim (Isa. 15:8) in southern Moab. (2) The place where *Jotham, son of *Gideon, sought refuge when he fled from his brother Abimelech (Judg. 9:21). As this place is associated with the history of *Gideon's family, it is generally located north of the Jezreel Valley. The Septuagint mentions Beeroth, in the inheritance of Issachar, between Shion and Anaharath, i.e., in the vicinity of Mount Tabor (Josh. 19:19), where the Arab village of al-Bīra is located. Nearby is Khirbat al-Bīra, where remains of the early Israelite period have been discovered. The village was abandoned by its inhabitants during the War of Independence.

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[Michael Avi-Yonah]

BEER, AARON (1739–1821), German cantor, composer, and collector. Beer was born near Bamberg and was known as "*der Bamberger ḥazzan*." He had a tenor voice of unusually wide range. While still a youth he became cantor of the Paderborn congregation and at the age of 26 was appointed chief cantor of the Heidereutergasse Synagogue in Berlin, a position he held until his death. Beer was known for his extensive repertory of liturgical melodies, including many of his own composition. Tradition credits him with 1,210 items. He made a habit of varying his tunes for regular prayers in order to discourage the congregation from joining in his singing, a practice he profoundly disapproved. Beer's collection of 447 festival prayer melodies was passed down to his successor, Asher Leon (1776–1863), and thereafter to Cantor Moritz Deutsch of Breslau (1818–92), H. Schlesinger, and Cantor E. Birnbaum (1855–1920). It is now in the library of the *Hebrew Union College in Cincinnati.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Idelsohn, Melodien, 6 (1932), 1–194 (for Beer's preface in Hebrew, see after title page); Sendrey, Music, nos. 6042–43; Friedmann, Lebensbilder, 2 (1921), 27–29; J. Meisl et al. (eds.), *Pinkas Kehillat Berlin, 1723–1854* (1962), 229, 230, 232, 280; Idelsohn, Music, index.

[Joshua Leib Ne'eman]

BEER, BERNHARD (1801–1861), German scholar, community leader, and bibliophile. For nearly 30 years Beer served as head of the Dresden Jewish community and its schools. He founded various charitable organizations, and in 1829 joined in establishing a Mendelssohn Society for the furtherance of scholarship, art, and trades among Jewish youth. Through his writings and personal active efforts, Beer was able to wage an eventually successful struggle for the civic equality of the Jews in Saxony. Although he observed traditional practice and was emotionally attached to Jewish customs, Beer rejected Orthodoxy intellectually and aesthetically in favor of moderate reforms, especially in liturgy. He was the first Jew to give a German sermon in a Dresden synagogue. Beer's religious views were similar to those of his close friend, Zacharias *Frankel. Nevertheless the reformers *Geiger and *Holdheim also accorded him respect and admiration, and Beer was regarded as a mediating influence between the proponents of tradition and those of reform. Beer wrote numerous scholarly articles and reviews which appeared in Frankel's *Zeitschrift* and *Monatsschrift* as well as in *Orient, Kerem Ḥemed*, and other journals. His books include *Das Buch der Jubilaeen und sein Verhaeltniss zu den Midraschim* (1856), *Juedische Literaturbriefe* (1857), and *Leben Abrahams nach Auffassung der juedischen Sage* (1859). He also translated into German, with additions, Solomon Munk's *La Philosophie chez les Juifs* (Leipzig, 1852). The extensive and valuable library which Beer acquired during his lifetime was divided after his death between the Breslau Seminary and the University of Leipzig, where Beer received his doctorate in 1834.

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[Michael A. Meyer]

BEER, GEORGE LOUIS (1872–1920), U.S. historian and publicist. Born in Staten Island, N.Y., during his twenties he was successful in the tobacco business, from which he retired in 1903 to devote himself to research on the theme which commanded all his work as an historian: the economic features of 17th- and 18th-century British colonial policy. His writings include: *Commercial Policy of England toward the American Colonies* (1893); *British Colonial Policy, 1754–65* (1907); *The Origins of the British Colonial System, 1578–1660* (1908); and *The Old Colonial System, 1660–1754* (2 vols., 1912). Beer's basic theses were that English colonization had aimed at setting up a self-sufficient commercial empire of interdependent and complementary areas; that British commercial policy toward the American colonies had promoted their growth; and that the removal of the French from Canada encouraged the American colonies to assert themselves and seek independence. During World War I, Beer supported the British cause. He expressed the hope, particularly in *The English Speaking Peoples* (1917), that Great Britain and the U.S. would ultimately rejoin in a political union, to ensure the progress of the postwar world. He served as chief of the colonial division of the American delegation at the Paris Peace Conference, and helped draft the treaty provisions dealing with the former German colonies. He urged the establishment of "mandates" to promote the welfare of the natives. His *African Questions at the Paris Peace Conference* was published in 1923. A participant in many communal and charitable activities, Beer was a director of the Jewish Protectory and Aid Society.

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[Abraham S. Eisenstadt]

BE'ER, HAIM (1945–), Israeli writer. Born in Jerusalem, Be'er grew up in an Orthodox family, among deeply religious Jews whose conversations were studded with quotations from the Bible, the Talmud, and the later rabbinic literature. Following his army service in the military chaplaincy, he joined the Am Oved Publishing House in Tel Aviv, where he advanced from proofreader to member of the editorial board. Be'er's prose depicts the Orthodox milieu, a wide and colorful range of types, some eccentric or comic, others pitiable. His first novel, *Noẓot* (*Feathers*; Eng. trans. 2004) describes the experiences and observations of a boy growing up in Jerusalem and joining a military burial squad during the Yom Kippur War (1973). A sense of the grotesque, which underlines the portraits of a bizarre visionary leader, Esperantists, and vegetarians, also marks Be'er's second novel, *Et ha-Zamir* ("The Time of Trimming," 1987). It is the story of Naḥum Gevirẓ, serving in a rabbinical unit between 1965 and 1967, a period of messianic dreams and hopes of "liberating the Holy City from captivity." This merciless account, marked by parody and biting criticism, was described by critics as "the Israeli Catch 22." Be'er's personal experiences play an even more significant role in his third novel, *Ḥavalim* (1998; *The Pure Element of Time*, 2003), an autobiographical novel which has been praised as a pastiche of different styles. While the first part centers on the figure of the author's grandmother, a remarkable woman and a born storyteller, the second part depicts the marriage of his parents, his beloved mother and her much older, melancholy husband. The third part of this gripping epic triptych describes the protagonist's first steps as a writer. Other books by Be'er are a collection of poems *Sha'ashuei Yom Yom* (1970) and a study of the literary and personal relations between three outstanding Hebrew writers: Brenner, Bialik, and Agnon (*Gam Ahavtam, Gam Sinatam*, 1993).

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[Anat Feinberg (2nd ed.)]

BEER, ISRAEL (1912–1966), military commentator and Soviet agent in Israel. Beer went to Palestine from Vienna in November 1938. He joined the *Haganah and was appointed to the Central Training Bureau. During the War of Independence he served on the General Staff with the rank of lieutenant colonel. After retiring from the army in 1949, he became noted as a military commentator in Israel and abroad. Later, when he held the chair of military history at Tel Aviv University, *Ben-Gurion commissioned him to prepare the official history of the War of Independence. In 1961 Beer was arrested and accused of having contact with a Soviet intelligence agent. He was found guilty of treason and sentenced to 15 years' imprisonment. He died in prison. The true facts of Beer's biography until his arrival in Palestine are difficult to establish, since he himself gave varying versions. Apparently, he was born in Vienna and studied literature and philosophy at the University of Vienna. He claimed to have simultaneously joined the Schutzbund (the military organization of the Austrian Social-Democratic Party) and the government militia, and to have graduated from a course at Wiener Neustadt Military Academy with the rank of lieutenant in 1935. He also alleged that, at the outbreak of the Spanish Civil War in 1936, he had been ordered by the Social-Democratic Party to join the International Brigade, being finally promoted to the rank of lieutenant colonel. He wrote *Der Nahe Osten, Schicksalsland zwischen Ost und West* (1960), and *Bitḥon Yisrael – Etmol, ha-Yom, Maḥar* (1966; "Israel's Security – Yesterday, Today, Tomorrow").

[Jehuda Wallach]

BEER, MAX (**Moses**; 1864–1943), German socialist historian and journalist. Beer was born in Tarnobrzeg, Galicia. Coming from socialist circles there, he emigrated to Germany via Vienna in 1889. He was first employed as a type-setter and printer, then became assistant editor of the social democratic daily *Die Volksstimme* ("Voice of the People") in Magdeburg. In 1893, as a result of a newspaper article, he was imprisoned for 14 months on the basis of the Sozialistengesetz (1878) and expelled from Prussia on his release. He stayed in London until 1915. In 1895–96, he enrolled at the newly founded London School of Economics, earning his living as a language teacher, lecturer, and correspondent for the social democratic paper *Post* in Munich and the Jewish *Arbeiter-Zeitung* in New York. From 1899 to 1901, he temporarily joined the latter's staff in New York and contributed to the *Jewish Encyclopaedia* (1901–06). Back in London, Beer became correspondent for the social democratic weekly *Neue Zeit* (est. 1898) and the Berlin daily *Vorwaerts*, the central organ of the German Social Democratic Party. In 1912, however, he resigned from his post due to political differences and intensified his historical research on British and international socialism. In 1913, his *Geschichte des Sozialismus in England* appeared which became a standard work (cf. *A History of British Socialism*, 2 vols., 1919–20). Considered an "enemy alien" during World War I, Beer was repatriated to Germany in 1915 where he continued his research and was naturalized as a German citizen in 1920 (revoked in 1934). In 1919–21, he edited *Die Glocke*, contributed book reviews to the *Times Literary Supplement*, and finally was invited by D. Ryazanov to serve as English librarian of the Marx Engels Institute in Moscow from 1927 to 1929. On his return, Beer was employed at the Frankfurt Institute for Social Research until, in 1933/34, almost 70 years old, he was forcibly divorced from his non-Jewish wife and expelled from Germany. Broken and impoverished, Beer again settled in London, continuing his research with the aid of the British Central Fund for German Jewry. In 1935, he published his autobiographical work *Fifty Years of International Socialism*. In 1943, almost forgotten, he died at the age of 78.

Due to his personal experience, Beer was considered one of the greatest experts on British and international socialism of his time. In 1918, on Karl Marx's centenary, Beer was commissioned to write *Karl Marx. Eine Monographie* (cf. *The Life and Teachings of Karl Marx*, 1921), followed by *Allgemeine Geschichte des Sozialismus und der sozialen Kaempfe*, 5 vols. (1919–23), which was published in several languages (cf. *General History of Socialism and Social Struggles*, 1922–26). Among Beer's other works are *Das Regenbogenbuch* (1915); *Jean Jaurès* (1915); *Sozialistische Dokumente des Weltkrieges*, nos. 1–5 (1915–16); *L'Entente annexionniste* (1917); *Der britische Sozialismus der Gegenwart 1910–1920* (1920); *Krieg und Internationale* (1924); *Die Reise nach Genf* (1932; *The League on Trial*, 1933); *Die auswärtige Politik des Dritten Reiches* (1934); and *Early British Economics from the Thirteenth to the Middle of the Eighteenth Century* (1938).

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[Johannes Valentin Schwarz (2nd ed.)]

BEER, MICHAEL (1800–1833), German poet and playwright; brother of the composer Giacomo *Meyerbeer and of the astronomer Wilhelm *Beer. In one of his earliest works, the classical tragedy *Klytemnestra* (1823), he attempted to gain sympathy for a heroine who murders her husband. Beer's play was successfully performed in 1819 at the Berlin Hoftheater and later in Vienna. In 1825, he achieved a triumph with the poetic drama *Der Paria*, a disguised plea for Jewish emancipation, which won high praise from Goethe. Beer moved to Paris in 1824, and in 1827 settled in Munich, where he enjoyed the goodwill of King Ludwig of Bavaria and the friendship of Eduard von Schenk, the minister of interior. *Struensee*, generally regarded as his best play, was produced by the Bavarian Royal Theater in 1828, when it was favorably reviewed by Heine. The incidental music for *Struensee* was composed by his brother Meyerbeer. Beer's narrative poems include only one with a Jewish theme, a legend entitled *Der fromme Rabbi*. His collected plays and poems appeared in 1835, with an introductury biographical sketch by Eduard von Schenk and verse tributes by Schenk and M.G. *Saphir. Two years later, Schenk published Beer's collected letters.

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[Sol Liptzin / Marcus Pyka (2nd ed.)

BEER, PETER (**Perez**; pen name: **Theophil Nikodem**; 1758 (or 1764)–1838), Austrian educator and author, representative of radical *Haskalah in the Habsburg Empire. Beer, who had a traditional Jewish education, also learned Latin and German. He attended the Prague and Pressburg (Bratislava) yeshivot, and from 1780 studied pedagogy at Vienna University, being one of the first Jews to train as a teacher within the educational reform program introduced by Emperor *Joseph II. From 1784 he taught at *Mattersdorf, then at his native Nový *Bydžov, and from 1811 until his death at the new Prague "Normalschule." Beer was also appointed "teacher of morals" to the Jewish pupils at Prague high schools in 1813, being probably the first Jew appointed to hold a government appointment and entitled to wear a government employee's uniform. In 1796 Beer published his *Toledot Yisrael*, a history of the Jews, omitting chapters likely to be unpalatable to enlightened circles, such as the slaying of the prophets of Baal by Elijah, as well as the entire talmudic period. It became the blueprint of biblical history textbooks used by teachers of the Enlightenment school in Europe for many years, both in the original and in translation (the last Russian translation was published in 1905). In 1809 Beer published *Dat Yisrael* and in 1810 *Emet ve-Emunah*, religious manuals in German. His two-volume *Geschichte, Lehren und Meinungen aller religioesen Sekten der Juden und der Geheimlehre oder Kabbala* (1822–23) is even now interesting for the material on the *Frankists and *Ḥasidism. In them, he developed an ideology of "Mosaism," which, parallel to "Christianity" that embraces Catholicism, Protestantism, etc., covers all different Jewish sects. Beer wrote several appeals, some anonymously, to the authorities on matters of public interest, including the question of military service and the establishment of a rabbinical seminary in Prague. He contributed to the periodicals **Sulamith, Ha-Me'assef* (see *Me'assefim), and **Bikkurei ha-Ittim*, and published a prayer book for "educated women" (1815). He was instrumental in opening the Reform synagogue in Prague and in inviting Leopold *Zunz to serve as preacher. He published a commentary on Genesis intended for readers of all creeds, drawing heavily on contemporary Protestant commentators. Only one installment of his translation of Maimonides' *Guide* was published (1834). It was sharply criticized by Joseph *Derenbourg. Beer was highly esteemed by the Austrian authorities and was awarded a decoration. However, his educational activities were viewed with suspicion by the majority of Jews. His autobiography, edited by Moritz Hermann, was published in 1839.

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BEER, RACHEL (**Richa**; 1858–1927), owner and editor of the *Sunday Times*, London, 1893–1904. Rachel Beer was born in Bombay, the daughter of Sasson David *Sassoon and Flora (Farḥa) Reuben of Baghdad. She was an infant when the family settled in England. In an age which afforded women little scope, she displayed both character and talent. For two years she worked as an unpaid hospital nurse, and in 1887 married Frederick Arthur Beer, owner of the *Observer*. She became a contributor to the paper, and later its editor. In 1893 she bought its rival the *Sunday Times* which she edited while retaining her position on the *Observer*. Under her control the *Sunday Times* changed its outlook from independent liberal to non-partisan. She was also a composer and published a piano sonata and a piano trio. The first woman ever to edit a Fleet Street newspaper, in the 1890s she obtained one of the great "scoops" of the age for the *Observer* when she obtained proof that the documents used to convict Alfred *Dreyfus in France had been forged. Siegfried *Sassoon (1886–1967), the famous poet, was her nephew.

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BE'ER, RAMI (1957–), dancer, choreographer, and artistic director of the Kibbutz Contemporary Dance Company. He was born into a family of musicians in kibbutz Ga'aton in Israel. At a very early age, he began studying cello and later studied dance with Yehudit Arnon. Be'er joined the company as a dancer and choreographer in 1980.

His choreographic style is influenced by Central European expressionism and American modern dance. Generally, his works take up a full evening's program and are constructed as a collage around a central theme. His themes are connected to the reality in which we live and his choreographies reflect the tension between abstraction and expression. *Reservist Diary* (1989) reveals the ethical uncertainties of an Israeli soldier in the reserves during the *Intifada*. In *Real Time* (1991), Be'er deals with the kibbutz movement as the parting of ways. In *Angelos Negros* (1992), he addresses the Spanish Inquisition. In *Naked City* (1993), the dominant motif is the loneliness of the individual. The theme of *Aide Memoire* (1994) is strongly influenced by Be'er's being a member of a family of Holocaust survivors. The set and lighting designs are usually Be'er's own creations. In *On the Edge* (1999), the stage is designed as a huge fortress, and in *Screensaver* (2002), rays emitted by a television set are part of the production. He was awarded the Contributor to Cultural and Educational Creativity Prize in 2000.

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[Ruth Eshel (2nd ed.)]

BEER, SAMUEL FRIEDRICH (1846–1912), Czech sculptor. Beer studied in Vienna and quickly gained some recognition as a portraitist. His friendship with Theodor Herzl inspired his Jewish subjects, such as the monumental group *Shema Israel*. He designed the medal issued on the occasion of the Second Zionist Congress at Basle. He later worked in Paris, Rome, and Florence.

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BEER, WILHELM (1797–1850), German astronomer and brother of Giacomo *Meyerbeer, the composer, and Michael *Beer, the poet. Wilhelm Beer joined and later succeeded his father in the family banking house. His leisure hours were spent in studying astronomy in an observatory he had constructed in his garden. Together with J.H. Maedler, he studied the planet Mars during the 1828, 1832, 1835, and 1837 oppositions and their findings were published. Later they made a map of the moon; over many years they recorded every aspect of the moon surface and published their findings in *Der Mond nach seinen kosmischen und individuellen Verhaeltnissen, oder allgemeine vergleichende Selenographie* (2 vols., 1837). This was the standard work for many years. When Maedler left and joined a university, Beer went into politics and in 1846 was elected to the Prussian Chamber of Deputies. A mountain on the moon is named for him.

BEER-BING, ISAIAH (1759–1805), one of the leaders in the struggle for the "regeneration" of the Jews of France. He wrote a number of pamphlets including a refutation of an anti-Jewish pamphlet by Aubert Dufayet (*Lettre du Sr I.B.B.… à l'auteur anonyme d'un écrit intitulé: Le cri du citoyen contre les juifs*, 1787, 18052). Beer-Bing was appointed to the commission headed by Malesherbes to improve the status of the Jews in 1788. In 1799 he drew up a memorandum on the community of his birthplace Metz. He was a member of the municipal council of Metz from 1790 and became the administrator of the saltworks in eastern France. He was on the editorial committee of the *Décade philosophique*. Beer-Bing translated the *Phaedon* of Moses *Mendelssohn from German into French and Hebrew (*Sefer Hasharat ha-Nefesh*, 1786–87, republished many times), a *Song of Zion* by Judah Halevi from Hebrew into French, and a fragment from the *Beḥinat Olam* by *Jedaiah ha-Penini (in *Essai sur la régénération… des juifs* by his friend the abbé *Grégoire, 1789).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: E. Carmoly in: *Revue orientale*, 2 (1842), 337f.

[Moshe Catane]

BEER-HOFMANN, RICHARD (1866–1945), Austrian poet and playwright. The son of a Moravian lawyer, Beer-Hofmann was adopted by his uncle, the Viennese industrialist Alois Hofmann. After graduating in law at the University of Vienna, he was drawn into the "Young Vienna" literary group, which included many of his close friends, Arthur *Schnitzler, Peter *Altenberg, Hermann Bahr, Theodor *Herzl, Hugo von *Hofmannsthal, and Felix *Salten. He influenced the style of Viennese Décadence in his *Novellen* (1893) and in his earliest lyric poem, *Schlaflied fuer Miriam* (1898). His only novel, *Der Tod Georgs* (1900), depicts a main protagonist whose fascination with paganism and aestheticism is replaced in the end by a return to Jewish tradition. Self-sacrifice for the glory of God remains an enduring motif in Beer-Hofmann's oeuvre. His first drama, *Der Graf von Charolais* (1904), features a character – the "Rote Itzig" – who contrasts the Elizabethan tragedy of the narration with the ongoing suffering of Jewry. Beer-Hoffmann’s work reveals the special message Judaism seems to offer the world when Nietzschean philosophy considers it lost to man.

If Beer-Hofmann’s early works can be interpreted as seeing the rebirth of modernity out of the spirit of Judaism, his subsequent work may be viewed as seeing the rebirth of Judaism out of the spirit of modernity. Impressed and inspired by the Neo-Wagnerian theater concept of Max *Reinhardt, who had already staged *Der Graf von Charolais*, Beer-Hofmann tried to open to Jewry a space from which religious imperatives had banned it: the theater. In pursuit of a “Jewish national drama,” he continued work on his biblical cycle, *Die Historie von Koenig David*, for decades. The prologue *Jaákobs Traum*, premiering in 1918, focuses on Israel’s election by blending Jacob’s dream of the ladder and his wrestling with the angel. In contrast to the pagan rituals of sacrifice in which contemporary dramatic theory identified the roots of tragedy, the play makes the sacrifice of Isaac the primal scene of Jewish theater. The transition play *Ruth und Boas* remained a fragment. The third part of a planned pentalogy, *Der junge David*, was completed in 1933 but never staged. The drama shows David in conflict between his destiny as king and his wish to leave royal dignity to God. Again, the action is linked to the sacrifice of Isaac. Jewish theater, in Beer-Hoffmann’s conception, is legitimate only if it eschews idols and has no symbols or icons at its disposal, just as Abraham stood at Mount Moriah with nothing to sacrifice but his own offspring. Further theoretical reflection is provided by the prelude to a nonexistent fourth part, the *Vorspiel auf dem Theater zu Koenig David* (1936), where the stage is likened to an altar on which theater itself must be sacrificed to avoid idolatry. The only one of Beer-Hofmanns dramatical works to achieve sustained international attention was *Jaákobs Traum*, which was staged in Palestine as early as the early 1920s.

Beer-Hofmann emigrated from Austria to New York in 1939. *Verse* (1941) includes all the poems that he wished preserved. A posthumous fragment in tribute to his wife, *Paula* (1949), captures the autumnal mood of Austria as it influenced his own life and shaped his personality.

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[Sol Liptzin / Philipp Theisohn (2nd ed.)]

BE’ERI (Heb. בְּאֵרִי), kibbutz in S. Israel, in the N.W. Negev, affiliated with Ha-Kibbutz ha-Me’uḥad. It was one of 11 settlements in the Negev and the south founded during the night of October 6, 1946. The founding settlers, members of Ha-No’ar ha-Oved (Israel Working Youth Movement), were joined by other settlers, mainly from Iraq. In the mid-1990s the population was approximately 850, dropping to 753 in 2002. The economy was based mainly on its printing press. The kibbutz cultivated around 3,000 acres of farmland, which included field crops and orchards, and raised dairy cattle and ostriches. The name commemorates the labor leader Berl (Be’eri) *Katznelson.

[Efraim Orni]

WEBSITE: www.beeri.org.il.

BEERI, TUVIA (1929–), Israeli painter and printmaker. Beeri was born in Czechoslovakia and immigrated to Israel in 1948. In 1957 he entered the “Oranim” art school, where he studied with Marcel *Janco and Jacob Wechsler, continuing his studies in Paris. From 1961 to 1963 he studied the technique of etching under Johnny *Friedlaender and attended the studio of lithography at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts, Paris. Returning to Israel, he taught at the Bezalel School of Arts and Crafts. From 1957 he taught printmaking at the Avni Institute of Art, Tel Aviv.

Beeri was one of Israel’s leading graphic artists. He used etching-needle and drypoint, but was particularly in favor of aquatint print technique, which, by the creation of color and the variation of planes, makes it possible to introduce painting quality into graphic work.

Beeri’s world is a dream world of color and form. His paintings remind one of mysterious landscapes of the Pyramids and of ancient times. Luminosity is achieved by printing bright colors one above the other, thus achieving transparency, depth, and plasticity of forms.

Beeri held many one-man shows and participated in group exhibitions in the United States, Canada, South America, Australia, Europe, and Israel. He also took part in some important Biennales of the graphic arts – in Paris, Florence, and Tokyo. His work is represented in the Museum of Modern Art, New York, the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, and in many museums both in Israel and abroad.

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[Judith Spitzer]

BEERMAN, LEONARD (1921–), U.S. Reform rabbi. Beerman was born in Altoona, Pennsylvania, served in the U.S. Marine Corps during World War II, and entered Hebrew Union College in 1943. He interrupted his seminary education to volunteer for the *Haganah in 1947–48, returning to receive his rabbinic ordination in 1949. Beerman became the founding rabbi of Leo Baeck Temple in Los Angeles that year and remained there until his retirement in 1986. His career was marked by social activism on behalf of civil and human rights, as well as world peace. He was on the faculty of Claremont Men’s College and Immaculate Heart College and served as president of the Pacific Association of Reform Rabbis and vice president of the Southern California Board of Rabbis.

[Bezalel Gordon (2nd ed.)]

BE'ER ORAH (Heb. בְּאֵר אוֹרָה), training camp of *Gadna (the Israel pre-military youth corps) founded in 1950 in the southern Negev, 14 mi. (20 km.) north of Eilat. Youth were brought here in groups for periods of a fortnight or longer to combine the study of nature and farming with excursions, sports, and small-arms training. In May 2001 a ceremony was held establishing a civilian settlement near the training camp, with the same name. However, in 2006 it was still not inhabited. Be'er Orah, meaning "Well of Light," is a reversal of the former Arabic Bīr (Be'r) Ḥindīs, "Pitchblack Well," so called by the Bedouin because the strong magnesia content of the local well's water was likely to cause illness.

[Efraim Orni]

BEEROTH (Heb. בְּאֵרוֹת; "wells"), one of the Gibeonite cities mentioned as part of a confederacy together with Gibeon, Chephirah, and Kiriath-Jearim (Josh. 9:17). Beeroth is listed with the cities of Benjamin (Josh. 18:25); part of its population had previously fled to Gittaim (II Sam. 4:3). One of David's heroes came from Beeroth (II Sam. 23:37; I Chron. 11:39), as did the assassins of Ish-Bosheth (II Sam. 4:2). The town was resettled after the return from Babylon (Ezra 2:25; Neh. 7:29). Birea, where Bacchides encamped in 161 B.C.E. before the battle with Judah Maccabee (I Macc. 9:4), has been identified with the biblical locality. Beeroth is commonly identified with the Arab town al-Bīra near Ramallah, 9 mi. (14 km.) north of Jerusalem; Bronze Age remains have been found nearby, at Ra's al-Taḥūn. Several attempts to identify Beeroth with Tell al-Naṣb (Mizpeh?) or al-Jib (Gibeon) have been disproved by recent excavations. It has been proposed to locate Beeroth at Nebi Samwil, 1 mi. (1½ km.) south of el-Jib. Although this identification has not yet been confirmed by archaeological findings, it is strengthened by the statement of Eusebius (Onom. 48:9) that a village with this name was situated 7 mi. from Jerusalem on the road to Nikopolis (Emmaus; but according to Jerome, on the road to Neapoli, i.e., Shechem), and its possible appearance on the *Madaba Map.

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[Michael Avi-Yonah]

BE'EROT YIZḤAK (Heb. בְּאֵרוֹת יִצְחָק), kibbutz in central Israel on the Coastal Plain, east of Lydda. Affiliated with Ha-Kibbutz ha-Dati, it was originally founded on Aug. 9, 1943, southeast of Gaza by a group of religious pioneers from Germany and was the first settlement in the Negev. During the War of Independence in May 1948, it was all but razed by shelling from the Egyptian army. The settlers put up strong resistance and drove the attackers back from buildings they had already occupied. Although never abandoned during the fighting, it was so utterly destroyed that it was decided not to rebuild the place and in August 1948 the settlers reestablished their kibbutz on its present site, the former German Templar village of Wilhelma (whose inhabitants were interned there during World War II and later deported from the country). The economy of the kibbutz was based on highly intensive farming and a factory for coated steel pipes and fittings (Avrot Industries). In subsequent years it also operated a successful Subway-style sandwich service, supplying El Al, army bases, and schools. In the mid-1990s the population was approximately 480, while at the end of 2002 it was 417.

The name, meaning "Isaac's Wells," both refers to the wells sunk by the Patriarch (Gen. 26:18 ff.) in the part of the Negev where the group first settled, and also commemorates Yiẓḥak *Nissenbaum.

[Efraim Orni / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

BEERSHEBA (biblical: Beer-Sheba; Heb. בְּאֵר שֶׁבַע), city in the *Negev on the southern border of Judah; its name has been preserved in the Arabic form Bīr (Be'r) al-Saʿb. Beersheba was first settled in the Chalcolithic period. Excavations conducted in its surroundings by J. Perrot uncovered remains of cave dwellings dug in the earth from this age. The inhabitants of the caves engaged in raising cattle and the manufacture of metal tools. Their pottery and stone vessels and figurines carved out of ivory and bone display a highly developed craftsmanship. Evidence of the beginnings of a religious cult was also found.

According to the Bible, Abraham and Isaac dug wells at Beer-Sheba and also formed alliances there with *Abimelech "king of the Philistines." The allies bound themselves under oath to observe the treaties, and in one source Abraham set aside seven ewes as a sign of the oath, which the Pentateuch explains was the origin of the name of the city (*Be'er,* "well"; *Sheva*, "oath" or "seven"; see Gen. 21:31; 26:33). The sanctuary of "the Lord, the Everlasting God," which was apparently located there in very early times, was invested with great importance in the tales set in the patriarchal period (Gen. 21:33; 26:23–24, 32–33; 46:1). After the rise of Israel, Beer-Sheba became a city of the tribe of Simeon and was later incorporated into the tribe of Judah (Josh. 15:28; 19:2). It appears to have been a center of the Israelite settlement in the Negev in the time of Samuel since his sons were sent there as judges (I Sam. 8:1–3). The sanctuary at Beer-Sheba was regarded as the extreme southern point of the country in contradistinction to the sanctuary at Dan which was held to be the northern point (Amos 5:5; 8:14). Thus the phrase "from Dan to Beer-Sheba" (Judg. 20:1, etc.) was the customary designation, at least until the days of David and Solomon, for the entire area of the country. After the division of the monarchy, Beer-Sheba continued to be the southern frontier of the kingdom of Judah; the expression "from Dan to Beer-Sheba" was then replaced by "from Beer-Sheba to the hill-country of Ephraim" (II Chron. 19:4) or "from Geba to Beer-Sheba" (II Kings 23:8). Zibiah, the mother of Jehoash, king of Judah, originated from Beer-Sheba (II Kings 12:2). Elijah set out on his journey to Horeb from Beer-Sheba, the gateway to the desert (I Kings 19:3, 8). The city was settled by Jews after the return from Babylon (Neh. 11:27, 30). The biblical town of Beer-Sheba is to be sought at Tell al-Saʿb (Tell Beer-Sheba, a UNESCO World Heritage site (2005)), 2½ mi. (4 km.) NE of the new town, where remains of a fortress and potsherds from the Iron Age to the Roman period were found in excavations begun in 1969 by Y. Aharoni.

After 70 C.E. Beersheba was included in the Roman frontier-line defenses against the Nabateans and continued to be a Roman garrison town after the Roman annexation of the Nabatean kingdom. A large village existed then at its present site, where many remains have been found including mosaic pavements and Greek inscriptions (including a sixth-century C.E. ordinance regarding tax payments, which was issued to the south of the country, and a synagogue inscription). In the fourth and fifth centuries C.E., Beersheba first belonged to the district of Gerar and was later annexed to "Palaestina Tertia." The town was abandoned in the Arab period.

[Michael Avi-Yonah]

Modern Beersheba

The modern settlement dates from 1900, when the Turkish government set up an administrative district in southern Palestine separate from that of Gaza and built an urban center in this purely nomadic region. The Turks were motivated by the need to strengthen governmental authority over the Bedouin at a time when Turkey was struggling with Britain over the delineation of the Egyptian border in Sinai. German and Swiss engineers aided in laying out a city plan. Both a city and a district council were set up, and Bedouin sheikhs held seats on them. Until 1914, however, progress was slow, and Beersheba had about 800 Muslim inhabitants and some Jewish families, one of whom ran a flour mill. In World War I, the town became the principal base for the Turko-German Army fighting on the Suez and Sinai front. Fortifications were laid out around the town and more settlers, including Jews, came and provided services to the army. A branch of the Jerusalem-Jaffa railway line was constructed and led beyond Beersheba to the southwest. On Oct. 31, 1917, the town was taken by Allied forces under General *Allenby's command, with Australian and New Zealand units prominent in the battle. Allied losses were considerable; the British War Cemetery at Beersheba has about 1,300 graves. When Beersheba's strategic role ended, its economy dwindled and the railway was dismantled. In 1920, a few Jewish laborers planted a tree nursery and eucalyptus grove there and experimented with cultivating vegetables and other crops. In 1922, the population reached 2,356, among whom were 98 Jews. By 1931, the number of Jews had decreased to 11. The last Jews left during the 1936–39 riots, but efforts were intensified to purchase land for Jewish settlement in the Negev. During the *War of Independence the invading Egyptian army made Beersheba its headquarters for the Negev. When the town was taken by Israel forces on Oct. 21, 1948, it was totally abandoned by its inhabitants. Early in 1949, Jewish settlers, mostly new immigrants, established themselves there. The population, which totaled 1,800 at the end of 1949, reached 25,500 in 1956, 51,600 in 1962, and over 70,000 in 1968.

The vast majority of its inhabitants were originally new immigrants, mainly from North Africa, Iraq, India, Romania, Poland, Hungary, and South America. The first arrivals took over the abandoned houses, but from 1951 large new suburbs were built extending mainly to the north and northwest, while to the east a large industrial area sprang up. Arab Beersheba of Turkish times now became a small "old city" in a large modern town. The municipal area of about 10 sq. mi. (26 sq. km.) was doubled in 1967. Beersheba became the capital of Israel's Southern District, and a hub of communications linking up with the main roads and the railway lines Lydda-Kiryat Gat and Dimonah-Oron. A pumping station of the Eilat-Haifa oil pipeline was located there. Its largest industries (ceramics, sanitary ware, fire-resistant bricks, pesticides and other chemicals, and bromide compounds) exploited Negev minerals. There was also a large textile factory, flour mill, machine garage, and smaller plants for building materials, diamonds, metals, and other industries. The city had several academic, scientific, and cultural institutions, of which the Soroka Medical Center and the Municipal Museum were the first. In 1957, the Negev Institute for Arid Zone Research was established, which experiments with water desalination by electrodialysis, exploitation of solar energy, cloud seeding, adaptation of plants to aridity, hydroponics, and human behavior under desert conditions. The Institute for Higher Education, opened in 1965, was formally recognized as the University of the Negev in 1970 and had 1,600 students. Subsequently renamed Ben-Gurion University after Israel's first prime minister. It had 15,000 students in 2002. In 1973 the Beersheba Theater and the Symphony Orchestra were established. Beersheba also had a Biological Institute, mainly for the study of plant life in the desert. The city also served as a market center for the Negev's tens of thousands of Bedouin and had several large hotels. The traditional Thursday Bedouin market day was a noted tourist attraction.

In the 1970s the population of Beersheba passed the 110,000 mark, making it the fourth largest urban concentration in Israel after Jerusalem, Tel Aviv and Haifa. The original plan to make Beersheba an industrial center was not too successful, though there were several large industrial plants, such as Machteshim, which produced agricultural fertilizers and employed over 1,000 workers, and an Israel Aircraft Industries metal plant. The main sources of employment, however, were the Soroka Medical Center, employing over 2,000, and the university. The city thus continued to serve as a regional center and many workers in the Dead Sea chemical works and in the Nuclear Research Center near Dimona resided there. By the mid-1990s the population had risen to approximately 141,400, and in 2002 it was 181,500, making Beersheba the sixth largest city in Israel.

[George Schwab and Efraim Orni / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

Another Beersheba was situated on the border of Upper and Lower Galilee (Jos., Wars, 3:39). It was fortified by Josephus, together with other places in Galilee in 66–67 C.E., for defense against the Romans during the Jewish War (*ibid.*, 2:573). It is located at Ḥorvat Beer-Sheba (Khirbat Abu al-Shabʿa) between Parod and Kafr ʿInān near the Acre-Safed highway, where remains from the Second Temple period have been found.

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BE'ER TOVIYYAH (Heb. בְּאֵר טוֹבִיָּה), moshav in the southern Coastal Plain of Israel, affiliated with Tenu'at ha-Moshavim. It was founded in 1887 by Jews from Bessarabia with the aid of Baron Edmond de *Rothschild and for years it was the southernmost Jewish settlement in the country. The village did not prosper, due to the scarcity of water, lack of capital and experience, distance from other Jewish centers, enmity of neighboring Arab villagers, and, particularly, the strained relations between the settlers and the Baron's administrators. It was nearly abandoned, but in 1896 the Ḥovevei Zion Association of Odessa (see *Ḥibbat Zion) purchased the land and new settlers came. They too endured hardships and in World War I were forced to leave temporarily by the Turkish authorities. The village was abandoned after it suffered losses in an Arab attack in the 1929 riots. The land was then taken over by the Jewish National Fund and the village was founded anew in 1930 by veteran agricultural laborers. Ground water was discovered and mixed farming introduced. Be'er Toviyyah soon became one of the most populous and prosperous moshavim in the country. In 1939 a second moshav, Kefar Warburg, was established on part of its land. After the Arabs abandoned the entire region during the Israeli *War of Independence (1948), Be'er Toviyyah became the center of a densely settled farming area, to which such urban agglomerations as Kiryat Malakhi and Ashdod were later added. Many of the settlers of Be'er Toviyyah came from Eastern Europe and Germany, others were Israeli-born. In 1968 the population was 645. The economy was mainly based on citrus and intensive farming. In 2002 the population was 763. The village was initially called Qastīna, after a neighboring Arab village. It became Be'er Toviyyah in 1896, the name being adapted from the Arabic name for the site, "Bīr (Bi'r) Taʿabya."

[Efraim Orni]

BE'ER YA'AKOV (Heb. בְּאֵר יַעֲקֹב), town in the Coastal Plain of Israel, W. of Ramleh, founded in 1907 by a group of 56 Jews from Russia (most of them "Mountain Jews" from Dagestan). Some of the settlers were peasants in their country of origin and preserved their picturesque dress and customs throughout the decades. Initially, almond orchards constituted Be'er Ya'akov's principal farming branch. In 1925, 20 families from Turkey settled in the village, but until 1948, its population did not exceed 400 inhabitants due to a scarcity of land. After the Israeli *War of Independence (1948), however, new immigrants were absorbed in local housing projects and in two moshavim, Be'er Ya'akov Pittu'aḥ and Talmei Menasheh, which were subsequently integrated into the municipal area. In 1949, it received municipal council status. Citrus orchards, poultry, and dairy cattle were originally prominent branches and constituted an important part of Be'er Ya'akov's economy. It was the site of three large hospitals (Asaf ha-Rofe, Shemu'el ha-Rofe, and a mental hospital) and industrial enterprises, among them a crate factory employing hundreds of laborers and a division of Israel Aircraft Industries. Be'er Ya'akov's educational institutions also attracted pupils from other localities, e.g., the Johanna Jabotinsky agricultural high school, a religious girls' teachers seminary, and yeshivot. The population rose to 3,950 in 1968, 6,960 in the mid-1990s, and 8,320 in 2002. The name, "Well of Ya'akov," commemorates the spiritual leader of the founders, Rabbi Ya'akov Yiẓḥaki of Dagestan.

[Efraim Orni / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

BEET. The plant referred to in rabbinic literature as *tered*, or *selek* (Er. 29a) is the spinach beet (*Beta vulgaris*, var. *Cicla*). The present varieties, red beet, sugar beet, and fodder beet, were unknown to the ancients. Although the long white root of the beet was sometimes eaten, it was the leaves which were mainly used as food. The rabbis, in common with the Greek and Roman naturalists, praised it highly for its nutritive and medicinal value. Thus the Talmud states: "A dish of beets is good for the heart and good for the bowels and especially for the small bowels" (Bet. 44b). It was also held to account for the absence of skin diseases and of leprosy in Babylonia (Ket. 77b). It is a winter plant, but due to its nutritive value, attempts were made to grow it also in summer, and Solomon's servants were said to have been able to supply summer beets for his table (Deut. R. 1:5).

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[Jehuda Feliks]

BEGGING AND BEGGARS. Although the Bible is concerned with the poor and the needy, there is hardly a reference to begging or to beggars, and there is, in fact, no biblical Hebrew word for it. The needs of the poor were provided by the laws of **leket*, *shikhḥah*, and *pe'ah* which were the perquisites of the *ani*, the "poor man," or the *evyon*, the "needy." The only possible references are not to actual begging and beggars but are contained in the complementary assurances that whereas the children of the righteous will not have to "seek bread" (Ps. 37:25), the children of the wicked will, after his untimely death, be vagabonds "and seek their bread out of desolate places" (Ps. 109:10).

During the talmudic period, however, the itinerant beggar who goes from house to house figures with some prominence. So characteristic does it seem to have been of social life in those times that the first Mishnah of tractate *Shabbat* employs the example of the beggar receiving his pittance from the householder, and the various ways in which it might be handed to him, to illustrate the important laws concerning the carrying of articles from a private to a public domain on the Sabbath. The Mishnah also deals with the rights of the beggar who "goes from place to place" and who had sometimes to be provided with lodging for the night (Pe'ah 8:7). It was regarded as immodest for women to beg, with the result that the Mishnah stipulates that if a man left insufficient means for his children, the daughters should remain at home and the sons go from door to door (Ket. 13:3). The New Testament describes the blind beggar Bartimeus sitting by the roadside and begging (Mark 10:46) and a lame beggar soliciting alms at the entrance to the Temple (Acts 3:2). The rabbis are censorious of those beggars who used to feign such afflictions as "blindness, swollen belly, and shrunken leg" in order to arouse the compassion of the charitable (Pe'ah 8:9; Tosef., Pe'ah 4:14). Nevertheless one rabbi takes a charitable view of those impostors, saying that they perform the useful function of exercising the charitable instincts of the people (Ket. 68a). Nor was the cheerful impudent beggar unknown, as the following story in the Talmud indicates: "A beggar once came to Rava who asked him 'What do your meals usually consist of?' 'Plump chicken and matured wine' answered the beggar. 'Do you not consider this a burden on the community?' asked Rava. The beggar retorted: 'I do not take from them – I take what God provides.' At that moment Rava's sister, who had not seen him for 13 years, appeared bringing him a fat chicken and matured wine. 'Just what I told you!' said the beggar" (Ket. 67b).

Nevertheless two factors tended to keep begging within bounds. One was the delicate custom of sending food to the poor in order to spare their feelings (see the examples, Ket. 67b), and the other was the highly organized system of collection for and distribution to the poor through the official *kuppah* ("charity fund") and *tamḥui* ("soup kitchen"). As a result, it was proclaimed that relief was actually to be withheld from those who went begging as they had forfeited their rights to organized charity, although a compromise was arrived at not to send such a mendicant away completely empty-handed (BB 9a).

In the early Middle Ages this was established as the actual *halakhah* (Yad, Mattenat Aniyyim 7:7; Sh. Ar., YD 250:3). *Rashi (to BB 9a) explains that it is "because he has accustomed himself to make the rounds, he must suffice with that." On the other hand, Solomon b. Adret, in answer to an enquiry from a community overburdened with beggars, ruled that although "the poor are everywhere supported from the communal chest, if they wish in addition to beg from door to door they may do so, and each should give according to his understanding and desire" (Responsa, pt. 3 no. 380). In Cracow, however, in 1595 and in the Spanish and Portuguese congregation in London in the second half of the 17th century, begging by mendicants was completely outlawed (Balaban, in JJLG, 10 (1913), 342; Barnett, *El Libro de los Acuerdos* (1931), 9).

This admirable system of organized relief for the poor (cf. Yad, loc. cit., 9:3: "We have never heard of a community which has no charity fund for the relief of the poor, though some have no *tamḥui*") seems almost to have eliminated beggars until the 17th century. Launcelot Addison (*The Present State of the Jews*, p. 212) goes out of his way to dispel the belief prevalent in his time that "the Jews have no beggars," which he attributed to the "regular and commendable efforts" by which the Jewish community supplied the needs of the poor. A notable literary description of the English Jewish beggar is Zangwill's *King of the Schnorrers*.

It would seem that an increase in Jewish mendicancy took place as an aftermath of the *Chmielnicki pogroms when hundreds of Polish communities were destroyed and thousands of penniless and destitute Jews roamed throughout Europe. From this time dates the word "*shnorrer,*" the accepted Yiddish term for a beggar which became a characteristic feature of Jewish life. Sometimes the *shnorrers* openly collected for themselves, at other times for the dowry of a poor bride (see **Hakhnasat Kallah*) or to restore a house which had been burnt down in one of the many conflagrations of wooden houses. If the 18th century has been styled "a century of beggary" as a whole, it certainly applies to the impoverished Jewish communities of Central and Eastern Europe up to the dawn of the modern period.

Beggary, which was rife in Ereẓ Israel before the establishment of the State of Israel, has been largely eliminated in the streets, as a result of the increased activities of the Ministry of Social Welfare. It is still, however, a feature of the synagogues during the morning services. Beggars consist of two groups, genuine beggars and students of the old-fashioned yeshivot who are to some extent encouraged by the authorities of the yeshivah, not only as a source of subsistence but to afford the worshipers an opportunity of combining prayer with charity. A similar sentiment is held toward beggars in cemeteries. Despite objections that they disturb worshippers, opinion among the Orthodox is opposed to their removal.

See *Charity.

[Louis Isaac Rabinowitz]

Social Aspects

Begging as a social phenomenon is associated with migrations. It became prevalent in Jewish history during the period of the Mishnah and the Talmud and especially after the destruction of the Second Temple. This came about as a result of persecutions under Roman rule, as well as the physical and economic insecurity which impoverished the rural class and reduced the urban population to ruin. Yet, despite the increase in the numbers of poor and those reduced to begging, nothing is heard about Jewish mendicants forming a society and developing their own subculture, as did occur within the non-Jewish world at that time.

Jewish beggars wandering from place to place are more frequently found throughout the Middle Ages. In the Cairo *Genizah* a large number of letters from beggars complaining of their misfortunes and seeking support have been found. The documents indicate that these itinerant poor wandered from community to community, and from land to land. The *Or Zaru'a* (*hilkhot Ẓedakah* 11) of R. *Isaac of Vienna mentions that these destitute people customarily equipped themselves with "documents," i.e., letters of recommendation which they would present in their travels as proof of their trustworthiness.

In medieval times there was another class of wanderers who went from place to place, relying upon the hospitality of others, namely, the yeshivah students who moved from one center of Torah study to another. A parallel phenomenon (goliards, vagrant scholars) is found within the student community of Christian society of that time.

At the end of the 17th century, a relatively large class of Jewish beggars, called in non-Jewish sources "*Betteljuden,*" and *orḥei porḥei* ("flotsam and jetsam") in Jewish literature, developed throughout Europe, especially in Germany. The size of this class is not known exactly, but it has been estimated at as much as 20% of the total Jewish population. Although the reasons for the formation of this class are still not completely clear, it is assumed to have resulted from (i) the natural growth of the Jewish population; (ii) the limited number of Jews permitted to reside in any individual place by the local authorities; and (iii) the unstable economic conditions which brought about drastic changes from extreme wealth to great poverty. The *Betteljuden* constituted a section within the large class of non-Jewish itinerant poor. These Jewish vagabonds, like their Christian counterparts, eventually united into societies, religiously intermixed at times, developing their own subculture. This class became a source of manpower and information to the bands of thieves which were rampant at that time. The authorities treated these groups of Jewish mendicants very harshly. They condemned them for thievery and for causing diseases and plagues in various places. As a result of these accusations, local authorities sought to banish the beggars. The Jewish communities were very ambivalent vis-à-vis these mendicants. On the one hand, they strove to obey the local powers-that-be, for they also saw in the beggars a social danger, not only because of their associations with thieves, but also because of their licentiousness. Yet, on the other hand, they not infrequently had feelings of compassion and brotherliness toward these unfortunates. The manner in which the communities handled these *orḥei porḥei*, therefore, corresponded to their ambivalence toward them. In general, the community accommodated them in the homes of its residents for one night (for two nights over the Sabbath), and afterward sent them along with a sum of money for travel expenditures. Special lodgings for mendicants, particularly for the sick among them, were also set up in the *hekdesh* ("poor house"). After the Emancipation, with residence restrictions for Jews lifted, and areas in which Jews were permitted to work widened, this impoverished class was largely integrated with other social classes. However, the phenomenon itself did not disappear from Jewish communal life, and it continued to exist especially in Eastern Europe, if not to the same extent.

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BEGHI, family of Karaite scholars in Constantinople (15th–17th centuries). Its members include: ELIJAH AFIDAH (AFDAH) BEGHI (d. before 1641). Elijah wrote *Hilkhot Sheḥitah*, on the rules of slaughtering; *Be'ur Asarah Ikkarim*, on the ten principles of Karaite faith; *Mikhtav Eliyahu*, poems, verse compositions and tales; several responsa (all these works survived in manuscripts kept in various libraries). JOSEPH BEN MOSES (15th–16th centuries). Joseph was the pupil of the Karaite scholar Abraham *Bali, who in 1505 wrote for Beghi and his fellow student, Joseph b. Caleb, his *Issur Hadlakat Ner be-Shabbat*, on the Karaite prohibition of kindling lights on the Sabbath. The cordial relationship between the Karaites and *Rabbanites at that period is attested by Joseph's correspondence with Rabbanite scholars. Two letters by Moses b. Jacob (evidently *Moses of Kiev "*ha-Goleh*") to Beghi are preserved. Joseph wrote *Iggeret Sukkah*, on Sukkot; *Keter Kehunnah*, six homilies; *Iggeret Kiryah Ne'emanah* especially directed against the identification of the Karaites with the Sadducees, a work of literary and historical value since it mentions a number of earlier Karaite scholars; *Iggeret Kelulah*, an explanation of a problem in marriage law. Simḥah Isaac b. Moses Lutzki mentions two important works of Joseph which are no longer traceable: *Shulḥan Ḥaverim*, a book of precepts, and *Safah Berurah*, a philosophical work. MOSES BEN BENJAMIN (second half of the 16th century), wrote *Mitzvot Moshe*, a book of precepts including two essays "*Ohel Moshe*" on the calendar, and "*Masat Moshe*" on the Sabbath laws, published in *Pinnat Yikrat* by the Karaite *Isaac b. Solomon (1834; non-critical print, 2 vols., Ashdod 2005). Benjamin also composed liturgical poems, several of which have been included in the Karaite prayer book.

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[Isaak Dov Ber Markon]

BÉGIN, EMILE-AUGUSTE (1802–1888), French physician, historian, and librarian. Bégin, who was born in Metz, studied medicine at the Military College in Strasbourg. He soon gave up his position as a regimental physician in favor of a literary career. His early writing dealt mainly with the history of northeastern France. He became well known for his four-volume *Biographie de la Moselle* (1829–32) and his literary and political periodical *L'Indicateur de l'Est* (1830). His historical research embraced Jewish communities, and some of his findings appeared under the title "*Recherches pour servir l'histoire des Juifs dans le Nord-Est de la France*" in *Revue Orientale*, 1–2 (1841–42). Bégin settled in Paris in 1846 and became a contributor to publications of the Academy of Medicine. In 1850 he cooperated in the official edition of the papers of Napoleon I and in 1853–54 produced a laudatory five-volume biography, *L'Histoire de Napoléon Ier*, based on hitherto unpublished personal papers. Napoleon III rewarded him with an appointment as librarian at the Louvre, where he remained until 1871. In 1874 Bégin became librarian at the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.

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[Herbert A. Strauss]

BEGIN, MENAḤEM (1913–1992), Israeli statesman and former commander of the Irgun Ẓeva'i Le'ummi (IẒL); prime minister of Israel. He served in the First to Tenth Knessets. Begin was born and educated in Brest-Litovsk. He graduated with a law degree from Warsaw University. After a short association with Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir he joined Betar, becoming a member of its leadership in Poland in 1931 and head of the movement there in 1938. During the disturbances in Palestine in the years 1936–38, Begin organized a mass demonstration near the British Embassy in Warsaw, and was imprisoned by the Polish police. When the Germans occupied Warsaw, Begin escaped to Vilna, where he was arrested by the Soviet authorities and sentenced to eight years of hard labor in the Arctic region. Because he was a Polish citizen, he was released at the end of 1941 and arrived in Palestine in 1942 with the Polish army formed in the Soviet Union. Toward the end of 1943, after having been discharged from the Polish ranks, Begin became commander of IẒL. He declared "armed warfare" against the British Mandatory Government at the beginning of 1944, and led a determined underground struggle against the British, who offered a reward for the disclosure of his whereabouts. On July 22, 1946, the IẒL under Begin's command, carried out an attack on British Headquarters in Jerusalem, in the King David Hotel, which resulted in numerous deaths. The original plan had been to cooperate in this operation with the *Haganah, but this attempt failed, and despite Begin's attempts to avoid violent clashes within the *Yishuv*, there was great animosity between the two camps. After the Proclamation of Independence, in the course of the first ceasefire in the War of Independence in June 1948, Begin was on board the IẒL ship *Altalena* when it approached Tel Aviv with a consignment of arms. The ship was shelled by order of the Israeli government (see *Irgun Ẓeva'i Le'ummi). In 1948 Begin founded the *Ḥerut movement and became its leader. He was to serve in the Knesset as leader of Ḥerut, and later *Gaḥal and the *Likud until 1983. David *Ben-Gurion refused to consider Begin as a partner in any of his coalitions, and it was only after Levi *Eshkol became prime minister in 1963 that the attitude of the ruling *Mapai towards him changed.

In 1952 he led the protest campaign against the Restitution Agreement with the Federal Republic of Germany, and after clashing with the police outside the Knesset building, was banned from participation in Knesset meetings for several weeks. In the course of his many years as leader of the main opposition party, Begin gained a reputation for his fiery speeches and acting as a watchdog for democracy. He unsuccessfully fought to have the Emergency Regulations, which Israel had inherited from the British, abolished, and objected to the special Military Administration to which the minority citizens of Israel were subjected until 1966, which was based on these regulations. Towards the elections to the Sixth Knesset in 1965 he was instrumental in establishing the Gaḥal parliamentary group with the Liberal Party. In May 1967, on the eve of the Six-Day War, Gaḥal was invited to join the government by Levi Eshkol, and Begin was named minister without portfolio in the Government of National Unity. As the head of Gaḥal, he joined the government formed by Golda *Meir after the 1969 elections, but left the government the following year in protest against its acceptance of the American Rogers Plan for a settlement with Egypt, involving a withdrawal by Israel of territories occupied in the course of the Six-Day War (see *Israel, Historical Survey).

In 1977, after 29 years in the opposition, Begin, at the head of the Likud, won his first general election and was called upon to form a government. He established a coalition made up of the Likud (including Ariel *Sharon's Shlomẓion), the National Religious Party, Agudat Israel, and the Democratic Movement for Change. Five months after he became prime minister, President Anwar Sadat of Egypt came to Jerusalem for a historic visit, addressing the Knesset on November 20, 1977. In his response to the Egyptian President's speech Begin made his famous declaration: "No more war, no more bloodshed." After signing the Camp David Accords with Sadat on September 17, 1978, and with the help of Foreign Minister Moshe *Dayan and Minister of Defense Ezer *Weizman, Begin signed Israel's first peace treaty with an Arab state with Egypt on March 26, 1979, on the White House lawn in Washington. On December 10, 1978, Begin and Sadat jointly received the Nobel Prize for Peace in Oslo.

Despite many crises in his first government, and the resignation of numerous ministers, the Likud emerged victorious in the elections to the Tenth Knesset, and Begin formed his second government, made up of the Likud, the National Religious Party, Agudat Israel, and Tami, and despite misgivings he appointed Sharon as his defense minister. In June 1981

Sharon, with Begin's approval, embarked on Operation Peace for Galilee, which was meant at first to involve the occupation by the IDF of a 15-mi. (40-km.) strip in Southern Lebanon, and the ousting of the PLO from that land. Begin's slogan for the operation was: "No more Katyushas on Kiryat Shmonah." However, as the situation in Lebanon became more complex, and following the death of his beloved wife and his own failing health, Begin decided to resign from the premiership in October 1983. After his resignation Begin seldom left his home until his death in 1992.

His writings include *Ha-Mered* (1950; *The Revolt*, 1964), which describes the struggle of IẒL; *Be-Leilot Levanim* (1953; *White Nights*, 1957), reminiscences of his imprisonment in Russia; and *Ba-Maḥteret: Ketavim u-Te'udot* (4 vol., 1959–61), a collection of writings from his days in the underground.

Begin's son, Ze'ev Binyamin *Begin (1943–), was also active in politics.

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[Yohanan Bader / Susan Hattis Rolef (2nd ed.)]

BEGIN, ZE'EV BINYAMIN (1943–), Israeli geologist and politician. Member of the Twelfth to Fourteenth Knessets. Ze'ev Binyamin Begin was born in Jerusalem, the son of Menaḥem *Begin. He studied geology at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem and received his doctorate from the University of Colorado in the United States in 1978, later working in the Geological Survey of Israel as head of the environmental unit and the unit for the mapping of maritime geology. He entered politics in 1988 at the behest of his father. As a Knesset member. he was always noted for his modesty, and the fact that he usually arrived at the Knesset by public transportation. When Yitzḥak *Shamir invited Reḥav'am *Ze'evi to join his government in February 1991, he was one of several members of the Likud who objected, because of Ze'evi's advocacy of the transfer of land to the Palestinians.

Begin contested the leadership of the Likud in March 1993, following the party's defeat in the elections to the Thirteenth Knesset, but was defeated by Binyamin *Netanyahu. In the government formed by Netanyahu after the elections, he was appointed minister of science. Despite being part of the government, Begin strongly criticized Netanyahu's contacts with the chairman of the Palestinian Authority, Yasser *Arafat, and Netanyahu's willingness to fulfill Israel's undertakings under the Tab'a Agreement for a partial withdrawal from Hebron. He made constant efforts to prove that the Palestinians were systematically violating their commitments under the Declaration of Principles of September 1993, especially abrogation of the articles in the Palestine National Covenant that spoke of the destruction of Israel. After voting in the government twice within one week against resolutions proposed by the prime minister, Begin resigned from the government. Together with two additional members he left the Likud-Gesher-Tsomet parliamentary group and set up a new parliamentary group by the name of Ḥerut. Begin did not run for election in the Fifteenth Knesset and returned to his previous work as a geologist, on rare occasions coming out publicly on an issue, such as opposition to Prime Minister Ariel *Sharon's plan in 2004 to dismantle all the Jewish settlements in the Gaza Strip and several in Northern Samaria.

[Susan Hattis Rolef (2nd ed.)]

BEHAK, JUDAH (1820–1900), Hebrew writer. Behak, who was born in Vilna, was a member of the Vilna group (M.A. *Guenzburg, A.D. *Lebensohn, S.J. *Fuenn, and I.E. *Benjacob) which had a decisive influence on the Haskalah movement in Lithuania. He wrote for *Pirḥei Ẓafon*, the first Lithuanian Haskalah journal, and for *Ha-Karmel*. In 1848 he joined the staff of the newly established Vilna Rabbinical Seminary, and in 1856 moved to Kherson (most of his writings were signed *Ish Vilna be-Kherson*, "A Vilnaite in Kherson"). Behak devoted himself to the study of the Hebrew language. His main work was *Eẓ Yehudah*, linguistic studies of the Bible and the Talmud (5 vols., 1884–1901, Vilna, Odessa, Berdichev). His book *Yod ha-Rabbim*, a study of Aramaic, was published posthumously (1901). Behak also edited J.L. Ben-Ze'ev's *Talmud Lashon Ivri* (with Ẓ.H. Katznellenbogen, 1848) and S. Levisohn's *Meḥkerei Lashon* (with A.D. Lebensohn, 1849), and wrote commentaries for I.E. Benjacob's and A.D. Lebensohn's Bible, *Mikra'ei Kodesh* (1848–53).

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[Getzel Kressel]

BEHAR, LEON (1898–1957), Mexican Jewish community leader. Behar was born in Salonika, Greece, immigrated to Mexico in 1920, and a few years later started his communal activity, first among the Sephardim and later in the community at large. He took part in the establishment of the Asociación Israelita Sefaradí La Fraternidad (Sephardic Community) in 1924 and was its president for two years. In the 1930s he participated in the foundation of many important institutions, including the Sephardic Zionist Organization (serving as its president for several terms) and the Comité Central Sionista (as its vice president). Behar also presided over the joint aid committee for Jewish refugees in Europe and was active in other Jewish institutions. One of his most important activities was promoting the foundation of the Comité Central Israelita (the representative body of Mexican Jewry) in 1938, which he presided over for two years.

[Efraim Zadoff (2nd ed.)]

BEHAR, NISSIM (1848–1931), founder of modern Hebrew education in Ereẓ Israel and public figure in Jewish life in the U.S. Behar was born in Jerusalem. He graduated from the *Alliance Israélite Universelle teachers institute in Paris in 1869 and taught in Syria, Bulgaria, and Turkey. He headed the Alliance school in Constantinople from 1873 to 1882. There he introduced the direct method of teaching Hebrew, "*Ivrit be-Ivrit*." In 1882 Behar initiated the founding of the new Alliance school in Jerusalem, Torah u-Melakhah ("Torah and Work"), and became its headmaster. One of the teachers there was Eliezer *Ben-Yehuda, and its first students included David *Yellin and Yosef *Meyuḥas. Its modern methods were eventually applied in Hebrew schools throughout the country. Behar was an outstanding leader of the *yishuv*, especially as a liaison with the Turkish authorities. He attempted, with the help of Baron Edmond de *Rothschild, to regain the Western Wall for the Jewish community, but failed because of rabbinical opposition. The rabbis' hostility to Behar resulted from his educational innovations, and he was eventually relieved of his duties as headmaster (1897) and sent to represent the Alliance in the U.S. (1901). In his attempts to organize the work of the Alliance in the U.S., Behar encountered difficulties from Jewish institutions which looked askance at the activities of a large, foreign Jewish organization. American Jewish leaders did not approve of his intense propaganda, public meetings, and protests. Nevertheless, Behar soon became a public figure in American Jewry. He expounded the idea that political organizations should speak for American Jewry, and in 1906 founded the National Liberal Immigration League, directing it until 1924. In 1908 Behar traveled to Europe and back in order to learn how immigrants to the U.S. were treated on the boats. He was one of the founders of the Federation of Jewish Organizations. Behar was active in the *Histadrut Ivrit in the U.S. from its beginning. He died in New York and his remains were reburied in Jerusalem a year later.

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BEHEMOTH (intensive plural of Heb. *behemah*, "beast"), creature described in the Book of Job (40:15–24). It is depicted as an animal that eats grass like an ox, is all muscles and strength, lives in the marsh in the shade of the *ẓe'elim* ("*jujube"), eats huge quantities of food, and can swallow the waters of the Jordan. In the light of the description of other animals in these chapters, it would seem that the reference is to an existing animal, to which legendary details have been added. In later Jewish literature, however, it appears as a purely mythical creature. One of the mammoths fashioned on the fifth day of creation (Targ. Yer., Gen. 1:21; II Bar. 29:4), he is the male counterpart on land of the female *Leviathan in the sea (IV Ezra 6:49–52). He is said to dwell in the wilderness of Dendain (or Dudain), east of Eden (I Enoch 60:7–8), or else, by a fanciful interpretation of Psalm 50: 10, to span "a thousand hills" (IV Ezra 6: 49–52; Lev. R. 21). At the end of the world's existence he will be slain and served, along with his mate, at a banquet tendered to the righteous (*ibid.*; Targ. Yer., Num. 9:6; PdRE 11; cf. TB, BB 75a). It has been suggested that this reflects the Iranian belief that at the Resurrection the righteous will obtain immortality by drinking a nectar made out of the fat of the mythical ox Hadhayosh mixed with *haoma* (a plant; Bundahishn 19:13, 20:25; Dadistan-i-Denik 37:119); but it is undoubtedly inspired also by the statement in Psalms 74:14 that God once fed the flesh of Leviathan "to the people." The hippopotamus (*Hippopotamus amphibus*) has been identified with Behemoth. It is the largest land animal in the Middle East, weighing up to three tons. It has powerful sinews, an enormous head, and a wide mouth with huge molars. Once it inhabited Ereẓ Israel; skeletal remains of it have been found in the vicinity of the Yarkon River. In ancient Egypt it was a favorite quarry of hunters and its capture with spears is often depicted.

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[Jehuda Feliks / Theodor H. Gaster]

BE-ḤOZAI, a district extending E. of *Mesene, S.E. of Babylon, and N. of the Persian Gulf. Geographically, Be-Ḥozai did not belong to Babylonia, but to Persia. Despite the great distance between them (Ta'an, 21b; BK 104b), very close ties (including commercial) existed between the Jews of Babylonia and those of Be-Ḥozai. The district had a plentiful supply of water, and rice, extensively grown there, was used for bread by its inhabitants (Pes. 50b). It was an important station for goods in transit between Babylonia and Persia (Shab. 51b; BK 104b; Ket. 85a). Many problems were addressed to the Babylonian scholars by its sages, the names of some of whom are known, e.g., Avimi (Nid. 5b), Aḥa (BM 39b), Beroka (Ta'an. 22a), Avram Ḥoza'ah (Git. 50a), Ḥanina (Shab. 130b). The Babylonians had a generally poor opinion of the common people of Be-Ḥozai (Ned. 22a). The Babylonian Talmud mentions, among other localities in the region, Be Lapet (Syriac for Be Shafat), where many Jews lived (Ta'an, 22a), and Shushan (Meg. 2b), or "Sus," its widely used Syriac abbreviation (Sanh. 94a).

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[Moshe Beer]

BEHR (Baer), ISSACHAR FALKENSOHN (1746–1817), Polish poet who wrote in German. Born in Zamosc, Behr was raised in a traditional, Yiddish-speaking home. He was a failure as a petty tradesman and, leaving his wife and family in order to seek an education, wandered to Koenigsberg and reached Berlin in 1764. There he learned German, Latin, and French, and studied mathematics, philosophy, and medicine. Daniel *Itzig became his patron and introduced him to the Berlin intellectuals. He soon wrote excellent German verse and in 1772 published his *Gedichte von einem polnischen Juden*, a pioneer achievement for an East European Jew. Goethe reviewed this strange collection of lyrics in the *Frankfurter Gelehrten-Anzeiger.* In 1773, Behr completed his medical studies at the University of Halle and devoted himself to medical practice in Courland; thereafter, he wrote no more poetry.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: M. Kayserling, *Der Dichter Ephraim Kuh* (1864), 43–47.

[Sol Liptzin]

BEHREND, JACOB FRIEDRICH (1833–1907), German jurist. Behrend became a law clerk in 1859, in 1864 he was appointed lecturer at the University of Berlin, and in 1870, associate professor of jurisprudence. From 1873 to 1887 he was professor of law at the University of Greifswald, and in 1887 became a member of the Supreme Court, one of the few Jews to achieve this distinction. He was an acknowledged expert on German and Roman law and specialized in the early sources of law. Behrend published many important works on jurisprudence which were highly regarded by scholars. His first published work was the *Magdeburger Fragen* ("Magdeburg Problems," 1863) which dealt with the jury system. Later Behrend edited numerous works on jurisprudence, including *Zeitschrift fuer die deutsche Gesetzgebung und fuer einheitliches deutsches Recht* ("Journal for German Legislation and for a Unitary German Law," 1880). His major work, *Lehrbuch des Handelsrechts* ("Textbook of Commercial Law"), was regarded as the first comprehensive work on this subject. Although he managed to complete only the first volume (in two parts, 1886–96), this was for many years an invaluable source of research.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Deutsche Juristen-Zeitung* 12 (1907), 170.

[B. Mordechai Ansbacher]

BEHRENDS (Behrens), LEFFMANN (1634–1714), Hanover Court Jew. Behrends, who began as a small merchant supplying luxuries to the court, gradually established himself as moneylender, diplomatic mediator, and coin minter. His position was strengthened under Duke Ernest Augustus (1679–98), for whom he procured the title of elector, and under George, elector of Hanover (1698–1727), the future George I of England. He established business and marital connections with the *Oppenheimers and *Wertheimers of Vienna and stationed his agents, usually his relatives, in the main German cities. An ardent talmudist, and father-in-law of David b. Abraham *Oppenheim, he supported talmudic studies. For many years he was head (*Vorsteher*) of the community of Hanover-Neustadt, the majority of whose members were connected with his household. In 1673 he acquired the right to open a cemetery, and in 1703 built a synagogue and presented it to the community. In 1687 at his request the duke agreed to permit the Jews of Hanover to appoint a *Landesrabbiner.* In 1700 he obtained the support of the elector in suppressing the writings of Johann *Eisenmenger. Behrends attempted to murder a relative of his who became an apostate, but he was able to use his influence to evade being brought to trial. His sons and grandsons, also Court Jews, carried on the family firm; their bankruptcy in 1721 shook the European financial world and took more than a century to settle legally. The trial revealed that Behrends had left his estate in a sorry condition. His descendants settled in Copenhagen.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: S. Stern, *The Court Jew* (1950), index; H. Schnee, *Die Hoffinanz und der moderne Staat*, 2 (1954), 13–67; 5 (1965), 54–81.

BEHRMAN, MARTIN (1864–1926), U.S. public official. Behrman was born in New York City and taken to New Orleans in 1865 by his parents, who died when he was 12. At 19 he became a traveling salesman for a large grocery concern. Turning to politics, Behrman was elected president of the State Board of Assessors, a member of the New Orleans Board of Education (1892–1906), state auditor (1904–05), and mayor of New Orleans in 1904, serving four terms until his defeat in 1920. Behrman was director of the American Bank and Trust Company. He was a leading state Democrat and was chairman of the Louisiana delegation to the national Democratic convention in 1908. Behrman was active in civic and Jewish affairs. He was a member of the Louisiana Constitutional Conventions of 1898 and 1921, and president of the League of American Municipalities (1917–18).

[Edward L. Greenstein]

BEHRMAN, SAMUEL NATHANIEL (1893–1973), U.S. playwright. Behrman was born in Worcester, Mass. His parents had emigrated from Lithuania, and his father often devoted himself to Hebrew Scripture. Behrman graduated from Harvard, where he joined G.P. Baker's Drama Workshop, and from Columbia University. It took him 11 years to sell his first play, *The Second Man* (1927). It was a great success and marked the beginning of a prolific and brilliant career. Intellect, technique, wit, and charm apparent in this early work marked his later writings. His plays, including *End of Summer* (1936), *No Time for Comedy* (1939), and *Jacobowsky and the Colonel* (in collaboration with Franz *Werfel; 1943), are distinguished by warmth and respect for human values. Behrman was far ahead of his fellow playwrights in showing awareness of totalitarian evils, as in *Rain from Heaven* (1935) and *Wine of Choice* (1938). Behrman turned to biography with *Duveen* (1952), the career of the famous British art dealer. This was followed by the autobiographical *Worcester Account* (1954), a charming description of an American Jewish boyhood with an immigrant background. In *Portrait of Max* (1960), he recorded his conversations with Sir Max Beerbohm. Behrman returned to the theater in 1958 with a dramatization of his autobiography under the title *The Cold Wind and the Warm*. He also adapted the Duveen biography as a play, *Lord Pengo* (1963). In 1964 he was one of three American authors whose new works were chosen for the opening season of the Lincoln Center Repertory Theatre in New York. Behrman's play was *But For Whom Charlie* (1964), a comedy about a conflict of temperaments. His novel *The Burning Glass* (1968) was set in pre-World War II Salzburg. Among other his works is *People in a Diary; A Memoir* (1972).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: S.J. Kunitz (ed.), *Authors Today and Yesterday* (1934^{2}), 56–57; B. Mantle, *Contemporary American Playwrights* (1941), 108–15; J. Mersand, *Traditions in American Literature* (1939), 51–67; O. Prescott, "Books of The Times" *New York Times* (November 5, 1954), p.19.

[Bernard Grebanier]

BEI AVIDAN, meeting place in talmudic times where scholars of various nations and faiths met for religious discussions and disputations. Enjoying the protection of the authorities, the institution was visited by some of the Jewish sages, while others, such as *Joshua b. Hananiah (Shab. 152a) and Eleazar b. Perata (Av. Zar. 17b), refrained from doing so, for which they were compelled to apologize to the authorities. Similarly, the *amora* Rav did not enter a *Bei Avidan*, whereas his colleague Samuel did (Shab. 116a). The *Bei Avidan* is mentioned in this context in association with a *Bei Niẓrefei* (or *Bei Naẓrufei*), to which neither Rav nor Samuel would enter, and which was apparently an idolatrous house of worship (cf. Er. 80a). R. Abbahu was asked whether it was permitted to save the books of a *Bei Avidan* from a fire on the Sabbath (Shab. loc. cit.). It apparently contained books of the Bible (see R. Hananel, ad loc.), but since it was not known whether a Jew or a sectarian had copied them, the doubt arose whether or not they could be saved on the Sabbath. Various theories have been advanced to explain the origin of the word. According to S.J.L. Rapoport (*Erekh Millin* (1852), 3), it derives from the Persian *abdan* ("a forum"), the meeting place there being called *Bei Avidan* (i.e., "house of"). L. Ginzberg (*Festschrift … Schwarz*, 1917, 329) suggests that the word derives from the name of a person, possibly the astrologer Abidas-Abidan, who was active in Persia at the beginning of the third century. L. Loew (*He-Ḥalutz*, 2 (1853), 100ff.) contends that the correct reading is "*Bei-Evyoni*," i.e., the meeting place of the Ebionites in the Land of Israel. However, the fact that the word "*Bei Avidan*" is not found in Palestinian sources and that, furthermore, the statement about Joshua b. Hananiah and Eleazar b. Perata is in Aramaic indicate that the *Bei Avidan* originated in Babylonia and that the term was adopted by the rabbis to apply to the institution in Ereẓ Israel. More recently, S. Shaked has suggested that the term is derived from a Persian word meaning "temple"; see Sokoloff, DPJA, p. 209b.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Levy J., Neuhebr Tal, 1 (19242), 9; Jastrow, Dict. 1 (1950), 5; Neusner, Babylonia, 1 (1966), 73ff. (citing further literature).

[Yitzhak Dov Gilat]

BEIDER, CHAIM (1920–2003), Yiddish poet, journalist, and literary historian. Beider was born in the *shtetl* of Kupel, near the town of Proskurov (now Khmelnitski, Ukraine). After finishing the local Yiddish school, he studied in the Yiddish Department of the Odessa Teachers' Training Institute and, from 1933, published poems in periodicals. He graduated in 1940 and worked as a teacher. During the war he lived in Tadzhikistan. From 1946 he lived in Khmelnitski and Kamenets-Podolski, working on local Ukrainian dailies. In 1971 he moved to Birobidzhan and worked there as a staff journalist for the Yiddish newspaper *Birobidzhaner Shtern*. In 1973 he moved to Moscow and joined the editorial staff of *Sovetish Heymland*, first as an editor and later as associate editor. In 1998 he immigrated to New York.

His first poetic collection, *Khanukas Khabais* ("Housewarming"), appeared in Moscow in 1979. He also wrote numerous articles devoted to the history of Yiddish literature and culture, many of which were included in his collection *Di Vegn*, *Vos Mir Antdekn* ("The Ways That We Find," 1991). He was especially interested in such topics as the life and work of Sholem Jacob *Abramovitsh (Mendele Mokher Seforim), the cultural history of Birobidzhan, and biographies of Soviet Yiddish cultural and political activists. In New York, he briefly edited the Yiddish journal *Tsukunft* and regularly contributed to the Yiddish weekly *Forverts*.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Ch. Beider (ed.), *Native Land* (1980); *Yiddish Writers Almanac: Year After Year* (1987).

[Gennady Estraikh (2nd ed.)]

BEIDERMAN, BERNARDO (1919–), Argentine criminologist. Beiderman was professor of criminal law at Buenos Aires University from 1957 to 1966, when he resigned because of government interference in the universities. He then became a lecturer on the same subject at the university Museo Social Argentino in Buenos Aires, and later dean of its faculty of communication sciences. As a member of the Argentinian Commission, he helped draft a model penal code for Latin America. Beiderman wrote on criminal theory, female criminality, obscenity and pornography, and penal reform.

BEILENSON, ANTHONY CHARLES (**Tony**; 1932–), U.S. congressman. Beilenson was born in New Rochelle, New York. His parents, Peter and Edna Beilenson, were both first cousins of the Hebrew journalist-writer-translator Moshe *Beilenson (1889–1936). Like their cousin, Peter and Edna Beilenson were involved in publishing; their firm, the Peter Pauper Press, was one of the most successful small presses operating in the United States from the 1930s to the 1950s.

At 16, Beilenson matriculated into Phillips Academy in Andover, Massachusetts – the alma mater of many U.S. lawmakers. Following his graduation in 1950, he entered Harvard, going on to graduate from both Harvard College (1954) and its school of law (1957) before striking out for California. Moving to the Los Angeles area, Beilenson spent two years working for a Beverly Hills law firm. A liberal Democrat, Beilenson was elected to the California State Assembly in 1963 and the State Senate in 1965. In his more than decade-long tenure in the California State Senate, he authored more than 200 pieces of legislation. Highly esteemed by both his fellow legislators and members of the press, Beilenson was named best all-around senator by the state capitol press corps and most effective senator in a poll of his Senate colleagues.

In 1976, Beilenson was elected to the U.S. House of Representatives, a post he would hold for the next 20 years. During his tenure in Congress, Beilenson served on the all-important House Rules Committee, where he became the point man on all Jewish and Israel-related issues. Within the House, Beilenson gained a reputation for being a "straight arrow, a man whose integrity is beyond reproach." Beilenson also served as chair of the House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence. Beilenson's legislative interests ranged from budget reform and "covert-action language" for federal intelligence-gathering agencies to restrictions on U.S. imports of elephant ivory. Through Beilenson's efforts, the Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species eventually ordained a worldwide ban on trade in elephant ivory in 1989. On his many trips abroad, he always made it a point to have the U.S. State Department set up meetings with local Jewish groups and then have prominent Jews invited to American embassy dinners.

Beilenson voted against American involvement in the 1991 Gulf War. Reflecting on that vote, he said, "I don't like Americans systematically inflicting great violence and punishment on another people without absolutely compelling reasons for doing so. I don't like the fact that we are killing thousands of human beings who have not harmed any of us, and who have no capability of doing so. I regret that we didn't have the sense, the imagination, the wit, to deal with the problem in a way that could have produced the desired results without going to war." After serving ten two-year terms, Beilenson retired from Congress in January 1997.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: K.F. Stone, *The Congressional Minyan: The Jews of Capitol Hill* (2000), 12–15.

[Kurt Stone (2nd ed.)]

BEILIN, ASHER (1881–1948), Hebrew and Yiddish journalist, author, and editor. Beilin was born in Kiev. He worked intermittently as *Shalom Aleichem's secretary (1901–05). In 1906 he moved to London, where he engaged in journalism, and in 1933 settled in Jerusalem. Beilin contributed extensively to the Hebrew and Yiddish press, edited Yiddish papers, and in his later years wrote for the Tel Aviv Hebrew daily newspaper, *Davar*. His writings include reminiscences of J.Ḥ. *Brenner (1943), with whom he collaborated for many years, and Shalom Aleichem (1945), a novel *Al Belimah* ("On Nothing," 1928), and a play *Banim li-Gevulam* ("Sons to their Border," 1945). His selected works were published in 1956.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Kol Kitvei G. Shofman*, 4 (1960), 283; 5 (1960), 168; LNYL, 1 (1956), 287–8.

[Getzel Kressel]

BEILIN, YOSSI (1948–), Israeli politician and political scientist. Member of the Twelfth to Fifteenth Knessets. Beilin was born in Petaḥ Tikvah. He received his Ph.D. in political science at Tel Aviv University and taught there in 1972–85. In 1977–84 he served as the spokesman of the *Israel Labor Party and was part of the entourage of the Party Chairman, Shimon *Peres. When Peres served as prime minister in the National Unity Government in 1984–86, Beilin served as government secretary. In the following two years, after Peres became minister for foreign affairs, Beilin served as political director general at the ministry, making efforts to cool Israel's relations with South Africa, which still followed a policy of apartheid, and to establish relations with the African National Congress.

Within the Labor Party he formed the dovish Mashov Circle. He was elected to the Twelfth Knesset and, until the Labor Party left the National Unity Government, served under Peres as deputy minister of finance. In this capacity he expressed his opinion that only the needy, and not the whole population, should receive child suppport and other allowances from the state, provoking severe criticism within the party. He was also criticized for statements about the expected level of unemployment, which proved to be conservative.

When Yitzhak *Rabin formed his government in 1992, Beilin once again followed Peres to the Ministry for Foreign Affairs as his deputy. At this time he was one of the initiators of what came to be known as the Oslo Process with two colleagues – Dr. Ya'ir Hirschfeld and Dr. Ron Pundak. When he was convinced of the seriousness of the negotiations with the Palestinians, he approached both Peres and Rabin, who agreed to upgrade the talks, though until the end of August 1993 the talks were kept secret from the public.

In June 1995 Beilin was appointed minister of economics and planning. After Rabin's assassination, when Peres became prime pinister, Beilin brought about the dismantlement of the Ministry of Economics and Planning, which he thought was superfluous, and was appointed minister in the Prime Minister's Office.

Three days before Rabin's assassination Beilin concluded with the Palestinian politician Maḥmud Abbas (known as Abu-Ma'azen), who was later to become prime minister, a document that outlined the parameters of a permanent settlement between Israel and the Palestinians. The document, which was published by *Haaretz*, spoke of the establishment of a demilitarized Palestinian state in 90% of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, with its capital in the Arab neighborhood of Abu-Dis, east of Jerusalem. Peres rejected the document, because he believed it would be harmful to the Labor Party in the forthcoming elections.

In June 1997 Beilin contested the leadership of the Labor Party, but lost to Ehud *Barak, receiving 28.5% of the party vote. In the government formed by Barak after the elections to the Fifteenth Knesset, he was appointed minister of justice. He resigned from the Knesset in November 1999, to enable the next member on the Labor list to enter the Knesset. After Shas left the government, he also assumed the portfolio for religious affairs. After failing to receive a realistic place in the Labor list for the Sixteenth Knesset, Beilin, together with Yael *Dayan, joined the Meretz list, but when Meretz received only six seats, he failed to enter the Knesset. With Palestinian leader Yasser Abed Rabbo, Beilin started to work on a new peace document that came to be known as the Geneva Initiative, signed in Geneva under the auspices of Swtizerland on December 1, 2003. On March 16, 2004, Beilin won the election for leadership of Meretz (which changed its name to "Yaḥad and the Democratic Choice") against MK Ran Cohen.

The following of his books have appeared in English: *Israel: A Concise Political History* (1993); *Touching Peace* (1999); *Dispatches from Palestine: The Rise and Fall of the Oslo Agreement* (1999); *His Brother's Keeper: Israel and Diaspora Jewry in the Twenty-First Century* (2000); *Manual for a Wounded Dove* (2003); *The Path to Geneva: The Quest for a Permanent Agreement, 1996–2004* (2004).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: S. Ben-Porat, *Siḥot im Yossi Beilin* ("Talks with Yossi Beilin," 1997).

[Susan Hattis Rolef (2nd ed.)]

BEILINSON (Belinson), MOSES ELIEZER (1835–1908), Hebrew and Yiddish writer and publisher. He was born in Dubrovna (Russia). In 1860 he published a brochure *Ẓevi la-Ẓaddik* containing an apologia for Judaism and an attack upon Christianity and Karaism. He translated Ludwig Philippson's novel *Die Vertreibung der Juden aus Spanien und Portugal* into Hebrew as *Galut Sefarad* in 1860. In the 1860s he established a Hebrew printing press in Odessa, and published *Alei Hadas*, a literary and scholarly periodical (1865), in which he printed his correspondence with Philippson on the situation of the Jews in Russia. Only four issues appeared. Perez *Smolenskin published his first pamphlets at Beilinson's press (1862–67); Beilinson wanted to "correct" Smolenskin's style, but most of his corrections were rejected. *Kol Mevasser* (1871), the first Yiddish weekly published in Russia, was also printed at Beilinson's press and Beilinson succeeded Moshe Leib *Lilienblum as its editor, using the pseudonym "M.E.B.N." He composed three genealogical histories (including one on his own family): *Megillat Yuḥasin* (1891), *Yalkut Mishpaḥot* (1892), and *Millu'im le-Kovez Yalkut Mishpaḥot* (1893). He published *Toledot ha-Rav Yosef Shelomo Rofe Delmedigo mi-Kandia* (1864), a biography based on Abraham Geiger's *Melo Ḥofnayim* (German section), and *Shelomei Emunei Yisrael*, three brochures dealing with literary and scientific topics (1898–1901). He also edited *Kovez Yagdil Torah* (1879–85) and *Kovez Mekhilta de-Rabbanan* (1885), dealing with halakhic matters. Beilinson adapted Longfellow's *Judas Maccabaeus* into a Yiddish Ḥanukkah play (1882), and also adapted Philippson's above-mentioned novel (1888). He additionally published *Nutslikher Fremdvorterbukh* (Part 1, 1887), a dictionary of foreign phrases used in Yiddish.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Zeitlin, Bibliotheca, 18–19; Rejzen, Leksikon 1 (1928), 328–30; Wachstein et al., *Hebraische Publizistik in Wien*, 1 (1930), 11, 293.

[Gedalyah Elkoshi]

BEILINSON, MOSHE (1889–1936), Hebrew writer, journalist, and one of the chief spokesmen of the labor movement in Ereẓ Israel. Beilinson, who was born in Veprika, Russia, qualified as a doctor in 1913. A supporter of the Russian socialist movement, he was won over to Zionist socialism by Z. Shazar and B. Katznelson. After World War I he settled in Italy, where he became active in the Zionist movement. He also published a series of translations into Italian of books of Jewish interest, including: Buber's *Reden ueber das Judentum* (1923); R. Travers Herford's *Pharisees* (1925); and (with Dante *Lattes) Joseph Klausner's *Kizzur Toledot ha-Sifrut ha-Ivrit ha-Ḥadashah* (1926). In 1924 he settled in Petaḥ Tikvah and soon afterward joined the editorial board of the newly founded *Davar. Here Beilinson published articles and notes, discussing problems of the Palestinian labor movement. He first wrote in Russian but changed to Hebrew in 1926. His style was simple and fluent. Beilinson wrote: *Bi-Ymei Massah*, on the Jewish-Arab question (1930); *Bi-Ymei Teḥiyyat Italyah* (1930); *Be-Mashber ha-Olam* (published in 1940, with an essay on Beilinson by B. Katznelson) and *Ba-Derekh le-Aẓma'ut* (1949). One of the main hospitals in the Tel Aviv area was named after him.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Ẓiyyun le-Moshe Beilinson* (supplement to *Davar*, fasc. no. 3792, Nov. 9, 1937, includes a bibliography of his writings).

[Getzel Kressel]

BEILIS, MENAHEM MENDEL (1874–1934), victim of a *blood libel charge in Russia in 1911. On March 20, 1911, the mutilated body of Andrei Yushchinsky, a 12-year-old boy, was discovered in a cave on the outskirts of Kiev. The monarchist rightist press immediately launched a vicious anti-Jewish campaign, accusing the Jews of using human blood for ritual purposes. At the funeral of Yushchinsky, leaflets circulating the blood libel were distributed by members of the reactionary "Black Hundred" ("*Union of Russian People") organization. Meanwhile the police investigation traced the murder to a gang of thieves associated with a woman, Vera Cheberiak, notorious for criminal dealings. However, the reactionary antisemitic organizations led by the "Black Hundred" pressured the antisemitic minister of justice, I.G. Shcheglovitov, to conduct the investigation of the crime as a ritual murder. Accordingly, the chief district attorney of Kiev disregarded the police information and instead looked for a Jew on whom to blame the crime, through whom the entire Jewish people could be publicly indicted.

In July 1911, a lamplighter testified that on March 12, the day Yushchinsky disappeared, he had seen him playing with two other boys on the premises of the brick kiln owned by a Jew, Zaitsev. He also alleged that a Jew had suddenly appeared and kidnapped Yushchinsky, pulling him toward the brick kiln. On the strength of this testimony, Mendel Beilis, the superintendent of the brick kiln, was arrested on July 21, 1911, and sent to prison, where he remained for over two years. A report was submitted to Czar Nicholas II that Beilis was regarded by the judiciary as the murderer of Yushchinsky.

The case attracted universal attention. Protests and addresses by scientists, public and political leaders, artists, men of letters, clergymen, and other liberal-minded men were published in all the civilized countries of Europe and the United States affirming that the blood libel was baseless. The trial of Beilis took place in Kiev from September 25 through October 28, 1913. The chief prosecutor A.I. Vipper made anti-Jewish statements in his closing address and defended the Cheberiak gang against the charge of Yushchinsky's murder. Beilis was represented by the most able counsels of the Moscow, St. Petersburg, and Kiev bars: Vassily Maklakov, Oscar O. Grusenberg, N.P. Karabchevsky, A.S. Zarundy, and D.N. Grigorovitch-Barsky. The lamplighter and his wife, on whose testimony the indictment of Beilis rested, when questioned by the presiding judge, answered, "We know nothing at all." They confessed that both had been confused by the secret police and made to answer questions they did not comprehend. "Scientific" foundation for the blood libel was supplied at the trial by a Catholic priest with a criminal record, Justin Pranaitis, who stated that the murder of Yushchinsky had all the characteristics of ritual murder enjoined by the Jewish religion. His arguments were refuted by the rabbi of Moscow, Jacob *Mazeh, who proved that Pranaitis was ignorant of the talmudic texts cited. Two Russian professors of high standing, Troitsky and Kokovtzoff, also spoke on behalf of the defense in praise of Jewish values and exposed the falsity of the ritual murder hypothesis. The jury, composed of simple Russian peasants, after several hours of deliberation unanimously declared Beilis "not guilty."

Beilis, who still remained in danger of revenge by the "Black Hundred," left Russia with his family for Ereẓ Israel. In 1920, he settled in the United States. Bernard *Malamud's novel *The Fixer* is based on the Beilis case.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: M. Samuel, *Blood Accusation: the Strange History of the Beiliss Case* (1966); M. Beilis, *Story of My Sufferings* (1926); AJYB, 16 (1914/15), 19–89; A.D. Margolin, in: *Jews of Eastern Europe* (1926), 155–247; A.B. Tager, *The Decay of Czarism: The Beiliss Trial* (1935); M. Cotic, *Mishpat Beilis* (1978); Z. Szajkowski, in: PAAJR, 31 (1963), 197–218.

[Chasia Turtel]

BEIM, SOLOMON BEN ABRAHAM (1817?–1867), Karaite scholar and important public figure, a disciple of the Karaite scholar Mordecai *Sultansky. He also acquired a secular education and knew Russia, French, and German. In 1839 he accompanied Abraham *Firkovich in his voyages around the Crimea and Caucasus to help him search for antiquities. In the mid-1840s he conducted archaeological excavations in the Crimea and became a member of the Imperial Geographical Society. Beim first officiated as *ḥazzan* in Chufut-Kale, where he founded a Karaite school with tendencies of enlightenment. In addition to Bible and Hebrew, he also taught Russian and secular subjects. Beim was on friendly terms and corresponded with intellectuals of the Jewish Haskalah and Reform Movement. He attempted to ease the severe Karaite laws, but he met with strong opposition. In 1855, after the death of Simḥah *Babovich he was appointed as *ḥazzan* of the Crimea and Odessa. After the death of his father, the *ḥazzan* of the Odessa Karaite community, he moved to Odessa and continued his father's good relations with the Rabbanites. He died in the course of his visit to St.-Petersburg, where he came to deliver to Czar Alexander II samples of typical Karaite garments, on the Czar's request. He wrote *Pamiat' o Chufut-Qaleh* and several other treatises in Russian on the Karaites which, however, have limited value, being based solely on the findings of Firkovich.

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[Golda Akhiezer (2nd ed.)]

BEIMEL, JACOB (c. 1875–1944), *ḥazzan*. Beimel was born in Parichi, Belorussia, where his father was also a cantor; as a child, he sang in Bobruisk and Berdichev. He studied music in Odessa and Berlin, became cantor in Berlin, where he conducted the Mendelssohn Choir, and later served in Copenhagen. In 1915, he went to the U.S. and conducted choral concerts. He held posts in New York and later in Philadelphia. His works and adaptations of synagogue music, his folk songs and ḥasidic melodies, were published in the quarterly *Jewish Music Journal* (Eng. and Yid., 1934–35), which he edited in the U.S.

BEIN, ALEXANDER (1903–1988), archivist and historian of Zionism. Bein was born at Steinach and studied at Erlangen and Berlin. From 1927 to 1933 he served on the staff of the German State Archives. In 1933 he settled in Palestine where he became assistant director of the General Zionist Archives in 1936. In 1955 he was appointed director, and in addition from 1956 was state archivist of Israel. Apart from studies in general history, *Die Staatsidee Alexander Hamiltons in ihrer Entstehung und Entwicklung* (1927), Bein devoted his efforts to the history of Zionism and modern antisemitism. Among his works are *Toledot ha-Hityashevut ha-Ẓiyyonit* (1945^2); *The Return to the Soil* (1952); his biography of Theodor Herzl (1934) which was translated into several languages; *Die Judenfrage* (1980; Eng., *The Jewish Question*, 1990). Bein also edited a new Hebrew edition of Herzl's writings in Hebrew which appeared in ten volumes in 1960–61. He contributed articles to scholarly journals on the history of modern antisemitism and Zionism. In 1987 he was awarded the Israel Prize for his contributions to Zionist historiography.

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[Isaak Dov Ber Markon]

BEINART, HAIM (1917–), Jewish historian specializing in Spanish Jewry in the Middle Ages. Born in Pskow, Russia, Beinart received a traditional Jewish and general education at the Hebrew High School in Riga. He arrived in Palestine in 1937 as a student and commenced his academic studies at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem.

Concentrating on the history of the Jews in Spain, Beinart spent a research year in the Archivo Historico Nacional in Madrid and in the Archiva General de la Corona de Aragon in Barcelona. He received his Ph.D. in 1955 for his thesis on "The Trials of the Inquisition against the Judaizers in Toledo in the period of the Expulsion of the Jews from Spain."

Beinart taught in the department of Jewish history at the Hebrew University from 1952, becoming a full professor in 1972.

From 1965 to 1969 he served as academic adviser for the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences at what was to become the Ben-Gurion University of the Negev, and was dean of the faculty from 1969 to 1973. Beinart served also as the head of the Institute of Jewish Studies at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. Beinart was awarded the Israel Prize in 1991 for Jewish history and in 2004 he received the Rothschild Prize.

Beinart's research work dealt extensively with the history of Spanish Jewry in the Middle Ages, based on original sources he uncovered through his meticulous searches in various libraries throughout the world. His research concentrated on the century before the expulsion of the Jews from Spain in 1492, although he investigated numerous other areas including studies on the Jews expelled from Spain and their search for refuge in other countries. This includes archival material about Marranos who formed the nucleus for the revival of Jewish communities outside of Spain.

Beinart published hundreds of scholarly articles in various journals in Spanish, Hebrew and English. His four-volume *Records of the Trials of the Spanish Inquisition in Ciudad Real*, which includes the reports of the trials against the Marranos during the Spanish Inquisition, his *Conversos on Trial*, and his *Expulsion of the Jews from Spain* made a major contribution to the study of the era.

Beinart founded and edited the *Hispania Judaica Series* (1978–) which publishes historical monographs on the Jewish community in Spain. He was a member of the editorial board of the quarterly *Zion* and of *The Shorter Jewish Encyclopaedia in Russian* and was editor of the history of the Jews in Christian Spain for the first edition of the *Encyclopaedia Judaica.*

[Elaine Hoter]

BEINISCH (Werba), DORIT (1942–), Israeli jurist. Born in Tel Aviv, Beinisch studied law at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem and from 1976 to 1982 served as director of the Department of Constitutional and Administrative Law at the State Attorney's Office. In 1982 she was appointed deputy state attorney and in 1989 she became state attorney. She served in this position for seven years, heading government litigation in the Magistrate, District, and Supreme Court. She also served as the official legal advisor to government departments and agencies. Beinisch gave special attention to ensuring that government institutions remain subject to legal restraints, with particular emphasis on the IDF, Police, and General Security Service. In 1995 she was appointed to the Supreme Court of Israel. Among her notable court opinions are her decision holding that parents cannot use corporal punishment against their children and decisions stressing the importance of protecting rights of women and children.

[Leon Fine (2nd ed.)]

BEI-RAV (Aram. בֵּי רַב), term in talmudic literature designating a place of elementary or advanced education (e.g., Sanh. 33b, 17b; Yev. 83b). A related term in Hebrew is *bet rabban* (e.g., Shab. 119b). The students at the *bei rav* also lived there (Ber. 25a). *De-Vei-Rav* is also used by some *amoraim* as a term for certain collections of tannaitic literature. *She'ar Sifrei de-Vei-Rav* ("Other Books of Bei-Rav") mentioned by some *amoraim* (Yoma 74a; BB 124b), are explained by Rashi as the tannaitic commentaries on Numbers and Deuteronomy, although Solomon b. Abraham *Adret and *Gershom b. Judah include the Midrash on Exodus as well. For them, the Midrash on Leviticus (*Sifra de-Vei Rav*) was the book of Bei-Rav as everyone was so well versed with it, whereas the other works were somewhat less well-known. Zunz identifies **Sifra* and *Sidra de-Vei-Rav* (also known as *Torat Kohanim*) with the commentary on Leviticus, and *Sifrei* and *Sifrei de-Vei-Rav* with the commentary on Numbers and Deuteronomy. Known under the single name of **Sifrei*, these midrashic commentaries were taught for the first time by Rav in Babylonia (Zunz, Vortraege, 49f.). Maimonides and Menahem Meiri after him considered Rav the author of these works. M. Friedmann, in his introduction to the **Mekhilta* (1870; xiff.), identifies *Sifra* with *Torat Kohanim* (i.e., the commentary on Lev.) and *Sifra de-Vei-Rav* with miscellaneous **baraitot* of Rav, or of the academy of Rav. D. Hoffman (*Zur Einleitung in die halachischen Midraschim* (1887), 13–20, and *Mar Samuel* (1873), 68f.), subscribes to the view that the term "*tanna de-Vei-Rav*" embraces the *Sifra* and *Sifra de-Vei-Rav*, a collection of the teachings of the sages at the academy of Rabbi Huna (cf. Sanh. 17b). For more on the halakhic midrashim, see **Midrashei Halakhah*.

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BEIRUT, capital city and chief port of Lebanon. From the second century B.C.E. Jews lived in its vicinity, and probably in the city itself. The Chronicle of Joshua the Stylite mentions the existence of a synagogue in Beirut at the beginning of the sixth century. *Abiathar b. Elijah (late 11th century) includes Beirut and Gebal (Byblos) among the cities subject to the gaonate of Palestine. At the time of the Crusader conquest (1100) Beirut contained 35 Jewish families and *Benjamin of Tudela (c. 1170) found 50 households there. According to Isaac of Acre, many Jews were killed during the Muslim capture of the city in 1291.

Jews frequently visited Beirut on their way to Ereẓ Israel, but a pupil of *Nahmanides who stopped there at the beginning of the 14th century did not note the presence of Jews in the city. An anonymous pupil of Obadiah *Bertinoro wrote in a letter (1495) "At Baroto (Beirut) there are no Jews, and I do not know the reason, because the Ishmaelites at Baroto are better than all the other people of the Kingdom and are very well-disposed toward the Jews." However Jews settled again in Beirut after their expulsion from Spain in 1492. Moses *Basola, who visited the city in 1521, found 12 Jewish families from Sicily. Abraham Castro was in charge of customs. During Basola's stay in the city, the activity of David *Reuveni, whom a Jewish merchant encountered at Gaza, excited the Jews. *David d'Beth Hillel, who visited Syria in 1824, relates "There are [in Beirut] some 15 families [of] Jewish merchants, natives of the country [i.e., the place] who speak Arabic and have a small synagogue, their customs resembling those of the Jews of Palestine."

In 1856 Ludwig August *Frankl stated that he found in Beirut 500 Sephardi Jews, mostly merchants and porters. In the course of time other Jews moved to Beirut from Damascus, Smyrna, Aleppo, Constantinople, and ultimately also from Russia. In 1878 the *Alliance Israélite opened a girls' school and the following year, one for boys. In 1901, 271 pupils were studying at the latter, and 218 at the former. In 1897 the Alliance opened a crafts school for girls.

In 1862 and in 1890 blood libels resulted in Christian attacks on the Jewish quarter. In 1890 order was restored by the Turkish authorities and the rioters were arrested. At that time Beirut contained a synagogue and 12 *batei midrash*. After World War I the Jewish population grew in Beirut, the newly established capital of *Lebanon.

The community was regarded as the most highly organized in Lebanon and Syria. The principal synagogue Magen Avraham was the center of the communal institutions, which included the schools of the Alliance and of the congregation, the B'nai B'rith Lodge, and the Maccabi Club.

The Jews of the city belonged mostly to the middle class, and the overwhelming majority of them engaged in commerce. They were not concentrated in special quarters, but the poorer Jews resided in streets formerly part of the Jewish quarter in Wadi Abu Jamil. When the State of Israel was established, the Lebanese security forces were ordered to protect the Jewish quarter, and when an anti-Jewish demonstration was held and infuriated mobs advanced on the Jewish quarter, members of the Maronite Christian Phalanges dispersed the demonstrators. The Jewish paper *al-ʿAlam al-Israili* ("The Israelite World") changed its name to *al-Salam* ("Peace"). The Jewish community was compelled to contribute a sum of money to the fund of the Arab League but in general the Jews were not mistreated.

In 1880 there were about 1,000 Jews in Beirut; in 1889, 1,500; between 1892 and 1906 there were 3,000; between 1907 and 1910 their number reached 5,000.

[Simon Marcus]

From 1948

The number of Jews rose from 5,000 in 1948 to 9,000 in 1958, as a result of the immigration of Syrian Jews to Lebanon. However, the numbers were subsequently depleted, especially from 1967; and in 1969 only about 2,500 were left. By 1970 the community had decreased to about 1,000–1,800.

Until the 1975–90 conflict (see *Lebanon), the Jewish community in Beirut, like the rest of the Jews living in the country, was considered to be an integral part of Lebanon's multiethnic society. During periods of crisis, such as the 1948 War, the first Lebanese civil war in 1958, and the 1967 War, the Lebanese authorities ordered the security forces to protect the Jewish quarter in Wadi Abu Jamil. The wealthy Jews living in new suburbs among members of other faiths were also unharmed. In contrast to other Arab countries, Jewish life in Lebanon continued almost normally: Jews were not discriminated against or arrested by the government in an arbitrary manner, and their property was not confiscated. In 1950 extremist Arab nationalists place a bomb beneath the *Alliance Israélite Universelle school building, causing it to collapse. The Alliance administered three other institutions, in which 950 pupils studied in 1965. In addition, 250 pupils attended the *talmud torah* and 80 studied at the Oẓar ha-Torah religious school. The Jewish scouts and Maccabi sports organization were closed by the government in 1953. The community council, which had nine members, was elected biennially. The Bikkur Ḥolim committee of the council was responsible for medical treatment of the poor, and their hospitalization if they were not Lebanese citizens. Its income derived from the *Arikha* (assessment) tax, paid by all males, as well as from endowments and from synagogues. Most Beirut Jews were merchants or employees of trading and financial enterprises.

[Hayyim J. Cohen]

During the early stages of Lebanon's second civil war (1975–90), the Jews in Beirut, like members of other minorities who resided in the Lebanese capital (e.g., Armenians and Kurds), found themselves caught in the crossfire between local and foreign forces that battled for control of the city and its neighborhoods. The proximity of the Jewish quarter to the "Green Line" separating Beirut's Christian and Muslim sectors exacerbated its inhabitants' insecurity. In the course of the fighting, many Jewish homes and businesses were damaged, as were their communal institutions, most notably the Magen Avraham synagogue (the building itself, which was reportedly hit by an Israeli shell in 1982, was, however, not destroyed). Jewish communal life was further disrupted when the local rabbi left the country in 1978. Meanwhile, impoverished Shiʿi Muslims, who had been driven from their homes by the war, began to settle in the Jewish quarter. The continued violence and chaos in Beirut encouraged most of the Lebanese Jews, whose number on the eve of the war was estimated at about 1,800 (of these, more than a thousand resided in Beirut) to leave the country, whereas others moved to safer areas in and around the capital. From 1975 on most

Lebanese Jews immigrated to France, Italy, the U.S., Canada, South America, and Israel.

In 1982 there were an estimated 150 Jews in the western part of Beirut and 100 in its eastern sector. But Israel's invasion into Lebanon and the siege imposed by its army on the Lebanese capital, combined with the chaos that prevailed in the city following the Israeli withdrawal and the failed attempt to reconstruct the Lebanese state in 1982–84, impinged on the situation of the country's remaining Jews, which were now estimated at 100–200. Radical Shiʿi factions began to target the Jewish community in Beirut in order to exert pressure on the Israeli government and avenge attacks by the Israeli army in South Lebanon. Thus, in the period 1984–87, the Organization of the Oppressed on Earth, a radical Shiʿi faction reportedly close to Hizbullah, abducted 11 prominent members of the local Jewish community, including its head, Isaac Sasson. The kidnappers claimed that their actions were part of their "resistance" to the Israeli occupation in Lebanon and demanded the release of Shiʿi prisoners held by Israel and by its proxy, the South Lebanon Army. But Israel refused to comply. The bodies of four Jews were later recovered and the fate of the other seven remained unknown. These factors caused the Jewish community in Beirut to drop to about fewer than 100 members in the late 1980s and early 1990s.

In the 1990–2001 period, the number of Jews in Lebanon, who by then resided almost exclusively in Beirut and its vicinity, dropped even further. Wadi Abu Jamil was almost emptied of its Jewish residents, and the majority of the remaining Lebanese Jews resided in the eastern part of the Lebanese capital or in Mount Lebanon. During the 2004 municipal elections, only one of the registered Jewish voters in Beirut showed up at the polling booth. It was reported that most of the remaining Jews in Lebanon were elderly women.

[Oren Barak (2nd ed.)]

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BEIT, SIR ALFRED (1853–1906), South African financier and co-founder, with Cecil Rhodes, of Rhodesia. Born in Hamburg, Beit learned the diamond trade in Amsterdam and went to South Africa in 1875. He became prominent in the development of the Kimberley diamond fields and later of the Witwatersrand gold reefs. In 1889 he formed the partnership of Wernher, Beit, and Company, forerunner of one of the big Rand mining groups. Beit met Rhodes, and their careers became inseparable. His financial talents complemented those of Rhodes, and he became identified with Rhodes' imperial ambitions. Beit stood with Rhodes in the rivalry with *Barnato for the control of the diamond fields. He obtained the assistance of the London Rothschilds, and became a life governor in De Beers Consolidated Mines when it was formed in 1888. With Rhodes he established the British South Africa Company for the administration of the territory that became known as Rhodesia and had a part in the development of the country second only to that of Rhodes himself. He was implicated in Rhodes' plot against the Kruger regime that ended in the Jameson Raid of 1895. He made generous donations to South African war relief funds, founded the Beit professorship of colonial history at Oxford, and through the Wernher-Beit bequest stimulated university education in South Africa. Other bequests included £1,200,000 for education and communications in Rhodesia and thirty fellowships in medical research. Beit left a fortune of over £8 million, probably the largest personal fortune ever left in Britain until then. He left his entire estate to his brother, OTTO JOHN BEIT (1865–1930), who was associated with him in his financial and philanthropic activities.

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[Dora Leah Sowden]

BEIT-HALLAHMI, BENJAMIN (1943–), Israeli psychologist and leading authority on the social psychology of religion. Born in Tel Aviv, Beit-Hallahmi served in the IDF in 1963–66. He was educated at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem (B.A. 1966) and at Michigan State University (M.A. 1968, Ph.D., clinical psychology, 1970). He taught at a number of American and Israeli universities, including the University of Michigan, the University of Pennsylvania, and the Hebrew University, and maintained membership in several American professional associations. From 1973 he was senior lecturer and professor of psychology at the University of Haifa.

The primary focus of Beit-Hallahmi's academic work (for which he acknowledged his debt to the work of William James) was the study of the social psychology of religion, with particular attention to religion and social identity; the appeal of New Religious Movements (or NRM, popularly known as "cults"), on which he was an acknowledged international authority; and the relationship between Jewish ideas of religious salvation and the Zionist project, and its social consequences. Among his influential publications in this area were his books *The Social Psychology of Religion* (1975, with Michael Argyle), *Prolegomena to the Psychological Study of Religion* (1989), *Despair and Deliverance: Private Salvation in Contemporary Israel* (1992), *The Psychology of Religious Behavior, Belief, and Experience* (1997, with Michael Argyle), several edited volumes and numerous journal articles.

Beit-Hallahmi, as a secular student of culture and "progressive" (his own word) citizen of Israel, brought his fundamental concerns to bear on public controversies regarding Israeli policy and Zionism, and published two important books examining their origins and history: *The Israeli Connection: Who Israel Arms and Why* (1987) and the classic *Origi-*

nal Sins: Reflections on the History of Zionism and Israel (1992; revised American edition 1993), a frank and hardheaded discussion of the permanent Israel/Palestine crisis: "Out of the original sins of the world against the Jews grew the original sins of Zionism against the Palestinians…. The problem is a moral one. Raising the moral question is not a mark of idealism but of realism."

[Drew Silver (2nd ed.)]

BEIT JANN, Druze village in Upper Galilee, Israel. Lying at 3,082 ft. (940 m.) above sea level on the western slope of Mt. Meron, it is one of Israel's highest inhabited places. Although the identification of the village with the town Beth-Dagon of the tribe of Asher is no longer regarded as correct, Beit Jann seems to be the Galilean village Bet Dagan, reported in talmudic times as producing a certain late-ripening vegetable (Tosef., Shev. 7:13). In 1839 Scottish missionaries found here a few Jewish families, who apparently had moved from Safed 6.2 mi. (10 km.) to the east after the 1837 earthquake. In 1964 Beit Jann received municipal council status. With 4,110 inhabitants in 1968, on an area of 1.8 sq. mi. (4.65 sq. km.), Beit Jann was one of the major Druze centers in Israel. Its economy was based on fruit, beef cattle, and tobacco. By the end of 2002 its population has risen to 9,430.

[Efraim Orni]

BEIT JIMĀL, monastery and agricultural school in the Judean Foothills, 3 mi. (5 km.) S. of Bet-Shemesh, founded in 1881 by Salesian Fathers from Italy on the supposition that R. *Gamaliel I had lived there and that the place was named after him. The site is supposed by some scholars to be identical to *Kefar Gamala, where the tomb of St. Stephen was located in the fifth century. Remnants of a church with a mosaic floor were discovered there in 1916. In 1988 a new monastery was built nearby for the Bethlehem Sisterhood, which houses about 30 nuns who choose to live their lives in solitude and silence.

WEBSITE: www.trekker.co.il/israel-monasteries.htm.

[Efraim Orni / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

BEJA, town in S. Portugal, capital of the region of Alemtejo; one of the seats of the subordinate rabbinates set up under the general control of the *Arraby Moor in the 15th century. When the kingdom of Portugal was established in the 12th century, Jews are said to have been living already in Beja. In the charter (*foro*) granted to the town in the 13th century, nine clauses deal with the Jews, both resident and transient; most of them speak of established local usage. A tombstone found in the castle of Beja has a fragment of a Hebrew inscription referring to the death of R. Judah. Another tombstone from Beha was found in the 18th century and was brought to Evora in 1868. It is probably from 1378. After the expulsion of the Jews from Portugal in 1496–97, Beja became a center of crypto-Judaism and many natives of the city appeared at autos-da-fé or escaped abroad. In the early years of the 18th century, a physician named Francisco de Sá e Mesquita spitefully denounced persons from Beja – on one occasion 66, on another 92 – who, he said, had come together to observe Jewish rites. The name Beja was common among the Sephardim of the Orient: e.g., Ḥayyim Beja (c. 1810–1870) of Salonika, who subsequently became rabbi of Tyria in Asia Minor; and the scholar-preacher Isaac b. Moses *Beja.

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[Cecil Roth / Yom Tov Assis (2nd ed.)]

BEJA, ISAAC BEN MOSES (c. 1570–1628), preacher in Salonika and Nikopolis (Bulgaria). Beja studied in Salonika. He was compelled to wander from one community to another until he was invited to teach at the yeshivah of Nikopolis. He arrived there after the city had been damaged in the war between the Turks and the Walachians (1595–99). Beja's homilies and eulogies, blended with Kabbalah, were published under the title *Bayit Ne'eman* (Venice, 1621); he also wrote poetry, and four of his poems appear in this work. His work displays originality both in thought and in his homiletical approach. His homily on the building of the synagogue of Nikopolis was reprinted under the title "*Keter Torah*" in *Le-Ohavei Leshon Ever* (Paris, 1628). There were two contemporaneous Salonikan scholars both named Isaac Beja; one died in 1635, the other in 1647.

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BEJERANO, family of Israeli industrialists. The brothers MOSHE (1902–1951) and SHIMON (1910–1971) BEJERANO were born in Plovdiv, Bulgaria, and educated in Switzerland. In 1921 they moved with their family to Milan, where they became active Zionists. Shimon settled in Palestine, in 1936, followed by Moshe three years later. Together they founded a cigarette factory, and acquired the Assis factory in Ramat Gan, which they developed into one of the largest syrup and canning enterprises in Israel. They became leaders of the Manufacturers' Association of Israel. Moshe served as Israel's first commercial attaché in Moscow and devoted himself to the development of commercial relations between Israel and the Far East. Shimon was active in the General Zionist Party, which he represented in the Second and Third Knessets.

[Abraham Aharoni]

BEJERANO, BEKHOR ḤAYYIM BEN MOSES (1850–1931), Bulgarian rabbi and scholar. Bejerano was born in Eski-Zagra, Bulgaria, and studied under Zechariah ha-Levi of Salonika. He learned, in addition to his regular Torah studies, languages and other secular subjects. In 1880, he moved to Rushchuk, where he served as head of the community and where Solomon *Rosanes was one of his pupils. During the Russo-Turkish War (1878), Bejerano found a haven in Choumla. He afterward moved to Bucharest, where he was both a *dayyan* and principal of the school of the Sephardi community. His years in Bucharest were his most fruitful, both in terms of literary productivity and of personal gratification. He maintained close ties with Queen Elizabeth of Romania and served as the official interpreter for Semitic languages of both the Romanian royal house and of the official government institutions. His publication of several books in Romanian earned him a government decoration. In 1908, Bejerano was chosen chief rabbi of Adrianople and in 1922, chief rabbi of Constantinople, a position he held until his death. Bejerano was famous for his generosity and was greatly honored in his lifetime. He was a corresponding member of the Spanish and French academies. His Hebrew articles appeared in *Ha-Maggid, Ḥavaẓẓelet, Ha-Me'assef and Ha-Miẓpeh*, etc. He left many works in manuscript.

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[Itzhak Alfassi]

BEJERANO, MAYA (1949–), Israeli poet. Bejerano was born in Kibbutz Elon and spent her childhood in Jaffa. She studied literature and philosophy at Bar-Ilan University as well as violin and flute and was also an amateur photographer. Holding an M.A. in Library Science from the Hebrew University, she worked as a consultant at the Tel Aviv Municipal Library. She published 11 collections of poems, including *Bat Ya'anah (*"Ostrich," 1978), *Ibud Netunim 52* ("Data Processing 52," 1983), *Livyatan* ("Whale," 1990), *Anaseh Laga'at be-Tabur Bitni* ("Trying to Touch My Belly Button," 1998). "Selected Poems 1972–1986" appeared in 1987 and 2005 saw a volume of collected works under the title *Tedarim*. While in "Trying to Touch My Belly Button" she movingly depicted her childhood experiences and her relationship with her parents, other poems address female concerns, the joys and anguish of love, and politics, and describe the sights and moods of Tel Aviv, especially the so-called "Shenkin myth." Descriptions of nature, states of consciousness, actions and moods blend in an attempt to transform poetry into "data processing" – the title of one of her collections. For Bejerano poetry writing is a kind of linguistic and emotional laboratory: "The Hebrew language is my friend", she writes. Bejerano was awarded the Bialik Prize (2002) and the Bernstein Prize (1988). Bejerano also wrote books for children, a collection of stories, and a play. Individual poems have been translated into various languages. Information is available at the ITHL website at www.ithl.org.il.

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[Anat Feinberg (2nd ed.)]

BEKACHE, SHALOM (1848–1927), printer and publisher. He was born in Bombay of Baghdadi origin. After studying in Safed, he became a rabbi in Acre and then migrated to Algeria, where he was rabbi of the Ben-Thoa Synagogue, the oldest in Algiers, for 40 years. He contributed to the Hebrew periodicals *Ha-Maggid, Ha-Meliẓ,* and *Ha-Ẓefirah*. In 1885 he published in Leghorn in Judeo-Arabic *Mevasser Tov*, a historical, geographical, and literary miscellany, which was followed by a monthly bulletin, *Or ha-Levanah*, dedicated essentially to the history and geography of Ereẓ Israel; five issues were published. In about 1888 he established a small printing press in Algiers, which produced some 20 books in Judeo-Arabic, edited and translated by himself. These works, which deal with the history of the Jews of Babylonia and the kingdom of the Khazars in fictional form, were adapted to the intellectual standard of the Algerian Jews of that time and were useful in widening their historical knowledge. In 1891–93 Bekache published a weekly newspaper in Judeo-Arabic, *Beit Yisrael. Nizzaḥon ha-Or al ha-Ḥoshekh* ("Triumph of the Light over the Darkness," 1896) is a philosophical thesis in Hebrew presented in the form of a controversy between the Pharisees and the Sadducees.

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[Robert Attal]

BEKEMOHARAR, family of 18th–19th-century rabbis of Adrianople. MENAHEM BEN ISAAC ASHKENAZI (1666–1733) was born in Temesvár; he was two years old when his parents moved to Adrianople. He used to sign his name בכמוהר"ר (BKMOHRR= **B**en **K**evod **Mo**renu **h**a-**R**av **R**abbi), to which abbreviation each of his descendants appended the initial letter of his own father's name. When Abraham Gheron was appointed rabbi of Adrianople in succession to his father-in-law Abraham Ẓarefati, six of the 13 congregations, disapproving the appointment, appointed Menahem b. Isaac as head of the *bet din*. He headed a large yeshivah and wielded great influence, the surrounding communities subjecting themselves to his authority. His works on Maimonides' *Mishneh Torah*, on Jacob b. Asher's Arba'ah Turim, and on Isaac b. Abba Mari's *Ha-Ittur*, as well as a homiletic work, were destroyed in a fire that broke out in Adrianople after his death. Another homiletic work, responsa, and novellae on the Talmud were saved. A small portion of the responsa that were saved was published in *Mikhtav Shelomo* by his grandson Solomon Bekemoharar. Menahem was also a kabbalist and a poet; his poem recited at circumcisions is well known throughout Turkey and the Balkan states.

His son, MORDECAI B. MENAHEM (d. 1748), rabbi and halakhist, succeeded his father. Most of his *Ma'amar Mordekhai*, a commentary on Mordecai b. Hillel's commentary to tractates Yevamot and part of Ketubbot, was destroyed by fire. The first three chapters of Yevamot which were rescued were published (Salonika, 1874) with the text; appended are novellae on Maimonides' *Mishneh Torah* with assorted addenda. Still in manuscript form are homilies and a talmudic commentary. Several of his responsa were published in his son's *Mikhtav Shelomo*.

MENAHEM (II) B. MORDECAI (d. 1781) succeeded his father. He was a halakhist and kabbalist and his halakhic decisions survive in manuscript form. His son was Mordecai (II). NISSIM (a name added later) SOLOMON BEN MORDECAI (1732?–1770?) began to write halakhic responsa at an early age. His works include: *Ḥeshek Shelomo* (Constantinople, 1768) on the first 68 chapters of *Ḥoshen Mishpat, Mikhtav Shelomo*, responsa (vol. 1, Salonika, 1855; vol. 2, appended to his father's *Ma'amar Mordekhai*), and *Beit Shelomo*, only a small part published in his grandson Menahem (IV)'s *Devar Emet*. His *Mirkevet ha-Mishneh*, on Maimonides' Yad, was almost identical to Aaron *Alfandari's work of the same name, and as soon as Alfandari's work was published in Smyrna in 1755, Bekemoharar stopped working on his. His son, MORDECAI SIMEON BEN NISSIM SOLOMON (d. 1814?), rabbi and halakhist, traveled extensively between the communities in Turkey and the Balkans. He wrote *Matteh Shimon*, one of the most important works on the *Ḥoshen Mishpat* (until §258; in 3 vols.; Salonika, 1797–1819; vol. 3 consists of responsa).

MORDECAI (II) BEN MENAHEM (II) (d. 1821) succeeded his father. Some of his halakhic decisions were published in *Mera Dakhya* (appended to vol. 3 of Mordecai Simeon b. Solomon's *Matteh Shimon*). The Jewish concessionaires in Constantinople appealed against his monopoly of the laudanum concession. In 1802, after a controversy in which the rabbis of Constantinople and Adrianople took part, his rights to the concession were reaffirmed. His son, MENAHEM (III) (d. 1810), was a member of the rabbinate during his father's lifetime, from about 1800. In 1801 a new congregation was formed in Rushchuk, comprising settlers from Adrianople, Vidin (Bulgaria), Belgrade, and Niš (Yugoslavia), which chose Menahem as rabbi. He left several works in manuscript.

JOSEPH RAPHAEL B. MORDECAI (II) (d. 1849) also served in the rabbinate during his father's lifetime. In 1839 the sultan Abdul Mejid appointed him head of all the congregations in Adrianople and its environs. His eldest son, MOSES RAḤAMIM (d. 1878), succeeded him in his lifetime (1846). Moses wrote responsa to questions addressed to his father and published *Nitpal la-Kodesh*, a compendium of his own responsa, together with the *Ma'amar Mordekhai* of Mordecai (I) b. Menahem. During the Russo-Turkish War (1878), he escaped to Constantinople, where he died. He was succeeded by his son, RAPHAEL (d. 1899), who was a member of the Bulgarian parliament. When independent Bulgaria was founded, the communities that came under Bulgarian rule severed their ties with the Adrianople rabbinate.

His son, MENAHEM (IV) R. MORDECAI SIMEON (1810?–1887), preacher and halakhist, was productive as a writer and as a publisher of the works of his family. His works include *Devar Emet* (Salonika, 1843), on the laws of Torah scrolls; *Devar Menaḥem* (2 vols., 1866–69), on Oraḥ Ḥayyim; *Devar ha-Mishpat* (Smyrna, 1874); *Menahem Avelim* (1880), on the laws of mourning. He was employed in a bank. During the Russo-Turkish War (1878), he escaped to Constantinople; in 1880 he immigrated to Ereẓ Israel, where he died. His grandson, YOM TOV, a scholar and a *maskil*, contributed in his youth to *Ha-Maggid*, participated in communal endeavors, and was a Bulgarian Zionist leader.

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BÉKÉSCSABA, capital of Békés county, southeast Hungary. Jews first settled there at the end of the 18th century. The first Jewish community was organized at the beginning of the 1830s. The town, an agricultural and commercial center and later a railroad hub, attracted Jewish settlers, who helped develop the town's commercial life. Their number ranged from 110 (0.5% of the total) in 1840 to 2,458 (5.0%) in 1920. The first synagogue was built in 1850. Following the denominational rift of 1869, the community identified itself at first as Orthodox, but three years later as Status Quo. In 1883, the Orthodox seceded and formed their own congregation, building its own synagogue in 1894. The Status Quo community inaugurated its own synagogue in 1896. The community's Jewish elementary school opened in 1865. In the early 1940s the congregations operated separate high schools. The last two rabbis of the Orthodox community, Judah Wolf and Isaac Tiegermann, and Rabbi Jacob Silberfeld of the Status Quo community died in the Holocaust. Illés Szabó, who was elected rabbi in 1941, survived and eventually emigrated to Israel.

According to the census of 1941, the last before the Holocaust, the city had a Jewish population of 2,433, representing 4.6% of the total of 52,404. After the German occupation of Hungary on March 19, 1944, the Jews were first deprived of their rights and property. They were rounded up between May 7 and 14 and placed into a ghetto that was established in the local tobacco factory and its environs. At its peak the ghetto included 3,113 Jews, of whom about 2,500 were from the city proper. The others were brought in from the neighboring villages and towns, including Bánhegyes, Békés, Ebdröd, Gyula, Orosháza, Szarvas, and Tótkomlós. In addition, the Jews from three districts in the neighboring Csanád, Arad, and Torontál county – Mezökovácsháza, Battonya, and Elek – were brought to Békéscsaba. The approximately 350 Jews from Mezökovácsháza were first placed in the local ghetto situated in the Mentelep area. The 414 Jews from villages in the Mezökovácsháza, Battonya, and Elek districts were first taken to a temporary ghetto established on the so-called Mandel farm, near Magyarbánhegyes. The ghetto of Békéscasba was liquidated on June 25 and 26, 1944, with the deportation of the Jews in two transports: one, including the Jews of Orosháza, Kunágota, Battonya, Magyarbánhegyes, and Tótkmolós, was directed to Strasshof, Austria, where most of the Jews survived; the other, including the Jews of Békés, Békéscsaba, Csorvás, Gyula, and

Mezöberény, was directed to Auschwitz, where most of them perished.

The few hundred survivors – deportees and labor servicemen – reestablished their community after the war. But the anti-Jewish riot of November 30, 1946, coupled with the policies of the Communist regime that came to power in 1948, induced most of them to leave the city. In 1949, close to 500 Jews – 204 Neolog and 230 Orthodox – were still living in the city, but by 1968 their number had shrunk to 151. The Orthodox synagogue still exists; the Neolog was sold in 1961.

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[Randolph Braham (2nd ed.)]

BEKHOROT (Heb. בְּכוֹרוֹת; "Firstborn"), fourth tractate in the Mishnah, in the order of *Kodashim*. Bekhorot is a striking instance of the weaving together of disparate strands to form a mishnaic tractate. The main unifying principle is biblical: "I consecrated every first-born in Israel, man and beast, to Myself, to be Mine, the Lord's" (Num. 3:13). The primary theme relating directly to the order Kodashim concerns the firstborn of "pure" animal species: ideally, it must be slaughtered at the Temple and consumed as a sacrifice. The firstborn of the impure ass, however, must be "redeemed" or killed; a ritual of redemption is ordained for human firstborns as well (Exod. 13:13. 34:20). A separate issue is the law of inheritance, in which the firstborn is entitled to a double share.

The opening clauses of the first two chapters introduce the tractate's two secondary subjects: the priests (kohanim) and the tithe of cattle. The paired clauses 1:1 and 2:1 relate the various laws concerning the firstborn to the special status of the priests, whose consecration replaced that of the firstborn Israelites (Num. 3:45). The priests are not the subject of a mishnaic tractate, (cf. *Kodashim*), but figure significantly in *Bekhorot*, above and beyond the entire chapter (Ch 7, see below) detailing the physical wholesomeness required for their service in the Temple. The ninth, concluding chapter is devoted to the cattle tithe, whose manner of consecration – by objective circumstance – is similar to that of the firstborn animal (as emphasized in 2:2). Although the chapter's opening formula continues the series of *Ḥullin* 5–12, the tithing of cattle is grounded (like the following tractates, *Arakhin* and *Temurah*) in Lev. Ch. 27, which is also the source for the automatic consecration of the firstborn (Lev. 27:26, 32–3).

The fact that – unlike other sanctified things – the *bekhor* (firstborn) does not require an act of consecration is key to the tractate's main legal issues. First, since the determinative conditions of birth may be in doubt – especially if the dam gives birth to multiple young – ownership may be contested between the original owner and the priest (who has a claim to the *bekhor*). Hence M 2:6–8 presents a series of tannaitic disputes regarding the disposition of this contested object, including R. Akiva's classical dictum: "Whoever seeks to extract property from his fellow, has the burden of proof." Second, after the destruction of the Temple, when people desisted from consecrating animals, the firstborn – holy at birth – becomes a terrible burden. Although it can no longer be actually offered and consumed at the Temple, it still must be treated with the full care and awe due to sanctified objects and animals. The only escape allowing the priest to consume it is in case the animal happens to contract a blemish that renders it unfit as a sacrifice. Thus the Mishnah carefully determines the manner and requisite authority for examining such blemishes, as well as the specifics of the blemishes themselves.

Chapters 4 and 5 are dedicated to the procedures for examining the firstborn and to safeguards against fraudulent permissions. This becomes the classical context for broader rules about mistaken rulings and about trustworthiness in general (M 4:4–10). The caption of chapter 6 is: "The following blemishes are grounds for slaughtering the firstborn" – that is, for non-sacral consumption. The chapter goes on to enumerate these blemishes in anatomical detail; this is, in effect, the catalog of blemishes that invalidate an animal for any kind of sacrifice. Chapter 7 applies the same rules to humans – that is, to priests, who may not serve if there is a blemish in their body – but goes on to define several differences, including the issue of what may be called moral blemishes (M 7:7).

As noted above, priests figure centrally in *Bekhorot*. As God's representatives, they are entitled to the firstborn animal, and it is from them that the firstborn Israelite son is redeemed. Chapter 8 is devoted to the human *bekhor*, "firstborn for the priest" (i.e., requiring redemption) and "firstborn for inheritance." It opens by distinguishing the definition of the maternal firstborn for this redemption ("first issue of the womb," Exod. 13:2, 12) from that of the paternal firstborn, entitled to a double inheritance ("the first fruit of his vigor," Deut. 21:17).

Tosefta *Bekhorot* follows the arrangement of the Mishnah especially closely, but adds several significant expansions. M. 1:2 discusses scenarios in which an animal of one species gives birth to a creature resembling another species – not only with regard to the sanctity of the firstborn, but also with regard to the animal's status as "pure" or "impure" for eating – and offers the rule: "Anything that emerges from the impure is impure; from the pure – pure." The Tosefta's extensive treatment of this rule (1:5–13) includes an explanation of why it is nevertheless permitted to eat honey, and a grounding of the rule in a firm biological principle that cross-species breeding is impossible. When discussing untrustworthiness, the Mishnah (4:10) emphasizes that it is context-specific. T. endorses this in its own extended discussion of the same topic (3:8–12), but posits an exception: "One who is suspect with respect to idolatry is [on that account] suspect with respect to the entire Torah [i.e., in all matters]" (3:12).

The Mishnah's discussion of the "firstborn for the priest" includes several cases in which two women give birth and doubts then arise as to whether their children were exchanged (8:4–6). It is only in the Tosefta's extended treatment of this theme (6:2–9) that the setting for these doubts becomes clear. The events are repeatedly described as having taken place "in a hideout," evidently reflecting the grim realities of the Hadrianic persecutions.

[Noam Zohar (2nd ed.)]

The role played by the mother in defining the firstborn for most matters leads the Babylonian Talmud to discuss the determination of a child's birth affiliation (to tribe or nation) by its father or mother (47a). A related discussion effectively recognizes a status of Levitess – the "daughter of a Levite" – whose son (even from a father who is an Israelite) is exempted, like the son of a Levite, from the toll of the firstborn (4a).

The Book of Numbers (Chs. 3 & 8) describes the Levites' dedicational ceremony, to serve in the firstborns' stead; B. explains the absence of the priests from this description by affirming that they are included in the collective group of the Levites (4a). B. concludes that prior to this replacement, the firstborn were appointed in charge of sacrificial worship (4b).

In the context of halakhic discussions of animal births, B. reports a battle of wits between R. Yehoshua b. Hanania and the "Elders of Athens," stemming from a disagreement regarding the duration of the pregnancy of the snake (8b–9a). The battle ends with the physical downfall of the Elders of Athens.

In the conclusion of its discussion of blemishes, the Mishnah (6:12) reports a debate as to whether or not androgynous and epicene (*tumtum*) animals are considered blemished. This leads B. into a lengthy discussion regarding the various possibilities to view the status of androgynous and epicene humans (41b–42b).

In the ninth chapter, the Mishnah defines the grouping of animals into a herd that should be counted and tithed together, both in terms of birthing cycles and in terms of physical spacing; R. Meir adds (9:2) that the Jordan River constitutes a boundary in this regard. B. discusses the status of the Jordan River as a border – whether it is considered part of the land of Israel, or a separate territory. B. then enters an extended discussion of rivers, focusing on the four rivers of Eden mentioned in the Creation account in Genesis (1:10–14): Pishon, Gihon and Tigris are said to be elevated above all other bodies of water; the Euphrates is the highest of all, and the source of all the world's water (55a–55b).

[Yedidah Koren (2nd ed.)]

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BEKHOR SHOR, JOSEPH BEN ISAAC (12th century), northern French exegete, tosafist, and poet. Referred to as Joseph Bekhor Shor, he has been identified with Joseph b. Isaac of Orleans, an identification which has been proved despite the doubts of various scholars. The designation Bekhor Shor ("Firstling Bullock") derives from the expression applied to Joseph (Deut. 33:17). He was the pupil of R. *Tam, who esteemed him greatly and referred to him in terms of high praise. Abraham b. Joseph of Orleans, mentioned several times in *tosafot*, was apparently his son. Joseph's commentary on the Pentateuch, parts of which previously appeared in various publications, was issued in its entirety by Joseph Gad (1956–60), while excerpts from his commentary on Psalms have been published in *Revue des Études Juives* (vol. 58 (1909), 309–11). In his exegesis, he adopted his French predecessors' method of literal interpretation – that of Rashi, Joseph *Kara, and particularly Samuel b. Meir upon whom he largely based himself. Nevertheless, in many respects he pursued a new and original course, although in his efforts to produce novel interpretations his comments are sometimes rather strange and pilpulistic, particularly in the manner in which he relates passages to one another. He dwells at length on the biblical figures and investigates the motives for their actions but at times interprets these somewhat in terms of contemporary social conditions (Gen. 27:40). In many respects his exegesis is similar to that of the Spanish commentators, this being apparent in his efforts to explain away anthropomorphic expressions (Gen. 1:2; Num. 23:19); in defending the actions of the Patriarchs and rejecting any calumnies against them (Gen. 30:33); in interpreting miracles as almost natural phenomena (Gen. 19:26; Ex. 9:8); and in giving, to a greater extent than his French predecessors, a rational basis for the Commandments (Ex. 30:1; Lev. 19:27).

He pays little regard to grammar, nor is he as extreme as Samuel b. Meir in his homiletical comments, adding these occasionally alongside the literal interpretation (Gen. 3:24; Ex. 25:29). He makes use of *gematria* (Ex. 22:16), and at times incorporates in his comment a lengthy halakhic discussion of a passage, in these two respects being close to the exegetical method of the tosafists. He sharply opposes the allegorization of the Commandments, any neglect of which he vehemently assails (Lev. 17:13), adopting a similar attitude as regards the precepts of the *tefillin* and *mezuzah* (Deut. 6:9). This did not however prevent him from giving a literal interpretation of some passages contrary to the accepted *halakhah* (Ex. 23:19), which he naturally neither repudiates nor controverts. Joseph knew Latin, and both in speech and in writing refuted the christological interpretation of biblical passages, attacking in his comments both apostates and Christians, against whom he argued a great deal rejecting all attempts to find in the Bible allusions to Christian dogmas. He similarly repudiated their allegorical explanations that deny the validity of the Commandments. "Although they have translated the Bible from the holy tongue into the vernacular, the Lord has given them neither a heart to understand, nor eyes to see, nor ears to hear" (Num. 12:18). In his commentary on Genesis and Exodus he adds at the end of each weekly portion a brief poem in which he expresses his hopes and those of the Jewish people. He also wrote *piyyutim* in the style of the German and northern French *paytanim*, describing in them the sorrows that afflicted his generation. Several of these were published by Habermann in *Tarbiz* (vol. 9, 1937–38); others have not yet appeared in print.

Joseph of Orleans, i.e., Bekhor Shor, is mentioned in the *tosafot*; four of his halakhic questions addressed to R. Tam are preserved in *Sefer ha-Yashar*, while excerpts of many others are quoted by earlier authorities.

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[Avraham Grossman]

BEKKER (Baruch), PAUL (1882–1937), German music critic and writer. Bekker started his career as a violinist and conductor in his native Berlin, and from 1906 wrote music criticism for Berlin papers and was chief music critic of the *Frankfurter Zeitung* from 1911 to 1925. He did much to promote acceptance of the works of Gustav *Mahler, Franz Schreker, and Paul Hindemith. As supervisor of the State Theater in Cassel (1925–29), and at Wiesbaden (1929–32), he continued to foster contemporary music, especially operatic. In his books on music history and aesthetics he pioneered the application of sociological criteria to the understanding of musical creation and performance. His critical biography of Beethoven (1911, first English translation 1926) is considered a major contribution to the analysis of the creative process in music. In 1934 Bekker immigrated to the United States and became music critic of the *New Yorker Staatszeitung und Herold*. His other books include biographies of Oscar Fried (1907) and *Offenbach (1909); studies of the symphonies of Beethoven (1911, Eng. trans. 1925) and Mahler (1921), and the life of Wagner (1924, Eng. trans. 1931); *Neue Musik* (1923); *Musikgeschichte als Geschichte der musikalischen Formwandlungen* (1926); *Materiale Grundlagen der Musik* (1926); *Wandlungen der Oper* (1934; *The Changing Opera*, 1935); and *The Story of the Orchestra* (1936).

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[Bathja Bayer]

BELAIS(H), ABRAHAM BEN SHALOM (1773–1853), Tunisian rabbi. At one time treasurer to the bey of Tunis, he had to leave the country following business reverses and settled in Jerusalem. For a time he was rabbi in Algiers, then, moving to Europe, he managed to secure the patronage of persons high in public life. He was appointed by the king of Sardinia rabbi of Nice, against the wishes of the community, with whom he promptly quarreled. In 1840, he went to London where before long he again got into financial difficulties and quarreled with the authorities. He was ultimately given a minor communal office and sat occasionally on the *bet din*. He published a large number of books, apart from his sycophantic odes in honor of European crowned heads and other influential persons. The following deserve mention: *Yad Avishalom* (1829), on *Oraḥ Ḥayyim; Peraḥ Shushan Beit Levi* (1844), sermons with English translation; *Petaḥ ha-Bayit* (1846), commentary and alphabetical index to part of the Shulḥan Arukh; responsa *Afrot Tevel* (1850); and an English translation of Ecclesiastes with his commentary. His undoubted scholarship was marred by his serious defects of character. Another Abraham (b. Jacob) Belaish (d. Jerusalem, c. 1828) was rabbi in Jerusalem and wrote a number of religious works.

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[David Corcos]

BEL AND THE DRAGON, two stories appearing in different versions in the Apocrypha, the Septuagint, and Theodotion; they appear as a continuation of the Book of Daniel. In "Bel," Daniel challenged the divinity of the idol Bel, which was reputed to eat and drink. By scattering ashes on the temple floor, he revealed the footprints of the priests who secretly removed the sacrifices placed before the idol. As a result the Persian king, Cyrus, destroyed the idol and killed the priests. In "The Dragon," Daniel caused the death of a dragon worshiped by the Babylonians, by feeding it a mixture of pitch, fat, and hair. Thrown into the lion's den at the crowd's demand, Daniel was miraculously unharmed and survived for a week without food, after which he was fed by the prophet Habakkuk who was miraculously transported to Babylon (see Prophecy of *Habakkuk). The king thereupon praised God and had Daniel's accusers thrown to the lions who devoured them. The object of these stories is to portray the futility of idolatry. The suggestions that they are either a "Jewish version" of the Babylonian Marduk and Tiamat legend, or propaganda against Hellenistic idolatry, seem improbable. They appear to be popular works composed in Babylon when Bel was no longer worshiped, i.e., between the destruction of the temple of Babylon by Artaxerxes (485–465 B.C.E.) and its rebuilding by Alexander the Great (332 B.C.E.). Snakes (= dragons) were used in the Babylonian cult, and the stories were perhaps a midrashic elaboration of Jeremiah 51:34, 44. The two Greek versions seem to be translations from an Aramaic original. A version from the *Midrash Bereshit Rabbati* of R. Moses ha-Darshan (published by A. Neubauer, Book of Tobit (1878), Hebrew portion p. 39–40) as well as by Ch. Albeck (1940, p. 175) is found in the *Pugio Fidei* of Raymond *Martini (p. 957). These two versions are almost identical with the Syriac *Peshitta*. An Aramaic version of Bel and the Dragon in the *Chronicle of Jerahmeel* is based on Theodotion. A Hebrew fragment is preserved in Genesis R. 68:20 and a Hebrew version is found in *Josippon (3).

[Yehoshua M. Grintz]

BELARUS, C.I.S. republic. For the region's earlier history, see *Belorussia.

Developments from the 1970s

In 1979 Belorussia's Jewish population amounted to 135,400 and in 1989 to 112,000 (with 39,100 in Minsk, 31,800 in Gomel province, and 18,400 in Mogilev province). Nearly 70,000 emigrated in the 1989–93 period, mainly to Israel and the United States, and the Jewish population was further reduced through emigration to 27,798 in 1999 and 24,300 in 2002. The main umbrella organization coordinating all Jewish activities in the country was the Belarus Union of Jewish Organizations and Communities, operating in 20 cities, most of them with synagogues and Jewish schools. Minsk had a Jewish People's University operating as an evening school and affiliated with the Belarus State University. In 1994 a Center for Jewish National Culture was opened in Minsk, as was a Center for the History of the Jews of Belarus in Vitebsk. In all, over 100 Jewish organizations were in operation throughout the country.

One Jew was elected to the republic's Supreme Soviet in 1990. Antisemitism within the Belorussian national movement militated against its receiving support from Jewish organizations. Antisemitic propaganda was rife in such publications as *Politicheskii sobesednik, Slavianskie vedomosti, Sem'dnei, My I vremia, and Prognoz*. The year 1991 saw the desecration of the Jewish cemetery in Borisov and in 1994 cemeteries were desecrated in Gomel, Mogilev, and Haradok, Vitebsk region. Antisemitic incidents continued to occur sporadically throughout the decade. Right-wing organized antisemitic activities in Belarus came mainly from pan-Slavic organizations which advocated a close union with Russia and were supported by their counterparts there. Such organizations included "Slaviane" (The Slavs), "Bratsva Slavian" (Brotherhood of Slavs), "Slavianskii Sobor – Belaia Rus" (Slavic Council – White Russia), On Independence Day in 1994 about 1,000 extremist nationalists marched through Minsk bearing slogans such as 'Belarus only for the Belorussians."

The monthly Jewish newspaper *Aviv* began to appear in 1992 and by 1993 there were five Jewish periodicals appearing in Belarus. In 1992 Rabbi Yitzḥak Volpin came from New York to occupy the long vacant pulpit in the Minsk synagogue. In the spring of the same year Belarus established diplomatic relations with Israel.

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[Daniel Romanowski and Michael Beizer]

BELASCO, DAVID (1859–1931), U.S. theatrical producer and playwright. Born in San Francisco, Belasco came from a Portuguese-Jewish family named Valasco. He was educated in a monastery, which may have accounted for the way he dressed later in life, a free-flowing style that earned him the epithet "the Bishop of Broadway." As a boy in Victoria, British Columbia – where his father, a one-time clown, owned a store – he joined a circus. At the age of 11 he appeared at the Victoria Theater in Charles Kean's production of *Richard III*. Working as a stage manager on the Pacific Coast, he devised melodramas with fires and battles and a passion play with real sheep. In 1879 he went to New York, where his name became associated with sensational scenic effects. He was a pioneer in the use of electricity for stage lighting. Belasco's first melodrama, *La Belle Russe*, was produced at Wallack's Theater in 1882. He established the Lyceum School of Acting and produced successes such as *Du Barry* and *Zaza*. In 1902 he opened the first of two theaters, both called the Belasco, where he introduced innovations such as footlights sunk below stage level. His 374 productions displayed a passion for flamboyant realism. His greatest successes as a playwright were *Madame Butterfly* (1900, based on a story by J.L. Long) and *The Girl of the Golden West* (1905), both turned into operas by Puccini. Belasco's work was primarily in melodrama, and though the literary worth of his plays was slight, he was able to satisfy the contemporary demand for spectacular staging. His production of *The Merchant of Venice* (1922), with David *Warfield as Shylock, was regarded as the finest artistic achievement of his career.

ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY: W. Winter, *The Life of David Belasco* (1918); L. Marker, *David Belasco: Naturalism in the American Theatre* (1975).

[Bernard Grebanier / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

BELAYA TSERKOV (Heb. שָׂדֶה לָבָן; "White Field"), ancient town in Kiev district, Ukraine, center of a fertile agricultural region. A community was formed there toward the end of the 16th century; 100 houses in Jewish ownership out of a total of 800 are recorded in 1646. The community was destroyed during the *Chmielnicki rising in 1648, and again suffered at the beginning of the *Haidamack rising in 1703. Subsequently, Jews again began to settle there, in 1765 numbering 1,876 poll-tax-payers in the town and its vicinity. After Belaya Tserkov had been attacked by the hordes under Cossack general Gonta (1768), only 223 Jewish inhabitants remained. The community increased to 1,077 in 1787; 6,665 in 1847; and 18,720 in 1897 (54% of the total population). The grain trade and sugar industry contributed to the growth of the town during the 19th century. In 1904, Jews owned 250 workshops and 25 factories engaged in light industry employing 300 Jewish workers. The Jews there suffered from pogroms in 1905. During the civil war of 1919–20, about 850 Jews were massacred in Belaya Tserkov by Ukrainian troops, bands of peasants, and soldiers of the White Army. The religious and cultural life of the community, which numbered 15,624 (36.4%) in 1926, came to an end with the establishment of the Soviet government. Under the Soviets in 1929, 240 artisans were organized in cooperatives and 3,628 were unemployed. Of these, 2,655 were sent to the local sugar refinery and 847 went to work in the nearby kolkhozes. Two Yiddish schools operated in Belaya Tserkov, one of them a vocational school. In 1939, Jews numbered 9,284 (20% of the total population). The town was occupied by the Germans on July 16, 1941. They confiscated all Jewish belongings in October, and later they assembled 6,000 Jews from Belaya Tserkov and its environs in prisoner-of-war camp No. 334, and murdered all of them. There were 5,600 Jews listed as residents in Belaya Tserkov in the 1959 census. Its sole synagogue was closed in 1962 and thereafter Jews conducted private prayer services. During the 1965 High Holidays, militia broke into such *minyanim*, arrested participants and confiscated religious articles. In 1970, the Jewish population was estimated at 15,000. Most left in the 1990s. In Jewish folklore Belaya Tserkov is also referred to as the "Black Abomination" (Yid. *Shvartse Tume*), a play on its name in Russian ("White Church").

BIBLIOGRAPHY: S. Ettinger, in: *Zion*, 21 (1956), 107–42; *Die Judenpogrome in Russland* 2 (1909), 406–8; A.D. Rosenthal, *Megillat ha-Tevaḥ* 1 (1927); 78–81; *Eynikeyt*, no. 24 (1945). **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** PK Ukrainah, s.v.

[Yehuda Slutsky / Shmuel Spector (2nd ed.)]

BELCHATOW (Pol. **Bełchatów**), small town 28 mi. S. of Lodz, central Poland, in the district of Piotrkow. Seven Jews are recorded as living in Belchatow in 1764. Jewish settlement increased after the formation of Congress *Poland. By 1897 there were 2,897 Jewish residents out of a total population of 3,859, mainly engaged in the flourishing textile industry which developed in the 19th century. In 1921 the Jewish population numbered 3,688 (59% of the total), and in 1939, 6,000, constituting one-third of the total population.

Holocaust Period

The German army took the town during the first week of the war, during the High Holidays. Many Jews dressed in *tallit* and *kittel* were humiliated in the streets and photographed by German soldiers. The Torah Scrolls and other liturgical objects were taken from the local synagogues and burned while the congregation was forced to dance around the pyre. Jewish property was looted, goods in Jewish warehouses were confiscated, and the Jews were evicted from their homes and sent on forced labor. There was no formal ghetto, but a few streets were earmarked as the Jewish district. Numerous refugees from the smaller towns and villages were crowded into this small area. Frequent German raids took place in which able-bodied men were kidnapped and deported.

The final liquidation of the Jewish community took place in August 1942 when close to 1,000 able-bodied Jews were sent to the *Lodz ghetto and 5,000 Jews were deported to the death camp in *Chelmno. No Jewish community was established in Belchatow after the war.

[Danuta Dombrowska]

BIBLIOGRAPHY: I. Trunk, in: *Bleter far Geshikhte*, 2 no. 1–4 (1949), 64–166; D. Dabrowska, in: BŻIH, no. 13–14 (1955); idem (ed.), *Kronika getta łodzkiego*, 2 vols. (1965–66), passim; *Belkhatov Yisker Bukh* (Yid., 1951). **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** *Piotrkow Trybunalski ve-ha-Sevivah* (1965), 113–15, 192, 202.

BELED, village in Györ county (in 1944, iKapuvár district of Sopron county), western Hungary. The first Jewish settlers came to Beled in the mid-18th century, mainly from the neighboring village of Vásárosfalu. Their number ranged from 61 in 1784 to 336 in 1930. According to the census of 1941, the last before the Holocaust, their number was 320, representing 11% of the total of 2,909. The community was organized in 1785; its synagogue and cemetery were established around 1790. A Jewish school was established in 1861 and a *ḥevra kaddisha* under the leadership of Lipót Kohn in 1884. The congregation identified itself as Orthodox in 1876. Among the rabbis who served the community were Joel Fellner (1902–22) and Áron Silberstein (1925–44). Organizationally, the Beled congregation also served the spiritual and communal needs of the Jews in the neighboring smaller villages, including Babot, Bogyoszló, Cirák, Csapod, Csáfordjánosfa, Dénesfa, Egyed, Garta, Iván, Kapuvár, Kisfalud, Mihályi, Szil, and several others.

In May 1944, the Jews were first placed in a local ghetto set up in and around the synagogue. The ghetto also included the Jews from the neighboring communities of Csapod, Mihályi, Páli, and Vitnyéd. At its peak the ghetto held 360 Jews. It was liquidated on June 17, when about half of the ghetto population was transferred to Szombathely and the other half to Sopron, from where they were deported to Auschwitz on July 5, 1944.

Forty-two survivors returned in 1945. Most emigrated or relocated soon thereafter; in 1968 there was still one Jewish resident in the village. The synagogue was destroyed during the German occupation.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: M. Stein, *Magyar Rabbik*, 3 (1907), 1f.; 5 (1909), 3f.; M. Raab, in: *Soproni Szemle* (1957), 244–52. Braham, Politics; PK Hungaria, 170–71.

[Randolph Braham (2nd ed.)]

°**BELEV, ALEXANDER** (1900–1944), first commissar for Jewish affairs in *Bulgaria (1942–43). He was one of the founders of the antisemitic organization Ratnik and became an official of the ministry of the interior. Belev was sent in 1941 to Germany to study methods of enforcing anti-Jewish legislation and, in September 1942, he became head of the Commissariat for Jewish Affairs. He collaborated closely with Dannecker, *Eichmann's representative in Bulgaria, with whom he signed an agreement on February 22, 1943, to deport 20,000 Jews. Belev implemented the antisemitic "Law for the Protection of the Nation" (which had been passed on December 24, 1940) with cruelty and sometimes exceeded his authority in order to gain his end – the deportation of all Bulgarian Jewry, but he succeeded only in deporting "to the East" the Jews from the Yugoslav and Greek territories under Bulgarian military occupation. His wide powers earned him the nickname "King of the Jews." When Bulgaria was conquered by the Soviet Army in September 1944, Belev attempted to flee with the Germans, but he was caught by the militia and disappeared without a trace. He was sentenced to death in absentia by a People's Court in Sofia in 1945.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: B.J. Arditi, *Yehudei Bulgaryah bi-Shenot ha-Mishtar ha-Naẓi 1940–44* (1962), index; EG, 10 (1967). **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** M. Bar-Zohar, *Beyond Hitler's Grasp. The Heroic Rescue of Bulgaria's Jews* (1998), 179–84.

[Ora Alcalay]

BELFAST, capital of Northern Ireland. The earliest reference to Jews in Belfast dates from 1652. Mention of a "Jew Butcher" in 1771 suggests the existence of the nucleus of a community. Jews are again recorded in the 1840s. D.J. Jaffe, who settled in Belfast in 1851, established a congregation in 1869 and built its first synagogue in 1871–72. Joseph *Chotzner was the first minister (1869–80; and again 1893–97). After 1881 the community increased with the arrival of Jewish refugees from Russia. These at first formed their own congregation but in 1903 joined the main congregation. A municipal Jewish elementary school was established in 1898. Sir Otto *Jaffe, twice lord mayor and once high sheriff, served for many years as the congregation's president and built its second synagogue in 1904. Isaac *Herzog served as rabbi of Belfast from 1915 to 1919, followed in 1926 by Jacob Shachter, and in 1954 by Alexander Carlebach (who served until 1965). In 1967 the Jewish population numbered about 1,350. In that year, a new synagogue building was consecrated. In the mid-1990s the Jewish population dropped to approximately 550, and in 2004 to about 500. An Orthodox synagogue and a Jewish community center continue to exist.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: B. Shillman, *Short History of the Jews in Ireland* (1945), 134–6; Carlebach, in: JHSET, 21 (1968), 261ff.; idem, in: JC, Suppl. (July 30, 1965); L. Hyman, *Jews of Ireland* (1972). **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** JYB, 2004.

[Cecil Roth]

BELFORT, capital of the territory of Belfort, eastern France. A grant of privilege conferred on the city in 1307 authorized Jewish residence. Persecutions of Jews living in Belfort are recorded in 1336. They were subsequently expelled and readmitted in 1689. During the French Revolution anti-Jewish excesses took place in the region, but the Jews in Belfort remained unharmed. The Jewish population increased considerably after the Franco-Prussian war (1870–71) with the arrival of Jews from Alsace-Lorraine (then annexed to the German Empire) who wished to remain French.

Holocaust and Postwar Periods

The Belfort Jewish community was destroyed under Nazi occupation. Out of a total of 700 Jews, about 245 were killed. A monument bearing the names of those who perished was erected in the Jewish cemetery after the war. The community was rebuilt after World War II, and together with the Montbeliard Jewish community it numbered 1,200 in 1987. It had a synagogue with an acting minister, a communal center, a network of institutions, and a quarterly bulletin.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Salfeld, Martyrol, 68, 240; A. Corret, *Histoire pittoresque et anecdotique de Belfort* (1855), 263–72; Z. Szajkowski, *Analytical Franco-Jewish Gazetteer* (1966), 165.

[Roger Berg]

BELFORTE, SOLOMON (1806–1869), printer of Leghorn. Belforte belonged to an Italian Jewish family that settled in Leghorn (Livorno) at the end of the 17th century. He started to edit Hebrew prayer books in 1821 and established his own printing house in 1834. In 1843, the local government authorized the printing of Italian translations of Hebrew liturgical texts. The activity of Salomone Belforte & Co. was continued by the family – with the forced hiatus of the period of Fascist antisemitic laws and the war – until 1961, when all the equipment of the printing house was sold to an Israeli company. For almost 100 years, Salomone Belforte & Co. was one of the most prestigious publishers of Hebrew books, meeting the intellectual and religious needs of Italian, Sephardi, and also Ashkenazi communities. Beside this, the Belforte printing house published Italian literary works and school books.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: M. Luzzatti (ed.), *Ebrei di Livorno tra due censimenti (1841–1938)* (1990), 90–106.

[Alessandro Guetta (2nd ed.)]

BELGIUM, West European kingdom.

The Medieval Community

Jews first appeared in the southern Netherlands during the early 13th century, although the exact date of their settlement there cannot be ascertained. They arrived from the east, most probably from the large Rhenish communities, and did not migrate further south than *Brussels and Mechlin (*Malines). Most of the immigrants settled along, or within proximity of, the Cologne-Bruges axis. Jews are mentioned in Jodoigne (in Brabant province) in about 1200; in Louvain, where a small community lived precariously, in about 1220; in Tirlemont in about 1230; and in Brussels shortly before 1260. In his will (1261) Duke Henry III ordered that "all Jews and usurers be expelled from the province of Brabant. They are to be totally extirpated until not even one remains, unless they undertake to engage in commerce after the fashion of other merchants and agree to cease their practice of moneylending and usury." Apparently their expulsion was not implemented. When consulted, Thomas *Aquinas recommended that the Jews should be taxed moderately, so as not to deprive them of the necessary means to lead a decent existence. He added that it was preferable to compel them to earn their livelihood by manual labor rather than become wealthy by the practice of usury. The fact remains that they were not disturbed in any of their occupations. The organization of a crusade in 1309 brought this comparative tranquillity to an end. After the massacre of Jews in Louvain who had refused baptism, Duke John II took the survivors under his protection. Jews later returned to Louvain, and in 1311 had their own rabbi. The number of Jews throughout Brabant during this period was not large.

As a result of the expulsion from France in 1306, a number of exiles found refuge in the province of Hainaut. They were scattered in about ten localities, the community in Mons being the most important. In 1326, a converted Jew was put to death in Cambron, on a charge of stabbing an image of the Virgin. In 1337, the count of Hainaut renewed his protection of the Jews. A census on this occasion showed 18 Jewish families, comprising 35 adults. They subsequently scattered in other cit-

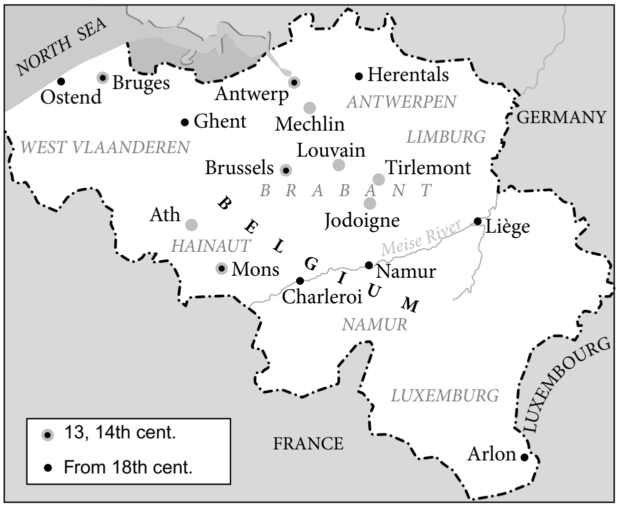

The Jewish communities of Belgium.

ies in Hainaut, but their numbers remained small. The *Black Death (1348–49) calamitously disrupted the existence of these communities. Accused of having introduced the plague by poisoning the wells, the Jews were either massacred by the populace or executed by the authorities. Almost all the Jews in Brabant were put to death. In Brussels the community ceased to exist. The massacre may have spread to *Antwerp, and few communities in Hainaut remained unscathed.

Thus the Jews disappeared almost completely from Hainaut. In Brabant, however, tiny communities were reestablished. There were seven families living in Brussels in 1368 and two in Louvain. In 1370 the Jews in Brussels and Louvain were accused of desecrating the Host, and after confessions extracted by torture a number were burned at the stake. The Jews thus disappeared also from Brabant. The role and number of the Jews in medieval Belgium were unimportant. Mainly petty moneylenders, their restricted numbers prevented them from wielding any influence in the economic life of the country. They were generally regarded as foreigners and as such exposed to violent hostility.

The Resettlement Period

It is only in the early 16th century that Jews again appeared in the southern Netherlands. At that time, Portuguese merchants made their way to the north, attracted by the economic development of the Netherlands, first to Bruges and then to Antwerp. Possibly the majority of them were *Marranos whose presence was sanctioned by a safe-conduct accorded to the New Christians in 1526. The newcomers consolidated their presence in Antwerp, notwithstanding a number of inconsistent measures concerning them. For a number of them, such as the future Duke of Naxos, Joseph *Nasi, or the physician *Amatus Lusitanus, Antwerp was only a place of transit en route to the hospitable Turkish haven. The Marrano population of Antwerp gradually increased with the intensification of their persecution in Portugal. However, with the establishment of an open Jewish community in *Amsterdam, the main tide of Marrano settlement was diverted to that place and to Holland generally. On the other hand, the Dutch Jews now not infrequently visited Brussels or Antwerp, sometimes for prolonged periods, without suffering serious inconvenience. When Antwerp came under Austrian rule in 1713, the community was at last able to profess Judaism more openly. With the occupation of the Netherlands by the French revolutionary armies in 1794, Jews were able to settle freely in Brussels and Antwerp. From the early 18th century, there was also a slight immigration of Ashkenazi Jews to Belgium. The authorities took care to limit their numbers by the imposition of special taxes which aroused vehement protests by the Dutch Jews, who rejected this attempt at discrimination.

Under French domination, Belgian Jewry, which then numbered some 800 persons, was incorporated into the *Consistory of Krefeld; the administrative framework disappeared with the downfall of Napoleon's empire. The principal communities in Belgium at the time were in Antwerp, Brussels, Herentals, Liège, and Mons. From 1831, once Belgian independence was achieved, the Jewish religion received official recognition, religious freedom being an integral part of the constitution guaranteed by the Concert of Europe. However, the synagogue councils were not officially recognized until 1870. The organization of Belgian Jewry remained strongly influenced by the Napoleonic prototype. Centralized in Brussels, it was administered by the Consistoire Central Israélite de Belgique.

Throughout the 19th century, Belgian Judaism developed on the French pattern. At the end of the century, however, as a result of the influx of immigration from Central and Eastern Europe, Belgian Jewry underwent a process of bipolarization which has lasted to the present day. Brussels was the center of French influences while in the Antwerp community Yiddish influences, and accessorily Flemish, were equally strong; occasionally conflicts arose between the two. In 1900, Antwerp numbered some 8,000 Jews, the greater part intending emigrants en route to the United States. The sudden impetus given to the diamond industry by the discovery of mines in South Africa opened numerous possibilities of employment in Antwerp. After an interruption during World War I, when part of the Jewish population migrated to Holland, the Jewish community again began to grow. Massive immigration to Antwerp, as well as the local particularism, rapidly resulted in a marked difference in character between Antwerp Jewry and the main body in Belgium, not only from the economic aspect, but also from the aspect of Antwerp Jewry's anxiety to retain the traditional forms of Jewish life. The Antwerp community resisted assimilation with more success than neighboring Brussels. This was also due to the care taken to ensure that almost every child should attend a Jewish school. The Jewish community of Antwerp remained faithful to its East European origins and was rightly considered as a bulwark of European Judaism. The Brussels community, as well as the smaller communities, had also benefited from a strong numerical contribution from Eastern Europe, but this had little effect on its structure or character. The Belgian government's restrictive naturalization policies encouraged the continued cohesion of the Antwerp community, whose members represented some 75% of the local manpower employed in the diamond industry and commerce.

[Simon R. Schwarzfuchs]

Holocaust Period

The study of the Holocaust in Belgium has been complicated by lack of unified research and by contradictory accounts. Furthermore, as the Belgian Constitution does not allow any mention of religion in documents of civil status, exact official data are lacking.

When the German army invaded on May 10, 1940, between 90,000 and 110,000 Jews lived in Belgium, among whom there were probably about 20,000 German refugees. Only 5–10% of the Jews in Belgium were of Belgian nationality, while the majority of Jews who immigrated to Belgium from other countries had to remain foreign nationals. Antwerp had at that time at least 55,000 Jews, forming Belgium's largest, and economically, socially, and culturally most closely knit Jewish community, and thus suffered more heavily than the loosely knit community in Brussels (at least 35,000) and the other smaller communities: Charleroi, with at least 2,000 Jews; Liège, 2,000; Ghent, 300; and Namur, 50. At the time of the invasion, the adult males among the German-Jewish refugees were treated as suspect aliens although many had volunteered for the Belgian Army. They were rounded up by the Belgian police and interned in the Gurs camp in France. Their families remained behind, many reliant on the social welfare committees of the Jewish communities.

The majority of Jews in Belgium fled the country, mainly southward toward France. Some managed to escape German occupation and emigrated overseas; others were overtaken by the German armies and ordered to turn back. Many who reached unoccupied France were lured back to Belgium a few months later in accordance with Nazi policy at the time to assuage the fears of the Jews and prevent the rise of antagonism among the non-Jewish population. Belgium capitulated on May 28, 1940, and was held under military rule until the liberation in September 1944. The German military occupation set up a Belgian administration in charge of civilian affairs, which was instructed by the Wehrmacht to carry out anti-Jewish measures. This situation was more favorable than that for the Jews in the *Netherlands, where the *Gestapo was in charge of carrying out anti-Jewish measures. The anti-Jewish policy was executed in two stages. The preparatory phase circumscribed the Jewish population, ordered their geographic fixation, and brought about gradual economic and social paralysis. The exterminatory phase, which began on July 22, 1942, consisted of labor call-ups, followed by roundups and razzias for internment in the Dossin assembly camp near Mechlin (Malines). From there, the inmates were deported to extermination camps in the east.

The succession of edicts followed that in other Nazi-occupied countries, though what the Germans termed the "lack of understanding of the local population," and the courageous and well-supported Jewish resistance did slow up the persecution somewhat. The tragic and still not forgotten experience in Belgium of German occupation during World War I brought about more immediate and efficient resistance than in the Netherlands. The first edicts were issued in October 1940. Ritual slaughter was forbidden (Oct. 23, 1940). The first sign of racial discrimination was the ordinance of Oct. 28, 1940, which defined who was a Jew and prohibited the further return of Jews to Belgium. It required all Jews above the age of 15 to register at the communal administration and have the letter J stamped on their identity cards. The registration affected about 42,000 Jews; apparently 10,000–13,000 Jews did not register at all. Jewish property had to be registered, and was not transferable. Notices of Jewish ownership in three languages (Flemish, French, and German) had to be posted. Jews in the fields of law, education, and communication were prohibited from practicing their professions. The first protest was raised by the Belgian associates of Jewish professional men and the Belgian administration in the case of discriminatory legislation bearing on Jews in the professions. They objected to the anti-constitutional character of the anti-Jewish legislation and claimed they were unable to carry it out. The Belgian government in exile, residing in London, laid down a decision on Jan. 10, 1941, that all laws imposed by the German occupation which contradict the Belgian Constitution would be annulled at the time of liberation.

In 1941, further edicts were issued to restrict and paralyze Jewish life: edicts for confiscation of radios (May 31); enforced declaration of bank holdings (June 10); prohibition against residing outside the four large cities of Antwerp, Brussels, Liège, and Charleroi (August 29); and a curfew between 8 P.M. and 7 A.M. (August 29). On Nov. 25, 1941, the German military commander for Belgium and northern France ordered the formation of a Judenrat, called Association des Juifs en Belgique (AJB), under the pretext of organizing Jewish social welfare for the community and furthering Jewish emigration. A national committee of seven representatives was to encompass all Jews and take over existing Jewish bodies and their property. Rabbi T.S. Ullman, the only rabbi of Belgian nationality, accepted the presidency only after consultation with high Belgian authorities. Local committees were formed in Brussels, Antwerp, Charleroi, and Liège. Although no documents attest to the modes of constitution of these committees, there are indications that the Germans held sway over the choice of their members. In the course of time, the members of the AJB committees were utilized by the Germans as a front for carrying out their own aims. On Dec. 1, 1941, the Judenrat was ordered to set up an educational system for Jewish children who were expelled at that time from the public schools by the Germans.

The AJB was ordered to hold another census of the Jews and, by March, forced to take charge of the distribution of call-ups to be accompanied by covering letters pressing for conformance to the orders. In September 1942, the AJB leaders were interned in the concentration camp of Breendonck and charged with insufficient diligence in carrying out German orders. The AJB president was released after a week and resigned. Razzias now replaced call-ups, and the AJB's job was largely limited to mitigating the suffering of the deportees. Officially, however, they were permitted to continue their activities. They set up children's homes and old-age homes, and their employees and administrators were "protected," i.e., not liable for deportation. The underground took advantage of this status by introducing some of its people into positions within the AJB and utilized its resources, despite all the risks involved.

On May 27, 1942, the Nazis issued an order for every Jew to wear the yellow badge. The Belgian administration refused to promulgate the order and the Germans were forced to do it themselves, but a few days later they imposed the task on the AJB. The Belgian population showed its hostility to this discriminatory measure, expressing its sympathy in various ways. By June 1, 1942, Jewish doctors, dentists, and nurses were forbidden to practice on gentile patients. Previously (March 2 and May 8), forced labor for the Nazi organization Todt had been imposed theoretically on all the unemployed, but was in fact aimed at the Jews, who had been evicted from all economic pursuit. The underground issued pleas not to submit to these labor call-ups. By July 1942, summonses were issued to unemployed Jews to report to Malines for "work in the east." At first the summonses were meekly obeyed, but the resistance movements' warnings started taking effect and people went into hiding. As the call-ups provided insufficient numbers of "volunteers," the Germans commenced their razzias. The first convoy of 1,000 Jews left on Sept. 2, 1942. Within five weeks, 10,000 had been deported. Later, the deportations slowed down. By July 31, 1944, 25,631 victims had been deported in 31 convoys. Only 1,244 of the deportees returned after the war. Belgian leaders, among them the queen mother Elisabeth and Cardinal van Roey, intervened on behalf of the small number of Jews of Belgian nationality, and the Germans agreed to omit them from expulsion as long as they would not transgress German laws. This show of tolerance was short-lived. On Sept. 3, 1943, Jews holding Belgian citizenship were all rounded up and deported.

Resistance

The Jewish population required time to organize resistance. Some Jews individually joined the ranks of the Belgian underground. But after the dissolution of Jewish organizations, the former social and political groups started regrouping, mainly for the purpose of mutual social help. Anti-fascist elements grasped the significance of the persecutions sooner and formed a group of about 70 Jewish armed partisans, many of whom fell in the line of duty. An estimated 140 fell, including those who fought as individuals in the general armed resistance. The Committee for Jewish Defence (CDJ, recognized officially after the war as a civilian resistance group affiliated to the Front de l'Indépendance) comprised a complete range of Jewish groups and individuals. It soon realized the need to hide Jews, and called upon all the Jews to resist and disobey any German edicts as well as instructions from the AJB. The Committee developed a vast, well-organized network of activity for hiding children (an estimated 3,000 children were thus saved) and adults (an estimated 10,000). In fact, in Belgium a high proportion of Jews was saved compared to other occupied countries. Places of hiding, identity papers, food ration tickets, and money were obtained, and escape routes established toward Switzerland and Spain. The cultural aspect of the Jewish resistance groups was remarkable. They distributed information and propaganda material, established a lending library, and maintained a Jewish illegal press. The Yiddish paper *Unzer Vort* appeared 28 times, and *Flambeau* in French and the *Vrije Gedachte* in Flemish appeared with the help of the Belgian illegal press.

Contacts were made with numerous non-Jewish organizations that helped, including Oeuvre Nationale de l'Enfance, Jeunesse Ouvrière Catholique, the Red Cross, a number of Catholic institutions, and underground resistance movements. As time went on, more and more money was needed to keep alive those in hiding. Millions of francs were contributed by local Jews and non-Jewish organizations and credit was allotted. Later, large sums were secretly obtained through Switzerland, and some came from the Belgian government-in-exile. A number of people managed to escape from deportation trains in a feat unique to occupied Belgium. The 20th convoy departing on April 19, 1943, was attacked in a well-organized action initiated by the CDJ together with Georges Livchitz and partisans of Group "G" (an armed resistance group). It enabled several hundred to escape, although many of them were caught or killed by the Germans. Another Jewish underground group, the Ninth Brigade, was organized under the aegis of the Mouvement National Belge, a more rightist group. A little-known and rather circumscribed resistance activity was carried out by the federation of the Zionist parties, which succeeded in obtaining through Switzerland a few immigration certificates to Palestine which protected the holders from deportation. At one point (1941–42) a *hakhsharah* (agricultural training program) for members of Zionist youth movements was provided. According to partial studies and reports by former participants, there were innumerable cases (not generally known) of underground activity, including armed attacks on collaborators, sabotage, and withdrawing those children in hiding who were exposed and in danger of arrest by the Gestapo.

The Catholic Church on many occasions intervened on behalf of the Belgian Jews through the work of Cardinal van Roey, who acted mainly through his secretary Canon Leclef. On Aug. 4, 1942, he alerted the Vatican to the inhumanity of the racial laws, pointing out that even Catholics of Jewish origin were affected. The Church was largely efficacious through its request to Catholic institutions to hide Jewish children and to refrain from baptizing them, unless specific permission was given. When the German-Jewish refugees in Antwerp were deported at the end of 1940 to the province of Limburg, the priests instructed the local population to help them. When the Jews were compelled to wear the yellow badge, priests denounced this discriminatory act and elicited the sympathy of large parts of the population. The Belgians made attempts to allay Jewish suffering, though prior to the invasion, the Germans had encouraged Flemish nationalism and separatism and fanned antisemitism. For this reason the persecutions met with greater success in the mostly Flemish Antwerp region.

[Rivka Irene Banitt]

Early postwar years

In 1945 the Jewish population was composed of those who had remained in the country, had returned from exile, or were liberated from prisons and camps. Until about 1955, thousands of Jewish refugees from Eastern and Central Europe resided in Belgium for a limited time, awaiting immigration permits to other countries of permanent settlement. In the 1960s both emigration and immigration considerably decreased. The number of Jews in Belgium in 1970 was about 40,000. This population, essentially urban, was distributed approximately as follows: Brussels, 18,000; Antwerp, 12,000; Liège, 1,000; Charleroi, 500; Ghent, Ostend, and Arlon, 1,000; the remainder was dispersed among other cities. As the Jewish population became stable, social and economic integration within Belgian society improved in many respects. It was not especially difficult to obtain citizenship, and a great number of immigrants and their descendants were therefore Belgian citizens. Although many arrived in the country without independent resources, within a short period they displayed great social mobility. The majority came to belong to the middle class and were active in the fur and textile industry, wholesale and retail trade, crafts, and the manufacture of clothing and leather goods. Antwerp Jewry has been professionally concentrated for a long time in the diamond industry and trade. Since the end of World War II, more young people have undertaken university studies, resulting in the growth of the professional and white-collar classes. Though the country's economic progress benefited the Jewish population, there was still a small number of underprivileged persons and social cases, most of whom were cared for by the community. The favorable attitude of the government and communal authorities, as well as the population as a whole, facilitated the integration of Jews in Belgium, though from time to time in the first two decades after World War II certain manifestations of antisemitism were provoked by small factions of the extreme right.

The Jewish religion is legally recognized along with the Catholic and the Protestant religions. Belgian laws also guarantee public Jewish worship. In 1970 there were 12 recognized Jewish communities in the country: four in Brussels, three in Antwerp, and one each in Liège, Charleroi, Ghent, Ostend, and Arlon. Two of these communities were Sephardi, the others Ashkenazi. The rabbis, cantors, and synagogue boards were elected by the members of the community. Each community has proportional representation at the Consistoire Central Israélite de Belgique, which represents the communities in their relations with the state. Though this institution, of Napoleonic origin, supervises the administration of synagogue properties and examines their budgets and accounts, it generally does not intervene in their internal affairs but is called to ratify the nomination of rabbis and *ḥazzanim*.

Until 1980 the chief rabbi was appointed by the Consistoire to act as the supreme authority on Jewish religious affairs. Since that time the post has been formally vacant, though Albert Guigui, rabbi of Brussels from 1983, acted as rabbinic adviser to the Consistoire and in effect fulfilled the function of chief rabbi. In addition, at the outset of the 21st century, four government-recognized regional rabbis, including Guigui, were in office. Cultural differences between communities represented in the Consistoire were evident. Some older communities reflected many formal aspects of the Reform movement, which spread through Belgium during the 19th century, but whose influence was reduced by East European Jews. The result of the contact between the two elements was the widespread practice of Conservative Judaism. Other communities remained faithful to an Orthodoxy imbued with Yiddish Ashkenazi traditions. In spite of the differences, most blatant in the contrasting character of the Brussels and Antwerp communities, the Consistoire preserved a sense of unity. The state paid the salaries of the regional rabbis, cantors, and state-recognized teachers who provide religious instruction in public primary, secondary, and technical schools throughout the country. The state also subsidized Jewish day schools in which courses of Jewish content were taught in addition to the compulsory general curriculum. The state's contribution to various religious and educational institutions illustrates concretely the recognized position of the Jewish religion, which gives observant and nonobservant Jews a feeling of security and confidence.

About 100 Jewish organizations, either revolving around the recognized communities or developing on the fringe, are active in every facet of Jewish life. The main types of organizations are welfare and philanthropic, Zionist and pro-Israel, communal bodies, youth movements, and independent religious, political, cultural, and sports-oriented groups. Welfare and philanthropic organizations are united for fund-raising purposes in Brussels and are absorbed into a central body in Antwerp. These two centralizing institutions collaborate at the national level in La Conférence Permanente des Oeuvres Sociales Juives de Belgique. Youth movements are grouped in La Fédération de la Jeunesse Juive de Belgique. Very influential before the war, the Zionist Federation of Belgium continues to concern itself with the renewal of its structure and with the aim of expanding its membership; but since the creation of the State of Israel, the distinction between Zionists and non-Zionists within the community has lost much of its acuteness. Indeed, most Belgian Jews express their support of Israel, and for many of them it has developed into a component of their identity. Manifestations of this support are shown in various ways: financial contributions, collective trips to Israel, the study of modern Hebrew, and hosting Israel experts on communal and educational matters. The favorable attitude toward Israel is widely shared by non-Jews as well. During the Six-Day War (1967), non-Jews walked side by side with Jews in public demonstrations to proclaim solidarity with Israel, and the Belgian press as a whole supported Israel's point of view.

[Max Gottschalk / Willy Bok]

Later Developments

The Jewish population of Belgium in 2002 was estimated at 31,400, equally divided between French and Flemish speakers, with around 15,000 Jews each in Brussels and Antwerp and the rest in such shrinking communities as Liege, Charleroi, Arlon, Mons, Ghent, and Ostend.

COMMUNITY LIFE. An important merger of community organizations began in 1971 to unify divergent organizations under a central umbrella organization, which would serve as spokesman for Belgian Jewry. As a result, in 1977, 21 Belgian Jewish organizations banded together, as well as the communities of Liege, Charleroi and Ghent. In September 1977 the Coordinating Committee and the Belgian Section of the World Jewish Congress merged into the Coordinating Committee of Belgian Jewish Organizations, affiliated with the WJC with the president of the Belgian Section as its head. By 2002 it had 41 members and, together with the Consistoire, was recognized as an official representative of the Jewish community for political matters. A parallel organization, Forum oder Joodse Organisaties, founded in 1994 and based in Antwerp, represented Flemish-speaking Jews before the authorities.

The Consistoire remained the central authority for Belgian Jews in religious matters, with 16 member congregations in 2002. In all, around 50 synagogues and places of worship were in operation (around 30 in Antwerp). A Jewish chapel opened (1986) at the Brussels international airport, following the request of Orthodox travelers. Religious life continued to be much more intense in Antwerp with its largely Orthodox population than in Brussels. However, starting in the late 1980s Brussels witnessed a strengthening of its more traditionalist religious life – the creation of two new Orthodox communities, the suppression of the organ and the mixed choir at the principal synagogue, the opening of a kosher restaurant and a yeshivah. The Israelite Community of Waterloo and of Southern Brabant, which belonged also to this current, was recognized (1992) by the Cult Administration only four years after its creation. The new congregation is the result of changes in the urbanization of the Brussels area; its membership consists largely of English-speaking expatriates. The Liberal congregation has grown steadily and in 1984 founded its own burial society with its own cemetery.

A reorganization of the Belgian Zionist Federation took place in 1976. Following an intensive nationwide membership campaign in 1975–76, some 5,000 Jews enrolled as members of the Zionist Federation, which has branches in five communities, all of which were directly represented on the directorate.

The World Conference of Jewish Communities on Soviet Jewry convened in Brussels in 1971 and 1976. The congress was hosted by the Coordinating Committee of Belgian Jewish organizations, the Jewish Secular Community Center of Brussels, and the National Belgian Committee for Jews in the Soviet Union. The congress, sponsored by the World Zionist Federation, World Jewish Congress, B'nai B'rith, the Public Councils for Soviet Jewry, the Conference of Presidents of Major Jewish Organizations in the United States, and various national committees for Soviet Jewry, was attended by 1,200 representatives from 35 countries throughout the world, and hundreds of leading Jewish and non-Jewish personalities.

Jewish education in Belgium continued to benefit from the national educational system, providing for diverse religious studies in all State schools where a significant number of parents request them. Such classes are attended by 60 percent of Jewish public school children in Brussels and 30 percent in Antwerp. Though paid for by the State, teachers are hired by the Consistoire and supervised by its religious inspectors. In addition, the State subsidizes the general curriculum of Jewish day schools, attended by around 7,000 children in the early 2000s. There were three such schools in Brussels (Maimonides Athenaeum, Ganenou Athenaeum, Beth Aviv) with around 2,000 children, and three in Antwerp (Tachkemoni, Yesode Hatora, Yavne) which together with a number of ḥasidic *ḥadarim* and some other institutions accommodated around 5,000 children. Extracurricular studies were conducted through the community *talmud torah* in Brussels and youth groups at the community centers, and through the Zionist youth movements. Adult Jewish education continued to improve, with Hebrew courses taught in conjunction with the Jewish Agency. The Ministry of Education also largely supported a free faculty of Jewish studies called "Institut Universitaire d'Etudes du Judaïsme" founded in 1972 and operating under the auspices of the Brussels Free University, which since the academic year 1986–1987 has recognized Institut degrees in Jewish history, thought, and civilization. The Flemish section (created in 1983 at the Vrije Universiteit te Brussel) was later moved to the Instituut voor Joodse Studies in Antwerp.

POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS. In December 1974, the Volksunie Party submitted a bill to Parliament granting amnesty to former Nazi collaborators. The bill was strongly opposed by the Belgian Jewish community, led by the national Jewish organizations of ex-servicemen, former resistance fighters, and deportees, as well as by their Christian counterparts, and on March 25, 1976 the bill was defeated by a vote of 98 to 81 with 3 abstentions.

Belgium has been the site of a number of Arab terrorist attacks on Jewish or Israel-connected objectives. In 1979 there was an attempted attack on El Al passengers at Brussels airport. In July 1980 a hand grenade was thrown into a group of children about to leave Antwerp for summer camp; one boy was killed and others were injured. In October 1981 a car bomb exploded in Antwerp near a small Sephardi synagogue shortly before services were to begin; over 100 passers-by were injured, two of them fatally. There was vociferous public protest over these incidents.

After the municipal (October 1988) and European elections (June 1989), the general elections (October 1991) confirmed the success of the right-wing parties by electing politicians openly against immigration as well as against Jews (in Antwerp 20 percent of the population voted for them). This was not a specifically Belgian phenomenon but an international one, as was stressed at the conference of the World Jewish Congress held in Brussels in July 1992, called "My Brother's Keeper."

Also giving rise for concern were the killing in 1989 of Professor Joseph Wybran, president of the political body of Belgian Jewry; the release (July 1990) of a Palestinian terrorist in exchange for the freedom of four Belgian hostages held by the Abu Nidal group; and antisemitic slogans painted on walls. All these events brought protests from Jewish bodies to the government, which reacted positively.

Antisemitic outbursts became particularly widespread with the onset of the second Intifada in Israel in 2000, which, coupled with pro-Palestinian terror throughout Europe and the local anti-Israel press, made life for Belgium's Jews distinctly uncomfortable. Among the incidents recorded in the early 2000s were the firebombing of synagogues, including rifle fire in one case, and Nazi and antisemitic graffiti. In 2001 Rabbi Guigui was attacked in the street by young Muslims of Moroccan origin.

INTERFAITH RELATIONS. Jewish-Christian relations remained essentially cordial. The Consistoire worked together with the National Catholic Commission in Belgium, a subcommittee of the National Commission for Ecumenism, and the Belgian Protestant Council for Relationship between Judaism and Christianity, sponsored by the Federation of Protestant Churches in Belgium. A regular interfaith scholastic dialogue, "Institutum Judaicum," was conducted as well as more general lectures and study groups on Judaism, and an Interfaith Bulletin published.

Following the end of the Carmelite Convent affair in Auschwitz (August 1993), a Judeo-Christian Consultation Group was organized. It had to deal with two exhibitions illustrating anti-Jewish prejudice like the Bible des Communautés Chrétiennes which was uncovered by a researcher of the Leuven Catholic University.

As to the Israel-Vatican Agreement, it was in Brussels that the World Jewish Congress held a seminar with the main negotiators (Monsigneur Celli from the Vatican and Israel's Deputy Foreign Minister Yossi *Beilin) to assess the situation one year later (December 1994).

From December 1985 to May 1993 the "Yarden affair" provided a bad image in the media of the ḥasidic community and of the Jews. Thanks to the work of the FBI, the three children born of a mixed marriage and kidnapped by the father (a member of the Satmar ḥasidic group) before he was put in a Brussels jail were given back to their mother.

On the official level the Consistoire also maintained cordial relations with Muslim representative bodies in Belgium.

REMEMBERING THE HOLOCAUST. Holocaust consciousness was heightened among Belgian Jewry. The case of the Carmelite convent in Auschwitz (see *Auschwitz Convent) was first taken up in Belgium. Actions around this affair froze official interfaith relations, although in 1993 a "Committee of Consultations between Jews and Christians in Belgium" was set up. After the publication of Professor M. Steinberg's thesis on "The History of Jews in Belgium between 1940 and 1944," an international colloquium on "The Holocaust Period in Belgium" was organized in Bar-Ilan University in Israel (1989). Belgium television (French and Dutch channels) produced and broadcast several documentaries on this subject followed by discussions.

As approximately 20,000 Jews were hidden by Christians during the last period of the Holocaust, several memorials were opened in remote places by different associations, one of which, the Belgian Hidden Children Association, helped organize the first congress in New York on this subject.

The 50th anniversaries of several historical events were commemorated by impressive ceremonies attended by thousands of Jews and non-Jews. For the 45th celebration of VE-day, King Baudouin attended a gathering in the Jewish National Memorial; it was the first time in the history of Belgium that the ruling king ever came to a Jewish monument.

Paradoxically the right-wing political successes occurred during the period of the 50th anniversary of the events linked to the end of the World War II. From King Albert II, who attended the opening of the museum in Mechelen (May 7, 1995) to his son Philippe, who was at the commemoration of the Warsaw Ghetto and the attack of the XXth convoy (April 1993), from the prime minister, who visited Auschwitz with a former Jewish Belgian deportee (January 1995) before the official pilgrimage (March 1995), to the Ministry of Education, which launched a nationwide campaign entitled "Democracy or Barbarism … 50 Years After," everyone tried to do something to remember what had happened 50 years before. Numerous exhibitions attended by millions of people, TV series, books, new plays, movies, operas, and classical music programs were presented on the subject. Most of the time the fate of the Jews was underlined.

A memorial to Belgian Jews who perished in the Holocaust was dedicated in Antwerp (November 13, 1994).

The first European meeting of hidden children was organized at the University of Brussels (April 30–May 1, 1995) and three ceremonies were held for Righteous Gentiles during 1995.

Belgium also created a commission in 1997 to investigate the fate of Jewish assets seized during the war. Subsequently, in

2001, a National Commission for Restitution was established to examine claims and facilitate compensation.

[Daniel Dratwa]

Relations with Israel

Important circles in Belgium displayed sympathy for Zionism and supported the struggle of the Zionist movement almost from its beginning. Noteworthy were the active support of Queen Elisabeth and various Socialist leaders, including Emile Vandervelde, Camille Huysmans, de Brouquère, and Paul Henri Spaak. On Nov. 29, 1947, Belgium voted in the UN in favor of the establishment of a Jewish state and it was among the first countries to establish diplomatic relations with Israel (de facto Jan. 31, 1949, and de jure in January 1950). These relations were subsequently elevated to the ambassadorial level. The Israel ambassador in Brussels is also accredited in Luxembourg, which is tied to Belgium through a customs' pact, and is attached to the European Economic Community, whose seat is in that city. Trade relations between Belgium and Israel developed satisfactorily and tourism also increased, reaching 8,000 people in 1968. Belgium filled a specific role in Israel's foreign relations because of its special position in the process of European integration and the fact that Brussels had become a sort of "capital of Europe." Many of Israel's diplomatic efforts directed toward the European Community passed through Belgium, which was either a host or an active participant in the creation of the new European identity. The official ties between the two countries included the visit of Queen Elisabeth and a short visit of King Baudouin, which was mainly a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, and the visits of President Izhak Ben-Zvi and prime ministers David Ben-Gurion and Levi Eshkol to Belgium.

[Yohanan Meroz]

During the 1970s trade between Israel and Belgium continued to grow. Exports from Belgium (including Luxembourg) to Israel rose from $115 million in 1972 to $404 million in 1980, while imports from Israel rose from $49 million to $236 million. By 2004 the figures were $955 and $695 million, respectively, excluding diamonds. The movement of diamonds between the two countries reached $5.5 billion.

In March 1992, elections were held in Belgium to the Zionist Congress: 3,140 voted (25 percent more than in 1987). The results showed a shift to the right, possibly because the leader of the left was involved in organizing a meeting with Palestinians. The anti-Israel feelings prevailing in the media since the Lebanon War were still felt among the population and the flow of tourists going to Israel dropped. One consequence was the closing of the Israel Tourist Office in Brussels. The Oslo Accords brought a resurgence of goodwill but the onset of the second Palestinian Intifada produced a dampening of official relations, fueled by a hostile press and the presence of half a million Muslims in the country, as the Belgian government, professing evenhandedness, regularly voted for anti-Israel resolutions in international bodies, including the UN. In 2002 Belgium suspended arms sales to Israel and in 2001 and 2002 the Brussels and Flemish Regions of Belgium suspended their cooperative agreements with Israel. Tensions came to a head when war crimes charges were brought against Israeli Prime Minister Ariel *Sharon in Belgium for his part in the Lebanon war under Belgium's "universal jurisdiction" legislation. Israel withdrew its ambassador. Subsequently the Belgian Supreme Court ruled that Sharon could not be tried while serving as prime minister of Israel.

Since 1992, Israel has had two ambassadors in Brussels, one for the EEC, the other for Belgium.

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BELGOROD-DNESTROVSKI (formerly **Akkerman**; Rum. **Cetatea-Albă**), city in Ukraine, in the region of *Bessarabia, on the river Dniester; in Romania 1918–40 and 1941–44. It is referred to in Jewish sources as Weissenburg and *Ir Lavan* (both meaning "White City"). Karaite scholars, including apparently Caleb *Afendopolo, lived there in the early 16th century, attesting to the existence of a cultured Karaite settlement during this period. A Rabbanite community is first recorded in Belgorod-Dnestrovski in 1591. In 1808, 18 heads of Jewish families were registered there. According to tradition, a *bet midrash* was built there in 1815 and a synagogue in 1828. The community grew considerably in the 19th century with the arrival of Jews in Bessarabia from other regions of the *Pale of Settlement. The Jewish population numbered 2,422 in 1864 and 5,613 in 1897 (19.9% of the total). The Jews in Belgorod-Dnestrovski were influenced in social and cultural spheres by the important Jewish center in *Odessa. Most of the Jews earned their living in the grain trade, which was mainly concentrated in Jewish hands, but many engaged in crafts. In 1905, there was a pogrom in which eight Jews were killed. After Bessarabia passed to Romania in 1918, the Jews in Belgorod-Dnestrovski developed a flourishing communal and cultural life, and established cultural and welfare institutions. Jewish institutions before World War II included a hospital (founded in 1882), an old-age home, a kindergarten, and a Hebrew elementary *Tarbut school. In 1930, 4,239 Jews resided in Belgorod-Dnestrovski (12.3% of the total population).

[Eliyahu Feldman]

Holocaust Period and After

In July 1940, during the Soviet occupation, all Jewish life was disbanded, and a few months later, the great Remasline synagogue became a government archive. Prominent and wealthy Jews were arrested and tried or disappeared altogether. On the night of June 13, 1941, dozens of families were exiled to Siberia, most of whom did not survive. When the fighting drew near, in 1941, about 4,000 Jews fled the city, mostly for nearby Odessa. Most of them were caught in the German siege of the city and shared the fate of local Jews, being later executed or deported by the Romanians. Those who remained were the sick and the old and pious Jews. The entry of German and Romanian troops was preceded by the murder of Jews and the plunder of Jewish property on the part of the local peasants. As soon as the town was occupied, all the remaining Jews were gathered in the Remasline synagogue where they were kept for three days without food and water. They were then taken to the Liman River where they were all shot to death; about 800 Jews were killed in the slaughter. Approximately 500 of the prewar population of Belgorod-Dnestrovksi survived the war, and about half of these eventually returned. In 1970, the Jewish population was estimated at 300 families. Most emigrated in the 1990s but Jewish life revived in the 21st century with Rabbi Fishel Chichelnitzky heading a kindergarten, Sunday school, and the new Chabad synagogue.

[Jean Ancel]

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BELGRADE (Serb. **Beograd**), capital of Serbia. Several Jews from Italy and Hungary settled in Belgrade in the 13th and 14th centuries. They were joined by Sephardi Jews after the Turkish conquest in 1521. They lived mostly in the Jewish *mahala* ("quarter") near the citadel, and were physicians, weaponsmiths, tanners, and merchants. The Jews lived in comfortable circumstances and were allowed to own land. The community enjoyed a degree of judicial autonomy. It numbered 800 in 1663. Between 1642 and 1688, the Belgrade yeshivah became widely known under the rabbis Judah *Lerma, Simḥah b. Gershon Kohen, and Joseph *Almosnino.

With the start of the decline of the Turkish Empire in the late 17th century, a long series of catastrophes befell the Jews of Belgrade. In 1688, at the approach of the Austrians, Turkish janissaries plundered and burned the Jewish quarter. After the capture of the city, Austrian soldiers burned, looted, and killed the Turkish and Jewish population. The community was totally destroyed; some Jews managed to flee to Bulgaria, but the majority were taken prisoner and deported to Austria to be sold as slaves or offered to Jewish communities for ransom.

Shortly after, a number of Jews returned to the city and rebuilt the synagogue. However, since Belgrade became the key fortress against the Turks, under Austrian rule (1717–39) Jewish residence was restricted. The town was captured again by Turks in 1739 and by 1777 the number of Jews had increased to 800. In 1795 irregular troops of Pazvan Oglu, pasha of *Vidin, attacked Belgrade, burning the synagogue and many Jewish houses in the *mahala* Nevertheless, the Jews remained prosperous: in 1798 all the Belgrade guilds together paid 1,600 grush in taxes, while the Jewish community alone paid 10,000 grush.

A series of rebellions and wars by the Serbs against the local Turkish despots, who had made themselves semi-independent of Constantinople, began in 1803, continuing intermittently for nearly 30 years. Belgrade changed hands many times, the Jews suffering each time. In 1807 the Serbs expelled the Jews from Belgrade. The anti-Jewish measures were revoked at Russian intervention. Some Jews had been allowed to stay, and more returned between 1811 and 1813, but were forced to leave once more when an abortive rebellion broke out in 1813. When in 1815 Milosh Obrenovich was recognized ruler of Serbia the situation of the Jews improved. There were some 1,300 Jews (200 Ashkenazim) in 1831. Prince Milosh's Serbian State Press, founded in 1837, had Hebrew type too. The works, mostly liturgical or ritual, were printed in Ladino, or in Hebrew with a Ladino translation. The Ladino periodical *El Amigo del Pueblo* was established in 1888 and appeared in Belgrade throughout the 1890s. Milosh's successor, Alexander Karageorgevich (1842–58), introduced a series of restrictions on Jewish residence, professions, and acquisition of property.

After obtaining full rights following the Congress of Berlin in 1878, the wealthier Jews gradually became absorbed into Serbian society. They spoke Serbian, their children went to state schools and universities, and became physicians, civil servants, etc. In 1907 they built the new Sephardi synagogue, Bet Yisrael, in the upper town. There was a Hebrew school from the 1850s. Most Jews lived in the *mahala* until World War I when it was partly destroyed. After World War I, when Belgrade became the capital of independent Yugoslavia, the younger generation gradually left the *mahala* to enter the professions, banking, the stock exchange, and the garment industry.

Holocaust Period

When the Germans entered Belgrade in April 1941, 12,000 Jews were living there. The 20,000 Volksdeutsche (ethnic Germans) of Belgrade led the Germans to Jewish shops and homes, looting all that the Germans left. Jews were evicted and their property confiscated. The Ashkenazi synagogue was turned into a brothel; the Bet Yisrael synagogue became a storehouse for looted Jewish property and was blown up before the German retreat. All communal activities were forbidden, but the *Vertretung* ("Representation"), nominated by the Germans, contrived to organize public kitchens, medical services, etc. for the local Jews and for the 2,500 Jews from the Banat region who were expelled to Belgrade. All men between the ages of 14 and 60 and all women between the ages of 14 and 40 were forced to work in the town, not only without payment but also providing their own food.

With the beginning of armed resistance in Serbia, the Germans began executing hostages, mostly Jews. The first mass execution took place on July 29, when 122 "Communists and Jews" were shot. The "final solution" began with the mass arrest of some 5,000 Jewish men in July and August. After being imprisoned in two camps in Belgrade, the men were then taken in groups of 150 to 400 "to work in Austria" and shot in nearby forests by regular German army units. The remaining 6,000 Jewish women and children were arrested in December 1941 and transported to the Saymishte camp, a former commercial fairground on the left bank of the Sava. Food was scarce, and many froze to death in the winter of 1941–42. Between February and May 1942, the remainder were killed in gas vans and buried in the village of Jaintsi. Patients of the Jewish hospital in the *mahala* were also liquidated in 1942.

Resistance

Immediately after the German occupation Jewish youth, mainly from Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir, joined the resistance movement, sabotaging enemy installations, disseminating propaganda, and collecting funds and medical supplies. In August 1941 they joined partisan units in the forests, but not before considerable numbers of them had been arrested and shot. A monument to fallen Jewish fighters and victims of Fascism was set up after the war in the central cemetery of Belgrade.

Contemporary Period

Immediately after the liberation of Belgrade in October 1944 the Jewish community resumed its activities by opening a soup kitchen, a center for returnees, and medical services. The Ashkenazi synagogue was reconsecrated in December 1944, with the Ashkenazi and the Sephardi communities merging. In 1947 the community had 2,271 members, half of whom emigrated to Israel shortly after. In 1969 there were 1,602 Jews in Belgrade and in 2000 around 1,500. The community center ran an internationally known choir, a youth club, and a kindergarten. It also housed the Federation of Jewish Communities of Yugoslavia. The Yugoslav Jewish Historical Museum founded in 1948 and officially opened in 1952, contains material on all Jewish communities in Yugoslavia. and their artistic creativity. The J. community remained stable demographically with natural increase and returning émigrés offsetting those leaving for Israel and other countries. Jewish holidays were celebrated and J. events noted in a regularly appearing monthly publication. In 1995 an impressive sculpture cast in brass, the work of Nandor Glied, entitled "Menorah in Flames," was erected near the Danube at the site of the ancient Jewish quarter.

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[Daniel Furman / Zvi Loker (2nd ed.)]

BELGRADO, DAVID FERNANDO (1918–), rabbi and *ḥazzan.* Born in Florence, Italy, Belgrado was appointed third *ḥazzan* to the Great Synagogue of Florence at the age of 18. He went on to become the second *ḥazzan* and ultimately the chief *ḥazzan* of the Florentine community. He was ordained as rabbi in Rome and was appointed chief rabbi of Florence in 1961. Belgrado studied music and singing at the municipal theater of Florence and has sung in operas and concerts of Jewish and general music. He has made recordings of his renditions of cantorial chants in the Florentine style.

[Akiva Zimmerman]

BELIAL (Heb. בְּלִיַּעַל; lit. "worthlessness"). In the Bible a common noun characterizing persons who behave in a dissolute manner, give false testimony, or hatch infamous plots. It is used in apposition to such words as "son" (Deut. 13:14; I Sam. 2:12), "daughter" (I Sam. 1:16), "man" (I Sam. 30:22; Prov. 16:27), "witness" (Prov. 19:28), and "counselor" (Nah. 1:11). A "matter of *beliyya'al*" is a base thought (Deut. 15:9), and "rivers of *Belial*" (Ps. 18:5) are hellish currents of adversity. In post-biblical literature – especially in the pseudepigrapha – Belial (usually written Beliar) is the name of the Prince of Evil, i.e., *Satan – a view which no doubt underlies the practice of the Vulgate (and of Theodotion, Judg. 9:22) to reproduce the word by transliteration in certain passages of Scripture. Belial is the spirit of darkness (Test. Patr., Levi 19:1; 1QM 13:12). Evil men are dominated by him or his attendant spirits (Test. Patr.: Ash. 1:8; Levi 3:3; Joseph 7:4; Dan. 1:7; Ben. 6:1), and the world is currently under his sway (1QS 1:18, 24; 2:5, 19; 1QM 14:9; Mart. Isa. 2:4). His will opposes God's (Test. Patr., Naph. 3:1), and he wields a sword which causes bloodshed, havoc, tribulation, exile, death (or plague?), panic, and destruction (*ibid.*, Ben. 7:1–2), or catches men in the snares of lewdness, lucre, and profanity (Zadokite Document 4:13 ff.). Belial will ultimately be chained by God's holy spirit (Test. Patr., Levi 18:12) or cast into the all-engulfing fire (*ibid.*, Judah 25:3), and his attendant spirits will be routed (*ibid.*, Iss. 7:7; *ibid.*, Dan 5:1), and discomfited by the Messiah (*ibid.*, Dan 5:10; *ibid.*, Ben. 3:8). There will be a final war in which he and his partisans will be defeated by God and God's partisans, aided by heavenly cohorts (1QM 1:5; 15:3; 18:1, 3). The latter now abide in the second of the seven heavens (Test. Patr., Levi 3:3). The concept of Belial as the opponent of God probably owes much to Iranian dualism, where the eternal antagonists Asha (Right) and Druj (Perversity) are portrayed as destined to engage in a final "*Armageddon," aided respectively by heavenly and earthly partisans, *ashovans* and *dregvants*. (In 1QS (2:20–21; cf. 4:23; 9:21), these terms are reproduced exactly as *benei ẓedek*, "sons of righteousness," and *benei ʿawel*, "sons of perversity.") The Iranian picture was validated, however, by the authority of the biblical text Zechariah 14:5, "The Lord my God will come and all the holy ones [will be] with you" (LXX: "and all His holy ones with Him"). In the third book of the *Sibylline Oracles* (65–74), Belial is identified with a deceiver and miracle-monger whose line hails from Sebaste, i.e., Samaria. This is thought to refer to Simon Magus.

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[Theodor H. Gaster]

BELIEF

The Bible

In the Bible there are no articles of faith or dogmas in the Christian or Islamic sense of the terms. Although trust in God is regarded as a paramount religious virtue (Gen. 15:6; Isa. 7:9; cf. Job 2:9), there is nowhere in Scripture an injunction to believe. Even a verse like II Chronicles 20:20 "believe (*haʾaminu*) in the Lord your God, and you will be established; believe His prophets, and you will succeed" expresses only King Jehoshaphat's advice to the people; it is not a religious commandment. Furthermore, the verb *heʾemin* (האמין "to believe"), the noun *ʾemunah* ("belief"), and other forms derived from the stem *ʾmn* (אמן) mean to trust, have confidence; and faithfulness; and in this sense are used both of God and of man (Gen. 15:6; Deut. 32:4; Prov. 20:6; Job 4:18). This usage is in striking contrast to the concept of "belief" in the New Testament (e.g., John 3:18). It is only in the Middle Ages, when Jewish theologians began to formulate articles of faith, that derivations of the root *ʾmn* came to be used in a dogmatic sense.

The reason for the absence of a catechism in both the Bible and the rabbinic tradition is probably twofold: in Judaism the primary emphasis is not on profession of faith but on conduct (Avot 1:17); and speculative and systematic thinking is not characteristic of the biblical or the rabbinic genius. Dogmatics entered Judaism as a result of external pressure; contact with alien religious systems, which had formulated theological doctrines, compelled Jewish thinkers to state the basic creeds of their own faith. In a sense, Jewish dogmatics forms part of the larger category of Jewish apologetics.

No religion, however, is conceivable without fundamental doctrines or axiomatic principles, and Judaism, in its scriptural as well as rabbinic aspects, is no exception. Indeed, the Bible contains certain summary statements that might be considered incipient dogmas. The *Shemaʿ (Deut. 6:4), underscoring the unity of God; the Ten Commandments (Ex. 20:1 ff.; Deut. 5:6 ff.), providing an epitome of Jewish precepts; the formulation of the divine attributes in Exodus 34:6–7; Micah's sublime summary of human duty (6:18); and the majestic simplicity of the Lord's assurance to Habakkuk "but the righteous shall live by his faith" (2:4) are a few examples culled from many. But valuable as these formulations are, they do not embrace the complete range of fundamental biblical teachings. Only an analysis of scriptural doctrines against the background of the entire complex of biblical thought can yield the essential religious beliefs, moral ideals, and spiritual truths that underlie the faith expounded by the Scriptures.

That "God is" is axiomatic. He is One (Deut. 6:4) and incomparable (Isa. 40:18); there are no other gods (Deut. 4:39). He is omnipotent (Job 42:2), omnipresent (Ps. 139:7–12), omniscient (Job 28:23 ff.), and eternal (Isa. 40:6–8; 44:6). Even more important is the doctrine that He is the God of justice and love (Ex. 34:6–7); it is His moral nature that makes Him holy (Isa. 5:16). In His might He willed the creation of the universe (Gen. 1), and in His love He continues to sustain it (Ps. 104; 145:14 ff.). He made the laws of nature; the miracles are exceptions to these cosmic rules, but both the normal and the abnormal conform to the Divine Will. Mythology, except for idiomatic phrases, is excluded from biblical teaching. Magical practices are forbidden (Deut. 18:10); unlike miracles, they do not issue from the will of God, but seek to overrule divinely established laws of nature.

The apex of creation is man, created in the divine image. This "image" is reflected in the moral and spiritual qualities of human nature. In man creation achieves a new dimension – a moral personality endowed with freedom of will. The relationship between God and man has a voluntaristic ethical character. It is an encounter between the Divine Person and His human counterpart, between Father and child. Ideally it is an "I–Thou" relation. But man may disobey; sin is spiritual treason, which transforms the "nearness" of God into "estrangement." The divine "Thou" then becomes "It."

Human freedom of choice (Deut. 30:15, 19) is the source of man's responsibility, upon which are predicated rewards and penalties, both collective and individual. Divine retribution is a corollary of God's righteousness; but its purpose is primarily not punitive but educative and reformative; it aims to restore the "I–Thou" nexus. Thus God does not desire the destruction of the wicked, but their return to the path of goodness (Ezek. 18:23, 32), and heaven's grace far exceeds the measure of divine punishment (Ex. 20:5–6; Deut. 5:9–10). Hence all the predictions of the prophets are conditional (cf. Jonah). The Heavenly Father hopes for His punitive decrees to be nullified. Conceptually there appears to be a contradiction between God's omniscience and omnipotence on the one hand, and man's freedom of action on the other. But the Bible harmonizes them in a supreme historic event. Human rebellions will ultimately end in a great reconciliation. In the messianic era Zion's teaching will become a universal heritage (Isa. 2:2 ff.; Mic. 4:1 ff.). "In the end of days" the divine design of history will be realized as perfectly as His cosmic plan.

Human waywardness was manifest from the beginning of history. Man has constantly been tempted to do wrong: "every imagination of the thoughts of his heart was only evil continually" (Gen. 6:5). To aid humanity to persevere along the path of righteousness, divine revelation was necessary. Its purpose was to direct and supplement the basic sense of right and wrong innate in every human being (cf. Gen. 39:9). Certain spiritual geniuses – the patriarchs, the prophets – learned to know the will of God in given situations. But the complete revelation was vouchsafed to the Children of Israel at Sinai. It comprised many elements – legal and ritual, moral and spiritual, national and universal – each component being necessary to its educative and purifying intent. The precepts were neither to be augmented nor diminished (Deut. 4:2); the law was immutable. Intrinsically the prophets did not add to the Torah. The glory of Hebrew prophecy consists not in preaching new ideas, but in elucidating the historic covenant and applying its teachings to the circumstances of their time. In particular they stressed the moral and spiritual values of religion, and the universal conception of the consummation of history in the kingdom of God.

By accepting the Torah, Israel became the "treasured people" of the Lord, a holy nation in the service of the Holy God (Ex. 19:5; Lev. 19:2). They entered into a covenant with Him (Ex. 24:7; Deut. 29:11, 12), calling for unswerving obedience on their part and protective providence on the part of God. The election of Israel was not an act of favoritism. On the contrary, it represented a mission involving special responsibility and corresponding retribution. "You only have I known of all the families of the earth; therefore I will visit upon you all your iniquities" (Amos 3:2). Nor was God's providential care limited to Israel; there was a Philistine and Aramean exodus comparable to that of Israel (*ibid.* 9:7). The covenant with Israel was an integral part of God's universal historic plan of salvation (Isa. 49:6). Hence the Israelites were as indestructible as the cosmos (Jer. 33:25–26). Their sins would be punished, but redemption would succeed every disaster. The national hope of restoration and return to the Land of Israel is thus indivisibly linked with the redemption of all mankind. Jewish nationalism and universalism are not opposed but complementary biblical ideals.

Since ethics occupies a central position in scriptural theology, theodicy greatly exercised the minds of the prophets and sages of Israel. The thought "shall not the Judge of all the earth do justly?" (Gen. 18:25) is echoed in various forms throughout the Scriptures. It is an essential aspect of the dialogue between man and God. To criticize and challenge God in sincerity is not viewed by Scripture as a sin (witness Abraham, Moses, Jeremiah, Habakkuk, and Job); only hypocrisy and smugness are iniquitous (Job 42:7). The biblical answers to the problem of suffering are varied: it is accounted for by sin, by the concept of "the suffering servant," by the limitations of human knowledge. Man's view is too short; however long the process, righteousness triumphs in the end (Ps. 92:8). In the final analysis God's purpose is beyond man's understanding (Isa. 55:8; Job 42:3). Until the ultimate reconciliation at "the end of days," the Incomprehensible God can be apprehended only in faith (Hab. 2:4).

Hellenistic Literature

The encounter with Greek culture in the Hellenistic period brought the challenge of new concepts and philosophic methodology to Judaism. But the impact was transitory, and *Philo, "the first theologian," was the only one among the Greco-Jewish writers to formulate Jewish dogmas. He enumerates five tenets: (1) God exists and rules the universe; (2) He is one; (3) the world was created; (4) creation is one; (5) Divine Providence cares for the world (Op. 61). Josephus asserts that the antagonism between the Sadducees and Pharisees was based on doctrinal differences, such as the question of providence, the immortality of the soul, and the belief in resurrection with the concomitant idea of the final judgment (Wars, 2:162–5). Modern scholarship, however, is inclined to give a political and national interpretation to these disputes.

Rabbinic Literature

Rabbinic theology is marked by an overwhelming diversity of opinion. Since the sages' method of study was essentially based on argumentation and controversy, it is by no means easy to determine at all times its fundamental ideas. Furthermore, while the rabbis sought to give clear definition to the *halakhah*, the *aggadah* remained vague, unsystematized, and contradictory. Nevertheless in Talmud and Midrash, as in Scripture, it is possible to discern ground patterns of thought and basic concepts that constitute the foundations of the tannaitic and amoraic ideology. It is axiomatic that rabbinic teaching rests firmly on biblical doctrine and precept. Here, as in the Bible, God is the transcendent Creator; the Torah is the unalterable embodiment of His will; providence is motivated by moral principles; there is an "I–Thou" relationship between man and God; the election of Israel, linked to the immutable covenant of the Torah, is a paramount idea; and the prophetic promise of Israel's ultimate redemption and the establishment of the kingdom of God upon earth is the national-universal denouement of the drama of history. But rabbinic theology is a superstructure founded on scriptural faith, not a copy of it; there are evolutionary differences in talmudic Judaism that distinguish it from biblical norms and give it its distinctive qualities.

Rabbinic Judaism produced no catechism; but external cultural pressures and internal heresies gave rise to certain formulations of a dogmatic character. Sanhedrin 10:1, for example, in defining those who have no share in the world to come, gives to the belief in resurrection and in the divine origin of the Torah credal status. Similarly Hillel's dictum "That which is hateful to thee do not do unto others" (Shab. 31a) constitutes in its context the principal Jewish dogma. In discussing the precepts of the Torah the rabbis spoke of various figures who reduced the number of precepts (from the traditional 613), ending with Habakkuk who subsumed them all under one fundamental principle, "but the righteous shall live by his faith" (Hab. 2:4; cf. Mak. 24a). But in rabbinic, as in scriptural, literature, the root-ideas can be reached only by a careful examination of the complete compass of the tradition and a comparative study of its beliefs.

A new mysticism, emanating from the doctrines of *maʿaseh bereshit* ("work of creation") and *maʿaseh merkavah* ("work of the chariot"), now attaches to the concept of God. Gnostic influence, despite the general opposition of the sages to Gnostic ideas, is discernible. But these esoteric notions were reserved for the few only (Ḥag. 2:1). On the other hand, the broad-based popular approach, found in numerous *aggadot*, inclines toward an anthropopathic presentation of the Deity. The Holy One of Israel suffers all Israel's tribulations; He too is exiled (Sif. Num. 84; Ber. 9b). Man is conceived as a dualism: his soul, which is immortal, gives him a place among the angels; his body makes him akin to the beasts (Sif. Deut. 309). But the body is not condemned as a source of evil, nor may the material things of this world be left unenjoyed (TJ, Kid. 4:12, 66d). They are the work of God and inherently good. Indeed, God is to be served with both lower and higher impulses (Sif. Deut. 32; Ber. 54a). Man's freedom of choice, however, is fully recognized: "All is in the power of heaven except the reverence of heaven" (Ber. 33b), though the omniscient God foresees all (Avot 3:15). But this freedom is the basis of responsibility and the justification of retribution. To err is human, but penitence is the great shield that protects man (*ibid.* 4:13). Hence it was created even before the world (Pes. 54a).

The Torah, as the will of God, is immutable, and the sages regarded it as their supreme task to expound and determine its provisions, giving precedence, where needed, to moral principles over strict legalism (e.g., TJ, BM 2:5, 8c). To be holy and to walk in the Lord's ways implied in particular the practice of lovingkindness (Sifra 19:1; Sif. Deut. 49), which was equal to all the precepts put together (TJ, Pe'ah 1:1, 15b). The purpose of the commandments is to purify man (Gen. R. 44:1), and the true spirit of observance seeks no reward beyond the service of God (Avot 1:3). But there are two Torahs: the Oral Law, which was also revealed at Sinai, supplements and elucidates the Written Law. On the basis of Deuteronomy 17:11 (Ber. 19b), the sages claimed the right to enact laws of their own (*mi-de-rabbanan*), chiefly with a view to their serving as a "fence" (protection) to the biblical ordinances (*mi-de-orayta*). The most daring principle of all originated by the rabbis was their right to interpret the Torah in conformity with their understanding and to decide (by majority vote) accordingly. It was they, not the heavenly court (*familia*), that fixed the calendar (TJ, RH 1:3, 57b). Even if a halakhic ruling ran counter, so to speak, to the view of heaven, the rabbis still maintained that theirs was the right to decide, for the Torah, having been vouchsafed to man, was now subject to human judgment. Nor did this principle displease the Holy One, Blessed Be He, for He smiled indulgently when His children outvoted Him (BM 59b). The sages went so far as to declare "the suppression of the Torah may be the foundation thereof" (Men. 99). Thus the rabbis evolved theological machinery for adapting the *halakhah* to historical changes and needs without discarding an iota of the scriptural tradition. Theologically they justified this procedure by the theory that all that the rabbis taught was already inherent in the Sinaitic revelation (Lev. R. 22:1; TJ, Pe'ah 2:6, 17a), that the sages did not innovate but discovered already existing truths.

The rabbinic exaltation of Torah study was a natural corollary of their attitude to the Scriptures. The Mishnah lists the things whose fruits a man enjoys in this world, while the capital is laid up for him in the world to come, and declares "the study of the Law is equal to them all" (Pe'ah 1:1). The rabbis (BB 12a) elevate the sage (with his restrained, reflective approach) above the prophet (with his incandescent, intuitive consciousness). Nevertheless the truth that Judaism is life and that learning must lead to deeds was not lost sight of: "Great is the study of the Torah, because it leads to [right] action" (Kid. 40b).

Israel's election is a leading theme in rabbinic thought. It brought comfort and renewed courage to a suffering people. God's ultimate salvation was never doubted. The messianic era, despite the preceding tribulation, would bring redemption to Israel and the land. This belief suffuses the entire aggadic literature and inspires every facet of the liturgy. Great emphasis is placed on the importance of Ereẓ Israel in Talmud and Midrash and the prayer book. The rabbis exhaust the language of praise and indulge in unrestrained fantasy in depicting the future glories of the land. One dictum even avers that "he who dwells outside the Land of Israel is as one who serves idols" (Ket. 110b). This hyperbole was intended not only to encourage Jewish settlement in Ereẓ Israel, but also to strengthen the hope of national restoration. Jewish nationalism did not, however, exclude universalist ideals. "The pious of all nations have a share in the world to come" (Tosef., Sanh. 13:10). "Whoever repudiates idolatry is called a Jew" (Meg. 13a); and the greatest Torah principle is enshrined in the verse "This is the book of the generations of Adam" – the brotherhood of man (TJ, Ned. 9:4, 41c).

In the Talmud, as in the Bible, the problem of theodicy is a major theme. The sages range the entire gamut of possible explanations for human suffering. In the ultimate analysis they propound the profoundest conception of all: suffering deriving from divine love (Ber 5a). Human suffering is an essential element in human spiritual advancement. It is an aspect of God's grace. Another cardinal rabbinic belief offered a collective historical solution to the question of divine justice. The concept of resurrection (Sanh. 10:1) was closely linked with the advent of the Messiah and the last judgment (Shab. 152b; Ḥag. 12b; Sanh. 91a–b). Bygone generations would, if worthy, share in the sublime joy of the kingdom of God upon earth. Maimonides, however, interprets the resurrection in a purely spiritual sense (*Ma'amar Teḥiyyat ha-Metim*). Going beyond biblical theology, the rabbis envisaged yet another world, where the imbalance of earthly justice is rectified. The immortal soul is judged after the death of the body in the hereafter ("world to come") and is requited according to the individual's deeds upon earth (Sif. Deut. 307; Ber. 28b; Shab. 153a; Ber. 17a). In this solution time is transcended. God's ultimate justification is a function of eternity.

These norms of rabbinic faith provided the basis of medieval Jewish theology and philosophy. Their lack of definition gave later Jewish thinking flexibility and their emphasis a firm framework.

[Israel Abrahams]

Medieval Jewish Philosophy

In medieval philosophy belief is a general philosophical category belonging to the theory of knowledge, of which religious belief is one specific kind. The medieval philosophers distinguished between two activities of the mind: the formulation of propositions, and the affirmation that propositions in the mind correspond to a reality outside the mind, and identified belief with the latter activity. In line with this account *Maimonides defines belief as "… the notion that is represented in the soul when it has been averred of it that it is in fact just as it has been represented" (*Guide of the Perplexed*, 1:50). In somewhat less technical language *Saadiah defines belief as "… a notion that arises in the soul in regard to the actual character of anything that is apprehended. When the cream of investigation emerges, and is embraced and enfolded by the minds and, through them acquired and digested by the souls, then the person becomes convinced of the truth of the notion he has acquired" (*Book of Beliefs and Opinions*, introd.). Belief defined in this manner may still be true or false, and hence it is necessary to add criteria by means of which true beliefs may be distinguished from false ones. Saadiah, discussing this issue, lists four criteria which enable one to establish that a belief is true: sense perception, self-evident propositions, inference, and reliable tradition (*ibid.*, introd.; cf. Maimonides, "Letter On Astrology," in: R. Lerner and M. Mahdi (eds.), *Medieval Political Philosophy: A Sourcebook* (1963), 228). This conception of belief as the affirmation or conviction that propositions within the mind correspond to reality outside the mind can be traced to Greek philosophy, particularly to the Stoics.

Belief for medieval Christian, Muslim, and Jewish thinkers meant, in the first instance, religious belief, that is, the conviction that the teachings of Scriptures are true and that their truth is guaranteed by the authority of their respective traditions. At the same time they noted that philosophers also investigated some of the same issues that interested them, e.g., the existence of God, the creation of the world, principles of human morality, and they further noted that there was a similarity between the teachings of religion and human reason. Hence the question arose how the teachings of religion, that is, religious beliefs, are related to the teachings of philosophy, that is, philosophical beliefs. There were essentially three views concerning this interrelation. There were those who, denying that the term belief applies to philosophic teachings, affirmed that this term in its strict sense refers only to propositions accepted on the basis of religious authority; there were those who permitted the application of the term only to propositions known by way of demonstration; and there were still others, who were prepared to use the term belief for describing both. In line with these distinctions H.A. *Wolfson classifies the attitudes toward religious belief in a threefold fashion: the double faith theory, according to which the acceptance of propositions based both on religious authority and rational demonstration constitutes belief; the single faith theory of the authoritarian type, according to which the acceptance of propositions based on authority alone constitutes belief; and the single faith theory of the rational type, according to which the acceptance of propositions based on demonstration alone constitutes belief (JQR, 33 (1942), 213–64).

Saadiah, a proponent of the double faith theory, accepts the notion of belief as applying to things known both by way of authority and by way of demonstration. He maintains that the doctrines of Scripture coincide with those of philosophy, and that an affirmation of these doctrines, whether based on revelation or on rational demonstration, constitutes belief. While Saadiah advocates speculation about the truths of religion, he, nevertheless, maintains that it is forbidden to ignore Scripture entirely and to rely solely on one's reason, for the reason is not infallible, and may lead to erroneous conclusions.

*Judah Halevi, a representative of the single faith theory of the authoritarian type, maintains that belief applies only to things known by means of authority. According to him, belief is an acceptance of the doctrines of Scripture based on authority, i.e., on the fact that these doctrines of Scripture were divinely revealed. For example, in connection with sacrifices Halevi states categorically that "… he who accepts [sacrifices], without examination or reasoning is better off than he who resorts to research and analysis" (*Kuzari*, 2:26; see also 1:64–65, and 3:7).

Maimonides, on the other hand, is a representative of the single faith theory of the rationalist type. He maintains that belief applies only to things known by way of demonstration. While he does not state categorically that an acceptance of the doctrines of Scripture based on authority is not belief, he definitely considers an acceptance based on demonstration to be a more perfect form of belief. Belief is more than verbal acceptance; it requires understanding and a rational basis. Providing an example, Maimonides writes that someone who utters with his lips that he believes in the unity and incorporeality of God, while at the same time maintaining that God has positive attributes, cannot be said to believe truly in God's unity. That he can maintain that God has attributes indicates that he does not understand the principle of God's unity, and there is no belief without understanding (*Guide*, 1:50). According to Maimonides the precept "You shall love the Lord, your God," cannot properly be fulfilled without an understanding of metaphysics. Love of God, according to Maimonides, is "proportionate to apprehension" (*Guide*, 3:51; cf. Yad, Yesodei ha-Torah, 4:12).

*Levi b. Gershom shares the view of the Maimonidean school that there is no opposition between reason and belief. He holds that priority should be given to reason where its demands are unambiguous, for the meaning of Scripture is not always clear and is subject to interpretation (*Milḥamot Adonai*, introd.).

See also *Allegory, *Revelation, *Philosophy.

[Jacob Haberman]

Maimonides' aforementioned definition of belief (Arab.: *i'tiqâd*; Hebrew: *emunah*) may be called the "cognitive" sense of *emunah*, i.e., opinion or position held. The positive evaluation of *emunah* in its cognitive sense dominates Jewish philosophy until the late 14th century, when the influence of scholastic philosophy is felt, especially in Spain. There one can distinguish three new approaches: *emunah* as non-volitional and of little religious significance; as non-volitional yet superior to rational knowledge; as volitional and hence of supreme religious significance. The view of *emunah* as non-volitional is adopted by Hasdai *Crescas, who still adheres to the cognitive sense. Because *emunah* is non-volitional, its religious significance is of little value according to Crescas; God does not reward and punish humans solely on the basis of their belief-states. Crescas responds here to the Jewish Aristotelians who considered the possession of rationally justified *emunot* to be a necessary (and perhaps sufficient) condition for the immortality of the soul. Crescas' student Joseph *Albo defines *emunah* as "a firm conception of the thing in the mind, so that the latter cannot in any way imagine its opposite, *even though it may not be able to prove it*" (*Ikkarim* 1.19, trans. Husik). According to Simeon *Duran, *emunot* are proved by miracles or by a reliable tradition concerning them, whereas according to Isaac *Abrabanel, *emunot* are distinct from both knowledge *and* opinion. Isaac *Arama views *emunot* not only as superior but as often contrary to reason. True wisdom is attained only when one assents to the Torah's commands that are *opposed* to speculation. The language of *emunah* that dominates these discussions is most probably influenced by Christian treatments of *fides*, "faith."

The most telling example of this influence is found in Abraham *Bibago's *Derekh Emunah*, which should be translated, *The Way of Faith*. Bibago distinguishes between attaining knowledge via rational inquiry and via faith. In the case of Judaism the latter method is superior to the former because it is guaranteed by a reliable tradition that stretches back to Moses, whereas many philosophical doctrines are debatable. The point is as old as Halevi, but the language is that of *emunah*. Since rational knowledge is not as certain as knowledge acquired through faith, the mind of the faithful is superior to that of the philosopher. Moreover, Bibago implies that *emunah* is fundamentally different from rational knowledge, for *emunah* is the "assent to unseen things" (a similar definition is found in *Aquinas) whereas rational knowledge is of revealed things. Divine science, i.e., theology and metaphysics, can be attained only through *emunah* (*Derekh Emunah* 2:7).

[Charles Manekin (2nd ed.)]

Modern Jewish Philosophy

While in medieval philosophy the description of faith formed an integral part of the theory of knowledge, the rise of modern science and the concomitant decline of the belief in the divine revelation of Scriptures have made faith a matter of trusting in God rather than of the affirmation of certain propositions. Characteristic of this attitude in recent Jewish thought are the views of Franz *Rosenzweig, according to whom religious belief arises from the experience of personal revelation, for which man must always strive and be prepared. This view was anticipated by Hermann *Cohen in his theory of correlation. Similarly, Martin *Buber and Abraham *Heschel see faith as a relationship of trust between man and God, which arises from, and manifests itself in, personal encounters between man and God, and man and man, which Buber calls I–Thou relationships.

Another tendency among modern thinkers, which reflects the influence of psychology, is to view belief as a psychological state which is valuable insofar as it motivates man to act in an ethical manner. Mordecai *Kaplan, a representative of this naturalistic view, implies that faith is a kind of "self-fulfilling prophecy" insofar as it leads to the redemption of human society. According to the others embracing a naturalistic view, faith is good in that it infuses meaning and purpose into an otherwise meaningless and cruel existence. This point is taken up strongly by Richard *Rubenstein, who has been concerned with the challenge to Jewish faith posed by the Holocaust.

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BELINFANTE, Sephardi family. Its paterfamilias, JOSEPH COHEN BELINFANTE, fled Portugal in 1526 because of the persecution of the Jews. The family settled in the Balkans, in the city of Belgrade. After the Austrian conquest of Belgrade, the Jews were denied access to that city, and for this reason a part of the family came over to the Netherlands.

One example is ELIJAH HEZEKIAH, born in 1699. He played an important part within the Portuguese community in Amsterdam. Isaac *Belinfante (d. 1780), son of Elijah Hezekiah, was a Hebrew poet and writer. Elijah Hezekiah's brother, MEIR ḤAYYIM (d. 1721), settled permanently in Amsterdam. His son, SADDIK (1675–1750), became the chief rabbi of the Portuguese community and was the author of several Bible commentaries and some halakhic writings: *Simḥat Ẓaddik, Neḥamot Ẓaddik, and Peri Ẓdadik.*

The son of Saddik, MOSES COHEN BELINFANTE (The Hague, 1761–1827), was actively involved in the struggle for Jewish emancipation in the Netherlands. In 1806, Moses moved to Amsterdam, where he became the editor of the official newspaper published in the Netherlands. Moses' brother, JACOB COHEN (1780–1845), was editor between 1807 and 1837. He also published several Jewish almanacs as well as the *Jaarboeken voor de Israelieten in Nederland* between 1835 and 1840. Their sister SARA BELINFANTE was the headmistress of an Amsterdam school for Jewish girls.

In the 19th century, the Belinfantes were primarily active in the field of journalism. ARON BELINFANTE (1811–1881) became a member of the editorial staff of the *Dagblad van Zuid-Holland en 's Gravenhage,* which was merged with the *Nieuwe Dagblad.* ISAAC BELINFANTE (1814–1892) worked for the *Nederlandsche Staatscourant* and the *Algemeen Handelsblad'* and was also a co-founder of the *Weekblad van het Regt.* His brother JOSEPHUS JUSTUS (1812–1882) was co-director of the Nederlandsch Correspondentie Bureau and compiled the *Rijks- en Residentie Almanak.* MAURITS ERNST BELINFANTE (1849–1903), son of Josephus Justus, succeeded his father at the Bureau and worked as a journalist for several newspapers, among which were the *Revue des Deux Mondes* and the *Chronique Politique.* GEORGE BELINFANTE (1837–1888), son of Isaac, became known for his polemical writings in the *Haagsche Courant* and his political letters in the *Zaanlandse Courant.* In the field of politics, he became known after 1870 as the writer of the chamber reviews for the *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant.*

ARY BELINFANTE (1870–1925) became famous in Dutch music circles as a pianist and a teacher at the Amsterdam school for orchestra, and as the founder of the first private school of music. He published several studies on the history of music and on the science of music education.

In the 20th century, also the female members of the family stepped more into the limelight. EMILIE JOSEPHINE (or Emmy), BELINFANTE (1875–1944) was educated as a primary schoolteacher, but she became famous as a journalist. In 1901 she became the chief editor of *Het Familieblad – 's Gravenhaagsch Nieuws – en Advertentieblad.* She was in charge of her own section, using "May" as a pen name. In 1905, she started working for a daily paper called *Land en Volk,* in which she ran her own women's section. In 1908 she was appointed to work as a regular member of staff of the *Nieuwe Courant*, in which she reported extensively on the emerging women's movement and on women's issues. Her work as a reporter focused mainly on the women's movement until World War II. In February 1944 she was arrested and a few months later she was murdered in the concentration camp at Auschwitz-Birkenau.

JUDITH BELINFANTE (1943–) was prominent in the cultural and political life of the Netherlands. In 1976, she was appointed director of the Jewish Historical Museum in Amsterdam. From 2003 she was chief curator of Special Collections of the Amsterdam University Library. She was a member of parliament for the PvdA (Dutch Labour Party) from 1998 to 2000.

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[Monika Saelemaekers (2nd ed.)]

BELINFANTE, ISAAC BEN ELIAH COHEN (d. 1780), man of Hebrew letters. A younger contemporary of David *Franco Mendes, Belinfante was probably born in the early 1720s. From the 1750s he participated in the burgeoning Hebrew literary life of the Amsterdam Portuguese-Jewish community. Besides his work as a *darshan*, he took an active part in preserving and disseminating contemporary Hebrew culture, by compiling manuscript anthologies (e.g., of the literary society Shomrim la-Boker) and by bringing to press compositions of his fellow literati. His own work, some of which was written under the pseudonym Pi ha-Medabber, includes sermons, occasional and ethical-didactic poetry, and historical-documentary material (e.g., the bibliographical *Si'aḥ Yitzḥak*, i.e., *Sifte Yeshenim Ḥadash*), which testifies to a new cultural self-awareness among the Amsterdam Sephardim. The majority of these writings remained in manuscript.

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[Irene E. Zwiep (2nd ed.)]

BELINKOV, ARKADII VIKTOROVICH (1921–1970), Russian literary critic and writer. Belinkov was born and educated in Moscow. In 1944 he was arrested and condemned to death on charges of writing an "anti-Soviet novel," *Rough Copy of Feelings*, and for founding an anti-Soviet literary group, but the sentence was commuted and he spent only 13 years in prison. In 1960 his book on Y.N. Tynyanov (second editon, 1965) was published; the work had a considerable influence on Soviet literature. In 1968 Belinkov immigrated to the U.S., where he lectured at Yale and Indiana Universities and published his works in the emigré editions of the *Novyi Zhurnal* and *Novoe Russkoe Slovo*, as well as the *Russian Review*. In the middle of the 1960s, his literary career moved from pure literary criticism to the journalistic genre, which he maintained was a continuation of the tradition of fierce opposition of the prerevolutionary underground press. He opposed the political trends of both the West and the censored Soviet press. Belinkov's central theme is the place of the intelligentsia in history and its attitude toward the revolution, society, and the state. He asserts the everlasting opposition of intellectuals (as the only social group that needs spiritual freedom) to the state, which suppresses this freedom, and society collaborating with the state. Belinkov was deeply aware of his Jewish identity and stressed his sympathy for Israel. He died in the U.S.

[Lazar Fleishman]

BELISHA, Moroccan family of merchants and financiers. In 1817 MOSES BELISHA (1788–1851) settled in Marseilles where he acquired a large fortune. He became "Merchant of the sultan of Morocco" and a benefactor of the Jewish community. His activities extended to Gibraltar and to Manchester. Moses was assisted by his son BARROW who traded with India, Egypt, and Mogador, where the philanthropists JESHUA and SOLOMON had remained. Moses' nephew, ISAAC, merchant and industrialist, became president of the Manchester Sephardi community in 1872. Isaac's grandson was Leslie *Hore-Belisha.

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[David Corcos]

BELKIN, ARNOLD (1930–), Mexican painter. Born in Canada, Belkin settled in Mexico in 1948. Belkin saw the possibilities of the mural as expanding into multiple viewpoint conceptions which changed and shifted as the spectator moved. The most important of Belkin's murals were at the Federal Penitentiary (1960), at the Children's Welfare Institute (1963), and at the Jewish Cultural Center (1966). From 1954 to 1960 he was assistant professor of mural techniques at the Universidad Motolinia, Mexico City. During this time, his etchings and aquatints included a series of biblical themes, a number of large black and white paintings grouped under the theme "Earth Creatures" and drawings on "Love and War."

BELKIN, SAMUEL (1911–1976), U.S. rabbi, educator, and scholar. Born in Swislocz, Poland, Belkin studied at the yeshivot of Slonim and Mir, and was ordained in Radun (1928). He immigrated to the U.S. in 1929 and received his Ph.D. at Brown University in 1935. He joined the Yeshiva College faculty as instructor in Greek and Talmud (1935–37), becoming secretary of its graduate school (1937) and member of the College Executive Committee (1939). Appointed professor and dean of Yeshiva's Rabbi Isaac Elchanan Theological Seminary in 1940, Belkin became president of the RIETS and Yeshiva College in 1943. He launched a far-reaching program of academic and physical expansion which enlarged Yeshiva University from 850 students and a faculty of 94 to 8,000 students and a faculty of some 2,200 with teaching centers throughout New York City. Fourteen constituent schools were founded, and in 1945 the college became *Yeshiva University.

Belkin, an authority on Jewish law and Hellenistic literature, especially Philo and early Midrashic sources, published many scholarly studies. In his major work, *Philo and the Oral Law* (1940), he stressed that "the oral law which originated in Palestine was also known and practiced among the Jews who lived outside of Palestine, and that Philo's *halakhah* is based upon the Palestinian oral law as it was known in Alexandria." He further showed that "there prevailed a great interdependence of thought between the Alexandrian and Palestinian Jewish communities and that we cannot regard them as two entirely separate forms of Judaism." His later works also demonstrate Philo's dependence upon ancient rabbinic traditions. Belkin wrote *Essays in Traditional Jewish Thought* (1956) and *In His Image* (1960), in which he formulated a religious philosophy of Judaism as reflected in the *halakhah*. Numerous articles of his were published in learned periodicals, both in Hebrew and in English.

As an educator, Belkin stressed that "Torah is the source from which all human obligations spring." He especially enunciated the religious philosophy of Judaism as reflected in the *halakhah*. To him its basic principles are the sovereignty of God and the sacredness of the individual. Hence, many legal and spiritual institutions in Judaism can be understood only by these fundamental teachings based on belief in divine kingship and the finite worth of the human personality. Though recognized as a modernist Orthodox spokesman, Belkin generally maintained rapport with all groups in Judaism, promoting the unity of peoplehood.

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[Sidney B. Hoenig]

BELKIN, SIMON (1889–1969), Canadian political activist, community leader, and historian. Belkin was born in Smoljanka, a small village near Kiev in the Ukraine. A committed reformer who deeply identified as a Jew, he participated in the 1905 struggle for radical social change in the czarist empire before he joined the Zionist *Po'alei Zion movement. He immigrated to Montreal in 1911 but retained a strong emotional attachment to his region of origin. When, during the civil war following the Russian Revolution, the White forces organized large-scale pogroms against the Jewish communities of the Ukraine in 1920, Belkin traveled to Moscow to help organize relief efforts and arrange for the emigration of Jewish orphans from Russia to Canada.

But it was Belkin's involvement in the creation of the Canadian Jewish Congress in 1919 that established his reputation as a forceful community leader and committed socialist. In the years preceding the founding of the Canadian Jewish umbrella organization, Belkin campaigned tirelessly in favor of Canadian Jewish unity and a left-wing nationalist approach to solving community problems. A spokesperson for the Yiddish-speaking Zionist population in Montreal, he campaigned for Jews to retain their culture in their new country and to express solidarity with the Zionist movement.

In 1921 Belkin became director of the *Jewish Colonization Association. The JCA was founded in 1906 as the Canadian wing of Baron Maurice de *Hirsch's effort to resettle displaced East European Jews on agricultural lands in the New World. Although several such Canadian rural colonies predate the JCA, most were organized by the JCA. All these efforts eventually failed. By the end of World War II, most Jewish farm settlements were being abandoned as farmers moved to cities. Belkin left the employment of the organization in 1954.

Belkin turned to chronicling the Canadian Jewish experience. In 1956 he published his benchmark study of the Labor-Zionist movement in Canada entitled *Di Poale-Zion Bavegung in Kanade* (*1904–1920*), which served to establish his reputation as a leading researcher in the field of Jewish Canadiana. To this day this work has not been surpassed in scope or in the thoroughness of its documentation. Belkin also wrote an important study on Canadian Jewish immigration history entitled *Through Narrow Gates* (1966). Belkin retired to California.

[Pierre Anctil (2nd ed.)]

BELKIND, Ereẓ Israel family of the First *Aliyah.

MEIR BELKIND (1827–1898), one of the first teachers of the modern Hebrew school system in Ereẓ Israel, was born in Logoisk, Belorussia, and followed his sons, Israel and Shimshon, to Ereẓ Israel at the beginning of the 1880s. He settled first in Jaffa and later in *Gederah, where he served as rabbi for the new settlers. Although a traditional Jew himself, he defended the *Bilu'im against the attacks of the religious zealots. When his son Israel established the first Hebrew school in Jaffa in 1889, Belkind became its teacher for religious subjects, thus molding the method of religious instruction in the modern schools of Ereẓ Israel.

ISRAEL (1861–1929), one of the founders of Bilu, was born in Logoisk. In 1882, while studying at Kharkov University, he was among the students who founded the Bilu movement and went to Ereẓ Israel at the head of its first group. He led the opposition against Baron Edmond de *Rothschild's officials and, on being expelled by them from Rishon le-Zion, settled in Gederah. In 1889 Belkind opened a private Hebrew school in Jaffa. He was accepted as a teacher at the *Alliance Israélite Universelle in Jerusalem in 1892, and there published several textbooks. In 1903 he founded an agricultural training school at Shefeyah (near Zikhron Ya'akov) for orphans of the Kishinev pogroms whom he brought to Ereẓ Israel. However, the school was forced to close down in 1906 because of lack of funds. During World War I Belkind resided in the U.S., where he published his memoirs in Yiddish, *Di Ershte Shrit fun Yishuv Erets Yisroel* ("The First Steps of the Jewish Settlement of Palestine," 1918).

Apart from numerous articles and popular pamphlets, Belkind published a geography of Palestine, *Ereẓ Yisrael ba-Zeman ha-Zeh* ("The Land of Israel Today," 1928). He died in Berlin, where he had gone for medical treatment. His remains were interred in Rishon le-Zion.

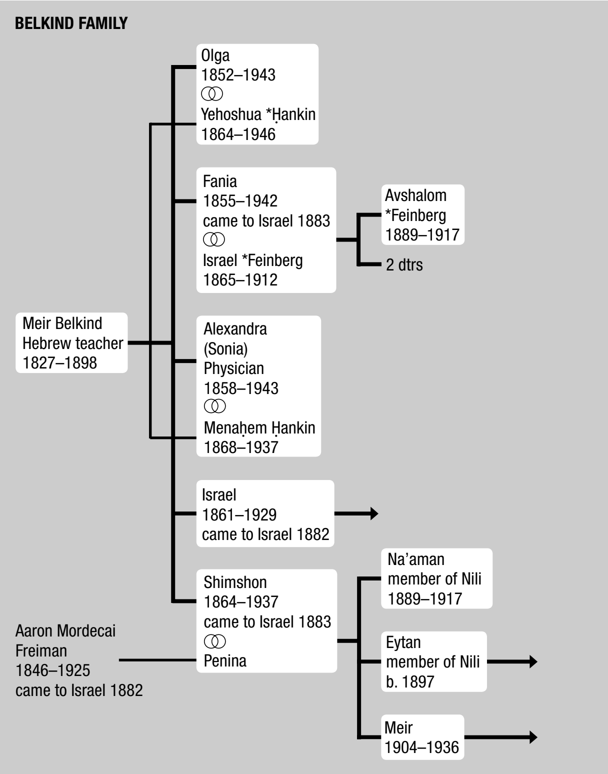

SHIMSHON (1864–1937), a Bilu pioneer, was born in Logoisk. He joined the Bilu movement in Russia and settled in Ereẓ Israel in 1883. He worked at various crafts in Jerusalem, Mikveh Israel, and Rishon le-Zion, and in 1888 moved to Gederah, where he was a farmer. His sons Na'aman and Eytan were members of *Nili.

NA'AMAN (1889–1917) was a member of Nili and was executed by the Turks. He was employed in the Rishon le-Zion wine cellars, where he came into contact with visiting Turkish officers. He joined Nili together with his cousin Avshalom *Feinberg. In September 1917, while attempting to reach Egypt to investigate the circumstances of Feinberg's death, he was caught by Bedouin who handed him over to the Turkish authorities. He was taken to Damascus, tried, convicted for spying, and hanged in the winter of 1917, together with Yosef *Lishansky. He was later buried in Rishon le-Zion.

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[Yehuda Slutsky]

BELKOWSKY, ẒEVI HIRSCH (**Grigori**; 1865–1948), Zionist leader and jurist. Belkowsky was born in Odessa, where his father died of wounds received during the 1881 pogroms. He was admitted to a Russian high school and graduated cum laude from the University of Odessa law school. He was offered a post at the university on the condition that he convert to Christianity. He refused and became a lecturer and later professor at the University of Sofia in Bulgaria (1893–97). As a university student, he had joined the *Ḥibbat Zion movement, and from 1891 was in contact with the pre-Herzl Zionist circle surrounding Nathan *Birnbaum in Vienna. When Herzl's *Judenstaat* was published in 1896, Belkowsky joined Herzl's group and helped organize the First Zionist Congress (1897). At the Third Congress he was elected to the General Council and appointed representative to the St. Petersburg district of the movement. He was among the leaders of the opposition to the *Uganda Scheme. Belkowsky published a series of pamphlets on Zionist subjects. He also initiated the publication of a bibliographical work in Russian entitled *Ukazatel literatury o sionizme* ("A Guide to Zionist Literature," 1903). Belkowsky continued his Zionist activity during the Russian Revolution. He was adviser to the British consul in Moscow on matters regarding Palestine immigration certificates, and chairman of the Zionist Central Committee of Russia (1920–22). In 1924 he was arrested for his Zionist activities and sentenced to deportation to Siberia, but the sentence was commuted to banishment from the Soviet Union. He settled in Palestine in 1924 and was active in the Federation of General Zionists. He later wrote his memoirs, *Mi-Zikhronotai* (1940).

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[Yehuda Slutsky]

BELL, DANIEL (1919–), U.S. sociologist. Like many New York intellectuals, Bell, who was born to Polish immigrants, was deeply affected by the Great Depression. He grew up in the slums of the Lower East Side and his first language was Yiddish. He always viewed Zionism with a skeptical eye and Socialism, not Judaism, was his real religion as a boy.

Bell read widely, attending the Socialist Sunday School, and was tempted to join the Communist Party. His anarchist relatives in Mohegan Colony, N.Y. were horrified. Bell was handed pamphlets on the Russian sailors' rebellion at Kronstadt that Leon Trotsky had brutally suppressed. They dispelled any illusions he might have harbored about the true nature of Bolshevism. When Bell continued his studies, he was the only member of his circle who resisted the lure of Trotskyism.

In 1940, he became managing editor of the socialist weekly *The New Leader*, which featured the writings of a number of future liberal cold warriors including Melvin J. Lasky and Sidney *Hook. Bell excoriated industry for war profiteering and revered the magazine's editor, Sol M. Levitas, a Menshevik who had fled the Bolsheviks and who exposed the delusions of many New York intellectuals about the true nature of Stalin's Russia. Bell went on to write for many years for Henry M. Luce's *Fortune* magazine, but always felt the academic tug. In the late 1940s, he taught at the University of Chicago before moving to New York, where he taught at Columbia University and was close friends with scholars such as Lionel *Trilling and Richard *Hofstadter. Bell also wrote for the journal *Encounter* and worked for the Congress for Cultural Freedom in Paris from 1956 to 1967.

Bell's legacy rests with his books, which traverse immense terrain and are studded with footnotes that themselves often constitute minor essays. In 1960 Bell's book *The End of Ideology* created a sensation by declaring that the old categories of left and right were becoming defunct. Next Bell turned his attention to the unresolved tension between capitalism and morality. In the *Coming of Post-Industrial Society*, Bell prophesied the shift away from a manufacturing to a knowledge society that has taken place in the U.S. and Europe. But Bell did not believe that the quest for control over information would fundamentally alter the nature of human beings. He noted that "what does not vanish is the duplex nature of man himself – the murderous aggression, from primal impulse, to tear apart and destroy; and the search for order, in art and life, as the bending of will to harmonious shape."

If ideology was at an end, the *Public Interest*, which Bell co-founded with Irving Kristol in 1965, was supposed to supply sound social science solutions to the problems that faced the U.S. But politics intruded. Like other New York intellectuals, Bell was horrified by the aggression and primal impulses displayed by student radicals who rioted at Columbia in 1968. He and others saw the New Left as totalitarian, hedonistic, and jejune. It was indulging in revolutionary rhetoric that almost irreparably damaged the university – the institution that had offered a passport to the wider intellectual world for Bell and others. Nothing filled Bell with more contempt than the daydreamers about revolution and utopia who ended up creating bloodshed and tyranny.

But unlike Kristol, Bell never moved to the right or accepted the term "neoconservative." Instead, he remained focused on his academic work and moved to Cambridge, Mass., to become a professor of sociology at Harvard in 1969. In 1976, he amplified his observations about capitalism and hedonism in his classic *The Cultural Contradictions of Capitalism*. In a sweeping historical tour de force, Bell sought to show how capitalism had over the centuries inexorably weakened the authority of the very bourgeois societies it had brought into being. Where self-denial had allowed the Fuggers in Europe to amass great wealth, the bounty created by postwar American capitalism had created an unmoored individual indulging mainly in self-gratification. The individual, he concluded, "can only be a cultural wanderer, without a home to return to." The result is to threaten the vitality of capitalism itself.

Though he retired from teaching, Bell continued to write on politics and cultural matters in journals such as *Dissent*. Bell described himself as a socialist in economics, a liberal in politics, and a conservative in culture. His profound insights have ensured that his own works are beyond ideology and have become classics.

[Jacob Heilbrunn (2nd ed.)]

BELL, SIR FRANCIS HENRY DILLON (1851–1936). New Zealand politician and prime minister. Francis ("Harry") Bell was the son of a Protestant father and a Jewish mother, Margaret Hort. His Jewish background was well known in his lifetime. Born in Nelson, New Zealand, Bell was educated at Cambridge University and became a barrister in London until 1875, when he returned to Wellington, New Zealand, to practice law. After an extremely successful legal career, he entered politics and served as mayor of Wellington three times. In 1893 he was elected to the New Zealand parliament, serving until 1896, when he resumed his legal career. In 1912 Bell was appointed to the Legislative Council, New Zealand's upper house, serving until his death. A forceful and well-respected politician, he held numerous government posts and served as acting prime minister several times before becoming New Zealand's prime minister for two weeks in May 1925 following the death of Prime Minister William Massey. Bell was New Zealand's first native-born prime minister and the second Jew, after Julius *Vogel, to hold the office. Bell received a knighthood in 1915. Originally a radical, he later described himself as a "Tory socialist."

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[William D. Rubinstein (2nd ed.)]

BELL, JOSHUA (1967–), U.S. violinist. Born in Bloomington, Indiana, Bell studied with Mimi Zweig, and with Josef Gingold (1980–89). Winning the grand prize of the *Seventeen Magazine* / General Motors competition (1981) led to a highly acclaimed orchestral debut with Riccardo Muti and the Philadelphia Orchestra. In 1985 he made his Carnegie Hall debut. In 1987 he received an Avery Fisher Career Grant and made his first recordings, creating a sensation throughout the music world. His playing combined a virtuoso technique with sweetness of tone and phrasing. He performed with leading conductors and orchestras, made recordings of the concerto repertory and also composed his own cadenzas for the major violin concertos. In 1993 Bell gave the premiere of Maw's Concerto, of which he is the dedicatee. A chamber music enthusiast, Bell initiated a chamber music series in London and Paris. A multifaceted musician, he also teamed up with artists such as Chick Corea and Bobby McFerrin. He continued to explore all sides of the musical spectrum in concerts and recordings (such as *Gershwin Fantasy* and *West Side Story Suite*, a deconstruction of *Bernstein's original score). He is known widely for his brilliant performance on the soundtrack to the film *The Red Violin*. The Indiana Historical Society named Bell an Indiana Living Legend (2000). He also received the Indiana Arts Council Governor's Award (2003), and recordings awards. Bell holds an Artist Diploma from Indiana University. In 1998, he began teaching master classes at London's Royal Academy of Music. He plays an Antonius Stradivarius.

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[Naama Ramot (2nd ed.)]

BELLELI, LAZARUS MENAHEM (1862–1940?), Greek polyglot writer and philologist. Born in Corfu, by the early age of 15 he was already a serious author. In 1877 he edited *Atteret Baḥurim* ("The Crown of the Young"), a Hebrew-Greek vocabulary for the Book of Genesis supplemented by a sketch of Hebrew grammar. Afterward he contributed to the *Vessillo Israelitico*, the *Famiglia Israelitica*, *Mose*, and *Corriere Israelitico*. Belleli graduated from the University of Athens, but was forced to leave in 1883 due to antisemitic discrimination. Then, he went to study at the Instituto di Studi Superiori at Florence, where he obtained his doctorate in philology in 1890. During part of this period he served as principal of the Jewish school in Leghorn.

In 1890 Belleli returned to Corfu where he was the secretary of the local Alliance Israélite Universelle chapter.

Belleli had already sensed for several years the dangers that the Jewish population was to face in the future. He tried to combat the antisemitic instigation of the local press. He was unsuccessful in his talks with local politicians to get political equality for the Jews, for the latter only reiterated that the Jews enjoyed protection. At best this "protection" was feeble and soon to be shattered.

Belleli witnessed the violent outbreak against the Jews in Corfu in 1891 that followed the murder of the seven-year-old Jewish girl Rubina Sarda and a vicious blood libel against the Jews. He represented the Alliance as an observer and reported back to them extensively at the ensuing trial in Patrás.

In response to the spread of anti-Jewish literature Lazarus Belleli translated into Greek Theodore Reinach's *Histoire des Juifs* (1895).

In 1895 Belleli left for England. In 1908 while still living in London he received the Corgialegno Prize from the University of Athens for his study "President Capodistrias as a Propagator of Education in Greece." This was the first time that a Jew had been awarded such a high honor in Greece. In 1909 he published *Examination of the Assuan and Elephantine Aramaic Papyri*.

He eventually returned to Greece. From 1929 to 1930 he taught Jewish studies at Aristotle University, Salonika.

[Yitzchak Kerem (2nd ed.)]

BELLISON, SIMEON (1881–1953), clarinetist. Bellison studied first with his father and then, from 1894 to 1901, in the Moscow Conservatory with J. Friedrich. He performed from the age of nine and organized his own ensembles. Bellison played first clarinet in the Moscow Opera Orchestra (1904–14) and the Petrograd Opera Orchestra (1915). He served in the Russian army during the Russo-Japanese War and WWI. Bellison organized the Zimro woodwind ensemble (1918), which went on tour in Asia and the U.S. In 1920 he joined the New

York Philharmonic Orchestra as first clarinetist (until 1948). He transcribed many Jewish compositions for his ensemble. The Bellison archives and a collection of his instruments are housed at the Rubin Academy of Music, Jerusalem.

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BELLOW, SAUL (1915–2005), U.S. novelist. Author of 11 novels and numerous novellas and stories, Pulitzer Prize winner for *Humboldt's Gift* (1975), Nobel Prize winner for literature in 1976, and the only novelist to win three National Book Awards, for *The Adventures of Augie March* (1953), *Herzog* (1964), and *Mr. Sammler's Planet* (1970), Bellow brilliantly captured the Jewish-American experience and voice of the mid-20th century.

Born Solomon Bellow, the youngest of four children of Abraham (Abram) and Liza (Lescha) Belo, Russian Jewish immigrants to Canada, Bellow changed his name as the Bellows assimilated, from Shloimke to Solomon to Sol to Saul. He was born in Lachine, Quebec, two years after his family immigrated to Canada, and was raised in Montreal and Chicago, Illinois. He spoke fluent Yiddish, French, and English as a child, and studied Hebrew. Bellow's trilingual childhood is evident in Bellow's vivid stylistic mix of high and low registers, of classical English and the uniquely Jewish dialect of his Chicago childhood.

The Bellows, owing to poverty and Abram's troubles with the law as a result of his bootlegging, moved to Chicago when Saul was nine. Bellow later in life had a nostalgic love for the Chicago of his youth, and he explored Chicago's history, diverse ethnic cultures, unique American dialect, and Jewish immigrant society in much of his literature. In his later works he contrasted his nostalgia for the Chicago of his youth with his mounting anxiety concerning what he saw as the city's rapid urban decay. This concern may help account for his growing conservatism, which was a dominant theme of such later books as *Mr. Sammler's Planet* (1970), in which Bellow brought together, through the Holocaust survivor Sammler, the Shoah and his dark satirical rejection of 1960s radicalism. His conservatism can also be seen in *The Dean's December* (1982), Bellow's depiction of contemporary Chicago as a violent, barbaric dystopia.

Bellow's religious childhood had a profound impact on his works, for Jewish American issues and culture permeate his novels. His religiously observant mother had hopes that he would become a rabbi or talmudic scholar; at four he could recite whole passages from the Torah in Hebrew or Yiddish. Bellow used both vernacular Yiddish and Yiddish cadences and syntax throughout his works. In early works such as *The Adventures of Augie March* and later works such as "Cousins" from his short story collection *Him with His Foot in His Mouth* (1984), Bellow also depicted Jewish immigrant family life with vividness and affection. In his use of Jewish irony and humor and in his introspective, morally focused protagonists, Bellow is recognizably a Jewish writer. He referred to his Jewish upbringing as a literary "gift, a piece of good fortune with which one doesn't quarrel." Nevertheless, he rejected the label "Jewish American author," preferring to say that he was "an American, a Jew, a writer by trade," perhaps due to a fear that being identified as too Jewish would relegate him to a literary ghetto. Bellow was not religiously observant as an adult. Nonetheless, he never denied his Jewishness, and he spoke out in support of oppressed Jews in the Soviet Union and against antisemitism everywhere, spoke often to Jewish groups, and visited Israel often, including going to Israel in 1967 to report on the imminent war. Bellow went to Israel again in 1970 and in 1976, eventually writing about his experiences there and about the global political problems facing Israel in his well-reviewed nonfiction book *To Jerusalem and Back* (1976).

Jewish themes are central to many of Bellow's major works, as are autobiographical elements. For example, Bellow's Kafkaesque *The Victim* (1947) is an original treatment of the theme of antisemitism and the first of his attempts to confront the meaning of the Holocaust, with the secular Jewish protagonist Asa Leventhal confronted by the antisemitic Kirby Allbee; his award-winning *The Adventures of Augie March* (1953) is a picaresque novel about the adventures of a Jewish boy from Chicago during the Depression of the 1930s. In his powerful novella *The Bellarosa Connection* (1990), Bellow told the story of a Holocaust survivor while at the same time delved into Jewish issues of memory and the ethical and psychological problems faced by American Jews living safe lives while their European brothers suffered and died. Bellow's final novel *Ravelstein* (2000), a moving fictionalized treatment of his friendship with the conservative Jewish intellectual, Allan *Bloom, author of the controversial *The Closing of the American Mind*, is also arguably Bellow's most overtly Jewish novel, with discussions concerning the Holocaust, Jewish history and identity, Israel, and the fate of the Jewish people.

While his father and brothers were business-minded, Bellow was always more interested in books and culture, and this conflict between pragmatism and idealism, the real world and the inner or ideal world, is central to much of his fiction. Bellow was introspective and death-obsessed from an early age, partly due to childhood illnesses including six months spent in the tuberculosis ward at Royal Victoria Hospital when he was eight, where he saw many die and came near death himself. He later described his mother's early death when he was 18 as the greatest loss in his life; fears of death and loss thus dominate much of Bellow's canon. His early loss of his mother may also help to explain his problematic relationship to women, including his five marriages and four unpleasant divorces, themes that reoccur throughout his novels.

Bellow entered the University of Chicago in 1934, but transferred the following year to Northwestern, where he studied anthropology with Melville Herskovits. Upon graduation in 1937, Bellow entered the University of Wisconsin to pursue a graduate degree in sociology and anthropology, but soon left to marry his first wife, Anita Goshkin, and then left for New York to become a writer. The Bellows quickly returned to Chicago. In 1940 he and his wife traveled to Mexico with the hopes of meeting his boyhood hero, Leon Trotsky, only to discover that Trotsky had been killed the day before they arrived. Bellow's early attempts at writing novels proved frustrating. He abandoned an early novel set in Mexico and threw away the manuscript for *The Very Dark Trees*, a novel about a Southern white man turning black, after the publisher for the book canceled its publication for the duration of the war.

Bellow wrote his first published novel, the semi-autobiographical *Dangling Man* (1944), while waiting to enter the army. During this period Bellow's first marriage began to collapse while he waited to be conscripted (he finally joined the merchant marines toward the end of the war) and worked at various jobs, including three years (1943–46) on the editorial staff of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*. In *Dangling Man*, the Kafka-inspired protagonist, Joseph, a young Jewish would-be writer, waits to be drafted as he experiences Romantic isolation, studies classic writers, has an affair, and suffers from death anxieties and emotional turmoil. In this way Bellow set the pattern for many of his major works, works focused on semi-autobiographical, introspective, intellectual, Jewish protagonists searching for meaning in a savage, irrational universe.

Bellow followed *Dangling Man* with *The Victim* (1947) and with *The Adventures of Augie March* (1953), which Salman Rushdie referred to as the best candidate there was for the Great American Novel. Bellow then published *Seize the Day* (1956), a study of loneliness, failure, and the onset of middle age, and *Henderson the Rain King* (1959), an excursion into the fantastic about a wealthy American's search for ultimate reality among primitive African tribesmen. Bellow's most widely acclaimed work was *Herzog* (1964), an international best seller that gained Bellow fame and numerous awards. Its protagonist, Moses Herzog, is a ruminating, near-mad Jewish professor who writes letters to everyone, including dead relatives, Jung, Nietzsche, and God. Herzog struggles comically but futilely to relate with humanistic values to a dehumanized modern world; like all Bellow's protagonists, he is doomed to live out the contradiction between an inner world of romantic aspiration and an outer one of less than romantic fact.

Bellow was a prolific writer throughout his life, publishing his first play, *The Last Analysis*, in 1964; a volume of short stories, *Mosby's Memoirs and Other Stories* (1968); *Mr. Sammler's Planet* (1970); *Humboldt's Gift* (1975), after which he was awarded the Nobel Prize for literature for 1976; *To Jerusalem and Back* (1976); The *Dean's December* (1982); a short story collection, *Him with His Foot in His Mouth* (1984); *More Die of Heartbreak* (1987); a collection of three novellas, *Something to Remember Me By* (1991); an essay collection, *It All Adds Up* (1994); *The Actual* (1997); and *Ravelstein* (2000). He also edited *Great Jewish Short Stories* (1963). Bellow led a largely itinerant life, moving from university to university as he moved from marriage to marriage; however, he did remain married to his final wife Janis for the last 16 years of his life, and was a professor for the Committee on Social Thought at the University of Chicago from 1962 to 1993. He also maintained close friendships with a large number of Jewish friends from Tuley High School in Chicago and with such eminent writers as Ralph Ellison, John Berryman, Allan Bloom, John Cheever, Philip *Roth, and the Jewish poet Delmore *Schwartz, the model for Von Humboldt Fleisher of *Humboldt's Gift*. Widely considered one of mid-century America's leading novelists, Bellow died leaving behind a powerful canon of literature.

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[Craig Svonkin (2nd ed.)]

BELMONT, AUGUST (1816–1890), U.S. banker, diplomat, and politician. Belmont was born in Alzey (Hesse), but claimed descent from the distinguished *Belmonte family of Portugal. His enemies later circulated the story that his original name was Schoenberg. He began his career as an apprentice in the Frankfurt banking house of *Rothschild and was soon transferred to the Naples office, where he conducted the Rothschilds' financial negotiations, including those with the Vatican. After an assignment to Havana, Cuba, in 1837, Belmont served the Rothschild interests in New York. Later he opened his own banking house, August Belmont & Co., which continued to represent the Rothschilds in the United States until the beginning of the 20th century. In 1844 he was appointed honorary Austrian consul general in New York, but resigned in 1850 in protest against the Vienna regime's brutal treatment of the Hungarian rebels, particularly their leader, Louis Kossuth. Belmont represented the United States at The Hague as chargé d'affaires (1853–55), and as minister (1855–58). At the conclusion of his foreign service, Belmont returned to New York and became active in political life. He supported the Union during the Civil War and raised and equipped the first German-born regiment in New York. He enlisted the support of European bankers and merchants for the Union cause during visits to Europe in 1861 and 1863. As Democratic National Committee chairman from 1860 until his retirement from politics in 1872, he exercised great influence in his party and American society. He became the founder of the U.S. Racing Club. One of America's best-known racetracks bears his name. Belmont severed his Jewish ties and married the daughter of Commodore Matthew C. Perry. One son, PERRY (1850–1947), became a lawyer, diplomat, congressman, and an author on United States history and politics. The other, AUGUST (1853–1924), succeeded his father as head of the bank, and played an important role in financing public transportation in the United States.

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[Joachim O. Ronall]

BELMONTE, town in northern Portugal near the Spanish frontier. Its medieval community is seldom mentioned in the contemporary records, but there is preserved a Hebrew synagogal inscription of 1296–97, probably originally intended to be placed above the synagogue Ark. After the forced conversion of the Jews in Portugal at the end of the 15th century, Belmonte became a major center of New Christian life. A number of well-known families of the Crypto-Jewish Diaspora bearing this name originally derive from this place. It was here that S. Schwarz first established contact with the surviving Crypto-Jews in 1917. The Crypto-Jewish traditions have been more faithfully preserved here than in any other place in Portugal. Reforms that were introduced by Pombal may have caused paradoxically a decline in Crypto-Jewish practices, although prejudice against the descendants of the New Christians persisted in Portugal. In Belmonte, Crypto-Jewish identity remained very strong. During the 19th century there is evidence that some Jews were aware of the existence of New Christians who considered themselves Jewish or felt a certain affinity towards Jews and Judaism. Some scholars at that time, such as M. Kayserling and J. Latouche, drew attention to this fact. The newly established Jewish community in Lisbon showed little interest in New Christians who visited their synagogue. Arthur Carlos de Barros Basto, a New Christian who was a high-ranking officer in the army, found no warmth there. In 1912, after his visit in Portugal, Nahum Slousch reported that many in Portugal led Jewish lives in secret. It was Schwarz, however, who discovered the Crypto-Jews of Portugal, and especially those of Belmonte. He wrote a full and emotional account of his encounter with the Belmonte Crypto-Jews in his book, published in 1925. Schwarz made efforts to have the Crypto-Jews of Belmonte and others return officially to Judaism. Several Jewish organizations, such as the Alliance Israélite Universelle, and individual Jews like Cecil Roth and Lucien Wolf, joined these efforts with enthusiasm. Barros Basto, who returned to Judaism, and Schwarz at first cooperated but finally ended up as bitter rivals. In 1989 the Jewish Community of Belmonte was officially established. In 1996 the Bet Eliahu synagogue was inaugurated. The return of some Crypto-Jews to normative Judaism was no simple matter, since the rabbis who came to instruct and guide them brought normative Judaism as a definitive alternative to the entire body of practices, prayers, and beliefs that had been considered as authentic Judaism practiced in secret.

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[Cecil Roth / Yom Tov Assis (2nd ed.)]

BELMONTE, Dutch Sephardi family of poets and diplomats of Marrano extraction. The first member of the family to figure in Jewish life was JACOB ISRAEL (1570–1629). Born in Madeira as a Marrano under the name of Diego Nuñez Belmonte, he was one of the founding members of the Amsterdam Jewish community. According to Daniel Levi (Miguel) de *Barrios, he wrote a satire in Spanish directed against the Inquisition and a poem on Job, both now lost. His son MOSES (17th century) drew and engraved a portrait of his mother Simḥah (Gimar) Vaz. It is impossible to establish their family relationship with ISAAC NUÑEZ (alias MANUEL) BELMONTE (d. 1705), a wealthy merchant who served from 1664 as Spanish agent general in the Netherlands and from 1674 as resident minister or consul. In 1684/5 his community dues amounted to 50 fl, making him sixth in the taxpayers list. In 1693 be was created count palatine by Emperor Leopold III, while at the same time the king of Spain conferred on him the title of baron. In 1676 Isaac Nuñez Belmonte founded a poetic society in Amsterdam, the *Academia de los Sitibundos* and in 1685 the *Academia de los Floridos*. Meetings of the *Academia* were held in his mansion. In 1684 he was appointed one of the two deputies to represent the Sephardi community in cases before the Dutch authorities. From 1700 he lived in the splendid house now at 586 Herengracht. He wrote two poems in memory of the Crypto-Jew Abraham Bernal, who was burned in the auto de fé in Córdoba in 1655. He was *parnas* of the community on and off between 1697 and 1704 and also served as a member of the committee for the redemption of the captives. Unmarried, he was succeeded after his death, both in his title and his diplomatic post, by his nephew Baron FRANCISCO (ISAAC) XIMENES (d. 1713) who, in turn, was followed by his son, MANUEL XIMENES (d. 1730) who died childless, and the title became extinct. JACOB ABRAHAM BELMONTE (alias Franz van Schoonenberg; b. 1757), Dutch diplomat, also was connected with this family, but it is impossible to establish the exact relationship. ISAAC NUÑEZ BELMONTE (18th–19th centuries), a scholar of Smyrna, presumably belonged to a branch of this family which had emigrated to Turkey. He was author of *Sha'ar ha-Melekh* (Salonika, 1771; Bruenn, 1801; Lemberg, 1859), a commentary on the first and second parts of Maimonides' *Mishneh Torah*.

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[Kenneth R. Scholberg]

BELOFF, MAX, BARON (1913–1999), English historian and political scientist. Beloff, who was born in London, graduated in modern history from Oxford in 1935. From 1939 he taught history at Manchester University and returned to Oxford in 1946 as reader in the comparative study of institutions. During World War II he served in the Royal Signal Corps. In 1957 he became professor of government and public administration at Oxford and a fellow of All Souls' College. The author of numerous works on European history, American government, and Soviet foreign policy, Beloff also wrote extensively about developments in contemporary international relations, particularly concerning Western Europe after World War II. In *The United States and the Unity of Europe* (1963) he considered the prospects of European unity and the interdependence of Western Europe and the U.S. Two works on Soviet foreign policy, *The Foreign Policy of Soviet Russia 1929–41* (1947–49) and *Soviet Policy in the Far East 1944–51* (1953) were among the pioneering attempts to present a documentary and historical assessment of the Soviet Union's role and aims in international politics and are considered standard works in this field. Beloff's studies of American government, including *The American Federal Government* (1959), concentrated on the historical roots of American federalism and how its evolution shaped the structure and functioning of contemporary American politics and institutions. Among his other works are: *The Age of Absolutism, 1680–1815* (1954); *Europe and the Europeans…* (1957), a report prepared at the request of the Council of Europe; *The Great Powers: Essays in 20th Century Politics* (1959); and *The Balance of Power* (1967). In 1992 Beloff produced an autobiography, *An Historian in the Twentieth Century.* In the early 1970s Beloff was instrumental in founding University College, Buckingham, Britain's only purely private university, and served as its principal from 1974 to 1979. An outspoken Conservative, Beloff was knighted in 1980 and given a life peerage by Margaret Thatcher in 1981.

His sister NORA BELOFF (1919–1997), political correspondent of *The Observer* in 1964–76, was the first woman political correspondent of a Fleet Street newspaper. A brother, JOHN BELOFF (b. 1920), became probably the best-known serious investigator of parapsychological phenomenon in Britain, and is the author of *The Existence of Mind* (1962) and *Parapsychology: A Concise History* (1993). Another sister married the Nobel Prize-winning scientist Sir Ernest *Chain.

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[Brian Knei-Paz (Knapheis) / William D. Rubinstein (2nd ed.)]

BELORUSSIA, territory located between the rivers Neman (west) and Dnieper (east) and the rivers Pripet (south) and Dvina (north). Between the 14th and 18th centuries part of *Poland-Lithuania, from the partitions of Poland (1772–95) until the 1917 revolution it was part of the "northwestern region" of Russia, and much of it was included in the three "guberniyas" (provinces) of Minsk, Mogilev, and Vitebsk. Under Soviet rule Belorussia became a political entity as the Belorussian Soviet Socialist Republic. After the dissolution of the Soviet Union, the area was called Belarus and was a C.I.S. republic.

Up to Soviet Rule

In Jewish history Belorussia is part of "Lita" (Lithuania), its Jews being considered "Litvaks." Jewish merchants apparently first visited Belorussia in transit between Poland and Russia as early as the 15th century. Jews were acting as toll collectors in Nowogrodek (1445), *Minsk (1489), and *Smolensk (1489). In 1495 the Jews in Belorussia were included in the expulsion of Lithuanian Jewry, returning with it in 1503. As large-scale farmers of customs dues and wealthy merchants, Jews from *Brest-Litovsk played an important role in the development of Belorussia. Their agents were often the pioneers of the communities of Belorussia. A community was established in *Pinsk in 1506. By 1539 Jews had settled in *Kletsk and Nowogrodek, and subsequently in Minsk, *Polotsk, *Vitebsk, *Mogilev, and *Orsha. The Christian citizenry consistently opposed the permanent settlement of Jews within the areas of the cities and towns under municipal jurisdiction. In Vitebsk, for instance, Jews were not granted permission to build a synagogue until 1630. Within the framework of the Council of Lithuania (see *Councils of the Lands), Pinsk was one of the three original principal communities; most of the communities in Belorussia came under the jurisdiction of the Brest-Litovsk community, while several were subject to that of the Pinsk community. In 1692 the *Slutsk community achieved the status of a principal community. Smaller communities also grew up under the protection of landowners who rented their towns, villages, taverns, or inns to Jewish contractors (see *Arenda). These made constant attempts to break away from the jurisdiction of older communities and manage their communal affairs independently.

Until the partitions of Poland the communities in Belorussia were constantly exposed to the danger of Russian incursions, which were accompanied by wholesale massacres and forced conversions. Such events occurred in 1563 in Polotsk, and in many other communities between 1648 and 1655.

The relative strength of the Belorussian communities in the middle of the 18th century is shown by the amounts levied on them as listed in the tax register of the Council of Lithuania for 1761: for the communities in the eastern part of Belorussia, 16,500 zlotys; Polotsk and environs, 3,000 zlotys; the area around Minsk (including 40 small communities), 4,260 zlotys; Slutsk and its environs, 2,420 zlotys; Druya and its environs, 750 zlotys; Nowogrodek, 300 zlotys. According to the government census of 1766, there were 62,800 taxpaying Jews living in Belorussia, forming 40% of Lithuanian Jewry. The largest communities were in Minsk (1,396 Jewish inhabitants) and Pinsk (1,350).

After Belorussia passed to Russia in the late 18th century, *Shklov became an important commercial center on the route between Russia and Western Europe. Although a small group of Jews acquired wealth as building contractors, army suppliers, and large-scale merchants, the vast majority of Jews in the region of Belorussia were relatively destitute. Nevertheless, their numbers grew. There were 225,725 Jews living in the three "guberniyas" of Belorussia in 1847, and 724,548 in 1897

(13.6% of the total population), forming the majority in the principal cities of the region. There were 47,561 Jews in Minsk (52.3% of the total population); 34,420 in Vitebsk (52.4%); 32,369 in *Daugavpils (46.6%); 21,539 in Mogilev (50%); 21,065 in Pinsk (74.2%); 20,759 in *Bobruisk (60.5%); and 20,385 in *Gomel (54.8%). The Jews in the cities and townships of Belorussia had associations with the village and rural economy in a variety of ways. Both the wealthy and poorer Jews engaged in the development and trade of forest industries, and established small- or medium-sized timber enterprises. They also developed leather and allied industries on a similar scale. Another Belorussian Jewish occupation was peddling combined with the buying up of village produce, such as flax, hemp, and bristles, which the Jewish peddler sold to Jewish merchants who exported these commodities to the West. Because of the prevailing conditions of poverty, large numbers of Jews emigrated from Belorussia to the Ukraine or southern Russia, and, from the 1880s, to the United States.

In the cultural sphere, the Jews of Belorussia were influenced by the centers in Vilna, Volhynia, and Podolia. In general the *Mitnaggedim* trend predominated in the north and west of the region. Most of the celebrated Lithuanian yeshivot were in Belorussia, those of *Volozhin and *Mir, among others. Ḥasidism penetrated Belorussia from the south. Two of the fathers of Ḥasidism, *Menahem Mendel of Vitebsk and *Shneur Zalman of Lyady, were active there. Belorussia was the cradle of *Ḥabad Ḥasidism. In southern Belorussia the influence of the ḥasidic rabbis of the *Karlin and *Stolin dynasties was strong. By the mid-19th century Haskalah penetrated the larger towns from Vilna. The pogroms in Russia from 1881 to 1883 did not spread to Belorussia. The Ḥovevei Zion found adherents mainly in the larger and average-size communities. Toward the end of the 19th century Zionism and the Bund movement began to spread among Belorussian Jewry. Zionism found its main adherents among middle-class professionals and white-collar workers or working men from the ranks of traditional Judaism. It was in Belorussia that Labor Zionism originated, its centers being Minsk, Bobruisk, Gomel, and Vitebsk. The second convention of Russian Zionists was held in Minsk in 1902. The Bund won converts mainly among Jewish artisans and workers, but also among radicals of the intelligentsia. During the revolution of 1905 the Bund headed the revolutionary movement in Belorussia. Self-defense organizations to protect the Jews during the wave of pogroms in this period were established by the Bund and Labor Zionists in every town in the region. The first move toward organized Jewish self-defense was made to combat a gang of rioters in Gomel in the fall of 1903. As a result, only a few communities in Belorussia experienced harm.

The revolution precipitated far-reaching changes in the internal life of the Jews of Belorussia which contributed to the breakup of traditional Jewish social and spiritual patterns and loyalties. Zionism resulted in the development of modernized *ḥadarim* and Hebrew schools. After the outbreak of World War I a stream of refugees and émigrés from Poland and Lithuania passed through Belorussia, and were warmly received by the Jews there. The 1917 February Revolution aroused great expectations among the Jewish public, and Jewish political parties emerged from underground. A number of Jewish journals were issued in Minsk, including the Zionist *Der Yid* and the Bundist *Der Veker*. In the Minsk district the Zionists received 65,400 votes in the elections to the All-Russian Constituent Assembly, with 16,270 votes cast for the Bund and the Mensheviks. After the October Revolution and the Peace of Brest-Litovsk, Belorussia became a battlefield between the Red Army and the Polish army. The Jewish communities suffered severely both from general wartime conditions and from attacks by the Polish Army when Jews were killed indiscriminately on the charge of spying and helping the Red forces. The victims of these atrocities included 35 Jews in Pinsk in April 1919. Russian volunteers under the command of General Bulak-Balakhovich terrorized the Jews in the small towns and villages. After the Treaty of Riga in March 1921, Belorussia was divided between the Soviet Union and Poland.

Under Soviet Rule (until 1941)

During the first years of Soviet rule, the Jews of Belorussia found themselves in an exceptional situation. Among the Belorussian people, mainly poor and uneducated peasants, nationalist feelings were just beginning to crystallize. The anti-Jewish tradition, which poisoned relations between the Jews and non-Jews in Poland and the Ukraine, was little felt among the peasant masses of Belorussia. On the other hand, there were no cultural ties between the Belorussians and the Jews. The Jewish poet Samuel Plavnik (1886–1941), writing under the pseudonym Zmitrok *Byadulya, who was one of the creators of Belorussian literature even before the October Revolution was a rare phenomenon. The Jewish population in Belorussia existed in conditions conducive to a flourishing cultural and social life of its own. Relatively, the largest concentration of Jews in the Soviet Union was that of the Belorussian Republic, with a solidly based social structure and culture, Yiddish being its main language. According to the census of 1926, the 407,000 Jews in Belorussia formed 8.2% of the republic's total population. A considerable proportion of the urban population was Jewish. There were 53,686 Jews (40.8%) in Minsk; 37,745 (43.7%) in Gomel; 37,013 (37.5%) in Vitebsk; and 21,558 (42%) in Bobruisk. The Belorussian government, in its policy of reducing the predominance of the Russian language in towns, which was to no small extent a language used by the Jews, encouraged the use of Yiddish among the Jewish population. For some time the slogan "Workers of the World Unite!" was also inscribed in Yiddish, in addition to Belorussian, Russian, and Polish, on the emblem of the Belorussian Republic.

With the consolidation of the Soviet regime in Belorussia, the old economic structure of the Jewish population was overturned. The abolition of private trade and restrictions on small artisans created a large class of citizens "deprived of rights" ("*Lishentsi*"). Attempts to integrate these elements into the agricultural and industrial sectors failed to solve the problem. A partial solution was however achieved by the continuous Jewish emigration from Belorussia to the interior of Russia, especially to Moscow and Leningrad. According to the census of 1939, there were only 375,000 Jews living in Belorussia, and their proportion in the general population had decreased to 6.7%.

The *Yevsektsiya (Jewish section of the Communist Party) was particularly active in Belorussia in its violent campaign of propaganda and persecution against the Jewish religion and way of life and Jewish national solidarity. *Ḥadarim* and yeshivot were closed down, and synagogues turned to secular use. Yet, even in the late 1920s religious Jews still fought courageously for the right to publish *siddurim*, calendars, etc., and to maintain synagogues. *Ḥadarim* and yeshivot were maintained secretly. A relentless war was also waged on Zionism, which was deeply entrenched in Belorussia. Underground Zionist youth movements (*Kadimah, *Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir, *He-Ḥaluẓ) continued their activities in Belorussia until the late 1920s. It was only after repressive measures and systematic arrests that the movements were suppressed.

On the other hand, Jewish Communists attempted to create a framework for promoting a Soviet-inspired secular national-Jewish culture in Belorussia. A network of Jewish schools giving instruction in Yiddish was established, which, in 1932–33, was attended by 36,650 children, 55% of the Jewish children being of school age. A number of Yiddish newspapers were also established, the most important of which were the daily *Oktyaber* and the literary journal *Shtern*. In 1924 a Jewish department was established at the Institute of Belorussian Culture of Minsk, with philology, literature, and history sections. There was also an institute for Jewish teachers at the Belorussian University. In 1931 proceedings were conducted in Yiddish in ten Soviet law tribunals. A center for Yiddish literature was created in Minsk, of which the most outstanding members were the writers Izzie *Kharik, Moshe *Kulbak, and Selig *Axelrod. During the 1930s there was a sharp decline in this cultural activity with the abolition of the Yevsektsiya. The Jewish cultural and educational institutions gradually degenerated, and toward the end of this decade most were liquidated. The systematic "purge" of Jewish intellectuals in Belorussia also began in the late 1930s (Izzie Kharik and Moshe Kulbak in 1937, and Selig Axelrod in 1941).

Western Belorussia under Polish and Soviet Rule

In the western part of Belorussia, which was under Polish rule from 1920 to 1939, Jewish life developed along entirely different lines. The old economic order was maintained, and the Jews continued to engage in commerce and crafts, most living in great poverty. Jewish culture, however, was able to develop freely. *Ḥadarim* and yeshivot, including yeshivot whose members had fled from the Soviet sector, such as the yeshivah of Slutsk that transferred to Kletsk, continued to expand. A Hebrew school network (Tarbut, Yavneh) was established. The Zionist movement was well organized and many of the local youth joined Zionist bodies, from Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir to Betar. Many were also members of the illegal Communist movement which was rigorously repressed in this border region. Yiddish remained the spoken language of the Jewish masses and knowledge of Hebrew was widespread. In the cultural sphere the Jews of Western Belorussia looked to the important centers of Vilna, Brest-Litovsk, Bialystok, and Warsaw.

In September 1939, when western Belorussia was annexed by the Soviet Union, hundreds of thousands of Jews in whom religious and nationalist feelings were strong augmented the numbers of Belorussian Jewry already under Soviet rule. They also included groups of refugees from the Nazi-occupied zone. Even though the Soviet authorities immediately began to liquidate the practice of religion and the Zionist movement, signs of awakening were evident among the "older," "Soviet" Jews. In Bialystok a nucleus of Jewish writers and intellectuals was formed. The Hebrew schools were converted to Yiddish institutions. The higher authorities, however, were quick to liquidate this "reactionary evolution." Arrests of "bourgeois elements" and expulsions to the interior of Russia soon followed, and every effort was made to press forward with the liquidation and assimilation carried out over 20 years in eastern Belorussia. The German invasion of Belorussia in June 1941 interrupted this activity, then at its height. The Jews in Belorussia, most of whom had not succeeded in escaping eastward, were now caught in the trap of the Nazi occupation.

For their subsequent history, see *Russia, Holocaust Period, Contemporary Period; *Belarus.

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[Yehuda Slutsky]

BELOV, A. (pen name of **Abraham Joshua Elison**; 1911–2000), Soviet Russian writer, translator, and journalist. Belov was born in the town of Mogilev on the Dnieper. He received a traditional Jewish education before entering a Soviet public school. In 1927–28 he was a member of the underground Zionist youth organization and escaped arrest by moving to Leningrad. In 1933–36 he studied at the Leningrad Conservatory. From 1932 he contributed to Soviet periodicals and in 1934–49 he was on the staff of *Leningradskaya pravda*. He was fired from the newspaper during the campaign against the "cosmopolitans." After World War II Belov coauthored several volumes of popular history that were translated into a number of languages. Together with the semitologist L. Vilsker (1919–88) he translated works from the Syrian (Aramaic) and Hebrew languages. His translations of Israeli writers are collected in *Rasskazy izrailskikh pisateley* ("Stories of Israeli Writers," 1965) and *Iskatel' zhemchuga* ("The Pearl Diver," 1966). He was the only translator of *Shalom Aleichem from Hebrew into Russian (*Za granitsey i doma* ("At Home and Abroad") and *Shimele*, both in 1959). These were the first legal translations from Hebrew in the Soviet Union since 1923. In 1964 Belov published an essay on A. *Shlonsky's translation of Pushkin's *Eugeni Onegin* in an anthology called *Masterstvo perevoda* ("The Mastery of Translation"). He also translated from Yiddish. Publication of Belov's book on the trial of Adolf *Eichmann and his book on the Dead Sea were banned by the Party censor. The latter book was later published in Jerusalem as *Dno mira* ("The Bottom of the World," 1978).

Belov was one of the first teachers of Hebrew in Leningrad. From 1974 he lived in Israel. He continued to work as a translator, translating works by S.Y. *Agnon, Y. *Burla, A. *Meged, and others into Russian. He also worked as a journalist and published 153 letters written to him by Shlonsky and B. *Gaponov. In 1990 his memoirs were published in a Hebrew translation as *Eikh hayiti kushi* ("How I Was a Blackamoor"). In 1998 he published his book on Hebrew writers, poets, journalists, scholars, and teachers in the Soviet Union under the title *Rytsari ivrita v byvshem Sovetskom Soyuze* ("The Knights of Hebrew in the Former Soviet Union").

[Naftali Prat (2nd ed.)]

BELSHAZZAR (Heb. בֵּלְשַׁאצַּר, בֵּלְאשַׁצַּר; the Akkadian name *Bel-šar-uṣur,* "O Bel, guard the king"; LXX, Βαλτασάρ), son of *Nebuchadnezzar and the last king of Babylon, according to the Book of Daniel. The biblical account (Dan. 5) relates that Belshazzar gave a banquet for his high officials at which the wine was drunk from the sacred vessels captured by Nebuchadnezzar from the Temple in Jerusalem amid songs to the idols of gold, silver, etc. While they were thus engaged, a mysterious hand appeared and wrote on the wall words which none of the Chaldeans was able to read or interpret but which Daniel, on being summoned by the king, read as *Mene Mene, Tekel Upharsin*, and interpreted as a warning to Belshazzar of the impending downfall of his kingdom. That night Belshazzar was killed and was succeeded as world ruler by *Darius the Mede (5:30; 6:1). Two of Daniel's visions are dated as occurring in the first and third years of Belshazzar's reign (7:1; 8:1). While the details given in Daniel appear historically inaccurate, Babylonian texts mention a Bēl-šar-uṣur as the son, crown prince, and regent of *Nabonidus, the last king of Babylon (556–539 B.C.E.). In Nabonidus' absence, Babylon was captured by the armies of *Cyrus, king of Persia. Neither Nabonidus nor Belshazzar was directly descended from Nebuchadnezzar. Presumably because he was a regent, Belshazzar's name is coupled with that of Nabonidus in Babylonian prayer formulae (in the prayer for the king's health in I Bar. 1:11, it is coupled – unhistorically – not with Nabonidus but with Nebuchadnezzar) and in two legal documents (12th and 13th years of Nabonidus), where an oath is sworn by their lives. While the Greek historians Herodotus (1:191) and Xenophon (*Cyropaedia*, 3:5, 15) do not mention Belshazzar, they share with Dan. 6 the – hardly historical – tradition that the Babylonians were engaged in revelry at the time when the Persians entered the city (corresponding to the time when Belshazzar was killed in the biblical account).

In the *Aggadah*

Belshazzar is often linked in the *aggadah* with two of the other Babylonian rulers mentioned in the Bible, Nebuchadnezzar and *Evil-Merodach. Thus the "three-year-old heifer" that Abraham was commanded to offer up (Gen. 15:9) is said to be a reference to these three kings (Gen. R. 44). The occasion of Belshazzar's feast was his miscalculation that the "seventy years" (Jer. 25:11–13) of exile before the redemption had passed without any sign of God's help to His people, a calculation that he made from the date of Nebuchadnezzar's accession to the throne, instead of from the destruction of the Temple (Dan. 9:2; Meg. 11b). Darius and Cyrus were the doorkeepers of Belshazzar's chamber. On the night after he had seen the handwriting on the wall, the king commanded them to kill anyone who tried to enter, even if he should claim to be king. Belshazzar himself, however, had cause to leave the room during the night by a private entrance, and when he attempted to reenter through the usual entrance, Darius and Cyrus, in accordance with his own instructions, slew him (Song. R. 3:42).

In the Arts

Christian writers and artists of the Middle Ages saw in Belshazzar a prefiguration of the antichrist. Belshazzar's feast is described in the *Ordo Prophetarum*, a medieval mystery cycle, in the section dealing with the prophet Daniel. From Renaissance times onward, however, the theological aspect of the story faded, and its dramatic and spectacular character was invariably emphasized. The great Spanish playwright Pedro Calderón de la Barca (1600–1681) devoted one of his innumerable *autos sacramentales* to the theme, his *La Cena de Baltasar* (written c. 1634), combining fine poetry with excellent stagecraft. In England Hannah More included a *Belshazzar* in her *Sacred Dramas* (1782); Lord *Byron wrote the poem "Vision of Belshazzar" (in his *Hebrew Melodies*, 1815); and the poet and historian Henry Hart Milman, who became dean of St. Paul's Cathedral, produced *Belshazzar; a Dramatic Poem* (1822), a melodramatic verse-play not intended for the stage. Another English work inspired by the biblical story was *The Impious Feast* (1828), a poem by Robert Eyres Landor. Lord Byron's interpretation is said to have inspired the poem *Belsazar,* one of the earliest works of Heinrich *Heine, which appeared in his *Buch der Lieder* (1827). Another writer who dealt with the theme was the Spanish playwright and novelist Gertrudis Gómez de Avellaneda, author of the romantic tragedy *Baltasar* (1858).

In the visual arts treatment of the Belshazzar episode followed the same pattern as in literature. The antichrist interpretation occurs in medieval manuscript illumination, notably the 11th-century *Saint-Sever Apocalypse*, and in sculpture at Vézelay, France (12th century), and Amiens and Magdeburg (13th century). By contrast, the spectacular aspect is dominant in later painting, notably the dramatic portrayal by *Rembrandt (1634).

The biblical story has also inspired orchestral and vocal music. Handel's powerful oratorio *Belshazzar* (1745; text by Charles Jennens) did not deter later composers from attempting versions of their own. The most successful of these was William Walton's oratorio *Belshazzar's Feast* (1931; text arranged by Osbert Sitwell). Other treatments of the theme were Sibelius' *Belsazars gästabud* (1906), written as incidental music to a drama by the Finnish-Swedish poet Hjalmar Procopé and reworked as an orchestral suite in 1907; and a setting of Heine's *Belsazar* by Bernard van Dieren (1884–1936). The incidental music to a play on the theme which Joseph *Achron composed in 1928 was later reworked as two tableaux for large orchestra.

[Bathja Bayer]

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BELTESHAZZAR (Heb. and Aram. בֵּלְטְאשַׁצַּר; בֵּלְטְשַׁאצַּר; LXX, Βαλτασάρ; Vulg., Baltassar), name given to *Daniel in Babylonia (Dan. 1:7). Foreigners introduced into court life were often given native names; e.g., in Egypt *Joseph became known as Zaphenath-Paneah (Gen. 41:45). Popular etymology related the name Belteshazzar to Bel (Dan. 4:5) but it probably derived from *Balaṭ-šarri-uṣur* ("Protect the life of the king").

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[Bezalel Porten]

BELTSY (Rum. **Bălti**), city in Bessarabia, Moldova; in Romania 1918–40 and 1941–44. Jews were invited there in 1779 when an urban nucleus was formed in the village. Their rights and obligations were established by an agreement in 1782. By 1817 there were 244 Jewish families living in Beltsy. The community subsequently increased through immigration; after the *May Laws were issued in 1882, many Jews expelled from neighboring villages settled in Beltsy. The community numbered 3,124 in 1864 and had grown to 10,348 in 1897 (56% of the total population) even though Jewish domicile was limited by legislation and Jews were often expelled from the city as illegal residents. As an outcome of these expulsions, coupled with economic difficulties, many Jews from Beltsy emigrated toward the end of the 19th century, including a group who journeyed to Ereẓ Israel.

In 1847 a Jewish state school was opened in Beltsy. A *talmud torah*, founded in 1889, provided instruction in both Jewish and general subjects. By the 1930s Jewish educational institutions included a kindergarten, three elementary schools, and two secondary schools, for boys and girls. Welfare institutions included a hospital and old-age home. The Jews in Beltsy were mainly employed in commerce and crafts; some living in the vicinity engaged in agriculture. The 1,539 members of the local Jewish cooperative loan-bank in 1925 included 656 engaged in business, 441 in crafts, and 156 in agriculture. The Jewish population numbered 14,259 (46% of the total) in 1930. When Bessarabia became part of Soviet Russia in June 1940, the communal organization was disbanded.

[Eliyahu Feldman]

Holocaust Period and After

In June 1941 about two-thirds of the town's buildings were destroyed in German and Romanian air raids. The Jews fled to nearby villages, mainly to Vlad. On July 7 a gang of Vlad peasants seized homes sheltering the refugees, murdered the occupants, and set fire to the houses. The next day a group of Romanian soldiers encountered 50 Jews on the road to Beltsy, drove them into the swamps, and shot them to death. Beltsy was captured by the Germans on July 9 and those Jews who had returned were deported to a concentration camp. The same day 10 Jews who had been taken as hostages were executed. The Gestapo also asked the ghetto committee to furnish it with a list of 20 "Jewish communists" who were to be put to death. When they refused to do so, all the committee members, together with another group of 44 Jews, were forced to dig their own graves and shot. Twenty more Jews were shot by the Germans on July 16. On July 11, 1941, all surviving Jews were assembled in the courtyard of the Moldova Bank. Romanian troops transferred them to an internment camp in the Răuțel forest, some 7½ mi. (12 km.) from the town. Many of the inmates died from starvation and disease. By August 30, 1941, only 8,941 Jews were left in the entire district (compared to the 31,916 who resided there according to the 1930 census). They were concentrated in three camps, and later on all were deported to *Transnistria. Even the Jewish tombstones were removed from the cemetery in Beltsy to erase all traces of the Jewish inhabitants of the town. Jews returned to Beltsy after the war. The only synagogue was closed by the authorities in 1959 and the Jewish cemetery was badly neglected. In 1962 militia broke into a house where Jews had assembled for prayer; those attending were taken to the public square where communist youth had been gathered to jeer at them. Their children were expelled from school. The city has retained a certain Jewish character and Yiddish is often heard on its streets. Its estimated Jewish population in 1970 was 15,000 and 1,000 in the early 2000s.

[Jean Ancel]

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BELY, VICTOR ARKADYEVICH (**Aronovich**; 1904–1983), composer and musicologist. Born in Berdichev, Bely studied at the Kharkov Conservatory (violin and composition, 1919–21) and at the Moscow Conservatory with G. Konyus and N. Myaskovsky (composition, 1922–29). From 1935 to 1948 he taught composition there. After working at the Minsk Conservatory in 1949–52 he returned to Moscow and became editor in chief of the Moscow journal *Muzykalnaya Zhizn*. He replaced his early expressionistic style through participation in *Prokoll* (the production collective) with poster-like music for revolutionary masses and then songs for the masses. A vocal piece, *Orlyonok* ("Young Eagle," 1936), was followed by successful war songs, including a popular "Ballad of Captain Gastello." His collection of songs won the Stalin Prize in 1952. Bely was awarded the titles of Honored Art Worker of the RSFSR and Honored Artist of the Belorussian SSR.

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[Marina Rizarev (2nd ed.)]

BELZ, small town in the Lvov district, Ukraine (between the world wars, in Poland). The Jewish settlement in Belz dates from the beginning of the 15th century. About 200 Jews inhabiting 32 houses are recorded in 1550. Two hundred Jews died during the *Chmielnicki uprising in 1648–49 and 60 children subsequently during the Swedish invasion (1660). The community later revived and became famous as a center of Ḥasidism. The *rebbes* of the Rokeaḥ dynasty (see next entry) officiated as rabbis of the community. Other noted rabbis of Belz include Joshua *Falk, Joel *Sirkes, Zechariah *Mendel, and Jonah Te'omim. In 1921 the Jews numbered 2,104 (50.7% of the total population). In May 1942, during the Nazi occupation, there were 1,540 Jews in Belz. About 1,000 were deported to the Sobibor death camp via *Hrubieszow. The remaining Jews were put to work on farms and after the harvest were deported to Sobibor, also via Hrubieszow. In 1970, Jews were living in the town and there was one synagogue there, but there was no community by the early 21st century.

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[Nathan Michael Gelber / Shmuel Spector (2nd ed.)]

BELZ, one of the most important ḥasidic dynasties of Galicia, so called after the township where it took up residence (see previous entry). The founder of the dynasty, SHALOM ROKE'AḤ (1779–1855), came from a distinguished family descended from R. Eleazer *Roke'aḥ of Amsterdam. Orphaned as a child, Shalom studied under his uncle, Issachar Baer of Sokal whose daughter he married. At Sokal he was introduced to ḥasidic teachings by Solomon of *Lutsk, a devoted follower of *Dov Baer, the *Maggid* of Mezhirech. Later Shalom became a disciple of *Jacob Isaac Horowitz, ha-Ḥozeh ("the Seer") of Lublin, Uri of *Strelisk, the *maggid* Israel of *Kozienice, and *Abraham Joshua Heschel of Apta. On the recommendation of Horowitz, Shalom was appointed rabbi in Belz. After Horowitz' death in 1815, Shalom was recognized as a *ẓaddik* as his following increased. He built a splendid *bet midrash* in Belz. Thousands of Ḥasidim flocked to him, including rabbis and well-known *ẓaddikim*, and Belz became the center of Galician Ḥasidism. Many legends tell of the miracles he performed. Shalom was also considered an authoritative talmudist; he stressed the importance of talmudic study and strengthened the principle of learning in Ḥasidism. Active in public affairs, he served as a spokesman for Galician Jewry, taking part in the struggle to improve the severe economic conditions, and opposing Haskalah. Excerpts from his teachings have been frequently quoted. They are collected, with legends and tales of his activities, in *Dover Shalom* (1910). Many of Shalom's descendants served as *ẓaddikim*, including his son-in-law ḤENIKH OF OLESKO and his son JOSHUA (1825–1894) who succeeded him. The latter provided Belz Ḥasidism with the organizational framework which maintained it as the focus of Ḥasidism in Galicia, and ruled his community strictly. One of the leaders of Orthodox Jewry in Galicia, he was prominent in the opposition to Haskalah. He initiated the establishment of the Maḥazikei ha-Dat organization and the Orthodox newspaper *Kol Maḥazikei ha-Dat*.. As a result of the cultural and social tensions in Galician Jewry, the Belz *ẓaddikim* adopted an extreme stand and resisted every new idea emanating from non-Orthodox circles. Some of Joshua's teachings are published in *Ohel Yehoshu'a* (printed with *Dover Shalom*, 1910). Joshua's successor ISSACHAR DOV (1854–1927) was greatly influenced by Aaron of Chernobyl although Aaron taught a form of Ḥasidism that differed radically from that of the Belz school. Issachar Dov was an exacting leader of Galician Orthodoxy and also headed the Maḥazikei ha-Dat. In particular he opposed the Agudat Israel and denounced any innovations. He strongly opposed Zionism in any form. In 1914, when the war front reached Belz, he fled to Hungary and lived in Újfehértó where he succeeded in winning many Hungarian Jews to Belz Ḥasidism. In 1918 he moved to Munkács (*Mukacevo) and became embroiled in a bitter quarrel with the *ẓaddik* of Munkács which gave rise to a voluminous exchange of polemics. In 1921 Issachar Dov returned to Galicia and settled first in Holschitz, near Jaroslaw, moving back to Belz in 1925.

His son and successor AARON (1880–1957) deviated little from the pattern set by his father. He lived an ascetic life, and instituted a lengthy order of prayers. The influence of Belz Ḥasidism had considerable impact on Jewish life in Galicia because its adherents entered all spheres of communal affairs and were not afraid of the effects of strife within the community. Many rabbis accepted the authority of the Belz *ẓaddikim*. In the parliamentary elections the Belz Ḥasidim did not join the Jewish lists, but voted for the Polish government party. On the outbreak of World War II, Aaron escaped to Sokol and then to Przemysl where 33 members of his family were murdered. After confinement in the ghettos of Vizhnitsa, Cracow, and Bochnia, he was sent to Kaschau (now *Kosice), then in Hungary, at the end of 1942 and subsequently to Budapest. In 1944 he managed to reach Ereẓ Israel. There he revised his political views and directed his followers to support the Agudat Israel. He established yeshivot and *battei midrash* throughout the country. His home in Tel Aviv became the new center for the followers of Belz Ḥasidism throughout the world. His grave is a place of pilgrimage where many gather on the anniversary of his death. He was succeeded by his nephew, ISSACHAR DOV (1948–), who established a *bet midrash* in Jerusalem and an independent *kashrut* system. Large numbers of Belz ḥasidim also inhabit the Boro Park section of Brooklyn, New York.

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[Itzhak Alfassi]

BELZBERG, SAMUEL (1928–), Canadian financier and philanthropist. Belzberg was born in Calgary to Abraham and Hilda, who immigrated to Canada from Poland in 1919. His father was clearly imbued with an entrepreneurial spirit. He moved from working on the floor of an abattoir to owning a secondhand furniture store and then successfully shifted into real estate. Samuel was clearly his father's son. Together with his brothers Hyman and William, he embarked on a remarkable and sometimes controversial career in business and finance. Basing himself in Edmonton, Belzberg first made money on oil leasing, and investing the proceeds in real estate, set up what would grow into First City Financial Corporation to finance the acquisitions. In 1968 he moved to Vancouver, where he expanded his finance and real estate holdings. In the rough-and-tumble world of corporate takeovers in the United States of the 1980s, Samuel and his brothers (elder brother Hyman remained in Calgary, while his brother William moved to the United States) scored a number of successes. First City Financial Corporation was, at its height in the 1980s, a powerhouse in the Canadian financial world valued at more than $5 billion. First City and Samuel Belzberg suffered reversals in the early 1990s. In a bitter and much publicized dispute with his two brothers, Samuel was forced out of the financially slumping business. Under the weight of enormous debt, the firm crashed as dramatically as it had soared. Samuel's subsequent business activities were relatively modest.

Paralleling his business rise, Belzberg was heavily involved in philanthropic and community activities in both Edmonton and Vancouver, with much emphasis on support for Jewish causes. In Vancouver, he made substantial donations of time and expertise to both Simon Fraser University (where he was honored with an honorary doctorate) and the University of British Columbia. He and his wife, Frances, established the Dystonia Medical Research Foundation in 1976, after their daughter Cheri was diagnosed with the genetic disease that disproportionately affects Ashkenazi Jews. The Belzbergs became friendly with Rabbi Marvin Hier when he served in Vancouver as rabbi in the Orthodox synagogue Schara Tzedeck. In 1977 Belzberg supported Hier in his establishment of the Simon Wiesenthal Center in Los Angeles and the Center's Museum of Tolerance, which opened in 1993. In 1988 Belzberg was appointed a member of the Order of Canada and in 2001 was promoted to officer in the Order. He married Frances Cooper, who was also a member of the Order of Canada for her efforts on behalf of dystonia research and an HIV Care Unit in Vancouver and for her active support of the Simon Wiesenthal Center.

[Richard Menkis (2nd ed.)]

BELZEC (Pol. **Bełżec**), one of the six Nazi death *camps in German-occupied Poland, situated in the southwest corner of the country on the Lublin–Lvov railway line. Between February and December 1942, close to half a million Jews were killed in its gas chambers by the German SS and their collaborators.

During the ten months of its operation, Belzec was the most lethal of all Nazi camps established in occupied Poland. The overwhelming number of those murdered there came from *Lublin and surrounding areas as well as from the provinces of *Cracow, *Lvov, *Stanislav (Stanislawow), and *Tarnopol – the heart of Galician Jewry. Victims also included Jews from Austria, Germany, and Czechoslovakia. Once the Nazis concluded that all the Jewish communities of *Galicia had been destroyed, they dismantled the death camp and tried to remove all traces of their crime.

Virtually no one brought to Belzec survived, and only two of its victims bore witness to the horrors that took place there. Rudolph Reder of Lublin was the lone survivor to give extended testimony; a second survivor, Chaim Hirszman, was murdered after his first day of testimony.

Unlike some other death camps, the Nazis situated Belzec in a relatively populated area, close to the heavily traveled railway line. Poles and Ukrainians in the area witnessed the systematic murder of Jews; they saw ghetto liquidations and trains arriving at the killing center. Poles lived in terror that the fate of the Jews could soon be theirs. With the scarcity of Jewish eyewitnesses local Poles became a valuable source for learning what occurred.

Belzec, together with *Treblinka and *Sobibor, were the three death camps that operated under the German codename *Aktion Reinhard*, devoted to murdering the Jews in General Gouvernement territory.

Belzec was first established as a forced labor camp for the Jewish and gypsy prisoners who worked on antitank ditches along the German-Soviet border in 1940. This was more than a year before Belzec assumed any role in the killing process. Later, when the killing center at Belzec became operational, these antitank ditches were used as mass graves.

During a conference held in Lublin on October 17, 1941, *SS-Brigadefuehrer* (Brigadier-General) Obidio Globocnik, who was assigned by Heinrich *Himmler to organize *Aktion Reinhard*, informed gathered Nazi officials about the decision to murder the Jews of the General Gouvernement. Within two weeks the first three SS men of the future camp crew arrived to Belzec and requested 20 workers from the local mayor. By

November 1, 1941, construction had begun on the Belzec killing center. The timing of the creation of Belzec coincided with the creation of *Chelmno, one of the six Nazi killing centers where murder by gassing became operational on December 8, 1941. Gassing was by mobile gas canisters of the same type that were built by SS men stationed at Belzec, which were used to kill mental patients in *Zamosc county in December–January 1941–42.

By the end of February 1942 about 120 Jews from Lubycza Krolewska had become the first victims of gassing at Belzec. Between March 17, 1942, and April 14, 1942, "the great action" of killing Jews began as some 70,000–75,000 Jews, most of them from Lublin and Lvov, were murdered. The first gassing installations consisted of three gas chambers located inside a small 26 × 13 foot barrack. The floor of the gas chamber and the walls were covered with tin and the door was made of hard wood to prevent it from being broken open from the inside. The pace of killing overwhelmed the camp's facilities, so on April 17 the gassing ceased, resuming only in the middle of May 1942 when transports from the Cracow district start arriving again to a functioning camp. Once again the speed of deportation outpaced the camp's facilities. So deportations were halted again and murder by gassing ceased in mid-June to permit the old gas chambers to be torn down and replaced with much larger and more efficient ones. They were made of brick and concrete with one door for entering the gas chambers and another for clearing out the bodies. The size of each gas chamber was 13 × 16 feet. At the entrance to the building was a sign: "Shower and Disinfection Room." Their capacity was 1,000–1,200 bodies at a time, or those incarcerated in ten freight cars of arriving prisoners.

By the second week of July deportations and the gassing that followed resumed, continuing uninterrupted until December when the gassing operations were halted. Work detachments of Jewish forced laborers excavated mass graves and burned the bodies to remove all evidence of the crime. When the work was completed, the Germans murdered virtually all surviving forced laborers at *Sobibor. Chaim Hirszman jumped from the train to Sobibor and survived until liberation. He was killed in Lublin, in 1945. A third escapee, Sylko Herc returned to Belzec, where he remained for 2–3 days before going to Cracow. His fate is not known.

In spring 1943–summer 1944, German officials and *Trawniki-trained auxiliaries plowed under the site of the Belzec camp, planted trees, and built a manor house nearby in order to conceal any traces of the killing center. At the end of July 1944, the Soviet Army overran Belzec

The staff of Belzec consisted of between 14 and 30 SS officials, many of whom were veterans of the T-4 operations: the murder of mentally retarded, physically infirm, and emotionally disturbed Germans, where the Nazis pioneered murder by gassing. Some 90–120 Trawniki-trained guards joined them. Trawniki was the camp where 2,500 captured Soviet soldiers and 2,200 civilians became police auxiliaries for the *Aktion Reinhard* killing centers. These troops worked throughout the camps and supported deportations throughout German-occupied Poland.

Christian Wirth, the commandant of Belzec, first developed the killing center. In 1942 Globocnik appointed him inspector of the SS Special Detachments with overall responsibility for the *Aktion Reinhard* camps. Nicknamed the "Wild Christian" by his fellow SS men, his "ideas" for Belzec were also used in Sobibor and Treblinka. He was suceeded as Belzec's commandant by Gottleib Hering in August 1942.

The design of the gas chambers is credited to SS-*Haupscharfuehrer* (Master Sergeant) Lorenz Hackenholt, who first served as a mechanic in the T-4 program operating the mobile gas vans. After his experience at Belzec he constructed the gas chambers at Sobibor and Treblinka. The gas chambers were euphemistically called *Stiftung Hackenholt* (Hackenholt Foundation).

Only one Belzec official faced charges after the war, Wirth's deputy, Josef Oberhauer, a veteran of T-4, who supervised the construction of Belzec. In 1965 he was sentenced to four years and six months in prison.

Number of Victims

Until recently, historians cited 600,000 as the number of Jews killed at Belzec. First established in 1946, the figure was based on the prewar population of Jewish communities presumably deported to Belzec. Because this estimate does not account for Jews murdered in the ghetto deportation operations, or shot in other locations, it is too high.

To date, only one known document, a report dated January 11, 1943, from the coordinator of *Aktion Reinhard*, Hermann Hoefle, to SS-*Obersturmbannfuehrer* Adolf *Eichmann in Berlin, gives a specific figure for Jews killed in Belzec: 434,508. The report, intercepted by the British during World War II, and recently discovered as a declassified document, purports to be a statistical summary of the actual number of Jews arriving at Belzec up to December 31, 1942. It had been radioed on January 11, 1943, by Hoefle for the attention of SS-*Obersturmbannfuehrer* (Lieutenant Colonel) Franz Heim, commander of Security Police in Cracow, and to Eichmann, in Berlin.

As Rudolph Reder reported, there was no detailed count of Belzec's victims and some transports may even not have been included in Hoefle's figures. The Belzec Memorial estimates that the actual death toll for Jews at Belzec may have been as high as 500,000. Groups of non-Jewish Poles and Roma and Sinti were murdered at the Belzec death camp as well. Their number, according to testimonies, could range from dozens to several hundred, but a specific number could not be determined. Poles have argued that several of the Poles were killed for the "crime of saving Jews," but to date no evidence has been found to substantiate this claim.

Rudolph Reder, the only known survivor of Bełzec who lived to tell his story, escaped his captors in November 1942 when he was taken outside the camp by them.

Reder described the killing process as follows:

> Receiving of the train began. Dozens of SS men would open the wagons yelling *"Los!"* ("Get out!"). With whips and their rifle butts, they pushed people out. The doors of the wagon were a meter or more above the ground. Driven out by whips the people had to jump down: everybody, old and young; many broke their arms and legs falling down. They had to jump down to the ground. The children were mangled in the bedlam. Everybody pouring out – dirty, exhausted, terrified....
>
> With each transport it was the same as with the one that I arrived on. People were told to undress, leave their things in the courtyard.... People always showed a spark of hope in their eyes that they are going to work. But seconds later, babies were torn away from their mothers, the old and the sick were thrown on stretchers, and the men, little boys and girls were pushed with rifle butts further and further down the path.
>
> While the women were rounded up naked and shaved, whipped like cattle into a slaughterhouse, the men were already dying in the gas chambers. It took two hours to shave the women and two hours to murder them. Many SS men using whips and sharp bayonets pushed the women toward the building with the chambers.
>
> Then the askars [Trawniki-trained guards] counted out 750 persons per chamber....
>
> I heard the noise of sliding doors, moaning and screaming, desperate calls in Polish, Yiddish – blood-curdling screams. All that lasted 15 minutes.
>
> After the doors were closed, the Jews in the gas chambers realized what was about to happen with them and started to cry and scream. But after a few minutes everything went quiet. After 20 minutes the outer doors of the gas chambers were opened again and the corpses of the Jews were disposed of in the mass graves.

The *Sonderkommando* were Jewish prisoners who were selected to live in order to facilitate the camp's function as a killing center. They escorted the victims from the trains to the gas chambers and disposed of the bodies after the victims were murdered. The crucial tasks of the camp were restricted to the Germans. They alone decided "who shall live and who shall die." They started the diesel engines.

How did the *Sonderkommando* personnel, whom the Germans periodically murdered and replaced with new deportees, cope? Reder reported:

> We moved like automated figures, just one large mass of them. We just mechanically worked through our horrible existence ... Every day we died a little bit together with the transports of people.
>
> When I heard children calling [in the gas chamber]: "Mommy, haven't I been good? It's dark," my heart would break. Later we stopped having feelings.

Another valuable source of historical information was Kurt Gerstein, who was both a perpetrator and informant. An anti-Nazi by conviction, he nevertheless served as an *SS-Untersturmfuehrer* in the Technical Disinfections Department in the Hygienic Institute of the Waffen SS, working directly with Zyklon B. Yet he was so appalled by what he saw in the *Aktion Reinhard* camps of Belzec and Treblinka in August 1942 that he passed on information to a neutral Swedish diplomat, to the Vatican, and to a bishop in the anti-Nazi German Confessing Church. His depiction of the dead is as follows:

> Inside [the gas chamber] the people were still standing erect, like pillars of basalt, since there had not been an inch of space for them to fall in. ... Families could still be seen holding hands, even in death. It was a tough job to separate them as the chambers were emptied to make way for the next batch. A couple of dozen workers checked the mouths of the dead, which they tore open with iron hooks.... Other workers inspected anuses and genital organs in search of money, diamonds, gold, etc. Dentists moved around hammering out gold teeth, bridges, and crowns. In the midst of them stood Captain Wirth, in his element.

There were a few outside sources who made information available to the Polish underground. Among them was Janusz Peter, M.D., a Tomaszow physician who obtained information from local members of the underground as well as SS and Trawniki-trained camp guards who were his patients. This information made its way to London and Washington. Peter alone reports on an instance of resistance on June 13, 1942, that resulted in the killing of several SS guards. No other source for resistance has been found.

For many years Jan Karski, the Polish underground courier, maintained that he had visited Belzec. His description of the camp he visited comports with the contours and function of Izbicia, which was a way station to Belzec. Szlamek Bajler, an escapee from Chelmno shortly after it opened, obtained information regarding the camp that was transmitted to the Oneg Shabbat group in Warsaw. A document sent to the West, based on local eyewitness testimony, notes that killing was by electrocution for local Poles.

Postwar History of the Camp

In 1945–1946, the District Commission on the Investigation of Nazi Crimes in Poland in Lublin investigated the crimes committed in Belzec and concluded that the Nazis murdered about 600,000 Jews at Belzec between March and December of 1942. In 1946, the eyewitness account of Rudolph Reder was published by the District Jewish Historical Commission of Cracow. This is the lone account by a victim of Belzec.

In 1963, a monument was unveiled at the Belzec site, the first commemoration of Belzec's victims.

In 1965, the trial of the former SS man of the Belzec crew Josef Oberhauser took place. He was the only SS guard convicted for the crimes committed in Belzec. His sentence was 4½ years in prison. The other seven SS men tried together with Oberhauser were acquitted by the Munich court. The Main Commission for the Investigation of Nazi Crimes in Poland conducted the second investigation of Belzec crimes but did not find any new information about the camp.

In 1967–1968, at the request of the KGB, the Polish secret police investigated Trawniki-trained Ukrainian guards in Belzec. The documentation was only recently declassified after 30 years.

In 1995, the *United States Holocaust Memorial Museum entered into an agreement with the Council for the Protection of Monuments of Combat and Martyrdom in Poland to erect a new monument at the Belzec site. In May 1997 an international jury chose a design by Andrzej Solyga and his team. Over the next two years archeological surveys were conducted at the Belzec site marking down 33 graves as well as remnants of the building structures and in 2002 construction began on a new monument constructed as a joint effort by the Polish government and the American Jewish Committee.

On January 1, 2004, the Belzec memorial became a division of the State Museum of Majdanek in Lublin in anticipation of the opening on June 2 of a new monument consisting of an evocative environment sculpture together with an adjacent museum explaining how the camp functioned.

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[Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

BELZYCE (Yid. and Heb. **Belzitcz, Belshic, Ba'al Shitz**), small town in Lublin province, Poland. A charter of privileges granted to Belzyce in 1432 designated it a compulsory halting stage for merchants traveling to the Lublin fair. Jews settled there at the beginning of the 16th century, probably connected with this traffic. The physician Jacob *Naḥman lived in Belzyce at the end of the 16th century. The Council of Four Lands convened in Belzyce in 1643. The community suffered heavy losses during the *Chmielnicki massacres of 1648–49. The ḥasidic rabbi Gedaliah Samuel Jacubson lived in Belzyce in the second half of the 19th century. In 1764 the Jewish population numbered 949; in 1897, 1,705 (out of 3,182); in 1921, 1,882 (over half the total population); and in 1939, 2,100.

[Nathan Michael Gelber]

Holocaust Period

The German army entered the town in mid-September 1939, and the Jewish population became subject to the persecution and terror carried out throughout Lublin Province. In February 1940 about 300 Jews from Stettin (then Germany) were deported to Belzyce. In February and March 1941 about 500 Jews from Cracow and another 500 from Lublin were forced to settle there. On May 12, 1942, several thousand Jews from central Germany (Sachsen and Thuringen) arrived. The town's Jewish population grew to about 4,500 by the time the mass deportations to the death camps began. In spring 1942, the Germans conducted an *Aktion* to liquidate the remaining Jews in Belzyce. They rounded up over 3,000 Jews for extermination at Sobibor. Subsequently the Germans established a concentration camp in Belzyce in a few houses around the destroyed synagogue. In May 1943 the Belzyce camp was liquidated. Several hundred Jews, mostly women and children, were shot, while another 250 women and 350 men were sent to Benzin, where only a handful survived. After the war the Jewish community in Belzyce was not reconstituted.

[Stefan Krakowski]

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BE-MOẒA'EI MENUḤAH (Heb. בְּמוֹצָאֵי מְנוּחָה; "at the close of the rest (day)," i.e., the Sabbath), name of a *piyyut* in acrostic style of unknown authorship. It forms part of the *Seliḥot service on the first day of the *Seliḥot* cycle preceding Rosh ha-Shanah. It consists of eight verses which close with the refrain "Hear our supplication and our prayer." The initial words of the first stanza as well as other expressions indicate that it was composed for the first day of *Seliḥot*, which always falls on a Saturday night-early Sunday morning. A song of a similar name, *Be-Moẓa'ei Yom Menuḥah*, forms part of the traditional hymns for the closing of the Sabbath. Its author is the liturgist Jacob de *Lunel ("Ya'akov min Yeriḥo").

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[Meir Ydit]

BEMPORAD, AZEGLIO (1875–1945), Italian astronomer. Bemporad, who was born in Siena, was appointed director of the Capodimonte Observatory near Catania in Sicily in 1912. Some of his first publications were of a purely mathematical nature, and until c. 1924 his main interest was the complex study of the extinction of starlight within the earth's atmosphere. He was also concerned with observational and theoretical studies of solar radiation, of variable stars, solar and lunar eclipses, and occultations. From 1925, he published discussions on the progress of the compilation of the *Catalogo astrofotografico… di Catania* as part of the international enterprise of mapping the sky. Bemporad wrote about the history of astronomy. In 1946, a commemorative volume of his life work was published.

[Arthur Beer]

BEMPORAD, ENRICO (1868–1944), Italian publisher. At an early age he joined the Florentine publishing company of the brothers Alessandro and Felice Paggi. After the death of his father, Roberto, in 1891, he became the head of the firm which had, in the meantime, changed its name into R. Bemporad and son. Under his direction the publishing house became one of the most important in Italy. Bemporad established branch offices in many towns and extended the company's activities from educational and scholastic publications to wider literary fields. His company published the works of Giovanni Verga and Luigi Pirandello as well as the initial edition of Dante's works for the Italian Dante Society. Bemporad was at various times president or managing director of other Italian publishing companies, including Lattes of Turin, Sansoni of Florence, and Zanichelli of Bologna. During the Nazi occupation Bemporad was compelled to abandon his publishing work. He went into hiding and died a few days after Florence was liberated.

[Giorgio Romano]

BEN (Benista), ZEHAVA (1968–), Israeli popular singer. Ben was brought up in a poor neighborhood in the city of Beersheva; her father had been an *ʿud* (lute) player in Morocco. As a teenager, Ben admired and studied the songs of Yemenite singer Zohar *Argov and was inspired by his Middle Eastern vocal style. When Argov died in 1987 she sang his hit "*Peraḥ be-Ganni*" in his memory at an anti-drug concert.

Ben's first major success came in 1990 when she took part in a film called *Tippat Mazzal* ("A Drop of Luck"). The song she sang derived from a Turkish folk tune and became a hit all over Israel. She also made her commercial cassette debut that year, selling 80,000 copies.

Her mainstream vocal breakthrough continued with "*Ketourna Masala*," an east-west duet with the popular Ethnics rock band. The song climbed to first place in the 1992 Israeli hit parade. A turning point in Ben's career came in 1994, when she decided to sing the songs of the most famous singer in the 20th-century Arab world, the legendary Umm Kulthum. Ben's interpretation of the latter's sophisticated and classic songs "*al-Atlal*" and "*Inta ʿumri*" won over her most fanatical fans. She performed this repertoire accompanied by the Haifa Arab Music Orchestra, conducted by Suheil Radwan, at a Palestinian gathering in Nablus, in Jericho during Ramadan, at public concerts in Israel, and at memorial ceremonies for Yitzhak *Rabin. She was also invited with the orchestra to a number of festivals in Europe, including Stockholm, Monpelier, and Paris (Theatre de la ville). In 1995, Ben issued a CD of Umm Kulthum songs called *Zehava Ben Sharah Aravit*.

[Amnon Shiloah (2nd ed.)]

BENA'AH (Benaiah; third century C.E.), Palestinian scholar in Tiberias at the end of the tannaitic and the beginning of the amoraic era. Most of his dicta are transmitted in the Talmud by his disciple *Johanan Nappaḥa, but some are also cited in collections of tannaitic literature. His extant sayings are chiefly of an aggadic character: e.g., "Whoever occupies himself with the Torah for its own sake makes learning an elixir of life" (Ta'an. 7a); "The Pentateuch was given scroll by scroll" (Git. 60a). Bena'ah acquired a great reputation for wisdom, juridical ability, and the unraveling of complex legal cases, as a result of which the Roman authorities appointed him a judge. He was the author of an enactment according to which any judge found guilty even in a civil case was deemed unworthy of continuing in his judicial office (BB 58a–b). According to the biographer of the emperor Alexander Severus, the introduction of a similar statute in Roman law was the result of the Jewish precedent (*Scriptores Historiae Augustae*, Alexander Severus, 45:7). Bena'ah used to mark burial caves to keep the unsuspecting from defilement. In this connection, the talmudic aggadah relates some wondrous tales such as that of his visit to the grave of Adam (BB 58a). Bena'ah was the head of an academy in Tiberias, which apparently continued to function after his death. His disciple, Johanan, taught there (TJ, Shab. 12:13c). Some scholars maintain that it was because of this college that Tiberias was selected as the site of the central academy in Palestine.

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[Zvi Kaplan]

BEN-ABRAHAM, ZVI (1941–), geologist. Born in Jerusalem, he received his B.Sc. in geology in 1968 from the Hebrew University and his Ph.D. from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and at the Woods Hole Oceanographic Institution in 1973. Upon his return to Israel in 1973, after six months as a postdoctoral fellow at Woods Hole Oceanographic Institution, he began working at the Israel Oceanographic and Limnological Research Institute in Haifa and later at the Weizmann Institute of Science in the Department of Applied Mathematics. In 1982, after a two-year sabbatical at Stanford University, Ben-Avraham joined the Department of Geophysics and Planetary Sciences at Tel Aviv University, holding the Nebenzahl and Grossberg Chair in Geodynamics, and heading the Minerva Dead Sea Research Center. That same year, he was appointed professor of geophysics at Stanford University. In 1989 Ben-Avraham accepted an offer to hold the Max Sonnenberg Marine Geosciences Chair at the University of Cape Town. He conducted detailed measurements on the sea floor, magnetic field, gravity field, sub-bottom, and heat flow of the Sea of Galilee, Dead Sea, and the Gulf of Eilat using different geophysical methods. He made numerous geophysical studies of the Levant continental margin and the Levant basin, eastern Mediterranean. He also researched the evolution of the Pacific oceanic margins and ways in which continents grow and compared the San Andreas and Dead Sea faults, which are tectonically similar. As a result, a number of advances were made in understanding the Dead Sea fault valley. Ben-Avraham gained extensive academic experience at various universities in the U.S. and Europe and conducted scientific studies of numerous seas. He is a fellow or member of numerous scientific societies and recipient of the Israel Prize (2003) and the L. Meitner-A.V. Humboldt Research Award (2004).

[Bracha Rager (2nd ed.)]

BENACERRAF, BARUJ (1920–), physician and Nobel Prize laureate in medicine. Benacerraf was born in Caracas, Venzuela. He moved to the United States in 1939 and graduated in science from Columbia University, New York, in 1942 and in medicine from the Medical School of Virginia in 1945. His life-long research interest was immunology. He worked at Columbia University in 1948–49, the Broussais Hospital in Paris in 1949–56, and the New York University School of Medicine in 1956–68, where he became professor. He was director of the immunology laboratory at the National Institute of Allergy and Infectious Diseases, Bethesda, in 1968–70 and Fabyan Professor of Comparative Pathology, Harvard Medical School, from 1970. In 1980 he was awarded the Nobel Prize in medicine (jointly with George Snell and Jean Dausset) for establishing that immune responses are genetically controlled. This and his other discoveries have profound implications for understanding immunity in infections, allergy, and cancer. Among his many awards is the Rabbi Shai Shacknai Prize in immunology and cancer research of the Hebrew University in 1974. He was a member of the board of governors of the Weizmann Institute of Science. He had a special interest in the training of young scientists. He abandoned a successful business career to concentrate on research and his pride in his Sephardi origins was expressed in his Nobel Prize acceptance speech.

[Michael Denman (2nd ed.)]

BEN-ADIR (pen name of **Abraham Rosin**; 1878–1942), writer and Jewish socialist leader, born in Krucha, Belorussia. He received a traditional Jewish education from his grandfather Jacob Aaronson and his uncle Solomon Aaronson. At the age of 16 he went to Odessa to sit for the university examinations as an external student, and then moved to Minsk. In 1896–97 he became influenced by A. *Liessin who advocated a Jewish national brand of socialism. After the First Zionist Congress in 1897, Ben-Adir published an article advocating political Zionism in opposition to the ideology of *Aḥad Ha-Am. In 1901 he moved to Paris where he studied at the Free Russian University, and later returned to Russia. After the *Kishinev pogrom of 1903 Ben-Adir published a call for the formation of a Jewish party which would combine the aims of revolutionary socialism with national Jewish aspirations. Ben-Adir was one of the founders and ideologists of the *Vozrozhdeniye group, and of its successor of the Sejmists (*Jewish Socialist Workers' Party) whose program included Jewish national-political autonomy while envisaging *Territorialism as a remoter aim. He edited its organs *Serp* (Russian) and *Folksshtime* (Yiddish). After the February 1917 Revolution, Ben-Adir became a leader of the *United Jewish Socialist Workers' Party. Also in 1917 he published *Kehile Fragen*, a pamphlet envisaging the *kehillah* as an instrument of national Jewish *autonomy. Ben-Adir withdrew from the united party in 1919 when the communist trend predominated, and in 1921 left Russia for Berlin. His *In Khaos fun Lebn un Denken* ("Whirlwind of Life and Thought"), a collection of essays on socialist problems, in particular an argument against communism, was published in 1925. Ben-Adir stayed in Ereẓ Israel between 1925 and 1927 but returned to Berlin, leaving for Paris in 1933. After the French defeat by the Nazis in 1940 he went to the United States. In Paris and New York he coedited the *Algemeyne Entsiklopedye* ("General Encyclopedia" in Yiddish) to which he also contributed.

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BENADOR, URY, originally **Simon Schmidt** (1895–1971), Romanian novelist. One of his best known novels, *Ghetto veac XX* ("20th-Century Ghetto," 1934), presents a picture of Romanian-Jewish life. A short story, *Appassionato* (1935), describes expressionistically the ecstatic and mystic fascination that Beethoven's music exercises on a young ḥasid from an East European shtetl. During the Communist period, the writer became a conformist supporter of the regime, publishing anti-Zionist and anti-religious pamphlets. A novel, *Gablonz "Magazin Universal"* (1961), is a violent attack on the Jewish bourgeoisie. He also wrote a biography of Beethoven (1964).

[Leon Volovici (2nd ed.)]

BEN-AHARON (Nussenbaum), YITZḤAK (1906–) Israeli labor leader and politician. Member of the First to Fifth, Seventh and Eighth Knessets, on behalf of Mapam, Aḥdut ha-Avodah-Po'alei Zion, and the Alignment lists. Ben-Aharon was born in Zoinitza, then Austrian Bukovina. He studied political science and economics in Berlin and was also a leader in the *Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir movement. Ben-Aharon immigrated to Palestine in 1928, and in 1933 was one of the founders of Kibbutz Givat Ḥayyim, where he remained a member. In 1932–38 he was secretary of the Tel Aviv Labor Council, and in 1939 secretary of *Mapai. In 1940 Ben-Aharon joined the British Army and was taken prisoner by the Germans in Greece in 1941, remaining in a German prison camp until the end of the war. After the war he took part in the struggle of the Yishuv against the British and was among the Jewish leaders arrested on "Black Saturday" on June 29, 1946.

When *Aḥdut ha-Avodah seceded from *Mapai, and established Aḥdut ha-Avodah–Po'alei Zion, he became one of its leaders, representing it in the *Histadrut. In 1948, Aḥdut ha-Avodah–Po'alei Zion united with Mapam and the two parties ran in a single list in the Knesset elections. Ben-Aharon was elected on behalf of Mapam to the First and Second Knessets, and after that on behalf of Aḥdut ha-Avodah–Po'alei Zion. In 1959–62 he served as minister of transportation, resigning due to differences of opinion within his own party on the need for unification with Mapai, and with other members of the government over social and economic issues. In 1965 he was one of the driving forces for the establishment of the first Alignment with Mapai, and in 1968 for the establishment of the Israel Labor Party. From 1969 to 1973 Ben-Aharon served as secretary general of the Histadrut. In this position he encouraged wage claims, particularly on behalf of the lower-paid workers, frequently in contravention of the economic policy of Minister of Finance Pinḥas *Sapir, and spoke out strongly against the high earnings and luxurious living of the wealthy in Israel. He also advocated having the governing bodies of the Histadrut elected by the districts rather than on a national basis and called for an increase in the proportion of representatives elected by the workers directly instead of by the party and trade union functionaries. In this period he strongly criticized the political positions of Prime Minister Golda *Meir, and within *Ha-Kibbutz ha-Me'uḥad clashed with Yitzḥak *Tabenkin, who supported the Greater Israel idea. Ben-Aharon did not run for the Ninth Knesset but continued to act behind the scenes within Ha-Kibbutz ha-Me'uḥad and the Labor Party, while expressing dovish views with regard to the peace process with the Palestinians.

Throughout his career Ben-Aharon was considered not only a political leader but an ideologue as well. His articles and speeches appeared in various collections.

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[Susan Hattis Rolef (2nd ed.)]

BENAIAH (Heb. בְּנָיָהוּ, בְּנָיָה; "YHWH has built"), son of Jehoiada, one of David's warriors and Solomon's commander in chief. Benaiah came from Kabzeel in Judah. Famous for his individual acts of valor, the killing of two warriors, the slaying of a lion in a pit in the snow, and the defeating of an Egyptian giant, he was one of David's most honored warriors (II Sam. 23:20–23; I Chron. 11:22–25). It is reasonable to attribute some of these deeds to the period of David's outlawry or to the first part of his reign. David appointed Benaiah as the head of his bodyguard (II Sam. 23:23; I Chron. 11:25), identified by some scholars with the Cherethites and Pelethites (II Sam. 20:23, according to the *keri*; I Chron. 18:17; cf. II Sam. 8:18; I Kings 1:38), whose commander was also Benaiah. After the death of *Ahithophel, he served as counselor to David, together with the priest *Abiathar (I Chron. 27:33–34, where the order of the names should be reversed according to some versions: "Benaiah son of Jehoiada" instead of "Jehoiada son of Benaiah"). Benaiah opposed *Adonijah's attempt to seize the crown at the end of David's reign and, together with the priest *Zadok and the prophet *Nathan, he proclaimed Solomon king (I Kings 1:8–44). He later carried out the liquidation of *Shimei, of Solomon's rival *Adonijah, and of the latter's supporter *Joab (2:25–46), in whose stead Solomon appointed Benaiah commander in chief.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Bright, Hist, 189–90; de Vaux, Anc Isr. 127–8, 220–1; Dinaburg (Dinur), in: *Zion*, 11 (1946), 165ff.; Mazar, in: *Sefer D. Ben Gurion* (1964), 248–67.

[Yehoshua M. Grintz]

BENAIM (Heb. בן נאיים), name of North African families of rabbis and merchants. JACOB ḤAYYIM BENAIM (d. 1803), rabbi in Fez, Morocco, author, and halakhic authority, left Fez about 1760 for Algeria on his way to Ereẓ Israel, but remained in the city of Mascara, where he was appointed rabbi and *dayyan*. In 1764 he moved to Algiers to become *av bet din*, a position he held for 18 years; eventually, however, his harsh exercise of this office provoked opposition from noted scholars in the community and he left. He settled in Leghorn in 1782 and there had his works printed, including *Zera Ya'akov*, responsa (1784); *Yeshu'ot Ya'akov*, sermons (1795); and an edition of the Zohar (1795). His novellae to the Talmud were published posthumously in *Ḥesed ve-Emet* (Salonika, 1813). He also composed *piyyutim* for a local Purim of Algiers to commemorate the victory over the Spanish.

MOSES (19th century), merchant, emigrated from Algiers to Marseilles, France. In 1819 he established the Dramont commercial house for Franco-Moroccan trade; his good relations in the two countries proved beneficial to the business affairs of his Jewish compatriots. His son Makhluf founded another commercial company with the later Rif rebellion leader Abd el-Kader. RAPHAEL ḤAYYIM MOSES (c. 1850–1920), was born in Tetuan but emigrated to Palestine in his youth. He was a member of the *bet din* of Tiberias. In the 1870s he traveled to Turkey and North Africa as an emissary to collect charitable funds for Palestine. In Gibraltar he was chosen chief rabbi (1881), and held this position until his death. His publications include *Raḥamim* [initials of Raphael Ḥayyim Moses (son of) Isaya (and) Masudah] *Peshutim*, responsa (Tunis, 1910; but according to the preface not published before 1914), and other rabbinical works.

JOSEPH (1882–1961), rabbi and clerk to the *bet din* of Fez, Morocco, was a lifelong bibliophile, who collected the largest library of books and manuscripts in Morocco. His own works include a bio-bibliographical dictionary of rabbis of Morocco, *Malkhei Rabbanan, Kevod Melakhim* (Jerusalem, 1931); a collection of sermons, *Millei Me'alyata* (in manuscript); and many other writings left in manuscript. After his death his library was sold to the Jewish Theological Seminary of New York. DAVID (1888–1968), son of Raphael Ḥayyim Moses, was the leader of the Jewish community in Gibraltar after his father's death. He became a member of the Government Council of the Colony, and in 1954 he was appointed honorary consul of Israel for Gibraltar.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: J.M. Toledano, *Ner ha-Ma'arav* (1911), 185, 193; Yaari, Sheluḥei, 656, 859; R.H.M. Benaim, *Raḥamim Peshutim* (1910), preface; A. Cahen, *Juifs dans l'Afrique septentrionale* (1867), 105–6; Hirschberg, Afrika, 2 (1965), index; H.Z. Hirschberg, *Me-Erez Mevo ha-Shemesh* (1957), 212–4; *Oración Fúnebre… J. Ibn Naim* (Leghorn, 1803); Miège, Maroc, 2 (1961), 160, 156.

[David Obadia]

BEN ʿALĀN, JOSHUA (ninth century?), author of a Hebrew treatise on the Jewish calendar. Excerpts from the treatise are found in a polemical essay by the Karaite scholar Hasan b. Mashi'aḥ (Ms. Leningrad), in which the latter refers to Ben ʿAlān as "the rabbinical scholar who is the best versed in the science of the calendar." This is the only source for Joshua's name; a grammarian by name of Judah b. ʿAlān, who lived in Tiberias at the beginning of the tenth century, may have been Joshua's brother, as Harkavy assumes.

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[Moshe Nahum Zobel]

BEN-AMI (Shieren), JACOB (1890–1977), actor and director. Ben-Ami's long stage career began in his native Minsk, Belorussia, before he was a teenager. After traveling with many Yiddish acting companies through Eastern Europe, Ben-Ami went to the United States in 1912 to appear with Rudolf Schildkraut and Sarah Adler in Yiddish plays. In 1918, together with Maurice *Schwartz, he founded the Yiddish Art Theater in New York. Ben-Ami's reputation as an actor and director grew, and in 1920 he made his English-language acting debut in *Samson and Delilah*, a drama written by a Dane, Sven Lange, that Ben-Ami had played and directed in Yiddish in New York and in Russia. The following year he made his Broadway debut in Peretz Hirshbein's *The Idle Inn*, and many leading roles followed. Ben-Ami played more parts on the English-speaking stage than on the Yiddish, but he did not appear in a commercial success until almost 40 years later, when he played a grandfather in Paddy Chayefsky's *The Tenth Man* (1959). In the interim, Ben-Ami toured extensively in South America, in South Africa, and in the United States where he did Yiddish plays and Yiddish translations of Russian, European, and American plays.

[Stewart Kampel]

BEN-AMI (Dankner), OVED (1905–1988), founder and longtime mayor of Netanyah. Ben-Ami, who was born in Petaḥ Tikvah, served as secretary of Benei Binyamin (1924–28), an organization of the sons of early Jewish settlers, which was instrumental in establishing several new settlements. Ben-Ami founded the town of Netanyah in 1928–29, and the settlement of Even Yehudah in 1932. He was mayor of Netanyah continuously from 1930 with minor interruptions. During that time Netanyah became a major resort and the center of Israel's diamond industry. In 1947 Ben-Ami and other Jewish mayors and *yishuv* leaders were arrested by the British Mandatory authorities in reprisal for Jewish underground activities. Ben-Ami was a member of the Liberal Party and a part owner of *Ma'ariv*, the daily evening paper. From 1958 to 1961 he was active in the establishment of the new town of Ashdod, heading the Ashdod Development Company. He wrote the books, *Netanyah, Birat ha-Sharon* (1940), and *Unbreakable Spirit of Our Jewish Heritage* (1964).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Tidhar, 2 (1947), 1024–25.

[Benjamin Jaffe]

BEN-AMITAI, LEVI (1901–1980), Hebrew writer. He received a general education in his native Belorussia and in 1917 joined the He-Ḥalutz movement. In 1920 he emigrated to Palestine, where he worked as a manual laborer. He became a member of kibbutz Deganyah Bet in 1925, and worked there first as an agricultural laborer, then as a teacher. His stories and sketches in Hebrew periodicals began to appear in 1925. His books of poetry include *Ha-Shibbolim Penimah* (1934); *Leilot ba-Maẓor* (1939); *Ba-Kevuẓah* (1938); *Sadot she-ba-Emek* (1950); *Oholivah* (1959); *Mi-Midbar Mattanah* (1962), poems about the Essenes; and *Osfei Kayiẓ* (1966). He edited the anthologies *Deganiyyot* (1955) and *Ha-Sofer ba-Kevuẓah* (1956), and was coeditor of a collection of short stories by writers in cooperative agricultural settlements, entitled *Al Admatam* (1959). Ben-Amitai's poetry is distinguished by its short verses, and restrained, almost prosaic style. The agricultural-folk setting takes on symbolic dimensions by virtue of the connotative language he chooses. Much of his writing is charged with strong religious accents that evoke a prayerful mood.

ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY: R. Peled, *Yaḥid ve-Yaḥad be-Shirat Levi Ben-Amitai ba-Shanim 1925–1939* (1993).

[Getzel Kressel]

BEN-AMMI (Rabinowicz), MORDECAI (1854–1932), author and journalist writing in Russian. A traditional Jewish education and the harsh circumstances of his life after he lost his father at a young age are reflected in his stories. At Odessa he attended a yeshivah where the curriculum included languages and sciences. Influenced by Perez *Smolenskin, he became a *maskil*, and entered a Russian secondary school and thereafter the University of Odessa. When pogroms broke out in southern Russia in 1882, Ben-Ammi took part in organizing Jewish self-defense in Odessa. He campaigned against the czarist regime for organizing the pogroms and the Russian press for condoning them, also castigating the Jewish intelligentsia for failing to defend its people. In 1882 he went to Paris to obtain assistance from the Alliance Israélite Universelle for the victims of the pogroms. From there he sent his "Letters from Paris" to the Russian-Jewish monthly *Voskhod* (signed "Resh Galuta"), which reflect his deep appreciation of Jewish values. The same year Ben-Ammi moved to Geneva, where he began to write stories depicting the joyous spirit of Jewish festivals and the legends associated with them. In 1883 he completed the stories "*Priezd Tsadika*," and "*Ben Yukhid,*" the latter reflecting the atmosphere of the days of the Cantonists, and in 1884 a long story "*Baal Tefila*." The stories became popular among Jews who read Russian. In 1887 Ben-Ammi returned to Odessa, where he remained until 1905, and published the autobiographical story *Detstvo* ("Childhood"), in which he describes the Jewish background of his youth. In articles published in *Voskhod,* he attacked the czarist authorities for their anti-Jewish discrimination. He also criticized the Jewish intelligentsia for having renounced Jewish values and for leaving their persecuted brethren to suffer an unfortunate fate. He also published a collection of stories for Jewish juvenile readers with illustrations, as well as a series of stories in Yiddish. Ben-Ammi became a member of the committee of Ḥovevei Zion in Odessa upon its formation in 1890, and was a delegate to the First Zionist Congress and other congresses convened by Theodor Herzl. His esteem for Herzl was so great that on his death Ben-Ammi mourned him as though he were a close relative. While living in Odessa, he taught in the Jewish school directed by Mendele Mokher Seforim, whose faithful friend he remained throughout his life. On the outbreak of the

Russian revolution of 1905, Ben-Ammi returned to Geneva. In 1923 he settled in Ereẓ Israel. Ben-Ammi's stories portray the traditional Jewish way of life from the inside. Despite a certain sentimentality and romanticization, their pervasive sincerity and spirit of piety give them a unique appeal, especially among the young. Several were translated into Hebrew by Ḥ.N. Bialik.

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[Israel Klausner]

BEN-AMOTZ, DAHN (**Moshe Tehilimzeiger**; 1923–1989), Israeli author and humorist. Born in Poland, he was taken to Palestine with a group of children in 1938, escaping the fate of his parents, who were murdered in the Holocaust. He joined the British Navy during World War II. After the war he volunteered for the Palyam, the marine branch of the Palmaḥ, where he first established himself as a humorous writer. Though his earliest publication is a volume of "serious" stories *Arba'ah ve-Arba'ah* (1950), he won fame with a collection of Palmaḥ lore – half fact, half tall story – entitled *Yalkut ha-Kezavim* ("Bag of Lies," 1956), which he wrote jointly with the poet Ḥayim *Ḥefer. His other humorous writings, initially published in the Hebrew press, are collected in *Mah Nishma* ("What's New," 1959) and *Eikh La'asot Mah* ("How to do What," 1962). In 1968 he published his first full-scale novel, *Lizkor ve-Lishko'aḥ* ("To Remember and To Forget") which, though laced with humor, is basically a return to serious writing. A semi-autobiographical story, it constitutes the author's attempt to confront a past he had tried to ignore, his non-*sabra* origin, the murder of his parents, and his own responsibility as their son. The questions of the German people's guilt, the existence of the "other Germany," and the moral justification for accepting German reparations are all widely explored in this book. An English translation of *To Remember and To Forget* was published in 1973.

Besides writing, Ben-Amotz made a reputation for himself as a witty radio personality, starting with the popular *Three in One Boat* program, as a sharp-tongued interviewer, as manager of the Ḥamam satirical cabaret, organizer of happenings, lexicographer of Hebrew slang, sometime actor (a small part in *A Streetcar Named Desire* – during his Hollywood phase – and the part of Uzi in *Exodus*), and as the quintessential Israeli, an exemplar of the "New Jew," the sabra, combining charm and brashness with a highly visible bohemian lifestyle and left-wing politics. Dying of cancer, he arranged a now legendary farewell party for himself, receiving the accolades of Israel's cultural and political elite with customary good cheer.

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[Miriam Arad / Fred Skolnik (2nd ed.)]

BENAMOZEGH, ELIJAH BEN ABRAHAM (1822–1900), Italian rabbi and kabbalist. Benamozegh was born in Livorno (Leghorn) of Moroccan parents. His father died when he was three years old and his Jewish education was seen to by his mother's brother, the kabbalist Judah Coriat. Destined for a commercial career, Benamozegh soon revealed extraordinary intellectual ability and from 1846 could devote himself entirely to study. He served as a preacher at the synagogue of Livorno, as a professor of theology in the rabbinical school of the city, and as a member of the local rabbinical court. He also founded a printing house for Jewish religious books. Benamozegh's intellectual energy was directed mainly to the defense of the Kabbalah, and he may be considered the last important kabbalist in Italy. He considered the Kabbalah as a genuine part of Jewish dogma, paralleling the tradition of the Oral Law. Hostile to Ḥasidism (which he saw as a superstitious degradation of pure Jewish theology), Benamozegh tried to show the affinities between Kabbalah and philosophy (as had a century before another kabbalist from Livorno, Joseph *Ergas), arguing that the former took precedence. Embracing Eastern and Western elements, the will to both unity and to multiplicity, the Kabbalah could moreover represent a solution to the religious crisis of modern Europe. Benamozegh wrote numerous books and articles in Hebrew, Italian, and French. Among his works are (1) Exegesis: *Ner le-David* (1858), a commentary on Psalms; *Em la-Mikra* (1862–65), a commentary on the Pentateuch in five volumes incorporating the findings of comparative philology, archaeology, and ancient history, in which the influence of the Italian philosopher G. Vico is particularly prominent. This commentary was condemned by the rabbis of Aleppo and Jerusalem, who attacked it for being too open to "external sciences" and to mythology; (2) Theology: *Spinoza et la kabbale* (1864), on the possible kabbalistic origins of Spinoza's thought; *Teologia dogmatica e apologetica* (1877), in which Benamozegh starts to build a comprehensive Jewish theology based on the Kabbalah. Benamozegh saw in Hegel's philosophy the most dangerous enemy of a religious philosophy and considered the thought of the Catholic V. Gioberti a powerful weapon in the fight against "modern pantheism," i.e. German idealism; *Israël et l'Humanité* (revised and published postumously in 1914 by his Christian disciple Aimé Pallière; *Israel ve-ha-Enoshut* (1967; *Israel and Humanity*, 1994), on the universal potential of Judaism. (3) Apologetics: *Ta'am le-Shad* (1863), a refutation of Samuel David *Luzzatto's *Vikku'ah al Ḥokhmat ha-Kabbalah*, in which Luzzatto denied the antiquity of the *Zohar* and the theological interest of Kabbalah; *Morale juive et morale chrétienne* (1867; *Jewish and Christian Ethics*, 1873; *Bi-Shevilei Musar,* 1966), on the superiority of Jewish ethics, which concerns itself with the political sphere while Christian ethics sees ascetism as its supreme value. In the second part of this work, *L'origine des dogmes chrétiens*, Benamozegh tries to show that Christianity derives from an incorrect interpretation of Kabbalah. (4) History: *Storia degli Esseni* (1865), a collection of lectures on the *Essenes, seen as the forerunners of the kabbalists.

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[Alessandro Guetta (2nd ed.)]

BENARDETE, MAIR JOSÉ (1895–1983), philologist. Benardete was born in Turkey and emigrated to the United States in 1910. He was a long-time professor of Spanish and Sephardic Studies at Brooklyn College in New York City. Benardete and Federico de Onis, who founded Columbia University's Hispanic Institute in 1920, are well known for effecting a reconciliation between Hispanics and Sephardim in America. Benardete was director of the institute's Sephardic Studies Section in the late 1920s. Under his direction, the section sponsored lectures on Sephardi civilization, generated articles for the institute's *Revista Hispanica Moderna*, published a Ladino/Spanish commemorative volume on medieval Spanish-Jewish poet *Judah Halevi, and staged plays in Judeo-Spanish.

Benardete wrote a number of volumes in the field of Spanish literature and civilization. Several Loyalist ballads are presented in English translation in *And Spain Sings* (1937), which he prepared in collaboration with the poet Rolfe Humphries. His *Hispanic Culture and Character of the Sephardic Jews* (1952; Spanish, 1963) is an analysis of the Sephardi Jews.

Benardete retired from City University of New York / Brooklyn College in 1965. As a tribute to the renowned scholar, his colleagues Louis Levy and David Barocas formed the Committee for the Advancement of Sephardic Studies and Culture to publish the testimonial book *Studies in Honor of M.J. Benardete*. They then joined forces with other Sephardi leaders to continue publishing books on Sephardi history and Sephardi life in the U.S.

In the late 1970s Benardete, along with Rabbi Marc *Angel, Levy, and Barocas, initiated the idea of a cultural center that would fill the void in information and programming regarding Sephardi history and culture. To that end, Sephardic House was established in 1978 at Congregation Shearith Israel in New York City.

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[Victor A. Mirelman / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

BENARES, capital of Benares district, India. This sacred city of the Hindus became the residence of Anglo-Jewish merchants toward the end of the 18th century because of its proximity to the diamond mines. Among these early Jewish merchants was Jacob Barnet, an English diamond merchant who moved from Madras to Benares in 1780. His clients in London included the merchant-house of Israel Levin Solomons. In 1786 Lyon Prager was sent by this firm to Bengal and established his headquarters in Benares. Prager also became inspector and purchaser of drugs, indigo, and other commodities for the English East India Company. After his death in 1793 his activities were continued by his brother George Prager, who moved from Benares to Calcutta. The Jewish association with Benares was maintained by the affluent Anglo-Portuguese Jewish diamond merchant Benjamin d'Aguilar (d. 1813), and Pellegrine Treves (d. 1825), who obtained permission to settle in Bengal in 1774.

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[Walter Joseph Fischel]

BEN-ARIEH, YEHOSHUA (1928–), Israeli geographer specializing in historical and cultural geography and the Middle East. Considered one of the most important researchers of Ereẓ Israel and Jerusalem in the modern era, Ben-Arieh was born in Tel Aviv, and received his Ph.D. from the Hebrew University of Jerusalem in 1963. He began to lecture at the Hebrew University in 1965 and became a professor in 1979. From 1982 until 1985 he served as dean of the Faculty of Humanities. In 1997 he became rector of the Hebrew University. He was a research fellow at the University College of London and was visiting professor at the University of Maryland, Carleton University, and University College of London. In 1971 he received the Ben-Zvi Prize and in 1977 the Bialik Prize. In 1999 he was awarded the Israel Prize for geography. Among his books in English are *Rediscovery of the Holy Land in the Nineteenth Century* (1980), *Jerusalem in the Nineteenth Century: The Old City* (1985), and *Jerusalem in the Nineteenth Century: Emergence of the New City* (1987). Volumes edited include *Jerusalem in the Mind of the Western World, 1800–1948* (1997) and *Painting the Holy Land in the Nineteenth Century* (1997).

[Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

BEN-AROYA, AVRAHAM (1887–1979), Greek socialist and one of the founders of the labor movements in Salonika and Macedonia. Born in Vidin, Bulgaria, Ben-Aroya was a teacher and in 1908 went to Salonika, then under Turkish rule, where he taught Bulgarian and worked as a printer. Already an enthusiastic socialist, Ben-Aroya found in Salonika's large Jewish working class a ready audience for his doctrines. While his views were close to those of the small revolutionary Bulgarian group, he was drawn to the exploited and unorganized Jewish workers in the city, especially the tobacco workers with whom he shared common interests. In 1909 he formed the Salonika workers' organization later known as the *Federación Socialista Laboradera* ("Socialist Workers' Federation"). Under Ben-Aroya's direction the Federation founded the first workers' newspaper in Turkey, *El Journal del Laborador*, and later a weekly Ladino newspaper, *Solidarità Oberadera*. After the Balkan war, Ben-Aroya joined with Greek socialists in Athens. He formed *La Bursa del Laboro* ("Jewish Syndicate Center") and was elected chairman of its executive. He was also a leader of the Greek Socialist Party, but when the Party split in 1924 Ben-Aroya helped to found the Social Democratic Party and its newspaper *The New Period* (in Greek). Subsequently, Ben-Aroya published numerous political pamphlets including tracts on *Social Democracy and the Jewish Question* (Bulgarian) and *The Workers' Movement in Turkey* (Hebrew tr. 1910). In 1953 Aroya emigrated to Israel. Although bitterly opposed to Zionism for many years, the rise of Nazism and World War II changed his views, while his decision to emigrate to Israel reflected his disillusionment with socialism, which he had previously believed would resolve the Jewish question.

[Baruch Uziel]

BENAROYA, AVRAM (1888–1955), journalist and first teacher of stenography in Turkey. Born in Edirne, Benaroya studied in the Ecole Normale Israélite in Paris. His first teaching position was in Hasköy, Istanbul, and then in Damascus. From 1911 he taught French and stenography at the Turkish Lycée Galatasaray and the High School of Commerce. His stenography method was adopted by the Ministry of Education. In 1925 the Ministry of Commerce decided to introduce stenography in the commercial schools and Benaroya was responsible for the curriculum. In 1928 Benaroya started working as a stenography teacher in the Turkish Parliament. His journalistic career began in *Le Jeune Turc*. Later he wrote in *Ikdam*, *Stamboul*, *La République*, and *Le Journal d'Orient*. In 1948 he started publishing *L'Etoile du Levant*, a weekly newspaper in French which appeared until shortly after his death. His books include: *Basit ve Vatani Kıraat: Lectures Patriotiques Faciles* (1916), *Türkçe Lisanına Mahsûs Stenografya Usûlü*, Istanbul (1918), *Türkçe'ye Mahsûs Stenografya Usûlü* (1929), *Istenografi Esas Kuralları ve Kısaltmalar Ders 1–2* (1943), *İstenografi: Esas Kurallar ve Kısaltmalar* (*12 ders*) (1944), *Istenografi Dersleri* (1947).

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[Rifat Bali (2nd ed.)]

BENARUS, ADOLFO (1863–1958), Portuguese writer. His grandfather David Bensabat, born in Morocco, was the first Jew to settle (1815) in the Azores Islands. Benarus was born there, at Angra do Heroísmo. He was a painter and philologist and taught English in the faculty of letters of the University of Lisbon and in other educational institutions. He was active in communal life and was honorary president of the Jewish community of Lisbon. He wrote *Israel* (1924); *Os Judeus, Historia Estranha deste Povo* ("The Jews, the Strange Story of This People," 1927); *A Tragédia da Historia* ("The Tragedy of History," 1937); *Anti-semitismo* (1948) as well as pamphlets on Jewish festivals.

[Moses Bensabat Amzalak]

BENAS, BARON LOUIS (1844–1914), English banker and communal worker. Born in London, he settled in Liverpool early in life where he carried on the family banking business. He established in 1867 the Liverpool branch of the *Alliance Israélite Universelle, which later became the local branch of the *Anglo-Jewish Association, serving as its president until his death. He was chairman of a commission set up in 1882 by the London Russo-Jewish Committee to supervise the emigration via Liverpool to the United States of refugees from Russia. He was elected president of the Liverpool Literary and Philosophical Society in 1890 and wrote several papers for that and other learned societies, including *Records of the Jews in Liverpool* (1899) as well as an article on the history of Liverpool Jewry for *The Jewish Encyclopedia* of 1909. His son, BERTRAM BENJAMIN BARON (1880–1968), practiced as a chancery barrister from 1906. A well-known figure in legal circles, he was appointed bencher of the Middle Temple in 1953 and was also chairman of the Liverpool Bar Association. He served as president of the Merseyside Jewish Representative Council (1944–46) and of the Jewish Historical Society of England (1951–53). He was the author of a number of books and papers, including supplements to his father's pioneering monograph on Liverpool Jewish history.

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[Sefton D. Temkin]

BEN-ASHER, AARON BEN MOSES (called **Abu Saʿid** in Arabic; first half of tenth century), last and most important of a family of masoretes active in Tiberias for five generations, from the second half of the eighth century. That Ben-Asher lived in the first half of the tenth century may be deduced from a list in the *Keter*, a biblical manuscript formerly in Aleppo, now in Israel. This states that Ben-Asher vocalized and *masar* (i.e., wrote the *Masorah of) the *Keter*, which was written by Solomon b. Bouya'a, a well-known scribe, who wrote another Bible dated 930. It is also known that Ben-Asher was no longer alive in 989, since the scribe of the manuscript of the Former Prophets from that date says of him: "may he rest in the Garden of Eden" (Leningrad, Firkovich II, Ms. 39). Ben-Asher was apparently an elder contemporary of *Saadiah Gaon, who wrote the anti-Karaitic critique "*Essa Meshali*," against Ben-Asher.

The controversial question, as to whether or not Ben-Asher was a Karaite, was seemingly settled when this reply of Saadiah (mentioned in Dunash's objections on Saadiah, p. 21, no. 72) was discovered. In this reply it is clear that the Ben-Asher who was Saadiah's opponent worked on masorah, and it seems, therefore, that he was identical with Aaron Ben-Asher, the well-known masorete. The assumption that he was a Karaite serves to explain his attitude to the Bible and its authoritativeness in matters of *halakhah* (for example, *Dikdukei ha-Te'amim*, ed. A. Dotan (1967), ch. 2: "The prophets… complete the Torah, are as the Torah, and we decide

Law from them as we do from the Torah") and to vocalization, opinions rooted in Karaite thought. It appears from the parallel ideas and style used in the *Maḥberet Ben-Asher* (see below), from the "Wine Song" written by his father, and from the list which his father appended to the codex of the Prophets (kept in the Karaite synagogue, Cairo), which he wrote "827 years after the destruction of the Second Temple" (i.e., in 895), that his father, Moses Ben-Asher, was also a Karaite, and it is probable that Karaism was a family tradition. (Note, however, that Dotan (*Sinai*, 41 (1957), 280ff.) and M. Zucker (*Tarbiz*, 27 (1957/58), 61ff.) hold that Aaron Ben-Asher and his family were not Karaites.) It is noteworthy that the founder of the family, "Asher the Great Sage," apparently lived in the first half of the eighth century and was a contemporary of Anan, a precursor of Karaism.

Ben-Asher rapidly gained fame as the most authoritative of the Tiberias masoretes, and in 989, the scribe of the above-mentioned manuscript of the Former Prophets vouched for the care with which his copy was written by the fact that he had vocalized and added the masorah "from the books that were [vocalized] by Aaron ben Moses Ben-Asher." Maimonides, by accepting the views of Ben-Asher (though only in regard to open and closed sections), helped establish and spread his authority. Referring to a Bible manuscript then in Egypt, he writes: "All relied on it, since it was corrected by Ben-Asher and was worked on (*ve-dikdek bo*) by him for many years, and was proofread many times in accordance with the masorah, and I based myself on this manuscript in the *Sefer Torah* that I wrote" (Yad, Maim. Sefer Torah, 8:4). It is generally agreed that the codex used by Maimonides is that formerly in Aleppo.

Proof for this is adduced from Saadiah b. David Al-Adni, who wrote in his commentary on the Yad (*ibid.*): "The Codex that the Gaon [i.e., Maimonides] used is in Zoba, called Aleppo, and is called the *Keter*… and at the end is written, 'I Aaron Ben-Asher proofread it… I saw and read it'" (Oxford, Bodleian Library Ms. Hunt. 372, fol. 138b; cf. P. Kahle, *The Cairo Genizah* (1947), 58). However, Cassuto, who studied the *Keter* in Aleppo, was doubtful. An attempt was made to refute these doubts by M. Goshen-Gottstein (*Textus*, 1 (1960), 1ff.), but A. Dotan further supported Cassuto's position (*Tarbiz*, 34 (1964/65), 136ff.) It now appears likely that it was Ben-Asher who vocalized and added the masorah to the *Keter* of Aleppo, despite the fact that the note in the manuscript was written after his death. The masorah has been vocalized and added by "the lord of scribes, the father of wise men and the first of teachers… the unique Rabbi Aaron ben Rabbi Asher, may his soul be bound up in the bond of eternal life" (the latter being an epithet applied to a person who has died)

The tradition of Ben-Asher is the one accepted in the Jewish Bible, but this does not mean that the version of the Bible found in the common editions is exactly the same as that which Ben-Asher produced. The differences between the printed editions and the various manuscripts assumed to be written in the Ben-Asher tradition are mainly in the placing of the accents, especially the use of the *meteg*, different uses of the *sheva* and *ḥataf* in certain grammatical forms, all differences that are unimportant for the average reader. These differences developed over the years, usually as a result of grammatical assumptions that were not always correct. Furthermore, certain divergences in vocalization and masorah are found even in manuscripts that are accepted as Ben-Asher codices. This fact, combined with the evidence of Mishael b. Uzziel in his *Kitab al-Khulaf*, indicates that Ben-Asher used different systems of vocalization at different times in specific words. It may be said, therefore, that different Ben-Asher manuscripts reveal a continual development in his method of vocalization.

Ben-Asher was one of the first to lay the foundations of Hebrew grammar. His *Sefer Dikdukei ha-Te'amim* (or the *Maḥberet Ben-Asher*, as David *Kimḥi called it in his commentary on Judg. 6:19) is a collection of grammatical rules and masoretic information. Grammatical principles were not at that time considered worthy of independent study. The value of this work is that the grammatical rules presented by Ben-Asher reveal the linguistic background of vocalization. The book was first published in *Biblia Rabbinica* edited by Pratensis, the format later called *Mikra'ot Gedolot* (1516–18), and again in 1879 by S.I. Baer and Strack, who edited the material according to topics, in a manner different from that in the first edition. Until recently all studies relating to Ben-Asher's system of grammar and masorah were based on this edition. A. Dotan's edition (1967), which includes a commentary and studies on the content of the book, changed the previous conception of *Dikdukei ha-Te'amim* as it had been understood for 90 years. Many of the phonological and morphological topics which had been commonly attributed to *Dikdukei ha-Te'amim* are not included. The main theme discussed in the book is the relationship of the biblical accents to the rules of vocalization and pronunciation. The *sheva* and its pronunciation play a major part in this work.

Except for certain parts, including masoretic lists, the book is written in a rhymed poetic style, using paytanic language. It can be assumed that the parts not written in this style were not by Ben-Asher. The language of the book shows a certain Arabic influence, particularly with regard to grammatical terms. Even in its more limited form *Dikdukei ha-Te'amim* is important not only for showing how the different vocalizers determined the correct vocalization, but also for a clearer understanding of the grammatical world of the later masoretes, who laid the foundations for Hebrew grammar in later generations.

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(1860), 32; Schorr, in: *He-Ḥalutz*, 6 (1862), 67ff.; J. Saphir, *Even Sappir*, 1 (1866), 11–20; 2 (1874), 185ff.; B.Z. Bacher, *Nizzanei ha-Dikduk* (1927), 27–41; D. Yellin, *Toledot Hitpatteḥut ha-Dikduk ha-Ivri* (1945), 6–29; M.H. Segal, *Mevo ha-Mikra*, 4 (1952^{3}), 896–9 and esp. notes 15, 17; *Ben-Ḥayyim*, in: *Leshonenu*, 18 (1953), 92–94; B. Klar, *Meḥkarim ve-Iyyunim* (1954), 276–319; Cassuto, in: *Haaretz* (April 15, 1949). **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** E.J. Revell, in: ABD, 4: 593–94; J. Penkower, in: DBI, 1:117–19.

[Zeev Ben-Hayyim]

BEN-ASHER, MOSES (second half of ninth century), scribe and masorete. Moses was the fourth in the line of well-known masoretes descended from Asher the Elder, and the father of the last, Aaron. A manuscript by him of the Former and Latter Prophets has survived, written, pointed, and furnished with accents and masoretic notes. Found today in the Karaite synagogue in Cairo, it has been photographed a number of times (one photocopy is in Jerusalem). A colophon by Ben-Asher at the end of the manuscript testifies that he wrote it in Tiberias in the year 827 after the destruction of the Second Temple (i.e., 896 C.E.). The manuscript is a beautiful one, embellished with drawings and illuminations, the work of an expert artist, in a style which, according to the latest investigations, constitutes an ancient specimen of Islamic decorative art, older than any extant surviving Koran and thus perhaps the most ancient of this type.

The vowel-points, the accents, and the masoretic notes are marked with the stamp of antiquity, but deviate greatly from the method of pointing of his son Aaron, whose method is nowadays called "the school of Ben-Asher" (see *Ben-Asher, Aaron). A comparison of the readings in the manuscript with the list of variants in the *Kitāb al-Khulaf* of Mishael b. Uzziel shows that in almost two-thirds of the cases the manuscript follows the reading of *Ben-Naphtali, and only in one-third, that of Aaron Ben-Asher (see *Masorah). At times it also maintains its own independent reading. In about a quarter of the cases in which the two authorities agree, according to Mishael, he differs from both their readings. He points בִּישְׂרָאֵל (Jer. 29:23) and לִירְאָה (Jer. 32:39). Accordingly the Ms. displays a great measure of affinity with what was later termed "the school of Ben-Naphtali." On the other hand it contains a great number of *ge'ayot* (i.e., *metegs*; "secondary stress"), more than was usual in other manuscripts of his time, particularly *ge'ayot* in open syllables (known as *ga'ayah gedolah* "major *ga'ayah*"). There are also other anomalies in the pointing, such as some *degeshim* in the letter א (בּ/תלוֹאִי, Jer. 38:12; תלוּאֵים, Hos. 11:7). It follows that the actual tradition of pointing was not uniform throughout the generations of the Ben-Asher family; it was only the occupation with the masorah that they had in common. Another possibility, suggested by A. Dotan, is that the pointing and accents of the manuscript are by a different scribe and that Moses Ben-Asher only wrote the consonantal text. In any event the fragment entitled "The order of Scripture," which he copied at the end of the manuscript (p. 583), was certainly not written by him.

No other works by Moses have survived, but his name is mentioned in an Arabic *genizah* fragment (Cambridge, Ms. T.-S. Arabic 9/5): "and Moses Ben-Asher, may God have mercy upon him, has already written a large book…." Because that fragment also mentions, though without any connection with M. Ben-Asher, the expressions מצותה ("vowel"), אלז׳ מצותאת ("the seven vowels"), Allony conjectured that the large book attributed here to M. Ben-Asher is the anonymous *Kitāb al-Muṣawwitāt* mentioned in several places in the writings of Jonah *Ibn Janaḥ. Mention of it has also been discovered in Nissim Gaon's *Megillat Setarim* (see *Nissim b. Jacob b. Nissim), where it is ascribed to Ben-Asher (with no first name). At present there is not sufficient evidence to accept this conjecture. It would appear that he also wrote *piyyutim* and composed the "Song of the Vine," in which the people of Israel is compared to a vine whose roots are the patriarchs, and from which come forth the prophets and sages. Mention is also made there of the masorah, the accents, and the work of the masoretes. Most of the poem is extant, in three manuscripts (one of which is Ms. Leningrad B 19a); only its end is missing. The initial letters of the remnant verses form the acrostic ... משה בן אש ("Moses Ben-Ash…"). This poem contains one of the decisive proofs that M. Ben-Asher was not a Karaite.

In some places the name has been corrupted as a result of a faulty completion of the abbreviation "Ben-Asher," as in the commentary *Migdal Oz* on Maimonides' Yad, Sefer Torah 8:4, where "Moses Ben-Asher" occurs instead of Aaron, and as in the British Museum manuscript (Or. 4227, p. 274b) where "Moses b. Aaron Ben-Asher, the great scribe," occurs instead of Aaron b. Moses.

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[Aron Dotan]

BENATZKY, RALPH (1884–1957), composer. Benatzky was born in Moravske-Budejovice and studied in Prague and Munich. A composer of light music, he wrote about five thousand songs and 92 operettas. The best known was *Im Weissen Roessl* (1930), which became famous throughout the world as *White Horse Inn*. Benatzky went to live in the United States in 1938, but later returned to Europe and settled in Zurich. He wrote the scores for about 250 films.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Riemann-Gurlitt; Baker, Biog. Dict.

[Dora Leah Sowden]

BEN-AVI, ITHAMAR (1882–1943), Hebrew journalist and Zionist. He was the son of Eliezer *Ben-Yehuda, from the initials of whose name Ben-Avi formed his Hebrew name. Ben-Avi was one of the first modern Jews whose mother tongue was Hebrew. In his early youth he began publishing in Hebrew periodicals edited by his father. He studied at the Teachers' Seminary of the Alliance Israélite Universelle in Paris and at the Institute for Oriental Studies at the University of Berlin. On his return to Ereẓ Israel in 1908, he joined the editorial board of Ben-Yehuda's *Ha-Ẓevi* and *Ha-Or*, bringing to them something of the flamboyant spirit of popular European and American journalism. During World War I he lived with his family in the U.S.A. Returning after the war he founded the daily **Do'ar ha-Yom* in Jerusalem in 1919 and continued to edit it until 1929. He also served as the Jerusalem correspondent for the London *Times* and *Daily Mail* and several French newspapers. An accomplished speaker in several languages, Ben-Avi visited various countries on behalf of the Jewish National Fund and the settlement projects of the native generation of moshavot farmers, of whose organization, *Benei Binyamin, he was a co-founder. In 1939 he went to the U.S.A., where he later died. His remains were interred in Jerusalem in 1947. Impetuous by nature, Ben-Avi advocated bold innovations, such as the writing of Hebrew in Latin characters, in which he published the weekly *Dror* (1933–4) and a biography of his father (*Avi*, 1927). In the 1930s he campaigned for the partitioning of Palestine into Jewish and Arab cantons. His political and cultural aim was the transformation of the Jewish people into an independent "western" nation.

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[Gedalyah Elkoshi]

BENAYAH, family of scribes living in San'a, Yemen, in the 15th–16th century. Between 1450 and 1483 the patriarch of the family, BENAYAH BEN SAADIAH BEN ZECHARIAH BEN BENAYAH BEN ODED, known as Ben Merjaz, copied dozens of books, most of which were copies of the Bible (*tījān*, sin. *tāj*). In the margins of the pages of these copies there was the *mesorah and at the beginning the *Maḥberet ha-tījān,* which included the rules of reading. These copies, however, did not include the Aramaic *targum* of *Onkelos or the Arabic *tafsīr* of *Saadiah, as was customary in ancient Yemenite copying. Benayah's inscriptions are considered to be accurate and concise, which make him the most important of Yemen's scribes. His children were also scribes: DAVID (1484–1510), JOSEPH (1486–1508), SAADIA (b. 1489), the daughter MIRIAM (!), and the grandchildren ME'ODED and AVIGAD, the sons of David. Y. Sappir, who visited Yemen in 1859, tells of the beautiful and accurate copying done by Miriam. At the end of the manuscript she wrote: "Do not bring punishment upon me if you discover mistakes since I am a nursing mother, Miriam the daughter of Benayah the scribe" (*Massaʿ Teiman,* 1945, 174; the manuscript was never found). The sons of Benayah also copied the *haftarot*, prayer books which preserves the ancient Yemenite tradition, and other books such as the *Kitāb Mi'yār al-'Ilm* of Abū Ḥāmid al-*Ghazālī by Sa'adia. The connection between the tradition of the scholars of Tiberian tradition and the writings of the Benayah family was a subject of debate among scholars in 1961. According to an ancient tradition, Benayah copied over 400 texts. Today 33 manuscripts of the Benayah family are documented. Most texts are owned by public libraries and a few by private collectors (Rigler, 1991, 163–65). The texts were usually ordered by wealthy men, and after a while were donated to synagogues. In the colophon of a copy of the Early Prophets from 1475 Benayah dedicated a poem honoring the man who had ordered the book, a certain Avraham (Ratzaby, 1975). The Benayah family controlled the copying profession in San'a, which was the most important Jewish center in Yemen between 1460 and 1540.

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[Yosef Tobi (2nd ed.)]

BENAYAHU, MEIR (1926–), Israeli scholar. The son of the Israel chief rabbi Isaac *Nissim, Benayahu was a member of the team of senior workers at the *Ben-Zvi Institute for Research on Oriental Jewish Communities, which was founded in 1947, and from 1964 he was its director. A prolific researcher, he published numerous studies and documents. His works include: *Marbiẓ Torah* ("Propagator of the Torah"), on the authority, functions, and status of the bearer of the title *Marbiẓ Torah* in Oriental countries (1951); *Rabbi Ḥayyim Yosef David Azulai* (1959), a comprehensive monograph; *Rabbi Ya'akov Elyashar ve-Ḥibburo Megillat Paras* ("R. Jacob Elyashar and His Work 'The Scroll of Persia'," 1960); *Sefer Toledot ha-Ari* ("Biography of R. Isaac *Luria", 1967). He also published a new edition of *Zimrat ha-Areẓ* of Jacob *Berab (the Third) on the beginnings of the Jewish settlement in Tiberias during the mid-18th century. Benayahu was an editor of the yearbook *Yerushalayim* (Jerusalem), comprising studies on Ereẓ Israel (vols. 3–5; 1951–55). The first seven volumes of the scientific periodical of the *Ben-Zvi Institute, *Sefunot* (begun in 1957), were jointly edited by Izhak *Ben-Zvi and Benayahu, while from the eighth volume onward he was the sole editor. From 1985 he was director of the Nissim Research Institute and in 2004 he was awarded the EMET Prize for work that integrated traditional Torah learning with modern scholarship.

BEN AZZAI, SIMEON (early second century C.E.), *tanna*, generally referred to in talmudic literature simply as "Ben Azzai." In three places in the Mishnah (Zev. 1:3, Yad. 3:5, 4:2) he is referred to by his full name: Rabbi Shimon ben Azzai (according to Parma de Rossi 128 and others). Presumably a disciple of *Joshua b. Hananiah, he transmitted rulings in his name (Yoma 2:3), brought a proof in support of R. Joshua's position (Yev 4:13), and interpreted an obscure tradition before R. Joshua (Par. 1:1). He is found disagreeing with R. Akiva (Shek. 3:1, 4:5) and he transmitted a tradition in the name of R. Joshua in the presence of R. Akiva, who changed his ruling in line with this tradition (Taan 4:4). In the Bavli he is called a "disciple-colleague" of R. Akiva (BB 158b). It was said of him: "With the passing of Ben Azzai, diligent scholars passed from the earth" (Sot. 9:15). According to tradition Ben Azzai was one of the four "who entered the Garden" (*pardes*). According to Tosefta Ḥag. 2:3, "he caught a glimpse and died," while his companion Beb Zoma went mad as a result of this mystical experience. In the Jerusalem Talmud (Ḥag. 2:1 77b) their roles are reversed. Although he declared that whoever abstains from procreation is regarded as though he had shed blood (Tos. Yev 8:7), he himself never married so as not to be distracted from his studies. When accused of not practicing what he preached, he answered: "What shall I do if my soul yearns for Torah? The world can be perpetuated by others" (*ibid.*). The Bavli, nevertheless, reports in one place that he married, but separated from his wife (Sot. 4b), and according to another tradition he was betrothed to Akiva's daughter who, as her mother had done, made it a condition of marriage that her husband devote himself to the study of the Torah (Ket. 63a, but cf. S. Friedman, *JSIJ*, 3 (2004) 1–39, and Tosefot to Ket. 63a). His aphorisms included: "Be quick in carrying out a minor commandment as in the case of a major one, and flee from transgression; for one good deed leads to another good deed and one transgression leads to another transgression; for the reward for a good deed is another good deed and the reward for a transgression is another transgression" (Avot 4:2). While R. Akiva said that the verse "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself" (Lev. 19:18) is a great principle of the Torah, Ben Azzai declared that the verse "This is the book of the generations of man" (Gen. 5:1) embodied an even greater principle, i.e., of the common origin of mankind (Sifra 7:4 and parallel passages). Ben Azzai was not referred to as "rabbi" and was not described as one of the "sages," but rather as one of the "disciples" who argued in the presence of the sages (Sanh. 17b). Because of his reputation, later generations of scholars used to underscore their own scholarship by claiming: "I am like Ben Azzai in the marketplace of Tiberias" (Kid. 20a). Ben Azzai was renowned for his saintliness; it was said: "He who sees Ben Azzai in his dreams may look forward to achieving saintliness" (Ber. 57b). He is numbered by some among the *Ten Martyrs (Lam. R. 2:2, no. 4).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Bacher, Tann; Hyman, Toledot, 1206–09.

[Zvi Kaplan]

BEN BAG BAG, *tanna*, apparently of the first century C.E. His most famous dictum: "Turn it and turn it [the Torah], for everything is in it, and contemplate it, and grow grey and old over it, and stir not from it, for you can have no better rule than this" (Avot 5:25) is elsewhere attributed to Hillel (ARN 12, 11). A number of halakhic statements are reported in Ben Bag Bag's name in various *baraitot* (e.g., Er., 27b; Tosef., BK 10:38). On the question whether a person is permitted to take the law into his own hands he states: "do not enter your neighbor's courtyard in stealth to take what belongs to you without his permission, lest you appear to him a thief; rather break his teeth [i.e., enter openly] and say to him, 'It is my own property that I take'" (BK 27b). Some scholars identify Ben Bag Bag with Johanan b. Bag Bag, who sent a question to Judah b. Bathyra in Nisibis, and whom the latter eulogized as "an expert in the chambers of the Torah" (Tosef., Ket. 5:1). Some incline to the view that the name is symbolic like that of *Ben He He (Avot 5:26) with whom he has been identified, and that he was a proselyte (Ḥag., 9b and Tos., s.v. *Bar He He*). Some identify him with the proselyte who came to Hillel and asked to be taught the Torah "while standing on one leg," which occasioned the famous reply of Hillel: "What is hateful to thee do not do to thy fellow."

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[Zvi Kaplan]

BEN CHANANJA, the first Hungarian Jewish learned periodical, published in German between 1844 and 1867. *Ben Chananja* was founded and edited by Leopold *Loew. It first appeared in Leipzig as a quarterly in 1844; resumed publication in Szeged, Hungary, in 1858; and became a weekly in reduced format in 1861. *Ben Chananja* advanced the scientific development of Jewish studies and stimulated interest in Jewish questions. Its contributors were scholars of prestige in Hungary and abroad. The periodical presented biblical exegesis, commentary on the Talmud, historical studies, educational information, and literary news. It also considered religious and social problems, advocating the establishment of a rabbinical seminary and legislation for Jewish emancipation. Among the contributors were Simon Bacher, Abraham Hochmuth, Solomon Buber, S.D. Luzzatto, and Leopold Dukes. The academic material was supplemented with topical articles, editorials, Jewish communal news, and occasional poems. *Ben Chananja* had correspondents in Jerusalem, Berlin, New York, and in most cities with large Jewish communities in Europe and America.

[Jeno Zsoldos]

BENCHETRIT, AARON (1886–1967), physician and communal leader. Born in Tetuan, Spanish Morocco, Benchetrit spent his childhood in Caracas, Venezuela, and studied in Paris and Caracas. He was the medical director and administrator of the Leproserías de Venezuela (1921–26). In 1927 he moved to Bogotá, Colombia, where he was in charge of all leprosy cases in the country from 1927 to 1935 and directed many scientific researches on leprosy. He published several medical works including *Disertaciones de un estudiante de medicina* (1917), *La epidemia febríl de Caracas* (1919), *Nuevas disertaciones* (1921), and *Disertaciones acerca de la lepra* (1922). He also wrote on Zionism in *Disertaciones acerca del sionismo*. Benchetrit was president of the Centro Israelita of Bogotá and was president of the Zionist Federation of Colombia, 1943–44.

BENCHIMOL, Moroccan family. The descendants of ABRAHAM BENCHIMOL, one of the leaders of the community in *Fez (1700), established a business of international repute in Tangiers at the end of the 18th century. For four generations the family played a leading role in Morocco's political and economic life. As diplomats, they were entrusted with many missions by the French or the sultans. ḤAYYIM (1834–1915), who lived in Tangiers, was the founder of freemasonry in Morocco. There he organized and supported the *Alliance Israélite Universelle. He also established the first newspapers in Tangiers for the defense of human rights and of the Jews in particular. His influence provoked attacks by the anti-Semite Edouard *Drumont. A philanthropist and founder of charitable institutions, Ḥayyim headed the Jewry of northern Morocco.

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[David Corcos]

BEN-CHORIN, SCHALOM (1913–1999; until 1931 **Fritz Rosenthal**), German philosopher, journalist, and writer. Ben-Chorin grew up in an assimilated family in Munich. Causing severe conflicts with his family, he discovered Judaism in 1928, showing an interest in the Jewish religion, Zionism, and modern Jewish literature at the same time. He also took on the name "peace, son of freedom" (Schalom Ben-Chorin). Following Martin *Buber he sought an alternative to Orthodoxy and secular Zionism, which he finally found in Reform Judaism (cf. *Jenseits von Orthodoxie und Liberalismus*, 1937). Having left his apprenticeship as a bookseller at the Jewish Ewer bookstore and studying German literature, theater, and religion, he was arrested and mistreated in the streets of Munich in 1933, a turning point in his life (cf. his autobiography *Jugend an der Isar*, 1974). In 1935 he immigrated to Palestine and started working as journalist for German newspapers (articles collected in *Begegnungen*, 1991) as part of a group of German-Jewish intellectuals and writers in Palestine. Together with the writer Gerson Stern he edited an early anthology of German-Jewish literature in Palestine and himself wrote novels and poetry (*Menora. Eine Auswahl literarischen Schaffens in Erez-Israel*, 1941). Ben-Chorin was much better known, however, as a thinker in Reform Judaism – he also laid the foundation of the Reform community in Jerusalem in 1958 (the Har-El-Synagogue) – and as philosopher of religion mediating between Judaism and Christianity. On the one hand, he wrote several fundamental and introductory works on Jewish theology, anthropology, and ethics, such as for example *Juedischer Glaube* (1975), which is based on a series of lectures at Tuebingen and aims at portraying the theology of Judaism according to Maimonides' classic model of the 13 *Articles of Faith, though more for a non-Jewish audience (cf. also *Die Tafeln des Bundes*, 1979; *Juedische Theologie im 20. Jahrhundert*, 1988). On the other hand, he reflected upon the relation between Judaism and Christianity, seeking not only the differences but much more the links. While still in Munich and under the name Rosenthal he wrote the poem *Der Rabbi von Nazareth* (in *Das Mal der Sendung*, 1935). In this spirit, from 1940 he wrote several books promoting the Jewish-Christian dialogue (*Die Christusfrage an den Juden*, 1941; *Das christliche Verstaendnis des Alten Testaments und der juedische Einwand*, 1941), an endeavor which he stepped up after the war, traveling to Germany from 1956 and still writing in German (*Theologia Judaica*, 1/2, 1982, 1992; *Weil wir Brueder sind*, 1988). In this context, he made clear the Jewish origins of Christianity, interpreting some of the central figures of Christianity like Jesus, Paul, and Miriam (cf. the trilogy *Die Heimkehr*, consisting of *Bruder Jesus*, 1967; *Apostel Paulus*, 1970, *Mutter Mirjam*, 1971). As a catch-phrase symbolizing his approach, the often-quoted sentence from his book on Jesus might be cited: "Der Glaube Jesu einigt uns, aber der Glaube an Jesus trennt uns" ("The faith of Jesus unifies us but the belief in Jesus separates us"). At the same time he tried to answer a central theological question which came up after the Holocaust: the meaning of suffering and the absence of God (e.g., *Als Gott schwieg*, 1986). He was highly esteemed for his efforts at bringing about a new Jewish-Christian and Jewish-German dialogue after 1945. Ben-Chorin died in Jerusalem.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: G. Mueller (ed.), *Israel hat dennoch Gott zum Trost* (1978); H. Bleicher (ed.), *Der Mann, der Friede heißt* (1983); T. Vasko, *From the Creation to the Kingdom of God: The Concept of God's Revelation by the Reform Jew Schalom Ben-Chorin in Dialogues with Christianity and Islam* (2003).

[Andreas Kilcher (2nd ed.)]

BENDA, JULIEN (1867–1956), French writer and philosopher. Benda studied history and philosophy at the Sorbonne. His first book, *Dialogues à Byzance* (1900), offered a bold analysis of the manifestations of corruption in French society, which formed the background of the Dreyfus Trial. Benda wrote several novels, especially in the first years of his literary activity, including *L'Ordination* (1911), which reveal his rationalistic outlook and rigorous morals. But Benda was first and foremost a philosopher who preferred to express his ideas in essays defending reason, science, and responsible thinking against the cult of intuition. In *Le Bergsonisme, ou une philosophie de la mobilité* (1912) and in other works, Benda attacked Bergson's irrationalism; in *Belphégor* (1919; Eng. tr. 1929), Benda rejected most contemporary writers, such as Romain Rolland, Paul Claudel, Maurice Barrès, George Sorel, and Charles Péguy, his former friend. Benda's militancy increased in his most famous book *La trahison des clercs* (1927; *The Great Betrayal*, 1928), in which he castigated contemporary thinkers and writers, including the intellectuals and the professionals. He accused them of having sold reason or of having left it to the state, to society, to the parties, to the family, etc. He charged them with having forsaken service to reason and to the perennial truth, all for the sake of temporary success. The rigorous conclusions which oppose any compromise are the basis of his views in theology, history, and aesthetics, in his last books such as *Essai d'un discours cohérent sur les rapports de Dieu et du monde* (1931) and *La France byzantine; ou Le triomphe de la littérature pure…* (1945). This last work was sharply criticized. Although Benda did not convert to Christianity, he was completely isolated from Jewish life, and considered his Jewish origin a burden. He had to seek refuge during World War II in southern France. However, he regarded the Jewish problem as only a minor aspect of the war.

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[Hiram Peri]

BEN-DAVID, JOSEPH (1920–1986), Israeli sociologist. Ben-David was born in Gyor, Hungary, and immigrated to Israel in 1941. He studied at the London School of Economics from 1947–1949. He received his M.A. in history and sociology in 1950 and Ph.D. in sociology in 1955, both from the Hebrew University.

In 1951 he was appointed George Wise Professor of Sociology at the Hebrew University, in 1968 research associate and visiting professor of sociology at the University of Chicago, and in 1979 the Stella M. Rowley Professor of Education and professor of sociology at the University of Chicago.

Ben-David's sociological research and publications reflected his interest in the interaction between macrolevel historical events and microlevel sociological processes in the areas of the development of science, higher education, and the professions and social stratification.

His publications included *Fundamental Research and the Universities: Some Comments on International Differences* (1968), *The Scientist's Role in Society: A Comparative Study* (1971); *American Higher Education: Directions Old and New* (1972), and *Centers of Learning: Britain, France, Germany and the United States* (1971).

[Beverly Mizrachi (2nd ed.)]

BENDAVID, LAZARUS (**Eleazar**; 1762–1832), German mathematician, philosopher, and educator. He attended the universities of *Göttingen* and Halle, and spent from 1792 to 1797 in Vienna where he delivered public lectures on Kantian philosophy. In 1802 he became political editor of the newspaper *Haude- und Spenersche Zeitung*. In 1806 he was appointed honorary director of the Juedische Freischule in Berlin, which he headed until 1825. The school attained a high reputation and a large proportion of its students were Christian until 1819, when the government forbade the enrollment of non-Jews. The school offered a revolutionary model of modern Jewish education combined with a high level of German and secular classic culture that represented the educational and philosophic notions of the Jewish Haskalah. Bendavid began his scientific work in 1785 with an investigation of the theory of colors. In 1786 he published *Ueber die Parallellinien*, and in 1789 *Versuch einer logischen Auseinandersetzung des mathematischen Unendlichen*.

In 1795 his *Vorlesungen ueber die "Kritik der reinen Vernunft"* appeared. Bendavid held that philosophy had attained the pinnacle of its development in the Kantian system. From 1796 to 1798 he wrote a series of works explaining Kant's philosophy. In 1799 he published *Versuch einer Geschmackslehre*, containing his theory of aesthetics based on Kant. In 1801 the Royal Academy of Sciences in Berlin awarded him a prize for his study, *Ueber den Ursprung unserer Erkenntnis*, and published it in 1802.

With this work, Bendavid's philosophical labors came to an end. During his remaining thirty years he wrote solely on Jewish problems. These writings reflect the struggles of the first post-Mendelssohnian Jewish generation with the problem of being Jewish. Bendavid regarded Reform Judaism as the only means of stemming the tide of conversion to Christianity. In his work *Etwas zur Charackteristick der Juden* (1793), he advocated the abolition of the ritual laws and the cultural and social assimilation of Jews. Nevertheless, he eschewed conversion to Christianity. Kant wrongly interpreted Bendavid's attitude as counseling Jews to accept Christianity and advised them, on the strength of Bendavid's views, openly to adopt the religion of Jesus and thus at long last attain a religious ethic and through it a religion (cf., Kant, *Der Streit der Fakultäten*; also, the pertinent remarks of Hermann *Cohen in his *Kants Begruendung der Ethik* (1901), 49). Bendavid's biblical studies are in the spirit of extreme Haskalah rationalism. In an essay in 1797 he attempted to show that the Ark of the Covenant was an electrical device which helped to kindle the wood on the altar. He published studies on the jubilee year, the prohibition of usury, the mixture of wool and linen, the belief in the Messiah, and the written and oral Law. In his article on the Messiah he sought to demonstrate, by investigating the theory of the transmigration of the Messiah's soul, that the belief in the coming of the Redeemer is not a dogma of Judaism and that the bestowal of equal rights upon the Jews would signify that the "Messiah" had come.

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[Samuel Hugo Bergman / Yehoyada Amir (2nd ed.)]

BENDEMANN, EDUARD JULIUS FRIEDRICH (1811–1889), German painter. Born in Berlin as the youngest child of Anton Bendemann and Fanny, née von Halle, a burgeois Jewish family who later converted to Protestantism, Bendemann revealed his talent early in a portrait he painted of his grandmother before he was 20. After having studied under Johann Gottfried von Schadow, he followed the son of Johann Gottfried, Wilhelm von Schadow, to Duesseldorf in 1827 and enrolled in the Duesseldorf School of Painting, whose head was Wilhelm Schadow. In 1830 he accompanied Schadow to Italy, where for one year he devoted himself exclusively to the study of Raphael, Michelangelo and the Nazarenes. There he apparently formed his taste for painting monumental historical scenes in a classicist style. Bendemann produced his best-known paintings between 1831 and 1835, among them *The Exiles of Babylon* (1832), *Two Girls at the Well* (1833), *Jeremiah at the Destruction of Jerusalem* (1836) and *Die Kuenste am Brunnen der Poesie* (1837). In 1835 Bendemann married Schadow's sister Lida. He was appointed professor at the Academy of Fine Arts of Dresden in 1838 and executed a number of murals for the royal palace there. In the revolution of 1848 he was an active member of pro-revolutionary leagues. In 1859 he succeeded his former teacher and brother-in-law as director of the Academy in Duesseldorf, but resigned in 1867 due to ill health. He was commissioned to paint portraits of well-known figures, and a large number of his works are exhibited in Berlin museums. In addition, his illustrations in the neo-classical style appear in such literary works as the *Nibelungenlied* (published 1840 in Leipzig) and Lessing's *Nathan the Wise*. His son RUDOLF (1851–1884) was also a well-known painter. His elder son FELIX (1848–1915) was an admiral and chief of Naval Staff.

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[Pnina Nave / Sonja Beyer (2nd ed.)]

BENDER, ALFRED PHILIP (1863–1937), South African minister. The son of a minister of the Dublin Hebrew Congregation in Ireland, he was the recognized leader of Cape Town Jewry for many years, both in religious and secular affairs. He was minister of the Cape Town Hebrew Congregation, the "mother congregation" of South Africa, from 1895 for 42 years and was responsible for initiating many educational, social, and cultural activities, including special services for children, confirmation services for girls, Sunday morning classes for women, and debating and social clubs for young men, taking a special interest in Jewish university students. Although very English in outlook and not sympathetic to the ways of "foreigners," he always gave generous assistance to East European immigrants in their settlement problems. He was long opposed to the principle of a representative lay body for South African Jewry, and in consequence his congregation did not affiliate with the Board of Deputies until 1919. He was also unsympathetic to the Zionist movement, but supported it after the Balfour Declaration. In the general community he was prominent in numerous educational and philanthropic endeavors, giving long service to the Cape Town hospital board, the school board, the council of the Cape Town University, and a variety of nondenominational philanthropic organizations.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: I. Abrahams, *Birth of a Community* (1955), index; G. Saron and L. Hotz (eds.), *Jews in South Africa* (1955), index.

[Gustav Saron]

BENDER, MORRIS BORIS (1905–1983), U.S. neurologist. Bender, who was born in Russia, was taken to the United States in 1914. After graduating in medicine he trained in neurology and psychiatry in several New York hospitals. He was research fellow in neurophysiology at Yale University (1936–38) and New York's Mount Sinai Hospital (1938–42). He then served as head of the laboratory of experimental neurology at New York University (1942–50). He joined the faculty of neurology at the New York University College of Medicine in 1938, becoming professor of clinical neurology in 1953. In 1966 he was appointed professor and chairman of the department of neurology of the Mount Sinai School of Medicine. He was also clinical professor of neurology at Columbia University's College of Physicians and Surgeons from 1953 to 1967. Bender's major research interests were the physiology of the visual and oculomotor systems and behavioral neurology, especially consciousness and perception. His major works are *Disorders in Perception* (1952) and *Visual Field Defects after Penetrating Missile Wounds of the Brain* (in collaboration with others, 1960); he also edited *The Oculomotor System* (1964) and *The Approach to Diagnosis in Modern Neurology* (1967).

[Fred Rosner]

BENDERLY, SAMSON (1876–1944), U.S. educator. Benderly, who was born in Safed, Palestine, emigrated to Baltimore in 1898. He received a medical degree at Johns Hopkins University. During his internship Benderly became interested in modern Jewish education in Baltimore and abandoned his medical career. In 1910 he was appointed director of the first Bureau of Jewish Education in the United States, in New York. This agency outlasted its parent body, the *kehillah* of New York City, and was molded by Benderly's lifework. Benderly conceived of a comprehensive educational program to raise the level of Jewish life in America. He was the American organizer of *Ivrit be-Ivrit* pedagogy – the use of Hebrew as the language of instruction. He initiated pilot schools that developed curricula and experimented with new ideas. He organized school board representatives, formed principals' and teachers' study groups, and initiated a leadership-training program to make Jewish education a profession. Benderly also pioneered in the education of Jewish girls, and in adolescent and secondary Jewish schooling. He experimented with Jewish educational camping, initiated home-study projects for the preschool child, and designed extension programs for the unschooled. His bureau structure was the prototype for similar agencies throughout America, and the personnel he trained became foremost leaders of Jewish education in America.

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[Nathan H. Winter]

BENDERY (Rom. **Tighina**), city in Bessarabia (in Romania 1918–40; 1941–44), Moldova. The presence of Jews there is first recorded in 1769 and a burial society, whose *pinkas* (register) is still extant, was founded in 1793. There were 101 Jewish families living in Bendery in 1808 (out of 331). In 1814 the *ẓaddik* Aryeh Leib Wertheim, son of Simeon Solomon of *Savran, became rabbi of Bendery; the descendants of the dynasty of *ẓaddikim* which he founded served as rabbis of Bendery until World War II. The Jewish population increased with the influx of immigrants into Bessarabia in the 19th century, numbering 4,297 in 1864 and 10,644 in 1897 (33.5% of the total population). Institutions of the community included a hospital founded in 1885, an old-age home, a secondary school founded in 1912, and an elementary school. In 1925, of the 1,526 members of the local Jewish cooperative loan-bank, 701 were employed in commerce, 363 in handicrafts, and 49 in agriculture. The economic situation of the Jews detoriated as a result of growing antisemitism, as the city was the center of Alexander *Cuza's Fascist Party. According to the official census, the community numbered 8,294 (26.4% of the total population) in 1930. The communal organization was dissolved and its institutions were abolished or nationalized when Bessarabia became part of Soviet Russia in June 1940.

[Eliyahu Feldman]

Holocaust Period

Under Soviet occupation (1940–41), wealthy Jews were exiled to Siberia, as were wealthy non-Jews. With the beginning of the German-Romanian invasion, the Soviet authorities provided transport and many Jews fled to the interior of Russia. On July 4, 1941, the Romanian army assembled the remaining 700 Jews in the local castle, and shot them. After the liberation in September 1944, some 800 Jews returned, reestablishing the community, but they eventually left for Romania and from there Israel. In Bendery an agreement was signed between Germany and Romania, on August 31, 1941, concerning the plan to deport Jews to Transnistria.

[Jean Ancel / Shmuel Spector (2nd ed.)]

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BENDIX, BENEDICT HEINRICH (1768–1828), German engraver, known for his portraits of leaders of German Jewry in the early 19th century. Bendix was born in Berlin and studied engraving. He portrayed various contemporaries such as the Duke and Duchess of Mecklenburg and the mathematician Abraham Wolff. He exhibited his works at the Academy of Berlin in 1788 and 1793. His only mezzotint (1808) portrays Aron Beer, the first cantor to be appointed to the Berlin Jewish community. Among his most important works are two plates, each consisting of three medallions: one depicting Napoleon I, Frederick William III, and Alexander I of Russia, and the other Empress Josephine, Queen Louise, and Empress Elizabeth of Russia. Bendix also executed an engraving of Nathan and the Templar (1806), a subject taken from Lessing's play *Nathan the Wise*. When the Berlin Jewish community opened a school in 1825 Bendix was engaged as teacher of drawing. He remained in that position until his death by suicide.

ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY: U. Thieme, "Felix Becker," in: *Allgemeines Lexikon der bildenden Künstler von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart*, vol. 3 (1992).

BENDIX, OTTO (1845–1904), pianist, oboist, composer, and teacher. Born in Copenhagen, the brother of the conductor Victor *Bendix, he studied with Niels Gade and then with Kullak in Berlin and Franz Liszt in Weimar. Bendix taught piano at the Copenhagen Conservatory and was oboist in a theater orchestra.

In 1880 he immigrated to the United States to teach at the New England Conservatory in Boston, and in 1895 he founded his own music school in San Francisco. He also appeared as a concert pianist in the United States and Europe and published some piano pieces.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Baker's Biographical Dictionary of Musicians* (1991^8); W. Lyle, *A Dictionary of Pianists* (1985).

[Naama Ramot (2nd ed.)]

BENDIX, REINHARD (1916–1991), U.S. sociologist. Born in Berlin, Bendix left Germany after Hitler's rise to power and emigrated to the U.S.A. In 1943 he began his academic career as an instructor at the University of Chicago. He taught at the University of Colorado (1946–47) and then at the University of California at Berkeley. In 1956 he became full professor and chairman of the Department of Sociology. In 1959 he was elected president of the American Sociological Association. He served as director of the University of California Education Abroad Program in Gottingen, Germany (1968–70), and in 1972 he joined the Department of Political Science at Berkeley.

Bendix approached sociological problems typologically. His first published work, *Social Science and the Distrust of Reason* (1951), began to build bridges between European and American sociological traditions. He used the theories of Max Weber as a basis for his sociological explorations and refined and advanced them considerably. His book *Max Weber: An Intellectual Portrait* (1960) is largely biographical but his primary interests, as is shown in most of his books and numerous articles in sociological journals, were in political and industrial sociology, social stratification, and sociological theory.

His book *Class, Status and Power* (1953; 1967^2), a collection of readings in stratification edited jointly with Seymour Martin *Lipset, became a standard work in the field. A later publication was *Social Mobility in Industrial Society*, which he also co-authored with Lipset. His best-known book, for which he received the MacIver award, is *Work and Authority in Industry: Ideologies of Management in the Course of Industrialization* (1956). It is based on historical data from England, the United States, Russia, and East Germany. Another work, *Nationbuilding and Citizenship* (1964), analyzes the processes leading to the formation of new nations. Bendix was the author of numerous scholarly papers, chiefly on topics of a theoretical nature. Throughout his career, Bendix saw himself living between cultures, building connections between academic disciplines in the United States and Germany. In his honor, the Institute of International Studies established the Reinhard Bendix Memorial Research Fellowship for graduate students in the field of political and social theory or historic studies of society and politics. Other books by Bendix include: *Kings or People: Power and the Mandate to Rule* (1978); *Force, Fate, and Freedom* (1984); *From Berlin to Berkeley*, (1986); *Embattled Reason, Vol. 1* (1988); *Embattled Reason, Vol. 2* (1989); and *Unsettled Affinities* (1993, published posthumously).

[Werner J. Cahnman / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

BENDIX, VICTOR EMANUEL (1851–1926), pianist, conductor, and composer. Born in Copenhagen, the brother of the pianist Otto *Bendix, Victor Bendix studied at the Copenhagen Conservatory with composer Niels Gade and as a pianist with, among others, Liszt (from 1881). He was répétiteur at the Copenhagen Royal Theater and later piano teacher at the Royal Academy of Music. Bendix was an excellent conductor, and in this role he made great contributions to the musical life of Copenhagen. He was the conductor of the choral society, which he founded in Copenhagen (1872–76), and of the Copenhagen Philharmonic Concerts (which he established in 1897). His concert performances of *Siegfried* and *Tristan und Isolde* and his staged performances of Verdi's *Don Carlos* were welcome innovations in the usual repertory of the Copenhagen Musical Society. From 1892 to 1893 he conducted the *Volkskonzerte* in Berlin. Bendix wrote many songs but his important works were his compositions for the piano; among them are Piano Trio op. 12, Piano Concerto op. 17, and Piano Sonata op. 26. He also composed *Psalm 33* for chorus and orchestra and four symphonies.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Grove online.

[Israela Stein (2nd ed.)]

BEN-DOR, IMMANUEL (1901–1969), archaeologist. Ben-Dor, who was born at Okopy, Poland, was a member of the archaeological expeditions of the University of Pennsylvania in Beth-Shean, Egypt, Mesopotamia, and Italy and also took part in the American School of Oriental Research excavation at Beth-El and that of the University of Liverpool at Jericho. He served as assistant keeper (1935) and librarian (1939) of the Palestine Archaeological Museum and conducted excavations at Nahariyyah and al-Zīb. From 1948 to 1954 he was assistant director of the Israel Department of Antiquities and was also archaeologist to the Link Underwater Expedition at Caesarea. From 1958 to 1968 he was professor of biblical archaeology and Semitics at Emory University, Atlanta. He published articles on aspects of Palestinian archaeology.

[Michael Avi-Yonah]

BEN DOV, YAAKOV (1882–1968), photographer and Israeli pioneer. Ben Dov was born near Zhitomir, Russia and studied photography in Russia. Emigrating to Palestine in 1908, he was one of the first students and graduates of the Bezalel School of Arts (now the *Bezalel Academy of Arts and Design), supporting himself during his studies by working as a photographer and publishing illustrated postcards and albums of life in the country. At the outbreak of World War I he was mobilized in the Austrian army and served as a medical photographer in the Austrian military hospital in Jerusalem. After acquiring equipment from Austria he made several documentary films, including one of General Allenby's entry into Jerusalem. He thus became one of the pioneers of film in Israel, but abandoned filmmaking upon the advent of sound movies.

After the liberation of Jerusalem from Ottoman rule in 1918 he devoted himself to communal matters and helped organize the artisans' center and their Savings and Loan Bank, and was one of the representatives of the artisans on the First Jewish Municipal Council. In this capacity he was invited to be present at the official announcement of the Balfour Declaration.

Ben Dov was a founder of the Talpiot Quarter of Jerusalem and initiated other projects for building new suburbs in and around Jerusalem. In 1966 he was appointed a *Yakir Yerushalayim* (an honored citizen of Jerusalem). His works have been exhibited at the Israel Museum.

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BENE-BERAK (Heb. 1) .(בְּנֵי בְרַק) A biblical city 5 mi. (8 km.) E. of Jaffa. It is included in the territory of the tribe of *Dan together with Jehud and *Gath-Rimmon (Josh. 19:45), but it was no doubt in the area controlled by the Philistines until the period of the united monarchy. Assyrian sources describing Sennacherib's invasion in 701 B.C.E. speak of Bene-Berak as subject to *Ashkelon (together with Jaffa, Beth-Dagon, and Azur). After the destruction of the Second Temple, Bene-Berak became a center of Jewish learning when R. *Akiva established his school there, which was attended by such well-known pupils as Judah, Meir, and Simeon b. Yoḥai (Tosef., Ber. 2:14; Tosef., Shab. 3:3; Sanh. 32b; Gen. R. 95:30). The Passover *Haggadah* preserves an account of a famous *seder* held there by R. Akiva. When Eleazar b. Azariah accompanied Akiva to the public baths at Bene-Berak, it gave rise to a halakhic query (Tosef., Shab. 3:4). Echoes of religious persecution by the Romans (under Hadrian) are contained in both the passage in the *Haggadah* and in the Tosefta (Tosef., Ber. 2:14). Even after the *Bar Kokhba War (132–35 C.E.), Bene-Berak remained a Jewish city; Judah ha-Nasi visited it and was impressed by the extraordinary fertility of its orchards and vineyards (Mid. Tanḥ. to 26:9; TJ, Pe'ah 8:4, 20b). The same impression is reported by the *amora* Rami b. Ezekiel (third century C.E.), who applied to it the biblical phrase "a land flowing with milk and honey" (Ket. 111b). The Crusaders called the city Bombrac and built a fortress there to protect the approaches to Jaffa.

[Michael Avi-Yonah]

(2) One of the ten towns in Israel which form the metropolitan area of Tel Aviv, about 3 mi. (5 km.) northeast of downtown Tel Aviv, bordered on the north by the Yarkon River, on the east by the main highway to the south and north, and on the south and west by Ramat Gan. Bene-Berak was established in 1924 by a group of 13 Orthodox families from Warsaw, Poland, under the leadership of Rabbi Y. Gerstenkorn, who later became the town's first mayor. Until 1936 affairs were run by a local committee, and from 1936 to 1949 by a local council, but since 1950 Bene-Berak has been a township, comprising about 1,775 acres (7,100 dunams). The founders engaged mostly in farming and by 1929 the settlement grew to 100 families. It had 4,500 inhabitants in 1941, 8,800 in 1948, 25,000 in 1955, and 64,700 in 1968. In the mid-1990s the population was approximately 125,000 and in 2002 about 138,900, making it the tenth largest city in Israel, with a municipal area of 2.7 sq. mi. (7 sq. km.). Its dynamic growth was due to its proximity to Tel Aviv, and its special position as a place for a thoroughly Orthodox population and way of life. As a suburb, Bene-Berak is interrelated with the Tel Aviv nucleus for its public transportation, wholesale and retail trade, entertainment, education on the university level, and for employment – especially for white collar workers in Tel Aviv who live in Bene-Berak. Bene-Berak is known for its numerous yeshivot, headed by the Ponevezh Yeshivah, founded in 1941 by Rabbi Joseph *Kahaneman. It is also known for the strict public observance of the Sabbath, holidays, and Jewish laws, one consequence of which is that all its roads are closed to traffic on the Sabbath and holidays. There are more than 200 synagogues, many of them for ḥasidic *rebbes*, and closed ḥasidic neighborhoods like Zikhron Meir, Vizhnitz, and Satmar (see *Satu Mare). Bene-Berak was the home of Ḥazon Ish (Rabbi Abraham I. *Karelitz), who established Tiferet Zion yeshiva. A Haredi College for academic studies geared to observant students was founded in 1999. It had around 100 students in 2002. The special character of the city as a bastion of ultra-Orthodoxy, with most men studying in the yeshivot rather than working, makes the city a center of poverty as well. The city includes one secular neighborhood – Pardes Katz.

Bene-Berak became one of Israel's important industrial areas and in 1969 had about 150 factories and numerous workshops for food preserves, cigarettes, wool textiles, and other branches, among them several of the country's largest such enterprises, employing about 8,000 workers. At the beginning of the 21st century, the city had five industrial areas, with some of the largest plants in Israel.

[Alexander Cohn / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

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BENEDEK, THERESE F. (1892–1977), U.S. psychoanalyst and psychiatrist. Born in Eger, Hungary, Benedek obtained clinical experience in Budapest and Leipzig, and emigrated to the United States in the early 1930s. She was appointed a staff member at the Chicago Institute for Psychoanalysis in 1936. In her research she concentrated on studying the psychological implications of female sexual functions and the personal disturbances associated with their impairment. She wrote (with B.B. Rubenstein) *The Sexual Cycle in Women* (1947), *Psychosexual Functions in Women* (1952), and *Insight and Personality Adjustment* (1946).

°BENEDICT, name of 16 popes, several of whom had significant contacts with Jews. BENEDICT VIII (1012–1024) ordered the execution of a number of Roman Jews in 1020 or 1021, on a charge that they had mocked the cross and thereby caused an earthquake which killed a number of Christians. BENEDICT XII (1334–1342) gave proof of his conversionary zeal when in 1320, while still bishop of Pamiers, he argued with a certain Baruch who had been forced into Christianity during the *Pastoureaux persecutions. He displayed the same zeal in 1338 by urging all Christians to aid in the pursuit of converted Jews who changed their places of residence in order to revert to Judaism. In 1335 he ordered the destruction of a synagogue in Posen because it had been erected too near a Cistercian chapel. He complained to King Pedro of Aragon in 1340 that Jews and Muslims were erecting too many synagogues and mosques and were enjoying too many contacts with Christians. At the same time, he was deeply concerned over the report by Albert II, duke of Austria, in 1338, that the Jews of *Passau had been falsely accused of having desecrated the *Host. A similar charge in *Nuremberg a few years previously had also proved false. The pope now ordered the bishop of Passau not to permit the Jews to suffer if they had been unjustly accused. BENEDICT XIII (Peter de Luna, 1394–1417) does not belong to the apostolic succession, since he is counted as an anti-pope during the Great Schism of the Church. His hostility to Jews and Judaism was evident during his period in Avignon (1394–1411). In 1396 he acted upon the accusation that the Jews of Geneva were enjoying many privileges under the protection of the local authorities; he also charged the leaders of the Avignon Jews with exceeding their powers. In 1403 he granted a three-year moratorium on debts owed by Christians to Jews. He did grant the Jews of Toro (Castile), in 1404, the right to have a synagogue in place of the two they had had before the persecutions in

Spain in 1391, but this had already been granted them by the king of Castile. His attempt in 1410 to calm the excessive zeal of the inquisitors in Majorca may also have been due to the exigencies of diplomacy rather than to personal good will. His really spectacular anti-Jewish activity began when, expelled from Avignon, he moved to his native Spain, still claiming to be the only legitimate pope. The depressed condition of the Spanish Jews at the time persuaded him that he could startle Christendom by obtaining the conversion of all Spanish Jewry. The Disputation of *Tortosa was the result. When it was concluded in May 1415, Benedict issued his Bull *Etsi doctoribus gentium* imposing every conceivable restriction on Jewish life. It condemned the Talmud and ordered it expurgated of every statement that might appear uncomplimentary to Christianity, and it made contact between Jews and Christians all but impossible. The Bull's enforcement lapsed after Benedict XIII was deposed by the Council of Constance in 1417; but its spirit remained alive and found echoes in a number of *Bulls by later popes. BENEDICT XIII (1724–1730) used every pressure, especially economic, on the inhabitants of the Roman ghetto to become converted to Christianity. He personally participated in the ceremonious baptism of 26 of them. He tried to limit Jewish trade to nonessentials. BENEDICT XIV (1740–1758) was deeply interested in the rigid interpretation and enforcement of Canon Law. Consequently, while reaffirming the right of the Jews of Avignon to trade in cloth, he increased the onus of the Jewish badge for the Jews of Rome by ordering them to wear it even when on a journey. A mere suspicion of consent was now enough to declare a Jew properly baptized; while a child, even if baptized without parental consent, was compelled to remain a Christian. Converts were limited to marrying only born Christians. Twice during his pontificate, in 1753 and 1755, Jewish books were confiscated and examined for anti-Christian statements. Yet he recognized that Jewish taxation was too heavy. Moreover, it was under his auspices that Lorenzo Ganganelli (later Pope *Clement XVI) drew up his memorandum concerning the *blood libel, and Benedict subsequently wrote to the authorities in Poland deploring the recent wave of accusations.

For Benedict XVI, see *Popes; *Vatican.

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[Solomon Grayzel]

BENEDICT, SIR JULIUS (**Isaac**; 1804–1885), composer and conductor, born in Stuttgart. After conducting in Vienna (1823–25) and later in Naples, he settled in London in 1835. He accompanied Jenny Lind on her American tour (1850–52) and conducted at Drury Lane and Covent Garden. Of his operas, the most successful was *The Lily of Killarney* (Covent Garden, 1862). Although a convert to Protestantism (1826), he set to music Psalm 84 (first verse) for the inauguration of the first British Reform Synagogue (West London) in 1840. His works include cantatas, symphonies, and piano concertos. He wrote biographies of Felix Mendelssohn (1853^2) and Carl Maria von Weber (1881), whose pupil he was. He was knighted in 1871.

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[Dora Leah Sowden]

BENEDICT BEN MOSES OF LINCOLN (d. 1278), English financier, in secular records called Magister Benedictus filius Magistri Mossei de Lincolnia. Benedict came from a family of scholars: his great-grandfather, Moses of Bristol (later of Oxford), had been a patron of letters; his grandfather, Yom Tov (apparently also known as Simeon), composed the lost *Sefer ha-Tena'im*; and his father, R. *Moses b. Yom Tov of London, was the leading Hebrew and talmudic scholar of his day in England. One of Benedict's brothers was Hagin (Ḥayyim), *archpresbyter of English Jewry from 1257 until his death in 1280; another was R. *Elijah Menahem b. Moses of London. Benedict's business activities in Lincoln date from 1252 and are often referred to in the records of subsequent decades. It is conjectured that the *blood libel at Lincoln in 1255 took place when a number of Jews from all over England were assembled to celebrate the marriage of Benedict's daughter Bellasset. Benedict was among those arrested. After his family had procured the intervention of the Castilian ambassador, Benedict was released in December 1255 and his sequestered property restored to him. In Hebrew Benedict was known as R. Berechiah of Nicole (Lincoln). He was regarded as one of the outstanding Anglo-Jewish halakhic scholars of his day and was mentioned with veneration long after his death. R. Berechiah was also known as an exegete. His name occurs along with those of other English rabbis of the 13th century in the works of several tosafists.

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BENEDICTIONS (Heb. sing. בְּרָכָה, *berakhah*; pl. בְּרָכוֹת, *berakhot*), formulas of blessing or thanksgiving, in public and private services. The Hebrew noun *berakhah* is derived from the verb *brk* ברך ("to fall on one's knees"). The Talmud ascribes the institution and formulation of the benedictions to "the Men of the Great *Synagogue" (Ber. 33a), to the sages of old (Sif. Deut. 33:2; Mid. Ps. 17:4), or to the "120 elders" at the head of the community in the time of *Ezra (Meg. 17b; TJ, Ber. 2:4, 4d). These references, however, cannot be considered historically authentic, although they are indicative of the fact that benedictions were known to have been instituted in very ancient times. In the Bible, mention is made of a number of individual benedictions (Gen. 24:27; Ex. 18:10; Ruth 4:14; I Sam. 25:32; II Sam. 18:28; I Kings 1:48; 5:21; 8:15, 56; I Chron. 16:36; II Chron. 2:11; 6:4; Ps. 28:6; 31:22). After the victory of the Maccabees over Nicanor, the people exclaimed, "Blessed be He who has kept His holy place undefiled" (II Macc. 15:34). According to the Book of Enoch (36:4), each time Enoch beheld some of the wonders of nature, he "blessed the Lord of Glory, Who had made great and glorious wonders to show the greatness of His work to the angels and to spirits and to men, that they might praise His work and all His creation."

The Origin of the Berakhot

Elbogen and other scholars have shown that the various benedictions probably originated in different congregations and localities. The formulas ultimately adopted by all Jews were selections from, and combinations of, local customs and traditions. The attempts of other scholars to establish a definite date for the formulation of each benediction and to reconstruct an "original" wording appear to lack foundation. There are indications which suggest that different formulas were known and used simultaneously. Similarities to the 18 benedictions which comprise the **Amidah* prayer are, for instance, to be found in various sources: the hymn recorded in Ecclesiasticus 51:12, and the prayer found in Ecclesiasticus 36:1ff. The latter contains a series of benedictions petitioning for the ingathering of the exiles and the salvation of Israel. It also expresses the hope that Zion and the Temple may be filled with God's glory. The "eight benedictions," recited by the high priest on the Day of Atonement (Yoma 7:1; TJ, Yoma 7:1, 44b), and the order of the morning service of the priests in the Temple (Tam. 5:1), are also examples of this procedure.

THE END OF THE SECOND TEMPLE PERIOD. By the end of the Second Temple period, certain "orders of benedictions" had become the generally accepted custom in most communities. Prominent among these were the seven benedictions which comprise the *Amidah* for Sabbaths and festivals, the nine for Rosh Ha-Shanah (Tosef., Ber. 3:14), and most likely also the 18 benedictions for the weekday *Amidah*. The number and contents of the benedictions before and after the *Shema, and the three benedictions of the *Grace after Meals, were also standardized about this time. The "redaction" of the regular, prescribed prayers and benedictions under Rabban *Gamaliel II at Jabneh (Ber. 28b ff.), at the end of the firstcentury C.E., gave official sanction to what had been in essence the prevailing custom for a considerable time, and probably established the order and content of the benedictions. It did not, however, become the single, authoritative version.

THE TALMUDIC PERIOD. At the earliest, prayers were written down by the end of the talmudic period, and many alternative formulations of the same benediction are known from talmudic sources (some are in use in different rites to the present day). The order of prayer was still relatively flexible, for while the general outline and the motifs of the prayers and blessings were well defined, their recital involved an element of improvisation and free composition. The latter was seen as a safeguard against mechanical prayer. Some *amoraim* were singled out for praise because they recited "a new prayer" or "a new benediction" every day (TJ, Bet. 4:3, 8a). During talmudic times, however, only the requirements for the wording of each benediction were fixed in greater detail, and various subsidiary motifs which had to be included in some of them were enumerated. Consistent attempts at establishing one single authoritative version of all prayers only came later.

The Benediction Formula

Every blessing opens with the words *Barukh Attah Adonai* ("Blessed art Thou, O Lord"). When the benediction occurs at the beginning of a prayer, the words *Eloheinu Melekh ha-Olam* ("our God, King of the Universe") are added. There are three types of formulas for benedictions: The first is a short blessing (*matbe'a kaẓar,* "short formula") which, after the above opening, is followed by a few words of praise specific to the occasion, e.g., the benediction over bread: *ha-moẓi leḥem min ha-areẓ* ("who brings forth bread from the earth"). The second is a long blessing (*matbe'a arokh*, "long formula"), in which the opening is followed by a more elaborate text, e.g., in the first section of the Grace after Meals, after which a concluding benediction formula must be recited at the end of the prayer, e.g., *Barukh Attah Adonai ha-zan et ha-kol* ("Blessed art Thou O Lord, Who feedest all"). The third type of benediction forms part of a series (*berakhah ha-semukhah le-ḥavertah*, "contiguous blessings"). The opening formula is omitted (except in the first benediction of each series), and only the conclusion is phrased in the benediction style. The second section of the Grace after Meals, for instance, begins with the words *Nodeh Lekha* ("We thank Thee"), and ends with the benediction *Barukh Attah Adonai al ha-areẓ ve-al ha-mazon* ("Blessed art Thou O Lord, for the land and the food"; TJ, Bet. 1:8, 3d). The mention of God as "King of the Universe" (known as *Malkhut*) occurs only in the first two forms, and not in the third. It is totally absent from the *Amidah*, and probably did not become customary before the second century C.E. (Ber. 40a). The introduction of *Malkhut* into the opening phrase of the formula may have been motivated by the desire to stress the exclusive kingship of God, as a protest against the Roman cult of emperor worship. Since most of the obligatory prayers, e.g., the *Amidah*, and the benedictions preceding and following the *Shema*, consist of a series of blessings, the form occurring most frequently in the synagogue service is the third, in which the benediction formula is used only as a conclusion.

The standard benediction formula occurs only twice in the Bible (Ps. 119:12; I Chron. 29:10); other formulas such as *Hodu la-Adonai* ("Praise God"), *Odekha Adonai* ("I will thank Thee, O Lord") are more frequent, as is the phrase *Barukh Attah* (without *Adonai*). The benedictions in Ecclesiasticus 51:12, for instance, are introduced by *Hodu la-Adonai*, and in the Dead Sea Scrolls the benediction formula is used interchangeably with *Odekha Adonai*, and the like (e.g., Thanksgiving Scroll, cf. 2:20, 31; 4:5, with 11:28, 30; 16:8; and especially 5:20, where the latter formula has been struck by the scribe and replaced by the former). Nor do the Dead Sea Scrolls yet distinguish between the use of the divine names *Adonai* and *El* in benedictions. The Talmud also retains some traces of formulas other than the standard ones (Ber. 40b and 54b; Tosef., Ber. 4:4–5). The ultimate choice of the formula containing both the Tetragrammaton and the direct address of God in the second person was deliberate. It reflects the personal and even intimate relationship of the worshiper with God. It also ensures that supplications and petitions (such as the intermediary benediction of the *Amidah*) invariably conclude with words of praise. After asking for forgiveness, the prayer concludes: "Blessed art Thou … who dost abundantly forgive."

Laws of Benedictions

The Talmud (Ber. 40b) quotes Rav as saying that every benediction must include the name of God, and R. Johanan as saying that each benediction must also contain the attribute of God's kingship. It is also obvious from this talmudic passage that a benediction could be recited in the vernacular and did not have to be an exact translation of the Hebrew formula. A shepherd, Benjamin, is quoted as having said in Aramaic, "Blessed be God, the master of this bread," and Rav agreed that it was sufficient (Ber. 40b). Particular stress is laid upon the closing formula (Ber. 9:5; Ta'an. 2:3; Tosef., Ber. 7:21–22). While the benediction formula is obligatory in every one of the prescribed prayers, its use is precluded in spontaneous free prayers: "He who recites a blessing which is not necessary is considered to transgress the prohibition 'Thou shalt not take the name of the Lord Thy God in vain'" (Ex. 20:7; Ber. 33a). Maimonides (Yad, Berakhot 1:4) divides the benedictions into three types: those which are recited before enjoying a pleasure (e.g., food); those which are recited for the performance of a religious duty (e.g., hearing the *shofar*); and those which are forms of liturgical thanksgiving and praise (e.g., Grace after Meals).

*Abudarham distinguished four classes or types of benedictions: those recited in the daily prayers; those preceding the performance of a religious duty; blessings offered for enjoyments; and those of thanksgiving or praise (*Abudarham ha-Shalem, Berakhot*).

Many benedictions, though obligatory and therefore couched in the characteristic *berakhah* formula, are not recited in congregational worship but by the individual in private prayer. Prominent among them are three groups: benedictions before and after the partaking of food and drink; benedictions to be recited before the performance of most *mitzvot*; and benedictions of praise for various occasions (the morning benedictions which express man's gratitude for awakening in possession of all his faculties were originally of this type). Since all three types of benedictions are essentially of a private character, no *minyan* is required for their recital. (The Grace after Meals is, however, preceded by a special introduction when said in company.)

BENEDICTIONS RECITED BEFORE THE PERFORMANCE OF A MITZVAH. All benedictions recited before the observance of a *mitzvah* begin with the formula "Blessed … who has sanctified us through his commandments and commanded us…," and mention the specific *mitzvah* about to be performed. The same formula is also used before the performance of commandments of rabbinic origin (e.g., the lighting of candles on the Sabbath or on Ḥanukkah) since such commandments are implied in the biblical injunction to observe the teaching of the sages (Deut. 17:10; Shab. 23a). The actual benediction over the *mitzvah* is sometimes followed by further benedictions (e.g., on kindling the Ḥanukkah candles, the benediction "who has performed miracles for our fathers in days of old at this season" is recited). When a *mitzvah* is performed for the first time in the year, the *She-Heḥeyanu* benediction ("who has kept us alive and preserved us and enabled us to reach this season") is also added. No blessings are recited after the observance of *mitzvot*, unless they involve public reading from the Scriptures (e.g. Torah, Prophets, *Hallel*). It is, however, recorded that Palestinian scholars recited one on removing the *tefillin*.

In practice, a benediction is not recited before the performance of every *mitzvah*. Some commentators have suggested that the determining principle is that no benediction should be recited before *mitzvot* which do not involve any action (e.g., leaving the corner of the field for the poor; Lev. 19:9), or the observance of which is possible only in undesirable circumstances (e.g., divorce, or the return of stolen goods). In the case of other *mitzvot* (e.g., the giving of alms), however, the reason for the absence of a benediction is not readily apparent, and there is no general agreement regarding the underlying principles. Custom on the matter seems to have varied as late as geonic times.

BENEDICTION OF PRAISE ON VARIOUS OCCASIONS. Among the many benedictions prescribed for various special occasions, those to be recited on hearing good and bad tidings, on witnessing awesome natural phenomena, on visiting a place where miracles have been performed in the past (in Ereẓ Israel) are prominent. The blessing *Ha-tov ve-ha-metiv* ("Blessed is He Who is good and does good") is recited by an individual upon hearing good news which will also benefit others, such as when hearing news that one has received an inheritance or when rain begins to fall after a drought. It is also recited when partaking of additional wine which is different in kind from that drunk previously. The *Birkat ha-Gomel*, a blessing recited upon individual salvation from danger, is included in this category. Known generally as "blessings of praise," the main purpose of these benedictions is "to make us remember our Creator at all times" (Maim. Yad, Berakhot 1:4). While the benedictions over food are evidently intended to sanctify the physical act of taking nourishment, and those recited before *mitzvot* serve to prevent the performance of the *mitzvah* in a thoughtless routine manner, the recital of the "benedictions of praise" is practically an end in itself. These benedictions serve to illuminate the educational function of blessings which transform a variety of everyday actions and occurrences into religious experiences designed to increase awareness of God at all times. R. Meir went so far as to declare that it is the duty of every Jew to recite 100 benedictions daily (Men. 43b), a custom which, according to one tradition, was instituted by King David (Num. R. 18:21). The rabbinical discussions of benedictions are contained in the Mishnah tractate *Berakhot, and the *gemara* in both Talmuds.

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BENEDIKT, MORITZ (1835–1920), Austrian neurologist, anthropometrist, and criminologist. Born in Eisenstadt, Hungary, Benedikt served as a surgeon in the Austrian army during the wars with Italy and Prussia in 1859 and 1866. Appointed a lecturer at the University of Vienna, he rose to become professor of neurology. He achieved eminence for his varied contributions to neuropathology, the localization of brain function, and electrotherapeutics, a field in which he made important innovations. His interest in electricity was not confined to its medical application but extended to generic physics, and he produced a number of significant studies on magnetism and electric current. He contributed to various branches of medical research, including the physiology and pathology of the circulatory system, and was one of the founders of electrotherapy.

Benedikt also engaged in anthropometric studies of criminals, devoting particular attention to cephalometry and brain pathology and to criminal psychology. His studies in physical anthropology are to be found in his *Anatomische Studien an Verbrecher-Gehirnen* (1879; *Anatomical Studies upon Brains of Criminals*, 1881) and *Kraniometrie und Kephalometrie* (1888). These made him, together with Cesare Lombroso, one of the pioneers of criminal anthropology.

Of diverse cultural interests and activist liberal propensities, he wrote on current affairs and contemporary literature and aesthetics, and participated actively in various reformist movements, notably the extension of women's suffrage. His memoirs, *Aus Meinem Leben*, appeared in 1906.

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[Ephraim Fischoff]

BENEDIKT, MORITZ (1849–1920), Austrian journalist and politician. Born into an acculturated German-Jewish trading family in Moravia, Benedikt was sent to Vienna to be educated at the *Schottengymnasium* and later studied at Vienna University, especially economics. His interest in politics was sparked by the battle of Koeniggraetz (1866). He soon turned to journalism, contributing to various economic newspapers, periodicals, and yearbooks. In 1872, like E. *Bacher, he joined the staff of the liberal Vienna daily *Neue Freie Presse* (est. 1864 by Max Friedlaender and Michael Etienne), then the most influential newspaper in the Austro-Hungarian Empire. In 1879, after the death of Etienne, he was appointed editor of its economic section, publishing a widely read series of articles on financial, commercial, and economic affairs of Austria-Hungary. In 1881, he joined Bacher as editor-in-chief (and later part owner). Even before the death of his partner in 1908, he determined the editorial policy, trying to modernize the paper, from 1904 especially against the competing Vienna daily *Zeit* (est. 1896 as a weekly). With the financing of the Rothschild and *Creditanstalt* banks, he was able to engage prominent writers to contribute to the paper. Like Bacher, he made the *Neue Freie Presse* an organ of the German Liberal Party in Austria. He violently opposed the new Jewish national movement of Zionism, keeping *Herzl, then literary editor, from writing anything in support of Zionism in the paper. As stated in Herzl's diaries, Benedikt desperately tried to prevent him from publishing *Der Judenstaat* (1896) and later *Die Welt* (1897). Benedikt's fiercest Jewish opponent was K. *Kraus, regularly attacking him in his satirical magazine *Die Fackel* (from 1899). Through his editorials, Benedikt managed to achieve considerable influence in Austro-Hungarian politics, advocating peaceful solutions and a compromise between Austria and Hungary (cf. the "Benedikt formula"). His journalistic style was clear and precise. Though Benedikt served as a political adviser in financial affairs, as a Jew he never really succeeded in party politics. Only in May 1917, at the age of 68, was he appointed to the Upper House (*Herrenhaus*) of the Austrian parliament by Emperor Karl I. After 1918, with the end of World War I and the breakup of the old Austro-Hungarian Empire, Benedikt's paper lost in importance. Dismayed by the deteriorating political, economic, and social situation in Austria and especially Vienna, he failed to accommodate himself to the new era. The *Neue Freie Presse* was carried on by his son Ernst Benedikt (1882–1957).

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[Johannes Valentin Schwarz (2nd ed.)]

BENE EPHRAIM, name adopted by a Judaizing movement of Telugu-speaking Indians from Andhra Pradesh. There is no historic element to the Bene Ephraim. They have come to a kind of Judaism for reasons which are somewhat obscure, but the ambitions of their religious leaders – the Sadoc brothers – or the brothers' disappointment with the Baptist Church – may figure among them. Nonetheless, the community as it is presently constituted has a genuine sense of Jewish identity: for the children and young people it is their main identity in the villages where they live. They are sincere in their desire to be recognized as Jews both by their neighbors and by foreign Jews; they practice Judaism as best as they can and learn Hebrew as best as they can. They feel embittered that they have been ignored by Jews elsewhere and point to their Christian neighbors who receive sustenance from overseas Christian churches in the U.S. and elsewhere. The community, which maintains two synagogues, seems to be marked by piety, a desire to better their lot, and a determination to raise the flag of Judaism in Andhra Pradesh. Because of their vague idea of descent from Israelites they feel ethnically as well as religiously Jewish.

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[Tudor Parfitt (2nd ed.)]

BENEI AISH (Heb. בְּנֵי עַיִשׁ), community in central Israel. The settlement is located a little over a mile (3 km.) south of *Gederah. It was founded in 1957 on land that had served as a British military base during the Mandate period. The first settlers were mainly new immigrants from Yemen, Persia, Iraq, and Morocco who were removed from nearby transit camps (see **ma'abarah*). In the beginning, they worked in the nearby moshavim. In 1981 Benei Aish received municipal status and during the 1990s it absorbed many new immigrants, with 1,500 new apartments built. By 1998, 65% of the inhabitants were recent immigrants. The absorption of the immigrants, mainly secular, led to tensions with the old-time religious settlers. Subsequently the municipality sponsored culture activities aimed at integrating the two populations. However, the result of demographic and social changes was to make Benei Aish less religious than before, though it still maintained religious services. Its population in 2002 was 7,570. The settlement is named after R. Akiva Joseph *Schlesinger, a leader of *Po'alei Agudat Israel and one of the founders of *Petaḥ Tikvah.

[Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

BENEI BINYAMIN (Heb. בְּנֵי בִּנְיָמִין, "Sons of Benjamin"), association of second-generation farmers in the veteran moshavot of Palestine, active from 1921 to 1939. It engaged mainly in promoting economic and cultural interests, along with matters of security and self-defense. Benei Binyamin was founded by Alexander *Aaronsohn and was named in tribute to Edmond (Binyamin) de *Rothschild and Theodor (Binyamin Ze'ev) *Herzl. The association had as its motto: "To preserve the existing and to rebuild the destroyed." It was active in such veteran settlements as Petaḥ Tikvah, Rishon le-Zion, Nes Ẓiyyonah, Ekron, Ḥaderah, Zikhron Ya'akov, Rosh Pinnah, Mishmar ha-Yarden, and Yesud ha-Ma'alah. The Benei Binyamin Cooperative Bank, opened in 1924, loaned money to members for agricultural development, which the association constantly encouraged. In the same year Benei Binyamin began publication of its own newspaper, *Yedi'ot ha-Va'ad ha-Merkazi shel Histadrut Benei Binyamin*. Netanyah, Kefar Aharon, Even Yehudah, and part of Herzliyyah were founded by Benei Binyamin. Its active supporters in the U.S. included Nathan *Straus (in whose honor Netanyah was named). Alexander Aaronsohn was its president, and Oved *Ben-Ami served as its secretary for a number of years.

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BENEI DAROM (Heb. בְּנֵי דָּרוֹם), moshav shittufi east of Ashdod, Israel, affiliated with the Ha-Po'el ha-Mizrachi Moshavim Association. It was founded in 1949 by members of *Kefar Darom who had defended it during the War of Independence, until it fell and remained within the Egyptian-controlled Gaza Strip. In 1961 the settlers decided to change from the kibbutz to the moshav shittufi form of settlement. Some settlers originated from Germany and North America, others were born in Israel. Its economy was based on intensive farming including citrus orchards and irrigated field crops. Later it added pasta and preservative factories and a visitor's center for tourists. In 1968 its population was 144, doubling to around 300 in the mid-1990s and maintaining its size into the 21st century.

[Efraim Orni]

BENEI DEROR (Heb. בְּנֵי דְּרוֹר, "Sons of Freedom"), moshav in the southern Sharon, Israel, affiliated with Tenu'at ha-Moshavim, founded in 1946 by World War II veterans who were joined by immigrants from Turkey in 1949. Its economy was based on avocado plantations, citrus groves, a plant nursery, and milch cattle. In 1968 its population was 231, in the mid-1990s it increased to 300, and by 2002 it stood at 841. **WEBSITE:** www.bnei-dror.co.il.

[Efraim Orni]

BENEI MOSHE (Heb. בְּנֵי מֹשֶׁה; "Sons of Moses"), secret order of Ḥovevei Zion founded in Russia in 1889 to ensure personal dedication to the spiritual renaissance of the Jewish people and the return to Ereẓ Israel. Benei Moshe, founded on the seventh of Adar, the traditional birth date of Moses, was active in Russia and Ereẓ Israel until 1897. Its originator was Yehoshua *Barzillai (Eisenstadt), who returned from Ereẓ Israel dissatisfied with the situation of Jewish agricultural settlement and the general state of depression in the small new *yishuv*. Barzillai's views conformed with those of *Aḥad Ha-

Am, as expressed in his historic article "*Lo Zeh ha-Derekh*" ("The Wrong Way"), then still in manuscript but known to a limited circle. Barzillai and Avraham *Lubarsky persuaded Aḥad Ha-Am to accept leadership of the order. In his article *Derekh ha-Ḥayyim* ("Way of Life," 1889) and its supplements, Aḥad Ha-Am outlined the aim of the association: the return of the Jews to their historic homeland, but with prior spiritual preparation. The name Moshe (Moses) was to serve "as a sign to all members ever to keep in mind this chosen son of our people," a symbol of humility and morality. In this spirit, the order attempted "to broaden the scope of nationalism, elevating it to an ethical ideal based on the love of Israel, and embracing moral values."

Benei Moshe chapters consisted of at least five members, headed by leaders and advisers. A member was initiated in a ceremony in which he vowed to adhere faithfully to the group's statutes. The language used was Hebrew, and knowledge of Hebrew was a prerequisite for membership eligibility. The minimal eligibility age was 20. Members were called "brothers." Despite its very small membership (about 160), the order exerted considerable influence on the Ḥibbat Zion movement, whose leaders were, in fact, members of Benei Moshe. However, it had many opponents, namely those who advocated the primacy of practical settlement work in Ereẓ Israel above everything else (among them Moses Leib *Lilienblum), as well as Orthodox circles that conducted a fierce campaign against what they regarded as the secular ideology of Benei Moshe (among them Jehiel Michael *Pines and Ze'ev Wolf Jawitz).

Benei Moshe's practical achievements were in the field of modern Hebrew education in Ereẓ Israel and elsewhere (e.g., the modernized Hebrew-speaking *ḥeder* called *ḥeder metukkan*); in helping to found the settlement *Reḥovot; and in the establishment of the Hebrew publishing house Aḥi'asaf. The order helped publish the Hebrew anthologies *Kavveret* (1890) and *Pardes* (2 vols., 1892, 1895) in Russia. In Ereẓ Israel they published *Mikhtavim me-Ereẓ Yisrael* ("Letters from Ereẓ Israel," 1893–94), edited by Barzillai under the pen name Beit ha-Levi.

In 1891 Aḥad Ha-Am left the leadership of the order, although he remained its spiritual guide throughout its existence. The Benei Moshe headquarters moved to Jaffa in 1893. The order gradually abandoned its secret form, and in 1895 Aḥad Ha-Am suggested that it become a political party. By this time, however, the order was embroiled in bitter controversy both with its opponents and within its own ranks. Neither changes in the statutes nor the opening of the association could remove the feeling of frustration and reinvigorate it, and in 1896 Aḥad Ha-Am himself suggested that Benei Moshe be dissolved. This came about naturally with the rise of political Zionism, particularly with the convening of the First Zionist Congress in Basel (1897), which gave a new impetus to the Jewish national movement. The aims of Benei Moshe were sustained in Aḥad Ha-Am's continued opposition to Herzl's political Zionism.

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[Getzel Kressel]

BENE ISRAEL, Jewish community in India.

In India

The original tradition, as related to Christian missionaries early in the 19th century, is that the Bene Israel are the descendants of the survivors (seven men and seven women) of a shipwreck off the Konkan coast at Navgaon, about 26 miles south of Bombay. Their ship was said to have come "from northern parts" and the date was "some sixteen to eighteen hundred years ago" (J. Wilson, *Lands of the Bible* (1847) II, 667). In the 19th century various theories were propounded by Europeans about Bene Israel origins conjecturing that the Bene Israel were an offshoot of the Jewish settlements in Yemen, refugees from the persecution of the Jews by Muhammad, or descendants of the Babylonian-Persian Diaspora. Later, in the light of the study of the Bible, of other Jewish literature, of ancient history sources relating to India, the Middle East, etc., some members of the Bene Israel community itself delved into details of possible Bene Israel origins. H.S. Kehimkar (*History of the Bene Israel of India* (1937) written in 1897) favored the theory that the ancestors of the Bene Israel left the Galilee because of persecutions by Antiochus Epiphanes (175–163 B.C.E.). D.J. Samson's argument for Bene Israel arrival in India at some time between 740 and 500 B.C.E. appeared in 1917 in an issue of the Bene Israel periodical The *Israelite* (i, no. 4,68–70) in an article entitled *The Bene Israel: Who, Where, Whence.* In any case their descendants remained for centuries isolated from Jewish life elsewhere. Thus they forgot much of the Hebrew language, prayer and ceremonies, and adopted customs and dress of their Konkan neighbors, and their language, Marathi, as their mother tongue. Throughout the centuries they clung, however, to some fundamentals of the Jewish tradition and observed circumcision, dietary laws, the Sabbath, and most fasts and festivals prescribed in the Torah, and recited the *Shema*. But they were otherwise unaware of Torah, or of talmudic and halakhic lore. In their new surroundings the Bene Israel turned to the pursuit of oil-pressing and agriculture and became known to their neighbors as *Shanwar Tells* ("The Sabbath-observing oilmen"), indicating both their occupation and their religious observance. The presence of a special Jewish group in the Konkan region remained unknown to outsiders, except for casual references to them.

Bene Israel tradition tells of a Jew, David Rahabi, who about the year 1000 C.E. (or, some say around 1400 C.E.) discovered the Bene Israel in their villages, recognized their vestigial Jewish customs, and taught them about Judaism, preparing certain young men among them to be the religious preceptors of the Bene Israel. They were called *Kajis* and their position became hereditary. They were also recognized officially as judges in disputes within the Bene Israel community. Somewhere along the line the Bene Israel formed a special attachment to the Prophet Elijah. They invoke his blessings on all auspicious occasions. Another typically Bene Israel feature is their custom called *Malida*, i.e., the preparation of a ceremonial food offering (composed of special ingredients) accompanied by recitation of Jewish prayers, psalms, and other appropriate biblical quotations on the occasions of purification after childbirth; preparation for a wedding; when taking, and after completing, a vow; after a circumcision, and for all other auspicious occasions; whenever there is a crisis or need for divine help; for the expression of gratitude to God; and on Tu Bi-Shevat to celebrate the first fruits of their locale, and also to give respect to the Prophet Elijah at Kandala, the place where he is believed to have appeared to the Bene Israel.

In mid-18th century, many Bene Israel moved from their villages into the rapidly developing new city of Bombay. Here the horizons of the Bene Israel were widened as they benefited from the educational and employment opportunities offered under British rule. The British authorities were anxious to recruit reliable soldiers to their "native" regiments. Some Bene Israel had already served in the army or in the navy of other Konkan potentates, and many enlisted under the British. Most of these rose to officer rank and established a reputation as good fighters in the Anglo-Mysore, Anglo-Afghan, and Anglo-Burmese wars of the 18th and 19th centuries. They were also efficient civil servants.

An impetus to their return to traditional Judaism was given to the Bene Israel through the cooperation of Cochin Jews who visited Bombay and the Konkan villages, and through the new wave of immigration of Arabic-speaking Jews from Baghdad to Bombay in the early decades of the 19th century. The secular education of the Bene Israel was considerably influenced by Congregational missionaries from America who opened schools both in Bombay and in the outlying towns and villages. They trained Bene Israel to become teachers in these schools, and it was in these schools that the Bene Israel got their first understandable introduction to be Bible. Then, in 1826 a Jew from Cochin, who had been converted to Christianity, Michael Sargon, was deputed to work among the Bene Israel. He not only devoted his energy to teaching them in the Marathi language, without any attempt at proselytization, but also mediated in their disputes. Somewhat later the most celebrated of all Christian missionaries to work among the Bene Israel, the Rev. John Wilson of the Scottish Presbyterian Mission, started his educational activities among them. In 1832 he published a Hebrew Grammar in Marathi, and Bene Israel studied Hebrew in the high school and in the college founded by him. Gradually the missionaries withdrew from the field of primary education and the Bene Israel took their education into their own hands. H.S. Kehimkar, in collaboration with his brother and A.D. Pezarkar, started a small primary school in 1875. It later became necessary to solicit for funds, and generous aid was given by the Anglo-Jewish Association of London, Jewish philanthropists in England and France, members of the *Sassoon family, and the Government of Bombay. The school, with its own building, grew into a high school teaching Marathi, English and Hebrew. Originally called the Israelite School, the name was changed in the early 1930s to the Elly Kadoorie School, in recognition of a large donation (earmarked for the reconstruction and extension of the old school building) by Sir Elly *Kadoorie of Hong Kong.

Religious development was also very much facilitated for the Bene Israel by translations of the Old Testament by an association of Protestant Christian missionaries of all denominations beginning in the early twenties of the 19th century. Since its establishment in 1857 Bombay University included Hebrew in its curriculum.

Originally, the communal organization, religious as well as secular, of the Bene Israel was headed by the *Kajis.* With the establishment of synagogues (the first was established in 1796 in Bombay by Bene Israel army officer Samuel Ezekiel *Divekar and was named Sha'ar ha-Rachamim ("Gate of Mercy")), the secular functions of the *Kajis* were gradually taken over by the *Muccadams*, who either were the most prominent persons in the local community, or who succeeded their fathers in the office. In large synagogue congregations the *Muccadams* were aided by *Choglas*, or councilors. Eventually the ritual functions of the *Kajis* came to be performed by the *ḥazzanim* who were initially recruited from Cochin but later also from among the Bene Israel themselves.

The Bene Israel established additional synagogues in Bombay – Sha'ar Razon (1839), Etz Hayim (1888), and Magen Chassidim (1931) – and also several prayer halls. From 1848 onwards Bene Israel synagogues were also established in 12 different towns on the Konkan coast; and far afield in the cities of Poona, Ahmedabad, Karachi (now in Pakistan) and New Delhi.

The relations between the Bene Israel and the Hindu and Muslim communities of the Konkan coast proved to be very peaceful. The only thing that the Bene Israel found upsetting was that their neighbors did not always identify them as Jews, and until well into the second half of the 20th century associated them with the caste of oil-pressers because of the traditional occupation of their ancestors, though already in the later British period the occupations of the Bene Israel were quite diverse.

Apart from serving in the British "native" regiments they were employed as civil servants in government, railway, postal and customs offices; as teachers, hospital assistants, nurses; many were skilled carpenters, masons, and mechanics; but very few were engaged in trade or commerce. Many Bene Israel who attended Elphinstone, Wilson and other colleges affiliated to Bombay University became well known as engineers, lawyers, physicians, educators, architects, writers and social workers. Prominent among the leaders and educators of the 19th century were Hayim Samuel *Kehimkar, historian of the community, and Joseph Ezekiel *Rajpurkar, writer and translator of Hebrew liturgical works into Marathi. One of the earliest liturgical works to be printed was by a Yemenite Jew from Cochin, Solomon Shara'bi, *Seliḥot According to the Sephardi Rite* (1841). It was followed by the publication of the Hebrew calendar (*Luaḥ*, 1845) and the first Passover *Haggadah* (1846, facsimile reprinted by W.J. Fischel, 1968) with a Marathi translation. From the last decade of the 19th century the Bene Israel published a number of journals and periodicals in Marathi and English. Some of them were short-lived, but *The Israelite* continued from 1917 to 1927; *The Friend of Israel* lasted from 1916 to 1921; *The Maccabi* from 1946 to 1971.

In the first half of the 20th century some Bene Israel participated in the Indian nationalist movement.

Bene Israel who have received the *Padma Shri*, one of the highest awards of the Government of India, awarded on Indian Independence Day to outstanding individuals in various fields of endeavor are (1) Dr. (Miss) Jerusha Jacob Jhirad, in 1966, for her work in gynecology and for her services in social welfare; (2) Mr. David Abraham Cheulkar, in 1969, for his character acting in Indian films; and (3) Dr. Reuben David Dandekar, in 1975, for his outstanding work and originality as superintendent of the Ahmedabad Zoo. (A fourth Indian Jew to receive the *Padma Shri* Award is a member of the Baghdadi Jewish community of Bombay: Mr. Ezra Mir, in 1970, for his outstanding work in making Indian documentary films and children's documentaries.) Among the many other Bene Israel who have achieved careers of distinction in India are Khan Bahadur Jacob Bapuji Israel, who as chief administrator in the State of Aundh, made specific innovations for rural development many decades before similar reforms were begun elsewhere; Shalom Bapuji Israel, who from ordinary police constable rose to be Dewan of Janjira State; Dr. Abraham Solomon Erulkar, an ardent nationalist, who had attended upon Mahatma Gandhi during almost all of his fasts (not as Gandhi's personal physician) especially in his capacity as then president of the Indian Medical Council; David Solomon Erulkar who was the Junior Council for-the-defense in the famous trial of the freedom-fighter Lokamanya B.G. Tilak (a Hindu), working together with the Senior Council in the case, a famous Muslim, Muhammed Ali Jinnah. Erulkar was also on the governing body of the International Labor Organization of the League of Nations. He founded *The Israelite* magazine. David Ezra Reuben secured first place in the competitive examination for admission to the Indian Civil Service in 1917. He was the only Bene Israel ever to serve in the ICS. He was made Chief Justice in 1951 of the Patna Court (in Bihar State). Miss Rebecca Reuben obtained her T.D. degree from London University; was principal of the Israelite School 1922–1950; issued a monthly journal for Jewish children, called *Nofeth* (written in Marathi it served as an excellent tool for education in things Jewish); authored highly successful series of English readers for secondary schools, also a grammar, and guides for teachers; Dr. Elijah Moses, Mayor of Bombay 1937–1938. Several officers in the Indian Army, Navy and Air Force, notably including Vice Admiral Benjamin Abraham Samson, former Commandant of the Indian Defense Academy, who commanded the Western Fleet during hostilities with Pakistan in 1965, subsequently managing director of the Mazagaon Docks where he supervised the construction of the first two Indian-built frigates; Major General Jonathan Reuben Samson of the Indian Engineers, now general manager of the Armored Vehicle Factory at Avadi, Madras; Dr. Sarah Jacob, principal of the Jaipur Government Medical College; Dr. Eliezar Moses Best, dean of B.J. Medical College and superintendent of Civil Hospital, Ahmedabad; Mrs. Meera Jacob Mahadevan, author and innovative social worker who conceived of and developed a network of Mobile Creches and Schools for the impoverished, neglected children of itinerant laborers; Solomon Shalom Aptekar, popular author and playwright of the 1920s; Joseph David Penkar, pioneer in the Indian screen industry, script and song writer; Nissim Ezekiel, highly rated Indian poet writing in English, editor, art critic, playwright, reader in American Literature at Mumbai (formerly Bombay) University; Dr. Esther Solomon, Ph.D., Sanskritist at Gujarat University; Samuel Israel, director of the National Book Trust of India since 1974; Ezra Kolet, formerly in government service in the Finance Ministry, later in the Ministry of Shipping and Transport as chief comptroller of chartering and as additional secretary to the ministry, the moving spirit of the Delhi Jewish community, and founder, secretary and violinist of the Delhi Symphony Orchestra; and Judah Reuben, India's only Jewish umpire (cricket), member of the All India Panel of Umpires.

Most Bene Israel congregations became affiliated (in reality very loosely) either with the World Council of Synagogues (Conservative) or with the Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations. A significant development in the religious field was the establishment in 1925 of the Jewish Religious Union in Bombay by Dr. Jerusha Jhirad who, upon her return from medical training in England, used the London organization as the prototype. In Bombay this was an entirely spontaneous move without outside financial help, though prayer books and other literature were obtained from the Liberal Jewish Synagogue of London. The Bombay Jewish Religious Union was one of the founder members of the World Union for Progressive Judaism (established in 1926) and made a small annual contribution toward its expenses. In the 1950s the Bombay congregation's own funds were supplemented with financial aid from circles of Progressive Judaism outside India and from Sassoon Trust Funds, all of which enabled the Bombay Jewish Religious Union, now called Congregation Rodef Shalom, to obtain premises of its own and the services of two young rabbis, both graduates of *Hebrew Union College. In August 1957 Rabbi Hugo Gryn (for more than two full years), followed by Rabbi Elisha Nattiv (for about three years) ministered to this congregation and exerted an influence among the Jews of Bombay far beyond the three hundred members of Congregation Rodef Shalom.

The first contacts of the Bene Israel with the modern Zionist movement go back to the time of Theodor Herzl. In

1897 the Bene Israel were invited to participate in the First Zionist Congress. They refused with the explanation that the community was waiting for "the Divine Hand" to bring them back to Zion. The first Zionist association was founded in Bombay in 1919. Visits of Zionist leaders such as Israel *Cohen in 1921, the first Zionist emissary to India on behalf of the World Zionist Organization, and subsequently of Immanuel Olsvanger, and others, stimulated the community's interest in and support of the Jewish National Home.

In the second half of the 20th century the numbers of the Bene Israel community have significantly decreased due to the emigration of its members to Israel, Europe, and the Americas. In the early years of the 21st century there were approximately 4,000 Bene Israel left in India, most of them living in Maharashtra State. Other Bene Israel communities functioned in Ahmedabad and New Delhi. Communities maintained a number of synagogues and prayer halls, such as the Magen Hassidim and Tiferet Israel synagogues in Mumbai (formerly Bombay), and the Shaar Hashamaim synagogue in Thane. In some places, there was a regular *minyan*; in others there were services on Saturday mornings and not on Friday nights, or on High Holidays only. The first synagogue in Bombay celebrated its bicentenary in February 1996.

[Walter Joseph Fischel, Shirley Berry Isenberg, and Benjamin J. Israel / Shalva Weil and Yulia Egorova (2nd ed.)]

In Israel

Between 1948 and 1952, approximately 2,300 Bene Israel emigrated to Israel. As a result of sit-down strikes and hunger strikes (see below), the Jewish Agency returned a total of 337 individuals, in several groups, between 1952 and 1954. Most of them were brought back to Israel by the Jewish Agency after several years. From the establishment of the state until 1969, over 12,000 Bene Israel emigrated to Israel. They were mainly absorbed into the branches of industry in which they were occupied in India, such as textiles and metals, as well as into public services. They settled mainly in Beersheba, Dimonah, Ashdod, and Eilat. Some settled in kibbutzim and moshavim.

SOCIAL-RELIGIOUS CRISIS. The Bene Israel became the focus of a controversy which arose in 1954 over the basic question of the personal status of the Bene Israel regarding marriage with other Jews. Although the Chief Rabbinate had laid down in essence that "the sect of the Bene Israel in India is of the seed of the House of Israel without any doubt," several rabbis in Israel refused to marry Bene Israel to other Jews. This standpoint was based on halakhic decisions that had been given for Jews from Baghdad who had settled in India, and who denounced intermarriage with those whom they considered to belong to an inferior caste. On first coming to India in the 18th century, the Baghdadi Jews had prayed in the synagogues of the Bene Israel and buried their dead in their cemeteries. However, as they became more settled and acquired a higher status and education, they began to keep apart and to question whether the Bene Israel were legitimately Jewish. They considered that association with the Bene Israel should be debarred for fear of illegitimacy (*mamzerut*), since the latter were unfamiliar with the Jewish laws of divorce (*gittin*), absolved themselves from levirate marriage, and did not practice *ḥaliẓah*. Not one of the rabbis outside India who returned a negative decision concerning the Bene Israel in previous generations had ever visited there or met representatives of the Bene Israel community in order to obtain knowledge of their customs or information directly from them. In Israel the controversy arose between those who rejected the Bene Israel and those who regarded them as Jews in every respect. In 1962, the Israel Chief Rabbinate appointed a commission of four rabbis who were charged with meeting representatives of the Bene Israel. From the evidence of the leaders of the community who appeared before the rabbis and from earlier sources, it became clear that the Bene Israel had not been accustomed to divorce women at all, in the same way that divorce was not practiced among Indians other than Muslims until about a century ago. It was only on the arrival in India of rabbis from Baghdad and Yemen who were experts on the Jewish laws of divorce that a number of Bene Israel had approached them. Concerning widows the Bene Israel generally followed the custom of their Indian neighbors and did not permit them to remarry, so that the question of levirate marriage or *ḥaliẓah* did not arise. On Oct. 18, 1962, the council of the Chief Rabbinate decided that marriage with Bene Israel is permissible. However, the rabbi registering the marriage was bound to investigate, as far back as three generations at least, the maternal ancestry of every applicant of the Bene Israel, man or woman, wishing to marry outside the community, in order to establish to what extent there were not intermixed in the family persons who were non-Jews or proselytes. The rabbi concerned was also bound to establish as far as possible that neither the parents of the applicant nor his grandparents had remarried after a previous divorce, and that they were not within the prohibited degrees of kinship.

These directives aroused fierce resentment, culminating in a stormy strike in Jerusalem in the summer of 1964, in which several hundred of the Bene Israel from all over Israel participated. Subsequently, the prime minister, Levi Eshkol, issued the statement that "the government of Israel reiterates that it regards the community of the Bene Israel from India as Jews in every respect, without any restriction or distinction, equal in their rights to all other Jews in every matter, including matters of matrimony."

To these troubling afflictions had been added the difficulties of absorption of the Bene Israel into a society totally different from that to which they had been accustomed in India, and the difficulties of finding employment and of language. When the first groups of Bene Israel encountered the difficulties of absorption, they reacted by sit-down strikes of groups and individuals. The presence of Bene Israel strikers at the doors of the offices of the Jewish Agency became a regular feature of the 1950s. In the Indian Parliament, a debate upon discrimination against Indian Jews in Israel took place at the beginning of the crisis. On Sept. 8, 1952, a statement of the Indian deputy minister for external affairs, Shri Anil R. Chanda, was read in answer to a question in the Indian Council of States in New Delhi, as follows: "The government of India has received complaints from some Indian Jews who had returned from Israel that there was discrimination against them on account of their color. The government has not verified any of these complaints, and in any event, such individual complaints do not justify a general statement that there is a color bar in Israel." The young generation of Bene Israel has become integrated into Israel society and found its place in all fields of Israel life. Their communal attachment is still strong and finds particular expression at meetings on festivals.

[Naftali Bar-Giora]

As a result of natural increase, the Bene Israel in Israel number over 50,000. They tend to live in well-defined communities such as Dimonah, Ashdod, Yeruḥam, Kiryat Gat, and Lydda (Lod); there are large communities in Ashkelon, Beersheba, Ramleh, and Kiryat Ata. Many Bene Israel are employed in the transportation and communications industries as skilled workers and clerks; others work in the armed forces and police. More than half the women are employed outside the home. Social life is organized around the synagogue, which acts as a community center in each urban settlement. Communal events are arranged by nearly 30 voluntary associations around the country; two associations are national and the rest serve local interests. Activities are conducted in Hebrew, English, and Marathi, the native tongue of the immigrant generation. A Marathi quarterly called *Mai Bolli* has been published in Israel since 1989. In 1995, the Indian Women's Organization celebrated its quartercentary celebration in Lydda.

[Shalva Weil (2nd ed.)]

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BENEI ZION (Heb. בְּנֵי צִיּוֹן), moshav in central Israel, in the southern Sharon, affiliated with Ha-Iḥud ha-Ḥakla'i middle-class settlements association. It was founded in 1947 by veteran farmers, who were later joined by immigrants from Poland, Romania, and North Africa. Its economy was based on citrus plantations and intensive farming. The moshav is named after the B'nai Zion Order of America, which contributed funds toward the acquisition of the land. In the mid-1990s the population was approximately 430, increasing to 742 in 2002 after upscale expansion.

[Efraim Orni]

BEN-ELIEZER, BINYAMIN (**Fuad;** 1936–), Israeli military commander and politician, member of the Eleventh to Sixteenth Knessets. Ben-Eliezer was born in Basra in Iraq and immigrated to Israel on his own in 1950, when he was only 13. During the Six-Day War he served as the deputy to the Bedouin commander of the Shaked unit in the Southern Command. During the Yom Kippur War he was deputy commander of a brigade. In the mid-1970s he was appointed Israel's first commander in Southern Lebanon and was in charge of the opening of the "Good Fence" between Israel and Lebanon and creating the foundations for the Southern Lebanese Army under Major Haddad. In 1978 he was appointed military administrator of Judea and Samaria, a position he held for close to four years. In that period he participated in the effort to establish an alternative Palestinian leadership to the PLO in the form of the village leagues. He left the army in 1982 and for a brief period served as the secretary general of the ethnic Tami party established by Aharon Abuhazeira. However, he was recalled to active service by Minister of Defense Moshe *Arens in 1983 and appointed coordinator of operations in Judea, Samaria, and Gaza. In the course of his military service Ben-Eliezer graduated from the IDF Command and Staff Academy and the College for National Security.

After his final discharge from the IDF in 1984 Ben-Eliezer joined Ezer *Weizman in establishing a new party, Yaḥad, which was elected to the Eleventh Knesset and joined the Alignment before the formation of the National Unity Government. When not serving as a minister, Ben-Eliezer served on the Knesset Foreign Affairs and Defense Committee. In the government formed by Yitzhak *Rabin in 1992, he was appointed minister of construction and housing, a position he also held in the government formed by Shimon *Peres after Rabin's assassination. During this period he shifted the focus back to construction within the Green Line. In the government formed by Ehud *Barak in 1999, he was deputy prime minister and minister of communications, and after the NRP resigned from the government also served as minister of construction and housing. Following Barak's defeat in the elections for prime minister held in February 2001 and Labor's entry into the government formed by Ariel *Sharon, Ben-Eliezer was appointed minister of defense but resigned from the government with the Labor Party in November 2002.

As minister of defense he had to contend with the growing violence of the *Intifada* and was in charge of Operation Defensive Shield in the territories in the spring of 2002. As the violence escalated he favored the construction of a fence between Israel and the Palestinian territories, but continued to believe in a negotiated settlement which would lead to the establishment of a Palestinian state. Already in June 2001 he advocated the need to remove outposts of the settlers in the territories. In primaries held for the Labor Party leadership in December 2001 Ben-Eliezer ran against Avraham *Burg, winning by a narrow majority. However, just before the elections to the Sixteenth Knesset, Amram Mitzna defeated him in another round of primaries for the party leadership.

[Susan Hattis Rolef (2nd ed.)]

BEN ELIEZER, MOSHE (1882–1944), Hebrew editor, author, and translator. Ben Eliezer, who was born in Shchuchin, near Vilna, became attracted to the Haskalah while studying at Mir yeshivah, and joined the staff of the Hebrew daily *Ha-Zeman*. From 1906 to 1910 he lived in the United States, where he established *Shibbolim* (1909), a journal devoted to modern Hebrew literature. Returning to Poland he edited several Hebrew journals for young people, and spent some time after World War I in Kovno as press officer for the Lithuanian Ministry for Jewish Affairs. Immigrating to Palestine in 1925, he joined the editorial staff of the newspaper *Haaretz*. His stories, feuilletons, and translations appeared in the Hebrew press of various countries and he also wrote and edited several series of books for children. His works include the historical novels *Yerovam u-Reḥavam* ("Jeroboam and Rehoboam," 1939) and *Don Yosef Nasi* (1945), the novel *Gavri'el* (1945), and translations of works by Scott, Dickens, Conrad, Hawthorne, and others.

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[Getzel Kressel]

BENE MENASHE, name given to Judaizing groups from northeast India mainly in the two Indian states of Mizoram and Manipur. The Bene Menashe claim descent from the tribe of Manasseh, one of the ten tribes exiled from the Land of Israel by the Assyrians over 2,700 years ago. Members of the group include ethnic Chins, Lushais, Kukis, and Mizos. Collectively they are often referred to as Shinlung. The movement, if one can call it such, started in the 1950s as a by-product of the experience of colonialism and Christian missions. Remarkably, by the end of the 20th century several hundred Shinlung had formally converting to Orthodox Judaism. Many thousand more practiced a kind of Judaism. Others practiced Christianity while thinking of themselves as descendants of the ancient Israelites. By 2005 some 800 converts had settled in Israel, helped by an organization called Shavei-Israel, a Jerusalem-based group that attempts to give help and succor to "lost Jews" seeking to return to the Jewish people. For the most part the Shinlung do not see themselves as converts in the usual sense of the term: like other such groups – one might cite the *Bene Ephraim Telugu-speaking Jews of Andhra Pradesh who believe themselves to be descended from the Tribe of Ephraim – they believe that they are historically of Jewish descent. This controversial claim has found little support among scholars, although a gifted Israeli essayist and translator – Hillel Halkin – took up their cause in a colorful account published in 2002. He was joined in 2005 by the Sephardi chief rabbi of Israel, Shlomo Amar, who decided to formally recognize the Bene Menashe as "descendants of Israel" and agreed to dispatch a *beit din* from Israel to northeast India to convert them.

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[Tudor Parfitt (2nd ed.)]

BENESCH, ALFRED ABRAHAM (1879–1973), U.S. attorney and civic leader. Benesch was born in Cleveland, Ohio, the son of Bohemian immigrants. He established a law practice in Cleveland and was elected to the Cleveland City Council in 1912. In 1914–15 he served as public safety director in Mayor Newton D. Baker's cabinet. Under Benesch's direction the first electric traffic signal lights were installed in Cleveland on August 5, 1914, by the American Traffic Signal Company. In 1922 Benesch gained prominence as a libertarian for his fight against a proposed quota system for Jews at Harvard. His public career was highlighted by 37 years of continuous service on the Cleveland Board of Education (1925–62); he was its president in 1933–34. Benesch made an immediate impact on school policy when he successfully opposed compulsory reserve military training in the city's public high schools. He was Ohio State Director of Commerce during 1935–39. Benesch held many public and civic offices and was equally active as a Jewish communal leader, serving as a trustee of many local Jewish agencies.

[Judah Rubinstein]

BENEŠOV (Ger. **Beneschau**), town in Bohemia, the Czech Republic. The community, first mentioned in 1419, was among the earliest to be established in a seignorial town in *Bohemia. Five Jewish families were living there in 1570. A community is again mentioned there in 1845, numbering seven families in 1852. It was officially registered in 1893 with 786 persons (including those living in 27 surrounding villages). Benešov was a center of the Svaz *čechů-židů, Czecho-Jewish movement, and of the struggle against the German-language Jewish school at the end of the 19th century. In 1930 the community numbered 237 (2.8% of the total population), 24 of whom declared their nationality as Jewish. The anti-Jewish laws imposed during the

German occupation were sometimes not enforced in Benešov. Most of the community was deported by the Nazis to the Maly Trostinets extermination camp near Minsk in 1942. Only two Jews returned. The synagogue equipment was sent to the Central Jewish Museum in Prague; two cemeteries still remain. No community has been reconstructed.

[Jan Herman]

BENEVENTO, town in southern Italy. Epigraphical evidence may indicate that Jews were living in Benevento already in the fifth century. Around 950 the miracle worker *Aaron of Baghdad visited the town. Later, members of the *Ahimaaz family resided in Benevento, Hananeel b. Paltiel establishing his yeshivah there. In 1065, Landolfo VI, prince of Benevento, forced a number of Jews to become converted to Christianity, being reproved for this by Pope *Alexander II. In 1077 Benevento became part of the Patrimony of St. Peter and its Jews passed under the rule of the pope. When *Benjamin of Tudela visited Benevento about 1159 he found 200 Jewish families. Two Hebrew inscriptions on a sepulchral stone from 1153 also attest to the existence of a Jewish community in this period. The Jews were living in a fairly ample quarter; in 1198 three churches in Benevento were known as "de Judeca." Jewish economic activities included weaving and especially dyeing, on which taxes were paid to the archbishop. Later Jews engaged in moneylending. In the early 16th century they also dealt in corn. When in 1442 Alfonso of Aragon became king of Naples, he also occupied Benevento. The Holy See compromised by nominating Alfonso apostolic vicar in the city, recognizing his rule *de facto*. In 1452 Alfonso accorded the Jews of Benevento the same privileges enjoyed by the Jews living in the Kingdom of Naples, in return for a thousand ducats. In 1458, upon Alfonso's death, Benevento returned to pontifical rule. Benevento being a Papal enclave, the Jewish community which now maintained two synagogues was not disturbed at the time of the general expulsion from southern Italy in 1541. Nevertheless, after the election of Pope *Paul IV in 1555, their position sharply deteriorated and several Jews converted, among them a rich banker, Raphael Usiglio. In 1569 they were expelled from Benevento as from the other small towns in the Papal States. The municipal council readmitted Jews in 1617, but in 1630 they were accused of poisoning the wells. Thereafter, the organized Jewish community ceased to exist.

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[Attilio Milano / Nadia Zeldes (2nd ed.)]

BENEVENTO, IMMANUEL BEN JEKUTHIEL (died c. 1560), Italian grammarian and kabbalist. Benevento, who lived in Mantua, was the pupil of R. Moses *Basola of Pesaro. He wrote *Livyat Hen* (Mantua, 1557) on Hebrew grammar and poetry and published *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut*, the kabbalistic work of Perez b. Isaac Gerondi (of Barcelona), which he annotated with his own commentary (Mantua, 1558). He was also one of the publishers of the first printed edition of the Zohar (Mantua, 1558–60), and went to the Ottoman Empire in search of new Zohar manuscripts for this edition. Benevento was also involved in the dispute about printing the Zohar, justifying it in the introductions to his books. He died before the printing was completed.

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[Umberto (Moses David) Cassuto / Moti Benmelekh (2nd ed.)]

BENEVENUTUS GRAPHEUS HIEROSOLYMITANUS (c. 12th century), the most famous medieval non-Arab oculist. Probably Jewish, he practiced and lectured in Southern Europe. His work on ocular diseases was the best-known textbook until well into the 16th century. Twenty-two manuscripts and 18 printed editions are still in existence, differing in length and completeness. According to a Vatican Latin codex, the work was "translated from the Hebrew into Latin." The Latin *editio princeps* is the Ferrara incunabulum (1474). Benevenutus' knowledge of anatomy and his physiological and pathological conceptions follow closely Galen's teachings. In therapy, however, he reflects ophthalmological knowledge of his own time. His description of seasonal ophthalmia is an indication of his having been a "Hierosolymitanus" (Jerusalemite), since it conforms surprisingly well with the summer and autumn epidemics of conjunctivitis in Ereẓ Israel. His therapy is empirical and free from irrational elements. Among his numerous remedies some carry the adjective "Jerusalem." From his descriptions of couching for cataract, the radical treatment of trichiasis, dacryocystitis, and "scabies" of the eyes (trachoma), Benevenutus must have been an experienced and skillful surgeon. He describes an astonishingly modern method for dealing with ocular injuries; embryos from freshly embryonated eggs, removed and reduced to a pulp, and regularly used as an ointment, "bring about a good consolidation of the wound." Of the many names of Benevenutus, Grapheus seems to be the correct one. It would appear to be a stylized derivation of the Hebrew *rofe* ("physician"). In the Paris codex he is called "*Bien Venu Raffe.*" The various Christian invocations in his writings were probably later insertions and are not proof that he was not Jewish, nor does the frequently repeated assertion "nos Salernitani" prove that Benevenutus taught in Salerno.

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[Aryeh Feigenbaum]

BENFELD, town south of Strasbourg, eastern France. In 1349, a regional assembly of feudal lords was held in Benfeld to finalize measures to be taken against the Jews who were accused of spreading the *Black Death. Shortly afterward the Jews living in Benfeld were murdered or expelled. A new community was established in 1830, numbering 236 in 1836. A synagogue was built in 1845. It was one of the few in Alsace not desecrated during World War II under the German occupation, when 31 Jews were deported from Benfeld. In 1968, the community numbered 75 persons.

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[Roger Berg]

BENFEY, THEODOR (1809–1881), German comparative philologist and Sanskritist. Benfey was born in Noerten, near Goettingen, and lived in Goettingen from his childhood. His first works in classical philology were produced hastily and contained many inaccuracies (as in his *Griechisches Wurzellexikon*, 1839–42). As a young scholar he interested himself in the relationship of Egyptian to Semitic languages, on which he wrote *Ueber das Verhaeltniss der aegyptischen Sprache zum semitischen Sprachstamm* (1844), his sole work on Semitic linguistics. He also dealt extensively with the recurrence of certain motifs in narrative literature, tracing their derivation from Oriental, especially Indian, sources. His work turned increasingly to Indian linguistics, a field in which he became a recognized authority. His two Sanskrit grammars, the complete (1852) and the short (1855), for many years served as basic texts in this field. Though Benfey was a pioneer in the study of the language of the Veda, he never completed the Vedic grammar on which he worked for many years. In 1834 Benfey was appointed a lecturer at the University of Goettingen; in 1848, after converting to Christianity, he was appointed associate professor; and in 1862 full professor. A noted teacher, his students included Jacob Wackernagel and Theodor Noeldeke. For the Bavarian Academy's history of sciences in Germany, Benfey wrote the volume *Geschichte der Sprachwissenschaft und orientalischen Philologie…* (1869), with an outstanding chapter on the beginnings of comparative linguistics and its spiritual background.

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[Hans Jacob Polotsky]

BENGALIL (**Abengalel**), family which flourished in Spain and North Africa in the 13th century. JOSEPH BENGALIL was a rabbi probably living in Ceuta, Morocco, who corresponded with Solomon b. Abraham *Adret. His sons ABRAHAM and SAMUEL both served on diplomatic missions for the Aragonese kings to Granada and Morocco. Abraham resided in Valencia, and was authorized to conduct business there in 1276 by James I at the request of the sultan of Tunis, apparently also using his official journeys for business purposes; in 1280, when his goods were impounded by the Castilian authorities, Pedro III retaliated in kind against Castilian merchants visiting Aragon. In 1291 Abraham took his family with him on a mission to Tlemçen (Algeria).

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[David Corcos]

BEN-GAVRIEL, MOSHE YA'AKOV (originally **Eugen Hoeflich**; 1891–1965), Israeli author who wrote in German. Born into a bourgeois Viennese family (his mother was a cousin of pianist Arthur *Schnabel), he began studying Arabic at Vienna university, but after three years was expelled because of his socialist views. Wounded in Poland during World War I, Ben-Gavriel went to Palestine as an Austrian liaison officer with the Turkish forces in Jerusalem. After just a few months he was dismissed for his "pansemitic" activities and he had to return to Vienna. From there he contributed to Martin Buber's *Der Jude* and became an active Zionist. In *Der Weg in das Land* (1918), *Feuer im Osten* (1920), and *Die Pforte des Ostens* (1923), Ben-Gavriel presented Zionism as a pan-Asian movement, the *yishuv* being the link between East and West. Later he adopted the outlook of the Berit Shalom without actually joining the group. Returning to Palestine in 1927, Hoeflich changed his name to Ben-Gavriel. There he was the local representative of the Deutsches Nachrichtenbuero until 1933 and later worked for the Swiss press. His World War II experiences in a Palestinian unit of the British Army inspired the Schweik-like hero of *Frieden und Krieg des Buergers Mahaschavi* (1952; *Mahaschavi in Peace and War*, 1960). After 1948 Ben-Gavriel, living in Jerusalem, was successful in writing and broadcasting about the State of Israel in West Germany, where his many books on the Middle East, many of them styled as Oriental tales, such as *Kumsits* (1956), were bestsellers. Among his outstanding works is his novel *Das Haus in der Karpfengasse* (1958), set in Nazi-occupied Prague, which appeared in Hebrew in 1944. Two volumes of early recollections were *Zahav ba-Ḥuẓot* (1946) and *Die Flucht nach Tarschisch* (1963). A critical edition of Ben-Gavriel's 1915–27 diaries appeared in 1999.

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[Marcus Pyka (2nd ed.)

BENGHAZI, port city in the district of Cyrenaica (see *Cyrene), Libya. In ancient times it was called Hesperides, but was later renamed Berenice. After 74 B.C.E. it was part of Roman Cyrenaica, but according to an inscription of 13 B.C.E., found at Benghazi, the Jews of Berenice were considered citizens (as in the rest of Cyrenaica) but were ruled by their own Jewish archons and not by an ethnarch as in other parts of the Diaspora. Furthermore they are described as a "municipal community," and appear from the inscription to be observant of the festivals (CIG 3:2, no. 5361). Another inscription found in 1938, gives thanks to certain donors for helping to dedicate a synagogue in Berenice in 56 C.E. In both this and the previous inscription the majority of the names mentioned are non-Jewish, testifying to a fair degree of hellenization, as in Egypt. During the revolt of the Jews of Cyrene in 115 and during the Byzantine era the Jews of Berenice suffered the same fate as those of Cyrene in general. After the Arab conquest in 660, Berenice was mostly deserted. In the 14th century it was called by its Arabic name Benghazi (*Bin Ghāzī*). In the beginning of the 16th century, many Jews from Tripoli helped to repopulate it, earning their livelihood by trade with North Africa and the Mediterranean area, or as smiths or tailors.

Following the Ottoman occupation of 1640, Jewish families from Tripoli were attracted to the city. In 1745 epidemics and poverty drove out the inhabitants, but about 1750 some members of the previous Jewish community returned and reorganized the community, which began to flourish about 1775 with the arrival of Jewish families from Italy. In the 18th and 19th centuries Benghazi had 400 Jewish families divided into two groups: those of the town and the surrounding region (*Kahal Bengazi*) and those who were born in *Tripoli and Italy. Although both groups recognized the authority of one rabbi, each had its own synagogue. The Muslim brotherhood of the Sanusiya, whose influence was considerable in Cyrenaica from the 1840s onwards, was well disposed toward the Jews of Benghazi, appreciating their economic-mercantile contributions and peaceful attitude. The Jews enjoyed complete freedom and were not forced to live in a special quarter. They lived in affluence, and because of their commercial activity the town became an important trading center for Europe and Africa. Several wealthy families occupied high positions in the service of the Ottoman authorities. Among scholars of this community were Elijah Lavi (1783–1883), author of *Sefer Ge'ullot Adonai* (1864) and other works written in Hebrew or Judeo-Arabic; Moses Ḥakmon; and Isaac Khalfon. A modernized *talmud torah* was organized under the leadership of Elia Juili (1890), Ḥai Teshuba, and others. In 1909 when a large fire broke out in the bazaar, the Ottoman soldiery, who were supposed to extinguish it, looted and attacked the population, especially the Jews. Because of this, several families moved back to Tripoli. From 1911 Italian rule attracted more Jews from the interior of the country, as well as from Italy, to Benghazi, and in 1935 the Jewish population numbered 2,236. Until 1936 life under Italian rule proceeded peacefully for the Jews. In 1936, however, the Italians began to enforce fascist legislation aimed at modernizing social and economic structures based on conditions current in Italy. With the implementation of anti-Jewish racial legislation in late 1938, Jews were removed from municipal councils, public offices, and state schools and their papers stamped with the words "Jewish race." When Benghazi fell to the British on Feb. 6, 1941, the Jews were overjoyed, but suffered in attacks by hostile Muslim youth when the city was recaptured by the Italians on April 3, 1941. On Dec. 24, 1941 the British retook the city but Italian-German forces once again conquered it on Jan. 27, 1942. This again resulted in anti-Jewish attacks, the systematic plunder of all Jewish shops, and the promulgation of a deportation order. Almost all the Benghazi Jews were deported to Giado, 149 miles (240 km.) south of Tripoli, a camp in the desert where they lived under severe climatic, health, and living conditions. Consequently, 562 of them died of starvation and typhus. Forced labor, however, was not general, and food distribution was not conditional upon it. The condition of the Jews in Giado improved only when the British entered the camp in January 1943. In November 1945 and June 1948 the Jews of Benghazi did not suffer anti-Jewish pogroms at the hands of Arabs similar to the Jews of Tripoli, though small-scale incidents did occur. Thus, several Jews were beaten up in mid-June 1948, a shop was looted, and a fire broke out in a synagogue, but the local police introduced order and there was no need for the British Army to intervene. Emergency measures were introduced, demonstrations and gatherings were forbidden, and a curfew was instituted. Still, the Jews felt unsafe and feared for their life and property. Violence against individuals as well as cases of kidnapping and forced Islamization of young Jewish women took place, especially in the countryside. As a result, once emigration to Israel was permitted in early 1949, the majority of the community of 2,500 persons emigrated to Israel through the end of 1951, with approximately 200 Jews left in Benghazi in 1967. During the Six-Day War of 1967, unlike other areas of Jewish settlement in Libya, the authorities reacted fairly rapidly to protect the Jews in Benghazi. Almost immediately after word of Israel-Arab fighting came, the Jews were rounded up and put into protective custody in army barracks outside the city. Subsequent to the Six-Day War most of the remaining Jews in Benghazi emigrated, mainly to Italy.

For bibliography see *Libya.

[David Corcos / Rachel Simon (2nd ed.)]

BENGIS, SELIG REUBEN (1864–1953), Lithuanian rabbi. Bengis studied in Volozhin under Naphtali Ẓevi Judah *Berlin and Ḥayyim *Soloveichik. In 1894 he was appointed rabbi of Bodki and, in 1912, of Kalvarija, Lithuania. At the outbreak of World War I he went to Smolensk, but in 1915 he returned to Kalvarija. In 1938 he was appointed head of the *bet din* of the separatist Orthodox community Ha-Edah ha-Ḥaredit of Jerusalem, and in 1949, on the death of Joseph Ẓevi *Duschinsky, became its rabbi. Despite the fact that his community consisted of active religious extremists, he succeeded in directing its affairs into practical channels and in curbing its most extreme wing, the *Neturei Karta. He also served as head of the Ohel Moshe Yeshivah in Jerusalem. Bengis' mastery of rabbinic literature, and his memory, were phenomenal; he could unhesitatingly give the source of any random quotation from the Talmud, Rashi, or *tosafot*. He published *Li-Felagot Re'uven* (in 7 parts, Kaidan, Riga, Jerusalem, 1924–46), consisting of **hadranim*, i.e., discourses delivered on completing the study of a talmudic tractate, interwoven with his novellae. He justified the unusual form of his work by maintaining that while novellae are little read, there was a considerable interest in this form of talmudic learning. Bengis himself stated that he had written, under the same title, a commentary on Alfasi, and sermons, which remained in manuscript. Some of his halakhic articles appeared in *Tevunah* (Jerusalem, 1941).

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[Itzhak Alfassi]

BEN-GURION (Gruen), DAVID (1886–1973), Zionist leader, Israeli statesman, first prime minister and defense minister of Israel; member of the First to Eighth Knessets.

Early Years

Ben-Gurion was born in Plonsk (then in Russian Poland). His father, Avigdor Gruen, was a member of Ḥovevei Zion and his house was the center of Zionist activity in the town. His mother Sheindel (née Friedman) died when he was 11 years old. He was educated in a modern Hebrew-language *ḥeder*, and studied secular subjects with private tutors. At the age of 14, Ben-Gurion was among the founders of a Zionist youth group "Ezra." He joined the *Po'alei Zion movement in 1903, traveling and speaking on its behalf in Plonsk, Warsaw, and smaller towns. During the 1905–06 revolution he was arrested twice but released at the intervention of his father. In September 1906 Ben-Gurion immigrated to Ereẓ Israel, working in the orange groves of Petaḥ Tikvah and in the wine cellars of Rishon le-Zion. He was elected to the Central Committee of Po'alei Zion. In 1907 he managed to have the sentence "the Party aspires for political independence for the Jewish people in this country" included in the party's first platform, which was drafted in the spirit of Ber *Borochov's writings. Ben-Gurion's ideological positions during this period combined Jewish nationalism with pragmatic socialism, which stressed the obligation of every member of the movement to settle in Ereẓ Israel and the right of the settlers to manage their own affairs without interference from the Diaspora. He demanded that Hebrew be the sole language of all Jewish public life in Ereẓ Israel, including Po'alei Zion, and refused to collaborate with the Yiddish party organ *Der Anfang*. In the 1907–10 Ben-Gurion was an agricultural worker and watchman in Sejera and Milḥamiyyah in the Lower Galilee, Kinneret, and Zikhron Ya'akov. In these years he became convinced that "the settlement of the land is the only true Zionism, all else being self-deception, empty words, and merely a pastime." In 1910 Ben-Gurion joined the editorial staff of the new party organ *Aḥdut* ("Unity") in Jerusalem, together with Izhak *Ben-Zvi and Raḥel Yanait. It was in this publication that he printed his first articles under the name "Ben-Gurion," which he adopted from one of the last Jewish defenders of Jerusalem against the Roman legions. The central theme of these articles was that the *yishuv* must organize politically, together with Jews in other parts of the new Ottoman state following the Young Turk Revolution of 1908, and strive for Jewish autonomy in Ereẓ Israel. In 1911 he and Ben-Zvi were elected as delegates to the Eleventh Zionist Congress and participated in the third world conference of Po'alei Zion in Vienna. The same year Ben-Gurion joined a group of young Zionists who enrolled at Turkish universities, with the object of establishing close ties with the educated ruling circles in Turkey. At first he lived in Salonika, and established contacts with the large Jewish community there, but after Salonika was taken over by the Greeks in 1912, he moved to Constantinople to continue his law studies

1914–1921

When World War I broke out, Ben-Gurion and his party advocated loyalty to Turkey and the adoption of Ottoman citizenship. However, when the Turkish administration started persecuting the Zionists, both he and Ben-Zvi were arrested and accused of conspiring against Ottoman rule in order to establish a Jewish state. In March 1915 they were exiled to Egypt, where they met Joseph *Trumpeldor, who was engaged in forming the "Zion Mule Corps" within the British army, an activity to which both Ben-Gurion and Ben-Zvi objected, because they feared that it endangered the *yishuv* without benefiting the Zionist cause.

Later in 1915 Ben-Gurion and Ben-Zvi proceeded to New York, where their main efforts were directed to the establishment of the *He-Ḥalutz organization, preparing young Jews for settlement in Palestine after the war. In 1917 Ben-Gurion married Paula Munweis (born in Minsk, Russia, 1892), who was a nurse in New York, and an active member of Po'alei Zion. After the *Balfour Declaration Ben-Gurion was among the first in the United States to call for the formation of Jewish battalions to participate in the liberation of Palestine, writing that "England shall not return the country to us.... A country is acquired by a people only through the pain of labor and creation, construction efforts and settlement. The Hebrew people itself must turn this right into a living and existing fact." Volunteering for the British Army in May 1918, he reached Egypt in August as a soldier in the *Jewish Legion – the 39th Battalion of the Royal Fusiliers. There he met volunteers from the labor movement in Palestine and with them started planning for the establishment of a united workers' movement in Palestine after the War that would prepare for the mass Jewish immigration expected to follow the liberation of the country from Ottoman rule. However, they did not manage to see active service, since their unit arrived in the country after the British had already conquered it.

At the 13th conference of Po'alei Zion in Jaffa in February 1919, Ben-Gurion called upon Jewish workers in Palestine and abroad to unite in forming a political force that would direct the Zionist movement toward the establishment of a Jewish socialist society in Palestine, based on the collectivist principles embodied in the *kevutzot* (see *Kibbutz Movement). In 1919 Ben-Gurion opened the founding conference of *Aḥdut ha-Avodah in PetaḥTikvah. He also participated in the world delegation of Po'alei Zion which prepared a blueprint for the future development of Ereẓ Israel. After the Jerusalem riots of Passover 1920, Ben-Gurion traveled to London, where he and Shelomo *Kaplansky headed the Political Bureau of Po'alei Zion, which established contacts with the British Labour Party.

Building the Histadrut

On his return to Palestine at the end of 1921, Ben-Gurion was elected as the first secretary of the *Histadrut, which had been founded in 1920 – a position which he was to hold for the next 14 years. He was active on all levels – the struggle for the improvement of workers' conditions, the organization of strikes, the employment of Jewish workers in all sections of the economy, including government works, and provision for the unemployed. Since Ben-Gurion's objective was to turn the Histadrut into an instrument for settlement, as well as an economic and political body, he proposed that it become a cooperative "workers' society" (*ḥevrat ovedim*), which would undertake agricultural settlement, the promotion of industry and construction, as well as providing workers with all the financial and welfare services that they required. A version of this vision was adopted by the second Histadrut conference in 1923. In the early 1920s Ben-Gurion tried to develop economic relations between the Histadrut and the Soviet trade unions and economic bodies, in the hope that such relations would facilitate the operation of the He-Ḥalutz movement in the Soviet Union and Jewish emigration from there to Palestine. He visited the Soviet Union in 1923, when the Histradrut participated in the Moscow Agricultural Exhibition, but his efforts to gain Soviet support failed.

During the 1920s the non-socialist middle class within the Zionist Movement and in the *yishuv* gained in strength, and the *Revisionist movement declared its opposition to the idea of an all-embracing socialist workers' organization. The Revisionist leader Ze'ev *Jabotinsky called for the "breaking" of the Histadrut ("*ja brechen*"). Ben-Gurion's reaction was to strive to unite the various Zionist workers' parties, with the goal of attaining hegemony for the labor movement in the World Zionist Organization. In 1930 he was instrumental is getting Aḥdut ha-Avodah and *Ha-Po'el ha-Ẓa'ir to unite into a single party that assumed the name *Mapai – an acronym for *Mifleget Po'alei Ereẓ Yisrael.* In the next four years Ben-Gurion concentrated on efforts to prevent the Revisionists from gaining ascendancy in the Zionist Movement. At the 18th Zionist Congress in 1933, in which the workers parties comprised close to 50% of the delegates, Ben-Gurion became a member of the Zionist and *Jewish Agency Executive. In an attempt to prevent a split in the Zionist movement, he reached a tentative agreement with Jabotinsky which would establish a *modus vivendi* on labor matters between the Histadrut and the Revisionist workers. To Ben-Gurion's great regret, however, this agreement was rejected by the members of the Histadrut. Ben-Gurion regarded the rejection as a "grave error" but accepted the verdict. In 1935 Ben-Gurion was elected chairman of the Zionist Actions Committee and the Jewish Agency, and during the next 11 years, he and the president of the Zionist Organization, Chaim *Weizmann, were to run all Zionist affairs. These two very different leaders frequently clashed over both strategy and tactics, but together they saw the movement through its most fateful years. After 1946 Ben-Gurion bore most of the burden on his own.

In the 1930s Ben-Gurion held talks with various leaders of the Arab national movement, but finally reached the conclusion that an agreement with the Arabs would be attained only after the latter became convinced that they could not defeat the Zionist endeavor by force of arms.

Toward the Founding of the Jewish State

Together with Weizmann and Moshe *Sharett, who after the murder of Chaim *Arlosoroff was appointed head of the Political Department of the Jewish Agency, Ben-Gurion accepted the plan for the partition of Palestine into an Arab and a Jewish state, as recommended by the Peel Commission Report in June 1937, believing that even a small Jewish state was better than none, and that the Zionists should accept whatever was offered. This position was opposed by Berl *Katznelson and Yiẓḥak *Tabenkin. When the British government abandoned the partition plan, Ben-Gurion participated in the St. James Round Table Conference held by the British in London in 1939, with separate Jewish and Arab delegations, since the Arabs refused to sit with the Jews. Following these talks, and with the clouds of war already looming on the horizon, the British declared their White Paper policy, which called for limited Jewish immigration to Palestine in the next five years, with future immigration dependent on Arab consent, and restrictions on Jewish land acquisitions. Ben-Gurion condemned the White Paper as a betrayal, and called for active resistance to its implementation, by means of intensified "illegal" immigration and enhanced land settlement in restricted areas. Upon the outbreak of World War II Ben-Gurion declared that the *yishuv* would fight on the side of the British against the Nazis as if there were no White Paper, and continue to fight against the White Paper as if there were no war against the Nazis. Active protests against the British policy continued until June 1940, when Italy entered the war, opening a second front against the British in the Mediterranean. Many members of the *yishuv* joined the British army, and in September 1944 the Jewish Brigade was formed. But at the same time Ben-Gurion started to plan for the struggle that would follow the war, and turned to the United States for moral and material support. In May 1942, while in New York and contrary to Weizmann's wishes, he was instrumental in drawing up the *Biltmore Program, which called for the opening of Palestine to free Jewish immigration and settlement, and defined the Zionist goal as the establishment of a Jewish Commonwealth in Palestine that would be integrated into the structure of the new democratic world. When, towards the end of the war, the dissident underground organizations – the Irgun Ẓeva'i Le'ummi (IẒL) and Loḥamei Ḥerut Israel (Leḥi) – carried out armed attacks against British targets in Palestine, Ben-Gurion ordered the Haganah to act against them. He even went so far as to cooperate with the British authorities in apprehending members of the dissident organizations, a policy nicknamed the "*Saison*" (i.e., the hunting season) that aroused much controversy within the ranks of the Haganah and the *yishuv*.

When, following the war, it became clear that the British government had no intention of abandoning the White Paper policy, Ben-Gurion led the active struggle against the British, for a time in cooperation with the dissident organizations, which came to be known as the Hebrew Resistance Movement (Tenu'at ha-Meri ha-Ivri), and intensified "illegal" immigration. In the meantime he embarked on a policy of acquiring arms from all available sources in preparation for a possible armed clash with the Arabs.

On June 29, 1946, known as "Black Saturday," when members of the Jewish Agency Executive in Palestine were arrested by the British, Ben-Gurion was in Europe. Though he refused to reach a compromise with the British, he ordered a pause in the armed struggle in Palestine. Ben-Gurion's policy was approved at the 22nd Zionist Congress held in December 1946, which failed to reelect Weizmann as president of the World Zionist Organization but reelected Ben-Gurion as chairman of the Jewish Agency Executive, to whom the defense portfolio was added. After returning to Palestine, he started planning for the possibility of an armed clash not only with the Arabs in Palestine but also with the armies of the Arab states that had started to organize in the Arab League. Ben-Gurion was one of the chief Zionist spokesmen before the Anglo-American Inquiry Commission in 1946 and the United Nations Special Commission on Palestine (UNSCOP) in 1947.

War of Independence, 1947–1949

When the *War of Independence broke out in December 1947, following the adoption of the partition plan by the UN General Assembly on November 29, Ben-Gurion stood at the head of the defense effort, involving the raising of funds, the acquisition of arms, the recruitment of military experts, and the outlining of military goals, though he did not direct the actual military operations. It was he who, at the end of the war, ordered a withdrawal from the Sinai Peninsula, and refused to allow Yigal *Allon to conquer the West Bank from the Arab Legion. In his determination to free the newly established IDF from all separatist influences, Ben-Gurion ordered the disbanding of the *Palmaḥ command and the complete integration of all its units in the general framework of the new army, which was led by officers, most of whom were veterans of the British Army. He also had to deal with the dissident organizations – the IẒL and Leḥi. In the case of the IẒL, any chance for independent activity on its part was ended with the controversial order given by Ben-Gurion in June 1948 to sink the *Altalena,* an IẒL arms ship, while the fate of Leḥi was decided by the assassination of the Swedish UN emissary, Count Folke *Bernadotte, by its men.

1948–1963

As the termination of the British Mandate drew near in the spring of 1948, Ben-Gurion decided, despite the doubts of many of his colleagues and pressure from the American government to the contrary, to declare the establishment of the Jewish State. This he did in the Proclamation of the State of Israel on May 14, 1948. He became prime minister and minister of defense in the Provisional Government, and after the elections to the Constituent Assembly on January 25, 1949, continued to serve in these posts as the head of a coalition government. By 1963, when he resigned for good, Ben-Gurion had headed eight coalition governments, frequently using the tool of resignation from the premiership in order to get his way vis-à-vis his unruly coalition partners. In December 1949 Ben-Gurion declared Jerusalem the capital of Israel, even though there were few states that were willing to recognize it as such. As minister of defense, Ben-Gurion devoted most of his efforts to strengthening Israel militarily while introducing civilian control over it. In the international arena he struggled to win international support for Israel's right to security. In his domestic policy he insisted on *mamlakhti'ut* – a statist as opposed to a partisan approach.

In 1951 he traveled to the United States, where he launched the first *Israel Bond Drive. He used his full weight to get the emotionally loaded *Restitution Agreements with the Federal Republic of Germany approved, and this primarily because of Israel's grave foreign reserves situation.

Ben-Gurion was instrumental in making the in-gathering of the exiles a supreme principle in the ideology of the state; introducing a free, unified national education system; using the army as a means of integration and social consolidation; and making the advancement of science and research a central factor in the development of the state and its people.

In December 1953 Ben-Gurion announced his resignation from the premiership and retirement from active politics, citing his need for a rest after 18 years at the helm as his main reason for doing so. As part of his advocacy for the settlement of the Negev, he joined Kibbutz *Sedeh Boker. During his period in retirement Moshe Sharett was chosen by Mapai as prime minister, even though Ben-Gurion preferred Levi *Eshkol.

In February 1955, following the collapse of an Israeli intelligence network in Egypt, in what came to be known as the "*esek bish*" or "mishap," and the resignation of Defense Minister Pinḥas *Lavon, Ben-Gurion returned to active politics, at first as minister of defense under Sharett. In this period Israel's international position deteriorated as a result of the Bandung Conference of Nonaligned States of April 1955, which refused to accept Israel into its ranks, and the Czechoslovak-Egyptian arms deal concluded with the blessing of the Soviet Union in September 1955. Terrorist activities from across Israel's borders increased, and Ben-Gurion decided on a policy of military reprisals across the armistice lines. Following the elections to the Third Knesset in November 1955, Ben-Gurion once again assumed the twofold position of prime minister and minister of defense. He now concentrated on the development of close relations with France, which due to its own struggle in Algeria, viewed Egyptian President Gamal Abdul *Nasser as a bitter enemy. These ties became even closer when Nasser nationalized the Suez Canal in July 1956. In October 1956 Ben-Gurion went to France for a secret meeting with representatives of the French and British governments. At this meeting an agreement was reached on concerted military action against Egypt. On October 29, 1956, the Israeli Army moved into the Sinai Peninsula (see *Sinai Campaign), while Britain and France closed in on the Suez Canal. However, under international pressure Britain and France were forced to give up their effort to reverse Nasser's actions, and Israel was compelled to agree to the withdrawal of its forces from the Sinai Peninsula and the Gaza Strip. This withdrawal was completed in March 1957, and relative quiet was attained after UN forces were stationed in the Gaza Strip and the sea route to Eilat through the Straits of Tiran was reopened to Israeli shipping. Following the Sinai Campaign, and the election of Charles de Gaulle as president of France, Israel's relations with France remained cordial. However, Ben-Gurion increased Israel's efforts to diversify its sources of arms to include West Germany and the United States.

During the election campaign for the Fourth Knesset at the end of 1959, Ben-Gurion raised the issue of electoral reform. He advocated a system of personal elections in constituencies, which he believed would cure Israel's political ills by reducing the number of parliamentary groups in the Knesset. His opponents argued that Ben-Gurion's intention was to "gerrymander" the constituencies in such a way that Mapai would win an absolute majority of Knesset seats. The elections, however, produced no significant change in the composition of the Knesset, and Ben-Gurion did not have the power to change the electoral system.

In the years 1960–62 Ben-Gurion traveled a great deal, visiting the United States, where he met with President John *Kennedy, Western Europe, where he met with German Chancellor Konrad *Adenauer and French President Charles de Gaulle, and Burma. Towards the elections to the Fifth Knesset, what now came to be known as the Lavon Affair, concerning responsibility for the bungled intelligence operation in Egypt back in 1954, reemerged, not least of all because Ben-Gurion wanted the truth to be uncovered as to who had given the order for the operation. Ben-Gurion believed that Pinḥas Lavon, now secretary-general of the Histadrut, was responsible. Ben-Gurion's obsession with this affair was severely criticized by his opponents both within Mapai and outside of it. However, a commission of seven ministers, set up to examine the relevant documents acquitted Lavon of responsibility, a verdict that Ben-Gurion refused to accept. He submitted his resignation in January 1961 and, before new elections were held for the Fifth Knesset, demanded that the Mapai Central Council make a choice between himself and Lavon. On February 4 the Central Council decided by 159 votes to 96 to remove Lavon from his office as Histadrut secretary-general. However, this was a Pyrrhic victory for Ben-Gurion, whose position in the party was greatly undermined. In the elections Mapai was greatly weakened and Ben-Gurion experienced much difficulty forming a new coalition. He would not let the crisis over the Lavon Affair subside, and in June 1963 once again resigned from the premiership – this time for good.

Ben-Gurion in Opposition

Eshkol became prime minister upon Ben-Gurions' recommendation and Ben-Gurion once again retired to Sedeh Boker and devoted himself to writing. But soon he was back, once again advocating a reform of the electoral system, and expressing his opposition to the establishment of the Alignment between Mapai and Aḥdut ha-Avodah. However, the Lavon Affair was still under his skin. In the autumn of 1964 he submitted a dossier of documents that he had prepared to Minister of Justice Dov *Joseph and to the attorney general and demanded that a judicial inquiry be opened on the issue. At a meeting of the Mapai Central Committee party conference in January 1965, a majority voted against Ben-Gurion's demands. Though it was only a minority that supported Ben-Gurion, Eshkol decided to put an end to the matter and resigned from the premiership, with the demand that the government be allowed to decide on the matter without party interference. He then formed a new government, with the same makeup as the outgoing one. Ben-Gurion's response was to leave Mapai with a group of his followers, who included Moshe *Dayan, Shimon *Peres, and Yosef *Almogi, and set up a new parliamentary group called *Rafi (Reshimat Po'alei Yisrael), which ran in the 1965 Knesset and Histadrut elections. While Rafi gained 10 seats in the Sixth Knesset, and Ben-Gurion was to remain a member of the Knesset until May 1970, to all intents and purposes he had lost his political clout and influence. Rafi rejoined Eshkol's government on the eve of the *Six-Day War, with Dayan assuming the Defense portfolio, and shortly after the war joined with Mapai and Aḥdut ha-Avodah to form the *Israel Labor Party, a move to which Ben-Gurion objected, leaving him as a single Member of Knesset when the other nine members of Rafi joined the new parliamentary group. In the elections to the Seventh Knesset Ben-Gurion ran at the head of a new party – the State List – which received four seats. Half a year after the elections, at the age of 84, he resigned from the Knesset and returned to Sedeh Boker, where he once again dedicated himself to writing and studying, and occasionally expressing his views on the political situation, generally advocating an Israeli withdrawal from the territories occupied during the Six-Day War. Though in his last years Ben-Gurion cut a solitary figure, he continued to be admired as the most influential Zionist and Israeli leader in the modern age, an individual who had made some of the most fateful decisions in the history of the Jewish nation in its early years, more or less on his own. Though he had little formal education, he was a learned man, and throughout his life he never ceased to study the Bible, Greek philosophy, Buddhism, the philosophy of Baruch *Spinoza, and many other subjects. Though he was frequently accused of having resorted to undemocratic methods to get his way, he had a deep belief in democracy, and his well-known statement in the early years of the State that the communists and the Ḥerut movement could not be members of his government stemmed from his belief that neither was truly democratic. To the end of his life he believed that all Jews should immigrate to Israel, and expressed contempt for those who considered themselves Zionists but remained in the Diaspora. After his death Beersheba University, Lydda International Airport, the government compound in Jerusalem, and many other Israeli institutions and locations were named after him.

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[Yehuda Slutsky / Susan Hattis Rolef (2nd ed.)]

BEN-GURION UNIVERSITY OF THE NEGEV, Israeli university with campuses in Beersheba and Sede Boqer. Established in 1969 as the Negev University, it became Ben-Gurion University (BGU) after the death of David Ben-Gurion. The university is Israel's youngest and smallest university, but it has become a major center of education and research. Ben-Gurion University, headed by Avishai *Braverman as president, is known for its rapid growth. More than 10,000 students enrolled for the 1995/6 academic year in its four faculties, and by 2003 it already had 16,000 students.

Ben-Gurion University is intimately involved in the development of Israel's southern arid region, the Negev, which comprises nearly 60% of the country, but contains only 10% of its population. It plays a central role in the educational, social, and industrial developments of the region. The university promotes academic research with commercial applications as the key to economic development in the Negev. Through its pioneering research in arid zone communities, BGU has established a basis for cooperation with countries sharing a similar climate, particularly in the Middle East.

Approximately 50% of the students originate from the Negev, 40% from the center of the country, and 10% from the north. New immigrant students are absorbed in all BGU departments.

The university has four faculties:

(1) The Faculty of Health Sciences, founded in 1974, is located on the campus of the Soroka Medical Center, in close proximity to the university. Its establishment brought about major changes in health care in the Negev while developing an innovative medical education program. From the first year, students integrate academic theory with clinical care. The orientation of the school is strongly focused on community medicine. The faculty and students work in Beersheba at the Soroka Medical Center and travel to development towns, kibbutzim, and Bedouin encampments.

There are three Divisions: Health in the Community; the Division of Basic Medical Sciences, and the Division of Clinical Medicine. The faculty offers graduate degrees in Medical Science. The Recanati School of Nursing and Physiotherapy is also part of the faculty.

(2) The Faculty of Engineering Sciences comprises six departments: Nuclear Engineering, Materials Engineering, Chemical Engineering, Mechanical Engineering, Electrical and Computer Engineering, and Industrial Engineering and Management and the Program for Biotechnology.

(3) The Faculty of Natural Sciences consists of five departments: Mathematics and Computer Sciences, Physics, Chemistry, Life Sciences, and Geology and Mineralogy. Its scientists pursue both basic and applied research projects, many of which have served to advance the growth of science-based industry and the agricultural development of the Negev.

(4) The Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences has eleven departments: Behavioral Sciences; Bible and Ancient Near Eastern Studies; Economics; Education; Geography and Environmental Development; Hebrew Language; Hebrew Literature; Foreign Literature and Linguistics; History; Philosophy; and Social Work. The unit for teaching English as a Foreign Language is also part of the faculty. The Department of Behavioral Sciences integrates psychology, sociology, and anthropology. The Hebrew Literature Department has the only Master's Program in Creative Writing in the country, and in the Department of Social Work all third-year stu-

dents are required to develop active projects within the Negev community.

The Overseas Student Program is given in English for either one semester or a full academic year. The curriculum focuses on Human Resettlement (Russians, Ethiopians, and Bedouin), Desert Studies and Archeology, and Pre-Med. The School for Continuing Education offers a wide variety of courses to the Negev community at large.

Since the beginning of BGU activities, its scientists have engaged in basic and applied research. This covers widely ranging areas as desert research, alternative energy, development of water resources, chemistry, biotechnology, agriculture, and medicine, regional development, social ecology, the David Ben-Gurion era, and medical education.

Originally found in 1957 as the Institute for Arid Zone Research, the Institutes for Applied Research became part of the university in 1973. Comprising the institutes are the Institute for Chemistry and Chemical Technology and the Institute for Agriculture and Applied Biology. The institutes for applied research are geared toward tapping the various natural resources for the region's development. Numerous plant species with industrial and agricultural value have been selected and developed for desert growth. Experiments with underground brackish water irrigation have resulted in new cash crops for Negev settlements. Other projects include research on food technology, desalination, recycling of waste water, the application of waste heat and solar energy for refrigeration and direct-contact cooling, and the synthesis of organic compounds for chemical industries.

The Jacob Blaustein Institute for Desert Research was established in Sede Boqer as a national center for arid zone research. Its goal is to provide the knowledge and skills to transform arid lands of low productivity, human deprivation and famine into areas that are productive and self-sustaining.

Members of the institute's 15 units work together to explore a wide array of problems relating to the settling of the desert. The fields of study touch on man's habitat and social organization, climate and the desert environment, water resources and natural energy sources, such as solar energy, the adaptive mechanisms to climatic extremes of plants and animals, and the development of unique biotechnologies suitable for desert areas.

By government decision, BGU was entrusted with some 750,000 documents associated with the late David Ben-Gurion, founding father and first prime minister of Israel. These papers form the Ben-Gurion Archives and serve the Ben-Gurion Research Center. They reflect the ideology, political activities, and spiritual testament of Ben-Gurion – the man, the Zionist, and the statesman – and constitute an invaluable record of the creation of the State of Israel. At the Ben-Gurion Research Center scholars study the Ben-Gurion era, Zionism, the history of Israel, and related subjects. The center publishes and disseminates relevant studies and, in conjunction with the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, provides academic courses and educational programs.

BGU sponsors a host of innovative programs as part of its outreach service to the community. All students who receive financial aid from BGU commit themselves to participating in one of the university's wide range of social action programs, which include the Open Apartments Project, in which the students live in underprivileged neighborhoods and serve as part-time community workers; the "Kidma" (Progress) Program, which promotes the advancement of new immigrants from Ethiopia; a special program of Assistance for the Elderly; and the Matriculation Examination Program for the Bedouin Sector.

WEBSITE: www.bgu.ac.il.

[Linda Livna]

BEN-HADAD (Heb. בֶּן הֲדַד; "Son of [the god] Hadad"), the name of two, or perhaps three, kings of *Aram-Damascus (see *Damascus), as Hebraized in the Bible. In Aramaic inscriptions the name appears as *Brhdd* (**ברהדד**), with the native Aramaic word for "son," *br* (then pronounced *bir*, later *bar*), instead of the Hebrew *ben*.

BEN-HADAD I. Ben-Hadad I lived in the early ninth century B.C.E. He was the son of Tabrimmon and grandson of Hezion (I Kings 15:18), and contemporary with King *Asa of Judah and King *Baasha of Israel. Like his father (cf. I Kings 15:19; II Chron. 16:3), he was bound by alliances to the kings of both Israel and Judah. However, when war broke out between Baasha and Asa, the latter won Ben-Hadad to his cause by sending him treasures from the Temple and the royal palace. Ben-Hadad invaded the kingdom of Israel, conquering *Ijon, *Dan, *Abel-Beth-Maacah, the region of Chinneroth, and all the land of Naphtali (I Kings 15:20). (The Ben-Hadad who set up the votive stele, found in the vicinity of Aleppo, which was dedicated to the Tyrian god Melqart (COS II, 152–53) is probably not identical with Ben-Hadad I the son of Tabrimmon. This other Ben-Hadad seems to have ruled another Aramean kingdom, perhaps Arpad.)

BEN-HADAD II. Scholars (see bibliography in Pitard, ABD I, 665) have debated the identity of the Ben-Hadad referred to in I Kings 20–22 through II Kings 8. In I Kings 20 and 22, chapters which raise numerous critical probems, the royal protagonists in the battles between Aram-Damascus and Israel are *Ahab and Ben-Hadad. Chapters 5–8 of II Kings deal with relations between Ben-Hadad and Ahab's sons, Ahaziah and Joram. W. Albright identified the Aramean king as Ben-Hadad the son of Tabrimmon (= Ben-Hadad I) and assigned him a reign of 40 years. Others viewed the Aramean king of these chapters as a successor of Ben-Hadad son of Tab-rimmon, to be designated Ben-Hadad II. That designation would make Hazael's son and successor (see below) Ben-Hadad III. However we designate him, this Ben-Hadad is described as a dominant ruler who could muster 32 vassals against Israel (I Kings 20:1). On three occasions he waged war against Ahab, succeeding in the first conflict in besieging Samaria (20:2ff.). Ahab resolved to resist when the demands of Ben-Hadad became excessively harsh, and managed to defeat him. Later

Ben-Hadad again opened hostilities against Ahab, but was defeated a second time at *Aphek and taken prisoner (I Kings 20:26ff.). By the terms of the friendly alliance that he subsequently concluded with Israel, Ben-Hadad undertook to return the Israelite towns under his dominion and to put bazaars in Damascus at the disposal of the merchants of Israel. After three years of peace, Ahab, with the assistance of *Jehoshaphat, the king of Judah, embarked on a new war against Aram in Ramoth-Gilead, during which he met his death (I Kings 22, where the king of Aram is referred to only by his title). It seems that between the second and the last war against Ahab, Ben-Hadad (who is referred to in Assyrian inscriptions as Adad-Idri, i.e., Hadadezer, perhaps his personal name as distinct from his throne name; but cf. Pitard in Bibliography) led an alliance consisting of the kings of Syria, Phoenicia, and Palestine (including Ahab) in a war against Shalmaneser III, king of Assyria, near *Qarqar in 853 B.C.E. After the war of Qarqar the coalition split up and the last war with Israel took place. Afterward Ben-Hadad resumed the leadership in an alliance against Assyria and thus succeeded in temporarily removing the Assyrian threat (848, 845 B.C.E.). Shortly after *Jehu's accession to the throne of Israel, Ben-Hadad was assassinated on his sickbed by Hazael (II Kings 8:15), who seized the throne of Aram (II Kings 8:7–15; cf. I Kings 19:15). The biblical depiction of Hazael as a usurper appears to be reflected in an Assyrian inscription of Shalmaneser III (858–24 B.C.E.) that describes him as "son of a nobody." (See Cogan and Tadmor in Bibliography.)

BEN-HADAD III. Ben-Hadad III, son of Hazael, was the contemporary of *Jehoahaz and *Joash, kings of Israel (814–800 and 800–784 B.C.E.). During the early years of his reign the greater part of the kingdom of Israel was occupied by Aram. It is also possible that Ben-Hadad added to the conquests of his father because he headed an alliance of north Syrian and neo-Hittite kingdoms (e.g., *Que, *Sam'al) that attacked Zakkur, king of Hamath and Luath, and besieged Hadrach, though without success (COS II, 155). In 806–805, Adad-Nirari III, king of Assyria (810–782), renewed the war against Aram, besieged Damascus in 802, and imposed a heavy tribute on Ben-Hadad (whom the Assyrian inscriptions refer to by the Aramean title of *Mari*, "Lord"). It was this setback of Aram that enabled Israel to throw off the Aramean yoke. In the reign of this Ben-Hadad, Damascus lost its dominant position in Syria, and for a generation after, the kings of Israel and Judah were the predominant force there.

[Isaiah Gafni]

H. Winckler and E. Meyer (followed in the 1940s by W.F. Albright) believe that there were only two kings of Aram by the name of Ben-Hadad, the Aramean contemporary of Baasha being identical with that of Ahab.

Moreover, while the chronology of the books of Kings has been followed above, H.L. Ginsberg has suggested that, though there are bound to be differences as to just what adjustments need to be made, the distribution of the incidents during the Aramean wars among the various kings of Israel cannot be correct in all respects. If the Aramean incident of I Kings 20 took place under the dynasty of Jehu, the above Ben-Hadad II is identical not with the above Ben-Hadad I but with the above Ben-Hadad III, and Ahab's Aramean ally had only the one name Adad-Idri / Hadadezer, for there is no difficulty in assuming that this legend in II Kings 8:15 is in error regarding the name of Hazael's predecessor. Also, the elaborate story in I Kings 20:1–35 about the anonymous king of Israel who dies in his chariot of an arrow wound sustained in a battle with the Arameans, in which he was assisted by King Jehoshaphat of Judah, at Ramoth-Gilead, bears a strong resemblance to the palpably historical account in II Kings 8:25–9:24. This tells of how King Jehoram of Israel, while recuperating (at Jezreel) from wounds sustained in a battle with the Arameans, in which he was assisted by King Ahaziah of Judah, at Ramoth-Gilead, is shot dead in his chariot with an arrow from the bow of Jehu, who follows him (to Jezreel) from the camp at Ramoth-Gilead. Thus one wonders if the suspicion that the former is a legendary parallel to the latter and has nothing to do with Ahab has not been voiced before. (The incident in the former, with the various prophets, probably contains a core of history, but also pertains to Jehoram and Ahaziah, not to "Ahab" and Jehoshaphat.)

See also *Ahab, *Jehoahaz, *Joash, *Jehoram, and *Jehu, and the bibliography below under Jepsen.

[Harold Louis Ginsberg]

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BEN-HAIM (Frankenburger), PAUL (1897–1984), Israeli composer, one of the leading founders of Israeli art music. Ben-Haim was born in Munich. His father, Heinrich, was a respected professor of law. In 1920 Ben-Haim graduated from the Munich Academy of Music as conductor, composer, and pianist, and then was assistant to Bruno *Walter at the Munich Opera. In 1924 he became Kapellmeister of the Augsburg Opera. While in Germany he composed about 80 lieder as well as chamber and orchestral works (e.g., *Concerto Grosso*, 1931) which were very well received. In 1929 he met the Jewish composer Heinrich Schalit (1886–1976), who encouraged him to write a series of Jewish-oriented choral works to biblical verses. In October 1933 he settled in Tel Aviv and changed his name to Ben-Haim. He dedicated himself to composition and to teaching at the Jerusalem Academy of Music and at the Music Teachers Training College in Tel Aviv. Some of Israel's best composers were his private composition students. As a highly prolific and inspired composer, Ben-Haim found the way to retain his cherished European heritage, with his admiration for J.S. Bach (as in his *Metamorphosis on a Bach*

Chorale) and special liking for Debussy and Ravel (*Sonatina*) and with his commitment to the ideology of the vision of the East (his striking *Sonata à tré* for mandolin, guitar, and harpsichord). From 1939 until 1955 he collaborated with the unique Yemenite singer Bracha *Zephira as pianist and arranger of 35 of her traditional songs, most of which he quoted in his chamber and orchestral works. His music was well received and frequently performed worldwide by great conductors and soloists, among them Leonard *Bernstein, Yehudi *Menuhin, Jascha *Heifetz, and Menahem *Pressler. Ben-Haim's orchestral works include two symphonies (1940 and 1945); concertos for piano (1949), violin (1960), and cello (1962); the symphonic movements *Sweet Psalmist of Israel* (1953), which were awarded the Israel Prize in 1957; *Liturgical Cantata* (1950); the cantatas *Vision of a Prophet* (1959), *Three Psalms* (1952), and *Kabbalat Shabbat* (1967). Ben-Haim founded the genre of the Hebrew Lieder to poems by prominent poets such as *Bialik, Sh. *Shalom, Lea *Goldberg, and *Raḥel. He composed a *String Quartet*, a *Clarinet Quintet*, a *Piano Trio (Variations on a Hebrew Tune)*, a *Piano Sonata* (1953) and several suites for piano, and a *Solo Violin Sonata*.

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[Peter Emanuel Gradenwitz / Jehoash Hirshberg (2nd ed.)]

BEN-HAIM, YIGAL (1935–), *ḥazzan*. Born in Jerusalem, Ben-Haim was the 11th generation in a family of cantors originally from Bukhara. His early cantorial education was from his father. As a child he sang in the Jerusalem Taḥkemoni school under the direction of Cantor Mendel Tirnover and Ẓvi *Talmon. He sang in the Mizmor Shir choir established by Kol Yisrael. When 18 he debuted as the cantor of the Baba Tamma Synagogue in the Jerusalem Bukharan neighborhood. He studied cantorial theory and **maqamat*. He led services and appeared in concerts in Israel, the United States, South America, Europe, and the Far East. Ben-Haim sings on cassettes presenting selections from the prayers as rendered by the Oriental Jewish communities. He was an instructor of Sephardi cantorial skills in the Jerusalem Renanot cantorial school and Bat Yam school, thus continuing his longstanding activity of shaping cantors. In a CD called *Avot u-Banim* issued recently he and family members perform cantorial pieces

[Akiva Zimmerman]

BEN HA-MELEKH VE-HA-NAZIR (Heb. בֶּן הַמֶּלֶךְ וְהַנָּזִיר "The Prince and the Hermit"), Hebrew version by Abraham b. Samuel ha-Levi *Ibn Ḥasdai of an original Hindu tale about a prince who eventually became an ascetic. Balauhar and Budasaph, the names of the heroes of the tale in the old Pahlavi version, became Barlaam and Joasaph in the Greek version and Barlaam and Josaphat in the oldest Latin version (1048) and in later European translations. The Hebrew work is based on an Arabic version, but whether it is a translation or an adaptation cannot be determined until the Arabic text is established. *Ben ha-Melekh ve-ha-Nazir* is the account of a prince, Joasaph, sent by his father to a luxurious palace on an island in an effort to avert the fulfillment of a prophecy that he would become a Christian monk. When the prince discovers the reason for his confinement, he implores his father to allow him to return to the mainland. The king yields, and the son soon becomes aware of evil in the world, with consequent unrest in his heart. A monk, Barlaam, who comes disguised as a merchant (monks being prohibited in the land) gains access to the prince and gradually teaches him to realize the vanity of this world and the advantages of the ascetic life. Unlike the Greek and the Arabic tales, the Hebrew does not reintroduce the father, nor does it relate his efforts to undo the effects of the monk's instruction. Instead, it continues the discussion on philosophic and theological questions until the monk is obliged to leave and the prince feels bereft and lonely. The course of transmission of the original tale until it evolved into a world classic is complicated, with many problems still unresolved. In the European texts, the prince adopts the Christian faith of his preceptor. The Hindu original is obviously modeled after the life of Buddha. The Hebrew version is attractively written, and the prose narrative is interspersed with versified aphorisms. There is a Catalan translation by T. Calders (1987).

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BEN ḤAYYIM (Goldmann), ZE'EV (1907–), Hebrew scholar and linguist. Born in Mościska, Galicia, he emigrated to Palestine in 1931 and in 1934 became secretary of the Va'ad ha-Lashon. In 1948 he was appointed lecturer (1955, professor) of Hebrew language at the Hebrew University and in 1961 was elected vice president of the *Academy of the Hebrew Language in Jerusalem and in December 1973 was appointed its president, succeeding the late Prof. Naphtali *Tur-Sinai.

Ben Ḥayyim specialized in the Samaritan Hebrew dialect, literature, etc., on which he published *Ivrit ve-Aramit Nusaḥ Shomeron* ("The Literary and Oral Tradition of Hebrew and Aramaic among the Samaritans," 5 vols., 1957–77; volume 5 was translated and slightly updated as *A Grammar of Samaritan Hebrew*, 2000) and *Tevat Marka – Asuppat Midrashim Shomroniyyim*, 1988. In these books, he discusses the evolution and historical development of the Samaritan languages (Hebrew and Aramaic), starting from their earliest literary sources through the linguistic tradition preserved in the modern idioms. They contributed not only to the recognition of these particular dialects, but also to the clarification of important aspects of the history of the Hebrew and Aramaic languages and their development.

In his pamphlet *Lashon Attikah bi-Meẓi'ut Ḥadasha* ("Ancient Language in a New Reality," 1953) he deals with problems of the growth and development of modern Hebrew as the living language in the State of Israel. This article was republished along with most of his articles on modern Hebrew during the long period of his activity at the Academy in *Be-Milhamtah shel Lashon*, 1992. He was the editor of the historical dictionary of the Hebrew language – one of the major projects of the Academy. He also edited Hebrew dictionaries containing modern Hebrew terms in the fields of mathematics, anatomy, technology, etc., and contributed articles to leading linguistic journals on problems of Hebrew grammar and on the systems of Hebrew grammarians. Ben Ḥayyim was the *Encyclopaedia Judaica*'s divisional editor for Hebrew and Semitic languages. He received the Israel Prize in 1964. A full list of Ben Ḥayyim's works and scientific publications appeared in *Leshonenu* (vol. 32, Tishri–Tevet 1967/68), the publication of the Academy, edited by Ben Ḥayyim from 1955 to 1965; updated in *Leshonenu* 65 (2003), 201–26 with an assessment of his scientific achievements, ibid., p. 227–38.

BEN HE HE (c. first century), *tanna*. In *Avot* (5, end) appears a maxim in the name of Ben He He: "According to the labor is the reward." The same maxim is quoted as a popular saying in the name of Hillel the Elder (ARN^1 12:28; ARN^2 27:28), while a similar version occurs in Samaritan literature (see S. Liberman, *Greek in Jewish Palestine* (1942), 160, p. 113). The Talmud (Ḥag. 9b), implying that he may have been a pupil of Hillel, contains questions addressed to Hillel by Bar He He (see *Seder ha-Dorot*, s.v. *Ben Bag Bag*; cf., however, Liberman, loc. cit.). His name is said to have originated from his having been "a proselyte, i.e., the son [*ben*] of Abraham and Sarah, to each of whose names the letter ה [*he*] was added" (cf. Gen. 17:5, 15; Tos. to Hag. 9b; *Maḥzor Vitry*, ed. Hurwitz (1923), 563–4). Bacher (Tann, 1 (1903^2), 8–9) suggests that he was converted under the influence of Hillel. He is also identified with *Ben Bag Bag (Tos. and *Maḥzor Vitry*, loc. cit.),

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Hyman, Toledot, 285.

[Zvi Kaplan]

BEN-HORIN (Zelig Bidner), ELIAHU (1902–1966), Zionist activist, journalist and writer. Ben-Horin was born in Balta, Ukraine and studied at the University of Odessa where he was chairman of the Zionist Students' Union. He was active in Zionist and self-defense clandestine organizations during the early years of the Soviet regime. Immigrating to Palestine in 1921, he joined the Histadrut and was among the founders of the collective settlement Ha-Sharon (later to become Kibbutz Yifat). He broke away from the Labor movement in 1928 to join the *Revisionist party and served on the editorial boards of the Revisionist press (*Do'ar ha-Yom* and *Yarden*). In 1931 he left the Haganah, and joined the *Irgun Ẓeva'i Le'ummi (IZL), in which he served as *Jabotinsky's personal representative on its Supervisory Board. He participated in collecting funds and in the purchase of arms for the organization. He was a Revisionist delegate to the 17th Zionist Congress (1931), and when the New Zionist Organization (NZO) was founded in 1935, he was elected to its presidency. During 1944–50 he cooperated with ex-President Herbert Hoover in formulating the "Hoover Plan" for settling Palestinian Arabs in Iraq. He also served as advisor on Middle Eastern affairs to the American Zionist Emergency Council. His works include *The Red Army* (1942) and The *Middle East: Crossroads of History* (1943).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Tidhar*, 10 (1959), 3470–71; Dinur, Haganah, 2, index.

[Joseph Nedava]

BEN-HORIN, MEIR (1918–1988), U.S. Jewish educator. Born in Koenigsberg, East Prussia, Ben-Horin was assistant professor of education at the Boston Hebrew Teachers College from 1951 to 1957. From 1957, he headed the department of education of Dropsie College (now *Dropsie University) in Philadelphia, with the rank of professor from 1962. Ben-Horin wrote *Max Nordau: Philosopher of Human Solidarity* (1956) and *Common Faith – Uncommon People* (1970). Together with Judah *Pilch he coedited *Judaism and the Jewish School* (1966). In applying to Jewish education the Reconstructionist view of Judaism as a religious civilization, Ben-Horin follows the educational and philosophical thinking of Dewey, M.M. Kaplan, and Theodore Brameld.

[Leon H. Spotts]

BENICHOU, PAUL (1908–2001), French literary critic and historian of literature. Born in Tlemcen to a Jewish Algerian family, Benichou, was soon recognized as a brilliant student and sent to study in Oran and then Paris' prestigious Lycée Louis-le-Grand high school. While teaching literature in Paris, he began the research and the writing on his first major essay on French classicism, *Morales du Grand Siècle*, but was barred from teaching in 1940 as a result of the antisemitic legislation of the Vichy regime, which stripped him, as an Algerian Jew, of French citizenship and forced him to flee to Argentina, where he pursued his teaching career. *Morales du Grand Siècle* was eventually published by Gallimard in 1948 and Benichou came back to France in 1949. During his Argentinean years, Benichou, unable to access French archives, began a critical study of the romancero, whose brilliant originality was highly praised, and became acquainted with writer Jorge Luis Borges, whom he would later translate into French. In five independent but interrelated essays tracing back the origins of French romanticism (*Le Sacre de l'écrivain*, 1973; *Le Temps des prophètes*, 1977; *Les Mages romantiques*, 1988; *L'École du désenchantement*, 1992; *Selon Mallarmé*, 1995), Benichou tried to account for the pessimism of most major 19th century French writers, as opposed to the general euphoria of the time. This series of essays, which Benichou began to publish only at the age of 65, renewed the vision of French romanticism and its link to classicism, and taken together they provide a panorama of French literature from 1750 to 1900, as well as a milestone in the general theory of literature. Benichou characteristically linked literary theory to the history of ideas, thus providing insights on the relation of the writer to contemporary society whose far-reaching implications earned him recognition as one of the major scholars of the 20th century.

[Dror Franck Sullaper (2nd ed.)]

BENIDER, Moroccan family. ABRAHAM BENIDER (first half of 18th century), a native of Tetuan, later a resident of Gibraltar and Tangiers, was chandler to the British fleet and official interpreter. His son JACOB, born in Gibraltar, served as interpreter in the British consulates in Tetuan, Tangiers, Salé, Mogador, Safi, and Agadir. In 1768 he was vice consul in Salé. In 1772 the sultan of Morocco sent him as his ambassador to London on a special mission. However, Benider was not successful in his mission. Apparently he did not return to Gibraltar or Morocco.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: C. Roth, in: JHSEM, 2 (1935), 84–90; Hirschberg, Afrikah, 2 (1965), 285, 288–91; idem, in: *Essays… I. Brodie*, 2 (1967), 165–81.

[David Corcos]

BENIOFF, HUGO (1899–1968), U.S. seismologist. Born in Los Angeles, Benioff was assistant at the Mount Wilson observatory from 1917 to 1924. In 1923–24, he carried out seismological research at the Carnegie Institute in Washington. He then joined the staff of the California Institute of Technology in the seismological research department, where he was professor from 1950. He designed instruments for measuring movements of the earth's crust on land and in the sea. Benioff applied his knowledge as consultant to building firms to help plan against earthquake destruction and to the U.S. Navy submarine section. He was adviser to the geophysical department of the U.S. Air Force.

BENISCH, ABRAHAM (1814–1878), author, scholar, and precursor of Zionism. Benisch was born in Drossau, Bohemia. As a student of medicine at the University of Prague he joined Moritz *Steinschneider, who founded a student organization for the purpose of "reestablishing Jewish independence in Ereẓ Israel." Continuing his studies in Vienna in 1838, Benisch, and Albert Loewy, established a secret society, *Die Einheit*, whose purpose was to initiate organized Jewish immigration to Ereẓ Israel. With this aim in mind he talked to Adolphe *Crémieux and, in 1841, proceeded to London with a letter of recommendation from the House of Rothschild to influential Jewish circles. Receiving no tangible support, Benisch nevertheless continued to promote his views in the periodical *The Voice of Jacob* (1841–48), and in 1853 started the *Hebrew Observer* as a rival to the then 12-year-old *Jewish Chronicle*. In 1854 the paper was merged with the *Jewish Chronicle*, which for the next 13 years, and again from 1875 to 1878, was edited by Benisch, under the title *Jewish Chronicle and Hebrew Observer*. During these years Benisch utilized every opportunity, including the *Damascus Affair and the Crimean War, to raise the question of Jewish revival in Ereẓ Israel. He collaborated with Charles *Netter in founding the *Mikveh Israel agricultural school. He was one of the founders and first directors of the *Anglo-Jewish Association and carried on an unceasing campaign for the rights of the Jews in Russia and the Balkan countries. In his articles before and during the Congress of Berlin (1878), Benisch stressed the importance of Jewish settlement of Ereẓ Israel as integral to the solution of Near Eastern problems. Benisch published a Hebrew commentary on the Book of Ezekiel (1836), and wrote *Two Lectures on the Life and Writings of Maimonides* (1847). He translated the Bible into English (1851), and in the same year also translated into English the *Travels* of *Pethahiah b. Jacob of Regensburg. He wrote a Hebrew grammar and a scripture manual in 1852, entitled *Bikkurei ha-Limmud*, and *An Essay on Bishop Colenso's Criticism of the Pentateuch and Joshua* (1863). A collection of his lectures entitled *Judaism Surveyed* appeared in 1874.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Jewish Chronicle: 1841–1941* (1949), ch. 5; S.W. Baron, in: *Jewish Studies in Memory of G.A. Kohut* (1935), 72–85; N.M. Gelber, in: *Prague vi-Yrushalayim* (1954), 42–44; idem, *Shivat Ẓiyyon*, 1 (1950), 106–30. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** J.M. Shaftesley, "Dr. Abraham Benisch as Newspaper Editor," in: TJHSE, 21 (1968), 214–21; Katz, England, 356–68; ODNB online.

[Nathan Michael Gelber]

BEN-ISRAEL, RUTH (1931–), Israeli legal scholar. Born in Port Said, Egypt, Ben-Israel received her LL.B. and LL.M., magna cum laude, and a Ph.D. degree from the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. She taught labor law, civil procedure, social security, and occupational equality at Tel Aviv University from 1975 and served as dean of the Law Faculty in 1990–91. Her extensive publications include nine books, one of which is *Israel Labor Law* (Heb., 1989), and many articles. She was a member of many international organizations and edited the *Israel Labor Law Year Book* in 1998–2000. She was awarded the Bar Niv Prize in Labor Law (1988), the Minkoff Prize for Excellence in Law (2000), the Israel Prize in law (2001), and the Israel Bar Association Prize for Women in Law (2001). She served as special legal adviser on labor legislation to the Labor and Welfare Committee of the Knesset (1985–92); public representative on the National Labor Court (1988–2000); special legal adviser to the minister of labor and welfare (1993–95); and chaired numerous public and government committees on women's rights and labor laws.

[Leon Fine (2nd ed.)]

BENJACOB, ISAAC (1801–1863), first modern Hebrew bibliographer. He was born near Vilna and spent most of his life in that city. After publishing original works and republishing several medieval writers, including *Ḥovot ha-Levavot* by *Baḥya ibn Paquda (with a commentary of his own), Benjacob published, with Abraham Dov *Lebensohn (Adam ha-Kohen), a 17-volume edition of the Hebrew Bible (1848–53). It included Rashi's commentary, Mendelssohn's German translation (in Hebrew script), a new commentary by Lebensohn as well as Benjacob's own *Mikra'ei Kodesh*, an abridged version of *Tik-*

kun Soferim ("the scribes' emendations to the biblical text"). This edition helped spread Haskalah among Russian Jewry and was utilized not only for the study of Scriptures, but also for learning German. Benjacob then began his magnum opus of 20 years' duration, *Oẓar ha-Sefarim* (Vilna, 1880; repr. New York, 1965), one of the greatest bibliographic achievements in Hebrew literature. The work lists approximately 8,480 manuscripts and approximately 6,500 books published up to 1863, with a description of their contents. Benjacob also wrote a collection of epigrams, poems, and literary essays, *Mikhtamim ve-Shirim Shonim* (1842). His son JACOB (1858–1926) was a merchant, banker, and Zionist. After first publishing his father's work *Oẓar ha-Sefarim* with the assistance of M. *Steinschneider (1877–80), he began expanding it, using new bibliographical methods but retaining its original chronological limit (1863). His son-in-law Moses *Schorr reported that the new edition contained 60,000 entries and comprised 12 volumes. Both Benjacob and Schorr tried unsuccessfully to have it published. The manuscript was lost during the Holocaust in Poland.

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[Benzion Dinur (Dinaburg)]

BENJAMIN (Heb. בִּנְיָמִין), youngest son of *Jacob by *Rachel (Gen. 35:16–18), and the eponym of the tribe of Benjamin. Benjamin was the only one of Jacob's sons to be born in Canaan. Little is told of his life and personality. Our preserved texts attribute no words to him, though he is frequently mentioned in the stories about Jacob, because he was the youngest son and born of the beloved wife Rachel and also because he was, as *Joseph's only full brother, closest to him. Jacob did not send Benjamin to Egypt with the other brothers to procure food during the famine, but when they applied to Joseph for rations he insisted that Benjamin should be sent for. Much against Jacob's will, Benjamin eventually accompanied his brothers to Egypt after Judah had undertaken to be responsible for him. When Benjamin was presented to him, Joseph was so overcome with feeling that he went into a private room and wept there. He invited his brothers to dine and favored Benjamin with extra portions. Joseph, however, put his brothers' integrity to the test and did not make himself known to them. He instructed his steward to conceal a silver goblet in Benjamin's bag and later to overtake the brothers on their journey home and accuse him of stealing it. The brothers interceded for Benjamin, and Judah declared himself ready to sacrifice his liberty in exchange for Benjamin's release to spare their father's grief if he failed to return. Then Joseph finally disclosed his identity to them, and sent an invitation to his father to settle in Goshen with his family (Gen. 42–45).

Rachel had named her son Ben-Oni which could mean either "son of my vigor" or "son of my suffering," though the second meaning better fits the context as her labor was hard and she died in childbirth. The father, however, named the baby Benjamin, which literally means "son of the right hand," and can be understood as having an auspicious sense. It could also mean "son of the south" (cf. Ps. 89:13), either because this son was the only one born in the south, that is in Canaan (all his brothers were born in Aram-Naharaim), or because the legacy of Benjamin was south (i.e., to the right) of that of his brother Joseph. A parallel to the name Benjamin used in the sense of "southerners" is to be found in the *Mari documents referring to West Semitic tribes called Dumu. Meš (= *binī*-) *Yamina*, meaning "southerners," literally, "sons of the right," in contrast to another group of tribes called Dumu. Meš (= *binī* -) *Sim'all*, "northerners," literally, sons of the left." There is a linguistic connection between the Hebrew term "Benjamin" and the Bini-Yamina tribes of the Mari documents (18th century B.C.E.) but no apparent historical connection.

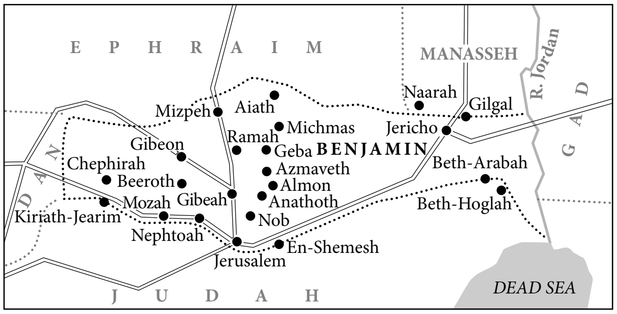

Territory of the tribe of Benjamin.

The Genealogies

The Bible contains genealogical lists of the tribe of Benjamin which in part do not correspond with one another either in respect of the number of clans or their names (Gen. 46:21; Num. 26:38–41; I Chron. 7:6–12; 8:1–40; 9:35–44). The variations arise from the fact that some are fragmentary and that the lists may reflect differing traditions about the lineage of the tribe as well as periodic changes in its composition and in territorial boundaries. Beriah, for example, appears in the genealogical lists of Benjamin (I Chron. 8:13–16), Ephraim (*ibid.* 7:21–23), and Asher (Gen. 46:17; Num. 26:44–45). If in each case the reference is to the same clan then this reflects a movement of Beriah from south to north or the reverse. Huppim and Shuppim are included in the genealogical lists of the tribes of both Benjamin (Gen. 46:21, where the latter is Muppim; Num. 26:39; I Chron. 7:12) and Manasseh (I Chron. 7:15). In view of the close ties between Benjamin and the east bank of the Jordan (see below) it seems that the duplication reflects the migration of one or two clans from Benjamin to Manasseh or the reverse. I Chronicles 8:29–40 and 9:35–44 preserve two parallel lists of the family of Saul, which place "the father of Gibeon" in the genealogical records of Benjamin. The city of Gibeon was inhabited by the Gibeonite descendants of the Hivites and included in the territory of Benjamin, and the relationship of Saul to Gibeon in these lists indicates the intermingling of the Gibeonite population with the Benjaminites.

However, some scholars believe that "Gibeon" is a scribal error for "Gibeah," the city of Saul (I Sam. 11:4).

The Tribal Territory

The territory of Benjamin, which extended from the hill country of Ephraim to the hill country of Judah, is described in great detail in Joshua 18:11–28. The description of its southern border fits that of the northern border of Judah (Josh. 15:5–11), while the picture of its northern border accords with that of the southern border of the House of Joseph (Josh. 16:1–3, 5). The northern boundary began at the Jordan and continued in an almost straight line westward to Jericho, which it bypassed to the north; it then ascended the mountains in a west-northwesterly direction, encompassing Beth-El, turning south and continuing to the southwest, and circumventing lower Beth-Horon on the south. The western border of Benjamin is unclear; however, from the description of the territory of Dan, it would seem that it did not reach the sea, but ended in the vicinity of the valley of Aijalon, with the area of lower Beth-Horon and Kiriath-Jearim marking its northern and southern extremities (cf. Josh. 18:28 with 15:60). The southern border ran "from the outskirts of Kiriath-Jearim" (Josh. 18:15), eastward via the "spring of the Waters of Nephtoah" (Lifta) to Jerusalem, which was included in the territory of Benjamin; for the border passed Jerusalem on the south and descended east by way of En-Rogel, En-Shemesh, "the Stone of Bohan son of Reuben," and Beth-Hoglah to the Dead Sea, near where the Jordan enters it. The eastern border was the Jordan.

The list of Benjaminite towns (Josh. 18:21–28) does not accord with the northern border of the tribe as described in Joshua 18:12–13 since Beth-El, Zemaraim, Ophrah, and Mizpeh are elsewhere included in the territory of Ephraim (cf. Josh. 16; II Chron. 13:4, 19). Possibly the list of cities and the list of border points are not from the same period and reflect fluctuating territorial and historical situations. It is generally believed that the list of border points antedates the period of the monarchy, whereas the list of cities is of later date. A westward expansion of the Benjaminites – possibly as early as the end of the period of Judges, but perhaps taking place during the monarchy – can be inferred from the list of Benjaminite towns in Nehemiah 11:31–35. Non-Israelite enclaves existed within the territory of Benjamin; the Jebusites dwelt in Jerusalem (Josh. 18:28), and there were four cities of the Hivites in the western portion. Echoes of the conflicts between the Benjaminites and the indigenous population are discernible in II Samuel 21:1–2 and possibly in I Chronicles 8:6–8.

The History of the Tribe

Despite the fact that the territory of Benjamin was smaller than that of most of the other tribes and although Benjamin was regarded as the youngest tribe (see the *Tribes of Israel), it played an important part in the history of the unification of the tribes of Israel during the period of the Judges and the beginning of the monarchy. One of the first judges who arose to save Israel was *Ehud son of Gera, of the tribe of Benjamin (Judg. 3:15), and the first king to rule Israel was *Saul the Benjaminite (I Sam. 9:1). Benjamin's importance was due to the strategic position of its territory, through which the divide (watershed) of the central hill country passed. The territory's main north-south road ran along the divide; a main highway connecting Transjordan with the west also passed through Benjamin's territory. It was this road that the Israelites used after they crossed the Jordan. When *Eglon king of Moab extended the boundaries of his rule westward, the oppressive effects were felt mainly by the tribe of Benjamin, since the corridor connecting regions on the banks of the Jordan was situated in its territory. Therefore it was not just by chance that the judge who saved Israel from Moab came from the tribe of Benjamin (Judg. 3:12ff). The close ties between the Benjaminites and the people of Jabesh-Gilead (Judg. 20–21; I Sam. 11; 31:11–13; Obad. 19) are also explained in part by the Benjaminites' easy access to Transjordan. In the days of *Deborah the Benjaminites joined in the war against Jabin and Sisera (Judg. 5:14). After forcing the tribe of Dan to move northward, Philistine pressure focused upon the territory of the Benjaminites because of the strategic importance of the area. The *Philistines dominated the entire central part of the country and placed a garrison in Gibeath-Benjamin (I Sam. 10:5; 13:3). Opposition to Philistine rule was thus centered in Benjamin, and so it is hardly surprising that the first king, Saul, whose primary task it was to save Israel from the Philistines (cf. I Sam. 9:16), was a Benjaminite. This is also in keeping with Benjamin's reputation for military prowess, as expressed in Jacob's blessing: "Benjamin is a ravenous wolf; in the morning he consumes the foe, and in the evening he divides the spoil" (Gen. 49:27).

A count of Benjaminites made before the intertribal war that followed the affair of the concubine in Gibeah (Judg. 19–21) revealed "twenty six thousand men that drew the sword… Among all these were seven hundred picked men who were left-handed; every one could sling a stone at a hair and not miss" (Judg. 20:15–16; cf. I Chron. 8:40; 12:1–2). According to the account, Benjamin was defeated and its civilian population massacred. The survival of the tribe was only insured by seizure as wives for the 600 remaining warriors of the unmarried women of Jabesh-Gilead and Shiloh (Judg. 21). The kingdom of Judah established by David did not include Benjamin (see *Ish-Bosheth), and when Israel also chose David as its king, Benjamin continued to belong to "the House of Joseph" (II Sam. 19:17–21). The tribe retained some rancor against David as the supplanter of the House of Saul, as is shown by the episode of *Shimei son of Gera and the revolt of *Sheba son of Bichri (II Sam. 16:5–13; 20:1–2). Under Solomon, too, the territory of Benjamin constituted one of the administrative divisions of Israel (I Kings 4:18). After Solomon's death and the revolt of Israel, the Davidides tried to regain as much of Israel as they could, and according to II Chronicles 13 for a time pushed the northern limit of their dominion well beyond Benjamin. Ultimately, however, they had to be content with the Benjaminite watershed as a buffer between Israel and their place of residence, Jerusalem (I Kings 15:22).

[Bustanay Oded]

In the *Aggadah*

Benjamin, according to one opinion, was the image of his mother, Rachel (Tanḥ. B. 1:197), and according to another resembled his father (Tanḥ., Mi-Keẓ 10). He alone of all the brothers took no part in the sale of Joseph; as a result he was privileged to have the Temple built on the territory of his tribe (Gen. R. 99:1). Another reason is that he was not yet born when his father and brothers prostrated themselves before Esau (Targ. Sheni to Esther 3:3). Although he knew of Joseph as having been sold into slavery, he never revealed it to his father (Mid. Ps. 15:6). The four additional portions given by Joseph to Benjamin (Gen. 43:34) consisted of one each from Joseph, Asenath, and their sons, Ephraim and Manasseh (Gen. R. 92:5). After Joseph's silver cup was found in Benjamin's sack, his brothers struck Benjamin on the shoulder saying, "O thief and son of a thief, thou hast brought the same shame upon us that thy mother brought upon our father when she stole the teraphim that were her father's" (Tanḥ. B. 1:198). Jacob's deathbed blessing to Benjamin contained the prophecy that his tribe would provide Israel with its first and its last ruler, both Saul and Esther being of the tribe of Benjamin (Gen. R. 99:3). He was untainted by sin (Shab. 55b), and when he died his corpse was not exposed to the ravages of worms (BB 17a).

In Islam

Though Muhammad does not mention the name Benjamin in the Sura of Yūsuf (Sura 12, verse 69ff.), there is no doubt concerning the identity of the brother whom Joseph wishes to bring to him in Egypt. The Koran continues with the biblical account (cf. Gen. 42–43), according to the version derived from the *aggadah*. Not only Reuben but all the brothers guarantee Jacob that they will bring Benjamin back (sura 12, 66; cf. Tanḥ. *Mi-Keẓ*, 8). There are many accounts in Muslim legends of the threats made by Benjamin's brothers when Joseph wanted to imprison him (cf. Gen. 44:17).

[Haïm Z'ew Hirschberg]

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BENJAMIN II (originally **Israel Joseph Benjamin**; 1818–1864), Romanian explorer and writer born in Falticeni, Moldavia. He engaged first in the lumber trade (for this reason he was nicknamed Chiristigiu or "Lumberjack") but after some initial success, he lost his fortune at the age of 25. Influenced by his failure and by the romantic trends of the time, he decided to emulate the medieval traveler Benjamin of Tudela. He styled himself Benjamin II and, in 1845, took to the road in search of the remnants of the Ten Lost Tribes. He traveled first to Egypt, from there through Ereẓ Israel and Syria, and then to Armenia, Iraq, Kurdistan, Persia, India, and China. He came back by way of Afghanistan to Vienna (1851) and from there went on to Italy and to Tripoli, Tunisia, Algeria, and Morocco. Wherever his travels took him, he made a point of assembling information concerning the Jewish settlement in that place – the number of Jews of that community, how they earned their livelihood, their customs, and folklore. Although unscientific, his approach was simple and direct, and earned the praise of scholars like A. von Humboldt and A. Petermann. He described his experiences in a Hebrew travelogue, first published in French under the title *Cinq années de voyage en Orient 1846–1851* (1856; Eng. 1859). The Hebrew edition of the book, *Sefer Masʿei Yisrael*, as revised by David *Gordon, was published in Lyck in 1859. He published at his own expense in 1863 Nathan Hannover's *Yeven Meẓulah* on the 17th-century Chmielnicki massacres in Poland. Over and above his literary endeavors, Benjamin undertook to ease the plight of the Jews of Morocco. He also appealed to Turkey, France, and England in an attempt to ameliorate the condition of the Jews of Kurdistan and Persia. In 1859 Benjamin II began a three-year journey through the United States, describing his travels in *Drei Jahre in Amerika* (1862; republished in English in 1956 by the JPSA). He died in London in poverty while preparing another trip to the Orient.

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BENJAMIN, BARUCH BEN ISRAEL (17th century), Jerusalem rabbi. After studying under his father, Baruch proceeded to the yeshivah of Isaac Gaon, where Kabbalah was included in the curriculum. He was a signatory to the regulation of 1646, which exempted rabbinic scholars from taxation (A. Ankawa, in *Kerem Ḥemed*, 2 (1871), 22b). In 1657 he, together with other Jerusalem kabbalists, endorsed the certificate which declared that Baruch Gad, the Jerusalem messenger to the East, had visited the Ten Lost Tribes. Some of his responsa were published in *Mishpetei Ẓedek* (1945, nos. 66, 95, 98, 100, 131, 133) of his friend, Samuel *Garmison. While serving as *dayyan* in Jerusalem he wrote a work on divorces (Jerusalem Ms. Heb. 8°199). Toward the end of his life he traveled to Egypt, possibly as an emissary, and he died there.

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BENJAMIN, BARUCH BENZION (1904–?), Indian government official. Born in Bombay, of the *Bene-Israel community, Benjamin joined the Indian government service following independence in 1947 and was made deputy chief controller of imports and exports in 1953. From 1955 until his retirement in 1959 he was an undersecretary in the Indian Ministry of Finance. Active in Jewish affairs, Benjamin was a vice president of the World Council of Synagogues and president of the Delhi Jewish Welfare Association.

BENJAMIN, ERNEST FRANK (1900–1969), British army officer and commander of the *Jewish Brigade in World War II. Born in Toronto, Canada, Benjamin was educated in England at the Royal Military Academy, Woolwich, and at the Staff College, Camberley. He was commissioned in 1919 and served in Turkey, Malaya, and Madagascar. During World War II Benjamin commanded the marine division of the Royal Engineers and later the Combined Training Center for the Middle East and Italy. From 1944 to 1946 he commanded the Jewish Brigade which went into action in north Italy in 1945 as part of the Eighth Army. Brigadier Benjamin later served in Hong Kong and retired in 1950. He was joint honorary treasurer of the Jewish Lads Brigade.

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BENJAMIN, ISRAEL (c. 1570–1649), *posek* and kabbalist, who was among the greatest of Egyptian and Jerusalem scholars of his century. According to David *Conforte he was also called "Israel Eliakim." Benjamin was a disciple of R. Eleazar Monzalavi and his friend Samuel b. *Sid, and corresponded with Jacob Castro of Egypt (*Oholei Ya'akov*, 1738, no. 58). According to Conforte a collection of more than a hundred legal decisions and a book of scriptural exegesis by Benjamin were in the possession of his son Baruch Benjamin in Jerusalem. Ḥ.J.D. Azulai also saw a manuscript of his responsa. Abraham Azulai quotes new rulings by Benjamin in his annotations. He was a disciple of the kabbalist *Joseph ibn Tabul in Egypt. In the manuscript *Oẓerot Ḥayyim* by Ḥayyim *Vital (Ms. Jerusalem 80 370) there are annotations by Benjamin as well as statements of Ibn Tabul which the latter heard from Isaac *Luria. Benjamin taught Kabbalah in Egypt and Jerusalem. His disciples include Meir *Anaschehon and Meir *Poppers. They had Benjamin's annotations to other writings of Isaac Luria, as well as a *maḥzor* based on the Kabbalah; these are found in *Beit Mo'ed* in the manuscripts of Solomon b. Benjamin ha-Levi. Ḥayyim Vital's *Sefer ha-Gilgulim* contains glosses by Benjamin. An immigrant from Carpi who went to Jerusalem in 1625 found manuscripts of Luria in the possession of Benjamin. He served in Jerusalem as *dayyan* and was one of the prominent scholars in the town. In 1623 he signed an agreement not to cause division in the community and in 1625 he signed an agreement to exempt the scholars from taxes. In that year the Jews of Jerusalem suffered from the oppressive rule of Ibn Farruk, and Benjamin signed a circular entitled *Ḥurvot Yerushalayim* which was handed to emissaries who were sent to the Diaspora with the aim of collecting money for the reconstruction of the community. His signature is also found in a letter to Fez in 1630. In 1646 he was the head of the Jerusalem rabbis. In 1649 he signed first on the endorsement (**haskamah*) of Joseph *Caro's *Maggid Meisharim* (vol. 2, Venice 1649).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Conforte, Kore, 48b–49a; S. Ḥazzan, *Ha-Ma'alot li-Shelomo* (1894), 45a–b; *Yerushalayim* (ed. by A.M. Luncz), 2 (1887), 147–8; 5 (1901), 73–85; Azulai, 1 (1852), 114, no. 406; J.M. Toledano, in: HUCA, 4 (1927), 464–6 (Heb.); Frumkin-Rivlin, 2 (1928), 27–29; 3 (1929), 13.

BENJAMIN, JUDAH PHILIP (1811–1884), U.S. lawyer and statesman. Benjamin was undoubtedly the most prominent 19th-century American Jew. He was a noted lawyer, whose services were requested in connection with some of the most significant legal disputes of the time, a powerful politician who was a leader in the cause of Southern rights and on behalf of the short-lived Confederacy.

Born in St. Croix in the West Indies, of British parents, Benjamin was a British subject. His family moved to Charleston, South Carolina, while he was still a boy. He was at Yale University for two years, but studied law privately in New Orleans while earning a meager living as a tutor in English and as a clerk in a business establishment. Deprived of a happy home through an unsuccessful marriage to a non-Jewess, Natalie St. Martin, a high-spirited Creole who left him to live in Paris after their only child was born after ten barren years, he was free to devote himself to law and politics. His legal eminence brought him wealth, and his political activity fame. He was the first professing Jew to be elected to the United States Senate, as a Whig in 1852, and as a Democrat (after the Democratic Party espoused the cause of Southern rights) in 1856. He became a leading member of the school of Southern politicians which favored secession from the Union as the only safeguard for Southern survival and delivered a number of major addresses in the Senate defending slavery. When Louisiana seceded, he withdrew from the Senate, and was immediately called to the cabinet of the newly created Confederate government (March 1861) as attorney general. President Jefferson Davis relied heavily upon Benjamin's companionship and counsel and appointed him to the more important position of secretary of war in September 1861. Benjamin quickly succeeded in antagonizing Davis's high-strung generals with his complacent lawyerly manner and became a convenient scapegoat for a number of military disasters and chronic supply problems, causing him to resign in March 1862. Loyal to Benjamin despite antisemitic attacks, Davis promptly appointed him secretary of state, a position which he held until the collapse of the Confederacy. In this role Benjamin came close to obtaining recognition of and help for the Confederacy from England and France. But the Confederacy's cause was doomed from the first, and after Lee's surrender to Grant (April 1865) Benjamin was the only leading Confederate to choose permanent exile rather than live in the defeated South, convinced that as both a rebel and a Jew he had little future in America. He parted ways with the fleeing president in South Carolina and escaped to England through Florida and Nassau, and there made for himself a distinguished career as barrister (he was appointed Queen's Counsel), which in many ways outshadowed his prewar American legal career. Ill health forced his retirement from active work in 1882 and he died two years later in Paris where he had finally rejoined his wife and daughter.

Benjamin took no discernible interest in Jewish affairs, although he never denied his origin and was never converted to the Catholic faith of his wife. There is no record of membership on his part in any synagogue, nor did he ever give support to any Jewish cause or organization.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: B.W. Korn, *American Jewry and the Civil War* (1951), index; idem, *Eventful Years and Experiences: Studies in Nineteenth Century American Jewish History* (1954); R. Douthat Meade, *Judah P. Benjamin, Confederate Statesman* (1943). **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** E.N. Evans, *Judah P. Benjamin: The Jewish Confederate* (1988).

[Bertram Wallace Korn]

BENJÁMIN, LÁSZLÓ (1915–1986), Hungarian poet, born in Budapest. His first poems were published in the left-wing press and in such anthologies of working-class poetry as *Tizenkét költő* ("Twelve Poets," 1940). Benjámin's early poetry was based on the hopelessness preceding World War II and, during and immediately after the war itself, on the class struggle. The collections of this period include *A csillag nem jött fel* ("The Star Did Not Come Forth," 1939), *Betüöntók diadala* ("The Victory of the Typecasters," 1946), and *A teremtés után* ("After the Creation," 1948). When the Hungarian Communist government was formed in 1949, Benjámin became one of its chief literary spokesmen. From 1953 his writing changed, and he turned to themes of self-criticism and personal confusion. This later poetry appears in *Éveink múlása* ("The Passing of our Years," 1954), *Egyetlen élet* ("Only During One Lifetime," 1956), and *Ötödik évszak* ("The Fifth Season," 1962).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Magyar Irodalmi Lexikon*, 1 (1963), 136–7; *Hét évszázad magyar versei*, 3 (1966), 686–740.

[Itamar Yaos-Kest]

BENJAMIN, MOSES (first half of the 18th century), rabbi and kabbalist in Baghdad. He was the first of the Baghdad scholars known to have studied much Kabbalah and was an expert in Lurianic Kabbalah. Very little is known about his life; his wife and children died in an epidemic before 1737, and he never fulfilled his desire to immigrate to Jerusalem. He apparently served as rabbi, because he mentions among his writings "some legal rulings." His book *Ma'aseh Rav* (Constantinople, 1736) is a kabbalistic commentary on the sayings of *Rabbah b. Bar Ḥana. In the introduction he mentions the following of his own works: *Matteh Moshe*, a commentary on the masorah as well as an explanation of rabbinic verses and sayings; *Ho'il Moshe*, a homiletical interpretation of the Pentateuch; and a collection of sermons which he preached on Sabbaths and various occasions. His kabbalistic works are *Tefillah le-Moshe* and *Sha'arei Yerushalayim*, completed in 1731 (author's manuscript; Sassoon Library, 771). The latter contains kabbalistic principles according to the *Zohar and Isaac *Luria. These two books were stolen while en route to the publishers and the author was left with only the first draft.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: D.S. Sassoon, *Ohel Dawid*, 1 (1932), 442–3; A. Ben-Jacob, *Yehudei Bavel* (1965), 95–96.

BENJAMIN, RAPHAEL (1846–1906), U.S. Reform rabbi. Benjamin was born in London, England, received his B.A. degree from the University of London, and was ordained by the chief rabbi of the British Isles. In 1874, he was elected assistant minister and reader of the Melbourne Hebrew Congregation (Bourke Street Synagogue) in Melbourne, Australia as well as master of the Jewish schools of that city. He earned his M.A. from the University of Melbourne. In 1882, he was named rabbi of K.K. Benai Israel (the Mound Street Synagogue) in Cincinnati, Ohio, where he also served as vice president of the Young Men's Hebrew Association. In addition, Benjamin lectured and served as governor and examiner at Hebrew Union College. In 1889, he became rabbi of Congregation Shaarei Shomayim (the Fifteenth Street Temple) in New York. When his congregation merged with the Fifty-Fifth Street Synagogue (Congregation Ahavath Chesed), he ministered at large in New York City, serving as secretary of the Board of Jewish Ministers (later the New York Board of Rabbis) and conducting services at the Hebrew Orphan Asylum. In 1902, he became rabbi of the Keap Street Temple in Brooklyn (Congregation Beth Elohim). Benjamin was also a fellow in the American Association for the Advancement of Science.

[Bezalel Gordon (2nd ed.)]

BIBLIOGRAPHY: M.A. Meyer, *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society*, Number 17, 1907.

BENJAMIN, RICHARD (1938–), U.S. actor and director. Born in New York City, Benjamin attended the New York High School of Performing Arts and then Northwestern University, where he met his actress wife Paula Prentiss; he graduated in 1960. While Prentiss' film career took off immediately, Benjamin focused his attention initially on the stage; his Broadway debut was *Star-Spangled Girl* (1966). Benjamin's first on-screen appearance was opposite Prentiss in the television series *He & She* (1967), while his film turn came with the adaptation of Philip Roth's *Goodbye, Columbus* (1969), which was followed by Mike Nichols' *Catch 22* (1970) and another Roth adaptation, *Portnoy's Complaint* (1972). He was first nominated for the Golden Globe for *The Marriage of a Young Stockbroker* (1971) and won the award for his supporting role as Walter Matthau's nephew in Neil Simon's *The Sunshine Boys* (1975). In 1982, Benjamin turned his attention to directing with *My Favorite Year*, followed by *City Heat* (1984), *The Money Pit* (1986), *My Stepmother is an Alien* (1988), *Mermaids* (1990), and a made-for-television update of Neil Simon's *The Goodbye Girl* (2004).

[Adam Wills (2nd ed.)]

BENJAMIN, WALTER (1892–1940), German philosopher and literary critic. Born in Berlin, Benjamin attended Haubinda, a country educational establishment, where he met the radical school reformer Gustav Wyneken. From 1910 to 1914 Benjamin took an active part in the youth movement influenced by Wyneken and was for some time the students' president at Berlin University. He published his first articles under the pseudonym Ardor in *Der Anfang* edited by Wyneken. In 1915 Benjamin broke off with Wyneken and his movement because of their acceptance of World War I. Benjamin studied philosophy in Freiburg, Berlin, Munich, and Berne. He returned to Germany in 1920 and lived there till 1933. His thesis written to obtain the qualification to teach aesthetics and history of literature at the university in Frankfurt was not accepted. Today, however, this work on the origin of the German drama (Berlin, 1928) is regarded as one of the most important philosophical interpretations of this field. In 1929 Benjamin joined Bertold Brecht (*Versuche ueber Brecht*, 1966), with whose ideas he identified himself to a large extent. Benjamin felt his Jewishness intensely and had for several years toyed with the idea of going to Palestine. When the Nazis came to power he first went to the Balearic Isles and then to Paris. At the outbreak of World War II he was interned as a German citizen, but was released in November 1939. He fled to the south of France and, with a group of refugees, crossed the Spanish border. When the police chief of the border town Port-Bou threatened to send them back to France, Benjamin took his own life.

Between 1914 and 1924, he did not publish much. Then he wrote a long essay, *Goethe's Wahlverwandtschaften* (publ. by H. v. Hofmannsthal in *Neue deutsche Beitraege*, 1924–25; in book form 1964), and continued his intensive activity as essayist and literary critic, especially in the *Frankfurter Zeitung, Literarische Welt*, and *Die Gesellschaft*. During his lifetime, Benjamin published only two books: a volume of philosophical aphorisms *Einbahnstrasse* (Berlin, 1928), and, during the Nazi era, under the pseudonym Detlev Holz, *Deutsche Menschen, eine Folge von Briefen* (Lucerne, 1936), an annotated collection of 25 letters from 1783–1883), in which he discussed the flowering and the first decadence of German bourgeois culture. The first collection of his writings appeared posthumously in 1955 (*Schriften*, 2 vols., Frankfurt), edited by Theodore Adorno who had always stressed Benjamin's importance as a philosopher. *Illuminationen* (1961; *Illuminations*, 1969), *Angelus Novus* (1966), *Das Kunstwerk im Zeitalter seiner technischen Reproduzierbarkeit* (1963), *Staedtebilder* (1963), and *Zur Kritik der Gewalt* (1965) contain more of his essays, some taken from his literary legacy. G. Scholem and Th. Adorno published a selection of his correspondence (2 vols., 1966).

Benjamin is considered as the most important critic in the German language between the two wars, and his importance is growing. His thought, formed by Kant and the religious-philosophical current, had been metaphysically oriented in the beginning. Later, especially from 1930 on, Benjamin showed an inclination toward Marxism, whose ideas he, however, interpreted in a highly personal way. Benjamin considered himself as a philosophical commentator of important literary events, stressing especially historical, philosophical, linguistic, and social motives. Intellectually, he was extremely independent, a fact felt in everything he wrote, even in the short book reviews. His concentrated prose makes him difficult to read. He had a strong poetic streak, expressed clearly in his *Berliner Kindheit um Neunzehnhundert* (first published in Frankfurt, 1950). Benjamin was also important as a translator, especially of French literature, which attracted him deeply. He translated from Baudelaire (*Tableaux Parisiens*, 1923), several volumes of Proust (1927–30), and several novels by M. Jouhandeau.

[Gershom Scholem]

It was Gershom *Scholem who quoted the following remark by his friend Walter Benjamin: "Whenever I will find my own philosophy, it will be somehow a philosophy of Judaism" ("Wenn ich einmal meine Philosophie haben werde, so wird es irgendwie eine Philosophie des Judentums sein"). Scholem wished to point to Benjamin's hidden commentary on Judaism when he dealt with the philosophical question of language and translation (since Benjamin's early Essay *Über die Sprache überhaupt und über die Sprache des Menschen*, 1916), the question of a philosophy of history (e.g., in Benjamin's theses which promote a messianic philosophy of history), and also when he discussed German-Jewish writers like Karl Kraus and Franz Kafka (cf. Benjamin/Scholem, *Benjamin über Kafka*, 1980). In his philosophical as well as in his critical works Benjamin remains ambivalent, however: On the one hand he avoids the construction of Jewish or even less Zionist perspectives, on the other hand he engages in a subtextual and also critical dialogue with Judaism and Zionism, his philosophical starting point being the Neo-Kantianism of Hermann *Cohen, his early letters to Ludwig Strauß and, from summer 1916, his friendship with Scholem. Both Scholem and Benjamin agreed in taking a critical attitude towards assimilation as well as towards Buber's type of cultural Zionism and his legitimization of war during the World War I period. But whereas Scholem found a clear Zionist alternative, Benjamin placed himself intellectually between universal Judaism and Marxism. And whereas – after the failure of Benjamin to qualify as a teacher in 1925 at the University of Frankfurt with his thesis *Der Ursprung des deutschen Trauerspiels* – Scholem tried to convince him to come to Jerusalem between 1926 and 1930, Benjamin became inspired by the syndicalist French thinker Georges Sorel, the communist Asja Lacis, whom he met in Capri 1924 and in Moscow 1926, and approached the Frankfurter Institut für Sozialforschung and later on Bert Brecht, whom he joined in his Danish exile in 1934.

Already in the last years of the Weimar Republic, Benjamin moved to Paris, "the capital of the 19th century," where he also spent the most time after March 1933. Here (in the Paris National library) he worked on an encyclopaedic historiographical project on the modernity of Paris in the 19th century, the so-called *Passagen-Werk*, which was not published until 1982 (in two volumes) and since then has come to be considered one of Benjamin's most important scientific works. Here he was combining the Marxist analysis of the "Warenwelt," the psychoanalytic method of "Traumdeutung," and the surrealist techniques of writing and quoting. On this basis he found a new method of performing history and by this means "saving" its neglected aspects much better than telling its linear story as the 19th century "Historismus" did. In the *Passagen-Werk* as well as in his thesis *Ueber den Begriff der Geschichte* (1940) he developed a philosophy of history which is apocalyptic and messianic at the same time: The historiographer is entitled to save the forgotten and the dead. Benjamin has seen here also a Jewish conception of history, which understands time not as "empty" and "homogeneous" but every "now," every "second" as "the little gate through which the Messiah may enter."

[Andreas Kilcher (2nd ed.)]

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BENJAMIN, YEHOSHUA (1920–), Indian government official and scholar. Born in Lonavla, Maharashtra, of the *Bene-Israel community, by the time he retired he was the chief architect of India's Ministry of Works and Housing. His scholarly interests are reflected in his book *The Mystery of the Lost Tribes* (New Delhi, 1989).

[Tudor Parfitt (2nd ed.)]

BENJAMIN BEN AARON OF ZALOZCE (late 18th century), East European homilist. In his sermons he commented pointedly on the social and religious life of his time. His didactic works include instructions on personal behavior and on the conduct of Jewish community leaders. He was involved also in the controversy concerning the spiritual value of immigration to Ereẓ Israel, which was a main issue among Jewish thinkers in the 1760s and 1770s. His writings include some important quotations from *Israel b. Eliezer Ba'al Shem, the founder of Ḥasidism, and other early ḥasidic teachers. His three main works are *Amtaḥat Binyamin*, a homiletic exegesis on Ecclesiastes (Minkowitz, 1796); *Ahavat Dodim*, on Song of Songs (Lvov, 1795); and *Turei Zahav*, a major collection of sermons on the weekly portions of the Pentateuch, and on the holy days (Mogilev, 1816).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: B. Dinur, *Be-Mifneh ha-Dorot* (1955), index s.v. *Binyamin me-Zeloziz;* I. Werfel *Ha-Ḥasidut ve-Ereẓ Yisrael* (1940), 39–46.

BENJAMIN BEN AZRIEL (11th century), liturgical poet, who apparently lived in France. His name and his father's are known only from his *piyyutim*, which are written in the spirit of the earlier *paytanim*. While the influence of Joseph *Bonfils and *Moses b. Kalonymus is apparent in the language of his *piyyutim*, Benjamin at times introduced new terms into the vocabulary of the *paytanim*. His hymns are found in the old French *maḥzor* and have not as yet been published. It is almost certain that a number of hymns signed merely "Binyamin" are his.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Zunz, Lit Poesie, 144–5; Davidson, Oẓar, 4 (1933), 371.

[Abraham Meir Habermann]

BENJAMIN BEN ELIEZER HA-KOHEN VITALE OF REGGIO (1651–1730), Italian kabbalist. Benjamin, who was among the leading disciples of Moses *Zacuto in Mantua, was rabbi in his native town of Alessandria, Piedmont, until 1682 and afterward in Reggio. He became well-known as a preacher and poet, but in particular as a kabbalist; he was considered one of the major exponents of Isaac *Luria's Kabbalah in Italy. Most of his *piyyutim* (*Etha-Zamir,* Venice, 1707) were kabbalistic. He also wrote numerous notes and glosses on Luria's works, some of which were published together with the writings of Luria (particularly in the Korets editions). His books are written in the spirit of ascetic kabbalah. Benjamin was a close friend of Abraham *Rovigo in Modena, and desired to immigrate with him to Ereẓ Israel. However, these plans failed. Both he and Rovigo were among the believers in *Shabbetai Ẓevi even after the latter's apostasy and for decades he was among the leading secret Shabbateans in Italy, without, however, relinquishing his ascetic way of life. Benjamin was among the chief proponents of a modern "ḥasidic" Shabbateanism which sought to combine traditional Judaism with the belief in the messianic character of Shabbetai Ẓevi. He did not openly express his Shabbatean views in print, but in *Allon Bakhut* (on Lamentations, Venice, 1712) he dared to explain the lamentations as joyful hymns on the Redemption, on the Shabbatean supposition of the change in their meaning in "the days to come." Many leading Shabbateans met in his home; he also made a point of collecting information about the "faith" and was greatly interested in every new manifestation of a Shabbatean prophet. While his Shabbateanism was still moderate, Benjamin was the teacher of Ḥayyim *Malakh. In his writings Benjamin kept apart the Lurianic Kabbalah from the new Shabbatean Kabbalah of *Nathan of Gaza. He refused to join in the persecution of the Shabbatean Nehemiah *Ḥayon (1714). One of his Shabbatean pamphlets, *Sod Adnut Adonenu* ("The secret of the Lordship of our lord [Shabbetai

Ẓevi] according to Nathan"), was published by A. Freimann. Isaiah Bassan, his son-in-law and successor as rabbi of Reggio, was Moses Ḥayyim *Luzzatto's teacher. When the aging Benjamin learned of Luzzatto's revelations in Kabbalah, he wrote asking him about the root ("*shoresh*") of his soul, and its restitution ("*tikkun*"). A small part of the correspondence between Benjamin and Moses Zacuto, is extant in *Iggerot ha-Remaz* (Leghorn, 1780). Others are still in manuscript. A large collection of his sermons (*Gevul Binyamin*) was published in his old age (Amsterdam, 1727). Some of his halakhic rulings were published in *Lampronti's *Paḥad Yizḥak*. Benjamin's responsa, *She'elot u-Teshuvot ha-Re* (1970) were published by Chief Rabbi Yitzḥak *Nissim.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: A. Freimann (ed.), *Inyanei Shabbetai Ẓevi* (1912), 93–108; G. Scholem, *Ḥalomotav shel ha-Shabbeta'i R. Mordekhai Ashkenazi* (1938), chs. 7, 11; I. Tishby, *Netivei Emunah u-Minut* (1964), 95–98, 230–32; S. Ginzberg, *Ramḥal u-Venei Doro* (1937), 5–8, 36–40, 45–48, 56; Sonne, in: *Sefer ha-Yovel… A. Marx* (1943), 93–95; D. Kaufmann, in: MGWJ, 41 (1897), 700–8.

[Gershom Scholem]

BENJAMIN BEN ELIJAH (18th century), *Karaite pilgrim to Ereẓ Israel. A resident of *Chufut-Kale (Bakhchisarai), in the Crimea, Benjamin made a vow to "cross seas and deserts and brave great hardships" in order to visit Jerusalem, where a small Karaite community had been revived in 1744. He embarked with six other Karaites from Eupatoria on June 27, 1785, and reached Jerusalem on October 18. After a month's stay there Benjamin returned by way of Jaffa and Constantinople. Benjamin described his nine-month journey in his account, in which he relates, among other matters, that contributions from Crimean Karaites to those in Jerusalem were concealed from the Turkish authorities in order to prevent extortion of money. Some hymns by Benjamin are included in the Karaite liturgy.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: H.J. Gurland, *Ginzei Yisrael be-St. Petersburg*, 1 (1865), 44–54; J.D. Eisenstein, *Oẓar ha-Massa'ot* (1926), 212–8; A. Ya'ari, *Masot Ereẓ Yisrael* (1946), 459–78, 775f.

[Avraham Yaari]

BENJAMIN BEN ELIJAH DUWAN (1747–after 1816), leader of Karaite community in Eupatoria (Yevpatoriya) and its *ḥazzan*. He was also the *dayyan* of the local *bet din*. In 1782–83 in the course of his visit in Constantinople he studied astronomy in order to deepen his knowledge of the calendar. In 1785 he made a pilgrimage to Ereẓ Israel with four other Karaites. He described his impressions in his travelogue. In Jerusalem they stayed with the Karaite community, under the leadership of *ḥakham* Mordecai ben Samuel ha-Levi, which numbered 16 houses. They also visited Hebron, and stayed at Rabbanite houses which he claimed had once been Karaite houses.

In 1881, after a calendar dispute that lasted 18 years, Benjamin came to Chufut-Qaleh at the head of several Eupatorian Karaite dignitaries in order to confront the Karaite scholar *Isaac ben Salomon. According to Isaac's report, Benjamin was defeated, but he did not give in, and Yom Kippur was kept by him and his group on a Sunday against Isaac's calculation which was supported by the majority. Benjamin authored a number of liturgical poems, some of which are included in the Karaite *Siddur.* He was familiar with Rabbanite books and was interested in Kabbalah.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: G. Akhiezer, in: M.Polliack (ed.), *Karaite Judaism* (2003), 741; E. Deinard, *Masa Krim* (1878), 70–71; H.Y. Gurland, *Ginzei Yisrael*, I (1865), 44–54, 88–89; A. Yaari, *Masa'ot Ereẓ Yisrael* (1976), 459–78; Mann, Texts 2, (1935), 1535, index.

[Golda Akhiezer (2nd ed.)]

BENJAMIN BEN ḤIYYA (**Jehiel**; 11th–12th century), liturgical poet. Benjamin lived in Germany during the First Crusade and was among the refugees from Neuss, Bacharach, and Speyer. The horrors of the Crusade constitute the theme of his poetry. According to a 13th-century commentary, his three-line *seliḥah* beginning "*Berit Kerutah*" refers to the claim made by two monks to have brought back from the Holy Sepulcher a document in which the extermination of the Jews is urged. It is probable that other *piyyutim* which bear the name Benjamin are attributable to him.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Zunz, Lit Poesie, 158; Zunz, Poesie, 139, 166, 197; Landshuth, Ammudei, 52; Davidson, Oẓar 2 (1929), 77, no. 1717.

BENJAMIN BEN JAPHETH (fl. third century), Palestinian *amora*. Benjamin studied under R. Johanan and transmitted legal rulings in his name (Ber. 33a, et al.). R. Zeira praised him for a report he transmitted in the name of Johanan (Shab. 53a). However, he would not rely upon him when he contradicted the tradition of Ḥiyya b. Abba in whom Zeira placed greater trust (Ber. 38b). Benjamin also transmitted many sayings in the name of R. Eleazar b. Pedat, noteworthy among them his comment on the fact that Jacob bowed to his son Joseph (Gen. 47:31), viz., "Bow to the fox in his season" (i.e., if you behold fortune favoring the fox, bow down to him, meaning that one should submit to an inferior person when he is in a position to convey a favor; Meg. 16b).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Hyman, Toledot, 282f.

[Yitzhak Dov Gilat]

BENJAMIN BEN SAMUEL HA-LEVI (of Coutances; early 11th century), rabbi and liturgical poet. Benjamin lived in Coutances, Normandy. His poems are composed in the style of the old *piyyutim* and are, at times, of considerable artistic distinction. Benjamin wrote *piyyutim* for the three pilgrimage festivals, Rosh Ha-Shanah, and the Day of Atonement. Some of his poems are included in the *Maḥzor Romania*. Benjamin was regarded as a talmudic authority and was often quoted by contemporary talmudic scholars.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Landshuth, Ammudei, 53; Zunz, Lit Poesie, 115ff.; Graetz, Gesch, 6 (1894^3), 53 (calls him Benjamin b. Samuel of Constance); Gross, Gal Jud, 553; Davidson, Oẓar, 4 (1933), 371; Moses b. Jacob of Coucy, *Sefer Mitzvot Gadol* (1905), no. 42; Mordekhai, RH, no. 720; Tos. to Ḥag. 12a; Shelomo b. Yiẓḥak (Rashi), *Pardes*, ed. by Ehrenreich (1923), 229; S. Bernstein, *Piyyutim u-Faytanim Ḥadashim me-ha-Tekufah ha-Bizantinit* (1947), 44–57; H. Merḥaviah, in: *Sefer Ḥayyim Schirmann* (1970), 195–212.

BENJAMIN BEN ZERAH (c. 1050), liturgical poet. Benjamin probably lived in France or in Germany. He composed liturgical poetry of various sorts in the style of the earliest *paytanim*, but his works already contain the names of angels and other holy appellations. Because of the esteem accorded to him, he was designated *Ha-Gadol* ("the Great"). He was also called *Ba'al ha-Shem* ("Master of the Divine Name"), possibly on account of the numerous names of God and the angels in his poems. About 60 of his *piyyutim* are known, many being included in the Ashkenazi and Italian liturgies.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Landshuth, Ammudei, 52; Davidson, Oẓar, 4 (1933), 371; Zunz, Lit Poesie, 120–3, 239–43, 615.

[Abraham Meir Habermann]

BENJAMIN NEHEMIAH BEN ELNATHAN (16th century), Italian Jewish chronicler. Exiled from Naples, and later a resident or perhaps rabbi of Civitanova near Ancona, he was arrested with five other members of the Jewish community in the summer of 1559 on a charge of being implicated in the conversion of a Catholic priest. They were sent to Rome for trial by the Inquisition but were released with the other prisoners of the Holy Office on the death of Pope *Paul IV. On Benjamin's return he wrote a vivid account of his experiences, viewing them in the historical context of Paul IV's persecution of the Jews and Marranos of Ancona, which he apparently witnessed. He wrote his account in fine, idiomatic Hebrew, and it is an important contribution to Hebrew literature as well as to Jewish history. The chronicle was discovered by I. Sonne and published in *Tarbiz* (vol. 2, 1930/31), and again in his *Mi-Paolo ha-Revi'i ad Pius ha-Hamishi* (1954).

[Cecil Roth]

BENJAMIN OF BRODY (18th-century), preacher. Benjamin was the official preacher of the Jewish community in Berdichev for 17 years, after which he moved to Brody. His sermons were collected in the book *Imrei Binyamin* (Tarnopol, 1814) by his grandson, Meir Eliezer b. Phinehas. Benjamin's sermons, which follow the order of the weekly Torah portions, are undoubtedly edited versions of those he had originally delivered orally. Rabbinic in character, they deal frequently with halakhic problems, interpretations of talmudic sayings, and moralistic preaching.

BENJAMIN OF CAMBRIDGE (12th–13th century), English scholar, pupil of R. *Tam. A number of Benjamin's opinions on *halakhah*, grammar, and exegesis are preserved in scattered secondary sources. He is referred to as "Benjamin of קנטברייא," formerly interpreted as Canterbury, but without doubt designating Cambridge ("Caunbrigge"). His English origin is confirmed by the citation of one of his opinions by *Elijah Menahem b. Moses of London. He is to be identified with "Magister Benjamin" of Cambridge, mentioned in English records, who maintained the local synagogue.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: C. Roth, *Intellectual Activities of Medieval English Jewry* (1948), 136, 149; H.P. Stokes, *Studies in Anglo-Jewish History* (1913), 113–4; J. Jacobs, *Jews of Angevin England* (1893), 54, 281; S. Eppenstein, in: MGWJ, 40 (1896), 178; 41 (1897), 222; Urbach, in: *Essays … I. Brodie* (Heb. vol., 1966), 13ff.

[Cecil Roth]

BENJAMIN OF TIBERIAS, leader of Palestinian Jewry at the beginning of the seventh century C.E. At the time of the Persian invasion of Ereẓ Israel in 614, Benjamin appears to have been among the Jewish leaders who negotiated with the Persians; as a result of these contacts, the Persian armies received Jewish military support. Benjamin then considered the Christians to be the enemies of his people; however, when the armies of Heraclius, the Byzantine emperor, reconquered the country in 628, he was compelled to receive them on friendly terms. Benjamin, who was exceedingly wealthy, accomodated the emperor in Tiberias and then succeeded in obtaining a general pardon from him for those Jews who had committed offenses against Christians under Persian rule. Benjamin accompanied Heraclius to Jerusalem in 629, and on the way the emperor succeeded in persuading him to be converted. He was baptized in the house of Eustathios, an influential Christian living in Neapolis (now Nablus). In Jerusalem the members of the Christian clergy influenced Heraclius to break the promise which he had given to the Jews through the intervention of Benjamin; the emperor condemned many of them to death, and prohibited the Jews from living in Jerusalem or within a three-mile radius of the city. There is no further mention of Benjamin in historical sources.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: M. Avi-Yonah, *Bi-Ymei Roma u-Bizantyon* (1952^{2}), 190, 200f.

[Michael Avi-Yonah]

BENJAMIN (Ben Jonah) OF TUDELA (second half of 12th century), the greatest medieval Jewish traveler. Nothing whatsoever is known about him except that which emerges from his famous *Sefer ha-Massaʿot* (*Book of Travels*). (See Map: Benjamin of Tudela's Travels.) He is frequently called "Rabbi" by non-Jewish writers, but there is no authority for this except that the conventional abbreviation "ר" is prefixed to his name in the Hebrew sources. From internal evidence the beginning of his journeys has been dated either about 1159 or about 1167, and he returned to Spain in 4933 (1172/73). His journeys lasted therefore a minimum of 5 and a maximum of 14 years. Since he spent at least a year on the last lap of his journey, from the time he left Egypt to the time of his return to Spain, the latter conjecture is more probable. In any case, he obviously had leisure to spend some time in the places he describes. The object of his journey is unknown, though it has been suggested that he was a gem-merchant – he more than once shows an interest in the coral trade. His *Book of Travels*, largely impersonal,

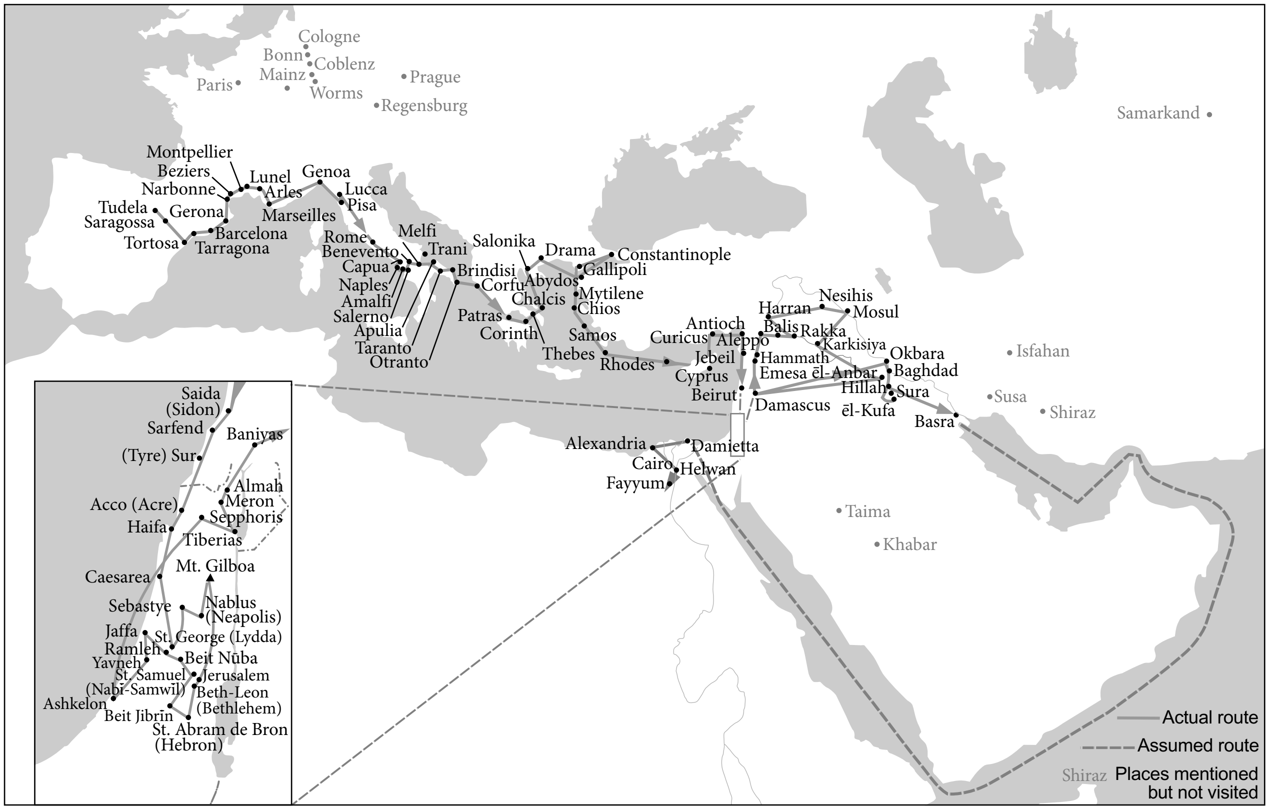
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Lucca
Pisa
Tudela
Saragossa
Gerona
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Tortosa
Barcelona
Tarragona
Rome
Benevento
Melfi
Trani
Capua
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Taranto
Otranto
Brindisi
Corfu
Salonika
Drama
Constantinople
Gallipoli
Abydos
Chalcis
Mytilene
Chios
Patras
Corinth
Thebes
Samos
Rhodes
Antioch
Curicus
Aleppo
Jebeil
Cyprus
Beirut
Harran
Nesihis
Mosul
Balis
Rakka
Karkisiya
Hammath
Emesa
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Okbara
Baghdad
Hillah
Sura
ēl-Kufa
Damascus
Basra
Isfahan
Susa
Shiraz
Alexandria
Damietta
Cairo
Helwan
Fayyum
Taima
Khabar
Saida (Sidon)
Sarfend
Baniyas
(Tyre) Sur
Almah
Meron
Acco (Acre)
Sepphoris
Haifa
Tiberias
Mt. Gilboa
Caesarea
Sebastye
Nablus (Neapolis)
Jaffa
St. George (Lydda)
Ramleh
Beit Nûba
Yavneh
St. Samuel (Nabi-Samwil)
Jerusalem
Beth-Leon (Bethlehem)
Ashkelon
Beit Jibrin
St. Abram de Bron (Hebron)
Actual route
Assumed route
Shiraz Places mentioned but not visited

Map showing the travels of Benjamin of Tudela.

was based on the materials which the author noted down in the course of his travels. From Tudela in northern Spain Benjamin traveled by way of Saragossa and Tarragona to Barcelona, and thence via Gerona into Provence. He gave a fairly full account of the cities and especially the scholars of this region (Narbonne, Beziers, Montpellier, Lunel, Posquières, Arles), paying adequate attention to economic life. From Marseilles he went by sea to Genoa, and thence through Pisa to Rome. Here he must have spent a fairly long time, for he has a detailed description of the antiquities of the city. Many of these he, like other writers of the period, interpreted as being associated with Jewish history. He also writes about the Rome Jewish community and their relations with the much-opposed Pope Alexander III. It is clear therefore that he was there either shortly after the beginning of Alexander III's pontificate in September 1159, or in the brief period between November 1165 and July 1167, when this pope was again securely established in the city. From Rome, Benjamin went southward, traveling throughout southern Italy and describing, sometimes at length, conditions in many places in this region such as Salerno, Amalfi, Melfi, Benevento, Brindisi. He embarked at Otranto, sailing by way of Corfu to Arta, and then through Greece, where he noted the Jewish silkweavers in various places, and the agricultural colony at Crissa on Mt. Parnassus. He seems to have spent a particularly long time in Constantinople, where his lively picture, excelled by no other medieval traveler, is of great importance for knowledge of non-Jewish as well as Jewish conditions. Thence by sea through the Aegean archipelago (Mytilene, Chios, Samos, Rhodes) to Cyprus whence he crossed to the mainland, making his way south via Antioch, Sidon, Tyre, and Acre into Ereẓ Israel, at that time under the rule of the Crusaders. He traveled throughout the country, giving a detailed account of the Holy Places (which he calls in many instances by their French names: thus Hebron is St. Abram de Bron). It is a document of primary importance for the Palestinian history of this period. His record of the Samaritans, although highly disapproving, is characteristic. On the whole, his descriptions are far more objective than those of Christian pilgrims of the age, and he shows himself to peculiar advantage in his account of Jerusalem and its monuments. On leaving Tiberias he traveled north to Damascus, and thence through Aleppo and Mosul – it is not easy to trace his precise route – to Baghdad. His account of the Druze is the first in the non-Arabic literature. Of Baghdad he gives a longer account than of any other city on his itinerary. He draws a graphic picture of the court of the caliph and the charitable foundations of the city. He also tells us of the organization of the still-surviving talmudic academies and the glories and functions of the Exilarchate. He seems to have traveled widely about Mesopotamia and into Persia, though his account of conditions here contains much legendary material. A good deal of space is devoted to the story of the pseudo-Messiah

David *Alroy which was, until recently, almost the sole historical source about his career. It is not probable that he ventured beyond this area, but he speaks with some fantastic detail of China, India, and Ceylon. His personal impressions are obviously resumed in his admirable and detailed account of Egypt in general and its Jewish life in particular, especially in Cairo and Alexandria, which he visited on his return voyage. After this he reembarked for Sicily, his account of Palermo being both accurate and picturesque. From here he probably made his way back to Spain by sea, though the itinerary as we have it ends with an idealized picture of Jewish life in northern France and Germany, presumably based on hearsay. He reentered Spain, as is specifically stated, through Castile, having left it by way of Aragon.

There is no general account of the Mediterranean world or of the Middle East in this period which approaches that of Benjamin of Tudela in importance, whether for Jewish or for general history. Most of his record is concise and clear, presumably only a precis of the ampler material he brought back with him. He indicates the distances between the various towns he visited, tells who stood at the head of the Jewish communities, and who were the most notable scholars. He gives the number of Jews he found in each place, though it is not clear in many instances whether he is speaking of individuals or of householders, and in some cases such as Baghdad, the figures seem to be exaggerated. This may be due to the corrupt state of the text as we now have it. He notes economic conditions, describing the activity of merchants from various lands in Barcelona, Montpellier, and Alexandria, and speaking frequently of the occupations of the Jews – the dyers in Brindisi, the silkweavers in Thebes, the tanners in Constantinople, and the glassworkers in Aleppo and Tyre. He was deeply interested in Jewish scholarship, and his account of intellectual life in Provence and Baghdad is of singular importance, as is his characterization of the organization of synagogal life in Egypt. Sects, too, engage his attention, not only the Samaritans in Palestine, but also the Karaites in Constantinople and a heretical sect in Cyprus which he relates observed the Sabbath from dawn to dawn. His characterizations of non-Jewish life are vivid, and sometimes very important. He speaks of the internecine fighting at Genoa and Pisa, the constant wars between these two republics, the embarkation ports of the Crusaders in south Italy, the palaces and pageants of Constantinople and the wealth and the weaknesses of the Byzantine Empire. His somewhat highly colored account of the Assassins of Lebanon and of the Ghuzz Turks are primary historical sources, and he is said to be the first European of modern times to mention China by the present name. The importance of the work can be gauged from the fact that it has been translated into almost every language of Europe, and is used as a primary source-book by all medieval historians

BIBLIOGRAPHY: The *Itinerary of Benjamin of Tudela* was first published at Constantinople in 1543 and, according to a much-differing manuscript, at Ferrara in 1556. The standard editions are those edited by A. Asher, with very valuable notes and excursus and much additional material (London, 1840–41; reprinted New York, 1927, includes list of editions); and by M.N. Adler (London, 1907, with critical Heb. text and Eng. tr.; reprinted from JQR, vols. 16–18, 1904–06; reprinted 1964); there is also an edition by L. Gruenhut and M.N. Adler (Jerusalem-Frankfort, 1903–04) and another edition by H. Haddad (Baghdad, 1945). See also E. Carmoly, *Notice historique sur Benjamin de Tudèle* (1852), followed by J. Lilewel, *Examen géographique de ses voyages*; R. Luria, in: *Vessillo Israelitico*, 36 (1888), 56–58; Borchardt, in: JJLG, 16 (1924), 139–62; idem, in: *Journal of Roman Studies*, 26 (1936), 68–70; C.R. Beazley, *Dawn of Modern Geography* 2 (1897), 218–64; Andréadès, in: *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 30 (1929–30), 457–62; Reissner, in: *Zeitschrift fuer Religions-und Geistesgeschichte*, 6 (1954), 151–5; E. García de Herreros, *Quatre voyageurs espagnols à Alexandrie d'Egypte* (1923). Most works dealing with the history of the Jews in Italy, Palestine, Byzantium, Mesopotamia, and the Middle East in the 12th and 13th centuries use and comment upon Benjamin's material.

[Cecil Roth]

BENJAMIN ZE'EV BEN MATTATHIAS OF ARTA (early 16th century), *dayyan* and halakhist. He first engaged in business but later became a member of the *bet din* at Arta (Epirus). After living at Larissa (1528) and Corfu (1530), Benjamin Ze'ev settled in Venice; but toward the end of his life returned to Arta (1538). As a result of his lenient decisions on an *agunah*, Benjamin Ze'ev was severely criticized by David ha-Kohen, Joseph Taitaẓak, and others. He replied in his *Binyamin Ze'ev*, containing 450 legal decisions and responsa, completed in 1534 at Venice, where it was published five years later. It constitutes an important source for a knowledge of the economic conditions and religious life of the Jews of Greece, Turkey, and Asia Minor. His legal decisions reflect his independence in halakhic matters, which led to the opposition of German and Italian rabbis to his book. He was hostile to Marranos who willingly "follow the laws of the Gentiles and transgress all the commandments of the Torah," and stated that "they are less than the Gentiles" (*Binyamin Ze'ev*, 203, end). Contemporaries, such as Isaac Gershon of Venice and David ha-Kohen, questioned his authority in legal decisions; while Solomon Luria (*Yam shel Shelomo*, BK 78) expressly states that "no one should follow Benjamin Ze'ev, unless he has made a thorough study of the relevant talmudic passages and the halakhic authorities." Several prominent rabbis, among them the rabbis of Salonika, agreed with Benjamin. Following the intensification of the dispute between Benjamin and his opponents at Arta (1530), the views of the Italian rabbis were sought by both sides. Some, including Azriel Diena (Dayyena), favored Benjamin Ze'ev's dismissal from the rabbinate. The dispute continued until 1532, but Benjamin nevertheless continued as rabbi at Arta after that date. His son Mattathias, who died in 1541, wrote a poem to mark the completion of his father's book (*Binyamin Ze'ev*, 573a).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Graetz, Gesch, 8 (c. 1900^4), 70, 443–7; Bruell, Jahrbuecher, 1 (1874), 88–90; Rosanes, Togarmah, 1 (1930), 114, 155–8; Assaf, in: KS, 15 (1938/39), 113–9.

[Yehoshua Horowitz]

BEN KALBA SAVU'A (1st century C.E.), according to tradition he was a wealthy man of Jerusalem, who was renowned for his generosity. The Bavli relates that during the Roman siege of Jerusalem, he and his two wealthy friends, Nakdimon b. Guryon and Ben Ẓiẓit ha-Kassat, provided food and other necessities for the inhabitants over a number of years, until the zealots set fire to their stores, in an attempt to force the people to make a desperate effort to break the siege (Git. 56a). Josephus mentions the burning of "provisions that would have sufficed … for a long siege," although he does not mention Ben Kalba Savu'a or his associates (Wars, 5:25). The Bavli also relates that Rachel, Ben Kalba Savu'a's daughter, married R. *Akiva, who in his youth had been Ben Kalba Savu'a's shepherd. This was against the wishes of her father, who disinherited them. When Akiva had become famous as a great scholar, his father-in-law was reconciled to him and bequeathed him half of his wealth (Ket. 62b–63a; Ned. 50a). Regarding the historicity of these traditions, see S. Friedman, "A Good Story Deserves Retelling: The Unfolding of the Akiva Legend."

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Hyman, Toledot, 274; Z. Vilnay, *Maẓẓevot Kodesh be-Ereẓ Yisrael* (1963), 281–5: **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** S. Friedman, in: JSIJ, 3 (2004), 1–39.

[Zvi Kaplan]

BEN-KIKI (Quiqui), Moroccan family. REUBEN (late 17th and 18th century) participated in 1719 in negotiations with Great Britain; in 1721 he assisted Ibn Attar, the Moroccan royal treasurer, in concluding a peace treaty with Great Britain. After the death of the king of Morocco, Ahmad al-Dhahabi, in 1729, he became one of the ministers of the new king, Abdullah. His brother ELEAZAR had been appointed ambassador to Holland by Ahmad al-Dhahabi to take charge of the peace talks, and was in Gibraltar, on his way to Holland, when the king died. He was not allowed to continue his journey, nor to return to his country until 1730. After Reuben was appointed a minister in Morocco, he succeeded in sending his brother to Holland, but the latter was unable to negotiate a treaty.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Hirschberg, Afrikah, 260, 269–71, 280; idem, in: *Essays… I. Brodie* (1967), 161–2, 164.

[Abraham David]

BENKOW, JO (**Josef Elias**; 1924–), Norwegian politician. Born in Trondheim, he was a photographer by profession like his father and grandfather. Towards the end of the 1920s the family settled in Bærum, a municipality near Oslo. In World War II he and other male members of his family (his father, brother, and uncle) succeeded in fleeing to Sweden. The female members of his family were deported to Auschwitz, where they were killed on arrival. In March 1944 he left Sweden for service in the Norwegian Air Force in England and Canada.

In the 1950s his political interests brought him posts in the liberal conservative party Høyre, the second-largest political party. He was elected a member of the Bærum local council in 1959 and the first Jewish-born member of the Storting (the Norwegian parliament) in 1965. He was the vice chairman of Høyre from 1973 to 1980 and the chairman from 1980 to 1984. He was then elected president of the Storting, a post he held until 1993. His Jewish connection has been expressed through his interest for Israel (e.g., as a speaker) and his involvement in the cause of Soviet Jewry. After leaving his post at the Storting he worked extensively to promote human rights and combat antisemitism and racism. From 1983 to 1984 he served as president of the Nordic Council. He was also the president of the International Helsinki Federation for Human Rights from 1993 to 1998. He spent two years (1994–1995) as visiting professor at Boston University and in 2000–04 he was a judge on the Oslo Conciliation Board. In honor of his contribution to society Benkow received titles and medals from the Norwegian King, the Finnish president, and the Austrian president.

In 1985 Benkow published his autobiography *Fra synagogen til Løvebakken* ("From the Synagogue to Lion Hill," a popular name for the Storting), which was a great success, over 240.000 copies being sold. In it, he describes his childhood and youth, his Jewish family and Jewish connections, his opinions concerning religious faith and absence of faith and tells about his political life. He also writes about general prejudices and touches on Jewish history (the history of his own family), Jewish customs, discrimination against Jews in the Soviet Union, and tells about his relations with Israel ("a turning point in Jewish self-understanding," as he says). He also published *Folkevalgt* ("Popularly Elected," 1988), an account of his life in parliament; *Vendepunkt – 9. april i vår bevissthet* ("Turning Point – April 9th in Our Consciousness"), written together with Prof. Ole Christian Grimnes, about the German occupation of Norway in 1940–45 and its aftermath; *Olav – Menneske og monark* ("Olaf – Human Being and Sovereign," 1991), a biography of the late king Olaf V; *Det ellevte bud* ("The Eleventh Commandment," 1994), a polemic directed against racisim; and *Hundre år med konge og folk* ("A Hundred Years with King and People," 1998), an historical account of the 20th century in Norway. Through his objectivity, command of language, and calm and dignified manner, Benkow won widespread respect and recognition.

[Oskar Mendelsohn / Lynn Feinberg (2nd ed.)]

BEN LA'ANAH (Heb. בֶּן לַעֲנָה), name of the author of an unknown apocryphal work. The Jerusalem Talmud (Sanh. 10:1, 28a), includes the book of Ben La'anah among the works forbidden to be read (cf. Eccles. R. 12:12 where the reading is Ben Tiglah). However, except for a reference by David Messer Leon in the 16th century to an apocryphal work called *Ben Ya'anah* (בֶּן יַעֲנָה), which may be identical with Ben La'anah, nothing is known about the book or the author. Various scholars have tried to identify him either with the pagan philosopher Apollonius of Tyana (M. Joel), or with the author of a collection of fox fables *Mishlei Shu'alim* (J. Fuerst), but none of these theories is regarded as satisfactory.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Perles, in: REJ, 3 (1881), 116–8; Kaufmann, *ibid.*, 4 (1882), 161; Klein, in: *Leshonenu*, 1 (1928/29), 340, 344.

BEN MEIR, AARON (early tenth century), scholar and *rosh yeshivah* in Ereẓ Israel. Aaron lived apparently in *Ramleh, and traced his descent to the former *nesi'im* ("patriarchs") of Palestinian Jewry. His relations with the *Karaites in Palestine were extremely strained. In about 920 he went to Baghdad to complain to the central authorities of the malicious Karaite attacks upon the Rabbanites. After his return, Aaron conceived the idea of strengthening the religious hegemony of Palestine, which had been weakened by the Babylonian yeshivot. To achieve this, Aaron attempted to restore to the Palestinians the sole authority to fix the calendar, as they had had until the middle of the ninth century. On Hoshana Rabba 921 he proclaimed on the Mount of Olives to all communities of Palestine and of the Diaspora that the months of Marḥeshvan and Kislev would be defective, i.e., consisting of only 29 days. As a result, Passover of 922 would fall on Sunday and the New Year of 922 would fall on a Tuesday instead of on the following Thursday as it would have done were these months to contain the full 30 days (see *Calendar).

This proclamation aroused the opposition of several scholars, notably of *Saadiah, who was on his way to Baghdad. The latter tried repeatedly to convince Aaron that there was no justification for opposing the Babylonian calendar calculations. Aaron stood his ground, however, and gave publicity to his proclamation. Fearing that the Jewish festivals might be celebrated at different times in different places, Saadiah addressed himself to the Diaspora communities warning them against acceptance of Aaron's proclamation, but he could not prevent a split. In 922 the Jews of Palestine, and, apparently, also those of Egypt, celebrated Passover two days before the Jews of Babylonia, fixing also the date of the following Rosh Ha-Shanah accordingly. This split caused considerable agitation throughout Jewry. References to it are to be found even in Syriac literature. Thus, the Syrian, Elias of Nisibis, wrote: "The year 309 [of the Hijra] began on the Sabbath, Iyyar 12, 1232 of the Seleucid era; in that year dissension broke out between the Jews of the West [Palestine] and those of the East [Babylon] with regard to the calculation of their holidays. The former fixed the New Year on a Tuesday and the latter on a Thursday" (Baethgen, *Fragmente syrischer und arabischer Historiker* (Leipzig, 1884), 84). The Karaite Sahl b. Maẓli'aḥ sought to prove from this controversy that the Rabbanite calendar calculations were altogether groundless.

The controversy between Aaron and his opponents on this issue continued for some time thereafter, ending in Aaron's defeat, and with it the failure of the attempt to strengthen the sole religious authority of the Palestinian scholars.

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[*Encyclopaedia Hebraica*]

BENN (**Benzion Rabinovich**; 1905–1989), painter and graphic artist. Benn was born in Bialystok, Poland, and finished the Hebrew gymnasium there, where he later started his education in art at the private studios of local artists. He also studied at the Academy of Arts in Warsaw. He made his debut in 1927 with his first solo exhibition, shown first in Białystok and then in Warsaw. During this period, he designed the typography for collections of Yiddish poetry. In Białystok, his native town, he became a leading figure in local cultural life. He was among the founders of the modernist group "3F" ("Forma-Farba-Faktura"), where most of the members were Jewish artists. In 1928, he organized the first Autumn Salon for Białystok and Vilna artists. In 1926–29, he designed the scenery for the performances of several Yiddish theater companies in Białystok. In 1929, the Białystok municipality awarded him a scholarship for a trip to Paris. On the eve of his departure, Benn arranged a "farewell" solo exhibition that was later shown in Warsaw with the assistance of the Jewish Society for Encouragement of Artists. In Paris, he studied with Fernand Leger. From 1932, Benn regularly exhibited in Paris art salons. His works were highly praised by critics and won public recognition. Six one-man shows in the 1930s at private art galleries in Paris are yet another indication of his success. During this period, he was also active in book design. During the German occupation of France, Benn went into hiding. However, not long before the end of the occupation, he was finally seized by the Gestapo and deported to the Drancy concentration camp. By sheer luck, he not only survived but also escaped further deportation to Auschwitz. In 1945, Benn returned to Paris. In the post-war years, having rejected the cubist and expressionistic techniques that had so strongly attracted him in the 1920s and 1930s, Benn crystallized his individual manner based on an organic combination of "metaphysical painting" techniques and surrealism. From the 1950s through the 1970s, while mainly active in painting, he also engaged in book design and, among other works in this field, executed a series of illustrations for The Song of Songs (1950, 1974) and other books of the Bible (1948, 1954, 1971), as well as for an edition of "*Ḥad Gadya*" (1956). In these years, he had numerous one-man shows in France and other West European countries as well as in Canada and Israel.

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[Hillel Kazovsky (2nd ed.)]

BENN, BEN (**Benjamin Rosenberg**; 1884–1983), U.S. painter. Benn was born in Russia and immigrated to New York with his family in 1889. After studying drawing in high school, he attended the National Academy of Design in New York City from 1904 to 1908, where he received traditional art training with Jewish classmates Benjamin *Kopman and William *Zorach. His first exhibition, "Oils by Eight American Artists," showed in New York at the Artist's Gallery. A 1915 El Greco exhibition at the Knoedler Gallery made an important impact on Benn, after which time he began to gently distort the human figure and employ a more painterly approach. Benn participated in the *Forum Exhibition of Modern American Painters* in 1916, organized by avant-garde artists of the period, including Alfred *Steiglitz. Although at times his palette would darken, throughout his career Benn painted simplified portraits, stilllifes, and landscapes, influenced by the vibrant and colorful fauvist tendencies of Henri Matisse and the vigorous brushstroke of Chaim *Soutine. He had several one-man shows, notably an exhibition at the Jewish Museum in 1965. His works can be found in the permanent collections of the Whitney Museum of American Art and the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

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[Samantha Baskind (2nd ed.)]

BEN-NAPHTALI, MOSES (Or Jacob) BEN DAVID, masorete. He is assumed to have been a contemporary of Aaron b. Moses *Ben-Asher, who dates from the ninth or tenth century C.E., and an inhabitant of Tiberias. Although nothing about him is known, except his name, there survives a list of some 850 minor differences from the reading of Ben Asher in vowels and accents in the Hebrew Bible. The list notes only eight variants in the consonantal text. The differences in vocalization and accents, especially as recorded by Mishael b. Uzziel (10th–11th centuries) with considerable deviations in detail in the different traditions (published by L. Lipschuetz), reveal no systematic features, and may be nothing but a gathering of traditional variants. Penkower (in bibliography) argues that the high level of agreement proves that Ben-Naphtali and Ben-Asher do not represent two rival schools regarding the biblical text, but rather the contrary. Some scholars have observed that the very name Ben-Naphtali is suspect: Naphtali in the Bible is the son of Jacob born after Asher, and the series "Ben-Asher, Ben-Naphtali" resembles the standard series of random names, "Reuben, Simeon." In Western and Central Asia in that period it was a common feature to systematize differences by assigning them to two "schools," only one of which existed. The closest parallel, as shown by Gotthold *Weil, is the invention of a Kufan School of Arabic grammar as a foil for the Basrian School.

There are, indeed, a number of Bible manuscripts with a type of Tiberian vocalization rather different from that of the Ben-Asher school (which itself is not entirely monolithic), but the slight similarity these manuscripts share with some variant readings ascribed to Ben-Naphtali in Mishael's list is not sufficient to substantiate the claim that they are representative of the Ben-Asher School.

See also: *Masorah.

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[Chaim M. Rabin]

BEN-NATAN, ASHER (1921–), Israeli diplomat. Ben-Natan was born in Vienna and immigrated to Ereẓ Israel as an "illegal" immigrant in 1938. He was one of the founders of the group which established kibbutz *Dobrath (Dovrat). In 1944 Ben-Natan joined the Aliyah Department of the Jewish Agency and was delegated to the British Department, which, in liaison with the Allied Forces, specialized in the interrogation of Nazi war criminals and in compiling lists of them and their crimes. In October of that year he was transferred to Vienna, where he was in charge of the *Beriḥah movement in Austria, holding the position until 1947. During this period he established a special group to search for war criminals. In 1947 Ben-Natan was a special assistant to David Ben-Gurion and in 1948 was appointed chief of special operations in the Political Department of the Israel Ministry for Foreign Affairs. From 1951 to 1953 he studied at the Institute of Higher International Studies in Geneva, and in 1956 was appointed special delegate of the Ministry of Defense for Europe, taking up the post in Paris in 1957. From 1960 to 1965 he served as director general of the Ministry of Defense and from 1965 to 1969 was first Israel ambassador to the Federal Republic of Germany. In 1970 he was appointed Israel ambassador to France. Ben-Natan was a candidate for mayor of Tel Aviv in Nov. 1978 but was not elected.

BEN-NER, YITZHAK (1937–), Israeli writer. Born in Kefar Yehoshua, Ben-Ner studied literature and drama at Tel Aviv University before spending a couple of years in New York. His first novel, *Ha-Ish mi-Sham* (1967; *The Man from There*, 1970), tells of a young Israeli soldier who is trapped in a small Egyptian border town. An Egyptian doctor protects and hides him in his fiancée's house. An ambiguous relationship develops, full of tension and surprises. The novel, which gained Ben-Ner much acclaim, was followed by prose works – novels and collections of stories – as well as by books for children (e.g. *Kishona*, 1977; *Jeans*,1991), film and television scripts, and plays (e.g., the monodrama *David August*, 1983, *Ta'atuon*, performed at the Cameri Theatre in 1990, and *Uri Muri*, performed there in 1999). The collection *Sheki'ah Kafrit* (1976; *Rustic Sunset,* 1997) comprises eight short stories, tales of childhood and maturity, depicting urban life in Israel and looking critically at the seemingly heroic officers of the Israeli army. *Malakhim Ba'im* ("The Angels Are Coming," 1987) is a sophisticated parody on contemporary Israeli society through the story of David Halperin, a hedonistic Tel Aviv bachelor.

Boker shel Shotim ("Morning of Fools," 1992) is structured as a series of monologues by the mentally retarded Uzai, who observes life around him in his moshavah; the monologue technique, one of the characteristics of Ben-Ner's prose, is used also in the four stories entitled *Ta'atu'on*, dealing mostly with soldiers torn between duty and the desire for self-fulfillment. *Mitḥam Oyev* ("Enemy Territory," 1997) was written in the wake of Yitzhak Rabin's murder: A bodyguard of the assassinated prime minister seeks to assuage his guilt by penetrating a secret underground organization in the West Bank. As in most of his works, Ben-Ner introduced political and moral issues perturbing Israeli society. *Ir Miklat* ("City of Refuge," 2000) is yet again a cruel and barbed portrait of contemporary society, with seven monologues representing different aspects of life in a troubled, decadent Tel Aviv. Ben-Ner is also known for his radio and television work. He was awarded the prestigious Agnon Prize and the Bernstein Prize.

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[Anat Feinberg (2nd ed.)]

BENNETT, ARCHIE (**Aaron Baehr**; 1891–1980), Canadian community leader. Bennett was born in Malech in the Brest-Litovsk district of Belorussia and was taken to Canada as a child. He was raised in Kingston, Ontario, where he became co-owner of a large real estate and building firm. In the summer of 1912 Bennett served as editor of the *Canadian Jewish Times* in Montreal. He began writing in Yiddish in that same year for the *Keneder Adler*. At this time in Montreal he became part of the circle of young intellectuals around Reuben *Brainin and wrote for the latter's short-lived *Der Veg* in 1914. In 1914 he settled in Toronto. In 1919 he was a delegate to the first Canadian Jewish Congress in Montreal, where he delivered a paper on nationality minority rights. In 1922 Bennett reorganized the structure of the Zionist movement in Ontario and instituted the province's first Keren Hayesod campaign. Bennett, in that same year, began writing for the *Canadian Jewish Review*, then published in Toronto. He helped establish the Menorah Society at the University of Toronto and from 1922 to 1924 was a faculty adviser to the Jewish students. In 1933–34 he led in the reorganization of the Canadian Jewish Congress and in the World War II years was president of its central region, Ontario, active in refugee aid, war efforts, and community relations. Writing for the Jewish press was Bennett's lifelong avocation. In 1914 he began writing editorials for the *Canadian Jewish Chronicle* which absorbed the *Canadian Jewish Times*. During the 1930s and until the early 1940s he wrote regular columns for the *Canadian Jewish Review*; and from the mid-1940s in the *Jewish Standard*.

[Ben G. Kayfetz]

BENNETT, AVIE J. (1928–), Canadian property developer; best known as a philanthropist, dedicated supporter of the arts, and former owner of several Canadian publishing companies, foremost among them McClelland & Stewart of Toronto. Described as a "Maecenas with the courage of his convictions and the money to back them up" (MacSkimming, 314), Bennett worked tirelessly and creatively throughout his career to enrich the cultural landscape of Canada.

As a business pioneer, Bennett made his fortune as a developer of shopping malls, acting as chairman and president of First Plazas Inc., the successful commercial real estate company that has helped finance many of Bennett's ventures in the arts.

In January 1986, Bennett purchased McClelland & Stewart from the charismatic Jack McClelland, whose father had founded the company together with his colleague Frederick Goodchild in 1906. Following years of financial difficulty, with M&S on the brink of bankruptcy, Bennett stepped in to rescue a company that had become known as "the Canadian publishers." Bennett's infusion of cash was a stabilizing force, and his energy and vision ensured M&S's standing as a premier publisher of Canadian trade titles.

While at the helm of M&S, Bennett acquired Hurtig Publishers of Edmonton (in 1991); Tundra Books of Montreal (1995); and Macfarlane Walter & Ross of Toronto (1999). With Penguin Canada, he created Canbook, a joint warehouse and distribution center. In 2000, in an unprecedented move, Bennett donated 75 percent of M&S to the University of Toronto. As he proclaimed, "[t]o achieve the survival of one great Canadian institution, I have given it into the care of another great Canadian institution" (MacSkimming, 357). He sold the remaining 25 percent of the company to Random House of Canada. Bennett remains chairman of the board of M&S.

Bennett was a board member of many arts organizations in Canada. In 2005, he was vice chairman of the Historica Foundation and co-chair of the Canadian Democratic and Corporate Accountability Commission. He was made Officer of the Order of Ontario in 1996 and Officer of the Order of Canada in 1997. From May 1998 to June 2004, Bennett served as chancellor of York University in Toronto.

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[Ruth Panofsky (2nd ed.)]

BENNETT, MICHAEL (1943–1987), U.S. producer, writer, choreographer, director, performer. Michael Bennett DiFiglia, whose mother was Jewish, was born in Buffalo, N.Y., and became the most influential director and choreographer of his generation as the creator in 1975 of *A Chorus Line*, once the longest-running show in Broadway history. In a career that spanned more than two decades, he received Tony Award nominations for every musical with which he was associated, and won eight.

A former chorus dancer, Bennett's talent emerged in the 1970s, first in his collaborations with Hal *Prince and then on his own as Broadway and Off Broadway director, choreographer, and producer. The dances in *Company, Follies, A Chorus Line, Ballroom,* and *Dreamgirls* flowed from the action of the plays and the motivations of their characters, and that seamlessness marked Bennett's work.

Bennett had started dance lessons at three and by 12 he was versed in tap, ballet, modern, and folk dancing. Just before he was to graduate from high school, he joined a company of *West Side Story* and spent a year in Europe with the show. When the tour ended, he went to New York and danced in the choruses of *Subways Are for Sleeping*, *Here's Love*, and *Bajour*. He participated in several commercial failures but with Neil *Simon's *Promises, Promises*, in 1968, his career took off. It was also his first work with Donna McKechnie, a dancer to whom he was briefly married and who became a noted actress and choreographer after stopping the show in *A Chorus Line*. In 1969 Bennett choreographed Andre *Previn and Alan Jay *Lerner's musical *Coco,* starring Katharine Hepburn as the fashion designer Coco Chanel. The play ran for more than 300 performances but was a commercial failure. By 1970, Bennett was collaborating with Prince on Stephen *Sondheim and George Furth's *Company*, which became a signature musical of the decade. A year later, Bennett won the first of his two Tony Awards, as choreographer and co-director, with Prince, of Sondheim and James Goldman's *Follies,* a homage to the Ziegfeld era and the first backstage musical Bennett came to be identified with. As one of Broadway's most celebrated show doctors, he took over the Cy *Coleman–Dorothy *Fields musical *Seesaw* and changed every element, from the choreography to the sets, costumes, and lighting. The show opened in 1973 and won for Bennett his second choreography Tony.

In 1974 Bennett held a late-night session with a group of dancers with whom he had worked, talking about the experience of being a Broadway gypsy. Discerning the potential of a show about Broadway's most-overworked and least heralded performers, Bennett persuaded Joseph *Papp, the theatrical Pied Piper, to finance a workshop to develop the material. Bennett hired Marvin *Hamlisch to compose the music, Ed Kleban to write the lyrics, and James Kirkwood and Nicholas Dante to write the book. After two five-week workshops at Papp's Public Theater, the show, *A Chorus Line,* inaugurated Lincoln Center's Newman Theater and moved to the Shubert Theater on Broadway a few months later. The show won nine Tony Awards, including best direction and choreography for Bennett and best musical, as well as the Pulitzer Prize, which Bennett shared, and the New York Drama Critics Circle award. The final number in *A Chorus Line*, "One," became Bennett's signature: a company of disparate individuals emerging into a triumphant whole.

In 1981 Bennett won wide acclaim for *Dreamgirls*, a musical based loosely on the careers of the Supremes, a group of black women singers. "When Broadway history is being made, you can feel it," wrote Frank Rich, chief theater critic of the *New York Times*. "What you feel is a seismic jolt that sends the audience, as one, right out of its wits. Broadway history was made at the end of Michael Bennett's beautiful and heartbreaking new musical."

Bennett's death at 44 was attributed to lymphoma, a form of cancer, as a result of AIDS.

[Stewart Kampel (2nd ed.)]

BENNETT, SALOMON YOM TOV (1761–1838), English engraver and writer. Bennett was born in Polotsk, Belorussia. In 1792 he went to study in Copenhagen. Three years later he moved to Berlin, where he was admitted to the Royal Academy and engraved portraits of Frederick the Great, the king and queen of Prussia, and others. In 1799 he settled in London. However, as his standard of religious observance was open to criticism he found himself cold-shouldered in official circles. He began to attack the chief rabbi, Solomon *Hirschel, in books and pamphlets. Bennett produced a series of polemical, theological, and exegetical works, including: *The Constancy of Israel* (1809); *Discourse on Sacrifice* (1815); *The Temple of Ezekiel* (1824); *The Molten Sea* (1824); *Critical Remarks on the Authorized Versions of the Old Testament* (1824); and *A Theological and Critical Treatise on the Primogeniture and Integrity of the Holy Language* (1835). He began to prepare a new English translation of the Bible of which only the first two parts, comprising Genesis chs. 1–41, appeared (1841). As a frontispiece to the *Temple of Ezekiel* Bennett included an engraved portrait of himself painted by another artist. The work is illustrated by a fine and erudite reconstruction of the general view and ground plan of the Temple.

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BENNY, JACK (formerly **Benny Kubelsky**; 1894–1974), U.S. vaudeville, film, radio, and television entertainer. Benny won virtually every award in the entertainment industry, including an Emmy as television's outstanding comedian. Benny portrayed an unyielding skinflint, an atrocious fiddler, and a demanding boss. A steady cast of characters, including his wife, Mary Livingstone (née Sadye Marks, 1909–1983), and valet, Rochester (Eddie Anderson), ran through his shows.

Born in Chicago, Illinois, Benny was raised in Waukegan, a place he made reference to during his entire career. Although there is now a school named after him in Waukegan (Jack Benny Junior High School), Benny's education consisted of one term at Central High School. He worked in his father's haberdashery shop, then at age 16 he got a job playing violin in the pit of the town's Barrison Theater. After spending several years on the road with various partners in piano-violin duos he joined the Navy, where his talent for stand-up comedy was revealed. After his naval stint he created a solo vaudeville act, which ultimately got him noticed by the film industry. In 1928 he appeared in the short film *Bright Moments* and in 1929 headlined in the films *Hollywood Revue of 1929* and *Chasing Rainbows,* and in *Medicine Man* (1930). With this national exposure in film, Benny became a star.

In 1932 Benny hit the radio waves, featured on his friend Ed Sullivan's talk show. Two months later, Benny was the host of his own radio program. Over the next eight years, he became one of the biggest names in radio with his weekly half-hour comedy show. According to Benny, comedy was based on seven principles: the joke, exaggeration, ridicule, ignorance, surprise, the pun, and the comic situation. Fine-tuning those principles as he went along, Benny added a regular cast to his show. In addition to Rochester and his wife, Mary, they included Phil Harris, Dennis Day, and Don Wilson.

In 1950 Benny advanced to television. The Jack Benny Show entertained 18 million viewers for 15 years. Some of the classic recurring themes were his stinginess, his vanity about his supposed age of 39, a basement vault where he kept all his money, and a feigned ineptness at playing the violin. Added to Benny's famous pregnant pause and exasperated "Well!" were a mincing walk, an affected hand to the cheek, and a sustained look of disbelief when confronted by a problem. During that time he starred in several films as well: *The Big Broadcast of 1937*, *Buck Benny Rides Again* (1940), *Love Thy Neighbor* (1940), *Charley's Aunt* (1941), *To Be or Not to Be* (1942), and *Who Was That Lady?* (1962). When his TV show ended in 1965, the perennial 39-year-old was 71. But he did not retire from his beloved show business. He appeared in the films: *It's a Mad, Mad, Mad, Mad World* (1967), *A Guide for the Married Man* (1967), and *The Man* (1972). He returned to NBC once a year to do a TV special, performed with symphonies, and made numerous live appearances in theaters in the U.S. and abroad.

Although the character he portrayed on radio and tv was as miserly as they come, the real Jack Benny was extremely generous. And at age 60, he began to take violin lessons to perfect his craft. He played benefit concerts to sell-out audiences to raise money for musicians and concert halls. In 1961 his benefit concert helped save New York's Carnegie Hall from being demolished. In addition, he raised $20,000 for the construction of a music center near Waukegan, and $838,000 for a conservatory at the University of Hartford.

In 1974, his final year, he was working on his third TV Farewell Special for NBC and preparing for his first starring role in a film in 30 years. He was to co-star with Walter Matthau in the comedy *The Sunshine Boys*. However, when the movie was completed, Benny's best friend George Burns played the part in his place. In 1989 Jack Benny was inducted into the Radio Hall of Fame. With his daughter, Joan, he co-wrote his memoirs, entitled *Sunday Nights at Seven*, which was published posthumously in 1990.

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[Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

°BENOÎT, PIERRE-MARIE (1895–1990), French priest and Righteous Among the Nations. Born Pierre Péteul, in Bourg d'Iré (Marne-et-Loire), France, to a family of flour millers, Benoît entered the Capuchin-Franciscan order in 1913. After a tour of duty in the French army during World War I, where he was wounded, he took up theological studies, earning a doctorate in theology and teaching at the Capuchin college in Rome. With Italy's entry into World War II in June 1940, he was sent back to France, and took up residence at the Capuchin convent in Marseilles, at 51 Croix-de-Regnier Street. This eventually became a beehive of activity to help Jews in flight to acquire lodgings, identity documents, and baptismal certificates as well as aid in crossing to Switzerland or Spain. In this he was coopted by local Jewish and non-Jewish religious and lay leaders. After the German occupation of the Vichy zone, in November 1942, Benoît traveled regularly to Nice, then under Italian occupation. There the Jewish-Italian banker Angelo Donati introduced Benoît to Guido Lospinoso, the newly appointed Italian commissioner for Jewish affairs, who agreed to Benoît's request to be allowed to continue his rescue activity of Jews. Fearing a German takeover of the Italian zone, Donati and Benoît devised a plan to remove the approximately 30,000 Jews there to Italy proper, and for this Benoît went to Rome to make arrangements. In an audience with Pope Pius XII, on July 16, 1943, Benoît requested the Vatican's intercession with the Italian government to facilitate the transfer plan. In addition, he asked the Vatican for aid in obtaining news of French Jews deported to Germany and improvement of the situation of Jews in French detention camps as well as intervention with Spain to allow the repatriation of Jews claiming Spanish ancestry. It is not known if the Vatican acted on these requests. In the meantime, with the overthrow of Mussolini, on July 25, 1943, the transfer plan was amended to move the Jews by ships to North African havens. The new Italian government of Marshal Badoglio was prepared to provide four ships and requisition trucks, and the U.S.-based Joint to underwrite the cost of this large-scale operation. Benoît also received support for this undertaking from Francis Osborne and Myron Taylor, the British and American diplomatic representatives to the Vatican. Italy's surrender to the Allies, however, on September 8, 1943, and the immediate occupation of Italy and its zone in France by the Germans scuttled this rescue operation. Benoît, now under the name of Padre Benedetto, worked closely with Delasem (*Delegazione per l'Assistenza dei Emigranti Ebrei*), originally created to deal with facilitating Jewish emigration, and presently occupied with helping Jews in hiding. Elected to Delasem's executive board, when its president Settimio Sorani was arrested, Benoît replaced him as head. At first, Delasem's activities were centered in the Capuchin offices, on 159 Via Sicilia; then, for security reasons, it moved it operations from place to place. It dealt mainly with obtaining various forms of forged documents, food, ration cards, and residencies for the thousands of Jews in Rome, many of whom had fled there from other regions in Italy, and originating in various countries. Benoît, together with his Jewish aide Stefan Schwamm, also solicited the aid of the Swiss legation, as well as the Romanian and Hungarian legations, countries allied to Nazi Germany, in obtaining various documents, including "letters of protection." Financing came from from Delasem funds, the Joint, and Genoa-based Cardinal Pietro Boetto. It is estimated that as many as 4,000 Jews benefited from Benoît's aid. As his fame spead among Jewish refugees, many sought out the "Father of the Jews." Benoît escaped several attempts to arrest him, and he eventually went into hiding for about a month, and returned to Rome to witness the city's liberation on June 4, 1944. Afterwards, Benoît was hailed by the Italian Jewish community. In 1966, Yad Vashem awarded him the title of Righeous Among the Nations. In 1978, he wrote: "What I did for the Jewish people, what I did to merit being called 'Father of the Jews' is but an infinitesimal contribution of what should have been done to prevent this most heinous and satanic slaughter of some six million Jews, which will undoubtedly remain mankind's foulest disgrace – a shame affecting all those who participated or allowed it to happen.… It is by divine providence that the Jewish people wishes to live and fulfill its divine goals – first, for its own good, then, for the good of all humanity."

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[Mordecai Paldiel (2nd ed.)]

BENOLIEL, Moroccan family. ELIEZER, a leading citizen of *Fez (1730), established his family in Gibraltar; there JUDAH (d. 1839) was consul-general of Morocco (1817), the only agent of the sultan in the service of the European powers, signed the treaty with Austria in 1830, and was later the representative of that country. Judah negotiated with Sweden, Norway, Denmark, and Belgium and reestablished peace between Sardinia and Morocco. As president of the Gibraltar Chamber of Commerce, he enjoyed the confidence of European financiers. His financial interests were widespread and at his death he left a fortune estimated at about three million gold dollars. He was president of the Jewish community in Gibraltar and founded charitable institutions in Morocco. At his request the sultan authorized the reconstruction of the synagogue in Tangiers. Joseph *Benoliel was a scholar and bibliophile.

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[David Corcos]

BENOLIEL, JOSEPH (José; 1888–1937), Portuguese scholar and bibliophile. Benoliel was born and died in Tangiers but spent most of his life in Lisbon. He was a distinguished philologist, fluent in Hebrew, Arabic, Spanish, French, and Portuguese. After studying in a yeshivah in Morocco and in the Oriental School of the Alliance Israélite Universelle in Paris, he taught for a time at Mikveh Israel in Palestine. He then became professor of French and Hebrew at the University of Lisbon as well as official translator for the Portuguese Ministry of Foreign Affairs. He wrote many books, including French grammars and French and Portuguese dictionaries;, a volume of poetry entitled *Echos de solidão* which came out in 1897; a volume of liturgical pieces entitled *Porat Yosef,* published in 1887; and studies on the *Lusiadas* of Camões, parts of which he translated into Hebrew.

[Moses Bensabat Amzalak]

BEN PETURA (also **Ben Peturi**, **Ben Peturin**; early second century), *tanna*. He is best known for his dispute with R. Akiva: "Two men are traveling in the desert; one has a pitcher containing enough water to enable one of them to reach a place of habitation. If they share the water both will die; if one drinks, his life will be saved." Ben Petura taught: "It is better that both drink and die than one witness the death of his companion." But R. Akiva expounded: "It is written: that thy brother may live with thee (Lev. 25:36) this means that 'thy life takes precedence over that of thy brother'" (BM 62a; Sifra 9:5, with slight variations).

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[Zvi Kaplan]

BEN-PORAT, MIRIAM (1918–), Israel jurist and state comptroller. Born in Vitebsk, Russia, Ben-Porat grew up in Lithuania and emigrated to Palestine in 1931. In 1945 she completed her law studies. She joined the Ministry of Justice in 1948, and from 1950 to 1958 served as deputy state attorney at the Ministry of Justice and from 1958 to 1975 as judge of the District Court of Jerusalem, appointed its president in December 1975. In November 1976 she was appointed acting judge of the Supreme Court and a permanent justice in 1977; from 1983 to 1988 she was vice president of the court. During these years, from 1964 to 1978, she held an academic position as associate professor in the Hebrew University and also wrote commentaries on the laws of assignments and contracts. In 1988 she retired from the court and became state comptroller, a position she held for 10 years, until 1998, when she retired after two terms. During her time in office, she strengthened the institution of state comptroller as the "watchdog of Israel's democracy," closely examining the activities of government ministries and the public sector. In 1991 she was awarded the Israel Prize for special contribution to society and the State.

[Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

BEN-PORAT (Kazaz), MORDEKHAI (1923–) Israeli politician, member of the Sixth to Eighth and Tenth Knessets. Ben-Porat was born in Baghdad. In 1942 he joined the Ḥalutz movement in Iraq and immigrated to Eretz Israel in 1945. In 1947 he joined the *Haganah. He fought in the War of Independence, and finished the first officers' course in the IDF in 1948. In 1949 he returned to Iraq to prepare over 120,000 Iraqi Jews for immigration to Israel. He remained in Iraq for two years and was detained by the Iraqi authorities four times, each time managing to escape – the last time after being tortured.

In 1955 he was elected as head of the Or-Yehuda local council, a position he held until 1969. He was the founder and first chairman of the Center for the Heritage of Babylonian Jewry in Or-Yehuda. He was one of the founders of *Rafi and was elected on its list to the Sixth Knesset in 1965. Following the foundation of the Israel Labor Party in 1968, he was elected to the Knesset on the Alignment list, and in 1970–72 was deputy secretary general of the Labor Party. He was elected on the Alignment list to the Seventh and Eighth Knesset, but left the parliamentary group in March 1977 and continued to serve as an independent MK. In 1975 he was one of the founders of the World Organization of Jews from Arab Countries, becoming one of its chairmen. In 1977 he was member of the Israeli delegation to the United Nations. In 1979, after the rise to power in Iran of the Ayatollah Khomeini, Ben-Porat was sent to Teheran to help Jews leave the country. In 1981 he was elected to the Tenth Knesset on behalf of Telem, a party formed by Moshe *Dayan a short time before his death, and a year later was appointed minister without portfolio in Menaḥem *Begin's second government. In June 1983 Telem broke up, and Ben-Porat established a parliamentary group by the name of the Movement for Social Zionist Renewal. In January 1984 he resigned from Yitzḥak *Shamir's government, demanding that a National Unity Government be formed. He joined the Likud in 1988.

He wrote *Le-Bagdad ve-Ḥazarah* (1996; *To Baghdad and Back: The Miraculous 2000-Year Homecoming of the Iraqi Jews*, 1998).

[Susan Hattis Rolef (2nd ed.)]

BENREMOKH (Rimokh, Remoch, Rimoc, Ramukh), family in Spain and Morocco. SOLOMON BENREMOKH (1285) was a communal leader in Lerida, Spain. The exegete ABRAHAM BEN ḤAYYIM was born in Barcelona. He wrote a commentary on Psalms, to which he appended an autobiography containing information on the situation of the Jews in southern Europe. In 1391 his home was pillaged, his possessions stolen, and he himself imprisoned. He participated in the disputation of *Tortosa in 1413–14. In the 15th century the Benremokh family fled to Morocco, where it attained a position of leadership in the community before 1492. ḤAYYIM BEN SHEM TOV (d. after 1526) was one of the spiritual leaders of the indigenous communities of the kingdom of Fez, and SHEM TOV BEN ABRAHAM was their *nagid*. A dictatorial person, his dispute with the Spanish exiles of 1492 on questions concerning ritual slaughter created a friction of long duration between them and the native Jewish community. Dismissed from office in 1527, he was replaced by his relative SAUL BEN SHEM TOV who remained *nagid* until after 1563. YAMIN, confidential adviser to King Mūlay Zaydān, was sent on a mission to London in 1615 and in 1624 to Holland, where he remained until 1628. SHEM TOV (II) was *nagid* of Fez until his death in 1648. In 1650 his brother bought the position from the king against the will of the community, to which he caused great suffering. Thereafter, the family gave up political activity but remained among the most respected members of the Fez community. Part of the family settled in Gibraltar in 1785 and in London.

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[David Corcos]

BENRUBI, ISAAC (1876–1943), philosopher. Born in Salonika, he was a member of a well-known Turkish family which produced rabbis and rabbinic emissaries. After serving as a teacher in a public school in Philippopolis (Plovdiv) in Bulgaria, he left for Jena, Germany, where he studied philosophy with Rudolf Eucken. In 1900, while attending the Sorbonne, he became interested in contemporary French philosophy. His participation in the Second International Congress of Philosophy in Geneva (1904) brought him into personal contact with the leaders of the philosophic schools in France. Benrubi decided to devote himself to the study of modern French philosophy and to disseminate its ideas abroad, especially in Germany, where almost nothing was known of French philosophy after Comte. In addition, he was eager to spread knowledge of the German philosophy of idealism in France. From 1907 to 1914 he attended the lectures of Bergson in Paris, where he was asked to prepare a German translation of Bergson's book *Matière et Mémoire* (1896). Benrubi undertook this task with the assistance of Bergson. He engaged in frequent conversations with Bergson on philosophical, religious, social, and political questions, keeping current notes of these conversations, which took the form of his book *Souvenirs sur Henri Bergson* (1942), an important source for an understanding of Bergson's personality. During World War I, he lectured at the University of Geneva on contemporary French and German philosophy. After the war, he finally completed the first part of his original project: an exposition of modern French philosophy, which was first published in an abridged version both in English, *The Contemporary Thought of France* (1926), and in German, *Philosophische Stroemungen der Gegenwart in Frankreich* (1928). In 1933 the complete work appeared in French, under the title, *Les sources et les courants de la philosophie contemporaine en France*. Benrubi wrote this book, on the basis, among other things, of the comprehensive conversations he had had with the thinkers of whom he wrote. After his death, his friend, Axel Stern, published a book of selections illustrating his views on epistemology and ethics, *Connaissance et Morale* (1947).

[Samuel Hugo Bergman]

BENSANCHI, MENTESH (**Mordecai**; 1882–1943), Greek journalist and member of parliament. Born in Salonika, he worked as a journalist for the Judeo-Spanish newspaper *La Epoca*, and the French newspaper *Salonique*. With the termination of *La Epoca*, in 1912 he was the founding editor of *El Liberal*. He also worked for the government newspaper *La Liberta*. Later, he became editor of several Salonika newspapers, including *El Imparcial* and *L'Indépendant*. As a Zionist, he was active in the *Kadima* society, which promoted Hebrew culture and language, and as its general secretary he was active in Zionist propaganda and took an interest in problems of Jewish settlement in Ereẓ Israel. He was one of the editors of the Zionist weeklies *La Esperansa* and *El Congreso Jidyo*, which appeared in French and Judeo-Spanish during WWI. During the years 1926–30, he was the head of the *Jewish National Fund in Salonika. A liberal Zionist and an outstanding orator, he was sent by Salonika Jewry as its representative to the Greek parliament. In the 1925 Greek national elections he was elected as a Kafandarist (Progressive Liberal). He was reelected in 1928. As an active Jewish-Zionist public figure, he often clashed with ultra-Greek nationalists. After the 1931 antisemitic Campbell riots in Salonika, he gave a strong speech in parliament against the disturbances and the support of the local government for the rioters. Before WWII, the Jewish Agency decided to make him an emissary to Eastern Jewish communities for fundraising and Zionist propaganda. He was an eloquent speaker in Judeo-Spanish and French. In the 1930s, in the press, he exposed the antisemitic Kleiber, who had infiltrated into local Salonikan Jewish circles and eventually became a Nazi collaborator. Bensanchi wrote numerous articles against Germany and was blacklisted by the Germans. In the summer of 1942, he was caught by the Germans hiding with his family in a village in Crete, was interned in Larisa and Salonika, released, and in 1943 finally was deported to Auschwitz, where he died.

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[Yitzchak Kerem (2nd ed.)]

BEN-SASSON, HAIM HILLEL (1914–1977), Israeli historian. Ben-Sasson was born in Volozhin, Lithuania, and immigrated to Palestine in 1934. He taught at the Hebrew University, Jerusalem, from 1949 and became a full professor in 1970. Among Ben-Sasson's published works are *Millon le-Munaḥei ha-Politikah* (1941), a Hebrew political dictionary; *Perakim be-Toledot ha-Yehudim bi-Ymei ha-Beinayim* (1958), a history of the Jews in the Middle Ages; and *Hagut ve-Hanhagah* (1959), on the social concepts of Polish Jewry at the end of the Middle Ages. He also edited the textbook of Jewish history *Toledot Am Yisrael* (3 vols., 1969–70; *A History of the Jewish People*, 1976). From 1966 served as one of the editors of the Hebrew historical quarterly *Zion*; he was also editor (first edition) of the *Encyclopaedia Judaica*'s history division for Jewish history in Central and Eastern Europe and the departmental editor for general articles on Jewish history, Jewish economic history, and the history of the Jews in Poland and Lithuania.

BENSAUDE, Moroccan-Portuguese family. ABRAHAM BENSAUDE (1790–1868) left Morocco after the creation of a mellah in his hometown of Rabat in 1807. In 1819, he settled in São Miguel, in the Azores and founded the first Jewish community on the island. He was joined by his brother ELIAS and his cousin SOLOMON, who established the firm of Bensaude and Company. Under the direction of the latter's son, ABRAHAM, this became one of the most important enterprises in Portugal, with its head office in Lisbon. By the mid-19th century the Bensaude family had established a network of commercial relations between branches in Mogador, Gibraltar, Hamburg, London, Manchester, and Lisbon. The family of the first Abraham Bensaude contributed to the economic development of San Miguel for over a century. His son JOSÉ (1835–1922) established the tobacco industry and promoted the culture of pineapples, tea, and flax. José's son JOAQUIM (1859–1952) was a distinguished Portuguese historian, noted for his research into the history of Portuguese scientific navigation, *L'astronomie nautique au Portugal à l'époque des grandes découvertes* (Berne, 1912). He disproved Alexander von Humboldt's thesis concerning the German origin of scientific navigation in Portugal. In particular, he pointed out the important part played by Jewish astronomers and astrologers in the Iberian Peninsula during the Middle Ages, from which scientific navigation in Portugal originated.

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[John Alfred Nathan]

BEN-SHABETAI, ARI (1954–), Israeli composer. Born in Jerusalem, Ben-Shabetai studied at the Guildhall School of Music in London, England and graduated cum laude in composition and theory of music; with Mark *Kopytman at the Jerusalem Rubin Academy of Music and Dance (1983); and with George Crumb and Richard Wernick at the University of Pennsylvania, U.S. (1984–87), where he received a Ph.D. in music composition.

Ben-Shabetai has won many awards and prizes. His *Sinfonia Cromatica* won first prize in the 1994 Israel Philharmonic Orchestra Composition Competition and was included in the program of its tour to Germany, France, Italy, and the U.S. with Zubin *Mehta conducting. *Magreffa* for symphony orchestra was commissioned in 1995 by Lorin *Maazel for the Pittsburgh Symphony Orchestra and performed both in Pittsburgh and Jerusalem. In 1990 Ben-Shabetai was awarded the AKUM Composition Prize for *Yehezkel* (Concerto for Cello and Orchestra). In 1996 he received the Prime Minister's Prize for composers. His *Elegy For Anna Frank* won the Israel Sinfonietta Prize (1982) and his *Three Romances* for piano the AKUM Prize (1991).

Influenced by contemporary music of the 1980s and 1990s and Oriental music, Ben-Shabetai can be categorized as one of the earliest composers of the postmodern style. His individual style incorporates influences of heterophony, post-impressionistic harmony, and minimalism as well as modern rock and jazz music (*Blues and White* for piano, *Deus Ex Machina* for electric violin and DJ).

From 1987 he was a professor at the Jerusalem Academy of Music and Dance. He also served as chairman of the Israel Composers League for four years, during which period he founded the Israeli Music Center publishing house and produced the *Anthology of Israeli Piano Music* published by this organization. His chamber opera *Aya No Tsuzumi* (*The Damasc Drum*), composed to a gibberish libretto and based on the Noh Theater play was commissioned by and premiered at the Tel Aviv Biennale 2004).

[Dushan Mihalek (2nd ed.)]

BEN-SHAKHAR, GERSHON (1942–), Israeli cognitive psychologist and president of Israel's Open University. Ben-Shakhar's fields of inquiry are cognitive psychophysiology, psychophysiological detection of information, psychological testing and individual differences, and the confirmation bias in expert opinions. Ben-Shakhar completed his academic studies at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, receiving a B.A. in psychology and statistics in 1966, an M.A. in psychology in 1970, and a Ph.D. in psychology in 1975. In 1976, after a postdoctoral year at Northwestern University, he joined the department of psychology at the Hebrew University; he was head of the department 1987–90, becoming a full professor in 1991. Between 1992 and 1995 he was the dean of the Faculty of Social Sciences at the Hebrew University, and from 1995 until 1998 he was pro rector of the university. During these years he was visiting professor at Stanford, Toronto, and Brandeis universities. In 2003 he was appointed president of the Open University. Ben-Shakhar wrote many articles and a number of books, among them *Theories and Applications in the Detection of Deception: A Psychophysiological and International Perspective* (with J.J. Furedy, 1989) and *Studies in Psychology: Volume in Honor of Sonny Kugelmass* (edited with A. Lieblich, 1995).

[Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

BEN SHEMEN (Heb. בֶּן שֶׁמֶן), youth village and moshav in central Israel, in the northern Judean foothills, 1.8 mi. (3 km.) east of Lydda. Land bought here in 1904 by the Anglo-Palestine Bank was transferred to the *Jewish National Fund in 1907, thus becoming one of its first holdings in the country. "Atid," a Jewish company for oil and soap production, founded a factory here in 1905. A year later, Kiryat Sefer, a children's village, was established for orphans of the *Kishinev pogrom, under the direction of Israel *Belkind. In 1908 the Palestine office of the Zionist Organization set up a training farm for agricultural workers; they planted groves of olives and other fruit trees. These plantations were then named "Herzl Forest." Ten Yemenite families were settled at Ben Shemen in 1911 to combine farming with arts and crafts in the style of the *Bezalel School of Jerusalem. During World War I Ben Shemen was a battlefront between the German-Turkish and the Allied armies. It was abandoned and largely destroyed. In 1921 one of the first moshavim was founded at Ben Shemen. In 1927 an agricultural school was opened under the direction of Siegfried *Lehmann and in 1934 it was among the first institutions to be included in the framework of *Youth Aliyah. Early in 1948, during the War of Independence, both the school and the moshav came under siege and the school was evacuated to the Ḥefer Plain until the end of the year, there constituting the basis for the Ne'urim Youth Village. In 1952 a new moshav (affiliated with Tenu'at ha-Moshavim) was established by settlers from Romania, whose main occupation was dairy and citrus farming. In 1968 Ben Shemen had 920 inhabitants, of whom 720 were in the youth village. In the mid-1990s Ben Shemen had approximately 1,360 inhabitants, of whom 990 were in the youth village. In 2002 the population of Ben Shemen (moshav) was 550 residents with another 638 in the youth village. The school includes an elementary and high school with dormitories. The name is taken from Isaiah 5:1.

[Efraim Orni]

BENSHEN, Ashkenazi term, probably derived (via Old French) from the Latin *benedicere*, meaning "bless" or "pronounce a benediction." It is mainly used for *Grace after Meals which, when recited by three adult males, is introduced by a formula, of which the Yiddish version is *Raboysay, mir volen benshen* ("Gentlemen, let us say Grace"). It is also used as a designation for the Prayer for the New Moon, *Rosh Ḥodesh benshen*, and for the benediction recited by a person who has survived a perilous escape, *gomel benshen*. The kindling of Sabbath and festival lights is called *likht benshen*. The blessing of children by parents is also called *benshen*. The term corresponds to the Sephardi *bencao*.

BEN SIMEON, RAPHAEL AARON (1848–1928), rabbi. Ben Simeon, who was born in Jerusalem, became chief rabbi of Cairo in 1891. Toward the end of his life he returned to Palestine and settled in Tel Aviv. Ben Simeon wrote a number of works, mainly dealing with questions of *halakhah* and ritual. They include *Nehar Miẓrayim* (1908), on the ritual followed by the Jews in Egypt, and *Sha'ar ha-Mifkad* (1908–19), on the various rituals observed by the Jerusalem communities. His collection of responsa, *U-mi-ẓur Devash* (1912), includes rulings by his father David; *Tuv-Miẓrayim* (1908) gives genealogies of Egyptian rabbis.

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[Eliyahu Ashtor]

BEN SIRA, ALPHABET OF, a narrative, satirical work, written probably in the geonic period in the East. The *Alphabet of Ben Sira* is one of the earliest, most complicated, and most sophisticated Hebrew stories written in the Middle Ages. Four versions of the work have been printed: (a) the usual text found in most editions and manuscripts, edited with notes by Steinschneider and published in Berlin in 1858; (b) a fuller version of part of the work that was discovered by Steinschneider in a manuscript in Leiden (parts of it were added as notes to his edition); (c) a totally different version printed by Loewinger and Friedman from a Kaufmann manuscript in Budapest, published in Vienna in 1926; and (d) part of a fourth version discovered by Habermann in a manuscript in Jerusalem and published in 1958. There are more than 50 extant manuscripts of the work, in full or in part, many of which contain different versions and additional stories.

There is no reason to doubt the unity of the work as a whole, despite the fragmentary character of the different versions. All the versions share a special, satirical, and even heretical, character, and this indicates that they all were written by a single hand. They seem to reflect varying degrees of censorship on the part of editors and copyists. The complete work contains four parts. The first part is the biography of Ben Sira from his conception until the age of one year. This story, omitted in many editions, explains how Jeremiah, the prophet, was simultaneously Ben Sira's father (the numerical value of Ben Sira's name equals that of Jeremiah), and grandfather. Ben Sira's mother was Jeremiah's daughter. The old prophet was forced to an act of onanism by wicked men, and his daughter conceived from his emissions when she came to bathe. The form of this story is based on a biblical verse that tells the glories and wonders of God's deeds; thus the story satirizes not only Jeremiah, but God's deeds as well.

The second part is more sophisticated in form. It tells how Ben Sira, now one year old, meets with his teacher, who tries to teach him the alphabet. Instead of repeating each letter of the alphabet after his teacher, Ben Sira responds with an epigram beginning with that letter. The epigrams lead the teacher to tell the story of his life. It may be assumed that the original structure of this part was 22 + 12 paragraphs, each containing a letter, an epigram, and a part of the story.

The third part is the longest and contains most of the narrative material in this work. It recounts the story of Ben Sira's life and adventures in the court of Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylonia. It also includes stories told by Ben Sira himself as answers to the king's questions. These stories often include pornographic elements, as well as derogatory descriptions of biblical figures, like King Solomon or Joshua. Some of the stories in this section contain motifs from international folklore and may be based on folktales, but they were adapted to the special framework of the work and satirical elements were added to them. Examination of the various versions indicates that here, too, there were 22 stories, arranged according to the letters of the alphabet, to which 12 other stories were added.

The fourth part, which is found in most versions and gave the work its name, contains 22 alphabetically arranged epigrams attributed to Ben Sira that serve as material for discussion and interpretation by Ben Sira's son, Uzziel, and his grandson, Joseph b. Uzziel. The contents are satirical and even heretical. It may be assumed that this part was constructed in the same manner as the two previous ones – 22 + 12 sections. The work, therefore, displays elements of unity both in structure and in its ideological aims. It is all but impossible, however, to discover the background upon which such a work could have been written. Some scholars (L. Ginzberg and others) believe that it aimed at ridiculing the story of Jesus' birth; but the basis for such a conclusion may be found only in the first part, and even this is not very clear, for the irony seems to be directed more against God than against Jesus. It is hardly possible that the author was a Karaite, as some of the abusive stories are directed against biblical figures, and not only against the Talmud and Midrash. It seems likely that the author did not belong to any organized group or definable ideological movement, but was merely a writer with an anarchistic tendency who used satire to ridicule all the institutions of established religion in his day.

Another difficult problem is the relationship between this pseudepigraphal work and the original proverbs of Ben Sira. Some of the proverbs and epigrams included in the work are originally in the work of Ben Sira, but many such proverbs are found in talmudic literature, and the author probably took them from there. The author of the pseudepigraphal work did not even know Ben Sira's first name. There is only one slight connection that might be accidental: the Wisdom of *Ben Sira has a preface written by the author's grandson, who edited the work, and in the pseudepigraphal work the figure of a grandson is also present.

It is impossible to fix even the approximate date of this work. It has been suggested that a quotation from the work is included in the tenth-century *Arukh*, but this now seems very doubtful. The *Alphabet*, however, seems to have been written in the East after the rise of Islam.

Maimonides and other authorities attacked the work vigorously, but it was generally accepted as part of the midrashic tradition, to the extent that a circle of Ashkenazi ḥasidic mystics in the 12th and 13th centuries attributed some of their mystical compilations to works and theories received from Joseph b. Uzziel, who inherited the wisdom of Ben Sira and Jeremiah. The anarchistic and heretical elements in the work went unrecognized, probably because of the censorship exercised by copyists, who prevented the full version from being known to readers.

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[Joseph Dan]

BEN SIRA, SIMEON BEN JESUS (second century B.C.E.), Hebrew aphorist, sage, and scribe, the author of Wisdom of *Ben Sira (Ecclesiasticus). Ben Sira was a younger contemporary of the high priest Simeon (50:1 ff.), apparently Simeon the Just, who according to the Talmud and Josephus (Ant., 12:43, 157) lived at the beginning of the third century B.C.E. In the introduction to the Greek translation of the Wisdom of Ben Sira, the author is referred to as Jesus, by which name he is generally known in the Christian tradition. In the more authoritative Hebrew version, however (50:27; 52:end), his full name is given as Simeon b. Jeshua b. Eleazar b. Sira. The book was translated into Greek by Ben Sira's grandson after his arrival in Egypt in 132 B.C.E. From this date, given by the grandson in the preface to his translation, it may be reckoned that Ben Sira completed the book about 170 B.C.E. Apparently Ben Sira's life was at one time in jeopardy because of a false charge leveled against him, from which, however, he was saved (51).

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[Moses Zevi (Moses Hirsch) Segal]

BEN SIRA, WISDOM OF (also called **Ecclesiasticus**), a work of the Apocrypha, which, though usually known by this name, may have been called by its author, "The Words of Simeon b. Jeshua," the title found on the Hebrew fragments. In Greek the book is called Σοφία (’Ιήσου υἱοῦ) Σειράχ), "Wisdom of (Jesus son of) Sirach," and hence in Latin it was known as Siracides (i.e., Sira's son). Its common name in modern times, Ecclesiasticus (abbr. Ecclus.) dates from the 4th-century custom of naming certain homiletical books *libri ecclesiastici* (i.e., books for (reading in) the church). The book is divided into eight sections, each introduced by a poem in praise of wisdom or of the wise man. The last section (Hebrew version 44–50), called "The Praise of the Fathers," eulogizes the great figures of the Bible, with the exception of the final chapter which is devoted to praise of Simeon b. Johanan the priest, i.e., *Simeon the Just. The greater part of the work consists of maxims, poetic in form, like those in the book of Proverbs. It also contains psalms of supplication and of thanksgiving (36:1–17 (33:1–13; 36:16–22); 42:21–35 (15–25), 43, et al.), these latter being characterized by a lofty poetic style and by elevated thought (cf. 42:21 (15); 43:33 (58). (References are given to two editions: the first to the Hebrew edition by M.H. Segal (19582), the second to the standard edition in the Greek text of the Apocrypha). The work also includes didactic poems on subjects of daily life and on historical events, after the manner of certain psalms (13; 15; 16; 18; 34:19–35; 40:41; et al.), and concludes with an epilogue comprising two poems of praise and thanksgiving, and an alphabetic poem on the importance of acquiring wisdom.

The Wisdom of Ben Sira directs man to the love of wisdom and ethical conduct, teaches him virtue and good deeds, and proper behavior in eating and drinking, speech and silence, work and commerce, studying and teaching, poverty and wealth, health and sickness. It also seeks to instruct man to perform all his actions with intelligence and understanding, moderation, care and wisdom, so that his deeds may bring to him and others the appropriate benefit. It teaches man how to behave within his family circle: toward his father and mother, his wife, his sons, and his daughters. It guides him in his conduct toward all men. It stresses, as does the book of Proverbs, that the fear of the Lord is the beginning and the end of all wisdom. The work, though written in the spirit of the Bible and in the language of the later biblical books, bears a contemporary impress of the second century B.C.E., and its faith, in general, is that of subsequent Pharisaic Judaism (everything is foreseen but man has freedom of choice: 15:15–17; cf. Avot 3:15). It also reveals some influence of Greek literature and idiom: men grow and fall like leaves on a tree (14:19; cf. Iliad 6:146–9); he becomes wise who is unfettered by affairs, corresponding to the σχολαστικός, the Greek man of leisure. The work also contains a trace of the Greek gnosis and perhaps also of its philosophical thought (cf. 42:29–33 (20–23)). Unlike other books of proverbs, in which the authors address themselves to youth, the Wisdom of Ben Sira attaches prime importance to the well-ordered family, the effective basis of which is the father. It is primarily to him that the author addresses himself, advising and instructing him. A man should marry a suitable wife, beautiful and kindly-spoken, who, assisting him, will bring him supreme happiness. He should rear his sons in the Torah, marry off his daughters while they are young, and deal faithfully with his fellow man.

From a literary viewpoint, the work is well constructed. Most of the maxims are arranged according to subject matter, and the various sections have headings such as "The fear of the Lord," "Honoring parents," "Humility," "Lovingkindness," and the like. For the rabbis of the early talmudic period the work had an importance almost equal to that of the book of Proverbs. Its aphorisms, quoted either in Ben Sira's name or anonymously, are scattered throughout talmudic literature and are cited by both *tannaim* and *amoraim*, such as R. Levitas of Jabneh (Avot 4:4, cf. Ecclus. 7:13), Akiva, and Rav. Several of Ben Sira's maxims are to be found in other books of the Apocrypha, the New Testament, the Syriac version of the book of *Aḥikar as well as in the writings of early medieval Jewish scholars. Ben Sira's influence on ancient Hebrew prayers and *piyyutim* is particularly great. Although the Wisdom of Ben Sira is quoted in talmudic literature with the introductory phrase "as it is written," ordinarily reserved for biblical quotations, and is once explicitly mentioned among the books of the Hagiographa (BK 92b; cf. Ecclus. 27:9), it was not included in the canon. Some *amoraim* even forbade it to be read (Sanh. 100b; TJ, Sanh. 10:1, 28a). In the book of Proverbs the ethics are personal and worldly, and its general character is bound up with its secular origin, even though the religious content of the book is of prime importance. In the Wisdom of Ben Sira there is a notable difference. Wisdom, which is spoken of in the book of Proverbs as a primordial fascinating entity, is in Ben Sira identified with the Torah given to Israel, emphasizing that it is the true basis of all divine and human wisdom. In the Wisdom of Ben Sira there occur for the first time a number of ideas subsequently found in the *aggadah*, such as that Israel as well as the Torah was among the first acts of God's creation (cf. Ecclus. 36:15 and Gen. R. 1:4) and that the people of Israel (37:29 (25)), the Temple (17:20 (13)) and the priesthood of Aaron and of Phinehas (45:26, 45 (15, 24)) will endure forever (cf. Sif. Num. 92; Lev. R. 2:2). Ben Sira is also the original source for several customs which are later found in the *halakhah* (e.g., the blessing on seeing a rainbow – 43:13 (11)), and contains the earliest reference to the accepted basis of the Eighteen Benedictions and the like. The sages delivered homilies based on Ben Sira's maxims, but changing their form and language. They were even rendered at times in the mishnaic Hebrew or Aramaic spoken by the sages. Excerpts from these maxims, current among the masses, were collected in small compilations, not always in the original order, and they included not only biblical verses but some aphorisms which were not Ben Sira's. As a result these verses and aphorisms were erroneously ascribed to Ben Sira by the rabbis.

The original Hebrew text was no longer extant after the time of Saadiah Gaon (10th century). In the 19th century the work was translated from the Greek into Hebrew by Judah Leib *Ben-Zeev S.I. Fraenkel, and others. In 1896, however, S. Schechter discovered among the **Genizah* fragments in Cairo a page of the original Hebrew work. During the next four years, Schechter and other scholars found many other fragments from various manuscripts, comprising about two-thirds of the entire book. In 1929 Joseph Marcus found a fragment from a fifth manuscript containing 46 verses; in 1957 J. Schirmann found a new folio, and in 1959 yet another folio of manuscript B, as well as two folios of manuscript C. These fragments consist at times of no more than portions of verses, and contain many mistakes, omissions, and corruptions, as well as numerous additions and repetitions. Nonetheless, they presumably preserve an early or even original version. Some fragments of the Hebrew original (6:20–31) were discovered in Qumran Cave II. In 1964 Yigael Yadin discovered at Masada fragments containing chapters 39:27–44:25, which indicate that manuscript B of the *Genizah* represents substantially the original Hebrew version of the book. The Wisdom of Ben Sira was included in the Septuagint, from where it made its way into the Christian Bible. It was translated into Syriac in about 300 C.E. by a Christian (apparently a Jewish apostate). Although these versions contain very many mistakes, by comparing them with the Hebrew version it is generally possible to establish the original text of the work.

[Moshe Zevi (Moses Hirsch) Segal]

A critical edition of *Ben Sira*, giving the Hebrew original, including fragments from the Genizah, the Dead Sea Scrolls, and Masada, with facsimiles, was published (1973) by the Historical Dictionary of the Hebrew Language, under the aegis of the Hebrew Language Academy, with Professor Z. Ben *Ḥayyim as chief editor. It provides a complete concordance of all the words in these texts, with textual notes.

On the question of the date of the author and the book, see *Ben Sira, Simeon son of Jesus.

See also *Apocrypha and *Bible, Canon.

In the Arts

In literature and art the Wisdom of Ben Sira has not inspired great creativity. In music, by contrast, Ben Sira's work has proved to be of considerable importance. The use of its texts may be considered under three headings: (a) The Priestly Office. The text beginning *Ecce sacerdos magnus* ("This is the high priest"), a paraphrase based on the praises of Moses and Aaron in chapters 44 and 45, is used in the Catholic liturgy for the commemoration or welcome of high ecclesiastical dignitaries, especially popes and bishops. The traditional plainchant melody was used by Palestrina as a *cantus firmus* (compositional foundation) in the first of his published masses (1554), which was dedicated to Pope Julius III; and also for festive motets on the text itself, such as those written by Constanzo Porta (book of motets for 6 voices, 1585, dedicated to Pope Sixtus V) and Tomas Luis de Victoria (4 voices, in his *Motecta festorum totius anni* … 1585). The last, like the Palestrina mass, has since been sung at many papal coronations. An *Ecce sacerdos* motet appears in the *Opus musicum* by Jacob Handl (Gallus; 1550–1591), in which other settings of Ben Sira texts also appear. It may be assumed that the attention of composers was drawn to Ben Sira as a text-source by the feeling of obligation, which the Counter-Reformation inspired, that no part of the liturgical cycle be neglected by composers. (b) "Now praise the Lord." The short hymnic passage in ch. 50:22–24, adopted by the Anglican *Book of Common Prayer*, was set by William Byrd (1545–1623) as an impressive six-voiced anthem, *Behold now praise the Lord*. The rhymed German paraphrase *Nun danket alle Gott*, by Martin Rinkart (first published by him in 1636 as a grace at table), became famous as the "German *Te Deum*" when it was sung on the occasion of the peace treaty ending the Thirty Years' War in 1648 to a chorale-melody composed by Johann Crueger (first published in the same year). Translated by Catherine Winkworth in 1858 as *Now thank we all our God*, it became popular in the English-speaking church; and both the German and the English versions have been sung on many historic occasions. Bach used the chorale-melody for his cantata no. 192, *Nun danket alle Gott*, and at the conclusion of his cantata no. 79. Felix *Mendelssohn adapted it for the *Festgesang* which he wrote for the 400th anniversary of the invention of printing, celebrated at Leipzig on June 25th, 1840.

(c) "Let us now praise famous men." The opening passage of the "Praise of the Fathers," ch. 44, in the English version of *The Book of Common Prayer,* has been set for choir by Ralph Vaughan Williams (1923), Cyril Scott (1935), and other English-speaking composers.

Settings of other texts include those by Heinrich Schuetz; the rhymed Dutch paraphrase *Ecclesiasticus* by Jan Fruytier (1965), which used the tunes of Clemens non Papa's famous *Souterliedekens* ("Little Psalter Songs," 1556); and the three-voiced canon on "Non impedias musicam" ("Do not impede the music," ch. 32, 5^2), in G.B. Martini's *Storia della Musica* (vol. 1, 1757).

[Bathja Bayer]

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BENSON, ROBBY (**Robin David Segal**; 1956–), U.S. actor, director, voice-over artist. The son of a writer and a stage actress, Benson was born and raised in Dallas, Texas. He started his career in show business at the age of three, acting in commercials and community theater productions. At age 12 he made his Broadway debut starring in a production of *Zelda*, where he exhibited a natural talent for portraying sensitive adolescent characters. As a teenager Benson's good looks and sympathetic talents landed him in a string of roles in romantic films in the 1970s and 1980s, most notably *Jeremy* (1975), *Ode to Billy Joe* (1976), *One on One* (1977), *Ice Castles* (1978), and the TV production of *Our Town* (1976). Some of these roles exhibited darker and more complex performances such as his memorable portrayal opposite Jack Lemmon in *Tribute* (1980) and his performance as Danny Saunders in Chaim *Potok's *The Chosen* (1981). After recovering from open-heart surgery in 1984, Benson began writing and directing for TV, film, and theater. In 1988 he directed his first feature, *Crack in the Mirror*, and went on to become one of the most successful sitcom directors of the 1990s, directing multiple episodes for such hit shows as *Friends*, *Dream On*, and *Ellen*. He also performed as the gruff voice of Beast in Disney's Oscar-nominated *Beauty and the Beast*, and continued to voice characters for animated films. In addition, Benson composed scores for numerous films and received two gold records for songwriting with his wife and collaborator, Karla DeVito. Benson also taught in film and theater departments at several universities.

[Max Joseph (2nd ed.)]

BENSOUSSAN, GEORGES (1952–), French historian and Holocaust scholar. After completing a doctorate in modern history, Bensoussan began teaching history in high school while pursuing a parallel career in historical research and writing. An active militant against antisemitism and Holocaust denial, to which he sought to oppose precise historical knowledge and provocative reflections on the transmission of memory (*Génocide pour mémoire: des racines du désastre aux questions d'aujourd'hui*, 1989; *Auschwitz en héritage? Du bon usage de la mémoire*, 2003), Bensoussan collaborated on several journals (*Raison Présente* in 1989; *Le débat* in 1994), and was eventually appointed chief editor of the *Revue d'Histoire de la Shoah*, a major publication first issued in 1946 as *Le Monde Juif* and renamed in 1997 to better suit its scientific purposes. Later, reacting to the resurgence of antisemitism in France against the background of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, Bensoussan wrote several pamphlets (some under a pseudonym) and books about the new antisemitism (*Anti-Semitism in French Schools: Turmoil of a Republic*, published by the Hebrew university of Jerusalem, Vidal Sassoon International Center for the Study of Antisemitism, 2004), which echo his previous reflections on the convergence and relationship between antisemitism, anti-Zionism, and Holocaust denial ("Négationnisme et antisionnisme: récurrences et convergences des discours du rejet," in: *Revue d'Histoire de la Shoah*, May–Aug. 1999), and his academic work on the history of antisemitism in France since the Dreyfus affair (*L'idéologie du rejet: enquête sur "Le monument Henry" ou archéologie du fantasme antisémite dans la France de la fin du XIXe siècle,* 1993). Bensoussan also wrote a general history of the Holocaust (1996) and an intellectual and political history of Zionism (2002).

[Dror Franck Sullaper (2nd ed.)]

BEN SṬADA, or **Ben Sṭara**, a person mentioned in two apparently unrelated passages in the Tosefta, identified in later tradition with Ben Pandira (Jesus). The first passage is found in Tosefta *Shabbat* (11:15), which reports a dispute concerning someone who made markings on his flesh. R. Eliezer held such a person liable for the desecration of the Sabbath, while his colleagues considered him exempt from punishment, since this is not the normal way of writing. In support of his position, R. Eliezer said: "Isn't it true that Ben Sṭara (other readings: Siṭra, Soṭra, Sṭada) learned in this way?" To this the Sages replied: "And because of one idiot, we should hold all of the normal people liable?" The second passage concerns the halakhah in Mishnah *Sanhedrin* (7:10) which permits the authorities to "entrap" someone who seeks to persuade a Jew to engage in idolatry. The Tosefta (San. 10:11), commenting on this halakhah, states: "And that is precisely what they did to Ben Sṭada (other readings: Sṭara) in Lydda – they placed two scholars in hiding [to testify against him] and stoned him." (The spelling of his name is uncertain also in the parallel passages in the Talmudim (see below, and cf. Lieberman, *Tosefta ki-Feshuta*, 1 (1955), 179–80).)

The second baraita, which tells of Ben Sṭada's execution, is brought in the Jerusalem Talmud (Yev. 16:6, 15d) virtually verbatum. The first *baraita*, which describes his practice of writing on his flesh, is brought in the JT *Shabbat* (12:4, 13d) in a form very similar to the text of the Tosefta. It differs, however, in one important respect: the rather obscure allusion to Ben Sṭara's eccentric behavior ("Ben Sṭara, 'learned' in this way") is expanded and explained: "Isn't it true that Ben Sṭada [brought witchcraft out of Egypt] in this way?" While it is possible that the Jerusalem Talmud is preserving here an ancient tradition concerning Ben Sṭada, it is equally likely that this is a harmonistic interpretation of Tosefta *Shabbat* in an attempt to explain why he was executed in Tosefta *Sanhedrin*.

Both of these traditions were originally brought in the Babylonian Talmud, but they were eliminated in part from later editions as a result of Christian censorship, for reasons that will be made clear immediately. The later printed texts of TB Shabbat 104b read as follows: "R. Eliezer said to the Sages: Isn't it true that Ben Sṭara brought witchcraft out of Egypt by marking on his flesh? They said to him: He was an idiot, and one does not bring proofs from idiots". Here the *sugya* ends in the later printed editions. The continuation of the *sugya*, as represented by all manuscripts and the earliest printed text, reads as follows: "[Was he] the son of Sṭara (or: Sṭada)? Wasn't he rather the son of Pandira! Rav Ḥisda said: Sṭara was [his mother's] husband; Pandira was [his mother's] lover. [But his mother's] husband was Papos the son of Judah! Rather, his mother was Sṭara (or Sṭada), his father was Pandira. [But] his mother was Mary the hairdresser (*magdala*)! Rather [she was called Sṭada] because of what they say in Pumbedita: She cheated (*saṭa da*) on her husband." The name "Ben Pandira" was understood in the Babylonian Talmud as a euphemism for Jesus (cf. Tosefta Ḥul. 2:24, TB Av. Za. 16b-17a). It is fairly clear, therefore, that this entire talmudic passage is an anti-Christian polemic, ridiculing the doctrine of the virgin birth of Jesus (see D. Rokeah, "Ben Sṭara is Ben Pantira"). In keeping with this anti-Christian tendency, the version of the second *baraita* as brought in the uncensored text of TB *Sanhedrin* 67a reads as follows: "And that is precisely what they did to Ben Sṭada (or: Sṭara) in Lydda, and they hung him on the day before the Passover" – apparently a reference to the crucifixion. The text then continues as in *Shabbat* ("Was he the son of Sṭara? Wasn't he rather …").

While the Babylonian tradition clearly seems to identify Ben Sṭada with Ben Pantira (Jesus), it is highly unlikely that this reflects any historical tradition deriving from the tannaitic period. On the contrary, it is almost certainly a classic example of the Babylonian Talmud's "creative historiography" which seeks to identify obscure and unknown figures (like Ben Sṭada) with significant and well known figures (like Ben Pantira = Jesus). The Babylonian Talmud here as elsewhere reworks early sources (Tosefta and TJ) in order to achieve its own literary and polemical ends. It is therefore not surprising that inconsistencies remain between the older, more original elements, and the more recent trends and interpretations which coexist in the Babylonian Talmud's final retelling of these stories. Attempts to relate all of these various elements to a particular concrete historical figure will therefore almost always result in contradiction.

For example, Rabbenu Jacob b. Meir *Tam (in early editions of *tosafot* to Sanhedrin) mentions an interpretation which identifies Ben Stada with Jesus. This suggestion is based on the allusion to Pandira and strengthened by the mention of a Passover execution and of a mother named Miriam (Mary). R. Tam, however, rejects this view, pointing out that Pappos b. Judah lived a century after Jesus. Furthermore, Jesus was executed in Jerusalem and not in Lydda. Modern scholarship has suggested that Ben Stada may have been the Egyptian prophet who, during the administration of the Roman procurator Felix, persuaded "large crowds to follow him to the Mount of Olives," where at his command, "Jerusalem's walls would fall down and he would provide an entrance to the city" (Jos., Ant., 20:169ff.; Acts, 21:38). The only real link between the two, however, is the mention of Egypt. Josephus claimed that the prophet disappeared, whereas Ben Stada (according to the earliest and most reliable evidence) was executed in Lydda, possibly in the second century C.E. (see Derenbourg, *Essai sur les formes des pluriels arabes* (1867), 468–71). Given the scanty evidence concerning Ben Stada which is preserved in the earliest sources, it is unlikely that any definite identification of the historical figure that stands behind these traditions can be made.

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[Isaiah Gafni / Stephen G. Wald (2nd ed.)]

BENSUSAN (**Ibn Sūsān** or **Shoshan**, also **Cohen ibn Sūsān** and **Levy Bensusan**), Moroccan family that can be traced to the 12th century. JUDAH IBN SŪSĀN (d. 1165) was *Maimonides' teacher in *Fez; he was martyred there by the *Almohads. During the 13th and 14th centuries, members of the Ibn Sūsān family held important posts as rabbis, astronomers, physicians, financiers, and diplomats in Christian Spain. Their descendants returned to Morocco after 1391. Some time before 1539, the Moroccan mathematician ISSACHAR B. MORDECAI IBN SŪSĀN settled in Jerusalem and later in Safed, where he wrote *Tikkun Yissakhar* (Salonika, 1564), which was reedited under the title *'Ibbur Shanim* ("Intercalation of the Years," Venice, 1578). The book includes two treatises on the rituals to be followed according to yearly variations of the Jewish calendar, and the apportioning of the *haftarot* according to the rites of different communities. NATHAN LEVI BENSUSAN was a leader of the *toshavin* ("native") community in Morocco in the early 16th century. Several of his descendants were scholars who were often named in the statutes of the Fez community.

The family constituted a powerful merchant clan in Rabat-Salé, and often acted against the interests of other members of the community. During the 17th and 18th centuries their activities extended to London, where they were active in the Sephardi community. In the 19th century they reinforced their position in trade in Morocco, especially in Mogador and Marrakesh, where JOSHUA LÉVY-BENSUSAN (19th cent.) represented France in about 1881. SAMUEL LÉVY BENSUSAN (1872–1958), who lived in Essex, England, wrote a number of books about the English countryside, such as *Annals of Maychester* (1936), and also published studies of great artists. He traveled widely and wrote about Morocco, Spain, Paris, Germany, and the haunts of Shakespeare. Bensusan edited a weekly newspaper, *The Jewish World* (1897–98), and *The Theosophical Review* (1925–28).

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[David Corcos]

BEN TEMALYON, name of a demon. According to talmudic legend it accompanied R. *Simeon b. Yoḥai on his journey to Rome where he pleaded with the authorities to annul the decree compelling the Jews to have intercourse with their menstruating wives, to desecrate the Sabbath, and not to circumcise their children. The demon entered into the Roman emperor's daughter and when Simeon b. Yoḥai exorcised it, his request was granted (Me'il. 17b). A more detailed account of this miracle is contained in **Halakhot Gedolot* (ed. Hildesheimer, 603–4), where, however, the demon is called "Shamdon" or "Ashmedai." The story frequently recurs in medieval folklore, sometimes with an anti-Jewish bias. Some scholars have attempted to identify Ben Temalyon (or Bar Temalyon) with the apostle Bartholomew about whom a similar legend is related in connection with his missionary voyage to India.

Ben Temalyon (or Telamyon) is also the name of a person who technically avoided perjury by concealing a hundred dinars which he owed to a plaintiff, in a hollowed cane which he asked the latter to hold, and taking an oath that he had returned him the money (cf. Ned. 25a).

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BENTOR, JACOB (1910–2002), geologist specializing in the geology, petrology, and tectonics of the Middle East. Bentor was born in Koenigsberg, Germany, and after studying linguistics at the Sorbonne in Paris and physical science there and in Berlin immigrated to Ereẓ Israel in 1933, where he continued his studies, including geology, at the Hebrew University as well as in Switzerland and France. Back in Palestine in 1940 he completed his Ph. D. theses at the Hebrew University in 1945 and in Clermont-Ferrrand in 1952. During World War II he was a consultant to the British administration on various geological projects and in 1949 he joined Ḥemed Gimmel (the Israeli army science corps) and headed the national efforts to map the Negev's natural resources and evaluate its economic potential. One of the major products of this activity was the Geological Map of the Negev, 1:100,000, which included the mapping of Israel's major mineral deposits – the Negev phosphates and the Timna copper. For this achievement Bentor and his colleague A. Vroman were awarded the Israel Prize for science in 1953. Until 1966 he was at the head of all national mineral and energy resources enterprises, including the Dead Sea resources, the Negev phosphates, Timna copper ore, and petroleum exploration. During his work he also discovered new geological phenomena, such as combustion metamorphism, a contribution in the field of mineralogy that has been recognized by the international mineralogical community, with the mineral "bentorite" being named in his honor. He introduced many new scientific disciplines, such as geochemistry, marine geology, and seismology to the entire earth science community in Israel, and especially to his many students at the Hebrew University, where he was appointed associate professor in 1957 and full professor in 1963. In 1967–74 he headed a large-scale geological study of the Sinai Peninsula. Focusing on the Precambrian Basement of this area, he made a major contribution to the understanding of the Precambrian Arabian Massif and guided many research projects in the framework of this study. He also had a long-term interest in the possible geological origin of many events chronicled in myth and history and wrote on geological events in the Bible. Bentor headed many national and international scientific committees, including the Council for Oceanographic Research, the World Geological Map Project, and the Council of the International Committee for the Scientific Research of the Mediterranean.

He retired from the Hebrew University in 1977 and was associated with the Scripps Institution of Oceanography, where he remained active in his studies on the Precambrian realm and on the combustion metamorphism of the Hatrurim Formation in Israel ("Mottled Zone") as well as of similar phenomena in California. He was a recipient of the Freund Prize of the Israel Geological Society (1986).

[Yossi Bartov (2nd ed.)]

BENTOV (Gutgeld), MORDEKHAI (1900–1985). Israel politician, member of the First to Fifth Knessets. Bentov was born in Grodzisk, near Warsaw. He immigrated to Ereẓ Israel in 1920, working for several years in road construction and draining swamps. He graduated from the government law classes in Jerusalem and later became a member of kibbutz *Mishmar ha-Emek, where he lived for the rest of his life. As a leader of the *Ha-Shomer ha- Ẓa'ir movement, Bentov served as its representative in central bodies of the *Histadrut and the Zionist Movement. He was one of the members of Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir active from the late 1930s in trying to find a peaceful solution to the Arab-Israeli conflict on the basis of bi-nationalism, and was an active member in the League for Jewish-Arab Rapprochement and Cooperation. He was a member of the Jewish delegation to the 1939 Round Table Conference with the British Government to discuss the future of Palestine. Following the failure of the Conference, Bentov was chairman of a League of Nations committee that prepared a report published in June 1941 on a future constitution for Palestine, which came to be known as the "Bentov book." In 1947 he became a member of the Political Committee representing the Jewish Agency in the UN. In 1943–48 he served as editor of the Mapam daily, *Al ha-Mishmar.* In the 1948 Provisional Government of Israel Bentov was minister of labor and reconstruction. He was a member of the Knesset for Mapam in 1949–65, minister of development in 1955–61, and minister of housing in 1966–69. He wrote *Constitutional Development of Palestine* (1941); *The Road to Bi-national Independence for Palestine* (1947); *Yisrael, ha-Palestina'im ve-ha-Semol* ("Israel, the Palestinians and the Left," 1971); and a 1984 memoir.

[Benjamin Jaffe / Susan Hattis Rolef (2nd ed.)]

BENTWICH, English Zionist family who settled in Palestine during the 1920s.

HERBERT BENTWICH (1856–1932), British Zionist leader and lawyer. An authority on copyright law, for many years he edited the *Law Journal*. Bentwich was born in London. He became a leading member of the English Ḥovevei Zion and one of the first followers of Theodor *Herzl in England. In 1897 Bentwich organized the first pilgrimage to Ereẓ Israel of the Order of the Ancient Maccabeans, on whose behalf, in 1923, he acquired land for settlement at Gezer, near Ramleh. Bentwich was a founder of the English Zionist Federation in 1899 and for some time served as its vice chairman. He was a legal adviser for the *Jewish Colonial Trust. From 1916 to 1918 he served on the Zionist political advisory committee under Chaim *Weizmann. Bentwich settled in Palestine in 1929, spending most of his time at the family home in Zikhron Ya'akov.

His son, NORMAN DE MATTOS BENTWICH (1883–1971), English Zionist, lawyer, and scholar, was born in London, where he practiced law from 1908 to 1912. In 1913 he was appointed commissioner of courts in Egypt and lecturer at the Cairo Law School. During World War I he served in the British Army on the Palestine front and was demobilized with the rank of major. From 1920 until 1931 Bentwich was attorney general of the Mandate government in Palestine, and in this capacity was active in modernizing the country's courts and introducing British law and procedure to replace those of the former Turkish regime. In 1930 an attempt was made on his life by an Arab terrorist. The Mandate government's anti-Zionist policy led him to resign in 1931.

The following year Bentwich was appointed professor of international relations at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. He advocated Arab-Jewish rapprochement, sharing the views of the *Berit Shalom group. He served as director of the League of Nations' Commission for Jewish Refugees from Germany between 1933 and 1936. In 1951 he retired from the Hebrew University and returned to England where he was active on behalf of the Hebrew University.

Bentwich was a prolific writer. His books on Zionism and Israel include *Palestine of the Jews: Past, Present and Future* (1919), *England in Palestine* (1932), *Fulfillment in the Promised Land* (1938), *Palestine* (1946^2, *Jewish Youth Comes Home*, 1933–1943 (1944), *Israel* (1960^2), *Israel and her Neighbors* (1955), *Legislation of Palestine* (1926), and *The Criminal Law of Palestine* (1928); on international relations: *The Religious Foundations of Internationalism* (1959^2), *From Geneva to San Francisco* (1946), *A Commentary on the Charter of the UN* (1950), and *The Mandates System* (1930); on Hellenism: *Hellenism* (1919), *Josephus* (1914), and *Philo-Judaeus of Alexandria* (1910); biographies: *Solomon Schechter* (1938), *For Zion's Sake* (on J.L. *Magnes, 1954), and on Brigadier F. Kisch. *Wanderer in the Promised Land* (1932), *Wanderer Between Two Worlds* (1941), and *Wanderer in War* (1946) are all autobiographies as is *My 77 Years* (1961). *Mandate Memoirs 1918–1948* (1965) was written in collaboration with his wife Helen, and a biography of his father, *The Pilgrim Father* (1940), in collaboration with his sister Margery (d. 1976). Bentwich's wife, Helen Caroline (née Franklin; 1892–1972), was chairman of the London County Council in 1956–57, and alderman from 1958 to 1965. She wrote *Our Councils, the Story of Local Government* (1962).

JOSEPH BENTWICH (1902–1982), another son of Herbert Bentwich, was an Israeli educator. Bentwich was born in London and settled in Palestine in 1924. From 1928 to 1948 he served as inspector of schools for the Mandate government, and from 1943 to 1948 as assistant director of the Department of Education. Bentwich was principal of the Reali High School in Haifa from 1948 to 1955, and from 1955 to 1958 he lectured on education at the Hebrew University. In 1962 he was awarded the Israel Prize for his contribution to Israel education. Bentwich was a leader of the Amanah ("Covenant") group, established to study and promote new interpretations of Judaism. He edited *Yalkut ha-Datot* ("Anthology of Religions," 1964) and *Yahadut, Mikra'ah* ("Judaism, a Reader," 1967). He published several textbooks for teaching English and mathematics and *Education in Israel* (1965).

Herbert Bentwich's ninth child, Thelma (1895–1959), was a cellist (see *Yellin-Bentwich, Thelma).

[Benjamin Jaffe / Cecil Roth]

°BENTZEN, AAGE (1894–1953), Danish biblical scholar, He was appointed professor of biblical studies at the University of Copenhagen in 1929. He was the first president of the International Organization of Old Testament Scholars, which was established in Leiden in 1950, and was instrumental in helping to establish its journal, *Vetus Testamentum*, in the same year.

Bentzen was a prolific scholar, expert in all phases of biblical exegesis. Since he observed little agreement between the J and E documents, and regarded them as independent of one another, he preferred to write in terms of etiological legends, myths, and cultic songs. He almost completely ignored the older classification of literary criticism, including the Documentary Hypothesis, and was inclined instead to emphasize historical narrative, historiography, and strata of traditions. Typical of Bentzen's methodology and thought is his *Messias – Moses redivivus – Menschensohn* (1948; *King and Messiah*, 1955), where he attempts to assess the contributions of the

English and Scandinavian myth and ritual schools in regard to the cultic situations in the life of the king of Israel. Bentzen criticizes both schools and argues for the impact of history on the cultic myth. Furthermore, it is the "Urmensch" idea which underlies the role of the king, the priest, the prophet, and the messiah in Israel. He also wrote *Introduction to the Old Testament* (2 vols., 1948–49, 1961^6).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: VT, *Congress Volume* (1953), vii–xv (incl. complete bibliography).

[Zev Garber]

BENVENISTE (also **Bienveniste**, **Benvist**, **Abenbenist**, etc.), personal name and surname of a widespread Sephardi family. The name originated in Spain and Provence and means "welcome." It is first mentioned in documents from Barcelona in 1079. After the expulsion from Spain in 1492, the family was dispersed, especially throughout the Ottoman Empire.

Prominent members, in addition to those to whom separate articles are devoted, include BENVENISTE IBN BENVENISTE (early 14th century), translator of medical works from Arabic into Catalan during the reign of James II, king of Aragon (1291–1327); IZMEL (ISHMAEL) of Barcelona (early 14th century), physician, father of the physician Samuel *Benveniste; ADZAY (=ḤASDAI) BENVENIST (mid-15th century), member of the communal council in Saragossa; JUDAH B. ABRAHAM (1460–1515), born in Toledo, a descendant of Abraham *Benveniste of Soria, who, after the expulsion from Spain, was active in Salonika; and NISSIM (15th century), a scholar whose halakhic queries to Isaac *Aboab were published by Abraham Meldola in *Ziv ha-Einayim*.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Baer, Urkunden, 1 pt. 2 (1936), index, s.v. *Bienvenist*; Baer, Spain, index; Cantera-Millás, Inscripciones, 180, 193–4; *Sefarad*, index to vols. 1–15 (1957), 399, 401.

BENVENISTE, ABRAHAM (1406–1454), "court rabbi" in Castile mentioned in crown documents dating from about 1430. The young king, John II, handed over the government of Castile to two noblemen, who appointed Benveniste, a native of Soria, to restore its shaky fiscal administration. Benveniste acted as tax farmer general of the realm and organized the levy of the taxes and customs duties with the assistance of subordinates, mainly Jews. He also supplied the army with money and grain. In 1432, at the request of the Jewish communities of the Castile, the king appointed Benveniste chief justice and tax superintendent of Castilian Jewry, with the title of *Rab de la Corte*. The same year he convened the representatives and scholars of the Castilian communities in Valladolid, and framed a number of ordinances designed to strengthen the status of Spanish Jewry, which had been undermined by the recent tragic events. These enactments were directed toward maintaining religious instruction, the fair administration of justice in Jewish courts, equitable tax apportionment, defense against informers, and curbs on extravagance in dress and entertainment. Benveniste was conservative in his approach to religious problems. He opposed the rationalist philosophical trends widespread among Jewish scholars, and strove for the rehabilitation of Jewish communal life through strict observance of the precepts of Judaism.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Graetz, Hist, 4 (1949), 228–9, 280, 341, 351; Baer, Urkunden, 1 pt. 2 (1936), 305–6, 309; Baer, Spain, index; Neuman, Spain, index; Finkelstein, Middle Ages, 103, 349.

[Zvi Avneri]

BENVENISTE, ABRAHAM (18th century), rabbi and communal leader in Smyrna. Benveniste was a son-in-law of Ḥayyim Ventura and of Abraham Ibn Ezra, both outstanding scholars of Smyrna. His communal activity brought him into contact with the scholars of Italy, and his correspondence with Moses Ḥayyim Morpurgo of Ancona during the years 1746–50 is extant. Morpurgo asked him to supply a list of books recently published in Turkey and to keep him informed of any new publications, while Benveniste on his part sent Morpurgo a list of books which he asked him to acquire for him in Venice. It is possible therefore that Benveniste was in the book trade.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: M. Benayahu, in: *Aresheth*, 1 (1958), 224–6, 231–9.

BENVENISTE, EMILE (1902–1976), French scholar of language theory and comparative grammar. Holding a chair at the College de France from 1937 to his death, Benveniste was extremely influential on French theorists in various domains of linguistics and literary criticism, such as Gerard Genette for narrative discourse and Roland Barthes, Tzetan Todorov, and Michel Riffaterre in the field of poetry theory. Benveniste's linguistics perpetuates the heritage of his master, Antoine Meillet, and that of Ferdinand de Saussure, though his theory of communication notably diverges from Saussure's. Benveniste published profusely, but his most influential essays and theories are collected in the two volumes of his *Problèmes de linguistique générale*, in the first volume of which key dichotomies are proposed: "*je/non-je*" (I/non-I), "*histoire/discours*" (story/discourse). These concepts are central to modern narrative discourse as well as communications theory: they help define the larger dichotomy between objective and subjective utterance.

Another crucial dichotomy is to be found in the chapter "Sémiologie de la langue" in the second volume: the dichotomy of "semiotic" (related to the sign) and "semantic" (related to discourse).

[Dror Franck Sullaper (2nd ed.)]

BENVENISTE (or **Benvenist**), **ḤAYYIM BEN ISRAEL** (1603–1673), Sephardi rabbinic scholar and codifier. Benveniste studied in his native Constantinople mainly under Joseph b. Moses of Trani, and also under Joseph *Samegah. In 1624, when he was only 21, he began to write his detailed commentary on the *Sefer Mitzvot Gadol* of *Moses b. Jacob of Coucy, which he called *Dina de-Ḥayyei* ("Law of the Living"). The same year he was appointed to decide cases dealing with ritual law (*Issur ve-Hetter*). Benveniste was rabbi in Tirya, near Smyrna, from 1643 to 1655 when he settled in Smyrna. When Chief Rabbi Joseph Escapa of Smyrna reached an advanced age, Benveniste was appointed in 1661 to act for him in matters of ritual and matrimonial law, and succeeded him after his death the following year. In 1665 the council of the city's scholars (with Benveniste's consent) appointed Aaron *Lapapa in charge of civil cases, but at the end of the same year the latter was deposed by the many admirers of Shabbetai Ẓevi, whom Lapapa had excommunicated and condemned to death. After Shabbetai Ẓevi's conversion to Islam a small section of the Smyrna community unsuccessfully attempted to reinstate Lapapa. As a result, Benveniste became involved in a dispute with Lapapa. Benveniste's attitude to the Shabbatean movement as a whole was entirely negative, but he sought to avoid controversy in the interest of communal harmony, and was not resolute enough in certain instances to oppose openly the majority of his community, who followed Shabbetai Ẓevi and his followers.

Benveniste's role in this episode however did not detract from his dignity and authority as one of the greatest of the Jewish codifiers. Among his many disciples were Solomon ibn Ezra, Isaac Algazi, Ḥayyim Algazi, and Abraham b. Aaron de Boton. His principal work *Keneset ha-Gedolah*, was accepted by both Ashkenazi and Sephardi rabbis as an authoritative work of great practical value. In his work, which comprises eight large volumes, Benveniste cites and methodically explains all the conclusions and legal novellae to be found in the responsa and other halakhic works of the outstanding authorities after the time of Joseph *Caro, as well as some of the decisions of earlier scholars whom Caro had failed to cite.

In Benveniste's lifetime only three parts of the work were printed: on *Oraḥ Ḥayyim* (Leghorn, 1658); *Sheyarei*, addenda on *Oraḥ Ḥayyim* (Smyrna, 1671); and on *Ḥoshen Mishpat* (part 1, Smyrna, 1660). After his death there appeared the volume on *Yoreh De'ah* (3 parts, Constantinople, 1711–17); on *Even ha-Ezer* (Smyrna, 1731, new ed. Lemberg, 1861); on *Ḥoshen Mishpat*, part 2, with several appendixes by other authors (Smyrna, 1734). Also his *Dina de-Ḥayyei* was published posthumously from a defective manuscript (Constantinople, 2 pts. 1747). Additional legal novellae on the *Ḥoshen Mishpat* are to be found in Ḥayyim b. Menahem Algazi's *Benei Ḥayyai* published in Orta-koi (near Constantinople) in 1712. Benveniste also wrote important responsa (*Ba'ei Ḥayyei*, "Needs of the Living"), on the four parts of the *Turim*, the following of which have been published: on *Oraḥ Ḥayyim* (part 2, Salonika, 1783), on 211 sections of *Yoreh De'ah* and on 24 of the *Even ha-Ezer* (*ibid.*, 1788), as well as on the *Ḥoshen Mishpat*, in two parts (*ibid.*, 1791). Benveniste also wrote novellae on a number of tractates: that on *Sanhedrin* which he called *Ḥamra ve-Ḥayyei*, only part of which is extant, was published, together with notes and extracts from the manuscripts of the novellae of the earlier halakhic authorities, under the title of *Ḥemer Ḥivver Attik* (Leghorn, 1802). Benveniste's son Israel (1644–1729) succeeded him as chief rabbi of Smyrna.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: J.J. Emden, *Torat ha-Kena'ot* (1752), 4b; J. Sasportas *Ẓiẓat Novel Ẓevi*, ed. by I. Tishby (1954), index, S.V. *Benvenisti, Ḥayyim*; Conforte, Kore, 51a; Bernfeld, in: *Kobez al Jad*, 9 (1899), 1–11 (third pagination); A. Freimann (ed.), *Inyanei Shabbetai Ẓevi* (1912), 142, no. 20; Rosanes, Togarmah, 4 (1935), 42–47, 160–4; Benayahu, in: *Zion*, 12 (1946/47), 44–48; idem, in: *Reshumot*, 5 (1953), 197–211; idem, in: *Sinai*, 34 (1954), 167, 200–2; Scholem, Shabbetai Ẓevi, index; Sonne, in: *Sefunot*, 34 (1960), 48, 50, 57 S.V. *Benvenest*; Molho and Amarijlio, *ibid.*, 214–6 (Eng. summ.).

[Moshe Nahum Zobel]

BENVENISTE, IMMANUEL (**Manoel**; Venice? c. 1608–Amsterdam c. 1660), Hebrew printer in Amsterdam. Benveniste's name appears in an entry in the *Puiboken* of that city, dated Feb. 10, 1640: "Immanuel Benveniste of Venice, 32 years old, parents still living…" Among the approximately 50 works he printed between 1640 and 1659 are *Midrash Rabbah* (1641–42), *Mishnah* (1643), and Alfasi's *Halakhot* (1643). His outstanding production, however, was the Babylonian Talmud (1644–48), which restored some passages expunged by the censor in previous editions. As correctors Benveniste employed Moses di Cordova b. Isaac of Constantinople (for the *Midrash Rabbah*) and the Amsterdam rabbi Abraham b. Joshua of Worms (for the Alfasi edition). Benveniste's editions can usually be recognized by the title page frame of a gate of prism-shaped stones with his printer's mark, a castle flanked by a lion with a star superimposed.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: J.S. da Silva Rosa, *Geschiedenis der portugeesche Joden te Amsterdam 1593–1925* (1925), 29–30.; ESN 1 (1949), 62; Brugmans-Frank, 469, 476. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** L. Fuks and R.G. Fuks-Mansfeld, *Hebrew Typography in the Northern Netherlands 1585–1815*, 1 (1984), 146–84; M.J. Heller, in: *Studies in Bibliography and Booklore*, 19 (1994) 3–20.

[*Encyclopaedia Judaica* (Germany) / A.K.Offenberg (2nd ed.)]

BENVENISTE, ISAAC BEN JOSEPH (d. c. 1224), physician to James I of Aragon and *nasi* of Aragonese Jewry. He was the leading figure in the representative congresses of the Jewish communities convened at Montpellier and Saint-Gilles in 1214 and 1215 to consider protective measures in view of the approaching *Lateran Council. Subsequently he secured for the Aragonese communities a temporary suspension of the obligation to wear the Jewish *badge. In 1220, he received from Pope Honorius III a warm letter of recommendation to the king and the archbishop of Tarragona notwithstanding Isaac's "erroneous" views in matters of religion.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Neuman, Spain, index; Solomon ibn Verga, *Shevet Yehudah*, ed. by A. Shochat (1947), 147, 223; S. Grayzel, *The Church and the Jews* (1966²), index.

[Cecil Roth]

BENVENISTE, JOSEPH BEN MOSES DE SEGOVIA (second half of the 16th century), rabbi and author. Benveniste spent most of his life in Safed but died in Brusa, Turkey. His principal teacher was Elisha *Gallico, but he also studied under Isaac *Luria and Samuel b. Isaac de *Uceda. Joseph

*Ganso, rabbi of Brusa, was his pupil. He wrote many works which were lost. Benveniste mentions two of them: *Be-Ẓel ha-Kesef*, an ethical work modeled on the *Kad ha-Kemaḥ* of *Baḥya b. Asher, and *Yakhol Yosef* (also erroneously called *Yevul Yosef*) containing various novellae. A number of his biblical comments, including interpretations he learned from Isaac *Luria, are quoted in the *Dovev Siftei Yeshenim* (Smyrna, 1671) of his grandson Nissim Solomon *Algazi.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Scholem, in: *Beḥinot*, 9 (1956), 82; Tamar, in: *Tarbiz*, 27 (1957/58), 105–8; M. Benayahu, *Sefer Toledot ha-Ari* (1967), 362–4.

[Abraham David]

BENVENISTE, JOSHUA RAPHAEL BEN ISRAEL (1590?–1665?), Turkish rabbi, physician, grammarian, and poet; brother of Ḥayyim *Benveniste. Joshua was born in Constantinople and was a disciple of Joseph b. Moses *Trani and Abraham *Alegre. He studied grammar under Isaac *Uzziel, and medicine under Isaac Caro, the physician. While serving as rabbi in Constantinople, he accepted the rabbinate of Sophia, after the community had agreed to all of his conditions, but the Constantinople community objected and prevailed upon him to remain. For some years Joshua was rabbi of Bursa. Many communities, even Karaites, addressed their problems to him, and responsa written by him, as early as 1610, are extant. Benveniste was a versatile author and many of his works are still regarded as basic in their fields. He devoted himself particularly to the Jerusalem Talmud, which was largely neglected in his day. His commentary on it, *Sedeh Yehoshu'a*, was published with the text. Joshua's method was first to explain all difficult words according to the Babylonian Talmud, the *Arukh*, etc., and then to explain the passage, comparing it with the parallel passage in the Babylonian Talmud or explaining it according to the context where no such parallel exists. Where the *halakhah* differs in the two Talmuds he decided according to the Babylonian, "since it is the essential one." He also collected explanations which he found in works of *rishonim* and halakhists and added his own. He deals only with the halakhic portions, ignoring the *aggadah*. His language is very prolix. This may explain why the commentary did not become widespread among the scholars of Eastern and Western Europe.

His commentary to the following tractates was published: *Berakhot, Pe'ah, Orlah, Ḥallah*, and *Bikkurim* of the order *Zera'im* (Constantinople, 1662); a number of tractates of *Mo'ed, Nashim*, and *Nezikin* (Constantinople, 1749). The commentary has frequently been reprinted together with the text. His *Seder ha-Get* and *Seder Ḥaliẓah* were published in *Get Pashut* (Constantinople, 1719) of Moses ibn Ḥabib. According to Ḥayyim Joseph David *Azulai, his four volumes of responsa, *Sha'ar Yehoshu'a*, were destroyed by fire after 1677. Some of his 97 responsa on *Ḥoshen Mishpat*, which have remained in manuscript (Jewish Institute, Warsaw, no. 13), were published in Husiatin in 1904 and many of his responsa were published in the books of his contemporaries. His other published works are *Oznei Yehoshu'a* (Constantinople, 1677), sermons, and *Avodah Tammah* (Constantinople, 1691–95), an exposition of the *Avodah* in the Day of Atonement liturgy, and a clarification of the variant readings. The following remain in manuscript: *Mishmeret ha-Mitzvot* (JTS, Ms. 0347), a poetic arrangement of the commandments in accordance with the enumeration of Maimonides; *Levush Malkhut*, describing the greatness of the Creator as evinced in the human anatomy, written in the style of the *Keter Malkhut* of Solomon ibn Gabirol; *Perek be-Shir* (Montefiore Ms. 377), on prosody and meter; and a treatise on medicine.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: L. Ginzberg, *Perushim ve-Ḥiddushim ba-Yerushalmi*, 1 (1961), introduction (Eng.) liii–liv; N. Allony, *Mi-Torat ha-Lashon ve-ha-Shirah bi-Ymei ha-Beinayim* (1944), 85–92; idem, *Mi-Sifrut Yemei ha-Beinayim* (1945), 39–42; Benayahu, in: *Aresheth*, 3 (1961), 151.

BENVENISTE, MOSES (second half of the 16th century), Turkish physician. As medical attendant to the grand vizier, Siavouch Pasha, Benveniste attained considerable influence in Turkish politics; in 1582 he was largely responsible for reinstating Peter the Lame as *gospodar* (ruler) of Moldavia. In 1583, in conjunction with Nissim, the Jewish director of the mint, he recommended the currency reform which led to a revolt of the Janissaries. Later, he was associated with the Jew David *Passi and the Italian Paolo Maria in unsuccessful intrigues with the English ambassador Barton against Solomon *Abenaes, Duke of Mytilene. In 1598 Benveniste, who had always favored the pro-Spanish party in Turkish politics, was one of the three Turkish plenipotentiaries in the peace negotiations with Spain. Having exceeded their instructions, they were banished. It is possible that Benveniste unsuccessfully tried to escape this sentence by embracing Islam, but died a political prisoner, probably in Rhodes. The poet Yehudah Zarko, a native of Rhodes, wrote a long poem about the exile of Benveniste to Rhodes. His son, Rabbi Israel Benveniste, visited him there. It seems that he became one of the leaders of the Jewish community in Rhodes. Rabbi Israel died after 1695 and we have the poem which was written on his tombstone. His well-known grandchildren were Rabbi Ḥayyim *Benveniste and Rabbi Moses Benveniste.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Rosanes, Togarmah 3 (1938²), 8, 13, 356–8, 363; C. Roth, *House of Nasi, Duke of Naxos* (1948), 200, 204, 211, 215; A. Galanté, *Turcs et Juifs* (1932), 101; idem, *Juifs de Rhodes* (1935), 109f.; E. Charrière (ed.), *Négociations de la France dans le Levant*, 4 (1966), 246f. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** Graetz-Shefer, 7, 309, 428. Benayahu, in: *Sefunot* 12 (1971–78), 123–45; C.M. Kortepeter, *Ottoman Imperialism during the Reformation: Europe and the Caucasus* (1972), 214–26; F. Braudel, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II* (1973), 1143–85.

[Cecil Roth / Leah Bornstein-Makovetsky (2nd ed.)]

BEN-VENISTE, RICHARD (1943–), U.S. lawyer. A native New Yorker, Ben-Veniste is from a Sephardi family on his father's side, with its roots in northern Spain and Greece, and has a German and Russian background on his mother's side. He earned his undergraduate degree magna cum laude from Muhlenberg College and returned to New York to get his law degree from Columbia University, where he was the Harlan Fisk Stone Scholar. He joined the United States Attorney's office in New York straight from Northwestern University's law school, where he received his master of law degree in 1968. He stayed on, assigned first to the Special Prosecutions Section and then as chief of the Official Corruption Section (where he prosecuted several celebrated cases), from June 1972, until, at the age of 30, joining the main Watergate task force, investigating the activities of President Richard M. Nixon, and questioning witnesses in connection with the White House tape recordings.

It was Ben-Veniste, an assistant special prosecutor, who presented the opening statement on behalf of the seven-member prosecution team in the Watergate cover-up trial, portraying Nixon as one of the central conspirators. In a four-hour presentation, Ben-Veniste told the jury that Nixon held a "multitude of meetings" in April 1973 with John D. Ehrlichman and H.R. Haldeman, then his chief aides and two of the five defendants in the trial. He also laid out details of the case against the other defendants, including Attorney General John N. Mitchell. Ben-Veniste thus had one of the key roles in the unraveling of the Nixon presidency and Nixon's resignation before he could be impeached.

Ben-Veniste practiced law in Washington, specializing in litigation involving high-profile white-collar clients, including, in the 1990s, the investigation of President Bill Clinton and his wife, Hilary, concerning the failed land deal known as Whitewater. That investigation found no evidence of criminal activity on the part of the Clintons.

In 2004, Ben-Veniste was a Democratic member of the independent commission investigating the Sept. 11 attacks, engineered by Osama Bin Laden and Al-Qaeda, on the World Trade Center in New York and on the Pentagon. As such he harshly questioned Condoleezza Rice, President George W. Bush's national security advisor, on her and the president's assessment of a briefing on Aug. 6, 2001, that carried the title "Bin Laden Determined to Attack Inside the United States." Rice described it as "historical information based on old reporting – there was no new threat information," a contention Ben-Veniste disputed. Ben-Veniste played a major role in shaping the commission's final report, in which it asserted that the Clinton and Bush administrations failed to grasp the gravity of the threat from Al Qaeda.

[Stewart Kampel (2nd ed.)]

BENVENISTE, SAMUEL (d. after 1356), physician and translator, who lived in Tarragona and Saragossa, Spain. Benveniste was a familiar figure at the court of King Pedro IV of Aragon, being physician to his brother, Don Manuel. In about 1300 he translated into Hebrew Maimonides' *Sefer ha-Kaẓẓeret* ("Treatise on Asthma"), apparently from a Latin translation; his rendering is colloquial and fluent, although the surviving manuscripts were carelessly copied. Some scholars ascribe to Benveniste a translation of Boethius' *Consolations of Philosophy*.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: HB, 8 (1865), 85, 125f.; 9 (1869), 91; 10 (1870), 84; Steinschneider, Uebersetzungen, 496, 767; Baer, Urkunden, 1 (1929), 172, 434; Sanchez Real, in: *Sefarad*, 11 (1951), 347.

BENVENISTE, SHESHET BEN ISAAC BEN JOSEPH (also called "**Perfect de Pratis**"; c. 1131–1209), Spanish financier, physician, and poet; grandson of Sheshet ha-Nasi of Barcelona. In his youth, Benveniste entered the service of the count of Barcelona. Subsequently, he served the kings of Aragon Alfonso II and from 1196 Pedro II as physician, translator into Arabic, political adviser, and diplomatic envoy. He also took an active part in the fiscal administration, and received certain state revenues in return for loans to the royal treasury. Like the nobility of the kingdom, Benveniste was exempted from taxes and enjoyed legal immunity from the jurisdiction of both the crown authorities and the local Jewish community. He received a royal grant of privileges on the basis of which he regulated the affairs of the Barcelona synagogue. His signature in Hebrew figures on official documents. Benveniste apparently had a wide knowledge in many subjects. He wrote Hebrew poetry, was in touch with Muslim scholars, knew general history, and wrote medical works still preserved in manuscript. Benveniste regarded the *Mishneh Torah* of Maimonides as the basic authority on *halakhah* and vigorously championed the latter's philosophical views. *Benjamin of Tudela and Judah *Al-Ḥarizi, who met Benveniste in Barcelona, praise him highly. He was a patron of poets and scholars, such as *Isaac b. Abba Mari, and Joseph *Ibn Zabara, who dedicated to him his *Sefer ha-Sha'ashu'im*.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Baer, Spain, 1 (1961), 91, 100; D. Kaufmann, in: REJ, 39 (1899), 62–63; Marx, in: JQR, 25 (1934/35), 406–7.

[Zvi Avneri]

BENVENISTE DE PORTA (d. 1268), financial official in Aragon during the reign of James I, from Villafranca del Panadés. Benveniste dealt in grain and owned flour mills in Barcelona. In the 1250s and 1260s he served the crown as *baile* (bailiff) in Barcelona and elsewhere, such as Gerona, Perpignan, and Lérida. In exchange for the sums he lent to the king and his ministers, Benveniste received concessions on royal revenues in Catalonia and the Balearic Islands. At one time, he provided the silver for the Barcelona mint. In 1264 his brother Astrug de Porta was accused of blaspheming Jesus during a religious discussion but, through Benveniste's influence, the sentence of banishment was commuted to a fine.

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[Zvi Avneri]

BENVENISTI, DAVID (1897–1993), Israeli geographer and educator. Born in Salonika, Greece, Bevenisti immigrated to Ereẓ Israel with his parents in 1913 and studied at the Jerusalem Teachers' Seminary under David *Yellin. After serving in the Jewish Legion during World War I, he taught the geography of Ereẓ Israel and was pedagogical adviser at the Jerusalem Teachers' Seminary from 1925 until 1963. Devoting himself to educational problems as much as to geography, Benvenisti distinguished himself by promoting an interest in the topography of Ereẓ Israel and a love of nature. To popularize hiking, he was active in founding both the Israel Hikers' Association and the Israel Youth Hostels Federation. He wrote a number of textbooks and teaching guides on the subject of Israeli geography and also became interested in the folklore of the Jews of Salonika, publishing books on this subject, and in 1977 published a guide to the street names of Jerusalem. He was awarded the Israel Prize in 1982 for teaching an appreciation of the Land of Israel and its lore.

BENWAISH, ABRAHAM (16th–17th centuries), banker to the sultan of Morocco Aḥmad al-Manṣūr in Marrakesh (south Morocco) and later superintendent of finances (until 1627). Benwaish was extremely influential and it was because of him that members of the *Pallache family were appointed ambassadors of Morocco to Holland. He was responsible for one of his relatives, Abraham Buzaglo-Azulay, being sent to Venice in 1606 to buy expensive goods for the ruler. Benwaish was appointed **nagid* of the Jews of the kingdom of *Marrakesh and promoted study there. In his capacity as superintendent of finance he discriminated against the English and Dutch Christians in favor of his coreligionists, a policy which brought protests from the European governments. Accused of embezzlement, he had no difficulty in clearing himself. His descendant SAMUEL (1738–1817), *dayyan* of *Meknès, was renowned for his piety. His responsa are extant in manuscript.

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[David Corcos]

BEN-YEḤEZKI'EL, MORDEKHAI (1883–1971), Hebrew essayist and adapter of folktales. Born in Galicia, he moved in 1906 to Lvov where he was both student and tutor. After visiting Western Europe, he taught for a time in Lvov, and immigrated to Palestine in 1920. At first he taught at the Tel Aviv Teachers' Seminary and from 1925 was an instructor of Hebrew, Bible, and Literature at the Mizrachi Teachers' Seminary in Jerusalem. After the publication of his first article on *Ḥasidism in **Ha-Shilo'aḥ* in 1904, he wrote regularly on language, literature, Ḥasidism, etc., in the Hebrew press and was encouraged by Ḥ.N. *Bialik to publish his adaptations of various folktales, which appeared as *Sefer ha-Ma'asiyyot* ("Book of Folk Tales"; four volumes 1926–29; expanded edition in six volumes, 1957).

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[Getzel Kressel]

BEN-YEHUDA, ELIEZER (1858–1922), Hebrew writer and lexicographer, generally considered the father of modern Hebrew, and one of the first active Zionist leaders. Born Eliezer Yiẓḥak Perelman in Luzhky, Lithuania, he officially adopted the pseudonym Ben-Yehuda, which he had previously used in his literary activities, when he went to Palestine. Ben-Yehuda's father, a *Ḥabad Ḥasid, died when Eliezer was five years old. At the age of 13, he was sent to his uncle to attend the yeshivah in Polotsk. The head of the yeshivah, a *maskil* in secret, introduced him to secular literature. To save him from heresy, his uncle sent him to study in Glubokoye, in the Vilna district, where Ben-Yehuda made the acquaintance of Samuel Naphtali Herz Jonas, also a Ḥabad Ḥasid, who was writing for Hebrew periodicals. Jonas persuaded him to prepare for secondary school matriculation, and his eldest daughter, Deborah, taught him Russian. After a year of preparation he entered the Dvinsk Gymnasium from which he graduated in 1877.

The Russo-Turkish War (1877–78) and the struggle of the Balkan nations for liberation planted in Ben-Yehuda the idea of the revival of the Jewish people on its ancestral soil. He maintained that the Jewish people, like all other peoples, had a historic land and a historic language. What was needed was to actuate a national movement that would restore Israel to its land and to its language. He wrote in the preface to his dictionary: "In those days it was as if the heavens had suddenly opened, and a clear, incandescent light flashed before my eyes, and a mighty inner voice sounded in my ears: the renascence of Israel on its ancestral soil." He determined to settle in Ereẓ Israel, and in 1878 went to Paris to study medicine so that he might have a profession to sustain himself. He discussed his plan for a Jewish national movement with some Hebrew writers; they, however, were not interested. His article "*She'elah Lohatah*" ("A Burning Question") was published in P. *Smolenskin's *Ha-Shaḥar* in 1879 (after *Ha-Maggid* had refused to accept it) under the name "E. Ben-Yehuda." For the first time the idea of a national spiritual center in Ereẓ Israel was clearly propounded. Ben-Yehuda linked the Jewish national revival with the general European awakening and said that the Jewish people should learn from the oppressed European peoples that were fighting for political freedom and national revival. The Jewish people must establish a community in Ereẓ Israel that would serve as a focal point for the entire people, so that even those Jews who would remain in the Diaspora would know that they belong to a people that dwells in its own land and has its own language and culture. In this essay, the fundamental principles of spiritual Zionism are anticipated: the settlement of the land not for the return of the entire people from the exile, but for the creation of a national center designed to save from assimilation those Jews that are scattered all over the Diaspora.

In Paris, Ben-Yehuda met George (Getzel) *Selikovitch, a Jewish journalist, who told him that in his travels through Asia and Africa he had spoken Hebrew with the Jews of these lands, so that in fact Hebrew was not dead. When Ben-Yehuda contracted tuberculosis in the winter of 1878, he decided to discontinue his medical studies and make his home in the more favorable climate of Ereẓ Israel. He enrolled in the teachers' seminary of the Alliance Israélite Universelle, to qualify for a teaching post in *Mikveh Israel. There he attended the lectures of the Assyriologist Joseph *Halevy who in the periodical *Ha-Maggid* had advocated the coinage of new Hebrew words as early as the 1860s. As his health deteriorated, Ben-Yehuda entered the Rothschild Hospital in Paris, and there he met the Jerusalem scholar A.M. *Luncz who spoke Hebrew to him in the Sephardi pronunciation and told him that the members of the various Jewish communities in Jerusalem were able to converse with one another only in Sephardi Hebrew. This reinforced Ben-Yehuda's opinion that the Jews could not hope to become a united people in their own land again unless their children revived Hebrew as their spoken tongue. The Hebrew living language must have Sephardi phonetic sounds because that was the pronunciation which served in the transliteration of biblical names in ancient and modern translations of the Bible. In 1880 he published two articles in *Ha-Ḥavaẓẓelet* in which he advocated that Hebrew rather than the various foreign languages become the language of instruction in the Jewish schools in Ereẓ Israel. In 1881, he left for Palestine. He traveled by way of Vienna, where he was joined by his childhood acquaintance, Deborah Jonas, whom he married in Cairo. In October 1881, they arrived in Jaffa where Ben-Yehuda informed his wife that henceforth they would converse only in Hebrew. The Ben-Yehuda household thus was the first Hebrew-speaking home established in Palestine, and his first son, Ben-Zion (later called Ithamar *Ben-Avi), the first modern Hebrew-speaking child.

To ingratiate himself with the Orthodox Jews who knew written Hebrew and could, therefore, readily learn to speak the language, Ben Yehuda at first adopted their customs. He grew a beard and earlocks, and prevailed upon his wife to wear a *sheytl* ("wig"). This did not last very long because the Orthodox Jews of Jerusalem soon sensed that for Ben-Yehuda Hebrew was not a holy tongue, but a secular, national language, and that his purpose for introducing spoken Hebrew was solely nationalist and political. They began to suspect him, and Ben-Yehuda became an extremist in his antireligious attitude. He registered as a national Jew "without religion."

As early as 1881 Ben-Yehuda, together with Y.M. *Pines, D. *Yellin, Y. *Meyuḥas, and A. Masie, founded the society Teḥiyyat Israel based on five principles: work on the land and expansion of the country's productive population; revival of spoken Hebrew; creation of a modern Hebrew literature and science in the national spirit; education of the youth in a national and, at the same time, universal humanistic spirit; and active opposition to the **ḥalukkah* system. During the period 1882–85, Ben-Yehuda worked on *Ha-Ḥavaẓẓelet* and put out a supplement to the periodical under the name *Mevasseret Ẓiyyon*. At the same time, he taught in the Jerusalem Alliance school, which post he accepted only after he was permitted to use Hebrew exclusively as the language of instruction in all Jewish subjects. The school was thus the first in which at least some subjects were taught in Hebrew. In 1885, Ben-Yehuda published a geography of Palestine, called *Ereẓ Yisrael* (only part 1 appeared). Toward the end of 1884, he founded a weekly, *Ha-Ẓevi*, which later became a biweekly, under the new name, *Ha-Or*. In 1908, it became a daily, known first as *Ha-Ẓevi*, and from 1910 onward as *Ha-Or*; it appeared until 1915. For several years, from 1897, Ben-Yehuda also published a weekly (from 1904, biweekly) called *Hashkafah*. In his periodicals he fought against the *ḥalukkah* system, championed agricultural labor, the new settlement, and, especially, the revival of spoken Hebrew. He spared no effort to enrich the language by coining new terms and introducing transliterations from foreign tongues. Financial difficulties in the economically poor Jerusalem environment were mainly responsible for the shortcomings of his magazine. Despite all its defects, however, Ben-Yehuda's periodical was the first in Hebrew to meet European standards. It removed the barrier between strictly Jewish topics and secular subjects, and discussed, insofar as the strict Turkish censorship permitted, all aspects of general political and cultural life.

In 1891, Ben-Yehuda's wife died, and about six months later he married her younger sister. She adopted the Hebrew name Ḥemdah. A constant companion to her husband in his literary activity, Ḥemdah Ben-Yehuda published translations and original Hebrew stories in his periodicals. It was she who incited Ben-Yehuda's extremism against the Jewish tradition. Ben Yehuda's unorthodox behavior, and the campaign which he waged in the columns of his periodicals against the *ḥalukkah* system and its administrators, aroused the vehement opposition of the extreme Orthodox Jews. Seeking a pretext for revenge, they found it in an article by Jonas in the 1894 Ḥanukkah number of *Ha-Ẓevi*, which contained the phrase "let us gather strength and go forward." Some of Ben-Yehuda's more bigoted enemies distorted its meaning and interpreted it to the Turkish authorities as "let us gather an army and proceed against the East." Ben-Yehuda was charged with sedition and sentenced to a year's imprisonment. The affair created a great stir throughout the Jewish world; an appeal was lodged and he was released.

Turkish censorship of *Ha-Ẓevi*, however, became more stringent from then on. As a result, Ben-Yehuda began to concentrate more on linguistic questions to which the censors could make no objection. He became increasingly engrossed in his dictionary for which he had begun to collect material from the day he arrived in Ereẓ Israel. In order to conduct research and raise funds for its publication, Ben-Yehuda traveled several times to Europe, and later also to the United States where he worked in American libraries. In 1910, assisted by various sponsors, he began to publish his *Complete Dictionary of Ancient and Modern Hebrew* volume by volume; after his death, his widow and his son Ehud continued his publication which was completed in 1959 (17 vols.), with an introductory volume, *Ha-Mavo ha-Gadol* ("Prolegomenon").

In 1890, together with David Yellin, Aaron Masie, and others, Ben-Yehuda founded the Va'ad ha-Lashon over which he presided until his death. This *va'ad* was the forerunner of the *Academy of the Hebrew Language which Ben-Yehuda had also suggested in 1920.

Ben-Yehuda was among the supporters of the *Uganda scheme; he wrote articles in *Ha-Ẓevi* advocating the idea, and even a special pamphlet called *Ha-Medinah ha-Yehudit* (1905). His views incurred many enemies for him among those who were not prepared to exchange Zion for any other country. On the other hand, he won general respect when he led the fight (1913–14) against the plan of the *Hilfsverein der deutschen Juden to introduce German as the language of instruction in its secondary schools in Palestine and in the technical college which was about to be established in Haifa.

During World War I, when Jamal Pasha, the Turkish commander in Palestine, outlawed Zionism, Ben-Yehuda left for the United States. There he wrote his book *Ad Eimatai Dibberu Ivrit?* ("Until When was Hebrew Spoken?" 1919). He returned to Palestine in 1919. Together with M. *Ussishkin, he prevailed upon Herbert *Samuel, the British high commissioner, to declare Hebrew one of the three official languages of the country. He founded Sefatenu, a society for the propagation of Hebrew, and also served as secretary of the Planning Committee of the Hebrew University. A number of his writings were collected and published posthumously: the anthology *Yisrael le-Arẓo ve-li-Leshono* (1929) and *Avot ha-Lashon ha-Ivrit*; part 1: *Rabbi Akiva* (1945).

Ben-Yehuda's cultural activities and achievements fall into four divisions: (1) The revival of spoken Hebrew. Hebrew was spoken before the days of Ben-Yehuda but only intermittently. The very sanctity with which the language was invested prevented its daily use. Ben-Yehuda made Hebrew speech a national goal. He was convinced that a living Hebrew, spoken by the people in its own land, was indispensable to the political and cultural rebirth of the nation. In this view Ben-Yehuda differed from *Smolenskin, *Lilienblum, and *Herzl, who were able to envisage a Jewish homeland without Hebrew as its mother tongue. Ben-Yehuda fought untiringly and uncompromisingly for this ideal. He lived to see his vision realized: the revival of the *Hebrew language as a spoken tongue after more than two thousand years. (2) The creation of a simple, popular style in Hebrew literature. Ben-Yehuda fought against the use of inflated rhetoric and the archaic expressions and forms which had lost their appeal. He demanded simplicity and concreteness in Hebrew prose which, until then, had been rhetorical and florid. With this objective in mind, he translated a number of stories from various languages into plain, unadorned Hebrew. (3) Ben-Yehuda was the first to make a regular and systematic practice of coining Hebrew words. Neologism was not new to Hebrew, but it had never been done methodically and specifically to meet the practical demands which were constantly being made on the language in daily speech, in journalism, in science, and in literature. (4) His dictionary complemented his achievement of the revival of spoken Hebrew. The dictionary attempts to include all the Hebrew words used in the different periods and developmental stages of the language. It is also arranged in the manner of modern European language dictionaries, and not according to word roots, as was customary in former Hebrew dictionaries. A characteristic feature of the dictionary is its bold omission of all Aramaic words, as well as other foreign words found in the Bible, Talmud, Midrash, and other works that are not of Semitic origin.

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[Joseph Gedaliah Klausner]

BEN-YEHUDA, ḤEMDAH (1873–1951), Hebrew author; wife of Eliezer *Ben-Yehuda. Her sister Deborah was Ben-Yehuda's first wife. After she died, Ḥemdah went to Jerusalem from Lithuania and married Ben-Yehuda in 1892. She aided her husband in his literary work, wrote articles and stories for his papers, and after his death in 1922 concerned herself with the continued publication of his multi-volume dictionary. Her two main works were *Ben Yehuda, Ḥayyav u-Mifalo* (1940), a life of Ben Yehuda, and *Nose ha-Degel* (1944) on her stepson Ithamar *Ben-Avi.

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[Getzel Kressel]

BEN YEHUDA, NETIVA (1928–), Israeli military officer, writer, and scholar of spoken Hebrew, who embodied the heroic voluntarism and utter loyalty to the "Jewish national rebirth in its homeland" that was the hallmark of the *Palmaḥ from the 1940s. Fearlessness, physical prowess, and total devotion were some of the features that distinguished this young officer, whose military specialties included topography, reconnaissance, and demolition. Born in Tel Aviv and educated at the Herzlia Hebrew Gymnasium, where her father, Baruch (1894–1990), served as teacher and principal (he later became the first director general of Israel's Ministry of Education and Culture), Ben Yehuda volunteered for the Palmaḥ and later served as an officer in the Israel Defense Forces. She married in 1950 and gave birth to a daughter, Amal, in 1953. Ben Yehuda and her husband separated in 1962 and later divorced.

She worked as an editor of the *Encyclopedia Hebraica* and as a spokeswoman in the Ministry of Labor.

Ben Yehuda's lifelong devotion to the cause of spoken Hebrew began a few years after independence. After study both at home and abroad (art, Hebrew language, linguistics, and philosophy), she became a freelance editor who mediated between the spoken Hebrew developed in the Palmaḥ, marked by humorous slang and linguistic inventiveness, and the elevated, highly stylized standards then required by Hebrew *belles lettres*. Her dedication to this issue resulted in the 1972 publication of *Millon Olami le-Ivrit Meduberet* ("The World Dictionary of Hebrew Slang"; a second volume appeared in 1982), a hilariously irreverent book which she co-authored with another Palmaḥ member, writer, and satirist Dahn *Ben Amotz (1924–1990).

Traces of this early work can be found in her later Palmaḥ Trilogy, which consists of *Between the Calendars* (1981); *Through the Binding Ropes* (1985); and *When the State of Israel Broke Out* (1991). Unique both stylistically and generically, the trilogy, which preserves slang and idiomatic Hebrew of days gone by, is a subversive revision of a major chapter in the Israeli national narrative. By reducing the myth of a glorious past to human and at times petty proportions, the Palmaḥ Trilogy contributed to the "new historical" de-mythologization of the 1948 War of Independence. At the same time, the trilogy also coincided with Israeli feminist research of the 1980s that exposed the gap between the Palmaḥ's promise of "sexual equality" and the sexist reality in its ranks. A personal trauma caused by this fissure emerges as the hidden motivation behind Ben Yehuda's narrative and explains the "writer's block" underlying the author's 30-year-long reticence. Ben Yehuda's other books include *Autobiography in Shir va-Zemer* (1990).

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[Yael S. Feldman (2nd ed.)]

BEN-YEHUDAH, BARUKH (1894–1990), Israeli educator. Ben-Yehudah, who was born in Marijampole, Lithuania, settled in Ereẓ Israel in 1911. During World War I he joined *kevuẓat* Deganyah, teaching there and at Rosh Pinnah. He then studied at the University of Brussels and, after receiving a degree in mathematics and physics in 1924, returned to teaching. He became principal of the Herẓlia Gymnasium in Tel Aviv. In 1927 he helped found the pioneering high school youth movement Ḥugim (later known as Maḥanot Olim). He also founded the Teachers' Council for the Jewish National Fund. He was director of the education department of the Va'ad Le'ummi in 1947, and the first director-general of the Ministry of Education and Culture of the State of Israel (until 1951). In 1979 he was awarded the Israel Prize for education. His books include *Toledot ha-Ẓiyyonut* ("The History of Zionism," 1943); *Ha-Keren ha-Meḥannekhet: Tenu'at Morim Lema'an Ẓiyyon u-Ge'ulatah* ("The Educating Fund: The Teachers' Movement for Zion and its Redemption" 1949, 1952); *Ta'amei ha-Mikra le-Vattei Sefer* ("Biblical Cantillation for Schools," 1968); *Kol ha-Ḥinnukh ha-Ẓiyyoni* ("The Voice of Zionist Education," 1955); and *Yesodot u-Derakhim* ("Fundamentals and Ways," 1952). He also wrote on teaching mathematics: *Hora'at ha-Matematikah be-Veit ha-Sefer ha-Tikhon* ("The Teaching of Mathematics in High School," 2 vols., 1959–60) and mathematics texts.

[Abraham Aharoni]

BEN YIẒḤAK, AVRAHAM (pen name of **Avraham Sonne**; 1883–1950), Hebrew poet. Born in Galicia, Ben Yiẓḥak received a traditional Jewish and secular education, and then studied at the universities of Vienna and Berlin. From 1913 to the summer of 1914, he was visiting lecturer in Hebrew literature and psychology at the Jerusalem Teachers' Seminary. After a brief career in the Zionist organization, he served as teacher and later principal at the Hebrew Pedagogium (Teachers' Academy) in Vienna, founded by *H.P. Chajes. After the Nazi Anschluss of Austria in 1938, he emigrated to Ereẓ Israel and settled in Jerusalem. Although he published only 11 poems during his lifetime Ben Yiẓḥak is considered a distinguished figure in modern Hebrew poetry. Most of his poems appeared before World War I and immediately attracted attention. His first poem, "*Ḥoref Bahir*" ("Bright Winter") was published in *Ha-Shilo'aḥ* in 1908. His last poem, "*Ashrei ha-Zore'im ve-Lo Yikẓoru*" ("Happy Are They That Sow But Shall Not Reap") in 1928, a farewell to his craft, concludes with the words, "And their everlasting lot shall be silence." His refusal to publish further remains a mystery. Later poems were found among his effects, but others, which he had read to his friends, are lost. Some of his work has been translated into English and various European languages. Ben Yiẓḥak wrote according to the Sephardi pronunciation (the one adopted in Ereẓ Israel) long before it was adopted by other Hebrew poets, who wrote in the Ashkenazi accent used by Hebrew-speaking European Jews. Ben Yiẓḥak's lyrics, with their terse style and biblical diction, focus on nature, meditation, and love. Though the form of Ben Yiẓḥak's poems is occasionally reminiscent of the Psalms, their content expresses a modern outlook on life and poetry, and he is considered by many to be the first truly modern Hebrew poet. His prose works included anonymous articles in German-Jewish periodicals and an essay on *Mendele Mokher Seforim in *Der Jude*, 3 (1918–19). One of the most scholarly and sensitive thinkers of his generation, Ben Yiẓḥak's personal influence on both Jewish and non-Jewish writers and philosophers was profound, yet he always declined to publish his obiter dicta. His collected poems appeared posthumously.

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[Lea Goldberg]

BEN-YOSEF (Tabachnik), SHELOMO (1913–1938), first Jew executed by the British in Palestine. Ben-Yosef, who was born in Lutsk, Poland, joined *Betar in 1928. In 1937 he reached Palestine as an "illegal" immigrant and joined the Betar work brigade at Rosh Pinnah. Ben-Yosef and two of his comrades, Shalom Zurabin and Avraham Shein, decided to retaliate for the murder of Jews by Arab terrorists, and on April 21, 1938, tried to attack an Arab bus on the Rosh Pinnah-Safed road. The attack failed and the three were arrested and brought before a military court. Ben-Yosef and Shein were sentenced to death and Zurabin to imprisonment. Shein was reprieved because of his youth. All efforts to save Ben-Yosef from execution were in vain. He went to the gallows at Acre prison on June 29, 1938, singing Betar songs. On the day of his execution, riots broke out in Tel Aviv when demonstrators clashed with the British police. Ben-Yosef was buried at Rosh Pinnah, and after the establishment of the State of Israel a monument was erected in his memory on the Rosh Pinnah-Safed road.

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[David Niv]

BENZAMERO, Spanish-Moroccan family. Its best-known members in Spain lived chiefly in Seville. JUDAH BEN EPHRAIM (1245–1330); MOSES (I) and his son EPHRAIM, were 14th-century financiers; and SOLOMON (I) and MEIR (I), 14th-century physicians. ISAAC (I) settled in Badajoz, Spain, where shortly before the 1492 expulsion Ferdinand and Isabella intervened to ensure that the large sums he had advanced them for the war against Granada would be repaid. He was probably the same Isaac Benzamero who after 1496 settled in Safi (Morocco). He became the treasurer of the Portuguese governors there, exercising important political influence, and was entrusted with many diplomatic missions, both to the king in Lisbon and to the Moroccan leaders. With his relative ISHMAEL he led 200 Jewish soldiers who took part in the defense of Safi when it was besieged by the sharif of Marrakesh in 1510.

Isaac's brother ABRAHAM BEN MEIR (d. c. 1530), paytan, physician and diplomat, lived in Granada and Malaga, and then in Tlemcen and Oran. In 1493 in Oran he wrote philosophic poems, quoted by Abraham *Gavison in his *Omer ha-Shikhḥah*. Later he settled in Safi, and there, in 1510, by decree of King Emmanuel I, was appointed chief rabbi with wide powers. Abraham b. Meir's political role in Portuguese affairs in Morocco was preeminent. He was highly regarded both by his coreligionists and the Muslims. He was also esteemed by King John III of Portugal, who received him at his court, and by the sultans of Fez and the sharifs of Marrakesh. David *Reuveni made his acquaintance in Lisbon.

In the 16th century JUDAH and SLIMAN held eminent positions in commerce. A letter is extant from their nephews SAMUEL and his brothers, which mentions the existence of independent Jewish warrior tribes in the western Sahara, a fact which is confirmed in other sources. AARON (16th century) was deputy governor of Agadir (Morocco), where he built a synagogue that received the former Marranos from the Canary Islands. ABRAHAM, who was official interpreter in Mazagan (1527), was evacuated to Arzila when the Portuguese lost their southern Morocco territories (after 1541).

The Benzameros then settled in Fez. Even before 1560 SOLOMON (II) had undertaken official functions, for which he received secretly large sums of money from Jeanne d'Autriche. MOSES (II) converted at the Escorial (the Spanish royal palace), took the name Pablo de Santa-Maria, and became a royal councillor. This caused a great scandal but the family continued to hold a leading position in Moroccan Jewish affairs. ISAAC (II), rabbi and *dayyan*, signed *takkanot* of Fez, when DAVID was *nagid* (1600–05). JOSEPH published *Divrei David* by *David b. Solomon ibn Abi Zimra at Leghorn in 1828, when his own work *Hon Yosef* appeared also. In Safi the family burial vaults, called the "Seven Zamero sons," were until recent years the site of frequent pilgrimages.

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[David Corcos]

BEN ZAQEN, Moroccan family descended from Spanish exiles. SAMUEL BEN ZAQEN (c. 1670–1745) lived in Fez, and studied under R. Judah Uzziel and R. Judah b. Attar. His works include *Peri Eẓ ha-Gan* (2 volumes, 1904), on the Bible and Midrash, *Gefen Poriyyah* (1904), also on the Midrash, and responsa. A part of the family emigrated from Morocco to Gibraltar in 1741, and from there some went to America, where, before 1750, they were well-established merchants in New York. JACOB BEN SAMUEL BEN ZAQEN was a communal leader in Gibraltar between 1834 and 1851. His cousin ISAAC BEN VIDAL BEN ZAQEN sent financial assistance to the Jewish poor in Rabat, Morocco. JOSEPH BEN ZAQEN served as *nagid* and was appointed the Swedish and Norwegian consul in Tetuan c. 1836. LEON BEN ZAQEN (1905–1977) studied medicine in Paris and became an ophthalmologist. He was much respected by his fellow Jews and had considerable influence with King Mohammed V of Morocco. When Morocco gained independence he was appointed minister of posts (1956–58).

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[David Obadia]

BENZAQUÉN, SAADIA (1925–1986), rabbi of the Jewish Moroccan community in Argentina. Born in Tetuan, Morocco, he immigrated to Argentina in 1951 and was appointed chief rabbi of the Asociación Comunidad Israelita Latina de Buenos Aires, serving until his death. In 1974 he succeeded in uniting all the synagogues and institutions of the Moroccan Jews in Buenos Aires in one central organization – ACILBA (Asociación Comunidad Israelita Latina de Buenos Aires).

[Efraim Zadoff (2nd ed.)]

BEN ZE'EV, JUDAH LEIB (1764–1811), grammarian and lexicographer; the first Jewish scholar to apply Western research methods to the study of Hebrew. Born near Cracow, Ben Ze'ev received a traditional Jewish education, but covertly, on his own, studied Hebrew philology and secular subjects. He belonged to the group of Polish-Jewish writers that published *Ha-Me'assef*, a literary organ in the spirit of the early Haskalah. Later, in 1787, when he moved to Berlin, he was admitted to the circle of Haskalah scholars there. In Berlin, he devoted himself to secular studies but returned to his native city which he was forced to leave when persecuted by Orthodox Jews because of his liberal opinions. He settled in Breslau and worked as a proofreader in a Hebrew publishing house. Later he moved to Vienna where he was employed in the same capacity, in the Hebrew printing establishment of Anton von Schmid.

Ben Ze'ev's versatile literary activities spread over a number of fields: grammar and phonetics, lexicography, Bible exegesis, translations, poetry, parodic works, and the editing of medieval texts. *Talmud Leshon Ivri* (Breslau, 1796), probably his best-known work, is a grammar that served as the main source for the study of Hebrew in Eastern Europe for a hundred years; it was frequently reissued and exerted considerable influence on subsequent grammarians. In it, Ben Ze'ev discusses phonetics (and vocalization); the theory of forms (parts of speech); the noun, the verb, the particles; selected aspects of syntax (particularly the combination of sentences); aspects of literary theory (parallelism, rhyme, and meter); and the theory of *ta'amei ha-mikra* ("biblical accentuation and cantillation"). In his study of phonemes, he followed the line of thought of S.Z. Henau; in the definition of the parts of speech that of M. Mendelssohn; in his description of the noun and the verb the ideas of Elijah *Levita, and in his discussion on syntax the foundations of David Kimḥi in *Sefer ha-Mikhlol*. Ben Ze'ev applied the methods used in the study and research of European language grammars; his rules, based on logic, are organized in a manner suitable for instruction. Many of the concepts in his books are original, not to be found in any previous grammatical work: especially, a new terminology in the field of composition and syntax; innovations in syntax; and the study of poetry. His most important achievement is *Oẓar ha-Shorashim* (Vienna, 1807–08), a Hebrew-German and German-Hebrew dictionary which was inspired by the works of David Kimḥi. It is arranged in alphabetical order, e.g., in the German section, verbs with prefixes are listed alphabetically according to the prefixes; the definitions of the terms often include synonyms and examples of usage taken either from the Bible directly or cited in sentences formulated in biblical style; the German terms are written in Hebrew characters. Ben Ze'ev laid the basis for the modern Hebrew terminology in linguistics, translating grammatical terms from German into Hebrew and indicating their German equivalent.

Among his translations is Ecclesiasticus rendered into Hebrew (Breslau, 1798; at a time when the Hebrew text had not yet been discovered). When later parts of the Hebrew text were recovered it was found that Ben Ze'ev's translation in a biblical gnomic style was imbued with the very spirit of the author. *Meliẓah le-Furim*, a collection of ironic prayers and *seliḥot* for Purim (Breslau, 1800), containing also many clever parodies on well-known Jewish texts and poetic writings, mainly in the genre of the fable, are among his literary creative works. Ben Ze'ev lacked a poetic flair and it is in his grammatical studies that he excelled.

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[Menachem Zevi Kaddari]

BENZER, SEYMOUR (1921–), U.S. neuroscientist. Born in New York, Benzer graduated from Brooklyn College (1942) and received his Ph.D. from Purdue University, Indiana (1947), in physics where he progressed to distinguished professor (1945–67). During this period he collaborated with outstanding contemporary scientists, including M. Delbrueck (California Institute of Technology), F. Jacob and J. Monod (Pasteur Institute), and F.H. Crick and S. Brenner (Cambridge, U.K.). In 1967 he joined California Institute of Technology, first as professor and latterly as emeritus professor. Benzer moved from physics to molecular genetics followed by neuroscience. His initial discoveries concerned the molecular organization of genes, which he exploited to analyze the development of the nervous system and genetically controlled behavior in fruit flies (*drosophila*). This research has potential implications for understanding degenerative diseases of the nervous system in man and human behavior. His recent research concerned the genetic control of aging, notably muscle strength. His many honors included the Gairdner Award (1964), the Lasker Award (1971), the Harvey Prize of the Haifa Technion (1977), the Wolf Prize (1991), and the Neurosciences Award of the U.S. National Academy of Sciences. He is a member of the U.S. National Academy of Sciences and foreign member of the Royal Society of London.

[Michael Denman (2nd ed.)]

°**BENZINGER, IMMANUEL** (1865–1935), German Protestant theologian and Orientalist. Benzinger was born in Stuttgart and served as lecturer in biblical studies at Berlin University from 1898 to 1902. He taught in Jerusalem at various Christian institutes and at the Ezra Society School from 1902 to 1911. Thereafter he was professor of Bible in Toronto, Canada (1912–15), Meadville, Pa. (1915–18), and Riga, Latvia (from 1921 until his death). His principal work, *Hebraeische Archaeologie* (1894, 1927^3), is a comprehensive reference book of biblical archaeology. His *Buecher der Koenige* (1899) and *Buecher* *der Chronik* (1901) are commentaries on the books of Kings and Chronicles. His other major works include *Bilderatlas zur Bibelkunde* (1905), *Geschichte Israels bis auf die griechische Zeit* (1904, 1927^3), and *Jahvist and Elohist in den Koenigsbuechern* (1921). At the outset of his scholarly career, Benzinger followed the *Wellhausen school of biblical criticism, but later became an adherent of the Pan-Babylonian school.

[Michael Avi-Yonah]

BEN-ZION (1897–1987), U.S. painter, graphic artist, and sculptor. Born Ben-Zion Weinman in the Ukraine, he was the son of a cantor and at one time planned to enter the rabbinate. His father discouraged his early artistic interest, but Ben-Zion prevailed and by the age of 17 traveled to Vienna to study art. After the art academy rejected him because of antisemitism, he wrote poetry, plays, and fairy tales in Hebrew.

In 1920 he settled in America, where he found little interest in his writing. He began teaching Hebrew to support himself and then in the early 1930s returned to painting. He used his art to comment on the rise of fascism in Europe, events he felt could not be adequately explored with words. Largely self-taught, Ben-Zion visited the museums of New York City to learn his new trade. His first painting on a large scale, *Friday Evening* (1933, Jewish Museum, New York), depicts a Sabbath dinner table as recalled from his family home. Ben-Zion supported himself by working odd jobs until the establishment of the Works Progress Administration's Federal Art Project. Under the auspices of the WPA, Ben-Zion thrived and galleries began to show his work. In 1936, after his first one-man show at the Artists' Gallery in New York, Ben-Zion joined "The Ten," which included such progressive artists as Mark *Rothko and Ilya *Bolotowsky. The group exhibited together until 1942.

His work steers away from pure representation, but even when eschewing academic modes, Ben-Zion maintains elements of realism. He imaginatively reinterpreted biblical scenes, a staple of the art world for centuries. His first biblical painting, *The Prophet in the Desert* (1935), was followed by many others, such as *Ruth and Boaz* (1948). Indeed, over 150 of Ben-Zion's paintings are of biblical subjects, reflecting the yeshivah education of his early years in Eastern Europe. Thirty-nine of these paintings were shown at the Jewish Museum in New York in 1948, and he had a retrospective there in 1959.

A series of 17 works, given the title *De Profundis* (Out of the Depths), express the artist's distress at the events of the Holocaust, while also functioning as a memorial to the Jews murdered under the Nazi regime. These paintings show only the figures' heads, often distorted and painted in muted color. The suffering of these figures is rendered by a strong linear structure.

His etchings of biblical subjects were collected in several volumes, including *Biblical Themes* (1951), *Prophets* (1952), and *The Book of Ruth, Job, and Song of Songs* (1954).

In 1959 Ben-Zion began sculpting in iron, one of the most difficult media in which to work. The sculptural quality of the figures in his paintings seems to have led to this new medium. As with his painting, Jewish themes preoccupy his sculptures, such as *Sacrifice of Isaac* (1961) and *Moses Dropping the Tablets* (1979).

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[Samantha Baskind (2nd ed.)]

BEN-ZION, S. (pseudonym of **Simhah Alter Gutmann**; 1870–1932), Hebrew and Yiddish author. Ben-Zion, who was born in Teleneshty, Bessarabia, settled in Odessa in 1889. He taught there with Bialik, at the modern elementary school, where modern Hebrew was the language of instruction. With Bialik and *Rawnitzki, he founded the publishing house *Moriah and was editor of its juvenile division. The three also collaborated in the writing of Bible stories for children. Ben-Zion published the widely used reader, *Ben Ammi* (3 parts, 1905–11). From 1905 until his death he lived in Palestine, where he edited various journals and miscellanies; *Ha-Omer* (Jaffa, 1907–09); *Moledet* (1911); *Shai* (1918–19), the literary supplement of the weekly *Ḥadashot me-ha-Areẓ*; *Ha-Ezraḥ* (1919); and, for a short period (1930–31), the weekly *Bustanai*. Ben-Zion was also active in public life and was one of the founders of the Aḥuzzat Bayit suburb, out of which Tel Aviv developed. Ben-Zion's main achievement was as a short story writer. He began as a realist, influenced by *Mendele Mokher Seforim, but his realism had none of Mendele's social satire. The main theme of his early works is the decline of the Bessarabian small Jewish town at the end of the 19th century. The younger generation longed to escape from the poverty and ignorance of their parents, but found themselves unequipped to do so. Their approach to life was blighted by an excessive leaning toward abstraction and they lacked a realistic approach to everyday problems. Ben-Zion's memories of his own childhood and youth occupy a prominent place in these stories. In *Nefesh Reẓuẓah* ("A Crushed Soul," 1952), he denounces the anguish inflicted upon the Jewish child, crushed in the stifling atmosphere of the *ḥeder*. Ben-Zion's emigration to Palestine marked a turning-point in his writing. Sensing that the true essence of Zionism at the time was to be found not in the reality but in the vision, he abandoned his realism for poetic lyricism and visionary symbolism. In this vein, he wrote his prose-poems *Raḥel* and *Leviyyim* which, though artistically imperfect, nevertheless represent a milestone in modern Hebrew literature. Toward the end of his life Ben-Zion wrote two lengthy historical novels, *Megillat Ḥananyah*, set in the period of the Second Temple, and *Ma'aseh ha-Nezirah*, the story of Judith and Holofernes. He also excelled as a translator and rendered several of the classical works of German poetry into Hebrew: Goethe's *Hermann und Dorothea* (1917); Schiller's *Wilhelm Tell* (1924); *Ẓelilim*, a selection of Heine's poems (1923); Heine's *Deutsch-*

land, ein Wintermaerchen (1938), published posthumously. In addition, Ben-Zion wrote monographs on the Biluim and the colonies of Nes Ẓiyyonah and Gederah, edited an anthology entitled *Ha-Kotel ha-Ma'aravi* ("The Western Wall," 1929), and published *Zemirot li-Yladim* ("Songs for Children") with music by Joel *Engel (1923). His collected writings were first published in 1914 (in two volumes), and were later reissued in a single large volume (1949), with a complete bibliography, and illustrations by his son, Naḥum *Gutmann (1949).

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[Gedalyah Elkoshi]

BEN ẒIẒIT HA-KASAT (or **ha-Kassaf**; "silversmith"), wealthy and prominent citizen of Jerusalem at the time of the destruction of the Second Temple (Git. 56a; Gen. R. 42:1; Lam. R. 1:5, no. 31). It is related that Ben Ẓiẓit and his associates undertook to provide the needs of the inhabitants of Jerusalem throughout the war with Rome, but the Zealots burned their stores (see also *Ben Kalba Savu'a). Ben Ẓiẓit is possibly the Hebrew equivalent of the Latin *crispus* ("curly-headed").

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[Zvi Kaplan]

BEN ZOMA, SIMEON (second century), *tanna*. A contemporary of *Akiva, he appears to have studied under *Joshua b. Hananiah (Naz. 8:1, and cf. Tos. Ḥag. 2:6). The Mishnah says that he was the last of the authoritative biblical expositors (Sot. 9:15). According to Tosefta Ber. 6:2, when Ben Zoma was convinced that the scholar was the "crown of creation," and when he would see the multitude of different kinds of people and professions which populated the world, he would declare: "Blessed be He who created all of them to serve me." In further explanation of his position he continued: "In what labors was Adam involved before he obtained bread to eat? He had to plow, sow, reap, bind the sheaves, thresh and winnow and select the ears of corn; he had to grind them and sift the flour, to knead and bake, and only then could he eat; whereas I get up and find all these things prepared for me. And how much Adam had to labor before he found a garment to wear. He had to shear, wash the wool, comb it, spin and weave it, and only then did he acquire a garment to wear; whereas I get up and find all these things done for me. All kinds of craftsmen come early to the door of my house, and I rise in the morning and find all these things before me" (Ber. 58a, cf. Tos. Ber. 6:2). Many of his sayings became proverbs, such as "Who is wise? – he who learns from every man. Who is mighty? – he who subdues his evil inclination. Who is rich? – he who rejoices in his lot. Who is honored? – he who honors his fellow men" (Avot 4:1). He was one of the *tannaim* who occupied themselves with cosmological speculation, the *ma'aseh bereshit* (Tos. Ḥag. 2:6). According to Tos. Ḥag. 2:4 he was one of the four sages who "entered paradise," it is said (ibid.) that "he cast a look and went mad," while his companion Ben Azzai died as a result of this mystical experience. In the Jerusalem Talmud (Hag. 2:1, 77b) their roles are reversed. According to the Bavli he was regarded as "a disciple of the sages" (Kid. 49b and Rashi *ibid.*), and as one of those "who discussed before the sages" (Sanh. 17b and Rashi *ibid.*). Nevertheless, he was considered an outstanding scholar, so that it was said that whoever sees Ben Zoma in a dream "may hope for wisdom" (Ber. 57b).

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[Zvi Kaplan]

BEN ZUTA (Ben Zita), ABU AL-SURRĪ (tenth century), Karaite exegete. A number of his explanations of the Scripture are sarcastically dismissed by Abraham *Ibn Ezra in his commentary on the Pentateuch (e.g., on Ex. 20:23; 21:35; 22:28) and his *Sefer ha-Ibbur.* In the absence of corroboration from Karaite sources, Ibn Ezra's citations remain a principal source for particulars about Ben Zuta's life. A passage in an anonymous Arabic commentary on Samuel suggests, however, that Ben Zuta lived in Jerusalem and at a somewhat later period than had been conjectured. Judah *Ibn Bal'am also mentions Ben Zuta and cites his objection to an interpretation of Anan b. David, the founder of Karaism, to Ezra 18:6.

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BEN-ZVI (Shimshelevich), IZHAK (1884–1963). Labor leader in the Yishuv, historian, Israeli politician, second president of the State of Israel; member of the First and Second Knessets. Ben-Zvi was born in Poltava, Ukraine, the eldest son of Ẓevi Shimshelevich. His father, a member of *Benei Moshe, visited Ereẓ Israel in 1891 to explore the possibility of settling there. Ben-Zvi was educated in both a traditional and a modern *ḥeder*, and in 1901–05 studied at a Russian gymnasium. He visited Ereẓ Israel for the first time in 1904 for a period of two months. He entered the University of Kiev in 1905, but studies were interrupted due to a general strike. During the November pogroms he was active in the Jewish self-defense organization in Poltava. In 1906 he attended the founding conference of *Po'alei Zion (Zionist Social Democrats) of Russia, held in Poltava. Ben-Zvi served on the committee of three that formulated the final version of the party's program drafted by Ber *Borochov and contributed the section dealing with Palestine.

In June 1906 a search of Ben-Zvi's parents' home by the Russian police revealed a cache of weapons belonging to the self-defense organization that Ben-Zvi headed. His father was sentenced to lifetime exile in Siberia, serving 16 years before being allowed to leave the Soviet Union and settle in Ereẓ Israel. His aunt, his sister, and his brother Aaron *Reuveni were also imprisoned, but Ben-Zvi himself escaped to Vilna where he participated in the clandestine activities of the central committee of Po'alei Zion. He traveled to Germany, Austria, and Switzerland to try to influence Jewish students there. In Vienna he organized the first ties between Po'alei Zion branches in different countries. At the end of 1906 he returned to Vilna, which, after Borochov's imprisonment, had become the center of the movement.

Ben-Zvi settled in Ereẓ Israel at the beginning of 1907. In the same year he was a Po'alei Zion delegate from Ereẓ Israel to the Eighth Zionist Congress held in The Hague. He participated in the founding of the Bar Giora organization in Jaffa in 1907, and in 1909 of *Ha-Shomer, along with Raḥel Yanait (*Ben-Zvi), who had settled in Ereẓ Israel in 1908, and was to become his wife in 1918.

After the second Turkish revolution (1909), Ben-Zvi traveled to Turkey on behalf of Po'alei Zion. He visited Smyrna, Constantinople, and Salonika, as well as Beirut and Damascus, establishing ties with the Jewish communities and leaders. In Salonika he first encountered the remnants of the Shabbatean sect, later to become a subject for his research.

In 1910 Ben-Zvi, together with Raḥel Yanait, Ze'ev Ashur, and others, founded the first Hebrew socialist periodical in Ereẓ Israel, *Aḥdut* ("Unity"). Upon the outbreak of World War I, Ben-Zvi interrupted his studies at the University of Constantinople and returned to Ereẓ Israel. During the persecution of Jews by Jamal Pasha, the Ottoman governor, *Aḥdut* was closed down, and Ben-Zvi, together with David *Ben-Gurion, was imprisoned. They were both deported, and eventually made their way to New York. There they founded in 1915 the He-Ḥalutz movement of America.

Before the British offensive on the Palestine front, Ben-Gurion and Ben-Zvi initiated a volunteer movement for Jewish battalions in the U.S., and were among the first volunteers. They arrived in Egypt in 1918, and from there they went to Ereẓ Israel as soldiers of the *Jewish Legion in the British Royal Fusiliers. During the disturbances of 1920, 1922, and 1929, Ben-Zvi was active in the ranks of the *Haganah, while also representing the *Yishuv* in negotiations with the British authorities.

He was elected to the Central Committee of the *Aḥdut ha-Avodah Party at its founding convention. During the summer of 1920 he participated in the world conference of Po'alei Zion held in Vienna, in which the movement split under the impact of the Bolshevik revolution in Russia. Ben-Zvi was instrumental in its reorganization on a firm Zionist platform.

In October 1920 he was appointed by the British High Commissioner to Palestine, Sir Herbert *Samuel, to the Palestine Advisory Council. But with the Jaffa riots of May 1921 and the subsequent temporary suspension of Jewish immigration, he resigned from the Council in protest against Mandatory government policy.

Ben-Zvi was elected to the Secretariat of the *Histadrut when it was founded in 1920. He devoted a considerable part of his public activity to Jerusalem and its Jewish population. He was first elected to the Jerusalem Municipal Council in 1927, but after the riots of 1929 he resigned from the municipality in protest against the stand of the city's Arab administration. In September 1934 he was reelected to the municipality.

In 1920 Ben-Zvi was elected to the Va'ad Le'ummi, first as a member, then in 1931 as its chairman, and in 1945 as its president. He participated as a delegate in all the Zionist Congresses during the 1920s, and as chairman of the Va'ad Le'ummi he represented the Yishuv at the coronation ceremonies of King George VI in 1937, and at the Round Table Conference on Palestine in London in 1939.

After the establishment of the State of Israel, Ben-Zvi was elected as a *Mapai member to the First and Second Knessets. Upon the death of President Chaim *Weizmann in 1952, he was elected president of the State. He was elected to a second term in 1957, and to a third term in 1962. He died in office on April 23, 1963.

Ben-Zvi headed the Institute for the Study of Oriental Jewish Communities in the Middle East, which he founded in 1948, and which was renamed the Ben-Zvi Institute in 1952. His research on the history of the people of Israel was a lifelong endeavor. The scholarly works that he published were devoted mainly to research on communities and sects (such as the Samaritans, Karaites, Shabbateans, Jewish communities in Asia and Africa, the mountain Jews, and others) and to the geography of Ereẓ Israel, its ancient populations, its antiquities, and its traditions. He was also a prolific journalist, publishing articles under his own name as well as under various pseudonyms.

His brochure *Ha-Yishuv ha-Yehudi bi-Kefar Peki'in* ("The Jewish Yishuv in Peki'in Village," 1922) was the beginning of series of studies on the Jewish villages in Ereẓ Israel that preceded modern Jewish settlement, most of which were included in his book *She'ar Yishuv* ("The Remnant of the Yishuv," 1927) and in vol. 2 of his writings. His studies of communities were greatly facilitated by his direct contact with the subjects and by their willingness to reveal historical documents previously unpublished. Ben-Zvi's collected surveys on the non-Jewish communities of Israel appear in *Ukhlusei Arẓenu* ("Populations in our Land," 1932), which, together with his book on the Jewish population of Israel, *Ukhloseinu ba-Areẓ* ("Our Population in the Land," 1929), is included in vol. 5 of his writings (1937). His studies on the history of the Samaritans, *Sefer ha-Shomeronim* (1935, and new enlarged edition 1970), is a basic work. Ben-Zvi also published *Masot Ereẓ Israel le-Rav Moshe Basola* ("Journeys of R. Moses Basola in Ereẓ Israel"), based on an original manuscript. This study, he believed, had enabled him to identify the unknown traveller in the *Masot ha-Nose'a ha-Almoni mi-Livorno mi-Shenat Resh Peh Bet* ("Journeys of an Unknown Traveler from Leghorn, from the Year 1521/22"). His book *Niddeḥei Yisrael* was translated into English (*The Exiled and the Redeemed*, 1958 and 1961), Spanish, French, Italian, Swedish, and Yiddish. The most important of his many studies on the history of the *yishuv* is *Ereẓ Yisrael ve-Yishuvah bi-Ymei ha-Shilton ha-Ottomani* ("Ereẓ Israel and

Its Yishuv during the Ottoman Empire," 1955), which is based on Turkish documents and rabbinical responsa of the period. A large part of this work appears in English translation in L. Finkelstein (ed.), *The Jews, their History, Culture and Religion* (1960), pp. 602–88. His book *The Hebrew Battalion Letters* (1969) also appeared in English. A volume of his memoirs, *He-Ḥazon ve-Hagshamato* appeared in 1968. His complete works, including diaries, letters, and articles were republished, starting in 1965, by Yad Izhak Ben-Zvi, a memorial institute founded to perpetuate Ben-Zvi's interests and works.

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[Shneur Zalman Shazar]

BEN-ZVI, RAḤEL YANAIT (1886–1979), labor leader and writer; from 1918, wife of Izhak *Ben-Zvi. Born in Malin, Ukraine, Raḥel Yanait was educated in Russia and in Nancy, France, where she pursued studies in agronomy. After helping to create the *Po'alei Zion labor movement in Russia, she settled in Ereẓ Israel as a teacher in 1908, and was a cofounder of the Hebrew Gymnasium in Jerusalem, the second modern high school in the country. She played a pioneering role in *Ha-Shomer and Tenu'at ha-Po'alot (Women's Labor Movement), and coedited the weekly *Aḥdut*, the first Hebrew organ of the Po'alei Zion movement in Ereẓ-Israel, from its founding in 1910. After World War I, she became a founder of *Aḥdut ha-Avodah labor party and a leader of the *Haganah in Jerusalem, continuing her career as an educationist, and in 1920 established near Jerusalem's Talpiot quarter a girls' agricultural high school of which she was the first principal. In 1948, she was the guiding spirit behind the founding of an agricultural youth village in Ein Kerem. After her husband became president of Israel in 1952, she assisted him in his official duties and worked particularly to make the president's home a popular meeting place for all the communities of Israel. Upon her husband's death in 1963, she became an active member of Yad Ben-Zvi, his memorial institute. She was the recipient of the Israel Prize for special contribution to Israel state and society in 1978. Her memoirs have been published: *Anu Olim* (1959; *Coming Home*, 1963) and *Eli* (Heb., 1957), a book written together with her husband about their son, who died in the Israeli War of Independence. She also coedited her husband's writings, which began to appear in 1965.

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[Getzel Kressel]

BEN-ZVI, SHLOMO (1964–), media owner. Born in London as Michael Goldblum, Shlomo Ben Zvi was educated at Netiv Meir Yeshivah High School in Jerusalem and various other national-religious yeshivot in Israel and studied philosophy at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. After making a substantial fortune in real estate and the technology sector in Europe, he decided to become active in the Israeli media at the start of the 21st century. His first venture was the Tekhelet cable TV channel, whose programming concentrated on different aspects of Jewish life and which began broadcasting in 2003. He also purchased 20 per cent of Israel's Channel Ten together with cosmetics heir Ronald *Lauder, who purchased 40 per cent.

He went on to concentrate his holdings in the right-wing and religious media, buying the weekly *Makor Rishon* in 2003 and acquiring control of the national-religious daily **Ha-Ẓofeh* and the monthly of the settlers movement, *Nekudah,* in 2004. His plans called for a relaunch of an expanded *Makor Rishon* in early 2005 and the start-up of a new right-wing daily newspaper. Ben Zvi was critical of the Israeli media for not being patriotic enough and for showing the IDF in a negative light. He was a member of the right-wing "Jewish Leadership" faction of the *Likud Party.

[Anshel Pfeffer (2nd ed.)]

BEN-ZVI, ZEEV (1904–1952), Israeli sculptor, whose work influenced a generation of sculptors. Ben-Zvi was born in Ryki, Poland and studied at the Warsaw Academy of Art before immigrating to Palestine in 1924. He entered the *Bezalel School in Jerusalem that year and studied under Boris *Schatz. Ben-Zvi specialized in portrait heads in beaten copper and molded plaster, which he treated in a cubist manner. When the New Bezalel School was opened in 1936 Ben-Zvi was appointed teacher of sculpture. During 1937 he visited France and England. On the outbreak of World War II, he executed the first model of *Outcry* – a hand lifted to the heavens. *Outcry* symbolized the horror and rebellion of Jews against the Holocaust in Europe – a subject to which Ben-Zvi frequently returned. In 1947, he executed his moving monument, *In Memory of the Children of the Diaspora*, at Mishmar ha-Emek. From 1947 to 1949 he tried to alleviate the hardships of the illegal immigrants detained by the British government in the Cyprus detention camps by teaching them art. Ben-Zvi's works are to be found in museums and private collections in Israel and Great Britain. He won the Israel Prize for art in 1953 and the Dizengoff Prize in 1952.

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[Fritz Schiff]

BEN-ZVI INSTITUTE FOR THE STUDY OF JEWISH COMMUNITIES OF THE EAST, Israeli research institute. The Institute was founded in 1947 by Izhak *Ben-Zvi, who later became Israel's second president. His public career was highlighted by passionate concern for Jews of Muslim countries and the East, who in the 20th century were uprooted from their ancient communities. Their rich literature, traditions, and customs might have been completely lost were it not for the great efforts made to preserve them. The institute devotes itself to preserving the precious cultural legacy of these communities of the East. The scholars, scientists, poets, and communal leaders of Sephardi and Eastern communities made an indelible mark on Jewish history. Their communal documents provide critical information to scholars in many fields. Furthermore, over half of Israel's population is rooted in these cultures. Their thorough appreciation is their entitlement and is essential to dealing with contemporary social and cultural issues.

The Ben-Zvi Institute is a fertile common meeting ground for scholars from all of Israel's universities and from abroad. The institute maintains a prestigious research staff, publishes books and periodicals, and holds lectures and symposia. It is affiliated with the Hebrew University of Jerusalem and Yad Izhak Ben-Zvi (see below). It cooperates with all of Israel's universities and enjoys the support of the Center for the Integration of the Oriental Jewish Heritage of Israel's Ministry of Education (since its establishment in 1977) and of the Israel Academy of Sciences. The institute initiates and supports research, publishes texts, periodicals, and monographs, and organizes academic conferences and lectures on the Jewish communities of the East.

Its specialized collection on Oriental Jewish communities, housed in the Yad Izhak Ben-Zvi library, contains the most comprehensive collection of its kind in the world. It is open to scholars and advanced students, who enjoy easy access to books on open shelves and individual attention by expert librarians. The Israel Prize was awarded to the Ben-Zvi Institute in recognition of its contribution to the study of Sephardi and Eastern Jewish history and culture.

The Institute publishes two periodicals: (1) *Pe'amim: Studies in Oriental Jewry* (a quarterly publication in Hebrew). Established by the Ben-Zvi Institute in 1979, *Pe'amim* provides scholars, teachers, and students with the best of recent academic research on the Jews of the East. The periodical has revolutionized the study of Oriental Jewry and the teaching of the subject. In recognition of its achievements *Pe'amim* received the Jerusalem Prize in 1982. (2) *Sefunot: Studies and Sources on the History of the Jewish Communities in the East* (Hebrew periodical). Appearing since 1956, this series is addressed to a scholarly audience and publishes textual studies of importance for the history, culture, language, and literature of Oriental Jewry. Among its research projects are (a) *Oriens Judaicus* – Sources for the History of the Jews in Muslim Lands. The purpose of this long-term project is to collect all the sources pertinent to the history of the Jews in Muslim lands. Materials are edited and published in volumes arranged by region and period. (b) *Archives in the Former Soviet Union*. The opening of libraries and archives in the former Soviet Union has offered scholars unprecedented opportunities to explore hitherto inaccessible archival sources. Scholars affiliated with the Ben-Zvi Institute are examining materials found in St. Petersburg (the Firkovich archive) and other sites. (c) *Ethiopian Jewry Legacy.* Initiated before the mass *aliyah* from Ethiopia, this project seeks to document the written and oral heritage of Ethiopian Jewry. Three issues of *Pe'amim* have been devoted to the subject and an annotated bibliography was published. The Institute hosts the Secretariat of the International Society for the Study of Ethiopian Jewry. (d) *The Karaite Jews*. Several aspects of the history and culture of the *Karaite Jews are being investigated. These include an encyclopedia of Karaite personalities, a bibliography of Karaism, and a study of the inscriptions of the Karaites in Crimea. (e) *Judeo-Arabic Culture and Literature*. This consists of three projects: (i) Judeo-Arabic halakhic literature; (ii) Judeo-Arabic biblical exegesis; and (iii) Judeo-Arabic philosophical, theological, and polemical works.

There is also the ongoing project to catalogue the Judeo-Arabic manuscripts in the Firkovitch Collection.

Yad Izhak Ben-Zvi

Yad Izhak Ben-Zvi was established in 1963 by a decision of the Israel government. During the first years of its existence its main activities were focused on gathering and consolidating the archives of Izhak and Raḥel Ben-Zvi and the publication of the writings of Izhak Ben-Zvi. In 1969 the Knesset adopted a law determining the aims of the Yad, which was charged with advancing research on the history of the Land of Israel and the dissemination of information about it and its various settlements and the heritage of the Jewish communities of Muslim lands. The law which defined Yad Ben-Zvi's objectives and modus operandi placed responsibility upon it to further study and education in this field. In addition, a few years later (1973), the study of the Jewish communities in Oriental countries and in the Sephardi Diaspora was added to its responsibility. In 1972 the Yad moved to its permanent headquarters in the building which had served as the residence of the president of Israel in Jerusalem. Yad Ben-Zvi has from its very inception involved leading scholars from all of Israel's universities in its activities. It has established joint centers for the study of Ereẓ Israel with each of these universities. The basic principle which has guided Yad Izhak Ben-Zvi since its inception has been not to limit itself to academic activities for the benefit of small elite groups but to spread knowledge in these fields among all strata of Israeli society – senior officials and junior staff in government offices, the religious and the secular, veteran residents and new immigrants, the elderly and the young, teachers and pupils – throughout the entire country.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: S. Rubinstein, "The Establishment and Beginnings of the Institute for the Study of Jewish Communities in the East," in: *Pe'amim*, 23 (1985), 127–49; A. Bar-Levav (ed.), *Pe'amim* (2002–2004), 92–94.

[Menahem Ben-Sasson (2nd ed.)]

BEOBACHTER AN DER WEICHSEL (Ger., "The Watcher by the Vistula"; Pol. title *Dostrzegacz Nadwislański*), the first Polish Jewish newspaper; published in Congress Poland from 1823 to 1824. Its editor was Anton *Eisenbaum, who approached the authorities for permission to publish a paper to serve the ideals of the Enlightenment (see *Haskalah). Permission and financial backing were granted, but only on the condition that a translation into Polish would be provided. The first issue of the paper accordingly came out at the end of 1823 with a Polish translation accompanying the Yiddish text (which was in fact German in Hebrew transcription). Some items, calculated to please the authorities, were printed in Polish only. The paper was divided into five sections: official announcements and general news from Poland; foreign news and descriptions of Jewish life in other countries (including descriptions of Jewish agricultural settlement in Kherson province); commercial news; miscellaneous items including biographies of famous Jews such as Josephus, Maimonides, Moses Mendelssohn, and Rothschild; announcements. Official announcements were published without comment or criticism. Discussion of actual problems facing Jewry seems to have been deliberately avoided. Eisenbaum had no assistants and virtually produced the paper by himself. It was apparently difficult to find suitable candidates since the few Jewish writers who could write in Polish seem to have preferred non-Jewish platforms. The paper appeared for less than a year, from Dec. 3, 1823, to Sept. 29, 1824: altogether there were only 44 issues, with the circulation never exceeding 150. The paper had to close down when the grant it had received from the government was exhausted. It failed to gain increased circulation because the typical advocates of the Enlightenment were not particularly interested in Jewish problems, while the Jewish masses found the quasi-Yiddish incomprehensible. The extreme assimilationist views of the paper and its negative attitude toward Jewish religious traditions made it objectionable to the majority of the Jewish population of Warsaw.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: J. Shatzky, *Geshikhte fun Yidn in Varshe*, 1 (1947), 290–1; S. Łastik, *Z dziejó oświęnia żydowskiego (1961)*, 176–8. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** *M. Fuks, Prasa zydowska w Warszawie,* 1823–1939 (1979) 21–40, index; P. Glikson, *Preliminary Inventory of the Jewish Daily and Periodical Press Published in the Polish Language, 1823–1982* (1983); J. Fraenkel, "Prasa Zydowska w Warszawie XiX w.Dostrzegacz Nadwislanski," in: BŻIH, 1/89 (1974), 19–45

[Moshe Landau]

BERAB (Beirav), JACOB (c. 1474–1546), halakhic authority and leader of the Jewish communities of Palestine, Egypt, and Syria during the first half of the 16th century. Berab was born in Maqueda near Toledo, Spain, and went to Morocco after the expulsion of Jews from Spain in 1492. According to his own statement, he was only 18 years old when he was appointed rabbi of Fez. A few years later Berab left Fez and traveled to Egypt, Palestine (Jerusalem, Safed), and Syria (Aleppo, Damascus) in connection with business concerns, which proved very successful. During these sojourns Berab also taught Torah, gathering wide circles of pupils, who respected him greatly. He considered himself superior to the majority of scholars in Egypt, Palestine, and Syria, and tried to impose his authority on questions of *halakhah* that were brought before him, or that he undertook on his own initiative. Although Berab had close associations with many of his contemporaries, his domineering tendency brought him into conflict with scholars who would not submit to him.

Berab was swept along with the messianic current of the early 16th century, which resulted in large measure from intensive study of the Kabbalah. Berab himself gave some impetus to messianic anticipation by trying to revive the institution of **semikhah* ("rabbinical ordination"). According to Maimonides (Yad, Sanhedrin 1:3), the establishment of a "great *bet din*" will take place before the coming of the messiah. Since an institution competent to give *semikhah* had not existed for several hundred years, Maimonides provided instructions for its establishment. He authorized the rabbis of Ereẓ Israel to nominate one among them who would be the first *samukh* (ordained rabbi). In turn, that rabbi would have the authority to ordain others, who could then form a Sanhedrin (Yad, Sanhedrin 4:11). The Spanish expulsion and the ingathering of many Jews in Ereẓ Israel was interpreted as a sign that redemption was imminent.

Berab, while still in Egypt, conceived the idea of renewing *semikhah*. As the Palestinian settlement became stronger and the number of scholars increased, Safed became the seat of the messianic impetus. In 1538 Berab, who had been living in Safed periodically from at least 1524, succeeded in winning over the scholars there, including R. Joseph *Caro and R. Moses of *Trani, to his point of view. The scholars of Safed decided to renew the *semikhah* and they designated Berab as the first *samukh*. Immediately after this decision was taken, a messenger was sent to R. *Levi b. Ḥabib in Jerusalem, asking him to give his consent to the renewal of the *semikhah* and to accept the ordination of Berab. Not only did Levi b. Ḥabib, with whom Berab had had various disputes, refuse to accept the *semikhah* of Berab, he also opposed the decision of the rabbis of Safed on halakhic grounds. He also insisted that Maimonides' statement concerning the reestablishment of *semikhah* did not represent a decision but only an opinion, and that Maimonides had retracted it later (Yad, Sanhedrin 4:2). The protests of Levi b. Ḥabib delayed Berab's project. Discussions on the question of *semikhah* among the rabbis of both towns had been in progress for three months when Berab was forced by the Turks to leave Palestine. Apparently, he had become embroiled in a private affair, as a result of which his enemies denounced him to the Turkish authorities in Safed.

According to *halakhah, semikhah* could not be given outside Palestine. Berab feared that he might not be able to return and that all his plans would come to an end. Before he left, therefore, he gave *semikhah* to four rabbis of Safed, among whom were Joseph Caro and Moses of Trani. Levi b. Ḥabib, considering this to be a disregard of his protests, then publicly opposed the *semikhah*. From Damascus Berab conducted the discussion of the question in a vigorous manner, even by personal attacks on his adversary. Levi b. Ḥabib replied in kind and he was supported by an important ally – R. *David b. Solomon ibn Abi Zimra, who lived in Egypt. Thus, the project of establishing the "great *bet din*" came to an end; even the validity of the *semikhot* already given was in doubt. Nevertheless, those who had been ordained by Berab ordained other scholars after his death.

Berab wrote a commentary to all those parts of Maimonides' work not dealt with in the *Maggid Mishneh* commentary by *Vidal Yom Tov of Tolosa. However, only a small part was published (by Y.L. Maimon (Fishman) in *Sinai*, 36 (1955), 275–357). His responsa and his novellae to tractate *Kiddushin* were published together (1663). These novellae were republished from a manuscript in an enlarged form by Michael Rabinowitz (in Y.L. Fishman (eds.), *Sefer ha-Yovel… B.M. Levin* (1939), 196–299). Many of his halakhic decisions are reported in the works of his contemporaries, especially Joseph Caro.

Berab's grandson, JACOB BEN ABRAHAM (d. 1599), rabbi and halakhic authority, studied under Joseph Caro and was ordained by him. From 1563 he is mentioned in documents with the more important rabbis of Safed. By 1593 he was the most prominent of Safed's scholars and it was he who gave *semikhah*. He ordained R. Moses Galante, R. Eliezer Azikri, his own brother R. Moses Berab, R. Abraham Gabriel, R. Yom Tov Ẓahalon, R. Ḥiyya ha-Rofe, and R. Jacob Abulafia, all of Safed. In 1599 these seven rabbis reached an agreement not to ordain any other person without his approval. None of his writings remains, but his approvals of the decisions of his contemporaries, as well as some of his responsa scattered in the works of contemporary scholars, are known.

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BERAB (Beirav), JACOB BEN ḤAYYIM (end of 17th–18th century), poet and hymnologist. A descendant of R. Jacob *Berab, Berab was born in Safed. He left Palestine with his father-in-law R. Ḥayyim b. Moses *Abulafia before 1710 and settled in Smyrna (Izmir), Turkey. In 1740 they returned to Palestine and helped found the new Jewish settlement at Tiberias. Berab recorded all the events of the journey to Tiberias and their subsequent settlement in *Zimrat ha-Areẓ* (Mantua, 1745, etc). He also noted interesting details of the wars between the governor of Damascus, Soliman Pasha (1741–43), and the sheikh of Galilee, Dahr al ʿAmr. The purpose of his work was to call to the attention of the Diaspora the importance of the resettlement in Tiberias. Appended to the published editions were 12 of his poems in Hebrew and Ladino praising the resettlement and Tiberias. Some of these poems were, until recently, sung to a special folk tune in the Balkan countries.

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[Abraham David]

BERAḤ DODI (Heb. בְּרַח דּוֹדִי; "make haste my beloved," Song of Songs 8:14), *ge'ullah piyyut* in the morning prayer of the first day of Passover in the Ashkenazi rite. It consists of three stanzas based upon the allegorical interpretation of the central motif of *Song of Songs according to which "the beloved" is the people of Israel and the "lover" is God. Israel implores the "lover" to hasten his return to his "beloved." It made use, at the end of each stanza, of the text of Song of Songs: "Behold he standeth behind our wall" (2:9); "Hark! my beloved! behold, he cometh" (2:8); "This is my beloved, and this is my friend" (5:16). On the basis of the initials interwoven in this *piyyut* (שלמה יגדל בתורה חזק), the authorship has been ascribed to the 10th-century liturgical poet Solomon b. Judah ha-Bavli. Another *ge'ullah piyyut* in the morning prayer of the second day of Passover recited outside Ereẓ Israel (Ashkenazi rite), and composed by *Meshullam b. Kalonymus (c. 1000 C.E.), bears the same name. This *piyyut* of four stanzas is based upon the same motif as the aforementioned one. A third *piyyut* by the same name is recited on the Sabbath during the Intermediate Days of Passover. This was composed by Simeon b. Isaac, who also lived in the 10th century.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Service of the Synagogue*, tr. by I. Zangwill (London, 1954), 202.

BERAJA, RUBEN EZRA (1939–), Argentinean community leader and Zionist activist. Born in Ciudadela, Province of Buenos Aires, to a family from Aleppo, Syria, from an early age Beraja was active in Jewish public life and after graduating as a lawyer from the University of Buenos Aires he joined the management of the Cooperativa Mayo, a credit cooperative established in 1961 that used its profits to support the Sephardi Jewish school network and for other beneficial activities. Beraja, who was the youngest member of the board, was soon appointed president of the cooperative. He continued to fill this position when the cooperative was transformed into the Banco Mayo (1978), acting in this capacity until the bank went bankrupt in 1998.

In the late 1960s Beraja was invited by Rabbi Itzhak Schehebar, the spiritual leader of the Aleppine community, to join the board of directors of the Congregación Sefaradí Argentina, becoming an active promoter of its educational and religious activities. At the same time he became one of the promising leaders of the Zionist Sephardi movement.

Using the financial success of the Banco Mayo, Beraja expanded its assistance to the educational, cultural and Zionist institutions of the Jewish community at large, increasing the influence of the Orthodox sector and the prestige of the Sephardi leadership.

In 1991 Beraja was elected president of the *DAIA, becoming the political representative of Argentinean Jewry. He was reelected in 1993 and 1996. Acting during the presidency of Carlos Saúl Menem, he was involved (1992) in the opening of the archives dealing with the immigration to Argentina of Nazi criminals in the postwar years under Peron's presidency. He also acted in defense of the Jewish community following the two dramatic events that shook its existence – the explosion of the Israeli Embassy in March 1992 and of the AMIA community building in July 1994.

However, the conflicting interests of his financial and political careers led to his downfall, caused by the collapse of Menem's economic policy and the political and economic crises that ensued. Beraja was held responsible for the losses of the Banco Mayo, which had bitter consequences for the Jewish community. Beraja was placed in preventive custody in December 2003 and at the beginning of 2005 was still awaiting trial. He accused the president of the Argentinean Central Bank during the crash of Banco Mayo – Pedro Pou – of discrimination and antisemitism.

Beraja served in several international Jewish organizations and was the vice president of the World Jewish Congress and the president of the Latin American Jewish Congress and the Fedración Sefaradí Latinoamericana (FESELA). He promoted the creation of important new projects, like the Universidad Hebrea Bar Ilan and a Jewish video-cable station (ALEPH), which did not last. He was the recipient of the Jerusalem Award for Jewish Education in the Diaspora from the World Zionist Organization and the Jewish Agency for Israel.

[Efraim Zaidoff (2nd ed.)]

BERAKHAH, ISAAC (d. 1772), rabbi and preacher in the Aleppo community. The support and encouragement of Elijah Silbirah enabled Berakhah to pursue his studies until he became a noted scholar. His *Berakh Yiẓḥak* (Venice, 1763), a book of homiletics, contains several sermons for each weekly Reading of the Law; they deal mostly with halakhic problems. He often mentions Maimonides' *Yad ha-Ḥazakah*, Samuel Eliezer *Edels, the *tosafot*, and the responsa of *Isaac b. Sheshet. In addition to halakhic problems, he deals with such questions as the *kavvanah* and joy with which one should perform the *mitzvot*. Some of Berakhah's responsa were published in S.R. Laniado's *Beit Dino shel Shelomo* (Constantinople, 1775). Abraham Antibi, one of his many pupils, eulogized him at his death. Berakhah's sons Ḥayyim and Elijah were also rabbis in Aleppo.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Steinschneider, Cat Bod, 1096 no. 5321; D. Laniado, *Li-Kedoshim Asher ba-Areẓ* (= Aram-Zobah, i.e., Aleppo; 1952), 37.

BERAKHOT (Heb. בְּרָכוֹת: "Benedictions, Blessings"), first tractate of the Mishnah, Tosefta, Palestinian and Babylonian Talmuds. On its placement at the head of the order *Zera'im*, which deals with agricultural laws, see *Zera'im*.

The tractate deals with aspects of the daily liturgy (as distinct from the prayers of holy days, ritual readings of scripture, etc.). In keeping with the general objectives of the Mishnah, it is concerned primarily with the laws governing formal prayers and blessings, and deals only rarely or peripherally with the content, theology, or rationales for these prayers. These latter dimensions are discussed more extensively in the Tosefta, Talmuds, and cognate passages in midrashic works. Although the Talmud was able to identify some biblical foundation for the liturgical topics dealt with in the tractate, the Mishnah organizes the material according to a topical sequence, with only occasional allusions to scriptural sources. Study of other literature from the Second Commonwealth, especially the liturgical texts from Qumran, allows us to better understand the place of rabbinic prayer in the broader evolution of Jewish worship of the time.

Mishnah *Berakhot* focuses primarily on three liturgical categories: (1) the *Shema*; (2) the *Tefillah*; (3) miscellaneous blessings to be recited on specified occasions, especially on the enjoyment of food and other physical pleasures. A "blessing" is a formal liturgical unit that is usually recognizable by its opening "Blessed are you, Lord our God [Sovereign of the Universe] …."

Shema

Early rabbinic and apparently pre-rabbinic tradition interpreted the command (Deut. 6:6, 8) "And these words, which I command thee this day, shall be upon thy heart … when thou liest down, and when thou risest up" and the similar expressions in Deuteronomy 11:18–19 as explicit directives to recite the passages in which those expressions occur (Deut. 6:4–9, 11:13–21) daily in the evening and morning. This obligation was understood to be the fulfillment either of a separate precept, of the broader requirement to study Torah, or as a declaration of one's acceptance of the "yoke of the kingship of Heaven" in declaring "the Lord is one" (Deut. 6:4) and the "yoke of commandments" in Deuteronomy 11:1, as understood by Rabbi *Joshua ben Korḥa (Ber. 2:2). A third section was added to the *Shema*, at least in its morning recitation: Numbers 15:37–41, dealing with the commandment of ritual fringes. The Mishnah (1:5) sees this as fulfillment of the obligation to mention the Egyptian Exodus daily, though this seems doubtful. In both its morning and evening versions, the *Shema* is embedded in a framework of blessings that relate to the natural transition of the times of day, the divine love for Israel that was expressed in the giving of the Torah (of which the *Shema* is a part), and hopes for redemption.

The first three chapters of the Mishnah deal with the regulations for reciting the *Shema*. Topics include: the designated times when it may be recited, the appropriate physical postures, the accompanying blessings, laws about interruptions and irregularities in the recitation (e.g., if it was inaudible or in the incorrect sequence), and instances when a person is exempted from the obligation.

Tefillah

Mishnah chapters 4–5 deal with the *tefillah*, the central rabbinic prayer whose standard version consists of 18 blessings and was to be recited in the evening, morning, and afternoon. The structure and text of the prayer are presupposed, but not set out, in the Mishnah. Although the sages linked the institution of prayer at fixed times to the practices of the biblical patriarchs and the schedule of daily sacrificial offerings, the content and set times of the mandatory *tefillah* are considered to be of rabbinic origin, albeit influenced heavily by biblical themes. Topics dealt with by the Mishnah include the designated times for the three services, occasions when the full 18 blessings or an abbreviated versions should be recited, occasions when one may forgo the normal physical requirements of standing facing towards the Jerusalem Temple, aggadah-like traditions about the preference for spontaneity and a reverent state of mind, and some prayer customs that are forbidden, evidently because of heterodox associations.

Blessings

Chapters 6 through 9 of the Mishnah are devoted to the blessings that accompany specified occasions. The Tosefta (4:1) supplies theological and scriptural rationales for this practice: "A person should not taste anything before reciting a blessing, as it says [Ps. 24:1] 'The earth is the Lord's, and the fullness thereof.' One who enjoys the benefits of this world without a blessing has committed a trespass," etc. The *halakhah* in the Mishnah requires that the precisely appropriate blessing be recited for each occasion. Accordingly, different blessings are designated for fruits of the earth, fruits of trees, bread, other baked goods, wine, "the seven species" of Deuteronomy 8:8; and guidelines are provided for choosing the correct blessings when there are numerous foodstuffs.

Chapter 7 discusses the procedures for the concluding blessing after a formal meal or banquet, especially the "invitation to bless" (*zimmun*).

Chapter 8 consists of a list of disputes between the Houses of Shammai and Hillel related to blessings recited at meals. Some of these disputes, or the reasons underlying the respective positions, remain obscure, and several were transmitted in differing versions in *baraita*s in the Tosefta and Talmuds.

Chapter 9 contains a miscellaneous collection of blessings for various occasions, including places of religious significance, wonders of nature, life-milestones, and deliverance from danger.

The Mishnah contains traditions covering the full range of the tannaitic generations, including material dating from the Second Temple era (e.g., 1:1 cites the evening purification practices of the priests as a reliable sign of the advent of nightfall).

Both the Palestinian and Babylonian Talmuds contain full tractates for *Berakhot*. The Babylonian is the longest in the Talmud (by word count), owing to its extensive collection of aggadic material, much of it appearing as loosely connected digressions. Although some of these passages offer valuable insights into the rabbis' attitudes towards prayer (often defined as a plea for divine mercy), the material covers a vast assortment of themes, including biblical expositions, hagiographical narratives, dream interpretation, and a great deal of folklore.

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[Eliezer L. Segel (2nd ed.)]

BERBERS, indigenous North African tribes who originally spoke dialects of the Berber language. Medieval Arab writers ascribed the ancestry of the Berbers to *Goliath the Philistine and maintained their Canaanite origin. The Phoenician colonization of Africa, the long Carthaginian domination, and the survival of Punic, a language closely related to Hebrew, supported these legends which spread among the Berbers themselves. Similar tales are found in the writings of Greek and Latin authors and in the Talmud which spread the legend that the Canaanites immigrated of their own free will to North Africa. It is said that the survivors of the Jewish revolt in *Cyrenaica (115–116 C.E.) found refuge among the Berbers of Western *Libya. Scholars have frequently claimed that the Jews' desire to proselytize found a favorable atmosphere among the Berbers from the first to the seventh centuries. African Christianity, whose early converts were Jews, clashed with Jewish proselytism. Archaeological discoveries, epigraphs, and writings of the Christian scholars Tertullian and St. Augustine, indignant at the growing Berber conversions to Judaism, attest to these facts. The persecutions by the Byzantines forced Jews to settle among the Berbers in the mountain and desert regions. Ibn Khaldun confirmed the existence of a large number of proselyte Berbers at the time of the Arab conquest of Africa. The Islamization of these countries, however, did not abolish all previous beliefs. Christianity was abandoned rapidly; Judaism continued to exist and – from Tripolitania to *Morocco – modern ethnographers and anthropologists encountered small groups whom they called "Jewish Berbers." These isolated groups of Jews lived in the high mountains of North Africa until the last few decades. Some scholars designated them as the descendants of Berber proselytes. In most cases they eventually intermingled with the rest of the population. However, the survival of such groups to the present is now doubted.

It is difficult to evaluate Jewish life in Berber society because Berbers did not have a written history. Berber history was completely oral. Thus, information on Jewish life comes from travelers who visited the Atlas Mountains, from a few written sources, and from interviews with people who lived in these areas. Two main sources are *Higgid Mordechai*, written by *Mordechai Hacohen*, a Jewish scholar from Tripoli who wrote about the Jews in Jabel Nafusa, south of Tripoli, and a statistical study carried out between 1961 and 1964 by the Mossad, the Israeli secret service, during the "Yachin Operation," in which the Mossad organized the *aliyah* of the Jews in the area.

Jews coexisted within Berber society. They had complete autonomy, communal organizations, and the possibility of practicing their religion. Jews were mainly occupied in trade and the crafts and did not work in agriculture. There was some kind of understanding between Berbers and Jews about the occupational structure of each group, enabling each to earn a livelihood. They also shared religious rituals and customs. For example, at Shavuot the Berbers of Libya poured water on Jews as one of their customs.

The Mossad study referred to Jewish life in Berber society at the end of its existence. In the village of Gourama in southeast Morocco, for example, there were 285 Jews, 73% of them below the age of 30. About 20% of the families had eight members, 50% fewer that seven persons. Seven Jews were tailors, seven farmers, five merchants, and two butchers. Although more research is needed it seems that these figures characterize Jewish life in the Berber villages.

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[David Corcos / Haim Sadoun (2nd ed.)]

BERCOVICI, KONRAD (1882–1961), U.S. novelist. Born in Romania, Bercovici used his experiences as an investigator for a controversial exposé, *Crimes of Charity* (1917). He wrote several books about the gypsies, including *Ghitza and Other Romances of Gypsy Blood* (1919) and *Story of the Gypsies* (1928). His other works include *Savage Prodigal* (1948), a biography of Rimbaud; *Dust of New York* (1919), set in the Lower East Side; *Main Entrance* (1932); and *Exodus* (1947), the story of Moses. His autobiography, *It's the Gypsy in Me*, appeared in 1941.

BERCOVITCH, PETER (1879–1942), Canadian labor lawyer, politician, and Jewish community leader. Bercovich was born in Montreal. The son of Romanian immigrants, he attended Université Laval à Montreal and McGill University before entering legal practice. He was an activist on behalf of Montreal's underprivileged Jewish workers and was soon a favorite speaker at many community political meetings and rallies of fraternal, charitable, and social organizations in the city's Jewish quarters. He represented the workers during the protracted and bitter strikes in the Montreal men's clothing industry in 1916 and 1917, forcing improvement in labor conditions from the mostly Jewish manufacturers.

Bercovich became the first president of the Jewish Immigrant Aid Society and in the 1920s joined the Jewish community's court battle for equal rights for Jews in Quebec's schools, insisting on an accommodation within existing structures rather than a separate Jewish school system. A prominent Liberal Party member, Bercovich was elected to the Quebec Legislative Assembly for Montreal's Saint-Louis constituency in 1916 and was re-elected six times. He fought for a solution to the school question and supported measures to help the disadvantaged. He also shepherded a bill through the Quebec Assembly which validated Jewish marriages and authorized rabbis to keep registers of civil status. In 1938 Bercovich was elected to the federal House of Commons, where he served until his death.

[Gerald Tulchinsky (2nd ed.)]

BERCOVITCH, SACVAN (1933–), U.S. literary scholar. Bercovitch was born in Montreal of poor Ukrainian immigrant parents, both of whom were idealistic communists. His mother, Bryna, enlisted in the Red Army in 1917 and fought in the civil wars following the Revolution; his father, Alexander, an artist who had studied in Palestine, St. Petersburg, and Munich, had been conscripted into, and deserted from, the Russian Army during World War I. They immigrated to Canada in 1926. Bercovitch, who spoke Yiddish and French in childhood before learning English, was named after Sacco and Vanzetti.

Bercovitch began his higher education at the New School in New York and at Reed College in Oregon, but dropped out to live for four years in a left-wing kibbutz in Israel, where he met his first wife. He returned to Canada in 1958 and while working at a supermarket in Montreal attended night classes at Sir George Williams College (today Concordia College), where he earned his B.A. in 1961. He received his M.A. in 1962 and Ph.D. in 1965 from Claremont Graduate School in California. He taught at Brandeis (1966–68), the University of California, San Diego (1968–70), Columbia (1970–83), and finally Harvard (1983–2002), where he subsequently became professor emeritus and Powell M. Cabot Research Professor of American Literature. He was a visiting professor or lecturer at many universities around the world.

Bercovitch's scholarly work, growing out of his fascination with (and resistance to, in his words) American culture, has focused primarily on the formation of the American character and of American myth, what he has called the "symbolic construction of America," through an examination of classic American literature from the 17th through the 19th centuries. He is the author of several influential works of scholarship, including *The Puritan Origins of the American Self* (1975), *The American Jeremiad* (1978), and *The Office of "The Scarlet Letter"* (1991); editor or coeditor of the equally influential collections *The American Puritan Imagination: Essays in Revaluation* (1974), *Reconstructing American Literary History* (1986), and *Ideology and Classic American Literature* (1986, with Myra Jehlen); and author of numerous important essays, some of which are collected in *The Rites of Assent: Transformations in the Symbolic Construction of America* (1993). (The essay "The Music of America," printed as the Introduction to this book, contains Bercovitch's reflections on his personal and intellectual relationship to American culture as well as the Canadian and "Yiddishist-leftist" culture in which he grew up.) He was also the editor of the ongoing new multivolume *Cambridge History of American Literature* and published English translations of Yiddish writers.

Sacvan Bercovitch characterizes his work as "cultural close reading," and its subject as the "American 'consensus.'" "America was a venture in exegesis," he says, "… a corporate identity built on fragmentation and dissent" whose "function was partly to mystify or mask social realities. Nonetheless it denoted something equally real: a coherent system of symbols, values, and beliefs, and a series of rituals designed to keep the system going" (*The Rites of Assent*, 29–30). His great erudition, intellectual depth, and skepticism of doctrinaire interpretation won him widespread respect and made him one of the most influential Americanists of his time.

[Drew Silver (2nd ed.)]

BERDICHEV, town in the historic region of Volhynia, now in Zhitomir district, Ukraine. Apart from two single references to individual Jews from Berdichev in 1593 and 1602, there is no evidence that a Jewish community existed in Berdichev before 1721. In 1732, the owner of the town granted a charter to the Jewish guild of tailors freeing them from interference by the communal authorities (*kahal*). The Jewish population gradually increased with Berdichev's development as a fair town from 1765. According to the census of 1765, the Jews in Berdichev numbered 1,220 (out of a total population of 1,541) including Jews living in the vicinity; they numbered 1,951 in 1789 (out of 2,460). In 1794, Prince Radziwill, the owner of the town, deprived the rabbis of their right of civil jurisdiction, which was transferred to a court to be elected by majority Jewish vote. Berdichev had become an important center of Volhynian *Ḥasidism in the last quarter of the 18th century, and the Ḥasidim were thus able to secure the election of *dayyanim* so as to free themselves from the jurisdiction of the *kahal* and its *Mitnaggedim* rabbis. As the town grew, a number of noted scholars served as rabbis of Berdichev, including Lieber "the Great," Joseph "the Ḥarif," and, from the end of the 18th century until his death in 1809, *Levi Isaac of Berdichev.

In 1797, Prince Radziwill granted seven Jewish cloth merchants the monopoly of the cloth trade in Berdichev, and in the first half of the 19th century the town's commerce was concentrated in Jewish hands. Jews founded scores of trading companies and banking establishments there, with agencies in the Russian interior and even abroad. Jews also served as agents of the neighboring estates of the nobility, whose agricultural produce was sold at the Berdichev fairs. The expatriation of Polish nobles and decline of the Polish nobility after the uprising of 1863 dealt a blow to Jewish commerce in Berdichev. The economic position of most of Berdichev's Jews was further impaired by the restrictions imposed on Jewish settlement in the villages by the "Temporary Regulations" (*May Laws) of 1882 and other restrictive government measures.

The main increase in the Jewish population of Berdichev occurred in the first half of the 19th century. There were 23,160 Jews living in Berdichev in 1847, and 46,683 in 1861. It was then the second-largest Jewish community in Russia. Shortly afterward the numbers began to decline, and in 1897 Berdichev had 41,617 Jewish residents (80% of the total population). The 1926 census shows 30,812 Jewish residents (55.6% of the total); about the same number were probably living there in 1939. Until World War I, emigration was balanced by the natural increase in the Jewish population; after the 1917 Revolution the proportion of Jewish residents steadily decreased through emigration.

At the end of the 19th century, about half of the Jewish wage earners were employed in manual trades, mostly in tailoring, shoemaking, carpentry, metalwork, etc. About 2,000 were hired workers, while the remainder gained their livelihood from trade. Berdichev became one of the foremost centers of the *Bund. After the 1917 Revolution, the proportion of hired workers increased, while a considerable number of Jews were absorbed by the state administration.

The ideas of the Enlightenment (*Haskalah) began to spread in Berdichev early in the 19th century, especially among wealthier families. The Galician Haskalah pioneer and Hebrew author Tobias *Feder Gutmann settled in Berdichev toward the end of his life. Influenced by Isaac Baer *Levinsohn, a group of *maskilim* was formed there in the 1820s, in which the physician Israel Rothenberg was particularly active. Among the opponents of the *maskilim* was the banker Jacob Joseph Halpern, who had great influence in ḥasidic circles and close ties to the government. The first public school in Berdichev giving instruction in Russian was opened in 1850. With the economic decline of Berdichev, the wealthier *maskilim* left for the larger cities. Because of the poverty of the majority of the Jewish population, a large number of children were even unable to attend *ḥeder*. According to the 1897 census, only 58% of Jewish males and 32% of Jewish females were able to read or write any language.

In Russian and Jewish literature and folklore, Berdichev epitomizes the typical Jewish town. It had some 80 synagogues and *battei midrash* and its cantors were celebrated throughout the Ukraine. It served as the model for the town depicted in the writings of *Mendele Mokher Seforim and *Shalom Aleichem (*Gants Berdichev*), as well as in *Der Nister (*Mishpokhe Mashber*). During the 1917 Revolution and the civil war of 1917–19, the head of the community and mayor of the town was the Bundist leader D. Lipets. In early 1919, the Jews in Berdichev became victims of a pogrom perpetrated by the Ukrainian army.

Under the Soviet government, most of the synagogues were closed. Yiddish continued to receive official acknowledgment and Yiddish schools were opened in Berdichev. In 1924, a government court of law was established there, the first in Ukraine to conduct its affairs in Yiddish. According to the 1926 census, of the 30,812 Jews in Berdichev 28,584 declared Yiddish as their mother-tongue. However, by the early 1930s, complaints were heard about curtailment of the use of Yiddish in government offices in Berdichev. A Yiddish periodical *Der Arbeter* appeared in Berdichev about twice weekly until the middle of the 1930s. The number of Yiddish schools dropped in the 1930s. By 1939, the number of Jews had fallen to 23,266 (37.5% of the total). All Jewish cultural activities there were suspended before World War II.

The Germans captured Berdichev on July 7, 1941; 1,000 Jews succeeded in fleeing from the city. In July around 1,300 were murdered. Thousands more were crowded in a closed ghetto. In late August 2,000 Jews were executed, and on September 5, 1941, another 4,300. In October the 15,000 remaining ghetto inhabitants were murdered near the village of Radianskoye. The few remaining artisans were killed by mid-1942. About 6,500 Jews lived in Berdichev in the late 1950s.

Although *maẓẓah* baking was prohibited in the early 1960s, it resumed after a few years. In 1970, there were an estimated 15,000 Jews in Berdichev with a synagogue, a cantor, and a ritual poultry slaughterer. The cemetery was reported to be neglected, but the Jews had erected a fence around the grave of Levi Isaac of Berdichev. Most of Berdichev's Jews left for Israel and the West in the 1990s.

[Shmuel Ettinger / Shmuel Spector (2nd ed.)]

Hebrew Printing in Berdichev

In 1807, Samuel C. Isachar Ber, who had established printing presses in several towns, set up a press in Berdichev, initially as a branch of his Ostraha house. Samuel and, after 1817, his son Jacob Funkelmann operated the press until 1820, when the business was transferred to Szdelkow. Altogether they printed over 30 works on Ḥasidism, Kabbalah, and *halakhah* in addition to prayer books and popular books in Yiddish. Another printing house was established by Israel *Bak in 1815–21. Before his immigration to Ereẓ Israel in 1831, he produced 26 works on roughly the same subjects, most of them set in a new typeface designed and cut by Bak himself, with his own illustrations. Other Berdichev printers were M.H. Rothenberg (1834–36) and H.J. Sheftel (1885–1910); the latter published a great number of scholarly works, including a popular edition of the Babylonian Talmud (with Rashi) in one volume (1894).

[Avraham Yaari]

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BERDICHEVSKY SCHER, JOSE (d. 2000), general of the Chilean army born in Santiago (Chile). He realized a brilliant military career. In 1952 he was the personal pilot of President Gabriel Gonzalez Videla and rose to the rank of general in the Air Force, becoming the first Jewish general there. During the military regime of Augusto Pinochet (1973–89) he was named chief of staff of the Air Force, chief of the garrison of Santiago, and a member of the Military Junta. As chief of the garrison of Santiago he commuted death sentences handed down in court martial proceedings. He retired from the Air Force in 1978 and then served as ambassador to Israel.

[Moshe Nes El (2nd ed.)]

BERDUGO, family name of many distinguished rabbis in Morocco, chiefly in Meknès. According to tradition, the family was of Davidic descent through the exilarch Bustanai. *YAḤYA (or Ḥiyya) BERDUGO (d. 1617) endorsed an ordinance in Fez in 1605, later left for Tetuán and was nominated deputy rabbi there in 1614. A Yaḥya Berdugo was known in Meknès about the same time but it is not certain whether they are identical or not. MOSES BEN ABRAHAM, called "Mashbir" (c. 1679–1730), was head of the rabbinical court in Meknès, where the Berdugos settled after leaving Fez. Famous for his sense of justice (compilation *Or ha-Ḥayyim* to Deut. 1:15), he was the author of *Rosh Mashbir*, novellae on the Pentateuch and on some of the Talmud tractates (1840); *Kenaf Renanim I*, commentaries and novellae to the Bible (1909), and *Kenaf Renanim II*, an anthology of homilies (1932); and *Divrei Moshe*, responsa (1947). Other unpublished writings are at the National Library, Jerusalem (Ms. Heb. 8^0 1446), Ben-Zvi Institute, Jerasalem (Ms. 736), and in private possession. JUDAH BEN JOSEPH I (1690–1744), *dayyan* in Meknès (1730) following Moses b. Abraham Berdugo the Mashbir, was the author of *Mayim Amukkim*, a commentary on the Pentateuch and *haftarot* (1937). Some of his responsa have been published in the responsa of Jacob ibn Ẓur. MORDECAI BEN JOSEPH, "Ha-Marbiẓ" (1715–1762), brother of Judah, was the grandnephew, pupil, and son-in-law of Moses b. Abraham, and a noted *dayyan* (after 1748) in Meknès. He wrote many works, of which, however, only *Mordekhai* has been published (1948); others are still extant in manuscript. RAPHAEL (1747–1821), son of this Mordecai, *dayyan* and scholar, was the author of the following works: *Mishpatim Yesharim*, responsa (2 vols., 1891), *Torot Emet*, commentary on the Shulḥan Arukh (1939); bound with the latter are *Kiẓẓur ha-Takkanot* and *Minhagei Terefot*; and *Mei Menuḥot*, a commentary on the Pentateuch (2 vols., 1900–42). Other works are still in manuscript, including translations of the Bible from Genesis to the end of Isaiah into Arabic, under the title *Leshon Limmudim*. MAIMON "the Mevin" (1767–1824), son of Raphael, was a *dayyan* and the author of responsa and other works, including *Lev Mevin* and *Penei Mevin* (issued together 1951). His novellae to the Talmud are in manuscript.

PETHAHIAH MORDECAI BEN JEKUTHIEL (1764–1820), the author of *Nofet Ẓufim*, responsa (1938), and *Pittuḥei*

Ḥotam, a commentary on the Talmud (unpublished). JACOB (1783–1843), his brother, *dayyan* and poet, was known for his stand against the rabbis of Tiberias in favor of the Jerusalem rabbis in the controversy of 1836 over participation in the *ḥalukkah*. His works include *Shufrei de-Ya'akov*, responsa (1910); *Gallei Amikta*, a commentary on *Mayim Amukkim* of Judah Berdugo (1911); *Kol Ya'akov*, liturgical poems (1844). *To'afot Re'em* or *Karnei Re'em*, on Rashi and Elijah *Mizraḥi, is still in manuscript (Ms. Jerusalem National Library, Ms. Heb. 80 3839, and 1448). JOSEPH (1802–1854), *dayyan* in Meknès, was a scholar whose works include a lexicon of Hebrew grammatical roots and their derivatives, *Ketonet Yosef* (3 vols. 1922–43). Other works are unpublished. JACOB BEN MORDECAI (d. 1901), brother of Joseph, was an *av bet din* in Meknès. SOLOMON BEN DANIEL (1854–1906), halakhic authority and poet, was a rabbi in Meknès and in 1897 was appointed rabbi of the community. He was the author of *Dei Hasher, Em le-Masoret*, responsa, a collection of laws and Torah novellae; appended are *Musar Haskel* and *Shirei Shelomo* (1950). JEKUTHIEL ḤAYYIM BEN ELISHA (1858–1940), great-grandson of Mordecai b. Joseph, was born in Rabat, and appointed *dayyan* there in 1893. The French government appointed him in 1922 a member of the supreme *bet din* (court of appeal) which had its seat in Rabat, the capital of Morocco. In 1934 he deputized for Raphael *Ankawa, chief rabbi of Morocco, during his illness, and he succeeded him after his death. In 1935 he was made president of the Supreme *bet din*. JOSHUA BEN JACOB (1878–1953) became chief rabbi of Meknès in 1904 and in 1941 chief rabbi of Morocco, where he served until his death. He had a strong personality and on a number of occasions was in conflict with the leaders of the Church and with members of the French government, by whom he was respected. The communal rules and regulations adopted during this time were published in the pamphlets of "The Council of Moroccan Rabbis" (Casablanca). None of his books was published.

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[David Obadia]

BERDYANSK (in 1827–30 **Kutur-ogly**, in 1830–42 **Novo-Nogaisk**, in 1939–58 **Osipenko**), town in the Zaporozhie region of the Ukraine. Berdyansk was founded as a village by order of the governor-general of Novorossia, Count M.S. Vorontsov, whose attitude to Jews was fairly liberal. In 1842 it became a district capital. From the beginning the Jews formed part of its population, employed as tailors and merchants. In 1847 the Jewish population was 572 and in 1860 a Talmud Torah school was founded. In 1864, 703 Jews were registered in the town and 744 in the district. In April 1881, concerned over anti-Jewish acts in the wake of the assassination of Alexander II (see *Pogroms), the Jews requested the authorities to dispatch troops to prevent pogroms.

In 1890 there were three Jewish schools in Berdyansk. A vocational branch of the Talmud Torah was also founded. According to the 1897 census the number of Jews in the town was 3,306 (including 258 *Karaites), i.e., 12.9% of the total population; while in the district it was 9,171 (3% of the population). During World War I new schools were opened for the children of the Jewish refugees from the frontline area. In the period of the Civil War Berdyansk changed hands a number of times and the Jewish population suffered from violence and pillage. In June 1920 seven members of the Jewish Communist Party, *Po'alei Zion, volunteered for the Red Army. According to the 1926 census there were 2,138 Jews in Berdyansk in 1926 and 2,393 in 1939 (4.6% of the population). Berdyansk was occupied by German troops in October 1941. About a thousand Jews were shot in a gorge near the town; the rest were annihilated in 1942. Little is known about Jewish life under subsequent Soviet rule. However, in the early 1990s a Jewish cultural society was founded and a synagogue congregation was active. According to the *Jewish Agency there were 2,000 Jews in Berdyansk in 1994 (1.3% of the total population).

[Naftali Prat (2nd ed.)]

BERDYCZEWSKI (Later: **Bin-Gorion**), **MICHA JOSEF** (1865–1921), Hebrew writer and thinker. Born in Medzibezh, Podolia, Berdyczewski was the descendant of a line of ḥasidic rabbis. His father served as the rabbi of Medzibezh during Berdyczewski's childhood. Berdyczewski began to read Haskalah writers in his adolescence and the ensuing struggle between modern ideas and the concepts and forces of traditional Judaism was to animate his writings throughout his life. His first marriage (1883–85) ended when his father-in-law would not tolerate his preoccupation with modern Hebrew books. Shortly thereafter he moved to the yeshivah of Volozhin to study for over a year. Here he began his literary career and incurred the wrath of his teachers with his writings.

His first article was "*Toledot Yeshivat Eẓ Ḥayyim*" (in *Ha-Asif*, 1887) and his first story "*Heẓiẓ ve-Nifga*" (in *Ha-Meliẓ*, 1888). Most of his publications in this period were polemical articles, some popular and some scholarly, which contain many of the ideas he developed later. He often expressed his views in lyrical outbursts rather than in connected logical statements – a style which marked much of his writing throughout his life.

Berdyczewski left Russia for Germany (1890) and stayed two years in Breslau, studying at the rabbinical seminary and the university. He met frequently with David *Frischmann who strove to expand Berdyczewski's intellectual horizons and cultivate his literary taste. In 1892 he moved to Berlin and combined both Jewish and secular studies but continued the lonely existence of the poor, foreign university student. In Germany Berdyczewski's chaotic, revolutionary ideas were given shape under the impact of his studies in philosophy. The influence of Schopenhauer can be noticed in his famous article "*Reshut ha-Yaḥid Be'ad ha-Rabbim*" ("The Individual and the Community," in *Oẓar ha-Sifrut*, 1892), in which he defended the claims of individual freedom and creativity against the stultifying demands of such abstractions as tradition, religion, public consensus and will, history, and ideology. Here and in other articles, Berdyczewski attacked the limited scope of much of Hebrew literature, the inadequacies of Haskalah, Aḥad Ha-Amism, and Ḥibbat Zion. After two years of studies in Berne, Berdyczewski returned to spend four years (1896–1900) in Berlin, one of the most productive periods in his life. Stimulated by his opposition to both *Aḥad Ha-Am and *Herzl, and encouraged by his friends and other Hebrew writers there, Berdyczewski published in many of the leading Hebrew journals, vigorously attacking all accepted ideological positions and calling for a "transvaluation" – in the Nietzschean sense – of Judaism and Jewish history, and the expansion of the canons of Hebrew literary taste. His impulsive tone won him the admiration of the young and the scorn of the older, more conservative readers, mostly the admirers of Aḥad Ha-Am. The famous Aḥad Ha-Am versus Berdyczewski debate appeared in *Ha-Shiloʾaḥ* (1897). In 1900 Berdyczewski firmly established himself in the history of Hebrew literature with the publication of nine volumes of articles and stories.

The year 1900 was also significant in Berdyczewski's personal life; he married Rachel Romberg, a dentist. During the next 20 years she assisted him in his literary and scholarly work and together with their son Immanuel Bin-Gorion continued to edit his writings after his death. With his bride he returned home for a brief visit to the Russian Pale of Settlement for the first time in ten years. The renewed confrontation with the harsh realities of Jewish life in the Pale both modified his stridency and rekindled his interest in the narrative possibilities afforded by this rapidly disintegrating organic community.

After a short stay in Warsaw, he returned to Germany and Breslau (1901–11) and, in self-imposed isolation from colleagues and current affairs, devoted himself to intense literary work which he carried out through many periods of poverty and infirmity until his death. In Breslau, where some of his finest works were written between 1906 and 1909, he continued to write in Hebrew, but embarked upon several new ventures – he wrote articles and stories in Yiddish; systematically collected rabbinic legends; studied the origins of Judaism with particular emphasis upon the Samaritan tradition; and began a still unpublished diary in German. His collected Yiddish writings were published in 1912. After moving to Berlin in 1911, he edited anthologies of legends, reworked his previous writings for the Stybel edition (1921–25), and studied Jewish history of the biblical and Christian period. The years after 1914 were particularly difficult: his health failed; his travel was restricted since he was a Russian citizen; and after the war he was deeply shocked at the news of the pogrom in Doubovo and his father's murder. Nevertheless, Berdyczewski wrote some of his major stories after the war, notably his short novel *Miryam,* which he completed shortly before his death.

Though Berdyczewski's writings are commonly divided into four groups: essay, fiction, folklore anthologies, and scholarship, the borders between them are often quite arbitrary. Written over a period of 35 years and edited by the author for the Stybel edition, Berdyczewski's literary output is rich but its ambivalent attitudes are the mark of an uprooted, marginal man capable of simultaneously embracing logically contradictory positions and emotions. Many of Berdyczewski's paradoxes can be understood in terms of the dialectical stages of his development, each a reflection of *fin de siècle* European moods.

In his literary criticism, Berdyczewski derided exhibitionistic mannerism and the submission of a writer's artistic individuality to the demands of ideology. He showed little appreciation for the outstanding literary figures of his day, *Mendele Mokher Seforim, Aḥad Ha-Am, Ḥ.N. *Bialik, and J. *Klausner, but supported younger writers like J.H. *Brenner and M.Z. *Feuerberg and others devoted to their art. He held literature to be one of the vital forces in human experience and reacted to it impressionistically in often fragmentary critical essays, replete with intemperate outbursts and bitter irony; hence his critical point of view is far from consistent.

Berdyczewski wrote more than 150 Hebrew stories, many in Yiddish, and several in German. These stories deal with two central subjects: life in the Jewish towns of Eastern Europe in the last decades of the 19th century and the life of the Eastern European Jewish students in the cities of Central and Western Europe. Heavily autobiographical, many of his pre-1900 stories are often impressionistic, emotional monologues with essayistic digressions.

The *shtetl* ("Jewish town") served as the background for dramatic situations embodying Berdyczewski's philosophical outlook. He was obsessed with exceptional, individualistic types – lonely, rebellious, and ostracized, and the inevitable clash between them and the intolerant community. The archetypal topography of the town with its Jewish and gentile quarters separated by a river is symbolic of the psychological and social tensions in dozens of stories. Often there is an implied protest against pre-arranged marriages and other forms of coercion within the Jewish community which cause misery, particularly for the women. Life is often depicted as a struggle between light and darkness, beauty and ugliness, refinement and crudeness, and in this struggle the good and beautiful are vanquished. The stories after 1900 consciously strive to erect a literary monument to a fading society or to comprehend human existence in literary terms. Increasingly, the *shtetl* is comprehended as a society in the grip of a blind, cruel force.

In his fiction one can discern basic patterns and archetypal figures which appear in various forms: the gracious woman who is callously given to a commonplace or vulgar husband; the uprooted student; the undistinguished, almost impotent male; the virile, ruddy man. Berdyczewski attempted to discover the basic psychological features of his protagonists as they function in plausible, realistic situations and thus added a new dimension to the Hebrew short story. The recurring typology, however, and the use of key epithets and motifs organized his more successfully integrated stories and opened them to symbolic interpretation. In their structure they resemble the rabbinic legends whose concrete situations and symbolic implications had always fascinated Berdyczewski. During his most rebellious period (1896–1900) he collected ḥasidic legends which he published as a separate volume in 1900. The vitality, individuality, and aesthetic sensibility of the Ḥasidim attracted him since they were the antithesis of rabbinic Judaism. Both the Hebrew and the German editions of these anthologies substantially expanded the library of Jewish literature available to the average reader.

One of the most seminal figures in both modern Hebrew literature and Jewish thought, Berdyczewski exerted a subtle yet crucial influence upon many readers after the turn of the century because he embodied, both in his personality and in his writing, the painfully ambivalent attitudes toward both traditional Judaism and European culture shared by many Jewish intellectuals. Characteristically, Berdyczewski rebelled against his religious background, but could never completely reject it.

Berdyczewski's collected works are *Kol Kitvei*, Stybel edition (20 vols. (1921–25) and various other later editions; collected Yiddish works *Yidishe Ksurim* (1924); rabbinic legends; *Me-Oẓar ha-Aggadah* (2 vols., 1913; *Mi-Mekor Yisrael* (5 vols., 1930–45). A list of his works translated into English appears in Goell, Bibliography, 63, 94. An English translation of *Miriam* appeared in 1983. Among recent collections in Hebrew are A. Holtzman, Y. Kafkafi (eds.), *Kitvei M.J. Berdyczewski* (1996) and A. Holtzman (ed.), *Meḥkarim u-T'eudot* (2002)

His son IMMANUEL BIN-GORION (1903–1987), writer and translator, was born in Breslau. In 1936 he settled in Tel Aviv where he served as director of Bet Mikhah Yosef (a municipal library based on his father's collection). His writings in Hebrew and German include essays, literary criticism, and studies of folklore. He edited and published his father's writings. His Hebrew books include *Shevilei ha-Aggadah* (1950) and *Ḥidot ha-Sheloshah*, ancient Indian legends.

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[Dan Almagor / Arnold J. Band]

BERECHIAH (fourth cent.), Palestinian *amora*; sometimes referred to in the Midrash as R. Berechiah ha-Kohen. His father's name was apparently Ḥiyya (Tanḥ. B. Gen. 60, cf. Lev. R. 31); was a pupil of R. *Ḥelbo, whose aggadic sayings, as well as those of other scholars, he reported. His many aggadic sayings are found mostly in the Midrashim and in the Jerusalem Talmud, but he is also mentioned in the Babylonian Talmud. R. Berechiah preached and taught in his own *bet midrash* (TJ, Ber. 7:6, 11c). In his homilies he stresses the virtues of charity and the uniqueness of the Jewish people (Lev. R. 27:7; Ta'an. 4a). "God said to Israel: 'My children: If you see the merit of the patriarchs declining and the merit of the matriarchs diminishing, go and cleave to acts of charity'" (TJ, Sanh. 10:1, 27d). He gave voice to the expectation that God would exact vengeance upon Israel's enemies (Lam. R. 5:1). Although only a few of his *halakhot* are mentioned, it is clear that his views in the field of *halakhah* were regarded as authoritative (TJ, RH 3:1, 58d). Some scholars think that there was an earlier Palestinian *amora* (third century) called Berechiah or Berechiah Sabba ("old").

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[Zvi Kaplan]

BERECHIAH BEN NATRONAI HA-NAKDAN (end of 12th–13th century), fabulist, translator, thinker, copyist, and grammarian. Some have identified him with Benedictus le Puncteur of Oxford, who presented a gift to Richard I in 1194, though many deny this. Berechiah lived in Normandy and at a certain period also in England. His title *ha-Nakdan* testifies to the fact that he punctuated Hebrew books. He also knew foreign languages and translated and adapted several books into Hebrew, including *Quaestiones Naturales* by Adelard of Bath, a popular 12th-century book on natural sciences. Berechiah entitled it *Dodi ve-Nekhdi* or *Ha-She'elot* (ed. by H. Gollancz, 1920). His collections of ethical treatises *Sefer ha-Ḥibbur* and *Sefer ha-Maẓref* (ed. by Gollancz, *The Ethical Treatises of Berachyah, son of Rabbi Natronai Ha-Nakdan*, 1902) summarized the opinions expressed in Saadiah Gaon's *Emunot ve-De'ot* (of which Berechiah used the old, unprinted translation in Hebrew), as well as the opinions of other *geonim*. In these essays he invented several Hebrew terms for philosophical concepts. He also wrote *Ko'aḥ Avanim* (unpublished), a translation-adaption of a Latin book about the magical powers in stones.

His most famous work is *Mishlei Shu'alim* (English translation by M. Hadas *Fables of a Jewish Aesop*, 1967), a collection of fables translated mostly from the French fable collection *Ysopet* by Marie de France (c. 1170), and also from the lost Latin translation of Aesop, *Romulus*, as well as from other collections of Oriental origin. Berechiah writes in his preface: "These fables are well-known to all mankind and are in books by people of all languages, but my faith differs from theirs." The preface contains an appraisal in rhyming puns of the low moral state of English Jewry as seen through Berechiah's eyes: "The wicked are saved, the righteous groan, the bitter are sweetened, the evil rise, while the great are cast down, and prayer is tasteless, glory is folly, and the sacrifice is wicked." He concludes, "I would prefer toil and a dry crust to sharing my lot with them." *Mishlei Shu'alim* has appeared in 18 editions, most of them, including the first (Mantua 1557–59), being incomplete. Berechiah has been identified with Krespia or Crispia (Heb. קרשפיא, קרישפיה, קרישפיהו) the grammarian, one of whose fables (Fable 119) was included in *Mishlei Shu'alim*, but this identification is unfounded. Berechiah's son, Elijah, who lived in "the city of Radom" (Darom, i.e., Dreux) was a copyist and grammarian. In those of his texts which have survived he expresses his feeling of honor at his father's respected position and refers to him as "the *tanna* and pedant."

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[Abraham Meir Habermann]

BERECHIAH BERAKH BEN ELIAKIM GETZEL (c. 1670–1740), rabbi and author. Born in Cracow, Berechiah Berakh served as a rabbi in Klementow and later as a preacher in Yaworow (Yavorov). The leader of Polish Jewry, Abraham Isaac *Fortis (Ḥazak), allowed him to preach in every place without previously obtaining the permission of the local rabbi. His eloquent sermons belong to the end of the period of the Council of Four Lands. He spoke out against the low moral standards prevailing in the upper strata of Polish Jewry in the first half of the 18th century. He criticized rabbis who took gifts from the parents of their pupils, judges who accepted remuneration beyond that permitted by law, and preachers and communal leaders who accepted gifts in return for their efforts. He also criticized the practice of lending money at interest. His outspokenness earned him many opponents. Isaac Eisik of Szydlowiec withdrew an approbation he had given to Berechiah's book of responsa when he learned that the latter, whose words were misinterpreted, prohibited a certain marriage permitted by Solomon *Luria. As a result, the above-mentioned book, together with four others on which Berechiah had labored for more than 22 years, was forcibly taken from him and he had to flee. Only a small part of his works (on the Pentateuch, Psalms, Talmud, and *Turim*) survived, and was published by Berechiah in two volumes, entitled *Zera Berakh* as a supplement in two parts to the work of the same name in two volumes by his grandfather *Berechiah Berakh b. Isaac Eisik. The first consists of explanations and homilies to Genesis (Halle, 1714), and the second of novellae to the tractate, *Berakhot* (Frankfurt on the Oder, 1731). A commentary on the Pentateuch, *Zera Berakh*, part 4 (mentioned *ibid.*, part 3) has remained in manuscript.

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[Samuel Abba Horodezky]

BERECHIAH BERAKH BEN ISAAC EISIK (d. 1663), called "the Elder" in differentiation from his grandson *Berechiah Berakh b. Eliakim Getzel; rabbinical scholar, *dayyan*, and preacher in Cracow; his father-in-law was Yom Tov Lipmann *Heller. Berechiah studied under the kabbalist Nathan Shapiro, and became a *dayyan* of the *bet din* of Joshua Hoeschel of Cracow. He officiated as chief preacher to the community in Cracow, belonging to a category of preachers held in high esteem. His sermons were published under the title *Zera Berakh* in two parts: the first (Cracow, 1646) includes Berechiah's exposition of Genesis, concluding with the portion *Masei*, and the second (1662) completes the commentary to the end of Deuteronomy and includes sermons on the Five Scrolls and the Passover *Haggadah*. His commentaries are not only representative of homiletics in 17th-century Poland-Lithuania, but provide wide-ranging disquisitions on central problems of Jewish society, such as the causes of the Chmielnicki massacres in 1648–49. He also composed a special elegy, entitled "*El Male Raḥamim,*" on the martyr's death suffered by *Mattathias in Cracow in 1663, which was introduced into the Cracow liturgy. Berechiah died in Constantinople on his way to Ereẓ Israel.

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BEREGI, ÁRMIN BENJAMIN (1879–1953), Hungarian Zionist. Born in Budapest, Beregi was a relative of Theodor *Herzl and knew him from childhood. He graduated as an engineer in 1901 and worked in factory construction in various parts of Europe and later in Palestine. At Herzl's request he organized a Zionist student movement in Hungary. He served as president of the Hungarian Zionist Organization from 1911 to 1918. A Jewish defense force that he organized in 1918 for protection against pogroms was authorized by the Hungarian government. Beregi headed the Palestine Office (see *Jewish Agency) in Budapest from 1925 to 1935, when he settled in Palestine. The last years of his life were spent in Tel Aviv as construction manager of a brick factory. In 1933 he published a two volume novel about life in Palestine, entitled *Isten árnyékában* ("In the Shadow of God").

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[Getzel Kressel]

BEREGI, OSZKÁR (1876–1966), Hungarian actor, famous for his Shakespearean roles. Beregi worked for three years with Max Reinhardt in Berlin and became a member of the Pest National Theater in 1899. Nationalist elements brought about his dismissal in 1910 and he went to Vienna. By 1925 he was acting in Hollywood and appeared in *Anything Can Happen* (1952), *Call Me Madam* (1953), and *Desert Legion* (1953).

BEREGOVO (Cz. **Berehovo**; Hg. **Beregszász**), city in Sub-Carpathian Ruthenia (now in Ukraine). Toward the end of the 18th century Jews were first permitted to settle there on the estates of the counts Schoenborn and to pursue trade. Most of them originated from Poland. By 1795 there was an organized community with a synagogue and *ḥevra kaddisha*. Abraham Judah ha-Kohen *Schwarz officiated as rabbi from 1861 to 1881, and Solomon Sofer (Schreiber) from 1884 to 1930. A Hebrew elementary school was opened after 1918, while Beregovo was within Czechoslovakia. There were 4,592 Jews living in Beregovo in 1921 and 5,865 (out of a total population of 19,379) in 1941. They owned 16 factories, three flour mills, and two banks, and were represented in the professions by 22 doctors and 17 lawyers. Most of the Zionist parties and youth were active in Beregovo. A number of Jews owned vineyards, and supplied the international market as vintners. After the Hungarian takeover in 1938, the Jews were deprived of their business licenses. Five hundred males were drafted into labor battalions and perished on the eastern front. In 1941 about 250 local Jews without Hungarian citizenship were deported to the German-occupied Ukraine and murdered there. In the winter of 1944 a ghetto and Judenrat were established, and in mid-May 1944 about 11,000 Jews were deported to Auschwitz, among them 3,600 from Beregovo with the others from the surrounding area. The big synagogue was confiscated while a service was being held during Passover 1959 in order to house the local theater. After that time, services were held in a rented room. The number of Jewish families was estimated at 300 in 1970. Presumably most left in the 1990s.

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[Oskar K. Rabinowicz / Shmuel Spector (2nd ed.)]

BEREGOVSKI, MOSHE (1892–1961), Soviet Russian musicologist. Born in the Ukraine, Beregovski was the son of a *melammed* and reader (*ba'al kore*) and sang in the synagogue choir, where he received his first musical training. He studied composition at the Leningrad Conservatory and participated in the field expeditions of the late 1910s. He taught music and conducted a choir at the Jewish folk music society in Kiev. In 1918 he founded and directed the music section of the Jewish Culture League in Kiev and in 1927 began to collect and study Jewish folk music at the Faculty of Jewish Culture of the Ukranian Academy of Sciences. From 1928 to 1941 he was the head of the Folk Music Division of the Jewish Culture League and the Folklore Department of the Kiev Conservatory. By the beginning of World War II the folk music department had more than 1,200 cylinder recordings of 3,000 items and more than 4,000 transcriptions, of which more than 600 were recorded by Beregovski, as well as the collections of *An-Ski and Joel *Engel. In 1944 he received his diploma in music in Moscow for his thesis on Jewish instrumental music. In 1946 his doctoral work on musical theater and his thesis were rejected because of elements of Western culture which he described. In 1949 the department of Jewish culture was closed and in 1950 Beregovski was arrested and imprisoned for five years. After his release he tried to publish his work but could not do so for political reasons. He had written most of his projected five-volume study of East European Jewish folk music and given it to his family before his arrest. Most of his recordings and writings survived WWII and are kept in several institutions in the Ukraine. His five volumes include: (1) workers' and revolutionary songs of the 1905 period, domestic and army songs (published in 1934 under the title *Yevreyskiy musikalny folklor* and in its Yiddish edition (in Latin characters) as *Jidisher Muzik Folklor*); (2) love and family songs; (3) klezmer music; (4) songs without words; (5) music of the *Purimshpil*. These are all being published in the U.S., Russia, and Israel. In 1938 Beregovski published another collection of Yiddish songs from several sources under the tittle *Yidishe Folkslider*, edited with Itzik *Fefer (1938), which contained 298 items influenced by Soviet ideology.

Beregovski was the first ethnomusicologist to record in the field with a recording machine the oral traditions of East European Jews. The material he collected between 1914 and 1948 includes songs of the Holocaust. He was a pioneer in addressing the question of modes and context in the study of Jewish folk music. Beregovski's extensive work represents the rich musical life of Jews in Russia and the Ukraine before the Holocaust and established the basis of modern studies of this material. The following of his works appeared posthumously: *Old Jewish Folk Music* (ed. M. Slobin, 1982); *Jewish Instrumental Folk Music* (ed. M. Slobin, R. Rothstein. and M. Alpert, 2001); *Evreiske Narodnye Musikalno-Teatralnye Predstavlenia* (2001).

[Gila Flam (2nd ed.)]

BERENBAUM, MICHAEL (1945–), U.S Holocaust scholar who played a prominent role in what he describes as the "Americanization" of the Holocaust: the transformation of a sacred Jewish memory into a significant part of the conceptual and physical landscape of the American public culture.

Berenbaum was born in Newark, New Jersey, and educated at Hebrew-speaking New York yeshivot, Queens College (B.A., 1963), the Jewish Theological Seminary, the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Boston University, and Florida State University, completeing his Ph.D. as a student of Richard Rubenstein, whose influence was apparent in Berenbaum's text of the President's Commission on the Holocaust (PCOH) Report presented to President Carter on September 27, 1979. Influenced by the magisterial work of Raul *Hilberg, Rubenstein and Berenbaum understood the Holocaust in large measure as a bureaucratic triumph of a Nazi society of total domination. Among the recommendations to the president offered in Berenbaum's text was a "living memorial," to consist of a memorial and museum space, an educational foundation, and a committee on conscience. The commission's recommendation would eventually become the conceptual blueprint for the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington, D.C., which opened in April 1993. Berenbaum played a major role in the creation of the museum and the content of its permanent exhibition, serving as project director from 1988 to 1993 and director of the Museum's Research Institute from 1993 to 1997. Berenbaum directed a design team that created an exhibition narrative focusing on careful inclusion of non-Jewish victims, a balance between Jewish life before the Holocaust, the extermination, the return to life after, and an emphasis on Americans as bystanders (often complicit ones) and liberators.

In recent years, Berenbaum has served as president and chief executive officer of the Survivors of the Shoah Visual History Foundation (1997–99) and director of the Sigi Ziering Institute: Exploring the Ethical and Religious Implications of the Holocaust at the University of Judaism. He consults widely on the development of Holocaust museums and films. He was one of three American representatives to the international competition that chose the memorial at the Belzec death camp and a member of the team that created the accompanying and highly acclaimed museum. His many film projects include co-producing *One Survivor Remembers: The Gerda Weisman Klein Story,* which received an Academy Award for Best Short Documentary and an Emmy Award in 1995. He was historical consultant to *The Last Days,* which won the Academy Award in 1998.

Berenbaum has written or edited 16 books, including *After Tragedy and Triumph: Modern Jewish Thought and the American Experience* (1990)*; Holocaust: Religious and Philosophical Implications* (co-edited with John Roth, 1989); *A Mosaic of Victims: Non-Jews Persecuted and Murdered by the Nazis* (1990); *The World Must Know: The History of the Holocaust as Told in the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum* (1993); *The Holocaust and History: The Known, the Unknown, the Disputed and the Re-examined* (co-edited with Abraham Peck, 1998); and *Bombing of Auschwitz: Should the Allies Have Attempted It?* (co-edited with Michael Neufeld, 2000). He also served as executive editor for the second edition of the *Encyclopaedia Judaica*.

Holocaust memory has become a compelling, volatile, sometimes controversial element in American public culture. Berenbaum's career, particularly his many years of service to the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum project, has been dedicated to ensuring that Holocaust memory moved beyond ethnic boundaries into a wider culture in the hope that Holocaust memory – expressed through cultural representations of so many kinds – will offer a sober reminder of what is possible in a modern society.

[Edward T. Linenthal (2nd ed.)]

BERENBLUM, ISAAC (1903–2000), pathologist specializing in cancer research. Berenblum was born in Bialystok, Poland, and was taken to England in 1914. In 1923 he received his B.Sc. with honors in physiology and biochemistry, his M.B. and Ch.B. in 1926, his M.D. with distinction in 1930 and his M.Sc. (1936) all from Leeds University. As a student he became interested in cancer research, and from 1936 to 1948 was a member of the Dunn School of Pathology at Oxford University and in charge of the Oxford Research Center of the British Empire Cancer Campaign. During this period he developed the theory of the two-stage mechanism for the production of tumors. He found that in addition to the chemical that causes cancer, another chemical is required for the promotion of a tumor. He continued the development of this research theme at the National Cancer Institute at Bethesda in the United States from 1948 to 1950. In 1950 he joined the staff of the Weizmann Institute at Rehovot, where he set up the department of experimental biology. He developed an internationally recognized school of cell biologists and cancer workers. He served for three years (1965–68) as a member of the scientific council of the international agency for cancer research. Berenblum was deeply interested in the public aspects of cancer, and was chairman of the Israel Cancer Society. In 1974 Berenblum was awarded the Israel Prize for science, and in 1980 the Alfred B. Sloan Prize and Gold Medal. He wrote *Science Versus Cancer* (1946; U.S. ed. *Man Against Cancer*, 1952) and *Cancer Research Today* (1967).

[Jack Gross]

BERENDSOHN, WALTER A. (1884–1984), literary historian and critic. Berendsohn was born in Hamburg. He taught literature at Hamburg University, from 1921 until 1933, when the Nazi racist legislation forced him into exile. He then made his home in Copenhagen. While still in Germany he published works on Selma Lagerloef and Knut Hamsun, and his first work in his new home was *Der lebendige Heine im Germanischen Norden* (1935) in which he investigated the influence of the various translations of Heinrich Heine's writings into Danish, Swedish, Norwegian, Finnish, and Icelandic.

Berendsohn fled from Denmark to Sweden in 1943. There he continued his literary work, devoting extensive studies, inter alia, to August Strindberg, some of whose works he translated into German. Shortly after World War II he published *Die Humanistische Front* (1946), the first part of a two-volume work on "exile literature," created by refugees from the Third Reich all over the world. This work – with a title that marks the contrast between humanism and the Hitler regime's adoration of power and violence-laid the foundations for what later became a subject of study and research at many academic institutions in Europe and the U.S.A. In Sweden this research was for many years headed by Berendsohn himself at the Institute for German Studies at Stockholm University.

Berendsohn later devoted much special research to Thomas Mann. While his book *Thomas Mann – Kuenstler und Kaempfer in bewegter Zeit* (1965; *Thomas Mann, Artist and Partisan in Troubled Times*, 1973) is a general introduction to his life and work, *Thomas Mann und die Seinen* (1974) also includes essays on the work of Mann's five children, his author brother Heinrich and his wife Katja. He also issued, with a preface, *Sieben Manifeste zur Juedischen Frage* (1966) – essays written by Thomas Mann between 1936 and 1948 in protest against Nazi persecutions of the Jews and in support of the Jewish renaissance in the Land of Israel, which he himself enthusiastically supported. Berendsohn visited Israel fourteen times and dedicated several articles and one major book (*Volk der Bibel im Land der Vaeter,* 1962) to it. Stockholm University issued his *Die kuenstlerische Entwicklung Heines im "Buch der Lieder"* (1970) and *Lion Feuchtwanger – Der Meister des politischen Romans* (1974). Amsterdam University published his *August Strindberg: Der Mensch und seine Umwelt – Das Werk – Der schoepferische Kuenstler* (1974) – perhaps the first work to concentrate on Strindberg's artistic achievement, rather than his biography. In the same year there appeared in Darmstadt his *Die Dichterin Jüdischen Schicksals Nelly Sachs: Ekstatischer Aufstieg und kuenstlerische Entwicklung.*

A comprehensive bibliography of Berendsohn's books and articles (over 800 titles), edited by Brita von Garaguly, was published by the Royal Library in Stockholm in 1974.

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[Erich Gottgetreu]

BERENDT, GOTTLIEB MICHAEL (1836–1920), German geologist. Berendt was born in Berlin, where he studied mining geology. The results of his early field work in the Berlin area were published in his first major book *Die Diluvialablagerungen der Mark Brandenburg* (1863). This research made him an ardent protagonist of the new, and at the time controversial, glacial theory, for which he adduced additional evidence by a study of the Harz Mountains. In 1873 he was appointed professor at the University of Koenigsberg, and in 1875 professor at the University of Berlin. He was one of the first Jews to join the Prussian Geological Survey, where he directed the department for the North German Lowlands. Berendt engaged in extensive geological mapping, particularly of glaciated areas. His geological map of the province of Brandenburg was the first of its kind. Notwithstanding his open mind on modern geological theory, he was an opponent of Darwin whose theory of evolution he tried to refute in *Die Theorie Darwins und die Geologie* (1870).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: NDB, 2 (1955), 69–70.

[Yakov K. Bentor]

BERENICE (1) (last half of first century B.C.E.), daughter of *Salome, sister of *Herod and of Costobar the Edomite. She was the wife of *Aristobulus (son of Herod and Mariamne). Berenice bore Aristobulus three sons (*Herod, who became king of Chalcis; Agrippa, who became *Agrippa I; and *Aristobulus) and two daughters (Mariamne and *Herodias, the second wife of *Antipas (Herod Antipas)). Berenice did not live harmoniously with her husband, who was proud of his descent from the Hasmonean Mariamne. She was used by Salome to obtain information about her husband so as to arouse Herod's enmity against him. After Aristobulus had been put to death in 6 B.C.E., Berenice was given in marriage to Theudian, brother of *Doris, the first wife of Herod and mother of his son Antipater. She spent her last years in Rome, where she gained the friendship of the emperor *Augustus and *Antonia, the widow of Drusus. On the strength of this friendship Antonia was well disposed toward the young Agrippa I, even to the extent of assisting him with large sums of money when he was heavily in debt.

(2) (b. 28 C.E.), the oldest daughter of Agrippa I. At the age of 13 she was married to Marcus, son of the *alabarch Alexander Lysimachus. After the death of Marcus she was married to *Herod, king of Chalcis, her father's brother. Two sons were born of this marriage – Berenicianus and Hyrcanus. On the death of her husband in 48 C.E., Berenice went to stay with her brother *Agrippa II, who had succeeded Herod. The residence of brother and sister under one roof gave rise to calumny. Berenice was married a third time, c. 65 C.E., to Polemon II, then king of Olba in Cilicia. However, she left him after a short time and returned to the house of her brother. She was in Caesarea with Agrippa in 60 C.E. when Paul was put on trial before the governor Festus (Acts 25:13–26;30). The Jerusalem riots of 66 C.E. found Berenice in the city in fulfillment of a Nazirite vow made when she was ill. She risked her life in an attempt to keep Gessius Florus from provoking the multitude, but was unsuccessful. When she attempted to pacify the rioters, they burned down her palace, forcing her to flee. Later, when the Syrian governor *Cestius and his

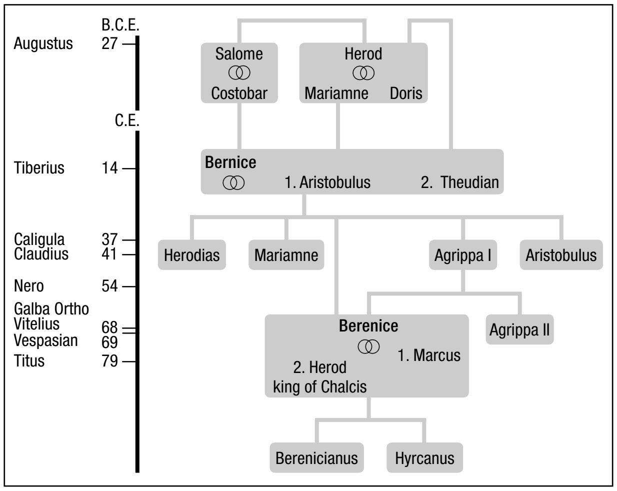

army marched on Jerusalem, she went over to him with her brother. She remained in the Roman camp even when Vespasian commanded the army fighting against the rebels. Titus, son of Vespasian, fell in love with Berenice who was 39 years old at the time. She was with him during the siege of Jerusalem and witnessed the horrors of its destruction. In 75 C.E. Titus established her in the royal palace at Rome and conducted himself toward her as if she were about to become his legal wife. The ruling circles in Rome, however, did not look favorably upon the affair and when Berenice began to act like an empress, the opposition to her deepened and Vespasian compelled Titus to send her away. After Vespasian's death in 79 C.E., she returned to Rome. However, her previous relationship with Titus was not renewed. The Greek inscription in honor of Berenice by the civic leaders of Athens dates apparently from the period of her travels between Italy and Judea.

Her story has been the subject of fiction as in Leon Kolb's *Berenice, Princess of Judea* (1959) and Lion Feuchtwanger's *Josephus* trilogy.

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[Abraham Schalit]

BERENIKE (Gr. Βερενίκη, the name of several ancient cities founded (or restored) by the Ptolemaic kings and named in honor of Egyptian queens. One of these cities, in the territory of Israel, was Ailane on the Gulf of Eilat (Jos., Ant., 8:163). Another was in Cyrenaica (see *Benghazi).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Pauly-Wissowa, 5 (1897), 280–2; Avi-Yonah, Geog, 175.

BERENSON, BERNARD (1865–1959), U.S. art historian and art connoisseur. Berenson was born Valvrojenski in the Lithuanian village of Baltramentz, where his father, an ironmonger and grain and lumber merchant, was one of the leaders of the Jewish community. When Berenson was ten, the family emigrated to the United States, where they changed their name. Berenson was sent to the Boston Latin School and, with the financial assistance of the art collector, Isabella Stewart Gardner, was able to go to Harvard University. After graduating he went to London, Oxford, Berlin, and finally Italy, where he made his home for the rest of his life.

Berenson made a thorough study of Italian Renaissance art, and was soon able to purchase important masterpieces for his patron. Through his books – his earliest, *The Venetian Painters of the Renaissance*, appeared in 1894 – he became known as an authority. In 1907 he began his long association with the English art dealer, Joseph (later Lord) *Duveen. This connection enabled Berenson to amass a fortune by providing Duveen's pictures with "Berenson passports," certifying the expensive paintings as genuine. He and his wife, who came from a wealthy American Quaker family, acquired an old villa near Florence and filled it with art treasures and a vast library. Here Berenson's research into Renaissance art came to fruition in a number of important books, among them *The Study and Criticism of Italian Art* (in three series, 1901, 1902, and 1916), *Essays in the Study of Sienese Painting* (1918), and *Italian Pictures of the Renaissance* (1932). Berenson was a prolific writer. His bibliography, published on his 90th birthday, listed 73 pages of books and articles. Although he destroyed some time-hallowed attributions, he also rediscovered artists forgotten for hundreds of years whose works had been credited to better-known masters. He managed to bring light into the jungle of naïve or careless credits that prevailed in Renaissance connoisseurship when he began his career.

Berenson experienced a certain conflict in his relationship to Judaism. As a young man he contributed essays on Jewish topics to the *Harvard Monthly*, and throughout his long life never denied being a Jew and even boasted of carrying on the Jewish "traditions of great learning." However, he joined the Episcopalian church as a young man, and later became a Catholic, although he never publicized these conversions. As an American citizen he was not affected by the antisemitic legislation in Italy before and during the Nazi domination. However, he became apprehensive for the safety of his art treasures, and in 1942 went into hiding until the German retreat from the country. In his autobiographical writings he vacillated between an enormous racial pride and a sharp condemnation of the Jewish people. One of his last autobiographical books was *Sketch for a Self-Portrait* (1949), which contained reminiscences of his childhood in Lithuania. For many years he was an anti-Zionist, but in his old age he accepted Zionism and the necessity for a Jewish state. He bequeathed his villa "I Tatti," with all its treasures, to Harvard, to be available to young scholars so that they could "live" art there as he had lived it.

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[Alfred Werner]

BERENSON, LEON (1885–1943), Polish lawyer and diplomat. Berenson was born in Warsaw, and started his legal practice there in 1905 as defense counsel in political cases in which he showed himself a brilliant and courageous fighter for social justice. He soon became one of Poland's most famous lawyers. In 1914 he joined the Organization for the Civic Equality of Jews and Poles (later the Organization of Poles of the Jewish Faith, Wyznania mojzeszowego), which favored Jewish assimilation. He was elected to the Warsaw Municipal Council in 1916 as the representative of this party. When the Polish state was established in 1918, Berenson, as an official in the Ministry of Justice, helped to organize the Polish judiciary. In 1920 he entered the Foreign Ministry and served in Washington until 1923 and later in the U.S.S.R. Berenson resigned from the foreign service in 1930, when the National Democratic Party (N.D. = Endeks) became a powerful force in the ruling Pilsudski regime. He resumed his legal practice and was defense counsel in several political trials of historical significance. He died in the Warsaw ghetto. His writings include *Z sali śmierci: Wrażenia obróncy politycznego* ("From the Death Cell: Memoirs of a Defense Counsel in Political Cases," 1929).

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BERENSON (Abbott), SENDA (Valvrojenski; 1868–1954), "Mother of Women's Basketball" and a member of the Basketball Hall of Fame and the Women's Basketball Hall of Fame. Born in Baltramentz (Butrimonys), a town near Vilna, Lithuania, Berenson's family immigrated to Boston when she was seven, changing the family name from Valvrojenski to Berenson. She became the first director of physical education at Smith College in Northampton, Massachusetts, in January 1892, a month after James Naismith invented basketball in nearby Springfield. Berenson visited Naismith to learn the game and adopted it for her female students, organizing the first official game of women's basketball on March 22, 1893. It featured the Smith sophomores against the freshmen, with no male spectators allowed. Berenson introduced the first rules of women's basketball (1899), adapted to avoid the roughness of the men's game and stressing a refined game that favored socialization and cooperation over competition and winning. Her rules included dividing the court into three areas, with two players permanently designated for each area; eliminated stealing the ball; limited dribbling to three bounces; and restricted a player from holding the ball longer than three seconds. She was editor of *Spalding's Official Basketball Guide for Women* (1901–17) and chairwoman of the U.S. Women's Basketball Committee (1905–17). She left Smith in 1911 after marrying Herbert Vaughan Abbott, a professor of English at Smith, and chaired the physical education department at the Mary A. Burnham School in Northampton until 1921. In 1934, she moved to Santa Barbara, Calif., where she died. She was one of first three women elected to the Basketball Hall of Fame (1985). Her brother was the art historian Bernard *Berenson.

[Elli Wohlgelernter (2nd ed.)]

BERENSON, ZVI (1907–2001), Israel Supreme Court justice. Berenson was born and educated in the Galilee. He received a grant for excellence from the British High Commissioner to study mathematics in England, where he also studied law. Returning to Israel, he served as legal adviser of the Histadrut (General Labor Federation) from 1934 until the creation of the State of Israel in 1948. At the request of Prime Minister David Ben-Gurion, he drafted the Declaration of Independence. In 1950, he was named director general of the Labor Ministry, and in 1954 he became a justice of the Supreme Court, where he served for 23 years until his retirement in 1977. His decisions were characterized by clarity, innovation, and a liberal approach to protection of individual rights. His major contributions were in administrative law, public tenders, torts, and labor and family law. He emphasized the legal basis of High Court of Justice decisions and judicial review of Knesset legislation and government decisions. He played a key role in the development of the Supreme Court ruling that administrative decisions of the government require it to state the grounds for them, the government's obligation to carry out court decisions and the right of the Supreme Court sitting as a court of equity to award administrative damages. His name is associated with several judicial precedents of public interest, such as the interim order compelling Prime Minister Golda Meir to allow television broadcasts on the Sabbath, equal allocation of assets between a married couple, and simplification of judicial procedures.

After retirement from the Supreme Court bench, Berenson served as chair of the arbitration board for the public sector for 17 years, until 1994.

[Leon Fine (2nd ed.)]

BERÉNY, RÓBERT (1887–1953), Hungarian painter and graphic designer. Born and educated in Budapest, Berény studied in Paris and Italy. On his return he joined the "*Nyolcak*," a progressive group of artists searching for new forms of pictorial expression. In 1948 he was appointed professor at the Academy of Creative Arts in Budapest. Berény's early work reflects the influence of Cézanne, while his later work is more expressionistic. He painted a wide variety of subjects, including life studies and landscapes. He was an outstanding graphic artist whose posters maintained a high standard. His *Self-Portrait with Straw Hat* (1906), *The Lady Cellist* (1929), *The Scrawl* (1933), *Ice-Carrying* (1937), and *The Student Painter* (1947) are in the Hungarian National Gallery. His portrait of Béla Bartók is in the Bartók Archives, New York.

[Jeno Zsoldos]

BERESTECHKO (Pol. **Beresteczko**), small town in Volhynia, Ukraine; until 1795 and from 1919 to 1939 within Poland. Jewish settlement there is first mentioned in a document dated 1569. Until 1648 the number of Jews exceeded 1,000. About 200 families perished in Berestechko during the *Chmielnicki massacres in 1648 -49. In the battle fought at Berestechko between the Cossacks and Poles in 1651 some 1,000 Jews fought on the Polish side, according to Nathan Nata *Hannover. There were 872 Jews registered in the community in 1765, of whom 632 lived in the town. It was devastated by a pestilence at the end of the 18th century. Rehabilitated shortly afterward, the community numbered 1,927 in 1847, 2,251 in 1897 (45% of the total population), and 2,210 in 1931 (total population 6,514). Between the World Wars the economic situation deteriorated. Most Jewish industry consisted of small enterprises processing agricultural produce for the local market. In addition, 177 shops of the town's 234 belonged to Jews, and they were the majority among artisans, accounting for 28 of 30 tailors and 18 of 19 furriers. A Hebrew school and a public library functioned and served as a cultural center for local Jews.

Holocaust Period

In September 1939 the Soviets annexed Berestechko, nationalized the economy, closed all Jewish communal institutions, and disbanded all parties and organization. The Hebrew school was turned into a Yiddish one.

On June 23, 1941, the Germans captured the city. On August 8 German police with the help of local Ukrainians rounded up 300 Jewish men and executed them near the local castle. A Judenrat was chosen from among former public activists and a heavy tax was levied on the Jews. From October 5 to 14 a ghetto was set up , surrounded by barbed wire. Some needed artisans were housed in separate quarters. Later Jews from nearby villages were brought in, causing great crowding in living quarters. From September 7 to 9, 1942, the ghetto population was murdered, with only a few managing to escape and hide. Berestechko was recaptured by the Soviet Army on April 24, 1944. The few survivors who returned from the Soviet Union found their homes in ruins.

ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY: PK Polin: Volhin ve-Polesie, s.v.

[Aharon Weiss / Shmuel Spector (2nd ed.)]

BERETTYÓÚJFALU, town in Hajdú (in 1944 Bihar) county, eastern Hungary. Jews first settled in the town at the beginning of the 19th century, having moved in mostly from neighboring Zsáka. Their number ranged from 125 (2.5% of the total) in 1840 to 1,083 (9.9%) in 1930. According to the census of 1941, the last before the Holocaust, the town had a Jewish population of 982, representing 8.3% of the total of 11,781. The community established a *ḥevra kaddisha* in 1807, and built its first synagogue in 1840 and a *mikveh* in 1866. After the communal rift of 1868–69, the community identified itself as Orthodox. In 1876, the community established a Jewish elementary school. In 1885, several small Jewish communities in the neighboring villages, including that of Csökmö, joined the larger community of Berettyóújfalu. By 1920 the town also boasted a ḥasidic congregation. Among the rabbis who served the community were Amram *Blum (1883–1907), Mordechay Friedmann (1912–30), and Béla Benzion Blum, Amram's son (1930–44). Rabbi Béla Blum perished in the ghetto of Budapest.

During World War II, the Jews were subjected to drastic discriminatory measures, and many of the Jewish males were conscripted for forced labor. Shortly after the German occupation of Hungary in March 1944, the Jews were rounded up and first concentrated in a local ghetto. The ghetto also included the Jews from the neighboring villages in the district of Berettyóújfalu, including those of Bakonszeg, Csökmö, Hencida, Váncsod, and Zsáka. On June 7, the ghetto population was first transferred to the local brickyard, and a day later to the ghetto of Nagyvárad (Rom. Oradea), from where they were deported to Auschwitz a few days later.

After the war 150 survivors, many among them former labor servicemen, returned. According to the census of 1949, the town had 221 Jews. These continued to maintain a congregation until 1956. The synagogue was sold in 1964. Most of the Jews either moved to other places or emigrated. In 1968 there were some 20 Jews living in the town; by the end of the century only two.

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[Randolph Braham (2nd ed.)]

BEREZA (also **Kartusskaya Bereza**; Pol. **Bereza Kartuska**), town in Brest district, Belorussian S.S.R.; until 1795 and between the two world wars in Poland; today in Belarus. A Jewish community existed there from the beginning of the 17th century. Erection of a synagogue was authorized in 1629. The community numbered 242 in 1766, 515 in 1847, and 2,623 in 1897 (42.1% of the total population). At the end of the 19th century barracks were built for the Russian army, which benefited Jewish tradesmen. Although their number decreased to 2,163 by 1921, the Jews still formed 61.3% of the total population. The main occupation of the Jews was in the lumber industry: sawmills, furniture, and other wood products, which were mostly exported. A number of noted rabbis served in Bereza, including Isaac Elhanan *Spektor who officiated there when a young man (1839–46), and Elijah *Klatzkin (1881–94). In the 1920s Jews served as the mayor and deputy mayor of the town. Jewish children studied in three schools: Hebrew, Yiddish, and a *talmud torah*.

[Shmuel Spector (2nd ed.)]

1939–1941

After the outbreak of World War II and the Soviet-German agreement on the division of Poland, Bereza fell to Soviet rule. All public, independent political activity of a national character was forbidden. The Jews' sources of livelihood were reduced by the creation of a network of government-owned stores, cooperatives, and services.

Holocaust Period

On June 23, 1941, a day after the outbreak of war between Germany and the U.S.S.R. German forces entered Bereza. On June 26 the synagogue and houses nearby were burned down. The community faced kidnappings for forced labor, starvation, and disease throughout that winter (1941–42). In July 1942 a ghetto was established, comprising two sections: ghetto "A" for "productive" persons employed by the Germans; and ghetto "B" for the "nonproductive," nonworking members of the community. On July 15, 1942, the inmates of ghetto "B" were taken to Brona Góra and murdered. Some of the Jews in ghetto "A" attempted to flee to the forests, or to *Pruzhany Ghetto, which was still free from deportations. On October 15, 1942, the Germans carried out an *Aktion* to liquidate ghetto "A" In defiance, the Jews set the ghetto ablaze. That day some of the members of the *Judenrat committed suicide at their last meeting. Many of the inmates were murdered in the ghetto itself, while about 1,800 were taken and killed outside the town. The community was not reconstituted after World War II.

[Aharon Weiss]

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BEREZHANY (Pol. **Brzeźany**), town in Ukrainian S.S.R. and Republic (formerly in E. Galicia). Jews had settled there by the 18th century. Jewish representatives from different communities met at the fairs held in Berezhany, e.g., in September 1740. There were 90 Jews living in Berezhany in 1765, in 1900, 4,305 (over 40% of the total population), and 3,580 in 1921. Of the 825 pupils attending the German high school in Berezhany in 1908, 186 were Jews. Before World War I the flour trade was mainly in Jewish hands. The community had a hospital and old-age home. Among the rabbis of Berezhany was Shalom Shvadron.

During the Holocaust, on Oct. 1, 1941, 500–700 Jews were executed by the Germans in the nearby quarries. On Dec. 18, another 1,200, listed as poor by the *Judenrat*, were shot in the forest. On Yom Kippur 1942 (Sept. 21), 1,000–1,500 were deported to Belzec and hundreds murdered in the streets and in their homes. On Hanukkah (Dec. 4–5) hundreds more were sent to Belzec and on June 12, 1943, the last 1,700 Jews of the ghetto and labor camp were liquidated. Few survived the war.

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BEREZINO, small town in Mogilev disrtrict, Belorussian S.S.R., today Belarus. The Jews there suffered during the *Chmielnicki uprising in 1649. In 1702, during the Swedish campaign, the Jews were fined for failing to pay their post duties which had been imposed by the Polish Sejm (diet) in 1673. The community numbered 208 in 1766; 1,289 in 1847; and 3,377 in 1897 (69.3% of the total population). It suffered in 1920 when Berezino was on the front line between the Polish and Soviet armies. In 1926 there were only 1,565 (53%) Jews. They worked in cooperatives, with 20 families in a multinational kolkhoz (farm). The Jews numbered 1,536 in 1939. Berezino was occupied by the Germans on July 3, 1941. In August they murdered 150 Jews and on December 25–27 another 1,000 Jews, with most infants thrown alive into mass graves.

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[Shmuel Spector (2nd ed.)]

BEREZOVKA, town in Odessa district, Ukraine. A Jewish community was established there by the first half of the 19th century. On April 26–27, 1881, the Jews were attacked in a pogrom and out of the 161 buildings owned by Jews only the synagogue and pharmacy were undamaged. The local population prevented another pogrom from occurring in October 1905. The Jewish population numbered 3,458 (56.2%) in 1897 and 3,223 (42.6%) in 1926, dropping to 1,424 in 1939. During the Soviet period Jews were employed in artisan cooperatives and Jewish kolkhozes. A Yiddish elementary school, a Yiddish evening school, a club, and a library were in operation. Berezovka was taken by the Germans on August 10, 1941. On August 14 they murdered 41 Jews and on August 25 another 100. By September, 211 were dead. Subsequently the town was included in Romanian Transnistria, and Jews from Bessarabia and Odessa were deported to the Berezovka area, with nearly 7,000 perishing.

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[Shmuel Spector (2nd ed.)]

BEREZOVSKY, BORIS ABRAMOVICH (1946–), Russian tycoon and political figure. Born in Moscow, Berezovsky graduated from the Moscow Timber Institute (Department of Electronics and Computer Engineering) and subsequently from Moscow State University (Department of Mechanics and Mathematics), pursuing postgraduate studies in the theory of decision making and receiving a doctorate at the age of 37. He published over 100 scientific papers and a number of monographs, some of them in the U.S., U.K., Japan, Germany, and France. From 1991 he was a corresponding member of the Russian Academy of Sciences and a member of the International Scientific Society for the Theory of Decision Making.

Berezovsky worked as an engineer at a research institute connected to the Ministry of Instrument Making, Automation and Control Systems (1968–69). In 1969 he was an engineer at the Hydrometeorological Research Center and in 1969–87 worked at the Institute of Control Science of the Academy of Sciences.

Political and economic changes in Russia made it possible for Berezovsky to go into private business. He was active in the automobile industry and in 1989 organized LogoVaz, which became a holding company in 1994. Subsequently he gained control of ORT (Obshchestvennoe Rossiyskoe Televidenie, Russian State Television) and the Siberian Oil Company (Sibneft), ultimately being called the richest man in Russia by *Forbes*. He also became influential in the political life of the new Russia. He became close to President Yeltsin and rose to the position of deputy secretary in Yeltsin's National Security Council in 1996 and executive secretary of the Commonwealth of Independent States (Sodruzhestvo Nezavisimykh Gosudarstv) in 1998, contributing to the settlement of the Chechnya crisis and the cessation of hostilities. Called the "grey eminence" by his enemies and represented as a typical "oligarch," a tycoon who made his fortune by illegal means and interferes in Russian politics with the aim of furthering his narrow interests, he became a convenient target for antisemitic attacks in Russia's nationalist press. In March 1999 he was relieved of his post, accused of overstepping the bounds of his authority and not following instructions. In December 1999 Berezovsky was elected to the State Duma for the Karachai-Cherkess Autonomous Region. He opposed the new course of centralization inaugurated by President Putin, though he actively contributed to Putin´s election victory. In July 2000 Berezovsky resigned from the State Duma in protest over Putin's policies and became active in the opposition as co-chairman of the Liberal Russia Party. Under criminal investigation, Berezovsky left the country in 2002, losing control of ORT and being granted political asylum in the U.K. in 2003.

Berezovsky always represented himself as a Jew "by nationality" although he converted to Russian Orthodoxy. To be elected to the State Duma he renounced his Israeli citizenship, which he acquired in accordance with Russian legislation allowing dual citizenship. He supported the arts through the Triumph Foundation and in 2000 set up the International Foundation for Civil Liberties, which supported liberal causes.

[Naftali Prat (2nd ed.)]

BERG, former duchy in Germany. After their expulsion in 1424, Jews from *Cologne are thought to have settled in Berg. The Jews were temporarily expelled from the duchy in 1461. Early in the 15th century, after the amalgamation of Berg with *Juelich, a joint communal organization was established for both communities. Assemblies were held at specified intervals to deliberate questions of tax allocation, rabbinical appointments, the prohibition of resort to the general law courts, and the maintenance of adequate facilities for Torah study. In the 18th century they were held every four years, except in time of war. The Grand Duchy of Berg established by Napoleon comprised a number of localities with ancient communities such as *Duisburg and Siegburg (dating from the early 12th century), *Dortmund, *Essen, *Soest, and Hamm (13th century), and *Recklinghausen and Unna (14th century). After the dissolution of the grand duchy in 1815, its territory was incorporated into *Prussia.

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[Zvi Avneri]

BERG, GERTRUDE (**Edelstein**; 1899–1966), U.S. actress, scriptwriter, and creator of the popular radio family the Goldbergs. Born in New York, Gertrude Berg wrote, directed, and performed in *The Goldbergs* on radio for 17 years, in which she played Jewish housewife Molly Goldberg.

Berg began writing and performing skits at her father's resort hotel in the Catskill Mountains, later studying playwriting at Columbia University. In 1929, she submitted a script to NBC for a daily radio show called *The Rise of the Goldbergs*, which was an instant hit. Shortened to *The Goldbergs*, it was on the air six days a week, and in 1931 it picked up a sponsor and ran until 1934. As the writer and producer as well as star of the show, Berg created an entire neighborhood of characters and a series of situations that won an audience which eventually numbered in the millions. Producer Sol Lesser called her to Hollywood, where she wrote screenplays for him. In 1938, Berg received a five-year, million dollar contract to write and star in the Goldberg series, which aired on the radio from 1938 to 1945.

Concerned about the growth of Fascism in the 1930s and the welfare of European Jews, Berg became active in many Jewish groups and during World War II participated in the larger war effort.

Berg wrote a Broadway play, *Me and Molly* (1948), and a film version entitled *Molly* in which she herself acted (1951). From 1949 *The Goldbergs,* sometimes referred to as the earliest soap opera, had a five-year run on television. An idealized vision of the American melting pot, the show centered on the dreams and aspirations of a lower-class Jewish family in the Bronx. The older members of the family, including Molly, her husband, Jake, and Uncle David, spoke with thick Yiddish accents, while the two children sounded like typical young Americans. In 1950 Berg won an Emmy for her comedic performance. In 1951 she took a stand against the blacklist, refusing to fire her long-time co-star Philip Loeb, who resigned to prevent the show's cancellation.

In later years Berg appeared in Broadway plays, including *A Majority of One* (1959), for which she won a Tony Award. In 1961–62 she starred as Sarah Green in the TV sitcom *The Gertrude Berg Show*.

In 1989 *The Goldbergs* was inducted into the Radio Hall of Fame. Berg wrote *The Molly Goldberg Cookbook* (*1955*) and her autobiography *Molly and Me* (1961).

[Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

BERG, JACKIE "KID" (**Judah Bergman**; 1909–1991), professional boxer, junior welterweight champion 1930–31, member of the International Boxing Hall of Fame and World Boxing Hall of Fame. Born in the Whitechapel section of London's East End to Orthodox immigrant parents from Poland, Berg was one of nine children and had to quit school early to earn a living to help feed the family. Yiddel, as he was known, fought his first professional fight on June 8, 1924, 20 days before his 15th birthday, thus justifying his nickname "Kid." When Yiddel Bergman introduced himself to the fight's promoter, Lewis Kurtz, the latter said, "You can't go in there with a respectable Jewish name. We'll change it around a bit and call you Jack Berg."

Kid Berg spent his early career fighting in London, winning his first 20 fights and 56 of his first 59, with 25 knockouts. He gained the sobriquet "The Whitechapel Whirlwind" from his perpetual motion, piston-shooting style of fighting, which was neither boxing nor punching.

At 19, he moved to the U.S., winning 10 of his first 11 fights with his only loss to Billy Petrolle, the first time Berg was knocked out in 62 fights. He proceeded to win his next 18 fights, including one on October 21, 1929, against Bruce Flowers at Madison Square Garden in New York, in a benefit fight on behalf of the "Palestine Relief Fund," which raised $101,000 from the crowd of 20,000.

Berg beat Tony Canzoneri on January 17, 1930, and then defeated fellow countryman and Jew Mushy Callahan in London on February 18, 1930, for the junior welterweight title, defending it six times over the next 14 months. Berg was considered by then one of the five best, if not the best, pound-for-pound fighter in the world.

On April 24, 1931, Berg again fought Canzoneri, who was now world lightweight champion. Berg was 88–4–5 coming into the fight at Chicago Stadium, having won 58 of his previous 59 fights over a five-year stretch. But Canzoneri scored a KO in the 3rd round, retaining his lightweight belt and winning Berg's junior welterweight title, as both fighters were under 135 pounds. Berg fought and won six more fights before challenging Canzoneri in a rematch at New York's Polo Grounds on September 10, 1931. Berg was fouled at least three times, was knocked down twice, and suffered a terrible gash below the eye, and lost the fight on points in 15 rounds. Berg was never the same champion boxer after his two losses to Canzoneri, though he continued fighting for another 14 years. The last fight of his 21-year-career was May 19, 1945, when he won a fifth-round KO over rookie fighter Johnny McDonald to retire a month shy of his 37th birthday. His record was 157 wins with 61 KOs, 26 losses, and 9 ties, with 14 of his wins coming on disqualifications – an all-time record for winning on fouls; he was knocked out eight times.

Berg was proud of his Jewishness, and, as many Jewish fighters have done in history, would wear a Star of David on his trunks, with his Hebrew initials "Yod-Bet" in the center. But Berg added a singular Jewish touch – he would also wear *tzitzit* into the ring, hanging them on the ring post. "It's comforting to have God on your side no matter what you are doing," he said.

[Elli Wohlgelernter (2nd ed.)]

BERG, LEO (1862–1908), German essayist. A founder of the Berlin literary group *Durch* (1887) and editor of its *Akademische Zeitschrift*, he popularized the aesthetic principles of German naturalism. Berg called attention to the importance of Ibsen's innovations in *Henrik Ibsen und das Germanentum in der modernen Literatur* (1887). Five years later, he distanced himself from naturalism in his book *Der Naturalismus.* In the essays of *Zwischen zwei Jahrhunderten* (1896) he maintained his skeptical attitude toward all established writers. He defended *Heine against antisemitic detractors, and espoused the cause of Tolstoy. Berg prophesied that national literatures would give way to a common European literature as the expression of the emerging "good European." In his volume, *Der Uebermensch in der modernen Literatur* (1897; *Superman in Modern Literature*, 1916), he revealed his adoption of Nietzschean doctrines.

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[Sol Liptzin]

BERG, MOE (**Morris**; 1902–1972), U.S. baseball player, spy, scholar, linguist. Once called "the strangest fellah who ever put on a uniform" by Casey Stengel, Berg was an anomaly in the world of baseball, where few players had any formal education and where he was recognized as the best-educated man ever to play the game. He was born in a cold-water tenement in East Harlem in New York City, the third child of Bernard and Rose (Tashker). Bernard was himself of keen intellect and attended public school, which was rare for a Russian Jew in that era. He fled the pogroms of Russia in 1894 at the age of 24, arriving in New York with $10 dollars in his pocket, and two years later sent for Rose, from the Kamenets-Podolski region of the Ukraine, to join him.

When Berg was nine months old, the family moved to Newark, New Jersey, where Bernard opened a pharmacy. The family was not religious, never went to synagogue, and the children never celebrated their bar mitzvah, though Bernard did teach Hebrew and Yiddish to his son, whose photographic memory retained everything. Berg became a star player at Barringer High School, where he began learning languages, excelling in Latin, Greek and French. Graduating at 16, he spent a year at New York University before transferring to Princeton. He was the star there as well, playing shortstop for three years and becoming captain his senior year, when he hit .337 and the team won 18 straight games. He majored in languages, adding Spanish, Italian, German, and Sanskrit to his growing list, and graduated in 1923 magna cum laude and 24th in his class of 211.

Berg began his baseball career with the Brooklyn Dodgers the day after his last game for Princeton, playing 15 years with the White Sox, Indians, Senators, and Red Sox, first as a shortstop and third baseman before settling in as a third-string catcher. With his lifetime average of only .243 and six home runs, it was to Berg that the classic expression "good field, no hit" was first applied.

Berg pursued his scholarly interests while he continued playing baseball, attending the Sorbonne in Paris, graduating from Columbia Law School second in his class, and adding Japanese, Chinese, Korean, Indian, Arabic, Portuguese, Hungarian, and a few regional dialects to his linguistic arsenal. While it was never established exactly how many languages Berg spoke, they were of no use to him in baseball. Said one player, "He can speak twelve languages, but he can't hit in any of 'em."

Berg's life changed in 1934, when he accompanied a team of baseball all-stars to Japan on a baseball barnstorming tour. While there, he went to the roof of the tallest building, a hospital, and photographed the Tokyo skyline, the harbor, and munitions facilities, which may have helped U.S. General Jimmy Doolittle in his bombing raids over Tokyo in 1942.

Moe's celebrated academic knowledge received national attention in February 1938, when he appeared on *Information, Please*, the intellectual's radio quiz show. Moe amazed all of America when he answered questions about the derivation of words and names in Greek and Latin, historical events in Europe and the Far East, and current international conferences.

After his career was over in 1939, Berg spent two years as a coach with the Red Sox. In 1942 he was named Goodwill Ambassador to Latin America by Nelson Rockefeller, head of the Office of Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs, and subsequently worked for the Office of Strategic Services (OSS), the forerunner of the CIA. His first assignment was to assess the political and military situation in embattled Yugoslavia. He spoke to the forces under Tito and to the Serbian camp of Mihajlovic, reporting back – correctly – that the Yugoslav people supported Tito. His most notable mission was to Switzerland, with instructions to kill top German scientist Werner Heisenberg, who was lecturing there and suspected of working on the A-bomb. Questioning Heisenberg with a loaded gun in his pocket, Berg determined that the Germans were not building the bomb, and his invaluable report was read by British Prime Minister Winston Churchill, U.S. President Franklin Roosevelt, and the scientists working on America's Manhattan project to develop the nuclear bomb.

Berg was also a loner and an eccentric, known among other things for always wearing a black suit and not letting people touch his newspapers until he had finished reading them. "Berg's was a life of abiding strangeness," wrote Nicholas Dawidoff in his definitive biography of Berg, *The Catcher Was a Spy*. Berg died seconds after asking a bedside nurse: "How are the Mets doing today?"

[Elli Wohlgelernter (2nd ed.)]

BERG, PAUL (1926–), U.S. biochemist and Nobel laureate. Berg was born in New York and received his undergraduate degree in biochemistry from Pennsylvania State University in 1948 after serving in the U.S. Navy during World War II. He was awarded a doctorate from Western Reserve University in 1952 and then studied for a year in Copenhagen with Herman Kalckar at the Institute of Cytophysiology and for a second year with Arthur *Kornberg at Washington University in St. Louis, where he stayed until 1959, when he moved to Stanford Medical School. In 1960 he was appointed professor of biochemistry at Stanford.

Gradually making a transition from classical biochemistry to molecular biology, Berg's interests shifted from studies with microorganisms to mammalian cells, and he spent a year experimenting with Polyoma and SV40 tumor viruses in mammalian cell culture at the Salk Institute. He served as chairman of Stanford's Department of Biochemistry from 1969 to 1974, in 1970 being appointed Willson Professor there. From 1973 to 1983 he was a non-resident fellow of the Salk Institute. He served as director of Stanford University's Beckman Center for Molecular and Genetic Medicine from 1985 to 2000 and from 1994 to 2000 as Cahill Professor in Biochemistry and Cancer Research. From 2000 he was Cahill Professor in Biochemistry, Emeritus, and director of the Beckman Center for Molecular and Genetic Medicine, Emeritus.

In the course of his career Berg succeeded in developing a general way to join two DNAs together *in vitro*, work that led to the emergence of recombinant DNA technology, a major tool for analyzing mammalian gene structure and function. This was the basis of his being awarded the 1980 Nobel Prize in chemistry. That same year he received the Albert Lasker Award for basic research, along with Dr. Stanley N. *Cohen and Dr. Dale A. Kaiser, fellow Stanford University researchers, and Dr. Herbert W. Boyer of the University of California in San Francisco. They were cited for their work in manipulating the genetic material in cells.

Berg is a member of the Institute of Medicine, the National Academy of Science (member of the council since 1979), the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, the American Society of Biological Chemists (president, 1974–1975), and the American Society of Microbiology. He is an honorary member of the Academy of Natural Sciences of the Russian Federal Republic (1991) and a Foreign Member of the Royal Society, London (1992).

His most recent appointments include chairman of the National Advisory Committee to the Human Genome Project, chairman of the board of the National Foundation for Biomedical Research, member of the advisory panel to the Human Genome Education Program, and member of the NAS-CSIS Roundtable on Biotechnology and Bioterrorism.

[Ruth Rossing (2nd ed.)]

BERG, PHILIP (**Gruberger**; 1929–), founder and director of The Kabbalah Center, a controversial organization dedicated to the popular dissemination of a modern synthesis of Kabbalah and New Age religion. Berg was born in Williamsburg, New York, studied at Beth Medrash Govoha in Lakewood, New Jersey, and was ordained at Torah VaDaat in Williamsburg. During the 1960s, Berg studied Kabbalah with disciples of kabbalist Yehudah *Ashlag (1886–1955), such as Levi Isaac Krakovsky (1891–1966) and Yehudah Ẓevi *Brandwein (1903–1969). Berg claims to have been appointed by Brandwein to carry on Ashlag's mission, namely, to spread kabbalistic knowledge to a wide audience and to assume the leadership of Kol Yehudah, Ashlag's kabbalistic yeshivah. Inspired by his wife KAREN (1945–), Berg established The Kabbalah Centre in 1969 to propagate their distinctive approach to Kabbalah to men and women of all faiths, ages, and ethnic backgrounds throughout the world. In the early 2000s there were over 50 centers internationally offering lectures, courses, spiritual counseling, and ceremonies to adults and children, as well as an extensive and sophisticated presence on the World

Wide Web. The Kabbalah Centre publishes popular literature on Kabbalah and translations of classic works in 10 languages. The Bergs' sons, born during their parents' 10-year sojourn in Israel, are important contributors to the Kabbalah Centre mission. They were educated at the Hafetz Hayyim and Shaar Hatorah yeshivot in New York and received ordination at Knesset Yehezkel in Jerusalem. In addition to writing popular literature, YEHUDAH (1972–) produced (with his father) a prayer book according to the Lurianic tradition that includes meditations from later kabbalists; MICHAEL (1973–) authored a full English translation of the Zohar with Ashlag's commentary *Ha-Sulam*.

Distinctive Kabbalah Centre teachings acknowledge that God designed Kabbalah as a gift to all humanity, even though it was preserved by and limited to Jews for centuries and was embedded within a Jewish society that advocated strict adherence to biblical and rabbinic Judaism. According to Philip Berg, the scientific advances of the 20th century and the beginning of the astrological Age of Aquarius fulfilled the preconditions for the inevitable worldwide spread of kabbalistic knowledge. Kabbalistic knowledge, he teaches, contains the foundation principles of all science, the structure for achieving spiritual perfection, the path to world peace, and the means to success in such earthly pursuits as business, personal relationships, and health. The *mitzvot* of the Torah are tools designed by God for humanity to achieve these ends, as are special kabbalistic devices (holy water, the red *bendel*) and ritual practices (meditations using divine names and Zohar texts). The Kabbalah Centre ignores the traditional Jewish context of these concepts and practices, as well as the many restraints upon and critiques of these practices voiced by Jewish teachers over the centuries. Kabbalistic teachings are synthesized with modern, particularly New Age, themes such as astrology, reincarnation, holistic healing, and spiritualism. In its effort to reach the widest possible audience, the Kabbalah Centre uses mass-market advertising and showcases its celebrity followers, the most prominent of whom is Madonna.

[Jody Myers (2nd ed.)]

BERGAMO, city in northern Italy; ruled mainly by Venice between 1430 and 1797. Jewish moneylenders in Bergamo are mentioned in the 15th century. The anti-Jewish sermons preached there by the Franciscan Bernardino da *Feltre in 1479 led to the temporary expulsion of the Jews. By the beginning of the 16th century, Jews in Bergamo still owned houses and real estate. When Louis XII of France captured the city in 1509 the Jewish inhabitants were expelled, but they were permitted to return when it reverted to Venice in 1559. There has been no Jewish community in Bergamo in recent times.

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[Umberto (Moses David) Cassuto]

BERGEL (**Abergel**), Moroccan family. The Bergels came from Safi. They settled in Tangiers, Marseilles, and Gibraltar, where before 1810 MOSES founded a powerful commercial organization. His son YOM TOV (1812–1894), an outstanding figure in western Mediterranean Jewry, served as president of the Gibraltar community from 1860. He helped the Péreire family in establishing the Compagnie Générale Transatlantique in Morocco. Yom Tov and his son MOSES of Marseilles obtained the monopoly for the sale of specialized Moroccan products in Europe.

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[David Corcos]

BERGEL, BERND (1909–1966), Israel composer. Bergel was born in Hohensalza, Germany, the nephew of Sammy *Gronemann, one of the principal leaders of the Zionist movement in pre-World War II Germany. He studied at the Berlin Music Academy where he was a student of Arnold *Schoenberg. He settled in Tel Aviv in 1938. Bergel was invited by the Music of the Twentieth Century Festival 1954 in Rome to compose his *Prayer of a Man in the Year 2100* for solo voice and 11 instruments. His works include *Divertimento* for small orchestra, *Variations* for orchestra (Israel Philharmonic Orchestra Prize), and the opera *Jacob's Dream* (1961) based on text by Richard Beer-Hoffmann.

[Ury Eppstein (2nd ed.)]

BERGEL, JOSEPH (1802–1884), physician, poet, and author. Bergel, who was born in Moravia, was a practicing physician, publishing papers in medical journals. He was a Hebrew poet of note and his poems appeared in the journals *Bikkurei ha-Ittim* and *Kokhevei Yiẓḥak* and in a collection *Pirkei Leshon Ever* (1873). In these poems he was the first to scan by Ashkenazi word accent. He also translated German and Latin poems into Hebrew, including those of Goethe and Schiller. Probably his most important contribution to Jewish scholarship was *Medizin der Talmudisten* (1885), with an appendix on *Anthropologie der alten Hebräer*. He also wrote *Studien über die naturwissenschaftlichen Kentnisse der Talmudisten* (1880); *Eheverhältnisse der alien Juden im Vergleich mit den griechischen und römischen* (1881); *Der Himmel und seine Wunder…* (also published under the title *Mythologie der alten Hebräer*, 1882); and a history of Hungarian Jewry, *Geschichte der Juden in Ungarn* (Ger. and Hg., 1879).

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BERGELSON, DAVID (1884–1952), Russian Yiddish writer. Born in Okhrimovo (Sarna), near Uman, in the Ukraine, Bergelson was the son of a pious Talner ḥasid and prominent lumber and grain merchant, who died when Bergelson was only nine; his mother died five years later. He then went to live with older brothers in Kiev, Odessa, and Warsaw. His traditional *ḥeder* education was supplemented by private instruction in secular subjects. In 1901 and again in 1907–08, he studied as an external student in Kiev, but failed the examinations, and then audited courses in dentistry, without taking a diploma.

Bergelson read Hebrew and Russian literature before he was in his teens, and began writing in both those languages. His early literary efforts, a Hebrew story "*Reikut*" ("Emptiness") and a Yiddish story "*Der Toyber*" ("The Deaf Man"), submitted to several periodicals, initially did not meet with success. "*Der Toyber,*" however, was later published in the first edition of his collected works (Berlin, 6 vols., 1922–23); it was dramatized under the title *Di Broyt Mil* ("The Mill," 1930), and was staged with some success in both Russia and America. His first full-length work, *Arum Vokzal* ("At the Depot"), published in Warsaw in 1909 at his own expense, was warmly received by major critics; Bergelson thereafter wrote only in Yiddish, devoting himself to Yiddish literature and *belles lettres*. The novel *Nokh Alemen* ("After All is Said and Done,"1913) was justly hailed as a masterpiece and established his reputation as both a gifted author of prose and the leading modernist prose writer in Yiddish, whose major theme was the slow decay of the Jewish bourgeoisie in village and town.

Bergelson was very active in Jewish cultural circles and one of the founding directors of the dynamic Kultur Lige, a Jewish cultural organization established in Kiev immediately after the Russian Revolution. He coedited two of its most influential publications: the literary miscellanies *Oyfgang* (1919, in which his work "*In Eynem a Zumer,*" "During One Summer," appeared) and *Eygns* (1920, in which his novella *Opgang*, "Descent," was first published).

In 1920, Bergelson moved to Berlin where he coedited the journal *Milgroym* with *Der Nister, and then two issues of the short-lived literary journal *In Shpan* ("In Harness"), the title of which suggested a new leftist political orientation. In Berlin, he also published a series of short stories dealing with the theme of exile. Writing for the New York Jewish daily *Forverts* until 1925, he later became a correspondent for the Moscow *Emes* and the New York communist newspaper, *Morgn-Frayhayt*. In marked contrast to his earlier views, in which he originally argued that art should not provide "naked abstractions" for propaganda purposes, his writings of this period came increasingly to identify with Soviet ideology, and in his critical writing as well as his fiction he insisted that literature should be committed to the cause of the Revolution, the Communist Party, and the interests of the proletariat. His short novels and stories of those years dealt with revolutionary themes.

Bergelson traveled widely: in 1924, through the Jewish communities of Romania, under the auspices of ORT; to the Soviet Union in 1926, where he declared himself a "Soviet writer"; to Paris; to the United States for six months during 1929 where he was able to witness at first hand the Wall Street crash and the beginning of the Great Depression; through Poland on a lecture and reading tour; and to Copenhagen for a brief stay, in 1933. In 1934, he settled in Moscow after a visit to the Jewish autonomous region of Birobidzhan. His major work of the 1930s, *Baym Dnieper* ("On the Dnieper"), is a modified, partly autobiographical *Bildungsroman* (2 vols., 1932–40). Like most Jewish and other Soviet writing of the decade, Bergelson's work adapted itself increasingly to the thematic and stylistic demands of Socialist Realism.

After 1941, and for the duration of World War II, Bergelson was active in the Jewish *Anti-Fascist Committee; his wartime stories appeared in its publication, *Eynikeyt*. Two dramas, *Prints Reuveni* ("Prince Reuveni") and *Mir Viln Lebn* ("We Want to Live"), were written during this time: the first was never performed in Russia; the second was staged by the Habimah Theater in Tel Aviv. Early in 1949, Bergelson was imprisoned (apparently without trial) with other leading Yiddish writers – including P. *Markish, I. *Feffer, D. *Hofstein – and together with them was shot on August 12, 1952, his 68th birthday. A Soviet edition of selected works from his *oeuvre*, published in 1961, indicated the extent of his subsequent "rehabilitation."

Bergelson's early theme – the decline of individual initiative in a period of widespread stagnation – finds its precise tonal correlative in his style: indirect quotation, passive verb forms, adjectival repetition, periodic sentences, and similar devices create a fatalistic atmosphere in his fiction that subtly suggests character while foregrounding the pessimistic curve of the plot. This style persists even in his "revolutionary" writing of the 1920s, but becomes more straightforwardly dramatic in his stories about Birobidzhan and Soviet progress. His wartime fiction, collected in *Naye Dertseylungen* ("New Stories," 1947), shows an interesting variation of his early impressionism. Yiddish criticism considers Bergelson one of its foremost modern prose writers.

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[Ruth Wisse / Joseph Sherman (2nd ed.)]

BERGEN, POLLY (**Nellie Paulina Burgin**; 1930–), U.S. actress, singer, entrepreneur. During her long professional life, Bergen distinguished herself as an extremely versatile entertainer and business executive. She enjoyed enduring success as an actress on the stage and screen, as a singer, and as the founder of her own cosmetic and jewelry lines. Born in Bluegrass, Tennessee, Bergen began working in radio at the age of 14. She arrived in Hollywood at age 19, making her feature film debut in *Across the Rio Grande* (1949). Bergen subsequently starred in three films alongside legendary comedy duo Dean Martin and Jerry *Lewis, including *At War With the Army* (1950), *That's My Boy* (1951), and *The Stooge* (1953) as well as making her Broadway debut with a starring role in the revue *John Murray Anderson's Almanac.* Bergen released the first two of her 17 musical albums, *Polly Bergen* and *Little Girl Blue*, on the Jubilee record label in 1955. She became a household name as a regular on the TV game show *To Tell The Truth* (1956–61). Bergen's many film and television credits over the following half-century include two memorable performances opposite actor Robert Mitchum. The first as Peggy Bowden in the classic film *Cape Fear* (1962), and again two decades later as Rhoda Henry in the mini-series *The Winds of War* (1983), for which she was nominated for an Emmy Award. Bergen was also nominated for a Tony Award for her role in *Follies* (2001). She acted as the CEO and public face of several corporations, including Polly Bergen Cosmetics, Polly Bergen Shoes, and Polly Bergen Jewelry. Bergen is the author of three books, *The Polly Bergen Book of Beauty, Fashion and Charm* (1962), *Polly's Principles* (1974), and *I'd Love to, but What'll I Wear?* (1977). Continuing to perform, she made a notable TV appearance in 2004 on *The Sopranos*.

[Walter Driver (2nd ed.)]

BERGEN-BELSEN, Nazi concentration camp near Hanover, Germany. It was established in July 1943 as an *Aufenthaltslager* ("transit camp") in part of a prisoner-of-war camp, Stalag 311, and intended for prisoners whom the German government wished to exchange for Germans in allied territory. The camp was run by the SS, whose commandants were Adolf Haas, Siegfried Seidle, and Josef Kramer. It was built by Jewish prisoners from Buchenwald and Natzweiler. Five satellite camps were created: a prisoner camp for those constructing the camp; a special camp for Jews brought from Poland who possessed passports or citizenship papers of Latin American states, entry visas for Palestine (or the official promise of visas), hostages, prisoners who had paid a ransom, collaborators, and others; a neutral camp for Jewish citizens of neutral countries such as Turkey, Argentina, and Spain; a "star" camp for Jews who would be exchanged; and a Hungarian camp which was established at the conclusion of the deportations from Hungary on July 8, 1944, and held the 1,684 prisoners on the *Kasztner transport. During the war, two prisoner exchanges took place: 301 persons were sent to Switzerland (165 were detained on their way, and only 136 arrived in Switzerland) and 222 to Palestine. In August 1944, 318 Jews from the Kasztner transport reached neutral Switzerland and in December the remaining 1,365 reached freedom. There was room in Bergen-Belsen for 10,000 inmates, and conditions, though difficult, were at first better than in other camps. But during 1944 there was a significant deterioration in conditions. Food rations were reduced to below the minimum nutritional requirement, and the prisoners were forced to do hard labor and were cruelly beaten. In addition, whether from intent, incompetence or simply overwhelming conditions, the camp authorities failed to provide even essential services.

Bergen-Belsen became a destination point for prisoners sent inland away from the advancing Soviet front during what became known as the death marches of the winter of 1944–45. Just when most of the prisoners had reached the point of physical and spiritual collapse, they were joined by prisoners removed from other camps as a result of the German retreat. Twenty thousand women arrived from Auschwitz and Buchenwald and thousands of male prisoners from Sachsenhausen and Buchenwald. The camp population swelled rapidly from 15,257 in December 1944 to 41,000 in March 1945; during the last few weeks there was an additional massive influx of prisoners from the East. The new prisoners, who arrived after forced marches sometimes lasting weeks, were starved and disease-ridden. Epidemics broke out, but there was no medical attention. Overwhelmed by the influx of arriving prisoners, the camp simply ceased to function. One survivor contrasted the orderly Auschwitz with the collapsing Bergen-Belsen after the arrival of the death march survivors. She recalls:

> At least there [in Auschwitz] we worked. And every once in a blue moon, we … we went into the showers. As much as we were afraid to go to the showers, because we didn't know if the showers would give us water or gas. Over there [in Bergen-Belsen], we had no showers.
>
> As to the dead:
>
> In Auschwitz there were well-planned facilities for cremation. When these did not suffice, bodies were burned in open fields and their ashes scattered.
>
> At Auschwitz they took away the dead people. They gassed them and they burned them; and in the camps we didn't see any dead people. We only saw the people being hit or being dragged away, but we never saw any dead people lying around … Bergen-Belsen was nothing but dead people. Skeletons, skin and bones. They piled them up as they died. They just piled them up, like a mountain.

The death rate was high: in March 1945 just weeks before liberation, nearly 20,000 people died (including Anne *Frank). A total of 37,000 died before the liberation.

Bergen-Belsen was the second major camp in Germany to be liberated by the Allies. The British entered on April 15, 1945. The horrors, which deeply shocked the British soldiers, received widespread publicity in the West. Among the arriving liberating troops were British filmmakers who recorded the scene of bulldozers burying the dead and filmed the burning of the camps. These films were shown widely in movie newsreels throughout the world and are emblematic of the liberation and of the Nazi crimes for those who saw them then and many years later. The British arrested the SS administrators, including the commandant, Josef Kramer, and almost all were put to work clearing and burying the thousands of corpses. Twenty of them died doing this work, probably from infectious diseases. The rest were tried at the end of 1945. Eleven were condemned to death, 19 to imprisonment, and 14 were acquitted.

When British troops entered the concentration camp of Bergen-Belsen they encountered more than 10,000 corpses and around 58,000 surviving inmates – the overwhelming majority of whom were Jews – who suffered from a combination of typhus, tuberculosis, dysentery, extreme malnutrition, and other virulent diseases.

Brigadier H.L. Glyn Hughes, deputy director of medical services of the British Army of the Rhine appointed Dr. Hadassah (Ada) Bimko, a 32-year-old Jewish dentist from Sosnowiec, Poland, to organize and head a team of 28 doctors and 620 female and male volunteers from among the survivors, only a few of whom were trained nurses, to help the military medical personnel care for the camp's thousands of critically ill inmates. Despite their desperate efforts, however – it was not until May 11 that the daily death rate fell below 100 a day – the Holocaust claimed 13,944 additional victims at Bergen-Belsen during the two months after liberation.

To contain the different epidemics rampaging through Bergen-Belsen, the British evacuated the survivors to the military barracks of a Panzer training school located about a mile away which in short order became the *displaced persons (DP) camp of Bergen-Belsen. On completion of the relocation on May 21, 1945, the British set fire to the concentration camp's wooden barracks.

Bergen-Belsen became the largest DP camp in Europe. From 1945 until 1950, it was an autonomous, self-governed, and largely self-contained Jewish community. Within days after the liberation, the camp's Jewish survivors elected their own political leadership headed by Josef *Rosensaft, a Polish Jew who had also survived Auschwitz, Birkenau, and Dora-Mittelbau. They focused on four main tasks: the physical rehabilitation of the survivors, the search for relatives, spiritual rehabilitation and – often against the will of the British military authorities – the political fight for rights and immigration to Palestine, or Ereẓ-Israel.

The Jewish population of Bergen-Belsen was in constant flux, numbering approximately 12,000 within a few weeks of liberation, remaining around 10,000 through 1947, and then steadily declining as emigration from Germany became more feasible. While Jewish survivors from Western Europe and Czechoslovakia were repatriated in a matter of weeks after liberation, most Jewish survivors from Poland and many from Hungary chose not to return to their native countries. In 1946, when the British sought to prevent thousands of additional Polish Jewish refugees from entering the British zone, Rosensaft and his colleagues openly defied the Military Government by giving them sanctuary in Bergen-Belsen.

By June 1945, the Jewish Committee of the Bergen-Belsen DP camp was enlarged to represent all Jewish DPs throughout the British zone of Germany. In September 1945 the first Congress of Liberated Jews met at Belsen and elected the Central Jewish Committee for the British Zone, representing both the Jewish DPs from Eastern Europe and the newly reconstituted German Jewish communities of cities such as Hamburg, Cologne, Bremen, Duesseldorf, and Hanover. Josef Rosensaft served as its chairman and Norbert Wollheim, an Auschwitz survivor originally from Berlin who had organized the *Kindertransport*, was vice chairman. Rosensaft headed both the Central Committee and the Bergen-Belsen Jewish Committee until the DP camp was closed in the fall of 1950.

As Rosensaft explained 20 years later, "Our feelings and ideas, unfortunately, were at variance with the political climate in 1945, and the calculations of those who held our fate in their hands. There were political factors in Germany that attempted to deny the Jewish character of the problems, which confronted the world as a result of the Hitler catastrophe. They sought by all means at their command to loosen the strong grip that Jewish pain and suffering and the tragic Jewish situation had on world conscience."

When the British officially renamed the DP camp "Hohne" in an attempt to at least nominally sever its relationship with the notorious concentration camp and thereby dilute the impact of the survivors' struggle for Jewish rights in international public opinion, Jewish leadership simply ignored the new designation. They understood full well the dramatic news value of the Bergen-Belsen name and were not about to surrender it. Official communications sent by the British military authorities to Rosensaft at "Hohne" were responded to on stationery that gave "Bergen-Belsen" as the Central Committee's address.

Yiddish was the official language of the Bergen-Belsen DP camp and Zionist politics were the order of the day. The first handwritten and mimeographed issue of the Bergen-Belsen newspaper, *Undzer Shtimme* (Our Voice), appeared on July 12, 1945. At first declared illegal by the British military authorities, it soon received official sanction and then appeared regularly. The first book published in Bergen-Belsen (on September 7, 1945) was a listing, in English and German, of the camp's Jewish survivors to facilitate the reunification of family members and friends, and some 60 other publications followed.

Several hundred children were liberated at Bergen-Belsen, and many more came there from Poland and other parts of Eastern Europe during 1945 and 1946. As early as June 1945, the first school was opened in Bergen-Belsen with separate classes in Polish, Romanian, and Hungarian. Jewish children from different parts of Eastern Europe soon joined them. In due course Bergen-Belsen had a kindergarten; an elementary, high, and vocational training school; and a full complement of Jewish religious educational institutions. In addition, the camp had a rabbinate, a hospital, its own Jewish police force, a library, two theater companies, an orchestra, and a host of youth and sports clubs.

Determined to create new lives for themselves, the Jewish DPs of Bergen-Belsen began to marry soon after liberation. More then 2,000 children – a vertitable population explosion – were born in the DP camp between 1946 and 1950.

Bergen-Belsen was at the heart of the Zionist struggle to establish a Jewish state, resulting in frequent confrontations with the British authorities. At the September 1945 Congress of Liberated Jews, the Jewish DPs formally adopted a resolution calling for the establishment of a Jewish state in Palestine and expressing their "sorrow and indignation that almost six months after liberation we still find ourselves in guarded camps on British soil soaked with the blood of our people. We proclaim that we will not be driven back into the lands which have become the graveyards of our people."

Both the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry on Palestine and the United Nations Special Committee on Palestine (UNSCOP) paid official visits to Bergen-Belsen. Following the establishment of the State of Israel in May 1948, many of the Bergen-Belsen DPs immigrated there. Others immigrated to the United States, Canada, and elsewhere, and the Bergen-Belsen DP Camp was officially closed in September 1950.

The World Federation of Bergen-Belsen Associations, based in New York and led by Josef Rosensaft, Norbert Wollheim, Sam E. Bloch, and Hadassah Bimko Rosensaft, was one of the first and most active organizations of Holocaust survivors, organizing commemorative events in the U.S., Israel, and Canada as well as frequent pilgrimages to the mass-graves of Bergen-Belsen, and publishing numerous memorial volumes about Bergen-Belsen and the Holocaust generally. In Israel, the survivors of Bergen-Belsen are represented by the Irgun She'erit ha-Pletah me-ha-Ezor ha-Briti (Organization of Survivors from the British Zone).

The *Gedenkstätte* (Memorial Site) of Bergen-Belsen includes the mass graves, the Jewish and International monuments erected there, a museum, and a major research center and archive. In May 1985, U.S. President Ronald Reagan visited the site in an attempt to alleviate the opposition to his decision to pay tribute to fallen German soldiers, including members of the *Waffen-SS*, at the *Bitburg military cemetery.

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[Jozeph Michman (Melkman) and Yehuda Bauer / Menachem Rosensaft (2nd ed.)]

BERGEN COUNTY, district located in the northern part of the state of New Jersey, U.S., bordering the Hudson River, and including 70 individual municipalities. Bergen County's population in 2000 was about 897,500, of whom approximately 100,000 were Jews. The first Jewish settlers in Bergen County arrived in Englewood in the 1880s and the 1890s. They came primarily from Lithuania and Russia and made their living as farmers and small businessmen. The first religious service in Bergen County was held on Rosh Hashanah, 1896, in Englewood and was conducted by Benjamin Sher, a native of Lithuania. This group became the first congregation, Congregation Ahavath Torah, in Bergen County. Early Jewish settlers in other towns eventually built their own synagogues, most them immediately after World War I, in Park Ridge, Hackensack, Ridgefield Park, and Westwood. The Hackensack Hebrew Institute, which later became Temple Beth El, was founded in 1913. A number of descendants of the early settlers still live in the county. The Jewish population of Bergen County grew slowly, with some spurts after World War I, until the completion of the George Washington Bridge in 1931, which opened the door for a huge migration from New York City. The first services for Jews in Teaneck, which has become a major hub of Jewish life in Bergen County, took place in the 1932. The High Holiday services were held in the studio of Israel Doskow, and they were led by Rabbi David Pearlman. This group began religious school classes in 1933, and 400 people attended High Holiday services that year at the Masonic Square clubhouse in Teaneck. The congregation dedicated the Teaneck Jewish Community Center in 1949. Temple Emeth, a Reform Congregation, began in 1947 when members of 50 families met in the Hackensack YMHA. This temple's current home was dedicated in 1959 and the sanctuary was completed in 1965. Congregation Beth Shalom, Teaneck's second Conservative synagogue, was formed in 1950 through the efforts of 28 families and Rabbi and Mrs. Barry Schaeffer. B'nai Yeshurun, Teaneck's first Orthodox congregation, was formed in 1958. Congregation Beth Am, Teaneck's second Reform temple, was formed in 1964 by 31 families. Congregation Beth Aaron was organized in 1971 by several women who felt the need for an Orthodox congregation in the Cedar Lane area of Teaneck.

The greatest increase in Jewish population took place after World War II with the housing boom. By 1950 there were approximately 20,000 Jews in the general population of 540,000. In the following two decades the Jewish population more than quintupled, whereas the general population has not quite doubled. In 2000 Teaneck, the largest municipality in Bergen County, had nearly 40,000 people and 15,000 Jews; Fair Lawn with a general population of 32,000 had an estimated Jewish population of 13,000; Englewood with 27,000 residents had 5,500 Jews. The Jewish community is affluent and well educated. According to the 2001 Jewish Community Study of Bergen County & North Hudson, Bergen is the 19th largest Jewish community in the United States. It has become an increasingly observant community. Nearly 30% of households keep a kosher home and 39% of Jewish children age 6–17 are enrolled in Jewish day schools – both being the highest percentages among any recently surveyed Jewish community in the United States. The strong connection between the Bergen County Jewish community and Israel is reflected by the 32% of households with Jewish children up to age 17 who have sent at least one Jewish child to Israel. This is by far, the highest percentage of any Jewish community in the United States.

Political Activity

Jews have been prominent in the political life of the county. Matthew Feldman, a native of neighboring Hudson County, who served as mayor of Teaneck, 1959–66, and as state senator, 1966–67, was chairman of the County Democratic Party in 1969. Nelson Gross of Upper Saddle River was appointed chairman of the County Republican Party in 1966 and chairman of the State Republican group in 1969. Nat Feldman was elected councilman in Englewood in 1969 and was mayor of Englewood (1970). Alvin Moskin, a descendant of one of the earliest settlers, served as mayor of Englewood, 1956–59. Martin Kole of Fair Lawn and Abraham Rosenberg of Bogota were appointed to judgeships on the county bench in 1966. Franklin H. Cooper was elected to the Bergen County Board of Freeholders on the Republican ticket (1969). Loretta Weinberg, a Democrat from Teaneck, was first elected to the New Jersey Assembly in 1992 and was elected in 2002 to be the Majority Conference Leader for the Democratic Party in the Assembly. State Senator Byron M. Baer (D) has served in the State Senate since 1994 and was elected Senate Leader Ex-Officio in 2004. Congressman Steven Rothman is a Democrat from Fair Lawn who was first elected to the U.S. House of Representatives in 1996. He is now in his fourth term of representing the Ninth District, which includes a portion of Bergen County. Congressman Rothman served as the two-term mayor of Englewood (1983–89) and as the Bergen County Surrogate Court judge (1993–96). Robert M. Gordon of Fair Lawn was elected to the New Jersey State Assembly in 2004. In the early 2000s, Bergen County had many Jewish mayors, including Michael Wildes of Englewood, Jacqueline Kates of Teaneck, Jack Alter of Fort Lee, David Ganz of Fair Lawn, Michael Kaplan of Norwood, Sandy Farber of Palisades Park, Peter Rustin of Tenafly, and Fred Pitofsky of Closter. United States Senator Frank *Lautenberg, who served in the Senate from 1982 to 2000 and was elected to a fourth term in 2002, was born in neighboring Paterson, New Jersey, and now resides in the Bergen County town of Cliffside Park. The growing political power of Jews in Bergen County, and the community's active participation in the area's social and cultural life, represents a radical change from the 1930s and the early 1940s. During this earlier period, the county was a hotbed of activity for pro-German Bundists. Country clubs that once discriminated against Jews are now fully integrated with all minority groups, and there is very little overt antisemitism in the county.

Organizational Life

Organizational life is very active, with over 185 known Jewish organizations. There are 23 Conservative synagogues, 15 Reform, 30 Orthodox, one Reconstructionist, and one unaffiliated. The Rabbinical Council of Bergen County (Orthodox) and the North Jersey Board of Rabbis (Conservative and Reform) seek to enhance the life of the North Jersey Jewish community by furthering the interests of the professional rabbinate and the congregations in the area. The umbrella organization for the community is the UJA Federation of Northern New Jersey, which was formed on July 1, 2004, by the merger of the UJA Federation of Bergen County & North Hudson and the Jewish Federation of North Jersey. The Federation is now the 18th largest UJA Federation out of the 186 major Federations in North America. It serves a Jewish population of 100,000 people living in 35,000 households in 90 communities in Bergen County, Passaic County, and parts of Hudson County. In 2005, the Federation aimed to raise $15 million to support 84 beneficiary agencies and community services funded by its Annual Campaign. In 2004, the Federation's Endowment Foundation went over $50 million in holdings. The Bergen County Federation was founded on September 19, 1977. It was one of the leading Federations in the United States in raising the most money for the Operation Exodus Campaign on a per capita basis. Over $15 million was donated to its Operation Exodus to help the Jews of the former Soviet Union make **aliyah* to Israel in the early 1990s. Among the Federation's major beneficiary agencies in Bergen County are the JCC on the Palisades in Tenafly, the Bergen County Y, a Jewish Community Center in Washington Township, the Jewish Family Service of Bergen County in Teaneck, and the Jewish Home at Rockleigh: Russ Berrie Home for Jewish Living. The Home opened its new state-of-the-art facility in 2001, after serving the Bergen County older adult community from its Jersey City site since the 1930s. The Bergen County YJCC, which began as the Hackensack YM-YWHA in the 1920s, opened its new building in 1987 to meet the recreational and cultural needs of the growing Jewish population in the Pascack Valley area of Bergen County. The JCC began in Englewood in 1950. The JCC's membership expanded so greatly that an expansion became necessary. In 1981, it opened it present-day facility – the JCC on the Palisades – in Tenafly, where it has become a major cultural and educational resource in Bergen County. The Jewish Family Service, which began in the 1950s, oversees counseling services, Kosher Meals on Wheels, a Job Search Network, New American services, and a Schony.com Computer Training Center. The Jewish Association of Developmental Disabilities established New Jersey's first kosher group home (Nathan and Naomi Berrie Group Home) in 1988. As of 2004, J-ADD oversees nine kosher group homes for Jewish people with developmental disabilities. There are 13 Jewish day schools, two regional Jewish high schools, and four educational programs for Jewish children with special needs. These schools are served by the Jewish Educational Services of the UJA Federation, which provides teacher training, and centrally organized programs and services. Israel Programs Center of the UJA Federation provides educational programs about Israel to schools and organizations in the community. In 1998, the UJA Federation launched a Synagogue Leadership Initiative, in partnership with the Henry & Marilyn Taub Foundation, to help strengthen the 70 synagogues in Bergen County. The Jewish Community Relations Council, which was created in 1969, is the public policy, community relations, and advocacy arm of the UJA Federation.

[Max M. Kleinbaum / Alan J. Grossman (2nd ed.)]

BERGER, ARTHUR VICTOR (1912–2003), U.S. composer, critic, and educator. Born in New York, Berger studied at the Longy School of Music, at Harvard (M.A. in musicology, 1936), in Paris with Boulanger and composition with Darius

*Milhaud. He taught at Mills College, Brooklyn College, the Juilliard School, and Brandeis University. In 1979 he became a member of the New England Conservatory, from whose composition faculty he retired in 1998.

In the 1940s and 1950s Berger wrote musical criticism for the *Boston Transcript*, *New York Sun,* and *New York Herald Tribune*. He served as editor of the *Musical Mercury* (1934–37) and was co-founder and editor of *Perspectives of New Music* (1962–63). He contributed to many music journals (including pieces on Stravinsky, Ives, and *Babbitt), produced a monograph on the music of Aaron *Copland (1953; reissued 1990), and wrote *Reflections of an American Composer* (2002). He was a member of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences and the Institute of Arts and Letters.

As a composer, Berger was distinguished for his economy of means, vigor of expression, and strong formal structures. His music in the 1940–57 period shows the influence of Stravinsky's neo-classicism; later works categorizes him as a serial or post-Webern composer. He evolved his own characteristics, especially an interest in musical space, both vertical and horizontal. From 1958 Berger showed increasing stylistic independence and paid increased attention to the use of instrumental color and to revisions of earlier works, utilizing a variety of techniques which range from re-composition to the simultaneous overlay of new materials. His compositions include works for orchestra (such as *Ideas of Order,* 1952*; Polyphony*, 1956), chamber music, vocal works, and many piano pieces.

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[Max Loppert / Naama Ramot (2nd ed.)]

BERGER, DAVID (1943–), historian and Orthodox thinker. Berger was educated at Yeshiva College (B.A., 1964) and Columbia University (M.A., 1965; Ph.D., 1970). Primarily a medievalist, he has written about the history of medieval Jewry, Jewish-Christian relations and polemics, messianic ideas and movements, and the intellectual history of the Jews throughout the Middle Ages. In the 1990s he turned his attention to the contemporary Orthodox world, coming to castigate it for its indifference in the face of the "scandal" of the messianic claims surrounding the last Lubavitcher rebbe. He argued that Lubavitch messianism stands outside the acceptable range of messianic claims and must be opposed by the contemporary Orthodox world.

Berger was active in the major institutions of American Jewish academic life, having served as president of the Association for Jewish Studies and as a member of the Executive Committee of the American Academy of Jewish Research and vice chair of the Academic Advisory Committee of the National Foundation for Jewish Culture.

Among his publications are *The Rebbe, the Messiah, and the Scandal of Orthodox Indifference* (2001); *The Jewish-Christian Debate in the High Middle Ages: A Critical Edition of the Nizzahon Vetus with an Introduction, Translation, and Commentary* (1979); and, as editor, *History and Hate: The Dimensions of Anti-Semitism* (1997).

[Jay Harris (2nd ed.)]

BERGER, ELMER (1908–1996), U.S. Reform rabbi and anti-Zionist propagandist. Berger was born in Cleveland, Ohio, and ordained at Hebrew Union College in 1932. He had begun his career serving two congregations in Michigan as rabbi when, in 1942, he wrote a widely circulated essay *Why I Am A Non-Zionist*, in which he challenged the Zionist claim "to represent something called 'the Jewish people.'" As a result of his manifesto, which set forth the case for a universal and prophetic Judaism, he became executive director in 1943 of the American Council for Judaism, the leading U.S. Jewish organization opposed to the creation and existence of the State of Israel. As executive vice president of the ACJ from 1956, the pro-Arab Berger lobbied vigorously in the national media against Israel. After the Six-Day War in 1967, Berger fell afoul of the ACJ leadership and left to form a splinter group, American Jewish Alternatives to Zionism, which remained marginal. He summarized his life's crusades in his autobiographical *Memoirs of an Anti-Zionist Jew*, published in Beirut in 1978. His other books include *The Jewish Dilemma* (1945); *Judaism or Jewish Nationalism* (1957); *A Partisan History of Judaism* (1951); *United States Politics and Arab Oil* (1974); and *Who Knows Better Must Say So* (1956). Upon his death, Berger was eulogized as a hero in Arab scholarly publications.

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[Bezalel Gordon (2nd ed.)]

BERGER, ISAAC (**"Ike"**; 1936–), U.S. Olympic weightlifter, winner of one gold and two silver Olympic medals, member of U.S. Weightlifters Hall of Fame. Born in Jerusalem to a rabbi, Berger was lightly wounded by shrapnel during Israel's War of Independence in 1948, a year before his family moved to New York. Measuring only five feet tall as a teenager, Berger started lifting weights and soon began competing, winning the national AAU championship from 1955 to 1961 and in 1964. He was the first featherweight to lift over 800 pounds and press double his own body weight. Berger won the gold medal at the 1956 Olympics, setting a record in the featherweight class (776.5 lbs. / 352.5 kg). The next year he won the gold medal at the 1957 Maccabiah Games and became the first athlete to establish a world record in Israel by pressing 258 pounds (117.1 kg.) in the featherweight class. He finished third that year in the world championships in the featherweight class but won the following year and again in 1961, while finishing second in 1959, 1963, and 1964. Berger also won the gold medal at the Pan American Games in 1959 and 1963. At the 1960 Olympic games, Berger won the silver medal lifting 798.75 pounds (362.6 kg.), losing to Yevgeny Minayev of the Soviet Union in a face-off that lasted 10 hours, until 4:00 A.M. Berger set an Olympic record at the 1964 games with a jerk of

336 pounds (152.5 kg.), which at a bodyweight of 130 pounds made him pound-for-pound the strongest man in the world, a record that stood for nine years. He also won a silver medal in the featherweight class (841.5 lbs. / 382.5 kg.). Berger was inducted into the U.S. Weightlifters Hall of Fame in 1965 and that same year started a program at the New York College of Music to become a cantor.

[Elli Wohlgelernter (2nd ed.)]

BERGER, LILI (1916–1996), Yiddish author and essayist. Born in Malkin, Poland, Berger settled in Paris in 1936, where she married the Jewish Communist leader Louis Gronowski. In 1949 she returned to Warsaw where she began publishing articles and stories in both Yiddish and Polish, followed by collections of literary criticism, short stories, and novels. In 1968 she resumed her literary activity in Paris. Many of her articles and essays are personal recollections replete with historical detail. Her award-winning fiction reflects the Polish Jewish experience in the 20th century. Among her books are *Ekhos fun a Vaytn Nekhtn* ("Echoes from Long Ago," 1986); *Eseyen un Skitsn* ("Essays and Sketches," 1965); *Fun Vayt un Noent* ("From Far and Near," 1978); *In Loyf fun Tsayt* ("In the Course of Time," 1988); *Oyf di Khvalyes fun Goyrl* ("On the Waves of Fate," 1986).

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[Vivian Felsen (2nd ed.)]

BERGER, MEIR (1901–1981), Mexican Jewish educator. Born in Suwalki, Poland, he studied in a yeshivah and in a teachers' seminar in Lithuania. Later he taught in a Hebrew school. He immigrated to Mexico in 1924 and in the same year founded the first modern Jewish school there: Colegio Israelita de Mexico – Yiddishe Shul. This school imparted Jewish and general knowledge and Berger was its principal until 1944. In that year he was replaced by the educator Avraham *Golomb. Berger participated in the establishment of the first Zionist institutions in Mexico: in 1925 he was secretary of the Zionist Organization and in 1926 he headed the local Keren Kayemet le-Israel office. He was also the first editor of the Zionist periodical *Farn Folk* and he published numerous essays and articles in the Yiddish newspaper *Der Veg*.

[Efraim Zadoff (2nd ed.)]

BERGER, MEYER (1898–1959), U.S. journalist. During his career on *The New York Times* (1928–59), he wrote frequently on New York lore and life. In 1950 he won the Pulitzer Prize for his report on the shooting of 13 persons by an insane war veteran in New Jersey, and sent the prize money to the killer's mother. A collection of his writings was published as *The Eight Million* (1942). Berger also wrote *The Story of the New York Times, 1851–1951.*

BERGER, SAMUEL R. (**Sandy**; 1945–), U.S. foreign affairs specialist. Born in Sharon, Conn., Sandy Berger, as he was usually known, became national security adviser to President Bill Clinton in his second term, serving from 1996 to 2001 as the senior White House aide on all international issues. Berger grew up in Millerton, N.Y., a rural community in dairy country. He father died when he was eight and his mother ran a struggling surplus clothing store. The Bergers stood apart from the Millerton mainstream as Democrats in a very Republican county and as Jews in an upper-income Republican area. Berger took his religious training from a rabbi in a nearby hospital for the mentally retarded. "Where I grew up is very important to what I am," he said. "My perspectives are still more Millerton 1960 than Washington 2000. The small-town sense of community and social responsibility – that's the lasting imprint of Millerton on me."

At Cornell University, from which he graduated in 1967, he was active in student politics. He got a job as a student intern in Washington for Representative Joseph Resnick. At Harvard Law School, from which he graduated in 1971, he volunteered in the presidential campaigns of Eugene McCarthy and then for Robert F. Kennedy. Four years later, in the presidential campaign of George McGovern, he met Bill Clinton, and they became friends.

Berger joined one of Washington's premier law firms, Hogan & Hartson, where he represented Japanese and other clients and talked often with the firm's most eminent figure, former Senator J. William Fulbright. When Jimmy Carter was elected president, Berger served as deputy director of the Policy Planning Staff in the State Department, where he was involved in a wide variety of international economic, security, and foreign policy matters. During the 1980s Berger formed an alliance with Pamela Harriman, the Washington social doyenne, writing speeches for her and benefiting from her wealth and connections. When Clinton lost a re-election bid as governor of Arkansas, Berger persuaded Mrs. Harriman to put him on the board of her political action committee, which came to be a major fund-raising arm of the Democratic Party. When Clinton ran for president in 1992, Berger joined him as a senior foreign-policy adviser. After Clinton won, Berger persuaded him to send Mrs. Harriman to Paris as ambassador. Berger was offered the national security adviser's job but demurred on the grounds of limited experience, suggesting Anthony Lake. Berger became Lake's deputy and replaced him after Clinton's first term.

Intimately involved with all aspects of Clinton foreign policy, Berger, considered the most influential foreign-policy adviser since Henry A. *Kissinger, was at the nexus of the Clinton strategy to end the war in Kosovo.

After leaving the White House, Berger served as chairman of Stonebridge International, a Washington-based strategy firm that he started to help build business relationships through Asia, Europe, and Latin America, and also had a senior position with *Lehman Brothers, the international investment firm.

[Stewart Kampel (2nd ed.)]

BERGER, VICTOR (1860–1929), U.S. journalist, socialist leader, and congressman. Berger was born in Nieder-Rehbach, Austria. In 1880 he immigrated to the United States and settled in Milwaukee, where he taught German and also taught Sunday School at the Bnei Yeshuron synagogue. In 1892 Berger became editor of the *Milwaukee Daily Vorwaerts*, a German-language socialist paper, and in 1897 he helped to found the American Socialist Party. A conservative socialist influenced by the writings of Eduard Bernstein, Berger joined ranks with Morris *Hillquit in opposing the influence of the communists and such radicals as Daniel *De Leon in the socialist camp. In 1908 he became editor of the weekly *Social Democratic Herald*, which was later replaced by the daily *Milwaukee Leader*, a newspaper that he then headed until his death. In 1911 Berger was elected to Congress from Wisconsin, thereby becoming the first avowed socialist to serve in the U.S. House of Representatives, where he was known for his advocacy of labor legislation and social reform. His opposition to America's entry into World War I led the postmaster general to revoke the mailing privileges of his *Milwaukee Leader* on the grounds of its being a subversive journal, and Berger himself was indicted under the Espionage Act. A court conviction led to a 20-year sentence, as a result of which the House refused to seat him when he won the off-year election in 1918 and again the following year when he won in a rerun. In 1921, however, the Supreme Court reversed his conviction, and a year later, in consequence of this ruling and the general abatement of war hysteria, the House allowed him his seat which he continued to hold until 1928. At the time of his death he was chairman of the National Executive Board of the American Socialist Party.

BERGER-BARZILAI, JOSEPH (original name **Isaac Zelaznik**, from 1922 **Barzilai**; 1904–1978), Israeli political scientist. Berger-Barzilai was born in Cracow. In 1920, having joined the newly created Zionist youth movement Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir, he went to Ereẓ Israel. Two years later he joined the small founding group of the illegal Palestine Communist Party, of which he was appointed secretary.

In 1924 he visited Moscow and the Comintern Executive there. On his return he helped organize Communist groups in Syria, Lebanon, Egypt, and Transjordan, and in his capacity as party secretary made contact with Arab leaders in Ereẓ Israel, notably Jamal al-Husseini. He secretly visited Moscow several times and in March 1929 had a five-hour talk with Stalin on Ereẓ Israel and Near Eastern affairs. During the Arab riots of 1929 he hid in the Arab village of Beit Safafa near Jerusalem, whence he directed Communist propaganda. In 1931 he was sent by the Comintern to Berlin to serve as secretary of the Anti-Imperialist League, whose chairmen were then Albert Einstein and Henri Barbusse. In 1932 he was called to Moscow to head the Near East Department of the Comintern and was given the name Joseph Berger. Two years later he was suddenly dismissed and expelled from the party, and in 1935 arrested for "Trotskyist agitation." Though he denied the charge, he was sentenced to five years' hard labor. In 1936 he was brought to Moscow as a potential witness against *Zinoviev; refusing to give evidence, he was sentenced to death. The sentence was unexpectedly commuted to eight years' imprisonment; 20 years later Berger-Barzilai learned that his life had been saved by his Jewish interrogator's sympathy for his Palestinian past. For more than 15 years Berger-Barzilai was sent from prison to prison and from camp to camp, undergoing such ordeals as a renewed death sentence which was later repealed, long hunger strikes, and physical torture. In 1951 he was released but condemned to exile for life in Siberia. Only in 1956, after the 20th Congress of the Soviet Communist Party, was Berger completely "rehabilitated" and accepted again into the party ranks. He left, however, with his family for Poland and worked for a while in the Polish Institute of Foreign Affairs in Warsaw. In 1957 he settled in Israel, and henceforth assumed the double name Berger-Barzilai. During the long years of imprisonment Berger-Barzilai returned to his Jewish loyalties and religious faith. In 1968 he was appointed senior lecturer in political science at Bar-Ilan University, and rapidly became an international authority on Communist and Soviet affairs, publishing numerous interviews and articles in journals and the daily press. He was invited to lecture at learned institutions and appeared as a commentator on Israel radio.

He described some of his experiences in the Soviet Union in several books: in Hebrew, *Zohar ba-Ḥaẓot* ("Light at Midnight," 1962), *Ha-Tragedyah shel ha-Mahpekhah ha-Sovyetit* ("The Tragedy of the Soviet Revolution," 1968); and in a more comprehensive volume in English: *Shipwreck of a Generation* (American title, *Nothing but the Truth*, 1971).

His wife, ESTHER FELDMAN (1898–1972), described her life in the U.S.S.R. as the Jewish wife of an "enemy of the people" in *Kele Beli Sogar* ("Prison without Bars," 1964).

[Binyamin Eliav (2nd ed.)]

BERGGRÜN, HEINRICH (1838–1889), *ḥazzan* and composer. Born in Warsaw, Berggrün was a music teacher in Vilna, and later a violinist at the Grand Theater, Warsaw. He studied singing in Milan, became choirmaster in Odessa, was appointed *ḥazzan* in Posen, and chief cantor in Hanover in 1870. His compositions include: "Festival *Kaddish*" for *ḥazzan* and choir on the occasion of the jubilee of the Hanover synagogue, 1892; "Complete *Kaddish*" for *ḥazzan* and choir, 1889.

BERGH, VAN DEN, Dutch family of industrialists. ZADOK VAN DEN BERGH (1769–1857) was a merchant and leader of the Brabant Jewish community, living in the small village of Geffen. His son DANIEL VAN DEN BERGH (1794–1866) headed a textile factory from 1836, which under the name Bergoss (1856–1986) made Oss into a center of the textile industry. His younger brother SIMON VAN DEN BERGH (1818–1907) continued their father's business, bartering groceries and dry goods for butter supplied by peasants from the surrounding countryside. In 1872, Simon, helped by his sons Samuel, Arnold, Henry, Isaac and Jacob, started production of "artificial butter," or oleomargarine, in a factory in Oss, in 1890 replaced by a bigger one at Rotterdam. Henry and Jacob opened a branch in London, while in 1888 a margarine factory was opened in Cleve (Germany). A few years later, in 1895, a factory was opened in Brussels. Subsequently, the firm developed rapidly and became one of the leading margarine manufacturers in Europe. In 1930 the Van den Bergh Margarine Union Ltd. merged with Lever Bros. Ltd., forming Unilever Ltd., which expanded into a giant international concern. Simon's son, SAMUEL VAN DEN BERGH (1864–1941), obtained a leading position in the firm, but was active in politics as well and within the Jewish community. He was a Member of Parliament for the Liberal Party from 1905 to 1909, and a Member of the First House from 1923 to 1938. He was also the Dutch delegate to the International Jewish Agency and a member of the board of the Dutch branch of Keren Hayesod. His son, the lawyer and professor GEORGE VAN DEN BERGH (1897–1966), was active in the Socialist Party and was a Member of Parliament from 1925 to 1933. As the chairman of the board of the Zionist agricultural project in the Wieringermeer, he served the Jewish community. George's brother, SIDNEY JAMES VAN DEN BERGH (1898–1978), was also active in public affairs. After serving as a commissioner for UNICEF, he was appointed minister of defense in 1959. The next generation too produced a Member of Parliament: George's son ROBERT VAN DEN BERGH (1913–1997) represented the Socialist Party from 1963 to 1971. Thereafter he became a member of the Council of the State (1972–83).

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[Bart Wallet (2nd ed.)]

BERGHEIM, village N. of Colmar in Alsace, E. France. Jews are first mentioned there in connection with the persecutions in the 14th century by the *Armleder gangs and following the *Black Death. During the Burgundian wars (1476–78) they again suffered severely. By the beginning of the 16th century, however, Bergheim had the largest Jewish community in Alsace. The Jewish settlement was pillaged by rebel peasants in 1525, and an anti-Jewish outbreak in 1784 followed the abolition of the "body tax" on Jews. The Jewish population declined from 327 in 1784 to 40 in 1926. In 1968 there were no Jews living in Bergheim.

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[Zvi Avneri]

BERGMAN, ALAN (1925–) and **MARILYN** (1929–), U.S. songwriters, composers. Alan and Marilyn Bergman (Katz), a prolific husband-and-wife team, are best known for their many film score classics such as the Academy Award-winning songs "The Way We Were" (*The Way We Were* (1973)) and "The Windmills of Your Mind" (*The Thomas Crown Affair* (1968)). The couple received the Academy Award for Best Musical Score for *Yentl* (1983), writing the lyrics to accompany Michel Legrand's music for the film. They were nominated for 16 other Academy Awards.

Alan Bergman was educated at the University of California-Los Angeles and received a B.A. from the University of North Carolina. His career began during WWII when he wrote and directed Special Services shows for American troops. After the war, he directed television shows for CBS from 1945 until 1953. He joined ASCAP in 1955 and began writing songs for television, revues, and nightclub acts, for performers such as Fred Astaire and Marge and Gower Champion. His notable stage scores include *That's Life, Ice Capades of 1957*, and *Something More!,* while his albums include *Never Be Afraid* and *Aesop's Fables*. He married his wife and songwriting partner, Marilyn, in 1958. Marilyn attended New York University. She joined ASCAP in 1953, two years before her husband. She also wrote songs for revues and nightclub performances and is credited with several television theme songs. Some of the couple's other most memorable songs include "Nice 'n' Easy," "Yellow Bird," "The Way You Make Me Feel," "It Might Be You," "Moonlight," "Cheatin' Billy," "Don't Know Where I'm Goin'," "I've Never Left Your Arms," "That Face," "Baby, the Ball Is Over," "Ol' MacDonald," "Sentimental Baby," "If I Were in Love," and "That's Him Over There."

[Walter Driver (2nd ed.)]

BERGMAN, ANDREW (1945–), U.S. writer, director, producer. Born in Queens, N.Y., Bergman attended Harper College before earning his doctorate in American history at the University of Wisconsin. His doctoral dissertation, "We're in the Money: Depression America and Its Films" (1971), earned him respect as a trenchant sociologist and film historian and led to a job as a youth contact in the PR department at United Artists. After writing the critically acclaimed Broadway comedy *Social Security*, Bergman received his first screenwriting credit for the Mel Brooks blockbuster farce *Blazing Saddles* (1974), which was based on Berman's treatment for a film called "Tex X." Bergman earned the sole screenwriting credit for the 1979 comedy *The In-Laws*, starring Alan *Arkin and Peter *Falk. He made his directorial debut two years later with *So Fine*, a Madison Avenue satire about a professor who conquers the garment industry with an idea for transparent jeans. Bergman was widely praised for his adaptation of Michael Ritchie's novel *Fletch* (1985), featuring Chevy Chase as droll newspaper reporter Irwin Fletcher. Bergman continued to write and direct during the 1990s while also producing a number of films in conjunction with producer Michael Lobell and their joint venture Lobell/Bergman Productions. The versatile Bergman both wrote and directed *The Freshman* (1990), starring Marlon Brando and Matthew Broderick, as well as the features *Honeymoon in Vegas* (1992) and *Striptease* (1996), while writing the screenplays for *Soapdish* (1991) and *The Scout* (1994). His production credits include *Chances Are*

(1989), *Undercover Blues* (1993), *Little Big League* (1994), and *Striptease* (1996).

[Walter Driver (2nd ed.)]

BERGMAN, SAMUEL HUGO (1883–1974), philosopher. Bergman studied philosophy in Prague and Berlin. During his student days at Prague, he was a member and leader of the Zionist student circle, Bar Kochba, and in 1903 began to publish articles on Zionist and Judaic themes. From 1909, when Martin *Buber began to give his lectures on Judaism in Prague and other European cities, Bergman became his close disciple, although he sometimes was very critical of Buber, whose influence on him lasted throughout his entire life. The Bar Kochba circle and his close association with Buber were the pivotal and formative factors of Bergman's personality and philosophy. During World War I, he served as an officer in the Austro-Hungarian army. In 1919 he was nominated a member of the "National Council of Jews of the Czechoslovakian Republic" and of the "Committee of Delegations" for the Versailles peace treaty negotiations. He also served as the World Zionist's Organization's secretary of education in London and in 1920 emigrated to Palestine, where he became the first director of the Jewish National and Hebrew University Library in Jerusalem, a position he held until 1935. He was involved in founding the *Histadrut ha-Ovedim, and was elected a member of its executive council. In 1928 he became a lecturer in philosophy at the Hebrew University, and in 1935 was promoted to professor. From 1935 until 1938 he served as its first rector. One of the founders and editors of *Kiryat Sefer*, he was the editor of general philosophy for the *Encyclopaedia Hebraica*, and an editor of the philosophical quarterly *Iyyun*. Bergman was a member of *Ha-Po'el ha-Ẓa'ir, being the first philosopher to delve seriously into the writings of the party's spiritual master, A.D. *Gordon. Later Bergman also became involved in *Berit Shalom and *Iḥud, of which he became the main spokesman. He headed the Jewish delegation from Palestine to the Pan-Asian Conference held in New Delhi in 1947.

Bergman's main intellectual interests were scientific knowledge and religious experience. He saw reason and faith as two sources of truth and as grounds for human moral orientation, which endow life with significance. Throughout his entire life Bergman strove for a comprehensive approach to these two sources of truth, an approach which would resolve the mutual context of rationality and of mysticism, of knowledge of being with the human longing for sanctity and eternity.

In Bergman's early years, his philosophical views were influenced by Brentano, and he applied himself chiefly to an analysis of the phenomena of perception and evidence. From the early 1920s on, he turned to Kantian philosophy and devoted quite a few of his studies to a critical analysis of the philosopher's struggle for evidence and for causality (see his *Ha-Filisofiyah shel Immanuel Kant* ("The Philosophy of Immanuel Kant," 1937, 1970^2)). His approach to these questions was deeply influenced by the neo-Kantian school, especially that of Hermann *Cohen, who became one of his main sources in philosophy and religion. Among his contributions to the study of philosophy are *Mavo le-Torat ha-Hakarah* ("Introduction to Epistemology," 1940); *Mavo le-Torat ha-Higayon* ("Introduction to Logic," 1954); *Ha-Filosofiyah shel Shelomo Maimon* ("The Philosophy of Solomon Maimon," 1932; Eng. trans., 1967); *Toledot ha-Filosoiyah ha-Ḥadashah* ("History of Modern Philosophy," 4 vols., 1970–77).

Bergman's intention, as stated in the opening remark of his *Hogei ha-Dor* ("The Philosophers of Our Time," 1935), was to show how scientific-philosophic discourse found itself at a dead end at the beginning of the 20th century and how philosophy "seeks in the last generation, in various directions and with the assistance of a variety of tools, to find the way out of it." The different directions he referred to, are mostly existential-religious ones, some of which he called "*Dialogical Philosophy*" (Heb. *Ha-Filosofiyah ha-Dialogit mi-Kierkegaard ad Buber,* Intro. N. Rotenstreich, 1973; Eng., 1991). Under this umbrella Bergman included the philosophies of some of his main masters, namely, besides Buber and Cohen, Franz Rosenzweig and A.D. Gordon. Of no less import for him was Abraham Isaac *Kook, on the Jewish side as well as Rudolf Steiner and Sari Aurobindu on the Christian and Hindu side.

Bergman's own religiosity combined a naive faith and a constant striving for God-experience and guidance, with highly sophisticated humanistic restrictions. Although he deeply believed in personal spontaneous prayer, he participated in the traditional public prayer prescribed by the *halakhah*. Although he believed in the central role and the necessary authority of *halakhah*, he was open to the need for change and personal autonomy. Bergman was a devoted Jew, but rejected the exclusiveness of the idea of the election of Israel, and affirmed the unity and messianic cooperation of all religions. He delved all his life into the literary sources of Judaism but was fully convinced that human consciousness should be the final authority for religious decisions and determinations.

This dynamic balance between religious commitment, human responsibility, and devotion to philosophic deliberation marks Bergman's attitude in the many areas in which he was active. He saw the human as being constantly called upon to live in covenant with God, to be His partner, and yet to be fully aware of God's sovereignty over humanity. This approach shaped his political Zionist view and led him to seek dialogue and compromise with the Palestinian people. It permeated his commitment to social justice and pluralism, and his understanding of philosophy and religion as endless journeys towards the truth, which one can progressively approach, but which always remains transcendingly divine, and cannot be possessed by the human mind or deed.

Bergman's observations on religion are to be found, among his many publications, especially in his *Hogim u-Ma'aminim* ("Thinkers and Believers," 1959), *Faith and Reason: An Introduction to Modern Jewish Thought* (ed. A. Jospe, 1961), and *Anashim u-Derakhim* ("Persons and Paths," 1967). He also wrote *Ba-Mishol*, ed. N. Rotenstreich, 1976.

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[Nathan Rotenstreich / Yehoyada Amir (2nd ed.)]

BERGMANN, ERNST DAVID (1903–1975), Israeli organic chemist. Bergmann was born in Karlsruhe, Germany, the son of Judah *Bergmann. He obtained his doctorate at the University of Berlin and joined the staff of the Chemical Institute of the university. In 1933 he moved to London and began his long and close association with Chaim Weizmann. After working in the Featherstone Laboratories in London, he was made responsible for the planning of the Daniel Sieff Research Institute in Reḥovot, Palestine, and in 1934 went there to become its scientific director. In 1939 Bergmann went to France to work in the Ministry of Armaments and in 1940 to London, to work in the Grosvenor Laboratories of the Ministry of Supply. Weizmann and Bergmann developed the "catarole process" for making aromatic hydrocarbons from petroleum, and also worked on fermentation and a process for making isoprene. Bergmann returned in 1946 to the Daniel Sieff Institute and, when this was incorporated in the Weizmann Institute in 1949, was named scientific director. In 1948 he became scientific director of the science department of the Israel Ministry of Defense, a position he held for nearly 20 years. He resigned his position at the Weizmann Institute in 1951 and the following year was appointed professor of organic chemistry at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem. From 1953 to 1966 he was chairman of Israel's Atomic Energy Commission. He was a member of Israel's National Council for Research and Development and the Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities. In 1968, he was awarded the Israel Prize for Natural Sciences. His output of scientific work covered a wide range of topics, including polycyclic aromatic hydrocarbons, carcinogenic agents, the addition of sodium to double bonds, dipole moments, molecular rearrangements, photochemistry, and insecticides. Bergmann and W. Schlenk wrote *Ausfuehrliches Lehrbuch der organischen Chemie* (2 vols., 1932–38; Bergmann's name was deleted from the title page). In 1948 he published *The Chemistry of Acetylene Compounds* and *Isomerisation of Organic Compounds*.

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[Samuel Aaron Miller]

BERGMANN, FELIX ELIEZER (1908–2002), Israeli organic chemist and pharmacologist. Born in Frankfurt on the Oder, Germany, to Hedwig (née Rosenzweig) and Dr. Judah Bergmann, who was a rabbi in Berlin and wrote on Jewish subjects, he received his Ph.D. in organic chemistry in 1933 from the Humboldt University in Berlin. Concurrently, he studied medicine, but received his diploma only after World War II. An active Zionist from his youth, he left for Palestine in 1933.

Bergman, belonged to the founding generation of science in Israel. Together with his eldest brother, Ernst David *Bergmann, he was among the founders of the Sieff Institute in Reḥovot in 1934. Immediately upon his arrival in Israel, he was approached by the *Haganah, to find an explosive that would be safer than the gelignite then in use. Thus, concurrently with his research on polycyclic carcinogens at the Sieff Institute, he developed an efficient industrial method for producing the explosive PETN, nicknamed in Hebrew "Ten." His devotion to scientific research was rivaled only by his dedication to the security of Israel. He conducted weapons research for the Haganah, developing, with a team of brilliant young Jewish scientists he recruited abroad, rocket fuel for the first locally made rockets, which were used effectively in the War of Independence. He was a key-figure in the founding of Ḥemed, the Army Science Corps, before the establishment of the State; after its dissolution, he continued as adviser to the Ministry of Defense and the Biological Research Institute in Nes Ẓiyyonah. Bergmann was also a scientific advisor to the chemical and pharmaceutical industries. In 1950 he joined the newly founded Hebrew University and Hadassah Medical School in Jerusalem, where he established the Department of Pharmacology (1956) and its teaching curriculum. Bergmann served as head of department until his retirement (1976). His background in both chemistry and medicine enabled him to engage in a broad spectrum of research areas, ranging from organic chemistry to biochemistry, and from pharmacology to physiology and neurology. Already during World War II, he was instrumental in synthesizing an anti-malarial drug for the British army. Notable among his varied fields of research was his extensive work on the function of the neurotransmitter acetylcholine, particularly in the elucidation of the mechanism of action of its degrading enzyme, acetylcholinesterase. Later on, he was engaged in the characterization of the activity of xanthine oxidase, another enzyme of major biological and medical importance. He trained generations of Ph.D. and M.Sc. students in chemistry, pharmacology, and biology who later held key positions in universities and in industrial research. Bergmann was a member of the Israeli Academy of Sciences.

[Hanna Scolnicov (2nd ed.)]

BERGMANN, JUDAH (1874–1956), rabbi and author. Born in Brzezany (Galicia), Bergmann served as rabbi at Karlsruhe and Frankfurt on the Oder and from 1908 with the Berlin Jewish community. Bergmann took an early interest in Jewish scholarship and published various articles on Jewish history and folklore in Jewish scholarly journals. Among his published works are *Juedische Apologetik im neutestamentlichen Zeitalter* (1908), in which he described the self-defense of Palestinian

Judaism against emerging Christianity; *Legenden der Juden* (1919), a study on the nature and sources of *aggadah*; *Ha-Am ve-Ruḥo* (1938), studies and essays on the problems of scholarship and life; *Ha-Ẓedakah be-Yisrael* (1944), a study on the history and institutions of charity among the Jews; and *Ha-Folklor ha-Yehudi* (1953), about the popular knowledge, beliefs, characteristics, and customs of Jewish people. He was one of the founders of the Freie Juedische Volkshochschule in Berlin. When the Nazis seized power in 1933, he emigrated to Jerusalem. His son was E.D. *Bergmann.

[Abraham Meir Habermann]

BERGMANN, MAX (1886–1944), chemist, best known for his research in leathers. Bergmann was born in Fuerth, Bavaria. He obtained his doctorate in 1911 at Berlin, where he became the assistant to the organic chemist Emil Fischer. In 1920, Bergmann was appointed head of chemistry at the Kaiser-Wilhelm Institut fuer Faserstoff-Forschung in Berlin, and in 1921, director of the Kaiser-Wilhelm Institut fuer Lederforschung in Dresden and professor of the Technische Hochschule there. He held these positions until forced to leave Germany in 1934. His main area of research was in the chemistry and structure of proteins. Bergmann went to the United States where he became a member of the Rockefeller Institute for Medical Research.

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[Samuel Aaron Miller]

BERGMANN, RICHARD (1920–1970), table tennis player, winner of seven world championships, including four singles crowns. Born in Vienna, Bergmann began playing table tennis at age 12 and won his first world championship in 1936 at the age of 16 as a member of the Austrian Swaythling Cup team. He also won the bronze medal that year in the men's singles event. A year later in 1937, Bergmann became and remains the youngest player in history to win the gold medal in the men's singles competition; he won the silver in 1938. When the Nazis invaded Austria in March, Bergmann fled to England. In 1939, he won his second world singles crown and the world doubles title with Victor *Barna. Following World War II, he reclaimed his title in 1948 as world singles champion and won the bronze in doubles again with Barna. In 1949 Bergmann and Barna helped England win the bronze in team competition, and Bergmann won the bronze in doubles with Tage Flisberg. In 1950 Bergmann won his fourth world championship singles 13 years after his first and led England to a team bronze. In 1952 he won silver in doubles (with Johnny Leach) as well as in team competition, and his seventh and final world championship was in team play in 1953. Bergmann won the bronze in singles and team in 1954, and his final medal was bronze with England in 1955. Bergmann also finished first in the English singles championships six times and the doubles four times. Bergmann became the world's first professional table tennis player in the mid-1950s, touring extensively with the Harlem Globetrotters basketball team. Sometimes referred to as Richard the Lionhearted, Bergman was the author of *Twenty-One Up* (1950).

[Elli Wohlgelernter (2nd ed.)]

BERGNER, ELISABETH (1897–1986), actress. Born as Ella Ettel in the Galician town of Drohobycz (today Ukrainian Drogobyc), she came in her youth to Vienna, where she studied. She acted there and in Berlin for Victor Barnowsky, Max Reinhardt, and her future husband, Paul Czinner. Especially as Rosalind in *As You Like It* on stage and in many films of the 1920s and early 1930s, she gained an international reputation, bolstered by her interpretation of the title role of Shaw's *Saint Joan*. Her androgynous type, which combined sex appeal with a female aspiration for emancipation, made her an idol on stage and screen in interwar Europe. Bergner toured the Continent and made her first appearance in Great Britain in Margaret Kennedy's *Escape Me Never* (1933). This was an immediate success, which she repeated two years later in New York. She remained there as an émigré until 1950, when she returned to London. Under the direction of her husband, Paul Czinner, she appeared in a number of films. Her films included *Der traeumende Mund* and *Stolen Life* (1939). She was not a success in Hollywood films. After World War II she toured Germany and Austria. In 1978 she published her memoirs, *Bewundert und viel gescholten – Elisabeth Bergners unordentlichen Erinnerungen*.

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[Pnina Nave / Marcus Pyka (2nd ed.)

BERGNER, HERZ (1907–1970), Yiddish novelist. The younger brother of Melech *Ravitch, Bergner grew up in Radimno, Galicia. After a short stay in Warsaw, he immigrated to Melbourne in 1938. From 1928 he published short stories in leading Yiddish periodicals in Europe, Israel, Australia and the United States. In Warsaw he published the collection *Shtubn un Gasn* ("Houses and Streets," 1935) and was co-editor of *Shriftn* (1936). His novels, *Tsvishn Himel un Vaser* (*Between Sky and Sea*, 1946) dealing with a boatload of Jewish refugees, and *Likht un Shotn* (1960; *Light and Shadow*, 1963) describing the struggle of a Jewish family for acceptance in an Australian community, were translated into English. Bergner's Australian short stories, especially his volume *Vu der Emes Shteyt Ayn* ("Where the Truth Lies," 1966), realistically mirror various aspects in the life of Jewish immigrants in Melbourne.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: LNYL, 1 (1956), 379; M. Ravitch, *Mayn Leksikon* (1945), 43–45. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** I. Kahan, in: *Australian Jewish Historical Society*, 7/4 (1973), 286–90; I. Turkov-Grudberg, in: *Di Goldene Keyt*, 56 (1966), 248–50.

[Sol Liptzin]

BERGNER YOSSL (**Yosef**; 1920–), Israeli painter. Born in Vienna, the son of the singer Fania Bergner and the Yiddish poet Melech *Ravitch. Bergner immigrated to Australia in 1937 and studied at the art school of the National Gallery of Victoria in Melbourne. He arrived to Israel in 1950 and settled in Safed. During his career Bergner exhibited his work all over the world. He represented Israeli art in international exhibitions such as the Biennale in Venice and the Biennale of Sao Paulo. In addition to painting Bergner produced book illustrations and designed theater sets and costumes for the Yiddish and Hebrew stage, particularly for plays written by Nissim *Aloni. In 1980 Bergner was awarded the Israel Prize. Bergner is married to the painter Audrey Bergner.

In his unique way Bergner remained a Jewish cosmopolitan refugee in spite of his Israeli citizenship and spending most of his life in Israel. Bergner's art consists of a large variety of subjects: Jewish, Australian aborigines, children of Safed, wall paintings, masks, angels and kings, still lifes, toys and flowers, paintings inspired by the Bird's-Head *Haggadah*, Kafka's images, Brighton Beach, chairs and tables, Zionists figures and pioneer images (*Pioneer's Funeral*, 1977, Israel Museum, Jerusalem). Bergner described himself as someone who has to express everything that goes through his head, in a very eclectic way.

Bergner's style moves freely between extremes, from compact compositions and minimal coloration to richness and dramatic style. He always maintained a rare combination between figurative description and surrealistic atmosphere. At the heart of his approach lies the understanding that the visual image is a more or less aesthetic representation of the meaning beyond it.

More then once Bergner has been defined as a literary painter, in his case meaning a painter who is as comfortable with world literature as he is familiar with Jewish literature. As the son of a Yiddish poet, the stories of Mendele Mokher Seforim (Sholem Yankev *Abramovitsh), *Shalom Aleichem, and I.L. *Peretz were a part of his life. At the same time Bergner's art has been an inspiration to many Israeli poets like Dan *Pagis, Tuvia Rivner, and Ḥayim Hefer. They were drawn to the characteristic images of Bergner's art, referring to them as an integral part of their poems.

During the years 1971–72 Bergner dealt with the theme of the Crucifixion. The cross looms high in the foreground of a cloudy sky. Instead of a human being crucified there are graters or a white fabric. The atmosphere in these paintings is dramatic and magical (*Messenger – The Dismantled Cross*, 1972, Private Collection, Tel Aviv).

Bergner's paintings are very popular among religious people because of the absence of human figures and the focus on objects.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: C. Rubin (ed.), *Yosl Bergner – A Retrospective* (2000).

[Ronit Steinberg (2nd ed.)]

BERGSON (**Berkson**), assimilated Warsaw family, descended from the court factor Samuel *Zbitkower (d. 1800). Most of the children of his second wife, Judith Levi of Frankfurt on the Oder, were given a secular education, and converted to Christianity, founding the Fraenkel, Oesterreicher, and Flatau families which played an important role in Polish economic life. BER (Berek), Zbitkower's son by his first wife, alone remained Jewish, and under Prussian rule adopted the family name Sonnenberg. He and his wife, Tamar (Temerl), built a synagogue in the Praga suburb of Warsaw in 1807. Their home became a meeting place for the Ḥasidim in Poland. Their sons, Jacob, Leopold, and Michael, took the name Bergson (or Berkson, "son of Berek"). Members of the family included JOSEPH BERGSON (1812–?), a lecturer in medicine at Warsaw University (1841–61), and the musician MICHAEL *BERGSON (1820–1898), father of the most celebrated member of the family, the philosopher HENRI *BERGSON. Active in the Warsaw community was MICHAEL BERGSON, the son of Leopold, who served as president of the community from 1896 to 1918. Other family members were bankers and manufacturers.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: A.N. Frenk, *Meshumodim in Poyln*, 1 (1923); I. Schipper (ed.), *Żydzi w Polsce odrodzonej*, 1 (1932), 481; J. Shatzky, *Di Geshikhte fun Yidn in Varshe*, 3 vols. (1947–53), index; A. Levinson, *Toledot Yehudei Varshah* (1953), 204; EG, 1 (1953), 235–54. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** A. Guterman, *Kehillat Varshah bein Shetei Milḥamot Olam* (1977), Index.

[Nathan Michael Gelber]

BERGSON, ABRAM (1914–2003), U.S. economist and expert on the Soviet Union. Born in Baltimore, Maryland, Bergson earned his B.A. degree from Johns Hopkins University in 1933 and his M.A. and Ph.D. from Harvard in 1935 and 1940, respectively. While he was a graduate student, he and his brother Gustav, a physicist, decided to change their name to Bergson because they felt the name they were born with – Burk – did not convey their Jewish heritage.

From 1937 to 1940 Bergson was an instructor at Harvard, and from 1940 to 1942 assistant professor at the University of Texas. He spent 1942 to 1946 as an economist in various agencies of the U.S. government, and as chief of the division for the Office of Strategic Services, was a U.S. delegate to the Moscow Reparations Conference (1945). For the next ten years he was at Columbia University but returned to Harvard in 1956 as professor of economics, where he remained for the rest of his career.

He began his academic life as a theorist, publishing an extremely influential paper at the age of 23 on the measurement of well-being across society. His best-known work later became linked with that of Paul A. *Samuelson, a classmate at Harvard who won the Nobel in economic science. The Bergson-Samuelson social welfare function, which combines individual gauges of well-being, has been a fixture in economic analysis for decades.

Bergson was director of the Russian Research Center (now the Davis Center) from 1964 to 1968 and acting director from 1969 to 1970. He remained involved in activities at the center until 2002, frequently leading off the question-and-answer period at lectures and symposia. His knowledge of Soviet economic policies and practices qualified him as the outstanding expert before congressional committees dealing with the Soviet economy. As the world's leading authority on the subject, he was consulted and cited far more than any other expert about the assessment and evaluation of Soviet economic performance. After the Soviet Union collapsed in 1991 Soviet scholars, once forced to adjust their findings to the "Party line," were free to express their esteem for Bergson's work. "They would make pilgrimages to see him as if they were coming to consult the oracle," observed Marshall Goldman, associate director of the Davis Center for Russian and Eurasian Research.

In 1983 Bergson received the Distinguished Fellow award of the American Economic Association.

Bergson was the editor of *Economic Trends in the Soviet Union* (1963). He wrote extensively on his special field of interest; his published works include *The Structure of Soviet Wages* (1944), *Soviet National Income and Product in 1937* (1953), *Soviet Economic Growth, Conditions and Perspectives* (1953), *Soviet National Income and Product 1940–48* (1954), *The Real National Income of Soviet Russia Since 1928* (1961), *The Economics of Soviet Planning* (1964), *Essays in Normative Economics* (1966), *Planning and Productivity Under Soviet Socialism* (1968), *Productivity and the Social System: The U.S.S.R. and the West* (1978), *Welfare, Planning, and Employment* (1982), and *The Soviet Economy: Towards the Year 2000* (co-editor with Herbert Levine, 1983).

[Joachim O. Ronall / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

BERGSON, HENRI LOUIS (1859–1941), French philosopher. His father, Michael *Bergson, came from a distinguished Warsaw family; his mother from England. He was born in Paris and from 1881 taught philosophy at the Angers Lycée and subsequently at Clermont-Ferrand, where he gave his famous lectures on laughter, and where, after long meditations in the countryside, he first devised the idea of the vital, continuous, and generative impulse of the universe. From the age of 25, Bergson devoted himself to elaborating this theory in various forms. In 1889 he returned to Paris, published his Ph.D. thesis *Essai sur les données immédiates de la conscience* (*Time and Free Will*, 1910), and lectured at the Lycée Henri IV and the Ecole Normale Supérieure. In 1900 he was appointed professor of philosophy at the Collège de France. His lectures were popular and were attended by the elite of Paris society. These lectures, like his books, especially *L'Evolution créatrice* (1907; *Creative Evolution*, 1911), were distinguished by their lucid and brilliant style and established his fame in France and throughout the world. In 1914 he became a member of the French Academy and in 1928 was awarded the Nobel Prize for literature. Bergson was also politically active, especially in foreign affairs, and headed a French delegation to the U.S. He was president of the League of Nations' Committee for Intellectual Cooperation. In 1940, after the French surrender to the Nazis, Bergson returned all his decorations and awards, and, rejecting the French authorities' offer to exclude him from the edicts against the Jews, queued for many hours to register as a Jew although he was weak and ill. In his latter years he was attracted to Catholicism but remained a Jew in order to maintain his identification with the persecuted. He died a Jew in 1941.

Most of his works deal with the conception and explication of the notions of "duration" and "movement," not as static concepts defined by the mind but as experiences, conceived by the intuition when it is freed from the limitations which the intellectual consciousness imposes upon the conceiver and the conceived. According to Bergson, the dynamic element of the duration, the flowing time, is the sole penetrator of real existence. "Time" abolishes the static world of the conscious mind and the concept of "duration" may be defined as the continual change which takes place in time. This change is not transcendentally motivated but results from an inner energy – the vital impulse (*élan vital*) which derives from an unlimited source. The actual duration of the vital impulse is the basic element of the universe, while matter and awareness are only momentary manifestations or creations of the central stream. The consciousness can grasp the essence of reality, both in its primary purity as a duration and in its consolidation and objectification as matter in space. In the same manner consciousness can also reach self-knowledge in two different ways: through intellectual static self-consciousness, and through an intimate awareness of its essence as a conscious duration, a vital and fluctuating spirit, regenerating and developing continuously. From this it follows that the factor fashioning consciousness is memory. Memory comprises the duration for it accumulates all past achievements and within it "the past grows into the present." Through the intuition, which is the essence of the memory, man grasps his personal essence as a vital and conscious duration, and, similarly, grasps the creative duration, which is absolute reality.

Bergson's view also appears in his theories on the functions of instinct, intellect, and intuition. Life evolution advances in three directions: vegetative, instinctive, and rational. The instinct is the capability of utilizing organic instruments, but this function is merely a blind practical knowledge. The intellect has the ability of execution and of utilizing inorganic instruments, and it introduces, therefore, the knowledge of the qualities of objects, accompanied by self-knowledge. When the intellect has time enough to develop its knowledge, it judges all objects as if they were inorganic instruments, thus viewing the living reality itself in a mechanical, devitalized mirror. This perverted conception can be corrected by intuition, which is a developed instinct with self-awareness. Bergson conceived the intuition as the only means by which it is possible to inject a primary flexibility into fossilized scientific methods and draw them closer to reality.

Bergson recognized that the potential capability for immediately grasping reality is actualized only in a few select men. Strong fetters of habit tie man down to the social, moral, and conceptual reality of his environment, and only an elite few are capable of extricating themselves. Therefore, Bergson admired the great mystics (see his *Les deux sources de la morale et de la religion*, 1932; *Two Sources of Morality and Religion*, 1935).

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[Pepita Haezrahi]

BERGSON, MICHAEL (1820–1898), Polish pianist and composer, born in Warsaw. He was the father of the French philosopher Henri *Bergson. Michael's opera *Luisa di Montfort* was produced in Florence (1847) and in Hamburg (1849); his operetta *Qui va à la chasse, perd sa place* in Paris (1859). For ten years he was piano professor, then director of the Geneva Conservatory. In 1873 he settled in London, where he collaborated with M. Hast in the compilation and editing of synagogue music. A pupil of Chopin, he composed in Chopinesque style, for which Schumann criticized him. One of his works, *Scena ed Aria*, is still widely played by military bands.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Baker, Biog Dict; Grove, Dict; Sendrey, Music, indexes.

[Dora Leah Sowden]

BERGSTEIN, FANIA (1908–1950), Hebrew poet. Born in Szczuczyn, near Lomza, Poland, she received a Hebrew and a Russian education. In her youth she became active in the Zionist youth movement He-Ḥalutz ha-Ẓa'ir, immigrated to Palestine in 1930, and joined kibbutz Gevat. Her books include *Baẓir* (1939), poems; *Avim Ḥolefot* (1950), poems; *Asif* (1955), collected poems; and *Reshimot* (1952), collected prose, edited by M. Poznański. Among her ten volumes of poems, stories, and plays for children is *Tekhelet ve-Adom* (1961). A list of her works that have been translated into English appears in Goell, Bibliography, index.

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[Getzel Kressel]

°BERGSTRAESSER, GOTTHELF (1886–1933), German Semitic scholar and linguist. Bergstraesser was born in Oberlosa (Thueringen). During World War I, while professor at the University of Constantinople, he studied the spoken dialects in Palestine and Syria on which he later published several scholarly works: *Sprachatlas von Syrien und Palaestina* (1915); *Zum arabischen Dialekt von Damaskus* (1924); *Neuaramaeische Maerchen und andere Texte aus Maʿlula* (1915); *Glossar des neuaramaeischen Dialekts von Maʿlula* (1921). Bergstraesser began to work on an edition of Gesenius' *Hebraeische Grammatik* of which only two parts appeared (*Einleitung, Schrift-und Lautlehre*, 1918; *Verbum*, 1929). He also edited a Hebrew reader *Hebraeische Lesestuecke aus dem Alten Testament* (1920). In addition to the linguistic studies which earned him international repute (*Einfuehrung in die semitischen Sprachen*, 1928), Bergstraesser engaged in research on textual criticism and reading of the Koran, Arabic translations from Greek, especially of Galen, and on Islamic law. A fierce opponent of Nazism, Bergstraesser spoke out strongly against antisemitism.

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[Martin Meir Plessner]

BERGTHEIL, JONAS (1819–1902), pioneer in Natal, South Africa. Bergtheil emigrated to Cape Colony from Bavaria in 1834 and moved in 1843 to Durban, where he formed a company to bring settlers from Europe and grow cotton for the first time in South Africa. To encourage immigration to South Africa he took a Zulu to Germany in 1847 as an example of the indigenous population and recruited 188 non-Jewish settlers whom he took to Natal. The 47 families concerned were each given 250 acres of land at New Germany in the Pinetown district some 15 mi. (24 km.) from Durban. Although cotton growing was initially a failure, the settlement prospered. Bergtheil was also director of a company which built the first railway line in South Africa, a short stretch starting in Durban. He was elected in 1857 to the first legislative council in Natal, holding the seat until 1866. He was one of the founders of the Cape Town Hebrew Congregation in 1841. In 1866 he left to settle in England.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: G. Saron and L. Hotz (eds.), *Jews in South Africa* (1955), index; *Jewish Affairs*, 9 (Johannesburg, 1954), no. 6.

[Louis Hotz]

BERIḤAH (Heb. בְּרִיחָה; "flight"), name of an organized underground operation moving Jews out of Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Romania, Yugoslavia, the Baltic countries, and the U.S.S.R. into Central and Southern Europe between 1944 and 1948 as a step toward their – mostly "illegal" – immigration to Palestine: also name of the spontaneous mass movement of Jewish survivors from Europe toward Ereẓ Israel.

In 1939, Jewish refugees fleeing from the Germans were illegally crossing frontiers into Soviet-occupied Poland and thence to Lithuania or, in the south, to Romania. While this movement was in the main chaotic, Zionist, Bundist, and Orthodox groups provided some organized nuclei. The same holds true of Jews fleeing from Slovakia to Hungary in 1942, and from Hungary back into Slovakia and into Romania in 1944. At the end of World War II, tens of thousands of Jews found that they could not remain in the countries of Central Europe either because of their memories of the *Holocaust and the destruction of their homes or because of the antisemitic atmosphere that prevailed in these countries. A mass migration of the remnants of the Holocaust began. It was partially spontaneous and partially organized as an attempt to find a way to reach Palestine. The first initiators of the organized Beriḥah came from among the leaders of Jewish resistance groups, partisans, and organizers of Zionist underground groups who already had participated in illegal border crossings in Nazi-occupied Eastern Europe during the war years.

In 1944, with the liberation of Rovno in Volhynia and Vilna by the Soviet Army in February and April, respectively, illegal groups of former Jewish partisans were formed independently of each other. Their aim was to take out the remnants of the Jewish population and bring them to Ereẓ Israel. They were joined by Zionist groups returning from Soviet Asia, and met in Lublin in December 1944 under the leadership of Abba *Kovner. In January 1945, they were joined by the remnants of the Warsaw ghetto fighters under Yiẓḥak *Cukierman, and founded the Beriḥah organization under the leadership of Kovner. The first groups were sent to Romania in the middle of January 1945, in the hope of reaching Ereẓ Israel with the help of emissaries (*sheliḥim*) of the *yishuv* staying at the time in Bucharest. During the first months after the war, before the borders of Central European countries were redrawn and closed and when millions of *Displaced Persons were returning to their homes, the movement of Jews searching for a way to Palestine also began. An event connected with this mass movement was the "Rescue Train," which, under the auspices of the International Red Cross, set out for Poland to return to Romania Jews who had been deported by the Germans. This project succeeded in returning from Poland to Romania about 5,000 Jews, including many children. But hopes of reaching Palestine from Romania had soon to be discarded, and in May, Kovner had instead established transit points in Hungary and Yugoslavia, moving his people toward Italy, which he himself reached in July. Polish Jews were now coming via Slovakia to Budapest, and thence to Graz in Austria, hoping to cross the Italian border from there. In August, however, the British occupation forces stationed there closed the border and 12,000 people were stranded in the Graz area. They managed to cross the border in small groups only in the winter of 1945/46.

A center (*Merkaz la-Golah*) for smuggling Jews into Italy from the liberated concentration camps in Germany and Austria was established by Palestinian Jewish soldiers stationed in Europe, both from the *Jewish Brigade and from other army units. It started its activities in June 1945 and brought in some 15,000 people till August, when British forces sealed the border. Financing in this early period was from *Jewish Agency funds. The first attempt to organize the migration of Jewish survivors throughout Europe was made at a meeting of Beriḥah activists in Bratislava in March 1946. A central committee of the Beriḥah was chosen with Mordechai Surkis from the Jewish Brigade and Pinḥas Rashish (d. 1978), head of the Palestine aid delegation to Poland, as its heads. This committee exercised an ill-defined and shadowy control over Beriḥah activities in Europe until the end of 1946.

From August 1945 onward, a movement started out of Poland into the Displaced Persons (DP) camps of Czechoslovakia; the various routes led to the U.S. zone in Austria and into Bavaria. From October onward an alternative route operated via Szczeczyn (Stettin), Berlin, and the British zone (northern Germany) to the U.S. zone in the south. Transit through Czechoslovakia, Austria, and Hungary was controlled by Levi Kopelevich (Argov), a *shali'aḥ* from Palestine, who from March 1946 headed the Beriḥah secretariat in Bratislava. Movements were coordinated with the Beriḥah in Poland under Isser Ben-Ẓvi, a *shali'aḥ* who had taken over in October 1945. In the winter of 1945/46, funds began to be received from the *American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee for food and clothing for stranded refugees. The control over Beriḥah exercised heretofore through Surkis was now acknowledged to be in the hands of the "Mosad le-Aliyah Bet" (or "Mosad," center for "illegal" immigration) in Palestine, whose head, Shaul *Avigur, moved his office to Paris in 1946.

The movement was largely organized by Zionist youth movements whose representatives in Poland formed the Beriḥah "center," to which the commander was responsible. The movements and Zionist parties formed groups, many of which were influenced by the kibbutz idea and therefore known as "kibbutzim." The groups were directed to border towns where Beriḥah teams accommodated them in "stores" (temporary lodgings). There they were provided with slips of paper containing a code ("*parol*") and sent to the actual border station ("point") where the local Beriḥah team smuggled them across. Until 1946, forged Red Cross documents were employed to identify people as Greek refugees. In Czechoslovakia, an informal agreement was obtained not to hamper the movement of Jews, and UNRRA and the Czech government paid the train fares from the Polish border to either Bratislava or As on the Czech-German frontier. On the Szczeczyn-Berlin route, Soviet or Polish truck drivers were bribed into smuggling people in, and exit from Berlin to the British zone was effected either through UNRRA officials whose sympathy was obtained or with the help of forged documents. From October 1945 onward, the operation in Austria was under Asher Ben-Nathan, and in Germany under Ephraim Frank, both *sheliḥim* from Palestine. In Vienna a series of transit camps were clustered around the Rothschild Hospital, receiving refugees passing from Bratislava to the U.S. zone of Austria. From the U.S. zone of Austria transit was effected either to Italy (until about May 1946), directed by Issachar Haimovich, or to the U.S. zone in Germany.

The U.S. Army did not encourage entry of Jewish refugees into their zones. However, poor conditions in DP camps in these zones had caused an investigation to be made by Earl G. Harrison in August, 1945, and the report that was published on Sept. 30, 1945, reflected badly on the army. To avoid arousing public opinion in the United States the army acquiesced in Jewish refugee movements, provided no very large numbers were involved. Simon H. Rifkind and Philip S. Bernstein, advisers on Jewish affairs to the U.S. command in Germany, played a large part in persuading the army to maintain its tolerant attitude.

The murder of 41 Jews in a pogrom at *Kielce (Poland) on July 4, 1946, created a wave of panic among Polish Jews, who now included the 150,000 repatriates from the U.S.S.R. who came out from February 1946 onward (before that there had been only 80,000 Jews in Poland). Pressure was exerted on Beriḥah by panic-stricken Jews to take them out of Poland. In July this was still done by the usual illegal means. But the Polish government, which arrived at the conclusion that it would not be able to restrain the outbursts against the Jews, saw their exodus from Poland as a solution to the problem. In late July, negotiations conducted by Yiẓḥak Cukierman with Polish government agencies led to an oral understanding whereby Jews were allowed to leave Poland without hindrance through the Silesian border into Czechoslovakia. Simultaneously (on July 26) the Czech government, largely through the influence of Jan Masaryk, the foreign minister, decided to open its frontier to Jews fleeing from Poland. In the three months of July, August, and September 1946 more than 70,000 Jews fled through Czechoslovakia. Transport was paid for by the Czechs, against an UNRRA promise to return the money later; food was obtained largely from the JDC and UNRRA. The exodus of those months was joined by 15,000 Hungarian Jews and some 1,000 Romanian and Czech Jews. Despite Polish insistence that only the Silesian route should be used after the July agreement, Beriḥah continued to send also large numbers of Jews via Szczeczyn to Berlin, a route which was controlled by Jewish Brigade soldiers. Others went from Szczeczyn to Luebeck and Hanover in the British zone by train or boat through PUR, the Polish agency expelling Germans from Poland: the Jews posed as Germans and were thus enabled to leave by "being expelled." The total number leaving Poland from July 1945 to October 1946 was estimated at 110,000, excluding PUR and a large number of people who came out not with the organized Beriḥah but with professional smugglers, Jews as well as non-Jews. From the beginnings of the Beriḥah until October 1946 no less than 180,000 people were involved in the migratory movements.

After some hesitation, and due again largely to the intervention of Rabbi Philip Bernstein, the U.S. Army allowed the large scale move into the U.S. zones of Germany and Austria to take place in the summer of 1946. Movements out of Germany into Italy were limited, especially during the second half of 1946, until the route was reestablished in early 1947 through the Valle Aurina. In early 1947 the Polish government terminated the arrangement at the border; movement via Szczeczyn had almost come to a standstill in November 1946. During 1947, less than 10,000 Jews managed to leave Poland via Beriḥah routes. In Germany, Beriḥah cooperated with the committees of Jewish DPs to arrange for social and political absorption of the refugees into the camps. Beriḥah's orientation was clearly Zionist, but there were refugees who declared their preference for migration to countries other than Palestine.

The Beriḥah movement from the Soviet Union was a special case. Many Jews who had lived in prewar Poland left the U.S.S.R. with their families as part of the Polish repatriation program. The position of veteran citizens of the Soviet Union was a more difficult one. Nonetheless, activities of the Beriḥah were organized by a number of bodies, which, inter alia, brought out many Lubavitch Ḥasidim from the Soviet Union. When the new Soviet border was definitely sealed in 1946, the Soviet authorities began to seize the Beriḥah organizers, some of whom were arrested and sentenced to long prison terms. At the end of 1946 a meeting of Beriḥah commanders was held at Basle during the 22nd Zionist Congress. Shaul Avigur, head of the "Mosad," was present. There a new European commander of the Beriḥah, Ephraim Dekel, a former head of *Haganah Intelligence in Palestine, was nominated. Under Dekel Beriḥah became more closely linked with the "Mosad," but the numbers coming in from Eastern Europe were falling. In the spring of 1947 economic crisis and fear of antisemitism caused a panic flight of some 15,000 Romanian Jews to Hungary and Austria. On April 21, 1947, the U.S. Army decreed that no more Jews would be accepted into existing DP camps, but Beriḥah poured the refugees into the Viennese transit camps until the American authorities relented and allowed the people entrance into camps in the U.S. zone in contravention of the decree. The tension in Palestine between the *Haganah and the dissident underground organizations, *Irgun Ẓeva'i Le'ummi (IẒL) and *Loḥamei Ḥerut Israel (Leḥi), sometimes influenced the work of the Beriḥah as well, and in September 1947 a Beriḥah man was murdered at a "point" near Innsbruck by IẒL members. In general, however, the *Revisionists were part of the current of the Beriḥah and the "illegal" immigration to Palestine.

In 1948, Meir Sapir took over from Dekel as Beriḥah commander, and Beriḥah was slowly wound up, though Beriḥah points still operated on certain eastern borders in 1949. In the west, Beriḥah points existed on the German-French and, briefly, on the Belgian, frontier, and the 4,500 *Exodus* passengers passed through these in June 1947. However, entry into France was regulated by the "Mosad" rather than Beriḥah. The total number of people who left Eastern Europe between 1944 and 1948 can be estimated at about 250,000, and of these about 80% at least came with the organized Beriḥah. The Beriḥah was a prime factor in the struggle for the establishment of the Jewish State from 1945 to 1948. It dramatically underscored

President Truman's demand for a speedy admission of 100,000 Jewish refugees to Palestine (August 1945) and was reflected in the conclusions of the Anglo-American Committee (May 1946). It created a reservoir of people from which came the masses of immigrants that fought together with the *yishuv* to open the gates of Palestine to Jewish immigration and to establish the State of Israel.

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[Yehuda Bauer]

BERINSKI, LEV (1939–), Yiddish poet. Berinski was born in Kauschan (Bessarabia) and became one of the most inventive of the post-Holocaust Yiddish poets. During World War II his family fled to Tadzhikistan, returning to Moldavia in 1945. In 1963 Berinski moved to Smolensk in order to study German, then to Moscow to study poetry and poetic translation. Initially he wrote poems in Russian, then later in Yiddish, and translated into Russian from Romanian, Spanish, German, and Yiddish. In 1991 he immigrated to Israel, and settling in Acre. In 1992 he founded and became the editor of the literary almanac *Naye Vegn*; in 2000 he published an anthology of contemporary literature and became co-editor of *Toplpunkt*, a quarterly journal of literature, art, and social issues. In 1997 he won the David Hofstein and Itzik Manger Prize, the most distinguished prize for Yiddish literature, and the following year he became chair of the *Fareyn fun Yidishe Shraybers un Zhurnalistn in Yisroel*. Berinski's Yiddish work comprises poems and poem cycles, stories, and essays. He is a postmodern poet who expresses the chaos that results from annihilation through collage, montage, intertextuality, quotation, proverb, aphorism, and mathematical formula, thus creating bold metaphors that connect the traditionally Jewish and philosophically enlightened with the surrealistically cosmic, while the whole opens up into the realm of the absurd and ironic. In addition to two volumes of Russian poetry (1992, 1997), he has published several volumes in Yiddish: *Der Zuniker Veltboy* ("Sunny Construction of the World," 1988); *Rendsburger Mikve* ("Rendsburger Ritual Bath," 1994); *Calystegia Sepium* ("Bindweed," 1995; *Fischfang in Venetsye* ("Fishing in Venice," 1996); *Luftblumen* ("Flowers in the Air," 1999).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: I. Fater, in: *Nusakh Ashkenaz in Vort un Klang* (2002), 83–92.

[Astrid Starck (2nd ed.)]

BERIT HA-BIRYONIM (Heb. בְּרִית הַבִּרְיוֹנִים), an underground group operating in Palestine from 1930 to 1933 against the Mandatory regime. Its founder and chief ideologue was Abba *Aḥimeir, and two other leading members were Uri Ẓevi *Greenberg and Yehoshua *Yeivin. The group comprised about 30 active members and a few score of sympathizers. Ideologically the Berit stood on the extreme right of the *Revisionist movement, and in Palestine it dominated the party organ *Ḥazit ha-Am*. The activities of the Berit were of limited scope: it demonstrated against the visit to Palestine of the British Under-Secretary for the Colonies, Drummond Shiels; called for a boycott of the official census; organized the blowing of the Shofar at the end of the Day of Atonement service at the Western Wall; and pulled down the swastika flags from the German Consulates in Jerusalem and Jaffa. Berit ha-Biryonim disintegrated shortly after the murder of *Arlosoroff, as a result of persecution by the Mandatory authorities.

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[Joseph Nedava]

BERIT SHALOM ("Covenant of Peace"), society founded in Jerusalem in 1925 to foster relations of rapprochement between Jews and Arabs in Palestine, on the basis of a bi-national solution to the conflict between them, with Jews and Arabs having an equal share in the administration regardless of the size of their respective populations (see *Bi-Nationalism). Bi-nationalism for Berit Shalom was not an ideal but a function of reality. The trigger for the establishment of the society was a lecture at the opening of the Hebrew University in Jerusalem by the Orientalist Professor Joseph Horowitz of the University of Frankfurt on the Main. The initiative for founding Berit Shalom came from Arthur *Ruppin. The active members in the society belonged to several groups. The first, which was predominant in the early years, was made up of men who had immigrated to Palestine before World War I and were all (except Ruppin himself) of East European origin, had an academic education, and shared a practical political approach to Zionism. They included, in addition to Ruppin, Dr. Jacob *Thon, Dr. Joseph *Lurie, Dr Yitzḥak Epstein, Haim *Margolis-Kalvaryski, and *Rabbi Binyamin. The second group, which became predominant after 1929, was made up of intellectuals of a Central European liberal background, was much more ideological than the first group, and its members were all strongly influenced by the philosophy of Martin *Buber. They included Prof. Samuel Hugo *Bergmann, Prof. Hans *Kohn, Prof. Gershom *Scholem, Prof. Ernst *Simon, and Dr. Robert Weltsch. Finally there was a group of so-called "Anglo-Saxons," mostly men who were employed by the Palestine Administration, including Edwin Samuel, son of the first High Commissioner to Palestine, Herbert *Samuel, and the attorney general of Palestine, Norman *Bentwich, who did not become full members until 1929. Prof. Judah Leon *Magnes, who also advocated bi-nationalism in this period, was never a member of the society, even though his name was frequently identified with it. Berit Shalom never numbered more than 200 members. From the start there were differences concerning the purpose of the society. Ruppin wanted it to be a research group that would present the results of its studies to the Zionist leadership, while others urged that it formulate and attempt to implement its own political program. Ruppin was chairman of the society until 1929, and the more activist line was carried out by his successor, Joseph Lurie. Rabbi Binyamin, the first editor of Berit Shalom's monthly, *She'ifoteinu* ("Our Aspirations"), who demanded an agreement with the Arabs on the basis of unlimited Jewish immigration, was replaced when a majority of the members declared themselves ready to accept a temporary limitation of immigration to facilitate an agreement with the Arabs. In 1930 senior members of Berit Shalom published a series of memoranda, the first of which – *Memorandum by the Brit Shalom Society on an Arab Policy for the Jewish Agency* – was submitted to the Zionist Executive in London in February. The second memorandum, entitled *Practical Proposals for Cooperation Between Jews and Arabs in Palestine*, was prepared as a response to a suggestion by one of the members of the 1929 Shaw Commission. The third memorandum was a personal endeavor by Ernst Simon, and was distributed to the members of the Conference of the Administrative Committee of the Jewish Agency in London. The fourth and last one was a "Judeao-Arab Covenant" prepared by Kalvaryski in August (apparently unknown to his colleagues at the time), and submitted by him to a member of the Arab Executive. Berit Shalom was attacked by most of the Zionist parties, who viewed its members as defeatists at best and traitors and worst. By 1933 it had virtually ceased to exist, after many of its members deserted it, and it ran out of funds.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *She'ifotenu* (1930–33); S. Hattis, *The Bi-National Idea in Palestine in Mandatory Times* (1970).

[Susan Hattis Rolef (2nd ed.)]

BERK, FRED (1911–1980), dancer and exponent of Jewish and ethnic dance in the U.S. Born in Vienna into an Orthodox Jewish family, he studied dance there at the studio of Gertrud *Kraus and performed in her modern dance troupe. The Nazi annexation of Austria forced him to flee in 1939. He arrived in the U.S. in 1941. In 1950 Berk founded the Jewish Dance Division at the 92nd Street YMHA-YWHA, New York. Cofounder of the Merry-Go-Rounders, a children's dance group, he did the choreography for their *Holiday in Israel* and *Wedding in Austria*. He formed Hebraica Dancers in 1958. He wrote *The Jewish Dance* (1959).

BERKLEY, ROCHELLE (1951–), U.S. congresswoman. Rochelle (Shelley) Berkley, the elder of William and Estella (Colonomos) Levine's two daughters, was born in New York City. She was raised in the Catskill community of South Fallsburg, where her father worked at the famed Concord Hotel. In the early 1960s the family moved to Las Vegas, Nevada, where William found employment with the Sands Hotel; he would remain at the Sands for 36 years, the last ten as the hotel's maître d'.

During Berkley's formative years in Las Vegas, the city had a Jewish population of no more than 2,500. Berkley's mother served as president of the local Hadassah, while Shelly was elected president of the Las Vegas chapter of B'nai B'rith Girls. Berkley attended the University of Nevada at Las Vegas, where she was elected student body president, and graduated from the law school of the University of California at San Diego. Returning to Las Vegas, she worked as deputy director of the Nevada State Commerce Department and as counsel for the Southwest Gas Corporation. Following a two-year stint (1982–84) in the Nevada State Legislature, Berkley became vice president for government and legal affairs for the Sands Hotel. In this position, she served as in-house counsel for Sands' chairman Sheldon Adelson, the man who virtually invented the computer trade show.

In 1998 Berkley ran as a Democrat for one of Nevada's two seats in the United States House of Representatives. Elected by a small margin, Berkley continued to be reelected by the people of Las Vegas. Her campaign brought her to the attention of national Democratic party leaders. Once elected, she was given a seat on the prestigious House International Relations Committee. As a member of the subcommittee on the Middle East, Berkley was an ardent supporter of Israel. Berkley also served on the Congressional Task Force on Antisemitism. During her first campaign for Congress Berkley was diagnosed with osteoporosis. Shocked to discover that her medical insurance did not cover the costs of a bone scan, she became an ardent supporter of the "Patients' Bill of Rights." This measure, which eventually fell short of passage, would have guaranteed that medical decisions be made by doctors and patients rather than by medical insurance carriers.

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[Kurt Stone (2nd ed.)]

BERKLEY, WILLIAM R. (1945–), U.S. insurance holding company executive. Berkley received a B.S. from New York University (NYU) (1966) and an M.B.A. from Harvard (1968). During his business career, he founded a number of public and private companies which he continues to control or of which he serves as chairman or director. He also chairs or serves on the board of several banks and other financial institutions.

The W.R. Berkley Corp. was founded in 1967 and is headquartered in Greenwich, Connecticut. In 2005 it had 32 subsidiaries operating in the U.S. and globally and was ranked 431 by Fortune 500. Berkley serves as chair of the Board of Overseers of the NYU Stern School of Business; as vice chairman of the Board of Trustees of NYU, where he serves on the Executive and Finance Committees; on the Board of Directors of Georgetown University; as vice chairman of the Board of Trustees of the University of Connecticut; and as co-chairman of the Albert B. Sabin Vaccine Institute, Inc.

Berkley has received many awards for his business, civic, and philanthropic activities, including, most recently, an honorary doctor of law degree from Mercy College. In 1999, he was awarded the Medallion for Entrepreneurship by Beta Gamma Sigma, which honors outstanding individuals who combine innovative business achievements with service to humanity.

BERKOFF, STEVEN (1937–), English actor, director, and writer. Born in Stepney, London, he studied drama at the Webber-Douglas School in London and mime at the Ecole Jacque le Coq in Paris.

He established himself as one of the most innovative theater personalities in the last quarter of the 20th century. As a writer he adapted many works for the stage including Kafka's *The Trial* and "Metamorphosis" and Poe's "The Fall of the House of Usher." His first professional production was an adaptation of Kafka's "In the Penal Colony."

His personal acting style is original and highly physically controlled – the expression both hypnotic and threatening; although controlled, his stage rages are full of hurt and foreboding leaving an audience little solace. Each performance is unique.

He is a prolific playwright whose original works include *Decadence, Greek, West*, and *East*. Much of his work is based on the vernacular of the present day – *West* with the social language and mores of the West End; *East* with the East End of London, for example. *Kvetch* is, at the same time, amusing and discomfiting; it received the London drama critics' award as the best comedy of 1991. The language of his works is acerbic, clear, intelligent, and unpretentious. Many of his chosen characters as writer or actor are either disturbed or social misfits. He is also a master in the transposition of mythology on to modern life.

He has appeared in a number of films and TV productions, such as *Octopussy, Beverly Hills Cop, Rambo*, and *The Krays*, playing "baddies" (film villains) with relish and undisguised glee.

Berkoff has toured and acted in his own productions of *Hamlet, Macbeth, Salome*, and *Coriolanus* throughout Europe, Israel, and Australia. In his book on the theater *Coriolanus in Deutschland* he describes his unease as a Jew in Munich. Other publications include *I Am Hamlet*, *A Prisoner in Rio, The Theatre of Steven Berkoff* (1992), and an autobiography, *Free Association* (1996). In 1983 Steven Berkoff received the Los Angeles Drama Critics Award for directing.

ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY: *R. Cross, Steven Berkoff and the Theatre of Self-Performance* (2004).

[Sally Whyte]

BERKOVITS, ELIEZER (1908–1992), theologian and Jewish philosopher. Berkovits was born in Oradea, Romania, in 1908. He received his rabbinical ordination in 1934 at the Berlin ("Hildesheimer") Rabbinical Seminary, where he studied under Rabbi Jehiel Jacob *Weinberg, (author of the *Seridei Esh*); as well as from the Mir yeshivah and the rabbinate of Hungary. In parallel, he earned a doctorate in philosophy at the Friedrich-Wilhelms (now Humboldt) University of Berlin, where he studied under Wolfgang Kohler, one of the founders of Gestalt psychology. After escaping Germany in 1939, Berkovits served as a communal rabbi in Leeds, England (1940–46); Sydney, Australia (1946–50); and Boston, Massachusetts (1950–56). In 1958 he accepted the chair of the philosophy department at the Hebrew Theological Seminary in Skokie, Illinois, which he held until 1975. At that time, at the age of 67, Berkovits relocated to Jerusalem, where he lived and worked until his death. During his lifetime, Berkovits wrote 19 books and hundreds of essays and articles, covering every major area of Jewish philosophy.

Berkovits' philosophy of Judaism places a heavy focus on the role of man in history. In his view, classical Judaism, as embodied in the Hebrew Bible and the Talmud, presents a coherent critique of Western culture and its ideas about man – a critique which can be applied to the most pressing questions of modern life. Building on both his philosophical training and talmudic background, Berkovits saw the task of Jewish philosophy to "make Judaism a significant philosophy of life in the intellectual climate of our age … [and to] equip it with the truth of God in relationship to the vital issues of present-day human existence." Thus, in addition to his constructive philosophy of Judaism, his work includes explicit critiques, from a Jewish perspective, of many of the leading streams of thought in his time, including existentialism, radical theology, the 1960s drug culture, and situation ethics; of non-Jewish writers like Rudolf Otto and Arnold Toynbee, and of Jewish thinkers like Hermann *Cohen, Martin *Buber, and Franz *Rosenzweig.

Theology and the Holocaust

Berkovits' most important theological work appears in *God, Man, and History* (1959), which offers the central framework for his entire philosophy of Judaism. The essence of Judaism, he wrote, is found in the personal encounter of the prophet with God; it is through the memory of that encounter, no less than through rational speculation, that one understands the nature of God and his covenant. In this regard, he followed the tradition of the medieval thinkers *Saadiah Gaon and *Judah Halevi, and in modern times Samson Raphael *Hirsch, who viewed revelation as axiomatic to any philosophy of Judaism. He thus challenged the Maimonidean approach to divine attributes, for example, according to which it is reason alone that allows one to comprehend the Absolute; in Berkovits' view, memory of the encounter is primary and irreducible to reason. Reason can only help one describe the nature of God; however, it is only through the encounter that one discovers the central principle of Jewish religion – that God cares about the fate of humankind. "The foundation of religion is not the affirmation that God *is*, but that God is concerned with man and the world; that, having created this world, he has not abandoned it, leaving it to its own devices; that he cares about his creation." God created the universe with man as its capstone; man is endowed with the capacity to take responsibility for creation, and therefore is charged by God with a duty to care for the world and for human history. Berkovits quotes, in this regard, the statement in Genesis 2:15 that God placed Adam in the Garden of Eden "to work it and to keep it." God's central concern for man is that he take responsibility for history, improving the world and caring for it. He developed these points further in his *Man and God: Studies in Biblical Theology* (1969).

In our own time, the most significant theological question in this regard concerns the problem of evil, especially in the wake of the Holocaust. Berkovits treated this subject most extensively in his *Faith After the Holocaust* (1973) and *With God in Hell: Judaism in the Ghettos and Death Camps* (1979). In these works, he offered a significant defense of the classical notion of the covenant, in the face of major theological opposition to it in modern Jewish writing, and established human responsibility as the focal point of any approach to dealing with the destruction of European Jewry. In this context, he also developed a highly critical view of the role that Christianity played in promulgating antisemitism in Europe throughout history, seeing this role as a significant antecedent to the Holocaust which cannot be discarded when considering the future of Jewish-Christian relations.

Morality and Halakhah

Berkovits' most developed statement on the nature of Jewish law appears in his *Not in Heaven: The Nature and Function of Halacha* (1983). Whereas the main streams of Western morality focus on the intentions of the individual, Judaism, he argued, is concerned principally with the outcome of one's actions. For this reason, Jewish law developed over time, showing flexibility of its rules in light of their effects within communal life. Jewish law, while a system of rules, nonetheless is guided by a higher set of moral values which are themselves concerned with providing real-world fairness, stability, economic prosperity, and concern with the fate of the unfortunate. He developed these themes further in *Crisis and Faith* (1976), where he discussed the issues of conversion and Jewish sexuality; *Jewish Women in Time and Torah* (1992), which offers a modern reconsideration of the role of women in Judaism; and his three Hebrew-language halakhic treatises: *Tenai be-Nisu'in u-ve-Get* ("Conditionality in Marriage and Divorce," 1966), a controversial attempt to address the problem of **agunot*, or refused divorce; as well as *Halakhah: Koḥah Ve-Tafkidah* ("*Halakhah*: Its Authority and Function," 1981), and *Higayon ba-Halakhah* ("Logic in Halakhah," 1986).

Nationhood and Zionism

Because of the nature of human morals, Berkovits wrote, it is not enough to hope for the improvement of humankind through the teaching of good principles of conduct. Rather, Judaism insists on the creation of a "holy nation," a people that dedicates itself to righteousness in every realm of its life, and which may thereby serve as an example for humankind. But to fulfill this mission, such a people requires sovereignty in its own land. "A people in control of its own life, capable of implementing Judaism by applying it to the whole of life, is a people in its own land. Judaism, as the religion of the deed, requires a people in its land." For this reason, the State of Israel represented for Berkovits not only the salvation of the Jews from the trials and horrors of exile, but an opportunity to apply Judaism in its fullest sense. Berkovits' developed his Zionist philosophy most thoroughly in *Towards Historic Judaism* (1943) as well as the final section of *God, Man, and History.* His critique of the modern Israeli reality in light of this ideal appears in *Mashber ha-Yehadut bi-Medinat ha-Yehudim* ("The Crisis of Judaism in the Jewish State," 1987).

Other Writings

Berkovits' doctoral dissertation, "Hume und Der Deismus" ("Hume and Deism," 1933) examines the epistemological issues concerning revelation and natural religion in the thought of David Hume. In *Was Ist Der Talmud?* ("What is the Talmud?" 1938), he offered an introduction to the methods and aims of the oral tradition. Other significant works include *Judaism: Fossil or Ferment?* (1956), a book-length response to Arnold Toynbee's depiction of the Jews; *Prayer* (1962), a monograph on the uniqueness of prayer in Judaism; *Major Themes in Modern Philosophies of Judaism* (1974), in which he offered extensive critiques of the philosophies of Hermann Cohen, Franz Rosenzweig, Martin Buber, Abraham Joshua *Heschel, and Mordecai *Kaplan; and *Unity in Judaism* (1986), in which he called for the rediscovery of Jewish collective identity above denominational divisions. His collected sermons from the war period appear in *Between Yesterday and Tomorrow* (1945).

A collection of his major essays was published in 2002 (Shalem Press), titled *Essential Essays on Judaism* (ed. David Hazony), which includes a bibliography of his writings.

[David Hazony (2nd ed.)]

BERKOW, IRA (1940–), U.S. sportswriter. Born and raised in Chicago, Berkow attended Sullivan High School (1957), Miami University (Oxford, Ohio, B.A., 1963), and Northwestern University (M.S.J., 1965). He worked as a sportswriter and book reviewer for the *Minneapolis Tribune* (1965–67), and a sportswriter, sports columnist, general columnist, and senior writer for the Newspaper Enterprise Association (1967–76) before joining *The New York Times* as a sports feature writer, sports columnist, and senior writer in 1981. Berkow won a Pulitzer Prize for national reporting in 2001 as part of a *Times* team for the series "How Race is Lived in America," contributing an 8,300-world essay on "The Minority Quarterback," and was a finalist for the Pulitzer for distinguished commentary in 1988. Berkow is the only sportswriter to have been represented for five decades in the respected annual anthology *Best Sports Stories*, and its successor, *Best American Sportswriting*. He was also reprinted in the *Best American Sports Writing of the Century* anthology. Berkow is the author of *Oscar Robertson: The Golden Year 1964* (1971); *Rockin' Steady: A Guide to Basketball and Cool* (with Walt Frazier, 1974); *Beyond the Dream: Occasional Heroes of Sports* (1975); *Maxwell Street: Survival in a Bazaar* (1977); *The DuSable Panthers: The Greatest, Blackest, Saddest Team from the Meanest Street in Chicago* (1978); *Carew* (with Rod Carew, 1979); *Red: A Biography of Red Smith* (1986); *The Man Who Robbed the Pierre: The Story of Bobby Comfort* (1987); *Pitchers Do Get Lonely, and Other Sports Stories* (1988); *Hank Greenberg: The Story of My Life* (with Hank Greenberg, 1989); *How to Talk Jewish* (with Jackie Mason, 1990); *The Gospel According to Casey: Casey Stengel's Inimitable, Instructional, Historical Baseball Book* (with Jim Kaplan, 1992); *To the Hoop: The Seasons of a Basketball Life* (1997); *Court Vision: Unexpected Views on the Lure of Basketball* (2000); and *The Minority Quarterback, and Other Lives in Sports* (2002).

[Elli Wohlgelernter (2nd ed.)]

BERKOWICZ, JOSEPH (**Józef**; 1789–1846), Polish army officer, the son of Berek *Joselowicz. In 1809 he joined Napoleon's Polish Legion, and took part in the battle of Kock, where his father was killed. For his distinguished service in Napoleon's Russian campaign of 1812, in which he was severely wounded, Joseph was awarded two crosses for valor. Retiring because of his war injuries he was employed in forestry, becoming chief forester in various localities in Poland. At the time of the 1830–31 uprising he called upon the Jews to take up arms and fight for their Polish fatherland. After the Polish defeat, he left with his son Leon for France, where he lived in Besançon. He later moved to Liverpool, England, where he wrote a novel which he himself translated into English, *Stanislaus or the Polish Lancer in the Suite of Napoleon…* (published posthumously by his sons, 1846).

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BERKOWITZ, HENRY (1857–1924), U.S. Reform rabbi. Berkowitz was born in Pittsburgh, Pa. He was a member of the first graduating class of *Hebrew Union College in 1883. After occupying pulpits in Mobile, Alabama, where he organized the Humane Movement for the Protection of Children and Animals from Cruelty and wrote *Judaism on the Social Question* (1888) on labor-capital relations. His family did not fare well in Mobile; a son died of yellow fever and his wife Flora wrote an article in Isaac Mayer *Wise's *Israelite* describing their plight. It resulted in a job offer from Kansas City, where he succeeded his brother-in-law Joseph *Krauskopf. Berkowitz became rabbi of Congregation Rodeph Shalom, Philadelphia (1892), succeeding the distinguished Talmud scholar Marcus Jastrow. Despite opposition he eliminated many traditional forms from the practice of his congregation and brought it within the mainstream of advanced Reform. Berkowitz established in Philadelphia the Jewish Chautauqua Society in 1893, an educational and interfaith organization modeled after Methodist teacher training and adult education programs, and was its chancellor until his death. After 1910 its focus was changed to educating non-Jewish college students about Judaism. He took an active part in the establishment of the Federation of Jewish Philanthropies in Philadelphia in 1901 and the Philadelphia Rabbinical Association in the same year. He was a member of the Mayor's Vice Commission in order to deal with the rise in prostitution among East European immigrant girls. He helped develop playgrounds throughout the city. During World War I, he toured army bases and was chaplain to soldiers. His efforts led to the development of a heart condition and forced retirement. He was the first secretary of the Central Conference of American Rabbis. Among his publications are *Kiddush or Sabbath Sentiments in the Home* (1898) and *Intimate Glimpses of a Rabbi's Career* (1921).

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[Sefton D. Temkin / Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

BERKOWITZ, MICKEY (1954–), Israeli basketball player. Born in Kefar Sava, Berkowitz joined the Maccabi Tel Aviv youth club at age 11, played with the junior squad at 15, and joined the senior team at 17 in 1971. He helped the Israeli team beat the U.S. team at the 1973 Maccabiah games, 86–80, and subsequently became the first Israeli to play NCAA Division I basketball, joining the third-ranked University of Nevada, Las Vegas in 1975. Though he had a guaranteed contract offer from the Atlanta Hawks and the New Jersey Nets, Maccabi Tel Aviv would not release him from his contract.

Berkowitz, a 6′ 3″ guard, returned to Maccabi Tel Aviv after the 1975–76 season and subsequently became one of the team's stars. Teaming up with Tal *Brody, Berkowitz helped lead the team to the European Championship in 1977 and 1981, scoring 17 points in the 78–77 win over Mobilgirgi of Varese, Italy, on April 7, 1977, and 20 points in the final against Sinudyne, Bologna, on March 26, 1981. Berkowitz played 17 seasons for Maccabi Tel Aviv, also winning 17 Israeli league championships and 13 Israeli State Cups. He also played on the Israeli national team that won a gold medal at the 1974 Tehran Asian Games and a silver medal at the 1979 European championships in Torino, Italy. Berkowitz's highest-scoring game in international competition occurred at the 1975 European championships in Belgrade, Yugoslavia, when he scored 44 points against Turkey. Berkowitz retired in 1996 and remained active on the basketball scene as a general manager and team owner. He was named Israel's Sportsman of the Year in 1975 and chosen Best Sportsman in the history of Israeli sports on the country's 50th anniversary.

[Elli Wohlgelernter (2nd ed.)]

BERKOWITZ, YITZḤAK DOV (1885–1967), Hebrew and Yiddish novelist, editor, and translator of *Shalom Aleichem. Born in Slutsk, Belorussia, Berkowitz studied in *ḥeder* and educated himself in secular subjects. In 1903 he made his way to Lodz. He became friendly with Itzhak *Katzenelson. One of his first stories, "*Moshkele Ḥazir,*" was printed in *Ha-Ẓofeh* in 1903 and won a literary prize. In 1905 he became literary editor of *Ha-Zeman*, and his articles and stories appeared in most of the Hebrew and Yiddish journals of the day. In 1906 Berkowitz married Shalom Aleichem's daughter, Ernestina, spent 18 months in Switzerland, and visited the U.S. in 1908. While there, he contributed to the local Yiddish and Hebrew press. In 1909 he moved to Warsaw, where he edited the literary page of the Yiddish journal, *Di Naye Velt*. Several volumes of his collected stories were published in Hebrew and Yiddish from 1910 onwards.

In 1913 he went to the United States where he edited the weekly *Ha-Toren* as well as *Miklat* (1920–21). He settled in Palestine in 1928, and became one of the first editors of the weekly, *Moznayim*. Berkowitz published his translation of the collected works of Shalom Aleichem and his masterfully written reminiscences of the great Yiddish writer and his generation, under the title *Ha-Rishonim ki-Venei Adam* (1933–48).

While his contemporaries, G. *Schoffman, J.Ḥ *Brenner, and U.N. *Gnessin revolted against the style of *Mendele Mokher Seforim and Ḥ.N. *Bialik, Berkowitz remained true to the older prose writing tradition, displaying his individuality in the choice of subject, methods of characterization, and structure of the story. Although his less conformist contemporaries were not always accepted by the literary establishment, he himself was praised by Bialik. Berkowitz's stories, novels, plays, and memoirs appeared in Yiddish and Hebrew. The bulk of his work was written in Hebrew.

Berkowitz is important as a writer of short stories. In his early years he wrote realistic stories under the influence of Mendele, Bialik, and Chekhov but soon was captivated by the technique and style of Shalom Aleichem. The influence of the greater writer tended to weaken Berkowitz's originality. Berkowitz's stories were written out of the context of the social crisis which shook Eastern European Jewry in his day. Among his central themes are (1) the weakening of parental authority: "*Lifnei ha-Shulḥan*" ("Before the Table"); "*Pere Adam*" ("The Ill-Mannered One"); "*Malkot*" ("Lashings"); "*Ba'al Simḥah*" ("The Feted"); "*Maftir*"; "*Moshkele Ḥazir*"; (2) the problems resulting from changes in the protagonists' social status and from their cultural isolation: "*Viddui*" ("Confession"); "*Talush*" ("Severed", in *Israel Argosy*, 1936); "*Kelei Zekhukhit*" ("Glass," in *Reflex*, 1927); (3) problems resulting from emigration: "*Karet*" ("The Outcast," in *The Jewish Standard*, 1936); "*El ha-Dod ba-Amerikah*" ("To Uncle in America," in *B'nai Brith Magazine*, 1930); "*Yarok*" ("The Greenhorn," in *The American Jewish Chronicle*, 1917); "*Mi-Merḥakim*" ("From Afar"); (4) problems from the social pressure of a strange world: "*Pelitim*" ("Refugees"); "*Ruḥot Ra'ot*" ("Evil Spirits"). The characters, generally unable to face up to the crisis, are "anti-heroes" who collapse under pressure, victims of social and psychological situations beyond their control. It is not the plot, but the social and psychological situation expressed through the plot, which is the main point of Berkowitz's stories. His characterization is not introspective (as is the case with J.Ḥ. Brenner and U.N. Gnessin), but external. The inner world of the protagonists is revealed through mannerism, habits, and dialogue. In many cases wider basic situations are implied through the specific case by the symbolic expansion of landscapes or verbal hints, extending the significance of the dialogue or characters. The background of most of Berkowitz's stories is Russia at the turn of the century, and the effect of the social and general crisis of the time on the country's Jews. Some of the stories deal with the place of immigrants of the old generation in the U.S., others with the impact of Ereẓ Israel on new immigrants: "*Amerikah Olah le-Ereẓ Yisrael*" ("America Comes to Ereẓ Israel," 1946); "*Ha-Nehag*" ("The Heart of a Chauffeur," in *Commentary*, 1953).

There is a change in direction as regards technique and theme in Berkowitz's novels. In the first of these, *Menaḥem Mendel be-Ereẓ Yisrael* ("Menahem Mendel in Ereẓ Israel," 1936) he attempted to transfer one of Shalom Aleichem's characters to the new environment of Ereẓ Israel, continuing the epistolary technique. The correspondence is one-sided; Menahem Mendel writes to his wife, Sheine Sheindel; she does not reply. The theme is the ideological struggle between fathers, who still belong to the Diaspora in their way of thinking and try to make easy money out of the building boom in the Tel Aviv of the 1930s, and the sons, who are committed to the ideal of pioneer labor. The mode is satirical rather than humoristic. *Yemot ha-Mashi'aḥ* ("Messianic Days," 1938) is a description of the emigration of Dr. Menuḥin, a Zionist intellectual, from the United States to Ereẓ Israel. At times it reads like a *roman à clef*, in which the writer hints at real characters and at the struggle between the *Revisionist (right-wing Zionist) and the Labor movement. His hero, Menuḥin, is searching for a new truth and a new way of life, and he eventually finds a wife (Yehudit), after overcoming various prejudices, and discovers the attractions of "labor Palestine." The ideology of the labor movement is one of the important aspects of the novel and events are judged by its light.

Berkowitz also wrote several plays of different types, some of which appeared in a separate volume in 1928. The fourth, *Mirah*, was published in 1934. His play, *Ba-Araẓot ha-Reḥokot* ("In the Distant Lands," 1928), is a comedy on the life of immigrants to the United States. The appearance of Anton, a Russian farmer, in the midst of a Jewish family, causes various romantic complications and errors. *Oto ve-Et Beno* ("He and His Son," 1928), a realistic "somber drama," is a continuation of the story "*Moshkele Ḥazir*" – Moshke, a convert to Christianity who had a son, Jacob, by a non-Jewish wife, is nevertheless still tied to his Jewish origins. During a pogrom in the midst of the Russian Revolution, Moshke hides Jews in his home and this act brings about a clash between him and his son, in which Moshke murders Jacob and commits suicide. The play is written in realistic, Ibsenesque style and is well made; it was produced by the Habimah Theater in 1934. *Mirah* was influenced by Ibsen's *A Doll's House*, and deals with the status of women in the United States immigrant society, contrasting the heroine's moral qualities, despite her sin, with her husband's imperfections. In old age, Berkowitz published reminiscences, both of his childhood in Russia, *Pirkei Yaldut* ("Childhood Episodes," 1966), and of Ereẓ Israel in the 1930s, *Yom Etmol Ki Avar* ("Yesterday," 1966). He also translated Tolstoi's *Childhood* (1912) and Chekhov's *Youth* (1922).

Berkowitz was received with enthusiasm by the critics of his time. Bialik praised him warmly while Brenner regarded him with mixed feelings, praising his clarity and freshness but noting his limitations. A later generation dealt with the relationship between naturalism and realism in his work (Y. Keshet), emphasized the central psychological dilemma in his work, which confronts the little man with a situation beyond his control (D. Sadan), and described the alienation of his intellectual heroes (S. Halkin). The young Israeli critics have not devoted much attention to his work. Some have stressed the sociological aspect in his work (i.e., the breakup of the home – G. Katznelson) and others have studied in detail his technique in story and playwriting (G. Shaked). He has had little influence on the writers of his own and the subsequent generation or on the young Israeli writers. A list of his works translated into English appears in Goell, Bibliography.

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[Gershon Shaked]

BERKSON, ISAAC BAER (1891–1975), U.S. educator and philosopher. Berkson, who was born in New York, began his teaching career at the Central Jewish Institute in New York, of which he was appointed director in 1917. From 1918 until 1927 he supervised the schools and extension program of the city's Bureau of Jewish Education. In 1927 he began teaching education at the Jewish Institute of Religion (later merged with the Hebrew Union College), and in the same year accepted the invitation of Henrietta Szold, who headed the Palestine Executive's department of education, to survey Jewish schools in Palestine. After completing his survey, he remained in Palestine from 1928 to 1935 as superintendent of the Jewish school system. In 1938 Berkson began lecturing in the philosophy of education at the City College of New York (professor, 1955). Though a follower of the progressive education ideas of John Dewey and W.H. Kilpatrick, Berkson only partially accepted their pragmatic-instrumentalist philosophy. His merger of these views with his own, which were a reflection of the ideals and values of his Jewish heritage, was given expression in his book *The Ideal and the Community* (1958). In dealing with the specific problems of Jewish education he advanced the "community theory." According to him, the Jewish communities of the world constitute the "Knesset Israel," which has its own "heritage of cultural, social, and spiritual values." The cultivation of the individual's Jewish personality must therefore combine loyalty to his own community – the "Knesset Israel," including the State of Israel – and sharing with his fellow men in the "realm of universal ideals." Berkson's *Theories of Americanization* (1920) was an important influential statement of the American theory of cultural pluralism which he applied specifically to the problems of Jewish education. Berkson's other works include: *Preface to an Educational Philosophy* (1940), *Education Faces the Future* (1943), *Ethics, Politics and Education* (1968), and *The Ideal and the Community: A Philosophy of Education* (1970).

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[Ernest Schwarcz]

BERL, EMMANUEL (1892–1976), French author. A relative of *Bergson and *Proust, Berl was a passionate political essayist and critic of the French bourgeoisie. His works include *Mort de la pensée bourgeoise* (1925), *La politique et les partis* (1932^2), *Discours aux Français* (1934), *La culture en péril* (1948), and *Nasser tel qu'on le loue* (1968). Berl was chief editor of the weekly, *Marianne* (1933–37). He also wrote short stories and novels including *Sylvia* (1952) and *Rachel et autres grâces* (1965), notable for their insight and an incisive style. Deeply affected by World War I after serving for two years, Berl, a convinced anti-fascist, adopted pacifist views that led him in June 1940 to write some of future Vichy leader Pétain's speeches. He quickly put an end to this cooperation when he became aware of the antisemitic direction of the new regime. After the war, he left politics and devoted himself exclusively to literature. In 1967, he was awarded the French Academy's *Grand Prix de Literature*.

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[Dror Franck Sullaper (2nd ed.)]

BERL, ERNST (1877–1946), Austrian-U.S. chemist. Berl was born in Silesia and worked at the Zurich Polytechnicum (1898–1907) and in a Belgian artificial silk factory (1910–14). In World War I he directed an Austrian explosives factory. Berl was professor of chemical technology and electrochemistry, Technische Hochschule, Darmstadt (1919–33); he emigrated to the U.S.A. and became research professor at Carnegie Institute of Technology, Pittsburgh. He worked on lead chamber process, nitration of cellulose, and combustion problems and was coauthor of *Chemisch-technische Untersuchungsmethoden* (4 vols., 1921–23) and *Chemische Ingenieur-Technik*.

BERLE, MILTON (formerly **Mendel Berlinger**; 1908–2002), U.S. comedian, known as "Mr. Television" and "Uncle Miltie." Born in New York, Berle played in nightclubs, films, and Broadway shows, including the *Ziegfeld Follies* of 1943. From 1948 to 1956 he did a weekly variety show on television in modern slapstick style. In the 1960s he also appeared in serious parts, including a role in the film *The Loved One*.

Berle's career began when he was five years old and spanned more than 80 years on stage, film, radio, and television. At the age of five, Berle won a Charlie Chaplin look-alike contest. And as a child he appeared in the silent films *The*

Perils of Pauline and *Tillie's Punctured Romance*. He moved up through the vaudeville circuit, finding his niche in the role of a brash comic known for stealing the material of fellow comedians. In 1931, he played the Palace Theater in New York, becoming the youngest master of ceremonies on Broadway. He also wrote some 400 published songs. But it was on television in the 1940s and 1950s that he made his most enduring mark. *The Texaco Star Theater*, featuring Berle and guest stars in what would become legendary comic skits, debuted in 1948 and caught on with the public almost immediately. It became a Tuesday night fixture in homes across America and was credited with helping sell millions of first-time TV sets to a nation just getting acquainted with the new medium. Known for his trademark cigars and for occasionally donning women's clothes to get a laugh, Berle, who hosted the show, was a mainstay on network television for nearly two decades. Even before his television success, he was reportedly one of the highest-paid comedians in show business. But *Texaco Star Theater* cemented Berle's fame. NBC gave him a "lifetime contract" of 30 years in 1951, paying him $200,000 a year. In 1954 the show, replete with singers, comedians, acrobats, and comedy skits, was renamed *The Milton Berle Show*.

In 1965, Berle renegotiated his 30-year contract with NBC, allowing him to appear on any network. He later made guest appearances in dramas as well as comedy programs. In addition to television, Berle's career in later years included film, nightclubs, and benefit shows. He was the subject of nearly every show business tribute and award, including TV specials devoted to his contributions and legacy in broadcasting. He won an Emmy award in 1949 for Most Outstanding Kinescope Personality and received another Emmy in 1979 for Lifetime Achievement. He was one of the first members of the Academy of Television Arts & Sciences Hall of Fame, and for more than a decade he was president of the Friars Club. In 1984 he was inducted into the Television Hall of Fame, and he was the first entertainer to be inducted into the International Comedy Hall of Fame (1991). In 1996 he was awarded the American Comedy Lifetime Achievement Award.

Berle also wrote a number of books: *Laughingly Yours* (1939); *Out of My Trunk* (an autobiography, 1945); *Earthquake* (1959); *Milton Berle: An Autobiography* (with Haskel Frankel, 1974); *B.S. I Love You: Sixty Funny Years with the Famous and the Infamous* (a collection of stories and anecdotes, 1987); *Milton Berle's Private Joke File* (1989); and *More of the Best of Milton Berle's Private Joke File* (1993).

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[Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

BERLEWI, HENRYK (1894–1967), painter, graphic artist, stage designer, art critic, and theorist of art. Berlewi was born in Warsaw and as a child attended a *ḥeder* for a short period of time. He started his art education at the Warsaw Art School (1906–9), while at the same time studying at a local gymnasium. In 1909–10, he attended the Art Academy in Antwerp, where in addition he completed a course at a lyceum. In 1911–12, Berlewi lived in Paris and studied at the École de Beaux Arts. It was during this period that he established close ties with groups of Dadaists and futurists and was influenced by cubism and expressionism. In 1913, he returned to Warsaw and became acquainted with the young Jewish artists who combined a keen interest in avant-garde art with the pursuit for "a new Jewish style" in literature and art. After World War I, he participated in a number of epatage events initiated by Polish Futurist poets (e.g., the Futurist "Subtropical Evening" in Warsaw, 1918). Berlewi became a prominent figure in modernist artistic circles and was a member of various groups. In 1919, he showed his work at the Kultur-Liga exhibition in Białystok. He was close to the "Yung Yiddish" group and was part of its activities; from 1920, he collaborated with a group of Yiddish modernist authors who rallied around the Warsaw *Ringen* journal, did its cover drawings, and published articles on contemporary European and Jewish art. Berlewi was among the founders of the Jewish Society for the Encouragement of Artists and organized exhibitions of Jewish artists. His work in this period is guided by the idea of developing "contemporary Jewish art" by way of synthesizing the discoveries of the European avant-garde and Jewish folk art traditions. Utilizing scenes of Jewish life in most of his paintings, he treated them in a cubist and expressionist manner, thinking of these works as exemplars of "Jewish expressionism." As a book designer, he made an impressive contribution to contemporary Yiddish typography. In addition, he collaborated with Yiddish theater companies in Warsaw and designed the scenery for several of their productions. In 1921, Berlewi made his acquaintance of El Lissitsky, who introduced him to the theory of suprematism developed by Kazimir Malevich (1878–1935) and aroused his interest in non-figurative art. In 1922–23, Berlewi lived in Berlin and collaborated with the leading constructivist artists. Inspired by the environment, he started developing his personal version of constructivism, which he later called "*mechano-faktura*." He showed his work at the "Novembergruppe" exhibition and at the First International Exhibition in Duesseldorf. Together with Jankel *Adler, he represented East European Jewish artists in organizing the Congress of the Union of Progressive International Artists (Duesseldorf, May 29–31, 1922). In this period, he maintained close ties with the activists of the Jewish modernist movement who resided in Berlin. In 1922, he did the cover drawing for the second issue of the *Albatros* Yiddish journal under the editorship of Uri Zevi *Greenberg. He published a number of articles on new trends in European and Russian art in the Berlin *Rimon-Milgroim* Jewish journal. In 1923, Berlewi returned to Warsaw. To promote the "new Jewish art" within a broader universal and cosmopolitan context, he became an organizer and standard-bearer of the "Block" group that united Polish constructivist artists and adherents of non-figurative art, among them many Jewish artists. In 1924, he published his "*Mechano-faktura*" manifesto in Polish (the German translation was published the same year in *Der Sturm* journal). Also in the same year, the first exhibition of his constructivist works was shown in the "Ausrto-Daimler" Auto Salon. In addition, he founded "Reklama-Mechano," a functional design bureau. At the same time, he remained active in book design and designed the typography for several books in Yiddish and Hebrew and published articles on art in Yiddish and Polish. His two one-man exhibitions took place in 1926 and 1928 in Warsaw, showing his figurative works and those inspired by Jewish themes. From 1928, Berlewi made his permanent residence in Paris. In the early 1930s, he returned to figurative painting and produced portraits and still lifes in the manner of the "Neue Sachlichkeit." In the 1930s, his exhibitions were held in France, Belgium, and Holland. During World War II Berlewi joined the French Resistance. In the 1950s, he returned to his experiments in abstract art and developed a new version of "*Mechano-faktura*" which he called Op Art. In 1960, Berlewi founded "Les Archives de l'Art Abstrait et de l'Avant-garde Internationale." He published articles in the Paris press in French as well as in Yiddish on European and Jewish art.

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[Hillel Kazovsky (2nd ed.)]

BERLIAND, SHLOMO MEIR (1868–1941), one of the first members of the Ḥovevei Zion in Bessarabia and a founder of the *Odessa Committee, the center of the Ḥovevei Zion in Russia (1890). Berliand was born in the Ukraine. In 1920 he became the secretary of the committee for aiding Jewish refugees from the Ukraine and in 1921 was a member of the delegation sent to Bucharest to the Romanian prime minister Averescu to ask for help. From 1926 until 1940 he served as chairman of the Zionist Federation and the central committees of *Keren Hayesod, of *Tarbut in Bessarabia, Romania, and of the Committee for Education and Culture of the Jewish community of Kishinev. He was also a member of the Municipal Council of Kishinev. Berliand was an advocate of *Aḥad Ha-Am's "cultural Zionism." Head of the Wissotzky Tea Company's agency throughout this period, he worked for the Zionist movement wherever he traveled, and aided Jacob Bernstein-Kogan in his Zionist activities. At the outbreak of World War II Berliand refused to join his sons in London. When Bessarabia was occupied by the USSR (June 1940), he was forced to leave Kishinev. In June 1941, a week before the German attack on the USSR, he was arrested in Czernowitz, where he was living in his daughter's home. Although he declared that he had ceased all political activity, he was sent to a forced labor camp in Kom along with a group of Zionists, and died there. His wife, daughter, and son-in-law were also arrested and deported.

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[David Vinitzky / Lucian-Zeev Herscovici (2nd ed.)]

BERLIGNE, ELIYAHU MEIR (1866–1959), *yishuv* leader and a founder of Tel Aviv. Berligne was born in Mogilev, Russia. He was a delegate to several Zionist congresses and at the Fifth Congress in 1901 joined the Zionist *Democratic Fraction under the leadership of Chaim *Weizmann. In 1907 Berligne settled in Ereẓ Israel, where he established industrial plants producing olive oil and soap. He was one of the founders of Tel Aviv, served on its first administrative committee, of which he was appointed chairman in 1909, and was made an honorary citizen of the city in 1946. Berligne was a member of the board of Herzliah High School in Tel Aviv. In 1919 he was a member of the *yishuv* delegation to the Paris Peace Conference. He was active in the Provisional Council of Palestinian Jewry (Ha-Va'ad ha-Zemanni), was a member of the Va'ad Le'ummi from 1920 to 1948, also serving as its treasurer, and was a signatory of Israel's Declaration of Independence in 1948. He was a member of the General Zionists ("A" Group) which later (1949) became the Progressive Party.

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[Benjamin Jaffe]

BERLIJN, ANTON (**Aron Wolf**; 1817–1870), Dutch composer, born in Amsterdam. He was for many years conductor and director of the Royal Theater, and was made a member of the Order of Merit by King William III of the Netherlands. Other monarchs (of Belgium, Denmark, Greece, Sweden, and Austria) also decorated him. He founded many choral groups, wrote liturgical works for the synagogue, and composed a large body of other music. His compositions included nine operas (of which *Die Bergknappen* and *Proserpina* became popular), an oratorio *Moses auf Nebo*, a symphony (performed by Spohr at Cassel, 1857), seven ballets, and a cantata. His archives, including correspondence with Mendelssohn and Meyerbeer, among others, are preserved at the National and University Library, Jerusalem.

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[Dora Leah Sowden]

BERLIN, largest city and capital of Germany.

The Old Community (1295–1573)

Jews are first mentioned in a letter from the Berlin local council of Oct. 28, 1295, forbidding wool merchants to supply Jews with wool yarn. Suzerainty over the Jews belonged to the margrave who from 1317 pledged them to the municipality on varying terms, but received them back in 1363. Their taxes, however, were levied by the municipality in the name of the ruler of the state. The oldest place of Jewish settlement in "Great Jews' Court" (Grosser Judenhof) and "Jews' Street" had some of the characteristics of a Jewish quarter, but a number of wealthier Jews lived outside these areas. Until 1543, when a cemetery was established in Berlin, the Jews buried their dead in the town of Spandau. The Berlin Jews engaged mainly in commerce, handicrafts (insofar as this did not infringe on the privileges of the craft guilds), moneychanging, moneylending, and other pursuits. Few attained affluence. They paid taxes for the right to slaughter animals ritually, to sell meat, to marry, to circumcise their sons, to buy wine, to receive additional Jews as residents of their community, and to bury their dead. During the *Black Death (1349–50), the houses of the Jews were burned down and the Jewish inhabitants were killed or expelled from the town.

From 1354, Jews again settled in Berlin. In 1446 they were arrested with the rest of the Jews in *Brandenburg, and expelled from the electorate after their property had been confiscated. A year later Jews again began to return, and between 1454 and 1475 there were 23 recorded instances of Jews establishing residence in Berlin in the oldest register of inhabitants. A few wealthy Jews were admitted into Brandenburg in 1509. In 1510 the Jews were accused of desecrating the *Host and stealing sacred vessels from a church in a village near Berlin. One hundred and eleven Jews were arrested and subjected to examination, and 51 were sentenced to death; of these 38 were burned at the stake in the new market square together with the real culprit, a Christian, on July 10, 1510. Subsequently, the Jews were expelled from the entire electorate of Brandenburg. All the accused were proved completely innocent at the Diet of Frankfurt in 1539 through the efforts of *Joseph (Joselmann) b. Gershom of Rosheim and *Philipp Melanchthon. The elector Joachim II (1535–71) permitted the Jews to return and settle in the towns in Brandenburg, and Jews were permitted to reside in Berlin in 1543 despite the opposition of the townspeople. In 1571, when the Jews were again expelled from Brandenburg, the Jews of Berlin were expelled "for ever." For the next 100 years, a few individual Jews appeared there at widely scattered intervals. About 1663, the Court Jew Israel Aaron, who was supplier to the army and the electoral court, was permitted to settle in Berlin.

Beginnings of the Modern Community (to 1812)

After the expulsion of the Jews from *Vienna in 1670, the elector issued an edict on May 21, 1671, admitting 50 wealthy Jewish families from Austria into the mark of Brandenburg and the duchy of Crossen (Krosno) for 20 years. They paid a variety of taxes for the protection afforded them but were not permitted to erect a synagogue. The first writ of privileges was issued to Abraham Riess (Abraham b. Model Segal) and Benedict Veit (Baruch b. Menahem Rositz), on Sept. 10, 1671, the date considered to mark the foundation of the new Berlin community. Notwithstanding the opposition of the Christians (and also of Israel Aaron who feared competition) to any increase in the number of Jewish residents in Berlin, the community grew rapidly, and in the course of time the authorities granted letters of protection to a considerable number of Jews. In addition, many *unvergleitete* Jews (i.e., without residence permits) infiltrated into Brandenburg. The first population census of 1700 showed that there were living in Berlin at that time 70 Jewish *vergleitete* families with residence permits, 47 families without writs of protection, and a few peddlers and beggars (about 1,000 persons). The refugees from Austria now became a minority, and quarrels and clashes broke out within the community (see below). The Jews of Berlin engaged mainly in commerce. The guilds and merchants were bitterly opposed to them and they were accused of dealing in stolen goods. The Christians demanded the expulsion of the foreign Jews or restriction of their economic activity to dealing in secondhand goods and pawnbroking, not to be conducted in open shops. The government responded only partly to such demands, being interested in the income from the Berlin Jews. It imposed restrictions upon the increase of the Jewish population in the city and issued decrees increasing their taxes, making the community collectively responsible for the payment of protection money (1700), for prohibiting Jews from maintaining open shops, from dealing in stolen goods (1684), and from engaging in retail trade in certain commodities except at fairs (1690). Nevertheless, the number of Jewish stores grew to such an extent that there was at least one in every street. The Jews were subsequently ordered to close down every store opened after 1690, and all other Jews were forbidden to engage in anything but dealing in old clothes and pawnbroking. They could be exempted from these restrictions on payment of 5,000 thalers.

Elector Frederick III, who became King Frederick I of Prussia in 1701, began a systematic exploitation of the Jews by means of various taxes. The protection tax was doubled in 1688; a tax was levied for the mobilization and arming of an infantry regiment; 10,000 ducats were exacted for various misdemeanors; 1,100 ducats for children recognized as *vergleitete*; 100 thalers annually toward the royal reception in Berlin; 200–300 thalers annually in birth and marriage taxes; and other irregular imposts. Frederick William I (1713–40) limited (in a charter granted to the Jews on May 20, 1714) the number of tolerated Jews to 120 householders, but permitted in certain cases the extension of letters of protection to include the second and third child. The Jews of Berlin were permitted to engage in commerce almost without restriction, and in handicrafts provided that the rights of the guilds were not thereby infringed. By a charter granted in 1730, the number of tolerated Jews was reduced to 100 householders. Only the two oldest sons of the family were allowed to reside in Berlin – the first, if he possessed 1,000 thalers in ready money, on payment of 50 thalers, and the second if he owned and paid double these amounts. *Vergleitete* Jews might own stores, but were forbidden to trade in drugs and spices (except for tobacco and dyes), in raw skins, and in imported woolen and fiber goods, and were forbidden to operate breweries or distilleries. They were also forbidden to engage in any craft, apart from seal engraving, gold and silver embroidery, and Jewish ritual slaughter. Land ownership by Jews had been prohibited in 1697 and required a special license which could be obtained only with great difficulty. Jews might bequeath their property to their children, but not to other relatives. On Jan. 22, 1737, Jews were forbidden to buy houses in Berlin or to acquire them in any other fashion. In 1755 an equal interest rate was fixed for Jews and Christians.

The Jews in Berlin in the 18th century primarily engaged as commercial bankers and traders in precious metals and stones. Some served as *court Jews. Members of the *Gomperz family were among the wealthiest in Berlin. In the course of time, all trade in money in Berlin was concentrated in Jewish hands. One of the pioneers of Prussian industry was Levi Ilf, who established a ribbon factory in Charlottenburg in 1718. At the same time the royal policy continued of restricting the Jewish population of Berlin, and even decreasing it as far as possible. When in 1737 it became evident that the number of Jewish families in Berlin had risen to 234, a decree was issued limiting the quota to 120 families (953 persons) with an additional 48 families of "communal officers" (243 persons). The remainder (584) were ordered to leave, and 387 did in fact leave. However in 1743 Berlin had a Jewish population of 333 families (1,945 persons).

*Frederick the Great (1740–86) denied residence rights in Berlin to second and third children of Jewish families and wished to limit the total number of protected Jews to 150. However, the revised *Generalprivilegium* and the royal edict of April 17, 1750, which remained in force until 1812, granted residence rights to 203 "ordinary" families, whose eldest children could inherit that right, and to 63 "extraordinary" families, who might possess it only for the duration of their own lifetime. A specified number of "public servants" was also to be tolerated. However, during his reign, the economic, cultural, and social position of the Jews in Berlin improved. During the Seven Years' War, many Jews became wealthy as purveyors to the army and the mint and the rights enjoyed by the Christian bankers were granted to a number of Jews. In 1763, the Jews in Berlin were granted permission to acquire 70 houses in place of 40. While their role in the retail trade decreased in importance because of the many restrictions imposed, the number of Jewish manufacturers, bankers, and brokers increased. On May 2, 1791, the entire *Itzig family received full civic rights, becoming the first German Jews to whom they were granted. At the same time, the king compelled the Jews to supply a specified quantity of silver annually to the mint at a price below the current one (1763), to pay large sums for new writs of protection (1764), and, in return for various privileges and licenses, to purchase porcelain ware to the value of 300–500 thalers from the royal porcelain factory and sell it abroad.

As a concomitant of economic prosperity, there appeared the first signs of cultural adaptation. Under the influence of Moses *Mendelssohn, several reforms were introduced in the Berlin community, especially in the sphere of education. In 1778 a school, *Juedische Freischule (Ḥinnukh Ne'arim), was founded, which was conducted along modern comprehensive principles and methods. Mendelssohn and David *Friedlaender composed the first German reader for children. The dissemination of general (non-Jewish) knowledge was also one of the aims of the Ḥevrat Doreshei Leshon Ever ("Association of Friends of the Hebrew Language"), founded in 1783, whose organ *Ha-Me'assef* (see *Me'assefim) began to appear in Berlin in 1788. Mendelssohn's home became a gathering place for scholars, and Berlin became the fount of the Enlightenment movement (*Haskalah) and of the trend toward *assimilation. The salons of Henrietta *Herz, Rachel *Varnhagen, and Dorothea *Schlegel served as rendezvous for both Jews and Christians of the social elite of Berlin. However, progress toward legally recognized civil equality was slow. After the new Exchange building was erected in Berlin in 1805, a joint "corporation" of Christians and Jews was established in which the latter were in the majority and had equal rights. In 1803–04, during the literary controversy over the Jewish question, the government took no action whatever on behalf of the Jews, but after the Prussian defeat by Napoleon the Municipal Act of Nov. 19, 1809, facilitated their attainment of citizen status. Solomon *Veit was elected to the Berlin municipal council and David Friedlaender was appointed a city councilor. The edict of March 11, 1812, finally bestowed Prussian citizenship upon the Jews; all restrictions on their residence rights in the state, as well as the special taxes they had to pay, were now abolished.

Internal Life (17th–18th Centuries)

The fierce controversies that had broken out in the Jewish community during the communal elections in 1689 resulted in governmental intervention in the administrative affairs of the community. Thus the decree of January 24 and the statute of Dec. 7, 1700, included government-approved regulations for the Jewish community. The communal leaders (*parnasim*), elected for three years, were empowered to impose fines (two-thirds of which went to the state treasury and one-third to the communal charity fund) and to excommunicate members with the consent of the local rabbi and government. The "chief *parnas*" acted as mediator between the Jews and the state. In 1717, complete anarchy in the conduct of communal affairs became evident; the *parnasim* were deposed and a fine was imposed on the community amounting to 10,000 thalers, later reduced to 6,500. In 1722 and in 1723 new statutes were promulgated regulating the organizational structure of the community. Apart from the chief *parnasim*, who were appointed by the king and functioned under the supervision of a Jewish commission, a communal committee of three, four, or five *parnasim* was set up which would coopt to itself two optimates (*tovim*) and two alternates (*ikkurim*) for handling particularly important matters. To decide on matters of extreme importance larger committees were appointed of 15, 18, or 32 members. In 1792 a supervisory committee was created consisting of three members to supervise the fiscal aspect of communal administration. The first rabbi, elected at the time of the erection of the Berlin synagogue in the Heiderentergasse, was Michael Ḥasid (officiated 1714–28). His successors include Jacob Joshua b. Ẓevi Hirsch *Falk of Cracow (1731–34), author of *Penei Yehoshu'a*, David *Fraenkel (1743–62), author of *Korban ha-Edah* on the Palestinian Talmud and teacher of Moses Mendelssohn, and Ẓevi Hirsch b. Aryeh Loeb (Hirschel *Levin, 1772–1800), known for his opposition to Haskalah.

From the Edict of Equality to the Accession of the Nazis

The political history of the Jews of Berlin after 1812 becomes increasingly merged with that of the Jews of *Prussia and *Germany as a whole. In the 1848 Revolution the Jews played an active role as fighters on the barricades and members of the civic guard, as orators and journalists, and the like. Despite the edict of 1812 Jews continued to be hampered by a number of restrictions, and formal civic equality was not attained until July 1860. Subsequently, Jews began to enter Berlin's political and social life in increasing numbers, and the Berlin municipality was for a long time a stronghold of liberalism and tolerance. About one-fifth of Berlin's newspapers were owned by Jews. The *Berliner Tageblatt* and the *Vossische Zeitung*, whose publishers and editors were Jewish, were read abroad with particular attention, although it was known that they did not express the opinions of circles close to the government. Berlin Jews played a prominent part in literature, the theater, music, and art. Their successes aroused fierce reaction among the more conservative elements and Berlin became a center of antisemitism. The "Berlin Movement" founded by Adolf *Stoecker incited the masses against the Jews by alleging that they were the standard-bearers of capitalism and controlled the press (see *Antisemitic Political Parties and Organizations).

The Jewish population of Berlin numbered 3,292 in 1812; 11,840 in 1852; 108,044 in 1890; and 172,672 in 1925. Thus, within a century it had increased more than fiftyfold. The Jews comprised about 2% of the total population in 1840, 5.02% in 1890, and 4.29% in 1925. The Jews in Berlin comprised 1.4% of German Jewry in 1811–28, 7.03% in 1871, and 30.6% in 1925. Despite the increasing instances of intermarriage, renunciation of Judaism, and conversion to Christianity, and the decline in the Jewish birthrate, the Jewish population of Berlin continued to grow through the arrival of Jews from provincial centers, especially from the province of Posen (Poznan) and from Eastern Europe. As Berlin grew in importance as a commercial and industrial center, Jews played an increasingly important role in the city's economic life, especially as bankers (*Mendelssohn, *Bleichroeder, and others), owners of department stores (*Wertheim, *Tietz, Jandorf), and in the grain and metal trades, the textile and clothing industries, building construction, the manufacture of railway engines and cars, the brewing of beer, and other branches of the economy. Ludwig *Loewe headed a large armaments factory in Berlin. The General Electric Company (AEG) was founded by the Jewish engineer Emil *Rathenau, and both his son Walter *Rathenau and Felix Deutsch were active in it. In 1861 53.17% of the Jews in Berlin engaged in commerce, and 17.3% in industry and the manual trades; by 1910 the percentage of those occupied in commerce had decreased to 41.61%, while 35.16% earned their livelihood in industry and the manual trades.

Internal Life of the Berlin Community (1812–1933)

Following the partitions of Poland-Lithuania, 1772–95, the Berlin community became increasingly influenced by the steady stream of Eastern European Jews (*Ostjuden*) who first arrived from the Posen district. This influx made up for the losses to the Jewish communities through assimilation and apostasy. Later there was growing immigration from the *Pale of Settlement. From the second half of the 19th century the increasing colony of Russian, mainly Jewish, students exerted a powerful cultural influence in Berlin. The organizational structure of the Jewish community was undermined after the emancipation of the Jews in 1812. The old regulations were abolished by the 1812 edict and no new regulations were instituted. For some time the community was not allowed to collect dues and faced disintegration. A statute issued in July 1837 permitted the renewal of normal communal life, and from then on the Berlin community was administered by a committee of seven members and three alternates and a council of 21 members and ten alternates. The first elections to the council took place in February 1854, and the community's first constitution was ratified in August 1860. During this period, the community was thrown into a ferment as a result of the aspiration of David Friedlaender and others for extreme liturgical reforms. The *Reform program was temporarily restrained by a decree of Dec. 9, 1823, which laid down that all divine worship was to take place in the local synagogue and according to accepted custom without any innovations in the language, ritual, prayers, and liturgy.

In 1819, the *Verein fuer Kultur und Wissenschaft des Judentums ("Society for Jewish Culture and Learning"), was founded in Berlin by Leopold *Zunz, I.M. *Jost, and Eduard *Gans, with Heinrich *Heine among its members (see *Germany). In the meanwhile, far-reaching changes had been introduced in education. The Ḥinnukh Ne'arim school was closed at the end of 1825 for lack of funds, and was replaced in 1826 by a new school for boys, founded by the community; Zunz was principal of this school until 1830. In 1835 the community founded a school for girls. There were also several Jewish private schools in Berlin, such as that of H.M. Bock (founded in 1807), whose principals were Jost (1816–35) and Sigismund *Stern (1835–45). R. Meir b. Simḥah Weyl, who charted a conservative course in education, opened a teachers' seminary in 1825. From 1840 to 1850 a teachers' seminary functioned under the direction of Zunz. A teachers' training institute was established in 1859 under the rectorship of Aaron *Horowitz.

In 1844 Michael Jehiel *Sachs was invited to be the third *dayyan* and preacher of the community. Although a Conservative, he was not opposed to moderate reform. In the wake of the foundation of the second Kulturverein ("cultural association"; 1840), Aaron *Bernstein founded the Reform Society in 1845, and later the Reform Congregation, which introduced far-flung liturgical reforms, especially during the rabbinate of Samuel *Holdheim (1847–60). At first, divine worship was held both on Saturdays and Sundays and later only on Sundays. The Reform Congregation was unsuccessful in its attempt to secede from the official community, but the latter was obliged to give very substantial financial support to the Reform Congregation since many of its members were among the largest taxpayers. The Berlin community was again violently shaken when many of its members pressed for the introduction of an organ and modification of the liturgy in the New Synagogue. The appointment of Abraham *Geiger as rabbi of the Berlin community (officiated 1870–74) met with strong opposition from Orthodox circles, and in 1869 Azriel (Israel) *Hildesheimer and his adherents left the main community and established the Adass Yisroel congregation, which received official recognition in 1885. Abraham Geiger had stipulated as a condition of his appointment that an institute for Jewish research be established in Berlin, and in 1872 the *Hochschule fuer die Wissenschaft des Judentums was opened there. A year later, Hildesheimer opened a rabbinical seminary for Orthodox Judaism (*Rabbinerseminar fuer das orthodoxe Judentum). Between 1880 and 1930, eight large synagogues were erected by the Berlin community, among them that in the Fasanenstrasse which was one of the most magnificent synagogues in the world. In all, the community owned 16 synagogues, seven of them Orthodox and the remainder Liberal and Reformist. Thirty rabbis served in Berlin after Abraham Geiger (12 Orthodox and the remainder liberal). In addition, most religious groups which were supported by the community had their own rabbis.

Berlin was the center of the national German-Jewish organizations, such as the *Deutsch-Israelitischer Gemeindebund (founded in 1869), Verband der deutschen Juden (1904), the *B'nai *B'rith (1883), *Central-Verein deutscher Staatsbuerger juedischen Glaubens (1893), *Hilfsverein der deutschen Juden (1901), Zentralwohlfartsstelle der deutschen Juden (1917), and others. Likewise, Jewish newspapers and periodicals were published in Berlin, including the communal organ, whose circulation reached 60,000 copies. The Berlin communal institutions and their activities in every field served as a model for Jewish communities throughout the world. The annual communal budget in the 1930s was about 10,000,000 marks (as against 5,000,000 marks in 1914). About 70,000 Jews in Berlin paid dues to the community.

For about 80 years the Liberals were predominant in the Berlin community. But Liberals and Orthodox worked together in full harmony in the central organizations in which, at least for a certain period, the Zionists also participated. The *Ḥibbat Zion movement met with but a lukewarm reception in Berlin, especially among the Orthodox, and the opposition to political Zionism was particularly keen. The Berlin rabbi S. *Maybaum was among the leaders of the "*Protest Rabbis," and the Central-Verein and the *Vereinigung fuer das liberale Judentum launched a concerted effort against the Zionistische Vereinigung fuer Deutschland and its organ, the *Juedische Rundschau. When the procedure for communal elections was changed after World War I, four representatives of the *Juedische Volkspartei (a coalition of Zionists, *Mizrachi, and the Verband der ostjuedischen Organizationen) and one of the *Po'alei Zion were elected in 1920 to the representative council (Repraesentantenversammlung), which consisted of 21 members; two Zionists sat on the communal committee (Gemeindevorstand). In the 1926 election, a coalition of the Juedische Volkspartei, the Conservatives, and the Mittelpartei won a majority. For three years, the Zionist Georg Kareski headed the communal committee. However, in the elections of November 1930, 24 Liberals were elected to the representative council, 14 from the Juedische Volkspartei, and three from among the small parties; seven Liberals, three Zionists, and one Conservative sat on the communal committee. Max Naumann and his faction were the spearhead of the extremist anti-Zionist faction which rejected all cooperation with non-German Jews and demanded that the Zionists be deprived of their German citizenship and permitted to reside in Germany only as aliens. In 1922, at the initiative of the Berlin community, the Preussischer Landesverband juedischer Gemeinden was founded, comprising 655 communities, not including the Orthodox communities which formed their own association. A great boon to the Berlin community was the government support which was granted for the first time during the inflation of late 1923, without which it could not have survived. In later years, the government subsidy to the community was insufficient.

After the murders of Karl Liebknecht and Rosa *Luxemburg in January 1919, antisemitic propaganda in Berlin increased. The Kapp Putsch (March 1920) had blatant anti-Jewish undertones. Walter Rathenau, the German foreign minister, was assassinated by antisemitic nationalists on June 24, 1922. On Nov. 5, 1923, antisemites attacked the Jews living in Grenadierstrasse and Dragonerstrasse, which were centers of Jewish residence. In 1926, after the appointment of Joseph *Goebbels as *Gauleiter* in Berlin, anti-Jewish rabble-rousing increased. On the eve of the Jewish New Year (Sept. 12, 1931), Jews returning from synagogue in Kurfuerstendam were assaulted by gangs of Nazis, organized by Count Wolff Heinrich von Halldorf (later chief of police in the Third Reich).

[Joseph Meisl]

1933–39

At the time the Nazis came to power, Berlin's organized Jewish community numbered about 172,000 persons. In the preceding years as the Nazi movement was growing in influence, the rate of Jewish affiliation had increased. With Hitler's ascent to power on January 30, 1933, street demonstrations were immediate and made Jews feel deeply uncomfortable. In 1933 the Nazi boycott (April 1) affected Jewish shop owners; April 7th legislation against non-Aryans led to dismissal of Jewish professionals and civil servants, including physicians and professors; while "aryanization" of Jewish firms and the dismissal of their Jewish employees was carried out by the exertion of steady economic pressure. The response of the community was mixed. There was a wave of suicides but also an attempt by the community to respond to deteriorating conditions. Economic assistance was provided to those in need; new vocations were found for youth, legal counseling and housing advice was provided. In response to the April 1st boycott of Jewish businesses,Robert Weltsch wrote an editorial in the *Judische Rundschau* called "Wear the Yellow Badge with Pride." Synagogue attendance increased, as did Zionist activities. Still the community did not formally encourage emigration. It thought of Germany as the land of its fathers and its children, a perspective that was to dramatically change. Eight new Jewish elementary schools were founded in 1933. Jewish officials – "Jewishness" was soon defined to refer to one's parents and grandparents and not one's own identity – not affected by these early measures were eventually ousted under the provisions of the *Nuremberg Laws (1935). During this early period, such incidents as the murder of a Jewish physician, Dr. Philippsthal (spring 1933), and the suicide of Rudolf S. Mosse after mistreatment in prison (fall 1933), the first such instances of their kind, caused great consternation among the Jews. In these initial years, when the members of the Jewish community were being methodically deprived of their economic standing and civil rights, Jewish religious and cultural life in Berlin underwent a tremendous upsurge. Jewish children, most of them excluded from the public schools, attended schools set up and maintained by the Jewish community or private schools. In addition to the eight Jewish elementary schools that were maintained at one period to meet the community needs, the famous college for Jewish studies, the *Hochschule fuer die Wissenschaft des Judentums, was sustained to train leadership and its program greatly expanded. Jews were later forbidden to attend theaters and public places of entertainment. The Juedischer Kulturbund ("Jewish Cultural Society") was established. In the summer of 1935 yellow benches for the segregation of Jews were set up in parks and inscribed *nur fuer Juden* ("only for Jews"). Signs inscribed *Juden unerwuenscht* ("Jews not wanted") were displayed in public places. The economic condition of Jews in Berlin deteriorated rapidly. By 1935 welfare assistance was a significant responsibility of the community. Signs discriminating against Jews were removed for the duration of the Olympic Games held in Berlin (summer 1936). Antisemitic propaganda was reduced only to return with a vengeance once the Games were over and the tourists had returned to their native lands. Throughout this period from 1933 to 1938, raids and arrests became frequent occurrences and were accelerated in 1938. Until November 1938 Jewish newspapers and books were published on an unprecedented scale. Notable among the newspapers was the *Berliner juedisches Gemeindeblatt*, a voluminous weekly published by the community. Zionist work was in full swing, especially that of He-Ḥalutz, and in February 1936, a German Zionist convention was held in Berlin (the last to meet there), still reflecting in its composition the vigorous party life of German Zionists. From March 28, 1938, the Jewish community was deprived of its status as a recognized public corporate body. The Berlin community was made a "private" organization, denied the right to collect dues from the community, and renamed the Juedische Kultusvereinigung Berlin ("Jewish Religious Society").

In June 1938, mass arrests of Jews took place on the charge that they were "asocial," e.g., had a criminal record, including traffic violations, and they were imprisoned in the *Sachsenhausen concentration camp. On November 9–10, *Kristallnacht marked a turning point in the affairs of Berlin Jewry: synagogues were burned down, Jewish shops destroyed, Jewish institutions were raided and closed, including libraries and museums, and Jewish manuscripts and documents were destroyed. In the wake of **Kristallnacht*, 1,200 Jewish businesses were put up for Aryanization and 10,000 Jews from Berlin and other places were arrested and imprisoned in Sachsenhausen. The "*Bannmeile*" was decreed, which restricted Jews to an area within a certain radius from their place of residence; banished them from most of the main thoroughfares, and the area in which government offices were located; and evicted Jews from their apartments, a step which had begun earlier, but was now accelerated. Jewish newspapers had to cease publication. The only paper was the new *Das juedische Narchrichtenblatt* which was required to publish Gestapo directives to the Jews. Meetings of bodies of the Jewish community were no longer permitted, and the Jewish community's executive council had to conduct its affairs from then on without consulting any representative group. Religious services, when resumed, were now restricted to three synagogues (on Levetzow, Luetzow, and Kaiser Streets) and a few small halls. The pace of Aryanization accelerated as did the rate of emigration. Most of Berlin's rabbis left Berlin before *Kristallnacht*: the last three rabbis to stay were Felix Singerman (died in Riga in 1942), Martin Salomonski (died in Auschwitz in 1944), and the most prominent of all, Leo *Baeck, who was offered the opportunity to leave but decided to stay with his flock and was sent to Theresienstadt camp in early 1943. As the Germans arrived in his home, Baeck asked for half an hour, during which time he posted a letter to his daughter in England and with an unyielding sense of honor paid his gas and electric bills. At the end of January 1939, the Gestapo established a Zentralstelle fuer juedische Auswanderung ("Central Bureau for Jewish Emigration") in Berlin. The Berlin community, presided over by Heinrich *Stahl, was the largest and most dynamic German-Jewish community, and was incorporated along with the Reichsvertretung der deutschen Juden into the Nazi-imposed Reichsvereinigung der Juden in Deutschland – the change in name from German Jews to Jews in Germany was essential, not incidental – established on July 4, 1939. After its incorporation into the Reichsvereinigung, the Berlin community maintained its autonomous function for some time.

1939–45

After the outbreak of war, some 82,000 Jews were living in Berlin – about half having left between 1933 and 1939. The living conditions and situation of the Jews worsened. Emigration was still permitted and even encouraged, and existing organizations and institutions (the Kulturbund, Jewish schools) were able to continue functioning. However, Jews were drafted for forced labor at wages far below the prevailing rate and with no social benefits, but this at least provided them with a minimum income and delayed their deportation. Many were employed in armament industries, which also slowed their deportation. On Jan. 31, 1940, a special Arbeitsamt fuer Judenarbeiter ("Labor Exchange for Jew-Workers") was set up. In the spring of 1940 Stahl was removed from his post in the Reichsvereinigung by the Nazi authorities and replaced by Moritz Henschel, a former attorney. In September 1941, a drastic turn for the worse came about. First the *Judenstern* ("Jewish star," i.e., yellow *badge) was introduced. Two weeks later, on the Day of Atonement, in the middle of a sermon by Rabbi Leo Baeck, the president of the community was summoned to the Gestapo and told that the community would have to prepare for a partial evacuation from the city, that large apartments still occupied by Jews would have to be cleared, that many additional parts of the city would now be out of bounds to Jews, and that the Levetzowstrasse synagogue would be turned into a *Sammellager* ("assembly camp") for 1,000 persons. In due course more such assembly camps were added. Legal emigration was prohibited on October 23. The last transport of legal emigrants left Berlin on October 18 for Lisbon. In the preceding months (May–October), 1,342 emigrants had been permitted to leave. Between October 23 and the end of the year only 62 persons managed to leave, and in 1942 only nine Jews were permitted to go abroad. To make Berlin **judenrein*, deportations began. There were five major phases in the process of deportation, the destination of Berlin's Jews reflecting the changes in German policy from forced emigration to resettlement in the East and then to murder by gassing: (a) between fall 1941 and January 1942 the deportees were sent to Riga, Minsk, Kovno, and Lodz, sometimes directly to the killing fields; (b) those deported in spring 1942 were sent to Lublin (Trawniki); (c) between summer 1942 and February 1943 their destination was Theresienstadt, Auschwitz, Riga, and Tallinn (Rasiku); (d) Auschwitz was the destination of the deportees of March–April 1943; (e) those deported from spring 1943 until the end of the war were sent to Bergen-Belsen, Ravensbrueck, Sachsenhausen, and Auschwitz. Altogether there were 63 *Osttransporte* carrying some 35,000 victims to death camps in the east, and 117 *Alterstransporte*, transporting some 15,000 (mainly older) persons to Theresienstadt. It is believed that about 95% of the first and 90% of the second group perished. (For lists of transport numbers, dates, numbers of deportees and destinations, see bibliography, Sellenthin, 84–85.) All through 1942 the deportations were kept up, although community employees and persons employed on forced labor were still excluded. In November and December 1942, the infamous commissar Alois Brunner (see Adolf *Eichmann) from Vienna was employed in Berlin and was responsible for organizing the picking up of the candidates for deportation in their homes, distinguishing himself by his extraordinary cruelty. Eventually, the deportations came to include groups of community employees, and from the fall of 1942, only those Jewish laborers who were employed in vital war production were still safe from deportation. At the beginning of 1943, the Gestapo persuaded the military administration to relinquish these workers, which resulted on February 27–28 in the so-called "*Fabrikaktion*" – marked by exceptional cruelty – in which all the workers were taken straight from the factories and deported from Berlin. Those Jews arrested in this "action" who had gentile wives were taken to a special camp for onward deportation, but when their wives carried out violent street demonstrations, the Gestapo yielded and set their husbands free. Even at that late date, the Nazis were seemingly responsive to public opinion. On May 13, 1942, an anti-Jewish exhibition, *Soviet Paradise*, was opened in Berlin, and was attacked by a group of Jewish communists, led by Herbert *Baum. The group was caught and hardly any of them survived. The Germans imposed collective – and disproportionate – reprisal. Two hundred and fifty Jews – 50 for each German who had been killed in the attack – were shot, and another 250 were sent to Sachsenhausen and perished there. The community offices were closed down on June 10, 1943, and six days later the "full" Jews among the members of its executive council were deported to Theresienstadt. The remaining Jews were looked after by the Neue Reichsvereinigung, which took up its seat in the Berlin Jewish Hospital, which together with the Jewish cemetery were the two Jewish institutions that continued to function throughtout the war. While the deportations went on, many Jews tried to stay on illegally, a very difficult undertaking, owing to the need for frequent change of hideouts and the lack of ration cards; many were caught and deported. The "illegals" were given temporary help on an organized basis, by groups of people who were of mixed parentage (*Mischlinge*) and as such were not liable for deportation themselves; there were also some Germans who at the risk of their lives put their apartments at the disposal of the Jews who were hiding out. One group of Jewish youngsters and their instructor managed to hide in Grunewald for an extended period, spending their time in the study of Zionist subjects. No exact figure is available for the number of "illegal" Jews who survived in Berlin, and estimates vary from 2,000 to 5,000. Berlin became officially "*judenrein*" ("clean of Jews") on June 16, 1943. On June 30, 1943, there were in fact 6,700, and on March 31, 1945, 5,990 Jews, comprising 4,790 Jews who had non-Jewish spouses, 992 "*Geltungsjuden*" (persons of mixed parentage, professing Jewish religion), 46 Jews from non-enemy countries, and 162 "full" Jews, most of whom were employed in the Jewish Hospital. The Jewish cemetery had remained in use – several Torah

Scrolls were hidden there during the years of the Nazi persecution in a concerted organized activity which encompassed over 500 scrolls to be restituted after the war.

Number of Jews in Berlin – 1816–1945

	Absolute Numbers	Percentages
1816	3,373	1.20
1837	5,648	1.98
1855	12,675	2.93
1871	36,326	4.15
1895	94,391	4.48
1905	130,487	4.30
1910	142,289	4.05
1925	172,672	4.30
1933	160,564	3.80
1939[1]	82,788	1.70
Jan. 1942[2]	55,000	—
Dec. 1942[2]	33,000	—
Apr. 1943[3]	18,315	—
1945	9,000	—

[1] Including Jews by "race" – decrease due mainly to emigration but in small measure also due to a mortality rate higher than the birth rate. Emigration figures were actually higher for Berlin Jewry, but were offset by the influx of Jews from the provinces.

[2] Decrease due to deportation.

[3] Decrease due to final mass deportations.

Dashes denote unavailability of information.

Size of the Jewish Population

The Table: Jewish Population of Berlin shows the decrease in the Jewish population of Berlin between 1925 and 1945. The statistics before 1933 refer to persons designated as members of the Jewish faith, whereas the later figures for the most part also include Jews "by race" (as defined by the Nuremberg Laws):

[Kurt Jakob Ball-Kaduri / Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

Contemporary Period

On July 15, 1945, the Jewish community was officially reconstituted. At first it was headed by Erich Nelhans, a former *Mizrachi leader, and from the fall of 1945 by Hans Erich Fabian, who had returned from Theresienstadt, the only member of the Reichsvereinigung to survive the war. Also active in the leadership of the community were Alfred Schoyer, a member of the Berlin Jewish Community Council before his deportation; Heinz Galinski, who had returned from Bergen-Belsen; and Julius Meyer, a survivor of Auschwitz. At the beginning of 1946, the community had a registered membership of 7,070 people, of whom 4,121 (over 90% of all married members) had non-Jewish spouses, 1,321 had survived the war by hiding, and 1,628 had returned from concentration camps. The Jews were dispersed throughout Berlin, a third of them living in the Soviet sector. The community was assisted by the military government, as well as by the *American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (JDC), which initiated its activities in Berlin in the autumn of 1945. Several synagogues were opened, the Jewish Hospital resumed its work (although most of its patients and staff were not Jews), and three homes for the aged and a children's home were established. There was no local rabbi or religious teachers, but American Jewish army chaplains volunteered their services. The general assumption at this time was that the Jews would not be able to reestablish themselves in Berlin (or anywhere else in Germany) and that the community's principal task was to help them to emigrate from the country. The community was thus defined as a "liquidation community" (*Liquidationsgemeinde*).

In addition to the organized Jewish community, Berlin also became a center for Jewish *Displaced Persons (DPs). Toward the end of 1945 and during the first half of 1946, the main *Beriḥah route from Poland led through Stettin and the Soviet Zone to Berlin, from where it continued through the remaining part of the Soviet Zone and the British Zone to the American Zone. It was a very arduous route, especially during the harsh winter months, and temporary shelter had to be provided in Berlin. A small camp was established in the Wittenau district of the French sector of the city in the autumn of 1945 with a capacity of 200; at the beginning of 1946 a large camp was established at Schlachtensee in the American sector, which could hold 4,000 refugees, and a third camp was established in the summer of 1946 in the Tempelhof district of the American sector. In July 1946, however, the Beriḥah from Poland took on a quasi-legal character and was rerouted through Czechoslovakia and Vienna to the American Zone in Germany and Austria. As a result the refugee population of Berlin became fairly stabilized. By the end of 1946, there were 6,785 DPs in the three Berlin camps. When the Soviet blockade of Berlin was lifted, the Occupation authorities decided to evacuate the DPs, and between July 23 and Aug. 1, 1948, 5,456 Jewish refugees were airlifted from Berlin to various camps in the American Zone.

By this time the Jewish community had reached a measure of consolidation, in spite of the difficult economic and political conditions in the city. Although a few hundred members had emigrated overseas and mortality exceeded the birthrate, the total number of Jews had increased as a result of the influx of Jews returning from abroad. Prominent among the returnees was a group of 500 refugees who had spent the war years in *Shanghai. The welfare services extended by the community were greatly improved; the return of confiscated property, a process which was initiated at this time, also helped raise the standing of the community. In 1946, upon the initiative of Fabian, the community established its own weekly, *Der Weg*, later to be merged with the Jewish weekly appearing in Duesseldorf. Jewish organizations in the United States arranged for American rabbis to undertake several years' service in Berlin. In 1949 Galinski was elected as chairman of the community council.

The growing tension between the Western and Soviet Occupation authorities also had its effect upon Berlin Jewry. In 1947 Nelhans was arrested by the Soviets on the charge of aiding Soviet military personnel to desert; he was sentenced to 15 years imprisonment and was not heard of subsequently. Although the city administration was split in two, the Jewish community remained unified until the end of 1952, when its own split became inevitable. In the following years, the situation of the Jews and the community in West Berlin was greatly improved as a result of the rising economic prosperity in West Germany (which also affected West Berlin) and the return of confiscated property and the indemnification of victims of Nazi persecution. The Berlin City Senate showed great concern for the rehabilitation of the community and its individual members; Joachim Lipschitz, the senator for internal affairs (who was the son of a Jewish father and a Christian mother), in particular did his utmost to help the development of the community. Four synagogues were operating in Berlin. In 1959, the City of Berlin erected a large Jewish community center on Fasanenstrasse at the site on which one of Berlin's most magnificent synagogues had stood until 1938. In 1954 the Zionist Organization and the Israel Appeal renewed their activities in Berlin. A Jewish women's organization, a B'nai B'rith lodge, a Jewish students' organization, and a youth organization as well as several organizations dedicated to the fostering of interfaith relations were established.

In 1954 the community had a membership of about 5,000 and by January 1970 this figure had risen to 5,577. The demographic composition of the community was marked by relatively high average age (4,080 were above the age of 41), a low birthrate, and a great number of mixed marriages.

EAST BERLIN. In 1946 the number of Jews in the Soviet sector was 2,442, while in 1966 it was estimated at 850 (according to figures given by the community's president, Max Schenk). Although there was officially no restriction on religious practice and the authorities supported the community (the great synagogue on Rykestrasse was reconstructed), the prevailing anti-religious atmosphere of a communist state had a detrimental effect upon the community. By 1990 the number of community members had fallen to 200.

[Chaim Yahil]

SINCE 1989. After the German reunification of 1989, the Jewish communities of former West and East Berlin merged in 1990. The community maintains six synagogues, an elementary school, and other educational institutions. Since 1995 the magnificent building of the former synagogue on Oranienburger Strasse has housed the Centrum Judaicum, which serves as a museum and a center of documentation and research. Jewish cultural institutions and initiatives are manifold and an integral part of Berlin's cultural life. A Jewish museum was opened in 2002 and has since been among the museums drawing the largest numbers of visitors in Germany. The number of community members has risen from 6,411 in 1989 to 11,167 in 2003, with many coming from the former Soviet Union.

[Stefan Rohrbacher (2nd ed.)]

Hebrew Printing in Berlin

The first Hebrew printer in Berlin was the court preacher and professor D.E. Jablonsky, as Jews could not obtain the necessary license; nevertheless, the manager J.L. Neumark, and most of the setters and proofreaders were Jews. The first book published by them was the Book of Psalms (1697), followed by the complete Bible (1699), and other scholarly and liturgical works. An application by Rabbi Mirels for permission to print the Talmud in Berlin was refused by Frederick I, king of Prussia; the permission to publish Maimonides' Code was not taken up, as this was just being printed in Amsterdam by J. *Athias. But a Talmud edition was issued by Gottschalk and Jablonski, in partnership with a Frankfurt on the Oder printer, 1715–22. Among other printers to be mentioned are Baruch Buchbinder (Radoner) of Vilna (1708–17), who printed a number of important works such as the *Tzena Urena* and works by the Shabbatean Nehemiah *Ḥayon (1713), a Mishnah with Rashi and Jacob Ḥagiz's commentary (1716–17), and a *Ḥoshen Mishpat* (1717). Nathan, son of the aforementioned J.L. Neumark, was active 1719–27, while his son-in-law Aaron b. Moses Rofe of Lissa built up an important press, 1733–62, publishing a series of well-known rabbinic works, above all the second Berlin Talmud edition 1734–39. Aaron's press was continued for a while by his grandson Moses b. Mordecai. An annual *Lu'aḥ* began to appear probably from 1725 but not later than 1738. Of some importance was the press of Isaac b. Jacob Speyer (1764–70), a son-in-law of the Berlin rabbi David Fraenkel, who printed notable rabbinic works – Steinschneider calls it "the highlight of Hebrew printing in Berlin"; and that of Mordecai Landsberg, also from 1764. The prolific writer and editor Isaac *Satanow took over Landsberg's press in 1772 and issued a considerable number of books, particularly his own (until 1804). In 1784 David Friedlaender and his friends founded the Verlag der juedischen Freischule, managed by A. *Wolfsohn-Halle, who bought the Landsberg press and obtained a license to print and sell books. Pupils of the society were taught the craft of printing and a number of books were published from 1796 with the imprint "Orientalische Druckerei." During these years Berlin became the center for the printing of Enlightenment literature, notably the writings of M. Mendelssohn, N.H. Wessely, D. Friedlaender, etc. Mendelssohn's edition of the Pentateuch appeared here in 1783.

In 1830 the Landsberg press was bought by Isaac Levent. In that year the printer Trevitsch and son moved to Berlin from Frankfurt on the Oder. In 1834, the year of his death, David Friedlaender founded his own press and published a number of important books; the scholar D. *Cassel worked there as a proofreader. In 1836 the apostate Julius Sittenfeld set up a printing house which published the complete Talmud (1862–68), Maimonides' Code (1862), and other works. In the late 19th and early 20th century H. Itzkowski and Siegfried, Arthur and Erich Scholem were active as general, Jewish, and also Hebrew publishers and printers in Berlin. In 1930 a Pentateuch was printed for the *Soncino-Gesellschaft by the "Officina Serpentis" with a new Hebrew type cut for this occasion.

[Abraham Meir Habermann]

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BERLIN, ARYEH LOEB BEN ABRAHAM MEIR (1738–1814), German rabbi. Berlin, the younger brother of Noah Ḥayyim Ẓevi Hirsch *Berlin, was born in Fuerth where his father, a well-to-do merchant, was communal leader of Franconian Jewry. Like his brother, he was appointed *dayyan* in Fuerth but Aryeh Loeb was at the same time rabbi of Baiersdorf in Bavaria. From 1789 he was rabbi of Bamberg, where his duties included that of civil judge. While there he was involved in an unpleasant lawsuit when the heirs of a large estate of which he was appointed executor accused him of abusing his office, exacting illegal fees, and not accounting for certain expenditure. He was acquitted of dishonesty, but made to pay a fine. The publication of the relevant documents by Eckstein (see bibl.) shows that the charges were groundless. In 1794 Berlin was appointed chief rabbi of Hesse-Kassel, but owing to the opposition of his detractors in Bamberg he was unable to leave and did not assume his post until the following year. When the kingdom of Westphalia, with Kassel as its capital, was created by Napoleon in 1807 and given to Jerome Bonaparte, Berlin delivered a sermon in Hebrew welcoming the new king and composed a hymn of praise in Hebrew (published under the title *Davar be-Itto Mah Tov*, with a German translation, Kassel, 1807). In 1808, when the Jewish *consistory was organized on the basis of the French consistories he was appointed chief rabbi of the kingdom. The president of the consistory was Israel *Jacobsohn, and Berlin, despite the protests of the more extreme rabbis, agreed to certain relaxations of the strict laws of Passover, in particular permitting the eating of peas and beans on Passover.

Berlin's annotations to the Talmud appear in the three volumes of the Fuerth edition (1829–32) which were published, and his annotations to the tractate *Shevu'ot* are in the Romm-Vilna edition. Some of his novellae appear as an appendix to his brother's *Aẓei Almuggim* (Sulzbach, 1779).

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BERLIN, CONGRESS OF, gathering of the great European powers in 1878 to settle problems concerning the Balkans and Near East arising after the war between Russia and Turkey in 1877. Held between June 13 and July 13, 1878, it was attended by representatives of Austria-Hungary, France, Great Britain, Italy, Russia, and Turkey, with some participation of representatives of the Balkan states (Greece, Montenegro, Romania, and Serbia). Among its most influential members was the head of the British delegation, Benjamin *Disraeli (Lord Beaconsfield). The position of the Jews in the Balkan countries (Romania, Serbia, and Bulgaria) was also placed on the agenda on the initiative of the "Zion" society in Bucharest, led by Adolf Weinberg and Adolf *Stern; these joined with the *Alliance Israélite Universelle in Paris and the Council for the Defense of Romanian Jews in Berlin, led by Moritz *Lazarus. The Jewish community of Berlin petitioned the chairman of the congress and head of the German delegation, Count *Bismarck, on Feb. 28, 1878, to raise the question of equal rights for Romanian Jews at the congress. As a result, the German representatives were instructed to demand equal civil rights for the members of all religions in the Balkan countries and the inclusion in the peace treaty of special paragraphs to this effect explicitly providing for their implementation. The question of equal rights for the Jews in these countries was also discussed in the parliaments of France, Italy, Austria, and Hungary, and the representatives of these countries at the congress were requested by special resolutions to ensure an appropriate settlement.

To deal with the Jewish questions a special council was established in Berlin consisting of the representatives of the Committee for Jewish Affairs in Berlin (Gerson von *Bleichroeder, M. Lazarus, Jacob *Bernays, and Berthold *Auerbach), representatives of the Alliance (Sacki Kann, Charles *Netter, and Emanuel *Veneziani), the delegation of Romanian Jews (Adolf Stern, Marco Brociner, Taussig, and Hermann *Hirsch), and representatives of the Alliance in Berlin (Salomon Neumann, the banker Julius Platho, and Hermann Goldschmidt). This committee formulated a memorandum which was submitted to the entire congress, followed by a second memorandum to Bismarck. The memoranda contained a description of the plight of the Jews in the Balkan countries accompanied by a request that the members of all creeds and races should be guaranteed equal civil rights in the peace treaty (stipulated in special clauses). Special steps were also taken to submit the Jewish requests to the representatives of the different governments. To this end Baron Maurice de *Hirsch and Sir Moses *Montefiore began negotiations with the representatives of England and France, and Bleichroeder turned his attentions to Bismarck and the Russian representative, Count Shuvalov.

The members of the united committee also visited the representatives of the Balkan countries (Romania, Serbia, Bulgaria), who were not officially represented at the congress but were working behind the scenes. The Romanian representative, Kogălniceanu, endeavored to persuade the Jewish representatives not to appeal to the congress since the question of equal civil rights for Jews was an internal affair of the Romanian government. Threats against the Jews of Romania appeared in Romanian newspapers which also attempted to influence the Western Jews to withdraw their demands. These tactics, however, were vehemently condemned and rejected by the representatives of the Alliance.

On June 24, 1878, the Jewish problem came up for discussion as part of the general consideration of Bulgarian affairs. The French representative, Waddington, proposed that a clause be inserted in the peace treaty recognizing the independence of Bulgaria on condition that it granted equal civil rights to members of all races and religions. The proposal was accepted. On June 28, during the discussions on Serbia, the Turkish representative, Karatheodori (Caratheodory) Pasha, and the English representative, Lord Salisbury, demanded that a similar clause be inserted in the peace treaty as a condition for the recognition of Serbian independence. The Russian representative, Prince Gorchakov, opposed this resolution on the ground that the Jews of Serbia, Romania, and Russia could not be put in the same category with the Jews of Paris, London, Berlin, and Vienna. Despite his opposition it was decided to insert in the peace treaty a clause (par. 35) guaranteeing equal rights.

Also during the discussions on Romania it was proposed by Waddington that recognition of that country's independence should be made contingent on her granting equal rights to the members of all religions within her borders. The proposal received the full support of Beaconsfield, Count Andrássy of Austria-Hungary, and Bismarck, and even the agreement of Shuvalov. By a separate resolution, introduced into paragraph 44 of the peace treaty, equal rights were granted to the members of all religions in Romania. This principle was also to be binding, according to a resolution introduced by Salisbury, on Turkey, Greece, and Montenegro.

The question of the future of Palestine was also touched upon by the congress indirectly. In June 1878 a group of Jews submitted a memorandum to the congress (addressed to Bismarck and Beaconsfield) requesting that the Jews in Palestine should be given their independence (in the same manner as had been restored to the Balkan peoples) and permitted to establish a constitutional Jewish monarchy in that country. This memorandum was listed in the protocol of documents submitted to the congress but was not discussed on the floor. Before the congress assembled, there were discussions in the English press concerning the political resurgence of the Jews in Palestine. After the congress was concluded, Serbia and Bulgaria complied with the clauses of the peace treaty obliging them to grant equal rights to their minorities, and even incorporated these clauses in their constitutions. Romania refused to meet her obligation, and the struggle to implement paragraph 44 of the peace treaty in this country extended over decades.

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[Nathan Michael Gelber]

BERLIN, DAVID BEN (Judah) LOEB (d. 1771), German rabbi and talmudic authority. The brother of Isaiah *Berlin, he was probably born in Eisenstadt (Hungary). After serving as rabbi of Dessau and Marktbreit (Bavaria) and as chief rabbi of Schwarzburg, Berlin was appointed rabbi of the three united congregations of Altona, Hamburg, and Wandsbeck. In 1769 when the Danish government, at the instance of the Hamburg Town Council, sought to separate the Altona Jewish community from that of Hamburg, Berlin was elected a member of the delegation whose successful intercession with the Danish king resulted in the continuation of the status quo. His learned correspondence with his brother-in-law, Joseph Steinhardt, was published in the latter's work, *Zikhron Yosef* (EH 4:11; ḤM 1:2); a number of his responsa have been published in *Or Yisrael* of Israel b. Eliezer *Lipschuetz (Cleves, 1770) and in *Beit Evel u-Veit Mishteh* of Samuel Palaggi (Altona, 1770). Some of his talmudic novellae and homilies are in manuscript at the Bodleian Library.

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[Joseph Elijah Heller]

BERLIN, ḤAYYIM (1832–1912), Lithuanian rabbi, eldest son of R. Naphtali Ẓevi Judah *Berlin, head of the yeshivah at Volozhin for some 40 years. Ḥayyim Berlin received his education from his father and became conversant with all aspects of rabbinic literature as well as being well versed in Jewish subjects. At the age of 17 he married into the wealthy Zeitlin family of Shklov (see Zeitlin, *Joshua), and later used part of his wealth to amass an excellent library which was acquired by the Yeshivat *Eẓ Ḥayyim of Jerusalem after his death.

In 1865 Berlin became the rabbi of Moscow. In 1889 he returned to Volozhin at the request of his aged father, who wanted his son to succeed him as head of the yeshivah. However, he was opposed by many of the Volozhin yeshivah students, who favored the election of his niece's husband, R. Ḥayyim *Soloveichik, who was renowned for his unique analytical approach to talmudic study. The controversy soon ended with the forced closing of the school by the Russian government on January 22, 1892.

With the closing of the yeshivah, Berlin became the rabbi of Yelizavetgrad (*Kirovograd), where he remained until 1906, when he settled in Jerusalem. His erudition, family heritage, and patriarchal appearance gained for him a leading role on the Jerusalem scene, and in 1909 he was elected to succeed R. Samuel *Salant as chief rabbi of the Ashkenazi community of Jerusalem.

R. Meir *Bar-Ilan (Berlin), who was nearly 50 years his junior, was his half-brother.

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[Aaron Rothkoff]

BERLIN (Baline), IRVING (Israel; 1888–1989), U.S. popular songwriter. Berlin was born in Kirghizia, Russia, the son of a cantor, and was taken to New York in 1893. His first regular job was as a "singing waiter," and it was then that he wrote the lyrics of his first song "Marie from Sunny Italy" in 1907. His second song, "Dorando" (1908), brought him $25 and a job with a music company. He became a partner in the firm and later established his own music publishing house. Berlin had no musical training and never learned to read music. His technique remained primitive, and when he composed at the piano he did it only in one key; modulations were effected by a special set of pedals. After composing a tune, Berlin either sang or played it for an assistant, who would then transcribe it into musical notation.

His first big success was the song "Alexander's Ragtime Band" (1911), which sold more than a million copies in just a matter of months. His melodies, for which he wrote the lyrics, were infectious, sentimental, and have maintained their popularity. He composed more than 1,000 songs, 19 musicals, and the scores for 18 movies. Among his most popular songs are "White Christmas," "Easter Parade," "There's No Business Like Show Business," "Blue Skies," "Puttin' on the Ritz," "Cheek to Cheek," "Say It with Music," "What'll I Do?" "A Pretty Girl Is Like a Melody," and "Always." Films for which he wrote the songs include *The Cocoanuts* (1929), *Puttin' on the Ritz* (1930), *Top Hat* (1935), *Follow the Fleet* (1936), *On the Avenue* (1937), *Holiday Inn* (1942), *Easter Parade* (1948), and *White Christmas* (1954). Among the Broadway shows for which he wrote the music, the best known are *Annie Get Your Gun* (1946) and *Call Me Madam* (1950). Among his many awards were an Academy Award for Best Original Song for "White Christmas" in 1942 and a special Tony Award in 1963.

As such a prolific writer and the rare combination of both a composer and a lyricist, Berlin was haunted all his life by the rumor that his songs were written by other people or were plagiarized from other material. Many people thought it was impossible for one person to write as many songs in as many styles as he did or for an untrained musician to write so many works of genius. But no evidence has ever been found that he ever plagiarized anything.

In 1918 Berlin wrote the stirring "God Bless America," which he revamped two decades later as war loomed large over Europe. Kate Smith sang it on her radio broadcast on Armistice Day in 1938, and the song was an immediate sensation. It sold millions of copies, won numerous awards, earned immense royalties, and threatened to replace the national anthem because of its patriotism and popularity. Berlin donated all the royalties from the song to the Boy Scouts, Girl Scouts, and Campfire Girls, saying that he refused to capitalize on patriotism. He composed numerous other patriotic songs during the war that benefited the Navy Relief, Red Cross, March of Dimes, and Bond Drives and contributed all the royalties to war charities.

His altruistic acts were acknowledged with such accolades as the Army's Medal of Merit from President Truman in 1945; a Congressional Gold Medal for "God Bless America" and other patriotic songs from President Eisenhower in 1955; and the Freedom Medal from President Ford in 1977.

Berlin also supported Jewish charities and organizations and donated generously to worthy causes. In 1944 he was honored by the National Conference of Christians and Jews for "advancing the aims of the Conference to eliminate religious and racial conflict." Five years later, he was honored by the New York YMHA as one of "12 outstanding Americans of the Jewish faith."

In 2002, the U.S. Army at Fort Belvoir, Virginia, named the Army Entertainment Division (AED) World Headquarters "The Irving Berlin Center" in his honor. Also that year he was commemorated on a U.S. postage stamp.

An intuitive businessman, Berlin was a co-founder of ASCAP (American Society of Composers, Authors, and Publishers), founder of his own music publishing company, and with producer Sam Harris, builder of his own Broadway theatre, The Music Box.

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[Nicolas Slonimsky / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

BERLIN, SIR ISAIAH (1909–1997), English philosopher and political scientist. Born in Latvia, Berlin was taken to England as a boy. He later studied at Oxford, where he lectured in philosophy from 1932 and became the first Jewish Fellow of All Souls College in 1938. During and after World War II he served with the British Information Services in New York and with the British embassies in Washington and Moscow. From 1957 Berlin was professor of social and political theory at Oxford, and in 1966 he was appointed the first president of the newly founded Wolfson College in Oxford. Berlin was awarded the Order of Merit in 1971. In 1974 he was elected president of the British Academy, of which he had been vice president from 1959 to 1961, the first Jew to be appointed to this office. In November 1978 he was awarded the Jerusalem Prize.

His work was characterized by a strongly liberal attitude to social and political questions. His *Karl Marx* (1939) examines Marx's thought within the context of the intellectual atmosphere of the 19th century. In his *The Hedgehog and the Fox* (1953), Berlin considers Tolstoy as a writer who vainly sought some unifying thread in history. In *Historical Inevitability* (in: *Auguste Conte Memorial Lectures 1953–62*, 1964) he opposes the notion that events are inevitable and therefore predictable, and that political conditions are not capable of being changed by individuals. In *Two Concepts of Liberty* (1958), Berlin distinguishes between those thinkers who have sought to found liberty within a framework of mutual restraints while at the same time recognizing the diversity of human needs and behavior, and those who, espousing one all-embracing and dogmatic notion of liberty, seek to "force men to be free" and thus end by enslaving them. Among his other writings are *The Age of Enlightenment* (1956), *The Life and Opinions of Moses Hess* (1959), *Four Essays on Liberty* (1969), and numerous essays. Berlin earned a considerable reputation as a scholar, teacher, and conversationalist, and influenced generations of students in Britain and in the United States, where he was visiting professor at several universities. His long-standing ties with Israel and Zionism were distinguished by personal friendships with a number of Zionist leaders including Chaim *Weizmann. He was a member of the editorial board publishing the Weizmann letters and was a governor of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. Berlin also served as president of the Jewish Historical Society of England and was the first president of Wolfson College, Oxford. He was certainly one of the most famous public intellectuals in the English-speaking world at the time of his death. In 1998 he published his reminiscences of 17 famous people, *Personal Impressions*.

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[Brian Knei-Paz (Knapheis)]

BERLIN, ISAIAH BEN JUDAH LOEB (**Isaiah Pick**; 1725–1799), rabbi and author. Berlin was known also as Isaiah Pick after his father-in-law, Wolf Pick of Breslau, who supported him for many years. He was born in Eisenstadt, Hungary, but his father, an eminent talmudic scholar (who later became rabbi of Pressburg), moved to Berlin where the young Berlin studied under him. Later he studied under Ẓevi Hirsch Bialeh (Ḥarif), the rabbi of Halberstadt, at the latter's yeshivah. In 1755 Berlin moved to Breslau where he engaged in business. In 1793, when already advanced in years, he was elected to a rabbinical post, being appointed to succeed Isaac Joseph Te'omim as rabbi of Breslau. His election was marked by a dispute between the members of the community and the local *maskilim*, who had begun to organize themselves as a body and opposed Berlin, who, despite his love of peace, openly attacked their ideas. Berlin was elected by an overwhelming majority. According to ḥasidic sources, Berlin was sympathetically disposed toward that movement and extended a friendly welcome to one of its emissaries, Jacob Samson of Spitsevka. Berlin was renowned for his conciliatory attitude and for his avoidance of all disputes. Characteristically, he called a work *She'elat Shalom* ("A Greeting of Peace"), for "all my life I have been careful not to treat my fellow men with disrespect, even to the extent of not slighting them by faint praises." As a result of this moderation, leaders of the Breslau *maskilim*, such as Joel Brill and Aaron Wolfsohn, frequently visited him. Berlin corresponded on halakhic subjects with his brother-in-law Joseph *Steinhardt, Ezekiel *Landau of Prague, Eleazar b. Eleazar *Kallir, and Ephraim Zalman *Margolioth of Brody, among others. His chief claim to fame rests not on his rabbinic and halakhic but rather on his extensive literary activities devoted to glosses and textual notes on talmudic literature. He commented on the Bible, Mishnah, Talmud, Alfasi, Maimonides, the *Arukh*, and the whole corpus of the earlier halakhic authorities. Of his collated texts, in which he notes parallel passages and variant readings, the most important is that on the Talmud, entitled *Masoret ha-Shas* ("Talmud Tradition"), which supplements an earlier work by Joseph Samuel, rabbi of Frankfurt. First published at Dyhernfurth (1800–04), it has since been printed in every edition of the Talmud. Berlin not only cites parallel passages, but also amends and compares texts, displaying an acute critical faculty and a profound grasp of history.

His other works are (1) *She'elat Shalom* (Dyhernfurth, 1786), a commentary on Aḥai of Shabḥa's *She'iltot*, with sources and notes entitled *Rishon le-Zion*; (2) *Hafla'ah she-ba-Arakhin*, glosses and annotations to Nathan b. Jehiel of Rome's *Arukh* (first published, part 1, Breslau, 1830, part 2, Vienna, 1859), and thereafter in many editions of the *Arukh*; (3) *Minnei Targima*, expositions on Targum Onkelos (Breslau, 1831); (4) *Tosefot Rishon le-Ẓiyyon*, notes and brief comments on the Mishnah (first published at Sulzbach, 1783–85, and often reprinted); (5) *Kashot Meyushav* (Koenigsberg, 1860), in which all talmudic passages concluding with the word *kashya* ("difficulty") are answered; (6) *Omer ha-Shikḥah*, containing talmudic *halakhot* not mentioned by the codifiers. This work, first published as an addendum to *Kashot Meyushav*, was later printed separately (Johannisberg, 1866).

There was no early work to which Berlin did not write glosses and explanations, as he was in the habit of annotating every book that he read. Thus he wrote glosses to (7) the Bible (Dyhernfurth, 1775; Lemberg, 1861); (8) the prayer book in *Tikkun Shelomo* (Dyhernfurth, 1806); (9) Alfasi (Pressburg, 1836); (10) Maimonides' Yad (Dyhernfurth, 1809); (11) Elijah Baḥur's *Tishbi* (his annotations appearing in Moses Koerner's *Birkat Moshe*, Berlin, 1834); (12) Malachi b. Jacob's *Yad Malakhi* (Berlin, 1852); (13) Elijah b. Moses de Vidas' *Reshit Ḥokhmah* (Dyhernfurth, 1811).

His unpublished works include (14) *Yesh Seder la-Mishnah*, a commentary in several volumes on the Mishnah; (15) *Tena Tosefta*, a commentary on the Tosefta; (16) *Keneset Ḥakhmei Yisrael*, responsa; (17) *Shetarei ha-Me'uḥarin*, novella on Rashi and *tosafot* to the Talmud, dealing with those passages where proof was deduced from later biblical verses but could equally well have been inferred from earlier ones; (18) glosses and notes on the minor tractates.

Berlin was the first in Germany to interest himself in the history of post-talmudic literature. He was also the first to offer a solution to the problem of the identity and the period of the *paytan* Eleazar *Kallir, and although his conclusions are not accepted by scholars, they all use the extensive material cited by him (see J. Steinhardt's *Zikhron Yosef* to OḤ 13–15).

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[Itzhak Alfassi]

BERLIN, ISRAEL (1880–?), Russian-Jewish historian, descended from a distinguished ḥasidic family. Berlin was educated at a Lithuania yeshivot and moved to St. Petersburg, where he became a member of the editorial board of the Russian Jewish Encyclopedia (*Yevreyskaya Entsiklopediya*, vols. 9–16) for which he edited the sections on the geonic period and rabbinic literature. He also contributed many basic articles on other topics, among them the Hebrew language, the Zohar, Ḥasidism, the Khazars, and Judaizers. He also contributed to the periodical *Yevreyskaya Starina*. In his fundamental study "Historical Settlements of the Jewish People on the Territory of Russia" (1919), Berlin attempted to explain the origins of Jewish settlements in Russia and trace their history up to the end of the 16th century. This work, based on copious literary and documentary material, was not completed. Berlin's fate under Soviet rule is not known.

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[Yehuda Slutsky]

BERLIN, MOSES (1821–1888), Russian scholar and civil servant, born in Shklov, Belorussia. Berlin wrote his first paper in Hebrew under the Latin title *Ars logica* (1845). In 1849 he was appointed teacher in the government school for Jews in Mogilev and in 1853 he became adviser on Jewish affairs to the governor-general of Belorussia. He subsequently held the post of adviser on Jewish matters at the Department of "Foreign Religions" (1856–66). Berlin translated into Russian Joshua b. David's *Ẓok ha-Ittim* on the *Chmielnicki massacres. For his work on the ethnography of the Russian Jews, *Ocherk etnografii yevreyskogo naseleniya v Rossii* (1861), Berlin was elected a member of the Imperial Russian Geographical Society. Berlin responded to the attacks on Jews and the Talmud, made in Russian literature and the press by antisemites. He was also active in the St. Petersburg community.

BERLIN, NAPHTALI ẒEVI JUDAH (known as **ha-Neẓiv** from the initials of his name; 1817–1893), one of the leading rabbis of his generation, and head of the yeshivah at *Volozhin for some 40 years. He was born at Mir and already in his early youth was famed as a great talmudic scholar. In 1831 he married the daughter of R. Isaac b. Ḥayyim *Volozhiner who headed the large and important yeshivah in that town. When R. Isaac died in 1851 he was succeeded by his elder son-in-law Eliezer Isaac. When the latter died in 1854, Berlin succeeded him, transforming that institution of learning into a spiritual center for the whole of Russian Jewry. In his day, the yeshivah at Volozhin was attended by more than 400 students, among whom were many men of great talent and unusual intellectual caliber. He taught the whole of the Babylonian Talmud in the order of its arrangement, without omission and with a commentary of his own, in which he followed the system and method of R. Elijah b. Solomon the *Gaon* of Vilna. He avoided hairsplitting *pilpul*, being concerned only with determining the plain meaning of the text as well as establishing its accuracy by reference to parallel passages in the Jerusalem Talmud and in the halakhic Midrashim. Early in life he wrote a commentary on *Sifrei* (published 1959–61 in Jerusalem, in three volumes, under the title *Emek ha-Neẓiv*). He ascribed great importance to the study of geonic literature and the works of the early authorities who lived close to the time of the Talmud. This accounts for his special interest in the *She'iltot* of R. *Aḥa of Shabḥa which he published with a commentary. It was the most comprehensive of its kind on this work, and was titled *Ha'amek She'elah* (Vilna, 1861, 1864, 1867; second edition with addenda and corrigenda from Berlin's manuscripts, Jerusalem, 1948–53). Berlin also devoted considerable attention to the interpretation of the Scriptures, following again in the footsteps of the Vilna *gaon*. In the yeshivah he gave a daily lesson in the weekly portion of the Reading of the Law, an unusual innovation in the yeshivot of his day. His commentaries on the Torah, *Ha'amek Davar,* were published (Vilna, 1879–80; second edition with addenda from manuscripts, Jerusalem, 1938) as were those on the Song of Songs, *Rinnah shel Torah* (Warsaw, 1886). In his Bible commentaries, he sought to demonstrate the consonance of the interpretations of the Pentateuch as transmitted in talmudic sources with the plain meaning of the Written Law and the rules of Hebrew grammar and syntax. While steeped in Talmudic and midrashic lore, the Neẓiv's comments were also highly original.

In the course of his long years as head of the yeshivah at Volozhin, Berlin dedicated his energies to that institution. He adamantly opposed any modernization of the yeshivah and the introduction of secular studies in its curriculum, as demanded by the *maskilim* in Russia, who were supported by the authorities. He feared that such innovation might detract from the purpose and mission of the yeshivah – the education of scholars of the traditional type. He did not negate secular learning per se, but regarded the study of the Torah and the production and maintenance of talmudic scholars as the very foundation of Jewish existence. He exhibited the greatest solicitude over any form of neglect of Torah study and professed a fatherly love for all his students, who in turn admired and revered him greatly, including those who later departed from his way of life and outlook. Bialik's poem "*Ha-Matmid*" reflects in large measure his personal impressions of his student days at Volozhin. Bialik describes the heart-warming personality of the "head of the yeshivah," and stresses his great love for the students of the Torah.

Berlin was keenly interested in the general community and its needs. He wrote many detailed responsa to questions arriving from various communities throughout the world on matters of *halakhah* and on general public affairs. A small part of his responsa was collected in his *Meshiv Davar* (2 vols., Warsaw, 1892) which revealed his general breadth of outlook. He completely rejected the demand of certain religious circles to establish separatist orthodox communities, stressing that "such advice is as painful as a dagger in the body of the nation," for all Jews are commanded to form "one union" (*Meshiv Davar,* vol. 1 responsum 42). He joined the *Ḥibbat Zion movement from its very inception, and at the Druzgeniki Conference (1887) was elected "counseling member" of its executive. In many letters he urged observant Jews to join the movement and to support the settlement of Jews in Ereẓ Israel, even though some were nonobservant. At the same time, he stressed that "our contributions do not go to settle the land of the Philistines, but to restore the desolation of our Holy Land… so that the Torah and the precepts be observed among its inhabitants" (*Meshiv Davar,* vol. 2, responsum 50, on *shemittah*). With that end in view, he urged that a religious person be appointed supervisor of the settlers in the colonies in Ereẓ Israel to ensure they conduct themselves in accordance with the Torah and the precepts. He also suggested that "secular" members of the Jewish settlements (referring to the Bilu'im in Gederah) be enabled to return to their countries abroad and that their place be taken by observant Jews from the old *yishuv* in Jerusalem. Later, however, he withdrew this suggestion, and even defended the Bilu'im because they had "improved their ways." Berlin was opposed to the permission granted by other rabbinic authorities for fields to be worked during the sabbatical year by means of the legal fiction of "selling" the land to non-Jews.

In his last years, he came into conflict with the Russian authorities as a result of their instructions both for a reduction in the number of students at the yeshivah of Volozhin and the introduction of secular subjects, especially the study of Russian, in the curriculum. Very much against his will, he reduced the student roll somewhat and introduced the study of Russian. However, even after these steps, the number of students at the yeshivah remained double that permitted by the Government, with few students among them attending the lessons in Russian. As a result the yeshivah was closed down by government decree in 1892 and Berlin and his family were exiled. They moved first to Minsk and later to Warsaw. The closing down of the yeshivah seriously affected his health and he was unable to carry out his desire to settle in Ereẓ Israel. He died in Warsaw about 18 months after his departure from Volozhin. His sons were R. Ḥayyim Berlin and R. Meir *Bar-Ilan.

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[Zvi Kaplan]

BERLIN, NOAH ḤAYYIM ẒEVI HIRSCH (1734–1802), German rabbi and halakhist. Berlin was born in Fuerth and was the son of Abraham Meir Berlin, the communal leader of Franconia. He became a *dayyan* at Fuerth in 1764 and later served as rabbi in Bayersdorf and Bayreuth. In 1783 Berlin was appointed rabbi of Mainz and the surrounding district. His appointment was ratified by the prince elector. He established a yeshivah at Mainz, and lived there until 1799 when he succeeded Raphael ha-Kohen as the rabbi of the united communities of Altona, Hamburg, and Wandsbeck. Berlin showed skill and tact in uniting the various elements in these communities. Wolf *Heidenheim was his most outstanding pupil. Berlin wrote *Aẓei Almuggim* (1779), a commentary on the hand-washing ritual, *eruvei ḥaẓerot*, and marriages forbidden by rabbinical enactment; *Aẓei Arazim* (1790), a commentary on the Shulḥan Arukh, *Even ha-Ezer; Ma'yan ha-Ḥokhmah* (1804), on the 613 commandments (in verse and with a commentary). This work, unfinished by Berlin, was completed by his brother Aryeh Loeb *Berlin. Two further works, *Aẓei Besamim* and *Aẓei Levonah*, remained unpublished. He wrote glosses to the tractates of *Berakhot* (1829), *Shabbat* (1832), and *Shevuot*. The last was published in the Vilna edition of the Talmud. There is a rational basis to his explanation of the *halakhah*, and he makes use of the Jerusalem Talmud.

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[Yehoshua Horowitz]

BERLIN, RAYNA BATYA (c. 1817–c. 1875), learned East European woman remembered for her concern with the status of women in traditional Judaism. Berlin lived her entire life in the orbit of the Volozhin Yeshivah. Her grandfather, R. Ḥayyim *Volozhiner, founded the yeshivah, and her father, R. Isaac *Volozhiner, would later take over. In 1831 Rayna Batya married R. Naphtali Ẓevi Judah Berlin (Neẓiv), a promising student who became leader of the yeshivah in 1854. The couple had four children, R. Hayyim, who married Rivka Zeitlin and was a rabbi in Moscow and later in Jerusalem, Michael, who died in his youth, and Sarah Resha and Dreyzl, who were married consecutively to R. Raphael Shapira.

In this environment of intense engagement with Jewish texts, where knowledge of Torah was honored above all else, it is not surprising that some of the women in the family would also take an interest in Jewish study and knowledge. Family stories about Berlin's grandmother, as well as Berlin and her sister, describe sharp-witted and sharp-tongued women committed to upholding the rabbinic world view. By far the most complete picture of Berlin comes from the memoirs of her nephew, R. Barukh ha-Levi Epstein. Epstein, whose mother was the Neẓiv's sister, spent the middle years of the 1870s as a student at the Volozhin Yeshivah. During these years he was also a frequent visitor at the home of his uncle and aunt. In a volume of his memoirs devoted to R. Naftali Ẓevi Judah Berlin, Epstein included one chapter on his aunt, entitled, "Wisdom of Women." The portrait of Rayna Batya Berlin produced by Epstein is of an unusually learned Jewish woman, frustrated by the limits imposed on her by gender and Jewish law. According to Epstein, Berlin spent her days sitting in her kitchen surrounded by Jewish texts including volumes of the Mishnah and *aggadah* as well as historical and other works. On his visits, she would frequently engage him in discussions about women in Jewish law, especially with regard to the study of the Torah. In recent years a number of scholars have taken an interest in Rayna Batya Berlin and her anomalous position in Orthodox Judaism.

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[Eliyana R. Adler (2nd ed.)]

BERLIN, SAUL BEN ẒEVI HIRSCH LEVIN (also called **Saul Hirschel**; 1740–1794), German rabbi. His father was Hirschel *Levin (Ẓevi Hirsch) and his brother, Solomon *Hirschel. At the age of 20, he was ordained by some of the greatest rabbis of the time. In 1768 he was serving as *av bet din* in Frankfurt on the Oder. In 1778 he wrote an approbation for Moses Mendelssohn's commentary on the Torah *Biur* (*Be'ur*; Berlin, 1783). Some time before 1782 Berlin, becoming disenchanted with what he considered antiquated rabbinical authority, retired from the rabbinate and settled in Berlin. There he joined the Haskalah group whose members, known as the *Me'assefim*, were the pupils and admirers of Mendelssohn. He was also an ardent supporter of Naphtali Herz *Wessely at a time when the most eminent rabbis of Germany violently opposed him. After the publication of Wessely's *Divrei Shalom ve-Emet* (Berlin, 1782), Berlin wrote a satire *Ketav Yosher* (published anonymously after his death, 1794), in which he sharply criticized the methods of education and the scholarship of his time as well as the customs and superstitions which had spread among the people. It also sought to dispel the rabbis' opposition to the work of Wessely. In 1784 he traveled to Italy, ostensibly to seek a cure for his rheumatism, but, quite conceivably, to meet those rabbis who had placed themselves in Wessely's camp. In Italy Berlin wrote a provocative anonymous pamphlet of objections to the *Birkei Yosef* of R. Ḥayyim Joseph David *Azulai (Leghorn, 1772), to which the latter replied in his book *Maḥazik Berakhah* (*ibid.*, 1785). Interesting himself in manuscripts, Berlin began to edit the *Or Zaru'a* of *Isaac b. Moses of Vienna, to which he added his own notes and novellae; these were omitted, however, from the posthumously published version in 1862. In 1789 his book *Mizpeh Yokte'el* appeared in Berlin under the pseudonym of Obadiah b. Baruch Ish Polonyah. It contained the most extreme criticism of the novellae to *Yoreh De'ah*, entitled *Torat Yekuti'el*, by Raphael b. Jekuthiel Susskind *Kohen, rabbi of the united communities of Altona, Hamburg, and Wandsbeck. Berlin's book, in which Raphael is accused of plagiarism and of condoning corruption, stirred up a storm among the rabbis, including Berlin's own father, who placed a ban upon the book and upon its author. When the identity of the author became known, his father regretted his action and tried to protect his son. However, before the storm had subsided, another of his books, *Besamim Rosh*, appeared in Berlin in 1793 and touched off a new tempest. The book contains 392 responsa purporting to be by Asher b. Jehiel and his contemporaries: on the title page it was stated that these responsa had been collected and prepared for publication by R. Isaac di Molina. Although Berlin maintained that he had copied the book from a manuscript in Italy and that he had only added his own notes and novellae (*Kassa de-Harsana*), it soon became evident that the statements attributed to Asher and the other rabbis quoted were full of strange leniencies which actually bordered on antinomianism. The suspicion was soon raised that the whole book was fictitious and that its author was Berlin. The first to attack him was R. Wolf Landsberg in his pamphlet *Ze'ev Yitrof* (Frankfurt on the Oder, 1793). After him came R. Mordecai Benet, who wrote to Berlin's father and to other rabbis. A massive rabbinical campaign then followed which branded Berlin as an atheist who sought to uproot the foundations of the Torah. Berlin's father came again to his aid, requesting the rabbis to retract their accusations against his son, and even attempting to establish the genuineness of the manuscript and R. Raphael ha-Kohen and his circle as the source of the libel. It seems that he succeeded in appeasing the rabbis, but not those scholars who held no rabbinical position. Disappointed, Berlin began to wander from one country to another. According to his relative Ẓevi Horowitz (*Kitvei ha-Ge'onim*, 1928), Berlin went to London in 1794 to take up the position of rabbi of the Ashkenazi community there but died before he was able to assume the office. His literary remains present many bibliographical problems, some of which have not yet been solved. He left critical essays which have been published in various places. He is probably the author of *Ha-Orev* (Vienna, 1795), attributed to R. Baruch *Jeiteles.

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[Abraham David]

BERLINER, ABRAHAM (1833–1915), scholar and author. Berliner's vast knowledge of rabbinic literature and of ancient and modern languages was mostly self-taught (cf. his autobiographical *Aus meiner Knabenzeit*, JJGL, 16 (1913), 165 ff.). After succeeding his father as teacher in his native Obersitzko, he became preacher and teacher in Arnswalde (both in the province of Posen, then Germany). From 1858 to 1865 he lectured at the *bet ha-midrash* of the Berlin Talmudic Society out of which developed the Rabbinical Seminary, founded by Azriel *Hildesheimer in 1873. Here Berliner lectured in Jewish history and literature and was also librarian. In subsequent years he paid frequent visits to the important libraries of Germany, England, Holland, France, and, above all, Italy, in search of their Jewish treasures. He prepared the first critical edition of Rashi's commentary on the Pentateuch, giving Rashi's sources and explanatory notes (1866); this book was accepted by Leipzig university as a Ph.D. thesis. In the completely revised second edition (1905) he added a vocabulary of foreign words used in the commentary. Berliner pursued his Rashi studies in a number of important monographs and also turned his attention to other medieval commentators (*Peletat Soferim*, 1872, 1966^2). He also provided a modern edition of *Targum Onkelos* (1884). Berliner's historical studies were chiefly devoted to Italian Jewry, as shown by his three-volume *Geschichte der Juden in Rom* (1893). On the history of German Jewry, he wrote *Aus dem Leben der deutschen Juden im Mittelalter* (1861, second revised and enlarged edition 1900, 1937^3; Hebrew translation, 1900). Complementary to this work was a monograph *Persoenliche Beziehungen zwischen Juden und Christen im Mittelalter* (1882). Berliner also wrote biographies of Israel *Isserlein and of Isaiah *Berlin and a defense of *Maimonides against the accusation of apostasy (*Moses ben Maimon, sein Leben…* 2 (1914), 103 ff.). Berliner published many bibliographical studies and works on liturgy and Talmud. He discovered in Rome parts of commentaries on the Bible and the Talmud by *Hananel b. Ḥushi'el and *Gershom b. Judah and was instrumental in the inclusion of both commentaries in the Vilna (Romm) Talmud edition. In 1874 Berliner began to publish a *Magazin fuer juedische Geschichte und Literatur* which two years later became the *Magazin fuer die Wissenschaft des Judentums* (with a Hebrew supplement, *Oẓar Tov*), which he edited with David *Hoffmann until 1893. In 1885 he revived the *Mekiẓe Nirdamim society. On his 70th birthday he was awarded the title of professor by the Prussian government. On that occasion too appeared a *Festschrift* in his honor, edited by A. Freimann and M. Hildesheimer (*Birkat Avraham*, 1903) with a bibliography of his writings. A three-volume collection of Berliner's writings was planned but only the first appeared in 1913. A two-volume collection was published in Hebrew (1945–49). Berliner was a staunch supporter of Orthodoxy and an opponent of Reform. He supported Hildesheimer in the establishment of the *Adass Jisroel* secessionist congregation and acted as the chairman of its council for many years. Yet in his *Randbemerkungen* he suggested certain changes in prayer texts and customs, which were not to the liking of some of his Orthodox friends.

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[Alexander Carlebach]

BERLINER, EMILE (1851–1929), inventor. Born and educated in Wolfenbuettel, Germany, Berliner emigrated to the U.S.A. in 1870. He worked in New York and Washington, D.C., as a clerk, salesman, and assistant in a chemical laboratory. He studied electricity and in 1876 began experimenting with Bell's newly invented telephone, which he succeeded in refining with his invention of the loose-contact telephone transmitter or microphone and the use of an induction coil. The Bell Telephone Company immediately purchased the rights to his invention, which for the first time made the telephone practical for long-distance use. Berliner was appointed chief electrical instruments inspector of the company. In 1887 he improved Edison's phonograph by introducing a flat disc instead of a cylinder and the use of a shallow groove. The patent was acquired by the Victor Talking Machine Company and served as the basis for the modern gramophone. In his later years he engaged in aviation experiments and introduced the use of a revolving cylindered light engine. Between 1919 and 1926 he built three helicopters which he tested in flight himself. Berliner also interested himself in public matters, particularly in the field of health and hygiene. In 1890 he founded the Society for the Prevention of Sickness. In 1907 he organized the first milk conference in Washington, whose efforts contributed to the pasteurization of milk and an improvement in its quality. He played a leading part in the fight against the spread of tuberculosis and wrote a number of articles on hygiene and preventive medicine. He set out his agnostic ideas on matters of religion and philosophy in his book *Conclusions* (1902). Toward the end of his life Berliner supported the rebuilding of Palestine and was active on behalf of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem.

[Grete Leibowitz]

Emile's son HENRY ADLER BERLINER (1895–1970), aeronautical engineer, did pioneering work with his father on helicopter construction during and after World War I. He was president of Berliner Aircraft, Inc. in Washington and from 1930 to 1954 chairman of Engineering and Research Corporation. In 1955 he became president of the Maryland firm of Tecfab Inc. In World War II, during which he lost an arm, he was chief of war plans for the Eighth Air Force.

[Samuel Aaron Miller]

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BERLINER, ISAAC (1899–1957), Mexican Yiddish poet. Born in Lodz, Berliner immigrated to Mexico in 1922 and earned a precarious livelihood as a peddler in the Mexican provinces. In 1927 he and two other Mexican Yiddish poets, Moses Glikovski (d. 1980) and Jacob *Glantz, published a volume of lyrics *Dray Vegn* ("Three Roads," Spanish transl. *Tres Caminos*, 1997). His second volume *Shtot fun Palatsn* (1936), illustrated by the Mexican painter Diego Rivera, appeared in English as *City of Palaces* (1996). His national elegies *Ad Mosay* ("Until When?" 1941) were followed by *Shtil Zol Zayn* ("Let There Be Silence," 1948) and *Gezang fun Mentsh* ("The Song of Man," 1954). In style, imagery, use of neologisms, and rich rhythms, Berliner was influenced by his Lodz fellow poet Moses *Broderzon, but Berliner was more socially conscious. In many lyrics he cries out vehemently against the abysmal poverty of the Mexicans around the Tepito Market in the heart of the "city of palaces."

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[Melech Ravitch / Alan Astro (2nd ed.)]

BERLINSKI, HERMAN (1910–2001), composer. Born in Leipzig, Berlinski studied piano, composition, and conducting at the Leipzig Conservatory (1927–32). He left Germany in 1933 and went to Paris, studying piano with Alfred Cortot and composition with Nadia Boulanger at the Ecole Normale de Musique (1934–38). In 1939 he joined the French Foreign Legion but on the fall of France he emigrated to the United States (1941). Berlinski's style combines twelve-tone techniques with traditional Hebrew cantillation. His works include a cantata, *Habakkuk*, pieces for organ and piano, *Flute Sonata* (1941), *Violin Sonata* (1949), *Symphonic Visions* (1949) and liturgical Jewish compositions – *Kaddish* (1953), *Avodat Shabbat* (1957), and *Kiddush ha-Shem* (1958).

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[Israela Stein (2nd ed.)]

BERMAN, ADOLF ABRAHAM (1906–1978), socialist Zionist. Born in Warsaw, he was the son of Isser Berman, a well-known Zionist and member of the Ḥovevei Sefat Ever society, and a brother of Jacob *Berman. Adolf Berman joined the Left Po'alei Zion as a student and edited both its Polish language organ and its Yiddish weekly, *Arbeter Tsaytung*. After the outbreak of World War II he was for some time chief director of "Centos," the organization for social welfare in Warsaw, and was active in the Polish underground movement. Upon the establishment of the Anti-Fascist Bloc in 1942, he became one of its leaders and coeditor of its paper *Der Ruf*. He left the ghetto after the mass deportation of Jews to Treblinka in the summer of 1942 and established himself in the so-called Aryan side of Warsaw, where he cooperated with left-wing political groups. He was a member of the presidium of the Jewish National Committee and its representative with the Polish underground organization. He fought in the Warsaw uprising of 1944 and after the liberation of Poland was a member of the Polish temporary parliament.

In 1947 Berman became president of the central committee of Polish Jews, but three years later he immigrated to Israel. Here he joined Mapam, and in 1951 was elected to the Knesset. In 1954 he left Mapam and became a member of the Communist Party. He was elected to the party's central committee and edited its Yiddish language weekly, *Frei Israel*. In 1956 he became a member of the general council and bureau of the International Resistance Organization.

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[Abraham Wein]

BERMAN, HOWARD LAWRENCE (1941–), U.S. congressman. Raised in a traditional home in Beverlywood, Los Angeles, by an Orthodox Polish-immigrant father, Berman spent several summers at Machene Yehuda, a Jewish camp in the hills northeast of Los Angeles' San Fernando Valley. The camp's head counselor was the young Rabbi Chaim *Potok (1929–2002). Berman always considered his summers at Machene Yehuda to be "the single-most important Jewish experience" in his life.

Berman entered the University of California at Los Angeles (UCLA) in 1958, where he majored in political science and became active in the California Federation of Young Democrats, where he was befriended by the head of the Draft Stevenson campaign, fellow Angelino Henry Waxman. The two became fast friends, eventually forming (along with Howard's brother Michael) an informal political alliance known as "The Waxman-Berman Machine." After graduating from UCLA in 1962, Berman went to the university's School of Law, receiving his LL.B. in 1965.

By 1965, Waxman had become president of the California Federation of Young Democrats (CFYD). Along with Waxman, Berman and the CFYD gravitated toward the party's insurgent faction, led by future United States Senator Alan Cranston, and against the party's more established wing, controlled by California Assembly Speaker Jesse ("Big Daddy") Unruh. By 1967, when Howard became a VISTA (Volunteers in Service to America) volunteer, he was irrevocably hooked on politics. Following his year with VISTA, Berman went into private practice, specializing in labor law. Meanwhile, brother Michael was masterminding Henry Waxman's election to the California State Assembly. Named chair of the Assembly committee that oversaw reapportionment in 1972, Waxman hired Michael Berman to help him draw up district lines. Part of their plan was to create an Assembly district for Howard right in his own backyard of Beverlywood. When California Governor Ronald Reagan vetoed the Waxman-Berman reapportionment plan, Howard moved from Beverlywood into a district that ran along the Santa Monica Mountains from Hollywood to the San Fernando Valley and successfully ran against a twenty-six-year incumbent Charles Conrad, the Assembly Republican leader.

Within days, the freshman legislator was named Assembly majority leader – the youngest in California history. As majority leader, Berman passed legislation that imposed stiff penalties on California banks that joined the Arab boycott against Israel. In 1980, after five years as Assembly majority leader, Berman narrowly lost a bid to become that body's speaker. After his defeat, Berman allied himself with San Francisco-area Congressman Phillip Burton in the 1982 congressional reapportionment plan. Burton, working alongside Michael Berman – who, by then had become a major player in California Democratic politics – managed to secure a congressional seat for Howard. Howard Berman was elected with 60 percent of the vote.

Upon entering the House of Representatives, he quickly broke out of the freshman pack by getting himself a seat on the Democratic Steering and Policy Committee. Berman managed to get himself seated on both the House Committee on Foreign Affairs (later renamed "International Relations") and House Judiciary – two plum assignments for a newly minted legislator. In Congress he forged a reputation for being "one of the most aggressive and creative members of the House – and one of the most clear-sighted operators in American politics."

In Los Angeles, Berman was one half of the powerful "Waxman-Berman Machine" that raised enormous sums of money, mainly from Jewish liberals. The Waxman-Berman Machine changed the face of American politics: they were the first to make contributions to the campaigns of other like-minded candidates.

Berman was one of Israel's strongest voices in the halls of Congress. He arranged tens of thousands of visas for immigrants without close relatives in the United States. These visas, selected randomly by computer, came to be known as "Berman visa applications" and were a boon to thousands and thousands of Soviet Jewish émigrés who settled in America in the 1980s and 1990s.

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[Kurt Stone (2nd ed.)]

BERMAN, JACOB (1878–1974), rabbi, educator, and communal worker. Berman was born in Salant, Lithuania. He studied rabbinics at Telz Yeshivah and law at St. Petersburg University. While in St. Petersburg he played a part in the founding of the Baron Guenzburg Jewish Academy. In 1902 he was a delegate to the Zionist Conference in Minsk and the first Mizrachi Conference in Lida, where he lectured on the need for modernizing the yeshivot and initiated the founding of the Lida yeshivah of Isaac *Reines. He was principal of the yeshivah of Odessa, and rabbi in Berdichev, where he was active in saving and aiding refugees. In 1921 he immigrated to Ereẓ Israel, and from 1924 to 1944 he was head of Mizrachi religious education, served as deputy director of the Keneset Yisrael education department, and was chief inspector of religious schools. He was active in enlarging and developing the state religious education network and founded and directed the Religious Pedagogical Institute for yeshivah graduates. He wrote *Torat ha-Medinah be-Yisrael, Pirkei Shulḥan Arukh le-Talmidim*, and *Halakhah le-Am.* He was awarded the Israel Prize for Education in 1968.

BERMAN, JAKUB (1901–1984), Polish Communist leader. Born in Warsaw, a brother of Adolf *Berman, Jacob graduated in law and then undertook research into the economic and social history of Poland. Some of his articles on these subjects dealt with Jewish problems, and in 1926 he published a dissertation on the tasks of the historical section of the Jewish Scientific Institute (YIVO). From 1928 to 1939 he worked for the Jewish Telegraphic Agency. Berman joined the Polish Communist Party in 1928, becoming one of its most active workers. During World War II he took refuge in the Soviet Union, and in 1943 helped to organize the Soviet-sponsored Union of Polish Patriots. He was a member of the political staff of the Polish Army in the U.S.S.R. and of the Polish National Liberation Committee. After the war he returned to Poland and was undersecretary of state in the presidium of the Council of Ministers from 1945 to 1952. From 1952 to 1956 he was a deputy premier. In these years Berman was a leading figure in the Political Bureau and a close colleague of the Polish president, Boleslaw Bierut. In 1956, when Wladislaw Gomulka came to power, Berman was accused of Stalinism and removed from all his government and party posts. From 1958 to 1968 he worked as editor in a publishing house but in 1968, during the antisemitic campaign, he was forced to retire.

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[Abraham Wein]

BERMAN, JULIUS (1935–), U.S. lawyer, rabbi, and communal leader. Berman was born in Dukst, Lithuania. Despite the German occupation the family managed to immigrate to the United States in April 1940 and settled in Hartford, Connecticut. After earning a B.A. at Yeshiva University (1956), Berman attended Yeshiva's Rabbi Isaac Elchanan Theological Seminary (in the daytime) and NYU Law School (at night). In 1959 he received his rabbinic ordination from the seminary and in 1960 he graduated first in his class from law school, having been named a member of the law review and the legal honor society.

Choosing to pursue a legal career rather than practicing as a rabbi, Berman joined the New York firm of Kaye, Scholer, Fierman, Hays & Handler (now Kaye Scholer LLP) in August 1959, where in the course of a career spanning more than 40 years he was an accomplished litigator in state and federal courts, a renowned negotiator, and a highly respected counselor for numerous clients throughout the United States, particularly those with Orthodox affiliations.

Berman was a pioneer among Sabbath-observing Jews in the New York legal world, particularly the larger law firms. By working Sundays and carrying a workload even greater than many of his colleagues, Berman was able to demonstrate that Sabbath observance did not hinder success; and his diligence and skill were rewarded in July 1969 when he was made a partner in the firm. Indeed, it was through his efforts (and those of a small number of others) that hiring observant Jews became a matter of routine in New York and other major cities. Unlike the Kaye, Scholer of the early 1960s, today many of the firm's attorneys wear *kippot* in the office and, due largely to Berman's efforts over the years, the firm today boasts a daily *minhah/ma'ariv minyan* and a weekly advanced Talmud lecture.

Berman's service to the American Jewish community began with an Orthodox focus. He was a founder and president of the National Jewish Commission on Law and Public Affairs (COLPA), which provided legal representation with respect to issues of interest to the Orthodox community; and the founding president of Camps Mogen Avraham, Heller, Sternberg, Inc., which operated four camps serving some 3,000 Orthodox campers. Berman was active in the Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations of America (the Orthodox Union) from the outset of his career and ultimately was elected its president.

Berman was heavily involved in representing Orthodoxy in the broader Jewish community, in such organizations as the multidenominational Synagogue Council of America and the National Jewish Community Relations Advisory Council. While serving as Orthodox Union president, he became the first Orthodox lay leader to become chairman of the *Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations, which propelled him into a prominent role on the national and international Jewish scene. Other national positions included the chair of the American Zionist Youth Foundation, chair of the Jewish Telegraphic Agency, and board member of the Joint Distribution Committee. He was also a member of Yeshiva University's Board of Trustees and Executive Committee and chairman of the Isaac Elchanan Theological Seminary's Board.

Among the significant attachments in Berman's life was his close relationship with Rabbi Joseph *Soloveitchik, who had been his teacher at the seminary during his rabbinic studies. Over time, Berman became the "Rav's" lawyer, literary agent, and personal confidante. When Soloveitchik decided to publish many of his lectures and manuscripts, he entrusted the pertinent materials (including a large number of audio tapes of lectures) to Berman for safekeeping.

In the early 21st century Berman became chairman of the *Conference on Jewish Material Claims Against Germany, serving a rapidly aging survivor population. His role forced him to balance the needs of survivors, diminishing in numbers but in greater need of assistance, with the Claims Conference's commitment to use some of the funds for Holocaust education, scholarship, and remembrance. This placed him in an unenviable and certainly not an uncontroversial position.

[Michael Malina (2nd ed.)]

BERMAN, MORTON MAYER (1899–1986), U.S. Reform rabbi and organization executive. Berman was born in Baltimore, Maryland. He was a graduate of Yale (1921) and was ordained by the Jewish Institute of Religion in 1926, where he was deeply influenced by its president, Stephen S. *Wise. He attended the Hebrew University of Jerusalem as the school's first Guggenheimer Fellow in 1926 and then studied in Berlin in 1927; he served as rabbi in Davenport, Iowa (1927–29), the Free Synagogue in New York City (1929–37), where he was an assistant to Wise and director of education, and Temple Isaiah Israel in Chicago (later KAM Isaiah Israel; 1937–57), a synagogue that had fallen upon hard times during the Depression, its membership depleted to 150 dues-paying members from 1,000 and which he brought back to its former prominence. During World War II Rabbi Berman was a chaplain in the Pacific with the U.S. Navy, where he won a Bronze Star for service on Okinawa. Berman was a political activist serving communal, national, and Zionist causes. From 1939 to 1957 he played leading roles in such national organizations as the Jewish National Fund, the Zionist Organization of America, and the American Jewish Congress. He edited the *Congress Courier*, now the *Congress Bi-Monthly*. A life-long Zionist, he took his own teaching to heart and in 1957 he moved to Jerusalem, where he became director of the department of English-speaking countries for Keren Hayesod. Rabbi Berman wrote *Jew's*

View of the Crucifixion (1929), *Role of the Rabbi* (1941), and *For Zion's Sake: A Personal and Family Chronicle* (1979).

[Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

BERMAN, MYRON R. (1928–), U.S. Conservative rabbi. Berman was born in New York, educated at the City College of New York, and ordained at the Jewish Theological Seminary. He also received a B.H.L. from its seminary college as well as an M.H.L. and an honorary D.D. degree. He served as chaplain in the United States Air Force, serving in New Mexico and Japan. He received his Ph.D. from Columbia University in 1963. From 1965 until his retirement in 1993, he served as rabbi of Temple Beth-El of Richmond, Virginia, a community he served as an educator, a civil rights activist, and a historian. His writings include *Richmond's Jewry, 1769–1976: Shabbat in Shockoe* (1979) and *The Attitude of American Jewry Towards Eastern European Jewish Immigration, 1881–1914* (1980), in which Berman demonstrated that American Jews, while helping individual immigrants, acquiesced in restrictive immigration laws in the late 19th century; it was only after the *Kishinev pogrom in 1903 that American Jews sought to liberalize immigration policies for their East European brethren. Berman came to Temple Beth-El in Richmond, Virignia, in August 1965 after serving as associate rabbi for Beth-El in Cedarhurst, New York, for seven years. He was the first rabbi to serve as president of the Richmond Area Clergy Association, He received the Richmond City Medallion for communal service and later was honored by the National Conference of Christians and Jews. He received a citizen's award from the Henrico Police Department. Berman had served as chairman of the board of education for the seaboard region of the United Synagogue.

Berman was a member of the Virginia-Israel Commission, appointed by Governor Baliles. He wrote the introductions to both Holocaust curricula published by the State of Virginia, and he was also a consultant to the state's commission on social studies. More recently, he served as a member of the Henrico 2000 Committee, which forecast trends in education for the next decade. He was cited by *Hadassah Magazine* and *Surroundings* as among Richmond's most influential citizens.

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[Bezalel Gordon (2nd ed.)]

BERMAN, PANDRO S. (1905–1996), U.S. film producer. Born in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, Berman was responsible for the production of 85 films for RKO, including the Ginger Rogers-Fred Astaire musicals.

Born into the film industry, Berman's father, Henry, was general manager of Universal Pictures during Hollywood's formative years. Pandro spent most of the 1920s learning the business. He started out as a script clerk and then rose to film editor. By 1931, the 26-year-old Berman was an assistant director at RKO when David O. *Selznick took over the floundering studio. Selznick fired many people at RKO, but he saw something in Berman and made him his assistant. Berman was a success and, as a producer, brought to the screen many stars and great films. It was he who paired Rogers with Astaire, made Katherine Hepburn a star, and brought Elizabeth *Taylor to public attention. In 1940 he signed a contract with MGM. In 1963, when an MGM power play diminished his authority, Berman left to do independent work.

Berman's productions include *The Gay Divorcee* (1934); *Top Hat* (1935); *Shall We Dance* (1937); *Stage Door* (1937); *The Hunchback of Notre Dame* (1939); *National Velvet* (1945); *The Seventh Cross* (1944); *The Picture of Dorian Gray* (1945); *Of Human Bondage* (1948); *Madam Bovary* (1949); *Father of the Bride* (1950); *The Prisoner of Zenda* (1952); *Ivanhoe* (1952); *The Blackboard Jungle* (1955); *Tea and Sympathy* (1956); *Something of Value* (1957); *Jailhouse Rock* (1957); *The Brothers Karamazov* (1958); *Butterfield 8* (1960); *Sweet Bird of Youth* (1962); *The Prize* (1963); *A Patch of Blue* (1965); *Justine* (1969); and *Move* (1970). In 1977 Berman received the Irving Thalberg Award at the 49th annual Academy Awards.

ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY: M. Steen, *Hollywood Speaks: An Oral History* (1974).

[Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

BERMAN, SHELLEY (1926–), U.S. actor, comedian, author. Berman was trained as an actor at the Goodman Theater in his native Chicago before joining stock companies in Chicago and New York. In the mid-1950s he joined the Chicago Compass Players, the famed performance group now known as The Second City. Berman's first breakthrough as a comedian came in 1957 when he began performing at Mr. Kelly's in Chicago. His success as a comedian, including 21 appearances on *The Ed Sullivan Show*, led to three best-selling comedy records and the distinction of winning the first Grammy Award for a non-musical recording, as well as becoming the first stand-up comedian to perform at Carnegie Hall. His stage credits include starring roles in the Broadway musical *Inside Outside and All Around Shelley Berman* and Neil *Simon's touring musical production *Two by Two*. On television Berman appeared on both variety shows such as *The Ed Sullivan Show* and *The Jack Paar Show*, and scripted programs such as *L.A. Law, Friends, Arliss, Walker, Texas Ranger, Dead Like Me,* and *Curb Your Enthusiasm*, on which he played the role of Larry David's father. His major film credits include *The Best Man*, *Every Home Should Have One*, *Divorce American Style*, *Teen Witch*, and *The Last Producer*. Berman is the author of three books (*Cleans and Dirtys*, *A Hotel is a Funny Place*, and *Up in the Air*), two plays (*First is Supper* and *Silver Sonata*). He was also a professor in the University of Southern California's Professional Writing Program and was awarded an honorary doctorate of humane letters from the Spertus Institute of Jewish Studies.

[Walter Driver (2nd ed.)]

BERMAN, SIMEON (1818–1884), precursor of Jewish agricultural settlement in Ereẓ Israel. Berman, who was born in Cracow, founded a Jewish agricultural settlement society there in 1851. He immigrated to the United States in 1852 and settled in New York. There and in other cities he attempted to found societies for agricultural settlement, but received no support. In 1870 he went to Ereẓ Israel and proposed that Mikveh Israel land be set aside for an agricultural settlement, but his proposal was rejected. Berman sent a request, through the U.S. consul, to the Ottoman government asking to be allowed to buy land in Ereẓ Israel. The request was granted, and Berman moved to Tiberias, where he founded the cooperative Holy Land Settlement Society. He received messages of encouragement from rabbis Ẓevi Hirsch *Kalischer and Elijah *Guttmacher, who also promised funds. A parcel of land on the shores of Lake Kinneret was chosen for settlement, and Berman went abroad to propagate the scheme. His Yiddish book *Masot Shimon*, published in 1879, relates his experiences in Ereẓ Israel. In 1882 Berman returned to Tiberias where he died. Toward the end of his life he witnessed the establishment of the first settlements in Judea and Galilee. Their founders, as the early settlers David Schub and Moshe *Smilansky testify in their memoirs, had been influenced by his book.

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[Avraham Yaari]

BERMAN BERMAN, NATALIO (1907–1959), Chilean politician and Zionist leader. Born in Podolia (Russia), Berman immigrated to Chile in 1915 when he was eight years old. His family settled in Valparaíso, where he graduated from high school. From early childhood he demonstrated his qualities as a leader, organizing the Jewish youth of the small community of Valparaíso. At the age of 15 he was named a delegate from Valparaíso to the Zionist Congress of Chile. He studied medicine at the University of Santiago, working as an assistant in anatomy. During his studies he engaged in broad communal activity, founding the periodical *Nosotros*, which became the organ of the entire Chilean Jewish community. He was active in merging the four existing Jewish youth groups into one organization – the Asociación de Jóvenes Israelitas (AJI).

In 1930 Berman was elected president of the Federación Sionista de Chile. After his graduation in medicine he moved to Concepción, continuing his Jewish communal activities. At the same time, however, he was extremely active among the poor Chilean classes, starting his political career in the N.A.P. (Nueva Acción Pública), which later united with the Socialist Party.

In 1936 Berman led a public campaign against higher taxes, as a consequence of which the government exiled him to a remote island in the south of Chile and revoked his Chilean citizenship. This act provoked the general indignation among the Chilean public, and the Parliament passed a law restoring Berman's Chilean citizenship.

In 1937 Berman was elected a member of Parliament for Concepción. During his term of office, which lasted until 1949, he was very active in the struggle against Nazism and in obtaining entry permits for Jewish refugees. Berman participated in the Popular Front government. In 1941 he withdrew from the Socialist Party, forming the Partido Socialista de Trabajadores (Socialist Workers' Party), which later united with the Communist Party. He abandoned the CP, however, due to Stalin's antisemitic policy. Throughout his political career he continued his activities on behalf of the Jewish community.

[Moshe Nes El (2nd ed.)]

BERMANN, RICHARD ARNOLD (1883–1939), Austrian author and journalist. Bermann was born in Vienna to an assimilated Viennese Jewish family, but spent much of his childhood in Prague. In 1906 he received his doctorate in philology; he began his career as a writer while still a student. From 1912 he was correspondent of the *Berliner Tageblatt* under the pseudonym of Arnold Hoellriegel; he traveled widely as a foreign reporter and "pacificist" war correspondent for the newspaper *Die Zeit* during World War I. After the war he continued his career as a journalist, travel writer, and film critic. He visited Palestine with Arthur Rundt, and their book *Palaestina* (1923) was a glowing account of early Zionist achievements. Both men were careful, however, to disclaim any personal adherence to Jewish nationalism. In Vienna, he maintained a close friendship with author Leo *Perutz, and also knew *Freud, Viktor *Adler, and Otto *Bauer. Bermann's most popular book, *Das Urwaldschiff* (1927; *The Forest Ship*, 1931), described an adventurous trip up the Amazon. The subject of *Derwischtrommel* (1931), which appeared in English as *The Mahdi of Allah* (1931) with an introduction by Winston Churchill, was the Sudanese struggle against the British in the days of General Gordon and Lord Kitchener. After the Nazis occupied Vienna in 1938, Bermann attempted to flee three times to the United States. After being arrested and imprisoned, he was finally able to find refuge in the U.S. that same year, where he continued his resistance to the Nazis as director of the American Guild for German Cultural Freedom in New York, an organization which supported persecuted authors. He died in 1939 in the artists' colony of Yaddo in Saratoga Springs, N.Y.

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[Sol Liptzin / Lisa Silverman (2nd ed.)]

BERMANN, VASILI (**Ze'ev Wolf**; 1862–1896), one of the first members of Ḥovevei Zion in Russia. He was born in Mitava, Russia (today Jelgava, Latvia) and studied at the Russian-Jewish school run by his father Eliezer Bermann, who published the Russian-Jewish newspaper *Russkii Yevrei* in St. Petersburg. He graduated as a lawyer from St. Petersburg University. After the 1881 pogroms in South Russia, he joined the Ḥibbat Zion movement. He published and edited the Russian-language anthologies *Palestina* (1884, with A. Flekser, Volynsky) and *Sion*, which expounded the intellectual basis for the Ḥibbat Zion ideology. Bermann attended the Ḥovevei Zion Druskiniki conference (1887) and aided in the efforts to obtain an official permit for the Ḥovevei Zion society to operate in Russia. He was secretary of the founding assembly of the society in Odessa (1890). Convinced that organized emigration was essential for Russian Jewry, Bermann supported Baron de *Hirsch's plans to organize the mass exit of Jews from Russia, and regarded this as supplementing the settlement project in Ereẓ Israel. He became secretary of the ICA (*Jewish Colonization Association) founded by Baron de Hirsch, conducted a comprehensive survey of the problem of Jewish emigration, and established and headed the ICA's emigration department. Bermann was also a founder of the Historical-Ethnographical Committee of the Society for the Spreading of Enlightenment among the Jews in Russia. He contracted tuberculosis and went to live in Cairo, where he died.

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[Yehuda Slutsky]

BERMANT, CHAIM ICYK (1929–1998), Lithuanian-born Scottish humorist and journalist noted for his gently satirical sketches of British Jewry. His short novels, which reflect a traditional upbringing, include *Jericho Sleep Alone* (1964), *Diary of an Old Man* (1966), and *Swinging in the Rain* (1967). He also published a guidebook, *Israel* (1967), and *Troubled Eden: An Anatomy of British Jewry* (1969). Possibly Bermant's most valuable work was his biographical history of England's "grandee" Jewish families like the Rothschilds and Montefiores, *The Cousinhood* (1961). Bermant also published a biography of England's Chief Rabbi, *Lord Jakobovits* (1990). Bermant wrote a weekly column in the *Jewish Chronicle* (of which he was Features Editor in 1964–66), which was widely noted and often controversial. Two volumes of Bermant's best weekly columns appeared, *Murmurings of a Licensed Heretic* (1990) and *On the Other Hand* (2000), which was published posthumously. Bermant also wrote a volume of autobiography, *Genesis: A Latvian Childhood* (1998).

[William D. Rubinstein (2nd ed.)]

BERMUDA CONFERENCE, Anglo-American Conference on Refugees in 1943. During World War II, Jewish and general public opinion in the U.S. and the British Commonwealth urgently demanded that the Allied governments rescue the victims of the Nazi regime. Under pressure from parliament, churches, and humanitarian organizations, the British Foreign Office, on Jan. 20, 1943, proposed joint consultation between Britain and the U.S.A. to examine the problem and possible solutions. After an exchange of diplomatic notes, the Anglo-American Conference on Refugees was held in Bermuda from April 19 to 30, 1943. The American delegation was headed by Harold Willis Dodds, president of Princeton University; the British delegation, by Richard Law, parliamentary undersecretary of state for foreign affairs. No private organizations or observers were admitted but interested Jewish organizations in America and England prepared memoranda proposing rescue measures. Chaim *Weizmann submitted a document on behalf of the *Jewish Agency for Palestine, underlining the importance of Palestine in the solution of the problem of Jewish refugees, and demanding abandonment of the policy based on the British White Paper policy of May 1939. The delegates, however, anxiously avoided referring to the Jews as the Nazis' major victims. Disagreement between the two governments about continuing the Intergovernmental Committee of Refugees, founded at the *Evian Conference in July 1938, took up most of the time but it was decided eventually to extend its mandate to deal with postwar problems. British plans for opening up camps in North Africa as a haven for refugees during the war proved impracticable. After seven months – on Dec. 10, 1943 – the report of the conference was published. Its only positive decision – to revive the Evian Committee – came too late to save a single Jew from the Nazi Holocaust.

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[Shalom Adler-Rudel]

°**BERNADOTTE, FOLKE, EARL OF WISBORG** (1895–1948), Swedish statesman. Bernadotte was the youngest son of Prince Oscar August of Sweden, a brother of King Gustav V. During World War II he organized an exchange of disabled prisoners of war between Germany and the Allies on behalf of the Swedish Red Cross. He became vice chairman in 1943, and president in 1946, of the Swedish Red Cross. Stimulated by Norwegian and Danish intervention on behalf of their civilian prisoners in German concentration camps, he negotiated on behalf of the Swedish Red Cross with *Himmler who was persuaded to release more than 7,000 Scandinavians during March and April 1945, including over 400 Danish Jews, from *Theresienstadt. Following negotiations with a representative of the *World Jewish Congress in Sweden, Norbert Masur, he also effected the release of several thousand Jewish women from various countries interned in the Ravensbrueck concentration camp. Most of those released were transferred to Sweden. Subsequently, at a meeting in Luebeck on April 24, 1945, Himmler tried to use Bernadotte's good offices to forward peace proposals to the Allies. Bernadotte transmitted the Allies' rejection of these proposals to Himmler on April 27, in Flensburg.

On May 20, 1948, six days after the proclamation of the State of Israel and five days after the commencement of military action, the Security Council of the United Nations appointed Bernadotte mediator in the Arab-Israel conflict. He succeeded in bringing about the first four-week truce on June 11, but failed to achieve Arab consent for its prolongation. Overextending his assignment as mediator, Bernadotte worked out a peace plan that deviated substantially from the UN partition resolution, suggesting, *inter alia*, the incorporation of Jerusalem and the whole Negev in Transjordan in exchange for the inclusion of Western Galilee in Israel. These proposals, which became public a few days after Bernadotte's death, met with stiff opposition by Israel and failed to achieve endorsement by the UN General Assembly in November 1948. On Sept. 17, 1948, Bernadotte was assassinated in Jerusalem. His assailants have not been identified but are believed to have been connected with *Loḥamei Ḥerut Israel. A forest named in his honor has been planted by the *Jewish National Fund in the Judean Hills. Among his books are *The Curtain Falls: Last Days of the Third Reich* (1945) and *To Jerusalem* (1951).

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[Leni Yahil]

BERNAL, Sephardi family of Marrano extraction. Its members included ABRAHAM (Manuel Nuñes) BERNAL (c. 1612–1655), a native of Almeida in Portugal, who was the leader of the crypto-Jewish group at Écija (Spain). After trial by the Inquisition at Córdoba he was burned at the stake for his faith, proclaiming his adherence to Judaism to the end. When the news reached Amsterdam the local Jewish poets collaborated in a volume in his memory under the title *Elogios que zelosos dedicaron á la felice memoria de Abraham Nuñez Bernal*, which was published by his cousin JACOB BERNAL. This volume also includes a sermon in honor of Abraham by Isaac *Aboab da Fonseca, and a prose account of the imprisonment and death of Abraham's nephew MARCO (Ishac de Almeida) BERNAL who was martyred also in 1655 at the age of 22. It ends with a sermon by Jacob Abendana in honor of both martyrs. In the course of the 18th century, some of the family settled in London. JACOB ISRAEL BERNAL, a West Indian merchant (d. 1766), served as a warden of the Spanish and Portuguese Jewish community there in 1745, but resigned in protest in 1752 when the synagogue authorities objected to his marriage to an Ashkenazi woman. His son JACOB (d. 1811) dissociated himself from the community and denounced its methods as inquisitorial when he failed to be elected to office; he did not formally abandon Judaism. In the course of time, however, the family left the Jewish community. His son RALPH (1783–1854), brought up as a Christian, was a politician and member of parliament from 1820 to 1853. In 1853 he was president of the British Archaeological Society and a renowned art collector. His son RALPH BERNAL-OSBORNE (1808–1882) was a noted wit and Liberal politician, who was secretary to the admiralty (1852–58). The physicist John Desmond *Bernal (1901–1971) is also descended from this family. The Jewish origin of MESTRE BERNAL, who accompanied Columbus' first expedition to America, is hypothetical.

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[Kenneth R. Scholberg]

BERNAL, JOHN DESMOND (1901–1971), physicist. Bernal was born in Nenagh, County Tipperary, now in the Irish Republic, and graduated in science from Cambridge University (1923). After research at the Royal Institution, London (1923–27), he returned to Cambridge as a lecturer in structural crystallography before his appointment as professor of physics at Birkbeck College, London (1937). His main research achievements concerned the crystallographic study of proteins, an essential step in the emergence of molecular biology. His pupils included Rosalind *Franklin, Aaron *Klug, and Max *Perutz. Known as the "Great Sage of Cambridge," he was a polymath to the detriment of his personal achievements. His interests included the origins of life on Earth and the creation of the Mulberry harbors indispensable for the 1944 D-Day landings. He was deeply interested in the social concerns of science and he lectured and wrote prolifically in this field and on popular science and the history of science. His honors included election to the Royal Society of London, the Lenin Prize of the U.S.S.R., and the U.S. Medal of Freedom. The precocious child of Sephardi Jews on his father's side and an American mother, he became a Marxist and, with the rise of fascism in the 1930s, briefly a member of the Communist Party.

[Michael Denman (2nd ed.)]

°**BERNARD, EDWARD** (1638–1697), English Orientalist and bibliographer. He had already studied Hebrew at school (in London), and at Oxford, when his mathematical ability secured him the professorship of astronomy at Oxford, first as Wren's deputy, and for one year (1676) he acted as tutor to Charles II's sons. He was devoted, however, to the study of Oriental languages. Bernard was one of the earliest students of Samaritan; he traced all alphabets to this script as putative parent (1689). His planned edition of Josephus foundered after the early books of the *Antiquities* (Oxford, 1700); he had written on the Septuagint and Letter of Aristeas (*ibid.*, 1692) and published W. Guise's translation of part of Mishnah *Zera'im* (*ibid.*, 1690). The wider scholarly world knows Bernard as author of the still important combined catalog of English and Irish manuscript collections (*ibid.*, 1697). His publications and manuscript *reliquiae* are listed by A. Wood (*Athenae Oxonienses*, ed. by P. Bliss, 4 (London, 1813–20), 703), and a printed auction-catalog of his library survives in the British Museum.

ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY: ODNB online.

[Raphael Loewe]

BERNARD, ḤAYYIM DAVID (1782–1858), Polish physician and ḥasidic leader. Born in Dzialoszyce, near Piotrkow, Bernard is reputed to have been the son of the poet and physician Issachar Falkensohn *Behr. At the age of 14 Bernard arrived in Berlin and later qualified as a physician in Erfurt. The liberal policies of King Frederick William II enabled him to become court physician at Potsdam and a medical officer in the Prussian Army – a considerable achievement for a Jew. After Napoleon's conquest of Poland, Bernard was appointed medical inspector for the western regions of the Grand Duchy of Warsaw (1807–15). A typical product of the German-Jewish Enlightenment, he at first remained aloof from Polish Jewry, but a spiritual crisis led him to approach R. David of *Lelov, who introduced him to R. *Jacob Isaac ha-Ḥozeh mi-Lublin, the Seer of Lublin. Bernard, known thereafter as R. Ḥayyim David, became a strictly Orthodox Jew and a follower of the Seer. He grew a beard, although he retained western dress, and never mastered Yiddish. As the Warsaw Jewish archives have shown, he was a leading communal figure and later worked in collaboration with R. *Simḥah Bunem of Przysucha. Among the Jews and Christians whom he treated, Bernard was venerated as a saint and he spent the rest of his life in Piotrkow, both as head of the local hospital and as a "wonder-working" Ḥasid. Although his wife opposed the Seer's wish to designate her husband as his successor, Bernard was widely regarded as the Seer's spiritual heir and for decades after the physician's death his grave was a center of ḥasidic pilgrimage.

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BERNARD, JESSIE (1903–1996), U.S. sociologist and feminist. Born Jessie Sarah Ravitch in Minneapolis, Minnesota, the daughter of Jewish-Romanian immigrants, Bernard received B.A. (1923) and M.A. (1924) degrees from the University of Minnesota. Her M.A. thesis was entitled "Changes of Attitudes of Jews in the First and Second Generation." In 1935 Bernard earned a Ph.D. from Washington University in St. Louis. In some of her work Bernard collaborated with her husband, Luther Lee Bernard, a professor of sociology whom she had met at the University of Minnesota. Bernard spent many years on the faculties of Washington University and Pennsylvania State University. In her early career she researched issues relating to Jewish life. Later, her concerns focused on the family, sexuality, and gender. In her sixties Bernard became an ardent advocate of feminism; she was an influential figure who was regarded as a role model for younger women. She served as president of the Eastern Sociological Association and president of the Society for the Study of Social Problems; in retirement Bernard was a visiting professor at Princeton University. Among awards established in her name are the Jessie Bernard Wise Women Award of The Center for Women's Policy Studies and The American Sociological Association's Jessie Bernard Award for scholarly works dealing with the role of women in society, presented at the group's annual meeting. Among Bernard's publications are *Academic Women* (1964); *The Future of Marriage* (1972); *The Future of Motherhood* (1975); and *The Female World* (1981). Bernard's books were often best sellers and frequently controversial. *The Future of Marriage*, for example, concluded that, while men thrived emotionally in marriage, women were oppressed.

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[Libby White (2nd ed.)]

BERNARD, TRISTAN (1866–1947), French playwright and novelist. Born in Besançon, Bernard began his career as a sports writer, but soon turned to the theater, where he was able to exercise his talent for comedy, good-humored satire, and witty observation of the man in the street. His *bons mots* were so famous that for three decades he was credited with many of the jokes current in France. Bernard wrote several novels, notably *Mémoires d'un jeune homme rangé* (1899), *Amants et voleurs* (1905), and *Mathilde et ses mitaines* (1912). He is best remembered, however, as the author of such hilarious comedies as *Les pieds nickelés* (1895), *L'anglais tel qu'on le parle* (1899), *Le petit café* (1911), *Le prince charmant* (1923), *Jules, Juliette, et Julien* (1929), *Le sauvage* (1931), and *Que le monde est petit* (1935). Tristan Bernard combined the wit of the French with the bitter humor of the Jew. *Le Juif de Venise* (1936) attempts to reinterpret the character of Shakespeare's Shylock. He was arrested by the Nazis during World War II but was released, following the intervention of influential friends. His son, JEAN-JACQUES BERNARD (1888–1972), also wrote a number of popular plays including *Martine* (1922) and *L'invitation au voyage* (1924). Though a convert to Catholicism, he was imprisoned at Compiègne for part of the Nazi occupation. His war experiences were recorded in *Le camp de la mort lente* (1945) and are reflected in the story, *L'Intouchable* (1947).

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[Moshe Catane]

BERNARDI, HERSCHEL (1924–1986), U.S. actor. Born in New York City, Bernardi was the product of a long-established family of Yiddish performers. On stage from childhood, he made his first on-camera appearances in 1939 in the Yiddish-language films *Green Fields* and *The Singing Blacksmith*. Bernardi toured in a one-man program of Shalom Aleichem stories and performed in *The World of Sholom Aleichem*, 1954. Along with many fellow entertainers, he was blacklisted by

Hollywood in the early 1950s for alleged Communist ties. Bernardi's first part on Broadway was in the musical *Bajour* in 1965. He then played Tevye in the Broadway production of *Fiddler on the Roof* (1966–67), as well as in a revival run at Lincoln Center in 1981. He also performed in the Broadway productions *Zorba* (1968–69) and *The Goodbye People* (1979).

In addition to his many television guest appearances and roles in TV movies, Bernardi is well remembered for his characterizations of Lt. Jacoby on the *Peter Gunn* detective series (1958–61) and Arnie Nuvo in the sitcom *Arnie* (1970–72). Bernardi also provided voiceovers for hundreds of cartoons and commercials, most notably the wisecracking Charley the Tuna and the laughing Jolly Green Giant. At one point in his career, he had strained his vocal chords so severely that his doctor ordered him not to speak for a full year or he might lose his voice permanently.

He appeared in a number of films over the years, among them *Murder by Contract* (1958); *The Savage Eye* (1960); *A Cold Wind in August* (1961); *Irma La Douce* (1963); *Love with the Proper Stranger* (1963); and *The Front* (1976). Bernardi was one of the main interviewees in the 1984 documentary *Almonds and Raisins*, written by Wolf *Mankowitz and narrated by Orson Welles. The film examines the dozens of Yiddish-language talking films made in the U.S. and Europe between the release of *The Jazz Singer* in 1927 and the outbreak of World War II.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: J. Bernardi, *My Father the Actor* (1971).

[Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

°**BERNARDINO DA FELTRE** (1439–1494), *Franciscan friar, born at Feltre, N. Italy. From 1471 Bernardino began to attain a great reputation throughout northern Italy as a preacher, especially of the Lenten sermons urging the people to repentance. Pursuing the policy of his order, Bernardino inveighed against the Jews and supported the foundation of public loan-banks (*Monte di Pietà) in order to displace Jewish moneylenders. His preaching was mainly responsible for the blood libel at *Trent in 1475. In the following year, he made a similar attempt at Reggio, and then in Bassano and Mantua; in 1485 he instigated the expulsion of the Jews from Perugia, and in 1486 from Gubbio. In 1488 he was expelled from Florence to prevent disorders. In 1491 in Ravenna he succeeded in having the Jews expelled and the synagogue destroyed. In 1492 he secured the expulsion of the Jews from Campo San Pietro, and from Brescia in 1494. Shortly after his death he was beatified.

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[Cecil Roth]

°**BERNARDINO DA SIENA** (1380–1444), Franciscan friar, celebrated for his powerful oratory. One of the main themes urged by Bernardino in his sermons was the return of the Church to its original purity and the exclusion of any form of association between Christians and Jews. Hence, Bernardino ruthlessly upheld the application of anti-Jewish restrictions, including segregation, exclusion from money-lending, limitation of economic activities, and wearing of the Jewish badge. He preached throughout Tuscany, Umbria, and Abruzzi, culminating in inflammatory sermons delivered at Aquila in 1438, attended by King René of Anjou. Almost everywhere, Bernardino's sermons resulted in a deterioration of the relationships between Christians and Jews and often provoked disorders. The circle of disciples which formed around Bernardino assiduously propagated his anti-Jewish doctrine. Most important of those whom he influenced were Barnabas of Terni, Giacomo della Marca, and *Bernardino da Feltre.

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[Attilio Milano]

°**BERNARD OF CLAIRVAUX** (1090–1153), French Cistercian, homilist, and theologian. In 1146, when preaching the Second Crusade, he intervened orally and in writing to protect the Jews in the Rhineland from persecution incited by a certain monk Radulph, declaring that an attempt on the life of a Jew was a sin tantamount to making an attempt on the life of Jesus. A letter addressed by Bernard to the Germans implicitly repudiates the policy urged by *Peter the Venerable, abbot of Cluny, against the Jews (although without expressly naming the abbot) by emphasizing the difference between Jews and Muslims; Bernard, while considering it right to take up arms against Muslims, maintains that it is forbidden to attack Jews. While Peter wished to expropriate the wealth of the Jews to finance the Crusade, Bernard limited himself to recommending the abolition of interest on credit they had advanced to crusaders. He finally recalled in his epistle the fate of Peter the Hermit and his followers, who had persecuted the Jews during the First Crusade and led his supporters into such peril that practically none had survived. Bernard warned that the present crusaders might well suffer similar Divine retribution: "It is to be feared that if you act in like manner, a similar fate will strike you." Jewish chroniclers stress Bernard's disinterestedness in his defense of the Jews.

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[Bernhard Blumenkranz]

BERNAYS, family originating in Germany with branches elsewhere in Central Europe and the U.S.

ISAAC BEN JACOB BERNAYS (1792–1849), rabbi of Hamburg, Germany, was born in Mainz, studied at Wuerzburg University and at the yeshivah of Abraham Bing and was appointed rabbi of Hamburg in 1821. While Bernays, who preferred the Sephardi designation of ḥakham, was committed to the preservation of inherited customs and ceremonies, he did modernize the curriculum of the local *talmud torah* and regularly gave sermons in the German vernacular. In his struggle against Reform in the community, Bernays formulated elements of a "modern orthodoxy" which influenced the views of his disciple, Samson Raphael *Hirsch. In 1842 Bernays interdicted the Reform siddur, then republished by the Hamburg Temple Congregation, stating that a Jew did not fulfill his religious duties if he read his *tefillot* from this prayer book. *Der biblische Orient*, the only work attributed to him, is considered by many to have been written by or in cooperation with J.A. von Kalb, a Christian friend of his from Munich.

Isaac's eldest son JACOB (1824–1881), born in Hamburg, was a philologist and classicist. He taught Greek at Bonn University (1848–53), at which time he published the Teubner edition of Lucretius' *De Rerum Natura* (1850), *Heraklitische Studien* (1850), and *Ueber Spinozas hebraeische Grammatik* (1850). Unlike his younger brother, Michael, Jacob was attached to Judaism and when, because of it, he could not gain promotion at Bonn he left and helped to found the Breslau *Jewish Theological Seminary in 1853/54. Jacob mainly taught classics, history, German literature and Jewish philosophy. He encouraged the publication of treatises with the annual report, himself contributing three (on the poetic fragments of Phocylides, 1856; on the *Chronicle* of Sulpicius Severus, 1861; and Theophrastus' lost work *On Piety*, 1886). His greatest work, *Grundzuege der verlorenen Abhandlung des Aristoteles ueber die Wirkung der Tragoedie* (1857), on Aristotle's treatise which preceded the *Poetics*, aroused considerable criticism. In 1866 Jacob finally overcame the prejudices at Bonn and was appointed (extraordinary) professor and chief librarian, but still maintained an interest in the seminary at Breslau. His collected works were issued in 1885 (edited by Usener; reprinted in 1971).

[Yehoshua Horowitz]

Isaac's younger son, MICHAEL BERNAYS (1834–1897), was a distinguished literary critic and historian. He was professor of German literature at the University of Munich (1874–90) and wrote pioneering textual studies of Goethe. After his indifference towards Judaism led him to convert to Protestantism in 1856 his family broke with him completely. Isaac's other son BERMAN BERNAYS (d. 1879), merchant and secretary to the Viennese economist, Lorenz von Stein, was father of MARTHA BERNAYS (1861–1951) who married Sigmund *Freud.

[George Schwab]

PAUL ISAAC BERNAYS (1888–1977), mathematician, is best known as the coauthor with D. Hilbert of *Grundlagen der Mathematik* (2 vols., 1934–39), which is considered a classic work. Bernays, who was born in London, became Hilbert's assistant in Goettingen in 1917, and was appointed professor in 1922. In 1934 Bernays left Nazi Germany for Zurich, Switzerland, where he taught at the Polytechnicum. In the postwar era, Bernays was mainly concerned with the philosophy of mathematics. In "Some Empirical Aspects of Mathematics" (1965), he argued that his discipline has an objective ("phenomenological") reality distinct from the natural world. Bernays wrote numerous papers on this subject, coauthored with Abraham Fraenkel *Axiomatic Set Theory* (1958), and coedited *Information and Prediction in Science* (1965). A book in his honor entitled *Logica, Studia Paul Bernays Dedicata* was published in Switzerland in 1959. Edward L. *Bernays (1891–1995), was a public relations expert whose methods revolutionized the field of public relations.

[Paul G. Werskey]

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BERNAYS, EDWARD L. (1891–1995), U.S. public relations executive. Born in Vienna, a nephew of Sigmund *Freud, Bernays is regarded by many as the "father" of public relations. His efforts helped popularize Freud's theories in the United States. He also was responsible for molding public opinion on a variety of cultural issues in the United States in the 20th century. He was public relations adviser for the Ballet Russe of Sergei Diaghilev, the Metropolitan Opera, Enrico Caruso, Procter and Gamble, President Calvin Coolidge, Henry Ford, Conde Nast Publications, David *Sarnoff, William *Paley, Clare Booth Luce, Samuel *Goldwyn, Mack Trucks, United Fruit (bananas), American Tobacco, United Brewers Association, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the American Civil Liberties Union, the Waldorf-Astoria hotel, General Electric, General Motors, Westinghouse Electric, and Columbia University. His mother, Anna (Freud) Bernays, was Sigmund Freud's sister. His first cousin was Sigmund's daughter, Anna *Freud, the renowned child psychologist, and his daughter, Anne *Bernays, was a novelist and the wife of Justin Kaplan, a Pulitzer Prize-winning author and biographer of Walt Whitman.

Bernays was raised in New York City from the age of one. He attended public schools and graduated from Cornell University's College of Agriculture in 1912. After World War I (Bernays volunteered to aid the American effort, working in President Woodrow Wilson's Office of War Information), he and his future wife opened an office to promote various clients and causes. Some of his efforts became legendary. To promote Ivory soap and make bathing more popular with children, he set up a national small-sculpture panel that for years oversaw soap-carving competitions. He enlisted "third party authorities" to plead for his clients' causes: to promote the sale of bacon, he conducted a survey of physicians and reported their recommendations that people eat hearty breakfasts, including bacon and eggs.

In the early 1920s, Bernays arranged for the American publication of Freud's *General Introduction to Psychoanalysis*. Bernays used his association with his uncle to establish his own reputation as a thinker and theorist. He wrote several landmark texts, notably *Crystallizing Public Opinion* (1923), *Propaganda* (1928), and "The Engineering of Consent" in *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* (1947).

Several of his social ideas have had long-lasting effects. He helped make it acceptable for women to smoke in public, sponsoring demonstrations in which debutantes gathered on street corners to light up "torches of freedom." In his later years, Bernays was a public opponent of smoking and took part in antismoking campaigns.

In his autobiography, *Biography of an Idea*, in 1965, Bernays recalled a dinner at his home in 1933 where Karl von Weigand, foreign correspondent of the Hearst newspapers, was talking about Joseph *Goebbels and his propaganda plans to consolidate Nazi power. "Goebbels had shown Weigand his propaganda library," Bernays wrote. "Goebbels, said Weigand, was using my book *Crystallizing Public Opinion* as a basis for his destructive campaign against the Jews of Germany. This shocked me … Obviously the attack on the Jews of Germany was no emotional outburst of the Nazis, but a deliberate, planned campaign."

[Stewart Kampel (2nd ed.)]

BERNBACH, WILLIAM (1911–1982), U.S. advertising executive. Born in the Bronx, N.Y., he served in the U.S. Army in World War II and then worked at Grey Advertising, one of a few Jewish-owned advertising agencies in New York. His modest upbringing during the Depression and public school education instilled a strong sense of gratitude for the achievements that lay before him during his remarkable career in advertising.

In 1949, seeking to develop an environment based on the primacy of creativity, he joined with Ned Doyle, another Grey vice president, and with Maxwell Dane, a small agency owner, to form Doyle Dane Bernbach (DDB). They specialized in subtle, intelligent copy and graphics. So successful were these efforts that in less than 20 years the agency had become the sixth largest in the U.S. Bernbach's influence on the contemporary advertising industry was profound. His creative leadership won him many awards.

One of his most famous slogans was "You don't have to be Jewish to love Levy's" (rye bread). That campaign elevated Levy's to the largest seller of rye bread in New York and helped Bernbach and his partners acquire the first of many national and international clients. Other well-known slogans were "Think Small" for a small-car manufacturer and "We Try Harder Because We're Only Number 2" for the Avis car-rental company. In 1954 DDB determined that the uniqueness of Dr. Edwin Land's Polaroid breakthrough could best be demonstrated on live television, so they hired some of the most popular celebrities (Steve Allen, Jack Paar, Johnny Carson, and later Mariette Hartley and James Garner) to demonstrate the benefits of the Polaroid instant camera. The relationship between Polaroid and DDB lasted almost 30 years, and the campaign became one of DDB's most widely recognized.

In its early years, DDB gained its reputation from its ad campaigns for Jewish clients. Orbach's department store, Levy's, and El Al airlines provided the ad agency the opportunity to develop noticeable work, which would eventually gain the attention of Volkswagen. Soon to follow was El Al Israel Airlines' introduction of its trans-Atlantic service from Europe to the U.S. While most airlines would never have shown an image of the ocean in its advertising, for fear of reminding readers of the possibility of a crash, Bernbach faced this fear head on. El Al was the only airline at the time that could offer non-stop service between the two continents. Turning that to El Al's advantage, DDB created the "torn ocean" ad with the headline "The Atlantic Ocean will be 20% smaller." The one-time ad was so powerful, that within one year, El Al's sales tripled.

Bernbach and his partners raised Jewish and other minority advertising agencies into the mainstream of the medium. In 1969 alone, more than 100 new Jewish and Italian agencies opened, ensuring Bernbach's legacy for decades to come. Largely due to Bernbach's business acumen, DDB's $775,000 off-Madison Avenue business in 1949 evolved into a multibillion-dollar international powerhouse by the mid-1980s, when it merged with Needham Harper Worldwide to create DDB Needham. Bernbach was one of the first inductees into the Copywriters Hall of Fame in 1961 and is in the Advertising Hall of Fame.

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[Isadore Barmash / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

BERNE (Ger. Bern), capital of Switzerland. Jews in Berne, engaged in moneylending, are first mentioned in a document of 1262 or 1263. In 1293 or 1294 several Jews were put to death there in consequence of a *blood libel, and the remainder expelled from the city. However, an agreement was made with the citizenry through the intervention of Adolf of Nassau permitting the Jews to return, against a payment of 1,500 marks and a moratorium on debts owed to them. During the *Black Death (1348) the Jews in Berne were accused of poisoning the wells, and a number were burnt at the stake. The Jews were expelled from Berne in 1392 after Christians were permitted to engage in moneylending (1384). Although between 1408 and 1427 Jews were again residing in the city, the only Jews to appear in Berne subsequently were transients, chiefly physicians and cattle dealers. After the occupation of Switzerland by the French revolutionary armies and the foundation of the Helvetian Republic in 1798, a number of Jews from Alsace and elsewhere settled in Berne. They required a special license to engage in commerce and were obliged to keep accounts in German or French instead of their customary Alsatian Judeo-German. These restrictions were removed in 1846. An organized Jewish community was officially established in 1848: a synagogue was consecrated in 1855, and a cemetery in 1871.

In 1906 a beautiful Moorish-style synagogue was built, which was still in use at the beginning of the 21st century. For some 30 years, there was a separate East European Jewish community. Berne University was one of the first German-speaking universities (1836) to allow Jewish lecturers without requiring a change of professed faith, and many Jews subsequently held academic positions there. The university was attended by numerous students from Russia and Hungary before World War I, including Chaim Weizmann. The first Jewish woman lecturer in Switzerland, Anna Tumarkin, was active at Berne University. The famous trial in which evidence was brought that the *Protocols of the Learned *Elders of Zion* was a forgery was held in Berne in the 1930s. In the 1990s the Jewish communities of Berne and *Biel were jointly granted state recognition. In 2000 there were 807 Jews in the canton of Berne.

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[Zvi Avneri / Uri Kaufmann (2nd ed.)]

BERNFELD, SIEGFRIED (1892–1953), psychoanalyst and educator. Born in Lemberg (Lvov), he studied at the universities of Freiburg and Vienna. A pupil of Sigmund Freud, Bernfeld was also influenced by Gustav Wyneken, the German educator and philosopher. He practiced and taught psychoanalysis in Vienna and Berlin and later in Menton, France. Leaving France in 1936, he settled in San Francisco, California. Bernfeld was active in Austrian and German youth movements, applying in practice the conclusions he drew from his psychoanalytic studies. During World War I, he organized the Zionist youth movement in Austria, and published the Zionist youth periodical *Jerubaal* in Vienna (1918–19). Among his other works of Jewish interest are *Das juedische Volk und seine Jugend* (1920). He was a founder of the Hebrew Paedagogium at Vienna and the Jewish children's home at Baumgarten. Bernfeld wrote extensively on a variety of topics. His examination of infant psychology and of Freud's childhood, and also his attempts at educational reform, are noteworthy.

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[Shnayer Z. Leiman]

BERNFELD, SIMON (1860–1940), rabbi, scholar, and author. Bernfeld was born in Stanislav, Galicia, and was educated in Koenigsberg and Berlin. In 1886 he was appointed chief rabbi of the Sephardi community of Belgrade, Serbia; he remained there until 1894, when he returned to Berlin and devoted himself to scholarly pursuits. He continued his literary work until his death, despite blindness in his later years. Bernfeld wrote several monographs in Hebrew on Jewish history and philosophy, the earliest published when he was only 19 (in *Ha-Maggid*, 1 (1879), 91ff.). His best-known work is *Da'at Elohim* ("Knowledge of God," 2 vols., 1897), a history of religious philosophy. He also wrote *Toledot ha-Reformaẓyon ha-Datit be-Yisrael* (1900), a history of the Reform movement; *Benei Aliyyah* (2 vols., 1931), a collection of monographs on famous Jews of various periods; *Sefer ha-Dema'ot* ("Book of Tears," 3 vols., 1923–26), an anthology of historical sources in prose and verse on the persecution of Jews from the earliest periods until the Ukrainian pogroms of 1768, still an important reference work; and *Mavo Sifruti-Histori le-Khitvei ha-Kodesh* (3 vols., 1923–25), an introduction to the Bible from the viewpoint of biblical criticism. Bernfeld also wrote in Hebrew on the history of the Haskalah in Germany and Galicia, *Dor Tahapukhot* (1897–98) and monographs on Muhammad (1898) and on the Crusades (1899). Bernfeld's works in German include *Juden und Judentum im neunzehnten Jahrhundert* (1898); *Der Talmud, sein Wesen, seine Bedeutung und seine Geschichte* (1900); and *Kaempfende Geister in Judentum* (1907). His German translation of the Bible, which follows traditional translations, was published in several editions. Bernfeld edited *Die Lehren des Judenthums* (4 vols., 1920–24 and later editions; Eng. tr. of vol. 1 by A.H. Koller, *Teachings of Judaism* (1929), vol. 1: *Foundations of Jewish Ethics*, with new introduction by S.E. Karff, 1968). Although not original in his ideas, Bernfeld popularized and disseminated much important literary and scientific knowledge.

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[Joseph Gedaliah Klausner]

BERNHARD, GEORG (1875–1944), German political economist and journalist. Born into an acculturated German-Jewish trading family in Berlin, Bernhard first went into in the banking business from 1892 to 1898, then turned to professional journalism. In 1896, he joined the financial staff of the Berlin *Welt am Montag* as "Gracchus." In 1898, he was appointed editor of the economic section of the *Berliner Zeitung* by L. *Ullstein and in 1902 created the first popular financial column of its kind at the *Berliner Morgenpost* (est. 1898). In addition, from 1901 to 1903, he contributed to M. *Harden's periodical *Die Zukunft* (est. 1892) as "Plutus." At the same time, he enrolled at Berlin University in 1899, completing his studies in economics and public law in 1902. As a revisionist Social Demokrat, Bernhard was elected a member of the Reichstag in 1903 and thus had to resign from all journalistic posts. Instead, he founded his own financial weekly *Plutus. Kritische Zeitschrift fuer Volkswirtschaft und Finanzwesen* (1904–25). After a dramatic dispute with A. Bebel in 1903, he was eventually excluded from the Social Democratic Party. In 1908, he returned to the Ullstein company as publisher-editor of the dailies *Berliner Morgenpost* and *B.Z. am Mittag*. When Ullstein took over the prestigious *Vossische Zeitung* in 1913, Bernhard became its editor-in-chief from 1914 to 1930 (until 1920 together with Hermann Bachmann). He was also appointed lecturer at the Berlin *Handelshochschule* (1916–30, from 1928 as honorary professor). As one of the most influential journalists of the German Empire and Weimar Republic, Bernhard was deeply involved in communal and national politics. After 1918, he strongly supported a reconciliation between Germany and France, which, however, made him a public enemy of the political right, including the NSDAP. Subsequently, Bernhard was appointed to the National Economic Council and, as a leading member of the DDP (from 1924), again to the Reichstag (1928–30). Between 1913 and 1930, he was elected council member of several press associations and was active in German-Jewish communal organizations, e.g., as a council member of the Central-Verein, ORT, and, though critical of Zionism, the Pro-Palaestina-Komitee. At the end of 1930, Bernhard resigned from all journalistic and political posts, engaging in commerce instead. In February 1933, he managed to flee via East Prussia and Denmark to Paris, where he founded the influential emigrant paper *Pariser Tageblatt* (1933–36, continued as *Pariser Tageszeitung* until 1940). At the end of 1937, however, he had to resign as editor-in-chief, instead working as a representative of the World Jewish Congress in Paris. In addition, from 1933, he engaged in numerous emigrant organizations (e.g., Volksfront, FEAF, ZVE, etc.), and served as an adviser to the French government. In 1940, he was interned at Bassens near Bordeaux but, after a dramatic flight to Spain, succeeded in escaping to the United States in 1941. On his arrival in New York, he was employed at the Institute of Jewish Affairs of the American Jewish Congress, continuing his restless activity for several German-American emigrant organizations. Among Bernhard's published works are numerous studies on politics, economics, and finance (cf. ABJ II (1993), 274–279). He published *Die Deutsche Tragoedie* (1933); *Meister und Dilettanten am Kapitalismus* (1936); *Warum schweigt die Welt?* (ed. B. Jacob, 1936, in collaboration with others), etc.

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[Johannes Valentin Schwarz (2nd ed.)]

BERNHARD, SANDRA (1955–), U.S. actress, comedian, vocalist, author. Born in the suburbs of Flint, Michigan, the daughter of a proctologist and an artist, Bernhard's first public performance was singing "Hello Dolly" at a bar mitzvah. She spent eight months working on a kibbutz in Israel. At 18 she moved to California, where she first worked as a manicurist for clients such as Tina Louise. Her comedy career began in the late 1970s in Los Angeles' comedy clubs and led to a spot as a regular on the short-lived *Richard Pryor Show*. Her first major film role was opposite Robert DeNiro in Martin Scorcese's *King of Comedy* (1983). Her other major film credits include *Hudson Hawk*, *The Apocalypse*, and *Inside Monkey Zetterland*. Bernhard has received critical acclaim for her distinctive one-woman shows, a format particularly well suited to her wide-ranging caustic social commentary and extremely personal performances. Her most notable one-woman shows are "Without You I'm Nothing" (1988), which was later adapted into film, and "I'm Still Here … Damn It!" (1998). Throughout her career, Bernhard's controversial personal life has been deeply intertwined with her professional success. Her highly publicized relationship with Madonna coincided with her appearance in Madonna's 1991 video *Truth or Dare*, and she also received great attention for her regular role on the television show *Roseanne* as the title character's lesbian friend. Bernhard has released seven albums, winning high praise in particular for her 1985 debut album *I'm Your Woman*. Bernhard is also the author of three books, including her autobiography *Confessions of a Pretty Lady* (1988) as well as *Love, Love, and Love* (1993) and *May I Kiss you on the Lips, Miss Sandra?* (1998).

[Walter Driver (2nd ed.)]

BERNHARDT, SARAH (Rosine Bernard; 1844–1923), French actress. Fathered by a Frenchman (Edouard Bernard), she was the eldest of three illegitimate daughters born to Judith Van Hard, a Dutch-Jewish music teacher. When Sarah was ten years old she was sent to the convent of Versailles and baptized. However, she remained proud of her Jewish heritage. She made her debut at the Comédie Française in 1862 as Iphigénie in Racine's *Iphigénie en Aulide*. She acted at the Odéon from 1866 to 1872, and achieved popular acclaim in Coppée's *Le Passant* as the page Zanetto, her first male role. Returning to the Comédie Française, she became one of the greatest interpreters of Racine, playing *Andromaque* in 1873 and *Phèdre* in 1874. Temperament and impatience with authority ended her career at the Comédie in 1879. She embarked on a series of tours abroad and drew crowds wherever she appeared. She acted in a London season almost annually until as late as 1922. She visited the U.S. nine times, and acted in Germany, Russia, Latin America, and Australia. Everywhere she conquered her audience with *La Dame aux Camélias* by Alexandre Dumas, fils. Forming her own company, she appeared in both classical and modern works, and excelled in Sardou's *Fédora* (1882), *Théodora* (1884), and *La Tosca* (1889), all of which he wrote for her. Almost every role she acted became her personal triumph. In Edmond Rostand's *L'Aiglon* she played the part of Napoleon's 21-year-old son when she was herself 55. In 1899 she took over a large Paris theater, renamed it Théâtre Sarah Bernhardt, and directed it until her death. Here she presented *Hamlet* and herself played the title role. A neglected knee injury resulted in complications, and in 1914 Bernhardt was obliged to have her right leg amputated. She continued to appear in roles which permitted her to sit, such as Racine's *Athalie*. The "Divine Sarah," as she was called by Victor Hugo, died while at work on a film. Her autobiography *Ma Double Vie* was published in 1907.

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[Linda Gutstein]

BERNHEIM, GILLES (1952–), French Orthodox rabbi and philosopher. Bernheim simultaneously completed rabbinical studies at the Seminaire Israelite de France and higher studies in philosophy. As a rabbi, he was first appointed chaplain for students (from 1978) and academics (until 1996). He gained recognition in the Jewish as well as the non-Jewish world through his effort to combine Jewish tradition and Western philosophy, an endeavor that he tried to convey through numerous articles, conferences, and books. From 1996 he headed the Torah Committee at the Consistory of Paris, and was appointed in 1997 chief rabbi of Paris' main synagogue, the Grande Synagogue de la Victoire. Committed to interfaith dialogue, Bernheim was deputy president of the Amitie Judeo-Chretienne de France, an association founded in the aftermath of World War II following in the footsteps of Jules Isaac's work. Ethics and social problems were also central to Bernheim's commitment, and he developed expertise on problems of medical ethics which led him to be chosen as an honorary member of the Conseil National du Sida, a government body dedicated to fighting the AIDS epidemic and helping its victims. Bernheim was also deputy president of the Medical Ethics Committee at the Consistory of Paris. According to him, "in the philosophy of Israel, there is neither dissociation nor a gap between ethics and religion. Concern and care for the other is the way to meet the divine." Such a vision of Judaism has deep implications for the life of the city (as clearly developed in his book *Un rabbin dans la cite*). Hence Bernheim's dedication to meeting the face of the other, in the sense defined by Emmanuel *Levinas, and his attitude of openness and dialogue towards Gentiles as well as Jews, with emphasis on reception and transmission, mutual teaching and enrichment. This commitment ran counter to ultra-Orthodox tendencies in modern-day French Jewry, which may explain his failure to be elected as France's chief rabbi in 1994.

[Dror Franck Sullaper (2nd ed.)]

BERNHEIM, HIPPOLYTE (1840–1919), French neurologist. Born in Alsace, he was appointed professor of internal medicine at Nancy University in 1878. In 1884 he began to devote himself to nervous and mental disease and was one of the first to concentrate systematically on the problems of psychotherapy. His methods included suggestion and hypnosis. He was regarded as head of the Nancy school of psychiatry, as opposed to the Paris school headed by Charcot, which saw hypnosis as an investigative method and not as a method of treatment. Bernheim based treatment on persuasion – the doctor's psychological influence on the course of the neurosis. His methods became outdated but his activities were instrumental in winning acceptance for psychotherapy by the medical profession. Bernheim's most important work was *De la suggestion et de ses applications à la thérapeutique* (1886). His other works include *Hypnotisme, suggestion et psychothérapie* (1890). His work laid the foundation for an understanding of the human personality in the light of psychopathology rather than of philosophy. Bernheim recognized "automatisms" which were not under conscious control. He absolved the will as being the origin of mental disease and crime – thus attacking the stigma attaching to insanity and opening the road to the principle of "irresistible impulse" in the penal code.

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[Joshua O. Leibowitz]

BERNHEIM, ISAAC WOLFE (1848–1945), U.S. distiller and philanthropist. Bernheim was born in Schmieheim, Baden. He emigrated to the U.S. in 1867 and settled in Paducah, Kentucky, where he worked as a salesman and bookkeeper. In 1872 Bernheim, together with a brother, established a distillery. The business was moved to Louisville, Ky., in 1882, and became one of the most important in the country. Bernheim made several gifts to public causes. In 1889 he organized the first YMHA in Louisville and contributed its first home. He contributed to Hebrew Union College its first library building (1912), and later helped subsidize its second. Other benefactions included an addition to the Louisville Jewish Hospital (1916), sculpture for Louisville and the Statuary Hall in Washington, a 13,000-acre nature reserve near Louisville, and gifts to the village of his birth. Bernheim was rigid and autocratic in temperament. Particularly hostile to Zionism, in 1918 he addressed a letter to the Central Conference of American Rabbis urging the founding of a "Reform Church of American Israelites" to consist of "100 percent Americans." In a 1921 address to the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, of which he was a vice president and for over 40 years member of the executive board, he called for a Sunday Sabbath and argued that the terms "Jew and Judaism" were a "reservoir from which is fed the perennial spring of hatred, malice, and contempt." Likewise he urged that foreign terms such as "temple" and "synagogue" strengthened the accusation that the Jews were a "foreign and indigestible element." From 1906 to 1921 Bernheim was treasurer of the American Jewish Committee. He wrote two autobiographical works, *Bernheim Family* (1910) and *Closing Chapters of a Busy Life* (1929). He also wrote *History of the Settlement of the Jews in Paducah and the Lower Ohio Valley* (1912).

[Sefton D. Temkin]

BERNHEIM, LOUIS (1861–1931), Belgian army officer. Born in Saint-Josse-ten-Noode, Bernheim was commissioned in the Grenadiers and was transferred to the general staff in 1888. Later he returned to the Grenadiers and on the outbreak of World War I commanded the 7th Infantry Regiment at Antwerp. At the battle of the Marne, Bernheim commanded a Belgian brigade in the First Division and later defended Antwerp against German attacks. He subsequently took command of the First Division. He was seriously wounded in September 1915 but was promoted to lieutenant general in the following year and in 1918 commanded three Belgian divisions in Flanders in the final advance on the German lines. Bernheim received numerous awards and honors and was given a state funeral. After his death a statue was erected in his honor in a Brussels square.

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BERNHEIMER, CARLO (1877–?), Italian scholar. Born in Leghorn, Bernheimer taught Sanskrit at the University of Bologna from 1906 to 1938, when he was dismissed under the Fascist racial laws. Bernheimer devoted himself especially to the study of Hebrew paleography, and bibliography. In his *Paleografia ebraica* (1924) he set himself the task "of illustrating… everything that concerns Hebrew manuscripts." He also published catalogs of the Hebrew and cognate manuscripts in the *talmud torah* of Leghorn (1915), in French, the Ambrosian Library of Milan (1933), and the Biblioteca Estense of Modena (1960).

[Alfredo Mordechai Rabello]

BERNHEIMER, CHARLES SELIGMAN (1868–1960), U.S. social worker. Bernheimer, who was born in Philadelphia, Pa., served with Jewish welfare and educational organizations during six decades, holding such posts as business secretary of the *Jewish Publication Society of America (1890–1906), executive director of the Hebrew Educational Society of Brooklyn (1910–19), and director of community studies for the *National Jewish Welfare Board (1921–40). He also edited the information bulletin of the Jewish Welfare Board, *The Jewish Center*, for many years. As assistant head worker of the University Settlement in New York City (1906–10), Bernheimer played a prominent role in support of the workers in the Shirtwaist Strike of 1909 that helped establish modern trade unionism in the garment trades. Bernheimer edited the pioneer study *The Russian Jew in the United States* (1905), in which he wrote the chapters on Philadelphia. He was coauthor of the book *Boys' Clubs* (1914) and contributed to many periodicals. His memoirs *Half a Century in Community Service* were published in 1948.

[Irwin Yellowitz]

BERNHEIM PETITION, petition against Nazi anti-Jewish legislation, signed by Franz Bernheim on the initiative of Emil *Margulies and submitted to the League of Nations on May 17, 1933, by representatives of the *Comité des Délégations Juives (Leo *Motzkin, Emil Margulies, and Nathan Feinberg). At the same time they presented to the League a similar petition signed by the Comité, the American Jewish Congress, and other Jewish institutions. Since there was a special procedure regarding petitions addressed by inhabitants of German Upper Silesia, Bernheim's petition alone was immediately considered by the League. When the Nazis came to power, Bernheim, a warehouse employee in Upper Silesia, was dismissed from work as a result of racial discrimination, and took up temporary residence in Prague. In his petition he complained that the anti-Jewish legislation of the Third Reich was also being applied to Upper Silesia, in violation of the German-Polish Convention of May 15, 1922 (Geneva Convention), which guaranteed all minorities in Upper Silesia equal civil and political rights. The petition requested the League to state that all the anti-Jewish measures, if and when applied in Upper Silesia, infringed upon the Geneva Convention and were therefore null and void, and that the rights of Upper Silesian Jews be reinstated and that they receive compensation for damages. Bernheim's petition was placed on the agenda of the 73rd session of the League Council on May 22, 1933. The German representative, von Keller, lodged an objection denying Bernheim's right to submit the complaint, a plea that was rejected by an ad hoc committee of jurists. Four days later von Keller declared in the name of his government that internal German legislation did not in any way affect the General Convention and that if its provisions had been violated, this could only have been due to errors and misconstructions on the part of subordinate officials. The purpose of this public apology was to prevent a general debate on the petition, but these tactics failed, and in two public sessions (May 30 and June 6) the persecution of Jews in Germany was fully discussed. Many of the speakers severely censured Germany for the treatment of its Jews and demanded that they be accorded minimum human rights. In a unanimous decision, Germany and Italy abstaining, the Council adopted a resolution noting the German government's declaration and requesting it to furnish the Council with information on further developments. On September 30, 1933, the German government submitted a letter in which it claimed to have fulfilled its obligations, and that the rights of the Jews of Upper Silesia had been restored. The main objective of the Comité des Délégations Juives in bringing the petitions before the League was to focus world attention on the anti-Jewish legislation of Nazi Germany and the persecution of its Jews, and to have it condemned. The discussions in the League Council, and especially the declaration of the German government, helped the Jews of Upper Silesia in their struggle for their rights before such local bodies as the Mixed Commission established under the Geneva Convention. Until the expiration of the Convention on July 15, 1937, the Jews of Upper Silesia continued to enjoy equality of rights, and even *sheḥitah*, forbidden in the Third Reich, was permitted them.

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[Nathan Feinberg]

BERNSTEIN, ABRAHAM MOSHE (1866–1932), *ḥazzan* and composer. Born in Shatsk, in the Russian province of Minsk, Bernstein was a cantor in Bialystok and choir director for cantor Baruch Leib Rosowsky in Riga before being appointed cantor of the Taharas Kodesh synagogue in Vilna (1893–1923). A prolific composer, he set to music more than 150 Hebrew and Yiddish poems, the best known being *Zamd und Stern* and *Hemeril* ("The little hammer"). He compiled a collection of folksongs, *Muzikalisher Pinkos* (1927) and a cantorial collection, *Avodas Haborei* (3 vols. 1931). His son was the Israeli composer Aviassaf Bernstein (Barnea; 1903–1957).

BERNSTEIN, ALINE (1881–1955), U.S. stage designer. Born in New York City, Aline Bernstein worked at Neighborhood Playhouse from 1915, did settings for *The Dybbuk* and costumes for Max Reinhardt's *The Miracle*, 1924. Later she designed for the Theater Guild and Civic Repertory, and did settings in the 1930s for *Reunion in Vienna, Animal Kingdom, The Cherry Orchard, Romeo and Juliet,* and other plays. With Irene Lewisohn, she founded in 1937 the Museum of Costume Art in Rockefeller Center, which is now housed in the Metropolitan Museum of Art. She wrote her autobiography, *Actor's Daughter* (1941), and wrote and illustrated *Masterpieces of Women's Costume of the 18th and 19th Centuries* (1959).

BERNSTEIN, ARNOLD (1888–1971), German shipbuilder. Born in Breslau, Germany, Bernstein served in the German Army during World War I and was awarded the Iron Cross. After the war he began a small shipping business. His first successful venture came as a result of his construction of ships, called "floating garages," on which uncrated automobiles could be shipped without risk of damage. The process involved a substantial saving in automobile transportation, and at one time his ships carried more than half the automobiles exported from America to Europe. With the sharp decline in tourism in the difficult economic period of the early 1930s, Bernstein converted his ships into combined freight-passenger vessels and introduced one-class tourist cabins. He bought the Red Star Line with the profits from this venture. Shortly thereafter he established the Palestine Shipping Company, which included the *Tel Aviv*, the first ship fully manned by a Jewish crew. After difficult negotiations with the Nazi government and in cooperation with Zionist organizations Bernstein was able to rescue many Jewish emigrants from Germany to Ereẓ Israel on his ships beginning from 1935. During a visit to Germany in 1937 he was arrested by the Nazis on the charge that he had violated currency regulations. A prison sentence and a fine of $400,000 were imposed on him. The Holland-America Line gained control of all his ships in return for payment of the fine, except those belonging to the Palestine Shipping Company. Some months later the latter went into bankruptcy. Upon Bernstein's ransom in 1939 he moved to New York where he organized the Arnold Bernstein Shipping Company and in the 1950s, the Atlantic Banner Line. This failed because it could not meet the competition of the airlines. In 2001, his autobiography was published posthumously in German translation (*Von Breslau ueber Hamburg nach New York*).

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BERNSTEIN, ARON DAVID (1812–1884), German political and scientific writer and one of the founders of the Jewish Reform community in Berlin. Born in Danzig (Gdansk), he had a thorough religious education in a yeshivah in Fordon, but no secular schooling of any kind. At the age of 20 he went to Berlin, where he taught himself the German language, and literature and science. He earned his living for some years as an antiquarian bookseller, but began publishing in German in 1834 with an annotated translation of the Song of Songs. Bernstein combined progressive thought in politics, science and religion with a nostalgic affection for Jewish ghetto life. His main interest was natural science, of which he became a successful popularizer. He promoted the Jewish Reform Movement in Berlin, proclaiming that change is the basic principle of Judaism. In addition he edited the community monthly, *Die Reform-Zeitung*. Bernstein's widely read stories, written in the German-Jewish dialect *(Judendeutsch)* – *Voegele der Maggid* and *Mendel Gibbor* (1860; reissued 1934, 1935, 1994) – were forerunners of a literary genre which sentimentalized the Jewish lower middle class in small-town ghettos. They were translated into several languages. During the Prussian liberal era, Bernstein, who wrote under the pseudonym of A. Rebenstein, was influential as a political journalist. A champion of democracy, he fought on the barricades during the Prussian revolution of 1848. In 1849, when the revolutionary tide receded, he founded the *Urwaehlerzeitung*, an organ advocating moderate political reform. This brought him into conflict with the authorities, and in about 1852 the newspaper was suppressed and he was sentenced to four months' imprisonment. As a successor to the *Urwaehlerzeitung*, Bernstein founded the influential daily, the *Berliner Volkszeitung*, where his political editorials and articles on popular science appeared for nearly 30 years. A selection of his political articles was published in 1883–84. His essays on science, *Naturwissenschaftliche Volksbuecher*, were published in 21 volumes (1855–56), and a Hebrew translation (mainly by David Frischmann) entitled *Yedi'ot ha-Teva* appeared in Warsaw from 1881 to 1891. Bernstein himself was a practical scientist and experimented widely in telegraphy and photography.

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juedischer Autoren 2 (1993), 289–300 (bibl.); G. von Glasenapp, *Aus der Judengasse* (1996).

[Robert Weltsch / Marcus Pyka (2nd ed.)]

BERNSTEIN, ARYEH LEIB (1708–1788), chief rabbi of Galicia, and merchant; born in Brody. While a young man he served for a brief period as rabbi of Zbarazh, subsequently returning to Brody where he entered commerce. The 1740s was a period of prosperity for Brody; the Jews there began to establish commercial links abroad. Bernstein succeeded in concentrating a large part of the trade in his hands. When in 1776 the election of a chief rabbi (*Oberlandesrabbiner*) of Galicia was about to take place, the rabbi-designate Ezekiel *Landau remained in Prague, and Bernstein was appointed. At his new place of residence in Lemberg, Bernstein took over control of the religious functionaries and the administration of taxes in the communities under his jurisdiction. His authoritarian ways and interference in the administration of the communities aroused opposition which was exacerbated by his financial dealings, which he continued while serving as chief rabbi. His opponents complained bitterly against him, and in 1785 an investigation was begun. However, through his influence, the charges were dropped and his accusers were punished. Despite this, his authority was undermined. The increasing dissatisfaction among the mass of Jews, coupled with the inclination of the authorities to abolish the centralistic chief rabbinate, led to its abrogation on Nov. 1, 1786. Bernstein, who was permitted to retain the title only, did not succeed in his intention to continue to manage religious affairs. He subsequently devoted himself mainly to commerce and left a large fortune to his heirs.

[Moshe Landau]

His father, ISSACHAR BER (d. 1764) was also a distinguished scholar, rabbi, and communal leader. Issachar Ber's first position was as a rabbi of the Kehillat Ḥayyatin ("Congregation of the Tailors") in Brody. In 1750, he was elected *rosh ha-medinah* ("head of the province") of Brody, and also was appointed "a trustee of the Council of Four Lands and *parnas* of Rydzyna Province." Despite the intense opposition of some communities, he remained a trustee until 1763.

[Itzhak Alfassi]

BIBLIOGRAPHY: N.M. Gelber, *Aus zwei Jahrunderten* (1924), 14–37; idem, in: JQR, 14 (1923/24), 303–27; S. Buber, *Anshei Shem* (1895), xixff.

BERNSTEIN, BÉLA (1868–1944), Hungarian Jewish historian. Bernstein was born in Várpalota; he graduated in 1892 from the Jewish Theological Seminary of Budapest, and received his doctorate in 1890 in Leipzig. He served as rabbi in Szombathely from 1892 to 1909 and then became rabbi in Nyiregyháza. He tried to introduce a uniform religious education in Hungary in 1901. Bernstein wrote works devoted to the history of the Jews in Hungary: *Az 1848–49-iki magyar szabadságharc és a zsidók* ("The 1848–49 Hungarian Revolution and the Jews" (1898), preface by Mór Jókai); "The History of the Jews in Vasmegye," in: *Magyar Zsidó Szemle*, vols. 30–32 (1913–15); and *"Die Anfaenge der Judengemeinde inNyiregyháza"* in *Semitic Studies in Memory of Immanuel Loew* (1947). In his last years Bernstein worked on his memoirs. He was deported to Auschwitz by the Nazis in 1944 and died there.

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[Alexander Scheiber]

BERNSTEIN, CARL (1944–), U.S. investigative reporter. Born in Washington, D.C., Bernstein, with Bob Woodward, succeeded, with their disclosures of the Watergate scandal in the 1970s, in helping to end the presidency of Richard M. Nixon, who resigned in disgrace rather than face impeachment.

After attending the University of Maryland from 1961 to 1964, Bernstein worked as a reporter for the *Washington Star*. He joined the *Elizabeth* (N.J.) *Daily Journal* in 1965 and worked until the following year as a reporter and columnist before joining the *Washington Post*, where he worked as a reporter for ten years, ending in 1976. Bernstein was a reporter for six years before he began work on one of the most important news stories of the 20th century. He covered local county and municipal governments, and liked to write long articles about Washington's people and neighborhoods. Although he was not assigned to the story of the break-in at the Watergate complex headquarters of the Democratic National Committee on June 17, 1972, he wrote an accompanying story about the five burglary suspects to complement Woodward's coverage of the break-in. He then persuaded his editors to let him cover leads that Woodward was not following. After Bernstein traced the origin of a $25,000 payment to the burglars back to the Republican re-election committee, he and Woodward began working together. At first the relationship was testy but they agreed they had to discover more about the story, and began to cooperate. They labeled one anonymous source Deep Throat and vowed not to disclose his/her identity. As the Watergate stories began to implicate high officials in the Nixon administration, White House officials denied the stories vigorously. The pair worked on the story almost alone for a year. In March 1973, a letter from one of the burglars, James McCord, to the judge presiding over a grand jury, implicated highly placed administration officials in perjury and use of political pressure, confirming Woodward and Bernstein's reporting. The reporters wrote *All the President's Men*, recounting their exhaustive and exclusive reporting, and the account was a huge bestseller. It became a major motion picture, with Robert Redford portraying Woodward and Dustin *Hoffman playing Bernstein.

Within a week of Nixon's resignation, Woodward and Bernstein began writing *The Final Days,* a chronicle of the last 15 months of Nixon's presidency, culminating in the resignation in August 1974. The book was heavily criticized for its use of "backstairs gossip" and for alleged tastelessness. And some denied their quoted statements, although Bernstein, backing the reporting, said that some of these sources were likely to deny that they had been interviewed. Both books had major sales in the United States and abroad.

His marriage to the writer-turned-film director Nora *Ephron ended in divorce, as did his first marriage. Ephron used the marriage as the basis of her novel *Heartburn*, which became a film of the same name. Bernstein was portrayed in that movie by Jack Nicholson.

After Bernstein left the Post, he worked for the American Broadcasting Company and wrote for a number of magazines. With Marco Politi he wrote *His Holiness: John Paul II and the Hidden History of Our Time*, published in 1996.

[Stewart Kampel (2nd ed.)]

BERNSTEIN, EDUARD (1850–1932), German socialist theoretician, spokesman for the so-called revisionist group which challenged orthodox Marxist doctrines. Born in Berlin, Bernstein was the son of a Jewish engine driver. He joined the Social Democratic Party in 1872 and participated in the creation of the important Gotha program (1875). In 1878, Bernstein was forced to leave Germany after the enactment of the anti-socialist legislation. He lived first in Switzerland, where he edited the *Sozialdemokrat*, and then in London. It was while he was in London that he published his principal work *Die Voraussetzungen des Sozialismus und die Aufgaben der Sozialdemokratie* (1899; *Evolutionary Socialism*, 1909), in which he set out his nonconformist Marxist interpretation of history. Bernstein contested the view of the inevitable collapse of capitalism and urged the socialists to become a party of reform. His views were vehemently opposed as heretical by most of the party but gained numerous adherents, the so-called "revisionists." In 1901 Bernstein returned to Germany and sat in the Reichstag from 1902 to 1906 and from 1912 to 1918. In World War I his pacifist views led him to disassociate himself from the right-wing faction and join the left-wing independent socialists who opposed the war. He returned to the majority party in 1918 and sat in the Reichstag again as a Social Democrat from 1920 to 1928. Concerning Judaism, Bernstein grew up in a Reform-oriented environment; Aaron David *Bernstein was his father's brother. Thus, Eduard Bernstein was aware of Jewish traditions and ideas, but not interested in them. Nevertheless, throughout his tenure as a deputy in the Reichstag, he was an active fighter for Jewish emancipation and against antisemitism. In common with many Jewish socialists of the time, Bernstein left the Jewish community because the party disapproved of all religious affiliations. During World War I, however, he began to rethink his conception of being Jewish in the modern world. In his book *Die Aufgaben der Juden im Weltkriege* (1917) he argued that because of their dispersion and universalist ideas, the Jews should be the pioneers of an internationalism which would unite nations and prevent war. Towards the end of World War I, he got in touch with the *Po'alei Zion movement, and established close contacts with Zalman Rubashov (later *Shazar, third president of Israel). During the Weimar Republik, Bernstein became an active supporter of East European Jews. Because of their specific situation he accepted a distinct Jewish nationalism among them, while he disapproved of the same for Western and Central European Jews. Toward the end of his life, he came to support the concept of a Jewish national home in Palestine and became a leader of the "International Socialist Pro-Palestine Committee." Bernstein's writings include his autobiography *Erinnerungen eines Sozialisten* (1918; *My Years of Exile*, 1921), *Ferdinand Lassalle* (1919); *Die Deutsche Revolution* (1921), and *Sozialismus und Demokratie in der grossen Englischen Revolution* (1922; *Cromwell and Communism*, 1930).

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[Robert Weltsch / Marcus Pyka (2nd ed.)]

BERNSTEIN, ELMER (1922–2004), U.S. composer. A prolific composer known primarily for his work in film and television, Bernstein was born in New York City. His musical compositions appeared in more than 200 films and television shows, receiving 14 Academy Award nominations, including an Academy Award in 1967 for *Thoroughly Modern Millie*, as well as an Emmy Award and several Golden Globe and Tony Awards. During the McCarthy era, Bernstein's alleged leftist sympathies led to a spot on Hollywood's "gray list," a designation that kept him from working on major studio projects during the 1950s but did not result in a full ban from participating in the film industry. Despite being relegated to low-budget films during this period, Bernstein's career is distinguished for both his endurance as well as his versatility. His compositions have appeared in films of virtually every genre, from the epic *Ten Commandments* (1956) to popular comedies like *Animal House* (1978) and *Ghostbusters* (1984), dramas such as *To Kill a Mockingbird* (1962), the Western *True Grit* (1969), the action/WWII film *The Great Escape* (1963), and the musical comedy *The Blues Brothers* (1980). Among Bernstein's many other credits, his music appeared notably in *The Man with the Golden Arm* (1955), *Birdman of Alcatraz* (1962), *Hud* (1963), *The Sons of Katie Elder* (1965), *Meatballs* (1979), *Airplane!* (1980), *My Left Foot* (1989), *The Age of Innocence* (1993), and *Wild Wild West* (1999).

[Walter Driver (2nd ed.)]

BERNSTEIN, HAROLD JOSEPH (1914–1984), Canadian physical chemist. Born in Toronto, Bernstein completed his Ph.D. from the University of Toronto in 1938. A scholarship from the University of Copenhagen brought him to Denmark that year. In 1940, when Germany occupied Denmark, Bernstein was arrested and interned in Germany until 1945. He returned to Canada after the war and, in 1946, joined the National Research Council of Canada in Ottawa and established a molecular spectroscopy section, opening up the study of nuclear magnetic resonance. In 1959, together with W.G. Schneider and J.A. Pople, Bernstein coauthored *High Resolution Nuclear Magnetic Resonance Spectroscopy*, a pioneering text in the field of Raman spectroscopy. In 1973 he cofounded the *Journal of Raman Spectroscopy* and served as coeditor until 1978.

Among other honors, Bernstein was awarded a fellowship in the Royal Society of Canada in 1953 and, the next year, in the Chemical Institute of Canada. He received the Herzberg Award from the Spectroscopy Society of Canada in 1978. In 1980 the International Conference on Raman Spectroscopy established the Harold Bernstein Award in Physical Chemistry for graduate students at Ottawa's two universities.

[Ruth Rossing (2nd ed.)]

BERNSTEIN, HARRY (1909–1993), U.S. historian. Born and educated in New York City, in 1958 he became professor of history at Brooklyn College. Bernstein's historical interests covered the post-18th century in geographical areas such as Mexico, Brazil, and the Caribbean. He emphasized regional factors in historical development. This approach appears in his textbook *Modern and Contemporary Latin America* (1952). Among his other works are *Origins of Inter-American Interest, 1700–1812* (1945), a pioneer study of economic and political ties between Pennsylvania, New York, and New England and portions of the Spanish Empire in America; *Dom Pedro II* (1973); *Venezuela and Colombia* (1974); *The Brazilian Diamond in Contracts, Contraband, and Capital* (1988); and *The Lord Mayor of Lisbon* (1989).

BERNSTEIN, HENRI-LEON (1876–1953), French playwright. Bernstein was born in Paris, and during his early period (1900–1914) wrote powerful, realistic plays depicting the cruelty of modern life and society. The best known of these are *La Rafale* (1905), *Le Voleur* (1907), *Samson* (1908), *Israël* (1908), and *Le Secret* (1913). Some of his plays deal with the Jew's position in modern society. There are echoes of the *Dreyfus case in *Israël*, which deals with one of the tragic results of assimilation. The young leader of an antisemitic movement discovers that his own father is a Jew. Overwhelmed by the revelation and unable to accept his new status, the young man is eventually driven to suicide. The plays written from 1918 to 1938 place increasing emphasis on the psychological problems of their heroes. To this period belong *Judith* (1922), *Félix* (1926), *Mélo* (1929), and *Espoir* (1936). The theme of antisemitism periodically recurs, and Nazism is attacked in *Elvire* (1940). During World War II, Bernstein lived in the United States. Although he continued writing after 1945, tastes had changed, and his plays declined in popularity.

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[Denise R. Goitein]

BERNSTEIN, HERMAN (1876–1935), U.S. journalist, born in Neustadt-Schirwirdt (Vladislavov), Lithuania; one of the first to expose the *Protocols of the *Elders of Zion* forgery. Bernstein went to the United States from Russia in 1893 and wrote in Yiddish and English. His first book was *With Master Minds* (1912), a collection of interviews with European personalities. In 1914 he founded the Yiddish daily *Der Tog* (*The Day*), which became a recognized organ of liberal Jewish opinion. He was its editor until 1916 and editor in chief of the *American Hebrew until 1919. During World War I, Bernstein made an on-the-spot study of Jewish conditions in Eastern Europe and stimulated the organization of relief for Jewish war victims. In 1917, when he was correspondent of the *New York Herald*, he discovered 65 telegrams which had been exchanged between the German kaiser and the czar between 1904 and 1907, and published them as *The Willy-Nicky Correspondence* (1918). In 1921 Bernstein published *The History of a Lie* (1928), a book which was among the first exposures of the notorious *Protocols of the Elders of Zion* as a forgery. He also instituted legal proceedings against Henry Ford, who had helped to circulate the *Protocols* and had allowed anti-Semitic articles based on them to appear in his weekly *The Dearborn Independent*. Bernstein's postwar interviews for the daily press were reprinted as *Celebrities of Our Times* (1925) and *The Road to Peace* (1926). He wrote a study of Herbert Hoover in 1928. Bernstein served as United States envoy to Albania from 1931 to 1933.

[Sol Liptzin]

BERNSTEIN, IGNATZ (1836–1909), Yiddish folklorist and collector of proverbs. Born in Vinnitsa (now Ukraine), Bernstein was the son of a wealthy family of sugar merchants, and as a rich industrialist in Warsaw he was able to indulge in his hobby of collecting the folklore of many cultures. He accumulated one of the world's richest libraries in this field. Bernstein published a two-volume illustrated catalog of his collection of books and manuscripts (1900, 1968^2). He traveled through Europe, North Africa, and Palestine, and for 35 years collected Yiddish proverbs current among the Jews of Russia, Poland, and Galicia. He published 2,056 Yiddish proverbs in Mordecai Spector's annual *Hoyzfraynd* ("Family Friend," 1888–89). Two decades later the number of proverbs had grown to 3,993, which he published in a magnificent volume *Yidishe Shprikhverter un Rednsartn* ("Jewish Proverbs and Sayings," 1908, 1912, 1948, 1988). In the same year he published his collection of 227 Yiddish proverbs concerned with sex under the Latin title *Erotica et Rustica* (1908, 1918^2, 1975). Bernstein helped to found, and also supported, the central Jewish library in Warsaw.

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[Sol Liptzin and Charles Cutter / Benjamin Sadock (2nd ed.)]

BERNSTEIN, ISSACHAR BERUSH BEN ARYEH LOEB (1747–1802), German rabbi and author. Bernstein studied under his father, the son of Jacob Joshua *Falk, and Ẓevi Hirsch Levin of Berlin. In 1788 he succeeded his father as rabbi of Hanover. Legend attributes Bernstein's untimely death to his having insulted the son of Jonathan *Eybeschuetz, R. Wolf Eybeschuetz, who, as a young man, had held heretical views but had subsequently recanted. Several of Bernstein's novellae were included in his father's *Penei Aryeh* on *Bava Kamma* (printed with Jacob Joshua Falk's *Penei Yehoshu'a*; Fuerth, 1780, together with Bernstein's rejoinders to critical comments made by R. Judah Leib Friedenburg on this work). His *Hadrat Ḥakhamim*, discourses delivered on the conclusion of the study of talmudic tractates, is still in manuscript. Of his sons, the best known is SAMUEL (d. 1839) who succeeded his father-in-law, Jacob Moses b. Saul, as rabbi in Amsterdam, becoming the fifth member of the family to hold this position. Samuel wrote an approbation to the *Arẓot he-Ḥayyim* of Malbim (1836), and corresponded with Moses *Sofer on halakhic matters. Samuel's son BERUSH was a *dayyan* in Amsterdam and later rabbi in The Hague.

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[Itzhak Alfassi]

BERNSTEIN, JACOB NAPHTALI HERZ (1813–1873), Polish communal leader born in Lvov, descendant of a distinguished rabbinical family. Bernstein led the Orthodox Jews in Lvov in resisting the establishment of a *Reform temple and a secular Jewish school. He opposed the reforms introduced into the community in 1848 and its first Reform rabbi, Abraham *Kohn. However, his efforts to force Kohn to resign were unsuccessful. Kohn was later poisoned, and Bernstein, who was included among the suspects, remained in custody for a year. After his release he continued to oppose the Reform and Germanizing trends, with the backing of the Polish nobility. A street has been named after him for the services he rendered to the Lvov municipality. Bernstein was the grandfather of the Jewish scholar J.N. *Simchoni. The play *Herzele Meyukhes* by M. Richter is based on Bernstein's life.

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BERNSTEIN, JOSEPH (1945–), Israeli mathematician. Bernstein was born in Moscow. He received a M.Sc. in mathematics in 1968 and his Ph.D. in 1972 from the University of Moscow. He left the Soviet Union in 1981, teaching at the University of Maryland before joining Harvard University's Department of Mathematics, where he spent 10 years (1983–93). In 1993 he immigrated to Israel and joined Tel Aviv University, where he is became a professor in the School of Mathematical Sciences. Bernstein's fields of interest include algebraic geometry, representation theory, number theory, and automorphic forms. From the very beginning of his academic career in the early 1970s, his research was unique and his impact profound. First with his teachers, and later with his students and independently, Bernstein wrote on a broad spectrum of mathematical areas, including representation theory of Lie algebras and Lie groups, theory of *D*-modules, representation theory of p-adic groups, and automorphic forms, to mention only a few. The concepts incorporated in his numerous papers have become cornerstones of modern-day mathematics theory, and his classic article on the localization of *D*-modules, written jointly with A. Beilinson in 1981, remains one of the most widely cited articles in mathematics today.

Bernstein was elected to the Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities in 2002 and to the National Academy of Sciences (U.S.) in 2004. He was awarded the Israel Prize in mathematics in 2004.

[Ruth Rossing (2nd ed.)]

BERNSTEIN, JULIUS (1839–1917), German physiologist and medical educator, who laid the foundations of neurophysiology. Bernstein, the son of Aron *Bernstein, was born in Berlin and began his research career under Du-Bois Reymond in his native city, continued his investigations into electrophysiology at Heidelberg, and was appointed professor of physiology in Halle in 1872. Through his novel application of physical instrumentation, such as differential rheotome and photography, to the study of nerve and muscle function, Bernstein developed the concept of the polarized membrane as the major focus of the excitation process. His view that the impulse is a self-propagating wave of depolarization deriving from permeability changes forms the foundation of modern neurophysiology. Though best known for his *Untersuchungen ueber den Erregungsvorgang im Nerven- und Muskelsystem* (1871), Bernstein also published books on medical education, toxicology, electrobiology, and the significance of mechanism in biology.

[George H. Fried]

BERNSTEIN, LEONARD (1918–1990), U.S. composer and conductor. Bernstein was born in Lawrence, Mass., and studied at Harvard (1935–39), the Curtis Institute (1939–41), and the Berkshire Music Center (summers of 1940 and 1941), where he took composition with Walter Piston among others, orchestration with Randall Thompson, and conducting with Fritz *Reiner and Serge *Koussevitzky. In 1943 he was appointed Artur Rodzinski's assistant at the New York Philharmonic; he attracted national attention by acquitting himself brilliantly when called upon to conduct a difficult program at short notice. In 1953 he conducted Cherubini's *Medea* at the Teatro alla Scala in Milan with Maria Callas – the first time an American conductor had appeared there. From 1958 to 1969 he was the music director and conductor of the N.Y. Philharmonic, the first American-born musician to occupy this post.

He also succeeded Igor Stravinsky as president of the English Bach Festival. In 1989, on the occasion of the fall of the Berlin Wall, he conducted Beethoven's Ninth Symphony with an orchestra drawn from German musicians from both East and West. In his latter years he had a close association with the Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra.

Bernstein was closely associated with Israel from 1947, when he conducted for the first time in the country. After the establishment of the State of Israel he was instrumental in creating the Koussevitzky music collection at the JNUL in Jerusalem. In 1967 after the Six-Day War, he conducted the Israel Philharmonic Orchestra on Mount Scopus celebrating the reunification of Jerusalem in a program including symbolic work such as Mahler's Resurrection Symphony. In 1978 the Israel Philharmonic Orchestra decided to devote its World Festival entirely to the works of Bernstein to honor the 30th anniversary of his first appearance in Israel. The Israel Philharmonic also bestowed on him the lifetime title of Laureate Conductor in 1988. Over the years he made periodic guest appearances with the Israel Philharmonic Orchestra, both in Israel and on its tours abroad.

Bernstein was an innovator in using television to educate the audience. He produced programs for adults and children where he lectured about composers (such as Beethoven and *Mahler, whom he identified as the central figure of 20th-century music) and their music in a fascinating way. His lecture series started with the *Omnibus* program in 1954, followed by the Young People's Concerts with the N.Y. Philharmonic in 1958, which extended over 14 seasons (53 concerts). These programs, which were broadcast live and for which Bernstein would often feverishly prepare his script all through the previous night with the help of family and friends, became a centerpiece of his work, part of what he described as his educational mission. He also used the programs to introduce young performers to the musical world, among them the 16-year-old Andre Watts.

Bernstein, one of the dominant musical personalities of his time, soon became a celebrity. His private life came under scrutiny and he was known for his liberal political sympathies, supporting the Black Panthers in the 1960s. As a composer-conductor, Bernstein came closer than anyone since Mahler to achieving equal eminence in both spheres. His reputation as a composer began in 1943 with the ballet *Fancy Free*. His musical language never abandoned tonality, although in his later works he used serial devices (in "The Pennycandy Store beyond the El"). Among his works are the *Jeremiah Symphony*, with a vocal solo to the Hebrew text of Lamentations (1944); *The Age of Anxiety*, after a poem by W.H. Auden, utilizing jazz rhythms; *Kaddish* (in Hebrew), oratorio for narrator, chorus, and orchestra, which he conducted for the first time in Tel Aviv in 1963; *Chichester Psalms* (also in Hebrew), for chorus and orchestra (1965); the ballet *Dybbuk* (1974); three symphonies (1942, 1949, 1963); and the music for the film *On the Waterfront* (1954). Bernstein contributed substantially to the Broadway musical stage. He had his greatest popular triumph with *West Side Story* (1957), an adaptation of the Romeo and Juliet story using youthful gang rivalry in New York City as the backdrop, which owed much of its success on both stage and screen to his dynamic music. Other shows for which he wrote the music were *On the Town* (1944), *Wonderful Town* (1953), *Candide* (1956), and *1600 Pennsylvania Avenue* (1976). His *Missa Solemnis* (1971), about the celebration of the Mass, aroused wide comment. He also published books on music, *The Joy of Music* (1959), *The Infinite Variety of Music* (1971), and *Findings / Fifty Years of Meditations on Music* (1982). Among his many honors were the Kennedy Center Honor for a lifetime of contributions to American culture, the Academy of the Arts Gold Medal for music, the Sonning Prize, the Siemens Prize, the Lifetime Achievement Grammy Award, and 11 Emmy Awards. Festivals of Bernstein's music have been produced throughout the world, such as a Bernstein Festival in 1986 produced by the London Symphony Orchestra and the Beethoven/Bernstein Festival in 1989 produced by the city of Bonn.

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[Nicolas Slonimsky / Israela Stein (2nd ed.)]

BERNSTEIN, LOUIS (1927–1995), U.S. Orthodox rabbi and Zionist leader. Bernstein was born in New York City, received his B.A. from Yeshiva University in 1947, and was ordained at the Rabbi Isaac Elchanan Theological Seminary of Yeshiva University in 1950. In 1977, he earned his Ph.D. from Yeshiva University, which also awarded him an honorary D.D. degree in 1994. Bernstein began his rabbinic career at the Glenwood Jewish Center in Brooklyn (1947–50) and then served as a chaplain in the United States Army during the Korean War (1951–53). In 1953, he became rabbi of Young Israel of Windsor Park in Bayside, Queens, New York, where he was to remain until his death. Under his guidance, the congregation grew from a small *minyan* meeting in a house to the most prominent Orthodox synagogue in eastern Queens. Concurrently, he was professor of Jewish History at Yeshiva University's College of Hebraic Studies, specializing in American Jewish history. After teaching at the high school and college levels for 40 years, he was granted the title professor emeritus in 1994.

Bernstein made his mark writing with a passion that carried him to the highest levels of leadership in the world of modern Orthodox Judaism. As a graduate student, he was editor of the Yeshiva University newspaper *The Commentator,* on whose pages he exhorted the Orthodox community to support the burgeoning movement for a Jewish state. From that point on, Bernstein made it a point to be the editor of the house organ of each and every organization he was to head, including *The Rabbinical Council Record* (published by the *Rabbinical Council of America), *Jewish Horizons* (the publication of the Religious Zionists of America), and even the newsletter of the Yeshiva College Alumni Association. He reached a larger, general audience as a columnist for *The Jewish Press*, the mass-circulation Brooklyn-based weekly.

A man of action as well as words, Bernstein was an effective lobbyist for Jewish causes. In the 1960s, when Congress was debating a humane treatment of animals bill whose provisions threatened the practice of **sheḥitah* (Jewish ritual slaughter), he met personally with influential politicians and galvanized opposition that succeeded in derailing the legislation. This kind of initiative and savvy led to his election as president of the Rabbinical Council of America, the foremost association of Orthodox rabbis in the United States. While his provocative editorials in the RCA's in-house publication occasionally sparked controversy, his popularity remained so high that he was re-elected to two additional terms as president, and ultimately died in office.

Bernstein was also president of the combined rabbinic-laity organization Religious Zionists of America, the U.S. affiliate of the worldwide *Mizrachi-Hapoel Mizrachi movement. Subsequently, he moved up to the position of chairman and represented the RZA as a member of the Board of Governors of the *World Zionist Organization and of the executive of the *Jewish Agency. His diplomatic skills were sorely tested during those stormy years, when he was called on to defend the traditional ideologies of religious Zionism even as many of its followers in Israel spearheaded the ultra-nationalist settlement movement in Israel

Combining his devotion to Zionism with his dedication to the education of young people, Bernstein served as chairman of the board of the Rabbinical Council's *yeshivot* in Israel (1958–93), helping transform two small schools into burgeoning campuses. As director and spiritual leader of Camp Massad Bet in the Pocono Mountains of Pennsylvania, he promoted Zionist values and a love for modern spoken Hebrew in a unique atmosphere of tolerance embracing campers from Reform, Conservative and Orthodox backgrounds alike. During the rest of the year, back in his home community, he served as chairman of the Board of Education of Yeshiva of Central Queens, one of the largest day schools in North America.

In 1973 he received Yeshiva University's Samuel Belkin Award for Community Service Leadership. In 1993, the World Zionist Organization awarded him the Jerusalem Prize; he was one of only two recipients worldwide – and the only North American – to win the biennial prize that year. Also in 1993, he was honored by the Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations of America with the organization's National Rabbinic Leadership Award.

A prolific writer, Bernstein wrote *Challenge and Mission: The Emergence of the English-Speaking Orthodox Rabbinate* (1982), a history of the first 25 years of the Rabbinical Council of America that also chronicles the story of the formative years of modern Orthodox Judaism in the United States.

[Bezalel Gordon (2nd ed.)]

BERNSTEIN, LUDWIG BEHR (1870–1944), U.S. social worker. Bernstein was born in Jelgava (Mitau), Latvia, and emigrated to the United States in 1892. Bernstein taught languages in the New York City public schools for several years, and in 1903 became managing director of the Hebrew Sheltering Guardian Orphan Asylum in Pleasantville, New York. His contributions to Jewish child welfare administration included the development of a cottage home plan and the organization of the Home Bureau of the Hebrew Sheltering Guardian Society – a pioneer experiment in foster home placement. In 1919–20 Bernstein served as executive director of the Bureau of Jewish Social Research, supervising studies in child welfare and delinquency in the Jewish communities of Chicago, Philadelphia, and New York. He moved to Pittsburgh in 1921 as executive director of the Federation of Jewish Philanthropies. During the 1930s Bernstein was a pioneer in the movement to establish Jewish community councils in American cities.

[Roy Lubove]

BERNSTEIN, MOSHE (1920–), Israeli painter and draughtsman. Bernstein was born in Bereza Kartuskaya, Poland. He completed his studies at the Vilna Art School in 1939 and, immigrating to Israel in 1948, he took part in the exhibition of "Immigrant Art" held in Tel Aviv that year. In his paintings and pen drawings, Bernstein displayed his deep attachment to the Jewish world and which constituted an inseparable part of his life. He expressed the emotional experiences of his childhood, depicting the *bet ha-midrash* and the Jewish street. Like Chagall, he used in his pen drawings cubist form and compositional language. However, instead of using colors, he made skillful use of black pen and created effects of light and shadow and the impression of a colorful picture which is composed of juxtaposing layers, thus producing the illusion of depth.

Since his first one-man show in Tel Aviv in 1950, Bernstein had many exhibitions and participated in various group exhibitions, such as the 1974 Cyprus exhibition with Zeev *Ben-Zvi. He won the City Medal of Tel Aviv in 1980.

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[Judith Spitzer]

BERNSTEIN, NATHAN OSIPOVITCH (1836–1891), Russian physiologist and civic leader. The grandson of Solomon Eger, chief rabbi of the Posen provinces, Bernstein moved to Odessa in 1849 with his parents. He studied medicine at the University of Moscow. From 1871 he lectured without official appointment at the New-Russian University at Odessa (1865). He wrote a textbook on physiology, and succeeded Leo Pinsker as editor of the Russian-Jewish periodical *Zion*. Bernstein was president of the Medical Society of Odessa for 14 years, and became both a city councillor and an honorary Justice of the Peace. He was a director of the Odessa Talmud Torah.

BERNSTEIN, ORI (1936–), Israeli poet. Bernstein, who was born in Tel Aviv, studied law at the Hebrew University, serving as an attorney in the army and later in the private sector. For 23 years he acted as managing director of one of Israel's largest corporations. His first poems, *Be-Oto ha-Ḥeder, be-Oto ha-Or* ("Same Room, Same Light") appeared in 1962, followed by a dozen collections of poems, three books for children, and a volume of essays on poetry entitled *Isuk bein Ḥaverim* ("Among Friends," 1998). While his early poetry is influenced by N. Alterman and N. Zach, Bernstein later developed his own, very intimate style, contemplating the dialectics of life and death, the yearning for love and friendship and, on the other hand, loneliness and bereavement. *Im Mavet* ("With Death," 1982) deals with the death of his mother, the sequel *Ẓafonah le-Tamid* (1987) with the death of his father. A selection of Bernstein's poems was published under the title *Shirim 1962–2002* (2004). Bernstein's only novel, *Safek Ḥayyim* ("A Dubious Life," 2002), is an autobiographical account in the tradition of Proust: The recollection of experiences from childhood and adolescence, hours of friendship and love, is interwoven with literary echoes. Bernstein is a professor at the Ben-Gurion University in Beersheba, where he teaches poetry and the theory of writing. He also translates English, Italian, and French poetry into Hebrew.

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[Anat Feinberg (2nd ed.)]

BERNSTEIN, OSIP SAMOILOVICH (1882–1961), Russian-French chess master, born in Zhitomir. Bernstein placed second to Tchigorin in the Russian championship (Kiev, 1903) and tied with Akiva *Rubinstein for first place in a tournament at Ostend, Belgium (1907). He settled in France after 1916 and shared a first prize with Miguel *Najdorf, at Montevideo, Uruguay, when 72.

BERNSTEIN, PEREZ (Fritz; 1890–1971), Zionist leader, publicist, and Israel politician. Bernstein, who was born in Meiningen, Germany, studied commerce. In his youth he went to Rotterdam, Holland, where he entered business. In 1917 he joined the Dutch Zionist organization, and soon attained a prominent position. He later served as secretary of the Dutch Zionist Federation and as its president for four years. From 1930 to 1935 he was chief editor of the Dutch Zionist weekly, in which he fought for "unconditional Zionism," both in relations with non-Jews and in debate with the socialist and the religious Zionists. In his major work *Der Anti-semitismus als Gruppenerscheinung* (1926; *Jew-Hate as a Sociological Problem*, 1951) he tried to prove that antisemitism is a sociological phenomenon which cannot be eliminated by better knowledge, by persuasion, or by education. He also rejected the theory that the Jews in the Diaspora have negative traits which encourage antisemitism. Another of his books is: *Over Joodsche Problematiek* (1935). In 1936 Bernstein settled in Palestine and became editor of the General Zionist newspaper *Ha-Boker*. From 1941 he was chairman of the Union of *General Zionists which, in 1946, elected him a member of the Jewish Agency, where he was responsible for commerce and industry. Bernstein was a member of the Knesset from its inception until 1965, and minister of commerce and industry in 1948–49 and from 1952 to 1955. When the Liberal Party was established he was elected one of its two presidents. Following the party split in 1964, he became honorary president of the larger faction which retained the name of the Liberal Party. Bernstein continued his journalistic activities during his political career. He often opposed the left wing in his articles and advocated a business-oriented policy.

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[Jozeph Michman (Melkman)]

BERNSTEIN, PHILIP SIDNEY (1901–1985), U.S. rabbi. Bernstein was born in Rochester, N.Y., and was ordained in the first graduating class of the Jewish Institute of Religion (1926). He served as rabbi of Rochester's Congregation B'rith Kodesh for half a century. Bernstein was a committed pacifist until the German invasion of Poland, which forced him to rethink his views. During World War II he was executive director of the committee on army and navy religious activities of the Jewish Welfare Board, a position he held until 1946. He was responsible for supervising the 300 rabbis of all denominations serving in the U.S. Armed forces. His service propelled him into national Jewish life. He served as a member of the Zionist Emergency Council and helped form the American Christian Palestine Committee. In 1946 he returned to his congregation in Rochester, only to leave again when he was appointed by President Truman as Jewish adviser to U.S. Army commanders in Europe (1946–47), where he played a significant role at the time in alleviating the conditions of Holocaust survivors and making conditions in the Displaced Persons camps less deplorable. In his non-military role, he assisted in moving Jews from Russian-occupied Poland to American-occupied Germany, working directly with *Beriḥah. In 1947 he returned to Rochester once again. He was president of the Central Conference of American Rabbis (1950–52). He was chairman (1954–68), and subsequently honorary chairman, of the American Israel Public Affairs Committee, then in its formative years. He was the author of *What the Jews Believe* (1951), which grew out of a series of articles published in *Life* Magazine. He also wrote *Rabbis at War* (1971), an account of his war years and the service of his colleagues to 600,000 American Jews who served in World War II.

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[Malcolm H. Stern / Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

BERNSTEIN, SID (1918–), U.S. music promoter, agent, and manager; most famous for bringing the Beatles to the United States in 1964. Bernstein was born in New York City, the only child and adopted son of Israel and Ida Bernstein, Russian immigrants who came from Lukshivka, a village near Kiev. His parents called Bernstein by his Hebrew name, Simcha. His career already showed promise in high school, when he landed a fellow student a spot on the Major Bowes Amateur Hour, a popular radio program in the 1930s and 1940s.

After serving as a soldier in France in World War II, Bernstein's show business career started in the Catskill summers of the early 1950s, working as activities director at the Brown's Hotel. Bernstein produced musical shows in New York at the Paramount, the Palace, the Brooklyn Paramount, and the Apollo, and the comeback tour for Judy Garland, but went broke promoting the Newport Jazz Festival in 1961. Bernstein suggested to Tony Bennett that he perform at Carnegie Hall, a performance that was instrumental in boosting Bennett's singing career. In early 1963, reading about a group called the Beatles and the hysteria they were causing in England, he called their manager, Brian *Epstein, to arrange for them to perform in America, and on February 12, 1964, the esteemed Carnegie Hall hosted its first-ever rock concert. On August 15, 1965, Bernstein promoted the Beatles concert at sold-out Shea Stadium in New York, the largest crowd (55,000) for which the Beatles ever played and the first rock concert ever held in a sports stadium. It changed the face of the music business, and Bernstein himself.

Bernstein's instinctive vision was evident throughout the era of rock and roll's "British Invasion," when he brought over to the United States other English bands like the Rolling Stones, Dave Clark Five, the Kinks, the Animals, Manfred Mann, Herman's Hermits, and the Moody Blues. Bernstein also helped promote the careers of James Brown, Ray Charles, John Denver, Joan Baez, Miles Davis, Tito Puente, Muddy Waters, Ella Fitzgerald, Frankie Valli, and Frank Sinatra, and was the personal manager of the Rock Hall of Fame group The Young Rascals. But it was for his promotional work with the Beatles that Bernstein will always be remembered. "You know, Sid, at Shea Stadium I saw the top of the mountain," John Lennon once told him. "You know John, so did I," answered Bernstein.

[Elli Wohlgelernter (2nd ed.)]

BERNSTEIN, SIDNEY LEWIS, BARON (1899–1993), British television pioneer and publisher. Born in Ilford, Essex, Bernstein inherited his interest in show business from his father, Alexander Bernstein (d. 1921), who owned a group of cinemas. Sidney Bernstein was a founder of the Film Society in 1924, and started his Granada chain of cinemas at Dover in 1930. During World War II he was film adviser to the British Ministry of Information (1940–45) and chief of the film section, SHAEF (Supreme Headquarters, Allied Expeditionary Force; 1943–45). Bernstein introduced additional entertainments into his cinemas, including art exhibitions, and established links with Hollywood. However, his most important interest eventually became the Granada group of television companies operating mainly from Manchester. Bernstein had seen the possibilities of television in 1948 but could not obtain a license until the British Television Act of 1954. The Granada companies made many endowments to universities. He and his brother, Cecil Bernstein (a fellow director), gave £300,000 in 1965 for the establishment of a Northern Arts and Sciences Foundation. After 1961 he acquired a substantial interest in the publishing companies of Rupert Hart-Davis, McGibbon and Kee, and several others. A Labour supporter, he was awarded a life peerage in 1969.

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[John M. Shaftesley]

BERNSTEIN, SIMON (1884–1962), journalist and Hebrew scholar. Bernstein was born in Latvia. From 1908 to 1911 he was Hebrew secretary of the Society for Spreading Enlightenment Among the Jews of Russia. In 1912 he joined the staff of the World Zionist Organization, being attached to the head office in Berlin until 1915, to the Copenhagen Bureau 1915–20, and to the London office 1921–22. In 1922 he settled in the United States, becoming editor of *Dos Yiddishe Folk*, organ of the Zionist Organization of America. He held this post until 1953. Bernstein was a prolific writer. Apart from his newspaper articles and Zionist pamphlets, he devoted himself to scholarly research, especially in the field of Hebrew poetry. He brought to light unpublished *piyyutim* of Spanish, Italian, and Byzantine poets; altogether he published over 3,000 such poems. Bernstein's major books are *Be-Ḥazon ha-Dorot* (1928), a volume of Hebrew essays; editions of *Divan Rav Immanuel ben David Frances* (1932); *Divan Yehudah Aryeh mi-Modena* (1932); *Shirei Yehudah ha-Levi* (1944), selected liturgical and secular poems; *Divan Shelomo Da Piera* (1942); *Al Naharot Sefarad* (1956), lamentations in the Sephardi rite on the destruction of Jerusalem and other calamities; and *Shirei ha-Kodesh* (1957), the collected liturgical poetry of Moses ibn Ezra.

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BERNSTEIN, THEODORE M. (1904–1979), U.S. editor and author. Born in New York, Bernstein joined the *New York Times* in 1925, became foreign-news editor, and in 1952 assistant managing editor. He was a founding editor of the newspaper's international edition in Paris. He taught at the Columbia School of Journalism, and wrote on English usage in such books as *Watch Your Language* (1958), *Headlines and*

Deadlines (1961), *Watch That Word* (1962), *More Language That Needs Watching* (1962), *The Careful Writer: A Modern Guide to English Usage* (1965), *Bernstein's Reverse Dictionary* (1975), and *Dos, Don'ts & Maybes of English Usage* (1977).

BERNSTEIN, THERESA (1890–2002), U.S. artist. Born in Philadelphia to cultured immigrant parents, Bernstein showed an interest in art as a child. She took some classes at the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts and earned a degree at the Philadelphia School of Design for Women. By 1912 she was living in New York City, where she briefly studied at the Art Students League with William Merritt Chase. In these early years she painted in an Ashcan style, influenced by John Sloan and other artists of the period who depicted the everyday life of the city in dark tones. *New York Street* (1912) and *Waiting Room: Employment Office* (1917) exemplify Bernstein's realist tendency of this period. She had her first solo exhibition at the Milch Gallery in New York City in 1919, the same year that she married the artist William Meyerowitz.

An expressionist technique pervades Bernstein's work in the 1920s and 1930s, during which time she added jazz musicians to her large repertoire, a subject naturally in accord with her new style and her lifelong love of music. Beginning in the 1920s, she spent summers in Gloucester with her husband. These vacations produced paintings of beaches, harbors, and fish. In the 1930s she continued painting a wide range of subjects, including portraits, still lifes, and beach scenes. Under the auspices of the Works Progress Administration's Federal Art Project, Bernstein created a mural, *The First Orchestra in Americas* (1938), for the Manheim, Pennsylvania Treasury Department. While many artists in the 1930s joined the Communist Party, Bernstein's political consciousness centered around Zionism. Although *Zionist Meeting, New York* (1923) comes from an earlier period, the subject matter indicates her political sympathies.

Bernstein's Jewish identity was reinforced by her husband, the son of a cantor. *Prayer* (1938), Bernstein's most obviously religious canvas, shows the energy of the worshippers through a gestural brushstroke. After the establishment of the State of Israel, Bernstein and Meyerowitz visited there 13 times during a 30-year period. In her 1991 autobiography Bernstein devotes a full chapter to her experiences in Israel and her attraction to the land, of which she painted several canvases. She also published a journal dedicated to her Israeli trips in 1994.

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[Samantha Baskind (2nd ed.)]

BERNSTEIN, ZALMAN CHAIM (1927–1999), U.S. businessman and philanthropist. Zalman Bernstein, or, as he was known for most of his 72 years, Sanford C. Bernstein, was born in New York City to middle class parents. He enlisted at 18 in the Navy, seeing service in World War II. After graduating from New York University where he majored in economics, he was accepted by Harvard Business School and earned his M.B.A. He then spent three years in France, working with the Marshall Plan, becoming fluent in French, and marrying the first of his three wives. Upon returning to the United States, he worked at several security firms and in 1967 launched Sanford C. Bernstein & Co. by placing full-paged advertisements in major newspapers containing a single word in bold type, "Bernstein." Investors were attracted by a reputation for integrity, reliance on careful research, prudent risk-taking and successful results. Though strongly opinionated, he tolerated and even welcomed and respected contrary views. At his death, his company was a respected name on Wall Street, managing more than $80 billion for 25,000 private and institutional clients.

The turning point in Bernstein's Jewish life came with the passing of his father in 1977. Though then scarcely able to read Hebrew, he was determined to say *kaddish*, which led him to Lincoln Square Synagogue in Manhattan and Rabbi Shlomo Riskin, who was a major influence in his Jewish development. In 1984, collaborating with two friends more knowledgeable about Jewish life, he established the Avi Chai Foundation which became the prime focus of his philanthropy. In his lifetime, he contributed hundreds of millions of dollars to the foundation as well as Jewish causes in Israel and the United States. Avi Chai's mission was predicated on the teachings of Rabbi Abraham I. Kook, which Bernstein understood superficially, yet with a sincerity that ran deep. The Kookian principles that he embraced are an encompassing attachment to the land of Israel, recognition of the Covenant between God and Abraham as an eternal legacy of the Jewish people, and a commitment to Judaism's religious heritage that includes mutual understanding and sensitivity among Jews of different religious backgrounds and commitments to observance.

Originally functioning in North America, by the early 1990s Avi Chai expanded into Israel where Bernstein in his later years became a citizen and made his home. In Israel, he developed other notable philanthropic initiatives. In North America, day school education has been the major beneficiary of Avi Chai support. Projects have included widespread innovations in Hebrew language instruction and Judaica curriculum as well as a program, unmatched in scope, to encourage new day school construction through interest-free loans. In Israel, the goal of promoting mutual understanding has been manifested by a network of programs known as Tzav Pius.

He died in 1999 and left nearly his entire substantial estate to charity. Bernstein provided instructions that he not be eulogized and that no facility or project be named in his memory. He arranged in his life, with characteristic determination, to be buried in Jerusalem on the Mount of Olives, near the grave of Rabbi Kook.

[Marvin Schick (2nd ed.)]

BERNSTEIN, ZVI HIRSCH (1846–1907), publisher, editor, and pioneer of the Yiddish and Hebrew press in the United

States. Born in Russia, he received a traditional education and contributed articles to Hebrew literary magazines. In 1870 he emigrated to the United States and founded the first Yiddish paper *Di Post*. (J.K. Buchner's *Di Yidishe Tsaytung*, although published earlier in 1870, appeared only three or four times.) In 1871 Bernstein founded the first Hebrew newspaper in the United States, *Ha-Ẓofeh ba-Areẓ ha-Ḥadashah*, which survived until 1876. Afterward he became a successful businessman and a patron of the Yiddish theater.

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[Eisig Silberschlag]

BERNSTEIN-COHEN, MIRIAM (1895–1991), actress and pioneer of the theater in Israel. Born in Romania, the daughter of Jacob *Bernstein-Kogan, she was educated in Russia and took a degree in medicine. Turning to the stage she worked for a time in the Russian theater. In 1921 she went to Palestine and joined David Davidow's (d. 1976) company known as the "Hebrew Theater." When the group dissolved in 1923, she and other members went to Germany to study stage work. In Berlin she met Menahem *Gnessin and helped him to organize the Teatron Ereẓ Israeli. She returned with the company to Palestine in 1924 and worked with it until its merger with the *Habimah Theater a few years later. Subsequently she appeared with various companies, gave solo performances in Palestine and abroad, and eventually joined the Cameri Theater in Tel Aviv. She translated plays and stories by de Maupassant, Tolstoy, Henri Barbusse, and Pearl Buck. In 1975 she was awarded the Israel Prize for the arts.

[Mendel Kohansky]

BERNSTEIN-KOGAN (Cohen), JACOB (1859–1929), Russian Zionist leader. Bernstein-Kogan, who was born in Kishinev, studied medicine in St. Petersburg and Dorpat. After the wave of pogroms in southern Russia in 1881, he devoted himself to Ḥibbat Zion and Zionism. As a delegate to the First Zionist Congress, he was elected to the Zionist Actions Committee. He administered an information center called the Zionist "post office," which informed Zionist branches in Russia, numbering about one thousand, of developments in the movement. He was a leading member and ideologist of the *Democratic Fraction (1901) and was one of the leaders of the Russian Zionist opposition to the *Uganda Scheme. Settling in Ereẓ Israel in 1907, he worked as a doctor in Lower Galilee and in Petaḥ Tikvah. He was a founder of the Medical Association of Ereẓ Israel (1908). Conflicts with the conservative settlers of Petaḥ Tikvah induced him to return to Kishinev in 1910. He moved to Ereẓ Israel again in 1925, but accepted a proposal of the *American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee to serve as a physician in the Jewish agricultural settlements in the Ukraine.

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[Yehdua Slutsky]

BERNSTEIN-SINAIEFF, LEOPOLD (1867–1944), French sculptor. He was born in Vilna to an Orthodox family. He began to study drawing before moving to Paris at the age of fourteen. In Paris he studied under Rodin and Dalou and first exhibited at the Salon des Champs Elysées in 1890. He executed statues, portraits, groups of figures, and funerary monuments, and made busts in bronze and marble of important figures such as Pope Leo XIII. He received the Order of the Legion of Honor and his sculpture *Ezra Mourning* was acquired by the French nation. When the Germans occupied France they destroyed the sculpture *Youth and Age* to which Bernstein-Sinaieff had devoted over ten years. The Nazis arrested him and sent him to the prison camp at Drancy. Two weeks later he was released, only to be reinterned and sent to an extermination camp where he was killed.

BEROR ḤAYIL (Heb. בְּרוֹר חַיִל), place in southern Israel, 8½ mi. (14 km.) S.E. of Ashkelon. In Byzantine times the town was called Bouriron (Vita Sabeae, 10). It was the place where R. *Johanan b. Zakkai moved and taught after his stay in Yavneh. When the performance of Jewish marriages was prohibited under Emperor Hadrian, in the second century C.E., the inhabitants of Beror Ḥayil announced a clandestine marriage ceremony by putting a candle on the window sill (Sanh. 32b). Beror Ḥayil is now a kibbutz affiliated with Iḥud ha-Kibbutzim. It was founded on May 4, 1948, during the War of Independence, with the aim of reestablishing contact with the Jewish settlements spread over the northern Negev at a point where the Arabs had repeatedly cut off Jewish traffic to and from the south. The kibbutz was set up overnight. The initial settling group, pioneers from Egypt, was later joined by immigrants from Brazil, Uruguay, and other countries. In 1968 the kibbutz had a population of 520, dropping to 462 in 2002. Its economy was based on intensive farming (field crops, greenhouses, dairy cattle, orchards) and various small enterprises (software, a frozen pastry plant, and an educational tourist center). In the early 1960s, the *Ḥeleẓ oilfield expanded southward when reserves were discovered at Beror Ḥayil (their exploitation was in no way connected, however, with the economy of the kibbutz).

[Efraim Orni]

BEROSUS (**Berossus** = Bel-Usur?; c. 330–250 B.C.E.), priest of Bel (Marduk) at Babylon, author of a history in Greek of Babylon (*Chaldaika* or *Babyloniaka*) in three books. This work, dedicated to Antiochus I, is extant only in fragments, particularly in *Alexander Polyhistor, *Josephus, the Church Father *Eusebius, and the Byzantine compiler George Syncellus. The first book described Babylonia and the creation and explained Chaldean astrology, the second covered the kings before the

Flood, the Flood itself, and the dynasties down to Nabonassar (747 B.C.E.), and the third brought the account down to Alexander. Recent discoveries of cuneiform texts on the Flood show that Berosus was faithful to his sources, and that in fact his account is in large part taken from the Gilgamesh epic.

Berosus was particularly important to Samaritan, Jewish, and Christian writers for apologetic purposes, since his chronology contradicted that of the Greek historians and since he appeared to confirm the antiquity of, and thus lent credibility to, certain portions of the Bible. But inasmuch as Berosus, under the influence of astrological theory, spoke of 600 periods of 3,600 years each, whereas the Bible mentions a much shorter period since creation, writers such as the Samaritan Eupolemus tried to reconcile these discrepant chronologies. Unfortunately, however, only part of Berosus' chronology has been transmitted, and his lists of dynasties have often been mutilated by those who cite him or by later copyists of the manuscripts.

Berosus was similarly found useful in confirming the biblical narrative of the Tower of Babel, since he too mentions a tower near Babylon built by men who gloried in their own strength and size and despised the gods, whereupon, as in the Bible, the gods brought about a confusion of their languages, though they had hitherto all spoken one tongue. Alexander Polyhistor later apparently attempted to synchronize this account with those of the Bible and the Greek poet Hesiod's story of Prometheus. Berosus is of great importance as a source for Josephus, although questions are still raised as to whether he used him directly or through some compilation such as that of Alexander Polyhistor or perhaps that of King Juba of Mauretania. Josephus cited Berosus in support of his statements that a portion of the ark of Noah (*Xisouthros* in Berosus) still survives in Armenia (Ant. 1:93; cf. Apion 1:130), that the patriarchs lived unusually long lives (Ant. 1:107), and that Abraham lived ten generations after the Flood and was well versed in astronomy (Ant. 1:158). In his polemic against Greek historians he cites with approval (Apion 1:142) Berosus' criticism of their reports of Semiramis' achievements. The fact that on two occasions (Ant. 10:219–28; Apion 1:134–44) he cites the same passage on Nebuchadnezzar from Berosus, together with precisely the same confirmatory references from *Philostratus and *Megasthenes, would indicate that at least here he was using a handbook. The accuracy of this passage from Berosus, particularly the description of the battle of Carchemish, has now been confirmed by Wiseman's publication of a chronicle of Chaldean kings on cuneiform tablets; but it must be noted that Josephus' account (Ant. 10:96–102) of the events leading to the fall of Jerusalem and the capture of Jehoiachin differs in several details from the Chronicle.

The attribution (Suidas, 10th century) of the Babylonian (or Egyptian) Sibylline books to him has been disputed. The founder of the astrological school on the Greek island of Cos to whom the Athenians erected a statue (Pliny, *Natural History*, 7:123) is pseudo-Berosus.

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[Louis Harry Feldman]

BERR, JACOB (c. 1760–1855), French physician and publicist, nephew of *Berr Isaac Berr de Turique. Besides gaining a reputation as a surgeon, Berr was a fervent advocate of equal rights for French Jews. In 1789 he published a refutation of an anonymous pamphlet which contested the right of Alsatian Jews to enlist in the National Guard. Later, in a letter addressed to the bishop of Nancy (1790), he criticized his uncle's project to preserve a special status for French Jews. According to E. Carmoly, *Historie des médecins juifs* (1844), Berr was the first French Jew to marry a Christian without forsaking Judaism.

BERR (de Turique), MICHEL (1781–1843), French lawyer. Born in Nancy, he was the son of *Berr Isaac Berr and became the son-in-law of Isaiah *Beer-Bing. Like his father, Berr was an advocate of Mendelssohnian Enlightenment. He sided with its radical exponents, however, and tended to disregard the national and religious aspects of Judaism while concentrating on the struggle for civic equality for the Jews in their different countries. In this spirit he defended persecuted Jews in a pamphlet entitled *Appel à la justice des nations et des rois* (1801). Berr was the first Jewish lawyer to practice in France. In 1806 he and his father were deputies at the *Assembly of Jewish Notables, and in 1807 Berr was appointed secretary of the Napoleonic *Sanhedrin. He then held an official appointment in the Kingdom of Westphalia and subsequently in the Préfecture of La Meurthe, but his later career was disappointing and he dissipated his talents.

Many important non-Jewish personalities regarded Berr as the ideal type of modern Jew. Berr translated a number of works from Hebrew including panegyrics to Napoleon. His most voluminous work was *Abrégé de la Bible et choix de morceaux de piété et de morale à l'usage des Israélites de France* (1819). At first Berr's attitude toward Judaism tended to be radical and rationalist. He held that once Judaism had detached itself from "talmudic quibbling" it would appear as the universal truth, while Christianity, also freed from its superstitions, would simply merge with Judaism. Later Berr insisted on the retention of what, in his opinion, were essential Jewish practices, which he explained in his *Nouveau précis élémentaire d'instruction réligieuse et morale à l'usage de la jeunesse française israélite* (1839), thus adhering in his eclectic way to Jewish religious reform.

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tionnaire de biographie française, 6 (1954), 141; Szajowski, in: JJS, 14 (1963), 53–66.

[Moshe Catane]

BERR ISAAC BERR DE TURIQUE (1744–1828), leader in the struggle for Jewish *emancipation in France, born in Nancy. His father Isaac Berr had been appointed Jewish "syndic" by King Stanislaus of Poland, duke of Lorraine. Berr himself, a naturalized French citizen, was a tobacco manufacturer and banker. In August 1789 he was chosen as one of six members of a Jewish delegation sent to Paris from Alsace and Lorraine to put the case for granting Jewish civic equality, acting as their spokesman at the bar of the National Assembly. He was a member of the Nancy municipal council from 1792, and in 1806 was a leading delegate in the *Assembly of Jewish Notables, sitting on its "Committee of Twelve." He later became a member of the Napoleonic *Sanhedrin. In 1816 he purchased an estate in Turique, adding "de Turique" to his name by royal permission. Berr translated N.H. *Wessely's proposals for Jewish educational reform into French under the title *Instructions Salutaires Adressées aux Communautés Juives de l'Empire de Joseph II* (Paris, 1790). He also published letters in defense of Jewish rights, demonstrating the moral value of the Talmud. While supporting certain reforms in Jewish life and customs, including the abolition of Jewish communal and judicial autonomy, Berr did not advocate religious Reform (*Réflexions sur la Régénération Complète des Juifs en France*, 1806).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: E. Carmoly, in: *Revue Orientale*, 3 (1843/44), 62–63; L. Kahn, *Les Juifs de Paris pendant la révolution* (1898), 27; Graetz, Hist, 6 (1949), index.

[Moshe Catane]

BERSHAD, small town in *Vinnitsa district, Ukraine. Jews started to settle there at the end of the 16th century. They were butchered by one of the Cossack bands during the *Chmielnicki massacres, and in the 18th century by the *Haidamak gangs. The community numbered 438 in 1765; 650 in 1787; 3,370 in 1847; 6,600 (out of a total of 8,885) according to the 1897 census; and 7,400 (61%) in 1910. At the beginning of the 19th century, when the *ẓaddik* *Raphael of Bershad lived there, Bershad became a center of Ḥasidism. It became celebrated for its *tallit* weaving industry which came to an end after many of the weavers immigrated to the United States. Most of the plants for sugar refining and distilling, flour mills, and tanneries established in Bershad toward the end of the century were owned by Jews. Of the town's 175 artisans, 163 were Jewish. During the civil war of 1919–20, 150 Jews in Bershad were massacred by Ukrainian gangs and soldiers of *Denikin's army. In 1926 they numbered 7,016 (total population 11,847), dropping to 4,271 in 1939. During this period, under the Soviets, many Jews worked in artisan cooperatives, some of which later developed into factories; about 20% of the Jews were blue-collar workers and clerks, and 20% were unemployed. A Yiddish high school had 621 students. Bershad was occupied by the Germans and Romanians on July 29, 1941, and included in Transnistria on September 1. A ghetto was established in the town and 25,000 Jews deported from Bessarabia and Bukovina were sent there. Many died of hunger and disease as up to 25 people were packed into a room. By August 1942, 10,000 Jews remained. The situation improved after financial aid arrived from Jewish organizations in Bucharest. A hospital, pharmacy, soup kitchen, and orphanage were opened. Local Jews organized an armed underground and later took to the forest and joined Soviet partisan units. The Jews numbered 2,200 in 1959 and 553 in 1993. There was a synagogue, and both a rabbi and kosher poultry were available.

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[Shmuel Ettinger / Shmuel Spector (2nd ed.)]

°BERSHADSKI, SERGEY ALEXANDROVICH (1850–1896), historian of Lithuanian Jewry. He became interested in the history of the Jews in Lithuania through his teacher, F. Leontovich. Bershadski, who for many years worked in official archives, in particular those of the archduke of Lithuania, also lectured in law at the University of St. Petersburg. His first historical study of Lithuanian Jewry was published in the series *Yevreyskaya Biblioteka*, where he also published a collection of sources relating to Jewish history in southwest Russia and Lithuania. In 1882 he published two volumes of documents relating to Jewish history in Lithuania from 1388 to 1569, and in 1883 his book *Litovskiye Yevrei* ("The Lithuanian Jews"), a history covering the same period. His other works on this subject include a Russian history of the Jewish community in Vilna from 1593 to 1649 (*Voskhod*, nos. 10, 11, 1886, and nos. 3–8, 1887), and studies on Abraham Jesofovich, the Lithuanian treasurer (1888), and on Saul Wahl (*ibid*., nos. 1–5, 1889).

In the 1890s Bershadski began to interest himself in the history of the Jews in Poland, for which he collected material from the central archives in Warsaw. He published several articles on the subject, the documents upon which he drew being published posthumously in *Russko-Yevreyskiy Arkhiv* (vol. 3, 1903). In response to the growing antisemitism of the time, Bershadski also undertook a study of the blood libel in Poland and Lithuania in the 16th to 18th centuries, published in *Voskhod* (nos. 1, 9, 11, 12, 1894). Before his death he began publication of a work on the "Jewish Statute" of 1804, but did not complete it.

After he began his researches, Bershadski, who had been formerly radically anti-Jewish, developed an appreciation of the Jewish people and became their warm supporter. In his wish to promote their integration into the Russian state and culture, he attempted to show the antiquity of the Jewish settlement there and that the Jews had made a positive contribution to Russian life and the Russian language. He attributed the isolation of the Jews by the rulers of Poland to the annexation of Lithuania in 1569. Bershadski considered that the union had brought Lithuania "the Talmud, Jewish autonomy, and *Kahal* solidarity." He was, however, not an expert in the internal developments in Jewish history.

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[Shmuel Ettinger]

BERSHADSKY (Domashevitzky), ISAIAH (1871–1908), Hebrew novelist. Bershadsky, who was born in Zimoshti, Belorussia, received the traditional Jewish education of the period, and also acquired a knowledge of Russian. His novel *Be-Ein Mattarah* ("To No Purpose") appeared in 1899 (under the pseudonym Bershadsky, an abbreviation of the Hebrew for Ben Reb Shimon Domashevitzky) in the *Biblioteka Ivrit* series founded by Ben Avigdor. It proved a landmark in Hebrew literature. For the first time in the 20 years since the foundation of the Ḥibbat Zion movement a novel was published in Hebrew giving a comprehensive view of contemporary society. *Be-Ein Mattarah* is a psychological realistic novel of the type prevalent in the European literature of the period. The background is the Jewish middle class in a town in the Pale of Settlement, and the main characters are the Hebrew teachers. The plot deals with their social and ideological problems arising from the question of a Jewish national rebirth. The hero, Admovitz, in common with Bazarov, Turgenev's nihilist archetype of Russian literature, rejects idealism and favors theorizing and philosophizing. He thus reacts negatively to Zionism and to the concept of a resurrection of the Hebrew language, both of which threw the Pale of Settlement into a ferment in the 1890s. However, his rejection does not lead to any constructive alternative. His attempts to immerse himself in materialistic pleasures are accompanied by agonies of conscience, a result of his religious education. These he tries to hide beneath a mask of cynicism and mockery. His life is joyless and purposeless. In the character of Admovitz, who shares many personality traits with his author, Bershadsky created the prototype of the Jewish social misfit, who became the anti-hero of Hebrew fiction in the first quarter of the 20th century. A two-volume anthology of Bershadsky's stories and sketches was published during 1899 and 1902 under the title *Tippusim u-Ẓelalim* ("Types and Shadows"). His second novel, *Neged ha-Zerem* ("Against the Stream") appeared in 1901 in four parts. Written before *Be-Ein Mattarah*, it depicts the collapse of traditional Jewish life. The hero, Israelson, the representative of Zionist orthodoxy, discovers that the bourgeois youth has surrendered to anarchy, cynicism, and hedonism. He eventually reached the conclusion that no Diaspora-based system of education can contain assimilation. Bershadsky is one of the first modern Hebrew authors to describe the relationship between the sexes realistically. In general, his works mark the entry of realism into Hebrew fiction, ending its tradition of over-moralizing. There are, however, defects in his writing. These include weakly traced plots, an excess of propaganda, usually put into the mouths of the heroes during their numerous arguments, and a dry, unimaginative style, lacking lyrical finesse.

Bershadsky was a member of the editorial board of the periodical *Ha-Zeman* in 1904–05 in St. Petersburg and later in Vilna. He died in Warsaw. His later stories and sketches and his early and unpublished writings were collected and published posthumously in two volumes under the title *Ketavim Aḥaronim* ("Last Writings," 1910).

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[Gedalyah Elkoshi]

BERSOHN, MATTHIAS (1823–1908), Polish art collector and historian. Bersohn was active in the Warsaw Jewish community. He assembled an important collection of Jewish and Polish art in his own home and made generous presents to Polish museums. Since all his children converted to Christianity, he presented his collection and library to the Warsaw Jewish community, which established the "Bersohn Museum for Jewish Antiquities" to house it, at the time the only institution of its kind in Poland. In March 1940 the Germans broke into the museum and robbed it of its treasures. Bersohn's general collection was given to Polish museums. One of the earliest researchers of the history of art in Poland, he wrote a study on the wooden-structured synagogues in Poland (Pol., 3 vols., 1895–1903; Ger., in MGJV, 8 (1901), 159ff.). He also wrote a study of Joseph Nasi (MGWJ, 18 (1869), 422ff.) and one of Tobias Cohen and other Polish-Jewish doctors (1872). His lexicon of Jewish scholars in Poland, 16th–18th centuries (Pol., 1906), and his collection of documents on Polish Jewish history from 1388 to 1872 (1910, ed. posthumously by his son-in-law A. Kraushaar) are not too reliable.

BERSON, ARTHUR JOSEPH STANISLAV (1859–1942), Austrian meteorologist. Born in Neu-Sandec, Galicia, he worked at the Prussian Aeronautic Observatory later transferred to Lindenberg and Friedrichshafen. In 1899 he introduced new methods for the study of the air strata structure at heights of tens of miles above the earth. Berson employed kites and balloons of rubber and paper filled with hydrogen gas and attached them to thin metal threads. Berson, in balloons of his own design, rose to the upper atmosphere a number of times with instruments for the measurement of the air pressure, the air temperature, and the relative humidity. Berson also carried out his observations over Spitzbergen, the Arctic Ocean, East Africa, Brazil, the Indian Ocean, and Indonesia. From these observations of Berson, the notion of the troposphere and the stratosphere were accepted generally. In 1901 Berson and a companion reached a height of about seven miles without oxygen masks. Berson also sent up unmanned balloons to heights of 18 miles. These balloons contained recording instruments which, if the balloon exploded, would come down by means of small parachutes. He also used red balloons sent up at a fixed rate which could be tracked and thus determine the direction of the wind. During World War I this knowledge of the direction of wind at high altitudes was of great importance to the fighter planes. The observations and studies of Berson were first published in three volumes, together with those of R. Assmann, under the title *Wissenschaftliche Luftfahrten* (1899–1900).

[Dov Ashbel]

°**BERTHOLD OF FREIBURG** (13th century), Dominican preacher and theologian. In his *Summa*, completed in about 1295, the oldest known textbook of canon law in the German language, Berthold contests the validity of forced conversion to Christianity, obtained by "use of arrow or lance," or by "pushing people under the baptismal font against their will." He further prescribes that converts should be allowed to retain their property after baptism, in opposition to the fiscal policy followed by certain princes who commonly confiscated the property of the new converts to compensate for the loss of the Jewish tax.

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[Emmanuel Beeri]

°**BERTHOLD OF REGENSBURG** (**Ratisbon**; before 1210–1272), Franciscan friar, the most celebrated preacher in Germany in the Middle Ages. From 1240 Berthold traveled throughout the German-speaking countries. In 1263 he began to preach the crusade. His sermons, delivered in fields or public squares, drew huge crowds. While preaching against Christian heresies, such as those held by the Cathari and Waldenses, he included the Jews in his attacks. Berthold declared that the heretics together with their allies the Jews, were so powerful that, but for the emperor's opposition, they would have gained control over Germany. He even predicted that a time would come when Christians would have to defend themselves against them in the same way as against the "infidels" (the Muslims). Berthold strongly opposed the practice of usury by the Jews whom he also accused of proselytizing among Christians.

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[Bernhard Blumenkranz]

°**BERTHOLET, ALFRED** (1868–1951), Swiss Bible scholar and theologian, who taught biblical exegesis at the University of Basle.

Bertholet wrote extensively on the canonical and extracanonical books of the Bible. His works include commentaries on Leviticus (1901), Deuteronomy (1899), Ezekiel (1897), Ruth (with E.F. Kautzsch, 1923), and Ezra and Nehemiah (1902). His Appendix on the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha in the *Geschichte der althebraeischen Literatur* (ed., K. Budde, 1906, 1909^2) is considered one of the best in the field. In his works *Der Beitrag des Alten Testaments zur allgemeinen Religionsgeschichte* (1923) and *Das Dynamistische im Alten Testament* (1926) Bertholet maintained that the religion of ancient Israel, characterized by a strong personal conception of the Deity, was unique in a world dominated by dynamistic theories which viewed the universe as essentially constituted by natural and supernatural forces. His other works in biblical studies include: *Die Stellung der Israeliten und der Juden zu den Fremden* (1896), *Die juedische Religion von der Zeit Esras bis zum Zeitalter Christi* (1911), *Kulturgeschichte Israels* (1919), and a second commentary on the Book of Ezekiel (1936). His works in the field of comparative religion include *Buddhismus und Christentum* (1902, 1909^2), *Dynamismus und Personalismus…* (1930), *Goetterspaltung und Goettervereinigung* (1933), *Das Geschlecht der Gottheit* (1934), *Der Sinn des kultischen Opfers* (1942), *Die Macht der Schrift in Glauben und Aberglauben* (1949), and the posthumous *Grundformen der Erscheinungswelt der Gottesverehrung* (1953).

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[Zev Garber]

BERTINI, GARY (1927–2005), Russian-born Israeli conductor and composer. After training in Israel and Italy, he studied in the Paris Conservatoire and at the Sorbonne. Among his teachers were Boulanger and Messiaen. In 1954 he returned to Israel and taught conducting in Tel Aviv at the Music Teachers' College, and later at the Rubin Academy, where he was appointed professor in 1975. He played an important role in the development of Israeli music. He founded and directed many of Israel's leading musical institutions such as the Rinat Choir (1955), the Israel Chamber Orchestra (1964–75), the Musical Evenings for Contemporary Music (1962–65), the Liturgical Festival (1978), and the Israel Festival. He was musical director of the Symphony Orchestra of Jerusalem (1978–86) and artistic and musical director of the New Israel Opera in Tel Aviv (1994–97). Bertini regularly conducted the major orchestras of the world and held appointments as conductor, musical advisor, and director with leading orchestras, among them the Scottish National Orchestra (1971–78), the Detroit Symphony Orchestra (1981–83), the Cologne RSO (1983–91), the Frankfurt Opera (1987–90), and the Tokyo Metropolitan Symphony Orchestra. He was later appointed musical director of the San Carlo Theater.

Bertini is known for a wide repertory ranging from Josquin des Près to contemporary composers. He is noted for his interpretation of Mahler and French music. He has given the premieres of many works of Israeli composers (such as *Partos, *Ben Haim, *Orgad, *Avni, *Seter, and *Tal) and others. His compositions include incidental scores, works for orchestra, chamber music, songs, and choral arrangements. Bertini is the recipient of the Israel Prize (1978), the Frank Pelleg Prize (1999), and the Grand Prix of the French music critics. He also wrote an essay on Anton Webern.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Grove online; MGG^2; *Baker's Biographical Dictionary* (1997).

[Naama Ramot (2nd ed.)]

BERTINI, K. AHARON (1903–1995), poet and editor. Bertini, who was born in Bessarabia, began to publish poetry in 1924, and taught in Hebrew high schools in Bessarabia from 1927. He immigrated to Ereẓ Israel in 1947, where he resumed his teaching career. From 1965 he served as an editor of *Moznayim*, the literary magazine of the Hebrew Writers' Association. His volumes of poetry include *Temol Deheh* (1939), *Mi-Layil ad Boker* (1951), *Marot al ha-Efer* (1954), *Shevil Kaḥol* (1961), *Bakbuk al Penei ha-Mayim* (1969), *Maḥshakim u-Derakhim* (1974), *Me'aḥorei ha-Pargod* (1985), *Le-Orekh ha-Yamim, le-Orekh ha-Mayim* (1988) and the essays *Seder Re'iyah: Masot Sifrutiyot* (1977). With Z. Rosenthal and D. Vinitsky he edited the literary anthology *Min ha-Ẓad* (1939–40). He translated from French, Romanian, and Yiddish into Hebrew. Among the last are David *Bergelson's play *Prince Reuveni*, Moshe Altman's short story collection *Be-Omek Ha-Re'i* (1967, and H. Leivick´s dramatic poem *Abelar un Heluiz*. Bertini also edited an anthology of translations from Yiddish literature for high schools (1958) and prepared an anthology of works by Romanian Jewish writers (1972). Dan Miron edited a collection in two volumes of Bertini's poems (2003) with a supplementary essay. His son Gary *Bertini is a noted composer and conductor.

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[Getzel Kressel]

BERTINORO, OBADIAH BEN ABRAHAM YARE (**Di** or **Of**; c. 1450–before 1516), Italian rabbi and Mishnah commentator. The name Yare is an acrostic of the Hebrew יְהִי רְצוּי אֶחָיו (*Yehi Reẓui Eḥav*; "Let him be the favored of his brethren"; Deut. 33:24). Little is known of his family, which derived from the town Bertinero in northern Italy. At some time he apparently lived in Città di Castello, where he was a banker. His best-known teacher was Joseph *Colon. Much more is known about Bertinoro, after he left this place, from three letters he wrote during 1488–91 in which he described his travels and his early impressions of Ereẓ Israel. (See Map: Journey from Italy to Israel). Leaving his home at the end of 1486, he went on via Rome to Naples and stayed there and at Salerno for four months, where he taught (probably Jewish matter). In 1487 he reached Palermo where he stayed three months, preaching every Sabbath. Though pressed to become rabbi, he refused, and sailed by way of Messina and Rhodes for Alexandria, where he arrived early in 1488. He describes at length the Jewish communities of these places and their customs. He proceeded to Cairo, and the *nagid* Nathan ha-Kohen *Sholal received him with great honor. Sholal asked Obadiah to remain in Cairo but he refused and continued his journey via Gaza, Hebron, and Bethlehem, reaching Jerusalem just before Passover in 1488. Jacob of Colombano, an Ashkenazi rabbi who had come to Jerusalem from Italy, welcomed him warmly. On his arrival Bertinoro became the spiritual leader of Jerusalem Jewry, and was embroiled with the local communal leaders, in his words – "*zekenim*" (elders). However, he was successful in uniting the oppressed and divided community. He established regular courses of study and preached twice a month in Hebrew. He even occupied himself with the burial of the dead since no one else was ready to undertake this religious duty. He enacted communal regulations and made himself responsible for the collection of funds from Italy for the support of the poor. Emanuel Ḥai Camerino of Florence, to whom Bertinoro had entrusted his property and who had promised to send 100 ducats a year, added an additional 25 ducats for charity. Bertinoro's wealthy brother also sent contributions. Nathan Sholal put his house in Jerusalem in Bertinoro's charge and authorized him to manage the communal affairs. It seems also that he officially served as a deputy **nagid* in Jerusalem. With the repeal of the communal tax and the arrival after 1492 of refugees from Spain, the community began to grow. An anonymous traveler testifies in 1495 to Bertinoro's fame in Ereẓ Israel and in the Diaspora. From his third letter in 1491 from Hebron it appears that he left Jerusalem for a while and became rabbi of Hebron. By 1495, however, he was back in Jerusalem. He was buried on the Mount of Olives.

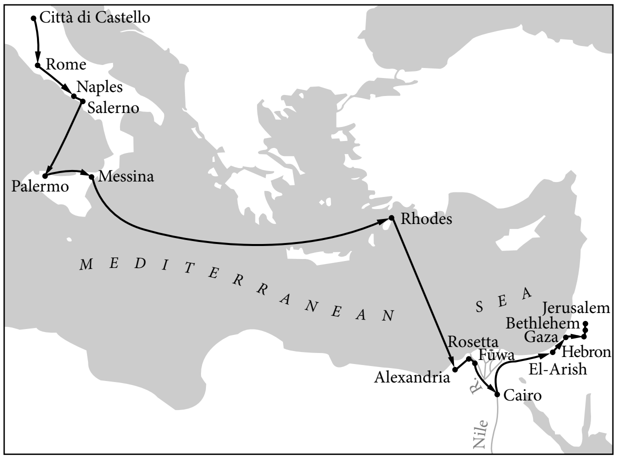

Obadiah di Bertinoro's journey from Italy to Ereẓ Israel, 1485-1488.

Bertinoro's fame rests on his commentary on the Mishnah which was completed in Jerusalem and published in Venice (1548–49). It has become the standard commentary on the Mishnah as is Rashi's on the Talmud. This commentary was published with the text in almost every edition of the Mishnah. Written in an easy, lucid style, it draws largely on Rashi, often quoting him literally, and on Maimonides, whose rulings he cites. For the sections of Mishnah which have no Talmud he drew on the commentary of *Samson b. Abraham of Sens and of *Asher b. Jehiel. Falsely attributed to him is *Amar Neke* (published: Pisa, 1810), a commentary on Rashi on the Pentateuch. The three letters mentioned above were written in a flowing, limpid Hebrew to his father, his brother, and possibly his friend, Camerino. They have frequently been published under the title *Darkhei Ẓiyyon* or *Ha-Massa le-Ereẓ Yisrael* and translated into many languages, such as, German, French, English, Italian, and Spanish. Other works remain in manuscript: responsa, novellae on R. Moses of Coucy, *Sefer Mitzvot Gadol,* and Maimonides' *Mishneh Torah,* as well as an exchange of letters, poems, and prayers.

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[Abraham David]

BERTONOFF, DEBORAH (1915–), mimic-dancer, teacher, and researcher of dance; one of the pioneers of dance in Israel. Daughter of Yehoshua Bertonoff, a veteran of the *Habima Theater, she was still a child in Russia when she danced "*The Beggars' Dance*" in *The Dybbuk* directed by Vakhtangov. She immigrated to Israel in 1928 with Habima. In 1929 she went to Berlin and studied dance at the school of Trumpy Skoronel. Upon her return to Israel in 1932, she produced recitals concentrating on the description of individual personalities and the dramatic stories of people's lives: *Individuals at a Jewish Wedding, Two Jews Are Conversing,* and *The Maker of Magic*. In 1934, she went to study in England at the schools of Kurt Jooss and Sigurd Leeder. Bertonoff was awarded a first prize for mimic-dancing in Paris in 1936.

She opened a studio in Tel Aviv and produced *Exodus from Egypt* (1946) to the music of Yosef *Tal. This was a work of solo dances and readings whose subjects were national-biblical and which later (1957) became *Memories of a Nation*. Her first Broadway performance was in 1948. She represented Israel in the Theater of Nations in 1962. Thanks to a scholarship from UNESCO, she was able to go on research trips to Ghana in 1960 and 1965 and to India in 1966. Bertonoff left the stage in 1970 and, after a 15-year hiatus, returned to the stage in a recital that was a reconstruction of her dancing from the past. In 1991, she received the Israel Prize for dance. She wrote *Dance Towards the Earth* (1965), *Spirit Possessed* (1965), *Dance Towards the Horizons* (1968), *Dance, Drums, Drama* (1979), and *Journey to the World of Dance* (1982).

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[Ruth Eshel (2nd ed.)]

BERUREI AVERAH/AVEROT (Heb. בֵּרוּרֵי עֲבֵרָה / עֲבֵרוֹת; "the elected [to control] sin"), an institution of Catalonian origin found in the Jewish communities in Spain from the second half of the 13th century and later in the *Sephardi Diaspora in the 16th and 17th centuries. The *berurim* were the leaders of the community, some of whom were especially appointed for special tasks. The *berurei averot* were responsible for people's behavior in general. Officers so appointed mainly had the authority to deal with religious and moral transgressions. There were also similar officers (*berurei tevi'ot*) to investigate monetary suits. *Berurei averot* had the authority to impose punishments such as expulsion, excommunication, and flogging on guilty persons. The communities of Catalonia, Valencia, and Majorca had two or three such officers, while in Aragon this function was included in the duties of the *adelantados. A legend about Isaac b. Solomon *Luria in 16th-century Safed conveys the atmosphere in which this body practiced its activities: "It happened that the sages of Safed appointed ten men concerning transgressions, all of them learned and wise." One of them looked out of his window early in the morning and saw a well-dressed woman. He followed her, and seeing her enter the courtyard of a man of light morals, "immediately after the end of the morning prayers ordered the beadle to call together his fellow appointees over transgressions, and [stated that] he would testify before them concerning a transgression that he had himself seen." While they were in assembly Luria proved miraculously to the accuser that his suspicions were unfounded.

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BERURYAH (second century), a learned woman mentioned once in the Tosefta, and identified in the aggadot of the Talmud Bavli as the daughter of R. *Hananiah b. Teradyon and wife of R. *Meir. Beruryah is the only woman mentioned by name in tannaitic sources whose view on an halakhic matter was taken into account by the scholars of her time. Tosef., Kelim, BM 1:6 reports a dispute between R. Ṭarfon and the Sages, in the context of which Beruryah expressed an opinion. The Tosefta goes on to state: "When this matter was reported to R. Judah, he said: 'Beruryah spoke well.'' Significantly, the daughter of R. Hananiah ben Teradyon is also mentioned in Tosefta *Kelim* (BK 4:17), where her halakhic opinion also is quoted with approval, and in a very similar fashion: "When this matter was reported to R. Judah ben Bava, he said: 'His daughter spoke better than his son.'" Aside from the similarity of the two cases and their proximity to each other in the Tosefta, there is no positive reason to identify these two figures. Moreover, if we assume that R. Ṭarfon was alive and active during the final years of the Second Temple (cf. Tosef. Soṭ. 7:16), it does not seem likely that a woman who was old enough to debate with Ṭarfon could have been R. Hananiah ben Teradyon's daughter, let alone R. Meir's wife. Indeed, one source mentions R. Meir's wife, but without mentioning her by name (Mid. Prov. to 31:1). It would seem, therefore, that the figure of Beruryah – talmudic scholar, daughter of R. *Hananiah b. Teradyon and wife of R. *Meir – is in fact a conflation of a number of distinct figures, mentioned either by name or without name in earlier sources. The fascinating and problematic figure of Beruryah, therefore, must be seen as a synthetic literary product of the Talmud's method of "creative historiography," as was shown by David Goodblatt in his classic study, "The Beruriah Traditions." The notion that Beruryah was largely a product of the talmudic "collective consciousness" only increases the significance of her figure for an understanding of the talmudic mind and its problematic attitude toward scholarly and assertive female figures (Tal Ilan, 3–8). We will therefore summarize the basic elements of the Bavli's Beruryah aggadot in outline:

The Talmud tells of her great knowledge (Pes. 62b). It describes her as restraining her husband Meir in a moment of moral weakness. When certain evil persons antagonized her husband and he prayed for their death, she rebuked him, interpreting Psalms 104:35 as expressive of God's desire for the destruction of sin, and not of sinners, and exhorting him to pray, rather, that they repent of their evil ways (Ber. 10a). The *aggadah* also tells of her mocking wit. Once, when R. Yose the Galilean, meeting her along the way, asked, "By which road should we travel in order to reach Lydda?" she replied: "Galilean fool! Did not the rabbis say, 'Talk not overmuch with women?' You should have asked: 'How to Lydda?'" (Er. 53b). Another instance of her sharpness is her reply to a sectarian concerning the interpretation of a verse from the Prophets (Ber. 10a). Beruryah also guided students in their study. When she found a student studying in an undertone, she rebuked him, saying: "Is it not stated (II Sam. 23:5) 'Ordered in all things, and sure'? – If the Torah be ordered in the two hundred and forty-eight organs of your body, it will be sure, and if not, it will not be sure" (Er. 53b–54a). Finally, Rashi, in explaining the obscure phrase "the story of Beruryah," mentioned in Av. Zar. 18b, quotes a legend to the effect that as a result of her exaggerated self-confidence – feeling that she was above "feminine weakness" – she ultimately was led astray, with tragic consequences. Beruryah was also the heroine of a number of belletristic works and plays in Hebrew and in other languages.

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[Stephen G. Wald (2nd ed.)]

BESALÚ (Latin **Bisuldunum, Bisuldum**; Heb. ביואלרו, ביסאלו, בסלו), town in Catalonia, N.E. Spain. Its Jewish community was one of the oldest in Catalonia, a tombstone dating from 1090 having been found there. In 1258 James I gave permission to the Jews of Gerona and Besalú, then forming a single *collecta* ("tax administrative unit"), to appoint five representatives to act in financial and administrative matters. In 1258 the two communities together paid a tax of 15,000 sólidos. In the 13th century there were 18 Jewish families (about 130 persons) in Besalú, and in the 14th century between 38 and 49 families (170–220 Jews). The Zabara and Corvida families were among the leading members of the community of Besalú in the 13th through 15th centuries. Several of their number were baptized in 1391. Other important families were the Monells, the Payrusa, the Astrucs, the Caracausas, the Bonanasms, the Bellcaires, and the Benvenists. As in the rest of Catalonia some rich Jews were moneylenders, very often in addition to their occupations or financial enterprises. Considering the size of the community, there were many Jewish physicians in Besalú – in the 14th century there were no fewer than 15. Among the best known there were the Castlars, Abraham and David, who were father and son, Bendit Deuslogar, Belshom Maymon, Moshe Abraham de Portal, Samuel Cabrit, Salamon Caravida, and Ishaq Adret. In 1271 the Jews of Besalú were empowered by the Infante Pedro to execute legal contracts in the same way as Christians and Moors. During a heresy hunt in Besalú in 1292 the Dominicans tried to interfere in Jewish affairs, but were prevented by the king. An outbreak against the Jews at Gerona during Easter 1331 had repercussions there. During the anti-Jewish outbreaks that swept Spain in 1391 the Jews were protected by the local authorities. Thus between 1392 and 1415, a period of general decline of the Jewish population in Catalonia, 36 Jewish families, around 160 Jews, lived there. Nevertheless the number of Jews who converted to Christianity increased significantly in the 15th century. A small Jewish community continued to exist in Besalú in the 15th century, until the expulsion from Spain. It had its own synagogue, cemetery, and *mikveh.* The *mikveh* was discovered in 1964 in the old Jewish quarter.

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[Haim Beinart / Yom Tov Assis (2nd ed.)]

BESANÇON, capital of the department of Doubs, eastern France; from the 13th century a free city, annexed to France in 1674. The first reference to Jews in Besançon is found in 1245. The Jewish street was in the present Rue de Richebourg, and the cemetery in front of the present Porte de Charmont. Jewish bankers of Besançon are mentioned in the chronicles of the Anglo-French war of 1296–1301. In 1321, and between 1393 and 1404, Jews expelled from *Franche-Comté and *Burgundy reached the city. The Jews left Besançon in the 15th century, and in 1465 the cemetery was sold by the municipality. Jews were denied free access to Besançon from the end of the 17th to the end of the 18th century, a few permits of temporary residence for a limited period being granted to a small number of merchants. A permit of longer duration was issued to an engraver of semiprecious stones.

After the French Revolution the community in Besançon was reestablished. It numbered 20 families in 1807, and sent a delegate to the Assembly of Jewish notables and to the Sanhedrin convened by Napoleon. The community was administered by the *Consistory of Nancy until 1858, and then later by Lyons. The present synagogue, in Moorish style, was consecrated in 1869. In 1872 an independent consistory was set up at Besançon. The community was increased by Jews who left Alsace after the Franco-Prussian war of 1870. At the beginning of the 20th century there were 170 families living in Besançon.

[Zvi Avneri]

Holocaust and Postwar Periods

The community was largely destroyed and dispersed under the German occupation during World War II. In May 1940, over one hundred Jews were deported by the Germans. After the war, the Jewish community slowly revived, and had 120 families in 1960. By 1969 their number had practically doubled, largely as a result of the influx of Jewish immigrants from North Africa. The community engaged a rabbi and cantor and maintained a number of institutions.

[Georges Levitte]

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BESDIN, MORRIS J. (1913–1982), U.S. rabbi, pioneer in *keruv*. Besdin was born in Lithuania. His family immigrated to America when he was three years old. After completing his elementary schooling at Yeshiva Chaim Berlin, he continued his studies at the Rabbi Isaac Elchanan Theological Seminary, where he was ordained in 1936. He began his career as a pulpit rabbi in Scranton, Pa., and then as the successor to his father, who had died, on the Lower East Side. He became the rabbi of the Beis Medrash HaGadol in Washington Heights, a prominent congregation of first and second generation immigrants. The Beis Medrash HaGadol also had a tradition of scholarship which Besdin addressed with confidence. Living in the neighborhood at the time was Samuel *Belkin, the new president of RIETS. It was the beginning of a lifelong association.

The advent of World War II marked Besdin as a quiet "doer." He gave up his pulpit and volunteered for military service as a chaplain in the South Pacific. In 1950, the Kew Gardens Synagogue invited Besdin to become their spiritual leader. This synagogue was the first Orthodox synagogue established and built in New York shortly after the war. The lay leadership was a group of strong, assertive German and Belgian Jews who had immigrated to the United States shortly before the beginning of World War II, just in the nick of time. They were reconstituting on American shores a community they were forced to leave behind. They soon fell in love with their modest, Yiddish-speaking Litvishe rav. Eight years later he was to leave them for a second career in Jewish education.

In a pioneering venture into what later became known as *keruv*, Yeshiva University established in 1958 the James Striar School. The new school was an attempt to capture the hearts and minds of inquiring, college-age young men for Judaism. Belkin did not like boisterous people. Spotlight seekers disturbed his sense of decorum. Having followed Besdin's career, Belkin knew that Besdin was the man he needed for this new school. Even as a pulpit rabbi, Besdin had been in the forefront of Jewish education. As one of the founders of the Yeshiva Dov Revel in Forest Hills, he had made his mark. Having been trained by talmudic giants, Moses *Soloveitchik and Bernard *Revel, Besdin was very conscious of the failure of the "about" theory of Jewish education. He believed in the "it" of Jewish learning. The student had to know – and had to be proud that he knew – the original text. He did not countenance false piety, premature piety. When his newly religious students would walk around with their *ẓiẓit* outside their shirts, Besdin would say: "A man in a tuxedo is elegant, but if his shirt is hanging out of his pants and his hat is on the side of his head, what is he?" He would answer his own question: "A clown." He would advise: learn Hebrew, read the text well, and then decide on the externals.

[Victor Geller (2nd ed.)]

BESEKOW, SAMUEL (1911–2001), Danish actor, director, and author. After training in Berlin with Max *Reinhardt and Erwin Piscator he became director of a workshop theater in Copenhagen, *Riddersalen*, where he presented works by modern playwrights. During the last years of World War II Besekow was a refugee in Stockholm. After the war be worked as director in theaters in Copenhagen and abroad. Besekow staged Brecht's *Galileo* in Tel Aviv, in 1962, and Molière's *The Miser* for the *Freie Volksbuehne* in West Berlin in 1967. He wrote books about the theater, novels depicting the artist's life; *Guds Gölere* ("God's Jesters," 1954), a novel dealing with Jewish life in Russia, Denmark, and Germany; *Ild brander, eng gror* ("Fire Burns, Meadow Grows," 1958); *Letters to a Theater-Crazy Professor* (1959); *Skrevet i Vand* ("Written in Water," 1962); *Skrédderens søn* ("The Tailor's Son," 1964); *Syvtallet* ("The Number Seven," 1966); *Komedianter* ("The Comedians," 1969); *Det musiske faenomen* ("The Aesthetic Phenomenon," 1979); *Fra majonaesekvarteret til det konglige teater* ("From the Neighborhood of Mayonnaise to the Royal Theater," 1993).

[Torben Meyer / Bent Lexner (2nd ed.)]

BESICOVITCH, ABRAM SAMOILOVITCH (1891–1970), mathematician. Besicovitch was descended from a Karaite family. He began his academic career at St. Petersburg where he worked under Markoff. Owing to difficult conditions caused by the Revolution he moved to Perm in the Urals. Besicovitch left the Soviet Union in 1925 and in 1926 settled in Cambridge. He was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society in 1934 and received its Sylvester medal in 1952. Kekeya's famous problem, the determination of the least area swept out by a straight line which is reversed in direction by a continuous motion in the plane, was solved by Besicovitch who proved the surprising result that there is no least area. He made important contributions to the theories of measure, sets of points, real analysis, surface area, and also to the additive theory of numbers. He was known for producing apparently simple problems which were extremely difficult to solve. His publications include *Almost Periodic Functions* (1955^2).

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[Barry Spain]

BESOR, BROOK OF (Heb. נַחַל הַבְּשׂוֹר), a river valley (wadi) in the Negev that David crossed in pursuit of the Amalekites after their attack on Ziklag (I Sam. 30:9–10, 21). It is commonly identified with Wadi Ghazza-al-Shallāla southwest of Beersheba.

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[Yohanan Aharoni]

BESREDKA, ALEXANDER (1870–1940), French immunologist, known for his research on anaphylaxis, local immunization, and immunization in contagious disease. Besredka was the son of a Hebrew writer, Elimelech Ish-Naomi. He first studied in Russia, but when it was proposed to him that he convert to Christianity in order to further his scientific career, he refused and moved to France. He completed his medical studies in Paris, became a French citizen, and was appointed a member of the Pasteur Institute of which he was later a director. Besredka maintained his contacts with Judaism all his life, was active in Jewish organizations such as *OSE, and wrote for Jewish scientific journals, including the Hebrew *Ha-Refu'ah*. His anaphylaxis research was based on original concepts, different from the accepted beliefs in immunology. In 1907 he discovered the possibility of eliminating hypersensitivity to foreign serum. His desensitization method was accepted throughout the world as the pretreatment of patients who had acquired a sensitivity toward a serum, in order to prevent anaphylactic shock by repeated serum treatment. Besredka was closely associated with the biologist Metchnikoff and in 1910 was appointed professor at the Pasteur Institute in Paris. His book *Immunisation locale, pansements spécifiques* was published in 1925.

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[Aryeh Leo Olitzki]

BESSARABIA, region between the rivers Prut and Dniester; before 1812 part of Moldavia, with several districts under direct Ottoman rule; within Russia 1812–1918; part of Romania 1918–40; returned to Russia 1940, and together with the Moldavian Autonomous S.S.R. became the Moldavian S.S.R. After the disintegration of the Soviet Union, the state of Moldova was established.

Up to 1812

From the 15th century onward, Jewish Sephardi merchants from Constantinople frequented Bessarabia while using the trade route which crossed the length of the territory, connecting the countries of the East and the Black Sea shores with Poland. Later, Jewish merchants from Poland also began coming to Bessarabia. Some of them settled there, thus laying the foundation of the first Jewish communities in northern and central Bessarabia; in southern Bessarabia Jewish communities were found already in the 16th century. By the early 18th century, permanent Jewish settlements had been established in several commercial centers. Toward the end of the century, relatively large numbers of Jews were living in most of the urban settlements and in many villages. Their number was estimated at 20,000 in 1812. The legal status of the Jews in the part of Bessarabia under Moldavian rule was similar to that of the rest of Moldavian Jewry. They were organized in autonomous communities subject to the authority of the *ḥakham bashi* in Jassy. In the parts under Ottoman rule they were subject to the same laws as the other communities under this regime. In the 18th and 19th centuries, the Jews in Bessarabia mainly engaged in local commerce and liquor distilling; some traded on a considerable scale with neighboring countries. In the villages main occupations were leasing activities and innkeeping. In the cultural sphere, Bessarabian Jewry during this period was not advanced. The most prominent rabbis of the early 19th century were *Ḥayyim b. Solomon of Czernowitz, rabbi of *Kishinev, and David Solomon *Eibenschutz, rabbi of Soroki. Jacob *Frank exerted an influence from Podolia, and Khotin became a center for Frank and his adherents. Toward the end of the 18th century, Ḥasidism penetrated Bessarabia.

1812–1918

After the Russian annexation in 1812, Bessarabia was included in the *pale of Settlement, and many Jews settled there from other parts of the Pale. The Jewish population, mainly concentrated in Kishinev and its district and in the northern part of the region, grew from 43,062 in 1836 to 94,045 in 1867 (excluding New Bessarabia, see below), and to 228,620 (11.8% of the total) in 1897. Of these 109,703 (48%) lived in the towns (of them 50,237, or 22%, in Kishinev), 60,701 (26.5%) in small towns, and 58,216 (25.5%) in the villages. They formed 37.4% of the town population, 55.7% of the population of the small towns, and 3.8% of the village population. Regulations governing the legal status of the Jews of Bessarabia after the annexation were issued in 1818. In conformance with the Russian pattern, Jews were required to join one of three classes: merchants, townsmen, or peasants. All their former rights were confirmed, while the existent Russian legislation concerning the Jews did not apply, since Bessarabia had autonomous status. The regulations even expressly authorized Bessarabian Jews to reside in the villages and engage in leasing activities and innkeeping, in contradiction to the "Jewish Statute" of 1804 (see *Russia). Because of this regional autonomy, the Jews of Bessarabia were spared several of the most severe anti-Jew-

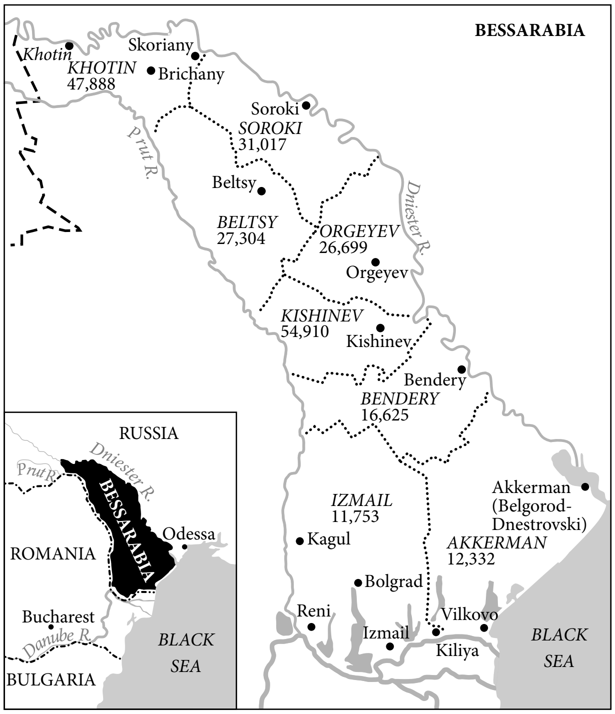

Main centers of Jewish settlement in Bessarabia in 1897, showing total Jewish population according to districts.

ish decrees issued in the first half of the 19th century. By 1835, when the liquidation of Bessarabian autonomy began, the "Jewish legislation" then promulgated in Russia was equally applied to Bessarabian Jewry, although the prohibition on Jewish residence in border regions was not enforced in Bessarabia until 1839, and compulsory military service until 1852. In the second half of the 19th century, the restriction on Jewish residence in the border area assumed special importance for the Jews of Bessarabia. According to the terms of the Treaty of Paris (1856), a territory in the southern part of the region was allocated to Romania, and many localities, including Kishinev, now fell in the border area. The restrictions were not strictly enforced and thousands of Jews settled in this region, although decrees of expulsion were issued in 1869, 1879, 1886, and 1891. Of these the most severe and extensive was that of 1869. Expulsions of individual Jews also became frequent. The Jews in New Bessarabia – the area incorporated within Romania by the Treaty of Paris – shared the fate of the other Jews in the country. The anti-Jewish riots which broke out in the towns of this region – *Izmail, Kagul, and Vilkovo – in 1872 aroused both Jewish and non-Jewish public opinion in Europe, and diplomatic intervention was enlisted to alleviate the position of the Jews. When New Bessarabia reverted to Russia in 1878, the Jews who were then recorded on the Romanian tax registers were permitted to remain there. The "*May Laws" of 1882 severely affected Jews in Bessarabia as a considerable proportion lived in the villages, and frequent expulsions ensued. In 1903 a frightful pogrom broke out in Kishinev. The wave of pogroms in 1905 swept Bessarabia. Three towns and 68 other localities were struck and 108 Jews were murdered. The damage was estimated at 3,500,000 rubles. The 1917 Revolution in Russia brought civic equality for the Jews of Bessarabia.

During the 19th century, the economic structure of Bessarabian Jewry remained basically unchanged. In their old occupations Jews played an important role within the agrarian economy of the region. An increasing number of Jews entered agriculture, and between 1836 and 1853, 17 Jewish agricultural settlements were established in Bessarabia, mostly in the northern districts, on lands purchased or leased from Christian or Jewish landowners. There were 10,859 persons living on these settlements in 1858; 12.5% of Bessarabian Jewry were farmers, and the region became among the largest and most important centers of Jewish agriculture in Russia. There were 106,031 *dessiatines* (276,283 acres) in Jewish ownership in 1880 (representing 2.5% of the arable land in Bessarabia) and an additional 206,538 *dessiatines* (557,652 acres) leased by Jews. In time, especially after the application of the "May Laws," most of the settlements were liquidated. According to a survey carried out by the *Jewish Colonization Association (ICA) in 1899, there were 1,492 families (7,782 persons), of whom 53% were landowners, on the six settlements still in existence. Of these families only 31.5% were engaged in agricultural work. The land in Jewish ownership also diminished. In 1897, 7.12% of the Jews in Bessarabia were engaged in agriculture; 26.81% in crafts and industry; 3.65% in transport; 2.34% in commercial brokerage; 39.53% in commerce (of these 58% engaged in the trade of agricultural produce); 8.9% as clerks or employees in private enterprises, domestics, daily workers, or unskilled laborers; 4.9% in public or government services or the liberal professions; and 6.75% in miscellaneous occupations. The 22,130 Jews engaged in commerce constituted 81.2% of the total number of merchants in the region, and 95.8% of the grain dealers. The proportion of Jewish artisans, mainly tailors, was lower (39%). From the early 1880s, the economic situation of Bessarabian Jewry deteriorated as a result of the frequent expulsions from the villages and border areas, and the agrarian crisis in Russia during this period. Many impoverished Jews emigrated overseas. The principal factor in Jewish spiritual life was Ḥasidism. Many of the village Jews of no marked learning adopted much of the way of life and customs of the Moldavian peasantry. A major influence was wielded by the *ẓaddikim* of the Friedman (see *Ruzhin) and *Twersky families. During the 1830s and 1840s, Haskalah began to penetrate into Bessarabia. From the end of the 1840s, Jewish government schools were opened in Bessarabia. In 1855 there were six such schools, in *Beltsy, Khotin, *Brichany, and Izmail, and two in Kishinev, with 188 pupils. Private secular Jewish schools also began to appear, and from the 1860s Jews in Bessarabia, especially wealthier ones, began to send their children to the general schools. During the 1870s, 30% to 40% of the pupils in some of the secondary schools of the region were Jewish. In 1894, however, 60.9% of Jewish children of school age still attended *ḥeder*. The population census of 1897 revealed that only 27.8% of Bessarabian Jews above the age of ten could read Russian. After the pogroms of the 1880s, Ḥovevei Zion societies were founded in Bessarabia as elsewhere, the most important in Kishinev, led by Abraham *Grunberg and Meir *Dizengoff. Toward the end of the 1880s and early 1890s, there was some movement toward pioneer settlement in Ereẓ Israel (*aliyah*). Seven delegates from Bessarabia, of whom six were from Kishinev, took part in the founding meeting of the Ḥovevei Zion Odessa Committee (April 1890). The Zionists of Bessarabia were represented at the First Zionist Congress in 1897 by Jacob *Bernstein-Kogan of Kishinev. Toward the close of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th, a line of poets and authors emerged on the cultural scene in Bessarabia, many of whom were to play an important role in Yiddish and Hebrew literature, including Eliezer *Steinbarg, Judah *Steinberg, S. *Ben-Zion, Jacob *Fichman, Samuel Leib *Blank, and Ḥayyim *Greenberg. The chief rabbi of Bessarabia, Judah Loeb *Zirelson, wrote halakhic works.

1918–1941

After the incorporation of Bessarabia into Romania in 1918, the Jews there automatically received Romanian citizenship, in accordance with the commitments of Romania under the Treaty of Paris. However, as a result of the Nationality Law of 1924, many Bessarabian Jews who could not fulfill its requirements were deprived of Romanian nationality, and defined as aliens. According to a census taken in 1920, there were 267,000 Jews in Bessarabia. As in the other parts of Romania, they encountered popular hostility, anti-Jewish measures and suspicion on the part of the government, and petty administrative harassment. In 1938, 21,844 Jewish heads of families in Bessarabia were deprived of Romanian nationality (according to official statistics). The economic situation of Bessarabian Jewry also deteriorated. The separation of the region from its former Russian markets, the drought which struck Bessarabia three times during this period, the world economic crisis, and the government's policy of exploitation, all resulted in a severe crisis in the agricultural economy. Assistance from abroad was provided principally by the *American Joint Distribution Committee and ICA. The savings and credit cooperatives set up before the war supported by ICA also played an important role in this period. In 1930 there were 41 savings and loan banks operating in 39 localities with a membership of 30,202, i.e., two-thirds of Jewish breadwinners in Bessarabia. Of these 12% were farmers, reflecting the development of Jewish agriculture in this period. At the time of the agrarian reform in Bessarabia (1920–23), between 4,000 and 5,000 Jews received 7 to 10 acres of land each – altogether approximately 120,000 acres were cultivated. In Bessarabia agriculture as a Jewish occupation ranked second after Ereẓ Israel. In 1935 about 3,000 families cultivating a total of approximately 20,000 hectares were supported by ICA. Two new agricultural settlements were established with assistance from ICA. Under Romanian rule, Jewish communal life flourished and leadership revived. A number of political parties, prominent among them the Zionist movements, were active, as well as other organizations. The first conference of Bessarabian Zionists was convened in 1920 in Kishinev, and a central office for the Zionist Organization of Bessarabia was set up in Kishinev. On the basis of the minority treaties signed by Romania, a ramified network of Jewish elementary and secondary schools with instruction in Yiddish or Hebrew was established in Bessarabia at the beginning of Romanian rule. In 1922 there were 140 Jewish schools with 19,746 pupils (105 giving instruction in Hebrew with 16,456 pupils). A teachers' seminary was established in Kishinev. However, by the end of 1922 government policy changed. Many of the schools were deprived of their Jewish character and converted into Romanian schools. By 1929–30 there remained 64 Jewish educational institutions in 30 localities (15 kindergartens, 37 elementary schools, 11 secondary schools, and one vocational school) with 6,381 pupils and 312 teachers. Social welfare institutions in Bessarabia during this period included 13 hospitals, a sanatorium for tubercular patients, societies for assistance to the sick in 25 localities, 13 old-age homes, and four relief institutions for children. From 1923 the *OSE society was also active in Bessarabia where it maintained stations in eight localities. After the entry of the Red Army into Bessarabia on June 28, 1940, life for the Jews of Bessarabia was gradually brought into line with the general pattern of Jewish existence under the Soviet regime. On June 13, 1941, a comprehensive "purge" was carried out throughout the region. Thousands of Jews – communal leaders, active members of the Zionist movement, businessmen, and persons suspected of disloyalty to the regime – were arrested and deported to internment camps or exiled to Siberia.

[Eliyahu Feldman]

From 1941

The first Soviet occupation of the area lasted from 1940 until the beginning of hostilities between Germany and Russia in June of the following year. Romania was an ally of Germany. Bessarabia was reconquered by German and Romanian troops by July 23, 1941, and remained under Romanian authority until August 1944, when it was reoccupied by the Russians. Central and northern Bessarabia, as well as a narrow strip on the west side of the Dniester, became the Moldavian Soviet Socialist Republic with the capital in Kishinev. When Bessarabia was reoccupied by the Soviets, only a few Jews were still alive. The great majority had been massacred by the Einsatzkommandos of Einsatzgruppe D, and by the German and Romanian soldiers, while others were deported to *Transnistria, where more than half of them died. Many of the deported Jews preferred to slip back into Romania, and from there to leave for Israel.

For further information on the Holocaust in Bessarabia and subsequent events, see articles on *Russia and the various towns. For the period after the breakup of the Soviet Union, see *Moldova.

[Theodor Lavi]

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BESSELS, EMIL (1847–1888), German physician, Arctic explorer and naturalist. After his graduation from the University of Heidelberg in 1865, Bessels was appointed custodian of the Stuttgart Museum of Natural Science. In 1869 he was a member of a German Arctic expedition which studied the influence of the Gulf Stream on areas east of Spitzbergen. Bessels served as a surgeon in the German army in 1870. The following year Bessels sailed on the U.S. vessel *Polaris* as surgeon and naturalist with Captain Charles Francis Hall's expedition to the North Pole. Hall died unexpectedly in 1871 at Thank God Harbor, Greenland, after the *Polaris* had traveled farther north than any other ship. In the following year, the *Polaris* was caught in the polar ice and wrecked near Littleton Island. Nineteen members of the expedition, including Bessels, became separated from the rest of the crew and floated 1,300 miles on an ice-floe to the Bay of Melville off the Labrador coast, before they were rescued by a sealer. On his return to the U.S. in 1873, Bessels was accused by one of the crew of murdering Hall by administering morphine. An inquiry conducted by the surgeon-generals of the U.S. Army and Navy ruled that Hall had died of apoplexy and that Bessels was innocent. Subsequently, Bessels prepared the scientific results of this Arctic expedition (1876), wrote on natural history for scientific journals, and edited reports of the United States Naval Institute. Bessels was a member of an ethnological expedition which sailed on the steamship *Saranac* to the northwest coast of America. The vessel was wrecked in Seymour Narrows, British Columbia. Bessels died in Stuttgart.

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BESSER, CHASKEL O. (1923–), Orthodox rabbi. Besser was born in Katowice, Poland. His father, Naphtali Besser, was a successful businessman who was the right-hand man to the *Radomsko rebbe, Solomon Rabinowich, and tried to get him to escape occupied Poland, but the rebbe refused to leave his people. As a child, Chaskel Besser studied in the Radomsker Keter Torah Yeshivah both in Katowice and in Lodz. He escaped Poland on September 1, 1939, as the Germans entered the country, and reached Ereẓ Israel five days later. He continued his studies with Rabbi Herschel Eisenstadt (originally of Poland) of Jerusalem, who was the disciple of Rabbi Ḥayyim Brisker. He was ordained in 1942 by Rabbi Joseph Blumenfeld, the head of the Bet Din of Tel Aviv.

Besser moved to New York in 1946, where he became a successful businessman in real estate. However, his real devotion was to working for the benefit of the Jewish people and labored on behalf of common causes. He was friendly with presidents and prime ministers as well as a diverse group of Jewish leaders including Nahum *Goldmann and Menaḥem *Begin as well as such rabbinic leaders as Moses *Feinstein and *Aaron Kotler and a variety of ḥasidic leaders.

Besser was instrumental in popularizing the *daf yomi* (study of the daily Talmud page in a 7½-year cycle) starting. He was one of three rabbis invited to the inauguration of President George H. Bush. In 1987, he was appointed to the U.S. Commission for the Preservation of American Heritage Abroad.

In 1987, Rabbi Besser met Ronald S. *Lauder, a leading businessman, philanthropist, and Jewish leader while Lauder was serving as U.S. ambassador to Austria. The following year, Lauder established the Ronald S. Lauder Foundation to develop and nurture Jewish life in former Communist countries. Besser quickly became Lauder's mentor and spiritual guide for the activities of the Foundation. Besser was already active in fighting for the preservation and restoration of Jewish cemeteries in Poland and in surrounding countries. This dedication led him also to seek out the remaining Jews of Poland and other countries, especially those who had only recently discovered their true Jewish identities. Being one of the first Jews to recognize that there were many more Jews remaining in Poland than previously thought, he labored ceaselessly to enable any Jew who wanted to return to the Jewish people to be able to so. Today, there are more than 20,000 practicing Jews in Poland, in large measure due to the groundwork laid by Besser in the late 1980s on.

Besser became the rabbi of Bnai Israel Chaim on Manhattan's West Side. He was also one of the closest allies and confidants of Rabbi Moses Sherer, the executive director of Agudat Israel for several decades, helping him strengthen and expand the activities and the impact of the organization.

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[Michael J. Schudrich (2nd ed.)]

BESSIS, ALBERT (1885–1972), Tunisian politician. Born in *Tunis into a distinguished family of writers and *dayyanim*, Bessis qualified as a lawyer and was elected to the Grand Council of *Tunisia in 1934 where he became chairman of the committee on legislation. He participated in the negotiations with the French government in the early 1950s that led to the granting of autonomy to Tunisia in 1955. Bessis was minister of housing and town planning from 1954 to 1955 when he became minister of public works. He retained his post following the independence of Tunisia in 1956. He resigned in the following year and retired from public life. Bessis was an active figure in the Jewish community and was president of the Tunisian *ORT and other communal organizations.

[David Corcos]

BESSIS, JESHUA (1773–1860), Tunisian scholar. Bessis was appointed chief rabbi of Tunis in 1847 and served in this office until his death. He wrote responsa and a work on the Shulḥan Arukh, only the section on *Yoreh De'ah* being published, part of it under the title *Avnei Ẓedek* (1902) and part as *Avnei Ẓedek u-Me'orot Natan* (1903). Bessis wrote introductions and approbations for the books of Tunisian scholars. He engaged in practical Kabbalah and was regarded as a saint; his grave became a place of pilgrimage.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Arditti, in: *Revue Tunisienne*, 3 (1932), 102–3; Hirschberg, Afrikah, 2 (1965), 148.

BESSO, HENRY (1905–1993), scholar of Sephardi studies. Born in Salonica, Besso went to the College St. Jean Baptiste de la Salle. He moved to New York after the death of his parents, where he joined his brothers and worked with an export-import firm while pursuing his education in the evening at the City College of New York, where he earned his B.A. (1931) and later at Columbia University (1935). Because his firm collapsed he became eligible for work under the provisions of the WPA and began working as a teacher of French and Spanish in New York's Adult Education department and was soon training teachers and creating curricula to assist his students. With the world war looming, he was moved to Washington to train Army Air Force and Navy officers and government officials for their missions abroad and then became a research analyst and speech writer for the Voice of America beginning many decades of service to that agency.

In 1945 he was sent to Biarritz American University in France and then to the Command School in Germany to teach Spanish and French. While in Europe he lectured on Hispanic and Judeo-Spanish language and culture. He became a respected lecturer on Sephardi culture and a communal activist in the Sephardi Jewish Brotherhood of America and was for a time executive director of the World Sephardi Federation. In 1963, he researched and edited a listing of 289 Judeo-Spanish works he had uncovered at the Library of Congress in Washington, D.C. To this day *Ladino Books in the Library of Congress: A Bibliography* is still considered one of the definitive bibliographic listings of the world's great collections of Judeo-Spanish literature. In 1967 he became one of the founders of the American Society for Sephardic Studies at Yeshiva University.

On the eve of his retirement in 1976, the Foundation for the Advancement of Sephardic Studies and Culture devoted its *Tract XI* to him. Entitled *Study of the Meaning of Ladino, Judezmo and the Spanish-Jewish Dialect*, it included reprints of many of Besso's articles and writings, with an extensive and thorough bibliography of his works. The volume was dedicated to Besso as "a most distinguished contemporary scholar, whose numerous and varied works on Sephardic culture and folklore will always be remembered."

[Efraim Zadoff (2nd ed.)]

BET (Heb. ב; בֵּית), second letter of the Hebrew alphabet: a voiced bilabial plosive [b] and voiced labiodental fricative [v] (a positional variant); its numerical value is 2.

The earliest form of *bet* – in the Proto-Sinaitic inscriptions – is the acrophonic pictograph of a house (*bayit*) 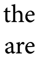 While in South Arabic its shape is and in Ethiopic , in the Proto-Canaanite script the main stages of development are 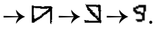. Variants of the latter form survive in the Phoenician (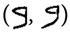), Hebrew (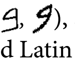), and Samaritan ( ) as well as in the Greek (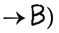) and Latin scripts.

The Aramaic *bet* like the *dalet, resh,* and ʿ*ayin* has an open top already in the seventh century B.C.E. While in the fifth century B.C.E. the downstroke has a diagonal flourish , from the fourth century B.C.E. onward the downstroke is vertical curving into a horizontal base; at the same time there is a tendency to straighten the top of the letter: . In the early Jewish script the tick on the left side of the top 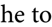 is the only remnant of the half-circled head. Already in the Herodian period, the base of the Jewish *bet* is written occasionally with a separate left-to-right stroke . This fashion prevails, becomes common in the Jewish bookhand, and the *bet* does not change its basic shape during the ages: In some cursive trends, as in the period of Bar Kokhba and today, the *bet* is written without lifting the pen: . However, the Ashkenazi cursive developed as follows: 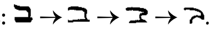.

Palmyrene *bet* follows the third-century B.C.E. Aramaic and develops through into Syriac . The Nabatean *bet* loses its top ; this form is adopted for Arabic *ba,* which later is distinguished by a diacritic sign ب from ت (*ta*), ن (*nun*), and ي (*ya*). See *Alphabet, Hebrew.

[Joseph Naveh]

BET AGLAYIM, a place mentioned by Eusebius (Onom. 48:19) 8 mi. (13 km.) S. of Gaza, near the sea coast, which he erroneously identified with the biblical Beth-Hoglah (Josh. 15:6; 18:19–21). Bet Aglayim is most probably the ancient name of the important Tell al-ʿAjjūl located about 4½ mi. (7 km.) southwest of Gaza, which was excavated from 1929 to 1931 by Sir Flinders Petrie (who identified it with ancient Gaza). The remains at Tell al-ʿAjjūl date mainly from the Middle and Late Bronze Ages and include Hyksos fortifications and graves, and the palace of an Egyptian governor. Rich finds of gold, silver, and jewelry were discovered in the tombs.

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[Michael Avi-Yonah]

BETA ISRAEL, ethno-religious group in Ethiopia which claims to be of Jewish origin and which is attached to a form of the Jewish religion based on the Bible, certain books of the Apocrypha, and other post-biblical Scripture; living in the provinces surrounding and to the north of Lake Tana and now in Israel. The Beta Israel, as the group calls itself, were known until recently by others as the Falashas, a term regarded by the group as one of contempt.

Although Beta Israel have long fascinated scholars, many features of their history remain little known and inadequately studied. This article seeks to present a survey of the political history of the Beta Israel from earliest time. It seeks to reveal the dynamic character of Beta Israel society and the manner in which patterns of leadership changed throughout the group's recorded history. Special attention is given to the competing claims concerning different types of leadership: secular/religious; traditional/modernizing; externally/internally selected.

Early History and Legends

Given the dearth of reliable historical material concerning the earliest Jews in and Jewish influences on Ethiopia, it is virtually impossible to offer any detailed analysis of their political structure. Nevertheless, a number of tentative generalizations can be offered which shed some light on the character of their communal organization. On the basis of the available evidence it does not appear likely that the earliest Jews entered Ethiopia in a single united group. It seems far more probable that they arrived in the country in small groups alongside other non-Jewish merchants, settlers, soldiers, etc. In a similar fashion, since Judaized elements could have entered Ethiopia from Arabia at any time from the 1st to the 6th century, there appears to be no reason to confine the entry of Jewish elements to a single brief period. Finally, the widespread impact of Jewish practices and influences on Ethiopian culture is only understandable if we assume that the Jewish immigrants did not live in isolation from their neighbors.

While a number of scholars have claimed that the introduction of Christianity to Ethiopia in the 4th country led to the persecution of local Jews, there is no direct evidence to support this.

In fact, it appears unlikely that the earliest Christian emperors had either the political mandate or the religious zeal to pursue such a policy. A strong possibility does exist, however, that the 6th-century Ethiopian emperor Kaleb, who sent troops to punish the Judaized Arabian ruler *Yusuf Dhu Nuwas, may also have taken action against the Jews of the Aksumite (Ethiopian) kingdom. It is most interesting to note that during his reign we hear for the first time of the Semien region (later a Beta Israel stronghold) as "that country [to which] the King of the Aksumites exiles anyone whom he has sentenced to be banished."

None of the sources on the period between the 6th and 13th centuries is of sufficient historicity to permit anything more than the most tentative of conclusions. This is particularly the case with regard to the legendary "Beta Israel queen" Judith (Gudit). While Bruce and Rathjens treated stories concerning this ruler with considerable enthusiasm, Conti Rossini and Ullendorff have more soberly concluded that they "possess no basis in historical fact." Even if the existence of a medieval queen is conceded, there is little evidence that she was a Jewess, much less a Beta Israel. Certainly, no Jewish dynasty ruled Ethiopia in this period. In the Hebrew sources for this period, neither *Eldad ha-Dani nor *Benjamin of Tudela appears to possess any first-hand knowledge concerning Ethiopia. Clearly we must wait for the "Early Solomonic" period in Ethiopian history (from 1270 onward) before we encounter any truly reliable sources on the Beta Israel polity.

WAR AND ADAPTATION. 1270–1632 The year 1270 marks a turning point in Ethiopian history. In that year a new dynasty which traced its descent to King Solomon and to the ancient Ethiopian Kingdom of Aksum came to power. Once these "Solomonic" Kings had consolidated their rule in the traditionally Christian areas of Ethiopia, they set out to impose their hegemony on all of the independent peoples of the Ethiopian highlands. Beginning with the reign of Amda Siyon (1314–1344) almost all these kings were to a greater or lesser extent concerned with the political subjugation of the Judaized population in the regions of Semien, Woggara, and Dambiya. In the middle of the 16th century, after the Ethiopian Christians had (with Portuguese assistance) successfully repulsed a major Muslim invasion, they turned their full attention to the Beta Israel. King Minas (r. 1559–1563) and his son Sarsa Dengel (r. 1563–1597) fought major battles against the Beta Israel and inflicted heavy losses upon them. Hostilities were renewed in the reign of Susenyos (1607–1632) and under his leadership the Ethiopian army totally defeated the Beta Israel who were led by their ruler Gideon. This defeat marked the end of Beta Israel independence.

A BETA ISRAEL KINGDOM. Although it has for many years been claimed that an independent "Beta Israel" kingdom existed in Ethiopia during this period, and the Beta Israel themselves claim to have been ruled by a long line of kings, these contentions should not be accepted without careful scrutiny. There is little support in the contemporary primary sources for the idea that the Beta Israel were united into a single political framework earlier than the 16th century. As was noted above, none of the sources from the period prior to the 14th century is of sufficient historicity for firm conclusions to be drawn. Nor is there any evidence for the existence of a unified Jewish kingdom in the 14th and 15th century reports. Judaized groups are invariably referred to in the contemporary hagiographic texts and chronicles by the region they inhabited. Their rulers are depicted as local governors, members of the regional nobility. Thus we read of people "like Jews" in Semien, Wagara, Salamt, and Sagade," of "sons of Jews" in Enfraz; of the governor of Semien and Cambiya, etc. Even James Bruce, who perhaps more than any other writer deserves credit for popularizing the exploits of the Jewish "kings" of Ethiopia, makes no mention of a monarchy in this period. It is therefore difficult to escape the conclusion that in the 14th and 15th centuries the Beta Israel were politically divided and geographically dispersed.

The recognition of this reality has several important consequences for the interpretation of Beta Israel history. Firstly, it serves as a caution against attempts to artificially impose unity on the sources by treating scattered events in specific regions as if they affected all Beta Israel. The Christian Emperor Yeshaq's (r. 1413–1430) victory over the Beta Israel governor of Semien and Dambiya was not, for example, a defeat for all Beta Israel. Some were allies of the Emperor and benefited from his victory. In a similar fashion, the reported conversion to Christianity of much of the population of Salamt province by the 15th-century Christian missionary St. Takla Hawaryat must be evaluated in its proper geographic context. His successes in that region left the population of Semien at least temporarily untouched.

A recognition of the decentralized character of Beta Israel society during this period is also of crucial importance to the proper understanding of the dynamics of Beta Israel political history. If one accepts the existence of an ancient Beta Israel kingdom with its origins shrouded in the undocumented past, the rest of Beta Israel history appears almost automatically to be little more than an account of their decline from this mythical peak. In fact, the story is much more complex. According to the extant sources, a centralized relatively unified political organization existed among the Beta Israel only from the 16th and early 17th centuries. The effective military-political structure described in Ethiopian royal chronicles of this period was not, therefore, an aboriginal characteristic of Beta Israel society. Rather it developed relatively late, probably in response to the external threat posed by the Christian empire. Their history is not accordingly a story of continuous and unremitting decline but rather a gradual process of consolidation and unification followed by a series of catastrophic defeats.

Even when applied solely to the period of the 16th and 17th century the term Beta Israel kingdom should not be applied too casually. Even those later sources which portray a far more centralized polity than existed in earlier periods are far from unanimous as to the precise character of the group's political structure. It is, for example, of interest to note that while many medieval Hebrew sources (none of them eyewitness accounts) accept the existence of a kingdom as axiomatic, the first-hand reports of Ethiopian, Portuguese, and Muslim observers are far more restrained. The claim put forward in the *Chronicle* of Emperor Sarsa Dengal that the 16th-century Beta Israel leader Radai lived from his own labor ("he was a tiller of the soil, who ate his bread by the sweat of his brow"; cf. Gen. 3:19) is difficult to reconcile with the idea of a fully developed monarchy.

Nor should James Bruce's detailed reports on the Jewish kings be accepted uncritically. Bruce, it must be remembered, visited Ethiopia almost a century and a half after Susenyos' victory over the Beta Israel. He was, therefore, at least in this case, a recorder of traditions and not an eyewitness. In addition, his claim that a Beta Israel king and queen still ruled at the time of his visit scarcely enhances his credibility.[8]

THE RISE OF MONASTICISM. The gradual evolution of a more centralized political structure was only one of the responses engendered by the Christian threat to the Beta Israel. During the same period a major revolution took place within the structure of Beta Israel religious life. A new form of religious leadership began to emerge. Faced with increasing political and military pressure from the Christian Ethiopian emperors, the Beta Israel adopted the Christian institution of monasticism as a means of consolidating and developing their unique communal identity. Beginning with Abba Sabra and Sega Amlak, who lived in the 15th century and are credited with founding Beta Israel monasticism, monks played a vital role among the Jews in Ethiopia.

According to Beta Israel traditions, the introduction of monasticism was accompanied by a number of other religious innovations including the introduction of new religious literature, the composition of prayers, and the adoption of important laws of ritual segregation and purity. The Beta Israel monks can thus be justly claimed to have been the chief carriers of their people's distinctive religious heritage. It appears probable that it was they who provided the ideological basis for the creation of a unified political structure among their people. Just how successful the monks were in assuming a central position in Beta Israel society is evidenced not only by the fact that they survived the demise of the autonomous political leaders but also by the fact that nearly all the figures commemorated by the Beta Israel as holy men at various holy places in Ethiopia were monks.

1632–1860

Any doubts one might have with regard to the finality of the Beta Israel's defeat at the hands of Susenyos are resolved by the decision of his son Fasiledes (1632–67) to build his capital at Gondar near the heart of Beta Israel territory. The site would only have been chosen after the local people had been totally subdued. According to both Christian and Jewish traditions, Beta Israel soldiers and artisans were speedily incorporated into the military and economic life of Christian Ethiopia. Although the Beta Israel no longer ruled themselves, the Gondarine period (1632–1769) is remembered as a period when the "(Beta) Israel lived in peace and welfare." Beginning in 1769, however, Ethiopia was plunged into an extended period of conflict and internal struggle. Known as the *Zemane Masafent* (the era of the princes or judges), because it resembled the period of the Old Testament judges when "there was no king in Israel: every man did that which was right in his eyes," this period brought fresh sorrows to the Beta Israel. During a period of almost 100 years (1769–1855) Ethiopia lacked effective imperial rule and local rulers vied with each other for supremacy. The Beta Israel, whose well-being was largely dependent upon royal patronage and protection, suffered accordingly. Their decline from independence to imperial appointees to despised artisans is clearly visible in their changing patterns of leadership.

AZMACH AND BEJEROND. Following their loss of independence in the 17th century, the structure of Beta Israel political leadership underwent a dramatic change. Autonomous rulers no longer exercised control over the community or the regions in which the Beta Israel lived. Political power passed into the hands of royal-appointed governors, none of whom was chosen by virtue of their traditional roles among their own people. Rather they acquired land and titles through their ability to render services to the Christian Emperors who resided in Gondar. The principal secular leaders of the Beta Israel became those who were recognized as such by the dominant society, rather than those related to their own previous ruling families. A new elite of soldiers, masons, and carpenters emerged.

The Beta Israel leaders of the Gondarine period are remembered as having held two titles: *azmach* (commander) and *bejerond* (treasurer). The former, which was the higher of the two ranks, was used to refer to military leaders and local officals. The latter appears to have had connections with tax collection, although as applied to the Beta Israel it seems to have referred primarily to the "chief of the workers" – especially potters, carpenters, masons, and blacksmiths. While the *azmach* might exercise leadership over a heterogeneous community, the *bejerond*'s authority was confined to the Beta Israel. One informant stated, "The *azmach* was government administrator for many people, but the *bejerond* was only concerned with the Beta Israel."

One of the clearest indications of the deterioration of the status of the Beta Israel in the late 18th and 19th century is the gradual disappearance of the *azmach*. In the Gondarine period Beta Israel were appointed both *azmach* and *bejerond*, by mid-19th century those few Beta Israel who had any titles at all were exclusively *bejerond*. As James Quirin has noted, this transition was symptomatic of their social-political decline and increasing identification as a low-status artisan group.

COMMUNAL ORGANIZATION. One immediate consequence of the Beta Israel's loss of autonomy was a return to the decentralized pattern of communal organization which had characterized their political structure prior to the 16th and 17th century. While it may be convenient to continue to speak of the Beta Israel "community," no evidence exists for the survival of formal centralized communal institutions. Rather a large number of scattered communities existed with informal economic, political, marital, and religious ties. Halévy observed when he visited Ethiopia in 1867, "Chaque commune est autonomie et indépendante. C'est seulement dans les cas òu un grand danger menace la religion qu'on se reunit, afin de repousser l'ennemie commun" (J. Halevy, in: *Bulletin de l'Alliance israélite universelle* (1868), 95).

The Beta Israel's lack of autonomy and of an effective political-military leadership also resulted in a sharp decline in the communities' coercive power. Abba Yeshaq, one of the Beta Israel's outstanding religious leaders of the 19th century, told the French explorer Antoine d'Abbadie that originally the Beta Israel would stone to death any member of the community who ate leavened products on Passover. Following their loss of independence, however, they were compelled to change the punishment. "Mais aujourd'hui, comme on n'a pas de roi juif, on se contente d'infliger une pénitence qui est le don d'une chèvre d'un an."

Abba Yeshaq's words serve as a reminder that however great the authority of the Beta Israel clergy, neither they nor any other group in post-independence Beta Israel society had the power to enforce its will upon the population. On the whole, the means of coercion in their hands were largely limited to steps such as ostracism, which depended upon the support of community opinion. As Halévy wrote, "Chaque province, chaque ville se soumet *volontairement* à la decision de son prêtre et de ses debteras."

At the heart of the daily functioning of the voluntary system described by Halévy stood the village elders (*shmagilotch*). On their role he observed, "La justice est exercée par les anciens (chimaguelié). Les plaintes et les différends sont portes devant eux. Leurs jugements sont toujours respectes par les deux partis. Personne n'ose s'y opposer ni faire appel a l'autorité amharique."

Although Halévy appears to have been the first witness to mention the role of the elders in Beta Israel society, the phenomenon he describes was probably of considerable antiquity. Certainly we can presume that it existed at least from the time when the Beta Israel lost their independence. More importantly, it formed an integral part of Beta Israel life throughout the 19th and 20th centuries, and thus forms a vital element in any comprehensive picture of their traditional leadership in the modern era.

Although we possess no specific information of the Beta Israel clergy during the Gondarine period, it appears likely that their importance was increased by the decline of the autonomous political leadership. In particular, the monastic clergy who became virtually the only leaders not dependent upon the Christian kings for their position, probably rose in status. The further decline of the secular leaders during the "era of the princes" could only have further enhanced their standing.

By the time we begin to receive detailed accounts of Beta Israel life in the first half of the 19th century, the paramount position of the monastic clergy is clearly established. Antoine d'Abbadie, one of the most important of the early European visitors to Ethiopia wrote, "Bien qu'il n'y ait pas de hierarchie ecclesiastique, les Falachas reconnaissent pour chef les plus savent ou le plus habile de leurs moines." The centrality of the monastic clergy during this period receives further confirmation in the Beta Israel's own sources according to which their religion survived a severe crisis in the early 19th century due to the efforts of the monk, Abba Wedaje. Significantly it was also the monastic clergy who served as communal spokesmen when the first efforts to communicate with world Jewry were made. Finally, it was upon the monastic clergy that the main responsibility fell to defend their people against the temptations of foreign missionaries.

1860–1905: The Missionary Challenge

By the middle of the 19th century a small number of Westerners had visited the Beta Israel and brought reports about them back to Europe. Although a number of these travelers were themselves missionaries, it was only in 1859 that organized Western missionary activity amongst the Beta Israel began. In that year the London Society for Promoting Christianity among the Jews established its Ethiopian mission. It is difficult to overestimate the impact of the mission's activities upon the Beta Israel. While the number of converts they procured was never very large, the educational opportunities they offered and the vernacular scriptures they distributed significantly disrupted the Beta Israel communities. Existing divisions between regions and groups within the population were exacerbated. New tensions were also created. For the monastic clergy in particular, the missionary intervention proved fateful.

THE DECLINE OF MONASTICISM. A crucial feature of the missionary program was a concerted effort to undermine the Beta Israel's confidence in their priests and monks. These clerics attracted the ire of the missionaries for a variety of reasons. Firstly, as evangelical Protestants the missionaries had a deep aversion to any monastic religious hierarchy. (They were, for example not less bitter in their condemnation of the clergy of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church.) The Beta Israel religious leaders were, moreover doubly blameworthy in their opinion, because they claimed biblical sanction for their office. Typical of their hostility to the monks was the encounter of the missionary Henry Aaron Stern with a "wild fanatical looking monk with a grin of contempt which imparted to his black face and capacious mouth a repulsive expression with an air of pride and self-complacency."

Stern and his colleagues not only attacked the priesthood and monasticism as institutions, but also exploited every opportunity to demonstrate their superiority by engaging individual clerics in disputations. Their task was not a difficult one. The Beta Israel clergy were honored by their people because of their piety and the communal and ritual roles they performed; not for their skill as debaters. Few, if any, Beta Israel priests possessed a complete Bible. The arts of citation and argumentation, at which the missionaries were so skilled, was totally foreign to them. Inevitably, they came out second best in the confrontations engineered by the missionaries.

The deleterious effects of the missionaries' direct attacks upon the monastic clergy were further supplemented by other activities with less immediate but no less important consequences. In particular, the opening of the mission schools and the distribution of Amharic Bibles (and religious tracts) set in motion a mini-reformation among the Beta Israel. Young men and secondary clerics (*debtera*) attracted by the mission's offer of education and an alternative avenue to achievement and status were among the most prominent early converts. The missionaries themselves drew a clear connection between literacy and familiarity with the biblical text, and the decision to defy clerical authority.

The missionary attempt to undermine the Beta Israel's trust in their religious leaders was based upon a shrewdly accurate assessment of their centrality to their people. In the mid-19th century as today most Beta Israel possessed only a rudimentary understanding of the symbols and rituals which comprised their religious traditions. The clergy, especially the monks, were not only the paramount ritual experts, but also the chief guardians of the community's traditions and beliefs. It thus, for example, fell to them to defend the community's interests before the king when in 1862 the missionaries succeeded in temporarily curtailing Beta Israel sacrifices. The monks moreover held tremendous sway over their followers. On no less than three occasions during the first decades of the missionary enterprise (1862, 1874, 1879) groups or individual monks succeeded in leading large bands of Beta Israel on ill-fated exoduses out of Ethiopia. Given such devotion, it becomes clear that the missionary assault on clerical prestige and status held the promise of totally undermining the Beta Israel religious system. In fact, the missionaries seem to have been confident that this was, in fact, happening.

"Respecting the Jews, or Falashas, one remarkable feature is at present observable, namely, that they have been greatly divided in their religious opinions, as also in respect of their adherence to the monks… Hence, a great division has arisen, and although we must not as yet be too sanguine, yet we may freely say that the balance is in our favor" (*Jewish Record* (January 1862), 2).

The earliest period of missionary activity also saw the creation of another sort of division among the Beta Israel, with the establishment of a major settlement in the Tigre province of northern Ethiopia.

Although Beta Israel villages appear to have existed in Tigre province during the Middle Ages, the modern Tigrean communities appear to have originated in 1862. In that year a large number of Beta Israel inspired by a prophet set out for the Promised Land. Their attempt ended not in a miraculous crossing of the Red Sea, but in disaster and starvation. Many died, some straggled back to Gondar, others settled in Tigre especially in the Shire region. As time passed they acquired many of the characteristics of their Tigrean neighbors, most notably the language Tigrinya. Their economic situation and historical experience also diverge significantly from their brethren further south. During the late 19th and early 20th century contact between the Jews of Gondar and Tigre was irregular, and no common leadership united the two regions.

While the activities of the missionaries may have posed a serious challenge to the religious authority of the Beta Israel monks, this problem pales in comparison to the threat to their survival created by the great famine of 1888–1892. During this four year period Dervish invasions, rinderpest, drought, locusts, and disease devastated most of northern Ethiopia. It appears likely that between a third and a half of the Beta Israel died during this period. Those who survived left their normal places of residence and scattered far and wide. Traditional village life and the customary separation from non-Jews broke down in face of the danger of starvation. Beta Israel monks seem to have been especially hard hit. Certainly, none of the travelers who visited Ethiopia in the late 19th or early 20th century viewed them any longer as the central pillars of Beta Israel religiosity. Priests (*qessotch*) and elders had, by this time, become the new communal leaders.

1904–1936: Faitlovitch and His Students

The arrival of Jacques *Faitlovitch in Ethiopia in 1904 marks another turning point in the history of the Beta Israel. Although Faitlovitch's teacher, Joseph *Halévy, was the first practicing European Jew to visit the Beta Israel, it was only through the activities of Faitlovitch himself that they were slowly introduced into the mainstream of world Jewish history. He was moreover similarly instrumental in beginning the gradual trend towards the "normalization" of their religious belief and practice. Processes set in motion by Faitlovitch in the early 1900s were to reach their culmination in the *aliyah* of the majority of the Beta Israel in the decade of the 1980s.

Faitlovitch's activities were central for an understanding of the history of the Beta Israel in the 20th century even if his immediate effect on the majority of the Beta Israel population should not be overestimated. Either the symbolic impact of Faitlovitch's presence in the capital and his closeness to the *Negus* or the circulation of his letters written in Amharic, kept as precious relics by the families that possessed them, played a role creating imaginary links with the Jewish world among Beta Israel population living in the villages. The total number of students who studied in Addis Abeba. Asmara and small villages' schools Faitlovitch founded was never very large but information about new possibilities in education circulated even among distant villages.

Twenty-five young Beta Israel were educated mostly in Europe, ten in Palestine and 1 in Egypt. The boys were received by local Jewish communities and individual rabbis in different ways, sometimes strongly supported to adapt to the Western world and other times abandoned due to a lack of money, interest or commitment. Some of them contracted illnesses and died such as Solomon Isaac, Yizkiahu Finkas, Abraham Baroch, Abraham Meir. While, some students such as Ghetié Yirmiahu, Taamrat Emmanuel, and later Bayyu (Reuben) Isayyas, Menghestu Isaac, Taddesse Jacob and Yona Bogale used their education on behalf of their people, many never returned to the villages which they had left behind. Some of them took advantage of the opportunities they were offered when Haile Sellasse regained his power in 1941 and offered them to work in different ministries in Ethiopia. The primary significance of Faitlovitch's efforts for the Beta Israel political structure may well lie in his attempt to develop a new modernized elite. The fact that Faitlovitch was very paternalistic and authoritarian in his decisions regarding the fate of the young Beta Israel he brought to Europe, imposing the adoption of new Western Jewish codes and the abandon of the entire Beta Israel culture for sure influenced the behavior of the future Beta Israel elite that didn't always act as expected by Faitlovitch. Certainly, from Faitlovitch's time onward an ever-increasing gap existed between those perceived by outsiders as Ethiopian leaders and the internal realities of Beta Israel society. In part at least this gap reflects the differing rates of development between European and Ethiopian Jewry. The increasingly modernized and cosmopolitan world Jewish leadership sought their counterparts in Ethiopia and found them among Faitlovitch's students. Thus, a tiny group of urbanized, educated Beta Israel came to be seen as community representatives. At the same time in rural Ethiopia the priests and elders continued to dominate village life and a decentralized pattern of communal organization persisted. (T. Parfitt, E. Trevisan Semi (eds.) *The Beta Israel in Ethiopia and Israel*, Richmond (Surrey) 1999; T. Parfitt, E. Trevisan Semi (eds.), *The Beta Israel: the Birth of an Elite among the Jews of Ethiopia*, 2005)

[Steven Kaplan / Emanuela Trevisan Semi (2nd ed.)]

1935–1941: The Italian Conquest

The Italian invasion of Ethiopia in 1935/36 put a dramatic end to Faitlovitch's educational efforts. As Mussolini's troops approached Addis Ababa in the spring of 1936, the pupils of the Faitlovitch school took refuge in the French Legation. After Taamrat Emmanuel in 1937 was forced to flee the country Menghestu Isaac took his place as school's director. The Addis Ababa school continued to exist in bad conditions until the end of the occupation maintained by pupils working in the town. During the period of the Italian occupation a number of Beta Israel (such as Taamrat Emmanuel and Taddesse Jacob) distinguished themselves in the patriotic resistance. Others collaborated with the Italian authorities.

Since Italian policy towards the Beta Israel varied during the period of their occupation and was itself somewhat self-contradictory, its effects on community leadership and organization were complex. Although the Italians initially considered the possibility of pursuing a policy towards the Jews of Ethiopia similar to that exercised in Libya, it soon became clear to them that the absence of a formal community structure made this impossible. In the end they were forced to conclude that "if and when the Jews of Ethiopia will be organized in a community, they will be required to join the Union of Italian Jewish Communities." After promulgating "racial laws" in 1938 in Italy the Minister of Africa "no longer allowed the involvement of foreign Jewish organizations in the affairs of the Falashas" and there was no more an interest in that policy (D. Summerfield, *From Falashas to Ethiopian Jews: The External Influences for Change c.1860–1960*, London and New York, 2003, p.96). In the meantime, the Beta Israel were considered an oppressed tribal group "liberated" from the Christian Amhara. Bayyu (Reuben) Issayas, a former student with administrative experience, was appointed their chief and awarded the traditional Ethiopian title of *Gerazmach* (Commander of the Left Flank). The Italians appeared to have abolished the land restrictions that denied the Beta Israel to own land and established an area for Beta Israel to settle, near Gondar (Wuzeba and Ambober), linked by the building of roads. During the massacre of 120

Ethiopians in Mereba, a crime committed by the Italian occupants in 1937, thirty-two Beta Israel were killed (Taamrat's letter to Faitlovitch, 19.9.1937, in: E. Trevisan Semi, *L'epistolario di Taamrat Emmanuel: un intellettuale ebreo d'Etiopia nella prima metà del XX secolo* (Torino, 2000), 250–256.

1941–1974

Prior to the liberation of Ethiopia in 1941 only a handful of Western Jews had visited the Beta Israel. In the next three decades, their numbers were to swell dramatically. Trends which first became apparent in the period of Faitlovitch, such as outside intervention, education, and normalization of religious practice, escalated significantly. In a similar manner the pressure upon the Beta Israel to speak with one voice grew. The traditional religious leadership was increasingly challenged by Western-educated members of the community and contact with outsiders became an ever more important route to status.

No description of Beta Israel leadership and the influence of outside forces on community organization in the period after World War II would be complete without a discussion of the figure of Yona *Bogale. Born in Wolleqa, Gondar in 1910, Yona studied with Faitlovitch and Taamrat Emmanuel in Ethiopia. Later he pursued further studies in Jerusalem, Frankfurt, Zurich, and Paris. After his return to Ethiopia he worked as a teacher and a civil servant. In 1953 he left the imperial service and from that time on, until he left Ethiopia in 1979, he involved himself with various projects connected with the Beta Israel community.

During the more than 25 years of Ato Yona's activities as a spokesman for the Beta Israel, foreign involvement with the community in Ethiopia steadily increased. The Israel government, the Jewish Agency, ORT, JDC, political activists and casual travelers all made their impact felt upon the Jews of Ethiopia. From the perspective of the various Jewish organizations, which sought to aid their co-religionists in Ethiopia, the Beta Israel's lack of political unity and their tradition of village-level politics appeared inefficient and wasteful. In an attempt to rationalize and simplify the giving of assistance, such organizations sought to impose an artificial unity on the Beta Israel whereby a single individual represented all the communities and coordinated the distribution of assistance.

Despite, or perhaps because of, his unique background, Ato Yona came to represent the Beta Israel community to much of the outside world, especially to various Jewish organizations. As the interest and financial involvement of world Jewry with the Beta Israel grew, Ato Yona became a well-known and idealized figure. Yet, his position within the community was often a far cry from that depicted by outsiders.

Throughout the period of the 1970s, for example, an open dispute existed between Yona Bogale and the leading priest of the Gondar area, Abba Uri Ben (Berhan) Baruch. In part, the quarrel was based upon a disagreement as to how funds from the various "pro-Beta Israel" committees should be divided among different villages. However, it soon developed beyond this specific issue to a more general dispute over the nature of community leadership and society: a conflict between internal religious leadership and external/political power. On the one hand, the religious leader was known, trusted, and respected throughout the Gondar region; and on the other hand the political leader, was educated and experienced, and had gained prestige and influence through both the money he received from abroad, and the recognition of foreign committees.

The quarrel also appears to have had a generational component as well, for it pitted the young Israeli-educated Hebrew teachers against the priests and elders. In the words of Uri ben Baruch "the young teachers want to lead the people, but the priests and the head of the elders don't want to surrender their leadership… But, because the young teachers have access to the government, Beta Israel follow them, and only adults and the elderly continue to obey the priests as of old."

The divisions which arose in this case can as we have seen be analyzed on a variety of levels. Religious, political, and generational factors all appear to have been of relevance. There was, moreover, a minor geographical component insofar as the leadership struggle appears to have originated in the competition between villages for scarce resources. However, the importance of the geographical factor was relatively insignificant, when compared to the major role it assumed in the division between Amharan and Tigrean Beta Israel. In this case a major regional division developed whose repercussions are being felt to this day in Israel.

Despite the earlier visits of Faitlovitch and Rabbi Ḥayyim *Nahoum world Jewry remained largely ignorant of the Tigrean Jews. In a census undertaken in the 1950s the number of Jews in Tigre province was underestimated by more than two thirds (1,250 est. versus 4,000). Moreover, the Jews of Tigre benefited far less than those in the Gondar region from the relief and educational efforts of world Jewry. Thus existing social, economic, and linguistic differences were exacerbated by a growing gap in modernization, education, and secularization. By the time the Beta Israel were brought *en masse* to Israel in the 1980s (and here too the experience in the two regions varied tremendously) a latent hostility existed between many members of the Gondar and Tigrean communities.

[Steven Kaplan]

Developments in the Later 1970s

JEWISHNESS OF THE FALASHAS. The first major statement affirming the Jewishness of the Beta Israel was made in the 16th century by Rabbi David ibn Zimra, the Radbaz. After an intensive study, he declared the Beta Israel as "of the seed of Israel, of the Tribes of Dan." He further stated that marriage to one of the Beta Israel is permissible as long as that person accepts the more modern practices of rabbinic Judaism. And in later responsum, he became explicit and even more emphatic in stating the Beta Israel are unquestionably Jews.

Recognizing that the Beta Israel, because of their isolation, practiced a more biblical Judaism than the rabbinic Judaism of his time, the Radbaz wrote: "These who came from the land of Cush (Ethiopia) are without doubt of the Tribe of Dan and because there are not among them scholars, masters of tradition, they seize unto themselves the literal meaning of Scripture… they are as a child who has been held captive among idolators."

Thus spoke the great rabbi from Cairo, who lived in North Africa and was perhaps closer to the Beta Israel people and their issues than any rabbi of his time or since then.

After the Radbaz, a few other noted rabbis such as Rabbi Ya'akov Castro, also declared the Beta Israel as descendants of the Tribe of Dan. But it was not until Christian missionaries, especially the apostate Jew, Henry Stern, started to make inroads among the Beta Israel in the mid-19th century, that the western Jewish world once again became concerned about the Jews of Ethiopia.

It was the revered Rabbi Azriel Hildesheimer of Eisenstadt, founder of the Agudat Israel, who made a bold statement in favor of the Beta Israel in 1864. Rabbi Hildesheimer, described in the *Jewish Chronicle* as "one of the foremost leaders of the strictly orthodox party on the (European) continent," urged that a special mission be undertaken to them. "Do not lose courage, my brethren, but be full of confidence; never yet have the unfortunate knocked at the door of a Jewish house without having found assistance."

Yet little happened until the Alliance Israélite Universelle of Paris sent the semiticist Joseph *Halévy to investigate the situation in Ethiopia. Convinced that the Beta Israel were Jews by religion who wanted to be recognized as part of the Jewish people, Halévy inspired his pupil, Professor Jacques *Faitlovitch, to concern himself with the Beta Israel.

Faitlovitch, who probably more than any other single person was responsible for keeping interest in the Beta Israel alive, obtained a very important document. It was a letter written in 1906 addressed to the Beta Israel as "our brethren, sons of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, who dwell in Abyssinia." It refers to the Beta Israel as "our flesh and blood," and it assures them of help in religious education. It expressed hope that G-d" will gather us from the four corners of the earth and bring us to Zion." The letter was signed by 44 leading rabbis from Europe, America and Egypt. Included in the list were Herman Adler (Chief Rabbi of London), H. Gaster, S. Daiches, Moritz Gudemann (Chief Rabbi of Vienna), Raphael Meir Panigel (Sephardi Chief Rabbi of Jerusalem and of Palestine), and Jacob Reines of Russia (the first head of the Mizrachi movement).

Among the many documents Faitlovitch obtained was a letter, dated December 4, 1921, from Abraham Isaac *Kook, the highly respected Ashkenazi chief rabbi of Palestine. Rav Kook called out to World Jewry "to save our Beta Israel brethren from extinction and contamination… and to rescue 50,000 holy souls of the House of Israel from oblivion. A holy obligation rests upon our entire nation to raise funds with a generous hand to improve the lot of the Falashas in Ethiopia and to bring their young children to Jewish centers in Palestine and the Diaspora…"

It was on February 9, 1973, that the plight of the Ethiopian Jews was brought once more to the attention of world Jewry. Rabbi Ovadiah *Yosef, Sephardi chief rabbi of Israel, in a letter addressed to Mr. Ovadia Hazi, former spokesman for the Ethiopian Jews living in Israel, gave a ruling on the status of the Beta Israel as Jews according to the *halakhah*.

After quoting the views of a number of eminent religious authorities, including those of the Radbaz, Rabbi Hildesheimer, and the Ashkenazi chief rabbis of Israel, Rabbi Abraham Isaac Kook and Isaac Halevi *Herzog, in favor of their being in fact Jews, Rabbi Ovadiah Yosef wrote:

> I have therefore come to the conclusion that Falashas are descendants of the Tribe of Israel who went southward to Ethiopia, and there is no doubt that the above sage established that they (the Falashas) are of the Tribe of Dan… and (these sages) relached the conclusion on the basis of the most reliable witnesses and evidence.
>
> I, too… have investigated and inquired well into… (these matters)… and have decided that in my humble opinion, the Falashas are Jews, whom it is our duty to redeem from assimilation, to hasten their immigration to Israel, to educate them in the spirit of our holy Torah and to make them partners in the building of our sacred land…
>
> I am certain that the government institutions and the Jewish Agency, as well as organizations in Israel and the diaspora, will help us to the best of our ability in this holy task… the mitzva of redeeming the souls of our people… for everyone who saves one soul in Israel, it is as though he had saved the whole world.

Rabbi Ovadia Yosef's letter refers to the Beta Israel as descendants of the Tribe of Dan. Support for this view can be traced back as far as the 9th century C.E. in the writings of the Jewish traveler Eldad Ha-Dani. Such rabbinic luminaries as Rashi cite Eldad as an unquestioned authority on these issues.

On March 11, 1975, it was reported that an Interministerial Committee had ruled that Israel recognized the Ethiopian Jews entitled to automatic citizenship and full benefits as prescribed under the 1950 Law of Return.

Chief Ashkenazi Rabbi Shlomo Goren expressed disapproval of this ruling, but after the winter of 1978 when he met a group of new immigrants from Ethiopia with the greeting, "You are our brothers; you are our blood and our flesh. You are true Jews… You have returned to your homeland," he too joined the ranks of the long list of rabbis affirming the Jewishness of the Beta Israel.

Nonetheless, Rabbis Yosef and Goren requested a symbolic ceremony which is called a *ḥidush ha-yahadut*, meaning "renewal of Judaism." This ceremony consists of a ritual immersion without the necessity of a blessing for the women. The men are also immersed because they are already circumcised. They need only a ceremonial *milah*.

This symbolic ceremony is not a conversion. It does not require any study period. The rabbis request that it be done within a few days of the Ethiopian Jews' arrival in Israel. Rabbi Ovadia Yosef expressed it best when he defined the ceremony as "an act of renewing their covenant with the Jewish people" (*Jerusalem Post*, August 1977).

Some Ethiopian Jews, who have suffered much as a people to preserve their Judaism against almost insurmountable odds, felt the ceremony was an insult. Nonetheless, all went through with it until 1985 when they started to oppose to it. This opposition culminated in a month-long strike in the autumn of 1985 that ended with an agreement (S. Kaplan "The Beta Israel and the Rabbinate: Law, Politics and Ritual," *Social Science Information* 27, 3, 1988, pp. 357–70). Nevertheless this issue continued to be considered very sensitive and when in 1989 rabbi David Chelouche was appointed marriage registrar for all Ethiopians in the country the question was settled by a compromise: "Since he did not believe that Ethiopians needed to undergo any form of conversion, those married under his auspices were exempted from any preconditions not imposed on other Israelis" (S. Kaplan and H. Salomon, "Ethiopian Jews in Israel: a Part of the people or Apart from the people?" in U. Rebhun and C. Waxman (eds.), *Jews in Israel: Contemporary Social and Cultural Patterns*, Hanover and London, 2003, pp. 118–148: 131)

[Howard M. Lenhoff / E. Trevisan Semi (2nd ed.)]

ORGANIZATIONAL EFFORTS. In the U.S. during April 1974, the old American Pro-Beta Israel Committee started by Professor Jacques Faitlovitch and another committee merged to form the American Association for Ethiopian Jews. This new organization, founded by Dr. Graenum Berger, has brought the plight of the Ethiopian Jews to the forefront of issues in American Jewry, and supports many absorption programs in Israel. Also in the U.S., the National Jewish Community Relations Advisory Council in 1980 formed a Committee on Ethiopian Jewry.

In 1977, the ORT World Union established a nonsecular training program in Addis Ababa and in the province of Gondar that affected a number of Ethiopian Jews.

ETHIOPIAN JEWS IN ISRAEL. In Israel, the Ethiopian Jews demonstrated against the government, the Jewish Agency and world Jewish leadership on January 1, 1979, and again on October 30, 1979, for not doing enough to bring their people to Israel. Following these demonstrations, Prime Minister Begin met with the leaders of the Ethiopian Jews of Israel and pledged his full support to save their people and to bring them to Israel. Renewed demonstrations took place in December 1981. At the end of the 1970s there were about 1,000 Ethiopian Jewish residents of Israel, whereas estimates of the number of Beta Israel remaining in war-torn Ethiopia ranged from 20,000 to 25,000.

[Howard M. Lenhoff]

1982–1992

In a decade of dramatic changes for World Jewry, the Beta Israel stood out as the Jewish community that had undergone the most dramatic transformation. At the end of 1982 the number of Ethiopian immigrants in Israel stood at about 2,300 and the vast majority of community members were still in Ethiopia. Ten years later the Beta Israel as a diaspora community had ceased to exist. By the end of 1992 over 45,000 Ethiopian immigrants had settled in Israel. When those born in Israel are included and those who have died subtracted, the total number of Ethiopian Jews in Israel exceeds 50,000. (See Table: Ethiopian Jews in Israel).

Despite the relatively short period within which the Beta Israel were brought to Israel, each period in their immigration had different characteristics. Most of those who came prior to 1984 were from the Tigre and Walqayit regions of northern Ethiopia. They arrived in small numbers through the Sudan and were gradually settled throughout Israel. In 1984 over ten thousand Jews from the Gondar region of Ethiopia flooded into Sudanese refugee camps. Initially they were brought out a few hundred at a time, but deteriorating conditions necessitated a more dramatic approach. During a period of less than two months starting in mid-November 1984, more than 6,500 Beta Israel were airlifted to Israel in what became known as "Operation Moses." Premature publicity brought the operation to a halt, but in March 1985 a further 650 Jews were rescued in "Operation Joshua." During the period from March 1985 to October 1989 only a relatively small number of Jews managed to leave Ethiopia. The renewal of diplomatic relations between Israel and Ethiopia, however, paved the way for legal emigration on the basis of family reunification. By the summer of 1990 over twenty thousand Ethiopian Jews had migrated to Addis Ababa in the hope of being taken to Israel. During 36 hours between May 24 and 25 as rebel troops threatened to conquer the capital, over 14,000 Beta Israel were airlifted to Israel in "Operation Solomon." In the succeeding year and a half, several thousand more Beta Israel were brought to Israel. By the end of 1992 only a handful of Beta Israel remained in Ethiopia. A large number (estimates vary between 30–250,000) of *falas moura* (Christians of Beta Israel descent) remained in Ethiopia.

Although all the Beta Israel have left Ethiopia, their resettlement in Israel is far from complete. Virtually every aspect of their absorption process remains fraught with difficulties, and a clear danger exists that Ethiopian Jews in Israel will find themselves marginalized geographically, socially, and religiously.

Despite clearly stated criteria for dispersing Ethiopian immigrants around the country, settling them in permanent apartments has always proven difficult. Housing in the designated sites has not always been available, while local authorities and residents have not necessarily welcomed the influx of a dependent population. For their part the Ethiopians have been reluctant to abandon the protection of immigrant housing and have often refused to do so unless provided with housing that meets all of their criteria regarding cost, proximity to relatives, climate, and employment opportunities. Only after immigrants have been settled in permanent apartments can issues such as children's education and long-term employment be seriously confronted.

As of September 1992 almost half the Ethiopian immigrants in the country were still in temporary housing: 2,500 were in hotels, 7,600 were in regular absorption centers, and 15,000 were living in mobile homes. Each of these groups presents officials with a different set of difficulties, but the last is probably the most problematic. Mobile homes for Ethiopian immigrants (as well as a relatively small number of Russians and veteran Israelis) were situated in 22 sites around the country. Most were located in isolated areas far removed from other Israelis, schools, and employment opportunities. It was anticipated that many immigrants would continue to live in such quarters for at least 3 or 4 years.

So long as the Ethiopians remained in temporary quarters, it was extremely difficult to complete their educational, social, and occupational absorption. Although official statistics were never released, it was generally estimated that prior to 1991, 80% of Ethiopian immigrants eligible for work had found jobs. Those who have arrived in the following two years had a much harder time finding employment both because of their geographic isolation and difficult conditions in the Israeli economy.

Although more than two decades have passed since Rabbi Ovadiah Yosef (at the time Sephardi chief rabbi) ruled that the Beta Israel were Jews, many details of their religious status remain unresolved. Despite recurrent demonstrations and court appeals, most Israeli marriage registrars continue to follow the Chief Rabbinate's guidelines and require Ethiopian immigrants wishing to marry to undergo ritual immersion. Rabbi David Chelouche of Netanya and other rabbis designated by him require no such ceremony and continue to perform weddings for Ethiopian Jews throughout the country. Some Ethiopian activists have demanded that *qessotch* (priests), the community's religious leaders, be allowed to conduct weddings and perform divorces as in Ethiopia. The Chief Rabbinate has firmly rejected this demand. Instead it has agreed to allow the *qessotch* to serve on religious councils in areas with large Ethiopian populations and has suggested that they study to become marriage registrars.

The ongoing controversy concerning marriages and the status of the *qessotch* is not merely a halakhic-legal issue. It is also symptomatic of the vast changes that have shaken the Ethiopian family in the past decade. Couples have divorced and remarried, children have asserted an unprecedented degree of independence, and women have redefined their roles. Changes have, moreover, not been limited to the restructuring of relations within the family. The family's relationship to the surrounding society has also been radically changed. In Ethiopia families and households were the foundation of rural communal life and served as schools, workshops, clinics, reformatories, and credit organizations. In Israel most of these functions have become the primary responsibility of other institutions. Thus, the past decade has witnessed not only a dramatic and irreversible change of location (in a geographic sense) for the Ethiopian family. It has also produced a no less revolutionary transformation of its place (in a social-economic sense) and its relationship to its surroundings.

[Steven Kaplan]

1992–2005

The Ethiopian Jews continued to undergo dramatic changes in a very short period of time. In 2005 there were approximately 85,000 in Israel, of whom 23,000 were Israeli-born. Official Israeli absorption policy aimed to prevent the development of Ethiopian ghettos and thus encouraged Ethiopians not to concentrate in the same areas and to purchase homes in towns where employment and social services were available. This policy failed to some extent because immigrants wished to be housed near relatives and chose to live were it was cheapest, often preferring not to leave absorption centers. In 1993 the Ministry of Absorption initiated a special program to encourage immigrants to buy houses and apply for mortgages outside peripheral areas. Between 1988 and 2001, 10,542 Ethiopians purchased apartments with the help of government mortgages. If the special mortgage program permitted many Ethiopian families to own their homes, the goal of settling them in the center of the country was not achieved, because the Ethiopians concentrated in a few selected areas while Jerusalem and Tel Aviv remained with very small Ethiopian populations.

The State acted in the process of absorption of Ethiopians according to a model of "mediated absorption" and the Jewish Agency was responsible for the process. This policy encouraged employees to treat immigrants as a social problem, which led immigrants to conform to expectations and behave accordingly. In 1999 there were 14,778 Ethiopians aged 25–54 in the country but only 53 percent participated in the labor force (compared to 76 percent of all Israelis of the same age). Only 38 percent of the Ethiopians in the labor force were women (compared to 68 percent of all Israeli women). Most of the Ethiopians were employed in manufacturing (especially men) and in public services (especially women). Few of the Ethiopians were in academic and liberal professions (4 percent of men and 15 percent of women).

The Israeli education system planned to have all young Ethiopians attend state religious schools in the first year of their arrival. Government policy sought to restrict the percentage of Ethiopian students in classes to no more than 25 percent, but this program too was not achieved. Many students went to *Youth Aliyah boarding schools.

In 1996 *Maariv* revealed that the Magen David Adom blood bank had for years systematically thrown out blood donated by Ethiopian Israelis without informing the donors. This occurred because Ethiopian immigrants were considered a high-risk group for AIDS (especially those who arrived in Operation Solomon). The "blood scandal" was accompanied by many demonstrations covered by the international media and by a commission of enquiry. At the outset of the 21st century the absorption of Ethiopian Jews remained the most problematic, economically, socially, and culturally, among all immigrant groups.

[E. Trevisan Semi (2nd ed.)]

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BET ALFA (Heb. בֵּית אַלְפָא), place in Israel in the eastern Jezreel Valley at the foot of Mount Gilboa. The name is historical and has been preserved in the Arab designation of the site, Beit Ilfa, which may have some connection with the proper name Ilfa or Hilfa which occurs in the Talmud (Ta'an. 21a). The foundations of an ancient synagogue were discovered in 1929 near Bet Alfa by E.L. *Sukenik and N. *Avigad, who were conducting excavations on behalf of the Hebrew University. The synagogue covered an area of 46 × 92 ft. (14 × 28 m) and included a courtyard, narthex, basilica-type hall with a nave and two side aisles, and, apparently, a women's gallery. The apse at the end of the hall was oriented south toward Jerusalem, and a small cavity in its floor probably served as a *genizah*; above it once stood an ark for Scrolls of the Law. The entire floor of the structure is paved with mosaics: the courtyard, narthex, and aisles in simple geometric designs, while the floor of the nave is decorated with mosaic panels surrounded by a broad ornamental border. Two inscriptions were found at the entrance to the hall: one (in Aramaic) states that the mosaic was made during the reign of Emperor Justin (undoubtedly Justin I, 518–27); the other (in Greek) gives the names of the mosaicists, *Marianos and his son Ḥanina. Symbolic animals are depicted on either side of the inscriptions: a lion on the right and a bull on the left. The three mosaic panels in the center of the hall depict (from north to south): (1) *The Offering of Isaac*, which shows Abraham pointing a drawn knife at Isaac who is bound near an altar; behind Abraham a ram is tied to a tree, and alongside it appears the inscription "And behold a ram." The hand of God is seen between the sun's rays above; Abraham's two servants and donkey stand behind him; a band of palm trees separate this scene from the next one. (2) *The Signs of the Zodiac*, with the sun in the center in the form of a youth riding a chariot drawn by four horses; each sign has its Hebrew designation inscribed above it. In the corners appear the four seasons of the year (Tishri, Tevet, Nisan, Tammuz), each in the form of the bust of a winged woman adorned with jewels. (3) *The Ark of the Synagogue*, in which the ark has a gable roof with an "eternal light" suspended from its top and two birds perched at its corners; on either side is a lion with a seven-branched *menorah* (candelabrum) and above it and between them are depicted *lulavim* (palm branches), *etrogim* (citrons), a *shofar,* and censers. Curtains adorn the scene on the left and right sides.

The simple but strong style of the mosaic pavement represents a folk art that appears to have developed among the Jewish villagers of Galilee. The figures are depicted frontally and the artist took great pains to make each scene expressive. The mosaics of Bet Alfa are striking in their coloring and stylization and are among the finest examples of Jewish art in the Byzantine period. In 1960 the synagogue structure was renovated and the pavement repaired by the Israel Government.

[Michael Avi-Yonah]

The kibbutz of Bet Alfa was founded in 1922 by pioneers from Poland. It was the first settlement of the Kibbutz Arẓi ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir movement. For over 14 years it was the easternmost village of the Jewish region in the central valleys and was exposed to Arab attacks in the 1936–39 riots. In 1968 it numbered 670 inhabitants, in the mid 1990 its population increased to 785 residents, and at the end of 2002 it was 589. Its economy is based on intensive and diversified farming (field crops, dairy cattle, and fishery) and industry (thermostats, trailers, and a quarry).

[Efraim Orni]

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BET(H)-ANATH (Heb. בֵּית עֲנָת), Canaanite city named after the goddess Anath. Beth-Anath may possibly be mentioned in the list of cities conquered by Thutmosis III in c. 1469 B.C.E.

(no. 97) but it definitely appears in the records of the campaigns of both Seti I in c. 1300 B.C.E. (between Tyre and Kadesh) and of Rameses II in c. 1280 B.C.E. (before Kanah). Although it is listed with the cities in the territory of the tribe of *Naphtali (Josh. 19:38), this tribe could not overcome it and only imposed tribute on the inhabitants (Judg. 1:33). Some scholars locate it in Lower Galilee at Bu'eina in the valley of Beth-Netophah or at el-Bina in the Bet ha-Kerem valley, but the archaeological survey makes a location in Upper Galilee more probable and its identification with Safd el-Batikh has been suggested. In talmudic times a Beth-Anath is mentioned as a city outside Ereẓ Israel with a mixed Jewish-gentile population (Tosef., Kil. 2:16). The Zeno Papyri from 259 B.C.E. contain a reference to a vineyard at Baitoanaia. It has also been suggested that the Batnaea mentioned by Eusebius (Onom. 30:5; 52:24) refers to the same site. (If so, the Caesarea 15 mi. (24 km.) distant would be Caesarea Philippi.)

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[Michael Avi-Yonah]

BETAR (abbreviated name of **Berit Trumpeldor**, Heb. ,בֵּיתָ״ר בְּרִית תְּרוּמְפֶּלְדוֹר), an activist Zionist youth movement founded in 1923 in Riga, Latvia, and attaining significant proportions in the 1930s, mainly in Eastern Europe. Betar played an important role in Zionist education, in teaching the Hebrew language and culture, and methods of self-defense. It also inculcated the ideals of *aliyah* to Ereẓ Israel by any means, legal and "illegal," and of personal dedicaton to the creation of a Jewish state "on both sides of the Jordan." The Betar ideology originated in a fusion of Vladimir *Jabotinsky's "legionism" with the ideas of personal pioneering and defense exemplified in Joseph *Trumpeldor's life and death.

1923–1935

At its inception Betar was a variation of the Zionist trend in East European Jewish youth that led to the Third Aliyah. The group of students and young workers that founded the movement declared themselves a "part of the Jewish Legion to be established in Ereẓ Israel." They organized a farm for the agricultural training of pioneer settlers in Palestine. The first Betar immigrants to Palestine (1925–29) joined the Histadrut and the Haganah as a matter of course. In the 1930s, however, with the growing rift and exacerbated conflict between the Revisionists and the Zionist-Socialist majority, Betar gradually became a bitter rival of Zionist-Socialist youth, both in the Diaspora and in Palestine. Sometimes relations deteriorated into physical clashes on the streets of Tel Aviv. Zionist-Socialist circles pointed to the brown shirts of the members of Betar as tangible proof of its "fascist character," and called for its speedy elimination from public life, whereas Betar spokesmen asserted that the "red-brown" shade of their uniform symbolized the earth of Ereẓ Israel, and in any event its adoption in the early 1920s preceded the rise of the German Nazis.

Betar members constituted a major part of the rank and file of the Union of Zionist Revisionists (from 1935, the New Zionist Organization) and also of the National Labor Federation and the *Irgun Ẓeva'i Le'ummi in Palestine. In 1926 the second world congress of the Union of Zionist Revisionists in Paris recognized the Latvian group as the sponsor and provisional center of its youth movement. The first world conference of Betar, which convened in Danzig in 1931 with 87 delegates representing 21 countries, formulated the principles of the movement and elected Jabotinsky as *rosh Betar* ("head of Betar"), empowering him to appoint the overall leadership ("*shilton*").

Defense training was proclaimed the foremost duty of every member, and those going to Palestine were to enlist for two years in special work brigades. At the second world conference of Betar in Cracow, in 1935, Jabotinsky proposed a codified text of the Betar ideology called *Ha-Neder* ("the Oath"), which stipulated in its first paragraph: "I devote my life to the rebirth of the Jewish State, with a Jewish majority, on both sides of the Jordan." It demanded, in addition to the basic tenets of all Zionist youth movements, a "monistic" conception of Zionism, rejecting any fusion with "alien" creeds (meaning mainly socialism). It also urged the inculcation of a mode of thought and deed called *hadar,* defined by Jabotinsky as "beauty, respect, self-esteem, politeness, and faithfulness."

Betar in Palestine

In Palestine the Betar work brigades (from 1934 called mobilized groups) grew into a network of disciplined units based in villages and settlements. Most of these were in Upper Galilee but, after the outbreak of the Arab riots in 1936, such units were established also in the Jewish quarter of the Old City of Jerusalem and at Naḥalat Yiẓḥak, near Jerusalem. These groups engaged in clandestine defense training within the framework of Irgun Ẓeva'i Le'ummi, maintaining themselves collectively as laborers on the farms of old-time Jewish settlers or as wage earners in town. Some members eventually formed the nuclei of the first Betar settlements (Ramat Tiomkin near Netanyah, Tel Ẓur near Binyaminah, and in Mishmar ha-Yarden).

Systematic defense training was introduced in Betar in many Diaspora countries during the early 1930s by Yirmiyahu Halpern, who established training courses and camps where self-defense, drill, street-fighting, the handling of small arms, boxing, and military tactics were taught. In Poland members of Betar also underwent training in the official paramilitary units of the state. In Shanghai Betar members organized a separate Jewish unit as part of the international force which policed the non-Chinese sections of the city.

The first Betar instructors' school was set up in Tel Aviv in 1928 and its trainees took part in the defense of the city during the riots of 1929. In 1931 Betar units joined dissident Haganah members in Jerusalem in setting up the separate underground organization Irgun Ẓeva'i Leummi. In 1930 a Betar naval unit was founded in Tel Aviv, training with sailboats. A central naval school of Betar was established in Civitavecchia, Italy, functioning there from 1934 to 1937 and graduating 153 cadets. About 50 sailors were also trained by Betar in Latvia between 1935 and 1939. These men later played important roles in the establishment of the Israel Navy and the Merchant Marine. In 1935 Jabotinsky's son Eri, heading a unit of mobilized Betar members in Palestine, constructed the first glider in the country. Flying courses were introduced later by the Irgun Ẓeva'i Le'ummi in Palestine; by 1939, 13 members had graduated as pilots.

Betar underwent rapid expansion during the 1930s as illustrated by the growth of its total world membership from 22,300 in 1931 to nearly 90,000 in 1938. In the late 1930s Betar was actively engaged in the Revisionists' "illegal" *aliyah* operation which, by 1939, took thousands of Jews to Palestine, among them many members of Betar. During World War II many Betar members in Palestine volunteered for the Palestinian units of the British Army and, later, the Jewish Brigade.

After the Holocaust

Most of the European branches of Betar were destroyed in the Holocaust. A few thousand members escaped by joining the anti-Nazi partisans, while Betar and Revisionist units took part in the ghetto uprisings, notably in Warsaw, Vilna, and Bialystok. With the loss of European Jewry, Israel became the center of the movement, which in the late 1960s numbered about 8,000 members, of whom over 4,000 were in Israel, and the rest in 13 other countries, mainly in Latin America, the United States, South Africa, and Australia. By the early 21st century its membership had grown to around 12,500 in Israel and 8,500 in the rest of the world.

Many members of Betar in Israel, upon joining the army, went into *Naḥal units. The movement in Israel also maintains youth towns in collaboration with *Youth Aliyah. Between 1948 and the late 1960s Betar, in cooperation with the Ḥerut movement, established 12 collective and cooperative settlements, some of them border settlements, such as Amaẓyah in the Lachish area, Mevo Betar near the site of historical *Bethar, *Ramat Raziel in the hills of Jerusalem, and Ẓur Natan in Central Israel.

Betar's membership in Palestine grew rapidly and by 1937 it had its own sports center which enabled its members to play, among other sports, football, basketball, and table tennis, engage in gymnastics, and train as boxers. Betar in Israel is affiliated with the Israel Football Association and the Israel Sports Federation.

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[David Niv]

BET(H)-ARABAH (modern Bet ha-Aravah) (Heb. בֵּית הָעֲרָבָה; "House of the Steppe"), place in southern Ereẓ Israel, in the Jericho Desert of the Lower Jordan Valley. The ancient name is preserved in ʿAyn al-Gharaba, southeast of Jericho near the Jordan River, but no corroborative archaeological remains have been thus far discovered in the vicinity. According to the Bible it belonged to the tribe of Judah on the border of Benjamin (Josh. 15:61; 18:22). More recently it was a kibbutz situated 1,235 ft. (380 m.) below sea level, 1.8 mi. (3 km.) north of the Jordan mouth of the Dead Sea. It was founded on Oct. 8, 1939, by a group of the Maḥanot ha-Olim youth movement and young immigrants from Germany and other Central European countries, on land of the Palestine Potash Company. Bet ha-Aravah was affiliated with Ha-Kibbutz ha-Me'uḥad. The kibbutz succeeded in sweeping its extremely saline soil with fresh Jordan water, making it capable of producing abundant farm crops. The land thus won yielded out-of-season vegetables, fruit, fodder, and other farm products. Carp ponds were also installed. A number of members worked in the potash plant. Members of the kibbutz cultivated friendly relations with the Arab inhabitants of Jericho and even with the nearby villages of Transjordan. Bet ha-Aravah proved that both adults and children could overcome the health hazards of the torrid climate. In the Israel War of Independence (1948) the completely isolated settlement held out for six months. Eventually the settlers were evacuated by boat to Sodom, at the south end of the Dead Sea. Later its members erected two new settlements in Galilee, *Kabri and *Gesher ha-Ziv. The Arab Legion completely razed the empty settlement. Its soil again became saline and hardly any vestige of the village could be discerned when Israel forces reached the site in 1967. The following year a *Naḥal group set up a new settlement, Naḥal Kallia, in the general vicinity. In 1977 another Naḥal group settled about a mile (2 km.) west of the original settlement. In 1986 it was affiliated with Ha-Kibbutz ha-Me'uḥad. In 2002 the population of Beit ha-Aravah was 52. The main economic branch was farming, mainly dates, vineyards, and field crops. In addition, the kibbutz operated a food stall at its nearby gas station.

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[Efraim Orni]

BET(H)-CHEREM (Heb. בֵּית הַכֶּרֶם, "*Bet ha-Kerem*," "The House of the Vineyard"), settlement west of Jerusalem in the First and Second Temple periods. It is first mentioned at the time of the Judean kingdom in an appendix of the Septuagint to the list of Judean cities in Joshua 15:49 (as Karem), situated between Suba (Tzova), Gallim (Beth Jala), Baither (Battir) and Manahath (Malcha). Judging by a passage in Jeremiah (6:1), the town was the capital of the district west of Jerusalem in the Iron Age, where beacons were lit in times of danger. Jeremiah warned of the pending destruction from the north with the approach of the Babylonians: "O ye Children of Benjamin [in the north], gather yourselves to flee out of the midst of Jerusalem, and to blow the trumpet in Tekoa [in the south], and to set up a sign of fire [i.e., beacons, *massa'ot*] in Beth-Cherem [in the west]; for evil appeareth out of the north, and great destruction." Jeremiah referred specifically in this passage to the ultimate territory of Jerusalem (a radius of five kilometers around the city), demarcated specifically by the furthermost sites of Tekoa and Beth-Cherem, to the south and west, respectively, and with the northern limit set at the border between Judah and Benjamin (probably at Gibeah/Tell el-Ful). It again appears during the time of Nehemiah as the center of one of the Judean districts; Malchijah, son of Rechab, the ruler of the district of Beth-Cherem, took part in building the walls of Jerusalem under Nehemiah (Neh. 3:14). The valley of Beth-Cherem appearing in later sources should apparently be sought next to the town. According to the Mishnah (Mid. 3:4: Biq'at Beth-Cherem), the stones for the temple altar and its ramp were brought from the valley of Beth-Cherem (Ex. 20:25 (JPS 20:22); Deut. 27:5–6). The fertile valley in the proximity of Ain Karim was also noted as a source of a specific kind of flat stone, still seen there today. Elsewhere we hear that the bright color of the valley soils was discussed by the sages in reference to menstrual blood (Niddah 2:7). The town and its valley are also mentioned in two Dead Sea Scrolls from the end of the Second Temple period. In the Genesis Aprocryphon on Genesis 14:17, the "vale of Shaveh – the same is the King's Vale" is thought by some scholars to be the same as "the valley of Beth-Karma." The Copper Scroll, which contains a list of hiding places for treasure, describes Beth-Cherem as a depository for treasure in a large water system (*asyw*). In Jerome's commentary on Jeremiah 6:1 (from the fifth century C.E.), Bethacharma is incorrectly situated on a mountain between Jerusalem and Tekoa. An attempt was made by Y. Aharoni to identify Beth Cherem with Ramat Rahel – a site which he excavated – in southern Jerusalem, based mainly on Jerome's misidentification.

Beth-Cherem should be identified as Ain Karim ("spring of the vineyard"), situated within the western suburbs of modern Jerusalem. In antiquity it was a major town in the hills east of a broad valley basin, with excellent sources of natural water and surrounded by rich agricultural lands. The main spring, known as the Spring of the Virgin, provided 1,135 cubic meters of water per day. Archaeological finds in the present village date back to the Middle Bronze Age II, Iron Age II and Persian periods. Later remains from the Roman, Byzantine and medieval parts are also known. Ain Karim is important in Christian sources as the birthplace of John the Baptist. Two churches in the village – the Nativity and the Visitation – are associated with the tradition of John the Baptist. In the hinterland is the traditional Monastery of John in the Wilderness, and nearby recent excavations have uncovered a Byzantine memorial cave dedicated to the Baptist, with earlier remains connected to baptism rituals dating back to the Roman period.

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[Shimon Gibson (2nd ed.)]

BET(H)-DAGON (Heb. בֵּית דָּגוֹן), several biblical places, named after a house (shrine) of the god Dagon (cf. the Temple of Dagon in Ashdod, I Sam. 5:1ff.). (1) An unidentified city in the southern Shephelah district of Judah (Josh. 15:41). (2) A place in Galilee on the eastern border of the tribe of Asher, northeast of Mount Carmel (Josh. 19:27), which is possibly mentioned in a list of cities of Pharaoh Ramses III. (3) A city mentioned as Bit-Daganna, near Jaffa, in the inscriptions of Sennacherib, king of Assyria, in whose time (701 B.C.E.) it was under the rule of Ashkelon. The Tosefta in reference to it (Oho. 3:9) specifies that it is located "in Judah," and distinguishes it from Beth-Dagon located by Eusebius (Onom. 50:16) "between Diospolis (Lydda) and Jamnia (Jabneh)," but called by him Kefar Dagon. The original name appears on the Madaba Map in the form (Bet)odegana. It was populated by Samaritans, who built a synagogue there in the fourth century; their presence is still attested to in the tenth century. The crusaders erected a castle there, known as Casal Moyen or Castellum de Maen, i.e., "midway" between Jaffa and Ramleh, which was destroyed by Saladin in 1187, but rebuilt by Richard the Lion-Hearted four years later.

[Michael Avi-Yonah]

Modern Period

This site is now the small town of Bet Dagan. In modern times the Arab village Beit Dajan existed there, which increased in population and wealth due to the development of nearby Tel Aviv. Heavy fighting took place there during the War of Independence (1948) to secure Jewish traffic to Jerusalem and the south, and the village was abandoned. It was settled by immigrants from Bulgaria at the end of 1948 and called Bet Dagan ("House of Corn"). This soon developed from a moshav into a semi-urban community. In 1953 Bet Dagan received municipal council status. In 1962 the Israel Institute for Meteorology was opened there along with a state-owned agricultural experimental station. The town had 2,680 inhabitants in 1968 and 4,830 in 2002, occupying a municipal area of 0.6 sq. mi. (1.5 sq. km.).

[Efraim Orni / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

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BET DIN AND JUDGES (Heb. בֵּית דִּין; lit. "house of judgment"). *Bet din* (pl. *battei din*) is the term, in rabbinic sources, for a Jewish court of law. In modern times it usually refers to an ecclesiastical court dealing with religious matters such as divorce, and supervision of the dietary laws, and acting, with the consent of all concerned, as a court of arbitration. In Israel the term has come to mean the rabbinic court (as opposed to the secular court known as the *bet mishpat*) which has, by act of the Knesset, jurisdiction in matters of personal status in addition to its normal religious function. This article deals with the general meaning as found in rabbinic sources.

In Jewish Law

ORIGINS. The Bible records that Moses sat as a magistrate among the people (Ex. 18:13) and, either on the advice of Jethro, his father-in-law (Ex. 18:17–23), or on his own initiative (Deut. 1:9–14), he later delegated his judicial powers to appointed "chiefs of thousands, hundreds, fifties, and tens" (Ex. 18:21; Deut. 1:15) – reserving to himself jurisdiction in only the most difficult, major disputes (Ex. 18:22 and 26; Deut. 1:17). It is therefore probable that Israel was one of those civilizations in which the judicature preceded the law, and that some of the later, codified law may have originated in judicial precedents. The earliest reports of such legal decisions already indicate a high standard of judicial practice and qualifications. Judges had to be "able men, such as fear God, men of truth, hating unjust gain" (Ex. 18:21) and "wise men, and understanding and full of knowledge" (Deut. 1:13). They were charged to "hear the causes between your brethren and judge righteously between a man and his brother and the stranger," not be "partial in judgment," but to "hear the small and the great alike; fear no man, for judgment is God's" (Deut. 1:16–17). When the children of Israel settled in their land, the allocation of jurisdiction on a purely numerical basis ("thousands, hundreds, fifties, tens") was to be replaced by allocation on a local basis, i.e., that judges were to be appointed in every town within the various tribes (Deut. 16:18 and Sif. Deut. 144; Sanh. 16b). It is disputed whether this injunction to establish courts in every town applied only in the land of Israel or also in the Diaspora. Some hold that outside the land of Israel courts ought to be established in every district, but need not be established in every town (Mak. 7a); whereas others hold that the injunction applies only in Israel, viz. "in all the settlements that the Lord your God is giving you," but not "in foreign countries in which He has dispersed you" (Maim. Yad, Sanh. 1:2). However, later authorities regard as obligatory the establishment of a court in every community (cf., e.g., *Arukh ha-Shulḥan* ḤM 1:18). In towns with less than 120 inhabitants, there was only a court of three judges – three being the minimum number – so that where opinions were divided, a majority could prevail (Sanh. 3b; Yad. Sanh. 1:4). In towns with 120 inhabitants or more, the court should have 23 judges and be designated as a "Sanhedrin Ketannah" (Sanh. 1:6; Yad, Sanh. 1:10). Courts of 23 judges also sat in the Temple precincts in Jerusalem (Sanh. 11:2; Yad. Sanh. 1:3). The highest court was the "Sanhedrin Gedolah" of 71 judges which sat in the Temple (*Lishkat ha-Gazit*) in Jerusalem (Mid. 5:4; Sanh. 11:2; Yad, Sanh. 1:3 and 14:12), corresponding to the 70 elders and officers who took their place with Moses to "share the burden of the people" (Num. 11:16–17).

The jurisdiction of the various courts was as follows.

(1) Courts of three judges exercised jurisdiction in civil matters generally (Sanh. 1:1), including those which might involve the imposition of *fines (Sanh. 1:1; Sanh. 3a). They also had jurisdiction in matters of divorce (Git. 5b) and *ḥaliẓah* (Yev. 12:1). A court of three judges was required for the conversion of non-Jews (Yev. 46b); for the absolution from vows (Ned. 78a; TJ, Ḥag. 1:8, 76c and Ned. 10:10, 42b); for the circumvention of the law annulling debts in the Sabbatical year ("prosbul"; Shev. 10:4; Git. 32b); for the non-release of slaves after six years (Ex. 21:6; Mekh. Mishpatim 2; Yad, Avadim 3:9); for the enslavement of one who commits a theft and does not have the means to pay for the principal (Ex. 22:2; Yad, Sanhedrin 1:1; Genevah 3:11); and also for the taking of any evidence, even in noncontroversial cases (Yev. 87b; Resp. *Ha-Meyuḥasot la-Ramban* 113; Resp. Rashba vol. 1, no. 749). Compulsory orders in matters of ritual would also require the concurrence of three judges in order to be valid (Ket. 86a; Ḥul. 132b), as would the imposition of any sanction for disobedience (*Mordekhai* Git. 384).

(2) Courts of 23 judges exercised jurisdiction in criminal matters generally, including capital cases (Sanh. 1:4). They also exercised jurisdiction in quasi-criminal cases, in which the destruction of animals might be involved (e.g., Lev. 20:15–16; Ex. 21:28–29; Sanh. 1:4). Where a case was originally of a civil nature, such as slander, but might in due course give rise to criminal sanctions, such as slander of unchastity (Deut. 22:14), it was brought before a court of 23 (Sanh. 1:1); if the slander was found to be groundless, the matter would be referred to a court of three for civil judgment (Maim. Yad, Sanh. 5:3). According to one view, the imposition of the penalty of *flogging required a court of 23 (Sanh. 1:2), but the prevailing view is that a court of three is sufficient (Sanh. 1:2; Yad, Sanh. 5:4), as it is really a penalty that is not necessarily for criminal offenses (see *Contempt of Court), as well as being the accepted method of judicial admonition (*makkot mardut*).

(3) The court of 71 judges had practically unlimited judicial, legislative, and administrative powers but certain judicial and administrative functions were reserved to it alone. Thus, the high priest (Sanh. 1:5), the head of a tribe (Sanh. 16a), and presumably also the president of the Sanhedrin (*nasi*), could, if accused of a crime, only be tried by the court of 71. Certain crimes were also reserved to its jurisdiction, such as the uttering of false prophecy (Sanh. 1:5), rebellious teaching by an elder ("*zaken mamre*"; Sanh. 11:2; see *Majority Rule), and the subversion of a whole town or tribe (Sanh. 1:5); and certain death penalties had to be confirmed by it before being carried out (such as of the rebellious son, the enticer to idolatry, and false witnesses; Tosef., Sanh. 11:7). The *ordeal of a woman suspected of adultery took place in the Great Court at Jerusalem only (Sot. 1:4).

Among the administrative functions reserved to the Great Sanhedrin were the appointment of courts of 23 (Sanh.

1:5; Maim. Yad, Sanh. 5:1); the election of kings (Yad, loc. cit. and Melakhim 1:3) and of high priests (Yad, Kelei ha-Mikdash 4:15); the expansion of the limits of the city of Jerusalem and of the Temple precincts (Sanh. 1:5), and the partition of the country among the tribes (according to Ulla; Sanh. 16a); the declaration of war (Sanh. 1:5); the offering of a sacrifice for the sin of the whole community (Lev. 4:13–15; Sanh. 13b); and the appointment and control of priests serving in the Temple (Mid. 5:4; Tosef., Ḥag. 2:9). The legislative functions of the Great Sanhedrin cannot easily be enumerated. It has been authoritatively said that the Great Court of Jerusalem was the essential source of all Oral Law (Yad, Mamrim 1:1). The law as laid down (or as interpreted) by the Great Sanhedrin is binding on everybody, and any person contravening or repudiating it was liable to the death penalty (Deut. 17:12; Sif. Deut. 155; Yad, Mamrim 1:2), even where the law as laid down (or interpreted) by the court might appear misconceived: "even though they show you as right what in your eyes is left or as left what is right – you must obey them" (Sif. Deut. 155; but cf. Hor. 1:1 and TJ, Hor. 1:1, 45d; and see *Rabbinical Authority). As a corollary of their legislative powers, the Great Sanhedrin also exercised advisory functions: wherever in any court any question of law was in doubt, the final and binding opinion of the Great Court at Jerusalem would have to be taken (Sanh. 88b; Yad, Sanh. 1:4). For the question of appeals see *Practice and Procedure.

(4) Apart from the regular courts mentioned above, there sat in the Temple a special court of priests charged with the supervision of the Temple ritual and with civil matters concerning the priests (cf. Ket. 1:5). Mention is also made of a special court of levites, presumably with similar functions (cf. Tosef., Sanh. 4:7). Originally, the priests performed general judicial functions: they were the sole competent interpreters (or diviners) of God's judgment (Ex. 28:15, 30, 43; Num. 27:21; Deut. 33:8–10); later, they adjudicated matters together or alternately with the judges (Deut. 17:9; 19:17; 21:5), and it seems that the litigants had the choice of applying to the priest for the dictum of God or to the judges for judgment according to law; eventually, the judicial functions of the priests were reduced to their simply being allotted some seats in the Great Sanhedrin (Sif. Deut. 153).

(5) While no regular court could consist of less than three judges (Sanh. 3b), recognized experts in the law ("*mumḥeh la-rabbim*") were already in talmudical times admitted as single judges (Sanh.5a), albeit in civil cases only and not without express reservations and disapproval – there being no true single judge other than God alone (Avot 4:8; Yad, Sanh. 2:11). No litigant could be compelled to submit to the jurisdiction of a single judge (Sh. Ar., ḤM 3:2).

APPOINTMENT OF JUDGES. The appointment of judges presupposed the "*semikhah*" ("laying of hands") by the appointer upon the appointee, as Moses laid his hands upon Joshua (Num. 27:23) thereby making him leader and supreme judge in succession to himself. The tradition is that throughout the ages judges received their authority from their immediate predecessors who "laid their hands" upon them; so it came about that in law the president of the Great Sanhedrin would be the authority conferring judicial powers on graduating judges (Sanh. 5a), in a formal procedure before a court of three in which he participated or which he appointed (Yad, Sanh. 4:5). But judges were also appointed by kings (e.g., II Chron. 19:5–6), a power which appears to have eventually devolved on the *exilarch in Babylonia (Yad, Sanh. 4:13), but was superseded even there by the overriding authority of the heads of the academies (*rashei yeshivot*; cf. A. Harkavy (ed.), *Zikhron… Kammah Ge'onim*, 80f., no. 180). Courts need not be composed of authorized judges only: any duly authorized judge could form a court by co-opting to himself the necessary number of laymen (Yad, Sanh. 4:11).

The original practice of *semikhah* ceased about the middle of the fourth century and at the present time *battei din* exercise their judicial functions only as agents of, and by virtue of, an implied authority from the Ancients (Git. 88b; BK 84b; Yad, Sanh. 5:8). This "agency" does not extend to capital cases; even for cases involving fines nonauthorized judges would not be qualified (Sh. Ar., ḤM 1:1). It is only because of force of circumstances that the scope of jurisdiction was in practice never restricted, but extended to whatever causes local conditions required (cf. *Netivot ha-Mishpat*, Mishpat ha-Urim, ḤM 1:1; Nov. Ramban Yev. 46b).

One of the consequences of the cessation of the traditional authorization of judges was the adoption in many (mostly Western European) communities of a system of election of judges; in Spain, the judges were elected every year, along with all other officers of the community (cf. Resp. Ribash 207). The leading rabbinical authorities of the period were time and again consulted about election procedures (cf., e.g., Resp. Rashba vol. 3, nos. 417, 422–5; vol. 5, no. 284), so as to ensure that the best and most impartial candidates would be elected. It seems that, when elected, they could not refuse to serve, even though they had not put up their candidature (cf. *Rema* ḤM 25:3; see Judicial *Autonomy; *Mishpat Ivri).

In the State of Israel today, the procedure for appointing rabbinical judges is similar to that for appointing secular judges (*Dayyanim* Act, 5715 – 1955), but while the qualifications of secular judges are laid down in the law, those of rabbinical judges are in each individual case to be attested to by the chief rabbis on the strength of examinations.

No authorization (*semikhah*) and no appointment of a judge will be valid where the appointee did not possess the necessary qualifications (Maim. Yad, Sanh. 4:15); and the sin of appointing unqualified judges is said to be tantamount to erecting an **asherah* beside the altar of the Lord (Sanh. 7b); and where the man was appointed because he was rich, it was like making gods of silver or gods of gold (*ibid.*), not only causing miscarriages of justice but idolatry (Maim. loc. cit., 3:8); and it is reported that judges appointed because of their money were treated with open contempt (TJ, Bik. 3:3, 65d). "The Sages have said that from the Great Court messengers were sent out all over the country of Israel, and they looked for judges who were wise and feared sin and were humble and clearsighted and of good appearance and good manners, and first they made them judges in their towns, and then they brought them to the gates of the Temple, and finally they would elevate them to the Great Court" (Maim. loc. cit., 2:8).

QUALIFICATIONS. The judicial qualifications have been enumerated by Maimonides as follows: judges must be wise and sensible, learned in the law and full of knowledge, and also acquainted to some extent with other subjects such as medicine, arithmetic, astronomy and astrology, and the ways of sorcerers and magicians and the absurdities of idolatry and suchlike matters (so as to know how to judge them); a judge must not be too old, nor may he be a eunuch or a childless man; and as he must be pure in mind, so must he be pure from bodily defects, but as well a man of stature and imposing appearance; and he should be conversant in many languages so as not to stand in need of interpreters. The seven fundamental qualities of a judge are wisdom, humility, fear of God, disdain of money, love of truth, love of people, and a good reputation. A judge must have a good eye, a humble soul, must be pleasant in company, and speak kindly to people; he must be very strict with himself and conquer lustful impulses; he must have a courageous heart to save the oppressed from the oppressor's hate, cruelty, and persecution, and eschew wrong and injustice (Yad, Sanh. 2:1–7). Playing cards for money or other games of chance and lending money on interest also disqualify a person from judicial functions (Sanh. 3:3). A judge who is a relative of one of the litigants, or has any other personal relationship toward him ("loves him or hates him"), must disqualify himself from sitting in judgment over him (Sanh. 3:4–5). A judge should not engage in manual work, so as not to expose himself to popular contempt (Kid. 70a).

PRINCIPLES OF JUDICIAL CONDUCT. A judge must show patience, indulgence, humility, and respect for persons when sitting in court (Yad, Sanh. 25:1; Sh. Ar., ḤM 7:2–5); he must always hear both parties to the case (Sanh. 7b; Shev. 31a; and Codes); he may not in any way discriminate between the parties (Lev. 19:15; Shev. 30a–31a; Yad, Sanh. 21:1–2; 20:5–7; Sh. Ar., ḤM 17:1 and commentaries ad. loc.); nor may he act under the possible pressures of any undue influence, including *bribery by money or by words (Deut. 16:19; Sanh. 3:5; Shab. 119a; Ket. 105b; and Codes); he must, on the one hand, proceed with deliberation and care, and reconsider again and again before finally pronouncing his verdict (Avot 1:1; Sanh. 35a; Sif. Deut. 16 and Codes), but may not, on the other hand, unduly delay justice (Yad, Sanh. 14:10 and 20:6); and he must so conduct himself that justice is not only done but is also manifestly seen to be done (Yoma 38a; Shek. 3:2) and readily understood by the litigants (ḤM 14:4). Before joining a court, a judge must satisfy himself that the judges sitting with him are properly qualified (Yad, Sanh. 2:14); and no judge should sit together with another judge whom he hates or despises (Sh. Ar., ḤM 7:8). Nor may a judge – especially in criminal cases – instead of considering and deciding the issue before him on his own, rely on the opinion of greater judges in the court and try thus to disburden himself of his judicial responsibility (Tosef., Sanh. 3:8; Yad, Sanh. 10:1).

[Haim Hermann Cohn]

Talmudic Period

The rabbis ascribe the development of *battei din* to leading biblical personalities such as Shem, Moses, Gideon, Jephthah, Samuel, David, and Solomon (Mak. 23b; Av. Zar. 36b; RH 2:9; RH 25a). Historical evidence of the existence of a *bet din* in the time of Jehoshaphat is found in *Deuteronomy Rabbah* 19:8. However, the *bet din* belongs essentially to the period of the Second Temple, and its establishment is attributed to *Ezra. He decreed that a *bet din*, which was to sit on Mondays and Thursdays (BK 82a), be established in all populated centers. These were local courts, while the Great Sanhedrin of Jerusalem served as the supreme court (Deut. 17:8–13; Sot. 1:4: Sanh. 1:6). The Sanhedrin existed for the duration of the Second Temple. A decree against immoral behavior is ascribed to the *bet din* of the Hasmoneans (Av. Zar. 36b).

After the destruction of the Temple, *Johanan b. Zakkai established his *bet din* in Jabneh as the cultural and political center of the Jews, and it succeeded the previous Sanhedrin Gedolah. The Jabneh *bet din* was responsible for regulating the calendar and thereby became the religious and national center not only of Ereẓ Israel, but also of the Diaspora. In addition to this central *bet din*, local *battei din* continued to function, particularly in the vicinity of the academies. The Talmud speaks of the courts of R. Eliezer in Lydda, R. Joshua in Peki'in, R. Akiva in Bene-Berak, and R. Yose in Sepphoris (Sanh. 32b). Under R. Johanan's successor, *Gamaliel II, the power and influence of the central *bet din* increased. The summit of its authority was reached under *Judah ha-Nasi I. His grandson, Judah Nesia, may be regarded as the last *nasi* under whose direction the *bet din* was still the actual center of the Jewish people. The Talmud therefore refers to Gamaliel and his *bet din* (Tosef., Ber. 2:6) and to Judah ha-Nasi and his *bet din* (Av. Zar. 2:6), thereby indicating the central civil and religious authority of the Jews.

Toward the middle of the third century, the *bet din* of the *nasi* gradually lost its importance due to the rise of Jewish scholarship in Babylonia and the increased oppression of Palestinian Jewry under Roman rule. Although the office of the *nasi* continued until the end of the fifth century, his *bet din* was no longer the center of the Jewish people. In Babylonia, no *bet din* ever achieved preeminent authority, even for Babylonia alone. This situation continued throughout the geonic period, as no central *bet din* could be established because of the rivalry between the two academies.

Medieval and Modern Period

The *bet din* became the stronghold of Jewish *autonomy in the Middle Ages, and continued with reduced powers into modern times. It experienced many changes in the various centers of Jewish life in the Diaspora, while retaining the continuity of the principles of talmudic law. A vast literature of rabbinic responsa grew out of the written judgments passed by the scholars of every age on actual cases, thus setting precedents and affording an orderly development of Jewish jurisprudence.

In some exceptional cases Jews resorted to non-Jewish courts. Such occurred in Egypt and Ereẓ Israel in the 11th and 12th centuries, following the decline of the gaonate, and in Spain, Majorca, Tunis, and Algeria in the 14th century. In Germany, Jewish and Christian judges met in the synagogue to adjudicate cases between Jews and Gentiles.

The general rule in the Middle Ages, however, was that Jews were strictly prohibited from taking litigation among themselves to gentile courts. This was achieved partly by the control exercised by the community over the individual and by the conception that "Judgment is God's" and hence that recourse to gentile courts meant "aggrandizing the honor of alien gods," as well as by the fairness, incorruptibility, and swiftness of Jewish justice in the majority of countries and most of the time.

In the first half of the geonic period local judges were appointed centrally in Babylonia by the *exilarchs. Later the country was divided into three domains: one was under the jurisdiction of the exilarch, and the other two under the academies in *Sura and *Pumbedita respectively. The local court usually consisted of three judges, one appointed by the exilarch or by the *Gaon* and two more local associates co-opted by him. In Egypt the *nagid* selected local judges.

In the absence of a central authority in the newly developing Jewish settlements in Europe the judiciary became part of the local government of each community. Either the elders themselves constituted a court of justice, or special *dayyanim* ("judges") were selected. In the days of *Gershom b. Judah (tenth century) these local courts were invested with full judicial authority to impose fines and exact penalties. They were mostly constituted of laymen, not necessarily versed in the law. Later, when communities began engaging rabbis, the lay judges were expected to consult them on talmudic law.

In Spain the *bet din* achieved its fullest growth and widest powers. The prerogatives of every *alijama* ("community council") were often defined by a royal charter. The *bet din* thus derived its authority from the king through the *kahal*. The king often appointed a chief rabbi for the realm who was a grandee not necessarily expert in Jewish law, the judiciary being included within his competence. He usually sought the advice and guidance of trained Jewish jurists. The authority of the *bet din* extended to all spheres of Jewish life, social as well as individual, its judgments resting on rabbinic law. It developed a rigorous system of punishments, some of which were far removed from the legacy of ancient Jewish jurisdiction. It assumed, for instance, the right to mete out flagellation, fines (which generally went to the royal treasury), excommunication, chains, imprisonment, exile, and even bodily mutilation, such as cutting off hands or the nose, or cutting out the tongue, as well as the death penalty for *informers (*malshinim*). Hence on the basis of temporary emergency legislation many local Christian legal mores were adopted by the Jewish *bet din*.

During the period when the *Councils of the Lands had jurisdiction over the communities in Poland and Lithuania these bodies included a supreme judiciary selected from among the talmudic scholars of the main communities. In general, appellate Jewish courts existed in many lands, including Spain, Italy, Moravia, Bohemia, Austria-Hungary, and Bulgaria.

Whereas the traditional *bet din* for civil cases consisted of three judges, there were other compositions of this court ranging from one person, usually the local rabbi, to the seven *tovei ha-ir*, the elders of the community. Large cities had more than one *bet din*. A court of arbitration whereby each litigant selected one judge and these two judges appointed the third was very common. Small rural settlements which were administratively allied with a neighboring *kahal* took their litigation to the *bet din* of that *kahal*. Associations within a community, mainly those of artisans, had their own *bet din* for their members by permission of the *kahal*. On the arrival of the Spanish exiles in Turkey after the Expulsion of 1492, each congregation established its own *bet din*.

In Russia the *bet din* was especially powerful until the latter part of the 19th century. Before the abolition of the *kahal* there in 1844 the *bet din* not only applied strict penalties to guilty individuals but also had jurisdiction over the *kahal* itself in claims of individuals against it. There is even a record of the imposition of capital punishment upon two informers in Novo-Ushitsa in 1836.

The distinguishing characteristic of the medieval *bet din* was that it served as an arm of the self-governing *kahal* which possessed powers of law enforcement. As emancipation of the Jew in the modern era dissolved the corporative structure, Jews tended increasingly to resort to the general courts. Wherever the *bet din* has survived to this day it enjoys the prerogatives only of a court of arbitration whose decisions are generally upheld by the law of the country. In many countries, in particular in England and its dominions, and to a lesser degree in France, the *bet din* system, headed by the *bet din* of the chief rabbi of the country, still plays a central role in Jewish life. In Ereẓ Israel, under the mandatory government, an elaborate network of *bet din* courts was established under the Supreme Rabbinical Court in Jerusalem. The State of Israel has taken over this system, giving the *bet din* exclusive jurisdiction over the Jewish population in matters of personal status.

[Isaac Levitats]

In the State of Israel

GENERAL. A system of rabbinical courts operates in the State of Israel. In the legal system of the State, the rabbinical courts have jurisdiction over matters of marriage and divorce and additional matters related to family law. Furthermore, in an arbitration capacity they also preside over other issues in the area of civil and public law, when the both parties consent to their jurisdiction.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND. Already during the Ottoman rule in the Land of Israel the authorities conferred official recognition on the Jewish Rabbinical Courts, (at that time the regime was based on the capitulation system in which judicial jurisdiction was determined in accordance with religion or citizenship). The head of the Rabbinical Courts system was officially recognized by the Ottoman authorities.

After the Ereẓ Israel was conquered by the British, in 1922, the Kings Order in Council was enacted, conferring exclusive jurisdiction in family matter to the religious courts: Jewish, Islamic, and Christian. Jewish Rabbinical Courts were already in existence; they functioned for the duration of Jewish history. In the Ereẓ Israel the Rabbinical Courts system was established by Chief Rabbi Abraham Isaac ha-Kohen Kook of blessed memory in conjunction with the establishment of the Chief Rabbinate of the Land of Israel, established in 1921 (see remarks of Justice Z.A. Tal in HC 3269/95 *Katz v. Regional Rabbinical Court*, 50 (4) PD 590, 617, hereinafter *Katz*).

This arrangement remained in force during the first years of the State's existence, in accordance with the constitutional principle established on the day of the State's establishment. Accordingly, the Mandate Law, which had been in force in Mandate Palestine (the Land of Israel) from its conquest in 1917 and until the termination of the Mandate in 1948, would remain in force (see sec. 11 of the Law and Administration Ordinance, 5708 – 1948).

POWERS OF THE RABBINICAL COURT IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE JURISDICTION LAW. In 1953 the Knesset enacted the Rabbinical Courts Jurisdiction (Marriage and Divorce) Law, 5713 – 1953 (hereinafter – "the Jurisdiction Law"). The substantive provision of section 2 provides: "Marriages and divorces of Jews shall be performed in Israel in accordance with Jewish religious law" (*din torah*). The term "Jewish religious law" includes biblical law, rabbinic law, and regulations according to the *halakhah*. Section 1 of the aforementioned law establishes the jurisdiction of the Rabbinical Courts: "Matters of marriage and divorce of Jews in Israel, being citizens or residents of the State, shall be under the exclusive jurisdiction of the rabbinical courts."

The term "matters of marriage and divorce" includes the validity of the marriage and divorce. Accordingly the rabbinical court is the only forum competent to adjudicate and decide the personal status of a Jew, i.e., whether he is married or unmarried. This jurisdiction is limited to cases in which both of the spouses are Jewish. Where one of the spouses is Jewish and the other belongs to another religion, the judicial forum with jurisdiction to dissolve the couple's marriage is determined by the President of the Supreme Court.

Both or either of the parties file an application to the President of the Supreme Court, and the latter exercises his power only after the Attorney General gives him the written opinions of the relevant religious courts. These religious courts give their opinions in each particular file regarding whether the religious court would give a divorce judgment, or dissolve the marriage, or declare the marriage void *ab initio*. After the President of the Supreme Court receives the opinions of the relevant religious courts (of both spouses, respectively) by way of the attorney general, he decides, at his own discretion, whether to refer the matter to one of the religious courts of the spouses or to the family court (see: Matters of Dissolution of Marriage (Jurisdiction in Special Cases) Law, 5729 – 1969; Regulations for Dissolution of Marriage (Special Cases) (Procedures) 5745 – 1984).

The Law further determines the substantive law to be applied by the family court in the event that it acquires jurisdiction pursuant to the decision of the President of the Supreme Court, under the aforementioned law (sec. 5 of the Law). Where a religious court acquires jurisdiction established pursuant to the decision of the President of the Supreme Court, it will then adjudicate the case in accordance with the religious law applicable in that court. Hence, where the rabbinical court acquires jurisdiction, it will decide the matter in accordance with the Jewish Law, i.e., the *halakhah*. For example, where the case concerns a mixed marriage of a Jew with a non-Jew, the halakhic position is that the marriage is not valid, and thus in terms of the *halakhah*, there is no need for an act of divorce – because the marriage was not valid in the first place.

In 2005 the legal position applying to mixed marriages changed (see: Matters of Dissolution of Marriage (Special Cases and International Jurisdiction) (Legislative Amendments), 5765 – 2005. Section 1 of this Law comprises all of the amendments to the Dissolution of Marriage Law, from 1969. Due to the tremendous volume of applications for dissolution of marriages filed with the President of the Supreme Court, it was decided that the family court would henceforth be empowered to decide which forum would adjudicate the matter, and that the family court would have residual jurisdiction over the matter, "unless in accordance with the provisions of this Law, the religious court has jurisdiction" (section 1 (a) of the 1969 Law, as amended in section 1 (2) of the law of 2005. The 2005 amendment did not affect the procedure for requesting the opinions of the respective religious courts, except that in accordance with the amendment, the application was made by the deputy president of the Family Court, who would apply directly to the head of the relevant religious courts. Accordingly, where one of the spouses is Jewish, an application is made to the president of the Rabbinical Court of Appeals (see section 3 (a) and section 3 (g)(1) of the 1969 Law, as amended in 2005). The purpose of the application for the head of the religious court was to determine "*whether there is a need for a divorce under the religious law by which he adjudicates, even by reason of a doubt, so that the spouse to whom that religious law applies will be able to remarry*" (*section 3 (a)(1), concluding passage*). If the head of the rabbinical court rules that a divorce is required under religious law, the family court will transfer the application for the dissolution of a marriage to that rabbinical court. On the other hand, the Law further emphasizes that in such a case the conferral of application does not as such confer the rabbinical court with jurisdiction over matters included in the divorce (section 3 (c) of the Law, in the concluding passage). In this regard the Law specifies that the general rules governing jurisdiction and inclusion will continue to apply. These rules will be explained below. Should the head of the rabbinical court rule that there is no need for divorce, or if he fails to respond within three months, then the family court has jurisdiction to adjudicate the matter of dissolution of the marriage (section 3 (d) of the Law). In this respect, the new law introduced a significant innovation, because until that time the rabbinical court had exclusive jurisdiction for the determination of marital status in matters concerning Jews, and according to the new law of 2005, in such cases, the family court has jurisdiction.

For the sake of efficiency, the Law allows the head of the religious court to give a general notification to the President of the Supreme Court, stating that under specific circumstances there is no need for divorce under the religious law by which he adjudicates, as a condition for the ability of the party subject to that law to remarry. This condition obviates the need for an application to the religious court in such cases in the future (section 3 (f)). This power can be exercised in the case of a marriage between a Jew and someone who is not Jewish, for as stated above, according to the *halakhah*, mixed marriages are prohibited and invalid (see *Mixed Marriege). In the 1969 Law, the President of the Supreme Court was conferred the power to avoid determining jurisdiction for spouses belonging to different religions, "if he deems that under the circumstances, it would not be appropriate to grant a remedy to the applicant" (sec. 3 of the 1969 Law). This section was repealed in the 2005 Law. Nonetheless, upon application of one of the litigants, or the Attorney General, the President of the Supreme Court can order that the jurisdiction to dissolve the marriage should be conferred to the family court or the religious court (including, naturally, the rabbinical court) if the President is convinced that it is justified under the circumstances (section 3 (e) of the Law, as amended in 2005.

An additional condition for the jurisdiction of the rabbinical court is that the parties are "Jews in Israel, being citizens or residents of the State" (sec. 2 of the Jurisdiction Law). According to the Supreme Court's ruling it is not sufficient that both spouses be Jewish; there is a need for an additional link connected them to the State of Israel, by force of their being (physically) in Israel, and by virtue of their personal link to Israel, by being residents or citizens of Israel (see, e.g., the decision of Justice Zamir, in CA 3868/95 *Werber* v.*Werber*, 52 (5) PD 817, 843); decision of Justice M. Cheshin in HC 1480/01 *Hagag v. Rabbinical Court of Appeals*, 55 (5) PD 214, 225–226). A decision recently given by the Supreme Court (HC 6751/04 *Sabag* v. *Rabbinical Court of Appeals* (not yet published) (hereinafter – *Sabag*), concerned a Jewish couple who were married in Monaco, in both a civil and a religious ceremony. They were divorced civilly, and the women petitioned to compel her husband to give her a *get* in accordance with religious Jewish law, because according to the *halakhah*, she was still married, and hence – an *agunah*. She turned to the Israeli rabbinical court. The majority view in the Supreme Court, sitting as the High Court of Justice, was that insofar as neither of the spouses had any connection to Israel, the rabbinical court lacked jurisdiction to rule on their case, both on the question of marriage and divorce, and on the question of maintenance (per Justices A. Proccaccia, concurred with by Justice Y. Adiel). The minority view was that in order to prevent the woman becoming from an *agunah*, the rabbinical court was authorized to adjudicate the issue of maintenance, which includes the maintenance awarded under the rule of "*me'ukevet me-ḥamato le-hinaseh*" (a woman prevented from marrying for reasons dependent on the husband). For the same reason the rabbinical court was also empowered to delay the husband's departure from Israel and to make his return to Monaco conditional upon him giving high financial securities (decision of Justice E.Rubinstein in *Sabag*). The minority viewed relied on the previous ruling in HC 1796/03 *Cobani* v. *Rabbinical Court of AppealsI* (not yet published).

In 2005, a major change was introduced into the issue of the rabbinical court's jurisdiction over divorce, and its jurisdiction was extended so that it was no longer limited to spouses resident in Israel, but was also extended to six additional cases in which Jewish spouses had married under *din torah* (Jewish religious law) and in respect of which one of the following connections to the State of Israel sufficed for purposes of conferring jurisdiction to the rabbinical court, to adjudicate their divorce: (1) the defendant's place of residence is in Israel; (2) both of the spouses are Israeli citizens; (3) the plaintiff's place of residence is in Israel, provided that he/she lived there for at least one year immediately prior to the filing of the action; (4) the plaintiff's place of residence is in Israel, provided that the most recent spousal residence was in Israel; (5) the plaintiff is an Israeli citizen, and his place of residence is in Israel; (6) the plaintiff is an Israeli citizen, and lived in Israel for at least one of the two years immediately preceding the filing of the action (see section 4A (a) of the Rabbinical Courts Jurisdiction (Marriage and Divorce) Law, 5713 – 1953, which was added under section 2 of the Matters of Dissolution of Marriage (Special Cases and International Jurisdiction) (Legislative Amendments), 5765 – 2005). In addition, the Law stipulates that where a Jewish couple was married in accordance with *din torah*, and was already divorced under the laws of the external state, the rabbinical court has jurisdiction to adjudicate an action for divorce in accordance with *din torah*, and an action to remove an impediment to remarrying in accordance with *din torah,* even where only the plaintiff is an Israeli citizen (see section 4A (c) of the aforementioned law). A classic example of this kind of case is where the Jewish spouses were married outside Israel both civilly and in accordance with *din torah*, and the court of that country issued an order for civil divorce. In these cases the husband may regard himself as being at liberty to remarry who ever he wishes (under the law of that state) whereas, in the absence of a *get*, the woman continues to be a married women according to Jewish Law and therefore she prevented from remarrying, and any conjugal relations with another man will be deemed as an act of adultery, and any child born from such relations will be regarded as a *mamzer. In such a case the rabbinical court is empowered to adjudicate her divorce, provided that the wife is an Israeli citizen, even if her husband is not an Israeli citizen. This is in addition to the other six possibilities, any one of which suffices to confer jurisdiction to the rabbinical court to adjudicate the divorce action. It should further be noted and emphasized that the Law confers jurisdiction for religious divorces only. The rabbinical court is not empowered to adjudicate and rule on matters of civil divorce (section 4A (b) (2) of the aforementioned law), if an action for a civil divorce was filed in the foreign state prior to the delivery of the *get*.

Furthermore, the conferral of jurisdiction to the rabbinical court over matters of divorce is exclusively for purposes of solving the problem of *aggunot*, and accordingly the new law does not "*confer the rabbinical court with jurisdiction over matters included in divorce*" (section 4A (e) of the Law) such as maintenance, property, or child custody.

The jurisdiction conferred to the rabbinical court under the 2005 law is not only the jurisdiction over divorce, but also enables it to adopt measures prescribed by the Rabbinical Courts Law (Upholding Divorce Rulings) 5755 – 1995. These measures range from the authority to prevent the husband's exit from Israel to the authority to order imprisonment of a recalcitrant husband (see in detail in entry on *Divorce (Enforcement of Divorce in Israel). In this way the rabbinical court in Israel functions as the exclusive forum in the world that has jurisdiction to resolve the *agunah* problems of Jews who were married under *din torah*, by using the enforcement mechanism of the State of Israel including preventing exit from the State, and imprisonment.

Where the plaintiff is not in Israel, the rabbinical court still has jurisdiction to adjudicate divorce, if one of the conditions enumerated above exists. However, the Law provides that in such a case, the action must be served to the defendant outside Israel, together with a translation certified by a notary. Even where a judgment is issued due to the defendant's absence, he is permitted to apply for rehearing of the action (see section 4B of the aforementioned law).

The amendment of 2005 enables the Rabbinical Court of Appeals or one of its *dayyanim* to give a halakhic opinion regarding a *get pitturin* (divorce writ under Jewish Law) or a permit to marriage in a state abroad, provided that the rabbinical court receives a request for its halakhic opinion regarding one of these matters, and even if the Jewish spouses are not subject to the exclusive jurisdiction of the rabbinical court, but were married in accordance with *din torah.*

In order to resolve practical problems concerning *aggunot*, the law of 2005 provides that it will also apply to currently pending claims (section 3 (d) of the 2005 law). Conceivably, these could be regarded as retroactive application, but a reasonable interpretation of the law is that the issue concerns the conferral of jurisdiction in order to solve problems of *agunot*, and the impeding party has no vested right to continue impeding his /her spouse and there is therefore a moral and substantive reason for the immediate application of this Law, even with respect to currently pending actions.

The jurisdiction law also addresses additional matters pertaining to the rabbinical courts' jurisdiction:

(a) The divorce action can also include additional matters (such as maintenance and property), in which case the rabbinical court will have exclusive jurisdiction over those matters too (section 3 of the Jurisdiction Law). The case-law recognized two categories of inclusion (or attachment): (1) a matter which according to its nature and essence is included in the divorce action; (2) a matter which although not necessary a matter of personal status, but regarding which a decision is necessary for the efficient dissolution of the relations between the couple being divorced (decision of Justice M. Silberg in CA 8/59 *Goldman* v. *Goldman*, 13 PD 1085, 1091). Child custody is a matter which by its nature and essence is included in the divorce action, and therefore belongs to the first category, placing it under the jurisdiction of the rabbinical court, even if not expressly mentioned in the divorce action. (ST 1/60 *Winter* v. *Beeri*, 15 PD. 1457. in the decision of Justice M.Silberg and *dayyan* (judge in rabbinical court), Rabbi Goldsmith). To the extent that it concerns the second category of inclusion, under case-law there is a need to explicitly include the particular matter (for example maintenance for the wife, or property) in the divorce action, and in addition, according to the interpretation of the Israeli Supreme Court, the rabbinical court's exclusive jurisdiction is dependent on the fulfillment of three cumulative conditions: (1) the divorce suit filed in the rabbinical court must be *bona fide*; (2) the inclusion of the woman's maintenance or of property must be lawful; (3) the inclusion must also be *bona-fide*. The burden of proof for the fulfillment of these three conditions lies with the litigant claiming that jurisdiction resides in the rabbinical court and not the family court, because in the view of the Supreme Court, that person is attempting to deny the general jurisdiction of the territorial courts of the State and transfer it to a particularistic religious court (see e.g., decision of Justice M. Shamgar in CA *Givoli* v. *Givoli* 34 (4) PD 155). On the other hand, if the parties had already litigated the matter of maintenance and property in the rabbinical court, then the rabbinical court has jurisdiction, even if the three conditions were not fulfilled (see HC 5679/03 *Anon.* v. *State of Israel*, per President A. Barak with the concurring opinions of Y. Tirkel and Y. Adiel (not yet published). Notably, since the adoption of the principle of good faith in Israeli Law (see sec.39 of the Contracts (General Part) Law, 5733 – 1973), it has also been applied and implemented with regard to the jurisdiction of the rabbinical courts and the aforementioned criterion for inclusion (see, e.g., CA 700/81 *Paz* v. *Paz*, 38 (2) PD 736, 742 per Justice M. Elon).

(b) Section 4 of the Jurisdiction Law provides that when a woman files a claim for maintenance, unconnected to a divorce suit, or for maintenance from an estate, "the defendant's plea that the rabbinical court has no jurisdiction in the matter shall not be heard." The courts interpreted this section as meaning that the rabbinical court and the civil courts have parallel jurisdiction over the wife's maintenance when the case is unrelated to divorce. In these cases, the wife is entitled to apply to either court at her own discretion, and the forum that she turns to first acquires exclusive jurisdiction to adjudicate the matter of her maintenance. Having chosen either of these forums, she is no longer permitted to switch to another forum at a later stage.

(c) In matters of *ḥaliẓa* (levirate marriage, see *Levirate Marriage and Ḥaliẓa) and maintenance until the day of the *haliẓa* – the rabbinical court has exclusive jurisdiction (sec. 5 of Jurisdiction Law).

(d) The jurisdiction law enables consensual jurisdiction: In the specific matters of personal status over which the rabbinical court does not have exclusive jurisdiction under the Jurisdiction Law, the rabbinical court can acquire jurisdiction provided that all the parties concerned have expressed their consent to its jurisdiction (sec. 9 of the Jurisdiction Law).

The rabbinical court also has jurisdiction under other laws. For example, section 155 (a) of the Succession Law 5725 – 1965 provides that the rabbinical court is authorized to issue a succession order, a probate order, and to rule on maintenance from an estate, if all the parties concerned have given their written consent thereto (for the interpretation of this section, see also in decision of Justice M. Elon, CA 807/77 *Sobol* v. *Goldman* 33 (1) PD 789, 798 (hereinafter: *Sobol*). Similarly, the rabbinical court has exclusive jurisdiction in any matter relating to the creation or the internal management of a Wakf or a religious endowment that was established in accordance with Jewish Law (see sec. 53 (a) of the Kings Order in Council, 1922.)

THE STATE'S AUTHORIZATION FOR DECISIONS OF THE RABBINICAL COURT. In all of the matters under rabbinical court jurisdiction, the decisions and orders of the rabbinical court are enforced by the executive authority of the State, the Police and the Execution (civil) framework pursuant to section 1 of the Execution Law, 5727 – 1967. The court decisions enforced and executed by the Execution Office include decisions of a religious tribunal (including the rabbinical court). The rabbinical courts system is also empowered to summon witnesses and litigants, to issue restraining orders against leaving the country, and to impose liens. All of these powers are conferred by Knesset legislation, which even imposes the sanctions under the Contempt of Court Ordinance for a person who refuses to comply with the orders of the rabbinical court. (See: Religious Courts (Summons) Law; sections 6 and 7 of the Contempt of Court Ordinance, which applies to the rabbinical court by force of section 7A of the aforementioned law.)

In 1995 the Knesset adopted a law empowering the rabbinical courts to impose a series of sanctions, extending to imprisonment, in order to enforce a divorce judgment. (see at length in the entry *Divorce (Enforcement of Divorce in Israel).

THE LAW APPLYING IN THE RABBINICAL COURTS. Since their establishment during the period of Ottoman rule, under the British Mandate, and even after the establishment of the State of Israel, the rabbinical courts have applied and implemented Jewish Law, i.e., the Jewish religious law, which rabbinical courts have applied since ancient times. Where it concerns laws of personal status and ritual law, this phenomenon is anchored in the very act of conferring jurisdiction to rabbis, the assumption being that they will operate in accordance with the dictates of their religious convictions and will not deviate from the dictates of the *halakhah*. Hence, in the case of *Skornik v. Skornik* (CA 191/51 8 PD 141, per Justice S. Agranat) the rabbinical courts did not apply the rules of private international law, exercising instead the evidentiary and procedural rules of the halakhah (traditional Jewish law).

Both the Mandate Legislature and the Israeli Legislature recognized the rabbinical court's subordination to the Jewish religious law, and consequently they significantly curtailed the number of laws directed at the rabbinical courts. In the isolated laws containing provisions directed at the rabbinical court, the rabbinical court had a monopoly over its interpretation Nonetheless, in 1994 the Supreme Court ruled that the rabbinical courts were obligated to apply the doctrine of joint matrimonial property, a doctrine based in Israeli common-law and not the provisions of Jewish law on the matter (HC 1000/92 *Bavli* v. *Rabbinical Court of Apeals*), 48 (2) PD 221). This signaled a new direction in High Court policy, curtailing the powers of the rabbinical court by compelling it to apply Israeli Law, and as such was criticized

CIVIL LAW IN THE RABBINICAL COURTS AND A WRIT OF REFUSAL. Apart from its powers in defined areas of personal status in which Israeli Law confers jurisdiction to the rabbinical courts, it must also be remembered that throughout Jewish history rabbinical courts have always adjudicated disputes brought before them by two Jews. Today too, the rabbinical courts continue to function in this format. In such cases, from the perspective of Israeli law, these cases have the status of arbitration cases, and following the confirmation of the civil courts, the decisions are enforceable. Absent an arbitration agreement, the rabbinical court has no jurisdiction (see HC 2174/94 *Kahati* v. *Rabbinical Court of Appeals,* 50 (2) PD 214). On the other hand, signing an arbitration agreement is not required under Jewish Law, and in the State of Israel this measure is only adopted as a means of making the rabbinical court's decision enforceable under the Arbitration Law, 5728 – 1968 (see decision of Dayyan, Harav Dickhovsky, File 14603/5743, as cited in the *Weiss* case, *ibid.*, 619)

Throughout Jewish history, where people refused to litigate before the Jewish rabbinical courts, an excommunication order (*ketav siruv*) was issued against them, intended to compel the *defiant litigant* to appear before the rabbinical court and accept its jurisdiction over the case, owing to fear of the pain of excommunication should he refuse to do so. When a decision had already been given, the excommunication order was issued to enforce the compliance of the party against whom the decision was given. The ostracizing and excommunication components of the order meant that the order "served as an important sanction for the Jewish court, which while enjoying judicial autonomy all over the Jewish dispersion, nonetheless lacked the requisite coercive powers that are at the disposal of a sovereign state" (per Justice M. Elon, *Sobol*, *ibid.*, p. 803).

Despite the fact that the issue of an excommunication order by a rabbinical court had always been an accepted measure under Jewish law for ensuring compliance with a rabbinical decision, the Israeli High Court was unwilling to recognize this practice. When the Israeli rabbinical court issued a writ of refusal, and a person regarded himself as aggrieved by the order, he applied to the High Court of Justice and the latter ruled by majority opinion that the rabbinical court was not empowered to issue such orders. The High Court ruled that the rabbinical court lacked the power to issue writs of refusal, because matters of that nature exceeded the powers of the rabbinical court, as a body established by the State and operating under its laws (the view of Justices Y. Zamir and Justice D. Dorner in the aforementioned *Katz* case).

On the other hand, in his minority opinion Justice Z. Tal demurred, noting that the *ketav seruv* had been issued by rabbinical courts throughout Jewish history and there was no reason for not maintaining the institution in the State of Israel. Concededly, recourse to the *ketav seruv* should be cautious and measured, but the litigants had been directed to the rabbinical court to adjudicate their case, and the High Court of Justice was therefore unable to prevent the rabbinical court from making the declaration and issuing the excommunication order.

HIGH COURT SUPERVISION OVER THE RABBINICAL COURTS. The Rabbinical Courts are part of the Israeli Judiciary. Section 1 (b)(1) of the Basic Law: Judiciary provides stipulates: "Judicial power is vested also in the following: …a religious court (*bet din*). Section 15 (d)(4) of the same Basic Law empowers the Supreme Court, sitting as the High Court of Justice, "to order religious courts to hear a particular matter within their jurisdiction or to refrain from hearing or from continuing to hear a particular matter not within their jurisdiction, provided that the court shall not entertain an application under this paragraph if the applicant did not raise the question of jurisdiction at the earliest opportunity."

In fact, the Supreme Court exercised its supervisory powers over the rabbinical courts system when the latter exceeded the limits of their jurisdiction (ultra vires). To cite a few examples: Rabbinical adjudication where one of the parties is not Jewish, or not an Israeli resident (see: *Sabag*, *ibid.*), or adjudication by an incomplete panel (HC 7/83 *Biares v. Haifa Regional Rabbinical Court*, 38 (1) PD 673, *per* Justice M. Bejsky; *Katz,* p. 626). Moreover, if the rabbinical court operates in defiance of the rules of natural justice, and does not give each party the opportunity of submitting evidence and pleading, or acts with bias, its ruling under such circumstances will be annulled by the High Court of Justice (see, e.g., HC 10/59 *Levi* v. *Tel Aviv-Jaffa Regional Rabbinical Court*, 13 PD 1182, *per* Justices M. Silberg and Y. Zussman; HC 323/81 *Vilozni* v. *High Rabbinical Court of Appeal*, 36 (2) PD 733, 739, *per* Justice M. Elon).

In addition to the High Court of Justice, every judicial forum has jurisdiction to decide whether or not it has jurisdiction over a particular matter. Thus, both the rabbinical courts and the family courts rule on the question of their jurisdiction when the question is raised before them. In a previous decision Supreme Court held that "where one judicial body has adjudicated and ruled in good faith on a particular matter, no other judicial body has the power to entertain another claim on the same matter – regardless of the formal jurisdiction" (CA 359/75 *Yahalomi* v. *Yahalomi*, 31(2) PD 25, 27, *per* Justice Chaim Cohn). The philosophical underpinning of this rule is "the principle of mutual respect that the civil courts and the religious courts must accord each other. This mutual respect is not a question of good manners and proper behavior alone; it is vital for the existence of a properly functioning legal system, especially in the sensitive legal area of matters of personal status, in which two judicial systems have parallel jurisdiction within the same legal system" (ST 1/81 *Nagar v. Nagar*, 38(1) PD 365, 397–398, *per* Justice M. Elon). When one judicial forum rules on a jurisdictional question, it is not proper for another forum to consider the matter further, and it must abide by the decision of the first forum. Recently, the Supreme Court ruled in a majority opinion that only when there is a special reason (e.g., when there was no preliminary hearing regarding the question of jurisdiction or where the ruling of the first forum on the jurisdiction is illegal or deviates from the rules of natural justice), the other judicial forum has no jurisdiction to rule again on the question of jurisdiction (see HC 8497/00 *Feig-Felman v. Felman*, 57(2) PD 118, *per* Justice D. Beinisch, and concurring opinion of Justice T. Strasberg Cohen). The dissenting opinion was that even in these exceptional cases there was no place for conflicting rulings of the rabbinical and the family courts and that the proper procedure was to petition to the High Court of Justice it order for it to render a decision in the matter (see opinion of Justice D. Dorner, *ibid.*, pp. 142–143).

When the question is whether a particular matter falls within the jurisdiction of the rabbinical court or of the civil court, Article 55 of the King's Order in Council, 1922 sets forth a mechanism for resolving the matter, i.e., the establishment of a special tribunal composed of two Supreme Court justices and one judge from the highest level of the Rabbinical Court of Appeals (see entry Special Tribunal (*Bet Din Meyuḥad*).

RABBINICAL COURTS – COMPOSITION. The rabbinical courts comprise two levels: A regional court is located in each of the major cities in Israel. The regional court sits in panels of three judges, known as *dayyanim* (Section 8(e) of the *Dayyanim* Law). In matters that do not involve a dispute, and with regard to temporary orders, the law provides that the proceedings will be conducted before one *dayyan* only (Section 8(e), *ibid* and The *Dayyanim* Regulations (Matters that May Be Adjudicated Before a Single *Dayyan*), 5750 – 1990).

The Rabbinical Court of Appeals in Jerusalem serves as a court of appeals regarding decisions and judgments of the regional rabbinical courts. The Rabbinical Court sits in panels of no fewer than three *dayyanim*.

This structuring of trial and appellate courts is a result of the initiative of the Mandatory Government. There were those who opposed this system, citing the situation throughout all of the years of exile, in which there were rabbinical courts in every city, with no hierarchical system. Others found support for the establishment of a court of appeals in the commentary of Sforno regarding Jethro's suggestion to Moses that he appoint officers of thousands, officers of hundreds, officers of fifties and officers of tens (Exodus 18:21): "There should be four levels, each higher than the previous one: The lowest will judge first, and he who is dissatisfied with the ruling will complain to the one above him, and from the second to the third and from the third to the fourth. And thus there will be only a few who will come before you for a judgment."

During the period of the Mandatory government, an appellant argued before the Rabbinical Court that Jewish Law does not recognize a right of appeal, the Rabbinical Court ruled that the appellant had a right of appeal on the judgment "because the right of appeal was accepted as an enactment of the sages (*takkanat ḥakhamim*), and it has the same validity as our holy Torah, and one who accepts its adjudication is considered to be aware of this" (File 1/4/705, *B.* v. *A.* Collection of Rabbinical Judgments, Z. Wehrhaftig, ed., 1950, p. 71).

There was another approach in the rabbinical courts, whereby each *dayan* was entitled to maintain his independence, as part of his obligation to rule in accordance with Jewish law. Consequently, even when a judgment of that *dayyan* was overruled by the Rabbinical Court on appeal, he was of the opinion that he was not obligated to obey the Rabbinical Court of Appeals. A similar case came before the Supreme Court, and the Court expressed astonishment and reservation with respect to that opinion. The Supreme Court held that in establishing the Rabbinical Court of Appeals, a hierarchical structure was created in the rabbinical court system, under which a lower level court is not empowered to disobey the appellate level, and this was expressed in the procedural regulations of the rabbinical court (see CA 682/81 *Fried* v. *Fried* 36(2) PD 695, pp. 697–699 *per* Justice M. Landau).

APPOINTMENT OF DAYANIM. The *Dayyanim* Law, 1955, sets forth the manner of appointing *dayyanim.* The *dayyanim* are appointed by the President of the State (Section 5 of the Law), according to the recommendations of the Appointments Committee, whose composition is set forth in Section 6 of the Law, as follows: The two chief rabbis of Israel, two *dayanim* of the Rabbinical Court of Appeals, two ministers, two members of the Knesset, and two practicing advocates. The composition of this committee is very similar to the composition of the Committee for the Appointment of Judges in Israel. It is evident that the representatives of the rabbinical court system do not command a majority on the committee, and great weight attaches to the sovereign bodies of the State of Israel.

The Appointments Committee chooses *dayyanim* from among those who are qualified to serve as *dayyanim.* The first condition for qualification is Israeli citizenship (Section 3a of the *Dayanim* Law). In addition, the conditions for qualification include rabbinical ordination under the auspices of the Chief Rabbinate Council, and passing the examinations for *dayyanut* (see: Section 1 of the *Dayanim* Regulations (Conditions and Procedures for Rabbinical Ordination), 1955). The regulations even set forth the subjects of the examinations, including knowledge of Talmud and the *Posekim,* the Shulḥan Arukh, *Even ha-Ezer* and *Ḥoshen Mishpat*, drafting of a judgment in a hypothetical case and knowledge of the rules and procedures (Section 8 of the Regulations, *ibid*).

A person appointed to serve as a *dayan* by the Appointments Committee must make a declaration of allegiance before the President of the State, in the presence of the Chief Rabbis of Israel, as follows: "I pledge allegiance to the State of Israel, to dispense justice fairly, not to pervert the law and to show no favor" (Section 10 of the *Dayanim* Law).

In the State of Israel there are two chief rabbis, one Ashkenazi and one Sefaradi, who are chosen by an electoral assembly of the rabbis of the various cities and neighborhoods, mayors and public figures, as set forth in Sections 6–8 of the Chief Rabbinate of Israel Law, 1980. Pursuant to Section 16 of the law, Chief Rabbi serves for a term of 10 years, and Section 17 provides that for half of the term of office of the Chief Rabbis one of them serves as the President of the Council of the Chief Rabbinate and the other serves as the Head of the Rabbinical High Court, and in the second half of their term they exchange these positions.

STATUS OF THE DAYYANIM. The *dayyanim* enjoy the same degree of independence as any one serving in a judicial capacity in the State of Israel. Section 12 of the *Dayyanim* Law provides that "The *dayyan* shall be subject to no authority other than that of the law according to which he judges" The *dayyanim* are also accorded salaries and other benefits and pension terms similar to those of judges; the decisions regarding their salaries are made by the Knesset Finance Committee, as is the case regarding judges (Section 17 of the *Dayyanim* Law).

In this context it should be pointed out that until 2003 the rabbinical courts were part of the Ministry of Religious Affairs. With the dissolution of this ministry in 2004, the rabbinical courts were transferred to the Justice Ministry, placing them, from an administrative perspective as well, in their natural and appropriate place, i.e., the Ministry of Justice, which is responsible for the courts in the State of Israel.

An additional example of the Israel legislature's treatment of the *dayyanim* as part of the judicial system of the State of Israel is in the Commissioner for Public Complaints Against Judges Law, 2002. This law also grants the Commissioner jurisdiction over matters concerning *dayyanim* in the rabbinical courts (see Section 1 (5), the definition of "judge"). It bears emphasis that following his investigation of a complaint filed against a person serving in a judicial capacity, the Commissioner is authorized to act in one of several ways. The most serious of these is the referral of the matter to the Committee for the Appointment of Judges, in order for it to decide whether to terminate the appointment of the judge (Section 22(e) of the aforementioned law). This authority exists with respect to *dayyanim* as well, as set forth in Section 33(2) of the law, which amended the *Dayyanim* Law in this respect (see Section 16a(a) of the *Dayyanim* Law).

When the question arose before the High Court of Justice regarding whether a *dayyan* in the Rabbinical Court of Appeals could concurrently take part in political activity, the High Court of Justice ruled that a *dayyan,* as a judge, is obligated to be impartial and to merit the confidence of the public at large. Political activity is deleterious to this status and it is therefore forbidden for one serving in a judicial capacity (including a *dayyan* in a rabbinical court) to fulfill a political position, and to proffer advice to political parties (H. Cdi 732/84 *Tzaban* v. *The Minister of Religious Affairs*, 40(4) PD 141, *per* Justice A. Barak).

PROCEDURAL RULES . Even before the establishment of the State, during the British Mandatory rule, in 1943, the Council of the Chief Rabbinate established procedural rules for the rabbinical courts in Ereẓ Israel. The preparation of these rules began when Rav *Kook and Rav Jacob *Meir were serving as chief rabbis. Most of these rules have their source in the Shulḥan Arukh and the other halakhic authorities, while others were set forth by the Council of the Chief Rabbinate for Ereẓ Israel for the purpose of organizing the proceedings and as *takkanat ha-rabbim.* These rules were replaced and amended in 1960. An updated version of the rules, including amendments and improvements, was enacted in 1993. The rules cover numerous matters related to procedure, including: local jurisdiction, the means of filing a claim and submitting a defense, provisions regarding courtroom procedures and hearing evidence, temporary orders and appeals.

In 2004, the Knesset enacted a law dealing with the disqualification of a judge. This law stipulates identical provisions for judges in the general court system in the State of Israel and *dayyanim* in the religious courts, including the rabbinical courts (see Section 19A of the *Dayyanim* Law as amended pursuant to the 2004 law).

The provisions of this law are unusual, inasmuch as until it was enacted, the starting point of all reference to the rabbinical courts was the autonomy of the rabbinical courts, both regarding application of the religious law and the promulgation of procedural rules. The civil courts also operated according to internal rules or rulings of the court itself with respect to the disqualification of a judge. However, when the Knesset decided to enact legislation dealing with the disqualification of judges in the civil courts, it did so with respect to the religious courts as well, using the same terms and nearly identical provisions for all of the judicial forums in Israel, in order to achieve uniformity regarding the subject of disqualification of judges.

JUDGMENTS OF THE RABBINICAL COURTS. The rabbinical courts have handed down many judgments since the period of the Mandatory government. The early decisions did not include the reasons for the decision, but gradually the rabbinical courts, especially the Rabbinical Court of Appeals, began to provide the reasons for their decisions, even at length.

A collection of the rabbinical judgments during the Mandatory government was published by Z. Warhaftig in 1950. After the establishment of the State of Israel, the rabbinical judgments were published as official publications, under the auspices of the Ministry for Religious Affairs under the title *Piskei Din Rabbaniyyim* (PDR). Twenty volumes of the PDR have been published thus far. Since 1995, the judgments are published in *Shurat ha-Din* with eight volumes published to 2005. During the last year Rabbinical Court decisions have been published on the website: www.rbc.gov.il/judgment

A number of *dayyanim* publish their judgments in collections such as *Teḥumim*. There are *dayyanim* who write responsa including judgments that they gave while serving as *dayyanim* in the rabbinical courts (see, e.g., *Ẓiẓ Eliezer* (Rav. Eliezer Waldenburg), *Binyan Av* (Rav Eliyahu Bakshi Doron), *Shema Shelomo* (Rav. Shelomo Amar), *Mishpateha le-Ya'akov* (Rav Ẓevi Yehudah ben Ya'akov).

CONCLUSION. The *dayyanim* in the rabbinical courts in the State of Israel make up the high-quality human cadre that transmits the Jewish tradition and *halakhah* from generation to generation. In this context we will remark that two of the foremost scholars of the generation (*gedolei ha-dor*), Rabbi Ovadia Yosef and Rabbi Yosef Shalom Elyashiv, served for many years as *dayyanim* on the Rabbinical Court of Appeals and their judgments are included in the PDR.

The rabbinical courts constitute an important part of the judicial system in the State of Israel, and they deal primarily with issues of family law. As we pointed out, the status of the *dayyanim* of the rabbinical courts is very similar to that of Israel's judges, both with respect to their independence, as well as other symbols of their status.

In the framework of the overall picture, it must be remembered that aside from the rabbinical courts, which operate according to the law of the State, as explained above, there are many private rabbinical courts operating in Israel, some of them under the auspices of political or quasi political parties (such as the *Beit Din Ẓedek* of Agudath Israel; the *Beit Din Ẓedek* of *Ha-Eidah ha-Ḥaredit*), some under the auspices of the religious councils (the rabbinical court for civil matters under the auspices of the religious council in Jerusalem, which has even published numerous collections of its judgments), and some of which are rabbinical courts that have achieved renown because of the head of the court (such as the rabbinical court of Rabbi S. Wuzner and the rabbinical court of Rabbi Nissim Karlitz, both of them in Bnei Brak).

In conclusion, it may be stated that from many perspectives, the rabbinical courts in the State of Israel constitute a continuation of the Jewish judicial system that has existed throughout history. These rabbinical courts have exclusive jurisdiction in the area of marriage and divorce, and accordingly they are on the frontline regarding the need to solve practical modern problems according to *halakhah*. Even in instances in which they deal with civil matters and questions of public law, their contribution to Jewish law is great.

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BET(H)-EDEN (Heb. בית עדן), the biblical name for Bît Adini, an Aramean kingdom some 200 mi. (320 km.) northeast of *Damascus that extended along the banks of the Euphrates from the mouth of the Sâjūr River in the north to the mouth of the Balikh River in the south (see *Aram). Its capital was Til-Barsip. The name Beth-Eden appears in its entirety in Amos 1:5; the short form Eden is found in Ezekiel 27:23; and the phrase children of Eden (*benei Eden*) appears in II Kings 19:12 and Isaiah 37:12. The identification of Beth-Eden with Bît Adini is based on the fact that Beth-Eden is mentioned because of its importance along with the kingdom of Damascus (Amos 1:5). The kingdom was founded in the tenth century B.C.E., and during the first half of the ninth century was the most important Aramean kingdom in Mesopotamia. It was probably named for the father of the dynasty that founded it, and is first mentioned in the Annals of Adad-nirari II around the year 900. The biblical references to Beth-Eden belong to the period when the kingdom was an Assyrian province after being captured by Shalmaneser III (859–824) in 855 B.C.E.. A. Malamat views the expression "one who holds the scepter [i.e., a ruler] from Beth-Eden" (Amos 1:5) as a reference to Shamshši-ilu, the Assyrian governor, who, as is known from a document discovered at Til Barsip, was appointed over Beth-Eden in the time of Amos. (The toponym *byt > dn* in KAI 233: 14–15, a seventh century Aramaic letter, refers to a different locale.) The words spoken by the messengers of Sennacherib about "children of Eden who were in Telassar" (II Kings 19:12; Isa 37:12) refer to the conquests of Shalmaneser III, who resettled the children of Eden in Telassar, perhaps located in the far-away Zagros region.

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BET(H)-EL (Heb. בֵּית אֵל), Canaanite and Israelite town, 10½ mi. (17 km.) N. of Jerusalem, located at the intersection of the north-south mountain road along the watershed and the east-west road leading to the plains of Jericho and to the Coastal Plain (cf. Judg. 20:31). At present its site is occupied by the small Muslim village of Baytīn, 2,886 ft. (880 m.) above sea level. Excavations were conducted at Beth-El by W.F. *Albright and J.L. Kelso in 1927 and 1934 and resumed by Kelso in 1954, 1957, and 1961.

Settlement at Beth-El apparently began at the turn of the third millennium B.C.E., when it inherited the position of neighboring *Ai (al-Tell), which already lay in ruins. In the 16th century B.C.E. the settlement was enlarged and surrounded by an 11 ft. (3⅓ m.) thick stone wall. The biblical account of Abraham's building an altar to the Lord between Beth-El and Ai (Gen. 12:6–8) is usually assigned to this period. Beth-El's main importance, however, is derived from its traditional association with Jacob's dream. Fleeing from his brother Esau, Jacob spent the night there and dreamed he saw a ladder reaching to heaven with angels of God ascending and descending it. A voice then spoke to him and assured him of God's protection and confirmed the promise that the land on which he rested would be given to him and his descendants (*ibid.*, 28:10–22). Arising the next morning, Jacob erected a *maẓẓevah* ("sacred pillar") over which he poured oil as a thanksgiving sacrifice. The name of the place, which was formerly Luz, was now called Beth-El (i.e., "home of God"; *ibid.*, 5:19; 35:6, 15; 48:3; Josh. 18:13; according to Josh. 16:2, however, Beth-El was east of Luz).

Canaanite Beth-El continued to flourish in the Late Bronze Age (15th–14th centuries, B.C.E.), when it had commercial relations with Cyprus, indicated by the pottery finds. The remains of a house with rooms built around a large courtyard, plastered or stone flooring, and masonry sewage channels belong to this period. A burnt layer indicates that the city was captured and burned down around the first half of the 13th century B.C.E. and resettled by an Israelite population (cf. Judg. 1:22ff.; Josh. 12:16). The city was on the southern border of Ephraim (Josh. 16:1–2; 18:13; I Chron. 7:28), but it is also listed as a Benjamite town (Josh. 18:22). There was a decline in the standard of living at Beth-El during the Israelite period, when the building became cruder, but a recovery is noticeable during the reigns of David and Solomon. The stormy epoch of the Judges is reflected in three building phases, while the relatively calm period of the United Monarchy is represented in a single building phase. The Tabernacle and the Ark were set there for a while, and in the conflict with Benjamin the Israelites prayed, fasted, and offered sacrifices there. They invoked the oracle of the Urim and the answer was provided by Phinehas (Judg. 20:18, 28). Deborah lived near the city (Judg. 4:5), and Samuel visited it periodically to judge the people (I Sam. 7:16). During Saul's war with the Philistines, he concentrated his forces in the mount of Beth-El (I Sam. 13:2).

With the division of the Monarchy, Beth-El passed into the possession of Jeroboam I. In order to wean his people away from making pilgrimages to Jerusalem, he erected one of the two principal shrines of his kingdom there (the other one was at Dan), with its own priesthood. The golden calf he set there was apparently designed to serve as a substitute for the cherubim in the Temple of Jerusalem. In the same spirit he ordered the 15th day of the eighth month to be celebrated instead of the Feast of Ingathering (Sukkot), which was observed on the 15th of the seventh month in Jerusalem as the main pilgrim festival (I Kings 12:29–33). This schism aroused vehement opposition among the prophets (I Kings 13) and caused a rift between Jeroboam and Ahijah the Shilonite (I Kings 14:7ff.). The biblical story of Hiel the Bethelite, who ignored the curse of Joshua and rebuilt Jericho on its ruins (I Kings 16:34), and that of the children of Beth-El who mocked Elisha (II Kings 2:23) may serve as proof of the strained relations existing between the inhabitants of Beth-El and the prophetic circles. This antagonism assumed its most acute form in the days of Amos (3:14; 4:4; etc.) and Hosea (10:15), both of whom call Beth-El Beth-Aven ("The House of Iniquity"; Amos 5:5; Hos. 4:15; cf. Jer. 48:13).

Beth-El and its surroundings were conquered by Abijah, king of Judah, in his war against Jeroboam (II Chron. 13:19), but it was returned to Israel not later than the reign of *Baasha and remained there until the fall of the kingdom. In the eighth century B.C.E., Beth-El was enclosed by a thick wall with towers that was repaired in the following century. Even after the destruction of Samaria (721 B.C.E.), priests still served at Beth-El (II Kings 17:28) until Josiah captured it, broke down its altar, destroyed its high place, and defiled the site (II Kings 23:15). Beth-El was destroyed during the Babylonian invasion (587 B.C.E.) and remained in ruins until the Persian period. In the time of Nehemiah, it was included in the territory of Judah (Ezra 2:28; Neh. 7:32). During the Hasmonean revolt, it was fortified by the Syrian general Bacchides (I Macc. 9:50). Beth-El is not mentioned again until its capture by Vespasian in 69 C.E. (Jos., Wars, 4:551). Coins found there date only from the period between 4 B.C.E. and its capture. In the Byzantine period, Beth-El was a village in the territory of "Aelia Capitolina" (Jerusalem), located 12 (Roman) miles from the capital "on the right, as one goes to Neapolis" (Eusebius, Onom. 192 etc.). The Christian traveler the Pilgrim of Bordeaux (333 C.E.) and the Christian writer Theodosius (c. 503 C.E.) also refer to it. According to Jerome (fifth century) a church was erected at Beth-El. On the Madaba Map "Luzah, which is also Beth-El" is also represented as a village north of Jerusalem. Very few remains of the Roman and Byzantine periods have been discovered at the site.

[Michael Avi-Yonah]

Modern Beit El

Beit El (Heb. בֵּית אֵל) is a settlement in the Judean hills, northeast of Ramallah. The first settlers, numbering 17 families, took over an army base in 1977. Subsequently the community divided into two settlements: Beit El Alef was a residential religious community and Beit El Bet a yeshivah community. Over the years, new religious settlers joined both settlements, until in 1997 the two were united again under a single municipal council. In 2002 the combined population was 4,410. As the seat of a regional council, Beit El provided a variety of social and educational services. There were also some private businesses, stores, restaurants, and light industry, most notably the Beit El tefillin factory.

[Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

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BET ESHEL (Heb. בֵּית אֶשֶׁל), former Jewish settlement in southern Israel, southeast of Beersheba. It was founded in 1943 as one of the first three observation outposts in the Negev. The settlers, immigrants from Central Europe, lived as a kibbutz but intended to make Bet Eshel a moshav. They succeeded in growing grain crops with dry farming methods. A water well drilled at the spot enabled them also to grow vegetables and plant fruit orchards, thus proving the feasibility of agricultural settlement in the northern Negev. In the Israel War of Independence, Bet Eshel was besieged for over 10 months (December 1, 1947–October 21, 1948). It suffered heavy losses and was destroyed by continuous shelling. After the lifting of the siege, the settlers consented to leave and they established moshav Ha-Yogev in the Jezreel Valley. "Bet Eshel" means "House of the Tamarisk," this tree being characteristic of the Beersheba desert flora.

[Efraim Orni]

BET GARMU, family of bakers who supervised the preparation of the showbread (*leḥem ha-panim*) in the Temple (Shek. 5:1; Tosef., Yoma 2:5). The Mishnah states that the memory of the family was held in disrepute because they would not teach others how to prepare the showbread (Yoma 3:11). According to one *baraita*, "the sages sent for specialists from Alexandria of Egypt, who knew how to bake as well as they, but they did not know how to remove the loaves from the oven as well as the Bet Garmu," and some report that "their bread became moldy" (Tosef., loc. cit., Yoma 38a). According to Tosefta *Yoma* 2:5, Bet Garmu agreed to return to work only after their remuneration was doubled. Other traditions report that they justified their refusal to teach their art to others, saying: "Our family knows that the Temple will be destroyed and perhaps an unworthy man will learn the process and use it for idolatrous worship" (Tosef., loc. cit.). The same source praises the family for never using bread made of fine quality flour, lest they be suspected of eating the holy showbread.

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[Isaiah Gafni]

BET GUVRIN (Heb. בֵּית גּוּבְרִין).

(1) A prominent city in the period of the Second Temple, located in the southern Shephelah. Ancient Bet Guvrin rose to importance after the destruction of Maresha (Marissa) by the Parthians in 40 B.C.E. Betabris, mentioned by Josephus (Wars, 4:447) as one of two villages taken by the Romans in 68 C.E. "right in the heart of Idumea," may possibly refer to Bet Guvrin. The city began expanding following the Bar Kokhba revolt, during the second half of the second century C.E., with the construction of public and administrative buildings. In 199/200 C.E. Septimus Severus conferred on it the privileges of a Roman city and called it Eleutheropolis ("the city of freemen"). The city of that period covered an area of about 160 acres, and topographically it extended mainly over a hill located south of the present-day highway between Bet Shemesh and Ashkelon, with the northern extension of the city built on a low plain. Two aqueducts and an underground tunnel supplied water to the city. The Midrash (Gen. R. 41:10) interprets Mt. Seir of the "Horites" (Gen. 14:6) as Eleutheropolis – an interpretation based on a play of words, since *Ḥori* means both "freeman" and "cave dweller" and the Bet Guvrin region abounds in large caves. Severus also granted the new city a large area encompassing the districts of Bethletepha, western Edom, and Hebron as far as En-Gedi, which made it the largest single region in Roman times, with over a hundred villages. Bet Guvrin also had its own system of dating and coinage. The wealth of its inhabitants is attested to by a mosaic pavement of a Roman house from the fourth century C.E. which depicts a hunting expedition, with representations of animals and the personifications of the four seasons. Public buildings have been uncovered in recent excavations, including a bath house with double arches and a system of vaults made of ashlars with Severan-type stone dressing, and an amphitheater which was built on flat ground on the northwest edge of the city. The amphitheater has an elliptical plan and was erected during the second half of the second century C.E. Eleutheropolis suffered a severe earthquake in 363 C.E., at which point the amphitheater fell into disuse. The *tanna* Judah b. Jacob (Tosef., Oho. 18:15, 16) and the *amora* Jonathan (TJ, Meg. 1:11, 71b) resided at Bet Guvrin and there were still Jewish farmers in its vicinity in the fourth century. The place was regarded as being outstandingly fertile and the rabbis applied to it the verse from Isaac's blessing of Esau: "And the dew of the heaven above" (Gen. 27:39; Gen. R. 68:6). In matters of *halakhah*, Bet Guvrin was regarded as belonging to Edom and was therefore exempt from the commandments applying only to Ereẓ Israel (TJ, Dem. 2:1, 22c; TJ, Shev. 8:11, 38b). The talmudic region Darom (Gr. *Daromas*) was within the area of Bet Guvrin. An inscription found there records the donation of a column to the local synagogue in Byzantine times. Eleutheropolis appears on the Madaba mosaic map of the mid-sixth century C.E. Excavations have uncovered the mosaic pavements of two churches from this period; it was an Episcopal see from the fourth century or earlier. The city flourished in the Early Islamic period as archaeological finds testify. Clusters of burial caves from the Late Roman, Byzantine, and Early Islamic periods have been uncovered in excavations around the city. The castle of Bayt Jibrin was apparently constructed around 1134 and was granted to the Hospitalers by King Fulk of Anjou late in 1136; a civilian settlement subsequently developed around the castle. Sacked by the Moslems in 1158, the castle was eventually abandoned to Salah-a-Din (*Saladin) in 1187. A church belonging to this castle has recently been uncovered. In 1171, Benjamin of Tudela reported three Jewish families living there.

[Michael Avi-Yonah / Efraim Orni / Shimon Gibson (2nd ed.)]

(2) Kibbutz in the southern Judean Foothills, on the Ashkelon-Hebron road. Bet Guvrin is affiliated with Ha-Kibbutz ha-Me'uḥad. In 1949, after the large Arab village of Beit (Bayt) Jibrīn was abandoned by its inhabitants in the War of Independence, the present settlement was established. Most of its settlers were Israeli-born and its economy was based primarily on field crops, orchards, milch cattle, and poultry. Over the years the kibbutz also developed a tourist industry, which included visits to the Bet Guvrin caves, catering, a swimming pool, three hostels, and outdoor activities. In 2002 the population of the kibbutz was 231.

[Efraim Orni / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Neubauer, Géogr, 122–4; Y.Z. Horowitz, *Ereẓ Yisrael u-Shekhenoteha* (1923), s.v.; S. Klein (ed.), *Sefer ha-Yishuv* (1939), s.v.; Vincent, in: RB, 31 (1922), 259ff.; Abel, *ibid.*, 33 (1924), 593; Beyer, in: ZDPV, 54 (1931), 209ff. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** E.D. Oren and U. Rappaport, "The Necropolis of Maresha-Beth Govrin," in: *Israel Exploration Journal*, 34 (1984): 114–153; Y. Dagan, M. Fischer and Y. Tsafrir, "An Inscribed Lintel from Bet Guvrin," in: *Israel Exploration Journal*, 35 (1985): 28–34; D. Urman, "Beth Govrin: A History of a Mixed Population During the Mishnah and Talmud Period," in: E. Stern and D. Urman (eds.), *Man and Environment in the Southern Shepelah: Studies in Regional Geography and History*," (1988), 151–162; D. Pringle, *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem*. vol. 1: A–K. (1993), 95–101, s.v. Beit Jubrin; Y. Tsafrir, L. Di Segni, and J. Green, *Tabula Imperii Romani. Iudaea – Palaestina. Maps and Gazetteer* (1994), 118–119; A. Kloner and A. Hubsch, "The Roman Amphitheatre of Bet Guvrin: A Preliminary Report on the 1992, 1993 and 1994 Seasons," in: *Atiqot,* 30 (1996), 85–106; J. Magness and G. Avni, "Jews and Christians in a Late Roman Cemetery at Beth Guvrin," in: H. Lapin (ed.), *Religious and Ethnic Communities in Late Roman Palestine* (1998), 87–114.

BET HA-EMEK (Heb. בֵּית הָעֵמֶק), kibbutz in northern Israel, northeast of Acre, affiliated with Iḥud ha-Kibbutzim. Bet ha-Emek was founded on Jan. 4, 1949, by young survivors of the Holocaust from Hungary and Slovakia. Later, immigrant youth from England and Holland joined the settlement to form the majority of its members. The kibbutz has a number of cultural institutions set up with contributions from England and other countries. In addition to highly intensive farming (field crops, fruit plantations, dairy cattle and poultry), Bet ha-Emek had a plant laboratory and biomedical, silk, and shoe factories. A nearby mound is supposed to be identical with biblical Beth-Emek (Josh. 19:27), which belonged to the tribe of Asher and was also inhabited in the time of the Talmud. The village ʿAmqa, abandoned by its Arab inhabitants during the War of Independence (1948), preserved the ancient name; and antique columns, capitals, ashlars, etc. were used in the construction of its dwellings. In 1970 Bet ha-Emek numbered 286 inhabitants; in 2002 the population was 444.

[Efraim Orni]

BET HA-LEVI (Heb. בֵּית הַלֵּוִי), moshav in central Israel in the Ḥefer Plain, founded in 1945 by settlers from Bulgaria. Its economy was mainly based on citrus plantations, garden crops, and milch cattle. In 2002 the population of Bet ha-Levi was 502. The village bears the name of *Judah Halevi.

[Efraim Orni]

BET ḤANAN (Heb. בֵּית חָנָן), moshav in central Israel, west of Nes Ẓiyyonah, founded in 1930 by settlers from Bulgaria. Its economy was based on citrus plantations, poultry, milch cattle, and other farm products. In 2002 the population of Bet Hanan was 534. The village's name resembles the former Arabic denomination of the site "Wadi Ḥanīn."

[Efraim Orni]

BETHANY (Heb. **Bet Aniyya**, **Bet Hananyah**), a village about 1¾ mi. (3 km.) E. of Jerusalem, frequently mentioned in the Gospels (Mark 11:1; 14:3; Matt. 21:17; Luke 19:29; etc.). According to Christian tradition, it was the home of the sisters Mary and Martha, with whom Jesus lodged, and the scene of the resurrection of their brother Lazarus after he had been interred for four days (John 11). At the end of the fourth century, the Byzantines built a church and adjoining monastery at Bethany which was renovated in the following century. It was named after Lazarus, and from this comes the Arabic name of the village, al-ʿAzariyya. During the Crusader period, the church was regarded as the property of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher, and it underwent extensive alterations. It was destroyed in the 16th century and a Greek monastery stands in its place. The ancient site of the church was apparently near the present Catholic monastery Ra's al-Shayyāḥ. Remains of ancient buildings and tombs dating from the period of the Second Temple and later have been uncovered there. A cistern from the Second Temple period, which served as a shrine in Byzantine times, has Christian-Greek graffiti on its plastered walls. It was discovered in 1949–53 together with oil presses, cisterns, and numerous tombs of later periods.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: G. Dalman, *Sacred Sites and Ways* (1935), index; Benoit and Boismard, in: RB, 58 (1951), 200–50; S.J. Saller, *Excavations at Bethany* (1957).

[Michael Avi-Yonah]

BETHAR (Betar) (Heb. בֵּיתָר), *Bar Kokhba's last stronghold in his war against Rome. It is identified with Khirbet al-Yahūd ("ruins of the Jews"), an area of ruins on the summit of a steep hill, northwest of the Arab village of Battīr which has preserved the ancient name. Bethar is mentioned in the Septuagint in a verse added after Joshua 15:59 (Βαιθηρ) together with several other cities of Judah, including Beth-Lehem. It also appears in a manuscript of the Septuagint (Version "A") after Beth-Shemesh in the list of Levitical cities in I Chronicles 6:44. The various transliterations of the name in the Septuagint and in Eusebius (*Historia Ecclesiastica* 4:6) – Bitter, Better – seem to indicate that it was originally called Bet-Ter (בֵּית־תֵּר). In aggadic literature the name has been preserved in the Aramaic Bei-Ter (בֵּי־תֵר).

Bethar lies on a rocky spur 7 mi. (11 km.) southwest of Jerusalem; it is bounded by the Rephaim Valley on the east, north, and west. The upper part of the hill, c. 2,300 ft. (700 m.) above the level of the Mediterranean, constitutes the tongue of a plateau, sloping gradually to the north to the steep drop of the Sorek Brook c. 490 ft. (150 m.) above the bottom of the valley. The northern half of the spur may have served as an area of orchards of the ancient town and contains few building remains. A spring, the source of water of ancient Bethar and at present of the Arab village of Battīr, flows from a rock southeast of the spur. Part of a defaced Latin inscription on the rock near the mouth of the spring mentions the Roman legions V Macedonica and XI Claudia, which participated in the siege of Bethar. Since Hadrian was forced to bring these legions from the northern part of the Empire this probably indicates the extent of the difficulties that the Romans suffered in overcoming the revolt. The site has been investigated by various explorers since the 19th century, notably by V. Guérin in 1863, who made the identification of Battir with Bethar, and by C. Clermont-Ganneau in the 1870s, who was the first to note the Latin inscription at the spring. Explorers and archaeologists who studied the site include: Germer-Durand (1894); Zickermann (1906); Caroll (1923); Alt (1927); Reifenberg (1950); S. Yeivin (1944–46); Kochavi (1968); and Z. Yeivin (1970s). This work indicated that the summit of Khirbet el-Yehud was surrounded by a fortified wall, with aerial photographs and ground surveys showing the existence of a Roman siege system, comprising a surrounding circumvallation wall and two Roman camps to the south, and with pottery evidence suggesting that archaeological remains at the site date not just from the Roman period but also to as early as the Iron Age II (7th–6th centuries B.C.E.).

In 1984 excavations were conducted at the site by Tel Aviv University under the direction of D. Ussishkin, and the history of the site and its features are now more or less clear. Access to the site was from the southeast with a path linking it to its agricultural hinterland and to the spring and its irrigated terraces. The fortifications visible around the site of Khirbet el-Yehud, encompassing an area of about 10 acres (40 dunams), did indeed date from the time of Bar Kokhba and showed evidence of having been hastily built. The surrounding defense wall had at least six semi-circular towers and three square ones. Segments of the curtain walls and three towers were uncovered during the excavations. Pottery, slingstones, iron arrowheads, and a few coins dated from the time of Bar Kokhba.

With the outbreak of the revolt, Bethar was chosen as Bar Kokhba's headquarters because it was situated close to Jerusalem, it was strategically located above the main road running between Jerusalem and Gaza, it had a spring with an abundant source of water, and it was provided with natural defenses by deep valleys on three sides. The settlement could have had a population of between 1,000 and 2,000 individuals. Bethar was Bar Kokhba's last bastion, but it appears from the careless and inconsistent way that the fortifications were built that they were erected not long before the siege by the Romans. It would appear that most of the defenders' efforts went into cutting a moat at the southern approach to the site to render difficulties to the attacking Romans. The reference to the men "who went down to the rampart of Bethar" (Tosef., Yev. 14:15) may refer specifically to the southern side of the site. No archaeological evidence however exists at the site for a siege ramp. The Romans built a surrounding circumvallation siege wall and two rectangular camps, and it would appear that one section of the siege wall succeeded in cutting off the settlement from its spring. No historical account exists relating to the actual battle at Bethar, but the discovery of unused slingstones on the top of the wall suggests that the subjugation of Bethar may have been quite rapid. Following the conquest of Bethar, its inhabitants were slaughtered and the town was razed and never rebuilt.

In Israel's 1949 armistice agreement with Jordan, most of the village, together with the historical mound, remained on the Jordanian side, but the railway line at the bottom of the gorge and a narrow strip of land with a number of houses and gardens on its southern side were included in Israel territory. A certain area with a few dozen inhabitants belonged to Israel from 1948 but from 1967 the bulk of the village, with 1,445 inhabitants, became part of the territory under Israel administration. In recent years the village has been designated as part of the territory falling under Palestinian administration.

[*Encyclopaedia Hebraica* / Shimon Gibson (2nd ed.)]

A town with a similar name, Bethar Illit, was established nearby, 6 miles (10 km.) from Jerusalem, on the southwest side of the Judean hills. The settlement was the first town established under the program for public housing for the ultra-Orthodox population. Founded in 1988, it received municipal council status in 1990 and absorbed newcomers mainly from Jerusalem and Bene-Berak. In 2003 the population was 22,926.

[Efraim Orni / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

BIBLIOGRAPHY: J.K. Sepp, *Jerusalem und das Heilige Land*, 1 (1873), 647ff.; Zickermann, in: *ZDPV*, 29 (1906), 51ff.; Schuerer, Gesch, 1 (1901^{3}), 693ff.; Carroll, in: AASOR, 5 (1925), 77ff.; Schulten, in: *ZDPV*, 56 (1933), 180ff.; Reifenberg, in: *Archaeology*, 3 (1950), 40ff. D. Ussishkin, "Betar: The Last Stronghold of Bar-Kokhba," *Bulletin of the Anglo-Israel Archaeological Society*, 6 (1986–87): 49–50; idem, "Archaeological Soundings at Betar, Bar-Kokhba's Last Stronghold," in: *Tel Aviv*, 20 (1993): 66–97; B. Bagatti, *Ancient Christian Villages of Judaea and Negev*, (2002), 27–28; P. Schäfer (ed.), *The Bar Kokhba War Reconsidered. New Perspectives on the Second Revolt Against Rome* (2003); Y. Tsafrir, L. Di Segni, and J. Green, *Tabula Imperii Romani. Iudaea – Palaestina. Maps and Gazetteer.* (1994), 86–87.

BET(H)-HARAM (or **Haran**) (Heb. בֵּית הָרָם, הָרָן), town in the Jordan Valley, N. of the Dead Sea, allotted by Moses to the tribe of Gad and included in the list of its cities (Num. 32:36; Josh. 13:27). It is possibly mentioned in the Egyptian Execration Texts of the 18th century B.C.E. In the Talmud, Beth-Haram is identified with Bet ha-Ramta (TJ, Shev. 9:2, 38d; cf. Shab. 26a) which is also mentioned by Eusebius (Onom. 48:14) as Betharamphtha. *Herod Antipas, who fortified the city, called it Livias, in honor of the empress Livia, and also Julias, as soon as Livia became a member of the Julian imperial family. In 56 C.E. *Agrippa II received Livias and its district from the emperor Nero (Jos., Wars, 2:59, 168, 252; Jos., Ant., 18:27; 20:159). Beth-Haram was the headquarters of a region as late as the Byzantine period. Springs and groves are reported to have existed in its vicinity. The Hellenistic and Roman cities are situated on Tell al-Rāma, in the lower Jordan Valley, which has preserved the ancient name; the Israelite city has been located by Nelson Glueck at Tell Iktanū nearby.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: EM, S.V.; Glueck, in: AASOR, 25–28 (1951), 389–95; Press, Ereẓ, 1 (1951), 82; Aharoni, Land, index.

[Michael Avi-Yonah]

BET ḤARODON, locality 3 mi. (5 km.) S. of Jerusalem. It was on the road leading to Bukei'a in the wilderness where the he-goat that was allotted to *Azazel in the Temple ritual on the Day of Atonement was pushed to its death from a cliff (Yoma 4:2ff.; Yoma 66bff.). It has been identified with Khirbat Ḥarazān near the wilderness of Ẓuq. Bet Ḥarodon is also mentioned (in the form Ḥarodona) in a marriage contract from 117 C.E., written in Aramaic, found in the *Murabbaʿat cave.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Avi-Yonah, Geog, 104, 226; P. Benoit et al., *Les Grottes de Murabbaʿat* (1961), 111.

[Michael Avi-Yonah]

BETHBASI (Βηθαλαγα), locality in Judea identified with Khirbat Beit Bassa southeast of *Bethlehem, where *Simeon b. Mattathias the Hasmonean was besieged by the Syrian general *Bacchides. Simeon managed to raise the siege by burning Bacchides' war engines (I Macc. 9:62–64; cf. Jos. *Antiq.* XIII, 26). Bethbasi is also mentioned in a document from Murabba'at (115, 2). The ruins of Khirbat Beit Bassa consist of fragmentary structures, terraces, cisterns, and at least one rock-hewn stepped *mikveh* with a double entrance from the Second Temple period. No fortifications are discernible.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Abel, in: RB, 34 (1925), 211ff.; P. Benoit, et al., *Les Grottes de Murabbaʿat* (1961), no. 24. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** M. Kochavi (ed.), *Judaea, Samaria and the Golan: Archaeological Survey 1967–1968* (1972), 42, Site 29; D. Amit, *Ritual Baths from the Second Temple Period in the Hebron Hills* (1996); Y. Tsafrir, L. Di Segni, and J. Green, *Tabula Imperii Romani. Iudaea – Palaestina. Maps and Gazetteer.* (1994), 80.

[Michael Avi-Yonah / Shimon Gibson (2nd ed.)]

BETHE, HANS ALBRECHT (1906–2005), nuclear physicist and Nobel Prize laureate in physics (1967). Bethe was born in Strasbourg, Alsace-Lorraine. He studied physics at Frankfurt-am-Main University and received his Ph.D. in theoretical physics at Munich University in 1928. He held successive appointments at the universities of Munich, Stuttgart, and Tubingen. He emigrated to England in 1933 because his mother was Jewish, but he never acknowledged any personal Jewish affiliation. After a temporary appointment at Manchester University and a fellowship at Bristol University, he became assistant professor at Cornell, Ithaca, in the U.S., in 1935. He was full professor in 1937–75 and then professor emeritus. In 1943–46 he worked in Los Alamos on the Manhattan Project as director of the theoretical physics division. His work in theoretical physics led to the Nobel Prize for his studies on atomic structure in general and more specifically for elucidating the sequence of energy-creating nuclear reactions in stars which culminate in helium production. His many awards include the Presidential Medal in 1948 and the Max Planck Medal in 1955. He was a member of the President's Science Advisory Committee in 1956–64 and in 1958 was scientific adviser to the U.S. at the Geneva test ban talks. In the 1980s and 1990s he campaigned for international control and peaceful use of nuclear energy. The books he wrote between 1955 and 1964 remain important sources of information on nuclear particle interactions and quantum theory.

[Michael Denman (2nd ed.)]

BET ḤERUT (Heb. בֵּית חֵרוּת; "Home of Freedom"), moshav in central Israel, in the Ḥefer Plain, founded in 1933. The settlers, mostly from East and Central Europe, transformed their village in 1966 from a regular moshav into a moshav shittufi. Its economy was based on citrus plantations, garden crops, and milch cattle. In 1970 Bet Ḥerut numbered 290 inhabitants, more than doubling to 616 by 2002.

[Efraim Orni]

BETH HATEFUTSOTH – The Nahum Goldmann Museum of the Jewish Diaspora.

The idea of a museum to depict the Jewish Diaspora throughout the ages, and in all its various phases, was first suggested by Dr. Nahum Goldmann at a meeting of the World Jewish Congress held in Stockholm in 1959. The museum was opened in Tel Aviv on May 15, 1978, the 30th anniversary of the State of Israel.

Beth Hatefutsoth is unique among museums in the world in the field of the humanities. It contains no artifacts or historical relics and aims at presenting a kaleidoscope of Jewish history and life during 2,500 years of Diaspora through the use of the most varied and innovative techniques.

The permanent exhibit is not presented in chronological or geographical order but is divided into six thematic sections, the originator of which was the Israeli poet Abba Kovner, and it conveys a comprehensive picture of the spiritual and social life of Diaspora Jewry. The six sections are The Family, The Community, Faith, Culture, Among the Nations, and The Return. A seventh section, the Chronosphere, is a hall resembling a planetarium on whose dome and walls an audio-visual display of Jewish history is projected by a battery of 35 synchronized projectors, providing an overall historical and chronological frame of reference.

Four study areas are installed in various sections of the permanent exhibit. Each contains five two-seat booths in which short documentary films on topics related to the subject-matter of the museum can be selected by the visitor from a catalogue and viewed on TV-size screens. Each study area has also a booth containing a computer screen terminal. The computer's memory contains information on Jewish Diaspora communities around the world, and the visitor can "converse" with the computer and request information concerning these communities.

A central architectural feature of the four-story building is the Memorial Column, suspended from the museum's roof. At the base of the somber pillar is a specially illustrated volume, *Scrolls of Fire*, recounting episodes of Jewish martyrdom.

In addition to the permanent exhibit, Beth Hatefutsoth presents several temporary exhibitions every year, all related to Diaspora Jewish life and history. These exhibitions are displayed in the Temporary Exhibitions Gallery and in the Foyer. In 1981 the "Jewish Heritage in the Eye of the Camera" attracted entries from Jewish communities the world over.

The exhibitions at Beth Hatefutsoth have become the basis for a dynamic network of educational and cultural activities. Lectures, symposia, study-days and seminars take place regularly in the museum's B'nai Zion auditorium. Thousands of Israeli high school children regularly visit Beth Hatefutsoth for special study programs led by the museum's Youth Division. A special department is charged with organizing study days and seminars for Jewish youth from the Diaspora. This operation, involving thousands of students each year, is run jointly with the World Jewish Congress and is conducted in English, French, Spanish and Portuguese. As such, the museum functions not as an Israeli museum but as a museum of the Jewish people.

Organizations of Friends of Beth Hatefutsoth have been established in various countries to assist the museum with special projects. The major portion of the finance for the establishment of the museum was donated by the Council of Organizations of the United Jewish Appeal in New York. The building was designed by the Israeli architects Eliahu Gwircman and Itzhak Yashar, following an international competition in which the renowned architect Mies van der Rohe headed the panel of judges. The planning of the museum's contents was entrusted to a team consisting of Karl Katz of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (chairman), Abba Kovner, Professor Bezalel Narkiss, head of the Fine Arts Institute at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem, Paul Kedar, later Israel consul-general in New York, and Jesaja Weinberg, director-general of Beth Hatefutsoth who was in charge of the entire project from 1970. Dr. Geoffrey Wigoder and Dr. Ely Ben-Gal also participated in programmatic planning. An Academic Committee drawn from the faculty of Tel Aviv University and headed by Professor Shlomo Simonsohn, then rector of the university, guided the planning work. Advisory contacts were maintained with Professors Salo W. Baron and Meyer Schapiro of Columbia University. The exhibit was designed by two noted international experts – Charles Forberg of New York and James Gardner of London. Dozens of artists and craftsmen from Israel, England, and the United States were involved in the production of the exhibits.

In 1996 Beth Hatefutsoth launched its online site, aiming to serve as a link between Jews in the Diaspora and Israel. The site includes virtual exhibitions and information about the museum's activities as well as various data bases.

WEBSITE: www.bh.org.il.

[Geoffrey Wigoder]

BET HILLEL (Heb. בֵּית הִלֵּל), moshav in northern Israel, in the Ḥuleh Valley, founded in 1940 as one of the settlements then being established on the periphery of the then Ḥuleh swamp. It suffered heavy damage in the War of Independence (1948) and was subsequently rebuilt by a group of demobilized soldiers. The population was composed of immigrants from Eastern Europe and other areas. Its economy was based on milch cattle, field crops, and fruit orchards. Guest facilities were also opened there. In 2002 the population of Bet Hillel was 550. The settlement was named after Hillel *Joffe.

[Efraim Orni]

BET HILLEL AND BET SHAMMAI, two schools of exposition of the Oral Law, named after *Hillel and *Shammai who lived at the end of the first century B.C.E. and the beginning of the first century C.E. These two schools existed from the time of these two sages, their founders, until the second generation after the destruction of the Second Temple, i.e., until the beginning of the second century C.E. Tannaitic literature, the *halakhah*, the halakhic Midrashim, and the *aggadah* record the numerous controversies which took place between Bet Shammai and Bet Hillel. These debates comprise the principal content of the Oral Law in the last two to three generations of the Second Temple period. Very little is extant of the teachings of individual scholars as they are frequently cited as part of the overall teachings of Bet Shammai and Bet Hillel. Many of the *halakhot* and tannaitic controversies dating from the generation of Jabneh (c. 70 C.E.) are probably, and a large number are explicitly, based on the views of Bet Hillel which were adopted as the *halakhah* in opposition to those of Bet Shammai (see below), while numerous anonymous *halakhot* are extant which may once have been the subject of dispute between Bet Shammai and Bet Hillel.

Their controversies are concerned with four areas.

(1) Halakhic decisions based on judgment and on logical reasoning. For example, in discussing the order of the blessings in the *Kiddush* for Sabbaths and festivals, Bet Shammai declares that the blessing is to be said first over the day (i.e., the Sabbath or festival) and then over the wine; whereas Bet Hillel maintains that the blessing is to be said first over the wine and then over the day (Ber. 8:1). Again, Bet Shammai contends that a woman may not remarry on the evidence of a "mere voice" (i.e., the voice of someone who, testifying to the death of the husband, cannot be identified), while Bet Hillel holds that she may remarry on the basis of such evidence (Yev. 122a).

(2) Determining the "fences" around prohibitions, and the extent to which a prohibition is to be applied. For exam-

ple, with regard to spiced oil, Bet Shammai declares it liable to tithing by one who buys it from an *am ha-areẓ (a person who in his ignorance is not scrupulous in observing the laws concerning priestly and levitical dues), whereas Bet Hillel exempts it (Dem. 1:3). If one slaughters with a scythe with a forward movement (i.e., not against the serrated edge), Bet Shammai maintains that the slaughtering is invalid, while Bet Hillel declares it valid (Ḥul. 1:2).

(3) Halakhic Midrashim. For example, Bet Shammai maintains that in the evening a man should recline (on his side) and recite the *Shema*, and in the morning he should stand, according to the verse (Deut. 6:7), "When thou liest down, and when thou risest up." Bet Hillel, however, declares that a man should recite it as it suits him, since it states (*ibid.*), "When thou walkest by the way." Why then does the biblical verse state, "When thou liest down, and when thou risest up?" This means at the times when people customarily lie down and at the time they rise up (Ber. 1:3). Again, Bet Shammai states: "A man should not divorce his wife unless he finds some unchastity in her, since it says: 'because he hath found some unseemly thing in her" (Deut. 24:1), but Bet Hillel states: even if she has merely spoilt his food, since it says: "because he hath found something unseemly in her" (i.e., anything the husband personally finds unfitting) (Git. 9:10).

(4) *Aggadah*, religious philosophy, and ethics. For example, Bet Shammai asserts that it were better if man had not been created at all, whereas Bet Hillel maintains that it is better for man to have been created than not (Er. 13b).

Only three controversies between Hillel and Shammai themselves have been preserved, but more than 350 are reported between Bet Hillel and Bet Shammai, most of which are in the *Zera'im*, *Mo'ed*, *Nashim*, and *Tohorot* sections of the Mishnah. They deal with personal life, with blessings and prayers, the separation of priestly dues and tithes, marriage and divorce, levitical cleanness and abstinence, and in a very few instances with sacrifices and the priestly service, and with civil and capital cases. In some of these controversies Shammai himself disputes the opinions of both Bet Shammai and Bet Hillel (Eduy. 1:7, 8, 10, 11). In several instances where the view opposed to that of Bet Shammai is quoted anonymously (*tanna kamma*) or in the name of the sages (Ber. 6:5; Dem. 3:1), the version is late as this is how the opinion of Bet Hillel was recorded after it had been adopted as the definitive ruling. Proof of this is found in a number of cases where the view of the *tanna kamma* or of the sages quoted in a Mishnah occurs in a *baraita* as that of Bet Hillel (cf. Ter. 4:3, with Tosef., Ter. 5:3, et al.). Generally, Bet Shammai is mentioned before Bet Hillel, and tradition sees in this an expression of the latter's humility (Er. 13b).

Many of the controversies between the two schools took place in Second Temple times. There is, for example, the argument whether on a festival hands could be laid on burnt and peace offerings, a subject on which Hillel and Shammai themselves held conflicting views (**Semikhah* on Sacrifices). A dispute concerning this *halakhah* took place in the forecourt of the Temple between Hillel and the pupils of Bet Shammai, and between them and those of Bet Hillel. On this question, the *halakhah* was decided during the existence of the Second Temple (Ḥag. 2:3; Tosef., Ḥag. 2:10–12; and parallel passages). During this period Bet Shammai once achieved ascendancy over Bet Hillel in the Temple Chamber of Hananiah b. Hezekiah b. Garon with the adoption of the "Eighteen Measures" – restrictive decrees that increased the barrier between Jews and non-Jews (TJ, Shab. 1:7, 3c; and parallel passages). This event is believed by several scholars to have taken place shortly before the destruction of the Second Temple. The early date of other controversies is evident from the conflicting views of *tannaim* living in the period of the destruction of the Second Temple in formulating the disputes between Bet Shammai and Bet Hillel (Tosef., Pe'ah 3:2). There are, however, controversies about problems raised by the destruction of the Temple, e.g., procedure at the time of removal of **ma'aser sheni* (Ma'as. Sh. 5:7).

Very little is known about the identity of the pupils of Hillel and Shammai. A *baraita* states that "Hillel the Elder had eighty disciples… the greatest of them was *Jonathan b. Uzziel, the least *Johanan b. Zakkai" (Suk. 28a). None of the teachings of Jonathan b. Uzziel has been preserved, and while Johanan b. Zakkai's statements reflect the outlook of Bet Hillel, it is difficult, as a matter of chronology, to assume that he studied under Hillel himself. Several of Shammai's pupils are known, most of them from the period of the Second Temple, their connection with Bet Shammai being stressed in tannaitic literature. They are Bava b. Buta, a contemporary of Hillel (Tosef., Ḥag. 2:11; and parallel passages); Dostai of Kefar Yatmah who transmitted a tradition he had heard from Shammai (Or. 2:5); Joezer, master of the Temple, who once put a question to Gamaliel the Elder in the Temple court (Or. 2:12); and Johanan b. ha-Ḥoranit of the generation of the destruction of the Temple (Tosef., Suk. 2:3). Sometimes "the elders of" Bet Shammai and Bet Hillel are mentioned (Suk. 2:7; Tosef. RH 4:11; Men. 41b et al.). According to a *genizah* fragment of *Sifrei Zuta* on *Ḥukkat* (*Tarbiz*, 1 (1930), 52), Bet Shammai had Idumean pupils, their halakhic statements corresponding to those of R. Judah who taught the view of Eliezer b. Hyrcanus "*ha-Shammuti*" (Men. 18a). According to Rashi, Nid. 7b, this refers to the fact that R. Eliezer was excommunicated, but this interpretation is inacceptable. As Tos. *in loc* points out, it means "a Shammaite" (cf. also Rashi to Shab. 132b, where he gives this as an alternative). Eleazar b. Hananiah, the general for Idumea in the Jewish War against the Romans (Jos., Wars, 2:566), also followed the line of Shammai (cf. Mekh., Ba-Ḥodesh, 7 with Beẓah 16a).

The circumstance that gave rise to the two schools is given in a tannaitic tradition: "At first there were no controversies in Israel…. When anyone had need of a *halakhah* he went to the Great Sanhedrin…. If they had heard (such a *halakhah*), they informed him of it, but if not, they decided the matter by taking a vote…. From there the *halakhah* would spread in Israel. With the increase in the pupils of Shammai and Hillel who had not sufficiently 'ministered to sages' (i.e., inadequately studied the Torah), controversy increased in Israel" (Tosef., Sanh. 7:1; and parallel passages). Even if the deficient learning of the pupils of Shammai and Hillel is ascribed to various historical factors, such as the dissolution of the Sanhedrin under Herod, or the Sadducean majority in the Sanhedrin which precluded any halakhic decisions being submitted to it by the sages, it is doubtful whether this tannaitic tradition adequately explains the numerous controversies which spanned almost a century. A more likely explanation is in terms of the expansion and crystallization of the *halakhah* involving a clash between different opinions and approaches in interpreting earlier traditions and in creating new *halakhot*. Tannaitic tradition presumably saw in the two views a legitimate expression of conflicting opinions: "Both of them are the words of the living God" (TJ, Ber. 1:7, 3b). It was reasonably permitted to follow the views either of Bet Shammai or of Bet Hillel but "a man who wishes to impose additional restrictions upon himself by adopting the stricter practices of Bet Shammai as well as the stricter practices of Bet Hillel, can be characterized by the verse 'the fool walketh in darkness'" (Eccles. 2:14; Tosef., Eduy. 2:3). It was furthermore stated that "although one school prohibited what the other permitted, or forbade what the other declared eligible, nonetheless Bet Shammai did not refrain from marrying women from [the families of] Bet Hillel, nor Bet Hillel from [the families of] Bet Shammai…. Nor did either refrain from borrowing the utensils of the other for the preparation of food under conditions of levitical cleanness" (Yev. 1:4). In all this there is no indication that the controversies originated from "insufficiently ministering to sages," but rather have their basis in the process whereby the *halakhah* was created.

Tannaitic tradition emphasizes that Bet Shammai adopted the stricter, Bet Hillel the more lenient view. The Mishnah (Eduy. 4) enumerates 23 (or 24) of their controversies that differ from the others in that they are "instances of Bet Shammai's lenient and of Bet Hillel's restrictive rulings." To these, various sages added a further 17 examples (*ibid.*). There are others concerning which the Talmud and the commentators try to find an explanation as to why they too were not similarly cited. The total of all of these is about 50. Of Bet Shammai's restrictive rulings the bulk extends the application of a prohibition, Bet Shammai, adopting the stricter view (i.e., the wider application of the prohibition). Bet Hillel usually adopts the more lenient approach.

Many scholars have sought to define the basic principles underlying the divergences between the two schools. Some have explained this divergence by claiming that they reflect the individual traits of their founders, of Hillel who was gentle and kind, and of Shammai who was stern and short-tempered. But this is inadequate, particularly since only a few controversies took place between Hillel and Shammai personally. Another interpretation regards their disputes as a social and economic conflict, holding that Bet Shammai belonged to the upper or middle landed classes, whereas the sages of Bet Hillel were from the lower strata of society with their respective views reflecting the needs and life of these strata. However, this point of view has been attacked by some scholars on the grounds that there is scanty proof that Bet Shammai belonged to the wealthy middle class. It is moreover difficult to accept the interpretation given to the *halakhot* listed by these scholars. It is similarly difficult to accept theories such as that which attributes the difference to the divergent halakhic outlook, conception, and apprehension of the two schools, with Bet Shammai adopting a uniform, systematic approach to the *halakhah*, as against the particularized, heterogeneous viewpoint of Bet Hillel. It has also been suggested that Bet Shammai represented the continuation of an early halakhic tradition which was strict in its interpretation of the law. Some have even suggested that the differences between Bet Hillel and Bet Shammai can be found in the political tensions that existed towards the end of the Second Temple period. Bet Shammi represented a more extreme political position, possibly tracing its origins back to the Hasmoneon rebellion and even serving as the inspiration for some of the more extreme elements in the rebellion against Rome, while Bet Hillel was representative of a more realistic and moderate approach which might have sought some sort of accommodation with Rome. A difficulty for all of the above mentioned theories is that many of the traditions of Bet Hillel and Bet Shammai were themselves subject to editorial revision and products of different time periods; therefore each source must be examined individually and critically before any attempted conclusions are made. Various factors and traditions, as well as different approaches and tendencies, probably combined to produce the divergent views. Difficult though it is to find the social or conceptual bases for the rise of the two schools, a certain line is evident in their homiletical exegesis of biblical passages and in their discussions of many *halakhot*. Bet Shammai tends in the former to the plain and sometimes even to the narrow, literal interpretation of a verse, as opposed to the wider significance assigned by Bet Hillel. Because of the limited number of controversies involving the exegesis of biblical verses it is impossible to ascertain what relation their disputes bear to the seven exegetical principles laid down or formulated by Hillel (Tosef., Sanh. 7:11). Insofar as the *halakhah* is concerned it is evident in many cases that the view of Bet Hillel is characteristic of theoretical *halakhah* which differentiates between principles of jurisprudence and that they decided in *halakhah* in accordance with such principles, in contrast to the view of Bet Shammai which is characteristic of the literal and even the conservative approach, conservative not in the sociological sense but in creativity and in halakhic innovation (cf. Pe'ah 6:1; Eduy. 4:1 and 5; Er. 1:2; Beẓah 1:2). With the publication of the halakhic works from the Dead Sea Scrolls, some scholars have claimed that there can sometimes be found a similar approach to halakhic sources and reasoning in both the Dead Sea Scrolls and the halakhah of Bet Shammai. It is thus possible that the reasons for the gradual triumph of the halakhah of Bet Hillel over that of Bet Shammai is similar to those reasons for the ascendance of Rabbinic halakhah over that found in the Dead Sea Scrolls.

The Mishnah reports several instances in which Bet Hillel retracted its opinion and agreed with that of Bet Shammai (Yev. 15:3; Eduy. 1:12, et al.) But there is only a single instance in which Bet Shammai retracted and agreed with Bet Hillel (Ter. 5:4), when it is stated "after they agreed," i.e., Bet Shammai with Bet Hillel. In matters relating to the Temple the *halakhah* was decided according to the opinion of Bet Hillel on only one occasion (Tosef., Ḥag, 2:11, cf. Pes. 8:8; Tosef., *ibid.*, 7:13, et al.). At Jabneh, in the generation after the destruction of the Temple, Bet Hillel gained the ascendancy (first–second century), whereupon the *halakhah* was laid down according to Bet Hillel. It was then stated that the possibility of making a choice between the two schools applied only "before a **bat kol* [heavenly voice] went forth, but once a *bat kol* went forth, the *halakhah* was always according to Bet Hillel, and whoever acted contrary to the views of Bet Hillel deserved death. It was taught: A *bat kol* went forth and declared, 'The *halakhah* is according to the words of Bet Hillel.' Where did the *bat kol* go forth?… At Jabneh" (TJ, Ber. 1:7, 3b; and parallel passages). The determination of the *halakhah* according to Bet Hillel was probably not accomplished in a single act but was rather a process that continued during the entire Jabneh period, commencing with Johanan b. Zakkai, soon after the destruction of the Temple (70) and ending with the death of Rabban Gamaliel before the Bar Kokhba war (c. 135). This process was strongly opposed by the last adherents of Bet Shammai (Tosef., Eduy. 1:1; Tosef., Yev. 1:9–10; TJ, Shev. 4:5, 35b). In the amoraic period the *halakhah* of Bet Hillel was accepted in the schools of the *amoraim* who declared: "The opinion of Bet Shammai when it conflicts with that of Bet Hillel is no Mishnah" (Ber. 36b, et al.). Several *halakhot* were, however, decided according to Bet Shammai (see Ber. 51bff.; Tos. to Suk. 3a, s.v. *de-amar*), and traces of the decision of Bet Shammai are to be found in various passages in tannaitic and even amoraic literature. The Kabbalah and following it Ḥasidism explained the differences between the two schools in terms of their philosophies: Bet Shammai has its origin in *gevurah* ("might") and Bet Hillel in *ḥesed* ("mercy"); in the future (i.e., the world to come) the *halakhah* will be according to Bet Shammai (Zohar, *Ra'aya Meheimna* 3:245a; Moses b. Menahem (Graft) *Sefer va-Yakhel Moshe* 2 (1699)).

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[Shmuel Safrai]

BETH JACOB SCHOOLS, network of religious schools for girls organized in Poland in the post-World War I era with the aid of *Agudat Israel, an ultra-Orthodox organization whose schools for boys were to be found in every community. While the boys' schools were of the old traditional type, the newly formed schools for girls combined Jewish traditional studies and industrial training.

The first school was founded in Cracow in 1917 by Sara Schnirer. The school in Cracow had an enrollment of only 30 pupils, but the success of this early venture in imparting religious Jewish studies, some secular learning, and vocational training led to the formation of a large number of schools in a number of countries. By 1929 there were 147 such schools in Poland, and 20 schools in Lithuania, Latvia, and Austria. The Beth Jacob school system included teachers' training institutes founded in 1931 and post-graduate courses (1933). Two periodicals were published: *Beth Jacob Journal* and *Der Kindergarten*.

With the invasion of Austria, Poland, Lithuania and Latvia by the Nazis and subsequently by the Russians, the activities of the Beth Jacob schools were discontinued. At the end of World War II Beth Jacob schools were opened in Israel, England, Switzerland, Belgium, France, Uruguay, Argentina, and the United States. In Israel there are over 100 schools serving 15,000 girls. These schools, with their teacher-training programs at the post-high school seminary level, have become more flexible in recent years, allowing girls to study there simultaneously for technical degrees in such fields as computers, architecture, and interior design.

In the U.S. the Beth Jacob National Council was organized in 1943. By 1947 there were eight schools under their aegis. In 1951 two teacher-training schools were established and in the late 1950s two high schools were founded. At the turn of the century about 25 schools were in operation.

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[Judah Pilch]

BETHLEHEM (Beth-Lehem) (Heb. בֵּית לֶחֶם; Arab. *Bait Laḥm*), city in Judah located five mi. (eight km.) S. of Jerusalem. Bethlehem may be mentioned in the *el-Amarna letters (14th century B.C.E.) as a city in the territory of Jerusalem (*Bit ilu Nin. Ib* = the house of the god Ninib = Lahamu?; EA, 290; however, the meaning of the ideogram *Nin. Ib* is not certain). Tradition placed the tomb of *Rachel in the vicinity of Ephrath/Beth-Lehem where Jacob is said to have buried her (Gen. 35:19). Together with its neighboring cities (I Chron. 2:51, 54), Beth-Lehem became the center of the tribe of *Judah and was settled by an important clan claiming descent from Perez, son of Tamar and Judah, among whose descendants were Boaz and Jesse the father of David. In the period of the Judges, the fields of Beth-Lehem were the scene of the idyll of Ruth and Boaz as related in the Book of Ruth. The levite youth in the story of Micah and the graven image (Judg. 17:7), as well as the levite's concubine mentioned in Judges 19, came from this city. *David and some of his warrior-kinsmen, sons of Zeruiah, were also born at Beth-Lehem, and it was there that Samuel anointed David king (I Sam. 16:1–13). The sacrificial act performed by Samuel on that occasion suggests that Beth-Lehem may have been a center for the worship of the Lord. At the end of Saul's reign, Beth-Lehem was occupied for a time by a Philistine garrison. The story of David's men bringing him water from the "well of Beth-Lehem, that was by the gate" (II Sam. 23:15) implies that it was even then a fortified city. Some of the assassins of Gedaliah son of Ahikam, Nebuchadnezzar's governor in Judea after the destruction of the Temple, came from the neighborhood of Beth-Lehem (Jer. 40:8); the remnants of his followers withdrew to the same region before their flight to Egypt (Jer. 41:16–17). With the return from Babylonia, the exiles from Beth-Lehem went back to their city (Ezra 2:21; Neh. 7:26), and Jews inhabited the city until the time of Bar Kokhba. In 135 C.E. a Roman garrison was stationed there to root out the remnants of Bar Kokhba's army (Lam. R. 1:15). Later a gentile population resided in Bethlehem and erected a temple to Adonis (Tammuz) in a grove at the edge of the city (Jerome, Epistle 58 to Paulinus).

On the basis of Micah 5:1, the early Christians identified Jesus' birthplace with Bethlehem (Matt. 2:1, 5; Luke 2:4, 15; John 7:42). The location of this event in a cave east of the city is first mentioned by Justin Martyr (155–160) and by the time of Origen (third century) the site of the cave already corresponded to its present position. At the beginning of the reign of Constantine, his mother *Helena erected a Christian church over the cave. The church was destroyed during the Samaritan uprising against Byzantine rule (529): it was rebuilt by Justinian in the form that it has kept to the present time. On the facade of the building, over the entrance, were depicted the birth of Jesus and his adoration by the kings of the East. Because this picture portrays people in Oriental costume, the Persians are said to have spared the building when they captured Bethlehem in 614. In the fifth century *Jerome settled in Bethlehem and built a monastery there. In preparing his Latin translation of the Bible, the basis of the Vulgate, he was assisted by Jewish scholars who apparently lived in villages in the neighborhood of the city. The grotto in which he is reputed to have lived is still to be seen under the Church of the Nativity. Further evidence of the resumption of Jewish settlement in the hills of Jerusalem is also found in an extant account of the Persian campaign, according to which the invaders were aided by Jewish inhabitants of the hill country.

In the early Arab period Bethlehem suffered no damage. The city fell to Tancred's forces during the First Crusade without fighting. Baldwin I and II, the crusader kings of Jerusalem, were crowned in the church of Bethlehem. The crusaders built a fort in the city that was demolished in 1489 during clashes between the Christians of Bethlehem and the Muslims of Hebron. *Benjamin of Tudela visited the city (c. 1160) and found 12 Jewish dyers there. The church of Bethlehem remained in Christian hands during the rule of the Mamluks and the Turks, even though the Muslim rulers oppressed the Christian minority. The Christians continually reduced the size of the entrance to the church for security reasons, so that by now it is just a low and narrow opening. From time to time, the Christian rulers in Europe concerned themselves with the maintenance and repair of the church. The conflicts between the various Christian communities in Bethlehem caused damage to the church and served to motivate international friction; the theft of the Silver Star from the church in 1847 was one of the factors behind the outbreak of the Crimean War. In the middle of the 19th century, the Turkish authorities determined the division of the church among the various Christian communities and the order of their ceremonies, according to previous tradition; this decision has been observed, almost without amendment, to the present.

[Michael Avi-Yonah]

Modern Bethlehem

Until 1948, Bethlehem was a city with a Christian majority. Of its 8,000 inhabitants in 1947, 75% were Christians and the rest Muslims; this ratio, however, subsequently changed as a result of the influx of Arab refugees from Israel who settled there. During the Six-Day War (1967), Bethlehem surrendered to the Israel army without a fight. In the 1967 census taken by Israel authorities, the town of Bethlehem proper numbered 14,439 inhabitants, its 7,790 Muslim inhabitants represented 53.9% of the population, while the Christians of various denominations numbered 6,231 or 46.1%. The 1,874 inhabitants of the refugee camp, lying within the municipal confines, raised the percentage of Muslim citizens to 58.2%. However, the three townships of Bethlehem, Beit (Bayt) Saḥur (the traditional Field of Ruth), and Beit (Bayt) Jala can be considered as a unit, as in 1967 they formed a continuous built-up area and a social and economic entity. Their total population amounted to 27,000, of whom 14,400 were Christians, constituting a 55% majority. The main Christian denominations are the Latins (Roman Catholics) and the Greek Orthodox. Other communities with over 100 adherents include the Syrian-Orthodox, the Syrian-Catholics, and the Melkites. There are also Protestants of various denominations, Maronites, and Armenians. Throughout most of its history, Bet (Bayt) Jālā was an exclusively Christian town. It has numerous churches and Christian institutions, including the Greek Orthodox St. Nicholas Church, the Catholic Patriarchate's Seminary, and a Lutheran secondary school. Nearby is the Cremisan Monastery of the Salesian fathers.

The Bethlehem town group has close economic and social ties with Jerusalem. In 1968 farming, trade, and tourism continued to constitute the mainstay of Bethlehem's economy. Inhabitants of the town own olive groves, vineyards, and deciduous fruit orchards. Bethlehem is a market town where Bedouin from the nearby Judean Desert trade their produce for local and imported goods. The town has a number of small hotels and restaurants catering to tourists and, more important, many workshops producing Christian souvenirs. Christian institutions contributed to raising the educational level and provided employment to a large number of inhabitants. The main building in Bethlehem is the Church of the Nativity (sections of which are maintained by the Greek Orthodox and the Catholics, the latter holding St. Catherine's Church adjacent to the main basilica). It is a major attraction for Christian pilgrims, especially at the Christmas celebrations of the Latins (Dec. 24 and 25), Orthodox (Jan. 6 and 7), and Armenians (Jan. 19 and 20). Bethlehem has numerous other Christian buildings, including convents of the Franciscans and the Rosary Sisters, edifices above the Milk Grotto, the Syrian-Orthodox Church, the Lutheran Church, parish schools, orphanages, and a French hospital. Near Bethlehem is the traditional "Shepherds' Field." Between Bethlehem and Jerusalem is the Greek Orthodox monastery of Mar Elias, the traditional resting place of Elijah the prophet when he fled from Jezebel.

In 1997 the populations of Bethlehem numbered 21,673, among them 6,568 refugees, while the population of Beit Jala was 11,957, including 5,329 refugees, and the population of Beit Saḥur 11,285 with 1,913 refugees. The city was transferred to the Palestinian Authority after the Oslo agreements. In 2002 a group of Palestinian terrorists took over the Church of the Nativity and held hostages there for more than a month under siege by the Israeli army. During the second ("al-Aqsa") Intifada Beit Jala sheltered snipers firing at the nearby Jerusalem residential neighborhood of Gilo, consequently taking return fire from the Israel Defense Forces and in effect turning the once tranquil area into a frontline battleground.

[Efraim Orni / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

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BETHLEPTEPHA, town in Judea which, in the time of Herod, replaced Keilah as the headquarters of one of the toparchies into which the province was divided. It is sometimes written "Betholeptephon" and is mentioned by Josephus (Wars, 4:445) as "Pella." Schuerer regards the name as a distortion of the Hebrew *Bet Netofah (Beit Nattif) a village six miles (10 km.) north of Bet Guvrin. The identification has now been generally accepted, though some identify it with Bet le-Tappu'aḥ (the Tappuah of Josh. 15:34). Vespasian destroyed Bethleptepha and killed all its inhabitants on his way from Emmaus to Edom. A mosaic floor of a fifth-century Byzantine church was discovered there as well as other mosaics, tombs, cisterns, and pillars from the Roman-Byzantine period.

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[Michael Avi-Yonah]

BET(H)-HORON (Heb. בֵּית חוֹרוֹן; Upper, עֶלְיוֹן (*Elyon*), and Lower, תַּחְתּוֹן (*Taḥton*)), two adjacent biblical towns named after the Canaanite deity Horon mentioned in Ugaritic literature and other texts. The towns, known as Upper and Lower Horon, were strategically located on the Gibeon-Aijalon road and guarded the important "ascent of Beth-Horon." Biblical tradition attributes their founding to Sheerah, daughter of Beriah, son of Ephraim (I Chron. 7:24). They were located on the border between the territory of the tribe of Ephraim and that of Benjamin (Josh. 16:3; 18:13–14). One or both of the towns was a levitical city (Josh. 21:22; I Chron. 6:53). Solomon fortified Beth-Horon (the lower town only, according to I Kings 9:17; both towns according to II Chron. 8:5). Beth-Horon is mentioned together with Gibeon in the list of towns conquered by Pharaoh *Shishak (tenth century B.C.E.). It then became part of the kingdom of Judah (cf. II Chron. 25:13). In the Persian and Hellenistic periods, Beth-Horon was in Judea. During the Hasmonean Wars, *Bacchides fortified both towns (I Macc. 9:50). The Mishnah (Shev. 9, 2) states that the Maritime Plain begins at Beth-Horon. It is located by Eusebius (Onom. 46:21) 12 (Roman) mi. from Aelia Capitolina (i.e., Jerusalem) and within its territory; on the *Madaba Map the two villages are marked as one place. Upper Beth-Horon is now identified with the Muslim Arab village ʿUr al-Fawqā (pop. 298 in 1967) and Lower Beth Horon with Beit ʿUr al-Taḥtā (pop. 920 in 1967). The road passing the two and the ascent between them were of military importance in ancient times. *Joshua pursued the Canaanite kings along this ascent after the battle of Gibeon (Josh. 10:10–11); the *Philistines passed this way after their setback at Michmas (I Sam. 13:18); here also *Judah Maccabee defeated Seron, the Seleucid general (I Macc. 3:16), and a Zealot force defeated the Roman governor *Cestius Gallus on his retreat from Jerusalem (Jos., Wars, 2:538ff., 546ff.). Archaeological finds indicate that Lower Beth-Horon, where potsherds from the Late Bronze Age onward have been uncovered, was established before Upper Beth-Horon, where the finds date only from and after the Iron Age (the Monarchy). An ostracon found at Tell el Qasīle (north Tel Aviv) mentions a consignment of gold for "Beth-Horon," but it is uncertain whether the name of the place Beth-Horon is meant or "the temple of [the god] Horon."

[Michael Avi-Yonah]

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Abel, Geog, 2 (1938), 274; B. Maisler (Mazar), in: JNES, 10 (1951), 266ff.; Mazar, in: VT, Suppl., 4 (1957), 61; Aharoni, Land, index; J. Garstang, *Joshua-Judges* (1931), 224; EM, 2 (1954), 73–75.

BETHPHAGE, village on the Mount of Olives in the immediate vicinity of *Jerusalem; it is named for green figs (*paggim*). In ancient times, it was surrounded by a wall. Bethphage marked the eastern confines of Jerusalem in the Second Temple period (Men. 11:2; Men. 75b). In the New Testament (Matt. 21:1–9; Mark 11:1–10; Luke 19: 29–38; John 12:12–19) it is mentioned as the place where *Jesus found the ass on which he entered Jerusalem. A church existed at this spot in the Byzantine period, and many pilgrims used it as a final stopping point on their journey to Jerusalem. The Crusaders put up many buildings in Bethpage, notably the Chapel of the Savior. It has been identified with the village of et-Ṭūr, on the southern of the three hills of the Mount of Olives. According to an ancient tradition the prophetess *Huldah was buried there. Recent excavations have uncovered the lower part of a Byzantine building, largely rock-hewn, which was used as an oil press.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Abel, Geog, 2 (1938), 279; Press, Ereẓ, s.v. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** S. Saller and E. Testa, *The Archaeological Setting of the Shrine of Bethphage* (1961); J. Wilkinson, *Jerusalem Pilgrims Before the Crusades*, (1977), 152–3; D. Pringle, *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem*, I, (1993), 157–9; Y. Tsafrir, L. Di Segni, and J. Green, *Tabula Imperii Romani. Iudaea – Palaestina. Maps and Gazetteer.* (1994), 85.

[Michael Avi-Yonah / Shimon Gibson (2nd ed.)]

BETHSAIDA (Heb. בֵּית צַיָּדָא, **Bet Zayyada**), fishing village that was situated on the northeast shore of the Sea of Galilee near the mouth of the Jordan River in the Second Temple period. Philip the son of Herod (*Herod Phillipus) renamed it Julias in 30 C.E. in honor of Livia-Julia, the wife of the emperor Augustus and mother of Tiberius. It was Philip's second capital and he was buried there in 34 C.E. (Jos., Ant., 18:28, 108; Wars, 2:168; 3:515; Life, 398; cf. Pliny, *Historia Naturalis* 5:15). *Nero later presented it to *Agrippa II. The city is mentioned several times in the New Testament (Matt. 11:21; John 1:44, Luke 10:13, etc.) in accounts of visits of *Jesus and his disciples to villages on the shores of the Sea of Galilee and as the birthplace of the apostles Peter, Andrew, and Philip. It was the place to which Jesus withdrew on hearing of John the Baptist's death (Luke 9:10). It is also mentioned by Eusebius (Onom. 58:11) and the sixth-century pilgrim Theodosius (ch. 2, ed. Geyer). In the 19th century scholars suggested identifying Bethsaida with the site of et-Tell, a large mound situated inland and not far from where the Jordan flows into Lake Kinneret. Sixteenth-century travelers reported a Jewish fishing village there. The explorer Schumacher suggested the alternative sites of el-Araj, not far from the mouth of the Jordan River, and el-Mesadiyeh, an additional ruin located to the southeast of el-Araj. New excavations were commenced by Rami Arav and his associates at the site of et-Tell, bringing to light significant remains of settlements from Early Bronze I and II, as well as the remains of a well-fortified Iron Age II city with a well preserved gate with a carved stele and a large public building of *bit hilani* type. Impressive remains of a Hellenistic period fishing village were uncovered at the site as well as poorly preserved remains dating from the time of Jesus, with some pottery and stone vessels. Stone looting occurred at the site during later periods.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Alt, in: PJB, 27 (1931), 40; Schuerer, Gesch, 2 (1907), 208; Avi-Yonah, Land, 105; Press Ereẓ, 1 (1951), 99; G. Schille, in: ZDPV, 73 (1957), 142. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** C.C. McCowen, "The Problem of the Site of Bethsaida," in: *Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society*, 10 (1930): 32–58; A. Kindler, "The Coins of the Tetrarch Phillipus, Son of Herod I, and the Renaming of Bethsaida/Julias," in: *Cathedra*, 53 (1989): 24–26; R. Arav, *Bethsaida. A City by the Shore of the Sea of Galilee* (1995).

[Michael Avi-Yonah / Shimon Gibson (2nd ed.)]

BETHUEL (Heb. בֵּית אֵל = בְּתוּאֵל; "house of God," cf. *Batiilu* in the *Tell el-Amarna letters or – מתואל, "man of God"), the youngest son of *Nahor and Milcah (Gen. 22:21–22) and the father of Laban and *Rebekah (22:23, 24:15, et al.). In the list in Genesis 22, Bethuel appears as head of a tribe of Nahor's descendants and brother of Kemuel the father of Aram. Bethuel does not play as important a part in the biblical story of Rebekah as does Laban (24:28ff., et al.), and it appears that Bethuel was no longer alive, this being the reason that Laban received Abraham's servant, since in the organization of the patriarchal society that emerges from this story, the firstborn brother was regarded as head of the family. Bethuel is only mentioned in the discussion of the marriage and, even there, only after Laban (24:50). It is quite possible, as has been suggested by scholars, that this is a later addition, for even when Rebekah commences her journey, the members of the family salute her as "Our sister!" (24:60).

In the *Aggadah*

Bethuel was the king of Haran (Yal., Gen. 109). Bethuel's apparent disappearance in the middle of the negotiations with regard to Rebekah (cf. Gen. 24:50, 55) is explained by the assumption that he died suddenly while they were in progress. There are two Midrashim. According to one, when Bethuel saw the treasures Eliezer had brought with him, he tried to kill him by placing poisoned food before him. While he was telling his story, however, the angel who accompanied Eliezer changed the dishes so that the dish intended for Eliezer was set before Bethuel, who ate it and died (Yal., Gen. 109). According to the other account, Bethuel had introduced the *jus primae noctis* and his subjects declared themselves ready to submit to this outrage on the condition that his own daughters should not be exempt from it. He was about to exercise this right on Rebekah, but to spare her this shame, God caused his death (*ibid.*). With her approval Eliezer refused to let Rebekah remain in her father's house during the week of mourning (Gen. R. 60:12). From the fact that Rebekah was consulted before she accompanied Eliezer, the rabbis conclude that a fatherless minor girl may not be given in marriage without her consent (*ibid.*).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: E.A. Speiser, Genesis (Eng., 1964), 181, 184; de Vaux, Anc Isr, 29; Maisler (Mazar), in: *Zion*, 11 (1946), 7–8 (incl. bibl.); W.W. Baudissin, *Kyrios als Gottesname*…, 3 (1929), 300, 304. IN

THE AGGADAH: Ginzberg, Legends, 1 (1942), 294–6; 5 (1947), 261–2; L. Rabinowitz, in: JQR, 58 (1967/68), 143–61.

BETHULIA, the home of *Judith, the heroine of the apocryphal Book of Judith, in which it is described as a Jewish city that was besieged by the Assyrian general Holofernes. His death brought the siege to an abrupt end. The name of the city is apparently a form of Beth-El ("House of God"), and the geographic context of the story indicates a location on the northern edge of the hills of Samaria, near Dothan, and Ibleam. Some scholars have identified Bethulia with Jerusalem, Bemeselis (Mithiliyya), or with other localities such as Shechem or Sheikh Shibl above Kafr Qūd. It seems most probable, however, that Bethulia was an imaginary city that was endowed with a theophoric name for the purposes of a historical romance.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Abel, Geog, 2 (1938), 283; J.M. Grintz, *Sefer Yehudit* (1957), 30ff.

[Michael Avi-Yonah]

BET (Bayt) IKSA (بيت اكسا), Muslim-Arab village in the Judean Hills, west of Jerusalem; population (1967) 633. Located in mountainous terrain, its economy is mainly based on orchards of olives, almonds, and other fruit trees. In the Israel War of Independence (1948), hard battles were fought over the village which lies close to the Jerusalem–Tel Aviv highway. Israel forces captured Bet Iksā but under the terms of the 1949 Armistice Agreement the village was returned to Jordan, in exchange for small areas elsewhere given to Israel. The stipulation to keep the village demilitarized was not observed by the Jordanians. Bet Iksā was taken by Israeli forces in the Six-Day War.

[Efraim Orni]

BET KESHET (Heb. בֵּית קֶשֶׁת), kibbutz north of Mount Tabor, affiliated with Ha-Kibbutz ha-Me'uḥad. Bet Keshet was founded on Aug. 15, 1944, as the first settlement of the then clandestine *Palmaḥ. Most settlers had received agricultural training in the nearby Kadoorie School, while others were demobilized soldiers who had served in World War II. South African immigrants and others joined the kibbutz after 1948. In the War of Independence (1948) hard battles raged around Bet Keshet and a monument was subsequently erected to its members who fell. Its economy was based on field crops, deciduous fruit, vines, beef cattle, and other farm products. In 2002 the population of Bet Keshet was 297. The name, "House of the Bow," refers to the village being founded by pioneer soldiers (cf. II Sam. 1:18).

[Efraim Orni]

BET(H) LEḤEM (Ha-Gelilit), place located in western Galilee, near Kiryat Tivon, in the lower Zebulun region (Jos. 19:15; perhaps also Judges 12:8f.). It is referred to as Beth-Leḥem Ẓeriyah (TJ, Meg. 1, 70a), however this name has not yet been given a definitive explanation. Dalman believes that it means the Beth Leḥem which once belonged to Tyre. According to the list of priestly places of residence in Galilee, members of the Malkiya priestly division lived in Beth Leḥem in the 3rd and 4th centuries; it may also have been the home of the amora Kahana bar Malkiya (of the Malkiya priestly division). The biblical name was preserved by an Arab site called Beit Laḥm, southeast of Haifa. At present there is a moshav affiliated with Tenu'at ha-Moshavim near the site. This was founded in 1948 on the land of the former German Templar colony Bethlehem whose inhabitants were interned during World War II and later deported from the country. The population was composed of immigrants from Central and Eastern Europe and native-born Israelis. Its population in 1968 was 270, rising to around 425 in the mid-1990s and 570 in 2002. The moshav's residents earned their living in farming, tourism, and employment outside the moshav.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: IDB, 1 (1962), S.V. Bethlehem, no. 2; *Enẓiklopediyah le-Geografiyah Mikra'it* 1 (1963), 281–2.

[Efraim Orni]

BET(H)-MAON (Heb. בֵּית מָעוֹן).

(1) See *Baal-Meon.

(2) A locality ½ mi. (¾ km.) from Tiberias (Tell Māʿūn) where Josephus conferred with the men of Tiberias during the Jewish War in 66 C.E. (Life, 64, 67). In talmudic times Beth-Maon is frequently mentioned as a center of opposition to the Patriarchs residing in Tiberias and as a refuge for rabbis antagonistic to them (Gen. R. 80:1, 24; 31:2). The priestly family of Huppah settled there after the destruction of the Temple (ha-Kallir: *Yashevah Eikhah*). The sources mention a synagogue there (cf. TJ Ta'an, 4:2, 68a).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Avi-Yonah, Geog, 139; Press, Ereẓ, 1 (1951), 90. Y. Tsafrir, L. Di Segni, and J. Green, *Tabula Imperii Romani. Iudaea – Palaestina. Maps and Gazetteer* (1994), 84.

[Michael Avi-Yonah]

BET MEIR (Heb. בֵּית מֵאִיר), Israel moshav in the Judean Hills, west of Jerusalem, affiliated with Ha-Po'el ha-Mizrachi moshavim association. In the War of Independence (1948) the Arab garrison entrenched in the then-Arab village had cut off Jewish Jerusalem. The capture of the village by Israel forces opened the "Jerusalem Corridor." Bet Meir was founded in 1950. Its inhabitants came mainly from Hungary, Romania, and Poland. The settlers made use of hydroponics in order to conform with the religious prescription of the *sabbatical year. In 2002 the population of Bet Meir was 527. The moshav lies in the center of the Martyrs' Forest. It is named after Meir *Bar-Ilan.

[Efraim Orni]

BET (HA)-MIDRASH (pl. *battei (ha)-midrash*) (Heb. בֵּית (הַ)מִדְרָשׁ, pl. בָּתֵּי (הַ)מִדְרָשׁ; "house of study"), study center where people assembled to listen to words of wisdom and exposition of the Law from very early in the Second Temple period. Esau and Jacob are said to have attended *beit ha-sefer* together until the age of 13, when Jacob continued his studies at *bet ha-midrash*; Esau, instead, frequented idolatrous shrines (Gen. R. 63:10). The Talmud described the 394 courts of law in Jerusalem and the equal number of synagogues, *battei midrash*, and *battei sefer* that existed there (Ket. 105a). Simeon *Ben Sira in the second century B.C.E. invited people to "dwell in my *bet midrash*" (Ecclus. 51:47). In the mishnaic period it was an institution independent of the synagogue and regarded as being more holy. R.*Joshua b. Levi stated that a synagogue may be turned into a *bet midrash*, but not the contrary, for it is "a place where Torah is exalted" in contradistinction to the synagogue which is "a place where prayer is exalted" (Meg. 27a). Sleeping in a *bet ha-midrash* was prohibited, although an exception was made for scholars who spent all their time there (Meg. 28a; Ber. 25a). It was considered ill-omened for a family to eat its Sabbath repast while public study sessions met at the local house of study (Git. 38b). Mothers were praised for sending their children to the synagogue to study, and for waiting up for their husbands who returned late from *bet ha-midrash* (Ber. 17a). One who goes directly from the synagogue (after services) to *bet ha-midrash* (to study) is deemed worthy to welcome the Divine Presence (Ber. 64a); and whosoever enters synagogues and houses of study in this world will be privileged to enter synagogues and houses of study in the world to come (Deut. R. 7:1). The *bet ha-midrash* was the center of instruction for scholars and the common people alike and contributed to disseminating culture widely in Jewish society. In the Middle Ages it tended to be merged with the synagogue, but its specific characteristic was preserved: in the *bet ha-midrash* prayer was a secondary activity, while the study and discussion of Jewish Law and problems concerning Judaism were its main concern, and usually open to all who cared to attend. The *bet ha-midrash* normally had a library with works on various branches of rabbinical literature intended for all sectors of the public. Attendance at the *bet ha-midrash* was not limited as at the **ḥeder* and *yeshivah, and the instructors were often itinerant preachers engaged by the community. The *battei midrash* serving the yeshivot acquired a somewhat cloistered character. The rabbi prayed there with his students when he was not required to join the communal worship. The *bet ha-midrash* also afforded lodging to yeshivah students, and occasionally was used as a hostel for impecunious travelers.

In some *battei midrash* independent study was pursued. In some communities the *bet ha-midrash* became identical with the yeshivah or the synagogue, where scholars taught immediately after morning and evening prayers. Some *battei midrash* were established and maintained by the community, while others were built by philanthropists who bequeathed funds for their maintenance. In Germany, such *battei midrash* were known as *Klaus* (from Lat. *clausura*), and in Eastern Europe as *kloyz*. The *Ḥasidim developed a new combination of public instruction and prayer in the **shtibl* ("small room"). In Islamic countries, and some Sephardi communities, the *bet midrash* is called simply *midrash*.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Baron, Community, index; H.H. Ben-Sasson, *Hagut ve-Hanhagah* (1959), index; J. Katz, *Tradition and Crisis* (1961), index; ET, 3 (1951), 210–3.

[Natan Efrati / Aaron Rothkoff]

BET NEḤEMYAH (Heb. בֵּית נְחֶמְיָה), moshav northeast of Lydda. Bet-Neḥemyah is affiliated with Ha-oved ha-Ẓiyyoni moshavim association. It was founded in 1950 on the site of the former Beit (Bayt) Nabālā camp of the Arab Legion where a decisive battle was fought in the War of Independence in 1948. Bet Neḥemyah was initially a "work village" whose settlers, immigrants from Iran, were engaged in land reclamation. On its grounds is the site of the Second Temple village Nebellat. The village is named for Nehemiah. In 1970 Bet Neḥemyah numbered 227 inhabitants, expanding considerably to 632 in 2002.

[Efraim Orni]

BET NETOFAH (Heb. בֵּית נְטוֹפָה), village in Lower Galilee, north of Sepphoris. It was known in talmudic times as a place where the vetch plant grew later than in other places (Shev. 9:5). Bet Netofah is identified with Khirbat al-Nāṭif, on the northeastern edge of the plain known in Arabic as Sahl al-Baṭṭūf and in Hebrew as the Bet Netofah Valley. Josephus (Life, 207) calls it the Valley of Asochis. High quality clay was found in this valley. In modern times, one of the reservoirs of the National Water Carrier (see *Israel, State of: Economic Affairs – Water and Irrigation) was built in the valley and is now called the Eshkol Reservoir in honor of Levi *Eshkol.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Abel, Geog, 1 (1933), 410; Press, Ereẓ, 1 (1951), 92, 120–1.

[Michael Avi-Yonah]

BET(H)-NIMRAH (Heb. בֵּית נִמְרָה), biblical locality in the Jordan Valley opposite Jericho, in the area allotted to the tribe of Gad (Num. 32:36; Josh. 13:27; called Nimrah in Num. 32:3). It is mentioned in the form Bethnambris in the time of the Jewish War with Rome (66–70/73; Jos., Wars, 4:420), after which it continued to exist as a Jewish settlement and is frequently mentioned in talmudic sources (e.g., Pe'ah 4:5, etc.). In Byzantine times it was known as Bethnambris (Eusebius, Onom. 44:17; Johannes Moschus, *Pratum Spirituale,* PG, 87, pt. 3, 2952) and it is mentioned in the Rehov Synagogue inscription as well. The biblical town of Beth-Nimrah has been identified with Tell Balaybil, and the later settlement with Tell Nimrīn, 11 mi. (18 km.) S.W. of *Gadara. The nearby Wadi Nimrin may very well be the "'waters of Nimrin" (Isa. 15:6; Jer. 48:34). Explored in the 19th century by C.R. Conder, the site was visited by many scholars including W.F. Albright and N. Glueck. Following a new survey of the site in 1976, a sixth-century three-aisled church was uncovered by M. Piccirillo in 1980 with magnificent decorated mosaic floors. Since 1989 large-scale excavations have been conducted at the site, revealing the archaeological remains of settlements from the

Early Bronze IV, Middle Bronze II, Iron Age I–II. Destruction levels found in the Iron Age levels at the site date from the late 10th century B.C.E., late 9th century B.C.E., and the 7th century B.C.E. Persian through to Mamluk strata were also uncovered at the site.

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[Michael Avi-Yonah / Shimon Gibson (2nd ed.)]

BET OREN (Heb. בֵּית אֹרֶן; "House of Pine Tree"), kibbutz on Mount Carmel, affiliated with Ha-Kibbutz ha-Me'uḥad. Founded in 1939, the settlement was initially isolated and had little land, so that its members had to work as hired laborers in Haifa. During the Mandate regime Bet Oren served as a clandestine training camp of *Haganah. After irrigable land on the Carmel coast was allocated to Bet Oren, it raised dairy and beef cattle, fodder, field crops, deciduous fruit, and other products. The kibbutz had a large rest house amid the natural pine and oak forests and nature reserves of the surrounding area. In 1970 Bet Oren numbered 220 inhabitants; in 2002, 299.

[Efraim Orni]

BET OVED (Heb. בֵּית עוֹבֵד), moshav in central Israel, southeast of Nes Ẓiyyonah. Bet Oved, affiliated with Tenu'at Ha-Moshavim, was founded in 1933 by workers from Russia. Its economy was based on citrus plantations, garden crops, and dairy cattle. In 1970 Bet Oved numbered 195 inhabitants, increasing to 285 in the mid-1990s and 304 in 2002.

[Efraim Orni]

BET(H)-REHOB (Heb. בֵּית רְחוֹב), biblical city, dynasty, or district, that gave its name to one of the *Aramean states existing at the time of David. In Num. 13:21 we have the phrase "to Rehob at Lebo-Hamath." The city Laish-Dan is placed specifically in the "valley that belongs to Beth-Rehob" (Judg. 18:28) but its exact location remains unknown. The Arameans of Beth-Rehob were among the mercenaries hired by the Ammonites to fight Israel; they were thoroughly routed first by Joab at Medeba and then by David (II Sam. 10:6ff.; I Chron. 19:6ff.). It has been assumed that *Aram-Zobah, which is closely associated with Beth-Rehob/Rehob (II Sam. 10:6, 8; and see II Sam. 8:3, 12), already held the other Aramean kingdoms under its sway at that time; the period of Israelite control was broken by *Damascus, who took the lead in revolting against Solomon. The last appearance of Rehob may be in an inscription of Shalmaneser III (853 B.C.E.), which mentions a certain Ba'sa son of Ruhubi from Amana, in a list of Syrian-Palestinian kings.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: EM, s.v.; Bright, Hist, 181. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** B. Levine, *Numbers 1–20* (1993), 354; G. Herion, in: ABD, 1, 692; S. Bar-Efrat, *II Samuel* (Heb., 1996), 86.

[Michael Avi-Yonah / S. David Sperling (2nd ed.)]

BETROTHAL (Heb. שִׁדּוּכִין, *shiddukhin*).

Definition

In Jewish law *shiddukhin* is defined as the mutual promise between a man and a woman to contract a marriage at some future time and the formulations of the terms (*tena'im*, see below) on which it shall take place. In general parlance, as opposed to legal terminology, it is known as *erusin* (Kid. 63a, Tos.), which is in fact part of the marriage ceremony proper (see *Marriage, Ceremony of). The concept of *shiddukhin* can entail either a promise by the intending parties themselves or one made by their respective parents or other relatives on their behalf (Kid. 9b; Sh. Ar., EH 50:4–6 and 51). The sages regarded *kiddushin* (consecration; see *Marriage) without prior *shiddukhin* as licentiousness and prescribed that "he who enters into a marriage without *shiddukhin* is liable to be flogged" (TJ, Kid. 3:10, 64b; TB, Kid. 12b; Maim. Yad, Ishut, 3:22 and Issurei Bi'ah, 21:14; Sh. Ar., EH 26:4). *Shiddukhin* as such has no immediate effect on the personal status of the parties – it being only a promise to create a different personal status in the future (Resp. Rosh 34:1; *Beit Yosef* EH 55). Nor does the promise give either party the right to claim specific performance from the other – since a marriage celebrated in pursuance of a judgment requiring the defendant to marry the plaintiff is repugnant to the basic principle that a marriage requires the free will and consent of both the parties thereto.

Gifts

(Heb. סִבְלוֹנוֹת, *sivlonot*). The Talmud (Kid. 50b) discusses the question whether the bride's acceptance of gifts from her bridegroom is to be regarded as an indication that *kiddushin* has already been celebrated between them – thus making it necessary for her to receive a divorce, on the grounds of "doubt," in the event she does not marry him and wishes to marry someone else. The *halakhah* was to the effect that the matter be left dependent on local custom so that any "doubt" as to whether or not *kiddushin* had already taken place would depend on whether or not there was any custom in the particular place where the parties resided to send such gifts before or after *kiddushin*. From the time that it became the general custom for parties to initiate their intended ties with each other by way of *shiddukhin* (when the bridegroom would send gifts to his bride) and for the *kiddushin* and *nissu'in* (the marriage proper; see *Marriage) to take place simultaneously at a later date, there would usually be no opportunity for the bridegroom to send such gifts to the bride after the *kiddushin* but before the *nissu'in*, so the *halakhah* was then to the effect that the giving of gifts per se implied no suspicion of *kiddushin* as mentioned above (Sh. Ar., EH 45:2; *Arukh ha-Shulḥan* EH 45:16–18. See also **Minhag*.

Tena'im

(Heb. תְּנָאִים, "conditions"). It is customary, but not generally or necessarily so, for the *tena'im*, or conditions of the *shiddukhin*, to be reduced to writing – whereby such matters would be prescribed as the date and place of the proposed marriage, the financial obligations of the parties, i.e., the *dowry (Heb. נְדֻנְיָה, *nedunyah*) to be brought by the bride, or the period for which her father undertakes to provide for the couple. All such obligations undertaken at the time of the *shiddukhin* are valid and binding, even without a formal or symbolic *kinyan* (see Modes of *Acquisition), as obligations of this nature are "in these matters effected by mere verbal arrangement" (Ket. 102a; Kid. 9b; See also *Contract). It is also customary to stipulate a sum of money as a penalty to be paid in the event of a breach of promise without good cause. In the Talmud such written instruments are termed *shetarei pesikta* – abbreviated by the *posekim* to "*shetarei*" or "*tena'ei shiddukhin*" or simply "*tena'im*" (Rashi, ad loc.; Sh. Ar., EH 51: *Arukh ha-Shulḥan*, EH 51:13; see also forms: A.A. Rudner *Mishpetei Ishut*, 178f, and Gulak, Oẓar 1–19 (nos. 1–4), 362 (no. 403); see also **Shetar*).

Breach of the Shiddukhin

CONSEQUENCES OF BREACH. The party committing a breach of promise, i.e., by not marrying the other party, may be liable to compensate the other party for any actual damage sustained, such as the expenses of the preparations for the marriage, and may also be obliged to return the gifts he received on the occasion of the *shiddukhin*, whether from the other party or from relatives and friends (Sh. Ar., EH 50:3–4; Resp. Rosh, 35:8; *Arukh ha-Shulḥan*, EH 50:20). The offending party may further be liable to pay the penalty stipulated in the *tena'im* – or, if not so stipulated, such amount as a court may determine as proper in the circumstances – having particular regard to the degree of mental suffering, shame, and public degradation suffered by the other party as a result of the breach of promise (Tos. to BM 66a; Sh. Ar., EH, 50:3–4; *Ba'er Heitev* 15). In cases where the sum stipulated in the *tena'im* to be paid by way of compensation exceeds the value of the actual damage caused, so as to make it a real penalty, the *posekim* debate the legal validity of such a condition on the grounds that the promise is tainted with **asmakhta*, i.e., that a promise to pay such a sum by way of compensation might possibly not have been meant seriously, since both parties would have been at the time so certain and confident of fulfilling their respective commitments. Some of the authorities, mainly Ashkenazi, took the view that the law requiring one who shamed another to compensate the latter should be strictly applied in these cases as well, and that the plea of *asmakhta* avails only if the stipulated sum is a highly exaggerated one (Tos. to BM 66a and to Kid. 8b; Resp. Rosh 34:2,4; *Rema* EH 50:6 and *Beit Shemu'el, ibid.; Arukh ha-Shulḥan*, EH 50:21f.; *Rema* ḤM 207:16 and *Siftei Kohen, ibid.*). Other sages, primarily Sephardi, held that the plea of *asmakhta* would avail the offending party even in a breach of promise case involving *shiddukhin* (Maim. Yad, Mekhir 11:18; Sh. Ar., ḤM 207:16; *Beit Yosef* EH 50; see also PDR 3:131–154). In order to avoid any doubts, however, in the Middle Ages the Sephardi authorities introduced the practice of two separate agreements between the parties – one whereby each party unconditionally undertook to pay to the other a fixed sum in the event of breach of promise and another whereby each party released the other from the former undertaking upon the fulfillment of all the obligations stipulated in the *tena'im* (Sh. Ar., ḤM, *ibid.*, and EH 50:6; Resp. Maharit, 131). Even if the *tena'im* had not been reduced to writing the court would adjudge the offending party to pay such compensation as may seem proper in the circumstances, having regard to the standing of the parties, provided the terms of the *shiddukhin* had been evidenced by *kinyan* between the parties.

DEFENSES AGAINST LIABILITY. Any justifiable reason for withdrawing from the *shiddukhin* is a valid defense to a claim for compensation. Since the matter in issue is a promise to marry, involving a personal tie between the parties, the court will tend to regard any ground for not entering the marriage as reasonably justified, even if it is not directly attributable to the defendant. For example, if the *tena'im* were agreed by the parents and subsequently the son or the daughter involved refused to accept them, such refusal would be regarded as justified and would not involve him or her in any liability (Resp. Rosh 34:1; Tur and Sh. Ar., eh 50:5, *Arukh ha-Shulḥan*, EH 50:29; pdr 5, 322–9). However, if the grounds on which the defendant bases his withdrawal were known to him prior to the *shiddukhin* or if they became known to him thereafter and he did not immediately withdraw, he will be regarded as having waived his objections and such grounds will not later avail him as a defense.

Validity of the Tena'im after Marriage (Nissu'in)

Noncompliance with the terms of the *tena'im* after the marriage has taken place does not exempt the parties from the duties imposed on them by law vis-à-vis each other as husband and wife. Thus, the husband is not absolved from his duty to maintain and provide a home for his wife because she or her parents may have failed to honor their undertaking to provide a home for the couple – the husband's duty being imposed on him by law (see *Marriage) and being unconnected with any rights deriving from the *shiddukhin* (*Bayit Ḥadash* EH 52; *Rema* EH 52:1, and *Ba'er Heitev* 5). On the other hand, the existence of the marriage is not necessarily to be regarded as constituting a waiver and cancellation of the obligations created by the *shiddukhin*. In order to avoid such a contention, it is customary for the parties to draw up "secondary" or "new" *tena'im* at the time of the *kiddushin*, whereby they reaffirm the original *tena'im* – or else stipulate specifically in the **ketubbah* that the marriage is based on the terms of the original *tena'im*; the latter form being the customary procedure in the *ketubbah* adopted in the State of Israel (A.A. Rudner, *Mishpetei Ishut*, 179). Such procedures provide either party with a clear cause of action for claiming the specific performance of all obligations undertaken in the *tena'im* after the marriage has taken place. According to some *posekim*, there is no need for the original *tena'im* to be specifically recalled at the time of the *kiddushin* – as it is presumed that the *kiddushin* was entered upon in accordance with the terms of such *tena'im* (PDR 1:289–313; 4:193–9, 289–304).

Customs

The ceremony and the writing of the agreement is called in Yiddish *teno'im shrayben*. The term *knas-mahl* ("penalty meal") was also used because of the penalty (usually 50% of the promised dowry) stipulated in the document to be paid by the party guilty of breach of the promise to marry (Sh. Ar., EH 51).

Though of secondary importance from an halakhic point of view, the "betrothal" remains a significant ceremony in marriage arrangements. According to *Elijah b. Solomon, the Gaon of Vilna, a bridegroom, rather than break the engagement, should marry and then divorce his bride. In certain Jewish circles, a marriage is not contracted with a person who was a party to a broken engagement.

Among the Oriental Jews, the engagement ceremony is a very elaborate affair. Kurdish Jews had the custom of *hatlabba* ("bidding the bride") and those of *Djerba indulged in great festivities. After the engagement, bride and bridegroom would exchange presents, and on Passover, Shavuot, and Sukkot, the groom would send his bride clothing, jewelry, and choice fruits. Similarly among Ashkenazi Jews, as *sivlonot* the groom usually sent the bride clothing or jewelry, and she reciprocated with a new *tallit* or a richly embroidered *tallit* bag she had made herself. At the Ashkenazi *tena'im* ceremony, it is customary to break a plate; the act is parallel to the crushing of the glass at the wedding ceremony.

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[Ben-Zion (Benno) Schereschewsky]

BET(H)-SHEAN (Heb. בֵּית שְׁאָן), biblical city whose name is preserved in the former Arab town of *Beisan* (Josh. 17:11, 16; Judg. 1:27; I Sam. 31:10, 12; 2 Sam. 21:12; I Kgs. 4:12; I Chron. 7:29). Written sources mention Beth-Shean as being in a plain close to the Valley of Jezreel (Josh. 17:16) and Mt. Gilboa (I Sam. 31:8, 10), and in close proximity to the Jordan River (Papyrus Anastasi I), Rehov, and Pella (Stele of Seti I). Beginning in Hellenistic times the city was called Scythopolis (II Macc. 12:29–30; Judith 3:10; Josephus, *Antiquities* V, i:22) or Nysa-Scythopolis in imperial coinage. C.R. Conder and H.H. Kitchener (1883, 101–4) and G.A. Smith (1894, 357–64) were the first to provide historical summaries on the site based on classical, medieval, and early modern sources.

Origin and Meaning of the Name

The origin and meaning of Beth-Shean is obscure. When part of a city name, *bet*(*h*) often refers to a sanctuary where a local deity is worshipped. In this particular case, *Shean* may be the name of such a deity. However, the only god we know to have been worshipped at Beth-Shean is Mekal, a Canaanite deity whose name and seated image was found carved on a small Egyptian stele dating to the 19th Dynasty (13th century B.C.E.). The god is mentioned a second time in a Hellenistic inscription from Cyprus.

During the time of the Diadochi, the successors of Alexander the Great, Beth-Shean took on the name Scythopolis, "City of the Scythians." The origin of the name is obscure, but it may refer to a colony of Scythian mercenaries serving under Ptolemy II. The city was also known as Nysa or Nysa-Scythopolis. According to a legend mentioned by the ancient historians Pliny and Solinus, Dionysus (the Greek god of wine and revelry who the Romans called Bacchus) founded the city in honor of his nursemaid, Nysa, who he buried in this spot. He then apparently settled Scythian archers there to stand watch over her grave. In the Arabic period, following a destructive earthquake in 749 C.E., the name reverted back to its ancient Semitic name in the form of Beisan. This change supports the view that even after decades of Greco-Roman rule the local dialects were still spoken; thus the town's Semitic name was never forgotten.

Historical Importance

The town's historical importance derives from its strategic location at the junction of major roads that pass through the Jezreel and Jordan Valleys (Levant Grid 1977.2124). Moreover, throughout much of the Bronze Age, the international trunk road that linked Egypt with Syria and Mesopotamia passed by way of Beth-Shean to continue northwards to the Sea of Galilee region and points further north.

The summit of the mound is c. 10 acres (4 hectares/40 dunams). However, as excavations have shown, the Middle Bronze Age through Iron Age occupation was limited to the highest part of the tell in the south and did not exceed 5 acres (2 hectares/20 dunams). Thus, despite its strategic importance, Beth-Shean remained a small town throughout the biblical period. The main center at this time was at nearby Rehov (Tell ec-Sârem), c. 3.5 mi. (6 km.) to the south.

The site's location on a naturally high hill defended on two sides by deep ravines carved by the Harod (Jalud) and Asi Rivers gave it an advantage that may have influenced its Arabic name, *Tell el-Husn*, "mound of the fortress." Moreover, an abundance of water and rich soil made the surrounding region attractive to human settlement throughout history. This may have inspired the comment by Rabbi Shimon ben Lakhish (ca. 350 C.E.) to write that if Paradise is in the Land of Israel, then its entrance is Beth-Shean (Er. 19a). Today, a number of agriculturally oriented kibbutzim dot the landscape.

History of Exploration

Beth-Shean was first investigated in 1921–33 by archaeologists from the University Museum of the University of Pennsylvania: C.S. Fisher (1921–23), A. Rowe (1925–28), and G.M. FitzGerald (1930–31, 1933). As a result of their work, Beth-Shean became the first tell in Palestine to produce a complete stratigraphic sequence spanning more than 18 layers of occupation from the late Neolithic period (fifth millennium B.C.E.) through medieval times. University Museum archaeologists also explored the Northern Cemetery on the northern bank of the Harod River opposite Tell Beth-Shean, as well as the nearby Byzantine period Monastery of Lady Mary.

For 50 years no work was done on the tell until Y. *Yadin of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem returned in 1983 to carry out a short three-week season to explore the Iron I period. This was followed by a longer project in 1989–96 headed by A. Mazar of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, whose goal was to further study the Iron Age and Bronze Age remains.

While the tell saw a cessation of activity for half a century following the University of Pennsylvania excavations, work continued on Late Antiquity remains. At the foot of the mound, S. Applebaum (1961–62) and A. Negev (1962) excavated the second century C.E. Roman theater. A Byzantine-era synagogue known as the "House of Leontis" was excavated by N. Zori (1964) and D. Bahat and A. Druks (1970–72) for the Israel Department of Antiquities and Museums. Exploration of the Roman-Byzantine city of Scythopolis at the base of the tell began on a small scale in 1980–81, and developed into a large-scale project in 1986 under G. Mazor of the Israel Antiquities Authority and G. Foerster and Y. Tsafrir of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. Today, Beth-Shean is part of the Israel National Parks Authority.

Beth-Shean in History and Archaeology

THE EARLY PERIODS (LEVELS XIX–XI). The earliest evidence for occupation on the mound is during the Pottery Neolithic period (Level XIX following E. Braun, fifth millennium B.C.E.) and Chalcolithic period (Level XVII, fourth millennium B.C.E.) at the bottom of FitzGerald's deep sounding. Above this, several strata from Early Bronze Age I-III (Levels XVI-XI, 3500–2000 B.C.E.) reach a total depth of 25 ft. (8 m.). This must have been an impressive time of occupation; not only was Tell Beth-Shean occupied, but so was nearby Tell Ictaba directly opposite Beth-Shean on the north, creating twin tells separated from one another by the flow of the Harod River. The end of the Early Bronze Age, now called EB IV by many scholars, is characterized by seasonal occupation on the mound and shaft tombs in the Northern Cemetery.

THE MIDDLE BRONZE AGE (LEVEL X). Following the end of Early Bronze Age there is a gap in occupation for most of MB I–II (ca. 2000–1750 B.C.E.). Resettlement occurred in the time of transition between MB II–III and continued until the end of the period around 1550 B.C.E. Strangely, at a time when most settlements in Palestine were fortified, it seems that Beth-Shean was not. Renewed excavations on the mound have verified that city walls are missing throughout the Bronze and Iron Ages. The well-known gate and city wall at the northwest corner of the mound dates to Crusader times. Either the mound was sufficiently high to protect the inhabitants, or as B. Arubas has argued, any pre-existing fortifications may have been removed by the Roman architects of Scythopolis who quarried away parts of the mound to make room for the grid pattern of streets. Whether with or without city walls, Beth-Shean remained its modest 5 acre size throughout the biblical period.

THE LATE BRONZE AGE (PRE-LEVEL IX–LEVEL VII). There are five settlement phases on the tell from the Late Bronze Age (1550–1200 B.C.E.). The earliest phase (Pre-Level IX, ca. 1550–1450) belongs to the beginning of the Late Bronze Age (LB IA) before the Egyptian garrison was established in Level IX. The four subsequent phases (Levels IXB, IXA, VIII, and VII) are from when the town functioned as an Egyptian stronghold.

The Hebrew University excavations introduced two important changes to the older Penn stratigraphy. The first is that Level IX comprised not one, but two, phases of occupation – Level IXB (LB IB) and Level IXA (LB IIA). The second is that the initial phase of Late Bronze Age occupation below Level IX was missed by the University Museum, even though some had suspected its existence based on the pottery. In this phase, Mazar revealed a modest tripartite Canaanite temple in a clear stratigraphic context above Level X (MB III) and below Level IXB (LB IB). To date, this is the earliest in a series of five sanctuaries that would continue into Iron Age IB (Upper VI). In this same vicinity, the Roman inhabitants of Scythopolis built a temple to Zeus and the Byzantine Christians a church. As the familiar maxim says, "once a holy place, always a holy place."

THE EGYPTIAN GARRISON (LEVELS IX–LOWER VI). *Level IX (c. 1450–1300 B.C.E., Late Bronze Age IB–IIA).* With the establishment of Level IX around 1450 B.C.E., Beth-Shean was transformed into an Egyptian garrison; a role that it would maintain for some 300 years until Egypt pulled out of the country in the second half of the 12th century B.C.E. The key figure in bringing about this change in status from Canaanite settlement of Egyptian garrison was Thutmose III, an 18th Dynasty pharaoh who fought some 300 Canaanite rulers allied with the Hurrian kingdom of Mitanni against Egypt. The showdown between them at Megiddo in the mid-15th century B.C.E. is recorded in the Annals of Thutmose III (Aharoni, 1979, 153–54); the earliest and most detailed record to date of a military campaign.

After his victory at Megiddo, Thutmose III makes a follow-up campaign in which he claims to have subjugated 119 cities. The topographic list is inscribed on the walls of the temple of Amen-Re at Karnak (Aharoni, 1979: 154–65). It is here that Beth-Shean is mentioned for the first time as *bt š'ir* (No. 110). It is probably after this that Thutmose III built the garrison of Level IXB (ca. 1450–1375 B.C.E.). Dating to a time slightly after this, when the settlement goes through renovations in Level IXA, Beth-Shean is mentioned a second time in Amarna Letter 289:20 (ANET 489) as *bit ša-a-ni*. The town is described as an Egyptian garrison staffed by Canaanite mercenaries loyal to Tagi the son-(father?)-in-law of Lab'ayu (see other references to these individuals in EA 252–54; 264–66). Additional testimony to these rulers came to light in 1993 when excavators of Roman-Byzantine Scythopolis found a small clay cylinder bearing the names Tagi and Lab'ayu in the spoil heaps of the University of Pennsylvania excavations at the foot of the mound.

Even though the settlement of Level IX in both of its phases was an Egyptian garrison as indicated in the textual references and from the various finds of Egyptian inspiration, the town nevertheless remained largely Canaanite in character. All the buildings, the temple complex, and most of the artifacts were typical of northern Palestine. The well-known basalt slab depicting a lion and dog (lioness?) in combat is regarded by most as a prime example of Late Bronze Age Canaanite art.

Levels VIII–VII (c. 1300–1200 B.C.E., Late Bronze Age IIB). At some point towards the end of the 18th Dynasty, the settlement of Level IX was destroyed and rebuilt on a new plan (Level VIII). This change reflects an intensification of Egyptian control, perhaps beginning with Seti I, ca. 1300 B.C.E. The explanation for this may lie in the growing Hittite threat to the north. To counter this, Egypt not only strengthened its hold on the Beth-Shean garrison, but increased the number of Egyptian outposts and exercised its influence in other ways as well. Level VII probably represents renovations to the original Level VIII settlement in the time of Ramesses II.

As noted above, the Ramesside period settlement was built on an entirely new plan with only the temple in the same location as the earlier sanctuary of Level IX. Residential units organized into city blocks with an orthogonal street configuration stood east of the temple. To the west of the temple were two large Egyptian-style structures that probably served the interests of the garrison – the so-called "Migdol" (fortified building) and the "Commandant's House." The first was probably an administrative building and the second a Three Room House. A third building revealed by Mazar further to the north below Building 1500 of Lower VI resembles in part the square fortress at Deir el-Balah from the same period. This building may have been the residence of a high official. In contrast to the garrison of Level IX where Egyptian-style pottery comprised only 1% of the assemblage, the Ramesside era settlement produced around 25 times that amount.

During this time, Beth-Shean appears in the topographic lists of Seti I and Ramesses II (Aharoni, 1979, 176–83), as well as in *Papyrus Anastasi I* from the end of the 13th century (*ANET*, 477). Three stelae were also found in later reuse by the University Museum. Two belong to the time of Seti I and the third to his son Ramesses II. The first stele of Seti dates to the first year of his reign and describes an extensive campaign that included the rescue of Beth-Shean and Rehov (Tell ec-Sârem) from Pella (Pexel) and Hammath (Tell el-Ammeh) (ANET, 253; Rowe, 1930, 24–29). The second stele mentions a skirmish involving the ʿApiru (ANET, 255; Rowe, 1930, 29–30). A third stele from the ninth year of Ramesses II mentions a campaign that probably passed by way of Beth-Shean (ANET, 255; Rowe, 1930, 33–36). A small stone stele dedicated to "Mekal, the god, the lord of Beth-Shean" was mistakenly attributed to Level IX; it actually belongs to the 13th century (James and McGovern,1993, 240, Appendix, No. 8).

Late VII–Lower VI (c. 1200–1125 B.C.E., Iron IA). The 20th Dynasty, the final stage of Egyptian control in Palestine, begins with an ephemeral phase called "Late VII" (12th century B.C.E.). The main stratum of this period is Level VI, which the University of Pennsylvania divided into "Lower VI" (12th century B.C.E.) and "Upper VI" (11th century B.C.E.). The Level VI temple was rebuilt on the same spot as the Level VII sanctuary, while the Migdol and the Commandant's House were replaced by probable storehouses. The square administrative building of Level VII was replaced in Lower VI by Building 1500, the "Governor's Residence," a square building with a central hall surrounded by rooms. In Egypt, this type of structure is known as a "Center Hall House." Architectural fragments from this and other buildings included lotus-shaped column capitals, inscribed doorjambs, a life-sized statue of a seated Ramesses III which was found in the following level, and inscriptions. The most important inscription was a carved limestone lintel depicting Ramesses-Weser-Khepesh, who is identified as "commander of the troops," with cartouches of Ramesses III next to him. These finds, as well as a high percentage of locally produced Egyptian pottery, attest to an intensive Egyptian presence at this time.

In the Hebrew Bible, Beth-Shean was assigned to the tribe of Manasseh, but they were unable to hold onto it because of the military superiority of the Canaanites (Josh. 17:11, 16; Judg. 1:27). According to the conventional chronology, this period in biblical history would correspond to Lower VI when the Egyptians were in control of Beth-Shean. It is uncertain when the Egyptians finally abandoned the site, but many scholars suggest the second half of the 12th century in the time of Ramesses VI or Ramesses VIII. In the ashes of the destruction of Lower VI were found sherds of Mycenean IIIC probably imported from Cyprus. This type of pottery is typical to the period of the Sea Peoples migration from the Aegean to the east.

IRON AGE IB (UPPER VI). With the construction of Upper VI emerges a new material culture typical to the 11th century B.C.E. and lacking the Egyptian component. The plan of the settlement represents a significant departure from that of the Egyptian garrison. Important buildings from this time include the twin temples, identified by the University Museum archaeologists with "the House of Ashtaroth" (I Sam. 31:10) and "the House of Dagon" (I Chron. 10:10). Both temples produced numerous cylindrical and house-like cult stands decorated with snakes and birds. The excavators assigned these two buildings to Level V, but they probably belong to Upper VI.

According to the biblical accounts of Saul's death the Philistines killed Saul and his three sons in a battle at the foot of Mt. Gilboa. They cut off his head and placed it in the temple of Dagon, stripped off his armor and placed it in the "temple of their gods" (Chronicles) or in the "temple of Ashtaroth" (Samuel). Then they fastened his body and those of his sons to the city walls of Beth-Shean (I Sam. 31:10–12; I Chron. 10:9–10), or as I Samuel 21:12 reports, hung them in the public square. Following the original excavators, most commentators have assumed that the two temples were in Beth-Shean, but this is unclear from the text. They could just as easily have been in Philistia. No significant Philistine presence has ever been identified at Beth-Shean, although we can assume on the basis of the biblical narrative that they exercised some sort of political control over the region as the self-declared successors of the Egyptians.

IRON AGE II (LEVELS V–IV). It is generally assumed that Beth-Shean was brought under Israelite control by David, since by Solomon's time, it was part of the fifth administrative district under Baana ben Ahilud (I Kgs. 4:12). If so, then David may have been the one who destroyed Upper VI. Excavations at the highest point of the tell (Level V) have produced the remains of an administrative complex from this era, hinting to the town's continued strategic importance. The impressive building compound might also explain why Beth-Shean was singled out in the Kings passage with Megiddo and Taanach, since it may have been a regional center for the fifth administrative district.

The severe destruction that characterized the end of Level V is difficult to date with certainty, but one possibility is Pharaoh Shishak (Egyptian, Shoshenq), who lists Beth-Shean on the walls of the temple to Amen-Re at Karnak as one of the cities he conquered. Shishak's campaign took place after the division of the United Monarchy in the fifth year of Rehoboam, ca. 925 B.C.E. (I Chron. 12). While the town's final destruction in Israelite times (Level IV) is not mentioned in any biblical or extra-biblical source, the cumulative historical and archaeological evidence supports its capture by the Assyrian monarch Tiglath-Pileser III in 733/2 B.C.E.

The Hellenistic Period

Following the destruction of the Israelite town there is a gap in settlement until the site is resettled in the third century B.C.E. While there is evidence for settlement on the tell (Level III), for the most part, it seems that the city developed on Tell Ictaba to the north where Hellenistic structures were found, though badly damaged by later Roman ones.

Under the Seleucid ruler, Antiochus IV, Scythopolis was granted the status of a Greek city (*polis*). Beth-Shean is also mentioned in the context of the Maccabean wars (I Macc. 5:52; 12:40–42; II Macc. 12:29–31). In 107 B.C.E., during the Hasmonean period, it was conquered by John Hyrcanus I and made into an important administrative center. Later, perhaps after the conquests of the Roman general Pompey in 63 B.C.E. Scythopolis became the chief city of the Decapolis. It was the largest city of this group according to Josephus (*Wars* III, ix, 7), and the only one west of the Jordan River. The Decapolis is mentioned several times in the New Testament gospels, e.g. Matt 4:25; Mk 5:20.

The Roman Period

By the first century B.C.E., the city expanded around the foot of the mound where a number of remains were uncovered. On the summit of the tell (Level III) which served as the city's acropolis stood a Roman temple probably dedicated to Zeus Akraios, god of the "High Mountain," who is mentioned in inscriptions found in the lower city. The temple to Nysa appears to have been originally constructed in the first century C.E., but continued to stand until the 749 C.E. earthquake. Roman tombs were found in the Northern Cemetery, including a stone sarcophagus inscribed with the name of Antiochus, son of Phallion, possibly a cousin of Herod the Great. When the Great Revolt broke out in 66 C.E., Jewish rebels attacked Beth-Shean. Although the Jewish inhabitants stood alongside the Gentile population in resisting their countrymen, Josephus writes that the Gentiles later became suspicious and through an act of deception massacred around 13,000 inhabitants (*Wars* II, xviii, 3–5).

The vast civic center that one sees today started to flourish in the second century C.E., though not all of the buildings can be dated with precision. Late Roman period projects of the 2nd–3rd centuries C.E. included the theater, amphitheater, and nymphaeum (water fountain). Behind the nymphaeum, the Hebrew University excavated a basilica built sometime after the first century C.E. Inside the basilica was found a six-sided stone altar dedicated to Dionysus. The accompanying inscription identified him as the founder of the city. Its date in Year 75 of the Scythopolis era translates to 12 C.E. No city wall is known from this time, and it is quite possible that the city remained unfortified. Written sources indicate that Beth-Shean was a key center for making and exporting textiles. The Talmud mentions the manufacture of linen garments from locally-grown flax, farming, and olives as principal occupations (TJ, Pe'ah 7:4, 20a).

The Byzantine Period

In Byzantine times the city reached its greatest extent of 100 hectares. At this time the city was surrounded by a wall and had a population of 30,000–40,000. At the beginning of the fifth century C.E., Scythopolis became the capital of the province of Palestina Secunda, as well as the seat of the commissioner and the tribunal. Scythopolis was also the seat of a Christian episcopate and had numerous churches. The round church on the summit of the tell (Level II) was dated by the University of Pennsylvania to the early fifth century C.E.

Several features of the city first established in the Roman period were refurbished and continued into the Byzantine period. The *cardo* (main north-south street) averaging 24 ft. (7.5 m) wide and the *decumanus* (main east-west street) were probably built in Roman times, but what one sees today is Byzantine. Flanking both sides of the cardo were two large bath house complexes. At the crossing point of the main streets stood a temple that may have been dedicated to Nysa; in any case, it would have been part of the cult of Dionysus or Tyche. While its superstructure no longer exists, two of four columns that supported the gabled roof of the facade to a height of 45 ft. (15 m.) still lie knocked down from the 749 C.E. earthquake. A cylindrical limestone pedestal in front of the temple has an inscription indicating that a statue or bust of the Roman emperor Marcus Aurelius Antoninus (161–180 C.E.) stood on it. The inscription also states how the citizens of Nysa-Scythopolis, a Greek city of Coele-Syria, had dedicated the statue of the ruler. Not far from the temple to Nysa is the Nymphaeum which brought water into the city by means of an aqueduct from the Sachne springs c. 2 mi. (3 km.) to the southwest. The theater, originally built in late Roman times, continued to be used in the Byzantine period and could seat up to 8,000 people. The amphitheater also continued in use and was capable of seating up to 7,000 spectators. At the western end of Tell Ictaba stood the sixth century C.E. Monastery of Lady Mary (in honor of a donor, not the Virgin Mary). A beautiful mosaic inside depicts the 12 months and the sun and moon as human figures. Numerous tombs from the Byzantine period were excavated in the Northern Cemetery.

SYNAGOGUES ON TELL ICTABA. Ancient sources indicate that Scythopolis was a mixed population of pagans, Jews, Samaritans, and Christians. Approximately 200 m northeast of the Monastery of Lady Mary, outside the city wall, is what may be a Samaritan synagogue dating to the 5th–early 7th centuries C.E. It is built in the form of a basilica. Its apse is oriented northwest (not south towards Jerusalem). The floor is covered by a beautiful mosaic depicting geometric and plant motifs, but no human images. The portion of the mosaic in front of the apse depicts a Torah shrine flanked by menorahs, shofars, and incense shovels. There are three Greek inscriptions, one of which refers to Marianos and Hanina, the artists who made the mosaic in the *Bet Alpha synagogue. Another inscription is in Samaritan script, but in the Greek language. Nearby, mosaics from a second synagogue of the sixth century C.E. also has ritual vessels and a menorah, as well as Greek, Hebrew, and Aramaic inscriptions.

THE HOUSE OF LEONTIS. A short distance from the civic center of Nysa-Scythopolis and still within the city walls is another synagogue from the Byzantine period known as the "House of Leontis." Based on its plan and a Greek inscription that refers to "Jose the innkeeper," some have suggested that the synagogue was part of an inn. The synagogue is paved with a mosaic floor depicting geometric, animal, and plant motifs, and in the center, a medallion containing a menorah and the Hebrew word *Shalom* (peace). The mosaic also includes four dedicatory inscriptions – two in Aramaic and two in Greek. One Aramaic inscription refers to the "members of the holy community" who contributed to the synagogue's renovation. The other refers to the unnamed artist who carried out the work. One of the Greek inscriptions invoke divine blessing on all those who names were known to God, while the other refers to "Jose the innkeeper" mentioned above. Another mosaic in the complex from Hall No. 3 depicts scenes from Homer's *Odyssey*. It is in the center of this mosaic, adorned with birds, that a Greek inscription refers to Leontis and his brother Jonathan, who donated this mosaic and wished to be remembered for their act. Other depictions in the mosaic include a five-branched menorah and Nilotic scenes: the Nile River is personified as a bearded god, a building symbolizing a city that is identified as "Alexandria" in Greek, and a nilometer.

VILLA. East of the "House of Leontis" is a private house that probably stood two-stories high and contained some 25 rooms. The villa produced a rich collection of pottery and other objects made of stone, metal, glass, and bone.

The Islamic Period

In 636 C.E., Islamic forces conquered the city after the defeat of the Byzantine army at the Battle of Yarmuk. During this time the city ceased to be called Scythopolis and reverted back to its original Semitic name in the slightly altered form of Beisan. To honor their defeat of the Byzantine army, the Arab forces called their day of victory "Beisan Day."

The excavations in Scythopolis have provided ample testimony to continued life in Beisan during the Umayyad period, including occupation on the tell (Level I), until the huge earthquake struck on January 18, 749, bringing this ancient and glorious city to an end. The city was rebuilt in the Abbasid period (750–969), but only as a mere shadow of its former glory.

In Crusader and Mamluk times the city declined in size and clustered mainly along the valley road leading to Tell Ictaba. The Crusaders fortified the summit of the tell (Level I) with a city wall and gate that was mistakenly attributed by the University Museum excavators to the Byzantine period. The Crusaders also built a square fortress south of the tell. It seems that the Crusaders were not too kind to the region. The Muslim geographer Yakut writes that as of 1225, the many date palms that used to exist in the area had been reduced to two.

In the 14th century, Beth-Shean was chosen by Estori ha-Parhi as the center for his historical and topographic research.

[Robert A. Mullins (2nd ed.)]

The Modern Period

In September 1918, Beth-Shean was captured by British forces. In the 1920–1930s Bedouin from the Beth-Shean Valley settled in the town, which numbered 2,000 inhabitants in 1921 and over 3,000 during the Israel *War of Independence (1948). From the beginning of the 20th century, Jews, mainly from Kurdistan and other Muslim countries, also took up residence in Beth-Shean, but temporarily left during the 1929 Arab riots; the Jewish population of Beth-Shean numbered 94 persons in the spring of 1936. Most of them abandoned the town immediately upon the outbreak of the 1936 riots. The town became a headquarters for Arab bands attacking Jewish villages in the neighboring Harod Valley, but the marauders' position was weakened when Jewish *tower and stockade settlements were established on all sides of Beth-Shean in the years to follow. In the War of Independence, Beth-Shean capitulated on May 12, 1948, to Jewish forces, who found it deserted by its former inhabitants. The settlement of Beth-Shean by Jewish immigrants began in 1949. In 1950, the town numbered 1,200 inhabitants, and in 1968, 12,800 – of whom half originated from North Africa (mainly from Morocco), 30% from other Muslim countries (Iran, Iraq, and Turkey), while 20% came from Europe or were Israel-born. In 2002 the population was approximately 15,900, occupying an area of 2.7 sq. mi. (7.1 sq. km.). As the town had no industry in the initial phase of its resettlement, the inhabitants had to subsist in the 1950s mainly on small trade and on doing hired farm work in the vicinity. Later, a number of industries were established, the largest being a textile mill, followed by a clothing factory, a plastics plant, and by smaller enterprises. A few factories in Beth-Shean were run by local kibbutzim, while the inhabitants of the town were also employed in industry and agriculture in the rural communities of the Beth-Shean Valley. Social and living standards were not satisfactory, however, particularly during the 1965–67 recession, and income remained considerably below the national average over the years.

After the *Six-Day War (1967), Beth-Shean, exposed to the Jordanian artillery positions beyond the Jordan River, suffered from occasional shelling. In addition, the city suffered from terrorist infiltration from Jordan, but since 1975 the area has been quiet. After the peace agreement with Jordan in 1994, a border station was opened nearby.

[Efraim Orni / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

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BET SHE'ARIM (Heb. בֵּית שְׁעָרִים; Gr. **Besara**), ancient city on the southern slopes of Lower Galilee situated on the hill of al-Sheikh Burayk (near Kiryat Tivon on the Nazareth–Haifa road). Although settlement at Bet She'arim apparently started during the period of the divided monarchy (Iron Age II), the first mention of the city occurs at the end of the Second Temple period, when it was a center of the estates of Berenice (the daughter of Agrippa I and sister of Agrippa II) in the Plain of Esdraelon. Josephus speaks of it as Besara (Life, 118–9). According to talmudic sources, important *tannaim* and *amoraim* lived there (Tosef., Ter. 7:14; Nid. 27a). Bet She'arim reached a position of great importance and prosperity in the late second century, when *Judah ha-Nasi took up residence there and made it the seat of the Sanhedrin (RH 31a–b). From the beginning of the following century the necropolis of Bet She'arim became a central burial place for Jews of Palestine and the Diaspora (TJ, MK 3:5, 82c). The city was thought to have been destroyed by Gallus during the suppression of the Jewish revolt in 352 C.E., but recent research suggests that the impact of the revolt may have been overstated. Although clearly affected by the earthquake of 363 C.E., the town quickly recovered and flourished during the Byzantine and early Arab periods.

The hill of al-Sheikh Burayk has been partly excavated by B. Mazar (1935–40; 1960) and N. Avigad (1953–58) under the auspices of the Israel Exploration Society. An inscription found there contains the name Besara, confirming the identification of the site with Bet She'arim. Additional excavations were conducted at the site by F. Vitto (1983) for the Israel Department of Antiquities.

The city of Bet She'arim extended over the entire summit of the hill – an area of some 25 acres (100 dunams), 450 ft. (137 m.) above sea level. It was surrounded by a wall, two sections of which were exposed. Remains of various large buildings were uncovered on the northeastern part of the hill. The most important of these was a spacious basilical-type synagogue, 115 × 49 ft. (35 × 15 m.), built of ashlar blocks, of which only two courses have survived. The front of the synagogue was oriented toward Jerusalem and contained three entrances that led into the large columned hall; the bases of the columns have been preserved. The synagogue was decorated in the style characteristic of Galilean synagogues and was dated by the excavators to the third century C.E., though scholars now prefer dating it to the early fourth or fifth centuries C.E. many architectural fragments derived from this synagogue were found scattered among its ruins: column drums, capitals, jambs, lintels, and decorated friezes. The ruins of other buildings and courtyards were found in the vicinity of the synagogue, including a large two-story building with an outer wall 99 ft. (30 m.) long, built of fine ashlar blocks, as well as the remains of what was apparently a glassmaking workshop. Many small artifacts were found: metal, pottery, and glass vessels, inscribed marble slabs, and some 1,200 bronze coins, all of which were struck in the first half of the fourth century C.E. These coins suggested to the excavators the date of the destruction of all the buildings in the area. A gate and an oil press, used chiefly in the Byzantine period, were also found nearby.

The excavations, however, were concentrated mainly in the extensive ancient necropolis that stretched over the slope of the hill northeast, north, and west of the city and over the slopes of adjacent hills to the north and west. Rock-cut catacombs that were prepared to provide burial places to sell to people from outside Bet She'arim were found in all these areas. Some were family vaults, but the majority were for the general public. Each catacomb contained an open court and a number of tomb halls that were connected by a series of chambers to some of the branch burial compartments containing graves. The openings between the chambers are arched. The usual form of a grave is the *arcosolium* – an arched niche cut into the wall with trough-like graves hewn at the bottom. *Kukhim* (*loculi* – "burial recesses") are also found frequently. Some of the catacombs lack all decoration, but many possess chambers that display a variegated ornamentation. The soft rock easily lent itself to carving and incision. The many reliefs, graffiti, and drawings adorning the walls are generally executed in the primitive style of the Jewish folk art popular in the Roman period. Jewish symbols and ritual objects are very common motifs, particularly the seven-branched candelabrum and the Ark of the Law, complete with columns and steps. The *shofar, lulav, etrog*, and incense shovel are also represented. But secular motifs also occur: human figures, animals, ships, geometric patterns, etc., as well as architectural ornaments that were carved in the rock (columns, capitals, arches, and niches). Ornamental stone doors were decorated to imitate wooden ones, complete with panels, nailheads, and knockers. These were locked by bolts, and lifted by keys. The doors still turn on their hinges. Some of the main entrances are adorned with built arches resting on pillars. The facades of two catacombs (nos. 14 and 20) are built of smooth ashlar stones in the form of an arcade of three arches. Over these facades are structures of monumental steps with prayer niches. A mausoleum was built over catacomb no. 11 and contained rich architectural decorations and reliefs.

Of special importance are the epitaphs, of which some 300 have been discovered. The majority are in Greek and the others are written in Hebrew, Aramaic, and Palmyrean. They are incised in the soft rock of the chamber walls, on the sides of the tombs, on lintels, on stone or marble slabs, or are painted in red or black. Their contents are generally restricted to the name of the deceased and his patronymic (or other family descent), with the addition of a word of affection or praise. The rank or occupation of the deceased, and occasionally his place of origin, are sometimes mentioned. Among the callings and titles are teacher, kohen, banker, goldsmith, government official, perfumer, chief warden of a community, chief of a synagogue, and rabbi (written *ribbi* and *bi-ribbi*). Typical examples of Hebrew inscriptions read: "Shalom to Judah," or "This tomb is (of) Rabbi Isaac bar Makim, shalom." An unusual Aramaic epitaph was found: "He who is buried here [is] Simeon, son of Johanan, and on oath, whoever shall open upon him shall die of an evil end." In catacomb no. 14 the following epitaphs were found: "Rabbi Simeon"; "This is the burial place of Rabbi Gamaliel"; and "Anina [Ḥanina] the Small." As it is known from the Talmud that before his death Judah ha-Nasi appointed his son Simeon *ḥakham*, Gamaliel (his second son) patriarch, and his most outstanding pupil, *Ḥanina b. Ḥama, head of the yeshivah (TB, Ket. 103b), one may assume that this catacomb was the burial place of the patriarch and his family. There are 218 Greek inscriptions and Greek was apparently the common language of the Jews at the time. Pure Greek names occur beside Hebrew ones in Greek transliteration. Some inscriptions express a belief in eternal life. The places of origin appearing in the epitaphs indicate that Bet She'arim was a central burial place for the Jews of Palestine-Elath (Exion-Geber), nearby Arabah and Baka, and of the Diaspora – Tadmor (Palmyra), Antioch, Byblos, Tyre, Sidon, and Beirut in Syria, Meishan in northern Mesopotamia, and Himyar in southern Arabia. Two inscriptions found incised on marble slabs in the mausoleum over catacomb no. 11 and in catacomb no. 18 are arranged in the form of Greek epigrams in the Homeric style. The former reads:

> Here lie I, son of Leontius, dead, son of Sappho-Justus,
> And after I had plucked the fruit of all wisdom
> I left the light, the miserable parents who mourn ceaselessly
> And my brothers. Woe to me, in my Besara!
> After descending to Hades, I, Justus, lie here
> With many of my people, for so willed stern fate.
> Be comforted, Justus, no man is immortal.

The mausoleum also contained a reused sarcophagus on which Greek mythological scenes were depicted.

The largest catacomb excavated (no. 20) was comprised of 24 burial chambers with over 200 coffins made of local limestone and many fragments of imported marble sarcophogi decorated with mythological figures. On the coffins birds and animals and even human beings were depicted. These coffins were not apparently used for Jewish burial and were brought into the tomb in the Islamic period as raw material for the purpose of lime burning. The inscriptions found in the catacomb (almost all in Hebrew) reveal that it was occupied by members of the patriarchal family, "holy" rabbis, and other sages.

Additional information on the industrial activities of Bet She'arim was supplied by the discovery of a huge glass slab (11 × 7 ft. (c. 3⅓ × 2 m.) and 18 in. (45 cm.) thick, weighing nine tons) in an underground cistern. It possibly served as raw material for village glassmakers in the region. The slab must have been heated for several days at about 1922 °F (1050 °C) in order to melt it. Recent research suggests that the slab should be dated to the ninth century C.E. Numerous lamps from this period were found within the necropolis, notably in Catacomb no. 20.

Modern Bet She'arim

A moshav named after ancient Bet She'arim, lies 3 mi. (5 km.) further west of it in the northwestern corner of the Jezreel Valley, founded in 1936 by a group of Israel-born and East European settlers. In 1968 the moshav's economy was based on livestock and crops. Its population was 320 in 1968. In the mid-1990s the population was approximately 370.

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[Nachman Avigad / Shimon Gibson (2nd ed.)]

BET(H)-SHEMESH (Heb. בֵּית שֶׁמֶשׁ; "the house [temple] of [the sun-god] Shemesh"), name of a number of places mentioned in the Bible.

(1) A city in the Shephelah on the northern border of the tribe of Judah, between Chesalon and Timnah (Josh. 15:10). Beth-Shemesh appears on the list of cities of the tribe of Dan (Josh. 19:41, as Ir-Shemesh), but it was apparently never actually conquered by it (Judg. 1:35, if the identification of Harheres with Beth-Shemesh is correct). In the list of levitical cities, it is mentioned as belonging to the tribe of Judah (Josh. 21:16; I Chron. 6:44). Beth-Shemesh was located close to the border of Philistia, and the archaeological excavations there have shown that in the period of the Judges, the Philistines exerted a strong influence on the city. The Samson narratives all take place in the vicinity of Beth-Shemesh; his birthplace, Zorah, lay just to the south of it, and the Philistine city Timnah is to the west of it. It has even been suggested that the name Samson itself (Heb. *Shimshon*) indicates a connection with the city. When the Philistines returned the "Ark of God," which they had captured at the battle of Eben-Ezer, on an ox-driven cart, it was sent along the road that led straight from Ekron to Beth-Shemesh (I Sam. 6). In the period of the monarchy, the city was part of Solomon's second administrative district, which included the former cities of the territory of Dan (I Kings 4:9). The war between Amaziah and Jehoash,

kings of Judah and Israel, in about 790 B.C.E. was fought near Beth-Shemesh, and Amaziah was taken prisoner there (II Kings 14:11–13; II Chron. 25:21–23). The last reference to Beth-Shemesh in the Bible occurs during the reign of Ahaz, king of Judah, from whom it was captured by the Philistines in about 734 B.C.E. (II Chron. 28:18).

Beth-Shemesh is identified with Tell al-Rumayla, astride the Wadi al-Ṣarār (biblical Sorek Valley?) on one of the major highways connecting Jerusalem with the seacoast (the modern Jerusalem-Tel Aviv railroad follows this ancient route). The site was excavated by D. Mackenzie (1911–12) and E. Grant (1928–33); G.E. Wright assisted in analyzing the results. The excavations revealed that the first city (stratum VI) of Beth-Shemesh was established toward the close of the third millennium B.C.E. (end of the Early Bronze Age). The next city (stratum V), dating to the Hyksos period (c. 1750–1550 B.C.E.), is characterized by a high level of development. This Middle Bronze Age city was fortified by a massive wall with insets and offsets and towers. In the southern part of the wall, a strong gate was discovered with the entrance between two guardrooms, a style typical of the period. The city continued to flourish in the Late Bronze Age (stratum IV, c. 1550–1200 B.C.E.). In this stratum plastered water cisterns, installations for the manufacture of bronze, numerous imported vessels from the Aegean area and Egypt, an inscription in the Ugaritic cuneiform alphabet, and an ink-inscribed ostracon in early Canaanite-Phoenician script were found. The following stratum (III) dates to the period of the Judges (Early Iron Age). This city shows signs of a decline in the material culture as is also evident in other sites from this period. The decline, however, did not affect the metal industry, which continued to operate at its previous high level. The abundance of Philistine pottery found in this stratum is proof of the strong influence of the Philistines in the area during this period. The destruction of the city by fire in the second half of the 11th century B.C.E. was a result of the wars with the Philistines that preceded the establishment of the monarchy. The city was rebuilt (stratum IIa) sometime in the tenth century and was surrounded by a casemate wall – the typical fortification of Israelite cities in the period of the united monarchy. The large store house and granary erected in the city confirm the biblical description of the important administrative role held by Beth-Shemesh.

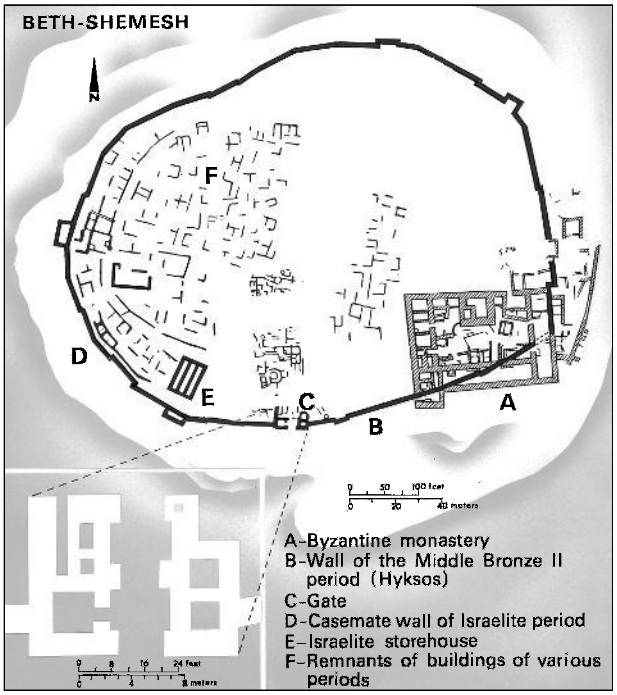
BETH-SHEMESH
N
A
B
C
D
E
F
0 50 100 feet
0 20 40 meters
A-Byzantine monastery
B-Wall of the Middle Bronze II period (Hyksos)
C-Gate
D-Casemate wall of Israelite period
E-Israelite storehouse
F-Remnants of buildings of various periods
0 8 16 24 feet
0 4 8 meters

Plan of the excavations at Beth-Shemesh. Courtesy, Mosad Bialik, Jerusalem.

Settlement at Beth-Shemesh continued until the end of the First Temple period (strata IIb and IIc). The last city was unfortified. Between IIb and IIc there appears to have been some interruption in the occupation of the site, which may explain the absence of Beth-Shemesh from the detailed city list of Judah, where it would be expected to appear in the Zorah-Azekah district (Josh. 15:33–36). Scholars disagree as to whether the date of this gap in the history of Beth-Shemesh should be ascribed to Pharaoh Shishak's campaign in c. 924 B.C.E. or to the capture of the city by Jehoash, king of Judah, in the eighth century. In Roman times the settlement moved to nearby Ayn Shams, which preserves the ancient name. Talmudic sources describe Beth-Shemesh as a small village (Lam. R. 2:2; etc.) and Eusebius (Onom. 54:11–13) accurately locates it 10 miles from Eleutheropolis (Bet Guvrin) on the road to Nicopolis (Emmaus).

(2) A Canaanite fortress town listed as part of the inheritance of Naphtali (Josh. 19:38) but not settled by the tribe in the early stages of the Israelite occupation of the country (Judg. 1:33). It was most likely located in the northern part of Upper Galilee, where remains of strong Canaanite settlements have been discovered. Some scholars identify it with the Beth-Shemesh of Issachar ((3) below) and accordingly place it in Lower Galilee on the border between Issachar and Naphtali.

(3) A city in the territory of Issachar, apparently close to the northern border of the tribe (Josh. 19:22). Khirbat Sheikh al-Shamsāwī in the southern part of the valley of Naphtali may preserve the ancient name. Some scholars, however, identify it with al-ʿUbaydiyya, farther east near the Jordan River, on the assumption that it is identical with (2) above.

(4) The city On-Heliopolis in Egypt whose temple to the Egyptian sun-god Re is mentioned in Jeremiah's prophecies against the nations (Jer. 43:13; cf. Isa. 19:18). It is the present-day el-Matariyeh, east of Cairo.

[Yohanan Aharoni]

Modern Period

In the vicinity is the modern town of Bet-Shemesh. Its beginnings go back to the village of Hartuv, founded in 1895 by Jews from Bulgaria who bought the land from a training farm set up 12 years earlier by the English Mission of Jerusalem which had tried unsuccessfully to convert Jerusalemite Jews working there. Hartuv made little progress due to its isolation and the lack of water and good soil. In the 1929 Arab riots, the few inhabitants had to leave the village temporarily but soon returned. Shortly before 1948, the Tel Aviv municipality opened a youth training farm there, and construction of the large "Shimshon" cement factory was begun. Bet-Shemesh was abandoned for a few months during the 1948 War of Independence, but finally fell to Israeli forces on September 19, 1948. A *ma'barah* ("immigrant transit settlement") was set up there in 1950, and in 1951 a permanent urban settlement was begun as part of the program of populating and securing the "Jerusalem Corridor."

Bet-Shemesh grew to serve as an urban center providing community and commercial services to 60 rural settlements. The city had two large industrial areas, but some of its residents commuted to Jerusalem and Tel Aviv. It numbered 10,000 inhabitants in 1969 and received municipal status in 1991. In the mid-1990s the population was approximately 20,900 and by 2002 the fast-growing city had increased its population to 53,400, 50% among them under the age of 21. It occupied an area of 20 sq. mi. (50.5 sq. km.). In this latter period the city absorbed many new immigrants, mainly from the former Soviet Union. The majority of them were secular and their presence in the city led to a degree of cultural-religious tension. The Ramat Bet-Shemesh suburb south of the city attracted a religious population, including many English-speaking immigrants.

[Efraim Orni / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

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BET(H)-SHITTAH (modern Bet ha-Shittah; Heb. בֵּית הַשִּׁטָּה), biblical locality mentioned in the description of the Midianites' flight after their defeat by Gideon (Judg. 7:22). Some scholars locate it at the small village of Shata' (site of a prison), east of the hill of Moreh but most prefer to place it in the immediate vicinity of the Jordan. There is a kibbutz in the Valley of Jezreel named after the biblical locality of Beth-Shittah. The kibbutz is affiliated with Ha-Kibbutz ha-Me'uḥad. Bet ha-Shittah was founded in 1935 by sabras and pioneers from Germany, later joined by immigrants from other countries. In 1968 Bet ha-Shittah had 885 inhabitants, maintaining its size over the years (pop. 900 in 2002). Its economy was based on farming (field crops, particularly cotton, fodder, fishery, dairy cattle, and other farm products) and industrial enterprises such as farm machinery and preservatives, the latter plant subsequently sold to the Osem food company. The kibbutz also operated a small shopping center at the nearby road junction.

WEBSITE: www.bethashita.org.il.

[Efraim Orni]

BETTAN, ISRAEL (1889–1957), U.S. rabbi. Born in Kovno and educated in yeshivot in Lithuania, Bettan came to the United States at the age of 18 where he enrolled at Rabbi Isaac Elchanan Rabbinical Seminary, but soon transferred to Hebrew Union College. He received his B.A. from the University of Cincinatti (1910), his ordination from HUC in 1912, and his D.D. three years later writing on early Reform in rabbinic responsa.

He then went to a Congregation B'nai Israel in Charleston, West Virginia, where he established his reputation as an excellent preacher and congregational leader. He served with the American Forces in France in World War I, having taken leave of his congregation, and then returned to Charleston, where he was rabbi until 1922, when he was named chairman of the Department of Homiletics of HUC. He taught at HUC for 35 years, including midrash. As a professor of homiletics it was his task to prepare future rabbis for the life cycle and communal events that they were to lead, from weddings to funeral, bar mitzvah to invocations and benedictions. He believed in the power of the pulpit and taught his students how to use that power to motivate their congregations. His unique style of teaching made him very popular among students who valued the practical experience as well as the intellectual guidance he offered.

Active in the Reform movement, he was twice named a member of the committee that revised the *Union Prayer Book*. He also served as president of the Central Conference of American Rabbis in 1956 and retired from teaching the next year to continue his presidency.

Among his writings was *The Five Scrolls: A Commentary* (1950) and *Studies in Jewish Preaching* and *Opposition of Orthodoxy to Early Reform* (1914).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: M. Meyer, *Response to Modernity* (1988); S. Karff, *Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion at One Hundred Years* (1976); K. Olitzky, L. Sussman, and M.H. Stern, *Reform Judaism in America: A Biographical Dictionary and Sourcebook* (1993).

[Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

BETTAUER, HUGO (1872–1925), Viennese journalist and novelist. Bettauer converted to Protestantism at the age of 18 and after a period in Zurich went to the United States, where he first worked in business and later taught German literature. In 1899 he returned to Europe as an American citizen, settled in Berlin, and became a journalist for the *Berliner Morgenpost*, a newspaper of the *Ullstein publishing house. He was several times imprisoned for offending Emperor William II and the Prussian police, causing him finally to be expelled from the country. Back in New York, he worked on German newspapers published by the Hearst group. In 1908 he returned to Vienna, where he worked for the *Zeit* and the *Neue Freie Presse*. He wrote several novels, successful in their time, which were also filmed, the most noteworthy of these being *Stadt ohne Juden* (1922; *The City without Jews*, 1926). The novel dealt with the extreme antisemitic atmosphere in Vienna after World War I, which was mainly directed at Jewish war refugees from Eastern Europe: A utopian state, akin to the first Austrian republic, expels all Jews for economic and antisemitic reasons; as a result it breaks down completely and decides to call its Jewish population back. The novel, as well as the film version by Hans Karl Breslauer (1924), aroused controversy in Vienna and Berlin. In 1924 Bettauer founded the periodical *Er und Sie: Wochenschrift fuer Erotik und Lebenskultur* (later *Bettauers Wochenschrift*), advocating sex education, abortion, and homosexuality, but also calling attention to unemployment and poverty. His views made him the focus of attacks from right-wing newspapers. In March 1925 he was murdered in his office by the National-Socialist Otto Rothstock.

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[Mirjam Triendl (2nd ed.)]

BETTELHEIM, family originating from Pozsony (*Bratislava, Pressburg), formerly in Hungary. According to tradition, one of its forebears frustrated a plot by the count of Bethlen to abduct his wife, and for this feat was called "Bethlen-Jude," which later became Bettelheim. The first noted member of the family, LOEB BETTELHEIM, served as *dayyan* in Pozsony in 1709. LIPOT LEOPOLD (MEYER LEB) BETTELHEIM (1777–1838) was physician to the count in Galgoc (now Hlohovec) and a noted Hebraist. MOSES BETTELHEIM (beginning of the 19th century) was head of the Jewish community in Pozsony. His son, FÜLÖP (RAPHAEL), represented the Orthodox Jews in Pozsony at the assembly of Jewish delegates held in Pest in 1868. Samuel *Bettelheim was a journalist and editor. Prominent members of the family outside Hungary include Albert (Aaron) Siegfried *Bettelheim, rabbi, publicist, and physician. KARL BETTELHEIM (1840–1895), also a physician, became head of a Vienna clinic and the editor of *Medizinisch-Chirurgische Rundschau* (1870–78).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: EẒD, 1 (1958), 272–4; S. Federbush, *Ḥokhmat Yisrael be-Ma'arav Eiropah*, 2 (1963), 371–2.

[Jeno Zsoldos]

BETTELHEIM, ALBERT (Aaron) SIEGFRIED (1830–1890), U.S. rabbi. Bettelheim was born in Galgoc, Hungary. He served as correspondent on Jewish affairs for several periodicals, director of a network of Jewish schools, editor of a political weekly *Elöre* ("Forward"), and rabbi of a small congregation. Bettelheim's progressive political views brought him into trouble with the government, and he emigrated to America in 1867. He served as rabbi in Philadelphia, and on the faculty of the short-lived Maimonides College. He also acquired a medical degree. In 1875 Bettelheim accepted a pulpit in San Francisco. There he organized a society for Hebrew study for Christian clergymen, and was active in civic affairs, especially prison reform. He coedited a weekly, the *Jewish Times and Observer*, which represented the traditionalists' views. In 1887 he returned East to a pulpit in Baltimore. A foundation to aid needy scholars in Vienna was established in his memory by his daughter Rebekah, wife of Alexander *Kohut. Bettelheim left no complete scholarly work but he wrote many articles on art, medicine, and other subjects and some of his notes and suggestions were incorporated into Kohut's *Arukh*. His son, FÉLIX ALBERT BETTELHEIM (1861–1890), a physician, also moved to the United States and initiated the establishment of the first hospital in Panama, serving as head physician between 1883 and 1889.

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[Jack Reimer]

BETTELHEIM, BRUNO (1903–1990), U.S. psychologist and educator, best known for his pioneering techniques in the treatment of emotionally disturbed children and his analysis of the psychological aspects of racial prejudice. Born in Vienna, Bettelheim studied at the university there. In 1938 he was sent to the Dachau concentration camp and then to Buchenwald. In 1939 he was released and permitted to leave for the United States. In 1943 he published a highly influential essay on the psychology of concentration camp prisoners.

Bettelheim worked with the Progressive Education Association and, for a short period, with Rockford College in Illinois. He was subsequently appointed principal of the University of Chicago's Sonia Shankman Orthogenic School, a residential institution devoted to the education and treatment of children with severe emotional disorders. In that capacity, he placed special emphasis on the treatment of autism. From 1944 to 1973 he was professor of educational psychology at the University of Chicago.

In a number of essays and reviews and in a volume entitled *The Informed Heart* (1960), Bettelheim, basing himself on limited documentation, appears as a stern judge of the Jewish masses who did not revolt against the Nazi terror.

Bettelheim wrote prolifically on the diagnosis and therapy of emotionally disturbed children. He wrote *Dynamics of Prejudice* (1950) in collaboration with Morris Janowitz, which was regarded as a vital work in its field. His other major publications included *Love Is Not Enough* (1950); *Truants from Life* (1955); *The Empty Fortress* (1967); *The Children of the Dream* (1969), an analysis of the rearing of kibbutz children; and *The Uses of Enchantment* (1976), which looks at fairy tales from a Freudian perspective.

Suffering from depression most of his life, Bettelheim committed suicide in 1990 at the age of 86.

During his lifetime Bettelheim was well respected for his work. However, after his death his credibility began to be questioned. Not formally trained in analysis, Bettelheim and his theories, as well as his biographical data, were challenged in journalist Richard Pollak's controversial book *The Creation of Dr. B: A Biography of Bruno Bettelheim* (1998).

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[Abraham J. Tannenbaum / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

BETTELHEIM, SAMUEL (1872–1942), early Zionist and Mizrachi leader in Hungary, later in Czechoslovakia. Bettelheim was born in Pressburg (later Bratislava), where he received a religious and secular education. Under Herzl's influence, he formed the first Zionist association in Hungary. When the Mizrachi movement was founded in 1904, he became one of its leaders. From 1908 he published and edited in Pressburg a Zionist weekly, *Ungarlaendische Juedische Zeitung*. During World War I, the Austro-Hungarian government sent him on a mission to the United States to influence American Jewry in its favor. After the war, he became a leading Zionist in Czechoslovakia. However, Bettelheim, who opposed the political and cultural activities of the Zionist Organization, soon joined Agudat Israel, taking an extreme anti-Zionist stand. He edited their newspaper *Juedische Presse* in Bratislava and Vienna and from 1922 *Juedische Zeitung* in Bratislava, where he propounded Agudat Israel. In 1934–35, he published in Bratislava a German-language monthly called *Judaica*, devoted to Jewish literature and history and containing material on Jewish and Zionist history in Hungary. In his last years he lived in Budapest.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: S.H. Weingarten, *Toledot Yehudei Bratislava* (1960) 139–40; EẒD, 1 (1958), 272–4.

[Samuel Weingarten-Hakohen]

BETTMAN, GARY (1952–), commissioner of the National Hockey League since 1993. Bettman was born in Queens, New York, and raised by his mother. He graduated from Cornell in 1974 and New York University Law School in 1977. After law school he worked at Proskauer Rose, a prestigious sports law firm in New York, where he met David *Stern, who went on to become commissioner of the National Basketball Association. Bettman joined Stern at the NBA as assistant general counsel in 1981 and worked in the NBA league office for 12 years.

Bettman became commissioner of the NHL on February 1, 1993, the sixth man to run the NHL since 1917. When he arrived, the league had teams in only 14 U.S. cities, league sponsorships were almost nonexistent, and the NHL had not had a network television agreement in almost 20 years. Bettman expanded the league from 24 to 30 teams, including teams in new locales such as Dallas, Anaheim, Miami, Phoenix, Carolina, Nashville, and Columbus, and new teams in former NHL cities such as Denver, Atlanta, and Minnesota. He increased revenues from $400 million to over $1.6 billion, and negotiated two network television contracts, including a $600 million deal with ABC and ESPN in 1998. In 1998, Bettman allowed NHL players to participate in the Olympic Winter Games, marking the first time NHL players had played in the Olympics. The NHL also suspended the regular 2001–2 season for 10 days to allow 125 players to participate in the Olympic Winter Games in Salt Lake City. Bettman made changes to the game itself, realigning and renaming the league's divisions to reflect geography; adopting a two-referee system; moving goal lines, blue lines, and defensive-zone circles; and changing the playoff formats.

However, his term in office was also marked by labor strife, first in 1994 when owners voted to lock out the players at the start of the season, which wiped out 32 games of the 80-game season; and in the 2004–5 season, which was canceled altogether.

[Elli Wohlgelernter (2nd ed.)]

BETTMANN, BERNHARDT (1834–1915), U.S. Reform lay leader. Born in Germany, Bettmann immigrated to the U.S. in 1850, settling in Cincinnati and building a successful clothing business. Early on, he formed a close relationship with Reform leader Rabbi Isaac Mayer *Wise, who tapped him to serve the Zion Collegiate Association. An active leader of the Reform movement throughout its formative years, Bettmann joined the first executive board of the *Union of American Hebrew Congregations upon its founding in 1873. In 1875, he became the first chairman of the Board of Governors of the *Hebrew Union College, a position he held until becoming its honorary president in 1910. Ideologically, Bettmann was a non-Zionist, contending that while Palestine could possibly serve as a haven for the oppressed Jews of Russia, there was no need for a general return to a Jewish homeland. Spurning Jewish nationalism, he believed that the mission of Judaism was to spread the word of God and the brotherhood of man. A noted philanthropist, Bettmann was a pioneer in the development of community-wide social services. He was instrumental in founding the United Jewish Charities of Cincinnati and served as the organization's first president (1896–1903).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: K.M. Olitzky, L.J. Sussman, and M.H. Stern, *Reform Judaism in America: A Biographical Dictionary and Sourcebook* (1993).

[Bezalel Gordon (2nd ed.)]

BET YANNAI (Heb. בֵּית יַנַּאי), coastal moshav in the Ḥefer Plain, affiliated with Tenu'at ha-Moshavim; founded in 1933. Its settlers came from Poland, Lithuania, and North America. Its economy was based on farming (mostly citrus plantations) and tourism (the moshav also became a seaside resort). In 1968 its population was 229, increasing to 330 in the mid-1990s and 370 in 2002. It is named after the Hasmonean king Alexander Yannai.

[Efraim Orni]

BET YEHOSHU'A (Heb. בֵּית יְהוֹשֻׁעַ), moshav shittufi in central Israel, in the southern Sharon, affiliated with Ha-Oved ha-Ẓiyyoni. It was founded as a kibbutz in 1938 by pioneers from Poland. Its economy was based mainly on citrus plantations and dairy cattle. In 1968 its population was 260, rising with expansion to 420 in the mid-1990s and 652 in 2002. The village's name commemorates the Zionist leader Osias (Yehoshu'a) *Thon.

[Efraim Orni]

BET YERAḤ (Heb. בֵּית יֶרַח), large Canaanite city on the shore of the Sea of Galilee extending over a tell of approximately 50 acres, from the site of the present-day moshavah *Kinneret, to the outlet of the *Jordan River from the lake near *Deganyah. This location is based on the Jerusalem Talmud (Meg. 1:1, 70a) which speaks of two autonomous cities surrounded by walls, Bet-Yeraḥ and Ẓinabri (*Sennabris), in the vicinity of the Sea of Galilee. An additional reference is found in *Bekhorot* 51a, which states that the Jordan River "began" at Bet Yerah. Inasmuch as Sennabris is usually identified with Ḥaẓar Kinneret, it is probable that Bet Yeraḥ was situated on the site known to the Arabs as Khirbat al-Karak. Although not mentioned in the Bible, the name points to an ancient Canaanite settlement whose deity was a moon god. Excavations were conducted there in 1944–46 by the Jewish Palestine Exploration Society and, from 1949, by the Department of Antiquities and the Oriental Institute, University of Chicago.

The earliest settlement at Bet Yeraḥ is dated at the end of the Chalcolithic and the beginning of the Early Bronze Age I (c. 3200 B.C.E.). The inhabitants lived in huts some of which were sunk into pits dug to a depth of about 11½ ft. (3.5 m.). Traces of pavements and ovens were found in the pits. The erection of a brick wall, the first of Bet Yeraḥ's fortifications, was followed by the building of mud-brick houses and in the 29th century B.C.E. (Early Bronze Age II), stone houses made their appearance. A tomb from this period found at moshavah Kinneret contained gold ornaments in the style of Asia Minor. The settlement reached its zenith in the Early Bronze Age III (26th–24th centuries B.C.E.), when a large granary, 3,936 sq. ft. (1,200 sq. m.) in area, was constructed to the north of Bet Yeraḥ, indicating that at that time it was already the center of a large region of irrigated farmlands. The pottery of this epoch is light red or red-black burnished ware (a type common in Syria and Asia Minor) and its presence is apparently to be attributed to influences of northern peoples who penetrated through trade or invasion. In the Middle Bronze Age I the settlement was concentrated in the southern part of Bet Yeraḥ. No settlement existed there after that for about 1,500 years until the Persian period; to this period belong several graves found there. The city's location in ancient times east of the Jordan, on a narrow tongue between the river and the Sea of Galilee, necessitated building the main fortifications on the southern side. Here, where the Jordan now flows, the city lacked natural defenses in ancient times. The settlement at Bet Yeraḥ flourished again in the Hellenistic period. It has been identified with Philoteria, a Ptolemaic center, captured by *Antiochus III in 198 B.C.E. and also mentioned among the cities conquered by *Alexander Yannai (according to George Synkellus, 1:559). Remains uncovered from this period include a stone wall with vaulted openings and several houses, some with floors, plastered and painted walls, and windows overlooking the lake; numerous Rhodian stamped jar handles were also discovered.

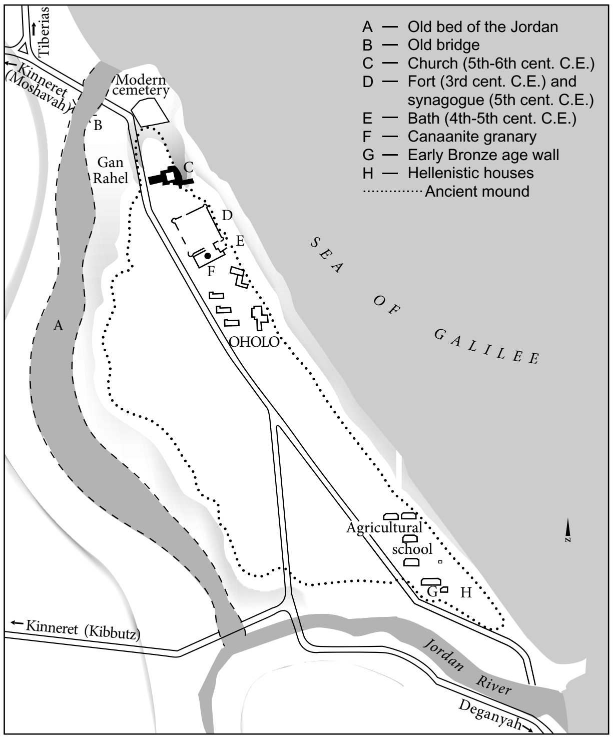

Map showing the site of the Canaanite city of Bet Yeraḥ in relation to the modern Oholo. After P. Delougaz and R.C. Haines, A Byzantine Church at Kirbat Al-Karak, *1960.*

In the early Roman period, a large Roman structure, covering an area of 105 × 59 ft. (32 × 18 m.), was erected on the ruins of the Hellenistic houses on the south. A large rectangular fort built of dressed masonry with towers at its corners was constructed on the northern part of the tell in the third century C.E. From this period there are several reports of a mixed Jewish-gentile population at Bet Yeraḥ (TJ, Meg. 1:1, 70a). After the Bar Kokhba war, priests of the Haaziah family settled there. The verse "Naphtali is a hind let loose" (Gen. 49:21) was interpreted by rabbis of the time as referring to Bet Yeraḥ, the territory of which was "entirely irrigated" (Gen. R. 98:22). The statement in the Jerusalem Talmud (loc. cit.) "The city was destroyed and became the possession of gentiles" also alludes to some event which occurred in the third century at Bet Yeraḥ or in its vicinity. In the fourth and fifth centuries, the fort seems to have been abandoned and its southern wall was used as the northern wall of a bathhouse. Excavations have shown that the bathhouse, the water for which was conducted through earthenware pipes from the aqueduct of *Tiberias, had a central hall with a circular pool in the center and heated rooms. In the fifth century, a synagogue was built within the fort. It was basilical, with an apse oriented to Jerusalem, and was one of the largest contemporary synagogues in the country, 121 × 72 ft. (37 × 22 m.). Its foundations have survived as well as part of its mosaic floor depicting a citron tree, a man and a horse (possibly a representation of the story of Mordecai and Haman), and also the base of a column incised with a seven-branched candelabrum.

North of the synagogue, a Christian church was built, basilical in form, with a central hall and two aisles; an atrium containing a well lay on its west side. The church had been enlarged to the north by a baptistery with a mosaic pavement dating from 529 C.E. Bet Yeraḥ was resettled in the seventh century after having been destroyed during the Persian or Arab invasion, but it was abandoned shortly afterward and reoccupied only in recent years. In 1945 an agricultural secondary school for the settlements of the Jordan Valley was built south of the tell and in 1949 Oholo, a conference and study center in memory of Berl *Katznelson, was erected north of it. Oholo opened in 1957 on the initiative of Ben Zion Yisreeli of Kevuẓah Kinneret, a leading personality of the labor and kibbutz movement. It houses courses for soldiers after their discharge; a teachers' seminary, principally for students hailing from Middle Eastern countries who intend to teach in immigrant villages and development towns; and a field school of the Society for the Preservation of Nature.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Maisler et al., in: IEJ, 2 (1952), 165–73, 218–29; P. Bar-Adon, in: *Eretz Israel*, 4 (1956), 50–55; Albright, in: AASOR, 6 (1926), 27 ff.; idem, in: JPOS 15 (1935), 200; Sukenik, in: JPOS, 2 (1922), 101 ff.; P. Delougaz and R.C. Haines, *Byzantine Church at Khirbat al-Karak* (1960).

[Michael Avi-Yonah / Efraim Orni]

BET YIZḤAK (Heb. בֵּית יִצְחָק), moshav in central Israel, in the Ḥefer Plain. It was founded in 1940 as an unaffiliated middle-class settlement by immigrants from Germany, many of whom were formerly members of academic professions. Later, Bet Yiẓḥak merged with the neighboring moshav Nirah, most of whose settlers came from Czechoslovakia and Austria. In 1968 Bet Yiẓḥak had a population of 825. Its economy was based on citrus orchards, a natural fruit preserve factory, and intensive farming. In the mid-1990s the population was approximately 1,440, increasing to 1,560 in 2002. Its name commemorates the German Zionist Yiẓḥak Feuerring, whose bequest was instrumental in financing the settlement.

[Efraim Orni]

BET YOSEF (Heb. בֵּית יוֹסֵף), moshav in Israel, in the north of the Beth-Shean Valley near the Jordan River, affiliated with Tenu'at ha-Moshavim; founded on April 9, 1937 as a "*tower and stockade" settlement. Its inhabitants came from Kurdistan. Its economy was based mostly on livestock and field crops, including cotton. Following the Six-Day War in June 1967, Bet Yosef frequently suffered from Jordanian artillery fire and acts of sabotage. In 2002 the population was approximately 350. Its name commemorates the Israel labor leader, Yosef *Aharonovitch.

[Efraim Orni]

BET ZAYIT (Heb. בֵּית זַיִת), moshav west of Jerusalem, affiliated with Ha-Mo'aẓah ha-Ḥakla'it association of "middle-class" settlements. Bet Zayit was founded in 1949 by immigrants from Yugoslavia, Romania, and Hungary. Later, immigrants from Egypt settled in the village. Its economy was based on fruit orchards, vegetables, poultry, and other farm products. Situated on the fringe of the Jerusalem Forest Park it operated a swimming pool and guest house as well. Near the village is the Ein Kerem dam built to store winter flood waters. The name, "House of the Olive Tree," refers to the extensive olive groves on the slopes around the village. In 1970 Bet Zayit numbered 468 inhabitants, in the mid-1990s the population was 840, while by 2002 it had increased still further 1,110. A place of the same name mentioned in the books of the Maccabees stood further north, possibly at the site of the Arab village Bīr al-Zayt, north of Ramallah.

[Efraim Orni]

BET ZEKHARYAH (Heb. בֵּית זְכַרְיָה), site 10 mi. (16 km.) S.W. of Jerusalem and 6 mi. (9½ km.) N. of Beth-Zur, where the Hasmonean army clashed with that of Antiochus V Eupator, king of Syria, in 162 B.C.E. In this battle *Eleazar, a brother of *Judah Maccabee, was crushed to death by one of the enemy's elephants whom he attacked, believing it to be carrying the king. The Jewish force was compelled to retreat (I Macc. 6:32–3; Jos., Ant., 12:369 ff.). Bet Zekharyah is present-day Khirbat Beit Zakarya, 2.2 mi. (4 km.) S.W. of Solomon's Pools.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Jos., Wars, 1:41 ff.; Avi-Yonah, Geog, 103; Abel, in: RB, 33 (1924), 212 ff.; Ploger, in: ZDPV, 79 (1958), 173.

[Michael Avi-Yonah]

BET ZERA (Heb. בֵּית זֶרַע, "House of Seed"), kibbutz in Israel, 1¼ mi. (2 km.) S. of Lake Kinneret, affiliated with Kibbutz Arẓi ha-Shomer ha-Ẓair, founded in 1927 by pioneers from Germany who had previously participated in establishing *Mizra in the Jezreel Valley. It received part of the Umm Jūnī lands (among the first acquired in the country by the Jewish National Fund), ceded by nearby *Deganyah when it intensified its farming methods. The settlers developed a farming economy adapted to the hot climate, based on field crops, bananas, and other tropical fruit. In addition, it raised dairy cattle. In the mid-1970s, industry began to replace farming as the main source of livelihood, with the kibbutz manufacturing a variety of plastic goods. In 1968 Bet Zera had 660 inhabitants, increasing slightly to 715 in 2002. In its initial years, the settlement was named also Kefar Nathan Laski, after the English communal leader. The site is supposed to be that of Kefar Agun of talmudic times, home of R. Tanḥum b. Ḥiyya (Gen. R. 100:7).

WEBSITE: www.betzera.org.il.

[Efraim Orni]

BET ẒERIFA, Jewish family of the Second Temple period. According to the Mishnah "there was a family of Bet Ẓerifa in Transjordan and Ben-Zion rejected it by force" (Eduy. 8:7; see also TJ, Yev. 8:3, 9a: TJ, Kid. 4:1, 65c). Scholars are divided as to whether this implies that Ben-Zion (of whom nothing more is known) had it ejected from the priesthood because he questioned its legitimacy. Possibly the learned Judah, son of Sariphaeus (Ẓerifa), who – according to Josephus – incited his disciples to pull down the golden eagle erected by Herod the king over the temple gate, belonged to this family, as well as R. Judah son of Ẓipporai, also known as Ben Ẓerifa.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Jos., Ant., 17:149; Jos., Wars, 1:648; Buechler, in: *Festschrift A. Schwarz…* (1917), 137 ff.; S. Klein, in: MGWJ, 64 (1920), 180 ff.; J.N. Epstein, *ibid.*, 65 (1921), 89–90.

[Isaiah Gafni]

BET(H)-ZUR (Heb. בֵּית צוּר), ancient city in Ereẓ Israel, 4½ mi. (7 km.) N. of Hebron, and, according to Eusebius (Onom. 52:1–2), 20 Roman miles south of Jerusalem, on the Hebron-Jerusalem road. The name has been preserved at Khirbat Burj al-Ṣūr but the ancient city was located nearby at Khirbat al-Tubayqa, on a high isolated plateau. Beth-Zur seems to have first been settled during the Early Bronze Age (third millennium B.C.E.). The earliest city, however, was apparently established by the *Hyksos in the second half of the Middle Bronze Age (c. 18th century B.C.E.). Only meager traces of the Late Bronze Age have been discovered. The site was rebuilt during the period of the Israelite settlement and appears to have been associated with the rule of the sons of *Caleb and the tribe of Judah (Josh. 15:58; I Chron. 2:45). The Israelite city was destroyed by fire c. 1,000 B.C.E., apparently in one of the Philistine attacks. Rehoboam included Beth-Zur in his system of fortifications (II Chron. 11:7). In the days of *Nehemiah, it was the capital of a sub-district. Its ruler, Nehemiah, son of Azbuk, took part in the rebuilding of the walls of Jerusalem (Neh. 3:16). From this time onward, Beth-Zur served as a defense post on the southern frontier of Judea against the Idumeans in the Hebron district. It played an important role in the Hasmonean wars; a Seleucid garrison stationed there from 175 B.C.E. was routed by Judah *Maccabee in 165 B.C.E. This victory and Judah's fortifications of Beth-Zur as a border stronghold of Judea made possible the resumption of the service in the Temple and its rededication (I Macc. 4:29). Two years later, the Syrians regained control of the city and thereby of the road to Jerusalem (I Macc. 6:60). Their general *Bacchides rebuilt its fortifications, c. 160 B.C.E. (I Macc. 9:52), but after a prolonged siege it was finally captured by the Hasmonean *Simeon son of Mattathias in the mid-forties of the second century B.C.E. and its defenses were strengthened. Remains of the Maccabean fortress, containing large rock-hewn cisterns, were uncovered in excavations conducted in 1931 and resumed in 1957. The city was destroyed and abandoned, apparently during *Vespasian's campaigns, but as shown by the Madaba Map, it was reestablished in the Byzantine period, probably on the opposite hill, Khirbat Burj al-Ṣūr, whose ruins date from Crusader times.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: O.R. Sellers, *Citadel of Beth Zur* (1933); Lapp, in: BASOR, 151 (1958), 16–27; Aharoni, Land, index; Avi-Yonah, Geog, index.

[Michael Avi-Yonah]

BET-ẒURI, ELIAHU (1922–1945), Jew executed in Egypt in the Mandate Period. Bet-Ẓuri was born in Tel Aviv. He became a member of *Leḥi after its secession from IZL. Together with Eliahu *Ḥakim he was sent by his organization to Cairo to assassinate Lord Moyne, then British minister of state for the Middle East, whose seat was in Cairo. The attempt was successful, but Bet-Ẓuri and Ḥakim were apprehended. They were sentenced to death by a military court in Cairo on Jan. 1, 1945, and executed on Mar. 22. Their remains were interred in the Jewish cemetery of Cairo.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Y. Nedava, *Olei-ha-Gardom* (1966); Y. Gurion, *Ha-Nizzaḥon Olei Gardom* (1971).

°BEUGNOT, AUGUSTE ARTHUR (1797–1865), French lawyer, senator (1841), and delegate to the National Assembly (1848). Beugnot was keenly interested in the improvement of the situation of the Jews in France. In 1822, together with J.B. Capefigue and G.B. Depping he won a French Academy competition for a paper *Juifs d'occident, ou recherches sur l'état civil, le commerce, la littérature des Juifs en France, en Espagne et en Italie, pendant la durée du moyen âge* (Paris, 1824). Beugnot showed thorough knowledge of Jewish history and concluded his study with an exposition of the contributions of the Jews to the growth of European economies and culture. He asserted that whatever negative traits the Jews possess can be blamed on the Christians. In 1824 the Institute of Science, Agriculture, and Art in Strasbourg announced a competition under the patronage of an anonymous Jew, which had as its purpose to find "the most helpful ways in enabling the Jewish population of Alsace to enjoy the accomplishments of civilization." Beugnot won first prize but his submitted work never appeared in print. A resumé of his "Quels sont les moyens les plus propres à faire jouir la population israélite de l'Alsace des bienfaits de la civilisation?" appeared in *Journal de la Société des Science, Agriculture et Arts du Departement du Bas Rhin* (1 (1824), 114–6; 2 (1825), 297–320). He proposed that a council of Alsatian Jews be formed, under state sponsorship, to form committees for schools, publication of textbooks, experimental farms, trade, and charity. He argued that it was necessary to found a modern theological school and also proposed changing the Sabbath to Sunday.

[Noe Gruss]

°BEVAN, EDWYN ROBERT (1870–1943), historian and philosopher. He was educated at Oxford and became lecturer in Hellenistic history and literature at King's College, London. Bevan's main publications of Jewish interest are *The House of Seleucus*, 2 vols. (1902) and *Jerusalem under the High Priests* (1904), still a standard work. He also was coeditor (with Israel Abrahams and Charles Singer) of the *Legacy of Judaism* (19282), to which he contributed the article on Hellenistic Judaism. Bevan was a close friend of Claude *Goldsmid-Montefiore and an active member of the Society of Christians and Jews. Paradoxically, his sister was the notorious conspiracy theorist Nesta Webster. His brother, ANTHONY ASHLEY BEVAN (1859–1933), taught Oriental languages at Cambridge University. His chief interests were Arabic and Hebrew and he wrote a commentary on the Book of Daniel (1892).

ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY: ODNB online.

°BEVIN, ERNEST (1881–1951), British trade union leader and statesman. He was a member of the British War Cabinet in World War II (1941–45), and foreign secretary in the Labor government (1945–50) when Palestine was transferred de facto from the aegis of the Colonial Office to that of the Foreign Office. Bevin's Palestine policy was based on two premises: first, he felt that since the vast majority of the Middle East population was Arab, nothing should be done against their will, lest this set the Arab world against Great Britain and the West in their global struggle with the U.S.S.R. and Communism; second, he believed that Palestine could not essentially solve the Jewish problem as Jews should continue residing in Europe and contributing to its welfare. Rather than impose a Jewish state on the Arabs, he desired some kind of settlement between Jews and Arabs. In an attempt to obtain U.S. government approval for his Palestine policy, Bevin proposed appointing an Anglo-American commission whose task would be to plan a solution to the Palestine question. In the summer of 1946 he rejected the committee's proposals for the immediate admission of 100,000 Jewish refugees from Europe and the annulment of the provisos in the Macdonald White Paper restricting the acquisition of land by Jews. As a result, the situation in Palestine deteriorated, and Bevin began applying severe repressive measures against the *yishuv*. Leading members of the Jewish Agency and the Va'ad Le'ummi were arrested, "illegal" immigrants were deported to detention camps in Cyprus, and the *Exodus*, bearing 4,500 such immigrants, was shipped back to Germany. At the same time, Bevin proposed other ways of solving the problem. One of these was the cantonization of Palestine, better known as the Morrison Scheme, which allocated about 17% of the country to the Jews; another was the Bevin Plan to give the British government a five-year trusteeship over Palestine with the declared object of preparing the country for independence. On Feb. 15, 1947, after both plans had been rejected by Jews and Arabs, Bevin announced that he was referring the entire matter to the United Nations. As a result, the United Nations Special Committee on Palestine (UNSCOP) was appointed and, on Nov. 29, 1947, the UN voted to divide Palestine into a Jewish and an Arab State. Bevin gradually became reconciled to the idea of a Jewish state; in January 1949, eight months after the proclamation of the State of Israel, he granted it de facto recognition.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: F. Williams, *Ernest Bevin* (Eng., 1952); J.C. Hurewitz, *The Struggle for Palestine* (1950); R.H.S. Crossman, *A Nation Reborn* (1960), ch. 2; idem, *Palestine Mission* (1946); B.C. Crum, *Behind the Silken Curtain* (1947); Jewish Agency, *The Jewish Plan for Palestine* (1947). **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** A. Bullock, *Ernest Bevin: Foreign Secretary* (1984); ODNB online.

[Moshe Rosetti]

BEYTH, HANS (1901–1947), *Youth Aliyah leader. Beyth, who was born in Bleicherode, Germany, was active in his youth in the *Blau-Weiss Zionist youth movement. In 1935 he went to Palestine, where he worked as Henrietta *Szold's assistant in Youth Aliyah. His resourcefulness in rescuing and warmth in educating the Youth Aliyah wards made him an outstanding personality in the organization. He was instrumental in the establishment of Youth Aliyah institutions in communal settlements, and in the absorption of many wards into kibbutz life. Beyth was sent to Europe at the end of World War II to prepare the emigration and absorption of surviving Jewish children. In the last year of his life he arranged for the care of 20,000 wards. Beyth was murdered by Arabs in December 1947 while on his way home to Jerusalem from Haifa and Athlit, where he had been welcoming children on their arrival from a youth village in Cyprus.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Hans Beyth, Ish Aliyyat ha-No'ar* (1951); *Im Gedenken an Hans Beyth*, (1948), published by the Jewish Agency.

[Arye Lipshitz]

BEẒAH (Heb. בֵּיצָה; "egg"), a tractate (so called after its opening word) of the order *Mo'ed*, in the Mishnah, Tosefta, Babylonian Talmud, and Jerusalem Talmud. The tractate deals with the laws of festivals, but whereas other tractates of the order *Mo'ed* deals with specific festivals, *Beẓah*, in the main, discusses the laws common to festivals in general; for this reason this tractate is also called *Yom Tov* ("festival"). The tractate consists of five chapters in both the Mishnah and the Talmud, but of only four in the Tosefta. The first two chapters of the Mishnah consist chiefly of differences of opinion between Bet Shammai and *Bet Hillel (e.g. 2:7; 3:8; 5:5) but also includes traditions from the period of Jabneh (2:6). The Mishnah ascribes most of the halakhot to various *tannaim* who were disciples of R. *Akiva, but it also contains many anonymous mishnayot of later *tannaim* who were contemporaries of Judah ha-Nasi. *Beẓah* in the Babylonian Talmud contains many teachings of Palestinian scholars who reached Babylon by way of the *nehutei*, but which do not appear in the Jerusalem Talmud. Conversely, the text of the tractate in the Jerusalem Talmud contains statements of Babylonian scholars which are not found in the Babylonian Talmud. *Beẓah* contains many additions of the *savoraim* (26a, 27a, 35b), as well as older material revised by them. Aside from the regular editions and commentaries, one of the earliest commentaries on the Jerusalem Talmud has been preserved for *Beẓah*, that of R. Eleazar Azikri, edited by Israel Francis (1967).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: P. Blackman (ed. and tr.), *Mishnayot*, 2 (Eng., 1952), 349–75 (with introd. and notes); H.Strack, *Introduction to the Talmud and Midrash* (1959[2]), 39–40; Epstein, Tanna'im, 354–62; Epstein, Amora'im, 24–44; H. Albeck, *Shishah Sidrei Mishnah, Seder Mo'ed* (1958), 281–6.

[Zvi Kaplan]

BEZALEL (Heb. בְּצַלְאֵל; "in the shadow [under the protection] of God," cf. Ps. 91:1; similar to the Akkadian *ina-ṣilli-Bēl* ("in the shadow of Bel"), *ina-ṣilli-Nabû*, "in the shadow of Nabu," and the like), son of Uri, son of Hur of the tribe of Judah; an expert in metalwork, stonecutting, and woodcarving. Moses appointed Bezalel head of the artisans who were employed both in the construction of the *Tabernacle and its equipment and in designing the priests' vestments (Ex. 31:1–11; 36–39). He was assisted by *Oholiab son of Ahisamach the Danite, who was an expert craftsman and embroiderer (31–6; 35: 34–35).

The Bible views Bezalel's construction of the Tabernacle and its equipment as the execution of a plan that the Lord detailed to Moses on the Mount (Ex. 25:9, 40; 26:30; 27:8; Num. 8:4). The idea that the Temple's construction should be detailed according to a divine plan is also found in Ezekiel's vision concerning Jerusalem and the Temple (40:2ff.). Similarly, the author of I Chronicles (28:19) asserts that the instructions for building the First Temple were given "in writing, by His hand." Parallel notions are to be found in the literature of other nations as, for example, in the inscriptions of Gudea, king of Lagash, concerning certain structures he erected in his land, and in Babylonian inscriptions dealing with the temple of Marduk. Drawing upon Exodus 31:3, which describes Bezalel as being endowed with "… a divine spirit of skill, ability, and knowledge…. "Philo viewed Bezalel as a symbol of pure knowledge (II Gig. 23). He inferred from the name "Bezalel" that he knew God by seeing the divine shadow, that is, by seeing only God's works, and not God Himself, as had Moses (ILA 3: 102).

[Yehoshua M. Grintz]

In the *Aggadah*

When Moses was instructed to erect the Sanctuary and fashion its vessels, God showed him the name of Bezalel written in the Book of the Generations of Adam (Gen. 5:1), in which are inscribed all the deeds of future generations, as the divinely appointed architect. Nevertheless he was told to obtain the approval of the Children of Israel for the appointment, in order to teach that no leader should be appointed without the consent of the people (Ber. 55a; cf. Jos., Ant., 3:104). At the side of Bezalel, who belonged to the aristocratic tribe of Judah, worked Oholiab, of the lowliest tribe, that of Dan, to show that before God "the great and the lowly are equal" (Ex. R. 40:4). God filled Bezalel with wisdom (Ex. 31:3) "because he already possessed wisdom," since "God does not grant wisdom save to those who already have wisdom" (Tanḥ. Va-Yakhel, 2; Ber. 55a). Bezalel had five other names: Reaiah ("the seer"), Shobal ("the builder of the dovecote," a synonym for the Tabernacle), Jahat ("the dreadful"), Ahumai ("the unifier of Israel"), and Lahad ("one who beautified Israel," or "one who was near to the poor"; Ex. R. 40:4).

[Elimelech Epstein Halevy]

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Ginzberg, Legends, index.

BEZALEL, Academy of Arts and Design in Jerusalem. The Bezalel Academy of Arts and Design was founded in 1906 by Boris *Schatz, first named the Bezalel School of Arts and Crafts. It was named after the artist in charge of the construction of the *Tabernacle, Bezalel ben Uri (Ex. 31:1–5, 35:30–32). Schatz, who had a utopian vision, believed that the students would be able to help build a Third Temple in Jerusalem. In 1903 Schatz broached his idea to Theodor Herzl, and the decision to establish Bezalel was confirmed at the Seventh Zionist Congress (Basel, 1905).

From the beginning the institute contained three divisions: a school for painting, workshops, and the Bezalel Museum. In 1908, when the school moved to new premises it already taught 30 different crafts, such as silverwork, weaving, woodcarving, ivory inlaying, etc. In 1913 the number of students was around 500. In 1911–14 a separate branch for Yemenite goldsmiths operated in *Ben Shemen. The works of art created in the workshops were displayed by Schatz in Europe and New York as means of getting financial support.

The Bezalel style in crafts was a combination of Art Nouveau, the Oriental style, and the Art and Crafts Movement. Most of the objects were Judaica artifacts utilizing images from Jewish tradition, from the Bible as well as from the Zionist ideology (*Elijah's Chair*, 1916–25, Israel Museum, Jerusalem).

Economic factors in the main caused the closure of the Bezalel institute in 1929. A basic argument about its artistic style was one of the reasons its influence on Israeli art declined. The leading opponents were a group of young artists from Tel Aviv who desired a connection with modern Western art styles such as Expressionism, Primitivism, and Cubism.

German-influenced teachers founded the New Bezalel in 1935, and it was directed in that spirit by Josef *Budko, Erich *Mendelson, and Mordecai *Ardon. At that time the influence of modernism and the aesthetics of the Bauhaus became dominant. Since the 1970s Bezalel has been the major institute for fine arts and design in Israel.

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[Ronit Steinberg (2nd ed.)]

BEZALEL BEN MOSES HA-KOHEN (1820–1878), Lithuanian rabbi and unofficial rabbi of Vilna. At the age of 11, Bezalel already knew by heart two of the six orders of the Talmud; at 13, he had covered the entire Talmud and amazed his listeners with his original halakhic discourses. A sermon which he delivered before the rabbis of Vilna at the age of 18 was subsequently published in his *Reshit Bikkurim*. His novellae were collected in a work *Torat Yisrael* which is no longer extant. In 1843 although only 23 years of age, Bezalel was chosen as one of the rabbis of Vilna in succession to Joseph Shiskes. He soon became the leading "*moreh ẓedek*" of Vilna, an office equivalent to that of rabbi of the city. Bezalel was well versed in secular subjects, particularly mathematics and engineering. *Reshit Bikkurim*, responsa and comments on the *Sifra* (1868), reveals his extensive scholarship and his firm attitude in halakhic questions. His glosses on the Talmud, *Mareh Kohen*, bearing the same title as his notes on *Yoreh De'ah*, were published in the Vilna edition of the Talmud (1884). His commentary on the *Sefer ha-Mitzvot* of Maimonides appeared in the Vilna edition of 1866. He also published a pamphlet entitled *Hora'at Hetter*, dealing with the permissibility of using *etrogim* from Corfu on Sukkot (1876). Many of Bezalel's responsa appear in the works of his contemporaries and a number of his writings are still in manuscript.

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[Itzhak Alfassi]

BEZALEL BEN SOLOMON OF KOBRYN (17th century), preacher and author. Bezalel was active in Slutsk (Minsk region), Boskowitz (Moravia), and Przemysl. The following of his books are worthy of note: (1) *Pelaḥ ha-Rimmon* (Amsterdam, 1659), consisting of 20 different expositions of various Midrashim; (2) *Ammudei ha-Shivah* ("Seven Pillars," Lublin, 1666), sermons on obscure Midrashim. The "Seven Pillars" are Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Moses, Aaron, David, and Solomon, and each section has in its title a biblical verse containing the respective names of these worthies. In his introduction the author states: "I found favor in the eyes of the rulers and leaders of the country [Lithuania], who were moved to make a large contribution toward the publication of the book, and it also received the approbation of the Council of the Four Lands." Selections from the book were published by Joshua Abraham b. Israel of Zhitomir under the title *Nofet Ẓufim* (Lemberg, 1804). (3) *Korban Shabbat* (Dyhernfurth, 1691), homilies on the Sabbath precepts and customs, compiled from the halakhic authorities and works of Kabbalah. Other of his works are still in manuscript.

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[Yehoshua Horowitz]

BEZEK (Heb. בֶּזֶק), place-name mentioned in the Bible. Saul mustered his army there before undertaking his campaign to relieve *Jabesh-Gilead, which was being besieged by the Ammonites under Nahash (I Sam. 11:8). Bezek has been identified (following Eusebius, Onom. 54:8) with Khirbat lbzīq, 15 mi. (24 km.) north of Shechem on the road leading to Beth-Shean. Its position on the road descending from the hill country of Ephraim to the Jordan Valley would explain its choice as a mobilization point.

A Bezek is also mentioned in Judges 1:4–5, as the place where the tribe of Judah defeated the Canaanites and Perizzites. Their dying overlord, Adoni-Bezek, was taken to Jerusalem. Attempts to locate this Bezek in the vicinity of Jerusalem have so far been unsuccessful. Some scholars accept its identification with the other Bezek, assuming that the tribe of Judah crossed the Jordan Valley in the direction opposite to that taken by Saul and then continued south to its inheritance.

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[Michael Avi-Yonah]

BEZEM, NAFTALI (1924–), Israeli painter. Born in Essen, Germany, the youngest son of a Polish-Jewish immigrant family, Bezem immigrated to Eretz-Israel with the assistance of *Youth Aliyah. His parents were murdered in Auschwitz. In 1943 Bezem began his studies at the Bezalel Academy of Art and Design in Jerusalem under the guidance of Mordecai *Ardon, whom he adopted as a father figure. Later Bezem himself became a teacher in the institute. In 1949 he traveled with his wife, Hannah Liberman, to Paris and studied at the Centre d'Art Sacre, a Catholic art school specializing in modern sacred art. Over the years Bezem had many one-man shows and produced a number of reliefs for public buildings, wall paintings, stained glass, and tapestries. In 1975 his eldest son was murdered in a terrorist attack in Jerusalem's Zion Square. Bezem divided his life between Israel and Switzerland.

Besem's art was much involved in the history of Israel. Some of his art works are located in official institutes of the State of Israel, such as the ceiling painting in the President's Residence in Jerusalem and the metal relief at the Yad Vashem Holocaust Memorial in Jerusalem. In his symbolic style he integrated Jewish and Zionist contents with the formal requirements of these institutes.

During the years Bezem devised a symbolic language. The *beheaded fish* or the *rooster* were symbols of atonement and in the context of the Holocaust served as a symbol of the victim being sacrificed. *Boats with oars* were the means of transport by which he arrived to Israel; the forward motion symbolized progress with the boat a protective device. The *lion* was his characteristic symbol for Jewish objects and *stones* represented an old city on which a new city is built. The *Sabbath candles* symbolized the happiness of his childhood and the candles of his mother but also the light that went out when his son died.

For several years after the death of his son Isaac, Bezem, the mourning father, dedicated himself to the theme of Isaac's sacrifice (the *Akedah*). In these paintings he created an analogy between the sacrifice of the father and sacrifice of the son, without a ram for redemption.

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[Ronit Steinberg (2nd ed.)]

BEZIDUL NOU (Hg. **Bőződújfalu**), village in Transylvania, Romania, inhabited by Szeklers, a distinctive ethnic group of Hungarian origin who speak a specific Hungarian dialect. In the 17th century it was an important center of the Sabbatarians, who practiced their religion mostly in secret. There were other centers of Sabbatarians in 18th century Transylvania, but they disappeared in the face of Christian hatred and enmity towards them. In 1868–69, after equal rights had been granted to Hungarian Jewry, the Sabbatarians, then numbering approximately 100, mostly poor farmers, openly practiced

Judaism. The seal of the community they established was inscribed the "Proselyte Community Congregation of Jeshurun." At the beginning of the 20th century a few Jews by birth settled in the village and intermarried with the proselytes. In 1940 Bezidul Nou passed from Romania to Hungary and there followed a period of disaster because of the strong racial laws which existent in Horthiite Hungary. The authorities ordered the demolition of the synagogue; under pressure from the local Christian clerics and the Hungarian Horthiite authorities, most of the community became converted to Unitarianism. From 1940 the leaders of the congregation tried to obtain exemption for their members from the anti-Jewish racial laws. On Oct. 3, 1941, the Hungarian minister of justice signed an order enabling the descendants of Sabbatarians to obtain certificates of exemption. There were then 94 proselytes living in Bezidul Nou, while an additional 30–40 persons originating from the village or the vicinity also obtained certificates. These were still being issued by the Hungarian ministry of justice in spring 1944, a few days before the German occupation. When ghettos were established, the proselytes were deported to the Marosvasarhely ghetto together with the other Jews who lived in the region. Some of their leaders succeeded in reaching Budapest and obtained certificates for a small number already confined in the ghetto, who were subsequently released. Those who did not wish to accept the certificates were deported to *Auschwitz.

After World War II Bezidul Nou reverted to Romania; those who survived the Holocaust remained formally Christians, although some continued to follow Jewish observances. In 1960 they began to emigrate to Israel, where by 1968 they numbered approximately 50. Only five families, all aged persons, remained in the village in 1969, formally belonging to the Unitarian Church. But they observed the Sabbath and their wives lit candles on Sabbath eve as they had learned from their forefathers; they also maintained close contact with their relatives in Israel for some time. A small cemetery with a few hundred tombstones attests to the past existence of the community. The Hebrew inscription (*Ger Ẓedek*, "proselyte") appears next to the name on many of the tombstones, most of which bear the *menorah* and a *Magen David*. Today these are almost the only memory of the existence of a specific Sabbatarian community among the Szeklers, though even today there are stories about these the "Jewish" predecessors.

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[Yehouda Marton / Paul Schveiger (2nd ed.)]

BÉZIERS (Heb. בדרש; based on the Latin form), city in the department of Hérault, France. Natives of the city were known as בדרשי normally transliterated as "Bedersi." An estate near Béziers belonging to Jews (*Guardia Judaica*) is mentioned in a document of 990. In the 11th century, the Jews lived in both parts of the city, which was divided between the bishop and the count. They paid the count taxes on honey, cinnamon, and pepper. The synagogue was built in 1144 or 1164 in the present rue de la Promenade. Its mosaic pavement, with Hebrew inscriptions and its foundation stone, were discovered in the first half of the 19th century. The cemetery was situated outside the city walls to the east and two Hebrew tombstones have been discovered there. A rue de la Juiverie recalling one of the medieval Jewish quarters still exists. Both the count and the bishop made use of Jewish commercial and financial agents. In 1160 the bishop abolished the ancient local custom of stoning the houses of the Jews on the Sunday before Easter. In return, the Jews undertook to pay an annual tax. Count Roger II was kindly disposed toward the Jews, even entrusting them with administrative functions. The Christian inhabitants of Béziers, who had *Albigensian leanings, were also, as a rule, favorably disposed. About 200 Jews were among the victims of the massacre of the Albigenses in Béziers in 1209. Most of the Jewish population had previously fled from the city. Some of the refugees settled in Narbonne; some apparently in *Gerona, Spain; an inscription apparently intended for the synagogue they founded there has been discovered in Gerona. The revenues formerly derived by the counts of Béziers from the Jews now went to the king. The bishop however retained his right, and even built a new synagogue in the part of the city under his jurisdiction in an effort to attract Jews from the area. In 1278, however, the king compelled him to destroy the synagogue and ordered the Jews who had moved to the bishop's territory to return.

Béziers was known to the medieval Jews as "the little Jerusalem." Abraham *Ibn Ezra stayed there for some time in about 1155; he dedicated his *Sefer ha-Shem* to two scholars of Béziers. *Benjamin of Tudela, visiting the town in about 1165, remarked on "a congregation of learned men." The best known of these are the liturgical poet Abraham b. Isaac *Bedersi, his son *Jedaiah ha-Penini, and *Meshullam b. Moses. The poets Eleazar Hanan Ezobi, Astruc of Béziers, and Meshullam Ezobi also lived in Béziers. Samuel Ibn *Tibbon lived there for some time. Solomon b. Joseph ibn Ayyub of Granada and Jacob b. Moses, translators of Arabic works into Hebrew, settled at Béziers.

The Jews were expelled from Béziers in 1306. An indication of the scope of the Jewish settlement there is provided by three deeds of sale which have been preserved concerning the subsequent liquidation of their real estate on the king's behalf. The documents mention at least 13 houses which had belonged to some ten Jews. In 1367 the community was renewed by an agreement made by a number of Jews with the bishop. The general expulsion of the Jews from France in 1394 again forced them to leave. During World War II, 300 Jewish refugees stayed in Béziers, where they had two prayer rooms at their disposal, until 1943. A new community was formed after the war which in 1968 comprised some 400 persons, mostly from North Africa.

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[Zvi Avneri]

BIALA, town in W. Galicia, S. Poland, on the river Biala opposite the Silesian town *Bielsko with which it was amalgamated in 1950 to form Biala-Bielsko. The two were closely connected through their joint textile industry. In 1765 the Jews were expelled from Biala. Many of them subsequently returned and formed a community in conjunction with the Jews in the suburbs which until the middle of the 19th century remained under the jurisdiction of the Oswiécim community. A cemetery was established in 1849 and an independent congregation constituted in 1872. The Jews in Biala numbered about 2,600 in 1929. With the exception of the *ḥevra kaddisha* the charitable and cultural institutions were maintained jointly with those of the Bielsko (Bielitz) community. For Holocaust period see *Bielsko.

BIAŁA PODLASKA, town in Lublin province, Poland. The first mention of Jewish settlement in Biała Podlaska dates from 1621 when 30 Jewish families were granted rights of residence there. In 1841 there were 2,200 Jews out of a total population of 3,588; in 1897, 6,549 out of 13,090; in 1921, 6,874 out of 13,000., and in 1939, 7,439 (36.9% of the total population). The main Yiddish newspaper, *Podlasyer Leben* was published there between the two world wars.

Holocaust Period

On September 26, 1939, the Soviet army entered the town, but withdrew a month later when the Soviet-German boundary agreement was reached. About 600 Jews left the town together with the Soviet army. The remaining Jewish population was immediately subjected to Nazi persecution and terror. At the end of 1939 about 2,000 Jews from Suwalki and Serock were forced to settle here. A few months later about 1,000 Jewish prisoners of war who had served in the Polish army were brought to Biała Podlaska from the prison camp in Czarne near Chojna. Several score of them were murdered during the march on foot to Biała Podlaska. They were imprisoned on arrival in a forced labor camp and about a year later were transferred to a Lublin prisoner of war camp. During 1940 and 1941 further deportations to Biała Podlaska took place. Several hundred Jews from Cracow and Mlawa were dispatched there. As a result of all the "resettlements" the Jewish population in the town grew to about 8,400 in March 1942. At the end of June 1941 a number of Jews were sent to the concentration camp in *Auschwitz for giving bread to Soviet prisoners of war marching through the town. They were among the first Jewish victims to perish in Auschwitz.

On June 11, 1942, the first deportation from Biała took place. About 3,000 people were sent to *Sobibor death camp and exterminated. In late September and early October 1942, a second deportation was carried out in which the entire remaining Jewish population was sent to the ghetto in Miedzyrzecz, and from there to *Treblinka death camp in November. Only 300 Jews were left in Biała Podlaska in a newly established forced labor camp. This was liquidated in May 1944 and all its inmates transferred to *Majdanek concentration camp, where only a few survived. Several hundred Jews fled to the woods during the deportations, but only about 30 of them survived in hiding until the liberation of the region in July 26, 1944. After the war the surviving Jewish remnant, together with a few hundred former residents who came back from the Soviet Union, tried to rebuild the Jewish community, but were forced to leave the town in the summer of 1946 because of antisemitic manifestations among the Polish population. In June 1946 Polish antisemites killed two young Jews and destroyed the monument which the Jewish survivors had erected in memory of the murdered Jewish community. Societies of former Biała Podlaska residents were active in Israel, the U.S., Argentina, France, Canada, and Australia.

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[Stefan Krakowski]

BIALE, DAVID (1949–), U.S. historian of Jewish culture, religion, and politics. Biale was educated at Harvard University, the University of California at Berkeley, the Hebrew University, and UCLA, where he received his Ph.D. in history in 1977. He taught Jewish history at the State University of New York, Binghamton, and Graduate Theological Union in Berkeley, and from 1999 served as Emmanuel Ringelblum Professor of Jewish History at the University of California at Davis.

He is the author of a number of books, among them *Gershom Scholem: Kabbalah and Counter-History* (1979), *Power and Powerlessness in Jewish History* (1986), *Eros and the Jews: From Biblical Israel to Contemporary America* (1992), and is the editor of *Cultures of the Jews: A New History* (2002), a significant re-conceptualization of the entirety of Jewish history.

Biale's work is characterized by attention to the broad sweep of Jewish history; while he is primarily a specialist in modern European Jewish history, his investigations took him to all periods and geographic centers. Especially significant is his edited volume, *Cultures of the Jews*, a work designed to re-focus the discipline of Jewish history on everyday matters, on the multifaceted interaction of Jews with their social and political environments, and on neglected groups within the Jewish community.

[Jay Harris (2nd ed.)]

BIALEH, ẒEVI HIRSCH BEN NAPHTALI HERZ (1670–1748), German rabbi and *rosh yeshivah*. Bialeh was born in Lemberg. He served as rabbi of Biała (hence his name) and then as head of a yeshivah in Lemberg. In 1718 he was appointed to Halberstadt (hence his other appellation Ẓevi Hirsch Halberstadter) where he remained until his death. Because of his acumen he was also called Hirsch Ḥarif ("sharp"). He established a large yeshivah in the town and among its pupils were such outstanding rabbis of the following generation as Akiva *Eger, Isaiah *Berlin, and Mordecai *Halberstadt. He refused to publish his novellae on the grounds that through the continual publication of works by *aḥaronim*, students would neglect the *rishonim*, but glosses and responsa by him can be found scattered in various works of his contemporaries. His works, which were published only after his death, are *Ateret Ẓevi* (1804), comprising responsa, sermons, eulogies, and novellae; *Kos Yeshu'ot* (1902), Part 1 novellae on *Bava Kamma* and *Shevu'ot*, Part 2 on *Bava Meẓia* and other material. He preferred to penetrate deeply into the understanding of the sources, stress the plain meaning of the Talmud, and avoid excessive *pilpul*. Five of his children were rabbis: Solomon Dov Berush in Glogau; Naphtali Herz in Dubno; Abraham in Rawicz; Samuel in Halberstadt; and Simḥah in Dessau. His brother, Israel b. Naphtali Herz (d. 1744) lived in Cleves, Offenbach, and Hanau. His talmudic novellae are contained in his brother's *Ateret Ẓevi*.

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[Yehoshua Horowitz]

BIALIK, ḤAYYIM NAḤMAN (1873–1934), the greatest Hebrew poet of modern times, essayist, storywriter, translator, and editor, who exercised a profound influence on modern Jewish culture. Born in the village of Radi, near Zhitomir (Volhynia), Bialik's development as a poet was influenced by his environment – the simplicity and fervor of a folk spirituality – which characterized Volhynian Jewry, and the ḥasidic ambience, alive with mystic lore, in which it was steeped. His father, Isaac Joseph, came of scholarly stock and had been engaged in the family timber trade and in flour milling before coming down in life through his impracticality. For his father as well as his mother, Dinah Priva, this was a second marriage, both having been widowed previously. Despite his family's dire economic circumstances, Bialik retained many happy memories of the first six years of his childhood in Radi. In some of his best poems, "*Zohar*" ("Radiance," 1901) and "*Ha-Berekhah*" ("The Pool," 1905), attempting to recapture the lost paradise of childhood, he idealizes the enchanted hours which he spent romping in the dazzling light of the fields and in the secret shade of the forest. Others have fewer happy references and are marked by loneliness, parental neglect, and the almost narcissistic withdrawal of a sensitive, artistic child, e.g., the prose poem "*Safi'aḥ*" ("Aftergrowth," 1908).

Childhood Period (1880–1890)

When Bialik was six, his parents moved to Zhitomir in search of a livelihood and his father was reduced to keeping a saloon on the outskirts of town. Shortly thereafter, in 1880, his father died and the destitute widow entrusted her son to the care of his well-to-do paternal grandfather, Jacob Moses. For ten years, until he went to yeshivah in 1890, the gifted, mischievous Ḥayyim Naḥman was raised by the stern old pietist. At first he was instructed by teachers in the traditional *ḥeder* and later, from the age of 13, pursued his studies alone. He was a lonely figure in the almost deserted house of study on the edge of town, for the expanding modernization of Jewish life had restricted the traditional study of Torah to a secluded nook. Passionate and solitary dedication to study shaped traits of character that Bialik was to exalt: "A fertile mind, lively logic, a trusting heart when the knee falters." From this experience of his adolescence stems the sense of vocation of the chosen individual who dedicates his life to an ideal, sacrificing youth and the delights of the world in order to remain faithful to the last. This theme of vocation was to become central to Bialik's thinking and his poetry is a spiritual record of the paradoxical struggle to free himself from his calling and at the same time to remain faithful to it. During this period too his reading of medieval theology and Haskalah works stimulated ambitions for secular knowledge, moving him to seek a more comprehensive education. He dreamed of the rabbinical seminary in Berlin, and of acquiring the cultural tools that would give him entrance to modern European civilization.

Volozhin Period

Convinced by a journalistic report that the yeshivah of *Volozhin in Lithuania would offer him an introduction to the humanities, as well as a continuation of his talmudic studies, Bialik persuaded his grandfather to permit him to study there. In Volozhin, a center of *Mitnaggedim*, his hopes for a secular academic training were not fulfilled since the yeshivah concentrated only on the scholarly virtues of talmudic dialectic and erudition. For a short time Bialik immersed himself in the traditional disciplines. In some of his poems the image of his stern grandfather merges with the image of the uncompromising *rosh yeshivah*, becoming a symbol of the burning imperatives of traditional Judaism. In the end, however, modernist doubts triumphed over traditionalist certainties. Bialik began to withdraw from the life of the school and lived in the world of poetry. At this time, he read Russian poetry and started his acquaintance with European literature. During the following year in Volozhin and later in Odessa, he was deeply moved by Shimon Shemuel Frug's Jewish poems, written in Russian, and many of Bialik's early motifs echo him. His first published poem, "*El ha-Ẓippor*" ("To the Bird"), was written in Volozhin. In the yeshivah Bialik joined a secret Orthodox Zionist student society, Neẓaḥ Israel, which attempted to synthesize Jewish nationalism and enlightenment with a firm adherence to tradition. Bialik's first published work (in *Ha-Meliẓ*, 1891) is an exposition of the principles of the society and reflects the teachings of Aḥad Ha-Am's spiritual Zionism.

Aḥad Ha-Am's Influence

*Aḥad Ha-Am, whose thinking had a profound impact on Bialik and his generation, first began publishing his essays in 1889. They provided a framework of ideas that helped his contemporaries translate their Jewish loyalties from a religious context into a modern, philosophically oriented humanist rationale for Jewish existence. Bialik recognized Aḥad Ha-Am as his great teacher. He wrote of this period, "… the day a new essay of Aḥad Ha-Am's appeared was a holiday for me. " Bialik later wrote a poem in tribute to his mentor: "Receive our blessing for each seed of… idea/That you have sown… in our desolate hearts." But Aḥad Ha-Am also had an inhibiting influence on Bialik's poetic imagination. Preferring a classical and lucid style, Aḥad Ha-Am discouraged many of Bialik's ventures into more modernist or more experimental poetry.

First Stay in Odessa

The break with tradition occurred in the summer of 1891 when amid disruptions in the yeshivah, Bialik left for Odessa, the center of modern Jewish culture in southern Russia. He was attracted by the literary circle that formed around Aḥad Ha-Am and harbored the dream that in Odessa he would be able to prepare himself for the entrance to the modern Orthodox rabbinical seminary in Berlin. Penniless, alone, unemployed, and hungry, he earned a livelihood for a while by giving Hebrew lessons. He continued to study Russian literature, reading and admiring the poetry of Pushkin and Frug, as well as the stories and novels of Dostoevski and Gogol. He was tutored in German grammar and read works of Schiller and Lessing. At first the shy youth did not become involved in the literary life of the city but when he showed his poetry to Moses Leib *Lilienblum the latter commended the poem "*El ha-Ẓippor*" to Aḥad Ha-Am who passed it on to Yehoshua Ḥana *Rawnitzki to be published in the first volume of *Ha-Pardes* (1892, p. 219f.). The poem, a song longing for Zion written in the style of the poets of the Ḥibbat Zion era, was favorably received by the critics. During the six months he spent in Odessa, Bialik wrote several poems and made the acquaintance of prominent literary figures with whom he was to establish lasting relationships. He was especially close to Rawnitzki and their friendship was to develop into a unique collaboration in literary and publishing endeavors.

Return to Zhitomir

When Bialik learned, early in 1892, that the yeshivah of Volozhin had been closed, he cut short his stay in Odessa and hurried home in order to spare his dying grandfather the knowledge that he had forsaken his religious studies. On returning home he found that his older brother too was dying. Dejected by the whole atmosphere, which for him embodied the chronic despair and spiritual squalor of Jewish life, he wrote "You have not changed from what you were/Old oldness, nothing new/Let me join your company, my brothers,/Together we will rot till we stink" ("*Bi-Teshuvati*" ("On My Return"), 1892). Another poem of this period which is reminiscent of Frug "*Mi-Shut ba-Merḥakim*" ("From Wandering Afar") also develops the theme of unfulfilled return. The alienated son, full of youthful vitality, is repelled by the melancholy of a moribund traditionalist society. The death of Judah Leib *Gordon, the last significant poet of the Haskalah period, in the summer of 1892, closed an era. Rawnitzki asked Bialik to compose an elegy for the second volume of *Ha-Pardes* (1893, p. 248f.), and he complied with "*El ha-Aryeh ha-Met*" ("To the Dead Lion"). Like other early poems, it still showed the influence of the Haskalah poets and was omitted from the collected poems. The elegiac mood characterizes a considerable part of Bialik's early work and tears are a recurring motif in the first volume of poems (1901). Before leaving Odessa he wrote "*Hirhurei Laylah*" ("Night Thoughts," 1892; "My song is a bottle of tears, a bottle of tears"), and in a later poem "*Shirati*" ("My Song," 1901) he describes his mother's tear falling into the dough she is kneading and it is this tear that enters his bones and is transformed into poetry.

1893–1896

In the spring of 1893, after the death of his brother and grandfather, Bialik married Manya Averbuch (d. 1972) and for the next three years joined her father in the timber trade in Korostyshev, near Kiev. Since business kept him in the forest for long stretches, he read widely and broadened his education considerably during this lonely period. At that time he wrote "*Al Saf Beit ha-Midrash*" ("On the Threshold of the House of Study," 1894) which predicts the ultimate triumph of Israel's spirit. While the themes of the poem, which poignantly speaks of the abandoned house of study, are vocation and return, the underlying priestly symbolism, relating to the Ninth of Av, the date on which the poem was written, endows the house of study with the universal metaphor of ancient ritual. In the hymn "*Birkat Am*" ("The Blessing of the People," 1894), written several months earlier, which is permeated by intricate allusions to Temple ritual, the poet metamorphoses the builders of Ereẓ Israel into priests and Temple builders. Temple imagery seems to be a predominant symbol both of Bialik's thought and of his poetry and is a basic point of reference of his brilliant cultural interpretation of the two Jerusalems – the earthly and the celestial – in his address at the opening of the Hebrew University (1925).

1897–1900

In the spring of 1897, failing in business, Bialik found a position as a teacher in Sosnowiec, near the Prussian border. The pettiness of provincial life depressed him and he wrote several satires that were published under pseudonyms. During this period he started to write stories (e.g., "*Aryeh Ba'al Guf,*" 1899) and to experiment with Yiddish writing. Some of his poems appear to reflect the life-affirming themes of the "new way" embraced by the writers of the 1890s, although Bialik remained wary of what he felt was the literary pretensions of its members. The poet's ire against Jewish apathy toward the rising national movement found expression in "*Akhen Ḥaẓir ha-Am*" ("Surely the People is Grass," 1897) in which he called out to the people, "Even when the horn be sounded and the banner raised/Can the dead awaken, can the dead stir?" Widely acclaimed, it was the first of his poems of wrath and reproof in which he speaks to the people in the tones of prophetic visions. While biblical themes were not uncommon in the period, Bialik's unequaled mastery of the prophetic diatribe added a dimension of authenticity to his utterances, and he began to be considered the national poet. Other poems indicate his preoccupation with the implications of the First Zionist Congress. Welcoming the high tide of national enthusiasm, as in "*Mikra'ei Ẓiyyon*" ("Convocation of Zion," 1898), he was at the same time faithful to Aḥad Ha-Am's spiritual ideology and wrote a satire against Herzl's political Zionism, "*Rabbi Zeraḥ*" (1912), which, because of its tone of levity, Aḥad Ha-Am refused to print in *Ha-Shilo'aḥ*. "*Al Levavkhem she-Shamem*" ("On Your Desolate Hearts," 1897), his most profound response to the Zionist Congress, gives vent to Bialik's despair with contemporary Jewish life. In it he develops his own set of symbols which were to recur throughout his poetry; the cat, which first appears in "*Levadi*" (1902), as a symbol of boredom and despair; the sanctuary as the symbol of tradition; and the spark of fire, appearing in many poems in various forms (a burning coal or candle, a twinkling star, or flaming torch), representing the true ideal. "*Ha-Matmid*" ("The Talmud Student," 1894–95), his first long poem, apparently begun in Volozhin, was an immediate triumph. In the poem Bialik traces the inner struggles of the dedicated student who represses his natural inclinations and sacrifices life, movement, change, nature, and family for the ascetic study of Torah. This was an ideal figure who captured the imagination of the reader. He embodied the moral qualities that build societies and preserve cultures. The ability to sublimate for the sake of higher values was a basic idea in Bialik's conception of vocation. The key metaphor of the poem is, characteristically, the twinkling light.

Settling in Odessa

In 1900 Bialik finally succeeded in finding a teaching position in Odessa where he lived until 1921, except for a year's stay in Warsaw (1904), where he served as literary editor of *Ha-Shilo'aḥ*. He was drawn into the circle of writers and Zionist leaders that gathered around Aḥad Ha-Am, *Sholem Yankev *Abramovitsh, and Simon *Dubnow. Other members of the group were Mordecai (Ben-Ami) Rabinowicz, Ḥayyim *Tchernowitz, and Alter Druyanov. As Bialik gained a reputation, young poets such as Zalman Shneour, Jacob *Fichmann, and Jacob *Steinberg went to Odessa to meet him. Working with Mendele, he translated the latter's "*Fishke the Lame*" into Hebrew from the original Yiddish. He had tried his hand at Yiddish poetry before leaving Sosnowiec and now his work with Mendele, a master in Hebrew and Yiddish literatures, turned him to Yiddish again. His realistic stories in Hebrew, "*Aryeh Ba'al Guf*" and "*Me-Aḥorei ha-Gader*" ("Behind the Fence," 1909), were influenced by Mendele's realism of style – indeed they came into being because Mendele had forged a new and pliant Hebrew idiom. Bialik's poetry, however, including the prose poem "*Safi'aḥ,*" was relatively free of his mentor's influences. Together with Rawnitzki, Simḥah *Ben-Zion, and Elḥanan Leib Lewinsky he founded the Moriah Publishing House which produced suitable textbooks for the modern Jewish school written in the spirit of Aḥad Ha-Am's educational ideals. In his dark rooms in Odessa Bialik created nature poems that evoke a childhood intoxicated with light (e.g., "*Zohar,*" 1901). During this period also a self-imposed challenge to cast folk expression into Hebrew, only a literary language then, led the poet to write the first of a series of folk songs. In his first decade in Odessa he wrote poems of wrath in Yiddish ("*Fun Tsa'ar un Tsorn*" ("Of Sorrow and Anger"), 1906) and in Hebrew ("*Ḥazon u-Massa*" ("Vision and Utterance"), 1911). Both were products of that critical period in Jewish life when the initial impetus of Zionism was retarded and other movements and ideologies, such as Yiddishism and territorialism, offered different solutions to national problems. When Bialik's first volume of poems appeared in 1901, Joseph Klausner hailed him as "the poet of the national renaissance." In 1902 he wrote "*Metei Midbar*" ("The Dead of the Desert"), a long descriptive poem whose motifs are taken from the legend that the generation of the Exodus did not die but slumbers in the desert. Gigantic in stature, they awaken from time to time to utter defiance against the divine decree which consigned them to their state of living death, and to fight for their own redemption. It may also reflect the universal predicament of modern man whose struggle for the right to determine his own destiny involves the desperate rejection of the divine imperative.

Kishinev

The Kishinev pogroms in 1903 deeply shocked the whole civilized world. Bialik, on behalf of the Jewish Historical Commission in Odessa, went to Kishinev to interview survivors and to prepare a report on the atrocity. Before leaving he wrote "*Al ha-Sheḥitah*" ("On the Slaughter," 1903) in which he calls on heaven either to exercise immediate justice and, if not, to destroy the world, spurning mere vengeance with the famous lines "Cursed is he who says 'Revenge'/Vengeance for the blood of a small child/Satan has not yet created." Later he wrote "*Be-Ir ha-Haregah*" ("In the City of Slaughter," 1904), a searing denunciation of the people's meek submission to the massacre, in which he is incensed at the cowardliness of the people, bitter at the absence of justice, and struck by the indifference of nature – "The sun shone, the acacia blossomed, and the slaughterer slaughtered."

Influence of Warsaw

In 1904 Bialik became the literary editor of *Ha-Shilo'aḥ* and moved to Warsaw, where, among the members of the circle of Isaac Leib *Peretz, he found a lighter mood. They were less cautious and less involved with higher principles than the Odessa group. In Warsaw he wrote several memorable love poems. The symbolist emphasis of Peretz may have influenced the poem "*Ha-Berekhah*" ("The Pool," 1905), most of which was written during the Warsaw stay. The pool, guarded by the forest, reflects the changing moods of nature and the observer, meditating on the "riddle of the two worlds," objective reality and reality as it is reflected in the pool, ponders which is primary – the external manifestation, or the inner conception of the soul (of art). This was Bialik's most prolific period and "*Ha-Berekhah*" was followed by his most enigmatic and experimental work, "*Megillat ha-Esh*" ("The Scroll of Fire," 1905). The work is a prose poem which fuses elements drawn from Jewish legend (*aggadah*) and Jewish mysticism. Its overt theme is the destruction of the Temple and of Jerusalem, and the exile which followed. The destruction of the Temple appears to represent the destruction of the poet's soul on one level and that of the religious faith of an entire generation on the other. The youths, marooned on the island, as they are transported into exile may symbolize spiritual isolation; at the same time the two youths represent the struggle between faith and despair which is the poem's central theme. The chosen youth himself is caught between the call to preserve the last spark of redemption and the lure of *eros*, the girl. Torch in hand, he moves toward the girl and plunges into the abyss.

Silence

After "*Megillat ha-Esh*" Bialik fell into a period of silence, writing few poems and becoming occupied with manifold cultural activities: public lectures, essays, criticism, translating, and editing. The growing tension and the stark dichotomies in his poetry point to an inner crisis; the lonely poet can no longer find solace either in his individual talent or in his God. The radical split of personality in the autobiographical prose poem "*Safi'aḥ*" (1908), in which the child's inner self is abandoned by its double, who accompanies the crowd, marks the farthest development of Bialik's ambivalent attitude to tradition and religion. Baruch Kurzweil has shown that the change in the motif of return in "*Lifnei Aron ha-Sefarim*" ("Before the Book Case," 1910) marks a turning point in Bialik's poetry. The poet desperately realizes that his attempt to return and to repent fails because there is no one to return to, and no condition of dialogue with God or the world. The flame of the study candle has died, the people's past is a graveyard that offers nothing, and the returning son, despairing, welcomes death and departs. Bialik's poetry now becomes acutely personal. The poet, sensing his strangeness in the world, retreats and longs for death. Having lost the purity of childhood and the grace of the chosen, he is preoccupied with death – a broken, useless twig, dangling from its branch ("*Ẓanaḥ lo Zalzal*" ("A Twig Fell"), 1911). Before his death Bialik wrote the cycle "*Yatmut*" ("Orphanhood" poems, c. 1933) in which the existential predicament is fused with the poignancy of his own orphaned childhood.

Berlin and Palestine

Bialik lived in Odessa until 1921 when Maxim Gorki interceded with the Soviet government to permit a group of Hebrew writers to leave the country. Bialik went to Berlin, which had become a center of Jewish émigré writers, engaging in publishing and editing, until he settled in Tel Aviv in Palestine in 1924 where he spent the rest of his life. He died in Vienna where he had gone for medical treatment.

Essays

A series of essays written between the years 1907 and 1917 secures Bialik's place as a distinguished essayist. In it he charts the course of modern Jewish culture: the state of Hebrew literature, the condition of Hebrew journalism, the development of language and style, the existential function of language, and the role of authority in culture. "Ha-Sefer ha-Ivri" ("On the Hebrew Book," 1913) propounds his basic idea of selecting and collecting the best of classic Jewish literature.

Cultural Role

After 1905, he became more active in public affairs, devoting his abundant vigor, vision, and charm to the preservation and advancement of Jewish culture. He participated in Zionist Congresses (1907, 1913, 1921, and 1931) and the Congress for Hebrew Language and Culture (1913). His cultural missions took him to the United States (1926) and to London (1931). From 1928 on, ill health forced him to spend his summers in Europe and these trips became occasions for the promotion of Jewish culture. He was active in the work of the Hebrew University, served as president of the Hebrew Writers Union and of the Hebrew Language Council, and initiated the popular *Oneg Shabbat*, a Sabbath study project.

Editor and Translator

Bialik was the literary editor of several periodicals, *Ha-Shilo'aḥ* (1904–09), *Keneset* (1917), and *Reshumot* (1918–22), and he founded *Moznayim* in Palestine (1929). Together with Rawnitzki he compiled a selection of rabbinic lore, *Sefer ha-Aggadah* (1908–11) and the collected works of the medieval poets Solomon ibn *Gabirol (1924) and Moses *Ibn Ezra (1928). In 1932 he published a commentary to the first order of the Mishnah. His masterful translations of *Don Quixote* (1912) and *Wilhelm Tell* (1923) are an integral part of his work. After his death some of Bialik's lectures and addresses were collected in *Devarim she-be-Al Peh* (2 vols., 1935) and part of his huge correspondence was published in *Iggerot* (5 vols. 1938–39).

For English translations of his work see Goell, Bibliography, index.

[Samuel Leiter]

Evaluation

Bialik's literary career is a watershed in modern Hebrew literature; when he arrived on the scene, Hebrew poetry was provincial and by and large imitative. It could not free itself of the overwhelming biblical influence which had dominated it for centuries and, except for the poetry of a few, the stylized florid biblical *meliẓah* (ornate phrase) had a stifling effect on the creativity of the Haskalah poets. At the same time most of these poets slavishly imitated in subject and in genre the European models – mainly German romantic poetry. Bialik, who more than any other Hebrew poet since *Judah Halevi had a thorough command of Hebrew and the ability to use the many resources of the language, forged a new poetic idiom which enabled Hebrew poetry to free itself from the overwhelming biblical influence and yet, at the same time, retain its link with "the language of the race." While his Hebrew remained learned and "literary," he anticipated the conversational verse which was to become the hallmark of the Palestinian poets (e.g., in his folk poems and children's verse). Not an experimenter, Bialik nevertheless opened new vistas when on rare occasions he abandoned the accepted accented syllabic meter for purely biblical cadences, or when he developed the Hebrew prose poem. While he wrote his serious verse in the Ashkenazi accent, he was among the first to try out the Sephardi accent in his children's verse. He freed Hebrew poetry from its didactic and propagandistic tendency. Although his works are often filled with fervent Jewish hopes, memories, and ideals, content is always subordinate to aesthetic criteria. Early Bialik criticism invariably reads all his poems as expressions of national ideas, but many of his poems are purely lyrical and have been misinterpreted by critics whose love of ideals exceeded their literary taste. Lyric poems like "*Ẓanaḥ lo Zalzal*" or "*Im Dimdumei ha-Ḥamah*" are among the finest in Hebrew literature. Bialik's dominant theme is the crisis of faith which confronted his generation as it broke with the sheltered and confined medieval Jewish religious culture of its childhood and desperately sought to hold on to a Jewish way of life and thought in the new secularized world in which it found itself. He adopted the ethico-humanist reading of Judaism which was proffered by Aḥad Ha-Am, but as Kurzweil has pointed out, he often had grave misgivings as to its efficacy in bridging the traditional and the modern. His doubts find conscious and unconscious expression in his writings. Despite his moments of despair, Bialik did not completely abandon the Aḥad Ha-Amian hope of reconciling modernism with tradition within the context of a new national Jewish culture (Kurzweil's view on this is to the contrary).

Bialik's poetry, growing out of the cultural milieu of Eastern European Jewry in a particular area, is in a sense regional, but because of its great artistic merit has become the concrete expression of the general crisis of faith which faced an entire generation of Europeans. His poetry can be read on three levels: the individual, the Jewish, and the universal. As an individual, the poet emerges as a sensitive artist who seeks to preserve the purity of his "calling" in the face of the materialism and the erotic drive of modern man. He loses his purity as he leaves the security of his childhood Eden and vainly attempts to recapture it. At times he is not sure whether his preoccupation with society, with his people and its ideals, may not actually hinder his self-fulfillment as an artist. On the Jewish level, the poet becomes the spokesman of his generation. Born in the pious world of the East European Jewish town, he is cast into a secular materialist world which questions the old values. He strives to reconstruct a way of life in which he can survive as a Jew and thus fulfill Judaism's historical mission. On the universal level, the poet, a product of a preindustrial rural world, is driven into the secular city, driven out of the Eden of good order and faith. He is left to agonize about his loneliness, his barrenness, and his ultimate death.

Searching out new and further vistas yet rooted in the rich Jewish heritage, Bialik is both the product and the dominant motivator of the cultural revolution of his age, embodying its very essence – to carve out of the past the foundation on which the people might build with dignity in the future. In answering the silent cry of a people needing articulation in a new era, he has gained its permanent recognition. As a poet his genius and spirit have left an indelible imprint on modern Hebrew literature.

[Ezra Spicehandler]

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BIALKIN, KENNETH J. (1929–), U.S. lawyer. Born in the Bronx, N.Y., to immigrant parents, Bialkin graduated from the University of Michigan in 1950 with a degree in economics and then earned a J.D. degree from Harvard in 1953. His law practice encompassed a broad range of corporate and securities law matters, first when he was senior partner in the law firm of Willke, Farr & Gallagher and then with Skadden, Arps, Slate, Meagher & Flom. At the same time, he taught securities law at New York University School of Law for 18 years and became involved in a number of Jewish organizations. As such he was frequently quoted in the press on issues of Jewish interest. He was national chairman of the Anti-Defamation

League; president and chairman of the American Jewish Historical Society, president of the Jewish Community Relations Council of New York; chairman of the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations, and chairman of the America Israel Friendship League. He also served for 30 years as vice chairman of the Jerusalem Foundation.

In his law practice, Bialkin represented insurance companies, broker-dealers, investment bankers, and other financial institutions. In 1998 he represented Travelers Group in its merger with Citicorp. The year earlier, he represented Travelers in its acquisition of Salomon Inc., and he represented the stock exchange Nasdaq in its restructuring to separate it from the NASD in 2000 and 2001. He was involved in some of the largest insurance company mergers and acquisitions in the United States, including the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company in its merger with New England Mutual Life Insurance Company. He also represented Travelers Group in its $4 billion acquisition of Aetna's property-casualty operations.

Bialkin is a former editor of *Business Lawyer* magazine and was chairman of the American Bar Association's committee on federal regulation of securities. His wife, Ann Bialkin, who earned a master's degree in social work from Columbia University, established Elem (a Hebrew acronym for "youth in distress"), a foundation that assists teenagers in Israel who commit crimes or use drugs and who are apparently overlooked by the judicial system.

In recognition of his 16 years as a member of its board of directors, Citigroup established the Kenneth J. Bialkin/Citigroup Public Service Award at the American Jewish Historical Society.

[Stewart Kampel (2nd ed.)]

BIALOBLOCKI, SAMUEL SHERAGA (1888–1960), talmudic scholar born in Pilwiszki (western Lithuania). Bialoblocki studied for many years at the Lithuanian yeshivot of Telz, Slobodka, and Ponevezh; at the last he studied under Isaac Jacob Rabinowitz and Isaac *Blaser. After World War I he entered the Bet Midrash Elyon of Ḥayyim *Heller in Berlin. He also attended various universities and graduated from Giessen with a thesis on *Materialien zum islamischen und juedischen Eherecht…* (1928) and became instructor in modern Hebrew. Between 1928 and 1934 he was one of the contributors on talmudic subjects to the German *Encyclopaedia Judaica*. With the advent of the Nazis he emigrated to Palestine where first he taught at the Mizrachi Teachers' Training College in Jerusalem but later ventured into the real estate business, though continuing to devote most of his time to his studies. When Bar-Ilan University was opened in 1955, Bialoblocki was appointed head of its Talmud department; he also served as chairman of the university's Senate.

Bialoblocki, though a profound scholar of vast erudition, did not publish much; his importance lay chiefly in his influence as a teacher. His method, both in teaching and writing, expressed a spirit of conservative criticism. He began to prepare an anthology of early commentaries on the Talmud with notes on the variants and sources for the Makhon ha-Talmud ha-Yisre'eli ha-Shalem, of which a first part was published posthumously (*Bar Ilan, Sefer ha-Shanah*, 2 (1964), 65–69). In Germany he published his *Beziehung des Judentums zu Proselyten und Proselytentum* (1930, Heb. tr., 44–60). Various learned articles of his appeared in: *Keneset*, 6–8 (1942–44); *Yovel Shai… S.J. Agnon* (1958); and *Alei Ayin* (*Sefer Yovel… S. Schocken* 1952). He contributed the article on Personal Status (*Ishut*) to the *Encyclopaedia Hebraica*. Bialoblocki also contributed articles on the Torah centers in Lithuania and on his teacher I.J. Rabinowitz in: *Yahadut Lita*, 1 (1960), 185ff., 394ff.

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[Yehoshua Horowitz]

BIALOBLOTZKY (Bialloblotzky), CHRISTIAN HEINRICH FRIEDRICH (1799–1869), hebraist and missionary. Bialoblotzky converted to Christianity as a young man and studied ecclesiastical history and philosophy at Goettingen, where he also was active as preacher. He traveled in Asia and Africa on behalf of different Protestant missions, and after serving as head of a private school in England, became lecturer at the University of Goettingen. Among his published works are *Das Biblische Unterrichtswesen* (1828); *The Chronicles of Joseph b. Joshua Meir the Sephardi* (2 vols., 1835–36), a translation with introduction and notes of Joseph *ha-Kohen's *Sefer Divrei ha-Yamim*; a Hebrew lexicon, *Oẓar ha-Shorashim* (*Lexicon radicum hebraicarum*, 1843), in Hebrew and Latin as well as in Hebrew and English; and *Psalms* (first book 1846), Hebrew, Greek, and English, as part of Origen's *Hexapla*.

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BIALOSTOTZKY, BENJAMIN JACOB (1893–1962), Yiddish poet, essayist, and folklorist, born in Pumpenai (Pumpian), Lithuania. Bialostotzky was the son of the famed "Posvoler Maggid." He immigrated to the United States in 1911 and studied at the City College of New York. From 1914 a member of Poale Zion, he helped found Yiddish schools, was active in various organizations, co-edited Yiddish journals and, from 1922, wrote for the Yiddish daily *Forverts*. His works were first collected in *Lider un Eseyen* ("Poems and Essays," 1932). In 1953 he edited the memorial volume for the poet David *Edelstadt. His own volume of poetry *Lid tsu Lid* ("Poem to Poem," 1958), includes his bibliography by E.H. Jeshurin. His folklore studies resulted in several collections of legends: *Fun Golus Bovl bis Roym* ("From the Babylonian Exile to Rome," 1949), *Di Mesholim fun Dubner Magid* ("Parables of the Maggid of Dubno," 1962); *Yidisher Humor un Yidishe Leytsim* ("Jewish Humor and Jewish Jesters," 1963).

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[Melech Ravitch]

BIALYSTOK (Rus. **Belostok**), industrial city in N.E. Poland; latterly one of the principal Russian/Polish Jewish centers; incorporated into Russia between 1807 and 1921 and administered by the U.S.S.R. between 1939 and 1941, reverting to Poland in 1945. Originally the Bialystok community formed part of the *Tykocin (Tiktin) community. Jewish settlement in the village of Bialystok was encouraged by the manorial overlords, the counts of Branicki. In 1745 the Bialystok community became self-governing, although remaining within the Tykocin province. The heads of the Jewish community were permitted to take part in municipal elections in 1749. In 1759 the Jews had to contribute two-thirds of the funds required to provision the armies in transit through Bialystok. The character of the craft guilds explicitly admits Jewish membership. Communal affairs were regulated by the counts in 1749 and 1777. By 1765, there were 765 Jews living in Bialystok. (See Table: Jewish Population of Bialystok, 1765–1948.)

The Jewish Population of Bialystok, 1765–1948

	Absolute Numbers	Percentages
1765	765	22.4
1808	4,000	66.6
1856	9,547	69.0
1861	11,873	69.8
1895	47,783	76.0
1910	52,123	68.5
1913	61,500	68.6
1929	43,150	47.8
1932	39,165	60.5
1936	42,880	43.0
1945	1,085	n.a.
1948	660	n.a.

The position of the Jews deteriorated when Bialystok passed to Prussia (1795), and subsequently to Russia. Its situation on the western border was favorable for developing trade with Russian markets, however, and the Jews were able to earn a livelihood as army purveyors or importers of tea and other commodities. The economic situation deteriorated when there was an influx of Jews expelled from the neighboring villages in 1825–35 and 1845, under the 1804 discriminatory legislation (see *Russia), who crowded into Bialystok. There was a steep increase in the Jewish population which in 1856 numbered 9,547 out of a total population of 13,787, many of them homeless or unemployed. Welfare institutions were established in an attempt to alleviate matters.

The development of the large textile industry in Bialystok after the Napoleonic wars owes much to Jewish enterprise. A number of the soldiers from Saxony were expert weavers and spinners who settled in Bialystok and established workshops largely financed by Jews; textile mills were erected by two Jews in 1850. As they acquired spinning, weaving, knitting, and dyeing skills, Jews replaced the German specialists. In 1860, 19 of the 44 textile mills in Bialystok were Jewish owned, with an output valued at 3,000,000 rubles; in 1898, of the 372 mills in Bialystok, 299 (80.38%) were Jewish owned, while 5,592 (59.5%) of the workers were Jewish. Of the total output of the Bialystok mills for this year, valued at 12,855,000 rubles, the Jewish share amounted to 47.3%.

The Jewish labor movement found strong support in Bialystok, and in 1897 many Jewish workers there became members of the *Bund. The Bialystok Jewish workers issued an underground newspaper, *Der Byalistoker Arbayter,* the same year. The intensive activities of the labor movement in Bialystok during the Russian revolution of 1905–06 provoked savage acts of reprisal by the Russian authorities. The *pogroms in Bialystok that occurred between June 1 and 3, 1906, were the most violent of the mob outbreaks against Russian Jewry that year, resulting in 70 Jews being killed and 90 gravely injured. The commission of inquiry later appointed by the Duma to investigate the circumstances surrounding the pogrom held both the local police and the central authorities to blame for the tragedy. A prolonged crisis in Bialystok's trade and industry followed.

The contacts with German Jewry during the period that Bialystok was governed by Prussia had introduced the spirit of Enlightenment (*Haskalah) into Jewish circles in Bialystok. Prominent in the movement were members of the *Zamenhof family; Abraham Schapiro, author of *Toledot Yisrael ve-Sifruto* (1892); Jehiel Michael Zubludowsky, a contributor to *Ha-Karmel* and author of *Ru'aḥ Ḥayyim* (1860); and the poet Menahem Mendel *Dolitzki. A Ḥovevei Zion group was formed in Bialystok in 1880. Zionism in its manifold ideological ramifications subsequently gained numerous supporters. The Bialystok Zionists were led by Samuel *Mohilewer, and later by Joseph *Chasanowich. Rabbis living in Bialystok in the 19th century included Aryeh Leib b. Baruch Bendit (1815–20), author of *Sha'agat Aryeh*; Yom Tov Lipmann Heilpern (1849–79); and Samuel Mohilewer (1883–98).

Modern Jewish elementary schools, such as the modern *ḥeder* (*ḥeder metukkan*), a girls' school, and institutes for commerce and crafts were founded while Bialystok was part of Russia; the language of instruction was Russian, but Hebrew was also taught. The first Hebrew kindergarten was founded in 1910. Hebrew elementary and high schools were established after World War I.

In 1895 the Jewish population numbered 47,783 (out of 62,993). Of the 3,628 merchants and shopkeepers in the city in 1897, 3,186 (87.8%) were Jews. In 1913 the Jewish population numbered 61,500 (out of 89,700). In 1921, 93% of the businessmen were Jewish, and 89% of the industrial plants were Jewish owned; later the proportion of Jews in business decreased (to 78.3% in 1928). In 1932 there were over 39,165 Jews (out of 91,207) in Bialystok.

[Nathan Michael Gelber]

Holocaust Period

Shortly after the outbreak of the war, the Germans entered Bialystok, first occupying it from September 15 until September 22, 1939, when it was transferred to the Soviets. The second German occupation was from June 27, 1941, to July 27, 1944. At that time some 50,000 Jews lived in Bialystok, and some 350,000 in the whole province. On the day following the second German occupation, known as "Red Friday," the Germans burned down the Jewish quarter, including the synagogue and at least 1,000 Jews who had been driven inside. Other similar events followed in rapid succession: On Thursday, July 3, 300 of the Jewish intelligentsia were rounded up and taken to Pietrasze, a field outside the town, and murdered there; on Saturday, July 12, over 3,000 Jewish men were put to death there. Their widows were later known in the ghetto as "*die Donnershtige*" ("the ones from Thursday") and "*di Shabbesdige*" ("the ones from Saturday"). A *Judenrat was established on German orders (July 26, 1941), and chaired by Rabbi Rosenmann, but his deputy, Ephraim *Barash, was the actual head and served as its liaison with the German authorities. On August 1, some 50,000 Jews were segregated into a closed ghetto. The three gates in the barrier were guarded by armed gendarmes.

For administrative purposes, Bialystok was incorporated into the Reich (end of July 1941), as an autonomous district (*Bezirk*) of East Prussia under *Gauleiter* and *Oberpraesident* Erich Koch, one of Hitler's trusted men. Under this setup various Nazi authorities in Berlin, Koenigsberg, and Bialystok issued frequently contradictory orders concerning the fate of the Jews of the ghetto. The first year, there was relative quiet and order in the ghetto (except for the deportation of 4,500 of the poorest Jews to Pruzhany) as the Germans wished to exploit the ghetto to a maximum in industrial production for the army. Every Jew in the 15–65 age group was forced to work, and the Germans meted out physical punishment, including death sentences, to anyone attempting to avoid or resist forced labor. The only remuneration was a daily bread ration of 500 grams, which was later reduced to 350 grams. In addition, the Germans confiscated property, imposed forced "contributions," and collected a head and apartment tax; the Judenrat collected its own taxes to cover its expenses. There were private factories in the ghetto, owned by a German in-

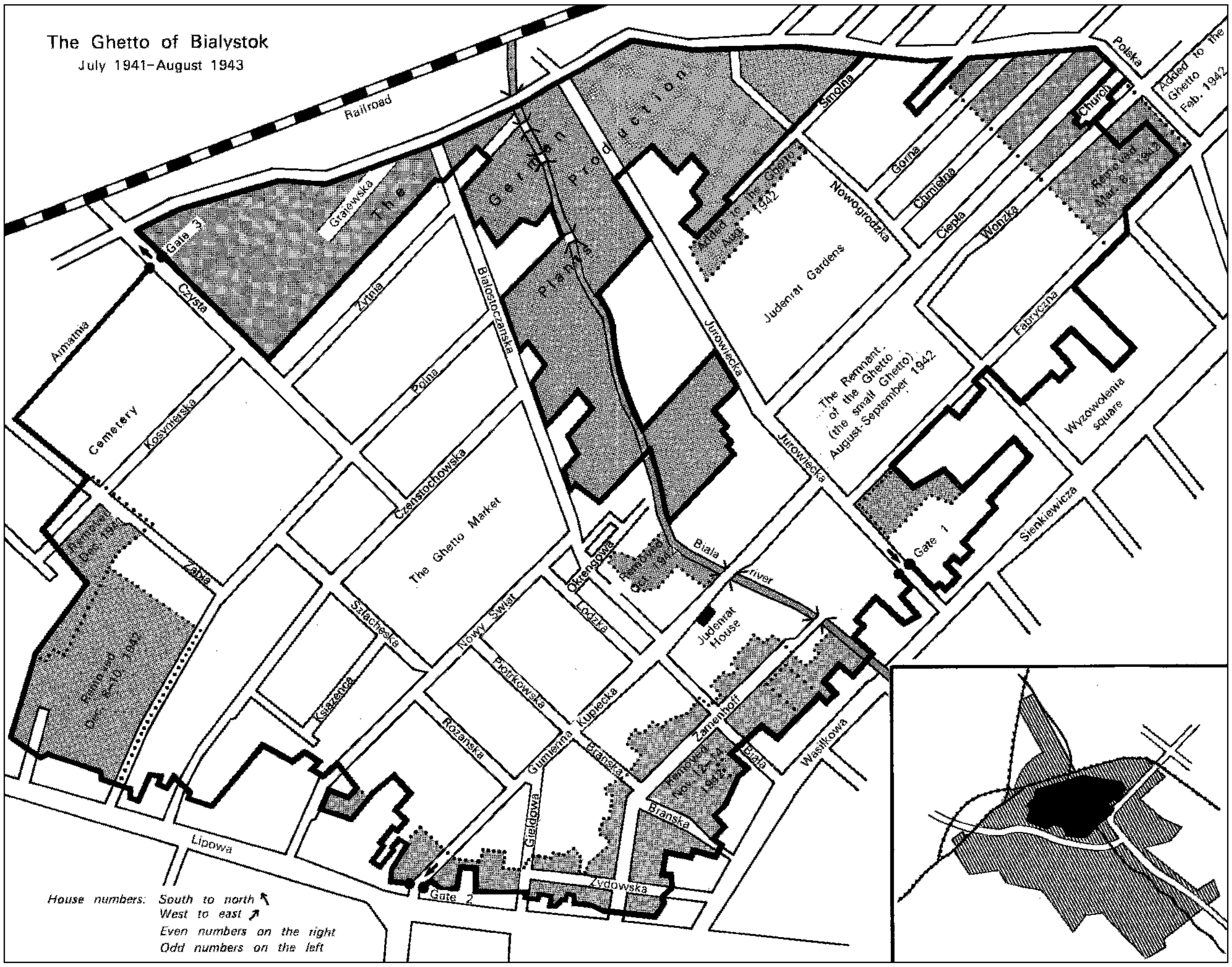
The Ghetto of Bialystok
July 1941–August 1943
Railroad
The German Production Plants
Grajewska
Gate 3
Czysta
Armatnia
Cemetery
Kosynierska
Zytnia
Polna
Bialostoczanska
Czenstochowska
The Ghetto Market
Zabia
Removed Dec. 1942
Removed Oct. 8–10, 1942
Szlachecka
Ksiazeca
Nowy Swiat
Piotrkowska
Rozanska
Okrengowa
Lodzka
Kupiecka
Gumienna
Gieldowa
Branska
Zamenhoff
Biala
river
Judenrat House
Removed Nov. 12–14 1942
Wasilkowa
Lipowa
Gate 2
Zydowska
Smolna
Added to the Ghetto Aug. 1942
Nowogrodzka
Judenrat Gardens
Jurowiecka
Gorna
Chmielna
Ciepla
Wonzka
Church
Polska
Added to the Ghetto Feb. 1942
Fabryczna
The Remnant of the Ghetto (the small Ghetto) August-September 1942
Wyzwolenia square
Gate 1
Sienkiewicza
House numbers: South to north ↖
West to east ↗
Even numbers on the right
Odd numbers on the left

dustrialist, Oskar Stefen; Jews were also employed in various German enterprises outside the ghetto. Two thousand persons were employed by the Judenrat, not including those in charge of the ghetto's economic enterprises. Over 200 men served in the "Jewish Police." The Judenrat maintained important departments: industry and artisans, labor, finances, and supply; its other departments dealt with health, welfare, housing, culture, and vegetable gardening for staples for a small segment of the ghetto; in the main, however, the Judenrat concentrated on factories engaged in war production in the hope of thus prolonging the survival of the ghetto inhabitants. The deputy chairman of the Judenrat, Barash, knew the truth about the deportations and death camps and had also read German documents containing plans to liquidate the ghetto. Nevertheless, up to his last day, he trusted in the idea that the inmates' hard work and economic "usefulness" would delay their destruction or even save them. Most of the inhabitants of the ghetto trusted Barash and shared his illusions. He stayed at his post until he was deported to Majdanek and murdered.

The Germans embarked upon the liquidation of the Jews on Feb. 5–12, 1943, when the first *Aktion* in the ghetto took place. The Jews were dragged from their homes and hiding places. One thousand of them were killed on the spot, while 10,000 were deported to Treblinka death camp. The period following the first *Aktion* was marked by Jewish underground preparations for armed resistance in the event that the deportations would be resumed. At this time the local German authorities, who were interested in prolonging the existence of the ghetto for economic reasons, were negotiating with the Berlin and Koenigsberg authorities on the date for the liquidation of the ghetto. The differences of opinion were resolved in the latter's favor, leading to the final destruction of the ghetto on Aug. 16, 1943.

RESISTANCE. An underground came into existence in the early days of the ghetto and expressed itself mainly through sabotage acts at the members' places of work. It lacked, however, a uniform plan of action and a clear idea of its aims. Finally, in November 1942, Mordecai *Tenenbaum (Tamaroff), sent by the *Warsaw Jewish Fighting Organization to organize resistance in Bialystok Ghetto, arrived in the city and gave the movement direction. The underground's main problems were the lack of arms and disunity in the ranks. The ghetto stood alone in its struggle, for no help could be expected from the Polish underground. Arms had either to be stolen from the German armories or purchased at high prices outside the ghetto; only the hand grenades were of home manufacture.

In the early stage, Barash supported the ghetto underground and supplied it with finances and information through Tenenbaum. Barash also passed on copies of the Judenrat's minutes and proclamations as well as copies of German documents for the underground's secret archives. These archives were established by Tenenbaum on the model of the *Ringelblum *Oneg Shabbat* archives in the Warsaw Ghetto. Tenenbaum wrote a great deal himself and also collected diaries, depositions, historical articles, folklore, and Judenrat and German documents. These archives were hidden outside the ghetto and uncovered after the war; most of its contents are now in the custody of *Yad Vashem in Jerusalem. Until January 1943, the Bialystok underground maintained regular contact with the Jewish Fighting Organization in Warsaw, *Vilna, and other ghettos.

Barash supported the underground, however, only as long as the Germans were unaware of its existence. When the first *Aktion* took place, in February 1943, the underground was not yet ready. However it stepped up its activities. The men were trained in the use of arms, more weapons were acquired, and attempts were made to establish contact with the partisans in the forests. Several sentences of death were also carried out on Jews who acted as informers or otherwise cooperated with the Gestapo. The ghetto youth were greatly attracted to the forests, where there was a chance of fighting and personal salvation. Three small groups left the ghetto for the forests (January, March, and June 1943). But the Jewish partisan groups there were in a difficult situation, for they had few arms, and there was no Soviet partisan activity in the vicinity in this period. The ghetto therefore remained the base for the provision of food, medical aid, clothing, and arms to the small number of Jewish partisans.

One of the weaknesses of the underground, disunity, stemmed from differences in the members' political background and views on the underground's character and goals. Some were convinced that the minimum conditions necessary for military operations could not exist inside the ghetto, and that in fighting in the forests, side by side with the other partisans, the Jews could contribute to the common struggle against the Nazis. Tenenbaum on the other hand, adhered to the view that the underground had to concentrate on the struggle inside the ghetto, and that only after they had carried out this national duty could the members of the underground continue the struggle in the forests. It was not until July 1943, after the break with the Judenrat chairman, that the various underground movements in the ghetto united, on the basis of Tenenbaum's views, in a united fighting organization. Tenenbaum was elected its chairman, and Daniel Moszkowicz deputy chairman. Other prominent members of the underground were Zerach Zylberberg, Hershel Rosenthal, Haika Grosman, and Israel Margulies.

The united Jewish underground called upon the Jews to disregard the orders for deportation, and join the active resistance. Most of the Jewish population, however, stupefied by the Germans' surprise attack, which launched the final liquidation of the ghetto on Aug. 16, 1943, obeyed the orders given. The Germans were aware of the existence of the underground and therefore made careful secret preparations for the *Aktion*, for which a special commando unit from *Lublin was brought under the command of Odilo *Globocnik. The Jewish Fighting Organization tactics were to open battle, prevent the Jews from leaving the ghetto for the deportation trains, break through the German ranks, and seek refuge in the forests. German fire, however, supported by tank action, crushed the rebellion. After a day of fighting, 72 fighters retreated to a bunker in order to organize their escape to the forests. The Germans discovered the bunker and killed all the fighters, with a single exception. The ghetto fighters held out for another month, and night after night the gunfire reverberated through Bialystok. The commanders, Tenenbaum and Moszkowicz, presumably committed suicide when the revolt was quashed. A month later the Germans announced the completion of the *Aktion*, in which some 40,000 Jews were dispatched to Treblinka and Majdanek. The members of the Judenrat were among the last group to be deported. A few dozen Jews succeeded in escaping from the ghetto and joined the partisans in the forests. The revolt made a deep impression upon the Poles and the Germans. After the ghetto's liquidation, six Jewish girls remained who had posed as "Aryans." They acted as underground couriers, and now helped those who escaped to reach the partisans. After suffering many losses, the Jewish partisans in the forests united to form a single group, "Kadimah." They in turn were absorbed into a general partisan movement led by Soviet parachutists at the end of 1943.

After the war there remained 1,085 Jews in Bialystok, of whom 900 were local inhabitants, and the rest from the neighboring villages. Of the ghetto inhabitants 260 survived, some in the deportation camps, others as members of partisan units. The community presumably dwindled and dissolved.

[Bronia Klibanski]

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BIARRITZ, coastal town in southwestern France. The Jewish community dates to the beginning of the 17th century. In 1619, after disorders in St. Jean-de-Luz, many *Marranos left that town to settle in Biarritz; according to the contemporary Pierre l'Ancre they numbered 2,000. In the census of Jews taken in 1942, 168 families were registered in Biarritz. The present synagogue, built in 1904, contains the Torah scrolls, the Ark, and the silver candelabrum from the former synagogue of Peyrehorade. In 1968, the Biarritz community had 150 members, many of whom originated from North Africa.

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[Roger Berg]

BIBAGO, ABRAHAM BEN SHEM TOV (15th century), Spanish scholar, religious philosopher, commentator on Aristotelian works, and preacher. His name is also spelled Bivach. Bibago was born in the province of Aragon. He first resided in Huesca, where, in his youth, he completed a commentary on Aristotle's *Posterior Analytics*, and where there is reference to his having a wife and children (1446). Bibago seems to have been forced out of his community; in his own words, "for they suspected me for my studying the books of the Greeks … and I was wandering and alone, away from my land and the place of my desire, exiled among the nations." Bibago presumably outgrew or overcame his reputation as a radical. In 1465 he participated in the conversion of a Maranno in Huesca. He later settled in Saragossa, where he was head of the yeshivah (c. 1470), and preached publicly on Sabbaths and festivals. He engaged in numerous disputations with Christian scholars at the court of Juan II, king of Aragon, on the Trinity and other Christian tenets, and for this reason kept abreast of Christian theology and scholastic philosophy. He died before the Inquisition's trial and execution in 1489 of the participants in the Huesca conversion years before, including Bibago's brother Isaac, a physician.

Works

Bibago knew Arabic and Latin, and his works are replete with references to Greek, Latin, and Arabic as well as a wide variety of Hebrew sources, including the Kabbalah. He knew the works of Aristotle and wrote commentaries to several of his books, including *Posterior Analytics* (preserved in Vatican ms. 350 and Paris ms. 959), *Physics* (no longer extant), and *Metaphysics* (Munich ms. 357), based on the Middle Commentaries of *Averroes. Among the Greeks, he quotes Euclid, Galen, Ptolemy, Alexander of Aphrodisias, Themistius, Apollonius of Perga and others. Among Christian sources, he quotes the Gospels, Eusebius, Duns Scotus, William of Ockham, and Thomas Aquinas. Among the Arabic philosophers, besides Averroes he mentions, Al-Farabi, Avicenna, Al-Ghazali, Ibn Tufayl, and Avempace. Many of his numerous works, including on medicine and astronomy, and some of his philosophical works, have not survived.

Bibago's *Eẓ Ḥayyim* ("Tree of Life") has survived in a single manuscript (Paris ms. 995), dealing with the creation of the world, and presenting arguments against the doctrine of eternity. Several of Bibago's letters to Moses *Arondi (who had also participated in the 1465 conversion) have survived (Parma ms. 457), as have a treatise on the multiple forms, which M. Steinschneider and A. Nuriel attribute to Bibago (Paris ms. 1004/1), and *Zeh Yenaḥamenu* ("He will comfort us," Gen. 5:29; printed in Salonika, 1522/3, and also found in Paris ms. 995 and Adler ms. 28), a homily for the first Sabbath of the year. Bibago's most important work is his *Derekh Emunah* ("Path of Faith"), probably written in Saragossa around 1480, and printed in Constantinople in 1521/2. (A defective photo-offprint, Jerusalem, 1970, is missing pp. 98–101). Annotated selections were published by Chava Fraenkel-Goldschmidt (Jerusalem, 1978). Four manuscripts of the book exist (Paris ms. 747 and ms. 995; Munich ms. 43; Cambridge Trinity College). The book is divided into three treatises. The first discusses the acts of God, His knowledge, and His providence; the second the intellect and its objects, faith and reason, sin, and related topics; and the third, the principles of the Jewish religion, miracles, creation, and special articles of faith.

His "Derekh Emunah" and Philosophy

M. Steinschneider called Bibago "a rational believer" ("*Denkglaubigen*"), and A. Altmann described him as a "staunchly … Orthodox thinker." Perhaps the experiences of his youth, when he felt his faith and piety were wrongly doubted, led him to insist on the supremacy of faith (thus, the name of his book, "the Path of Faith"), although he accepted the view of many of his predecessors that the ancient prophets and rabbis originally knew the sciences, and that in fact science had originated as Jewish wisdom, which subsequently became forgotten in exile. Since the ancient Jewish authors knew the rational truth, by accepting their truth on the authority of faith one shares in their rational knowledge without having to resort to speculation. Faith and reason thus differ in method but not in content. Indeed, since it is the conclusion that matters, once we have true conclusions, we do not need the speculative principles which led to those conclusions (DE 70c).

Faith is thus both rational in content and superior to reason, because "faith itself is that by which the soul becomes actualized and immortal, and is thus the immortality itself … For the path of faith (*derekh emunah*) is what saves (*moshi'ah*) and provides immortality to the faithful nation … and gives perfection to conception and verification" (DE 59c–60a). Rational speculation can only provide the basis of salvation for a few intellectuals, "but in faith, every person is saved, 'for the just will live by his faith' (Hab. 2:4)" (DE 49d). Faith is thus the highest human perfection, and "I say that the ultimate purpose of miracles is the imparting of faith" (DE 85b). In an interesting collective twist on Maimonides' intellectual theory of providence, Bibago suggests that since the Torah, teaching true faith, actualizes the Jews' intellects, the Jewish people enjoys special national providence. Faith thus provides for national as well as individual salvation.

Faith being both superior to reason and rational in content, Bibago opposed both the extreme opponents and proponents of philosophy. On the one hand, he sharply denounced the bigoted zealots "who retain the shell but reject the kernel, posing as pious before the multitude, while vilifying and mocking the master [i.e., Maimonides] and his disciples" (*Derekh Emunah* 45:4). On the other hand, however, he sharply criticized the destructive tendency of some of the rationalists in their pursuit of philosophy and free enquiry.

Influence

Bibago's views influenced Isaac *Arama, who refers to them, without, however, mentioning the author's name. It appears that Arama gained this knowledge through personal contact rather than through reading the *Derekh Emunah* (Wilensky, *Yiẓḥak Arama*, 44–5; cf. J.S. Delmedigo, *Maẓref la-Ḥokhmah*, 8b). Arama describes Bibago as "one of the most important scholars and philosophers of our people" (*Akedat Yiẓḥak, Gate 80*). Isaac *Abrabanel quotes the *Derekh Emunah* in his *Rosh Amanah*, without, however, mentioning its author's name. Jacob *Ibn Habib speaks highly of Bibago's scholarship, although he objects to his allegorical interpretation of talmudic passages (*Ein Ya'akov*, end of tractate Berakhot).

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[Raphael Jospe (2nd ed.)]

BIBAGO (Bivach), ISAAC (d. 1489), physician in Huesca, Spain; brother of Abraham *Bibago. In the 1460s he and others of his circle helped to bring back to the faith Jews who had been forcibly converted to Christianity (see *Anusim). These included the wealthy Converso *Juan de Ciudad, who spent some time as a guest of the Bibago brothers in order to be instructed by them in the principles of Judaism. In 1489 the Inquisition uncovered the Huesca community's proselytizing activities, and Isaac was among the few suspects still living at the time. He was arrested and was condemned to be burned at the stake. However, as he accepted baptism he was strangled before his body was consigned to the pyre; his fellow prisoners were burned alive.

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BIBAS, family of rabbis and physicians originating in Spain. After 1492 the Bibas family fled to Morocco where its members became spiritual leaders of important communities. ABRAHAM BIBAS was one of the leaders of the Castilian community in Fez in 1526. ḤAYYIM became *dayyan* of Tetuan in 1575; there he built the Great Synagogue, which was destroyed by the Muslims in 1667. His direct descendants succeeded him as leaders of the community until after 1700. Other members of the family were *dayyanim* in Salé. Known for their piety and learning, they exercised great influence and had many disciples. Their decisions and responsa were collected and many of them were published with others of their works. Members of the Bibas family settled in Safed, Jerusalem, Cairo, Leghorn, Amsterdam, and Gibraltar. SHEM TOV was a member of Joseph Caro's *bet din* in Safed. JOSEPH was one of the leading rabbis in Safed at the end of the 17th century. He was the father-in-law of the Shabbatean Nehemiah Ḥayyon who found in his library an old manuscript of the Zohar, attributed to Benjamin ha-Levi. SAMUEL (d. 1793), a friend of Ḥ.J.D. *Azulai, was *dayyan* in Salé. His son JUDAH (1780–1852), a prominent rabbi and precursor of Zionism, was born in Gibraltar, and studied there and in Leghorn, Italy. He received a secular education in Italy and was apparently granted a doctoral degree by an Italian university. Between 1805 and 1832 he lived in Gibraltar, London, and Leghorn, gaining a reputation as a Jewish scholar. In 1832 he was appointed rabbi of Corfu, where he reorganized the Jewish community and its education system, and introduced reforms which aroused opposition from some of the heads of the community. He traveled through Europe in 1839, visiting Turkey, the Balkans, Vienna, and Prague. In Zemun he met Judah *Alkalai, from whom he learned of the new concept of *teshuvah* as a return to the Land of Israel, and not merely as "repentance." Alkalai incorporated his impressions of Bibas in his book *Darkhei No'am*. Two Scottish missionaries, A. Bonar and R.M. M'Cheyne, relate of a visit to the Holy Land in their book *Narrative and Mission of Inquiry to the Jews in 1839* (1878), that Jews in Romania quoted Bibas as saying: "The Jews must be instructed in sciences and in arms so that they may wrest the land of Palestine from the Turks under the conduct of the Messiah, as the Greeks wrested their country." It appears that Bibas conceived the idea of the return to Zion in active, contemporary terms, on a religious basis. In 1852, after a stay in London and another ten-year period in the rabbinical post in Corfu, Bibas went to Ereẓ Israel and settled in Hebron.

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[David Corcos / Getzel Kressel]

BIBLE. This entry is arranged according to the outline below. Bibliography for a section is indicated by (†).

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THE CANON, TEXT, AND EDITIONS

CANON

General Titles

There is no single designation common to all Jews and employed in all periods by which the Jewish Scriptures have been known. The earliest and most diffused Hebrew term was *Ha-Sefarim* ("The Books"). Its antiquity is supported by its use in Daniel in reference to the prophets (Dan. 9:2). This is how the sacred writings are frequently referred to in tannaitic literature (Meg. 1:8; MK 3:4; Git. 4:6; Kelim 15:6; et al.). The Greek-speaking Jews adopted this usage and translated it into their vernacular as τά βιβλία. The earliest record of such is the Letter of *Aristeas (mid-second century B.C.E.) which uses the singular form (v. 316, ἐν τῇ βίβλε) for the Pentateuch. The translator of The Wisdom of *Ben Sira into Greek (c. 132 B.C.E.) similarly employs "The Books" to designate the entire Scriptures (Ecclus., prologue, v. 25 "καὶ τά λοιπά τῶν βιβλίων"). It is from this Hellenistic Jewish usage of τά βιβλία, which entered European languages through its Latin form, that the English "Bible" is derived.

The term *Sifrei ha-Kodesh* (*Sifre ha-Qodesh*; "Holy Books"), although not found in Hebrew literature before the Middle Ages, seems to have been used occasionally by Jews even in pre-Christian times. The author of I Maccabees (12:9), who certainly wrote in Hebrew (c. 136–135 B.C.E.), speaks of "the Holy Books". In the early first century C.E., the Greek writer of II Maccabees 8:23 mentions "the Holy Book" (… τὴν ἱεράν βίβλον) and toward the end of that century, both Josephus (Ant., 20:261) and Pope Clement I (*First Epistle*, 43:1) refer to "the Holy Books" (αἱ ἱεραὶ βὶβλοι). The appellation is rare, however, since the increasing restriction of *sefer* in rabbinic Hebrew to sacred literature rendered superfluous any further description. On the other hand, *Kitvei ha-Kodesh* (*Kitve ha-Qodesh*; "Holy Writings"), is fairly common in tannaitic sources as a designation for the Scriptures (Shab. 16:1; Er. 10:3; Yad. 3:2, 5; 4:6; BB 1:6; Par. 10:3). Here the definition is required since the Hebrew כתב (*ktb*) did not develop a specialized meaning and was equally employed for secular writing (cf. Tosef., Yom Tov 4:4). The title "Holy Writings" was also current in Jewish Hellenistic and in Christian circles, appearing in Greek as αἱ ἱεραὶ γραφαὶ (Philo, Fug. 1:4; Clement's *First Epistle* 45:2; 53:1), as τά ἱερά γράμματα (Philo, Mos. 2:290, 292; Jos., Ant., 1:13; 10:210; et al.). Closely allied to the preceding is the title *Ha-Katuv* ("The Scripture"; Pe'ah 8:9; Ta'an. 3:8; Sanh. 4:5; Avot 3:7, 8, et al.) and the plural *Ha-Ketuvim* ("The Scriptures"; Yad. 3:5 et al.). These, too, were taken over by the Jews of Alexandria in the Greek equivalent, probably the earliest such example being the Letter of Aristeas (vv. 155, 168, διά τῆς γραΦῆς). This term was borrowed by the early Christians (ὴ γραΦή John 2:22; Acts 8:32; II Tim 3:16 et al.; αἱ γραφαί Mark 12:24; I Cor. 15:34 et al.; τά γράμματα John 5:47).

These uses of the Hebrew root *ktb* ("to write") to specify the Scriptures have special significance, for they lay emphasis on the written nature of the text in contradistinction to the oral form in which the rabbinic teachings were transmitted. In the same way, *Mikra* (*Miqra*ʾ; lit. "reading"), another term for the Bible current among the rabbis, serves to underline both the vocal manner of study and the central role that the public reading of the Scriptures played in the liturgy of the Jews. The designation is found in tannaitic sources (Ned. 4:3; Avot 5:21; TJ, Ta'an, 4:2, 68a), but it may be much older, as Nehemiah 8:8 suggests. It is of interest that *Miqra*ʾ as the Hebrew for "Bible" achieved wide popularity among Jews in the Middle Ages The acronym תנ"ך (*TaNaKh*), derived from the initial letters of the names of the three divisions of the Bible (*Torah, Nevi'im, Ketuvim*), became similarly popular.

Still another expression for the Scriptures is *Torah, used in the widest sense of the term as the revelation of religion. While it is only occasionally so employed for the Bible in rabbinic literature (cf. MK 5a with respect to Ezek. 39:15; Sanh. 91b citing Ps. 84:5; PR 3:9, in reference to Eccles. 12:12), the fact that νόμος, the Greek rendering of Torah, is found in the New Testament in the same way (John 10:34, quoting Ps. 82:6) indicates that it may once have been in more common use among Jews.

Thoroughly Christian is the characterization "Old Testament" (i.e., Covenant; II Cor, 3:14; cf. Heb. 9:15–18). This term is used to distinguish the Jewish Bible from the "New Testament" (i.e., Covenant; I Cor. 11:25; II Cor. 3:6; Christian interpretation of Jeremiah 31:30–32). At the same time, it is possible that the designation "Testament" (i.e., "Covenant," Gr.: διαθήκη) may have been a reflection of an extended use among Jews of the Hebrew *berit* ("covenant") or *Sefer ha-Berit* ("Book of the Covenant"; Ex. 24:7; II Kings 23:2, 21). Jeremiah (31:30–32) himself uses "covenant" and "Torah" synonymously, and the "Book of the Torah" found in the Temple (II Kings 22:8, 10) is alternatively styled the "Book of the Covenant" (*ibid.* 23:2, 21). The Wisdom of Ben Sira (24:23) actually uses the latter term βιβλως διαθήκης) parallel with Torah (νόμος), and a similar usage is found in I Maccabees 1:56–57.

[Nahum M. Sarna]

The Canon

The term as applied to the Bible designates specifically the closed nature of the corpus of sacred literature accepted as authoritative because it is believed to be divinely revealed. The history of the word helps to explain its usage. "Canon" derives ultimately from an old Semitic word with the meaning of "reed" or "cane" (Heb. קנה), later used for "a measuring rod" (cf. Ezek. 40:5), both of which senses passed into Greek (κάννα, κανών). Metaphorically, it came to be used as a rule or standard of excellence and was so applied by the Alexandrian grammarians to the Old Greek classics. In the second century, κανών had come to be used in Christian circles in the sense of "rule of faith." It was the Church Fathers of the fourth century C.E. who first applied "canon" to the sacred Scriptures.

No exact equivalent of this term is to be found in Jewish sources although the phrase *Sefarim Ḥiẓonim* ("external books"; Sanh. 10:1), i.e., uncanonical, is certainly its negative formulation. However, tannaitic literature does employ the phrase *mettame et ha-Yadayim* ("rendering the hands unclean") to convey what is commonly understood by "canonical." According to rabbinic enactment, hands that came into direct contact with any biblical book contracted uncleanness in the second degree, so that if they then touched *terumah* without prior ritual washing they rendered it unfit for priestly consumption (Kelim 15:6; Yad. 3:2; 4:6). Whatever the true origin and purpose of this legislation (Yad. 3:3–5; Tosef., Yad. 2:19; Shab. 13b–14a; TJ, Shab. 1:6, 3c), the effect was to make the phrase "rendering the hands unclean" synonymous with canonical. Hence, rabbinic discussions about the full canonicity or otherwise of Ecclesiastes, Song of Songs (Eduy. 5:3; Yad. 3:5; Tosef., Yad. 2:14), Esther (Meg. 7a), Ben Sira, and other books (Tosef., Yad. 2:13) are expressed in terms of this formula.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE CANON. The concept enshrined in the "canon" is distinctively and characteristically Jewish. Through it the canonized Scriptures were looked upon as the faithful witness to the national past, the embodiment of the hopes and dreams of a glorious future, and the guarantee of their fulfillment. They constituted, in time, the main source for the knowledge of Hebrew and typified the supreme standard of stylistic excellence. Through the instrumentality of the Oral Law they represented the force of truth, wisdom, law, and morality. In short, the development of the canon proved to be a revolutionary step in the history of religion, and the concept was consciously adopted by Christianity and Islam.

THE PROCESS OF CANONIZATION. It should be noted, however, that the above refers to the canon solely in respect of its religious connotation. There is evidence that as early as the second half of the second millennium B.C.E., the classical literary texts of Mesopotamia were beginning to assume standardized form. There emerged a widely diffused, recognizable body of literature with fixed authoritative texts, the sequence and arrangement of which were firmly established. This discovery is significant because it provides an important precedent for the external features of canonical literature, and it means that the process of canonical development could have begun quite early in Israel's history. Unfortunately, there is no direct information about the origins of the canon, nor can the criteria of selectivity adopted by those who fixed it be ascertained.

It is clear that the books that make up the Bible cannot possibly have contained the entire literary production of ancient Israel. The Scriptures themselves bear testimony to the existence of an extensive literature which is now lost. The "*Book of the Wars of the Lord" (Num. 21:14) and the "*Book of Jashar" (Josh. 10:13; II Sam. 1:18) are certainly very ancient. Prophetic compositions are ascribed to Samuel, Nathan, and Gad (I Chron. 29:29) of the early monarchy period and to Ahijah, Jedo/Iddo, and Shemaiah from the time of the division of the kingdom (II Chron. 9:29; 12:5; 13:22). The references to the chronicles of King David (Chron. 27:24), of Solomon (I Kings 11:41), and of the Kings of Israel and Judah (*ibid.* 14:19, 29; I Chron. 9:1; II Chron. 16:11; 20:34; 27:7; 32:32; 33:18) all bear witness to royal annalistic sources no longer extant. A category of literature called "Midrash" (II Chron. 13:22; 24:27) is also ascribed to the times of the monarchy, and a book of dirges to the end of that period (II Chron. 35:25). While it is true that in many of these instances it is possible that the same work has been referred to under different titles and that the caption *sefer* might indicate a section of a book rather than the whole, it cannot be doubted that numerous other works must have existed which were not mentioned in the Bible. In fact, the very concept of a scriptural canon presupposes a process of selection extending over a long period.

The quantitative disproportion between the literary productions and the literary remains of ancient Israel is extreme. The main factor at work was the natural struggle for survival. The absence of mass literacy, the labor of hand copying, and the perishability of writing materials in an inhospitable climate all combined to limit circulation, restrict availability, and reduce the chances of a work becoming standard. In addition, the Land of Israel was more frequently plundered and more thoroughly devastated than any other in the ancient Near East. At the same time, in the historical realities of the pre-Exilic period Israel's cultural productions had scant prospects of being disseminated beyond its natural frontiers. Developments within Israel itself also contributed. The change of script that occurred in the course of Persian hegemony doubtless drove out of circulation many books, while the mere existence of canonized corpora almost inevitably consigned excluded compositions to oblivion.

Certainly there were other books, including some of those cited above, which were reputed holy or written under the inspiration of the divine spirit, but why they did not enter the canon cannot be determined. The possibility of chance as a factor in preservation cannot be entirely dismissed. Some works probably survived because of their literary beauty alone. A very powerful instrument must have been scribal and priestly schools which, by virtue of their inherent conservatism, would tend to transmit the basic study texts from generation to generation. Similarly, the repertoire of professional guilds of Temple singers would be self-perpetuating, as would the liturgies recited on specific occasions in the Jerusalem Temple and the provincial shrines. Material that appealed to national sentiment and pride, such as the narration of the great events of the past and the basic documents of the national religion, would, particularly if employed in the cult, inevitably achieve wide popularity and be endowed with sanctity. Not everything that was regarded as sacred or revealed was canonized; but sanctity was the indispensable ingredient for canonicity. It was not, in general, the stamp of canonization that conferred holiness upon a book – rather the reverse. Sanctity antedated and preconditioned the formal act of canonization, which in most cases, simply made final a long-existing situation. Of course, the act of canonization, in turn, served to reinforce, intensify, and perpetuate the attitude of reverence, veneration, and piety with which men approached the Scriptures, and itself became the source of authority that generated their unquestioned acceptance as the divine word.

CONTENTS AND TITLES OF THE BOOKS. The Jewish Bible is composed of three parts, designated in Hebrew: *Torah* (תורה), *Nevi'im* (נביאים), and *Ketuvim* (כתובים). The earliest name for the first part of the Bible seems to have been "The Torah of Moses." This title, however, is found neither in the Torah itself, nor in the works of the pre-Exilic literary prophets. It appears in Joshua (8:31–32; 23:6) and Kings (I Kings 2:3; II Kings 14:6; 23:25), but it cannot be said to refer there to the entire corpus. In contrast, there is every likelihood that its use in the post-Exilic works (Mal. 3:22; Dan. 9:11, 13; Ezra 3:2; 7:6; Neh. 8:1; II Chron. 23:18; 30:16) was intended to be comprehensive. Other early titles were "The Book of Moses" (Ezra 6:18; Neh. 13:1; II Chron. 35:12; 25:4; cf. II Kings 14:6) and "The Book of the Torah" (Neh. 8:3) which seems to be a contraction of a fuller name, "The Book of the Torah of God" (Neh. 8:8, 18; 10:29–30; cf. 9:3).

With the widespread dissemination of the Torah in the generations following the activities of *Ezra and *Nehemiah, it became customary, for strictly nonliturgical purposes and for convenience of handling, to transcribe the work on five separate scrolls; hence the Greek name ἡ πεντάτευχος (βίβλος), "the five-volumed [book]," which has passed into English as Pentateuch. In rabbinic literature the Hebrew equivalent is "The Five Books of the Torah" (*Ḥameshet Sifrei Torah*; TJ, Meg. 1:7, 70d; *Ḥamishah Sifrei Torah*; TJ, Sot. 5:8, 20d), or "The Five Fifth-parts of the Torah" (*Ḥamishah Ḥomshei* (popularly, but inaccurately called *Ḥumshei*) *Torah*; Ḥag. 14a; TJ, Sanh. 10:1, 28a; Sanh. 44a).

The English names for the books of the Torah – Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, and Deuteronomy – derive from those of the Latin Bible which, in turn, have their origins in titles current among the Greek-speaking Jews, who translated Hebrew designations in use among their coreligionists in Palestine. These titles are descriptive of the contents or major theme of the respective books and they have partly survived in rabbinic literature and medieval Hebrew works in these forms: *Sefer Beri'at ha-Olam* ("The Book of the Creation of the World"); *Sefer Yeẓi'at Miẓrayim* ("The Book of the Exodus from Egypt"); *Torat Kohanim* ("The Book of the Priestly Code"); *Ḥomesh ha-Pekuddim* (*Ḥomesh ha-Pequddim*; "The Book of the Numbered"), *Mishneh Torah* ("The Repetition of the Torah"; cf. TJ, Meg. 3:7, 74b et al.). Another method of naming was to entitle a book by its opening word or words, or by its first significant word; cf. the Babylonian "When on High" and "Let me Praise the Lord of Wisdom." This was common in rabbinic sources (*Elleh ha-Devarim*; "These Are the Words" = Deuteronomy, Sot. 7:8; Gen. R. 3:5; TJ, Meg. 3:1, 74a) and has remained the most popular mode of designation in Hebrew to the present time. Finally, there is also evidence that ordinal numbers were used (cf. Gen. R. 3:5; TJ, Meg. 3:1, 74a).

The second division of the Bible is known as *Nevi'im* ("Prophets"), later subdivided into "Former Prophets" and "Latter Prophets." This distinction, one of convenience only, serves to differentiate between the narrative, historical works – Joshua, Judges, Samuel, and Kings – and the (largely poetic) literary creations of the prophetic orators Isaiah, Jeremiah and Ezekiel, and the Twelve "minor" prophets – Hosea, Joel, Amos, Obadiah, Jonah, Micah, Nahum, Habbakuk, Zephaniah, Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi. The popular epithet "minor" in connection with these twelve has a solely quantitative connotation and is no indication of relative importance. The names of the books are based upon the central figure or reputed author. The subdivision of the Prophets into "Former" and "Latter" was not known in the modern sense in talmudic times. The rabbis employed "former" in reference to the prophets up to the destruction of the First Temple (Sot. 9:12; Ta'an. 4:2; Sot. 48b; cf. Zech. 1:4; 7:7, 12), and reserved "latter" exclusively for the postexilic prophets; Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi (Tosef., Sot. 13:2; Sot. 48b).

The *Ketuvim* ("Writings," Hagiographa), the third division of the Bible, is a varied collection composed of liturgical poetry – Psalms and Lamentations; secular love poetry – Song of Songs; wisdom literature – Proverbs, Job, and Ecclesiastes; and historical works – Ruth, Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah, Esther, and a blend of history and prophecy in the Book of Daniel.

This tripartite division of the Scriptures is simply a matter of historical development and does not, in essence, represent a classification of the books according to topical or stylistic categories. The Hellenistic Jews, apparently sensitive to the more or less random nature of the organization of biblical literature, attempted to effect a more systematic arrangement (see Hellenistic Canon, below).

The Tripartite Canon

The earliest sources consistently refer to the three corpora of scriptural books. *Ben Sira, approximately 180 B.C.E., speaks of "the Law of the Most High," "the wisdom of the ancients," and "prophecies" (Ecclus. 39:1). His grandson who wrote the Prologue to the Book of Ben Sira (c. 132 B.C.E.) refers explicitly to "the Law and the Prophets and the others that followed them," "the law and the prophets and the other books of our fathers," "the law…, the prophecies and the rest of the books." The author of II Maccabees (2:2–3, 13) mentions "the Law," "the kings and prophets, the writings of David…." *Philo is familiar with the Law, the "Prophets and the Psalms and other Writings" (Cont. 25). Josephus knows of the "five books of Moses," "the Prophets" and "the remaining… books" (Apion, 1:39–41). The same threefold arrangement is specified in the New Testament. To the author of Luke (24:32, 44) the Scriptures consist of "the Law of Moses and the Prophets and the Psalms."

From these sources it becomes clear that the third collection of Scriptures was not known by any fixed name. In fact, it was often not referred to by any name at all. IV Maccabees (18:10) mentions simply the "Law and the Prophets" even though Daniel, Psalms, and Proverbs are included in the designation (18:13–16). It must have been a widespread practice to refer to the entire Bible in this manner for it is encountered in the most diverse sources, rabbinic (Tosef., BM 11:23), New Testament (Matt. 5:17 7:12; 11:13; 22:40; Luke 16:16; John 1:45; Rom. 3:21), and the Scrolls from the Judean Desert (1QS 1:2–3). All this can mean only one thing: the *Ketuvim* were canonized much later than the Prophets and the tripartite canon represents three distinct and progressive stages in the process of canonization. This is not to say, however, that there is any necessary correlation between the antiquity of the individual books within a given corpus and the date of the canonization of the corpus as a whole. Further, a clear distinction has to be made between the age of the material and the time of its redaction, the period of its attaining individual canonicity and the date that it became part of a canonized corpus.

THE CANONIZATION OF THE TORAH (PENTATEUCH). Where is this differentiation more applicable than in respect of the Torah. A clear distinction must be made between the literature of the Torah and the Torah book. Whatever the details of the incredibly complex history of the pentateuchal material, it is beyond doubt that much of it is of great antiquity and was venerated at an early period. The traditional doctrine of Mosaic authorship of the entire Torah has its source in Deuteronomy 31:9–12, 24, more than in any other passage. But the reference here seems more likely to be to the succeeding song (Deut. 32), as is indicated by verses 19 and 22. The Torah itself contains no explicit statement ascribing its authorship to Moses, while Mosaic attribution is restricted to legal and ritual prescription and is hardly to be found in connection with the narrative material. Moreover, the term "Torah" (which means "teaching," as well as "rule" and "law," has to be examined in each case in its own context and in no instance can it be unequivocally understood in its later, comprehensive sense. In fact, the phrase "Torah of Moses" is not pentateuchal.

An important stage in the history of the pentateuchal canon is the tale of the chance finding of the "book of the Torah" in 622 B.C.E. as described in II Kings 22–23; II Chronicles 34. It is highly significant that there is no suggestion that the book is new. Indeed, given the renewed interest in antiquity, and the veneration of the past that marked the Near East of the seventh century B.C.E. and the following two or three centuries, newness would have been no virtue. The enquiry of the prophetess Huldah and her reply serve to authenticate the book and its message. The "Torah" was publicly read and accepted as binding in a national covenant ceremony. The identity of the book is not given, nor is it termed Mosaic in direct speech (II Kings 23:25 and II Chron. 34:14 are editorial remarks). Yet insofar as the ensuing reform of the cult expresses precisely the leading motifs of *Deuteronomy, it may be assumed that the ceremony described represents the beginning of the formation of the Pentateuch, not as literature, but as a sacred book.

The Law *Torah* **Pentateuch**		Genesis	50	Chapters
		Exodus	40	
		Leviticus	27	
		Numbers	36	
		Deuteronomy	34	
The Prophets *Nevi'im*	Former Prophets	Joshua	24	
		Judges	21	
		I Samuel	31	
		II Samuel	24	
		I Kings	22	
		II Kings	25	
	Later Prophets	*Isaiah	66	
		Jeremiah	52	
		Ezekiel	48	
		The Twelve Prophets		
		Hosea	14	
		Joel	4	
		Amos	9	
		Obadia	1	
		Jonah	4	
		Micah	7	
		Nahum	3	
		Habakkuk	3	
		Zephaniah	3	
		Haggai	2	
		Zechariah	14	
		Malachi	3	
The Writings *Ketuvim* **Hagiographa**		Psalms	150	
		Proverbs	31	
		Job	42	
	Five Scrolls *Megilot*	Song of Songs	8	
		Ruth	4	
		Lamentations	5	
		Ecclesiastes	12	
		Esther	10	
		Daniel	12	
		Ezra	10	
		Nehemiah	13	
		I Chronicles	29	
		II Chronicles	36	

The first report of the reading of the Torah in public assembly subsequent to Josiah comes from the post-Exilic period, namely, the ceremony conducted in Jerusalem by Ezra, approximately 444 B.C.E. (Neh. 8–10). This ceremony cannot be the occasion of the canonization of the Pentateuch, as has often been claimed, since the initiative for the public reading comes from the people and there is no hint that the promulgation of a new law is involved. The book is called "the book of the Torah of Moses which the Lord commanded Israel" (Neh. 8:1) and the emphasis is on its dissemination and exposition. It would appear that the Torah, or at least some form of it, had achieved canonical status.

Further evidence that the Torah had already been canonized by this time is provided by the Chronicler and by Samaritan tradition. The former, writing approximately 400 B.C.E., frequently appeals to the "Torah of Moses" and shows familiarity with every book of the Pentateuch. The Samaritans adopted the entire Torah together with the belief in its Mosaic authorship. Since hostility to the Judeans was already acute in Ezra's time and since the Samaritan-Jewish schism could not have taken place much after this, it follows that the canonization of the Pentateuch could not then have been a very recent event.

It may safely be assumed that the work of collection, fixing, and preservation of the Torah took place in the Babylonian exile (cf. Ezra 7:14, 25). But our extant sources preserve no recollection of a formal canonization.

THE CANONIZATION OF THE PROPHETS. The existence of the Torah Book served as a stimulus to the collection and organization of the literature of the prophets. A consistent tradition, repeatedly formulated in rabbinic sources, regards Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi as the last of the prophets, the "divine spirit" having ceased to be active in Israel with their death (Tosef., Sot. 13:2; Sot. 48b; Yoma 9b; Sanh. 11a). Indeed, the absence of prophecy was regarded as one of the features that characterized the Second Temple period as opposed to the First (TJ, Ta'an. 2:1, 65a; Yoma 21b). Josephus, too, reflects this same tradition (Apion, 1:39–41). By the middle of the second century B.C.E., the institution was accepted as having lapsed (I Macc. 9:27; cf. 4:46; 14:41).

That contemporary prophecy was falling into discredit soon after the return from the exile is clear from Zechariah 13:2–5, and it is quite likely that the closing verses of the last prophetic book (Mal. 3:22–24) are actually an epilogue to the entire collection indirectly expressing recognition of the cessation of prophecy and the hope of its eschatological renewal (cf. I Macc. 4:45; 14:41; 1QS 9:11). The cessation of prophecy could thus be understood ideologically as part of the spiritual punishment that Israel must endure for its sins (Jer. 18:18; Ezek. 7:26; Amos 8:11–12; Micah 3:6–7). More important was the ironic fact that once the writings of the great prophets of the past became immortalized in written form, it became increasingly difficult for living prophets to compete with them.

The tradition declaring the prophetic canon to have been closed during the era of Persian hegemony, i.e., by 323 B.C.E., can be substantiated by several unrelated facts. That Chronicles belongs to the *Ketuvim* and neither displaced nor supplemented Samuel-Kings in the Prophets is best explained on the assumption that the latter were already sealed at the time Chronicles was canonized. Similarly, the omission of Daniel from the Prophets (cf. Sanh. 94a) would be inexplicable if their canonization occurred in Hellenistic times. The absence from the Prophets of Greek words or of any reference to the historical fact of the downfall of the Persian empire and the transition to Greek rule provides further evidence. Notwithstanding assertions to the contrary, the tannaitic discussions about Ezekiel (Ḥag. 13a) have nothing to do with the history of canonization. The suggestion to relegate the book to the bibliocrypt (*lignoz*) was intended solely to remove it from common use. In fact, only sacred things could be so treated. Apparently, some time must have elapsed between the canonization of the Torah and that of the Prophets, since only the former and not the latter were publicly read at the great assemblies described in Nehemiah 8–10, while the Samaritans, who became schismatic in the days of Ezra or soon after, received the Torah but not the Prophets.

THE CANONIZATION OF THE KETUVIM (HAGIOGRAPHA). The third collection of biblical books does not constitute a unified entity either contextually or ideologically. Many of the books were certainly written while prophets were still active and the books were individually canonized quite early. They were excluded from the prophetic collection because their inspiration appeared to be human rather than Divine, or because they did not otherwise conform to the special ideological content or historical-philosophic framework of that corpus. This would be true of such works as Psalms and Proverbs. Other books, like Ezra, Chronicles, and Daniel, must have been written too late for inclusion in the Prophets. They were certainly canonical, as was Job too, by the generation before the destruction of the Second Temple (Yoma 1:6). At the same time, there is plenty of evidence to show that the collection of the *Ketuvim* as a whole, as well as some individual books within it, was not accepted as being finally closed until well into the second century C.E. As noted above, the practice of calling the entire Scriptures the "Torah and Prophets" presupposes a considerable lapse of time between the canonization of the second and third parts of the Bible. The fact that the last division had no fixed name points in the same direction. Even the finally adopted designation "*Ketuvim*" is indeterminate, since it is also used in rabbinic Hebrew in the two senses of the Scriptures in general and of individual texts in particular.

Other indications of lateness in *Ketuvim* are that the Song of Songs contains two Greek words (3:9, אַפִּרְיוֹן = palanquin; 4:4, תַּלְפִּיּוֹת = τηλῶπις = far-off), as does Daniel (3:5, 15, סוּמְפֹּנְיָה = συμφωνία = bagpipe; 3:5, 7, 10, 15, פְּסַנְתֵּרִין = Ψαλτήριον), קיתרס = κίθαρις which even refers to the break-up of the Greek empire (by name 18:21; 11:2) and which most likely did not achieve its final form before approximately 167 B.C.E. (For the influence of Persian and Greek on the Book of Ecclesiastes see *Ecclesiastes.) Ben Sira (c. 180 B.C.E.), who shows familiarity with all other biblical books, does not mention Daniel or Esther. The latter book, in fact, seems not to have been accepted among the sectarians of Qumran; at least no fragments of it have yet turned up among the scrolls from the Judean Desert. Indeed, that there was once a certain reserve in respect of the sanctity of the Book of Esther is apparent from rabbinic discussion (Meg. 7a; cf. Sanh. 100a).

The ambivalent attitude on the part of the rabbis to the

Wisdom of Ben Sira is highly significant. The fact that in the middle of the second century C.E. it was necessary to emphasize the uncanonical status of this book (Tosef., Yad. 2:13) and to forbid its reading (TJ, Sanh. 10:1, 28a) proves that the corpus of *Ketuvim* was still fluid at this time, and that Ben Sira had acquired a measure of sanctity in the popular consciousness. Despite the ban, the book continued to achieve wide circulation. The *amoraim* even quote from it, employing the introductory terminology otherwise exclusively reserved for Scripture (cf. Nid. 16b *di-khetiv*; Ber. 55b *she-ne'emar*). In one instance, a third-generation Babylonian *amora* actually cites Ben Sira as *Ketuvim* as opposed to Torah and Prophets (BK 92b).

It is true that in the generation after the destruction of the Temple the author of IV Esdras 14:41–46 (cf. Joseph., Apion, 1:39–41) seems to imply a closed biblical canon of 24 books; nevertheless, tannaitic and amoraic disputes about the canonicity of Proverbs, Song of Songs, and Ecclesiastes (Eduy. 5:3; Yad. 3:5; ARN 1:2), as well as of Esther (Meg. 7a), show that the widely held, though unsupported, view that the formal and final canonization of the *Ketuvim* occurred at the Synod of Jabneh (c. 100 C.E.) has to be considerably modified. More probably, decisions taken on that occasion came to be widely accepted and thus regarded as final in succeeding generations.

The Hellenistic Canon

The needs of the Hellenistic Jews, whether of Alexandria in particular or of the Greek-speaking Diaspora in general, led to the translation of the Bible into Greek. Beginning with the Torah about the middle of the third century B.C.E. the process took many centuries to complete. The formation of much of the Greek canon was thus coeval with the emergence of the Hebrew Bible as a sealed collection of sacred literature. The final product, however, diverged from the Hebrew – apart from the problem of the text – in two important respects. It adopted a different principle in the grouping and sequence of the biblical books, and it included works not accepted into the normative Hebrew canon. It must be understood, however, that, with the exception of a few fragments, all extant manuscripts of the Greek Bible are of Christian origin, and while it is reasonable to assume a Jewish prototype, the content and form of the Hellenistic Jewish canon cannot be known with certainty.

The Greek Ben Sira (prologue) clearly shows that the Palestinian tripartite division of the Bible was known in Alexandria in the second century B.C.E.; yet the Greek Bible does away with the *Ketuvim* as a corpus and redistributes the books of the second and third divisions according to categories of literature, thus creating a quadripartite canon of Torah, history, poetic and didactic writings, and prophecy. The sequence of books in the Greek Bible varies greatly in the uncial manuscripts and among the different patristic and synodical lists of the Eastern and Western churches. The Torah, however, always takes priority, followed by the Former Prophets. Ruth is attached to Judges, sometimes before, sometimes after it. The Minor Prophets invariably appear as a unit, though in slightly different order (Hosea, Amos, Micah, Joel, Obadiah, Jonah, etc.) and frequently preceding the three major prophets. Lamentations is affixed to Jeremiah, its reputed author. Of those books excluded from the Hebrew canon but included in the Greek Bibles, the number varies, but the following are found in the fullest collections: I Esdras (Ezra), Wisdom of Solomon, Wisdom of Ben Sira, Judith, Tobit, Baruch, the Letter of Jeremiah, I–IV Maccabees, and the Psalms of Solomon.

The order of the books in the Greek Bibles is illustrated in the table below:

Order of the Books in the Greek Bibles
(the Hebrew Codex Aleppo is given for comparison)

CODEX VATICANUS (B)	CODEX ALEXANDRINUS (A)	CODEX ALEPPO (C)
4th century	5th century	10th century
Genesis-Judges	Genesis-Judges	Genesis-Judges
Ruth	Ruth	I–II Samuel
I–IV Kings	I–IV Kings	I–II Kings
(Samuel, Kings)	I–II Chronicles	
I–II Chronicles	Isaiah	
I Ezra (apochryphal)	Hosea	Jeremiah
II Ezra	Amos	Ezekiel
(Ezra-Nehemiah)	Micah	Hosea
Joel	Joel	
Psalms	Obadiah	Amos
Proverbs	Jonah	Obadiah
Ecclesiastes	Nahum	Jonah
Song of Songs	Habakkuk	Micah
Job	Zephaniah	Nahum
Wisdom of Solomon	Haggai	Habakkuk
Wisdom of Sirach	Zechariah	Zephaniah
Esther	Malachi	Haggai
Judith	Isaiah	Zechariah
Tobit	Jeremiah	Malachi
Baruch		
Hosea	Lamentations	I–II Chronicles
Amos	Letter of Jeremiah	Psalms
Micah	Daniel	Job
Joel	Ezekiel	Proverbs
Obadiah	Ruth	
Jonah	Esther	Ecclesiastes
Nahum	Tobit	Lamentations
Habakkuk	Judith	Esther
Zephaniah	I Ezra	Daniel
Haggai	II Ezra	Ezra
Zechariah	I–IV Maccabees	
Malachi	Psalms	
Isaiah	Job	
Jeremiah	Proverbs	
Baruch	Ecclesiastes	
Lamentations	Song of Songs	
Letter of Jeremiah	Wisdom of Solomon	
Ezekiel	Wisdom of Sirach	
Daniel	Psalms of Solomon	

The Number of Books

By dividing Samuel, Kings, and Chronicles into two books each, and by individually enumerating Ezra, Nehemiah, and the twelve minor prophets, English Bibles usually list 39 books. This reckoning, however, is not traditional, for the twelve were written on a single scroll and counted as one; Ezra and Nehemiah were likewise treated as a unit, and the convenient bisection of Samuel, Kings, and Chronicles was unknown in Hebrew Bibles before the Bomberg edition of 1521 (see Editions, below). In this way the traditional total of 24 books is obtained.

This number is consistently specified in the literature of the *amoraim* (cf. Ta'an. 5a) and is implicit in the tannaitic listing of the biblical books (BB 14b). It must be quite ancient for it is expressly mentioned as something well understood n IV Ezra 14:45, a passage deriving from about 100 C.E. From about this same period derives a variant tradition of Josephus limiting the canon to 22 books (Apion 1:39–41). It is possible that the Song of Songs and Ecclesiastes were not yet included in Josephus' Bible. More likely, however, the difference is to be explained by the practice of attaching Ruth to Judges or Psalms, and Lamentations to Jeremiah. Since many of the Church Fathers also mention a 22-book canon (cf. Origen in Eusebius, *Historia Ecclesiastica* 6:25, 1), it must be assumed that the observation of Josephus reflects a fairly widespread, if minority, Jewish scribal tradition that persisted for several centuries. Either way, the specified number really refers to the sum of separate scrolls used in transcribing the corpus of canonized literature. The artificiality of the number 24 and the absence of any authentic tradition to explain its origin are clear from the homiletics of the *amoraim*, who variously connected it with the like number of ornaments in Isaiah 3:18–24 (Ex. R. 41:5; Song. R. 4:11; Tanḥ. B., Ex. 111–117), of priestly and levitical courses in I Chron. 23:28; 24:4 (Num. R. 14:18; Eccles. R. 12:11; PR 3:9), and of the bulls brought as dedicatory offerings by the chieftains of the tribes (Num. 7:88; Num. R. 14:18).

It has been suggested, but with little probability, that Jewish practice may have been influenced by the pattern set by the Alexandrian division of the Odyssey and Iliad of Homer into 24 books each, an innovation itself dictated as much by the practical consideration of avoiding the inconvenience of handling a scroll containing more than 1,000 verses as by the desire to create a correspondence with the number of letters in the Greek alphabet. The 24-book division may have been regarded as a model for the national classics, especially because it is a multiple of 12, a number which was charged with special significance in the ancient world, even in the literary sphere. This is evidenced by the 12-tablet division of the Gilgamesh Epic, the 12 sections of the Theogony of Hesiod and the Laws of the Twelve Tablets. The 22-book division might well have been an adaptation of Greek practice to the Hebrew alphabetic enumeration.

The Order of the Books

In considering the arrangement of the biblical books in a specific sequence, two distinct problems have to be differentiated. The first relates to the very meaning of "order," the second to the underlying rationale of the diverse arrangements found in literary sources and manuscripts. The earliest list of biblical books is that preserved in an anonymous tannaitic statement (BB 14b):

> Our Rabbis taught: the order of the Prophets is Joshua, Judges, Samuel, Kings, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Isaiah, and the Twelve…; the order of the Ketuvim is Ruth, the Book of Psalms, Job, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, the Song of Songs, Lamentations, Daniel, the Scroll of Esther, Ezra, and Chronicles.

The question of "order" would normally apply to books produced as codices, rather than scrolls. However, the above-cited *baraita* cannot be later than the end of the second century C.E., whereas the codex was not accepted by Jews until many centuries later. Sarna seeks the solution in the library practices of the Mesopotamian and Hellenistic worlds.

The steady growth of collections, whether of cuneiform tablets or papyrus rolls, necessitated the introduction of rationalized and convenient methods of storing materials in ways that facilitated identification and expedited usage. At the same time, the requirements of the scribal schools engendered an established sequence in which the classic works were to be read or studied. This combination of library needs and pedagogic considerations would then be what lies behind the fixing of the order of the Prophets and *Ketuvim* as recorded in the list above. The reference would be to the order in which the individual scrolls in these two corpora were shelved and cataloged in the Palestinian archives and schools. Haran has challenged Sarna's theory on the grounds that the small number of the books of the Bible made literary cataloguing unnecessary. It would have been simple to follow Roman practice and lay out the scrolls on shelves divided by panels. Alternatively, scrolls might have been tagged as they were

The Order of the Latter Prophets

1. Talmud and three mss.	2. Two mss.	3. Eleven mss.	4. Five Early Editions
Jeremiah	Jeremiah	Jeremiah	Jeremiah
Ezekiel	Ezekiel	Ezekiel	Ezekiel
Isaiah	Isaiah	Isaiah	Isaiah
The Twelve	The Twelve	The Twelve	The Twelve

1. (1) The Babylonian Talmud; (2) 1280 C.E. Madrid, National Library, ms. no. 1; (3–5) London, British Museum, mss. Orient. 1474, Orient. 4227, Add. 1545.
2. (1) 1286 C.E. Paris, National Library; (2) London, British Museum, Orient. 2091.
3. (1) 916 C.E. Leningrad codex; (2) 1009 C.E. Leningrad ms.; (3–11) London, British Museum, mss. Orient. 1246 C.E., Arund. Orient. 16, Harley 1528, Harley 5710–11, Add. 1525, Add. 15251, Add. 15252, Orient. 2348, Orient, 2626–8.
4. (1) The first printed edition of the entire Bible, 1488 Soncino; (2) The second edition, 1491–93 Naples; (3) The third edition, 1492–1494 Brescia; (4) The first edition of the Rabbinic Bible, edited by Felix Pratensis, 1517 Venice; (5) The first edition of the Bible with the Masorah, edited by Jacob b. Ḥayyim, 1524–25 Venice.

The Order of the Hagiographa

	1. Talmud and Six mss.	2. Two mss.	3. Add. 15252	4. Adat. Devorim and three mss.	5. Ar. Or. 16	6. Or. 2626–28	7. Or. 2201	8. Five Early Editions
1	Ruth	Ruth	Ruth	Chronicles	Chronicles	Chronicles	Psalms	Psalms
2	Psalms	Psalms	Psalms	Psalms	Ruth	Psalms	Job	Proverbs
3	Job	Job	Job	Job	Psalms	Proverbs	Proverbs	Job
4	Proverbs	Proverbs	Proverbs	Proverbs	Job	Job	Ruth	Song of Songs
5	Ecclesiastes	Song of Songs	Song of Songs	Ruth	Proverbs	Daniel	Song of Songs	Ruth
6	Song of Songs	Ecclesiastes	Ecclesiastes	Song of Songs	Song of Songs	Ruth	Ecclesiastes	Lamentations
7	Lamentations	Lamentations	Lamentations	Ecclesiastes	Ecclesiastes	Song of Songs	Lamentations	Ecclesiastes
8	Daniel	Esther	Daniel	Lamentations	Lamentations	Lamentations	Esther	Esther
9	Esther	Daniel	Esther	Esther	Esther	Ecclesiastes	Daniel	Daniel
10	Ezra-Nehemiah	Ezra-Nehemiah	Ezra-Nehemiah	Daniel	Daniel	Esther	Ezra-Nehemiah	Ezra-Nehemiah
11	Chronicles	Chronicles	Chronicles	Ezra-Nehemiah	Ezra-Nehemiah	Ezra-Nehemiah	Chronicles	Chronicles

1. (1) The Talmud; (2) 1280 C.E. Madrid, University Library, codex no. 1; (3–7) London, British Museum, mss. Harley 1528, Add. 1525, Orient. 2212, Orient. 2375, Orient. 4227.
2. (1) 1286 C.E. Paris, National Library, mss. no. 1–3; (2) London, British Museum, Orient. 2091.
3. London, British Museum, Add. 15252.
4. (1) 1009 C.E. Leningrad ms.; (2) 1207 C.E. Adat Devorim; (3–4) London, British Museum, mss. Harley 5710–11, Add. 15251.
5. London, British Museum, Arund. Orient. 16.
6. London, British Museum, Orient. 2626–28.
7. 1246 C.E. London, British Museum, Orient. 2201.
8. The five early editions, see Table 1, note 4.

at Qumran, and much earlier in Mesopotamia. Haran suggests instead that the *baraita* reflects a time when scribes had begun to resort to larger scrolls containing several books rather than using one scroll per book. This technological change would have necessitated a fixed order. The silence about the Pentateuch in the *baraita* is due to the fact that its priority in its long fixed order was so universally known as to make it superfluous. As to the underlying principles that determined the sequence, it is clear that the historical books of the prophetical division are set forth as a continuous, consecutive narrative with Jeremiah and Ezekiel following in chronological sequence. The anomalous position of Isaiah after Ezekiel (reflected also in some manuscripts) (see Table: Order of the Latter Prophets) has been variously explained. According to the *Gemara* (BB 14b) contextual considerations were paramount:

> The Book of Kings ends with a record of destruction; Jeremiah deals throughout with destruction; Ezekiel commences with destruction and closes with consolation, while Isaiah is entirely consolation. Therefore, we juxtapose destruction to destruction and consolation to consolation.

This explanation is hardly adequate since Jeremiah contains prophecies of comfort and the observation on Isaiah applies only to chapters 40–66. Nor is it likely that the late exilic origin of the last 27 chapters of Isaiah determined its place after Ezekiel, since there is no evidence that the rabbis recognized the heterogeneous nature of the book. More persuasive, perhaps, is the thesis that the sequence Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Isaiah, and the Twelve was conditioned by their respective lengths in decreasing order. There may have been a tendency to place in close proximity prophets who were considered to have been contemporaries so that the great similarity between Isaiah 1:1 and Hosea 1:1 might well have been responsible for the juxtaposition of the books of Isaiah and the Twelve.

The *baraita* gives no list of the Minor Prophets. It simply designates them "the Twelve," implying that the order was well-known and universally accepted. The same conclusion is to be drawn from Ben Sira's reference to "the twelve prophets" (Ecclus. 49:10). Doubtless, the arrangement of the 12 small books, always written on a single roll, was based on chronological principles as understood by the religious authorities responsible for the canonization of the prophetic corpus. The present sequence is uniform in all Hebrew manuscripts and printed editions.

No reason for the tannaitic order of the *Ketuvim* is given in the *Gemara*, but it may be noted that the 11 books are arranged chronologically in groups according to rabbinic notions of their authorship. Ruth, which closes with the genealogy of David, precedes Psalms, which was ascribed to that king. Job follows, probably because of a tradition assigning the book to the time of the Queen of Sheba (BB 15b; cf. Job 1:15). Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and Song of Songs were all attributed to Solomon; Lamentations was thought to have been written by Jeremiah; Daniel was credited to the exilic period and the last two to the Persian era. Notwithstanding the tannaitic notice, it would seem that the sequence of the *Ketuvim* was never really fixed, for the manuscripts and printed editions exhibit a variety of systems (see Table: Order of the Hagiographa). Nevertheless, the differences are restricted to specific books or clusters of books. In the manuscripts and early editions, Chronicles never appears other than at the beginning or end of the corpus. Ezra-Nehemiah is invariably either the penultimate or final book depending on the position of Chronicles. The three larger works: Psalms, Job, and Proverbs, always constitute a group, with Psalms invariably first and the other two interchanging. The Talmud itself lists the "three larger books of the *Ketuvim*" as Psalms, Proverbs, and Job (Ber. 57b), a variant possibly conditioned by the view that Job was among those who returned from the Babylonian exile (BB 15a).

The most unstable books in respect of their order in the *Ketuvim* are the five Scrolls (*Megillot*). Their position varies in the manuscripts and printed editions both as part of the corpus of *Ketuvim* and as separately attached to the Pentateuch (see Table: Order of the Megillot). Nowhere in rabbinic sources are all five listed in immediate succession, nor is the term "Five *Megillot*" used. The chronological sequence, according to reputed author, that underlies the tannaitic listing is essentially reflected in another talmudic source which identifies "the three smaller books of the *Ketuvim*" as the Song of Songs, Ecclesiastes, and Lamentations, in that order (Ber. 57b). In fact, six of eight main variations basically preserve this chronological principle (see Table: Order of the Hagiographa, cols. 1–5, 7). The practice of grouping all five *Megillot* together has its origin in the custom of reading these books on festival days: the Song of Songs on Passover, Ruth on Pentecost, Lamentations on the Ninth of Av, Ecclesiastes on Sukkot, and Esther on Purim (cf. Soferim 14:1, ed. Higger, p. 251–2). This is the order as it crystallized in the early printed Hebrew Bibles and in some manuscripts and early printed editions of the Pentateuch, to which all five *Megillot* have been attached.

The Order of the *Megillot* after the Pentateuch

1. mss. Nos. 1,2,3	2. mss. Nos. 4,5,6	3. mss. Nos. 7, 8	4. mss. No. 9	5. Early Editions
Song of Songs	Esther	Ruth	Ruth	Song of Songs
Ruth	Song of Songs	Song of Songs	Song of Songs	Ruth
Lamentations	Ruth	Ecclesiastes	Lamentations	Lamentations
Ecclesiastes	Lamentations	Lamentations	Ecclesiastes	Ecclesiastes
Esther	Ecclesiastes	Esther	Esther	Esther

The nine mss. collated for this Table are the following in the British Museum: (1) Add. 9400; (2) Add. 9403; (3) Add. 19776; (4) Harley 5706; (5) Add. 9404; (6) Orient. 2786; (7) Harley 5773; (8) Harley 15283; (9) Add. 15282.
The fifth column represents the order adopted in the first, second and third editions of the Hebrew Bible, as well as that of the second and third editions of Bomberg's Quarto Bible (Venice 1521, 1525), in all of which the five Megillot follow immediately after the Pentateuch

The final position of Chronicles is most remarkable since Ezra-Nehemiah follows naturally in continuation of the narrative. The anomaly is emphasized by the widespread support it received in the manuscripts and early printed editions. It would appear that the New Testament, too, reflects this arrangement (Matt. 23:35; Luke 11:51). As an explanation, it might be suggested that the position of Chronicles represents the chronology of canonization, though there is no evidence to support this. More likely, it resulted from a conscious attempt to place the biblical books within a narrative framework. Genesis and Chronicles both begin with the origin and development of the human race and both end with the promise of redemption and return to the Land of Israel. The two books actually employ the same key verbs in this connection (Gen. 50:24–25; II Chron. 36:23; פקד, עלה; *pkd* (*pqd*), *ʿlh*). Indeed, the messianic theme of the return to Zion as an appropriate conclusion to the Scriptures was probably the paramount consideration in the positioning of Chronicles. Further evidence that the arrangement of the Scriptures was intended to express certain leading ideas in Judaism may be sought in the extraordinary fact that the initial chapter of the Former Prophets (Josh. 1:8) and of the Latter Prophets (Isa. 1:10) and the closing chapter of the prophetical corpus (Mal. 3:22), as well as the opening chapter of the *Ketuvim* (Ps. 1:2), all contain a reference to Torah, a conscious assertion of the theological priority of the Torah.

The Languages of Scripture

The books of the Bible have come down in the Hebrew language with the exception of two words in Genesis (31:47), a single verse in Jeremiah (10:11), and sections of Daniel (2:4b–7:28) and Ezra (4:8–6:18; 7:12–26), all of which are in Aramaic. The problem of the language of Scripture is, however, more complicated than would appear on the surface and it constitutes part of the larger issue of the history of the growth and formation of the canon. Some scholars, for instance, regard Job, Ecclesiastes, and Chronicles, as well as the Hebrew sections of Daniel and Ezra-Nehemiah as translations, in whole or part, from Aramaic. This implies that the original is lost, and at once raises the possibility of error in the course of rendition from language to language. It should be noted, though, that in dealing with the problem of translation care must be taken to distinguish between Aramaisms and Aramaic influence on Hebrew style on the one hand, and a translation that may betray its Aramaic substratum on the other.

Even works unquestionably composed in Hebrew are not without their linguistic history. In dealing with biblical Hebrew it must be remembered that the language of Scripture represents a period of creativity covering several hundred years during which internal development inevitably took place. In general, it may be said that the poetic texts in the historical books have preserved the earliest strata of the language (Gen. 49; Ex. 15; Num. 23–24; Deut. 32; 33; Judg. 5), while the Hebrew of those works deriving from the postexilic period – like Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi, Ecclesiastes, Chronicles, Ezra-Nehemiah, and Daniel – exhibits features that distinguish the known characteristics of postbiblical Hebrew. In between there are several linguistic layers, the isolation of which is complicated by the relatively small amount of material available for comparison, the difficulties in dating the different documents, and the problem of distinguishing between the age of the material and the period of the final stage of its redaction. Much scholarly effort in recent years has been directed to identifying the specific linguistic features of Late Biblical Hebrew (LBH). Also, it is not known to what extent the editors "modernized" the language of the material they worked with. Comparative Semitic phonology and morphology make it certain that the present system of vocalization of the Hebrew consonants reflects the stage of Hebrew pronunciation more or less as it had crystallized in the Second Temple period. It can be said from internal biblical evidence (cf. Judg. 12:6) and from several inscriptions that there were important differences in dialect between northern Israel and southern Judah. Consequently, since much of the biblical literature originated in the north but was mediated through the Judean scribes, it must have been stylistically transformed to conform to the standard Jerusalemite dialect. Finally, in evaluating the language of the Bible, the problem of the reliability and integrity of the Hebrew consonantal text tradition cannot be overlooked.

TEXT

The History of the Biblical Text

In the medieval codices of the Hebrew Bible, as in the printed editions to the present times, the text generally comprises three distinct components. These are the consonants, the vowel symbols, and the liturgical, diacritical notations. The latter two elements were invented by the masoretes (see *Masorah) while the history of the consonantal text, with which this section is exclusively concerned, represents the crystallization of a textual critical process of very great antiquity and of remarkable complexity. The second edition of the Rabbinic Bible, edited by Jacob b. Ḥayyim and published by Daniel *Bomberg (Venice 1524/25), served as the model for all future printed editions (see Printed Editions, below). Between this date and that of the most ancient fragments of the Hebrew Scriptures found in the Judean Desert intervenes a period of approximately 2,000 years, and many more centuries of textual transmission separate the earliest documents from the *editio princeps* of a biblical book.

THE EARLIEST PERIOD (up to c. 300 B.C.E.) It is no longer possible to reconstruct the textual evolution of the Hebrew Scriptures between the time of the composition of an individual work and the age of the first known witnesses, approximately 300 B.C.E. The existence of divergent texts of the same books may be postulated since this is the only way to explain the variants in the many passages duplicated in the Bible. (II Sam. 22 = Ps. 18; II Kings 18:13–20:19 = Isa. 36–39; II Kings 24:18–25:30 = Jer. 52; Isa. 2:2–4 = Micah 4:1–3; Ps. 14=53; 40:14–18=70; 57:8–12 = 108: 2–6; 60:7–14 = 108; 7–14; 96 = I Chron. 16:23–33; Ps. 105:1–15 = I Chron. 16:8–22; 106:1, 47–48 = I Chron. 16:34–36; the parallels between Sam.–Kings and Chron.).

As late as the 13th century traditions were still preserved about a period of disorder in biblical texts and the textual-critical activities of the "Men of the Great Assembly" (David Kimḥi, preface to his commentary on Joshua). This conclusion is reinforced by the findings from caves in Qumran. Here a plurality of text-types has been discovered – a situation which must represent a state of affairs much older than its earliest documentation. Indeed, it may be argued that the very idea of canonicity carries with it an attitude of reverence for the text and fosters care and accuracy in its transmission. This would be particularly true of a written text since scribal activities would naturally be restricted to a relatively small circle of specialists. Furthermore, the use of sacred literature in public worship and in the curriculum of influential schools would tend to endow a certain version of a scriptural text with greater prestige. All these factors would tend to work in the direction of inhibiting the multiplication of textual versions and would serve to give some text-types greater prominence than others.

The situation presupposed here finds support in the history of Mesopotamian literature, where all the evidence points to the emergence of authoritative standard versions of the classical texts by the end of the second millennium B.C.E. As a consequence of this development, the great cuneiform literary texts appear in very limited editions despite wide geographic distribution and considerable chronological variability. A similar state of affairs is discernible in connection with the Greek classics. As early as the sixth century B.C.E. the production of a definitive text of the Odyssey and the Iliad was commissioned by Pisistratus, tyrant of Athens, though this is not necessarily the text that finally became predominant. From the third century B.C.E. on, considerable textual-critical work on the manuscripts of Homer to determine the correct readings was undertaken by scholars at the museum library of Alexandria. There is no reason why the textual history of the sacred Scriptures of Israel should have been more anarchic than that of the Mesopotamian and Greek classics. In fact, the existence of a fixed text of at least part of the Torah before the close of the pentateuchal canon is presupposed by the injunction in Deuteronomy (17:18–19) that the king have a copy of the law transcribed for himself for purposes of regular study, as well as by the prescription to hold a periodic public reading of the Law from an official copy deposited in the central sanctuary (Deut. 31:9–12, 26). There is no way of knowing, however, whether any one recension achieved greater national importance or prominence within this period. It can only be concluded that since the prototype of the text-family that ultimately achieved hegemony is present at Qumran, the history of that text must be much older.

THE SECOND PERIOD (c. 300 B.C.E.–First Century C.E.) The starting point, it should be noted, is somewhat arbitrary and is conditioned by the fortuitous existence of manuscript documentation; and the limiting point is fixed by the observation of a radical change after the destruction of the Temple. The evidence for development within this period involves Hebrew sources and Greek translations and is both direct and indirect. It is characterized by the diversity of text-types, though the number seems to have been very limited and each family of manuscripts appears to have maintained its homogeneity over a long period of time.

Until the discovery of the *Dead Sea Scrolls, the evidence of textual diversity in this period consisted mainly of the Samaritan *Pentateuch and the Septuagint; the latter must have been translated from a Hebrew source at variance with the received text. Further evidence for a still fluid state of the text is provided by the citations of Scripture found in the books of the *Apocrypha and by rabbinic traditions about the activities of the **soferim*. These latter are credited with responsibility for textual emendations (*tikkunei soferim*, Mekh., Shira, 6; Sif. Num. 84), for marking dislocated verses (*ibid.*; Shab. 115b–116a) and suspect readings (ARN^{1} 34, 100–1; ARN^{2} 37, 97; Sif. Num. 69), as well as for deletions (*itturei soferim*, Ned. 37b). Other rabbinic traditions tell of the need for "book correctors" (*maggihei sefarim*) in Jerusalem attached to the Temple (Ket. 106a; TJ, Shek. 4:3, 48a) and even of divergent readings in pentateuchal scrolls kept in the Temple archives (TJ, Ta'an 4:2, 68a; Sif. Deut. 356; ARN^{2} 46, 65; Sof. 6:4).

This fluidity of text is precisely the situation that was revealed at Qumran, particularly Cave IV which has yielded about 100 manuscripts, complete or fragmentary. The outstanding phenomenon is the ability of the sect to tolerate, with no apparent disquiet, the simultaneous existence of divergent texts of the same book, as well as verbal and orthographic variety within the scope of a single recension. Clearly, an inviolable, sacrosanct, authoritative text did not exist at Qumran. Whether the identical conclusion is also valid for the normative Jewish community of Palestine in this period is less certain. It is true that there is nothing specifically sectarian about the Qumran Bible scrolls, either in the scribal techniques and conventions employed or in the nature of the divergent readings, which are decidedly neither tendentious nor ideological. Nevertheless, caution must be exercised in the use of the Qumran evidence for reconstruction of a generalized history of textual development in this period. The lack of more examples of the masoretic text-type may be solely accidental. It is also possible that this is less a library than a *genizah* which would tend to preserve discarded texts and so present a distorted picture. In many instances, the fragments are very small and are only *disjecta membra*, making the derivation of overall characteristics very hazardous. Finally, the isolated, cloistered, and segregated existence led by the sect of "covenanters," with its implacable hostility to the Jerusalem religious establishment, could well have insulated Qumran from normative developments elsewhere in Judea, where a less tolerant approach to textual diversity may have prevailed.

In fact, the rabbinic testimony cited above demonstrates the existence of a movement away from a plurality of recensions and toward textual stabilization. The textual-critical activities of the *soferim* are all directed to this end and they are expressly reported to have worked on a text fixed even in respect of the number of its letters (Kid. 30a). Whatever its intrinsic worth this talmudic tradition could not have arisen among the rabbis had the fixing of the text been recent. The presence of Temple-sponsored "book correctors" implies the acceptance at some point in the Second Temple period of an authoritative text by which the accuracy of other scrolls was measured (Ket. 106a; TJ, Shek. 4:3, 48a; Sanh. 2:6, 20c). The record of the variant Temple scrolls is a tradition concerned with an attempt to ensure just such a standardized recension. Indeed, that there existed an official Temple Scroll (*Sefer ha-Azarah*) which enjoyed high prestige is amply attested in rabbinic sources (TJ, Sanh. 2:6, 20c; Shek 4:3, 48a; MK 3:4; Kelim 15:6; cf. Jos., Wars, 7:150, 162), though it is not possible to tell exactly to what period they refer. Certainly, the seven rules of biblical hermeneutics, compiled but not invented by Hillel the Elder (Tosef., Sanh. 7:11; ARN^{1} 37, 110; cf. Pes. 66a; TJ, Pes. 6:1, 33a), take the history of the attempt at textual stabilization at least back to the time of Herod.

Soon after the destruction of the Temple, Josephus (Apion, 1:8) wrote about the inviolate nature of the text of the Jewish Scriptures and it is clear that he regarded this as a virtue of long standing. Further proof for the existence of the notion of an authoritative text is provided by the Letter of Aristeas which is well aware of the circulation of carelessly written books of the Law (Arist. 30) and has Ptolemy send to the high priest in Jerusalem for a Hebrew text from which to make the Greek translation (*ibid.*, 33–40, 46; cf. 176). Once produced, this translation itself came to be regarded as sacrosanct by the Jews of Alexandria (*ibid.*, 311). Nevertheless, there is evidence from Qumran that the Greek translation was the object of much recensional activity, the purpose of which was to bring it into line with developments in the Hebrew texts current in Palestine. This phenomenon reveals, once again, both that the Hebrew text was still fluid and that there was a movement toward textual stabilization.

Within this period the notion of an authoritative text was well rooted outside the Qumran community. A very limited number of textual families is discernible, probably each having achieved local authority. Each family, however, exhibits internal textual variety. The religious leadership in Jerusalem appears to have recognized a fixed text and to have been engaged in textual-critical activity aligning divergent exemplars with it. The beginnings of this movement may possibly be traced to the Maccabean victories. At any rate, the recensional family that ultimately crystallized into what came to be known as "masoretic" is well represented among the Qumran collection, the most outstanding example being the Isaiah scroll (1QIsb).

THE THIRD PERIOD (First Century C.E.–Ninth Century C.E.) The existence of an official text with binding authority from the generation of the destruction of the Temple is clearly reflected in halakhic discussions. Zechariah b. ha-Kaẓẓav, who was apparently a priest in the Temple (cf. Ket. 2:9), based legal decisions on the presence of a conjunctive *vav* (Sot. 5:1). *Nahum of Gimzo, of the first generation of *tannaim*, employed the principle of "extension and limitation" in the interpretation of certain Hebrew particles (Ḥag. 12a; Pes. 22b), a hermeneutical system later developed to the full by R. *Akiva to whom not a word of the Torah, nor even a syllable or letter, was superfluous. Hence, he could derive a multiplicity of rules from each tittle on the letters of the Torah (Men. 29b). He, too, warned against teaching from "uncorrected" books (Pes. 112a) and emphasized the importance of the protective devices (*masoret*) for the Torah text (Avot 3:13). Further, it was in Akiva's day that the question arose as to whether the established consonantal text or the traditional manner of reading was to determine the halakhic interpretation (Mak. 7b; Sanh. 4a; Pes. 86b; Kid. 18b). R. *Ishmael, his contemporary, formulated the 13 *hermeneutical norms (Sifra 1:1) which presuppose a fixed recension. He also advised R. Meir to be extraordinarily meticulous in his work of transcribing sacred texts lest he omit or add a single letter (Er. 13a). This period is distinguished from its predecessors in that a single stabilized text attained unimpeachable authority and achieved hegemony over all others. This development seems to have occurred in the course of the first century C.E., probably as a consequence of the need for religiocultural cohesion and national unity following the destruction of the Temple. Before long, all other Hebrew recensions were discarded and passed into oblivion, leaving only a few traces behind.

It is true that in the generation after R. Akiva copies of the Torah made by R. Meir might still contain a few textual oddities (Gen. R. 9:5; 20:12), and medieval tradition could retain a record of variant readings found in a Torah scroll stored in the synagogue of Severus in Rome (*Bereshit Rabbati*, ed. Albeck, p. 209). It is also true that rabbinic literature has preserved several hundred deviations from the received text in scriptural quotations and in reconstructed readings underlying a specific piece of midrashic exegesis, while the same phenomenon may be discernible in citations in Jewish Palestinian apocryphal and pseudepigraphical literature, in the New Testament, and in the Church Fathers. Even in the third century C.E., R. Ammi, a Palestinian *amora*, might still find it necessary to warn against the retention of "uncorrected books" for more than 30 days (Ket 19b). Nevertheless, at this period all this constitutes a survival and not a living tradition.

The hegemony of the masoretic-type text is amply attested, apart from halakhic sources, by two independent classes of witnesses. On the one hand, the Hebrew biblical scrolls and fragments discovered at Masada (66–73 C.E.), at Wadi Murabbaʿat, and at Naḥal Ḥever (both from c. 132–35 C.E.) are all practically identical with the received text. On the other hand, the Jewish Greek translation of the Minor Prophets found in Naḥal Ḥever, and the second-century Greek translations of the Bible attributed to *Aquila, *Symmachus, and Theodotion all testify to revisions of the Septuagint attempting to bring it closer to a masoretic-type Hebrew text which had become exclusively authoritative. Whether this development resulted from an official promulgation by accepted religious authorities, or whether it was the culmination of a long period of growth during which the masoretic type had always represented the mainstream of tradition can no longer be determined. Whatever the case, no further developments of any significance in the biblical Hebrew consonantal text took place during the 600 years that elapsed between the latest manuscripts from the tannaitic period (c. 200 C.E.) and the earliest medieval ones (c. ninth century C.E.). None of the medieval manuscripts and codices, and not even the thousands of Bible fragments from the Cairo *Genizah* represent a recension different from the received text.

See also *Masorah, *Poetry* in the Bible.

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[Nahum M. Sarna / S. David Sperling (2nd ed.)]

PRINTED EDITIONS (HEBREW)

The story of the printing of the Hebrew Bible begins with the 1477 edition of the Psalms, most probably produced at Bologna. Each verse is followed by the appropriate passage from David *Kimḥi's commentary, an arrangement which does not appear again in Hebrew Bibles. Since the first printers had considerable difficulty with the vowel-points, they abandoned them after Psalm 4:4, excepting only three consecutive verses, 5:12–6:1. Many words are printed *plene* (with vowel letters (*matres lectionis*, Heb. *immot ha-keri'ah*)), including even *yod* for *segol*. There are frequent errors, whole verses (108), half verses (3), and odd words (43) are omitted, and there are dittographs both of letters and of words.

The next venture was due to the *ẓedakot* ("charities") of the rich and pious Joseph b. Abraham Caravita. Knowing that the vigor of Judaism depends on serious and continued reading and study of the Bible, many wealthy Jews employed scribes to copy manuscripts in order to foster this study. In Spain they continued using scribes, but Jews in Italy quickly realized that the invention of printing with movable type would enable them to ensure the more effective dissemination of the Bible. In 1479–80 Joseph b. Abraham invited from Ferrara to Bologna Abraham b. Ḥayyim di Tintori, a master craftsman who had largely solved the problems of both vowel-points and accents. The result of this move was the Bologna Pentateuch of 1482, which set the pattern for many future editions, culminating in the Bomberg rabbinic Bibles of the next century. The folios consist of Rashi's commentary across the page, top and bottom, with the Hebrew text in the inner and wider column and Targum Onkelos in the outer column. The type is larger than that of the 1477 psalter, but, as in some Ashkenazi manuscripts, the final letters *kaf, nun*, and *pe* do not extend below the base-line of other consonants, so that it is virtually impossible to distinguish between *dalet* and final *kaf.*

A little later, a certain Israel Nathan b. Samuel moved to Soncino, a small town in the duchy of Milan. There he set up a printing press for his son, and this was the beginning of the great firm of Joshua Solomon *Soncino and his nephews, Moses and Gershom. Attracting Abraham b. Ḥayyim from Bologna, they produced the first complete Bible, the Soncino Bible of 1488, with vowels and accents, but without a commentary, as was the custom of the Soncinos. The Soncino brothers also were responsible for the 1491–93 Naples Bible, in which the vowel-points and accents are better placed than before. Gershom Soncino moved to Brescia, where he produced the 1495 Brescia Bible, an improved edition of the 1488 Soncino Bible, but, more important, in small octavo format, making it a pocket edition specifically produced for the persecuted Jews who, perpetually moving from place to place, found it difficult to carry the huge and costly folio Bibles. It was this edition which Martin Luther used when he translated the Bible into German.

In Spain a Hebrew Pentateuch with Targum and Rashi was printed by Solomon Salmatic b. Maimon in 1490 at Ixar (Hijar). There were also printing presses in Portugal, where in 1487 the Faro Pentateuch was produced. In this edition the printer was unable to solve the problem of placing a dot in the middle of a consonant, so there is no *dagesh*. This was followed in 1491 by the Lisbon Pentateuch in two volumes with the Targum and Rashi's commentary, and in the next year by Isaiah and Jeremiah at Lisbon and Proverbs at Leira. The expulsion of the Jews from Spain (1492) put an end to the printing of new editions of the Bible, both in Portugal and Italy, for wealthy Jews needed all their means to help the refugees, over a quarter of a million of them. The Portuguese tradition was revived in Salonika 23 years later in an edition of Psalms, Proverbs, Job, and Daniel with Don Judah Gedaliah as patron and Joseph b. Mako Golphon as printer. The first Bible to be printed in Spain was the 1514–17 Complutensian Polyglot printed at Alcalde Henares (Lat. *Complutum*) under the patronage of Cardinal Ximenes de Cisneros, founder of the university there, regent of Castile, and archbishop of Toledo. The project was completed in 1517, but it was nearly three years before Pope Leo x authorized the work and a further two years before publication, by which time Cardinal Ximenes had been dead for five years. Accents were deliberately rejected; other signs were introduced to mark the colons and the penultimate accented syllables. The vowel-points are far from reliable.

By the year 1511 the Soncinos, now at Pesaro, were able to make a new start and in stages they completed a fourth edition of the complete Bible. Gershom had used the interval to perfect his technique and this edition is the best produced by Ashkenazi Jews in Italy. Around this time Daniel *Bomberg, a Christian merchant of Amsterdam, arrived in Venice and established his printing office there. In 1516–17 he published the first Great Rabbinic Bible, edited by Felix Pratensis, who was born a Jew but was baptized in 1506. The work is in four volumes, with Targums and commentaries. For the first time the *kerei* is given, but in the variants in the margin (see *Masorah). The last volume contains additional material, notably Maimonides' "Thirteen Articles" and the treatise on accents entitled *Dikdukei ha-Te'amim* said to be by *Ben Asher and here printed for the first time. Here also for the first time in Hebrew Samuel and Kings were each divided into two books in imitation of the Vulgate. The strangest thing about this edition is the statement made to the pope when his *imprimatur* was sought; it claimed that the many previously printed Bibles "contain as many errors as words" and that "no one had attempted it before." Daniel Bomberg and Felix Pratensis duly received the pope's blessing, though it proved more of a hindrance than an asset. Even before this four-volume Bible was published, Bomberg realized that he had made two bad mistakes: employing an apostate Jew as his editor, and requesting the pope's *imprimatur.* He therefore remade the columns as soon as the folios of the large Bible had been run off and issued a quarto edition at the same time, this time without any mention of either editor or pope. A second edition was called for within four years, when the whole was reset; on this occasion the two sons of Baruch Adelkind were mentioned as printers, and great emphasis was laid on the fact that they were Jews, thoroughly Orthodox and already engaged in printing the whole of the Talmud. However, something had to be done about the Great Rabbinic Bible, and, as though divinely guided and certainly opportunely, Jacob b. Ḥayyim ibn Adonijah arrived in Venice after his family had been driven out of Spain and again out of Tunis. After seven penurious years of wandering Jacob b. Ḥayyim found work with Bomberg in Venice. The chief fruit of the partnership was the second Great Rabbinic Bible of 1524–25, the text of which became the standard masoretic text and continued as such for 400 years. Jacob b. Ḥayyim was very conscious of the importance of the masorah as the guarantee of the correct text, and he went to great pains and undertook several journeys to secure as many codices with a masorah as possible. Thus, for the first time, there was a printed Hebrew Bible with a marginal masorah. As the editor discovered that "the masorah did not harmonize with the majority of the codices," he had to exercise his discretion. The edition was in four volumes, with Targums, and with commentaries by Rashi, Ibn Ezra, David and Moses Kimḥi, and Levi b. Gershom. A third Bomberg quarto edition appeared in 1525–28, the text being a combination of that of Felix Pratensis and that of Jacob b. Ḥayyim.

Daniel Bomberg's tribulations were not over, for soon after 1525 Jacob b. Ḥayyim became a Christian. In 1527 Elijah *Levita, a refugee originally from Neustadt near Nuremberg, came to Venice and found employment with Bomberg. No more is heard of Jacob b. Ḥayyim, Elijah Levita being henceforth chief adviser to the Bomberg firm. In subsequent reprints of the 1524–25 Bible, there is no mention of the editor. Bibles printed after 1525 all follow substantially the text of Jacob b. Ḥayyim ibn Adonijah until *Buxtorf's small-format Bible of 1611 and his four-volume rabbinic Bible of 1618–19, printed at Basle, in which the text was influenced by Sephardi traditions, and not dominated by the Ashkenazi ones as were all previous editions printed under Jewish auspices. The text was edited by Jablonski in 1699, but the most important edition based on the Buxtorf text is that of J.H. Michaelis in 1720. It is a critical edition, quoting 19 printed editions and five Erfurt manuscripts, especially the very important Erfurt 3 with its masorah, and containing also *Okhlah ve-Okhlah*, an 11th-century masoretic work of great importance then printed for the first time. The critical notes and the variants provided by Michaelis indicate a masoretic tradition different from that of the 1524–25 Bible of Jacob b. Ḥayyim. They form a pattern, already discernible in Jablonski's 1699 edition, but more clearly in *Lonzano's *Or Torah* and *Norzi's *Minḥat Shai*. Norzi depended mostly on the de'Rossi codex 782, which had a strange, disturbed history, though *de'Rossi (vol. 1, p. 128) recognized it as "the most perfect examplar of the masoretic text." This tradition must have come to Spain at a comparatively early date, and it is firmly established in Sephardi tradition. It is responsible for at least some of the differences between the Complutensian Polyglot and the standard text based on Ashkenazi codices. Michaelis' critical edition is an early and neglected precursor of the modern editions of the Hebrew Bible, those by P. Kahle and N.H. Snaith.

The story of modern times begins with Seligmann *Baer, who published the Hebrew Bible in single volumes with notes, except for Exodus to Deuteronomy (for which see the Roedelheim Pentateuch, a popular edition without notes). The dates of these volumes are 1869–1895. Baer believed that the masorah is supreme, that firm rules can be established, and that these must be rigidly followed, whatever the manuscripts may say. In this he is the literary descendant of Elijah Levita and his *Masoret ha-Masoret*. Baer, who regularly followed a masorah or a rule against the codices and frequently "corrects an error," worked according to the rules laid down by Jekuthiel in *Ein ha-Kore*, and later by Heidenheim. Baer was supported by Franz *Delitzsch, whose authority was immense. In his books on the accents, W. Wickes (*Verse Accents*, 1881; *Prose Accents*, 1888), similarly makes and adopts fixed and rigid rules. In contrast, C.D. *Ginsburg (British and Foreign Bible Society edition, 1911–26) followed Jacob b. Ḥayyim; where the various masorah traditions disagreed either with the text or with each other, he exercised his judgment, with the result that he paid more attention to the manuscripts than to either masorah or to Jacob b. Ḥayyim. With the third edition of R. Kittel's *Biblia Hebraica* (BH3; 1936), a new signpost was erected. P. Kahle was responsible for the text, based on the Leningrad codex (Firkovich collection B19A) which Kahle claimed was a true, accurate, and genuine Ben Asher codex. (The Leningrad codex itself is now available in an affordable photographic reproduction edited by D.N. Freedman (1998).)Ever since Maimonides supported the Ben Asher tradition against *Saadiah b. Joseph Gaon, who favored the *Ben Naphtali tradition, it had been agreed that a true masoretic Bible must follow Ben Asher.

The 1928 Foreign Society (N.H. Snaith) edition was based mainly on British Museum's mss. Orient. 2626–28, a beautifully illustrated codex, close to the notes of Lonzano, Norzi, and the tradition found in the 1720 Michaelis Bible. The text, though compiled from completely different sources, is very close to the Kahle text. This indicates that the Ben Asher text is to be found not only in Leningrad manuscript but also in the best Sephardi manuscripts (in the first hand, and not as corrected by a second hand to the Ben Ḥayyim tradition, as often happened after 1492 when the exiled Jews came into close contact with the other traditions).

Recent years have witnessed great progress towards the production of a truly critical edition of the Hebrew Bible. Despite its superiority to previous efforts the numerous shortcomings of BH3 pointed out by reviewers necessitated a fourth edition (including variants from biblical manuscripts from Qumran), *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia* (BHS) published in 1977. Differing in kind from its predecessors a new Biblia Hebraica edition Quinta (BHQ) is appearing in fascicles. (*Megilloth* appeared in 2004). In the manner of of its predecessors BHQ uses Leningrad as a base text, but includes the large and small masorah with the text accompanied by a single critical apparatus. When completed BHQ will be printed as a single volume, accompanied by a separate volume with translations, notes, and commentary on the masorah. Even more ambitious is the multi-volume Hebrew University Bible Project (HUBP), based on the excellent but incomplete Aleppo codex (ca. 925). HUBP has four separate apparatuses and suggests no conjectural emendations. Of special note is the inclusion of variants recovered from biblical citations in rabbinic literature. Thus far three volumes have appeared: Isaiah (1995), Jeremiah (1997), and Ezekiel (2004). Of interest too is N. Ben-Zvi (ed.), Jerusalem Crown: The Bible of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem (2000), Not to be confused with HUBP, Jerusalem Crown is an aesthetically pleasing "scholarly manipulation" (Sanders 2004) of the Aleppo and Leningrad codices into a rabbinic Bible.

Bibles containing the original Hebrew text (or Greek in the case of New Testament) together with the important ancient versions arranged in parallel columns are termed polyglots. They were at one time important in ascertaining correct readings or meanings of the text. The oldest one in print is the *Complutensian Polyglot*, mentioned above containing the Hebrew masoretic text, the Vulgate, the Aramaic Targum (with a Latin translation), and the Septuagint (with a Latin translation). The most comprehensive are Brian Walton's *London Polyglot* (1654–57) which contained texts in Hebrew, Samaritan, Aramaic, Greek, Latin, Ethiopic, Syriac, Arabic, and Persian (all with Latin translations), and Samuel Bagster's *Polyglot* (1831) in Hebrew, Greek, Samaritan, Latin, Syriac, German, Italian, French, English, and Spanish. More modern polyglots have contented themselves with giving the texts in Hebrew, Greek, Latin, and a modern language.

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TRANSLATIONS

ANCIENT VERSIONS

Aramaic: the Targumim

The word *targum* (תַּרְגּוּם) means "translation," corresponding to the verb *tirgem* (תרגם; "translate"), of which passive participle, *meturgam*, occurs in Ezra 4:7: "The letter was written (*katuv*) in Aramaic and translated" (*meturgam*; the second mention of "Aramaic" in the verse is a note to the reader that the Aramaic version of the letter follows (Blenkinsopp 109–10)). There are no other biblical attestations of *trgm*. In Jewish Babylonian Aramaic the verb *trgm* means "translate into Aramaic," "explain." In Syriac the verb means "explain," "translate" (Sokloff DJBA, 1231–32). In Jewish Palestinian Aramaic *trgm* means "translate" into any language (Sokoloff, DJPA, 591). In Samaritan the verb means "translate," "relay the message" (Tal, DSA, 963). *Tirgem* is a denominative verb, being derived from the noun *turgeman*. The term may have entered Hebrew and Aramaic through Akkadian *targumānu* ("interpreter") whence, ultimately, the English *dragoman*. The

Akkadian noun itself has been connected by some scholars with the verb *ragāmu*, "call out," "summon," "prophesy," "sue" (CAD R, 62–7), and with Ugaritic *rgm*, "speak," "say." Others have argued for a non-semitic origin (details in Starke). In Aramaic and Hebrew the word *turgeman* exists alongside a more native-looking Hebrew adaptation, *meturgeman*. In tannaitic and amoraic Hebrew *tirgem* is said of translating from Hebrew into any other language (TJ, Kid. 1:1, 59a; TJ, Meg. 1:11, 71c), but the noun *targum* does not seem to occur with reference to any but Aramaic versions of the Bible (Shab. 115a; TJ, Kid. 1:1, 59a; TJ, Meg. 1:11, 71c). In fact, the Mishnah (Yad. 4:5) refers to the Aramaic originals of certain sections of Daniel and Ezra as *targum*.

ORIGIN OF THE TARGUMS. The Jewish diaspora in Babylonia must have exchanged Hebrew for Aramaic as its vernacular in only a few generations. In Palestine the process was much more gradual, but Aramaic was probably the language of the majority of Jews there before the end of the Persian period. During the period of Persian domination (539–333 B.C.E.), Aramaic was the language of the Persian administration and the lingua franca of southwestern Asia. The bilingual character of the books of Ezra and Daniel is due to the attempt to make these books more "biblical" by providing them with Hebrew beginnings, but they reflect a period of Aramaic dominance. The practice of translating the Bible reading into Aramaic in the synagogue is attributed to Ezra by *Rav (third century C.E.), who interprets the word *meforash* in Nehemiah 8:8 to mean an interpretation of the Hebrew text of the Bible in Aramaic translation (Meg. 3a; Ned. 37b; cf. TJ, Meg. 4:1, 74d), but both the meaning of the word and the reliability of the account in Nehemiah 8 are subjects of controversy. At any rate the custom of interpreting the synagogue reading of the Bible text with the Targum after each verse (or after each three verses) in the presence of the congregation, so as to permit a translator to repeat it in Aramaic, is attested in the Mishnah (Meg. 4:4).

MANNER OF USAGE. The professional translator of the Hebrew Bible text in the synagogue was called *meturgeman* (Meg. 4:4). His oral explanations were given along with the reading of the Sabbath lesson. The rules for reading the Targum are formulated in the *halakhah* (Meg. 4:4–10; Meg. 23b–25b; Tosef., Meg. 4:20–41). The Targum was to be read after every verse of the *parashah* of the Pentateuch and after every third verse of the reading from the Prophets. There is no mention in this source of reading from a written Targum, and elsewhere (TJ, Meg. 4:1, 74d) the use of such writings was forbidden, at least for the Pentateuch, for the Sabbath worship service, but the preparation and use of them by individuals for private study and school instruction was permitted. Although certain portions of the Bible were read but were not translated (as Gen. 35:22), others were neither read nor translated (as Num. 6:24–26; II Sam. 11–13). *Judah b. Ilai, a *tanna*, and a pupil of Akiva rhetorically expressed the difficulty faced by all Bible translators in his declaration that whoever translates (*ha-metargem*) a verse of Bible literally is is a fictionalizer, while he who makes additions is a blasphemer (Tosef., Meg. 4:41; Kid. 49a). A later anonymous opinion (Kid. 49a) cites Judah's statement as proof that one may not translate the Bible on one's own but must translate only from "our targum," i.e., Onkelos (see below). In *Sifrei* (Deut. 161), the Targum is mentioned as a branch of study that falls between the Bible and the Mishnah. The Targums as a whole are not always primarily literal translations of the corresponding Hebrew text; they are often intermingled with various paraphrases and aggadic supplements such as one meets in exegetical or homiletic works like the Talmud and the Midrash. They also contain explanations and alterations adapted to secure the sense of the masoretic text current among the rabbinical authorities, offering it to the people in an intelligible form. In this period an important concern of Jewish criticism and exegesis was the need to remove or tone down all references to God that could lead to misunderstanding in the popular mind. The Targum thus employs various devices to obviate the appearance of a very distinct anthropomorphic character of God. These, however, are not consistently applied. Indeed at times anthropomorphic phrases are translated literally or even amplified, e.g., PT to Exod. 15:17 (Klein, 1982; 1986, xxxii).

DATE OF TARGUM. There are early indications that the Targum was committed to writing, although for private use only. A tannaitic tradition refers to an Aramaic translation of the book of Job which existed in written form at the time of *Gamaliel I (first century C.E.) and which, after being withdrawn from use, reappeared in the lifetime of his grandson Gamaliel II. Targum Onkelos, which was made the official Targum of the Babylonian schools, was committed to writing and redacted as early as the third century C.E., since there is a masorah to it which dates from the first half of that century (see below). The official recognition of a written Targum and the final redaction of its text, however, belong to the post-talmudic period, thus not earlier than the fifth century C.E.

LITURGICAL USE OF THE TARGUM. Two Palestinian *amoraim* of the third century C.E. (Ber. 8a–b) urged that in private worship the Hebrew text of the weekly *parashah* be read twice and the Targum once, exactly as was done in public worship. There are still pious Jews who do this before the Sabbath, although Aramaic is no longer the vernacular of the Jews. The Yemenite Jews have even retained the public reading of Targum Onkelos (see below). Targums to all the books of the Bible except Daniel and Ezra-Nehemiah (this constituting in Jewish tradition a single book of Ezra) have survived to this day.

Targums to the Pentateuch

TARGUM ONKELOS. The official Targum to the Pentateuch, the only such Aramaic version that was subjected to a unified and scholastic redaction, is known by the name of Targum Onkelos. The origin of this name is derived from the Babylonian Talmud (Meg. 3a), where the Targum to the Torah is attributed to the proselyte *Onkelos, who is said to have composed it (literally, "spoke it," "declaimed it") under the guidance of R. Eliezer and R. Joshua (An anonymous statement (*ibid.*) goes so far as to say that the original targum was given at Sinai, subsequently forgotten, and then restored by Onkelos.) The Palestinian Talmud, however (Meg. 1:11, 71c), contains the statement: "Aquila the proselyte translated (*tirgem*) the Pentateuch in the presence of R. Eliezer and R. Joshua," in a context which shows that a translation into Greek is meant. These accounts are obviously related: in the Babylonian Talmud only the name Onkelos occurs, while Aquilas (= Akylas, the Greek adaptation of the Latin Aquila) alone is found in the Jerusalem Talmud. The latter is historically reliable – Aquila did compose a scrupulously exact and literal Greek translation of the Bible, and Targum Onkelos, however, is almost a literal Aramaic translation of the Pentateuch. In addition to this, a great deal of what is revealed about Onkelos in Babylonian sources is attributed to Aquila in the Jerusalem ones. Important works that discuss the identity of Onkelos and Akylas (= Aquila) are those of M. Friedmann, A.E. Silverstone, and D. Barthélemy. Silverstone argues that Aquila was identical with Onkelos, and that this one individual produced both a Greek and an Aramaic translation. Friedmann believes that they were two different personalities. Barthélemy argues that the Babylonian Jewish scholars possessed an anonymous Aramaic translation to which they gave the name Targum Onkelos. This was based on mistakenly transferring the western tradition of Aquila's Greek translation of the Torah into Greek to the Aramaic Targum of the Torah that the Babylonians possessed.

The Aramaic of this Targum exhibits a mixture of the Western (e.g., *yat* as nota accusativi) and Eastern (e.g., *ḥzy*, "to see") features. This combination gave rise to a variety of opinions about the Targum's place of origin. A. Berliner, T. Noeldeke, G. Dalman, and E.Y. Kutscher believe that it originated in Palestine, while its final redaction took place in Babylonia. The opposing view is held by P. Kahle and his followers, who consider this Aramaic version to have originated entirely in Babylonia. Adherents of Palestinian origin have argued from the content of the Targum that it was composed in Palestine (particularly in Judea) sometime in the second century C.E., since both the halakhic (legal) and aggadic (non-legal) portions betray the influence of the school of Akiva. In addition, they have maintained that the western Aramaic elements, e.g., preservation of the absolute state, are much stronger. Kutscher (11–13) argued that the Aramaic of Onkelos is quite close to that of the Genesis Apocryphon found at Qumran in Palestine; and Greenfield, in the same vein classified both as examples of Standard Literary Aramaic. After the destruction of the Second Temple and the suppression of the Bar Kokhba revolt, which destroyed the cultural centers of Judea, Targum Onkelos disappeared from Palestine. The old Standard Literary Aramaic was superseded by the local Western Aramaic dialects, and since the center of Jewish life shifted to Galilee, a new Targum in the Galilean dialect evolved in the course of time. At the beginning of the Amoraic period (end of second century C.E.), before it had disappeared from Palestine, Targum Onkelos was imported, the argument continues, along with the Mishnah to Babylonia. There it underwent final revision during the third century C.E. and was recognized as the authoritative Aramaic version of the Pentateuch for the local Jewish population. In the Babylonian Talmud (Kid. 49a) it is mentioned as "our Targum" or by the expression "as we translate." A special masorah prepared for it contains statements concerning the divergencies between the Babylonian academies of *Sura and *Nehardea. More recently, however, Mueller-Kessler has argued that the similarity between the language of the targums and the Aramaic literary dialect of the Mesopotamian Jewish Aramaic magic bowls of the fourth-seventh centuries C.E. points to a Babylonian origin of both the Targum Onkelos and Jonathan.

This Targum Onkelos is the most literal translation of the Pentateuch. The text from which it was prepared was in all essentials the masoretic one. The principal objective was to conform the Targum as closely as possible to the original text, and the grammatical structure of the Hebrew was thus followed closely. One prominent example of this is the use of the particle *yat* as a sign of the accusative for the corresponding Hebrew particle *ʾet*. Yet there are numerous exceptions where the Targum does not adhere to the original. Paraphrase occasionally takes the place of translation: in the poetic portions (e.g., Gen. 49) there are aggadic (non-legal) supplements of moderate size, while halakhic (legal) regulations are often read into the legal portions (e.g., Ex. 21:16). Offensive or disagreeable material is paraphrased or rendered by some sort of circumlocution (e.g., Gen. 20:13; Ex. 24:11). The paraphrastic style of translation affected by the Targums in general, in order to obviate anthropomorphisms and anthropopathisms in reference to God, is quite prominent in the Targum Onkelos. Thus, the embarassing Genesis 20:13 "when the gods (*elohim*) caused me to wander" (plural verb *hitʿû* following *elohim*) is rendered "when the gentiles (*ṭʿô* with *tet*) strayed after the works of their hands." The rhetorical Exodus 15:11, "Who is like you among the gods Yahweh?" is translated as "There is none other than you, you are God, Adonai." Nonetheless, Onkelos has no problem with the plurals in Genesis 1:26, "let us make the human in our image." Figurative language, as a rule, is not translated literally but is explained (e.g., Gen. 49:25; Ex. 15:3, 8, 10; 29:35). Geographical names are sometimes replaced by those current at a later time (e.g., Gen. 10:10; Deut. 3:17). Apart from *Megillah* 3a (previously mentioned), all the references to Onkelos as the author of the Aramaic translation of the Pentateuch originated in the post-talmudic period, although they are all based on this passage in the Babylonian Talmud. The earliest of those is in the late midrashic work known as *Pirkei de-R. Eliezer* (38), where the targumic passage on Genesis 45:27 is cited in the statement "Onkelos has translated." The ninth-century *gaon* *Sar Shalom (*Sha'arei Teshu-*

vah, 29) names Targum Onkelos as the Targum that was in circulation in the Jewish community at that time and as having more claim to sanctity than any other existing Targums. The *gaon* *Natronai (*Seder Rav Amram*, Warsaw (1865), p. 29) attributes this Targum to the rabbis of the Talmud and attaches a canonical value to it. Accordingly, the designation "Targum Onkelos" was firmly established in the early part of the geonic period.

Noteworthy is the fact that the Jews of Yemen received this Targum, like that of the Prophets, with the Babylonian supralinear punctuation. A critical edition of Targum Onkelos to the Pentateuch (as well as Targum Jonathan to the Prophets) with supralinear punctuation according to Yemenite manuscripts has been edited by A. Sperber (see bibliography. See also Cohen, *Haketer: Joshua–Judges*, 79*–82). Yemen and Yemenite synagogues in Israel were the only places where the reading of Targum Onkelos continued to accompany that of the Pentateuch on Sabbaths into the 20th century. Elsewhere, some pious Jews still observe the custom of going over the weekly portion of the Torah privately on the eve of the Sabbath, verse by verse in Hebrew, Targum, and Hebrew again (Ber. 8a–b; Sh. Ar., OḤ, 285).

PALESTINIAN PENTATEUCH TARGUMS. *Codex Neofiti I.* Since 1930, there has been great progress in the recovery of the old "Jerusalem," properly speaking, Galilean, Targums. In that year Kahle edited for the first time some *genizah* fragments of such Targums (see bibliography) dating from between the seventh and ninth centuries C.E.

Because they overlap, they exhibit divergences which show that their text, unlike that of Targum Onkelos, was never fixed. Further texts have since been published by A. Diez-Macho, Y. Komlosh, W. Baars, and M. Klein. In 1956 Diez-Macho, who had studied with Kahle, announced the discovery of a complete Palestinian Targum to the Pentateuch called Neofiti I, which he had found in the Vatican Library (VT Supplement, 7 (1960), 222–245). The text had been incorrectly catalogued as Targum Onkelos.

Prior to the discovery of Neofiti I, the Galilean Targum was represented by two main recensions: Targum Yerushalmi I (TY I), also known as Targum Jonathan or Targum Jonathan b. Uzziel in Hebrew and hence as Pseudo-Jonathan in Western languages; and Targum Yerushalmi II (TY II), the so-called Fragmentary Targum. More correct than Targum Yerushalmi, "Jerusalem Targum," is Targum Ereẓ Israel, "the Palestinian Targum," by which it is designated in a responsum by R. Hai Gaon, but it is already called "the Targum of the People of the Holy City" by *Menahem b. Solomon, the 12th-century author of the *Midrash Sekhel Tov.* With the appearance of Neofiti I, three principal Galilean Aramaic versions of the Pentateuch are now in existence. Whereas Neofiti I is complete, 15 verses are missing from Targum Yerushalmi I, and Targum Yerushalmi II contains only 850 verses of the Pentateuch. Codex Neofiti I differs from other Galilean Targum manuscripts in orthography, grammar, and range of paraphrase. It also contains a large number of marginal and interlinear variants.

Targum Yerushalmi I (Pseudo-Jonathan). This targum is quite expansive, being almost twice as long as the Hebrew original.The ascription of this Targum to *Jonathan b. Uzziel is believed to date back to the 14th-century commentator Menahem b. Benjamin Recanati, who erroneously analyzed the abbreviation, ת״י (Targum Yerushalmi) as Targum Jonathan. W. Bacher believed that Recanati probably misinterpreted a passage in the Zohar (1:89a) according to which Jonathan translated *ha-mikra* (הַמִּקְרָא), which in this case refers to the Prophets rather than to the whole Bible (hence the Pentateuch). The name Targum Ereẓ Israel is found in writers of the 11th century. The Tosafot cite the Galilean Pentateuch Targum variously as Targum Jonathan (to Ḥag. 27a), Jonathan b. Uzziel (to Av. Zar. 59a), and Targum Yerushalmi (to Ber. 8b). The language of this version of the Pentateuch is Galilean Jewish Aramaic (outside the manuscript it was not transmitted in its pure form). Its most distinctive characteristic is the free aggadic handling of the text. Like the other Targums, it sets aside figurative speech and eliminates most anthropomorphic expressions referring to God. Early geographical names are replaced by those current in a later age. This Targum contains abundant information on most of the religious and dogmatic teachings of Judaism of the talmudic period. One finds the Jewish (not always biblical) doctrines of the being of God, His dwelling place, His revelation in the Torah, angels, creation, sin, death, the messianic kingdom, resurrection of the just and the future life, gehenna, and the world to come.

This Targum is not earlier than the seventh century C.E., although it contains material which is much earlier than the date of its final compilation and redaction. A very ancient date has been claimed for the following passages: Genesis 15:19, Numbers 24:21, the interpretation of "Kenites" as Salmeans, contemporaries and allies of the Nabateans, and Deuteronomy 33:11, the reference to Johanan (b. Hyrcanus) the high priest. Indications of a late date of composition, however, occur in Exodus 26:9, in which reference is made to the Six Orders of the Mishnah; in Genesis 21:21, where the Hebrew names of the two wives of *Ishmael (regarded as the ancestor of the Arabs) are rendered respectively by עישא or חדישא, i.e., the name of Muhammad's wife Ayesha or of his wife Khadijah, and פטימא, the name of his daughter Fatima; and in Genesis 49:26 and Deuteronomy 33:2, where Edom (i.e., Byzantium or Christian Europe) and Ishmael are spoken of as world powers in a way that was possible only in the seventh century at the earliest.

Targum Yerushalmi II (the Fragmentary Targum). This Targum contains renderings of only certain verses, phrases, or words of the Pentateuch, estimated at about 850 verses altogether. Three-fourths of these are on the historical sections of the Pentateuch, while the remaining fourth is on the legislative sections in Exodus, Leviticus, and Numbers. There are about 14 chapters which have no translation at all, while for some 90 verses there are translations of only a single word of the Hebrew text. The earliest known fragments were first published in Bomberg's Great Rabbinic Bible in 1516–17, based on Vatican Codex 440 (a good portion of the fragments had already appeared under the title "Tosefta Yerushalmi" in the Lisbon Bible of 1491). In 1899 M. Ginsburger edited a number of other fragments from manuscript sources, expecially from Paris Codex 110, as well as from quotations from the Targum Yerushalmi found in early works, under the title *Das Fragmententhargum*. This work also contained numerous fragments that occur under the title *Nusḥa Aḥarena* in the Venice Bible of 1591. These plus other variants are sometimes referred to as Targum Yerushalmi III. The language of this Targum is Galilean Jewish Aramaic, and it includes many foreign loan words. Its fragmentary condition has been accounted for in various ways.

The fragments are not all contemporaneous. The text of the majority of them is older than Pseudo-Jonathan. Many of these fragments, especially the aggadic paraphrases, agree with Pseudo-Jonathan, which may, on the other hand, be older than some of them. Similarly, aggadic additions were made to the text of the Targum in later centuries, so that a North African manuscript of 1487 alludes to the capture of Constantinople by the Turks in 1453. Early in the 12th century, *Judah b. Barzillai wrote of these additions: "The Jerusalem Targum contains aggadic sayings added by those who led in prayer and who also read the Targum, insisting that these sayings be recited in the synagogue as interpretations of the text of the Bible." These numerous additions to the Jerusalem Targum and the majority of the fragments are all of a later date than Onkelos, yet both Pseudo-Jonathan and the Fragmentary Targum contain much that has survived from a very early period. According to W. Bacher, the nucleus of the Jerusalem Targum is older than the Babylonian one, which was, in his opinion, redacted from it.

The Targums to the Prophets

TARGUM JONATHAN. This Targum gradually became recognized as the official Aramaic version of the Prophets. According to P. Churgin, its final redaction was accomplished by the seventh century C.E. in the form in which it is now known. Like the Targum to the Pentateuch, it originated in the synagogue, where it was recited after every three verses from the Hebrew text of the Prophets during that part of the service. According to the Babylonian Talmud (Meg. 3a), it was written by Jonathan b. Uzziel "at the dictation of Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi." The talmudic account thus traces the origin of the Targum of the prophets to the last prophets, making for an unbroken chain of transmission. The account continues to relate that because of this translation the entire land of Israel was shaken and a voice from heaven cried out: "Who has revealed my secrets to man?" The story adds that Jonathan wished to translate the Hagiographa as well, but that a heavenly voice bade him to desist. According to W. Bacher the Targum to Job, which was withdrawn from circulation by Gamaliel I, may have resulted from Jonathan's attempts to translate the Hagiographa. Jonathan b. Uzziel is named as *Hillel's most prominent pupil in the first century B.C.E. and was a contemporary of Gamaliel I. In the Babylonian Talmud, this Targum is quoted quite frequently by R. Joseph b. Ḥiyya (270–333 C.E.), head of the Pumbedita Academy (MK 28b; Sanh. 94b; Meg. 3a). Thus, as early as the beginning of the fourth century, the Targum to the Prophets was recognized as being of ancient authority. Hai Gaon (commentary to *Tohorot*, quoted in *Arukh ha-Shalem*, 2 (1926), 293a) regarded R. Joseph as its author, since he cited passages from it with the words "Rav Joseph has translated."

Targum Jonathan contains Eastern as well as Western Aramaic linguistic traits. It has a few Persian loan words, such as *dasteqa / disteqa* ("hilt," "handle." = Syriac *dasteqa.* Cf. Pahlavi *dast*, "hand," *dastag*, "bundle," Farsi *daste*, "handle," Judg. 3:22) and *idron* (Persian; *andarōn*, "inside," "within," Joel 2:16). Its style is very similar to that of Targum Onkelos, especially in the Former Prophets – the historical narratives. In the prose sections one meets an occasional reading which is not in the masoretic text (Josh. 8:12) or an apparent conflation of two variants (*ibid.* 8:16). Proper names are sometimes transformed into their (often, surely, merely guessed) up-to-date appellations (*ibid.* 7:21, where Shinar is interpreted as Babel and Jer. 46:25, where No (נא) is interpreted as Alexandria), but for the most part they are taken over unchanged from the Hebrew text. The usual rules of targumic interpretation are observed in the rendering of anthropomorphic expressions and figurative language (Hos. 1:3). Poetic passages are drastically paraphrased (e.g., Judg. 5; I Sam. 2:1–10). The same holds true for difficult passages, where paraphrasis is specially employed in an attempt to explain the Hebrew text (cf. I Sam. 15:23; 17:8; II Sam. 14:11; 20:18). The rendering in the Latter Prophets is more paraphrastic on the whole than the Former Prophets, which is to be expected in view of their more exalted and rhapsodic style (cf. Targum Jonathan's amplification of the Heb. text of Isa. 29:1 and Jer. 10:11; for instances of *aggadah* in this Targum see Isa. 12:3; 33:22; 62:10; Micah 6:4). This Targum is noteworthy for its unity of style and character throughout the historical as well as the prophetic books. This can be seen, as Gesenius pointed out, from a comparison of the passages II Kings 18–19 (= Jer. 36–39) and Isaiah 2:2–4 (= Micah 4:1–3), which are translated alike with only slight variations, and from other features, such as the rendering of Tarshish by Yama, which is common to Jonah, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel.

A conspicuous affinity exists between Targum Jonathan and Targum Onkelos, as seen from certain passages which are identical word for word. Most of the early writers on this subject recognized this identity but differed in their conclusions. Thus, while de'Rossi and Herzfeld were certain that Onkelos knew the Targum to the Prophets, L. Zunz took the view that Jonathan and Onkelos before him had quoted it in Judges 5:8 (= Deut. 32:17), I Samuel 12:3 (= Num. 16:15), II Kings 14:6 (= Deut. 24:16), and Jeremiah 48:46 (= Num. 21:28–29).

TARGUM YERUSHALMI TO THE PROPHETS. The existence of such a Targum is inferred mainly from the frequent citations from it by early authors, especially Rashi and David Kimḥi. Fragments from the books of Joshua, Judges, Samuel, Kings, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Amos, Jonah, and Zechariah are contained in Codex Reuchlinianus, written in 1105 (ed. Lagarde, *Prophetica Chaldaica*, 1872), in the form of 80 extracts. W. Bacher investigated their character in his detailed article "Kritische Untersuchungen zum Prophetentargum" (in ZDMG, 28 (1874), 1–58). The language is Palestinian in character, yet its aggadic additions are frequently traceable to the Babylonian Talmud. This Targum thus belongs to a later period, when the Babylonian Talmud began to exercise a considerable amount of influence on Palestinian literature. There are also "Toseftas" (additions) to the Prophet Targum that are similar to the Targum Yerushalmi and are also cited by Kimḥi (see esp. A. Sperber, *The Bible in Aramaic*, 2 (1959), ix–x, 3 (1962), xi, 23–25, 462–5, 479–80; for Tosefta to Targum Onkelos, see 1 (1959), xvii–xviii, 354–357). For a list of targumic Toseftas see Klein, *Genizah*, xxix.

Targums to the Hagiographa

Although there are extant Targums to the Hagiographa, they did not enjoy official recognition. They did not originate until a later period, and were written at different times by various authors, yet they contain old material. W. Bacher considers them to have originated in Palestine, since they contain expressions known in the Jerusalem Talmud and the Midrash, although in the Targums to the Five Scrolls many linguistic features of the Aramaic of the Babylonian Talmud occur. Their unofficial status was probably due to the fact that they were not used in the public synagogue service (with the exception of Esther, though in later times all Five Scrolls were used in the liturgy of the synagogue) or school. The Targum to the Book of Job, which existed in the first century C.E. according to the Babylonian Talmud (Shab. 115a), cannot be identified with the Targum to this biblical book in existence now, which is a product of a much later period. Its relation to the Aramaic translation of Job from Qumran (see below) is a matter for speculation. The various Targums of this part of the Bible may be conveniently classified into three categories: Targums of Job, Psalms, and Proverbs; of the Five Scrolls; and of Chronicles.

JOB. This Targum and that of Psalms may have had a common origin, in view of the many similarities between them. Both aim at giving a fairly faithful rendering of the Hebrew text, and although aggadic additions are present from time to time, they are brief and can easily be separated from the translation itself. Each Targum contains a number of double renderings (Job has between 40 and 50, Psalms has fewer); the second rendering is introduced by ת"א (*targum aḥer*) and is considered by some the original one. In such cases, one of the translations is generally aggadic, while the other is more literal. About six verses in Job even have a third rendering. An indication of an early date is contained in Job 4:10, where the word שני which the masoretic pointing interprets, in accordance with the context, as *shinnei* ("the teeth of") is interpreted by the translator as *shenei* ("the two"), apparently alluding to Rome and Constantinople as the two capitals of the Roman Empire – a fact which would indicate that the work was composed before the fall of Rome in 476 C.E. (cf. the Targum on Ps. 108:10). Another common feature of these two Targums is the fact that between them they contain about a hundred variants in vowels and even consonants from the masoretic text, a feature not found with such frequency in the other Targums. Since a number of these same variants also occur in the Peshitta and the *Septuagint, they offer adequate proof of an early date of composition for these two Targums. In both the two constant themes are the law of God and its study as well as the future life and its retribution. A Targum to Job was among the many finds discovered among the Dead Sea *Scrolls in 1947. A preliminary study on some of the fragments was published by J.P.M. van der Ploeg (see bibliography; see also A.S. van der Woude, in VT Supplement, 9 (1962), 322–31). This was followed by their editio princeps, and then byan edition by Sokoloff (bibliography) in 1974. A neglected fragment was rediscovered by Reed and Zuckerman in 1992.

PSALMS. This Targum is partly allegorical and partly literal; thus it was probably the work of more than one hand. The paraphrase in it is explanatory rather than simply expansive (e.g., 29:1; 46:4). An indication of an early date is Psalms 108:10, which still mentions the Western Roman Empire. In Psalms 18 the targumist has availed himself of the Targum to II Samuel 22, although without adopting the linguistic peculiarities of the Babylonian recension of Targum Jonathan

PROVERBS. A unique feature of this Targum is its striking similarity to the Peshitta. Various explanations have been offered for this phenomenon (Komlosh, 31–32). Some think that the Targum was influenced by the Peshitta and was actually a Jewish recension of it; others consider the possibility of both versions being separate reworkings of an older Aramaic version. About one third of the verses in this Targum agree with the Peshitta against the reading of the Hebrew original (e.g., 1:7; 4:26; 5:9; 7:22, 23; 9:11; 12:19; 16:4, 25)

FIVE SCROLLS. The Targums of these books are essentially a collection of Midrashim, and consequently they are exclusively paraphrastic and verbose in form. Only in a few instances, where no Midrash can be utilized, are they literal in their approach. The exception is the text of the Targum Esther in the Antwerp Polyglot, which is almost a literal translation; the text of the London Polyglot, which is essentially the same as that of the Antwerp Polyglot but has many aggadic additions, is now the standard Targum text to Esther. The Targums of Ruth and Lamentations are somewhat less paraphrastic than those of Esther, Ecclesiastes, and Song of Songs. An additional Targum exists to the Book of Esther (Targum Sheni). It is much more voluminous than the first Targum of this scroll and is regarded as an amalgam from other Targums and Midrashim. The commentators refer to it as "*aggadah*" and as "Midrash." The earliest mention of Targum Sheni occurs in tractate *Soferim (13:6), and it was probably not completed before 1200 C.E. The Targum of Song of Songs interprets the biblical book as an allegory on the relation between God and Israel and on the history of Israel. The types of paraphrase employed by the various Targums to the Five Scrolls may be summarized as follows: historical parallels; motives and reasons to explain the occurrences of events; etymology and explanation of proper names; figurative language rendered into prose and allegory in the place of narrative; the Sanhedrin, as well as the study of the law, frequently mentioned; appendance of elaborate genealogies to names; and general statements related to names of particular individuals, such as the Patriarchs, Nimrod, Pharaoh, Nebuchadnezzar, Titus, Alexander, and the Messiah.

CHRONICLES. No Targum to this book was known to exist until the appearance of the Polyglot Bibles. It was first published, in a somewhat incomplete form, in 1680–83 from an Erfurt manuscript of 1343 and edited with notes and translation by M.F. Beck. In 1715 a more complete form of the text was edited by D. Wilkins on the basis of a Cambridge manuscript of 1347, which contained a later revision of the targumic text. This Targum is essentially a literal rendering of the Hebrew original, although midrashic amplifications are also employed at times (e.g., I Chron. l:20, 21; 4:18; 7:21; 11:11, 12; 12:32; II Chron. 2:6; 3:1; 23:11). Instances where the author made use of "Jerusalem" Targums to the Pentateuch are Genesis 10:20 and I Chronicles 1:21, and Genesis 36:39 and I Chronicles 1:43. Similarly, acquaintance with Targum Jonathan to the Prophets is suggested when one compares the readings from the books of Samuel and Kings to the readings from the Targum in the synoptic passages in Chronicles, only slight variations occurring between them. The date of the Targum may be surmised from the translation of geographical names, as well as their rendering into modern forms. The final redaction of the Erfurt manuscript has been assigned to the eighth century, and that of the Cambridge manuscript to the ninth century C.E. (M. Rosenberg and K. Kohler in bibliography).

R. JOSEPH AND THE AUTHORSHIP OF THE HAGIOGRAPHA TARGUMS. The 1680–83 Augsburg edition of Targum to Chronicles carries the title "Targum Rav Yosef." This fact is related to the view that prevailed in early times that R. Joseph b. Ḥama, the Babylonian *amora* who had the reputation of being thoroughly versed in the Targums of the Prophets, was the author of the Targum of the Hagiographa. Thus, a quotation from Targum Sheni to Esther 3:1 is introduced as *kedimtargem Rav Yosef* in tractate *Soferim* 13:6. Furthermore, the Breslau Library manuscript of 1238 appends the following statement to apocryphal additions to Esther known as "*Ḥalom Mordekhai*": "This is the end of the book of the Targum on the Hagiographa, translated by R. Joseph." The 12th-century commentator *Samuel b. Meir quoted passages on Job and Proverbs in the name of R. Joseph (see Ex. 15:2; Lev. 20:17). In the Talmud, the phrase *kedimtargem Rav Yosef*, "as R. Joseph has translated," occurs frequently, but it occurs only with reference to passages in the Prophets and once in the Pentateuch (cf. Sot. 48b). It was inferred that R. Joseph was also the author of the known Hagiographa Targums, but on the basis of the basically Palestinian linguistic character of the Hagiographa Targums, as well as the variety of the translation techniques, which mitigate against the view of one author for all of them, this opinion has been rejected as historically without basis. Furthermore, the *Tosafot* (Shab. 115a) assign the origin of the Hagiographa Targums to tannaitic times (cf. Meg. 21b).

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[Bernard Grossfeld / S. David Sperling (2nd ed.)]

Greek: The Septuagint

The Septuagint (or LXX) is an important corpus of ancient Jewish writings that includes Greek translations of all of the books of the Hebrew Bible and of other works originally composed in Hebrew or Aramaic, plus several original compositions in Greek. It functioned as Sacred Writ for Greek-speaking Jewish communities from the mid-third century B.C.E. until sometime in the early centuries of the Christian Era. At an early period, Christians adopted the Septuagint as their Old Testament, which led to its losing favor, although not all of its status, among Jews. The Septuagint is important as the first written translation of the Hebrew Bible; as a repository of otherwise unobtainable data about the beliefs, practices, and language of Hellenistic Judaism; and as an influence on the thinking of subsequent, primarily (although not exclusively) Christian religious thinkers.

Evidence of the origins of the Septuagint can be found in documents such as the Letter of *Aristeas, which probably dates to the early or mid-second century B.C.E. Although it purports to be an eyewitness account of the events it describes, in all probably it is separated from them by about a century. As related in the Letter, the reigning king of Egypt, *Ptolemy II Philadelphus (285–246 B.C.E.), sought to include in his growing Library at Alexandria, a Greek copy of the Jewish Law; that is, the Torah. To accomplish this, he invites the High Priest in Jerusalem to send 72 elders, of unblemished moral character and outstanding linguistic skills in both Hebrew and Greek, to Alexandria to prepare the desired Greek text. After a series of lavish banquets, distinguished by the depth of conversation as much as the breadth of foodstuffs – the elders/translators go off to palatial quarters to accomplish their task. They work in teams, as is often the case to this day, preparing preliminary drafts and arguing back and forth to arrive at renderings on which they could all agree. When their finished version is read before the assembled Jews of Alexandria, it elicits great acclaim and an anathema/curse is pronounced on anyone who would change even a word of it.

This narrative, which describes only the origins of the Greek Pentateuch, contains sufficient historical inaccuracies and inconsistencies to render it impossible to consider the work a product of the reign of Ptolemy II. Over the past century, there has been considerable scholarly debate on how much, if anything, can be salvaged from the Letter that is historically reliable or at least probable. On the positive side, there is firm consensus that the LXX Pentateuch does originate in Alexandria and from a period prior to the mid-third century B.C.E. It is also clear that its translators were indeed Jews who were reasonably well versed in Hebrew and in koine Greek. Additionally, it is certain that the books of the Torah were the first to be translated and that they served as a model (sometimes followed, sometimes ignored) by those responsible for subsequent books of the LXX.

Serious doubt, however, has been cast on the Letter's portrayal of royal initiative as the decisive factor in the creation of the text. Does it not, it might be asked, make more sense to seek LXX origins within the Alexandrian Jewish community itself, which saw the need for an authoritative Greek version of Sacred Writ, as fluency in, or even familiarity with, Hebrew became rarer and rarer? But it is most likely that both internal and external causes were responsible for this groundbreaking endeavor (this was the first time, so far as we know, that a "barbarian text" such as Hebrew Scripture was rendered into Greek); such a confluence of interests accords better with both the history of the times and later developments in Bible translation than does a dogmatic either/or formulation.

Although Aristeas pictures the LXX Pentateuch as the result of committee actions at one particular time and place, modern scholars detect at least five (and perhaps six) different translators at work on the Five Books of Moses. They are different enough to be identifiable, but all five (or six) were working within the same general parameters: what might be termed reasonable and somewhat flexible literalism, on occasion bending the Greek rather far in the direction of the Hebrew original, at other times showing a deep concern for a Greek-speaking audience.

The author of the Letter of Aristeas sees little of what might be called "miraculous" in the production of the LXX Pentateuch. He does note, somewhat sheepishly, that the 72 translators worked exactly 72 days (and nights). Later on, within both Judaism and especially Christianity, this relatively restrained account was embellished in many directions. Within the Jewish world, it is primarily to the first century C.E. philosopher *Philo, himself a native of Alexandria, that we owe several significant additions to Aristeas' narrative. For example, Philo names the Island of Pharos as the location at which the translators worked, and he describes an annual festival, still observed in his day, to honor their work. Moreover, he speaks of those responsible for the Septuagint as prophets rather than (mere) translators. In this way, he is able to account for material that was found in the Greek but not in the Hebrew text.

As fully elaborated in the work of the fourth century Christian writer Epiphanius, each of the translators was isolated in a cell and cut off from discussion or comparisons with his colleagues – and yet all 72 produced texts that were identical in every detail (in other forms of the tradition, the translators worked in pairs). This and other "miraculous" occurrences served to demonstrate the sacredness of the text produced and the role it was to play as Scripture for Christians.

It is not entirely clear what the author of Aristeas intended in this regard. On the one hand, as noted above, the deliberations of the elders proceeded in much the same way as modern teams of Bible translators operate. Nonetheless, what they produced was accepted as somehow authoritative by the Alexandrian Jewish community and, by extension, the larger Jewish world. This is seen not only in the curse uttered against all who might change it, but also in the deliberate way in which the reception of the Septuagint is modeled on the reception of the Ten Commandments and accompanying laws in the biblical book of Exodus.

It is likely that when the author of the Letter of Aristeas fashioned a communal curse on those who would change the Greek Pentateuch, he had some specific concerns in mind that were relevant to his own second century B.C.E. context; that is to say, as early as that date, if not even before then, there were individuals who were revising the Septuagint of the Pentateuch and of other books subsequently translated. Such individuals, who may have come from or worked in Jerusalem, judged most, if not all, differences between the LXX and their Hebrew text as deficiencies in the Greek, and they therefore sought to "correct" the LXX in the direction of the Hebrew text of their community. Although they probably also had some linguistic interests, their goal, as well as their motivation, was primarily what may be described as theological.

As noted above, Philo, while also recognizing differences between the Greek and the Hebrew, devised another explanation entirely; namely, that these divergences were as much a part of God's inspired message as were the far more numerous places where the Greek and the Hebrew were in agreement. It may be that the author of the Letter of Aristeas had, in some inchoate sense, a similar intimation; if so, he did not explicitly express it. For most early Christians, the creators of the LXX, whether they knew it or not, were prophetic in the sense that much of their distinctive wording looked forward to the coming of Jesus as Christ. And this was in spite of the fact that the LXX was created for Jews by Jews, almost three centuries before Jesus' birth!

We are, it would seem, without much, if any, external information (that is, outside of the text of the LXX itself) on the location, order, or modus operandi of those responsible for the LXX beyond the Pentateuch. With few exceptions, it is reasonable to place these translators within the context of Alexandria. It is also likely that the book of Joshua was translated next after the Pentateuch. Beyond that, there are a few, but only a few, references to historical figures or events that can be gleaned from any of the LXX books; more numerous are likely examples of dependence of one LXX book (or, better, its translator) on another, thereby allowing for some tentative relative, although not absolute, ordering of books chronologically.

The task of discerning the history of the creation of the LXX is further complicated by the nature of the evidence. For the most part, our earliest texts for this Greek material derive from codices (manuscripts in book form, rather than scrolls) from the third and fourth centuries C.E.; in particular, Codex Vaticanus, Codex Alexandrinus, and Codex Sinaiticus. The codices are uncials (that is, written in all capital letters) from important Christian scriptoria; therefore, they contain the LXX as part of their "Bible" (the New Testament completes it for them). There is no reason to think that Christian scribes deliberately changed the originally Jewish text for tendentious, theological reasons, although it is certain that all sorts of scribal changes led to many differences, some substantial, between what the codices contain and what the earliest Greek (or Old Greek) read. We are not without earlier evidence in the form of a limited number of Greek texts from Qumran and other Dead Sea locales; citations, allusions, and reworkings in the New Testament; and Qumran scrolls that preserve in Hebrew the likely *Vorlage* or text that lay before the LXX translators (which, as noted above, is sometimes close to our received or Masoretic Text, but on occasion quite different from it).

A reasoned and important conclusion from an analysis of all of this material is that what we term *the* Septuagint is in fact an almost accidental gathering together of texts from diverse sources. Some of the books of the Septuagint, as in the Pentateuch, appear to be quite close to the Old Greek. In other cases, the earliest form of the translation is lost in almost all sources (as in Daniel), or is entirely lost (as for Ecclesiastes), or is combined with later material (as in Reigns [that is, the books of Samuel and Kings]). Even when due allowance is made for this diversity of origins, scholars are struck by the very different ways in which translators approached their Hebrew. The range runs the gamut from almost wooden literalism to recontextualizing to paraphrase. It used to be argued that the translators of Ketuvim were freer inasmuch as those books were considered somewhat less important that the Torah and Nevi'im. Such a contention does not, however, stand up under close scrutiny. The point needs to be made that we simply do not know why translators treated their material as they did or why one Greek version of a book was chosen over another (when competing versions were available).

We cannot even be sure of exactly what the LXX "canon" contained. Surely, all the books of the Hebrew Bible were included, as well as additions to Daniel and to Esther that, although attached in one way or another to the earlier Hebrew material, have been preserved only in Greek (whether they were translations of now lost Hebrew or Aramaic texts or original Greek compositions). Other books that apparently were never part of the Hebrew Bible are also found in the fully developed LXX corpus. For the most part, this material is found in the Old Testament of Roman Catholics and Orthodox Christians; Protestants tend to refer to it as the Apocrypha. It is likely that for some communities, this assemblage reflected Scripture. Whether or not that determination comes from Christians, it is important to keep in mind the Jewish origins and early development of the LXX.

In the third century C.E., the Church Father *Origen gathered together in his *Hexapla* as many examples as he could find of the Greek Bible. Among them were three apparently continuous Greek texts later than the Old Greek, all of which seem to have originated within Jewish communities (although ancient evidence and modern scholarship remain ambivalent on key issues). One of these texts is attributed to *Aquila (traditionally dated to the second century C.E.); it is hyperliteral and can almost serve as a primer to the Hebrew language as well as to biblical thought and teaching. Another version is associated with Symmachus (late second century C.E.); it reads well in Greek, but at the cost of linguistic and other departures from the Hebrew original. A third version, attributed to Theodotion (second century CE), seems to balance the often-competing interests of source language (in this case, Hebrew) and target language (here, Greek).

It is entirely likely that all three of these individuals, about whom very little can be definitely said, were Jewish, although the ancient (and sometimes modern) connection of each with a particular rabbi or school of rabbinical thought can no longer be held. The case of Theodotion is particularly interesting, since some of his distinctive language found its way into the New Testament – almost two centuries earlier than the "historical" Theodotion is said to have lived. This has led to the supposition of a "Proto-Theodotion," who would have been active in the first century B.C.E. In the case of Aquila, it is accurate to describe him as a reviser; that is to say, he started with an older form of the Greek, which he changed only when he saw a theological or linguistic reason for doing so. Theodotion was also a reviser in some instances; elsewhere as in Daniel, where his text supplanted the Old Greek in nearly all manuscripts, Theodotion appears as a fresh translation, as seems often to be the case with Symmachus as well.

The observation that at least some of these later Greek texts are the result of Jewish revision should cause the rejection or at least serious modification of the often-expressed view that Jews abandoned the Septuagint when Christians adopted (or co-opted) it. The very fact that at least some Jewish translators chose to revise the older Greek demonstrates their allegiance to it, even when circumstances led them to change it in a given number of instances. Moreover, as can be seen from fragments preserved in the Cairo Genizah and elsewhere, Greek-speaking Jews continued to rely on a Greek "Bible," in particular a developed form of Aquila, well into the Byzantine era.

Nonetheless, it is true that the Septuagint ceased to be a concern for most Jews from the first century of the common era until early in the 19th century, when some Jewish scholars (such as Z. *Frankel) began to look seriously at it as a heritage of their past. In so doing, they uncovered many places where interpretative material in the LXX reflected concerns found in rabbinic discussions. Also fairly numerous are instances of what might be termed rabbinic-like midrash.

These findings alert scholars once again to the fact that the Septuagint, as a document of Hellenistic Judaism, is a repository of thought from that period. It is very difficult, often impossible, to determine whether distinctive elements of LXX presentation are the results of "creative activity" on the part of the translators themselves or accurately reflect their *Vorlage,* which in these cases differed from the MT. Caution is strongly advised when making statements that characterize LXX thought in one way or another, since, as noted above, the LXX is not a unified document, and its translators did not adopt a standardized approach to their Hebrew text. Moreover, it is inappropriate to describe the "world of the LXX or LXX thought" solely in terms of differences between it and our received Hebrew Text, for this would leave out their many points of near or total convergence.

It is then not surprising that the rabbis of the early common era had decidedly negative things to say about the LXX (see, for example, Tractate *Soferim* 1:8) as well as some positive statements about its value (as in Meg. 9 a–b); see also the passages within rabbinic literature that cite a tradition according to which between 10 and 18 alterations were inserted into the Greek translation of the Pentateuch. It is not easy to organize these differing opinions chronologically or geographically – or in any other way. The rabbis, or at least some of them, were open to extra-Jewish (re)sources so long as they were kept subservient to what the rabbis understood as the core values of Judaism. But, as has often been pointed out, a given language cannot be completely separated from the values of the society in which it is spoken. Thus, whatever acceptance the LXX found among the rabbis can be aptly described as grudging.

Today the LXX is studied by a growing number of Jewish scholars worldwide. As part of their heritage, Jews in general should not be averse to learning about the Septuagint, its development, and its distinctive features. It is a priceless reminder of a time and place, not unlike our own, when Jews struggled to varying degrees of success with issues of self-identification and accommodation within a cosmopolitan world in and of which they were a creative minority.

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[Leonard J. Greenspoon (2nd ed.)]

Old Latin / Vulgate

The earliest evidence for a Latin translation of the Bible comes from the scriptural quotations of the Christian writer Cyprian of Carthage in the middle of the third century C.E. By the end of the following century, different recensions of the Latin Bible were circulating in Italy, Gaul, and Spain. Whereas some modern scholars believe the evidence indicates that there was a single original Latin text that underwent various developments (corruption, revision, expansion) to produce these recensions, the evidence is inconclusive and there remains no consensus. In the face of such historical obscurity and textual uncertainty, the term "Old Latin" or *Vetus Latina* (OL) refers not to a single and complete translation of the Bible but rather to the various Latin texts prior to Jerome's new translation from the Hebrew, production on which began in the late fourth century. Until the late fourth century, the OL was constantly being revised based on a growing number of Greek versions produced during the first centuries C.E. (e.g., those of Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion). Indeed, Augustine of Hippo complained that in his day so many Christians were inserting Greek-based corrections into the Latin text that there appeared to be as many Latin versions as codices.

In contrast to the LXX and the Masoretic Text (MT), the OL has not enjoyed rigorous and systematic study. Thus much of what may be said about the OL in relation to these other ancient translations is subject to revision, particularly as scholars continue to study these ancient translations in light of the biblical texts of the Dead Sea Scrolls. While the OL Pentateuch is assumed to have direct Jewish and Hebrew origins, in general the OL is considered to be a translation of the LXX, and as such, constitutes a secondary witness to the text of the Hebrew Bible. Like the LXX, the OL is not a unified translation, varying from book to book. At times, some texts of the OL can preserve earlier forms of the LXX, often referred to as the Old Greek (OG), that have not survived in Greek manuscript form. It is here that the OL can be an important witness to the textual criticism of the OG. Furthermore, the study of the OL can be particularly valuable when considering a book for which the LXX and MT may vary greatly like Samuel. In these situations, it is possible that the OL can contain an earlier Hebrew text than that found in the MT.

In 383, Pope Damasus I commissioned *Jerome (c. 347–420), the leading biblical scholar of the day and his personal secretary, to revise the OL Gospels in light of the LXX. He continued, on his own initiative, by revising the Psalter according to the LXX. This recension became known as the Gallican Psalter because of its use by Charlemagne in Gaul. In 386, shortly after relocating to Bethlehem, where he spent the last part of his life, Jerome discovered Origen's *Hexapla* in the library of nearby Caesarea. The *Hexapla* was Origen's edition of the Hebrew Bible / Old Testament presenting most of the books in six parallel columns, the fifth consisting of a critical text of the LXX with signs indicating where the Greek differed from the Hebrew. Jerome used these signs in his amended edition of the Latin versions of the Psalms, Job, Chronicles, and the books attributed to Solomon (viz., Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Song of Songs). Through this work, Jerome found the LXX increasingly unsatisfactory and became convinced of both the supreme authority of the Hebrew and the necessity of producing a fresh translation based on the original "Hebrew truth" (*Hebraica veritas*). Jerome embarked on his new Latin translation "according to the Hebrew" (*iuxta Hebraeos*) around 390 and by 405 had completed his work on the Hebrew Bible.

Because he accepted the Hebrew canon as authentic Scripture (i.e., as *Hebraica veritas*), Jerome did not translate the deuterocanonical books (with the exception of Tobit and Judith). Thus, the Latin version of the Bible that became the official text of the western Church from the early Middle Ages and that was given the name Vulgate in the 16th century was not produced entirely by Jerome. Rather, the Vulgate includes Jerome's translations from the Hebrew text (the Psalter excepted), his versions of Tobit and Judith, his revision of the Gospels, and his revision of the Psalter made from the *Hexapla* (i.e., the Gallican Psalter). It is now generally believed that the Vulgate version of the epistles, Acts, and the Apocalypse is not the work of Jerome himself but rather that of an unknown hand or hands.

From the early medieval period, the biblical text of the Vulgate has exerted an incalculable influence not only on Roman Catholic teaching and piety, but also on the languages and literature of western Europe. This text remains the basis for some modern translations (e.g., that of Ronald Knox into English). In 1979, Pope John Paul II promulgated a new official revision of the Vulgate according to the Hebrew and the Greek. Furthermore, in 1987 Benedictine monks of the Monastery of St. Jerome completed a critical edition of the Vulgate that includes the most certain findings of modern biblical scholarship and exegesis.

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[Franklin T. Harkins and Angela Kim Harkins (2nd ed.)]

Samaritan

The Samaritan Bible contains only the *Pentateuch. In many Pentateuch manuscripts the Samaritan Hebrew text is accompanied by a targum into Samaritan, a western Aramaic dialect. Sometimes the targum was copied separately. Tal, who provided the first reliable critical edition, dates the production of the Samaritan targum to the middle of the third century. No manuscripts survive from the time that Samaritan Aramaic was a spoken language. As a result much of the ancient text was corrupted by the penetration of Arabic, which replaced Aramaic as the spoken language, and by Hebrew. Nonetheless, several manuscripts preserve the older Samaritan Aramaic, which is very close to that of the Palestinian targums. The Samaritan targum is more literal than the Jewish targums and usually has one Aramaic word for each Hebrew word. Tal (1988) has shown, nonetheless, that subtle midrashic and paraphrastic interpretations are to be found, especially when it comes to apologizing for the actions of biblical heroes and defaming unpopular characters like Esau and Nimrod, a penchant it shares with Jewish midrash. The younger manuscripts tend to be more paraphrastic than the older. Similarities between the Samaritan targum and Onkelos are probably due the late activity of learned Samaritan scribes (Tal 1989).

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[S. David Sperling (2nd ed.)]

Syriac Aramaic: Peshitta and Other Versions

There is no unanimity as to the precise meaning of the term "Peshitta" (*pšyṭtʾ*), the Syriac Bible translation in use in the Church of the East ("Nestorian"), the Syrian Orthodox ("Jacobite") Church, and the Maronite Church. Until the late Middle Ages the Peshitta was also the Bible of the Byzantine Syrian Malkite Church. The Peshitta comprises the Old Testament (*diatiqi atiqta*), the New Testament (*diatiqi ḥdata*), and the Apocrypha or deutero-canonical books (on the classification of Syriac within the dialects of Late Aramaic see S. Kaufman, ABD IV, 174–75). Once confined in the main to Asia, Syriac-speaking churches that use the Peshitta are now found in the United States and Europe as well. Grammatically, the feminine form of the passive participle of the verb *pešaṭ*, "stretch out," "extend," "make straight," "Peshitta" has been taken to mean "simple," as opposed to paraphrastic; "in common use," as against the Syro-Hexaplaric translation (see below) and "monolingual edition." (Unlike its Jewish-Aramaic and Middle Hebrew cognate *pšṭ*, the Syriac verb does not mean "explain.") The Peshitta conforms closely to the Hebrew text though it often makes additions for the sake of clarity. (For translation techniques see Weitzman 1996.) Although this version was used by the fourth-century scholars Aphrahat and Ephraim the Syrian and Theodore of Mopsuestia (d. 428) the name Peshitta was first used by Moses b. Kefa (d. 913) and then in the 13th century by *Gregory Bar Hebraeus. Almost every assertion regarding the authorship of the Peshitta and the time and place of its origin is the subject of controversy among scholars. Jacob of Edessa (eighth century) ascribes the origin of the Peshitta to the efforts of Abgar, "the believing" king of Edessa, and Addai the apostle, who are said to have sent scholars to Palestine to translate the Bible into Syriac (cf. Bar Hebraeus, Commentary to Ps. 10). However, this tradition apparently conflates Abgar IX (179–216), who may have been history's first Christian king, with the first century Abgar V, to whom later specious documents attributed epistolary correspondence with Jesus. Addai the apostle is completely legendary. J Other legendary traditions with no historical value assign the work to the time of Solomon, and ascribe the translation to an order of Hiram, king of Tyre, or to the priest Assa (alternative: Asya) sent by an Assyrian king to Samaria (a legend based on II Kings 17:27–28).

Although the Peshitta is the Bible of eastern Christians, at least parts of it were known to medieval Jews. *Naḥmanides in his introduction to Genesis cites and translates into Hebrew a long passage that he had seen in a book he calls "The Great Wisdom of Solomon," which he refers to as *ha-sefer ha-meturgam*, "the translated book." The citation, in Syriac in Hebrew characters, is essentially identical with a verse from Wisdom of Solomon in Peshitta. This same scholar in his commentary to Deuteronomy 21:14 cites a passage from Peshitta Judith 1:8 which he describes as being "in the Aramaic language." As to the origin of Peshitta's Old Testament section, some scholars argue for Jewish translators, others for Christian translators, and still others for Jewish-Christians. The general contemporary consensus that the Peshitta's Old Testament section was directly translated from the Hebrew indicates strongly that the translators had a Jewish background. There are very few obvious Christological elements. For example, the translation, *betulah*, "virgin," for Hebrew *almah*, "young woman," in Isaiah 8:14 in line with Matthew 1:23, "behold the virgin shall conceive," may be seen in the light of Biblical Hebrew *betulah*, "virgin," "young woman," and Greek *parthenos* with the same meanings. Even if *virgo intacta* is meant, Peshitta *betulta* could be a late Christian adaptation (Vööbus 1958), as are the superscriptions of certain Psalms. Evidence for Christian origins has also been adduced from the indifference or negative attitude of the translators to rabbinic and even Pentateuchal legal norms relating to the calendar, sacrifice, and, possibly, the dietary laws. This too is not conclusive. The last few decades of new discoveries and refined scholarly methods have shown the diversity in both Judaism and Christianity and the porousness of the borders between the two religions. Weitzman (1999) concludes that the Old Testament Peshitta is of non-rabbinic Jewish origin, the work of translators in Edessa, somewhat estranged from the larger Jewish community. The gradual absorption of the Jewish community of Edessa into Christianity could have facilitated the adoption of the Peshitta by Syriac-speaking Christians as their Bible. The Peshitta itself was probably complete by the third century.

The literary relation among the Peshitta and the Jewish Targums has been debated by scholars for 150 years. In his dissertation of 1859 published as *Meletamata Peschitthonia*, J. Perles collected cases in which Peshitta's translation could only be understood as reflective of Jewish legal and non-legal exegesis, an indication of Jewish origins (e.g., Ex. 22:30 and Ḥul. 102b; Lev. 16:7 and Ḥul. 11a; Lev. 18:21 and Meg. 25a; Lev. 24:8 and Men. 97a). Perles goes as far as to say that the text was used in the synagogue since it was divided into weekly lessons for the Palestinian triennial cycle; the portions read in the synagogue on the festival are indicated (Lev. 23:1; cf. Meg. 30b); and the superscriptions to Exodus 20:1 עסרא פתגמין ("Ten Commandments") and Leviticus 17 נמוסא דקורבנא ודדבחא ("The Law of Offerings and Sacrifices") are in the rabbinical spirit (cf. Meg. 30b). According to Perles, the shared Aramaic Jewish exegetical tradition was available orally. Others (Baumstark, Kahle) accounted for these relations by positing a written west Aramaic Jewish Targum that was brought east and rewritten in Syriac. Vööbus accepted the western origin but saw the transformation as gradual. Still others (Sperber) posited an originally Jewish targum geographically and dialectally closer to Syriac. More recently, in his studies of the Peshitta to the Pentateuch, Maori agreed with Perles that Peshitta did not depend on any particular targum but made use of stylized written literary material as well as oral traditions that had already been stylized.

Recent research into the history of the Peshitta text indicates that it was the accepted Bible of the Syrian Church from the end of the third century C.E. Ephraem Syrus, who died in 373, speaks of it as an old translation. In the fifth century theological differences divided the Syrian Christians into two distinct groups, the Nestorians and the Jacobites. Differences were exacerbated by the use of different Syriac scripts. Each group then proceeded to formulate its own Peshitta text based upon previous versions, with the result that there are two different text forms of the Peshitta: Western Syriac and Eastern Syriac. In the fifth and sixth centuries the Melchites (Palestinian Syrians) attempted to make the Eastern Syriac version conform with the Septuagint, the official text of the region, thus creating a text which was a mixture of the Peshitta and the Septuagint.

Knowledge of these versions, recently augmented by finds of textual fragment, is important for an understanding of the evolution of the Peshitta and subsequently in the assessment of the masoretic text. The oldest manuscript dates back to 464. It was first published in the Paris Polyglot Bible of 1645. This edition did not contain the Apocrypha, which were later added in the London Walton Polyglot of 1657. In 1823, the Peshitta was printed separately by the British Foreign Bible Society in London and known as the Lee Edition. This edition, in Jacobite characters, practically reproduces the London Polyglot which itself was based on the Paris Polyglot. Two editions were prepared by American missionaries: The Urmia edition of 1852, and the Mosul edition of 1887–91 (1951^{2}), both in Nestorian characters: the first work was proved to be influenced by the Lee edition, while the second is dependent on the Lee and Urmia editions and corrected according to the Vulgate. Attempts to publish the Peshitta in Hebrew characters include Hirsch's edition of the Five Scrolls (1866), Eisenstein's edition of the first two chapters of Genesis (1895), and Heller's Genesis (1928). A new era in Peshitta studies began in the late 20th century with the production of reliable texts. The Peshitta Institute in Leiden, Netherlands, is well on the way to the publication of a critical edition of the Peshitta, *Vetus Testamentum Syriace* (1972ff.) as well as monographs on specific books. The text is based in the main on the Ambrosian manuscript 7a1 accompanied by an apparatus of variants from manuscripts through the 12th century. The project is under the general editorship of K. Jenner and A.v.d. Kooij.

THE CHRISTIAN-PALESTINIAN VERSION. Around the fifth century the Melchite Christian in Palestine published a Bible translation in the local western Aramaic dialect, referred to in earlier Anglophone scholarship as Syro-Palestinian but now more accurately referred to as Christian Palestinian Aramaic (CPA). (To refer to this dialect as "Syriac," or "Palestinian Syriac," is erroneous.) The script of CPA is a development from Syriac Estrangelo, which distinguishes it from the closely related western Aramaic dialects of Samaritan and Palestinian Jewish Aramaic. The distinction served to set boundaries among the speakers of these dialects. It is generally admitted that this translation was made from the Greek, rather than the Hebrew, but Jewish Aramaic targums were influential, and perhaps, secondarily, the Peshitta. On the estimate of Mueller-Kessler and Sokoloff only about ten percent of the CPA text of the Old Testament has survived. The apocrypha are represented by fragments of Wisdom of Solomon, Ecclesiasticus, and the Epistle of Jeremiah.

[S. David Sperling (2nd ed.)]

THE PHILOXENIAN VERSION. In an attempt to displace the Peshitta, Philoxenus, the Jacobite bishop of Mabbugh, ordered a translation of the Septuagint (Lucian's version) and the Greek New Testament. Polycarp, his coadjutor, finished the work in 508. Of this translation only fragments from the Old Testament (Isaiah) were preserved, while five books from the New Testament entered into the printed edition of the Peshitta. A century later a version with marginal notes, taking into account various Greek manuscripts, was published by Thomas of Heraclea. It is not known whether in this work Thomas revised the Philoxenian Version completely or confined himself to adding the marginal notes.

THE SYRO-HEXAPLA. Commissioned by the patriarch Athanasius I, Paul, the bishop of Tella (near Alexandria), prepared a translation based on the fifth column of Origen's Hexapla. The translations of Aquila, Theodotion, and Symmachus were taken into account in marginal notes. This translation was completed in about 617. A manuscript of this work from the eighth or ninth century is extant in Milan. Paul of Tella's Syro-Hexapla, as it is called, is of great importance since Origen's Hexapla, upon which it was based, was almost completely destroyed.

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[Bernard Grossfeld / S. David Sperling (2nd ed.)]

Ethiopic

Christianity arrived in Ethiopia in the fourth century, and the need for a translation of the Bible and the New Testament was felt not long afterward. The original translation into classical Ethiopic (Ge'ez), beginning with the New Testament gospels and the psalms, was probably made during the fifth and sixth centuries, and completed by the mid-seventh century. The translation of the Bible was based on the Greek (Septuagint), the underlying Greek text types varying from book to book. It has commonly been believed that there were also Syriac-speaking missionaries involved in the translation, but this is not proven, and seems unlikely; most of the Aramaic loanwords in early Ethiopic likely derived not from Syriac but rather from a "pre-Christian Jewish element in early Christianity" (Polotsky; Knibb). While there are a few 13th- or possibly 12th-century manuscripts of New Testament gospels, there are no known manuscripts of the Ethiopic Old Testament that survive from before the 14th century, at which time, especially during the literary renaissance under King Amda Sion (1314–44), the text was much revised under the influence of a Syriac-based Arabic version of the Bible; this revised text is known as the "vulgar recension." It was probably later still, during the 15th or 16th century (when there was an Ethiopian community in Jerusalem) that further revisions were made to bring the text closer into alignment with the Hebrew masoretic text; manuscripts of this "academic recension" exhibit a number of Hebrew words simply transliterated into Ethiopic (Knibb). In addition to canonical and apocryphal books, the Ethiopic Bible often contains pseudepigraphic works as well, such as Enoch and Jubilees, which are held in the same regard. Translations of the Bible into modern languages of Eritrea and Ethiopia, such as Tigrinya, Tigre, and Amharic, have been produced over the past century, generally by European missionaries.

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[John Huehnergard (2nd ed.)]

Egyptian (Coptic)

Coptic versions of biblical literature – that is, the texts of the Bible translated into a late antique form of the Egyptian language, written in an augmented Greek alphabet which includes seven demotic Egyptian characters – began appearing in the third century C.E. and were well established by the fourth century. Coptic was written, and biblical texts have been preserved, in several dialects and dialect families, the most important for the study of biblical literature being Bohairic (Delta region, to the north) and Sahidic (Upper Egyptian, to the south). Important fragments remain in Fayyumic and Akhmimic.

It is generally agreed that the Coptic versions have as their source Greek witnesses. Of interest is the richness of the extant versions. For example, the Sahidic witnesses vary from each other, bespeaking independent translators and translation families, as well as, perhaps, differing Greek base texts. It should be noted that a host of literatures and genres related to the Bible (among them apocryphal works, hagiography, liturgical texts, and Gnostic literature) were variously written and preserved in Coptic in late antiquity, and that Coptic remains a language in which biblical and liturgical texts are regularly read, spoken, and sung.

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[Frederick W. Weidmann (2nd ed.)]

Armenian

The need for an Armenian Bible arose once the court converted to Christianity early in the fourth century. According to Armenian tradition the Bible was the first book translated into that language. The translation was undertaken directly after the invention of the Armenian alphabet in 406 C.E.; the story of the translation is preserved in the Armenian tradition for which the prime source is the *Varkʿ Maštocʿi*, "Life of, Mashtots" (ca. 345–440; after the fifth century the name begins to appear as Mesrop Mashtots) written by Koriwn, his pupil and colleague. Employing the new alphabet, Mashots along with his ecclesiastical patron the Catholicos Sahak Parteʿw and their disciples translated the Bible as well as other Christian religious writings. The initial translation, which according to these sources was made from Syriac, was subsequently revised twice in the light of Greek manuscripts brought from Constantinople and Alexandria. The work was completed by c. 450.

The translation of the Bible as preserved by the Armenian Church is predominantly Hexaplaric in character, equipped with Hexaplaric signs and showing a full text. Further relationships of the versions have been studied only for few books, where it has been demonstrated that it reveals relationships with certain non-Hexaplaric Greek text types and with the Peshitta. There is also evidence for the existence of two recensions in certain books, such as Chronicles and Ben Sira, and Revelation in the New Testament. Khalatianz (Moscow, 1899) published a version of Chronicles apparently reflecting the translation made from Syriac prior to the revision according to Greek manuscripts. The translation has been characterized as "queen of the versions" and its closeness to the Greek original is reflected in sentence structure and word order. It is one of the central works of the golden age of Armenian literature.

The first edition is that of Oskan, published in 1666 in Amsterdam. The best is that published in Venice in 1805 by J. Zabrabian who based his work on eight complete Bible manuscripts and certain additional manuscripts for Isaiah and Psalms. His edition is no longer adequate for scholarly purposes today. There are numerous manuscripts still unstudied. The earliest complete Bible codices date from the 13th century but there are psalters of an earlier date.

The canon is substantially that of the Septuagint. IV Ezra, Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, and the Book of Joseph and Asenath are often included in Bible manuscripts. The canon of Zabrabian's version however is that of the Vulgate. The Armenian Bible is of great value in textual criticism of the Septuagint. Critical editions of individual books of the Armenian Bible are underway.

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[Michael E. Stone / S. David Sperling (2nd ed.)]

Arabic

The need for translation of the Bible into Arabic arose with the expansion of the Islamic empire. During the eighth century the Arabic language spread and replaced Aramaic as the cultural language of Jews and other non-Arabs living under Islamic rule. Around that time, both scholars and lay people started producing translations of the Bible into Judeo-Arabic using the Hebrew alphabet. Evidence for such translations exists in the various collections of the Ben Ezra *Genizah* of Cairo as well as other private and public collections. Other translations were preserved and transmitted within the Jewish communities living in the Islamic milieu. Scholars divide these translations into several main categories – pre-Saadian, Saadian, Karaite, post-Saadian *sharḥ* – and glossaries.

PRE-SAADIAN TRANSLATIONS. Fragments of pre-Saadian translations were identified in the *Genizah* collections by scholars such as Y. Tobi, J. Blau, S. Hopkins, M. Polliack, and Y. Avishur. These fragments are characterized by their typical Judeo-Arabic phonetic orthography common to texts prior to the 10th century (Blau and Hopkins 2000). This early spelling is solely based on Hebrew orthography and is devoid of any influence of classical Arabic (Blau 1992). In addition, these fragments present a strict literal translation. Hence word order and use of prepositions reflect Hebrew syntax and stand in contrast to Arabic. The preposition that marks the Hebrew definite accusative, which does not exists in classical Arabic, is present in these translations in the form of an artificial morpheme (Tobi 1993). These literal translations are often interrupted in the body of the text by strings of alternative translations for a single word. In some instances expansions of an interpretative nature are also added (Polliack 1998). The pre-Saadian fragments found to date include sections from the Books of Proverbs, Genesis, Exodus, Numbers, and Deuteronomy (Blau 1992). It is very likely that additional fragments will surface in the future as the *Genizah* material is researched further. Y. Tobi has shown that these translations were initiated in the Arabian Peninsula by and for Jewish communities prior to the rise of Islam (Tobi 2005). They reflect an oral tradition that was subsequently put into writing.

SAADIAH'S TRANSLATION. By the 10th century the need for a standard translation of the Bible became apparent. The best-known translation of the Bible into Judeo-Arabic was written by *Saadiah (Gaon) b. Joseph al-Fayyumi (882–942), who was born in Fayyum, Egypt, studied in Palestine, and eventually became the *gaon* of Sura, Babylonia. His translation of the Pentateuch soon became the most widespread among the various Jewish communities under Islam and continued to be the most authoritative in some communities until our time, in particular among Yemenite Jewry. In his translation Saadiah standardized Judaeo-Arabic orthography and created a spelling system that reflects classical Arabic. The main principles of this system of spelling include choosing phonemes according to their cognates rather than following audible similarities, and using *matres lectionis* to indicate long vowels in agreement with Arabic orthography. As far as his method is concerned, Saadiah follows Arabic syntax and his translation is anything but literal. He avoids repetitions, and shortens or expands the text for stylistic reasons. To create a coherent text he subordinates originally coordinated clauses. He often changes the legal text by additions and adaptations. At times he alters the text in order to avoid what he deems to be exaggerations. Echoes of the Aramaic translations are detected in his translation as well as an avoidance of anthropomorphism. In fact, Saadiah's translation is one of the most free and individual in the history of Bible translations as it reflects his personal interpretation (Blau, "Saadya …" 1998). Scholars believe that Saadiah completed the translation of the entire Bible; however, so far only the Pentateuch, Isaiah, Job, Proverbs, Psalms, Song of Songs, Ruth, Lamentations, and Esther have been recovered. No autographed manuscripts of Saadiah's translation of the Bible have been found to date. The vast majority of the manuscripts attributed to Saadiah's translation are written in Hebrew characters; however, scholars disagree on the nature of the initial manuscripts. Abraham Ibn Ezra, a medieval Bible commentator, contends that Saadiah wrote his translation "in the language of the Ishmaelites and in their writing (*ketiva-*

tam)" (see Ibn Ezra's commentary to Gen. 2:11). Some scholars understand this statement to mean that the original was written in the Arabic language in Arabic characters. Others interpret it as Arabic language precisely transliterated into Hebrew characters according to Arabic orthography. In fact, in support of the latter opinion, some of the *Genizah* fragments attributed to Saadiah and written in Arabic characters seem to have been transliterated from a text originally written in Hebrew letters (Blau 1981, Tobi 1993, and Polliack 1998). Evidence from the *Genizah* supports the speculation that Saadiah created his interpretative translation first and named it *tafsir*, modeled after similar koranic compositions of his time. He then composed his expanded commentary to the Pentatuech (Polliack 1998). The long *tafsir*, which included both the translation and the commentary for the Pentateuch, fell out of use eventually. However, fragments of the long *tafsir* were found in the *Genizah* and Firkovitch Collections. A compilation of such fragments containing commentary on Genesis were assembled and studied by M. Zucker (Zucker 1984).

Manuscripts and printed editions of Saadiah's translation of the Pentateuch were widespread in Yemenite communities until recent times. The most famous of them is the *Taj*. Two editions of the *Taj* were printed in Jerusalem, one in 1894 and the other in 1982. N.J. Derenbourg published a critical edition of Saadiah's translation to the Pentateuch in 1893 in Paris. His edition is based mainly on the Jewish polyglot of Constantinople (1546) but also on a Yemenite manuscript and on the Christian polyglot of London (1657) (Blau 1998).

Saadiah's translation and commentary to other books of the Bible were less known and of smaller circulation. Some of these manuscripts, which were found in Yemenite collections, were translated into Hebrew and published by Rabbi Y. Kafah. These publications include the Five Scrolls, the Book of Psalms, the Book of Job, the Book of Proverbs, and the Book of Daniel (Kafah 1962, 1965, 1973, 1976, and 1981).

KARAITE TRANSLATIONS. Rejection of rabbinical authority and the Oral Law led the Karaites to reject Saadiah's approach to Bible translation and compelled them to create alternatives. Most Karaite translations of the Bible date back to the 10th and 11th centuries, a time in which scholarly Karaite activity reached its zenith. The Karaites used the same orthography as the one Saadiah standardized. However, they drew upon the pre-Saadian traditions of translation, which they developed further by emphasizing the principles of individualization and pluralism of biblical commentary. Their approach enabled the composition of creative and original translations free from midrashic influence. The Cairo *Genizah* contains numerous Karaite manuscripts from Egypt and Palestine from the 11th and 12th centuries. It is not quite clear how these fragments ended up in the *Genizah* of the Rabbanite synagogue of Palestinian Jews in Fustat. It may partially be attributed to the Crusade of 1099, which caused the destruction of the Karaite centers in Palestine and forced the survivors to join their coreligionists in Cairo.

Karaite translations of the various books of the Hebrew Bible are known, of which the translations of Psalms, Minor Prophets, the Five Scrolls, and the Pentateuch are the most prevalent. Typically the Karaite translation of the Hebrew Bible is sandwiched between a section of the Hebrew source and an Arabic commentary. This structure is also reflected in Rabbanite exegetical works of the time such as Saadiah's. However, Saadiah's *tafsir* of the Pentateuch deviates from this formula and his translation is disconnected from his commentary (Polliack 1997). Often these tripartite manuscripts, which were primarily used for the purpose of study, contain the Hebrew Bible text transliterated into Arabic characters. The Arabic translation may also be found written in Arabic letters, however the Karaite Bibles that were used for religious purposes were written in Hebrew. This bilingual orthography reflects the Karaite ambivalence toward the rabbinical masoretic tradition (Polliack 1997).

Karaite tradition emphasizes accuracy and the implementation of linguistic knowledge in translation and interpretation of scripture. Linguistic studies were regarded as religious duty, and as a consequence the Karaites created literal translations aimed at reflecting accurately the structures of the Hebrew language. Two distinct features characterize Karaite translations. The first is the occasional rendering of two or three synonyms in translating a single word or phrase. The second is the occasional insertions of small clauses of an interpretative nature into the text. In these respects the Karaites' translations resemble pre-Saadian traditions. The Arabic reflected in Karaite translations is Middle Arabic with a great affinity to classical Arabic, albeit spiced with a limited degree of vernacular features. Polliack speculates that the tradition of literality of translations is characteristic of the region of Palestine as reflected in ancient Greek translations (cf. Aquila) as well as Palestinian Aramaic translations. Karaite translations, mostly created in Palestine, may have also been influenced by this literal approach (Polliack 1997).

The single most prolific Karaite translator and commentator who is believed to have translated the entire Bible into Judeo-Arabic is Yefet b. Eli al-Basri (*Japheth ben Ali Ha-Levi) who lived in Jerusalem in the 10th century. The numerous copies of his works found up to date attest to his vast popularity and authority within Karaite circles (Polliack 1997). Yefet's threefold structure, in which his Bible translation was embedded, seems to have been composed in the years 960–990 (Ben Shammai 1976). Furthermore, in the introduction to his work he states his intention to provide a translation of the words of the Book, hence a verbal rendition faithful to the wording of the biblical source. Yefet derives authority from a received tradition of translation, and it is likely that the literal tendencies of his versions do not originate with him. While his literal translation results in often slavish and ungrammatical Arabic it also reflect a conscious interpretative intention and a method intended to demonstrate to the reader the linguistic structure and the basic meaning of the text (Polliack 1997 and Polliack and Schlossberg 2001). Recent publications of his work include his commentary to Genesis (Ben Shammai et al. 2000) and his translation of the Book of Obadiah (Polliack and Schlossberg 2001).

*Jeshua b. Judah, an influential scholar and leader of the Karaite community of Jerusalem in the 11th century, wrote both a short and a long commentary to the Pentateuch. His short commentary includes also a translation of the Pentateuch. Jeshua did not intend to produce a comprehensive translation and commentary on the entire Bible; instead he mostly concentrated on the legal material. Nevertheless his translation of the Pentateuch is the second major source for study of the Karaite tradition of translation. Jeshua's translation seems to rely on an already existing tradition of translation rather than being solely his own product. Presumably, he was influenced by the school of Karaite scholarship that existed in Jerusalem in the 11th century (Polliack 1997).

SHARḤ. Saadiah Gaon's monumental translation of the Pentateuch spread quickly throughout the various Arabic-speaking Jewish communities. It was canonized in no time and accepted as the authoritative translation. About one-third of all translations of the Bible into Arabic found in the *Genizah* are attributed to Saadiah and attest to its great popularity and authority. However, from the 14th century on Saadiah's translation was no longer clear enough to these communities, who had lost their familiarity with the intricate subtleties of classical Arabic. Against this background, popular translations that incorporated features of the local vernaculars began to surface. In a lengthy introduction for his new translation written in the 15th century in Safed, Rabbi Y. ben Susan explains that Saadiah composed his translation in classical Arabic, a dialect no longer understood by Ben Susan's contemporaries, neither by the students nor by the teachers (Doron 1985). Unlike the Yemenite diaspora which adhered to Saadiah's translation until our time, other Jewish communities started creating new translations which are referred to collectively as *sharḥ* (pl. *shurūḥ*). These translations were geared more towards the general public in a synagogue setting than to the scholarly oriented. They often include large sections borrowed from Saadiah's translations, however, simplified both in style and language as well as in their religious content (Maman 2000, Avishur 1998, and Bar Asher 1998). They were composed literally, reflecting the original Hebrew word order and they incorporated local linguistic features. The language of the *sharḥ* stands between middle Arabic and the spoken vernacular. Typically, young school children would recite one verse of the Bible followed by its *sharḥ*, or they might even alternate reciting one Hebrew word followed by its corresponding *sharḥ* (Bar Asher 1998).

Some *sharḥ* are found in printed editions while others are still in manuscripts. Recently scholars have been recording oral recitations creating audible collections of *sharḥ* (Avishur 1988). Fragments of *sharḥ* manuscripts that were found in the *Genizah* collections have been dated between the 14th and the 17th centuries (Polliack 1998). While Ben Susan wrote his *sharḥ* in Palestine there are many other *sharḥ* found in the communities of North Africa, Egypt, Iraq, Syria, and Yemen. Several studies have been conducted recently concerning this corpus. Y. Avishur has studied the Eastern *sharḥ* and B. Hary concentrated on the Egyptian while M. Bar Asher, A. Maman, O. Tirosh-Becker, and D. Doron have studied the Western *sharḥ* of North Africa.

It is worthwhile to mention a few *sharḥ* that have been studied lately by scholars such as the aforementioned Palestinian *sharḥ* by Ben Susan, the 200-year- old *sharḥ* of Rabbi Raphael Birdugo of Morocco (Bar Asher 2001), and an Egyptian *sharḥ* of the Book of Esther probably from the 18th century (Hary 1994). Others include Rabbi Mordecai Hai Dian's of Tunis (Doron 1991) and a more recent one, compiled by Rabbi Joseph David Genasia (1879–1962) of Algeria (Tirosh-Becker 1990).

In general, the *sharḥ* attests to the popular and vibrant culture in which the Bible was translated into Arabic in the pre-modern era (Polliack 1998). While some *sharḥ* seem to have been adapted from Saadiah's translations others bear similarities to the literal pre-Saadian versions. It is reasonable to assume that a tradition of translation that started before Saadiah survived in the shadow of his translation mostly as oral tradition in the private domain, in schools and synagogues, and surfaced again in the post-Saadian era in the form of *sharḥ* (Tobi 1996).

A thorough study of the language of *sharḥ* was undertaken by B. Hary who worked mainly on a collection of Egyptian manuscripts called the Cairo Collection dating to the 18th through the 20th centuries. Hary concludes that the language of the *sharḥ* shows evidence of multiglossia, i.e., that it is composed of several linguistic layers. He further observes that the language of the different *sharḥ* is not constant and can be placed on a continuum from literary to colloquial Judeo-Arabic (Hary 1992 and 1994). Hary suggests that the language of *sharḥ* exhibits a constant tension between the intention of the translator to convey the Hebrew text word-for-word and his desire to be understood and to occasionally interpret the text by substituting words, paraphrasing, and adding elements of the local vernacular. Hary proposes that the compelling desire to adhere to word-for-word translation even when it violates Arabic linguistic structures stems from the motivation to preserve the sacred Hebrew text as literally as possible and to maintain links with a Jewish heritage in a foreign environment. He further suggests that because of their close connection to the Hebrew sacred texts *sharḥ* evolved into sacred texts themselves. Hence they were not updated, and with time they also became unintelligible as the dialects of the old *sharḥ* and the contemporary readers grew apart (Hary 2000).

GLOSSARIES. A special genre, glossaries and word lists, sheds light on the roots of the tradition of Bible translation. Word lists that were found in the *Genizah* are divided into three groups. The first is a list of Hebrew words taken from a continuous biblical segment along with their translation. These lists when read may seem like an uninterrupted translated text. The second is a list of selected words also taken from a continuous segment of text. These words are typically difficult and/or rare. The third group contains a random list of words selected by topics such as botany or zoology or they may be selected according to poetic principles such as alliteration or assonance. In some lists the principle behind their compilation is not apparent, and they may have been created for a one-time didactic situation or a particular sermon in the synagogue. Some of these word lists are spelled phonetically, and often include several alternative translations for a single word. These features are reminiscent of pre-Saadian translations (Polliack 1998). Saadiah himself compiled such a list named "*Pitron shiv'im Millim Bodedot*." Biblical glossography may be viewed as the initiation of Hebrew lexicology and as a phase leading to Hebrew lexicography (see Polliack and Someh 2000, Eldar 2001, and Tobi 1998).

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[Ilana Sasson (2nd ed.)]

MODERN VERSIONS

Introduction

Although the translation of the Bible was carried out already in antiquity, in Aramaic, Greek, and Latin, it was the burgeoning Protestant Reformation, some decades after the invention of movable type, which provided the impetus to make the Bible the most translated book in world history. In its desire to bypass the Catholic Church's monopoly on the meaning of the text, the Reformation sought to return "to the source," and the resulting sharpening of focus on the Bible itself, especially for lay people, paved the way for both the modern study of the Bible and its translation into European vernaculars. It is thus the modern period, broadly speaking, that may be described as the energetic, even frenetic, era of Bible translation. Since the 16th century, but especially in the 20th something approaching 3,000 versions of the Bible, including individual books, have appeared, in well over 2,000 of the world's languages, and new ones are continually in preparation. The proliferation of Protestant subgroups, the eventual acceptance of translation by Catholic authorities, and the needs of post-Emancipation (and even traditional) Jews for a fuller understanding of the text in their own tongues, combined with the explosion of knowledge about the biblical world and its languages over the past two centuries, have all played a role in the far-ranging creation and dissemination of multiple Bible translations in modern times. Thus, Franz Rosenzweig's famous phrase, "To translate is to serve two masters," in truth tells only part of the story.

The problems facing modern translators of the Bible, as well as those who worked in antiquity, are twofold, reflecting issues of translation in general. The text to be translated, the "target text," must first be understood on its face. For this, multiple tools are necessary: grasping the place of the Bible's language in context, i.e., amid the linguistic heritage of the ancient Near East; noting the usage of specific words and phrases within a book or even across the Bible as a whole; appreciating historical changes with respect to technical terms; perceiving rhetorical devices utilized in the text, such as alliteration, paronomasia, and the use of theme words; and sensing the innate rhythm of the text. All these activities must be accompanied by the painful awareness that they will sometimes fail to be apprehended, or apprehended correctly, and that there are texts which will stubbornly continue to remain obscure.

Second, the translator must be able to cast his or her creation, the "receptor text," in such a way as to have the desired effect upon the audience. For some, this will mean producing a Bible that reflects traditional Jewish or Christian interpretation; for others, it will lead to one that speaks in contemporary language; many will seek to give the reader a glimpse, however limited, of the qualities of biblical Hebrew, while others will want to provide a text that transfers old ideas and expressions into easily understandable modern form, "as if it had been written in English."

Consequently, translations of the Bible are usually described as occupying one of two poles on a continuum. The first one, variously termed "idiomatic," "dynamic equivalent," or "domesticating," aims to move the text toward the reader, by making it accessible in its language, imagery, and manner of speech. In this mode, the Bible is thus to be read as a text with clear messages, in language that is readily apprehensible. By using contemporary language that tries to produce a reader reaction similar to that imagined in the original, such a translation is willing to sacrifice form in the interests of communication. Most modern translations have tended toward this ideal. The second pole, called "literal," "formal equivalent/correspondent," or "foreignizing," seeks to move the reader back toward the text, as part of a more active process. Here the reader must make the effort to know the text as something from a partially unfamiliar world, with its own distinctive modes of expression, and learn how to read it. In such an approach, stylistic features and modes of speech, such as word order, idioms, and wordplays are particularly important. The result, as in the 20th-century German Buber-Rosenzweig translation, may confound some readers, who are seeking mainly a comfortable way into the text.

Regarding these two directions of translation, E. Greenstein has noted in the former a tinge of Christian missionizing, which is, to be sure, one of the goals of a number of institutions involved in Bible translation, such as the American Bible Society. The latter methodology he views as more essentially Jewish, concerned as it is with the precise wording and nuances of the Hebrew.

Scripture itself seemed to encourage formal correspondence: Deut. 4:2: "You shall not add anything to what I command you or take anything away from it." Consequently, a literal translation alleges exactness. Similarly, for the rabbis, according to Max Margolis, "the multiple sense of the scriptural word was an accepted fact and it is for this very reason that they frowned upon all translation." In a transitional mode, Jerome translated the Vulgate through stages, developing from formal correspondence to a dynamic equivalence. He saw the work of Aquila (a second century C.E. Greek literal translation) as slavish literalism and disparaged "the word for word," seeking instead a "sense for sense" translation. Ultimately, dynamic equivalence was not unappreciated by translators. The 16th-century Martin Luther, who translated the Bible into German, could describe dynamic equivalence:

> Whoever would speak German must not use Hebrew style. Rather, he must see to it – once he understands the Hebrew author – that he concentrates on the sense of the text, asking himself, Pray tell what do the Germans say in such a situation? Once he has the German words to serve the purpose, let him drop the Hebrew words, and express the meaning freely in the best German he knows…. I endeavored to make Moses so German that no one would suspect he was a Jew.

It may be helpful to visualize the broad spectrum of translation by means of a hypothetical illustration. If one imagines a culture in which the description of a heavy rainfall, whether in everyday language or in a recited story, translates out as "the rains fall rhinos and zebras," there are at least four possibilities that present themselves to the translator: (1) "the rains are falling like rhinos and zebras"; (2) "the rain is like stampeding animals"; (3) "it's raining cats and dogs"; and (4) "It's pouring outside!" It will be observed that the first is rather literal, although not totally so ("like" has been inserted for clarity); the second retains the basic concept but is less language-specific; the third uses a parallel image from the target culture, in this case, American; and the fourth is a clear rendering of the action, but without any reference to the original language or mode of cultural expression. In the end, the degree of literalness or idiomatic fluidity in a translation will depend on the translator's goals and on the audience at which the work is aimed. Broadly speaking, 20th century Bible translations tended in the direction of choices 3 and 4, with some more recent movement back toward the earlier numbers.

One specifically biblical illustration of the possible range of translation can be found regarding a common expression, *limẓo ḥen be-einei x*. Available translations render this across the spectrum from literal to idiomatic; hence, in Gen. 19:19, the New International Version has "Your servant has found favor in your eyes," while the New American Standard Bible, 1995 Revision, renders "Your servant has found favor in your sight"; the Revised English Bible for the same phrase reads "You have shown your servant favor," whereas the New Jerusalem Bible proposes "You have already been very good to your servant" (note also the New American Bible's "You have already thought enough of your servant").

Despite the best of intentions, it will not always be possible to realize the translator's goals. For those committed to a "modern," idiomatic rendering, there will be cases where current language sometimes runs afoul of changes in usage. In this regard, the New Revised Standard Version translators note how they had to change the 1952 Revised Standard Version's rendering of Psalm 50:9, "I will take no bull from your house," to "I will not take a bull from your house," for obvious reasons. Similarly, E. Fox's 1972 translation of Gen. 28:17, "How awesome is this place!," gave way to "How awe-inspiring is this place" (1995), to avoid using what had by then become teenage lingo. Such examples demonstrate that changes in usage and taste dictate changes in performance.

At the same time, like any language, biblical Hebrew abounds in idiomatic expressions which pose dilemmas for the literally minded translator. Phrases such as "he lifted up his eyes" or "to fill the hand" (e.g., Ex. 28:41), usually rendered by less literal equivalents such as "he looked up" and "to consecrate," provide one kind of example. Further, *yamim* will often signify "years" instead of "days" in biblical usage, while *leḥem*, nominally "bread," in many contexts denotes the broader "food." Another type of construction is that found in Gen. 44:18, literally "like you is like Pharaoh," which virtually all English translators, albeit some with an explanatory note, render as "you are like Pharaoh."

The Bible translator therefore must decide where he or she fits along the spectrum; yet since a "pure" translation of one extreme or the other is not possible, decisions, often compromises, must be made on every page, in every verse. Tyndale famously coined many words and phrases in his work which have become standard, not only in the English Bible but in the language in general (e.g., scapegoat, Passover) but he also did not hesitate to be less literal in the many cases where he felt that clarity of style was paramount. Thus he felt no compunction to reproduce biblical Hebrew wordplays such as *tohu va-bohu* in Gen. 1:2, or *ve-ha-oniyyah ḥishevah le-hishaver* in Jonah 1:4.

FEMINIST SENSITIVITIES OF TRANSLATION. Contemporary problems for the translator concern inclusive language that does not neglect more than half the human race. The term "inclusive language" primarily refers to gender concerns; the word, however, also includes the concerns of Jews, handicapped, and people of color. In any case, the modern translator is seriously obliged to bring the right word into the right place.

The *Inclusive Lectionary* has brought the problem of inclusive language to worship services. This lectionary is a collection of fixed readings used for services among Anglican, Protestants, and Roman Catholics. The *Inclusive Lectionary* modifies the Revised Standard Version (RSV) of Ps.23:1: "God is my shepherd … God makes me lie down …" This avoids the male term "Lord" and the pronoun "he." Other examples are "realm" for "kingdom"; "Abraham and [Sarah]"; "God the [Mother and] Father"; "a person with a disabling condition" for "a cripple"; "the religious authorities" for, when applicable, "Jews," etc. Furthermore, "man" is the celebrated example since the English word is ambiguous, meaning "people," "a human," and "an adult male."

A major example of a translation that attempts to adjust the biblical text to such recent concerns is *New Testament and Psalms: An Inclusive Version* (1995), which is based on New Revised Standard Version. To use its own illustrations, not only is gender-specific language modified – so that, for instance, "son" becomes "child," and in an extreme case, God as "Father" becomes "Father-Mother" – but whenever possible, pejorative references to disability, race, religion, etc., are replaced by more inclusive terms. Thus, in the New Testament, Jews are referred to as "unbelievers," the Pharisees as "the authorities" or "the leaders," and the concept of "darkness" is replaced by "gloom" or "night." In the Psalms, there is a conscious attempt to move away from masculine designations of God (23:2, "God makes me lie down in green pastures," and 8:1, "O God, our Sovereign"). Even the term "right hand," when it denotes power, is designated as the "mighty" or "powerful" hand. This kind of "adjustment" of the text, while jarring to some readers, is but another illustration of the Bible-reading audience's continual need to experience the text on their own terms.

Another recent and more modest attempt at gender-neutral language is a revision of the New International Version, *Today's NIV* (2005); the revised edition of W. Plaut's *The Torah: A Modern Commentary* (2005) also makes gender-related modifications (see below).

Such an approach has, not surprisingly, spawned both acceptance and criticism, often passionately argued. In 1997, a group of evangelical Christian leaders, spearheaded by the group Focus on the Family, issued the "Colorado Springs Guidelines," which sought to mitigate the use of gender-neutral language in English Bible translation, feeling that it distorts the text. The issue will no doubt continue to be debated.

JEWISH SENSITIVITIES OF TRANSLATION (NEW TESTAMENT). The second contemporary problem for the translator also concerns the choice either of dynamic equivalence or formal correspondence. Christian translators of the New Testament have options in how to translate the word, "the Jews," especially in the Gospel of John. There are many examples where "the Jews" in John is the equivalent to "the chief priests and elders" in the other Gospels. There are places in John where "the Jews" are spoken of in a positive context, e.g., "salvation is from the Jews" (John 4:22). There are, however, many places in John that could make the reader think that John is antisemitic. The impression is given that John makes Jesus a non-Jew, rather than a Jew, put to death by Jews, rather than by Gentiles.

Some proposals to solve this problem are to excise passages. Others wish to use dynamic equivalent expressions for "the Jews," as: "my own people"; "in our law"; "some Jews"; "the Jewish leaders"; "the Judeans"; "those opposing him"; "religious leaders." Some demur and prefer a more formal correspondent rendering of "the Jews" since the substitutes do not express John's dualistic thought or his fondness for collective nouns. Yet others think that it is only part of the overall polemical rhetoric of the day.

The Episcopalians have taken a lead on this issue. In their *Guidelines for Jewish-Christian Relations* of 1988, they state: "It is recommended that in the services of the Church and in church school teaching, careful explanations be made of all the New Testament texts which appear to place all Jews in an unfavorable light, particularly the expression 'the Jews' in the English translations of the Gospel of John and in other references."

Other sensitivities are more of an ecumenical nature than a strict translation problem. Some English translations are concerned about the use of the phrase "Old Testament" and have begun to use the phrase the "Hebrew Scriptures." The (NRSV) New Revised Standard Version has on a title page: "The Hebrew Scriptures commonly called The Old Testament." The others have proposed, "First Testament" and "Second Testament" or "Prime Testament" for "Old Testament."

Another ecumenical problem is the ordering of the books in the Bible. The Jewish ordering of the books is not maintained in Christian Bibles so that the Major and Minor Prophets remain as an introduction to the New Testament. The Jewish order ends the Old Testament with the Writings.

TRANSLATING THE NAME OF GOD. A third translation problem is the rendering of the Tetragrammaton. Since the Septuagint and through the Vulgate and the KJV, overwhelmingly the translation has been the equivalent of "the Lord." Even before the closing of the Hebrew biblical canon, the divine name was not pronounced, out of reverence. Later in the New Testament, there is a tendency to avoid saying the name by substituting a surrogate, e.g., "heaven." After World War II, R. Knox, the Jerusalem Bible, the Anchor Bible, and the A.B. Traina *Holy Name Bible* used the Tetragrammaton with supplied vowels, i.e., "Yahweh." E. Fox's *The Five Books of Moses* (1995), a formal correspondent translation, uses just the four consonants without vowels (YHWH), leaving it to the reader to utilize his or her preferred reading ("Lord," "Hashem," etc.). This spelling is fairly standard scholarly practice as well (cf. many volumes of the *Anchor Bible*), and in this vein, one notes the orthography of the Tetragrammaton in Dead Sea Scroll manuscripts, where it alone is written in the older ("Canaanite") Hebrew script. The revised edition of the Plaut *Torah* (2005) has returned to the Mendelssohnian "The Eternal," also popular in French translations. The crucial question here is whether one uses a dynamic equivalent of a proper name and not a title, such as "the LORD," or respects an ancient Masoretic sensitivity.

THE NATURE OF BIBLE TRANSLATION. With all that Bible translation involves detailed philological work, it should not be ignored that it is also, ultimately, about performance in the artistic sense. Many analogies present themselves. One could cite the task of the dramaturg in the theater: establishing a good text, being conversant with historical background and historical performance practice, sensing the proper tone of the work, and monitoring the unfolding of the performance, with the ultimate goal of remaining true to guiding principles and an overall concept of what the work is. Or one could turn to the task of the orchestral conductor, where, once again, it is crucial to establish an accurate working score, to have a sense of past performance history, and to come up with a compelling conception of the piece, marshalling one's forces to present it as clearly as possible. Whether one accepts that the Bible was originally oral or written, it is clear that from antiquity it was recited aloud in some form, whether in public or in private (similar to the Koran), and attention must be paid to this "live" aspect of the text. Many Bible translations have been conceived, as was the King James Version, "to be read in churches," and this fact has had an immeasurable influence on the history of translations.

[Everett Fox (2nd ed.)]

Jewish Languages

JUDEO-PERSIAN. As *Maimonides (*Iggeret Teiman*) attests, a Persian translation of the Pentateuch was in existence centuries before Muhammad. In fact, theological works of the Sassanid period (*Dinkard* and *Shikand Gumanik Vigar*) contain biblical quotations which point to the existence of a Pahlavi version. Nevertheless, this fact and even the reference to the reading of the Book of Esther in the dialects of Media and Elam (Meg. 18a) provide no firm evidence for the existence of a complete or partial translation of the Bible into these languages. The earliest such text is a Pentateuch of 1319 written in *Judeo-Persian, and there are also manuscripts of the Pentateuch, Psalms, and even fragments of the Apocrypha, all predating the 16th century. Their stylistic uniformity suggests that there may possibly have been a school of Judeo-Persian Bible translation in the 14th–15th centuries. The earliest printed text is the Pentateuch of Jacob b. Joseph *Tavus, apparently based on a 13th-century version, which appeared in the Polyglot Pentateuch of Constantinople (1546); here the Judeo-Persian is printed in Hebrew characters. There are also some modern Bible translations in this dialect, notably versions of Psalms, Proverbs, and Job published by a Bokharian Jew, Benjamin Kohen, in 1883, and Simon *Ḥakham's translation of the Pentateuch (5 vols., 1901–02).

See also *Judeo-Persian Literature.

JUDEO-TATAR. The Bible translations into Judeo-Tatar (not to be confused with *Judeo-Tat, spoken by the "Mountain Jews" of Daghestan and the Caucasus) originated among the Karaites of the Crimea, Russia. Authorship of the Tatar translation claimed by the Karaites has been disputed by the Krimchaks (Rabbanite Jews of the Crimea), who also used such texts. There are manuscript copies of this version in the Firkovich collection (Leningrad Library) and elsewhere. Fragments of the Judeo-Tatar Bible are contained in Benjamin *Mussafia's *Zekher Rav* (1831), which includes translations of certain words into Turkish by Joseph Solomon of Eupatoria, a Karaite *ḥakham*. A Hebrew Pentateuch intended for the Karaites of Turkey and the Crimea, containing a translation into Judeo-Tatar (i.e., in Hebrew characters), was published in Constantinople (1836). A complete Judeo-Tatar Bible (ed. Mordecai Tirishkan) followed soon after (4 vols., 1841–42).

[Isaak Dov Ber Markon]

JUDEO-ROMANCE LANGUAGES. During the Middle Ages, there were Jewish translations of the entire Bible in the Romance languages. They appear to have a common source – a traditional version of the Bible in Low Latin, which the Jews of imperial Rome used in the synagogue and for the purposes of study. This translation was probably transmitted orally, and in time the text underwent morphological and phonetic modifications as Low Latin developed into the various Romance languages in various countries. The Judeo-Romance Bible translations are therefore as old as the Romance languages themselves, and much older than the manuscripts containing them or the glosses relating to them. This development may be traced most fully in Italy, where the Jews lived uninterruptedly from Roman times. Traces of the old Latin translation have been discovered in Jewish funerary inscriptions at Rome and in southern Italy dating from early Christian times; a novella of Justinian (553 C.E.) mentions a Jewish Bible translation in the vernacular. Hebrew works from the 11th century onward contain glosses, and in the 13th century the rabbis of Rome decided that for liturgical purposes, Italian versions of the Bible might be considered equivalent to the Targum. From the 15th century onward, Romance dialect versions of the Bible and of the prayer book were preserved in manuscript, as well as handwritten glossaries and a Bible dictionary in Hebrew, Italian, and Arabic (*Makre Dardeke*), which was first printed (at Naples?) in 1488. Their impact has been felt in modern translations.

Several Judeo-Romance versions of biblical books are extant, including a 14th-century *Judeo-Provençal fragment of the Book of Esther by Crescas du Caylar, and manuscript translations of Song of Songs (the oldest dating from the 13th century) and of the entire Bible written in *Judeo-Italian. Although the Old French versions have been lost, their existence is attested by six 13th-century glossaries and two complete biblical dictionaries in *Judeo-French. There may also have been Jewish translations of portions of the Bible in Catalan, since (as in the case of Old French and Judeo-Provençal) biblical glosses (*La'azim) and glossaries in this dialect have inspired scholarly research (see below).

LADINO (JUDEO-SPANISH). Judeo-Spanish translations of the Bible dating from the 13th to 15th centuries were among the earliest Castilian versions of the Bible, and three manuscripts have been preserved in the Escorial Library, Madrid. These early works were invariably written in Latin characters, as was the famous Ferrara Bible (1553), published by Abraham *Usque, of which there were separate editions for Jews and Christians. After the Spanish expulsion, however, Ladino versions of the Bible were mainly printed in Hebrew characters for the use of Jewish refugees in the Sephardi Diaspora. These translations, which were clearly distinguishable from Spanish Christian editions, include Psalms (Constantinople, 1540), the Pentateuch (in the Polyglot Pentateuch, Constantinople, 1546), and Prophets (Salonika, 1572). Judeo-Spanish Bible translations were later produced by Manasseh Ben Israel (1627) and Abraham b. Isaac Assa, whose complete Bible (Constantinople, 1739–45) was long the most popular work of its kind among Sephardi communities of the Orient (see also *Ladino Literature).

[Umberto (Moses David) Cassuto]

YIDDISH. The oldest Yiddish versions of the Bible stem from the scholarly work of German rabbis who produced Yiddish (or Judeo-German = *Juedisch-Deutsch*) glosses of biblical texts from the 13th century. These were subsequently inserted in rabbinical commentaries and specialized glossaries were prepared, five dating to the 13th–14th centuries and four to the 14th–15th centuries. Copies of these have been preserved in various German libraries. Prose translations of various biblical books were written from the 14th century onward, and these were specifically designed for the unlearned and for women, in view of the widespread ignorance of Hebrew. Such "*Teitsch*" versions include a 14th–15th century translation of Proverbs, Job, and Psalms (the oldest extant); one of Psalms (before 1490); and others of Psalms, Proverbs, and the Pentateuch. These are literal and awkward, and appear to derive from a 13th-century source.

Rhymed Yiddish translations of the Bible, which also appeared in medieval times, owe their origin to the influence of the Bibles and chronicles in rhyme produced by German writers from the ninth century onward. There are also rhymed Yiddish paraphrases of the Bible, which flourished in the 14th century, predating the rhymed translations. These paraphrases, unlike the translations, go beyond the original text and show the influence of German epic minstrelsy. The best-known work of this type is the so-called *Shemuel Bukh, a rhymed paraphrase of I and II Samuel, the prototype of which appeared no later than about 1400, although the first printed edition is of a much later date (Augsburg, 1543). The *Shemuel Bukh* served as the model for a host of other biblical paraphrases in rhyme, including: three 14th-century paraphrases of Esther; one of Judges (14th–15th centuries); paraphrases of the five *Megillot*, which were apparently the work of Abraham b. Elijah of Vilna (15th–16th centuries); paraphrases of Judges and Isaiah by Moses b. Mordecai of Mantua (before 1511); and poetic reworkings of the account of the death of Moses and the *Akedah*. The last two display great originality, adorning the biblical stories with legendary motifs drawn from the midrashic *aggadah*, and endowing the biblical personalities and events described with medieval characteristics. By the 15th century there were also prose paraphrases of certain biblical books, most of which have, however, been lost. The existence of such literary works is indicated by the late 15th-century *Ma'asiyyot* ("tales"), stories in prose about the *Akedah*, Jonah, and King Solomon.

From the 16th century onward no new type of Bible translation made its appearance. The only noticeable development was the steady displacement of other genres by the prose paraphrases. Three notable Yiddish glossaries of the Bible, all rooted in medieval scholasticism, were the so-called *Sefer R. Anschel* (Cracow, 1584), Moses Saertels' *Be'er Moshe* (Prague, 1605–05?), and *Lekaḥ Tov* (Prague, 1604). The same scholastic tradition characterizes the oldest printed Yiddish editions of the Pentateuch with *haftarot* and the five *Megillot*, that of the convert Michael Adam (Constance, 1544); another by the convert Paulus Aemilius (Augsburg, 1544); a revision of the Constance edition by Leo Bresch (Cremona, 1560); and a further translation based on the preceding Cremona edition, together with a summary of Rashi's commentary in Yiddish (Basle, 1583). The publishers rarely did more than bring the Yiddish translations up to date, and this was also true of the Yiddish version of Psalms by Elijah *Levita (Venice, 1545), which closely followed earlier editions by Moses b. Mordecai of Brescia (before 1511) and Joseph Yakar (*siddur,* Ichenhausen, 1544). Two further Yiddish translations of the 16th century were Shalom b. Abraham's Judith and Susanna (Cracow, 1571) and an edition of Isaiah with extracts from Kimḥi's commentary (Cracow, 1586). Toward the end of the 17th century, two complete Yiddish Bibles appeared almost simultaneously: one by Jekuthiel b. Isaac Blitz (Amsterdam, 1676–78) and another by Josef Witzenhausen (Amsterdam, 1679), which was more significant than the first.

Rhymed Yiddish translations were rare after the 16th century. They include one of Judges (Mantua, 1564); one of Genesis (Venice, 1551); Moses Stendal's edition of Psalms (Cracow, before 1586); a 17th-century version of Psalms (the *Teitsch-Hallel*), whose author copied the verse form of contemporary German church hymnology; and *Mizmor le-Todah* (Amsterdam, 1644) rhymed translations of stories from the Pentateuch and the *Megillot* by David b. Menahem ha-Kohen. Rhymed paraphrases of various biblical books were still popular in the 16th and 17th centuries, the outstanding example being the *Shemuel Bukh* (see above), of which there were at least seven editions during the years 1543–1612. Another work of this type was a version of the Pentateuch, Joshua, and Judges, written by Jacob b. Isaac ha-Levi of Roethelsee (*Kehillat Ya'akov*, 1692).

Later, Yiddish prose paraphrases of the Bible were much in favor. Some notable examples were the so-called *Lang Megile* on Esther (Cracow, 1589); the *Teutsch-Khumesh* by *Isaac b. Samson ha-Kohen of Prague (Basle, 1590), a paraphrase of the Pentateuch with Midrashim; the *Ze'enah u-Re'enah* (*Tsenerene*; cf. Song 3:11) by Jacob b. Isaac Ashkenazi (Lublin, 1616), a reworking of the Pentateuch filled with edifying and instructive material drawn from the Talmud, the Midrash, and folklore; and the *Sefer ha-Maggid* by the same author (Lublin, 1623), an adaptation of the Prophets and Hagiographa with Rashi's commentary.

The most famous of these was *Ẓe'enah u-Re'enah*, which ran to many editions and continued to serve as a second Bible among East European Jewry during the 19th century. An extract was translated into Latin by Johann Saubert in 1661, and the whole work into French by A. Kraehhaus in 1846. A German version (with an introduction by A. Marmorstein) was serialized in 1911.

With the decline of Yiddish among German Jewry, from the early 19th century onward, these Bible translations and paraphrases were read only by the Jews of Eastern Europe and the U.S. Mendel *Lefin (of Satanow), an early 19th-century Polish apostle of the Enlightenment, produced an excellent Yiddish version of Proverbs (Tarnopol, 1817). Bible translations of outstanding linguistic and artistic merit were later written by two leading Yiddish poets of the 20th century – I.L. *Peretz (the Five Scrolls, 1925) and *Yehoash (pen name of S. Bloomgarden; Yiddish Bible, 1910ff.). The latter, in particular, was considered a great masterpiece of the Yiddish language. It became a standard work for Yiddish-speaking homes throughout the world. In 1929 Yehuda Leib (Zlotnick) *Avida translated Ecclesiastes into Yiddish. N. Gross published fluid versions of the Five Scrolls (1936) and the Torah (1948). See also *Yiddish Literature.

English

EARLIEST VERSIONS. The Latin Bible, in an essentially Italian form, first reached England in the sixth or seventh century; however, it should be understood that until the late Middle Ages, the "Bible" of the West comprised, for practical purposes, only the Gospels, Catholic (i.e., canonical) Epistles, and Psalms. Codices of the complete Latin Bible were almost unknown before approximately 800 C.E. From the Latin, the Venerable Bede (d. 735) translated the Gospel according to John into Anglo-Saxon, and Aelfric of Eynsham made abridgments of the Old Testament from Genesis to Judges and of some other books. Caedmon wrote an Anglo-Saxon verse paraphrase of Genesis and other portions of the Bible (c. 670) and Alfred the Great attached an Anglo-Saxon version of the Ten Commandments and parts of the Pentateuch to his legal code. The earliest attempts, however, took the form of continuous interlinear glosses to the Latin, e.g., as in the Lindisfarne Gospels (ca. 700; British Museum, coll. Cotton, Ms. Nero D. IV). Psalters with interlinear glosses seem to have been used, particularly in women's convents (coll. Cotton, Ms. Vespasian A.I. from the ninth century, perhaps being the earliest surviving work). Eadwine's Canterbury Psalter (Trinity College, Cambridge, Ms. R. 17. 1) dates from the middle of the 12th century. The Psalter of Richard Rolle of Hampole (c. 1300–49) enjoyed wide popularity and ecclesiastical approbation up to the Reformation.

THE LOLLARD BIBLE. The first comprehensive English translation was produced late in the 14th century; it is connected with the Wycliffite movement, whose adherents were nicknamed Lollards and were treated by the Church as heretics. John Wycliffe (c. 1328–1384) was himself responsible, though not necessarily as a translator, for the earlier version made from the Latin. In his insistence that the Bible, not the Church, was the source of faith, he anticipated the Reformation. The Old Testament part of the translation was done, at least in part, by Nicholas of Hereford, whose translation is characterized by a slavish adherence to the Latin. John Purvey is assumed to have been mainly responsible for the later version (c. 1388), the preface to which acknowledges the use made of *Nicholas de Lyra's commentary on the Old Testament. This version is consequently the first point at which the English Bible was subjected, albeit at one remove, to the influence of Jewish exegesis. Numerous manuscripts of the Lollard Bible are extant, and it was disseminated in part by word of mouth because of ecclesiastical hostility. A measure of the opposition to Wycliffe's work is the fact that in 1425, some four decades after his death, he was denounced at the Council of Constance; three years later, his remains were exhumed and burned.

The Lollard Bible received limited circulation due to its predating the invention of movable type; there was no printed English Bible before the Reformation.

THE 16TH–17TH CENTURIES. Several interacting factors afford the background to the "classical" period of English translations, which may be dated from W. Tyndale (New Testament, 1526) to the King James ("Authorized") Version of 1611. A new theology was to lead, in Protestant churches, to the Authorized Version (1611). The revival of learning meant the provision of chairs for teaching Greek and Hebrew at Oxford and Cambridge, as well as the dawning of a critical approach to the texts of both the Greek New Testament and the Latin Vulgate, printed editions of which were prepared by Erasmus. Estienne (Stephanus) in Paris also published scholarly texts. The polyglot Bible editions made it easier to compare the ancient versions. The new (or rediscovered) methodology of textual criticism demonstrated the importance of basing vernacular versions on original and not on secondary texts; Reuchlin and Luther in Germany were pioneers of the new scholarship. A new theology was to lead, in the reformed churches, to the recognition that ultimate Christian authority lay in Scripture, rather than in the tradition of the Church, and conversely, in the Catholic Church it led to insistence by the Council of Trent in 1546 on the "authentic" quality of the Latin Vulgate, notwithstanding the possibly greater accuracy of contemporary Latin versions of the Bible. Finally, the period – which embraces the age of Shakespeare – witnessed the spectacular advance of the English language as a literary medium.

TYNDALE AND HIS SUCCESSORS. It is primarily to William Tyndale (1494?–1536) that the English-speaking world owes its Bible. He was educated at Oxford, and subsequently at Cambridge, where he learned Greek and was influenced by the writings of Erasmus and, perhaps, by Luther. By the time his revised New Testament appeared in 1535, Tyndale had already learned enough Hebrew on the continent to publish the Pentateuch (1530), followed by Jonah (1531) and further lectionary Old Testament material (1534); the "historical" books of Joshua–II Chronicles, left by Tyndale in manuscript, and somehow preserved after his execution at Antwerp, were printed in 1537 in the *Matthews Bible*, edited by Tyndale's disciple John Rogers but pseudonymously named after two of the New Testament disciples, Thomas and Matthew.

Tyndale's great contribution, along with his impeccable learning, was to create a new and supple English, with a Saxon diction and clarity that encouraged reading aloud. Over two-thirds of the King James Version (properly, of the books he translated), and thus of the English-speaking world's historical experience of much of the Bible, comes from his hand, despite his remove at several generations from the later classic. His ear was unerring, and even those immortal phrases coined by the King James committee, such as "a still small voice" (I Kings 19:12), often owe something to his creativity (in this case, "a small still voice"). It should be noted that, through the medium of the 1917 JPS translation, which is basically the King James-based Revised Version of 1885 in Jewish garb, Tyndale has strongly influenced the ways in which English-speaking Jews have experienced the Torah and Former Prophets, up to the appearance of the NJV ("New JPS Version") in 1962.

An illustration of Tyndale's way with language, in modern spelling, may be seen in his rendering of Ex. 4:10–16:

> And Moses said unto the Lord: Oh my Lord, I am not eloquent, no not in times past and namely since thou hast spoken unto thy servant: but I am slow mouthed and slow tongued. And the Lord said: who hath made man's mouth, or who hath made the dumb or the deaf, the seeing or the blind? Have not I the Lord? Go therefore and I will be with thy mouth and teach thee what thou shalt say. And he said: Oh my Lord, send I pray thee whom thou wilt. And the Lord was angry with Moses and said: I know Aaron thy brother the Levite that he can speak. And moreover behold, he cometh out against thee, and when he seeth thee, he will be glad in his heart. And thou shalt speak to him and put the words in his mouth, and I will be with thy mouth and with his mouth, and will teach you what you shall do. And he shall be thy spokesman unto the people: he shall be thy mouth, and thou shalt be his God….

The King James translators follow the Hebrew structure a bit more closely, in such passages as, "neither heretofore, nor since thou hast spoken" (Tyndale: "no not in times past and namely since thou hast spoken"), "send, I pray thee, by the hand *of him whom* thou wilt send" (Tyndale: "send I pray whom thou wilt"), and "he shall be, *even* he shall be to thee instead of a mouth, and thou shalt be to him instead of a god" (Tyndale: "he shall be thy mouth, and thou shalt be his God"). Yet Tyndale's natural directness of language is winning, and illustrates his stated goal of helping even the "boy that driveth the plow" to understand the Bible, without sacrificing elegance. It is astonishing that the English of 1530 should be clear and readable basically half a millennium later, yet that is precisely the case with this first "modern" English translation of the Bible.

Tyndale's Bible, a factor in promoting the English Reformation, raised hostility less by its content than by its Luther-inspired prefaces and provocative notes, a number of which rail against popes and monks. Ironically, within a year of Tyndale's martyrdom, his famous prayer at the stake – "Lord, open the King of England's eyes" – was answered when Henry VIII broke definitively with the Church of Rome. In 1535 Miles Coverdale, Tyndale's assistant, produced an English Bible under royal auspices, which was actually a private enterprise, and was based not on the original texts but on the Vulgate, together with Pagninus' literal Latin rendering of the Old Testament, and other versions including those of Luther and Erasmus. It was followed by the aforementioned Matthew's Bible of 1537, in which the remaining books were the work of Coverdale himself. This in turn was the basis of the "Great" Bible (so called because of its size, appropriate for public reading) of 1539, known also as Cranmer's from the preface to the 1540 edition, which Henry VIII had ordered to be placed in every parish church. Coverdale was editor, but some of his earlier provocative inclusions were dropped, and although surplus words found in the Vulgate Latin were rendered into English, they were typographically distinguished. Some Latinisms of diction crept in. The translation of the Old Testament was improved by reference to *Muenster's Hebrew-Latin Bible of 1535. This edition's Psalter is the one that has been retained ever since in Anglican church usage.

ANGLICAN, CALVINIST, AND CATHOLIC BIBLES, 1560–1610. In spite of the radicalism of his ecclesiastical politics, Henry VIII was doctrinally a moderate conservative; the successors of his "Great" Bible, produced under Elizabeth I and James I, reflected the "Anglican Compromise." The Scotsman John Knox was the most prominent Briton to take refuge from the Catholic restoration of Mary, in Geneva, where he began to study Hebrew. At the time, not only was *Calvin himself teaching there, but French and Italian Bible-making was also in progress. English versions of Psalms were issued from 1557 on, corrected, and finally superseded by the complete *Geneva* or *"Breeches" Bible* (so-called from its rendering of Gen. 3: 7) of 1560, an elegant and powerful rendering that retains much of Tyndale's accomplishment. It was the first English version in which the poetic sections of the Hebrew Bible – fully half of the text – were translated directly from the original. Typographically, additional words which were idiomatically essential were printed in italic type; the remainder, in roman instead of the black letter of earlier prints. It also contained illustrations and, more importantly, helpful notes which clarify the text at many points. The influence of David Kimhi's commentaries may be observed in the Geneva Bible, which was reprinted until 1644, in well over one hundred editions, reflecting its hold on English hearts until finally overtaken by KJV. It was the Bible of Shakespeare and the Pilgrims.

The next major translation, the *Bishops' Bible* (1568), was fathered by Archbishop Parker, himself responsible for translating Genesis, Exodus, and some of the New Testament. It was intended to offset the pressures of the returned exiles of Mary's reign for an English church settlement on Calvinistic lines and the popularity of their Geneva version from which, however, the Bishops retained some notes and renderings. The contributors were enjoined to avoid polemical exegesis, and were directed to correct the Great Bible, following Pagninus and Muenster for the Hebrew. This Bible was not a great success; its importance lies in its forming the basis of the Authorized Version of 1611, which, in the opinion of many, would have been better served by taking the *Geneva Bible* as its model.

English Catholics who fled to Flanders under Elizabeth I produced their own New Testament at Rheims (1582), followed by the Old Testament printed at Douai (1609–10). This version – characterized by the outspokenly apologetic tone of its editorial matter – was naturally based on the Latin Vulgate.

THE KING JAMES, OR "AUTHORIZED," VERSION, 1611. The incomplete success of the *Bishops' Bible* had made James I sympathetic to pleas from scholars – especially, perhaps, the Hebraist Hugh *Broughton – for a fresh translation; after its publication in 1611, printing of the *Bishops' Bible* was discontinued, and thus the King James version became – without any explicit declaration – the "Authorized" Version, i.e., that "appointed to be read in churches." The work of translation was done by a team of 54, in Westminster, Oxford, and Cambridge; the 47 identified translators including most of the best English Orientalists (although Broughton was himself too cantankerous to be included) and Greek scholars. By now there were much-improved tools of biblical scholarship in the shape of dictionaries and The Antwerp Polyglot Bible (*Biblia Regia*) of 1572, and the team included experts in the cognate Oriental languages, particularly Syriac and Arabic. In addition, the translators paid substantial attention to the Latin version of the Hebrew by the apostate Jew Immanuel *Tremellius (1579), who had settled in England and taught at Cambridge. Then, too, the *Geneva Bible* notes are said to have made James uncomfortable. The *Bishops' Bible* was the basis of the new work; that of Geneva contributed something in precision, and that of Rheims, some Latinizing vocabulary, although standard Anglican ecclesiastical terms were retained. Caution sometimes relegated the correct translation to the status of a marginal variant. Further editorial treatment – other than chapter summaries and headlines – was excluded *a priori*; the loss of the Geneva notes is particularly unfortunate. At the same time, some of the translators' own notes have survived, and the full introduction to the translation is immensely illuminating. As for the language of the work, by 1611, the diction and grammar were slightly archaic, and although the Geneva version was far from being superseded – Lancelot *Andrewes, himself one of King James' translators, continued to use it in his sermons, and it is quoted in the introduction to KJV – the Authorized Version ultimately achieved, and has retained, a preeminent and quasi-sacrosanct position within the English-speaking world. Of other unofficial English ventures in translation prior to the late 19th century none achieved widespread popularity save H. Ainsworth's Psalms (1612), introduced by the Pilgrim Fathers to America, and sundry metrical Psalters such as that of Tate and Brady (1696).

G. Hammond notes that one of the great merits of the KJV, despite its defects of a tone that is sometimes too lofty and a tendency to flatten the style, so that the entire Bible reads as if it were a uniform text, is that in its "care to maintain verbal equivalence" – that is, to in the main keep key words in English as they repeat in the Hebrew – it manages to both echo Hebrew style and create an equivalent in English. It also, following Tyndale, reproduces the Hebrew copula *vav*, usually by "and," a practice dropped by many modern translations.

1611–1945. Subsequent nonofficial translations have been inspired partly by doctrinal and sectarian considerations (for Jewish enterprises), partly by a scholarly desire for improved accuracy, and partly by the motive of either "improving" the literary quality of the English (e.g., E. Harwood, New Testament, 1768) or colloquializing it (e.g., D. Mace, New Testament, 1729). A Revised Version of the Bible was published in Britain in 1881 (New Testament) and 1885 (Old Testament) in order to modernize the 17th-century language of the King James and to revise it in accordance with 19th-century scholarship. The American Standard Version, in cooperation with the Revised, appeared in 1901. Both translations soon proved of great importance to scholarship, but were not widely employed in worship. Subsequent versions created by individuals were those of J. Moffatt (1913–24; revised 1935), E.J. Goodspeed

(New Testament, 1923) and J.W. Powis Smith with others (Old Testament, 1927).

ANGLO-JEWISH VERSIONS. From the early 18th century, progressive anglicization of Jewish settlers in England and America rendered first the Spanish, and ultimately the Yiddish, translations inadequate for educational needs. The King James Version became current in spite of the Christianizing tendency of some of its "headlines" to the Prophets. The Pentateuch with *haftarot* published in London by David Levi (1787) appears to be the King James Version but without offending captions and with Jewish annotations. An earlier Pentateuch was produced by A. Alexander in 1785. In the U.S. Isaac *Leeser published a Pentateuch (5 vols., 1845) and subsequently a complete Old Testament in English (1853), which incorporated matter from the Mendelssohn school's German translation and included the Hebrew text. Leeser used the KJV as a basis, de-Christianizing some renderings (e.g., substituting "this young woman" for *ha-almah* in Is. 7:14) and incorporating rabbinic readings of the Bible into his text via parentheses. Leeser's version stood as pre-eminent in the American Jewish community until the appearance of the "Old JPS" translation of 1917. C.G. *Montefiore's *Bible for Home Reading* was published in 1896. A. *Benisch issued a *Jewish School and Family Bible* (1851–61) and M. *Friedlaender's *Jewish Family Bible* (1881) used the Authorized Version. After the Revised Version of 1885 had appeared, the London Jewish Religious Education Board published (1896) a pamphlet listing essential emendations to make that version acceptable for Jewish use. These modifications were among the material utilized for the version published by the *Jewish Publication Society of America in 1917, which also took into account 19th-century Jewish Bible scholarship and rabbinical commentary (e.g., *Malbim); the edition – issued by a committee representative of both traditional and Reform Judaism – was basically the work of Max L. Margolis. The New Jewish Version, in the course of translation by an American Jewish team presided over by H.M. Orlinsky, while probably being more open than any earlier Jewish version to the findings of non-Jewish biblical scholarship, still remains tied to the Masoretic text, even though it incorporated on its margin emendations based on evidence gathered from ancient versions of Hebrew manuscripts. Its Pentateuch, published in 1962, has consequently met with substantial criticism from Orthodox Jewish circles. Two traditional Pentateuchs are the *Pentateuch and Haftorahs* edited by Chief Rabbi J.H. Hertz (1929–36), which first used the Revised Version and later the 1917 JPS translation – although it was popularly supposed that the translations were Hertz's own – and I. Levi's Hirsch Pentateuch (1958–62), translated from the German [but see Torah Translations by Jews below].

[Raphael Loewe / Everett Fox (2nd ed.)]

SINCE WORLD WAR II. *Introduction.* From 1611 to 1900, some 500 English biblical translations were unable to break the dominance of the King James Version [KJV]. The history of Bible translation since World War II primarily consists of further attempts to break away from the KJV. Many, however, continue to prefer the spiritual nostalgia of the KJV, since it has influenced so much of the English-speaking world. President Harry Truman states it bluntly:

> We were talking about the Bible, and I always read the King James Version, not one of those damn new translations that they've got out lately. I don't know why it is when you've got a good thing, you've got to monkey about changing it. The KJV of the Bible is the best there is or ever has been or will be, and you get a bunch of college professors spending years working on it, and all they do is take the poetry out of it.

Nevertheless, each age has its need for a new translation; textual and philological scholarship make advances, English usage changes, and communities have specific needs. In the case of postwar translations, L. Greenspoon cites the cataclysmic events of the first half of the 20th century, along with the challenge posed by such forces as secularism and Communism, as providing a strong impetus to revisit the Bible, including its retranslation. Thus the last half-century has seen a large number of major renditions of the Bible into English.

Major Versions Since World War II. The fact is that since 1945, as many new translations of all or parts of the Bible have appeared in English as in the three centuries preceding. In the following discussion, major post-World War II versions will each be treated in terms of: (1) the history of the translation; (2) the principles of the translation and representative examples; and (3) the acceptance of the translation. It should be noted that many of these are available for instant comparison on popular Bible software programs, with sophisticated search capabilities.

Knox Bible [= Knox] (1949). History. The Knox Bible is the work of the writer-scholar, Ronald Arbuthnott Knox. His father was the Anglican bishop of Manchester, and both of Knox's grandfathers were Protestant divines. He was a prize-winning student in classics at Oxford and was to become an accomplished author, writing six detective novels. In 1917, at age 29, he joined the Roman Catholic Church.

For nine years he worked an eight-hour-day, six-day-a-week schedule, turning out 24 verses a day on the average. He published the New Testament (1945), the Psalms (1947), and the Old Testament (1948–1949), for which he received the Roman Catholic imprimatur (1955). This authorized version came to surpass the Douay-Rheims-Challoner Version for Catholics.

Principles and Representative Examples. Although Knox translated from the Vulgate, he took cognizance of the original languages in his footnotes. His knowledge of Greek was better than that of Hebrew. His work, however, is a translation of a translation, and the Clementine Vulgate (1592) at that. He stuck closely to the Clementine Vulgate, even where it was evidently in error. Since Jerome relied heavily on the Septuagint and on the Hexapla (which included various Greek versions), Knox's translation can be said to be a translation of a translation of a translation.

Knox has many deft characteristics in his translation. The poetry of the Bible is not printed as such. Describing parallelism, he said "To our notions of poetic composition, these remorseless repetitions are wholly foreign; when you have read a page or two on end, they begin to cloy." Knox was always looking for "what an Englishman would have said to express this."

His translation of the acrostics in the Hebrew Bible (seven Psalms, Prov. 31, and Lam. 1–4) appealed to him. In 1924, Knox had already published *A Book of Acrostics* and to get a literary taste of the original was his purpose: Ps. 25 (24 in Vulgate) *An Alphabet of Trust*: "All my heart goes out to thee … Belie not the trust … Can any that trust in the … Direct my way, Lord … Ever let thy truth guide … Forget not …"

Knox used "thou" throughout, and Latin spellings of proper names, for example, "Osee" for "Hosea" and "Paralipomena" for "Chronicles."

Many of his translations are idiomatically pleasing. For the Song of Songs 1:1: where RSV has "O that you would kiss me with the kisses of your mouth! For your love is better than wine," Knox reads: "A kiss from the lips. Wine cannot ravish the senses like that embrace."

Acceptance. In 1943, Roman Catholics were given the freedom to translate from the original Hebrew and Greek. Knox's translation has thus been dubbed the "last translation of the Vulgate." Other Catholic translations (Jerusalem Bible [JB] and New American Bible [NAB]) have overshadowed the work of Knox, although not for their prose style. Knox's aspiration was: "To secure, as far as possible, that Englishmen of 2150, if my version is still obtainable then, shall not find it hopelessly 'dated.'" The translation still reads well, but is at present out of print.

Revised Standard Version [= RSV] (1952) and New Revised Standard Version [= NRSV] (1989). History. The RSV is the most scholarly and most modern revision in the tradition of the King James Version. In 1929 the International Council of Religious Education already began to plan a revision of the American Standard Version, which is a 1901 revision of the KJV. In 1937 the council authorized a new version "which embodies the best results of modern scholarship."

The continuing committee of the RSV and NRSV has been working and publishing for half a century: the New Testament (1946), the Old Testament (1952), the books of the Apocrypha (1957), a second edition of the New Testament (1957), an *Oxford Annotated Bible* with a Catholic imprimatur (1966), an ecumenical [for Protestants, Catholics, and Eastern Orthodox] expanded edition with the Apocrypha (1977), a *Reader's Digest Bible*, which abridged the Old Testament to one-half of its original length (1982), and most recently the NRSV (1989). The RSV's formal correspondent translation lends itself to an effective use of a concordance, and one such was published by Richard Whitaker in 1980.

The RSV is a revision in line with the KJV, in contrast to the New English Bible [NEB], which is a completely new translation. In the *Preface to the RSV*: "The RSV is not a new translation in the language of today… It is a revision which seeks to preserve all that is best in the English Bible as it has been known and used through the years." In committee, a ⅔ vote was needed to change the American Standard Version. The RSV, then, aims to be a formal equivalent translation without being wooden.

Principles and Representative Examples. The RSV and NRSV translations are more radical than the slight alterations in the New American Standard Bible [= NASB] or the New King James Bible [=NKJV (1982)], which are both revisions of the KJV. This does not make the RSV a radical translation. Although the RSV is still more often a formal correspondent translation, the guiding maxim seems to be "as literal as possible," and "as free as necessary."

Many examples of modernizing the language of the American Standard Version could be cited. At Gen. 31:36: "Jacob was wroth, and chode with Laban," became in RSV (and NRSV): "Then Jacob became angry, and upbraided Laban."

New forays into modern scholarship show something more than a conservative attitude. Of 13 emendations of Isaiah from the Dead Sea Scrolls, M. Burrows has changed his opinion, "A brief review will show that even in these 13 places the superiority of the manuscript's reading is not always certain. For myself I must confess that in some cases where I probably voted for the emendation I am now convinced that our decision was a mistake, and the Masoretic reading should have been retained."

In the NRSV (1989) there is a new concern for the use of more inclusive language. The NRSV has been even more aggressive than the NEB concerning this point. Ps. 54:3: where the RSV had "insolent men" and "ruthless men" and the word "men" was not actually in the original, the NRSV has rendered "the insolent" and "the ruthless." Ps. 1:1: "Blessed is the man who walks not in the counsel of the wicked," has become in the NRSV: "Happy are those who do not follow the advice of the wicked." The "Fathers" of Israel are now "ancestors." The expression "son of man" in Ezekiel is now rendered in NRSV as "mortal." Yet, masculine metaphors, such as referring to God as "Father," were left intact. There is another type of inclusive language that refers to "people of color" that was also considered in NRSV. RSV had in Cant. 1:5: "I am very dark, but comely," while NRSV has: "I am black and beautiful."

RSV retained "thou" in prayer and praise addressed to the Deity. NRSV drops these remaining occurrences of "thou" and "thy" from the RSV. Another interesting update in language includes Prov. 6:6 in the RSV: "Go to the ant, O sluggard; consider her ways, and be wise." while the NRSV has: "Go to the ant, you lazybones; consider its ways, and be wise."

In NRSV there are many textual changes, especially in Deuteronomy and Jeremiah. The books of Samuel are most affected by text-critical considerations. The sheer number of footnotes in Samuel, for example, went from 174 in the RSV to 268. At 1 Sam. 4:1, the NRSV now follows the Greek and adds to the Hebrew: "In those days the Philistines mustered for war against Israel." In 1 Sam. 10, at the end of the chapter, NRSV adds four sentences from Qumran, which do not appear in the Masoretic Hebrew.

Acceptance. The RSV was burned in fundamentalist pulpits and the RSV committee was accused of being in league with the devil, especially because of their translating Isa. 7:14 as "young woman." The Christian Reformed Church rejected the RSV for pulpit use in 1954. The New International Version [NIV] evangelicals felt that all the messianic prophecies were taken out of the RSV Old Testament.

Despite all the uproar, in the first year, the RSV sold 2 million copies. Until the appearance of the NRSV, it enjoyed wide use on college campuses, especially in study editions such as the *Oxford Annotated Bible*.

Modern Language Bible [= MLB] (1959). History. This Bible is the work of a Dutch-born American, Gerritt Verkuyl, and 20 Hebrew scholars. In 1894, he came to America, not knowing English, and hired himself out as a farm hand in California. He was later educated at Princeton Theological Seminary and the University of Leipzig and did graduate work in Berlin. He served on the Presbyterian Board of Christian Education and became aware that the KJV "was only in part the language of the people." In 1936, in Berkeley, California, Verkuyl began his work of translating. He finished the New Testament in 1945 and completed the work in 1959. This translation was then known as the *Berkeley Version in Modern English*. A revised edition in 1969 took the name, *The Modern Language Bible, The New Berkeley Version in Modern English: Revised Edition, A Completely New Translation From the Original Languages With Informative Notes to Aid the Understanding of the Reader.*

Principles and Representative Examples. The editor in chief had a clear notion of his task of translating. He states: "I aimed at a translation less interpretive than Moffatt's, more cultured in language than Goodspeed's, more American than Weymouth's, and freer from the King James Version than the Revised Standard." The KJV, nevertheless, still so held sway that Verkuyl put in brackets translations that were based on unreliable manuscripts, simply because the KJV had them. Verkuyl also stated that the MLB was not to be a paraphrase, for "that leads so readily to the infusion of human thought with divine revelation, to the confusion of the reader."

For the most part his translation of the Old Testament was concordant or literal ("a translation of every word"). MLB does emend and does accept the Dead Sea Scroll of Isaiah (Isa. 14:4; 45:8; 56:12).

From the conviction of a conservative evangelical, the MLB translates passages using capital letters to point out messianic meanings: Gen. 3:15: "And He will crush your head." Psalm 2 has many capital letters: "The Lord and his Anointed are Supreme…. The Lord said to Me, Thou are My Son."

The footnotes are doctrinal and often moralistic: at Gen. 3:12: "Passing the buck is as old as humanity: it shows lack of repentance." At Ps. 23: "One reason this psalm is so deeply loved is that it comes warm from the heart of a man who knew the meaning of sheep and shepherd and who knew the Lord as thus related to him."

Acceptance. The MLB has been criticized for its wooden, stilted style. In a competitive market, this evangelical Bible has never been popular.

New World Translation [= NWT] (1961). History. This translation is the work of the Watchtower Bible and Tract Society, by a group of scholars who "wish to remain anonymous even after death." They published the New Testament (1950), the Old Testament (1961), and revisions (1970–1971).

Principles and Representative Examples. The most obvious characteristic of this translation is the representation of the divine name as "Jehovah." A feature of this translation is the frequent use of capitals for the plural "YOU," and for the plural imperative. Since the English "you" is ambiguous as to singular and plural, the meaning often suffers. One example from the NWT is Hosea 2:1 [Masoretic Text 2:3]: "say to your brothers, 'My people!' and to your sisters, 'O woman shown mercy!'"

Another venturesome point in the NWT is that the translators use the term "Hebrew-Aramaic Scriptures" (instead of the deprecating "Old Testament"), and for "New Testament" they use "Christian Greek Scriptures." This is not, however, done in response to sensitivities of Jews, but rather because Witness theology denies that these are "covenants."

The translation style is wooden: Ex. 20:3: "You must not have any other gods against my face." Gen. 17:4: "You will certainly become father of a crowd of nations." Another notable feature is the translation's considerable use of the auxiliary verbs "proceeded to," "proved to be," "went on to," and "began" at the beginning of verses, where the Hebrew uses the narrative imperfect with consecutive *vav.*

Acceptance. Being an extremely biased denominational version, this translation is suitable only for the Jehovah's Witnesses, and even they often avoid it. According to the Bible Scholar H.H. Rowley, this version is an example of "how not to translate." Nevertheless, several million copies have been printed.

Anchor Bible [= Anchor] (1964–). History. The Anchor Bible was originally intended to be an ecumenical translation of the whole Bible, to be completed in 1970. Under the general editorship of D. Freedman, however, the series has become a scholarly project in which the individual volumes have come to serve as the standard works for study and reference in the field. Each is accompanied by extensive, often exhaustive, introduction, commentary, notes, and bibliography. *The Anchor Bible* and other sets of commentaries like the *Hermeneia Series* and Word Biblical Commentary have new translations that are not subject to the demands of a denomination which authorizes translations. They are translations by individuals – not by committee – and customarily have a freshness and creativity about them.

Principles and Representative Examples. The principles of translation are as different as the different authors, although the first workers for the Anchor Bible were students of William Foxwell Albright's methodology.

Acceptance. The Anchor Bible volumes are used primarily for study, and thus do not figure in wide public usage such as in congregations. At the same time, they are laboratories for future translations. For the Anchor Bible of the Psalms, E. Speiser's Genesis volume was a fresh approach, strongly influencing the NJV even though it officially appeared after that work. Mitchell Dahood, the author of the Psalms volume, emended extensively, relying on the use of other Semitic languages, especially Ugaritic, for elucidating the Hebrew. W. Propp, in the Exodus 1–18 volume, created a translation that experimentally sought to reflect the stylistic characteristics of the Hebrew text more closely than many of the other contributions to the series.

Jerusalem Koren Edition (1964). History. Koren Publishing published the first Hebrew biblical text edited, typeset, and printed in the State of Israel (1962). The Koren text was published with an English text on facing pages (1964) and called "The Jerusalem Koren Bible." (This should not be confused with the *The Jerusalem Bible* [= JB] (1966) and *The New Jerusalem Bible* [= NJB] (1985).) The presidents of the State of Israel are sworn in on this Bible.

Principles and Representative Examples. The English text is based on the Jewish Family Bible, a translation by Michael Friedlander (1881, 1884, repr. 1953) and edited by Harold Fisch (1964). Salient is its transliteration of Hebrew names such as "Iyyov" for "Job." The Hebrew accents and vowels have been rectified. The Qere is vocalized in the margin, leaving the Ketiv unvocalized in the text. The English text is a formal equivalent translation in line with KJV but follows the paragraphing of the Hebrew text.

Acceptance. With the publication of New Jewish Publication Version [NJV] from the years 1962–1982 and its one volume edition (1985), the Koren edition does not have wide circulation.

Jerusalem Bible [= JB] (1966) and New Jerusalem Bible [= NJB] (1985). History. The JB is the first complete Catholic Bible translated into English from the original languages; previously, Catholic translators had relied on the Vulgate. JB's history begins at the Ecole Biblique in Jerusalem, which in 1949 was entrusted with the Dead Sea Scrolls. Under the leadership of Père Roland de Vaux in the 1940s and 1950s, the Ecole Biblique published 43 individual fascicles of the books of the Bible (1948–1954), commentaries not entirely unlike the *Anchor Bible, World Biblical Commentary*, and *Hermeneia*, mentioned above.

The JB (1966) is a derivative of the one-volume abridgment of these French fascicles, *La Sainte Bible de Jérusalem* (1956). The English JB was translated by Alexander Jones of Christ's College, Liverpool, and 27 principal collaborators. It is a clear departure from the KJV and the Douay-Rheims-Challoner. The JB translation often verges upon a translation of a translation and this French connection is often evident in its choice of words. JB's scholarship benefits from the card catalog of the Ecole Biblique library, which lists every biblical article of the century according to verses treated. The footnotes, marginal notes, introductions, chronological tables, calendar, table of weights and measures, index of biblical themes handled in the notes, and maps, all make this both a study Bible and a translation with commentary. The notes reflect the best Catholic scholarship of its time. The JB weighs in just under five pounds, with some 2,062 pages.

The NJB (1985), edited by H. Wansbrough, corrected shortcomings of the JB. The NJB looked more closely at the original languages, reduced the number of Britishisms, depended on newer scholarship both for translation and footnotes, and generally became more readable.

Principles and Representative Examples. This dynamic equivalent translation is idiosyncratic for its use of Yahweh, the Tetragrammaton. The decision to translate the unpronounced name of the Lord is described in the introduction: "It is not without hesitation that this accurate form has been used, and no doubt those who may care to use this translation of the Psalms can substitute the traditional 'the Lord.'" Scholarship prevailed over Catholic theology. Many renderings were true to scholarship: Job 19:25: "This I know: that my Avenger lives, and he, the Last, will take his stand on earth," for the KJV: "For I know that my redeemer liveth, and that he shall at the latter day upon the earth." (NJB has "I know that I have a living Defender and that he will rise up last, on the dust of the earth.") The scholars often go to the Greek Septuagint while the NJV stays more closely to the Hebrew, often rearranges verses, and proposes conjectures (e.g., Isa. 53).

Acceptance. In 1966 nearly a million copies had been sold by Doubleday. The expense of the NJB, however, has not made it a best seller. Moreover, many comparable scholarly translations, such as NAB, RSV, NJB, REB, and NJV have not become commercial successes. All of these collectively are guessed to be less than 10 percent of the American market.

New American Bible [= NAB] (1970). History. The NAB is the first American Roman Catholic translation from the original languages. Originally, the Confraternity of Christian Doctrine [= CCD] asked the members of the Catholic Biblical Association to translate the Vulgate. This was to be a revision of the Douay-Rheims-Challoner English Version, which itself was a translation of the Latin Vulgate. The New Testament (1941) was translated first.

As a consequence, however, of Pius XII's liberating encyclical, *Divino Afflante Spiritu* (1943), Roman Catholics were permitted to abandon the CCD revision and translate from the original languages. This new Catholic translation appeared piecemeal: *Genesis to Ruth* (1952); *Job to Sirach* (1955); *Isaiah to Malachi* (1961); *Samuel to Macabees* (1969). Non-Catholics were included in the translation committee: Frank Cross did I–II Samuel; David Noel Freedman retranslated Genesis with expanded notes; and James A. Sanders, II Kings. The complete NAB with the deuterocanonicals appeared in 1970. Companion commentaries to the NAB are published under the auspices of the Catholic Biblical Association, *The Jerome Biblical Commentary* (1968) and the updated *The New Jerome Biblical Commentary* (1989).

A revised translation of the New Testament for the liturgical readings appeared in 1987 and was translated with Protestant cooperation. Since the Psalms were actually translated from the *New Latin Psalter* (1944–1945) of the professors of the Pontifical Biblical Institute at Rome, Psalms is in the process of being newly translated (1990) from the Hebrew.

Principles and Representative Examples. There is a strong Catholic bent both to the translation and to the footnotes: the traditional Catholic division of the Ten Commandments is presented (Ex. 20:1–17); Isa. 7:14 is translated as "virgin," and the footnote speaks of a "transcendent fulfillment" of this verse in Matthew; Ps. 51:7 is seen as "foreshadowing the basic Christian doctrine of original sin; the "manna" of Ex. 16:4 is seen as a type of Eucharist; Catholic spelling of proper names ("Isaias," "Osee," "Aggaeus," Paralipomenon," etc., was dropped. The NAB retains "Lord," where the JB/NJB have the Tetragrammaton. The "burnt offering" is rendered infectiously as the "holocaust." The Book of Samuel has been heavily guided by the Cave 4 materials from Qumran and the Greek Septuagint.

Acceptance. The NAB is highly respected and has found its place in the English liturgy of the Roman Catholic church. Theophile Meek of the Chicago Bible noted about the Sapiential books: "It is much more modern in its English and much truer to the original than the highly vaunted RSV." James Barr has said about NAB that it is in advance over NEB for its application of comparative philology and of textual study, keeping in step with the accepted opinion of scholars.

New English Bible [= NEB] (1970) and Revised English Bible [= REB] (1989). History. The NEB is a complete break from the KJV and is authorized by the main Christian churches of the British Isles. British chaplains during World War II complained that they had to translate the KJV for the soldiers into the current language of the day.

The idea of a Bible in contemporary language was proposed by the Church of Scotland (1946). The New Testament (1961) was directed by C.H. Dodd. The Old Testament (1970) was directed first by T.H. Robinson (d. 1957), then by Sir Godfrey Driver, whose use of Arabic for the understanding of difficult Hebrew words was well known in scholarly literature. The Apocrypha was directed by W.D. McHardy and G.D. Kilpatrick. Finally, after 24 years, the Old Testament and the Apocrypha were published (1970), along with a second edition of the New Testament containing 400 minor revisions. A further update of both testaments was published as the REB (1989), a major revision done under the direction of W.D. McHardy.

The NEB is a new translation and has departed from the Tyndale-King James tradition. With modernity of speech, with new meanings for words, with translating "sense for sense" not "word for word," with a boldness for emendation – often the easiest way out of a textual difficulty – and with a strong dependence on the versions, English Christians have truly abandoned the KJV.

Principles and Representative Examples. The NEB has made wide use of the versions and comparative Semitics, especially the use of Arabic for coming up with new meanings for the Hebrew (e.g., 2 Chr. 34:6: "he burnt down" in both NEB and REB; Num. 16:1: "challenged the authority" in both NEB and REB). Often, these new meanings are proposed to scholars for the first time in the NEB. Furthermore, the NEB has about 50 readings in Isaiah derived from the Dead Sea Scrolls. This boldness with the Dead Sea Scrolls is matched with a timidity in the use of Ugaritic.

Some renderings in the NEB engage the reader with its modernity. Ruth 1:1: "Long ago in the time of the Judges;" Ruth 2:1: Boaz is a "well-to-do-man." Some scatological "Driverisms" have made NEB famous or infamous. The most well known concerns Achsah in Judges 1:14: "broke wind," is now changed in REB "she dismounted from her donkey."

Some innovative characteristics of the NEB were not carried through to the REB: the single column page of NEB was replaced in REB with the traditional double column page, thus saving paper; NEB's three levels of indentation, reflecting the number of stressed syllables in Hebrew poetry, were not employed by REB; the marginal verse numbers of the NEB are put back inside the text of REB; the omission in NEB of the traditional superscriptions from the Psalter are restored in REB; the Hebrew *selah* in the Psalms, omitted by NEB, has been restored in the REB; the hybrid word "Jehovah" was used four times for "Lord" (Ex. 3:15; 6:3; 33:19; 34:5–6) in NEB and now in REB all are rendered "Lord"; some of the transpositions of verses in the NEB are returned to their original Masoretic Hebrew order in the REB (e.g., Job 14:21–22; Isa. 5:24–25, etc.); some NEB Britishisms were changed in the REB: "gaoler" in Isa. 10:4 to "prisoners"; "corn" to "grain" in Judg. 15:5.

In response to a period of radical change of language used in the churches, this Bible for the 1990s has abandoned the "thou" form of address for God. In addition, "O" as a form of address is mostly abandoned in REB. Numerous topical subheadings have been added in REB. The REB has also begun to use more inclusive language, especially where "men" applies to both genders. Ps. 8:4 in the NEB: What is man that thou shouldst remember him?" becomes in the REB: "What is a frail mortal, that you should be mindful of him?" Male references to the deity are retained, as are the metaphorical "king" and "son." Other inclusive sensitivity is found in Job 14:22: "His flesh upon him becomes black" becomes in REB "His kinsfolk are grieved for him." In general, REB plays less fast and loose with both Hebrew and English than its predecessor.

Acceptance. The NEB sold two million in its first two years; the newer REB became a Book-of-the-Month Club selection, as was the NEB, assuring high sales. This was buttressed by a 1989 poll of British churchgoers under 45 years old, which found that up to 80% preferred the modernized translations of the Scriptures. T.S. Eliot, however, criticized the style, compared with the KJV, as "vulgar, trivial and pedantic."

New American Standard Bible [= NASB] (1971; rev. 1995). History. The Lockman Foundation, a non-profit Christian organization from La Habra, California, published NASB New Testament (1963) and Old Testament (1971). The translation was carried out by 58 anonymous conservative Protestants, often teachers in seminaries. The purpose of the translation was to "preserve the scholarship and accuracy of the American Standard Version" and to use "a fluent and readable style."

Principles and Representative Examples. This formal equivalent translation is a wooden updating of the American Standard Version of 1901 which has nevertheless been praised for its accuracy. Each verse is printed as a separate paragraph; "Thou" is retained when the Deity is addressed; "Lord" is used for the Tetragrammaton.

Acceptance. With the appearance of the NIV, the popularity of the NASB has dropped off, although in 1990 the text has become accessible on computer. F.F. Bruce has said of the NASB: "If the RSV had never appeared, this revision of the American Standard Version would be a more valuable work than it is. As things are, there are few things done well by the NASB which are not done better by the RSV."

Living Bible [= LB] (1971). History. The LB grew out of Kenneth Taylor's desire to paraphrase the Bible for his 10 children, because they could not understand the American Standard Version of 1901 (a KJV revision) during family devotions. His vision grew from his Wheaton, Illinois, farmhouse until, like Tyndale – "the Father of the English Bible" – he wanted to bring the Bible to "every plowboy." He first paraphrased the Epistle to Romans (1956), and then the *Living Prophecies* (1965). The New Testament was finished in the same year as the *Living Psalms* (1967). Finally, he published the complete *Living Bible Paraphrased* (1971) in his own Tyndale Press.

Principles and Representative Examples. Taylor's work is an evangelical paraphrase – a restatement with the additive of evangelical theology. Some of his renditions that raise eyebrows are the following: Gen. 3:4: "That's a lie!' the serpent hissed"; Ex. 11:8: "Then, red-faced with anger, Moses stomped from the palace"; 1 Kings 4:1: "Here is a list of Solomon's cabinet members"; Judg. 18:25: "Be careful how you talk, mister." Job, Psalms, and the Prophets are entirely in prose format. In the creation story, LB makes an addition to the text that is not internally obvious and for which he offers no explanation: "So he let it shine for awhile, and then there was darkness again."

There is much deserved criticism for the antisemitic character of LB's interpretative paraphrases, John 1:17: "For Moses gave us only the Law with its rigid demands and merciless justice, while Jesus Christ brought us loving forgiveness as well." (NRSV: The law indeed was given through Moses; grace and truth came through Jesus Christ.") The word "Messiah" is switched for "Son of Man," "Son of David," and "Lord," to make a theological point.

Acceptance. The conversational style made it the best seller of 1972 in America. Evangelist Billy Graham, also of Wheaton, Illinois, dispensed some 600,000 free copies for his television crusade. In seven years, 22 million copies of LB were sold.

Scholars have roundly criticized the work for its many errors and rigid evangelical positions. However, Taylor's work has actually licensed every person to make his/her own paraphrase. To this end, in 1974 Tyndale House has published *Eight Translation New Testament* (= KJV, LB, Phillips, RSV, TEV, NIV, JB, NEB). The year 1996 saw a revision of the Living Bible, The New Living Translation.

Today's English Version [= TEV] also called Good News Bible [= GNB] (1976). History. Around 1950, the American Bible Society received requests for a simplified English Version. In 1961 Robert G. Bratcher, an ordained Baptist minister and a research associate on the ABS, was to translate the NT with a team of translators for the Old Testament.

First appeared the Gospel of Mark, *The Right Time* (1964) and then the whole NT *The Good News for Modern Man* (1966). After some publications of individual books, the Old Testament (1976) was published, and with the Apocrypha, *Good News Bible: The Bible in Today's English Version* (1979). Some 600,000 were sold very quickly, and by the end of the first year total sales reached 5 million copies. There are some 500 stick-figure line drawings by Annie Vallotton, a Swiss-born artist living in Paris, which reinforce the relaxed and accessible tone of the work.

Principles and Representative Examples. The principles of the TEV are basically two, and these constitute a radical break from the KJV. First, it is based on the principles of modern linguistics and the ground-breaking work of Eugene A. Nida and his application of the principles of Dynamic Equivalence (cf. Theory and Practice of Translation (1969)). Secondly, the TEV chose simple vocabulary that could even appeal to people to whom English is a second language. Its simplicity, however, should not disguise the gargantuan research and the use of modern knowledge of the world of the Scriptures. The language was to appeal to the educated and the uneducated, new learners of English, and the "unchurched" or "unsynagogued." Given that Hebrew is a language that uses its few words well, the translation accords with this purpose. New Testament Greek was koine Greek as TEV is koine English. [Koine means "common," not the classical Greek].

To this end, the translators took advantage of word-frequency lists, such as that used by the United States Information Agency in its program for editing books into Easy English. Technical terms for the biblical institutions were maintained, such as, unleavened bread, Pentecost, Tabernacles, etc., but "council" was used for "Sanhedrin," and "teachers of the Law" for "scribes." In addition, there is a word list in the back of the TEV with definitions of unfamiliar words, e.g., "Abib," "Abyss," "Acacia," etc.

Acceptance. As people are becoming more aware of the value of dynamic translation, the TEV is becoming more acceptable. J.B. Phillips, the translator of the Phillips New Testament, favorably describes the translation of New Testament as "ordinary workaday English. If the style is rather of the 'plain Jane' variety, well so long as Jane does her work and speaks the truth, what's wrong with her?" Catholics have been encouraged to use an approved (i.e., with an imprimatur) edition of the TEV that includes the deuterocanonical/apocrypha. The sales of the TEV are extremely numerous, usually sold at prices subsidized by the United Bible Society and the American Bible Society. In total, the United Bible Societies in 1981 distributed some 500,000,000 Bibles or parts of Bibles throughout the world.

New International Version [= NIV] (1978). History. The NIV is the Evangelical Christians' answer to their dissatisfaction with the RSV. The 1954 Evangelical Synod advised its consistories that in a number of passages the RSV did not do justice to the unity of Scriptures, the deity of Christ, and messianic prophecy. Therefore, the RSV was unapproved for public worship. After much labor and expense, Zondervan published the NIV New Testament (1973) and completed the Old Testament (1978).

The New International Version was to be an international version – avoiding Britishisms and Americanisms – a language that all understand and no one speaks. The work was sponsored by the New York International Bible Society and done by scholars of 34 different religious groups, working in 20 teams. This was the largest committee ever to work on a translation. The actual work of translation took some 11 years.

Thirteen denominations were represented; 87 of the 97 scholars were Americans; and seven were from Trinity Evangelical Divinity School in Illinois. The whole project took 25 years, 200,000 hours of work, and $2,000,000. It is estimated that 170 man-hours were invested in translating each chapter of the Bible.

To control the total 115 scholars involved an elaborate system of committees was formed: (1) the first draft to be done by two co-translators, two consultants, and an English stylist; (2) an Intermediate Editorial Committee composed of five scholars concerned mainly with exegetical matters; (3) General editorial committees, which included seven scholars to attend to the theology and style; and finally (4) a committee of 15 members, who had the final authority.

Principles and Representative Examples. The principles of the translation are, namely, that the NIV is (1) to be faithful to the original; (2) not to be a paraphrase; (3) to be in the language of the people; (4) to be for both public worship and private study; (5) to be translated by scholars who have a high view of Scripture; (6) and to reflect the unity and harmony of Scripture. "The Bible alone, in its entirety, is the Word of God and is therefore inerrant in the autographs." In effect this means that if a translation is to be reliable, the Old Testament must agree exactly with the New Testament. All efforts are made to "harmonize" the texts of the Old and New Testaments.

There are many translations that reflect the theological interest of the NIV. Is. 7:14: "The virgin will be with child and will give birth to a son, and will call him Immanuel." This harmonizes with Matt. 1:23. Not even a footnote mentions that the term "virgin" might be rendered "a young woman."

Psalm 2 is a parade example of harmonization. Ps. 2:9 rejects the Hebrew MT "you shall break" in favor of the LXX, Vulgate "you shall shepherd," because of the New Testament quotations in Revelations 12:5 and 19:15. At Ps. 2:12 NIV has "kiss the Son" with a marginal note: "son." (RSV has "kiss his feet"; TEV "bow down to him"; NEB "kiss the king.") Through the use of capital letters, Psalm 2 becomes thoroughly messianic: "Anointed One," "King," and "Son," and "Father."

Without comment in the footnotes, the order of creation in Gen. 2 is made to harmonize with Gen. 1 by translating 2:8 and 19 as past perfects: "had planted" and "had formed." Thereby, Adam is not made first in the second account, thus agreeing with Gen. 1.

Another translation avoids a misunderstanding of Jonah 3:3 (RSV), "Now Nineveh was an exceedingly great city, three days' journey in breadth." Such hyperbole is rendered, "Now Nineveh was a very important city – a visit required three days." In Gen. 3:5: polytheism of the KJV is avoided in "you shall be like God," instead of "as Gods" (KJV). In Job 1:6, "Satan" is so rendered despite the definite article that indicates the meaning as "the adversary" or "the accuser."

Theological problems are often relegated to footnotes: Gen. 18:22, "Abraham remained standing before the Lord" instead of the "Lord remained standing before Abraham," which is noted in the footnote. In Job 32:3: "they condemned him (= Job)" with the footnote reading: "condemned God." NIV, at Hos. 4:7, does not follow the *tikkun* [= a Masoretic correction]. "I will exchange." Instead, NIV has "they exchanged their Glory."

Wide scholarship is evident in the NIV. Isa 15:1 translates the Heb. *ki* as an asseverative (i.e., emphatically) from the understanding of an Ugaritic particle. At Gen. 47:21, NIV follows the Samaritan Pentateuch, the Septuagint (and Vulgate) in correcting the Hebrew: "Joseph reduced the people to servitude."

The following sample of interesting translations gives a flavor of the whole: in Isa. 22:5, NIV echoes the Hebrew assonance of "*mehumah, mevusah, mevukhah*," with "a day of tumult and trampling and terror." For "vanity of vanities" NIV renders Ecc. 1:2: "Meaningless! Meaningless!" says the Teacher. "Utterly meaningless! Everything is meaningless."

Acceptance. The NIV has the largest first printing ever for an English Bible. After 4 weeks, 1.2 million copies were sold. These singular sales have continued, and according to the best estimates, they captured some 20–25% of the market in the 1980s, and in the 1990s became the most popular in the U.S. outside of KJV. In spite of its great commercial success, the NIV continues to be criticized for its theological position in translating.

Other Protestant Translations. Two recent works maintain that they have gone to great pains to create a more literal translation of the Bible. The *English Standard Version* (2001) aims at being "essentially faithful" to the text, hewing to "the structure and meaning of the original." In fact it is a finely honed version in the tradition of KJV and RSV, with care taken to consult the original languages, and includes a helpful set of notes. Yet it retains "without form and void" in Gen. 1:2, and "sin offering" in Lev. 4:3, to cite a few instances in which traditional English renderings are retained at the expense of both the form and meaning of the Hebrew. The *Holman Christian Standard Bible* (2004) advertises itself as a cross between dynamic and formal equivalence, coining the term "optimal equivalence" to indicate that it begins with literal understanding and then crafts a readable translation. Produced under Southern Baptist auspices, it does not attempt to introduce modern concepts of gender correctness or to simplify the language (the editors emphasize how the translation retains "rich terms like 'propitiation'…and 'sanctification'"). Its advertising slogan is "Nothing Could Be Closer to the Truth."

Recent examples of freer translation, i.e., paraphrase, have enjoyed widespread circulation. In this regard, the 1990s saw a return to the legacy of *The Living Bible* and *TEV*. Like other similar works, *The New Century Bible* (1993), which stemmed from the 1986 *International Children's Bible*, looked for clarity as its chief goal. Thus its version of Gen. 3:17 reads, "So I will put a curse on the ground, and you will have to work very hard for your food." *The Contemporary English Version* (1995), designed to be comprehensible by both children and non-native speakers of English, also utilizes colloquial ease, as in Gen. 29:5–6: "'Do you know Laban, son of Nahor?' 'Yes,' they replied. 'How is he?' he asked. 'He's fine,' they replied." A trenchant example of paraphrastic variation can be found in considering I Sam. 20:20, which the *Living Bible* actually renders as "You son of a bitch!" whereas the 1996 *New Living Translation* uses "You stupid son of a whore" – with the note "Heb. You son of a perverse and rebellious woman." Thus in this kind of translation, the variations, and possibilities, are endless. In yet another attempt at a contemporary language Bible, in 1993 retired minister Eugene Peterson published his fourth and final volume of *The Message*, which renders the Bible "not in refined language that appeals to our aspirations after the best but a rough and earthy language that captures God's presence and action when we least expect it." This version, clearly born of pulpit experience, seems best suited for the Prophets and the Psalms; his English rhetoric is vivid and colloquial, often verging on the "hip." As an example, Peterson renders the opening of Psalm 1 as "How well God must like you – / you don't hang out at Sin Saloon, / you don't slink along Dead-End Road, / you don't go to Smart-Mouth College."

New Jewish Version [= NJV] (1985). History. The Jewish Publication Society Bible [= JPS] of 1917 was only a slight modification of the KJV. The JPS kept the vocabulary and Tudor grammar of the Authorized Version [= The Revised Version (of the KJV) of 1885]. Many of the readings of the Authorized version had been made with the help of David Kimḥi's commentary. This Bible, however, was unsatisfactory, and the idea of a new translation was proposed in 1955.

The NJV translation would be completely independent of the KJV and be a rendering in a modern English. In addition, there would be an erudite use of Semitic languages (Akkadian, Aramaic, Syriac, Ugaritic) and of the medieval Jewish scholars (Abraham Ibn Ezra, Kimḥi, Rashbam [Samuel ben Meir], Rashi, and Saadiah). The publication came out in separate volumes over 20 years: *The Torah* (1962 revised in 1967), *The Five Megilloth and Jonah* (1969); The Book of Isaiah (1973); *The Book of Psalms* (1972); *The Book of Jeremiah* (1974); *Nevi'im* [= The Prophets] (1978); Job (1980); and *The Writings* (1982). A one-volume edition was finally published, *Tanakh: The Holy Scriptures* (1985); a dual-language edition, with Hebrew text from BHS, appeared finally in 1999. The three branches of American Judaism, Orthodox, Conservative, and Reform, were all represented on the translation committees. For the *Torah* and *Nevi'im*: Harry M. Orlinsky (Hebrew Union College), editor-in-chief, who had served on the RSV and NRSV Old Testament committees; H.L. Ginsberg (Jewish Theological Seminary); Ephraim A. Speiser (U. of Pennsylvania); Max Arzt (Jewish Theological Seminary); Bernard J. Bamberger (West End Synagogue, N.Y. City); Harry Freedman (Yeshivah University); Solomon Grayzel (editor of the Jewish Publication Society). For the *Kethubim*: Moshe Greenberg (Hebrew University); Jonas C. Greenfield (Hebrew University); Nahum M. Sarna (Brandeis University); Rabbi Saul Leeman (Conservative); Rabbi Martin S. Rozenburg (Reform); Rabbi David Shapiro (Orthodox); Chaim Potok (Editor of the Jewish Publication Society). Over the years the NJV has appeared in a number of formats and settings, eventually coming to occupy a place of prominence in the Jewish community outside of Orthodoxy. It serves as the English text for the Reform Movement's UAHC Commentary of W.G. Plaut (1981, rev. 2005, with additional revisions to Exodus-Deuteronomy; Genesis was newly translated by Chaim Stern), the Conservative Movement's *Etz Ḥayim* Torah/Haftarot volume (2001), the *JPS Commentary* series (1989–), and *The Jewish Study Bible*

(2003). The NJV is also the one most frequently quoted in the works of Jewish Bible scholars in English.

Principles and Representative Examples. There is a plethora of English renderings which are deliberately not literal translations of the Hebrew. The Hebrew word "five" is rendered "several" and "a few"; the Hebrew "ten" is also translated dynamically as "many." Footnotes note the literal Hebrew. The Hebrew torah is translated: "teachings," "instructions," "ritual," "directions," "procedure," "obligation," and "law" (Ex. 12:49). "Ark of the Pact" is used for "ark of the testimony." The Hebrew conjunctive, vav, often slavishly "and" in other English Versions, is rendered "when" or "so" or "then" or "thus" or "although" or "but" or "yet" or "and" or left untranslated. The Hebrew mishpat has a variety of meanings: "norm," "rights," "regulation," "due," "decision," "true way," and "custom." The Hebrew ẓedek is rendered "grace," "victory," "vindication." Ex. 10:19 has "Sea of Reeds." Some Hebrew words are left transliterated: "ephod," and "Ehyeh-Asher-Ehyeh" in Ex. 3:14.

The 54 *parashiyyot* (sections of the Pentateuch) are given with the Hebrew names written in Hebrew. In line with the Vulgate, KJV, RSV, the NJV employs "the LORD" to indicate the personal name of Israel's God. In Ex. 6:3, however, where specific mention is made of the name, the four Hebrew letters, known as the Tetragrammaton, appear in the English text in Hebrew characters. Deut. 6:4: "Hear, O Israel! The Lord is our God, the Lord alone," since monotheism was the issue in a polytheistic society. Isa. 1:8: for the traditional "daughter of Zion," NJV has "fair Zion."

The footnotes present consistent and reliable information and an illustrative example is offered by the first verses of the *Tanakh*: The NJV is the first official (i.e., denominationally approved) translation to read: "When God began to create… and a wind from God…" instead of "In the beginning… the Spirit of God…" The footnotes to this verse are instructive: "When God began to create[a] the heaven and the earth – the earth being unformed and void, with darkness over the surface of the deep and a wind from[b] God sweeping over the water – God said, 'Let there be light'; and there was light."

Footnote (a) Or "In the beginning God created" ["Or" is defined: "Indicates an alternative reading that the committee found almost as acceptable as the one adopted for the text."]

Footnote (b) Others "the spirit of" ["Others" is defined: "Indicates a well-known traditional translation, especially if it was used in the older (1917) JPS version that the committee does not find acceptable even as an alternative reading."]

The footnotes also present renderings from the Dead Sea manuscripts, propose emendations and transpositions in difficult passages (especially in the poetic books), and, unlike most translations, frequently use the intellectually honest term "meaning of Heb. uncertain." In this, the NJV reflects Jewish tradition, with its strong sense of multiple interpretive possibilities and openness to ambiguity. Orlinsky discusses the translation choices in NJV at length in his illuminating *Notes on the New Translation of the Torah*.

Acceptance. NJV's effort to determine the accurate meaning of the Hebrew text has been rewarded with wide acceptance. Theophile Meek, a translator himself, has called the NJV "assuredly the best that has been produced thus far." Most especially, the NIV translators have verified that the Masoretic Text is actually clear in passages where others emend.

The acceptance has a broad base among scholars. The reason for its acceptance is conspicuous from the ecumenical words of H.L. Ginsberg: "Our work does *not* owe all its virtues to our use of sources, mostly Jewish, which others have neglected and to our acumen and ingenuity. Our translation would not be worth the paper it's printed on if we had not drunk deeply at the wells of Gesenius, and Delitzsch, and Driver, and Kittel – aye, and Wellhausen too – and the other Christian scholars who revived biblical and Oriental scholarship while Jewry slept, and are still vigorously cultivating it."

Despite praise for the accuracy of and impressive scholarship behind NJV, it has also occasioned criticism on an artistic level, with some feeling that it does not do justice to the rhetorical force of the Hebrew or to some of its stylistic features.

It should be mentioned that, outside of the aegis of NJV, numerous other translations of single books have been done by Jewish scholars, usually for a wider audience, either as part of a commentary series (e.g., the *Old Testament Library*, which includes J. Levenson's *Esther* (1997) and A. Berlin's *Lamentations* (2002)) or as free-standing volumes. Some examples of the latter, usually accompanied by commentary, are renditions of the Song of Songs by M. Falk (1982, 1990) and C. and A. Bloch (1995); of Samuel by R. Alter (*The David Story*, 1999; includes I Kings 1–2) and E. Fox (*Give Us a King!*, 1999); of Job by R. Gordis (*The Book of God and Man*, 1965) and R. Scheindlin (1999); of Ecclesiastes by Gordis (*Koheleth: The Man and His World*, 1968) and M. Fox (*A Time to Tear Down and a Time to Build Up*, 1999); and of Psalms by M. Rozenberg and B. Zlotowitz (1999).

A revised English translation, by Harold Fisch, appeared in 1964. Based on the "Jewish Family Bible" of M. Friedlander, published in 1881, which retained much of the language of the Authorized Version of 1611 but also paid attention to Jewish sentiment and tradition, the language has been modernized where it was felt that the previous linguistic and grammatical forms would cause difficulty to the modern reader. An entirely new system of transcription of proper names has been introduced, providing for the pronunciation of the name to conform exactly to that of the original. A list is given of the new form side by side with that hitherto accepted.

Torah Translations by Jews. The Torah's centrality in Jewish life merits separate discussion when considering Bible translation. In recent decades there has been an upsurge of activity in the translation of the Torah into English among Jews. This may be attributed to a number of factors: the desire of "movements" to produce their own commentaries and accompanying translations, the need to incorporate further discoveries in Semitics and archaeology into translations, and the eagerness of individual scholar-translators with particular approaches to present their own vision of the text. Major translations since NJV (1962) include three traditionalist versions and three more "literary" renderings. Some of these are clearly intended for synagogue use, while others aim at a broader audience.

Aryeh Kaplan, *The Living Torah: A New Translation Based on Traditional Jewish Sources* (1981, no Hebrew), is an example of a translation wrought in line with traditional Jewish teachings. Kaplan was known for his interpretations of Kabbalah and his expositions of traditional Judaism. In his Introduction to *The Living Torah*, he cites the Rabbinic tradition against literal translation (Kid. 49a, Tosef., Meg. 3:21), and promotes an idiomatic approach as the one most likely to avoid misreading. Kaplan approaches narrative texts with an eye to making them readable, as in storytelling; in contrast, he treats legal texts primarily in the light of "the final decision in Jewish law." He summarizes his goal as attempting to create a translation that is "accurate, clear, modern, readable, and above all, in consonance with the living tradition of Judaism." As a rule he supplies a healthy dose of translation alternatives in his notes, drawing mostly on ancient versions (especially Targumim) and a wide selection of medieval commentators.

Example A: Gen. 35:22, "While Jacob was living undisturbed in the area, Reuben went and disturbed the sleeping arrangements of Bilhah, his father's concubine." Kaplan derives this reading from TB Shabbat 55a, b, as distinct from the usual "Reuben went and lay with Bilhah…," but gives other choices in his notes.

Example B: Ex. 33:14, 18, "'My Presence will go and lead you,' replied [God].".… "'Please let me have a vision of Your Glory,' begged Moses." These passages feature a less formal tone, and offer differing renderings for *vayyomar.*

Samson Rafael Hirsch, *The Pentateuch* (English Translation by Gertrude Hirschler) (1990, includes Hebrew), an unusual project in that it incorporates a translation of a translation, reflects the 19th-century German Neo-Orthodox leader's approach of deriving "the meaning of the words from the treasure of linguistic explanations which we possess in our traditional literature" and from his own phonetic-etymological system. His lengthy commentary is largely philosophical, and often makes use of biblical language as a springboard for his thoughts.

Example A: Gen. 1:26, "'Let Us make an Adam (a deputy) in a form worthy of us.'" Here Hirsch understands *adam* as flowing from the "majesty of plurality" suggested in *na'aseh adam* ("Let Us make man"), and notes that "only as a representative of the community as a whole can the sovereign rule over his subjects. In the same spirit, the Creator now wishes to inform the terrestrial world that its [human] master is to be appointed for its own welfare." He also derives *adam* from *adom*, red, which, as "the least-broken ray of the spectrum," is "the closest manifestation of the Divine earth."

Example B: Ex. 17:12, "The hands of Moshe became heavy; and they took a stone and placed it under him, and he sat upon it. Aharon and Hur supported his hands, the one on the one side and the other on the other side; so his hands remained an expression of trust until the sun went down." Hirsch reads *emunah* not as the customary etymology would have it, "firm," but rather theologically, "an expression of trust."

The Chumash (*ArtScroll Series: The Stone Edition; ed. Nosson Scherman*) (1993); incorporated in *Tanach* (*The Stone Edition*) (1996, includes Hebrew), like the previous two works, translates with an eye to rabbinic understandings of the text and incorporates these into the translation when it feels them to be warranted. Strikingly, the English text is printed entirely in italics. The translation is part of ArtScroll's program of presenting classical Jewish texts in English and Hebrew, accompanied by traditionally-based commentaries.

Example A: Deut. 6:5, "You shall love HASHEM, your God, with all your heart, with all your soul, and with all your resources." The choice of "resources" reflects the understanding of *me'od* found in Targum Onkelos, Sifre (Deut. 32), and M. Ber. 9:5.

Example B: Lev. 20:27, "Any man or woman in whom there shall be the sorcery of Ov or of Yid'oni, they shall be put to death." The reader is directed to a note that reads in part, "Ov and Yid'oni were magical means of foretelling the future," differing somewhat from modern scholarly interpretation, which understands them as related to departed spirits.

Everett Fox, *The Five Books of Moses* (*The Schocken Bible*, Vol. 1) (1995; rev. 1997, no Hebrew), following in the footsteps of the German Buber-Rosenzweig translation (q.v.), seeks to echo rhythms and literary devices of the Hebrew text. While not as radical as the German work, given the less malleable nature of English, it is designed, like its predecessor, to be read aloud and to give the English reader an aural feel for the Hebrew text. Thus it is printed in a form resembling free verse, names retain their Hebrew forms, as in Hirsch, and the principle of "leading words" (Buber) – theme words in the text – is reflected in English. Fox's line divisions do not strictly follow the traditional *te'amim*, but they often correspond to them. The text is accompanied by commentary on thematic issues, and notes on specific words. Previous versions of his Genesis appeared in 1972 and 1983; of Exodus, in 1986.

Example A: Ex. 2:10, "She called his name: Moshe/He-Who-Pulls-Out; / she said: For out of the water *meshitihu*/I-pulled-him." The translation, using the Hebrew form of Moses's name and the Hebrew phrase attached to it by Pharaoh's daughter, points to the grammatical significance of the form *Moshe* (in *hiph'il*) as an active foreshadowing of Moses's future role.

Example B: Gen. 6:11, 13, "Now the earth had gone to ruin before God, the earth was filled with wrongdoing. / God saw the earth, and here, it had gone to ruin, / for all flesh had ruined its way upon the earth. / …here, I am about to bring ruin upon them, together with the earth." The repetition of key word "ruin," representing the Hebrew root *sh-h'-t*, appears to be used by the text to express the biblical concept of the punishment corresponding to the crime.

Richard Elliott Friedman, *Commentary on the Torah* (*with a New English Translation and the Hebrew Text*) (2001), by a prominent advocate of the Documentary Hypothesis, provides along with his commentary a translation that attempts to be clear and to steer a middle course between English and Hebrew. Friedman also published a version of the Torah with documentary sources demarcated, *The Bible with Sources Revealed: A New View of the Five Books of Moses* (2003), and included renditions of passages from the Former Prophets in *The Hidden Book in the Bible* (1998).

Example A: Gen. 1:1–3a, "In the beginning of God's creating the skies and the earth – when the earth had been shapeless and formless, and darkness was on the face of the deep, and God's spirit was hovering on the face of the water – God said, "Let there be light." "Skies" reflects the predominant meaning of *shamayim* in the Biblical world; "shapeless and formless" is meant to echo *tohu va-vohu*.

Example B: Gen. 18:17, "And YHWH had said, 'Shall I conceal what I'm doing from Abraham, since Abraham *will* become a big and powerful nation, and all the nations of the earth will be blessed through him? For I've known him for the purpose that he'll command his children and his house after him, and they'll observe YHWH's way, to do virtue and judgment….'" Friedman uses italics ("*will* become") to express the Hebrew form *hayoh hayah* (lit. "becoming he will become"), utilizes the simple "big" for *gadol*, and in general adopts a relaxed tone.

Robert Alter, *The Five Books of Moses* (2004, no Hebrew), attempts to elicit rhetorical characteristics of the Hebrew text in a readable English style – "an experiment in re-presenting the Bible…in a language that conveys with some precision the semantic nuances and the lively orchestration of literary effects of the Hebrew and at the same time has stylistic and rhythmic integrity in English." His introduction and accompanying commentary discuss these issues in some detail, following in the footsteps of his books on biblical narrative and poetry. Alter previously published a translation of Genesis (1995).

Example A: Gen. 3:6, "And the woman saw that the tree was good for eating and that it was lust to the eyes and the tree was good to look at…." Alter notes, following A. Funkenstein, that *le-haskil* is connected in the Targumim with "looking, regarding," a reading which parallels "a lust to the eyes" and which is also suggested by the usage of *maskil* in Psalm 41:2.

Example B: Ex. 15:1, "Let me sing unto the lord for He surged, O surged…." Alter understands the use of the verb ga'oh as a pun here, reflecting both the customary "triumphed" and the alternate image of the rising tide, appropriate in the context of the divine victory at the Sea of Reeds.

A more direct comparison of the differences between these six works (with the addition of NJV), in approach and tone, might be gleaned from the following table, which presents translations of two passages. The first is Gen. 32:21 (the Hebrew text is:

KAPLAN [Jacob] said [to himself], "I will win him over with the gifts that are being sent ahead, and then I will face him. Hopefully, he will forgive me."

HIRSCH For he thought: "I will first appease his anger with the gift that goes before me and then I will

HIRSCHLER see his countenance; perhaps he will raise my countenance."

ARTSCROLL For he said, "I will appease him with the tribute that precedes me, and afterwards I will face him;

STONE (SCHERMAN) perhaps he will forgive me."

FOX For he said to himself: / I will wipe (the anger from) his face / with the gift that goes ahead of my face; / afterward, when I see his face, / perhaps he will lift up my face!

FRIEDMAN Because he said, "Let me appease his face with the offering that's going in front of me, and after that I'll see his face; maybe he'll raise my face."

ALTER For he thought, "Let me placate him with the tribute that goes before me, and after I shall look on his face, perhaps he will show me a kindly face."

NJV For he reasoned, "If I propitiate him with presents in advance, and then face him, perhaps he will show me favor."

Clearly, all these translators struggle with how to deal with the multiple uses of the sound and concept of Hebrew *panim*, coming up with a variety of solutions that present different English tones. They also are compelled to render *ki amar* in a way that does justice to its semantic range.

A second comparison of translations makes use of a legal passage, Ex. 20:9–10 (the Hebrew reads:

שֵׁשֶׁת יָמִים תַּֽעֲבֹד וְעָשִׂיתָ כָּל־מְלַאכְתֶּךָ: וְיוֹם הַשְּׁבִיעִי שַׁבָּת לַיהֹוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ
לֹא־תַֽעֲשֶׂה כָל־מְלָאכָה אַתָּה | וּבִנְךָ וּבִתֶּךָ עַבְדְּךָ וַֽאֲמָתְךָ וּבְהֶמְתֶּךָ וְגֵרְךָ
אֲשֶׁר בִּשְׁעָרֶיךָ:

It yields the following:

KAPLAN Remember the Sabbath day to keep it holy. You can work during the six weekdays and do all your tasks. But Saturday is the Sabbath to God your Lord. Do not do anything that constitutes work.

HIRSCH Remember the Sabbath day to sanctify it. Six days shall you serve and do all your [creating] work, and the seventh day is a Sabbath to *God*, your God. On it you shall not perform any kind of [creating] work….

ARTSCROLL Remember the Sabbath day to sanctify it. Six days shall you work and accomplish all your work; but the seventh day is Sabbath to HASHEM, your God; you shall not do any work….

FOX Remember / the Sabbath day, to hallow it. / For six days, you are to serve, and are to make all your work, / but the seventh day / is Sabbath for YHWH your God: / you are not to make any kind of work….

FRIEDMAN Remember the Sabbath day, to make it holy. Six days you shall labor and do all your work, and the seventh day is a Sabbath to YHWH, your God. You shall not do any work….

ALTER Remember the Sabbath day to hallow it. Six days you shall work and you shall do your tasks, but the seventh day is a Sabbath to the LORD your God. You shall do no task….

> NJV Remember the Sabbath day and keep it holy. Six days you shall labor and do all your work, but the seventh day is a Sabbath of the LORD your God: you shall not do any work….

In these illustrations, rhythm, style, diction, and vocabulary point up quite different approaches, all along the spectrum from more literal to more idiomatic translation. Some retain key repeating words, preferring even to stretch English style in the process (Fox's "make work" keeps an important verb of Ex. 25–40 intact), while others focus on clarity in English as a major goal (cf. Kaplan's startling "Saturday" for *yom ha-shevi'i*). Notable also is the varied treatment of the Tetragrammaton, reflecting different forms of both traditional practice and scholarly convention. What the six translations share, despite their considerable differences, is an essentially Jewish approach to the text: they exhibit a reliance on classical sources (Midrash and medieval commentators) to varying degrees, and more significantly, they share a central commitment to the specific wording of the text, with all of its nuances and ambiguities.

A recent entry into Torah translation is the revised edition (2005) of W. Plaut's (UAHC) *The Torah: A Modern Commentary*. Genesis and the *haftarot* were translated anew by C. Stern in a "sense for sense" manner; following his death in 2001, the editors decided to lightly revise the NJV of Exodus-Deuteronomy, incorporating some of JPS's own changes since 1962 and adding some of their own, particularly regarding sacrificial terms. Generally speaking, the new edition pays attention to gender-related issues. For instance, "He said," when God is the subject, is rendered "[God] said," and "His covenant" as "the covenant." The editors characterize their approach as "gender accurate" rather than "gender neutral" – that is, they mitigate the maleness of the text when such an interpretation does not intrude upon the Hebrew. At the same time, they seek, for instance, to tone down a negative view of menstruation, which, they point out, is not a stigma but a state of being. An example of Stern's style in Genesis can be seen in 8:20–21: "Noah then built an altar in honor of the Eternal [a change from the NJV "LORD"]; taking some pure beasts and some pure birds, he offered up whole burnt offerings on the altar. The Eternal, inhaling the soothing fragrance, thought: 'Never again will I bring doom upon the world…'" Similarly idiomatic is his rendering of 48:1: "Look, your father is fading" (for Heb. *hinneh avikha ḥoleh*).

In discussing Torah translation, one additional body of work is relevant. Translation problems, especially as reflected in German versions since Luther and English ones since King James, are frequently discussed by Nehama Leibowitz in her well-known collections of comments to the weekly *parashiyyot* of the Torah, based on the insights of classical commentators, *Iyyunim Be-sefer Bereshit/Shemot/Vayikra/Bemidbar/Devarim,* tr. *Studies in Genesis/Exodus/Leviticus/Numbers/Deuteronomy* (1976–93).

Conclusion. The history of English Bible translation since World War II is a history of Protestants and Jews moving away from the KJV and its English, and of Catholics moving away from the Douay-Rheims-Challoner English translation of the Vulgate. Catholics, after *Divino Afflante Spiritu* (1943), were free to translate from the original languages, and consequently now use the NAB and NJB in worship. For Protestants, the KJV is still entrenched in the hearts of many people and remains one of the top three in sales. Protestants can now choose among a wide variety of translations. Some, particularly in the evangelical community, in which there exists a "King James Only" movement that regards the 1611 classic as the authentic word of God, choose to read the variously cast new editions of the KJV (in modern spelling and/or vocabulary revised in different degrees), which have been published since the 1980s (e.g., *New KJV, KJ2000, KJ21, Revised KJV, Modern KJV, Third Millennium Bible*). For others, the RSV and NIV sufficiently echo the KJV. Others still have gone to the opposite extreme, embracing the LB and its paraphrase, or using the TEV, a clean break from the KJV because of its use of dynamic equivalence as a principle of translation. For Jews, the NJV has been a decisive move away from the KJV, or more precisely, away from the Old JPS, which had taken the latter's place since 1917. In their use of different translations, usually based on personal or congregational preference, Jews echo their tradition, present already in biblical literature itself, of multiple voices and multiple understandings of the text.

The Bible is the chameleon of world literature, changing in the eyes of readers to accommodate each era. The act of translating it typically reflects profound religious, communal, psychological, and aesthetic trends. As such, to paraphrase Ecclesiastes, of the making of English Bible translations there will be no end.

VARIATIONS IN ENGLISH VERSIONS OF PSALM 23. In the following list, nine widely used English translations of this famous poem are cited, verse by verse. They represent a broad swath of denominational and stylistic approaches. Omitted are notes, which occasionally give alternate readings, including those from the KJV. The present layout also flattens the line divisions, which differ slightly from translation to translation.

Verse 1
KJV The LORD is my shepherd; I shall not want.
NAB A psalm of David. The LORD is my shepherd; there is nothing I lack.
NIV A psalm of David. The LORD is my shepherd; I shall not be in want.
NJB Yahweh is my shepherd, I lack nothing.
NRSV The Lord is my shepherd, I shall not want.
REB The LORD is my shepherd; I lack for nothing.
CEV You, LORD, are my shepherd. I will never be in need.
STONE A psalm by David. HASHEM is my shepherd, I shall not lack.
NJV A psalm of David. The LORD is my shepherd; I lack nothing.

Verse 2

KJV He maketh me to lie down in green pastures: he leadeth me beside the still waters.

NAB In green pastures you let me graze; to safe waters you lead me;

NIV He makes me lie down in green pastures, he leads me beside quiet waters,

NJB In grassy meadows he lets me lie. By tranquil streams he leads me

NRSV He makes me lie down in green pastures; he leads me beside still waters;

REB He makes me lie down in green pastures, he leads me to water where I may rest;

CEV You let me rest in fields of green grass. You lead me to streams of peaceful water,

STONE In lush meadows He lays me down, beside tranquil waters He leads me.

NJV He makes me lie down in green pastures; He leads me to water in places of repose.

Verse 3

KJV He restoreth my soul: he leadeth me in the paths of righteousness for his name's sake.

NAB you restore my strength. You guide me along the right path for the sake of your name.

NIV he restores my soul. He guides me in paths of righteousness for his name's sake.

NJB to restore my spirit. He guides me in paths of saving justice as befits his name.

NRSV he restores my soul. He leads me in right paths for his name's sake.

REB he revives my spirit; for his name's sake he guides me in the right paths.

CEV and you refresh my life. You are true to your name, and you lead me along the right paths.

STONE He restores my soul. He leads me on paths of righteousness for His Name' sake.

NJV He renews my life; He guides me in right paths as befits His name.

Verse 4

KJV Yea, though I walk through the valley of the shadow of death, I will fear no evil: for thou art with me; thy rod and thy staff they comfort me.

NAB Even when I walk through a dark valley, I fear no harm for you are at my side; your rod and staff give me comfort.

NIV Even though I walk through the valley of the shadow of death, I will fear no evil, for you are with me; your rod and your staff, they comfort me.

NJB Even were I to walk in a ravine as dark as death I should fear no danger, for you are at my side. Your staff and your crook are there to soothe me.

NRSV Even though I walk through the darkest valley, I fear no evil; for you are with me; your rod and your staff – they comfort me.

REB Even were I to walk through a valley of deepest darkness I should fear no harm, for you are with me; your shepherd's staff and crook afford me comfort.

CEV I may walk through valleys dark as death, but I won't be afraid. You are with me, and your shepherd's rod makes me feel safe.

STONE Though I walk in the valley overshadowed by death, I will fear no evil, for You are with me. Your rod and your staff, they comfort me.

NJV Though I walk through a valley of deepest darkness, I fear no harm, for You are with me; Your rod and Your staff – they comfort me.

Verse 5

KJV Thou preparest a table before me in the presence of mine enemies: thou anointest my head with oil; my cup runneth over.

NAB You set a table before me as my enemies watch; You anoint my head with oil; my cup overflows.

NIV You prepare a table before me in the presence of my enemies. You anoint my head with oil; my cup overflows.

NJB You prepare a table for me under the eyes of my enemies; you anoint my head with oil; my cup brims over.

NRSV You prepare a table before me in the presence of my enemies; you anoint my head with oil; my cup overflows.

REB You spread a table for me in the presence of my enemies; you have richly anointed my head with oil, and my cup brims over.

CEV You treat me to a feast, while my enemies watch. You honor me as your guest, and you fill my cup until it overflows.

STONE You prepare a table before me in view of my tormentors. You anoint my head with oil, my cup overflows.

NJV You spread a table for me in full view of my enemies; You anoint my head with oil; my drink is abundant.

Verse 6

KJV Surely goodness and mercy shall follow me all the days of my life: and I will dwell in the house of the LORD for ever.

NAB Only goodness and love will pursue me all the days of my life; I will dwell in the house of the LORD for years to come.

NIV Surely goodness and love will follow me all the days of my life, and I will dwell in the house of the LORD forever.

NJB Kindness and faithful love pursue me all the days of my life. I make my home in the house of Yahweh for all time to come.

NRSV Surely goodness and mercy shall follow me all the days of my life, and I shall dwell in the house of the Lord my whole life long.

REB Goodness and love unfailing will follow me all the days of my life, and I shall dwell in the house of the LORD throughout the years to come.

CEV Your kindness and love will always be with me each day of my life, and I will live forever in your house, LORD.

STONE May only goodness and kindness pursue m all the days of my life, and I shall dwell in the House of HASHEM for long days.

NJV Only goodness and steadfast love shall pursue me all the days of my life, and I shall dwell in the house of the LORD for many long years.

That the different approaches represented by these translations – and here we are only dealing with English! – cannot be fully bridged by one "definitive" work is a testimony to both the richness of the biblical text and its greatly varied post-canonical life. This must lead to the recognition that many translated versions of the Bible are possible and even desirable, not to mention inevitable. The reality is that for the translator as for the dramatic or musical performer, preconceptions and prejudices, conditioned both by personality and historical/sociological background, always play a role in the final outcome. Thus the success or failure of a translation will be judged differently by scholars, clergy, and audiences of various stripes, and often differently within these categories. Whether the translator's needs and desires, and attempts at solutions, correspond to those of an audience will always be at issue. As an aggregate, however, English translations of he Bible will continue to reflect the powerful hold this text exerts on Western minds and hearts.

[Raphael Loewe / Everett Fox (2nd ed.)]

Arabic

Catholic and Protestant Arabic Bibles were, until the second part of the 19th century, based on the 1671 edition of the (Vatican) Congregation of Propagation of the Faith when three new versions appeared. The American Protestant missionaries in Beirut published in 1864 a translation in modern Arabic, which was started by Eli Smith and finished by C.V.A. van Dyck, with the help of Arab scholars, especially Sheik Nasif el-Yāzijī. This version was reprinted in 1869 and became known as the Oxford Arabic Bible. The Dominicans of Mosul published a four volume Bible based on C.J. David's version (1874–78). About the same time (1876–80) the Jesuits in Beirut published a translation in classical Arabic, in three volumes. The Arabic Bibles in circulation among Christians are based on those versions, although other missionary work has produced more modern renditions (e.g., the *Book of Life* of 1982/1988, in modern Arabic, and a version published in 2003).

Catalan

A Catalan Bible, probably based on a French prototype, was prepared in 1281–91 at the request of Alfonso III of Aragon, but this has not been preserved and perhaps remained unfinished. Various Catalan translations – Psalms (14th–15th centuries), part of Genesis (14th century), a complete Bible by Sabruguera (14th century), and other 15th-century Bibles – were made from the Vulgate using the French and Provençal versions. Sabruguera's Bible was revised by Jaime Borrell and by Bonifacio Ferrer (c. 1400), the printed edition of 1477–78 reproducing the work of the latter, which was destroyed by the Inquisition. During the 16th century, some biblical books were translated from the original Hebrew. In 1832 a complete Catalan Bible was made by the Protestant scholar J.M. Prat (published by the British and Foreign Bible Society). Various Catholic translations appeared in the 20th century, including those by Clascar (1915), the monks of Montserrat (1926), and the Catalan Biblical Foundation (1928–48).

Danish

Although Hans Tausen's Pentateuch (Magdeburg, 1535) is thought to have been only part of a complete Danish translation of the Bible, the earliest surviving complete edition – the so-called Christian III Bible (1550; 1950) – was a reworking by Christiern Pedersen of Luther's German Bible. Like its prototype, the latter was written in an extraordinary pithy style and had a significant impact on the Danish language. It was later revised as the Frederick II Bible (1588–89) and the Christian IV Bible (1632–33). Meanwhile, the need for a translation from the original languages had been recognized, and in 1607 Professor (later Bishop) H.P. Resen published an edition of the Bible that was linguistically distinct from its predecessors. Revised by Professor (later Bishop) Hans Savning in 1647, this remained until modern times the "authorized" Danish version of the Bible. There were also innumerable translations of separate portions of the Bible; and various private biblical projects, two of which were a translation by C.A.H. Kalkar (1847), who was a Jew by birth, and a more significant version by the Orientalist and theologian J.C. Lindberg (1837–54). The first Danish Bible to take cognizance of modern biblical criticism was that produced by Frants Buhl and his associates in 1910; this was in part the basis for a new translation, directed by Bishop Goetzsche, of which the Old Testament appeared in 1931. Another new version of the Old Testament in Danish appeared in 1931, and Catholic Bibles based on the Vulgate were published in 1893 and 1931. The most recent version, produced by the Danish Bible Society, appeared in 1992. Another, ongoing project is a scholarly "secular" translation of the Hebrew Bible, begun in 1998, which treats the text as a product of the ancient Near East and eschews the centuries of interpretation based on Western (mostly Christian) religious traditions. It uses Hebrew names for biblical figures, as well as for books (e.g., "When God Began" for Genesis), and retains the Jewish ordering of biblical books. There have also been some Danish translations under Jewish auspices, notably the Pentateuch of Chief Rabbi A.A. *Wolff (1891), published with the Hebrew text. A new edition, revised by the Jewish education authorities and to which the *haftarot* were added, appeared in 1894. Chief Rabbi Friediger also published Esther with a Danish translation in 1924.

Dutch

There were several medieval Dutch versions of biblical books, but the first Dutch Bible – the complete Bible except for the Psalms – dates from a Flemish work (c. 1300) and was a translation from the Vulgate (published Delft, 1477). A Dutch version of Psalms, produced by another translator, was frequently reprinted from 1480 onward. Later, there was a Dutch translation of Luther's Bible (Antwerp, 1526), and an Old Testament based on Luther and the Delft Bible appeared in 1525. Claes (Nicholas) van Winghe's Dutch Catholic Louvain Bible (1548) underwent many revisions and remained in use well into the 19th century. The Dutch Protestants – Reformed, Lutheran, and Mennonite – all pursued their own adaptations of the Bible, but the first editions based on the original Hebrew appeared only in 1614 and 1623. Early in the 17th century the Dutch States-General commissioned the famous *Statenbijbel* (Leyden, 1636–37), the text of which was later published in the German *Biblia Pentapla*; frequently revised, it remained in use until the mid-20th century. Three early modern Dutch Bibles are the versions of A. van den Schuur and H. van Rhijn (2 vols., 1732); I. van Hamelsveld (1802–03), based on the original languages; and J.H. van den Palm (2 vols., 1818–19). A. *Kuenen's (with I. Hooykaas, W.H. Kosters, and H. Oort) "Leidsche Vertaling," translation and interpretation of the Bible, appeared in Leiden in 1899–1901. A Catholic Bible was published in 1936–37 by the Petrus Canisius Society and a Bible published by the new Katholieke Bijbelstichting St. Willibrord was finished in 1995. An entirely new Protestant Old Testament was published in 1951 by the Dutch Bible Society (NBG). Beginning in 1967, the NBG, together with the Flanders Bible Society, the Flemish Bible Foundation, and the Catholic Bible Society, initiated a new ecumenical translation which was completed in 2004. It has thus far attracted some criticism as being "too modern." In contrast, a group of scholars which had founded the Societas Hebraica Amstelodamensis in 1961 has sought for some years to create a translation which they describe as "concordant" or "idiolectical," grounded in the rhetoric of the Hebrew text after the model of Buber-Rosenzweig. Since 1974, the group has published single books of the Bible under the rubric "A Translation to be Read Aloud," including Ruth, Jonah, Judges, Amos, Obadiah, Micah, the Song of Songs, Genesis, and Ecclesiastes (some of these works have subsequently been revised). Dutch Jews have translated selected Psalms (by M. Levie, 1966) and most of the Old Testament (1826–38, etc.). A new translation of the Pentateuch by I. Dasberg was published in 1970.

See also *Dutch Literature.

Finnish

Because of the linguistic separation of Finland from the rest of Scandinavia, Finnish biblical translation has had an independent history. In 1551 Bishop Michael Agricola published a revised Lutheran version of Psalms, but it was not until 1642 (Stockholm) that a complete Finnish Bible, translated from the original texts, made its appearance. This has since undergone various revisions. A new Finnish Bible translation (*Pyhz Raamatta*) was published in 1938, and another in 1992.

French and Provençal

FRENCH. Although there were two early French (Anglo-Norman) versions of Psalms (c. 1100) and a 12th-century version of Samuel and Kings, the first to possess a complete and accurate translation of the Old Testament in spoken French – and to make regular use of this in teaching and worship – were the Jews. Religious scruples may have prevented the Jews from setting down their whole text in writing, but it did not preclude their compiling explanatory glossaries in the vernacular (*la'azim*). A few of those which have survived, in whole or part, contain fairly long Hebrew commentaries. The glossaries were an aid to teachers instructing children in the Bible according to the traditional word for word method; they also served as an aid to scholarly commentators (*poterim*) working at a higher level, who debated the meaning of a text and, relying upon the glossaries, proposed more subtly phrased translations. Lastly, these glossaries were used by translators officiating in the synagogue.

By contrast, the Church always looked askance at unsupervised reading of the Bible. Herman de Valenciennes' metrical version of the Bible (c. 1190) was followed in 1199 by Pope Innocent III's edict prohibiting any reference to the suspect French Bible. Although the Church declared its opposition to the translation of the Bible into any vernacular at the Council of Toulouse (1229), Louis IX commissioned a French version of the complete Bible (c. 1230), and in the 14th century it was revised by order of John II and Charles V. Nevertheless, the biblical text was submerged, during the later Middle Ages, under a mass of scholastic glosses and amplifications.

The most famous medieval French version was the late 13th-century *Biblehistoriale* of Guiard des Moulins, a paraphrase based on the scholastic compilation of Pierre Comestor. This Bible, much revised and often versified, was one of the earliest French printed books (1478). Only the Psalms inspired fairly accurate translations.

The first Bible translation of the 16th century, which returned to the original Latin – suppressing accumulated glosses and interpolations – was that of Jacques Lefèvre d'Etaples (1528). It was rightly suspected by Rome, Lefèvre's earlier Psalter (1509) having influenced Martin Luther. In its revised form (Louvain, 1550), Lefèvre's Bible ran to more than 200 editions. However, the Louvain Bible, too, contained borrowings from the first Protestant version by Pierre Rovert Olivétan (Neuchâtel, 1535; rev. 1724), which was based on the original Hebrew and Greek texts. Olivétan's version (known from its place of publication as the Serrières Bible) was the outcome of the religious fervor which the Bible had roused among the Waldenses. The Bible of Sebastian Castellio (Châteillon, d. 1555), the tolerant French humanist and theologian who opposed the severity of Calvin, appeared at Basle in 1555. This was written in a style uniquely designed to convey the original meaning of the Hebrew.

In the 17th century the Protestant translation of G. Diodati (Geneva, 1644) is known to have inspired more than one passage in the Jansenist Port-Royal version (Paris, 1672–95), which was mainly the work of Louis Isaac Le Maistre, known as de Sacy. Unfortunately, however, the *Bible de Sacy*, no less than the many versions subsequently based on it, was no more than a paraphrase, overburdened with notes and commentaries. Among the versions of individual biblical books produced at this time was J.B. Bossuet's French edition of Song of Songs (1695).

It was only during the second half of the 19th century that French lay scholars began to devote their attention to the Bible: Ernest Renan published editions of Job (1859), Song of Songs (1862), and Ecclesiastes (1882), and F. Lenormant produced a translation of Genesis (1883). The 19th-century Catholic Bibles of Genoude, J.J.B. Bourassé (illustrated by Doré), Jean Baptiste Glaire, and others possessed little elegance or accuracy and were eventually displaced by better versions: the *Bible de Maredsous* (1949), the J.T. Crampon Bible (1894–1904; 1960), and especially *La Sainte Bible de Jérusalem* (43 vols., 1948–52; in 1 vol., 1956). These modern Catholic translations nevertheless still remained hampered by notes and directions as to "what must be understood from the text."

Despite their wish to preserve textual accuracy, French Protestants were not content with Olivétan's ponderous style and accordingly produced various revisions, the most widely distributed of which were those of D. Martin (Amsterdam, 1707), and J.F. Ostervald (Amsterdam, 1747), and the French *Geneva Bible* (1802–05); perhaps the most successful was the version of Louis Segond and H. Oltramar (2 vols., 1874). The Segond version has been continually revised (1910, with a thorough revision in 1975 and *La nouvelle Bible Segond* in 2000). French Protestants generally use the officially approved *Version synodale* (1910), although the *Bible du Centenaire* (by Société Biblique de Paris, 1916–47; 1950) is considered to be the finest text produced by the Reformed Church. Some Protestants still treasure the Olivétan translation as revised by J.F. Ostervald (1663–1747) (recent revision 1996).

The 19th century also saw the appearance of critical Bible editions, notably that of E. Reuss (11 vols., 1874–81), whose substantial annotations display with unerring, though by now, dated erudition the whole historical and philological background of the biblical text. Two other critical editions are those of P. Giguet (1872), based on the Septuagint, and the more recent, penetrating, and lucid version of E. Dhorme (2 vols., 1956–59).

Modern French Jewish translations only appeared toward the end of the 18th century, and these were followed by the biblical passages and books (Psalms, Job, Five Scrolls) which Mardochée Venture included in his *siddur* (4 vols., Nice, 1772–83). In the 19th century, Samuel Cahen published *La Bible, traduction nouvelle* (7 vols., 1831–51), a remarkable achievement of its kind, in which he secured the collaboration of other modern Jewish commentators. Half a century later this was superseded by the French rabbinate's own clear translations of the Bible, produced under the supervision of Zadoc Kahn (*La Bible du rabbinat français*, 2 vols., 1899–1906; 1966). Though without "claims to great learning," this was faithful to the masoretic tradition and to rabbinic interpretation; combining the letter and the spirit of the Bible in a lucid and stirring style, it succeeded in "satisfying the reader who wishes for religious and moral inspiration from the Bible." Partial translations of the Bible under Jewish auspices include L. Wogue's rather constricted version of the Pentateuch (5 vols., 1860–69), and editions of Psalms by A. Ben-Baruch Créhange (1858), B. Mossé (1878), and André Chouraqui (1956).

There has been a good deal of biblical translation into French in recent years. This activity in many ways mirrors what has transpired in English, with some attempts that present the text in "today's language" (*la Bible en français courant*, 1982, 1997, and *la Bible Parole de vie,* 2000, which uses a 3,500-word vocabulary); renditions under Catholic auspices (*La Bible de Jérusalem*, above, and *La Bible Pastorale de Maredsous* (1977), done by Belgian monks in collaboration with French colleagues); and translations that appeal across denominational lines (*Traduction oecumenique de la Bible*, 1975). A notable and controversial addition is the "Bayard Bible" (*La Bible Nouvelle Traduction*, 2001), cast in modern French usage, in which each book has been prepared by a biblical scholar teamed with a writer of note. As a result, there is no attempt to smooth the overall text into a unified style, and thus, in the view of the editors, the Bible's own diversity is represented. The text is laid out with a minimum of critical apparatus, heightening poetic effect.

In the more literal sphere, one might mention the 1973 translation of E. Osty, and two works by Jews. The first, by Andre Chouraqui (1974–77, including the New Testament!), seeks to bend French toward Hebrew. Thus, for instance, *sefat ha-yam* is rendered as *levre de la mer,* as opposed to a more conventional and idiomatic *bord de mer* or *ricage*. Of more recent vintage are the translations of the literary critic Henri Meschonnic (The Five Scrolls, 1970; Jonah, 1981; Psalms, 2001; Genesis, 2002; and Exodus, 2003). He characterizes his work as an attempt to "rehebraicize the Bible," using Hebrew names (including those of books; his Genesis is not *Genese* but *Au Commencement*) and reflecting Hebrew style (as in such wordplays as *tohu va-vohu* [*vaine et vide*]). Meschonnic is less literal than Chouraqui, who frequently lays bare Hebrew etymology in French (his Genesis begins *En tete*), but both evince an approach and spirit that are akin to Buber-Rosenzweig.

See also *French Literature.

[Everett Fox (2nd ed.)]

PROVENÇAL. In southern France the reformist movements of the Albigenses (Cathars) and Waldenses (Vaudois) promoted the translation of the Bible from the 12th century onward. This partly accounts for the hostile attitude toward vernacular Bibles displayed by the Church of Rome. Provençal versions of Psalms and of a portion of Genesis are known from the 14th century, and a translation of the historical books of the Bible was made from the French during the 15th century. As part of the Félibrige movement for the revival of Provençal culture from the mid-19th century onward, Frédéric Mistral produced an original translation of Genesis (1906). The Waldenses, who survived various persecutions to join French Protestantism, were active from the early 14th century as translators of the Bible. Their dialect versions cover Proverbs, Song of Songs, Ecclesiastes, and parts of Genesis and Job. It has been surmised that there were connections between the translators of the Provençal and Vaudois biblical books, and between them and the scholars who prepared the earliest texts in Italian.

German

BEFORE LUTHER. Only a few verses (from Ezra and Nehemiah) are extant of the Old Testament portion of the Bible translation by the Gothic bishop Ulfilas (Gothic *Wulfila*; 311–383). According to old tradition, Ulfilas (who, according to the Byzantine church historian Socrates (d. c. 450), invented the Gothic alphabet for the purpose of his translation) wrote a complete version of the Bible, excluding only I and II Kings because of the warlike disposition of the Goths.

In fragments of an Old Saxon Genesis in alliterative verse, a parallel to the Teutonic paraphrase of the New Testament Gospels (the so-called *Heliand*, c. 830) has been found, although it was probably not written by the same author. The surviving fragments cover the biblical narrative from Adam to the destruction of Sodom.

Early in the 11th century, Notker Labeo, a monk of St. Gallen, translated the Psalms and the Song of Songs, as well as the Book of Job, which has been lost. Later in the same century, William of Ebersberg also wrote a commentary on Song of Songs (c. 1065) in Middle High German (critical edition, 1967). Subsequently many other partial translations of the Bible appeared, mainly versions of the Psalter.

Toward the end of the 14th century, a second German Bible (restricted to the Old Testament), renowned for its improved style, made its appearance; the earliest manuscript copy of this translation, written by Martin Rother, was the so-called *Wenzel Bible* (Vienna, after 1389).

The first German Bible to appear in print was Johann Mentel's edition (Strasbourg, 1466), probably written about a century before. This translation, based on the Vulgate, was frequently revised and reprinted, inspiring 13 further pre-Lutheran editions. In 1477 the first Bible in Low German appeared in print. Johann Rellach of Resoem, who may have prepared the original of the 1466 edition, translated Joshua, Judges, and Ruth.

LUTHER AND THE PROTESTANT BIBLES. The classic German Bible is that of Martin *Luther, who transformed it into a German literary work. His translation, which created literary German and consolidated the Reformation, was the basis of all subsequent German versions and also of most other European translations. Luther's Bible, based on the Brescia Hebrew edition of 1495, continued the work of his pioneering New Testament (1522), with the Pentateuch, historical books, Hagiographa (1523–24), Prophets (1532), and Apocrypha (1534). His first complete Bible, *Biblia, das ist: die gantze Heilige Schrifft Deudsch* (6 vols., Wittenberg 1534), underwent 11 successive revisions during his lifetime. The last of these (1544–45) was reproduced at Halle in seven volumes (1845–55) and later reprinted in 1926–28. Over the years, Luther's Bible, which became the canonical version of the German Protestant church, also underwent linguistic revision. The so-called Lutheran Bibles that followed include the Uniform Bible (*Einheitsbibel*) of 1581, the Stader Bible of 1695, the so-called *Probebibel* (1883), and the revised editions of 1892 and 1912. Textual modifications affected not only the German style but also certain concepts that were clarified and explained in the light of later scientific research.

While Luther was engaged in his work, an Anabaptist translation of Prophets, by Ludwig Haetzer and Johann Denck, appeared at Worms in 1527. Until Luther's version reached completion there also appeared several, so-called, "Combined Bibles," in which those portions of the Bible which Luther had not yet completed were supplemented by other translations. The Zurich (Swiss-German) Bible (1527–29) of the Swiss Reformed Church largely preserved a suitable text reworked by Luther; the Prophets were translated by the "Zurich preachers"; and the Apocrypha were translated by Leo Jud, who also headed the project. This edition, repeatedly revised (1755–56, 1772, etc.), increasingly deviated from Luther's version. The so-called (Johannes) Piscator Bible (Herborn, 1602–03) was based on Latin translations and became the Berne Church Bible. Other Protestant editions were J.F. Haug's pietistic Berleburg Bible (8 vols., 1726–42), an adaptation of Luther's with reference to the Zurich text, and three others by J. Saubert (Helmstedt, 1665), Triller (Amsterdam, 1703), and Junckkerot (Offenbach, 1732).

From the 18th century onward, many other German Protestant Bibles made their appearance. Johann Lorenz Schmidt's so-called Wertheim Bible (1735), the first rationalist translation, again referred to the original Hebrew, as did J.D. *Michaelis' scholarly ecclesiastical edition (Goettingen, 7 vols., 1769–85). The translation produced by J.C.W. Augusti and W.M.L. de Wette (1809–14) was the first Bible to proceed from modern biblical investigation, but another translation by Bunsen (9 vols., 1858–70) was a more popular work. Later German Bibles include the edition of P.W. Schmidt and F. von Holtzendorff (1872); the sectarian Eberfeld Bible (1855); scholarly editions by Eduard Reuss (7 vols., 1892–94) and E.F. Kautzsch (1894; 1900; 1922–23^4); and two popular works, F.E. Schlacter's *Die Heilige Schrift; Miniatur Bibel* (1905, 1952^{20}) and Hermann Menge's Bible (1929; 1963). There are also scholarly translations in the exegetical works of W. Nowack, E. Sellin, and H.L. Strack and O. Zoeckler; and poetical versions by other scholars, such as H. Ewald's *Die Dichter des Alten Bundes* (2 vols., 1866–67), J. Wellhausen's *Die kleinen Propheten* (1893^2), Duhm's *Die poetischen und prophetischen Buecher des Alten Testaments…* (4 vols., 1897–1910), and H. Gunkel's *Ausgewaehlte Psalmen* (1917^4). Some leading German poets also turned their attention to the Old Testament, Goethe and Herder translating the Song of Songs (1778), and F. Rueckert attempting a metrical version of Isaiah 40–66 and the Minor Prophets (*Hebraeische Propheten*, 1831).

Some current translations are *Die Bibel in heutigen Deutsch* (1982), the 1984 edition of the Luther Bible, the 1995 edition of the evangelical and quite literal *Revidierte Eberfelder Bibel*, and the *Gute Nachricht Bibel* (rev. 1997).

CATHOLIC BIBLES. The earliest complete German Catholic Bible was that of Johann Dietenberger (Mainz, 1534), which was partly modeled on the works of Luther and Leo Jud. The second was by Luther's opponent, Johann Eck (Ingolstadt, 1537), who followed the Vulgate. Caspar Ulenberg's edition (Cologne, 1630), based on Dietenberger and the Vulgate, long remained the standard Catholic text and was often revised, the subsequent translations of T.A. Erhard (1722), G. Cartier (1751), Rosalino (1781), Seibt (1781), I. Weitenauer (1777–81), and Fleischuetz (1778) also referring occasionally to the original Hebrew. Another Catholic Bible appeared anonymously at Vienna in 1794. Heinrich Braun's version (1788–1805) provided the basis for the widely distributed edition of J.F. von Allioli (1830–37), which was revised by Arndt and furnished with notes indicating textual divergences between the Vulgate and the original (1898–99). C.M. Brentano made a translation from the original text (1797), and Jaeck, one from the Vulgate (1847), while Leander van Ess's Bible (1822; 1950–55) and that of V. Loch and W. Reischl (1851) enjoyed the success of Allioli's earlier translation. Modern Catholic editions include those of Nivard Schloegl (1920), which was the first critical edition under Catholic auspices. F. Feldmann and H. Herkenne (1923), J. Nikel (1911–33), P. Riessler (1924), and Pius Parsch (1952).

A work of special interest was the so-called *Biblia Pentapla* of 1710–12 (3 vols.), which compared the texts of Martin Luther, Caspar Ulenberg, and Johannes Piscator, the two remaining columns containing Joseph Witzenhausen's Judeo-German version and the Dutch *Statenbijbel* version. A parallel Bible of 1887–88 contained Luther's text together with a literal translation in modern German.

A translation that has seen widespread use is the *Einheitsuebersetzung* of 1980 (rev. 1994), which combines the work of Catholic and evangelical translators.

JEWISH BIBLES IN GERMAN. The first Jew to translate the Bible into High German was Moses Mendelssohn, whose work was fiercely attacked by the rigidly Orthodox (notably Ezekiel Landau and Phinehas Horowitz of Frankfurt) and repeatedly placed under a ban. Mendelssohn's closest collaborators were Solomon Dubno, Hartwig Wessely, Naphtali Herz Homberg, and Aaron Jaroslaw. The translation, printed in Hebrew characters, appeared under the title *Netivot ha-Shalom*, together with the original Hebrew and a commentary, designated *Be'ur* (*Biur*). Mendelssohn himself translated the Pentateuch (1783), Psalms (1785–91), Ecclesiastes (1770), and Song of Songs (1788; ed. J. Loewe and A. Wolfsohn), and he also prepared a version of the Song of Deborah. The project was completed by his collaborators and successors, the "Biurists." Translations of separate portions of the Bible were supplied by various scholars. A complete edition of the Minor Prophets, prepared by Moses Philippson (Arnswalde), Josef Wolf, Gotthold Salomon (S. Lipman), Israel Neumann, and Joel Loewe, appeared as *Minḥah Ḥadashah* (1805) and reappeared in Moses Israel Landau's edition of the complete Bible (1833–37). Aside from what Mendelssohn had himself prepared, the translation of the remaining biblical books was the work of M.J. Landau, Josef Weisse, Salomon Sachs, Wolf Mayer, Abraham Benisch, and Marcus Goldmann. Mendelssohn's Bible translation also appeared in German orthography (Genesis, 1780; Pentateuch, 1815). In contrast to Luther, who based his rendering of God's name, "der Herr," on the Greek *kyrios* of the Septuagint and the Latin *dominus* of the Vulgate, Mendelssohn used "der Ewige" ("The Eternal"), a term which was accepted by German-speaking Jews. Mendelssohn's work was a landmark for his community, providing a medium through which they could assimilate an elegant German and be weaned away from the Judaeo-German which they had spoken heretofore. It is thus forms a kind of opening to the modern German-Jewish experience, enabling the initial integration of Jews into modern German life and culture.

The next translator of the Bible was Josef Johlson, who furnished his text with scholarly notes (1831–36; only the first half was actually published). Separate biblical books were translated by A.A. Wolf, Phoebus Philippsohn. A. Bernstein (A. Rebenstein), S.H. Auerbach, L. Herzberg, L.H. Loewenstein, and Heymann Arnheim and Michael *Sachs (the combined work of the latter two was later retained in the Bible of Leopold Zunz). With the support of I.N. Mannheimer, Gotthold Salomon published *Deutsche Volksund Schul-Bibel* (1837), the first complete German Bible under Jewish auspices. In his *Die vierundzwanzig Buecher der Heiligen Schrift* (2 vols., 1837; 1935^{17}) L. Zunz translated only Chronicles, the remainder being the work of Arnheim, Julius Fuerst, and Sachs. Solomon *Herzheimer's edition (4 vols., 1841–48) was intended for Christians as well as Jews. Jacob Auerbach's *Kleine Schul- und Haus-Bibel* (1858) had a very wide distribution. *Die israelitische Bibel* (3 vols., 1839–54) of Ludwig Philippson was revised by W. Landau and S.I. Kaempf and illustrated with pictures by Doré; this had been preceded in 1865 by an Orthodox edition produced under the auspices of Isaac Dov (Seligman Baer) Bamberger, A. Adler, and M. Lehmann. Orthodox approval was also given to I. Cosman's Pentateuch (1847–52) and, above all, to Samson Raphael *Hirsch's translations of the Pentateuch (5 vols., 1867–78; 3 vols., 1956–58) and Psalms (1882; 1960), to which the latter's son, J. Hirsch, added a version of Isaiah (1911). Other editions were an *Illustrierte Pracht-Bibel* (1874) by J. Fuerst; a Pentateuch (1899, 1939^{7}) by J. Wohlgemuth and I. Bleichrode; and a complete Bible (1902; 1929^{5}) by Simon Bernfeld and H. Torczyner (4 vols., 1935–37).

Apart from the foregoing, there were also many German Jewish translations of individual books of the Bible, such as L.I. Mandelstamm and M. Kirschstein's edition of Genesis (3 vols., 1862–64). H. Graetz's version of Psalms (1881), and D.Z. Hoffmann's translation and commentary on Leviticus (2 vols., 1905–06) and Deuteronomy (2 vols., 1913–22). An isolated modern attempt to reproduce the Old Testament in German verse was that of M.A. Klausner's *Die Gedichte der Bibel* (1902). Two outstanding modern editions are Lazarus Goldschmidt's *Die heiligen Buecher des Alten Bundes* (the Pentateuch, historical books, and Prophets having appeared by 1923), which referred to rabbinic exegesis, and *Die Schrift* (15 vols., 1926–37?, rev. 4 vols., 1954–1968) by Martin *Buber and Franz *Rosenzweig, which endeavored to do justice to the language and rhythm of the Hebrew text. This last work forms a bracket to the history of modern German Jewry; in its conscious departure from Luther and its attempt to "Germanize the Hebrew" (the translators termed the work a "*Verdeutschung*"), it reversed the usual direction of translation. As mentioned a number of times previously, it has strongly influenced Bible versions in other languages, as well as contemporary (non-Jewish) German readers.

See also *German Literature.

Hungarian

In the 15th century the Hussite movement assailed the Latinity of the Church. Behind the heresy lay, among other social aims, the wish to make the Bible available to the masses, so that people might know the world of the Bible even in the oppressive reality of feudalism, and so become acquainted with the admonitions of the biblical prophets. The oldest Hungarian Hussite Bible translations are preserved in the late 15th-century Vienna codex (Ruth, Esther, Minor Prophets) and the Apor Codex (Psalms). The Codex of Dobrente contains the translations of the Song of Songs and Job (1508). The first Catholic Pentateuch survives in the Jordanszky Codex (1516–19). The Hungarian reformers translated the Bible in the spirit of Erasmus and also emphasized its social message. Unlike the Catholics, who adhered to the Vulgate, Protestant scholars referred to the Hebrew text of the Old Testament. Gáspár Heltai and four Protestant colleagues translated the entire Bible, but several books of the Hagiographa did not appear in this edition (Kolozsvar, 1552–65). The first complete, and most readable, Bible translation was that of Gáspár Károlyi, a Calvinist preacher (Vizsoly, 1590); revised by Albert Szenczi Molnár (1608), it became the official text of the Hungarian Protestant Church and was the basis of a modern (London) Bible Society version.

The Reformation enhanced the ecclesiastical importance of the Psalms, most translations of which were, however, merely paraphrases. Christian terminology and political references were inserted into the text, to the detriment of the original. The first renderings were those of Sztáray (1575), a more poetical version being that of Balint Balassa (1554–94). Accumulated accretions were eliminated by Miklós Bogáti Fazekas, a Unitarian preacher, in his unpublished versified translation of Psalms (1587). Protestant translations of Samuel, Kings, and Job were produced by Peter Melius Juhász in 1565–67.

The Bible translations of the 15th and 16th centuries were stimulated by social motives, while in the 17th century religious concern proved to be the creative force. The greatest accomplishment of Hungarian Protestantism at the time was the *Psalterium Ungaricum* of A. Molnár (Hanau, 1608). This was the first complete Hungarian translation of the Psalms in verse, running to more than 100 editions and it is still extant. It endured because of the beauty of its style and because of its faithfulness to the original text. Simon Péchi, the most renowned member of the Hungarian *Szombatos* (Sabbatarian) sect, who had a good command of the Hebrew language, interpreted the biblical text and his translation adhered strictly to the original (1624–29). The first complete Hungarian Catholic Bible was published by the Jesuit György Káldi (Vienna, 1626). Toward the end of the 17th century a new Protestant Bible translation was prepared by György Csipkés of Komorn (often called György Komáromi, 1675; published Leiden, 1719), who was widely known for his Hebrew sermons.

In time Károlyi's Bible was reworked and his text improved, while Samuel Kámory produced a new version of the Bible for Hungarian Protestants (1870). Poets began to be interested in the Psalms from an aesthetic point of view, the translations of Benedek Virág and Ferenc Versegi having a classical mood in antique verse form. More significant translations of Psalms were those by Károly Kálmán (1883), Sándor Sik (1923), and Béla Teleki (1929). Two versions of the Song of Songs were those of Károly Kerényi, which was based on the Latin text (1941), and István Bernáth (1962).

Although Mór Bloch (Ballagi) produced a Pentateuch in 1840, there was for a long time no demand for a Hungarian Jewish Bible, since the Jews of Hungary used Yiddish and German. The first complete Bible translation under Jewish auspices was that of the Jewish Hungarian Literary Society (IMIT), published in 1898–1907 (in 4 vols.), with Vilmos Becher, József Bánóczi, and Samuel Krauss as editors. Earlier partial translations were József Mannheim's Psalms (1865); H. Deutsch's Pentateuch and *haftarot* (1888); Mór Stern's Psalms (1888); Ignác Füredi's Joshua and Judges (1893); and the Füredi-Stern Pentateuch (1894–95). Bernát Frenkel edited and published the "Holy Scriptures for Family and School" (1924–26) and the IMIT began publishing a Bible for the young, which remained incomplete, only the first and second volumes being printed (1925). During the years 1939–42 the IMIT published a Hungarian version of the Pentateuch edited by Britain's chief rabbi, J.H. Hertz; this was the work of Michael Guttmann, Simon Hevesi, Samuel Loewinger, and others.

Hungarian Jewish prose versions of the Psalms began with Mór Rosenthal's translation (1841); later there were versified translations by József Kiss, Immanuel Loew, Emil Makai, and Arnold Kiss. The translations of Attila Gerö (1894) and Endre Neményi (1917) both displayed an original approach. Other versions of individual biblical books include Immanuel Loew's Song of Songs (1885) and Simon Hevesi's versified Lamentations (1916).

See also *Hungarian Literature.

Icelandic

Although there was no Icelandic translation of the Bible during the Middle Ages, the *Stjórn* ("Guidance") was, as a partial paraphrase of the historical books of the Old Testament, woven together with some later biblical books (republished 1956). Following the Reformation, Gudbrandur Thorláksson, bishop of Hólar, made a complete translation of the Bible (Holum, 1584). Like the Danish Bible of 1550 (Christian II Bible), this had marked literary power and mainly drew from Luther's translation. It was revised by a later bishop of Hólar, Torlak Skulasson, who referred to the Danish Christian IV edition of 1644. Bishop Steinn Jonsson's Icelandic version of H.P. Resen's Danish translation was so unsuccessful that the old edition of Skulasson had to be printed. Headed by the philologist S. Egilsson, an Icelandic commission later undertook a thorough revision of the Icelandic Bible (1841); the work was continued by Haraldur Nielsson in collaboration with other scholars (1912).

Italian

The earliest Italian versions of the Bible, preserved in manuscript, mostly contain only a traditional text, which perhaps originated in northern Italy during the 13th century, but which was also conceivably derived from Waldensian heretical circles. The version gave rise to the two Italian editions of the Bible (based on the Vulgate), which were published in Venice in 1471. Antonio Brucioli's translation (Venice, 1532) labored under the suspicion of heresy (in fact it inspired the Geneva Protestant Bible of 1562). It was followed by the 1607 Geneva version of the Italian Protestant, Giovanni Diodati, based on the original texts; widely distributed, this version has periodically been republished. Archbishop Antonio Martini's authoritative Catholic translation (based on the Vulgate) first appeared in 1776–81. Translations of separate biblical books include editions by G.B. de Rossi and G. Ugdulena in the 19th century, and modern ones by S. Minocchi, di Soragna, G. Ricciotti, and F. Valente as well as new versions of the complete Bible by the Waldensian Protestant, G. Luzzi (4 vols., 1921–30), and by the Pontifical Biblical Institute (1923–58). More recent works include the ecumenical translation of the *Conferenza Episcopale Italiana* (1974, along the lines of the *Bible de Jerusalem*), *Traduzione Interconfessionale in Lingua Corrente* (1985), *La Nuova Diodati* (1991), and *La Sacra Bibbia Nuova Riveduti* (1990 revision of the 1927 *Riveduti*). The CEI has also produced *La Bibbia interattiva* (1995), an ecumenical, modern-language version.

During the 16th and 17th centuries, Jewish Bible translations in Italian were undertaken by David de Pomis, whose Ecclesiastes appeared in 1571 (Job and Psalms were never printed), and C. Rieti (Proverbs, Venice, 1617). Leone Modena also compiled a glossary of the Old Testament entitled *Galut Yehudah* (1612). Jewish translations of the 19th century include those of I. Reggio (Pentateuch, 1821), Lelio della Torre (Psalms, 1854), Samuel David Luzzatto (Job, 1853; Isaiah, 1855–67; Pentateuch, 5 vols., 1858–60), and David Castelli (Ecclesiastes, 1866; Song of Songs, 1892; Job, 1897). A complete Bible was produced by Luzzatto and his disciples in 1866–75 and revised in 1960.

See also *Italian Literature.

Norwegian

The pre-Reformation *Stjórn* of Iceland (see below) was the first biblical work current in Norway. Norway subsequently turned to Denmark for translations of the Bible, even after the political separation of the two countries in 1814. With minor modifications, Hans Savning's revised Danish Bible of 1647 was Norway's standard text during most of the 19th century (rev. 1819, 1830, and 1873). After many tests the Norwegian Bible Society's new *Riksmål* (Danish-Norwegian) translation made its appearance in 1891. The scholars collaborating in this project included the theologian and Orientalist C.P. Caspari, who was of Jewish birth. Linguistically, this Norwegian Bible still remained close to literary Danish. A complete Protestant Bible in *Landsmål* (pure Norwegian) appeared in 1921 (revised in 1938). A Norwegian Catholic *Riksmål* Bible, based on the Vulgate, appeared in 1902 (revised in 1938).

Portuguese

The only notable early Portuguese translations of the Old Testament were the Protestant edition of João Ferreira d'Almeida (Batavia, 2 vols., 1748–53) and a Catholic Bible based on the Vulgate by Antonio Pereira de Figueiredo (Lisbon, 23 vols., 1778–90). A modern edition was published by M. Soares (1927–30), and a new Brazilian Portuguese Bible appeared by the Liga de Estudos Biblicos in 1955.

The upswing in evangelical movements in the 1990s has produced or spurred numerous translations, e.g., *Nova Versão Internacional* (1993/2000), *Almeida Revista e Corrigida* (1997), *and Bíblia na Linguagen de Hoje* (1998).

See also *Spanish and Portuguese Literature and *Ladino Literature.

Romanish (Raeto-Romance)

The neo-Latin dialects known as Romansh, Friulian, Ladin(o), etc., once spoken widely in Austria, northern Italy, and Switzerland, gave rise to Bible translations from the 16th century onward. A complete Romansh Bible was prepared by Vulpi and Dorte (1617) and another by later scholars in 1719.

Romanian

Among the earliest documents preserved in Romanian are two manuscript versions of the Psalms: the *Psaltirea Scheiană* (1482) and the *Psaltirea Voronet'eană* (1580). After the invention of printing, various editions of Psalms appeared. The first (1578, 1580) was produced by Coresi, a friar of Brasov; there subsequently appeared a translation in verse by the Moldavian metropolitan Dosoftei Uniev (1673) and a prose version by the metropolitan Antim Ivireanu (1694). Translations of the Psalter multiplied during the 18th century. The Prophets (1673) were soon followed by the first complete Romanian Bible, *Biblia lui Şerban* (Bucharest, 1688; revised, 1795), which was based on the Septuagint. This version of the Bible had a decisive impact on the Romanian language and greatly influenced later translations of the Bible. Other Romanian Bibles include those by Samuil Micu (1795), Ion Eliade Rădulescu (1858), and the outstanding modern Orthodox edition by Gala *Galaction and Vasile Radu (1938). The *Palia (Paloea)*, a Romanian version of Genesis and Exodus containing much legendary material, appeared in 1882. A 20th-century Romanian Protestant Bible, printed in both Cyrillic and Latin characters, was published by the British and Foreign Bible Society. The Cornilescu Version of 1923 remains available, including online. Two modern Romanian editions of the Pentateuch intended for Jewish readers were those of A. Gold (1902) and Moscovic.

See also *Romanian Literature.

Slavonic

BULGARIAN. Translations of the Bible that have been preserved among the Bulgarians are almost exclusively written in Old Church Slavonic. The revival of the old Bulgarian literary and ecclesiastical tradition had its origin in 16th-century Russia. Two modern Bulgarian Bibles are those of P.R. Slaveykov (Constantinople, 1860–64) and of the Orthodox synod (1925). By 1912, a complete Protestant Bible was published (in Constantinople); revisions followed in 1921 and 1924. Despite the strictures of Communist rule, several Bulgarian translations published abroad in the 1950s and 1960s found their way into the country. In 1995, a new Orthodox translation appeared; three new Protestant revisions were published in 2000–1.

CHURCH SLAVONIC. The oldest Slavonic version of the Bible is that of the missionary monks Cyril and Methodius (ninth century C.E.). Cyril, who first acquired a knowledge of Hebrew on a journey to the *Khazar kingdom, borrowed some Hebrew characters for the Slavic alphabet which he invented (see *Bulgarian Literature), and it is thus reasonable to suppose that he was familiar with the original Hebrew text of the Old Testament. It was probably toward the middle of the ninth century that the entire Book of Psalms and liturgical extracts from other biblical books (mainly the Pentateuch, Job, and the Prophets) were translated into Old Moravian, almost certainly with the assistance of Cyril. Presumably these Scriptural portions were first rendered into the Old Moravian tongue and only then into Old Bulgarian (Church Slavonic). According to some accounts, the work of Cyril (d. 869) was completed by his brother, Methodius (d. 885). Although neither the text nor the language of these translations has survived, it may be assumed that they were written in Moravian-Bulgarian. The historical influence and dissemination of the so-called Cyril-Methodius translation among the Slavic peoples passed from the Moravians to the Bulgarians, Serbs, and Poles, and then to the Russians. The Old Bulgarian biblical and liturgical texts reached the Russian Slavs in the second half of the ninth century C.E. – the era of Christianity's spread to the Kiev region. A manuscript Bible in Church Slavonic, dated 1499 and named after Archbishop Gennadi of Novgorod, is extant; revised editions of this translation appeared in 1581, 1663, and 1751.

CZECH AND SLOVAK. The earliest known translations of isolated biblical books into Czech probably date from the 13th century, but it was only in the 15th century, under the impact of the Hussite movement, that the entire Bible was first translated into Czech. John Huss revised and modernized earlier Czech versions at the beginning of the 15th century. The first Czech printed edition (1475) was based on the Vulgate. An impressive Czech version of the Scriptures, based on the original Hebrew and Greek texts, was Jan Blahoslav's *Kralice Bible* (1579–93). Another classic Czech translation was the Catholic Bible edited by Durich and Prochaska at the request of Empress Maria Theresa (1778). Other Czech versions include the Jesuit *Wenceslas Bible* (1677–1715) and that of Sýkora, which was revised by Hejčl and, in 1947, by Col and Josef Heger (1925–48), the latter noted for its stylistic distinction. Recent work continues on the stylistically modern *Nova Bible Kralicka* (NBK), following the trend in many countries that traditionally have used older, "classic" versions. Also in process is a "study edition," with appropriate software, of a translation by the Christian Mission Society. Also to be noted are the *Ekumenická Bible* (1985) and *Slova na cestu* (2000). The first complete Slovak Bible by J. Palkovič (1829–32) was followed by other Catholic versions based on the Vulgate. J. Rohaček's complete Protestant Bible (1926) was also a Slovak translation.

POLISH. Until the 13th century, Polish translations of the Bible were, it is believed, written in Polish Cyrillic rather than Latin orthography. By the end of the 13th century the earliest Polish versions in Latin script made their appearance: the so-called Queen Margaret Psalter and the Bible of Queen Sophia (also known as the Szaros Patak Bible). These texts were written in rather clumsy Polish and based on Czech prototypes. Two early Polish biblical translations were the 14th-century Florian Psalter (published 1834; critical edition by W. Nehring, 1883) and the 15th-century Puławy Psalter (published 1880). With the onset of the Reformation in Poland during the 16th century, various printed editions made their appearance: some Psalters, the first complete Bible in Polish, known as the Cracow Bible (or the Leopolita Bible) of Jan Leopolita (1561), the so-called Radziwill or Brésć Bible of the Polish Calvinists (1563), and S. Budny's Unitarian Nieśwież Bible (1572). Budny's was perhaps the most famous of these. They were followed by the classic Catholic edition of J. Wujek (Cracow, 1599), which was also used by Protestants and has been compared with the King James (Authorized Version) Bible in English. Wujek's edition greatly influenced the development of Polish as a literary language. Another Protestant translation was the Gdansk Bible (Danzig, 1639, reprinted in 1944). The Old Testament had a notable impact on many Polish writers from the 16th century onward. Jan Kochanowski's verse rendering of the Psalms (Cracow, before 1578) inspired a later version by Maciej Rybiński (1605) and paraphrases by Mikołaj Sép-Szarzyński (*Rytmy*, 1601) and other authors. Two 20th-century versions were the Pozńan Bible (1926–32) and the new Cracow Bible (1935; ed. by S. Styś and J. Rostworowski); in 1965 a new edition of the Scriptures was in preparation (to be called the Tyniec Bible). Translation activity since the fall of Communism includes the *Polish Millennium Bible* (1984) "Polish Bible Translation Project," in process under the auspices of the Evangelical Bible Institute in Poznan. Jewish translations of the Old Testament include those of J. Cylkow (1883–1914); F. Aszkenazy (1927–30); J. Mieses (1931); and S. Spitzer (1937). A modern version of Psalms was written by the émigré poet Janusz Artur Ihnatowicz.

See also *Polish Literature.

RUSSIAN AND UKRAINIAN. During the early pre-Mongol period of the Church Slavonic Bible in Russia (before 1240), there was, according to the hypothesis of Golubinski, a whole complex of Old and New Testament writings that were adopted by the Bulgarians. However, only fragments of these have been preserved, mainly the Psalms. On the other hand, a host of biblical texts from the post-Mongol period (15th century onward) has survived. The so-called Judaizing sects of the 15th century gave the strongest impetus to the codifications of the Bible. Adherents of the sects in Novgorod were in possession of a complete Russian Bible, and this moved the archbishop Gennadi to compare the texts of the Greek Orthodox Bible (Septuagint) with those of the Judaizers (see also above on Church Slavonic). With the exception of Esther, all the missing biblical books were translated from the Vulgate. Esther and Psalms were once thought to have been translated from the original Hebrew by the convert Fyodor (Theodore) the Jew, but this has been disputed by Harkavy. Gennadi's great achievement was to produce, for the first time in the annals of Church Slavonic literature, a complete and unified text of the Bible unconnected with the liturgy of the Orthodox church. The 16th-century Bible of the Moscow metropolitan Makari reverted to the former liturgical orientation and order of the biblical books. The first printed Psalter in Russian appeared in 1564–68. The first complete Ukrainian Bible, commissioned by Prince Constantine of Ostrog (1581), followed the text of Gennadi. The first Moscow edition of the Russian Bible (1663) was a more elegant version of the Ostrog text. Soon after this, an attempt was made by Avraami Firsov in his Psalter (1683) to translate the Scriptures into lively Russian. In 1714 Peter the Great commissioned a Church Slavonic Bible, whose text was compared with the Septuagint; this revision (the Czarina Elizabeth Bible) appeared in 1751 and was edited by Valaam Lyaschevski. Here the Old Testament was based on the Septuagint and those biblical books which had earlier appeared only in a translation based on the Vulgate were also translated from the Greek text.

Bible translations of the first half of the 19th century are linked with the activity of the Russian Bible Society. This development was impeded by the political reaction which marked the last years of the reign of Alexander I and the entire reign of Nicholas I. Translations of several biblical books from the original Hebrew, undertaken by the first Russian Hebraist Pavski in the mid-19th century, were placed under a ban. However, the Moscow metropolitan Philaret managed to obtain the Russian Orthodox synod's authorization for a Russian version of the Scriptures in 1860. From 1868 onward a complete translation of the Bible was undertaken by Daniel A. Chwolson; later collaborators in the project included Gulyayev and Bashanov. By virtue of its accuracy and style, this so-called Synodal Bible (1875) is the best available in the Russian language. Canonical books were translated from Hebrew; non-canonical portions, from the Greek and Latin. Ukrainian Bible translations were first attempted in the late Middle Ages, the earliest printed edition being that published at Ostrog in 1581. A Ukrainian version of Psalms appeared at Vilna in 1526, and complete Bibles were printed at Pochayev (1798) and Przemysl (1859), both of these being based on the Russian Czarina Elizabeth Bible of 1751. A 20th-century version was that of P. Kulish, I.S. Levytski, and J. Puluj (1903); another Orthodox Bible was by Metropolitan (John Ohienko) Ilarion (1962); and a third was the Catholic Bible of Ivan Khomenko (1963). All were translated from the original Hebrew and Greek texts. Translation activity has picked up in the 1990s, as in other formerly Communist countries. A Russian Protestant Bible, printed in London in 1875, was first banned in Russia, but a reprint prepared there was later permitted. A new illustrated Russian Old Testament, the first of its kind since the 1917 Revolution, was issued in 100,000 copies by the Soviet State Publishing House in 1967.

The translation of the Bible into modern Russian is clouded by a number of issues: the multiplicity of Russian literary styles, questions of authority and distribution, and above all the relatively small role the Bible has historically played in Eastern Orthodox liturgy and tradition (Batalden, 1990). The periodical *Mir Biblii* (1993–) contains articles, reviews, and translations of portions of Scripture into Russian by different translators.

Among Jewish scholars, various attempts were made from the 1860s onward to produce Russian translations of the Bible. Leon Mandelstamm published a Pentateuch in Berlin (1862), the second edition (1872) being accompanied by his version of Psalms. Pumpyasnski also issued a translation of Psalms (1872), which was followed by Proverbs in 1891. Meanwhile, the Society for the Enlightenment of the Jews in Russia had published a new version of the Pentateuch (1875), which was prepared by J. Herstein with the assistance of the Hebrew poet J.L. Gordon. Another version of the Pentateuch, that of Joshua Steinberg, appeared under the Society's auspices in 1899, and in 1906 Steinberg published translations of Joshua, Judges, and Isaiah.

See also *Russian Literature.

SERBIAN AND CROATIAN; WENDISH. Until 1847 the literary language of the Serbs was Old Slavonic, and Church Slavonic remained dominant in the Serbian Orthodox Church. The earliest complete translation of the Old Testament was produced by the reformer Primož Trubar in Slovenia during the late 16th century; a Croatian Lutheran edition appeared in Tuebingen (1563), and two 19th-century versions were prepared by Matia Petar Katančić in Croatia (1831) and by G. Daničić in Serbia (1865; revised, 1932, 1933). A popular version is the "Zagreb Bible" into modern language (1968). In 2002, the World Bible Translation Center – once again, an evangelical group! – finished a new Bible translation into Croatian; the *Biblija Prijevod KS* had appeared in 1988. A modern Serbian Bible was that of Petar Vlasić (1923–25).

The oldest Protestant translation of part of the Old Testament into the South Lusatian dialect of the Wends (a declining Slav people isolated in eastern Germany) was an edition of Psalms by Pastor Wille (Guben, 1753); a complete Bible was published by Johann Gottlieb Fritz (Cottbus, 1796). There were earlier translations into the North Lusatian Wendish dialect: Psalms by Paul Pretorius, and later Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Song of Songs, and Daniel by Christian Leonhardi Georg Dumisch (Loebau, 1719). A complete Bible by Johann Lange, Matthaeus Jockisch, and Johann Boehmer (Bautzen, 1727–28) was prefaced by an introduction in German. The Catholic Wends have no printed versions of the Bible apart from an edition of Psalms translated from the Hebrew by Johann Lara (1872).

See also *Yugoslav Literature.

Spanish

Translations of the bible into Spanish were undertaken in the 13th century, Jews and Christians collaborating in versions antedating 1250. Since the Old Testament translations were based on the original Hebrew rather than on the Vulgate (and perhaps also because of the interreligious scholarly activities), Juan I of Aragon prohibited further Bible translations in 1233, suspecting them of heretical tendencies. However, the more tolerant Alfonso the Wise (Alfonso x of Castile and Leon) encouraged the translation of the Bible into Spanish, but only parts of this version have been preserved. Numerous Bible manuscripts dating from the 14th century onward are extant, and these Spanish versions – some based on the Vulgate, others on the original Hebrew – were the work of Jews or Jewish apostates. The most important of these was the Alba Bible (1422–33), which Moses *Arragel produced at the command of Don Luis de Guzmán, Grand Master of the Order of Calatrava; an edition of this Bible appeared in Madrid in 1920–22. During the 16th–18th centuries, Spanish Catholic scholars only translated the Psalms, the biblical "songs," and the wisdom books, although Fray Luis de León wrote a version of Song of Songs (c. 1561; printed, Madrid, 1798) based on the original Hebrew. Two Protestant translations of the complete Bible (based on the Hebrew text) were Cassiodoro de Reina's (Basle, 1567–69) and an edition by Cipriano de Valera (Amsterdam, 1602). Later Catholic Bibles by Felipe Scio de San Miguel (Valencia, 1790–93) and Felix Torres Amat (1823–25) appeared, as well as translations of separate biblical books by Garcia, Carvajal, and other scholars. The last great Jewish Bible project in Spanish, Abraham Usque's Ferrara edition of 1553, was based on Arragel's 15th-century version and is thought to have inspired translators in Christian Spain. Two modern Spanish Bibles have been produced by E. Nácar Fuster and C.E. Colunga (1944; 1959^9) and J.M. Bover and F. Cantera Burgos (2 vols., 1947). In 1960 a revision of the classic Reina-Valera version in simple language appeared; it was updated in 1995. The year1985 saw a translation along the lines of TEV, *Dios habla hoy* (*Version Popular*). As elsewhere over the last two decades, evangelical-inspired translations have been published in Spanish, notably *Nueva Versión Internacional* (1999, following the method of NIV, but from the original languages), *La Biblia de las Américas* (1986/1997), and the World Bible Translation Center's *La Palabra de Dios para Todos* (2005).

Swedish

There was no complete Swedish translation of the Bible during the Middle Ages, although individual biblical books were translated during the 14th and 15th centuries. However, after the Reformation, the Gustav Vasa Bible, directed by the archbishop Laurentius Petri, appeared in 1541 and was widely used for some time. A revised version, the Charles XII Bible (1702–03; 1961ff.), which was more closely modeled on Luther's translation, was Sweden's authorized "Church Bible" for a considerable time. A thorough revision of this work, the product of more than a century's research (1773–1878), never received official recognition. A new translation, produced by many scholars, including the philologist Tegnér, enjoyed greater success and, on its completion in 1917, received royal approbation. The outstanding private translation of the Bible was that of HM Melin. A Swedish Catholic translation of the Bible, based on the Vulgate, appeared in 1895. A new Lutheran translation, in preparation for over two decades, is *Bibel 2000*. It is cast in contemporary language.

[David Jacob Simonsen]

Other Languages

Complete Bibles and portions of the Old Testament have also been translated into hundreds of other languages in recent centuries; versions in many of the more remote languages and dialects were the work of Protestant missionary groups, particularly the British and Foreign Bible Society, during the 19th and 20th centuries. Maltese Bible translations include M.A. Camillari's edition of Psalms based on the Hebrew text (1845), R. Taylor's Psalms and Song of Songs (1846), C. Cortis' Ruth (1924), and P.P. Saydon's complete Maltese Bible, *Il-Kotba Mkaddsa bil-Malti* (1929–59). The earliest modern Greek translations of the Old Testament, consisting of the Pentateuch and other biblical books, were probably the work of an unknown Jewish scholar of the 14th century. There were also two early versions of Jonah in *Judeo-Greek. Two early Judeo-Greek works printed at Constantinople were a translation that appeared in the Polyglot Pentateuch (1547) and Job (1576) by Rabbi Moses b. Elias Pobian. A Greek Christian version of Psalms, based on the Septuagint, was published in 1543. The first complete Bible in modern Greek was the Protestant edition of 1840, and an entirely new version was in preparation in Athens during the 1960s, but this was denied general distribution owing to the hostile policy of the Greek government. A Protestant Basque Bible (1859–65), based on the Vulgate was published in London, and Catholic Lithuanian Bibles appeared in 1922 and 1936.

Celtic versions of the Scriptures were first attempted in the Middle Ages, the earliest being a partial translation in Welsh (1346). The English Reformation gave a considerable impetus to Celtic Bible translation. The first complete Welsh Bible was produced by William Morgan and others in 1588 (revised 1620 by R. Parry and J. Davis), and this remained in use with only slight modifications well into the 20th century. An interdenominational Welsh Bible project was begun in 1926 and again after World War II. The first complete Irish (Erse) Bible, based on the English Authorized Version, was produced by Bishop William Bedell and others (1685), and inspired the Scots Gaelic edition of 1783–1801. A new Irish Protestant Bible appeared in 1817. An Irish Catholic Pentateuch, based on the Vulgate, was published in 1861 together with an annotated English text. Two Breton Bibles of the 19th century were Le Gonidec's Catholic edition of 1866 and G. Le Coat's Protestant version of 1889.

The more exotic translations include versions of the Scriptures in Chinese, Japanese, and American Indian dialects. There have been pioneering Bible translations in Sanskrit (1822), Chinese (1823), and Burmese (1834), as well as many translations into the dialects of India. The first Japanese Protestant Bible appeared in the late 19th century (1887), a Catholic version being published only in 1959. A widely distributed Japanese Protestant edition, the work of Japanese scholars, was published in 1955, and the first complete Catholic Bible, in 1964. In North America, John Eliot produced the earliest Amerindian Bible for the Massachusetts Indians in 1663, and by 1830 parts of the Bible had been translated and printed in the Creek and Cherokee languages of the "Five Civilized Tribes," using the alphabet devised by the Cherokee chief Sequoyah. Recent translations along these lines include 2002's Tzotil: Chamula Bible, produced for an indigenous people in Chiapas, Mexico, and a draft of a Bible in Iniktitut, the language of Canadian Inuits, released the same year. Translation work is also burgeoning in Africa: Jerusalem's Home for Bible Translators and Scholars, in conjunction with the Hebrew University's Rothberg International School, has for some years trained participants in biblical Hebrew, with the goal that they may translate the Hebrew Bible for Christians into mostly African languages with a potential readership of 35 million. In the age of the Internet, Bible translations into non-European languages (e.g., Amharic, Creole, Maori, and Vietnamese) may also be found online.

At the turn of the twenty-first century, what is avowedly missionary work continues to produce translations into most of the world's languages and dialects, reaching especially into the Third World. That the Bible remains the gold standard for demonstrating the translator's art can be seen, taken to its logical but absurd conclusion, in the handling of some biblical texts by fans of the late twentieth century television program *Star Trek*. In 1994 a translation of the book of Jonah into Klingon, the language of a fictional planet of aliens, appeared, thus beginning one of several renditions of biblical texts into languages which technically do not exist.

In Cyberspace

Bible translation is well suited for representation on the Internet. A variety of websites explore theoretical aspects of translation as they apply to the Bible as well as provide detailed information about individual translations, even making some of them available online. Further, there are a number of sophisticated software programs (searchable on the Internet under "Bible software programs") which, in addition to providing analytical tools for searching terms and forms in both Hebrew and English, make it possible to toggle between multiple translations of the same passage. They constitute a valuable tool for immediate comparison and for conveying at least a preliminary sense of translation possibilities.

Websites that discuss issues of Bible translation are most easily found under the rubrics "Bible translation," "Bible versions," "modern Bible translation," and "[a particular language] Bible translation." A good deal of information may be found on the websites of the American Bible Society and the International Bible Society; not surprisingly, these organizations, along with the others such as the United Bible Society and the World Bible Translation Center, have as their express purpose the active promotion of Christianity. Thus, many or even most sites on Bible translation are doctrinally driven; a discriminating reader may still, however, glean much useful information from them.

At the turn of this century, one new media-driven development is the NET (New English Translation) Bible, a fresh version which seeks to be simultaneously conservative (i.e., evangelical) and scholarly, and is intended for viewing on and printing off the Web. It contains extensive notes on the text and its translation which are accessible with a mouse click; revisions will be electronically incorporated as time goes on. The avowed purpose of the work is "translating passages consistently and properly within their grammatical, historical, and theological context."

[Everett Fox (2nd ed.)]

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EXEGESIS AND STUDY

TALMUDIC LITERATURE

The voluminous body of talmudic literature – the *Oral Law – is essentially a compilation of hermeneutic, interpretative, and analytic exegesis of the Bible – the Written Law. According to rabbinic tradition, Moses not only received the Oral Law on Mount Sinai, but also the definitive explanation of the meaning buried in the Torah's compact and cryptic literary style. "Moses received the Torah from Sinai and transmitted it to Joshua" (Avot 1:1), providing the material on which generations of exegetes worked, creating the vast store of talmudic literature. According to the talmudic tradition, *Ezra, upon his arrival in Palestine, founded the institution of the *scribe (*sofer*), whose contribution to the teaching and understanding of the Bible has been fundamental. "These early scholars were called *soferim* [which can mean "scribes" or "reckoners"]" the Talmud relates, "because they used to count all the letters in the Torah" (Kid. 30a). In order to certify a biblical text as traditionally correct, the *soferim* first counted the letters to ascertain omissions or additions. The scribal appellation has been associated with certain facets of talmudic interpretative work (see above, The History of the Biblical Text).

The scribes continued their work until the end of the period of the Great Assembly. The *tannaim, who emerged toward the end of the scribal era (second century B.C.E.), together with the *amoraim* (third–sixth centuries C.E.), devoted their efforts to teaching their disciples the true meaning of Scripture. They practiced their exegetical methods on such subjects as theology, ethics, lexicography, homiletics, and religious and civil law. The body of their work is incorporated in the Talmud corpus, comprising the Mishnah, *Gemara*, Tosefta, and *baraita*. An important repository of exegetical work is the midrashic literature, which is made up of a number of collections reflecting different approaches to the task of transmitting the essence of the biblical text; one approach is the halakhic, which produced a collection of Midrashim in order to explain the legalistic (ritual and tort) portions of the Bible and the manner in which the commandments were to be fulfilled. Notable among the collection of halakhic Midrashim are the **Mekhilta*, **Sifrei*, and **Sifra*. Collections exemplifying the aggadic approach, or use of parable and anecdote to explain the text, include, among others, *Genesis Rabbah* and **Ecclesiastes Rabbah*. **Pesikta* and **Tanḥuma* are collections of Midrashim representing the homiletical approach. Based on the Sabbath Torah reading, homilies are arranged according to the text of the weekly portion. Methodologically, a complex system of exegesis was employed. It consisted of a diversified analysis of the text by one or all of the elements of **pardes*, an acronym representing the following: *peshat*, literal translation; *remez*, implied meaning; **derash*, homiletic comprehension; and *sod*, mystical, allegorical meaning. *Peshat* and *derash* are the more popular methods of exegesis, since they are comprehensible to most, while *remez* and *sod* represent the esoteric, mystical, and kabbalistic approaches. These latter exegetical methods were at times considered dangerous for use by the unscholarly man, who might arrive at misinterpretations and risk heresy. *Peshat* is an objective method of obtaining the literal meaning of a passage by analysis of the language, whereas *derash* is a subjective method which attempts to make the text applicable to the time of the exegete. The sages believed that the Oral Law accompanied the receipt of the Written Law, and that it renews itself in each era, i.e., the interpretation of the Oral Law, which is a continuous process, reformulates the Bible's eternal verities, giving them continuing applicability.

*Shemaiah and *Avtalyon were among the earliest expositors of the law. Their disciple, *Hillel, formulated the seven *hermeneutical precepts by which exegesis could be accomplished. These precepts were subsequently expanded by R. *Ishmael into 13 principles, and finally by R. *Eliezer into 32 rules. Two great schools of midrashic interpretation emerged, those of R. Ishmael and R. *Akiva. R. Ishmael's approach was didactic and literal, because he believed that the Torah is written in the language of ordinary usage, and, therefore, holds no hidden meanings. R. Akiva, however, analyzed each word (see above, The History of the Biblical Text). These two schools produced the material collected in *Mekhilta, Sifrei*, and *Sifra*. At times, the lines between the respective schools were not clear because disciples were not above enlisting other methods, perhaps more suitable for a particular topic.

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[Abraham Zimels]

MEDIEVAL RABBINIC COMMENTARIES

From the period of the *geonim* until the age of the Haskalah (about 1,000 years), Bible exegesis constituted one of the main themes of Jewish literature, not only in books especially devoted to biblical exegesis, but also in those dealing with philosophy or linguistic research, which often included interpretations of biblical verses. Generally speaking, two broad approaches to biblical exegesis are discernible – the literal and the homiletical. In the former the commentator bases himself on the plain meaning of the text and on the context, and the interpretation is objective. In the homiletic approach the commentator strives to interweave his ideas with the text even if the simple meaning of the language and the context are at variance with his interpretation, and his interpretation is subjective. Homiletic commentary developed because of various cultural requirements and because of the necessity of finding a correspondence between scriptural views and the prevailing opinion in different ages.

A considerable portion of the exegesis of the geonic period consisted of assembling and editing material, much of which had accumulated through traditions handed down over the generations. Included in this material were midrashic collections and the masorah. The task of the masorah scholars, particularly in establishing vocalization and cantillation, was of the utmost importance, providing as they did the most valuable interpretation of the Bible. Vocalization and cantillation insured correct reading of the biblical text and were established, as a rule, in accordance with the *peshat*, the literal meaning. The greatest commentators such as *Rashi, Abraham *Ibn Ezra, and others, based their interpretations on the masorah.

In additon to this work of collation new and original works were created in the geonic period, opening up fresh paths in the field of exegesis and powerfully influencing succeeding generations. Two historic events led to this development: the expansion of Islam and the rise of *Karaism. The efflorescence of learning and science among the Muslims influenced the Jews living among them to participate in philosophic enquiry and linguistic research. Along with the decline of Aramaic as the vernacular came a decline in the use of Aramaic translations of the Bible. The intensification of the Karaite-Rabbanite controversy over readings and interpretations of biblical texts also contributed to this development. The Karaites produced a number of commentators, among them *Anan, the founder of Karaism, who in his interpretations frequently applied the hermeneutic methods of the tannaitic Midrashim, and Benjamin *Nahawāndī, who made use of allegorical explanations. The Rabbanites were thus compelled to intensify their biblical research and to seek new methods of exegesis.

The Work of Saadiah Gaon and Its Influence

The new era was ushered in by *Saadiah Gaon, a considerable portion of whose extensive literary work is connected with Bible commentary. Saadiah endeavored to prove the impossibility of explaining the Scriptures without the masorah and to show that the Midrashim and *halakhot* of the rabbinic sages were based on the literal meaning of scriptural texts. In this context, Saadiah's Arabic translation of the Bible and his commentaries are noteworthy. The translation is actually a paraphrase of the text. His commentaries, particularly those on the Pentateuch, include a wealth of material: explanation of the text, linguistic and philosophic research, and polemics, directed primarily against the Karaites. He even composed a special work against the extreme and heretical views of *Ḥīwī al-Balkhī on biblical subjects.

As a result of Saadiah's biblical studies, Bible commentary emerged from the sphere of homiletics to embark upon the pursuit of direct and close exposition of the biblical text. In his linguistic and philosophic approach Saadiah provided directives for scholars who came after him. That influence is particularly noticeable in *Samuel b. Hophni and his son-in-law *Hai. Samuel b. Hophni, an unusually prolific writer, engaged extensively in Bible commentary. In addition to translating the Scriptures into Arabic, he applied himself to philosophic inquiry. His attempts to explain miracles as natural phenomena were attacked by Hai.

In Spain

A significant flowering of Bible commentary took place in Spain, which had its basis in the researches of *Menahem b. Jacob ibn Saruq, his critic *Dunash b. Labrat, and Menahem's pupil, *Judah b. Ḥayyuj (tenth century). Although their works are mainly concerned with grammatical and linguistic considerations, they are interspersed with numerous elucidations of verses and individual words in Scripture. The novelty of their approach lies in its philological orientation.

Particularly important are the investigations of Jonah *Ibn Janāḥ (Abu al-Walīd) in *Sefer ha-Rikmah* and *Sefer ha-Shorashim*. In illustrating and elucidating his philological and grammatical rules, he cites many biblical passages, explaining them in a profound and original manner. He is unfettered in his inquiry, at times ignoring the masoretic text, and, in some instances, even transposing and emending biblical texts. Though his deviation from the masorah provoked much opposition, his influence on later commentators was very great.

Ongoing progress in Hebrew linguistics produced the philological commentary, two of whose famous exponents were Moses ha-Kohen *Gikatilla and Judah *Ibn Balʿam (11th century). The former is characterized by his freedom and originality, interpreting, for example, the predictions of the prophets as applying strictly to their own times and not to the Messianic era. Judah ibn Balʿam opposed his approach, writing in a far more conservative spirit. In a class by itself stands the Bible research of Moses *Ibn Ezra. Though his book *Shirat Yisrael* was expressly written as a guide to the composition of poetry, his analysis of the various literary forms – "The Twenty Portals of Poetic Embellishment" – is rich in biblical references. Ibn Ezra's investigations bear the strong impress of Arabic poetry and of the scholarship in that area. Belonging to a completely different class of commentary, which was also greatly influenced by Arab culture, is philosophical commentary (see below).

Literal Commentary

Of a quite different nature is the literal commentary, fostered by Rashi and his disciples, which flourished in northern France, and which is relatively free of outside influence. The Jews of France, though occasionally engaging in discussion with Christians on the interpretation of biblical passages, had only limited cultural relations with their neighbors, whose standards in this area in any event were quite low. Thus, their commentaries do not contain such philosophical or philological elements as abound in the commentaries of the Spanish school. The commentary of this school is characterized by the search after the plain meaning, although a certain conflict is discernible between the inclination toward homiletical exegesis and the conscious effort to explain biblical passages according to their plain meaning.

The interpretations of *Menahem b. Ḥelbo contain much homiletics. Rashi, too, introduced many ancient rabbinic Midrashim, but only in addition to the plain meaning, frequently remarking that they were not to be taken as representing the literal meaning of the passage. Rashi often reiterates as his aim the explanation of the text according to its plain meaning or according to the closest aggadic interpretation. This tendency becomes even more marked with Rashi's successors Joseph *Kara, *Samuel b. Meir, *Eliezer of Beaugency and Joseph *Bekhor Shor. It is somewhat surprising that this phenomenon should exist particularly in northern France. Samuel b. Meir and Joseph Bekhor Shor, for example, who are outstanding exponents of literal commentary, are also among the foremost tosafists, and their method with regard to their biblical exegesis is in contrast to that adapted by them in their talmudic exposition. In some instances they even assigned to a biblical text a meaning at variance with the *halakhah*, despite the fact that the *halakhah* was unquestioningly accepted by them, their serene spirit and unswerving faith ruling out any feeling of strain or conflict. A contributing factor to the growth of literal exposition may have been the need felt to counter christological interpretations of certain biblical passages, although these commentators – and particularly Rashi – had a definite influence on some of the Christian biblical exegetes.

Synthetic Commentary

Certain commentators embody all the above methods of interpretation. The main representatives of this synthetic approach are: Abraham ibn Ezra, David *Kimḥi and Naḥmanides. Their commentaries include philological, philosophical, literal, homiletical and, in the case of Naḥmanides, even kabbalistic elements.

While Ibn Ezra bases his commentary principally on the philologic method, contributing much to linguistic research, he also introduces many philosophical explanations. In dealing with halakhic material, he accepts the rabbinic **Midrash Halakhah*, but opposes *Midrash Aggadah* when it is in conflict with the plain meaning of Scripture. He argues that homiletical explanations should not always be taken literally, there being even in *halakhah* instances of derivations which are only formally associated with a biblical verse.

Joseph *Kimḥi was active in Narbonne at the same time and was followed by his sons, Moses and David. The latter's work constitutes a kind of melting pot for the various methods of commentary. From Spain he borrowed the topical, philological, and philosophical commentary, and from Franco-Germany the literal and homiletic methods. He very frequently quotes Midrashim, but gives the literal interpretations with them. He has little recourse to philosophic commentary, resorting to it only when he sees a special need to do so.

An important turning point is reached with the introduction by Naḥmanides of Kabbalah into his Bible commentary. Naḥmanides' approach, too, is eclectic, a blend of the Franco-German school with that of Spain, but the emphasis is less on philological commentary than on a penetrating investigation of the context. Though he discusses the problems raised by philosophers, he does not regard the rational aspect as paramount, and in many places attacks the Aristotelian approach. On occasion, along with other interpretations which he considers acceptable, Naḥmanides quotes from the "Secret Discipline," the Kabbalah, but he employs it sparingly. It is included as an adjunct only, mostly by way of mere allusion and intended solely for those with a knowledge of Kabbalah.

Later Commentary

Philosophic commentary enjoyed a resurgence despite Naḥmanides' opposition, especially in the 14th century. This trend was continued, with certain limitations, by Isaac *Abrabanel in 15th-century Spain. Though he resorts to philosophic explanations, he is at the same time often opposed to the rational approach to Bible commentary. He does not touch on philological questions in his interpretations, confining himself to the conceptual problems arising from Scripture.

In the 16th and 17th centuries occupation with biblical exposition diminished. Two commentators, however, who stand out in this period are David and Hillel *Altschuler, who wrote literal commentaries on the Prophets and the Hagiographa. Their commentaries, *Meẓudat David* and *Meẓudat Ẓiyyon*, attained wide circulation, though they were for the most part gleanings from the works of others (see also *Malbim). Gradually, under the influence of the *pilpul* which characterized Torah study in Poland, there was introduced into biblical commentaries the method of "novellae and ingenious interpretations." A fundamental change in biblical exegesis took place in the Haskalah period. It is characterized by the great influence of Christian Bible commentary on Jewish exposition and, in the wake of this, the expansion of Bible criticism. These are discussed below.

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[Avraham Grossman]

ALLEGORICAL INTERPRETATIONS

Allegorical interpretation of Scripture is concerned with the "inner" or "spiritual" meaning of the biblical text. Used consistently in the writings of Philo, the Church Fathers, the medieval Jewish philosophers, and the kabbalists down to the ḥasidic teachers, this method does not necessarily discard the literal meaning (*peshat*) but tends to prize the allegorical one more highly. While the Bible itself makes occasional use of allegory, the allegorists claim the right to treat the Bible as a whole or certain of its parts, as a series of allegorical expressions.

(1) Rabbinic *aggadah* and Midrash employed the allegorical method in an uninhibited homiletic rather than in a systematic manner. Their guiding motive was not, as that of the allegorists, a concern for the true, inner meaning of the text, but a pious endeavor to find "everything" (Avot 5:22), in Scripture, to make every biblical passage or word (Sanh. 34a) yield as many "meanings" (*te'amim*) as necessary. Thus while the *aggadah* and Midrash contain many instances of allegorism (*mashal* or *dugma*), these fail to exhibit, as I. Heinemann has shown, any pattern of consistency. The only exceptions are the allegorical interpretations of Proverbs 31:10–31 (the "woman of valor" being understood as the Torah) and of the Song of Songs. But even in the interpretation of the Song of Songs at least three different allegorical themes are apparent: the love between God and Israel; the exodus; interpretations of Jewish laws. Ezekiel's vision of the resurrected dry bones (ch. 37) and the figure of Job are described as allegories (BB 15a; Sanh. 92b), but no detailed allegorical interpretation of these texts is provided. Nor was Proverbs, in spite of its suggestive title

(*mishlei*), expounded allegorically, except for a few passages (including 31:10ff.) and terms (e.g., "father," God; "mother," Israel). Systematic, philosophical allegory was absent in rabbinic literature because no philosophical system presented a real challenge to the literal meaning of Scripture.

(2) The situation, however, differed radically among Hellenistic Jews, many of whom felt the need to prove that the teachings of the Bible are consonant with Greek wisdom. Here the allegorical method, which had been used by the Stoic philosophers to interpret the old Greek myths, provided a means of harmonization. It appears, however, that at first Hellenistic Jewish writers were reluctant to use allegory. The Greek version of the Bible, the Septuagint (see above), shows hardly any traces of it. *Aristobulus of Paneas, who is considered an allegorist (see Eusebius, *Praeparatio Evangelica* 8:10, 2), does distinguish between "mythical" expressions in the Bible and their allegorical sense, i.e., their "physical" or cosmological meaning. However, he only offers metaphorical interpretations of anthropomorphic descriptions of God. The Letter of *Aristeas, on the other hand, emphasizes the symbolic meaning of Jewish law and ritual, and does so for apologetic reasons. Similarly, the Wisdom of *Solomon uses allegorical interpretations: the garments of the high priest, for instance, are said to represent an image of the entire cosmos (18:19). The sect of the *Therapeutae is likewise described by Philo (Cont. 78) as employing the allegorical exposition of Scripture. Nevertheless, it is only in Philo himself that the method comes into its own. According to *Philo, the true significance of Scripture lies in the "underlying meaning" (*hyponoia*, also termed *allegoria*), which is "obscure to the many" and comprehensible only to "the few who study soul characteristics rather than bodily forms." According to H.A. Wolfson, "everything in Scripture, from names, dates, and numbers to the narration of historical events or the prescription of rules for conduct, is to Philo subject to allegorical interpretation" (*Philo*, 1 (1947), 116). Yet this does not mean that the historicity of the Bible or, for that matter, its legal validity is dissolved; its literal meaning is upheld. Thus, the three men who appeared to Abraham (Gen. 18), while representing metaphysical symbols, are still to be regarded as real beings; and, the laws of the Pentateuch, no matter how spiritual in significance, are still to be observed. In fact, Philo denounced those allegorists who regarded practical observances as superfluous (Migr. 93). His main concern, however, was to impress the authority of the Bible upon Jews and Gentiles by showing that its symbolic language concealed profound metaphysical and psychological truths; and that its laws were meant to guide the soul toward the contemplation of God by freeing it from material attachments. His allegorism bears all the marks of a deeply personal spiritual religion.

(3) In the medieval period allegorism in its proper sense, as distinct from the mere employment of metaphorical interpretation, was applied by Jewish neoplatonic and Aristotelian philosophers and kabbalists. By contrast, the Jewish theologians following the methods of Islamic *Kalām, did not engage in allegorism but were content to treat biblical anthropomorphism as metaphors (*ta'wīl*). *Saadiah Gaon laid down the philosophic position on the propriety as well as the limitations of metaphorical interpretation (*ta'wīl*) and it was later acknowledged by Abraham *Ibn Daūd and *Maimonides. According to Saadiah, the literal meaning of a biblical text is to be discarded in favor of *ta'wīl* in four instances only: if it is contradicted by sense perception, by reason, by some other explicit text, or by rabbinic tradition qualifying its apparent meaning. He argued that if license were given for metaphorical interpretation in other than these four instances, all the commandments of the Torah and all the miraculous events narrated in Scripture might be explained as mere metaphors (*Book of Beliefs and Opinions*, 7). Saadiah upholds the literal meaning of passages presumably referring to the resurrection of the dead, but insists on the metaphorical sense of the anthropomorphic descriptions of God. His use of the *ta'wīl* method is sufficiently restricted to prevent allegorism on any significant scale.

(4) Under the impact of neoplatonic and Aristotelian philosophy the situation changed fundamentally. Having expanded the meaning of *ta'wīl* to include the philosophic interpretation of doctrinal matters, the Islamic neoplatonic and Aristotelian philosophers distinguished between the "inner" (*bāṭin*) and "apparent" (*ẓāhir*) meaning of certain words and teachings of the Koran, treating the "apparent" meaning as an allegory replete with philosophic truth. Concurrent with this distinction it was often held that the philosophical truths contained in the allegory should be kept secret from the multitude. Following this tradition Moses *Maimonides insists that the true meaning of certain biblical passages, such as Ezekiel's vision of the Chariot, and chapters in Proverbs, etc., lies in the philosophical truths which they express in allegorical fashion and which should not be revealed to the philosophically untrained. Applying the simile of Proverbs 25:11 ("A word fitly spoken is like apples of gold in settings of silver"), he said that "the inner meaning bears the same relation to the apparent one as gold to silver" (Guide, introd.). Here allegory proper comes into its own. The "inner" meaning is considered superior to the "apparent" one since it alone establishes "the truth in all its reality" (*ibid.*). Philosophic truth, as far as it is demonstrable, is thus made the arbiter of biblical exegesis. Maimonides was less radical when he interpreted anthropomorphic or spatial terms applied to God as either homonyms or metaphors. Maimonides cites the rabbinic phrase, "The Torah speaks in the language of men" (BM 31b), in the sense that Scripture speaks of God in terms appropriate to the mental capacity of the multitude (Guide 1:26). This phrase had already been applied in this sense by earlier exegetes and theologians such as Judah *Ibn Quraysh, *Jacob b. Nissim, *Baḥya ibn Paquda, Judah *Halevi and others. The question of the legitimacy of the allegorical method had been raised by Abraham *Ibn Ezra, who rejected the search for hidden meanings (*sodot; ḥidot*) in passages whose plain meaning did not conflict with reason or sense perception. He also asserted that the apparent and the

inner meanings should be allowed to coexist, like body and soul (Commentary on the Torah, introd., method no. 3).

The issue of the merits or demerits of allegorism became pronounced at the close of the 13th century and was keenly contested in the polemical literature of the second *Maimonidean controversy. While Maimonides declared as allegorical all biblical passages (1) announcing a change in the laws of nature (in the messianic age), (2) dealing with the resurrection of the dead, and (3) foretelling the ultimate destruction of the world, he warned (as reported by Joseph ibn *Aknin) against allegorizing biblical laws.

Maimonides interprets Ezekiel's vision of the Chariot as an allegory of metaphysical doctrines conforming to his neoplatonic brand of Aristotelianism, but he saw no compelling reason to allegorize the biblical account of the createdness of the world, maintaining that Aristotle's view of the eternity of the world had not been demonstrated. Other instances of allegorism in Maimonides are that the ladder in Jacob's dream means the ascent of prophetic knowledge; the adulterous wife in Proverbs 7 is an allegory of matter; the Song of Songs is an allegory of man's love for God. Some of Maimonides' successors went beyond the limitations he had imposed upon himself. Following the more radical allegorism of *Averroes, Isaac *Albalag interpreted the biblical account of the creation in the sense of eternal creation. *Levi b. Gershom, taking his cue from Maimonides' cryptic remarks in the *Guide* 2:30, saw in the story of Paradise an allegory of the human soul, its faculties and its rise to felicity. Jacob *Anatoli and *Levi b. Abraham of Villefranche (author of *Livyat Ḥen*) were frequently denounced as radical allegorists. There is, however, little evidence in their works to justify this accusation. The animosity toward allegorism shown by the traditionalists (e.g., Solomon b. Abraham *Adret) stemmed chiefly from their observation that the philosophical interpretation of Scripture tended to weaken practical religious observance. Jacob b. *Reuben, author of *Milḥamot ha-Shem* (12th century), had already polemicized against those who "twist the verses of Scripture by the allegorical method" (*be-derekh dimyon u-mashal*) and thereby "bring themselves into disrepute" (*le-mashal ve-li-sheninah*; ed. J. Rosenthal (1963), 37). The more orthodox type of Jewish philosophy, aroused by the dangers of Averroism, on the one hand, and the rising power of Kabbalah, on the other, did not discard allegorical interpretation but made it subservient to dogmatic beliefs, strongly emphasizing the validity of the literal meaning side by side with the allegorical. Joseph *Albo (*Sefer ha-Ikkarim*, 3:21) pointed out that the Torah was called "testimony" (*edut*) and as such should be taken as literally as would be a witness in court. Hence, its narratives and laws must not be negated through allegorism, notwithstanding the right to see in them symbols of something higher and more precious than the literal sense. Philosophizing preachers like Joshua *Ibn Shuʿayb, Joseph b. Shem Tov *Ibn Shem Tov and his son Shem Tov, Isaac *Arama and others were eager to plumb the deeper meaning of Scripture and rabbinic *aggadah*, laying particular stress on the themes of creation and providence. Their sermons are an interesting blend of homiletics (*derash*) and allegory (*mashal; sod*). Some of them exhibit strong traces of Kabbalistic influence. *Baḥya b. Asher's commentary on the Torah exemplifies the trend to make use of philosophic and kabbalistic interpretations alike. It offers interpretations: (1) by the literal method; (2) by the homiletical method; (3) by the method of reason (*sekhel*), i.e., the philosophical method; and (4) by the method of Kabbalah. Allegorism, then, in its strict sense is here two-faced, rational and mystical.

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[Alexander Altmann]

EXEGESIS AMONG JEWS IN THE MODERN PERIOD

Jewish biblical exegesis in the period of the Enlightenment must be understood mainly against the background of the period itself. The main concern of the Enlightenment among Western European Jewry was the enlightenment and education of the Jews – and the Bible served as a means for achieving this goal. Moses *Mendelssohn, the "father of the Enlightenment" among the Jews and its earliest spokesman, was also the father and founder of the biblical exegesis of the time, through his bilingual project, the German translation of the Bible and its Hebrew *Biur* (*Be'ur*; "commentary"; see above: Translations, German). Mendelssohn's purpose in undertaking this project was twofold. On the one hand, he wished to open to the Jews a gateway to general culture, since he believed that the Bible could serve as a cultural bridge between European Jews and non-Jews. On the other hand, Mendelssohn wanted to educate the Jews toward good taste and to help them develop an aesthetic outlook, especially toward the Bible.

Mendelssohn's German translation of the Bible introduced nothing new in terms of content, but was novel in terms of form. It is written in a literary, ornate German which is aimed at removing the Jews from Yiddish and at bringing them closer to the Enlightenment through knowledge of the

German language and its literature. The writing of the Hebrew "commentary" to the Torah was actually carried out by various people who were commissioned by Mendelssohn, but Mendelssohn's stamp and his viewpoint are manifest in the commentary (particular mention should be made of Solomon *Dubno, who interpreted Genesis, and Naphtali Hirz Wessely, who interpreted Leviticus). The method and approach of Mendelssohn and his group were influenced by contemporary Christian biblical research and commentary. It should be pointed out that in 1753, approximately 15 years before the beginning of the project, three basic works were published which ushered in a revolution in biblical research, each of which reflected a particular approach: R. *Lowth's book on form criticism (*Praelectiones academicae de sacra poësi Hebraeorum; Lectures on the Sacred Poetry of the Hebrews*, 1829); J. *Astruc's work on source criticism (*Conjectures sur les mémoires originaux dont il paroit que Moyse s'est servi pour composer le livre de la Genèse*); and C.F. Houbigont's work on text criticism (*Biblia hebraica cum notis criticis et versione latina ad notas criticas facta*, 4 vols.). (See below, Bible research and criticism). A short while later J.G. Herder's book on Hebrew poetry (*Vom Geist der hebraeischen Poesie*, 1782) and J.G. Eichhorn's introduction to the Old Testament (*Einleitung in das Alte Testament*, 3 vols., 1780–83) were published.

Mendelssohn's "commentary" was first intended to be an explanation of the reasons for translating the Bible, but it broadened into a comprehensive commentary on the entire Pentateuch. The "commentary" places emphasis on grammatical points, cantillation points, and elements of style, and is based both on traditional Jewish exegesis and biblical research. In matters of style, the commentary relies mainly on Lowth and Herder (see the summary of Mendelssohn's aesthetic views in the preface to Ex. 15). The "commentary" on the Pentateuch was written in simple language and in a scholarly Hebrew style, and despite the fact that five authors collaborated in its composition, the unity of language and style was preserved because of Mendelssohn's editing. In the "commentary" Mendelssohn was attempting to establish a single and homogeneous method for the study of the Bible among the Jews, and for this reason early Jewish commentaries do not appear alongside his commentary (for it is, essentially, an eclectic exegesis). The commentary was very popular and was reprinted about 20 times.

Mendelssohn's followers continued with the method established in the "commentary" in interpreting the Prophets and the Hagiographa, but they made no innovations. These interpretations are only a collection of commentaries, particularly from the medieval commentators, but the introductions to these commentaries were influenced by biblical research, especially by Eichhorn's introduction to the Old Testament.

In the generation after Mendelssohn, young Jews studied in the German universities and adopted the critical method which was prevalent there. Thus they moved to critical interpretation, which was also written in German. In the 19th century, German Jews wrote a number of works on biblical research, but the only one who also dealt with exegesis was H. Graetz in his commentaries to the Song of Songs, Ecclesiastes (1871), and Psalms (1881). The Mendelssohnian Enlightenment's view of the Bible as an independent aesthetic, religious, and moral tract found expression only in Western Europe and Italy (see below), while in Central and Eastern Europe, the Bible was viewed mainly from a talmudic perspective, and the approach to the Bible took on the form of "lower criticism," rather than "higher criticism."

Most noteworthy among the commentaries of Eastern Europe is that of Meir b. Jehiel Michael *Malbim (1809–79). While it was written in the period of the Enlightenment, and reflects, in a number of places, influences of the Enlightenment, this commentary is nonetheless an authentic and typical work of "the culture of the ghetto as it developed among the outstanding and brilliant scholars of Eastern Europe" (Segal). This commentary, which follows the method of *pilpul* (casuistry and harmonization), contains *halakhah* and *aggadah*, philosophy and Kabbalah, philological investigation and moralistic homilies. Despite his declaration that he was interpreting the text in accordance with its literal meaning, Malbim did not recognize the boundaries between literal and homiletical exegesis. He collected investigations of style and language, classifying them into 613 rules, corresponding to the number of the commandments of the Torah. He gathered these rules from the Midrash, and added to them some of his own.

In Western Europe, in contrast to Eastern and Central Europe, the Enlightenment penetrated Italy and influenced Jewish Italian commentators, such as Samuel David *Luzzatto (**Sh**a**D**a**L**; 1800–60) and others. Luzzatto combined a comprehensive knowledge of traditional Jewish exegesis in all its forms with a knowledge of non-Hebrew biblical research. He did not, however, tread the beaten path, but was both independent and original, disagreeing with both early and late commentators. He drew on early and late commentaries, ancient translations, and Semitic philology. He had a poetic bent, and understood biblical poetry. Like Mendelssohn's, his work was bilingual and included translation and interpretation. He translated and interpreted the Book of Isaiah (1855). His commentary on the Torah was collected for publication from his lectures in the rabbinical seminary in Padua (1871). His commentaries on Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Proverbs, and Job were published by his son (1876).

Luzzatto introduced many new elements in his interpretations and investigations, but at the same time he relied on his predecessors. He introduced the method of textual emendation (outside of the Pentateuch) into Hebrew biblical analysis, his emendations following his own rules of interpretation. The textual emendations he allowed himself to make were based on the incorrect separation of words in the traditional text, similar letters in the ancient Hebrew script and square (Aramaic) characters, dittography, haplography, incorrect vocalization and cantillations, metathesis, and abbreviations. In these emendations Luzzatto used translations and manuscripts of the Bible. His emendations serve as fundamental touchstones in biblical research.

While non-Hebrew biblical research reached its peak and culmination at the end of the 19th century, its influence on Hebrew interpretation was gradual. At the end of the 19th century and at the beginning of the 20th century there were three Hebrew commentators whose exegesis was novel and original: Meir *Friedmann (Ish-Shalom), Benjamin *Szold, and Arnold *Ehrlich. Friedman and Szold did not rely in their commentaries on non-Hebrew criticism, though they were acquainted with it, but rather on the rabbinic scholars and traditional exegesis, while Ehrlich displayed originality, both in relation to traditional Jewish exegesis and non-Hebrew biblical research.

Arnold Ehrlich's writing was bilingual. His biblical commentary on difficult passages, *Mikra ki-Feshuto* (3 vols, 1899–1901), was written, according to him, "in Hebrew for the sake of my brethren and my people who only know Hebrew." He later published an expanded version of this work in German: *Randglossen zur hebraeischen Bibel* (7 vols., 1908–14). He had a free attitude toward the Bible and his approach was almost secular. He directs sharp criticism against the method of the non-Jewish critics, but emphasizes that in his system "interpretation is primary while criticism is secondary." Rather than referring to the Documentary Hypothesis, Ehrlich prefers to assign "early" and "late" dates to specific passages based on linguistic usage, concepts and institutions. Comments on historicity such as the denial of a factual Egyptian enslavement or exodus are buried in notes to specific passages. Exegesis though, remains the major and decisive basis of his work. With his erudition, his knowledge of Semitic languages, and especially his intuition, his interpretations are often very much to the point. Ehrlich's contribution is described by Orlinsky in the following manner: "The *Randglossen* by A.B. Ehrlich ranks as one of the more important and better-known contributions to biblical studies textual and contextual." While his Hebrew commentary contains some minor emendations, Ehrlich's German commentary is replete with emendations. Haran says of Ehrlich's place in the history of Jewish biblical exegesis: "In his partially secular approach to the Bible he did not lag behind the period of the Enlightenment but rather anticipated the national revival. This moment assures his place at the crossroad of the two periods."

In the period of the Enlightenment, Judaism did not liberate itself from a dogmatic approach to the Bible. The extent of the criticism of Jewish scholars depended on the degree of holiness of the particular section of the Bible with which they were dealing. Thus, they dealt mainly with the Hagiographa, less with the Prophets, and very little with the Pentateuch. As has been stated, this investigation dealt with "lower criticism" and not with "higher criticism," which is concerned with the character of the author, the composition of the work, its editing, and its time. The national revival brought about a change and new evaluation of the Bible. Non-Hebrew biblical criticism made deep and incisive incursions into Hebrew literature. The depth of this penetration is reflected in the thought of *Aḥad Ha-Am, "the father of spiritual Zionism," and it was he who wished for the publication of a Hebrew modern, critical interpretation of the Bible. This desire was actually fulfilled by the exegetical activity of Abraham *Kahana.

Abraham Kahana surrounded himself with the best Jewish scholars of Eastern and Western Europe and divided the labor among them (Samuel by M.Z. Segal; Isaiah by S. Krauss; the Minor Prophets by J.B. Weinkopf, D.S. Loewinger, G. Hirschler, M.L. Margolis, and P. Chajes; Psalms by P. Chajes; Song of Songs by A. Kaminka; Lamentations by F. Perles; Esther by G. Hirschler; Daniel by M. Lambert). He himself interpreted much of the remainder (Genesis, Exodus, Numbers, Jonah, Haggai and Zechariah, Proverbs, Job, Ruth, Ecclesiastes, and Ezra and Nehemiah). Although the commentary was not completed (it was published in 1904–1930), until 1990 it was the only multi-volume critical commentary on the Bible in Hebrew. This series is not uniform and includes interpretations of varying value (the best are those of Chajes on Psalms and Krauss on Isaiah). It gives very clear expression to the conclusions of non-Hebrew analytical investigation in Hebrew and Semitic philology, in comparative literature, based on the great discoveries in the ancient East, and in the Documentary Hypothesis in the study of the Pentateuch.

N.H. *Tur-Sinai (Torczyner), who engaged extensively in the study of the Bible and the Hebrew language, collected his commentaries and summarized his studies in this area in his book *Peshuto shel Mikra* (4 vols. in 6, 1962–68). There is a similarity in name, content, and method, between this work and that of Ehrlich. Tur-Sinai's work also reflects a broad knowledge of Semitic languages together with a familiarity with rabbinic scholarship and the early translations, but numerous textual emendations are suggested in his commentary. Of these suggested emendations, there are some which have been accepted by many scholars. Tur-Sinai wrote a special commentary to the Book of Job, which has been published in various corrected editions (2 vols., 1941, 1954; Eng., 1957). This work, which is the crowning achievement of his exegetical career, is also marked by the same characteristics; and the argument that Job was translated from Aramaic sometimes dictates the interpretation. M.Z. *Segal, who interpreted the Book of Samuel within the framework of Kahana's project (1919, 1922), returned to it later and published a new interpretation (1956), which is very different from the original one. Segal also published many investigations on various books of the Bible. Umberto *Cassuto intended to compose a broad and comprehensive interpretation of the Pentateuch, but did not succeed in completing the work. He did interpret the entire Book of Exodus (1952, Eng., 1967) but only managed to reach chapter 13 of his interpretation of Genesis (2 vols., 1944–49; Eng., 2 vols., 1961–64). Cassuto opposed the Documentary Hypothesis in his comprehensive Italian investigation (*La questione della Genesi*, 1934), and briefly in his Hebrew work (*Torat ha-Te'udot*, 1941; *The Documentary Hypothesis*, 1961). A conception of the unity of the Torah and its form served as a basis for Cassuto's philologic-aesthetic approach. In addition to his monumental work *Toledot ha-Emunah ha-Yisre'elit*, Y. *Kaufmann also engaged, toward the end of his life, in interpreting the books of Joshua (1959, 1963^2), and Judges (1962), which actually only served to complete and consolidate the foundations of his theories, both on the history of Israelite religion and on the antiquity of the writing and editing of the books. In these outstanding analytical interpretations Kaufmann inveighs strongly against the German school of biblical analysis of Wellhausen and his circle. In his comprehensive introductions, both to the two commentaries as a whole and to the various chapters, he presents a knowledgeable discussion of the Bible and its research. He attempted to prove that his own method was correct and was the one to be preferred. In his commentaries he demonstrated that the method of omitting a verse or dividing it into various sources and different editions is not always essential. The need for a Hebrew multi-volume critical commentary is finally being met by *Mikra le-Yisrael* (1990–).

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[Isaac Avishur]

BIBLE RESEARCH AND CRITICISM

"Research and criticism" of the Bible is, in one sense, as old as, if not older than, the traditional Bible. Some modern scholars have devoted great efforts to the attempt to trace the details of the process whereby the older semi-canonical materials which went into the final shaping of the canon itself were reapplied and made relevant to their day. After the closing of the canon, quite similar methods continued to be used for centuries (see above, Canon). That is to say, from a purely literary or external (as distinguished from a religious or theological) viewpoint, the distinction between canonical and non-canonical literature is artificial.

Increasing attention has been devoted to the study of the history of the interpretation of the Bible as methods and schools have proliferated. It may be observed that, *mutatis mutandis*, the problem has always been how to be both historically faithful to the text's original significance as well as adequately to convey its meaning and relevance to the contemporary situation. Furthermore, it may be asserted that, in general, the precise methods used in this task at any given time tend, up to a point, to be quite similar in both Judaism and Christianity. Thus a certain common influence exerted by the prevailing philosophy of the time is often noticeable: the strong Platonic influences of the early Common Era: the mystical and Aristotelian influences of the Middle Ages: the philosophical impetus provided by the Renaissance: and the rationalism, historicism, existentialism and most recently, post-modernism. Correspondingly, the precise methods in the two communities also often have much in common: the multiple (and often fourfold) senses ascribed to a text in the Middle Ages as well as the specific types of literary and historical investigation employed in modern times.

Nor is it surprising to note a fair amount of interaction and cross-fertilization: developments within Christianity tended to set the general cultural tone and atmosphere, while there was always much in Judaism's retention of the grammatical text (even when interpreted allegorically) which Christianity, especially with its early preference for the Septuagint, was always in danger of forgetting. Jewish influence on Christian interpretation is especially clear in the case of the dependence of the Antiochene school and of Jerome on the rabbis, and the influence especially of Rashi via Nicholas of Lyra and Reuchlin upon Luther, not to speak of the many contributions by modern Jewish scholars. These generalizations begin to hold true as soon as the two streams diverge. It has long been realized that New Testament principles of interpretation had much in common with that of the mainstream of rabbinism (classically in H.L. Strack and P. Billerbeck, *Kommentar zum Neuen Testament aus Talmud und Midrasch*, 1922–56, and J. Bonsirven, *Exégèse rabbinique et exégèse paulinienne*, 1939). More recently, it has become clear from Qumran that the specific apocalyptic motifs of the Essenic stream of Jewish thought were also very influential in early Christianity (see F.F. Bruce, *Biblical Exegesis in the Qumran Texts*, 1959).

Early Moves Toward Critical Study

Much of the intellectual endeavor of both Judaism and Christianity, until well after the Reformation, was directed to Bible study. In retrospect, various individuals and schools seem to stand out as precursors of modern biblical study. Among these must be noted: the Christian school of Antioch and especially Theodore of Mopsuestia (d. c. 428); the philological emphasis of Saadiah Gaon, especially under the influence of the Aristotelian revival in the Muslim world; its sequel in a sense when Aristotelianism conquered the West in the rationalism of Maimonides and somewhat related manifestations in Rashi, David Kimḥi, and Abraham Ibn Ezra within Judaism, and the 12th-century Victorine School, and Nicholas of Lyra in the 13th century among the Christian expositors.

With the Reformation came a tremendous upsurge of emphasis upon literal, "grammatical" exegesis. "Allegory" and multiple interpretations were indignantly rejected – although, by most modern definitions, sometimes retained under a different title. Simultaneously, the Renaissance and its resurgent humanism were placing great stress upon early sources and plain meanings; in comparison with the ecclesiastical revolution it was sometimes hard to say what was cause and what effect. Most significant, however, in terms of future developments, were the extra-ecclesiastic philosophies which began to appear and slowly gained momentum to usher in the "modern" era. The fundamentally new situation which was gradually developing was that the context of Bible study would no longer exclusively be the synagogue, the church and their related yeshivahs, seminaries, and faculties of theology, but the secular university as well. Among the major names which must be mentioned are René Descartes (d. 1650), who with his *Cogito ergo sum*, "I think therefore I am," virtually provided the creed of the rationalism which dominated the century after his death; Benedict *Spinoza, who applied the new thought more specifically to biblical study, including a portentous questioning of the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch; Hugo *Grotius, a Dutch jurist, whose probings have sometimes earned him the title of the "father" of the historical-critical method; Gotthold Ephraim *Lessing, with his famous pronouncement that "accidental truths of history can never become proof of necessary truths of reason"; and Immanuel *Kant, whose emphasis upon "practical reason," i.e., man's conscience and its ethical judgments, was to be of incalculable influence in succeeding years. With Kant's divorce of the "phenomenal" and "noumenal" worlds, the stage was set for that loss of the authority of an inspired Scripture and of a sense of the transcendent in general, which dominated most of the succeeding centuries. Much of the new mood was introduced into Judaism especially through Moses Mendelssohn. In both Judaism and Christianity, there was (and sometimes still is) uncompromising resistance to "higher criticism" (i.e., those aspects of biblical criticism which deal with literary analysis and historical and ideological considerations; as opposed to "lower criticism" which deals with the text, canon, etc.) because of its original connection with rationalistic and other anti-supernaturalistic philosophies. In this climate, precursors of the more technical aspects of the critical study of the Bible also began to appear, especially Isaac la *Peyrere and Richard *Simon, who postulated various authors of the Pentateuch, and particularly the 18th-century Jean *Astruc, who first used criterion of different Hebrew names for the deity in Genesis. These and other preliminary critical investigations were summarized and ordered by Johann *Eichhorn in a three-volume work on the Old Testament. Two 18th-century scholars were especially important in developing further the theoretical foundations of the movement, specifically in breaking away from the restraints of ecclesiastical dogma and tradition. Johann Semler (d. 1791), especially in his *Abhandlung zur freien Untersuchung des Kanons*, campaigned for an approach to the Bible exactly "like another book," free from all dogmatic preassumptions. Similarly Johann Gabler (d. 1787), often known as the father of "biblical theology" because of the distinction he advocated between that discipline and the traditional dogmatic theology, urged that the latter should concentrate on biblical teachings of universal relevance, while "biblical theology" should concern itself with historically and temporally conditioned matters.

Nineteenth-Century Pentateuch Criticism and Wellhausen

Critical investigations into the *Pentateuch in particular continued throughout the 19th century by scholars like Martin de Wette (d. 1843), the first to isolate Deuteronomy as a separate source and associate it with Josiah's reformation (II Kings 22), and Heinrich Ewald (d. 1875), a prolific writer who changed his own position repeatedly, thus typifying the exploratory nature of that period's investigations. By 1850, late datings for Daniel, Second Isaiah (i.e., Isaiah 40–66), the second part of Zechariah, and Psalms had become generally accepted, but no unanimity had been reached on the Pentateuch. W. Vatke's recognition of the lateness of the *Grundschrift* (the later "Priestly Document") eventually provided the needed breakthrough, but his thoroughgoing Hegelianism and Ewald's rejection of his views led to a stalemate which was broken only by Wellhausen and his congeners. When this intermediate period (after Eichhorn) came to an end, a certain "critical orthodoxy" was introduced) in the epoch-making *Prolegomena to the History of Israel* of Julius Wellhausen (1844–1918) in 1878 (Eng. tr. 1965). Others beside Wellhausen were influential in the formulation of the final hypothesis and others worked alongside him in its subsequent elaboration, but Wellhausen's work so successfully presented and popularized the approach that few dispute the appropriateness of epithets like "Wellhausenian," "classical criticism," etc.

The great significance of Wellhausen's achievement lay in the fact that it represented not only the latest in a series of isolated critical investigations, but that these were integrated into an entirely new synthesis and reconstruction of the total course of Israel's religious history, to the stages of which the various literary documents were related. Although L. Perlitt (*Vatke und Wellhausen*, 1965) has attempted to disprove it, it still seems that, however indirect, the ultimate philosophical inspiration of Wellhausen's reconstruction was the idealistic monism of Hegel. (For better or for worse, much of the historicism and immanentalism of this period survived even in the later corrections, and it is doubtful if even the most determinedly conservative today have remained uninfluenced by this "Copernican revolution" which stresses that things can be understood only when their history is known.)

Wellhausen postulated a slow evolutionistic rise from the animism of the earliest, "patriarchal" periods to the "ethical monotheism" of especially the eighth-century prophets. The purest of the pentateuchal sources, from this perspective, was judged to be J or the Yahwist (which used the divine name transliterated as YHWH; JHWH in German), dated to the ninth century, followed by a slow but sure degeneration toward formalism and institutionalism in the subsequent sources, E or the Elohist (using the divine name *Elohim*) perhaps a century later, D or the Deuteronomist (the author of the Book of Deuteronomy) with his incipient "biblicism," writing in connection with Josiah's abortive ventures shortly before the fall of Judah, and P (author of the Priestly document) during or after the Exile, providing the constitution for the small semi-independent hierocracy within the vast Persian empire. All of the sources were understood as providing reliable information primarily only of the period of composition, not of the earlier periods which they described. The Pentateuch was allegedly given its final shape by circles akin to P about the time of Ezra. It was asserted that during the same period, and indeed down to that of the Maccabees, the earlier prophecies of doom were supplemented by more optimistic oracles, and most of the psalms, understood mostly as gems of individualistic piety, were also composed. Vast modifications of Wellhausen's synthesis continue to be made, and the underlying unilinear notion of progress in history has been almost totally repudiated; nevertheless, very little scholarship has turned its back on him completely and his influence is still to be widely detected in biblical research.

In general, it is probably true that much Jewish scholarship, even that which was not totally traditionalistic, was initially and, to a degree, still remains rather cool toward the standard results of German biblical scholarship, well aware of the subtle anti-Judaism, if not antisemitism, which by no means necessarily but very often *de facto* accompanies any depreciation of the Old Testament – and it is undeniable that such implications were often present in much of the "classical" critical literature. Prominent 20th century Israeli scholars including U. *Cassuto attacked the hypothesis frontally, and a coolness is apparent in the works of, M.H. *Segal and others. (Y. Kaufmann opposed Welhausen's evolutionary explanation of monotheism and differed on the dating of P but fully accepted the Documentary Hypothesis.)

The Influence of Archaeology

Probably the major development that led to a modification of the Wellhausenian synthesis was archaeology (and it is perhaps in this area and the subsidiary philological ones that modern Jewish scholars, both in Israel and elsewhere, have made their major contributions). Apart from the various particulars, archaeology's contribution can be summed up by saying that it provided an actual, historical context for interpreting ancient Israel's life and literature instead of the *a priori*, philosophic one on which Wellhausen had largely depended. "Biblical Archaeology" was especially prominent in the United States and Israel in the middle decades of the 20th century. For some of its leading practitioners such as W.F. *Albright and Nelson *Glueck, G.E. Wright and Yigael Yadin the general net effect of archaeological discoveries was seen to enhance the general trustworthiness and substantial historicity of the biblical tradition, although not in the naïve, uncritical sense sometimes expressed by the "prove the Bible true" slogan. Israel's military victory in 1967 facilitated the exploration of the west bank of the Jordan River, the heart of ancient Israel, and the Sinai desert. The newer archaeological evidence has undercut the claims of "substantial historicity," but nowhere to the extent claimed by extreme minimalists.

Gunkel and "Form" Criticism

The first "school" to exploit the new resources provided by archaeology was that of *Religionsgeschichte* ("History of Religion") and, closely allied with it, that of form criticism. In both cases, Hermann *Gunkel (1862–1932) was probably the leading spirit, and his name can be used to epitomize a considerable diversity almost to the extent that Wellhausen's name does for the preceding era. Not only the newer discoveries, but also the tradition of romanticism, as exemplified in the studies of Johann *Herder of ancient Hebrew poetry and to a certain extent the theology of Friedrich Schleiermacher (d. 1834), were highly influential in determining the direction of his work. Various anthropological investigations contributed to the new climate as well. During his lifetime, Gunkel's approach often won only very slow and grudging acceptance from his German colleagues schooled in the more classical approaches, but today it can safely be said that even in Germany, Gunkel generally determined the direction of 20th-century biblical research far more directly than Wellhausen.

In essence, Gunkel's thesis was that in ancient society each *Sitz im Leben* ("life-setting") had its own *Gattung* or "form" (pattern, outline, style, etc.), and the latter could really be understood only in the light of the former. In his *Die Sagen der Genesis* ("Legends of Genesis," 1901) and *Einleitung in die Psalmen* ("Introduction to the Psalms," 1933) and a host of other works, he proposed categories which, in the main, are largely still accepted today. A certain sympathy for the ancient literature on its own terms tended to result, as well as a disposition to date the literature, or at least its roots, much earlier than had previously been the case. Even the cult began to receive more sympathetic treatment as indisputably an important component of pre-secular cultures. Similarly, the recognition of the role of memory in ancient cultures, preceding and continuing alongside written materials, led to consideration of the nature of oral tradition as well as of scribal habits and strictly textual criticism. All these aspects of the new movement were developed, especially by Gunkel's successors, in different ways by various groups and individuals too numerous to detail here.

Perhaps the greatest weakness of the central form-critical effort was its very concentration on individual units, thus, ironically, often leading to an atomism quite similar to the older "scissors-and-paste" literary criticism which it had sought to correct. The subsequent corrective movement of "tradition criticism" (so-called if it dealt with oral materials; often called "redaction-criticism" if the subject was written texts) has attempted to compensate for this weakness by trying to ascertain the "laws" and the process by which the individual units were united. Another weakness was the tendency – in practice at least – to assume the non-historicity of the material unless there was overwhelming evidence to the contrary, or at least to argue that the question itself was irrelevant. The more archaeologically oriented scholars in particular took exception to this tendency, arguing that "external evidence" was required in order to test factuality, something which mere literary techniques could never do, and that Israel's own subjectivity made the question of factual reality something which could not simply be ignored. This division of opinion was for a long time the most serious of all within the ranks of 20th-century biblical scholarship. Many aspects of the division as concerns the early (pre-monarchical) history of Israel may be seen in the two major mid-twentieth century histories of Israel by the American John Bright (1959) and the German Martin *Noth (1950). The disposition of some "biblical theology" writers (especially Gerhard von Rad), to argue that Israel's original theological interpretations stand even if there are no factual traditions behind them may be of help to the theologically minded but to few others.

Certain of the *religionsgeschichtliche* developments stemming from Gunkel's work were at least as problematic. Whereas Wellhausenianism and classical liberalism had solved the problem of distance and relevance by a drastic reductionism to what allegedly had timeless truth and value (mostly ethics!), *Religionsgeschichte* tended to accentuate – and often exaggerate – the distance of the material from modern man and its strangeness to him and evidenced little or no concern for the questions of the relevance and factuality of the material, or for the contemporary philosophical and theological debates in general. Furthermore, the exploitation of the many parallels between Israel and her neighbors easily developed into a "parallelomania" (Sandmel) which judged Israel almost totally in the light of her neighbors. The "pan-Babylonianism" of A. *Jeremias, Friedrich *Delitzsch, and H. *Winckler was one of the major manifestations of this mood, but it continued to some extent in the later "myth and ritual" school of S.H. Hooke, the Uppsala school of I. Engnell, and in the works of Sigmund *Mowinckel. (Not quite so all-encompassing and pretentious were the collections of comparative materials in the many works of J. *Morgenstern and T.H. *Gaster.) Impressive theories about "divine kingship" in Israel and about an alleged autumnal "New Year" festival, strongly patterned along foreign lines are especially associated with Mowinckel. Rival theories, drawing more upon the biblical sources as they now stand, were developed especially by Artur Weiser and Hans-Joachim Kraus. One of the most devastating critiques ever leveled against the cultic "patternism" common to many of these efforts was H. *Frankfort's *Kingship and the Gods* (1948).

Furthermore, in connection with many of the theories of this type, the common assumption was that the cult created its own supporting stories which were later "historified," rather than celebrating historical events to begin with. Similarly, many traditio-historical theories saw the cult as the major factor in not only the production of the stories but in their canonical ordering and interrelationship as well. One of the more curious developments in the attempt to understand biblical antiquity on its own terms was the attempt to isolate "Hebrew thought," especially in contrast to "Greek" (classically perhaps in T. Boman, *Hebrew Thought Compared With Greek*, 1960). While this line of investigation was helpful in excluding certain alien concerns of Western philosophy and rationalism, it easily left the impression that the difference was intrinsically linguistic or ethnic, rather than a matter of pre-secular and pre-philosophic (not "prelogical"!) forms of expression. Sometimes this approach was confused with "biblical theology," and at other times it confused the "mythologic" of paganism with Israel's "empirical logic" (the terms are Albright's) in an indiscriminate "primitivism" (the weakness of J. Pedersen's *Israel* (1926), which, however, is still useful). James Barr leveled especially devastating critiques at this approach. H. Frankfort's *The Intellectual Adventure of Ancient Man* (1946; later reprinted under the title *Before Philosophy*) remains an outstanding study.

"Biblical Theology"

In a way, the last of the supplements to classical Wellhausenianism, although it often overlapped with the movements already noted above, was that of "biblical theology," a movement that initially attracted minimal attention in Judaism. Its roots lay in the post-World War I disillusionment with both the reductionism of the earlier liberalism and the deliberate "irrelevance" of *Religionsgeschichte* (as expressed also in the "neo-orthodoxy" of the Swiss Reformed theologian Karl Barth (1886–1968) in particular). While unwilling to return to the pre-Kantian "orthodoxy" of an objective norm in an inspired Scripture, this movement did strongly affirm the truth of the Bible's "record of revelation" because it allegedly "rang true" to man's existential condition. It revolted especially against the earlier critical tendency to limit criticism to questions of date, authorship, sources, etc., without pressing on seriously to consider the message. No doubt, since Gabler's manifesto, most "biblical theology" had in actuality been little but "history of Israel's religion."

Most work in this field tended to have somewhat of a *Heilsgeschichte* ("salvation history") character. However, no unanimity at all was reached concerning the order or system which was most appropriate, and on this reef the movement itself eventually foundered. Among the major names may be mentioned: Edmond Jacob (1955) who produced a theology using quite traditional categories; Walther Eichrodt (1933) who tried to arrange his material around the internal biblical category of *covenant; and Gerhard von Rad (1957), author of the last and perhaps the greatest of the works of this school, who attempted to return to a more strictly chronological arrangement, thus abandoning all attempts to find any real internal unity in the material. Hence it became plain that this movement too had come full circle, and in subsequent years works on the "religion" of Israel again began to supplant "theologies." Interestingly, Jews showed little interest in biblical theology in its heyday but now seem increasingly open to the enterprise (Brettler in bibliography).

Finally, there is the ecumenical spirit of the age, which has seen Roman Catholicism join most of the rest of Western Christendom and Judaism in the historical-critical enterprise. Jewish and Catholic Bible scholars now participate in collaborative scholarly projects that were once exclusively Protestant. (Oddly, despite Jewish participation in Protestant translations, no Christian scholars have participated in the translations or commentaries sponsored by the Jewish Publication Society.) To the extent that this cooperation has progressed beyond theologically neutral philological matters, probably two traditional blindspots of the previously dominant Protestantism appear to be increasingly corrected: its disregard of cult and ritual, and its tendency to view "Torah" as essentially legalistic, and less worthy an object of study than the more "spiritual" parts of the Bible.

Archaeological Evidence

The contributions of archaeology, beyond those already mentioned, are especially significant in the area of lexicography and textual criticism. In general, the literary finds discovered since 1929 at Ras Shamra (the ancient *Ugarit destroyed in the 12th century B.C.E.) on the northern Phoenician coast are easily the most important for biblical studies. Here in three major epics and much other literature in the *Ugaritic language, there are not only classical versions of the paganism which was Yahwism's major competitor, but also the "language of Canaan" as it was spoken at a time and place not too far removed from "biblical Hebrew" (i.e., mostly, the pre-Exilic dialect of Jerusalem). As a result, all sorts of obscurities in the older biblical text (e.g., Ex. 15, Judg. 5, etc.) can be clarified, as well as many features in even younger texts where tradition apparently transmitted the consonantal text faithfully, but using idioms which the masoretes or other later commentators no longer understood (e.g., an "enclitic *mem*," various meanings of *lamed*, etc.)

H.L. *Ginsberg was among the earliest to recognize and explore the potential of Ugaritic for biblical research and many others have followed suit. It is now clear that ancient Israel was heir to old poetic traditions of Syria-Palestine. The central Syrian city of *Emar, which only began to be unearthed in 1972, has yielded much important comparative material relating to Israelite religion. Biblicists have likewise benefited greatly from having access to the documents published in the ongoing Finnish series State Archives of Assyria (1987ff).

The *Dead Sea Scrolls have been of great importance for an understanding of the complexities of the Judaism of the times as well as of the origins of Christianity. For the Old Testament, however, their significance is largely limited to the field of textual criticism – where their influence has been nearly revolutionary. Above all, since the oldest manuscripts previously known had been nearly a millennium younger, the Qumran scrolls eliminated with one stroke much of the great skepticism which had previously reigned in some quarters concerning the age and reliability of the texts. At the same time, the variation in detail in some of the Hebrew manuscripts showed that no absolutely standardized and uniform text had been fixed at the beginning of the Christian era.

Even more significant, in a way, was the discovery of Hebrew manuscripts in recensions agreeing with the Septuagint and the Samaritan Pentateuch. In the past, the pendulum had swung from one extreme to another in the comparative evaluation of the Hebrew text and the versions; in general, "Wellhausenianism," true to its anti-traditional stance in general, had preferred the versions, while some later correctives discounted them almost entirely. Now it increasingly became plain that all three streams had equally ancient roots, that no *a priori* preferences could be maintained in favor of any of the three, and that, in all likelihood, the original tradition was richer than any one of its three major later derivatives. That is, in contrast to much of the textual criticism of the 19th century which attempted, often on the basis of highly subjective assumptions, to eliminate all the later additions and restore the original "pure" text, it now seems likely that the text has suffered more from losses than from glosses. Apparently, as an official rabbinic or masoretic text gradually came into existence around the beginning of the Christian era, at least three major attempts to revise the Septuagint in conformity with it can be traced. (See F.M. Cross, "The Contribution of the Qumran Discoveries to the Study of the Biblical Text," in IEJ, 16 (1966), 81ff.; E. Tov, *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible* (2001).

[Horace D. Hummel / S. David Sperling (2nd ed.)]

Developments in the 1970s

Bible research and criticism was actively pursued in the 1970s. Yet, despite the intensive discussions and new publications, it is often difficult to discern new major trends, motifs, or "schools."

This situation is partly the result of the passing from the scene of many of the great pacesetters of the previous generation (e.g., Albright, Wright, Mowinckel) without obvious successors; partly the increasing specialization of a burgeoning discipline, and partly, apparently, a reflection of the increasing fragmentation of much Western thought in general. Certainly in the United States, the proliferation of departments of religion at universities has been a major catalyst in the change.

The period witnessed frontal attacks on historical critical method, not only from traditionalist circles, but even from within the ranks themselves. Often it is a matter of semantics, but the challenge nonetheless bears witness to the intensity of the ferment. Thus, W. Wink (The *Bible in Human Transformation*, 1973) decries the objectivism of much biblical study, and proposes paying more attention to the interpreter's subjectivity. With that new approach, "liberation theology," the feminist movement, and other contemporary sociopolitical trends have left their mark. Most, however, do not think so much of abandoning the "method" as of perfecting it somehow.

Although source-critical investigations of a more or less classical type certainly continue, together with it there have appeared massive assaults on the classical results. R. Rendtorff (*Das Überlieferungsgeschichtliche Problem des Pentateuch*, 1977) attacks the traditional documentary hypothesis, and regards the Pentateuch as formed by the linking together of self-contained units which developed independently of each other. Among the less radical, the centrality of the "Deuteronomists" has generally become more axiomatic and pivotal than ever, so much so that some complain of a "pan-Deuteronomism"; cf. E. Nicholson *Preaching to the Exiles* (1970), M. Weinfeld (*Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomic School*, 1972) makes those circles the redactors of the Priestly document, but in other quarters "P" is subject to even more revisionism. Menaḥem *Haran (*Temples and Temple Service in Ancient Israel*, 1978) regards "P" as having reached literary form already before the Exile, while Frank Cross (*Canaanite Myth and Hebrew Epic*, 1973) doubts if it ever was more than a supplement.

Form-critical efforts of the more classical type also continue, but there is evidence of a certain exhaustion, if not abandonment. A plateau may have been reached, and the results to date are conveniently summarized in: John H. Hayes (ed.), *Old Testament Form Criticism* (1974).

In reaction to the "diachronic" or atomistic tendencies of both source-criticism and form-criticism, however, the general trend of the period has clearly been in more holistic or "synchronic" directions. Although of various sorts, they often overlap. Most novel has probably been French-based "structuralism," rooted in the theories of de Saussure, Levi-Strauss, Barthes, and others. It searches for "deep structures" or modalities apart from the author's intentionality. No clear verdict is yet possible, but structuralism's preference for philosophic universals over historical particularities and its dependence upon an esoteric, almost impenetrable, jargon appear to becloud its future. Probably the best general introduction to the approach is R. Polzin, *Biblical Structuralism* (1977).

Also French, but closer to the center of gravity, is the work of Paul Ricoeur (*The Conflict of Interpretations*, (1974), and many other works), who increasingly attracts a following. Ricoeur speaks of a "second naiveté" enabling us to read the ancient texts again with a "hermeneutic of belief," which is "beyond the deserts of criticism."

Less philosophically oriented is the "rhetorical criticism" of Muilenburg and his disciples, which notes overarching unities of stylistic and compositional features in the finished product. A memorial volume to Muilenburg, entitled *Rhetorical Criticism* (J. Jackson and M. Kessler, eds., 1974) explores many of the issues involved. A more extensive example of this type of research is: W. Holladay, *The Architecture of Jeremiah 1–20* (1976). Not immediately aligned, but of the same general type is: D.J.A. Clines, *The Theme of the Pentateuch* (1978).

Mainstream efforts to compensate for the centrifugality of much traditional criticism, however, are best characterized by the label "tradition-history/criticism." In fact, if anything today might be labeled "critical orthodoxy," it would be this approach. Major effort is devoted to attempting to reconstruct the process by which discrete traditions are combined, expanded, supplemented, reinterpreted, and actualized in the course of time, in response to new historical stimuli. The presumably later levels no longer tend to be discounted as "ungenuine" or "epigonic," but an effort is made to listen to the "whole choir of witnesses" – or at least to that one (not necessarily the earliest) which seems most relevant. One can compare two applications of this method in the commentaries on the minor prophets of H.W. Wolff and J. Mays. An excellent, popular introduction is W. Rast, *Tradition History and the Old Testament* (1973). Many issues are thoroughly aired in D. Knight, (ed.), *Tradition and Theology in the Old Testament* (1977), and G. Coats and B. Long (eds.), *Canon and Authority* (1977).

As the last two titles indicate, such literary concerns inevitably overlap with the more theological issues of the nature of biblical authority. The "canonical criticism" of James Sanders (*Torah and Canon*, 1972) attempts to interpret traditional-historical pursuits in relation to the shaping and significance of a *canon.* Brevard Childs goes further. In a series of efforts, beginning especially with *Biblical Theology in Crisis* (1970) and culminating in his *Introduction to the Old Testament as Scripture* (1979), Childs argues that, in the formation of a canon, the literature was deliberately loosened from its original historical particularity in order to expose and release its universal, transhistorical significance. Thus, the normative meaning of a passage is to be found on its canonical level, not at any of the earlier stages (though their existence is not denied, nor the usefulness of the search for them entirely repudiated). Most scholars, however, are not prepared to go that far, and continue to affirm the potential authority of also precanonical stages. Within the same period, J. Blenkinsopp (*Prophecy and Canon*, 1977) has resuscitated an essentially Wellhausenian picture of the canonical process.

In some respects, Childs' unique isagogics is about as close as the period has come to "biblical theology." Although followed by others, he once pronounced that movement as good as dead. Von Rad continues to cast a long shadow, however, and, often following his lead, there have been many investigations of the theologies of individual writers or traditions. But, in spite of much discussion, no agreement could be reached on what "center," if any, could be found in the Bible. Cf. G. Hasel's survey *Old Testament Theology: Basic Issues in the Current Debate* (1972).

Only toward the end of the period have more ambitious "theologies" begun to become frequent again. The noteworthy titles are (in alphabetical order; the first three, 1977): R. Clements, *Old Testament Theology*; W. Kaiser, *Toward an Old Testament Theology*; S. Terrien, *The Elusive Presence*; C. Westermann, *Theologie des Alten Testaments in Grundzüge* (1978); and W. Zimmerli, *Old Testament Theology in Outline* (1972, 1977^2, 1978, ET).

The situation is equally confused in the area of archaeology. There has certainly been no abatement of scientific excavation in biblical lands, especially not in Israel (and it is impossible to note here even the major ones). In fact, so much raw material is accumulating that even specialists are scarcely able to stay abreast of it, and there is great concern here about the "knowledge explosion." Furthermore, there is no consensus on how to deploy the material vis-à-vis biblical studies. The very term "*biblical* archaeology" is increasingly coming under fire. Some of the debate is merely semantic, and some of the objection to the term is well founded (sometimes shoddy workmanship and attempts to "prove" the Bible true). But, on the whole its rejection scarcely conceals a trend away from primary concern with *biblical* history and culture to broader anthropological interest, in which the Bible is often only one concern among many. Parallel to the shift in archaeological goals has been a shift in results, or, at least, in interpretation of the finds (which is cause, and which effect, is debatable). The synthesis hammered out by Albright, Wright, Glueck, etc., ought to defend at least the "substantial historicity" of the biblical traditions about the patriarchs, the exodus, and the conquest. In the past decade, however, that construction has increasingly been assailed from all sides. At the extreme, T. Thompson (*The Historicity of the Patriarchal Narratives*, 1974) and J. van Seters (*Abraham in History and Tradition*, 1975) have championed a return to a sort of prearchaeological *status quo ante*, largely divesting the patriarchs of historicity altogether, and viewing those traditions as mainly postexilic constructs in support of the land claims of that time.

Tradition and Interpretation (G. Anderson, ed., 1979), containing essays by members of the "British Society for Old Testament Study," summarizes developments between Rowley's predecessor's work (1951; see bibliography) and about 1974. To the annual *Book List* of that same society may now be welcomed the American *Old Testament Abstracts* (since February 1978), reviewing also periodical literature. J.W. Rogerson, *Anthropology and the Old Testament* (1978) offers a succinct overview of once popular approaches, which now appear to be in decline. *Encounter with the Text. Form and History in the Hebrew Bible* (M.J. Buss, ed., 1979) contains a helpful review of contemporary methodological competitors. B. Childs' *Introduction to the Old Testament as Scripture* (1979) begins each chapter with a masterful survey of recent research usually highlighting diversity and often mutual incompatibility as a backdrop for his own proposals (see above). *Israelite and Judean History* (J. Hayes and J. Mueller, eds.; 1977) offers an indispensable summary of recent developments in that field. Finally, H. Frei, *The Eclipse of Biblical Narrative* (1974) must be included for its penetrating analysis of the development of modern attitudes toward biblical history. The archaeological evidence itself continues to be indirect, at best, but especially the Ebla finds (see Bible: Related Epigraphic Finds) have raised the possibility that Abraham should be dated some five hundred years earlier than the previous consensus (c. 2300 B.C.E. instead of 1800, i.e., in the "Early Bronze" rather than the "Middle Bronze" period). Excavations in Jordan, at and around Bab-edh-Dhra, near the southeast corner of the Dead Sea, may point in the same direction, conceivably having even located the cities of Sodom and Gomorrah.

Neither has archaeological evidence always been "cooperative," perhaps most notably in Aharoni's various excavations in the Negev. Increasingly ambivalent evidence has been matched by a tendency to think of an "infiltration" rather than a conquest, and to view the process more from a sociological aspect. Some regard "Israel" as entirely a later idealization, it not being a conceptual entity until the monarchy. Mendenhall advanced one version of this thesis in his *Tenth Generation* (1973), as did C.H. de Geus in The *Tribes of Israel* (1976), and, more radically, Gottwald in The *Tribes of Yahweh* (1979). The "nomadic ideal," on which some of the older constructs were based, has been demolished and replaced by a theory of "transhumance" (seasonal migration with flocks) in V.H. Matthews, *Pastoral Nomadism in the Mari Kingdom* (1978).

The hypothesis of an Israelite "amphictyony," which a previous generation regarded as all but established, has been almost completely abandoned. R. de Vaux took strong exception to it in his incomplete *Early History of Israel* (ET, 1978) and A.E. Mayes reached similar conclusions in his *Israel in the Period of the Judges* (1974). With the fall of the amphictyonic hypothesis, the viability of various other once favored hypotheses has been jeopardized, especially that of an early Israelite "covenant renewal festival" and its various spinoffs. A more sociological approach to the phenomenon of prophecy may be noted in this connection: R. Wilson, *Prophecy and Society in Ancient Israel* (1980).

The wisdom corpus has been perhaps the major beneficiary of the newer mood in biblical studies. Not only has there been concern to redress the previous "benign neglect" of that literature, but the surfeit of "*Heilsgeschichte*" and the ascendancy of the more introspective and immantalistic fashions has made "Wisdom" very congenial. Von Rad, developing ideas already set forth in his *Old Testament Theology*, has again set the pace in his *Wisdom in Israel* (1970) (although, it should be noted, his proposal that apocalyptic was an offshoot primarily of wisdom rather than of prophecy, has not been generally accepted). Out of the vast literature, Perdue's important *Wisdom and Cult* (1977) calls for special mention. In it he demonstrates that the ancient wisdom both in Israel and surrounding cultures did not assume the simply anti-cultic posture, which earlier writers had tended to assume.

In general, research into Israel's cultus seems increasingly to be moving toward relative objectivity, at least in contrast to the pejorative dismissal or the bondage to patternistic dogmas, from which it once suffered. A major contribution came in M. Haran's, *Temples and Temple Service in Ancient Israel* (1978), putting together studies of tabernacle-temple ritual theory accumulated over the years. Even sacrifice, long the stepchild of cultic studies in spite of its obvious prominence in the biblical texts, has been accorded attention; particularly to be noted are B.A. Levine, *In the Presence of the Lord* (1974), and J. Milgrom, *Cult and Conscience* (1976).

Apocalyptic literature has also moved toward center stage in recent years, probably partly in resonance with the "apocalyptic" quality of much contemporary history. An increasingly popular construct is that of sharp polarization after the Exile, with the priestly party (Ezekiel, Ezra, etc.) seizing the reins of power, and the more utopian losers (beginning with Deutero-Isaiah) increasingly withdrawing into an otherworldly apocalypticism. O. Plöger (*Theocracy and Eschatology*, 1959; ET 1968) had earlier developed this view, and P. Hanson (The *Dawn of Apocalyptic*, 1975) has given it wide currency in the United States; cf. also D. Petersen, *Late Israelite Prophecy*, 1977). In this scenario, Chronicles is sometimes seen to reflect a mediating, compromise stance (cf., for example, H. Williamson, *Israel in the Books of Chronicles*, 1977). Among the many studies and commentaries on Daniel, worthy of special mention is J. Collins, *The Apocalyptic Vision of the Book* of Daniel (1977).

Recent study of the psalter, in contrast to the above areas, does not appear to describe so marked a contrast to earlier work. The older cultic approach appears to thrive only in England: J.H. Eaton, *Kingship and the Psalms* (1976; cf. his *Festal Drama in Deutero-Isaiah*, 1979); A.R. Johnson, *The Cultic Prophet in Israel's Psalmody* (1979); and J. Gray. The *Biblical Doctrine of the Reign of God* (1979). In contrast to that more corporate accent, there are signs that the pendulum may be swinging back to a more individualistic perspective; a harbinger may be R. Albertz, *Persönliche Frömmigkeit und offizielle Religion* (1979).

Finally, the continuing intense research into the nature of biblical poetry may be noted. The pioneering study of F. Cross and D. Freedman has been reprinted (*Studies in Ancient Yahwistic Poetry* (1975)). Other important investigations include D. Robertson, *Linguistic Evidence for Dating Early Hebrew Poetry* (1972) and M. O'Connor, *Hebrew Verse Structure* (1980). It is apparent, however, that in this area also consensus is far off.

[Horace D. Hummel]

Developments in the Late 20th Century

The last thirty years of the 20th century were momentous in biblical scholarship. The feminist movement brought women scholars into a field that had been almost exclusively male, and in addition, added a feminist dimension to biblical criticism that male scholars had often ignored. In Orthodox Jewish circles in Israel and to a lesser extent in the United States, text-critical and historical study of the Bible became increasingly tolerated, if not whole-heartedly embraced. In the United States, the academic legitimation of ethnic studies, including Jewish studies, the rise of the Christian religious right with its bibliocentrism, and court decisions permitting the teaching of religion in publicly funded schools made for heightened interest in Bible. One result of increased undergraduate instruction in Bible was the "Bible as Literature" movement, now in decline. In contrast to classical "literary criticism" of the Bible, the "literature" approach focused on the final form of the text from a literary-aesthetic point of view, often borrowing methods employed in criticism of world literature after they had passed their prime in their original settings. Ignoring the inconsistencies and inner contradictions of texts resulting from multiple authorship and concentrating on uncovering the "integrated literary whole" (Alter) of the final editor or redactor, the new literary reading made the Bible more accessible to a wider public whose members did not require competence in the increasingly refined text-critical methods or in the ancient literatures that had themselves influenced the Bible. Among the earlier borrowed approaches was structuralism, which asserted the existence of binary oppositions that structure human thought that could be viewed objectively by an observer and could unlock the actual meanings of a text. The weakness of structuralism lay in the simple fact that different readers failed to agree on what constituted an objective understanding. In opposition to structuralism, reader-response theory focused on the role of the reader in progressively producing meaning against the background of the interpretative communities to which the reader belonged. The parameters of meaning would be fixed by the communities. For example, readers of the Old Testament in Christian communities would produce meaning different from communities of rabbinic Jews. A different attack on structuralism was mounted by post-structuralism, or deconstruction, famously associated with the name of the philosopher Jacques *Derrida (1930–2004), which attacked the notion of binary opposition as artificial. Applied to biblical texts (as well as others), deconstruction frankly abandoned the attempt to understand the meaning that an author might have wished to convey in favor of engaging the text and discovering the ways in which it "inscribes" power and privilege. Deconstruction, along with post-Freudian psychoanalytic perspectives, neo-Marxism. M. Foucault's (1926–1984) attention to the complex relations between power and "discourses," and F. Jameson's identification of the contemporary focus on the present and the consequent loss of connection to history, are often grouped under the rubric of post-modernism. As applied to the Bible, post-modernist interpretation resurrected the pre-critical lack of interest in the temporal distance between the biblical text and the contemporary audience. Borrowing the notion of undecidability from physics, post-modernism maintained the impossibility of deciding between two (or more) competing interpretations, harking back to the pluriform approaches of medieval Christianity and Judaism. A useful corrective to modern notions that one could recover the "original meaning" of an ancient text with full confidence, post-modernism tended to reveal more about the interpreter than about the Bible.

The last decade of the twentieth century inaugurated the Minimalist-Maximalist debate. Primarily associated with the names of the Sheffield scholar Philip Davies and the Copenhagen scholars Niels Lemche and Thomas Thompson, the Minimalists (sometimes called "Revisionists") argue for very late datings of the books of the Bible, sometimes characterizing the Bible as a Hellenistic book. They claim, in addition, that the Jewish community of post-exilic times was a mixed population not continuous with the Iron Age people who lived in the central mountain regions of Israel. Accordingly, Minimalists maintain that the biblical narratives covering the period from Abraham to the fall of Jerusalem in 586 lack probative value, and that "Ancient Israel" is a modern scholarly misconstruction. "Maximalists" covers a broader range than the term might imply, including scholars who are skeptical of the biblical accounts of enslavement, exodus and conquest as well as some who continue to maintain the existence of a historical Abraham. Maximalists are united in their belief that the Bible and archaeological evidence clearly establish the existence of an ancient Israel, the contours of whose history are recoverable. The Minimalist critique of earlier overly nthusiastic claims of biblical historicity has proved useful. For their part though the Minimalists have exhibited a tendency to deny archaeological evidence contrary to their position and to accuse archaeologists of outright forgery.

[S. David Sperling (2nd ed.)]

See also *History, *Moses, *Patriarchs, *Pentateuch, *Prophets and Prophecy, *Psalms, *Wisdom Literature.

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RELATED EPIGRAPHIC FINDS

Archaeological excavation in Israel and the neighboring Lands of the Bible since the 1970s has added much new inscriptional material to the store of texts which illuminate diverse aspects of life in Ancient Israel and its surroundings. Unfortunately, numerous forgeries have appeared on the antiquities market and all material whose provenance is unknown must be treated with suspicion. The more significant finds are noted here:

(1) Arad ostraca
(2) Khirbet al-Qom
(3) Kuntillet ʿAjrud
(4) Seals and bullae
(5) Deir-ʾAlla texts
(6) Tel al-Rimah stele
(7) Iran stele
(8) Tel Dan Inscription
(9) Ammonite Inscriptions
(10) Ketef Hinnom
(11) Philistine ostraca
(12) Edomite

Arad Ostraca

In the debris of the Judahite fortress of Arad, over 100 inscribed sherds, seals and vessels were recovered. This singular find doubled the available corpus of Hebrew inscriptions and brought to light details concerning the organization and the functioning of a royal outpost during the 10th–6th centuries B.C.E. The ostraca record the receipt and distribution of food supplies in the eastern Negev, frequently to Kittite (Greek?) mercenaries, under the supervision of Elyashib, perhaps commandant at Arad. (See, e.g., Nos. 1, 2, 4, 7 *et al.*) One text warns of impending Edomite attacks and orders the dispatch of army units to Ramot Negev (see No. 24). A ration list employing Egyptian Hieratic signs for the numerals and an Egyptian measure of volume recovered from a late 7th-century level, testifies to the presence of Egyptians at Arad, under circumstances which remain obscure (No. 25; cf. 34 made up entirely of Hieratic numerals). A number of texts relate to the local sanctuary at Arad, the first such sanctuary to be excavated. The names of many priestly families are recorded, perhaps for purposes of tithing and gifts. (E.g., Korahites, Meremot, Pashhur; see Nos. 49, 50, 54, 103–104). Finally, an intriguing fragment of a letter, seemingly written by a Judahite king, mentions a king of Egypt (No. 88).

Khirbet El-Qom

Located West of Hebron in the hills of ancient Judah, the site whose Arabic name means "ruins of the heap/ tribe" may be ancient Makkedah. An eighth-century tomb inscription for one Uriyahu, difficult to read, refers to YHWH and <*¡rth,* this last somehow related to *Asherah the goddess or a cultic object of the same name, both of which the biblical writers strongly disapprove. If the reference is to the goddess, the text appears to show that Yahweh was believed by some to have a consort. (Cf. the next paragraph.)

Kuntillet ʿAjrud

Numerous Hebrew and Phoenician inscriptions written on plaster and clay and engraved on stone were recovered at Kuntillet ʿAjrud ("Hill of the water- source"), a site near the main road midway between the southern Mediterranean coast and Eilat. These texts coordinate historically with Judah's renewed activity in the south in the mid-9th century B.C.E. under king Jehoshaphat and his son (cf. I Kings 22:49). At the same time, the script, dialectal features of the texts, and the place name Samaria show Northern Israelite connections perhaps reflecting the good relations between Judah and Israel described in

I Kgs 22. The inscriptions refer to YHWH of Teman, as well as Yahweh of Samaria followed by *<¡rth*. The excavator conjectures that these religious references may indicate the presence of a traveler's chapel at this Negev way-station. Both at this site and at Khirbet El-Qom, whenever a name contains a divine element, it is *yh* or *yhw*, which may, or may not, be significant (Heide in Bibliography). The artistic remains at the site are also of great interest.

Seals and Bullae

Of the numerous stamp seals which have come to light, a few deserve individual mention. The first bears the inscription: [Belonging to Ze]charyau, priest of Dor and may be evidence for priestly activity at a local cult site in the coastal city of Dor. A second seal, preserved only on a bulla, reads: Governor of the City. The paleography and the pronounced Assyrian influence in motif design of the two standing figures suggest that the seal belonged to a senior officer in the Jerusalem administration in the mid-7th century B.C.E. From the same collection as this seal are three others which belonged to personalities who figured in the life of the prophet Jeremiah: Berechiah (Baruch), son of Neriah, his personal scribe (cf. Jer. 36:4); Seriah, son of Neriah (Jer. 51:59), and Jerahmeel (Jer. 36:26), officials at the court of Zedekiah.

A most unusual find of this category is the cache of more than 70 seals and bullae from an unrecorded site in the Jerusalem region dating from the early years of the Judean restoration (end of the 6th century B.C.E.). The stamp of a new governor of the province of Yehud (Judah), Elnathan, and that of his female servant Shelomith, point to the official nature of this collection. Furthermore, the administrative independence of Judah from Samaria prior to the arrival of Nehemiah (c. 445 B.C.E.) is affirmed by the governor's seal.

Deir-'Alla Texts

On the Deir-'Alla texts, see *Balaam.

Among the inscriptions in the Akkadian language and in cuneiform script relevant to biblical history are two royal stelae of the New-Assyrian period.

Tel al-Rimah Stele

A stele of Adad-nirari III (810–783 B.C.E.) discovered at Tel al-Rimah, Iraq, commemorates the king's military victories, especially in the west, which were probably accomplished during several campaigns to the area. Among the tributaries is Jehoash, king of Israel (*Iu<asu Samerinâ, Jehoash*, the Samarian). According to biblical records, it was during the reign of King Jehoash (800–784 B.C.E.) that the pressure upon Israel from the Arameans of Damascus eased, this through the aid of a God-sent deliverer (II Kings 13:5). The deliverance ought to be connected with the defeat of Ben-Hadad III of Damascus (Mari' – in the stele) at the hands of Adad-nirari in 796 B.C.E. Upon this occasion, Jehoash recognized the Assyrian monarch as his overlord and delivered the tribute recorded on the stele.

Iran Stele

The Israelite King Menahem (*Minihime Samerinaya* – Menahem: the Samarian) is mentioned among the tribute-paying kings of the west in a stele of Tiglath-Pileser III (744–727 B.C.E.) set up in Iran after the Assyrian campaign in 737. This mention of Menahem clarifies a disputed point in biblical chronology. It is now certain that the Israelite king reigned at least until 738, with Assyrian support and as an Assyrian vassal. (The name of the Tyrian king, Tubail, hitherto unknown, is also recorded in the text).

Ebla

For the significance of *Ebla, see separate entry.

Tel-Dan

A damaged Aramaic insciption discovered in at Tel-Dan in northern Israel dating from the ninth century relates the victories of an Aramaean king. There is mention of a *mlk y∞r<l* "king of Israel, whose name has been variously restored. Much attention and controversy have been directed to the phrase *bytdwd*. (See Schiderski in Bibliography.) Written as a single word, this would appear to be the first extra-biblical reference to the"house of David," which in the Book of Isaiah (7:2,13) refers to a specific king.

Ammonite (see *Ammon, Ammonites)

Ammonite seals have long been known. Larger inscriptions have been available only since the late 1960s. The earliest known Ammonite text, the Citadel inscription, dates from the ninth century. Most of the known texts date from the seventh and sixth centuries. The Tel-Siran bronze bottle (ca. 600 B.C.E.; Ahituv, 223) contains an inscription of King Amminab that enables reconstruction of the Ammonite royal succession. Other inscriptions have been found at Tel Hesban (biblical Heshbon) and as far away as Calah in Iraq. (Ahituv, 228–39; Cross. 70–94). The Ammonite corpus confirms the biblical datum that Milcom was an Ammonite deity, as was El. The Ammonite language is a dialect of Northwest Semitic that would have been intelligible to any reader of Hebew.

Ketef Hinnom

Two Hebrew silver amulets found at this site in Jerusalem date from the mid-seventh century B.C.E. These contain texts very close in wording to the biblical priestly blessing found in Num. 6:24–26.

Philistine Inscriptions

Two ostraca of the early seventh century were found at Tell-Jemmeh, some 10 kilometers south of Gaza. These are administrative lists in a local form of the Hebrew script, apparently demonstrating Judite influence on Philistia (Cross, 165). Of special interest is a seventh century dedicatory temple inscription from Tel Miqne (Ekron). The builder identifies himself as Achish, ruler of Ekron, and provides the name of four ancestral predecessors in that office. Orthographic and dialectal forms identify the language as Phoenician.

Edomite

The Edomite corpus remains small. An ostracon found at Horvat Uzzah, east of Arad, from the beginning of the sixth century is in the form of a letter. The formula "I commend you to (the god) Qaus" is quite similar to Hebrew greeting formulae (Ahituv, 213–14).

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[Mordechai Cogan / S. David Sperling (2nd ed.)]

SOCIOLOGY OF THE BIBLE

In the final decades of the 20th century the scholarly study of the Hebrew Bible and ancient Israel was marked by an increasing fondness for interdisciplinary projects. Fin-de-siècle biblicists turned with enthusiasm to fields of inquiry such as feminist analysis, psychology, countless varieties of literary theory, and sociology. Those biblical scholars who embraced the latter would seem to have had a considerable "head start." For they had at their disposal texts written about Scripture by figures who ranked among the architects of sociology itself, if not social-scientific discourse in general. Max Weber (1864–1920), regarded as one of the most influential and brilliant practitioners of his craft, devoted a full-length study to biblical Israel in his *Ancient Judaism* (originally published as essays between 1917 and 1919 and collated in 1921 by Weber's wife, Marianne). William Robertson Smith (1846–1894), whom the anthropologist T.O. Beidelman referred to as "the founder of modern sociology of religion," engaged Scripture in his seminal *The Religions of the Semites* (first series, 1889) and the infamous "Bible" entry in the 1875 *Encyclopaedia Britannica.* That contribution, among others, elicited the transcontinental ructions associated with the advent of higher criticism. It is here, amidst the intellectual turbulence of the late 19th and early 20th centuries, where the sociological study of the Hebrew Bible was born; a birth that coincides with the chrysalis of sociological inquiry.

In spite of such auspicious beginnings, the attempt to bring explicit sociological insights to bear on the Hebrew Bible did not immediately take root in either Europe or the United States. Professional sociologists, for their part, completely ignored the problematic and continue to do so. The reasons for this are complex and rarely discussed, but a few possibilities may be briefly suggested here. As with most social scientists, sociologists tend to view their discipline as distinctly "modern." They thus evince a sort of allergy to the humanistic intellectual traditions and texts of antiquity. Moreover, sociology's well-known secular orientation may conceivably turn its workers' attention away from serious and sustained engagement with issues falling under the purview of religious studies.

In biblical studies as well, the period following Weber's death was not marked by great interest in either his or Robertson Smith's work. Contemporary surveys of Old Testament sociology (McNutt, 16–23; Frick, 20–21) often cite the studies of biblicists such as Johannes Pedersen, Adolphe Lods, A. Causse, Albrecht Alt, Roland de Vaux, and Martin Noth as functioning as a bridge between the "first wave" (i.e., the generation of Robertson Smith and Weber) and the "second wave" which emerged in the 1970s (see below). Yet many of the putatively transitional writers just mentioned used the research of the canonical social theorists sparingly, if they used them at all. The varied questions they posed seemed more in line with what might be called "social studies" than with the types of increasingly specialized initiatives associated with the burgeoning discipline of sociology at mid-century. These biblicists of the post-Weberian era did not confront their subject matter armed with specific sociological theories or methodologies. Rather, they asked general questions about broad social aspects of ancient Israel. As such, Pedersen wrote chapters about "Tribe and City," "The Family, the Father's House and the People," and "The Property of the Family." Lods focused on "Hebrew Nomadism" and the economic and social organization of pre-exilic Israel. Alt submitted influential studies on "The Settlement of the Israelites" and "The Formation of the Israelite State in Palestine." An entire monograph about institutions in ancient Israel was written by Father Roland de Vaux. C. Van Leeuwen studied the poor of ancient Israel. Causse took up the same issue, though here one finds a more strenuous engagement with the writings of Robertson Smith and Émile Durkheim and his school.

Weber's notion of an ancient Israelite confederacy, or a loose, occasionally mutually antagonistic coalition of pre-monarchic tribes who spontaneously coalesced in times of war was taken up, most notably in the work of Noth and Alt and other studies of the "amphictyony" (see Mayes). In the main, however, his insights and those of Roberston Smith were left to languish in obscurity. This is regrettable in so far as *Ancient Judaism* positively teems with hypotheses, insightful asides, and intriguingly refutable hunches. It was Weber who saw ancient Israel as a hodgepodge of competing, even hostile, status groups, each vying to improve their status position. It was Weber who delineated distinct groups of Israelite intellectuals and, using the source-critical insights of his day, correlated them with specific biblical texts and literary/theological genres. It was Weber who argued that the prophets of Israel aspired to de-magicize the world. In this manner they were harbingers of the slow, millennial process of rationalization that culminated in Occidental modernity. It is important to note the trans-civilizational scope of his analysis; the inchoate rationalism of these ancient Israelite intellectuals provides one way in which "Jewish religion has world-historical consequences" that extend into the modern period. It was Weber who audaciously suggested that biblical Decalogues were something of a mnemonic device for the less theologically sophisticated masses. And it was Weber who wondered if the austere ritualistic segregation of ancient Judaism inadvertently triggered the antisemitism of antiquity and beyond.

Yet these theories and their corresponding methodological initiatives were overlooked for nearly half a century. It was only in the 1970s that a sustained effort to think sociologically about ancient Israel garnered widespread interest. Central to the rise of this second wave was Norman Gottwald's *The Tribes of Yahweh: A Sociology of the Religion of Liberated Israel 1250–1050 B.C.E.* This work elicited denunciations of the sociological method as applied to the Bible (Mendenhall) and charges of rank amateurism (Rainey). Whether one agrees with Gottwald's thesis of a peasant rebellion in ancient Palestine, a revolt catalyzed by the enigmatic group known as the *habiru*, his text was crucial in that it consciously attempted to engage in dialogue with the writings of Marx, Weber, Durkheim and Talcott Parsons (Berlinerblau, 2002; Boer). What characterizes Gottwald's project and that of other contemporary biblical sociologists is an attempt to use biblical, epigraphic, and archaeological data as a means of reconstructing ancient Israelite history (Wilson) and society (McNutt). They work closely, if somewhat uncritically, with the biblical text in order to gain insight into ancient Israel as it actually was in the early Iron Age. Gottwald and a few others notwithstanding, biblical sociologists tend to eschew serious engagement with sociological research. Indeed, an astonishingly large number of studies in this field use terms such as "social location," "social world," "social setting," "social-scientific analysis" (a trend initiated by the sociologist Peter Berger's important 1963 article on the social location of prophecy). All of these terms are useful in their own way, but decidedly distinct from the lexicon employed in standard sociology.

What would the third wave of biblical sociology entail? A list of desiderata might be framed as follows. The move from "social studies" to sociology will only take place when biblicists thoroughly and creatively confront the immense canon of sociological literature. Next, a greater degree of sophistication in approaching the Hebrew Bible *qua* historical text is necessary. Philip Davies, in commenting on Gottwald's *Tribes*, aptly notes that there exists a difference between the society represented in the Hebrew Bible and the real society in which the Hebrew Bible was produced. Accordingly, biblical sociology must develop criteria for assessing when scriptural data offers accurate data for sociological reconstruction. Self-reflexivity has always been a staple of the sociological imagination and the study of how knowledge has been produced in biblical studies (across two millennia) and who produces such knowledge, stands as one of the most fertile areas for further exploration. Finally, as a means of moving beyond the rather positivistic project of reconstructing ancient Israelite society, and as a means of remaining loyal to Weber's trans-historical vision, biblical sociologists might look at how the Hebrew Bible itself has functioned across sociological time and space. A sociology of interpretation, or "socio-hermeneutics" (Berlinerblau, 2005) would look at how situated Jewish and Christian interpreters have read the Bible and how such readings came to exert world-altering effects upon the social body in question.

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[Jacques Berlinblau (2nd ed.)]

RELIGIOUS IMPACT

IN JUDAISM

In Hellenistic Judaism

Hellenistic Jewish literature, dating from about 250 B.C.E. to 40 C.E., may be regarded as the fusion of the biblical tradition with the Greek language and culture. The literary activity included paraphrases and analyses of biblical narratives, philosophical commentaries, epic and dramatic poetry. Some of these writings are strictly monotheistic; in others the pagan influence is pronounced; and there are a few remnants whose contents supposedly run counter to the current concepts of monotheism. But, except in one or two instances, the "Jewishness" of these fragments seems assured. The common characteristic that distinguishes these writings from the apocryphal and pseudepigraphal literature is that the names of the authors, though sometimes pseudonymous, are almost invariably known.

The tradition of the translation of the Torah by the Seventy during the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus presupposes the existence of a professional cadre of translators in Alexandria, who were the first Hellenistic Jewish literati. They coined the term "Holy Bible" (ἢ ἐρά Βίβλος), recorded for the first time during the last two decades of the third century B.C.E. The Bible, or rather what is now known as the Pentateuch, was also called the Law (a translation of Torah), to which epithets were attached such as "the Holy," "God's," "Moses'," or "Israel's."

*Demetrius, who flourished during the reign of Ptolemy IV Philopater (221–204), may be regarded as a representative of the Alexandrian school whose immediate antecedents go back to the Septuagint translators. "Someone asked," he says, "'After having come here unarmed, how did the Israelites have weapons?' (Ex. 13:18)." This suggests that his question had been raised by other biblical commentators. It also shows that the question and answer method, current among Alexandrian pagan exegetes, was adopted by the Jews. Their rendition of the Hebrew word *va-ḥamushim* (Ex. 13:18) differed from that of the known versions of the Septuagint, which translate the term as the fifth generation (of the Israelites in Egypt). In general, in the extant fragments at least, Demetrius devotes most of his comments to chronological and genealogical problems. Chronology was also of great concern for a certain Philo, who may not be identical with *Philo the Elder, mentioned in *Josephus (Apion, 1:218), or Philo the Epicist; *Eupolemus, and Josephus' rival – Justus of *Tiberias.

In contrast to Demetrius and *Aristeas, the author of a history *On the Jews*, who show no direct awareness of the pagan world, writers such as *Pseudo-Eupolemus and *Artapanus reflect syncretistic traditions of biblical Hellenistic historiography. Pseudo-Eupolemus identified Enoch with the Hellenic Atlas, the reputed discoverer of astrology; Noah with Belus, the traditional founder of Babylon; and Melchizedek with the king and priest of the temple on Mount Gerizim. The last identification indicates that syncretistic and Euhemeristic tendencies were prevalent also among the Samaritans. Artapanus, who flourished during the second century B.C.E., represents the most extreme syncretistic school. According to him, Abraham, Joseph, and primarily Moses developed Egypt's science, statecraft, and religion. The story of Moses' war against Ethiopia, found in Artapanus and Josephus (Ant., 2:238–53), may be due to a common source. There is no evidence for the suggestion, maintained by Freudenthal, that Artapanus was a Jew who paraded as an Egyptian priest.

Alexandrian scholars in the middle of the second century B.C.E. also published commentaries that began to interpret Scripture allegorically, somewhat as many Greek exegetes explained Homer. *Aristobulus, "the teacher of Ptolemy" (II Macc. 1:10), argued that anthropomorphic expressions of the Bible such as "God's hand" must be understood as God's power. This may not seem to be quite allegory as the term is now understood, but Aristobulus' censure of the literalists' understanding of Scripture suggests the beginnings of a symbolic exegesis of Scripture (see above Allegorical Interpretations). Interestingly, Aristobulus says that there had existed a Greek translation of the Torah prior to the Septuagint which Homer, Hesiod, Pythagoras, Socrates, Plato, Hecataeus of Abdera and others had allegedly utilized. This indicates that the Jewish forgeries of Greek poets that extolled Jewish religion antedate the middle of the second century B.C.E.

From a literary point of view, the great achievement of the Greco-Jewish writers was in the field of poetry and drama. Philo the Elder composed an epic in Homeric hexameters on Jerusalem; short fragments on Abraham, Joseph, and the fountains and canals of Jerusalem survive. An epic by a Samaritan, *Theodotus, recounts the rape of Dinah (Gen. 34). Without introducing radical changes in the biblical story, there is considerable invention in the remaining 48 lines, attesting to a high degree of poetic inspiration and technical proficiency. Hellenistic Jewish literature attained its zenith in the drama *Exagoge* (*Exodus*) by *Ezekiel the Poet. In a sense this work seems but a paraphrase of the relevant chapters of the Septuagint Book of Exodus. But the dramatist was able to weave into the play interpretations that had been proposed by biblical commentators. Thus Zipporah, Moses' wife, is said to have been identical with the "Ethiopian woman" (Num. 12:1), a view earlier put forward by Demetrius. The heathen environment supplied Ezekiel the Poet with the forms of the play; the Torah, with its content and meaning. The same may be said of most of the Greco-Jewish literature – it was primarily Jewish and secondarily Greek.

See also *Apocrypha, *Josephus, *Pseudo-Philo.

[Ben Zion Wacholder]

Talmud and Medieval Times

With the famous convocation of the people called by Ezra in the fifth century B.C.E., at which the Bible was solemnly and publicly read to the assembled people – "they read in the book, in the law of God, distinctly, and they gave the sense and caused them to understand the reading" (Neh. 8:8) – the Bible became for centuries the main, and for a long time the sole, intellectual preoccupation of the Jewish people. The talmudic interpretations (Meg. 3a) that "they read in the book" refers to the Hebrew text, and "distinctly" (or "with an interpretation") to its translation into the Aramaic vernacular are probably correct, and serve to indicate that for the first time the Bible had become the common cultural and religious possession of the entire Jewish people. This determination to spread knowledge of the Bible among the entire people is probably reflected in the adage of the Men of the Great *Synagogue, who carried on the activity thus initiated: "Set up many disciples" (Avot 1:2).

In discussing the Bible among the Jews it is essential to make a sharp distinction between their preoccupation with the Pentateuch and with the other sections of the Bible. The purpose of the study of the Pentateuch was mainly for the systematic development of the *halakhah*, the "way of life" which the Jew was to follow, and secondarily for homiletical exegesis. The former gave rise to the **Midrash Halakhah* and the latter to the **Midrash Aggadah*. The Pentateuch was regarded as the main authoritative source for the *halakhah*, and verses from the prophets and the Hagiographa were regarded merely as giving secondary support to it. They were called "Kabbalah" (tradition) and it was laid down that "no inference may be drawn concerning statements of the Pentateuch from statements found in the Kabbalah" (Ḥag. 10b). As a result, for the purpose of *halakhah* the entire weight was laid on the Pentateuch, and from the time of Ezra until the compilation of the Mishnah, the Pentateuch was practically the sole textbook for study. Since the purpose of that study was to arrive at the *halakhah*, this became the main subject of study with the compilation of the Mishnah.

A somewhat different situation existed with regard to the study of the Bible by the aggadists. Although their main preoccupation was also with the Pentateuch, they added to it the other portions of the Bible which were publicly read in the *haftarot and the Five Scrolls. In addition to that, however, they deliberately sought to acquaint their listeners with the Bible as a whole, and almost invariably selected as the text of their proem a verse from the Hagiographa, linking it with the scriptural portion. As a result the entire Bible was gradually subjected to intensive study. This process is reflected in the statement of the Midrash: "Ben Azzai was engaged in stringing together verses of the Pentateuch to those of the prophets, and of the prophets to the Hagiographa, and the words of the Torah rejoiced as on the day they were given on Mr. Sinai" (Lev. R. 16:4; cf. Song R. 1:10 where the same is said of "Abba b. Mimi and his colleagues"). As a result of this extensive exegesis, it was possible for later authors to compile Midrashim on individual books of the Prophets and Hagiographa, as well as on the entire Bible, of which the *Yalkut Shimoni is the outstanding example. Their principal sources were the Midrashim to the books which formed part of the synagogue lectionary and exegesis found in the Talmud. Consequently a large proportion of the non-pentateuchal portion of the Bible is commented on in Talmud and Midrash. It should be pointed out, however, that this exegesis was overwhelmingly homiletical and midrashic. Literal exegesis was almost entirely neglected during this period. It is true that R. Kahana stated that "a verse does not lose its interpretation according to the *peshat*" (Shab. 63a), but it is highly doubtful whether *peshat* in this context has the meaning "literal interpretation" given to it in later ages, probably first by Rashi. It seems to mean "the accepted interpretation as given in the schools." Certain interpretations referred to as "*peshat*" in one passage appear as "*derash*" in parallel passages; moreover, in *Ketubbot* 111b, R. Dimi, after giving a homiletical interpretation of Genesis 49:11 in answer to a question as to the "*peshat* of that verse," gives one which is much more midrashic than his previous one. As stated, the importance attached to the study of the Bible was conditioned by its liturgical use. Pride of place was given to the Pentateuch, which was not only read completely from beginning to end (in one year in Babylon and in a triennial cycle in Ereẓ Israel), but also was the basis of the *halakhah*. Next came the Five Scrolls which alone of the Hagiographa are read in their entirety in the synagogue. Of the prophets only the portions selected as the *haftarot* were read. Such portions were chosen from all the books of the Prophets with the exception of Joel, Nahum, Haggai, and Zephaniah. Until recent times it was the traditional and almost invariable practice for the Jewish preacher to select the text of his sermon from the scriptural reading of the week, either expounding its theme or applying his interpretation of the verse to the theme on which he was preaching (see *Preaching).

Insofar as concerns the Bible in the liturgy, one of its interesting aspects is the gradual increase of the number of Psalms included in the liturgy. In talmudic times, apart from the six Psalms of *Hallel and the seven daily Psalms, one of which was recited daily as "the Psalm which the Levites used to say in the Temple," the Psalms did not form part of the daily liturgy, and in fact, the only biblical passages included in the actual prayers were the three paragraphs of the *Shema. As against this, the *Standard Authorized Daily Prayer Book*, current among Ashkenazim in England, gives an index to the 72 Psalms included therein. Of these, 53 belong to statutory services. In addition to the above, the bulk is made up of seven Psalms in the *Pesukei de-Zimra* of weekdays (100 and 145–150) and nine (in the Sephardi rite 11) additional ones for Sabbaths and festivals, six (95–99 and 29) for the Inauguration of the Sabbath, and 16 (104 and 15 Songs of Degrees 120–134) for Sabbath afternoon in winter. The balance comprises Psalm 30 as an introduction to the *Pesukei de-Zimra*; Psalms recited when the Scroll of the Law is returned to the ark (already included in the above); Psalms 6 (in *Taḥanun) and 20 in the concluding part of the daily service; Psalms 144 and 67 for the conclusion of the Sabbath; Psalm 27 during the month of Elul and until Hoshana Rabba; and a number of voluntary additional Psalms. Psalms are also included in every type of non-statutory service, e.g., in the night prayer, the service for the consecration of a house, for sickness, in the house of mourning, at the setting of a tombstone. A number of the above are recited on more than one occasion.

Various other sections of the Bible have also found their way into the prayer book. I Chronicles 16:18–36 is included in the *Pesukei de Zimra* (in the Sephardi rite it precedes them) as are I Chronicles 24:10–13, Nehemiah 9:6–11, and the Song of Moses (Ex. 14:30–15, 18). The last chapter of Proverbs has been instituted for home reading on Friday night. Among other biblical verses, mention should be made of the ten verses each of **Malkhuyyot, Zikhronot* and *Shofarot* – of which four are from the Pentateuch, three from the Prophets, and three from the Hagiographa – and Psalm 47 recited before the sounding of the *shofar* on Rosh ha-Shanah. The individual biblical verses introduced into the liturgy are too numerous to be detailed.

The intensive preoccupation with the aggadic and homiletical interpretation of the Pentateuch brought in its wake a profound familiarity with the Bible, in which, however, the Midrash was paramount. The worthies of the Bible were regarded not as figures from the past but almost as living contemporaries. Abraham's smashing of the idols of his father and his deliverance from the fiery furnace, Esau as the embodiment of wickedness and the prototype of the archenemy of Israel, Aaron as the personification of the love and pursuit of peace, Judah as the mighty warrior, David as the wholly righteous monarch without sin or flaw, all of them the creation of the Midrash, appeared as real, if not more so, than the literal portrayal of them in the biblical narrative. In the Talmud it is laid down (Bet. 8a–b) that one should revise the weekly scriptural reading during the preceding week "twice in the original and once in the Aramaic translation [Targum]." It was later laid down (Tur., OḤ 2:285) that the commentary of Rashi could be substituted for the Targum. This injunction was widely followed throughout the ages, with the natural result that the ordinary Jew acquired an unparalleled and intimate acquaintance with the Pentateuch. Nevertheless, it was emphasized that the study of the Oral Law took precedence over and was regarded as more meritorious than that of the Bible. "Those who occupy themselves with the Written Torah (alone) are of but indifferent merit (lit. "a quality and not a quality"); but they do receive their reward; with Mishnah, are wholly meritorious, with *Gemara – there can be nothing more meritorious" (BM 33a). Tractate *Soferim* expands this with the statement, "the Bible is compared to water, the Mishnah to pepper, the *Gemara* to spices." The world needs all three, and the wealthy man can indulge in all, but "happy is the man whose occupation is with *Gemara*," the only rider being that the study of Bible should be thorough and not a mere springboard ("jumping") to the study of the Oral Law (15:8–9).

The Talmud declares that a person should divide his time into three equal portions, one of which should be devoted to the study of the Bible. Rashi maintains that one should therefore devote two days weekly to the study of Bible, but his grandson R. Tam, while applying the division to each day rather than the week, makes the significant comment that "a person who studies Talmud can ignore that of Bible since Bible is 'intermingled' in it" (Av. Zar. 19b and Rashi and Tos. in loc.). Maimonides, however (Yad. Talmud Torah 1:11), posits the talmudic injunction in its literal sense, which is probably the reason that knowledge of the Bible – indeed its memorization – has been much more widespread among Oriental Jews than among Ashkenazi Jews. The close study of the biblical text, pursued with meticulous care and devotion by the masoretes, who not only set themselves the task of establishing the correct text but provided both punctuation and accents, was of immense service in establishing the accepted and standard text. It became the basis of the independent study of the Bible which was to characterize the Middle Ages.

The other non-Pentateuchal books of the Bible were also studied in the talmudic period. Every child was given a specific verse of the Bible which was, so to speak, regarded as "his own" (Ḥag. 15a–b; Esth. R. 7:13). (It may, however, refer to the verse he had studied that day.) The verses quoted in these two passages alone are from Isaiah (four verses), Jeremiah (two verses), Psalms and Proverbs. The child was introduced to the study of the Bible at an early age. The standard age of five is given in *Avot* (5:21), but a certain amount of flexibility was permitted (BB 21a – see *Education). The Mishnah, however, continues "the age of 10 for the study of Mishnah and of 15 for gemara," evidence that the study of the Bible was regarded as belonging to elementary education, although it was insisted that it be studied thoroughly (Sof. 15:9).

In the Middle Ages and After

The stimulus behind the emergence of the study of the Bible as an independent discipline was largely the result of the challenge provided by biblical exegesis of the *Karaites. Rejecting the entire corpus of talmudic tradition as incorporated in the Oral Law, and calling themselves "Benei Mikra" ("students of the Scripture"), they paid especial attention to the investigation of the biblical text and the derivation of new rules of conduct from it. There is no doubt that it was this challenge which stimulated Saadiah Gaon to branch out into what was to become the new intellectual activity of independent biblical exegesis, which largely took the form of literal exegesis. He was followed, among the Babylonian *geonim*, by Samuel b. Hophni and his son-in-law Hai Gaon, and they may be said to have laid down the foundations for literal exegesis of the Bible. (For the history of subsequent exegesis see above section on Exegesis.) An aspect of this study of the Bible in medieval times as an independent discipline is the fact that from Rashi onward biblical commentary covered the entire Bible. The commentary to the Pentateuch and Early Prophets of Isaac Abrabanel can be regarded as marking the close of this period.

The influence of the close study of the Bible, especially in Spain, is also evident in the neo-Hebrew poetry which developed during this period. Unlike the *paytanim* of Ereẓ Israel and the Franco-German school, the poets of Spain, particularly Solomon ibn *Gabirol, Moses *Ibn Ezra and *Judah Halevi confined themselves to classical biblical Hebrew in their works, paying close attention to the rules of grammar and displaying a perfection and finish which reveals a thorough knowledge of the Bible. Mention must be made of a different approach to the study of the Bible which left a permanent mark. This is the kabbalistic exegesis of the Bible, which reached its full development in the *Zohar, "the Bible of the Mystics." This famous work can be regarded as a midrashic commentary to the Pentateuch, but the interpretation is mystic (*sod*; see *Kabbalah). It is difficult, however, to determine whether the burgeoning of the study of the Bible as a whole, and particularly in France (and Spain) was confined to scholars, or whether it encompassed the entire people. The remarkable explanation given by Rashi, who wrote commentaries on practically the entire Bible, of the deathbed statement of R. Eleazar: "Keep your children from *higgayon*" (meditation) – "Do not accustom them to excessive study of the Bible, because of its attractiveness" (Ber. 28b) – certainly seems to point to a discouragement of the "excessive" study of the Bible as a whole.

The 16th to the 18th centuries are characterized by an almost complete neglect of the study of the Bible as such. Talmud and Kabbalah became almost the sole subjects of study. Only in Italy was the study of the Bible as such pursued, and it produced such epoch-making works as Elijah *Levita's *Masoret ha-Masoret*, Azariah dei *Rossi's *Me'or Einayim*, Abraham *Portaleone's archaeological researches, and the commentaries of Obadiah *Sforno and Moses Ḥefez (*Gentili). Otherwise, biblical commentary consisted largely of novellae, supercommentaries and homiletical disquisition. Various attempts were made, e.g., by *Judah Loew b. Bezalel of Prague, to revive the study of the Bible, but with little effect.

Modern Times

The revival of the study of the Bible among Jews was inaugurated by the pentateuchal commentary of Moses *Mendelssohn, the *Biur.* That commentary heralded the return to the study of the Bible *per se*, with emphasis upon the literal interpretation of the Bible according to its natural meaning. Basing itself largely upon the classic rabbinical commentators of the Bible, Rashi, Samuel b. Meir (Rashbam), Ibn Ezra, and Naḥmanides, it eschewed homiletical interpretation entirely and confined itself solely to establishing the literal meaning of the text. However, this renewed interest in the study of the Bible was confined to scholars. The number engaged in it was small, and it had little effect on renewing interest in the Bible, and hardly penetrated into the consciousness of the Jewish masses. There were theological inhibitions which prevented the introduction of the fruits of modern biblical study, and those scholars who did engage in it had largely to make their contributions in European languages, in which almost all biblical study was developed. The prohibition against women studying Torah enunciated by R. Eliezer (Sotah 3:4) and accepted as *halakhah* (YD 246:6) was regarded as applying only to the Oral Law, and not to the Written. Women were, nevertheless, not encouraged to study the Bible; "she should not be taught in the first instance, but if she was so taught it is not regarded as obscenity" (YD loc. cit. Yad. Talmud Torah 1:13). Thus there was no special study of the Bible by women, yet the **Ẓe'enah U-Re'enah*, a midrashic exposition of the Bible in Yiddish especially written for women, achieved an immense popularity.

An almost dramatic transformation took place with the rise of the national movement after the end of the 19th century. On the one hand, the revival of Hebrew as a spoken language made possible the study and teaching of the Bible in the language in which it was written, and on the other hand, for the first time among the Jewish masses, that study was liberated from the theological confines to which it had been limited. A secular approach to the Bible, which regarded it solely as the greatest cultural and literary monument of Jewish culture, the outstanding achievement of the Jewish people when it lived a full national life in its own homeland, was adopted. It gave impetus to the most striking aspect of study in modern Israel, the restoration of the study of the Bible *per se*. The Bible and its study has come into its own in modern Israel. It is studied with equal interest both in religious and non-religious schools, with the obvious difference, however, that whereas in the former the religious aspect is paramount and there is a complete absence of any reference to biblical criticism, in the latter it is studied from the point of view of literature and history. Its study can be regarded almost as a national pastime. It has become a significant feature of Israel life; it is divided into daily readings so that the entire Bible is read in the course of the year, and those readings (for Prophets and Hagiographa), with a topical commentary, are the subject of a daily broadcast. Biblical "quizzes," whether among youth, in the army, among the general populace, or international have become a popular feature. Criticism has been leveled against this phenomenon in that it tends to emphasize a wide and comprehensive knowledge of the text alone, with no consideration given to its more profound aspects. But for the first time a public exists which employs the language of the Bible as its vernacular and which has a considerable knowledge of the text. As a result, practically for the first time since biblical study became an independent discipline, the possibility has been created for that study to be undertaken and disseminated in Hebrew. It has been suggested that the great enthusiasm for the Bible in Israel is a search for roots. It is witnessed in the popular interest in Bible conferences, in archaeological digs, in the revival of biblical place- and personal-names. Contact with the land of the Bible and its distinctive natural features and tangible conditions has had a distinct influence, for example, in the fields of topography, the history of settlement in Israel, and biblical realia, which have been intensified in recent years.

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IN CHRISTIANITY

Christianity began as a conventicle in Judaism, with a complete and unquestioned acceptance of what had come to be the foundation stone of Judaism's serious view of itself as the one true revealed religion, destined to be the religion of all mankind. Through the years the confidence had matured that in the Bible was the complete and all-embracing record of all that men would ever need to know. Here stood revealed the full and complete will of God: all that men were to do and to be had been revealed to them. Their conduct toward one another and toward Him, the way they were to worship Him and regard Him, even their attitudes of mind and will, all had been revealed and was man's for the knowing. No circumstance could ever arise that had not been anticipated, no question for which the certain answer had not been given. Even before the moment of creation it had stood in the mind of God. Subsequently the blueprint for all time had been revealed by God to men through the agency of Moses and the other specially designated and inspired agents. The Bible was not 24 books, as it might superficially seem to be to Jewish eyes, or 29, to those of the Christians. It was fundamentally one book, with God its one author.

As the movement eventually to be styled Christianity became separate from the parent, it never lost this confidence in the nature of its inherited Scriptures, which, as the true Israel it regularly conceived itself to be, it easily came to believe were actually primarily its own, not the parent's, "for," as Justin *Martyr phrased it in his *Dialogue with Trypho* (ch. 29): "we believe them, but you, though you read them, do not catch the spirit that is in them."

Gradually, in the course of almost exactly 100 years, a large number of additional chapters, so to speak, were produced. As the years passed, many of these later writings became dear to an ever-increasing body of believers, with the result that by the middle of the fourth century 27 more writings had come to be widely regarded and formally accepted as a part of God's Revelation, of which He was the actual author, having seen fit to reveal His mind through the records which evangelists and apostles had written at His dictation.

Through the centuries this view was maintained. It is this which is meant by the statement in the twentieth of the still-authoritative Thirty-Nine Articles that the Bible is "God's word written." In the 18th century Locke was asserting nothing new when he insisted: "It has God for its author, salvation for its end, and truth without any mixture of error for its matter." A century later, an Oxford theologian, Dean Burgon, spelled it out: "The Bible is none other than the voice of Him that sitteth upon the throne. Every book of it, every chapter of it, every word of it, every syllable of it (where are we to stop?), every letter of it, is the direct utterance of the Most High. The Bible is none other than the Word of God, not some part of it more, some part of it less, but all alike the utterance of Him who sitteth upon the throne, faultless, unerring, supreme" (*Inspiration and Interpretation* (1861), 89).

This view of Scripture, despite two centuries of inquiry during which in the eyes of an increasingly large group it has been discredited or drastically qualified, is still with nuances the verdict of Christianity, Orthodox, Roman Catholic, and Protestant alike. The Protestant Reformation did not affect the matter in the slightest. There was and is no real difference between Catholics and Protestants as to the proper attitude toward the Bible or the basis on which they rest their creeds. The sole difference lay – and still lies – in the fact that to the Catholic (and Orthodox) Scripture is not the sole authoritative and infallible source of belief. Scripture (i.e., Old and New Testament including the deuterocanonical books) and tradition are the source of God's revelation. For the Protestants the Scriptures alone can have such a claim. Both, however, accept the Bible as the authoritative and infallible statement of revealed truth. Actually, Protestant scholars at times went to greater extremes in their stress upon biblical interpretation than did Catholics. During the years, ecclesiastical infallibility and scriptural infallibility had grown up together. As a result of the Reformation, ecclesiastical infallibility was thrown overboard by Protestants. The infallibility of the Bible was set up as a bulwark against the rejected infallibility of the Church. It is accordingly not surprising that in consequence a literal view of inspiration, like that enunciated by Dean Burgon, resulted.

Thus the real and distinctive note in the Christian attitude toward the Old Testament has never been whether the Old Testament is or is not Scripture, to be accepted and prized, for this acceptance has been universal. Rather, the problem has always been how the Old Testament is to be interpreted and used.

Beginning, and continuing for many years, as a part of Judaism, sounding the proclamation of Jesus, whom they believed to have been raised from the dead by God and to be with him in heaven soon to return to establish the speedily expected new age, which, like him, they styled the kingdom of God, the Christians' main differences from the rest of orthodox Jewry were their developing views of Jesus himself. So far as fundamentals were concerned, they remained orthodox Jews, in their views of the unity of God, of His relation to Israel, of His complete revelation in Scripture.

With their basic view of the all-inclusive content of the Divine Revelation in Scripture it was not unnatural that Christians saw prophesied therein their movement and their Christ. As the movement came more and more to be separate from Judaism, the conviction deepened that Judaism, which failed to see in the predictions in the Old Testament the Christian Jesus and the success of the movement resulting from his preaching, was blind to the real content of the Scriptures, which Scriptures they were confident were theirs. The Old Testament, according, for example, to the *Epistle of Barnabas*, has meaning only when it is understood in terms of the gospel. It was held that God's covenant has always been made with Christians, and the Old Testament has always been misunderstood by the Jews. This in no wise minimized the Old Testament. "All scripture is inspired by God and helpful for teaching," as the author of II Timothy 3:16 was to insist; but it must be rightly understood.

Much has been written about Paul's rejection of the Mosaic law, but although this is true, it is far from meaning that he rejected the Old Testament. It remains Scripture for Paul and of the profoundest value, as his constant citation to establish or buttress this contention or that indicates, but it is no longer letter but spirit, no longer law but a ministry of grace. By the aid of the Spirit he holds, the Old Testament can be interpreted as a spiritual book – the reason others cannot do so is because they have not received the gift of the spirit. They have been blinded by Satan; true understanding of the Old Testament comes only from God. Paul is adept in finding "spiritual meaning" in the most unlikely texts. He does not view the Old Testament as the Christian's moral guide, for his break with the law, ceremonial and moral alike, was complete. Rather this standard or guide is to be found based on what he calls Jesus' law of love, more exactly, what is worthy of one in Christ. The point often overlooked is that the kind of life which Paul felt worthy of in Christ is precisely the type of life which as a Jew he had been from birth trained to revere, as he had found it revealed in Scripture.

The whole insistence in the *Epistle of Barnabas* is that Christians must avoid a Judaistic conception of the Old Testament. Despite Barnabas' blistering criticism of the literal understanding of passages regarding sacrifices and the food laws, he never thinks of giving up the Old Testament or its divine Creator, as Marcion and most of the Gnostics were subsequently to do. Instead his pages are filled with such words as "Moses received these doctrines concerning food and thus spoke of them in the Spirit; but they [the Jews] received them as merely referring to food, owing to the lust of their flesh" (*Epistle of Barnabas* 10). His reference to gnosis and his anti-Judaism do not mean that he was either a Gnostic or that he rejected the Old Testament. Gnosis, as he uses the term, is simply deeper insight into the truths of Christianity with the aid of allegorical interpretation of the Old Testament which allowed him to find what he sought to discover. His allegorization constantly does violence to the meaning of the text and resolves historical events into exaggerated fantasy. Nor is Barnabas alone. Justin Martyr indicates the same naive and uncritical attitude toward the Old Testament. That he revered it as inspired Scripture is evident in every page; his devotion to allegorical interpretation, which can find Jesus clearly predicted in the most impossible passages and the cross prefigured not alone throughout the Scriptures – the paschal lamb roasted on a spit (*Dialogue with Trypho* 40), the extended hands of Moses (*ibid.* 90), the serpent in the wilderness (*First Apology* 60), the horn of the unicorn (*Dialogue with Trypho* 91) – but also in the nautical rig of masts and yardarms, in the plow and tools of the farmer and mechanic, in the more obscure and misty discourses of Plato, or in the nose which juts from the face which enables the prophet to say, "The breath before our face is the Lord Christ" (*First Apology* 55), reveals vividly, if to a modern age grotesquely, the early Christian confidence that the Old Testament was primarily a Christian book, at least of a sort which must be rightly read to be properly understood. Like Paul, Justin does not deny the historical reality of God's relationship with Israel. What he insists upon is that the earlier covenant looks forward to being superseded. The prophets herald a new covenant with God, and in Christianity with its two predicted advents of Christ – the one already experienced, the other yet to come – their predictions are fully realized.

The Alexandrian school, notably *Origen, deeply indebted to Philo, sets forth most thoroughly the principles or purport of Christian allegorization, and with far less of the bizarre overemphasis of a Barnabas or Justin Martyr. For Origen the fulfillment of prophecy is the proof of its unquestioned inspiration. Thus, in the advent of Jesus the inspiration of the prophetic words and the truly spiritual nature of Moses' law come into full light. The purpose of Scripture is to reveal intellectual truths, not to show God's working in history. Actually history often conceals truth. This, Origen sees clearly evidenced in the pages of both Old and New Testaments. In addition – for, like Philo, Origen was in many ways a very practical and down-to-earth man – much of the legislation in both Testaments cannot be literally observed. Such passages must, accordingly, reveal other important, if less obvious, values. But Origen is far more restrained than were some of his predecessors: the passages which are historically true, he is sure, far outnumber those which are composed with purely spiritual significance – that is, which are not historically true. In sum, all Scripture has a spiritual meaning. It should be observed that Origen is a scholar and thinks and writes as such. His protests against what he terms the literal meaning are directed essentially against the superficial and often absurd misinterpretations put upon Scripture by ignorant people who cannot understand metaphors and parables and who thus regularly read poetry as pedestrian prose.

The allegorical method of interpreting Scripture, which was the outgrowth of the Christian confidence that their movement and their Christ were of course revealed in the all-inclusive Scriptures, and that it was their task to set forth these facts clearly so that when their Lord returned from heaven he would find faith on the earth, encountered much criticism. Marcion, a devoted if misguided Christian – and in no small degree driven to his rejection of the Old Testament as a Christian book by these absurd excesses of allegorization – insisted on a literal understanding of the Hebrew Scriptures, the better to emphasize their crudity. In his eyes the Old Testament was not a Christian book, and no amount of allegorization could make it such. Jesus was not foreseen in any of the prophecies of the Old Testament, nor did his coming in any sense fulfill them; rather, he had come to destroy both the law and the prophets. Marcion stands alone in this rejection, and many interpreters have denied that he was a Christian in any sense of that word.

Others, notably the group of scholars styled the Antiochian school and *Jerome, had a profound respect for the literal meaning of Scripture. Jerome had earlier been an allegorist, as his first biblical commentary clearly shows, but his contacts with Jewish teachers had been influential in his change of front. It is not too much to say that wherever the influence of the Synagogue is to be seen – as in Dorotheus, head of the catechetical school in Antioch, who painstakingly learned Hebrew – there was a tendency toward a literal understanding of the Old Testament. This was not to deny the deeper meaning of Scripture, which was to them unquestioned. Rather, the deeper meaning was built onto the literal, not flatly opposed to it as Barnabas had fulminated.

The most influential of the school of Antioch was Theodore of Mopsuestia. He insisted on the historical reality of biblical revelation. In the prophecies of Christ's coming, allegory is not to be seen, as the Alexandrians had maintained. Rather, the prophets actually foresaw what was to come to pass in Israel and announced it, but in addition they saw – or some of them did – the ultimate coming of Christ. Nor could Alexandria rightly claim Paul's words in Galatians 4 and 1 Corinthians 10 as its support. Despite Paul's phrase, he was not indulging in allegory. His words were typological. The incident was real, but in addition it typified a deeper truth. The events had taken place; nonetheless they were comparisons and so he could use them as warning examples. Actually Theodore insisted that only four of the Psalms (2, 8, 44, 109) are in any sense to be seen as predictive of Jesus, and that they are not truly messianic but rather give glimpses of the incarnation. Only books containing a prophetic element are to be regarded as canonical; thus Job, Chronicles, Ezra-Nehemiah, and Esther, as well as all the books of the Apocrypha, are to be seen as containing human wisdom alone and are to be rejected from the canon. This exclusion of any of the books of the Hebrew canon was most unusual, and a century later Theodore's writings were burned as heretical – in part because of the views of his pupil Nestorius, for which he was held responsible, and in part because of his exclusion of books universally revered as canonical, quite regardless of the way they were interpreted.

As the Christian movement spread into the gentile world, it was but natural that the current Greek version of their inherited Scripture became their Bible. Because of the confidence that Jesus and the Christian movement were to be found in its pages and because of the Christian conviction that the Jewish understanding of the Scriptures was in error regarding what to them was palpably a Christian book, it is not surprising that the Septuagint speedily lost all authority in Jewish eyes and that the second century saw several new Greek translations (Aquila, Symmachus, Theodotion) stemming from Jewish feelings of outrage that their Scripture was being so crassly misused and turned into a weapon against them. One of the most significant achievements by any early Christian scholar, well indicating the universal Christian acceptance of the Old Testament as a part of their inspired Scripture, was the gigantic Hexapla, with the Old Testament standing in six parallel columns (cf. above, Ancient Versions, Greek). Well aware of the fact, as he was, that frequently the Septuagint and the Hebrew diverge, Origen sought to indicate this. Material in the Septuagint but not in the Hebrew was indicated by warning obeli; material in the Hebrew but not in the Greek was indicated by asterisks. In addition to this monumental work by Origen, other recensions of the Septuagint (Hesychian and Lucianic) were subsequently made. Occasionally Christian scholars in the early days had some knowledge of Hebrew and made use of Hebrew texts, although regularly chided by Jewish scholars for employing inferior and corrupted texts; by and large until the 16th century, when knowledge of Greek and Hebrew became a scholarly must, study of the Old Testament was based upon the Greek texts. Although translations of both Testaments into Latin and Syriac were made early, Greek continued to be the usual medium until the fourth century. Gradually Latin became the common Christian tongue, and a standard authoritative Latin version of both Testaments became necessary to bring order out of the chaos which had arisen and of which Augustine remarked: "Whenever in earlier days a Greek manuscript came into any man's hand, provided he fancied that he had any skill at all in both languages, he did not hesitate to translate it." After completing his revision of the Latin text of the New Testament at Rome at the behest of Pope Damasus, Jerome went to Bethlehem and produced a version of the Old Testament. He claimed that it was a new translation into Latin of the Septuagint on the basis of Origen's hexaplaric text, that is, the fifth column of the Hexapla. Whether this was actually a fresh translation, as Jerome claimed, or simply a revision of the Old Latin text, is uncertain, for Jerome's claims are often unreliable. At any rate, he speedily became convinced of the need of a fresh translation of the Old Testament from the Hebrew text. This he made and, except for the Psalms, it is the present Vulgate (cf. above, Ancient Versions, Latin). His translation of the Hebrew Psalter was never likely to oust in popular regard his earlier translation from the Greek (Gallican Psalter). In consequence of his work, Jerome became convinced that only the books in the Hebrew Bible had warrant to be considered part of the Bible. Despite his arguments and insistence, the Roman Church continued to use the Apocrypha, which had been regularly regarded as canonical by Christians to whom the Septuagint was their Bible; the Apocrypha continued to be, as it is today, an unquestioned part of the Bible of the Roman Catholic Church, not collected at the end, but interspersed, as it was in the Septuagint, among the other Old Testament books. Jerome's objections eventually found acceptance in Protestantism. Luther relegated the Apocrypha to the end of the Old Testament. Subsequently British and American churches came to exclude these books, even as a separate collection, from printed editions of the Bible, although in the 20th century they have regained a measured popularity as valuable reading. They are not, and they have not been since the Reformation, a veritable part of the Bible in Protestant eyes (see also *Luther; *Reformation; *Protestantism). For many centuries the basic contention of both Judaism and Christianity maintained that the Bible is totally different from all other books, and in consequence the rules and procedures for studying and appraising other writings do not apply here. The past three centuries have seen the rise and development of a direct challenge to this contention, in what is commonly styled Higher Criticism. The source analysis of the first six books of the Old Testament, from Astruc and De Wette to Colenso and Wellhausen, has resulted in far more than just a transfer of authorship from Moses to a host of nameless men at a distinctly later date or dates. It has brought these books into clear view as the record of centuries of achievement and of the long pilgrimage of men and women, constantly confronted with the tasks and problems of life, making their mistakes, achieving new and sounder insights. In short, to many Christians the Old Testament now stands as the longest and best record of man's evolution and the growth of his ideas about himself and his God, and the record of the development of morality, politics, and religion, which have, for better or worse, very definitely molded our own culture and patterns of thought.

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[Morton S. Enslin]

IN ISLAM

The presence of Jewish and Christian communities in the northern and southern Arabian Peninsula during the centuries which preceded the advent of *Muhammad is sufficient explanation that the Arabs already knew of the existence of the Bible in these communities during the period of the *Jāhilīyya* ("ignorance"), i.e., before the "Prophet of Islam" began to herald his religion. The pre-Islamic poets saw the books of the Bible in the possession of the Jewish *ḥakhamim* and the Christian clergymen and monks, and since the overwhelming majority of them could not read or write – Muhammad also prided himself on his ignorance in this field (Sura 7:156; cf. also 4:162; 40:78) – the letters appeared to them as the "faded traces of abandoned campsites" which could only be distinguished with difficulty (but see Brockelmann, Arab Lit, supplement 1 (1937), 32 n. 2). The poets mention the *zabūr* – the definition of which appears to be (the book of) Psalms (of David); Muhammad later pluralized it as *zubūr* in the Koran to denote the whole of the Bible (see Sura 17:57; 26:196). Muhammad knew of the Torah (*tawrāt*; e.g., Sura 3:58, 87), which was given to *ahl al-kitāb* ("the people of the book," i.e., Jews and Christians) and like the Koran it is a revelation of the word of God. The *tawrāt* is held as a way of uprightness and light. According to the book of Allah, the Prophets – who were loyal to Allah – as well as the rabbis and the *aḥbār* (Jewish *ḥakhamim*), judged the Jews (Sura 5:48). Even though it is obvious that Muhammad had heard much of the contents of the Bible, there is no doubt that all of his knowledge was acquired from teachings and tales told to him by Jews and Christians. It appears that he was not the only one in his time who repeated these to his followers. His opponents therefore often mocked him because he told them *asāṭīr al-awwalīn*, stories of the ancients which had been heard more than once (see e.g., Sura 6:25; 8:31; 16:26; et al.). It was natural that such religious sermons – whether their contents were intended for the purpose of teaching or amusement – be delivered in a free style (i.e., not verbatim). Accurate translations of the Bible or enlargements with aggadic paraphrases (similar to Targum Jonathan) were however certainly to be found among the *ahl al-kitāb* – if not in writing, then at least in a fixed oral tradition. Nonetheless, it is doubtful whether Muhammad heard these verbatim – at least not during the first years of his appearance. Even though the Koran relies on the words of the *kitāb* ("the Book") – and in many Suras there is a clear allusion to the Pentateuch and the Prophets – the instances which may be regarded as (rather free) translations of the Bible are very few: in Sura 3:87 "all food was lawful to the children of Israel save what Israel (i.e., Jacob) made unlawful to himself before the law was revealed" (see Gen. 32:33; Sura 5:49; cf. Ex. 21:25–26; both Suras belong to the Medina period). Only in Sura 21:105 (of the Mecca period) can one find a quotation from Psalms (37:29) with the mention of the source: "And already have we written in *zabūr* [Psalms]… 'The earth shall my righteous servants inherit.'" ("The righteous shall possess the land, and dwell upon it forever.")

Muhammad points out that Allah gave The (Holy) Book to Mūsā (= Moses; Sura 25:37; 2:81, 140–1, et al.). However, even before Mūsā, *ṣuḥuf* ("holy scrolls") were given to Ibrāhīm (= Abraham; Sura 53:37–38; 87:19; 19:42) and to Ismāʿīl (= Ishmael; 19:55), and their contents were also revealed to earlier generations (20:13; 87:18). According to Sura 20:133, these scrolls contain clear proofs of the prophecy and the mission of Muhammad; they are identical with the *kitāb*, the original book being in Heaven; it was revealed to the prophets and is the source of all revelations. This book is the *umm al-kitāb* (the "mother of the [Holy] Book," 43:3; 85:21). All the deeds of men from the Creation of the World until the final Day of Judgment are also inscribed in this book. According to Speyer (p. 334) the origin of this expression lies in a Midrash ("Torah… which is called a mother to its students"). The notion of the "Book" preserved in Heaven, in which everything is written and which also serves as a register for the deeds of all creatures, is found in the Bible (Ex. 32:32; Isa. 4:3; et al.); Muhammad received it from Judaism (cf. Hirschberg, *Diwan des as-Samau'al*, 24, 52–58).

When Muhammad met face to face with the *aḥbār*, the Jewish *ḥakhamim*, at *Yathrib-Medina, they began to doubt his prophetic mission, and particularly ridiculed his lack of knowledge of the tales of the Bible. Muhammad then accused the Jews (and also the Christians) of having altered (*ḥarrafa*) the words of the Torah and having substituted (*baddala*) what was written in it (Sura 2:56, 70, 73; 4:48; 5:16; 61:6). At Yathrib-Medina, the sharp turning point in Muhammad's attitude toward the Jews occurred. Indeed, Muhammad's lack of familiarity with the Old and New Testaments was particularly revealed in his Bible tales, because with regard to true monotheistic beliefs there are hardly any conflicts with Jewish views; this is not the case with respect to the divinity of Jesus and the Trinity. In the Bible tales, however, the inexactitudes, changes, lack of consistency, and even errors on almost every subject are conspicuous. However, during the years of Muhammad's activity, many changes also occurred in his approach to the Bible tales, which he sometimes deliberately adapted to the new conditions that had emerged; some of these were political, others were connected with information acquired from others or conclusions which he had reached himself. The commentators of the Koran later attempted to explain some of these faults, but with regard to others they did not conceal the truth. The cause of these errors is sometimes the defective source from which Muhammad drew his information, but one may also assume that Muhammad did not attribute much importance to these details. He employed the narrative material as a creator who sought to form a new structure from it, and therefore often adapted it to his requirements. The function of the tales of the Prophets on the events in antiquity and the attitude toward the emissaries who had preceded him was to explain his mission, his war against the inhabitants of Mecca, his policy, and also his failures. Hence the phenomenon that there is no uniform system in the Koran concerning the tradition of the Bible tales.

(A) Certain figures are mentioned by their names, but with occasional changes in the pronunciation which have been influenced by the Greek or Syrian languages, e.g., Ilyās – Elijah; Ismāʿil – Ishmael; Sulaymān – Solomon; Firʿawn – Pharaoh. Other changes are due to Muhammad's affection for the creation of paronomasian couples, such as Hābīl and Qābīl (Abel and Cain), Hārūn and Qārūn (Aaron and Korah), Jālūt and Ṭālūt (Goliath and Saul), Yājūj and Mājūj (Gog and Magog), etc. Other changes must be attributed to Arabic writing, which as of yet did not have the diacritic marks, e.g., *Qiṭfīr instead of Poti-Phar; Asiya (wife of Pharaoh; see *Firʿawn) instead of Asenath (the daughter of Poti-phera). (In both cases the difference in the reading lies in the placing of the diacritic mark.)

(B) Some figures are alluded to in the Koran in such a way that there is no doubt as to whom Muhammad referred, even though they are not mentioned by their biblical name, e.g., the three (or four!) sons of *Noah (Sura 11:44–49), and Joshua son of Nun (5:23–29). This anonymity at times stems from Muhammad's obvious tendency to use insinuations. In some cases, however, the name was not sufficiently clear to him and he then preferred not to name the person (see: e.g., the Sura on *Balaam son of Beor, in the identification of which the commentators of the Koran also encounter difficulties, 7:174–5).

(C) In contrast to this anonymity, some figures are mentioned in the Koran with different names from those in the Bible; figures from the world of fantasy are cited as well: e.g., *Terah, the father of Abraham, is named Āzar; a figure from the world of folklore is the prophet to whom *Moses went during his journey with his servant. The third Sura of the Koran known as the Sura of ʿAmrān Family, i.e., Amram. It refers to a man whose wife (known as Hannah in post-Koranic legend) gave birth to Mary (Miriam), the mother of Jesus, the messiah, as is apparent from the continuation of the tale (3:31ff.). Miriam, the sister of Aaron and Moses, is not referred to by her name in the Koran. Parenthetically, it should be noted that the space allocated in the Koran to the tales and legends of the New Testament is disproportionately small, a fact which has drawn the attention of all researchers (Hirschberg, *Juedische und christliche Lehren*, 64–66). On the other hand, Christian influence is discernible in the descriptions of some of the biblical characters, such as Lot, Solomon, and Jonah. Many attempts, some of them successful, have been made in the post-Koranic Muslim literature to correct the curiosities in the tales of the Koran, to clarify the intentionally or unintentionally obscure places, to call by their correct names those figures who are mentioned by incorrect names or only by allusion, and to complete that which has been omitted in the continuity of the Bible tales. It is remarkable that in spite of the excessively large number of biblical characters referred to by the title of prophet because God spoke to them, and the figures of the prophets who were sent to the Arab tribes (e.g., *Hud, Ṣāliḥ), the three great prophets, Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel, are unknown. Speyer has already noted that Muhammad does not allocate a place of importance to women in the Koran, especially not to unmarried girls. In his opinion this is the reason why the rescue of Moses is attributed to Asiya, the wife of Pharaoh (Sura 28:8), and not his daughter. Similarly, there is no mention in the Koran of the names of Sarah, Hagar, Rebekah, Leah, and Rachel (to whom there is a distinct allusion in Sura 4:27), or to Zipporah, the wife of Moses. He presents the wives of Noah and Lot in dreadful disgrace and describes the wife of Pharaoh as a righteous woman (Sura 66:10–12). In the post-Koranic literature all the above women are mentioned by their names and even Keturah, the wife of Abraham, is not forgotten. This process of exegesis and completion began within the circle of Muhammad's friends and supporters immediately after his death. Similar to the *Hadith collections (traditions dealing with *sunnat al-nabī* – the ways of the Prophet, his practical conduct (*halakhah*) – and based on *isnād*, i.e., an unbroken line of transmission which has been handed down from mouth to mouth beginning from the companions of the Prophet or the Prophet himself) they also began to insert, according to the same system, the explanations, commentaries, and legendary additions of the Koran. The legends which originated in Judaism were called *Isrāʾiliyyāt and are to be found in three literary categories: (1) *The commentaries on the Koran*, the most renowned, detailed, and ancient of which is that of the historian Abu Jaʿfar Muhammad al-Ṭabarī (838/9–992). Al-Ṭabarī published a 30-volume anthology of commentaries in accordance with the Hadith system; he presents the various opinions then prevalent on many subjects (see, e.g., in the entry "Isaac" concerning the question of who was bound by Abraham). Al-Ṭabarī, however, was also familiar with the Bible and knew the details of the story of the conquest of Canaan by Joshua.

(2) *Arabic history books*. Again the first volume of the detailed historical work by al-Ṭabarī is a rich source of Bible tales, as they were current among the Arabs and the Muslims in general.

(3) A third source is the *Qiṣaṣ al-Anbiyaʾ* ("Legends of the Prophets"), in which the tales were also collected in chronological order. The first to gather these tales in writing appears to have been *Wahb ibn Munabbih, the author of the *Isrāʾīliyyāt* which have been lost and are only known from quotations. The detailed work which has been printed many times is that of al-Thaʿlabī (d. 1035), who presents his subjects according to the Hadith system. In addition to the legends, his work contains literal translations and paraphrases from the Bible. A second collection which was published is that of al-Kisaʾī (lived during the 11th century). A third collection is extant in manuscript in the Vatican (Cod. Borgia 165); it is the earliest of the collections and belongs to ʿUmāra ibn Wathīma (eighth century). His work does not attain the completeness of those mentioned above. Much romantic material, which cannot be traced to the Bible or to Jewish literature, has also entered into these tales: e.g., the story of Jarāda, the daughter of the king of Sidon, whom Solomon took for his wife after he had defeated her father and whom he loved more than all his other wives because of her beauty (Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, 1 (1357 A.H.), 351–352). She continued to worship the idols and Āṣaf ibn Barakhyā, the righteous adviser of Solomon who frequented his palace, rebuked him for this. According to the commentators, there is an allusion to this Āṣaf in Sura 27:40, in the story of Bilqīs, the queen of Sheba.

Abundant and rich biblical material has entered Arabic and Muslim literature by the way of the Koran and tales of *aggadah*. Some of the Bible tales, as well as Muhammad's accusations against the changes (*tabdīl*) and the forgeries (*taḥrīf*) in the Bible in order to refute the prophecy of his coming – found in the Holy Scriptures of the Jews and the Christians – served as the Islamic *polemic against Judaism (and Christianity) in Muslim literature. Ibn Ḥazm used this particular method when he argued with Samuel ha-Nagid (11th century), and also the Jewish apostate al-Samawʾal al-Maghribī (Samuel b. Yaḥya; 12th century). One may see the last echo of this polemic in the words of R. David ibn Abi Zimra, who laments: "The Arabs… regard our prayer as heresy and they say that we have added to, subtracted from, and changed our Torah…" (responsa, vol. 4 (Sudilkov, 1836), 21c).

For biblical tales in Islam see also the following articles: *Aaron (Hārūn); *Abraham (Ibrāhīm); *Adam (Ādam); *Balaam (Balʿam ibn Bāʿurā); *Benjamin (Binyāmīn); *Cain and Abel (Qābīl wa-Hābīl); *Canaan (Kanʿan); *Daniel (Dāniyāl); *David (Daʾūd); *Elijah (Ilyās); *Elisha (Alyasʿa); *Enoch (Idrīs); *Eve (Ḥawwaʾ); *Ezekiel (Ḥizqīl); *Ezra (Uzayr); Gog and *Magog (Yājūj and Mājūj); *Goliath (Jālūt); *Haman (Hāmān); *Isaac (Isḥāq); *Isaiah (Shaʿyā); *Israʾīliyyāt; *Ishmael (Ismāʿil); *Jacob (Yaʿqūb); *Jeremiah (Irmiyā); *Job (Ayyūb); *Jonah (Yūnus); *Joseph (Yūsuf); *Joshua (Yūshʿa); *Korah (Qārūn); *Lot (Lūṭ); *Miriam (Maryam); *Moses (Mūsā); *Nebuchadnezzar (Bukhtanaṣr); *Nimrod (Namrūd); *Noah (Nūḥ); *Pharaoh (Firʿawn); *Potiphar (Qiṭfīr) Queen of *Sheba (Bilqīs); *Samaritans (Sāmirī); *Samuel (Shamwīl); *Saul (Ṭālūt); *Seth (Shīth); *Solomon (Saleiman); *Terah (Āzar).

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[Haïm Z'ew Hirschberg]

IN THE ARTS

Gabriel Sivan's The *Bible and Civilization* (1973) provides, *inter alia*, the first comprehensive survey of the Hebrew Bible's impact on world literature, art, and music.

LITERATURE

Although the Greek Septuagint translation of the Old Testament inspired a few writers in classical times, the Hebrew Bible's first significant impact on the secular literature of other nations really dates from the Middle Ages with the beginning of drama. Old Testament episodes figured in various cycles of Sacred Mysteries or Miracle Plays sponsored by the Church (mainly in England, France, and Germany), the vernacular eventually replacing Latin dialogue. During the Reformation, writers in many countries produced biblical epics which expressed the national aspirations and religious yearnings of their people. New scope was given to original treatment of Old Testament themes through the appearance of numerous Bible *translations (largely the works of Protestant scholars in Switzerland, Germany, England, Hungary, and other lands); and these not only popularized the Bible stories, but also very often had linguistic repercussions. From the Renaissance era onward, biblical works increasingly contained political and social overtones. Although *Yiddish literature is several centuries old, Yiddish fiction based on biblical themes other than *Purim plays is of recent date. Some notable treatments of Old Testament themes are dramas by Abraham *Goldfaden (*Akeydas Yitskhok*, 1897) and Sholem *Asch's novels *Moses*

(1951) and *The Prophet* (1955). *Judeo-Provençal contains a late 17th-century *Tragediou de la Reine Esther* by Mardochée Astruc, revised and published by Jacob *Lunel (The Hague, 1774); *Ladino literature the early 15th-century *Poema de Yoçef* and Abraham de Toledo's *Coplas de Yoçef* (Constantinople, 1732); and *Judeo-Persian literature four poetic paraphrases of Bible stories by the 14th-century writer Maulana *Shahin of Shiraz, who was emulated by the poet *Imrani in the 16th century and by Yusuf *Yahudi in the 18th century. In other literatures, Jewish writers either followed conventional approaches to Old Testament subjects, or, more frequently, reinterpreted the biblical stories in the light of issues such as Jewish emancipation, religious toleration, and political Zionism.

Allusions as well as explicit references to the Old Testament pervade modern Hebrew literature. The earlier writers based their works on biblical themes and biblical figures (see, for instance, *Mapu's prose or David *Frischmann's *Ba-Midbar*). *Agnon's prose reverberates with biblical allusions and motifs. Saul *Tchernichowsky wrote a number of poems focusing on King Saul, disclosing his empathy for the rather tragic figure of the first Hebrew king. Similarly, some poets identified with biblical figures whose name they bore and expressed it in verse: Legendary poetess *Raḥel (Bluwstein-Sel'a) wrote a number poems about Jacob's beloved wife Rachel, underscoring her inability to give birth to the much-longed for son; Avraham *Shlonsky mentioned his namesake, the biblical patriarch Abraham, while poetess Yocheved *Bat-Miriam chose her family name to underline her identification with Moses' sister, Miriam. Moshe *Shamir depicts the political tensions and military actions of the early state of Israel in the context of the Hasmonean period (*Melekh Basar va-Dam*, 1954), and reverts to an earlier biblical period, to the story of King David and Bath-Sheba in *Kivsat ha-Rash* (1957). Other biblical heroes feature prominently: Samson (for instance in David *Avidan's *Shimshon ha-Gibbor*), Sisra's mother (notably, as a tragic figure!) in a poem by Haim *Gouri), Job (as, for example, in Hanoch *Levin's play *Yisurei Iyov* (*Job's Passion*, 1988). Shulamit *Hareven based many of her prose works on biblical motives (for instance, *Sone ha-Nisim*, *The Miracle Hater,* 1983). Meir *Shalev gave his own original reading of the Bible in *Tanakh Akhshav* (*Bible Now*) and coalesced biblical materials with original fiction in some of his novels, as for example in *Esav* (*Esau*, 1991). Zeruya *Shalev's heroine Yaara in the bestseller *Love Life* (1997) writes a dissertation on legends relating to the destruction of the Temple and even *Kishon's satirical oeuvre is full of references to biblical characters. No doubt the most prominent biblical motive in modern Hebrew literature is that of the *Akedah, the binding of Isaac, which is handled, often with ironic twists and in a most unconventional manner, in poems by Amir *Gilboa, Yehuda *Amichai, David Avidan, Tuvia Ruebner and Chanoch Levin, to name but a few. For some of the poets (Gilboa, for instance) it is not only the son who is sacrificed, but the father. Benjamin Galai, on the other hand, sees (in "Sarah's Lives") the biblical mother Sarah as the real victim of the planned sacrifice of her son, Isaac, while Yehuda Amichai suggests that the real victim of that famous biblical episode is neither Abraham nor Isaac, but – typically for Amichai – the ram that was caught in the thicket by his horns. The Bible has also served as a source of inspiration for various historical novels, such as Shlomit Abrahmson's *Ma'ase Tamar* (2005), which is based on Genesis 38 and the biblical figure of Judah's daughter-in-law.

In *English literature a vast array of biblical figures appear in poetry and prose from the seventh century C.E. onward. Among the Puritans, John *Milton was outstanding (*Paradise Lost*, 1667; *Samson Agonistes*, 1671), biblical motifs also dominating some works by John Dryden (*Absalom and Achitophel*, 1681). After a lull in the 18th century, the impact of the Bible was again evident in Lord *Byron (*Hebrew Melodies*, 1815) and the scholarly Robert *Lowth and Matthew Arnold; while a more mystical vein appeared in the writings of William *Blake. The 19th century saw the emergence of a reckless biblicism in various works by the British *Israelites. With the exception of Isaac *Rosenberg, Jewish writers in England have largely avoided biblical themes. Some later non-Jewish authors who drew inspiration from the Bible were G.B. Shaw (*Back to Methuselah*, 1921); J.M. Barrie (*The Boy David*, 1936); James Bridie (plays including *Tobias and the Angel*, 1930); and Christopher Fry (*A Sleep of Prisoners*, 1941). The Old Testament's first significant impact on *French literature can be traced to the late 16th century, when French Protestants wrote epics of biblical grandeur, notably Salluste *Du Bartas (*La semaine ou création du monde*, 1578; *La seconde semaine*, 1584) and Agrippa d'Aubigné (*Les Tragiques*, 1577–94; published 1616). Biblical dramas of the same era were written by Jean de la Taille (*Saül le furieux*, 1562) and Robert Garnier (*Sédécie ou les Juives*, 1589). An epic poet of the Renaissance whose works were full of biblical and kabbalistic allusions was Guy Le Fèvre de la *Boderie. In the 17th century, Bossuet and *Pascal were profoundly influenced by the Bible, as was the dramatist Jean *Racine (*Esther,* 1689); *Athalie*, 1691). The 18th-century French philosophers were mainly hostile to the Old Testament, but later writers favorably reassessed the Bible, notably Chateaubriand, and the poets Lamartine, de Vigny, and Victor Hugo. Biblical themes also attracted the Catholic writers Léon *Bloy, Paul *Claudel, and Charles *Péguy. In the 20th century, there were plays by André Obey (*Noé*, 1931), and André Gide (*Saül*, 1903), and poems by Pierre Emmanuel and Jean Grosjean. Among Jewish writers, Edmond *Fleg, André *Spire, Gustave *Kahn (*Images bibliques*, 1929), and Benjamin *Fondane were outstanding interpreters of the Bible. The impact of the Old Testament in *Italian literature was rather more limited, although the ex-Marrano poet Solomon *Usque wrote a Purim play about Queen Esther (performed in Venice, 1558), which was both successful and influential. Originally written in Portuguese or Spanish it was reworked in Italian and published by Leone *Modena (1619). Giambattista Andreini's drama *Adamo* (1613) is thought to have inspired the character of Satan in Milton's *Paradise Lost*; and biblical themes dominated some works by Feo Belcari, Pietro Metastasio, and Vittorio Alfieri (*Saul*, 1782; *Abele*, 1797). Two Jewish writers who turned to the Bible for inspiration were David *Levi, the author of an allegorical drama about Jeremiah (*Il profeta*, 1866), and Guido *Bedarida, whose *La bella ridestata* (1927) was a Zionist allegory invoking the figure of Abishag the Shunamite. In *Spanish and Portuguese literature, more than a quarter of the biblical *autos* of the Madrid Codex (1550–75) deal with Old Testament themes. During the Renaissance Luis de *Léon, a humanist of partly New Christian descent, wrote biblical poems and translations, while Usque's Purim play was staged at Venice. Two leading 17th-century dramatists who used biblical motifs were Tirso de Molina (*La venganza de Tamar,* 1634) and Calderón. Marrano and Jewish writers were, however, more prominent as interpreters of Old Testament themes in Spanish during the 17th and 18th centuries. They include the eminent preacher Felipe *Godínez; Francisco (Joseph) de *Caceres; Antonio Enríquez *Gómez (*El Sansón nazareno*, 1651; *La Torre de Babilonia*, 1649); and João (Mose) *Pinto Delgado. Like Pinto Delgado, Isaac Cohen de *Lara was attracted to the story of Esther, publishing a *Comedia famosa de Aman y Mordochay* (Leiden, 1699). Although many Jewish writers made their appearance in Latin America from the late 19th century, few, if any, paid more than cursory attention to biblical motifs.

The Old Testament was a prime cultural influence in *Dutch literature, the Calvinists of Holland seeing themselves as Israelites engaged in a war of liberation against Catholic Spain. The outstanding Dutch biblical writer of the 17th century was, however, a Protestant convert to Catholicism, Joost van den Vondel, whose many biblical dramas include *Joseph in Egypten* (1640), *Salomon* (1648), *Jephta* (1659), *Koning David hersteld* (1660), *Adam in Ballingschap* (1664), and *Noah* (1667). After some decline of interest in the 18th and 19th centuries, biblical writing revived with works such as H. de Bruin's epic drama about Job (1944). Three Jewish writers of the 20th century who dealt with biblical themes were Israël *Querido (*Saul en David*, 1915; *Simson*, 1927), Abel *Herzberg (*Sauls dood*, 1958), and Manuel van *Loggem (*Mozes in Egypte*, 1960). Old Testament themes in *German and Austrian literature have been traced back to the 11th century but, apart from the Miracle plays found also in England and France, the Bible's influence was more important during and after the Reformation. Biblical themes attracted first Sixtus Birck and Hans Sachs, then Christian Weise (*Nebukadnezar,* 1684; *Athalia*, 1687; *Kain und Abel*, 1704) and Johann Bodmer (*Die Synd-Flut*, 1751). Their successors included Solomon Gessner, Friedrich Klopstock, and J.K. Lavater (*Abraham und Isaak*, 1776). Biblical culture exerted varying degrees of influence on *Herder, *Schiller, and *Goethe (whose *Faust* owes much to the book of Job). Old Testament motifs also preoccupied some of the leading 19th-century dramatists, notably Franz Grillparzer (*Esther,* 1877). In the 20th century, Georg Kaiser, Frank Wedekind (*Simson oder Scham und Eifersucht*, 1914), and Thomas *Mann (*Joseph und seine Brueder,* 1933–43) were only three of the many leading writers who turned to the Bible. The Bible also inspired a remarkably large number of Jewish authors from the 19th century onward. Biblical poems were written by *Heine; plays by Karl *Beck (*Saul*, 1841), Arno *Nadel (*Adam*, 1917), Richard *Beer-Hofmann (*Jaakobs Traum*, 1918; *Der junge David*, 1933), Sammy *Gronemann, Max *Brod, Stefan *Zweig (*Jeremias*, 1917), and many others; and biblical novels were published by Joseph *Roth (*Hiob*, 1930), and Lion *Feuchtwanger (*Jefta und seine Tochter,* 1957). The European Holocaust, however, put an end to this vast and creative literary output. In *Hungarian literature, too, biblical influences were at work during the Middle Ages and the Reformation. Biblical themes inspired Protestant epics of the 16th century, and 18th-century dramas, notably *Izsák házassága* ("The Marriage of Isaac", 1704) by Ferenc Pápai Páriz. The Hungarian national revival in the 19th century prompted works by Mihály Tompa (*Samson*, 1863) and Imre Madách (*Mózes*, 1860); and biblical poems were composed by 20th-century writers such as Endre Ady and Attila József. Jewish writers who reinterpreted biblical themes included Emil *Makai, Lajos *Palágyi, Lajos *Szabolcsi and Károly *Pap (*Batséba*, performed 1940; *Mózes*, performed 1944). Several Jewish writers in Hungary also dealt with biblical motifs after World War II. Themes from the Bible have received differing emphases in the Balkan lands. A classic drama of modern *Greek literature was Vikentios Kornaros' *I Thysia tou Abraam* ("The Sacrifice of Abraham, c. 1675), a humanistic interpretation of the *Akedah story. One 20th-century Greek work of biblical inspiration was the drama *Sodhoma kye Ghomorra* (1956) by Nikos Kazantzakis and books by Jewish writers, such as Joseph *Eliyia and Nestoras *Matsas. In *Romanian literature, one of the earliest biblical works was J.A. Vaillant's *Legenda lui Aman şi Mardoheu* (1868). Alexandru Macedonski and Cincinat Pavelescu wrote the tragedy *Saul* (1893); the book of Job inspired poetic works by G. Gârbea (1898) and N. Davidescu (1915); while Eugen Lovinescu wrote the play *Eliezer* (1908). Romania's most prominent biblical writer was the Christian Zionist Gala *Galaction. Among Jewish authors, those who dealt with Old Testament motifs included Enric *Furtuna (*Abişag*, 1963), Camil *Baltazar, and Marcel Breslaşu, who wrote an oratorio based on the Song of Songs. Some of the outstanding figures in *Yugoslav (Serbo-Croatian) literature sought biblical inspiration from the 16th century onward, notably the Ragusan poet Mavro Vetranović. Later Milovan Vidaković composed Serbian epics about Joseph (1805) and Tobias (1825), while Aron Alkalaj, a Jewish banker of Belgrade, wrote a biographical work about Moses (1938). One of the early classics of *Bulgarian literature was Ioan (John) the Exarch's ninth-century *Shestodnev* ("The Six Days"), based on the Creation story. During the later Middle Ages, many biblical works were written by the heretical Bogomils. In the 20th century, Emanuil Pop Dimitrov published *Rut* and *Deshcherite na Yeftaya* ("Jephthah's Daughter"). In *Czechoslovak literature two outstanding biblical works by non-Jews were *Vůdce* (1916; *The Leader*, 1917), a drama about Moses by Stanislav Lom, and *Adam stvořitel* (1927; *Adam the Creator,* 1929), a play by the brothers Josef and Karel čapek. However, Old Testament themes proved more attractive to Jewish authors. Julius

*Zeyer (*Sulamit*, 1883), Jaroslav *Vrchlický, and Eduard *Leda were among the most prominent of these. Biblical works were also written by two later Jewish authors, Ivan *Olbracht and Jiří *Orten. The treatment of Old Testament subjects in early *Polish literature was largely colored by the religious controversies of the Reformation. The Calvinist Mikołaj Rej, who versified the Psalms, wrote a work on Joseph (*Żywot Józefa z pokolenia żydowskiego*, c. 1545) and his contemporary, Jan Kochanowski, who also translated the Psalter, produced epics on the Flood (1558) and Susannah (1562), as well as the biblical *Threny* ("Lamentations", Cracow, 1580). Later Polish writers whose biblical themes symbolized the fate of their homeland were Adam *Mickiewicz, Kornel Ujejski (*Pieśni Salomona*, 1846; *Skargi Jeremiego*, London 1847), *Melodye biblijne*, 1852; and the dramatist Stanisław Wyspiański (*Daniel*, 1908). Since Yiddish was Polish Jewry's cultural language before the Holocaust, Jewish treatments of the Bible in Polish fiction are rare. In *Russian literature, on the other hand, biblical motifs were generally less prominent, although many leading writers were clearly steeped in the language of the Old Testament. The 11th-century *Primary Chronicle* begins with an account of the Tower of Babel, while in the 15th century Bible translations and even some rabbinic motifs appeared in the writings of various Judaizing sects. Modern Russian drama is largely the creation of Semyon Polotski and the German Lutheran pastor Johann Gottfried Grigori, who wrote biblical plays for the Moscow court, where a drama about Esther was staged in 1672. Old Testament themes have been reinterpreted in the 20th century by the writers Alexander Kuprin (*Sulamif*, 1908) and Leonid Andreyev; and by two Jewish authors of the post-Stalin "thaw", Semyon *Kirsanov and Joseph *Brodski.

The Bible and the associated traditions of the Midrash were a major source of Moslem legend. Though in general unspectacular, the Islamic sphere of *Oriental literature also produced a few works on biblical subjects, beginning with poems by the 9th-century Hejaz poet *Samuel b. Adiya (Al-Samwʾal Ibn ʿAdiyā). There are also biblical allusions in the poems of a 13th-century Spanish Arabic author, *Ibrāhīm b. Sahl al-Andalūsī (Abu Isḥāq). A 20th-century writer who versified the Old Testament was the Egyptian Karaite Murād *Faraj. The literary use of biblical motifs in *United States literature is very much more recent. Old Testament influence may be seen in the writings of major 19th-century authors such as Emerson, Hawthorne, Whitman, and Whittier. Two best-selling religious romances by Joseph Holt Ingraham were *The Pillar of Fire* (1859) and *The Throne of David* (1860). Some writers of the 20th century who dealt with Old Testament themes were William Vaughn Moody (*The Death of Eve*, 1912), and Archibald MacLeish (*Nobodaddy*, 1926; *J.B.*, 1958). Marc Connelly's play *The Green Pastures* (1930) was a black reinterpretation of the Bible stories. American Jewish writers were prominent among those who sought new ideas in the Old Testament. They include the novelists Robert *Nathan (*Jonah*, 1925), Irving *Fineman (*Jacob*, 1941; *Ruth*, 1949), Howard *Fast (*Moses, Prince of Egypt*, 1958), and Maurice *Samuel; the playwrights Clifford *Odets (whose *The Flowering Peach*, 1954, reinterpreted the story of Noah) and Paddy *Chayefsky (*Gideon*, 1961); and poets such as James *Oppenheim, Charles *Reznikoff, Delmore *Schwartz (*Genesis*, 1943), and Louis *Untermeyer. In *Canadian literature the poets Irving *Layton and Eli Mandel made much of biblical imagery; and Adele Wiseman (in *The Sacrifice*, 1956) retold the story of the *Akedah* in a prairie setting. In more recent years, the women of the Bible have received special attention. Notable works are Anita Diamant's *Red Tent* (1997), telling the story of Dinah, and Marek *Halter's trilogy on Sarah, Zipporah, and Lilah (2004–6).

The Hebrew Bible has been one of the most powerful literary stimuli of the past millennium, inspiring poems, plays, novels, and stories in many languages. The Old Testament's portrayal of the human condition and of man's relation to the Divine remains an inexhaustible source of inspiration for Jews and non-Jews alike, wherever the Bible is freely taught and imbibed.

MUSIC

The musical setting of biblical texts or subjects is a basic element in both the Jewish and the Christian cultures. A biblical text may be attached to a simple melodic pattern and incorporated in the liturgy, or it may be set, with the technical resources of art music, for an ensemble of voices and instruments for performance on the concert stage. The extent of quotation may range from the repetition of a single verse – chosen for its overt or symbolic content – to an exposition of entire chapters or even books, which may vary from the simplest to the most complex. Finally, the "musicalization" of a biblical text or story-subject may serve as a means of carrying both performer and listener away from everyday reality, to the reenactment of a religious or historical experience; or it may be intended to achieve the exact opposite, drawing the traditional words, stories and characters into the contemporary world (as in the *Purimspiel, the Negro Spiritual, or the contemporary Israel "verse-song"). The mere enumeration of the repertoire of "The Bible in Music", even within the limits of printed sources of European art music, is a virtually impossible task, although partial lists have been published. The situation is further complicated by the use of mixed texts, especially in motets and cantatas, where biblical quotations, texts from the New Testament and ecclesiastical literature, and new poetic creations, alternate and complement each other symbolically.

There is no field of Western art music in which the Bible has not been reflected at one time or another; the major forms are the Mass, oratorio, cantata, motet, and opera and operetta. Biblical subjects have also furnished the inspiration for various forms of instrumental music (such as Johann Kuhnau's "Biblical Sonatas" in the 18th century), as well as ballet.

The problem of censorship has left its imprint on the history of the "Bible in Music", as it has on the spoken and visual arts, and especially in those forms intended for actual stage representation. Even when biblical characters were permitted to appear, move and sing, the appearance of God was often forbidden, even as a disembodied voice. The late development of oratorio in France, for instance, is directly connected with such a ban, which was relaxed officially only about the middle of the 18th century. In Russia the prohibition against representing biblical characters in a sung work was in force until the end of the Czarist regime.

See also separate articles on individual characters, subjects and books of the Bible and Apocrypha, and on *Cantillation; *Haggadah; *Hallel; *Hallelujah; *Music; *Priestly Blessing; *Psalms (Music); *Shema.

[Bathja Bayer]

ART

The Hebrew Bible has been a continual source of inspiration to artists from classical antiquity until the present day and was a major source until the 17th century. In early Christian wallpaintings in the Roman catacombs and in the carvings on sarcophagi certain images including "Sacrifice of Isaac", "Moses striking the Rock", the "Three Men in the Fiery Furnace" (Shadrach, Meshach and Abed-Nego), and "Jonah and the Whale" continually recur. These images, which were associated with Christian doctrines concerning the life to come, have their artistic origins in pagan art and also, perhaps, in Jewish visual representations of the Bible, such as those that survive in the wallpaintings of the synagogue at *Dura-Europos. In the East Roman (Byzantine) empire, the visual interpretation of the Bible was dominated by the icon, or "holy image", whose form, credited with a divine origin, was preserved unchanged for hundreds of years. This precluded the development of any narrative interest. The characteristic art-form of Byzantium was the mosaic, but the troubled condition of the West after the fall of Rome discouraged ambitious schemes of architectural embellishment and favored instead the more modest illuminated manuscript. This was at first somewhat stylized, but the Carolingian period of the ninth century witnessed a renaissance of creativity. Traditional images were transformed, iconography was developed, and a number of important schools of illumination came into being. Until the close of the Middle Ages, Christian representations of the Bible were governed by certain dogmatic considerations. Scenes from the Old Testament were held to prefigure episodes from the New, and were generally depicted in that light. Thus, the sacrifice of Isaac was taken to be symbolic of the Crucifixion of Jesus; the story of Jonah and the whale as a prefiguration of the Resurrection. In the age of the great Romanesque and Gothic cathedrals, from the 12th century onward, most of the arts tended to be subordinated to a total architectural ensemble. Gradually, however, each art began to regain a life of its own. The static carved figures round the cathedrals began to converse in groups; in Italy they were placed in niches which isolated them in an independent area of space. The same tendency was to be seen in other arts.

The Gothic architecture of the North eliminated wall-space in order to let in the light, so that frescoes were replaced by stained-glass windows. In Italy wallpainting continued to develop but, instead of remaining subordinate to the architectural scheme, it became increasingly of equal importance to its setting. This tendency reached its culmination in Michelangelo's great biblical frescoes in the Sistine Chapel in Rome. In the same way, illuminations which had formerly been integral to the text of a manuscript now developed into miniature paintings, in which an artist's individuality could be expressed. Other changes occurred. Images no longer depended to the same degree on their purely symbolic significance. Artists sought to treat figures naturalistically, placing them in their natural settings. More and more, the biblical subject provided an opportunity for the study of contemporary life. Paintings developed a third dimension, with colors that were naturalistic rather than symbolic. The interest in the natural setting finally developed into landscape-painting. By the 17th century, the landscape in the paintings of Nicholas Poussin was given the same importance as the biblical figures, and in the paintings of his contemporary Claude Lorrain it is given even more. Some of Poussin's biblical scenes are primarily studies of nature; thus his "Ruth and Boaz" (c. 1660–64, Paris, Louvre) is in reality a portrait of summer.

National schools of painting developed, each with its own characteristics. The Italians rendered space according to the laws of perspective and took inspiration for their figures from the art of antiquity. French painters such as Claude Lorrain utilized standardized compositions resembling stage-sets. The Germans sometimes divided up the picture-plane into a number of sections according to the theme. Italian painters favored boldly constructed landscapes and interiors, showing man as the master of space. Italian interiors were clearly visible and well defined, whereas northern interiors could be dark and mysterious, with filtered light such as is found in the works of *Rembrandt. The Italian Renaissance glorified man. In his *Creation of Adam* (1511, Vatican, Sistine Chapel), Michelangelo depicted Adam as the perfect man, the image of God. Michelangelo created several of the most famous interpretations of Old Testament figures. His sculpture of Moses on the tomb of Pope Julius II (c. 1513–16, Rome, S. Pietro in Vincoli) and David (at the Florence Academy) and his painting of Jeremiah (c. 1511) in the Sistine Chapel frescoes are particularly noteworthy. In the 17th century, Rubens treated biblical themes with great dramatic freedom, and Rembrandt restored an element of supernatural mystery to painting, from which it had been banished by the development of naturalistic representation. Rembrandt lived in the heyday of Protestantism, which had brought the Old Testament into favor but at the same time disapproved of paintings of the Bible. Nevertheless, it was a major theme in Rembrandt's work. In his biblical paintings, he abandoned the longstanding tradition of typology and treated each episode on its merits and not as a prefiguration of something else. His tender, emotional treatment often suggested a subject rather than described it. His famous painting of David and Saul, for example, depicts their psychological relationship but not an exact textual passage. He also made many biblical etchings and drawings.

After the late 18th century there was no longer a universally accepted style of painting, and hence no longer a language through which a painter of biblical subjects could easily communicate with the public. Morever, the authority of the Scriptures was no longer unquestioningly accepted. Paintings of the Bible became sporadic, and largely anecdotal or antiquarian. In the 19th century, however, major Jewish artists treated the subject for the first time, and, in the 20th century they accorded it a far more comprehensive treatment. Thus the Old Testament has been the subject of over 40 paintings and numerous etchings by Marc *Chagall and of many works by *Ben-Zion, which bear witness to the fascination the Bible continues to exert on artists up to the present time.

Islamic Art

In Islamic art Bible figures often occur in manuscript illustration, but in less than profoundly religious context, being encountered in histories, scientific works, or the type of book called *Stories of the Prophets*. The important period for this art was from the 14th to the 17th centuries, and the area was that under Persian influence. Various Genesis topics recur – Adam and Eve, Abel, Noah's Ark, and especially Joseph and Potiphar's wife. Moses and Solomon, both part of the Muslim canon, appear, and also Jonah and the whale. Style changes reflect those in the Persian secular miniature, and the manner is equally sensuous and realistic.

ILLUSTRATED BIBLES IN MEDIEVAL ILLUMINATED MANUSCRIPTS

Pictorial biblical cycles in the early Middle Ages probably grew out of early Jewish art. Similarly, iconographical elements of the surviving biblical representations in Jewish monumental art of the third and fourth centuries, and some Christian Greek and Latin illumination, suggest an earlier Jewish prototype. Representations of the midrashic *aggadah* in medieval Christian illumination also point to the same ancient source. It is not known whether the original source for biblical representation was architectural art, such as the third-century fresco cycle in the synagogue of *Dura-Europos, or an illustrated biblical text. No ancient or early medieval Hebrew illuminated Bible has survived, although this does not exclude the possibility that there may have been one in scroll or codex form before the 3rd century. The Cotton Genesis, fragments of a Greek fifth-century Bible probably from Egypt (B.M. Cotton Ms. Otho. B. VI) is the earliest surviving illustrated biblical manuscript. Its framed miniatures, placed within the text pages, may allude to an illustrated scroll as an archetype. The direct iconographic relation of the Cotton Genesis to the mosaics in the church of Sta. Maria Maggiore in Rome further suggests a common prototype. The Cotton Genesis Recension maintained its influence during the Middle Ages in Eastern and Western biblical representations, such as 13th-century mosaics of S. Marco in Venice, and the 12th-century *Hortus Deliciarum*, formerly in Strasbourg. Byzantine biblical representations apparently belonged to another recension related to an important Greek manuscript, the Vienna Genesis (Vienna National Library Ms. Theo. Gr. 31). The incomplete text paraphrases the Book of Genesis, and illustrations appear at the bottom of each page. The position of the illustrations suggests a scroll archetype for the manuscript, since classical scientific scrolls were illustrated in this way. It has been suggested that the manuscript was made for a child's biblical education. This theory accounts for the textual paraphrase, the legendary material, and many everyday scenes. Since the manuscript was painted on purple-tinted vellum, it was probably meant for a child of royal family. The style and motifs date it to the time of Justinian (sixth century). The Cotton and Vienna Genesis manuscripts are but two surviving examples of an important Eastern school of illumination in Alexandria, Antioch and Constantinople. The "Joshua Roll" in the Vatican Library (Palat. Grec. 431), probably of the tenth century, has a very shortened Greek text as captions to the consecutive pictorial episodes from the Book of Joshua, painted on a scroll. The style, iconography and some Classical motifs suggest a prototype which may go back to the second century C.E.

Biblical illustrations of the Western tradition are best exemplified by the full-page illustrations of the Latin Ashburnham Pentateuch (Bib. Nat. Nouv. Acq. Lat. 2334). Dating from the seventh century, but of unknown origin, this manuscript contains iconography different from the Eastern tradition of the Cotton and Vienna Genesis recension, although a complete comparison is not possible because most of the full-page miniatures have been cut out. In the early Middle Ages illustrations existed in the East and West for books of the Bible other than the Pentateuch. There were, for example, the fifth-century "Itala Fragments" illustrating episodes from I Samuel, and the Syrian Book of Kings of 705 C.E. (Paris, Nat. Ms. Syr. 27). The "Itala Fragments" (Berlin Ms. Theo. Lat. fol. 485), which use a Latin translation earlier than that of St. Jerome, were found in a 17th-century binding. Some of the color had disappeared, exposing written instructions by the scribe to the artist regarding what he should illustrate in the miniatures. These instructions suggest the possibility that the illustration of Bible manuscripts may have been a matter of individual choice. By the pre-Iconoclastic period, Byzantine illuminators had developed a system of consecutive biblical illustrations. Such pictures were used, for example, to illustrate the book of Christian Topography by Cosmas Indicopleustes. As soon as the Iconoclastic bans were lifted after 843 C.E., biblical representations returned to Byzantine illumination, fashioned after the surviving Early Christian and Antique representations. One example is the manuscript of the Sermons of St. Gregory of Nazianzus (c. 880 C.E.), which has extensive biblical illustrations. Consecutive cycles also continued in post-Iconoclastic times, mainly in illuminated psalters. Psalters illustrated the life of David, episodes from the Exodus from Egypt, and other passages mentioned in the text. The two main types were the "aristocratic", with full-page miniatures and the "monastic", with marginal illustrations. Among the best known Byzantine biblical manuscripts are the Greek Octateuchs, which contain the Pentateuch and the books of Joshua, Judges, and Ruth. The 11th- to 13th-century Octateuchs have small miniatures within the text.

In the West, the most famous Carolingian center for biblical illustration was the French city of Tours. The Bibles of this school illustrate the life of the first men and Moses with the Israelites in the desert. It is possible that the large Bibles from Tours were inspired by a biblical illuminated manuscript of the Cotton Genesis recension and also by the Ashburnham Pentateuch, which was probably in Tours by the ninth century. Psalters were also illustrated in Carolingian art centers, the most notable being the Utrecht Psalter and the Stuttgart Psalter, which contain illustrations above each psalm. For an unknown reason, no consecutive cycle of biblical episodes existed in Ottonian illumination, and the few biblical representations were usually symbolic. Other regional schools, such as the Anglo-Saxon, Franco-Saxon and Italian, followed the same symbolic method. In Spain, however, a system of biblical text illustrations survived from later antiquity, and formed the Catalan school of illumination of the 10th to 13th centuries. Artists used this system to illustrate the commentaries of Beatus of Liébana on the Apocalypse as well as complete Bibles. It was only through the influence of Byzantine art that biblical cycles were reestablished in the other parts of Western Europe during the 12th century. Most French, German and English Bibles of the 12th century had a few illustrations, probably all derived from Byzantine prototypes. The custom of adding a sequence of full-page biblical illustrations to the psalter was possibly also derived from Byzantine aristocratic psalters. The spread of biblical cycles attached to psalters from England to France during the 13th century is parallel to the development of the Gothic style in illuminated manuscripts. A complete series of biblical illustrations from the Creation to the building of the Second Temple was produced in France, mainly in Paris, during the reign of *Louis IX. The best examples are the Pierpont Morgan Picture Bible and the *Psalter of St. Louis*. This biblical series quickly spread from France to most European countries, and was incorporated into other types of books, such as the German *Weltchroniks* and *Armenbibel*, the French *Histoire Universelle, Bible Moralisée, Biblia Pauperum* and *Speculum Humanae Salvationis*, and the Hebrew Spanish *Haggadot*. During the early part of the Italian Renaissance, it became fashionable to illustrate biblical texts with elaborate miniatures on the first page of each book. Their iconography is mainly based on central and south Italian tradition, which preserved the most classical iconography, both in miniatures and in the monumental art of the period. Examples are the Pantheon Bible of the 12th century, the Padua Bible of the 14th century, and the Bible of Borso d'Este of the 15th century. The early printed bibles mainly used the 15th-century system of Italian illuminated bibles and some of the early printed Gutenberg Bibles were hand decorated as if they were manuscripts. The printed editions of the Poor Men's Bibles mainly followed the hand-produced examples of this type.

[Bezalel Narkiss]

Illuminated Hebrew Manuscripts

The *halakhah* explicitly forbids the decoration of the Scroll of the Law read in the synagogue. (Tradition condemns the Jerusalemites of Alexandria for adorning their scroll with the name of God in gold; Sof. 1:8.) However, Hebrew Bibles in codex form, not used for reading in the synagogue, may have been decorated and illustrated in antiquity, though no such manuscripts have survived. Those illuminated Hebrew Bibles which still exist belong to a later period. They consist of four regional types: Oriental, Spanish, Ashkenazi, and Italian. Their styles differ but they share iconographic and formal elements.

Oriental Bibles may have originated in the first or second century and may have served as a model to the surviving illuminated Bibles. A comparison of ninth- and 13th-century illuminated manuscripts with first- and second-century monuments, such as wall paintings and floor mosaics, suggests that illuminated Bibles consisted of textual illustrations, implements of the Temple, and fully decorated pages which, from their likeness to designs on Oriental carpets, are known as carpet pages. The wall paintings in *Dura-Europos may be an example of a cycle inspired by Bible manuscripts. Later medieval Greek, Latin, and Hebrew illuminated manuscripts contain similar iconography. The Jewish legendary material (*aggadah) depicted in early synagogues and in later manuscripts may allude to an illustrated paraphrase of the Bible, rather than to the canonic text. The early identification of the Temple portal and implements of the Temple with messianic and national aspirations made them an important subject of decoration in minor cult objects as well as in synagogal art. Another element which appears in early synagogal decoration, such as the Aegina and the *Bet Alfa floor mosaic, is the framed carpet-like area decorated with geometrical, repetitive patterns. The reappearance of such decorations in later illuminated Bibles makes it plausible that early Hebrew Bibles might well have been similarly illustrated.

ORIENTAL. Most of the existing Oriental illuminated Hebrew Bibles come from Egypt. The earliest illuminated Bibles, of the ninth and tenth centuries, are of *Karaite rather than *Rabbanite origin. Of these, the earliest existing illuminated manuscript is a ninth-or tenth-century codex of the Latter Prophets, found in the Karaite synagogue in Cairo. This manuscript, together with two Pentateuch fragments of 929 C.E. (Leningrad, Firkovich collection, II, 17) and 951 C.E. (Ms. Firkovich, II, 8), and a tenth-century Karaite Pentateuch written in Arabic characters (British Museum, Ms. Or. 2540) help to establish the system of decorating Oriental Hebrew Bibles from the ninth to the 13th centuries. The style is Oriental and may be either Palestinian or Mesopotamian. Preceding the biblical text, there are fully decorated pages, colored in gold, green, red, and blue, either carpet pages or decorated pages containing patterned masoretic micrography. The carpet pages are composed of repeated geometric designs or a central motif with ornamented frame. In several manuscripts, such as the Cairo Karaite Latter Prophets, there are two geometrical, patterned carpet pages which have an additional palmette motif on the outer border. The origin of such carpet pages is unknown, but similar types can be found in the eighth-century Christian sacred books of Hiberno-Saxon and Northumbrian origin, such as the *Lindisfarne Gospels*. In Hebrew Bibles they are directly related to the traditional opening and closing pages of Koran manuscripts of the same period.

The other type of fully decorated pages in Oriental Bibles incorporates floral and geometric motifs outlined in micrography. The text of the minute script is usually the *masorah magna. Some masoretic pages have a portal-like motif, although most have round, square, or rhomboid shapes. Floral and geometric elements sometimes frame dedicatory and colophon pages. In addition to the carpet pages, the Pentateuch manuscript dated 929 C.E. has two pages with a display or plan of the sacred implements of the tabernacle and Temple. These consist of the seven-branched candelabrum, shovels, the table of shewbread, jars, basins, Aaron's flowering staff, and a highly stylized triple arcade, perhaps symbolizing the facade of the Temple, as well as a stylized Ark of the Covenant. The exposition of the *menorah*, the Ark, the jar of manna, and the triple-gate facade of the Temple probably originated in late Hellenistic tradition. All these elements appear on minor Jewish art objects of the first to the third centuries, such as clay oil lamps, painted gold-leaf glasses, and coins, as well as in monumental wall-painting in synagogues and catacombs and in later synagogal floor motifs.

Within the text of the Oriental Bibles, traditionally written in three columns, divisional motifs demarcate the end of books, portions (*parashot*), and verses. At the end of books, there is usually an ornamental frame containing the number of verses in the book. Sometimes, these frames were extended to decorative panels, like the Sūra headings in the Koran. Decorated roundels or other motifs, occasionally with mnemonic devices, mark the different *parashot* as well as the chapters of the Psalms. The roundels resemble the *ʿashira* (division into verses), and the *sajdah* (pause for prostration) signs in contemporary Korans. Other sections contain similar decorations. Most frequent is a paisley motif, derived from the Arabic letter *ha*, which resembles the *khamise* (five-verse section) notation in Korans. The Songs of Moses (Ex. 15; Deut. 32) are traditionally written in a distinct verse form, sometimes framed by decorative geometric and floral bands. An example is an 11th-century Persian Bible in the British Museum (Or. Ms. 1467, fols. 117v–118v). Of the few existing examples of Oriental Bibles that contain text illustrations, two are 11th-century Persian Pentateuchs. One has pictures of sacred vessels between the text columns of the page, illustrating the text's description of the princes' gifts to the tabernacle in the desert (Num. 7:1; Brit. Mus., Or. Ms. 1467, fols. 43–43v). The other has an illustration of the two tablets of the law inscribed with the opening words of each Commandment, next to the text of the Ten Commandments (Ex. 20:2–17; Brit. Mus., Or. Ms. 2363, fol. 73v). Portions of the Bible, especially the Pentateuch, intended for educational use were also decorated in the same manner. One example is the Jerusalem *Shelaḥ Lekha* portion of 1106 C.E. Oriental Bibles of the 12th and 13th centuries carry on the tradition of carpet pages, decorated micrography, and divisional signs.

SPANISH. The illumination of Spanish Bibles is derived from the Oriental ones. Like them, they contain carpet pages, illustrations of the Temple implements, divisional signs for books, portions, and verses, and patterned masorah. Spanish Bibles also contain innovations, mainly in the comparative masoretic tables. No illuminated Bible from the Islamic "Golden Age" in Spain has survived. The extant Bibles of Christian Spain suggest a link between them and the early Oriental Bibles because of their similar plan and iconography. The carpet pages of 13th- and 14th-century Spanish Bibles are placed mainly at the beginning and in the major divisions of the Bibles. These carpet pages combine painted motifs with figurated masorah and are framed by verses in monumental scripts.

The earliest recognizable Spanish school of Bible illustration developed in Castile during the second half of the 13th century. Examples of illuminated Bibles from this school indicate an Oriental origin in both the type of decoration and the main floral, geometric, and micrographic motifs. The carpet page from the *Damascus Keter,* in the National and University Library in Jerusalem, a Bible copied in Burgos in 1260 by Menahem b. Abraham ibn Malik, is a good example of the Spanish style. The Oriental flavor of the foliage scroll, outlined by micrography, is somewhat subdued by the Western touch of a burnished gold filling and magenta-brown background. Other Bibles from Castile, such as the 14th-century codex from Cervera, near Toledo (Lisbon, National Library, Ms. 72) reveal more Westernized taste, and were probably influenced by the southern French schools of illumination; Provence should be regarded both culturally and socially as part of the northern Spanish schools.

The most common illustrations of the Spanish Bibles are the implements of the Temple. They are usually shown in a double-page spread in front of the manuscript, next to the carpet pages, rather than in the form of a plan of the Temple or tabernacle. A Bible copied in Perpignan in 1299 (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, cod. hèb. 7) contains one of the earliest full-page expositions of the implements of the tabernacle. The implements are arranged arbitrarily within frames. The first page (fol. 12v) shows the seven-branched *menorah* and its tongs and fire pans, with two step-like stones on either side of the base, the jar of manna, the staff of Moses and Aaron's flowering rod, the Ark with the tablets of the law deposited in it, the two winged cherubim over the Ark-cover, and the table with the shewbread – two rows of six loaves – above which are two incense ladles. On the second page (fol. 13) are the gold incense altar, silver trumpets, the horn, the sacrificial altar with a leaning ramp, the laver on its stand, vessels, basins, pans, shovels, and forks. An earlier Bible of the same type from Toledo (1277) is in the Biblioteca Palatina, Parma (Ms. 2668).

The *Farḥi Bible* (Sassoon Collection, Ms. 368), one of the richest Bibles of the 14th century, was both copied and decorated by Elisha b. Abraham b. Benveniste b. Elisha, called Crescas (b. 1325). It took him 17 years, from 1366 to 1382, to complete the work which, as his colophon reveals, he undertook for his own use. The manuscript was previously in the possession of the Farḥi family of Damascus and Aleppo. The actual biblical text is preceded by 192 fully decorated pages, 29 of which are carpet pages and nine, full-page miniatures. Among the illustrations are several pages of drawings of the implements. The Bible became a substitute for the Temple and was called *Mikdashiyyah* ("God's Temple"). Thus, in Spanish Bibles the implements symbolize the messianic hope for the rebuilding of the Temple. A tree on a hill representing the *Mount of Olives, where tradition states that the precursor of the Messiah will appear, is included among the implements – a further indication of the messianic intent of the illustration. Plans of the Temple also exist in Spanish illumination. One early example is attached to the *First Ibn Merwas Bible* of Toledo, 1306 (British Museum, Ms. Or. 2201). A large fragment, executed by Joshua b. Abraham ibn Gaon in Soria (1306), is bound together with the *Second Kennicott Bible* (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Ken. 2). It contains all the implements and vessels of the Second Temple arranged in ground-plan form, unlike the more common random arrangement.

A few Bibles have other illustrations next to the carpet pages. The *Farḥi Bible* has several, among which are the labyrinth of the seven walls of Jericho and the tents of Jacob and his wives. Two novel features appear in the carpet pages of Spanish Bibles. One is the calendar page, according to the Jewish year. Most of the calendars are circular, similar to the zodiac form; some, such as that in the *First Joshua Ibn Gaon Bible* of 1301 (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, cod. hèb. 21), consist of movable disks. Contemporary calendars were also added, usually beginning with the year in which the manuscript was written. The second major novelty is the comparative tables of the masorah. The different versions of the masorah of *Ben-Asher and *Ben-Naphtali are written in columns framed by arcades which resemble the early medieval canon tables. In some manuscripts, the tradition of the fully arcaded pages persists even though the text is different. The *First Kennicott Bible*, a masterpiece of Spanish-Jewish art (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Ken. 1), was copied, punctuated, and edited according to the masorah by Moses Jacob ibn Zabara, and completed, as his colophon shows, on July 24, 1476, in the Spanish town of Corunna, for Isaac son of Don Solomon de Braga. The manuscript was planned and fashioned in scope and decoration on the model of the *Cervera Bible* (1300, Lisbon, Univ. Lib. Ms. 72). The illumination was done by Joseph *Ibn Ḥayyim, who fashioned his colophon in zoo- and anthropomorphic letters, similar to those of *Joseph ha-Ẓarefati, the artist of the *Cervera Bible*. Joseph ibn Ḥayyim however, added many new elements to his work. These additions include 14 fully decorated carpet pages, some illustrating the traditional array of implements of the tabernacle. As in the *Cervera Bible*, a number of pages are decorated with arcades which serve as frames for David *Kimḥi's grammatical compendium. Some of these arcades have pictorial borders, such as an army of hares besieging a wolf in a castle (fol. 443).

The Spanish artists, following the Oriental tradition, used divisional signs for books and *parashot* although in a more elaborate way and with some text illustrations. These can be seen as early as 1260, in some *parashot* signs in the *Damascus Keter.* The *First Kennicott Bible* has several such illustrations (e.g., Phinehas brandishing his spear). Unlike Oriental Bibles, the beginnings of books in some Spanish manuscripts have a text illustration. The *Kennicott Bible* presents Jonah and the whale (fol. 305). The *Cervera Bible* has several text illustrations. The indicator for *Parashat Ki-Tavo* (Deut. 26) displays a basket of fruit, illustrating the offerings of the first fruit in the Temple; above it are an elephant and castle, the royal arms of Castile. At the end of Exodus there is a panel showing the *menorah* (fol. 60). A stag is painted alongside Psalm 42 (fol. 326), and a lamenting grotesque decorates Lamentations (fol. 371v). Zechariah (fol. 316v) is illustrated by his vision of the two olive trees providing oil for the *menorah*. Jonah (fol. 304) opens with a picture of a ship with sailors, under which the prophet is being swallowed head first by a whale – a not uncommon scene in illuminated Spanish Bibles.

A similar picture of a sailing vessel is found at the beginning of Jonah in a Bible written in Soria (1312) by Shem Tov b. Abraham ibn Gaon, probably a brother of Joshua ibn Gaon (Sassoon Collection, Ms. 82). Further resemblances between the *Shem Tov Bible* and the *Cervera Bible*, such as the grammatical and masoretic treatises written within columns and the crouching lions at the bases of arcades, suggest that they are based on a common model. These two manuscripts are also related in artistic style. The numerous text illustrations in the margins and between the columns of the *First Joshua Ibn Gaon Bible* (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale cod. hèb. 20) include Noah's ark (fol. 13), the dove holding an olive branch (fol. 14), Hagar's water jug (fol. 20), Abraham's sacrificial knife (fol. 20v), the goblet of Pharaoh's butler (fol. 133), David's sling with Goliath's sword, and the bear and lion killed by David (fol. 170). Of all the 15th-century Bibles, the *First Kennicott Bible* has the largest number of text illustrations. At the opening of the Book of Jonah (fol. 305), the traditional picture of the prophet being swallowed head first by a whale, beneath a decorated ship, is depicted in a way similar to that in the *Cervera Bible*. There is also an illustration of King David at the beginning of II Samuel (fol 185) in the *Kennicott Bible*. Floral and geometric shapes composed of micrographic masorah decorate the margins of some text pages. As in the Oriental Bibles, the two songs of Moses are often written in a special form and sometimes have a frame decorated with colors or micrography, which is also used in the ornamentation of carpet pages from the 13th to the 15th centuries.

Hebrew illustrated Bibles must have been so common in Spain that Castilian translations of the Bible may have used their illustrations as early as the 13th century. Jewish iconography is also predominant in the Castilian *Alba Bible.

The 15th-century Yemenite school of illumination, like the Spanish, follows the Oriental school. Many Yemenite Bibles contain carpet pages ornamented with floral and animal motifs in micrography of colors (e.g., Brit. Mus., Or. Ms. 2348 of Sana'a, 1469, and Or. Ms. 2211 of 1475). The micrography in these manuscripts is of biblical verses and Psalms, not the masorah.

ASHKENAZI. Hebrew Bibles of the Ashkenazi school fall into two categories: one consists of complete Bibles, mostly in large, even giant, format, such as the *Ambrosian Bible* (Ulm, 1236–38), written in large script with Aramaic translation incorporated into the text after each verse; the other contains the Pentateuch with its Aramaic translation, the five scrolls, *haftarot, parts of Job, and sometimes the "passages of doom" in Jeremiah (2:29–3:12; 9:24–10:16). Ashkenazi Bibles are illuminated in a different fashion from the Oriental and Spanish ones. Most are decorated by the punctuator-masorete in micrography and pen drawing, either in large initial-word panels or in the margins of the text area. Illuminated Bibles of the Ashkenazi tradition do not contain carpet pages and only occasionally have expositions of the Temple implements. What sometimes appears like a carpet page is in fact an excess of masoretic material copied in decorative shapes, either at the beginning or the end of books of the Bible. Implements of the Temple are very rare. One example occurs in the *Regensburg Pentateuch* of about 1300, now in the Israel Museum, Jerusalem, which has an exposition of the tabernacle implements, including Aaron in his robes extending his arm to light a very large *menorah*, which is depicted on the facing page.

The most common illuminations of French and German Bibles are initial-word panels, which sometimes include text illustrations. The Rashi commentary on the Pentateuch from Wuerzburg, 1233 (Munich, Cod. Heb. 5) has initial-word panels to each *parashah* which includes a text illustration. The *Ambrosian Bible* (Mss. B. 30–32 inf.) has illustrated panels to most of the books. At the end of the third volume, this manuscript has full-page eschatological illustrations, which depict the Feast of the Righteous in Paradise, and a cosmological picture. The *British Museum Miscellany* (Ms. Add. 11.639) of c. 1280 contains three cycles of full-page miniatures of biblical episodes, which were probably intended to illustrate a northern French Bible. Painted initial-word panels also exist and sometimes extend to a full page, as in the *Duke of Sussex Pentateuch* in the British Museum. Sometimes these painted panels illustrate the text, but a few are merely decorative. The 46 medallions of the frontispiece to Genesis in the *Schocken Bible* in Jerusalem depict episodes from the entire Pentateuch, beginning with Adam and Eve by the Tree of Knowledge and ending with Balaam being stopped by an angel while riding his ass.

The other most prominent type of decoration in the Ashkenazi Bible is the elaborate marginal micrography. The masoretic micrography sometimes contains text illustrations. Some opening panels and colophons are also decorated by micrography, and the micrography within the text sometimes forms an illustration of the text. The *Duke of Sussex Pentateuch* (fol. 28) shows the ram caught in a thicket alongside the text of the sacrifice of Isaac. A Bible in the British Museum (Ms. Add. 21160, c. 1300), has some interesting examples of such illustrated micrography; e.g., Joseph riding a horse (fol. 192), Pharaoh's baker carrying a triple basket on his head (fol. 43), the four beasts of Ezekiel's vision (fol. 285), and Jonah being spewed from the mouth of the whale and seated under a tree (fol. 292–292v). However, most of the masoretic variations surrounding the text form grotesques. Ashkenazi Pentateuchs of the second half of the 14th century are smaller and illustrated in a manner differing from that of the earlier period – the *Coburg Pentateuch* of 1369, is an example of this later type.

ITALIAN. Very few illuminated Italian Bibles of the 13th century survive, and most of them are of Roman origin. The *Bishop Bedell Bible* of 1284 (Cambridge, Emmanuel College) is a typical example. It contains two full-page decorated panels, which include some inscriptions. Decorated arches surround the opening pages or text columns of the different books, and the initial word is written in a larger script. *Parashot* signs in the margin follow the Oriental type. A two-volume Bible in the British Museum (Ms. Harl. 5710–11), from about 1300 preserves the two typical techniques of decoration – watercolor pen drawings and painted illuminations. The openings of each book of the Bible are headed by painted initial-word panels and surrounded by foliage scrolls – either around the whole page or one text column. The foliage scrolls are wiry and incorporate animals, birds, fish, and grotesques in a style which was common in the province of Emilia and influenced mainly by the Bolognese school. This Bible contains a few text illustrations. Under the initial-word panel of Genesis (fol. 1), there is a painted panel containing seven medallions, five of which represent the creation of heaven and earth, the sun, moon, and stars, water, trees, and beasts. Each medallion shows the hand of God emerging from segments of the sky. At the end of the Pentateuch (fol. 136), there is a full-page drawing of a delicately formed *menorah* painted in red, green, ocher, and brown. The entire page is framed and filled with painted foliage scrolls combined with grotesques and dragons. Another delicately painted manuscript of Emilian style, from the end of the 13th century, is a psalter in the Biblioteca Palatina in Parma (Ms. 1870). Many of the chapter openings have small initial-word panels with grotesques and animals in the margins. Some illustrate the text: weeping people, with their violins hung upon a willow, illustrate Psalm 137, "By the waters of Babylon there we sat down… We hung our harps upon the willows in the midst thereof"; a man conducting a choir illustrates Psalm 149, "Hallelujah, sing to the Lord a new song." Italian Bibles of the 14th and 15th century are decorated by initial-word and -letter panels, with marginal ornamentation and some illustrations.

The Aberdeen Bible (University of Aberdeen, Ms. 23) was completed probably in Naples in 1493 by Isaac b. David Balansi (i.e., Valensi), presumably a Spaniard who had been expelled from Spain in 1492. While the Spanish influence is evident in the manuscript's masoretic micrography and *parashot* indicators, it does not appear in the fully decorated pages containing the comparative tables of masorah, initial-word panels, and border illumination; these are purely south Italian. The heavy borders, decorated with foliage scrolls, animals, birds, and large pearls framing the table of *haftarot*, are typical of the other illuminated pages in this Bible.

With the Renaissance in Italy, Hebrew illumination reached its artistic peak. It developed through the ready patronage of affluent Jewish loan-bankers who supported such fine illuminators as those who produced the *Rothschild Miscellany* (Ms. 24, Jerusalem, Israel Museum) and the Bibliothèque Nationale's *Portuguese Bible* (Ms. héb. 15). Unique in the richness of their decoration, these manuscripts were in great demand, but only a few families could afford the single productions.

With the invention of the printing press, by the end of the 15th century handwritten Bible illumination practically ceased. The decoration of printed Bibles developed a different form and content, except for the illuminated scrolls of Esther, which evolved a specific tradition.

See also *Illuminated Manuscripts, Illuminated *Haggadot, and illuminated *maḥzorim.

[Bezalel Narkiss]

For more information on individual biblical figures in the arts see also the articles on the following: *Abraham, *Absalom, *Adam, *Akedah, *Athaliah, Babel, Tower *of, *Balaam, *Belshazzar, *Cain (and Abel), *Creation, *Daniel, *David, *Deborah, *Decalogue, *Elijah, *Esther, *Ezekiel, *Gideon, *Habakkuk, *Hezekiah, *Hosea, *Isaac, *Isaiah, *Jacob, *Jephthah, *Jeremiah, *Jerusalem, *Job, *Joel, *Jonah, *Joseph, *Joshua, *Lamentations, *Melchizedek, *Moses, *Nebuchadnezzar, *Noah, *Psalms, *Rachel, *Ruth, *Samson, *Samuel, *Saul, *Sodom (and Gomorrah), *Solomon, *Song of Songs, *Temple.

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BIBLE CODES, a system of inquiry involving the discovery of pairs of conceptually related terms in the biblical text using Equidistant Letter Sequences (ELS). The system involves choosing or finding a sequence of letters that make up a name or a date, not necessarily in the order in which the name is spelled, that is found in the biblical text at equal distances from one another. Thus, the letters of the Hebrew name, *Rambam*, might appear every 10 letters in a portion of the book of Genesis. Nearby, the letters of the Rambam's date of birth might appear in another sequence of say every 12 letters. The assumption is that the close proximity of these two related letter sequences is not due to chance. The Bible Codes are understood to be the result of a divine hand that planted them in the Bible text. How else can we explain the existence of the names and birth dates of medieval rabbis in a text that is over 3,000 years old – it is asked.

ELS was first applied scientifically to the Bible by Professor Eliyahu Rips, an Israeli mathematician, in 1983. In 1985, Rips, together with Doron Witztum and Yoav Rosenberg, conducted an experiment to find the names of famous rabbis and the dates of their birth or death in the book of Genesis using ELS. The experiment utilized a list of names based on the *Encyclopedia of Great Men in Israel* (Hebrew) compiled by Shlomo Havlin. The experiment, conducted using a computer program, resulted in the discovery of the rabbis' names in close proximity to their dates of birth, a result that could not, it was argued, be the result of chance or coincidence. The Bible text used for the experiment was the Koren Hebrew edition of the Bible. The editor of the professional journal *Statistical Science* requested that the experiment be repeated and it was. Thus, in 1994, Rips, Witztum and Rosenberg published their findings in *Statistical Science* (vol. 9, 1994, no. 3, 429–38).

Since then, the Bible Codes have become the subject of great controversy. The debate can be divided into three areas: (a) statistics; (b) Bible; and (c) education.

Statistics

A number of scholars, especially Brenden McKay, Maya Bar-Hillel, Dror Bar-Natan, Gil Kalai, and Barry Simon have severely criticized the findings of Rips, Witztum, and Rosenberg. They are critical of the way the list of names was compiled because variations on the spelling of names or appellation could have negated the results. In addition, not all of the pairs of rabbis and dates were actually discovered. Barry Simon writes, "…the complexity of the experiment suggests that the result may be sensitive to changes of the method of measuring distances and the statistical method used" (http://www.wopr.com/biblecodes/). Simon, along with others, have used the Bible Codes system to discover rabbis' names and other word sets in both English and Hebrew texts other than the Bible.

Bible

Jewish Bible scholars, such as Menachem Cohen of the Hebrew University (http://cs.anu.edu.au/~bdm/dilugim/cohen_eng.html), and Christian Bible scholars, such as Richard Taylor (*Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society*, December 2000), of the Dallas Theological Seminary, have been very critical of the Bible Codes. Taylor writes, "…most important, I do not believe that the real issues in this discussion actually lie in the discipline of mathematical probability. Bible code advocates have based much of their theory upon arguments from statistical probability. However, the Bible code phenomenon is ultimately an issue of Old Testament textual criticism, and no amount of statistical probability or mathematical speculation can alter that fact. Any Bible code theory that plays loose with known facts concerning the transmission of the Biblical text is working with an inherent flaw that is actually fatal to its claims and conclusions" (ibid.). Put simply, the Koren edition of the Bible is in no way the "authoritative" text of the Bible, for there is none. For instance, there are variant spellings of words throughout the bible that appear in the Aleppo Codex, the Leningrad manuscript, the Sassoon Manuscript, and the original printing of the *Mikra'ot Gedolot* in Venice. These variant spellings, along with other textual phenomena in the Bible, such as *ketiv* and *qeri*, certainly affect the results of a code based on equal distances between letters. Taylor sums it up by saying, "If there are significant textual problems in the Hebrew Bible – whether in the form of pluses, or minuses, or substitutions, etc. – such a problem causes a fatal disaster for any theory of ELS, even if it were theoretically possible to allow for such a phenomenon in the non-extant original text" (ibid.).

Education

The only Jewish organization that is actively using the Bible Codes as part of their educational curriculum is *Aish HaTorah. A lesson about the Bible Codes is included in their Discovery seminars, the purpose of which is to prove the Divine origin of the Torah. An active defense of the Codes and their use is found on their website (http://www.aish.com/seminars/discovery/Codes/codes.htm#prime). Many Jewish educators object to the use of the Codes, especially in teaching those who are relatively uninformed about Judaism (the target population of the Discovery Seminars), given the debate surrounding the validity of the Codes themselves.

In recent times, numerous people have written books purportedly predicting future events on the basis of the Codes, particularly Michael Drosnin (*The Bible Code*, 1997, and *The Bible Code 2*, 2002). Such works have been rejected by both sides of the scholarly debate. It is interesting to note that a Google search of "Bible Codes" reveals 990,000 related websites, the overwhelming majority of which are Christian sites. The Christian community has eagerly accepted the Bible Codes while the broader Jewish community has expressed a greater skepticism. Bible Codes computer programs can be purchased so consumers can run their own Bible Code searches.

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[David Derovan (2nd ed.)]

BIBLE SOCIETIES, associations intended to propagate the Christian Bible, i.e., the Old and New Testaments. The first association of this kind was founded in 1719 in Halle an der Saale, and from 1775 was called the Cansteinsche Bibelanstalt. Numerous Bible societies were founded from the beginning of the 19th century in the wake of the missionary societies established between 1792 and 1800 in England, Holland, and Germany. The British and Foreign Bible Society was founded in 1804, the Bible Society of Basle in 1804, that of Berlin in 1805, Holland in 1814, Norway in 1815, the American Bible Society in 1816, and the Société Biblique de Paris in 1818. Other important societies are the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, the American and Foreign Bible Society, the Baptist Missionary Society, the Bible Translation Society, the Church Missionary Society, the National Bible Society of Scotland, the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, and the Trinitarian Bible Society. In general, these societies publish the biblical texts without commentaries, but they have also issued emended texts of existing translations and editions. They have also published the Greek and Latin editions of Nestlé (1879), Kittel's *Biblia Hebraica* (1905; the Bible Society of Wuerttemberg), and the *Bible du Centenaire* (1916–48; Société Biblique de Paris). Photographic reproductions of the British and Foreign Bible Society Hebrew Bible have been issued in various formats by some Jewish publishers. The masoretic Bible of C.D. *Ginsburg was published by the same society in 1926 in London.

Bibles published by these societies are disseminated by the mission societies or by large-scale retailing. Since the beginning of the 19th century, over a thousand million copies of biblical texts in over a thousand languages have been thus published and distributed. The British and Foreign Bible Society alone has published texts in 700 languages and dialects and distributed a total of 550,000,000 copies, 130,000,000 of which were of the Old Testament. In a single year before World War II, this society distributed 11,000,000 copies of the Bible, the National Bible Society of Scotland 4,000,000, and the American Bible Society 7,000,000. In China, before the accession to power of the Communists, 9,000,000 copies of biblical texts were distributed annually. Owing to the low prices they charge, these societies frequently succeed in selling their Hebrew editions of the Bible, with or without translation, to Jews. The issue of equally low-priced Hebrew Bibles by Jewish authorities or institutions, with or without translations, to counteract this disguised missionary activity of the Bible societies is a relatively recent undertaking. The edition of the New Testament in Hebrew translation is more openly designed for missionary work among Jews. The first New Testament in Hebrew was published in 1817 by the London Society for Promoting Christianity among Jews (better known as the London Jews' Society). The translation of the New Testament by F. *Delitzsch appeared between 1877 and 1892 in at least 13 editions. Other translations openly intended for Jews have been published in Yiddish, Judeo-Arabic, Judeo-Persian, and Ladino.

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[Bernhard Blumenkranz]

°**BIBLIANDER (Buchmann), THEODOR** (1504–1564), Swiss Hebraist and theologian. In 1531, Bibliander succeeded Zwingli as lecturer in Septuagintal studies, but his denial of absolute predestination cost him his post. His publications include a Hebrew grammar (1535), a commentary on the Hebrew text of Nahum (1534), and a treatise interpreting Ezra with reference to Roman history (1553?). Bibliander left Basle with a projected translation of the Koran (of which he published an interpretation, 1543) when the enterprise encountered local difficulties; he was also a collaborator of Leo Juda in his Latin version of the Bible (1543).

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[Raphael Loewe]

BIBLIOGRAPHY. As in general bibliography, the development of Hebrew bibliography is characterized by the transition from brief listings to more detailed catalogues. The listing of the books of the Bible which appears in the Talmud (BB 14b, 15a) had as its purpose the fixing of an authoritative order for the biblical books as a guide for the copyists. Lists of books for broader purposes, among them those of the Cairo *Genizah*, have come down from the 11th century. Sometimes these listings contain only the name of the book; in other cases, the author's name is also included. In some of the later booklists, short annotations also appear. Bibliographical lists within the biographical listings are found in genealogical works of the 16th century, as in *Sefer Yuḥasin* by Abraham *Zacuto and in *Shalshelet ha-Kabbalah* by Gedaliah *Ibn Yaḥya. In the early part of the 17th century several important ventures in the field of bibliography were undertaken. Johannes *Buxtorf the elder published *De abbreviaturis hebraicis, liber novus et copiosus* (Basle, 1613) in which he included a section on rabbinic literature entitled *Bibliotheca rabbinica ordine alphabetico disposita*. This listing of 324 works, arranged in alphabetical order by titles, is the first bibliographic catalogue of rabbinic literature. *Manasseh Ben Israel, in his listing of sources used by him in the first part of his *Conciliador* (Frankfurt, 1632), distinguished six categories of Hebrew literature: Talmud and Midrash; commentaries on these; commentaries on the Bible; Kabbalah; *posekim* and responsa; sermons, grammar, chronology, and legal literature. The first, however, to compile a true bibliography of Hebrew literature was Giulio *Bartolocci in his *Bibliotheca Magna Rabbinica* (4 vols., Rome, 1675–93; repr. 1969). The Christian scholar Carlo Giuseppe Imbonati added a fifth volume, *Bibliotheca Latina Hebraica* (Rome, 1694). Bartolocci's work is arranged in alphabetical order of authors, supplemented by a list of subjects in Latin and an abridged listing in Hebrew. Leone *Modena assisted the bishop of Lodève, J. Plantavit de la Pause; in his *Bibliotheca Rabbinica* (appended to his *Florilegium Biblicum*, 1645) by supplying him with a list of 500 names of rabbis, which he used for his alphabetic dictionary of 780 Hebrew books. The first Jewish bibliographer was Shabbetai *Bass whose *Siftei Yeshenim* (Amsterdam, 1680) contains a bibliography arranged by title, followed by the name of the author, the date and place of publication, the format, and some indication of content. The approximate number of listings in this bibliography is 2,200, including manuscripts. The third important pioneer bibliographer was another Christian, Johann Christoph *Wolf. He utilized the two previous bibliographies in compiling his own four-volume work, *Bibliotheca Hebraea* (Hamburg, 1715–33; repr. 1969). He corrected some of the material found in the earlier works, using the library of David b. Abraham *Oppenheim. The genealogical reference work of David *Conforte *Kore ha-Dorot* (1746, 1846^2) contains much valuable bibliographic material. It should be noted, also, that Jehiel *Heilperin included in his *Seder ha-Dorot* (Karlsruhe, 1769) the names of the books which are referred to in Bass' bibliography, though generally he omitted the place and year of publication, even when these were included in the *Siftei Yeshenim*. Especially valuable from a bibliographical standpoint is the H.J.D. *Azulai's *Shem ha-Gedolim* (1774–86, 1853, 1876), which contains an alphabetical listing of Hebrew books and manuscripts. Azulai noted every unusual Hebrew book or manuscript, even those in non-Jewish collections, which came to his notice in the course of his extensive travels without, however, always giving the date and place of publication. The major work of the Christian scholar G.B. *de' Rossi, *Annales Hebraeo-Typographici Seculi XV* (Parma, 1795), dealing with Hebrew incunabula, together with his *Annales Hebraeo-Typographici ab anno 1501 ad 1540* (Parma, 1799), and the *Dizionario storico degli autori Ebrei e delle loro opere* (2 vols., Parma, 1802), as well as assorted lists of Hebrew publications from various Italian cities, serve as a transition to modern bibliography.

With the development of Jewish studies, Hebrew bibliography became a scientific discipline in its own right. L. *Zunz's *Zur Geschichte und Literatur* (1845) contains a complete section on bibliography (pp. 214–303), including material on the dates found in books; on printers and typography in Mantua from 1476 to 1662; and on Hebrew printing in Prague from 1513 to 1657. This work laid the foundation for modern Hebrew bibliography. In 1849 Julius *Fuerst published the first part of his *Bibliotheca Judaica* (3 vols., 1849–63). The book is neither all-inclusive nor completely accurate, but it is important in view of its comprehensiveness. It is arranged according to author, commentator, editor, and publisher, with an alphabetical index to the Hebrew works appended to the end of the third volume. The format of each book is noted, and sometimes the number of pages as well. The preceding bibliographies are overshadowed by the works of Moritz *Steinschneider, in particular by his *Catalogus Librorum Hebraeorum in Bibliotheca Bodleiana* (1852–60) and *Die hebraeischen Uebersetzungen des Mittelalters* (1893). These works set the definitive standard for modern Jewish bibliography. Another important bibliography is Isaac *Benjacob's *Oẓar ha-Sefarim*, (1877–80), listing Jewish books and manuscripts until 1863, and published by the author's son Jacob, together with notes by Steinschneider. By the late 19th century Jewish bibliography, comprising Jewish literature in all languages, had undergone considerable development and today compares favorably with general bibliography. Aaron *Walden, who followed Azulai with the *Shem ha-Gedolim he-Ḥadash* (1864) included a section entitled, "A Catalogue of Books," which includes ḥasidic works absent from earlier listings. However, this listing was not done scientifically. William *Zeitlin, in his *Kiryat Sefer, Bibliotheca Hebraica post-Mendelssohniana* (1891–95), listed the works of the Haskalah movement to that date (more than 3,500 volumes). Ḥayyim David Lippe published a catalogue called *Asaf ha-Mazkir* (1881–89), "a complete listing of all the books, treatises, and Hebrew periodicals which appeared during the period 1880–1887." He also issued a follow-up catalogue, *Asaf ha-Mazkir he-Ḥadash…* (1899), "listing all the books, treatises, and periodicals which appeared during the period 1882–1898." From 1928 to 1931 H.D. *Friedberg published his *Beit Eked Sefarim*, a bibliographical lexicon covering the general field of Hebrew literature, with particular attention to books written in Hebrew and Yiddish; but also including works written in Italian, Latin, Greek, Spanish, Arabic, Persian, and Samaritan, and printed in Hebrew characters from 1475–1900, with their general content, author, date, place of publication, and number of pages. An expanded edition of this work appeared in 1951–54. Though not truly scientific in its approach, it is still very useful. The many, important studies of Abraham Yaari include *Meḥkerei Sefer* (1958), containing among its studies in Hebrew booklore a section on the catalogue of Israel. M. *Kasher and Dov Mandelbaum compiled a bibliography of works covering the years 500–1500 called *Sarei ha-Elef* (1959). Important monographs and articles in the field of Hebrew bibliography have been written by S. *Wiener, I. *Sonne, S. *Seeligmann, D. *Chwolson, A. *Jellinek, A.M. *Habermann, C. *Lieberman, A. *Marx, M. *Roest, G. *Kressel, J. *Zedner, I. *Rivkind, S. Shunami, N. Ben-Menahem, and others. The indispensable handbook today is S. Shunami's *Bibliography of Jewish Bibliographies* (1936, 1965^2; repr. 1969, with supplement) which also includes sections on Jewish and Modern Hebrew literature (nos. 1146–1240; 4875–85) as well as on Judeo-German and Yiddish (nos. 1241–1357; 4586–95). In 1960 the Hebrew University, in cooperation with Mosad Bialik and the Ministry of Education and Culture, initiated the Institute for Hebrew Bibliography under the direction of N. Ben-Menahem. Its aim is to compile a definitive bibliographical listing of every Hebrew book which has been published up to 1960 (specimen brochure, 1964).

The first scholar to publish a special periodical devoted to Hebrew and Jewish bibliography was Steinschneider: *Ha-Mazkir, Hebraeische Bibliographie, Blaetter fuer neuere und aeltere Literatur des Judenthums* (HB, 1858–65, 1869–82). Nehemiah *Bruell continued Steinschneider's project in the bimonthly *Centralanzeiger fuer juedische Literatur* (1890) but succeeded in publishing it only during one year (6 issues). At the same time M. *Kayserling published his bibliographical dictionary of Spanish and Portuguese works on Judaism and Jews (the *Biblioteca española-portugueza judaica*, 1890). A few years later the *Zeitschrift fuer Hebraeische Bibliographie* (ZHB; 1896–1921) appeared. The editor of volumes 1–3 was H. Brody; volumes 4–9 were edited jointly by Brody and A. Freimann; and the remaining volumes appeared under the editorship of Freimann alone. The two great authorities on the bibliography of Anglo-Jewish history are C. Roth's *Magna Bibliotheca Anglo-Judaica* (1937), and R.P. *Lehmann's *Nova Bibliotheca Anglo-Judaica* (1961), the latter dealing with the years 1937–60. The most important contemporary bibliographical journal is *Kirjat Sepher* (KS), a quarterly published since 1924 under the auspices of the Jewish National and University Library. Editors during the first two years were S.H. Bergmann and H. Pick, and after that I.B. Joel. Since 1953 a new bibliographical magazine, *Studies in Bibliography and Booklore* (SBB), has been published by the Hebrew Union College Library, Cincinnati. The *Jewish Book Annual* (JBA; founded in 1942) published in New York also contains useful bibliographical material. Of Jewish bibliographic periodicals whose life-span was limited, the following deserve mention: *En Hakore*, edited by D.A. Friedman and Z. *Woyslawski, three issues (Berlin, 1923); *Soncino-Blaetter, Beitraege zur Kunde des juedischen Buches*, edited by H. *Meyer (3 vols., Berlin, 1925–30); and *Journal of Jewish Bibliography*, a quarterly edited by Joshua *Bloch (New York, 1938–43).

The first bookdealers' catalogue of secondhand Hebrew books was published in Amsterdam around 1640 by Manasseh Ben Israel, but no copy is now extant (cf. Roth in *Aresheth*, 2, 413–4). In 1652 his son Samuel published *Catalogo de los Libros que Semuel ben Israel Soeiro vende, estampados todos na* *sua Typographia, adjuntos os preços, para que cada qual saibo o que valem*. In this catalogue 65 books are noted together with their prices in Dutch currency. The earliest known auction sale catalogues are those of the libraries of two Amsterdam rabbis, Moses Raphael *d'Aguilar (1680) and Isaac *Aboab da Fonseca (1693). The only earlier commercial listings of Hebrew books are in manuscript form, such as some found in the *Genizah*, or the catalogue of Hebrew books printed in Venice prior to 1542, which came into the possession of Konrad Gesner and appeared in his *Pandectarum sive partitionum universalium libri xxi* (20 vols., Zurich 1548–49; cf. ZHB, 10 (1906), 38–42). A catalogue of books compiled for business purposes was printed as an appendix to the collection of responsa by Joseph ibn Lev (vol. 4, Fuerth, 1692). Another commercial book listing, called *Appiryon Shelomo*, was published in 1730 by Solomon Proops, printer and bookdealer of Amsterdam. The advance in the field of Hebrew bibliography resulted in the publication of improved commercial catalogues (see *Booktrade). A number of these newer catalogues are of definite scientific value such as those of M. *Roest, R.N.N. Rabinowitz, L. Schwager and D. Fraenkel, J. Kauffmann, N.W. Bamberger and Wahrmann, Rosenthal (Munich, Oxford), and others. In addition, the detailed catalogues of such libraries as those of Oxford, Amsterdam, Leiden, Leningrad, Frankfurt, the British Museum, and the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, have proved extremely useful.

[Abraham Meir Habermann]

In 1975 Shunami published a supplement to the second edition of his *Bibliography of Jewish Bibliographies* (1965). The 500-page supplement contains information on over 2,000 bibliographies published between 1965 and 1975. In his introduction Shunami notes that this number compares with that for the first hundred years of the Wissenschaft des Judentums. He comments on the rapid growth of bibliographies relating to the Holocaust and to the State of Israel. On the other hand, the small number of entries related to Hebrew printing is a reflection of the decline of study of this subject with little extra interest having been aroused by the 500th anniversary of Hebrew printing. There is also a decrease in entries relating to private collections, reflecting a decline in major Jewish book collectors. Shunami also decries the shortage of Jewish bibliographers.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: S. Brisman, *History and Guide to Judaic Bibliography* (1977); C. Roth, in: *Jewish Studies in Memory of Israel Abrahams* (1927), 384–93; Shunami, Bibl, xiv–xv (Eng.), 7ff.; Urbach, in: KS, 15 (1938/39), 237–9; Assaf, *ibid.*, 18 (1941/42), 272–81; Yaari, *ibid.*, 21 (1944/45), 192–203; Zulay, *ibid.*, 25 (1948/49), 203–5; Sonne, in: SBB, 1 (1953–54), 55–76; Aloni, in: *Sefer Assaf* (1953), 33–39; idem, in: *Aresheth*, 1 (1958), 44–60.

BIBLIOPHILES. Little is known about private book collectors in antiquity and in the early Middle Ages. It might be assumed, however, that patrons of learning, such as *Hisdai ibn Shaprut, collected important Hebrew and other books. Historical sources refer to the library of *Samuel ha-Nagid. Judah ibn *Tibbon's advice on how to care for a library is well known. Unfortunately, little is known about the titles of the books making up his collection. Several book lists, some compiled for auctions after the owner's death, were found in the Cairo *Genizah, the best known being that of R. *Abraham b. Samuel he-Ḥasid. His collection consisted of 27 Hebrew books and a number of volumes on medicine, probably in Arabic. The most remarkable of known medieval Jewish book collectors was the world traveler and physician Judah Leon *Mosconi of Majorca. His library included Hebrew and Arabic books in many branches of learning. Two catalogues have been preserved, one of them drawn up for the auction after his death in 1377. The king of Aragon ultimately canceled the sale and seized the library for himself. In Renaissance Italy there were many enthusiastic book collectors, such as *Menahem b. Aaron of Volterra (15th century), whose library is now in the Vatican. The library of Solomon *Finzi, son of the Mantuan scientist Mordecai (Angelo) *Finzi, contained 200 volumes, at that time a number considered worthy of a great humanist. Elijah *Capsali, a Cretan scholar of the 16th century, possessed a famous collection of Hebrew manuscripts, now at the Vatican. The largest Jewish library in the Renaissance period was that built up in successive generations by the family of Da *Pisa. They were outdone in the 17th century by Abraham Joseph Solomon *Graziano, rabbi of Modena, who wrote the initials of his name *ish ger* (איש גר) in vast numbers of books now scattered in Jewish libraries throughout the world. His contemporary Joseph Solomon *Delmedigo, a physician who traveled widely, boasted that he collected no fewer than 4,000 volumes, on which he had expended the vast sum of 10,000 (florins?). Doubtless, many of these were in languages other than Hebrew.

The first printed sale catalogues of private Hebrew libraries emerged in Holland in the 17th century, for example, the one printed for the disposal of the collections of Moses Raphael d'*Aguilar, the earliest such publication known to Jewish booklore, and that of Isaac *Aboab da Fonseca's collection, comprising about 500 volumes, many in Spanish, French, and even Greek and Latin, including some classics and the writings of the Church Fathers. Other book collectors of that period in Amsterdam were *Manasseh Ben Israel and Samuel Abbas. One of the greatest Jewish book collectors of any period was David *Oppenheim, rabbi of Prague, who in 1688 compiled the first catalogue of his collection, comprising the 480 books he owned at the time. Ultimately, he acquired 4,500 printed works in addition to 780 manuscripts, possibly the most important Jewish library in private ownership that has ever been assembled. It was purchased in 1829 by the Bodleian Library in Oxford. The Italian Catholic abbé Giovanni Bernardo de'*Rossi, a Hebrew scholar of repute and a book collector of genius, had opportunities in Italy that were unequaled elsewhere. His great collection of Hebrew manuscripts, catalogued by him and including several superb illuminated codices, is now housed at the Palatine Library in Parma, having been acquired after his death by the ruler of that petty principality. What the printed book collection includes is still barely known, but one example of its treasures is the only known copy of the earliest of dated Hebrew printed books – Rashi's Commentary printed at Reggio di Calabria in 1475. The next century produced a large number of more self-conscious collectors, such as Heimann Joseph *Michael, a Hamburg businessman, not very affluent but a considerable scholar. The learned catalogue he composed, still a standard work of reference, describes 860 manuscripts and 5,400 printed books, which in due course joined the Oppenheim collection in Oxford. At about the same time Solomon *Dubno of Russia and Holland assembled some 2,000 printed books and about 100 manuscripts, which were sold by auction in Amsterdam in 1814. Another scholarly collector was Solomon *Halberstam of Poland. Business reverses compelled him to dispose of his manuscript collection, part going to the Montefiore Library (now in the library of Jews' College, London), and part to the library of the Jewish Theological Seminary, New York. The most valuable part of his collection of printed books was sold to the library of the Vienna Jewish community; the bulk was acquired by Mayer Sulzberger and presented to the Jewish Theological Seminary in New York. Eliakim *Carmoly, rabbi in Brussels, who destroyed the value of everything he owned by embellishing it with ingenious, but sometimes transparent, forgeries possessed some 1,200 printed volumes and 290 manuscripts. His manuscripts can be found in Oxford, the British Museum, and the Guenzburg Library in Moscow.

In Russia David *Guenzburg of St. Petersburg built up a magnificent manuscript collection, which is now in the Lenin State Library, Moscow. In the United States Mayer *Sulzberger, assisted by the dealer Ephraim *Deinard, built up an important collection. In 1903 Sulzberger gave his collection of 3,000 rare books to the Jewish Theological Seminary. Moritz *Steinschneider's library in Berlin, some 4,500 books and manuscripts, was important both for the caliber of its contents and for the copious, scholarly annotations that Steinschneider added to his books. His collection passed into the ownership of the Jewish Theological Seminary, most of it being destroyed by fire in 1966. Judaica was only part of the great library which Salman *Schocken assembled in Germany, but in that field he concentrated on Hebrew poetry and rare printed books. This collection is now housed in the Schocken Library, Jerusalem, in recent years enriched by some remarkable illuminated manuscripts. A specialized library of another sort was that of David *Montezinos of Amsterdam, who created a unique collection of works, largely in Spanish and Portuguese, illustrating the history of that community. He gave it to the Sephardi synagogue, where he then became librarian. This library worked in friendly competition with the Bibliotheca Rosenthaliana in that city for many years. The latter, the library of Leiser *Rosenthal, a rabbi, was given by his son George to the city of Amsterdam; it is now a constituent of the University Library. Another outstanding rabbinical bibliophile was the Hungarian scholar David *Kaufmann whose remarkable collection, largely of Italian provenance, including some splendid illuminated manuscripts, was presented by his widow to the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. Elkan Nathan *Adler, an English lawyer, who traveled around the world in the course of his business affairs, built up a library of incunabula, rare printed works, and manuscripts, which for bulk, if not for quality, was perhaps the greatest collection assembled by a private person. Just after World War I in order to make good the defalcations of a business associate, he was compelled to sell his library to the Jewish Theological Seminary, thus elevating it to a foremost place among the Jewish libraries of the world. Adler's collection also contained some 30,000 fragments from the Cairo *Genizah*, which he had visited even before it achieved fame. Moses *Gaster, *haham* of the English Sephardi community, also built up a great collection of manuscripts reflecting every side of his versatile interests. Toward the end of his life he sold the bulk to the British Museum. Some of the remainder was ruined during the German air raids on London in World War II; what remained, including the Samaritan manuscripts, was acquired by the John Rylands Library in Manchester to add to its already remarkable Hebrew collection. David Solomon *Sassoon of London had the advantage of great wealth, close connections with the Orient, and a family tradition of book collecting. He assembled his collection of manuscripts with scholarly discrimination and described it in an elaborate catalogue, perhaps the most exhaustive work of its type that has appeared in print. This collection went into the possession of his son Solomon David Sassoon in Letchworth, England. The important collection of Berthold Strauss of London (1901–1962), catalogued in part in his *Ohel Barukh* (1959), was acquired after his death for Yeshiva University, New York. The 20th-century scholars whose private collections have become part of established libraries include Israel *Davidson (Jewish Theological Seminary, where it was destroyed by fire), Hyman *Enelow (Jewish Theological Seminary), Lazarus *Goldschmidt (second collection, Royal Library, Copenhagen), Mordecai *Margolioth (Bar-Ilan University), and Alexander *Marx (Jewish Theological Seminary, partly destroyed). Other large private collections were assembled by Saul *Lieberman, Cecil *Roth, and Gershom *Scholem. Significant private collections were also built up by ḥasidic dynasties, e.g., Gerer, Sadagorer, and Lubavitcher. Christian scholars and collectors who owned many important Hebrew books included Johannes *Buxtorf, Bishop Huntington, Bishop Kennicott, Sir Thomas Phillips, Edward Pococke, the Duke of Sussex, and Aldis Wright. Other important private collections belonged to Abraham *Merzbacher (now in Frankfurt City and University Library), Nathan *Porges, Israel *Solomons (Jewish Theological Seminary and Hebrew Union College libraries), Mathias Straschun (part in Heikhal Shelomo, Jerusalem), and Michael Zagayski. Among other collectors, mention should be made of Fritz *Bamberger (New York), Ludwig Jesselson (New York), Jacob Lowy (Montreal), and Israel Mehlman (Jerusalem). A very important collection of early Yiddish literature was that of Judah A. Joffee (Jewish Theological Seminary).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Zunz, Gesch, 230–48; M. Steinschneider, *Vorlesungen ueber die Kunde hebraeischer Handschriften* (1897), ch. 3; A. Marx, *Studies In Jewish History and Booklore* (1944), 198–237; Shunami, Bibl, 38–76, 788–9; C. Roth, in: JBA, 25 (1967/68), 75–80; S. Simonsohn, *Toledot ha-Yehudim be-Dukkasut Mantovah*; 2 (1964), 495–8; KS, 41 (1967), suppl., index to vols. 1–40; Allony, *ibid.*, 43 (1967/68), 121–39; Szulvas, in: *Talpioth*, 4 (1949), 600–2; Padover, in: J.W. Thompson (ed.), *The Medieval Library* (1939), 338–46; Sonne, in: SBB, 1 (1953–54), 55–76; 2 (1955), 3–19, 156–9.

[Menahem Schmelzer]

BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE, French national library founded in the 14th century. There was no trace of Hebrew books there before 1544; however, by 1739 there were 516 manuscripts mainly from the collections of Catherine de' Medici, Cardinal Richelieu, and Gilbert Gaulmin. The catalogue of works printed in Hebrew and prepared by Nicolas Rigault remains unedited. The reforms brought about by the French Revolution resulted in several important collections being transferred to the National Library. These consisted of books and manuscripts from convents and from the Sorbonne library. Through the efforts of Solomon *Munk still further acquisitions were added. A description published in 1866 by Herman Zotenberg (*Catalogue des Manuscrits Hébreux et Samaritains de la Bibliothèque Impériale*, based on the preliminary work by Solomon Munk, Joseph *Dernbourg, and Adolphe *Franck), numbers 1,313 works in Hebrew and 11 in Samaritan. In the early 21st century there were a total of 1,481 manuscripts, including some discovered at Qumran, and 61 Samaritan manuscripts. Recent acquisitions were registered in the *Catalogue général des livres imprimés* and in *Ouvrages imprimés en caractères hébraïques*.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Schwab, in: REJ, 36 (1898), 112–4; 37 (1898), 127–36; 61 (1911), 82–87; 121 (1962), 194–209; M. Schwab (ed.), 64 (1912), 153–6, 280–1; 66 (1913), 290–6; I. Adler, *ibid., Manuscrits hébreux de l'Oratoire* (1911); I. Adler, *Incunables hébraïques de la Bibliothèque Nationale* (1962).

[Georges Vajda]

BICK, JACOB SAMUEL (1772–1831), Hebrew writer and one of the pioneers of *Haskalah in Galicia. Bick, a friend of Solomon Judah *Rapoport, translated French and English poems into Hebrew and published delightful, satirical letters in *Bikkurei ha-Ittim, Kerem Ḥemed*, and in the anthology *Ha-Ẓefirah*, edited by *Letteris. Bick, like other Galician *maskilim* of his day, began by scoffing at the boorish Ḥasidim, but his strong attachment to the common people and his love of tradition led to a change in his views. When Tobias *Feder published his pamphlet *Kol Meḥaẓeẓim* (1816), criticizing Menahem *Lefin (Levin Mendel of Satanov) for having translated the Book of Proverbs into Yiddish, Bick defended Lefin and argued that one should be pleased that the book had been made accessible to the people in a language that they understood. Most of Bick's literary works were destroyed by fire. However, shortly before World War II, Dov Sadan discovered the manuscripts of three anti-ḥasidic Hebrew plays written by Bick in the Joseph Perl library in Tarnopol. These plays probably belong to Bick's early period.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: S. Werses, in: YIVO *Bleter*, 13 (1938), 505–36; G. Bader, *Medinah va-Ḥakhameha* (1934), 36–7; D. Sadan, *Mazkeret Levi* (1953), 96–108.

[Gedalyah Elkoshi]

BICKEL, ALEXANDER M. (1924–1974), U.S. lawyer and a leading authority on the United States Constitution. Son of Solomon *Bickel (1896–1969), Yiddish essayist and literary critic, Bickel was born in Bucharest, Romania, but immigrated to the United States at the age of 14. After graduating from the City College of New York and from Harvard Law School, he became a law officer in the State Department, and subsequently served as clerk to Justice Felix *Frankfurter. He joined the faculty of Yale Law School in 1956, and from 1966 until his death he held distinguished chairs at this institution. He was the author of a number of widely read books on the Supreme Court and on constitutional law: The *Least Dangerous Branch* (1962), *Politics and the Warren Court* (1965), *The Supreme Court and the Idea of Progress* (1970), and *Reform and Continuity* (1971). Bickel became nationally known when he represented the *New York Times* in the famous Pentagon Papers case before the Supreme Court in 1971.

In constitutional and legal philosophy, Bickel was a conservative, not a liberal-activist. In his basic orientation, he was a follower of Justice Frankfurter, who stressed the belief that the ultimate reliance for the vindication of interests and rights must be, not on the courts, but on other agencies of the democratic process. From this point of view, Bickel found many occasions to criticize various decisions of the Supreme Court during the years when Earl Warren was chief justice. His style was often sharply polemical and even strident. But like Frankfurter, Bickel was a liberal in his own political views. Thus, for example, though opposed to any form of racism, he opposed the use of bussing to help achieve school desegregation. His philosophy may perhaps best be associated with that of the Historical School of jurisprudence. In *The Supreme Court and the Idea of Progress* (1970), Bickel wrote that in dealing with problems of great magnitude and with complex roots and unpredictable offshoots, society is best allowed to develop its own strands out of its own traditions; "it moves forward most effectively, perhaps, in empirical fashion, deploying its full tradition, in all its contradictions,… as it retreats and advances, shifts and responds in accordance with experience, and with pressures brought to bear by the political process." In such contexts, he concluded, judicial supremacy is not possible. Bickel's book *The Morality of Consent* (1975) was published posthumously. He also wrote the first part of *History of the Supreme Court of the United States: The Judiciary and Responsible Government: 1910–1921* (vol. IX, 1984).

[Milton Ridvas Konvitz)]

BICKEL, SOLOMON (**Shloyme**; 1896–1969), Yiddish essayist and literary critic. Born in eastern Galicia, Bickel was an officer in the Austrian army during World War I. As an active Labor Zionist, he was editor of *Di Frayhayt* (1920–22), the Yiddish organ of the Po'alei Zion of Bukovina, and later editor and co-editor of Yiddish literary periodicals in Romania. Immigrating to the United States in 1939, he served, from 1940, as literary critic of the New York Yiddish daily, *Der Tog* and in the 1960s as head of *YIVO's Commission on Research.

Among his ten books, which appeared between 1936 and 1967, the following are the most significant: *A Shtot Mit Yidn* ("A City with Jews," 1943, 1960), a survey of the vanished culture of Kolomyya – written with mild irony, deep sympathy, and tolerant understanding – which highlights acts of moral greatness and poetic, joyous moments in the lives of ordinary Jews; *Dray Brider Zaynen Mir Geven* ("We Were Three Brothers," 1956), further recollections of Kolomyya's Jews; *Remenye* ("Romania," 1961), which chronicled developments of Jewish cultural life in Romania between the two world wars, intimately experienced by the author; *Shrayber fun Mayn Dor* ("Writers of My Generation," 2 vols., 1958–65), essays on Yiddish writers.

Bickel was one of the foremost literary critics and essayists, writing significant works on such writers as Isaac *Bashevis Singer, Itzik *Manger, Avrom *Sutzkever, the *Inzikhist movement, and editing a memorial volume for fellow literary critic Shmuel *Niger. He set each writer in his specific environment, defining his uniqueness at the same time. A jubilee volume, *Shloyme Bikel Yoyvl-Bukh* (1967) summarized and evaluated his role in Yiddish literature, including numerous poetic and prose tributes to him.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: LNYL, 1 (1956), 300–2; J. Glatstein, *In Tokh Genumen* (1956), 473–9; A. Glanz-Leyeles, *Velt un Vort* (1958), 233–40; S.D. Singer, *Dikhter un Prozaiker* (1959), 303–12; D. Sadan, in: *Avnei Miftan* (1962), 279–84; S. Liptzin, *Maturing of Yiddish Literature* (1970), 230–2. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** E. Shulman, in: *YIVO Bleter*, 43 (1966), 309–12.

[Sol Liptzin]

BICKELS-SPITZER, ZVI (1887–1917), Yiddish dramatist and literary critic. Born in Lemberg (now Lvov), after finishing school, he studied law there and in Vienna and became a practicing attorney. He sympathized with Zionist ideas but was also an active supporter of and participant in the young Yiddish literary movement in Galicia. In 1910, he co-edited the first modern Yiddish literary collection of the Galician region, *Yung-Galitsisher Almanakh* and in the period 1915–17 edited *Tagblat* (Lemberg). He also wrote dramas, most notably *Der Goyel* ("The Savior"). His selected writings were posthumously published in Hebrew translation, edited by Dov Sadan (1948).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: LNYL, 1 (1956), 302; *Sefer Ẓevi Bickels-Spitzer* (1948); Neugroeschel, in: *Fun Noentn Over*, 1 (1955), 355–62; D. Sadan, in: *Avnei Miftan*, 2 (1970), 278–303.

[Melech Ravitch]

BICKERMAN, ELIAS JOSEPH (1897–1981), historian. Bickerman was born in Kishinev, Russia, and studied at the University of Petrograd (Leningrad). In 1918 he escaped to Germany, studied at the University of Berlin until 1926, and taught there from 1929 until 1932, when he emigrated to France. He was *chargé de cours* in the Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes from 1933 to 1940 and in the Centre National de Recherche Scientifique from 1937 on. After the German conquest of France he again escaped, this time to the United States. There he taught at the New School for Social Research and the Ecole Libre in New York (1942–46), was research fellow at the Jewish Theological Seminary (1946–50), taught at the University of Judaism in Los Angeles (1950–52), and was professor of ancient history at Columbia University (1952–67). After his retirement from Columbia he taught at the Jewish Theological Seminary.

Bickerman wrote innumerable articles in scholarly journals in many fields of ancient history, notably law, religion (especially Judaism), epigraphy, chronology, and the political history of the Hellenistic world. Outstanding among his many books are *Der Gott der Makkabaeer* (1937); *The Maccabees* (1947; also as part 2 of his *From Ezra to the Last of the Maccabees*, 1962), which revolutionized the historical understanding of the Maccabean revolt; *Institutions des Séleucides* (1938); and *Chronology of the Ancient World* (1968) – the last two being the fundamental works on their respective subjects. He also wrote *The Ancient History of Western Civilization* (1976); *Studies in Jewish and Christian History*, vol. 3 (published in 1986); and *The Jews in the Greek Age* (published in 1988).

ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY: A. Momigliano, *Essays on Modern and Ancient Judaism* (1994).

[Morton Smith]

BIDACHE, village in the department of the Basses-Pyrénées, S. France. A Jewish community composed of Marrano refugees from Spain and Portugal was established there from the beginning of the 17th century. The duke of Gramont granted his protection to the Jews of Bidache in statutes of 1665 and 1668. When at the beginning of the 18th century the Auch district authority wished to conduct a general tax assessment on the Portuguese Jews in the area, the duke of Gramont intervened on behalf of the Jews in Bidache, including those not of Portuguese origin, who "enjoyed the privilege of nonassessment." The Jewish community dispersed after the French Revolution and was never reestablished. The former cemetery lies on the Port Road outside Bidache and contains tombstones often with epitaphs in both Hebrew and Portuguese.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Gross, Gal Jud, 114; J. Labrit, *Les Gramont, souverains de Bidache* (1939), 97–99.

[Bernhard Blumenkranz]

BIDNEY, DAVID (1908–1987), U.S. anthropologist and philosopher. Born in the Ukraine, Bidney was educated in Canada. He taught philosophy at Toronto, Yeshiva, and Yale universities and then gradually shifted the focus of his academic interest to anthropology. Between 1942 and 1950 he was research associate anthropologist with the Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research and was then appointed professor of anthropology and philosophy at the University of Indiana. His major interest in philosophy was in interpreting Descartes and Spinoza, as shown in his *Psychology and Ethics of Spinoza* (1962^2). In anthropology Bidney was concerned primarily with the philosophical foundations and implications of the discipline, which appeared in his *Theoretical Anthropology* (1967^2). He interested himself in the history of anthropological thought, theory of myth, primitive religion, and comparative ethics and law. The symposium he organized, the papers of which he edited in *The Concept of Freedom in Anthropology* (1963), surveyed freedom in the framework of diverse cultures.

[Ephraim Fischoff]

BIE, OSCAR (1864–1938), writer on music and the fine arts. Bie studied music with Philipp Scharwenka in Berlin and devoted himself to musical journalism and the writing of monographs. He was editor of the *Freie Buehne* and the literary review *Die neue Rundschau*; he wrote opera reviews for the *Berliner Boersenkurier*. Bie was appointed lecturer on the history of art at the Berlin Technical High School in 1890 and in 1921 teacher at the Berlin High School of Music. Among his books are *A History of the Pianoforte and Pianoforte Players* (1899), *Intime Musik* (1904), *Tanzmusik* (1905), *Der Tanz* (1906), *Die moderne Musik und Richard Strauss* (1906), *Die Oper* (1913), *Das Ratsel der Musik* (1922), *Franz Schubert* (1925), *Das Deutsche Lied* (1926), and *Richard Wagner und Bayreuth* (1931).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: MGG^2; *Baker's Biographical Dictionary of Musicians* (1978^6).

[Israela Stein (2nd ed.)]

BIEBER, HUGO (1883–1950), German literary historian. Bieber was born in Berlin, where he studied German literature and philosophy. He was for many years editor of the *Volksverband der Buecherfreunde*, Germany's most important book club. Bieber wrote a history of the intellectual and literary movements of the 19th century, *Der Kampf um die Tradition* (1928). *Confessio Judaica* (1925), an anthology of Heinrich *Heine's opinions on Jews and Judaism, demonstrates Heine's unbroken adherence to his Jewish heritage. Bieber wrote another work entitled *Heinrich Heine* which was translated into English and edited by M. Hadas (1956). After the rise of Hitler, Bieber immigrated to New York.

[Rudolf Kayser]

BIEBER, MARGARETE (1879–1979), archaeological scholar and teacher. Born in Schoenau, West Prussia, she studied at Bonn, and then was for some years an assistant at the German Archaeological Institute in Athens. On her return to Germany she worked at the archaeological museum in Cassel until 1919, when she joined the University of Giessen, where she was appointed professor in 1931. She left Germany in 1933, and after a period at Oxford settled in New York, where she first lectured at Barnard College and then became associate professor in the Fine Arts department of Columbia University. After her retirement she was a visiting lecturer at Princeton (1949–51). She was a member of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences. Bieber concentrated on Classical and Hellenistic art, and was distinguished for her profound knowledge of Greco-Roman sculpture and her penetrating insight into archaeological problems. During the first phase of her career her publications included the catalog of the Cassel Museum (1915) and two handbooks, *Die Denkmaeler zum Theaterwesen im Altertum* (1920; *The History of Greek and Roman Theater*, 1939), and *Griechische Kleidung* (1928), on ancient Greek dress. In America, her books include *German Readings in the History and Theory of the Fine Arts* (1946), and the monumental *Sculpture of the Hellenistic Age* (1955).

Bieber's last work, *Copies: a Contribution to the History of Graeco-Roman Sculpture*, was published in 1977 when she was 96 years of age. She was buried as a Christian.

[Penuel P. Kahane (2nd ed.)]

BIEDERMANN (Freistaedtl), MICHAEL LAZAR (1769–1843), Austrian financier, entrepreneur, and communal leader. Born in Pressburg, Biedermann first took up engraving. He settled in Vienna when a youth, and in 1798 was commissioned to engrave the imperial seal. In 1800 he opened a store for jewelry and antiques. He subsequently turned to the wool industry into which he introduced modern production methods. In business with L.A. *Auspitz, Biedermann succeeded in transferring the center of the wool trade in the Hapsburg Empire from Budapest to Vienna. He founded one of the first banks in Austria, and in 1816 gave the emperor an interest-free loan of 300,000 florins to combat famine in Vienna. In 1830 he became court jeweler. Biedermann played a leading role in organizing a congregation in Vienna, of which he became a representative in 1806. He was instrumental in the foundation of a Jewish school in 1812 and of the first synagogue in Vienna (the Seitenstettengassetempel) in 1826. He encouraged welfare activities and built a hospital. I.N. *Mannheimer was invited to Vienna to officiate as rabbi on his recommendation. An advocate of moderate *Reform, Biedermann was one of the leaders in the struggle for Jewish *emancipation.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: S. Husserl, *Gruendungsgeschichte des Stadttempels der Israelitischen Kultusgemeinde Wien* (1906); A.F. Pribram, *Urkunden und Akten zur Geschichte der Juden in Wien*, 2 vols. (1918), index; M. Rosenmann, *Isak Noah Mannheimer* (Ger., 1915^2); B. Wachstein, *Die ersten Statuten des Bethauses in der inneren Stadt* (1926), 12; idem, *Inschriften des alten Judenfriedhofes in Wien*, 2 (1917), 514; L. Bato, *Juden im alten Wien* (1928); M. Grunwald, *Vienna* (Eng., 1936); J. Fraenkel (ed.), *Jews in Austria* (1967), 11.

BIEGELEISEN, HENRYK (1855–1934), Polish literary historian and ethnographer. On his mother's side a grandson of Naḥman *Krochmal, Biegeleisen was assimilated and even made his sons convert. He was for many years principal of a girls' school run by the Jewish community at Lvov. Biegeleisen published a number of studies and monographs on Polish romantic literature. These include *Pan Tadeusz Mickiewicza* ("Mickiewicz's Pan Tadeusz," 1884); *Lirnik mazowiecki* ("The Bard of Mazovia," 1913) on the poet Teofil Lenartowicz; and *Ilustrowane dzieje literatury polskiej* ("An Illustrated History of Polish Literature," 5 vols., 1898–1901). He also edited the works of Słowacki, *Mickiewicz, and Fredro, and a Polish translation of Shakespeare. In the field of ethnography Biegeleisen wrote a number of original studies, among them *Matka i dziecko w obrzédach, wierzeniach i zwyczajach ludu polskiego* ("Mother and Child in the Rites, Beliefs, and Customs of the Polish Folk," 1927); *Wesele…* ("Wedding…," 1928); *U Kolebki – przed ołtarzem – nad mogilą* ("At the Cradle – Before the Altar – By the Tomb," 1929); *Lecznictwo ludu polskiego* ("Popular Cures of the Polish Folk," 1930); and *Śmierć w obrzędach, zwyczajach i wierzeniach ludu polskiego* ("Death in the Rites, Customs, and Beliefs of the Polish Folk," 1931). One of his sons, BRONISLAW BIEGELEISEN-ŻELAZOWSKI (b. 1881), was professor of psychology in various Polish universities, and published works in his field.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, 2 (1936), 30–32; F. Pajączkowski, in: *Pamiętnik Literacki*, 31 (1934), 244–7 (bibl.); *Wielka Encyklopedia Powszeczna*, 1 (1962), 779–80 (on Bronislaw; incl. bibl.).

[Moshe Altbauer]

BIEL, township near Uncastillo, Aragon, Spain. The earliest information on the community of Biel dates from 1294, when a Christian girl disappeared; rumors were spread that the Jews were responsible, and the Jews of Biel were arrested. It was only after the intervention of James II that the charge was withdrawn. In 1305, however, Açac de Çalema, the wealthiest Jew of Biel, was accused of having derided the Christian religion. He was arrested and brought to trial before the Dominicans, and his property was confiscated. In 1294 and in 1305, the Jews of Biel paid an annual sum of 250 *solidi*, amounting to a quarter of the income derived by the king from the locality. In 1361, the king requested Solomon de la *Cavallería to annul an irregular Jewish marriage at Biel. A Jewish community continued to exist until the expulsion of the Jews from Spain in 1492.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Baer, Studien, 131; Baer, Urkunden, 2 (1936), 184f., 375, 917; Baer, Spain, 2 (1966), 7–8.

[Haim Beinart]

BIEL (**Bienne**), town in the Swiss canton of Berne. Citizenship (Buergerrecht) was granted to several Jewish families in 1305, although Jews probably settled in Biel earlier. They were allowed to trade freely and engage in moneylending, until their expulsion from the city, the date of which is unknown. Communal life revived after 1848, when several Jewish families from *Alsace-Lorraine settled in Biel. A Moorish-style synagogue was built in 1883. Between 1916 and 1945 the Orthodox Chaim Lauer was its rabbi. For some years there was a separate East European *minyan*. The number of members of the Biel Jewish community dwindled from 1945. This problem was met by a closer cooperation with the community of *Berne and by state recognition for both communities in the 1990s along with the right to levy taxes by the state.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: A. Welder-Steinberg, *Geschichte der Juden in der Schweiz*, 1 (1966), 68; Schweizerischer Israelitischer Gemeindebund, *Festschrift 1904–1954* (1954), 313. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** E. Dreifuss, *Juden in Bern. Ein Gang durch die Jahrhunderte* (1983).

[Uri Kaufmann (2nd ed.)]

BIELEFELD, city in North Rhine-Westphalia, Germany. Jews there were massacred during the *Black Death, 1348–49. In 1370 a few Jews again settled in Bielefeld. The prohibition of 1554 on Jewish residence in the duchy of *Juelich also applied to Bielefeld, but Jews resettled there in 1586. Their main occupations were commerce and moneylending. Jews from Bielefeld attended the fairs at *Leipzig at the beginning of the 18th century. The cemetery continued in use from 1665, until a new one was opened in 1891. In 1905 a synagogue to seat 800 was consecrated. The Jewish population numbered 65 in 1783 and 800 in 1933. On Nov. 10, 1938, the synagogue was burned down. At least 500 members of the community perished during the *Holocaust. Only 12 survivors returned to Bielefeld after the war. A few Jews settled there from other places, and there were 66 Jews living in Bielefeld in 1955. A new synagogue was inaugurated in 1951. The Jewish community numbered 23 members in 1989 and 193 in 2003.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Germ Jud, 2 (1968), 82; MGDJ, 3 (1912), 14–21; U. Niemann (ed.), *Ueberblick ueber die Geschichte der juedischen Gemeinde in Bielefeld* (mimeo 1962); H.A. Maass, in: *Historischer Verein fuer die Grafschaft Ravensburg*, 65 (1966–67), 79–94. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** J. Meynert, *Die Juden in der Stadt Bielefeld waehrend der Zeit des Nationalsozialismus* (1983); G. Renda, *Juedisches Leben in Bielefeld* (1997).

[Zvi Avneri]

BIELSKI, TUVIA (1906–1987), **ASAEL** (1908–1944), and **ZUS** (1912–1995), Jewish partisans in World War II. The three brothers grew up in the small village of Stankewicze in western Belorussia. The Bielskis were a poor peasant family and the only Jews in the community. David Bielski, the father, owned a mill and the family farmed its land. They observed the Sabbath and Jewish holidays, but were on good terms and mixed freely with their gentile neighbors.

When the Germans invaded the area in 1941, the widespread murder of its Jewish population began. The brothers' first-hand knowledge of German brutality and intentions regarding the Jews prompted them to take action. At first, they hid separately in the countryside. When their parents, siblings, and other relatives were killed in the Nowogrodek ghetto in 1942, the brothers escaped into the forest. With a few guns and 30 other Jews, they formed a partisan group. Tuvia was the commander, Asael was second in command, and Zus was in charge of reconnaissance. Because they grew up nearby, the Bielski partisans knew the area and its people intimately. This served them well in their efforts to elude the Germans and their collaborators.

The Bielski "Otriad" (partisan unit) was created by and for Jews. From its inception, Tuvia Bielski insisted that saving Jewish lives was as important as acts of sabotage. Some argued that this would compromise the unit's safety, but Tuvia strictly upheld the policy of accepting any Jew into the group regardless of age, gender, or health. Its membership grew to include women, children, and the elderly. As the Final Solution gained momentum, the Bielski partisans' rescue efforts became more aggressive and innovative.

The unit took in Jews who were hiding in the forest and punished those who denounced Jews. Those who left Soviet partisan groups because of antisemitism knew they would find refuge in the Bielski unit. The Otriad even dispatched members to the ghettos to help those inside escape and join their ranks. By cooperating with Soviet partisans in anti-German operations as well as procuring food, the Bielskis earned some protection from them.

From 1942 to 1943, the Bielski group moved from place to place. When, by the end of 1943, the group had grown to 400 people, they established a more permanent base in the Naliboki forest. Within this dense, swampy forest, the camp became a small, organized community with schools, a synagogue, and workshops that enabled economic cooperation with Soviet partisans. By this time the Germans were actively searching for the Bieskis, Tuvia especially, but they evaded the enemy by moving deeper into the forest. While a small number of the unit perished, the Bielski brothers' efforts constituted the largest rescue of Jews by Jews during the Holocaust. When the Russians liberated the area in 1944, 1,200 Jewish men, women, and children emerged alive from the family camp in the forest.

Asael was killed a short time later fighting with the Russians in the battle of Marienbad, Germany. Tuvia and Zus eventually settled with their wives and children in New York.

[Beth Cohen (2nd ed.)]

BIELSKO (Ger. **Bielitz**), town in southwest Poland on the river Biala opposite *Biala, amalgamated with Biała in 1950 to form the city of Biała-Bielsko. A community existed in Bielsko in the first half of the 19th century, which was authorized to open a prayer hall in 1831 and a cemetery in 1849. It became an independent community in 1865. The Jewish population numbered 1,977 in 1890 increasing to 3,955 by 1921, and approximately 5,000 in 1939; most were German speaking. According to the 1921 census, 2,737 declared their nationality as Jewish, of whom 513 declared Yiddish as their mother tongue. The Jews in Bielsko took an important part in the city's commerce and woolen textile industry. Most of the communal institutions were maintained jointly with the Biała community. Michael Berkowicz, Theodor Herzl's Hebrew secretary, taught religious subjects in the secondary school at Bielsko, and attracted many Jews to Zionism. The Hebrew scholar and bibliophile S.Z.H. *Halberstam lived in Bielsko and the scholar Saul *Horovitz officiated as rabbi there from 1888 to 1895.

[Abraham J. Brawer]

Holocaust and Postwar Periods

The approach of the Germans led to mass flight but many had to return to the city when their escape routes were cut off. The German army entered the town on Sept. 3, 1939, and immediately initiated an anti-Jewish reign of terror. On Sept. 4, 1939, the Nazis burned down both synagogues in Bielsko and the Ḥ.N. Bialik Jewish cultural home. A few days later the Germans burned down the two synagogues in nearby Biała, and its Orthodox Jews were forced to throw the holy books into the fire. In the summer of 1940 a ghetto was established in Bielsko. The ghetto was liquidated in June 1942 when the town's remaining Jewish population was deported to the death camp in Auschwitz. Bielsko was amalgamated with *Biała in 1950 to form the city of Bielsko-Biała. After the war a few hundred Jews settled in Bielsko-Biała. A children's home for orphans, survivors of the Holocaust, functioned there for a few years. The Jewish Cultural Society ran a club until June 1967 when the Polish government initiated its antisemitic campaign. After that date almost all the remaining Jews left Poland.

[Stefan Krakowski]

BIBLIOGRAPHY: M. Aronsohn, *Die israelitische Kultusgemeinde in Bielitz 1865–1905* (1905). HOLOCAUST PERIOD: J. Kermisz, *"Akcje" i "wysiedlenia"* (1946), index; *Megillat Polin* (1961), 164; T. Berenstein and A. Rutkowski, in: BŻIH, no. 38 (1961), 3–38, passim; *Yad Vashem Archives*, 0–3/1251. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** P. Maser et al., *Juden in Oberschlesie*, 1 (1922), 87–95.

BIELSK PODLASKI, town in N.E. Poland, Bialystok district. Jews are mentioned there in 1487 leasing the local customs house. An organized community existed in Bielsk in the early 16th century and a synagogue was built in 1542. In 1564 a Jewish tax-collector in the town was condemned to death following a blood libel. The Jewish population numbered 94 in 1816 and 298 in 1847. With the coming of the railroad, trade and industry developed and the Jewish population rose to 4,079 in 1897 (54.6% of the total). In 1920 a Jewish school was founded and the Zionist youth organizations began their educational work in the town. Between the world wars the economic condition of the Jews deteriorated as a result of discriminatory government measures and the generally depressed economy

[Shlomo Netzer (2nd ed.)]

In 1921 Bielsk had 2,392 Jews, but under Soviet rule (1939–41) its Jewish population increased to 6,000 when large numbers of refugees arrived from the western parts of Poland occupied by the Germans. In the summer of 1940 a number of refugees were exiled to the Soviet interior. In the spring of 1941 young Jews were drafted into the Soviet Army. When the war broke out between Germany and the U.S.S.R. (June 22, 1941), groups of Jews attempted to flee eastward with the retreating Soviet forces, but few of them succeeded. The Germans entered Bielsk on June 24, 1941. Within ten days they assembled 30 of the Jewish leaders and intellectuals and put them to death. The Germans exacted a fine of four kilograms of gold and 200,000 rubles from the Jewish community. They also imposed a Judenrat, headed by Shlomo Epstein. In August 1941 an "open" ghetto was established. In February 1942 the ghetto was surrounded by barbed wire and closed off from contact with the outside. In Feb. 1943, the Germans rounded up over 5,000 ghetto inhabitants for the Treblinka death camp and murdered 200 old and sick Jews in the local Jewish cemetery. About 40 experts and skilled craftsmen were picked out and sent to the *Bialystok ghetto, where they were eventually liquidated along with the rest of the Jewish inmates. The community was not reconstituted after the war.

[Aharon Weiss]

BIBLIOGRAPHY: I. Schipper (ed.), *Dzieje handlu żydowskiego na ziemiach polskich* (1937), index.

BIEN, JULIUS (1826–1909), U.S. lithographer. Bien was born in Naumburg, Germany, where he studied lithography. After participating in the unsuccessful revolution of 1848, he fled to New York where he established a small lithographic business in 1850. His abilities soon earned him most government contracts for engraving and printing major geographic and geological publications, including a map of the territory west of the Mississippi River, which was standard for 25 years. He produced the maps and atlases accompanying the federal census reports from 1870 to 1900, as well as atlases of New York State (1895) and Pennsylvania (1900). Bien was president of the National Lithographers' Association (1886–96). A director of the Hebrew Technical Institute and Hebrew Orphan Asylum in New York, he was president of the B'nai B'rith order (1854–57, 1868–1900) and instrumental in forming its international structure. Julius' brother HERMAN M. BIEN (1831–1895), U.S. rabbi and author, founded a Hebrew school in San Francisco and served as rabbi of Temple Emanu-El until 1860. He then moved to Virginia City, Nevada, where he organized a school and was elected to the state legislature (1863–65). Moving to New York, he became a merchant in Fort Henry. In 1881 he was appointed rabbi of Congregation Beth Shalom in Chicago, but moved to Vicksburg, Mississippi, in 1885. Among his numerous works are the drama *Samson and Delilah* (1857), and *Ben Beor* (1891), a portrayal of anti-Semites.

[Edward L. Greenstein]

BIENENFELD, FRANZ RUDOLF (1886–1961), lawyer, writer, and Zionist. Born and educated in Vienna, Bienenfeld became an active figure in Zionist and in Jewish communal affairs. He succeeded Robert *Stricker as chairman of the Austrian section of the *World Jewish Congress. Under the nom de plume Anton van Mueller, Bienenfeld published *Deutsche und Juden* (1936; *The Germans and the Jews*, 1939), an analysis of the relationship between Jews and Germans in the period of Hitler, and followed it with *Religion der religionslosen Juden* (1938; *Religion of the Non-Religious Jews*, 1944). In 1939 he fled to England where he worked on the staff of the World Jewish Congress, later becoming a member of the executive, and drafted the claims for German *reparations after World War II. Bienenfeld took part in the juridical preparations for the Nuremberg processes. His book *Rediscovery of Justice* (1947) argued the claim of the Jews to compensation. His writings on Austrian civil law include *Die Haftung ohne Verschulden* (1933).

ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY: H. Goeppinger, *Juristen juedischer Abstammung im "Dritten Reich"* (1990^2), 269–70; R. Heuer (ed.), *Lexikon deutsch-juedischer Autoren* 2, (1993), 428–30 (bibl.).

[Josef J. Lador-Lederer]

BIENENSTOCK, MAX (1881–1923), writer, educator, and Zionist leader of the labor movement. Bienenstock was born in Tarnow, Galicia, and educated at an Austrian high school. He graduated as doctor of philosophy from Cracow University. He taught in government high schools from 1904 until the collapse of the Hapsburg monarchy. From his early youth he was an active Zionist. During the short-lived Jewish autonomy in western Ukraine (1918–19), he was director of the Department of Education and Culture. When the Ukrainian Republic was overthrown by the Polish army, he was arrested for a few months as a political criminal. Afterwards the Polish authorities refused to confirm his appointment as teacher and director of the Hebrew high school in Cracow. From then on, he devoted his efforts to writing and to Zionist education. Attracted by socialist ideology, Bienenstock formed and led the Hitaḥadut party in eastern Galicia. In the Polish parliamentary elections of 1922, his party, in the framework of the Jewish national bloc, elected him to the senate for the Lvov district. Bienenstock was a progressive educator and a gifted writer in Polish, German, and, later, Yiddish. He published two books, *Das juedische Element in Heines Werke* (1910) and *Henrik Ibsens Kunstanschaungen* (1913). He translated Polish classics into German, including *The Ungodly Comedy* by Krasinski. He wrote essays on Zionist socialist topics and, in his last years, on Yiddish literature. He died in Lvov.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: M. Bienenstock, *A Zamelshrift Wegn Zeyn Leben un Shafen* (1924); N.M. Gelber, *Toledot Ha-Tenu'ah ha-Ẓiyyonit be-Galizyah*, 2 (1958), 757–8; D. Sadan, *Avnei Zikkaron* (1954), 98–110. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** N. Meltzer, *Dr. Max Bienenstock* (1924).

[Aryeh Tartakower]

BIENSTOK, JUDAH LEIB (**Leon**; 1836–1894), Russian writer and community leader. He was born in Volhynia and educated in Zhitomir at the government-sponsored rabbinical seminary. He served as government-appointed rabbi at Zhitomir from 1859 to 1862. Afterward he worked as a specialist for Jewish affairs in the office of the governor of Volhynia. He wrote for the Jewish press in Russian and Yiddish. In 1879 he went to St. Petersburg where for a time he became the secretary of both the Jewish community and the "Society for the

Spreading of Enlightenment." As a friend of *Mendele Mokher Seforim, he translated his *He-Avot Ve-ha-Banim* ("Fathers and Children") into Russian and collaborated with him on a few popular pamphlets in Yiddish, also writing one of the first biographical articles about him (*Voskhod*, 12, 1884). In 1891 he published a study of the Jewish agricultural settlements in the district of Yekaterinoslav (now Dnepropetrovsk). In 1892 when Vladimir *Tiomkin resigned from his post as Ḥovevei Zion representative in Ereẓ Israel, the *Odessa Committee appointed Bienstok in his place. He assisted in the establishment of modern schools in the country and the founding of the Sha'arei Zion library in Jaffa.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Tidhar, 3 (1958), 1280–81; LNYL, 1 (1956), 297–8.

[Yehuda Slutsky]

BIERER, RUBIN (1835–1931), one of the first active Zionists and members of Ḥovevei Zion in Galicia, Austria, and Bulgaria. Bierer, who was born in Lemberg, completed his studies in medicine in 1863. He was a founder of the Jewish association Shomer Israel in Galicia. From the early 1880s he lived in Vienna, where he was a founder of the Jewish student organization *Kadimah (1882). In the same year, he was one of the founders of the Ahavat Zion society for the settlement of Ereẓ Israel, of which both Pereẓ *Smolenskin and Zalman Spitzer, the leader of the Orthodox Viennese community, were members. He published articles on the idea of Jewish nationhood and settlement of Ereẓ Israel in most of the German Jewish periodicals. Invited to Belgrade to serve as court physician, he transferred his Zionist activities there, and thereafter to Sofia, where he later lived. In Bulgaria he was a devoted assistant to *Herzl, who sent him the first copy of *Der Judenstaat*, inscribed "to the first pioneer of the Zionist idea." He returned to Lemberg in 1905, and continued his Zionist activities almost until his death.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: T. Herzl, *Complete Diaries*, 5 (1960), index; N.M. Gelber, *Toledot ha-Tenuah ha-Ẓiyyonit be-Galiẓyah*, 2 (1958), index; *Haolam* (Dec. 22, 1931), 1003; EG, 10 (*Bulgariya*) (1967), index.

[Getzel Kressel]

BIGAMY AND POLYGAMY. In Jewish law the concept of bigamy (or polygamy) can involve either (1) a married woman (*eshet ish*) purporting to contract a second marriage to another man (or to other men) during the subsistence of her first marriage; or (2) a married man contracting marriages to other women during the subsistence of his first marriage. These two aspects must be considered separately.

(1) Relating to Women. The general principle is that "a woman cannot be the wife of two [men]" (Kid. 7a and Rashi). In relation to a wife the term *kiddushin* implies her exclusive dedication to her husband. There can therefore be no *kiddushin* between her and another man while the first *kiddushin* subsists, and a purported marriage to another man is thus totally invalid. Such a bigamous "marriage" does incur severe legal consequences – primarily because of the law that sexual intercourse between a married woman and a man other than her husband (i.e., adultery) results in her subsequently being prohibited to both men forever and she then requires a *get* ("divorce") from both of them (see *Divorce, *Adultery). She requires a divorce from her husband, *mi-de-Oraita* ("according to biblical law"), because, although her adultery renders her prohibited to him, her legal marriage to him continues to subsist. To resolve this paradox she needs a *get*. She also requires a divorce from her adulterous "husband," *mi-de-Rabbanan* ("according to rabbinical enactment") – even though her marriage to him is invalid – so that people, ignorant of the true facts and perhaps under the impression that her second "marriage" was a valid one, should not be misled into thinking that she is free of him without a proper divorce (Yev. 88b and Rashi; Maim. Yad, Gerushin 10:5; Sh. Ar., EH 17:56).

Notwithstanding her divorce by both men, on the death of either of them she continues prohibited to the survivor forever (Sot. 27b; Yev. 87b and 88b; Yad, Gerushin, 10:4–5; Sh. Ar., EH 17:56). The aforementioned consequences result whether the bigamous "marriage" was intentional or inadvertent; e.g., if the woman was incorrectly informed by two witnesses of her legal husband's death (Yev. 87b; Yad, Gerushin 10:4 and Sh. Ar., EH 17:56). If, in spite of the said prohibitions, she does subsequently contract a later marriage with either of the two men, such a later marriage is a prohibited one (see Prohibited *Marriages) and must be dissolved (Maim. Yad, Gerushin 10:4). Further legal consequences of a woman's bigamous "marriage" are that her children of the second, adulterous, union are classed as *mamzerim according to biblical law and also that her financial rights are affected (Yev. 87b).

(2) Relating to Men. The law is different in the case of a married man who purports to take a second wife while still married. According to Jewish law this second marriage (and any others) is valid and can therefore only be dissolved by death or divorce (Yev. 65a; *Piskei ha-Rosh, ibid.*, 17; Yad, Ishut, 14:3; Sh. Ar., EH 1:9; 76:7). Permitted according to biblical law, polygamy was practiced throughout the talmudic period and thereafter until the tenth century (*Piskei ha-Rosh* to Yev. 65a; Sh. Ar., EH 1:9). Already in amoraic times, however, the practice was frowned upon by the sages, who prescribed that polygamy was permissible only if the husband was capable of properly fulfilling his marital duties toward each of his wives (see *Marriage). The opinion was also expressed that if a man takes a second wife, he must divorce his first wife, if the latter so demands, and pay her *ketubbah* (Yev. 65a; Alfasi, *Piskei ha-Rosh*, and Sh. Ar., EH 1:9). Similarly, according to talmudic law, a man may not take a second wife if he has specifically undertaken to his first wife, e.g., in the *ketubbah*, not to do so (Sh. Ar., EH 76:8). Taking a second wife is also forbidden wherever *monogamy is the local custom since such custom is deemed an implied condition of the marriage, it being presumed that the wife only wishes to marry in accordance with local custom (Sh. Ar., EH 1:9; *Beit Shemu'el, ibid.*, 20; *Ḥelkat Meḥokek, ibid.*, 15, 76:8). Generally, the husband can only be

released from this restriction with his wife's consent (loc. cit.; *Darkhei Moshe*, EH 1:1, n. 8; Sh. Ar., EH 76).

Ḥerem de-Rabbenu Gershom

SUBSTANCE OF THE BAN. In the course of time and for varying reasons (*Oẓar ha-Posekim*, EH 1:61, 2), it became apparent that there was a need for the enactment of a general prohibition against polygamy, independent of the husband's undertaking to this effect. Accordingly, relying on the principle of endeavoring to prevent matrimonial strife (which principle had already been well developed in talmudic law) Rabbenu *Gershom b. Judah and his court enacted the *takkanah prohibiting a man from marrying an additional wife unless specifically permitted to do so on special grounds by at least 100 rabbis from three "countries" (i.e., districts; see below). This *takkanah*, known as the *Ḥerem de-Rabbenu Gershom*, also prohibited a husband from divorcing his wife against her will. Various versions of the *takkanah* exist (*Oẓar ha-Posekim*, EH 1:61, 1) and, indeed, scholars have even questioned the historical accuracy of ascribing its authorship to Rabbenu Gershom. This, however, does not in any way affect its validity.

Since the prohibition against polygamy is derived from this *takkanah* and not from any undertaking given by the husband to his wife, she is not competent to agree to a waiver of its application, lest she be subjected to undue influence by her husband (Sh. Ar., EH 1:10; *Oẓar ha-Posekim*, EH 1:61, 5). Nevertheless, if the husband does enter into a further marriage it will be considered legally valid (Tur, EH 44; *Darkhei Moshe, ibid.*, n. 1; Sh. Ar., EH 44; *Beit Shemu'el* 11), but as a prohibited marriage, and the first wife can require the court to compel the husband to divorce the other woman. Since the first wife cannot be obliged to live with a *ẓarah* ("rival"), she may also ask that the court order (but not compel) the husband to give her (i.e., the first wife) a divorce (Sh. Ar., EH 154; *Pitḥei Teshuvah*, 5; PDR vol. 7, pp. 65–74, 201–6). The husband continues to be liable to maintain his wife until he complies with the court's order – even though they are living apart –because as long as he refuses to divorce her he is preventing her from remarrying and thus being supported by another husband (*Keneset ha-Gedolah*, EH 1, Tur 16–17; PDR vol. 7 p.74). However, if the first wife and the husband agree on a divorce and this is carried out, he is then released from his obligation to divorce his second wife, although his marriage to her in the first place was in defiance of the prohibition (Sh. Ar., *Pitḥei Teshuvah, 5; Oẓar ha-Posekim*, EH 1:80, 1 and 2).

APPLICABILITY OF THE ḤEREM AS TO TIME AND PLACE. Many authorities were of the opinion that the validity of the *ḥerem* was, from its inception, restricted as to both time and place. Thus, it is stated: "He [Rabbenu Gershom] only imposed the ban until the end of the fifth millennium," i.e., until the year 1240 (Sh. Ar., EH 1:10); others, however, were of the opinion that no time limit was placed on its application. At any rate, even according to the first opinion the *ḥerem* remained in force after 1240, since later generations accepted it as a binding *takkanah*. Accordingly, the *ḥerem*, wherever it was accepted (see below), now has the force of law for all time (Resp. Rosh 43:8; Sh. Ar., EH 1:10; Arukh ha-Shulḥan, EH 1:23; *Oẓar ha-Posekim*, EH 1:76). In modern times it is customary, in some communities, to insert in the *ketubbah* a clause against the husband's taking an additional wife "in accordance with the *takkanah* of Rabbenu Gershom…." However, the prohibition is binding on the husband, even though omitted from the *ketubbah*, as such omission is regarded as a "clerical error" (*Keneset ha-Gedolah*, EH 1, Tur 17; *Arukh ha-Shulḥan*, EH 1:23).

The *ḥerem* did not extend to those countries where it was apparent that the *takkanah* had never been accepted (Sh. Ar., EH 1:10). In a country where the acceptance of the *takkanah* is in doubt, however, its provisions must be observed (*Arukh ha-Shulḥan*, EH 1:23). In general it can be said that the *ḥerem* has been accepted as binding among Ashkenazi communities, but not among the Sephardi and most of the Oriental communities. This is apparently because in those countries where Ashkenazim formed the main part of the Jewish community, as in Europe, America, or Australia where European Jews migrated, polygamy was also forbidden by the dominant religion, Christianity, and therefore by the secular law. This was not the case in Oriental countries, as in Yemen, Iraq, and North Africa, polygamy being permitted in Islam (*Arukh ha-Shulḥan and Oẓar ha-Posekim*, loc. cit.). Thus, Maimonides, who was a Sephardi, makes no reference at all to the *ḥerem*. In practice, therefore, to prohibit polygamy Oriental communities would customarily insert an express provision in the *ketubbah*, whereby the husband was precluded from taking an additional wife except with the consent of his first wife or with the permission of the *bet din*. As this provision was a condition of the marriage, any breach thereof entitled the wife to demand either that her husband complied with the provision, i.e., by divorcing the second wife, or that she be granted a divorce with payment of her *ketubbah* (*Sedei Ḥemed*, Asefat Dinim, Ishut 2; *Keneset ha-Gedolah*, EH 1, *Beit Yosef* 13, 16; *Oẓar ha-Posekim, ibid.*, 1:80, 8; PDR 7:65).

People who move from a country where the *ḥerem* is binding to a country where it is not, or vice versa, are subject to the following rules: (1) the ban adheres to the individual, i.e., it accompanies him from place to place and he always remains subject to it (*Arukh ha-Shulḥan*, loc. cit.; *Oẓar ha-Posekim*, EH 1:75, 1; Sh. Ar., EH 1); (2) local custom is followed, so that if the *ḥerem* applies to a particular country it is binding on everyone, irrespective of their country of origin (*Arukh ha-Shulḥan, ibid.; Oẓar ha-Posekim, ibid.* and 1:75, 3; *Keneset ha-Gedolah*, EH, *Beit Yosef*, 22). Both these rules are strictly applied with the intent of extending the operation of the *ḥerem* as widely as possible. On the other hand, if a man legally married two wives in a country where this was permitted, he is not obliged to divorce either of them on arriving in another country where the *ḥerem* is in force, as the law is only infringed by his taking an additional wife and not when a man already has two (*Arukh ha-Shulḥan, ibid.*).

RELEASE FROM THE PROHIBITION. The object of prohibiting bigamy is to prevent a man from marrying a second wife as long as he is not legally entitled to dissolve his first marriage. Thus, in order to avoid any circumvention of the prohibition, the *ḥerem* also generally prohibits divorce against the will of the wife. This double prohibition may, however, result in the husband being unjustifiably fettered in circumstances where he would not otherwise be required by law to maintain his ties with his wife – and yet may not divorce her against her will. This can, therefore, be obviated by the availability of a *hetter* ("release") from the *ḥerem* against bigamy, which is granted by the *bet din* in the appropriate circumstances. This *hetter* does not mean that the first wife is divorced, but that the husband is granted exceptional permission to contract an additional marriage. Naturally, such a step is only taken if the court, after a full investigation of the relevant facts, is satisfied that a release is legally justified. Thus, for example, a release would be granted in a case where a wife becomes insane. Her husband cannot, therefore, maintain normal married life with her, a fact which would ordinarily entitle him to divorce her; this he cannot do because of her legal incapacity to consent. However, as the first marriage must continue to subsist, the husband remains liable to support his wife – including medical costs – but he is permitted by the court to take an additional wife (Baḥ, EH 119; Sh. Ar., EH 1; *Beit Shemu'el* 1, n. 23; 119, n.6; *Ḥelkat Meḥokek, ibid.*, 10–12; *Oẓar ha-Posekim*, EH 1:72, 19). Should the first wife subsequently recover her sanity she cannot demand that her husband divorce his second wife, as he married her in accordance with the law. On the contrary, the husband would be entitled – and even obliged – to divorce his first wife, so as not to remain with two wives, and if she refuses to accept his *get* he would be free from any further marital obligations towards her, save for the payment of her *ketubbah* (Sh. Ar., EH 1; *Beit Shemu'el, ibid.; Oẓar ha-Posekim*, EH 1:72, 17–18; PDR 3:271). However, the *hetter* would be revoked if the first wife recovered her mental capacity before the second marriage took place (Sh. Ar., EH 1, *Pitḥei Teshuvah*, 16, concl.; *Oẓar ha-Posekim*, EH 1:72, 14).

On the strength of the aforementioned rule, a release from the *ḥerem* may also be obtained by a man whose wife refuses to accept a *get* from him, despite the court's order that she does so, e.g., in the case of her adultery or where the marriage is a prohibited one (Sh. Ar., EH 1:10; *Ḥelkat Meḥokek, ibid.*, 16; *Oẓar ha-Posekim*, EH 1:63, 7). Some authorities are of the opinion that in the event of the wife's adultery the husband only requires a *hetter* from a regular court and not from 100 rabbis, since the *ḥerem* was not meant for such a case (*Oẓar ha-Posekim*, EH 1:73, 2). A *hetter* would be justified where a wife who has had no children during a marriage which has subsisted for at least ten years – a fact which entitles the husband to divorce her – refuses to accept the *get* and thus prevents her husband from remarrying and fulfilling the *mitzvah* to "be fruitful and multiply." In such a case the husband is obliged to take another wife to fulfill the *mitzvah* and so he would be entitled to the *hetter* (Sh. Ar., EH 1:10; *Oẓar ha-Posekim*, EH 1:68; *Arukh ha-Shulḥan*, EH 1:25).

As has already been stated, in Oriental communities for a husband to take a second wife requires either his first wife's consent or the court's permission. The wife is required to give her consent before a regular court (not 100 rabbis) and the court will permit the second marriage only if satisfied, after a thorough investigation of the facts, that the wife has consented wholeheartedly, without anger or under undue influence (*Oẓar ha-Posekim*, EH 1:61, 5, subsec. 3; *Sedei Ḥemed*, Asefat Dinim, Ishut 2). Without her consent, the court will generally only grant a release to the husband in such cases where it would do so were the *ḥerem* to apply (*Sedei Ḥemed; Oẓar ha-Posekim, ibid.*), since it is presumed that the husband's undertaking the *ketubbah* is given on the understanding that no circumstances shall exist which, if the *ḥerem* were to apply, would warrant his release from the prohibition (*Sedei Ḥemed, ibid.; Oẓar ha-Posekim*, EH 1:72, 9).

PROCEDURE FOR GRANTING THE HETTER. After the court has decided that a release from the *ḥerem* should be granted, the matter is referred to 100 rabbis of three "countries" (*Oẓar ha-Posekim*, EH 1:61, 9) for approval and, if so approved, the *hetter* takes effect. As a preliminary, the husband is required to deposit with the court a *get* for his first wife, together with an irrevocable authority for the court to have the *get* delivered to his first wife as soon as she is able and willing to receive it from an agent appointed by the husband at the request of the court. However, in the case where the *hetter* is given because of the first wife's insanity, it is customary to give her a new *get* when she recovers, rather than the one previously deposited with the court, as some doubt could be cast on the latter's validity, since it was the wife's insanity that made it impossible to deliver the *get* to her originally and there may therefore possibly be other legal objections to its validity. The deposited *get* is usually only delivered to her if she is in danger of becoming a deserted wife (see *Agunah; *Arukh ha-Shulḥan*, EH 1:26; *Oẓar ha-Posekim*, EH 1:72, 30–31). Furthermore, the husband is also generally required to deposit with the court the amount of the wife's *ketubbah* in cash or provide adequate security (Baḥ, EH 119; Sh. Ar., EH; *Beit Shemu'el* 1, n. 23; *Arukh ha-Shulḥan*, EH 1:25; *Oẓar ha-Posekim*, 1:72, 23–24). Some authorities are of the opinion that the husband must also deposit with the court, or adequately secure in like manner, such sum as the court may determine to cover the wife's maintenance and medical expenses (*Oẓar ha-Posekim*, EH 1:72, 29).

State of Israel

At a national rabbinic conference called in 1950 by the chief rabbis of Israel, an enactment was passed making monogamy (apart from the above-mentioned permissions) binding upon all Jews irrespective of their communal affiliations. This *takkanah*, however, does not render a second marriage invalid according to biblical law, and therefore, if such a marriage does take place, it can be dissolved only by divorce. The criminal law of the state, however, renders it an offense on pain of imprisonment for a married person to contract another marriage (Penal Law Amendment (Bigamy) Law, 5719–1959). Nevertheless, for Jewish citizens no offense is committed if permission to marry a second wife was given by a final judgment of a rabbinical court and approved by the two chief rabbis of Israel. The latter's approval is accepted as conclusive proof that the permission was given according to the law. Special provisions relating to the grant of this permission are laid down in the *Takkanotha-Diyyun be-Vattei ha-Din ha-Rabbaniyyim be-Yisrael*, 5720–1960.

[Ben-Zion (Benno) Schereschewsky]

Following the enactment of the Penal Law, 5737 – 1977, the prohibition on polygamy is now regulated in sections 175–183 of that Law. Polygamy will not be considered an offense if committed pursuant to a permit granted in a final judgment of the rabbinical court, subject to the judgment having been approved by the president of the Rabbinical High Court of Appeals (section 179 of Law).

The Supreme Court was confronted with a question concerning the range of circumstances under which the rabbinical court could give a marriage permit, and thereby decriminalizing the act of bigamy in certain given cases. The specific question considered was whether the rabbinical court was authorized to permit an additional marriage even where the granting of the permit was not the result of the woman's inability to receive a *get* – e.g., due to insanity etc, as stated above – but was a tactic adopted by the rabbinical court to exert pressure on a recalcitrant wife who refuses to accept a *get*. In its ruling in *Street* (HC 301/63, *Street v. Chief Rabbi of Israel* 18 (1) PD 598) the Supreme Court ruled that the goals of the section dealing with the permit that may be given by the rabbinical court must comport with the overall goals of the law prohibiting bigamy. As such, the granting of a permit is only possible when it does not diverge from the purpose of the law, i.e., when the need for a marriage permit stems from an objective inability to give the *get*. In keeping with this determination, the court revoked the permit granted by the rabbinical court in that particular case.

In the judgment in *Boronovsky* (FH 10/69, *Boronovsky v. Chief Rabbis of Israel*, 25 (1) PD 7) the Court changed the *Street* ruling, determining that the statutory recognition of a permit given by the rabbinical court extended to any permit that could be granted *on the basis of any halakhically based grounds*, even when this was done as a means of compelling a recalcitrant wife to accept a *get*.

[Menachem Elon (2nd ed.)]

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BIGART, JACQUES (1855–1934), Alsatian rabbi and longtime secretary general of the *Alliance Israélite Universelle. Bigart began his service to the Alliance in 1882 as assistant to the secretary general Isidore Loeb, whom he succeeded in 1892. Single-minded in his devotion to every detail of the policy and administration of the Alliance, Bigart was deeply involved in refugee rescue and immigration management. In 1915, he developed an enduring partnership with Lucien *Wolf of the British Jewish Conjoint, later Joint Foreign Committee, to resist Zionist and Jewish nationalist diplomatic initiatives and uphold acculturationist Judaism. Their joint efforts, which ended only with Wolf's death in 1930, grew and prospered through World War I and into the Paris Peace Conference as they coordinated strategies to protect Jewish minority rights in the succession states and developed programs and relief for refugees and stateless people.

As an Alsatian patriotically committed to France and as a Jew unreservedly committed to regeneration on the French model, Bigart shared the values and objectives of the professional gentlemen who sat on the Alliance's Central Committee. Under his administration, the Alliance prospered and grew, particularly in the area of education, founding schools from Morocco to Teheran, from the Balkans through the Middle East to Cairo. The numbers peaked at the outbreak of World War I when 48,000 students attended 188 schools. Bigart, who knew the minutest detail of every classroom and school building, micro-managed the budgeting and administration of each Alliance-supported institution. Under his leadership, elementary schools for boys and girls grew into secondary schools and vocational and agricultural schools blossomed. Alliance normal schools trained teachers for Romania and ICA schools in South America and Sephardi rabbinical training began in Constantinople. In recognition of his signal services and contributions, the French government awarded Bigart with the Legion of Honor and promoted him to officer.

So many commitments, however, overextended resources just when American and German Jews grew less inclined to support a Franco-centric enterprise and Bigart preserved Gallo-centrism and Jewish heterogeneity at the cost of serious institutional losses and international support. Bigart, who had little interest in the rise of Hebrew studies, was hostile to the Jewish nationalism of Eastern Europe and uncompromisingly rejected Zionism as an overt threat to everything emancipated Jewry had accomplished. Towards the end of his life, the surge of European antisemitism, the coming of Nazism, the threats to Soviet Jewry, and the failure of more liberal options in the succession states, together with consistently closing doors to Jewish emigration, made him slightly more receptive to a broader federation of Jewish organizations to combat these threats

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[Eugene C. Black (2nd ed.)]

BIHALJI MERIN, OTO (1904–1990), Yugoslav writer and art historian. He studied painting in Belgrade and Berlin. While his approach to modern art was pan-European, his politics were of the extreme left wing. In Berlin he edited a Communist daily and later he fought in the Spanish Civil War and reported on it. In 1929, he founded the Belgrade progressive publishing house "Nolit," with his brother Pavle Bihalji, who was shot by the Nazis in 1941. Bihalji Merin was taken prisoner by the Germans (1941–45) and became one of the leaders of the Yugoslav resistance in prisoner-of-war camps. In 1945 he returned to Belgrade and with his wife successfully resumed his publishing career. He edited the house magazine and monographs of the publishing firm "Jugoslavija," one of whose notable editions was the **Haggadah* of Sarajevo. An authority on naive art, he helped to keep Yugoslav thinking in touch with new trends. Many of his works have been translated into major languages, the more important being: *Modern German Art* (1938), *Das naive Bild der Welt* (1959; *Modern Primitives: Masters of Naive Painting*, 1961), *Umetnost naivnih u Jugoslaviji* (1963), and *Adventure of Modern Art* (1968). He also wrote two satirical novels on Yugoslavian life.

[Zdenko Lowenthal]

BIHARI, ALEXANDER (1856–1906), Hungarian *genre* painter. The son of a poor housepainter, Bihari studied in Budapest and Vienna. In 1883, a wealthy patron made it possible for him to travel to Paris, where he fully assimilated the style of the French naturalist or realist masters, such as Jules *Adler. Upon his return to Hungary, Bihari settled in Szolnok, an agricultural center in the great Hungarian plains, rather than in a fashionable Budapest studio. He continued to paint *genre* pictures and was soon recognized as Hungary's leading painter in this field. A quality of Parisian wit seemed to guard him against the temptation of overt sentimentality. Using broad brush strokes, Bihari grouped and painted his figures as he saw them in their everyday surroundings. Bihari's masterpiece is perhaps his *Sunday Afternoon* which showed the influence both of Courbet and the impressionists. His work is represented almost exclusively in Hungarian collections.

[Edouard Roditi]

BIJUR, NATHAN (1862–1930), U.S. jurist and communal leader. Bijur achieved prominence in corporation law and participated in the reorganization of many large companies. In 1909 he was elected, with Republican Party endorsement, for a 14-year term as a New York State Supreme Court justice and was reelected in 1923 without opposition. His judicial decisions included important questions of constitutional law involving the extension of legal doctrines to meet modern conditions. Bijur's civic activities included service on the New York State Prison Commission and a special commission that established a municipal ambulance service in New York City. He was among the founders of the National Conference of Jewish Charities and the *American Jewish Committee, and he was a trustee of the Baron de Hirsch Fund and the Hebrew Free Trade School. In 1905 he was elected president of the New York Conference of Charities. Bijur was a supporter of the Hebrew Sheltering and Immigrant Aid Society and was often consulted on legal questions involving Jewish immigration.

[Morton Rosenstock]

BIKAYAM, MEIR BEN ḤALIFA (d. 1769), kabbalist and crypto-Shabbatean. The family name is rare, and the origin of the family is unknown. Bikayam lived in Smyrna. He studied Kabbalah under Jacob *Wilna, belonged to his circle, and was initiated by him into the "mystery of the Godhead" revealed by *Shabbetai Ẓevi (Ms. 2262, Ben-Zvi Institute). Bikayam received from his teacher the kabbalistic works of Solomon ha-Levi which the latter had received from his father, Benjamin ha-Levi. Some of the most learned and pious of the Smyrna community belonged to his circle. Bikayam was a close friend of Ḥayyim *Abulafia and Isaac ha-Kohen Rappaport, the rabbis of the community. One of the wealthy Jews of the town, Solomon *Ardit, supported him and his circle, and even in his old age (c. 1745) the latter studied Kabbalah under him. The wealthy leader of the Constantinople community, Samuel ha-Levi, and Moses b. Joshua Soncino of Smyrna supported and financed the publication of his books. When he went to Salonika in 1747, Abraham Enriques Miranda and Joseph Enriques Miranda, wealthy men of the community, welcomed him with great honor. There he also taught Shabbatean Kabbalah to a group of devotees and published two of his books. He returned to Smyrna about 1747. His books are all concerned with Kabbalah; his Shabbatean leanings are hinted at, but never explicitly revealed. He wrote the following books: (1) *Golel Or*, on the doctrine of **gilgul* ("transmigration"; Smyrna, 1737); (2) *Me'ir la-Areẓ*, on the portions of the Pentateuch, according to the principles of Lurianic Kabbalah (Salonika, 1747); (3) *Magen Avot*, on *Pirkei Avot* (Salonika, 1748); (4) *Me'orei Or*, on the Pentateuch, based on Lurianic Kabbalah (Salonika, 1752); (5) *Kera Mikreh* (Salonika, 1752); (6) *Me'ir Bat Ayin*, on *Ein Ya'akov* (Smyrna, 1755). He composed esoteric as well as nonesoteric prayers. His books contain *piyyutim* on the Redemption which he apparently expected in the year 1740 or before.

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BIKEL, THEODORE MEIR (1924–), actor and folksinger. Born in Vienna, Bikel went to Palestine and joined Kibbutz Massada in 1941. In 1943 he worked at the *Habimah theater in Tel Aviv. In 1944 he became one of the co-founders of the Israeli Chamber Theatre, later called the *Cameri.

Bikel entered the Royal Academy of Dramatic Art in London in 1946, graduating with honors in 1948. Sir Laurence Olivier, impressed with Bikel's performance in several local plays, gave him a small role in his production of *A Streetcar Named Desire* (1949), and in a matter on months Bikel took over the part of Mitch. In London he also performed in *The Love of Four Colonels.* On Broadway, Bikel's stage performances include *Tonight in Samarkand* (1955); *The Rope Dancers* (1957–58); *The Lark* (1956); *The Sound of Music* (1959–63), in which he played Baron von Trapp; *Cafe Crown* (1964); *Pousse-Cafe* (1966); and *The Inspector General* (1978). In American national tours he starred in *Jacques Brel Is Alive and Well and Living in Paris*, *Zorba*, *The Rothschilds*, *The Good Doctor*, and *She Loves Me*. Most widely identified with Tevye in *Fiddler on the Roof*, Bikel played that role more than 2,000 times from 1967 – more than any other actor. In 1997 he co-authored and co-starred with Bruce Adler in the stage show *Greetings … Sholom Aleichem Lives*.

The films Bikel appeared in include *The African Queen* (1951), *Moulin Rouge* (1952), *The Enemy Below* (1957), *The Defiant Ones* (Oscar nomination for Best Supporting Actor, 1958), *I Want to Live* (1958), *The Blue Angel* (1959), *My Fair Lady* (1964), *The Russians Are Coming* (1966), *Sweet November* (1968), *My Side of the Mountain* (1969), *Prince Jack* (1984), *Dark Tower* (1988), *Crisis in the Kremlin* (1992), *My Family Treasure* (1993), *The Lost Wooden Synagogues of Eastern Europe* (as narrator, 2002), and *Crime and Punishment* (2002).

In addition, Bikel made more than 100 appearances on TV drama series. Fluent in several European and Middle Eastern languages and skilled at accents and dialects, Bikel also sang folksongs in nearly 20 languages, accompanying himself on guitar, mandolin, balalaika, and harmonica, and recordered numerous albums, including many in Yiddish. He traveled widely in the U.S., New Zealand, Australia, and Europe, performing his eclectic repertoire that includes songs from Russia, Eastern Europe, and Israel.

Bikel co-founded the Newport Folk Festival (1960), was a founder of the Arts Chapter of the American Jewish Congress (1961) and served as its national vice president (1963), was president of Actor's Equity (1973–82), and was appointed to the National Council for the Arts (1977–82).

[Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

BIKERMAN, JACOB JOSEPH (1898–1978), U.S. physical chemist. Bikerman was born in Odessa, Russia, and attended the University of St. Petersburg (Leningrad). He held a variety of academic and industrial positions in the U.S.S.R., Germany, and Britain before going to the U.S. in 1946. From 1956 to 1964 he was head of the Adhesives Laboratory of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. Bikerman contributed many papers to scientific journals, dealing with adhesion, electrokinetics, colloids, rheology, surface tension, contact angles, lubrication, and friction. His works include *Kapillarchemie* (with H. Freundlich, 1932); *Foams: Theory and Industrial Applications* (with J.M. Perri a.o., 1953); *Surface Chemistry* (1958^2); *The Science of Adhesive Joints* (1961); and *Contributions to the Thermodynamics of Surfaces* (1961).

[Samuel Aaron Miller]

BIKERMAN (Bickermann), JOSEPH (1867–1941), journalist active in Jewish political life. Born in Okny, Podolia, Bikerman graduated in philology at Odessa University in 1903. In an article written in 1902 in the monthly *Russkoye Bogatstvo,* he strongly opposed Zionism, and called upon Jews to join with progressive elements in Russia to help in the country's rebirth. His article aroused a controversy in which V. *Jabotinsky and B. *Borochov took part. He contributed to the democratic journal *Yevreyskiy Mir*, and wrote studies in Russian on the Pale of Settlement (*Cherta yevreyskoy oszedlosti*, 1911) and on Jews in the grain trade (*Rol yevreyev v russkoy khlebnoy torgovle*, 1912). After the Bolshevik revolution, Bikerman settled in Berlin. He was one of the founders of the short-lived "Patriotic Union of Russian Jews Abroad," which supported the ideal of the restoration of the Russian monarchy. His views on Jewish political problems are summarized in his Russian pamphlet on the self-knowledge of the Jew (*K samopoznaniyu yevreya*, 1939). He was the father of the historian Elias J. *Bickerman and the scientist Jacob J. *Bikerman.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: B. Dinur, *Bi-Ymei Milḥamah u-Mahpekhah* (1960), 66–68; J. Frumkin (ed.), *Russian Jewry* (1966), index.

BIKKUREI HA-ITTIM (Heb. בִּכּוּרֵי הָעִתִּים; "First Fruits of the Times"), Hebrew literary-scientific annuals, published in Vienna for 12 successive years (1821–32), and a central forum for *Haskalah literature. The editor of the first three volumes, Shalom b. Jacob *Cohen, sought to continue in this publication the tradition of *Ha-Me'assef*, the journal which initiated Hebrew periodical publications in the Haskalah period. (He had previously published and edited the last three volumes of *Ha-Me'assef he-Ḥadash*.) The first volumes also contained a German section (transcribed in Hebrew letters), which was later discontinued. The editors following Cohen were: Moses *Landau (vols. 4–5), Solomon Pergamenter (vol. 6), Issachar Baer Schlesinger (vols. 7–8), Isaac Samuel *Reggio (vols. 9–10), and Judah Loeb *Jeiteles (vols. 11–12). All the various literary genres were represented in these volumes – e.g., fiction, research, as well as translations of world literature (but mainly from German) – and were contributed by writers from Italy, Bohemia, Austria, Galicia, and Hungary. Reprints of a selection of works from *Ha-Me'assef* were also included. The standard improved in the last volumes, especially with S.J. *Rapoport's publication of his biographical monographs on geonic medieval Jewish scholars and authors. Other contributors included S.D. *Luzzatto and Isaac *Erter. With the discontinuation of these annuals, M.E. *Stern attempted in 1844 to publish *Bikkurei ha-Ittim*, and Reggio together with Isidore *Bush, *Bikkurei ha-Ittim ha-Ḥadashim* in 1845. While these attempts were unsuccessful, another annual, *Kokhevei Yiẓḥak*, did succeed. Its publication began in 1845 in Vienna, under the editorship of M.E. Stern, and lasted until 1873.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: B. Wachstein, *Die hebraeische Publizistik in Wien* (1930), xiii–xl (introduction); R. Fahn, *Kitvei Re'uven Fahn*, 2 (1937), 100–41 (*Pirkei Haskalah*).

[Getzel Kressel]

BIKKURIM (Heb. בִּכּוּרִים;"First Fruits"), last and shortest tractate of the Mishnah, Order *Zera'im*, dealing with laws relating to first-fruit offerings (Deut. 26:1–11; cf. also Ex. 23:19; 34:26; Num. 18:13). The Torah commands that the first fruits of the land be brought joyfully to the sanctuary, where they are to be offered in baskets to priests who are entitled to consume them in a state of purity. The offerers must recite a passage expressing their gratitude to God for delivering them from slavery in Egypt and bringing them to a rich land.

The laws set down in the Mishnah are based on an elaborate process of midrashic exegesis of the biblical texts, and the Mishnah (e.g., 1:2–5, 9) cites some of the relevant verses and their interpretations. Thus, the allusions in the recited passage to "fruits of thy land" and "the land which the Lord swore unto our fathers" were understood as excluding from the scope of the obligations people who did not own land or were not of Jewish descent. Similarly, the rabbis limited the precept to the seven fruits enumerated in Deuteronomy 8:8. From these basic premises, the Mishnah (especially in Chapter 1) develops its more detailed discussions of such topics as the relationships between the bringing of the fruits and the scriptural recitation, the appropriate time-frame for performing the precepts, precise identification of which fruits are subject to the obligation, what constitutes land ownership, the status of proselytes, and the extent of the owner's responsibility for the first fruits between the time of their designation and their delivery to the priest.

Most of Chapter 3 is devoted to a vivid narrative description of the ceremonial procession of bringing the first fruits to the Temple in joy, music, and fellowship. As noted by S. Lieberman, the abundance of details that cannot be ascribed to biblical sources or literary convention (e.g., the presence of an ox adorned with a garland on his gold-plated horns, a common feature of pagan *panegyre*) lends credence to the basic historicity of the Mishnah's description of the rustic folk custom. The statement in 3:4 that "even King Agrippa would take the basket and place it on his shoulder" was taken by scholars as an indication that the Mishnah was composed during the reign of one of the kings of that name.

Chapter 2 in the Mishnah is from a separate collection of traditions arranged by the formal pattern "There are features of X that are not in Y, etc." By virtue of the references to first fruits at the beginning of the collection, the entire source was incorporated into the Mishnah.

Some Mishnah editions include a fourth chapter outlining laws related to the status of the *androgynos*. This represents a variant tradition of a passage also found in the Tosefta 2:3–7.

There is a full Palestinian Talmud to the three chapters of the Mishnah, but no Babylonian.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: N. Sacks, *The Mishnah with Variant Readings: Order Zera'im*, vol. 2 (1975); J. Rabbinowitz, *The Jerusalem Talmud (Talmud Yerushalmi): Bikkurim* (1975); S. Lieberman, *Hellenism in Jewish Palestine* (1962^{2}); D. Hoffmann, *The First Mishna and the Controversies of the Tannaim*, trans. P. Forchheimer (1977).

[Eliezer L. Segel (2nd ed.)]

BILBEIS, capital of the "Eastern Province" of Egypt (Sharqīya) during the Middle Ages. It had a well-organized Jewish community, mentioned in a letter written about 1100 by the *dayyan* Abraham b. Shabbetai to all Jews of the area, and also in a letter written by his son and successor Shabbetai later in the 12th century. When Ashkelon was conquered by the Crusaders in 1153, many Jews fled to Bilbeis; 15 years later Bilbeis was itself captured by the Crusaders and the Jewish community undoubtedly suffered. At the end of the 12th century Bilbeis was still considered one of the chief Jewish communities of Egypt. In a community law dated 1187, R. Judah ha-Kohen is mentioned as *dayyan* of Bilbeis (Maimonides, Responsa, ed. by J. Blau, 2 (1960), no. 346). Documents of the early 13th century found in the Cairo **Genizah* contain his signature as head of the rabbinical court. In a letter R. *Abraham b. Moses b. Maimon asked the Bilbeis community for financial assistance for the Jews in Jerusalem. Other documents mention Jews from Jerusalem who were visiting Bilbeis. Throughout the *Fatimid and *Ayyubid caliphates the Jewish community in Bilbeis had its own customs, such as indicating the value of a bride's dowry in the *ketubbah*. According to a late Jewish source, the persecution of Jews in Egypt in 1301 resulted in the conversion of all the Jews in the city to Islam, and of the synagogue into a mosque. However, in the late 15th century, Meshullam da Volterra mentions 50 Jewish families in the city in 1481, while Obadiah di Bertinoro estimated them at 30 a few years later.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Mann, Egypt, 2 (1922), 25, 327, 329; R. Gottheil and W.H. Worrell, *Fragments from the Cairo Genizah…* (1927), 13ff., 139; S.D. Goitein, in: *Eretz Israel*, 4 (1956), 153ff.; Sambari, in: Neubauer, Chronicles, 1 (1887), 136; A. Yaari, *Iggerot Ereẓ Yisrael* (1943), 60, 124; Ashtor, Toledot, 2 (1951), 423; 3 (1970); idem, in: JJS, 18 (1967), 23–27.

[Eliyahu Ashtor]

BILDERSEE, ADELE (1883–1971), U.S. educator and author. Adele Bildersee was born in New York City. After teaching in New York City's elementary and secondary school system (1903–11), she was appointed instructor of English at Hunter College and remained there for the next 20 years, becoming acting dean in 1926. In 1931 she became dean of women at Brooklyn College, where she was also director of admissions from 1944 until her retirement in 1954. She also served as principal of the Temple Beth-El and Emanuel religious school and wrote several textbooks for Jewish children. Among her published works are *Jewish Post-Biblical History Through Great Personalities* (1918); *Bible Story in Bible Words* (6 vols., 1924–30); *Out of the House of Bondage* (1925); *Imaginative Writing: A Course in College Composition* (1927); and *Hidden Books: Selections from the Apocrypha for the General Reader* (1956).

The Dean Adele Bildersee Scholarship provides full or partial tuition to an outstanding student for graduate study at Brooklyn College.

BILETZKI, ISRAEL ḤAYYIM (1914–1992), Yiddish poet and Hebrew essayist. Born in Kobrin, Biletzki immigrated to Palestine in 1934, and published extensively in Yiddish before and after the founding of the State of Israel. From his first book of Yiddish verse *Umru* ("Anxiety," 1937) to his 15th lyric volume *Shures Tsvantsik* (1982), he displayed impeccable artistry in simple rhymed quatrains as well as in sophisticated free rhythms. While he published books in Yiddish about Itzik *Manger (1976) and Uri Zevi *Greenberg, most of his studies about individual Yiddish writers (e.g., H. *Leivick, *Bashevis Singer (English translation 1995), A. *Sutzkever) and various periods of the Yiddish literature were written in Hebrew.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: LNYL, 1 (1956), 292; M. Ravitch, *Mayn Leksikon* (1958), 85–86; Kressel, Leksikon, 1 (1965), 229. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** I. Yanasovitch, in: *Di Goldene Keyt*, 83 (1974), 185–91; B. Kagan, *Leksikon* (1986), 83.

[Sol Liptzin]

BILGORAJ, small town in Lublin province, Poland. A Jewish community had been established there by the second half of the 17th century. Many of the Jews perished during the massacres of 1648–49. In 1765 Jewish poll-tax payers in Bilgoraj and the vicinity numbered 661. The Russian prohibition on Jewish settlement of the western border area (see *Russia) halted the growth of the community until the restriction was rescinded in 1862. The Jewish population numbered 1,637 in 1841; 3,486 in 1897; 3,715 in 1921, and 4,596 in 1931. In interbellum Poland many Jews were employed in the horsehair-weaving industry. The brothers I.J. *Singer and I. Bashevis *Singer, Yiddish writers, were born in Bilgoraj. A Hebrew printing press was established there in 1909 and continued to publish numerous Hebrew and Yiddish books until the Holocaust.

Holocaust Period

It is estimated that over 5,000 Jews lived in Bilgoraj before the outbreak of World War II, constituting more than half the town's population. On Sept. 11, 1939, almost the whole Jewish quarter was set on fire in a heavy bombardment by the German air force. A few days later German troops entered the town and immediately organized anti-Jewish pogroms. On September 29 the German army withdrew, but the occupying Soviet army had to cede the town to the Germans a week later. About 20% of the town's Jewish population left for the Soviet Union together with the retreating Soviet troops. On June 25, 1940, a ghetto was established. In the course of 1941 and 1942 a number of deportations took place; on Nov. 2, 1942 almost all the remaining Jewish population was deported to *Belzec death camp. On Jan. 15, 1943, the last 27 survivors who had remained in hiding were shot. A group of young men organized a small partisan unit which operated in the surrounding forests. The Jewish community was not reestablished after the war.

[Stefan Krakowski]

BIBLIOGRAPHY: T. Brustin-Bernstein, in: *Bleter far Geshikhte*, 3 no. 1–2 (1950), 65–76, table 3; *Khurbn Bilgoraj* (1957).

BILHAH (Heb. בִּלְהָה), servant girl presented to *Rachel by her father (Gen. 29:29). Bilhah was given by Rachel to her husband Jacob as a concubine (see *Nuzi). Bilhah bore two children by him, *Dan and *Naphtali (30:1–8). Reuben cohabited with her while his father was still alive, apparently by way of asserting his right of primogeniture (35:22). This offense is given as the reason for the loss of birthright by Reuben (Gen. 49:3–4; I Chron. 5:1). The meaning of the name is uncertain. It may be derived from the Arabic root *balaha* which means "to be confused" or "lacking in understanding" (cf. Heb. *bhl*), perhaps having some symbolic connotation relative to the status of the tribes descended from this concubine (see also: *Matriarchs, *Patriarchs, The Twelve *Tribes).

[*Encyclopaedia Hebraica*]

In the Aggadah

The *aggadah* indicates Bilhah's righteousness by the statement that, after the death of Rachel and Leah, the *Shekhinah* (which had been continuously present in their households) passed to Bilhah (Zohar 1:175b). After the death of Rachel, Jacob moved Bilhah's bed into his chamber. Bilhah is identified as the "messenger" (Gen. 50:16) sent by the brothers to Joseph, to inform him of his father's will (Tanḥ. B. 3:18).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: C.H. Gordon, in: RB, 44 (1935), 35–36; Noth, Personennamen, 10; S. Yeivin, *Meḥkarim be-Toledot Yisrael ve-Arẓo* (1960), 149–50.

BILL-BELOTSERKOVSKI, VLADIMIR NAUMOVICH (1885–1966), Soviet Russian playwright. Born to a poor, Yiddish-speaking family in Ukraine, Bill-Belotserkovski received little traditional Jewish education. At the age of 16, he ran away to sea and spent the years from 1911 to 1916 in the United States (hence the nickname "Bill," which he eventually adopted as part of his name). After his return to Russia in 1917, Bill-Belotserkovski fought in the Civil War and was one of the founders of the Communist propaganda theater as well as the author of some of the best-known plays in its repertory. These plays, called *agitki*, were primitive one-act dramas designed to rally audiences to the Communist cause; their artistic value was slight. Bill-Belotserkovski's best play, *Shtorm* ("The Storm," 1925), dealt with the Civil War. Its effectiveness was enhanced by its documentary, matter-of-fact style and coarse humor. In later years the playwright tried to tackle social and moral topics, but his tendency to see everything in clearcut terms, his aversion to intellectual subtlety, and his fondness for heroics limited his range. After World War II, Bill-Belotserkovski, who had earned a reputation as an "American expert," was commissioned to produce a number of anti-American works, the best known of which was *Tsvet kozhi* ("The Color of Skin," 1948). In 1937 Bill-Belotserkovski wrote *Pogranichniki* ("The Frontier Guards"). The play's hero, a Soviet army officer, is a Jew named Kogan. Interrogated by anti-Soviet intelligence agents, Kogan proudly emphasizes his Soviet, Communist Jewishness ("My father is the best pig-breeder in Birobidzhan") and, in the end, not unlike the biblical Samson, succeeds in killing himself and his jailers. During the antisemitic, anti-cosmopolitan purges of 1947 through 1953 the play was revived, but the Soviet censorship carefully obliterated all references to Kogan's Jewishness other than his Jewish-sounding name.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Teatral'naya entsiklopediya*, 1 (1961), 581–82; M. Friedberg, in: *American Slavic and East European Review*, 13 (Feb. 1954).

[Maurice Friedberg]

BILLIG, LEVI (1897–1936), Arabist. Born in London, he compiled *An Arabic Reader* with Avinoam *Yellin (1931, 1963) which is still one of the best introductions to classical Arabic. In 1926 he was appointed the first lecturer in Arabic language and literature at the Hebrew University. Billig also studied Shiʿa and spent time in Persia for this purpose. During the Palestine riots of 1936 he was shot to death by an Arab terrorist while working in his home. His untimely death prevented him from finalizing a study of the theory of the Imams (the successors of Muhammad).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *The Times* (London, Aug. 22 and 25, 1936).

[Shelomo Dov Goitein]

BILLIKOPF, JACOB (1883–1950), U.S. social worker. Billikopf, born in Vilna, emigrated to the United States in the late 1890s. He was a son-in-law of Louis *Marshall. An imaginative administrator and fund raiser, receptive to fresh ideas, Billikopf became professionally active in labor relations as well as Jewish social work. He served as superintendent of the Jewish Settlement, Cincinnati (1904–05), of the United Jewish Charities of Milwaukee (1905–07), and of the United Jewish Charities, Kansas City, Missouri (1907). While in Kansas City Billikopf played an important role in the establishment of the pioneering municipal Board of Public Welfare. During World War I Billikopf directed the campaign to raise $25 million for Jewish war relief and in 1918 he directed the National Coordinating Committee for Aid to Refugees and Emigrants. He was appointed executive director of the Federation of Jewish Charities, Philadelphia (1919), which became his base for many services in the labor field. He was the impartial chairman of the Men's Clothing Industry, New York City, and the Ladies' Garment Industry, Philadelphia. In the 1930s he was appointed impartial chairman of the federal Regional Labor Board. Billikopf also served as vice president of the American Association for Old Age Security, chairman of the Committee of One Hundred on Unemployment Relief, Philadelphia (1930–31), and board chairman of the New York Clothing Unemployment Fund.

[Roy Lubove]

°**BILLROTH, THEODOR** (1829–1894), Viennese surgeon and distinguished representative of the Vienna Medical School. His remarks in a work on the study of medicine in German universities, *Ueber das Lernen der medizinischen Wissenschaften an den Universitaeten der deutscher Nation* (1876; the Eng. translation (1924) tones down the vehemence of the original) gave considerable impetus to antisemitism in the Vienna Medical School. Billroth claimed that Jewish students from Eastern Europe threatened to lower the high standards of the school and recommended the imposition of a numerus clausus against them. Stating that Jews could never be Germans and never make competent physicians he introduced a racial component into early modern feelings against Jewish doctors. The book caused rioting among German nationalist students at Vienna University and a fierce controversy ensued, in which Berthold *Auerbach participated. Billroth's allegations were answered by the German naturalist Matthias Jakob Schleiden in his essay *Die Bedeutung der Juden fuer Erhaltung und Wiederbelebung der Wissenschaften im Mittelalter* (1877; *The Importance of the Jews for the Preservation of Learning in the Middle Ages*, 1911). Although Billroth later acknowledged that he had been wrong, supported the cause of his disadvantaged Jewish colleagues, and became a member of the Verein zur Abwehr des AntiSemitismus, his former agitation had succeeded in unleashing antisemitism at Vienna University.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: J.M. Efron, Medicine and the German Jews (2001), 240–43.

[Mirjam Triendl (2nd ed.)]

BILTMORE PROGRAM, declaration of policy by the World Zionist movement during World War II (May 1942), to the effect that the cause of Zionism could no longer be advanced by the existing British Mandatory regime. It urged, as the next step, that Palestine be established as a Jewish commonwealth and that the Jewish Agency replace the British Mandatory administration's authority for developing the country. The name of the program was derived from the New York Biltmore Hotel where the Extraordinary Zionist Conference was held from May 6 to May 11, 1942. Since no Zionist Congress could be convened because of the war, this conference was practically vested with the authority of a Congress. Its delegates came from every American and Canadian Zionist organization and included all available leaders from Palestine and Europe, among them the president of the World Zionist Organization Chaim *Weizmann. The main speaker was David Ben-Gurion, chairman of the Jewish Agency Executive, who went to New York specifically for the Conference. He explained that the Jews could no longer depend on the British administration to facilitate the establishment of a Jewish National Home in Palestine as promised by the *Balfour Declaration of 1917, and that unless Jewish authority were established over Palestine progress would cease. He stressed the need for immigration and settlement, maintaining that no other regime could accomplish as much in these spheres as the Jews if they were given the required authority. The Biltmore Program was the object of controversy in Zionist and non-Zionist ranks before and after its adoption as official policy by the Zionist General Council (October 1942). The opposing minority included those who objected to the idea of a Jewish state, and others who considered the demand premature and would have preferred to work for the abolition of British restrictions (contained in the White Paper of 1939) and let a Jewish majority gradually develop in the country, or who would have turned over the Mandate to the United Nations. Still others insisted that the whole of Palestine should become an independent "bi-national" Jewish and Arab state, because a Jewish state would include only part of the country. In fact, neither in the resolution itself nor in Ben-Gurion's address was there any mention of the boundaries of the proposed Jewish Commonwealth. However, the Biltmore Program was in time adopted not only by the organized Zionist movement but by nearly all Jewish organizations in America and formed the basis for the political struggle of the Zionist movement from 1943 until the establishment of the State of Israel in 1948.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: J.C. Hurewitz, *Diplomacy in the Near and Middle East*, 2 (1956), 234–5; idem, *Struggle for Palestine* (1950), chs. 10, 12; Weizmann, in: *Foreign Affairs*, 20 (Jan. 1942), 324–38; D. Ben-Gurion, in: *Tav-Shin-Gimmel* (1944), 154–65; B. Halpern, *The Idea of the Jewish State* (1969), ch. 2.

[Moshe Zvi Frank]

BILU (Heb. בִּיל״וּ, Hebrew initials of *Beit Ya'akov Lekhu ve-Nelkhah*; "House of Jacob, come ye and let us go," Isa. 2:5), an organized group of young Russian Jews who pioneered the modern return to Ereẓ Israel. Bilu was a reaction to the 1881 pogroms in southern Russia, when the ideology of Jewish nationalism began to replace that of assimilation, which was prevalent among the youth. At first not linked with any particular country, the Bilu ideology soon came to mean a return to Ereẓ Israel. One of the first Bilu'im, Ḥayyim *Hisin, testified: "The recent pogroms have violently awakened the complacent Jews from their sweet slumbers. Until now, I was uninterested in my origin. I saw myself as a faithful son of Russia, which was to me my raison d'être and the very air I breathed. Each new discovery by a Russian scientist, every classical literary work, every victory of the Russian kingdom would fill my heart with pride. I wanted to devote my whole strength to the good of my homeland, and happily to do my duty, and suddenly they come and show us the door, and openly declare that we are free to leave for the West."

The reawakening of the Jewish spirit coincided with the increasing waves of emigrants and fugitives leaving Russia as a result of the pogroms. Jewish leaders devised various solutions, one of which was settlement of Ereẓ Israel, but most of the emigrants were attracted to the United States. Although a thin stream of settlers flowed to Ereẓ Israel, anticipating the Bilu group by a few months, Bilu was the first organized group of pioneers to go there. Lacking financial resources, they desired only to work, and especially, to work the land.

Founding of Bilu

Bilu was initiated when a fast was held by the Jewish communities in Russia on Jan. 21, 1882, as a result of the pogroms. Israel Belkind, then a student, invited a group of young Kharkov Jews to his home to discuss the state of Russian Jewry. Unlike the *Am Olam Group, which was organized for the purpose of emigration to the U.S., Belkind's group decided to settle in Ereẓ Israel. It first called itself Davio, Hebrew initials for *Dabber el Benei Yisrael Ve-Yissa'u* ("Speak unto the Children of Israel that they go forward," Ex. 14:15), but later changed the name to Bilu for, according to Belkind, "instead of advising the people to go to Ereẓ Israel, we decided to go there ourselves."

Founded with only a handful of members, Bilu rapidly increased its membership to over 500 as a result of effective recruitment campaigns, though only a few were ready to leave for Ereẓ Israel. Kharkov became the Bilu headquarters, and Belkind its leader. Bilu ideology was expressed in different and even contradictory ways. Of the many statutes formulated by the group, one defined the aim as the creation of "a political center for the Jewish people," while another stated that the society pursues "an economic and national-spiritual aim" for the Jewish people "in Syria and Palestine." Ze'ev *Dubnow, a member of Bilu, wrote: "The aim of our journey is rich in plans. We want to conquer Palestine and return to the Jews the political independence stolen from them two thousand years ago. And if it is willed, it is no dream. We must establish agricultural settlements, factories, and industry. We must develop industry and put it into Jewish hands. And above all, we must give young people military training and provide them with weapons. Then will the glorious day come, as prophesied by Isaiah in his promise of the restoration of Israel. With their weapons in their hands, the Jews will declare that they are the masters of their ancient homeland."

Eventually, headquarters were moved to Odessa, from where the pioneers intended to sail. The leaders of the Jewish national movement in Russia were generally opposed to the *aliyah* of the Bilu'im and urged them not to go. Among the Bilu'im themselves two trends emerged. One advocated immediate *aliyah* to Ereẓ Israel in order to work there. The other contended that no practical settlement should be begun so long as Jews had no political guarantees from the Turks. The internal debate between the two trends in Bilu lasted for about two years, diminishing the strength of the group and hindering the first efforts of the group that went to Ereẓ Israel. At first the Bilu'im hoped to receive support from wealthy Russian Jews. Disappointed by their lack of interest, they turned to Laurence *Oliphant, then living in Constantinople and rumored to have close relations with the sultan's court. However, they discovered that Oliphant could give them no practical help, and again split into divergent groups. Some advocated continuing political activity in Constantinople to gain recognition from the Ottoman authorities, while the rest, led by Belkind, decided to go to Ereẓ Israel immediately.

In Ereẓ Israel

The first to arrive in the country was Ya'akov Shertok (father of Moshe *Sharett), who preceded the first group of 14 Bilu'im by a few weeks. The group, led by Belkind, reached Jaffa on July 6, 1882. The day after their arrival they began work at the *Mikveh Israel agricultural school where they lived in a commune, the household being run by the only woman in the group. There they underwent great hardships, as they were unused to physical labor, received meager wages, and were subject to oppression by the director of the school. However, they found a great friend in Charles *Netter, the founder of Mikveh Israel, who adopted a paternal attitude to the Bilu'im, encouraged them, and openly identified himself with their aims. With Netter's death that same year (1882), the Bilu'im were again without a patron, until Yeḥiel *Pines, a writer and public figure, came to their assistance. Elected by the Bilu'im as their leader and guide, he transferred some of them from Mikveh Israel to Jerusalem to become artisans. The Bilu group in Jerusalem called itself "Shehu" (שהו), the initial letters of *Shivat he-Ḥarash ve-ha-Masger* ("Return of the Craftsman and the Smith," cf. II Kings 24:16), and they established a carpentry and woodcraft workshop. However, the scheme eventually failed because of lack of experience, and the Jerusalem members of Bilu dispersed elsewhere in Ereẓ Israel.

In November 1882 some of the members of Bilu, under Belkind's leadership, moved to *Rishon le-Zion, working as hired laborers, sharecroppers, and manual laborers for the village council. Poor yields and difficult relationships between the settlers and hired laborers in the village were greatly disappointing, especially as the Bilu'im hoped to found their own settlement eventually. They continued their search for satisfactory work between Rishon le-Zion and Mikveh Israel. Even the Russian Ḥovevei Zion disappointed them, for they failed to provide them with the means for settlement. After a steady decline in their number abroad, the Bilu association in Russia died out. In June of 1883, about a year after *aliyah*, Bilu numbered 28 members in Ereẓ Israel, of whom 13 were at Rishon le-Zion, seven at Mikveh Israel as hired laborers, and three in Jerusalem. They met on festivals and holidays, organizing a trip on Passover of 1884, together with Eliezer *Ben-Yehuda, speaking Hebrew among themselves and singing Hebrew songs.

When the Bilu members who were in Constantinople realized that their political activities had failed, they also went to Ereẓ Israel (1884). However, their economic situation deteriorated steadily. They worked for a while as laborers at Mikveh Israel but were soon dismissed, and the director of the school even supplied them with means to emigrate to America. At the very last moment, Pines succeeded in saving them by acquiring the land of the Arab village Qaṭra in the Judean foothills, an area of 3,300 dunams (c. 800 acres). Borrowing the money, Pines sent an envoy abroad to sell the land parcels to Zionist associations, on condition that each of them hand over their parcel to the Bilu'im. The Bilu settlement of *Gederah was thus founded, and the Bilu members who had worked at Mikveh Israel and Rishon le-Zion settled there in December of 1884. Although a few Bilu'im settled in Rishon le-Zion and elsewhere, Gederah became known historically as the Bilu settlement.

An estimated total of 53 Bilu members left Russia for Ereẓ Israel during the early 1880s. Some returned to Russia or went on to the U.S., while others remained faithful to the ideal of settling Ereẓ Israel, and some of them later became leaders in the public life of the country.

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[Getzel Kressel]

BIMAH (Heb. בִּימָה; "elevated place"), platform in the synagogue on which stands the desk from which the Torah is read. Occasionally, the rabbi delivers his sermon from the *bimah*, and on Rosh Ha-Shanah the *shofar* is blown there. In Sephardi synagogues, the *ḥazzan* conducts most of the service from the *bimah*. In some Ashkenazi synagogues, the *ḥazzan* has a separate reading stand immediately in front of and facing the ark from which he conducts the service. Alternative names are *almemar* (from the Arabic *al-minbar*, "platform") or, among Sephardi Jews, *tevah* ("box"). The use of the *bimah* as a pulpit for reading the Torah in public was known as early as the times of Nehemiah (Neh. 8:4). Raised platforms were also known to have existed in the times of the Second Temple (Sot. 7:8). The Talmud mentions a wooden pulpit in the center of the synagogue of Alexandria in Egypt (Suk. 51b). In Orthodox synagogues of the Ashkenazi rite, the *bimah* is often in the center, with some intervening seats between the *bimah* and the ark (based upon the opinion of Maimonides, in Yad, Tefillah, 11: 3; Tur., OH 150, and *Rema*, OḤ 150: 5). In Sephardi and Oriental synagogues, the *bimah* is placed in the middle of the room opposite the ark and without intervening seats. The location of the *bimah* close to the western wall in Sephardi synagogues was permitted by Joseph *Caro. In his commentary *Kesef Mishneh* (to Maimonides, *loc. cit.*), he wrote: "It is not essential to place the *bimah* in the center; all depends upon the place and time." A heated dispute, however, resulted from moving the *bimah* from the center toward the ark in Liberal synagogues after the Reform movement started. The most vehement antagonists of this innovation were Moses *Sofer (*Ḥatam Sofer*, OḤ 28), and Ezekiel *Landau (*Noda bi-Yhudah*

Mahadura Tinyana, OḤ 18). Their protest led to a proclamation by 100 rabbis prohibiting worship in a synagogue that does not have the *bimah* in its center (see *Sedei Ḥemed*, Assefat Dinim, Bet ha-Keneset no. 13). Almost all modern Reform and Conservative synagogues combine the *bimah* with the ark.

Forms of the Bimah

Examples of the *bimah* surviving from early times are simple in form and built close to the ground. For instance, the *bimah* at the synagogue at Bet Alfa (sixth century) is one step high. In medieval Spain the *bimah* was a wooden platform raised high above the ground on columns. It was sometimes surmounted by a canopy and reached by an attached stairway. Until the Renaissance the *bimah*, which was placed in the center of the synagogue, had a more dominant position than the ark. In Italy from the 16th century, they were given equal emphasis by being placed at opposite sides in the center of the hall. The ark in the synagogue at Worms, Germany (1175), was placed on the central axis between the two main columns. This became the usual arrangement among Ashkenazi Jews in Central and Eastern Europe. In this area, a new form of *bimah* came into being in the late 17th century. The four central pillars which supported the vaulted ceiling of a synagogue were used as the framework of the *bimah* which thus became a roofed structure. The *bimah* assumed curved, circular, octagonal, and other forms, and was made of many materials such as stone, wood, bronze, marble, and wrought iron. In Eastern Europe from the 16th century it could be found enclosed by a wrought iron cage.

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BIMKO, FISHEL (1890–1965), Yiddish dramatist and novelist. Born in Kielce, Poland, Bimko's first realistic narrative, *Di Aveyre* ("The Transgression"), was published in 1912 and his first play, *Oyfn Breg Vaysel* ("On the Shores of the Vistula"), was staged in Lodz in 1914. Thereafter his plays were produced in the Yiddish theaters of Europe and America. Especially popular were *Ganovim* ("Thieves," 1921), a realistic play depicting the Polish-Jewish underworld, and *East Side* (1938), a naturalistic drama of Jewish life in New York, where Bimko settled in 1921. His selected dramas were published in seven volumes in 1936, and his selected narratives in three volumes in 1941 and 1947.

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[Sol Liptzin]

BIMSTEIN, "WHITEY" (**Morris**; 1897–1969), U.S. boxing trainer. One of the greatest trainers in boxing history, Bimstein worked in the corner of approximately 25 world champions, including Gene Tunney, Max Baer, Jimmy Braddock, Primo Carnera, Harry Greb, Jake LaMotta, and Jewish fighters Barney *Ross, Jackie "Kid" *Berg, Benny *Leonard, Charley Phil Rosenberg, Slapsie Maxie Rosenbloom, Ruby Goldstein, Abe Goldstein, and "Kid" Kaplan. Born on the Lower East Side of Manhattan, Bimstein dropped out of school at the age of 12 and began boxing as a 15-year-old at St. Jerome's Church in the Bronx under the name Johnny White, because he was afraid his father would get angry if he read about his son in the paper. But Bimstein's father allowed him to fight when he found out his son was making more money than he. Bimstein fought as a bantamweight and featherweight until he joined the navy in World War I. After serving in the navy, and a career of 70 professional fights, Bimstein decided to switch to corner work and became an expert cut man. Called Whitey by everyone but his family, Bimstein began a partnership in 1925 with the legendary trainer Ray *Arcel, and the two worked together for nine years, calling themselves the "Siamese Training Twins." After World War II, Bimstein paired with another legendary trainer, Freddie Brown. He worked with Tunney during his two historic fights with Jack Dempsey in 1926 and 1927, and was the corner man for four victorious world champions – Barney Ross, Lou Ambers, Harry Jeffra, and Fred Apostoli – in one night at the Polo Grounds on September 23, 1937. He was also the cut man for Rocky Marciano, closing a split on Marciano's nose during his fight with Ezzard Charles that helped Marciano retain his undefeated record. Bimstein estimated that he worked approximately 35,000 to 40,000 fights during his career, which lasted into the 1960s.

[Elli Wohlgelernter (2nd ed.)]

BI-NATIONALISM, one of the solutions to the Jewish-Arab national conflict in Ereẓ Israel offered by various Jewish individuals and groups in the period before the establishment of the State of Israel. The bi-national idea was based on the principle that since two nations – the Jews and Arabs – laid claim to the same land, which to one was Ereẓ Israel and to the other Palestine, it should not be given to one of them but should become the state of both, and that irrespective of the numerical strength of each, the relations between them should be based on equality. Some supported the idea because they temporarily or permanently lost faith in the ability of the Jewish people to establish an independent Jewish State in Ereẓ Israel, while others supported it for moral or ideological reasons. Some advocated a federal or confederal structure for the bi-national state, while others sought to avoid the partition of the country into states or cantons, and advocated bi-nationalism that was to be based on communities.

The first body to advocate bi-nationalism was *Berit Shalom, which existed from 1925 to 1933. *Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir started to advocate bi-nationalism as part of its platform in 1929, and some of its members, including Mordekhai *Bentov and Aharon Cohen, continued to support the idea until after the establishment of the State in 1948. Following the outbreak of the 1936 disturbances (or Arab Revolt) a new organization, advocating a rapprochement with the Arab population, was set up, bearing the name Kedmah Mizraḥah ("Forward to the

East"). Towards the end of its existence in 1938, the organization became associated with bi-nationalism, as Haim *Margolis-Kalvaryski became its most active member. Another group that was active in this period, and advocated an agreement with the Arabs which included certain features of bi-nationalism, was known as "the group of five." This group, which included Gad *Frumkin, Moshe *Smilansky, Pinḥas *Rutenberg, Moshe *Novomeysky, and Judah L. *Magnes, and held meetings with both Arab leaders and Zionist leaders, proposed as part of an agreement with the Arabs that would enable continued Zionist development, the establishment of a legislative council based on parity.

On the eve of World War II, all the various groups and individuals that sought a solution of the Jewish-Arab problem on the basis of bi-nationalism got together in an organization that called itself the League for Jewish-Arab Rapprochement and Cooperation. The group included former members of Berit Shalom and Kedmah Mizraḥah, leaders of Ha-Shomer ha-ẓa'ir and Po'alei Zion Semol, members of Aliyah Ḥadashah (a political group made up primarily of new immigrants from Germany), and several members of Mapai and the General Zionists B. The first act of the new group in March 1939 was to publish a pamphlet called *Al Parashat Darkenu* ("At the Crossroads"), which dealt with the Arab problem and ways of resolving it. Among the articles appearing in it were several by Martin *Buber, who had recently immigrated to Ereẓ Israel from Germany and was a supporter of bi-nationalism for moral reasons. In the course of its existence the League published various constitutional proposals for a federal state based on the idea of bi-nationalism. The adoption in May 1942 of the *Biltmore Program, which for the first time singled out the establishment of a Jewish commonwealth in Palestine as the Zionist goal, and news coming out of Europe regarding the Nazi "final solution," strengthened the resolve of the League to struggle for the only plan that it regarded as realistic. Within the League a new group was formed in August 1942, calling itself Iḥud (Unity). Iḥud opposed the idea of establishing an independent Jewish state, which it regarded as ruinous, and advocated a bi-national solution. Among the active members of this group was Judah L. Magnes, Martin Buber, Haim Margolis-Kalvaryski, Moshe Smilansky, Henrietta *Szold, and Justice Joseph Moshe *Valero. Magnes tried to get the Sephardim and Agudat Israel involved in the new organization but failed. Iḥud published a periodical called *Be'ayot* ("Problems"). At the same time Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir joined the League as an organization.

When the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry appeared in Ereẓ Israel in March 1946, the League did not appear before it, but Magnes, Buber, and Smilansky did, as representatives of Iḥud. Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir submitted a memorandum to the Committee, entitled "The Case for a Bi-National State." Both Iḥud and the League appeared before the United Nations Special Committee on Palestine (*UNSCOP). Though the members of both Committees, however, were impressed by the presentations, neither was convinced that a bi-national solution was feasible.

The adoption by the UN General Assembly of the partition plan on November 29, 1947, effectively put an end to the activities of the bi-nationalists, though Iḥud was revived in the early 1950s under the leadership of R. Binyamin, who edited its monthly *Ner* (Candle). After R. Binyamin's death, the monthly was edited by Simon Shereshevsky, until it ceased publication in 1964. Iḥud now devoted its energies to organizing discussions, searching for a solution to the Arab-Israeli conflict on the basis of compromise between Israel and the Arab states, and trying to defend the civil rights of Israel's Arab minority, which until 1966 was subject to a military administration.

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[Susan Hattis Rolef (2nd ed.)]

BINDER, ABRAHAM WOLF (1895–1966), U.S. composer. Born in New York, son and grandson of cantors, Binder became a choir director at the age of 14. In 1916 he formed the Hadassah Choral Union, and in 1917 he organized a music department, the first of its kind, at the 92nd Street YMHA in New York. In 1921 he became instructor in Jewish music at the Jewish Institute of Religion, and in 1922 music director at the Stephen Wise Free Synagogue. Here he was able to reintroduce the traditional chanting of the Bible, while keeping to the spirit of the Reform movement. In his revision of the *Union Hymnal* (1932) he also encouraged contributions by contemporary American Jewish composers. When the Jewish Institute of Religion was combined with the Hebrew Union College in New York, Binder was appointed professor of Jewish liturgical music there and helped to found its School of Sacred Music (1948). A prolific composer, he wrote synagogal services and songs, Hebrew and Yiddish songs, nine cantatas and oratorios (including *Amos on Times Square* and *The Legend of the Ari*), and piano, violin, chamber, and orchestral music. His music library and manuscripts were bequeathed to kibbutz Ein ha-Shofet.

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[Bathja Bayer]

BING, name of a number of Jewish families from the *Bingen community, which branched out in Germany, Lorraine, England, and the Netherlands. Bingen Jews are mentioned in *Frankfurt in the early and middle 15th century. Expulsions in the 16th and 17th centuries helped to disseminate the name in northeastern France and southwestern Germany; four families from Bingen settled in Frankfurt around 1530 and ten additional families named Bing settled there by the end of the 17th century. *Court Jews named Binge were active in *Hanau and elsewhere. In the late 18th century persons bearing the name were prominent in the community of *Metz. Abbé *Grégoire wrote (February 1789) to Isaiah *Beer-Bing of Nancy encouraging him to avail himself of the opportunity offered by the meeting of the General Estates "to take counsel with other members of your nation, in order to claim the rights and advantages due to citizens…." Prominent also were the physician SOLOMON, born in Bingen (1615), a pupil of Joseph Solomon *Delmedigo; JOSEPH, of Mons, who fought in 1786 for the abolition of the Jewish tax; ABRAHAM, renowned talmudist (b. 1752), Rabbi of Wuerzburg from 1798 to 1839; and ALBERT (1844–1922), Austrian ear specialist. The Danish and English Bing families are not necessarily connected with them.

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BING, ILSE (1900–1998), photographer. Born into an affluent family in Frankfurt, Germany, Bing was trained in music and art. While she pursued a doctorate in art history and photographed buildings for her dissertation, she developed a passion for photography. In early 1929 she produced picture essays for a Frankfurt newspaper, but she decided to leave for Paris that summer after seeing an exhibition of photographs by Florence Henri, an exponent of New Photography, which was characterized by tight close-ups, unusual angles and the rendering of everyday objects as abstract geometric forms. In the 1930s Bing used the newly marketed 35-millimeter Leica as an extension of her personal vision, and she mastered darkroom techniques to show the subtleties of light and movement against the treacherous streets of Paris at night. She favored overhead shots and tilted angles of German Constructivists, but her photographs were often infused with softer, more lyrical and humanistic qualities.

Like Andre Ketesz and Henri Cartier-Bresson, she caught the spare geometries in ordinary Parisian life. She photographed at night with available light and produced images that were studies of light and deep shadow. She said that as she walked through Paris with her camera, reacting intuitively to what she saw, she was unencumbered by thoughts about "making art." She became a technical innovator, improvising lenses, experimenting with cropping, and discovering the dramatic effects of solarization, which produces a black outline resulting from the controlled use of light during printing. She discovered the process by accident in the darkroom, she said. Her photographs were regularly shown in galleries in Paris in the 1930s alongside the work of other members of the photographic avant-garde. In 1936 she was included in the first modern photography exhibition held at the Louvre, and the next year she was part of the landmark photography show at the Museum of Modern Art in New York. Her best-known work from that period is a self-portrait. She photographed a mirror image of herself, one bent arm leaning against a table, a Leica on a tripod positioned in front of one eye, with a side view of herself reflected in another mirror.

When Bing visited New York in 1936 she was offered a position with the new *Life* magazine but she rejected the offer because her future husband, Konrad Wolff, a pianist and musicologist, lived in Paris. They married in 1937. Three years later, as German Jews, they were interned as enemy aliens by the Vichy government but managed to get themselves free. Later in 1940 they sailed for New York, where they remained for the rest of their lives. Bing continued to photograph, changing to the larger format Rolleiflex in 1950 and working intensively in color from 1957 to 1959. That year, she gave up photography because, she said, "everything moves, nothing stays and I should not hold on." Bing turned to poetry, creating what she called "snapshots without a camera." She also made collages with old photographs and objects, and illustrated whimsical books on etymology and on numbers. Her dealer described her as "very sharp, very funny and very active – she took up the motorcycle when she was in her 70s." For a living, she groomed dogs.

[Stewart Kampel (2nd ed.)]

BING, ISAAC BEN SAMUEL (17th century), scholar. Born in Jerusalem, he went to Europe after his sons had died in a plague, and during 1645–46 wandered from town to town in Poland. In 1646 he arranged for the printing in Lublin of the first part of the *Maggid Meisharim* of Joseph *Caro on the basis of an incomplete manuscript which he had brought with him. In 1654 he was still in Europe and, together with Elisha Ḥayyim b. Jacob Ashkenazi (father of Nathan of Gaza), who had brought the remainder of the manuscript from Jerusalem, published it in Venice (Friedberg, Eked II 546 no. 471; but see Werblowsky, p. 25 and n. 5). Bing should not be confused with the Isaac b. Baruch Bing who lived in Safed during the first quarter of the 17th century.

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[Avraham Yaari]

BINGEN, town in Rhenish Hesse, Germany. *Benjamin of Tudela (mid-12th century) heard of a community there. The Christian burghers attacked the small Jewish quarter on the Jewish New Year's Day of 1198 or 1199, and its inhabitants were then driven from the city. Jews are again found in Bingen as moneylenders in the middle of the 13th century under the jurisdiction of the archbishop of Mainz. In 1343 French Jews settled in Bingen. During the *Black Death (1348–49) the Jews in Bingen, too, suffered severely. They were later placed under the jurisdiction of the Church in order to save them from further excesses (1365). In 1405, however, the archbishop declared a moratorium on one-fifth of the debts owed to Jews by Christians, and subsequently the archbishops repeatedly extorted large sums. Noted rabbis who taught in the small community included Seligmann Oppenheim, who convened the Council of Bingen (1455–56) in an unsuccessful attempt to establish his authority over the whole of Rhineland Jewry. After the proposal was opposed by Moses *Minz, the matter was referred to Isaac *Isserlein, who rejected the project. The Jews were again expelled from Bingen in 1507, and did not return until the second half of the 16th century. There were 21 Jewish families living in Bingen in 1689, and 343 in 1754. The Jewish population numbered 465 in 1933, and 222 in 1939 in the wake of flight and emigration. The 169 Jews who remained in Bingen in 1942 were deported and only four ultimately returned. The synagogue was demolished in 1945, and the community was not reestablished after the war.

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[Zvi Avneri]

BINSWANGER, ISIDORE (1820–1890), U.S. businessman and communal leader. Binswanger was born in Wallerstein, Bavaria. He immigrated to the United States in 1841, living first in Baltimore, then in Philadelphia, and finally in Richmond, Virginia. In 1869 he became president of the Richmond Granite Company, a position he held until shortly before his death. Binswanger was chairman of the board and later president of the Hebrew Education Society in Philadelphia, and president of the board of trustees of Maimonides College. He was also active in various aid societies and helped organize relief measures in the early 1880s for Jewish immigrants from Russia. His three brothers, Lewis, Samuel, and Harry S., settled in Richmond too, where they also went into business and were active in local Jewish life.

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BINYAMINAH (Heb. בִּנְיָמִינָה), moshavah in central Israel, at the southern spur of Mt. Carmel, founded in October 1922 by the Palestine Jewish Colonization Association (PICA). The first settlers were immigrants from East Europe. Later, immigrants from Bulgaria, Georgia (U.S.S.R.), and other countries were housed in a new quarter. Naḥalat Jabotinsky, a moshav founded nearby by the *Revisionist movement in 1947, was later incorporated into the village. In 1950 Binyaminah received municipal council status. In 1968 it had 2,570 inhabitants, with its economy based on intensive farming, principally fruit plantations. Prominent among its industrial enterprises was a wine and liquor factory. In the mid-1990s the population was approximately 3,950, increasing to 6,300 by 2002 on 6 sq. mi. (16 sq. km.) of land. The location of a major railroad station in Binyaminah pushed up local housing prices and made it very attractive for people working either in Haifa or Tel Aviv. In 2003 the local municipality of Binyaminah was united with the municipality of nearby *Givat Ada. Binyaminah is named after Baron Binyamin (Edmond) de *Rothschild.

[Efraim Orni / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

BIOGRAPHIES AND AUTOBIOGRAPHIES. Apart from the Book of *Nehemiah, which may well be considered an autobiography, *Josephus' apologetic *Vita*, and *hagiographic works, autobiographies and biographies are completely unknown among Jews in ancient times. The first biography known is that of *Saadiah Gaon which was written by his two sons She'erit and *Dosa at the request of *Ḥisdai ibn Shaprut (published by J. Mann, JQR, 11 (1920/21), 423–8, and by A. Scheiber in KS, 40 (1964/65), 571).

In Medieval Hebrew Literature

The biographic genre was also unknown to medieval Hebrew literature and there is almost no writing in the field. The lack of development of this literary vehicle is rooted in two main aspects of medieval Hebrew culture. Historians and chroniclers were mainly concerned with events and not personalities as such; a person was important only insofar as he influenced or participated in a major historical event. The lives of major Jewish personalities are, therefore, outlined only briefly in Jewish historiography, and there is no full biography in the modern sense. Historiographers, who were mainly interested in the process of the transmission of the Torah, tended to list scholars and rabbis in chronological order, briefly describing the achievements of each in the field of learning, and only mentioning by the way such details as birthplace, travels, family, and death. Jewish historiography, focusing primarily on historical events, developed the art of historical description at the expense of biography.

The Influence of Hagiography on Biography

Hagiography, however, influenced the fate of biographic literature probably more than historiography. Hebrew medieval writers who concentrated on an historical figure and gave some biographic facts, usually added legendary or panegyric details and thus turned their accounts into hagiographies. Medieval Judaism viewed the actions of an outstanding personality as model behavior to serve as an exemplum. No full description of his life and personality (his faults and his virtues) was, therefore, needed. The only interest the medieval writer and reader could find in the story of a great personage was in the moral to be drawn from his actions and his character. This ethical and didactic approach, driven to the extreme, rendered almost all Hebrew writings about major personalities into heroic legends and not authentic biographies. The cycle of stories about such figures as Abraham *Ibn Ezra, *Naḥmanides, *Rashi, *Judah b. Samuel he-Ḥasid, Isaac *Luria, *Israel b. Eliezer Ba'al Shem Tov, and many others are legendary hagiographies, having little direct historical data and giving a partial portraiture of the protagonist. Historians like Abraham *Ibn Daud, author of *Sefer ha-Kabbalah*, only briefly mention the sages and scholars who transmitted the Torah. When he dwells on actual personalities, like the scholars in "The Four Captives," his description is purely hagiographic. The same is true of Gedaliah *Ibn Yaḥya and many others, including the first Hebrew medieval chronologist, *Sherira Gaon. Personal accounts sometimes formed polemic material in a religious conflict, e.g., the biography of Anan, the founder of the Karaite sect. Sherira describes him as a frustrated, ambitious, evil man; the Karaites wrote hagiographies to extol his deeds. Biographic elements are scattered throughout Hebrew epistolary, hagiography, and historiography, but as a literary form, biography came into its own only in modern Hebrew literature. An exception to this, however, is the biographical introduction to the *Ma'yenei ha-Yeshu'ah* of Isaac *Abrabanel by Baruch Uzziel b. Baruch Forti (Ḥazketto) in 1551. The author probably gleaned Abrabanel's autobiographical fragments from his introductions to commentaries to Joshua, Kings, and Deuteronomy, and from his responsa to Saul Kohen. *Ahimaaz b. Paltiel wrote his *Megillat Yuḥasin* in the middle of the 11th century on the history of his family.

Historiography Written as Personal Experience

The autobiographic genre was a more apt vehicle of literary expression than the biography in the Middle Ages. This was mainly due to the intrinsic nature of the art itself. The need for self-scrutiny (the characteristic of autobiography) has greater impetus than the biographic sketches of authors. Medieval and Renaissance writings, letters, introductions to books, apologies, and personal diaries contain autobiographic elements and sketches much more than biographic elements. In these works, however, the writer also focused on the historical event and the part he had played in it rather than on his own personal life. Maimonides, describing his life in his letters, gives an account of his daily working schedule and of certain aspects of his life. Azariah dei *Rossi, in the introduction to his *Me'or Einayim* (Mantua, 1574), describes the Ferrara earthquake of 1570 which he witnessed and which in part was the stimulus of the book.

Legendary Autobiography

Since the early Middle Ages, another aspect of autobiography was known in Jewish writings: the legendary autobiography. *Eldad ha-Dani, the first writer of this autobiographic form (appeared in Babylonia in the late ninth century), claimed to be a member of the tribe of Dan. In his work, he describes the life of the Ten Lost Tribes in detail. This, however, forms only part of his whole account, much of which is devoted to his various adventures in faraway lands among strange peoples. This narration is typical of imaginary or legendary autobiography.

The thread of this literary expression was picked up centuries later by a much more accomplished autobiographer, David ha-*Reuveni. In a detailed autobiography he describes his birthplace in the lands of the Ten Lost Tribes, his numerous adventures on his way to Italy and especially in Palestine, and his political and diplomatic efforts to organize an army to conquer Palestine. He even includes in his work a detailed expense account, listing his expenditures at every step of his travels. His autobiography is, in fact, an apology: he blames various treacherous friends for the failure of his venture.

Another autobiography, also an apology, is *Gei Ḥizzayon* by Abraham *Jagel (16th century). It is an imaginative vision of the afterworld containing autobiographical elements. Jagel, in prison, relates his life story and how he came to be imprisoned, to his dead father who appears to him in a dream and takes him on a trip to the various heavenly spheres. This autobiography is probably the first to be written in Hebrew by a minor writer about a comparatively trivial life. The focus is not on any major historical event, nor on the author's participation in a noteworthy adventure. Jagel used the autobiographic form to express his misery and to complain about the injustice done to him. Due to its concentration on the personal. *Gei Ḥizzayon* may be described as the first autobiography to be written in Hebrew. Earlier works belong more to the field of historiography which were written as personal experience.

Modena's Hayyei Yehudah

Probably the most representative work of the genre and literally the best-developed autobiography written in Hebrew during the Middle Ages is *Ḥayyei Yehudah* ("The Life of Judah"), by Leone (Judah Aryeh) *Modena. In short passages and sometimes long stories, Modena describes in detail a 20-year span in his life. The sincere revelation of the inner self in Modena's account has not been equaled by any Hebrew writer until modern times. He candidly describes his addiction to card-playing, which repeatedly threw him into debt and obliged him to use any means and choose any work to earn enough to cover them. He depicts in detail the tragic fate of his three sons: one was killed in an unsuccessful alchemic experiment, the second, in a street fight, and the third left Italy after being condemned to row in the galleys without his father ever learning of his whereabouts. His various illnesses, those of his wife and of his relatives, are discussed in detail, as well as his dreams, his visions, and his astrological beliefs. A profound cynical skepticism can be discerned in his writings. Modena's work may also be seen as an apology: the apology of a man who saw himself as a failure in every way (history today contradicts this judgment). He blamed the stars for the tragedies he had suffered and the misfortunes which befell him. Probably his belief in astrological determinism psychologically allowed him to lay bare unashamedly the different facets of his character (of which he was far from proud).

Other Autobiographic Elements and Sketches

In line with Modena's work, almost full autobiographies can be reconstructed from the letters of R. Moses Ḥayyim *Luzzatto, and from the letters of other writers. Some autobiographic elements and sketches are to be found in ḥasidic literature where various rabbis sincerely describe their own spiritual development, e.g., R. *Naḥman of Bratslav. In kabbalistic literature, another type of autobiography is to be found: kabbalists describing their visions and the development of their mystical insight. The most noteworthy among these are the visions of Solomon *Molcho which, together with some actual autobiographical passages, form a full spiritual autobiography in the modern sense (Abraham b. Joseph Rothenburg, *Ḥayyat Kaneh, Ḥazon Shelomo Molkho*, ed. by A.S. Aescoly, 1938). Such elements are found also in *Maggid Meisharim*, R.

Joseph *Caro's diary on his heavenly revelations, and in other writings of kabbalists.

[Joseph Dan]

Memoirs and Introductions

Memoirs, from those of Glueckel of *Hameln of the 17th century to the diary of Anne *Frank, may be termed "unconscious autobiographies" which were not intended for publication. The valuable autobiographical material, which was sometimes included in the introduction to halakhic works, is the nearest approach to autobiographies of the rabbis. Notable among them are Isaac *Abrabanel's introductions to his biblical commentaries, and those which were produced under the stress of two great catastrophes which overtook European Jewry, the expulsion from Spain in 1492 and the *Chmielnicki massacres of 1648. Prominent among those who described their sufferings in the expulsion from Spain was the author Isaac *Caro (see H.H. Ben-Sasson, in *Zion*, 26 no. 2 (1961), 23–64). Shabbetai b. Meir ha-Kohen and Moses b. Abraham *Mat of Przemysl (in *Matteh Moshe*) are among those who described the period of the Chmielnicki massacres.

Modern Times

With the dawn of emancipation and enlightenment, real biographies began to make their appearance. Among the first of these was Isaac *Euchel's *Toledot Rambaman* on Moses Mendelssohn. Ezekiel *Feivel's *Toledot Adam* on Solomon Zalman b. Isaac of Volozhin (1801), and Moses Kunitz's *Beit Rabbi* on Judah ha-Nasi (1805). Dov Ber *Birkenthal of Bolechow wrote his *Zikhroynes*, an important source for material on Jews of Galicia in the 18th century (Heb., Eng., Yid., 1922). Solomon Maimon's autobiography (1792) was revolutionary in more than one sense and evoked the approval of such literary giants as Goethe and Schiller. The autobiography of L. *Bendavid (1804) also belongs here. The scholarly impulse given by the movement for Wissenschaft des Judentums and the related Haskalah in Eastern Europe prompted men like L. *Zunz and S.J. *Rapoport to write biographical sketches of the great Jewish scholars of the past, whose lives – as distinct from their scholarly work – had remained obscure. Zunz wrote a "Life of Rashi," a task that was later taken up by Maurice Liber and Eliezer Meir Lipschuetz. Rapoport published a series of biographical sketches (*Toledot Gedolim*) covering Eleazar Kallir, Saadiah Gaon, *Hananel b. Ḥushi'el, Nissim b. Jacob, and others. Since then, biographies or lengthy monographs have been written about many of the significant figures in Jewish history and literature. Some, like Louis Finkelstein's *Akiba*, have been major studies, as is the two-volume work in history on *The House of Nasi* by Cecil Roth (*Dona Gracia, The Duke of Naxos*), while Louis *Ginzberg wrote a series of penetrating biographical studies of famous scholars. In recent years some biographies of ḥasidic rabbis, who were previously described in a distinctly hagiographic character, have been written on a rational and scientific basis, an example of which is *The Zaddik* on *Jacob Joseph of Polonnoye, by S.H. Dresner. The list is too numerous to be given, but mention may be made of what may be called biographical anthologies. Israel Kamelhar has written biographies of all the great figures of medieval German Ḥasidim. The *Sarei ha-Me'ah* on the rabbis of the 19th century by Rabbi J.L. *Fishman, though sometimes uncritical, is a treasurehouse of biographical material. Much biographical material from prominent Jewish characters of the 18th–20th centuries is contained in the last three volumes of "The Jewish Library" series, edited by Leo Jung (vol. 6, *Jewish Leaders 1750–1940*, 1953; vol. 7, *Guardians of Our Heritage*, 1958; vol. 8, *Men of Spirit*, 1964). Naturally the general vogue of compiling biographies of contemporary Jewish figures after their decease is as marked among Jews as in general literature, but it contains no specific Jewish aspect. From the end of the last century autobiographies have become more common. Mention may be made of those of Isaac Hirsch Weiss, J.L. Gordon, Ḥ.N. Bialik, Chaim Weizmann, Cyrus Adler, and Nahum Goldmann. H. Ribalow has published an anthology of autobiographies of American Jews (1965). Other collections have included Leo W. *Schwarz's *Memoirs of my People* (1943) and H. Bach's *Juedische Memoiren aus drei Jahrhunderten* (1936).

Yiddish Life-Writing

With the exception of a few pre-modern Yiddish memoirs, most notably the memoirs of Glueckel of Hameln (1689–1719; publ. as *Zikhroynes*, 1896), Yiddish life-writing has developed since the 1860s, beginning with fictional autobiographies Sholem Yankev *Abramovitsh's *Dos Kleyne Mentshele* ("The Little Man," 1864) and Yitskhok Yoel Linetsky's *Dos Poylishe Yingl* ("The Polish Lad," 1867). The first biographical entries on Yiddish writers appeared in Nahum Sokolov's *Sefer Zikkaron le-Sofrei Yisrael ha-Ḥayyim Itanu ka-Yom* ("A Memoir Book of Contemporary Jewish Writers," 1889), and *Sholem Aleichem presented biographical entries on Yiddish writers in his *Di Yidishe Folks-Bibliotek* ("The Yiddish Folk Library," 1888). While the first Yiddish literary autobiography was Sholem Yankev Abramovitsh's *Shloyme Reb Khayims* ("Shloyme, Hayim's Son," 1894–1914, first part in Hebrew, *Petikhta*, later reworked in Yiddish), the two other classical Yiddish writers, Sholem Aleichem (*Funem Yarid*, "From the Fair," 1913–16) and I.L. *Peretz (*Mayne Zikhroynes*, "My Memoirs," 1913–16), also wrote autobiographical novels.

In addition to literary autobiography, other subgenres emerged in the 20th century. Yekhezkel Kotik's *Mayne Zikhroynes* ("My Memoirs," 1913) exemplifies the rich subgenre of Yiddish ethnographic memoir, while the memoirs of Jewish political leaders and party members, cultural leaders, actors, painters, and other artists also appeared. A rich subgenre also developed in the *poeme* or long narrative poem, e.g. Menakhem Boreysho's *Der Geyer. Kapitln fun a Lebn* ("The Walker: Chapters from a Life," 1943). A particularly rich subgenre is the Holocaust memoir, originally crafted as testimony and eyewitness account to the era's unspeakable crimes, exemplified in Mark Turkov's 176-volume series, *Dos Poylishe Yidntum* ("Polish Jewry," Buenos Aires 1946–66), which includes Elie *Wiesel's *Un di Velt hot Geshvign* ("And the World Was Silent," 1955, later reworked in French, *La Nuit*, and English *Night*).

The outstanding examples of Yiddish life-writing are Jacob *Glatstein's autobiographical novels *Ven Yash iz Geforn* ("When Yash Set Out," 1938) and *Ven Yash iz Gekumen* ("When Yash Arrived," 1940); Jonah *Rosenfeld's *Eyner Aleyn* ("All Alone"); Y.Y. *Trunk's seven-volume *Poyln: Zikhroynes un Bilder* ("Poland: Memoirs and Pictures," 1944–53); I.J. *Singer, *Fun a Velt Vos iz Nishto Mer* ("From a World That is No More," 1946): Dovid *Bergelson's *Bam Dnyepr* ("On the Dnieper," 1932, 1940); and I.B. *Singer's rich and diverse œuvre. More recent examples include Joseph Buloff's *Fun Altn Markplats* ("From the Old Marketplace," 1995) and Boris Sandler's *Lamedvovnikes fun Mayn Zikorn* ("Lamedvovniks from My Memory," serialized in *Forverts*, 2005).

While Yiddish women writers have produced few major novels, some, in addition to Glueckel of Hameln, have excelled as autobiographers: e.g., Bella *Chagall's *Brenendike Likht* ("Burning Lights," 1945) and Ester Singer *Kreitman's *Sheydim-Tants* ("Demon's Dance," 1936; published as *Deborah*, 1983). One of the greatest achievements of modern Yiddish literature, Yiddish life-writing differs significantly from the genre in mainstream literatures: the Yiddish writer tends to reject the model of self-revelation that has characterized the genre since Rousseau's *Confessions* (1781) and instead elaborates on his life in entertaining, often humorous ways that depicts "a world that is no more."

[Jan Schwarz (2nd ed.)]

Biographical Lexicons

Although much biographical material about Jews can be found in the medieval Jewish chronicles, the first lexicon of Jewish biographies did not appear till the end of the 18th century. S. Shunami's *Bibliography of Jewish Bibliographies* (1965; supplement 1975) contains sections on biographical dictionaries of Jews in general (nos. 2594–2661), of Jews in Zionism (nos. 1872–76), Jews in America (nos. 2172–83), Jews in the Holocaust (nos. 2539–44), Jews in Palestine and Israel (nos. 2017–27, 2057–66a), as well as on biographical literature (nos. 2662–67). The following is a list of dictionaries of the history of the lives of individual Jews:

GENERAL JEWISH BIOGRAPHICAL LEXICONS

S. Wininger, *Grosse juedische National-Biographie* (7 vols., 1925–36), the most comprehensive work of this kind;

Juedischer Plutarch; oder biographisches Lexikon der markantesten Maenner und Frauen juedischer Abkunft (2 vols., 1848);

Juedisches Athenaeum. Galerie beruehmter Maenner juedischer Abstammung und juedischen Glaubens (1851), limited to the 19th century;

H.S. Morais, *Eminent Israelites of the Nineteenth Century* (1880), 100 biographies, mainly of rabbis and community leaders, but also of some Jews prominent in public life;

A. Kohut, *Beruehmte israelitische Maenner und Frauen in der Kulturgeschichte der Menschheit* (2 vols., 1901), classified by professions, such as writers, composers, etc.

R. Heuer (ed.), *Lexicon deutsch-juedischer Autoren*, 11 vols. (1992–2002).

RABBIS AND TALMUDISTS

J. Heilprin, *Shemot Ba'alei Meḥabberim* (1769);

Ḥ.J.D. Azulai, *Shem ha-Gedolim* (2 vols., 1774–86, reprinted and revised several times, latest edition 1967);

H.J. Michael, *Or ha-Ḥayyim* (1891, reprint 1965). The author, who died in 1846, left incomplete a bio-bibliographical work including over 1,200 entries, covering the same ground as Azulai, but with more modern scientific tools. The work also had the benefit of being edited by the great scholar Leopold Zunz;

A. Hyman, *Toledot Tanna'im ve-Amora'im* (2 vols., 1964^2), sages of the Talmud;

M. *Margaliot, *Enẓiklopedyah le-Ḥakhmei ha-Talmud ve-ha Ge'onim* (2 vols., 1945–46), sages of the Talmud and the *geonim*; idem, *Enẓiklopedyah le-Toledot Gedolei Yisrael* (4 vols., 1945–50), Jewish scholars from the 9th to the 18th centuries;

S.J. Fuenn, *Keneset Yisrael* (1886), scholars from the geonic period up to the present; incomplete, ending with the Hebrew letter *Yod*;

Abraham Stern, *Meliẓei Esh* (3 vols., 1930–38; 1962^2), medieval and modern rabbis and scholars;

A. Walden, *Sefer Shem ha-Gedolim he-Ḥadash* (1865), continuation of Azulai (see above);

B. Eisenstadt, *Dorot ha-Aḥaronim* (vol. 1, 1913–15; vol. 2, 1937–41), rabbis of the recent past;

I. Lewin, *Elleh Ezkerah* (6 vols., 1956–65), rabbis and scholars who perished during World War II;

S. Federbusch, *Ḥokhmat Yisrael be-Ma'arav Eiropah* (3 vols., 1958–65). Vol. 3 also deals with East European scholars.

MEDIEVAL SPAIN

A. Sáenz-Badillos and J. Targarona, *Diccionario de Autores Judíos (Sefarad. Siglos x–xv)* (1988);

M. Orfali, *Biblioteca de Autores Lógicos HispanoJudíos* (Siglos XI–XV) (1997).

ḤASIDIM

Y. Raphael, *Sefer ha-Ḥasidut* (1955^2).

MODERN HEBREW WRITERS

G. Kressel, *Leksikon ha-Sifrut ha-Ivrit be-Dorot ha-Aḥaronim* (2 vols., 1965–67);

W. Zeitlin, *Kirjath Sepher, Bibliotheca hebraica post-Mendelssohniana* (1891–99).

YIDDISH WRITERS

Z. Rejzen, *Leksikon fun der Yidisher Literatur, Prese un Filologye* (4 vols., 1926–30);

Leksikon fun der Nayer Yidisher Literatur (8 vols., 1956–81), ed. by Saul Raskin.

E.E. Lifschutz, *Bibliography of American and Canadian Jewish Memoirs and Autobiographies* (1970);

National Yiddish Book Center list: "BI, Biography, Autobiography, Memoirs" (approx. 850 titles).

YIDDISH THEATER

Z. Zylbercweig, *Leksikon fun Yidishn Teater* (6 vols., 1931–69).

ZIONISTS

S.L. Zitron, *Leksikon Ẓiyyoni* (1924).

AUSTRO-HUNGARY

M. Fruehling, *Biographisches Handbuch der in der k.k. oesterreichisch-ungarischen Armee aktiv gedienten Offiziere juedischen Stammes* (1911), on Jewish officers in Austria-Hungary.

GERMANY

S. Osborne, *Germany and Her Jews* (1939);

E.G. Lowenthal, *Bewaehrung im Untergang* (1966^{2}), German Jews who perished during World War II;

E. Duckesz, *Ḥakhmei AHW* (1908), religious leaders of Altona, Hamburg, and Wandsbek; with German summary.

ITALY

M. Mortara, *Indice alfabetico dei rabbini e scrittori israeliti in Italia* (1886).

PALESTINE AND ISRAEL

D. Tidhar, *Enẓiklopedyah le-Ḥaluẓei ha-Yishuv u-Vonav* (18 vols., 1947–67, in progress), for 19th and 20th century; a combination of national biography and current Who's Who.

POLAND AND RUSSIA

S. Buber, *Anshei Shem* (1895), lay and rabbinic leaders in Lemberg (Lvov) from 1500–1900;

P. Kaplan, *Byalistoker Leksikon; Biografyes fun Byalistoker Yidishe Perzenlekhkeyten* (1935), for Bialystok.

UNITED STATES

J.R. Rosenbloom, *A Biographical Dictionary of Early American Jews, Colonial Times Through 1800* (1960).

CONTEMPORARIES

Who's Who in World Jewry (1955, 1965, 1972, 1978).

World Jewish Register (1955–56), same material as in *Who's Who in World Jewry* (1955), arranged by professions.

Rabbis and Scholars

B. Eisenstadt, *Dor, Rabbanav ve-Soferav* (6 vols., 1895–1903). Volume 5 is devoted exclusively to the United States;

S.N. Gottlieb, *Oholei Shem* (1912), mainly for Eastern Europe.

Israel

Sefer ha-Ishim (1937) and *Palestine Personalia* (1947);

Who's Who in Israel (1945/46–1967/68), title of first edition: *The Near and Middle East Who's Who*, published almost every year;

Ishim be-Yisrael (1960, 1966), personalities in Israel.

United States

J. Pfeffer, *Distinguished Jews of America* (1917–18). Volume two was also published separately under the titles: *Eminent Jews of America* and *Prominent Jews of America; Who's Who in American Jewry* (1925, 1926, 1928, 1938/39);

Biographical Encyclopedia of American Jews (1935);

American Jews, Their Lives and Achievements (1947, 1958);

Israel Honorarium (5 vols., 1968). Volumes 2–5 contain biographical sketches of American Jews.

M.D. Sherman, *Orthodox Judaism in America: A Biographical Dictionary and Sourcebook* (1996);

P.S. Nadell, *Conservative Judaism in America: A Biographical Dictionary and Sourcebook* (1988);

K.M. Olitzky, L.J. Sussman, and M.H. Stern, *Reform Judaism in America: A Biographical Dictionary and Sourcebook* (1993);

P. Hyman and D.D. Moore, *Jewish Women in America: An Historical Encyclopedia* (1997)

[Theodore Wiener]

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BIRAM, ARTHUR (Yiẓḥak; 1878–1967), Hebrew educator. Biram, who was born in Bischofswerda, Germany, attended Berlin University and the *Hochschule fuer die Wissenschaft des Judentums in Berlin. From 1909 to 1913 he taught classics in German high schools. An early member of the Zionist movement, he went to Ereẓ Israel in 1914 and was appointed by the Zionist Executive principal of the Reali High School in Haifa. After serving with the German Army in Palestine during World War I, Biram became in 1918 deputy principal of the Hebrew Teachers' College in Jerusalem. He returned to Haifa in 1920 and again became principal of the Reali High School, where he also taught Bible, until 1948. During his tenure, the school was enlarged and its activities diversified. In 1937 he initiated the paramilitary training program of high school pupils, called *Ḥagam* (abbreviation for *Ḥinnukh Gufani Murḥav*, i.e., "extended physical education"), later renamed *Gadna. In 1943 he established and headed a teachers' seminary at the Reali High School and, in 1953, initiated the establishment of a military academy there. He wrote the three-volume *Divrei Yemei Yisrael bi-Zeman ha-Mikra be-Misgeret Toledot ha-Mizraḥ* ("History of Israel in Biblical Times in the Context of Near Eastern History," 1962–64), based mainly on his own method of teaching the Bible. For Biram the training of pupils toward fulfilling their duties as citizens, and the inculcation of discipline, order, and precision, were educational principles which could determine the fate of the nation. He devoted special attention to physical education, military training, and scouting. Under his direction, the course of studies at the Reali High School consisted of six years of primary and six years of secondary education, the latter being divided into two stages, permitting specialization in the senior grades. Some of Biram's reforms were later incorporated into the educational system of the country. Biram received the Israel Prize for Education in 1954.

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[Joseph Bentwich]

BIRAN, AVRAHAM (1909–), archaeologist and diplomat. Born in Petaḥ Tikvah, of a third generation Ereẓ Israel family, Biran received his education at the Reali Secondary School in Haifa and at the David Yellin College in Bet ha-Kerem, Jerusalem. He obtained his M.A. and Ph.D. from Johns Hopkins University in Baltimore, where he studied with William Foxwell *Albright.

From 1935 to 1937 he participated in various archaeological excavations with the University of Pennsylvania in Iraq and with the American Schools of Oriental Research near Irbid in Jordan. He also accompanied Nelson *Glueck on his discoveries along the Gulf of Elath, and in Palestine directed the excavations of the birthplace of the prophet Jeremiah in Anathoth (1935).

In 1937, Biran was appointed District Officer of the Palestine Mandatory Government for the area of the Jezreel Valley. During this period he carried out an archaeological survey of the area. Transferring to Jerusalem in 1945, he became District Officer of the Mandatory Government for Jerusalem. He served as liaison between the United Nations representatives and the Jewish military authorities during the fighting before the 1948 Declaration of Independence.

Biran held a variety of positions with the government of Israel, initially as administrative assistant to Dov *Joseph, the military governor of Jerusalem, becoming governor of Jerusalem for several months. From 1949 to 1958 he was Israel Consul-General in Los Angeles and in 1958 was the director of the Armistice Affairs in the Foreign Ministry.

Returning to archaeology, Biran took up the position of director of antiquities and museums of Israel and in 1974 became director of the Nelson Glueck School of Biblical Archaeology of the Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion in Jerusalem. In this capacity he directed the excavation of the Israelite sites of Ira and Aroer in the Negev; the ancient synagogue of Yesud ha-Ma'alah; and the longest ongoing excavations in Israel, at Tel Dan. These last excavations revealed a city founded in the 6th millennium B.C.E.; massive fortifications of the 2nd millennium, including a unique triple-arched gate of the 18th century B.C.E. still standing as originally built; a 14th-century B.C.E. tomb with Mycenean imports; evidence for the first settlement of the tribe of Dan, their installations for metal work; the Israelite sanctuary where *Jeroboam had set the golden calf, the religious center of northern Israel with its high place, chambers, altars; a royal scepter; and a dedicatory inscription in Greek and Aramaic – "To the God who is in Dan." Biran was chairman of the Israel Exploration Society from 1978 (in 1999 he was named its president), the Government Names Committee, and the International Committee of Museums and Sites (Israel) of UNESCO. In 2002 he was awarded the Israel Prize.

[Elaine Hoter]

BIRANIT (Heb. בִּירָנִית; "small fortress"), kibbutz in Israel, on the Lebanese border. Biranit was planned as the large rural center of a group of settlements including Zarit, Netu'ah, Shetulah, and Yakinton, in the framework of the Central Galilee Development Project inaugurated in 1963. Its nucleus was established on Dec. 1, 1964, by a Naḥal group affiliated with Ha-Kibbutz ha-Me'uḥad. The center's initial tasks consisted of land reclamation, afforestation, and restoration of ancient woodlands, planting of fruit orchards, road building, and other development work. In the course of time the settlement was abandoned, the site becoming a military camp.

[Efraim Orni]

BIRIYYAH (**Berai**) (Heb. בֵּרָי; בִּירִיָּה), in the talmudic period an important Jewish town in Upper Galilee, 1 mi. (1½ km.) N. of Safed. After Safed's importance decreased in the first century C.E. as an outcome of the Jewish war against Rome, Biriyyah took over its role as a regional center and became an important place of learning. Both in the Jerusalem and Babylonian Talmuds (Er. 45a, Git. 34a, TJ Meg. 2:3, 73b et al.) six sages who were residents of Biriyyah are mentioned. The Talmud also relates several episodes from the life of "Benei Berai," i.e., Biriyyah's inhabitants. In Biriyyah, R. Abba Sha'ul, one of the important sages of the Mishnah, is assumedly buried together with his wife, a fact mentioned by a number of travelers as late as 1876. According to kabbalist tradition, the tomb of Benaiah son of Jehoiada, one of the commanders of King David, is also to be found near Biriyyah. The *genizah* literature testifies that Jews lived at Biriyyah also between the 11th and 13th centuries C.E., and it is possible that their descendants continued to be inhabitants of the village until the 16th century, when Biriyyah entered a new phase of ascendancy as many Jews expelled from Spain settled in Safed and its vicinity. It was then that Joseph *Caro completed at Biriyyah the first part of the *Shulḥan Arukh on the 2nd of Elul 5315 (1555 C.E.). The local Jews of that time were farmers and tradesmen, as were the Jewish inhabitants of neighboring villages. At the beginning of the 17th century, there were no longer any Jews living at Biriyyah, but the local synagogue existed until the 18th century, serving the Jewish community of Safed in case of need; its keys were kept by local Arabs who showed great reverence for the synagogue.

After the 1837 earthquake that destroyed Safed, a Hebrew printing press was temporarily brought to Biriyyah before being transferred to Jerusalem. It was the site of an Arab village Bīryā. In January 1945 a group from *Bnei Akiva founded a kibbutz on top of Mt. Biriyyah at an elevation of 3,135 ft. (1950 m.) above sea level, working principally on land reclamation. On March 5, 1946, British Mandatory authorities carried out an arms search and, after discovering weapons, arrested the settlers and occupied the village. Ten days later 3,000 youths went up the mountain, set up a tent camp near the village, and started clearing stones. The British moved up strong military forces and drove the settlers away, but they returned the following night, setting up a new camp. The whole *yishuv* supported the settlers, and the British gave in, first permitting the camp to remain, then releasing the imprisoned settlers, and finally (June 7, 1946) evacuating the village buildings. In September 1948, a new religious kibbutz took over the site and was replaced in 1949 by a moshav founded by immigrants from Tripolitania (Libya). The moshav supported some hill farming, but most of its inhabitants worked in Safed and elsewhere. In the mid-1990s the population was approximately 550, rising to 771 in 2002. A large forest (with nearly 6 million trees in 1968) was planted on Mt. Biriyyah.

[Efraim Orni]

BIRK, YEHUDITH (1926–), Israeli biochemist. Birk was born in Grajewo, Poland, and immigrated to Ereẓ Israel in 1935. She received her M.Sc. in biochemistry and microbiology from the Hebrew University of Jerusalem (1950). Her studies were interrupted by service in the Israel Defense Forces during the War of Independence. In 1954 she received her Ph.D. in nutritional biochemistry at the Hebrew University's Faculty of Agriculture in Reḥovot. After a postdoctoral fellowship at Rutgers University, New Jersey, with Nobel Laureate Selman *Waksman, she returned to the Faculty of Agriculture in 1957, where she became professor and first incumbent of the Karl Bach Chair in Agricultural Biochemistry from 1970.

Birk was the founding director of the School of Nutritional Sciences at the Hebrew University (1972–74) and subsequently professor emeritus. Her world-renowned research concerns the biochemical and nutritional properties of legume seed proteins. With Donald Bowman she identified and characterized a protease inhibitor in legume seeds, the Bowman-Birk Inhibitor (BBI), which protects against contaminating insects and also has anti-cancer properties. Her honors include the Rothschild Prize in agricultural research (1978), election to the Israel Academy of Sciences (1993), and the Israel Prize in agricultural research (1998). She was elected to the European Academy of Sciences and Art in 2004 and was the 2004 awardee of the International Women's Forum (IWF), for "women who make a difference." She made major contributions to developing higher education at all levels in Israel and her academic appointments included dean of the Faculty of Agriculture (1977–80) and pro-rector and acting rector of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem (1990–95). She wrote more than 150 scientific articles and chapters in books and in 2003 published *Plant Protease Inhibitors: Significance in Nutrition, Plant Protection Cancer Prevention and Genetic Engineering.*

[Bracha Rager (2nd ed.)]

BIRKAT HA-MINIM (Heb. בִּרְכַּת הַמִּינִים, "benediction concerning heretics"), the twelfth benediction of the weekday *Amidah* (the *Shmoneh Esreh* prayer). The benediction belongs to the latter part of the *Amidah* petitions, which beseech the redemption of the people of Israel. Worded more like an imprecation (see *Tanḥuma* [Buber ed.], *Vayikra* 3), in its invocation of divine wrath against internal enemies to Jewish integrity and against external enemies of the Jewish people, it differs from the other petitions.

Birkat ha-Minim is also distinguished from the other *Amidah* benedictions by the fact that it was appended after the formulation and fixing of the *Amidah* text. The tradition of its secondary addition at Jabneh is shared by TJ (Ber. 4:3, 8a) and TB, which attributes its formulation to Samuel ha-Katan at the explicit request of the Nasi, Rabban Gamliel (Ber. 28b). Scholarly opinion is divided, however, with regard to the precise understanding of this process. One view holds that the tradition reflected by TB (ibid.) should be accepted literally; accordingly *Birkat ha-Minim* was formulated at Jabneh and added to the already existing eighteen benedictions (see Fleischer), upping the number to nineteen. Accepted in this nineteen-benediction form in the early Babylonian rite, it was subsequently transmitted from this rite to all prayer books up to the present. Others contend (see Heinemann) that Rabban Gamliel's request simply concerned the updating of an already existing benediction among the eighteen – whose content spoke out in general against separatists (see T. Ber. 3:25) – to incorporate explicit mention of the *minim*. This also explains why the versions of the *Amidah* in the Palestinian rite number only eighteen benedictions, inclusive of *Birkat ha-Minim*. The proponents of this view submit that the nineteen-benediction form of the *Amidah* in the Babylonian rite reflects a Babylonian custom of splitting the petition for the building of Jerusalem and for the coming of the Davidic messiah into two separate benedictions. In Palestine, both subjects were combined in a single benediction regarding Jerusalem.

Its exceptional importance in Christian-Jewish relations from the first century C.E. to the present has focused intense scholarly attention on this benediction. The relatively crystallized wording of the benediction in the extant early *siddurim* (ninth to twelfth centuries) makes it likely that the text preserved there closely resembles its original formulation. We find the following wording in a Palestinian siddur from the Cairo Genizah:

> For the apostates let there be no hope. And let the arrogant government be speedily uprooted in our days. Let the *noẓerim* and the *minim* be destroyed in a moment. And let them be blotted out of the Book of Life and not be inscribed together with the righteous. Blessed art thou, O Lord, who humblest the arrogant" (Schechter).

This was also the version commonly used in the Babylonian rite, in which the penultimate sentence, "And let them be blotted out," was replaced by a petition to cut off all enemies, "may all the enemies of your people and their opponents be speedily cut off." Other variants reflect a longer, more elaborated request for obliteration of enemies. The language of the benediction clearly demonstrates that it was directed, not at non-Jews in general, but rather specifically aimed against external persecutors of the Jews and against Jewish separatists who posed a danger to Judaism's internal cohesion. Nonetheless, as early as the first centuries C.E. we find church fathers voicing the claim that the Jews curse the Christians in their prayers. Such contentions, alongside censorship of *siddurim*, wrought significant changes in the wording of the benediction during the Middle Ages. Also contributing to this modificatory process were shifts in the social environment of the Jews and in their worldview. Without exception, the word *noẓerim* was expunged from all Jewish prayer rites, and in many, substitutions were made for *minim* (heretics) and *meshummadim* (apostates), as in the accepted opening in the Ashkenazi rite: "may the slanderers (*malshinim*) have no hope." Some Reform prayer books omit this benediction entirely.

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[Uri Ehrlich(2nd ed.)]

BIRKAT HA-TORAH (Heb. בִּרְכַּת הַתּוֹרָה), the blessing over the Law. The study of the Law was always regarded as a foremost religious duty and hence had to be preceded by a formula of benediction. This requirement applies both to the liturgical reading of the Torah and to ordinary study. Various formulas are given in the Talmud (Ber. 11a–b) in the name of several rabbis and all have been integrated into the traditional liturgy. These benedictions were instituted in talmudic times based upon Deuteronomy 32:3 (see TJ, Meg. 4:1, 74d) and by *a fortiori* inference from the duty to recite Grace after Meals (TJ, Ber. 7:11a; TJ, Meg. loc. cit.). Three blessings over the Law are pronounced at the beginning of the daily morning prayer. The first praises God for granting Israel the privilege and the duty of studying Torah; the second is a prayer that the study of Torah may be pleasant and that it should be cultivated by one's offspring and the whole house of Israel; the third is identical to the benediction recited before the Reading of the Law in the synagogue service: "Who has chosen us from all nations and hast given us Thy Law." They are followed by selections from Scripture (Num. 6:24–27), the Mishnah (Pe'ah 1:1) and the Talmud (Shab. 127a), recited in symbolic fulfillment of the duty to study Torah. Jacob b. Asher interpreted the words "Torah of truth" to refer to the written Torah, and the words "everlasting life" to refer to the oral tradition. These benedictions contain 40 words, said to symbolize the 40 days Moses spent on Mount Sinai (Tur OH 139). The benedictions over the Law have uniform wording in all modern rituals, including that of Reform Judaism. Only the Reconstructionist trend, which repudiates the notion of the election of Israel, has changed the wording of the middle part of the benediction to read "who hast brought us close to Thy service" instead of "who hast chosen us."

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BIRKENTHAL (Brezhover), DOV BER (Ber of Bolechow; 1723–1805), Hebrew writer and memoirist. Born in Bolechow, Birkenthal adopted a German name in accordance with the decree of Joseph II in 1772, when the city passed from Polish to Austrian rule. He received a traditional Jewish education, but his father, who was a wine dealer and had contact with Polish and Hungarian nobles and priests, agreed to engage a non-Jewish tutor – an unusual step for the time – who taught him Polish, Latin, German, and French. Birkenthal took over his father's business and became the leader of the Bolechow community. In the debate with the followers of Jacob *Frank, which was held in the main church of Lemberg in 1759, Birkenthal served as interpreter and adviser to R. Ḥayyim b. Simḥah ha-Kohen Rapoport, the chief rabbi of Lemberg. His main literary work, *Imrei Binah*, is a study of false-Messiah movements in Jewish history, and the debate with the Frankists occupies a central position in it. The work was discovered in 1910, long after his death, and published by A.J. Brawer in *Ha-Shilo'aḥ* (vols. 33 and 38). A manuscript of his memoirs was discovered in Jews' College, London, in 1912 and was published – with introduction – in 1922 in Berlin by M. Wischnitzer. It was published in Yiddish (*Ber Bolekhovers Zikhroynes*) and in English translation (*The Memoirs of Ber of Bolechow*) in the same year. These two works contain valuable information for the study of Jewish history in Galicia in the 18th century, not only for the Frankist movement but also for the history of the Council of the Lands, the Jewish census in Poland (1764), and for Jewish economic history of that period.

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[Abraham J. Brawer]

BIRMINGHAM, city in Alabama, U.S. The city grew from the intersection of two railroads in 1871, and the discovery of all ingredients necessary to make steel within a short radius. Jews were among the first settlers, but Jewish communal life did not begin to develop until 1882 when Birmingham had a population of 3,086. That year, Temple Emanu-El was formed. The Reform congregation was led in the 1890s by Samuel Ullman, who served on the board of education and pushed for the establishment of the state's first black high school. A poem Ullman wrote later in life, "Youth," was a favorite of General Douglas MacArthur's and has become a cultural mainstay in Japan. Ullman's Birmingham home is now a museum.

Morris *Newfield, who served as rabbi of Temple Emanu-El from 1895 to 1940, was president of the Central Conference of American Rabbis and an acknowledged civic and cultural leader.

An influx of East Europeans arrived from 1900 to 1920. Most of the immigrants had a poor command of English and were impoverished, but quickly found their way in the "Magic City." In 1892, an Orthodox congregation was established, Knesseth Israel, followed by Temple Beth-El in 1906, formed by KI members who wanted mixed seating. In 1926, Beth-El followed Emanu-El as the Jewish population shifted from the Northside to the city's Southside.

Jewish merchants started most of Birmingham's department stores, and Jews entered many other phases of civic life. In the financial panic of 1893, the Steiner brothers of Steiner Bank kept the city from going bankrupt.

After 1920 several important changes took place in the Jewish community. Antisemitism became more pronounced as the Ku Klux Klan gained strength, there was a sharper division between the generations, and there was an increased pace at which Jews moved from their old neighborhoods in the Northside. There was also the beginning of a united, local Jewish community, despite the continuance of a sharp division between the German Jews and the East European Jews. KI and the YMHA were the last to leave the old Northside, in the 1950s. The YMHA had been built in the 1920s with substantial non-Jewish support.

Since Jews were frozen out of local country clubs, they established the Hillcrest in 1883 for German Jews, and the Fairmont in 1920, for East European Jews. They merged in 1969, forming the Pine Tree Country Club, which opened its membership to non-Jews in 1991.

There were many strong Zionists in Birmingham in the 1940s. Rabbi Milton Grafman, who served Emanu-El from 1941 to 1975, broke with much of the Reform movement to support a Jewish state, and for a time anti-Zionist Reform Jews established their own congregation. The aftermath of the Holocaust, the establishment of Israel, and the emerging hostilities of the civil rights struggle began to eliminate the division between Birmingham's Jews.

A bomb with enough dynamite to level a city block was discovered outside Temple Beth-El in 1958. It had malfunctioned just short of detonation. White supremacists also threatened numerous local Jews who spoke out on behalf of civil rights, and much anti-integration material was overtly antisemitic. Many local Jews therefore worked behind the scenes to resolve the crisis, including the effort to change the city's form of government in 1963. The Jewish merchants were caught in the middle, between black customers using their only leverage through boycotts and white city officials who employed boycotts and legal intimidation. Local Jews resented the presence of northern Jews in the civil rights movement, who came down south for what was seen as grandstanding. In the decades that followed, there were numerous ongoing interfaith and interracial dialogues and groups.

The YMHA moved from downtown in 1958 and became the Levite Jewish Community Center. It underwent a major expansion in 1993 and now houses the N.E. Miles Jewish Day School, established in 1973, Collat Jewish Family Services, and the Birmingham Jewish Federation and Foundation. Half of the LJCC's membership is non-Jewish.

In the 1990s, Beth-El and Emanu-El underwent major expansions, a Chabad Center was established, and KI planned to build anew in 2005.

In 2005, the Jewish population of Birmingham was approximately 5,300 in a metro area of 1 million.

[Lawrence Brook (2nd ed.)]

BIRMINGHAM, city in England. The Jewish community there is believed to have come into existence around 1730. The early Jewish settlers included peddlers who used Birmingham as a base. The first known Birmingham glass furnace was set up by Meyer Oppenheim (or Opnaim) in or about 1760. In 1783 a synagogue existed in "The Froggery." A new synagogue, constructed in Severn Street in 1809, was wrecked in the riots of 1813 along with the Nonconformist chapels but was rebuilt and enlarged in 1827. Internecine strife at this period resulted in the formation of a second congregation, but the two groups united to build the Singers Hill Synagogue, consecrated in 1856, and still in use. There were then about 700 Jews in Birmingham. The Jewish community included jewelers, merchants, and manufacturers. In the 20th century Jews were leading figures in property development and in the entertainment world. On the other hand, immigration from Eastern Europe affected Birmingham less than other large cities. Rabbis of the community included M.J. *Raphall (1841–49) and George J. Emanuel (1863–1911), succeeded by Abraham *Cohen (1913–49). To serve the East European Jews who settled in Birmingham a *bet midrash* was opened in 1901, which later became the Central Synagogue. The Hebrew Philanthropic Society, established in 1838, and the Board of Guardians, in 1870, were consolidated in 1926 in the Birmingham United Jewish Benevolent Board. The Birmingham Jewish Representative Council was established in 1937. About 500 German Jewish refugees settled in Birmingham in the late 1930s. Jews have played a prominent part in the civic and business life of Birmingham. Sir David Davis served as lord mayor in 1922 and 1923, as did Louis Glass in 1963–64. Birmingham, whose Jewish population numbered approximately 6,300 in 1967, had the lowest percentage of Jews of any great city in England. By the mid-1990s the Jewish population had dropped to approximately 3,000, while the 2001 British census, which asked an optional question about the religious affiliation of respondents for the first time, found 2,340 declared Jews in Birmingham, although the actual figure was probably still about 3,000. In 2004, Birmingam had two Orthodox synagogues and a Reform temple, a **sheḥitah* board, and other local institutions.

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[Sefton D. Temkin]

BIRNBAUM, ABRAHAM BAER (1864–1922), cantor and composer. Birnbaum, who was born in Pultusk, Poland, was regarded as an *illui* ("prodigy") in Talmud. He studied the violin in Lodz with Ḥayyim H. Janowski, founder of the Ha-Zamir choral society. At the age 19, he accepted a position as cantor in Hethar, Hungary, but in due course returned to Poland as chief cantor in Czestochowa. His *Hallel ve-Zimrah*, consisting of Sabbath eve melodies arranged for choir and organ, was published in 1897. His main work, which much enriched synagogue music, *Ommanut ha-Ḥazzanut*, was a treatment of liturgical music for cantor and choir, written in two parts (1908, 1912). He composed a "Romance for Violin and Piano" and set to music poems of Bialik, Frischmann, Yaakov Cohen, and Frug. Birnbaum's activities included publishing, and he brought out four numbers of *Yarḥon ha-Ḥazzanim* ("Cantors' Monthly") in 1897, textbooks on music, in Yiddish and Hebrew, written for the cantorial school he opened at Czestochowa (1907) and for the Lodz teachers' seminary. He organized the conference of cantors held in Warsaw for the purpose of founding the Aguddat ha-Ḥazzanim ("Cantorial Association"). His musical collection is in the Hebrew Union College Library, Cincinnati.

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[Joshua Leib Ne'eman]

BIRNBAUM, EDUARD (**Asher Anshel**; 1855–1920), German cantor and one of the early research workers in Jewish music. Born in Cracow, he spent three years in Vienna studying *ḥazzanut* with Solomon *Sulzer. In 1872 he was appointed assistant cantor of the Magdeburg community. Two years later he became chief cantor of Beuthen, where his duties allowed him to travel to other cities and meet cantors and scholars. He started to collect printed and manuscript music, literature and documents, which became source material for his research and led directly to his critical essay on the *Baal T'fillah* of Abraham *Baer (*Das juedische Literaturblatt*, nos. 24 and 27, 1878). In 1879, Birnbaum succeeded Ẓvi Hirsch Weintraub as chief cantor of Koenigsberg and held this position till his death. Many young cantors came to study with him and some were stimulated to undertake research. He conducted educational work among cantors and teachers by means of lectures and the publication of printed material (*Liturgische Uebungen*, 2 vols., 1900, 1912). He also composed liturgical works, some of which were published after his death (*Aseh le-Ma'an, Ha-Melekh, Kedushah, Lekhah Dodi* in the supplements of *Der juedische Kantor*, 1927–31). Birnbaum's most important achievements were his writings and the "Birnbaum collection", subsequently acquired by the Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati. These contain his thematic catalogue of synagogal melodies, comprising about 7,000 cards, and his collection of references to music in rabbinic texts.

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[Haim Bar-Dayan]

BIRNBAUM, MENACHEM (1893–1944), Austrian portraitist and graphic artist, son of Nathan and Rosa *Birnbaum; brother of philologist Solomon Asher *Birnbaum and the poet Uriel *Birnbaum. Born in Vienna, Birnbaum had limited contact with art teachers and thus trained himself as an autodidact. He moved to Berlin in 1911. In 1912 Menachem Birnbaum was art editor of the Yiddish monthly *Der Ashmeday*, and in 1919 became art editor and contributor to *Der Schlemiel*. In 1920 he published a volume of his drawings, *Chad Gadjo*, which made him famous. He was appointed art director of two important Jewish publishing houses, Juedischer Verlag and Welt-Verlag and designed book covers and illustrations. With the advent of the Nazis (1933) he fled to Holland where he continued to draw portraits. In 1937 he published a small book with caricatures, *Menachem Birnbaum zeigt Karikaturen*, in The Hague. Caught by the Nazis in 1943, he perished in Auschwitz concentration camp. Menachem Birnbaum did not join his father, Nathan, in turning to traditional Judaism but always kept himself aware of his Jewish identity as an individual and as an artist.

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[Sonja Beyer (2nd ed.)]

BIRNBAUM, NATHAN (1864–1937), writer (early pen name: **Mathias Acher**), philosopher, one of the originators of Zionist ideology, later a leader of religious Judaism. Born in Vienna of parents of Galician and Hungarian origin, his rabbinical ancestry can be traced back to the Middle Ages. At school he became estranged from observant Judaism. He did not, however, follow the assimilationist path of that period, but conceived the idea that the Jews were an ethnic entity, a people, and propagated his ideas among his schoolmates. In his first year at the Vienna university studying law he founded, together with Reuben *Bierer and Moritz *Schnirer, Kadimah, the first Jewish nationalist students' organization (1882) with the aim of criticizing assimilation and setting up a Jewish nationalist consciousness. In 1884 his first publication appeared, a pamphlet called *Die Assimilationssucht, Ein Wort an die sogenannten Deutschen, Slaven, Magyaren etc. mosaischer Confession von einem Studenten juedischer Nationalitaet*. In 1885 he founded and edited the first Jewish nationalist journal in German, *Selbstemanzipation* (later entitled *Juedische Volkszeitung*), where he coined the terms "Zionist" and "Zionism." The policy and name of the journal came from Leo *Pinsker's pamphlet "*Autoemanzipation*." Birnbaum was, during the decade 1885–1895, "the most distinguished intellectual personality in Jewish national circles in Austria and Germany" (Bein). In 1893 he published *Die nationale Wiedergeburt des juedischen Volkes als Mittel zur Loesung der Judenfrage, Ein Appell an die Guten und Edlen aller Nationen*, a summing up of his first Zionist phase. He now gradually passed to a cultural conception of Zionism, as evidenced by his publication *Die juedische Moderne* (1896) and his official address, *Zionism as a Cultural Movement*, at the First Zionist Congress (1897).

After a short period of service as chief secretary of the central Zionist office run by *Herzl, ideological disagreements broke out between the two. After the Second Zionist Congress (1898) Birnbaum made a fundamental turn in his political thinking: He became a spokesman for "diaspora nationalism," publishing articles in which he severely criticized Herzl's "diplomatism," the "inorganic" nature of the Zionist movement, and the Zionist "negation of the Diaspora," its culture and language (Yiddish). He gradually withdrew from Zionism, affirming that "Israel comes before Zion," i.e., that the striving for Erez Israel must not entail neglect of the Jewish People itself. His concept was now that of an interterritorial nation, comprising and integrating all existing Jewish groups which had a cultural life of their own. The most important group in his eyes was the Yiddish-speaking one in Eastern Europe. The political aspect of these ideas found expression in a demand for the cultural autonomy of the Jews, in conformity with the autonomy principle for the various peoples of the Austro-Hungarian Empire which was then gaining ground. One of its cornerstones was language. In the case of the Jews this was Yiddish. Birnbaum set about working for its recognition as a language in its own right and an important cultural value, mainly through articles in his weekly *Neue Zeitung* (1906–1907). He learned Yiddish himself and used it as a literary medium. In 1907 he ran in Buczacz, Galicia, for the Austrian Reichsrat as a Jewish Nationalist but was fraudulently defeated by the Polish candidate. In 1908, while on a visit to America, he proposed that a world conference on behalf of Yiddish should be called. This took place in Czernowitz in 1908 with the participation of the leading Yiddish writers. A resolution was passed there declaring Yiddish to be a (not the) national language of the Jewish people. From 1908 to 1911 Birnbaum lived in Czernowitz, publishing the newspapers *Dos Folk* and *Vokhen-Blat*.

Birnbaum's acquaintance with East European Jewry was now deepening and he "arrived at the religious core of the nation." His basic attitude underwent another fundamental change. The atheism of his materialist philosophy as well as his secular nationalism were gradually replaced by the conviction that the vocation and destiny of the Jewish People was a religious one. Finally, "God entered into his consciousness." The turning point seems to have been an intimate religious experience in 1908. He later wrote that he had not "sought" God but that God had "sought" him. During the next few years before World War I his writings and lectures dealt with problems of religion. He gradually accepted the Jewish tradition and way of life, and finally joined the ranks of religious Jewry as a practicing Jew. However, he did not feel satisfied with the state of affairs he met with there. He maintained that religious Jewry was not making a serious attempt at fulfilling its world mission as an exemplary people living on the basis of God's Word. He outlined a program toward effecting a change. Those things in the environments, occupations and habits of the Jews which were barring the way to spiritual advancement must be altered. The highest authority of the Jewish nation was to be vested in a body of Guardians of the Faith. The first step would be the founding of a small community of "Those Who (want to) Ascend" (Ḥever Olim), who would act as a nucleus, and for whom he laid down a scheme for disciplined living. These ideas were embodied in *Et La'asot* ("The Time Has Come for Action") and *Divrei ha-Olim* ("The Words of Those Who (want to) Ascend," both in 1917, Heb. and Yid.). He repudiated his own former "pagan-Jewish" life in *Gottes Volk* (1917), with further editions in 1918 and 1921 (translated into English under the title *Confession*, 1946). In *Vom Freigeist zum Glaeubigen* (1919) he described his spiritual development. Upon the refounding of the *Agudat Israel World Organization (1919) he became its first general secretary. At that time, after the war, revolution, and pogroms in Eastern Europe, he devoted much effort to the problem of emigration and endeavored to enlist general Jewish cooperation toward regulating on a big scale what amounted to an unorganized, panic mass flight. His book *Im Dienste der Verheissung* (1927) contains a critical analysis of the "activism" of the Orthodox as a grafting of fashionable ideologies onto an organism that was inherently of a different nature and suggested to the "activists" a more fruitful field – the gigantic task of creating the necessary material preconditions toward effecting a metamorphosis. Nearness to God can only result from a complete inner transformation of the masses through their sociological restratification in favor of a life based mainly on agriculture, and this is to be achieved by the large-scale colonization of sparsely populated or practically uninhabited territories. The anarchy in the life of the Jewish community can be remedied by the establishment not of an interterritorial, state-like organization but of an interterritorial "All Israel Congregation," under authoritative spiritual leadership. The next publication devoted to these ideas was the journal *Der Aufstieg* (1930–1933), many of whose pages were written by himself.

At the advent of Hitler (1933) he left Berlin where he had lived most of the time since 1911, and settled in the Hague-Scheveningen, where he published a journal *Der Ruf* (1934–1937). A series of articles were republished in a booklet, *Rufe* (1936), published in Antwerp, his "testament to the Jewish People." "The great ideal is to create the new Jew, based in the Torah, near to nature and to God, creative, harmonious, happy." There are three books of selections from his writings: from his secular period the important collection, *Ausgewaehlte Schriften zur juedischen Frage* (2 vols, 1910), from his early religious phase, *Um die Ewigkeit* (1920) and from the later one, *Et La'asot* (1938, in Yid.). His son, Solomon *Birnbaum edited a short selection of his religious works, *The Bridge* (1956). His other sons were Menachem *Birnbaum and Uriel *Birnbaum.

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BIRNBAUM, PHILIP (1904–1988), U.S. author and translator. Birnbaum was born in Zamowiec, Poland, and immigrated to the United States in 1923. He attended Howard College and completed a Ph.D. degree at Dropsie College. In 1942, he published his dissertation, a critical, scientific edition of the Arabic commentary of the Karaite Yefet Ben Ali, on the Book of Hosea. Birnbaum's edition of Yefet Ben Ali's work was edited from eight manuscripts and included an English language introduction, a translation into Hebrew of the Arabic original, and critical notes on the text.

But Birnbaum's talent and lasting contribution was in popularizing Jewish law and custom, and in translating synagogue liturgy. His popular works included *A Treasury of Judaism* (1957), *A Book of Jewish Concepts* (1975), *The Concise Jewish Bible* (1977), and a selection of the Maimonides Code, the *Mishneh Torah* (1944, 1967), with Hebrew and English translation. Birnbaum was widely known and respected for his fine translation and annotation of synagogue liturgy. His editions of liturgy for daily prayer, Sabbath, festivals, and the High Holidays became immensely popular, selling an estimated 300,000 copies. The Hebrew Publishing Company described him, at his death, as "the most obscure bestselling author."

Birnbaum was a regular columnist and book reviewer for the Hebrew-language weekly, *Hadoar*. He also served on the board of directors of the Histadrut Ivrit b'America, an American association for the promotion of Hebrew language and culture. He also served for many years (1943–63) as principal of a Jewish day school in Wilmington, Delaware, and directed Jewish schools in Birmingham, Alabama, and Camden, New Jersey.

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[Moshe Sherman (2nd ed.)]

BIRNBAUM, SOLOMON ASHER (1891–1989), Yiddish philologist and Hebrew paleographer. Birnbaum was born in Vienna, the son of Nathan *Birnbaum, and is the father of Jacob Birnbaum, a key initiator of the U.S. Soviet Jewry Movement. After World War I service, he specialized in Oriental languages. Appointed lecturer in Yiddish at Hamburg University (1922), he was the first in any university to hold a teaching post for Yiddish. He emigrated to England (1933) and then to Toronto (1970). He taught Hebrew paleography at London University's School of Oriental and African studies (1936-57) and Yiddish at the School of Slavonic and East European Studies (1939-58).

Birnbaum wrote over 150 major articles on Yiddish, other Jewish languages, and Hebrew paleography, in German, Yiddish, and later mostly in English. He wrote *Praktische Grammatik der jiddeschen Sprache* (1918, 1966^2, 1979^3, 1984^4), the first fully systematic Yiddish grammar, *Die Yiddische Sprache* (1974, 1986^2), and *Yiddish, A Survey and a Grammar* (1979), as well as *Life and Sayings of the Baal Shem* (1933). His *Hebrew Scripts* (part 2, 1954-57, part 1, 1972), the first comprehensive work on Hebrew paleography with hundreds of illustrations and detailed paleographical examinations, charted the evolution of Hebrew script. He wrote *The Qumran (Dead Sea) Scrolls and Paleography* (1952). Due out in 2007 was S.A. Birnbaum, *A Lifetime of Achievement: 63 Jewish Linguistic and Paleographic Studies*, ed. C. Timm.

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BIRNBAUM, URIEL (1894–1956), poet and artist; son of Nathan *Birnbaum. Born in Vienna, he began his career as an artist and poet at a very early age as an autodidact. In 1911 the family moved to Berlin, where Uriel volunteered at the "Berliner Sezession." His graphic and literary output continued throughout World War I, even after he was severely wounded when fighting in the Austrian Army. His war experiences found expression in a volume of sonnets, *In Gottes Krieg* (1921). Like his father Nathan, Uriel returned to traditional Judaism in 1913 and his favorite subject in poetry became trust in God as the principle of human life. He chose to deal with biblical history in order to demonstrate God's relationship to man and published several portfolios and volumes of lithographs and paintings: *Welkuntergang* (1921), *Das Buch Jona*

(1921), *Das Kaiser und der Architekt* (1924), *Moses* (1924). In addition, he illustrated the German version of Lewis Carroll's *Through the Looking Glass* (1923). For Birnbaum the breakup of multinational Austria-Hungary was a catastrophe, as he had pushed himself out of contemporary discourse as a result of his pro-monarchical ideas. When Austria was occupied by Nazi Germany he was granted entry to the Netherlands upon the intervention of leading Dutch artists. Here he continued to write but gave up his graphic work for lack of artists' materials. His selection from his poetical output (*Gedichte, eine Auswahl*), appeared in 1957. Because of his uncompromising opposition to fashionable modern ideologies he became an outsider again and died underappreciated in the Netherlands. Since then there has been a revival of interest in him. *Die verschlossene Kassette. Die Legende vom gutherzigen Engel* and *Von der Seltsamkeit der Dinge*, ed. C. Schneider (incl. bibl.) were published in 1978.

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[Sonja Beyer (2nd ed.)]

BIRNBOIM, MOSES JOSEPH (1789–1831), secret agent of the czarist police and blackmailer. He started to work for the Warsaw police in 1820, in charge of about 30 servants recruited to spy on their employers, mostly persons prominent in Polish political and economic life. Later sent to Germany, he mixed in Polish student circles purporting to be an opponent of czarist absolutism to gain the students' confidence. He subsequently returned to Warsaw, using his position to blackmail Jews, exploiting the czarist anti-ḥasidic legislation, and earning the hatred of both Jews and Poles, until he himself was denounced to the police. In an effort to save himself, he apostatized and adopted the name Mateusz Józef, but was arrested in 1824 and in 1830 sentenced to ten years' imprisonment. During the Polish uprising of 1831, Birnboim, along with many traitors and others hated by the Poles, was taken from prison by Jews, brought to Franciszkańska Street in Warsaw, where most of his Jewish victims lived, and hanged from a lantern.

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BIRÓ (Blau), LAJOS (1880–1948), Hungarian author and playwright. Biró was born in Vienna. He studied in Hungary, and became a journalist working for the liberal *Budapesti Napló* and the radical *Világ*. In 1906, for political reasons, he went with his family to Berlin, but returned to Budapest in 1909. During the October Revolution of 1918, Biró was appointed secretary of state at the Foreign Ministry. However, he left Hungary and finally settled in Great Britain, where together with Sir Alexander *Korda he founded the London Film Production Company, of which he remained a director until his death. Biró's Hungarian writing covered short stories and drama. The former included *Huszonegy novella* ("Twenty-one short stories," 1908) and *Kunszállási emberek* ("People of Kunszállás," 1912), and among his plays were *Sárga liliom* ("Yellow Lily," 1912) and *Hotel Imperial* (1917). In his later years he turned to writing film scripts, of which the most famous were *The Way of All Flesh* and *The Private Life of Henry VIII*. In 1921, when living in Vienna, he published *A bazini zsidók* ("The Jews of Bazin"), a story about a blood libel in 1529, when the entire Jewish community of a village near Pressburg was tortured and burned to death. In this vivid description, Biró depicts the fate of the Jew in the Diaspora. In his essay, *A zsidók útja* (1921, "The Way of the Jews") he rejected both assimilation and Jewish nationalism, defining the Jewish question as unanswerable, but enthusiastically accepting the existence and continuity of the Jewish people.

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[Baruch Yaron]

BIROBIDZHAN, colloquial name of the district (oblast) in Russia, for which the official designation was the "Jewish Autonomous District" (*Avtonomnaya Oblast*). Part of the Khabarovsk territory (*kray*) in the former Soviet Far East, the region is located between 47° 40′–49° 20′ N. and 130° 30′–135° E. To the west, south, and southeast, it is bordered by the Amur River, the boundary between the former U.S.S.R. and Manchuria (China). Its area is 13,900 sq. mi. (36,000 sq. km.). On January 1, 1961, the estimated population of the district numbered 179,000 and that of the capital, the city of Birobidzhan, 49,000. The Jewish population of the region numbered 14,269 (8.8% of the total) in 1959; of these 83.9% lived in cities and urban settlements, while 16.1% lived in villages. The capital is located on the Bolshaya Bira River and on the Trans-Siberian Railroad which cuts through the northern sector of the territory from west to east. Its industries include farm machinery, transformers, textiles, clothing, and furniture. The climate is influenced by the prevailing monsoons and the surrounding mountains to the west and north. It improves progressively southward, the most favorable conditions prevailing in the Amur River strip in the southern part of the region. The winter is cold and dry with little snow, spring is mild, summer is hot and humid, and fall is dry and pleasant. Birobidzhan has numerous rivers and lakes abounding with fish. Most of its area is composed of heavy soils with an excess of moisture. A considerable part consists of swamps and about one-third is covered with forest. Birobidzhan has abundant mineral wealth, for the most part not commercially exploited, except for tin ores which are the basis of a large national metallurgical works, the "Khinganolovo." Grains, pulses, potatoes, vegetables, and other crops are grown. However, at the time when Jewish settlement began here, the region suffered from an almost

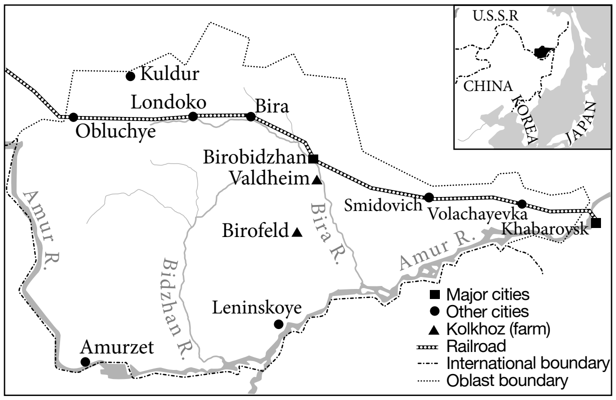

Map of the Birobidzhan region.

complete absence of roads and land suitable for agriculture, insufficient and poor living accommodations, harsh climatic conditions, "*gnus*" (local name for bloodsucking insects), and unsanitary conditions. The Soviet decision to select Birobidzhan for Jewish settlement was influenced by several factors, the decisive one being the desire to strengthen the security of the Soviet Far East, in view of its proximity to Japan and the danger of penetration by the Chinese. The settlement of Birobidzhan became of particular importance to the U.S.S.R. after the Japanese occupation of Manchuria in 1931–32. Since the Soviet government attempted in the late 1920s and early 1930s to improve its relations with the West, the Birobidzhan project could have also played a role in influencing Jewish and pro-Jewish public opinion there. The association of Jews with the settlement of Birobidzhan was also meant to obtain financial support from their conationals abroad, and thus alleviate the allocation of Soviet resources for this purpose. Moreover, such settlement seemed to provide a partial solution to the economic difficulties facing Soviet nationalities. To some of those active in the *Yevsektsiya (the Jewish Section of the Communist Party), Birobidzhan seemed to constitute an ideological alternative to the Zionist idea. The first official step toward implementation of the project was the dispatch of a scientific delegation to Birobidzhan in the summer of 1927, to investigate the feasibility of an agricultural settlement there. Its recommendations led to a resolution by the presidium of the central executive committee of the Soviet Union on March 28, 1928, to entrust Komzet (committee for settling Jews on the land) with the supervision of Jewish settlement in the region. On May 7, 1934, the "Birobidzhan county" (*rayon*), which had been established in 1930, was granted the status of the "Jewish Autonomous District" (JAD), by a decree of the central executive committee.

Jewish immigration to Birobidzhan began in April 1928 and continued at a varying rate. Colonization proceeded under most difficult conditions, especially at the beginning. The first year proved particularly difficult, with heavy rains, floods, and an outbreak of anthrax (horse disease). In the following years a comparatively large number of Jewish settlers arrived in Birobidzhan. However, the inadequate facilities and difficult climatic conditions seriously affected the rate of those who stayed there permanently. Out of prospective settlers who arrived between 1928 and 1933, more than half left. (See the table "Birobidzhan, Jewish Population.") The Birobidzhan project aroused a controversy among those active in Jewish settlement in the U.S.S.R. and among Yevsektsiya leaders. Among its critics were Mikhail (Yuri) *Larin and Abraham Bragin, both active in the Jewish settlement movement. Larin argued that other areas of the Soviet Union, especially the Crimea, were far more suitable for Jewish colonization. The Birobidzhan project found an ardent supporter in Mikhail Kalinin, the titular head of state. In a speech delivered at a congress of the society for Jewish agricultural settlement, Ozet, in 1926, before the Birobidzhan project was born, he had declared: "The Jewish people now faces the great task of preserving its nationality. For this purpose a large segment of the Jewish population must transform itself into a compact farming population, numbering at least several hundred thousand souls." In a reception given to representatives of Moscow workers and the Yiddish press in May 1934, he suggested that the creation of a Jewish territorial center in Birobidzhan would be the only way to normalize the national status of Soviet Jews. He also expressed his hope that "within a decade Birobidzhan will be the most important and probably the only bulwark of national Jewish socialist culture." and that "the transformation of the region into a republic is only a question of time." The visit of Lazar *Kaganovich, a Jew and member of the Politburo, to Birobidzhan in February 1936 greatly encouraged the Jewish leadership of the region. Birobidzhan aroused wide interest in world Jewry, especially among those who believed in Jewish *territorialism. The fact that Jewish settlement in Birobidzhan coincided with the intensification of anti-Jewish repressions in Nazi Germany also contributed to support of the idea by Jews outside the Soviet Union. Almost all sectors of the Zionist movement opposed it. Jewish organizations outside the U.S.S.R. which participated in Jewish colonization projects in the Soviet Union, such as Agro-Joint (American Jewish Joint Agricultural Corporation) and the *Jewish Colonization Association (ICA), generally took a neutral stand. The *Ort-Farband gave limited assistance to the development of industry and workshops. Those Jewish organizations abroad whose membership consisted mostly of Communists and their sympathizers supported the plan without reservation. Among the most active organizations was Icor (the American Association for Jewish Colonization in the Soviet Union), which cooperated closely with Ozet. In 1929 Icor organized a scientific delegation consisting of American specialists in agriculture and settlement to investigate the possibilities for further colonization of Birobidzhan. Ambidjan (American Committee for the Settlement of Foreign Jews in Birobidzhan) supported Jewish settlement in Birobidzhan for a short period in the mid-1930s and after World War II. Jewish organizations supporting Birobidzhan existed in Canada, Western Europe, and South America. Representatives of the Argentinian Jewish organization Procor (Society to Assist the Productivization of the Economically Ruined Jewish Masses in the Soviet Union) visited Birobidzhan in 1929. These organizations, besides holding meetings, issuing publications, and collecting money, also propagandized the colonization of Birobidzhan by Jews from abroad. Thus, about 1,400 Jewish immigrants from countries outside the Soviet Union arrived in Birobidzhan in the early 1930s, emigrating from the United States, South America, Europe, Palestine, and other places.

From the beginning of Jewish colonization in Birobidzhan, and particularly in the mid-1930s, much was done to promote the Jewish character of Birobidzhan. Jewish collective farms were established and Jewish village councils organized. Jews served in key positions of the region. Y. Levin, formerly active in the party apparatus in Belorussia and in the secretariat of Ozet, was appointed as first party secretary of the Birobidzhan district in 1930. After the establishment of the J.A.D. in 1934, another Jew, M. Khavkin, was appointed first secretary of the regional party committee. Joseph Liberberg, head of the Jewish section of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, was appointed at the same time chairman of the regional executive committee. He was one of those intellectuals, who, by settling in Birobidzhan, inspired others in their pioneering efforts. A number of resolutions were passed regarding the use of Yiddish as the official language of the region, along with Russian. Schools were established with Yiddish as the language of instruction, and experiments were made to teach Yiddish even in non-Jewish schools. Street signs, rail station signs, and postmarks appeared in both Russian and Yiddish. A Yiddish newspaper and periodicals were published. In 1934 a Jewish state theater was established. A regional library, named after Shalom Aleichem, containing a sizable collection of Judaica and Yiddish works, was founded in the city of Birobidzhan. The mid-1930s was a period of great expectations for Birobidzhan's development as a center of Jewish settlement and culture in the Soviet Union. However, the purges of 1936–38 delivered a severe blow to the developing and rather weak framework of the nascent Jewish statehood in the JAD Leading Jewish personalities of the district, such as Liberberg, were denounced as nationalists and Trotskyites, demoted from their posts, and liquidated. The purges particularly affected the immigrants from abroad. As a result, the late 1930s witnessed a shattering setback in the development of the region. Despite the optimistic plans for continuous settlement of Jews in Birobidzhan, their number was only 13,291 in 1939 (18.57% of the total population), with 10,415 (35.13% of the total) in the capital city. The Soviet annexation of the Baltic states and parts of eastern Poland and Bukovina in 1939–40 resulted in a sudden increase in the Jewish population of the U.S.S.R. During that period plans were initiated to transfer Jewish settlers from the annexed territories to Birobidzhan. However, the outbreak of the Soviet-German war in 1941 put a fast end to these plans. Although the war years did not witness any sizable increase in the Jewish population of the region, the very idea of Birobidzhan as a center for Jewish statehood in the Soviet Union received new meaning.

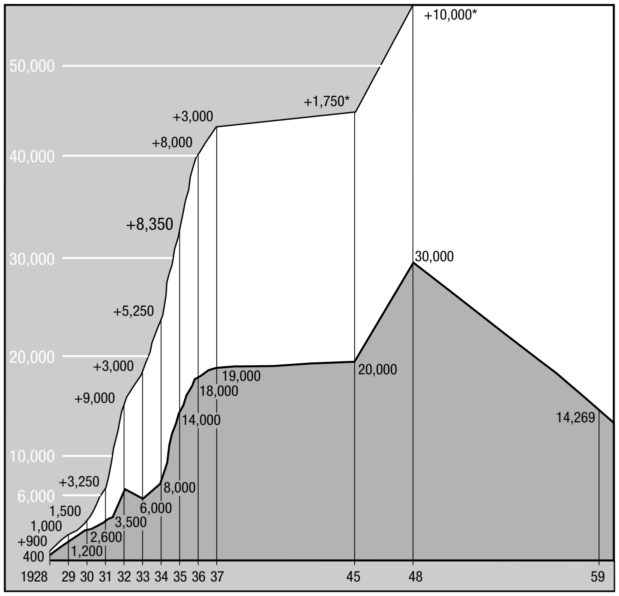

Jewish population of Birobidzhan 1928–59. The lower graph shows the total Jewish population, the upper one the immigration into the region.

The Holocaust and growth of antisemitism in the U.S.S.R. during the war resulted in revived interest in the JAD among Soviet Jews. The growth of national feelings and the difficulties faced by Soviet Jews who had fled to the East, upon their return to their prewar homes in the western parts of the U.S.S.R., caused some to turn to Birobidzhan. Moreover, since the hopes for a planned settlement of Jews in the Crimea did not materialize, Birobidzhan remained the only alternative for a compact Jewish settlement. Numerous requests for immigration to Birobidzhan were received by the JAD authorities in the postwar years, and a flow of new Jewish settlers reached the region between 1946 and 1948. Articles in the *Eynikayt*, organ of the Jewish anti-Fascist Committee, emphasized the idea of Jewish statehood in Birobidzhan. The Soviet Jewish writer *Der Nister, who accompanied a trainload of new settlers, wrote: "There are some travelers whose intentions are only materialistic, and there are others whose intentions are different, of a national character … and there are also burning enthusiasts, ready to give up everything in order to live there … and among them a former Palestinian patriot…. Although in his fifties, he hustles about during the day and is sleepless at night, hoping to see his new enterprise come true…." The short postwar migration to Birobidzhan increased the local Jewish population by one-third, and by the end of 1948 it was estimated at about 20,000, the largest ever in the district. The postwar period witnessed an increase in the number of Jews in the local administration and an intensification of Jewish cultural activities. Among local Jewish writers active in the "Soviet Writers' Association of the JAD" were Buzi Miler, Israel *Emiot, Ḥayyim Maltinski, Aaron *Vergelis, and others. Assistance from Jews abroad was permitted once again. The revival of Birobidzhan as a Jewish center came to a halt toward the end of 1948, as a result of Soviet policy to suppress Jewish activities throughout the U.S.S.R., and purge those involved. While the purges of the late 1930s mainly affected individual Jews holding official positions, those of 1948 and thereafter aimed to destroy any sort of Jewish activity in the region. Thus, most of the local Jewish writers were imprisoned, the Birobidzhan Jewish theater was closed, teaching of Yiddish in local schools was discontinued, and a great number of Yiddish books were removed from the Shalom Aleichem Library. Jewish immigration to Birobidzhan ceased, and its Jewish population shrank considerably. The post-Stalin period did not bring any substantial changes to Jewish life in Birobidzhan. Jewish inhabitants comprised less than one-tenth of the general population of the region in 1959, party and administrative positions were not generally held by Jews, and Jewish agriculture was almost nonexistent. In 1970 the Jews numbered 11,452. The sole kolkhoz with a comparatively large Jewish membership is that of Valdheim in the vicinity of the capital, but it is now only a branch of the large kolkhoz "Ilich's Wills" and its Jewish population is diminishing. Such key positions as secretary or chairman of the local party regional and district committees (the district is divided into five administrative counties) were generally not held by Jews, although in 1970 Lev Shapiro was appointed first secretary of the regional Communist Party organization. Of the five deputies to the Council of Nationalities of the U.S.S.R., only a minority was Jewish. The sole expression of Jewish cultural activity in 1970 was a two-page Yiddish newspaper, *Der Birobidzhaner Shtern*, nearly devoid of all Jewish content, which appeared three times weekly and had a circulation of 1,000. There were also a few street signs in Yiddish, and Shalom Aleichem Street remained one of the thoroughfares of the capital. There was one synagogue. All official and public business was conducted exclusively in Russian. N.S. Khrushchev, Soviet premier and first party secretary, stated in an interview for *Le Figaro*, which appeared on April 9, 1958, that "it must be admitted that if we strike a balance we would have to state that the Jewish settlement in Birobidzhan was a failure." He further put the blame for it upon the Soviet Jews, who, according to Khrushchev, never liked collective work and group discipline. It is difficult to ascribe the failure of the Birobidzhan experiment to one single cause. In the history of the Jewish people it belongs to the series of other futile attempts at planned Jewish mass settlement, based on agriculture, whose failure is often attributed to its implicit or explicit negation of the ultimate return to Zion. However, viewed in the context of Soviet Jewish reality, the immediate cause of its failure was undoubtedly the fact that twice, in 1936–37 and in 1948–49, the Stalinist purges put a brutal end to the short periods of developing autonomous Jewish life and culture in Birobidzhan. In the 1990s most remaining Jews immigrated to Israel and the West.

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[Jacob Lvavi (Babitzky) / Shimon Redlich]

BIRSTEIN, YOSSEL (1920–2003), Hebrew and Yiddish writer. Born in Poland, Birstein left his hometown at the age of 17 for Australia. During World War II he served in the Australian army and immigrated to Israel in 1950. For several years he was a member of Kibbutz Gevat, where he worked as a shepherd. He then lived in Kiryat Tivon, working in a local bank before settling in Jerusalem, where he held a position at the archives of the Hebrew University. Birstein's early prose was written in Yiddish; Gershon *Shaked in fact considers him to be the definite heir in Israel of Yiddish writer *Shalom Aleikhem. Birstein was introduced to Hebrew readers by Menahem Peri, who translated his stories from Yiddish and published all his works in his series Ha-Sifriah ha-Ḥadashah. Birstein's prose is suffused with melancholy humor, with wisdom and compassion, marked by the author's sensitive observation of people and a fine touch for minute details of everyday life. Birstein is the author of four novels and seven collections of stories. *Ha-Mutavim* ("The Collector," 1982) depicts the world of banks and the stock exchange. *Panim be-Anan* ("A Face in the Cloud," 1991) is the story of old Tishbein, trying to write about his love for a French dancer while being confronted with the fortunes of the dead crook Bitman and his wish to salvage the lost honor of Yiddish literature. The novel is an elegy to European Jewry and to a culture that was brutally destroyed. *Al Tikra Li Iyov* ("Don't Call Me Job," 1996) takes an ironic, gently humorous view of the biblical story. The strains of Job's lament can be heard even in the most mundane and fortunate lives, in that of Shlomo Shapira, who became a millionaire in Australia and later settled in Jerusalem, as well as in that of locksmith Daddon. The comic and the grotesque mark Birstein's realism. His collections of stories include *Midrakhot Ẓarot* ("On Narrow Paths," 1959), *Ketem shel Sheket* ("A Drop of Silence," 1986), *Sippurim mi-Ezor ha-Shalvah* ("Stories from the Realm of Tranquillity," 2004), and others. Several of these collections and novels have been translated into German, Chinese, and Italian. An English translation of the story "Fuchs Was Already Old" is included in M. Gluzman and N. Seidman (eds.), *Israel: A Traveler´s Literary Companion* (1996).

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[Anat Feinberg (2nd ed.)]

BIRTH. The injunction to "be fruitful and multiply" (Gen. 1:28) is regarded as the first commandment of the Bible. As a consequence of the disobedience of Eve in the Garden of Eden, the pangs of childbirth were foretold (Gen. 3:16). References to pangs of travail as the most intense of pains are very frequent in the books of the prophets (e.g., Jer. 6:24; 22:23; 49:24; 50:43; and Micah 4:9–10). Midwives assisted in the delivery (Gen. 35:17), and it seems that a birthstool, called *ovnayim*, was often used (Ex. 1:16). The Bible records the deaths of Rachel (Gen. 35:18) and the daughter-in-law of Eli (I Sam. 4:20) in childbirth. The Talmud states that Michal (II Sam. 6:23) also died during childbirth (Sanh. 21a).

Biblical law regarding birth is confined to laying down the period of ritual impurity of the mother (Lev. 12). The mother of a male child is unclean for seven days, followed by a 33-day period of impurity; these periods are doubled in the case of a female child. At the conclusion of these periods a sin-offering and burnt-offering were brought by the mother. According to the Talmud, the sin-offering is incumbent upon her because during the anguish of childbirth, she foreswears any future relations with her husband, which she later regrets (Nid. 31b).

In the Talmud and the Midrash

The sages attributed death during childbirth to neglect of the laws of family purity, failure to separate the dough-offering, and carelessness in kindling the Sabbath lights (Shab. 2:6). Viability began from the time the fetus was six months and one day old, although it was considered as a fact that an eight-month-old fetus was not viable (Tosef., Shah. 15:7; see *Abortion). However, many midrashim and later commentaries report births of a seven-month-old fetus. Thus, according to the commentaries, many of Jacob's sons were born at age seven months. Before birth, it is permissible to perform an embryotomy when the mother's life is in danger, since "her life comes before that of the child." Once the greater part of the child has been born, or his head alone has emerged from the birth canal, he is considered a living being and the mother's life no longer takes precedence (Oho. 7:6). The child is not considered viable until it is 30 days old. No death penalty is therefore incurred for killing a newborn child unless it is certain that he could otherwise have lived for 30 days (Nid. 5:3, Nid. 44b). All work necessary for the delivery of a child may be performed on the Sabbath (Shab. 18:3); if the mother dies during labor, the Sabbath must still be desecrated and all attempts made to save the unborn child (Ar. 7a).

For the purposes of birthdate and setting the time of circumcision, birth is determined by the projection of the fetus' head out of the birth canal (Nid. 42b). Midwives were considered reliable witnesses for accounting for the hour of the birth. The delivery of a child by Caesarean section was not regarded as "an opening of the womb" (Ex. 13:2), and the child had neither the privileges nor the obligations of the firstborn (Bek. 8:2).

Throughout Jewish history, male offspring were desired. However, despite differing opinions, Bet Hillel's position that the birth of a son and a daughter constituted the fulfillment to be fruitful and multiply was eventually accepted (Yev. 62a). In addition, despite contrary opinions in the Talmud, it became accepted that the injunction to be fruitful and multiply was a male and not a female responsibility.

Customs and Folklore Among Ashkenazi Jews

Most of the customs surrounding birth belong to the category of popular folklore, much of which is not specifically Jewish but was adapted from local cultural surroundings (Tosef., Shab. 6:4; Sh. Ar. YD 178). The following biblical selections were recited for a woman in labor: Psalms 20; I Samuel 1; Genesis 21:1–8 or Exodus 8:11. Precious stones and a variety of herbs were used to facilitate delivery, which was usually supervised by an experienced midwife and friends and relatives of the parturient. A magic circle was drawn with chalk or charcoal on the floor of the room to guard against evil spirits. As a good omen for easy and speedy delivery, all the ties and knots in a woman's garments were undone and in some societies all doors in the house were opened wide. If her travail was difficult, the keys of the synagogue were placed in her hand, she was girded with the band of a Torah Scroll, and prayers were recited at the graveside of pious relatives. In extreme danger, prayers were said for the parturient in the synagogue and a Torah scroll was brought to the house and was left in the corner of the birthing chamber. At times the circumference of the cemetery walls was measured and according to their length a number of candles were donated to the synagogue. Mother and child were surrounded by various charms and talismans from the moment of birth until the circumcision (see *Amulet). Most of these charms were to guard them against the female demon *Lilith and her counterparts, such as Frau Holle, and they were known by different names, such as *kimpetsetl* (from *kindbet*, "child bed" and *tsetl*, "a note"), *Shir Hamalos-Tsetl* (from *Shir ha-Ma'alot* – the Song of Degrees), and *Shmir-Tsetl* (from *shemirah*, "guarding"). They were placed above the bed of the woman and above the doorposts of the room. In medieval and early modern Germany, it was customary for the woman to keep an object made out of iron (**BARZEL** – an acronym of Bilhah, Rachel, Zilpah and Leah, Jacob's wives) with her at all times during the weeks following the birth, to protect her from evil spirits. Some of these amulets used kabbalistic names of God, especially the 42-letter name beginning with ABAG YATATZ, which is derived from the abbreviation of the prayer hymn *Anna be-Kho'aḥ*.

A popular custom until modern times, in the case of the birth of a male child, was the vigil ceremony which was performed every night. In Oriental communities it was called *taḥdid*. Friends and relatives nightly gathered at the home of the newborn to recite the *Shema in order to protect the child from demons. Schoolchildren led by their teachers also participated in this ceremony and were rewarded with apples, nuts, and sweets.

Whereas a boy is named at the circumcision, there is no evidence concerning the naming of girls until the 15th century. In early modern sources, we hear of a naming ceremony in the synagogue or at home. In Germany and Western Europe the naming took place in a home ceremony on Sabbath afternoons. Called *Hollekreisch*, the custom originated in German folklore and superstition. This custom, which was observed for boys and girls, included the lifting of the cradle and the giving of a name. For boys, this was a non-Jewish name, a *shem ḥol*, whereas for girls, this was the only naming ceremony. This ritual took place on the afternoon of the Sabbath when the parturient left her home for the first time, about a month after the birth. During the 16th and 17th centuries, in some communities, it became a customary to name girls in the synagogue when the father was called to the reading of the Torah. This custom is still commonly found today. More recently, many families in Israel and the Diaspora have adapted the Sephardi custom of having a special ceremony, often called *Zeved ha-Bat* or *Simḥat Bat*, at which the girl is named.

[Elisheva Baumgarten (2nd ed.)]

Middle Eastern Customs

Among the methods utilized to protect the mother and infant from evil spirits – particularly *Broshah*, the female demon who steals newborn children – was the hanging of a *hamsikah*, an *amulet in the shape of the palm of the hand with fingers, or a seven-branched candelabrum. Amulets containing biblical verses were also used, and it was customary to place sweetmeats under the bed so that the evil spirits would be occupied with eating them. In Salonika it was customary to leave the doors of the house and all its cupboards open during pregnancy to ensure that the mother would not miscarry. It was also customary to measure a string seven times around the grave of a renowned rabbi and then bind it around the stomach of the pregnant woman to ensure an easy pregnancy. The mother and her relatives also prayed at the graves of pious men in the fifth month of her pregnancy. To ensure that the child would be a male, the mother pronounced the intended name of a boy every Friday. She was guarded for 15 days after birth, and blue beads or pieces of ivory and coral were hung above the cradle of the child. Garlic and other plants were hung in the room, and an open hand was painted on the door. An attempt was made to keep the mother awake for the first three days after birth to prevent Lilith from harming her. In Yemen, a festive meal, at which the name was given, was held on the third day. In Kurdistan the mother was not allowed to leave the house after nightfall for 40 days. Since delivery usually takes place now in modern hospitals, most of these traditional customs at childbirth have tended to disappear, particularly since they were primarily based on medieval superstitious folklore. Naming a daughter at the synagogue, however, has been retained in traditional, Conservative, and Reform Jewish practice.

Contemporary Developments in Birth Rituals for Girls

The Jewish feminist movement that began in the 1970s encouraged the development of ceremonies to publicly sanctify the entry of Jewish baby girls into the covenant. By the beginning of the 21st century, public welcomes for baby girls had become normative in American Judaism. Numerous versions of *Brit Bat* (the covenant of a daughter) or *Simḥat Bat* (the joy of a daughter) rituals were available for home and synagogue use by parents and rabbis from all Jewish religious movements. Some of the ceremonies made use of symbols such as candles (*brit ha-nerot*). Although ceremonies for baby girls are most often held in synagogues during services where the Torah is read, many are now conducted at home like those that accompany circumcisions. In Israel the ceremony or party celebrating the birth of a daughter is sometimes called *brita* (a feminization of the word for covenant).

Simḥat bat ceremonies may include a formal welcome by those present as the baby girl is carried in; spelling the child's Hebrew name out with biblical verses; bestowing the priestly benediction and traditional Friday night daughter's blessing; a naming prayer including both father's and mother's names in that of the daughter; explaining the rationale for the name; an expression of thanks for return to good health by the mother (*birkat ha-gomel*); a series of short blessings including the one over wine and sometimes in the format of the seven benedictions (*sheva brakhot*) of the traditional Jewish wedding ceremony; and special added benedictions to the grace after meals after the festive meal (*se'udah shel mitzvah*) which follows the ritual. Often, booklets are printed and distributed which announce the name and provide a "script" for the ceremony so that all present may participate. These manuals serve as vehicles for innovation and as educational tools to enable assimilated Jews and the growing number of non-Jews who attend Jewish life cycle rituals to understand and follow what is going on before them.

Another evolving aspect of contemporary rituals connected with birth is the inclusion of the mother in ceremonies for sons and daughters. Until the last quarter of the 20th century mothers were often absent from the ceremonies for their sons and the naming of their daughters in the synagogue. Today, in some circles the family waits to name the daughter until the mother is able to be present. She may have a Torah honor in the synagogue and recite the prayer for a safe recovery. Both boys and girls may be named as the children of both mother and father. At a circumcision, the mother as well as the father may be in the room and say the prescribed benedictions.

[Rela Mintz Geffen (2nd ed.)]

See also *Circumcision.

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BIRTH CONTROL. Jewish tradition ascribed the practice of birth control to the depraved humanity before Noah (Gen. R. 23:2, 4; Rashi to Gen. 4:19, 23). The sole explicit reference in the Bible to what may be considered as some form of birth control occurs in Genesis 38:9–10: the Lord punished Onan by death because he had "spilled his seed on the ground" to prevent the birth of a child from the *levirate marriage to his deceased brother's wife Tamar. On the strength of this passage, and as constituting a deliberate violation of the first commandment to "be fruitful and multiply" (Gen. 1:28), the Talmud sternly inveighs against "bringing forth the seed in vain," considering it a cardinal sin (Nid. 13a). Legislation on contraception proper is to be found in a talmudic passage which permits (or requires, according to another view) the use of a contraceptive tampon by minor, pregnant, or lactating women, to prevent any danger to their own or their offspring's life resulting from a conception under those circumstances (Yev. 12b). A permissive ruling extended to women, but not to men, also allows for the use of a "cup of roots" or "potion of sterility" (Tosef., Yev. 8:4), probably some oral contraceptive known to the ancients, which was to produce temporary or in certain dosages even permanent sterility. While the medieval codes strangely omit any reference to physical birth control devices, they codify the permissive ruling on the oral sterilizing agent (Sh. Ar., EH, 5:12). It is in the rabbinic responsa, especially those of the past 200 years, that the attitude of Jewish law to birth control is defined and discussed in great detail. The many hundreds of rulings recorded in these responsa consider urgent medical reasons as the only valid justification for certain contraceptive precautions. Jewish law regards such decisions as capital judgments and it would, therefore, insist on dealing with each case on its individual merits and on the evidence of competent medical opinion. Where some grave hazard to the mother, however remote, is feared, as a result of pregnancy, the rabbinic attitude is usually quite liberal, all the more readily if the commandment of procreation (which technically requires having a son and a daughter) has already been fulfilled. Under no circumstances, however, does Jewish law sanction any contraceptive acts or safeguards on the part of the male, nor does it ever tolerate the use or distribution of birth control devices outside marriage. While the law proscribes sexual intercourse among spouses in times of famine (Ta'an. 11a; Sh. Ar. OḤ 240:12; 574:4), this is not to be taken as a recognition of the economic argument in favor of birth control. On the contrary, the restriction from which childless couples are in any case excluded is meant simply to curb the pleasures of marital indulgences at a time of great national suffering, just as conjugal relations are among the experiences of pleasure and comfort forbidden on days of national or private mourning. More characteristic of the spirit, if not the letter, of Jewish law is the story related in a famous 13th-century moralistic work: A poor person complained that he could not afford to support any more children and asked a sage for permission to prevent his wife from becoming pregnant again. The sage said: "When a child is born, the Holy One, blessed be He, provides the milk beforehand in the mother's breast; therefore, do not worry!" But the man continued to fret. Then a son was born to him. After a while the child became ill and the father turned to the sage: "Pray for my son that he shall live!" "To you applies the verse," exclaimed the sage, "'Suffer not thy mouth to bring thy flesh into guilt'" (Eccles. 5:5; *Sefer Ḥasidim*, ed. R. Margoliot (1957), no. 520). The sources of Jewish law and morals do not present the problem of "the population explosion" as relevant to birth control. According to some rabbinic authorities, the restrictions on birth control do not necessarily apply to non-Jews as the latter are not held to be bound by the commandment to "be fruitful and multiply" (see *Mishneh le-Melekh*, to Maim., Yad, Melakhim 10:7). The threat of a "population explosion" is less likely to agitate a people that for most of its history has been threatened with virtual annihilation and is now haunted by the specter of "the vanishing Jew," due to the gross imbalance between a low natural increase and a high artificial decrease through drift, assimilation, and intermarriage. In recent times, the practice of birth control has invariably been more prevalent among Jews than other groups living in the same general society, as shown by the disproportionately low Jewish birthrates according to comparative surveys in America, in Europe, and notably in Israel. In Israel, fertility rates for Jewish women in 1995 were down to 2.6 children, as opposed to a high of 4.0 in 1950 and as opposed to 4.7 in 1995 among Israeli Arabs (and 7.4 in Gaza). The Jewish birthrate is appreciably higher only among the Orthodox who, for religious reasons, do not usually resort to birth control. In common with the attitude of most Protestant denominations, Reform Judaism would generally leave the decision on birth control to the individual conscience, recognizing social and economic factors no less than the medical motivation.

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[Immanuel Jakobovits]

BIRTHDAY. The celebration of birthdays is unknown in traditional Jewish ritual. A comparatively late exception, however, is the *bar mitzvah and the bat mitzvah. The only reference to a birthday in the Bible is that celebrated by Pharaoh (Gen. 40:20). In Reform and Conservative synagogues, special prayers of thanksgiving are recited on the occasion of significant birthdays (e.g., 50th, 70th, 80th, etc.) and at silver and golden wedding anniversaries.

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BIRZAI (Lith. **Biržai**; Yid. בירזי), district capital in northern Lithuania, near the Latvian border. Jews started to settle there in the beginning of the 17th century. Birzai was one of the three leading communities of the "*medinah* [province] of Zamut" (Zhmud) in the mid-17th to mid-18th century. A small Karaite community also existed there. The Jewish population numbered 1,040 in 1760; 1,685 in 1847; and 2,510 in 1897 (57% of the total). In 1915 the Jews were expelled from Birzai by the Russian military authorities. After the war some of the exiles returned. The Jewish community developed during the period of Lithuanian independence (1918–39). There were approximately 3,000 Jews living in Birzai in 1934 (36% of the total). Three of the 12 city councilors were Jewish. Hebrew and Yiddish schools and a *talmud torah* were in operation. Most Jews earned their livelihoods from trade in wood products and flax; several factories for weaving and spinning were owned by Jews.

Shortly after the occupation of the town by the Germans in June 1941, the Lithuanian nationalists began to murder and maltreat the Jews. A ghetto was established and on August 8, 1941, Lithuanians executed 500 Jewish men. The remaining Jews were similarly murdered shortly thereafter.

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[Yehuda Slutsky / Shmuel Spector (2nd ed.)]

BIRZULA (from 1935, Kotovsk), town in Ukraine. Until May 1903 it was a village, and under the "Temporary Regulations" of 1882 (see *May Laws) Jews were prohibited from settling there. The Jewish inhabitants engaged in trade and crafts. They were attacked in a pogrom on October 24, 1905. In 1919, 50 Jews were massacred in Birzula by the followers of Simon *Petlyura. The Jewish population numbered 2,507 in 1926 (25% of the total) and 2,735 in 1939. In the Soviet period they earned their living as blue-collar workers, artisans, and clerks. Birzula was occupied by the Germans on August 6, 1941. In the same month, with the help of the Romanians, they murdered 113 Jews. A ghetto was established, and in November the Jews were marched toward Dubossary, with 650 murdered on the way. Hundreds of Jews from Bessarabia and Bukovina were deported to the area; most were killed or died of starvation or disease. Only 95 were alive on September 1, 1943.

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[Shmuel Spector (2nd ed.)]

BISCHHEIM, French town in the department of the Bas-Rhin. Jews settled there after their expulsion from *Colmar in 1512. H. *Cerfberr, one of the general syndics of Alsace Jewry in the second half of the 18th century, lived in Bischheim, as did his brother-in-law, David *Sinzheim. Cerfberr set up a foundation on behalf of the community with a capital of 175,000 livres for charitable activities and education. There were 473 Jews living in Bischheim in 1784. The wooden synagogue, built in 1781, was replaced by a new one in 1838. It was sacked during the German occupation in World War II, destroyed in 1944, and rebuilt in 1959. The Jewish community in 1968 had 360 members. It has a *mikveh* which belonged to David Sinzheim.

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[Roger Berg]

°**BISCHOFF, ERICH** (c. 1867–1936), German biblical and talmudic scholar. Bischoff repeatedly served as expert on Judaism in court cases, furnishing memoranda on the *blood libel, the ethics of the Talmud and the Shulḥan Arukh, etc. He refused to be termed either anti-or philo-Semitic, but was criticized by Jewish writers and organizations for his views (cf. C. Bloch, *Blut und Eros im Judentum*, 1935). In his *Klarheit in der Ostjudenfrage* (1916) he suggested the introduction of a special *Ostjuden* tax to be raised by Jewish organizations either to improve the conditions of unwanted Eastern European Jews in Germany or to settle them in Palestine. Among Bischoff's published works are also *Kritische Geschichte der Thalmud-Uebersetzungen aller Zeiten und* Zungen… (1889), *Rabbinische Fabeln ueber Talmud, Schulchan Aruch, Kol Nidre…* (1922), *Das Blut im* juedischen Schrifttum und Brauch (1929), and *Das Buch vom Schulchan Aruch* (1942^4). Bischoff also edited and translated – from an Oxford manuscript – the famous anti-Christian tract *Toledot Yeshu* (*Ein juedisch-deutsches Leben Jesu*, 1895). Though Bischoff pretended to be objective in his judgment on Judaism, his work misinterpreted Jewish sources and was fully exploited by the Nazis.

[Arnold Paucker]

BISCHOFFSHEIM, family of bankers in Belgium, Britain, and France. The family's founder RAPHAEL (NATHAN; 1773–1814) was born in Bischoffsheim on the Tauber and settled as a young man in Mainz, where he became a prominent merchant and president of the Jewish community. His elder son, LOUIS (LUDWIG) RAPHAEL (1800–1873) found work at a banking house in Frankfurt. When he was twenty he moved to Amsterdam where he established a bank. Through his marriage to Amalie Goldschmidt, he became related to Europe's banking aristocracy. His business expanded rapidly and in 1827 he established a branch in Antwerp, in 1836 together with the Goldschmidt family a London branch known as Bischoffsheim and Goldschmidt, and in 1846 another branch in Paris. In 1848 he moved to Paris, where his bank cooperated with great French houses in national and international transactions. At some stages in the development of his banking busi-

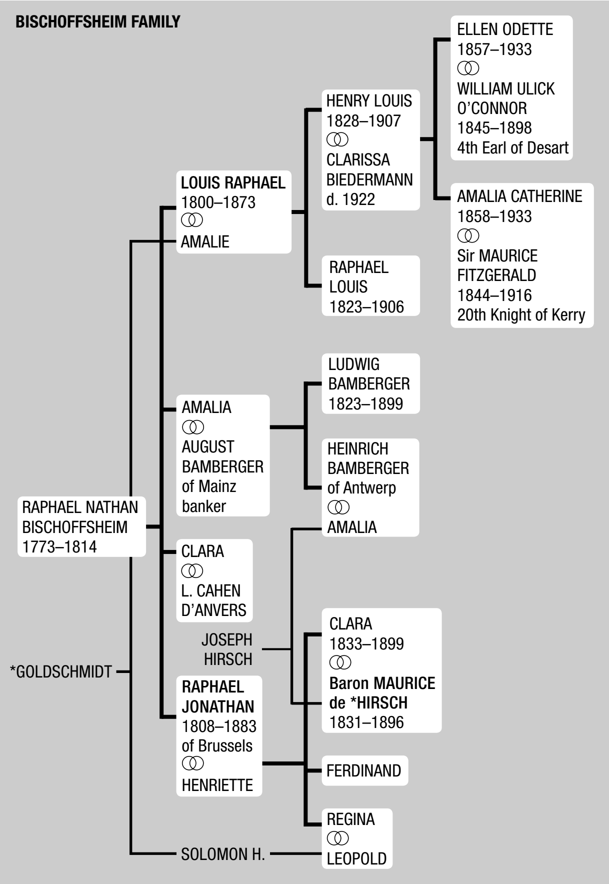
BISCHOFFSHEIM FAMILY
RAPHAEL NATHAN BISCHOFFSHEIM 1773–1814
*GOLDSCHMIDT
LOUIS RAPHAEL 1800–1873 ⚭ AMALIE
AMALIA ⚭ AUGUST BAMBERGER of Mainz banker
CLARA ⚭ L. CAHEN D'ANVERS
JOSEPH HIRSCH
RAPHAEL JONATHAN 1808–1883 of Brussels ⚭ HENRIETTE
SOLOMON H.
HENRY LOUIS 1828–1907 ⚭ CLARISSA BIEDERMANN d. 1922
RAPHAEL LOUIS 1823–1906
LUDWIG BAMBERGER 1823–1899
HEINRICH BAMBERGER of Antwerp ⚭ AMALIA
CLARA 1833–1899 ⚭ Baron MAURICE de *HIRSCH 1831–1896
FERDINAND
REGINA ⚭ LEOPOLD
ELLEN ODETTE 1857–1933 ⚭ WILLIAM ULICK O'CONNOR 1845–1898 4th Earl of Desart
AMALIA CATHERINE 1858–1933 ⚭ Sir MAURICE FITZGERALD 1844–1916 20th Knight of Kerry

ness, he had the help of his nephew, Ludwig *Bamberger. His many philanthropies were devoted to charitable and educational purposes, including support of the Association Philotechnique, of which he was president, and the Atheneé Theater, which he founded.

His brother, RAPHAEL JONATHAN (1808–1883), moved to Brussels in 1830 after Belgium achieved its independence and became one of that country's most influential financial figures. In 1850 he helped found the National Bank of Belgium and served on its board of directors for twenty years. He was adviser to the royal house and in 1862 became a senator, who was regarded by his colleagues as the principal authority in his field. He was an active member of the Jewish consistory and was well known for his benefactions, such as the endowment of a chair for Arabic at the University of Brussels. A street in that city bears his name. His daughter, Clara, married Baron Maurice de *Hirsch in 1855.

Louis Raphael's son RAPHAEL LOUIS (1823–1906), who was born in Amsterdam, succeeded his father as head of the Paris bank. His principal outside interest lay in astronomy, and his generous gifts made possible the building of a number of observatories, the best-known of them at Mont Gras, near Nice. In 1881 he was elected to the Chamber of Deputies.

Louis Raphael's second son, HENRY LOUIS (1828–1907), married Clarissa Biedermann, the sister-in-law of James *Stern of Stern Brothers of London. He headed the London house of Bischoffsheim and Goldschmidt. In conjunction with other financial institutions his bank participated in many international projects, including railway construction in France, Italy, and the Balkans, and the government financing of Turkey, Egypt, and various Latin American countries. In 1881 his eldest daughter, ELLEN ODETTE (1857–1933), married William Ulick O'Connor, the fourth Earl of Desart, and lived at the Desart seat at Kilkenny until her husband's death in 1898. Despite her anti-suffrage agitation, she became the first woman senator of the Irish Free State. This signal honor was the product of her efforts on behalf of Ireland's cultural and economic welfare. Lady Desart remained an active Jew throughout her life, holding office in a number of Jewish philanthropic organizations and supporting them generously. Her sister AMALIA married Sir Maurice Fitzgerald, 20th Knight of Kerry. She also retained her Jewish interests, was active in support of the work of the Jewish National Fund, and organized a project for the rescue of Jewish children from German-controlled territories in the 1930s.

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[Joachim O. Ronall]

BISGYER, MAURICE (1897–1973), U.S. social worker and administrator. Bisgyer was born in Brooklyn and graduated from New York University in 1918, beginning his career in Jewish communal service a year later as executive director of the Baltimore Jewish Education Alliance, a post which he held for three years. After a year with YMHA in Trenton, N.J., he became director of the Jewish Community Center in Washington. In the 1930s, his pioneering effort in obtaining sponsors willing to facilitate the entry of Jewish refugees into the United States made it possible to bring 15,000 refugees from Europe to the United States. President Hoover appointed him to the National Advisory Committee on Education in 1929, and President Roosevelt reappointed him in 1933. In 1946, he became a member of Attorney General Tom Clark's Committee on Juvenile Delinquency.

In 1937, Bisgyer became chief administrative officer of the B'nai B'rith, and held the position of executive vice president until his retirement in 1964, when he was named honorary vice president. In addition to his work in the United States, he traveled all over the world and took part in meetings with leaders of governments and with Popes John XXIII and Paul VI. He played an important role in arranging the meeting of President Truman with Chaim *Weizmann in March 1948, to which he accompanied Weizmann. Bisgyer was also a pioneer in Jewish social service. He was co-author (with Henry Monsky) of *Man and his Work* (1947) and wrote *Challenge and Encounter* (1967).

[Frederick R. Lachman]

BISHOP, JOEY (**Joseph Gottlieb**; 1918–), U.S. actor and comedian. Born in the Bronx, New York, and raised in South Philadelphia, Bishop earned fame as an actor, comedian, talk show host, and member of the "Rat Pack." After dropping out of high school and serving a stint in the U.S. Army during WWII, Bishop began doing stand-up comedy at clubs in New York, Cleveland, Miami, and Philadelphia. He adopted the surname "Bishop" while working with Morris Spector and Sammy Reisman in the comedy troupe "The Bishop Trio," whose members borrowed the name from their chauffeur. During the 1950s, Bishop's relationship with Frank Sinatra led to his inclusion in the "Rat Pack," in which he played the role of the straight-man in their stage performances, and wrote much of the group's comic material. Sinatra considered Bishop such an integral part of the "Rat Pack" and its enormous success that he called Bishop "the hub of the big wheel." Bishop co-starred alongside his fellow "Rat Pack" members in *Ocean's Eleven* (1960). He went on to host two versions of *The Joey Bishop Show* during the 1960s. Bishop also owns the distinction of having co-hosted *The Tonight Show* (starring Johnny Carson) more times than anyone else, 177. His other notable screen credits include *The Deep Six* (1958), *The Naked and the Dead* (1958), *Texas Across the River* (1966), *Valley of the Dolls* (1967), and *The Delta Force* (1986).

[Walter Driver (2nd ed.)]

BISLICHES (Bisseliches), MORDECAI (Marcus) LEIB (1786–1851), bibliophile and rabbinic scholar. Bisliches left his native Brody, Galicia, to lead an unsettled life. In 1816 he went to Paris where he successfully engaged in business. There, in association with his brother Ephraim, he prepared for publication Isaac *Abrabanel's *Yeshu'ot Meshiḥo* from a manuscript in the Bibliothèque Nationale (1828). Bisliches returned home, but soon left again, this time for Holland and England, always searching for rare books and manuscripts. On a third journey he went to Italy where he made many discoveries, and on his return prepared the following works for publication: Shem Tov b. Joseph *Falaquera's *Sefer ha-Nefesh* (1835) and *Moreh ha-Moreh* (1837, 1961^2); Samuel ibn *Tibbon's *Yikkavu ha-Mayim* (1837), with a largely autobiographical introduction; *Naḥmanides' novellae to tractate *Shabbat* under the title *Oẓar Neḥmad* (1837); Abba Mari b. Moses (of Lunel)'s *Minḥat Kena'ot* and *Sefer ha-Yare'aḥ* (1838), with a letter concerning Maimonides' Guide; and Abraham *Ibn Ezra's *Sefat Yeter* (1838), with an introduction by M. Letteris. In 1846 Bisliches, in partnership with S.G. Stern, sold 111 manuscripts in 102 volumes to the archduchess Marie Louise of Parma for 8,500 lire; they were added to the *De'Rossi Collection in the Palatine Library. These manuscripts were basically the collection of the 18th-century bibliophile and bookdealer Moses Benjamin *Foà (b. 1729), who was book purveyor to the dukes of Modena. Bisliches also published *Ha-Palit* (1850), a catalog of 80 of his rare Hebrew manuscripts prepared by L. Zunz with annotations by Senior Sachs.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Loevinson, in: RMI, 7 (1933), 477ff.; Y. Colombo, *ibid.*, 34 (1968), 492.

°BISMARCK, OTTO VON (1815–1898), Prussian statesman and from 1871 first chancellor of the German Empire. His attitude to Jews and Judaism was ambivalent. In 1847, when he was simply a conservative Eastelbian deputy in the Prussian "Vereinigte Landtag," he strongly opposed opening senior governmental positions to Jews. Later he was attacked by antisemites for "being duped by Jewish financiers" (their main target being G. von *Bleichroeder), and for passing the laws of 1869 and 1871 which abolished restrictions based on religious differences, first in the "Norddeutsche Bund," later in the newly founded Deutsche Reich. This legislation, however, was mainly directed by political expediency, while Bismarck's relations with Bleichroeder were financially beneficial to both men. The Jewish Liberal parliamentarians E. *Lasker and L. *Bamberger supported Bismarck in the early years, but when he turned to the Conservatives after 1878 they became his bitter adversaries.

Although Bismarck regarded the rabidly antisemitic court preacher Adolph *Stoecker with disdain, he appreciated Stoecker's services in opposing socialism. In 1878, during the Congress of *Berlin, Bismarck generally supported a policy favorable to the Jews, which resulted in the incorporation of written guarantees in the peace treaties assuring their equality in the Balkan states, in particular in *Romania. A petition (bearing 250,000 signatures) demanding the dismissal of Jews from all government positions (1881) was ignored by Bismarck, who was suspicious of all popular manifestations. However, only apostates were allowed to reach the upper echelons, while the careers of the few Jews employed by the state were severely restricted. In 1885–86, Bismarck supported the expulsion from Prussia of thousands of Russian and Austrian citizens, including around 9,000 Jews. Bismarck, who was contemptuous of all things Polish, despised the East European Jews and adopted the prejudices against *Ostjuden* current even among the Jewish community in Germany. He was also suspicious of the connection between Jewish *Reform in religion and political radicalism, and had a higher opinion of Jewish *Orthodoxy. In the early years of his political career, Bismarck had the support of the vast majority of German Jewry, but he gradually lost it later, as Jews in Germany increasingly turned toward radical liberalism. Concerning his own religious attitudes, Bismarck cultivated strong pietist attitudes, so that he had a vast knowledge of Old Testament.

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[Henry Wasserman / Marcus Pyka (2nd ed.)]

BISTRITA (Rom. **Bistrița**; Hg. **Beszterce**; Ger. **Bistritz**), town in Northern Transylvania, Romania; within Hungary until 1918 and between 1940 and 1944. The town was established by Saxon immigrants during the 12th century. It was populated over the centuries mostly by German-speaking people, but later Romanians and also Hungarians started to live there. After the prohibition on Jewish settlement there was lifted after 1848, as in general in Transylvania, Jews began to settle in Bistrita, mainly from Bukovina and Galicia. The community in Bistrita was Orthodox with a strong ḥasidic element although there were also Jews who adopted the German and Hungarian culture and language. During the second half of the 19th century the Jewish community there developed and grew strongly. The first Zionist youth organization in Bistrita, in Hungary, Ivriyah, was founded in 1901 by Nissan Kahan, who corresponded with Theodor *Herzl. In World War I, 138 Jews of Bistrita were mobilized in the army. After the war the central office of Orthodox Jewry in Transylvania was established in Bistrita. It represented 80 communities (135,000 persons) and was headed by the rabbi of Bistrita, Solomon Zalman Ullmann, until his death in 1930. Between the two world wars there was an important Zionist movement in the town. There was a large and important yeshivah in Bistrita under the direction of the rabbi.

The Jewish population of the city numbered 718 in 1891 (out of a total of 9,100); 1,316 in 1900 (out of 12,155); 2,198 in 1930 (out of 14,128); and 2,358 in 1941 (out of 16,282). In 1941 the Hungarian authorities deported several dozen Jewish families from Bistrita to *Kamenets-Podolski in the Ukraine, were they were murdered by Hungarian soldiers. In the course of World War II, the Jews were subjected to many restrictions, and Jewish males of military age were drafted into forced labor service. Early in May 1944 the Jews were concentrated in a ghetto set up at the so-called Stamboli Farm, located about two miles from the city. At its peak the ghetto, consisting of a number of barracks and pigsties, held close to 6,000 Jews, including those brought in from the neighboring communities in Beszterce-Naszód County. Among these were the Jews of Borgóbeszterce, Borgóprund, Galacfalva, Kisilva, Marosborgó, Nagyilva, Nagysajó, Naszód, Óradna, and Romoly. The ghetto was liquidated with the deportation of the Jews to Auschwitz in two transports on June 2 and June 6, 1944.

The 1,300 Jews who resettled in Bistrita in 1947 included survivors from the camps, former residents of neighboring villages, and others liberated from camps in *Transnistria and other places. Subsequently, the Jewish population declined steadily as a result of emigration to Israel, the United States, and Canada. By 2002, only 15 mostly elderly Jews lived in the city.

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[Yehouda Marton /
Paul Schveiger and Randolph Braham (2nd ed.)]

BITAN AHARON (Heb. בֵּיתָן אַהֲרֹן), moshav in central Israel, in the Ḥefer Plain, affiliated with Tenu'at ha-Moshavim, founded in 1936 by pioneers from East and Central Europe. Its economy was based principally on citrus plantations. It also had a summer vacation center and a rest home for civil servants. In 2002 the population of Bitan Aharon was 505. The village is named after the Canadian Zionist Aharon (Archibald J.) Freiman.

[Efraim Orni]

BITBURG CONTROVERSY. The "Bitburg Controversy" of 1985 constituted one of the most acrimonious confrontations between any U.S. administration and the American Jewish community. At stake was the planned visit by U.S. President Ronald W. Reagan in the company of West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl to the Bitburg Military Cemetery, which contained the graves of 49 members of the Waffen-SS.

Ostensibly, Kohl invited Reagan to accompany him to a German military cemetery during the state visit to celebrate the normalization of relations between their two countries on the 40th anniversary of the end of World War II. In fact, however, ever since coming to power in 1982, the conservative Kohl had endeavored to rehabilitate as many Germans who had served the Third Reich as possible. In 1983, for example, his government had removed the veterans' organizations of the Waffen-SS from a list of extremist right-wing groups on which the West German Ministry of Interior was required to make annual reports to Parliament, and Kohl had repeatedly blocked demands by the opposition Social Democrats to ban the highly controversial reunions of former Waffen-SS members. Kohl's request to have Reagan go to Bitburg was thus part of a strategy to rewrite recent German history and curry favor with the most reactionary elements of the West German electorate.

Reagan's planned trip to Germany first drew fire because it did not include a stop at the site of a Nazi concentration camp. At a press conference on March 21, 1985, Reagan explained that "since the German people have very few alive that remember even the war, and certainly none of them who were adults and participating in any way … they have a feeling and a guilt feeling that's been imposed upon them." Thus, he considered a visit to a concentration camp "unnecessary." Reagan's comments drew a sharp response from Menachem Z. Rosensaft, the founding chairman of the International Network of Children of Jewish Holocaust Survivors. Writing in *The New York Times* on March 30, he pointed out that all Germans who were the same age as the president certainly remembered the war, and that two years earlier he had told a gathering of thousands of Holocaust survivors that the Holocaust must never be forgotten. Rosensaft noted that while it was "politically advantageous for [Reagan] to speak about the Holocaust to Jewish audiences in the United States, he does not want to risk offending anyone – even Nazis – in Germany."

On April 11, the White House announced that the Bitburg cemetery was on Reagan's itinerary, and that Reagan and Kohl would lay a wreath there "in a spirit of reconciliation, in a spirit of forty years of peace, in a spirit of economic and military compatibility." Kenneth J. Bialkin, chairman of the Conference of Presidents of Major Jewish Organizations, called Reagan's decision to visit Bitburg but not Dachau "deeply offensive," and noted author and Holocaust survivor Elie *Wiesel, then chairman of the United States Holocaust Memorial Council, told *The New York Times* that he could not believe that the president "would visit a German military cemetery and refuse to visit Dachau or any other concentration camp."

At a press conference on April 18, Reagan made matters worse by appearing to equate dead German soldiers with the victims of the Holocaust. "They were victims," he said of the soldiers buried at Bitburg, "just as surely as the victims in the concentration camps." Reagan's comments drew angry responses from American Jewish leaders. Rabbi Alexander Schindler, president of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, described Reagan's remarks as a "distortion of history, a perversion of language, and a callous offense to the Jewish community."

A long-scheduled ceremony in the White House on April 19, awarding, the Congressional Medal of Achievement, provided the charismatic Wiesel with an unprecedented opportunity to publicly confront the White House on national television. Despite fierce pressure to mute the confrontation with Reagan, whose strong support of Israel was valued, Wiesel implored him not to go to Bitburg. "That place," he told the president during a nationally televised White House ceremony, "is not your place. Your place is with the victims of the SS." Other Jewish leaders similarly called on Reagan to reconsider, as did 53 U.S. senators on April 15, and 101 members of the U.S. House of Representatives on April 19 in bipartisan letters to the president.

Immediately after the public castigation by Elie Wiesel, the White House announced that Bergen-Belsen had been added to the president's German itinerary. Two days later, Menachem Rosensaft, addressing thousands of Holocaust survivors gathered in Philadelphia, called on survivors, children of survivors, and American war veterans to confront Reagan at the gates of Bergen-Belsen. If the president insisted "on going to Bitburg," Rosensaft said, "we do not need him and we do not want him in Bergen-Belsen."

Former President Richard M. Nixon, former Secretary of State Henry Kissinger, and conservative columnist William F. Buckley, among others, endorsed the Bitburg visit, and several public opinion polls indicated that only about 52 percent of Americans were opposed to it. West German officials, meanwhile, pressured the Reagan Administration to stand fast. On April 19, Alfred Dregger, the chairman of Kohl's parliamentary group, wrote to U.S. senators who had urged Reagan to change his itinerary that his only brother had died on the Eastern Front in 1944, and that "If you call upon your President to refrain from the noble gesture he plans to make at the military cemetery in Bitburg, I must consider this to be an insult to my brother and my comrades who were killed in action."

Reagan's insistence on going through with the Bitburg visit, and his attempt to combine back-to-back tributes to the Jewish victims of the Holocaust at Bergen-Belsen and to German soldiers at Bitburg, served primarily to offend the Jewish community in general and Holocaust survivors and their families in particular. "President Reagan and Chancellor Kohl have embarked on a macabre tour, an obscene package deal, of Bergen-Belsen and Bitburg," declared Menachem Rosensaft at a protest demonstration at Bergen-Belsen on May 5, minutes after the two leaders had left for Bitburg. "Today we say to them that they can either honor the memory of the victims of Belsen, or they can honor the SS. They cannot do both. And by entering Bitburg, they desecrate the memory of all those who were murdered by the SS, and of all those whom they pretended to commemorate here at Belsen."

In a short speech at the U.S. Air Force base at Bitburg on May 5, Reagan said: "Our duty today is to mourn the human wreckage of totalitarianism, and today, in Bitburg Cemetery, we commemorated the potential good and humanity that was consumed back then, 40 years ago." President Reagan and West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl spoke about the importance of Holocaust remembrance beside the mass-graves of the Nazi concentration camp of Bergen-Belsen, and then proceeded to the Bitburg military cemetery where they participated in a wreath-laying in memory of German soldiers killed during World War II. The visit to Bergen-Belsen was widely seen as a desperate attempt by the White House staff to deflect the controversy over Reagan's agreement to join Kohl at Bitburg during the president's long-planned state visit to Germany.

In fact, however, as a *New York Times* editorial observed on May 6, Reagan's decision to go through with the Bitburg visit was a "blunder," one of the few times that he lost a confrontation in the court of public opinion. Known as the great communicator, Reagan found that Wiesel and others could get their message across to the mass media and the normally sure-footed White House was reeling. From the perspective of two decades, the German chancellor attempt to rehabilitate the reputation of the Waffen-SS has also failed. New research and public exhibitions in German museums further link them to the crimes of the Holocaust. It was, however, regarded by many observers as one of American Jewry's finest moment, when in the words of Wiesel, "truth was spoken to power."

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[Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)

BITHIAH, name given by the rabbis to the daughter of Pharaoh who found the infant Moses. Many legends are told of her in the *aggadah*. The name Bithiah ("daughter of God") was given her as a reward for her devotion in treating Moses as her own child (Lev. R. 1:3). Her purpose in bathing in the Nile was to cleanse herself of the impurity of the idolatry rampant in Egypt (Sot. 12b). When her handmaidens refused to disobey the royal decree and save the Israelite child, her arm was lengthened miraculously so that she could reach the casket in which Moses lay; as soon as she reached it she was cured of her leprosy. She called the child Moses, not only because she had "drawn" him out of the water, but because she knew he would "draw" the children of Israel out of Egypt (Mid. Hag. to Ex. 2:10). Although Moses had many names, God called him only by the name Bithiah gave him (Lev. R. 1:3). At Moses' intercession, Bithiah was not afflicted by any of the ten plagues and therefore was the only female firstborn to be spared in Egypt (Ex. R. 18:3). She became a proselyte and married Caleb because, as she had opposed her father, he would oppose the spies (Lev. R. 1:3). Bithiah was one of those who entered Paradise in her lifetime (Mid. Prov. 31:15). She is numbered among the 22 women of valor (Mid. Hag. to Gen. 23:1, s.v. *Takom*).

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BITHYNIA, district of Asia Minor identified in the Talmud with the biblical Tubal (Yoma 10a). There is information, dated from 139 B.C.E., of a Jewish settlement in Amysos which was included in the territory of Bithynia during the period of its expansion (Sampsames in I Macc. 15:23 being identified by Schuerer and others with Amysos in Pontos). Philo, too, testifies to the existence of a Jewish settlement there (*De Legatione ad Gaium*, 281). A Jewish tombstone with a Greek inscription found near the Bosporus marks the burial place of a Jew called Shabbetai who served as elder, scribe, and leader to a Jewish community which is called παλαιοι ("The Ancients," REJ, 23 (1893), 167–71). Talmudic sources (Av. Zar. 2:4; Tosef., Av. Zar. 4:13; Tosef., Shev. 5:9) frequently mention cheeses from Bet-Unyaki which were forbidden "because the majority of calves of that place are offered as sacrifices to idols" (Av. Zar. 34b). This Bet-Unyaki is identified with Bithynia, whose excellent cheeses are also attested to by Pliny (*Natural History* 11:241). The spread of Christianity in Bithynia at the beginning of the second century so alarmed its governor, Pliny the younger (c. 112), that he applied to Trajan for instructions on how to deal with it. The detailed answer given by Trajan exerted a decisive influence for some generations on Rome's policy toward Christianity.

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[Abraham Schalit]

BITTELMAN, ALEXANDER (1890–1982), U.S. Communist leader and journalist. Bittelman was born and grew up in Odessa, Russia. He joined the socialist *Bund* at an early age, then emigrated to America in 1912 and settled in New York City. Bittelman studied engineering, worked for the People's Relief Committee, and in 1919 became editor of *Der Kampf*, the organ of the Jewish Communist Federation. In the same year he joined the American Communist Party, soon becoming its "Jewish specialist." He was sent to Moscow in 1922 to obtain funds for establishing the party's Yiddish paper, the *Morning Freiheit*. From 1923 to 1928 Bittelman worked in the party's national office in Chicago. He traveled to India on a political mission; then edited the *Communist* upon his return. He devoted himself to writing articles of a historical and ideological nature, several of which were published in 1937 in his *Milestones of the History of the Communist Party*. A member of the Communist Party National Committee after World War II, Bittelman also served as general secretary of the Morning Freiheit Association, which he sought to reorganize as a center for Jewish Communist propaganda and culture. In 1943 his 63-page *Jewish Unity for Victory* was published. Bittelman was indicted under the Smith Act in 1951 for conspiring to overthrow the government and was jailed in 1955 for a three-year term. Released from prison in 1957, he wrote for the *Daily Worker* until his expulsion from the party for revisionism in 1958. In 1960 he published his personal testament, *A Communist Views America's Future*. He also wrote *Jewish People Face the Post-War World* (1945) and *To Secure Jewish Rights: The Communist Position* (1948).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: M. Epstein, *Jews and Communism* (1959), 398–403; T. Draper, *Roots of American Communism* (1957), index.

[Edward L. Greenstein]

BITTERN (Heron; Heb. אֲנָפָה, *anafah*), mentioned among the unclean birds (Lev. 11:19; Deut. 14:18) and referring to birds of the family *Ardeidae* which are aquatic and marsh birds. Various species occur in Israel such as the white heron (*Egretta alba*) whose span can be as much as a yard. On the other hand the buff-backed heron (*Bulbucus ibis*) is much smaller. The latter, as well as many other species of bittern, have greatly increased in recent years in Israel with the spread of fish ponds and irrigation.

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[Jehuda Feliks]

BITTUL HA-TAMID (Heb. בִּטּוּל הַתָּמִיד; lit. "abolition of the daily offering"), interruption of prayers and of Torah reading in the synagogue (Heb. עִכּוּב הַקְּרִיאָה, *ikkuv ha-keri'ah* and, therefore, also called *ikkuv ha-keri'ah ikkuv ha-tefillah*, "delay the reading of the Torah," "delay the morning prayers") to seek redress of a wrong, mainly a judicial or moral one. This practice was prevalent mainly in the Middle Ages among Ashkenazi Jewry. The custom of interrupting public religious services was a form of protest and way of arousing public indignation afforded to an individual who felt that an injustice had been perpetrated upon him or her by the constituted authorities or by rich and violent individuals. Ashkenazi *takkanot* of the 12th century set various limits to the exercise of this right to arouse "public scandal for the rights of the individual," while *takkanot* attributed to *Gershom b. Judah sought to regulate it: "If a man summons his neighbor to court and the latter refuses to appear, the plaintiff may not stop the morning prayers and reading of the Torah, unless he has first three times stopped the evening services." A Book of Customs compassionately adds: "However an orphan or a widow may interrupt even the first time until justice is done them." Until 1876 a Jew wishing to protest communal abuses was permitted to rise and say, "*Ich klame.*" This privilege was extended to the aggrieved in Eastern Europe also, including cases of complaints against the *kahal* itself. In Russia, after the conscription law of 1827, many a poor mother availed herself of the opportunity to prohibit further prayer until she had stated her protest over the cruel drafting of her male child as a *Cantonist.

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[Isaac Levitats]

BITUMEN (Heb. חֵמָר, *ḥemar* and כֹּפֶר, *kofer*; LXX), a black, flammable substance which becomes viscous and absorbent on heating. It occurs in almost every part of the world, including Mesopotamia, Iran, and Israel, and is found in various natural forms: in pure form, as in the Dead Sea, where it floats and collects along the coast; as an ore in sandstone; and in semi-solid and fluid forms. The "pits" in the Valley of Siddim referred to in Genesis 14:10 were probably bitumen quarries. In Mesopotamia bitumen was used in building as a mortar which at the same time soaked into the porous bricks, making them stronger. Bitumen was employed too for waterproofing boats, for constructing model boats for cultic purposes, and for sealing water ducts and irrigation canals. It was used in this way to caulk Noah's ark (Gen. 6:14) and the basket which carried Moses (Ex. 2:3). Whether used for strengthening bricks or for sealing against water, bitumen was mixed with sand, chalk, plaster, or with its own ore, since in its pure form it has a low melting point and will not harden unless amalgamated with another mineral.

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[Ze'ev Yeivin]

BIZTHA (Heb. בִּזְּתָא; Gr. Βαζάν, Μαζάν, Βαζεά), one of the seven eunuchs of *Ahasuerus (Esth. 1:10). On the seventh and last day of his feast for the peoples of Susa, when King Ahasuerus was in high spirits from drinking, he sent his seven attendant eunuchs to summon Queen Vashti so that he might display her beauty before the assembled company. The name Biztha is apparently Persian but no agreement has been reached on its meaning (suggestions include: *besteh*, "bound"; *biz-da*, "double gift"; *Mazdā [dā]na*, "gift of Mazda").

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[Bezalel Porten]

BIẒẒARON (Heb. בִּצָּרוֹן; "stronghold," cf. Zech. 9:12), moshav in the southern Coastal Plain of Israel, affiliated with Tenu'at ha-Moshavim, founded in 1931 by pioneers from the Soviet Union whose training farm "Tel Ḥai" in the Crimea had been closed by the Soviet authorities. They themselves had been imprisoned as Zionists but later permitted to leave. Farming was highly intensive, with citrus plantations as the principal branch. In 2002 the population of Bizzaron was 822.

[Efraim Orni]

BLACK, ALGERNON DAVID (1900–1993), educator, author and Ethical Culture leader. Born to immigrant Russian Jewish parents, Black began a lifelong involvement with the Society for *Ethical Culture after receiving a scholarship to the Ethical Culture School in New York City. After graduating from Harvard in 1923, he returned to teach history, business, and ethics in the Ethical Culture school system. Black combined his teaching responsibilities with voluntary work for a variety of social causes, including efforts to strengthen workers' rights and equalize housing opportunities. This civic engagement reflected the principles and priorities of the Ethical Culture movement, particularly its belief in the importance of the individual, its emphasis on living by ethical standards, and its work on behalf of the poor and disenfranchised. A protégé of Felix *Adler, Black rapidly moved into the leadership cadre of the New York Society for Ethical Culture. He was appointed to the Society's Board of Leaders in 1934, chosen as executive leader in 1943, elected chairman of the Board of Leaders in 1945, and installed as Senior Leader ten years later. He held this office until 1973, but remained active within the Society as its leader emeritus for another decade. "Articulate, energetic, and magnetic in personality," Black was the public face of the movement for over 40 years, speaking regularly on the radio, participating on a plethora of boards, panels, and committees that dealt with social and civil rights issues, and writing five books.

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[Adam Mendelsohn (2nd ed.)]

BLACK, MAX (1909–1988), U.S. philosopher. Black was born in Baku, Russia, and educated in Germany and England. He received his B.A. from Queens College, Cambridge in 1930 and was awarded a fellowship to study at Goettingen. He received his Ph.D. from the University of London in 1939. He lectured on mathematics at the Institution of Education in London from 1936 until 1940, then was appointed to the Philosophy Department at the University of Illinois at Urbana. After six years at Urbana, Black accepted a professorship in philosophy at Cornell University in New York, later becoming Susan Linsage Professor of Philosophy and Humane Letters (1954). Black retired in 1977 but continued lecturing at many universities around the world. He was president of the International Institute of Philosophy from 1981 to 1984, being only the second American at the time to assume that position.

Black's work dealt mainly with problems in contemporary analytical philosophy, ranging from the nature and function of mathematics to the role of ordinary language in the solution of philosophical problems. Though influenced by formalists, his own contributions stress the effectiveness of informalist approaches in the elimination of philosophical perplexity. He edited the influential journal *The Philosophical Review*.

Black's major publications include *The Nature of Mathematics* (1933), *Language and Philosophy* (1949), *Problems of Analysis* (1954), *The Importance of Language* (1962), *Models and Metaphors* (1962), *A Companion to Wittgenstein's Tractatus* (1964), *Philosophy in America* (1965), *The Labyrinth of Language* (1969), *Margins of Precision: Essays in Logic and Language* (1970), *Art, Perception, and Reality* (1972), and *The Prevalence of Humbug and Other Essays* (1983).

[Avrum Stroll / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

BLACK, SIR MISHA (1910–1977), British architect and industrial designer. Born in Baku, Russia, Black was taken to England as an infant. Before World War II he helped to found the Artists International Association, a radical organization with an anti-Nazi program for assisting refugee artists then attempting to enter Great Britain. In 1933 together with the designer Milner Gray he set up a firm called Industrial Design Partnership in an effort to bring total design methods to Britain. In 1944 they founded the Design Research Unit. Black became a nationally recognized design leader as coordinating architect for a major part of the 1951 Festival of Britain; he later took part in the design of exhibitions in many other countries. Among the most important activities of the Design Research Unit is the redesigning of British Railways, including Black's designs for a diesel locomotive and an electric train, supervision of the Victoria Line opened by the London Underground in 1969, and the Clore Pavilion at the London Zoo.

Black was appointed professor of industrial engineering design at the Royal College of Art in 1959. He served as president of the British Society of Industrial Arts and Design and as a trustee of the British Museum. His publications on exhibition and interior design include *The Practice of Design* (1946) and *Public Interiors* (1959). He was the brother of the philosopher Max *Black (1909–1988), who chiefly taught at Cornell University in the United States.

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[Charles Samuel Spencer]

BLACK DEATH, epidemic of various contagious diseases, bubonic, septicemic, and pneumonic, all caused by the same bacillus, *pasteurella pestis*, a combination of which raged throughout Europe between 1348 and 1350. (See Map: Black Death). It was the worst plague experienced since the sixth century. Between one-quarter and one-half of the total population perished. In centers with denser populations, such as the monasteries, the proportion of victims was much higher. As the bacteria of this disease live in certain temperatures only, the peak periods of sickness and mortality usually occurred at certain months in the year, according to the local climate.

The impact of this unprecedented catastrophe had a profound effect on the behavior of the population. People reacted by extremes, either seeking recourse to religion through repentance and supplication to God, or reverting to licentiousness, lawbreaking, and savagery. These two types of reaction often combined, in particular where they concerned the attitude of the non-Jewish population to the Jews. Toward the end of 1348 and in early 1349 countless numbers of Jews lost their lives in a wave of massacres which spread throughout Europe as a result of the accusation that the Jews had caused the death of Christians by poisoning the wells and other water sources. According to L.F. Hirst, a leading authority in this field, the Black Death "in all probability… originated somewhere in the central Asiatic hinterland, where a permanent reservoir of infection is maintained among the wild rodents of the steppes. Rumors of a great mortality among Asiatics, especially Chinese, reached Europe in 1346, and by the spring of that year bubonic plague had reached the shores of the Black Sea…. From ports on the shores of the Crimea besieged by Tatars, who perished in vast numbers from the epidemic… the infection was carried on shipboard to Constantinople, Genoa, Venice, and other European ports. The disease spread as rapidly as the transport of those days permitted… to the Mainland." At the time of the Black Death no one was aware of this connection and the existence of contagion was only vaguely perceived. By some persons the catastrophe was ascribed to astrological conjunctions; others regarded it as a divine visitation. Pope *Clement VI, in his bull defending the Jews from these accusations, saw it as "the pestilence with which God is afflicting the Christian people." The vast majority of the population, however, was inclined to view it as a *pestis manufacta* (an artificially induced malady), the simplest explanation to the unsophisticated mind, and therefore sought the human agents thought to be spreading the disease. Initially, the Jews were not the only persons accused; strangers of every type were suspected. An Avignonese physician relates: "Many hesitated, in some countries people believed that the Jews intended to poison the whole world and therefore killed them. In other countries they expelled paupers suffering from deformity; and in yet others, the nobles." Sometimes itinerant monks were suspected of placing the poison and spreading the disease, and they were attacked instead.

Well Poisoning Libel

Soon, however, the feelings of helplessness to stem the plague, and the fierce urge to react against the death and destruction it caused, concentrated the force of the populace on the age-old target of popular Christian hostility, the Jews. Anti-Jewish violence was particularly rabid in *Germany, where it had been preceded by a dark half century of anti-Jewish persecution in conjunction with a succession of *blood libels and accusations of *host desecration. This had added to the sinister traits already attributed to the hateful image of the Jew. In France, also, the way had been paved for this accusation by a similar charge leveled during the *Pastoureaux persecutions of 1321. Amid the general atmosphere of hostility, and the cruelty of the persecutions to which the Jews had been subjected, it was almost logical that Christians could imagine that the Jews might seek revenge. Thus, a Jew who was tortured in *Freiburg im Breisgau in 1349, "was then asked… 'why did they do it…?' Then he answered: 'because you Christians have destroyed so many Jews; because of what king *Armleder did; and also because we too want to be lords; for you have lorded long enough.'" ("… *wan umb das, das ir cristen so menigen juden verdarpten, do kuenig Armleder was, und ouch um das, das wir ouch herren wolten gewesen sin, wan ir genug lang herren gewesen sint;" Urkundenbuch der Stadt Freiburg im Breisgau* (1828), nos. 193, 382).

The first occasion on which Jews were tortured to confess complicity in spreading the Black Death was in September 1348, in the Castle of Chillon on Lake Geneva. The "confessions" thus extracted indicate that their accusers wished to prove that the Jews had set out to poison the wells and food "so as to kill and destroy the whole of Christianity" ("*ad interficiendam et destruendam totam legem Christianam*"). The disease was allegedly spread by a Jew of Savoy on the instructions of a rabbi who told him: "See, I give you a little package, half a span in size, which contains a preparation of poison and venom in a narrow, stitched leathern bag. This you are to dis-

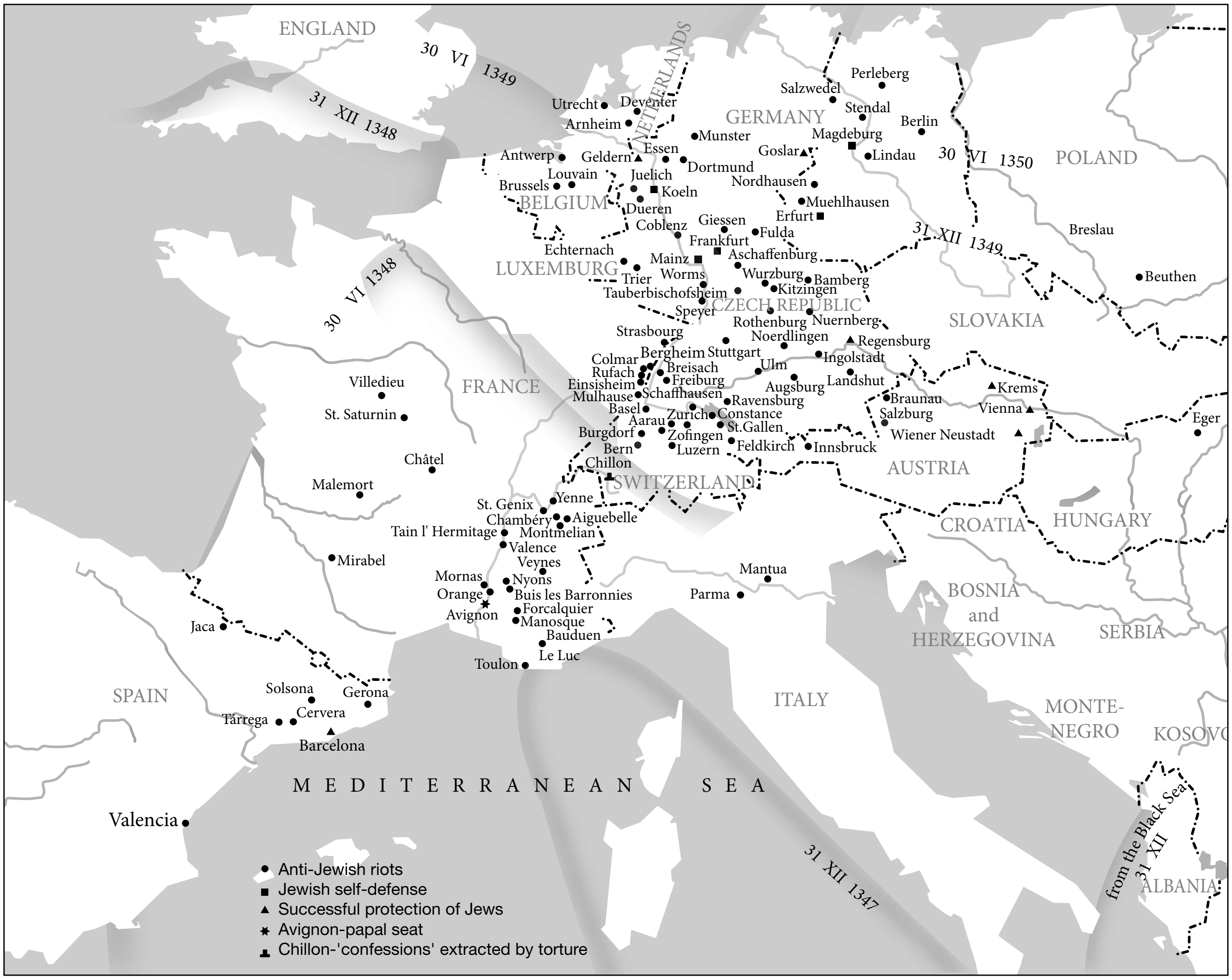
ENGLAND
30 VI 1349
31 XII 1348
NETHERLANDS
Utrecht
Deventer
Arnheim
GERMANY
Salzwedel
Perleberg
Stendal
Berlin
Magdeburg
Lindau
Munster
Goslar
Antwerp
Geldern
Essen
Dortmund
Louvain
Juelich
Brussels
Koeln
BELGIUM
Nordhausen
Muehlhausen
Dueren
Erfurt
Coblenz
Giessen
Fulda
30 VI 1350
POLAND
Breslau
31 XII 1349
Echternach
Frankfurt
Mainz
Aschaffenburg
LUXEMBURG
Trier
Worms
Wurzburg
Bamberg
Kitzingen
Tauberbischofsheim
CZECH REPUBLIC
Beuthen
Speyer
Rothenburg
Nuernberg
SLOVAKIA
30 VI 1348
Strasbourg
Noerdlingen
Regensburg
Bergheim
Stuttgart
Colmar
Ingolstadt
Rufach
Breisach
Ulm
Einsisheim
Freiburg
Augsburg
Landshut
Krems
Villedieu
FRANCE
Mulhause
Schaffhausen
Ravensburg
Braunau
Vienna
Basel
Salzburg
Eger
St. Saturnin
Aarau
Zurich
Constance
Burgdorf
Zofingen
St.Gallen
Wiener Neustadt
Bern
Feldkirch
Innsbruck
Châtel
Luzern
Chillon
AUSTRIA
Malemort
SWITZERLAND
St. Genix
Yenne
Chambéry
Aiguebelle
Tain l' Hermitage
Montmelian
CROATIA
HUNGARY
Valence
Mirabel
Veynes
Mantua
Mornas
Nyons
Orange
Buis les Barronnies
Parma
BOSNIA and HERZEGOVINA
Forcalquier
Avignon
Manosque
SERBIA
Jaca
Bauduen
Le Luc
Toulon
ITALY
SPAIN
Solsona
Gerona
MONTE-NEGRO
KOSOVO
Tárrega
Cervera
Barcelona
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
Valencia
31 XII 1347
from the Black Sea 31 XII
ALBANIA
● Anti-Jewish riots
■ Jewish self-defense
▲ Successful protection of Jews
✱ Avignon-papal seat
▲ Chillon-'confessions' extracted by torture

The Black Death. The map shows, in progressive shades of gray, the spread of the plague across Europe in six-month periods from Dec. 31 1347, to June 30, 1350.

tribute among the wells, the cisterns, and the springs about Venice and the other places where you go, in order to poison the people who use the water….” This indictment, therefore, shows that his accusers recognized that the plague had spread from the south northward. As the case dragged on, details were extracted telling of further consultations held among the Jews, about messengers from Toledo, and other wild allegations. On Oct. 3, 1348, during the summing up, an allegation providing a motive for the total destruction of Jewry was made; it was asserted that “before their end they said on their Law that it is true that all Jews, from the age of seven, cannot excuse themselves of this [crime], since all of them in their totality were cognizant and are guilty of the above actions” (“*asseruerunt praefati Judaei ante eorum ultimum supplicium per legem suam esse vera dicentes quod omnes Judaei a septem annis circum non possint super hoc se excusare, quoniam universaliter sciant omnes, et sint culpabiles in dicto facto*”).

Outbreak of Persecutions

These “confessions” were sent to various cities in Germany. The accusation that the Jews had poisoned the wells spread there like wildfire, fanned by the general atmosphere of terror. The patricians of *Strasbourg attempted to defend the Jews at a meeting of representatives of the Alsatian towns at Benfeld, but the majority rejected their plea, arguing: “If you are not afraid of poisoning, why have you yourselves covered and guarded your wells?” Correspondence on the subject between the authorities in the various cities has been preserved. In general, it reveals a decision to expel the Jews from the locality concerned for good, and to launch an immediate attack to kill them while they still remained. At *Basle the patricians also unsuccessfully attempted to protect the Jews. In various cities Jews were tortured to confess their part in the conspiracy. The defamation, killings, and expulsions spread through the kingdoms of Christian Spain, France, and Germany, to Poland-Lithuania, affecting about 300 Jewish communities. On Sept. 26, 1348, Pope Clement VI issued a bull in Avignon denouncing this allegation, stating that “certain Christians, seduced by that liar, the devil, are imputing the pestilence to poisoning by Jews.” This imputation and the massacre of Jews in consequence were defined by the pope as “a horrible thing.” He tried to convince Christians that “since this pestilence is all but universal everywhere, and by a mysterious decree of God has afflicted, and continues to afflict, both Jews and many other nations throughout the diverse regions of the earth to whom a common existence with Jews is unknown [the charge] that the Jews have provided the cause or the occasion for such a crime is without plausibility.” Both the emperors Charles IV and Peter IV of Aragon also tried to protect the Jews from the results of the accusation. The arguments generally put forward by the rulers were expressed by the physician Konrad of Megenberg in his *Buch der Natur* arrived at in the light of his own experience: “But I know that there were more Jews in Vienna than in any other German city familiar to me, and so many of them died of the plague that they were obliged to enlarge their cemetery. To have brought this on themselves would have been folly on their part.” However, all these appeals to reason were ineffective. The massacres of the Jews continued, and Jewish property was confiscated. Despite his policy of protecting the Jews, in 1350 the emperor Charles IV formally absolved the burghers of *Cheb (Eger) in Bohemia for the killings and robbery they had committed among the Jewish population. In doing so, he stated: “Forgiveness is [granted] for every transgression involving the slaying and destruction of Jews which has been committed without the positive knowledge of the leading citizens, or in their ignorance, or in any other fashion whatsoever.” By this time it was well-known that the accusation that Jews had spread the plague was false. In many places Jews were killed even before the plague had visited the locality. Further outbreaks of plague continued later in the 14th century but Jews were no longer accused of being the cause.

The Martyrs

It was recognized by the Jews that the Christians “have opened wide their mouths about me: they have put and spread poison on the water, so they say, in order to libel and attack us,” to quote a contemporary dirge. Faced with this overwhelming antagonism, the Jews tried to defend themselves wherever possible and in whatever way they could. In many localities fierce conflicts took place between the Jewish population and their attackers. At *Mainz the Jews set fire to their homes and to the Jewish street: according to some sources, 6,000 Jews perished in the flames. This also occurred at *Frankfurt on the Main. In Strasbourg, 2,000 Jews were burnt on a wooden scaffold in the Jewish cemetery. The manner in which the martyrs met their deaths is described in a contemporary Hebrew source concerning “the holy community of Nordhausen….They asked the burghers to permit them to prepare themselves for martyrdom: permission having been given…they joyfully arrayed themselves in their prayer shawls and shrouds, both men and women. They [the Christians] dug a grave at the cemetery and covered it with wooden scaffolding…The pious ones [among the Jews] asked that a musician be hired to play dancing tunes so that they should enter the presence of God with singing. They took each other by the hand, both men and women, and danced and leapt with their whole strength before God. Their teacher, R. Jacob, went before them; his son, R. Meir, brought up the rear to see that none should lag behind. Singing and dancing they entered the grave, and when all had entered, R. Meir jumped out and walked around to make certain that none had stayed outside. When the burghers saw him they asked him to save his life [by apostasy]. He answered: ‘This now is the end of our troubles, you see me only for a while, and then I shall be no more.’ He returned to the grave; they set fire to the scaffolding; they died all of them together and not a cry was heard” (*Sefer Minhagim* of Worms). This was the spirit that enabled European Jewry to emerge spiritually unscathed from the avalanche of hatred and cruelty released on the Jews by the Christians in Europe.

The Black Death not only resulted in the immediate destruction of thousands of Jewish lives and the loss of Jewish homes and property in hundreds of communities, but had more far-reaching consequences. Popular imagination invested the already odious image of the Jew with even more horrible characteristics. It was this image that helped to shape the stereotype of the Jew represented by *antisemitism and racism in modern times. After the Black Death the legal status of the Jews deteriorated almost everywhere in Europe. Although Jews were frequently received back into the cities where many had been killed or driven out, sometimes within a year of the decision to expel them for good, they usually only gained permission to resettle on worse terms and in greater isolation than before. The position of the Jews in Aragon and Castile (*Spain) deteriorated sharply after 1348–49. The only countries in Europe where the events of the Black Death did not leave a permanent scar on the Jewish communities were Poland-Lithuania. The reconstruction of the Jewish communities and of Jewish life and cultural activity in the second half of the 14th and the beginning of the 15th century clearly evidence the social and spiritual vitality of the Jewish people in Europe in the period.

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[Haim Hillel Ben-Sasson]

BLACK-JEWISH RELATIONS IN THE UNITED STATES. Black-Jewish contacts, and thus black-Jewish relations, date from the earliest years of settlement. Many of the tiny number of Jews who came to America in the colonial period, especially those from Spain and Portugal, engaged in international trade and thus were directly involved in the triangle trade of slavery, sugar, and rum. Others settled in many of the American colonies. In northern cities like Newport, New York, and Boston, Jewish merchants and early industrialists found their livelihoods intertwined with various aspects of slavery and the slave trade; in the South a few Jews owned or traded slaves. By and large, these early Jews reflected the views of their white Gentile neighbors; most Northern Jews opposed slavery, while most Southern Jews supported it. Few were outspoken or active on either side, although there were notable exceptions like abolitionist August Bondi; Rabbi David *Einhorn, who spoke out against slavery in Baltimore and had to leave the city for his own safety; Judah *Benjamin, Jefferson Davis's secretary of war and later state; and Rabbi Morris *Raphall, who used biblical passages to justify slavery. By and large, however, there was very little direct "relationship" at all between them. Most African Americans lived in the rural South, and Jews clustered in the urban North.

In the late 19th and early 20th centuries, however, they began to meet in Northern urban centers as two major migration streams intersected: African Americans moving North and into cities in a decades-long flight from oppression, violence, and discrimination called the Great Migration, and East European Jews fleeing the same forces in a different setting. Both groups often ended up in the same cities, sometimes even in the same neighborhoods. Similarly poor, they had few housing options. And Jews, who were considered not fully white themselves, who had had less exposure to American racism, were less violent than others, and by and large more radicalized by egalitarian ideologies like communism, socialism, and trade unionism, put up less resistance when African Americans moved into their neighborhoods. This is why, over time, many Jewish neighborhoods became black, not without tension but generally without violence.

These migrations enabled both communities to organize politically to address concerns about opportunity and equality. At the same time blacks and Jews met one another face to face, often for the first time, in economic interactions that more often revealed differences between the two communities than any sense of common cause. Both developments were critical in shaping what we call black-Jewish relations.

Migrants from both communities needed help settling in. Both were poor, subject to discrimination and bigotry, and both needed to help others left behind. So both communities established defense and protective organizations. Mutual aid societies, fraternal and trade union groups such as the *Workmen's Circle and the National Association of Colored Women's Clubs encouraged economic development and sustained social and community ties; other agencies like the NAACP and *American Jewish Congress concerned themselves explicitly with political issues affecting their group. Others joined multiracial political organizations like the Communist, Socialist, Democratic and Republican parties, and brought their community's social and cultural values with them. The political Left in particular participated actively in civil rights efforts benefiting blacks and Jews, and stressed interracial action.

Faced with similar challenges, however, there was virtually no cooperation between organizations from the two communities except on the Left. On the individual level, elite or politically well-connected Jews and African Americans often cooperated with one another. Black socialist labor leader A. Philip Randolph considered Jews among his most reliable supporters; Jews were disproportionately represented on the founding boards of the NAACP and National Urban League. The NAACP's first two presidents, Joel and Arthur Spingarn, were Jewish. African American Judge Hubert Delaney defended Jewish interests; Jewish Julius Rosenwald underwrote black educational endeavors; before his appointment to the Supreme Court Louis *Brandeis offered his legal services and his contacts to the NAACP. The black press described East European pogroms and the Jewish press covered lynchings. Beyond these individual or informational contacts, however, formal organizations rarely contacted their counterparts in the other community for cooperative action.

Too poor, too overwhelmed with their own needs, black and Jewish agencies were small and limited in resources. Blacks and Jews stayed apart as well because of black antisemitism and Jewish racism. These attitudes were less potent there than they were among white Christians but they had an impact nonetheless. And there was one more concern, at least from the Jewish side. Jewish organizations struggling for acceptance recognized that racism was the stronger force and feared that any association with such a pariah group as blacks would hurt their own efforts. When Jewish Leo *Frank was convicted of murder in 1913 on the testimony of a black man in an antisemitic trial in Atlanta, and lynched two years later, it prompted the newly formed Anti-Defamation League (ADL) to proclaim its commitment to defending the rights of all. But in practice, Frank's murder convinced many Jews that life in the United States was dangerous enough without taking on black people's problems as well.

While relatively few blacks and Jews interacted politically (outside of the Left), far more encountered each other in economic venues. In virtually every case, Jews had the upper hand. Because Jews were white, they were able to benefit from the American system that apportioned opportunity more by race than by ethnicity or religion. Their white skin and the urban skills they had brought from Europe enabled Jews to succeed more quickly than African Americans; it was the exodus of better-off Jews into better neighborhoods that brought black tenants to Jewish areas in the first place. These Jews, and those that remained, continued to run their original businesses; Jews owned up to 90% of the stores in many black neighborhoods. So the inevitable tensions in poor neighborhoods between landlords and tenants, shopkeepers and customers, social workers and clients came to be seen as black-Jewish conflicts, and they reinforced stereotypes of greedy and unscrupulous Jews, or lazy or irresponsible blacks.

Another point of contact between the two communities was the arts, especially music and the new medium of motion pictures. Meeting first in vaudeville and other performance areas, Jews also rose to positions of greater power and became impresarios and agents for black performers. The same was also true in sports.

Given the limited and hierarchical nature of relations between African Americans and American Jews, and although members of each community recognized the plight of the other, and were sensitive to prejudice, there was little positive mutual interaction in the first third of the 20th century. This changed with the rise of Nazism. With Jews threatened in Europe, and with the rise of fascist and antisemitic groups in the United States, it became clear to Jewish organizations that they desperately needed allies. And for black people, who recognized bigotry when they saw it, anti-Nazi efforts also offered the strongest challenge to American racism. The black press and several black groups therefore launched what they called a Double V campaign: victory against Nazism abroad and racism at home. Outspoken in their protest of Nazi atrocities, black groups also lost no opportunity to draw parallels with lynching and racial bigotry in the United States.

Black-Jewish cooperation in the 1930s was clearly based on mutual self-interest, but one that recognized the shared danger inherent in any form of bigotry. These groups had come to recognize what the Left had been saying all along: that unity among the oppressed was the most effective weapon to bring about change. The Ribbentrop-Molotov, German-Soviet pact, however, discredited the Left in the eyes of many liberals, and the emerging Cold War made suspect all programs espoused by Communists. Stalin's purges alienated still more Jews, who abandoned the Communist Party for liberal and progressive Jewish political organizations. Thus, Nazism and the war brought black and Jewish liberals to a new recognition of the importance of civil rights and racial tolerance. At the same time, anti-Communism also led them to limit their strategies, goals, and coalitions in ways that hobbled the potential for fundamental social change. The stage was set for what many consider the "golden age" of black-Jewish relations.

Political relations between black and Jewish political agencies warmed further as the modern civil rights movement gained real force. The two communities had gotten to know one another through common work. Their organizations had become more desirable allies as their earlier successes brought increased membership, stronger finances, and greater political access. And they shared a set of liberal values, including bringing change within the existing system; employing moderate, non-confrontational tactics in doing so; a commitment to the centrality of individual rights rather than privileges bestowed by membership in a group; and a conviction that it was the obligation of government to foster equal opportunity. They advocated litigation, education, and legislation to bring about equality, evidenced, for example, in the American Jewish Congress's new Commission on Law and Social Action.

By the late 1940s, liberal civil rights organizations rooted in the two communities slowly began to develop a close partnership, launching programs separately and jointly to improve conditions for racial and religious minorities. This can still be viewed as self-interest, but it was now a broader concept. The NAACP, with the help of all the main Jewish organizations, won a Supreme Court case declaring restrictive housing covenants unenforceable, which benefited both groups but particularly economically mobile Jews. The NAACP came to the *Brown v. Board of Education* case, as well as its predecessors, armed with amicus briefs from virtually every other black and Jewish civil rights organization (along with other progressive, union, religious, and civic groups). The creation of New York's state college system was a joint black-Jewish effort to combat religious and racial discrimination in higher education. Together they fought to make permanent the war's Fair

Employment Practices Act, which outlawed employment discrimination based on race, religion, or national origin.

They cooperated on passing anti-Klan and anti-violence legislation, fighting restrictions on employment applications, and challenging racism and antisemitism with educational programs that appealed to American ideals of fairness and democracy. The two leaders of the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights were an African American, Walter White, and a Jew, Arnold *Aronson.

Nor was such collaboration one-sided. Jewish organizations participated in racial segregation cases; black groups advocated expanding immigration to accommodate wartime refugees, endorsed (and lobbied for) the UN resolution on the creation of the state of Israel, and protested Soviet antisemitism.

Because the persistence of economic tensions threatened these partnerships and contradicted their non-discriminatory rhetoric, black and Jewish organizations began to intervene directly. Jewish activists met with (or picketed) Jewish landlords and storeowners, urging them to end segregationist and discriminatory practices. The AJ Congress and ADL organized Jewish merchants in black neighborhoods into associations charged with improving race relations, hiring more African-American clerks, and contributing to community improvement projects. (In many areas, Jews left black neighborhoods completely, diminishing tensions that way.) In both communities leaders worked to educate their own people on the dangers of bigotry against any other group. Such efforts succeeded widely, revealed in the disproportionate number of Jews supporting black civil rights compared with other whites, and a rapid decline in reported antisemitism in the African-American community. In many ways this truly was a golden age for black-Jewish relations.

But these liberal successes brought new challenges. Jews continued to outperform blacks economically and socially. No longer segregated or discriminated against overtly or legally, Jews could make their way in the world far more easily than blacks, who continued to suffer from open discrimination and legal segregation. This divergence produced not only resentment on the part of black people but also Jews' greater satisfaction with the current system. For Jews, educational and reformist methods worked. For African Americans, who continued to face structural barriers, such approaches were inadequate. As black groups turned to increasingly confrontational tactics such as boycotts and mass demonstrations, most Jews moved toward a greater commitment to the status quo.

The 1960s sit-ins and the rhetoric of the more activist civil rights workers heightened these tensions and laid bare the different social positions of Jews and blacks. Southern Jews in particular refused to get involved, save a courageous few very often from the more radical segment of the community. Most Jews, North and South, still supported the goals of, and contributed financially to, black civil rights organizations, but some questioned the tactics of what they feared could become demagogic mob action. For a community invested in law and order to maintain its own security, pickets, civil disobedience, and nationalist rhetoric seemed particularly dangerous. So while younger and more radical – and often more assimilated – Jews continued to be overrepresented among white civil rights workers in groups like the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, their liberal counterparts became skittish at the sound of "Black Power." Two of the three civil rights workers killed in Mississippi in the summer of 1964 were Jews. Abraham Joshua *Heschel marched with Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., who expressed strong support for Zionism; Rabbi Joachim Prinz, a Berlin-born naturalized American, addressed the 1963 March on Washington. Yet as the civil rights movement moved North and African Americans sought greater social equality, Jewish suburbanites became wary.

Black activists (and white leftists) had become radicalized by the failure of the liberal promise: white resistance, police violence, and the persistence of poverty and segregation suggested that liberal whites could not be trusted. And Jews constituted one of the largest and most visible segments of liberal whites. Nor did it seem that polite, liberal strategies could successfully challenge racism. Might confrontation, even violence, be appropriate? Should primacy be given to individual rights, when black rights were systematically threatened by virtue of their being members of a group? Perhaps race blindness was not as effective as programs that emphasized group rights. To pay for the structural changes required, black manifestos demanded aid and reparations from government, churches, and synagogues. Pan-African nationalism and anti-colonialism shifted black sympathy from Israel to the Palestinians – just at the time of the *Six-Day War. Black antisemitism became visible again. All these developments left Jews feeling threatened and, perhaps more importantly, betrayed.

Meanwhile, riots, violence, nationalism, and confrontational black demands reinforced Jewish racism. Skeptical Jewish leaders backed off from earlier alliances. Many of their constituents, now in suburbs, felt less concerned with urban strife. Others became neoconservatives, arguing that liberalism had lost its way. So African Americans in turn felt betrayed by Jews, whom they believed had abandoned them, and the fight for civil rights.

Dozens of incidents from the late 1960s through the 1990s reveal these stresses, from the struggle over control of schools in Brooklyn, New York's Ocean Hill-Brownsville to the refusal of most Jewish groups to support the NAACP in the 1974 and 1978 affirmative action cases; from Jesse Jackson's "Hymietown" remarks of 1984 to New York City Mayor Ed *Koch's claim that Jews would "have to be crazy" to vote for Jackson. The Nation of Islam and its leader Louis Farrakhan advertised its antisemitism, while academics and students fought their own battles on campuses across the country. At the City University of New York, for example, Professor Leonard Jeffries blamed Jews for the problems facing black people, and

Professor Michael Levin insisted that black people were inferior to whites. And of course there was real violence like that in the Afro-Caribbean and Orthodox Jewish neighborhood of Brooklyn's Crown Heights in 1991. After a member of the Lubavitcher rebbe's entourage accidentally hit and killed a black child, black youths attacked Jewish passers-by. One Jewish youth was stabbed to death. One early dimension of affirmative action particularly troubled Jews: quotas. African Americans intended quotas as a floor, designed to open up and include them, but Jews, for whom quotas were historically used to exclude and limit, balked. Once the legal concept was clarified, most Jews came to support affirmative action.

All this played out against the backdrop of a rightward shift in the larger political scene. Even for those still committed to black-Jewish cooperation, it appeared that few shared issues remained. The black community struggled with problems of poverty, racism, crime, and improving education and opportunity, while Jews became increasingly concerned with issues surrounding Israeli security, Jewish "continuity," and church-state separation. Jewish Studies programs competed with Black or Africana Studies for college curricula funding. It seemed all that was left between the two groups was friction. Pundits proclaimed the death of the black-Jewish relationship.

But that is a distortion. Civil rights coalitions remained active into the 21st century, if less visible. There have been hundreds of local economic and political initiatives around the country: books, articles, and documentaries about blacks and Jews, congregational exchanges, public discussions – from Jews for Racial and Economic Justice and Boston's Black-Jewish Economic Roundtable to *Common Cause*, a journal jointly published by the American Jewish Committee and Howard University; from the Reform Movement Religious Action Center's Common Road to Justice to the Marjory Kovler Institute for Black-Jewish Relations. In Congress, the Black Caucus has established routine and productive cooperation with the more informal "Jewish caucus."

All this sustained, even increasing, mutual engagement suggests that many overlapping concerns do remain, not least of which is the rightward movement of the country itself, opposed by a majority of both communities, who remain staunch Democratic voters. Problems of discrimination, unequal access to opportunity, voting, and education still top both black and Jewish political agendas, as do commitments to civic community, tolerance, and diversity.

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[Cheryl Greenberg (2nd ed.)]

°BLACKSTONE, WILLIAM E. (1841–1935), Chicago businessman who became an evangelist, missionary, and ardent supporter of the return of the Jews to Palestine. His "Zionistic" views sprang from his millennarian theology as expressed in his first book *Jesus is Coming* (1878), which was translated into many languages, including Hebrew. He considered the Jewish restoration to Zion as the fulfillment of biblical prophecies signifying the approach of the second Advent of Jesus. After a visit to Palestine in 1888/89, Blackstone organized meetings of Jews and Christians to promote his Zionist ideas. In 1891 he initiated a memorandum to President Harrison urging the restoration of Palestine to the Jews as a primary solution to the problem of Jewish persecution in Czarist Russia. The petition was signed by 413 outstanding Jewish and Christian personalities in the United States. In 1916 a similar memorandum was sent to President Wilson which may have influenced his positive attitude to the *Balfour Declaration.

[Yona Malachy]

°BLAKE, WILLIAM (1757–1827), English poet and engraver. One of the great figures of the English romantic movement, Blake described his poems as prophecies, declaring that his model was the Bible, which he termed "the great code of art." The works of Homer and Ovid were for him, by contrast, perversions of art and imagination. Blake was in touch with various occult circles and shared with them the belief that Britain was the cradle of the Israelite people. This explains his tendency to identify English names and places with those in the Bible. His work is saturated in biblical imagery and allusion. His main biblical poems are "*The Four Zoas*," "*Milton*," and "*Jerusalem*." The last quatrain of his preface to "*Milton*" well illustrates Blake's revolutionary mystique: "I will not cease from mental fight/Nor shall my sword sleep in my hand,/Till we have built Jerusalem/ In England's green and pleasant land." In freeing his verse from the shackles of classical prosody and adopting for his prophetic books something resembling the syntax of the Bible, Blake may have been influenced by the 18th-century Oxford scholar, Robert *Lowth. Although he knew little or no Hebrew, and was not Jewish, Blake was also influenced by ideas which can be traced to the *Kabbalah. His notion of the Giant Albion, whose limbs contain heaven and earth, is derived from the kabbalistic image of **Adam Kadmon* (Primal Man). Equally kabbalistic are his notions of a divine world divided into male and female principles, and his conception of a primordial "Fall" from which all evil flows in both the divine and the human realms. In spite of many Judaistic ideas and currents of feeling, Blake's moral ideas are, paradoxically enough, anti-Judaic, even antisemitic. Like the Gnostics, he viewed the Law and the Commandments as an evil system, and he identified the God of Sinai with some evil demiurge.

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[Harold Harel Fisch]

BLANC, MEL (1908–1989), U.S. voice actor. Born in San Francisco, California, Blanc was one of America's most distinguished and versatile voice actors during his long career with Warner Brothers and Hanna-Barbera cartoons. Blanc was the voice of a number of Warner Brothers' and Hanna-Barbera's most famous cartoon characters, including such favorites as Bugs Bunny, Daffy Duck, Porky Pig, Woody Woodpecker, Tweety Bird, Speedy Gonzalez, and Sylvester the Cat. Blanc's talents first gained recognition when he worked as a regular on the *Jack Benny Program*, on which he served as the voice of Benny's automobile, violin teacher Professor LeBlanc, Polly the Parrot, and Benny's pet polar bear, Carmichael. Blanc appeared on various national radio programs including *Burns and Allen*, *Point Sublime* and *G.I. Journal*, before joining Warner Brothers' renowned cartoon studio, the Leon Schlesinger Studios, in 1936. It was at Warner Brothers that Blanc became the voice of his most celebrated characters. In addition to the aforementioned roles, Blanc was also responsible for the voices of Yosemite Sam, Pepe Lepew, Foghorn Leghorn, Wile E. Coyote, Road Runner, Marvin the Martian, the Tasmanian Devil, and Elmer Fudd, a role inherited from Arthur Q. Bryan. During the early 1960s, Blanc began working at Hanna-Barbera studios, where he worked alongside the prominent vocal actors Daws Butler and Don Messick. Blanc's best-known characters from the Hanna-Barbera era are Barney Rubble, Cosmo G. Spacely, Hardy Harr Harr, and Captain Caveman. His last original character was Heathcliff the Cat, who first appeared in 1981. Blanc's tombstone and autobiography both bear his signature phrase, "That's all, folks!"

[Walter Driver (2nd ed.)]

BLANCHOT, MAURICE (1907–2003), French writer, novelist, essayist, and literary critic, Blanchot began his career as a young monarchist and right-wing journalist in the *Journal des Debats*. While studying German literature and philosophy in Strasbourg, he became a close friend of Emmanuel *Levinas, who introduced him to Heidegger's thought. During the 1930s, despite this friendship, Blanchot wrote in various right-wing newspapers, most of them related to Maurras' *Action Francaise*, which he admired, and his articles were occasionally antisemitic in tone, describing for example Leon Blum in 1937 as "a wog"; but Blanchot was critical of the persecution of the Jews as early as 1933. He also wrote in Thierry Maulnier's *Combat* review, which was anti-Hitlerian but favored a "rational antisemitism." In 1940, he joined the Jeune France movement, a cultural association set up by the Vichy regime. In 1942 he published his novel *Aminadab*, named for a brother of Levinas murdered by the Nazis in Lithuania.

After the war, Blanchot began a journey towards Jewish philosophy and literature, following in the footsteps of Levinas, whose concepts and philosophical language impregnated Blanchot's literary criticism. This turn towards Judaism, clearly perceptible in *L'Entretien infini*, to the point that Philippe Mesnard wrote that Blanchot "tries to think Jewish like Holderlin tried to think Greek," may be seen as an endeavor to cope with the horrors of genocide. Blanchot commented on Kafka, Edmond Jabes, and Martin Buber. In the wake of the May '68 movement, Blanchot joined the extreme left wing, but ultimately left it when French left-wingers became increasingly anti-Israel.

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[Dror Franck Sullaper (2nd ed.)]

°**BLANCKENHORN, MAX** (1861–1947), German geologist who became famous principally for his research and publications on the geology of the Near East, Syria, and particularly Ereẓ Israel. Blanckenhorn visited the countries of the Near East many times and worked together with A. *Aaronsohn and the zoologist Israel *Aharoni. He was also a friend of Otto *Warburg, with whom he worked to deepen and spread knowledge of the natural resources of Ereẓ Israel. As the then virtually only expert on the geology of Ereẓ Israel, Blanckenhorn often advised Zionist leaders on matters concerning economic resources of the country. From 1889 to 1940 he published more than 50 pieces of research on the general and structural geology of the Near East, on the stratigraphy, paleontology, prehistory, seismology, and climatology, and on mineral resources such as phosphates, bitumen, and the salts of the Dead Sea. He prepared the first geological maps of the Jerusalem area (1905), of the Near East (in International Map of Europe containing the Mediterranean area, 1902–11), and of Ereẓ Israel on a scale of 1:700,000 (1912). Of great importance are his paleontological monographs on the fossils from Ereẓ Israel and Syria. A detailed list of his publications on the Middle East appeared in *Israel Journal of Earth-Sciences*.

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[Moshe A. Avnimelech]

BLANES, JACOB (1877–1943), one of the last cantors of the Portuguese Synagogue of Amsterdam before the Holocaust. He was appointed in 1902. Blanes insisted on full accuracy in recitation, a characteristic feature of Sephardi cantoral singing in Amsterdam. He had a deep knowledge of *Hazande*, including many ancient melodies for the *Kaddish, etc. He had great influence on younger men anxious to preserve the tradition of *ḥazzanut*, and the few pupils of his who survived World War II were afterward to be found in communities in various parts of the world. Blanes himself died after being deported from Holland in 1943.

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[Simon Vega]

BLANK, ARTHUR M. (1942–), U.S. entrepreneur, philanthropist. Born in Queens, N.Y., Blank received an accounting degree from Babson College and worked as an accountant before joining a small pharmaceutical company started by his father. When the company was bought by Daylin, Blank became an executive at a Daylin drugstore unit. He then moved to the Handy Dan Improvement Centers, a division of Daylin, where he met Bernard *Marcus. In 1978, Blank and Marcus were fired by Daylin over disagreements about the small chain's future and decided to go into the home-improvement business. After surveying four cities, they settled on Atlanta as the place with the right market and real estate conditions to test their theory that consumers would flock to huge stores offering a broad selection of home improvement products, low prices, and hospitable service. They opened three Home Depot stores in 1979, employing 200 workers, and had $7 million in sales. They lost nearly $1 million. But their fortunes changed and the company went public in 1981. Their goal was to encourage creativity from everyone from sales people to managers, with stock options offered even to the lowest-level employees. Their adversary was the lumberyard down the street, not the boss. This familial structure, plus a ferocious sense of competition, proved a winning combination. Eventually, their muscle helped put Handy Dan out of business. By the end of 1998, Home Depot had grown to almost 800 stores, had 157,000 employees, and recorded more than $30 billion in sales. Home Depot became the do-it-yourself giant, providing everything from screws to electrical wiring for American fixer-uppers. It also opened stores in other countries, in Canada and South America.

Blank served as chief executive from May 1997 until December 2001, when he turned over day-to-day management to an executive from General Electric. During Blank's tenure, Home Depot sales more than doubled and the company's stock price almost tripled. Blank said he planned to devote more time to his family foundation and to his wife, who was expecting twins. In December 2001, Blank also completed a deal to buy the Atlanta Falcons professional football franchise for $545 million. Blank and Marcus became philanthropic leaders in Atlanta and Blank was chairman of the local Chamber of Commerce. When he retired, his stock holdings were estimated at $1.6 billion. His foundation gave away $100 million from 1995 through 2002. His philanthropies ranged from a new venue for the Atlanta Symphony Orchestra to restoring green space in the inner city to helping such nonprofits as Outward Bound and Zoo Atlanta. About 90 percent of the funds the Blank Family Foundation gives away goes to youth projects, but other causes also receive support. The foundation gives to many Jewish organizations. The Home Depot company has spawned as many as 1,000 millionaires. One former executive vice president, Ronald M. Brill, who helped start the company, gave $1 million for an endowment at the Atlanta Jewish Community Center in 1999.

[Stewart Kampel (2nd ed.)]

BLANK, LEON (1867–1934), Yiddish actor. Born in Lithuania, Blank and his family subsequently moved to Romania. He sang in synagogue choirs as a child but was attracted to Yiddish theater. He reached the U.S. in 1886, as a stowaway with Mogulesko's company. He started out as a member of the chorus but soon turned to acting. As a singer and a dramatic reader, Blank made a number of recordings in Yiddish.

His appearance in the play *David's Fidele* ("David's Violin," 1897) brought him recognition and started him on a successful career. Blank was one of the founders of the Hebrew Actor's Union in 1899. In the 1920s he starred in many of Jacob *Gordin's plays at the National Theatre, Liberty Theatre, and Public Theatre in New York. For a short period he was a member of a Yiddish theater company in Philadelphia, but he spent most of his time on the road, performing across the U.S. Despite offers from Broadway and Hollywood, Blank remained attached to the Jewish theater. His memoirs were serialized in *Der Forverts* (Oct. 5, 1928–Jan. 29, 1929).

[Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

BLANK, MAURICE (1848–1921), Romanian banker. Born in Pitesti, Romania, Blank was one of the first Romanian Jews to receive diplomas in economics and finance at the Vienna and Leipzig universities. He went to work in Bucharest in the banking house of Jacob Marmorosh, who later invited him to become a partner. Marmorosh, Blank and Company became Romania's largest bank after the Romanian National Bank. Blank made important connections with East European financial institutions and was instrumental in developing his country's economic relations with the rest of Europe, particularly after Romania became independent in 1878. His bank shared in developing many of the country's industries, helped to introduce steel trains, and made possible the financing of the great tunnel project at Barbosi. Blank was involved in Jewish and general communal affairs, giving generous support to cultural institutions and founding theaters and publishing houses. His son ARISTIDE BLANK (1884–1962) became general director of the bank on his father's death and was also a supporter of many Jewish and general causes. He published a number of studies on finance, and some plays in Romanian and French. Aristide Blank was also a promoter of Romanian culture: he financed the publication of books on history and archaeology, bought the *Adevarul* and *Dimineata* dailies, and supported the Popular Theater of Bucharest and the Romanian school in Paris. He also founded the nonprofit Cultura Nationala publishing house, which published books in the fields of literature, the humanities, and social sciences, with the aim of encouraging writers and promoting good literature. He also financed the translation of the Bible into Romanian by the writer-priest Gala Galaction. In 1950, ruined and persecuted by the Communist regime, Aristide Blank left for Paris, where he lived in poverty and died.

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[Joachim O. Ronall / Lucian-Zeev Herscovici (2nd ed.)]

BLANK, SAMUEL LEIB (1893–1962), Hebrew novelist and short-story writer. Blank, who was born in the Ukraine, spent his formative years in Bessarabia and in 1922 settled in the United States. His early stories described the Jewish farmers of Bessarabia, and his tetralogy *Ẓon, Adamah, Naḥalah* (1930–33), and *Moshavah* (1936) focused upon a simple protagonist, significantly and symbolically called "Bo'az." Blank was not a subtle psychologist, but he vividly depicted the Jewish man of the soil in his primitive surroundings. When he attempted to portray the harsher realities of life after World War I, such as the pogroms in the Ukraine in his *Bi-She'at Ḥerum* (1932) or the maladjusted immigrant in America, as in *Mr. Kunis* (1934) or *Iy ha-Dema'ot* (1941), he verged on melodrama. *Al Admat Amerikah* (1958) and *Eẓ ha-Sadeh* (1961) were among his last works.

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[Eisig Silberschlag]

BLANK, SHELDON HAAS (1896–1989), U.S. rabbi and Bible scholar. Blank was ordained at Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati, Ohio, in 1923. From 1926 he taught Bible at the Hebrew Union College. Blank published numerous studies on many aspects of biblical scholarship, dealing with questions of the text and of social and political history. He made a special contribution by his insights into the religious experience of biblical personalities, especially the prophets, and by his exposition of their religious ideas. These qualities characterize his books *Prophetic Faith in Isaiah* (1958) and *Jeremiah: Man and Prophet* (1961) as well as such essays as "Men against God, the Promethean Element in Biblical Prayer" (in JBL, 72 (1953), 1–13), "Doest Thou Well to Be Angry? A Study in Self-Pity" (in HUCA, 26 (1955), 29–41), and "Of a Truth the Lord Hath Sent Me, an Inquiry into the Source of the Prophet's Authority" (1955). In these studies he strictly followed the canons of critical scholarship. Elsewhere, however, he sought to reinterpret biblical thoughts in terms of the present day: "The Relevance of Prophetic Thought for the Modern Rabbi" (CCARY, 65 (1955), 163–72) and *The Dawn of Our Responsibility* (1961). He was editor of the *Hebrew Union College Annual* for more than 60 years,

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[Bernard J. Bamberger]

BLANKENSTEIN, MARCUS VAN (1880–1964), Dutch journalist. From 1909 to 1920, Blankenstein reported from Berlin, returned to Rotterdam in 1931, and became chief foreign editor of the *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant*. He left in 1936 when his articles were considered too anti-Nazi. He reached England in 1940 and became chief editor of the Free Dutch weekly *Vrij Nederland* in London. After the war he was a foreign editor and roving correspondent of the daily *Het Parool*.

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BLANKFORT, MICHAEL S. (1907–1982), novelist, and screenwriter. After publishing *The Widow-Makers* (1946) and *Big Yankee, the Life of Carlson of the Raiders* (1947), Blankfort, an ardent Zionist, achieved international success with *The Juggler* (1952), which deals with a young refugee's adjustment to normal life in the State of Israel. His other works include *The Strong Hand* (1956), about a young Orthodox rabbi's tragic love affair with a war widow; screenplays, such as his adaptation of Herman Wouk's *The Caine Mutiny* (1954); and *Behold the Fire* (1965), a novel based on the exploits of the *Nili conspirators for which he was awarded the S.Y. Agnon Prize.

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BLANKSTEIN, CECIL (1908–1989), Canadian architect. Blankstein was born in Winnipeg, Manitoba, into a building and architectural dynasty. His grandfather Meyer was a contractor and stonemason in Odessa and his father Max was a Russian-trained architect who practiced in Winnipeg from 1905, the first registered Jewish architect in western Canada. Cecil Blankstein graduated with a degree in architecture from the University of Manitoba in 1929. His sister Evelyn and brother Morley were also architects and his son Arthur became an interior designer in Winnipeg and son Max a town planner in Israel.

Heavily influenced by the German Bauhaus tradition, Blankstein's contemporary designs graced residential, commercial, and public building in Winnipeg and elsewhere in Canada, including the Winnipeg Concert Hall, Winnipeg Airport, Winnipeg City Hall, Winnipeg Post Office, the Lorne Building in Ottawa, which until recently housed The National Gallery of Canada, and buildings on several Canadian university campuses. Of special note are Blankstein's contemporary postwar design for Winnipeg's Shaarey Zedek Synagogue and his imaginative conception, in the late 1960s, for a major terraced housing project, Tzameret Habirah, in Jerusalem's French Hill quarter. Blankstein's artful combination of row housing with stacked building techniques set a new standard for hillside residential construction in Israel.

[Harold Troper (2nd ed.)]

BLANTER, MATVEY ISAAKOVICH (1903–1990), songwriter. Born in Pochep, Ukraine, Blanter studied violin, theory, and composition in various institutions in Kiev (1915–17) and Moscow (1917–21). His pieces and music for the Leningrad Satirical Theater attracted early attention. During the period that he worked with the Krokodil miniature theater in Gorky, he developed an individual humorous style. He wrote for musical comedies, and his tune "Katyusha" attained popular success during World War II. His music, which made use of folk melodies, also shows an urban vernacular and jazz influences.

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BLASER, ISAAC (1837–1907), Russian rabbi and educator. Blaser was one of the foremost disciples of R. Israel *Lipkin (Salanter), whose Musar (ethicist) *movement he helped develop and lead. In the early 1850s, Blaser moved from his native Vilna to Kovno, Lithuania, where he came under the influence of Lipkin. In 1864 he reluctantly accepted the rabbinate of St. Petersburg, hence the name by which he is familiarly known, "Reb Itzelle Peterburger." During this time he wrote halakhic works and responsa, arousing the opposition of the *maskilim*. He left the rabbinate in 1878, returning to Kovno where he headed the *kolel* ("advanced talmudical academy"), and sent emissaries throughout the world to gain support for it. He helped to found the yeshivah of *Slobodka. About 1891, as the result of bitter controversy concerning the Musar movement, he left the *kolel* of Kovno and helped to found other such Musar-oriented schools elsewhere. Increasing opposition to the Musar movement (1896–98) and to Blaser, its chief exponent, forced the yeshivah to leave its premises in Slobodka, and it finally became established in Kelm (1898). In 1904 Blaser, favoring the idea of Jewish colonization of Palestine, immigrated to and settled in Jerusalem, where he died. His main contribution to the Musar movement was his emphasis on acquiring "fear of the Lord" (i.e., piety) by means of emotional meditation in works of *musar.* Unlike other disciples of Salanter, who expounded *musar* intellectually, Blaser held that knowledge and conceptualization were inadequate to the task of curbing man's baser instincts. "Fear of the Lord" could be aroused only by an unsophisticated contemplation of man's physical vulnerability, his moral lowliness, and his punishment for continued disobedience. Since he held that the form of such meditation makes a more lasting impression than the contents, he prescribed the reading aloud of *musar* texts in a melancholy melody, with frequent periods of weeping. Similarly, his preaching was simple, sad, and usually accompanied by tears. Blaser's major literary contribution to the Musar movement, *Or Yisrael* ("Light of Israel," 1900), was often reprinted, and for several decades was the only available exposition of *musar.* Blaser here expounded the fundamentals of the Musar approach and presented excerpts from the letters of Israel Lipkin, along with evaluations of the teachings of the founders of the Musar movement and of some of its leading personalities. His major halakhic work is *Peri Yiẓḥak* ("Fruit of Isaac"); the first volume was published in Vilna in 1881, some 14 years after he had completed writing it. The second volume was published posthumously in 1912. He contributed numerous articles, both on *halakhah* and *musar*, to the various rabbinic journals of the day. Much of his writing remained unpublished.

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[Norman Lamm]

BLASPHEMY, in the broadest (and least precise) sense any act contrary to the will of God or derogatory to His power. Blasphemy is the term employed to translate the Hebrew verbs *ḥeref, giddef*, and *ni'eẓ* (e.g., Isa. 37:6, *gdf*, where the servants of the king of Assyria denied the Lord's power to save Israel; and Ezek. 20:27, where it refers to Israel's sacrifices on the High Places). In the narrower and more precise sense, the word is used to mean speaking contemptuously of the Deity. The classic instance in the Bible is Leviticus 24:10–23, where the pronouncement (*nakav, naqav*) of the name of God appears in conjunction with the verb *killel* (*qillel*). God (*Elohim*) also appears as the object of the verb *qillel* in Exodus 22:27 (see also I Kings 21:10, 13, where *qillel* is euphemistically displaced by its antonym *berekh*, "to bless" or "to renounce"; see *Euphemism and Dysphemism). The rabbinic interpretation of Leviticus 24:10–23 and Exodus 22:27 as wishing (i.e., wishing harm, Sanh. 7:5) establishes a definition of blasphemy such as to render the actual perpetration (and the application of the penalty, capital punishment) out of the realm of probability. The verb *qallel* rarely means "to curse." Rather it subsumes a wide range of abuse, often nonverbal in nature. "To curse" the Deity meant to repudiate Him, to violate His norms; blasphemy on the part of an Israelite, in the narrow sense, is a concept alien to biblical thought.

[Herbert Chanan Brichto]

In the Talmud

The Mishnah (Sanh. 7:5), rules that the death sentence by stoning should be applied only in the case where the blasphemer had uttered the *Tetragrammaton and two witnesses had warned him prior to the transgression. In the Talmud, however, R. Meir extends this punishment to cases where the blasphemer had used one of the *attributes, i.e., substitute names of God (Sanh. 56a). The accepted *halakhah* is that only the one who has uttered the Tetragrammaton be sentenced to death by stoning; the offender who pronounced the substitute names is only flogged (Maim., Yad, Avodat Kokhavim, 2:7). In the court procedure (Sanh. 5:7 and Sanh. 60a) the witnesses for the prosecution testified to the words of the blasphemer by substituting the expressions "Yose shall strike Yose" (*yakkeh Yose et Yose*). Toward the end of the hearing, however, after the audience had been dismissed, the senior witness was asked to repeat the exact words uttered by the blasphemer. Upon their pronouncement (i.e., of the Tetragrammaton), the judges stood up and rent their garments. The act expressed their profound mourning at hearing the name of God profaned. The custom of tearing one's clothes on hearing blasphemy is attested to in II Kings 18:37, where it is told that Eliakim and his associates tore their garments upon hearing the blasphemous words of the Assyrian warlord *Rab-Shakeh (Sanh. 60a). It is codified in Shulḥan Arukh (YD 340:37) that whoever bears a blasphemy whether with the Tetragrammaton or with attributes, in any language and from a Jew, even from the mouth of a witness, must rend his garment. The second and any successive witnesses only testified: "I have heard the same words" (Sanh. 7:5); according to the opinion of *Abba Saul, whoever utters the Tetragrammaton in public is excluded from the world to come (Av. Zar. 18a). Besides the sacrilege of God, vituperation against the king, God's anointed servant, was also considered blasphemy (cf. Ex. 22:27 and I Kings 21:10). Gentiles, too, are obliged to refrain from blasphemy since this is one of the Seven *Noachide Laws (Sanh. 56a, 60a). Maimonides also classified as blasphemy the erasure of God's name written on paper or engraved on stone, etc., which was to be punished by flogging (Yad, Yesodei ha-Torah 6:1–6). After Jewish courts were deprived of jurisdiction in those cases where capital punishment was applied, excommunication (see *ḥerem) was the usual sanction against a blasphemer (J. Mueller (ed.), *Teshuvot Ge'onei Mizraḥ u-Ma'arav* (1898), 27a, responsum no. 103 by Amram Gaon).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Eisenstein, Dinim, 68.

BLAU, AMRAM (1894–1974), rabbi, leader of the ultra-Orthodox sect *Neturei Karta. Blau was born in Jerusalem into a noted religious family. He was a leading member of the Agudat Israel youth movement in the early 1930s. Blau and some of his colleagues left the movement in 1935 and founded the extreme anti-Zionist Ḥevrat Ḥayyim, later to become Neturei Karta. His fierce opposition to Zionism and Agudat Israel, sometimes expressed violently, led on several occasions to his prosecution and imprisonment. His anti-Zionist attitude did not change with the establishment of the State of Israel (1948), which he refused to recognize. Blau and his followers rejected the State of Israel on so-called "halakhic" grounds, rejecting a state run by secular Jews. In addition, Blau continually denounced the establishment of a Jewish state before the coming of the Messiah as an act of infamy and blasphemy. In 1965, after the death of his first wife, he married a proselyte, Ruth Ben-David, despite the opposition of the ultra-Orthodox *bet din* and some of his followers.

[Menachem Friedman / David Derovan (2nd ed.)]

BLAU, BRUNO (1881–1954), German lawyer and sociologist. Born in West Prussia, Blau practiced law in Berlin. In 1908 he joined A. *Ruppin as editor, and from 1909 was the sole editor, of the *Zeitschrift fuer Demographie und Statistik der Juden* (1904–19; new series 1924–27), published by the Buero fuer Statistik der Juden, of which Blau became director after Ruppin left for Palestine in 1907. Because of his severe illness, the Nazis did not deport him during World War II but kept him confined in the police section of the Berlin Jewish Hospital. Blau immigrated to the United States after the war, but returned to Germany before his death. Among Blau's many published works are *Kriminalitaet der deutschen Juden* (1906) and *Das Ende der Juden in Deutschland* (1950; *Last Days of German Jewry,* 1953). He also edited the anthology *Statistik der Juden* (1918). Of particular importance is his work on anti-Jewish Nazi legislation and administrative orders, *Ausnahmerecht fuer die Juden in den europaeischen Laendern* (vol. 1, 1952), which is a collection of documents from Germany and was reprinted as *Ausnahmerecht fuer die Juden in Deutschland, 1933–1945* (1954).

BLAU, FRITZ (1865–1929), Austrian chemist. From 1890 he taught at Vienna University. In 1902 he joined the Auregesellschaft in Berlin, and from 1919 was head of research of the Osram Company in Berlin, at that time one of the foremost industrial firms in Germany. He took out 185 patents, some in organic chemistry, but most dealing with tungsten, incandescent electric lamps, gases, and radiation. This work led to other patented developments in wireless telegraphy, electric furnaces, and X-ray machines and techniques. In addition, Blau published many papers in scientific journals on these subjects.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Zeitschrift fuer technische Physik*, 6 (1925), 278–359.

[Samuel Aaron Miller]

BLAU, HERBERT (1926–), U.S. theater director and educator. Born in New York, Blau received a bachelor's degree in chemical engineering from New York University (1947), an M.A. in drama from Stanford University (1949), and a Ph.D. in English and American literature from Stanford (1954). He formed the Actor's Workshop in San Francisco with Jules *Irving, in 1952. One of Blau's innovative acts was to present a play to the inmates of San Quentin penitentiary. On November 19, 1957, a group of actors faced an audience of 1,400 convicts. No live play had been performed at San Quentin since Sarah Bernhardt had appeared there in 1913. Now, 45 years later, the play that had been chosen, largely because no women appeared in it, was Samuel Beckett's *Waiting for Godot*. It was an unequivocal success. Overall, this repertory theater was highly successful but failed financially, and closed in 1965. Blau and Irving then directed the Lincoln Center Repertory Theater, New York, but Blau resigned in 1968. His last extended work in the theater was as artistic director of the experimental group KRAKEN (1968–81). Blau served as its first provost as well as dean of the School of Theater. A radical departure from the already innovative theater that Blau had been associated with, the work of KRAKEN included some of the first productions in the U.S. of such controversial dramatists of the modernist period as Brecht, Beckett, *Pinter, Ionesco, Whiting, Arden, Duerrenmatt, Frisch, and Genet.

Blau was distinguished professor of English and Modern Studies at the University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee, where he was also a senior fellow at the Center for 20th Century Studies. Subsequently he was the Byron W. and Alice L. Lockwood Professor in the Humanities at the University of Washington.

Regarded as the reigning theorist of theater and performance in our time, Blau wrote many books on the subject. *Sails of the Herring Fleet: Essays on Beckett* (2000) traces Blau's encounters with the work of Samuel Beckett. He directed Beckett's plays when they were still virtually unknown, and for more than four decades remained one of the leading interpreters of his work. In addition to now-classic essays, the book includes two interviews – one from Blau's experience directing *Waiting for Godot* at San Quentin prison and one from his last visit with Beckett, just before the playwright's death. *Take Up the Bodies: Theater at the Vanishing Point* (1982) and *Blooded Thought: Occasions of Theater* (1982) received the George Jean Nathan Award for Dramatic Criticism. Other books by Blau include *The Impossible Theater. A Manifesto* (1964), *The Eye of Prey: Subversions of the Postmodern* (1987), *The Audience* (1990), *To All Appearances: Ideology and Performance* (1992), *Nothing in Itself: Complexions of Fashion* (1999), and *The Dubious Spectacle: Extremities of Theater, 1976–2000* (2002).

Blau received *The Kenyon Review* award for literary excellence.

[Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

BLAU, JOSEPH LEON (1909–1986), U.S. educator and historian of ideas. Born in Brooklyn, New York, Blau was educated at Columbia University. He taught at Columbia from 1944, where he later became a professor of religion (1962–77). In 1966 he became vice president of the Conference on Jewish Social Studies. Blau followed the philosophic tradition of naturalistic humanism in the line of John Dewey and his school at Columbia. He carried on their interest in the history of philosophy in America in his book *Men and Movements in American Philosophy* (1952) and in monographic studies.

As Blau was a student (and, later, collaborator) of Salo W. *Baron, his approach to Jewish history emphasizes interdisciplinary and cross-cultural influences. He opposes the conventional interpretation that the development of the Jewish religious and philosophical tradition is mainly linear, maintaining that the Jews were not cut off from cross-cultural contact for any significant period of their history. He compiled *The Jews of the United States, 1790–1840* (ed. with S.W. Baron, 1963), and wrote *Judaism in America* (1976). His book *The Story of Jewish Philosophy* (1962) explores the ways in which Jewish thinkers absorbed and modified the ideas current in their cultural environment. In *Modern Varieties of Judaism* (1966), Blau demonstrates the same principle of interplay of tradition and environment in the shaping of Jewish religion since the 18th century. *The Christian Interpretation of the Cabala in the Renaissance* (1944) investigates the flow of ideas in the reverse direction – that is, from Jewish to Christian thinkers.

Blau also edited the book *Essays on Jewish Life and Thought: Presented in Honor of Salo Wittmeyer Baron* (1959).

ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY: M. Wohlgelernter, *History, Religion, and American Democracy* (1993).

BLAU, JOSHUA (1919–), scholar of biblical Hebrew grammar, Middle Arabic, and **Genizah* manuscripts. Born in Cluj, Transylvania, Blau studied in the Jewish Gymnasium in Budapest and Baden. He had barely spent a year in Jewish studies at the Rabbinical Seminary and Semitic languages at the University of Vienna when he had to flee the country in 1938 after its occupation by the Nazis. He immigrated to Palestine with his parents, where he continued his academic studies in Hebrew, Bible, and Arabic at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem (M.A., 1942). In 1948 he presented his dissertation on *The Grammar of Judeo-Arabic*, but was only awarded a Ph.D. two years later, after the War of Independence, during which he served in the army and took part in battles in Jerusalem.

In 1956 he was appointed senior lecturer at Tel Aviv University and a year later lecturer at the Hebrew University (professor from 1962), where he taught until his retirement in 1986.

Blau was a member of the Academy of Hebrew Language from the 1950s, was its president in 1981–93, and editor of its journal, *Leshonenu*, in 1981–99. Blau was also a member of the Israeli Academy for Sciences and Humanities from 1968 and head of Humanities, 1989–95; honorary fellow of the Royal Asiatic Society; and corresponding fellow of the American Academy for Jewish Research.

Blau's research focused on the fields of biblical Hebrew grammar, Semitic languages, and medieval Arabic. His books *Torat ha-Hegeh ve-ha-Ẓurot* ("Phonology and Morphology of Biblical Hebrew," 1971), *Oẓar Leshon ha-Mikra* ("A Concordance and Dictionary of the Bible," with S.A. Loewenstamm and M.Z. Kaddari, vol. 1 (1957), 2 (1960), 3 (1968)), *Dikduk ha-Aravit ha-Yehudit shel Yemei ha-Beinayim* ("Grammar of Judeo-Arabic of the Middle-Ages," 1962, updated 1980) and others (see below) along with hundreds of articles brought him the fame as the leading authority on Judeo-Arabic and a prominent expert on other branches of Semitic languages. Blau described the rise of Judeo-Arabic in *The Emergence and Linguistic Background of Judaeo-Arabic: A Study of the Origins of Middle Arabic* (1965, 1999^3), and also published *A Grammar of Christian Arabic* (3 vols., 1966–67). In these works Blau provided a solid foundation for research into medieval Judeo- and Christian-Arabic. These linguistic types had never been sufficiently studied or assessed before, because they were outside the scope of Muslim culture. In his studies, Blau provided a profound analysis and thorough description of a full-fledged and unique literature. He also showed the importance of this layer of Arabic in the crystallization of general standard Arabic as it has come down to us. Together with Prof. Simon Hopkins, he discovered an early phonetic method of Judeo-Arabic spelling, which enables us to reconstruct the very beginnings of Judeo-Arabic culture. Blau's research project on Middle Arabic will be completed with the publication of his immense *Dictionary of Medieval Judeo-Arabic Texts*.

Another important achievement of Blau's consists in his annotated critical edition of *Teshuvot ha-Rambam* ("Responsa of Maimonides") in three volumes (1958, 1960–61) with a Hebrew translation of the Arabic original, and an additional volume (1986).

Blau was founding president (1983–99) of the Association for Medieval Judeo-Arabic, which holds an international biannual conference.

Blau also contributed to the field of education. Thousands of high school and college students learned Hebrew grammar from his series *Dikduk Ivri Shittati, Yesodot ha-Taḥbir*, and *Yesodot Torat ha-Lashon* (2 vols.).

Blau was awarded the Ben-Zvi Prize in 1980; the Wilhelm Bacher Medal (Hungary) in 1999; the Mark Lidzbarski Medal in 2000; the Rothschild Prize in 1992; and the Israel Prize in 1985.

A list of Blau's publications up to 1991 is to be found in *Hebrew and Arabic Studies in Honour of Joshua Blau, Presented by Friends and Students on the Occasion of his Seventieth Birthday* (ed. H. Ben-Shammai; 1993), pp. 1–34. Subsequently he published over 60 articles and three books: *Iyyunim be-Valshanut Ivrit* (1996), *Topics in Hebrew and Semitic Linguistics* (1998), and *A Handbook of Early Middle Arabic* (2003).

Blau's father, Pinchas (Paul), was one of the founders of the Hungarian Zionist daily newspaper **Uj Kelet* at the end of World War I.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *The Hebrew University of Jerusalem – General Information* (2000), 66; J. Blau, *Mi-Transilvani'ah li-Yerushalayim* (2000); *Perasei Rotshild li-Shenat 1992*, 5; *Perasei Yisrael ha-Tashmah* (1985), 8–9.

[Aharon Maman (2nd ed.)]

BLAU, LUDWIG LAJOS (1861–1936), scholar. Blau studied at yeshivot, the Jewish Theological Seminary of Budapest, and the University of Budapest. As a student he was invited to teach at the Seminary where in 1889 he became a full professor. In 1914 Blau became director of the Seminary. For 40 years he was the editor of the Hungarian Jewish scholarly journal, *Magyar Zsidó Szemle*. In 1911 he founded the Hebrew review *Ha-Ẓofeh le-Ḥokhmat Yisrael be-Ereẓ Hagar,* which he edited until 1931. Blau was a prolific Jewish scholar who contributed to almost every aspect of Jewish learning. He was a regular contributor to most of the Jewish and non-Jewish scholarly periodicals dedicated to theology and philology. His bibliography includes 887 items and in the *Zsidó Szemle* he reviewed 1,383 books. He was among the first to evaluate the talmudic information on the Bible and the masorah (*Masoretische Untersuchungen*, 1891; *Zur Einleitung in die Heilige Schrift*, 1894). He also investigated the information contained in traditional literature on ancient Hebrew booklore (*Studien zum althebraeischen Buchwesen*, 1902). His works subsequently gained added importance in light of interest in old Hebrew scrolls. Blau enriched general folklore by his book *Das altjuedische Zauberwesen* (1898). Equally his *Juedische Ehescheidung und der juedische Scheidebrief* (2 vols., 1911–12) broke new ground; with the discovery of divorce documents among the Bar Kokhba finds, this work takes on new relevance. Blau was among the first to make use of Greek papyri for the evaluation of talmudic law (*Papyri und Talmud in gegenseitiger Beleuchtung*, 1913; "Prosbul im Lichte der griechischen Papyri und der Rechtsgeschichte," in *Festschrift der Landesrabbinerschule*, 1927). He also published the letters of Leone *Modena (*Leo Modenas Briefe und Schriftstuecke*, 2 vols., 1905–06).

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[Alexander Scheiber]

BLAU, MOSHE (1885–1946), *Agudat Israel leader; brother of Amram *Blau. Blau, who was born in Jerusalem, directed the Agudat Israel office there from 1924 until his death. He served as a member of the movement's world executive and edited its weekly *Kol Yisrael* ("Voice of Israel"). From 1933 to 1945 he headed the independent, ultra-Orthodox Edah Ḥaredit (Orthodox community). Despite the community's segregation policy, he cooperated with *yishuv* leaders in representing Jewish interests in dealings with the Mandate government. Blau represented Agudat Israel before various British and international commissions which dealt with the Palestine problem. In 1946, while on a rescue mission to Jewish survivors of the war, Blau fell ill and died in Messina. He was taken to Jerusalem for burial. He wrote *Ammuda di-Nehora* ("Column of Light," 1932), a biography of Rabbi Y.Ḥ. *Sonnenfeld, and *Al Ḥomotayikh Yerushalayim* ("Upon thy Walls, O Jerusalem," 1946), autobiographical notes and memoirs.

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[Zvi Kaplan]

BLAU, PETER MICHAEL (1918–2002), sociologist. Born in Vienna, Blau immigrated to the United States. He received his doctorate in sociology from Columbia University in 1952 and held professorial appointments at the University of Chicago. He was a professor of sociology at Columbia University. During the academic year 1966–67, he was Pitt Professor of American History and Institutions at the University of Cambridge. His main interests were the development of group social structure, formal organizations, and occupations. Considered one of the founders of contemporary American sociology, Blau studied macrostructural characteristics of society. His theories sought to explain how such social phenomena as upward mobility, occupational opportunity, heterogeneity, and population structures influence human behavior.

In addition to numerous contributions to professional journals and books, Blau published a large number of his own books, which include *The Dynamics of Bureaucracy: A Study of Interpersonal Relations in Two Government Agencies* (1955), *Bureaucracy in Modern Society* (1956), *Formal Organizations: A Comparative Approach* (1962), *Exchange and Power in Social Life* (1964), *The American Occupational Structure* (1967),*The Structure of Organizations* (1971), *The Organization of Aca-*

demic Work (1973), *On the Nature of Organizations* (1974), *and Crosscutting Social Circles* (1996).

Blau was editor of the *American Journal of Sociology* from 1961 until 1967, a member of the board of the Social Science Research Council in 1967–69, and served as the 65th president of the American Sociological Association in 1974.

From 1979 through 1983 he taught at SUNY-Albany as Distinguished Professor. He taught in Tianjin in China at the Academy of Social Sciences as a Distinguished Honorary Professor (1981 and 1987). In 1988 he retired as a faculty member from Columbia University but taught at UNC at Chapel Hill as the Robert Broughton Distinguished Research Professor until 2001. Blau was professor emeritus at Columbia, a fellow of the National Academy of Sciences, senior fellow at King's College, fellow of the American Philosophical Society, and fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences.

[Jacob Jay Lindenthal / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

BLAU, TINA (1845–1916), Austrian painter. Blau was born in Vienna. Realizing her early interest in painting her father arranged for lessons with the landscape painter Antal Hanély, with whom she started painting still lifes with fruits and flowers. In the early 1860s August Schaeffer became her tutor. From 1867 her paintings, especially landscapes, were shown in public exhibitions. While visiting Munich and the First International Exhibition in 1869, she discovered the paintings of the School of Barbizon, which influenced her later works, but in the end she adapted French impressionism and became one of the leading Austrian impressionist painters. After her initial success in selling her paintings, she enrolled in the Kunstschule fuer Maedchen in Munich and took an atelier in the house of her teacher Wilhelm Lindenschmitt. Together with her colleague Emil Jakob Schindler she traveled to Hungary and Holland, where she painted *Jew's Street of Amsterdam* (1875/1876, coll. Vera Eisenberger, Vienna). After two sojourns in Italy (1876 and 1879) she opened an atelier in the Vienna Prater, from where her most popular paintings originated, namely luminous views of the Prater such as *Springtime in the Prater* (1882, Vienna, Oesterreichische Galerie Belvedere).

In 1884 Blau returned to Munich, where she converted to Protestantism and married the painter Heinrich Lang. At that time, her own works were presented at international exhibitions such as the World Exhibitions of Antwerp in 1885 and of Paris in 1889. Moreover she started working at the Damenakademie des Muenchner Kuenstlerinnenvereins, an academy of fine arts solely for women, where she taught still life and landscape painting. In the summers she continued traveling, especially to France, Northern Germany, and Denmark. A first solo exhibition in the Munich Kunstverein contributed to the wide appreciation of her work at the end of the 19th century. She continued teaching at the academy until 1915, a year before she died, but was never accepted as a member of the Wiener Kuenstlerhaus.

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[Philipp Zschommler (2nd ed.)]

BLAUBAUM, ELIAS (1847–1904), Australian Jewish minister. Born in rural Hesse, Germany, Blaubaum immigrated to Australia in 1873, learning English on the boat en route, and served as minister of Melbourne's St. Kilda Hebrew Congregation until his death. Learned in Jewish law, he defended traditional Orthodoxy and, although never ordained as a rabbi, served on Melbourne's Beth Din. From 1879 he edited the *Jewish Herald* newspaper and was one of the earliest Jewish voices in Australia to assert Jewish identity in an aggressive manner and to combat antisemitism.

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[William D. Rubinstein (2nd ed.)]

BLAUSTEIN, U.S. industrialist family. LOUIS (1869–1937) was born in Russia and emigrated to the U.S. in 1888. Starting in business as a kerosene peddler, Blaustein went to work in 1892 for the Standard Oil Company at its Baltimore plant and by 1910 had risen to an executive position. In that year he left Standard Oil and, with a small amount of capital, founded the American Oil Company in Baltimore. The enterprise flourished due in large part to Blaustein's innovations in oil distribution in a period when the automobile was emerging as the major user of petroleum products. He experimented with new forms of gasoline and claimed the first high-test gasoline developed in the country. Blaustein's filling stations spread from Baltimore through Maryland and eventually covered the entire East Coast. In 1924 the giant Pan-American Petroleum and Transport Company (later controlled by Standard Oil Company of Indiana) paid $5,000,000 for a half interest in the American Oil Company and merged with it in 1933. Blaustein remained active in the firm as it continued to expand, building steamship terminals and petroleum refineries. During his later years he gave large sums to charity, usually anonymously. JACOB (1892–1970), son of Louis, was associated with his father in the founding of the American Oil Company in 1910, serving in executive positions and as its president during 1933–37. Later he served as president of the American Trading and Production Corporation as well as director and executive committee member of major national companies in the fields of petroleum, insurance, and banking. He was reportedly one of the richest individuals in America. During World War II Blaustein was vice-chairman of the U.S. Petroleum Administration's marketing committee and served on other wartime committees. His civic activities include support of the American Heritage Foundation, United Negro College Fund, and American Association for the United Nations. Blaustein played an active role in Jewish affairs, with a major commitment to the American Jewish Committee, which he served as executive committee chairman (1944–49) and president (1949–54). As president, Blaustein worked to protect the civil and religious rights of Jews and other minorities and to promote tolerance among races. He served on the boards of the American Friends of the Hebrew University and the Weizmann Institute of Science. His philanthropic activities ranged from local philanthropy in Baltimore, to the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee, United Service for New Americans, and the Conference on Jewish Claims Against Germany. He was a member of the American delegation to the tenth UN General Assembly and was a leader in the movement to adopt the Convention on Genocide and the Declaration of Human Rights, helping to promote the idea of a UN High Commissioner for Human Rights, a position that was established more than two decades after his death.

Several important institutions have been created and/or funded by the Blaustein family.

The Blaustein Philanthropic Group, located in Baltimore, Maryland, is a constellation of foundations inspired by the legacy of Louis and Henrietta Blaustein. Each foundation represents a different branch of the Blaustein family and has a unique identity, set of priorities, and geographic focus. United by their roots in Jewish tradition, the foundations are dedicated to social justice and equal opportunity. As part of the Blaustein Philanthropic Group, the Jacob and Hilda Blaustein Foundation provides grants to help further the cause of human rights as well as strengthen Jewish life, Israeli democracy, educational opportunity, health, and mental wellbeing. The Jacob Blaustein Center for Scientific Cooperation, located in Israel, supports a variety of activities related to the promotion of scientific cooperation with scientists and institutions in Israel and around the world. The Institute for Desert Research, established in *Sedeh Boker in 1974 under the auspices of Ben-Gurion University in Beersheba, received a generous contribution from The Jacob and Hilda Blaustein Foundation in 1980 and was named The Jacob Blaustein Institute for Desert Research (BIDR).

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[Morton Rosenstock / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

BLAUSTEIN, ABRAHAM (1836–1914), *ḥazzan*. Born in Riga, Blaustein became a cantor in Lomza, later in Vilna, and then settled in Germany. In 1877 he was appointed chief cantor of Bromberg (now Bydgoszcz in Poland), a position he held until his death. He edited a weekly paper for cantors and founded an association for raising professional standards.

BLAUSTEIN, DAVID (1866–1912), educator and communal worker. Born in Lida (province of Vilna), Blaustein fled to Germany in 1883 to evade conscription. There he worked and studied, moving to Schwerin to continue his religious studies, but in 1886 he left for the United States. In Boston he established a modern German-Hebrew school – the first of its kind in the United States – and continued his studies. From 1892 to 1896 he served as rabbi of a Providence Reform congregation and taught at Brown University.

In 1898 Blaustein was appointed superintendent of the Educational Alliance of New York City, then the most important social-educational institution for the Americanization of foreigners. With the untrained social workers of that institution he worked diligently to raise the standards of social work and to turn it into a profession. Respected by Jews and non-Jews alike, he accompanied Robert Watchorn, immigration commissioner at Ellis Island, to Romania in 1900 to study the conditions of the Jews there and the causes of the large-scale emigration from that country.

In 1905 Blaustein became the first president of the Society of Jewish Social Workers of New York. Active in Zionist affairs in New York, he was the first *nasi* (presiding officer) of Order of the Sons of Zion. In 1908 he became director of the Chicago Hebrew Institute, and in 1910 took up a lectureship on Jewish, Italian, and Slavic immigration at the New York School of Philanthropy, where a chair had been established for him.

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[Judah Pilch]

BLAU-WEISS ("Blue-White"), first and one of the most influential Jewish youth movement in Germany, founded in 1912. It initiated a Zionist program, basing its organizational format on the German nationalist youth movement Wandervogel (whose increasing antisemitism greatly contributed to the expansion of Blau-Weiss). Before and immediately after World War I Blau-Weiss groups engaged almost exclusively in outings and intimate gatherings, emphasizing nature appreciation and "manliness" in the manner of the German *Jugendbewegung* (youth movement). Instead of the cult of German peasantry and folk traditions, Blau-Weiss introduced new forms of celebrating Jewish holidays outdoors and an interest in the Hebrew language, Hebrew songs, and Yiddish folklore. The main aim of Blau-Weiss was to combine being a Jew with love of the German fatherland. The movement strove to strengthen the body, mind, and spirit of the young with an introduction to Jewish education. Blau-Weiss reached its peak in the early 1920s, with about 3,000 members. At this time a pioneering, Palestine-oriented tendency developed in its ranks and became, under the leadership of Walter Moses, its official program at the Blau-Weiss conference in Prunn (August 1922). The conference decided upon the establishment of a Blau-Weiss settlement in Palestine based not only on agriculture but also on precision workmanship in such fields as tool mechanics. It also decided to streamline the organizational structure of the movement along "hierarchical" lines, and to participate actively in Zionist politics. Subsequent friction with the German Zionist leadership, as well as the economic crisis in Palestine, thwarted this ambitious program. While many members of Blau-Weiss settled in Palestine, some of them prior to the Prunn conference, no specific Blau-Weiss settlement or enterprise materialized. The movement dissolved in Germany in 1929, retaining only the *Praktikantenschaft*, i.e., small *hakhsharah* groups. After the disintegration of the Blau-Weiss most of its remaining members joined the *Kadimah group.

Blau-Weiss also existed in Austria, where it flourished for a time. The Czechoslovak branch of the movement, which from 1919 called itself by the Hebrew equivalent, *Tekhelet-Lavan*, continued as a pioneering organization into the 1930s. The main impact of "the Blau-Weiss experience" was felt in Germany in the early 1920s among Jewish boys and girls of assimilated and semi-assimilated families. Alienated from their affluent parents and excluded from the "Aryanized" youth movements, these young people found their way back to the Jewish people and to Zionism.

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BLAYER, PIETRO (1902–1978), Italian industrialist and Jewish communal leader. Born in Fiume, Blayer graduated in economics at the University of Trieste, and embarked on a banking career. In 1938, however, after the fascist racial laws, he entered his family's printing plant, and toward the end of World War II escaped through the German lines and settled in Rome. Following nationalization of his family properties by the Yugoslavian government, which had annexed his native Istria region, he started a new advanced graphic-printing plant in Rome. In 1961 he was elected to the council of the Unione delle Comunità Israelitiche Italiane, where he directed the Finances and Properties Department for several years, displaying outstanding qualities as administrator. In 1972 he was elected vice president of the U.C.I.I. and in 1976, following the death of S. *Piperno-Beer, was appointed president.

[Sergio Della Pergola (2nd ed.)]

BLAZKO, MARTIN (1920–), Argentine sculptor. Born in Germany, Blazko emigrated to Poland in 1933 and studied under Jankel Adler. Six years later, he settled in the Argentine where he helped to found the Madi group. Blazko's sculptures, intellectually ordered though lacking sensuality, do not require effects of light for vivid presentation. The light values emanate from the planes and the hollows. Blazko consistently based his work on the relationship between plastic form and structure. He received many awards both national and international.

BLECH, LEO (1871–1958), German opera conductor and composer. Born in Aachen, Blech studied with the composer Humperdinck. He was conductor at the Aachen Stadttheater from 1893 to 1898. In 1906 he was appointed choirmaster of the Berlin Royal Opera (State Opera from 1918) and from 1913 to 1923 was its general musical director. In 1924 he became first conductor of the Berlin Folk Opera. Blech returned to the Berlin State Opera in 1926 and remained its conductor until 1937, when the Nazis forced him to resign. He left Germany for Latvia and in 1941 fled to Sweden, where he became conductor of the Stockholm Royal Opera. He returned to Germany in 1949 and once again conducted the Berlin State Opera. Blech composed a number of one-act and three-act operas, the latter including *Aschenbroedel* ("Cinderella", 1905) and *Rappelkopf* (1917).

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BLECHER, MARCEL (1909–1938), Romanian author. Blecher was born in Botoşani, but spent most of his life in the town of Roman. He was something of a phenomenon in Romanian literature. Afflicted with tuberculosis of the bone he was bedridden for the last ten years of his short life. His illness led to a heightened sensitivity and an obsession with death which contributed to the artistry of his writing. Blecher's work appeared in various periodicals before he published his first collection of poems, *Corp transparent*, in 1934. His first novel, *Intîmplǎri in irealitatea imediatǎ* ("Incidents in the Immediate Unreality," 1935), was one of the first attempts at surrealism in Romanian literature. Despite his remoteness from reality Blecher drew some remarkable portraits of a middle-class Jewish family in a provincial town and some lively scenes of Jewish customs. In his autobiographical novel *Inimi cicatrizate* ("Scarred Souls," 1937) Blecher described life in the sanatorium at Berck-sur-Mer in France where he spent a long time encased in a plaster cast. In his book he examined with deep psychological insight not only his own spiritual experiences but those of his fellow patients. A Yiddish version of "Scarred Souls" appeared in Romania and two editions of the original were published in Israel. At the suggestion of André Gide, Blecher began translating the novel into French, but died before he could complete the task. Among his unpublished works, he left the manuscript of a novel on a Jewish theme entitled *Vizuina luminoasǎ* ("The Bright Vision").

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[Dora Litani-Littman]

°**BLEEK, FRIEDRICH** (1793–1859), German Bible critic; professor of theology at Bonn from 1829 to 1859. Bleek maintained that the basic document of the Pentateuch is the Elohist (the E document) which has been supplemented by sections from an unconnected Yahwist strand. He argued for the unity of Daniel, and he wrote on the composition of Isaiah, Ezra, Nehemiah, and the Sibylline Oracles. His most important work was in the area of New Testament exegesis, where he was primarily interested in the defense of Christian tradition against the criticism of the Tuebingen school.

Two of his important works are *Einleitung in das Alte Testament* (1860, 1878^4), and *Einleitung in das Neue Testament* (1866^2).

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[Zev Garber]

BLEICH, J. DAVID (1941–), U.S. rabbi and professor; one of the world's leading authorities on Jewish medical ethics. Born in Brooklyn, he studied at Yeshiva Torah Vodaath (1948–53) and was ordained by Mesivta Torah Vodaath (1957). He earned his B.A. at Brooklyn College in Jewish studies (1960); his M.A. from Columbia in philosophy, and a Ph.D. from New York University (1974), writing on *Providence in Late Medieval Jewish Philosophy.*

Bleich was simultaneously the *rosh yeshivah* (professor of Talmud) and *rosh kolel* at the Kollel le-Hora'ah (Postgraduate Institute for Jurisprudence and Family Law) of the Rabbi Isaac Elchanan Theological Seminary; professor of law at the Benjamin N. Cardozo School of Law; and Tenzer Professor of Jewish Law and Ethics, Yeshiva University, while serving as rabbi at the Yorkville Synagogue, New York City. Previously he had taught at the University of Pennsylvania (1991–93), Hunter College, Rutgers University, and Bar-llan University.

His writing centers on problems of *halakhah* and on Jewish medical ethics. His books include *Contemporary Halakhic Problems* (5 vols., 1977–83, 1989, 1995, 2005), *Be-Netivot ha-Halakhah* (3 vols., 1996, 1998, 2000), *Bioethical Dilemmas* (2 vols., 1998), *Judaism and Healing* (1980, 2002), *Time of Death in Jewish Law* (1991), *Providence in the Philosophy of Gersonides* (1973), and *Bircas Ha-Chammah* (1980). He is the editor of *With Perfect Faith: Readings in the Foundations of Jewish Belief* (1983) and, with Fred Rosner, of *Jewish Bioethics* (1979, augmented in 1999); and has written extensively on topics of Jewish law and ethics. His teaching, like his writing, is clear, methodical, and resourceful, and some of his students (e.g., Michael Broyde, Michael Berger) are already, like Bleich himself, among the most learned and analytic students of Jewish law in the next generation of Orthodox scholars. Bleich has also served on numerous boards and committees in all his areas of interest.

[Jeanette Friedman (2nd ed.)]

BLEICHROEDER, German banking family. SAMUEL BLEICHROEDER (1779–1855), German banker, the son of a sexton, opened in his native Berlin a money-changing and lottery store in 1803 which developed into the banking firm of S. Bleichroeder. In 1837 the Rothschild banking house of Frankfurt appointed him their representative in Berlin. The firm became a member of the Rothschild and the Preussen consortiums.

His son GERSON VON BLEICHROEDER (1822–1893), was born in Berlin. He entered the firm at 17, and became its head upon his father's death. Under his direction the bank developed into one of the leading financial houses in Germany, mainly engaged in issuing, underwriting, and financing railroad loans. During the 1860s Bleichroeder became financial adviser and private banker to Bismarck who relied on his advice and assistance to overcome his difficulties with the Prussian parliament concerning the financial preparations for the 1866 war. Bleichroeder also advised Bismarck regarding the indemnities payable by France after the 1870–71 war. In 1872 Bleichroeder was raised to the nobility. During the Congress of Berlin (1878), he cooperated closely with Sir Moses Montefiore and Adolph Crémieux and successfully invoked Bismarck's assistance for the protection and emancipation of the Romanian Jews. But his close connections to Bismarck and Emperor Wilhelm I could not save him from becoming one of the main targets of antisemitic (and anticapitalist) agitation from the mid-1870s until his death; the government did not take any serious measures to oppose the assaults.

After Bleichroeder's death, his cousin, JULIUS LEOPOLD SCHWABACH (d. 1898) and then his son PAUL VON SCHWABACH (d. 1938) continued to run the firm as senior managing directors for Bleichroeder's three sons, HANS, GEORG (d. 1902), and JAMES (d. 1937), who all abandoned the Jewish faith. In 1931 the bank entered into a "community of interest" with the Jewish banking firm of Arnhold Brothers and in 1937 a successor firm was formed in New York under the name of Arnhold and S. Bleichroeder, in anticipation of the "Aryanization" of the Berlin house, which took place in 1938. The New York house does not include any bearers of the Bleichroeder name.

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[Joachim O. Ronall / Marcus Pyka (2nd ed.)]

BLEJER, DAVID (1913–1997), Argentine lawyer and politician. Blejer, the son of Jewish colonists in the province of Entre Ríos, was born in Buenos Aires.

He graduated as a lawyer from the University of La Plata and settled in Villaguay in the province of Entre Ríos. He became active in politics and before reaching the age of 30 was elected as councilor of the city.

He was a legal adviser to the Argentine Agrarian Institute and lectured on agrarian economics. He joined the Unión Cívica Radical Party in 1930. In 1956, when the party divided over internal conflicts, Blejer aligned himself with the Unión Cívica Radical Intransigente, which was led by Arturo Frondizi who was elected president of Argentina (1958–62). In 1958 Blejer was appointed undersecretary of the Ministry of the Interior and in 1959 minister of labor and social security.

It was the first time in the history of Argentina that a Jew had become a member of the presidential cabinet. Afterwards he served as ambassador to Mexico. In 1961 he was named chairman of the Instituto Indigenista Interamericano and head of the official delegation of Argentina to the conference of the International Labor Organization. Blejer also published humoristic essays under the pseudonym Julio Mocoroa.

[Efraim Zadoff (2nd ed.)]

BLEJER, MARIO ISRAEL (1948–). Israeli economist. Born in Córdoba, Argentina, to a traditional family, Blejer studied in the local Jewish day school and in 1967 made *aliyah* to study at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, where he received his B.A. (1970) in economics and Jewish history and his M.A. (1972) in economics. He received his Ph. D. in economics from the University of Chicago in 1975. During his academic career Blejer held the Walther Rathenau Chair in Economics at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem (1996–99) and taught at Boston University, New York University, Johns Hopkins, the University of Geneva, George Washington University, Universidad de San Andrés in Buenos Aires, and the Central European University in Budapest. At the same time (1980–2001) he served at the International Monetary Fund, where he reached the level of senior. In 2001 he returned to Argentina to be appointed deputy governor and in 2002 governor of the Central Bank. He served in that position for one year, dealing with the country's financial crisis. In January 2003, Blejer moved to London, where he became the director of the Centre for Central Banking Studies at the Bank of England and a member of the Financial Stability Board of the Bank. He also served as an advisor to the governor. He published books and numerous articles in specialized journals.

[Efraim Zadoff (2nd ed.)]

BLEMISH (Heb. מום), a defect in the body of a man or an animal. Defects of conduct are also metaphorically called blemishes (Deut. 32:5; Prov. 9:7; Job. 11:15). A blemished priest was unfit to serve in the priesthood (Lev. 21:16–23) and was precluded from approaching the altar to offer the fire-offerings. He was permitted to carry out only Temple functions not involving actual service at the altar, since he was not standing before the Lord. The Bible forbade a priest who had been blemished to approach the veil (Lev. 21:23), and as a result he was forbidden during the Second Temple period not only to enter the Temple but even to step between the altar and the sanctuary (Kelim 1:9). He was permitted, however, to go into the other parts of the Temple area and to "eat of the food of his God, of the most holy as well as of the holy" (Lev. 21:22).

Just as the officiating priest had to be unblemished, so no blemished animal was permitted to be offered on the altar (Lev. 22:17–25; Deut. 15:21–23; 17:1; cf. Mal. 1:6ff.). An animal whose blemishes were slight – "with a limb extended or contracted" (Lev. 22:23; see below) – could only be offered as a freewill offering, which was less stringent. A blemished priest was forbidden to approach the veil and approach the altar because "he shall not profane these places sacred to Me" (Lev. 21:23). A blemished sacrifice that was offered would not be acceptable on behalf of the one offering it (Lev. 22:20). Such a sacrifice is called an "abomination" in Deuteronomy 17:1 (cf. the strong words in Mal. 1:8ff. against a prevailing laxness in this regard). The flesh of a blemished animal, however, is permitted as food (Deut. 15:21–22).

The requirement that priests and sacrifices should be without blemish was common to all the ancient civilizations, and there is evidence of this from Egypt, Mesopotamia, Ḫatti (the land of the Hittites), Greece, and Rome. Egyptian documents state that candidates for the priesthood were examined for blemishes, and that the sacrifices were examined in the same way, marking animals fit for sacrifice. Documents from Mesopotamia state that priests and the sacrifices had to be perfect, without any blemish. The Hittites also regarded the presence at the ceremonial ritual of those blemished as an affront to the gods. The requirement that both priests and sacrifices be without blemish is also known from Greece and Rome.

The following blemishes are enumerated as making priests unfit for service in the Temple (Lev. 21:18–20): *ivver* (*iwwer*), a blind man; *pisseʾaḥ*, one injured in the thigh, from birth or as the result of an accident (cf. II Sam. 4:4), in contrast to a man who has a broken leg; *ḥarum*, a man whose nose is sunk in between his eyes; *saruaʿ*, apparently one with hands or feet of unequal length; a man who has a broken leg or broken arm; *gibben* and *dak* (*daq*), whose meanings depend on whether the words are connected with the following (Rashi, Maimonides) or with the previous bone deformities (Ibn Ezra; according to the first explanation *gibben* is one whose eyebrows are long and descend over his eyes and *daq* is one who has a kind of skin (pterygium) over the cornea of his eye; according to the second explanation, *gibben* is a hunchback and *daq* is one whose foot or hand muscles degenerated as a result of corrosion, and are thinner than usual); *tevallul*, a sufferer from cataract; *garav* and *yallefet*, skin diseases, not identified with certainty (*garav* is probably dermatitis and *yallefet* is probably Egyptian herpes, ringworm); *meroʾaḥ ashekh*, one with a crushed testicle.

Blemishes that render an animal unifit for sacrifice are (Lev. 22:22, 24) *avveret*, (*awweret*) blindness; *shavur* or *ḥaruẓ*, broken or cracked limbs that cause the animal to be lame; skin diseases (*yabbelet*, a wen, referring to a swelling discernible because of its size; *garav* and *yallefet* (see above)); defects of the testicles due to bruising by hand (*maʿukh*), or cutting with an implement (*katut*), tearing with pincers or a cord (*natuq*), or even complete severence by castration (*karut*); *saruʿa* and *qaluṭ*, very slight blemishes, referring to an animal having one leg longer or shorter than the other (these animals may be sacrificed as a freewill offering (Lev. 22:23)). According to some, only *saruʿa* means "living limbs of unequal length," whereas *qaluṭ* means "club-footed," i.e., in the case of cattle, sheep, and goats, with the hoof uncloven.

In the Talmud

Blemishes in the Talmud can be divided into four categories: those mentioned in the Bible as physical blemishes disqualifying priests for service; physical blemishes disqualifying animals for sacrifice; nonphysical blemishes in both; and moral blemishes.

BLEMISHES IN ANIMALS. Whereas the Bible enumerates only 12 disqualifying blemishes in animals and 12 in the case of a priest, the Mishnah subdivides them in the minutest detail. The whole of chapter 6 of tractate *Bekhorot* is devoted to an enumeration of those blemishes in an animal. They are divided into permanent and transient blemishes, the former referring to those which continue for 80 days. As an example of the detail, where the Bible merely says "blind," the Mishnah 6:2 enumerates a pierced, defective, or slit eyelid, a speck in the eye, a commingling of the iris and the outer part, various growths in the eye, and rheum, or if its lip is pierced. According to the legend of *Kamẓa and Bar Kamẓa in the Talmud, it was the infliction of one of those two blemishes by Bar Kamẓa in the sacrifice offered up by the Roman emperor "which we count as a blemish and Romans do not," and the obstinate refusal of R. Zechariah b. Avkulas to make any exception, which was the immediate cause of the Roman War (Git. 55b, 56a). The list even includes such blemishes as "if the tail of the animal does not reach the knee joint" or if its lower jaw protrudes beyond the upper. Maimonides lists 50 disqualifying blemishes in man and beast (Yad, Bi'at ha-Mikdash, ch. 7).

BLEMISHES IN PRIESTS. All the blemishes enumerated for animals similarly disqualify priests from serving in the Temple, but chapter 7 of *Bekhorot* gives another extensive list of blemishes which disqualify a priest but which are not considered blemishes in an animal, such as baldness, flat nose, bowleggedness, black skin, red skin or albino, and many others. Maimonides numbers 90 blemishes which particularly apply to man (*ibid*., ch. 8).

NONPHYSICAL BLEMISHES. In addition to bodily defects, the Mishnah enumerates some moral blemishes which disqualify a priest: if he has been guilty of homicide or murder, if he has married a woman forbidden to a kohen (though permitted to a non-kohen), or if he becomes ritually unclean by contact with the dead. In the last two cases he can resume his service if he undertakes to separate himself from the woman or undertakes to adhere in the future to the rules of ritual cleanness applying to a kohen. These blemishes originally applied to actual service in the Temple, and it is explicitly stated that a priest so disqualified could and did participate in reciting the *Priestly Blessing (see Second *Temple, Order of Service). It was, however, stipulated that if a kohen had a disfigurement which caused people to stare at him, he was not to recite the priestly blessing, not because the blemish disqualified him but because it would distract the recipients of the blessing. Thus as far as physical blemishes were concerned, this applied only to the hands, and even included a dyer whose hands were dye-stained (Mishnah Meg. 4:7). The *Gemara* (Meg. 24b) extends this prohibition to the feet, and even to speech impediments. The test was purely pragmatic; thus if the kohen was so well-known that his blemish raised no curiosity, the ban was removed. A complete list of such "non-statutory" blemishes is given in Shulḥan Arukh, Oraḥ Ḥayyim 128:30. Although the prohibition against a blemished priest officiating in the Temple is given in the Bible, the Talmud justifies it by interpreting the word *shalom*, in Numbers 25:12, as *shalem* ("whole") since according to the masorah the *vav* is written with a break (Kid. 66b).

MORAL BLEMISHES. The word *mum* for a blemish in the Bible also refers to moral blemishes (cf. Deut. 32:5) and is used extensively in this sense in the Talmud: "Do not ascribe to your fellow your own blemish" (BM 59b). If a man falsely accused someone of being a slave, it was evident that he himself was a slave, since "a person stigmatizes another with his own blemish" (Kid. 70b).

[Louis Isaac Rabinowitz]

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BLESSING AND CURSING. In the Bible these two antonyms have three meanings: (1) the invocation of good or evil; (2) good fortune or misfortune; and (3) the person or thing upon whom or which the fortune or misfortune falls.

Thus the first meaning is best represented in English by the terms benediction and malediction or imprecation. The most common formulas of invocation use the terms *barukh* and *ʾarur*. Despite the frequent assertion that words themselves were regarded as intrinsically power-laden, there is little evidence that biblical Israel was any more prone to such a view than is contemporary man. When, in the Bible, man does the invoking, the source of power is (explicitly or implicitly) the Deity; hence both blessings and curses are basic prayers. When the Deity pronounces either good or evil against anyone, the pronouncement is to be understood as a decree rather than a prayer; when man is the subject of the verb *berekh* and the Deity is the object, the verb denotes praise, for nowhere in the Bible is there any indication that the power of God is itself increased by man's pronouncements. As substantive good, blessing is most frequently represented by the terms *berakhah, shalom*, and *ṭov*; its most common antonyms are *kelalah* (*qelalah*) and *raʿah*. Blessings include health, long life, many and enduring progeny, wealth, honor, and victory. The dependence of Palestinian agronomy on rainfall is reflected in the use of *berakhah* for the rains in their due season. Curses, it follows, bring sickness and death, barrenness in people and cattle, crop failure, poverty, defeat, and disgrace. That the beneficiary of good fortune or the victim of ill fortune is himself sometimes regarded as a blessing or a curse is reflected in such passages as Genesis 12:2, "be a blessing" and Numbers 5:21, "may the Lord make you a curse." This use of the terms reflects the usage of beneficiaries of good or victims of evil as examples of felicity and disaster in benedictions and imprecations (Gen. 48:20; Jer. 24:9).

Terminology

The basic term for imprecation in the Bible is *ʾalah*. In most instances it represents an adjuration, i.e., a conditional curse upon someone in the second or third person. As "imprecation" the *ʾalah* is implicitly present in every oath (*shevuʿah*), for an oath is by definition a conditional self-curse. The close relationship between these two terms accounts for the confusion of the two in many translations; indeed, by the operation of metonymy the term *hishbiʿa*, which normally means "to administer an oath," may have the meaning "to adjure." The root ʾrr (ארר; and the noun derived from it, *meʾerah*) shows traces of the concept of "spell," a malignant state in which the victim is barred from such benefits as a share of the earth's fertility, participation in a fellowship or society, and the like. Thus where *ʾalah* reflects the curse as formulation, *ʾrr* reflects the curse as operational. The third term most frequently associated with the idea of curse is the verb *kallel* (*qallel*; קלל) and the cognate noun *qelalah*. This term has a far broader connotative range. It reflects attitudes, behavior, and actions all the way from contempt, through verbal abuse, to physical violence; just as *berekh* (ברך) and *kibbed* (כבד; and the nouns derived from them) express respect, compliments and good wishes, and material benefit. The failure to recognize the broad range of meanings expressed by *qillel* resulted in the notion (as early as the Septuagint translation) that *qillel ʾElohim* means to "curse God" (cf. Ex. 22:27; Lev. 24:10–23). To avoid this horrendous formulation, the biblical text was altered: in 1 Samuel 3:13 from *ʾElohim* ("God") to *la-hem* ("to them"); in 1 Kings 21:13, and Job 1:5, 1:11, 2:9 the original *qillel* is replaced by the *euphemistic antonym *berekh*. The rabbinic tradition in Sanhedrin 7:5 also had recourse to a euphemism in an attempt to understand how imprecation against the Deity is possible in a monotheistic system. In fact, it has been demonstrated that the phrase translated "curse God," *qillel ʾElohim*, usually really means "show disrespect for God" – for the most part by disobeying His moral standards. The antonymous phrase is *yareʾ/yirʾat Elohim*, "to fear God," i.e., show respect for His maxims. Since both blessings and curses are types of prayers, it is not surprising that they are encountered everywhere in the Bible, in everyday contexts, legal and diplomatic proceedings. Salutations of greeting and departure are normally expressions of goodwill, hence the term *b-r-kh* (ברך) for such salutations. Recourse to prayer, i.e., an address to the Deity, is to be expected when human resources are exhausted or, by nature of the situation, unavailing. Hence one notes the employment of oath and adjuration in legal disputes and in treaty formulations.

Ancient Near Eastern treaties exhibit the feature of curses, in that the subjected power invokes its own god or gods to administer punishment in the event of failure to observe the agreed upon (i.e., imposed) terms of the treaty (cf. Ezek. 17:11–19). The formulation of the covenant between Israel and its God follows the pattern of such "vassal treaties." An examination of the curses in Deuteronomy 27:15–26 reveals the essential function of the curse, for all the enumerated breaches of provisions of the covenant are of such a nature that society would be unable to punish them. It follows also that the invocation of God in a curse (be it oath or adjuration) is not only blameless but also praiseworthy, for every such invocation is implicitly an acknowledgment of the Deity's sovereignty. This is made explicit in such passages as Deuteronomy 6:13, 10:20, and Isaiah 45:23. Heinous, by contrast, is swearing or cursing "by the name of" other deities. A frequent formulation of biblical curses is *Ko yaʿaseh* YHWH *ve-kho yosif* ("May the Lord do such-and-such and worse if…"). Another formulation invokes the power of both king and Deity or of one of them only: "by the life (Heb. *ḥai*) of the king/the Lord." This formula is a frozen form, i.e., a relic of a concept no longer in consonance with the thinking of the people who continue to employ it. The earlier belief was that the life of the king or a god could be put in jeopardy by a solemn pronouncement in support of a promise or of the truth of an assertion; thereby involved in the outcome, the king or god (and his punitive power) was brought into an issue which might otherwise have been of no concern to him. (This type of thinking remains in evidence today when a person swears "by" or "on" something more precious than his own life, e.g., the head of his child, or his mother's grave.) Alternatives to ḥai in cursing/swearing by the life of God or king are *nefesh* ("life," "soul") and *shem* ("name"). Thus the Deity Himself is pictured as employing this oath form, swearing "by Myself" (Gen. 22:16, Jer. 22:5; 49:13) or "by My great Name" (Jer. 44:26).

[Herbert Chanan Brichto]

In the Talmud

The rabbis continued to stress the efficacy of blessings and curses. With regard to the former, they ordained that God's name be utilized in the blessing uttered when meeting or greeting people in accordance with the practice of Boaz (Ber. 9:5; Ruth 2:4). Continuing biblical traditions, the rabbis introduced blessings at circumcisions (Targum Uzziel to Gen. 48:20), at marriages (Gen. 24:60), and upon separating from an acquaintance one was advised to say, "Go unto peace" (Ex. 4:18; MK 29a). The sages declared that even "the blessing or the cursing of an ordinary man should not be lightly esteemed" (Meg. 15a). The Jew was also encouraged to respond "Amen" after the blessing of a Gentile (TJ, Ber. 8:9, 12c). Great emphasis was placed upon the blessing of an elder, and people were urged to receive their blessings (Ruth R. 6:2). Likewise, people were encouraged to bless the righteous whenever they mentioned them (Gen. R. 49:1). Abraham blessed everybody, and he was constantly blessed by God (Gen. R. 59:5). The ability to bless others was passed on by Abraham to Isaac (Gen. R. 61:6). All blessings were considered incomplete unless they were also accompanied by peace (Num. R. 11:7).

Cursing

According to the Talmud, even an undeserved curse by a scholar is effective (Mak. 11a), and an undeserved curse will fall back upon him who utters it (Sanh. 49a and Rashi, ad loc.). The biblical prohibitions of cursing were elaborated in rabbinic *halakhah* to comprise (1) The cursing of God (see *Blasphemy). (2) The cursing of parents (Ex. 21:17; Lev. 20:9; cf. Prov. 20:20; 30:11; Sanh. 7:8). This prohibition applies to proselytes toward their unconverted parents (Maim. Yad, Mamrim, 5:11). (3) The cursing of judges and of the chiefs of the people: kings, heads of Sanhedrin, etc. (Ex. 22:27; Eccles. 10:20; Maim. Yad, Sanhedrin, 26:1). (4) The biblical prohibition of cursing the deaf (Lev. 19:14) was interpreted to include any poor, physically handicapped, or even any person in his absence (Sanh. 66a; Yad, loc. cit.). (5) The prohibition of cursing is extended to self-cursing (Shevu. 4:13; Yad, loc. cit.) (6) The cursing by a woman of her husband's parents in his presence is a valid reason for divorcing her without the repayment of her *dowry as stipulated in the **ketubbah* ("marriage contract"; Ket. 72a–b; Sh. Ar., EH 115:4). Cursing is permissible only when prompted by religious motives such as the cursing of those who are guilty of reprehensible actions (Men. 64b), or who mislead the people by calculating the date of the coming of the Messiah (*meḥasehvei kiẓẓin*; Sanh. 97b). While rabbinic ethics does not go to the length of the New Testament demand to "bless them that curse you…" (Luke 6:27), it disapproves of cursing in general and the Talmud quotes a popular proverb, "Be rather of the cursed than of the cursing" (Sanh. 49a). These ideas found their expression in the prayer cited in the Talmud (Ber. 17a) and said thrice daily at the conclusion of the *Amidah: "O my God, guard my tongue from evil and my lips from speaking guile; and to such as curse let my soul be dumb, yea, let my soul be unto all as the dust…."

The popular belief in the magical power of a curse, even if pronounced unintentionally, has led to the custom of reading the verses of the Bible, Leviticus 26:14–43 and Deuteronomy 28:15–68, called *Tokheḥah* ("chastisement"), in a low voice. Out of fear, people were reluctant to be called up to the Torah reading of these particular sections, so it became customary in some congregations to call for a volunteer (*mi she-yirẓeh*), or, when a beadle (*shammash*) was hired, it was agreed that it would be his duty to be called up for the reading of the *Tokheḥah* sections (see Isserles to Sh. Ar., OH 428:6). Some pious rabbis volunteered to read the *Tokheḥah* to prevent embarrassment to other people.

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BLESSING OF CHILDREN. Belief in the value and efficacy of parental blessing of children is attested to in biblical stories, such as those of Noah's blessing of Shem and Japheth (Gen. 9:26–27); Isaac's blessing of Jacob and Esau (Gen. 27, and 28:1–4); and Jacob's blessing of his sons (Gen. 49) and his grandsons Ephraim and Manasseh (Gen. 48:13–22). The importance of parental blessing is also stressed by Ben Sira (Ecclus. 3:9). The blessing of the children is performed on Sabbath eve either in the synagogue or in the home; on the eves of holy days, of the Day of Atonement, and before leaving for a journey. The blessing is usually given by the father, on special occasions also by the mother, to both small and adult children, by laying the hands upon the head of the child and pronouncing (for a boy) the verse "May God make thee like Ephraim and Manasseh" (Gen. 48:20) or (for a girl) the verse "May God make thee like Sarah, Rebekah, Rachel, and Leah" (cf. Ruth 4:11), followed by the priestly benediction (Num. 6:24–26). From the Middle Ages, the ceremony of blessing children became deeply rooted (see J. Buxtorf, *Synagoga Judaica* (1604), ch. 15, and Jacob *Emden's *Siddur*, 1748). The parental blessing is also recited prior to a child's wedding ceremony and by parents on their deathbed. When grandparents are still alive, it is customary to receive their blessing, too, especially on the eve of the Day of Atonement and before the wedding ceremony (Abraham Danzig, *Ḥayyei Adam* (1810), 143:19). In some communities the parental blessing is also bestowed after the *Havdalah ceremony at the end of the Sabbath (Baer, Seder, 309).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Eisenstein, Dinim, 56–57; Abrahams, Companion, cxxxiv–cxxxv.

BLEUSTEIN-BLANCHET, MARCEL (1906–1996), French advertising executive and radio pioneer. Born in Enghien, France, Bleustein-Blanchet founded a number of businesses over the years through which he became the foremost individual in advertising in France, a field which he virtually established by introducing advertising into French film, radio, and television. Among his companies were "Publicis" (est. 1927), the largest privately owned advertising agency in France; Radio Cité (1935); Regie Press of which he was chairman (founded 1938); and Cinéma et Publicité (1938). In the early 1920s Bleustein-Blanchet established a private company, "Radio Paris," making him a pioneer of French radio broadcasting. He was sole or part owner of other types of businesses as well, such as the Drugstore restaurants in Paris, and he was the owner of the sixth television network of France, specializing in music. In 1960 he created a foundation named after him that grants scholarships to deserving young writers.

During World War II he was an active member of the Resistance. He served as an adviser for French Foreign Commerce from 1973 to 1975. Bleustein-Blanchet was active in the support of social welfare of the French Jewish community and was president of the Montmartre Israelite Center from

1965. He received France's highest award, Grand Officer of the Legion of Honor.

He wrote *La rage de convaincre* (1970), *La nostalgie du futur* (1978), *Les ondes de la liberté* (1984), *Mémoires d'un lion* (1988), and *Les mots de ma vie* (1990).

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[Gideon Kouts]

BLINDMAN, YERUḤAM (c. 1798–1891), cantor and composer. Blindman, who was called "Yeruḥam ha-Koton" ("little") because of his small stature, served as cantor in Kishinev, Tarnopol, and Berdichev. Though not universally admired, his voice was a remarkable lyric tenor with unlimited falsetto range. The public was attracted by his pious appearance in long, white beard and his great artistry in improvisation. His formal knowledge of music was rudimentary, but his own melodies, composed in the spirit of Jewish folksong against a liturgical background, earned him a reputation as a composer of synagogal music. His singing with choir consistently attracted large crowds, including gentiles. He performed with his choir throughout Russia and Austria.

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[Joshua Leib Ne'eman]

BLINDNESS. The standard Hebrew term for a blind person is (Heb. עִוֵּר) (*ʿivver*; Ex. 4:11; et al.), a noun in the form used for bodily defects. The abstract form is עִוָּרוֹן (*ʿivvaron*, "blindness"; Deut. 28:28; Zech. 12:4). The word סַנְוֵרִים (*sanverim*; Gen. 19:11; II Kings 6:18), sometimes incorrectly translated "blindness," means a blinding light causing (possibly temporary) loss of vision (E.A. Speiser). Eyes which cannot see are described by the verbs כהה ("be dim"; Gen. 27:1; et al.), קום ("be fixed," "still"; I Sam. 4:15; I Kings 14:4), חשך ("be darkened"; Lam. 5:17; et al.), כבד ("be heavy"; Gen. 48:10), and שעע and טחח ("be smeared over;" Isa. 6:10, 32:3; 44:18; et al.). Genesis 29:17 describes Leah's eyes as *rakkot*, but whether this means "tender" or "weak" is moot.

Incidence and Causes

Blindness was widespread in the ancient Near East. Preventive techniques included the application of hygienic ointments, especially kohl, and surgical operations (cf. *The Code of Hammurapi*, 215–20 in Pritchard, Texts, 175). (There is no evidence that the biblical injunction against eating pork was intended or understood to prevent trichinosis or other diseases which cause blindness.) Biblical cases include Isaac (Gen. 27:1), Jacob (Gen. 48:10), Eli (I Sam. 3:2; 4:15), and Ahijah the Shilonite (I Kings 14:4), all of whose eyesight failed in old age. (Deut. 34:7 makes a point of reporting that Moses' eyesight had not failed in old age.) Both Isaac and Jacob in their blindness reversed the status of a younger and an older descendant in blessing them (Gen. 27 (cf. 29:23–6); 48:8–19).

Aside from old age, natural causes of blindness are not mentioned in the Bible. In a few passages blindness is mentioned as a punishment inflicted by God: it is threatened for Israel's violation of the covenant (Deut. 28:28–29; M. Weinfeld takes this passage metaphorically; see below) and for the "negligent shepherd" of Zechariah 11:15–17; Proverbs (30:17) warns that the eye which is disrespectful to parents will be plucked out by birds of prey (cf. *The Code of Hammurapi*, 193, in Pritchard, Texts, 175). Theologically speaking, all cases of blindness are attributed to God (Ex. 4:11), just as the restoration of sight is credited to Him (Ps. 146:8). However, outside of the specific cases mentioned, blindness in general is nowhere stated to be a punishment for sin. In a few passages God strikes His servants' assailants with blinding flashes (Gen. 19:11; II Kings 6:18–20) or permanent blindness (Zech. 12:4; Ps. 69:24) in order to protect His servants.

As a punishment inflicted by human agency one finds the penalty of "an eye for an eye" in the talion formula (Ex. 21:24; Lev. 24:20; Deut. 19:21), although it is debated whether this was ever carried out literally in Israel (cf. *The Code of Hammurapi*, 196–9, where the relation of the law to actual practice is similarly uncertain). Samson and King Zedekiah were blinded, respectively, by the Philistines and Nebuchadnezzar (Judg. 16:21; II Kings 25:7; Jer. 39:7; 52:11). Nahash the Ammonite demanded the putting out of the right eye of all the people of Jabesh-Gilead as a condition for sparing the city (I Sam. 11:2). Several passages speak of the eyes being "spent" or "pining away" from tears and grief. The verb used is usually כלה ("Be spent"); the context makes it clear that soreness rather than blindness is meant (e.g., Lev. 26:16; Deut. 28:65; Jer. 14:6; Lam. 2:11; 4:17; cf. also עשש, Ps. 6:8, "be spent," "waste away").

Effects

Blind persons are naturally helpless in many ways (cf. II Sam. 5:6; Isa. 35:5–6; Jer. 31:7, which invoke the blind, the lame, and the mute as representative examples of helplessness) and subject to exploitation (Deut. 28:29). Biblical ethics warned against exploiting them (Lev. 19:14; Deut. 27:18; Job 29:15).

As a physical defect blindness disqualified priests from sacrificing or approaching the altar (Lev. 21:17–23) and rendered sacrificial animals unacceptable (Lev. 22:21–22; Deut. 15:21; Mal. 1:8). Some have taken the enigmatic saying "the blind and the lame shall not come into the house" (II Sam. 5:8) to indicate that at one time these were forbidden entrance to temples.

Metaphoric Uses

Blindness is used with several metaphoric meanings in the Bible. Frequently it refers to the lack of intellectual or moral understanding (Isa. 29:9–10, 18). Judges are warned that bribes, or gifts, blind the eyes of the discerning (Ex. 23:8; Deut. 16:19). Isaiah is told that his mission is to besmear the eyes of Israel so that it will not "see" and repent and be healed (6:10). In Isaiah 56:10 blindness refers to negligence, while in Numbers 16:14 putting out the eyes is usually taken to mean deceiving. The

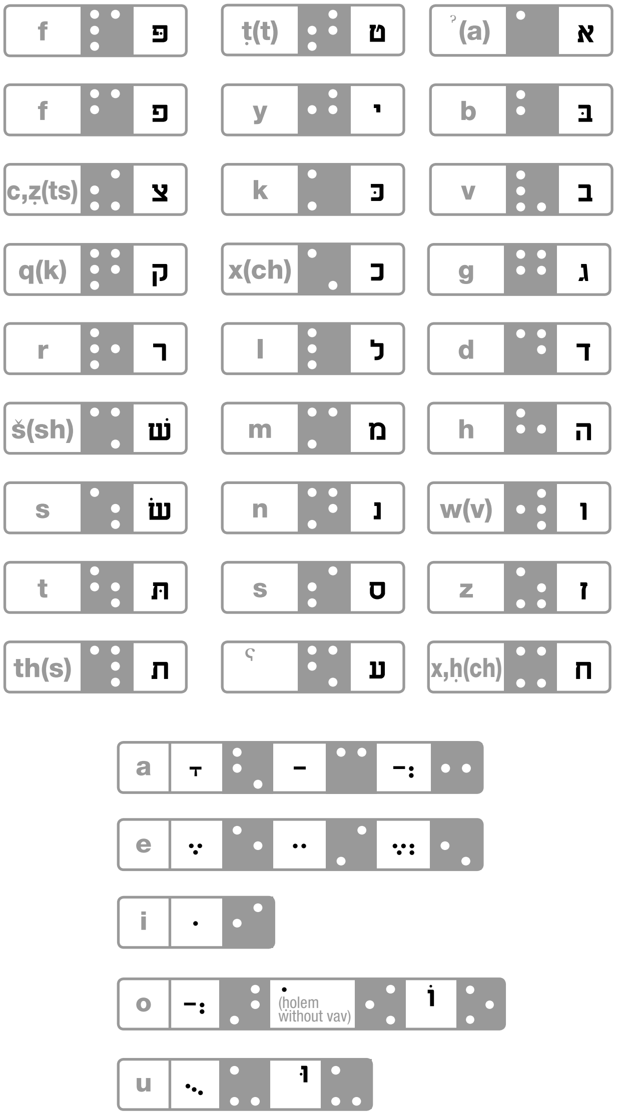

The Hebrew Braille system adopted universally in the 1950s.

helplessness and exploitability of the blind made blindness a natural metaphor for oppression and injustice in Deuteronomy 28:28–29 and Isaiah 59:9–10 (cf. Lam. 4:14; M. Weinfeld has noted that the association of blindness and darkness with oppression in these passages also reflects the Mesopotamian association of the sun-god with justice (cf. a related association in II Sam. 23:3–4; Hos. 6:5b; Zeph. 3:5)). A related metaphor is the use of blindness to describe those who dwell in the darkness of prison or captivity (Isa. 42:7, 16–19; 43:8; 49:9; 61:1; cf. Ps. 146:7–8; this use has roots in Mesopotamian royal inscriptions).

[Jeffrey Howard Tigay]

In Talmud and Jewish Law

The unusually large number of talmudic sages who were blind probably reflects the wide prevalence of this disability in ancient times. In addition to Bava b. Buta, who was blinded by Herod (BB 4a), mention may be made of Nahum of Gimzo (Ta'an. 21a), Dosa b. Harkinas (Yev. 16a), and R. Joseph and R. Sheshet in Babylon (BK 87a), as well as a number of anonymous blind scholars (cf. Ḥag. 5b; TJ Pe'ah, end). Matya b. Heresh is said to have deliberately blinded himself to avoid temptation, but his sight was subsequently restored by the angel Raphael (Tanḥ. B., ed. Buber, addition to *Ḥukkat*). The talmudic name for a blind man is *suma* (Ḥag. 1:1; Meg. 4:6), but the euphemism *sagi nahor* ("with excess of light") is often used (Ber. 58a.; TJ Pe'ah end; and especially Lev. R. 34:13 "the *suma* whom we call *sagi nahor*").

Unlike the deaf-mute, who is regarded in Jewish law as subnormal, the blind person is regarded as fully normal, and most of the legal and religious restrictions placed upon him are due to the limitations caused by his physical disability. The statement (Ned. 64b) based on Lamentations 3:6 – "He hath made me to dwell in darkness as those that have been long dead" – that "the blind man is regarded as dead," is of purely homiletic interest and has no practical application. In the second century R. Judah expressed the opinion that a blind man was exempt from all religious obligations, and as late as the time of the blind Babylonian *amora* Joseph (fourth century) the *halakhah* had not yet been determined (see his moving statement in BK 87a), but it was subsequently decided against his view. Even the statement of R. Judah that a person blind from birth cannot recite the *Shema*, since the first of the two introductory blessings is for the daily renewal of light (Meg. 4:6; TB Meg. 24a), was later amended since he enjoys the benefit of light (Rosh, resp. 4:21); the law that a blind man could not be called up to the reading of the Torah, since the passage must be read from the scroll (OḤ 53:14), was abolished with the institution of the *ba'al kore*, who reads the passage for those called up (Taz. to OḤ 141:1). The ruling of Jair Ḥayyim Bacharach (*Ḥavvot Ya'ir* 176) that if there were a person more suitable, a blind person should not conduct the service is an individual opinion and Yehudai Gaon, who himself was blind, gives a contrary opinion (J. Mueller, *Mafte'aḥ li-Teshuvot ha-Ge'onim* (1891), 67).

Similarly, although it was laid down that a totally blind person may not act as a judge, it is stated that when R. Johanan heard of a blind man acting as judge he did not forbid it (Sanh. 34b, cf. ḤM 7:2; for instances in the Middle Ages see *Paḥad Yizḥak S.V. Suma*). Even as late as the time of Joseph Caro in the 16th century, it was laid down that a blind person is forbidden to act as a *shoḥet* only "in the first instance"; the total prohibition was enacted later (YD 1:9 and commentaries). A special case was the exemption of a blind person from the duty of going up to Jerusalem on the Pilgrim Festivals. The special nature of this law, which is derived from the homiletical interpretation of a word, is seen in the fact that it applied even to a person blind in only one eye (Ḥag. 1:1, and TB Ḥag. 2a).

During the Middle Ages, blinding was imposed by some *battei din* as a form of extrajudicial punishment and was condoned by contemporary rabbis (Assaf in bibl. nos. 97, 98, 135). Blindness was said to be caused by bloodletting at unfavorable times and by the machinations of demons (see Zimmels in bibl., pp. 88 and 153).

The question has been raised in recent times as to the permissibility of removing the cornea of a deceased person and grafting it on a blind person to restore his sight. Halakhic opinion is almost unanimously in favor, and in a responsum I.J. Unterman added the consideration that the danger to the life of a blind person through accidents is such that it can be regarded as a special case of *pikku'aḥ nefesh* (see *Autopsy).

[Louis Isaac Rabinowitz]

Care of the Blind

The Jewish blind have been traditionally assisted by regular communal and voluntary agencies and associations, as well as special institutions. In the United States the New York Guild for the Jewish Blind, founded around 1908, had a home for aged blind, has offered integrated services to the visually handicapped, and has initiated a nonsegregated living plan for the blind. In the United Kingdom the central agency was the Jewish Blind (now Jewish Blind and Disabled) Society in London, founded in 1819. By 1970 it was caring for the needs of over 1,500 Jewish blind. It maintained a number of residential and holiday facilities, day centers in provincial cities, and the Burr Center for Personal Development which offered various courses for the blind and disabled.

The special conditions in Israel as a country of immigration created the problem that the proportion of blind persons of working age in the state was three times higher than in Anglo-Saxon countries (1956). Much has been done to alleviate this position, while the blind person is as far as possible not treated as a social case. He is, however, exempted from paying income tax. Special placement officers facilitate his employment. In 1956 the proportion of blind to ordinary residents was estimated at approximately 2.5 per 1,000; 87% of them had immigrated after 1948. Over 85% were born in countries of Asia and Africa where in many cases the blind were not cared for or enabled to work. There was a comparatively high proportion of married women or widows due to marriage of blind girls to elderly men. The Jewish Institute for the Blind in Jerusalem, founded in 1902, cared for the majority of blind children in the country. It included a kindergarten, elementary school where subjects were taught in braille, and boarding facilities for 60–90 pupils attending regular secondary school. It also had a vocational school, industrial training shop, a braille printing press, and two houses for mentally or physically handicapped blind adults.

Other agencies and associations for help of the blind in Israel included Migdal Or, the American Israeli Lighthouse Rehabilitation Center for the Blind in Haifa (Kiryat Ḥayyim), which gave casework reorientation, special training and courses, and has developed home industries for blind who are physically incapacitated. The Women's League for Israel of New York assisted joint projects with the Ministry of Social Welfare for rehabilitation of blind girls and women, and maintained a sheltered workshop, Orah, and a bookbindery, Malben, which in 1951 took over Kefar Uriel, a village for the blind established in 1950 by the Jewish Agency for blind immigrants; in 1962 it had 63 families (about 350 persons). Heads of families were employed in four workshops. The Israel Foundation for Guide Dogs for the Blind in Haifa was established around 1950. A Central Library for the Blind, established in 1952 in Netanya, had over 5,000 volumes in braille and a talking book library.

The Association for the Blind and Prevention of Blindness, founded in 1953, had branches in nine centers. The National Council for the Blind, established in 1958 for coordinating, research, and planning, was represented on the World Council for the Blind. Voluntary agencies giving assistance from abroad include Hilfe fuer Blinde in Switzerland and Aide aux Aveugles Israéliens in France. Training for non-Jewish blind has also been given by the Saint Vincent Roman Catholic hostel in Jerusalem, and at handicraft centers established in Nazareth and Shefaram. Isolated Arab villages have been visited by home teachers.

Modern Incidence and Causes

There is no statutory registration of blindness anywhere in the world. All comparative statistics on the incidence and causes of blindness are therefore largely speculative, and this applies in particular to statistics on blindness in Jews, for whom data are usually lacking in whatever national statistics are available. Comparative studies are thus impossible, and little more than some generalizations can be advanced.

The incidence and causes of blindness in most parts of the world are determined essentially by environmental factors. Jews, as a widely dispersed community, therefore suffer from the locally prevailing environmental causes of blindness. In this respect, if the incidence of blindness in a particular Jewish community is different from that in the general population, it will merely reflect the differences found in the various social groupings of the population at large. Thus it occurs in all countries where trachoma is endemic. The disease is more prevalent in rural areas, ill provided with sanitation and health services, than in the more developed urban centers with their populations relatively well housed and well served medically. The high incidence of trachoma in Oriental Jews who immigrated to Israel reflects country of origin and social level, rather than their Jewishness.

In the more highly developed countries, infections and other environmental causes of blindness are steadily declining, and most cases of blindness are now due to affections seen in the elderly (such as "senile" cataract and "senile" macular degeneration) or in the middle-aged (such as glaucoma and, to a lesser extent, myopic atrophy, uveitis, and diabetic retinopathy). These are all "constitutional" diseases, and clinical experience in Western Europe and the United States has brought out a greater incidence of three of these affections in Jews: myopia, diabetic retinopathy, and Tay-Sachs disease, a rare lethal disorder. Although adequate statistics are lacking, this clinical experience is probably well-founded and would be readily explained by the fact that these three affections are all genetically determined, generally by recessive or by polygenic inheritance. Although there is no such thing as a Jewish gene pool, it is true that inbred groups – Quakers no less than Jews and royal families no less than village communities – have many features and genes in common. These are readily perpetuated under the prevailing conditions: a recessive mutant gene is much more likely to spread in a closed community than elsewhere. (The gene for Tay-Sachs disease probably originated as such a mutant in a Jewish family in White Russia during the last century, and by emigration, carriers have spread it into the Jewish communities of Great Britain and the United States.) Contrary to early beliefs, the affection is not exclusively Jewish, for it is seen in other ethnic groups as well. These occasional cases do not add substantially to the instances of hereditary blindness in Jews, and it is a moot point whether the greater incidence of blindness from high myopia and diabetic retinopathy in Western Jews adds to that load. The numbers involved would be relatively slight, and compensating deficiencies in other hereditary causes are theoretically possible; actual data are lacking, however.

See section on Braille in *Alphabet, Hebrew.

[Arnold Sorsby]

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Gordon, in: *Archives of Ophthalmology*, 9 (1933), 751ff.; E.A. Speiser, *Genesis* (1964), 139 (on Gen. 19:11); idem, in: JCS, 6 (1952), 81ff. (esp., 89 n. 52); Harrison, in: IDB, 1 (1962), 448–9; M.Z. Segal, *Sifrei Shemu'el* (1964), 260, 262 (on II Sam. 5:6, 8); Weinfeld, in: *Biblica*, 46 (1965), 420–1; Paul, in: JAOS, 88 (1968), 182; H.J. Zimmels, *Magicians, Theologians and Doctors* (1952), 461 notes; S. Assaf, *Ha-Onshin Aḥarei Ḥatimat ha-Talmud* (1922), 97 98, 135.

BLIOKH (Bloch), IVAN STANISLAVOVICH (1836–1901), Russian financier, writer, and pacifist. Born in Radom, Poland, Bliokh studied in Warsaw and Berlin. In Warsaw, he engaged in banking, a field he developed extensively in St. Petersburg. He also played a leading role in the construction of the Russian railroads and put their operation on a sound management basis. Bliokh won international fame through his dedication to pacifism, which is the theme of his six-volume publication *Budushchaya voyna v tekhnicheskom, ekonomicheskom i politicheskom otnosheniyakh* (1898; last vol. translated as *The Future of War… Is War Now Impossible?*, 1899). He attempted to prove that wars were of no value to a nation because of the massive expenditures involved and the consequent damage to national economies, apart from the human cost. This book, as well as Bliokh's personal endeavors, were among the factors which influenced Czar Nicholas II to convene the 1899 Hague Peace Conference in order to consider the limitation of armaments and the arbitration of international disputes.

Although Bliokh converted to Calvinism, he maintained his interest in the Jewish question and in improving the lot of Russian Jewry. After the pogroms of the 1890s, he fought strenuously in defense of the Jews and pressed the government to end discrimination. In a five-volume work, *Sravneniye materialnago i nravstvennago blagosostayaniya guberniy zapadnykh, velikorossiyskikh i polskikh* ("A Comparison of the Material and Moral Welfare of the Western, Great Russian, and Polish Provinces," 1901), the preparation of which, with the help of many outstanding experts, cost him hundreds of thousands of rubles, he analyzed the economic condition of the Jews in Russia and emphasized their great contribution to the economy. This work constituted a brilliant defense against the government's anti-Jewish arguments, but was confiscated and burned after publication. Fortunately, a number of copies were by chance saved from the censors, and eventually its contents became widely known through a summary by A.P. Subbotin entitled *Yevreyskiy vopros v yego pravilnom osveshchenii* ("The Jewish Question in its Right Light," 1903).

In 1897 Bliokh became involved in the work of the *Jewish Colonization Association (ICA) in Russia and supported it generously. He showed an interest in Zionism and became a friend of Theodor *Herzl, whom he had met in 1899 at the Hague Peace Conference. (Herzl had come to ask the Russian delegates to help him to obtain an audience with the czar. With Bliokh's assistance Herzl met the head of the Russian delegation, de Staal, and other statesmen.) At Herzl's request, in July 1899 Bliokh tried to persuade the Russian authorities to revoke the decree prohibiting the sale of *Jewish Colonial Trust shares. Shortly before his death, Bliokh established the International Museum of War and Peace in Lucerne, Switzerland.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: N. Sokolow, in: JC (Jan. 24, 1902), 11.

[Nathan Feinberg]

BLIS, DAVID (1870–1942), Cuban communal leader. David Blizhnianski-Halpern was born in Grodno and studied in a yeshivah in Volozhin. He continued his studies in the Rabbinical Seminary in Breslau and the Hebrew Union College in Cincinnati. He joined his parents, who settled in *Moisesville (Argentina), but he continued his travels, being more interested in business than in agriculture. He lived in Mexico for a few years and participated in the foundation of the first Jewish organization there, Alianza Monte Sinai (1912). He apprently lent money to President Francisco Madero and fled from Mexico following his assassination, reaching Cuba in 1913. Blis took an active part in the foundation of almost all the early Jewish organizations of Cuba and was later nicknamed "the grandfather of the Jewish community." He founded the Young Men's Hebrew Association (1916), a common social framework for Americans and Sephardim in Cuba. From the early 1920s he took an active part in assisting immigrants from Eastern Europe, and was co-founder (1924) and president of the Centro Hebreo, and the president of the Centro Israelita, which developed from it. From 1933 to 1934 he was president of the Comisión Jurídica, which protected the Jewish community during the political upheavals of that period.

Blis was an ardent Zionist and promoted the early Zionist activities of the Sephardi Jews. As one of the most prominent members of the Unión Sionista he was named honorary president in 1937. On Blis's initiative the Cuban Senate approved unanimously in 1919 a resolution supporting the efforts of the

Jewish people to achieve self- determination and national independence..

BIBLIOGRAPHY: B. Sapir, *Jewish Community of Cuba* (1948), 18–21. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** J. Hochstein, "David Blis," in: *Havaner Lebn Almanaque* 1947–48.

[Margalit Bejarano (2nd ed.)]

°BLISS, FREDERICK JONES (1859–1937), British archaeologist. The son of a missionary, Bliss taught for a time at the Syrian Protestant College, Beirut. On behalf of the *Palestine Exploration Fund, he excavated at Tell al-Ḥasī (1891), Jerusalem (1894–97), and (in collaboration with R.A.S. *Macalister) at various mounds in the *Shephelah (1899–1900). At Tell al-Ḥasī Bliss continued the work of Sir William Flinders *Petrie and in Jerusalem he discovered the walls of "Mt. Zion" and the wall enclosing the Tyropoeon Valley, in addition to many other minor discoveries. His work in the Shephelah was marked by some important finds but was too hurried to be of lasting value. His publications include *Mound of Many Cities* (1898); *Excavations at Jerusalem 1894–1897* (1898); *Excavations in Palestine 1898–1900* (1902), with R.A.S. Macalister; *Development of Palestine Exploration* (1906); and *Religions of Modern Syria and Palestine* (1912).

[Michael Avi-Yonah]

BLITZER, WOLF (1948–), U.S. journalist. Blitzer earned a bachelor's degree in history from the State University of New York at Buffalo and a master's in international relations from the Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies in Washington. While at SUNY, he spent a year at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. He started in the news business as a reporter for *Reuters in Tel Aviv in 1972. Three years later he became the Washington correspondent of the *Jerusalem Post* and served for 15 years until 1990. He joined the all-news television network CNN that year as Pentagon correspondent and appeared frequently on screen during the Persian Gulf War. With his work for the *Post* and his coverage of the prosecution of Jonathan *Pollard, an American Jew charged with spying for Israel, Blitzer became an expert on the weapons systems of the Pentagon and on the Iraqi military. He was among a team of CNN reporters who won a Golden Cable Ace award for coverage of the war. In 1992 he became CNN's senior White House correspondent, covering the administration of President Bill Clinton, and served in that capacity until 1999. He became host of *Wolf Blitzer Reports*, a nightly newscast, in December 2000 and took over CNN's *Night Edition,* a Sunday talk show which in 2004 was seen in more than 200 countries. In 1996 Blitzer won an Emmy award for his coverage of the bombing in Oklahoma City. In 1999 he won the Lowell Thomas Broadcast Journalism Award for contributions to broadcast journalism.

Over the years Blitzer covered many key events on the international political scene. In 1973 he was on hand when Willy *Brandt traveled to Israel, marking the first visit of a German chancellor. He also covered the first Israeli-Egyptian peace conference in Egypt in 1977 and in 1979 he traveled with President Jimmy Carter for the final round of negotiations that resulted in the signing of the Israel-Egypt peace treaty.

In addition to receiving several honorary degrees, Blitzer is the author of two books, *Between Washington and Jerusalem: A Reporter's Notebook* (1985) and *Territory of Lies* (1989), which dealt with the Pollard affair. The son of Holocaust survivors, Blitzer has noted an irony in his personal family history. His grandparents were killed on Yom Kippur and two of his parents' grandchildren, Blitzer's nephew and daughter, were born on Yom Kippur.

[Stewart Kampel (2nd ed.)]

BLITZSTEIN, MARC (1905–1964), U.S. composer. Born in Philadelphia, Blitzstein studied with Nadia Boulanger in Paris and Arnold Schoenberg in Berlin. Intensely interested in political problems, he developed a genre of operas of "social significance." His short works, *The Cradle Will Rock* (1937) and *No for an Answer* (1941), were important though transitory landmarks in the American "proletarian opera" movement. Among his other works are *The Airborne* (1946), a cantata resulting from his service with the U.S. army in England during World War II, and a musical drama, *Regina*, based on Lillian *Hellman's play *The Little Foxes* (1949). Blitzstein also made an idiomatic American translation of the libretto of Kurt Weill's *Dreigroschenoper*. His opera on the theme of Sacco and Vanzetti, commissioned by the Ford Foundation for production by the Metropolitan Opera, was left unfinished. He died on the island of Martinique of head injuries suffered in an attack by a group of sailors.

At the time of his death Blitzstein left unfinished two one-act operas based on the short stories of Bernard Malamud. One of them, *Idiots First*, was completed by Leonard Lehrman, assistant chorusmaster of the Metropolitan Opera, and performed on March 1977 in Bloomington, Ind., and received its first New York premiere in January 1978. The story, in 13 short scenes, is of an old Jew, Mendel, spending the last night of his life in seeking means to provide for his retarded son, Yiẓḥak.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Baker, Biog Dict, and 1965 Supplement; Grove, Dict, s.v; MGG, s.v.

[Nicolas Slonimsky]

BLOC, ANDRÉ (1896–1966), French sculptor and engineer, who was concerned with the relationship of architecture to sculpture. He was the creator of "habitacles" (pieces of sculpture which could be entered) and "constructions," sculptural forms which lie on the borderline between the two arts. Born in Algiers, Bloc studied science in Paris. He then took a degree in engineering, which he practiced from 1930 onward. In 1941 he began to sculpt, and his first important work was executed in 1949. This was a 38-foot "signal" placed outside the Public Works Museum, Paris, on the occasion of the centenary of the invention of reinforced concrete. In 1951 he helped to found the "Espace" group. He was also associated with the foundation of several architectural journals. Bloc died of a fall while visiting a temple in India.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: H. Schaefer-Simmern, *Sculpture in Europe Today* (1955); Gisiger, in: *Werk*, 51 (1964), 271–2.

BLOCH, family of U.S. book publishers. The Bloch Publishing Company was founded by EDWARD BLOCH (1829–1906), who emigrated to the United States from Bohemia. He learned the printing trade in Albany, New York, and in 1854 set up a company in Cincinnati, which published newspapers and books of specific Jewish interest in English and German. His publications included *The American Israelite* and *Die Deborah*. Later the company diversified its activities, and one of its regular clients was a monastery to which he supplied religious books.

In 1885 Edward's son, CHARLES (1861–1940), established a branch of the company in Chicago. He took over the management of *The Chicago Israelite*, an edition of *The American Israelite*, and in 1891 he co-founded the Chicago-based *Reform Advocate*. He succeeded his father as president in 1901 and moved the Bloch Publishing Company to New York City where, in addition to publishing, it was also one of the leading bookstores in the U.S. representing several publishing houses. It concentrated on books of Jewish interest. Charles was also highly active during his years in New York in the Reform movement, taking part in 1907 in the founding of the Free Synagogue of New York, of which he later served as president, and in 1922 of the Jewish Institute of Religion. On his death, Charles was succeeded by his son EDWARD H. (1898–1982), who headed the company for 40 years and under whose management the company's activities continued to expand. Reaching its fifth generation, the company continued to serve the cultural life of American and world Jewry through its publication and distribution of Judaic and Hebraic literature.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: S. Grayzel, in: JBA, 12 (1953–55), 72–76.

[Abraham Meir Habermann]

BLOCH, ANDRÉ (1873–1960), French composer. Born in Wissembourg, Alsace, Bloch studied with Guiraud and Massenet at the Paris Conservatory and received the Prix de Rome in 1895. After World War I he conducted the orchestra of the American Conservatory at Fontainebleau. In 1931–32 he composed the symphonic poems *Béquinage*, *Kaa*, and *Les moissons de l'éternité* with cello as principal instrument. His two operas, the one-act *Brocéliande,* and *Guignol,* were first performed, respectively, at the Opéra Garnier in 1925 and at the Opéra Comique in 1949. In 1948, following the creation of the State of Israel, he composed his most interesting piece, the *Suite Palestinienne,* with cello as principal instrument.

[Amnon Shiloah (2nd ed.)]

BLOCH, CAMILLE (1865–1949), French historian, archivist, and librarian. A professor at the Sorbonne, Bloch was an authority on the French Revolution and its economic and social antecedents; he was secretary-general of the Society for the Study of the French Revolution. He was archivist of the Aude departement (1891–96) and the Loiret departement (1896–1904) and in 1904 became inspector general of libraries and archives. In World War I he became director of the War Library and War Museum in Paris, and historian of the war period. His *Les causes de la guerre mondiale* (1933; *The Causes of the World War*, 1935) is an important work. During the Nazi period, Bloch was hidden in southern France. After 1945 he supervised for the French government the recovery of books looted by the Germans. He left an unfinished study on the Munich Pact of 1938.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: P. Renouvin, in: *Revue Historique*, 202 (1949), 147–9; *Dictionnaire de biographie française*, 6 (1954), 677; *New York Times* (Feb. 16, 1949) 25.

[Herbert A. Strauss]

BLOCH, CHAIM ISAAC (1867–1948), Orthodox rabbi. Bloch was born in Lithuania and studied under Rabbi Simcha Sisel Ziv at the Yeshiva of Grubin (1880–83) and then in Volozhin, Poland (1883–91), under Rabbi Naphtali Ẓevi Judah *Berlin and Rabbi Ḥayyim *Soloveichik. He received his rabbinical ordination from Rabbi Soloveichik and Rabbi Eliezer *Gordon of the Telshe Yeshivah in 1890. He founded a yeshiva in Plunge in 1895, and served at its head until 1899, when he became a pulpit rabbi in Palanga, a nearby town. While he was there, he also earned the equivalent of a high school degree from the local gymnasium.

From 1905 to 1912, after Rabbi Abraham Isaac *Kook left for Palestine, Bloch served as chief rabbi of Bauska in Courland, now Latvia, and became the district rabbi by governmental appointment. In 1914, he was elected chief rabbi of Antwerp but could not accept the position because of the outbreak of World War I. In 1915, he fled to Russia, where he served as an army chaplain, and in 1916 he organized a yeshivah for exiled Jewish children in the Crimea. He then returned to Bauska in 1920. In 1922–23, he left for America and settled in Jersey City, New Jersey, where he was the pulpit rabbi of Congregation Agudath Shalom. He founded *talmud torahs* and societies to encourage people to observe the Shabbat (the Sabbath Alliance) and encouraged a five-day workweek.

For many years, Bloch was dean of Yeshiva of Hudson County, then a fledgling day school and now known as the Rosenbaum Yeshiva of North Jersey with almost 1,000 students from kindergarten through *mesivta*, located in the cities of River Edge and Newark in New Jersey, and also served on the board of Yeshiva University. He was an avid Zionist and member of Mizrachi and the Religious Zionists of America, as well as a member of the Agudat Harabbonim, where he served as treasurer in 1925 and vice president in 1931. He was also treasurer of Ezrat Torah. During World War II, he worked with the Va'ad ha-Haẓẓalah to help rescue the Jews of Europe.

Bloch's literary career began in 1897, when he edited a column for **Ha-Ẓefirah*, a weekly Hebrew newspaper in Warsaw, and he was a regular contributor to the Slutzk *Yagdil ha-Torah* and *Migdal Torah*. In the U.S. he was a contributor to *Ha-Pardes,* wrote many essays, and published several volumes on the Talmud about material related to the glosses of the medieval rabbi *Yom Tov Ishbili, the Ritba.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: M. Sherman, *Orthodox Judaism in America: A Biographical Dictionary and Sourcebook* (1996), 31–32; A. Rand (ed.), *Toldot Anshei Shem* (1950), 9–10.

[Jeanette Friedman (2nd ed.)]

BLOCH, CHARLES (Shelomo Yeshayahu; 1916–), U.S. *ḥazzan*. Bloch was born in New York and studied *ḥazzanut* under Simon Raisen and music at the Brooklyn Conservatory. He also attended the Jewish Theological Seminary and St. Johns University where he graduated in law. After serving as *ḥazzan* for congregations in New York, Maryland, and Pennsylvania, in 1967 he became *ḥazzan* of Temple Anshei Chesed in Manhattan. Bloch made several recordings, including melodies which he composed, and appeared on American radio and television; he gave concerts throughout the United States and Israel.

[Akiva Zimmerman]

BLOCH, CLAUDE (1878–1967), U.S. admiral; commander in chief of the United States Fleet. Born in Woodbury, Kentucky, Bloch entered the U.S. Naval Academy in 1895. He served in the Spanish-American war and was decorated for saving Spaniards from burning ships. In 1900, he fought in the Chinese expedition to suppress the Boxer Rebellion. During World War I Bloch was commander of the *USS Plattsburg* and in 1918 was appointed assistant chief of the Bureau of Ordnance. He was promoted to rear admiral in 1923 and in 1927 he commanded the battleship *California*. After serving as commandant of the Washington Navy Yard, he was promoted to commander of the battle force with the rank of admiral. In 1938, Bloch was made commander in chief of the United States Fleet. Bloch commanded the shore installations of the 14th Naval District, Hawaii, when Pearl Harbor was attacked, but played no significant role in the events of that day. Retired because of age in 1942, he was retained on active duty as a member of the General Board until 1946.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: E. Rubin; *140 Jewish Marshals, Generals and Admirals* (1952).

[Mordechai Kaplan]

BLOCH, ELIJAH MEYER (c. 1894–1955), Lithuanian rabbi and dean of the Telz (Telshe) Yeshivah in the U.S. Bloch, who was born and educated in Telz, Lithuania, was appointed to the faculty of the yeshivah there in 1917. With the Russian occupation of Lithuania, the yeshivah was moved to Cleveland, Ohio, in 1941, under Bloch's leadership. Bloch retained the singular "Telz style" in Talmud study, which stresses precise inductive reasoning. He resisted every attempt at compromise with the Reform elements of the community, yet succeeded in obtaining the support of the Cleveland Jewish Federation for the local Orthodox high school. Active with the Agudat Israel since the Marienbad Conference of 1937, Bloch played a leading role in the American Agudah. He was also a member of Mo'eẓet Gedolei ha-Torah, the international body which guides the World Agudah on questions of Torah principle, where he was known for the universality of his approach. Bloch actively supported Israel.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Dos Yidishe Vort* (Feb. 1955).

BLOCH, ERNEST (1880–1959), composer. Bloch, who was born in Geneva, revealed his musical gifts as a child and was only ten when he wrote down a vow that he would become a composer and then, in ritual fashion, burned the inscribed paper over a mound of stones. In the face of parental opposition, he left home at the age of 16 and studied music for eight years in Brussels, Frankfurt, Munich, and Paris. At that time he composed his first big work, the *Symphony in C Sharp Minor*. Returning to Geneva in 1904, Bloch entered the family clockmaking business. During the next three years he composed his opera *Macbeth*. It was first produced in 1910 at the Opéra-Comique in Paris, and was warmly received. Major works produced during the years immediately following include *Trois Poèmes Juifs* for orchestra (1913), *Schelomo*, a "Hebrew rhapsody" for cello and orchestra (1916), and the *Israel Symphony* for orchestra and five solo voices (1912–16). Bloch first went to America in 1916, as conductor for the dancer Maud Allan, and soon won recognition. Early in 1917, Karl Muck invited him to conduct the *Trois Poèmes Juifs* in Boston, and a few months later a concert of his orchestral works was given in New York. In 1920, he founded and organized the Cleveland Institute of Music. He left it in 1925 to become director of the San Francisco Conservatory of Music. During his five years in this post, Bloch composed a number of large-scale works. Best known of these is *America*, an "epic rhapsody" for chorus and orchestra (1926). A counterpart to this work is *Helvetia*, a "symphonic fresco" written in tribute to Bloch's native land.

One of Bloch's most important works is the *Avodath Hakodesh* ("Sacred Service") for Sabbath morning for baritone, mixed chorus, and orchestra which he wrote in seclusion in Switzerland during 1930–33 (commissioned by Gerald Warburg). He spent the years 1934–38 in a remote French village. From this period came the piano sonata, *Voice in the Wilderness* (symphonic poem with cello obbligato), and the violin concerto. Bloch also composed three string quartets (1916, 1945, and 1951–52). In 1938 Bloch returned to America. After a number of tours as conductor, he finally settled in 1941 in Agate Beach, Oregon. There he spent the rest of his life except for annual lecture visits to the University of California. The manuscripts he left when he died are in the university's music library at Berkeley, where an Ernest Bloch Archive was set up.

Many honors came to Bloch in his last years. He continued, however, to go his own way without much regard for musical fashion, and ended his career true to the ideals with which he had begun it. As he once stated: "I do not propose or desire to attempt a reconstruction of the music of the Jews…. It is rather the Hebrew spirit that interests me – the complex, ardent, agitated soul that vibrates for me in the Bible; the vigor and ingenuousness of the Patriarchs, the violence that finds expression in the books of the Prophets, the burning love of justice, the desperation of the preachers of Jerusalem, the sorrow and grandeur of the Book of Job, the sensuality of the Song of Songs. All this is in us, all this is in me, and is the better part of me. This it is which I seek to feel within me and to translate in my music – the sacred race-emotion that lies dormant in our souls."

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[Dika Newlin]

BLOCH, ERNST (1885–1977), German philosopher. Bloch was born in Ludwigshafen, studied philosophy, musicology, and physics at the universities of Munich and Wuerzburg, and became doctor of philosophy under the direction of O. Kuelpe with a dissertation on "Rickert und das Problem der modernen Erkenntnis." From 1908 to 1912, he studied in Georg Simmel's seminary of philosophy and sociology in Berlin; from 1912 to 1914, he lived in Heidelberg, where he was a permanent guest in Max Weber's seminary. Living in Munich and Garmisch from 1914 to 1917, he was close to the expressionist painters. As a pacifist and opponent of the regime of German Emperor William II, he lived in exile in Switzerland from 1917 to 1919. In his essay "Symbol – die Juden" (1911/12), which begins with the assertion, "The pride in being Jewish is now again awakened," Bloch analyzes the principal characteristics of Jewish identity in the era of modernity. His first book, *Geist der Utopie* (1918, 1923; *Spirit of Utopia*, 2000), which includes "Philosophy of Music," is a metaphysical inquiry into the question of self-recognition and self-identity, marked by the influence of romanticism, mysticism, socialist utopianism, and both Christian and Jewish religiosity. *Thomas Muenzer als Theologe der Revolution* (1921) is marked by a revolutionary romanticism and simultaneously by the effort to bring to the fore the forgotten and repressed history of a radical messianic tendency in German Protestantism (linked to the Peasant's Revolt in the 16th century) opposed to Martin Luther. Three years after the publication of *Spuren* ("Tracks," 1930) – a book which has often been compared to the *Einbahnstrasse* by Walter *Benjamin, he was forced to leave Germany and live as a refugee in Switzerland, Austria, France, and Czechoslovakia. *Erbschaft dieser Zeit,* published in Zurich in 1935, explains the rise of Nazism by the phenomenon of "uncontemporaneousness (*Ungleichzeitigkeit*) in the consciousness of the German middle class. Leaving Prague in 1938, six months before the invasion of the Czech Republic by Nazi Germany, he emigrated via Poland to the United States, where he wrote his major work, *Das Prinzip Hoffnung* (*The Principle of Hope*), whose original title had been *Träume vom besseren Leben* ("Dreams of Better Life") – a great compendium of all the forms of wishful and utopian thinking in culture, religion, architecture, music, etc., based on the theory of the "*antizipierendes Bewusstsein*" ("consciousness in anticipation"). It also outlines a "philosophy of praxis" as "humanity in action, linking messianic hope and the Marxist project of the transformation of world. By the mediation of the category of "possibility," wishes are to be transformed into real human praxis. The second volume, *Freiheit und Ordnung Abriss der Sozialutopien*, is not only a synopsis of all manifestations of utopian thought in the history of philosophy, literature, architecture, music, etc., but also contains a chapter on Zionism ("Altneuland, Programm des Zionismus"), where Bloch's main concern is to criticize Theodor Herzl's "bourgeois Zionism" and to assert that Judaism should not become a territorial nationalism but acknowledge and preserve the best that was in Moses Hess' *Utopia* and transform it into a *messianic international socialism*. During his exile in the United States, Bloch also wrote *Subjekt-Objekt. Erlaeuterungen zu Hegel* (1951, enlarged ed.1962). In 1949, he returned to Europe, accepting a professorship in philosophy in Leipzig and the direction of the Institute of Philosophy. In December 1956, after the bloody repression of the Hungarian uprising by the Russians, he was publicly denounced by the *Neues Deutschland* (the official journal of the East German Communist Party S.E.D.) as a "revisionist," an "idealist," and a "mystical" philosopher, distracted by historical and dialectical materialism. After a political campaign against him, he finally was obliged to accept compulsory retirement in 1957. In August 1961, during a visit to the German Federal Republic, frightened by the news of the construction of the Berlin wall, he resolved not to return to Leipzig but to stay in Tuebingen, where he taught until his death. During the Six-Day War in June 1967 he was the most vocal speaker in an assembly organized at Frankfurt University to proclaim Israel's right to exist ("Frieden im Nahen Osten," 1967). During the 15 years of his last period, Bloch dedicated himself entirely to the publication of his complete writings (*Gesamtausgabe*) in 16 volumes, published by Suhrkamp. These included *Naturrecht und menschliche Wuerde* (1961; *Natural Law and Human Dignity*), *Philosophische Aufsaetze zur objektiven Phantasie* (1969), *Atheismus im Christentum* (1968), *Politische Messungen, Pestzeit, Vormaerz* (1970), and *Experimentum Mundi* (1975). *Tendenz-Latenz-Utopie*, including the *Gedenkbuch fuer Else Bloch-von-Stritzky* (Memorial Book for Else Bloch-von-Stritzky, Bloch's first wife), followed in 1978.

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[Arno Muenster (2nd ed.)]

BLOCH, FELIX (1905–1983), U.S. physicist and Nobel Prize laureate. Bloch was born in Zurich. He studied first at the Federal Institute of Technology, where his interest in physics developed and he received his Ph.D. in theoretical physics under Heisenberg's supervision at the University of Leipzig (1928). He worked successively with leading contemporary physicists including Pauli, *Bohr, and Fermi before emigrating to the U.S. in 1933 after the Nazi rise to power. He joined Stanford University (1934), where he was Max Stein Professor of Physics from 1961. He served for one year (1954) as the first director general of CERN. Bloch's research interests started with his doctoral dissertation on the quantum mechanics of electrons in crystals. During World War II he worked on theoretical issues in the early stages of the Manhattan Project and on counteracting radar. He was awarded the Nobel Prize in physics (1952) jointly with E.M. Purcell for his discovery of nuclear induction. This process uses a magnetic field to align nuclear particles on the basis of their intrinsic angular moment (spin) and magnetic moment parallel to this spin. The resulting signals, analogous to radio-frequency spectroscopy, enabled him to measure the moment of the neutron with great accuracy. This discovery forms the basis of nuclear magnetic resonance scanning in medicine and related techniques for analyzing other solid structures. In his later years Bloch worked on the theory of superconductivity at low temperatures.

[Michael Denman (2nd ed.)]

BLOCH, GUSTAVE (1858–1923), French scholar in Roman history. He was deeply influenced by his grandfather, Rabbi Alexandre Aron. Bloch taught at the *lycée* in Besançon until 1873, when he joined the new *Académie Française* in Rome. He was so successful there that he was invited to lecture on Greco-Roman antiquities at Lyons University. While at Lyons he received his doctorate for two brilliant theses: *Les origines du Sénat romain* and *De decretis functorum magistratuum ornamentis* (1883). In 1888 Bloch was named *maître des conférences* at the École Normale in Paris, and established his reputation firmly by a series of articles in learned journals and in the classical encyclopedia of Daremberg and Saglio as well as *la Gaule indépendante et la Gaule romaine* (1900) in the *Histoire de France* edited by Lavisse. In 1904 the post of professor of Roman history was created for him at the Sorbonne. Bloch placed all these honors in jeopardy as an active supporter of *Dreyfus.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: R. Lisbonne, in: *Revue Historique*, 145 (1924), 156; *Gustave Bloch* (a pamphlet published on his death).

[Howard L. Adelson]

BLOCH, ḤAYYIM ISAAC BEN ḤANOKH ZUNDEL HA-KOHEN (1864–1948), rabbi and scholar. Bloch, born in Plunge, Lithuania, studied at Grubin and Volozhin. In 1894 he founded a yeshivah in his native town where he was appointed rabbi in 1898. He became rabbi of Bausk in 1902, succeeding Abraham Isaac ha-Kohen *Kook. Bloch was also appointed the official rabbi by the government. During World War I he wandered in Russia, returning to Bausk in 1920. In 1922 he went to the United States and was appointed rabbi in Jersey City, New Jersey, where he remained until his death. In 1932 Bloch was elected honorary president of the Union of Orthodox Rabbis of the U.S. and Canada. During World War II, he was one of the leaders of the Va'ad ha-Haẓalah, which worked to save the Jews of Europe. He published *Ḥiddushei ha-Ritba* (Yom Tov b. Abraham *Ishbili) on *Mo'ed Katan*, *Megillah*, and *Makkot*, giving the sources, together with an introduction and his own notes and corrections, entitled *Divrei Ḥibah* (**H**ayyim **I**saac **B**loch **H**a-Kohen; 1935–39). Under the same title he published in 1941 a work containing some of the halakhic novellae from discourses that he had delivered at the Plungian yeshivah. Bloch was the author of two works on ethics, published anonymously, *Likkutei ha-Rayiv* (1904) and *Ha-Mavḥin* (1928).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: D. Kamzon (ed.), *Yahadut Lita* (1959), 45, 200ff.; O.Z. Rand and A.M. Gruenblatt, *Toledot Anshei Shem* (1950), 9ff.

[Mordechai Hacohen]

BLOCH, HERBERT (1911–), U.S. classical scholar. Born in Berlin, Bloch achieved prominence in the fields of Latin epigraphy, paleography, archaeology, Greek and Roman historiography, and medieval Latin literature. He participated in excavations at Ostia, Italy, (1938–39) and then went to the United States, where he was appointed instructor in Greek and Latin at Harvard in 1941 and professor in 1953. He taught there until 1982.

While still in Italy, Bloch published the results of his research there on Roman brick stamps, the meager bits of information inscribed on bricks in Roman construction (republished in book form with indices in 1947). He pursued this subject in basic articles in *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, vols. 56–59 (1947–48). This work, with its extremely elaborate indices to the portion of the corpus of Latin inscriptions dealing with brick stamps and with many additional inscriptions of the genre never previously published, has proved to be a mine of information for the study of the great senatorial and equestrian families involved in the building industry. It is also important for the study of Roman history, and especially Roman economic history, providing excellent insights into the history of the decline of the Roman Empire, particularly as evinced by the gradual absorption of one of the most important industries into the hands of the emperors. In addition, the stamps have proved extremely valuable in dating buildings. Bloch also wrote important monographs on the historians of the 4th century B.C.E., the manuscript tradition of Sallust's *Histories*, and the pagan revival in the West in the 4th century C.E. He was the editor of Felix Jacoby's collected essays on Greek historiography (1956) and completed a work in three volumes, *Monte Cassino in the Middle Ages* (1986), on one of the most significant intellectual centers of the Middle Ages, which he studied for 30 years. It was awarded the Praemium Urbis in Rome in 1987 and the Haskins Medal of the Medieval Academy in 1988.

While on leave from Harvard, Bloch was professor in charge of the School of Classical Studies of the American Academy in Rome (1957–59), and from 1964 he held the positions of senior fellow of the Society of Fellows at Harvard (1964–79) and trustee of the Loeb Classical Library (1964–73). Bloch was president of the American Philological Association (1968/69) and president of Fellows of the Medieval Academy (1990–93). He was a member of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, the American Philosophical Society, the Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia (an honorary member since 1990), the German Archaeological Institute, the Zentraldirektion of the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*. In 1989 he was awarded an L.L.D. by the University of Cassino, and in 1999 he received the Cultori di Roma prize.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Who's Who in America* (1972–73), 1, 288

[Louis Harry Feldman / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

BLOCH, HERMANN (Ḥayyim Ben Ẓevi; 1826–1896), rabbi and author. Born in Breslau, Bloch was a grandson of Abraham *Tiktin, chief rabbi of Breslau, whom he mentions in the introduction to his *Mevo ha-Talmud*. He studied in Breslau under his uncle Solomon Tiktin, and then in Hamburg. At various periods of his life he engaged in business and in his later years was a teacher at a *bet midrash* in Breslau. Bloch did research on the development of the Oral Law, and published *Mevo ha-Talmud* (vol. 1, Berlin, 1853). In his view, "the individual character of a *tanna* or an *amora* was the factor which determined his particular teachings or mode of exegesis in all matters, regardless of whether they were financial, ritual, scientific, or ethical" (p. 11). "Nevertheless, the underlying unity of *tannaim* and *amoraim* forms the foundation of 'the chain of tradition' and of 'the unity of the oral law,' whose source is in the written law" (p. 56). He devotes a detailed study, under the title *Hirhurei Torah* (4 pts., 1887–93), to the rule of the majority (based on Ex. 23:2), discussing its application in the Bible and the Talmud. In *Ẓurat ha-Bayit* (1883) he reconstructs the design of Herod's temple according to talmudic sources. He also published *Omrei Inshei* (1855), a collection of 107 parables found in the Babylonian Talmud, accompanied by a German translation.

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[Yehoshua Horowitz]

BLOCH, HERMAN SAMUEL (1912–1990), U.S. petroleum chemist. Bloch was born in Chicago and spent most of his career there. After receiving his Ph.D. from the University of Chicago's chemistry department, he joined the Universal Oil Products Company, eventually becoming associate director of its process research department (1959). He won many awards and distinctions for his patents and contributions to the knowledge of petrochemistry and catalysis, as well as for his public service in the fields of education and human relations. These include the North American Catalysis Society's first Eugene J. Houdry Award in Applied Catalysis (1971) and the E.V. Murphree Award in Industrial and Engineering Chemistry (1974). He was a member of the American Chemical Society.

[Ruth Rossing (2nd ed.)]

BLOCH, HYMAN MORRIS (1905–1963), South African Supreme Court judge. Born in the Transvaal, Bloch was admitted to the Cape bar in 1927. He was king's counsel in 1944 and in 1958 was appointed to the bench. He was prominent on the Western Province Zionist Council and the Cape Council of the South African Jewish Board of Deputies. He headed campaigns on behalf of Israel in the Western Province.

BLOCH, ISSACHAR BAER BEN SAMSON (1730–1798), Austrian rabbi. Bloch was born in Hamburg and studied under Jonathan *Eybeschuetz and Ezekiel *Landau. After serving as rabbi in several communities he was rabbi in Boskovice (1793–96), and later in Mattersdorf where he died. He wrote *Binat Yissakhar* (Prague, 1785), a collection of his sermons with a rhymed appendix on the precepts of the priestly benediction and the redemption of the firstborn. He also wrote glosses on the Mishnah (published in the Lemberg edition, 1869) under the title *Benei Yissakhar*. He carried on a halakhic correspondence with some of the renowned contemporary scholars, to which reference is made in Ezekiel Landau's *Noda bi-Yhudah* (1928, pp. 87–89; cf. also Eleazar b. Aryeh Loeb, *Shemen Roke'aḥ*, (1902), 181–2; and Moses *Sofer, *Ḥatam Sofer*, 7 (1912), nos. 17, 18, 21). Bloch, who was childless, adopted Jacob Patraselka, ancestor of the rabbinical family of Duschinsky and the first rabbi in Nádasd (Hungary), who also carried on a correspondence with Moses Sofer (*Ḥatam Sofer*, OḤ, nos. 104, 106, 139; YD, nos. 243, 305; ḤM, no. 206).

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[Samuel Abba Horodezky]

BLOCH, IWAN (1872–1922), German dermatologist and medical historian. After graduating from Wuerzburg University in 1896, Bloch settled in Berlin as a practicing dermatologist. He was one of the first to engage in the scientific study of sex and a leader in the movement for sexual reform. His scientific publications include *Die Praxis der Hautkrankheiten* ("The Practice of Skin Diseases," 1908) and *Ursprung der Syphilis* ("Origin of Syphilis," 1911). In the latter he suggests that the disease was introduced to Europe through the Spaniards after the discovery of South America. Bloch made important contributions to the history of medicine which were published in the monumental *History of Medicine* of Max Neuburger. He also wrote on the history of dermatology and of Indian and Byzantine medicine. Many of his works were written under the pseudonyms of "von Welsenburg" and "Eugen Dühren."

BIBLIOGRAPHY: S.R. Kagan, *Jewish Medicine* (1952), 427.

[Suessmann Muntner]

BLOCH, JEAN-RICHARD (1884–1947), French author and political journalist. Bloch was born into an assimilated family in Paris. His Jewish consciousness was stirred in his boyhood by the antisemitism engendered by the Dreyfus Affair, and Jewish themes came to play a significant part in his writing. He was educated at the Sorbonne and became a teacher of history and literature. One of his earliest books was *Lévy* (1912), in which one of the stories deals with the effects of the Dreyfus case on a Jewish family in a provincial town. His most powerful novel,… *et compagnie*, (1918;… *& Co.*, 1929), is the story of Jewish cloth merchants from Alsace who move their business to a small town in western France. This work portrays the conflicts facing the Jew who wishes to maintain his identity while integrating into French culture. In 1910 Bloch founded a literary review, *L'effort libre*, but his work was interrupted by World War I, in which he was wounded three times. During the 1920s and early 1930s he wrote many novels, short stories, plays, poems, and essays. Two of the novels, *La nuit kurde* (1925; *A Night in Kurdistan*, 1930) and *Sybilla* (1932), reflect his fascination with the East. In 1925 he visited Palestine for the inauguration of the Hebrew University, and thereafter wrote a number of articles on the future role of the Jewish people, notably "Quel service les Juifs peuvent-ils rendre au monde?" (in *Palestine*, 1 (1927), 97–102). An essay entitled "Destin du siècle" (1931) showed that his approach to the Jewish problem had become somewhat ambiguous. From his student days, Bloch had been a socialist, and from the mid-1930s his interests centered mainly in politics. He had joined the Communist Party in 1921 and in 1923 helped to found the communist-oriented literary magazine *Europe* and in 1937, together with the poet Louis Aragon, the Communist daily *Ce Soir*. When the Germans occupied France in 1940 Bloch became an active member of the underground and in 1941 escaped the Gestapo by fleeing to Moscow, where he engaged in resistance broadcasts to the French people. He returned to France in 1945. Jean-Richard Bloch was a brother-in-law of André *Maurois.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: J.R. Bloch and R. Rolland, *Deux hommes se recontrent* (1964); *Europe* (Fr., June 1966).

[Denise R. Goitein]

BLOCH, JOSEPH (1871–1936), German socialist and journalist. Born in Lithuania, he immigrated to Germany where he edited the *Sozialistische Monatshefte*, a monthly publication which attracted a team of outstanding writers. Bloch advocated a union of Continental Europe and when the Bolsheviks came to power in Russia, he proposed a Franco-German Union. After the German revolution of 1918, he advocated a system of German democracy based on workers' councils. The *Monatshefte* gave considerable attention to Jewish questions and supported the Zionist movement. Bloch favored mass immigration to Palestine and was highly critical of British policy there. One of the first victims of Nazi persecution in Germany, he never wavered in his belief in the triumph of socialism and the future of the Zionist enterprise. He died a lonely refugee in Prague.

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BLOCH, JOSEPH LEIB (1860–1930), Lithuanian yeshivah head. He showed exceptional ability from childhood and at the age of 14 he traveled to Chelm where he studied under R. Eliezer *Gordon. He continued his studies with Naphtali Ẓevi Judah *Berlin at Volozhin. After his marriage to the daughter of Eliezer Gordon, he moved to Telz, where he assisted his father-in-law, who had been appointed rabbi and *rosh yeshivah*. In 1902, after resigning from the yeshivah in protest against the resistance of a number of the students to the study of *musar*, he was appointed rabbi of Varna, a small village near Telz. He served later as rabbi of Shadova, where he established his own yeshivah. In 1910 Bloch was appointed rabbi of Telz and *rosh yeshivah*, succeeding his father-in-law. Under his leadership, the yeshivah attracted large numbers of students. In addition to his lectures on *halakhah*, Bloch also gave talks on *musar*. He took the unusual step of founding a teachers' seminary, which produced hundreds of educators, and a preparatory school, in which secular studies were taught. Thanks to these auxiliary institutions, the yeshivah of Telz occupied a central position, with an enrollment, at times, of as many as 500 students. Active in communal affairs, Bloch served as a member of the executive of the Association of Lithuanian Rabbis and as one of the leaders of *Agudat Israel. Prominent among his sons were Abraham Isaac, who succeeded his father in Telz, and Elijah Meir, who was one of the yeshivah principals. His other sons and sons-in-law also taught in Telz. Bloch's ethical essays were published in *Shi'urei Da'at* (pt. 1, 1949; pt. 2, 1953; pt. 3, 1956). His halakhic lectures appeared in *Shi'ur Halakhah* (pt. 1, 1932; pt. 2, 1943; pt. 3, 1958).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: D. Katz, *Tenu'at ha-Musar*, 5 (1962/63), 17–109.

[Itzhak Alfassi]

BLOCH, JOSEPH SAMUEL (1850–1923), rabbi, publicist, and politician in Austria. He acquired distinction for his defense of Judaism against the *blood libel and was praised by Adolf *Jellinek as the "Hercules of the antisemitic Augean stables." Son of a poor baker in Dukla (east Galicia), Bloch attended yeshivot at Lemberg and Eisenstadt and then the universities of Munich and Zurich. After officiating in provincial communities, he became rabbi of the Vienna suburb of Floridsdorf and a teacher at Jellinek's *bet ha-midrash*. During the *Tisza-Eszlár blood libel trial in 1883, when August *Rohling undertook to attest on oath that Jews practiced ritual murder, Bloch attacked him in the press. He challenged Rohling's competence as a scholar, accused him of lying, and offered him 3,000 florins for translating a random page of the Talmud. Rohling was forced to sue Bloch for libel, but after two years' investigations withdrew his action 13 days before the trial was due to open.

Bloch was elected in 1884, 1885, and 1891 to the Austrian Parliament from a preponderantly Jewish constituency of Galicia, and was the first parliamentarian to make Jewish affairs his main political concern, regarding himself as an interpreter and defender of Jewish thought to the non-Jewish public. In 1884 he founded a weekly, *Dr. Blochs Oesterreichische Wochenschrift,* for combating antisemitism, which existed until after World War I, and also established the *Oesterreichisch-Israelitische Union (from 1921: Union deutsch-oesterreichischer Juden). He also lectured in Social Democratic associations on social conditions in the time of Jesus. Bloch was guided in his political activities by Adolf *Fischhof. He developed a previously unknown militancy and Jewish awareness which brought him into conflict with other Jewish leaders in Austria. In *Der nationale Zwist und die Juden in Oesterreich* (1886) he asked Jews to remain neutral in the struggle of the various nationalities within the Hapsburg Empire and to consider themselves "Austrian Jews" and "Jewish Austrians." He thus supplied the ideology for the Hapsburg patriotism with which the majority of Jews in the realm associated themselves around the beginning of the 20th century. Bloch saw the struggle for Jewish rights as part of the fight for the principle of equality for all nationalities in the empire, which the monarchy would have to recognize in order to exist. He also initiated proceedings against further ritual murder accusations by Franz Deckert and Paulus *Meyer and was active during the *Hilsner case.

At first a supporter of Zionism and Theodor *Herzl, Bloch published one of Herzl's articles in 1896 and introduced him to the finance minister, Bilinski. However, Bloch preferred the concept of "colonization-Zionism," regarded Jewish nationality as closely linked with the Jewish religion, and refused to close his paper to non-Zionists. Herzl, on the other hand, failed to appreciate Bloch's fight against antisemitism. By around 1900 Bloch had become alienated from the Zionists. He visited Ereẓ Israel before his death.

For his work in the Jewish cause Bloch was warmly received on visits to the United States in 1912, and again in 1920. During World War I he raised funds on behalf of the Austrian government in neutral countries. He published a compendium of apologetics, *Israel und die Voelker* (1922; *Israel and the Nations*, 1927), based on the evidence of the experts in connection with the Rohling trial, and his memoirs *Erinnerungen aus meinem Leben* (1922; *My Reminiscences*, 1927). He also wrote prolifically on Jewish lore.

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[Meir Lamed]

BLOCH, JOSHUA (1890–1957), U.S. librarian, bibliographer, and reform rabbi. Born in Dorbian, Lithuania, Bloch went to the U.S. in 1907. He taught at New York University from 1919 to 1928; from 1922 until his death he served as chaplain in several hospitals of the New York State Department of Mental Hygiene. His main work, however, was as head of the Jewish Division of the New York Public Library, a post which he held from 1923 to 1956; under his direction the Library developed as one of the major collections of Judaica in the United States. Bloch arranged many major exhibitions of Judaica there. Many of his bibliographical researches into the history of Hebrew printing were published by the Library, such as *Hebrew Printing in Riva di Trento* (1933; *Bulletin of the New York Public Library*, vol. 37), *Early Hebrew Printing in Spain and Portugal* (1938; *ibid.*, vol. 46). He also founded the quarterly *Journal of Jewish Bibliography* in 1938 and was its editor until 1943. In 1940 he was appointed to the publication committee of the Jewish Publication Society and a year later to the editorial board of the Jewish Apocryphal Literature Series; as a result of these connections he wrote *On the Apocalyptic in Judaism* (1952) and *Of Making Many Books* (1953; an annotated list of the books issued by the Jewish Publication Society, 1890–1952). The following year he published *The People and the Book*, on 300 years of Jewish life in America. His bibliography was collected by Dora Steinglass in *A Bibliography of the Writings of Joshua Bloch (1910–1958)* (1960).

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[Abraham Berger]

BLOCH, JULES (1880–1953), French philologist, specialist in Indic languages. Bloch taught in Paris at the École Pratique des Hautes Études and the École des Langues Orientales Vivantes. His work covered the entire range of Indic languages, ancient, medieval, and – especially – modern. Bloch's main research was into the Indo-European languages of India, on which he wrote *La formation de la langue marathe* (1915) and *L'Indo-Aryen du Véda aux temps modernes* (1934; *Indo-Aryan from the Vedas to Modern Times*, 1965). He also published an important book on Dravidian languages, *Structure grammaticale des langues dravidiennes* (1946; *The Grammatical Structure of Dravidian Languages*, 1954).

[Herbert H. Paper]

BLOCH, KONRAD (1912–2000), U.S. biochemist and Nobel laureate. Bloch was born in Neisse, Germany (now Poland) and graduated from the Technische Hochschule of Munich in 1934. Forced to leave because he was Jewish, Bloch found a temporary position at the Schweizerische Forschungsinstitut in Davos, Switzerland. In 1936 he immigrated to the United States (becoming an American citizen in 1944) and joined the Department of Biochemistry, College of Physicians and Surgeons, Columbia University. New York. After obtaining his doctorate at Columbia University in 1938, he became a member of the staff there. His collaboration with R. *Schoenheimer stimulated his interest in the biological origin of cholesterol and he began to concentrate on this field in 1941. In 1942 Bloch and David Rittenberg discovered that the two-carbon compound acetic acid was the major building block in the 30 or more steps in the biosynthesis (natural formation) of cholesterol, a waxlike alcohol found in animal cells. In his search to determine how acetic acid molecules combine in this process, Bloch was also joined by Feodor Lynen and his collaborators in Munich and Sir John Warcup Cornforth and George Popják in England. Their discovery facilitated medical research on the relation of blood cholesterol levels to atherosclerosis; research in physiology; and research on the chemistry of terpenes, rubber, and other isoprene derivatives. In 1946 Bloch joined the University of Chicago, becoming professor of biochemistry in 1952. During his years at Chicago Bloch investigated the enzymatic synthesis of the tripeptide glutathione. As a Guggenheim fellow he spent the year 1953 at the Organisch-Chemisches Institut, Eidgenössische Technische Hochschule, in Zurich with L. Ruzicka, V. Prelog, and their colleagues. In 1954 Bloch was appointed Higgins Professor of Biochemistry in the Department of Chemistry, Harvard University, and in 1968 he became chairman of the department. He continued research on various aspects of terpene and sterol biogenesis, going on as well to the enzymatic formation of unsaturated fatty acids and biochemical evolution. He became emeritus professor in 1982. Bloch shared the 1964 Nobel Prize in physiology and medicine with Feodor Lynen for discoveries concerning the synthesis of cholesterol by the body from acetic acid.

He was a member of the American Chemical Society, U.S. National Academy of Sciences, American Academy of Arts and Sciences, and American Society of Biological Chemists, among others. He was associated with the Committee on Growth of the American Cancer Society, the Biochemical Section of the U.S. Public Health Service, and the National Institute of Neurological Diseases and Blindness. He served as an associate editor of the *Journal of Biological Chemistry* and published hundreds of papers. Apart from the topics mentioned, these dealt with creatinine, glutathione, amino acids generally, proteins, and several metabolic processes.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Chemical and Engineering News*, 42 (Oct. 26, 1964), 34.

[Samuel Aaron Miller / Ruth Rossing (2nd ed.)]

BLOCH, MARC (1886–1944), French historian. Bloch was professor of medieval history at the University of Strasbourg from 1919 to 1936 and then at the Sorbonne. He fought in both world wars and after the fall of France in 1940 was a leader of the Resistance. He was arrested, tortured, and executed by the Gestapo. One of Bloch's most significant works was in the field of French medieval agrarian history, *Les caractères originaux de l'histoire rurale française* (1931; *French Rural History*, 1966). A further contribution to economic historiography was his founding (together with Lucien Febvre) of the important review, *Annales d'histoire économique et sociale*. Bloch's *La société féodale* (1939–40; *Feudal Society*, 1961) became a standard work on feudalism. He did not accept the identification of feudalism with military service, the view held in England and Germany, still less the Marxist oversimplification of feudalism as exploitation of peasants by landlords. Instead, he analyzed the structure of feudal society and the relationship between history and economics during that period. In a posthumous work, *L'étrange défaite* (1946; *Strange Defeat*, 1949) Bloch affirmed his detachment from the Jewish faith and from all other religious dogmas. Nevertheless, he acknowledged his Jewish descent and his admiration for the tradition of the Hebrew prophets. His other works were *L'Ile-de-France* (1913); *Rois et serfs* (1920); *Apologie pour l'histoire, ou métier d'historien* (1949; *The Historian's Craft*, 1954).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: L. Febvre, in: *Les Cahiers politiques* (March, 1945), 5–11. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** C. Fink, *Marc Bloch: A Life in History* (1989); S.W. Friedman, *Marc Bloch, Sociology and Geography* (1996); E. Bloch, *Marc Bloch (1886–1944): Une biographie impossible* (1997); O. Dumoulin, *Marc Bloch* (Fr., 2000).

[Avrom Saltman]

BLOCH, MARCUS (Mordecai) ELIEZER (1723–1799), physician and zoologist. He was born in Bavaria, the son of a poor trader. Bloch received a traditional Jewish education and, at the age of 19, he began to learn German, French, and Latin. He was helped by wealthy relatives to study medicine at Frankfurt on the Oder, and received his doctor's degree in 1747. He became a physician in Berlin, and soon gained a reputation at all levels of society. His friends included Moses *Mendelssohn, who was also his patient. Bloch's main achievement was in his morphological and systematic work on fish. He built himself an aquarium and acquired a marine collection which after his death was incorporated in the Berlin Zoological Museum. He wrote his great ichthyological work, *Allegemeine Naturgeschichte der Fische*, in 12 volumes (1781–1795). The work describes and classifies over 1,500 species of fish. Although Bloch's classification system was primitive and superficial, his book retains its scientific value, with its excellent drawings and diagrams. Bloch also wrote several short works on medical and zoological subjects.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Hirschberg, in: *Deutsche Medizinische Wochenschrift*, 39 (1913), 900; *Biographisches Lexikon der hervorragenden Aerzte*, 1 (1929^2), 571–2.

BLOCH, MARTIN (1883–1954), German expressionist painter, who became a master of British landscape. Bloch lived in Spain during World War I and subsequently spent many summers painting in Italy. In these years he was influenced by Cézanne, the "fauves," and the German expressionists. When Hitler came to power he fled to England, where he was interned during World War II. During his internment he restricted himself to black and white studies in contM crayons heightened with red chalk. His mature style emerged with a period of painting in Dorset in 1947. He developed a deep love of the British landscape, retaining a German expressionist sense of the dramatic but abandoning the tendency to exaggerate. His developed sense of color became subtle and harmonious. A posthumous exhibition held in 1955 established his reputation.

ADD BIBLIOGRAPHY: D.F. Jenkins (ed.), *Y bryniau tywyll y cymclau trymion* ("The Darks Hills, the Heavy Clouds: An Expression of Landscape Painting," 1981); C. da Costa, *Martin Bloch, 1883–1954: An Exhibition of Paintings and Drawings* (South London Art Gallery, 1984).

[Sonja Beyer (2nd ed.)]

BLOCH, MATTATHIAS BEN BENJAMIN ZE'EV (Wolf) ASHKENAZI (1610/1620–after 1668), preacher and one of the leaders of the Shabbatean movement. Bloch was born in Cracow. His grandfather, Feivel Bloch, was one of the leaders of the community during the first half of the 17th century and its representative at the meetings of the Council of Four Lands in Poland. He studied under the Cracow rabbis Menahem Mendel *Krochmal and Abraham Joshua *Heschel. He suffered during the persecution of the Jews under *Chmielnicki and during the Swedish occupation (1648–57) and was expelled from his town. In 1660 he was in Jassy and in 1665, on his way to Ereẓ Israel, was in Constantinople, where he published *Kelal Katan*, a homily on Deuteronomy 32. He relates that he had two important homiletical books in his possession: *Sefer Kelal Gadol*, written in the *peshat* ("literal"), *remez* ("symbolic"), and *derash* ("homiletic-allegoric") styles; and the second, *Sefer Mattityahu*, a kabbalistic commentary on all sections of the Torah. Apparently Bloch became a Shabbatean in 1665 either while he was still in Constantinople or when he arrived in Jerusalem and met Shabbetai Ẓevi before the latter had left Ereẓ Israel. When, at the end of 1665 in Smyrna, Shabbetai Ẓevi appointed kings in a similar order to that of the ancient kings of Israel and Judah, he appointed Bloch "King Asa." In 1666 Bloch was among the leaders of the Shabbatean movement in Egypt. With the failure of the messianic hopes after Shabbetai Ẓevi's apostasy, he persisted in his belief, but he left Egypt to settle in Mosul (Iraq) where he was accepted as a rabbi or *dayyan*. His influence spread to the communities in Kurdistan, which he encouraged in their Shabbatean belief. His activities as rabbi of the community as well as a Shabbatean leader are recorded in various letters preserved from 1668. After that year nothing is known about him. According to Jacob *Sasportas, Bloch was already elderly at the start of the Shabbatean movement.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: G. Scholem, in: *Zion*, 7 (1942), 175–8, 193–5; Scholem, Shabbetai Ẓevi, index; A. Yaari, in: KS, 36 (1960/61), 525–34.

[Gershom Scholem]

BLOCH, SIR MAURICE (1883–1964), Scottish distiller and philanthropist. Born in Dundee, Bloch settled in Glasgow in 1910. He founded a family distilling business and at the same time played an active role in Jewish communal work. In 1937 he was knighted "for political and social services." In 1954 he gave up his large business to devote himself to civic and Jewish communal affairs. He was president of the Board of Guardians, he represented Scotland on the Chief Rabbinate Council and became chairman of the Queen's Park Synagogue. He was keenly interested in Jewish education and was president of the Glasgow yeshivah, made a generous donation in 1956 to Jews' College, London, and set up a trust fund for the Hebrew University. He also gave sizable gifts to Glasgow University and Royal Faculty of Physicians and Surgeons in Glasgow. In 1948 Bloch was involved in the investigations of the Lynskey Tribunal into the conduct of some ministers of the crown. Throughout Bloch denied corruption though admitting to indiscretions. Nevertheless at the end of the trial his name was removed from the list of magistrates in Glasgow where he had been a justice of the peace for 25 years.

BLOCH, MOSES (1815–1909), rabbi and author. Bloch, who was born in Ronsperg, Bohemia, served as rabbi in several cities of Bohemia and Moravia. In 1877 he was appointed together with David *Kaufmann and Wilhelm *Bacher to the academic staff of the newly founded rabbinical seminary in Budapest. Bloch was professor of Talmud and Codes and also the rector of the seminary, in which capacities he served for 30 years. His main work was *Sha'arei Torat ha-Takkanot* (in 7 volumes, 1879–1906) which traces, on the basis of talmudic sources, the development of **takkanot* from Moses to the end of the talmudic period. In a sequel to this work, *Sha'arei ha-Ma'alot* (1908), Bloch gives a detailed exposition of the various states and degrees of holiness, ritual and family purity as defined in the Mishnah and Talmud. Bloch published important monographs, in German and Hungarian, on biblical and talmudic law, in the yearbooks of the Budapest Seminary. He published the Prague 1608 edition of the responsa of *Meir b. Baruch of Rothenburg, together with notes and indexes (in 1885; 1896^3), and also some hitherto unpublished responsa of R. Meir for the Mekize Nirdamim (1891).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Sefer ha-Yovel… Moshe Aryeh Bloch* (1905), ix–xxiv; *Jahresbericht der Landes-Rabbinerschule in Budapest*, 31 (1908), 3–4; 32 (1909), iii–x.

[Moshe Nahum Zobel]

BLOCH, MOSES RUDOLPH (1902–1985), physical chemist. Born in Czechoslovakia, Bloch studied chemistry at the Universities of Prague and Leipzig, and then proceeded to Switzerland and received his doctorate in physical chemistry at Berne in 1926. From 1927 to 1933 he headed the department of metallography and X-ray spectrography at the Higher Technical Institute of Karlsruhe. His researches on silver iodide and refrigeration were interrupted when the Nazis came to power, and he thereafter served as consultant on the technology of refrigeration in Holland, England, and France. Immigrating to Ereẓ Israel in 1936 he worked at the potash works at the Dead Sea, where he introduced a method of increasing evaporation by the sun and was head of the research division of the works. From 1940 to 1968 he was a member of the Scientific Council of Israel and the Advisory Technological Council of the Israel Government. In 1967 he was guest professor for research on water resources at the Hebrew University and at the Institute of Atomic Physics at Heidelberg from 1967 to 1968. Bloch also undertook research on bromine and potash in nature, and climatic and geological research. He was awarded the Israel Prize for Science in 1966.

BLOCH, PHILIPP (1841–1923), German historian and Reform rabbi. He was born at Tworog (Silesia) and studied in Breslau. After a period as teacher with the Munich Jewish communal school (1869–71), he became rabbi of the Liberal congregation Bruedergemeinde of Posen where he remained active for some fifty years. When that city reverted to Poland after World War I, Bloch retired from the rabbinate and moved to Berlin. He took a leading part in the association of Liberal rabbis and in the work of German Jewish scholarly societies; in 1905 he was a co-founder of the General Archives of German Jews. Bloch's contributions to Jewish scholarship were concerned mainly with the philosophy of religion, *aggadah*, and Kabbalah; he also wrote about the history of Jews in Poland and the city and province of Posen. Among his works are a translation of and introduction to the first book of Saadiah's *Emunot ve-De'ot* (1879); a translation of and commentary on the fifth chapter of Book II of Crescas' *Or Adonai* concerning free will (1879); essays on the development of Kabbalah and Jewish religious philosophy for Winter-Wuensche's *Die juedische Literatur* (1894–96); *Die Kabbalah auf ihrem Hoehepunkt…* (1905); *Spuren alter Volksbuecher in der Aggadah* (in *Festschrift … Hermann Cohen, Judaica*, 1912); and *Piskoth fuer die drei Trauersabbathe*, translation and commentary (in *Festschrift … Steinschneider*, 1896).

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BLOCH, ROLF (1930–), Swiss Jewish community leader. Born into a family of Alsatian origin in Berne, he studied law. His father, Camille Bloch, had built up a chocolate firm in Courtelary, which also produced kosher chocolate.

Rolf Bloch was president of the Berne community between 1975 and 1985. Between 1992 and 2000 he served as president of the Swiss Federation of Jewish Communities. As a moderate figure, he mediated in the clash between American-Jewish organizations and Swiss bankers and politicians in the furor surrounding the assets of Nazi victims. He headed a private foundation endowed by the banks and Swiss industry, distributing 296 million Swiss francs to the victims, 90% of them Jewish. As an able administrator and conciliatory personality he became a popular public figure. The Catholic Faculty of the University of Berne awarded him an honorary Ph.D. for his promotion of Christian-Jewish understanding in Switzerland.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Historisches Lexikon der Schweiz*, 2, 496.

[Uri Kaufmann (2nd ed.)]

BLOCH, ROSINE (1844–1891), singer. Bloch made her debut at the Paris Opera as Azucena in Verdi's *Il Trovatore* in 1865 and remained there as one of its most prominent members. Among her most notable parts was that of Fides in Meyerbeer's *Le Prophète*. She sang Amneris in the first French production of *Aida* in 1880, the year she retired.

BLOCH, SAMSON BEN MOSES (d. 1737), *dayyan* and rabbi of Hamburg. Bloch, known also as "Samson the Ḥasid," was one of the first scholars and teachers and later the principal in the *bet midrash* built by Issachar Baer Kohen in 1707. He was known for his erudition and for his close ties with the great halakhic authorities of his generation. Bloch greatly exerted himself for the benefit of his community and it was through his efforts that the Jews were permitted to escape to Altona during a time of danger. The glosses and novellae which he wrote in the margins of the Shulḥan Arukh, *Oraḥ Ḥayyim* were published under the title *Nezirut Shimshon* (Berlin, 1764), and, again, together with the text of the *Oraḥ Ḥayyim* (Prague, 1785). *Tosafot Ḥadashim* (Amsterdam, 1775), his commentary on the Mishnah, was published with the text and later republished in many editions of the Mishnah. Samson also wrote halakhic novellae which have not been published. His sons were Issachar Baer and Moses, *dayyan* of Mezhirech.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: H. Wagenaar, *Toledot Ya'veẓ* (1868), 34, 63; E. Duckesz, *Chachme* AHW (1908), 24–26 (Hebrew section), 9–10 (German section); S.M. Chones, *Toledot ha-Posekim* (1910), 447.

[Abraham David]

BLOCH, SAMSON (Simson) HA-LEVI (1784–1845), one of the early Hebrew authors of the *Haskalah in Galicia. He was, for a number of years, a student of Naḥman *Krochmal and a close friend of Solomon Judah *Rapoport. In the early 1800s he settled in Zamosc, in Russian Poland. In 1809 he published a new edition of *Iggeret ha-Rashba* (Epistle of R. Solomon b. Abraham *Adret) against the study of philosophy, together with *Iggeret ha-Hitnaẓẓelut* (Letter of Defense) by *Jedaiah ha-Penini on behalf of philosophy. In his introduction, Bloch explained that Adret had objected only to philosophical studies at too early an age. In 1813–14, Bloch worked as proofreader of Hebrew books for the Viennese printer Anton Schmid. He published a Hebrew translation (from the German) of *Manasseh Ben Israel's *Vindiciae Iudaeorum* with the title *Teshu'at Yisrael* ("Israel's Salvation," 1814) with an introduction and the author's biography by David Franco-Mendes. Bloch won his place in Hebrew literature with his *Shevilei Olam* ("Paths of the World"), the first general geography in the Hebrew language. The first two parts of this work, on Asia and Africa, appeared during his lifetime (1822–1827); the unfinished third part, on Europe, edited by N.M. Schorr and published posthumously in 1855, under the title *Zehav Shebah. Shevilei Olam*, which ran into four editions, is, in the main, an adaptation of German geography books. However, Bloch was able to give his work a popular Jewish flavor by the inclusion of stories about unusual phenomena in far-off lands, mysterious tales and legendary anecdotes, and by special stress on the importance of each country for Jewish history. Bloch's style is extremely florid and stilted even for his own period, and the book as a whole suffers from numerous irrelevant notes. In 1840 Bloch published a Hebrew translation of Leopold Zunz's biography of Rashi, with important emendations and notes. Bloch spent his last years in solitude and illness in his native town of Kulikow (near Lemberg).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Klausner, Sifrut, 2 (1952), 350–68.

[Gedalyah Elkoshi]

BLOCH-MICHEL, JEAN (1912–), French novelist and essayist. Bloch-Michel was influenced by his experiences during the Nazi occupation of France and by the moral confusion and crises of conscience affecting his country after World War II. Both his fiction and his essays show him to be a moralist in the French classical tradition with notable psychological insight. Among his best-known works are *Le témoin* (1949; *The Witness*, 1950); a book of war memoirs, *Les grandes circonstances* (1949); *La fuite en Egypte* (1952; *The Flight into Egypt*, 1957), and *Frosinia* (1966). He also wrote a study of French politics, *Journal du désordre* (1955), and an essay on the contemporary novel, *Présent de l'indicatif* (1963). Bloch-Michel was a contributor to a collective work on capital punishment, *Reflexions sur la peine capitale* (1957). Although culturally assimilated, Bloch-Michel expressed his solidarity with Russian Jewry and the State of Israel.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: E.P. Hazard, in: *Saturday Review of Literature* (Feb. 11, 1950); *Évidences*, no. 30 (1953), 8–9.

[Arnold Mandel]

BLOCK, H & R, U.S. tax preparation and financial services firm.

HENRY WOLLMAN BLOCH (1922–) was born in Kansas City, Mo., the second son of a prominent lawyer. He began his college career at the University of Missouri but transferred to the University of Michigan, from which he graduated in 1944. He joined the Army Air Corps and as a navigator on B-17 bombers he flew 31 combat missions over Germany. He was awarded the Air Medal and three Oak Leaf Clusters. The Army Air Corps sent him to the Harvard Business School for training in statistical control. Bloch came under the influence of Sumner Schlicter, a noted economist, who suggested that small business did not have the resources of big business and labor. In 1946 Bloch and his brother Leon founded the United Business Company to offer bookkeeping and other services to small businesses. After a year, Leon left the business to return to law school. But as the company grew, Henry was joined by another brother, Richard, and they offered bookkeeping and tax services to small businesses. Shortly before the 1955 tax season, they placed an ad in *The Kansas City Star* offering tax preparation. The Internal Revenue Service had just discontinued free tax preparation so the Blochs' skills were in demand. The Blochs named the company H&R Block because, they said, the family name had been difficult for people to pronounce and Block could be spelled phonetically. Their success prompted Richard to suggest expanding to New York City, the next city the IRS stopped servicing. H&R Block opened seven offices in 1956 and in its second year the company more than tripled revenues. By 1962 the company had 206 offices and became a public company.

In the 1970s H&R Block built a national brand by offering professional services for a mass market. Beginning in 1972 Henry Bloch appeared in television commercials, which also helped build H&R Block into a national firm. Soon there were 8,600 offices. By 1978 the company offices prepared more than one of every nine tax returns filed in the United States, and by the turn of the century it had over 100,000 associates at more than 12,000 offices around the world.

Widely known as a businessman, civil leader, and avid supporter of the arts in Kansas City, Henry served on the boards of the American Jewish Committee and the Jewish Federation.

RICHARD BLOCH (1926–2004) entered the Wharton School of Finance at the University of Pennsylvania at the age of 16. The youngest member of his class, he received a bachelor of science degree in economics in 1945. Ever the entrepreneur, while in college he purchased and repaired used cars and sold them for a profit to help pay for college expenses. After graduation, he returned to Kansas City and worked in the municipal bond business before joining his brother.

In 1978 Richard was diagnosed with terminal lung cancer and was told he had three months to live. Refusing to accept this diagnosis, he underwent aggressive therapy for two years and was pronounced cured. He promised himself that if he survived he would devote his life to helping others fight cancer. By 1980 he was fulfilling his commitment; in 1982 he sold his interest in H&R Block. Richard and his wife founded the Cancer Hotline in 1980. It educates and provides information to thousands of newly diagnosed cancer patients and their families. They also founded the R.A. Bloch Cancer Management Center and the R.A. Bloch Cancer Support Center at the University of Missouri in Kansas City. Richard Bloch and his wife, Annette, wrote three books about fighting cancer. Their cancer foundation oversees annual rallies each year on the first Sunday in June to raise awareness that death and cancer are not synonymous. At the first rally, in 1990, they dedicated a park to Americans who have been diagnosed with cancer. Since then the Blochs have completed 19 additional cancer survivor parks. Richard Bloch also served a six-year term on the National Cancer Advisory Board.

[Stewart Kampel (2nd ed.)]

BLOCK, HERBERT LAWRENCE (**Herblock**; 1909–2001), U.S. editorial cartoonist. Born in Chicago, Block started to draw when he was quite young and won a scholarship to the Chicago Art Institute at 12. His critical eye and rapier pen made him one of the leading journalists of his time. In 1929 Block dropped out of Lake Forest College after two years to work for *The Chicago Daily News*. His cartoons were syndicated almost from the start. In 1933 he joined the Newspaper Enterprise Association, where he won his first Pulitzer Prize in 1942. The following year he joined the army, which employed his talent for cartooning in its Information and Education Division. He was mustered out as a sergeant in 1946 and joined *The Washington Post*, where his woodcut-like strokes and pungent, succinct captions chronicled and skewered national and world leaders for decades. Block coined the term "McCarthyism" for the prosecutorial Communist-hunting tactics of Senator Joseph R. McCarthy of Wisconsin, whom he depicted emerging from a sewer with a thug-like heavy beard. It was said that McCarthy shaved twice a day to avoid resembling the caricature. He began drawing Richard M. Nixon the same way in 1948, and Nixon, too, shaved twice a day. Block was unperturbed, saying both men had a "moral 5 o'clock shadow." Sometimes Nixon appeared as a vulture, other times as an undertaker, always as a man ready to benefit from the failure of others. When Nixon was elected president, a Herblock cartoon showed him with a clean shave, but as the administration became mired in Watergate, Nixon's eyebrows grew heavier and his wattles fleshier. Nixon, like Dwight D. Eisenhower before him, canceled the delivery of *The Washington Post* to his home when his children were young, because, he said, "I didn't want the girls to be upset."

Block's second Pulitzer Prize was awarded in 1954 for a drawing of Stalin, who was being accompanied to his grave by the robed figure of death. "You were always a great friend of mine, Joseph," the caption said. In addition to his work as a cartoonist, for which he won another Pulitzer Prize in 1979, Block wrote 12 books in his customary punchy style. "The Soviet state builds bodies," he wrote typically in one of them. "Mounds of them." He continued contributing cartoons to the *Post* until three months before his death when he was 92. In addition to three Pulitzers and a fourth he shared with *The Post* for its coverage of Watergate, Herblock received several honorary degrees and won dozens of journalism prizes. In 1966 he was selected to design the postage stamp commemorating the 175th anniversary of the Bill of Rights. President Bill Clinton, who was often at the end of Herblock's sharp quill, in 1994 awarded him the nation's highest civilian honor, the Presidential Medal of Freedom. In 2000 the Library of Congress mounted a retrospective of Herblock's work. *The Washington Post* so valued Herblock that they referred to his contribution to the editorial page as a signed editorial opinion and not a cartoon.

[Stewart Kampel (2nd ed.)]

BLOCK, PAUL (1877–1941), U.S. publisher of an early newspaper chain. Born in Elmira, N.Y., Block made his first venture into newspaper ownership by purchasing the *Newark Star-Eagle* in 1908. He bought the *Evening Sun* and *Morning Post* (both of Pittsburgh) in 1927 and later was president and publisher of *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*, the *Toledo Blade*, and *Toledo Times*. He was a contributor to Jewish and other philanthropic causes, and donated $100,000 to Yale University in 1930 for a study of newspapers in the modern world.

BLOEMFONTEIN, capital of the Orange Free State, Republic of South Africa. Jewish families played an important pioneering role in the development of Bloemfontein. Isaac Baumann of Hesse-Cassel (1813–1881), one of the first settlers to buy land in the new township in 1848, established the first trading store. The earliest Day of Atonement services in Bloemfontein were held in his house in 1871. In 1873 marriages by Jewish rites were legalized in the Orange Free State. A Hebrew congregation was formed in 1876, and a synagogue built in 1903. The first president (1902–24) was Wolf Ehrlich. As the East European element increased the communal leadership gradually passed to them, a prominent part being played by Jacob Philips and Henry Bradlow. Jews also took an active part in municipal affairs. Baumann was the second chairman of the Bloemfontein municipal board, the forerunner of the town council. His son Gustav was the first surveyor-general of the Orange Free State. The Baumanns fought on the side of the Boers in the South African War (1899–1902). Moritz Leviseur, who took part in the Basuto War of 1865–66, helped to establish the town's first hospital and founded the National Museum. His wife Sophie wrote *Ouma Looks Back*, an account of the early days, and became known as the "Grand Old Lady of Bloemfontein." Wolf Ehrlich, a friend of the Boer leader General Hertzog (later South African prime minister), sat as a senator in the South African parliament. Jewish mayors of Bloemfontein included Ehrlich (1906–07 and 1911–12), Ivan Haarburger (1912–14), and Sol Harris (1929). The community had a well-developed network of institutions, including a fine communal center for cultural and educational activities. A large new synagogue was built in 1965. In 1956 the Hebrew congregation, *Chevra Kaddisha, talmud torah*, and the charitable institutions combined to form the United Hebrew Institutions of Bloemfontein. Other Jewish institutions included the OFS provincial committee of the South African Board of Deputies and the OFS and Northern Cape Zionist Council. There was also a small Reform group. The Jewish population in 1967 numbered 1,347 out of a total population of 119,000. Thereafter, in common with most other Jewish communities outside the main urban centers of *Johannesburg, *Cape Town, and *Durban, the Bloemfontein Jewish community declined steadily. In 1997, the synagogue was sold and the congregation relocated to the smaller premises of the now defunct Reform congregation. In 2004, the community numbered about 180 Jews.

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[Lewis Sowden]

BLOGG (also **Bloch**), **SOLOMON BEN EPHRAIM** (c. 1780–1858), Hebrew grammarian and liturgist. He was a teacher at the Jewish community's school at Hanover (Germany), where he founded the Hebrew printing press in 1827, Telgener, which was noted for its neatly and accurately printed books. Blogg published Psalms as well as a Passover Haggadah (1829) with German translation and his own commentaries. He wrote a history of the Hebrew language and literature with a short study on the Targums, *Korot Leshonenu ha-Kedoshah – Geschichte der hebraeischen Sprache und Literatur* (Berlin, 1826^{2}), included also in his *Binyan Shelomo – Aedificium Salomonis* (Hanover, various ed. starting 1926), dealing with the history of Hebrew and of the Talmud. Blogg also reedited Solomon London's *Kohelet Shelomo*, a Hebrew work on the liturgy and ceremonial customs according to the Ashkenazi (Polish and German) rite. This work was first published in Amsterdam, in Hebrew (1744), then in Yiddish, in Frankfurt on the Oder (1790 and 1799). Reedited and translated into German by Blogg (1830), it enjoyed great popularity and was several times reprinted (reedited by A. Sulzbach, 1908). Blogg also wrote: a book of devotion for the sick and for the mourners, *Sefer ha-Ḥayyim* (1856, several times reedited, last in 1930); *Seder ha-Piyyutim*, a German translation of the *piyyutim* (1824); *Massekhet Purim*, a parody of a Talmud tractate with a travesty of evening prayers (*ma'aravit*) and *seliḥot* for Purim (1844); and further minor treatises on Moses the elect prophet (1824), on the Jewish Oath (1826), etc.

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[Moshe Nahum Zobel]

BLOIS, capital of the department of Loir-et-Cher, north-central France. The earliest information concerning Jews in Blois dates from 992. The community is known in medieval Jewish annals for the tragic consequences of a *blood libel in 1171, the first ritual murder accusation to be made in France. Thirty-three members of the community including men, women and children, were burned at the stake on May 26, on the orders of Count Theobald. Jacob b. Meir *Tam established the 20th of Sivan, the date of the martyrdom, as a fast day for the Jews in France, England, and the Rhineland. *Ephraim b. Jacob of Bonn, his brother Hillel, and others composed elegies on the martyrs. The tragedy was the subject of a Hebrew drama by S.D. *Goitein, *Pulẓelinah* (1927). Jews possibly settled in Blois again, for in 1345 a quarter known as *la Juiverie* is reported. The present-day rue des Juifs near the cathedral is probably located on the same site. During World War II a few Jews from Alsace settled in Blois. In 1968 there were 60 Jews living in Blois, mainly from North Africa.

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[Zvi Avneri]

BLOK, ARTHUR (1882–1974), English engineer, first head of the Haifa Technion. Blok studied electrical engineering at University College, London, and became personal assistant to Prof. Ambrose Fleming, the inventor of the radio tube. He personally operated the instrument which flashed radio signals, for the first time in history, from Cornwall to America, in 1901, and became principal examiner in the British Patent Office. Blok became a Zionist during World War I and in 1920 was appointed by the Zionist Executive as a member of the Governing Board of the Haifa Technion. He was the only engineer on that body and was invited to become the first head of the institution. At the request of Sir Herbert Samuel, the British Patent Office granted him extended leave to enable him to take up his position, which he did in August 1924, organizing the first academic staff.

Blok returned to England a year later and did research in nuclear polymers. In 1946 he was awarded the Order of the British Empire for outstanding scientific services during World War II. He continued to take an interest in the Technion and was a member of the Council of Jews' College.

BLONDES, DAVID, victim of a *blood libel in Vilna in 1900. Blondes, a young Jewish barber, was accused by his Polish housemaid of assaulting her and was subsequently imprisoned. Since the charge was made shortly before Passover, rumors began to circulate that the girl had been wounded to obtain blood for ritual purposes. The implications of the accusation deeply stirred Russian Jewry, and the eminent non-Jewish lawyers P.G. Mironov and D.V. Spassovich, led by the noted Jewish lawyer Oscar O. *Grusenberg, were engaged to defend Blondes. The trial jury in Vilna convicted Blondes of injurious intent, but acquitted him of intent to murder; he was sentenced to 16 months imprisonment. The ritual implications of the accusation still remained. Grusenberg appealed to the Russian Senate, and the case was reopened before the same court in 1902. Medical experts from St. Petersburg testified for the defense, showing that the woman's injuries were self-inflicted. The jury subsequently returned a verdict of "not guilty."

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Dubnow, Hist Russ, 3 (1920), 37f.; *Budushchnost'*, 3 (1902), 87–90, 105f.; *Voskhod*, 21 no. 6 (1902), 8f.

[Chasia Turtel]

BLONDHEIM, DAVID SIMON (1884–1934), U.S. Romance scholar. Born in Baltimore, Maryland, Blondheim studied at Johns Hopkins University where he became professor of Romance philology in 1924. During his studies at the École des Hautes Études in Paris he began to work on the notes left by A. *Darmesteter on the Old French glosses, over 1,000 in number, in Rashi's talmudic commentaries. Blondheim, after collating these with early manuscripts, restored their original form, established their exact meaning and published them as the first volume of his *Les glosses françaises dans les commentaires talmudiques de Raschi* (1929). He then proceeded to study each term in all its ramifications, but on his untimely death left only 125 completed studies. They were published posthumously as the second volume of his *Glosses*, with his biography and a very extensive bibliography (1937). The vast amount of historical and philological documentation gathered by Blondheim offers an invaluable source of information.

Examining, at the same time, the biblical translations in Romance languages in medieval Jewish manuscripts, Blondheim was struck by the particular form of the glosses in the different sources and by the close connection between them. He first published 30 such Old French glosses found in Jewish texts (his doctoral dissertation, in *Romania*, 39 (1910), 129ff.), and went on to prove that the specific traits of these Judeo-Romance texts is encountered also in the earliest Latin Bible translation known as the *Vetus Latina*. This was the theme of his major work *Les parlers judéo-romans et la Vetus Latina* (1925). He concluded that the Jews in the Western Roman Empire must have spoken their own *koiné*, which developed into the various Judeo-Romance dialects, and that Jews were responsible for the translation of the Septuagint in the *Vetus Latina*. Blondheim's views, however, did not obtain general approval, being criticized in particular by Cassuto, Banitt (Berenblut), and Fiorentino.

Blondheim's minor writings included many other contributions to the medieval Judeo-Romance dialects, e.g., medieval Judeo-French hymns. His indefatigable scientific endeavors did not hinder him from taking an active part in Jewish affairs, both philanthropic and Zionist. Blondheim prepared the first English translation of L. *Pinsker's *Auto-Emancipation* (1904, 1916²). His life ended on a tragic note. His manuscripts and papers are now in the National and University Library, Jerusalem.

[Menahem Banitt]

His son, SOLOMON HILLEL BLONDHEIM (1918–), Israeli physician, worked in various New York hospitals and did research into metabolic diseases and bilirubin metabolism before emigrating to Israel in 1951. There he joined the Hadassah-University Hospital in Jerusalem, becoming head of the metabolic unit and laboratory (1957) and associate professor of medicine (1966). He was professor emeritus in the hospital's department of medicine.

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BLOOD. In the Bible there is an absolute prohibition on the consumption of blood. The blood of an animal must be drained before the flesh may be eaten (Lev. 3:17; 7:26; 17:10–14; Deut. 12:15–16, 20–24). This prohibition is not found anywhere else in the ancient Near East. Moreover, within Israelite legislation it is the only prohibition (coupled with murder) enjoined not on Israel alone but on all men (Gen. 9:4). It is thus a more universal law than the Decalogue.

That none of Israel's neighbors possesses this absolute and universally binding prohibition means that it cannot be a vestige of a primitive taboo, but the result of a deliberate, reasoned enactment. This is clear from the rationale appended to the law: blood is life (Lev. 17:11, 14; Deut. 12:23). Men (the sons of Noah) are conceded the right to eat meat, if they drain off the lifeblood, which belongs to the Creator (Gen. 9:3–4, see *Noachide Laws). Israel has an additional obligation to drain the blood of sacrificial animals on the authorized altar, "for it is I who have assigned it to you upon the altar to expiate for your lives; for it is the blood, as life, that can expiate" for your lives when you take the animal's life for its flesh (Lev. 17:11; cf. verse 4; see *Atonement).

An unresolved problem is presented by a second blood prohibition, differently worded: *lo' to'khelu 'al ha-dam* ("do not eat over the blood"; Lev. 19:26; I Sam. 14:32–33; Ezek. 33:25). Various interpretations of this have been offered: in one, *'al* is interpreted as "with" (so LXX, ad loc.; for usage, cf. Ex. 12:8; 23:18; Lev. 23:18, 20; et al.). Thus, the two prohibitions are synonymous: both forbid blood as food. A second interpretation holds that *'al* means "over," figuratively. The situation envisaged is that the blood has not been consumed, but has been spilled to the ground instead of being brought to the altar. Such a profane disposition of the blood is forbidden by this law. This accords with the requirement of the priestly code (and of King Saul, I Sam. 14:32–33) that all permitted flesh must be sacrificed (Lev. 17:11, above). However, it is not in agreement with the Deuteronomic Code, which allows profane slaughter and expressly orders that blood be spilled upon the ground (Deut. 12:15, 21–22). *'Al* has also been interpreted as "over," literally, in which case the prohibition refers to a pagan rite (see Ibn Ezra and Samuel b. Meir (Rashbam) on Lev. 19:26, and Maimonides, *Guide*, 3:46). According to a recent formulation of this view by Grintz, it harks back to the worship of underground deities, who drank the blood out of a pit in which the animal was slaughtered (e.g., Odyssey, 10:530–40).

Blood plays a pervasive role in the cult. When daubed on the horns of the *altar or sprinkled inside the sanctuary (see *Sacrifices), it purges ritual impurity (see *Atonement; *Day of Atonement). It may also serve this purgative function in the initial rites of purifying the leper (Lev. 14:4–6, 18–29; cf. verses 49–53; see *Leprosy), and in consecrating the priest (Ex. 29:20–21, 33). When dashed upon the side of the altar, as in the case of animals sacrificed for food (see above), its purpose is to expiate sin (see *Kippur*). It also operates as an apotropaic to ward off future harm, e.g., by smearing the paschal blood on doorposts and lintels (Ex. 12:7, 13, 22–23). This usage may also underline the rites of covenanting (*dam berit*; Ex. 24:6–8) and circumcising the Israelites (Ex. 4:24–26; Ezek 16:6).

[Jacob Milgrom]

In Halakhah

The prohibition of blood enjoined in the Bible is defined by the Talmud as referring to the blood of cattle, beasts, and fowl, and prescribes the punishment of **karet* for the consumption of the minimum amount of the volume of an olive (Ker. 5:1). The blood for which one is so liable is "the blood with which the soul emerges," i.e., the lifeblood, but not the blood which oozes out subsequently, or blood in the meat. Blood of all other creatures, fish, locusts, and human blood, is permitted according to the rabbinical interpretations of biblical law, although according to one source (*Tanna de-Vei Eliyahu Rabbah*, 15) human blood is equally forbidden by the Bible. All authorities agree, however, that it is forbidden by rabbinic law (Maim. Yad, Ma'akhalot Asurot, 6:2). The Talmud uses the peculiar phrase "bipeds" (Ker. 20b), and although all the halakhic authorities regard this phrase as a synonym for humans (Sh. Ar., YD 66: 10), J.S. *Bloch, in answer to the *blood accusation whose fomenters quoted this passage in support of their allegation, put forward the intriguing suggestion that it actually refers to simians. Although the content, which enumerates "blood of bipeds, the blood found in eggs, the blood of locusts and of fish" would appear to lend some support to this view, it must be regarded as belonging to the realm of apologetics. Nevertheless, the repugnance felt by Jews for blood caused an extension of the prohibition even of permitted blood "because of appearances" if it were collected in a vessel. Thus it is permitted to swallow the blood from one's bleeding teeth and suck one's bleeding finger, but should a piece of bread, for instance, be stained by blood it must be discarded. Similarly the blood of fish collected in a vessel is forbidden (Ker. 21b).

The prohibition of blood is confined to its consumption; it is, however, permitted for other uses, and the Mishnah (Yoma 5:6) states that the sacrificial blood which flowed into the brook of *Kidron was collected and sold to gardeners as fertilizer. For the most extensive prohibition of blood, the need for its removal from meat before it is fit for Jewish consumption, see *Dietary Laws.

[Louis Isaac Rabinowitz]

Menstrual Blood

The biological reality that women regularly menstruate is central to biblical and rabbinic constructions of the female. Prohibitions against male contact with menstrual blood, deeply rooted in the cultures of the ancient Near East, appear in Leviticus 11–15, where the *niddah*, the menstruating or postpartum woman, is listed among a number of threats to male ritual purity. Leviticus 18:29 specifies sexual contact with a *niddah* as among those sinful acts punished severely by *karet,* or extirpation from the community. In Leviticus 18:9 and 20:18 such contact is part of a list of prohibited sexual unions that has nothing to do with ritual purity. Even when the purity system lapsed after the destruction of the Second Temple in 70 C.E., the prohibition of union with a menstruant endured.

Menstrual blood, an indication of the failure of fertility in women's natural cycle of fruitfulness, is strongly linked with death in rabbinic Judaism. In a religious system which likened ritual impurity to a state of spiritual extinction, periodic female flows of blood were repugnant to men both as a potential source of ritual pollution and as a reminder of women's supposed responsibility for human mortality. Several aggadic passages suggest that women menstruate as punishment or atonement for spilling the blood (*dam*) in perpetuity of Adam (*adam*), who is designated "the blood of the Holy One, blessed be He" or "the blood of the world" (ARNB 9, 42; Gen. R. 17:8, Tanḥ. Noah 1).

[Judith R. Baskin (2nd ed.)]

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BLOOD-AVENGER. A person who is authorized by law, or who is duty-bound, to kill a murderer is called *go'el ha-dam* – usually translated as an avenger of blood, but more accurately to be rendered as a redeemer of blood (cf. Lev. 25:25; Ruth 3:12; I Kings 16:11). By putting the murderer to death (Num. 35:19, 21), the avenger expiates the blood shed on the polluted land (Num. 35:33). Originally private revenge was legitimate in Israel, as in other ancient civilizations, not only for homicide but also for mayhem (cf. Gen. 4:23–24) and rape (Gen. 34:25–26); and the restrictions on the avenger's rights and their legal regulation marked the beginnings of a system of criminal law (see B. Cohen in bibl.). It was stipulated that only murder with malice aforethought (Num. 35:20–21; Deut. 19:11–13) or committed with a murderous instrument (Num. 35:16–18; for further examples, see Maim., Yad, Roẓe'aḥ u-Shemirat Nefesh 6:6–9) gave rise to the avenger's right (see Mak. 12a, Sanh. 45b); the unintentional manslayer was entitled to refuge from the avenger (Num. 35:12, 15; Deut. 19:4–6) and was liable to be killed by him only when he prematurely left the city of refuge (Num. 35:26–28). It may be considered a concession to human nature that avenging was not wholly prohibited, but only restricted and regulated: the natural "hot anger" (Deut. 19:6) of the victim's next of kin is left at least some legal outlet.

The avenger's rights were further restricted by being made subject to and dependent on the prior judicial conviction of the murderer – whether the murder was premeditated or not was a question not for the avenger but for the court to decide (Maim. loc. cit. 1:5, following Num. 35:12; "the manslayer may not die unless he has stood trial before the assembly"; but cf. Yad, loc. cit. 5:7–10). Opinions of later jurists were divided as to what the avenger's real function was; some held that he initiated the proceedings, searching for the murderer and bringing him to court for trial (Ramban; Nov.; Sanh. 45b; *Beit ha-Beḥirah* ad loc.); some thought he should appear before the court and participate in the proceedings as a prosecutor (Nissim Gerondi, basing himself on the Targum pseudo-Jonathan who renders *go'el ha-dam* as "claimant of blood"); others relegated the avenger to the role of an executioner, it being his right and privilege to execute the death penalty pronounced by the court (Yad, loc. cit. 1:2; Ritba, Nov., Mak. 10b). That the avenger had a *locus standi* in court appears probable from the scriptural injunction that the court "shall decide between the slayer and the blood-avenger" (Num. 35:24). While the slayer would protest his innocence or, alternatively, his lack of malice, the avenger would plead premeditation (cf. *Malbim* ad loc.); by finding a lack of malice, the court is said to "protect the manslayer from the blood-avenger" (Num. 35:25). When an alleged murderer stood trial but was not convicted (either because of lack of sufficient evidence or because the verdict had not yet been given) and the avenger killed him, most jurists held that while the killing was unlawful, the avenger was not guilty of murder (*Beit ha-Beḥirah*, Sanh. 45b) – the proffered reason being that the avenger had a better right to kill than even the unintentional manslayer (Yad, loc. cit. 6:5), or that Scripture itself recognized the avenger's "hot anger" (Deut. 19:6) as negating premeditation (*Redak* to II Sam. 14:7). However, if the avenger killed the murderer within the walls of the city of refuge, it was murder pure and simple (Tosef., Mak. 3:6).

Any next of kin entitled to inherit the deceased's estate qualified as an avenger (Yad, loc. cit. 1:2). Some later authorities even include maternal relatives although they are not in line for inheritance (*Or Same'aḥ* to Yad, loc. cit., against Maimonides). Women also qualify as avengers (Yad, loc. cit. 1:3). There are biblical instances of a father (II Sam. 13:31–38), a son (II Kings 14:5–6), brothers (Judg. 8:4–21; II Sam. 2:22–23), and also the king (I Kings 2:29–34) as avengers. It was later stipulated that when no next of kin was available or came forward, an avenger was to be appointed by the court (Sanh. 45b).

There is little doubt that legally the rights (and duties) of the blood-avenger became obsolete (*Ḥavvat Ya'ir* 146), though the killing by the avenger of a murderer is even today legally regarded by some scholars as no more than unintentional manslaughter (e.g. *Keẓot ha-Ḥoshen* ḤM 2). Apart from the law, the right and duty of avenging the blood of one's nearest relatives are still deeply imprinted on the mind and religious conviction of most Oriental (including many Jewish) communities; notwithstanding repeated efforts from various quarters, blood vengeance is not, however, recognized in Israeli law even in mitigating circumstances.

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[Haim Hermann Cohn]

BLOODGUILT, liability for punishment for shedding blood. The biblical concept of bloodguilt derives from the belief that deeds generate consequences and that sin, in particular, is a danger to the sinner. The most vivid examples of this belief appear in connection with unlawful homicide, where innocent blood (*dam naki* (*naqi*); Jonah 1:14) cries out for vengeance (Gen. 4:10), is rejected by the earth (Isa. 26:21; Ezek. 24:7), and pollutes it (Num. 35:33–34). Bloodguilt attaches to the slayer and his family (II Sam. 3:28ff.) for generations (II Kings 9:26), and even to his city (Jer. 26:5), nation (Deut. 21:8), and land (Deut. 24:4). The technical term for bearing bloodguilt *damo bo*, or *damo bero'sho,* meant originally "his blood [remains] in him/in his head" (Josh. 2:19; Ezek. 33:5), and the legal formula *mot yumat damav bo* (Lev. 20:9–16) means that in the case of lawful execution, the blood of the guilty victim remains on his own person and does not attach itself to his executioners.

The concept of bloodguilt in the Bible pervades all sources, legal, narrative, and cultic, and entails the following system of graded punishments for homicide.

Deliberate Homicide

The penalty is death by man (Gen. 9:6), or failing that, by God (Gen. 9:5; cf. Lev. 20:4–5). A man can be either the direct cause (Num. 35:16–21) or the indirect cause, e.g., a watchman (II Kings 10:24; Ezek. 33:6), priests (Num. 18:1, 3), homeowner (Deut. 22:8), or subordinate (I Kings 2:31–35). The punishment of the murderer is primarily the responsibility of the *blood-avenger (after court conviction, Num. 35:19; Deut. 19:12), but God is the final guarantor that homicide is ultimately punished. His personal intervention is expressed by the verbs פקד (*pakad* (*paqad*), "attend to," Hos. 1:4); נקם (*nakam* (*naqam*), "avenge," II Kings 9:7); דרש (*darash*, "exact punishment," Ezek. 33:6); and שוב (השיב, *heshiv*, "return") in the idiom *heshiv damim ʿal ro'sh* (II Sam. 16:18; I Kings 2:33), which indicates that God will turn back to the head of the slayer the blood of the slain, the punishment the murderer believed he had averted. In the Bible, it should be noted, these idioms have become technical terms: the original phrase remains, but without the crudity of its more primitive implications in other ancient sources. God may postpone punishment to a later generation (II Sam. 12: 13–14; I Kings 21:21). Man, however, does not have this option (Deut. 24:16; II Kings 14:6) unless divinely authorized (II Kings 9:7, 26).

There is no commutation of the death penalty. The notion that deliberate homicide cannot be commuted is the foundation stone of criminal law in the Bible: human life is invaluable, hence incommutable. This concept is not found in any other body of law in the ancient Near East.

Accidental Homicide

Since accidental homicide also results in bloodguilt, the killer may be slain by the *go'el* with impunity (Num. 35:26–27; Deut. 19:4–10). However, as his act was unintentional, the natural death of the high priest is allowed to substitute for his own death (Num. 35:25, 28). In the interim, he is confined to a *city of refuge to protect him from the blood-avenger (Num. 35:9 ff; Deut. 4:41–43; 19:1–13; Josh. 20:1 ff.) In cases where the slayer is unknown, the community nearest the corpus delicti must disavow complicity and, by means of a ritual, symbolically wash away the blood of the slain (Deut. 21:1–9; see **Eglah Arufah*).

Homicidal Beast

The penalty is death by stoning and the shunning of the carcass. The supreme value of human life in the Bible is best expressed in the law that a homicidal beast is also guilty and that not only must it be killed but its carcass, laden with bloodguilt, must be reviled (Ex. 21:28–29; cf. Gen. 9:5).

Unauthorized Slaughter of an Animal

The reverence for life that informs all biblical legislation reached its summit in the priestly law which sanctions the use of an animal for food on the condition that its blood, containing its life, be drained upon the authorized altar (and thereby be symbolically restored to God; Lev. 17:11). All other slaughter is unlawful bloodshed, punishable by death at the hand of God (Lev. 17:4).

Exceptions

No bloodguilt is incurred by homicide in self-defense (Ex. 22:1), judicial execution (Lev. 20:9–16), and war (I Kings 2:5–6). The priestly legislation may indicate some qualification of the view that war is justifiable homicide. For example, David was disqualified from building the Temple (I Chron. 22:8).

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[Jacob Milgrom]

BLOODLETTING, removal of blood in treating diseases. Bloodletting is frequently mentioned in the Talmud. It was performed not by a physician but by a skilled functionary called *umman* or *gara*, whose status was less than that of a physician. The bloodletter is mentioned in various passages in the Talmud, both favorably and unfavorably (e.g., Ta'an. 21b; Kid. 82a). Some of the directives about bloodletting in the Talmud relate to specific ailments (e.g., Git. 67b; Av. Zar. 29a), but most are in the realm of preventive medicine based on the belief that the regular removal of blood from the body was of hygienic value. Among the ten indispensable requirements of a town, in the absence of which "no scholar should reside there" (Sanh. 17b), is a bloodletter. According to the Talmud, bloodletting is one of the things which should be applied in moderation (Git. 70a), and, in practice, the amount of blood to be let varies with the subject's age. Maimonides (Yad, De'ot 4:18), though in general agreement, suggests, in addition, consideration of the subject's "blood richness" and physical vigor (*Pirkei Moshe*, 12). Many instructions are given in the Talmud with respect to diet and precautions to be taken both before and after bloodletting (e.g., Shab. 129a–b; Git. 70a; Ned. 54b; Av. Zar. 29a; et al.). Maimonides advises moderation in bloodletting: "A man should not accustom himself to let blood regularly, nor should he do so unless he is in great need of it" (Yad, loc. cit.). The views of the Talmud and of Maimonides provide a sharp contrast to those of the ancient and medieval world, where the practice of bloodletting was unrestricted. In late Hebrew literature (e.g., the *Oẓar ha-Ḥayyim* of Jacob *Ẓahalon and the *Ma'aseh Tuviyyah* of Tobias b. Moses *Cohn) directions for bloodletting and cupping are also found.

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[Joshua O. Leibowitz]

BLOOD LIBEL, the allegation that Jews murder non-Jews, especially Christian children, in order to obtain blood for the Passover or other rituals: most blood libels occurred close to Passover, being basically a another form of the belief that Jews had been and still were responsible for the passion and crucifixion of Jesus Christ, the divine child; a complex of deliberate lies, trumped-up accusations, and popular beliefs about the murder-lust of the Jews and their bloodthirstiness, based on the conception that Jews hate Christianity and mankind in general. It is combined with the delusion that Jews are in some way not human and must have recourse to special remedies and subterfuges to appear, at least outwardly, like other men. The blood libel led to trials and massacres of Jews in the Middle Ages and early modern times; it was revived by the Nazis. Its origin is rooted in ancient, almost primordial, concepts concerning the potency and energies of *blood. In the early 2000s a controversy among scholars surrounded the argument that the blood libel began in the Middle Ages in the wake of the sacrifice of Jewish children by their parents during Crusaders raids on Jewish communities on their way to the Holy Land.

Origins

Blood sacrifices, practiced by many pagan religions, are expressly forbidden by the Torah. The law of meat-salting (*meliḥah*) is designed to prevent the least drop of avoidable blood remaining in food. Yet pagan incomprehension of the Jewish monotheist cult, lacking the customary images and statues, led to charges of ritual killing. At a time of tension between Hellenism and Judaism, it was alleged that the Jews would kidnap a Greek foreigner, fatten him up for a year, and then convey him to a wood, where they slew him, sacrificed his body with the customary ritual, partook of his flesh, and while immolating the Greek swore an oath of hostility to the Greeks. This was told, according to *Apion, to King *Antiochus Epiphanes by an intended Greek victim who had been found in the Jewish Temple being fattened by the Jews for this sacrifice and was saved by the king (Jos., Apion, 2:89–102). Some suspect that stories like this were spread intentionally as propaganda for Antiochus Epiphanes to justify his profanation of the Temple. Whatever the immediate cause, the tale is the outcome of suspicion of the Jews and incomprehension of their religion.

To be victims of this accusation was also the fate of other misunderstood religious minorities. In the second century C.E. the *Church Father Tertullian complained: "We are said to be the most criminal of men, on the score of our sacramental baby-killing, and the baby-eating that goes with it." He complains that judicial torture was applied to the early Christians because of this accusation, for "it ought … to be wrung out of us [whenever that false charge is made] how many murdered babies each of us has tasted.… Oh! the glory of that magistrate who had brought to light some Christian who had eaten up to date a hundred babies!" (*Apologeticus* 7:1 and 1:12, Loeb edition (1931), 10, 36).

Middle Ages

During the Middle Ages some heretical Christian sects were also afflicted by similar accusations. The general attitude of Christians toward the holy bread of the Communion created an emotional atmosphere in which it was felt that the divine child was mysteriously hidden in the partaken bread. The popular preacher Friar Berthold of Regensburg (13th century) felt obliged to explain why communicants do not actually see the holy child by asking the rhetorical question, "Who would like to bite off a baby's head or hand or foot?" Popular beliefs and imaginings of the time, either of classical origin or rooted in Germanic superstitions, held that blood, even the blood of executed malefactors or from corpses, possesses the powers of healing or causing injury. Thus, combined with the general hatred of Jews then prevailing, a charge of clandestine cruel practices and blood-hunting, which had evolved among the pagans and was used against the early Christians, was deflected by Christian society to the most visible and persistent minority in opposition to its tenets.

As Christianity spread in Western Europe and penetrated the popular consciousness, using the emotions and imagination even more than thought and dogma in order to gain influence, various story elements began to evolve around the alleged inhumanity and sadism of the Jews. (See Map: Blood Libels.) In the first distinct case of blood libel against Jews in the Middle Ages, that of *Norwich in 1144, it was alleged that the Jews had "bought a Christian child [the 'boy-martyr' William] before Easter and tortured him with all the tortures wherewith our Lord was tortured, and on Long Friday hanged him on a rood in hatred of our Lord." The motif of torture and murder of Christian children in imitation of Jesus' Passion persisted with slight variations throughout the 12th century (Gloucester, England, 1168; Blois, France, 1171; Saragossa, Spain, 1182), and was repeated in many libels of the 13th century. In the case of Little Saint Hugh of *Lincoln, 1255, it would seem that an element taken directly from Apion's libel (see above) was interwoven into the Passion motif, for the chronicler Matthew Paris relates, "that the Child was first fattened for ten days with white bread and milk and then … almost all the Jews of England were invited to the crucifixion." The crucifixion motif was generalized in the *Siete Partidas* law code of Spain, 1263: "We have heard it said that in certain places on Good Friday the Jews do steal children and set them on the cross in a mocking manner." Even when other motifs eventually predominated in the libel, the crucifixion motif did not disappear altogether. On the eve of the expulsion of the Jews from Spain, there occurred the blood-libel case of "the Holy Child of *La Guardia" (1490–91). There, *Conversos were made to confess under torture that with the knowledge of the chief rabbi of the Jews they had assembled at the time of Passover in a cave, crucified the child, and abused him and cursed him to his face, as was done to Jesus in ancient times. The crucifixion motif explains why the blood libels occurred at the time of Passover.

The Jews were well aware of the implications of sheer sadism involved in the libel. In a dirge lamenting the Jews massacred at Munich because of a blood libel in 1286, the anonymous poet supposedly quotes the words of the Christian killers: "These unhappy Jews are sinning, they kill Christian children, they torture them in all their limbs, they take the blood cruelly to drink" (A.M. Habermann (ed.), *Sefer Gezerot Ashkenaz ve-Ẓarefat* (1946), 199). These words, written in irony, reflect another motif in the libels, the thirst of the Jew for blood, out of his hatred for the good and true. This is combined in 13th-century Germany with the conception that the Jew cannot endure purity: he hates the innocence of the Christian child, its joyous song and appearance. The motif, found in the legendary tales of the monk Caesarius of Heisterbach in Germany, underwent various transmutations. In the source from which Caesarius took his story the child killed by the Jews sings *erubescat judaeus* ("let the Jew be shamed"). In Caesarius' version, the child sings the *Salve Regina*. The Jews cannot endure this pure laudatory song and try to frighten him and stop him from singing it. When he refuses, they cut off his tongue and hack him to pieces. About a century after the expulsion of the Jews from England this motif only became the basis of Geoffrey *Chaucer's "Prioress' Tale." Here the widow's little child sings the *Alma Redemptoris Mater* while "the serpent Sathanas" awakens indignation in the cruel Jewish heart. The Jews obey the promptings of their Satanic master and kill the child; a miracle brings about their deserved punishment. Though the scene of this tale is laid in Asia, at the end of the story Chaucer takes care to connect Asia explicitly with bygone libels in England, and the motif of hatred of the innocent with the motif of mockery of the crucifixion.

In the blood libel of *Fulda (1235) another motif comes to the fore: the Jews taking blood for medicinal remedies (here of five young Christian boys). The strange medley of ideas about the use of blood by the Jews is summed up by the end of the Middle Ages, in 1494, by the citizens of Tyrnau (*Trnava). The Jews need blood because "firstly, they were convinced by the judgment of their ancestors, that the blood of a Christian was a good remedy for the alleviation of the wound of circumcision. Secondly, they were of opinion that this blood, put into food, is very efficacious for the awakening of mutual love. Thirdly, they had discovered, as men and women among them suffered equally from menstruation, that the blood of a Christian is a specific medicine for it, when drunk. Fourthly, they had an ancient but secret ordinance by which they are under obligation to shed Christian blood in honor of God, in daily sacrifices, in some spot or other … the lot for the present year had fallen on the Tyrnau Jews." To the motifs of crucifixion, sadism, hatred of the innocent and of Christianity, and the unnaturalness of the Jews and its cure by the use of good Christian blood, there were added, from time to time, the ingredients of sorcery, perversity, and a kind of "blind obedience to a cruel tradition."

Generation after generation of Jews in Europe was tortured, and Jewish communities were massacred or dispersed and broken up because of this libel. It was spread by various agents. Popular preachers ingrained it in the minds of the common people. It became embedded, through miracle tales, in their imagination and beliefs. This caused in Moravia, for instance, in about 1343, "a woman of ill fame to come with the help of another woman and propose to an old Jew of Brno, named Osel, her child for sale for six marks, because the child was red in hair and in face." Yet the Jew invited Christian officials, who imprisoned the women and punished them horribly (B. Bretholz, *Quellen zur Geschichte der Juden in Maehren* (1935), 27–28). The majority of the heads of state and the church opposed the circulation of the libel. Emperor *Frederick II of Hohenstaufen decided, after the Fulda libel, to clear up the matter definitively, and have all the Jews in the empire killed if the accusation proved to be true, or exonerate them publicly if false, using this as an occasion to arbitrate in a matter affecting the whole of Christendom. The enquiry into the blood libel was thus turned into an all-Christian problem. The emperor, who first consulted the recognized church authorities, later had to turn to a device of his own. In the words of his summing-up of the enquiry (see ZGJD, 1 (1887), 142–4), the usual church authorities "expressed various opinions about the case, and as they have been proved incapable of coming to a conclusive decision … we found it necessary … to turn to such people that were once Jews and have converted to the worship of the Christian faith; for they, as opponents, will not be silent about anything that they may know in this matter against the Jews." The emperor adds that he himself was already convinced, through his knowledge and wisdom, that the Jews were innocent. He sent to the kings of the West, asking them to send him decent and learned converts to Christianity to consult in the matter. The synod of converts took place (in about 1243) and came to the conclusion, which the emperor published: "There is not to be found, either in the Old or the New Testament, that the Jews are desirous of human blood. On the contrary, they avoid contamination with any kind of blood." The document quotes from various Jewish texts in support, adding, "There is also a strong likelihood that those to whom even the blood of permitted animals is forbidden, cannot have a hankering after human blood. Against this accusation stand its cruelty, its unnaturalness, and the sound human emotions which the Jews have also in relation to the Christians. It is also unlikely that they would risk [through such a dangerous action] their life and property." A few years later, in 1247, Pope Innocent IV wrote that "Christians charge falsely … that [the Jews] hold a communion rite … with the heart of a murdered child; and should the cadaver of a dead man happen to be found anywhere they maliciously lay it to their charge." Neither emperor nor pope were heeded.

Jewish scholars in the Middle Ages bitterly rejected this inhuman accusation. They quoted the Law and instanced the Jewish way of life in order to refute it. The general opinion of the Jews is summed up thus: "You are libeling us for you want to find a reason to permit the shedding of our blood" (the 12th–13th centuries *Sefer Niẓẓaḥon Yashan – Liber Nizzachon Vetus*, p. 159 in *Tela Ignaea Satanae*, ed. J.Ch. Wagenseil, 1681). However, the Jewish denials, like the opinion of enlightened Christian leaders, did not succeed in preventing the blood libels from shaping to a large extent the image of the Jew transmitted from the Middle Ages to modern times. (It was only in 1965 that the church officially repudiated the blood libel of *Trent by canceling the beatification of Simon and the celebrations in his honor.)

Modern Times

From the 17th century, blood-libel cases increasingly spread to Eastern Europe, most notably to Poland and Lithuania). The atmosphere at such trials is conveyed by the protocols of the investigation of two Jews and a Jewess who were put to torture in a blood-libel case at *Lublin in 1636: "Judge: 'For what purpose do Jews need Christian blood?' Fegele: 'Jews use no Christian blood.' Judge: 'And are you a sorceress?' Fegele: 'No. I have nothing to do with this.'" She remained unbroken under torture, even the threat of torture with a red-hot iron, and bravely denied all allegations of sorcery and ritual use of blood, and so did the other accused Jews, who insisted that all Jews are innocent. Hugo *Grotius, the Protestant legal philosopher, when told about the case expressed the opinion that the blood accusation was simply a libel generated by hatred of the Jews and recalled that the early Christians and later Christian sectarians were accused in a similar way (Balaban, in *Festschrift S. Dubnow* (1930), 87–112).

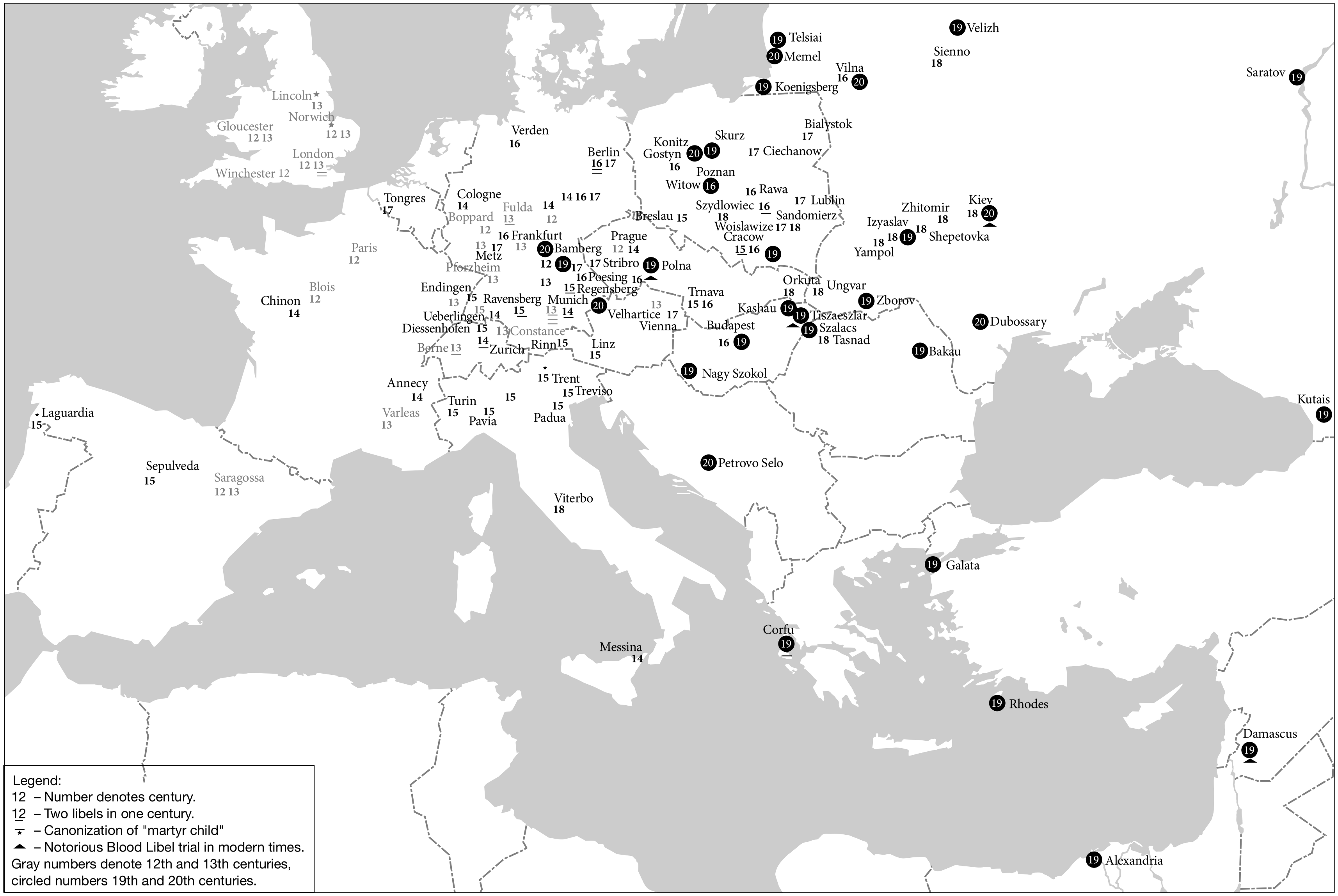
Legend:
12 – Number denotes century.
12 – Two libels in one century.
– Canonization of "martyr child"
– Notorious Blood Libel trial in modern times.
Gray numbers denote 12th and 13th centuries, circled numbers 19th and 20th centuries.
Lincoln 13
Norwich 12 13
Gloucester 12 13
London 12 13
Winchester 12
Paris 12
Blois 12
Chinon 14
Laguardia 15
Sepulveda 15
Saragossa 12 13
Tongres 17
Cologne 14
Boppard 12
Verden 16
Fulda 13
Frankfurt 16 13
Metz 13 17
Pforzheim 13
Endingen 13
Ravensberg 15
Ueberlingen 15 14
Diessenhofen 15
Constance 13
Berne 13
Zurich 14
Rinn 15
Munich 13 14
Regensberg 15
Bamberg 20
Poesing 16
Stribro 17
Prague 12 14
Berlin 16 17
Breslau 15
Velhartice 13
Vienna 17
Linz 15
Trent 15
Treviso 15
Padua 15
Turin 15
Pavia 15
Annecy 14
Varleas 13
Viterbo 18
Messina 14
Polna 19
Trnava 15 16
Budapest 16 19
Nagy Szokol 19
Petrovo Selo 20
Konitz 20
Gostyn 16
Skurz 19
Poznan
Witow 16
Ciechanow 17
Rawa 16
Szydlowiec 16 18
Woislawize 17 18
Cracow 15 16
Sandomierz
Lublin 17
Bialystok 17
Koenigsberg 19
Memel 20
Telsiai 19
Vilna 16 20
Sienno 18
Velizh 19
Zhitomir 18
Kiev 18 20
Izyaslav 18
Shepetovka 18 19
Yampol 18
Orkuta 18
Ungvar 18
Kashau 19
Tiszaeszlar 19
Szalacs 19
Tasnad 18
Zborov 19
Bakau 19
Dubossary 20
Saratov 19
Kutais 19
Galata 19
Corfu 19
Rhodes 19
Damascus 19
Alexandria 19

Map showing sites and periods of blood libels.

In Eastern Europe, as late as the 17th century, the blood libel is identified with Jewish sorcery in the minds of the accusers, while the motif of the use of Christian blood for Passover *mazzot* increasingly comes to the fore. As conditions in Poland deteriorated, blood-libel cases multiplied. Through the *Councils of the Lands the Jews sent an emissary to the Holy See who succeeded in having an investigation ordered and carried out by Cardinal Lorenzo Ganganelli, later Pope *Clement XIV. In a detailed report submitted in 1759 Ganganelli examined the veracity of the blood libel in general and of the recent cases in Poland-Lithuania in particular, quoting *in extenso* from former church authorities against the libel. His main conclusion was: "I [...] hope that the Holy See will take some measure to protect the Jews of Poland as Saint Bernard, Gregory IX, and Innocent IV did for the Jews of Germany and France (see bibl., Roth, p. 94).

In the 19th century the ringleaders of Jew-hatred in its modern form of antisemitism made conspicuous use of the blood libel for incitement against Jews in various countries. It was also used as a weapon to arouse the uneducated masses for specific political reasons, as occurred, for instance, in the *Damascus Affair (1840) in the struggle among the western powers for influence in the Near East. Antisemitic self-proclaimed experts wrote treatises which set out to prove the truth of the libel from the records of past accusations and Jewish sources. Two such were Konstantin Cholewa de Pawlikowski (*Talmud in der Theorie und Praxis*, Regensburg, 1866) and H. Desportes (*Le mystère du sang chez les Juifs de tous les temps*, Paris, 1859, with a preface by the French antisemite Edouard-Adolphe *Drumont). In the blood-libel trials held in the second half of the 19th and early 20th century, such as the *Tisza-Eszlar and *Beilis cases, August *Rohling and other known antisemites appeared to testify in court; all were irrefutably answered by Jewish and pro-Jewish scholars (J.S. *Bloch, H.L. *Strack, J. *Mazeh). Another way of implying the truth of the blood-libel charge was to state it as a fact without denying it. For example, in the article *Blut* (in *Handwoerterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens*, 1 (1927), cols. 1434–42) it is remarked (col. 1436): "Moses in vain prohibited the drinking of blood," and "Trials in modern times show the problem of ritual murder has still not disappeared"; col. 1439).

The Nazis used the blood libel in full force for anti-Jewish propaganda. They revived old allegations and instituted reinvestigations and trials in territories under their rule or influence: at Memel in 1936; at Bamberg in 1937 (a revival); and at Velhartice, Bohemia, in 1940. On May 1, 1934, the Nazi daily, *Der Stuermer*, devoted a special illustrated number to the blood libel, in which German scientists openly served the Nazi aims. The above-mentioned *Handwoerterbuch* (vol. 7 (1935–36), cols. 727–39) printed an article entitled *Ritualmord* written by Peuckert, a man who remained active and respected in German science, which is throughout simply an affirmation and propagation of the blood libel, although using some cautious phrasing. The epitome appears in the remarkable enquiry: "In conclusion to this shocking list, there remains only one question: for what purpose did the Jews use the blood?" (col. 734).

The blood libel, in the various forms it assumed and the tales with which it was associated, is one of the most terrible expressions of the combination of human cruelty and credulity. No psychological or sociological research can convey the depths to which the numerous intentional instigators of such libels, and the more numerous propagators of this phantasmagoria, sank. It resulted in the torture, murder, and expulsion, of countless Jews, and the misery of insults. However, the dark specters it raised were even more harmful in their effects on the minds of Christians. In modern times *Aḥad Ha-Am found "some consolation" in the existence of the blood libel, for it could serve as a spiritual defense against the influence on Jewish self-evaluation of the consensus of hostile opinion. "This accusation is the solitary case in which the general acceptance of an idea about ourselves does not make us doubt whether all the world can be wrong, and we right, because it is based on an absolute lie, and is not even supported by any false inference from particular to universal. Every Jew who has been brought up among Jews knows as an indisputable fact that throughout the length and breadth of Jewry there is not a single individual who drinks human blood for religious purposes.... 'But' – you ask – 'is it possible that everybody can be wrong, and the Jews right?' Yes, it is possible: the blood accusation proves it possible. Here, you see, the Jews are right and perfectly innocent" (*Selected Essays* (1962), 203–4).

[Haim Hillel Ben-Sasson / Dina Porat (2nd ed.)]

IN RUSSIA In modern times Russia has been the principal perpetuator of the blood libel, both medieval and modern factors (see above) combining to enable its deliberate dissemination among the ignorant masses. The first blood-libel case in Russia occurred in the vicinity of Senno, south of Vitebsk, on the eve of Passover 1799, when the body of a woman was found near a Jewish tavern: four Jews were arrested on the ground of the "popular belief that the Jews require Christian blood." *Apostates supplied the court with extracts from a distorted translation of the Shulḥan Arukh and *Shevet Yehudah*. The accused were released through lack of evidence. Nevertheless the poet and administrator G.R. *Derzhavin, in his "Opinion submitted to the czar on the organization of the status of the Jews in Russia," could state that "in these communities persons are to be found who perpetrate the crime, or at least afford protection to those committing the crime, of shedding Christian blood, of which Jews have been suspected at various times and in different countries. If I for my part consider that such crimes, even if sometimes committed in antiquity, were carried out by ignorant fanatics, I thought it right not to overlook them." Thus a semiofficial seal was given to the libel in Russia at the opening of the 19th century. Official Russian circles were divided in their views on the libel. A number of inquiries into the charges were instituted, while the views of the czars themselves fluctuated.

Between 1805 and 1816 various cases of blood libel occurred in places within the *Pale of Settlement, and the investigations always ended by exposing the lie on which they were based. In an attempt to stop their dissemination the minister of ecclesiastic affairs, A. Golitsyn, sent a circular to the heads of the guberniyas (provinces) throughout Russia on March 6, 1817, to this effect. Basing his instruction on the fact that both the Polish monarchs and the popes have invariably invalidated the libels, and that they had been frequently refuted by judicial inquiries, he stated in his circular that the czar directed "that henceforward the Jews shall not be charged with murdering Christian children, without evidence, and through prejudice alone that they allegedly require Christian blood." Nevertheless Alexander I (1801–25) gave instructions to revive the inquiry in the case of the murder of a Christian child in *Velizh (near Vitebsk) where the assassins had not been found and local Jewish notables had been blamed for the crime. The trial lasted for about ten years. Although the Jews were finally exonerated, Nicholas I later refused to endorse the 1817 circular, giving as a reason that he considered that "there are among the Jews savage fanatics or sects requiring Christian blood for their ritual, and especially since to our sorrow such fearful and astonishing groups also exist among us Christians." Other blood libels occurred in Telsiai (Telz) in the guberniya (province) of Kovno, in 1827, and Zaslav (*Izyaslav), in the government of Volhynia, in 1830. The Hebrew writer and scholar I.B. *Levinsohn was stirred by this case to write his book *Efes Damim* (Vilna, 1837), in which he exposed the senselessness of the accusations. A special secret commission was convened by the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs to clarify the problem concerning "use by Jews of the blood of Christian children," in which the Russian lexicographer and folklorist V. Dahl took part. The result of the inquiry, which reviewed numerous cases of blood libel in the Middle Ages and modern period, were published in 1844 in a limited edition and presented by Skripitsin, the director of the Department for Alien Religions, to the heads of state. In 1853, a blood libel occurred in *Saratov, when two Jews and an apostate were found guilty of the murder of two Christian children – the only instance in Russia of its kind. The council of state which dealt with the case in its final stages announced that it had confined itself to the purely legal aspect of the case and refrained from "anything bearing on the secret precepts or sects existing within Judaism and their influence on the crime." It thereby *prima facie* deprived the case of its test character as a blood libel. While the case was being considered, between 1853 and 1860, various Jews were accused of "kidnapping" on a number of occasions. The special committee appointed in 1855 had included a number of theologians and orientalists, among them two converts from Judaism, V. Levisohn and D. *Chwolson. The committee reviewed numerous Hebrew publications and manuscripts, and came to the conclusion that there was no hint or evidence to indicate that the Jews made use of Christian blood.

With the growth of an antisemitic movement in Russia in the 1870s, the blood libel became a regular motif in the anti-Jewish propaganda campaign conducted in the press and literature. Leading writers in this sphere were H. *Lutostansky, who wrote a pamphlet "concerning the use of Christian blood by Jewish sects for religious purposes" (1876), which ran into many editions, and J. Pranaitis. Numerous further allegations were made, including a case in Kutais (Georgia) in 1879, in which Jewish villagers were accused of murdering a little Christian girl. The case was tried in the district court and gave the advocates for the defense an opportunity of ventilating the social implications of the affair and the malicious intentions of its instigators. The chief agitators of the blood libels were monks. At the monastery of Suprasl crowds assembled to gaze on the bones of the "child martyr Gabriello," who had been allegedly murdered by Jews in 1690. The wave of blood libels which occurred at the end of the 19th century in central Europe, including the cases in Tiszaeszlar in 1881, *Xanten in 1891, Polna in 1899, etc., also heaped fuel on the flames of the agitation in Russia.

A number of works were published by Jewish writers in Russia to contradict the allegations, such as D. Chwolson's "Concerning Medieval Libels against Jews" (1861); I.B. Levinsohn's *Efes Damim* of 1837 was translated into Russian (1883). Some of the calumniators were also prosecuted (see *Zederbaum v. Lutostansky, 1880). Despite the growing antisemitism and their officially supported anti-Jewish policy, the czarist authorities during the reign of Alexander III (1881–94) did not lend credence to the blood libels. It was only at the beginning of the 20th century that further attempts were renewed. These included the *Blondes Case in Vilna, in 1900, and an attempt in *Dubossary, in the guberniya of Kherson, where a Russian criminal tried to pin the murder of a child on the Jews. However, with the victory of the reactionaries in Russia after the dissolution of the Second *Duma in 1907, and the strengthening of the extreme right wing (*Union of Russian People) in the Third Duma, another attempt at official level was made by the regime to use the blood libel as a weapon in its struggle against the revolutionary movement and to justify its policy toward the Jews. An opportunity for doing so occurred in the *Beilis Case engineered by the minister of justice Shcheglovitov. The trial, which continued from spring 1911 to fall 1913, became a major political issue and the focal point for anti-Jewish agitation in the antisemitic press, in the streets, at public meetings, and in the Duma. The whole of liberal and socialist opinion was ranged behind Beilis' defense, and even a section of the conservative camp. Leading Russian lawyers conducted the defense, and in Russia and throughout Europe hundreds of intellectuals and scholars, headed by V. Korolenko and M. *Gorki, joined in protest against the trial. The exoneration of Beilis was a political defeat for the regime. Despite this, the government continued to assent to the instigation of blood libels and support their dissemination among the masses until the 1917 Revolution. The Soviet government's attitude toward the blood libel was that it had been a weapon of the reaction and a tactic to exploit popular superstition by the czarist regime. The instigators of the Beilis trial were interrogated and tried at an early stage after the revolution. In later years the specter of the blood libel was raised in the Soviet press in remote regions of the U.S.S.R., such as Georgia, Dagestan, and Uzbekistan, in the context of the violent propaganda campaign conducted by the Soviet government against Judaism and the State of Israel. After these attempts had aroused world public opinion, they were dropped.

[Yehuda Slutsky]

IN ARAB COUNTRIES The blood libel was repeated in the Arab countries in modern times in a number of ways in various books, as in Egypt in the 1960s, the titles referring to "talmudic human sacrifices" or "the secrets of Zionism." Mustafa Tlass, a key political figure in Syria for decades, first published his book on the 1860 Damascus blood libel in 1983. The book, called "Matzah of Zion" and reprinted in a number of editions and translated into many languages, became an influential and frequently quoted authority on how Jews and Zionists constantly perpetrate cruel ritual murders. Newspapers as well joined in, with the Egyptian government-sponsored *Al-Ahram* publishing in October 2000 a full-page article called "Jewish Matzah Made from Arab Blood." TV series and discussions also evoke the blood libel, as on the al-Jazeera station and in the Al-Manar (Hizbullah television network) series *The Exile* in 2003. The image of the Zionist in these visual depictions, watched by millions all over the world, is that of the *Der Sturmer* Jew, bloodthirsty and frighteningly ferocious.

[Dina Porat (2nd ed.)]

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BLOOM, BENJAMIN SAMUEL (1913–1999), U.S. educator. Bloom studied at Pennsylvania State University and at the University of Chicago, where he taught from 1940 (professor of education, 1953) and worked as a university examiner. He participated in several major educational assessment research efforts, both in America and abroad. His evaluation of school performance among youth of different nationalities was published in *International Study of Achievement in Mathematics; A Comparison of Twelve Countries* (with T. Husen and others, 1966). His other work was in basic studies of measurement and evaluation procedures in education, analyses of stability and change patterns in human behavior, and the classification of educational objectives. At the invitation of the United States Office of Education, Bloom helped set guidelines for federally supported research efforts throughout the United States. He was a member of the Advisory Committee on National Educational Laboratories. In 1965 he was appointed president of the American Educational Research Association and in 1966 was elected a member of the National Academy of Education. His major publications include *Taxonomy of Educational Objectives, Handbook I and II* (1957–64) and *Stability and Change in Human Characteristics* (1964).

Bloom believed that when looking at test scores, a teacher must understand that many factors affect the results: time of learning, resources provided, quality of teaching, and environment. He stressed that environment influences learning and is therefore a significant factor in a student's success. The teacher's role, then, is to give students guidance and support – two ways to help pupils reach their potential. A strong supporter of the theory of mastery learning, Bloom advocated that objectives be written in manageable steps and that they be reached through proper instruction. He believed that learning is a process, so teachers should design lessons and exercises to enable students to meet each objective as well as adjust their methods to achieve that aim. Because students learn at different rates and in different ways, he felt that time was not a relevant factor in the learning process. But feedback and correction, Bloom asserted, should be immediate and students should help one another.

Bloom's taxonomy theory incorporates cognitive, psychomotor, and affective spheres of knowledge into the learning process. During the 1970s and 1980s, his theories were adopted by many public school districts, particularly in Chicago and Boston. But they were subsequently criticized as being ineffective, and many schools no longer implement them.

Other books by Bloom include *Handbook on Formative and Summative Evaluation of Student Learning* (1971), *Human Characteristics and School Learning* (1976), *All Our Children Learning: A Primer for Parents, Teachers, and Other Educators* (1980), and *Developing Talent in Young People* (1985).

[Abraham J. Tannenbaum / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

BLOOM, CLAIRE (1931–), British actress. Claire Bloom won acclaim in *The Lady's Not for Burning* (1949) and as Juliet in the 1952 Old Vic production of *Romeo and Juliet*. Later plays include *Duel of Angels* (London, 1958) and *Rashomon* (Broadway, 1959). She gained screen fame as the ballerina in Charlie Chaplin's *Limelight* (1951). Other films include *Richard III* (1956), *Alexander the Great* (1956), *The Brothers Karamazov* (1958), *The Pawnbroker* (1965), The *Spy Who Came in From the Cold* (1966), *Charlie* (1968), *A Doll's House* (1973), *Islands* *in the Stream* (1977), *Sammy and Rosie Get Laid* (1987), and *Crimes and Misdemeanors* (1989). She has continued to make films and TV dramas into the 21st century. Claire Bloom has been married three times; her third husband (from 1990 to 1995) was Philip *Roth, the American writer. She is the author of several autobiographical works, including *Limelight and After: Education of an Actress* (1982) and *Leaving a Doll's House: A Memoir* (1998).

[Jonathan Licht and Willian D. Rubinstein (2nd ed)]

BLOOM, HAROLD (1930–), U.S. literary critic. Born to Yiddish-speaking parents in New York City, Bloom taught at Yale from 1955. An authority on Romantic and Victorian poetry, he wrote lengthy studies of Shelley, Blake, and Yeats. Bloom's most significant critical works, including *The Anxiety of Influence: A Theory of Poetry* (1973), *A Map of Misreading* (1975), and *Agon: Towards a Theory of Revisionism* (1982), explore the issue of influence, asserting that poetic creativity involves an Oedipal struggle between a writer and the great poetic figures of the past. All would-be artists, Bloom asserts, experience the anxiety that the great works have already been written; to deal with this anxiety of belatedness, they misread their precursor's work in order to find space at the poetic table. Bloom has applied this model to religious and Jewish texts. In *Ruin the Sacred Truths: Poetry and Belief from the Bible to the Present* (1989), he argues that the Hebrew Bible contains a power and sublimity that permeates all of the best of Western literature. In *The Book of J* (1990), for which he wrote the introduction and commentary, Bloom argues that the J or Yahwist author of earliest elements of the Torah – actually a woman attached to the court of the Israelite successor king to Solomon – was writing an ironic literary critique of the dogmatic, patriarchal religion of her time. Bloom spoke of himself as a "Jewish Gnostic." He delved into Gnosticism and Kabbalah's influences on American spiritual practices in *The American Religion: The Emergence of the Post-Christian Nation* (1992) and *Omens of Millennium: The Gnosis of Angels, Dreams, and Resurrection* (1996), and in *Kabbalah and Criticism* (1975) he uses Kabbalah as a model for contemporary literary criticism.

With *The Western Canon: The Books and School of the Ages* (1994), Bloom aroused widespread interest and controversy, entering into the heart of the American culture wars occurring between those arguing for a multicultural curriculum and those arguing for a return to the Western canon. Many in the press viewed Bloom as the keeper of the canon, asking for his opinions about which contemporary authors did or did not belong in the canon. The more interesting aspect of the work was Bloom's adoption of an organizing principle for literary history based on the 18th-century Neapolitan philosopher Giambattista Vico's cyclical theory of history. Bloom went on to predict the imminent arrival of a new Theocratic Age, possibly Islamic. Mourning the death of reading and attacking what he coined the School of Resentment – the Marxist, feminist, multiculturalist, and historicist schools of criticism, which he characterizes as too focused on a social agenda – for diminishing literature, he argued for the primacy of Shakespeare and Dante, arguing that "the Western Canon *is* Shakespeare and Dante. Beyond them, it is what they absorbed and what absorbed them." Bloom's celebration of Shakespeare, the J author of the Bible, and other canonical writers continued in later works of popular criticism, including *Shakespeare: The Invention of the Human* (1998), in which he argues that our modern sense of the psychologically complex human originated with Shakespeare, *How to Read and Why* (2000), and *Where Shall Wisdom Be Found?* (2004).

[Craig Svonkin (2nd ed.)]

BLOOM, HYMAN (1913–), U.S. painter. Born in Latvia, Bloom and his family moved to Boston in 1920, whereupon they changed their name from Melamed to the more American sounding Bloom. Around the age of 14 Bloom began studying art at a Jewish Community Center with Harold Zimmerman, who was already mentoring Jack *Levine. Bloom and Levine later studied art with Denman Waldo Ross of Harvard University. Some of Bloom's early drawings from this period are part of the permanent collection of Harvard's Fogg Art Museum.

The Federal Art Project of the Works Progress Administration provided Bloom with financial assistance in the late 1930s and early 1940s. At this time, Bloom's Orthodox upbringing influenced his propensity toward religious subjects, which included impressions of Judaic rituals and synagogue interiors rendered in thick pigment in luminescent tones. This style first won him acclaim in 1942 when New York's Museum of Modern Art purchased *The Bride* (1941), a personification of the Sabbath bride, and *The Synagogue* (c. 1940), the latter of which he created in two versions. In the 1940s Bloom painted four canvases of Jews holding torahs. These images employ rich colors that blend the figure with the ritual object.

Bloom based his chandelier paintings of 1945 on the light fixtures in the Boston synagogue he attended as a child. These paintings show enlarged, dazzling chandeliers dominating the canvas. In the same year he painted Christmas trees, indicating that the subject of the work, a glowing object, interested Bloom more than the identity of the light source.

By 1948 Bloom began painting cadavers, influenced in part by his interest in the art of Chaim *Soutine, whose work he had seen at the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston. Even as abstraction rose to prominence, Bloom never let go of representational forms. Indeed, in an artistic climate sometimes hostile to such imagery, Bloom continued to paint traditional subjects, such as landscapes and still lifes, in an expressionistic, painterly fashion.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: F. Wight, *Hyman Bloom* (1954); D.A. Thompson, *Hyman Bloom* (1996)

[Samantha Baskind (2nd ed.)]

BLOOM, SOL (1870–1949), U.S. businessman and politician. Bloom, born in Pekin, Ill., was brought to San Francisco by his parents as a child. He was largely self-educated. At the age of 17 he became a theatrical producer, and began successful financial investments. Moving to Chicago, Bloom managed part of the World's Columbian Exposition of 1893 and prospered as a music publisher. In 1903 he moved to New York where he entered the real estate and construction field. Extremely successful in business, Bloom retired in 1920 and went into politics. He was elected to Congress as a Democrat in 1923, and served continuously until his death. As chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee he strongly supported and advanced President Roosevelt's internationalist policies. He was a member of the American delegation to the 1943 Bermuda conference on refugees during World War II, and was criticized by those who, unlike Bloom himself, found its results unsatisfactory. He was a delegate to the 1945 San Francisco Conference that wrote the UN Charter; to the UN Relief and Rehabilitation Administration Conference of 1946; and to the 1947 Inter-American Conference at Rio de Janeiro. Bloom, who was favorable to Zionism, opposed President Truman's early Palestine policy and took part in gaining American and UN support for the establishment of the State of Israel. His *Autobiography* was published in 1948.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Current Biography Yearbook 1943* (1944), 55–59.

[Stanley L. Falk]

BLOOM, SOLOMON FRANK (1903–1962), U.S. historian of modern Europe. Born in Romania, Bloom went to the U.S. in 1920. In 1931 he was appointed professor of history at Brooklyn College, New York. In 1949 Bloom wrote an article entitled "Dictator of the Lodz Ghetto." Based on sources in Yiddish and French, it was the first English-language account of Mordechai Chaim *Rumkowski, the controversial Nazi-appointed chairman of the *Judenrat of the *Lodz ghetto in Poland (*Commentary* 7 (Feb. 1949): 111–22). In 1950 Bloom wrote an essay on the political role of the heads of the *Judenrate*, entitled "Toward the Ghetto Dictator" (*Jewish Social Studies* 12 (Jan. 1950): 73–78). In *Commentary* magazine, Bloom also wrote his memoirs, entitled "On the Horizon: Memoir of a Rumanian Rope-Climber" (vol. 21, Feb. 1956). Bloom's major works were *The World of Nations* (1941, 1967^2), a study of Karl Marx in the larger context of history; *Europe and America* (1961); and *A Liberal in Two Worlds* (1968).

[Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

BLOOMBERG, MICHAEL R. (1942–), founder of Bloomberg LP, philanthropist, and mayor of New York. Born in Medford, Mass., where his father was the bookkeeper at a local dairy, Bloomberg evinced a thirst for information and technology that led him to Johns Hopkins University, where he parked cars and took out loans to finance his education. After his college graduation, he gained an M.B.A. from Harvard and in 1966 was hired by Salomon Brothers to work on Wall Street. He rose quickly and became a partner in 1972. Soon after he was supervising all of Salomon's stock trading, sales, and its information systems.

When Salomon was acquired by another company in 1981, Bloomberg was ousted. But he used his stake from the Salomon sale to start his own company, an endeavor that would revolutionize the way Wall Street does business. As a young trader, Bloomberg felt that the information-gathering process was archaic, relying on penciled notations in oversize ledgers. On his own, and with the financial backing of Merrill Lynch, he created a financial information computer that would collect and analyze different combinations of past and present securities data and deliver it immediately to the user. In 1982 the company sold 20 subscriptions to its service; 20 years later Bloomberg LP had more than 165,000 subscribers worldwide.

In 1990 the company entered the media business, starting a news service and then radio, television, Internet, and publishing operations. It employed more than 8,000 people, including 2,500 in New York City, in more than 100 offices. As the company grew, Bloomberg dedicated more of his time to philanthropy and civic affairs. He gave to projects to improve education, advance medical research, and increase access to the arts. He donated money to a variety of Jewish causes, including the Anti-Defamation League and the American Jewish World Service, and served on the board of the American Friends of the Israel Museum. He financed programs for victims of domestic violence in New York City, supported construction of new high school athletic fields, and served on the boards of 20 civic, cultural, educational, and medical institutions. He served as chairman of the board of trustees of Johns Hopkins until 2002, and the university named its School of Hygiene and Public Health for him. In 1997 he published his autobiography, *Bloomberg by Bloomberg*.

In 2001, Bloomberg, a long-time Democrat, decided to run for mayor of New York as a Republican, to succeed Rudolph Giuliani, who was barred from seeking re-election. Despite putting $50 million of his own money into the campaign, Bloomberg was a decided underdog, but he received a last-minute endorsement from Giuliani, who became nationally known for his handling of a city in crisis after terrorists struck on Sept. 11, 2001. Bloomberg, who had never run for public office before, won handily against a splintered Democratic Party. Among his first acts as mayor was to ban smoking in bars and clubs, and he also launched a campaign against street vendors.

During the campaign, Bloomberg said that antisemitism had never been a factor in his life. "I don't know whether when I didn't get an opportunity it was because of that or something else," he said. "But if there is anyone who has not been ashamed of their last name, it's me. We do business throughout the world and it has never been an issue, even in the Middle East."

[Stewart Kampel (2nd ed.)]

BLOOMFIELD, LEONARD (1887–1949), American linguist. Bloomfield, chiefly through his book *Language*, became the most influential individual in guiding the development of American descriptive linguistics. He taught at various American universities and from 1940 to 1949 was professor of linguistics at Yale. His interests widened from Indo-European to other language groups and into problems of general linguistics. He published his first inclusive survey of the field *An Introduction to the Study of Language* (1914); later he published *Tagalog Texts with Grammatical Analysis* (1917); and in the early 1920s began his long series of important contributions to the study of the Algonquian languages spoken by many North American Indian tribes. His interest in the practical application of linguistics to the teaching of languages remained strong throughout his life, and he wrote a number of textbooks and a general work, *Outline Guide for the Practical Study of Foreign Languages* (1942). He was one of the founders of the Linguistic Society of America, and served a term as its president. His most important work, *Language* (1933), though outdated in several respects, is still used as a standard textbook in many places. It has provided generations of linguists with a survey of the whole field, an analytical framework, and a basic approach to language as a subject for scientific inquiry.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: B. Bloch, in: *Language*, 25 (1949), 87–98.

[Haim Blanc]

BLOOMFIELD, MAURICE (1855–1928), U.S. expert in Sanskrit. Born in Austria, Bloomfield was taken to the U.S. as a child and received his higher education at the University of Chicago and at Yale, where he studied under the Sanskritist W.D. Whitney. Bloomfield concentrated on research in Vedic language and literature, and after further study at Berlin and Leipzig (1879–81) was appointed professor of Sanskrit and comparative linguistics at Johns Hopkins University. His major works are *A Vedic Concordance* (1906), and *Vedic Variants* (completed after his death by his student and colleague, Franklin Edgerton, and published 1930–34). Bloomfield was president of the American Oriental Society (1910–11).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Studies in Honor of Maurice Bloomfield* (1920).

BLOOMFIELD-ZEISLER, FANNY (1863–1927), U.S. virtuoso pianist, known for her recitals in Europe and the U.S. Born in Vienna, Fanny Bloomfield-Zeisler was taken to the U.S. in 1868. She made her debut in Chicago at eleven and then went to Vienna for further study with Theodor Leschetizky (1830–1919). She first toured Europe in 1893 and continued to appear in leading cities until World War I. She gave a special performance in Chicago in 1925, to mark the half-century of her concert career.

BLOOMGARDEN, KERMIT (1904–1976), U.S. theatrical producer. Born in Brooklyn to Zemad and Annie Groden Bloomgarden, he graduated from New York University in 1926 as an accounting major and practiced as a certified public accountant for six years, when he met a Broadway producer at a dinner party who convinced him that "the theater was for me," Bloomgarden recalled. In 1935 Bloomgarden began a ten-year association with Herman Shumlin's production organization, and he was associated with the presentation of several successful plays by Lillian *Hellman, including *The Children's Hour, The Little Foxes*, and *Watch on the Rhine*. Later he produced other Hellman plays on his own. His first venture as a producer was *Heavenly Express*, starring John *Garfield, which gave him experience but no profits before it closed quickly in 1940. Following World War II, Bloomgarden produced *Deep Are the Roots*, a powerful drama about racial conflict, and Hellman's *Another Part of the Forest*. Perhaps the best-known play he produced in that period, in 1949, was Arthur *Miller's *Death of a Salesman,* with a cast headed by Lee J. *Cobb. It is considered one of the greatest American plays of the 20th century, and it won the Tony and New York Drama Critics Circle awards as well as the Pulitzer Prize.

He had failures as well as hits. But between September 1955 and the following May, Bloomgarden, alone or in association with others, presented four major productions: Hellman's adaptation of Jean Anouilh's *The Lark*, the musical *The Most Happy Fella*, Miller's *A View From the Bridge*, and *The Diary of Anne Frank*, based on a diary kept by a doomed Jewish girl in World War II. Directed by Garson *Kanin, it ran for 717 performances, made a star out of Susan *Strasberg, and won the three major drama prizes of 1956: the Pulitzer, the Tony for best play, and the New York Drama Critics Circle award. The play, written by the husband and wife team of Albert *Hackett and Frances Goodrich went through eight drafts over several years before emerging on the stage. The playwrights visited Amsterdam to see the secret hideaway and conferred with Otto Frank, Anne's father. The work was based on *Anne Frank: The Diary of a Young Girl*, the best-selling book about the Dutch girl's wartime experience hiding from the Nazis. The play contains the pivotal line from the diary: "In spite of everything, I still believe that people are really good at heart."

In 1957 Bloomgarden produced *Look Homeward, Angel*, based on the novel by Thomas Wolfe, as well as Meredith Willson's *Music Man*, which won eight Tony awards and ran for 1,375 performances. Over the years his name preceded the credits of Hellman's *Toys in the Attic*, Miller's *The Crucible*, Stephen *Sondheim's *Anyone Can Whistle,* and Lanford Wilson's *The Hot L Baltimore*. He produced more than 30 plays on Broadway, including seven by Hellman and three by Miller. In 1974, after the amputation of his right leg because of arteriosclerosis, he returned to Broadway with Peter Shaffer's *Equus.*

[Stewart Kampel (2nd ed.)]

BLOOMINGDALE, prominent U.S. family. The founder of the family was LYMAN GUSTAVUS (1841–1905), merchant and philanthropist. He was born in New York, son of German Jewish immigrants. After service in the Civil War in the Kansas Volunteers, he returned to New York where he and his brother Joseph opened a hoopskirt and ladies' notion store. In 1886 Bloomingdale Brothers Department Store was established on its present site in midtown New York City. Lyman was a patron of the arts and a noted philanthropist, with his chief interests the Metropolitan Museum of Art and Montefiore Hospital. JOSEPH BERNHARDT (1842–1904), brother of Lyman, was associated with the family's business endeavors in the West and later in New York. Retiring from Bloomingdale Brothers in 1896, he was president of the Hebrew Technical Institute and one of the founders of Barnard College. EMANUEL WATSON (1852–1928), lawyer and merchant, a third brother, received a law degree from Columbia University and was active both as an attorney and in the family business. His major interests included Republican politics, the New York State Bridge and Tunnel Commission, and the Society for Reformation of Juvenile Delinquents. SAMUEL JOSEPH (1873–1968), son of Lyman, was educated at the Columbia University School of Architecture but devoted himself to the management of the family's store, serving as its president during 1905–30. An innovator in retailing techniques, he became a director of Federated Department Stores when it absorbed Bloomingdale Brothers in 1930. Samuel was trustee of the Federation of Jewish Philanthropies and active in the American Jewish Committee, also continuing the family association with the Metropolitan Museum of Art and Montefiore Hospital. HIRAM C. (1876–1953), another son of Lyman, served as vice president of Bloomingdale Brothers and was a leader in the movement to establish standards for accuracy in advertising. Hiram's son ALFRED S. (1916–1982) was founder and chairman of the Diners Club credit organization. In 1970 he left Diners Club, acquiring its International Floatels division. Alfred Bloomingdale and his wife, Betsy, became good friends with Ronald and Nancy *Reagan. In 1981, after Reagan was elected U.S. president, he appointed Bloomingdale to the President's Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board and the following year named him a member of the United States Advisory Commission on Public Diplomacy. When he died at age 66 Alfred Bloomingdale, a practicing Catholic, was buried in the Holy Cross Cemetery in Culver City, California.

But the Bloomingdale legacy lives on. A fixture on New York City's Third Avenue since 1927, in addition to branches nationwide, Bloomingdale's department store is renowned for its flair for fashion and merchandising. Over the years, Bloomingdale's has helped launch the careers of many world-famous designers, such as Ralph *Lauren, Tommy Hilfiger, Calvin *Klein, and Donna *Karan.

[Morton Rosenstock / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

BLOWITZ, HENRI GEORGES STEPHANE ADOLPHE OPPER DE (1825–1903), French journalist. As chief Paris correspondent of *The Times*, London, in 1875, he originated the technique of interviewing celebrities (among them Bismarck, the sultan of Turkey, and Pope Leo XIII). In 1875 Blowitz, by now influential in European political circles, exposed plans of the military party in Germany for a second invasion of France. Three years later, he obtained the full text of the Berlin Treaty while it was still being negotiated, enabling *The Times* to print it the day it was signed. Blowitz was born Adolf Opper in Bohemia, but in 1860 added the name of his birthplace to his surname. He left home at 15, traveled, learned several languages, and taught for some years at the *lycée* in Tours and then in Marseilles. He wrote for the Paris newspapers and though sometimes in conflict with the French authorities, became naturalized after the Battle of Sedan. At the close of the Franco-Prussian War (1870–71), he helped to suppress the Commune at Marseilles by maintaining a private telegraph line to Versailles. Blowitz showed an excessive desire to remain detached from the Dreyfus Affair. He wrote short stories, comedies and *My Memoirs* (1903).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: F. Giles, *Prince of Journalists* (1962), incl. bibl.

°BLOY, LÉON (1846–1917), French Catholic writer whose work contained many Jewish themes. His prose poem, *Le salut par les Juifs* (1892), described by the author as the "only one of my books I would dare to present to God," opens with a condemnation of antisemitism and its arch-priest, Edouard *Drumont. However, holding a theory of the identity of opposites, Bloy regards the Jews as both glorious and despicable, at one and the same time the elect of God and "une poignée de boue merveilleuse" ("a handful of wonderful mud"). Among Bloy's later writings, *Le Sang du Pauvre* (1909) contains a moving chapter devoted to the Yiddish poet, Morris *Rosenfeld. Those whom he converted to Catholicism included Jacques and Raïssa *Maritain.

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[Denise R. Goitein]

A bar mitzvah boy surrounded by family and friends carries the Torah Scroll as part of the Torah reading at the Western Wall, one of the favored sites in Israel to commemorate a boy's Jewish coming of age. *Photo: Z. Radovan, Jerusalem.*

For a Jew the stages of life are accompanied by various rituals and ceremonies, from birth through education and bar/bat mitzvah to marriage and family to death. Items may relate to an individual, such as birth amulets, *tefillin* bags, and dowries, or to the community, such as the *ḥevra kaddisha* (burial society) appurtenances. The locale of each community influenced the materials and styles reflected in the various objects and events shown here.

LIFE CYCLE

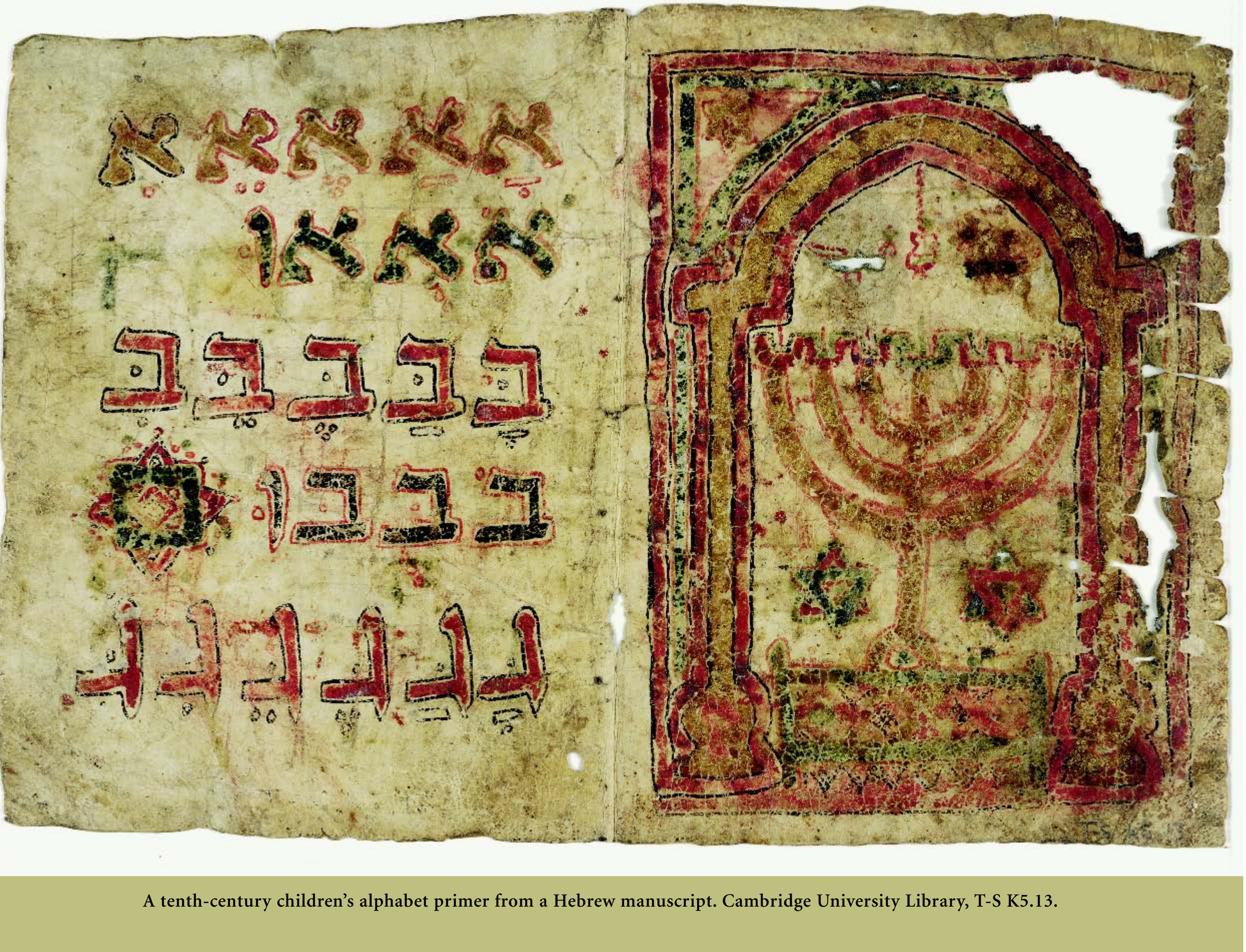

A tenth-century children's alphabet primer from a Hebrew manuscript. Cambridge University Library, T-S K5.13.

ABOVE: **Ethiopian boys and girls learn Hebrew in a makeshift classroom in Addis Ababa.** *© Ricki Rosen/Corbis SABA.*

LEFT: **Children studying Torah in a ḥeder (elementary level Jewish class), end of 20th century, Jerusalem.** *Photo: Z. Radovan, Jerusalem.*

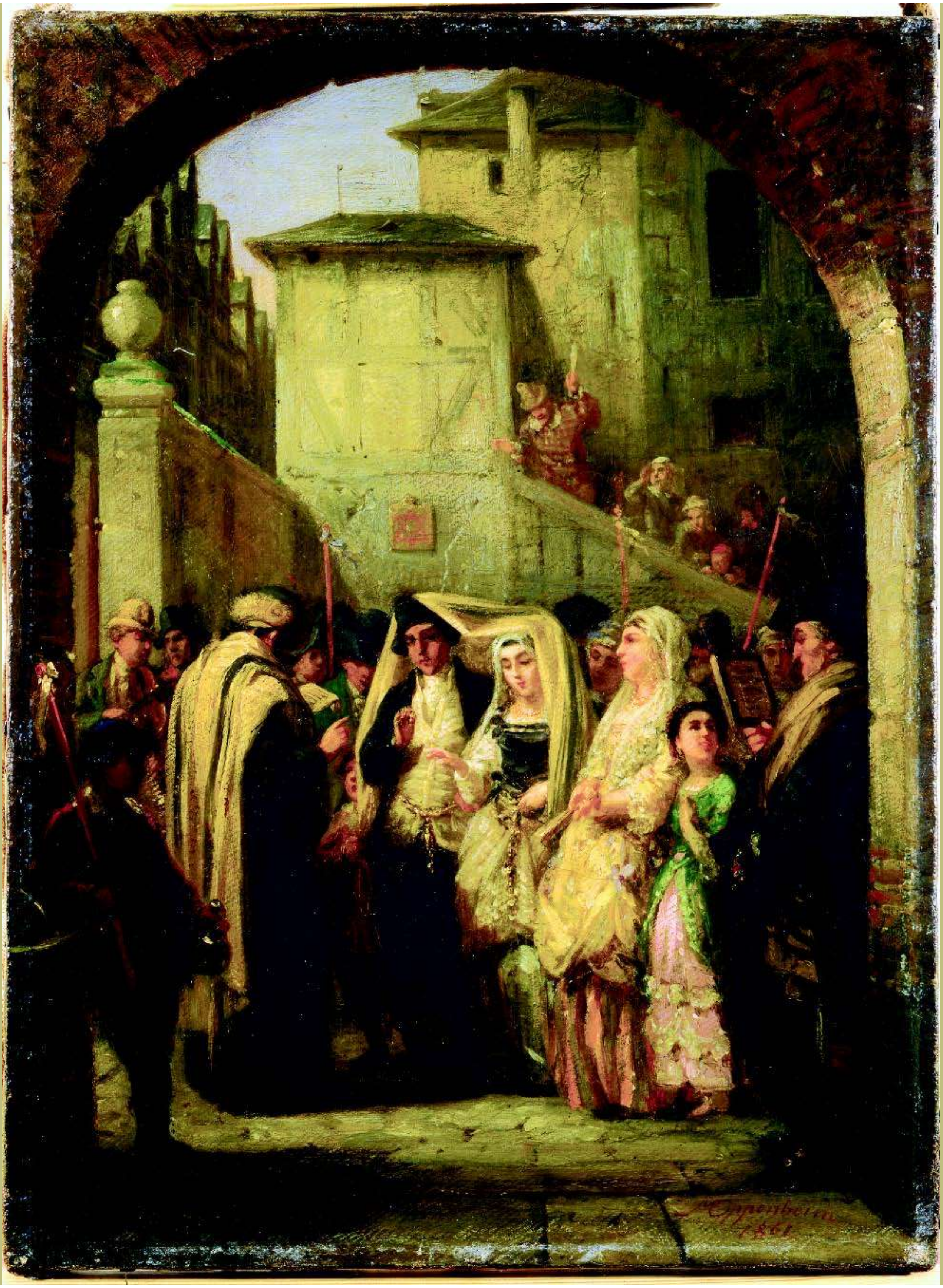
Oppenheim
1861

(opposite page):
The Jewish Wedding,
1861, by Moritz Daniel Oppenheim, (1800–1882), German painter. Oil on canvas, 37 x 27.5 cm.
Collection, The Israel Museum, Jerusalem.
Photo © The Israel Museum, Jerusalem, by David Harris.

(this page) LEFT:
A bat mitzvah girl wearing a yarmulke and *tallit* (prayer shawl) reads the Torah.
© Israel images/Alamy.

A man prays the kaddish (mourning prayer) at the Western Wall wearing a *tallit* (prayer shawl), and *tefillin* (phylacteries). Jewish people from around the world make pilgrimages to the Wall, especially during the festivals of Passover, Shavuot, and Sukkot. *Photo: Z. Radovan, Jerusalem.*

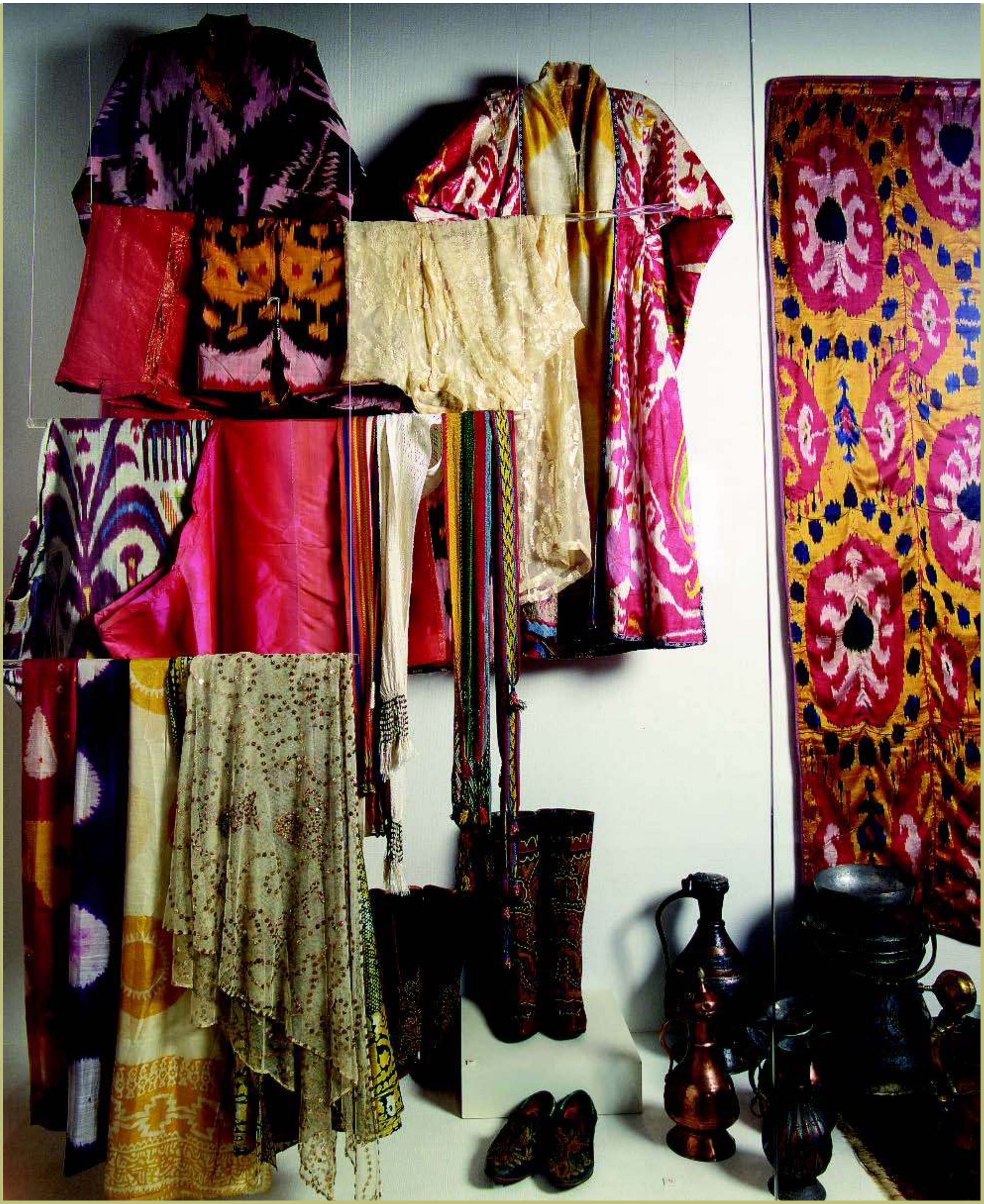

Dowry of a Jewish bride, made from costly items and containing several sets of dresses, coats, underpants, scarves and ornate leather boots. Bukhara, Central Asia, 19th century.

Collection, The Israel Museum, Jerusalem. Photo © Israel Museum, Jerusalem, by David Harris.

A rabbi holds up a couple's *ketubbah* (marriage contract) during a wedding ceremony in the central square of the Jewish Quarter of the Old City of Jerusalem, 1994. *© Bojan Brecelj/Corbis.*

Wedding rings, Germany and Italy, 17th century. Engraved, filigree, and enameled gold.
Collection, The Israel Museum, Jerusalem. Photo © The Israel Museum, Jerusalem, by Avi Ganor.

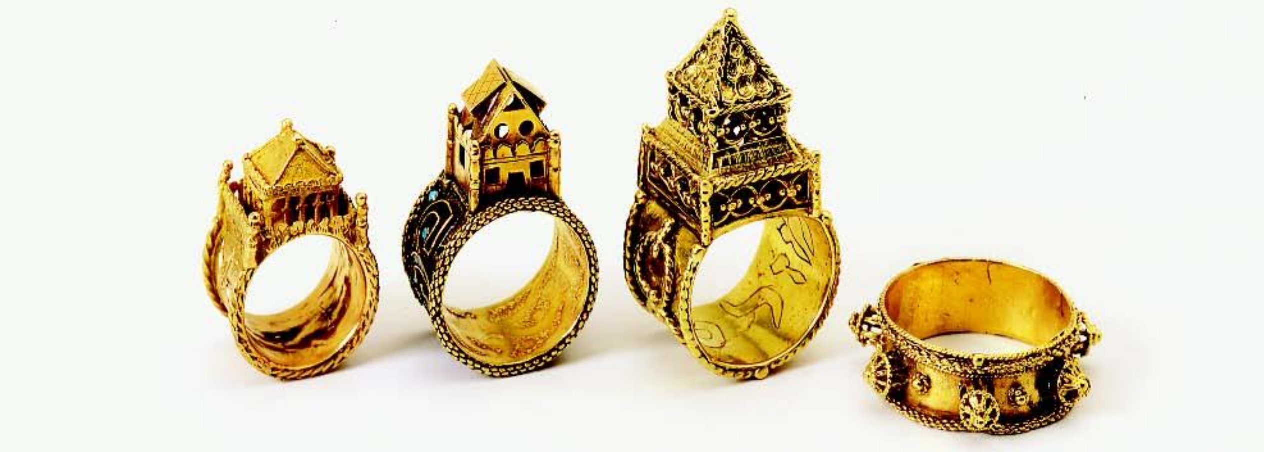

Yemenite Jewish bride and groom in their traditional finery. *Photo: Z. Radovan, Jerusalem.*

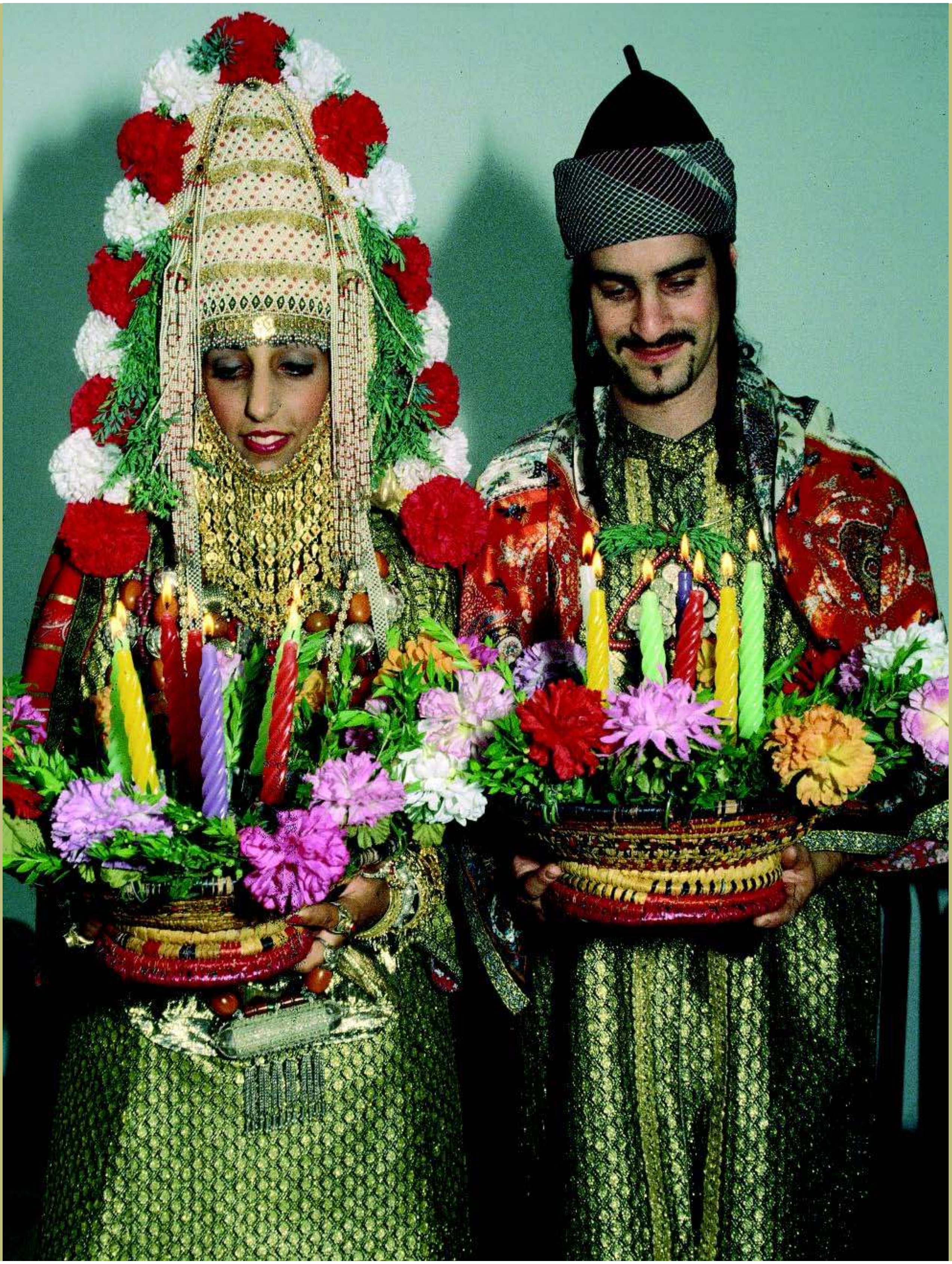

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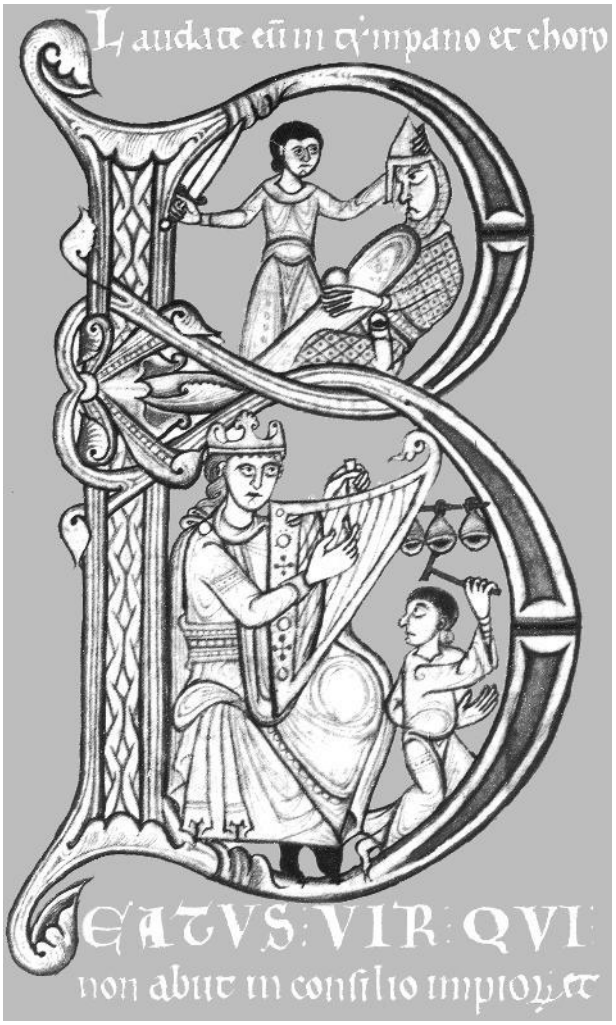
Laudate eū in tympano et choro
EATVS: VIR: QVI
non abiit in consilio impiorum et

The illuminated letter "B" at the beginning of the Psalms in Extracts from Gregory the Great *shows King David playing his harp and the young David killing Goliath. N. France, 12th century. Douai, Bibliothèque Municipale, ms. 315A, vol. 1, fol. 5.*

Blu–Bz

BLUESTONE, JOSEPH ISAAC (1860–1934), medical doctor and leading Zionist. Bluestone immigrated to the United States from Kalvarija, Lithuania, at the age of 19. He was a descendant of Rabbi Yom Tov Lipmann *Heller of Prague and Cracow, best known for his medieval commentary on the Mishnah (*Tosefot Yom Tov*). Bluestone's basic Jewish education was classically Lithuanian/talmudic.

Bluestone failed in his only attempt at business and so enrolled in medical school at New York University. He earned his degree in 1890 and opened his private medical practice on Manhattan's Lower East Side. He was affiliated with Beth Israel Hospital and served on its staff.

An ardent Zionist, and an American patriot, Bluestone supported settlement in Palestine and as early as 1882 urged the establishment of a Zionist society in New York. Within a year he was vice president of Hebra Hovovei Zion, urging economic, political, financial, and physical support of the Yishuv. In 1889, Bluestone became the editor of the first Zionist journal published in America, *Schulamit*.

When the Federation of American Zionists was established in 1897, Bluestone joined its ranks, but was disillusioned when the organization ignored the Orthodox members of Ḥovevei Zion. To fill the needs of religious Zionists, he and Rabbi Philip Hillel *Klein established the Federation of Zionist Organizations in the United States, an umbrella for Ḥovevei Zion groups. In 1901, he established the United Zionists of America, which essentially competed with the established community's Federation of American Zionists. The Federation served the West European, assimilated Jewish community, while Bluestone's group was occupied mostly with Yiddish-speaking East. Europeans. It was only after Judah *Magnes took over the leadership of the American Zionists that Bluestone agreed to support their work.

One of Bluestone's major roles was to serve as a delegate to several international Zionist Congresses, where he met with Theodore *Herzl, Max *Nordau, Shmarya *Levin, and Rabbi Jacob Isaac *Reines. When the Mizrachi Organization of America was founded in 1912, Bluestone was one of its key leaders and served on the executive committee for many years. He edited its Hebrew-language newsletter *Mizaracha,* was a Hebrew poet in his own right, published in *Ha-Maggid, Ha-Ivri,* and *Ha-Pisgah*, and translated works from English and Yiddish into Hebrew. He was a friend of *Shalom Aleichem, *Imber, and *Goldfaden, all outstanding cultural figures from the Lower East Side.

Bluestone was survived by four sons (all doctors) and three daughters. His self-written epitaph reads: "Here lies one who found a refuge at last – a Hebrew."

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[Jeanette Friedman (2nd ed.)]

BLUHDORN, CHARLES G. (1926–1983), U.S. empire builder. Born in Vienna, Bluhdorn emigrated to the United States in 1942. After service in the Army Air Force, he studied at the City College of New York and at Columbia University, but did not earn a degree. He began his career in a New York cotton-brokerage house, earning $15 a week. In 1949 he formed an import-export business that he operated until, at the age of 30 and already a millionaire, he bought into a Grand Rapids, Michigan, auto-parts company. In 1958, after a merger with a Houston automotive-parts distributor, Gulf and Western Industries was formed. In its first year as G&W, it reported a net loss of $730 on sales of $8.4 million. A quarter-century later, after a spectacular chain of acquisitions and growth during the late 1960s and early 1970s, the multibillion-dollar conglomerate reported sales in 1982 of $5.3 billion and earnings of $199 million. In 1982 the company employed more than 100,000 people, primarily in the United States and in the Dominican Republic, where it had vast sugar holdings. Its corporate headquarters became a prominent feature of the New York skyline, a 42-story office tower at Columbus Circle, off Central Park. Among its hundreds of subsidiaries were Paramount Pictures, the Madison Square Garden Corporation, and Simon & Schuster, the publisher. Bluhdorn, the company's founder, chairman, and chief executive, owned slightly more than 5 percent of G&W's common stock.

Bluhdorn was known among his employees as a remote, aloof executive, quick to criticize and hot-tempered. After Bluhdorn's death, Gulf and Western sold off many of Bluhdorn's unrelated businesses, acquisitions, and investments, including sugar operations in the Dominican Republic. The company had been involved in the Dominican Republic since 1967. In 1979 the Securities and Exchange sued the company, charging that Bluhdorn had made a secret agreement with high officials of the Dominican government to speculate in sugar. In 1981 the charges were withdrawn as part of a settlement agreement.

Among the people Bluhdorn hired to run his various entertainment divisions were Barry *Diller, Michael *Eisner and Robert *Evans. Bluhdorn served as a trustee of Texas Wesleyan College and the Trinity Episcopal Schools Corporation in New York and was active in a number of civic organizations. In 1977 Bluhdorn announced that G&W would buy the New York Cultural Center on Columbus Circle and give it to New York City, which it did in 1980.

[Stewart Kampel (2nd ed.)]

BLUM, AMRAM BEN ISAAC JACOB (1834–1907), Hungarian rabbi. He served as rabbi of the important communities of Samson, Almas, Mád, Huszt, and Berettyoujfalu, where he died. He studied under his father, who was head of the *bet din* in Nagykaroly, and later in the seminaries of Nagykaroly, and of Abraham Samuel Benjamin Sofer, rabbi of Pressburg. His sons relate that throughout his life he longed to stand at the threshold of the gates of Zion and Jerusalem. He decided to do so once he had married off his sons and daughters. However, he was never able to fulfill this desire. His work *Beit She'arim* (*Oraḥ Ḥayyim*, 1909; *Yoreh De'ah*, 1941) is well-known in rabbinic circles and still of importance as a basic work of *halakhah*. The author formulated his own particular method of research, a method which went to the heart of each problem and explained it with clear reasoning. Blum founded a yeshivah which attracted many students. Blum had five sons and four sons-in-law, almost all of whom were noted scholars and served as rabbis of various communities in Hungary and Transylvania. Prominent among his sons were ISAAC JACOB (1858–1938) who succeeded his father; BEN-ZION (1885–1945), rabbi of Szarvas, who published his father's book on the Passover *Haggadah – Arvei Pesahim* (1927); JUDAH ẒEVI (1867–1917), who served as rabbi of Tapoly-Hanusfalva; and MOSES NAHUM, who held the position of *dayyan* of Nagyvarad. He met his death in Auschwitz in 1944. Moses Nahum arranged the publication of the second volume of his father's *Beit She'arim*.

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[Naphtali Ben-Menahem]

BLUM, ELIEZER (pseudonym **B. Alkvit**; 1896–1963), Yiddish poet and short story writer. After living in various European cities, Blum went to New York in 1914. In 1920 he joined the introspective movement launched by the poets J. Glatstein, A. *Glanz-Leyeles and N.B. Minkoff, and coedited its organ *In-Zikh*. He worked in a factory and was later associated with the Yiddish daily *Jewish Morning Journal*, in which he published lyrics, mostly in blank verse. His collection of short stories *Oyfn Veg tsum Peretz Skver* (1958; *Revolt of the Apprentices and Other Stories*, 1969), in common with his lyrics, combines realism and mysticism, an astonishing integration of the people and landscapes of his native Chelm and those of New York. The title story is itself the mystical contemplation of how a small square, bearing the name of Peretz, has somehow strayed into tumultuous New York. His collected poetry was published posthumously.

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[Melech Ravitch]

BLUM, JEROME (1913–), U.S. historian. Born in Baltimore, Maryland, Blum was associated with Princeton University from 1947, becoming professor of history in 1961. His main research was into agrarian structures and society in central and Eastern Europe. His *Lord and Peasant in Russia, from the Ninth to the Nineteenth Century* (1961) became the standard English work on the subject. Other books by Blum include *Noble Landowners and Agriculture in Austria: 1815–1848* (1948), *The Emergence of the European World* (1966), *The European World since 1815: Triumph and Transition* (1970), *The End of the Old Order in Rural Europe* (1978), *Our Forgotten Past: Seven Centuries of Life on the Land* (1982), and *In the Beginning: The Advent of the Modern Age: Europe in the 1840s* (1994).

[Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

BLUM, JULIUS (**Blum Pasha**; 1843–1919), Austro-Hungarian banker and Egyptian statesman. Blum, who was born in Budapest, worked for the Austrian *Creditanstalt fuer Handel und Gewerbe*, first in its Trieste branch, and, later, in its affiliate in Egypt. After the bank's liquidation in Egypt, Blum served as undersecretary of finance (1877–90), and was instrumental in the rehabilitation of the country's economy, following the 1875 financial collapse and the British occupation in 1882. In 1890 he resigned his Egyptian post, with high honors, and rejoined the management of the *Creditanstalt* in Vienna where his knowledge of international finance contributed to making the bank a leading institution in Europe. From 1913 Blum was president of the *Creditanstalt*.

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[Joachim O. Ronall]

BLUM, LÉON (1872–1950), statesman; the first Jew and the first socialist to become premier of France. Son of a wealthy Alsatian merchant, Blum graduated with the highest honors in law at the Sorbonne. At the age of 22, he was recognized as a poet and writer. His publications included *En lisant: reflexions critiques* (1906), *Au Théâtre*, 4 vols. (1905–11), and a book about Stendhal (1914). His *Du Mariage* (1907; *Marriage*, 1937) created a sensation because of its advocacy of trial marriage and was quoted against him years later when he was premier. Blum was also a brilliant literary and drama critic. Blum was appointed to the Conseil d'État, a body whose functions included the settlement of conflicts between administrative and judicial authorities. He rose to the high rank of "Master of Requests," one of the principal offices in the Conseil d'État.

Always conscious of his Jewish origin, Blum was brought into active politics as a result of the *Dreyfus Affair. His close association with Jean Jaurès, whom he greatly admired, led to his joining the Socialist Party in 1899. Blum was first elected to the Chamber of Deputies in 1919. When the party split in December 1920, and the Communist section won a majority, securing the party machine, funds, and press, Blum helped to reconstruct the Socialist Party so successfully that he is considered one of the founders of the modern French Socialist Party.

Blum led the opposition to the government of Millerand and Poincaré and supported Herriot's *Cartel de gauche* in 1924. In the 1928 elections, the Socialist Party won 104 seats but Blum himself was defeated. A year later, however, he was elected for Narbonne, and was reelected for this department in 1932 and 1936. The 1934 Paris riots resulting from the disclosures of the Stavisky financial scandal were an early portent of the danger of fascism, and Blum began to work for the left-wing alliance that became the Front Populaire. In 1936 the Front won a large majority and Blum, its chief architect, became premier (on June 4). His government introduced the 40-hour week, nationalized the Bank of France and the war industries, and carried out a far-reaching program of social reforms. The most difficult problem was that of national defense in the face of the growing power of the Rome-Berlin axis. However, in the face of the challenge of the Spanish Civil War, Blum, confronted with the negative attitude of the British Conservative government to the Republican Forces, decided on a policy of "nonintervention" which was described by his critics as appeasement of the Axis powers. At the same time his social reforms aroused the bitterness of industrialists who openly refused to cooperate with the government. The right wing, which showed pro-German tendencies, conducted a violent campaign of personal vilification against Blum tinged with antisemitic undertones. In 1937, on June 21, Blum resigned, after parliament had refused to grant him emergency powers to deal with the country's financial problems. He served as vice premier in modified Popular Front governments and as premier again, for less than a month, in 1938, during the Nazi invasion of Austria. After the French collapse in 1940, he was indicted by the Vichy government on charges of war guilt and was brought to trial. His brilliant defense confounded the Germans as well as the "men of Vichy" and the former ordered the suspension of the trial. Blum was returned to prison and was freed from a German concentration camp by U.S. forces in May 1945. He was given an enthusiastic welcome both in France and in international labor circles.

After the liberation of France, he emerged as an elder statesman and negotiated the vast U.S. credit to France. In 1946 he formed an all-Socialist "caretaker" government, whose vigorous policy left a deep impression even though it only survived for a month. Blum then retired from public life, except for a brief period as vice premier in a 1948 government. He is considered one of the great figures in the French Labor movement and an architect of the Socialist International between the two world wars.

Sympathetic to Zionist aspirations, Léon Blum, together with Emile Vandervelde, Arthur Henderson, and Eduard Bernstein, was one of the founders of the "Socialist Pro-Palestine Committee" in 1928. He readily accepted Weizmann's invitation to join the enlarged Jewish Agency and addressed its first meeting in Zurich in 1929. Blum took a leading part in influencing the French government's pro-Jewish vote on the UN decision on Palestine in 1947. He was also instrumental in preventing British diplomatic pressure from stopping the flow of Jewish *"illegal" immigration from Central Europe through France to Palestine.

His son ROBERT LÉON (1902–1975) was an engineer and industrialist. Born in Paris, he studied engineering at the École Supérieure Polytechnique. In 1926 he joined Hispano-Suiza, manufacturers of automobiles and aircraft engines. In 1968 he retired as president of the company. Robert Léon also served as president of Bugatti, another automobile manufacturing firm. He was president of the Union Syndicale des Industries Aeronautiques et Spatiales in 1967–68, president of the French Association of Aeronautics and Space Engineers from 1963 to 1972, and chairman of the French Aeronautics and Astronautics Federation in 1972–73.

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[Moshe Rosetti]

BLUM, LUDWIG (1891–1974), Israel painter. Born in Moravia, Blum studied art at the Royal Academy in Vienna at 1910 and later on joined the Austrian army during World War I. In 1919–1920 he was at the Academy of Prague and then went on to advanced studies in Amsterdam, Paris, London and Madrid (1920–23). He immigrated to Palestine in 1923 and settled in Jerusalem. He lost his son in 1946 during a Palmaḥ action. In 1949 he was one of the founders of the first Artists' House in Jerusalem. Blum's work has four distinct periods: the first focused on the search for a decisive style; the second began with his arrival in Jerusalem and includes portraits, landscapes, and still lifes that are executed in a dry and naturalistic manner; the third began after his son fell and depicts fighting men during the War of Independence; the fourth began after the establishment of the state and includes views from all over the country. In 1968 he received the honorary reward of "Yakir Yerushalayim" for his artistic tribute to the city. His works are found in museums and private collections all around the world.

WEBSITE: www.mayanotgallery.com.

[Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

BLUM, RENÉ (1878–1944), French ballet impresario. A brother of the statesman Léon *Blum, René Blum began his career as a writer and was general secretary of the periodical *Gil Blas*, but gave up writing for art and ballet. When Diaghilev died (1929), Blum was chosen to succeed him as director of the Ballet de l'Opéra de Monte Carlo, and he held the post until the Nazi invasion of France in 1940. He was also associated for four years, from 1932, with Colonel de Basil's Ballet. In 1936 he founded the René Blum Ballets Russes and two years later, joined by Léonide Massine and other members of the de Basil company, he formed the Ballets Russes de Monte Carlo. After the German occupation of Paris, Blum refused to leave for the free zone of France, and at the end of 1941 was interned with nearly a thousand French-Jewish intellectuals in the camp of Compiègne. From there he was sent to Auschwitz, where he died in September 1944. The manuscript of his memoirs, which was in the hands of a Paris publisher in 1940, was not recovered after the liberation.

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BLUM, WALTER ("**Mousy**"; 1934–), racing jockey; the only Jewish rider to have earned a spot in the Racing Hall of Fame in Saratoga Springs, N.Y. Born in Brooklyn, New York, to a newspaper delivery man, Blum took to riding early, shining shoes in order to afford trips to the horse stables. He dropped out of high school to go work for trainer Hirsch Jacobs at age 16 as a horse walker. At 18, he rode his first mount, Ricey, on May 4, 1953, and his first winner, Tuscania, on his 14th ride at Saratoga, N.Y., on July 29, 1953. Over a 22-year career from 1953 to 1975 spent mostly in New York and later in Florida, Blum rode in 28,673 races and won 4,382, for a winning percentage of 15.3 percent. Among his more famous horses were Royal Beacon, his first $100,000 stakes victory in the 1957 Atlantic City Handicap; Pass Catcher, with whom he dashed the Triple Crown hopes of Canonero II by winning the 103rd Belmont in 2:30.6 on June 5, 1971; Summer Scandal; Boldnesian; Gun Bow; Mr. Prospector; the filly Priceless Gem, with whom he beat Horse of the Year Buckpasser in the Aqueduct Futurity in 1965; Lady Pitt; and Affectionately, whom he considered his best mount. Blum's best day was June 19, 1961, when he won six of eight races at Monmouth Park. He was national riding champion in 1963 with 360 wins in 1,704 races, and again in 1964 with 324 wins. One of his most exciting races was a photo finish with Gun Bow over Kelso in the 1964 Woodward Stakes. In 1974 Blum became the sixth jockey to ride 4,000 winners, and upon his retirement only four other jockeys – Bill Shoemaker, John Longden, Eddie Arcaro, and Steve Brooks – had won more races. Blum later worked as a racing official, and also served as president of the Jockeys' Guild in the early 1970s.

Blum won the George Woolf Memorial Award in 1965, presented to the jockey whose career had brought credit to his profession, and was inducted into the National Horse Racing Hall of Fame in 1987.

[Elli Wohlgelernter (2nd ed.)]

BLUMBERG, BARUCH SAMUEL (1925–), U.S. physician and Nobel laureate. Blumberg was born in New York City and received his elementary schooling at the Flatbush Yeshiva. After high school he joined the U.S. Navy in 1943 and finished college (B.Sc. in physics from Union College) while enlisted. He received his M.D. from Columbia University in 1951. From 1951 to 1953 he was an intern and resident at Bellevue Hospital in New York City; the next two years were spent as a clinical fellow in medicine at the Columbia Presbyterian Medical Center's Arthritis Division. From 1955 to 1957 he was a graduate student at the Department of Biochemistry at Oxford University, England, and a member of Balliol College, where he received his Ph.D. in biochemistry in 1957. That year he joined the National Institutes of Health, where he remained until 1964, when he joined the Fox Chase Cancer Center, serving as assistant director of Clinical Research. At the same time he was appointed professor of medicine and anthropology at the University of Pennsylvania, where, in 1970, he was appointed professor of medicine and medical genetics. In 1989 he became master of Balliol College at Oxford while maintaining a position at Fox Chase Cancer Center. He stayed at Oxford until 1994. From 1999 until 2002 he was director of the NASA Astrobiology Institute at Ames Research Center, Moffett Field, California. In 2000–01 he was senior advisor to the administrator of NASA in Washington, D.C.

Blumberg was awarded the 1976 Nobel Prize in medicine and physiology for "discoveries concerning new mechanisms for the origin and dissemination of infectious diseases." The award was based mainly on Blumberg's 1963 discovery of an antigen that detected the presence of hepatitis B and his subsequent research, with microbiologist Irving Millman, which led to a test for hepatitis viruses in donated blood and to an experimental vaccine against the disease. The two were elected to the National Inventors Hall of Fame in 1993.

Blumberg's far-ranging research interests include epidemiology, virology, genetics, and anthropology. From 1959 to 1963 he was assistant editor of the periodical *Arthritis and Rheumatism* and in 1963 became editor of *Progress in Rheumatology.*

[Ruth Rossing (2nd ed.)]

BLUME, PETER (1906–1992), U.S. painter and sculptor. The Russian-born Blume immigrated to Brooklyn, New York, in 1911 with his family. He studied art in several institutions, most notably beginning his art training at the age of 13 at the Educational Alliance. There his classmates included Moses *Soyer and Chaim *Gross. Blume's early work was shown at the Daniel Gallery, one of the most progressive venues in New York. The imagery from this period, mostly landscapes and still lifes, was influenced by Precisionism, an American art movement defined by a sharply delineated technique.

His highly stylized work combined fantasy elements with depictions of modern life. In *South of Scranton* (1931), precise, miniature, 15th-century technique was employed to create a 20th-century image of German soldiers exercising on the deck of a ship at the quaint town of Charleston, South Carolina. His largest picture to date, the painting won first prize at the 1934 Carnegie International Exhibition, making Blume the youngest painter to have earned that distinction.

After spending 1932 in Italy on a Guggenheim grant, he worked for three years on *The Eternal City* (1934–37), now owned by the Museum of Modern Art in New York. Amid the ruins of Rome, Blume portrays Mussolini as an enormous green jack-in-the-box in the Roman Forum. This large, crisply rendered canvas garnered mixed reviews because of its controversial, propagandistic subject. During the late 1930s he produced three murals of the American scene under the auspices of the Federal Art Project of the Works Progress Administration. *Barns* (1937), *Vineyard* (1942), and *Two Rivers* (1942) were painted for post offices in Cannonsburg, Pennsylvania, Geneva, New York, and Rome, Georgia, respectively. His work showed widely during the Great Depression, including at the Museum of Modern Art in New York and at an exhibition sponsored by the World Alliance or Yiddish Culture (YKUF).

While uninterested in subjects of a religious Jewish nature, Blume did paint Christian imagery. After a 1949 trip to Mexico, Blume painted *The Shrine* (1950), *Crucifixion* (1951), and *Man of Sorrows* (1951), the latter of which is in the Whitney Museum of American Art.

In 1972, Blume briefly changed mediums and produced a sculpture series, *Bronzes About Venus*. Comprised of 17 sculptures on the theme of the goddess of beauty and pleasure, 10 large and 17 smaller pieces were initially modeled in wax and then cast in bronze.

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[Samantha Baskind (2nd ed.)]

BLUMEL, ANDRÉ (1893–1973), French Zionist leader. Blumel's original name was Blum, but he changed it on his appointment as chef de cabinet in the government of his namesake, Léon *Blum (1936–37). Born in Paris, he studied law and literature at the Sorbonne. He was active from his youth in the Socialist movement, where he was influenced by Léon Blum and formed a close relationship with him, but he took no interest in Jewish affairs until after World War II. During the war he was arrested by the Vichy government, but succeeded in escaping and making his way to Spain.

After the liberation of France, under the influence of Joseph (Fisher) Ariel, Blumel became interested in Zionism and was appointed president of the Keren Kayemet in France. As a result of his many connections with the Ministry of the Interior, he was able to be of great help in the *Beriḥah and "illegal" immigration of Jews via France, His friend Edouard Dépreux, whom he served as chef de cabinet when the latter was minister of the interior, nominated him as his personal representative in Marseilles when the immigrant boat *Exodus* anchored at Port de Bouc, and it was due to his efforts that the French Government refused to disembark the passengers by force, despite pressure by the Foreign Ministry. Together with Marc *Jarblum, he acted as liaison between Chaim *Weizmann and Léon Blum in the struggle for the emergence of the State.

Blumel became secretary general and subsequently president of the French Zionist Federation in the 1950s, but differences of opinion developed between him and the Zionist parties as a result of his leftist tendencies in the internal politics of the country. He remained in close contact with the communists even when they adopted an extreme anti-Zionist policy, in the belief that he would persuade them to adopt a more favorable attitude to Zionism and Israel. Lacking a Jewish background, and out of tune with the Jewish masses, he regarded the relationship between Zionists and Jewish communists as comparable to those between political parties in France, and believed that reconciliation and cooperation was possible between them. Widespread criticism of his articles in the Jewish communist press caused him to resign from the Zionist Federation.

Blumel was president of the U.S.S.R.-France Friendship League and paid a number of visits to Moscow and other communist countries at their invitation. Although he tried to intervene with their governments, especially that of the U.S.S.R., on the Jewish question, he was easily convinced by them, and his many statements to the effect that there was no anti-Jewish discrimination in the U.S.S.R. and that Jews had no need for Jewish education roused the anger of Jewish leaders in France. Despite the fact that none of the promises made to him by the Soviet authorities were implemented, he continued to believe in their goodwill.

Apart from serving as legal adviser to the Israel Embassy and the Jewish Agency in France, Blumel took no further active part in Jewish life, and after the Six-Day War published articles vehemently attacking the policy of the Israel government. Although out of line in Jewish communal life, the important part that he played in the *Exodus* affair and the fact that he was the first to attract the old French Jews to Zionism are to his credit.

[Jacob Tsur]

BLUMENBERG, LEOPOLD (1827–1876), U.S. businessman and soldier. Born in Brandenburg, Prussia, Blumenberg served as a lieutenant in the fighting in Denmark in 1848. He emigrated to the United States in 1854 and developed a successful business in Baltimore. At the beginning of the American Civil War, he helped organize a Unionist Maryland Volunteer regiment, fought with it in the Peninsula Campaign, and was severely wounded while commanding the unit in the Battle of Antietam (1862). Incapacitated by his wounds, he was appointed provost marshal of the third Maryland district and later attained the rank of brevet brigadier general of U.S. Volunteers.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: J. Ben Hirsh, *Jewish General Officers*, 1 (1967), 95.

[Stanley L. Falk]

BLUMENFELD, EMANUEL (1801–1878), leader of the Haskalah in Galicia and the first Jew to practice law in Lemberg. Blumenfeld was instrumental in establishing the Reform Temple in Lemberg. He was a member of an unsuccessful delegation sent to the Austrian emperor in 1840 to ask for abolition of the *candle tax and for alleviation of the restriction on Jewish occupations. In 1842 the authorities, wishing to encourage the spread of Haskalah, appointed a community council without holding elections, which Blumenfeld headed. He subsequently reorganized the communal administration and inaugurated wide-ranging educational projects. A secular coeducational Jewish school on the model of the Perl school in Tarnopol was opened in Lemberg in 1844, and supported by the community. In 1847 Blumenfeld convened an assembly of representatives of the communities of Galicia to discuss alleviation of taxation and the general situation. He was one of the eight Jews elected to the city council for the first time in 1848, and helped to formulate the municipal statute of Lemberg in 1850.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: F. Friedman, *Die galizischen Juden im Kampfe um ihre Gleichberechtigung* (1929), 58 n. 146; N.M. Gelber, in: EG, Poland series, 4 (1956), 232–3.

[Moshe Landau]

BLUMENFELD, FELIX MIKHAYLOVICH (1863–1931), conductor, pianist, teacher, and composer. Born in Kovalovka, Kherson, Blumenfeld studied at the St. Petersburg Conservatory with Stein (piano) and Rimsky-Korsakov (composition). After his graduation in 1885 he taught piano and was appointed professor in 1897. Blumenfeld conducted at the Imperial Opera, 1898–1912, gave the first performance of Rimsky-Korsakov's *Servilia* (1902) and of *The Legend of the Invisible City of Kitezh* (1907), and conducted the Russian seasons in Paris in 1908 (including Mussorgsky's *Boris Godunov*). After the Revolution, he became director of the Kiev Conservatory, and in 1922 joined the Moscow Conservatory as a piano teacher. He composed piano music, chamber music, and songs.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: "F.M. Blumenfel'da," in: *Sovetskaya muzyka*, 4 (1963), 74–6; L. Barenboim, *Fortepianno-pedagogicheskie prinzipy F.M. Blunefel'da* (1964].

[Marina Rizarev (2nd ed.)]

BLUMENFELD, HERMANN FADEEVICH (1861–1920), Russian civil lawyer. He was the son of Rabbi Feitel Blumenfeld of Kherson (1826–1896), who helped to develop the Jewish agricultural colonies in Kherson and Bessarabia. Blumenfeld won a gold medal at the University of Odessa for a thesis on the law of real property. Being a Jew, however, he was not allowed to be called to the bar and remained formally an articled clerk until 1905 (the formal title in Russian was "assistant lawyer"). In the trials of 1906 following the Kishinev pogroms, the memorandum of the bar association submitted to the minister of justice was based on a report drafted by Blumenfeld. In the regime of Alexander Kerensky following the February revolution of 1917, Blumenfeld was made a member of the supreme court. His writings include two books on forms of land ownership in ancient Russia (1884), and on inheritance and authors' rights (1892), and articles on Jewish subjects, including "Economic Activity of the Jews in Southern Russia," in *Voskhod* (no. 9, (1881), 175–219), and "Jewish Colonies in the Kherson Government," in *Razsvet* (1880 and 1881).

[David Bar-Rav-Hay]

BLUMENFELD, KURT YEHUDAH (1884–1963), German Zionist leader. Blumenfeld, who was born in Treuberg, East Prussia, studied law at the universities of Berlin, Freiburg, and Koenigsberg. He joined the Zionist movement in 1904 while still a student and became a student leader of the movement. From 1910 to 1914 he directed the department of information of the World Zionist executive, whose seat was then in Berlin, visiting many countries in the course of his work. In 1913–14 he was the editor of *Die Welt*, and in 1920 was among the founders of Keren Hayesod. He was president of the German Zionist Federation from 1923 to 1933. Blumenfeld settled in Jerusalem in 1933 and became a member of the Keren Hayesod directorate. He was a delegate to every Zionist Congress from the ninth (1909) on, and was a member of the Zionist General Council from 1920.

During World War II Blumenfeld stayed in the U.S., where he was occupied with Zionist politics. In 1946 he moved back to Jerusalem. His influence on West European personalities, including Albert Einstein, derived primarily from his intellectualism and his specific "post-assimilation" Zionism, i.e., the Zionist ideology he evolved to appeal to Jews who were already assimilated. Blumenfeld was in many ways a representative of the "post-assimilation" generation. His memoirs, *Erlebte Judenfrage; ein Vierteljahrhundert deutscher Zionismus* (1962), have been translated into Hebrew.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: S. Esh, in: JJSO, 6 (1964), 232–42; *Y.K. Blumenfeld in Memoriam* (1964); *Davar* (April 25, 1962); MB (May 29, 1964). **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** J. Hackeschmidt, *Von Kurt Blumenfeld zu Norbert Elias* (1997)

[Alexander Bein / Noam Zadoff (2nd ed.)]

BLUMENFELD, RALPH DAVID (1864–1948), British journalist. Blumenfeld was born in Wisconsin, the son of a newspaperman. He became a reporter on the *Chicago Herald* and later on the *New York Herald*. In New York, he entered the typesetting business, sold linotype machines in England, and made a considerable fortune. At the age of 36 he reentered journalism as news editor of the London *Daily Mail* and transferred to *The Daily Express* as foreign editor in 1902. After becoming a British subject in 1907, he was editor, 1904–1932, editor in chief from 1924, and chairman of the London Express Newspaper Company, 1915–1948. Blumenfeld edited *The Daily Express* for mass appeal, used large type in forceful style, stressed the "human angle" wherever possible, ran the paper as a pro-Conservative, pro-tariff reform daily, and raised the paper's circulation to two million a day. After his retirement in 1932, he visited Palestine, became a supporter of Zionism, and was active against antisemitism. Among the books he published were *R.D.B.'s Diary 1887–1914* (1930), *All in a Lifetime* (1931), *The Press in My Time* (1933), and *R.D.B.'s Procession* (1935).

ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY: D. Griffiths (ed.), *Encyclopedia of the British Press, 1422–1992* (1992), 116–17; ODNB online.

BLUMENFELD, WALTER (1882–1967), German psychologist. Born in Neuruppin, Silesia, Blumenfeld became professor at the Technische Hochschule in Dresden. Leaving Germany in 1936, he was appointed professor at the University of San Marcos, Lima, Peru, and director of the Institute of Psychopedagogy. He became known for the "Blumenfeld alleys," an apparatus he invented to measure the perceptual relationship between size and distance.

BLUMENFIELD, SAMUEL (1901–1972), U.S. Jewish educator. Born in Letichev, Russia, Blumenfield was superintendent of the Chicago Board of Jewish Education until 1954, and also headed Chicago's College of Jewish Studies as dean, and later as president. From 1954 until his retirement in 1968, he served as director of the Department of Education and Culture of the Jewish Agency (American Section). Blumenfield is author of *Master of Troyes – A Study of Rashi the Educator* (1946), "Towards a Study of Maimonides the Educator" (HUCA, 23 (1950–51), 555–91), and *Ḥevrah ve-Ḥinnukh be-Yahadut Amerikah* (1965). He was president of Avukah (an American student Zionist organization) and the National Council of Jewish Education.

[Leon H. Spotts]

BLUMENKRANZ, BERNHARD (1913–1989), historian. Blumenkranz headed a research unit at the National Center for Scientific Research (Paris), and lectured on the social history of the Jews at the École Pratique des Hautes Études in Paris. He was president of the French Commission of Jewish Archives, and director of the bimonthly publication of the Jewish Archives. His works deal principally with the Jewish and Christian relations in the Middle Ages and the history of the Jews in medieval France. Among his books are *Juifs et Chrétiens dans le monde occidental* (1960), *Les auteurs chrétiens latins du Moyen-Age sur les Juifs et le judaïsme* (1963), and *Le Juif médiéval au miroir de l'art chrétien* (1966). Blumenkranz was a departmental editor of the *Encyclopaedia Judaica* (first edition) for the Church and the Jews and the history of the Jews in Medieval France.

[Colette Sirat]

BLUMENTHAL, AARON H. (1908–1982), U.S. Conservative rabbi. Blumenthal was born in Montreal, Canada, and received his ordination at the Jewish Theological Seminary in 1932. He served as a chaplain during World War II, eventually becoming head of the Chaplaincy Commission of the Jewish Welfare Board. Most of Blumenthal's rabbinic career (1946–73) was spent as spiritual leader of Congregation Emanuel, Mount Vernon, N.Y., where he was an outspoken advocate of civil rights and busing. For more than three decades (1948–82), Blumenthal was a leading member of the Committee on Jewish Law and Standards of the Rabbinical Assembly, writing many halakhic responsa for the Conservative movement. He was also known for his minority opinions, which early on favored equality for women in being called to the Torah (*aliyot*), counted towards a *minyan*, and ordained as rabbis. Blumenthal was elected president of the Rabbinical Assembly in 1956. He wrote two books: *If I Am Not for Myself: The Story of Hillel* (1973) and *And Bring Them Closer to Torah* (published posthumously in 1986) edited by his son DAVID (1938–), also a Conservative rabbi and a distinguished scholar at Emory University, who has written on post-Holocaust theology and ethics in such works as *Facing the Abusing God* (1993) and *The Banality of Good and Evil: Moral Lessons from the Shoah and Jewish Tradition* (1999).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: P.S. Nadell, *Conservative Judaism in America: A Biographical Dictionary and Sourcebook* (1988).

[Bezalel Gordon (2nd ed.)]

BLUMENTHAL, GEORGE (1858–1941), U.S. banker, philanthropist, and patron of the arts. He was born in Frankfurt and worked there in the banking house of Speyer. After moving to the United States in 1882, he became senior partner of Lazard Frères and director of various banks and insurance companies. In 1898 he joined other bankers in raising a fund of $50 million to stop the flow of gold from the United States, and after World War I, played an important part in stabilizing the franc.

Blumenthal was director and president of the Mount Sinai Hospital, the largest Jewish hospital in New York. He donated one million dollars to the hospital and a new wing was erected as a memorial to his son. He was active in support of the arts, giving a million dollars to the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, of which he became president in 1934. In 1937 he presented a collection of first editions of important French writers to the New York Public Library.

BLUMENTHAL, JOSEPH (1834–1901), U.S. businessman and a founder of the Jewish Theological Seminary. Blumenthal, who was born in Munich, was taken to the U.S. at the age of five. He was a member of the Committee of Seventy which was responsible for the downfall of the notorious Tweed Ring. He served as New York State assemblyman and as commissioner of taxes and assessments in New York City. Blumenthal served in Jewish communal affairs as president of Shearith Israel Synagogue, president of the Young Men's Hebrew Association, and a leader of B'nai B'rith. He was the first president of the Board of Trustees of the Jewish Theological Seminary, a position he held from its inception in 1886 until his death.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: M. Davis, *Emergence of Conservative Judaism* (1963), 331–2.

[Jack Reimer]

BLUMENTHAL, JOSEPH (1897–1990), U.S. printer and type designer. Born in New York, Blumenthal founded the Spiral Press in New York City in 1926. For more than 50 years it was acknowledged as producing the finest in American printing, setting standards for dedication to detail and design.

Blumenthal designed his own typeface, Emerson, which was available for hand and machine setting for commercial book composition. At the modern, well-equipped but small Spiral Press, Blumenthal designed and produced books and exhibition catalogs for such institutions as the Metropolitan Museum of Art, the Museum of Modern Art, the Pierpont Morgan Library, the Grolier Club, and the American Academy of Arts and Letters, as well as limited editions such as Ben *Shahn's *Alphabet of Creation* for general book publishers. He also designed and printed the books of such luminaries as Robert Frost, W.H. Auden, Pablo Neruda, William Carlos Williams, Robinson Jeffers, and Franklin Delano Roosevelt.

In 1952 Blumenthal was awarded a medal by the American Institute of Graphic Arts. In his later years he prepared a series of exhibitions on fine printing in America and Europe. He also wrote and taught, sharing his lifelong passion for the book, which he regarded as the vehicle for cultural heritage.

In his illustrated autobiography, *Typographic Years: A Printer's Journey Through a Half Century 1925–1975*, written in 1982, Blumenthal presents a vivid account of his life in the realm of fine printing from a personal, professional, and historical perspective. Other books by Blumenthal include *The Spiral Press through Four Decades, an Exhibition of Books and Ephemera* (1966), *The Printed Book in America* (1977), *Art of the Printed Book, 1455–1955: Masterpieces of Typography through Five Centuries from the Collections of the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York* (1974), *Robert Frost and His Printers* (1985), and *Bruce Rogers: A Life in Letters, 1870–1957* (1989).

ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY: P.N. Cronenwett, *The Spiral Press, 1926–1971: A Bibliographical Checklist* (2002).

[Israel Soifer / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

BLUMENTHAL, NISSAN (1805–1903), Russian cantor. Blumenthal was born in Berdichev, Ukraine, where he became cantor at the age of 21. He later served in Yekaterinoslav (Dnepropetrovsk), and from 1841 until his death held the position of chief cantor at the Brody Synagogue in Odessa. His main contribution to the music of the synagogue was the founding of a choir school in Odessa, where he developed choral singing in four voices, an innovation at that time. Contrary to the wishes of the traditionalists, he introduced into the liturgy melodies from German classical music. He was nevertheless a lover of tradition and succeeded in effecting a synthesis of old and new. Few of his melodies appeared in print, but they were preserved by other cantors and some are still sung.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Sendrey, Music, indexes; A.L. Holde, *Jews in Music* (1959), index; H.H. Harris, *Toledot ha-Neginah ve-ha-Ḥazzanut be-Yisrael* (1950), 400–2.

[Joshua Leib Ne'eman]

BLUMENTHAL, OSKAR (1852–1917), German playwright and literary critic. Born in Berlin to an Orthodox family, he finished his studies in philology and literary history in 1875. He started his career as a journalist and achieved early notoriety as "Bloody Oskar" for his satirical articles as theater critic of the *Berliner Tageblatt*. From 1876 he started writing comedies. In 1888 he helped to found the Lessing Theater in Berlin and directed many of its productions until 1897. Blumenthal's plays attacking social foibles were popular for about three decades and in the 1910 season several of his plays were widely performed. The witty comedy *Der Probepfeil* (1884) was often performed in America from 1892 onward as *The Test Case*. His greatest success was *Im Weissen Roessl* (1898), which he wrote in collaboration with Gustav Kadelburg. Transformed into a musical comedy, *White Horse Inn* (1907), it became an international triumph of the mid-1930s.

ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY: J. Wilcke, *Das Lessingtheater unter O.B. 1881–98* (1958).

[Sol Liptzin / Noam Zadoff (2nd ed.)]

BLUMENTHAL, WERNER MICHAEL (1926–), U.S. economist, industrialist, and ambassador. Born in Oranienburg, Germany, Blumenthal left Germany in the 1930s, spent some years in Shanghai where he was interned by the Japanese, and finally went to the United States in 1947. He taught at Princeton from 1954 to 1957, leaving to assume the post of vice president of Crown Cork International. In 1961 Blumenthal became United States representative to the UN Commission on International Commodity Trade, serving simultaneously as deputy assistant secretary of state for economic affairs. In 1963, as President Johnson's deputy special representative for trade negotiations, he was posted to Geneva as ambassador and chairman of the United States delegation to the Kennedy Round of tariff negotiations. After these were completed in 1967, Blumenthal resigned from government service to become president of international operations at Bendix Corporation. Blumenthal became chairman of the Bendix Corporation in 1972. He served as secretary of the treasury in the Carter Administration from 1977 until July 1979.

Blumenthal was a member of the American Economic Association and the Council on Foreign Relations.

In 1997 he became president and chief executive of the Berlin Jewish Museum. In 2002 Blumenthal, as director-general of the Jewish Museum in Berlin, was honored with the Goethe Institute's Goethe Medal, which is recognized as an official order by the Federal Republic of Germany. It is awarded to foreign citizens who have rendered outstanding service to the aims of the institute.

[Ellen Friedman / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed)]

B'NAI B'RITH, international Jewish organization committed to the security and continuity of the Jewish people and the State of Israel; defending human rights; combating antisemitism, bigotry, and ignorance; and providing services to the community on the broadest principles of humanity. Its mission is to unite persons of the Jewish faith and to enhance Jewish identity through strengthening Jewish family life and the education and training of youth; broad-based services for the benefit of senior citizens; and advocacy and action on behalf of Jews throughout the world.

Although the organization's historic roots are in a system of fraternal lodges and units (chapters), in the late 20th century, as fraternal organizations were in decline throughout the U.S., the organization began evolving into a dual system of the traditional payment of dues, with an expectation of active participation, and the pattern more common to other contemporary organizations – affiliation by contribution. In 2004, the organization reported a membership of more than 215,000, with members in 51 countries and a U.S. budget of $20,000,000. Approximately 85 percent of the membership is in the United States. Although membership was historically limited to men, in 1988 a resolution admitting women to membership passed overwhelmingly and the organization – although still predominately male – includes men and women (see below).

B'nai B'rith was founded in Aaron Sinsheimer's café on New York's Lower East Side on October 13, 1843, by a group of 12 recent German Jewish immigrants led by Henry Jones. The new organization represented an attempt to organize Jews on the basis of their ethnicity, not their religion, and to confront what Isaac Rosenbourg, one of the founders, called "the deplorable condition of Jews in this, our newly adopted country."

True to their German heritage, the founders originally named the organization *Bundes Bruder* (Sons of the Covenant) to reflect their goal of a fraternal order that could provide comfort to the entire spectrum of Jewish Americans. Although early meetings were conducted in German, after a short time English emerged as the language of choice and the name was changed to B'nai B'rith. In the late 20th century, the translation was changed to the more contemporary and inclusive Children of the Covenant.

The organization's activities during the 19th and 20th centuries were dominated by mutual aid, social service, and philanthropy. In keeping with their concerns for protecting their families, the first concrete action of the organization was the establishment of an insurance policy awarding the widow of a deceased members $30 toward funeral expenses and a stipend of one dollar a week for the rest of her life. To aid her children, each child would also receive a stipend and, for a male child, the assurance he would be taught a trade.

Many of the earliest achievements are believed to represent firsts within the Jewish community: In 1851, Covenant Hall was erected in New York as the first Jewish community center in the U.S.; one year later, B'nai B'rith established the Maimonides Library, also in New York, the first Jewish public library in the U.S.; immediately following the Civil War – when Jews on both sides were left homeless – B'nai B'rith founded the 200-bed Cleveland Jewish Orphan Home, said to have been the most modern orphanage of its time. Over the next several years, the organization would establish numerous hospitals, orphanages, and homes for the aged.

The organization lays claim to the distinction of being the oldest service organization founded in the United States. In 1868, when a devastating flood crippled Baltimore, B'nai B'rith responded with a disaster relief campaign. This act preceded the founding of the American Red Cross by 13 years and was to be the first of many domestic relief programs. That same year, the organization sponsored its first overseas philanthropic project, raising $4,522 to aid the victims of a cholera epidemic in what was then Palestine.

In 1875, a lodge was established in Toronto, followed soon after by another in Montreal and, in 1882, by a lodge in Berlin. This is believed to be the first instance of a Jewish organization founded on American soil being carried back to the lands from which its founders had migrated. Membership outside the U.S. grew rapidly. Soon, lodges were formed in Cairo (1887) and in Jerusalem (1888 – nine years before Herzl convened the First Zionist Congress in Basel); the latter became the first public organization to hold all of its meetings in Hebrew.

After 1881, when mass immigration from Eastern Europe poured into the United States, B'nai B'rith sponsored Americanization classes, trade schools, and relief programs. This began a period of rapid membership growth, a change in the system of representation, questioning of the secret rituals common to fraternal organizations, and the beginning of a nearly century-long debate on full membership for women. In 1897, when the organization's U.S. membership numbered slightly more than 18,000, B'nai B'rith formed a ladies' auxiliary chapter in San Francisco. This was to become B'nai B'rith Women and, when B'nai B'rith gave full membership rights to women in 1988, to break away as an independent organization, Jewish Women International (see below).

In response to the *Kishinev pogrom in 1903 President Theodore Roosevelt and Secretary of State John Hay met with B'nai B'rith's executive committee in Washington. B'nai B'rith President Simon Wolf presented the draft of a petition to be sent to the Russian government protesting the lack of opposition to the massacre. Roosevelt readily agreed to transmit it and B'nai B'rith lodges began gathering signatures around the country.

In the first two decades of the 20th century B'nai B'rith launched three of today's major Jewish organizations: the *Anti-Defamation League (ADL), Hillel, and the B'nai B'rith Youth Organization (BBYO), Later they would take on a life of their own and varying degrees of autonomy.

In 1913, when it was apparent that antisemitism was not to be limited to the European continent, B'nai B'rith established the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith (ADL). The immediate impetus was the false arrest, unfair trial (reflecting the most profound of antisemitic sentiments on the part of the jury), conviction and lynching of Leo *Frank, president of the Gate City, Georgia, B'nai B'rith lodge.

The ADL has become one of the preeminent forces for strengthening interreligious understanding and cooperation, improving relationships between the races, and protecting the rights and status of Jews.

In a pattern that was to be followed by other members of the B'nai B'rith "family," ADL has evolved into an autonomous organization which, though formally a part of B'nai B'rith and strongly embraced by the organization, is virtually independent and is self-sustaining today.

The 1920s saw a growing concern with preserving Jewish values as immigration slowed and a native Jewish population of East European ancestry came to maturity. In 1923, Rabbi Benjamin Frankel, of Illinois, established an organization on the campus of the University of Illinois to provide both Reform and Orthodox Sabbath services, classes in Judaism, and social events for Jewish college students. Two years later, he approached B'nai B'rith about adopting this new campus organization. B'nai B'rith sponsorship of the Hillel Foundations enabled it to grow into a network that today has more than 500 campus student organizations in the United States and other countries.

From the early 1970s onward, funding for Hillel was increasingly coming from Federations and with funding a request for greater control and accountability. Although B'nai B'rith continued to support Hillel, in the mid-1990s it became a new independent organization, Hillel: The Foundation for Jewish Campus Youth.

At virtually the same time as Hillel was being established, Sam Beber of Omaha, Nebraska, presented B'nai B'rith with a plan in 1924 for a fraternity for young Jewish men in high school. The new organization was to be called Aleph Zadik Aleph in imitation of the Greek-letter fraternities from which Jewish youth were excluded. In 1925, AZA became the junior auxiliary of B'nai B'rith.

In 1940, B'nai B'rith Women adopted its own junior auxiliary for young women, B'nai B'rith Girls, and, in 1944 the two organizations became the B'nai B'rith Youth Organization (BBYO).

BBYO provides informal Jewish educational and social programs in the United States and Israel designed to provide opportunities for youth from all branches of Judaism to develop their own Jewish identity, leadership skills, and personal development.

At the beginning of the 21st century, BBYO growth required expanded outside funding. Following the pattern of

Hillel, BBYO secured independent, philanthropic funding and with it came the requisite shift of control to the funders. B'nai B'rith remains the largest single institutional contributor to the new organization, BBYO, Inc.

B'nai B'rith has also been involved in Jewish camping for more than half a century. In 1953, B'nai B'rith acquired a 300-acre camp in Pennsylvania's Pocono Mountains. Originally named Camp B'nai B'rith, the facility would later be named B'nai B'rith Perlman Camp in honor of the early BBYO leader Anita Perlman and her husband, Louis. In 1976, a second camp was added near Madison, Wisconsin. Named after the founder of AZA, the camp became known as B'nai B'rith Beber Camp. Both camps function in dual capacities as Jewish children's camps and as leadership training facilities, primarily for BBYO.

In 1938, in response to rampant employment discrimination against Jews, B'nai B'rith established the Vocational Service Bureau to guide young people into careers. This evolved into the B'nai B'rith Career and Counseling Service, an agency that provided vocational testing and counseling, and published career guides. In the mid-1980s, the program was dissolved or merged into other community agencies.

To cope with a shift of American Jewry to the suburbs and a corresponding sense of assimilated comfort, in 1948 B'nai B'rith established a department of Adult Jewish Education (AJE). It would later become the B'nai B'rith Center for Jewish Identity. AJE launched a series of Judaic study weekends (called Institutes of Judaism) held in retreat settings and supplemented by informal neighborhood study programs. It also began an aggressive program of Jewish book publishing; a quarterly literary magazine, *Jewish Heritage*; and a lecture bureau booking noted Jewish scholars and performers for synagogues and other institutions. All but the lecture bureau were largely phased out in the 1990s, and the organization today focuses on program guides for local Jewish education programs and annual sponsorship of "Unto Every Person There is a Name" community recitations of the names of Holocaust victims, usually on Yom ha-sho'ah, Holocaust Remembrance Day.

B'nai B'rith publishes *B'nai B'rith Magazine,* a full-color quarterly – the oldest continuously published Jewish periodical in the United States (since 1886) – and regional newspapers reporting on organizational activities, *B'nai B'rith Today.* In the late 1990s and the early 21st century, the organization ventured into new technologies with the launch of a website, www.bnaibrith.org; an online 24-hour Jewish music service, www.bnaibrithradio.org; the first Jewish magazine to be broadcast on satellite radio, *B'nai B'rith World Service*; and the *Virtual Jewish Museum*, www.jmuseum.org, a resource for educators, students, and others seeking international Jewish art resources.

From its earliest days, a hallmark of the organization's local efforts was service to the communities in which members reside. In 1852, that meant raising money for the first Jewish hospital in Philadelphia. In the 21st century, these community service efforts range from delivering Jewish holiday packages of meals and clothing to the elderly and infirm to distributing food and medicine to the Jewish community of Cuba.

In 1973, the organization turned what had formerly been an exhibit hall at its Washington, D.C., headquarters into the B'nai B'rith Klutznick National Jewish Museum. The museum includes an extensive collection of Jewish ceremonial objects and art and features the 1790 correspondence between President George Washington and Moses Seixas, sexton of the Touro Synagogue in Newport, Rhode Island. In 2002, the collection moved with the organization to new headquarters in Washington.

With the aging of the American Jewish population, service to seniors became a major focus with the first of what was to become a network of 40 senior residences in more than 25 communities across the United States and more internationally – making B'nai B'rith the largest national Jewish sponsor of housing for seniors. The U.S. facilities – built in partnership with the Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) – provide quality housing to more than 6,000 men and women of limited income, age 62 and over, of all races and religions. Residents pay a federally mandated rent based upon income.

In 2001 B'nai B'rith opened its first venture in what is anticipated to be a broader range of housing options for seniors. Covenant at South Hills (near Pittsburgh) is a life-care community offering a range of services at market rate enabling residents to live independently for as long as possible and receive additional health care and supportive services on site should the need arise.

The beginning of the 21st century also saw the senior service program expand and become a Center for Senior Services, providing advocacy, publications, and other services to address financial, legal, health, religious, social, and family concerns for those over 50.

B'nai B'rith involvement in international affairs dates to the 1870s when antisemitism, accompanied by a rash of pogroms, reached new heights in Romania. Through the influence of B'nai B'rith, the American government was induced to establish a U.S. consulate, and a former B'nai B'rith president, Benjamin Peixotto, was appointed the first consul. B'nai B'rith funded much of the mission. Although he could not totally solve it, Peixotto's work was credited with mitigating the problem,

By the 1920s, B'nai B'rith membership in Europe had grown to 17,500 – nearly half of the U.S. membership – and by the next decade, the formation of a lodge in Shanghai represented the organization's entry into the Far East. This international expansion was to come to a close with the rise of Nazism. At the beginning of the Nazi era, there were six B'nai B'rith districts in Europe. Eventually, the Nazis seized nearly all B'nai B'rith property in Europe.

B'nai B'rith Europe was re-founded in 1948; members and representatives from lodges that had survived the Holocaust attended the inaugural meeting. In 2000, the new European

B'nai B'rith district merged with the United Kingdom district to become a consolidated B'nai B'rith Europe with active involvement in all institutions of the European Union. In 2005 B'nai B'rith Europe comprised lodges in more than 20 countries, including formerly Communist Eastern Europe.

In response to what later become known as the Holocaust, in 1943 B'nai B'rith President Henry Monsky convened a conference in Pittsburgh of all major Jewish organizations to "find a common platform for the presentation of our case before the civilized nations of the world." During the four years which followed, the conference established the machinery that saved untold numbers of lives, assisted in the postwar reconstruction of European Jewish life, and helped spur public opinion to support the 1947 partition decision granting Jews a share of what was then Palestine.

Just prior to the creation of the State of Israel, President Truman – angry at pressure being placed upon him from Jewish organizations – closed the White House doors to Jewish leaders. B'nai B'rith President Frank Goldman convinced fellow B'nai B'rith member Eddie Jacobson, long-time friend and business partner of the president, to appeal to him for a favor. Jacobson convinced Truman to meet secretly with Chaim *Weizmann in a meeting said to have resulted in turning White House support back in favor of partition, and ultimately to recognition of the statehood of Israel.

B'nai B'rith was present at the founding of the United Nations in San Francisco and has taken an active role in the world body ever since. In 1947, the organization was granted non-governmental organizational status and, for many years, was the only Jewish organization with full-time representation at the UN. It is credited with a leading role in the UN reversal of its 1975 resolution equating Zionism with racism.

B'nai B'rith's NGO role is not limited to the UN and its agencies. With members in more than 20 Latin American countries, the organization was the first Jewish group to be accorded NGO status at the Organization of American States (OAS) and has been at the forefront advocating on behalf of the cause of democracy and human rights throughout the region. B'nai B'rith's role in Latin America dates back to the turn of the 20th century and grew considerably with the influx of Jewish refugees from Nazi Europe.

In 1999, when one of the last living Nazi commandants, Dinko Sakic, was arrested in Argentina, B'nai B'rith was a leader in efforts to extradite him to Croatia to stand trial for commanding the infamous Jasenovac concentration camp in Croatia.

In addition to its advocacy efforts, B'nai B'rith maintains an extensive program of community service throughout Latin America. In 2002, this took the form of responding to the economic disaster that struck much of Latin America by distributing – in cooperation with the Brother's Brother Foundation – over $31 million of critically needed medicine, books, and supplies to Argentina, Uruguay, Paraguay, and Venezuela.

In addition to founding Jerusalem Lodge in 1888, life in Israel has been a prime focus for the organization. Among B'nai B'rith's most noted contributions were the city's first free public library, Midrash Abarbanel, which became the nucleus of the Jewish National and University Library; the first Hebrew kindergarten in Jerusalem; and the purchase of land for a home for new immigrants, the village of Moza near Jerusalem. When, in 1935, B'nai B'rith donated $100,000 to the Jewish National Fund to buy 1,000 acres, the act signaled to the world that America's oldest and largest Jewish organization was concretely supporting a continuing Jewish presence in what was then Palestine. In 1956, B'nai B'rith became the first major American Jewish organization to hold a convention in Israel.

B'nai B'rith is one of the few major Jewish organizations headquartered in Washington, D.C., not New York. That became a fateful horror on March 9, 1977, when, in what was, at the time one of the worst terror attacks in America, seven members of the Hanafi Muslim sect took over the B'nai B'rith Headquarters, the Islamic Center, and Washington, D.C.'s city hall. For 39 hours, 123 hostages were held on the top floor of the B'nai B'rith building. The building was ransacked, its ground floor museum stripped, personnel shot and beaten – some severely, some who never recovered from the psychological shock.

The Hanafi terrorists had targeted the three Washington buildings in revenge for the slaying of their leader's family members by Philadelphia Black Muslims. B'nai B'rith was targeted because the judge in Philadelphia was Jewish. The takeover was ended after the intervention of the ambassadors from three Muslim countries – Pakistan, Egypt, and Iran – convinced the terrorists to surrender to police.

The symbolism of B'nai B'rith as synonymous with anything Jewish was an ironic tribute to the organization's reputation – a synonym found in jokes of comedians, on TV game shows, and in the world of politics. In 1981 on the floor of the U.S. Senate, Senator Ernest Hollings derisively referred to then-Senator Howard Metzenbaum (who is Jewish) as "the senator from B'nai B'rith." For many years, when the biennial B'nai B'rith Convention was held during presidential election years, it became a presidential forum as Republican and Democratic candidates vied for Jewish support.

Although B'nai B'rith remained the most widely recognized name in the Jewish community, from the late 1970s B'nai B'rith saw its membership in lodges and units declining as young people in suburbia felt less of a need to meet with other Jews in a non-religious setting.

B'nai B'rith responded on two fronts. Drawing upon its widely recognized name and respect within the community, the organization turned to direct mail fundraising. At much the same time, confronting the reality that Jewish fraternal groups in the U.S. were unlikely to grow, yet unable to ignore the role lodges and units still played in many communities, the leadership transformed the program to meet contemporary needs. The most far-reaching changes came in 1996, under the leadership of President Tommy Baer, when traditional U.S. districts were eliminated in favor of smaller, locally oriented regions focusing on community-based programs.

Because the sociological changes taking place in the U.S. were not evident in Europe, Israel, and Latin America, the existing structure of fraternal lodges was left intact and, particularly in Latin America, the most influential members of the Jewish community are members of B'nai B'rith.

The restructuring was completed in 2004 with a new approach to governance adopted under the direction of President Joel S. Kaplan and past president Seymour D. Reich. Under this plan, a number of leadership structures were drastically revised to enable the organization to operate more efficiently. The outmoded international convention, which focused on organizational business, was eliminated in favor of new, program-oriented meetings featuring briefings, cultural events, etc. and designed to appeal to a broader spectrum of the membership.

[Harvey Berk (2nd ed.)]

B'nai B'rith Women
B'nai B'rith Women began with an auxiliary woman's chapter in 1897; the first permanent chapter was founded in San Francisco in 1909. As more women's auxiliaries to B'nai B'rith formed, the women pressed for official recognition but were refused. Only two non-voting female representatives were allowed at Grand Lodge meetings. During World War I, the auxiliaries' activities expanded into cultural activities, philanthropy, and community service. B'nai B'rith women served in hospitals, settlement houses, offices, and factories, and drove ambulances. The women also started their own fund for the relief of Jews in Europe. By the beginning of WWII, BBW's membership had jumped to over 40,000 members, and it produced its first monthly publication, *B'nai B'rith Women*. In 1940, a Women's Supreme Council was formed to coordinate districts and chapters from national headquarters and Judge Lenore Underwood Mills of San Francisco was elected the first national president. The Council helped organize early girls' chapters of B'nai B'rith into B'nai B'rith Girls (BBG), appointing Anita Perlman as chair. During WWII, BBW chapters were again involved in volunteer and philanthropic work, as well as assisting military servicewomen, and providing aid to refugees and orphans. After the war, BBW's efforts turned to projects in the developing State of Israel, educational programs dedicated to combating prejudice, and supporting Hillel foundations on university campuses.

In 1953, women delegates were allowed to vote for the first time at the B'nai B'rith Supreme Lodge convention, and in 1957 the women, who numbered 132,000 in North America, and had 41 chapters abroad, formally changed their name to B'nai B'rith Women. The feminist movement of the 1960s and 1970s influenced BBW to advocate for women's healthcare, abortion rights, and the image of women in the media. BBW endorsed the Equal Rights Amendment in 1971 and participated as an NGO in the first UN World Conference for Women in 1975.

In the late 1980s, BBW engaged in a power struggle with B'nai B'rith International (BBI) over its status as an autonomous organization. In 1988, BBI finally admitted women as full members, but BBW passed a resolution to remain distinct. BBW declared full independence in 1995 and changed its name to Jewish Women International while retaining a relationship with B'nai B'rith and its "family members": BBYO, Hillel, and the Anti-Defamation League. In the early 21st century JWI, with a membership of approximately 75,000, defines its mission as championing self-sufficiency for women and girls through education, advocacy, and action with a special focus on preventing violence, children's well-being, and reduction of prejudice. JWI publishes *Jewish Woman* magazine in print and online.

[Mel Berwin (2nd ed.)]

B'nai B'rith Canada
B'nai B'rith Canada prides itself on being the largest Jewish voluntary organization and the largest individual Jewish membership organization in Canada. As such it bills itself as the "independent voice of the Jewish community, representing its interests nationwide to government, NGO's, and the wider Canadian public."

The history of B'nai B'rith Canada reflects both the changing patterns of growth, development, and sophistication of the Canadian Jewish population, on the one hand, and the global issues facing Jews throughout the world, on the other. The first B'nai B'rith Lodge in Canada was chartered in Toronto in 1875. Originally an offshoot of American B'nai B'rith founded in New York in 1843, the Toronto Lodge folded in 1894. As the largely immigrant Jewish population in Canada exploded from about 16,000 in 1901 to more than 156,000 in 1930, B'nai B'rith in Canada was revitalized as it helped immigrant Jews in Canada retain communal relationships outside of the synagogue while easing their integration into Canadian society. First rechartered as a branch of a U.S. district in 1919, in 1964 it became an autonomous Canadian district, District 22.

Now the largest secular Jewish membership organization in Canada, B'nai B'rith at first focused its efforts on expanding its network of lodges beyond Montreal and Toronto to smaller centers across Canada. In 2005 there were 45 established lodges in seven provinces. (B'nai B'rith in British Columbia still remains aligned to the West Coast U.S. district.) B'nai B'rith Canada continues to provide its members a robust social environment together with programs of mutual aid, social service, and philanthropy. In 1923 B'nai B'rith organized the first Canadian branch of Hillel, the Jewish university student organization, and shortly after, opened its first summer camp for Jewish children. These initiatives were followed over the years with a wide variety of community service initiatives, including the establishment of seniors' residences, the distribution of holiday baskets, organized visitations to the ill, and general fundraising for Jewish and community causes.

While B'nai B'rith Canada never lost a voluntary community focus that combines direct member services, community social service, support for youth, fundraising, and sports, after gaining its independent district status under B'nai B'rith International, B'nai B'rith Canada began to assert itself as a representative organization of the Jewish community. Whether, as in the past, partnering with the Canadian Jewish Congress and other Jewish organizations on various community relations and Israel-related initiatives, or, as more recently, striking out on its own, B'nai B'rith has been an active presence in defense of Jewish and human rights. Beginning with its human rights arm, the League for Human Rights (originally affiliated with the American B'nai B'rith's Anti-Defamation League), and more recently through a second body, the Institute for International Affairs, B'nai B'rith Canada maintains a wide-ranging program of Jewish advocacy, including public education campaigns, political lobbying, liaising with government, and monitoring of anti-Jewish and anti-Israel propaganda and organizations in Canada and internationally.

Through its League for Human Rights, B'nai B'rith Canada continues to focus on exposing and combating antisemitic activity in Canada. In the past this has included intervention in the courts and at human rights tribunals on a variety of matters relating to antisemitic hate groups and individuals. The League was significantly involved in supporting the hate propaganda prosecutions of Holocaust denier Ernst Zundel and Alberta teacher James Keegstra in the 1980s. Following the lead of its American sister organization, in 1983, the League also initiated an annual "audit" of antisemitic incidents taking place across the country. Recently, in order to both assist victims as well as improve the tracking of such behavior, the organization established a 24/7 "anti-hate hotline." The 2003 Audit reported 584 incidents, a 27.2% increase over the previous year.

A further aspect of the League for Human Rights' work has been to promote the study of the Holocaust in Canada. This work has been hallmarked since 1986 by the organization's Holocaust and Hope Educator's Program through which a select group of teachers from across Canada take part in a multifaceted program of lectures, visits to the sites of the Holocaust, and personal contact with survivors.

The Institute for International Affairs monitors and responds to issues relating to Jewish communities around the world. An important aspect of this work is to inform and educate the broader Canadian community on issues relating to Israel. Through fact-finding missions, public education, attendance at international conferences, and outreach to other groups, the Institute both advocates in support of Israel and works to inform Canadians on Israel-related matters. Included in this task is a program of political action, informing political leaders at all levels of government and the media of the significance of these issues from the perspective of the Canadian Jewish community.

[Alan Shefman (2nd ed.)]

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BNEI AKIVA (Heb. בְּנֵי־עֲקִיבָא, "Sons of Akiva"), the youth movement of *Ha-Po'el ha-Mizrachi, named after the *tanna* R. *Akiva. It was founded in Jerusalem in 1929. Chief Rabbi Avraham Yiẓḥak *Kook served as the spiritual leader of the movement.

From the outset "Torah va-Avodah" ("Torah and Labor"), religion and pioneering – represented by the yeshivah and the kibbutz – were the two major guidelines of Bnei Akiva's educational work and directed its activities. As early as 1931, two years after the establishment of the movement, the first attempt was made to found a Bnei Akiva *kevuẓah* at Kefar Avraham (next to Petaḥ Tikvah). The *kevuẓah* became the center of the young movement, but it was a focal point without a circumference, as the movement was still weak organizationally and educationally. After three years of economic and social difficulties, the *kevuẓah* was disbanded. Following the failure of the first experiment, efforts were made to establish a training farm for members of Bnei Akiva. The cornerstone of a permanent settlement was laid in 1938, with the establishment of a pioneers' nucleus for training at Kefar Gideon. In 1940 the members of this group moved to *Tirat Ẓevi and *Sedeh Eliyahu, for further training. After another year, this group, together with another from a work camp at Nes Ẓiyyonah, established the *kevuẓah* *Alummot near Netanyah as the first Bnei Akiva settlement of its kind. Two years later the group moved to Herzliyyah, and in 1947 it established its permanent home, Kibbutz Sa'ad, in the northern Negev. By 1970, the movement had succeeded in establishing six *kevuẓot*, three moshavim, four *Naḥal settlements, and 64 settlement groups throughout Israel.

In the sphere of religious education, the movement established a yeshivah in 1940 at *Kefar ha-Ro'eh. It served as the basis for a network of Bnei Akiva yeshivot (high schools with intensive Torah studies programs in addition to general education) and later also for the ulpanot (girls' high schools). Today there are 15 yeshivot Bnei Akiva and 9 ulpanot. These institutions introduced a new approach to the study of the Torah by the young generation, which aroused widespread interest in circles hitherto uninterested in religious education. Yeshivot Hesder, integrating Israel army service with periods of yeshiva learning, are also under the auspices of Yeshivot Bnei Akiva. By 1995, the movement had 300 branches, a large number of which were in new settlements, with a total of over 50,000 members, increasing to 75,000 by 2004. The basic characteristics of a youth movement are found in Bnei Akiva. Scouting is cultivated, and each summer large camps are operated. The Passover school vacation is dedicated to hikes throughout the country. The movement also publishes literary material and educational literature. Since 1936 the quarterly *Zera'im* has been published. After the Six-Day *War (1967), Bnei Akiva established Yeshivat ha-Kotel near the Western Wall, and members of the movement were the first to resettle within the walls of the Old City of Jerusalem. It also had two frameworks aimed at immigrant youth from Ethiopia and the former Soviet Union and a project for young leadership in development towns.

Bnei Akiva sponsors a variety of activities in the Diaspora through the dispatch of emissaries, the training of Diaspora leaders through seminars in Israel, and the establishment of branches in various countries. In 1954 the world framework of Bnei Akiva was established. In 1995 it had about 45,000 members in close to 100 cities in the Diaspora. Hundreds of its graduates settled in Israel annually; hundreds of others go for a year's training on settlements, and many join settlement groups of *Ha-Kibbutz ha-Dati.

WEBSITE: www.bneiakiva.org.

[Itzhak Goldshlag]

BOARD OF DELEGATES OF AMERICAN ISRAELITES, organization representing the first successful attempt at organizing American Jewry in furtherance of the civil and political rights of Jews, at home and abroad. The experiment lasted 20 years, after which it was merged into the *Union of American Hebrew Congregations (then the Seminary Association of America) as the Board of Delegates of Civil and Religious Rights. It was finally dissolved 66 years after its creation.

The Board of Delegates was officially formed on in 1859 as a Jewish civil rights organization headquartered in New York City. Its establishment was partly in response to the 1858 case of Edgardo *Mortara, an Italian Jewish boy who had been kidnapped by papal authorities after his family's maid had forcibly converted him; the Vatican would not return a baptized Catholic to his non-Catholic parents. Among its founders were New York City businessman Henry Hart, financier Isaac Seligman, and philanthropist Samuel Myer Isaacs (see *Isaacs family), who served as secretary of the Board of Delegates until its absorption into the UAHC (whereupon he became president of the organization). The officers of the Board of Delegates included both civic and religious leaders: one of two elected vice presidents was Rabbi Isaac *Leeser of Philadelphia.

The five primary objectives set forth in the Board of Delegates' constitution were (1) to gather statistical information regarding the Jews of the United States; (2) to be the arbiter of disputes between congregations, individuals, or public bodies, in lieu of their resorting to the courts; (3) to promote religious education; (4) "to keep a watchful eye on occurrences at home and abroad, and see that the civil and religious rights of Israelites are not encroached on, and call attention of the proper authorities to the fact, should any such violation occur"; and (5) to establish and maintain communication with other like-minded Jewish organizations throughout the world, and especially to establish a "thorough union among all the Israelites of the United States."

Accordingly, the Board of Delegates, whose members comprised individuals, organizations, and congregations, acted in a twofold capacity: as a central umbrella organization for American Jews and as a relief agency for Jews abroad.

In the U.S., the Board was instrumental in arranging the appointment of the first Jewish military chaplain – in 1862, to the Union Army during the Civil War – and was the first body to collect and record information about the history and size of American synagogues. It also encouraged congregational schools and established two institutions of higher learning – the Educational Alliance and Hebrew Technical Institute in New York and Maimonides College in Philadelphia – to train Jewish teachers.

In addition, the Board of Delegates functioned as a sort of "anti-defamation league." It denounced General Ulysses S. Grant's 1862 Order No. 11 expelling Jews from Tennessee, as well as Major General Benjamin Franklin Butler's accusations that Jews were looters and liars. Grant's order was rescinded, and Butler issued a public apology for his comments. In 1872, the Board of Delegates was also successful – after protesting to the U.S. Commissioner of Education – in forcing the City College of New York to rescind its policy of scheduling examinations on Saturdays, the Jewish Sabbath.

Internationally, in 1860, the Board of Delegates joined the *Alliance Israélite Universelle, which had been formed that year as a central clearinghouse of information and action based in Paris to monitor the plight of Jews worldwide and advance their civil rights. Together with its counterpart councils in England, France, Austria, and Romania, the Board of Delegates assisted Jews throughout the Americas, Europe (particularly Romania), North Africa, and the Middle East (where Jerusalem and other cities in the Holy Land were under the governance of Ottoman Palestine).

Although the Board of Delegates enjoyed some success in the United States, factional and ideological conflict weakened its effectiveness domestically, especially when it came to sponsoring initiatives in the realm of education. (Indeed, some organizations had opposed the creation of the Board of Delegates in the first place.) The major focus of the Board's activity, therefore, became the human rights and emancipation of Jews in countries like Morocco, Turkey, Romania, and Palestine.

One of the Board of Delegates' lobbying triumphs resulted in the appointment of Benjamin F. *Peixotto as United States Consul to Romania, in an effort to alleviate official persecution of Romanian Jewry. Peixotto's well-publicized tenure in Bucharest (1870–76) contributed to the lessening of antisemitic legislation and pogroms. In 1872, the Board of Delegates sent representatives to attend its first international conference on an issue concerning the Jewish people: a meeting in Brussels to discuss the predicament of Romanian Jews.

The plight of Romania's Jews also presented the Board of Delegates with the difficult problem of how to handle the question of Jewish immigration to the United States. In this case, the Board pressed for increased immigration; at other times, however, it argued for restricting immigration only to persons possessing certain qualifications. In 1873, the Board, via the Alliance, provided the Russian government with statistical and employment information on various aspects of Jewish life in America, particularly the integration of Jewish citizens.

The Board of Delegates also supported Jewish causes in the Holy Land; it contributed funds to such enterprises as the Mikveh Israel Agricultural School in Jaffa and the Jewish Hospital in Jerusalem and urged the U.S. government to intercede with Palestine's Ottoman Turkish rulers in defense of the rights of the Jewish minority.

[Bezalel Gordon (2nd ed.)]

BOARD OF DEPUTIES OF BRITISH JEWS, representative organization of British Jewry. The institution dates from 1760, when the Sephardi committee of *deputados* presented a "loyal address" to George III and were reproached by the Ashkenazi community for acting independently. Both communities then agreed to consult together on matters of mutual interest. Thereafter meetings were intermittent until in 1835 a constitution was adopted. At this time the Board's representative status was recognized by the government. In 1838, Sir Moses *Montefiore became president and, apart from a brief interval, held office until 1874. He opposed representation for the Reform community, which was only achieved in 1886, a year after his death. Membership was based on synagogues, London and provincial, and it was not until the present century that representatives of other communal organizations were added.

In the 19th century, the Board was active in the struggle for political emancipation; in protecting persecuted Jewish communities overseas, to which end the good offices of the British government were enlisted; in ensuring that Jews were absolved from the effects of economic legislation designed to prevent Sunday work; in safeguarding Jewish interests with regard to marriage, divorce, and religious practice generally. It also appointed synagogal marriage secretaries which legalized weddings and, after 1881, was active in projects to integrate the Russo-Polish immigrants.

In 1878, the Board and the Anglo-Jewish Association formed a Conjoint Foreign Committee, which operated successfully until discredited by its anti-Zionist line in 1917, when it disbanded. Reconstituted in 1918 as the Joint Foreign Committee, it continued until the Board was "captured" by a well-organized Zionist caucus and Selig *Brodetsky became president in 1943. With this coup the domination by the Anglo-Jewish "aristocracy" came to an end.

The Board has been prominent for many decades in protecting and defending the rights of the Jews of the United Kingdom; in monitoring and countering antisemitism; in assisting Jews in all parts of the world; and in promoting Israel's right to live in peace and security with her neighbors. The Board's role as the representative voice of the Jewish community in the United Kingdom is acknowledged by government and the media. The Board is guided on religious matters by its ecclesiastical authorities (namely the chief rabbi and the communal rabbi of the Spanish and Portuguese Jews Congregation) and is obliged by its constitution to consult with the religious leaders of other groupings which do not recognize these ecclesiastical authorities.

The Board today consists of about 350 members representing synagogue and other communal organizations in the United Kingdom. The Deputies are elected by the individual constituencies every three years, and they in turn elect from among themselves a president, three vice presidents, and a treasurer who may hold office for two terms.

The Board works through elected committees – Law, Parliamentary and General Purposes; Israel; Foreign Affairs; Education, Youth and Information; Defense and Group Relations; Public Relations; and Finance – which meet regularly and submit reports for discussion at the monthly plenary meetings of the Deputies. Administrative matters are attended to by the chief executive and a professional staff of about 30.

For many years its offices were at Woburn House in Upper Woburn Place, London, but its offices are currently located nearby in Bloomsbury Square. While the Board of Deputies has been criticized on a variety of grounds, it is still almost always regarded by official bodies and the media as representing the official Jewish viewpoint on public issues.

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[Vivian David Lipman]

BOAS, Dutch banking family, prominent in The Hague in the 18th century. The founder of the family, HYMAN (or Abraham; 1662–1747) was settled in The Hague by 1701. In 1743 he sold his business in jewelry, gold, and textiles for the sum of 80,200 florins to his son TOBIAS (1696–1782), who became one of the most important bankers in the Netherlands. He loaned huge sums to the Dutch government and to other European rulers. His children married into the families of the *Court Jews *Gompertz, *Wertheimer, *Oppenheimer, and Kann, with whom he had business relations. Tobias was strictly Orthodox, supported Jewish scholars, and sponsored the publishing of their works. On several occasions he acted as *shtadlan*, representing Jewish interests, in which he was facilitated by his connections with European royalty. As such he took an active part in organizing Dutch and British diplomatic intervention to prevent the expulsion of the Jews from *Prague (1744–45). His sons ABRAHAM and SIMON continued his banking activities. Under the economic stress of the

American War of Independence and the French Revolution, however, the firm went bankrupt in 1792. Its failure seriously affected the prosperity of the Jewish community, which was determined by the family during the entire 18th century, since there was always one individual from the family among the official leaders. For many years Tobias financed the employment of the rabbi of the community, Saul Halevi. The family is frequently mentioned in Jewish and non-Jewish memoirs of the period, from the travel diary of Ḥ.J.D. *Azulai to the autobiography of Casanova.

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[Jozeph Michman (Melkman) /Stefan Litt (2nd ed.)]

BOAS, ABRAHAM TOBIAS (1842–1923), Australian rabbi. Boas, the son of a rabbi, was born in Amsterdam and graduated there at the theological seminary. He lived in England before immigrating to Adelaide, South Australia, as minister of the Hebrew Congregation in 1870, retiring in 1918. While his main interest was education, Boas was also active in civic affairs. He obtained recognition of the Jewish community as a denomination entitled to representation at official functions. He introduced the triennial reading of the Law but later reverted to traditional usage.

His son ISAAC HERBERT (1878–1955) was an Australian timber technologist of international repute. Born in Adelaide and educated there and in Perth, Western Australia, Boas was an academic and industrial chemist before joining the government's scientific sector. He perfected a method for utilizing the vast eucalyptus reserves for industry. From 1928 to 1944 he was chief of the division of forest products, the Council for Scientific and Industrial Research Organization (CSIRO), located in Melbourne. During this period his laboratory earned worldwide recognition. Boas served as president of the Royal Australian Chemical Institute. After his death the timber technology research station at Ilanot, Israel, was named for him. Boas was active in the Jewish community, serving as president of the Jewish Welfare Society and the St. Kilda Hebrew Congregation in Melbourne.

Another son, HAROLD BOAS (1883–1980), was a distinguished architect and town planner in Perth, Western Australia. In the period immediately after World War II, he was one of the main leaders in last-ditch efforts by acculturated sectors of the Australian Jewish community to oppose the creation of the State of Israel.

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[Israel Porush / William D. Rubinstein (2nd ed.)]

BOAS, FRANZ (1858–1942), U.S. anthropologist who established anthropology as an academic discipline in the U.S.A. Born in Minden, Germany, he taught geography at the University of Berlin, which led to his Arctic expedition to Baffin Island in 1883–84. Gradually his interest in anthropology overtook his interest in cultural geography and in 1885 he became assistant in Bastian's Museum fuer Voelkerkunde in Berlin. Boas developed a major interest in North Pacific culture, which in 1886 took him to British Columbia where he began the study of the Kwakiutl Indians, a subject in which he retained a lifelong interest. In 1887 he settled in New York City, and worked as an assistant editor of *Science* primarily in geography. After some teaching he became affiliated with the American Museum of Natural History, where he served as curator of ethnology 1901–05. In 1899 he was appointed professor of anthropology at Columbia University.

After his monograph on the Central Eskimo (1888) he planned and participated in the Jesup North Pacific expedition. He developed into an authority on the Northwest Pacific coast, the Eskimo and Kwakiutl cultures, American Indian languages, and Mexican archaeology where he was among the first to apply stratographic excavations.

In effect he restructured anthropology into a modern science committed to rigorous empirical method and the fundamental idea of the relative autonomy of the phenomena of culture.

In Boas' view, neither race nor geographical setting have the primary role in forming human beings. Culture is the behavioral environment which forms the patterns of thought, feeling, and behavior, producing habits which are an internalization of traditional group patterns.

In the field of linguistics his studies of American Indian languages and his contributions to modern linguistic techniques in both phonetics and morphology virtually defined American linguistic anthropology.

Boas' studies of race and environmental factors, employing innovative biometric techniques, moved physical anthropology from static taxonomy to a dynamic biosocial perspective. Proceeding to refine the concept of race based on the notion of a permanent stability of bodily forms, he stressed the influence of environmental factors of human cultural life in modifying anatomy and physiology. In this labor his early training in physics and mathematics was of great use to him in his important investigations of changes in cranial and other measurements in children of immigrants. Thus his *Changes in Bodily Form of Descendants of Immigrants* (1912), which measured some 18,000 individuals, comparing European immigrant parents and their children in New York City, demonstrated significant changes in cephalic measurements. He also carried forward pioneer longitudinal studies in human growth and biometrical genetics.

After a lifetime in scientific endeavor and public teaching regarding the dangers of racism, he participated in various efforts on behalf of intellectuals persecuted by the Nazi regime and personally made it possible for many refugees to escape to freedom, while emigration was still possible.

His major works include: *Anthropology and Modern Life* (1932^{2}); *Race, Language and Culture* (1940); *Race and Democratic Society* (1945); *Primitive Art* (1951); *The Mind of Primitive Man* (1965^{3}); *The Central Eskimo* (U.S. Bureau of American Ethnology, *Sixth Annual Report 1884–85* (1888), 399–669; issued in paperback, 1964); and *Ethnology of the Kwakiutl* (*35th Annual Report 1913–14* (1921), 41–1481).

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[Ephraim Fischoff]

BOAS, FREDERICK SAMUEL (1862–1957), literary scholar. Boas was professor of English at Queen's College, Belfast University (1901–05) and specialized in Shakespearean and Elizabethan studies. His works include *Christopher Marlowe* (1940) and introductions to Tudor and Stuart drama. Boas was a well-known Shakespearian scholar who first applied the term "problem plays" to Shakespeare's later comedies. His son, Guy Boas, was a prominent contributor to *Punch*.

[William D. Rubinstein (2nd ed.)]

BOAS, GEORGE (1891–1980), U.S. philosopher, a major figure in the history of ideas movement in America. From 1924 to 1957 he was professor of philosophy at Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore. He also served as chairman of the philosophy department. His major studies were in the areas of esthetics, the history of thought, and French philosophy. He also translated several works from French. Boas was on the board of editors of the *Journal of the History of Ideas*, from its inception in 1945 until his death. In 1953, at the height of the McCarthy period, Boas helped edit *Lattimore the Scholar*, in defense of Owen Lattimore, who was under attack.

His major writings include *The Happy Beast in French Thought of the 17th Century* (1933), *A Primer for Critics* (1947), *Essays on Primitivism* (1948), *Wingless Pegasus* (1950), *The Mind's Road to God: Bonaventura* (1953), *Dominant Themes of Modern Philosophy* (1957), *The Inquiring Mind* (1959), *Rationalism in Greek Philosophy* (1961), *The Heaven of Invention* (1962), *The Challenge of Science* (1965), *The Cult of Childhood* (1966), *The Limits of Reason* (1968), *The History of Ideas: An Introduction* (1969), and *Vox Populi: Essays in the History of an Idea* (1969). A collection of Boas' essays, entitled *Primitivism & Related Ideas in the Middle Ages,* was published in 1997.

[Richard H. Popkin / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

BOAS, HENRIETTE (1911–2001), Dutch classical scholar and journalist. Boas was born in Amsterdam, the eldest daughter of Dr. Marcus Boas (1879–1940), a learned private teacher of classics. She studied Ancient History, Greek and Latin and wrote her Ph.D. dissertation on *Aeneas' Arrival in Latium* (1938) at the University of Amsterdam. From February to May 1940 she was in Paris doing research, and from there she managed to get to London, where she worked in the Dutch section of the BBC. From 1947 till 1951 she lived in Palestine/Israel and wrote for various newspapers. After her return to the Netherlands she worked as a correspondent for the Israeli newspapers *Haaretz* and the *Jerusalem Post* and the English weekly *Jewish Chronicle*.

Between 1959 and 1981 she taught Greek and Latin at various schools in Holland. She continued to write for the above newspapers and in Dutch she contributed to *Aleh*, the quarterly of Dutch immigrants in Israel, and to Jewish periodicals in the Netherlands. She wrote on Dutch topics in the first edition and Year Books of the *Encyclopaedia Judaica* as well as for the *American Jewish Yearbook* (1987–99). She also participated in symposia and lectured on Dutch Jewish literary and historical topics.

The Dr. Henriette Boas Stichting (Amsterdam) established the Dr. Henriette Boas Prize for journalists and other popular writers who make outstanding achievements in the field of Dutch Jewish history and culture. Shaul Kesslassi and Daphne Meijer made a documentary film about her life called *Ik lees de krant met een schaar* (NIK-Media, Hilversum, December 2004).

[F.J. Hoogewoud (2nd ed.)]

BOAZ (Heb. בֹּעַז), the son of Salmah, great-grandfather of King David. Boaz was descended from Nahshon, the son of Amminadab (Ruth 4:20–22; I Chron. 2:10–15), prince of the tribe of Judah in the generation of the wilderness (Num. 1:7). He lived in Beth-Lehem in the time of the Judges and is described as a "man of substance," that is, a wealthy landowner employing many young men and women on his estate (Ruth 2:1). *Ruth, the Moabite daughter-in-law of Naomi, came to glean in his fields, and Boaz expressed his appreciation for her kindness and devotion to the widowed Naomi. Being a kinsman of Elimelech, Ruth's late father-in-law, Boaz undertook to redeem the latter's inheritance. He then married Ruth (*ibid.*, 2:11–12; 3:12; 4:1–15).

[Nahum M. Sarna]

In the *Aggadah*

Boaz was a prince of Israel (Ruth R. 5:15) and the head of the *bet din* of Beth-Lehem. He is, therefore, sometimes identified with the judge Ibzan of Beth-Lehem (Judg. 12:8) who lost his sixty children during his lifetime (BB 91a). Ruth and Naomi arrived in Beth-Lehem on the day on which Boaz' wife was buried (*ibid.*). He had a vision that Ruth would be the ancestress of David (Shab. 113b). When Ruth told him that as a Moabite she was excluded from marrying him (Deut. 23:4), Boaz responded that this prohibition applied only to the males of Moab and not to the females (Ruth R. 4:1). Although a prince, Boaz himself supervised the threshing of the grain and slept in the barn in order to prevent profligacy (Ruth R. 5:15).

When awakened by Ruth, he believed her to be a devil, and only after touching her hair was he convinced to the contrary since devils are bald (Ruth R. 6:1). The six measures of barley which he gave her were a symbol of her destiny to become the ancestress of six pious men, among them David and the Messiah (Sanh. 93a–b). Boaz was 80 years old and Ruth 40 when they married (Ruth R. 6:2), and although he died the day after the wedding (Mid. Ruth, Zuta 4:13), their union was blessed with a child, Obed, David's grandfather. In recognition of his merits, certain customs that Boaz originated were retained and received heavenly approval – the use of the Divine name in greeting one's fellow man (Ruth 2:4; Ber. 9:5) and the ceremony of pronouncing benedictions on a bridal couple in the presence of ten men (Ket. 7a).

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BOBE-MAYSE, Yiddish expression for a fantastic or incredible tale. The term is based on the title of the Yiddish chivalric romance that Elijah *Levita adapted from the Tuscan *Buovo d'Antona* (based on the original 14th-century Anglo-Norman *Boeuve de Haumton*). This work, popular among Ashkenazi Jews, originally appeared as *Bovo D'Antona* and was subsequently printed as *Bove-Bukh; in later *chapbook editions it was titled *Bove-Mayse (mayse*, "tale"). The similarity of *Bove* to *Bobe* (Yid. "grandmother") led to the substitution of *Bobe-Mayse* for *Bove-Mayse*, and to the use of the former expression for any "grandmother's tale" (i.e., incredible story), with no connection to the original romance.

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[Sol Liptzin / Jean Baumgarten (2nd ed.)]

BOBER, ROBERT (1931–), French writer and director of documentary films. Bober was born in Berlin in 1931, but the family fled with the rise of the Nazi regime in 1933 and settled in working-class neighborhoods of Paris. Bober left school early, just after completing the "Certificat d'Etudes Primaires" (end of primary school), and worked successively as a tailor, a potter, and an assistant for film director Francois Truffaut. Since being hired by French public television as a film director in 1967, he directed over 100 documentary films covering a variety of domains, some of them with renowned journalist and producer Pierre Dumayet, including portraits of 19th-and 20th-century French writers (Balzac, Flaubert, Proust, Valery, Dubillard, Queneau) or artists (Van Gogh, Alechinsky). A more intimate side of his work is connected to his own story as a Jewish refugee of Polish descent, born in Germany, who managed to live through the Holocaust: *Refugie provenant d'Allemagne, d'origine polonaise* (1975–76) exemplifies this search for his roots, which Bober traces back to Radom, in Poland. Several of Bober's films deal with Ashkenazi Jewish culture and *yiddishkeit* (*Sholem Aleikhem*, 1967; *Martin Buber*), or with the permanence of memory and remembrance (*The Generation After,* 1970–71). Photography was thus important to him, as a witness to a vanished or vanishing past. Bober was awarded a grand prize for lifetime achievement by the Societé Civile des Auteurs Multimedia in 1991. Subsequently he published two outstanding and deeply autobiographical novels, *Quoi de neuf sur la guerre?* (1993), and *Berg et Beck* (1999), the first one set in a Jewish-owned clothing factory, the second in a Jewish educational facility, both of them in the immediate aftermath of World War II and both dealing in a very sensitive and low-key manner, yet powerfully, with Holocaust memories and the difficult way back to normal life for ordinary working people whose lives had been shattered. Both novels have been successfully adapted for stage.

Bober shared with writer George *Perec a similar personal history (Perec dealt with the Holocaust in the novel *W ou le souvenir d'enfance*), as well as with a childhood in the same eastern neighborhoods of Paris (the *rue Vilin*, which was the setting of an unfinished work-in-progress by Perec, mixing photography and text, became the subject of Bober's *En remontant la rue Vilin*, a tribute to Perec which won the silver prize at the FIPA contest in 1993). Together they worked on a documentary film, *Recits d'Ellis Island* (1986), where, though not directly confronting the Holocaust, they dealt with stories of wandering and exile echoing their own stories.

[Dror Franck Sullaper (2nd ed.)]

BOBOV, ḥasidic group that began with Solomon *Halberstam (1847–1905), who lived in the Galcian town of Bobowa. Solomon was the grandson of Rabbi Ḥayyim of Sanz, founder of the Sanzer ḥasidim. Solomon enjoyed great popularity among the young people in his area, whom flocked to hear his Torah and to seek his counsel. He is credited with starting the first yeshivah in Poland. He was succeeded by his son Ben Zion Halberstam (1874–1941). Ben Zion continued his father's work in education. By the beginning of World War II, he had established 60 satellite yeshivot, with the yeshivah in Bobov as the center. Ben Zion, along with two of his sons, two sons-in-law, and his daughters perished at the hands of the Nazis in the Holocaust. His son Solomon (1908–2000) managed to escape the Nazis by fleeing to Italy. Immediately after the war, Solomon made his way to New York City. He settled first in Manhattan, then moved to Crown Heights in Brooklyn, and finally to Boro Park in Brooklyn, where he remained. Boro Park continued to be the world center of the Bobover ḥasidim and the home of the *rebbe*. At the end of World War II, only 300 Bobover ḥasidim remained. Solomon managed to obtain visas for them as well as for hundreds of orphans who were in the Italian transfer camps to join him in America. These orphans were among the very first students enrolled in the new

Bobover schools in America. One of the first educational institutions started by Solomon was a trade school in Manhattan. The purpose was to teach ḥasidic refugees marketable skills so they could earn a living. These schools were the beginning of a network of Bobov schools and yeshivot that currently stretches from Brooklyn to Toronto, Canada, to London, to Antwerp, and to Israel. They are the hallmark of a remarkable rebuilding of Bobov ḥasidism from a few hundred to well over 20,000 ḥasidim around the world. Some estimate that there were as many as 100,000 Bobov ḥasidim at the turn of the century. There were approximately 7,000 men and women in Bobover schools in America. In Israel, there was a Bobov community just outside Bat Yam, as well as large yeshivot in Jerusalem and Bene-Berak. The Israeli branch pursues a non-confrontational but non-Zionist stance vis-à-vis the Israeli government. Their sons do not serve in the IDF.

Throughout his tenure as *rebbe*, Solomon steered clear of the disputes that have marred the relationships between other ḥasidic groups. He was also very actively involved in the lives of his ḥasidim, attending innumerable bar mitzvahs, weddings, and circumcisions. At the time of his death in 2000, Bobov was one of the three largest ḥasidic groups (with Lubavitch and Satmar). Solomon was succeeded by his son Naftali (1931–2005), who, during his last years, was constantly ill. He did not leave a son to succeed him; thus a dispute broke out on the day of his funeral as to who would be the next *rebbe*, his younger half-brother, Benzion, or his son-in-law, Mordechai Unger. Benzion gained the upper hand; however, it remained to be seen if there would be a split in the Bobov ḥasidic group.

Solomon Halberstam, the first American Bobover *rebbe*, published a two-volume compilation of his father's comments on the Pentateuch and the holidays, titled *Sefer Kedushat Zion* (1994). His own comments on the high holy days were published posthumously, entitled *Si'aḥ Shelomo* (2002). Over the years, Bobov published numerous small monographs (*kuntresim*) on a wide variety of topics, including all of the holidays and various books of the Bible. They also published a number of biographies of their *rebbes*, especially the first two, who lived in Europe (see bibliography). At one point, they also published a Bobov telephone book, listing their numerous institutions around the world.

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[David Derovan (2nd ed.)]

BOBROVY KUT, Jewish agricultural settlement in Nikolayev district, Ukraine. It was established in 1807 with private funds and settled by families from Mogilev, Belorussia. The settlement numbered 406 Jews in 1810, and 165 families in 1815 (416 men and 327 women). Additional families were transferred there in 1825, 1837, and 1841, and the settlement numbered 1,184 in 1849, 1,248 in 1897, and over 2,000 in 1926, but dropped to 600 (136 families) in 1936. Under the Soviet government, Bobrovy Kut was incorporated in the autonomous Jewish district of Kalinindorf and like the other Jewish agricultural settlements traversed many vicissitudes. It suffered years of hunger, was changed into a kolkhoz, and underwent "internationalization" (i.e., admission of non-Jews). The Jewish settlers were often accused of being "petit-bourgeois," nationalists, or Zionists. Many of the younger settlers were arrested and deported, while most of the older ones left. A Yiddish school was in operation in the 1930s. Bobrovy Kut was occupied by the Germans on August 27, 1941. They soon murdered 850 Jews from the village and its environs, and in September 300 from the surrounding kolkhozes. Bobrozy Kut was the birthplace of the poet S. *Frug.

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[Shmuel Spector (2nd ed.)]

BOBRUISK, capital of Bobruisk district, Belarus; became part of Russia after the second partition of Poland in 1793. Jewish settlement there is first mentioned at the end of the 17th century. The *kehillah* of Bobruisk was included in the jurisdiction of the township of Smilovichi (see *Councils of the Lands). Three hundred and fifty-nine Jewish poll taxpayers are recorded in Bobruisk in 1766. The community increased appreciably after Bobruisk's accession to Russia. The supply of provisions to the garrison of the large fortress built there at the beginning of the 19th century became a major source of Jewish employment. Toward the middle of the 19th century, Jews also took part in lumbering activities, since Bobruisk became an important lumber center, where timber from the adjacent forests was rafted or entrained to southern Russia or the Baltic ports. The Jewish population numbered 4,702 in 1847; 8,861 in 1861; 20,760 in 1897 (60% of the total); and 25,876 (61%) in 1914. It dropped to 21,558 Jews (42%) in 1926 and rose again to 26,703 (total 84,078) in 1939.

There were numerous yeshivot in Bobruisk. Distinguished rabbis who officiated there included leaders of *Ḥabad Ḥasidim (Mordecai Baruch Ettinger, Hillel of Paritch, Shemariah Noah Schneerson) as well as *mitnaggedim* (Jacob David Willowski (Ridbaz), and Raphael Shapiro, afterward head of the Volozhin yeshivah). The Hebrew author M. Rabinson served as "government-appointed" rabbi from 1911. Toward the end of the 19th century, Bobruisk became a center of cultural and political activity for Belorussian Jewry in which both the Zionist and radical wings were prominent. The publishing house of Jacob Cohen Ginsburg became celebrated throughout Russia. The "model" *ḥeder*, established in 1900, provided comprehensive Hebrew instruction and did much to raise the standard of Hebrew education. A popular Jewish library was also opened there. After its founding, Bobruisk became one of the main bases of the *Bund; in 1898 its clandestine printing press was seized in Bobruisk by the police.

After World War I, the Jewish population suffered from the frequent changes of government during the civil war and the Soviet-Polish war (1918–21). Subsequently, Jewish activities ceased. J. Ginsburg and other publishers continued to print prayer books and other religious publications in Bobruisk until 1928; the last work of Jewish religious literature to be published in the Soviet Union, *Yagdil Torah*, was printed in Bobruisk. A network of 12 Jewish schools giving instruction in Yiddish was established in Bobruisk after the 1917 Revolution, enrolling 3,000 pupils in 1936 and functioning until 1939. Bobruisk was occupied by the Germans on June 28, 1941. Seven thousand succeeded in fleeing but 3,500 Jews were murdered at the beginning of July and 800 men on August 5 after supposedly being taken to a labor camp. A ghetto was established in an open field near the airport. On November 7, 1941, 20,000 Jews were sent from there to their deaths. Another 5,281 Jews were later executed after they refused to wear the yellow badge and report for forced labor. Small groups fled to the forests, where they joined Soviet partisan units. The Jewish population increased after the war, and was estimated at 30,000 in the 1970s and 10,000 in 1989. There was no synagogue under the Soviets, the last one having been closed in 1959, but there were said to be underground *minyanim*. There was a separate Jewish cemetery. Most of the Jews emigrated in the 1990s as the Jewish population of Belarus dropped by over 75%, but Jewish life begain to revive with a synagogue, day school, and Sunday school in operation. Bobruisk was the birthplace of Pauline *Wengeroff, I. *Nissenbaum, Berl *Katznelson, David *Shimoni, Yiẓḥak *Tabenkin, Kadish *Luz, and Y. *Tunkel.

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[Yehuda Slutsky / Shmuel Spector (2nd ed.)]

BOBTELSKY, MORDEKHAI (**Max**; 1890–1965), Israel inorganic chemist and pioneer of heterometry, born in Vladislavov (Naumiestis), Lithuania. Bobtelsky taught at Orel and Vitebsk (1916–1922). He worked with Fritz *Haber in Berlin, and then in a large inorganic chemicals factory in Aussig (Usti nad Labem), Czechoslovakia. He went to Palestine in 1925 as chief chemist of Palestine Potash Ltd. and joined Hebrew University, Jerusalem (1927), becoming professor of inorganic and analytical chemistry in 1937. Many of his writings were devoted to heterometry.

°**BOCCACCIO, GIOVANNI** (1313–1375), Italian author, whose greatest work, *Il Decamerone*, contains a number of Jewish elements. The son of a Florentine merchant, Boccaccio was apprenticed in his youth to a merchant in Naples and may have come into contact with some of the Jews who were flourishing in Neapolitan commerce at that time. He later introduced Jews into two of the early tales of the *Decameron* (the second and third story of the "First Day" of the cycle). Boccaccio summarized the second story as follows: "Abraham, a Jew, at the instance of Jehannot de Chevigny, goes to the court of Rome, and having marked the evil life of the clergy, returns to Paris and becomes a Christian" (because God would tolerate such conduct only in followers of the true faith). His summary of the third story is "Melchisedech, a Jew, by a story of three rings, averts a great danger with which he was menaced by Saladin." He uses the character of Abraham to criticize the contemporary ecclesiastical establishment and the corruption of the clergy, and that of Melchisedech to praise human wisdom. Both tales are based on medieval literature, Christian as well as Jewish. A story of three rings or three precious stones, representing the debate as to the relative excellence of the three monotheistic religions, is used by early English, French, and Italian writers. The theme also appears in Jewish literature in the *Shevet Yehudah* (ch. 32) of Solomon *Ibn Verga (ed. Y.F. Baer (1947), 78–80). Although this was not published until 1550, the author was undoubtedly quoting a story which was well-known long before he wrote his book. Debates between representatives of Judaism, Christianity, and Islam are often to be found in medieval Hebrew literature.

Boccaccio's choice of Jews as heroes would appear to result from the great emphasis he placed on wisdom and tolerance, both of which he regarded as Jewish characteristics. In his very earliest stories he stressed the keen intelligence of the Jew, his freedom from blind ideology, and his adaptability. Regarding the Jewish character as essentially realistic and individualistic, he also used his two heroes to mock any regimented approach to life. Boccaccio had an important and formative influence on European literature. The strongest echo of his Melchisedech story occurs in *Nathan the Wise* (1779), a play on the theme of religious tolerance by the German dramatist Gotthold Ephraim *Lessing. Some reflection of the "three rings" story has also been detected in the casket scene in *Shakespeare's *Merchant of Venice*.

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[Isaac Garti]

BOCHNIA (from 1939 to 1945 called **Salzberg**), town in Cracow province, Poland, noted for its rock-salt deposits. In 1555 the Jews of Bochnia, who engaged in marketing and contracting for the salt impost, were granted a general privilege by King Sigismund Augustus. Jews there were accused of stealing the Host in 1605 and a Jewish miner, allegedly the instigator, died under torture. Subsequently the Jews were expelled from Bochnia, and the city received the privilege *de non tolerandis Judaeis*. This exclusion of the Jews remained in force until 1860, but Jews were allowed to resettle in the town only in 1862. They numbered 1,911 in 1900 and 2,459 in 1921.

Holocaust Period

An estimated 3,500 Jews (20% of the total population) lived in Bochnia in 1939. The German Army entered the town on Sept. 3, 1939, and immediately subjected the Jewish population to persecution and terror. In May 1940 a huge *"Kontribution"* of 3,000,000 zloty ($600,000) was imposed by the Nazis upon the Jewish population. In March 1942 a ghetto was established to which the entire Jewish population from all the surrounding towns and villages was brought. In August 1942 a massive *Aktion* was conducted by police units from Cracow. About 600 Jews were killed on the spot and another 2,000 deported to Belzec death camp. On Nov. 2, 1942, a second deportation took place during which about 70 people were killed and more than 500 deported to Belzec. In September 1943 the entire ghetto was liquidated. No Jewish community was reestablished in Bochnia after the war.

[Stefan Krakowski]

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BOCHUM, city in northern Rhine-Westphalia, Germany. The presence of Jews there is mentioned in 1349. A synagogue, erected in 1594, is mentioned again in 1652. In 1800 there were 27 Jewish residents (1.6% of the total population), mainly cattle merchants and butchers. The number increased to 1,002 by 1900 (0.27%) and to 1,152 in 1933. It maintained two synagogues (one established by the Orthodox Polish community), a *ḥeder*, a Hebrew school, a Jewish elementary school, eight benevolent societies, and cultural organizations. M. David served as rabbi from 1901 to 1936.

On October 28, 1938, some 250 Polish or stateless Jews were expelled from Bochum, and on November 10 – Kristallnacht – the main synagogue was set on fire and Jewish shops and homes were looted. Jewish males were arrested and temporarily interned in Sachsenhausen. By June 17, 1939, only 355 Jews remained in the city. During World War II they were deported to *Riga, *Zamosc, *Auschwitz, and *Theresienstadt in five transports embarking from Dortmund between January 1942 and March 1943. In 1943 and 1944 three forced labor camps were established in the city. In March 1945 about 2,000 of the workers were sent to Buchenwald; most were probably murdered. After the war about 40 Jews returned to Bochum. In 1953 the Jewish inhabitants of the neighboring towns of Bochum, Herne, and *Recklinghausen united to establish a community, with the center in Recklinghausen, where a synagogue was consecrated in 1955. There were 66 Jews in the three towns in 1989. Since then, the number of Jewish inhabitants has increased greatly as a result of the immigration of Jews from the former Soviet Union. Consequently, the Jews of Bochum, Herne, and Hattingen formed an independent community in 1999, numbering 1,091 members in 2003.

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BOCK, JERRY (1928–), U.S. composer. One of the most successful Broadway theater composers of the 1960s (*Fiddler on the Roof, Fiorello!, She Loves Me*), Jerrold Lewis Bock was born in New Haven, Conn., and grew up in Queens, N.Y. He took up the piano and composition as a boy. He wrote his first musical in public school, wrote another in high school, which was produced at the school, and wrote the show *Big as Life*, which was staged in 1948 at the University of Wisconsin, where he was a student. Beginning after his graduation, he teamed with Larry Holofcener to write special musical material for television. In 1956 he composed his first complete Broadway score for *Mr. Wonderful*, starring Sammy *Davis Jr., and two years later began his successful collaboration with Sheldon *Harnick. Their first production, *The Body Beautiful*, was a flop, but they enjoyed working together and a year later produced *Fiorello!*, based on the life of the New York mayor, Fiorello H. *LaGuardia. The show won a Pulitzer Prize. Another New York-inspired musical, *Tenderloin*, followed in 1960. Perhaps the best Bock-Harnick score was produced for the 1963 musical *She Loves Me*, based on the 1940 Ernst *Lubitsch film *The Shop Around the Corner*. The story, involving two bickering workers in a Budapest parfumerie who fall in love through an exchange of letters, contained such long-lasting songs as "Vanilla Ice Cream," "Will He Like Me," and "A Trip to the Library."

In 1964 the Bock-Harnick collaboration provided the score for *Fiddler on the Roof*, which contained the classics "Matchmaker, Matchmaker," "If I Were a Rich Man," and "Sunrise, Sunset." The show, with Zero *Mostel portraying Sholom *Aleichem's Tevye the milkman, became the most popular musical and longest-running show in the history of Broadway and spawned productions worldwide in dozens of languages. It won nine Tony Awards, including Best Musical, and was revived a number of times on Broadway. A 1971 film version, with song and story about *shtetl* life, starred the Israeli actor Chaim *Topol and was hugely successful. The family's story, of living in poverty, of Jews facing religious discrimination and pogroms, of the difficulties of raising a family in changing times, contained universal messages, and audiences around the world were quick to relate to them.

The team went on to write *Baker Street*, built around the character of Sherlock Holmes, and *The Apple Tree*, adapted from the work of Mark Twain, but these did not achieve the success of their previous work. The last Bock-Harnick project was *The Rothschilds*, an original musical based on the history of the banking family. It had its Broadway debut in 1970 and ran for more than a year.

[Stewart Kampel (2nd ed.)]

BODANSKY, OSCAR (1901–1977), U.S. biochemist. Born in Russia, Bodansky was taken to U.S. in 1907. He taught at the universities of California and Texas, and at New York University. He served as director of medical research, U.S. Army Medical Corps during World War II. He joined the Cornell Medical College faculty (1946), becoming professor of biochemistry in 1951, and worked at Sloan-Kettering Institute for Cancer Research from 1948, becoming vice president in 1966. He and his brother MEYER (1896–1941) wrote *Biochemistry of Diseases* (1940, 1952).

BODANZKY, ARTHUR (1877–1939), conductor. Born in Vienna, Bodanzky made his debut in 1900 conducting Jones' *The Geisha* with the 18-man orchestra in České Budějovice. In 1903 he became assistant to Gustav *Mahler at the Vienna Opera and subsequently conducted operas in Berlin, Prague, and Mannheim. In 1915 he was engaged by the Metropolitan Opera, New York, as conductor of their German repertory and held this position until his death. His repertory included Gluck, Richard Strauss, Tchaikovsky, Meyerbeer, Suppé and the American premieres of Weinberger's *Švanda the Bagpiper* and Krenek's *Jonny spielt auf*. He excelled in conducting Wagner but was also a symphony conductor. He was music director of the Society of Friends of Music in New York from 1916 until 1931.

ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY: Grove online; MGG².

[Israela Stein (2nd ed.)]

BODEK, JACOB (1819–1855), Galician Hebraist. Bodek was born in Lemberg. He and his brother-in-law, A.M. *Mohr, were two of the *maskilim* in Lemberg who published a journal entitled *Ha-Ro'eh u-Mevakker Sifrei Meḥabberei Zemannenu* ("Criticism of the works of Contemporary Authors," 1838–39), criticizing the works of S.J. Rapoport, S.D. Luzzatto, and I.S. Reggio. He and Mohr later edited a periodical called *Yerushalayim* (1844–45) to which many Galician *maskilim* contributed. Bodek published biblical commentaries and translations of poetry in the periodical *Kokhevei Yiẓḥak*. His letters, which contain valuable material on the historical and cultural background of the early 19th century, were printed after his death in *Ha-Boker Or, Ha-Shaḥar*, and other journals.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Klausner, Sifrut, 2 (1952²), index; G. Bader, *Medinah va-Ḥakhameha* (1934), 33.

[Getzel Kressel]

BODENHEIM, MAXWELL (1893–1954), U.S. poet and novelist. Born in Mississippi, Bodenheim was raised in poverty. He moved to New York, where he first attracted attention with his book of verses *Minna and Myself* (1918). He continued his experiments in free verse with five other volumes. The suppression of his first novel, *Replenishing Jessica* (1925), on the grounds that it was immoral brought him temporary notoriety. His novels of New York's seamy side, such as *Naked on Roller Skates* (1931) and *New York Madness* (1933), endeared him to radical circles. Bodenheim never shunned unpopular causes and continued to pioneer the treatment of unconventional themes. His anguished "Poem to the Gentiles" (1944) cast doubt on the sincerity of many non-Jewish protests against Nazi barbarism. Bodenheim's last days were again spent in poverty. He was murdered by a psychopathic ex-convict.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: J. Mersand, *Traditions in American Literature* (1939), 133–6; S. Liptzin, *Jew in American Literature* (1966), 140–1.

[Sol Liptzin]

BODENHEIMER, FREDERICK SIMON (1897–1959), Israel zoologist. The son of Max Isidor *Bodenheimer, he was born in Cologne, and completed his studies in biology at Bonn in 1921. In 1922 he was appointed entomologist in the new agricultural experimental station of the Jewish Agency in Tel Aviv, where he worked until 1928. In 1927 Bodenheimer carried out an expedition to the Sinai Peninsula. Important among the results of this expedition was his identification of the biblical manna as the honeydew excretion of scale-insects on tamarisk. In 1928 he was appointed research fellow and in 1931 professor of zoology at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. From 1938 to 1941 he was visiting professor at Ankara and consultant to the Turkish Ministry of Agriculture. In 1943 he was invited to Iraq to serve as entomological adviser on locust control. In addition to his specialty of agricultural entomology, Bodenheimer's broader biological interests were animal ecology, population dynamics, and the history of science. He was the author of many articles and numerous books, including *Die Schaedlingsfauna Palaestinas* (1930); *Materialien zur Geschichte der Entomologie bis Linné* (2 vols., 1928–29); *Animal Life in Palestine* (1935); *Problems of Animal Ecology* (1938); *Animal and Man in Bible Lands* (1960); *Citrus Entomology in the Middle East…* (1951); *The History of Biology: an Introduction* (1958); and *Animal Ecology Today* (1958). His last book, *A Biologist in Israel* (1959), is an autobiography.

[Mordecai L. Gabriel]

BODENHEIMER, MAX ISIDOR (1865–1940), one of *Herzl's first assistants, a founder of the World Zionist Organization, and one of the first directors of the *Jewish National Fund. Bodenheimer was born in Stuttgart and began to practice law in Cologne in 1890. Despite an assimilationist education, he joined the *Ḥibbat Zion movement in his youth. In 1891 he published a pamphlet, *Wohin mit den russischen Juden?* in which he suggested settling Russian Jews in Ereẓ Israel. In 1893 he and David *Wolffsohn founded in Cologne a Ḥibbat Zion society which was the nucleus of the future Zionist Federation in Germany. When Herzl announced his Zionist plans, Bodenheimer joined him immediately. At the First Zionist Congress in 1897 he presented the organizational program of the Zionist movement, and was a member of the committee which prepared the text of the *Basle Program. From 1897 to 1921 and from 1931 to 1933 Bodenheimer was a member of the Zionist General Council. In 1898 he was a member of the Zionist delegation which accompanied Herzl to Ereẓ Israel for an audience with Kaiser William II on his visit there. Bodenheimer put the statutes of the Jewish National Fund into final form and served as its director from 1907 to 1914. The land on which Kinneret, Deganyah, and Merḥavyah were built was among that acquired during his administration; and assistance was also given for urban and rural settlement, including a loan to help found Tel Aviv. During World War I Bodenheimer together with Franz *Oppenheimer and Adolph *Friedemann founded the Va'ad le-Ma'an ha-Mizraḥ ("Committee for the East"), which aimed at serving as a liaison between East European Jewry and the German occupation authorities. He joined the *Revisionist Movement (1931–34) but left when it seceded from the World Zionist Organization. In 1935 Bodenheimer settled in Jerusalem. He published many pamphlets and articles on Zionist matters, and wrote a drama on the life of Jesus (1933). His memoirs appeared posthumously in Hebrew (1952), German (1958), and in English under the title *Prelude to Israel* (1963). His daughter, Hannah, published his correspondence with Hermann Shapira, *Toledot Tokhnit Basel* ("The History of the Basle Program," 1947), and that between him and Herzl in Hebrew and German, under the title *Be-Reshit ha-Tenu'ah* ("At the Beginning of the Movement," 1965). A selection of his writings, *Bi-Mesillat Rishonim*, was published in 1951.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: T. Herzl, *Complete Diaries*, ed. by R. Patai, 5 vols. (1960), index; S. Ben-Horin, *Ḥamishim Shenot Ẓiyyonut, Max Bodenheimer* (1946); H. Bodenheimer, *Herzl Yearbook*, 6 (1964–65), 153–81; R. Lichtheim, *Die Geschichte des deutschen Zionismus* (1954), index.

[Alexander Bein]

°BODENSCHATZ, JOHANN CHRISTOPH GEORG (1717–1797), German Protestant theologian. Born in Hof, Bavaria, Bodenschatz received his early education at Gera, where through his teacher Schleusner he became interested in biblical and Oriental subjects, later studying Oriental languages at the University of Jena. He entered the church, became vicar at Uttenreuth, and in 1780 superintendent at Baiersdorf. In his writings Bodenschatz described contemporary Jewish customs in Germany faithfully and without prejudice. His *Kirchliche Verfassung der heutigen Juden, sonderlich derer in Deutschland* (4 vols., Erlangen and Coburg, 1748–49), is an important historical source for Jewish life in Germany in the mid-18th century. A second edition of the book was published in Frankfurt in 1756 under the title *Aufrichtig teutsch redender Hebraeer*. Both editions are rich in engravings depicting subjects drawn from contemporary Jewish life in Germany. Some of these engravings were taken from B. Picart's *Cérémonies et coûtumes religieuses de tous les peuples* (1723–37). Bodenschatz is said to have made elaborate models of Noah's Ark and the Tabernacle.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: ADB, 3 (1876), 7; I. Abrahams, *By-Paths in Hebraic Bookland* (1920), 160–5.

BODIAN, DAVID (1910–2002), U.S. anatomist. Born in St. Louis, Bodian received his Ph.D. in anatomy in 1934 and his M.D. in 1937 from the University of Chicago. He came to the Johns Hopkins University School of Medicine in 1939 as a research fellow in anatomy. The following year, Bodian was an assistant professor of anatomy at Western Reserve University School of Medicine. He returned to Johns Hopkins in 1942 as a lecturer in anatomy in the school of medicine and assistant professor of epidemiology in the school of public health. In 1957, Bodian became professor of anatomy and the director of the anatomy department in the school of medicine. Along with his colleagues, Howard Howe and Isabelle Mountain Morgan, Bodian helped lay the groundwork for the *Salk and *Sabin polio vaccines through their research into the neuropathology of poliomyelitis. Bodian's team demonstrated that the polio virus that was transmitted through the mouth and digestive tract was in fact three distinct types of virus, and they showed that antibodies to the virus were carried through the bloodstream, demonstrating that for a vaccine to be effective it must include antibodies recognizing all three types of virus. Bodian's group also developed early poliomyelitis vaccines – first a formalin-treated vaccine that successfully immunized monkeys, and then another that significantly elevated the levels of antibodies in children. In addition, Bodian developed a technique to stain nerve fibers and nerve endings (named the Bodian stain) and made major contributions to the knowledge of the basic structure of nerve cells. Bodian was elected to the U.S. National Academy of Sciences in 1958. In his memory, the International Post-Polio Task Force presents the David Bodian Memorial Award every year to persons whose activities benefit polio survivors.

[Ruth Rossing (2nd ed.)]

°BODIN, JEAN (1529 or 1530–1596), French historian, economist, and jurist. Bodin took an interest in Judaism in his main works *De Republica* (1576) and *Methodus ad facilem historiarum cognitionem* (1566), but chiefly in a work which he had completed in 1593 but did not publish, *Colloquium Heptaplomeres de rerum sublimium arcanis abditis* (excerpts first printed in 1841; complete edition 1857). Thanks to the help of three "royal readers" of Hebrew at the College of France in Paris, Cinqarbres, Jean *Mercier, and Paradis, Bodin not only acquired some knowledge of Hebrew and Aramaic but also had translations made of many passages from Hebrew literature, which he used in his works. He referred to the Targum, talmudic authorities, kabbalistic literature, and many medieval writers. The *Heptaplomeres* contains six conversations between seven friends who represented as many religions or attitudes of belief. Toralba, the representative of natural religion, and Solomon Barcassius, the representative of Judaism, are both to some degree the spokesmen of Bodin himself. To Bodin, the Jews were not only the most ancient people but also the most faithful chroniclers of the earliest history of humanity. Bodin inserted into his dialogues a series of Jewish objections to Christianity which he reinforced with his own dialectical skill. Through the interpellations of Solomon he attacked the dogma of the virgin birth. Everything profitable in the writings of the apostles was borrowed from Judaism. The Christians violated the precepts of the Decalogue, which was nevertheless the natural law *par excellence*. Critics accused Bodin of having lost the faith of a real Christian through his dealings with the Jews (although he does not appear to have had any), and called him a half-Jew or secret Jew. This was presumably the source of the baseless supposition that his mother was of Jewish origin.

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[Bernhard Blumenkranz]

BODKY, ERWIN (1896–1958), harpsichordist. Born in Germany, from 1922 to 1933 Bodky was lecturer at various Berlin music institutions. In 1933 he emigrated to Amsterdam, and in 1938 settled in the United States, where he became a lecturer at the Long School of Music, Cambridge, Massachusetts. In 1949 he was appointed professor at Brandeis University, Waltham, Massachusetts. He helped to revive interest in harpsichord playing and the performance of baroque keyboard music.

BODLEIAN LIBRARY, the official library of the University of Oxford, named after Sir Thomas *Bodley who refounded it. It is one of the world's greatest libraries, and second in importance in England only to the British Museum.

There were Hebrew books and manuscripts in Bodley's original collection, supplemented gradually by gift and purchase in the course of the next two centuries: especially memorable were those from the collections of Archbishop William Laud (1641), John Selden (1654, 1659), Edward Pococke (1691), Robert Huntingdon (1693). In 1829, the University of Oxford purchased for the Bodleian the whole of the fine collection that had formerly belonged to David *Oppenheim, and the library immediately rose to first rank among the Hebrew collections of the world. Later, there were added also the collection of the Hamburg bibliophile Heimann Joseph Michael in 1848, many manuscripts from the collection of Isaac Samuel Reggio in 1853, and in due course large numbers of fragments from the Cairo *Genizah*. The Library now comprises about 3,100 Hebrew and Samaritan manuscripts – still perhaps qualitatively the most important in the world – as well as a remarkably full collection of early printed works. The manuscripts have been described fully in the catalog (vol. I, ed. by A. Neubauer, 1886; vol. II, ed. by A. Cowley, 1906). In 1994 a "Supplement of Addenda and Corrigenda" to the catalog was printed. The printed books formed the material for M. Steinschneider's fundamental work of Hebrew bibliography (*Catalogus Librorum Hebraeorum in Bibliotheca Bodleiana*, 1852–60) – not, however, restricted to books – and of the more succinct recent catalog edited by A. Cowley (1929).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: E.N. Adler, in: JHSET, 8 (198), 2 ff.

[Cecil Roth]

°**BODLEY, SIR THOMAS** (1544/45–1613), English diplomat and bibliophile. Born in Exeter, England, his education began in the Geneva of Calvin and Beza (Bèze) as a Protestant refugee from the Marian persecution. There he learned Hebrew from Chevalier, later continuing his study under Drusius at Oxford. He acquired sufficient competence both to teach Hebrew and to decipher a medieval Anglo-Jewish *shetar*. Bodley traveled widely on the continent, largely on diplomatic missions, and was Elizabeth's permanent resident at The Hague from 1589 to 1596. His quite considerable Hebrew expertise is reflected in the elegy which he contributed to the memorial volume for Bishop John Jewell of Salisbury (*Ioannis Iuelli… Episcopi Sarisbuniensis vita et mors* (London, 1573)), in which there occur post-biblical Hebrew terms as applied in Italy and elsewhere to the Catholic hierarchy (*afifyor*, "pope"; *ḥashmannim*, "cardinals"; *hegmon,* "bishop"; etc.). Bodley's fame rests upon his munificent restoration of Oxford's public (i.e., university) library, thereafter called the *Bodleian.

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[Raphael Loewe]

BODMER, SIR WALTER (1936–), British geneticist. Bodmer was born in Frankfurt am Main and emigrated to Manchester with his family because of Nazi persecution. He was educated at Manchester Grammar School and read mathematics at Cambridge University before gaining his Ph.D. in statistics under R.F. Fisher. He was a member of the university's genetics department and a fellow of Clare College before moving to Stanford University, Calif., to work with Joshua *Lederberg, where he became professor of genetics (1968). He returned to the U.K. as professor of genetics at Oxford University (1970 –79) before his appointment as director of research followed by appointment as director general of the Imperial Cancer Research Fund in London (ICRF) (1979–96). In 1996 he returned to Oxford as head of the ICRF Cancer and Immunogenetics Laboratory at the Oxford Institute of Molecular Medicine and principal of Hertford College. He was chancellor of Salford University from 1995. Sir Walter's initial research on theoretical genetics moved to biological issues and especially to disease susceptibility. He and his wife, JULIA (1934–), made major contributions to understanding the human system of tissue markers known as the HLA system. He was an early advocate of applying DNA technology to detecting disease susceptibility. Subsequently he used gene mutations to detect those at risk from bowel cancer. He continued to work on biological aspects of population genetics. Sir Walter made vital contributions to international collaboration in studying genetics and to the human genome project, aims furthered by his term as president of the Human Genome Organization (HUGO) (1990–92). His book *The Book of Man* (1995) made modern genetics and its implications generally accessible. His many honors include election to the Royal Society (1994) and a knighthood (1986). He was a foreign associate of the U.S. National Academy of Science. Sir Walter was a strong supporter of Israeli science and scientific institutions.

[Michael Denman (2nd ed.)]

BODO (ninth century), French churchman who became a proselyte to Judaism. The scion of a noble family, Bodo entered the church and became deacon of the palace to Louis the Pious. In 838 he left the court with a numerous suite ostensibly to go on pilgrimage to Rome. He instead went to Spain with his nephew and on his way adopted Judaism under the name Eleazar. After spending some time in Saragossa he went on to Córdoba, where he is said to have attempted to persuade the caliph to compel his Christian subjects to abandon their faith in favor of either Judaism or Islam. The details of his career are known mainly through the interchange of correspondence between him and a learned Christian layman of Córdoba, Paolo Alvaro. Alvaro wrote him four polemical letters, printed in various ecclesiastical collections, attempting to convince him of the error of his ways. Bodo-Eleazar's rejoinders and arguments were deliberately destroyed, being taken out of the codex in which they were copied, but B. Blumenkranz has reconstructed them from the quotations in Alvaro's letters.

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[Cecil Roth]

BODROGKERESZTÚR, town in Borsod (in 1944 Zemplén) county, northeastern Hungary. The census of 1723–24 records seven Jewish families who settled there from Poland. The Jewish population ranged from 58 in 1746 and 336 in 1880 to 535 in 1930. According to the census of 1941, the last before the Holocaust, the town had a Jewish population of 455, representing 20.2% of the total of 2,248. The Jews were mainly merchants, tradesmen, innkeepers, and freight carters. Located in the Tokay district, the town also boasted a number of Jewish vintners. The community was organized toward the end of the 18th century, when it also organized a *ḥevra kaddisha* and a Jewish cemetery. The first synagogue was built in 1767; it was replaced by a new one after a fire in 1906. The congregation identified itself as Orthodox in 1868–69. In 1885, the Jewish community of Bodrogkeresztur was joined by the neighboring smaller communities, including those of Bodrogkisfalud and Bodrogszegi. Many of the Jews were ḥasidic and had their own synagogue. A Jewish elementary school was established in 1784, but after a few years was replaced by a *ḥeder* and *talmud torah*. Among the rabbis who served the Jewish community were Lazar London (1780–96), Izrael Wahrmann, Abraham Tannenbaum, Levi Hirsch Glanc (1826), grandson of Moses *Teitelbaum, whose influence in the community made it a stronghold of Hasidism. His grave is still a place of pilgrimage. Also serving the community were Rabbi Moses Elias, Rabbi Mozes Schlesinger, and Shaye Steiner (d. 1925). The latter, generally known as Reb Shayele, was revered as a miracle-working rabbi. The last rabbi was Chaim Schlesinger, Mozes's son, who perished during the Holocaust. The last secular head of the community was József Seidenfeld, a merchant.

During World War II, the Jews were subjected to draconic anti-Jewish measures; they were deprived of their livelihood and many among the males were recruited for forced labor. After the German occupation of Hungary (March 19, 1944), the Jews were rounded up (April 16–17). They were first concentrated in a local ghetto consisting of the synagogue and the adjacent community buildings, where they were deprived of their last possessions. After a few days they were transferred to the ghetto of Sátoraljaújhely, from where they were deported to Auschwitz on May 25.

After the war the community consisted of 37 survivors. Their number grew to 63 by 1949, but all of them relocated to larger communities or emigrated a few years later.

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[Laszlo Harsanyi / Randolph Braham (2nd ed.)]

BODY AND SOUL. Judaism's view of man as the crown of a "very good" creation entails a positive attitude towards the body, which is to be guided by the soul so as to sanctify the physical. The Bible appreciates physical prowess and beauty, while regulating sexual behavior and forbidding physical mutilation. Its laws of purity and impurity govern relations between the sexes and impose a sequestered posture on women periodically. Partially for this reason, the female body in rabbinic eyes came to be viewed negatively, its beauty having to be kept hidden in public.

Jewish theology has no clearly elaborated views on the relationship between body and soul, nor on the nature of the soul itself. Apart from Jewish philosophical and kabbalistic literature on the subject (see *Soul), the major traditional sources for any normative doctrines are the various texts in talmudic and midrashic literature. These latter are not systematic, nor is their interpretation generally agreed on. The talmudic rabbis, as opposed to certain Jewish philosophers of the medieval period, never considered views on such a purely theoretical subject as important. Their interest was focused on the connected, but more practically orientated beliefs, such as in the resurrection of the body and God's future judgment. For the talmudic rabbis the soul is, in some sense, clearly separable from the body: God breathed the soul into the body of Adam (Gen. 2:7; Ta'an. 22b). During sleep the soul departs and draws spiritual refreshment from on high (Gen. R. 14:9). At death it leaves the body only to be united with it again at the resurrection (Sanh. 90b–91a). As a prayer of the morning liturgy, uttered on awakening, expresses it: "O my God, the soul which thou gavest me is pure; thou didst create it, thou didst form it, thou didst breathe it into me. Thou preservest it within me, and thou wilt take it from me, but wilt restore it unto me hereafter" (Hertz, Prayer, 19).

Whether the soul is capable of living an independent, fully conscious existence away from the body after death is unclear from rabbinic sources. The Midrash puts it somewhat vaguely – that the body cannot survive without the soul –nor the soul without the body (cf. Tanḥ. Va-Yikra 11). Although a view is found maintaining that the soul after death is in a quiescent state (Shab. 152b), the predominant view seems to be that the soul is capable of having a fully conscious life of its own when disembodied (see, for instance, Ket. 77b; Ber. 18b–19a). It is even maintained that the soul pre-exists the body (Ḥag. 12b); but how this predominant view is to be interpreted is problematic. Since the various anecdotes and descriptions about the soul in its disembodied state are given in terms of physical imagery, it might be assumed that an ethereal body was ascribed to the soul, enabling it to parallel the most important functions of its embodied state when disembodied. This assumption is unwarranted, however, since the rabbis do not seek conceptual coherence in their theological speculation. Imagery has a homiletic, rather than a speculative, function.

The elliptical and practically oriented aspect of rabbinic teaching is brought out further in the view that the soul is a guest in the body here on earth (Lev. R. 34:3), for this means that the body must be respected and well treated for the sake of its honored guest. The Gnostic idea of the body as a prison of the soul is absent from rabbinic literature; body and soul form a harmonious unity. Just as God fills the world, sees but is not seen, so the soul fills the body, sees but is not seen (Ber. 10a). On the eve of the Sabbath God gives each man an extra soul, which He takes back at its termination (Beẓ. 16a). This is the rabbinic way of emphasizing the spirituality of the soul, its closeness in nature to God, and the extra spirituality with which it is imbued on the Sabbath. The soul is pure as God is pure; its introduction into the human embryo is God's part in the ever-renewed creation of human life (Nid. 31a). Because God originally gave man his soul, it is for God to take it away and not man himself. Thus *suicide, *euthanasia, and anything which would hasten death is forbidden (Job 1:21; Av. Zar. 18a and Tos.; Sh. Ar. YD 345). If man safeguards the purity of his soul by walking in the ways of the Torah, all will be well, but if not God will take his soul from him (Nid. 31a). For his sins, which contaminate the soul, man will be judged; indeed his soul will be his accuser. Nor can the body plead that it was the soul which sinned, nor the soul blame the body, for at the resurrection God will return soul to body and judge them as one.

Theological considerations aside, the rabbis of the Talmud prescribed regimens of cleanliness, moderation, and medical care for the body. It was viewed primarily as a religious instrument: "One should wash his face, hands, and feet every day out of respect for His maker" (Shab.50b).

Medieval Jewish philosophers studied the body with the aid of Aristotle and Galen primarily, and appreciated its role in ethical behavior and in the sensory stages of learning. Ultimate human perfection, however, lay in the cultivation of one's intellect, often loosely called "soul." The relative devaluation of the body, in comparison with the soul, in rabbinic and philosophical circles was countered by a strong assertion of corporeal images and actions among Jewish mystics. In modern times, Labor Zionism was known for its celebration of the body's ability to perform physical labor.

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[Alfred L. Ivry (2nd ed.)]

BOEHM, ADOLF (1873–1941), Zionist and historian of the Zionist movement. When he was still a child Boehm's family moved from his birthplace in Teplitz-Schonau (Teplice), Bohemia, to Vienna where he received his early education. Boehm entered his father's textile factory, which he directed until 1938. His association with the Zionist movement began only after Herzl's death in 1904. Following his visit to Ereẓ Israel in 1907, he became a leader of the "practical" Zionists, whose interest lay primarily in the economic problems connected with Jewish settlement in Palestine. As a result he was particularly active on behalf of the Jewish National Fund. He served for ten years on its board of directors and wrote a book on its activities. During 1910–12, and again during 1927–38 Boehm edited the monthly *Palaestina*. His major effort, however, was *Die Zionistische Bewegung* (1922, enlarged two-volume edition 1935–37) which remains the most exhaustive history of the Zionist movement. In the second edition he brought the history up to 1925. Boehm collected extensive material for a third volume which, however, was never published. Boehm strongly objected to the excessive factionalism within the Zionist movement. At the same time he stressed the importance of the connection between Jewish national and universal human values in a series of articles in *Juedische Rundschau* (1934, nos. 43, 65, 67). Shortly after Hitler's occupation of Austria Boehm fell victim to a mental disorder. He is believed to have died in a Nazi extermination center in Poland.

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BOEHM, YOHANAN (1914–1986), Israel composer, horn-player, and music critic. Born in Breslau, Germany, Boehm immigrated to Palestine in 1936. He taught at the Jerusalem Music Academy and was music program editor and tone master at the Israel Broadcasting Service and the World Zionist Organization Broadcasting Service for the Diaspora (*Kol Ẓiyyon la-Golah*). He composed songs, chamber music, and symphonies in a late romantic style, wrote articles on music, was a contributor to the *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, and served as the music critic for the *Jerusalem Post.* Boehm founded the Jerusalem Youth Orchestra in 1959 and directed it for 20 years. He was music advisor to the Jerusalem municipality and was a jury member of the International Harp Contest in Israel.

[Ury Eppstein (2nd ed.)]

BOERNE, LUDWIG (1786–1837), German political essayist and champion of Jewish emancipation. Born Loeb Baruch, into a prominent Frankfurt banking family, he was raised in the Frankfurt ghetto. Since medicine was one of the few professions then open to Jews, he was sent to Berlin in 1802 to study under Markus *Herz. After his master's death in 1803 he abandoned medicine and went to study political science at Halle and Heidelberg. He received his doctorate from Giessen University in 1808. In 1811 Boerne became an official in the Frankfurt police department; but when the anti-Jewish restrictions of the pre-Napoleonic era were reimposed after Bonaparte's defeat in 1815, he was dismissed. In the following years of political restoration, Boerne became an ardent advocate of the idea of political freedom. His thought developed from classical early liberal ideas to somewhat "neo-Jacobin" notions of freedom.

In 1818 Boerne converted to Lutheranism, not out of religious conviction but to open the door to wider public activity, and adopted the name by which he was known thereafter. In the same year he founded the periodical *Die Waage*. This journal was ostensibly devoted to art, literature, and social gossip and Boerne earned a reputation with his witty theatrical criticism. But, as a master of innuendo, he managed to inject subversive political allusions into the most harmless subjects. In his *feuilletons*, of which he was a pioneer, he scourged the bureaucracy of Frankfurt and ridiculed the whole pompous political structure of Central Europe. He soon ran into difficulties with the political authorities, and in 1821 gave up the editorship of *Die Waage*.

In 1830 constant police interference compelled Boerne to transfer his activities to Paris, where he was generally regarded as the leader of the political émigrés. His *Briefe aus Paris* (1830–1833), described by Heine as "paperbound sunbeams," were literary bullets fired across the German border with the aim of drawing public attention to glaring injustices. Boerne's influence reached its zenith in 1832, when he participated in the Hambach Festival, a gathering of 30,000 liberals from German-speaking states. He allied himself for a time with the influential but conservative Stuttgart editor Wolfgang Menzel, in the struggle against the idealization of Goethe by the Romanticists. But when Menzel espoused antisemitism and induced the German Federal Diet in 1835 to ban the works of Young Germany (a group of writers holding liberal views on politics and society), Boerne published his vitriolic diatribe, *Menzel der Franzosenfresser* (1838), a masterpiece of wit and irony.

Sensitive to the Jewish problem, Boerne wanted to be thought of as an individual apart from his Jewishness, and was chagrined when his utterances were attributed to his heredity. The idea that the freedom of mankind as a whole is inextricably bound up with freedom for the Jews recurs constantly in his writings, and he refused to acknowledge the existence of a Jewish problem distinct from the general issue of emancipation. Boerne held that the Jewish mission had been to teach the world cosmopolitanism and that the Jewish nation had disappeared in the most enviable manner; it had merged with mankind as a whole and had given birth to Christian idealism. On Boerne's death, Heine published an uncomplimentary study entitled *Ueber Ludwig Boerne* (1840), in which he expressed resentment against his erstwhile fellow liberal. This provoked Karl Gutzkow's defense of Boerne as a maligned German patriot and led to an extended controversy. Many years later, the old Frankfurt *Judengasse* where he had lived was renamed "Boernestrasse" in his honor and, throughout the 19th century, Boerne and Heine were regarded as the major Jewish influences in German literature. Boerne's *Saemtliche Schriften* (letters and writings) were edited in 1964–68.

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[Sol Liptzin / Marcus Pyka (2nd ed.)]

°BOESCHENSTEIN, JOHANN (1472–1540), German Hebraist. He was born in Esslingen, and many scholars (such as Wolf, Joecher, Steinschneider, Perles) believed him to be of Jewish parentage, although Boeschenstein himself denied this. With Reuchlin, Boeschenstein was a pioneer of Hebraic studies among Christians in Germany. He himself was a Hebrew teacher in several German cities (Ingolstadt, Augsburg, Regensburg) until invited (1518) by Melanchthon to become professor of Hebrew at the University of Wittenberg. Later he moved to Heidelberg and then to Augsburg, Antwerp, Zurich, Augsburg, and Nuremberg (1525). He died in great proverty at Noerdlingen. Among his students were the noted theologians Johann Eck, and Ulrich Zwingli. Boeschenstein published works on Hebrew grammar: *Elementale introductorium in hebreas litteras teutonice et hebraice legendas* (1514, rev. ed. 1518, 1520, 1530) and *Hebraicae Grammaticae Institutiones* (Wittenberg, 1518). He also edited a Latin edition of Moses Kimhi's *Mahalakh Shevilei ha-Da'at* entitled *Rudimenta Hebraica* (1520) and German translations of general Jewish prayers (c. 1523) and of Grace after Meals (c. 1536).

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[Chaim M. Rabin / Giulio Busi (2nd ed.)]

BOESKY, IVAN FREDERICK (1937–), U.S. entrepreneur, philanthropist. Born in Detroit, the son of immigrants from Czarist Russia, Boesky rose to become one of the most successful arbitrageurs in the 1980s among private, professional Wall Street traders, only to run afoul of securities laws, for which he paid a $100 million fine and served 22 months in prison after agreeing to become a government informant, particularly against Michael *Milken. Boesky amassed a fortune by betting on corporate takeovers. Investigated by the Securities and Exchange Commission for receiving tips from corporate insiders, and then making investments accordingly, Boesky made brazen purchases, sometimes two or three days before the company announced it would be acquired. Insider trading of this type was illegal but rarely enforced. As part of his guilty plea, he agreed not to trade again. Boesky gave extensively to charities, particularly Jewish causes, and for two years ending in 1985 he was general chairman of United Jewish Appeal-Federation of Jewish Philanthropies.

In Detroit, Boesky's father, William, owned a chain of bars called the Brass Rail. Ivan attended a prestigious prep school outside Detroit, Cranbrook. He moved to New York in 1966 and worked at a series of brokerages. By 1972, convinced that arbitrage was the road to great wealth, he joined Edwards & Hanley, an old Wall Street firm, which asked him to create an arbitrage department. It soon became the company's largest profit center. Arbitrage, which involves buying a company's stock when it becomes a takeover target, is highly risky, and Boesky took the firm to the edge. In 1975 it declared bankruptcy.

That year Boesky opened Ivan F. Boesky & Company with $700,000 in capital, most of it thought to have come from his wife's family, and three years later he reorganized as the Ivan F. Boesky Corporation, whose assets in 1984 totaled more than $500 million. He advertised for investors in the *Wall Street Journal* and allocated just 55 percent of the operation's profits to the investors, keeping 45 percent for himself. He assigned investors 95 percent of any losses. As the man reputed to be the richest and most powerful arbitrageur of modern times, according to the *New York Times*, Boesky was universally feared on Wall Street. In 1986 Boesky wrote *Merger Mania – Arbitrage: Wall Street's Best-Kept Money-Making Secret*.

Boesky became a close associate of Michael Milken. Milken, working for the investment bank Drexel Burnham Lambert, became known as the junk-bond king: he pioneered the financing of companies with high-yield, or junk, debt. Milken believed that precisely because such bonds were shunned they offered exceptional value. Milken found buyers and his investors made handsome returns. Not all those profits were made ethically or legally, as insiders swapped privileged information and others favors freely. Boesky's excesses and take-no-prisoners attitude were epitomized in a phrase he delivered in a speech in 1986: "Greed is good," he said. The financial crimes of the 1980s inspired Oliver *Stone's movie *Wall Street* the following year. Its high-powered arbitrageur, Gordon Gekko, portrayed by Michael *Douglas, repeats Boesky's phrase.

For Boesky, who lived lavishly on a 188-acre estate in upstate New York purchased from John *Revson of the Revlon cosmetics family, things started to unravel on Nov. 14, 1986. That day federal prosecutors disclosed that Boesky had pleaded guilty to charges of insider trading and had agreed to pay a fine of $100 million. He had also agreed to cooperate in the ongoing government investigations. Nov. 14 came to be known on Wall Street as Boesky Day.

In addition to his market activities, Boesky was known for his philanthropies. He became a member of the chairman's council after giving $25,000 to the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, and he gave to the American Ballet Theater, hoping it would mount a ballet with a Holocaust theme. At the Jewish Theological Seminary, Boesky often spoke to the chief librarian about rare Jewish books, which he eagerly collected. He eventually lent the library several of his finest manuscripts, and gave the seminary $2 million to help construct a new library building. It was named for him and his wife, but as his troubles mounted he asked or was asked to withdraw his name. Shortly before his sentencing, Boesky enrolled in classes at the Jewish Theological Seminary in Hebrew and an introduction to Mishnah, Midrash, and Talmud.

[Stewart Kampel (2nd ed.)]

BOETHUSIANS, a religious and political sect which existed during the century preceding the destruction of the Second Temple. According to rabbinic tradition the Boethusians and the Sadducees were named after two disciples of *Antigonus of Sokho, Zadok and Boethus. They misinterpreted the maxim of their teacher, "Be not like servants who serve their master in order to receive a reward" as meaning that there was no reward for good works, and thus they denied the doctrine of resurrection and the world to come. They thereupon established the two sects named after them (ARN^1 13b).

Modern scholars however consider this account to be legendary and they ascribe the origin of the Boethusians to the high priest Simeon b. Boethus who was appointed high priest by Herod the Great in 24 B.C.E. (Jos., Ant., 15:320), in succession to Joshua b. Phabi, in order to afford him a suitable status, as he desired to marry Herod's daughter, Mariamne II. Although in their theological views they closely resembled the Sadducees, some scholars regard them merely as a branch of them (see *Sadducees), and are always mentioned together with them, they did not share their aristocratic background, and whereas the Sadducees supported the Hasmonean dynasty, the Boethusians were loyal to the Herodians. It is they who are apparently referred to in the New Testament as Herodians (Mark 3:16; 12:13). The Boethusians were regarded by the Talmud as cynical and materialistic priests. They hired false witnesses to delude the Pharisees about the new moon (RH 22b; TJ, RH 57d; Tosef., RH 1:15). They maintained that the Omer (Men. 10:3) was to be offered on the first Sunday after Passover, and not on the morrow of the first day and, as a result, differed as to the date of Shavuot which according to them must always fall on a Sunday (Ḥog. 24). They held special views on the preparation of incense on the Day of Atonement (TJ, Yoma 1:39a; Tosef., Yoma 1:8). In terms of the Sabbath ritual, they were not even considered as Jews (Eruv. 68b). The high priestly "House of Boethus" is criticized in the Talmud for its oppression, "Woe is me because of the House of Boethus, woe is me because of their staves" (with which they beat the people – Pes. 57a; cf. Tosef., Men. 13:21).

Other Boethusian high priests included Joezer and Eleazar b. Boethus (Jos., Ant., 17:164, 339), Simeon Cantheras (*ibid.*, 19:297), Elionaeus b. Cantheras (*ibid.*, 19:342), and *Joshua b. Gamala.

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BOGALE, YONA (1908–1987), Ethiopian Jewish (*Beta Israel) personality. Bogale was born in 1908 (some sources say 1910 or 1911) in the village of Wolleqa northeast of the important Ethiopian city of Gondar. His father was a weaver, who also worked as a tenant farmer for a local Christian nobleman. In 1921 Jacques *Faitlovitch visited Ethiopia for the fourth time and spent several months in Walleqa. At the end of his stay he took Yona Bogale with him to study in Europe. Bogale studied two years at the Mizrachi Tahkemoni School in Jerusalem before continuing his education in Frankfurt, Switzerland, and France. By the time he returned to Ethiopia he had learned to speak over half a dozen languages. Until the Italian conquest of Ethiopia in 1935/6 Bogale worked as a teacher in the "Falasha" school which had been established by Faitlovitch and Taamrat Emmanuel in Addis Ababa in 1923. Following the end of the Fascist occupation in 1941 Yona worked for the Ethiopian Ministry of Education. He resigned in 1953 to devote himself to the Beta Israel community, and played a crucial role in the establishment and operation of the Jewish Agency's schools in Ethiopia. Following the closure of these schools Yona continued to work among his people and served as the major mediator for contact between Ethiopian and world Jewry. Perhaps the clearest reflection of his attempts to create a bridge between the two communities were his writings, *A "Falasha" Book of Jewish Festivals*, an Amharic translation of portions of *Pirke Avot*, and a Hebrew-Amharic dictionary. Although generally treated by outsiders as the "leader" of the Beta Israel, within the community his position was ambiguous and he often came into conflict with other important community members. In 1979, Yona immigrated to Israel where he continued his activities on behalf of the Beta Israel.

[Steven Kaplan (2nd ed.)]

BOGDAN, CORNELIU (1921–1990), Romanian diplomat. During World War II, he was unable to continue his studies in Romania because he was a Jew and eventually went to study at the Sorbonne in Paris where he joined the Communist Party. Returning to Romania after the end of World War II, he became a Romanian diplomat and, under the Ceausescu regime, served as Romanian ambassador to the U.S. (1967–70), Canada (1968–70), and Costa Rica (1970–71), subsequently heading the West European desk in the Romanian Foreign Ministry. He and the foreign minister, Corneliu Manescu, also a long-time Communist, shared the same sophisticated intellectual background, with less nationalistic tendencies, and both came to differ with Ceausescu, and – as a result – in due course they lost their official jobs. For most of the 1980s, Bogdan earned his living as a translator and was under virtual house arrest. In 1988, he was allowed to move to the U.S. where he had been awarded a fellowship. He remained there until the new regime established after the execution of Ceausescu recalled him and appointed him foreign minister, hoping that his expertise would help in forging new ties with the West. However, he died a few days after his appointment.

BOGDANOR, VERNON (1943–), British professor of government. One of the best-known and most visible commentators on constitutional and political affairs in the British press and media, Bogdanor was professor of politics and government at Oxford University and vice principal of Brasenose College, Oxford. He is the author of *The Monarchy and the Constitution* (1995) and of *The British Constitution in the Twentieth Century* (2004). He is especially well known for his expert opinion on the role of the British monarchy in the contemporary British constitution. He has also wrote *Devolution in the United Kingdom* (1999), *The People and the Party System* (1981), and many other works.

[William D. Rubinstein (2nd ed.)]

BOGDANOVICH, PETER (1939–), U.S. film director. Bogdanovich was born in Kingston, N.Y., to Jewish immigrants who had fled the Nazis. His father, Borislav Bogdanovich, was a Serbian artist and his mother, Herma (née Robinson), came from a wealthy Austrian family. Herma was pregnant with Peter in Europe, but gave birth to him in America. He attended the Collegiate School and the Stella Adler Theatre Studio, and began his career as a summer stock and television actor in the 1950s. In the 1960s, he worked as editor of *Showbill* and film programmer at the Museum of Modern Art in New York City and wrote film articles for *Esquire* magazine. Bogdanovich turned to directing with the Roger Corman-produced *Targets* (1968). Bogdanovich's *The Last Picture Show* (1971) received eight Academy Award nominations, including best director, and won two for supporting actor and actress. Bogdanovich fell in love with the film's star, 19-year-old Cybill Shepherd, and divorced his wife and collaborator, Polly Platt, whom he had married in 1962 and with whom he had two children. Bogdanovich's next film was the comedy *What's Up, Doc?* (1972), starring Barbra Streisand and Ryan O'Neal. He was hailed for *Paper Moon* (1973), a Depression era Oscar-winning comedy. Films starring Shepherd, *Daisy Miller* (1974), based on the Henry James novella, and the Cole Porter musical *At Long Last Love* (1975), failed as did *Nickelodeon* (1976).

Shepherd and Bogdanovich ended their relationship in 1978. Bogdanovich returned with *Saint Jack* (1979) based on Paul Theroux's novel. During the filming of *They All Laughed*, Bogdanovich fell in love with 1980 Playboy Playmate and co-star Dorothy Stratten whose attempt to leave her husband, Paul Snider, ended in a murder-suicide (and was the basis for the movie *Star 80*). Bogdanovich bought the rights to *They All Laughed* after distributors passed on it due to the Stratten murder, but the limited release left Bogdanovich bankrupt. Bogdanovich wrote a paean to Stratten, *The Killing of the Unicorn: Dorothy Stratten, 1960–1980* (1984). Over the next few years, he directed the Cher drama *Mask* (1985); *Illegally Yours* (1988); *Texasville* (1990), the sequel to *The Last Picture Show; Noises Off* (1992); and *The Thing Called Love* (1993). In 1992, drawing on taped interviews and his in-depth knowledge of the director, he published *This Is Orson Welles*. He followed with a book of interviews with directors: *Who the Devil Made It: On Directing Pictures* (1997) and *Peter Bogdanovich's Movie of the Week: 52 Classic Forms for One Full Year* (1999). In 2000, Bogdanovich returned to acting in the HBO Mafia drama hit *The Sopranos*, playing Dr. Elliot Kupferberg. In 2001, Bogdanovich divorced Louise Hoogstraten, Dorothy Stratten's younger sister, whom he had married in 1986. While Bogdanovich had not directed a big-screen film since *The Cat's Meow* (2001), he continued to direct made-for-television features, including the documentary *The Mystery of Natalie Wood* (2004) and the Pete Rose biopic *Hustle* (2004).

[Adam Wills (2nd ed.)]

BOGEN, ALEXANDER (1916–), Israel artist. Bogen was born in Poland and during his youth studied painting and sculpture at the Faculty of Art in the University of Vilna. Bogen fled to Russia as the Nazis advanced in 1941. Captured near Minsk, he was taken back to the Vilna ghetto, escaped, but returned to organize resistance. He was a commander of a partisan group in a forest in Belarus and helped some 300 young Jews escape and join the partisans. During the war he made drawings of the partisans, now displayed at the Ghetto Fighters' House Museum and Yad Vashem Museum. After the war, he returned to Vilna, and was appointed art professor in Lodz and Warsaw. In 1951, he immigrated to Israel and established an art school in Tel Aviv. He recovered some of the drawings he had made in the ghetto and the forests. His late works were in many ways reminiscent of his war paintings.

[Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

BOGEN, BORIS DAVID (1869–1929), U.S. social worker. Bogen, born in Moscow, emigrated to the United States in the early 1890s. He studied at the New York University School of Pedagogy in 1897. While working toward his degree, Bogen taught English in the Baron de Hirsch Trade School, and in 1896 accepted a teaching appointment at the Hebrew Technical Institute, the Educational Alliance. Objecting to the school's "pure Americanism" emphasis, Bogen left and became principal of the Baron de Hirsch Agricultural School in Woodbine, New Jersey (1900). He believed he had discovered his mission: "the feet of Jewish youth were to be turned toward a new destiny, leaving behind the peddler's packs and the sweatshops and the slums of their fathers," he wrote in his autobiography. However, the students at the school did not aspire to the status of a rural peasantry; they turned instead to the administrative and scientific aspects of agriculture, and Bogen vehemently dissented from the directors' efforts to reduce the length of study from three years to one and eliminate the scientific component, in order to produce a "contented Jewry working in the fields." Resigning in 1904, he became superintendent of the United Jewish Charities, Cincinnati, and also directed the work of the Jewish Settlement in Cincinnati. In 1913 he became field secretary of the Conference of Jewish Charities. Bogen maintained that the distinctive function of Jewish welfare was to intensify Jewish group consciousness and identity. Following the outbreak of World War I, he turned to problems of international relief, working in Holland, Poland, and Russia for the *American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee from 1917 to 1924. His autobiography, *Born a Jew* (1930), deals mostly with his relief efforts in Eastern Europe. Bogen's philosophy of sectarian social work is summarized in his *Jewish Philanthropy* (1917).

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[Roy Lubove]

BOGER (Bograshov), ḤAYYIM (1876–1963), educator and *yishuv* leader in Ereẓ Israel. Boger was born in Chernigovka, Crimea. He first received a religious education, and later acquired enough secular education to enable him to receive a degree and teaching diploma from the University of Berne, Switzerland. Boger, an active opponent of the *Uganda Scheme, was a leader of the Ẓiyyonei Zion movement in Russia, and helped organize its conference in Freiburg (1905). In 1906 he settled in Ereẓ Israel, where he was a founder of the Hebrew Gymnasium Society in Tel Aviv. Deported in 1915 by the Turkish authorities, Boger founded a Hebrew school in Alexandria, Egypt. He returned to Palestine in 1919 and became joint headmaster of the Herzlia Gymnasium, with Benzion *Mossinson. A leading figure in the affairs of Tel Aviv and the *yishuv*, he represented the General Zionists and served as a member of the Tel Aviv municipality, as delegate to the Asefat ha-Nivḥarim ("Elected Assembly"), and later as member of the Second Knesset, whose opening session in 1952 he chaired as its oldest member. He wrote *Ba-Araẓot Reḥokot* ("In Distant Lands," 1930), and *Tiyyul bi-Yhudah* ("Journey in Judea," 1930). In 1921 he helped found the Nordiah district in Tel Aviv for Jews from Jaffa made homeless by the Arab riots of that year. The district's main street is named Bograshov Street in his honor.

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[Abraham Aharoni]

BOGHEN, FELICE (1869–1945), writer, composer, and pianist. Boghen taught theory at the Istituto Reale Luigi Cherubini in Florence in 1910 and was the pianist of the Trio Fiorentino. He wrote an opera *Alcestis*, and piano works, and edited old Italian music. His written works include *Appunti ed esempi per l'uso dei pedali del Pianoforte* (1915), and *L'Arte di Pasquini* (1931).

BOGORAD, LAWRENCE (1921–2004), U.S. biologist. Bogorad was born in Tashkent, Russia, but was taken to the United States as an infant. He became a naturalized U.S. citizen in 1935. Bogorad studied at the University of Chicago, where he received a B.S. in botany (1942) and a Ph.D. in plant physiology (1949). From 1951 to 1953 he was a fellow at the Rockefeller Institute working in the laboratory of Prof. Sam Granick. In 1953 he returned to the University of Chicago, joining the faculty of the Department of Botany and became a professor of botany in 1961. Bogorad became professor of biology at Harvard University in 1967, and was chairman of the Department of Biological Sciences (1974–76), and director of the Maria Moors Cabot Foundation in 1976. He was named the Maria Moors Cabot Professor of Biology in 1980. He retired from Harvard in 1991 as professor emeritus in molecular and cellular biology and continued his research in Harvard's Biological Laboratories. Colleagues and former students held the Lawrence Bogorad Symposium in his honor every few years, the last in 2001 at Cambridge. Bogorad's research concentrated on chlorophyll synthesis, particularly the investigation of the effects of light in the induction of the complex greening process through which pale, etiolated leaves of plants grown in the dark become green and active in photosynthesis. Early work on the enzymes involved in chlorophyll synthesis with algae furthered our understanding of the biosynthesis of hemes and bile pigment. Beginning in the mid-1960s, Bogorad's research dealt with the biogenesis of chloroplasts, the nature of the organelle of DNA, and its function in the synthesis of chloroplast proteins as well as other phytomolecular biological processes. He is best known for his work on the biosynthesis of porphyrins and for sequencing and identification of the first chloroplast genes. Bogorad was a fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, a member of the National Academy of Sciences, and a foreign member of the Royal Danish Academy of Sciences and Letters. He was president of the Society for Developmental Biology (1983) and of the American Society of Plant Physiologists (1968-69). Bogorad was on a number of editorial boards and served on national committees as well as on the Council and Executive Committee of the American Society of Cell Biology. In 1987 he was elected president of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, which has close to 300 national and regional scientific societies and academies as formal affiliates and 130,000 individual members.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: H. Swift, in: *Science* 229 (1985), 353–54

[Ruth Rossing (2nd ed.)]

BOGORAZ, VLADIMIR GERMANOVICH (Mendelvich, Nathan; pseud. N.A. Tan, V.G. Tan; 1865–1936), Russian ethnographer, revolutionary, and man of letters. Born in Ovruch, Volhynia, he was expelled from St. Petersburg University for revolutionary activities. He continued his political work under his assumed name of Vladimir Bogoraz, and at the age of 20 converted to Christianity. In 1886 he was arrested in Moscow, imprisoned for two years, and then exiled to Siberia. There he met Vladimir *Jochelson, who became his lifelong friend and collaborator. It was during his years of imprisonment and exile that Bogoraz began the studies that were to make him an ethnographic authority on the Chukchee and Yakutsk natives of Siberia and on the Paleo-Asiatic peoples generally.

Released in 1889, Bogoraz joined the Jesup North Pacific exploration organized by the American Museum of Natural History in New York City and directed by Franz *Boas, who was to exert a significant influence on his life and achievements. On this expedition, Bogoraz was responsible for investigations of the Chukchee and the Siberian Eskimo. Jochelson was also a member of the expedition, as well as a third Jewish revolutionary, Lev Sternberg. All three men produced reports of precise and reliable scholarship. Bogoraz' included *The Chukchee* (vol. 7 of the Jesup North Pacific Expedition Publications) and *Chukchee Mythology* (vol. 8 pt. 1, of the same series).

Bogoraz went back to Siberia to continue his ethnological studies, and made several visits to the United States. He returned to Russia and again involved himself with subversive organizations. For his part in the 1905 revolution he served another term of imprisonment. After the revolution of 1917 he was appointed professor at Leningrad University and curator of the Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography. He also founded and directed various official institutions, such as the Museum of the History of Religion and Atheism – actually a museum of comparative religions – in the former Kazan Cathedral in Leningrad. As director of the Northern Peoples Institute in Leningrad he was able to do much to assist the cultural and political development of the peoples of Siberia. Despite their service to the revolutionary regime, Bogoraz and Sternberg were attacked for their views, which were regarded as going beyond the narrow Marxism of their period.

In addition to his academic publications, Bogoraz also produced some creative writing under the nom de plume N.A. Tan, some of it on Jewish themes. He published a pioneering Chukchee-Russian dictionary which appeared in 1937. His literary works include revolutionary poems (1900); *Chukotskiya razskazy* ("Chukchee Tales," 1899); and the novel *Vosem plemyen* ("Eight Tribes," 1902).

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[Ephraim Fischoff]

BOGROV (Beharav), DMITRI (1888–1911), Russian terrorist and revolutionary, who was executed for shooting the czarist prime minister Stolypin. Bogrov was the grandson of a well-known rabbi and the son of a lawyer. While a law student, he joined an anarchist group but later entered the service of the Russian secret police (*Ochrana*), claiming that he did so in the interest of the revolutionary movement. Before he killed Stolypin, Bogrov asked the Social Revolutionary Party to give its approval to his action, but they refused to do so. His true motive was never discovered, but some people believed he sought to dispel the suspicions aroused by his connection with the secret police.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: E. Lazarev, in *Volya Rossii*, nos. 6–7, 8–9 (1926).

[Simha Katz]

BOGROV (Beharav), GRIGORI ISAAKOVICH (1825–1885), author and journalist. The son of a Poltava rabbi, Bogrov was an extreme assimilationist: his Orthodox upbringing and the life of Russian Jewry in the 1830s–1840s were reflected negatively in *Zapiski yevreya* (1871–73; *Memoiren eines Juden*, 1880). He was the effective editor of *Russkiy yevrey*, later working on *Razsvet* and *Voskhod*, and wrote several works of socio-historical interest on Russo-Jewish life, such as the novel *Yevreyskiy manuskript* (1876; Heb. tr., *Ketav-Yad Ivri*, 1900), on the *Chmielnicki massacres of 1648–49. Bogrov converted to Christianity shortly before his death.

BOGUSLAV, city in Kiev district, Ukraine, that passed to Russia from Poland in 1793. Jews resided in Boguslav from the beginning of the 17th century and an imposing synagogue was built there soon after the community was founded. In 1620 they were restricted in leasing property because the burghers complained that Jews had taken over most of the houses and stores in the marketplace and were competing with the local traders. The Jews in Boguslav suffered during the *Haidamak revolts in the area. During the uprising of 1768 they fled from the city; their homes were destroyed and their property looted. Although 574 Jewish poll-tax payers in Boguslav are recorded in 1765, only 251 remained after 1768. The community developed after Boguslav became part of Russia in 1793. A Hebrew printing press was established there in 1820–21, and Jewish-owned enterprises included textile and tanning factories. Jews also engaged in handicrafts and dealt in grain and fruit. The Jewish population numbered 5,294 in 1847 and 7,445 in 1897 (65% of the total).

After World War I, the Jews in Boguslav suffered severely in the civil war. On May 13, 1919, they were attacked by gangs of marauding peasants that killed 20 Jews, and on August 27 *Denikin's "white" army, which occupied the city, pillaged all the houses there, and massacred about 40 Jews. Subsequently, a Jewish self-defense force was formed in Boguslav (under the auspices of the Soviet government) which comprised the entire male population of about 1,000 citizens. It fought off the gangs and also took part in punitive actions in neighboring villages. Boguslav then became an asylum for thousands of Jewish refugees from the towns and villages of the surrounding areas. The self-defense force was disbanded in 1923. The Jewish population numbered 6,432 in 1926 (53% of the total) and dropped to 2,230 in 1939. In the 1930s the Jews were a majority in the local trade unions, and many were employed as factory workers and clerks in local industry. The Germans occupied Boguslav on July 26, 1941, murdering most of the Jews by the end of the year. Artisans required for work remained alive until they too were executed in July 1943.

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[Yehuda Slutsky / Shmuel Spector (2nd ed.)]

BOHEMIA (Cz. **Čecny, Česko, Tschechien**; Ger. **Boehmen**; Heb. פעהם, פיהם, כנען, בהם), independent kingdom in Central Europe, until the beginning of the 14th century, affiliated later in the Middle Ages with the Holy Roman Empire. In 1526 it became part of the hereditary *Hapsburg dominions and in 1620 lost its independence completely. From 1918 it was part of modern *Czechoslovakia (in 1939–45 part of the Nazi protectorate of Bohemia-Moravia), subsequently the Czech Republic.

Early and Medieval Periods

The beginnings of Jewish settlement in Bohemia are much disputed, and evidence has to rely on traditions that Jews had settled there before recorded Bohemian history. Trade contacts between the Roman Empire and southern Bohemia certainly brought Jews to the region, and some could have settled there. Presumably, the Jewish traders mentioned in the Raffelstaetten Tax Ordinance (906) were also active in Bohemia. In the second half of the 10th century Jews engaged in the slave trade in Bohemia are mentioned by *Ibrahim ibn Yakub. The Bohemian dukes of the 11th century probably employed Jewish moneyers. The first Bohemian chronicler, Cosmas of Prague, mentions Jews there in 1090. In 1096 many Jews in Bohemia were massacred by the Crusaders and others were forcibly converted. Those who reverted to Judaism and attempted to leave were robbed on their departure (1098). According to Cosmas Vicedominus *Jacobus Apella, a high court official reverted to Judaism in 1124. Apparently, the communities of *Cheb (Eger) and *Litoměřice (Leitmeritz) were well organized by the end of the 12th century. The places of Jewish settlement and activity in Bohemia are documented from the 13th century onward. The customs dues payable by Jews were regulated in 1222. The plethora of scholars living in Bohemia in this century, including *Isaac b. Jacob ha-Lavan of Prague, *Isaac b. Mordecai (Ribam), Eliezer b. Jacob, *Abraham b. Azriel of Bohemia, and *Isaac b. Moses of Vienna (Or Zaru'a), attests that Jewish culture was already deeply rooted and widespread among the communities there. From here *Pethahiah of Regensburg set out on his travels. The use of Slavic-Bohemian terms in the writings of some of these scholars to explain Hebrew terms indicates the linguistic and cultural ties existing between the Jews and local society. In 1241 the Jewish communities of Bohemia suffered with the rest of

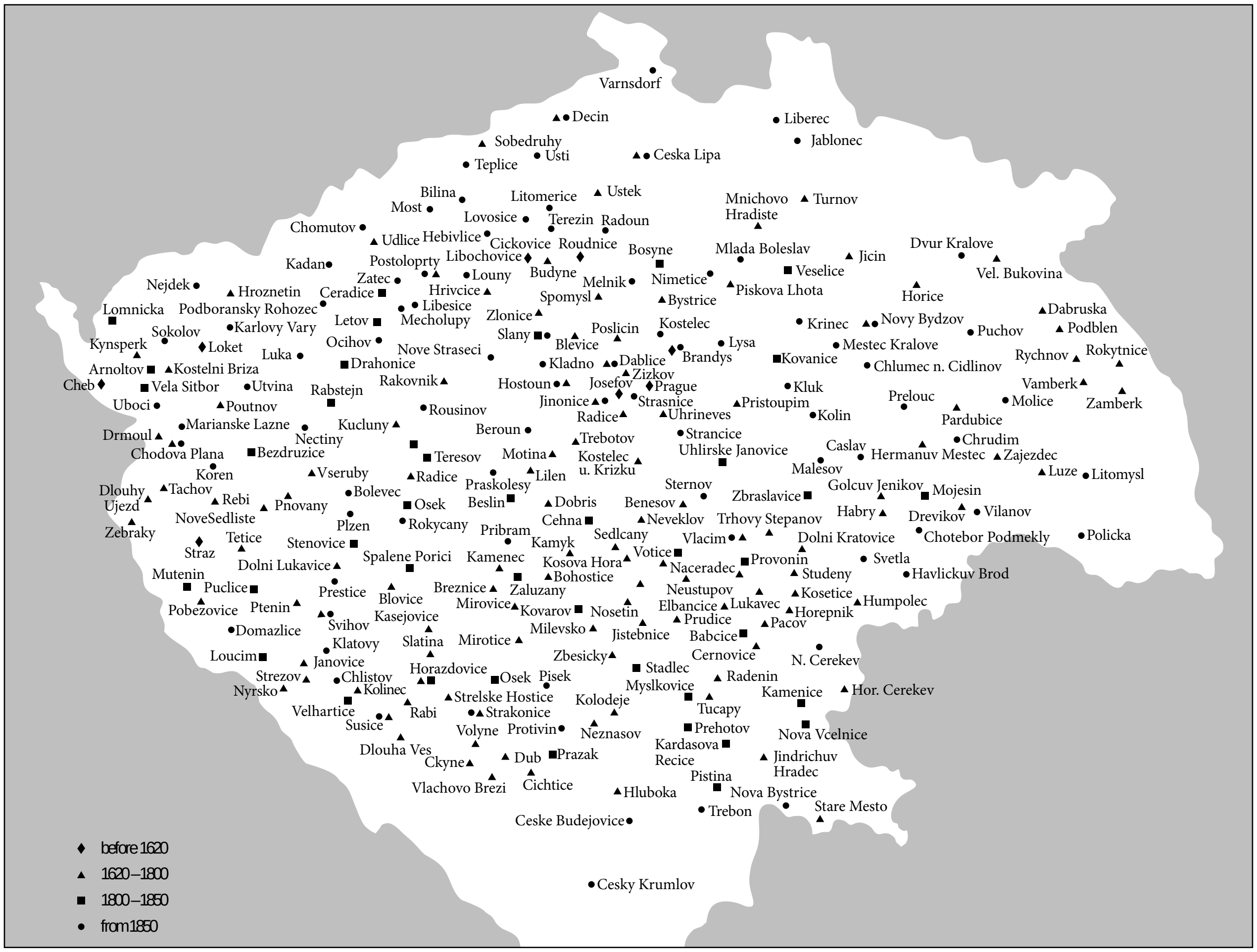
Varnsdorf
Decin
Liberec
Jablonec
Sobedruhy
Usti
Ceska Lipa
Teplice
Bilina
Litomerice
Ustek
Mnichovo Hradiste
Turnov
Most
Lovosice
Terezin
Radoun
Chomutov
Udlice
Hebivlice
Cickovice
Roudnice
Bosyne
Mlada Boleslav
Jicin
Dvur Kralove
Postoloprty
Libochovice
Kadan
Zatec
Louny
Budyne
Melnik
Nimetice
Veselice
Vel. Bukovina
Nejdek
Hroznetin
Ceradice
Hrivcice
Spomysl
Bystrice
Piskova Lhota
Horice
Lomnicka
Podboransky Rohozec
Libesice
Mecholupy
Zlonice
Dabruska
Letov
Poslicin
Kostelec
Krinec
Novy Bydzov
Puchov
Podblen
Sokolov
Karlovy Vary
Slany
Blevice
Lysa
Mestec Kralove
Rychnov
Rokytnice
Kynsperk
Loket
Luka
Ocihov
Nove Straseci
Brandys
Kovanice
Chlumec n. Cidlinov
Arnoltov
Kostelni Briza
Drahonice
Kladno
Dablice
Zizkov
Cheb
Vela Sitbor
Utvina
Rakovnik
Hostoun
Josefov
Prague
Kluk
Vamberk
Rabstejn
Strasnice
Pristoupim
Prelouc
Molice
Zamberk
Uboci
Poutnov
Rousinov
Jinonice
Radice
Uhrineves
Kolin
Pardubice
Marianske Lazne
Kucluny
Beroun
Strancice
Drmoul
Nectiny
Trebotov
Chrudim
Chodova Plana
Bezdruzice
Teresov
Motina
Kostelec u. Krizku
Uhlirske Janovice
Caslav
Hermanuv Mestec
Zajezdec
Koren
Vseruby
Radice
Praskolesy
Lilen
Malesov
Luze
Litomysl
Dlouhy Ujezd
Tachov
Bolevec
Sternov
Golcuv Jenikov
Mojesin
Rebi
Pnovany
Osek
Beslin
Dobris
Benesov
Zbraslavice
Habry
Drevikov
Vilanov
NoveSedliste
Plzen
Rokycany
Cehna
Neveklov
Trhovy Stepanov
Zebraky
Pribram
Sedlcany
Vlacim
Dolni Kratovice
Chotebor
Podmekly
Policka
Straz
Tetice
Stenovice
Kamyk
Votice
Provonin
Svetla
Spalene Porici
Kamenec
Kosova Hora
Naceradec
Havlickuv Brod
Mutenin
Dolni Lukavice
Bohostice
Studeny
Puclice
Prestice
Breznice
Zaluzany
Neustupov
Kosetice
Blovice
Mirovice
Kovarov
Nosetin
Elbancice
Lukavec
Humpolec
Pobezovice
Ptenin
Kasejovice
Horepnik
Svihov
Milevsko
Prudice
Pacov
Domazlice
Jistebnice
Babcice
Klatovy
Slatina
Mirotice
Cernovice
Loucim
Zbesicky
N. Cerekev
Janovice
Horazdovice
Stadlec
Radenin
Strezov
Chlistov
Osek
Pisek
Myslkovice
Kamenice
Hor. Cerekev
Nyrsko
Kolinec
Strelske Hostice
Kolodeje
Velhartice
Rabi
Strakonice
Tucapy
Susice
Volyne
Protivin
Neznasov
Prehotov
Nova Vcelnice
Kardasova Recice
Dlouha Ves
Dub
Prazak
Jindrichuv Hradec
Ckyne
Pistina
Vlachovo Brezi
Cichtice
Hluboka
Nova Bystrice
Stare Mesto
Trebon
Ceske Budejovice
Cesky Krumlov
♦ before 1620
▲ 1620–1800
■ 1800–1850
● from 1850

Jewish communities in Bohemia.

the population from the devastations of the Tatar invasion. In 1254 *Přemysl Otakar II granted a charter to the Jews based on the charter of the Austrian duke *Frederick II (1244), appending to it the bull issued by Pope *Innocent IV combating the *blood libel. He reconfirmed it in 1268. The wave of new settlers who went to Bohemia after the havoc wreaked by the Tatars included a number of Jews. These settled in the cities mainly as moneylenders, encouraged by the grant of charters and the status conferred on them as **servi camerae regis*, according them standing and protection at least not inferior to that in their countries of origin. The Altneu synagogue in *Prague was completed around 1270. At the time of the *Rindfleisch massacres in 1298 King Wenceslaus II extorted large sums from Bohemian Jewry for protection. In 1336 King John of Luxemburg ordered the arrest of all the Jews in Bohemia to extort a ransom. There was a wave of massacres in this period in Čáslavy and *Jindřichův Hradec (Neuhaus) in 1337, and also after a Host desecration libel in Kouřim in 1338. The entire Cheb community was butchered in 1350. The atrocities of the 14th century reached a peak with the massacre of the Jews in Prague in 1389. During this period Charles IV confirmed a number of privileges formerly issued to the Jews and in some cases afforded them protection, strictly enforcing their status as serfs of the chamber. Wenceslaus IV protected the Jews from oppression by the local nobility, but on several occasions canceled the debts owed to the Jews, as in 1411. The Jews suffered during the *Hussite uprising in 1419–37. The *Chomutov (Komotau) community was annihilated by the Hussites, while the Jews were expelled from Cheb and Jihlava (Iglau) on the charge of supporting them. In Jewish sources of the late 15th century evidence is found of strong sympathy for the religious reformer John Huss and the Hussites, and in particular for the Taborites, who are regarded as Judaizers and fighting a just national war.

16th and 17th Centuries

With changes in the religious and social outlook of the burghers, the growing interest in finance and the increasing availability of money, moneylending ceased to be a Jewish monopoly. The competition of Christian moneylenders, abetted by the hypocrisy that forbade Jews to do what they themselves were engaged in, gradually eroded the central position held by Jews in this field. In addition, the weakening of central royal power threatened the existence of the Jews living in the crown cities. Despite a decision of the Diet to tolerate the Jews (1501) and its confirmation by Ladislas II in 1510, they were eventually expelled from *Pilsen in 1504, and also from Prague, where some individuals were expressly permitted to remain. Their expulsion from the crown cities was formally proclaimed in 1541. Efforts made by *Joseph (Joselmann) b. Gershom of Rosheim to intercede were unsuccessful. The publication of the decree was followed by massacres of the Jews in Litoměřice, Nymburk, *Roudnice nad Labem (Raudnitz), and *Žatec (Saaz). Later a number of Jews returned. The decree of expulsion was renewed in 1557, and the Jews vacated all the crown cities except Prague where a few families remained. Many Jews left for Poland and Turkey.

By the end of the 16th century half of Bohemian Jewry was living in Prague. The rest were scattered throughout the countryside in the villages and small towns under the protection of the local nobility. Jews continued to reside in four towns, *Kolín, Roudnice, Bumsla (*Mladá Boleslav), and *Náchod (known in Jewish sources by their initials קרב"ן). Until the siege of Vienna by the Turks in 1683 the attitude of the authorities toward the Jews was influenced by the fear that they might support the Turks. In 1551 *Ferdinand I enforced the ordinance compelling the Jews to wear the yellow *badge. Four hundred and thirteen Jewish taxpayers are recorded in Bohemia (except Prague) in 1570, and over 4,000 Jews at the beginning of the 17th century. Until the development of a mercantilistic policy under *Charles VI, the Jews were almost the only traders in the rural areas. Their function was regarded by the local lords as *versilbern*, i.e., the conversion of the surplus produce of their domains (mainly wool, hides, feathers, and cheese) into money, and the supply of luxuries for their sumptuous households. Despite their frequently small numbers in many localities where they lived, the Jews of Bohemia developed an independent rural way of life and maintained Jewish traditions. Antagonism developed between the Prague community and the rest of Bohemian Jewry, the "Draussige" or "Ḥuẓim" ("outsiders"). The latter became organized in the *Landesjudenschaft.

Conditions improved under *Rudolf II (1576–1612). Subsequently, the Prague community increased in size, attaining an importance in the Jewish world far beyond the boundaries of the country. Bohemian Jews gained a reputation as goldsmiths. Hebrew printing flourished in Prague. Mordecai Meisel achieved influence as a court banker. Among the prominent scholars of the period were R. *Judah Loew b. Bezalel (Maharal) and the chronicler and astronomer David *Gans. Jacob *Bassevi of Trevenberg was the first Jew to be granted a coat of arms. There was marked reciprocal influence between Bohemian society, in particular the sectarians, and Jews in the social and cultural spheres. Jewish sources express a local Bohemian patriotism. Gans states in his chronicle *Ẓemaḥ David* (Prague, 1595) that parts of his "General History" are written "to the glory [לכבוד] of this land in which I live." He gives a detailed description of Bohemia, its natural resources and its emblem, the lion, declaring "this land is full of God's blessings." He indignantly repudiates an anti-Czech song popular with the German-speaking population: "Ye should know that this song is entirely lies." He refers to the antiquity and beauty of Prague (*Ẓemaḥ David*, 2, fols. 7a, 46b, 49a, 97a).

Jewish life in Bohemia was disrupted by the Thirty Years' War (1618–48). In 1629 *Ferdinand II renewed and extended the privileges accorded to the Jews. However, in 1630 he ordered them to attend the conversionist sermons of the *Jesuits. There were 14,000 Jewish taxpayers in Bohemia in 1635. The community absorbed many refugees from the *Chmielnicki massacres in Poland in 1648. In 1650 the Diet decided to curtail the number of Jews permitted to reside in Bohemia and limit their residence to the places where Jews had been living in 1618. This was the beginning of the "Jew-hatred of the authorities," in contrast to the attitude of the nobility who were interested in the income they derived from the Jews. Irksome restrictions were introduced and there were increasing demands for higher taxes. For Prague, a special committee, the *Judenreduktionskomission* ("Commission to Reduce the Number of the Jewish Population") was appointed. The number of the Jews outside Prague was estimated to be 30,000 in 1724. They lived in 168 towns and small market towns and 672 villages.

Familiants Laws

The curtailment culminated in the *Familiants Laws under Charles VI (1726) which only allowed 8,541 families to reside in Bohemia. Jews were segregated in special quarters. Bohemia was divided into 12 district rabbinates (*Kreisrabbinat*). The Jews were expelled from Prague by *Maria Theresa in 1744, but the decree of expulsion was remitted in 1748 and most of the Jews returned. A decree for the whole of Bohemia (1745) was not carried out. There were 29,091 Jews living in Bohemia in 1754, of whom one-third lived in Prague. (See table "Jewish Population of Bohemia.") In the second half of the 18th century some Jews in Bohemia were attracted to the *Frankists. Bohemian Jews took an active part in the industrialization of the country and the development of its trade, among them the *Hoenigsberg family, Simon and Leopold von *Laemel, and the *Popper family.

Toleranzpatent

The Toleranzpatent of *Joseph II for Bohemian Jewry was issued on February 13, 1782. As an outcome, Jewish judicial autonomy was suspended, Jewish schools with teaching in German were opened, and the use of German was made compulsory for business records. Jews were permitted to attend general high schools and universities, and were subject to compulsory military service. These measures were supported by adherents of the *Haskalah movement in Prague, including members of the *Jeiteles family, the *Gesellschaft der jungen Hebraeer, Peter *Beer, Naphtali Herz *Homberg, and Raphael *Joel, among others. They were resisted by the majority of the Jews, led by the rabbis Ezekiel *Landau, Eleazar *Fleckeles, Samuel *Kauder, and Bezalel Ronsburg. The legal position of the Jews of Bohemia was summarized in the *Judensystemal-*

patent issued in 1797. Bohemian Jews were entitled to reside in places where they had been domiciled in 1725. They were permitted to pursue their regular occupations, with some exceptions, being prohibited from obtaining new licenses for the open sale of alcoholic beverages or from leasing flour mills. New synagogues could only be built by special permission. Rabbis were obliged to have studied philosophy at a university within the empire. Only Jews who had completed a German elementary school could obtain a marriage license or be admitted to talmudic education. The *censorship of Hebrew books was upheld.

19th and 20th Centuries

The increasing adaptation of individual Jews to the general culture, and their rising economic importance, furthered Jewish assimilation into the ruling German sector. During this period Jews such as Moses and Leopold Porges-Portheim, Aaron and Solomon Pribram, Moses, Solomon, and Leopold Jerusalem developed the Bohemian textile industry, introducing modern machinery. The discrepancy between the rise in economic and cultural standards and the restrictions imposed on the Jews by their humiliating legal status led to frequent circumvention of the existing legislation.

The budding Czech national renaissance at first attracted the Jewish intelligentsia, enraptured with the new learning, among them Siegfried *Kapper, Ludwig August *Frankl, and David *Kuh, supported by Václav Bolemir Nebeský. However, the inimical attitude of Czech leaders such as Karel Havlíček-Borovský, and the outlook of the majority of the Jews molded by an essentially German education, soon brought them into the German liberal camp, in which Moritz *Hartmann and Ignaz *Kuranda distinguished themselves in the revolutionary tumult of 1848.

In general, however, especially in the small communities, Jewish society continued the traditional way of life and mores despite the persistent trend toward assimilation and the changes introduced by such communities as *Teplice. Legislation introduced in the 1840s brought some relief of the humiliating restrictions. In 1841 the prohibition on Jews owning land was waived. The *oath *more iudaico* and the Jewish tax (collected by a much hated consortium of Jewish notables, the "Juedische Steuerdirection") were annulled in 1846. The Jewish orphanage in Prague was built from its surplus funds. The 1848 revolution proved disappointing to the Jews as it was accompanied by anti-Jewish riots in many localities, principally in Prague. The Jews of Bohemia, however, benefited by the abolition in *Austria of marriage restrictions and by the granting of freedom of residence. There began a "Landflucht," movement from the small rural communities to the commercial centers in the big towns, in which many of the former communities disintegrated in the process. This was speeded up later by the growing antisemitism among Czechs and Germans alike (see below). There were 347 communities in Bohemia in 1850, nine with more than 100 families and 22 with over 50. By 1880 almost half of Bohemian Jewry was living in towns with over 5,000 inhabitants, mostly in the German-speaking area. There were 197 communities in 1890. In 1921 only 14.55% of Bohemian Jewry lived in localities of less than 2,000 inhabitants, and were 0.27% of the population in these localities. Sixty-nine percent lived in towns of over 10,000. In 1930, 46.4% of all Bohemian Jews lived in Prague and the number of Jews in the countryside had decreased by 40% since 1921. During this period many Jews moved to Vienna or immigrated to the United States. Until 1848 the vast majority of Bohemian Jewry had belonged to the poorest sectors of the population. Subsequently, most of them, as a result of their economic activities, moved up to the prosperous and wealthy strata even though their occupations remained essentially in the same sphere as before 1848.

In the second half of the 19th century Bohemian Jewry became increasingly involved in the bitter conflict between the Czech and German national groups. While the elder generation generally preferrred assimilation with German culture, and supported the German-oriented liberal political parties, the Czecho-Jewish movement (Svaz *Čechožidů), initiated and supported by Filip *Bondý, Siegfried Kapper, Bohumil *Bondý, and others, achieved some success in promoting Czech assimilation. By 1900, 55% of Bohemian Jewry declared their mother tongue as Czech and 45% as German. Some Jewish leaders, notably Joseph Samuel *Bloch, advised Bohemian Jews not to become involved in the conflict of the nationalities, but they continued to take sides on this issue until Zionism enabled at least its adherents to remain neutral.

The Jewish Population of Bohemia, 1754–1930

Year	Numbers
1754	29,094
1764	31,937
1774	31,929
1780	39,693
1790	45,906
1800	47,865
1810	50,629
1820	59,607
1830	67,338
1840	64,780
1850	75,459
1869	89,933
1890	94,529
1900	92,797
1910	85,927
1921	97,777
1930	76,301

As a result of emigration and a steady decline in the birth and marriage rates among Jews in Bohemia, the percentage of the aged rose, and the total population of the community decreased. The vast majority of Jews became indifferent to religion and inclined toward total assimilation: the *Yahrzeit, the Day of Atonement, and a subscription to the *Prager Tagblatt*, the German-liberal daily, were considered by many Jews their only links with Judaism. There was an increase in mixed marriages from 0.15% in 1881 to 1.75% in 1910, and 27.56% in 1930, and many dropped their Jewish affiliation. The percentage of Jewish mixed marriages was 0.15% in 1881, 1.75% in 1910, and 27.65% in 1930.

Of all persons in Bohemia considered Jewish according to the Nazi standards introduced in 1939, 11.1% were not of the Jewish faith. Antisemitism became strong in Bohemia at the end of the 19th century. The German population of the Sudetenland, the "Rand-Orls," was the stronghold of the *Schoenerer brand of racial antisemitism in the Hapsburg Empire (see also *antisemitic political parties and organizations). Czechs saw the Jews as the instruments and partisans of Germanization and the allies of Hapsburg patriotism. The economic anti-Jewish *boycott movement in Bohemia, "Svůj k svému" ("Each to his own kind"), was among the first of its sort to emerge in Europe and in particular hit Jewish shopkeepers in the villages. Finally a wave of blood libels, instigated by the Austrian *Christian Social Party, swept Bohemia. These occurred in Kolín and Náchod, among other places, and culminated in the *Hilsner Case. At this time the internal division in Jewry between the parties supporting Czech or German assimilation became increasingly pronounced. Jews joined the liberal and radical parties of both sides. At the end of the 19th century the Czecho-Jewish movement achieved the closure of Jewish schools where teaching was in German. During World War I Bohemia absorbed thousands of refugees from Eastern Europe. Many settled there permanently and contributed to the revival of Jewish religious and cultural life in the communities. The establishment of independent *Czechoslovakia in 1918 linked Bohemian Jewry with the Jews living in the other parts of the new state. Bohemia attracted many Jews from Carpathian Russia (see *Subcarpathian Ruthenia) and Eastern Slovakia, and the Jews of Bohemia were active in organizing relief for Jews in these impoverished areas. After 1918 there were three federations of communities, one for those of Great Prague and *České *Budejovice and *Pilsen, one of Czech-speaking communities, and one of German-speaking communities. From 1926 they were represented, together with the federations of communities in Moravia and Silesia, by the "Nejvyšší rada svazu náboženských obcí židovských v Čechách, na Moravě a ve Slezsku" (Supreme Council of the Federations of Jewish Religious Communities in Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia). In 1930, 46.4% of Bohemian Jewry declared their nationality as Czech, 31% German, and 20.5% Jewish. (See table "Jewish Population of Bohemia.") In 1937 there were 150 communities. In 1938 with the Sudeten crisis 29% of Bohemian Jewry living in the Sudeten area became refugees.

The Jewish State Museum in Prague now has synagogue equipment and archivalia from more than 100 Bohemian communities, most of them brought there in 1942 by Nazi orders when the communities were deported.

For Holocaust and contemporary period, see *Czechoslovakia.

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[Jan Herman / Meir Lamed]

°**BOHL (Bohlius), SAMUEL** (1611–1639), Lutheran Hebraist. Born in Greifenberg (Gryfice), Pomerania, Bohl taught at the University of Rostock, where he wrote an exposition of rabbinic commentaries on Malachi (1637) and a Hebrew grammar (1638). Other publications include an exposition of chapters seven to twelve of Isaiah, a commentary on Proverbs, and a treatise on the masoretic accents as the key to the verse-allocation of the Decalogue. Some of Bohl's works were published by G. Menthen in *Thesaurus theologico-philologicus* (vol. 1, Amsterdam, 1701).

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[Raphael Loewe]

BOHM, DAVID (1917–1994), U.S. physicist. Bohm was born in Wilkes-Barre, Pennsylvania, and received his B.Sc. from Pennsylvania State University (1939) and Ph.D. in physics (1943), supervised by J. Robert *Oppenheimer initially at the California Institute of Technology and then at the University of California at Berkeley. He was assistant professor at Princeton University (1947–51) but was forced to leave after being blacklisted in the McCarthy era Communist witch hunt. Cited for contempt of Congress for refusing to name names, he left the United States and served as professor of physics at the University of Sao Paulo, Brazil (1951–55), lecturer at the Haifa Technion (1955–57), and research fellow at the University of Bristol, U.K. (1957–61). He became professor of theoretical physics at Birkbeck College, University of London, until retirement in 1987 but continued to work there until his death. Bohm's first discovery in conventional physics was that electrons stripped from atoms behave in an organized manner. His early ideas on theoretical physics were set out in his book *Quantum Theory* (1951), which impressed Albert *Einstein and led to their working association. His collaborative work with Yakir *Aharanov (1959) produced the still controversial claim that electrons sense a nearby magnetic field even when its strength is zero. Bohm's later work, although founded on his experimental observations and interpretation of quantum mechanics, became increasingly philosophical and was influenced by his dialogue with the Indian spiritual master J. Krishnamurti. He was especially concerned with discerning patterns of cosmological order which transcend mechanistic descriptions of physics. He was a controversial figure with strong admirers and detractors. His ideas are intellectually accessible to non-specialists in his own books and F. David Peat's biography, *Infinite Potential* (1996).

[Michael Denman (2nd ed.)]

BÖHM, HENRIK (1867–1936), Hungarian architect. His work includes thermal bath buildings (Szolnok in Hungary and Piestany in Slovakia), hotels, and the Török Bank house (1906), a Secessionist landmark in Budapest.

[Eva Kondor]

BOHNEN, ELI AARON (1909–1992), U.S. Conservative rabbi. Bohnen was born in Toronto, Canada, and immigrated to the United States following his graduation from the University of Toronto in 1931. He was ordained at the Jewish Theological Seminary in 1935 and earned a Doctor of Hebrew Letters there in 1953. Bohnen served congregations as rabbi in Philadelphia (1935–39) and Buffalo, New York (1939–48) but left his pulpit to serve as a chaplain with the U.S. Army in Europe during World War II. He was with the 42nd (Rainbow) Infantry Division during the liberation of Dachau on April 29, 1945, an experience that moved him to work as an advisor to the U.S. military regarding *displaced persons. He also wrote the *Rainbow Haggadah* for soldiers celebrating Passover on the battlefield. Returning to the United States, Bohnen moved to Providence to become rabbi of Temple Emanu-El (1948) and eventually president of the Rhode Island Board of Rabbis. As a member of the Rabbinical Assembly's Committee on Jewish Law and Standards, Bohnen wrote responsa for the Conservative movement reflecting his view that for some Jews *halakhah* had become an idol to be worshipped and that contemporary values should be considered in interpreting Jewish law. He served as president of the *Rabbinical Assembly (1966–68) during the tumultuous times of the Vietnam War and urban race riots. He decried tensions within the American Jewish community and called for greater interdenominational cooperation, insisting that the breach with Orthodoxy was "of their making, not ours." Upon his retirement in 1973, Bohnen served as rabbi emeritus of Temple Emanu-El.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: P.S. Nadell, *Conservative Judaism in America: A Biographical Dictionary and Sourcebook* (1988).

[Bezalel Gordon (2nd ed.)]

BOHR, NIELS HENRIK DAVID (1885–1962), Danish physicist and Nobel laureate. He was born in Copenhagen. His father was non-Jewish, a professor of physiology at the University of Copenhagen, and his mother, née Ella Adler, belonged to a prominent Jewish banking family. He obtained his doctorate at Copenhagen in 1911 with a thesis on "Investigations of Metals." In 1912, he worked with J.J. Thomson (the discoverer of the electron) at Cambridge, and then in Manchester with Ernest Rutherford, the discoverer of the atomic nucleus. In 1913, Bohr produced the first of his series of papers which revolutionized conceptions of the structure of the atom. In 1916, Bohr became professor of chemical physics at the University of Copenhagen, and in 1920 head of the university's new Institute of Theoretical Physics. He participated in other important advances, such as the "Correspondence Principle" and the "Principle of Complementarity." In 1922, he was awarded the Nobel Prize, the youngest laureate up to that time. He helped to lead science through the most fundamental change of attitude it has made since Galileo and Newton. In September 1943 he and his family escaped the Nazis by going to Sweden in a fishing boat. In October he was taken to England in the bomb rack of an unarmed Mosquito plane. Bohr was "consultant" to Tube Alloys, the code name for the atomic bomb project. He had determined that the uranium atom which had been split by Hahn and Strassman in 1938 was the rare isotope U-235, a fact of major importance to the project. However, Bohr saw the atom bomb as a threat to mankind. He was given the first Atoms-for-Peace prize of the Ford Foundation in 1956 and was chairman of the Danish Atomic Energy Commission. In the last fifteen years of his life, he was tireless in his work for peace.

He took an active interest in the physics program of the Weizmann Institute of Science at Reḥovot which he visited on several occasions.

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[Samuel Aaron Miller]

BOJAN, village in Ukraine, in the province of Bukovina; it belonged to Austria from 1774 to 1918 and to Romania from 1918 to 1940. In 1807 there were only three Jewish families in Bojan, employed in agriculture. Its situation near the Russian and Romanian borders contributed to the growth of the community, which numbered 781 in 1880 (14.9% of the total population). It was first affiliated with the community of *Sadgora. An independent community was established in 1860. Bojan became a ḥasidic center when the *ẓaddik* R. Isaac Fridman, a grandson of R. Israel of *Ruzhin, settled there in 1886. As a consequence of the influx of the Ḥasidim who settled near the *ẓaddik's* home, Bojan developed into an urban settlement. In 1913 the community numbered 2,573. It had a synagogue and four prayer houses. When the Russians occupied Bojan during World War I, the Jewish quarter, including the residence of the *ẓaddik*, was destroyed and most of the Jews there fled. R. Isaac Fridman fled to Vienna where he died. In 1930 there remained only 118 Jews. They were deported to Transnistria in 1941.

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[Eliyahu Feldman]

BOJANOWO, small town in Poznan province, western Poland, founded in 1638. Jews were among its early settlers, and traded in textiles and hides. Jewish artisans were employed there by Christians, despite protests from the guilds. For a long time the community was affiliated to that of *Leszno (Lissa). The first synagogue was erected in 1793; a new one was built in 1859. The Jewish population numbered 151 in 1793, 311 in 1840, and 66 in 1905 (out of a total of 2,106). The talmudic scholar Julius *Theodor served as rabbi of Bojanowo. The community ceased to exist after World War I.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: A. Heppner and J. Herzberg, *Aus der Vergangenheit und Gegenwart der Juden in den Posener Landen* (1904–29), 308–14.

BOKANOWSKI, MAURICE (1879–1928), French politician. Born in Le Havre into a family of Russian immigrants, Bokanowski studied law in Paris. In 1914 he was elected to the Chamber of Deputies and on the outbreak of World War I joined the French infantry. After the war he was reelected to the Chamber and became a member of the trade and finance commissions. He was appointed minister for the navy in 1924 and from 1926 to 1927 was minister of commerce and industry, signing France's first commercial treaty with Germany after World War I. He was killed in an airplane accident in 1928 and was given a state funeral.

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[Shulamith Catane]

BOKROS-BIRMAN, DEZSÖ (**Desiderius**; 1889–1965), Hungarian sculptor and graphic artist. Bokros-Birman was noted for his realistic portraiture and his ability to portray character. He was born in Ujpest and studied in Budapest and Paris. He exhibited first with the KÉVE (Association of Hungarian Creative and Industrial Artists) in 1918. Later he moved to Berlin, where he produced a series of lithographs entitled *Job* (1922). Bokros-Birman then returned to Budapest. During World War II he was a member of the anti-Fascist independence movement and later executed a relief entitled *Independent Hungary.*

Some of Bokros-Birman's better known works are *The 20-Year-Old Ady*, *Ujvári Péter*, and *The Iron-worker.*

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *The Statues of D. Bokros-Birman* (1928), introd. by F. Karinthy; *Bokros-Birman* (Hung., 1949), introd. by E. Mihályi.

[Jeno Zsoldos]

BOKSER, BARUCH M. (1945–1990), U.S. scholar of rabbinics in the formative period, the first seven centuries C.E.; son of Conservative rabbi and scholar Ben Zion *Bokser. Baruch Bokser was educated at the University of Pennsylvania (B.A., 1966), Jewish Theological Seminary of America (M.H.L./Rabbi, 1971), and Brown University (Ph.D., Religious Studies/History of Judaism, 1974). He taught at Brown University, the University of California at Berkeley, Dropsie College, and the Jewish Theological Seminary of America. He devoted his oeuvre to explaining the development of Judaism, identifying the shifts in the way ideas and institutions are presented and assessing the significance that these transformations had for the history of Judaism and the society of the Jews. His books include *Samuel's Commentary on the Mishnah: Its Nature, Form, and Content. Part One. Mishnayot in the Order of Zeraim* (1975), showing how Babylonian rabbis related to the Mishnah, which won Brown University's Salo Baron Dissertation Prize in 1974; *Post-Mishnaic Judaism in Transition: Samuel on Berakhot and the Beginnings of Gemara* (1980), tracing the effort to move beyond Mishnah-commentary, linking Samuel's activities to their historical contexts; and *The Origins of the Seder*: *The Passover Rite and Early Rabbinic Judaism* (1984), in which literary analysis leads to historical interpretation of the ritual of Passover. Here he demonstrates how literary analysis leads to a historical interpretation of the development of an important ritual in Judaism. In addition, he edited *History of Judaism: The Next Ten Years* (1980); and he translated Tractate Pesaḥim of the Palestinian Talmud into English, published posthumously as vol. 13 of *The Talmud of the Land of Israel: A Preliminary Translation and Explanation,* completed and edited by Lawrence H. Schiffman (1994). The Bokser-Schiffman translation of Pesaḥim became the standard by which renditions of rabbinic texts into English are assessed. He was a master of the scholarly literature on every topic he addressed, and his "Annotated Bibliographical Guide to the Study of the Palestinian Talmud" (1970, reprinted in 1981 in J. Neusner, ed., *The Study of Ancient Judaism 2:1–119*) is the standard bibliography on that subject to 1970. Among his many articles and reviews, some of the more memorable are "The Wall Separating God and Israel" (*Jewish Quarterly Review*, 778 (1983),349–74), "Rabbinic Responses to Catastrophe: From Continuity to Discontinuity) (*Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research*, 50 (1983), 37–61), and "Approaching Sacred Space" (*Harvard Theological Review* (1984)), which as a sequence assess how rabbis overcame the destruction of the Temple and yet preserved the memory of the lost center. His "Ma'al and Blessings over Food: Rabbinic Transformation of Cultic Terminology and Alternative Modes of Piety" (*Journal of Biblical Literature* 1981 100:557–74) treats justifications used to support a system of blessings to be recited on eating food. "Hanina ben Dosa and the Lizard: The Treatment of Charismatic Figures in Rabbinic Literature (*Proceedings of the Eighth World Congress of Jewish Studies 1982* C:1–6 1982) and "Wonder-Working and the Rabbinic Tradition" (*Journal for the Study of Judaism in the Persian, Hellenistic, and Roman Period* 1985 16:2–13) show that different portrayals of religious leaders are tied to different self-images of rabbis on the degree to which a leader is to stand out from the community or serve as a model for emulation. His oeuvre joined erudition and disciplined imagination to produce an enduring legacy of systematic learning. By the time of his early death, he had attained standing as one of the exemplary and influential scholars of ancient Judaism.

[Jacob Neusner (2nd ed.)]

BOKSER, BEN ZION (1907–1984), U.S. Conservative rabbi and scholar. Bokser, born in Luboml, Poland, was raised in the United States. From 1933 he served as rabbi of the Forest Hills Jewish Center, one of the largest Conservative congregations in New York City, a massive synagogue structure complete with a physical education complex, the veritable "shul with a pool" that was popular in the immediate post-World War II years. Aside from a brief stint as an Army chaplain during World War II, he remained at the Forest Hills Jewish Center for half a century. His influence extended far beyond his congregation. He was a passionate supporter of liberal causes and took the courageous and deeply unpopular stance of supporting a housing project for lower income residents amidst the solidly middle class Jewish neighborhood of Forest Hills.

He was also associate professor of homiletics at the Jewish Theological Seminary, and for many years editor of its *Eternal Light* radio program. He served on the Rabbinic Assembly Committee on Jewish Law and Standards and dissented from the RA ruling that permitted Jews to ride to synagogue on the Sabbath. He also wrote the unanimous ruling prohibiting circumcision on days other than the eighth except on medically or halakhically acceptable grounds.

Bokser's books, both popular and scholarly, include *Pharisaic Judaism in Transition* (1935), a biography of R. Eliezer b. Hyrcanus; *The Legacy of Maimonides* (1950); *From the World of the Cabbalah* (1954, a study of the life and thought of R. Loew b. Bezalel (the Maharal) of Prague); *Judaism: Profile of a Faith* (1963); and *Judaism and the Christian Predicament* (1967), a study of the relationship between Judaism and Christianity. His study and translation of some of Rabbi Abraham Isaac Kook's writings into English gave an American audience access to the revered mystic's thought. Published by Paulist Press, it gave a hearing to Kook's work among Christian scholars of mysticism. Bokser also wrote *The Jewish Mystical Tradition* (1981), a survey of Jewish mystical thought from the Bible to Rav Kook. He translated and edited two prayer books, the first for weekday, Sabbath, and festivals (1957) and the second for the High Holidays (1959), which were first used by his congregation and then elsewhere in the Conservative movement. His *siddur* was complete, unlike the Silberman prayer book that contained the Sabbath liturgy alone and was intended by the Hebrew Publishing Company to serve as the Conservative version of the Birnbaum Siddur used by Orthodox Jews in mid-century America. He also taught political science and religion at Queens College and was co-founder of its Center for Ethics and Public Policy. His son, Baruch *Bokser (1945–1990), was a scholar of rabbinics.

[Jack Reimer / Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

BOLAFFI, MICHELE (or **Michaele**; 1768–1842), Italian musician and composer. In 1793 he composed the music for the religious drama *Simḥat Mitzvah* by Daniel *Terni, written for performance at the inauguration of the synagogue in Florence: the music has not been found. Later, Bolaffi was active at the Leghorn synagogue, where his works continued to be performed until the early years of the 20th century. His works are included in the 19th-century music manuscripts of other Italian communities, notably that of Casale Monferrato. His setting to Psalm 121 is still sung in the Florence synagogue at festivals. Bolaffi also had a career as a secular musician. He went to England, where in 1809 he was employed as "Musical Director to the Duke of Cambridge." He toured Germany in 1816 with the singer Angelica Catalani, and occupied for a short period the post of *Koeniglicher Kapellmeister* at Hanover. Between 1815 and 1818 he was in the service of Louis XVIII as singer with the title "Musicien de S.M. le Roi de France." His compositions include an opera *Saul*, a *Miserere* for three voices and orchestra (1802), a "sonetto" on the death of Haydn (1809), settings for psalms, and other vocal compositions. He also wrote poems, an Italian adaptation of Solomon ibn *Gabirol's *Keter Malkhut* under the title *Teodia* (1809), and Italian translations of Jacques de Lille (1813) and Voltaire (1816).

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[Israel Adler]

BOLAFFIO, LEONE (1848–1940), Italian jurist. Born in Padua, Bolaffio was educated at the Padua talmudical college, and at the University of Padua. He practiced law in Venice for 15 years before becoming a lecturer at the universities of Parma and Bologna. Bolaffio helped revive the study of commercial law in Italy and was a member of the Royal Commission for the Reform of the Commercial Code. His works on commercial law include *Esegesi dell'articolo 58 del Codice di Commercio italiano* (1897) and *Diritto Commerciale* (1918) which became standard textbooks. He also edited the *Commentario al Codice di Commercio* with Cesare *Vivante and founded the law review, *La Temi Veneta*.

Bolaffio established the Italian Society for the Study of Stenography and advocated the introduction of the famous Gabelsberger shorthand system into the public schools of Italy. He himself wrote a manual for this system.

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[Giorgio Romano]

BOLEKHOV (Pol. **Bolechów**), city in W. Ukraine; from 1945 to 1991 in the Ukrainian S.S.R. (formerly in *Galicia; from 1772 to 1919 within Austria, subsequently in Poland). Municipal status was granted to Bolekhov in 1612 by the lord of the town, and the Jews living there were accorded the right to participate in municipal elections for the mayor and council. In 1780 the Austrian government founded a Jewish agricultural settlement near Bolekhov named New Babylon; although the Jews were shortly afterward superseded by Germans, the name was retained. Jewish occupations in Bolekhov in the 18th century included trade in Hungarian wines, cattle, horses, and salt from the local mines. Later they extended to other trades and crafts. Industrial undertakings established by Jews included timber and other mills, tanneries, and furniture, soap, and candle factories. The oil industry founded in Bolekhov after World War I, and its position as a summer resort, also provided sources of Jewish incomes. Bolekhov was a cradle of the Jewish Enlightenment movement (*Haskalah) in eastern Galicia, the Jews there taking an interest in Polish and other foreign languages even in the 18th century. Prominent among its leaders were Dov Ber *Birkenthal, author of a famous autobiography, and Solomon *Rubin, principal of the modern Jewish school, where both Hebrew and German were taught.

The Jews formed a considerable majority of the population until World War II. In 1900 there were 3,323 Jewish inhabitants (78% of the total); in 1925, 2,435. In elections for the Austrian parliament (1867 through 1906), Bolekhov formed part of a constituency with largely Jewish voters. In 1931 there were 2,986 Jews.

[Nathan Michael Gelber]

Holocaust Period

When World War II broke out, Bolekhov came under Soviet occupation until July 2, 1941, when the town was occupied by Slovak and Ukrainian units under German command. The German commander established a Judenrat, headed by Dr. Reifeisen, who shortly afterward committed suicide. The Jews were segregated in a ghetto established in the autumn of 1941 and the intolerable living conditions there were aggravated by the arrival of refugees from the villages in the district. Relief was organized with great difficulty, and by the spring of 1942 most of them had died of starvation. Some Jews were employed in the local tanneries. Later, Jews were employed in lumber work at a special labor camp. In late October 1941, the German police seized over 1,850 Jews. After being tortured for 24 hours, some succumbed and the rest were brought to a mass grave in the Tanjawa forest and shot. The second mass liquidation took place in early August 1942 when a manhunt was conducted jointly by the Ukrainian and Jewish police for three days. The victims were herded into the courtyard of the city hall, where some 500 persons were murdered by the Ukrainians and some 2,000 dispatched by freight trains to *Belzec death camp where they perished. By 1943 only 1,000 Jews remained in the ghetto, in the work camp, and a few in the Jewish police. These were gradually murdered and only a few managed to escape to the neighboring forests. Some joined the partisans, while others perished there during the first few weeks. By the time of the Soviet conquest (spring of 1944) only a handful of Jews remained alive. In the district of Bolekhov, there was a group of Jewish partisan fighters who operated under the command of a Ukrainian communist.

[Danuta Dombrowska]

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°BOLESLAV V (**"The Pious"**; 1221–1279), Polish prince, son of Ladislas Odonic of the Piast dynasty. Boleslav was prince of Great Poland from 1239, for the first ten years in conjunction with his brother. In 1257, after many vicissitudes, he succeeded in establishing his rule over the whole of Great Poland. During his wars against the Teutonic Order and the rulers of Brandenburg he captured Gdansk (Danzig). The appellation "Pious" denotes Boleslav's good relations with the Church. During his reign Poland was invaded by the Mongols who left the country in ruin after their retreat. Boleslav, like other Polish rulers of the period, invited settlers from Germany, including Jews, to rehabilitate the country, granting various concessions and guarantees to the new settlers. This situation, and the policy to which it gave rise, motivated Boleslav to grant a charter to the Jews of Great Poland, issued on Sept. 8, 1264. It is patterned after, and mainly transcribed from, the charters granted to Jews in Austria in 1244 and Bohemia in 1254. Also known as the Statute of Kalisz, it was the prototype for subsequent Polish legislation concerning the Jews in the Middle Ages, such as that of *Casimir the Great.

The original text of the Statute of Kalisz has been lost, but its content is conveyed in the document of 1506 of the chancellor Jan Laski. About half of the 36 articles of the Statute concern the legal status of the Jews, who were regarded as belonging to the prince's treasury (cf. art. 29: "Whoever robs a Jew… shall be considered as robbing Our treasure"). The Jews were protected against the *blood libel. They, their families, their possessions, and their institutions (synagogues, cemeteries) were under the protection of the prince (arts. 8–10, 14, 29) and subject to his jurisdiction (art. 8 denies the municipality any juridical authority over the Jews). The other articles relate to Jewish economic activities, and attest the ruler's special interest in Jewish credit transactions (see *Moneylending) and their organization. Two articles deal with the commercial activity of the Jews. Four articles original to the Statute of Kalisz, i.e., not adopted from earlier documents of this kind, are article 33, permitting the purchase of a horse from a Jew in daytime only; article 34, prohibiting mintmasters from accusing Jews of forging coins; article 35, compelling their Christian neighbors to assist Jews if attacked at night; and article 36, permitting Jews to trade in provisions.

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[Arthur Cygielman]

BOLESLAVSKI, ISAAC (1919–1977), Russian chess grandmaster. Boleslavski was born in Ukraine. He established himself early as one of the leading players in the U.S.S.R. He achieved his greatest success in the Candidates' Tournament at Budapest in 1950, where he shared first prize with David *Bronstein. The latter won the play-off and thus qualified to challenge Mikhail *Botvinnik. From that time on Boleslavski distinguished himself in important tournaments. He also achieved celebrity as an analyst of chess openings, and many important variations resulted from his experiments in practical play.

[Gerald Abrahams]

BOLIVIA, South American republic; population: 8,724,156 (2004). Jewish population: c. 600.

History of Jewish Settlement

Desperate to escape the increasingly vehement persecution in their homelands, thousands of refugees from Nazi-dominated Central Europe, the majority of them Jews, found refuge in Latin America in the 1930s. Bolivia became a principal recipient of this refugee influx by the end of the decade when Argentina, Brazil, Chile, and Mexico – traditional "countries of choice" for European immigration – closed their gates or applied severe restrictions to the entrance of newcomers. Indeed, in the panic months following the German *Anschluss* of Austria in March 1938 and *Kristallnacht* in November of that year, Bolivia was one of very few remaining places in the entire world to accept Jewish refugees. In the short period between then and the end of the first year of World War II, some 20,000 refugees, primarily from Germany, Austria, and Czechoslovakia, entered Bolivia – more than in Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, and India combined. When the war ended, a second, smaller wave of immigrants, mostly East European Holocaust survivors, displaced relatives of previous refugees, and Polish Jews who had fled to Shanghai after 1939 and abandoned it in the wake of the Communist takeover, arrived in Bolivia. (Also in these postwar years, a small number of Nazis who were fleeing or had help escaping prosecution in Europe – the best known among them being Klaus Barbie – came to Bolivia.) The new immigrants settled primarily in La Paz, a city more than 12,500 feet above sea level, as well as in Cochabamba, Oruro, Sucre, and in small mining and tropical agricultural communities throughout the land.

In Bolivia, the refugees began to reconstruct a version of the world that they had been forced to abandon. Their own origins and social situations were diverse in Central Europe, ranging across generational, class, educational, and political differences and incorporating various professional, craft, and artistic backgrounds. Some of them had at one time been engineers, doctors, lawyers, musicians, actors, and artists; others were skilled and unskilled workers whose living had been interrupted by Nazi exclusionary decrees. Although most people who came to Bolivia were Jews, or were married to Jews, a significant minority were non-Jewish political refugees: Communists, Socialists, and others persecuted by the Nazi regime. Jews themselves differed greatly in the degree of their identification with their religion and its traditions. There were Zionists, atheists, Orthodox believers, High Holiday Jews, and non-practitioners among them. They shared a common identity as Jews only in the sense, perhaps, that they had all been defined as "Jews" from the outside – that the Nazis had "othered" them as Jews.

No matter what their background differences had been in Europe, the vast majority of refugees arrived in South America in dire straits, with few personal possessions and very little money. This in itself had a leveling effect, cutting across their previous class distinctions. But other factors, also helped to create a sense of collective identity among them, aiding in their adjustment and survival. Their common history of persecution was certainly one of these. Each and every refugee had been identified as undesirable, stripped of citizenship and possessions. Despite differences in the details of their particular experiences, they were all "in the same boat." The war back in Europe, and the fact that so many of them had relatives and friends from whom they had been separated, were ever-present realities of which they were collectively conscious and that bonded them together. They kept themselves and each other informed of news about the war from accounts in the press and radio, and, they shared efforts to discover the fate of those left behind. In this regard, the German language (which they spoke at home and among themselves), was their vehicle of inquiry, information, and unity, allowing them to communicate intimately and to express themselves with a degree of familiarity that most could never attain in the Spanish language of their surroundings.

But ultimately, it was Austro-German Jewish bourgeois society, the cultural end-product of 19th century Jewish emancipation in Central Europe, that gave the new arrivals a model for emulation and a common locus for identification in their place of refuge. Indeed, at the very time when that dynamic social and cultural amalgam was being ruthlessly and systematically destroyed by the Nazis, the Jewish refugees in Bolivia tried to recall and revive a version of it in a land thousands of miles from their home; in a country that offered them a haven, but in which many of them felt themselves as mere sojourners.

Alto Perú, the region that became Bolivia after gaining its independence from Spain in 1824, had once before been the refuge of people escaping religious intolerance and persecution in Europe. In the course of the 16th century, and during the extended, often brutal sway of the Spanish Inquisition, thousands of New Christians, or *Crypto-Jews – persons of Jewish origin who had been converted to Christianity by force or prudent choice of their own – left the Iberian peninsula; clandestinely or openly, and many sought haven in Spain's Latin American colonies. Bringing badly needed technical and entrepreneurial skills with them, a number of Crypto-Jews settled around the silver-mining areas of Potosí and in centers of trade and commerce like Chuquisaca (later Sucre), Santa Cruz, and Tarija. Over the years, some of these Crypto-Jews, or their offspring, intermarried with local Christians and were integrated into the Catholic establishment. In the process, the background religious "stain" that had made them identifiable as "outsiders" was blurred if not eradicated. But traces of their Sephardi ancestry survived – discernible both in family names and in customs of Jewish origin that were perpetuated for generations, despite the loss of their original meaning. Until well into the first decades of the 20th century, for example, it was the custom for women in some families in Santa Cruz to light candles on Friday evening, a Jewish ritual inaugurating the Sabbath, and for persons associated with some of the oldest and most distinguished "colonial" families in Sucre to maintain a semi-secluded seven-day deep mourning for their dead that, in form if not substance, bore a great resemblance to the Jewish mourning practice of *shiva*. Ancient candlesticks and silver objects of Sephardi origin, as well as incunabula inscribed in Hebrew, were passed down within some of Sucre's families for generations.

But despite the early presence of Crypto-Jews in Bolivia's colonial past, and relics of Judaic practices and beliefs, few – if any – Jews seem to have emigrated to the country in the first century of its independence. In this respect Bolivia was quite different from its more accessible and economically attractive South American neighbors like *Argentina, and *Brazil, whose governments had periodically encouraged "white settler" immigration from Europe, and which developed substantial Jewish communities in the course of the 19th and early 20th centuries. A few East European Jews did trickle into Bolivia in the early 1900s, fleeing persecution in Poland, pogroms in Russia in the aftermath of the failed revolution of 1905, or in the aftermath of the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917. But before the rise of Nazism very few Jews, perhaps fewer than a hundred from Alsace, Poland, and Russia had settled in this Andean land.

In the wake of the large Jewish refugee influx in the late 1930s, some resentments were generated and fueled among Bolivians against the immigrants by pro-Nazi provocateurs, especially after the discovery that many refugees had entered the country with visas bought illegally from Bolivian officials in Europe or under false pretences – with agricultural visas that stipulated that they would be engaged in rural land settlement and agricultural development. In fact, while many immigrants did receive visas as agricultural workers, the majority of them established themselves in the urban centers, in commerce and industry. Several colonization projects were attempted, however, under the auspices of the Sociedad Colonizadora de Bolivia (Socobo), founded in 1940, and with the help of the tin magnate Mauricio *Hochschild. The latter spent almost $1,000,000 between 1940 and 1945 on an agricultural development project at Coroico; but, like an earlier one in the Chaparé jungles, it failed. Climatic conditions were exceedingly difficult, and there was a dearth of roads to suitable markets. The early years of the Jewish community in Bolivia were marked by difficult economic conditions, especially for those who did not own business enterprises. Between January 1939 and December 1942 $160,000 were disbursed for relief by the *American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee, by the Sociedad de Protección de los Inmigrantes Israelitas, and by Mauricio Hochschild. The majority of the immigrants entered manufacturing and trade and ultimately played a prominent role in the development of industry, imports and exports, and in the free professions. By the fall of 1939, when immigration reached its peak, organized Jewish communities could already be found in La Paz and in Cochabamba. The first organization to be founded was the Círculo Israelita (1935) by East European Jews, followed by the German Comunidad Israelita de Bolivia. During the next few years other organizations were formed, such as B'nai B'rith, the Federación Sionista Unida de Bolivia, Wizo, and Macabi, with the Comité Central Judío de Bolivia coming to serve as the representative roof organization. Under the auspices of these groups, various communal services were established in the 1940s: the Chevra Kaddisha, the Cementerio Israelita, Bikkur Ḥolim, a *kinderheim*, and a home for the aged. The La Paz community also established and maintained the Colegio Boliviano Israelita, a comprehensive school with kindergarten, primary, and secondary grades. Attracting Jewish as well as non-Jewish students because of its excellent academic program, the school exists even today, despite the drastic decline in the Jewish population of the country.

Starting with the end of World War II, continuing with the establishment of the State of Israel in 1948, and accelerating in the 1950s, the demographic trend that had been marked by a sharp increase in the Jewish population of Bolivia was reversed. Large numbers of the Jewish wartime immigrants and their children left the country, either to move to other "more Europeanized" Latin American countries like Argentina or Brazil, to the United States, to Israel, or back to their countries of origin in Europe. The consistent exodus was stimulated by a variety of factors, including the political instability in the country. The 1952 revolution that brought to power the National Revolutionary Party (the MNR, which had been close to the Nazis during the war) aroused anxieties in the Jewish community. These fears were allayed, however, when Jewish rights were not affected. Economic insecurity, health hazards caused by climatic difficulties, and the lack of adequate facilities for higher education also motivated the emigration trend.

The Contemporary Situation

By the early 1990s, there were around 700 Jews left in Bolivia. That number has declined even more, as many members of Bolivia's Jewish younger generation decide to emigrate – either temporarily, to seek higher educational or vocational training elsewhere, or on a permanent basis. As in the past, the majority of remaining Jews live in the capital, La Paz, but there are smaller communities in Santa Cruz and Cochabamba. The Circulo Israelita, the central Jewish communal organization, now embodies both of its predecessors, the Circulo Israelita de La Paz established by East European immigrants and the German Comunidad Israelita de Bolivia.

There are synagogues and a rabbi in La Paz, and synagogues in Cochabamba and Santa Cruz. Economically, members of the community are now relatively well to do, engaged in manufacturing, merchandizing, import and export trade, and the professions.

Relations with Israel

Bolivia was among the supporters of the 1947 UN resolution on the partition of Palestine. Subsequently, a Bolivian representative was named to the Palestine Commission. In ensuing debates at the United Nations, notably those on the refugee problem, despite changing governments and resultant differences of policy, Bolivia was remarkably consistent in maintaining a friendly attitude to Israel. Israel's first minister presented his credentials in 1957, and an embassy was established in 1964; Bolivia, in turn, established its embassy in Jerusalem in the same year. The two countries engaged in a variety of assistance programs. A technical cooperation agreement between the two countries, signed in 1962, provides for an agricultural mission of Naḥal officers that has been active in Bolivia in cooperation with the Bolivian army in the fields of agricultural settlement and training. Bolivian students on scholarships in Israel included irrigation engineers and youth leaders. An effort in the private sphere is a joint study in medicinal tropical plants undertaken by the School of Pharmacology of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem and its Bolivian counterpart.

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[Netanel Lorch / Leo Spitzer (2nd ed.)]

BOLM, ADOLPH RUDOLPHOVICH (1884–1951), U.S. ballet dancer and director. Born in St. Petersburg, Russia, Bolm was awarded a first prize at the Imperial Ballet and soon drew public attention with his brilliant dancing and mime. He toured European capitals with Anna Pavlova in 1908 and 1909, and in 1914 went to the U.S. as leading dancer and choreographer in Diaghilev's company. He then settled in New York, where he formed the Bolm Ballet Intime. He produced *Le Coq d'Or* at the Metropolitan Opera in 1918, danced the title role in *Petrouchka*, and established himself as a choreographer. He became maître de ballet at the Chicago Opera in 1922. In 1931, in Hollywood, his ballet *Iron Foundry* (to music by Mossolov) attracted audiences of fifteen to twenty thousand at a time. In 1932 Bolm was appointed ballet master at the San Francisco Opera, and held the post for five years. He later directed a ballet school.

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BOLOGNA, city of north central Italy. There is documented evidence of a Jewish presence since 1353, when the Jewish banker Gaius Finzi from Rome took up his residence in the quartier of Porta Procola. In the second half of the 14th century around 15 Jewish families settled in the city. In 1416, at the time of the papal election, a vigilance committee of Jewish notables from various parts of Italy met in Bologna to discuss the submission of an official letter to Pope Martin V in order to improve the condition of the Jews. In 1417 the bishop of Bologna compelled the Jews there to wear the Jewish *badge and to limit their activities as loan bankers. The restrictions were confirmed in 1458. Nevertheless, the community flourished. In 1473 *Bernardino da Feltre secured the establishment of a public loan bank (*Monte di Pietà) in order to undermine the activities of the Jews. It functioned for a short time only, but further attempts were made to establish one in 1505 and 1532. Thanks to new waves of immigration, the Jewish community of Bologna increased to around 650 in these years. They were involved in loan banking, commerce (silk, secondhand textiles, jewelry), medicine, and cultural life.

In the 15th–16th centuries the Bologna community included many rabbis and noted scholars, including Obadiah *Sforno, Jacob *Mantino, Azariah de' *Rossi, and Samuel *Archivolti. There were 11 synagogues in Bologna in the middle of the 16th century, even more than in Rome. In 1546 there already existed two fraternal societies, the "Ḥevrat ha-Nizharim" and the "Ḥevrat Raḥamim."

A Hebrew press printed the Book of Psalms in 1477 (its first book), with commentary by D. Kimḥi, in an edition of 300 copies. Among the printers were Meister Joseph and his son, Ḥayyim Mordecai, and Hezekiah of Ventura. About the same time – between 1477 and 1480 – they printed two small-size editions of the Book of Psalms.

Two other Hebrew printing presses were set up in Bologna, the first under the supervision of *Abraham b. Ḥayyim dei Tintori of Pesaro (see *Incunabula) operating in 1477–82 and the second of silk makers and intellectuals (among them Obadiah Sforno) operating in 1537–41. In 1482 the first edition of the Pentateuch with Onkelos and Rashi and the Five Scrolls with commentaries were printed. Only the Pentateuch bears the city's name. In 1537 a *siddur* of the Roman rite, mostly on parchment, and some other works were printed (i.e., *Or Ammim* by Sforno in 1537 and *Piskei Halakhot* by Moses Recanati in 1538) and in 1540/41 a *maḥzor* of the same rite appeared with commentary by Joseph *Treves. The university library owns an important collection of Hebrew manuscripts and early editions.

Bologna reverted to direct papal rule in 1513, and not long after the community began to suffer from the consequences of the Counter-Reformation. In 1553 the Talmud and other Hebrew works were burned on the instructions of Pope Julius III. In 1556 *Paul IV issued an order confining Jewish residence to a ghetto. In 1566 the ghetto was established in a central area of the city, behind the Two Towers. Pius V established a House of *Catechumens in Bologna in 1568 and in the following year Bologna was among the towns of the papal states from which the Jews were banished. More than 800 Jews were forced to leave, paying in addition the enormous fine of 40,000 scudi. The cemetery was given to the nuns of S. Pietro, who completely destroyed it in order to use the land. As a result of the apparently more liberal attitude of Sixtus v, Jews returned to Bologna in 1586, but in 1593, 900 Jews were expelled again by Clement viii. On this occasion they removed the bones of their dead, which they reburied in the cemetery of Pieve di Cento.

Subsequently Jews were not able to settle officially in Bologna for two centuries. Foreign Jews occasionally were allowed accommodation in the central Osteria del Cappello Rosso inn. In 1796, in the period after the French conquests, several Jews went to live there. They later suffered from the renewed papal rule, and their position progressively deteriorated until in 1836 some of them who belonged to the Italian Risorgimento movement were again expelled. It was in Bologna that the kidnapping of the child Edgardo *Mortara took place in 1858, an affair that aroused the civilized world. When the city was annexed to Piedmont in 1859, equal rights were granted to the Jews and they fully participated to the cultural, economic, and social life of the city: Luigi Luzzati and Attilio Muggia were among the founders of two important charitable institutions, respectively the "Società cooperativa degli operai" (1867) and the "Casa provinciale del lavoro (1887)"; Amilcare Zamorani founded and owned the daily newspaper *Il Resto del Carlino* (1885). The family of Lazzaro Carpi, who participated actively in the Italian Risorgimento, strongly supported the Jewish community and organized the first prayer room in their home in 1859. During the 1870s the Jewish community established a new synagogue active until 1929 when a new one was built in the same place.

[Attilio Milano / Federica Francesconi (2nd ed.)]

At the beginning of the 20th century, about 900 Jews, mostly business and professional people, lived in Bologna. In January 1938, months before the anti-Jewish laws, *Il Resto del Carlino*, the local daily newspaper founded by Amilcare Zamorani, initiated a campaign against the Jews. One of the first signs of the new antisemitic atmosphere was the changing of the name of the Via de' Giudei to the Via delle Due Torri. With the onset of the anti-Jewish laws in September, Jewish teachers and students were forced to leave the public schools. The municipality established an elementary school with two classes for Jewish pupils only, while the Jewish community set up three sections for middle and upper school. Fifty-one Jewish professors were retired from the University of Bologna, including 11 tenured professors and 40 others. Also forced to leave were 492 foreign Jewish students. Italian Jewish students already enrolled at the university were allowed to finish, but no new Italian Jewish students were admitted. In addition, 17 doctors, 14 lawyers, and three journalists were no longer permitted to exercise their professions. With only a few exceptions, there were no reactions or manifestations of dissent on the part of their "Aryan" colleagues.

After the German occupation of Italy in September 1943, the persecution in Bologna became deadly. With the collaboration of Fascist activists, Nazi raids, roundups, and deportations of Jews to death camps were frequent. Jewish properties and possessions were confiscated, and only partially returned after liberation. One hundred and fourteen Jews from Bologna were deported to Auschwitz, where nearly all of them died. About half of them passed through the transit camp of Fossoli. Eighty-four of the 114 belonged to the Jewish community. Among them was Rabbi Alberto Orvieto. Their names are engraved on the plaque on the facade of the synagogue in Via Mario Finzi. The other 30 deportees had been baptized or had chosen not to register themselves in the community. In addition to the 114, a number of deported Jews from outside Bologna were captured there.

Even before September 1943, a section of the *Delegazione assistenza emigrati* (Delasem) functioned in Bologna to help foreign Jews. It was directed by Mario Finzi, who during the German occupation produced false identity cards for Italian and foreign Jews in the Bologna and Florence area and delivered them through Don Leto Casini. Finzi was arrested in April and deported to Auschwitz in May 1944, from where he did not return. Eugenio Heiman, president of the Jewish community after the war, was also active in Delasem.

Many Jews were able to hide and save themselves with false documents provided by Delasem or the Resistance. About 20 Jews from Bologna became partisans and fought especially in the brigades of *Giustizia e Libertà*, linked to the Partito d'Azione. Several lost their lives in the struggle, including the lawyer Mario Jacchìa, commander of northwestern Emilia, and 13-year-old Franco Cesana (1931–1944), believed to be the youngest Italian partisan.

The Jewish community was reconstituted in 1945. The synagogue, destroyed in an Allied bombing raid in 1943, was rebuilt under the direction of Eng. Guido Muggia, the grandson of the original builder, and inaugurated in 1954. By 1990 the number of Jews was reduced to 230 with a number of Israelis studying at the University.

[Anna Grattarola (2nd ed.)]

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BOLOTOWSKY, ILYA (1907–1981), U.S. painter, sculptor, and filmmaker. Born in St. Petersburg, Bolotowsky was drawing portraits and landscapes at the age of five. At 16 he arrived in the United States via Constantinople, where his family had lived for two and a half years. After studying at the National Academy of Design from 1924 to 1930, he was hired by the Federal Art Project's Works Progress Administration in 1934. Under the auspices of the WPA, Bolotowsky painted several realist works, but soon he turned to abstraction. As a WPA artist, he created one of the first abstract murals, for the Williamsburg Housing Project in Brooklyn (1936). Another abstract mural followed, located in the Health Building in the Hall of Medical Science at the 1939 New York World's Fair.

In 1933 he began to paint abstractly, influenced by the Neo-Plastic works of Piet Mondrian. After his initial reaction, which he described as "shock and even anger," Bolotowsky began to privilege the tensions of pure color and simplified form in vertical and horizontal arrangements, often on shaped canvases since 1947. In 1961 he began to make sculpture. These painted columns, as Bolotowsky titled them, were a natural outgrowth of his interest in the architectonic forms of Neo-Plasticism.

He co-founded "The Ten" in 1935, a group of artists that included Mark *Rothko and *Ben-Zion. The Ten was committed to overthrowing the Whitney Museum's hegemony and promulgation of representational art of the American scene. The group first showed their work collectively in 1938. Bolotowsky also co-founded the American Abstract Artists in 1936. Although his work did not employ Jewish subjects, Bolotowsky showed an abstract painting at the first exhibition of the World Alliance of Yiddish Culture (YKUF) in 1938.

He served in World War II in the United States Air Force as a translator stationed in Alaska, during which time he complied a Russian-English military dictionary. After the war Bolotowsky taught at various American universities, including Black Mountain College (1946–48) and the University of Wyoming (1948–57). His best-known student is Kenneth Noland.

He made experimental films, including *Metanoia*, which won first prize in 1963 at the Midwest Film Festival at the University of Chicago. Bolotowsky published articles about his work and compiled the *Russian-English Dictionary of Painting and Sculpture* (1962).

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[Samantha Baskind (2nd ed.)]

BOLTEN, JOSHUA B. (1954–), director of the Office of Management and Budget and a member of George W. Bush's cabinet from June 2003. Bolten was born in Washington, DC, and received his B.A. with distinction from Princeton University's Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs (1976) and his J.D. from Stanford Law School (1980), where he was an editor of the *Stanford Law Review*. Immediately after law school, he served as a law clerk at the U.S. District Court in San Francisco. During the fall semester of 1993, Bolten taught international trade at Yale Law School.

During the administration of President George H.W. Bush, Bolten served for three years as general counsel to the U.S. trade representative and one year in the White House as deputy assistant to the president for legislative affairs. During the Reagan administration from 1985 to 1989, he worked on Capitol Hill, where he was international trade counsel to the U.S. Senate Finance Committee, working closely with Senator Robert Packwood (R-OR.). Earlier, Bolten was in private law practice with O'Melveny & Myers, and worked in the legal office of the U.S. State Department. He also served as executive assistant to the director of the Kissinger Commission on Central America. From 1993, he was executive director, legal and government affairs, for Goldman Sachs International in London.

Bolten joined the Bush campaign during the primary season and from March 1999 through the November 2000 election served as policy director of the campaign. His transition to the administration as assistant to the president and deputy chief of staff for policy at the White House was seamless. Bolten is considered a Bush loyalist who views his job as advancing the President's agenda of tax cuts and private Social Security investment accounts for younger Americans. He is that rare cabinet member who is more comfortable working behind the scenes where he is regarded as most effective; he avoids the limelight and the press wherever possible. As the highest-ranking Jew in the Bush administration, he handled some specifically Jewish assignments within the administration – public and private – working closely with the Jewish liaison, appearing at the national Hanukkah candle-lighting ceremony, and taking a personal, familial interest in the *Holocaust Memorial Museum. In April 2006 Bolten became chief of staff to President George W. Bush, the first Jew to hold that office and thus the highest-ranking Jew in the history of the White House.

His father, SEYMOUR BOLTEN (1917–85), was believed to be the highest-ranking Jew among known CIA agents of his time. An authority on international drug trafficking, he was a special adviser to the White House on narcotics and a senior adviser on law enforcement policy at the Department of Treasury (1981–85). At the White House, he staffed the President's Commission on the Holocaust for President Jimmy *Carter.

[Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

BOLZANO (Ger. **Bolzen**), capital of Bolzano province, northern Italy. Jewish moneylenders began to settle in Bolzano after it passed to the Habsburgs in 1363. While some originated from Italy, they were predominantly of German origin. The persecutions and expulsions which followed the blood libel in *Trent in 1475 also affected the Jews of Bolzano. A few began to settle in the city again in the first half of the 16th century. In 1754 Ḥayyim David Joseph *Azulai found only two Jewish families in Bolzano. Jewish settlement again increased during the 19th and early 20th centuries and the Jews established a small community attached to the Jewish community of Merano. Starting in 1933, a number of Jews arrived from Germany and Eastern Europe.

[Daniel Carpi / Federica Francesconi (2nd ed.)]

According to the 1938 census of Jews in Italy, there were 938 Jews in the province of Bolzano. When the Germans occupied Italy after the Italian armistice with the Allies on September 8, 1943, the province, along with those of Trent and Belluno, was separated from the Italian Social Republic and included in the Zona delle Prealpi (Alpenvorland), under direct German administration. About 38 Jewish residents of the province were deported during the period of German occupation. Another 207 Jews from all over Italy were deported from the transit camp of Gries, established in a suburb of Bolzano after the closing of Fossoli on August 1, 1944.

[Susan Zuccotti (2nd ed.)]

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BOMBAY (today **Mumbai**), capital of Maharashtra and the proverbial "gateway to India." Bombay enters Jewish history after the cession of the city to the Portuguese in the middle of the 16th century. Then a small fishing island of no great economic significance, Bombay was leased out around 1554–55 to the celebrated *Marrano scientist and physician Garcia da *Orta, in recognition of his services to the viceroy. Garcia repeatedly refers in his *Coloquios* (Goa, 1563) to "the land and island which the king our lord made me a grant of, paying a quit-rent." After the transference of Bombay to English rule the Jew Abraham *Navarro expected to receive a high office in the Bombay council of the East India Company in recognition of his services. This was, however, denied to him because he was a Jew. In 1697 Benjamin Franks jumped Captain Kidd's "Adventure Galley" in Bombay as a protest against Kidd's acts of piracy; his deposition led to Kidd's trial in London.

The foundation of a permanent Jewish settlement in Bombay was laid in the second half of the 18th century by the *Bene Israel who gradually moved from their villages in the Konkan region to Bombay. Their first synagogue in Bombay was built (1796) on the initiative of S.E. *Divekar. *Cochin Jews strengthened the Bene Israel in their religious revival. The next largest wave of immigrants to Bombay consisted of Jewish merchants from Syria and Mesopotamia. Prominent was Suleiman ibn Yaʿqūb or Solomon Jacob whose commercial activities from 1795 to 1833 are documented in the Bombay records. The Arabic-speaking Jewish colony in Bombay was increased by the influx of other "Arabian Jews" from *Sūrat, who, in consequence of economic changes there, turned their eyes to India.

A turning point in the history of the Jewish settlement in Bombay was reached with the arrival in 1833 of the Baghdad Jewish merchant, industrialist, and philanthropist, David *Sassoon (1792–1864) who soon became a leading figure of the Jewish community. He and his house had a profound impact on Bombay as a whole as well as on all sectors of the Jewish community. Many of the educational, cultural, and civic institutions, as well as hospitals and synagogues in Bombay owe their existence to the munificence of the Sassoon family.

Unlike the Bene Israel, the Arabic-speaking Jews in Bombay did not assimilate the language of their neighbors, Marathi, but carried their Judeo-Arabic language and literature with them and continued to regard Baghdad as their spiritual center. They therefore established their own synagogues, the Magen David in 1861 in Byculla, and the Knesseth Elijah in 1888 in the Fort quarter of Bombay. A weekly Judeo-Arabic periodical, *Doresh Tov le-Ammo*, which mirrored communal life, appeared from 1855 to 1866. Hebrew printing began in Bombay with the arrival of Yemenite Jews in the middle of the 19th century. They took an interest in the religious welfare of the Bene Israel, for whom – as well as for themselves – they printed various liturgies from 1841 onward, some with translations into Marathi, the vernacular of the Bene Israel. Apart from a short-lived attempt to print with movable type, all this printing was by lithography. In 1882, the Press of the Bombay Educational Society was established (followed in 1884 by the Anglo-Jewish and Vernacular Press, in 1887 by the Hebrew and English Press, and in 1900 by the Lebanon Printing Press), which sponsored the publication of over 100 Judeo-Arabic books to meet their liturgical and literary needs, and also printed books for the Bene Israel. There were also a number of Bene-Israel journals published in Bombay (*Bene Israelite, Friend of Israel, Israelite, The Lamp of Judaism, Satya Prakash*).

The prosperity of Bombay attracted a new wave of Jewish immigrants from Cochin, Yemen, Afghanistan, Bukhara, and Persia. Among Persian Jews who settled in Bombay, the most prominent and remarkable figure was Mullā Ibrahim *Nathan (d. 1868) who, with his brother Mūsā, both of *Meshed, were rewarded by the government for their services during the first Afghan War. The political events in Europe and the advent of Nazism brought a number of German, Polish, Romanian, and other European Jews to Bombay, many of whom were active as scientists, physicians, industrialists, and merchants. Communal life in Bombay was stimulated by visits of Zionist emissaries.

[Walter Joseph Fischel]

Contemporary Period

After the establishment of the State of Israel and India's Independence the Jewish community of Bombay started diminishing due to emigration. In the early 21st century the Jewish population of Bombay (Mumbai) was estimated to be about 2,700. The city remains the last major center of organized Jewish life in India. There are eight synagogues in Mumbai – six belong to the Bene Israel community and two to Baghdadi Jews. Mumbai is also a home to the Indian branches of *ORT (Organization for Technological Training) and AJDC (*American Joint Distribution Committee).

[Paul Gottlieb / Yulia Egorova (2nd ed.)

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°**BOMBERG, DANIEL** (d. between 1549 and 1553), one of the first and the most prominent Christian printers of Hebrew books. Bomberg left his native Antwerp as a young man and settled in Venice. Rich and well educated, and even having studied Hebrew, he developed a deep interest in books. He probably learned the art of printing from his father Cornelius. In all, nearly 200 Hebrew books were published (many for the first time) at Bomberg's printing house in Venice, which he set up on the advice of the apostate Felix Pratensis. He published editions of the Pentateuch and the Hebrew Bible, both with and without commentaries, and was the first to publish the rabbinic Bible *Mikra'ot Gedolot*, 4 vols., 1517–18, with Pratensis as editor, i.e., the text of the Hebrew Bible with Targum and the standard commentaries. In order to produce this work, he had to cast great quantities of type and engage experts as editors and proofreaders. As a result of the success of his early work, Bomberg expanded his operations. He published the first complete editions of the two Talmuds (1520–23) with the approval of Pope Leo X (only individual tractates of the Babylonian Talmud having hitherto been published), as well as the Tosefta (appended to the 2nd ed. of Alfasi, 1522). The pagination of Bomberg's editions of the Talmud (with commentaries) has become standard ever since. Similarly, his second edition of the rabbinic Bible (1524–25) edited by *Jacob b. Ḥayyim ibn Adonijah, has served as a model for all subsequent editions of the Bible. He is said to have invested more than 4,000,000 ducats in his printing plant. Bomberg spent several years trying to obtain a permit from the Council of Venice to establish a Hebrew publishing house. He also had to secure special dispensation for his Jewish typesetters and proofreaders from wearing the distinctive Jewish (yellow) hat. In 1515 the Venetian printer P. Liechtenstein printed, at Bomberg's expense, a Latin translation by Felix Pratensis of the Psalms. Apparently, the first Hebrew book to come off his press was the Pentateuch (Venice, Dec. 1516), though there is some evidence that his first work was printed in 1511 (*Aresheth* 3, 93ff.). In 1516 he obtained a privilege to print Hebrew books for the Jews and went on printing rabbinic books, midrashic-liturgical texts, etc. Among Bomberg's printers, editors, and proofreaders whose names are known were: Israel (Cornelius) *Adelkind and his brother and Jacob b. Ḥayyim ibn Adonijah (all of whom were later baptized); David Pizzighettone, Abraham de *Balmes, *Kalonymus b. David, and Elijah *Levita (Baḥur). It seems that Bomberg's fortunes declined as a result of competition from other publishers. In 1539 he returned to Antwerp, though his publishing house continued to operate until 1548. His distinctive type became popular, and his successors not only lauded his typography but went so far as to print on the title pages of their publications "with Bomberg type," or some similar reference. The name Bomberg which appears in the Plantin Bible published in Antwerp in 1566 almost certainly refers to his son, and from him Plantin obtained a manuscript of the Syriac New Testament on which he based the Polyglot Bible known as *Regia* (8 vols., 1569–73).

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[Abraham Meir Habermann]

BOMBERG, DAVID (1890–1957), British painter. He was born in Birmingham and brought up in Whitechapel, the Jewish quarter of London. Apprenticed to a lithographer, he attended evening classes and later the Slade School. In 1914 he became a founder-member of the London Group, and participated in an exhibition "Twentieth Century Art" held at the Whitechapel Art Gallery for which he organized an international Jewish section. This was the first collection of modern Jewish art to be seen in England.

In 1923 the English painter, Sir Muirhead Bone, wrote to the British Zionist Federation urging them to employ Bomberg to record pioneering work in Palestine. Bomberg visited Palestine, but fell out with the Zionists, refusing to paint what he regarded as propaganda pictures. He spent six months at Petra, where he developed his taste for sunbaked, desolate landscapes. Later he continued his travels and painted in several countries, particularly in Spain. Bomberg then fell into poverty and neglect as his paintings fell out of favor, although he was an influential and inspiring lecturer at the Borough Polytechnic, London, where he taught from 1945 until 1953. In 1954 he returned to Spain, with the intention of founding an artists' colony, but died with the plan still unfulfilled. Bomberg's early paintings show the influence of Cubism, but remain representational; these include some Jewish subjects, such as the *Jewish Theater* (1913), *Family Bereavement* (c. 1913, commemorating his mother's death), and *In the Hold* and *Mud Bath* (1913–14), studies of a Jewish communal bath.

His later work is more emotional, painted in rich, fiery colors. *Hear, O Israel*, painted in Spain in 1955, represents a return to Jewish themes of his youth. In 1967 the Tate Gallery honored his memory with a comprehensive memorial exhibition.

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[Charles Samuel Spencer]

BOMZE, NAHUM (1906–1954), Yiddish poet. Bomze was born in eastern Galicia. He made his literary debut in the *Warsaw *Yugent Veker* in 1929 and was a member of the Lemberg literary group *Tsushtayer* (1929–31). In the 1930s he lived in Warsaw and on the outbreak of WWII he went back to Lemberg (Lvov). Then he served with the Russian army during World War II and after the war tried to settle in Poland again. In 1948 he settled in the United States. He published four collections of poetry: *In di Teg fun Vokh* (1929); *Borvese Trit* (1936); *A Gast in Farnakht* (1939); *A Khasene in Herbst* (1949). A selection of his poems with an introduction by H. *Leivick, *Ayvik Bliyen Vet der Traum* was published posthumously.

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[Shlomo Bickel]

BONAFED, DAVID BEN REUBEN (1240?–?), rabbi, Talmud commentator and halakhist. A student of *Naḥmanides, David wrote novellae to a number of tractates of the Talmud. Those of Tractates Sanhedrin and Pesaḥim were scattered in the novellae of R. *Nissim ben Gerondi to those two tractates, and it appears that R. Nissim bases his decisions on those of Bonafed. His novellae on those two tractates have now been published separately: those on Sanhedrin by Yaakov Halevi Lifschitz (1968), and those on Pesaḥim by Abraham Shoshana (1978), on the basis of the only extant manuscript which is in the Casanatense Library in Rome.

The novellae on Sanhedrin were apparently written during the life time of Naḥmanides, between 1264 and 1270, since Bonafed always refers to him as being still alive and he makes extensive use of his works, as well as mentioning many details which he had heard from Naḥmanides himself. In addition, however, he employs new methods in his treatment of the subjects he deals with by examining all the various interpretations of his predecessors, before arriving at an independent halakhic decision. Like his master, he tries to establish the correct text upon which he bases his commentary.

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[Yehoshua Horowitz]

BONAFED, SOLOMON BEN REUBEN (end of the 14th–mid-15th century), Spanish poet and thinker; the last important poet of Sefarad. Solomon ben Reuben Bonafed was born between 1370 and 1380, and resided in different places in the Kingdom of Aragon in today's provinces of Lleida and Saragossa. He was linked to the members of the poetry circle headed by Solomon ben Meshullam de Piera (who was considerably older) and Vidal ben Benvenist ibn Lavi de la Cavalleria. He was present at the Disputation of Tortosa and was distressed by the numerous conversions, but he tried not to lose ties to the *New Christians. He was already quite old in 1445, when he wrote poems and letters from Belchite after having been forced to leave Saragossa due to disputes with community leaders. Only a relatively small part of his *dīwān*, including poems and literary epistles, has been published; the rest is still in manuscript. We know his poetry from the manuscripts and partial editions by A. Kaminka in *Mi-Mizraḥ u-mi-Ma'arav* (1, 2 (1895), 107–27, and 1926–28), Y. Patay (1926), and H. Schirmann (1946). The Hebrew text of the first part of the *dīwān* has been edited and studied by A. Bejarano (Ph. D. dissertation, 1989). The largest and most important manuscript of the *dīwān* is ms. 1984 (Mich. 155) of the Neubauer Cat. at the Bodleian Library, Oxford, but other minor manuscripts have also been preserved.

As was usual in his time, most of Bonafed's literary activity was in the form of poetic correspondence with other Jewish intellectuals, often including prose as well as verse sections, though the copyists of his manuscripts did not always understand this circumstance. Both poetry and prose are written in biblical Hebrew, and in the prose sections (both rhymed and unrhymed) biblical quotations are particularly numerous.

For Bonafed, Hebrew poetry had a very old tradition with roots in the ancient poets of the Bible and in the classical poets of Andalusia. He felt that his vocation was to continue the Hebrew traditions of Andalusian poetry. He admired especially *Judah Halevi, and identified in many aspects with Solomon ibn *Gabirol, who suffered similar rejection by the Sarogossa community. He also had deep respect for the great poets of his time, Solomon de Piera, Vidal ben Benvenist ibn Lavi, and Vidal Benveniste. He saw himself as the last Hebrew poet of Sefarad, and was convinced that Hebrew poetry would disappear with him.

He cultivated most of the classical genres – panegyrics, dirges, wedding poems, didactic compositions, etc. – imitating Arabic or Hebrew models; his love poems and his satirical verse are a good example of the merging of such elements with others employed in the Romance (Catalan) lyric of the epoch. He also wrote a few liturgical poems. Among his *piyyutim* are recorded *Shekhunah bi-Neshamah*, a *reshut* for Passover, included in the Montpellier prayer book. Bonafed is also the author of some of the last *muwaššahāt* of clear Andalusian tradition written in the Iberian Peninsula, even if they have a rather modified structure. Novelties of the incipient Renaissance, like an Italian influence, are not yet clear in his work. As was usual in Christian Spain, where the bourgeoisie was becoming more and more important, Bonafed's poetry was realistic and full of life.

Although Bonafed mocked the excessively severe rabbinical rulings and many superstitious customs prevalent in contemporary circles, he remained strictly religious and zealous for the Jewish faith. He was in *Tortosa during the disputation in 1413–14, and wrote there several poems dedicated to friends who had gathered with him in that city. Bonafed's poems are an invaluable historical source for this event, and illuminate the psychological stresses of the period which resulted in masses of Jews adopting Christianity. An outstanding defection was that of Vidal de la *Cavalleria, who took a leading part in the disputation. Immediately after his conversion he was appointed to an important official post. Bonafed expressed his distress at Vidal's apostasy: "A precious sun has set in our West – why has it not risen on our horizon?" Many of those who had left Judaism were his former friends, "Scholars who were precious beyond words, who girded themselves with valor… How, now that they are gone, shall I erase those pleasant names from my doorposts?"

The numerous conversions of those years left a deep mark on the poetry of Bonafed.

His vision was pessimistic: the circle of Saragossa, which had had brought about a revival of Hebrew poetry after the disappearance of the great masters of the past, had been irretrievably shattered with the conversion of the two Ibn Lavis (Vidal and Bonafos) and their old tutor, De Piera. Bonafed saw these conversions as representing a betrayal of Hebrew language, culture, and poetry, but even after their conversion these poets of the circle of Saragossa, and especially Solomon ben Meshullam de Piera and Vidal Ibn Lavi remained for him the authors of his time whom he admired the most. He tried to re-establish the old friendship and to continue his poetical correspondence in Hebrew, thinking that for these Conversos, Hebrew poetry might be the strongest link with their old faith. When several years later, in 1445, Bonafed suffered serious personal problems with members of the Jewish community, he wrote to Vidal Ibn Lavi, who for decades had gone under the Christian name of Don Gonzalo de la Cavallería.

Bonafed addressed a satirical polemic in rhyming prose and verse to the apostate Astruc *Rimoch (Francesch de Sant Jordi), who was attempting to persuade a young acquaintance to follow his example (edited with commentary by F. Talmage, 1979, 341). In it Bonafed raised the anomalies in Christian doctrine, and deduced evidence of their irrationality and untenability. Rimoch's original letter and Bonafed's reply were published by Isaac Akrish as an appendix to the well-known epistle of Profiat *Duran, *Al Tehi ka-Avoteikha* (Constantinople, 1577).

Bonafed wrote many satirical verses. Perhaps because of his satirical bent, Bonafed had many enemies with whom he settled his account in his poems and biting epigrams, including other poets and community leaders, and he also criticized the social order and public affairs. A direct object of his fury was the Sicilian Rabbi Yeshua, whom he considered mainly responsible for his forced exit from Saragossa. Bonafed's verses contain accusations of irregularities in community administration, dishonesty, theft, disregard of the rights of community members, fraudulent practices in commerce and accounts, acceptance of bribes, usury, etc.

As a Jewish intellectual, Bonafed was aware of the tensions in his generation regarding the relationship between faith and reason, theory and practice, and attributed the confusion to a mistaken interpretation of Maimonides. Leaving aside his great respect for the Master, Bonafed was surely not an enthusiastic Aristotelian or a rationalist. Although Christian theology met with his total rejection, he had great respect for the scientific and philosophical knowledge of his Christian neighbors. Among his unpublished letters and poems there is a long discussion in Hebrew with a young philosopher, a student of Isaac Arondi of Huesca, in which Bonafed maintained that the logic taught in his time by Christian masters was superior to the logic of Arabic-Jewish tradition. He was familiar with the subject, as he had studied logic, in Latin, with a Christian teacher. Bonafed emphasized that the Christian study of Aristotelian logic, based on Boethius' translation, was more faithful to Aristotle than the accepted Jewish tradition that followed Averroes' interpretation. He distanced himself in this way from the most renowned Jewish logicians, such as Maimonides and or Gersonides. His critical attitude in this field was somewhat new in medieval Jewish thought, a proof of Bonafed's independence of mind and strong personality. However, in spite of his unequivocal dissent in the field of logic, Bonafed should in no way be included among the anti-Maimonidean thinkers of the century.

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[Bernard Suler / Angel Sáenz-Badillos (2nd ed.)]

BONAFOS, MENAHEM B. ABRAHAM (also called **Bonafoux Abraham of Perpignan**; late 14th–early 15th century), philosophical author. Bonafos, who lived in France, is the author of a dictionary entitled *Sefer ha-Gedarim* ("Book of Definitions"), also called *Mikhlal Yofi* ("Perfection of Beauty"), containing precise definitions of technical terms appearing in the Hebrew philosophical and scientific literature, particularly in Maimonides' *Guide of the Perplexed*. The entries under each letter are divided into six sections according to the following classification: ethics and politics, logic, metaphysics, physics, mathematics and astronomy, and medicine. In 1567 the book was first published, with some notes, by Isaac b. Moses ibn Arollo in Salonika, and again in Berlin, 1798, with a commentary and additions by Isaac Satanow.

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BONAFOUX, DANIEL BEN ISRAEL (c. 1645–after 1710), Shabbatean prophet. Bonafoux was born in Salonika, and settled in Smyrna and served there as a *ḥazzan* in the Pinto synagogue. He was a follower of Shabbetai Ẓevi and even after his apostasy Bonafoux continued to be a leading believer in him. The Shabbateans accepted Bonafoux as a visionary and a prophet. When Abraham Miguel *Cardoso came to Smyrna in 1674, Bonafoux, known as Ḥakham Daniel in documents, was at the head of the group of Cardoso's followers. In the 1680s Bonafoux returned to Salonika for a few years, and his opponents claimed that he had joined the *Doenmeh there, but this is doubtful. About 1695 when he returned to Smyrna he caused great confusion by his visionary tricks. He would read questions addressed to him in sealed letters and demonstrate various phenomena of light, etc. Many came to him for answers to their questions, among them critics from abroad who wanted to examine him and to get an idea of his Shabbatean belief. The latter included Abraham *Rovigo, whose letter about his visit to Bonafoux in 1704 is extant (Ms., Jerusalem, 80, 1466, fol. 196). Bonafoux was a close friend of Elijah ha-Kohen ha-Itamari, the principal preacher of the town, who referred to Bonafoux in "*Yeled,*" his story of a soothsayer (*Midrash Talpiyyot* (1860), 207). In 1702 Bonafoux was expelled on the request of the leaders of the community and he lived for a while in a village near Smyrna. In a letter from the Dutch consul in Smyrna dated 1703, Bonafoux's "oracles" are described in detail. After 1707 he went to Egypt and returned to Smyrna in 1710 with an imaginary letter from the Lost Ten Tribes in praise of Shabbetai Ẓevi, who would reveal himself anew. The letter is found in manuscript (Ben-Zvi Institute, Jerusalem, no. 2263). Until his death, Bonafoux maintained contact with Cardoso who claimed in his letters that the "*Maggid" who talked through the mouth of Bonafoux was the soul of the kabbalist David Habillo.

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[Gershom Scholem]

°BONALD, LOUIS GABRIEL AMBROISE, VICOMTE DE (1754–1840), French political theorist. De Bonald fled France in 1791 during the Revolution. He later became a leading exponent of the Catholic and royalist political school and opposed all liberal tendencies. A logical outcome of his traditionalist views was to regard the Jews as a "deicide nation" and to combat their emancipation. In the *Mercure de France* (23 (1806), 249–67), which he directed with *Chateaubriand from 1806, de Bonald accused the Jews of aspiring to world domination. De Bonald's works, in particular the *Théorie du pouvoir*, formed the ideological arsenal from which the French clerical movement was later to forge its weapons of intolerance and antisemitism.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: L. Poliakov, *Histoire de l'antisémitisme*, 3 (1968), index.

BONAN, family of Tunisian rabbis, some of whose members settled in *Tiberias and *Safed. MAS'UD BONAN (born c. 1705), the first known member of the family, was one of the first scholars of the renewed settlement in Tiberias. In 1748 he was sent as an emissary to Western Europe, and he spent four years in Italy, Holland, England, and Germany. While in Hamburg, he supported Jonathan *Eybeschuetz in his controversy with Jacob *Emden. In 1751 he was in London, where he wrote an approbation to *Mikdash Melekh* by Shalom Buzaglo. From 1752 he made Safed his permanent home. Following the earthquake of 1759, he signed, as chief rabbi of Safed, the letters of the emissaries who traveled to different countries to solicit aid for the rehabilitation of the community. During the wars of Ali Bey, *Mamluk ruler of Egypt in 1773, who plundered the Jews, he proceeded to Europe as an emissary, though old and in ill health. The main center of Mas'ud's activity was Leghorn, but he also visited France, Austria, and England. He apparently returned to Safed after 1778. ḤAYYIM MORDECAI, son of Mas'ud, was sent, together with Israel Benveniste, to Western Europe in 1767 on behalf of the Safed community, and again in 1774 to Syria, Iraq, and Kurdistan. ISAAC BONAN (died c. 1810) was an outstanding scholar of Tunis. Of his books the following have been published: *Oholei Yiẓḥak* (Leghorn, 1821), talmudic novellae, together with notes on various halakhic codes. Also included are the halakhic rulings of Isaiah di Trani the Elder on the tractates *Rosh Ha-Shanah, Ta'anit*, and *Ḥagigah; Ohel Yesharim* (Leghorn, 1821), a talmudic methodology, arranged alphabetically (1846); *Berit Yiẓḥak* on the Mekhilta, with its commentaries, *Zayit Ra'anan* and *Shevut Yehudah*, of Judah Najar of Tunis, together with a commentary on the Mishnah of *Berakhot* and the commentary of the tosafists on the Pentateuch. His son DAVID (d. 1850) studied under Isaac Tayib and was a rabbi of the Leghorn community in Tunis. David's books, published by his son Isaac, were *Dei Hashev* (1857), responsa compiled together with Judah ha-Levi of Gibraltar, to refute Bekhor Isaac Navarro's strictures on the above-mentioned *Oholei Yiẓḥak*, and his own responsa under the different title *Nishal David; Mo'ed David* on the *Avodat ha-Kodesh* of Solomon b. Abraham Adret (Part 1, on Festivals, 1887); *Maḥaneh David* (1889), researches on Talmud and *halakhah*. Included are novellae by Isaiah di Trani the Elder and of the son of Naḥmanides on tractate *Beẓah*. David also prepared his father's books for publication and wrote notes on *Berit Yiẓḥak*.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Yaari, Sheluḥei, 460–1, 507–8; M. Benayahu, *Rabbi Ḥ.Y.D. Azulai* (Heb., 1959), 28, 553; Simonsohn, in: *Sefunot*, 6 (1962), 335–6, 346–54; Emmanuel, *ibid.*, 407, 409, 420; D. Cazès, *Notes bibliographiques sur la littérature juive-tunisienne* (1893), 36–59.

BONASTRUC, ISAAC (c. 1400), scholar. Bonastruc was among a group of scholars who settled in *Algiers after their expulsion from Majorca in 1391. It seems that he was associated with R. Simeon b. Ẓemaḥ *Duran and R. *Isaac b. Sheshet Perfet in the preparation of the twelve *takkanot* pertaining to marital status (1394) which remained in force for several hundred years (cf. Simeon b. Ẓemaḥ Duran, *Tashbeẓ*, vol. 2 (Amsterdam, 1742), no. 292). Bonastruc had a belligerent, argumentative personality. He was compelled to leave Algiers after 1404, as a result of his slanderous remarks about Saul ha-Kohen *Astruc, the leader of the Algiers community. After the latter's death, Bonastruc settled in *Constantine, where again he was the cause of stormy controversies within the Jewish community because of his opposition to its leaders. He was appeased when he received a grant from the community on the recommendation of Isaac b. Sheshet: at the same time Simeon b. Ẓemaḥ asked the local *dayyan*, Joseph b. David, not to oppose him.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: I. Epstein, *The Responsa of Rabbi Simon b. Ẓemaḥ Duran* (1968^2), 17–19, 26, 66, 84; A.M. Hershman, *Rabbi Isaac ben Sheshet Perfet and His Times* (1943), index.

[Abraham David]

BONAVENTURA, ENZO JOSEPH (1891–1948), psychologist. Born in Pisa, Bonaventura was brought to Florence at an early age. Enzo was brought up without any notion of Judaism, but falling under the influence of S.H. Margulies, rabbi of Florence, had himself circumcised when he returned from World War I. In 1922 he was appointed professor of psychology at the University of Florence, where he founded and directed the psychological laboratory. Leader of the Zionist Society of Florence, he settled in Palestine in 1938 and was appointed professor of psychology at the Hebrew University. He was killed in April 1948 during an Arab attack on a convoy on the way to the Hebrew University on Mount Scopus. Bonaventura's views of psychology united the classical and the modern schools of thought, and this was apparent in his scientific work, which combined the pursuit of detail within a broad philosophical framework. Bonaventura employed the experimental method in his research into the problems of time, perception, movement, attention, volition, and conation; he also investigated the problems of mental development, especially in retarded children. His most important works in Italian are *L'educazione della volontà* (1927), *Il problema psicologico del tempo* (1929), *Psicologia dell'età evolutiva* (1930), and *La psicoanalisi* (1938). His important Hebrew works are *La-Psychologyah shel Gil ha-Ne'urim ve-ha-Hitbaggerut* ("Psychology of Youth and Adolescence," 1943) and *Hora'ot le-Morim u-le-Meḥannekhim le-Hadrakhat ha-No'ar bi-Veḥirat ha-Mikẓo'a* ("Instructions to Teachers and Educators in Helping Young People Choose a Profession," 1947).

[Haim Ormian]

Bonaventura's father, ARNALDO (1862–1957), was a noted musicologist. He studied law and literature at Pisa but soon devoted himself to musicology. He became librarian at the music section of the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale at Florence, and afterward director and librarian at the Instituto Luigi Cherubini in the same town where he also taught music history and aesthetics. Bonaventura's many works include *Manuale di storia della musica* (1898) and *Storia e letteratura del pianoforte* (1918), both of which were reprinted in 13 editions, as well as critical biographies of Paganini, Verdi, Pasquini, Puccini, Boccherini, and Rossini. He also edited the compositions of Peri, Frescobaldi, Strozzi, and Caccini.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Grove, Dict; Riemann-Gurlitt; MGG; Baker, Biog Dict; Kressel, Leksikon, 1 (1965), 187–8. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** S. Gori Savellini, *Enzo Bonaventura (1891–1948); una singolare vicenda culturale dalla psicologia sperimentale alla psicoanalisi e alla psicologia applicata* (1990).

[Claude Abravanel]

BONAVOGLIA, MOSES DE' MEDICI (d. 1446), rabbi and physician in Sicily. A protégé of the House of Aragon, he studied medicine in Padua and on his return in 1420 was appointed chief judge (**dienchelele*) of the Sicilian Jews. The office, usually held by persons too close to the court, was unpopular among Sicilian Jewry. Hence Bonavoglia was twice removed from this post but was recalled each time. In 1431 he obtained from the king the abrogation of some anti-Jewish legislation. Bonavoglia was the personal physician of Alfonso V and in 1442 followed him when he conquered Naples.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: B. and G. Lagumina (eds.), *Codice diplomatico dei Giudei di Sicilia*, 1 (1884), 308 f., 361–8; Milano, Italia, 512; Roth, Italy, 238 ff., 249.

[Attilio Milano]

BONCIU, H. (originally **Bercu Haimovici**; 1893–1950), Romanian poet and novelist. His poems on domestic themes and the torments of the soul appeared in collections such as *Lada cu năluci* ("Box of Illusions," 1932). Two others were *Brom* (1939), poems about the sea, and *Requiem* (1945). His two novels, *Bagaj…* ("Luggage…," 1934) and *Pensiunea doamnei Pipersberg* ("Lady Pipersberg's Pension," 1936), were perceived by the literary critics as modern, expressionistic portrayals of the cruel and erotic apects of life. Bonciu also published translations of German and Austrian poetry.

BONDAVIN, BONJUDAS (**Bonjusas,** or **Judah ben David;** c. 1350–c. 1420), rabbi and physician. Bondavin practiced medicine in Marseilles between 1381 and 1389 as physician to Queen Marie of Provence, and in 1390 settled in Alghero, in Sardinia. Also a talmudic scholar, Bondavin later became rabbi of Cagliari. As such, he enjoyed the favor of the Aragonese authorities. When King Martin II of Aragon visited Sardinia in 1409, Bondavin attended his court, and the king extended his jurisdiction as rabbi to the whole of Sardinia. Bondavin's learning is demonstrated in his correspondence with Isaac b. Shesbet of Saragossa, centering on a picturesque episode at the royal court.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Bloch, in: REJ, 8 (1884), 280–3; Roth, Italy, 265; Milano, Italia, 182.

[Attilio Milano]

BONDI (**Bondy, Bonte, Ponidi**, **באנדי, בונדי**), family name, a translation of the Hebrew "Yom Tov" (in Romance languages *bon* – "good", *dí* – "day"). A Bondia family was known in Aragon in the 13th century. In 1573 an Abraham Bondi lived in Ferrara. Adam Raphael b. Abraham Jacob Bondi and Ḥananiah Mazzal Tov b. Isaac Ḥayyim Bondi were rabbis and physicians in Leghorn in the second half of the 18th century, when the family was also represented in Rome. In about 1600 the family appears in Prague; the first known member was Yom Tov b. Abraham Bondi; subsequently Eliezer, Mordecai, Meshullam (d. 1676), and his son Solomon Zalman Bondi (d. 1732) are mentioned as communal functionaries and scholars. Abraham b. Yom-Tov Bondi (d. 1786) was the author of *Zera Avraham* on the *Even ha-Ezer*, which his son Nehemiah Feivel (1762–1831) published in Prague in 1808 with his own additions. Nehemiah published his own *Torat Neḥemyah* on the Talmud tractate *Bava Meẓia*. Elijah b. Selig Bondi (1777–1860) was a rabbi and preacher in Prague. Although he was strictly conservative, the influence of the *Haskalah is discernible in his sermons (*Sefer ha-She'arim* (1832) and *Tiferet ha-Adam* (1856), both published in Prague). He also published Solomon *Luria's *Yam shel Shelomo* on tractate *Gittin* (1812). Simeon b. Isaac Bondi (c. 1710–1775) moved to Dresden in 1745 and became *Court Jew of the elector of Saxony and head of the Dresden community. Samuel Bondy (1794–1877) was among the founders of the Orthodox congregation in Mainz; his son Jonah (1816–1896) was rabbi there. Members of the family went to the U.S. Among them were August *Bondi and Jonas *Bondi.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: R.J. Aumann, *The Family Bondi* (1966; includes genealogies and bibliography); Jakobowits, in: MGWJ, 76 (1932), 511–9.

[Meir Lamed]

BONDI, ARON (1906–1997), Israeli agricultural nutritionist and biochemist, born and educated in Vienna. He studied chemistry and physics, earning his Ph.D. under F. Feigel in chemistry (1929). He completed postdoctoral studies in organic chemistry under D.E. Bergman in Berlin (1929–32) and conducted research in the inorganic chemistry laboratory of Feigel in Vienna (1932–34). At the invitation of Chaim *Arlosoroff, he joined the Agricultural Research Station, Reḥovot (1934). Bondi established animal nutrition studies in Ereẓ Israel. From 1946 until 1974 he taught animal nutrition at the Faculty of Agriculture and headed the department of animal nutrition from 1940 to 1959. Bondi joined the faculty of the Hebrew University, Jerusalem (1949), becoming professor of animal nutrition and biochemistry (1961) and headed the department of animal nutrition (1958–74). In 1984 he was awarded the Israel Prize for agriculture. Bondi's publications encompass 67 years (1929–96), starting with the study of iodine reactivity in organic solvents and ending with the importance of amino acids in layer chicken nutrition. Beside his research in analytical chemistry, phosphorus, copper, iron, and racemization reactions, his studies comprise many aspects of agricultural biochemistry, mainly animal nutrition. The studies encompass digestibility of cattle fodder, feeding surveys of milk cattle, rumen reactions, feed digestibility and absorption, vitamin availability for farm animals and biological activities, antioxidant activities, toxic agents for the farm animals, proteolytic enzymes (in vivo and in vitro studies) and their inhibitors, insect biochemistry, legume saponins, and protein metabolism in farm animals. His Hebrew textbook on animal nutrition (1982) was also published in Spanish.

[Yosef Dror (2nd ed.)]

BONDI (**Bondy**), **AUGUST** (1833–1907), pioneer abolitionist, early Jewish settler in Kansas, and supporter of John Brown's military activities. Born in Vienna, Bondi was an adventurer for much of his life. He served in the Vienna Academic Legion at the age of fifteen, and, after the failure of the 1848 revolution, was taken to the U.S. by his parents. He tried to enlist in the Lopez-Crittenden expedition to Cuba and in the Perry mission to Japan to escape the monotony that he experienced as a store clerk, the usual experience of a young European Jewish immigrant at that time. With Jacob Benjamin, he established a trading post in Kansas and joined the John Brown abolitionist forces in 1855. His reminiscences and manuscript letters report in colorful detail on the Kansas border warfare and on his later service as a soldier in the Union Army during the Civil War. In both cases, he fought out of the conviction that slavery was a moral evil. In 1866 he settled in Salina, Kansas, where he established himself as an attorney and businessman, and took an active role in civic life. Bondi's reminiscences, published in Galesburg, Illinois, as *Autobiography of August Bondi* (1910), is a fascinating record of an unusual immigrant's life.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: G. Kisch, *In Search of Freedom* (1949), index.

[Bertram Wallace Korn]

BONDI, SIR HERMANN (1919–), British mathematician and cosmologist, born in Vienna, where he lived and studied under the shadow of fascism. He moved to England in 1937 and studied in Cambridge where he held academic posts (1945–1954). His studies were disrupted by World War II, when he was interned and sent to Canada as an alien subject. He was allowed to return to England in 1941, joined Trinity college as a research fellow and received his M.A. in 1942. During that year he joined the Admiralty Signal Establishment to undertake secret research on radar. There he met the astronomer Fred Hoyle, and thus began his interest in cosmology. After the war he taught mathematics in Cambridge, and in 1954, Bondi was appointed professor of mathematics at King's College, London. He served as master of Churchill College, Cambridge, from 1983 to 1990. He was granted leave of absence in 1967 from King's College, to become director-general of the European Space Research Organization (1967–71), and in 1977–80) was chief scientist to the Ministry of Defense. From 1980 to 1984, he was the chairman of the Natural Environment Reseach Council. In 1959 he was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society. Bondi is best known as one of the originators of the steady-state theory of the universe. Bondi's writings include numerous papers on stellar constitution, interstellar medium, geophysics, cosmology, and general relativity. In collaboration with Thomas Gold he produced in 1948 the first paper describing the steady-state theory of the expanding universe, with its concomitant process of the continual creation of matter. His books include *Cosmology* (1962^2) and *The Universe at Large* (1961). Bondi took a great interest in the role of mathematics in secondary school education and in the academic administration of science in the University of London.

[Barry Spain]

BONDI, JONAS (1804–1874), editor, from 1860 until his death, of *The Hebrew Leader*, a Jewish periodical in New York City. Bondi was born in Dresden and educated in Prague. After a business career which ended in failure, he decided to emigrate to America, bringing with him his wife and four daughters. Nathan *Adler, who had been one of his teachers in Germany and who was at the time the chief rabbi of Great Britain, gave him a recommendation on the basis of his Jewish knowledge. This testimonial brought him to the notice of the officers of Anshe Chesed Congregation of New York City in June 1858, shortly after his arrival in the city. Bondi's help in solving some halakhic problems, related to the care of the congregational cemetery, resulted in his appointment as preacher of the congregation, but he served in that capacity for only a year. He then established his journal, which was published both in German and in English. His wife conducted a private school for girls. Bondi was a member of the conservative-historical school and a moderate in theology and practice, who believed that decorum, dignity, and intelligibility were essential if Jewish survival were to be assured, and who balked at the radical changes advocated by the Liberal and Reform leaders and editors. One of Bondi's daughters, Selma, became the second wife of R. Isaac Mayer *Wise two years after her father's death. The fine halakhic reference library which Bondi had assembled was given to the *Hebrew Union College in Cincinnati by I.M. Wise.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: M. Davis, *Emergence of Conservative Judaism* (1963), 3321–3; H. Grinstein, *Rise of the Jewish Community of New York* (1945), index, s.v. *Bondy, Jonah*; G. Kisch, *In Search of Freedom* (1949), 89–90, 302–3.

[Bertram Wallace Korn]

BONDS, STATE OF ISRAEL. State of Israel Bonds refers both to securities issued by the government of Israel and to the commonly-used name of the company that is the exclusive underwriter for Israel bonds in the United States. The formal name of the company is the Development Corporation for Israel (DCI).

The idea of floating an overseas bond issue was conceived by Prime Minister David *Ben-Gurion in 1950 and was endorsed by Finance Minister Eliezer *Kaplan and Labor Minister Golda *Meir. Israel was in desperate need of an infusion of financial resources, as the new nation was mired in a severe economic crisis precipitated by the 15-month War of Independence. In the aftermath of the war, a nation needed to be built. Every sector had to be developed, strengthened, or modernized.

Compounding the crisis was the arrival of hundreds of thousands of new immigrants. With no more impediments to immigration, the Jews of Europe, including Holocaust survivors and internees from *displaced persons camps, immediately set sail for Israel. Moreover, thousands of Jews from the Middle East, either expelled or rescued from their countries of origin, also poured into Israel. Due to the chronic lack of absorption funds, Israel was forced to house the ongoing wave of immigrants in primitive shelters called *ma'abarot* – in essence, refugee camps. Food was scarce and severely rationed.

In September 1950, Ben-Gurion convened an urgent meeting of American Jewish leaders at Jerusalem's King David Hotel to discuss the viability of issuing Israel bonds. Among the early advocates of Israel bonds were former secretary treasurer Henry *Morgenthau, Jr., Rudolf G. *Sonnenborn, Sam *Rothberg, Julian Venezky, and Henry *Montor.

The following spring, Ben-Gurion traveled to the United States to personally launch the sale of Israel bonds, beginning with a mass rally at New York's Madison Square Garden. Ben-Gurion subsequently traveled to other cities throughout the U.S. to encourage investment in Israel bonds. Although Ben-Gurion was hopeful that initial sales would reach $25 million, first year purchases were more than double his projections, topping $52 million.

Development funds generated through the sale of Israel bonds were quickly put to work. Towns were built for new immigrants. The National Water Carrier irrigated nearly half a million acres, allowing Israel to become agriculturally self-sufficient. The Dead Sea Works became Israel's first major industrial undertaking. Power plants helped alleviate Israel's lack of energy resources. New ports were built to receive vital imports and increase Israel's export potential. Transportation networks were constructed and expanded throughout the country.

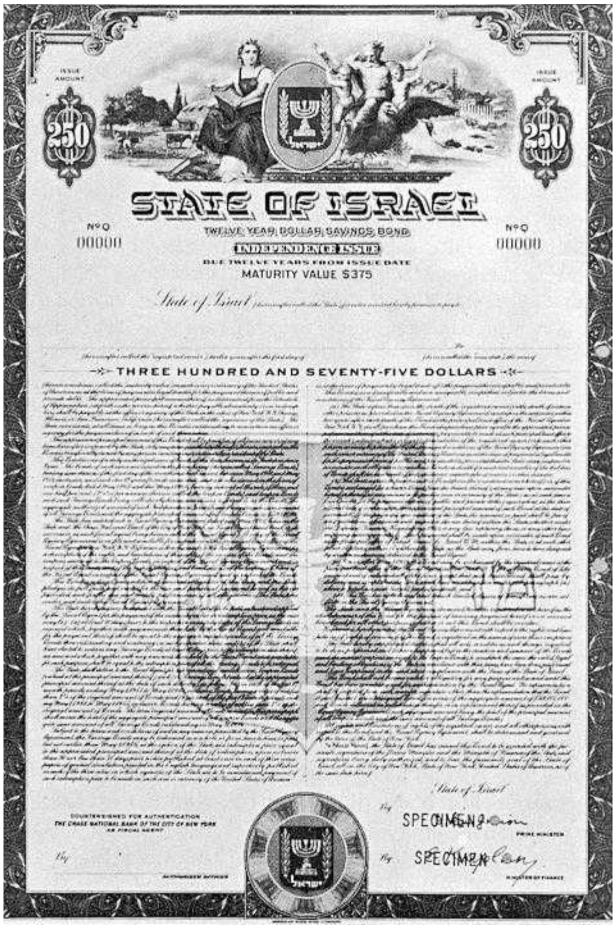

ISSUE AMOUNT 250

ISSUE AMOUNT 250

STATE OF ISRAEL

Nº 0 00000

Nº 0 00000

TWELVE YEAR DOLLAR SAVINGS BOND

INDEPENDENCE ISSUE

DUE TWELVE YEARS FROM ISSUE DATE

MATURITY VALUE $375

State of Israel

THREE HUNDRED AND SEVENTY-FIVE DOLLARS

State of Israel

COUNTERSIGNED FOR AUTHENTICATION
THE CHASE NATIONAL BANK OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK
AS FISCAL AGENT

By
AUTHORIZED OFFICER

By SPECIMEN
PRIME MINISTER

By SPECIMEN
MINISTER OF FINANCE

Specimen certificate of the first Israel Bond issue.

As Israel's economy continued to grow, so too did the Bonds organization, with the sale of Israel bonds becoming global in scope. In addition to the United States, Israel Bonds offices opened in Canada, Europe, and Latin America.

Annual sales reached new levels, passing $200 million in 1967, $500 million in 1973, and eventually, more than $1 billion in 1991. Although these milestones were reached during times of crisis – the Six-Day War, the Yom Kippur War and the first Gulf War – in the 1990s and into the 21st century, yearly Israel bond sales were consistently at or above $1 billion.

Furthermore, as sales expanded, so too did the base of support. Although the majority of purchases continued to come from the Diaspora community, non-Jewish supporters of Israel, including states, municipalities, labor unions, corporations, and financial institutions all invested large sums in Israel bonds.

Israel bonds were increasingly perceived as worthy investments, as securities offered by State of Israel Bonds / Development Corporation became diverse and market-responsive. In 1951, the sole offering was the Independence Issue, paying 3½ percent interest. Over the years, choices evolved into more than half a dozen options, including fixed rate securities with interest determined by prevailing market rates, and variable rate securities linked to LIBOR (London Inter-bank Offered Rate). A significant aspect of the investment appeal of Israel bonds was the fact that Israel had never defaulted on payment of principal or interest.

In the 1990s, the efforts of the Israel Bonds organization program took on an historic human dimension, with funds being utilized to assist in the resettlement of the more than one million immigrants from the former Soviet republics and Ethiopia. Included in the massive population influx were scientists, engineers, and scholars who helped take Israel into the next phase of its economic development, as the nation became a global high-tech powerhouse. With high-tech becoming the engine driving Israel's economy, capital from the sale of bonds helped build infrastructure to not only encourage new innovations but to export "made in Israel" products around the world.

In May of 2001, the Bonds program commemorated its 50th anniversary at a gala event in New York. Hundreds of supporters from throughout the world – including Israeli statesman and former prime minister Shimon *Peres – celebrated the extraordinary achievements stemming from Ben-Gurion's vision of economic partnership with Israel.

In September 2004, the Bank of Israel – Israel's equivalent of the Federal Reserve – completed a study in which it assessed the history of the Israel Bonds organization. The comprehensive report praised Israel Bonds as "extremely important not just as a stable source for raising external capital but also for meeting other important goals (including) diversification of sources – particularly during times when the government of Israel finds it difficult to raise funds from external sources."

The report also commended the Israel Bonds message, which "emphasizes… the need to (invest in) the economic well-being and security of the State of Israel."

By the beginning of the 21st century, the Bonds organization had provided Israel with $25 billion in development capital. As Israel began an intensified period of infrastructure development that included enhanced transportation networks, port expansion, renewed industrial development, and continued cultivation of the Negev, the government again looked to Israel Bonds to help fund these ambitious new undertakings.

[James S. Galfund (2nd ed.)]

BONDY, BOHUMIL (**Gottlieb**; 1832–1907), Czech politician, industrialist and author. In 1866 Bondy became head of his father's iron works in Prague, which he expanded considerably. He was elected president of the Prague Chamber of Commerce (1884); the first Jew to be elected to any function on a Czech nationalist ticket. In 1885 he became president of the Industrial Museum. He also was a member of the Bohemian Diet.

In 1906 he published *Zur Geschichte der Juden in Boehmen, Maehren und Schlesien*, a two-volume collection of documents dealing with the period 906–1620, edited by the director of the Bohemian Archives, František Dvorský, in a Czech and a German edition. A projected third volume did not appear. This collection of records is of particular importance, since about three-quarters of its contents were published for the first time. It is still a standard work for the student of Bohemian Jewish history.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Bondy-Dvorský, 1 (1906), 3–4 (preface); Teytz, in: *česko-židovský kalendář* (1907), 80–81; S.H. Lieben, in: MGWJ, 50 (1906), 627–33; ZHB (1905), 17; *The Jews of Czechoslovakia*, 1 (1968), 4–5.

[Oskar K. Rabinowicz]

BONDY, CURT (1894–1972), German psychologist, educator, and author. Bondy was born and studied in Hamburg. He started his professional career as a research assistant at the Institute of Education of the University of Goettingen and returned to the University of Hamburg in 1925 as an associate professor (full professor, 1930). He did research in social work with special emphasis on the problems of youth and adolescence, and juvenile delinquency. Bondy was compelled to leave Germany in 1933, when the Nazis came to power; he was involved in extensive refugee work in Europe and the U.S.A. until 1940, when he joined the psychology department at the College of William and Mary in Williamsburg, Virginia, becoming head of the department. In 1950 he returned to the University of Hamburg as professor of psychology and social pedagogics and continued the research tradition of his teacher William Stern until 1959. Bondy wrote extensively for periodicals and professional journals and his major works include *Die proletarische Jugendbewegung in Deutschland* (1922), *Paedagogische Probleme im Jungend-Strafvollzug* (1925), *Bedingungslose Jugend* (with K. Eyferth; 1952), *Social Psychology in Western Germany 1945–1955* (with K. Riegel; 1956), *Youth in Western Germany* (with O. Hilbig; 1957), and *Probleme der Jugendhilfe* (1957).

ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY: P. Probst, "Das Hamburgische Psychologische Institut (1911–1994)," in: K. Pawlik (ed.), *Bericht über den 39. Kongress der Deutschen Gesellschaft fuer Psychologen in Hamburg 1994*, vol. 2 (1995).

[Ernest Schwarcz / Bjoern Siegel (2nd ed.)]

BONDY, FILIP (1830–1907), rabbi in Czechoslovakia; the first to preach in the Czech language. A pupil of S.J. *Rapoport and Aaron *Kornfeld, he graduated from Prague University and taught in České-Budějovice from 1857 to 1859. He officiated as rabbi in *Kasejovice from 1859 to 1868 and in Brandýs nad *Labem from 1868 to 1876. In 1886 he was appointed preacher at the Or Tamid Synagogue of the Czech-Jewish movement in Prague. His sermons *Hlas Jakubův* ("The Voice of Jacob," 1886) and part of a Czech translation of Genesis, *Učení Mojžíšovo* ("Teachings of Moses," 1902), were published.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Vyskočil, in: *Judaica Bohemiae*, 3 no. 1 (1967), 42 (Ger.); Fischer, in: *Kalendář česko-židovský*, 11 (1891/92), 59f.; *Věstnik židovske obcé náboženské*, 9 no. 24 (1947), 145.

BONDY, MAX (1893–1951), U.S. educator. Bondy, who was born in Hamburg, Germany, was head of several schools in Germany and Switzerland before he emigrated to the United States in 1939. The following year he founded the Windsor School in Windsor, Vermont. This progressive, coeducational school was designed to implement Bondy's educational philosophy. The teaching was on a high level, with special emphasis on languages. The pupils were self-governing and had equal voting rights with the teachers on all important matters. They were also trained to take an active part in the activities of the community. In 1943 the school moved to Lenox, Massachusetts. After Bondy's death, the school was directed by his widow, Gertrud.

The Roeper School in Michigan and the Marienau School in Germany carry on the Bondy legacy and philosophy. The Roeper School was founded in Detroit in 1941 by German educators Annemarie Bondy Roeper, the Bondys' daughter, and her husband, George. It moved to Bloomfield Hills in 1946, and in 1956 was restructured as a coeducational day school for gifted children. The school had 640 students from 60 communities throughout the greater Detroit metropolitan area and 100 faculty members. From its inception, the student population has represented a wide variety of ethnic, cultural, racial, and economic backgrounds. The Roeper School's philosophy centers on the importance of fulfilling the positive potential of each individual. The school recognizes that all people are unique and develop according to their own timetable and plan. Students strive to fulfill their distinct destiny, to express themselves sincerely, and to learn from the example of others.

The Marienau boarding school in Hamburg, Germany, ranges from grades 5 to 13. Created in 1929 by Max and Dr. Gertrud Bondy, the school's concept that children should grow up in a natural, healthy environment still applies. Situated in idyllic surroundings, Marienau is an ecologically oriented school with 286 pupils and 44 teachers.

The documentary film *Across Time and Space: The World of Bondy Schools*, produced and directed in 2002 by Kathryn Golden, tells the story of the Bondy family and their aspiration to teach children to succeed in life through tolerant, nonviolent, workable school democracy. It explores the concept that democracy and tolerance begin within the institutions that educate the next generation. The tragic events of the Holocaust increased the Bondy family's dedication to their mission – that equal rights for all people, particularly children, should be a priority.

[Ernest Schwarcz / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

BONDY, RUTH (1923–), journalist, translator, and writer. Bondy was born in Prague, Czechoslovakia, and survived three years in the Theresienstadt, Auschwitz, and Bergen-Belsen concentration camps. After returning to Czechoslovakia, she left for Israel in 1948, starting out as a teacher and then turning to journalism, mostly for the daily *Davar*, for which she wrote sketches, essays, and commentary. In 1980 she started producing translations from Czech into Hebrew, including Hašek's *Osudy dobrého vojáka Švejka za světové války* ("The Good Soldier Schweik"), the novels of Milan Kundera, Bohumil Hrabal, Ota Pavel, and Michal Viewegh; the essays of Václav Havel; Avigdor *Dagan's *Hovory s Janem Masarykem* ("Conversations with Jan Masaryk"); and the works of Jiří *Weil, Josef *Bor, Jan Otčenášek, Jan Werich, and Jan Jandourek. In 1996 she was awarded the Czech Ministry of Culture Prize.

Bondy also published several biographies – *Ha-Shali'akh* (1973; *The Emissary*, 1977), a life of the Italian Zionist Enzo *Sereni; *Edelstein neged ha-Zeman* (1981; *Elder of the Jews – Jakob Edelstein of Theresienstadt*, 1989); and *Pinḥas Rosen u-Zemano* ("Pinḥas Rosen and His Time," 1991), a biography of Israel's first minister of justice. Her autobiography, *Shevarim Sheleimim* ("Whole Broken Pieces"), apeared in 1997 and in 2003 she published in Czech *Mezi námi řečeno* ("Between Us"), an entertaining survey of the languages used by the Jews of Bohemia and Moravia. In the same year she was awarded the *Gratias agit* prize by the Czech minister of foreign affairs.

[Milos Pojar (2nd ed.)]

BONE (or **Bona**, ancient **Hippo Regius**, named **Annaba** after Algerian independence from French rule), Mediterranean port in northeastern Algeria close to the Tunisian border. Located on a gulf between capes Garde and Rosa, it became one of the Maghreb's centers for the Phoenician settlers around the 12th century B.C.E. In later periods, Bone was dominated by the Romans before achieving its independence in the wake of the Punic Wars of 264–146 B.C.E. In 393 through 430 C.E. Bone emerged as one of the most important centers of Christian learning. It then fell into ruin (431) as a result of the massive assault by the Vandals. Aside from a Christian presence that had dwindled in the wake of the Arab conquest, only to be revitalized by the French conquest, it appears that a Jewish community existed in Bone from Roman times. When it was temporarily captured by Roger II of Sicily (1153), some of the Jews succeeded in organizing trade activity with Italian merchants from Pisa who established a trading post there. Although there is no solid evidence to suggest that Sephardi Jews arrived in Bone following their expulsion from Spain (1492), rabbinical responsa literature from the 1400s attests to a vibrant communal life. The city's synagogue, the "Ghriba," was the site of Jewish and Muslim pilgrims. Yet there are no available statistical data to determine the size of the community prior to the 19th century.

The economic and trade influence of Jews in Bone increased during the late 18th and early 19th centuries, when Algeria was part of the Ottoman Empire. Some of the most noteworthy and powerful Jewish merchants belonged to the Bensamon and Bacri families. Whereas the Bensamons catered to British trade interests at the port of Bone, the Bacris, whose influence extended to other Algerian ports, were the chief representatives of French interests.

In 1832, two years after France penetrated Algeria, Bone became a French possession. The French were instrumental in making Bone into a modern town. In the first decade of French rule the Jewish population increased due in part to an influx of several hundred migrants from Tunisia. During World War II the Jews numbered over 3,000. They were naturalized French citizens like the rest of Algerian Jewry by virtue of the October 1870 Crémieux Decree.

There were no Jews in Bone after 1964–65, a situation attributable to the overall decolonization process, Jewish communal self-liquidation, and the exodus to France and Israel.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: A.N. Chouraqui, *Between East and West: A History of the Jews of North Africa* (1973); C.-A. Julien, *A History of North Africa: Tunisia, Algeria, Morocco from the Arab Conquest to 1830* (ed. and rev. by R. Le Tourneau; 1970); J.M. Abun-Nasr, *A History of the Maghrib in the Islamic Period* (1987).

[Michael M. Laskier (2nd ed.)]

BONFIL, ROBERT (1937–), historian of the Jews of medieval, Renaissance, and early modern Italy. Bonfil was born in Greece and ordained at the Collegio Rabbinico Italiano. He received the Laurea in Physics at the University of Turin (1960) and served as assistant to the chief rabbi of Milan (1959–62) and then as acting chief rabbi of Milan (1962–1968). In 1968 he immigrated to Israel, receiving his Ph.D. in Jewish history from the Hebrew University of Jerusalem in 1976. He obtained full-time appointment at the Hebrew University in 1980, becoming full professor in 1990 and retiring in 2005. He was coeditor of the periodical Italia (1976–92) and sole editor from 1992. He was a member of numerous editorial boards and served as a visiting professor at leading institutions in Italy, France, and the United States.

Bonfil's scholarship is characterized by a thorough acquaintance with Classical Graeco-Roman literature, the Patristic and Medieval Christian tradition, European and especially Renaissance and Baroque Italian history, literature and philosophy, and the classical Jewish legal, philosophical, mystical, and historical texts, to which he applies the latest methodologies in historical and literary criticism.

Commencing with his article, "The Historian's Perception of the Jews in the Italian Renaissance: Towards a Reappraisal" (REJ, 143 (1984), 59–82), Bonfil pioneered the now increasingly accepted rejection of the view, based on Jacob Burckhardt's approach to the Renaissance, that the Jews assimilated and were harmoniously integrated into Italian society during the Renaissance. Rather, he pointed out, Christian Italian society did not break with the traditional hostile Catholic approach to the Jews, who continued to be restricted by legislation enacted by the secular authorities in accordance with the theology of the Catholic Church. Additionally, as he further argued, especially in his *Jewish Life in Renaissance Italy*, rather than thinking primarily in terms of the influence of the surroundings on the Jews and their conscious borrowing and assimilation, instead one should posit an acceptance of the surroundings as representing the natural unself-conscious way of doing things, realizing that the Jews maintained their identity because they considered the essence of Judaism to lie not in a cultural differentiation from Christianity but rather in a religious differentiation, so only those patterns of thought that were considered to be specific organic characteristics of Christianity had to be rejected.

Other publications include *Rabbis and Jewish Communities in Renaissance Italy* (1990) and *Tra due mondi: cultura ebraica e cultura cristiana nel Medioevo* (1996).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: H. Tirosh-Samuelson, "Jewish Culture in Renaissance Italy: A Methodological Survey," in: *Italia,* 9 (1990), 63–96; D. Ruderman, "The Cultural Significance of the Ghetto in Jewish History," in: D.N. Myers and W, Rowe (eds.), *From Ghetto to Emancipation* (1997), 1–16.

[Benjamin Ravid (2nd ed.)]

BONFILS, IMMANUEL BEN JACOB (14th century), of Tarascon (in Provence, France), mathematician and astronomer. He is chiefly known for his astronomical tables called *Shesh-Kenafayim* ("Six Wings" – cf. Isa. 6:2) which were written in Hebrew about 1365 and which were subsequently translated into both Latin (in 1406) and Byzantine Greek (c. 1435). These tables are preserved in many manuscript copies and the Hebrew version was published (Zhitomir, 1872). The author is often referred to in Hebrew as *Ba'al ha-Kenafayim* ("Master of Wings"). Each "wing" contains a number of astronomical tables concerning the movements of the sun and the moon for determining the times and magnitudes of solar and lunar eclipses as well as the day of the new moon. The tables themselves are largely based on the tables of the ninth-century Arab astronomer al-Battānī (known in Latin as Albategnius), as the author acknowledges in the preface. But they are presented according to the Jewish calendar and adapted to the longitude and latitude of Tarascon. These tables were consulted by European scholars as late as the seventeenth century. Bonfils is also known to have made astronomical observations, and his discussion of decimal fractions is among the earliest presentations of the subject.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Renan, Ecrivains, 692–99; JE, 3 (1902), 306; M. Steinschneider, *Mathematik bei den Juden* (1964), 155 ff.; *The Hexapterygon* [Six Wings] *of Michael Chrysokokhes*, ed. and tr. by P.C. Solon (unpublished thesis, Brown University, 1968); Gandz, in: *Isis*, 25 (1936), 16–45; Saidan, *ibid.*, 57 (1966), 475–89; *Petri Gassendi Opera Omnia*, 5 (1964), 313.

[Bernard R. Goldstein]

BONFILS (Tov Elem), JOSEPH BEN ELIEZER (second half of the 14th century), author of a supercommentary on the biblical commentary of Abraham *Ibn Ezra. Joseph was born in Spain and journeyed to the East. In *Damascus, in 1370, at the request of the *nagid* David b. Joshua he wrote a supercommentary, *Ẓafenat Paʿane'aḥ*, on Ibn Ezra's commentary on the Pentateuch – the most exhaustive and precise of the many supercommentaries on Ibn Ezra. In a clear and comprehensive exposition he solves Ibn Ezra's "enigmas" and defends him against the suspicion of heresy which certain of his critical views (with which Joseph manifestly sympathizes) had aroused against him. The supercommentary was published, but with the omission of the passages dealing with the critical views, under the title *Ohel Yosef*, in *Margalit Tovah* (1722), an anthology of supercommentaries on Ibn Ezra, and later in a critical edition by D. Herzog (1912–1930). From Damascus, Joseph went to settle in Jerusalem.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: M.Z. Segal, in: KS, 9 (1932/33), 302–4, no. 1025; Krauss, in: *Sinai*, 5 (Bucharest, 1933); N. Ben-Menahem, in: *Sinai*, 9 (1941), 353–5.

BONFILS (Tov Elem), JOSEPH BEN SAMUEL (11th century), the first French scholar about whom more than his name is known; called by Rashi's disciples "R. Joseph the Great." A contemporary and colleague of R. Elijah the Elder of Le Mans, he was born in Narbonne, but lived at Limoges and at Anjou. Bonfils was among the early few who shaped the Jewish way of life and halakhic tradition in France and Germany; his principal decisions are frequently quoted by later rabbinic authorities. His positive attitude toward the recitation of *piyyutim* in the prayers (*Shibbolei ha-Leket*, Prayers, 28) and his decisions with regard to taxation exerted particularly great influence, the latter serving as a basis for the later *takkanot* ("regulations") of the Jewish communities in France and Germany. Bonfils copied in his own hand and for his own personal use, some of the more important books of his predecessors, and the later *rishonim* relied heavily on these copies in order to establish correct versions of these texts. Among these books are: *Halakhot Gedolot* (cf. *Semag*, Lavin, 60 end; Tos. to Naz. 59a); *Seder Tanna'im ve-Amora'im* (Tos. to Naz. 57b); *Seder Tikkun Shetarot* (Tos. to Git. 85b); *Hilkhot Terefot* by *Gershom b. Judah and *Teshuvot ha-Ge'onim* (Tos. to Ḥul. 46–47; Tos. to Pes. 30a); as well as works on Hebrew grammar, liturgy and masorah. There is no basis for S.J. *Rapoport's assumption that the collection of geonic responsa published by D. Cassel (*Teshuvot Ge'onim Kadmonim*, Berlin, 1848) is the one copied by Bonfils. Bonfils belongs to the classical French school of *paytanim* and his *piyyutim* are composed in the difficult language adopted by the writers of this genre, all being based on midrashic material, interspersed with numerous *halakhot* concerning the day on which the *piyyutim* are to be recited. Early authorities quoted from his *piyyutim* in order to arrive at halakhic decisions (Tos. to Pes. 115b; *Or Zaru'a* 2:256; Raban, 532). Some of Bonfils' *piyyutim* are to be found in the *maḥzor* according to the French rite, but for the most part they have been superseded by later compositions easier to follow. Of his commentary on the Pentateuch, mentioned by Isaac de Lattes, not even one quotation has been preserved.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: D. Kassel (ed.), *Teshuvot Ge'onim Kadmonim* (1848), introd. by S.J.L. Rapoport; Gross, Gal Jud, 308; Davidson, Oẓar, 4 (1933), 404, S.V. *Yosef Tov Elem (ben Shemu'el).*

[Israel Moses Ta-Shma]

°BONFRÈRE, JACQUES (1573–1642), Belgian Jesuit, professor of Hebrew and Bible exegesis. Bonfrère wrote a commentary on the Pentateuch (*Pentateuchus Moysis commentario illustratus*…, Antwerp, 1625), which has been reedited several times. The book has a strong mystical kabbalistic tendency. He also wrote a commentary on Joshua, Judges, and Ruth (Paris, 1631).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: C. Sommervogel et al., *Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jésus*, 1 (1890), 1713–15; F. Secret, *Les Kabbalistes chrétiens de la Renaissance* (1964), 232.

[Francois Secret]

°**BONIFACE**, name of nine popes. Only the last two showed significant evidence of concern with the Jews of Europe.

BONIFACE VIII 1294–1303, in his Jewish policy displayed an attitude substantially like that of his 13th-century predecessors. In 1295 he commended a citizen of Paris for having established a chapel on the spot where a miracle was said to have occurred when some Jews were supposed to have tortured a consecrated wafer (see Desecration of the *Host). The same year the pope objected to the erection of a new synagogue in Trier, Germany. In 1297 he praised the queen of Sicily for having expropriated the property of Jewish usurers and urged her to use the money for the benefit of the poor. In 1300 he himself ordered the expulsion of Jewish and Christian usurers from *Avignon. But outweighing the above was his favorable response in 1299 to the complaints of the Jews of Rome and Avignon against inquisitors who accused them of illegal acts and then compelled them to answer the charges in some distant court. Claiming that Jews were in the category of those powerful enough to overawe witnesses, inquisitors refused to divulge the names of those who accused Jews of encouraging heresy. Jews, the pope maintained, were not necessarily powerful. One of his decisions became part of Canon Law, namely that Jews, even minors, once baptized must remain Christians.

BONIFACE IX. 1389–1404 showed exceptional favor to the Jews of Rome. The city had become impoverished because of the absence of the Papal Court for the greater part of the 14th century; subsequently it was further afflicted by a succession of plagues, during which Jewish physicians had shown great skill in serving the sick of all classes. The pope continued and even amplified the favors shown these physicians by his predecessor, Urban VI, especially to Manuel and his son Angelo. He included them among his *familiares* (members of his household), reduced their taxes, and freed them from the obligation of wearing the Jewish *badge. Several other physicians were likewise favored, and the Jews of Rome in general profited from this attitude. The papal chamberlain, acting on behalf of the pope, eased the regulations on the badge, alleviated the tax burden, and even spoke of the Jews as "citizens." The pope could not show an equally friendly attitude to Jews outside the papal territory, since this was the period of the Great Schism in the church and various states wavered in their obedience to the pope in Rome.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: M. Stern, *Urkundliche Beitraege ueber die Stellung der Paepste zu den Juden*, 2 vols. (1893–95), passim; Vogelstein-Rieger, 1 (1896), 255–8, 317–9; E. Rodocanachi, *Le Saint-Siège et les Juifs* (1891), passim.

[Solomon Grayzel]

BONJORN, BONET DAVI(D), called **De Barrio** (14th century), Spanish physician and astronomer. He lived in Perpignan, where he also engaged occasionally in moneylending activities. Here he manufactured astronomical instruments for Pedro IV of Aragon. His wife exerted pressure on him to divorce her by withholding his astronomical instruments. His son, the famous astronomer JACOB BONET or JACOB POEL drew up astronomical tables for the year 1361 for the latitude of this city. Jacob's son DAVI(D) BONET BONJORN was authorized to practice medicine at Perpignan in 1390 after examination by two Christian physicians. His baptism in 1391 is said to have occasioned the famous satiric pamphlet *Al Tehi ka-Avotekha* ("Be Not as Your Fathers") by his friend Profiat *Duran.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: E.C. Girbal, *Los Judíos en Gerona* (1870); Renan, Ecrivains, 701, 742, 746; Baer, Urkunden, 1 (1929), 259; Baer, Spain, 2 (1965), index; S. Sorbrequés Vidal, *Anales de Estudios Gerundenses* (1947), 1–31; Millás Vallicrosa, in: *Sefarad*, 19 (1959), 365–71; F. Cantera Burgos, *Alvar García de Santa María* (1952), 318f.; Thorndike, in: *Isis*, 34 (1943), 6–7, 410.

[Cecil Roth]

BONN (in medieval Hebrew literature **בונא**), city in west-central Germany on the Rhine river and capital of West Germany from 1949 to 1990. During the First Crusade in 1096 the Jews in Bonn were martyred. A Jewish community again existed there in the 12th century which, following a murder accusation, had to pay the emperor and the bishop a fine of 400 marks. A *Platea Judaeorum* is recorded in Bonn before 1244. The Jews engaged in moneylending and many became wealthy. In an outbreak of violence on June 8, 1288, 104 Jews were killed. During the *Black Death (1348–49) the community was attacked and annihilated; the archbishop took over its property and pardoned the burghers for the crimes they had committed. Subsequently, there is no record of Jewish residence in Bonn until 1381. During 1421–22 there were 11 Jewish families who paid the archbishop of *Cologne an annual tax of 82 gulden. The Jews were expelled in the 15th century, but later returned. In 1578 the Jewish quarter was looted and many Jews were taken captive by a Protestant army besieging Bonn; they were later ransomed. During the 17th century the Jews in Bonn, who lived under the protection of the elector, mainly engaged in cattle-dealing and moneylending. They were attacked in 1665 by students from nearby *Deutz. The Jewish street was destroyed during a siege in 1689, but a new Jewish quarter with 17 houses and a synagogue was built in 1715. It was closed at night by guarded gates. Bonn was the seat of the **Landrabbiner* of the Electorate of Cologne in the 17th and 18th centuries. Several *Court Jews resided in Bonn; some of them lived outside the Jewish quarter, including the celebrated physician Moses Wolff, the musician Solomon, and the court agent Simon Baruch (the grandfather of Ludwig *Boerne). The Jews in Bonn suffered from a number of anti-Jewish regulations. The Jewish quarter was severely damaged by a flood in 1784.

During the occupation of Bonn by the French revolutionary army (1794), the Jews were declared citizens with equal rights, and the gate of the ghetto was publicly torn down. Two delegates from the Bonn community attended the *Assembly of Jewish Notables convened by *Napoleon in Paris in 1806. A Jewish elementary school with an attendance of 22 boys and 15 girls was opened in 1829; a society for the promotion of Jewish craftsmen was founded in 1840; and there existed several social institutions and associations. The 18th-century synagogue was replaced by a new one in 1878, which followed the *Reform rite. The community numbered 296 in 1796; 536 in 1871; and 1,228 in 1919. From its earliest days the community in Bonn was celebrated as a center of Jewish learning. Among the tosafists who lived there during the 12th century were *Joel b. Isaac ha-Levi (Ravyah), *Samuel b. Natronai, and *Ephraim b. Jacob. Toward the end of the 16th century the rabbi of Bonn was Ḥayyim b. Johanan Treves, a commentator of the *maḥzor*. Ludwig *Philippson and Moses *Hess lived in Bonn, and in 1879 there were five Jewish professors and lecturers at Bonn University.

In 1933 there were around 1,000 Jews in Bonn. In 1938 the synagogues were destroyed in the course of **Kristallnacht*. In May 1939, 464 Jews remained after flight and emigration. In the summer of 1941 those still there were sent to a Benedictine monastery in Endenich, where they were joined by families evicted from Duisburg, Beuel, and other communities. During June and July 1942 about 400 Jewish inhabitants of the monastery (including around 200 from Bonn) were deported to Theresienstadt and Lodz in four transports; only seven survived. Jews in mixed marriages were sent to forced labor camps in September 1944. After the war a new community was formed and numbered 155 in 1967, mainly elderly persons. A new synagogue was opened in 1959. There were 826 community members in 2003, of whom 739 were recent immigrants from the former Soviet Union.

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[Ze'ev Wilhem Falk]

BONN, HANUŠ (1913–1941), Czech poet whose lyrical poems have much common with the poetry of Jiří *Orten. Bonn was born in Teplice and was active in the Czech-Jewish movement and as editor of the "Czech-Jewish Calendar" (*Kalendář českožidovský*) in 1937–39. In 1936, a collection of his poems, *Tolik krajin* ("So Many Landscapes"), appeared, followed in 1938 by an anthology of the poetry of primitive nations in his own translation, *Daleký hlas* ("A Distant Voice"). He also translated the stories of Kafka and the poetry of Rilke. In 1939 and 1940, he had to publish some of his poems under a pseudonym. At the beginning of the Nazi occupation of Czechoslovakia, he was active in the department of emigration of the Prague Jewish community, where he tried to help his Jewish compatriots. He was soon sent to the Mauthausen concentration camp, where he was tortured to death. After the war his collected works were published under the title *Díla* ("Works," 1947), with an introduction by Václav Černý, and in 1995 as *Dozpěv* ("A Final Song") with an epilogue by Zdeněk Urbánek but without Bonn's translations.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Lexikon české literatury* ("Dictionary of Czech Literature"), vol. 1 (1985); A. Mikulášek et al., *Literatura s hvězdou Davidovou* ("Literature with the Shield of David"), vol. 1; A. Dagan, *The Jews of Czechoslovakia* (1968).

[Milos Pojar (2nd ed.)]

BONN, MORITZ JULIUS (1873–1965), German economist. Bonn was descended from a family of bankers in Frankfurt. He studied economics at Heidelberg, Munich, and Vienna. During this period he was strongly influenced by the "*Kathedersozialist*" Lujo von Brentano. In 1895 he completed his Ph.D. under the supervision of Brentano. Afterwards he attended the London School of Economics. In 1910 he became founding director of the College of Commerce in Munich. Travels led him to Great Britain, Italy, the U.S., and Africa. Bonn became an expert on international financial affairs. From 1914 he taught in the United States, and was politically active on behalf of Germany. In 1917, just before America entered World War I, he returned home. In 1921 he was appointed professor at the Berlin College of Commerce, and became its rector in 1931. He was a member of the German delegation to the Versailles peace negotiations, and subsequently adviser to German chancellors on reparation problems. During the financial conference in Spain 1920, Bonn was – together with Walther *Rathenau, Carl *Melchior, and others – one of the founders of the idea of the "policy of fulfillment" concerning the reparation payments of the Germans after World War I. In 1922 he took part at the international conference in Genoa. In 1930–32 Bonn worked as an expert for the League of Nations. As a left-wing liberal Bonn criticized the German political situation, which eventually led to the rise of Hitler. When the Nazis came to power in 1933 Bonn emigrated to England, fearful of being further persecuted as a Jew. There he taught at the London School of Economics, but spent much of his time in the United States teaching, lecturing, and writing. He died in London and, at his request, his remains were brought for burial to Kronberg, near Frankfurt. His writings include *Nationale Kolonialpolitik* (1910), *Grundfragen der englischen Volkswirtschaft* (1913), *Die Balkanfrage* (1914), *Nordmerikanische Fragen* (1914), *Die Auflösung des modernen Staates* (1921), *Der Friedensvertrag und Deutschlands Stellung in der Weltwirtschaft* (1921), *Die Stabilisierung der Mark* (1922), *Die Krisis der europäischen Demokratie* (1925), *Amerika und sein Problem* (1925), *Kapitalismus oder Feudalismus?* (1932), *Währungsprojekte und warum?* (1932), *The American Experiment* (1934), *The Crumbling of Empire: The Disintegration of the World Economy* (1938), and his autobiography, *Wandering Scholar* (1948).

[Joachim O. Ronall / Christian Schoelzel (2nd ed.)]

BONNÉ, ALFRED ABRAHAM (1899–1959), Israeli economist. Bonné, who was born in Nuremberg, Germany, and studied in Munich, settled in Palestine in 1925. From 1931 to 1936 he directed the Economic Archives for the Near East in Jerusalem. In 1943 he was appointed director of the Economic Research Institute of the Jewish Agency and a year later became professor of economics at the Hebrew University. Bonné was the first controller of foreign exchange of the State of Israel, and from 1955 until his death was dean of the Hebrew University's School of Economics and Social Sciences. Best known among his numerous publications are his studies on the economy of Palestine and Israel; social and economic development in the Middle East; and theoretical and empirical issues of growth in developing areas. Against the background of Jewish experience in Palestine, Bonné developed a theory of implanted development in underdeveloped countries, with particular tasks assigned to government undertakings carried out with the aid of foreign investment. His major publications include: *Palaestina; Land und Wirtschaft* (1932); *Der neue Orient* (1937); *State and Economics in the Middle East; a Society in Transition* (1948); and *Studies in Economic Development* (1957).

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[Zvi Yehuda Hershlag]

BONNER, ELENA GEORGIEVNA (1923–), Russian physician and human rights activist; second wife of Soviet physicist and human rights activist Andrei Sakharov, Bonner was born in Merv (Mary) in Turkmenia. Her mother, Ruth Bonner, came from an assimilated Jewish family in Siberia. Her father and stepfather (who raised her) were both Armenians. Her parents, who were active in the Communist Party, were arrested in 1937. Her stepfather was executed, while her mother spent 17 years in labor camps and internal exile before her release and rehabilitation in 1954.

Bonner volunteered as a nurse after the German invasion of Soviet territory in 1941. She was wounded twice before her honorable discharge in 1945 as a lieutenant and a disabled veteran. After two years of intensive treatment of her wartime injury, she enrolled in the First Leningrad Medical Institute, graduated in 1953, worked as a pediatrician, a district doctor, and a freelance writer, and in the smallpox vaccination campaign for the World Health Organization in Iraq in 1959.

She began to help political prisoners and their families in the 1940s. In the late 1960s, she became active in the Soviet human rights movement. Bonner knew Eduard Kuznetsov, a Jewish refusenik, who helped plan an attempt to hijack an airplane from Leningrad in June 1970. She campaigned for commutation of his and another defendant's death sentence, visited Kuznetsov in prison, and smuggled to safety the manuscript of his prison diaries, which were published in English in 1975.

Bonner met Andrei Sakharov at a trial of political prisoners in Kaluga in 1970; they married in 1972. Under pressure from Sakharov, the regime permitted her to travel to the West in 1975, 1977, and 1979 for treatment of her wartime injury. In 1975, Sakharov, awarded the Nobel Peace Prize, was barred from travel by the Soviet regime. Bonner was already in Italy for medical treatment and was able to represent her husband at the Nobel ceremony in Oslo.

She joined the Moscow Helsinki Watch Group in 1976. Sakharov was exiled to Gorky in January 1980. In spite of harassment and public denunciation, Bonner became his lifeline, traveling between Gorky and Moscow to bring out his writings. Her arrest in April 1984 for "anti-Soviet slander" and subsequent sentence of five years of exile in Gorky disrupted their lives again. Sakharov's long and painful hunger strikes forced Mikhail Gorbachev to let Bonner travel to the United States in 1985 for sextuple bypass heart surgery.

Gorbachev allowed Sakharov and Bonner to return to Moscow in December 1986. Following Sakharov's death three years later, Bonner remained outspoken. She joined the defenders of the Russian parliament during the attempted coup in August 1991 and supported Boris Yeltsin during the constitutional crisis in early 1993. She soon established the Andrei Sakharov Foundation, and separate Sakharov Archives in Moscow and the United States. Outraged by genocidal attacks on the Chechen people, Bonner resigned from Yeltsin's Human Rights Commission in 1994. She remained critical of the Kremlin for its ongoing policies in Chechnya and the increasingly authoritarian rule of Vladimir Putin. A genuine internationalist, Bonner regarded herself as a Jew in the face of antisemitism; an Armenian when Armenians were threatened; and a Kurd when Kurds were under assault. She is the author of *Alone Together* (1987) and *Mothers and Daughters* (1992), along with numerous articles.

[Joshua Rubenstein (2nd ed.)]

BONSENYOR, JUDAH (or **Jafuda;** d. 1331), physician and Arabic interpreter for the Aragonese court. Judah's father, Astruc b. Judah Bonsenyor (d. 1280), had previously served in the same capacity, originally as assistant to Bahye Alconstantini. Judah accompanied Alfonso III as Arabic interpreter during the expedition against Minorca in 1287. In 1294 James II appointed him general secretary for Arabic documents and deeds drawn up in Barcelona. He was commissioned by James II to compile an anthology of maxims from Latin, Arabic, and Hebrew sources and translate them into Catalan – the *Llibre de paraules e dits de savis e filosofs*. Judah also translated a medical treatise from the Arabic.

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BONYHÁD, town in Tolna County, in southwestern Hungary. The national census of 1746 listed 13 Jewish heads of families with 30 dependents. The Jewish community grew from 382 in 1781 to a peak of 2,351 in 1852. Many of the wealthier Jews moved to larger neighboring towns, including Pécs. By 1910, the number of Jews had declined to 1,153 (16.4% of the total), by 1920 to 1,058 (15.2%), and by 1930 to 1,022 (14.6%). According to the census of 1941, the last before the Holocaust, Bonyhád had a Jewish population of 1,159, representing 13.9% of the total of 8,333. The original Jewish section of the town, including the synagogue and the communal buildings, was destroyed in a fire in 1794. To commemorate the disaster Abraham Leib Freistadt, who was appointed Rabbi of Bonyhád in 1780, composed an elegy, which was recited annually on the first Sabbath after Passover. A new synagogue was built, reportedly by voluntary Jewish labor, in 1796. A *bet ha-midrash* was established in 1802, and the community's first yeshivah shortly thereafter. Bonyhád had a number of distinguished spiritual leaders, including Isaac Seckel Spitz of Nikolsburg (d. 1768), author of *Be'ur Yitzhak* (Pressburg, 1790), a commentary on the *Haggadah*; Judah Aryeh Bisenc (d. 1781); Benjamin Ze'ev b. Samuel *Boskowitz; Tzvi Hirsch *Heller; Isaac Moses *Perles, who, after a long struggle with the pro-Reformists, had to leave Bonyhad; Moses *Pollak (1846–1889), whose yeshivah became famous; Judah Gruenwald (d. 1920), author of *Zikhron Yehudah* (1923); and Eliezer Ḥayyim *Deutsch. In 1868 the community split, forming separate Orthodox and Neolog (Conservative) congregations. In the early 1940s, the Orthodox community had 750 members led by Rabbis Áron Pressburger and Abraham Pollák. The Neolog congregation had 376 members, led by Rabbi Lajos Schwarz. Both congregations had their separate communal, social, and educational institutions.

During World War II the Jews were subjected to severe discriminatory measures. Many among the Jewish males were mobilized for forced labor. After the German occupation in March 1944, the Jews were first isolated and their property expropriated. According to a May 5 report by the deputy prefect of Tolna county, Bonyhád then had a Jewish population of 1,268. On May 15, the Jews were ordered into two local ghettos; The "upper ghetto" was set up in the communal buildings of the Neolog congregation; the "lower ghetto" in and around the Orthodox synagogue. The two ghettos had 1,344 Jews, including those brought in from Bátaszék and from the neighboring villages in the district of Völgység. Among these were the Jews of Aparhant, Kakasd, Kéty, Kisvejke, Szálka, Tevel, and Zomba. On June 28, approximately 60 Jewish patients from a mental institution in Szekszárd were transferred to the Bonyhád ghetto. The ghetto population was first transferred to the local sports arena from where two days later they were taken to the Lakics army barracks in Pécs – the concentration and deportation center for the Jews in Baranya and Tolna counties. The Jews concentrated in Bonyhád were deported to Auschwitz on July 4, 1944. Among them was Rabbi Áron Pressburger, who perished there. On October 17, approximately 1,200 Jewish labor servicemen stationed in and around Bonyhád were massacred by the SS.

During the immediate postwar period, the community consisted of 352 Jews, mostly labor servicemen and camp survivors. By 1949, the Orthodox and Neolog congregations were reestablished. The former had 172 members led by Rabbi David Moskovits with Manó Galandauer serving as president. The Neolog congregation had 108 members led by János Eisner. Both congregations disappeared soon after the Hungarian Revolution of 1956. By 1963, Bonyhád had only four Jewish families left.

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[Abraham Schischa / Randolph Braham (2nd ed.)]

BOOKBINDER, HYMAN H. (1916–), U.S. social activist, Jewish community leader. Hyman Bookbinder exhibited an interest in civic concerns from an early age. In his own words, "Born into a world that soon exposed me to depression, war, and the Holocaust, I fast acquired an almost compulsive interest in public affairs." His father, Louis Bookbinder, was an avid member of the Workmen's Circle.

In 1934, at the age of 18, Bookbinder joined the Young People Socialist League, known informally as Yipsels. In 1937, he graduated from City College of New York with a degree in social science. He then worked as a clerk for the Amalgamated Clothing Workers from 1938 to 1943 while continuing his work for Yipsel. When World War II broke out, his socialist-pacifist leanings led him to oppose American involvement in the war and he registered for the draft "with the strongest protest," requesting "conscientious objector status." However, as the news of Hitler's atrocities became known, Bookbinder's conscience roiled. Inevitably, Yipsel's lack of support for the war led Bookbinder to finally withdraw from the party.

After serving in the U.S. Navy, Bookbinder again worked for the Amalgamated Clothing Worker's union (1946–50). Following this, he continued to work on behalf of labor interests. He advocated for the Production Authority (1951–53), represented the Congress of Industrialized Organizations (1953–55), and lobbied for the American Federation of Labor (1955–60).

In his memoir, *Off the Wall* (1991), Bookbinder recounts the social upheaval of the 1960s and his participation in the civil rights movement and his efforts to further equal opportunity for all Americans, regardless of race, gender, or creed. He served on President Kennedy's Committee on the Status of Women (1961–63). The committee was chaired by Eleanor Roosevelt. Known by friends and in Washington political circles as "Bookie," Bookbinder became the executive officer of the President's Task Force on Poverty in 1964. He was also assistant director of the Office of Equal Opportunity (1964) and special liaison and advisor to Vice President Hubert Humphrey regarding the "war on poverty" (1964–67).

In 1968, Bookbinder shifted the focus of his career. A trip to Israel in 1966 (his first) along with the 1967 Six-Day War "stimulated" his "sense of Jewishness." Offered the position of Washington, D.C., representative to the *American Jewish Committee (AJC), he decided to take it. The AJC's dual commitment to Jews and liberalism and the leeway it granted its top staff allowed Bookbinder to both promote AJC's Jewish agenda (i.e., asserting Israel's "right to exist in peace and security with its neighbors" and fighting antisemitism) as well as continue his work on behalf of the poor and victims of discrimination. Through two decades of service, he became one of the most widely recognized and respected advocates for Jewish and liberal causes. In 1986, Bookbinder was made representative emeritus.

In addition, Bookbinder took upon himself a number of other civic responsibilities. He chaired public policy for the Corporation for Public Broadcasting (1972–77). He was a member of the President's Commission on the Holocaust (1979–80) and the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Council (1980–85). He was also Washington chair of the ad-hoc Coalition for the Ratification of the Genocide Treaty (1970–87) and special advisor to Governor Michael Dukakis in 1988. Bookbinder was also the founding member of the National Jewish Democratic Council. A passionate moderate, he brought to bear the fervor usually associated with extremists and created a dialogue if not consensus around the major issues of his concern.

[Yehuda Martin Hausman (2nd ed.)]

BOOK OF THE COVENANT (Heb. *Sefer ha-Berit*), name derived from Exodus 24:7 ("And he took the book of the covenant, and read it aloud to the people…."), and usually taken to refer to the legal, moral, and cultic corpus of literature found in Exodus 20:22–23:33. This literary complex can be divided into four major units: Exodus 20:22–26, cultic ordinances; 21:1–22:16, legal prescriptions; 22:17–23:19, religious, moral, and cultic instructions; and 23:20–33, epilogue or concluding section. The Book of the Covenant begins (20:22–26) and concludes (23:10–19) – immediately preceding the epilogue – with instructions pertaining to correct ritual procedure. A cultic frame to a juridical corpus is also characteristic of two other biblical corpora, the so-called *Holiness Code of Leviticus (17:1ff. and 26:1–2), and the laws of *Deuteronomy (12:1ff. and 26). The legal corpus proper, Exodus 21:2–22:16, immediately follows the initial cultic prescriptions and contains civil and criminal legislation on the following topics:

Section I: 21:2–6, Hebrew slave; 21:7–11, bondwoman; 21:12–17, capital offense; 18–27, bodily injuries (including the laws of talion);

Section II, 21:28–32, goring ox;

Section III, 21:33–36, pit and ox;

Section IV, 21:37–22:3, theft and burglary; 22:4–5, grazing and burning; 22:6–14, deposits and bailees; 22:15–16, seduction of an unbetrothed girl.

In sections I and II human beings are the objects; in III and IV property is the object. Most of the individual laws are interrelated, moreover, by means of association and concatenation of similar ideas, motifs, and key words.

Similarity to Cuneiform Laws

In both form and content many of these laws are indebted directly or indirectly to laws found in earlier cuneiform collections, i.e., Laws of Ur-Namma (LU) and Lipit-Ishtar (LI), written in Sumerian; Laws of Eshnunna (LE) and Laws of Hammurapi (LH), written in Akkadian; Middle Assyrian Laws (MAL); and Hittite Laws (HL). (See *Mesopotamia, Cuneiform Law.) The laws are formulated in the traditional casuistic style. The casuistic formulation of law, which predominates throughout all of the above-mentioned extra-biblical corpora, consists of a protasis, containing the statement of the case, and an apodosis, setting forth the solution, i.e., penalty. The protasis of the main clause is introduced by Hebrew *ki*, and of subordinate or secondary clauses by Hebrew *im* or *oʾ* (here meaning "if"). The only exceptions to the casuistic formulation in this section are the prescriptions found in Exodus 21:12, 15, 16, 17, all of which begin (in Hebrew) with a participle.

In content too, this earliest collection of biblical law remains to a great extent within the legal orbit of its cuneiform predecessors. Several possible extra-biblical substrata are still contextually and linguistically identifiable. The threefold basic maintenance requirement for a woman (Ex. 21:10) has analogues in LI 27–28 and in legal documents from Ur III down to neo-Babylonian times. The equal division of all assets and liabilities between two owners when one ox gores another to death (Ex. 21:35–36) is identical to LE 53. The laws of talion (punishment in kind; Ex. 21:23–25) are first legislated in LH 196, 197, 200. The Bible, however, does not incorporate vicarious talion (but see Cassuto, *Exodus*, p. 277) as is the practice in LH 116, 210, 230, but does insist, on the other hand, on talion in cases of homicide (Ex. 21:23; according to LH 207, composition is acceptable). The laws of assault and battery (Ex. 21:18–19) are analogous to HL 10 in many respects. The laws pertaining to the seduction of an unbetrothed girl (Ex. 22:15–16) contain several features similar to MAL A 56. The case of an injury to a pregnant woman which results in a miscarriage, or in her own death (Ex. 21:22–23), is dealt with in LH 209–214, MAL A 21, 50–52, HL 17–18, and in earlier Sumerian collections. Another example of a common legal tradition that the biblical corpus shares with its Mesopotamian cogeners is the law of the goring ox (Ex. 21:28–32), in which there are several common features: an official warning, a lack of precaution in spite of the warning, the fatal accident, and the punishment.

Distinguishing Features

Though the legal corpus of the Book of the Covenant emerges as an integral component of ancient Near Eastern law, there are still striking differences to be observed which are due not only to the different composition of the societies, but also to the relative set of values within each society. Though slavery is a recognized institution within the Bible, the laws in the Book of the Covenant are concerned with the protection of the slave and the preservation of his human dignity: The status of the Hebrew slave is temporary (21:2), his physical being must be guarded against abuse, and he is considered a human being in his own right and not merely his owner's chattel (21:20, 26, 27). In several of the laws the females are given equal rank with their male counterparts (a mother, 21:15, 17; a daughter, 21:31; a woman, 21:28, 29; and a female slave, 21:20, 26, 27, 32).

The laws of the goring ox best demonstrate the difference between cuneiform law and the Book of the Covenant, for the biblical version (Ex. 21:28–32) is the only one that preserves an inherent religious evaluation. The sole concern of the corresponding cuneiform laws, LE 54–55 and LH 250–252, is economic; hence, the victim's family is compensated for its loss. The laws are not concerned with the liability of the ox. Only according to biblical law is the ox stoned, its flesh not to be eaten, and the execution of its owner demanded. The stoning of the ox and its taboo status are related in turn to the religious presupposition of bloodguilt (Gen. 9:5–6). A beast that kills a human being destroys the image of God, is held accountable for being objectively guilty of a criminal action, and hence is executed. Furthermore, biblical legislation ordinarily repudiates the concept of paying an indemnification to the family of the slain man. However, since this is a case of criminal negligence in which the ox alone is guilty of the killing, the owner may redeem his own life, if the slain person's family permits it, by paying a ransom (Ex. 21:30); in this case alone is a ransom acceptable; in other instances of homicide it is strictly forbidden (Num. 35:31). Here, as well as in the other biblical corpora, the sacredness of human life is paramount. Hence, there is an absolute ban on composition (Ex. 21:22), for according to biblical law, life and property are incommensurable. Exodus 21:31 adds another new element to the law by prohibiting the practice of vicarious talionic punishment (contrast LH 116, 210, 230). The religious underpinning of this law reflects the unique characteristic of biblical law. Whereas in Mesopotamian legal corpora the gods may be credited with calling the king to establish justice and equity, it is the king who is the sole legislator. In the Bible, the law claims divine authorship. Indeed, from the Book of the Covenant one would never know that the states of ancient Israel were monarchies. Law is depicted as the expression of the will of a single God, who is the sole source and sanction of law, and all of life is ultimately bound up with this will. This explains why in the Book of the Covenant and in other biblical corpora, but not in cuneiform corpora, there is a blending of strictly legal with moral, ethical, and cultic ordinances (Ex. 22:17–23:19).

The next section, Exodus 22:17–23:19, may be subdivided as follows: 22:17–19, laws against sorcery and bestiality; 22:20–26, love and fellowship toward the poor and needy; 22:27, reverence toward God and the leader of the community; 22:28–30, ritual prescriptions; 23:1–9, justice toward all; 23:10–19, cultic calendar.

This complex is distinguished by the use of the apodictic legal formulation. This formulation is stated as a direct address consisting of a command, whose validity is unlimited, and which obliges one to do, or refrain from doing, a certain action. The Bible uses the apodictic style to a much greater extent than do extra-biblical law corpora. This feature is due to the regular biblical setting of the laws as oral addesses to the people (see Greengus in Bibliography). Another feature of this section is the presence of motive clauses of an explanatory, ethical, religious, or historical nature. For law in Israel also constitutes a body of teaching (*torah*), which is set forth publicly and prospectively to the entire community (Ex. 21:1; Deut. 31:9–13).

The final section, the epilogue, Exodus 23:20–33, consists of two different paragraphs, verses 20–25 and verses 26–33. It contains the promise of God's presence and protection of Israel in the forthcoming conquest of Canaan as long as they remain faithful to His laws. Since several extra-biblical legal corpora (LU, LI, LH) that conclude with epilogues also commence with prologues, the question has been raised whether a prologue can be found in the Book of the Covenant. It has been suggested that in light of the final redaction of the Book of Exodus, chapter 19:3–6 actually serves the function of a prologue by setting forth the prime purpose of biblical legislation, that of sanctification. Thus, Exodus 19:3–6 and Exodus 23:20–33 would form a literary frame that encases the new constitution of Israel and binds the history and destiny of Israel to the discipline of law.

Date

Various dates have been suggested for the compilation of the Book of the Covenant, ranging from the period of Moses to post-exilic times. The resort to parallels has often been determined by a scholar's presuppositions. Thus, the slave law in Exodus 21:2–6 has been explained as meeting the needs of defaulting debtors in early Israelite society, and alternatively, as reflective of the redemption of Jewish slaves from gentiles in the Persian period described in the Book of Nehemiah (5:8). Similarly, the absence of references to the monarchy has been used to support either a pre-monarchic date or a post-monarchic date. Likewise, the office of *nasi*, "*Chieftain" (22:7), is referred to elsewhere in the Bible in both early and late settings. As a final complication, one must deal with the "boomerang phenomenon" (Zakovitch) in which a law in an early collection was reinterpreted in a later one, the interpretation subsequently finding its way into the earlier collection once both collections found their way into the Torah.

Some scholars would separate the question of the original date of compilation of the laws in the Book of the Covenant from that of its incorporation within the Torah. The monarchic period suggests itself for the original date because of the close resemblance of its laws to the ancient Near Eastern laws, which were royal in origin. The absence of references to the monarchy would then be explained as the result of deletions from the Book of the Covenant when it was incorporated in the final redaction of the Pentateuch in post-exilic times. Plausible as this hypothesis is, it remains unproved.

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[Shalom M. Paul/S. David Sperling (2nd ed.)]

BOOK OF JASHAR (Heb. סֵפֶר הַיָּשָׁר, *Sefer ha-Yashar*; "the upright [one]'s book"), one of the lost source books of early Israelite poetry from which the writers in the books of Joshua and Samuel excerpted Joshua's command to the sun and the moon in Joshua 10: 12b–13a and David's lament for Saul and Jonathan in II Sam. 1:19–27, as indicated by the accompanying citations. The command to the sun and moon is an archaic poetic unit embedded in the later prose narrative of the victory against a five-king coalition and in defense of Gibeon, a covenant ally. The narrative provides a prosaic interpretation of the couplet, in keeping with the book's presentation of the conquest as a divine miracle and not Israel's victory. In itself the couplet reflects the early Israelite understanding of the Federation's wars as sacral events, with God as commander in chief directing tactics through the agency of heavenly powers who are conceived as members of the divine Sovereign's court (cf. how the stars "fought against Sisera" in Judg. 5:20). The lament for Saul and Jonathan is unquestionably a genuine literary attestation of David's poetic talent and it helps to explain the later attribution of many biblical psalms to David. Probably a third excerpt from the Book of Jashar is found in I Kings 8:12–13, a couplet embedded in Solomon's prayer at the dedication of the Temple, which survives in fullest form in the septuagint version. In the latter, the couplet appears at the end of the prayer and is followed by a notation in verbatim agreement with the one of Joshua 10:13, directing the reader to the book of *Shir* ("Song"). It has been suggested that the latter may stem from an accidental metathesis of letters (*šyr* for *yšr*), which is not uncommon among copyists' errors. See *Book of the Wars of the Lord for another and possibly related anthology, tenth century and earlier, to which historians of Israel and Judah turned for such poetic excerpts. The Talmud (Av. Zar. 25a) homiletically identifies the Book of Jashar with the "book of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob" (i.e., Genesis), who were "upright." A quasi-historical work of the 13th century bears the same title (see *Sefer ha-Yashar).

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[Robert G. Boling]

BOOK OF LIFE, or perhaps more correctly **BOOK OF THE LIVING** (Heb. סֵפֶר חַיִּים, *Sefer Ḥayyim*), a heavenly book in which the names of the righteous are inscribed. The expression "Book of Life" appears only once in the Bible, in Psalms 69: 29 (28), "Let them be blotted out of the book of the living; let them not be enrolled among the righteous," but a close parallel is found in Isaiah 4:3, which speaks of a list of those destined (literally "written") for life in Jerusalem. The erasure of a sinner's name from such a register is equivalent to death (cf. Ps. 69: 29, and the plea of Moses, Ex. 32:32–33).

The belief in the existence of heavenly ledgers is alluded to several times in the Bible (Isa. 65:6; Jer. 17:1; 22:30; Mal. 3:16; Ps. 40:8; 87:6; 139:16; Job 13:26; Dan. 7:10; 12:1; Neh. 13:14 (?) – the exact meaning of some of these texts, along with I Samuel 25:29, however, is still in doubt), the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha (e.g., Jub. 30: 19–23; I En. 47:3; 81:1ff.; 97:6; 98:7ff.; 103:2; 104:7; 108:3, 7; I Bar. 24:1), and the New Testament (e.g., Luke 10:20; Phil. 4:3; Heb. 12:23). This belief can be traced to Mesopotamia, where the gods were believed to possess tablets recording the deeds and destiny of men. Examples are the prayer of Ashurbanipal to Nabû, the divine scribe, "My life is inscribed before thee," and of Shamash-Shum-ukîn, "May [Nabû] inscribe the days of his life for long duration on a tablet." The exact equivalent of the Hebrew *Sefer Ḥayyim* is found in a tablet from the neo-Assyrian period and may also be present in a Sumerian hymn.

[Shalom M. Paul]

In the Mishnah (Avot 3:17), R. Akiva speaks in detailed terms of the heavenly ledger in which all man's actions are written down until the inevitable day of reckoning comes. On the basis of the above-mentioned reference to the Book of Life in Psalms, however, or, according to another *amora*, of the plea of Moses, the Talmud states "three books are opened in heaven on Rosh Ha-Shanah, one for the thoroughly wicked, one for the thoroughly righteous, and one for the intermediate. The thoroughly righteous are forthwith inscribed in the Book of Life, the thoroughly wicked in the Book of Death, while the fate of the intermediate is suspended until the Day of Atonement" (RH 16b).

This passage has greatly influenced the whole conception of the High Holidays and finds its expression in the liturgy and *piyyutim* of those days. Of the four special insertions in the *Amidah for the *Ten Days of Penitence, three of them are prayers for "Inscription in the Book of Life" and it is the basis of the moving prayer *U-Netanneh Tokef*.

[Louis Isaac Rabinowitz]

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BOOK OF THE WARS OF THE LORD (Heb. סֵפֶר מִלְחֲמֹת יהוה, *Sefer Milḥamot YHWH*), book, mentioned only once in the Bible (Num. 21:14), which apparently contained an anthology of poems describing the victories of the Lord over the enemies of Israel. The only extant piece contains a fragmented geographical note which is very obscure. According to a tradition preserved in the Septuagint and in the Aramaic Targums the words "The Wars of the Lord" are the beginning of the poetic quotation and are not part of the name of "the Book." The book referred to then would be the Torah. However, according to the Vulgate and medieval and modern exegetes, this is the complete title of a book which, like several other literary works, has not been preserved.

The extent of the actual quotation from this book is debated. Some think it comprises only verse 14 itself, others include verse 15 (JPS), while still others go so far as to include verses 17–20 ("The Song of the Well") and the poem in verses 27–30. The existence of such a book indicates that early written as well as oral traditions have been incorporated within the Pentateuchal documents. The date of the work is variously assigned to the periods of the desert (Kaufmann), Joshua, or David (Mowinckel).

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[Shalom M. Paul]

BOOKPLATES, labels, usually inside book covers, indicating the owner of the books. The earliest *ex libris* with Hebrew wording were made for non-Jews. One of the first bookplates was made by Albrecht Duerer for Willibald Pirkheimer (c. 1504) with an inscription in Hebrew, Greek, and Latin of Psalms 111:10. Hector Pomer of Nuremberg had a woodcut *ex libris* (1525) that is attributed to Duerer or his disciple, Hans Sebald Beham, with the Hebrew translation of "Unto the pure all things are pure" (NT, Titus 1:15). "A time for everything" (Eccles. 3:1) in Hebrew is found on the bookplate (1530) by Barthel Beham, of Hieronymus Baumgartner of Nuremberg.

Among the Jewish artists in England who engraved bookplates in the 18th century were Benjamin Levi of Portsmouth, Isaac Levi of Portsea, Moses Mordecai of London, Samuel Yates of Liverpool, and Mordecai Moses and Ezekiel Abraham Ezekiel of Exeter. However, they only made a few bookplates for Jews. The first known *ex libris* of a Jew was made by Benjamin Levi for Isaac Mendes of London in 1746. A number of British Jews in the 18th and 19th centuries had armorial bookplates bearing the family coat of arms, although some of them were spurious. Sir Moses Montefiore had several *ex libris* which bore his distinctively Jewish coat of arms. Among the few Jewish *ex libris* made in the latter half of the 18th century in Germany were those for David Friedlaender, engraved by Daniel N. Chodowiecki in 1774; and Bernhardt Friedlaender, by Johann M.S. Lowe in 1790. In the 18th century Dutch members of the Polack (Polak) family were among the early bookplate artists. A.S. Polak engraved a heraldic *ex libris* for the Jewish baron Aerssen van Sommelsdyk. Isaac de Pinto, a Dutch Sephardi Jew, had a bookplate featuring a huge flower vase with his monogram. The modern Russian-Jewish artist S. Yudovin engraved a number of exquisite woodcut bookplates which are among the relatively few with Yiddish inscriptions. Among other European Jewish artists who have used various graphic media to execute *ex libris* are Uriel Birnbaum, Lodewijk Lopes Cardozo, Fré Cohen, Michel Fingesten, Alice Garman-Horodisch, Georg Jilovsky, Emil Orlik, and Hugo Steiner-Prag. Marco Birnholz (1885–1965) of Vienna, a foremost collector, had over 300 different ones for his own use that were made by many of the European Jewish graphic artists. Bookplates of three Jews are considered to be among the earliest American *ex libris*, dating from the first half of the 19th century. The pictorial bookplate of Barrak (Baruch) Hays of New York incorporated a family coat of arms. Benjamin S. Judah had two armorial bookplates, although there is no evidence that he was entitled to bear a coat of arms. Dr. Benjamin I. Raphael also had two *ex libris* – one showing a hand grasping a surgeon's knife and the other a skull and bones, symbols frequently found on medical *ex libris*. Among the early American college bookplates that have Hebrew words are those of Yale University, inscribed with *Urim ve-Thummim*, Columbia with *Ori El* ("God is my light," alluding to Ps. 27:1), and Dartmouth with *El Shaddai* ("God Almighty"). Many of the major universities in the United States have a variety of bookplates for their Judaica collections. American Jewish artists of bookplates include Joseph B. Abrahams, Joanne Bauer-Mayer, Todros Geller, A. Raymond Katz, Reuben Leaf, Solomon S. Levadi, Isaac Lichtenstein, Saul Raskin, and Ilya Schor. Ephraim Moses Lilien, the "father of Jewish bookplates," designed many for early Zionist leaders which revealed national suffering and hopes. He gave the Hebrew rendering of the Latin term *ex libris* – *mi-sifrei* ("from the books of") for the numerous *ex libris*, which he created with definitive Jewish significance, and inaugurated a new era in this field that was pursued by other Jewish artists. Hermann Struck drew inspiration from the monuments and landscape of Ereẓ Israel for the *ex libris* he made. Joseph Budko created more than 50 bookplates in aquatints, woodcuts, etchings, and drawings, mostly in a purely ornamental style, leaning heavily on the decorative value of Hebrew script. His artistic *ex libris* are considered among the finest Jewish examples. Jakob Steinhardt also executed a number of bookplates. Among the other modern Israel artists who produced *ex libris* are Aryeh Allweil, David Davidowicz, Ze'ev Raban, J. Ross, Jacob Stark, and Shelomo Yedidiah. Synagogues, Jewish community centers, and institutions of Jewish learning have their own bookplates on which are imprinted names of the donors of books or names of deceased persons who are thus memorialized. Important collections of *ex libris* are at Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati, consisting mainly of the private collections of Israel Solomons and Philip Goodman, and at the Museum of the Printing Arts, Safed, based mainly on the private collection of Abraham Weiss of Tel Aviv.

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[Philip Goodman]

BOOKS.

Production and Treatment

The history of Hebrew bookmaking is as old as the history of the Jewish people and goes back for more than 3,000 years. It may be divided into three periods: from earliest times to the final editing of the Talmud (sixth or seventh centuries); from geonic times to the end of the 15th century and the first printed Hebrew books; and from then to the present day. To the first period belong the books of the *Bible, the *Apocrypha, and the non-biblical texts found among the *Dead Sea Scrolls. Other books are mentioned in the Bible (cf. Eccles. 12:12, "of making many books there is no end") and also in the Talmud, but it may be assumed that in the materials used, the writing techniques, and their format they were no different from books of the Bible. Toward the middle of the geonic period (ninth and tenth centuries) technical changes resulted from Arab influence and the growth of a European Diaspora and – more important still – from the common use of paper as writing material. The revolutionary impact of printing ushered in further developments. (This article will deal with the first period of Hebrew bookmaking; the second can be found under *Manuscripts, and the last under *Printing.)

WRITING MATERIALS. For Bible period see *Writing and Writing Materials. Papyrus is not mentioned in the Bible, though the Mishnah, Talmud, and Midrash speak of *neyar*, which probably was not made out of the expensive papyrus but from tree bark and similar material. Papyri have also been found in the Dead Sea caves, among them a palimpsest of an eighth century B.C.E. letter. For sacred purposes only animal skin could be used, either in the form of *gevil* ("uncut skin"), which was reserved for Torah scrolls, or *kelaf* ("split skin," parchment"), which could be used for other biblical books and had to be used for phylacteries, while δύς χιστος ("hard to split"), an inferior kind of parchment, was to be used for *mezuzot* (Shab. 79b; Meg. 2:2, cf. Arist. 176). Later *halakhah* permitted any parchment for sacred purposes if written on the inside of the skin, while leather was used on the cleaned hair side. Skins used for writing were also distinguished according to the treatment they received: *maẓẓah, ḥippah, diftera* (Shab. 79a). The use of Greek terms indicates the origin of the type of parchment or its method of manufacture. For sacred purposes only skins from ritually pure animals could be used (TJ, Meg. 1:11, 71d; Shab. 108a, based on Ex. 13:9); deerskins were preferred (Ket., 103b; TJ, Meg. *ibid.*). Wooden tablets covered with wax (*pinkas*, פִּנְקָס, πίναξ), potsherds (ostraca), tree or plant leaves, and fishskins were for profane use only.

SCROLLS. In antiquity all books, Jewish or non-Jewish, were scrolls. The Torah presented in the third century to Ptolemy II (Philadelphus) of Egypt by the high priest from Jerusalem so that it might be translated into Greek (*Septuagint) was unrolled before him (Arist. 176–7; cf. I. Macc. 3:48; Rev. 5:1). One of the Torah scrolls kept in the Temple (TJ, Ta'an. 4:2, 68a) was carried through Rome among the spoils in the triumphal procession of Titus (Jos., Wars 7:5, 150, 162), but the theory that it is pictured on the Arch of Titus (T. Reinach, in REJ 20, 1894) is not tenable. Talmud and Midrash speak mainly of scroll-books. The high priest on the Day of Atonement read from a scroll during the Temple service and then rolled it up (Yoma 7:1; Sot. 7:7), as was done after each reading of the Law. This was an honor reserved for the leader of the congregation (Meg. 32a). If a man received a Torah scroll in deposit, he had to roll it open for airing once a year (BM 29b). A Torah scroll was rolled from both ends toward the middle, each end being attached to a cylindrical handle called *ammud* ("pillar," BB 14a) or, in later times, *eẓ ḥayyim* ("tree of life"), enough parchment being left clear of writing for wrapping round the handle. Other scrolls had only one handle on the right end, while on the left enough parchment was left vacant for wrapping the whole scroll (BB 13b). In the Septuagint the word *megillah* is translated by Κεφαλίς ("head-piece"), referring to the handle, which thus is used to stand for the whole scroll (Ezek. 2:9; 3:1–3; Ps. 40:8). This shows that the handles were already in use in the last centuries B.C.E.

In any event, there is no reference in either biblical or talmudic literature to books in the form of codices with folded pages, unless the *pinkas*, which could have as many as 24 tablets (Lam. R. 1:14), should be regarded as its precursor. The term *tomos* ("volume," from Greek and Latin) is used in the Tosefta (Shab. 13:4; BK 9:31) for which there is a Hebrew synonym *takhrikh* (BM 1:8); but it is not clear whether some sort of codex is meant or the traditional scroll, made of sheets sewn together. *Jerome (fourth century), who speaks of Hebrew Bibles in the possession of Christians, does not mention any Hebrew codex. However, by the fifth century most books, like the earliest Christian ones, are codices. Passages in such late talmudic works as *Soferim* (3:6; cf. ed. Mueller, 46–47) and in the minor tractate *Sefer Torah* (1:2) have been interpreted as referring to codices (Blau, in *Magyar Zsidó Szemle* 21, 1904, 284–8; idem, *Sul libro*, 38–45).

SINGLE AND COMBINED SCROLLS. Biblical books certainly remained in scroll form, and those used in the synagogue have preserved this format. For liturgical use the five books of the Pentateuch had to be written on one single scroll (Git. 60a). According to one tradition, the Torah consisted of seven scrolls, with a division of Numbers at chapter 10:35–36, these two verses making a separate book (Shab. 115b–116a; Lev. R. 11:3; Yad. 3:5). The division of books of the Bible was largely determined by the size of the scroll. Samuel and Kings were probably originally one book but were divided and subdivided for size. The Book of Psalms too was divided into five books at an early date. Ezra, Nehemiah, and Chronicles were originally one book, as suggested by the identity of the last two verses of Chronicles with the first two of Ezra-Nehemiah. Smaller books, such as the two parts of Isaiah and of Zechariah, were combined into one scroll. The fact that the *Minor Prophets were called the Twelve Prophets as early as Ben Sira 49:10 (third–second centuries B.C.E.) proves both their separate and combined entity (see also *Hebrew Book Titles).

Talmudic sources reflect the existence of scrolls containing both single and combined books of the Bible. Single books (Psalms, Job, Proverbs), though much worn, may be given to a widow in payment or part payment of her marriage settlement (Git. 35a). The combination of single books into Pentateuch, Prophets, and Hagiographa respectively is discussed as a halakhic problem. Whether those three could be combined or written in one scroll – at least for liturgical use – was controversial, but the *halakhah* was decided in the affirmative (BB 13b; TJ, Meg. 3:1, 73d–74a; cf. TJ, Yoma 6:1, 44a). According to one opinion Baitos (Boethos) b. Zonin had the eight prophetic books fastened together with the approval of Eleazar b. Azariah; while Judah ha-Nasi reports that his court's approval was given for a complete Bible in this form (BB 13b). Heirs who had inherited biblical books were not allowed to divide between them a single scroll, but could do so if they were separate ones (*ibid.*). The five books: Song of Songs, Ruth, Lamentations, Ecclesiastes, and Esther (see the Five *Scrolls) are called *megillot* (scrolls), the last one known as "the *megillah*" in Mishnah and Talmud, because it had to be read publicly from a parchment scroll (Meg. 2:2). Like the *Sefer Torah*, the Scroll of Esther retains the scroll form today. At a later stage the custom arose – and is still current – of reading the other four *megillot* on special occasions, in some communities also from scrolls.

NON-BIBLICAL BOOKS. For special purposes excerpts from the biblical books were written in separate scrolls or on one or more sheets (*pinkas*). The most important example is the *Sefer Aftarta*, the collection of weekly prophetic readings (Git. 60a, see *Haftarah) which in some communities is still used today. In the same talmudic passage the use of *Sifrei Aggadeta* ("homiletical books") is mentioned as well as the question whether *megillot*, meaning excerpts from the Pentateuch, could be written for teaching purposes. Though the conclusion is negative, it was the practice to copy the *Shema and the *Hallel psalms for this purpose (Tosef., Yad. 2:11). According to Numbers 5:23, the curses against the woman suspected of adultery had to be written on a scroll (*sefer*), and the writing dissolved in water for her to drink. This scroll was called *Megillat Sotah* (Sot. 2:3–4; TB, 17a–18a), for which Queen *Helena of Adiabene presented to the Temple a master copy inscribed on a golden tablet (Yoma 3:10). Genealogical tables current in Temple and talmudic times were called *megillot* or *Sefer Yuḥasin* (Yev. 4:13; 49a–b; Mid. 5:4; Pes. 62b, Gen. R. 98:7), and these are also mentioned by Josephus (Life 6; Apion 1:7; see also *Archives). The Mishnah mentions heretical books under the collective name of *Sefarim Ḥiẓonim* (i.e., "external books"; Sanh. 10:1), and this has been variously interpreted in Talmud and Midrash (Sanh. 100b and Alfasi *ibid.*; TJ, Sanh. 10:1, 28a; Eccl. R. 12:12 no. 7). Similar books were found among the Dead Sea Scrolls. These discoveries, the oldest Hebrew (or Aramaic) manuscripts in existence – some belonging to the second century B.C.E. – have considerably increased knowledge of this field. Besides manuscripts written on parchment, leather, or papyrus, a *copper scroll was found, on which a Hebrew text is engraved. Y. Yadin (*Megillat Milḥemet…* (1958), 107–8) found that the Dead Sea Scrolls generally conform to the talmudic rules for the writing of sacred scrolls. Though the writing down of the Oral Law was strictly forbidden, this was circumvented by the notes taken down on so-called *megillot setarim*, i.e., private notebooks or such as the *Sifrei Aggadeta* (Shab. 6b; BM 92a; Maas. 2:4, 49d; Shab. 156a; Kil. 1:1, 27a).

SIZE OF BOOKS. From the description in the Mishnah of the reading from the Torah by the high priest on the Day of Atonement (Yoma 7:1) and by the king on the occasion of **Hakhel* (Sot. 7:8), this Temple scroll cannot have been unduly large. The measurements mentioned in the Talmud are 6 by 6 handbreadths (44 × 44 cm.) and the scroll was to be of equal height and width – but this was admittedly difficult to achieve (BB 14a). The script had to be correspondingly small – the Torah alone consists of over 300,000 letters. Jerome (*Prologium ad Ezeckielem*, 20) complained that the Hebrew Bible text could hardly be read by daylight, let alone by the light of a lamp, but diminutive script was widely used in antiquity, and Jews were familiar with the Bible from childhood.

DETAILS IN USE OF PARCHMENT. Usually only one side of the writing material was used. In the Talmud the column is called *daf* ("board"), which is still used today for the double folio of the Talmud, the term for the single page being *ammud* ("pillar"), the common word for page in modern Hebrew, as distinct from *ammudah* for the half-page column. For the writing of Torah and other liturgical scrolls detailed instructions regulate height and width, space to be left between, over, and below the columns, as well as between lines, words, and letters. There are rules for the spacing between the various books of the Pentateuch and of the Prophets, and specific instructions on how many columns a single parchment sheet (*yeri'ah*) should be divided into, how many letters should be accommodated in one line (27), and how many lines in one column (Men. 30a–b; TJ, Meg. 1:11, 71c–d, Sh. Ar., YD 271–8).

Poetical passages in the Bible such as the Songs of Moses (Ex. 15; Deut. 32:1–43) and of Deborah (Judg. 5), II Samuel 22, and some lists, such as Joshua 12 and Esther 9:7–10, had to be written in special form of "bricks and half-bricks" (Meg. 16b). The ruling of the parchment – which had to be done with an instrument but not with ink or color – was required for sacred texts (Meg. 18b; Men. 32b) but was general practice as well (see Git. 7a).

WRITING INSTRUMENTS. In talmudic times the *makhtev* (Avot 5:6; Pes. 54a; TJ Ta'an. 4:8, 69a) was used, which corresponds to the Greek γραφίου and the Latin *graphium*. It had one sharp pointed end for writing and one broad end for erasing (Kel. 13:2). For writing on parchment or paper the *kolmos* (κάλαμος) made of reed was more suitable. The Hebrew word for ink (*deyo*) occurs as early as Jeremiah 36:18; this was black Indian ink usually made of lampblack and gum to which occasionally an iron compound was added. Other writing liquids are mentioned in the Talmud, such as *komos* (κόμμι, commis), acacia resin, or gum arabic; *mei afaẓim*, the juice of gallnuts (Shab. 104b; Git 19a), whose use in writing Torah scrolls became a matter of controversy in the Middle Ages; and *kalkantum* (χάλκαυτος), copper vitriol, also used as an admixture for Indian ink. For the rabbis the important consideration for sanctioning the use of one ink in preference to another was durability (Shab. 12:5; Git. 2:3). According to the Letter of *Aristeas the Torah scroll presented to Ptolemy Philadelphus and the Torah scrolls used by Alexandrian Jews (in Jerusalem?) had letters written in gold; the rabbis frowned on such ostentation and prohibited it for liturgical use (Shab. 103b; Sof. 1:9; cf. Song R. 1:11). Chrysography was of great antiquity: papyri with gold script of the Twenty-Second Egyptian Dynasty are in the Gizeh museum. Jerome and Chrysostom – like many rabbis before them – criticize the custom of writing Bibles on purple parchment with gold script and the use of precious stones. In his writing kit the scribe had, beside other auxiliary tools, an inkwell (biblical *keset ha-sofer*, Ezra 9:3), talmudic *beit deyo* (Tosef., BM 4:11), or *kalamarin* (Kel. 2:7). Examples of such (Roman type) inkwells were discovered in the ruins of *Qumran, some of them with remnants of a carbon ink still in them. They belonged to the equipment of a special *Scriptorium*, a writing room for the scribes of the Qumran sect. Such an inkwell was also found in excavations in the Old City of Jerusalem.

KEEPING OF BOOKS. Scrolls, being valuable, were kept with care. Sacred books had to be wrapped in *mitpaḥot* (sing. *mitpaḥat*; Shab 9:6), and it was forbidden to touch them with bare hands (Shab. 14a; 133b; Meg. 32a; cf. II Cor. 3:14–16). The wraps were made of linen, silk, purple materials, or leather. Today's Torah mantle (see *Torah ornaments) has a long history. Some Dead Sea Scrolls were found preserved in linen wrappings. Books were kept in chests, alone or with other things; the synagogue *Ark is a survivor of these chests. Earthenware jars were also used as receptacles for books from Bible times (Jer. 32: 14). These have preserved for posterity the treasures of the Dead Sea caves, the *Elephantine Letters, etc. Baskets too were used for keeping books (Meg. 26b).

GENIZAH. Worn sacred books had to be reverently "hidden away" – in a **genizah* – and were eventually buried (Shab. 16:1; Meg. 26b). This accounts for the fact that so few Torah or Bible fragments have been preserved from antiquity, as parchment, let alone papyrus, decays in the ground. Where the *genizah* was limited to storing away, it made possible such treasure troves as those from the Dead Sea caves and the Cairo **Genizah*. Heretical books too were condemned to *genizah*, and these included almost anything not admitted to the *Bible canon (Shab. 30b; 115a; Pes. 56a).

OWNERSHIP OF BOOKS. While books were costly and rare in antiquity, by the second century B.C.E. some Jews possessed their own copies of biblical books. During the persecution preceding the Hasmonean revolt, those caught possessing sacred books were burned with them (I Macc. 1:56–57; 3:48; II Macc. 2:14–15; cf. *Haninah b. Teradyon's martyrdom, Av. Zar. 18a). On the Day of Atonement the burghers of Jerusalem could each produce their *Sefer Torah* for the admiration of all (Yoma 70a). True wealth was books, and it was charity to loan them out (Ket. 50a on Ps. 112:3). Special laws applied to the finding, borrowing, and depositing of books (BM 2:8; BM 29b), whether and under what circumstances it was permitted to sell them (Meg. 27a; see *Book Trade), and the provocative query whether a room filled with books requires a *mezuzah* at its door. This latter question is put into the mouth of Korah (TJ, Sanh. 10:1, 27d). Sacred books were above all owned by municipalities and synagogues (Ned. 5:5; Meg. 3:1). Schoolchildren, too, usually had their own books (Deut. R. 8; TJ, Ta'an. 4:8, 69a). Mention is also made of books being written and owned by gentiles, heretics, and Samaritans (Git. 4:6; 45a–b; Men. 42b).

Bindings

Bookbindings as such first made their appearance toward the end of the fourth century. Sheaves of pages (pen manuscript) were fastened together by means of two covers and a back, and then tied with strings. The early bookbindings from the Cairo *Genizah* were made of parchment with laces sewn on for fastening. Yemenite Jews used similar bindings down to a relatively recent date. These early bindings are without ornamentation. Sometimes parchment or leather ends were left for carrying the book from place to place, and on these ends the name of the copyist or owner occasionally appears.

MIDDLE AGES. In the later Middle Ages examples of Islamic bookbinding arrived in Europe by way of Venice, bookbinders apparently also migrating from Byzantium; these specimens were remarkable primarily for their gold decoration. At about the same time goat-skin binding appeared; formerly it was considered a secret of the Islamic artisans. This led to smaller and lighter bindings. Colored bindings also originated in Islamic countries, and some beautiful examples have survived. Documents from the Cairo *Genizah* reveal that ready-made leather book covers were imported from Europe into Egypt for decoration. A 12th-century list of books speaks of their red, black, and white covers (S.D. Goitein, *Mediterranean Society*, 1 (1967), 112).

The bindings of ancient and heavy parchment volumes were generally not decorated but received "blind-stamping" or gilding only. In the decoration of bindings by Jews the influence of the environment is usually recognizable: that of Islamic countries and Byzantium and that of Christian monastic bookbinders at a later date, in the early and late Middle Ages respectively. The bindings reveal the period of their manufacture, and some book collections were arranged according to the style or origin of the bindings. The 13th-century *Sefer Ḥasidim* (no. 345) advocates binding good books with handsome bindings. It also mentions a case of a Jew learning the craft from a monk, and considers whether to have sacred books bound by a Jew or by a monk, who was the better binder (no. 280). Medieval responsa literature reveals occasional references to bookbinding.

Particular care was bestowed upon the bindings of communal prayer books (e.g., the *Worms Maḥzor* of 1272) and *Memorbuch, of which some magnificent examples have been preserved, though the date of the bindings is often uncertain. Many communities disposed of special funds to pay for the binding or repairing of books in communal ownership.

Until the 17th century, binders prepared book covers by pasting together paper pages, often using old *manuscripts, cutting them and pasting them together until they achieved the desired thickness (cf. Rashba, Resp. no. 166). Christian binders sometimes used Jewish manuscripts for this purpose, particularly when anti-Jewish riots and the looting of libraries had provided them with the necessary materials. Remnants of valuable manuscripts and *Incunabula have been discovered in such bindings. Books belonging to synagogues or academies had to be carefully guarded and would be attached by iron chains to the table or the shelves in the library.

MEDIEVAL BOOKBINDERS. In the 14th century the official bookbinders at the papal court at Avignon were frequently Jews. Cases are recorded of Jews being commissioned to execute the bindings of a missal or a codex of Canon Law to be presented to a friend or relative of the pope. A certain Meir (Makhir) Solomo made artistic bindings for the royal treasury in Aragon (1367–89). From the *bull of the antipope Benedict XIII of 1415, prohibiting Jews from, among other things, binding books in which the names of Jesus or Mary occur, it is evident how important a role Jews played in the craft. On the back of a leather-bound copy of the Perpignan Bible (written in 1299), a calendar was engraved in niello-work about 1470 in honor of the owners, the Kalonymos family (see M. Narkiss, in *Memorial Volume… Sally Meyer* (1956), 180).

The most prominent name in this field in the 15th century was that of Meir *Jaffe of Ulm, who belonged to a family of Franconian artisans. Apart from bookbinding, he was also well-known as a manuscript copyist; 15 of his bindings have so far been found (in the libraries of London, Munich, Nuremberg, and Ansbach). He was the master of a special art called *cuir ciselé*. The artist decorated the book covers by cutting ornaments and figures into the moist leather and then, by various methods, raising them into relief. This old-established craft reached its peak in the gothic style of 14th–15th-century Germany. Though it may not have been a Jewish invention, Jews became the supreme practitioners of this method, which became known therefore as "Jewish leather cutting." One of the special features of these bindings of Hebrew books is grotesques, though the genre is found elsewhere in gothic art. Jewish artists preferred "leather-cutting" to the more frequent, simpler, and cheaper method of "blind-stamping." The wandering Jewish artisan, traveling light by necessity, also may have found the chiseling knife easier to carry than the heavy dies.

Jaffe was responsible for the binding – executed in 1468 – of a manuscript Pentateuch (Munich State Library, Cod. Hebr. 212) belonging to the city of Nuremberg. In return the city council gave him permission to stay in the city for several months and follow his calling. This in itself is eloquent testimony to his eminence as a binder (he is called "a supreme artist"), as he must have evoked envy and opposition from the local craftsmen. Though the names of binders rarely appear on medieval books, Jaffe embossed this Bible with the Hebrew inscription: החומש הזה לעידה מנירנברקא שיח‘ מאיר המצייר. "This Pentateuch belongs to the Council of Nuremberg, may they live [long] – Meir [Jaffe], the artist." On another of his works (c. 1470) Jaffe, using calfskin on wooden boards, portrays a scholar on a high chair scanning a book placed before him on a pedestal. The rim of the binding is decorated with flowers. Two metal claps are engraved with the letter *M* in Gothic type, probably being Meir's initial. In 1490 the city of Noerdlingen (Wuerttemberg) made payment to a Jew for binding the *Stadtbuch*. It may well have been Meir Jaffe.

With the invention of printing in the 15th century and the proliferation of books more Jewish bookbinders are found all over Europe. In Poland, during the reign of Sigismund III (1587–1632), Jewish craftsmen were employed by church and state (see M. Kramer, in: *Zion*, 2 (1937), 317). In Italy, in the 17th and 18th centuries, Bibles or prayer books were bound in silver, lavishly decorated, to serve as bridal presents (*sivlonot*), sometimes bearing a representation of a biblical scene relating to the bride's or bridegroom's name, or the coats-of-arms of the two families. The art of filigree binding arose in Italy and France in the 17th century and spread to other European countries. At the same time embroidered or tortoiseshell bindings, though not characteristically Jewish, made their appearance in Holland and Germany, from where they spread eastward. Jews bound their *ritualia*, particularly bridal prayer books, in these beautiful materials. On these bindings metal, usually silver, is used for clasps and corners, and both are often finely engraved and decorated with emblems, monograms, or animal figures representing certain Jewish virtues. These ornately bound books are sometimes inlaid with precious stones and even miniature drawings of the woman to whom they were presented. Similarly bound and decorated books figured as presentations by communities, societies, or wealthy individuals to Jewish or non-Jewish notables on special occasions: a rabbi or communal leader's jubilee, a sovereign's visit, or as a sign of appreciation for favors bestowed or assistance given.

MODERN TIMES. From the 19th century onward, with growing prosperity particularly among Western Jewry, the art of binding Hebrew or Jewish books developed. In Ereẓ Israel, the establishment of the *Bezalel School of Arts and Crafts in Jerusalem in 1906 included a deliberate effort to develop a specifically Jewish style in bookbinding. This produced olive-wood covers for a variety of books. Yemenite artisans too brought with them a tradition of bindings made from leather, silver, and gold filigree, and their productions have retained their popularity. There is, however, a more artistic and less traditional trend which has produced some magnificent bindings, such as that of the *Golden Book* and the *Barmitzvah Book* at the head office of the Jewish National Fund in Jerusalem.

[B. Mordechai Ansbacher]

Book Illustrations

In the early days of printing the illustrations were far inferior to those in contemporary *illuminated manuscripts. European printing as a whole was preceded by block books, in which the text was subordinate to the illustrations. Hence, the illustrated book existed from the very beginning of printing. In early Hebrew printing nothing of the sort is known; but the very nature of the illustrated book subjected it to more wear than ordinary volumes, and it may well be that some early illustrated works have been thumbed out of existence. There are indeed some surviving wood-blocks showing Passover scenes which were probably printed in Venice c. 1480. These may have been prepared for the illustration of a Hebrew work. The earliest Hebrew printed books, however, while – like other books – leaving a space for illuminated words or letters to be inserted by hand, relied for their decorative effect entirely on the disposition of the type, which was sometimes ornamented. Such is the case with the *Turim* of Pieve di Sacco (1475), the second (dated) Hebrew book to be completed in type.

DECORATIVE BORDERS. It was only at a slightly later period that, in imitation of the more sophisticated (but not fully illuminated) manuscripts of the period, decorative borders began to be used for the opening – there were no title pages yet – and occasionally also for some of the more significant later pages.

The first Hebrew book to make use of a border was the Pentateuch printed at Hijar in Spain about 1486. The border, however, designed by Alonso Fernandez de *Cordoba, was not on the opening page but appeared as a decoration to the Song of Moses (Ex. 15), as in some Spanish Hebrew Bible manuscripts. This border is outstanding with its beautiful traceries and charming animal figures. It appeared later in the Manuale Saragossanum, one of the great monuments of early Spanish printing, in which Cordoba and the Jewish printer Solomon Zalmati had collaborated. The border around the first page of the *Turim*, printed by Samuel d'Ortas at Leiria in Portugal in 1495, is of particular interest. This, presumably cut by a Jewish artist and incorporating Hebrew letters, elaborates on the similes in the opening passage of the work. About the same time, the Soncino family in Italy were making use of elegant black-and-white borders borrowed from non-Jewish sources. In some cases, in order to comply with the requirements of a Hebrew book, where the opening page needed to have the wider margin on the right rather than on the left, they sometimes broke up the border and in rare cases even had it recur to adjust to the requirements of Hebrew printing. The border used in Baḥya's commentary on the Bible (Ezriel Gunzenhausen, Naples, 1492) appears to have been designed and cut by the Hebrew printer's brother-in-law, Moses b. Isaac. This border also appears in the Italian work *L'Aquila Volante*, produced there at about the same time by Aiolfo de' Cantoni. Many of these borders were transferred from press to press, or taken by the refugees from country to country. Thus the Hijar border referred to above appears in Lisbon in 1489, and later, increasingly worn and indistinct, in various works produced in Turkey between 1505 and 1509. The Naples border was used in Constantinople in 1531/32. There are some superbly designed borders around some pages of the Prague *Haggadah* of 1526. For the Mantua editions of 1550 and 1560 these were entirely recut, as framework around the identical text. With the development of the engraved title page in the 16th century, the use of borders became an exceptional luxury, as in some of the royal publications of the Mantuan press in the 18th century.

ENGRAVED TITLE PAGES. It is only in 1505 that the first title page appears in a Hebrew book. Thereafter, these also received special care, later being enclosed within an engraved border in the form of a gate (hence the common Hebrew term for title page, *sha'ar*, "gate"), often flanked by twisted columns and later and not infrequently by figures of Moses and Aaron. In due course specially executed vignettes of biblical scenes or Jewish ritual observances were incorporated in these title pages. Printers' marks, first introduced in 1485 in Spain, became common from the 16th century.

ILLUSTRATED WORKS. Illustrations in the conventional sense first figure in a Hebrew book, so far as is known, in 1491, when the Brescia edition of the fable-book *Mashal ha-Kadmoni* by Isaac ibn *Sahula contained a number of cuts illustrating the various fables (repeated in the Barco edition of 1497/98). After this, it was customary to add illustrations to most books of fables, for example the Yiddish *Kuhbuch* (Frankfurt, 1687). The prayers for rain and dew recited on the feasts of Tabernacles and Passover were often accompanied in Ashkenazi prayer books with the signs of the Zodiac, which, however, first appear in a far from religious work, the frivolous *Maḥberot Immanuel* by Immanuel of *Rome (Brescia, 1491).

MINHAGIM BOOKS. Another favorite medium for book illustration was the books of customs or occasional prayers known as *minhagim* books, also following a tradition that goes back to the days of manuscript illustration. The *Birkat ha-Mazon* (Prague, 1514) contains a few woodcuts illustrating the text which are similar to those produced in later *Haggadot*. At the turn of the century, in 1593 and 1601, two *minhagim* books were produced in Italy, lavishly illustrated with woodcuts depicting almost every stage of and event in the Jewish religious year. The later work is the more delicate and its illustrations seem to reflect faithfully the realia of Italian Jewish life of the period. The earlier one, published possibly for export, is more northern European in character, and perhaps for that reason became more popular. These illustrations were constantly reproduced in similar German and Dutch publications down to the middle of the 18th century.

PASSOVER HAGGADOT. The most popular subject for illumination among Hebrew manuscripts was the Passover **Haggadah*, and this tradition naturally continued in the age of printing. The earliest known example of this is in some fragments conjecturally ascribed to Turkey (but obviously printed by Spanish exiles) c. 1515. But the oldest dated illustrated *Haggadah* now extant is that of Prague of 1526, published by Gershon Kohen and his brother Gronem and apparently illustrated in part by their brother-in-law Ḥayyim Schwarz or Shaḥor. This lovely production is one of the most memorable specimens of the 16th-century Hebrew press, the three fully decorated pages being especially noteworthy. It was exactly copied so far as the text was concerned but with fresh borders in the Mantua *Haggadah* of 1560, much improved in the subsequent edition of 1568. After some further experiments, an entirely fresh and more amply illustrated edition of the work was published by Israel Zifroni in Venice in 1609. This continued to be republished with few changes until late in the 18th century and served as the model for the *Haggadot* produced in the Mediterranean basin (e.g., at Leghorn) down to recent times. In 1695, the Venetian *Haggadah* served as the model for the edition published in Amsterdam with copper-plate illustrations by the convert to Judaism who called himself *Abraham b. Jacob. Though the general arrangement of the work and the choice of subjects was strongly influenced by the Venetian edition, the artist based his art to a great extent on illustrations to the Bible and other imaginative details gathered from the publications of Matthew Merian of Basle. The work reappeared with minor changes a few years later (Amsterdam, 1699) and served as the model for a large number of editions produced in central Europe throughout the 18th century and after. The actual illustrations, much deteriorated, continue to be reprinted or copied in popular editions down to the present day. Of the some 3,000 editions of the Passover *Haggadah* which are recorded, over 300 are illustrated. In recent years, artists of great reputation (Arthur *Szyk, Ben *Shahn, etc.) have collaborated in or produced illustrated editions of this favorite work.

OTHER WORKS. Other Hebrew works which were traditionally enriched with illustrations – in most cases very crude – included the Yiddish pseudo-Josephus (*Josippon), from the Zurich edition of 1547 onward; and the women's compendium of biblical history, **Ẓe'enah u-Re'enah*, in numerous Dutch and German editions of the 17th and 18th centuries. On the other hand, for obvious reasons, the Hebrew Bible was never illustrated until a few experiments appeared in the second half of the 19th century.

PORTRAITS. Portraits of an author occasionally appear in Hebrew books printed in Holland and Italy in the 17th and 18th centuries; for example, Joseph Solomon del Medigo in his *Sefer Elim* (Amsterdam, 1629) and Moses Ḥefeẓ (Gentili) in his *Melekhet Maḥashevet* (Venice, 1701). The *Kehunnat Avraham* by Abraham ha-Kohen of Zante (Venice, 1719) has, after the elaborately engraved title page, a portrait which seems to be by the author himself. A portrait of the rabbi Solomon *Hirschel surprisingly accompanied the London prayer book edition of 1809. Judah Leon *Templo's works on the Tabernacle of Moses and the Temple of Solomon (1650 etc.) included fine illustrative engravings.

[Cecil Roth]

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BOOKS OF THE CHRONICLES OF THE KINGS OF JUDAH AND ISRAEL, two sets of royal annals, mentioned in I and II Kings but subsequently lost. The historian of Kings refers to these works as his source, where additional information may be found. These references show how the historian of Kings used extensive sources selectively. The books are referred to by this formula, with slight variations: "Now the rest of the acts of [the king], and all that he did, behold, they are written in the book of the chronicles of the kings of Judah/Israel." Frequently references are made to "his might," or "how we warred," and occasionally more specific deeds are mentioned (e.g., I Kings 15:23; II Kings 20:20).

The Israelite annals are mentioned 18 times (I Kings 14:19 (17); 15:31; 16:5; et al.) and the Judean annals 15 times (I Kings 14:29; 15:7, 23; et al.). Of all the kings of Israel, only Jehoram and Hosea are not mentioned as referred to in the Israelite annals. Of the kings of Judah (after Solomon) only Ahaziah, Athaliah, Jehoahaz, Jehoiachin, and Zedekiah are not mentioned in this regard. It is uncertain whether these books were royal records themselves or edited annals based on the records. It seems likely in view of the negative references to certain kings (Zimri, Shallum, and Manasseh), which would not very likely be the product of the king's own recorders, that the books were edited annals. Furthermore, the Judean author of Kings could hardly have had access to all the royal records of the northern kingdom. The content of these books appears identical in character to the Assyrian annals. Probably the mass of facts on royal activities in Kings came from these books. Chronicles mentions the book of the kings of Israel (I Chron. 9:1; II Chron. 20:34) and the book of the kings of Israel and Judah (or Judah and Israel; II Chron. 16: 11; 27:7; et al.). The chronicler seems to be referring to the same works, but probably did not actually have them at his disposal.

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[Michael V. Fox]

BOOK TRADE.

Antiquity

Information on the book trade in antiquity among Jews is very scanty. In biblical and talmudic times the scribe himself was the seller of his products (Tosef., Bik. 2:15; Pes. 50b; Git. 54b). The Tosefta (Av. Zar. 3:7–8) and the Jerusalem Talmud (Av. Zar. 2:2, 41a) speak of a gentile bookseller in Sidon who sold Bibles. While it was forbidden to sell sacred books to non-Jews (Tosef., Av. Zar. 2:4), it was permitted to exceed the current price by half a dinar to buy (really redeem) them from them (Git. 45b). Otherwise a man might buy sacred books from every Jew, but no one should sell his own except for particularly important reasons (Meg. 27a; cf. Sh. Ar., YD 270:1). A Torah scroll is literally priceless and no claim can be made for overcharging (BM 4:9). A story is told from Babylonia in the fourth century of a *Sefer Torah* which was stolen, sold at 80 *zuz* (approx. $1,200), and resold at 120 before the thief was found (BK 115a). A cushion and worn copies of Psalms, Proverbs, and Job were valued at five *minah* (approx. $75; Git. 35a).

Middle Ages

In the Mediterranean area books circulated freely in the early Middle Ages, as can be gathered from documents recovered from the Cairo **Genizah*. Among the wares of Nahrai b. Nissim, a wholesale merchant of high standing in 11th-century Egypt, were a variety of Hebrew and Arabic books: Bible, Talmud, rabbinics and homiletics, grammars, etc. They were transported or shipped in wickerwork crates or other baskets as well as in tin or lead cases. One document reveals the sale by two ladies of a Bible codex for 20 dinars; books were also used as collateral and passed from generation to generation as family heirlooms. In the *Genizah* lists of books have been found with prices attached which are apparently booksellers' catalogs (*Tarbiz*, 30 (1961), 171–85). The (auction?) catalog of the library of Abraham he-Ḥasid of Cairo, sold after his death in 1223 by the Jewish court, has also been preserved.

Individual authors, apart from the professional scribes, sold their own books, while others paid scribes to copy books for them. By the Middle Ages the itinerant bookseller emerged, "rolling" his stock from city to city or country to country in special barrels, and carrying with him booklists, a forerunner of the catalog. They approached bibliophiles whose names were well-known to offer them their wares. Aaron, whose collection, brought back from Spain, was ransacked by *Immanuel of Rome at Perugia around 1300, may have been a bibliophile, not a dealer as is generally stated, though he carried with him a list of his 180 books (*Maḥberot Immanuel ha-Romi*, ed. by D. Yarden (1957), 161–6).

TRADE IN PRINTED BOOKS. When books began to be printed from the end of the 15th century onward and were available in greater quantities and at considerably cheaper prices, it became possible to speak of a proper trade in Hebrew or Jewish books. Once more the printers themselves or their agents – as well as the authors – were the principal booksellers. The famous Gershom *Soncino sold his books while moving from place to place, while his great competitor Daniel *Bomberg handed the Swiss scholar Conrad Gesner a list with prices of 75 Hebrew books, printed by himself and others, and Gesner printed the list in Latin in his *Pandectae* (1548). Two Jewish bookdealers on a large scale, David Bono and Graziadio (–Judah?) are mentioned in Naples in 1491, being exempted from tolls and duties like other bookdealers who followed the same calling. The former is recorded as exporting 16 cases of printed books in one consignment. Whether they were in Hebrew is not specifically stated, but is probable. R. Benjamin Zeev of Arta (c. 1500) refers in his responsa to the useful function of the itinerant booksellers of his day. The will of R. *Aaron b. David Cohen of Ragusa (1656) gives some interesting details on how books were diffused: he left money for the publication of his *Zekan Aharon*, of which 800 copies were to be printed: 200 were to be sent to Constantinople, 100 to Salonika, 50 to Venice, 20 to Sofia, 10 to Ancona, 20 to Rome, 50 to Central and Eastern Europe, 50 to Holland, to various places in Italy and to Ereẓ Israel; the last were to be distributed without charge. Issuing works in "installments" was not uncommon in early Jewish publishing, particularly by the Constantinople presses. Thus the responsa of Isaac b. Sheshet (Constantinople, 1547) were printed in sections and sold in this form by the printer to subscribers week by week.

From the 17th century onward the book fairs of Frankfurt on the Main became centers for the diffusion of Hebrew books also. Two Jewish booksellers of Frankfurt, Gabriel Luria and Jacob Hamel, were in correspondence with the *Buxtorfs with reference to the sale of books. The Buxtorfs were also in contact with Judah Romano of Constantinople, who, whether a professional bookdealer or not, was active in the

Hebrew book trade. *Manasseh Ben Israel is known to have attended the Frankfurt fair in 1634 – the only Jew among 159 Christians – but his application for membership of the Amsterdam booksellers' guild in 1648 was refused. The catalog (in Spanish) published by his son Samuel (1652) includes some books which were apparently printed by other firms. Some years before, Samuel had also distributed a list of secondhand books which he had for sale, copies of which even reached England. Isaac Fundam (Fundao) of Amsterdam produced a printed catalog of books and manuscripts in Spanish and Portuguese (1726), and works purchased from him are occasionally recorded. At the end of the 17th century, the Proops firm of Amsterdam styled themselves in their publications "Printers and Booksellers": their first catalog (*Appiryon Shelomo*) appeared in 1730; they had already been admitted to the booksellers' guild in 1677.

At the end of the 18th century Johanan Levi Rofe ("the physician") was also active in the book trade in Amsterdam. In the 18th century, especially in England, Jewish and Hebrew works were frequently published by subscription, a wealthy person sometimes purchasing several copies. The lists of subscribers printed with the works in question are often important historical sources. The business of distributing books in bulk by the publishers could be complicated. They were not infrequently disposed of by barter, in some instances in exchange for wine. In Eastern Europe the great fairs were the centers for bookdealing, and cheap *chapbooks were sold all over the country by itinerant dealers. The Council of Lithuanian Jewry in 1679 ordered that each community should appoint a person to purchase tractates of the Talmud at the fairs of Stolowicze and Kopyl so as to stimulate study. James Levi, who conducted book auctions in London from about 1711 to 1733, presumably dealt solely in non-Jewish books. On the other hand, Moses Benjamin *Foà (1729–1822), book purveyor to the court of Modena and a dealer on a grand scale, was deeply interested in Jewish literature also, though more as a collector than a merchant. D. Friedlaender and his friends obtained in 1784 a royal license for their *Orientalische Buchdruckerei und Buchhandlung* (for a catalog see Steinschneider, in ZGJD, 5 (1892), 168f.). Heirs to collections of Hebrew books who wished to dispose of them produced sale-catalogs, such as those published by the heirs of David *Oppenheim; two separate catalogs of this famous and outstanding collection were printed: *Reshimah Tammah* (Hamburg, 1782) and *Kehillat David* (*ibid.*, 1826, with Latin translation).

Modern Times

In the 19th century, in Hebrew as in general books, there was a division between printers on the one hand and *publishers and booksellers on the other. In Eastern Europe, however, the three functions remained united in the activities of such firms as Romm in Vilna, which published catalogs as well. In the 20th century, the center of the Jewish secondhand book trade was first Berlin, with the firm of Asher, and then Frankfurt with Joseph Baer, Bamberger and Wahrmann (later of Jerusalem), A.J. Hoffmann, J. Kauffmann, and Leipzig with M.W. Kaufmann. The firms of Schwager and Fraenkel (of Husiatyn, later Vienna, Tel Aviv, and New York), F. Muller (Amsterdam), and B.M. Rabinowitz (Munich) made contributions to scholarship through their diffusion of rare books, and sometimes through their learned catalogs, as did Ephraim *Deinard in the United States. The journeys undertaken by some of these booksellers in search of rarities place them almost in the category of explorers. In London Vallentine (later Shapiro, Vallentine) was active from at least the beginning of the 19th century, followed by the firms of R. Mazin, M. Cailingold and Rosenthal, while in Paris the firm of Lipschutz was eminent for many years; in the United States the *Bloch Publishing Company has been in existence for over a century and the Hebrew Publishing Company since the 1890s. Important Jewish booksellers in Switzerland were T. Gewuerz and V. Goldschmidt of Basle; in Holland J.L. Joachimsthal and M. Packter of Amsterdam; in Berlin M. Poppelauer and L. Lamm; in Vienna and Budapest J. Schlesinger. Some non-Jewish booksellers, such as O. Harrassowitz (Leipzig, then Wiesbaden) and Spirgates (Leipzig); Mags Brothers and Sothebys (London), have also played a role in the sale of Hebraica and Judaica.

See *Archives; *Libraries; *Manuscripts; *Printing, Hebrew.

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[Cecil Roth / Abraham Meir Habermann]

BOONE, RICHARD (1917–1981). U.S. actor. Born in Los Angeles, Boone was the son of a successful corporate lawyer. He attended Stanford University but left before he graduated. He dabbled in painting, writing, boxing, and working in an oil field before enlisting in the U.S. Navy as an aerial gunner (1941–45). After the war, he used the G.I. Bill to study acting at the Neighborhood Playhouse and the Actor's Studio in New York. He also studied movement with Martha Graham. Boone debuted on Broadway in Judith Anderson's *Medea.* He made his motion picture debut in 1951 in *The Halls of Montezuma* and from then appeared in more than 30 films, including *The Robe* (1953), *Dragnet* (1954), *Lizzie* (1957), *The Alamo* (1960), *Thunder of Drums* (1961), *Rio Conchos* (1964), *The War Lords* (1965), *Hombre* (1967), *The Arrangement* (1969), *Madron* (1970), *Big Jake* (1971), *The Shootist* (1976), *The Big Sleep* (1978), *Winter Kills* (1979), and *The Bushido Blade* (1981).

Boone's name became a household word in the U.S. because of his starring roles on television in such series as *Medic* (1954–56); the popular western series *Have Gun Will Travel* (1957–63); and *The Richard Boone Show* (1963–64), which won a Golden Globe in 1964 for Best Television Series. A major force on *Have Gun Will Travel*, Boone directed 27 episodes and had final approval on scripts, guest stars, and costumes. He also co-wrote the show's enduring theme song "The Ballad of Paladin," which became a hit on the pop charts. In its successful run, the show ranked in the top five programs for most of its six years. Boone was a three-time winner of the American Television Critics award for Best Actor and was a five-time Emmy nominee for his performances in each of his television series. Boone moved to Hawaii in 1964 and then to Florida in 1971. In 1972 he began commuting to Hollywood to star in the TV western series *Hec Ramsey,* produced by Jack Webb of *Dragnet* fame, until the show ended in 1974. In the mid-1970s Boone taught acting at Flagler College in St. Augustine, Florida, and the Neighborhood Playhouse in New York.

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[Jonathan Licht / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

BOORSTIN, DANIEL J. (1914–2004), U.S. historian. Born in Atlanta, Georgia, he joined the University of Chicago in 1944, and became professor of American history in 1956. He also had a law degree and was a member of the Massachusetts Bar. Subsequently he served as director of the National Museum of American History and senior historian of the Smithsonian Institution in Washington, D.C. From 1975 to 1987 he was librarian of Congress, where he established the Center for the Book in 1977 to promote books, reading, libraries, and literacy. Among his early works are *Lost World of Thomas Jefferson* (1948); *The Genius of American Politics* (1953); *America and the Image of Europe* (1960); *The Image* (1962); *The Decline of Radicalism* (1969); *The Sociology of the Absurd* (1970); and two volumes of the *Landmark History of the American People* (1968/70). His highly acclaimed trilogy *The Americans* (1958, 1965, 1973) advanced the thesis that the American experience was shaped by the environment of the New World. He was awarded the Pulitzer Prize for the third volume, *The Democratic Experience*, and also won the Parkman and Bancroft prizes. In 1989 he received the National Book Award for Distiguished Contributions to American Letters. A second popular trilogy describes man's pursuit of knowledge, artistic expression, and philosophic truth. This includes *The Discoverers* (1983), *The Creators* (1992), and *The Seekers* (1998). *Cleopatra's Nose*, a volume of "Essays on the Unexpected," appeared in 1994. In 1995 the Modern Library published *The Daniel J. Boorstin Reader* and in 2000 Greenwood Press published *Daniel J. Boorstin: A Comprehensive and Selectively Annotated Bibliography*, compiled by Angela Michele Leonard and containing over 1,300 items. "For me," Boorstin said, "the task of the historian is not to chisel a personal or definitive view of the past on concrete. Rather, it is to see the iridescence of the past, fully aware that it will have a new and unsuspected iridescence in the future."

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BOPPARD, town in Coblenz district in Germany. The earliest reference to Jews there dates from the last quarter of the 11th century. In 1179, 13 Jews in Boppard were murdered following a *blood libel. In 1196, eight Jews in the town were massacred by Crusaders. Subsequently, the leader of the community, the learned and wealthy R. Hezekiah b. Reuben, managed to secure the protection of the authorities. A Jewish quarter (*Judengasse, vicus Judaeorum*) is first mentioned in Boppard in 1248–50. In 1287, 40 Jews were massacred in Boppard and Oberwesel: others during the *Armleder persecutions of 1337 and during the Black Death in 1349. In 1312, Boppard ceased to be a free imperial city and the Jews came under the jurisdiction of the archbishops of *Trier. In 1418, all Jews were expelled from the archbishopric. Jews resettled in Boppard in 1532, and by the 1560s numbered approximately 32 families. There were 53 Jews living in Boppard at the beginning of the 19th century, 101 in 1880, 80 in 1895, 108 in 1910, 125 in 1926–27 (out of a total population of 7,000), and 92 in 1933. At this time the community possessed a synagogue, a cemetery, and two charitable institutions. Under the Nazi regime, two-thirds of the Jews managed to leave by 1941. On November 9, 1938 (*Kristallnacht*), the interior of the synagogue was destroyed, although the building was spared because of its proximity to neighboring buildings. The Torah scrolls, ritual objects, and communal archives were thrown into the street and destroyed. In 1942, the 32 remaining Jews were deported to the East. Three Jews settled in Boppard after World War II but subsequently left.

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[Chasia Turtel]

BOR, JOSEF (1906–1979), Czech novelist. Born in Ostrava, Bor spent the years 1942–45 in the Terezín (Theresienstadt) and Buchenwald concentration camps. His entire family perished in the Holocaust. In the 1960s he published two novels, *Opuštěná panenka* ("Abandoned Doll," 1961) on the fate of three generations of the Breuerer family imprisoned in Theresienstadt, and *Terezínské requiem* (1963; *The Terezin Requiem*, 1963) about the conductor Raphael Schachter, who performed Verdi's *Requiem* in Theresienstadt in 1944 and whose singers – Jews – were sent to the death camps of the East. In the 1970s Bor published a few short prose works in the Jewish Yearbook (*Židovská ročenka*), including *Tajemství staré knihy* ("The Mystery of an Old Book," 1970) and *Ten třetí* ("The Third One," 1971).

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[Milos Pojar (2nd ed.)]

BORAH, WOODROW WILSON (1912–1999), U.S. historian. Born in Utica, Mississippi, Borah attended the University of California at Berkeley, where he earned his bachelor's, master's, and doctoral degrees. After teaching briefly at Princeton University, he worked for the U.S. State Department as an analyst in the Office of Strategic Services (1942–47). He joined Berkeley's history department in 1948 and was appointed professor of history in 1962. He served as chair of the campus's Center for Latin American Studies from 1973 to 1979. He retired from active teaching in 1980.

Borah was an authority on the social and economic history of Latin America, specializing in colonial Mexico and in historical demography. For decades he was considered one of the most influential and active scholars working to reconstruct the colonial experience in Spanish America. His primary interest was the development of methods for analyzing Mexican and Spanish colonial tribute data for demographic information. His chief works are *New Spain's Century of Depression* (1951), *Early Colonial Trade and Navigation Between Mexico and Peru* (1954), *The Aboriginal Population of Central Mexico on the Eve of the Spanish Conquest* (1963), *Justice by Insurance: The General Indian Court of Colonial Mexico and the Legal Aides of the Half-Real* (1983), and *Price Trends of Royal Tribute Commodities in Nueva Galicia, 1557–1598* (1992). Borah was involved in local synagogue affairs and Jewish philanthropic efforts.

[Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

BORAISHA, MENAHEM (**Menahem Goldberg**; sometimes simply **Menahem**; 1888–1949), Yiddish poet and essayist. Born in Brest-Litovsk, the son of a Hebrew teacher, he combined a thorough Jewish education with attendance at the Russian school in his birthplace. At the age of 16 he joined the Socialist Zionists and began to write poetry in Russian and Yiddish. In Warsaw from 1905, he received encouragement from I.L. *Peretz, publishing his first poems in Yiddish journals, and drama reviews for the daily *Haynt*. While serving in the Russian Army (1909–11), he published his impressions of barrack-life in both *Haynt* and *Fraynd*. His poem "Poyln" ("Poland," 1914) expressed the tense relationship between Jews and Poles. He settled in the U.S. in 1914, and in 1918 joined the editorial board of the Yiddish daily, *Der Tog*. His book of poems *A Ring in der Keyt* ("A Link in the Chain," 1916) was followed by *Zamd* ("Sand," 1920), a collection which included a memorable poem on Theodor *Herzl. After a trip to the U.S.S.R. in 1926, he contributed to the Communist daily *Frayhayt* but parted company with it in 1929, when it justified Arab attacks on Jews. He then worked with the papers *Vokh* and *Yidish* and became press officer of the *American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee.

His poem *Zavl Rimer* ("Zavl the Harness-Maker," 1923), a novel in verse, in which Yiddish speech rhythms are combined with poetic meter, several parts of which are in the tradition of Yiddish folksong, exposed the horror of the postwar Russian pogroms. *Der Geyer* ("The Wayfarer," 2 vols., 1943) is a spiritual autobiography on which he worked for ten years. It describes the progress of its main character, Noah Marcon, from skepticism to faith and from the profane to the holy. The work is a poetical attempt to summarize the intellectual legacy of Judaism and Jewish history in recent generations, while generally dramatizing human thought and the struggles of conscience within vividly portrayed social and natural settings. It extends into non-human spheres, including an empathetic portrait of a dog, often attains a cosmic consciousness, and is written in a great variety of verse forms, employed with technical inventiveness. His last poems, *Durkh Doyres* ("Through Generations"), appeared posthumously in 1950.

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[Shemuel Niger (Charney) / Shmoyl Naydorf and Leye Robinson (2nd ed.)]

BORCHARDT, LUCY (1878–1969), German shipping owner and operator. On the death of her husband Richard she became head of the Hamburg Fairplay Tug Company whose craft were known throughout the continent. From 1933 she devoted her energies and resources to enable Jews to escape from Germany. She herself left in 1938 and with her son Karl founded the Fairplay Towage and Shipping Company and the Borchardt Lines in London. With her son Jens she formed the Atid Navigation in Haifa which was liquidated in 1968. After having fallen out with her son Jens she established a competing line to Israel, the Lucy Borchardt Shipping Ltd. "Mother Borchardt," as she was known in shipping circles, took a special interest in the personal needs and welfare of her staff.

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[Joachim O. Ronall]

BORCHARDT, LUDWIG (1863–1938), German Egyptologist and archaeologist. Borchardt's outstanding career as an Egyptologist rested on his knowledge of architecture as well as Egyptian language. Born and educated in Berlin, he became assistant to the department of Egyptian art in the Berlin Museum. In 1895 he left for Egypt where he examined details in important excavations, and was thus able to revise the interpretation of typical Egyptian building complexes. He was the first to recognize that the pyramid formed an integral part of the temple area. He excavated several pyramids and published monographs on their origin and development. His study of the ancient Egyptian column types and their development helped him to work out the complicated archaeological history of the great temples at Thebes. The structure of the early Egyptian house became the subject of Borchardt's research at the time of his excavations of Tell el-Amarna, the town in which Pharaoh Amenophis IV–Akhenaton (1379–1362 B.C.E.) had lived. In the course of these excavations, he uncovered the workshops of the royal sculptor Thutmose, with many naturalistic portrait models, among them the world-famous painted limestone model head of Queen Nefertiti. Numerous excavations and publications testify to the continuous industry of Borchardt. In 1906 he founded the German Institute for Ancient Egyptian History and Archaeology (Deutsches Institut fuer aegyptische Altertumskunde) in Cairo and was its director until World War I and from 1923 until 1929. Borchardt played an important role in the planning and organization of the great *Catalogue Général des Antiquités Egyptiennes du Musée du Caire* (1897ff., still unfinished). Later he became interested in the question of the identification of Atlantis, the lost continent, which he suggested (at a conference of the Paris Atlantidean Society, 1926) should be identified with *Baḥr Atala*, i.e., "Sea of Atlantis," submerged c. 1250 B.C.E., in the northern Sahara, south of Tunis. Among his many publications are *Die aegyptische Pflanzensaeule* (1897); *Zur Baugeschichte des Amonstempels von Karnak* (1905); *Portraets der Koenigin Nofret-ete aus den Grabungen 1912–13 in Tell el-Amarna* (1923); *Die Enstehung der Pyramide, an der Baugeschichte der Pyramide bei Mejdum nachgewiesen* (1928); and *Die Entstehung des Generalkatalogs und seine Entwicklung in den Jahren 1897–99* (1937).

[Penuel P. Kahane]

BORCHARDT, RUDOLF (1877–1945), German poet, essayist, and cultural historian. Borchardt, the son of Martin Borchardt, a leading Jewish banker and director of the *Berliner Handelsgesellschaft*, was born in Koenigsberg (Prussia). He always stressed his German and classical heritage as the exclusive determinants of his character and convictions, and categorically rejected any Jewish identification – occasioning Theodor Lessing's remark that Borchardt was "the most forceful example of Jewish creativity arising from self-hatred." Even after Hitler's rise to power, he wrote to his friend and biographer Werner Kraft: "Any conception of Jews as a people is completely alien to me." In many of his poetic writings Borchardt adapted his style to the period concerned. Thus *Das Buch Yoram* (1907) recalls the German of Luther's Bible translation, his *Durant* (1920) the style of Wolfram von Eschenbach's medieval *minnelieder*, and his dramatic poem *Verkuendigung* (1920) that of the German medieval mystery plays. His translations from old Italian also show this highly developed art of acculturation, for example in his version of Dante's *Divine Comedy* into 14th-century German (1930). His historical intuition and remarkable knowledge of classical languages and cultures led him to develop certain scientific theories on the unity of Mediterranean culture. His close familiarity with the German past and his veneration for German literature of the humanist period find their expression in his representative anthology of the most beautiful German travelers' descriptions from all over the world, *Der Deutsche in der Landschaft* (1925). Always aiming at the cultural restoration of the past, Borchardt had a close attachment to two other conservative poets, Hugo von Hofmannsthal and Rudolf Alexander Schroeder (whose niece he married), whereas he opposed and despised the circle of Stefan George and its programmatic aestheticism. Despite his pro-German views he was persecuted by the Gestapo when he was living near Lucca in Tuscany but succeeded in going into hiding in the Tyrol, where he died.

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[Phillipp Theisohn (2nd ed.)]

°**BORCHSENIUS, POUL** (1897–1997), Danish pastor and author. During the Nazi occupation of Denmark in World War II, Borchsenius was an active member of the underground. He escaped to Sweden, where he engaged in welfare work among his Christian fellow-refugees. He kept in close touch with Jewish fugitives from Denmark and became an enthusiastic Zionist. Borchsenius wrote a series of five volumes on Jewish history after the destruction of the Second Temple: *Stjernesønnen* (1952; *Son of a Star*, 1960), based on the life of *Bar Kokhba; *De tre ringe* (1954; *The Three Rings*, 1963), a history of Spanish Jewry; *Bag muren* (1957; *Behind the Wall*, 1964), an account of the medieval ghetto; *Løste lénker* (1958; *The Chains are Broken*, 1964), the story of Jewish emancipation; and *Og det blev morgen, historien om vor tids jøder* (1960; *And it was Morning, History of the Jews in our Time*, 1962). In two other works, *Sol stat stille* ("Sun, Stand Thou Still," 1950) and *Syv år for Rachel; Israel 1948–1955* ("Seven Years for Rachel," 1955), Borchsenius wrote about the State of Israel. He also published a biography of Israel's first premier, *Ben Gurion: den moderne Israels skaber* ("Ben Gurion, Creator of Modern Israel," 1956), and *Two Ways to God* (1968), a study of Judaism and Christianity.

[Torben Meyer]

BORDEAUX (Heb. בורדאוש), city in the department of Gironde, S.E. France; in the Middle Ages, capital of the duchy of Guienne. The first written evidence of the presence of Jews in Bordeaux dates to the second half of the sixth century, when it is related that a Jew derided a priest who expected a saint to cure him of his illness. A golden signet ring, dating from the beginning of the fourth century was found in Bordeaux in 1854 bearing three *menorot* and the inscription "Aster" (= Asterius). Prudence of Troyes relates that the Jews behaved treacherously during the capture of Bordeaux by the Normans in 848. Although based on malice, this anecdote confirms the presence of Jews in the city. A document from 1072 refers to a Mont-Judaique, outside the walls between the present Rues Dauphine and Mériadec, where the Jewish cemetery was located. The Jewish street, called Arrua Judega in 1247 (now Rue Cheverus) lay at the foot of this hill (now leveled off). The present Porte Dijeaux (= ijeus, de Giu) is referred to as Porta Judaea from 1075. While Bordeaux was under English sovereignty (1154–1453), the Jews were spared the edicts of expulsion issued by the kings of France, though they were nominally expelled in 1284, 1305, and 1310–11. The anti-Jewish measures introduced by the English kings were undoubtedly aimed at extorting money, since the Jews continued to reside in Bordeaux and pursue their activities. In 1275 and 1281 Edward I intervened on behalf of the Jews of Bordeaux who were being overtaxed by nobles. However, Edward II issued a further ineffective edict of expulsion in 1313, and in 1320 the Jews were savagely attacked by the *Pastoureaux. Their residence was authorized by Edward III in 1342, when they had to make an annual payment of eight pounds of pepper to the archbishop. The Jews in Bordeaux were organized into the *Communitas Judeorum Vasconie* ("Community of the Jews of Gascony"). It is not certain whether or when they were formally expelled after Bordeaux was incorporated into France in 1453.

At the end of the 15th century, Marranos began to arrive in Bordeaux, first coming from Spain and later from Portugal. The Marranos were welcomed for their commercial activities, and in 1550 they obtained letters-patent from Henry II authorizing "the merchants and other Portuguese called 'New Christians'" to reside in the towns and localities of their choice. They outwardly practiced Catholicism, and although the general populace suspected them the authorities closed their eyes to possible Judaizing. A more liberal attitude was evinced when in 1604 and in 1612 Maréchal d'Ornano, lieutenant-général of Guienne, issued an ordinance forbidding persons to "speak ill of or do evil to the Portuguese merchants." Since they lived mainly in the two parishes of St. Eulalie and St. Eloy, Marranos claimed burial in the cemeteries of the two parish churches, as well as those belonging to the parishes of St. Projet and St. Michel, and in the cemeteries of the Augustine, Carmelite, Franciscan, and St. Francis of Paola monasteries. In 1710 a portion of the Catholic cemetery was reserved especially for them. Their marriages were performed by Catholic priests, and all the formalities, including application for papal dispensation in cases of consanguinity, were duly observed. A change of attitude can be noted in 1710 when the Marranos began to profess Judaism more openly. While priests continued to register their marriages, they generally added a note to the effect that the marriage had been or would be performed "in accordance with the customary rites of the Portuguese nation."

At the beginning of the 18th century, a communal institution called the Sedaca was established, ostensibly to serve as a charitable organization. Out of its funds, which were derived from regular contributions paid by its members according to their ability, the organization paid for the maintenance of the Sephardi communities of the "four holy cities" of Ereẓ Israel, for the local poor, and for needy travelers. Subsequently, the Sedaca undertook to provide for the cost of a physician for the poor, as well as to pay for certain officeholders in the community, including the teachers of the *talmud torah* (established before 1710), and a rabbi. The first to hold this office was Joseph Falcon (from 1719), followed by Jacob Ḥayyim Athias and the latter's son David. It was only in new letters-patent obtained in 1723 (the previous ones had been granted by Louis XIV in 1656) that the "Portuguese merchants" were for the first time officially referred to as Jews. At the turn of the century, Jews who declared themselves as such more openly had arrived from Avignon and Comtat-Venaissin to settle in Bordeaux. In 1722 they numbered 22 families. For reasons of respectability and other considerations, the "Portuguese" deliberately kept apart from the newcomers. In 1731 the municipal administrator objected to the regulation whereby the "Portuguese" Jews of Bordeaux had to pay protection tax like the Jews of *Metz. Nevertheless, in 1734 this official reminded the Jews of Bordeaux that the practice of the Jewish religion in public was forbidden. A report of 1753 mentions as a "scandal" that the Jewish religion was being practiced in seven synagogues; in fact these were prayer rooms in private dwellings.

Meanwhile, the communal organization of the Portuguese, the Sedaca, had taken the name "Nation." Apart from providing funds for religious and charitable requirements, it also supplied the funds necessary for registering letters-patent, for the salary of a representative in Paris, and other purposes. The "Nation" assumed the role of an internal police, in particular expelling paupers or vagrants from Bordeaux. Strictly charitable functions were henceforth administered by specialized associations, the Yesibot, which included the Hebra or Hermandad for circumcisions and wedding ceremonies, and also attended to visits to the sick and funerals; the Guemilout Hazadim, the association of gravediggers; and the Yesiba Bikour Holim and Misenet Holim, for the care of and visits to the sick (see also ***Ḥevrah*). From 1728, the "Nation" had its own cemetery (today Cours St. Jean no. 105), acquired by David Gradis in 1724. Burials took place there from 1725 until the French Revolution (this cemetery was closed in 1911), and from 1764 in a second cemetery (now Cours de l'Yser no. 176), which subsequently served the entire Jewish community of Bordeaux. The "Avignonese" owned a cemetery from 1728 on land purchased by David Petit (now Rue Sauteyron no. 49); this cemetery was used until 1805. The status of the "Nation" of the "Portuguese" community was approved by Louis XV on Dec. 14, 1769. The "Avignonese" constituted themselves a "Nation" in 1759, but had, in fact, been an organic body for a long while. The "Portuguese" engaged in financial activities and the supply of marine equipment, the "Avignonese" engaged almost exclusively in the textile and clothing trades, new or secondhand. In 1734 a decree was issued expelling the "Avignonese, Tudesque, or German" Jews from Bordeaux. This, however, they managed to evade by obtaining permission to prolong their stay under various pretexts. New decrees of expulsion were issued in 1740 and 1748. In 1759 six Avignonese Jewish families at last obtained letters-patent similar to those of the "Portuguese."

At the beginning of the 18th century, the Portuguese

Jews in Bordeaux numbered 327 families (1,422 persons), while the "Avignonese" Jews numbered 81 families (348 persons).

In April 1799, on the eve of the French Revolution, the "Portuguese Nation" of Bordeaux appointed two representatives, S. Lopès-Dubec and Abraham *Furtado, to attend the *Malesherbes Commission, which was studying reforms to be applied to the condition of the Jews in France. The commission proposed that clauses be included in the constitution planned for the Jews of France to ensure the maintenance of their ancient privileges relating to freedom of residence, economic activities, property, etc. It also envisaged the possibility of differentiating between the legal status of the Spanish and Portuguese Jews on the one hand, and of the "German" Jews on the other. In contrast to other communities, the Jews of Bordeaux directly participated in the preparation of the Estates-General. When on Dec. 24, 1789, this assembly determined to defer a decision on the concession of equal rights to the Jews, a deputation of seven Sephardi Jews from Bordeaux, including David Gradis and Abraham Rodrigues, went to Paris. Their activities resulted in a decree issued on Jan. 28, 1790, declaring that "all Jews known in France under the name of Portuguese, Spanish, and Avignonese Jews…shall enjoy the rights of citizens." One of the first manifestations of this equality of rights was on Dec. 6, 1790, when A. Furtado and S. Lopès-Dubec took office on the municipal council of Bordeaux. The two men also served on the Bordeaux Committee for Public Safety formed on June 10, 1793. No Bordeaux Jews were condemned to death during the Reign of Terror, but many were imprisoned or ordered to pay heavy fines.

A census of 1806 records 2,131 Jews living in Bordeaux, of whom 1,651 were of Spanish or Portuguese origin; 144 Avignonese; and 336 of German, Polish, or Dutch origin. When the *Assembly of Jewish Notables was convened by Napoleon that year, the department of the Gironde sent two delegates, both from Bordeaux – Abraham Furtado and Isaac Rodrigues. Furtado became president of the Assembly, while Rodrigues served as its secretary. Following the sessions of the "Great Sanhedrin" (see French *Sanhedrin), held in 1807, Bordeaux became the seat of a Consistory whose jurisdiction extended over ten departments, with 3,713 members. Abraham Andrade was appointed chief rabbi. The private prayer rooms were replaced by a large synagogue (Rue Causserouge), inaugurated on May 14, 1812, and partly destroyed by fire in 1873. Of the 12 members of the municipal council in 1830, two were Jews: Camille Lopès-Dubec and Joseph Rodrigues. Lopès-Dubec was also one of the 15 deputies elected from the department of the Gironde to the National Assembly in 1848. In the mid-19th century, Jewish institutions in Bordeaux included a school for boys and girls, a trade school, and a *talmud torah*. In the second half of the 19th century, many Jews sat on the general council of the department, on the municipal council, and in the chamber of commerce. Adrien Léon was elected to the National Assembly in 1875.

During the 19th century, the Jewish population of Bordeaux dwindled through emigration, numbering only 1,940 in 1900.

[Bernhard Blumenkranz]

Holocaust and Postwar Periods

Bordeaux served as a final station for countless Jewish refugees who fled southward from northern France in May-June 1940. The town, administered within the Occupied Zone after the Franco-German armistice (June 21, 1940), was one of the most important centers of Nazi police and military activities. Two-thirds of the Jewish population, local Jews and refugees alike, were arrested and deported, including the residents of the old-age home. A census of the Jewish population of the city conducted in June 1941 showed only 1,198 persons originating from Bordeaux or from southeastern France out of a total of 5,177; most were refugees from other parts of France and even from abroad. Between July 1942 and February 1944, 1,279 Jews were deported from Bordeaux by the Germans. A monument has been erected in their memory. In January 1944, French Fascists ransacked the great synagogue, which the Nazis had turned into a detention camp where the victims of their roundups awaited deportation. After the war, the survivors of the Bordeaux Jewish community reconstructed the synagogue with the aid of photographs and eyewitness accounts. When the task was completed 12 years later, the Bordeaux synagogue (which was originally built in 1882) was restored to its former renown as the largest (1,500 seats) and most beautiful Sephardi synagogue in France. Meanwhile the Jewish population increased with the arrival of new members, including a new Ashkenazi congregation. In 1960 there were 3,000 Jews in the community, and with the arrival of Jewish immigrants from N. Africa, the population doubled, with 5,500 persons in 1969. Bordeaux, the seat of a Chief Rabbinate, maintains a community center and a network of Jewish institutions.

[Georges Levitte]

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BORDJEL (**Burgel**), Tunisian family of community leaders and scholars. In the 17th century ABRAHAM amassed a large fortune in Leghorn and returned to Tunis. His son NATHAN (I) (d. 1791), a student of Isaac *Lumbroso, wrote *Ḥok Natan* (Leghorn, 1776–78), reprinted in the Vilna edition of the Talmud. A rabbinical authority, Nathan was consulted by rabbis from Ereẓ Israel and elsewhere. He died in Jerusalem.

His son ELIJAH ḤAI (I) wrote *Migdanot Natan* (Leghorn, 1778) in two parts: commentaries on the Talmud and Maimonides' *Yad Ḥazakah*; and treatises and funeral orations. Elijah's son JOSEPH (1791–1857) supported a yeshivah at his own expense and had many disciples. He left two important works: *Zara de-Yosef* (1849) and *Va-Yikken Yosef* (1852). His brother NATHAN (II), scholar and philanthropist, published the first of these works and added a preface. His nephew ELIJAH ḤAI (II) (d. 1898), *caid* (*Maggid*) and chief rabbi of Tunis, published the second. SOLOMON, *caid* in 1853, had great influence on the bey. MOSES (d. 1945) was highly respected for his knowledge, piety, and authority. During the Nazi occupation, Moses served in the difficult position of a leader of the Tunis community.

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[David Corcos]

BORENSTEIN, SAM (1908–1969), Canadian artist. Borenstein was born in Kalvarija, Lithuania. At four he moved to Suwalki, Poland, where his father, a rabbinical scholar, had a job with the Singer Sewing Machine Company. In 1921, he immigrated to Montreal, Canada where he worked for 15 years in garment factories. Borenstein studied art in his spare time at the Monument National from 1928 to 1929 and by the 1930s he was exhibiting in group and solo exhibitions in Montreal and Toronto.

Borenstein's paintings transmuted the ordinary reality of the mainly Jewish working-class district of Montreal where he lived into colorful images of material and natural energy. In addition to painting portraits of his family, Montreal Yiddish poets, and other artists, during the 1940s Borenstein began to concentrate on landscape. His paintings of rural Quebec transformed the Laurentian villages into idealized images of town life reminiscent of his memories of the shtetls of Eastern Europe. In his landscapes, Borenstein's focus was on how the landscape was changed by the sun and wind, as well as on autumnal hues and seasonal aspects such as the color and texture of ice and snow. Borenstein believed that the earth was a cosmic manifestation reflected in individual consciousness, where even the simplest forms of nature could speak directly to the artist. "Art," he said, "is my religion. Just as one prays, so does one paint – for spiritual satisfaction."

Borenstein became an antiquarian dealer who played a pivotal role in developing the first public collection of Judaic ceremonial objects in Canada. This collection is today housed in the Aron Museum located at Temple Emanu-El-Beth Sholom in Montreal. *The Colours of My Father: A Portrait of Sam Borenstein* (1991) was an animated film by his daughter, Joyce Borenstein, and produced by the National Film Board of Canada and Imageries Inc. The film won nine international awards and was nominated for an Academy Award.

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[Loren Lerner (2nd ed.)]

BORGE, VICTOR (originally **Borge Rosenbaum**; 1909–2000), Danish-U.S. satirical comedian. Born in Copenhagen, Borge was the youngest of five sons of the musicians Frederikke and Bernhard Rosenbaum. His father played first violin with the Royal Danish Philharmonic Orchestra for 35 years and his mother, a pianist, began teaching her son to play the piano when he was three. Recognized as a child prodigy, Borge was awarded a full scholarship to the Royal Danish Academy of Music at the age of nine. He debuted professionally by the age of 13. He made his debut as a comedian at 23.

During the 1930s Borge became one of Scandinavia's most popular artists, developing a unique blend of humor and music. He toured Europe extensively, and by the late 1930s had incorporated anti-Nazi humor into his act. Hitler placed him at the top of his personal list of Enemies of the Fatherland. When the Germans invaded Denmark in 1940, Borge was on a concert tour in Sweden with his American-born wife, Elsie, and they fled to Finland. Through Elsie's American citizenship, the Borges secured one of the last places aboard the last passenger ship to leave Europe before World War II, and they escaped to America.

In the United States, Borge learned English by watching movies and memorizing the dialogue. He was soon featured on Bing Crosby's radio program *Kraft Music Hall*.

Borge created the classic routine known as "phonetic punctuation," in which he inserted bizarre vocal sounds into his monologue to indicate commas, periods, and question marks. Another comedic caper was to slide off the piano bench when he first sat down to play. Affectionately referred to as the "Great Dane," Borge took his blend of classical music and comedy on the road, appearing in nightclubs, concert halls, and New York's Carnegie Hall. In 1946 he hosted NBC Radio's *The Victor Borge Show* and by 1948 was a frequent guest on Ed Sullivan's radio show *Toast of the Town*. In 1953 Borge launched his one-man Broadway show *Comedy in Music*, which ran until 1956. With 849 performances, the show was entered in *The Guinness Book of World Records* as the Longest-Running One-Man Show.

Borge made his television debut on *The Ed Sullivan Show* in 1949 and appeared often on the highly rated variety program. He later hosted his own TV comedy-variety program, *The Victor Borge Show* (1951). He was a guest on many other TV shows as well, hosted by such entertainers as Dean Martin, Andy Williams, and Johnny Carson. In 1956 Borge was nominated for an Emmy for Best Specialty Act but was bested by pantomime legend Marcel *Marceau. In a more serious vein, Borge also performed as soloist and conductor with many leading symphony orchestras. In 1998 he conducted the Royal Danish Philharmonic Orchestra in a Royal Command Performance of Mozart's *The Magic Flute.*

Dedicated to noble causes, Borge was active in the civil rights movement. In 1963 he and Richard Netter created the Thanks To Scandinavia Scholarship Fund in recognition of the Scandinavian citizens who risked their lives to save thousands of Jews during the Holocaust. The multimillion-dollar fund brought more than a thousand Scandinavian students and scientists to the United States to study and conduct research. Borge was awarded a Medal of Honor by the Statue of Liberty Centennial Committee; he was knighted by Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway, and Sweden; and he was honored by the United States Congress and the United Nations. In 1991 he received the Humor Project's International Humor Treasure award, and in 2000 was the first person selected for the Kennedy Center Honors.

Borge released a number of recordings and video programs, including *The Best of Victor Borge*, a collection of his classic routines. It sold three million copies worldwide during its first year.

Borge co-wrote several books with Robert Sherman, among them *My Favorite Intermissions* (1971), *Victor Borge's My Favorite Comedies in Music* (1980), and *Borge's Musical Briefs* (1982).

[Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

BORGHI, LAMBERTO (1907–2000), Italian educator and author. Born in Leghorn, Borghi studied at the University of Pisa. He went to the U.S. as a refugee in 1938. In 1948 he returned to Italy to fill the chair of pedagogy at the Universities of Pisa, Palermo, and Turin. From 1954 until 1982 he was full professor at the University of Florence and directed its Institute of Pedagogy. Borghi showed a keen interest in comparative education and wrote extensively on Italian education. He was the most famous follower of John Dewey's methodology, focusing his attention on democratic and lay pedagogy. In two of his books, *Educazione e autorità nell'Italia moderna* (1951) and *Educazione e scuola nell' Italia d'oggi* (1958), he discussed the nature and problems of the Italian educational system, including education in the arts and sciences and the limitations imposed by inherited social and economic status on educational opportunities. His books include *Umanismo e concezione religiosa in Erasmus di Rotterdam* (1936); *Education in the U.S.A.* (1949); *John Dewey e il pensiero pedagogico contemporaneo negli Stati Uniti* (1951; Eng. tr., 1952); *Saggi di psicologia dell'educazione* (1951); *Il fondamento dell' educazione attiva* (1952); *Il metodo dei progetti* (1952); *L'educazione e i suoi problemi* (1953); *L'ideale educative di John Dewey* (1955); and *Educazione e sviluppo sociale* (1962). His last work, *Educare alla libertà* (1992), is a synthesis of his theories and an anthology of European and American essays on the topic of education.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: G.Z.F. Bereday, *Comparative Method in Education* (1964), 210. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** G. Fofi, *La città e la scuola* (2000).

[Ernest Schwarcz / Federica Francesconi (2nd ed.)]

BORGIL, ABRAHAM BEN AZIZ (d. 1595?), Turkish rabbinical scholar. Borgil studied in Salonika for many years under Samuel b. Moses *Medina, later becoming head of the yeshivah of Nikopol (Bulgaria), where he employed a unique approach to the teaching of Talmud. His yeshivah became famous and the city became a center of talmudic studies. Borgil's novellae on tractates *Bava Kamma*, *Bava Meẓia*, *Ketubbot*, and *Kiddushin* were published under the title *Leḥem Abbirim* (Venice, 1605); the novellae on *Yevamot*, which are attributed to him, are probably not his. His novellae on *Ḥullin* are extant in manuscript (Moscow, Guenzburg Ms. no. 125). In his novellae, Borgil does not cite his contemporaries or *rishonim* but bases himself, for the most part, upon the tosafists, and, to a certain extent, upon Rashi. It was Borgil's practice to refer to manuscripts of the Talmud for text verification.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: M. Benayahu, in: *Sefer ha-Yovel le-Ḥanokh Albeck* (1963), 71–80.

BORINSTEIN, LOUIS J. (1881–1972), U.S. merchant and civic leader. Borinstein was born in Indianapolis, Indiana. He entered business there and became a partner in the A. Borinstein wholesale iron company in 1920. In 1924 he became vice president of the Indianapolis Machinery and Supply Company. Active in civic affairs, Borinstein was president of the Indianapolis Chamber of Commerce (1931–36), National Recovery Administration chairman for Indianapolis, and a member of several state and municipal commissions. A president of his B'nai B'rith lodge (1917–18), Borinstein directed the Jewish Welfare Fund and managed Indiana campaigns of the United Jewish Appeal and the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee. He served as a trustee of the Cleveland Orphan Home (from 1919) and director of the National Hospital in Denver.

[Edward L. Greenstein]

BORIS, RUTHANNA (1918–), U.S. dancer and choreographer. Boris studied ballet at the Metropolitan opera ballet school where she made her debut in *Carmen*, in 1935, and was prima ballerina from 1937 to 1942. She performed a wide range of classical and contemporary ballet roles as soloist and principal dancer for the Ballets Russes (1943–1950) and also choreographed for them *Cirque des deux* (1947) and *Quelques fleurs* (1948). Her choreography, showing a gift for comedy, included *Cakewalk* (1951), created for the New York City Ballet, and she danced for the Broadway musical *Two on the Aisle*. She was director of the Royal Winnipeg Ballet, 1956–1957, and from 1965 she was professor of dance at the University of Washington.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *International Encyclopedia of Dance*, vol. 1 (1998), 498.

[Amnon Shiloah (2nd ed.)]

BORISLAV (Pol. **Boryslaw**), city in Ukraine (until 1939, Galicia, Poland). Borislav, which at the end of the 19th century was nicknamed the "California of Galicia," in 1920 supplied 75% of the oil in Poland. The industry was pioneered by Jews. Around 1880 the numerous wells they founded employed about 3,000 Jewish workers from Borislav and the vicinity. At this time, large Austrian and foreign banks, subsidizing modern techniques, began to squeeze out smaller enterprises and Jewish labor, although a number of wells were still Jewish-owned. In 1898 some of the unemployed workers petitioned the Second Zionist Congress to grant them the means to immigrate to Ereẓ Israel. At the request of Theodor Herzl, the Alliance Israélite Universelle assisted approximately 500 workers to leave for the United States. The Jewish community of Borislav had been affiliated with the *Drogobych *kehillah* and became independent in 1928. From 1867 to 1903 Borislav formed part of an Austrian parliamentary electoral district in which the majority of the constituents were Jewish. In 1887 the first society of Ḥovevei Zion was established in Borislav. In 1860 the Jewish population of Borislav numbered about 1,000; in 1890, 9,047 (out of a total of 10,424); in 1910, 5,753 (out of 12,767); in 1921, 7,170 (out of 16,000); and in 1939 over 13,000.

[Nathan Michael Gelber]

Holocaust and Postwar Periods

When the town came under Soviet administration in 1939, the Jewish institutions were disbanded and political parties ceased to function. Jewish merchants were forced out of business, while artisans were organized into cooperatives. Refugees from western Poland were deported from Borislav to the Soviet interior in the summer of 1940. When the war with Germany broke out (June 1941), many young Jews joined the Soviet army, and others fled with the retreating Soviet authorities. The town fell to the Germans on July 1, 1941, and the following day the Ukrainians staged a pogrom against the Jewish community, killing more than 300 Jews. A *Judenrat was set up, headed by Michael Herz. The first *Aktion* took place on November 29–30, 1941, when 1,500 Jews were murdered in the forests of two neighboring villages. The following winter (1941–42), hunger and disease made inroads on the Jewish community. In 1942 able-bodied Jews were sent to the labor camps of Popiele, *Skole, and *Stryj, and in August 1942 about 5,000 Jews were sent to the *Belzec death camp. Two separate ghettos were established, followed by a series of roundups in which hundreds were sent to Belzec. Toward the end of 1942 a special labor camp was established in Borislav for the oil industries. The extermination of the Jewish community continued with the execution, at the city slaughterhouse, on February 16–17, 1943, of some 600 women, children, and elderly people. During May–August 1943 the remaining Jews were killed and only some 1,500 slave laborers were temporarily spared. Jews who tried to hide in the forests and in the city itself were mostly caught and killed by the Germans, with the cooperation of local Ukrainians belonging mostly to the bands of Stefan Bandera. In April–July 1944 the local labor camp was liquidated and the last surviving members of the Jewish community were brought to *Plaszow labor camp, from where they were transported to death or concentration camps in Germany. There were resistance groups among the young Jews of Borislav, but the only detail known about them is the fact that one of their leaders, Lonek Hofman, was killed while attempting to assault a German foreman. When Soviet forces took Borislav on August 7, 1944, some 200 Jewish survivors were found in the forests and in local hideouts. Another 200 Jews later returned from the Soviet Union and from German concentration camps. A monument was erected to the Jews who fell in World War II but was allowed to fall into disrepair. The Jewish cemetery was closed down in 1959. In 1970 the number of Jews in Borislav was estimated at 3,000. There was no synagogue. Most of the Jews left in the large-scale emigration of the 1990s.

[Aharon Weiss]

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Gelber, in: *Sefer Drohobycz ve-ha-Sevivah* (1959), 171–6; K. Holzman, *Be-Ein Elohim* (1956); T. Brustin-Berenstein in: *Bleter far Geshikhte*, 6, no. 3 (1953), 45–100; *Sefer Zikkaron le-Drohobiz, Borislav, ve-ha-Sevivah* (1959), Heb. with Yid.

BORISOV, town in Minsk district, Belarus. Jews were living there in the 17th century; 249 Jewish taxpayers are recorded in Borisov in 1776. The main Jewish occupations were trade in grain and timber, sent northward by river to Riga via the Dvina and to southern Russia via the Dnieper. Jews owned all the town's match factories, most of whose workers were Jewish. Around 1900 Borisov became a center of Bund activity. The Jewish population numbered 2,851 in 1861; 7,722 in 1897 (54.2% of the total); and 10,617 on the outbreak of World War I, subsequently decreasing to 8,358 (32.3%) by 1926. In the summer of 1920 Polish soldiers staged a pogrom, killing and injuring 300 Jews. During the Soviet period many Jews were employed in artisan cooperatives and factories. In 1939 there were 10,011 Jews (total population 49,108). The Germans entered Borisov on July 2, 1941. In August, 739 Jews were murdered, followed by 439 being labeled as "robbers and saboteurs." Another 176 were murdered for opposing the creation of a closed ghetto, where about 7,000 Jews were packed in. On October 20–21, 1941 (October 7–9 according to another source), over 7,000 Jews were murdered at the airport. In October 1943 the Germans opened the mass graves nearby and burned the bodies.

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[Simha Katz and Yehuda Slutsky / Shmuel Spector (2nd ed.)]

BORISOV, ANDREY YAKOVLEVICH (1903–1942), Russian Orientalist. Borisov made important contributions to the history of medieval Jewish philosophy. Among the *genizah* manuscripts preserved in Leningrad, he discovered manuscripts of Isaac Israeli and the Karaite Yūsuf al-Bāsir. His works include an article on the tractate *Ma'ānī al-Nafs*, the so-called Pseudo-Baḥya (in the USSR Academy of Sciences, *Izvestiya* (*Otdeleniye obshchestvennykh nauk*; 1929), 775–97), and on Moses ibn Ezra's poetry (*ibid.*, no. 4 (1933), 99–117). He also wrote shorter articles on problems in medieval Jewish literary history.

[Samuel Miklos Stern]

°**BORMANN, MARTIN** (1900–?), Nazi leader. Bormann was born in Halberstadt; his family were postal workers. He enlisted in World War I but too late to reach the front. He joined the Nazi Party in 1925, after having been active in right-wing organizations and having been sentenced to a year in prison. In 1926 he was appointed head of Nazi press affairs and deputy regional commander of the SA. In 1928 he became party treasurer in Munich. By 1933, when he was elected to the Reichstag, he had become chief of staff to Rudolf Hess, Hitler's deputy. In May 1941 he replaced Hess, who had flown to London, as administrative head of the Party chancellery, which gave him control over Hitler's schedule and thus considerable power. He was active in the Euthanasia program, in the struggle with the churches, and the seizing of art work in the occupied territories. By a decree of Jan. 24, 1942, Bormann was given control over all laws and directives issued by Hitler. As the Fuhrer became preoccupied with the war, Bormann gained considerable control over domestic affairs in Germany. His representatives participated both at the *Wannsee Conference on Jan. 20, 1942, and at the March 6, 1942, conference that dealt with the fate of Jewish partners in mixed marriages and their offspring. According to the judgment of the International Military Tribunal, Bormann took part in the discussions which led to the removal of 60,000 Jews from Vienna to Poland, signing the order of Oct. 9, 1942, in which he declared that the elimination of Jews from Greater Germany could be solved only by applying "ruthless force" in the special camps in the East. On July 1, 1943, he cosigned an ordinance withdrawing Jews who violated the law from the jurisdiction of the courts and placing them under the jurisdiction of the Gestapo. Goering included him in the group of five "real conspirators" along with Hitler, Himmler, Goebbels, and Heydrich. He was with Hitler until the end, witnessing his marriage to Eva Braun and the suicide of Goebbels and his family, and even informing Admiral Donitz that he had been appointed the Fuehrer. He even attempted to conduct negotiations with the Soviet Union and then disappeared. In 1946 Bormann, who was the "Grey Eminence" of the Third Reich, was sentenced to death in absentia by the International Military Tribunal at Nuremberg. His exact whereabouts after the war remained unknown. The attorney-general of Frankfurt opened a case against Bormann and a reward of 100,000 DM was posted for information leading to his arrest. In 1973 the West German government accepted the report of a forensic expert who examined a body purported to be Martin Bormann's and declared him dead.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Office of U.S. Chief of Counsel for Prosecution of Axis Criminality, *Nazi Conspiracy and Aggression*, 2 (1946), 896–915; H.R. Trevor-Roper, *Bormann Letters* (1954); J. Wulf, *Martin Bormann: Hitlers Schatten* (1962); J. Mc-Govern, *Martin Bormann* (Eng., 1968).

[Yehuda Reshef / Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

BORN, MAX (1882–1970), German physicist and Nobel Prize winner. A son of the anatomist Gustav Born, he was born in Breslau and lectured on physics in Berlin (1915), Frankfurt (1919), and Goettingen (1921). Although he had dissociated himself from the Jewish community, Born was dismissed from Goettingen in 1933 because of his Jewish origins. He settled in England working first at the Cavendish Laboratory, Cambridge, and then from 1936 lecturing in applied mathematics at Edinburgh University. On his retirement from teaching in 1953, he returned to Germany.

Born played an important role in the development of modern theoretical physics. He developed the modern mathematical explanation of the basic properties of matter but his outstanding achievement was his work on quantum theory and the use of matrix computations. He was the first to recognize that the function of Schroedinger's waves could be explained as a statistical function which describes the probability of a certain behavior of a solitary molecule in space and time. He examined the problems of probability and wrote a number of books on physics, including *Aufbau der Materie* (1922^2), *Atomtheorie des festen Zustandes* (1923), *Atommechanik* (1925), *Moderne Physik* (1933), *Atomic Physics* (1947^4), and *A General Kinetic Theory of Liquids* (1949). Born was also concerned with the general philosophical problems of natural science, an interest reflected in his works *The Restless Universe* (1936) and *Natural Philosophy of Cause and Chance* (1949). His discussion with *Einstein (a close friend of his) on the meaning of cause and chance in modern science was summarized in his article "Physics and Metaphysics" (published in *Penguin Science News*, 17 (1950), 9–27). In 1954, Born and W. Bothe were awarded the Nobel Prize for physics for their work on the mathematical basis of quantum mechanics. Eight of Born's essays, revealing his enduring interest in the ethical problems underlying man's vast increase in power through science, were published in 1968 as *My Life and My Views*.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: H. Vogel, *Physik und Philosophie bei Max Born* (1968).

[Maurice Goldsmith]

BORNFRIEND, JACOB (Jakub Bauernfreund; 1904–1976), painter. Bornfriend was born in a Slovak village. Exposed to the art movements of the period between the two world wars, Bornfriend tried and then abandoned impressionism, cubism, and surrealism. He attained a fair standard in each without finding an individual style. In 1939 Bornfriend escaped to England and worked in factories for six years. He returned to his easel with a personality of his own, combining the formal influence of Picasso with the spiritual influence of Jankel *Adler. Bornfriend retained the warmth and bright colors of his early life, combining a sense of strict laws of form with a deep feeling for human pathos.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Garrett, in: *Studio*, 145 (1953), 160–3; Roth, Art, 831–3.

[Avigdor Dagan]

BORNSTEIN, ELI (1922–), Canadian artist. Born in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, Bornstein studied in the United States and with Fernand Léger in Paris. He went to Canada in 1950, and later became head of the department of art at the University of Saskatchewan, Saskatoon. Bornstein headed the structurist school, which was centered in Saskatoon, and edited its magazine *The Structurist*. The structurists created a pure, geometric abstract form of art which they felt to be a development of the tradition of Cézanne and the cubists. Their favorite art form was the structurist relief, "a new synthesis of the color of painting and the actual form and space of sculpture." Bornstein received many commissions to execute such reliefs for public buildings and created one in five parts for an exhibition commemorating the centenary of the Canadian Confederation in 1967.

[Yael Dunkelman]

BORNSTEIN, ḤAYYIM JEHIEL (1845–1928), authority on the Jewish calendar. Bornstein was born into a ḥasidic family in Kozienice, receiving a traditional Jewish education and studying European languages and secular subjects, especially mathematics, on his own. He worked as an accountant in a sugar factory in the village of Manishev and then settled in Warsaw in 1881. From 1886 on he was secretary of the synagogue in Warsaw. Bornstein's knowledge of chronology, history, and mathematics enabled him to open new avenues in the study of the development of the Jewish calendar. He based his theories on several documents in the Cairo *Genizah*, the importance of which he was the first to recognize. Bornstein advanced the novel claim that the details of the Jewish calendar, with its small cycle of 19 lunar years and its method of reckoning the conjunction of the planets, had not been calculated and accepted until sometime between the mid-eighth and mid-ninth century C.E., and not in the period of the *amoraim* under *Hillel II, as had been generally believed – much less in the first century C.E., as claimed by the German chronologist F.K. Ginzel. Bornstein published "*Parashat ha-Ibbur*" (*Ha-Kerem*, 1887), "*Maḥaloket Rav Sa'adyah Ga'on u-Ven Meir bi-Kevi'at Shenot 4672–4674*" (*Sefer ha-Yovel Li-khevod Naḥum Sokolov*, 1904), "*Ta'arikhei Yisrael*" (*Ha-Tekufah*, 1921, nos. 8, 9), and "*Ḥeshbon Shematim ve-Yovelot*" (*ibid.*, no. 11). M. Teitelbaum's study of *Shneur Zalman of Lyady incorporated an appendix by Bornstein on Shneur Zalman's knowledge of geometry, astronomy, and natural science. Bornstein also translated several classics of general literature into Hebrew, among them the Polish poet Adam Mickiewicz's *Farys* (in N. Sokolow (ed.), *Sefer ha-Shanah* (1900), 326–34), and Shakespeare's *Hamlet* (1926).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: A.M. Habermann, in: S.K. Mirsky (ed.), *Ishim u-Demuyyot be-Ḥokhmat Yisrael be-Eiropah ha-Mizraḥit Lifnei Sheki'atah* (1959), 137–244; N. Sokolow, *Sefer Zikkaron* (1889); idem, in: *Ha-Tekufah*, 25 (1929), 528; idem, *Ishim* (1958), 101–43; *Ha-Sifrut ha-Yafah be-Ivrit* (1927); A.A. Akaviah, in: Ẓ.H. Yafeh (ed.), *Korot Ḥeshbon ha-Ibbur* (1931), introduction.

[Abraham Halevy Fraenkel]

BOROCHOV, BER (Dov; 1881–1917), Socialist Zionist leader and foremost theoretician; scholar of the history, economic structure, language, and culture of the Jewish people. A brilliant analyst, in debate as well as in writing, Borochov influenced wide circles of the emerging Jewish labor movement, first in Russia, later in Central and Western Europe and the U.S. He postulated the concept of an organic unity between scientific socialism and devotion to the national needs of the Jewish people. He thus freed many young Jewish intellectuals from their preoccupation with the seemingly irreconcilable contradiction between social revolution and Zionism. Borochov's main theoretical contribution was his synthesis of class struggle and nationalism, at a time when prevalent Marxist theory rejected all nationalism, and particularly Jewish nationalism, as distinctly reactionary. Borochov regarded the mass migration of Jews in his time as an inevitable elemental social phenomenon, expressing the inner drive of the Jewish proletariat to seek a solution to the problem of its precarious existence in the Diaspora, where it is uprooted and separated from the basic processes of production. The task of Socialist Zionism, Borochov maintained, was to prepare "a new territory," i.e., Ereẓ Israel, through a pioneering effort, for the concentration of the masses of Jewish migrants. This would prevent the perpetuation of the Diaspora through continued dispersion in alien lands and economies, creating instead a Jewish national economic body as a framework for the natural class struggle of the Jewish proletariat.

Biography

Borochov was born in Zolotonosha, Ukraine, and grew up in Poltava, where he was educated in a Russian high school. A studious youth, he early displayed a tendency toward philosophic thought and was influenced by the revolutionary socialist trends of his period. Like most Jewish high school graduates, he was denied entrance to a Russian university, which in any case he rejected as alien to his spirit, and embarked on a strenuous process of self-education. He gained erudition in various fields and fluency in several languages. Borochov joined the ranks of the Russian Social Democratic Party, but his interests in specifically Jewish problems led him, in 1901, to establish the Zionist Socialist Workers Union at Yekaterinoslav. The association, which was active in organizing Jewish self-defense and in promoting the interests of Jewish workers, was opposed by both the Russian Social Democrats (who refused to recognize the need for an independent Jewish workers' movement) and some Zionist leaders (who disliked the association of Zionism with socialism).

During the controversy in the Zionist movement about the Uganda Scheme, Borochov took a clear-cut "Palestinist" stand and cooperated closely with Menahem *Ussishkin and other leaders of the "Zion Zionists" who opposed any *territorialism other than in Ereẓ Israel. Borochov traveled throughout Russia to convince the newly founded groups of *Po'alei Zion against territorialist tendencies, which seemed to be gaining increasing influence in Socialist Zionism. He was a delegate to the Seventh Zionist Congress (1905), leading the faction of those Po'alei Zion delegates who were "faithful to Zion." During the ensuing debates among Socialist-Zionists over the territorial issue, the political struggle in the Diaspora, and Sejmism, it was largely Borochov who laid the ideological and organizational foundations of the Po'alei Zion movement. At a conference in Poltava (1906), the movement was renamed the "Jewish Workers' Social Democratic Party Po'alei Zion." Borochov crystallized its doctrine in his treatise "Our Platform" (published as a series in the Po'alei Zion Party organ *Yevreyskaya Rabochaya Khronika* from July 1906) and in supplementary articles and debates with other trends in the Jewish labor movement over the role of the Jewish proletariat and the national problem. In 1907, during the Eighth Zionist Congress at The Hague, Borochov participated in the founding of the World Union of Po'alei Zion, as a separate union (*Sonderverband*) in the World Zionist Organization. After the Eighth Zionist Congress, Borochov insisted on the withdrawal of Russian Po'alei Zion from the Zionist Organization in order to preserve the proletarian independence of Socialist Zionism. From 1907, when he left Russia, until the outbreak of World War I, Borochov worked as a publicist to further the aims of the World Union of Po'alei Zion in Western and Central Europe. He continued his philosophical studies and research into Yiddish language and literature. He left Vienna in 1914 and arrived in the U.S., where he continued his activities as a spokesman for the American Po'alei Zion as well as for the World and American Jewish Congress movements. He was also editor of and contributor to the New York Yiddish daily *Di Warheit*. With the outbreak of the Russian Revolution, Borochov returned to Russia, stopping en route in Stockholm to join the Po'alei Zion delegation at a session of an international Socialist Commission of neutral countries. There he helped formulate the demands of the Jewish people and working class in the manifesto for the postwar world order. When he arrived in Russia, Borochov became intensely involved in public activity during the stormy period before the October Revolution. In August 1917, in an address to the Russian Po'alei Zion Conference, Borochov called for socialist settlement in Ereẓ Israel. In September 1917, he read a paper to the "Congress of Nations" in Kiev on "Russia as a Commonwealth of Nations." In the course of a speaking tour he contracted pneumonia and died in Kiev. His remains were taken to Israel in 1963 for reinterment at the Kinneret cemetery, alongside the graves of other founders of Socialist Zionism. A workers' quarter near Tel Aviv, Shekhunat Borochov, now part of the township of Givatayim, was named after him.

Theory

Borochov's Socialist Zionist credo was never dogmatic, parochial, or static; it was universal and dynamic, the evolving product of continuous inquiry and study. In an attempt to analyze the Jewish situation and its problem along Marxist ideological and methodological lines, Borochov sought to probe "beyond the cultural and spiritual manifestations and to examine the deeper concealed foundations of the Jewish problem." The root of the problem, Borochov said, was the divorce of the Jewish people from its homeland. He considered a people "without a country, without an independent economic basis, and trapped in alien economic relations" to be a powerless national minority. The Diaspora was responsible for the fact that the "social physiology of the Jewish people is organically sick." It created the historic conditions in which Jewry was torn between the process of assimilation into, and the isolation from, the host society. The Diaspora had thus divided Jewry's strength, and, because of the ultimate prevalence of "alienating forces," exacerbated the tension between Jews and their non-Jewish neighbors. The growing Jewish migration, while providing relief, was also testimony to Jewry's prolonged and aching conflict between ends and available means. The Jewish worker in the Diaspora occupied a particularly anomalous position. Since he lived in an economy in which petty, backward production predominated and was denied work in the modern, heavy industry, he had a narrow labor front and an abnormal, insufficient "strategic base" for his class struggle. As long as the Jewish economy was detached from those vital branches of production, which are "the axis of the historical wheel," the proletarization of the Jews would continue to be a slow, stunted, and uneven process.

In defining the Jewish problem, Borochov, while keenly aware of the constant threat of antisemitic outbursts in the Diaspora, never designated antisemitism as the fundamental basis or motivation of Zionism. He chose to view the whole of the Diaspora as a social aberration, reducing the Jews to a permanent state of economic inferiority and political helplessness. Thus, when proposing a solution to the problem, Borochov refused to believe that civil emancipation in the Diaspora, whether in a capitalist or socialist society, could, in itself, solve the Jewish problem. "Even when the State of Freedom will be established – and counterrevolution will be only a memory – the Jewish problem will still have to wait a long time for a specific answer." Assimilation, which Borochov attacked both theoretically and practically, was no less an anathema, whether in its bourgeois inception or in later socialist forms. The origins of assimilation – the mute antagonism between the successful individual and his miserable people – made it morally suspect, and an objective impossibility – the insurmountable objection of non-Jewish society – made it a dangerous daydream. Instead, the solution Borochov envisaged was a unique one, addressed to the particular needs of the Jews: only auto-emancipation, i.e., national self-liberation, could restore "to Jewish existence a healthy socio-economic basis, which is the keystone of national existence and national culture and the basis for a fruitful class struggle and socialist transformation of national life." This, he believed, was the Jewish people's particular road to socialist internationalism, a development which would herald the inevitable exodus from the Diaspora.

For Borochov, the Jewish renaissance and socialism were necessarily mutually interrelated, since Zionism and socialism together served the same purpose – making Jewish life productive again. Zionism was necessary because Jewish migratory movements disperse the Jewish masses into existing societies and economies, thus continuing the traditional Diaspora, instead of concentrating them in their own new territory. The first task, therefore, was to create the conditions necessary for an independent, sovereign national life, through a new trend in Jewish migration toward a new territory. The territory in question was destined to be Ereẓ Israel, Borochov said, for "the general pattern of Jewish dynamism" leads toward an ever-increasing "elemental" (*stychic*) migration to Ereẓ Israel. But this "elemental" mass migration (both his followers and opponents differed over the exact implications of the term) was the culmination of an enterprise which was to evolve from an initial pioneering stage in Ereẓ Israel. Thus, a positive, socialist, yearning for a pioneering way of life had to precede the mere recognition of the negative motives for an exodus from the Diaspora. This was the first task – the historic national mission – that Borochov assigned to the Jewish working class in the realization of Zionism. The Jewish worker was to be a "pioneer of the Jewish future," builder of the road to a territorial homeland for the whole Jewish people.

During his contact with the Jewish population in Western Europe and in the U.S., Borochov broadened many of his earlier concepts. Thus, Ereẓ Israel was to be not merely a strategic base for the class struggle of the Jewish proletariat, but a home for the entire Jewish people. Borochov, increasingly aware of the common fate of world Jewry and the universality of their problem in the Diaspora, also came to oppose any attempts to fragment Jewish history, as well as Jewish demography. He insisted that Jewish history was the chronicle of the Jewish masses' uninterrupted sense of self-pride and will to struggle. He acknowledged the vulnerability of the Jews and analyzed their dangerous position in the face of national renaissance movements on the one hand, and national-social antisemitism in Europe, which he perceived even before World War I, on the other. Yet he remained insistent that future international developments also held out hopeful and exciting promises for the Jewish people.

Literary Works

Borochov's literary efforts began in 1902 with a treatise "On the Nature of the Jewish Mind," published in Russian in a Zionist almanac. His 1905 article on "The Question of Zionist Theory," published in the Russian Zionist monthly *Yevreyskaya Zhizn*, decried the attempts of assimilationist Jews to reject Zionism and to rely on universal progress as the solution to the Jewish problem. Characteristically, Borochov raised the level of his polemics against the Uganda Scheme to one of fundamental principle, in his Russian treatise "On the Question of Zion and Territory" (1905). In it he introduced a materialist-historical analysis of the Jewish problem, establishing Zionism as an elemental force produced by Jewry's plight and sustained by its pioneering elements, becoming the true national liberation movement of the Jewish people. The pamphlet *Class Factors in the National Question*, which he published in the same year, was one of the first ventures at applying Marxist theory to the national question. Drawing a distinction between the nationalism of oppressed peoples and that of oppressing nations, Borochov investigated its expression at various class levels. He concluded that only the oppressing nationalism was "reactionary," whereas nationalism of the oppressed did not obscure class consciousness. On the contrary, this latter nationalism, flourishing among the progressive elements, "impels them toward real liberation of the nation, normalization of the conditions and relationships of production, and the creation of necessary conditions for the true freedom of national self-determination."

Borochov's writings during the 1907–14 period retain special value as contributions to contemporary historiography. His thesis on "The Jewish Labor Movement in Figures" (published posthumously) is a penetrating and original statistical-sociological analysis of the "economic physiology" of the Jewish people. One of the central topics of his ideology, Jewish migration and its social implications, was treated in a brochure published in 1911 in Galicia. He contributed articles to the *Russian Jewish Encyclopedia* on various aspects of Jewish life and history. He wrote in 1908 "Virtualism and the Religious-Ethical Problem in Marxism" (published posthumously in 1920), a polemical tract against A. Lunacharsky's "Socialism and Religion." His essays "*The Tasks of Jewish Philology*" (1912–13) and "*The Library of the Jewish Philologist*" (a bibliography of 400 years of Yiddish research) marked his place among the scholars of Jewish language and culture. Borochov's literary works revealed the wide range of his sustained creativity. There is a vast literature on Borochov the man, his life, and his teachings in Yiddish, Hebrew, and other languages. L. Levite et al. (eds.), *B. Borochov Ketavim*, 3 vols. (1955–66) is the best edition of his works; of special importance are the notes attached to each volume. Also in Hebrew is Z. Shazar (comp.), B. Borochov, *Ketavim Nivḥarim* (1944). There is a short selection in English edited by M. Cohen entitled *Nationalism and the Class Struggle* (1937). In Yiddish there are Po'alei Zion New York, *Geklibene Shriften D.B. Borochovs* (1935); B. Locker (ed.), *Geklibene Schriften* (1928); in German the anthology *Klasse und Nation: zur Theorie und Praxis des juedischen Nationalismus* (1932) and *Sozialismus und Zionismus – eine Synthese: Ausgewaehlte Schriften* (1932).

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[Lev Levite]

BORODAVKA (Brodavka), ISAAC (16th-century), tax farmer and merchant living in Brest-Litovsk. A grant issued by King Sigismund August in 1560 entitled Borodavka and his associates to collect the duties on goods and merchandise passing through Minsk, Vilna, Novgorod, Brest, and Grodno for seven years. He was granted the salt monopoly for a similar term in 1561 and was permitted to build distilleries with a monopoly of production in Bielsk, Narva, and Kleszczele; in 1569 the Vilna mint was transferred to his control. These concessions excited the envy of Christian competitors, who instigated *blood libels against certain tax collectors employed by Borodavka. Although the charges proved groundless, one of the accused, Bernat Abramovich, paid with his life. The king consequently directed that henceforth all such accusations be made before the crown, and that those who made false accusations would be punished.

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BORODIN (Gruzenberg), MICHAEL MARKOVITSCH (1884–1951), Russian communist politician. Born in Yanowitski, Belorussia, Borodin joined the Bund in 1901 but left it for the Bolshevik party two years later. In 1906 he went to England and in the following year to the U.S., where he became a member of the American Socialist Party. Borodin returned to Russia after the October Revolution of 1917 and worked for the Comintern. In 1922 he left for Britain again and was arrested in Glasgow. He was sentenced to six months' imprisonment for incitement and was then deported. From 1923 to 1927 Borodin was an adviser to Sun Yat-Sen, leader of the central committee of the Kuomintang, in China, where he was held in high esteem. When in 1927 the Kuomintang came under the domination of its right wing, led by Chiang Kai-Shek, Borodin was arrested and forced to leave the country. He went back to Russia to become deputy commissar for labor, but after 1932 he spent most of his time working as a journalist. He successively served as deputy director of the Tass news agency, editor in chief of the Soviet Information Bureau, and editor of *Moscow News*. In 1951 he fell victim to Stalin's reign of terror and was condemned to death. His reputation was posthumously rehabilitated in 1956.

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BOROFSKY, JONATHAN (1942–). U.S. artist. Borofsky was born in Boston. At age eight he began studying art with Albert Alcay, a Holocaust survivor. Early questions about the number tattooed on Alcay's arm would later influence the subject matter of Borofsky's art. Borofsky received a B.F.A. from Carnegie Mellon University (1964) and an M.F.A. from Yale University (1966). After moving to New York in 1966, Borofsky became interested in Conceptual Art. Since 1969 he has been numbering his work. This ongoing project began as a stack of paper, but has expanded to all of his creations. These coded references to the tattoos of Holocaust inmates now reach the millions.

Borofsky describes his art as autobiographical. His dreams became source material in 1973, often including recurring figures such as the Hammering Man, Man with a Briefcase, and the Running Man. First appearing around 1973, the anxiety-ridden Running Man serves as a surrogate self-portrait. Borofsky's 1977 drawing *Hitler Dream* (no. 2454568) shows a Running Man being chased by one of Hitler's soldiers accompanied by text that begins "I dreamed that some Hitler-type person was not allowing everyone to roller-skate in public places." This was Borofsky's first overt reference to the Holocaust. Since then he has readily identified himself as Jewish and often uses the Holocaust as a subject.

His multimedia site-specific installations employ myriad images, including drawings, sculptures, and found objects. He has had several international solo exhibitions at such venues as the Israel Museum (1984) and the Boston Museum of Fine Arts (2000). From 1969 to 1977 Borofsky taught at the School of Visual Arts in New York. In 1976 he moved to California, and since 1977 he has been teaching at the California Institute of the Arts in Valencia.

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[Samantha Baskind (2nd ed.)]

BOROVOY, A. ALAN (1932–), Canadian lawyer, human rights activist. Borovoy was born in Toronto, and educated at the University of Toronto, where in 1956 he completed a degree in law. Active in campus Jewish life, he was vice president of the Hillel Foundation and founding editor of its journal. He personally experienced the antisemitism that tarnished Canadian democracy during his childhood. Deeply committed to the struggle against antisemitism, Borovoy became convinced that "the best way to protect the Jewish people was to promote greater justice for *all* people." In 1959 he became director of the Toronto Labour Committee for Human Rights, established by the Jewish Labour Committee of Canada, and later of the Ontario Labour Committee for Human Rights and the Canadian Labour Congress's National Committee for Human Rights. He also participated in the Jewish community's Joint Community Relations Committee, the body that pioneered Canada's earliest human rights coalitions. In 1968 he joined the Canadian Civil Liberties Association as general counsel, serving as its chief spokesperson and earning a reputation as Canada's foremost champion of human rights and civil liberties.

An eloquent speaker with an engaging sense of humor and abiding commitment to exposing injustices, he campaigned tirelessly for the "bedrock liberal principles" of freedom of expression, equality, and procedural fairness. He was prominent in exposing conditions on Native reserves, racial discrimination in employment and accommodations and battled to halt police misconduct, the involuntary treatment of psychiatric patients, religious instruction in public schools, invasion of personal privacy, and other abuses of authority and human rights. Abjuring violence or even civil disobedience, Borovoy designed, in his words, tactics "to raise hell without breaking the law." Through public rallies and marches, briefs and delegations dispatched to governments, appearances before public inquiries, and above all research and presentation of factual evidence documenting unfair practices, his efforts led to improved legal protections for all Canadians. He appeared regularly on television, wrote three books and numerous articles, and contributed columns to the *Jewish Standard*, the *Toronto Star*, the *Globe and Mail*, and other Canadian journals. He was visiting lecturer at Dalhousie, Windsor, York, and Toronto law schools and the Toronto Faculty of Social Work. He received honorary degrees from Queen's, York, Toronto, and the Law Society of Upper Canada, the Order of Canada (1982), the Lord Reading Society Human Rights Award (2003), and Carleton University's Kroeger Award for Ethics (2003). His book *When Freedoms Collide* was short-listed for the prestigious Governor General's Award in 1988.

[James Walker (2nd ed.)]

BOROVOY, SAUL (1903–1989), Soviet historian dealing mainly with the history of Ukrainian and Russian Jewry, as well as the financial history of Russia. He was born into a well-to-do Odessa family (his father was a lawyer) that was on a friendly footing with the city's leading Jewish cultural figures. Borovoy graduated from a business college and the university's law faculty, studied at the Archaeological Institute, and worked from 1922 at the Jewish academic library. In 1927–30 he worked in the central academic library in Odessa, and earned his Ph.D. in pedagogy, publishing his thesis on academic libraries in Kiev in 1930. In 1938 he received a Ph.D. in history and economics. From 1934 to 1977, apart from the war and the 1952–54 period, when he was accused of cosmopolitism and dismissed, he was lecturer at the Institute of Economics in Odessa. Between the world wars, when the Soviet authorities encouraged the Marxist approach to Jewish history, Borovoy produced several works on Jewish themes in Ukrainian, Russian, Yiddish, and Hebrew. Among his important works is "Jewish Farm Colonies in Old Russia" (1928). In his 1940 work "Descriptions of the History of the Jews in the Ukraine in the 16–18th Centuries," he argued that during the *Chmielnicki uprising the Jews were not only victims but also a party to the war, the rich siding with the Poles and the poor with the Cossacks, a "class approach" thesis rejected by most historians. After he returned to Odessa in 1944 he wrote about the Holocaust of the Jews of Odessa (published only in 1990 in the Yiddish magazine *Sovietish Heimland*). After the liquidation of Jewish culture in 1947–48 Borovoy had to stop his research in Jewish history and started dealing with economic-historical problems. He wrote about Russian banks in the 17–18th centuries, private commercial banks in the Ukraine at the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century, and the economic views of the Decembrists and of various writers and poets as expressed in their works (such as Pushkin). In the 1960s and 1970s he returned to Jewish historical problems. He wrote several entries, like Gretz, Dubnov, Pale of Settlement, in the *Encyclopedia of History*. His "History of Jewish Public Thought in the First Half of the 19th Century" remained unpublished. Near the end of his life he wrote a letter to Communist Party Secretary Yakovlev criticizing Romanenko's "Essence of Zionism," which was based on Borovoy's own descriptions of the Ukraine in the 17th century. His memoirs were published in Moscow in 1993 by the Jewish University there.

[Shmuel Spector (2nd ed.)]

BOROVSKY, ALEXANDER (1889–1968), pianist. Born in Mitau (Latvia), Borovsky studied first in Moscow with Safonov, then at the St. Petersburg Conservatory with Esipova from 1907 until 1912, and in the latter year won the Rubinstein Prize. From 1915 to 1920, he taught master classes at the Moscow Conservatory, and then embarked upon a successful international career as a concert pianist. He settled in the United States in 1941 and was appointed professor at Boston University in 1956.

BOROWITZ, EUGENE B. (1924–), U.S. theologian, rabbi, leader of liberal Judaism. Raised in Columbus, Ohio, by Eastern European immigrant parents of Litvak ancestry, Borowitz received his undergraduate degree from Ohio State University in 1943, with a focus in philosophy, and subsequently attended Hebrew Union College in Cincinnati, where he was ordained rabbi in 1948. Following ordination Borowitz initially served a congregation in St. Louis and later returned to HUC to pursue a Ph.D., but with the outbreak of the Korean War he entered the Navy and for two years served as a chaplain. At the same time, Borowitz worked toward a D.H.L. (Doctor of Hebrew Letters) degree in rabbinic literature, which he completed with distinction in 1952. He later became founding rabbi of the Community Synagogue in Port Washington, New York (where he remained active until 2000), and began to pursue a Ph.D. in religion from the joint program of Columbia University and Protestant Union Theological Seminary. After he was appointed director of the Religious Education Department of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations in 1957, Borowitz turned toward the field of education proper and earned an Ed.D. in 1958 from Columbia University.

Borowitz understood early on that a new kind of thinking was necessary which could build on the work of the early modern German religious thinkers, and yet take the modern American Jewish reality seriously. Already in 1965 he wrote on the transition from impressionist worship to expressionist prayer, representing a relatively early attempt to grapple with the impact of existentialism, phenomenology, neo-Orthodoxy, and revisionist theology.

Borowitz's early independent study of Jewish philosophy led him, with fellow student and and lifetime friend Arnold Jacob *Wolf, to the non-rationalist thought of Martin *Buber and Franz *Rosenzweig. While Borowitz was tempted to embrace their religious existentialist positions, and while he was attracted to their understanding of the relationship between the self and God, he was deeply troubled by Buber's rejection of the possibility of absolute knowledge and his overemphasis on the autonomy of the individual independent of any uniquely Jewish commanding covenantal relationship with God. Borowitz began to develop an understanding of the commanding nature of covenant and was the first to introduce and explore the idea of "covenant theology" in 1961.

Borowitz initially demonstrated his systematic scholarship with an existentialist theology of Judaism in three books published in 1968–69: *A New Jewish Theology in the Making, A Layman's Guide to Religious Existentialism,* and *How Can A Jew Speak of Faith Today?* His most accessible book in this area is *Choices in Modern Jewish Thought* (1995), which outlines the development of Jewish thought from Moses *Mendelssohn through the establishment of the fields of postmodern and feminist Jewish thought.

About his early intellectual inquiry, Borowitz wrote: "Instead of becoming another confirmed mid-century agnostic, I became convinced that only belief could now found, even mandate, our strong sense of personal and human values." Given the crises of values and lack of moral absolutes invoked by the horror of the Holocaust, he realized that modern thought was deeply in need of a meaningful revitalization.

Borowitz was particularly conscious of the impact of the Holocaust and the rebirth of Jewish statehood in Israel on the psyche of American Jews, yet unlike other modern Jewish thinkers who put these events at the center of their systems, Borowitz began a lengthy process of developing a theology that was uniquely American and which represented their "pragmatic aesthetic and a pioneering, even confrontational, assault on the status quo." Borowitz has since argued that the pivotal issue that shaped a century's Jewish thought has been a standing commitment to the "commanding power of ethics" and not any issue resulting from the Holocaust or the establishment of the Jewish state.

Borowitz's commitment to human values, from the perspective of Jewish texts, led him to develop his thinking specifically about the nature of Jewish ethics. As part of his efforts to go beyond the work of Buber and Rosenzweig he identified, in his essay "A Life of Jewish Learning," "the problem of a theology of '*halakhah*,' of what non-Orthodox Jews believed that should impel them to observe more than, as we still called it then, the Moral Law." Borowitz also widened his understanding of theology to include the larger claim that, in general, Jewish theology is Judaism's "meta-*halakhah*, the belief which impels and guides our duties." He candidly wrote: "We know we are commanded but …we have no widespread understanding of Who or What authoritatively commands us, and how such a thing is possible …"

His own commitment to ethical response as a Jewish duty compelled Borowitz to engage in social action, which for many liberal rabbis was often the most natural expression of a liberal Jewish commitment to universal ethics. In 1964, Borowitz went with several rabbis join Martin Luther King, Jr., in St. Augustine, Florida, at a demonstration for civil rights following King's appeal to the CCAR conference. After 15 rabbis were arrested for praying as an integrated group, they asked Borowitz to write up from the notes of the rabbis' conversation in jail why they went, which later was a front page story in the *New York Times.*

Borowitz further developed the idea of covenant theology in his most comprehensive work on theology, *Renewing the Covenant* (1991). He identified a postmodern theology as that in which the Jewish people renews its Covenant with God in a way which compels each of us to live a Judaism in which liberalism and the categories of traditional practice created by rabbinic Judaism are complementary rather than competing modes of thought.

Much of Borowitz's work concerns itself with the dilemma of the postmodern Jew: committed to autonomy but necessarily involved with God, Torah, and Israel. Borowitz writes: "The postmodern search for a substitute absolute began as it became clear that modernity had betrayed our faith. Repelled by the social disarray and moral anarchy around us, we are attracted by systems – which provided clear cut, authoritative direction, in other words, which offer a strong, at least strongish, Absolute." "I believe," writes Borowitz in the autobiographical essay "A Life of Jewish Learning," that "we come to God these days primarily as the ground of our values and, in a non-Orthodox but nonetheless compelling fashion, as the 'commander' of our way of life."

From 1962, Borowitz taught Jewish philosophy and theology at the Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion in New York. HUC-JIR awarded him the title Distinguished University Professor, the first time it was awarded at an American Jewish seminary. Borowitz was also awarded several prizes, including the prestigious Lifetime Achievement Award in Scholarship of the National Foundation for Jewish Culture in 1996. In 2002 the Jewish Publication Society included him in its Scholars of Distinction series with the publication of *Studies in the Meaning of Judaism*, a selection of his papers over the course of 50 years. Also among the more than 17 books that Borowitz wrote are *The Mask Jews Wear,* which received the National Jewish Book Award in 1974 in the field of Jewish thought, and an extensive evaluation of the role of theology and *aggadah* in the Talmud in *The Talmud's Theological Language-Game* (2005). In 1970, Borowitz became the founding editor and publisher of *Sh'ma, a Journal of Jewish Responsibility*.

In addition to his work in the fields of modern Jewish thought and ethics, Borowitz has engaged directly in Jewish-Christian theological dialogue from a positive stance, a product of both historical-political and historical-religious concerns. Since participating in the first formal Jewish-Catholic Colloquy held in the United States in 1965 and thereafter in his book *Contemporary Christologies: A Jewish Response*

(1980), Borowitz has sought to preserve full religious dignity and honesty in such theological exchanges.

[Rachel Sabath Beit Halachmi (2nd ed.)]

BOROWITZ, SIDNEY (1919–), U.S. physicist. Borowitz was born in New York. He received his master's degree and doctorate from New York University and began his academic career as an instructor there. Apart from a two-year tutorial in quantum electrodynamics at Harvard University with Julian *Schwinger (1948–49), after which he returned to New York University as assistant professor of physics, he spent his entire academic life at NYU, teaching at both the Bronx and Washington Square campuses. He became chairman of the department of physics at the Bronx campus in 1961 and dean of the University College of Arts and Science in 1969. In April 1972 he was appointed chancellor and executive vice president of the university, the first alumnus of the university to hold the dual post since its creation in 1960. In 1965 he was awarded the John F. Kennedy Memorial Fellowship by the Weizmann Institute in Israel, spending a year in Reḥovot. Borowitz wrote some 30 scientific papers and three books.

[Ruth Rossing (2nd ed.)]

°**BORROMEO, CARLO** (1538–1584), cardinal, archbishop of Milan. In the course of his campaign for reform, which had firmly impressed itself on the spirit of the Council of Trent (1545–63), Borromeo convened a number of provincial councils in Milan of which the first (1565) and the fifth (1579) in particular passed legislation concerning the Jews. Among other provisions, it was stipulated that bishops were to arrange that missionary sermons should be delivered to the Jews by preachers with knowledge of Hebrew and of Jewish customs. Jewish attendance at the sermons was obligatory, the children being separated from their parents. Those who then declared themselves willing to be baptized would be placed in homes for *catechumens where they would receive the appropriate instruction. The fifth council provided that those who had already been baptized should be given accommodation in homes for neophytes, and imposed a series of special, strictly supervised obligations on the new converts to ensure that they would remain steadfast in the Catholic faith.

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[Bernhard Blumenkranz]

BORSA (Rom. **Borşa**), mountain village in Northern Transylvania, Maramures region, Romania; within Hungary before 1918 and from 1940 to 1944. Jewish communal life had developed there by 1751. According to local Hasidic legend, *Israel b. Eliezer Ba'al Shem Tov visited the village. At the beginning of the 19th century there were nearly 250 Jewish residents. Hasidism was strong in Borsa. Many Jews there were occupied in agriculture, forestry, and lumbering as manual laborers; Jews also owned lumber mills and woodworking plants. The community numbered 1,432 in 1891 (out of a total population of 6,219), 1,972 in 1910 (out of 9,332), and 2,486 in 1930 (out of 11,230). On July 4, 1930, the Jewish quarter was destroyed by fire – a clear act of arson prompted by the *Iron Guard.

After the annexation of Northern Transylvania by Hungary in September 1940, the Jews were subjected to the anti-Jewish laws already in effect in Hungary. After the German occupation, the Jews were placed in a local ghetto, from which they were transferred to the concentration and entrainment center of *Viseul-de-Sus (Hg. Felsövisó) together with the Jews from the neighboring communities in the district of Viseul-de-Sus. The Jews of Borsa were among the approximately 9,100 Jews who were deported from Viseul-de-Sus in three transports on May 19, May 21, and May 25, respectively. Of those who returned, 395 were living in Borsa in 1947. Their number subsequently decreased, with most emigrating to Israel, and only two or three families remained in the 1970s.

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[Yehouda Marton / Randolph Braham (2nd ed.)]

BORSIPPA, the modern Birs Nimrud, city in Babylonia, south of the city of Babylon and the river Euphrates, and connected with Babylon by the Barsip canal. In medieval times it was known as Burs (a similar form occurs in Av. Zar. 11b; Kid, 72a). Because of its proximity to Babylon, and possibly also on account of its importance, it was sometimes referred to by the Babylonians as "the second Babylon." Famous in the Hellenistic period for its school of astrologers (Strabo, 16:1,7 (739); cf. also Jos., Apion, 1:151f.), it had, as late as talmudic times, a temple dedicated to Nebo, the deity of the city, which was enumerated among the "five temples appointed for idol worship" (Av. Zar. 11b). The sages held the ruins of the tower at Borsippa to be those of the Tower of Babel (Sanh. 109a; Gen. R. 38:11) and the contemporary Babylon to be located on the site of the ancient Borsippa (Shab. 36a; Suk. 34a). Benjamin of Tudela, who visited the place, relates: "From there (i.e., Hillah which is near Babylon) it is four miles to the Tower of Babel, which was built of bricks by the generation whose language was confounded…. The length of its foundation is about two miles, the breadth of the tower is about forty cubits, and the length thereof two hundred cubits. At every ten cubits' distance there are slopes which go around the tower, by which one can ascend to the top. One can see from there a view twenty miles in extent, as the land is level. There fell fire from heaven into the midst of the tower, which split to its very depths." In talmudic times Borsippa had an important Jewish population with the most distinguished genealogy of all the Babylonian Jews (Kid. 72a).

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[Yehoshua M. Grintz]

BORSOOK, HENRY (1897–1984), U.S. biochemist. He was born in London. After working at the University of Toronto until 1929, Borsook went to the California Institute of Technology, becoming professor of biochemistry there in 1935. During World War II he served on the War Production Board, the Committee on Nutrition in Industry of the National Research Council, the War Food Administration, and the Food and Nutrition Board. His contributions to scientific journals were concerned with nutrition, vitamins, amino acids, the biosynthesis of proteins, the thermodynamics, energetics, and kinetics of metabolic reactions, and erythropoiesis. He wrote *Vitamins – What They Are and How They Can Benefit You* (1940); jointly with W. Huse, *Vitamins For Health* (1942); and *Action Now on the World Food Problem* (1968). Borsook was vice president of the American Association of Scientific Workers.

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[Samuel Aaron Miller]

BOSAK, MEIR (1912–1992), Hebrew writer. Bosak was born in Cracow, Poland, and studied in Warsaw. During World War II, he was interned in Cracow ghetto and in concentration camps. He emigrated to Israel in 1949 and taught in Tel Aviv. From 1929 he published articles in Polish and Hebrew on the history of Polish Jewry, and wrote essays on Hebrew literature and stories and poems. His works include *Be-Nogah ha-Seneh* (1933), *Ve-Attah Eini Ra'atekha* (1957), *Ba-Rikkud ke-Neged ha-Levanah* (1960; poems), *Aḥar Esrim Shanah* (1963; poems), and *Mul Ḥalal u-Demamah* (1966); *Sulam ve-Rosho* (1978); *Ẓamarot bi-Tefillah* (1984); *Rak Demamah po Titpalal* (1990); *Mul Sha'ar ha-Raḥamim* (1995), and the collection of essays *Shorashim ve-Ẓamarot* (1990).

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[Getzel Kressel]

BOSCHWITZ, RUDOLPH ELI ("Rudy"; 1930–), U.S. senator, businessman. The son of Ely and Lucy (Dawidawicz) Boschwitz, Rudy Boschwitz was born in Berlin, where his father was a prosperous stockbroker. When Hitler became German chancellor in January 1933, the Boschwitzes fled first to Czechoslovakia and then to Switzerland, the Netherlands, England, and finally, in 1935, the United States.

Boschwitz received his early education in the public schools of New Rochelle, New York. At sixteen, he entered Johns Hopkins University in Baltimore, Maryland, and then transferred to New York University, where he earned a B.S. in business in 1950 at age 20 and an LL.B. in 1953. Shortly after passing the New York bar exam in 1954, Boschwitz served two years in the United States Army. After practicing law for two years in New York he joined his brother's growing plywood business in Wisconsin in 1957. Seven years later, he moved on to Minnesota, where he founded his own business, a store stocking do-it-yourself building items, paneling, lumber, and assorted building items. He called it Plywood Minnesota. By the time he was 45, Boschwitz had 67 Plywood Minnesota franchises throughout the upper Midwest.

Boschwitz became a household name by appearing in his company's attention-getting, often ridiculous television advertisements. He became increasingly active in Republican politics. In 1978, he successfully ran for the United States Senate.

Entering the United States Senate in January 1979, Boschwitz was appointed to the Committee on Foreign Relations, where naturally he devoted his energies to the issue of refugees. Boschwitz was easily reelected to a second term in 1984.

During his 16 years in the Senate, Boschwitz was also a strong – though not thoroughly uncritical – supporter of Israel. He was influential during his second six-year term on Capitol Hill as chair of the Foreign Relations Subcommittee on Near Eastern Affairs as well as chair of the Republican Senate Campaign Committee. A Reform Jew, Boschwitz contributed heavily to the Lubavitch House in St. Paul and served as state chair of the Minneapolis Jewish Fund. Within the Senate, he was well known for "playing matchmaker with single Jews on his and other Capitol Hill staffs."

In 1990 Rudy Boschwitz was challenged for reelection by Carleton College Professor Paul David *Wellstone. Like the conservative Boschwitz, the liberal Wellstone was a Jew. The race represented the first time in American history that two Jewish candidates had vied for the same Senate seat. And despite the fact that Minnesota has a tiny Jewish population – less than 1% of the total – the election hinged in large part on the issue of who was the better Jew. In a letter signed by 72 of his Jewish supporters, and sent out to Jewish voters, Boschwitz scored Wellstone for having married a non-Jewish woman and charged that his opponent "took no part in Jewish affairs and has not raised his children as Jews." The strategy backfired; Wellstone defeated Boschwitz by nearly 50,000 votes. Following his defeat, Boschwitz was named President George H.W. Bush's special emissary to Ethiopia. Boschwitz's mission resulted in "Operation Solomon," one of the boldest humanitarian airlifts in history; within a single 24-hour period, 14,000 Ethiopian Jews were evacuated to Israel.

Eager for a rematch against Wellstone, Boschwitz passed up running for an open Senate seat – a political rarity – in 1994. He got what he wanted, but lost by more than 100,000 votes. In 2005 he was named American ambassador to the United Nations Commission on Human Rights.

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[Kurt Stone (2nd ed.)]

BOSCO, MONIQUE (1927–), Canadian writer. Bosco was born in Vienna and spent her childhood in France, where she was educated. She immigrated to Canada in 1948 and attended the Université de Montréal where she obtained her Ph.D. in 1953, with a thesis on the theme of isolation in the French-Canadian novel. After working for many years as a freelance journalist for Canada's francophone public broadcasting network and for a number of newspapers and magazines, she obtained a position in 1963 at the French Studies Department of the Université de Montréal. Her first novel, entitled *Un amour maladroit*, published in Paris in 1961, won the First Novel Award in the United States. In 1971 her novel, *La femme de Loth*, won the Governor General's Award in Canada and was translated in 1975 by John Glassco as *Lot's Wife*. It is the story of a mature woman who reminisces about the trajectory of her life at the moment when she finds herself suddenly abandoned by her lover and in a mood of despair. Bosco has published ten other novels, all dealing with the uprooting of emigration, feminine isolation, and the bitterness of existence. She is also the author of four short-story collections and books of poetry. Bosco was awarded the Athanase-David prize in 1996 in recognition for her life's work.

[Pierre Anctil (2nd ed.)]

BOSCOVITCH, ALEXANDER URIYAH (1907–1964), Israeli composer and music critic. Born in Klausenburg (Cluj), Romania, Boscovitch studied piano with Hevesi Piroska and then, in Vienna with Victor Ebenstein and in Paris with Paul *Dukas (composition) and Lazar *Levi (piano). He became conductor of the Klausenburg Opera orchestra, and of a Jewish symphony orchestra (named after Karl Goldmark) which he founded. In 1938 he was invited to Palestine for the first performance of his *Sharsheret ha-Zahav* ("The Golden Chain"), an orchestral suite based on East European Jewish melodies. He decided to remain in the country and became one of the pioneers of Israeli music – songs, chamber music, music for the theater, concertos, and symphonies. Boscovitch was one of the founders of the Tel Aviv Academy of Music (1944), where he taught theory and composition. In 1956 he became music critic of the daily *Haaretz*. His ideology involved the expectation that an Israeli composer would avoid any personal Romantic expression and derive inspiration from the landscape and the Hebrew language, as well as from Arabic. In the early 1940s he composed four songs for the Yemenite singer Bracha *Zephira and made arrangements of Arabic instrumental music for the dancer Yardena *Cohen. In 1942 he composed a violin concerto and the following year an oboe concerto (revised version 1950) which is typical of his attempt to achieve a synthesis of oriental and western forms. His *Semitic Suite* (1946), in two slightly different versions – one for orchestra and one for piano solo – was an experiment in transferring the tone color of Oriental instruments to western ones. The composition drew from the folk music of both the Arabs and the Jews in Ereẓ Israel at that time. In 1962 his cantata *Bat Yisrael* ("Daughter of Israel"), based on a text by the poet Bialik, marked the beginning of his preoccupation with the relationship between music and the Hebrew language, which is evident in *Concerto di Camera* (1962) for violin and ten other instruments. His last complete composition, *Adayim*, drew its inspiration from Exodus 15. This work for flute and orchestra utilizes the rhythmic and poetic characteristics of the Hebrew text and the liturgy of Yemenite Jews. Boscovitch also wrote theater music and songs; his most famous song is *Dudu* (1948) to lyrics by Ḥayim *Hefer. His writings include *Kelet es Nyugat Kozott* ("The Problems of Jewish Music," 1937) and *Ba'ayat ha-Musikah ha-Mekorit be-Yisrael* ("The Problem of Original Music in Israel," 1953). His personal archive is at the JNUL Music Department.

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[Herzl Shmueli / Gila Flam and Israela Stein (2nd ed.)]

BOSHAL (BOSTAL), MOSES BEN SOLOMON (17th century), rabbi. Brought to Safed from Sidon by his father when he was 12 years old, Moses studied there with important rabbis. At age 25, when forced to leave because of a series of calamitous events, Moses moved to Rhodes, becoming a rabbi in that community. His only extant work, *Yismaḥ Moshe* (Smyrna, 1675), written after years of preaching every Sabbath and holiday, contains several sermons for each Sabbath or festival Torah reading. The sermons are primarily commentaries on the Torah text, although explanations of midrashic literature, which he frequently employed, are also found. From his quotations from the Zohar in the introduction to the book – where he also includes an autobiography – Moses appears to have been familiar with kabbalistic literature. Another unpublished work, *Simḥat Moshe*, is mentioned in the proofreader's introduction to *Yismaḥ Moshe*.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Zunz, Vortraege, 445; S. Ḥazzan, *Ha-Ma'alot li-Shelomo* (1968²), 55b no. 38.

°BOSHAM, HERBERT DE (before 1139–c. 1194), companion and biographer of Archbishop Thomas Becket. Born in Bosham, England, he studied in Paris under Peter Lombard, and studied Hebrew probably under Andrew of St. Victor. In addition to editing the Lombard's (thereafter standard) *Great Gloss* to the Pauline Epistles and to the Psalter, he composed (after 1190) a commentary on Jerome's literal Latin translation of the *Psalms* (*iuxta Hebraeos*). Herbert's work is replete with midrashic and other Jewish material taken mainly from Rashi, through whom he quotes by name *Menahem b. Jacob Ibn Saruq and *Dunash ibn Labrat; but the commentary, which is known from a unique manuscript in London (St. Paul's Cathedral), apparently was ignored until it was rediscovered in the 20th century. It is said that his Hebrew studies at times caused him to doubt the truth of Christianity.

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[Raphael Loewe]

BOSKOFF, ALVIN (1927–), U.S. sociologist. Born in New York, Boskoff received his Ph.D. from the University of North Carolina in 1950. He taught sociology at several universities and from 1964 was professor at Emory University in Atlanta, Georgia. Boskoff's main interest was the application of general sociological theories to specialized studies with particular emphasis on power, decision-making, and processes of social change. His theoretical work is embodied in *Modern Sociological Theory in Continuity and Change* (with Howard Becker, 1957), *Sociology and History* (with Werner J. Cahnman, 1964), and in his paper, "Functional Analysis as a Source of a Theoretical Repertory and Research Tasks in the Study of Social Change," in G.K. Zollschan and W. Hirsh (eds.), *Explorations in Social Change* (1964). Boskoff's own specialized research was concerned chiefly with problems of the urban community and with political sociology. He also wrote *The Sociology of Urban Regions: Juvenile Delinquency in Norfolk, Virginia* (1962), *Theory in American Sociology* (1969), *The Mosaic of Sociological Theory* (1972), and *Sociology: The Study of Man in Adaptation* (with John T. Doby and William W. Pendleton, 1973). Boskoff was an associate editor of the *American Sociological Review*. In 1979 he served as chair of the Theory Council of the American Sociological Association. As professor emeritus at Emory University, his realms of interest encompassed sociological theory, comparative urban structures, stratification, social change, mass media, and lifestyle.

[Werner J. Cahnman / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

BOSKOVICE (Ger. **Boskowitz**), town in Moravia, Czech Republic. Its Jewish community was one of the oldest and, from the 17th to 19th centuries, one of the most important. A Jewish tombstone there was thought to date from 1069. Jews from Boskovice are mentioned in decisions of the Brno municipal high court in 1243. The community began to flourish after Jews expelled from Brno in 1454 settled in Boskovice, welcomed by the local nobility in the expectation that they would make a significant contribution to the economic prosperity and growth of the town. Developing into a famous center of yeshivah studiy, the town attracted talmudic scholars from Poland, Germany, and elsewhere. The local population was hostile to Jews, however, and attempted to curtail Jewish economic activity, but the local congregation was able to acquire numerous privileges over the centuries. It was able to elect its own mayor, write statutes, and establish its own police force. In 1565 Jews there owned real estate but were prohibited from doing business in the surrounding villages. The statutes of the *ḥevra kaddisha* were compiled in 1657. There were 26 Jewish houses in Boskovice in 1676. The synagogue was built in 1698, 892 Jewish inhabitants died of the plague in 1715, and the Jewish quarter was put in quarantine for a year. A peculiar custom of the Boskovice community was to bury women who died in childbirth in a special section in the cemetery. A *gabbai* was appointed specially for the members of the *ḥevra kaddisha* who were *kohanim*. The Jews were segregated in a special quarter of the town in 1727. Discrimination against Jews ended only in 1848. The small walled ghetto witnessed numerous disasters, including fires, plague, and anti-Jewish riots. In the 15th through 18th centuries, the Jews engaged in trade and handicrafts. Among the artisans were producers of swords, jewelry, pottery, and glass, as well as tailors, butchers, and furriers. During the revolution of 1848 Jews in Boskovice joined the National Guard. A political community (see *Politische Gemeinde) was established in Boskovice after 1848 which became known for its municipal activities, in particular its fire brigade (founded in 1863). Toward the end of the 19th century many Jews moved away from Boskovice. Between the two world wars Boskovice became a summer resort and was frequented by many Jews.

The community numbered 300 families in 1793; 326 families (1,595 persons) in 1829; 2,018 persons in 1857; 598 in 1900 (when 116 houses were owned by Jews); and 395 in 1930 (6% of the total population), of whom 318 declared their nationality as Jewish. Boskovice was a noted center of Jewish learning. Among rabbis who lived there were Judah Loeb Issachar Baer Oppenheim (appointed rabbi in 1704), Nathan Adler (1782), who was followed by his disciple Moses *Sofer; Samuel ha-Levi *Kolin and his son Benjamin Ze'ev *Boskowitz, whose yeshivah made Boskovice celebrated; Abraham *Placzek, who was Moravian *Landesrabbiner* from 1851 to 1884; and Solomon *Funk. The Zionist president of the Vienna community, Desider *Friedmann, and his non-Zionist deputy Josef Ticho, were school friends from Boskovice. Also from Boskovice were the German writer Hermann Ungar (1893–1929), who was part of Franz Kafka's circle, the Jerusalem eye specialist Abraham *Ticho, the historian Oskar K. *Rabinowicz, and the Brno textile-industrialist *Loew-Beer. Other locally born personalities included Moritz Zobel, the Berlin editor of the *Encyclopedia Judaica*, and the choreographer Augustin Berger (Razesberger; 1861–1945). The Jews who remained in Boskovice after the German occupation (1939) were deported to Theresienstadt on March 14–15, 1943, and from there to Treblinka, Majdanek, and Auschwitz. Ritual objects belonging to the congregation were sent to the Central Jewish Museum in Prague in 1942. Only a few Jews resettled there after the Holocaust, the congregation being administered by the Brno community. The Jewish quarter has been preserved, to a large degree in accordance with its original plan.

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[Isaac Ze'ev Kahane]

BOSKOWITZ, BENJAMIN ZE'EV (Wolf) HA-LEVI (1740–1818), rabbi and author. Named after his birthplace, he was the son of Samuel *Kolin, the author of *Maḥaẓit ha-Shekel*. In 1785 he was rabbi in Aszod (Pest district), and Prossnitz (Moravia) from 1786 to 1790. From there he returned to Alt-Ofen (Buda, part of Budapest) where he had previously resided. In 1793 he was appointed rabbi of Pest. From 1797 to 1802 he served in Balassagyarmat; he then was invited to the rabbinate of *Kolin (Bohemia), but the government refused him permission to settle there because he was by then a Hungarian subject. From about 1810 he was rabbi in Bonyhad.

Boskowitz' glosses on the Babylonian Talmud were first printed in the Vienna edition of 1830 and frequently ever since. His annotations to Maimonides' *Mishneh Torah* were partly published (to *Sefer ha-Madda* (Prague, 1820), to *Hilkhot Shabbat* (Jerusalem, 1902), to *Hilkhot Shevitat Asor* (1940), and to *Hilkhot Ḥamez u-Mazzah* (1941)). He also wrote: *Ma'amar Esther* – sermons on the Bible and *aggadah* (Ofen, 1822); *Shoshan Edut*, to the tractate *Eduyyot* (1903–05); and *Le-Binyamin Amar*, a commentary on the sayings of *Rabbah b. Ḥana in *Bava Batra* 73 (*ibid.*, 1905). Boskowitz corresponded with R. Ezekiel Landau of Prague on halakhic problems (cf. *Noda bi-Yhudah, Mahadurah Tinyanah*, OH 25:60, 61, and YD 14:45, 80, passim).

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[Moshe Nahum Zobel]

BOSKOWITZ, ḤAYYIM BEN JACOB (18th century), rabbi and author. Little is known of his life, other than that he was born in Jerusalem and apparently lived there for many years. The evidence for this is that when he traveled abroad, apparently with the object of publishing his work, he referred to himself as "from the holy city of Jerusalem." His work, *Toẓe'ot Ḥayyim*, homiletical comments on the Pentateuch, with an exposition of the moral values to be learned from each verse, was published in Amsterdam in 1764. The bibliographer *Benjacob alone gives the date as 1760. The work was printed, along with the Pentateuch, together with the commentaries of Rashi, R. Samuel b. Meir (Rashbam), and Abraham ibn Ezra. A new edition appeared in Vienna in 1794. *Toẓe'ot Ḥayyim* was also published without the Pentateuch, but with various additions, at Zolkiev in 1772. At the time, Boskowitz was living at Brody, Galicia. He seems to have been in Poland as early as 1769, when he wrote an approbation *Leḥem Terumah* of Aaron b. Isaiah on the *Sefer ha-Terumah*.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Fuenn, Keneset, 344; Frumkin-Rivlin, 3 (1929), 83, addenda 45.

[Itzhak Alfassi]

BOSNIAK, JACOB (1887–1963), U.S. Conservative rabbi. Bosniak was born in Russia, immigrated to the U.S. in 1903, and completed his rabbinical studies at the Rabbi Isaac Elchanan Yeshivah, an Orthodox seminary, in 1907. In 1917, he was ordained at the Jewish Theological Seminary, where he earned a Doctor of Hebrew Letters in 1933. In 1921, after having served Congregation Shearith Israel in Dallas, Texas, he became rabbi of the Ocean Parkway Jewish Center in Brooklyn, N.Y., a congregation he was to serve for 28 years. He was president of the Brooklyn Board of Rabbis (1938–40), chairman of the *Rabbinical Assembly's Rabbinic Ethics Committee (1945–48) and a judge (*dayyan*) and member of the Board of Directors of the Jewish Conciliation Board of America. Believing in the need for a uniform prayer book (*siddur*) with modern English translations, Bosniak published several prayer books that gained wide acceptance in Conservative synagogues. He edited *Prayers of Israel* (1925, 19373) and *Anthology of Prayer* (1958), prayer books that included English translations of Sabbath and Holiday prayers, English hymns, responsive readings, and instructions related to worship in English. In 1944, he published *Interpreting Jewish Life: The Sermons and Addresses of Jacob Bosniak*. Upon his retirement in 1949, Bosniak was elected rabbi emeritus and devoted his time to Jewish scholarship, publishing a critical edition of *The Commentary of David Kimhi on the Fifth Book of Psalms* (1954).

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[Bezalel Gordon (2nd ed.)]

BOSPHORUS, KINGDOM OF, ancient state, independent until 110 B.C.E. when it became part of the Roman Empire. It is not certain when Jews reached the northern littoral of the Black Sea (the Crimea and the shores of the Sea of Azov within the boundaries of the Cimmerian Bosphorus), but Jews were already living there in the first century, in, among other places, the towns of Panticapaecum (now Kerch), Phanagoria, and Tanais. It appears that they lived under congenial conditions. They developed well-organized communities, erected synagogues, which served as communal centers, and were even organized in the "Thiasoi," characteristic of Hellenistic society, by which they were greatly influenced. They, in turn, according to all indications, exercised appreciable influence on non-Jewish circles, and there is reason to believe that they engaged in proselytizing activity. The main source of knowledge of the Jews of the Bosphorus kingdom is from inscriptions. One of the most important, dated 81 C.E., from Panticapaeum, reads, "… I, Chreste… have manumitted my home-born slave, Herakles… who may turn whithersoever he desires… he is not however [to forsake] the fear of heaven and attachment to the synagogue [προσευχή] under the supervision of the community [συναγωγή] of the Jews." In many of the inscriptions there appears a formula of oaths beginning, "I swear by Zeus, Ge, and Helios." There is a difference of opinion as to whether these inscriptions are Jewish.

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[Uriel Rappaport]

°**BOSSUET, JACQUES BENIGNE** (1627–1704), celebrated French preacher. Bossuet was canon in Metz (1652–56), bishop of Condom (1669), tutor to the dauphin (1670–81), and bishop of Meaux (1681). It was chiefly while living in Metz that he had the opportunity to take an interest in the Jews. Many of his sermons from this period of residence in Metz were intended to further missionary work among the Jews. In his sermon on "The Goodness and Severity of God toward Sinners," he emphasized the unhappy state of the Jews, from which, he considered, they could free themselves only by becoming converted to Christianity. He described them as a "monstrous people, without hearth or home, without a country and of every country; once the happiest in the world, now the laughing stock and object of hatred of the whole world; wretched, without being pitied for being so, in its misery become, by a certain curse, scorned even by the most moderate… we see before our eyes the remains of their shipwreck which God has thrown, as it were, at our doors." The only success of this missionary activity was the conversion of two young brothers: Charles-Marie de Veil, baptized in 1654, and Lewis Compiègne de *Veil, baptized in 1655.

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[Bernhard Blumenkranz]

BOSTON, capital and principal city of Massachusetts. The Jewish population of Greater Boston was estimated at 254,000 (2000).

Early History

Though Boston is one of the oldest cities in North America, having been first settled in 1628, it was not until the mid-19th century that an organized Jewish community took shape. The records of the Great and General Court of Massachusetts Bay show that in 1649 Solomon Franco, a Jew, arrived in Boston, was "warned out" by the court, and was supported for ten weeks until he could return to Holland. A 1674 tax list discloses the presence of two Jews. In 1720 Isaac Lopez was elected town constable; he paid a fine rather than serve. Judah Monis, who later became a Christian and taught Hebrew at Harvard College, arrived in Boston by 1720. Moses Michael Hays (1739–1805) arrived there around 1776 and was a well-known citizen. He was among the Bank of Boston's original stockholders and was instrumental in establishing Masonry in New England. There is a tradition that some Algerian Jews arrived about 1830 but did not remain.

The first congregation was Ohabei Shalom, which formally organized in 1843. It followed *Minhag Polin*, since a preponderance of local Jews came from East and West Prussia, Poland, Posen, and Pomerania. In 1844 the Boston City Council, reversing an earlier refusal, permitted the congregation to purchase land for a cemetery. That same year, the congregation held services in a house and in 1852 its first synagogue was dedicated. In 1854 a secession, apparently of the Southwestern German element in Ohabei Shalom, led to the formation of a second congregation, Adath Israel (generally known as Temple Israel). A third congregation, Mishkan Israel (later Mishkan Tefilla), was formed in 1858 largely by immigrants from Krotoszyn. Boston Jewry was small and more Polish than German, unlike the communities of the Midwest. In 1875, the Jewish population was estimated to number only 3,000. By 1900, thanks to immigrants from Eastern Europe, it had reached 40,000. East European Jews dominated the community by World War I, when some 80,000–90,000 Jews lived in Boston, mostly recent immigrants or their children.

Population Trends

The earliest settlers resided in the South End, but from the early 1880s growing numbers of East European Jews settled in the North End. As the immigration from Eastern Europe increased, the Jewish community spread over to the West End. Both these areas stood at the tip of the peninsula forming the oldest part of the city. Subsequently, the Jewish community spread southward to Roxbury, Dorchester, Mattapan, and later to Sharon, westward to Brookline and later to Newton, and northward, across Boston Harbor to Chelsea and Malden. These movements were followed by further dispersion to the outer suburbs and along the shores of Massachusetts Bay, and synagogues were established in those areas. In 2004, the core of the Jewish community was in Brookline, Newton, and Sharon, but the community was rapidly dispersing to remote suburbs north, south, and west of the city.

The substantial immigration and the subsequent dispersal of the community produced a wide variety of organizations. Late 19th-and 20th-century Boston was divided between the Yankees who controlled its social, cultural, and financial institutions, and the Irish who dominated its politics, and this did not make it easy for the largely immigrant Jewish group to find a recognized place. Anti-Jewish violence peaked in Boston during the depression and World War II, partly inspired by Father Charles E. Coughlin and his Christian Front movement. The city was known as one of the most antisemitic in the United States. This changed in the postwar era as Catholic-Jewish relations improved and Jews departed to safer suburbs. Whereas at the beginning of the 20th century there was a substantial proletarian element, particularly in the garment industry, by 1969 71% of heads of families were in white-collar occupations. For a time, in the 1960s and 1970s, the largest group of Jews consisted of transient students, but by 2000 the community had aged. It nevertheless continues to boast the highest proportion of Jewish academics and students of any American community.

Religious Developments

Religious reform came late to Boston owing to its small German-Jewish population. It developed only in the 1870s when Ohabei Shalom and Temple Israel shortened their services and introduced choirs and organs. Reform of a more radical kind found expression in Temple Israel during the ministry of Solomon Schindler (1874–93) and was carried further by his successor Charles *Fleischer (1894–1911), who eventually left Judaism entirely. Under Harry Levi (1911–39) the congregation, while continuing Sunday services, returned to the Reform pattern usual in its day and embraced Zionism. Under the leadership of Rabbi Herman Rubenovitz, who served during 1910–45, Congregation Mishkan Tefilla became the standard-bearer of Conservative Judaism. Rabbi Louis M. Epstein, who served Kehillath Israel in Brookline during 1925–48, was among the most distinguished scholars in the Conservative movement. The immigration from Eastern Europe produced many Orthodox congregations, great and small. Among the more important were Beth Israel in the North End, Beth Jacob and Shaare Jerusalem, both in the West End, and Adath Israel (the Blue Hill Avenue Shul) in Roxbury. Among the leading Orthodox rabbis were Morris S. Margolies, who served during 1889–1906, and Gabriel *Margolis, 1907–10. From 1932 to 1993, Rabbi Dr. Joseph B. *Soloveitchik, one of the leading figures in American Orthodoxy, was identified with the Boston community. Levi I. Horowitz (1920–), reputedly the first American-born ḥasidic rebbe, returned to Boston in 1944, succeeding his father, Pinchas Dovid, who established the Bostoner ḥasidic line in 1915.

Of some 174 congregations in the Greater Boston area and its environs, 53 were Orthodox, 37 Conservative, 34 Reform, 5 Reconstructionist, and 45 other (2001). A survey of religious preferences indicated that 3 per cent of the Jewish population considered itself Orthodox, 33 per cent Conservative, 41 per cent Reform, 2 per cent Reconstructionist, and 20 per cent "other" or no preference. (1995). The Vaad Harabonim of Massachusetts provides *kashrut* supervision, while the Synagogue Council of Massachusetts, created in 1981, seeks to "promote and strengthen the synagogue, and to nurture a respect for diversity" within the community.

Charitable Institutions

The first specifically charitable institution was the United Hebrew Benevolent Association, founded in 1864. To this were added the Hebrew Ladies Sewing Society (organized in 1869 and revived in 1878), the Hebrew Industrial School (1890), the Free Burial Association (1891), and the Hebrew Sheltering Home (1891). By 1895 demand far exceeded income, resulting in the creation of the Federation of Jewish Charities of Boston, the first Jewish federation in the United States, later known as the Association of Jewish Philanthropies, later changed to Combined Jewish Philanthropies. At first the Federation and organized philanthropy made slow headway. Under the leadership of Louis E. Kirstein (1867–1942) the Federation developed considerably and became more comprehensive in its appeal. In 1902, against considerable opposition from some sections of the Jewish community, the Mt. Sinai Hospital, an outpatient clinic, was established in the West End. This was replaced in 1917 by the Beth Israel Hospital in Roxbury, which in 1928 moved to Brookline Avenue. In 1996, Beth Israel merged with New England Deaconess Hospital.

Schools and Colleges

In 1858 Congregation Ohabei Shalom established a day school for secular and religious subjects, which closed, however, in 1863. As the community grew, many congregational and other schools were founded. A Jewish Education Society was established in 1915. This organization promoted the association of Boston Hebrew Schools (1917) and the Bureau of Jewish Religious Schools (1918), which merged in 1920 to form the Bureau of Jewish Education. By 2000, it served as the central educational service agency for more than 140 Jewish schools, youth groups, summer camps, and adult education programs throughout the region, including 14 independent Jewish day schools under Orthodox, Conservative, Reform, and "transdenominational" auspices.

In 1921 the Bureau established Hebrew Teachers College (later *Hebrew College), and in 1927 the Commonwealth of Massachusetts granted the college a charter enabling it to confer degrees. At first established in Roxbury, it moved to Brookline in 1951 and to Newton in 2001.

The support given to the Bureau of Jewish Education and Hebrew College reflects an interest in Jewish education and culture far more extensive than in most communities. Seeking to "vastly expand Jewish literacy and learning and facilitate a Jewish cultural renaissance," Boston beginning in 1998 pioneered highly innovative programs in Jewish education, and became a national center for Jewish educational initiatives of every sort. Indeed, education – "quality educational programming for children, adults, and families" – became one of the Combined Jewish Philanthropies' top priorities. The engine underlying many of the Jewish educational advances in Boston is the area's remarkable community of academics who constitute, per capita, the largest number of Jewish scholars anywhere outside of Israel. In 2004, there were approximately 90 dedicated staff positions in Jewish studies at seven major private universities in the Boston area, with over 30 more similar positions at the colleges in Worcester and the Amherst area.

Boston was an early stronghold of the Zionist movement. Partly under the influence of Jacob de Haas, who edited the *Jewish Advocate* from 1908 to 1918, Louis D. Brandeis assumed a leading role in the movement, and his prestige had considerable influence in gaining support for it. By World War II, more than 90 per cent of Boston and New England Jews supported Zionism, a record unmatched anywhere in the United States.

In 2000, the Greater Boston metropolitan area, embracing large sections of New England, was the sixth largest Jewish metropolitan area in the United States, including some 10,500 Jews from the former Soviet Union, most of whom arrived after 1985. More than half of the community's Jews were engaged in professional and technical work, and 40 per cent of Jewish adults held advanced degrees.

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[Sefton D. Temkin / Jonathan D. Sarna (2nd ed.)]

BOTAREL, MOSES BEN ISAAC (end of 14th–beginning of 15th century), Spanish scholar. After the edicts against Spanish Jewry in 1391, a pseudo-messiah named Moses appeared in Burgos. A letter extravagantly praising this Moses is attributed to Ḥasdai *Crescas; it probably refers to Moses Botarel (A. Jellinek, *Beit ha-Midrash*, 6 (1877), 141–3). There are extant works containing the adverse reactions of opponents to his messianic pretensions. On the strength of his claims, he circulated letters which he introduced with the phrase "Thus says Moses Botarel, occupying the seat of instruction in signs and wonders." Botarel wrote books and pamphlets in every branch of the Torah, *halakhah*, Kabbalah, and philosophy. These works included many "quotations" of scholarly works from the geonic period until his day, but most of his quotations were either spurious or copied from sources entirely different from those which he named. His reasons for this form of pseudepigraphy are unclear. Certainly it did not stem from a desire to enhance the status of kabbalism for he treated purely halakhic material in the same way. Botarel lived for a long time in Avignon, and afterward wandered in France and in Spain. He used to boast of his contact with the Christian scholar Maestro Juan of Paris, insinuating that at the request of the latter he had written a number of his books. His vanity about his achievements was limitless and reached pathological proportions. In 1409 he composed a lengthy commentary on the *Sefer Yeẓirah*, which was printed in its 1562 edition. His commentary was not kabbalistic, but combined an eclectic miscellany of the sayings of others, mainly fabrications, superficial in content, with selections from earlier kabbalistic works here attributed to nonexistent sources. Apart from a pronounced bent toward practical Kabbalah, there is a marked tendency to reconcile Kabbalah with philosophy.

Two other pamphlets on *halakhah* were published by S. Assaf and J. Sussmann. A treatise of similar type on philosophical matters is found in manuscript (Vatican Ms. 441, fols. 175–9). An essay on the mystical interpretation of vocalization (*nekuddot*) and related lore is in manuscript in Oxford (Neubauer, Cat, no. 1947). Part of another kabbalistic work of 1407 is in manuscript Musaioff, and a collection of writings on practical Kabbalah (subsequently entitled *Ma'yan ha-Ḥokhmah* or *Ma'gelei Yosher*) is in manuscript in the Jewish Theological Seminary, New York.

Many of his kabbalistic remedies are included in collections of writings of practical Kabbalah. The contemporary poet Solomon *Bonafed sharply attacked Botarel's pretensions and falsehoods, and hinted at his literary forgeries (Neubauer, Cat, no. 1984, 4, fol. 66). His fabrications have also misled some scholars who assumed that they were genuine, and utilized them to reconstruct the origins of Kabbalah.

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[Gershom Scholem]

BOTEACH, SHMUEL (**"Schmuley"**; 1966–), British-American rabbi. Born in Miami, Florida, and educated in the United States, Israel, and elsewhere, Boteach was sent by the Lubavitcher Rebbe to Oxford as the first residential rabbi there for some decades. At Oxford he became well known for establishing the L'Chaim Society, which grew into one of the largest bodies at England's oldest university. It was devoted to sparking debate on religious issues, often by bringing high-profile speakers (including such unlikely guests as Mikhail Gorbachev and Boy George, the pop singer) to Oxford. Boteach became a familiar figure on British radio and television. He is perhaps even better known for having written widely, from an Orthodox perspective, on controversial topics, especially sex, such as *Kosher Sex* (1998) and *Kosher Adultery* (2002), and gave a four-part radio series entitled *A Jewish Guide to Sexuality*. In 1999 he won the London *Times'* Preacher of the Year contest. More recently he lived in New Jersey.

[William D. Rubinstein (2nd ed.)]

BOTEIN, BERNARD (1900–1974), U.S. jurist and leader in court reform. Botein was born to poor parents on the Lower East Side of New York City. After qualifying as a lawyer, he rapidly earned a reputation as an investigator of fraudulent schemes in the automobile accident field; his findings of fraud in the New York State Insurance Fund led to the conviction of eighteen auditors and nearly 150 businessmen and to the dismissal of forty civil servants. In 1941 Governor Herbert H. *Lehman appointed him to the State Supreme Court, on which he served for 27 years; subsequently Governor Averell Harriman named him Presiding Justice of the Appellate Division, First Department, a position he held for eleven years. In this office he won a national reputation for his judicial reforms and as a creative court administrator. Many of his innovations liberalized procedures and thereby benefited indigent defendants who suffered from inequality in the administration of criminal justice. He fought for lower bail, reorganized the Family Court, and in other ways vitalized the courts' administration and improved procedures.

The editorial obituary in the *New York Times* referred to him as "one of the lions of the law who never forgot that the cardinal principle of justice was compassion for all." Justice Botein was president of the Association of the Bar of the City of New York 1970–1972.

He was the author of a number of legal works, including: *The Slum and Crime* (1935), *Trial Judge* (1952), and *The Prosecutor* (1956). Botein was active in Jewish communal life.

[Milton Ridvas Konvitz (2nd ed.)]

BOTON, ABRAHAM BEN JUDAH DI (1710?–after 1780), Turkish talmudist and halakhist. Born in *Salonika, in his youth he was already considered one of its great scholars. Some time before 1753, he was appointed chief rabbi of Monastir (Bitolj), where he served until his death. His responsa and halakhic novellae, together with some by his son, were published under the title *Maḥazeh Avraham* (Salonika, 1795) by his grandson David di Boton who was also chief rabbi of Monastir.

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BOTON, ABRAHAM BEN MOSES DE (154?–after 1592), rabbi and halakhist. De Boton was born in Salonika, the son of the rabbinic scholar Moses de *Boton (d. 1570). He and Mordecai *Kalai studied at R. Samuel de Medina's yeshivah; the latter later intimated that many of Abraham's ideas were really his, but this claim was never proved. De Boton served as rabbi of the large and wealthy Apulia congregation in Salonika; while this congregation was established by Italian Jews (and retained the Italian liturgy), it eventually had both Sephardi members and rabbinic leaders (of Italian ancestry) in its midst.

De Boton was not noted for one particular field of expertise but considered to be capable of judging disputes in all areas. As a result, he was consulted throughout the Sephardi Diaspora. Among his writings is a commentary to portions of the Talmud tractate *Bava Kamma* which appears in *Me-Hararei Nemarim* (Venice, 1599) as well as a collection of numerous responsa he wrote entitled *Leḥem Rav* (Smyrna, 1660). The latter was published and financed by his grandson and grandson's brother-in-law. *Leḥem Rav* contains decisions that were frequently quoted throughout the Jewish world and set halakhic precedents. They deal with a broad range of topics, including international trade, taxation, public leadership, and congregational regulations as well as issues of property, inheritance, business, marriage, etc. A great deal can be learned from them about the Ottoman Empire and particularly about Salonika of the 16th century. The author's style here is precise and reflects erudition and a mastery of Hebrew.

His best-known work is *Leḥem Mishneh* (Venice, 1604), a commentary to Maimonides' *Mishneh Torah*. The Salonikan rabbi was not aware that Joseph *Caro was simultaneously preparing a similar study, and when Caro's *Kesef Mishneh* appeared in 1575, he was careful only to include his own innovations and even pointed out differences and agreements of opinion. De Boton had a sophisticated critical eye, for he examined different versions of the Talmud and editions of manuscripts while preparing his own work.

Abraham de Boton fell victim to a plague some time after 1592.

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[Renée Levine Melammed (2nd ed.)]

BOTON, ḤIYYA ABRAHAM BEN AARON DI (17th century), rabbi and Ereẓ Israel emissary. Ḥiyya di Boton was a grandson of Abraham b. Moses di *Boton, and apparently studied in Gallipoli under his uncle, Meir di *Boton. In 1648 he was in Smyrna, where he was a member of the *bet din* of Joseph *Escapa. His only son and his daughters died in an epidemic there (before 1660). Ḥiyya was a friend of Ḥayyim b. Israel *Benveniste and corresponded with him as well as with his kinsman Moses *Benveniste. He published *Leḥem Rav* (Smyrna, 1660), the responsa of his grandfather. Boton was among those who opposed Shabbetai Ẓevi in Smyrna. After 1674 he immigrated to Jerusalem, where he became a member of the *bet din* of Moses *Galante, dealing particularly with cases of divorce. He went as an emissary of Ereẓ Israel to Turkey and the Balkans and in 1680 was in Belgrade and in Sarejevo. In 1686 he was in Jerusalem, where in 1700 he was appointed chief rabbi, but he died shortly afterward.

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BOTON, JACOB BEN ABRAHAM DI (1635?–1687), halakhist. Jacob was born in Salonika and was a disciple of Ḥasdai ha-Kohen Peraḥyah. His father, Abraham b. Jacob (b. c. 1610), grandson of Abraham b. Moses di *Boton, was also a disciple of Ḥasdai ha-Kohen Peraḥyah and was appointed chief rabbi of Salonika in 1678. He was among the opponents of Shabbetai Ẓevi. During the lifetime of his father, Jacob acted as *dayyan*, with the specific task of enforcing payments imposed by the *bet din*. He was acquainted with and believed in Shabbetai Ẓevi. When his father died, he failed in his attempt to succeed him as chief rabbi, despite the recommendation of Solomon *Amarillo. Jacob wrote many responsa, the earliest of which is dated 1658. They contain important material on the economic conditions of the time, dealing, among other things, with the guild of dyers to which he himself belonged. He made use of many manuscripts of *rishonim* and quoted early regulations of the Salonika community. A substantial part of his responsa was burnt together with his other writings when he was in Constantinople at the home of Ḥayyim Alfandari. His son-in-law, Solomon Abrabanel, published the remainder of his responsa under the title *Edut be-Ya'akov* (Salonika, 1720). He is known to have written four other books: (1) a commentary on the Mishnah, written during the plague of 1679 when he was in the village of Libada; (2) a commentary on the *Ittur* of *Isaac b. Abba Mari, a part of which was published with the responsa; (3) a work on the novellae of Solomon b. Abraham *Adret and on other topics; (4) commentaries to the Talmud and the *posekim*. A fragment from this work was included in his one printed book.

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BOTON, MEIR BEN ABRAHAM DI (c. 1575–1649), rabbi and halakhist. Born in Salonika, he studied under his father, Abraham. b. Moses di *Boton. In his introduction to his father's *Leḥem Mishneh*, he describes the trials and the expulsions he had experienced from his youth. He was appointed rabbi of Gallipoli and served there until his death. Students from all parts of Turkey, among them (Nissim) Solomon *Algazi, streamed to his yeshivah, which became a center of study. Even in his youth, Meir was in correspondence with the greatest halakhic authorities of the day, and problems were addressed to him even from Constantinople. He occupied himself to a considerable extent with communal affairs and also took an interest in poetry. After his death, his library was pillaged. The few responsa which remained in scattered pamphlets were collected and published with other material by his son-in-law, Jesse Almuli (Smyrna, 1660), who added his own valuable notes. Meir di Boton was a close friend of Ḥayyim *Benveniste, who mentions their correspondence in his *Ba'ei Ḥayyei*.

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BOTOSANI (Rom. **Botoșani**), town in N.E. Romania. Up to the end of the 19th century it had the second largest and most important Jewish community in Moldavia, apparently originating in the 17th century. There was a considerable community in Botosani by the early 18th century. In 1745 merchants in Botosani, including Jews, were granted the right to own their houses by the prince (*gospodar*). In 1799 Prince Alexander Ypsilanti gave a privilege (now in the Central Archives for the History of the Jewish People, Jerusalem) to the Botosani community granting it the status of an autonomous corporation. In 1803 there were 350 Jewish families paying taxes in the town. In the 19th century the community increased as a result of Jewish immigration into Moldavia and in 1899 it numbered 16,817 (51.8% of the total population). By the early 19th century the Jews of Botosani had trade connections with Leipzig and Brody, and contributed to the economic development of the town. A growing number engaged in crafts. The Christian population demanded that the authorities should ban Jews from these occupations. Despite this opposition, by 1899 more than 75% of the merchants and approximately 68% of the artisans in Botosani were Jewish. There were anti-Jewish riots in 1879. Anti-Jewish feelings again flared up during the Romanian peasant revolt in 1907. When the Jewish communities in Romania were deprived of their official status at the beginning of the 1860s, sharp internal conflicts in the Botosani community led to its disintegration and disruption of its activities; many of its institutions closed down. In 1866 Hillel Kahana, the Hebrew writer and educator, founded a secular Jewish school in Botosani. Despite opposition from Orthodox circles and several temporary closures, it existed up to the outbreak of World War II, in part supported by the Alliance Israélite Universelle. The Hebrew writers David Isaiah *Silberbusch, Ẓevi Lazar *Teller, and Israel *Teller taught there. At the beginning of 1882 Silberbusch and Teller published the first two numbers of the Hebrew monthly *Ha-Or* in Botosani. After World War I the community was reorganized. It numbered 11,840 in 1930 (36.6% of the total population). Institutions maintained by the community included two primary schools (for boys and girls) and a vocational school for girls. In 1940, all the Jewish men between 15 and 70 years of age were taken to forced labor. Around 11,000 Jews from small towns, and villages (Sulita, Frumusica, Ripiceni, Heci-Lespezi, Targu-Frumos, Falticeni, Pascani, Stefanesti, Mihaileni) were forcibly moved to or found refuge in Botosani. They lived in poverty, aided by the community. After the outbreak of war against the U.S.S.R. (June 22, 1941), around 8,000 Jews from Botosani worked at forced labor, half of them in Bessarabia, Transnistria, Dobruja, and Jassy. The community helped many pauperized Jews. Two Jewish secondary schools were founded for the Jewish pupils excluded from the public schools. After the war, when the evacuees from the villages in the area and those who returned from Transnistria settled in the city, Botosani's total Jewish population numbered 19,550 (1947). A few years later most of the population settled in Israel, leaving 500 families and four synagogues in 1969. The local *shoḥet* also served as the community's rabbi. In 2004, 125 Jews lived in Botosani, with a functioning synagogue.

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[Eliyahu Feldman and Theodor Lavi / Lucian-Zeev Herscovici (2nd ed.)]

BOTOSHANSKY, JACOB (1892–1964), Yiddish novelist, journalist, and critic. Botoshansky was born in Bessarabia. He was active in Romania from 1914 to 1926 as a literary pioneer of Yiddish, and, thereafter, in Buenos Aires as editor of the Yiddish daily, *Di Prese*. In 1914–15 he was one of the founders and editors of *Likht*, Romania's first modern Yiddish periodical, and collaborated with Jacob *Sternberg in writing for the renascent Yiddish theater. In Argentina, Botoshansky quickly emerged as a leader combating the influence wielded in the Yiddish theater by the criminal elements who were then prudishly called "white slave traders"; he never ceased to play a prominent role in Jewish cultural life there. His writings include travel sketches of North and South America and of Israel. Two of his dramas, *Hershele Ostropolyer* and *Reb Ber Lyover* (1928), were staged in Argentina and Soviet Russia. His works include *Mir Viln Lebn* ("We Want to Live," 1948) and *Di Kenigin fun Dorem-Amerike* ("The Queen of South America," 1962), both fictional travel sketches; *Di Lebnsgeshikhte fun a Yidishn Zhurnalist* ("The Biography of a Jewish Journalist," memoirs, 3 vols., 1948); and *Pshat* ("Simply Speaking," literary essays, 1952).

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[Shlomo Bickel / Alan Astro (2nd ed.)]

BOTSTEIN, LEON (1946–), U.S. conductor and music historian. Botstein was born in Zurich, Switzerland, and moved to New York with his family in 1949. He studied violin with Roman Totenberg and conducting with Richard Wernick and Harold Farberman. Afterwards, he dedicated himself to history (Ph.D. Harvard University, 1985). In 1975 Botstein was appointed president of Bard College (New York) and Leon Levy Professor in the Arts and Humanities. In 1992 he became music director of the American Symphony Orchestra and in 1995 artistic director of the American Russian Young Artists Orchestra. He appeared as a guest conductor in Europe, Asia, and South America. In 2003 Botstein was appointed music director of the Jerusalem Symphony Orchestra.

As a conductor, he was widely known for his ambition to broaden the horizons of his audience while performing less-known and rarely played music, especially of late 19th century and 20th century composers; his recordings also served the same purpose. In 1990 Botstein founded the Bard Music Festival, whose concerts are accompanied by essays devoted to the composers performed each time. His aim was to involve listeners in a deeper absorption of music.

As a prominent music historian, Botstein was appointed editor of the professional journal *The Musical Quarterly* in 1992. His numerous publications investigate mainly the problems of performance and reception of music, the Austrian and German music tradition of the 19th and 20th centuries, and the role of Jews in the spiritual life of the German-speaking world. His books and articles have been published in German, English, and Russian. For his contributions to music he has received several awards, including the American Academy of Arts and Letters Award and Harvard University's prestigious Centennial Award as well as the Cross of Honor, First Class, from the government of Austria.

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[Yulia Kreinin (2nd ed.)]

BOTVINNIK, MIKHAIL (1911–1995), Soviet chess master. Born in Repnik, Saint Petersburg (Leningrad) district, Botvinnik was world champion in the years 1948–57, 1958–60, and 1961–63. He received the Soviet title of Grand Master in 1935 and International Grand Master in 1945. He graduated as a doctor of technical sciences in the field of electricity, distinguished himself in this field, and was decorated by the Soviet government at the end of World War II. In 1931, 1933, 1939, 1944, 1945, and 1952 he was champion of the Soviet Union. Botvinik created the so-called scientific school of preparation for chess tournaments and brought the method to perfection. This laid the basis of the Soviet school of chess school, boasting a great many Grand Masters, including Gary *Kasparov. According to some chess specialists the best game in history belongs to Botvinnik, his victory over Capablanca in Amsterdam in 1938. From the 1960s he tried to use the achievements of chess theory to develop artificial intelligence and chess computers. Botvinnik grew up in an assimilated family, but encountered antisemitism in daily life. He displayed courage in the dark years of Stalin and after, and published warm words about Israel, Pinḥas *Rutenberg, and the kibbutz, defending the right of the Jews to live in their ancient homeland. In contrast to other Jewish cultural activists, he never signed letters condemning Israel. His autobiography appeared in English translation in 1981 as *Achieving the Aim.*

[Shmuel Spector (2nd ed.)]

BOUCHARA, Algerian family, prominent in the Jewish community life of Algiers from the 17th century. ABRAHAM (early 18th century) was **muqaddim* (leader) of the community and adviser to the deys; his brother ISAAC, well-known about 1726, was a shipowner and financier in Leghorn, Genoa, and Algiers. Abraham's son JACOB RAPHAEL (d. 1768) succeeded his father as *muqaddim*. Raphael, who was very wealthy and an associate of the dey, represented Ragusa (*Dubrovnik) as consul (1735). He was one of the principal shipowners of his time, and his commercial activities extended from Alexandria to Venice and from Leghorn to Hamburg. He supported yeshivot and printed Hebrew works at his own expense. His son JOSEPH was employed by Christian governments to ransom Christian prisoners. Jacob Raphael's other son, ABRAHAM (d. 1801), succeeded him as consul and *muqaddim*, but in 1800 Naphtali *Busnach replaced him in the latter position. Abraham had disputes with the community, which were eventually settled in his favor by the scholars Jacob *Benaim and Ḥ.J.D. *Azulai. At the beginning of his career, Abraham represented the U.S. in its negotiations with the dey. Although involved in commercial affairs, he pursued talmudic and kabbalistic studies. He wrote three works: *Beit Avraham* and *Likkutei Tanakh*, both unpublished, and *Berit Avraham* (Leghorn, 1791), a collection of homilies.

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237–8; I. Bloch, *Inscriptions tumulaires … d'Alger* (1888), 62–64, 91–93; Hirschberg, Afrikah, 2 (1965), 62–63, 66.

[David Corcos]

°**BOUDIN, JEAN-FRANÇOIS**, known as **Father Justin** (1736–1811), French Capuchin friar and preacher. Boudin was appointed by Joseph Beni, bishop of Carpentras, at the end of 1783 to deliver the conversionist sermons which the Jews of Carpentras were obliged to attend. Seventeen of the sermons he delivered between 1787 and 1790, as well as his short treatise *Notion du Talmud*, are preserved in a manuscript in the Avignon public library (Ms. 1525).

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[Bernhard Blumenkranz]

BOUDREAU, LOU (1917–2001), U.S. baseball player, member of the Hall of Fame. Boudreau's mother was from an Orthodox Jewish family and Boudreau was raised as a Jew and attended Passover Seders at his grandparents' home until he was 10, when his parents divorced. Thereafter he was raised as a Catholic by his French father. Boudreau was a career .295 hitter and standout shortstop who played 15 years beginning in 1939, mostly with the Cleveland Indians. In 1948 he fashioned one of the greatest individual seasons ever, hitting .355 with 18 home runs, 106 runs batted in, and 116 runs scored – and struck out only nine times – to win the Most Valuable Player award. He was also manager of the team, having been named skipper in 1942 at age of 24, the youngest person ever to manage a major-league team. Boudreau led AL shortstops in fielding eight times, won the 1944 American League batting title (.327), and led the league in doubles in 1941, 1944, and 1947. He was also the creator on July 14, 1946, of the legendary "Williams Shift," when he placed all his fielders except the third baseman and left fielder on the right side of the field against the pull-hitting Ted Williams. Boudreau later managed the Athletics and Cubs. The Indians retired his No. 5 uniform number and the street bordering Municipal Stadium in Cleveland was renamed Boudreau Boulevard.

[Elli Wohlgelernter (2nd ed.)]

BOUGIE (Ar. **Bajaya**; ancient **Saldae**), town in Algeria. Rebuilt in 1067, Bougie attracted Muslim, Jewish, and Christian families, who had been exempted from taxes by the Muslim authorities as an inducement to settle there. A port, and often the capital city, its commerce flourished, and it became a great intellectual center. Although the city's inhabitants were spared by the conquering *Almohades in 1152, the city later declined. Jews from the Balearic Islands, Italy, and Marseilles settled there in the 13th century, but many members of the indigenous Jewish community emigrated. Later, however, because of the 1391 persecutions, many Jews from Spain and the Balearic Isles took refuge in Bougie and eventually became the town's leading businessmen. As a result, Bougie had two separate communities: the older inhabitants and the new refugees. Among those who lived in Bougie were the scholarly rabbis Isaac ʿAbd al-Ḥaqq and Astruc Cohen, the ʿAmmar, Najar, and Stora families, Isaac Nafusi, the astronomer and instrument-maker (originally from Majorca), and the Bacri-Kohen family, which flourished there in the 15th and 16th centuries. When the Spanish conquered Bougie in 1510, Jewish property was pillaged and many Jews were sold as slaves, but the community continued to exist. In 1553 the Turks occupied Bougie, which from then on lost its importance (3,000 inhabitants, of whom 600 were Jews). The Turks granted exclusive trading rights and a concession of the port to David Bacri of Algiers in 1807. With the arrival of the French in 1833 the Jewish community left the town, a few Jews returning in 1838. Thereafter there were never more than 800 Jews in Bougie; none remained by the late 1960s.

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[David Corcos]

BOULAY, small town in northeastern France; formerly belonging to the Duchy of Lorraine. Jews settled in Boulay in the first half of the 17th century. It was the home of Raphael *Levy, the victim of a *blood libel, executed in 1670. In 1721 Duke Leopold confirmed the right of 19 Jewish families to reside in Boulay and designated the synagogue as the main one for the duchy. A cemetery is mentioned from the end of the 17th century. The Jewish population numbered 137 in 1808, 265 in 1831, and 120 in 1931. During World War II, 11 Jews from Boulay were deported by the Germans and one was shot. The synagogue was destroyed, but was rebuilt in 1956. In 1968, the Jewish population was about 35.

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[Gilbert Cahen]

BOULE (Gr. Βουλή), in ancient Greece, a state council; in Ereẓ Israel a city council which played an important role during and after the Second Temple period. One of the Hellenistic institutions established in cities founded by Herod and his sons, the Boule later spread to other urban areas inhabited mainly by Jews. There was a Boule also in Jerusalem; in Tiberias it consisted of 600 members; and the Boule in Ashkelon is mentioned in a source dating from the end of the third century C.E. (TJ, Pe'ah 1:1, 15c). In some cities the Boule was housed in a special building (Aram. כנישתא דבולי, *Kenishta de-Boulei*), in which the sages delivered public homilies (TJ, Shek. 7:3, 50c; TJ, Ta'an. 1:2, 64a). Various talmudic sources refer to the Boule in southern Judean cities dissolved apparently because of internal friction (TJ, Ned. 3:2, 38a; TJ, Shevu. 3:10, 34d; Git. 37a). The principal function of the Boule was to levy taxes for the

Roman administration, for the collection of which the property of members of the Boule was the surety. Since the taxes had frequently to be extorted from the people, wealthy men, appointed against their will, tried various ways to evade serving on the Boule, sometimes by flight, and hence the remark of R. Johanan (middle of the third century C.E.): "If you have been nominated for the Boule, let the Jordan be your neighbor" (TJ, MK 2:3, 81b).

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[Abraham Schalit]

BOURG-EN-BRESSE, capital of the department of the Ain, eastern France. The first mention of Jews in Bourg-en-Bresse dates from 1277 when the Jews and the Cahorsins paid 50 livres to the lady of the manor. An agreement of 1438 between the city guilds and the Jews of Bourg-en-Bresse regarding their share in the expenses for fortifications was signed by 11 heads of families. The Jews then constituted some 3% of the population. The census of 1512 notes that there were no longer Jews living in Bourg-en-Bresse. At the beginning of World War II, 10 to 15 Jewish families were living in the town. Seven of the Jews arrested during the raids of July 10, 1944, were executed. There has been no subsequent Jewish community.

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[Bernhard Blumenkranz]

°**BOURGEOIS, JEAN**, son of a Parisian merchant, murdered on August 26, 1652, by members of the secondhand dealers guild which he had insulted by calling it "the synagogue." The affair was taken up in numerous broadsheets, or "*Mazarinades*," often in verse, which presented the event as if the dealers were Jews guilty of ritual murder. They demanded the expulsion of the Jews from France, although there were then no professing Jews in the country. Prosecution of the accomplices in the crime was stopped in June 1653, by royal writ which expressly noted that all the accused "professed the Catholic religion."

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[Bernhard Blumenkranz]

BOURGES, capital of the department of Cher, central France. In 570 a Jew, Sigericus, was baptized in Bourges, while at about the same time a Jew practicing medicine there treated a cleric. *Sulpicius, bishop of Bourges, 624–647, attempted to convert the Jews in Bourges to Christianity and expelled any who resisted his missionary activities. In 1020 a Jewish quarter is mentioned to the south of the city. About 1200 a baptized Jew of Bourges named Guillaume, who had become a deacon, composed an anti-Jewish treatise, *Bellum Domini adversus Iudaeos*. Around 1250 the pope requested the archbishop of Bourges to secure a livelihood for the baptized Jew, Jean. Between the end of the 13th century and 1305 many Jewish names appear on the municipal tax rolls and bailiff court records. A building at 79 Rue des Juifs is believed to have been used as a synagogue in the Middle Ages. The community ceased to exist after the Jews were expelled from France in the 14th century. During World War II, especially after June 1940, hundreds of Jewish refugees were temporarily settled in Bourges.

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[Bernhard Blumenkranz]

BOURKE-WHITE, MARGARET (**Peg**; 1904–1971), U.S. photojournalist. Bourke-White was the daughter of Minnie Bourke, who was Irish-English and a Catholic, and Joseph White, formerly Weiss, from an Orthodox Polish family. Born in the Bronx, the pioneering photographer, whose father was an inventor of printing presses, grew up in Bound Brook, N.J. In 1922, while studying herpetology at Columbia University, she developed an interest in photography after studying under Clarence White, a master of impressionistic soft-focus photography. In 1925, she married Everett Chapman, but the couple divorced a year later. After switching colleges several times, she graduated from Cornell in 1927 and a year later moved to Cleveland, Ohio, where she opened a studio and specialized in architectural photography. She soon became an industrial photographer at the Otis Steel Company, where she honed her love of hard-edged industry and architecture.

Bourke-White's rise to fame in a man's world was partly the work of Henry Luce, the publisher of *Time* magazine, who recruited her to be his photographer for the new *Fortune* magazine. "She could make anything beautiful," a writer in the *New York Times* said, "piles of ground-up pig parts, rows of hanging cow carcasses, dreary assembly lines." Word got around and for years it was said that no mogul could resist her pictorial or feminine charms. She took countless pictures in factories and warehouses. By arranging industrial products and materials and lighting them dramatically, she made them dance and sing, a reviewer wrote. "Her plow blades look like legs of Rockettes."

She was a climber in more ways than one. As a child, she liked to walk along the tops of fences. When she grew up, she requested the top floors of hotels. Her office in the Chrysler Building was eye-level with the gargoyles. In 1930 Bourke-White made a trip to Germany, and while there petitioned her way into the Soviet Union to take pictures. She made the Soviet construction projects look heroic. In 1934, in the depths of the Depression and the Dust Bowl, her corporate commissions began to dry up. She couldn't afford her Art Deco office in the Chrysler Building. *Fortune* sent her to cover the drought in the Midwest. Her pictures seemed to focus on the abstract pattern, the play of light and dark, and the rhythm of repetition. Her photographs of poverty in the South, published in *You Have Seen Their Faces*, a 1937 book written with the novelist Erskine Caldwell, who became her second husband, was a public success. But the book was criticized for left-wing bias and upset whites in the Deep South with its passionate attack on racism. Carl Mydans of *Life* later said: "Margaret Bourke-White's social awareness was clear and obvious. All the editors at the magazine were aware of her commitment to social causes." Luce had made her one of the original photographers for the new *Life* magazine in 1936, along with Alfred *Eisenstaedt, and it was her photograph of three marching concrete pillars at the Fort Peck Dam that appeared on the inaugural cover.

She and Caldwell were the only foreign journalists in the Soviet Union when the German army invaded in 1941. She photographed the German bombing raids before returning to the United States, where she and Caldwell produced another attack on social inequality, *Say, Is This the U.S.A.*? (1942). During the World War II, she served as a war correspondent, working both for *Life* and for the U.S. Air Force. She survived a torpedo attack while on a ship to North Africa, photographed the bombing of Tunis and was with the United States troops and photographed the liberation of the Buchenwald death camp. These photographs, along with Edward R. Murrow's reporting, achieved iconographic status. After the war she continued her interest in racial inequality by documenting *Gandhi's nonviolent campaign in India and apartheid in South Africa.

An incredibly hard worker with legendary stamina and perseverance, she had a reputation of being persuasive, charming, persistent, and manipulative. She constantly alienated women while trying to please men. She thrived on adventure and crisis and put her photographic ambitions ahead of virtually everything. She had just said goodbye to Gandhi and was leaving India when she got word that he had been assassinated. She rushed to his house where his family and friends – who were her friends, too – welcomed her in their sorrow. There were to be no pictures, but Bourke-White smuggled in a camera and took a shot, with a flashbulb, before she was thrown out.

In 1952 she went to the Far East to cover Japan and the Korean War. There she took what she considered her best photograph, a meeting between a returning soldier and his mother who thought he had been killed several months earlier. She felt the first symptoms of Parkinson's disease in 1953 but stubbornly refused to give in to her disabilities and worked for *Life* until 1957. She spent eight years writing her autobiography, *Portrait of Myself*, which was published in 1963.

Bourke-White's father kept his Jewishness hidden from her, and she only learned about it at his death when she was 18. Her biographer, Vicki Goldberg, in 1986, says her demanding mother was an antisemite and only three or four friends knew of Bourke-White's religious background.

[Stewart Kampel (2nd ed.)]

BOUWMEESTER, LOUIS FREDERIK JOHANNES (1842–1925), Dutch actor. Born into an acting family, Bouwmeester made his first appearance at the age of 12. He became widely esteemed for his acting in Shakespeare, especially as Shylock. Other Shakespearean roles he played were Hamlet, Mark Antony, Wolsey, and Richard III. At the age of 80 he played Shylock on the occasion of the 1922 Hague Conference.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: BWN 2 (1985), 5860

BOUZAGLO, DAVID (1903–1975), Moroccan *payṭan* and musician. Born in Casablanca, Rabbi David was endowed with a refined intelligence and distinguished himself as a highly cultured person in the realm of the sacred Judaic writings (Bible, Mishnah, Talmud, and Zohar) and retained most of those texts in his extraordinary memory. This latter capacity became compulsive when his blindness began to develop in 1949. As an outstanding musician, his inborn talent enabled him to learn and master the highly sophisticated art of the Andalusian *nūba* to the extent that non-Jewish musicians used to seek his teaching and advise. This skillfulness magnified his great contribution to the singing of **bakkashot* both as interpreter and mentor. In the framework of this traditional musical genre Buzaglo used his openness and creative mind to introduce innovative elements, which he derived particularly from the style he passionately loved, the so-called *sharqī* (lit. Oriental, meaning Egyptian, Turkish, and Near Eastern styles). Bouzaglo subtly incorporated the melodies he borrowed from this and other styles, endowing them with a Moroccan flavor.

Because of his dominating personality Bouzaglo became a legend in his lifetime and was in great demand as cantor and *payṭan.* In 1969, he immigrated to Israel, where his former disciples as well as new ones continued to follow his teaching and, inspired by his spirit, preserve the Jewish musical tradition. Regrettably, he left almost no documentation of his art, always refusing insistently to be recorded, perhaps from a desire to preserve the magic halo of his live performances. Nevertheless, in 1957, in Casablanca, he made an exception and authorized the late Prof. Haim Zafrani to make a recording of a selection of chants and *piyyuṭim.* The Jewish Music Center of Tel Aviv's Bet Hatefutzot published an album including this unique recorded material in 1984.

[Amnon Shiloah (2nd ed.)]

BOVE-BUKH, a chivalric romance adapted in 1507 by Elye Bokher (Elijah Baḥur *Levita) into 650 *ottava rima* stanzas in Yiddish from a Tuscan version (*Buovo d'Antona*) of the early 14th-century Anglo-Norman original, *Boeuve de Haumton*. This tale of the heroic adventures of the noble Bovo, exiled from his homeland by the machinations of his murderous mother, his wanderings through the world (as far as Babylon), and the love story of Bovo and Druzyana, their separation, his triumphant return home, and the final reunion with Druzyana and their two sons, proved to be one of the most beloved tales in the Yiddish literary tradition over the course of more than two centuries.

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[Sol Liptzin / Jerold C. Frakes (2nd ed.)]

BOVSHOVER, JOSEPH (1873–1915), Yiddish poet. Bovshover was born in Lubavitch, Belorussia, and immigrated to the United States from Riga in 1891. Influenced by the radical Yiddish poets, Morris *Vinchevsky, David *Edelstadt, and Morris *Rosenfeld, as well as by Heinrich Heine, Walt Whitman, and the Bible, he wrote revolutionary, anarchist poetry. Under the name of Basil Dahl, he also wrote poems in English (e.g., in Benjamin R. Tucker's *Liberty* (1896–97). He received exaggerated critical praise, yet became increasingly melancholic and spent the last 15 years of his life institutionalized. He published essays on Heine, Emerson, Whitman, and Edwin Markham, and translated Shakespeare's *Merchant of Venice* into Yiddish. His collected verse and essays were published in the one-volume *Gezamelte shriftn* (1911, 1916^2). Many of his poems (e.g. "Revolution") were set to music. Dror Abend-David shows that Bovshover's Shakespeare translation is far less *daytshmerish* (Germanized) than his (often bathetic) verse, most probably under the influence of the Yiddish lexicographer and language reformer Alexander *Harkavy.

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[Elias Schulman / Leonard Prager (2nd ed.)]

BOX, a shrub or tree (*Buxus sempervirens*) that grows wild in Asia Minor. It is cultivated in Israel as an ornamental tree. In the Mishnah it is called *eshkero'a*, its excellent wood being used for delicate articles and apparatus, such as the urn which was used in the Temple for the casting of lots to decide the duties of the priests (Yoma 3:9). It has a creamy yellow color and R. Ishmael said that the children of Israel "are like boxwood, neither black nor white, but an intermediate color" (Neg. 2:1). Since he lived in the south of Ereẓ Israel, R. Ishmael was probably referring to most of the inhabitants of that region, but no conclusions can be drawn from this statement as regards the color of the skin of the Jews living elsewhere in the country. The box is not mentioned in the Bible although the Targums identify it – without basis – with certain other biblical trees, such as the *te'ashur*.

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[Jehuda Feliks]

BOXER, BARBARA (1940–), U.S. Democratic senator and liberal activist. Boxer has supported women's issues, education, gun control, child abuse protection, services for the underprivileged, military reform, and environmental protection. Born Barbara Levy in Brooklyn, New York, she graduated with a degree in economics from Brooklyn College in 1962 and married Stewart Boxer that same year. The couple had two children. After moving to Marin County, in northern California, in 1965, Boxer became involved in grassroots political organizations, founded a women's political caucus, and worked to reduce high school drop-out rates, provide job training, and develop child-care centers. In 1977, she won a seat on the Marin County Board of Supervisors, serving as the first woman Board president in 1982. Elected to the House of Representatives in 1982, Boxer's record demonstrated a strong commitment to women's health issues, especially breast cancer research. As a pro-choice advocate, Boxer sponsored legislation to protect abortion rights and freedom of access to abortion clinics. In 1992, Boxer and Dianne *Feinstein, also from California, were the first two Jewish women elected to the United States Senate. Like Feinstein, Boxer did not emphasize her Jewish identity. In November 2004, she easily won re-election for her third term. In the Senate, Boxer advanced her feminist campaign, supporting legislation against domestic violence and combating sexual harassment in government and in the workplace. As chair of the Superfund, Toxic, Risk and Waste Management Subcommittee, she has supported environmental issues and led efforts to clean abandoned industrial sites and to ban a gasoline additive suspected of being a carcinogen. On Middle East issues, she was a reliable supporter of Israel. Although the partisan and uncompromising bills she proposed were seldom voted into law, Boxer was an impassioned voice for women, workers, children, and the environment.

[Arlene Lazarowitz (2nd ed.)]

BOYAR, LOUIS H. (1898–1976), U.S. real estate developer and philanthropist. Boyar, born in San Francisco, resided in Los Angeles from 1934. He was a pioneer of large-scale home building and community planning in Los Angeles after World War II. Boyar built the city of Lakewood, one of the first and largest planned communities in the U.S. He directed large-scale personal benefactions and fund-raising efforts to the economic and cultural needs of Israel. He served the State of Israel *Bonds organization in many capacities, including that of chairman of the Board of Governors. He also served as chairman of the Board of Israel Investors, Inc. Many educational and social service institutions in Israel were erected by him in memory of his wife, Mae. Boyar was deputy chairman of the Board of Governors of the Hebrew University. Boyar also supported a number of U.S. institutions, particularly in Los Angeles. In Israel, the Boyar Building is a state-of-the-art facility located in the heart of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem's Mount Scopus campus. It houses the Rothberg International School. The Na'amat women's organization's Mae Boyar Multipurpose Day Care Center helps families in distress; the Mae Boyar High School in Jerusalem is a residential school that serves disadvantaged junior and senior high school youth.

[Max Vorspan / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

BOYARIN, DANIEL (1946–), U.S. talmudist and cultural critic. Boyarin was educated at Goddard College, Columbia University (M.A.), and the Jewish Theological Seminary of America (Ph.D., 1975). He taught at the Jewish Theological Seminary and Ben-Gurion University and Bar-Ilan University in Israel; from 1990 he served as the Herman P. and Sophia Taubman Professor at the University of California at Berkeley. Among his many books are *Sephardi Speculation: A Study in Methods of Talmudic Interpretation* (Heb., 1989); *Intertextuality and the Reading of Midrash* (1990); *Carnal Israel: Reading Sex in Talmudic Culture* (1993); *A Radical Jew: Paul and the Politics of Identity* (1994); *Unheroic Conduct: The Rise of Heterosexuality and the Invention of the Jewish Man* (1997); *Dying for God: Martyrdom and the Making of Christianity and Judaism* (1999); and *Border Lines: The Partition of Judaeo-Christianity* (2004). In addition, he is the author of more than 100 articles in Hebrew and English.

Boyarin's work is characterized by the application of postmodernist and post-colonialist theory to Jewish cultural history, especially and most fruitfully, during the period of late antiquity. He numbers among the pioneers in the modern study of midrash and in the introduction of gender as a critical category in the study of rabbinic literature. His work took a decided turn in his controversial study of the apostle Paul, as his own deep hostility to Zionism emerged as a central feature in his reading of Paul. From this point forward he continually focused on the "diasporic" nature of rabbinic Judaism, in which Jewish culture expresses hostility to power and can even be characterized as "feminized." This nature is often placed in contrast to Zionist, territorialist, and nationalist readings of the Jewish past and present, which are characterized as valuing power and masculinity. Another turn emerged with his study of martyrdom and subsequent studies of the Jewish-Christian divide. It is Boyarin's contention that, despite the rhetoric of differentiation found in the works of certain religious elites, the boundaries between Jewish and Christian communities were ill defined and porous through the end of the third century C.E. Only with the emergence of Christian orthodoxy in the early fourth century did a firm boundary between Judaism and Christianity emerge.

Among his many honors, Boyarin was elected a fellow of the American Academy of Jewish Research in 2000, and in 2002 was awarded the Jewish Cultural Achievement in Scholarship Award, given by the National Foundation for Jewish Culture.

[Jay Harris (2nd ed.)]

BOYCOTT, ANTI-JEWISH, organized activity directed against the Jews to exclude them from social, economic, and political life. Anti-Jewish boycott pressure has accompanied *antisemitism as one of its more dangerous and frequent manifestations. Contacts with Jews were avoided, Jews were not accepted in merchants' guilds, trade associations, and similar organizations. This form of boycott often coincided with legal and administrative restrictions already in force in the country.

Toward the end of the 19th century, the anti-Jewish boycott became one of the basic weapons used for victimizing the Jewish population. The first International Anti-Jewish Congress in Dresden, 1882 (see Antisemitic Political Parties and *Organizations), adopted a slogan against Jewish merchants and professionals. In Western Europe, the boycott took the form of excluding Jews from membership of certain societies. In Eastern Europe the rapidly developing "national" bourgeoisie, which formed the mainstay of the rightist parties, soon adopted antisemitic tactics in the effort to squeeze out Jewish competitors. The anti-Jewish boycott campaign met with success in many parts of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. The Austrian antisemites publicized in the press and at public meetings the slogan, "Don't buy from Jews." When the government declared this slogan illegal, it was changed into "Buy from Christians only." In Bohemia and Moravia the anti-Jewish boycott spread under the slogan "Each to his own" (*svúj k svému*), at a time when the rising bourgeoisie sought to obtain an exclusive position in the economy, especially in trade.

Shortly before World War I the Ukrainian population of Galicia was swept into a boycott movement instigated because of alleged Jewish collaboration with the Poles. At the same time, some Polish public figures in Galicia (for instance, the priest Stojalkowski) proposed the boycott as a form of defense for the Polish population against alleged Jewish exploitation. In Russia, the boycott did not attain significant proportions, despite the strongly nationalist and anti-Jewish stand of the Russian merchants. The system of legal and administrative restrictions against the Jews already operating in Czarist Russiaa was more efficient than any form of boycott. A similar situation existed in Romania, where the Jews had been deprived of all rights of citizenship and were considered "foreigners" in the legal sense. They were not allowed to practice the liberal professions, or keep tobacconist shops (which were a state monopoly), pharmacies, etc. Following the Russian example, Romania introduced the *numerus clausus* in educational institutions. Jewish factory owners were obliged by law to employ two-thirds non-Jewish workers. In 1907 "foreigners" were prohibited from holding agricultural farms on lease. The anti-Jewish boycott drive was especially intensive in Polish areas, which at that time did not form a national state. The newspaper *Rola*, which began publication in the 1880s, proposed the slogan of "Polonization" of trade and industry. Developments took a decisive turn in the following decade when the National Democratic Party (*Narodowa Demokracja*, "ND," "En-deks"), led by Roman Dmowski, appeared on the political horizon. Initially the Endeks did not come out with antisemitic slogans and confined their campaign to the "Litvaks," Jews from Russia, whom they accused of promoting the Russification of Poland.

The crushing of the 1905–07 revolution in Russia was also a major setback to the aspirations of the Polish community for political liberation, and it now began to interest itself exclusively in economic problems. The Endek party campaigns became increasingly aggressive, adopting the slogans "Each to his own," "Don't buy Jewish," and "Buy Christian only." The boycott also spread to cultural life, giving birth to numerous exclusively "Catholic" or "Christian" organizations. The anti-Jewish boycott received wide public support after 1912 in connection with the elections for the Fourth Russian *Duma. The Jewish voters did not support the candidate put up by the rightist Polish party, and their votes secured the election of the Socialist candidate. In retaliation the rightist press started an intensive anti-Jewish campaign, proclaiming the beginning of the "Polish-Jewish War." The boycott in Polish areas appears to have been coordinated with the antisemitic campaign simultaneously unleashed in Russia in connection with the *Beilis case.

Between the two world wars anti-Jewish boycott agitation continued particularly in Poland where the situation deteriorated in the wake of economic difficulties, especially following the depression. In an endeavor to soft-pedal the rising social tension, rightist antisemitic circles, with the silent approval of the authorities, pointed at the Jews as the cause of the distress of millions of unemployed. Taking over trade from the Jews was made to serve as a panacea for rampant poverty and unemployment. After the Nazi rise to power in Germany the government publicly announced a general anti-Jewish boycott. Nazi agitators urged boycotting the Jews at mass meetings. On Sunday, April 1, 1933, uniformed Nazi pickets appeared in front of Jewish shops, attacked their clients, and wrote anti-Jewish slogans on their windows. The offices of Jewish doctors, lawyers, and engineers were also picketed. The official German policy roused antisemitic circles in neighboring countries to more extreme action. The anti-Jewish boycott in Poland gathered strength in imitation of the Nazi example, and Polish antisemitic groups began to adopt active boycott pressure. Pickets appeared in front of Jewish shops and stalls and terrorized the Jewish merchants as well as their non-Jewish clients. The rising number of incidents sometimes resulted in the destruction of shops and goods and also an occasional bloody pogrom, as at Przytyk and Wysokie Mazowieckei.

Anti-Jewish boycott activities received the stamp of official approval in Poland in 1937, when Prime Minister Slawoj-Skaladkowski let drop in his notorious statement the slogan "economic boycott? – please!" The Polish government also attempted to step up Jewish emigration from Poland by means of economic strangulation. The boycott did not greatly affect Jewish industrialists and big businessmen, with whom the most rabid propagandists of the anti-Jewish boycott movement not infrequently had secret commercial ties. However, it weighed heavily on hundreds of thousands of small businessmen, artisans, and others. The anti-Jewish boycott – frequently referred to as the "cold pogrom" in the inter-war press – undermined the foundations of the livelihood of hundreds of thousands of Jews.

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[Pawel Korzec]

BOYCOTT, ANTI-NAZI. In protest against anti-Jewish excesses in Germany after the Nazi Party's victory at the polls on March 5, 1933, Jews throughout the world held mass rallies, marches, and a spontaneous anti-German boycott. This boycott developed into an organized movement after the demonstrative all-day boycott of the Nazis against German Jewry on April 1. The boycott proclamation of March 20 by the Jews of Vilna marked the launching of the boycott movement in Europe; Warsaw followed six days later. Soon the movement embraced virtually all Poland and was subsequently consolidated by the United Boycott Committee of Poland. This boycott movement was short-lived, however, for in January 1934, Poland signed a ten-year nonaggression pact with Hitler, in which cessation of boycott activities was stipulated as a precondition. Under Poland's premier, Józef Pilsudski, the provision was ignored. But in June 1935, about a month after his death, the United Boycott Committee was liquidated.

A mass boycott movement in England first began in the Jewish quarter of London's East End on March 24, 1935. The English-German fur business practically ceased as a result. The boycott groups included the Capt. Weber Boycott Organization, the World Alliance for Combatting Anti-Semitism, the British Anti-War Council, and the Anglo-Jewish Council of Trades and Industries. However, the *Board of Deputies of British Jews opposed the boycott throughout the 1930s.

In France, boycott sentiment was not as intense as in Poland or England; nevertheless, on the eve of the April 1 boycott, French Jewry warned that it would counterboycott the Reich if the Nazis carried out their plans, and they executed their threat by action similar to that of London's East End Jews. Two of France's most active boycott groups were the International League against Anti-Semitism, and the Comité de Défense des Juifs Persécutés en Allemagne. However, the *Alliance Israélite Universelle remained opposed to the boycott. At the end of March 1933, the anti-Nazi boycott movement spread to Romania and Yugoslavia, eventually encompassing the Jewish communities of Egypt, Greece, Latvia, Morocco, Palestine, several Latin American countries, and the United States.

In the United States the anti-Nazi boycott reached its peak. America's first established boycott group was the *Jewish War Veterans (March 19, 1933), followed by the American

League for the Defense of Jewish Rights (ALDJR), a new organization founded by the Yiddish journalist, Abraham Coralnik, in May 1933. Three months later the *American Jewish Congress (AJC) made a boycott declaration and subsequently created a Boycott Committee. In October, the American Federation of Labor, a non-Jewish worker's organization, also announced that it was in favor of the boycott. The ALDJR was first led by Coralnik, and after six months by attorney-at-law Samuel Untermyer. In a move intended to alter the League's Jewish character, Untermyer changed its name to the "Non-Sectarian Anti-Nazi League to Champion Human Rights." In 1934 the *Jewish Labor Committee (JLC) was created claiming to represent about 500,000 Jewish workers, and it immediately initiated a boycott program. Two years later, the organization's central body for boycott activities combined with the Congress' Boycott Committee to form the Joint Boycott Council (JBC). The Council and the League proved to be America's principal boycott organizations; the Jewish Veterans and other boycott groups that arose in the late 1930s cooperated with or joined these two organizations. However, attempts to unite the Council and the League were unsuccessful, the two organizations acting separately in consolidating the boycott on an international level.

The Joint Boycott Council's chairman, Joseph Tenenbaum, obtained passage of a boycott resolution at the *World Jewish Congress (WJC) in 1936. This was a reaffirmation of a worldwide boycott resolution adopted by the Second Preliminary Conference (1933), preceding the establishment of the WJC. Also in 1936, Coralnik and Untermyer convened a World Jewish Economic Conference in Amsterdam to coordinate the growing international boycott movement and help find for the boycotting businessmen substitutes for former German sources of supply. To this end, the Conference created a World Jewish Economic Federation, presided over by Untermyer. In keeping with his view that the boycott was a nonsectarian movement, Untermyer changed the Federation's name to the "World Non-Sectarian Anti-Nazi Council to Champion Human Rights." American Jewry's failure to form a united boycott front did not prevent the movement from achieving success. Thus eventually the department store colossi of Macy's, Gimbel's, Sears and Roebuck, Woolworth, and others gave in to continued boycott pressure.

There is evidence that the Nazis, at least during the first two years of their regime, feared that a tight boycott would cripple their economy. Regarding the United States, for example, a memorandum prepared for Hitler by the Economic Policy Department of the Reich as late as November 18, 1938, cited the following comparative figures, which it attributed partly to the boycott:

Year	1929	1932	1937
Import from the U.S.	1,790*	592	282
Export to the U.S.	991	281	209

* In millions of Reichsmarks

In January 1939 dissolution of the *B'nai B'rith in Germany moved its American counterpart to join the boycott movement. However, the American Jewish Committee remained unalterably opposed to the movement throughout the Nazi era. In the United States, a non-belligerent until Pearl Harbor, the boycott was continued until 1941.

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[Moshe Gottlieb]

BOYCOTT, ARAB. The Arab boycott against Israel is the longest-functioning example of economic sanctions against a state. It both constituted a supplement to military force against Zionism and was a means of hampering Israel's economic development. The boycott also enabled greater Arab integration at a time when pan-Arabism was the official policy of several Arab states.

The official boycott was declared in the *Arab League Council in December 1945, almost three years before Israeli independence, but the roots were established long before. In 1910, the Haifa newspaper *al-Carmel* encouraged "an economic boycott against the Jews by not purchasing from or selling to them and not leasing properties." Since the Arab Revolt in Palestine in 1936, the boycotts against Jewish merchandise had gathered strength.

Scholars speak of three different boycotts. First, the primary boycott barred direct Arab commercial and financial transactions with the Jewish community in Palestine, and later Israel, as well as postal, radio, and telegraphic communications. After the declaration of Israeli independence, the secondary boycott blacklisted companies that invested in Israel or traded with Israel. A land, air, and sea blockade was imposed. In 1950, the Arab League Council declared that all ships carrying goods or immigrants to Israel would be blacklisted. The tertiary boycott targeted companies that traded with boycotted companies. Finally, before the Oslo accords of 1993, there was also what has become known as the voluntary boycott. Countries such as Japan voluntarily abstained from close relations with Israel for fear of being boycotted or damaging their own economic relations with the oil-producing countries.

The Arab League Council Resolution 357 of May 19, 1951, established a Central Boycott Office (CBO) in Damascus, along with a Boycott Commissioner. Liaison officers had branch offices in each member state and third party offices were opened, for example, in 1960, in New Delhi. By 1954, 5.7 per cent of the Arab League budget was allocated to the CBO in Damascus, and by 1979, the CBO had 20 employees, five with diplomatic status. In 1981 the boycott office in Damascus was supplemented by an Islamic Office for the boycott of Israel, affiliated to the Islamic Conference Organization. Non-Arab states that actively participated in the boycott included Bangladesh, India, Malaysia, Mali, Pakistan, and Uganda.

The CBO chaired a conference biannually in one of the Arab capitals. It adopted decisions regarding companies considered in breach of the boycott, coordinated policy, and drew up blacklists. Letters were then sent out to offending companies demanding proof they had broken off relations with Israel. If the company did not comply, it was boycotted by the Arab League. No private or public Arab body was allowed to trade with the company under threat of fines, imprisonment, and confiscation of goods. These meetings were backed up by legislation in each member state. Companies seeking new trade relations with the Arab world had to go through a long procedure related to the boycott.

Boycott activities intensified throughout the 1950s. On December 11, 1954, the Arab League passed the Unified Law resolution for the boycott of Israel. The new law prohibited all Arab individuals and entities from dealing with agencies or persons working on behalf of Israel or with foreign companies and organizations having interests, branches, or agencies in Israel. The overriding aim was to prevent investment so that the country could not develop. Exports of Arab goods to countries re-exporting to Israel were also prohibited. In 1958, the boycott was extended to goods produced from Israeli raw materials as well as foreign ships that had visited an Arab and Israeli port in the same sailing.

Each member state had additional legislation. Egypt authorized the seizure and impoundment of cargoes with Israeli destinations, regardless of the ship's nationality. On February 6, 1950, Egypt banned ships suspected of violating the blockade of Israel from the Suez Canal. By 1955 this list included 104 ships. Egypt was particularly careful to prevent the shipment of strategic goods, such as oil, to Israel. In November 1953, it extended the term contraband to include "any foodstuffs or other commodities likely to strengthen the war potential of the Zionists." Captains of vessels and tankers had to guarantee that they would not discharge any of their cargo in an Israeli port and had to submit log books.

In the course of the 1960s, a growing number of American films and actors, including Marilyn Monroe, were banned because the films allegedly contained Zionist propaganda or because the actors were considered pro-Israel or helped collect donations for Israel. Louis Armstrong was banned for performing in Israel.

There were notable successes for the boycott. A British Foreign Office report records that the Lebanese Department of Civil Aviation had approached BOAC, Cyprus Airways, KLM, SAS, Air France, Pan American, and TWA to boycott Israel and not to invest in the country. In 1957, the Arab League announced that its members would henceforth deny overnight and landing rights to Air France. After resisting the boycott for one and a half years, Air France finally caved in at the end of 1958.

Israel invested considerable effort to convince the international community to ban the boycott. On September 1, 1951, the UN Security Council demanded that Egypt terminate its restrictions on navigation through international waterways. The resolution was ignored. The fight against the boycott was a lost cause because of the strength of resistance to Israel in the Islamic world. Israel's solution was to develop an economy detached from its neighbors – a process started in 1936 with the construction of the port of Tel Aviv. Avoiding the secondary and tertiary boycotts was more complex.

The success of the secondary and tertiary boycotts depended on the support of other states. The boycott organizers placed economic pressure on companies, which were in turn asked to put pressure on their governments, or at least not to implement anti-boycott legislation. There were a number of international protests, although the Soviet Union tried to intensify the boycott. In 1950, Britain, Norway, and the U.S. complained to Egypt about the banning of tankers from the Suez Canal. A Security Council resolution of 1956 ordered Egypt to lift the blockade. Except for the years 1957–59, in the wake of the Suez War, the Canal remained closed to Israeli ships and ships bound for Israel.

There is no clear legal consensus on the boycott. Arabs argued that the laws of war entitled a state both to impose an economic boycott and take action against non-neutral third parties. Israel argued that the secondary and tertiary boycotts contradicted international agreements such as articles 11 and 12 of GATT and the Treaty of Rome. In 1976, the U.S. started passing anti-boycott legislation, regulations, guidelines, and executive orders. In 1977, anti-boycott provisions were added to the Export Administration Act. Some European countries such as France, Germany, and the Benelux countries also passed some legislation.

In February 1975, the Arab League adopted a resolution calling for the intensification of the boycott, particularly in the sphere of international financing. Fourteen banks were on the list, including some of the largest and most famous international banks. In one case the Kuwait International Investment Company (KIIC) worked with Warburg and Rothschild on a $75 million international bond issue to raise capital for Volvo and the state of Mexico. The CBO forced the KIIC to withdraw the loan issue. Entering an indirect contractual arrangement as co-manager with a blacklisted underwriter constituted a violation of the boycott.

It was during the 1970s that the first cracks became apparent in the primary boycott. Even at the height of the boycott, there was some trade with Jordan through the "Open Bridges" on the Jordan River and the "Good Fence" between Israel and Lebanon after 1975. There was always trade through third parties.

The secondary boycott was also often erratically applied. Towards the end of the 1970s six Arab League members, Algeria, Mauritania, Morocco, Somalia, Sudan, and Tunisia complied only with the primary boycott. In the late 1980s, despite the fact that the CBO refused to remove Coca-Cola from the blacklist, the company claimed that it was doing business with 11 Arab states, launched an advertising campaign in Bahrain, and opened bottling and canning plants in several Gulf states.

The peace accords between Egypt and Israel in 1978 included an undertaking to cancel the boycott. In reaction, the Baghdad Arab Summit Conference in March 1979 decided to impose economic sanctions against Egypt. However, even after the peace treaty most of Egypt continued with the boycott *de facto*. In the five years after the peace treaty, American companies received nearly 500 requests for boycott compliance. As late as 1988, three Egyptian companies with direct contacts with Israel were blacklisted.

The 1982 Israeli invasion of Lebanon gave the boycott more impetus. By 1987, 26 countries in addition to the 22 member states of the Arab League boycotted Israel economically.

The Gulf War marked a watershed. Although 1991 saw an intensification of the boycott, with another 110 companies added to the list, as a reaction to the large-scale Jewish immigration to Israel from the former Soviet Union, this was a period of contradictory signals. Many important companies such as Coca-Cola were removed and there were a string of informal meetings between Israeli and Gulf officials. Saudi Arabia started to link the boycott to Israeli withdrawal from the West Bank and Gaza Strip. After the Declaration of Principles between Israel and the PLO in 1993, the CBO was hardly able to raise a quorum. By 1994, Qatar confirmed negotiations with Israel to pipe natural gas to Israel via European destinations. On September 30, 1994, the Saudi foreign minister announced the cancellation of the indirect boycott on Israel and on October 27, 1994, following the peace treaty with Israel, Jordan canceled the boycott. By the end of 1996, 14 Arab states had openly gone against boycott. Only eight Arab states continued. The voluntary boycott crumbled in Japan, China, and Korea. Most of the major multi-nationals on the boycott list, including Cadbury, Coca-Cola, Colgate-Palmolive, Ford, Fuji, Jaguar, Schweppes, and Xerox were removed.

The treaty put the Palestinians in a difficult position. Continuing the boycott was important as a bargaining chip for final status negotiations but obstructed raising development money. However, the stalemate in the peace process in 1997 revived the boycott. Saudi Arabia again announced penalties for importing Israeli goods. Then, after the breakdown of negotiations with the Palestinians in 2000, several Arab states abruptly ended their contacts with Israel and reinforced the boycott. In March 2001, Arab heads of state reactivated the boycott in Amman, Jordan. As a result, Israeli trade representations in the Gulf states and parts of North Africa closed down. After years of declining representation, 19 Arab countries attended the 72nd conference of the CBO in April 2004. There were calls for a new boycott on Coca-Cola and Ford but anti-boycott laws had been tightened and Arab governments were more reluctant to enforce the provisions.

Trade between Egypt and Israel remained low and decreased considerably since the outbreak of the 2000 Intifada but was not discontinued. Trade levels between Jordan and Israel, on the other hand, increased rapidly after the creation of Qualified Industrial Zones offering special tax breaks for export items produced by Israeli-Jordanian ventures.

Apart from the primary boycott that was still enforced in states with no relations with Israel, trade unions and professional associations in every Arab country still implemented blacklists against individuals and companies with ties to Israel. These associations were particularly strong in Jordan and Egypt, the only Arab countries with full relations with Israel. For example, in 2004 the Egyptian pharmaceutical union called for a boycott of a U.S. drug company. In Jordan and Egypt, however, the trade unions and professional associations were more effective in implementing the boycott within their own countries than pressuring foreign companies or countries. While the voluntary boycott has all but disappeared, the primary boycott was still widespread in countries with no formal relations with Israel.

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[Gil Feiler (2nd ed.)]

BOZECCO (Bozecchi), BENJAMIN BEN JUDAH (1290–1335), Italian grammarian and biblical exegete, who lived in Rome. His name probably derived from the town Buzecchio in the district of Forli, Italy, from which his family came. In one of his poems *Immanuel of Rome praises him as "the father of all the scholars in mathematics and geometry, preeminent in Bible and *masorah, whose talents and wisdom are unlimited" (cf. D. Yarden (ed.), *Maḥberot Immanuel ha-Romi*, 1 (1957), 229–31). Of his biblical commentaries only those to Proverbs and Chronicles have survived. Written apparently before 1312, they consist mainly of explanations of difficult verses and grammatical comments. He also completed the commentary to Kings left unfinished by *Isaiah Trani the Elder. His exegesis is based upon the literal meaning, and he is considered a pioneer of this method among the Italian Bible commentators. In the introduction to his commentary on Proverbs he emphasizes his opposition to the homiletic method in exegesis, pointing out that most exegetes "follow the method of homiletical exposition (*derash*) instead of the literal, and fail to pay attention to the significance of what the rabbis call *peshat* (literal exposition), i.e., that which is *pashut*, simple and obvious." Among his grammatical works are *Mavo Kaẓar le-Torat ha-Higgui*, on phonetics, published as an introduction to the *Sefer ha-Dikdukim* of Moses Kimḥi (Venice, 1546) and *Mevo ha-Dikduk*, a revised version and extensive summation of the former book (published by S. Loewinger, 1931). A commentary to Ezra and Nehemiah (published by Berger in *Kobez al Jad*, 7 (1896–97); see Alberstamm's note, p. 42) as well as various *piyyutim* are also attributed to him.

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[Yehoshua Horowitz]

BOẒRAH (Heb. בָּצְרָה).

(1) A city in *Bashan, south of the *Hauran mountains. It is probably mentioned in the city list of Thutmose III (no. 23) and the Tell *el-Amarna letters (EA 197) as Buzruna. It does not appear in the Bible but may be identical with Bosoa, where Jews lived in the time of the Hasmoneans (I Macc. 5:26). Bozrah's great period began in 106 C.E. when the Nabatean kingdom was annexed to the Roman Empire and Trajan built a highway from Bozrah to Aïla. He also established the camp of the Third Legion, "Cyrenaica," at Bozrah (Ptolemy 5:16, 4), and the city was then renamed Nova Trajana Bostra. Hadrian visited it in 129 C.E. Some time later it became the capital

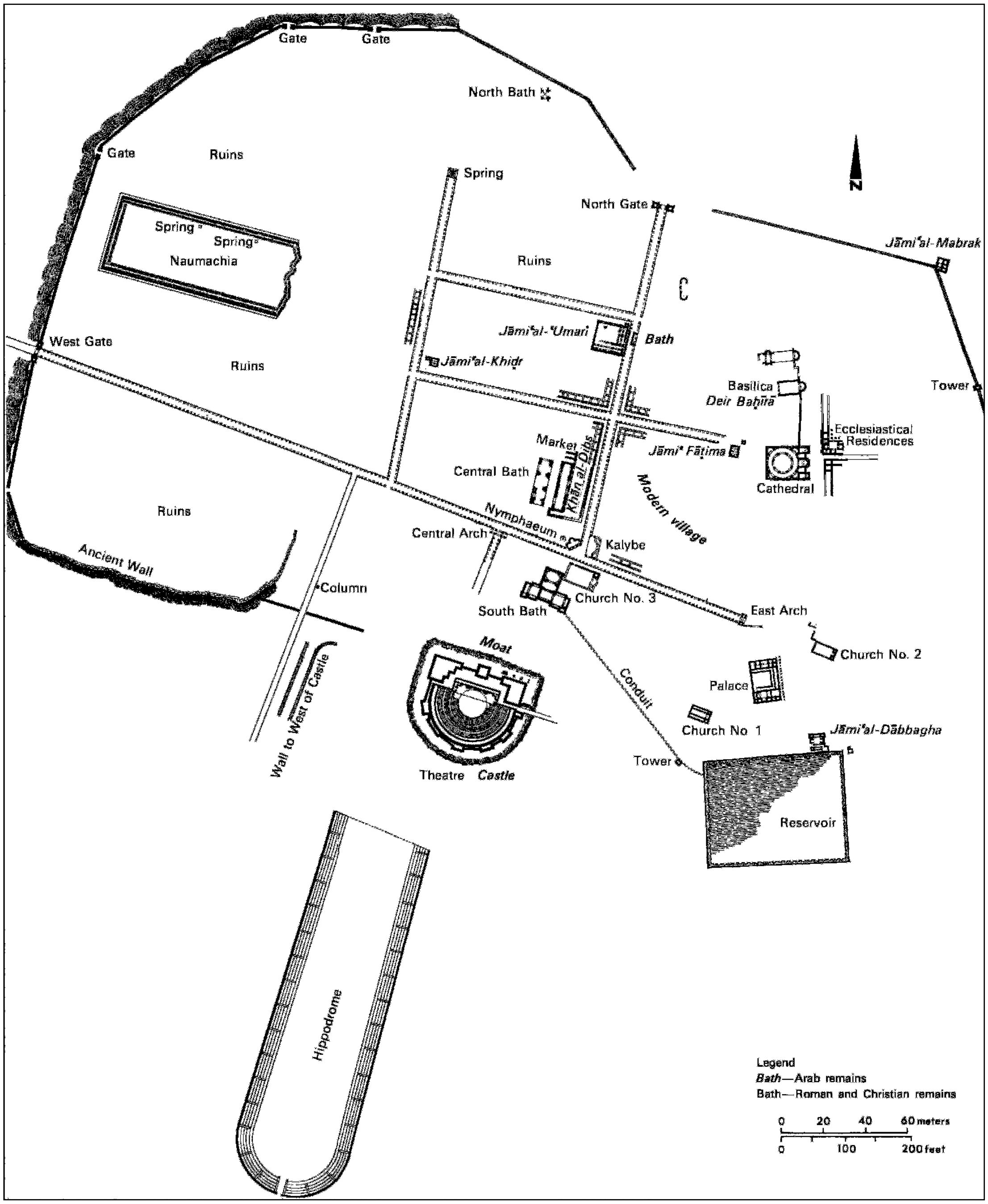
Gate
Gate
North Bath
Gate
Ruins
Spring
North Gate
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Spring
Spring
Naumachia
Ruins
Jāmiʿal-Mabrak
West Gate
Ruins
Jāmiʿal-ʿUmari
Bath
Jāmiʿal-Khiḍr
Basilica
Deir Baḥīrā
Tower
Ecclesiastical Residences
Market
Khān al-Dibs
Jāmiʿ Fāṭima
Central Bath
Cathedral
Modern village
Ruins
Nymphaeum
Central Arch
Kalybe
Ancient Wall
Column
Church No. 3
South Bath
East Arch
Moat
Church No. 2
Wall to West of Castle
Conduit
Palace
Church No 1
Jāmiʿal-Dābbagha
Tower
Theatre
Castle
Reservoir
Hippodrome
Legend
Bath—Arab remains
Bath—Roman and Christian remains
0 20 40 60 meters
0 100 200 feet

Remains of the ancient city of Bozrah. (1). After H. C. Butler, Architecture and Other Arts, *Princeton University Press.*

of the province of Arabia, a position it retained until the end of Byzantine times (Eusebius, Onom. 10:46). From the third century onward, it was the seat of a Christian archbishopric and in the same century, was elevated to the rank of a Roman colony. In the fourth century, Bozrah was a flourishing city which had trade relations with Persia and Arabia. In the Roman and Byzantine periods, Jews lived at Bozrah and the community included many rabbis, such as Jonah, Eleazar, Berechiah, and Tanḥum; others, among them Resh Lakish and Abbahu, visited the city since the local Jews seem to have been lax in their religious observances. The Babylonian Talmud (Shab. 29b) mentions a synagogue at Bozrah. Bozrah was the capital of the Ghassanid principality under Byzantine suzerainty. It was captured by the Arabs in 635 and retained its status as capital of the Hauran. It is today a village in Jordan called Buṣrā-Askī Shām with about 2,000 inhabitants. The impressive archaeological remains of the ancient city include a wall, intersecting streets, a triumphal arch, a well-preserved theater, burial towers, baths (there are springs in the northwest of the city), and a large cistern, 485 × 62 ft. (148 × 19m.), from Roman times. A Christian cathedral, built in 512, contains one of the earliest known examples of a Byzantine dome. A second church has a bell tower and a monastery called Deir (Dayr) Baḥīrā after the monk with whom Muhammad is said to have lodged on his visit there. Around the Roman theater is a citadel erected in 1202 by the Mamluk sultan al-Ādil. Archaeological researches were conducted by the American University of Beirut between 1980 and 1984 in the northwest area of the city, with the discovery of settlement remains from the Early and Middle Bronze Ages. A project of mapping and excavation at the site has been conducted by a Franco-Syrian team since the early 1980s, providing much information about the Nabatean-Roman and Byzantine cities.

(2) A city of *Edom. It is mentioned in the Bible in connection with the list of Edomite kings (Gen. 36:33) and in other passages (I Chron. 1:44; Isa. 34:6, 63:1; Jer. 49:13, 22; Amos 1:12). In ancient times Bozrah was a stronghold (hence its name, meaning "fort") guarding the roads from the plateau of Edom to the *Arabah. Archaeological remains have been discovered at a place which the locals call Buṣayra, located 6 miles (10 km.) south of Tafila. Surveyed by N. Glueck, the site was subsequently excavated by C.M. Bennett between 1971 and 1974 and in 1980. The excavations revealed a major Edomite settlement in the Iron Age II, with later remains from the Persian, Hellenisitic, and Roman phases.

(3) A village on the southern border of Trachonitis. It is mentioned as Bosor (I Macc. 5:26) and called Buṣr al-Ḥarīrī in Arabic. Jews who settled there in the time of *Judah Maccabee appealed to him for help against their neighbors, and this help was promptly given. The name also occurs in the phrase "Trachonitis in the territory of Bozrah" (instead of "Bozrah in the territory of Trachonitis"?) in the list of the country's borders (Tosef., Shev. 4:11; Sif. Deut. 11:21).

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[Michael Avi-Yonah / Shimon Gibson (2nd ed.)]

BOZRAH (Heb. בָּצְרָה), moshav in Israel in the southern Sharon near Ra'ananah, affiliated with Ha-Iḥud ha-Ḥakla'i, the middle-class settlements association, founded in 1946 by World War II veterans. After the War of Independence (1948) immigrants from Poland, Romania, and North Africa joined the settlement. The moshav's economy was based on intensive farming, including citrus groves, orchards, field crops, and beehives. The biblical name of the moshav (literally "fortified place") coincides with that of the Iraqi town Basra, where the first settlers served with the British Royal Engineers Corps and organized themselves for future settlement. In 1969 the moshav numbered 425 inhabitants, increasing to 671 by 2002.

WEBSITE: www.hof-hasharon.co.il.

[Efraim Orni]

BOZYK, MAX (1899–1970), Yiddish comic actor. Born in Lodz, Bozyk was touring in Argentina when Poland was overrun by the Germans in 1939. He and his wife, Rose (Reyzl), reached New York in 1941 and soon became a popular comedy touring team in the U.S. and Canada. They performed together on the American-Yiddish stage for 30 years. Bozyk acted in such films as *Castle in the Sky* (1936), *The Dybbuk* (1937), *The Jester* (1937), *Yiddel mit'n Fiddel* (1936), *Jolly Paupers* (1938), *A Brievele der Mamen* (1938), *Little Mother* (1938), *The Eternal Song* (1939), and *God, Man, and Devil* (1949). With his wife, he appeared in the vintage musical *Catskill Honeymoon* (1949). Directed by Josef Berne, *Catskill Honeymoon* tells the story of a Jewish resort hotel that celebrates the 50th wedding anniversary of a couple who are longtime clients by putting on a rollicking Borscht Belt show, replete with singers, dancers, comedians, and impressionists. The show's grand finale is a powerful musical tribute to the year-old State of Israel. The movie was filmed at Young's Gap Hotel in Parksville, New York. Plays in which Bozyk appeared in New York include *Don't Worry, Brother!* (1963) and *The Travels of Benjamin III* (1969). He was president of the Hebrew Actors' Club. His wife, ROSE (1914–1993), made her American film debut in 1988 in *Crossing Delancey*. In the role of Bubbie Kantor, Amy *Irving's grandmother, she is said to have stolen the show.

[Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

BOZZOLO, town in Lombardy, northern Italy. Jewish settlement in Bozzolo began in 1522 with the arrival of Jewish loan bankers, who had close connections with the Jews in the nearby duchy of *Mantua. During the 17th and the first half of the 18th century, a small but prosperous community existed in Bozzolo, mainly occupied in banking, commerce, and farming of the customs dues. By the first half of the 17th century, the influential Finzi family was able to build a rich network of commercial, economic, and cultural activity, such as the production, manufacture, and trade of silk. They founded a company that set up all the mulberry plantations in Bozzolo, Sabbioneta, and Rivarolo. At the end of 18th century, under Austrian rule, the economic and commercial importance of Bozzolo progressively diminished and the Jews began to leave and move to Mantua or Milan. In the 1820s 135 Jews lived in Bozzolo and a new cemetery was opened, at the edge of the town, with a stone plaque of the burial society transferred there from the old graveyard and affixed to the lodge at the entrance, reading: "Ḥevrat Gemilut Ḥasadim, in the month of Menahem, in the year 5532." There is also evidence of a Jewish cemetery with three tombstones from the 18th century which had been converted into a private vegetable garden. There were no Jews left in Bozzolo by the beginning of the 20th century.

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[Federica Francesconi (2nd ed.)]

BRACH, SAUL (1865–1940), rabbi in Slovakia. He served as rabbi in the Hungarian communities of Nagykaroly and Dunaszerdahely, and, finally, in Košice, Czechoslovakia. His *Avot al Banim* (1926) is prefaced by a violent attack on the Zionist movement (the Mizrachi and Agudat Israel included). Here he states that believers in the law of Moses "should keep their distance from Zionists and Mizrachist homes and avoid eating and drinking with them as they would with gentiles. Further, they ought to be excluded from the community" (p. 27). Although he fully appreciated the Hebrew language, he opposed its secular use (p. 23). In his opinion the Balfour Declaration was "in the interest of the gentile world, its purpose being to rid the nations of the world of the Jews." He was the author of many works, among them: (1) *Mishmeret Elazar* 1897 and subsequent parts, on the festivals and "the excellence of the Holy Land"; (2) *Libba Ba'ei* (1911), novellae on talmudic themes; (3) *Sha'ol Sha'al* (1911), on *Yoreh De'ah*; (4) *Le-Olam ha-Ba* (1938), on *Avot*; and a series of works on the festivals and the month of Elul.

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[Naphtali Ben-Menahem]

BRADFORD, city in Yorkshire, England. A Jewish community existed in Bradford by the middle of the 19th century, composed largely of German Jews attracted by the industrial and commercial growth of the city. Services are said to have been held in Bradford in the 1830s, but the first synagogue was built in 1873. A Reform community (after that of London, the second in England) was founded in 1880. The Jewish population was later reinforced by refugees from the Russian persecutions. The German Jewish group was of great significance in the cultural life of the city. The artists Sir William *Rothenstein and Albert Rutherston were born in Bradford. The poet Humbert *Wolfe went to school there and described his childhood in his autobiography (*Now a Stranger*, 1933). Jacob *Moser was lord mayor of Bradford in 1910–11. The Jewish population numbered about 700 in 1968 but dropped to approximately 170 in the mid-1990s. Nevertheless, the optional religious question asked for the first time in the 2001 British census found 356 declared Jews in Bradford. In 2004 an Orthodox and Reform synagogue existed.

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[Cecil Roth]

BRAFMAN, JACOB (c. 1825–1879), Russian apostate and antisemitic author. Orphaned at an early age, Brafman fled from his native city of Kletsk to evade being forced into military service by the agents of the community (see *Cantonists). He became embittered by his experiences, and conceived a hatred for the Jewish community and its institutions. At the age of 34 he joined the Greek Orthodox Church and was appointed Hebrew teacher at the government theological seminary in Minsk. He later served as censor of Hebrew and Yiddish books in Vilna and St. Petersburg. Brafman attacked the Jewish communal organization (*kahal*) in Russian periodicals, describing the *Society for the Promotion of Culture among the Jews in Russia and the *Alliance Israélite Universelle, as "a state within a state." He alleged that they formed part of an international Jewish conspiracy. In 1869, Brafman published with official support and at government expense *Kniga Kagala* ("The Book of the Kahal"), a translation into Russian of the minutes (*Pinkas*) of the *kehillah* of Minsk. A second, enlarged two-volume edition was published in 1875; the first volume, containing essays on Jews and Jewish customs, was published posthumously with an introduction by Brafman's son (1882). The book, translated into French, Polish, and German, created a stir among Jews and Russians. It was presumed by Russian readers to give information about the "secret" customs of the Jews by which they allegedly acquired power over gentiles; antisemitic authors used it to justify anti-Jewish outrages. Although Brafman was accused of forgery, in fact his book was a fairly accurate translation of the documents. It has served a number of scholars as a historical source for knowledge of the inner life of Russian Jewry in the 19th century. The impression made by his book is evidence of the extent to which autonomous Jewish community life was alien to modern centralistic political ideas, ideals, and modes of relationship between individuals and the state. The Russian poet V.F. Khodasevich (1886–1940) was Brafman's grandson.

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°BRAGADINI, noble Venetian family; printers of Hebrew books from 1550 to 1710 (see Hebrew printing in *Venice). In 1550 Alvise Bragadini published Maimonides' *Code* with annotations by Meir *Katzenellenbogen of Padua. When the rival house of *Giustiniani issued Maimonides' *Code* in 1550, the resulting dispute, together with Moses *Isserles' decision in favor of Bragadini, led to a prolonged feud and denunciations to Pope Julius III, who eventually decreed the confiscation and burning of all copies of the Talmud in 1553. For ten years the printing of all Hebrew books was prohibited in Venice, and only in 1564 did Alvise Bragadini's press resume its activities. Alvise died in 1575. Hebrew printing continued under his son Giovanni from 1579 to 1614–15, and under Giovanni's son or sons and grandsons until the 18th century. Ḥ.J.D. *Azulai reports a visit to the Bragadini printing works. A great selection of Hebrew literature came from this press.

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BRAGANZA, town in northern Portugal. The royal privileges of 1187 spoke of the penalty to be inflicted if a Jew who came to the city was assaulted, from which it appears that no community had yet been set up. In 1279 a number of Jews from the city, apparently recently arrived, paid King Denis handsomely for a charter of protection. Thereafter, there are frequent mentions of the community. Under Alfonso IV (1325–1357) there were complaints by the populace against the rate of interest charged by the Jews, which was henceforth limited. In 1429 the *comuna* of the Jews of Braganza were given certain privileges by the Crown, confirmed in 1434 and 1487. In 1461 the community, led by their rabbi, Jacob Cema (Ẓemaḥ), assembled in a public square and appointed representatives to negotiate with the city authorities on matters in dispute. The rabbi in 1485 was Abraham, the physician who purchased the wines produced by the royal estate adjacent to the "vineyards of the Jews." On the expulsion of the Jews from Spain in 1492, 3,000 exiles arriving through Benavente are said to have established themselves in the region. After the forced conversion in Portugal in 1497, Braganza became one of the most important centers of crypto-Judaism in the country. Many Crypto-Jewish families retained their special identity, continuing to practice some Jewish customs, uphold certain beliefs, and marry among themselves. Bragança was the place of origin of many important Converso families. It was in Bragança that Orobio de Castro, who died as a Jew in Amsterdam, was born in 1621. The number of Crypto-Jews in Bragança was very high, and some 800 local Judaizers appeared at various autos-da-fé in Portugal up to 1755. For example, more than 60 appeared in a single *auto* held at Coimbra on May 17, 1716. Traces of crypto-Judaism are still strong there, though attempts to establish some sort of organized Jewish life have failed. In 1920s services were still held in a place of worship, a synagogue where children received religious instruction. Special prayers were recited and the services were led by women. In the first half of the 20th century descendants of Crypto-Jews still lived in their own quarter.

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[Cecil Roth / Yom Tov Assis (2nd ed.)]

BRAHAM, JOHN (1774 or 1777–1856), English singer. The son of Abraham of Prosnitz (d. 1779), chorister of the Great Synagogue, London. Braham sold pencils in the street before being adopted by his father's associate Meir *Leoni, who introduced him to the Great Synagogue as his assistant. Braham made his first appearance on the stage in 1787 as "Master Braham", and in due course was taken under the patronage of Abraham *Goldsmid, who provided for his musical education. In 1797 he went to Italy and toured Europe with great success together with the celebrated Madame Storace (who bore him a son, later a Church of England clergyman). On his return to England in 1801 he was hailed as the most remarkable singer of the time. It is said that no other English tenor has ever had so wide a vocal range. He himself composed many of the songs he sang, among them "The Death of Nelson," one of the most popular patriotic songs of the period. Although in later life Braham had little contact with Judaism, he collaborated in 1815 with Isaac *Nathan in "Hebrew Melodies" for which Lord *Byron wrote the text. In 1835 Braham built the St. James' Theater in London, but the venture proved disastrous financially and in 1840 he tried, with little success, to recoup his fortunes by a concert tour in America. He continued his platform appearances until shortly before his death. Braham's daughter, Francis Elizabeth, Countess Waldegrave (1821–79), was a notable society and political hostess in the mid-Victorian period.

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[Cecil Roth]

BRAHAM, RANDOLPH LOUIS (1922–), historian of the Holocaust, distinguished professor emeritus of political science at the City College of New York and the doctoral program at the Graduate Center of the City University of New York. Braham was born in Bucharest (Romania) and lived until 1943 in Dej (Transylvania), from where he was sent by the Hungarian authorities to serve in a military forced labor battalion as a Jew who was not allowed to serve in his country's armed forces. Shortly after World War II he left for the United States, where he began his academic studies in comparative politics. After obtaining his Ph.D., he began to study the history of the Holocaust of Central European Jewry. His best-known work is *The Politics of Genocide: The Holocaust in Hungary* (1994^2). *Studies on the Holocaust*, two volumes of his selected writings, appeared in 2000 and 2001 and he edited numerous volumes on the subject.

Among other things Braham discusses the disillusionment of the Jews of Northern Transylvania, who believed that the Hungary they encountered in 1940 was the Hungary they had known before 1919. They soon discovered that the antisemitic laws enacted there after 1919 were no better than those enacted in Romania between 1919 and 1940 and found themselves delivered into the hands of the Nazis by those same Hungarians in whose nobility they had fervently believed. Another subject dealt with by Braham is the role played by the Romanian authorities under Antonescu in the murder of between 290,000 and 390,000 Romanian and Ukrainian Jews, and which the post-1948 Communist regime tried to avoid recognizing. Braham was decorated by the presidents of both Hungary and Romania.

[Paul Schveiger (2nd ed.)]

BRAHM, OTTO (originally **Abrahamsohn**; 1856–1912), German stage director and drama critic. Brahm was theater critic for the *Frankfurter Zeitung, Vossische Zeitung*, and *Die Nation*, and was one of the most influential champions of Ibsen and the new naturalist school. He was cofounder and first president of Berlin's Freie Buehne (1889), a private organization which performed Ibsen and other "modernists" such as Gerhart Hauptmann and Hugo von Hofmannsthal. With the publisher S. Fischer, he founded the monthly *Freie Buehne fuer modernes Leben*, later renamed *Neue Deutsche Rundschau*, as the mouthpiece of the naturalist revolution in literature. In 1894 Brahm took over Berlin's Deutsches Theater, moving to the Lessing Theater in 1904. With his productions of Ibsen, Hauptmann, and Schnitzler, he made Berlin one of Europe's theatrical centers. The "Brahm style," a rigorous stage realism expressing subtle psychological nuances, was adopted by the actors he trained. These included Max *Reinhardt and Albert Bassermann. His greatest triumph came in 1909–10 when, at the Lessing Theater, he staged a cycle of Ibsen's 13 sociocritical plays. Paul Schlenther collected Brahm's outstanding reviews and literary essays in *Kritische Schriften* (2 vols., 1913–15), enlarged and revised by Fritz Martini, *Otto Brahm, Kritiken und Essays* (1964).

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[Oskar Seidlin / Bjoern Siegel (2nd ed.)]

BRAILA (Rom. **Brăila**, Turk. **Ibraila**), port on the River Danube, S.E. Romania; within the Ottoman Empire from 1544 to 1828, in which year 21 Jewish families were living there. Despite difficulties with the authorities the Jewish population grew after the annexation of Braila to Walachia and its development as an important commercial port. The number of Jews increased from 1,095 in 1860 to 9,830 (17.3% of the total population) in 1899. The majority were occupied in commerce and crafts; in 1889, 24.4% of the shops in the town belonged to Jews, and in 1899, 24.2% of the artisans were Jews. The first Reform synagogue to be established in old Romania was opened in Braila in 1863. This led to a division of the community until a unified central administration was reestablished in 1905. In 1930 there were 11,327 Jews living in Braila. Communal institutions then included a kindergarten, two elementary schools (for boys and girls), a secondary school for boys, a clinic, and a night shelter. In the Holocaust period, the situation of the Jews deteriorated. On Sept. 30, 1940, the entry of the Jews into the port was forbidden. On August 4, 1941, forced labor groups were organized which included men between the ages of 18 and 50. Many Jews were pauperized and the community had to help them. Two secondary schools were founded for Jewish pupils excluded from public schools. After the war (1947), 5,950 Jews lived in Braila, among whom were former deportees to Transnistria. The number dropped to 3,500 by 1950. In 1969 there were around 1,000 Jews in Braila, although most of the surviving Jews had settled in Israel. In 2004, there were 141 Jews living there, with a functioning synagogue.

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[Eliyahu Feldman and Theodor Lavi / Lucian-Zeev Herscovici (2nd ed.)]

BRAILOV, small town in Ukraine. The community numbered 638 in 1765 (living in 190 houses); 2,071 in 1847; and 3,721 in 1897 (43% of the total population). In 1852, all 78 artisans in the town were Jews, and in the 1880s, Jews owned industrial enterprises such as a sugar refinery, brewery, flour mills, and tanneries, employing many Jewish workers. The town had a *talmud torah*, a school for boys, and one for girls. On the eve of WWI Jews owned all 19 grocery stores, all 16 textile shops, and the only pharmacy in the town. In 1918–19, during the civil war, about 26 Jews were massacred and around 100 women were raped in pogroms in Brailov, including one perpetrated by the *Petlyura gangs. The Jews in the town succeeded in warding off one attack. The Jewish population numbered 2,393 in 1926. In the late 1920s, in the Soviet period, Jewish breadwinners were 31% artisans, 21% blue-collar workers, 17% small merchants, 9% clerks, and 21% unemployed (without civil rights). From the mid-1920s, there was a Jewish village council that conducted its proceedings in Yiddish. Brailov was occupied by the Germans on July 17, 1941, and immediately 15 Jews were shot. A ghetto was established and a heavy tribute was imposed on the population. On February 13, 1942, 1,500 Jews were assembled; the sick and those discovered in hiding were shot on the spot. Around 300 artisans were sent back to the ghetto, joined by 200 still in hiding, and the remaining 1,200 Jews were executed. On April 18, 180 Jews, mostly children and elderly persons, were murdered. The last group of 503 (including 286 prisoners from *Zhmerinka) was executed on August 25, 1942.

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[Shmuel Spector (2nd ed.)]

BRAILOWSKY, ALEXANDER (1896–1976), U.S. pianist of Ukrainian birth. After study with his father, a professional pianist, Brailowsky continued his training at the Kiev Conservatory, graduating with a gold medal in 1911. Following advanced studies with Leschetizky in Vienna (1911–14) and Busoni in Zurich (1915), he completed his trainings with Planté in Paris, where he made his début in 1919.

An exceptionally successful international career was to follow. Brailowsky was one of the first pianists to present a complete cycle of Chopin's solo works. He played them in six recitals in Paris (1924) and later in New York, Buenos Aires, Brussels, Zurich, and Mexico City. He made a coast-to-coast tour of the U.S. in 1936. Brailowsky was noted for his strong virtuosic approach, extreme clarity of texture, cleanly articulated phrasing, and technical panache. His repertory encompassed many of the big virtuoso works of the Romantics. He was particularly admired for his playing of Chopin and Liszt.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Grove online;* MGG; *Baker's Biographical Dictionary* (1997).

[Naama Ramot (2nd ed.)]

BRAININ, REUBEN (1862–1939), Hebrew and Yiddish author. Brainin was born in Lyady, Belorussia, and received a traditional Jewish education. His first article was on the last days of Perez *Smolenskin (*Ha-Meliẓ* (1888), no. 59). In 1892 he settled in Vienna where he published an influential but short-lived periodical *Mi-Mizraḥ u-mi-Ma'arav* (1894–99) which was intended to be a bridge between European and Hebrew literature. Only four issues were published at long intervals, with articles on Tolstoy, Nietzsche, Ibsen, and Hebrew scholars such as *Elijah b. Solomon Zalman of Vilna. Brainin also published essays in the annual *Aḥi'asaf*. He attracted wide attention with his caustic critique of Judah Leib *Gordon in the first issue of *Ha-Shilo'aḥ* (1896), edited by Aḥad *Ha-Am. The central theme of Brainin's work was Hebrew literature in the context of world literature. His flair for biography came to the fore in monographs on two great writers of the Haskalah period, Perez Smolenskin (1896) and Abraham *Mapu (1900), which possessed an unusual freshness of tone and approach. He championed the young and unknown Saul *Tchernichowsky, who became one of the great Hebrew poets of the century. In *Ha-Dor* (founded in 1900), Brainin published articles and sketches on contemporary Hebrew writers and artists. There was hardly a Hebrew periodical of the time to which Brainin did not contribute. He also wrote extensively in Yiddish and contributed articles to the Russian-Jewish press. In 1909 Brainin settled in America where he founded the periodical *Ha-Deror*. He spent a few years in Canada, where he edited two Yiddish papers: first the *Kanader Adler* (1912–15), then *Der Weg* (1915–16). He returned to New York and assumed the editorship of *Ha-Toren* (1919–25), first as a weekly, then as a monthly. In New York he also published the first volume of an uncompleted biography of Herzl, *Ḥayyei Herzl* (1919), covering the period up to the First Zionist Congress. Toward the end of his life, Brainin wrote almost exclusively in Yiddish. His championship of the autonomous Jewish province of Birobidzhan in Soviet Russia alienated him from Hebrew writers and Hebrew literature. The three volumes of his selected writings (*Ketavim Nivḥarim*, 1922–40) afford an insight into his activities as a critic, publicist, and writer of sketches and short impressionistic stories. He also translated into Hebrew M. Lazarus' *Der Prophet Jeremias* (1897) and Max Nordau's *Paradoxes* (1901). (For English translations of his works see Goell, Bibliography, 2010, 2763–73.)

His son JOSEPH (1895–1970) was a U.S. journalist and publicist. Joseph, born in Vienna, served with the Jewish Battalion of the British forces in Palestine during World War I. In 1918 he obtained permission from the Canadian prime minister to form a Jewish legion, which he recruited in Canada and the United States to reinforce the Jewish Battalion. In 1921 he emigrated to the United States and founded the Seven Arts Feature Syndicate. He served as its editor in chief until 1938. Joseph was associated with the American Committee for the Weizmann Institute of Science from 1953 and became executive vice president in 1957.

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[Eisig Silberschlag]

BRAMPTON (Brandon, Brandão), SIR EDWARD (c. 1440–1508), Anglo-Portuguese adventurer. Although his father was a Jewish blacksmith Brampton claimed to be the illegitimate son of a Christian nobleman. He was baptized in England c. 1468, taking the name of his godfather, King Edward IV. Subsequently he received various military and naval commands and was rewarded with mercantile privileges and grants of land; in 1482 he became governor of the island of Guernsey and was knighted in 1484. Having been of service to Alfonso V of Portugal during the latter's exile in France, Brampton later returned to Portugal and was made a member of the Royal Council. His knowledge of the English court enabled him to assist Perkin Warbeck in his bid for the English throne as the alleged son of Edward IV. Brampton's family gained prominence in Portugal but suffered discrimination because of its Jewish origin, which it tried ineffectively to conceal.

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[Cecil Roth]

BRAMSON, LEON (Leonty; 1869–1941), communal worker and writer. Born in Kovno, Bramson graduated in law from Moscow University, then settled in St. Petersburg, where he practiced, and was active in the *Society for the Promotion of Culture Among the Jews. He was also director of the central committee of the *Jewish Colonization Association from 1899 to 1906. Under his direction a statistical study was carried out on the economic situation of the Jews in Russia (published in Russian in 1904 and in French in 1906–8). He was one of the compilers of the *Sistematicheskiy ukazatel literatury o yevreyakh na russkom yazyke* ("Systematic Guide to Russian Literature About Jews," 1892), and contributed many articles to *Voskhod* and other periodicals on problems of Jewish education, emigration, and colonization. Active in Jewish political life, Bramson was one of the founders of the "Jewish Democratic Group." In 1906 he was elected to the First Duma as a deputy for Kovno province, joining the Labor faction ("*Trudoviki*"). During World War I, the Revolution, and the Civil War, Bramson was an organizer of the Central Committee for the Relief of Jewish War Sufferers (*YEKOPO). When he left Russia in 1920, he continued to work in Western Europe on behalf of *ORT (with which he had been associated in Russia from 1909), serving as its president from 1923 until his death. Bramson had been a convinced anti-Zionist, but changed his views after a visit to Ereẓ Israel in 1934.

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BRAND, JOEL JENŐ (1906–1964), member of Va'adat Ezrah va-Haẓẓalah, the Budapest Jewish relief committee set up during World War II and the courier chosen by Adolph Eichmann to offer Hungarian Jews in exchange for goods, in what became known as the "Blood for Trucks" offer. Brand, who was born in Naszód, moved to Erfurt, Germany, with his family in 1910. Active in Communist politics, he traveled to the United States, the Far East, and Latin America, returning to Germany in 1927. He was injured in a Communist-Nazi fight in 1933 but was expelled from Germany in the summer of 1934. He escaped to Transylvania and from there went to Budapest, where he joined *Po'alei Zion, and at a Zionist training farm met Hansi Hartmann, whom he married in 1935. From 1938 Brand was active in a semi-clandestine organization for helping Jewish refugees flee into Hungary, which until March 1944 was allied with but independent of Germany. He established contact with Abwehr (German military intelligence) agents under Admiral Canaris who were then secretly working in Hungary. In January 1943 the Va'adat Ezrah va-Haẓẓalah was formally established in Budapest under the leadership of Ottó *Komoly, aided by Rezső (Rudolf) *Kasztner. Brand was the main liaison between the Va'adah and the Abwehr, which had been disbanded in Febuary 1944. As a member of this committee, Brand met Adolf *Eichmann, upon whose orders he left for neutral Turkey on May 17, 1944, to present the Jewish Agency with a German proposition to exchange the lives of Hungarian Jews for goods: Eichmann used trucks as an example, one million Jews for 10,000 trucks that would be used only on the Eastern front against the Soviet Union. Brand traveled to Turkey with Bandi Grosz, a double agent on a separate but not unrelated mission who was to initiate discussions with the Allies regarding a separate peace. With the German position collapsing after the defeats at Stalingrad and El-Alamein, the only hope for Germany to avoid total defeat was to split the British, American, and Soviet alliance. Eichmann was acting on the orders of *Himmler – without Hitler's knowledge and without the knowledge of the Foreign Office, which would have objected that the SS was moving in on its area of responsibility. The offer to rescue Jews may have been based on Himmler's exaggerated perception that Jews could effectively change American policy of total surrender, while the offer of a separate peace was rooted in the impending collapse of Germany. Upon arrival, Brand met with the representatives of the Jewish Agency in Istanbul, who understood the importance of the offer and hoped to prolong the negotiations in order to forestall the deportation of Hungarian Jews, which commenced on May 15, two days before Brand's departure. An emissary was immediately dispatched to Jerusalem to brief David *Ben-Gurion and Moshe Shertok (*Sharett). The Jewish Agency concluded that Shertok should travel immediately to Turkey, but Turkish authorities refused to issue a visa. Brand's offer was considered by the Americans and the British, who were fearful that the transfer of so large a population would interfere with the war effort and who were as a matter of principle not interested in a separate peace. They sensed that the Germans were trying to create a wedge between the Allies and the Soviet Union and to blame the Allies for the failure to halt the deportation of Hungarian Jews. Thus, both missions were doomed to failure. American officials insisted that the Russians be informed of the offer, which in essence gave the Soviet Union veto power. Their reasoning was that it was better for the Russians to hear of this offer directly from the Americans than to learn of it through their own intelligence services in Istanbul, where their suspicions would be aroused. Within weeks "the blood for goods" offer was leaked to the press; an article was published in the *New York Herald Tribune. The London Times* called the story one of "most loathsome of the war." Press exposure effectively killed any hope for the offer. Unable to have Shertok travel to Istanbul, Brand set off for Palestine. He was arrested in Aleppo, Syria, by the British, who claimed that they suspected him of being a Nazi agent, and was taken to Cairo. On October 7, 1944, some three months after the deportation of Hungarian Jews had ended, he was released in Jerusalem.

Brand, a defeated and bitter man, remained in Ereẓ Israel; he became a member of the Stern Gang and testified at the Kasztner trial in 1954. The Brand mission was featured prominently at the trial, though in the end it was not regarded as germane to the judgment. The Jewish Agency was accused by the defense of sabotaging the attempted rescue. Brand devoted himself single-mindedly to tracking down Nazi war criminals. Both Brand and his wife, who was also active in the Va'adat Ezrah va-Haẓẓalah, testified at the Eichmann trial that he had had direct contact with the accused. He died in Frankfurt, where he was testifying against Hermann Krumey and Otto Hunsche, two of Eichmann's chief aides. The story of Brand's mission was dramatized by Heinar Kipphardt in his play *Die Geschichte eines Geschaefts* (1965).

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[Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

BRANDÃO, AMBRÓSIO FERNANDES (c. 1560–c. 1630), Portuguese author and soldier. Brandão distinguished himself as an officer in the Portuguese campaigns against the French and Indians in northern Brazil. In 1583 he lived in Pernambuco (Recife) where, like many other New Christians of the region, he practiced Judaism in secret. For attending services at a clandestine synagogue Brandão was denounced to the Inquisition in Bahia in October 1591. His name was again mentioned during the trial of another Judaizer, Bento *Teixeira Pinto, in January 1594 and he was once more denounced to the Holy Office in Lisbon in 1606. Brandão nevertheless managed to retain his freedom and eventually settled in Paraíba, where he owned sugar mills during the years 1613 to 1627. There he died prior to the Dutch invasion. Brandão is the reputed author of the *Diálogos das Grandezas do Brasil* (1618), one of the two outstanding works on the history of Brazil composed in the 17th century. In the *Diálogos*, which reflect local conditions in about 1618, conversations are conducted between Brandosio (i.e., Brandão himself) and Alviano (Nuño Alvares, a colleague who was also a New Christian and was similarly denounced to the Holy Office). Brandão claimed that the Brazilian Indians are descended from children of Israel who reached the Americas during the reign of Solomon, but Alviano disagreed with this view. The work contains a number of other references to the Jews.

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BRANDEAU, ESTHER (18th cent.), first Jewish immigrant to New France. Esther Brandeau was the daughter of David Brandeau, a Jewish trader in St. Esprit, near Bayonne, France. She arrived at Quebec City in September 1738 on the ship *Saint-Michel,* disguised as a boy, Jacques LaFarge. When her gender was discovered the Intendant of New France ordered her arrested and held under surveillance at the Quebec hospital. Brandeau had apparently lived as a Christian boy, mainly employed in the shipping trade, for five years before arriving in Quebec City. Since it was impossible for a Jew to remain in New France, strenuous efforts were made for more than a year to convert her but she refused to abandon her religion. She was finally deported to France with the cost of her return passage paid for by Louis XV. In a letter dated January 25, 1740 the King wrote, "[the] Intendant of Canada, upon my orders sent the Jewish girl, Esther Brandeau, back to France on the ship, *La Comte de Matignon*, of New Rochelle, the owner of the ship, Sieur La Pointe, applied to me for reimbursement of the passage money…." After her deportation in 1739 nothing further is known about her.

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[Cheryl Tallan (2nd ed.)]

BRANDEIS, LOUIS DEMBITZ (1856–1941), U.S. jurist, the first Jew to be appointed to the U.S. Supreme Court.

Early Years

Brandeis was born in Louisville, Kentucky, the youngest of four children of Adolph and Frederika Dembitz Brandeis. His parents, both of whom were born in Prague, came of old and cultivated Jewish families with a deep interest in European liberalism. Apprehensive of political repression and economic distress after the failure of the 1848 revolutions, both families immigrated to America. Although they had formed the romantic idea of turning to a life of farming, they were dissuaded by Adolph, who had come in advance to explore the possibilities of life in the new country. After a short stay in Marion, Indiana, where a business venture did not prosper, the families moved to Louisville. There Adolph established a grain and produce business which proved highly successful until the depression of the early 1870s.

Louis early showed himself to be a remarkable student. He was brought up in a family environment that cultivated intellectual achievement and spiritual sensibility but in which formal religious training was eschewed. Louis' mother explained this aspect of her children's education: "I wanted to give them something that neither could be argued away or would have to be given up as untenable, namely, a pure spirit and the highest ideals as to morals and love. God has blessed my endeavors." Louis especially admired an uncle, Lewis *Dembitz, a scholarly lawyer and author in Louisville, sometimes known as "the Jewish scholar of the South," who was to become a follower of Theodor Herzl and an active Zionist. In honor of his uncle, Louis changed his middle name from David to Dembitz.

Following his graduation from high school at 15, and after the family business was dissolved because of financial reverses, Louis accompanied his parents in 1872 on an extended trip to Europe. During 1873–75 he attended the Annen Realschule in Dresden. Although he found the demands of the classroom rewarding, the repressive discipline of the place was distasteful. He was eager to return home. "In Kentucky," he said, "you could whistle." On his return, influenced by his uncle's career, Louis entered Harvard Law School. Supported by loans from his older brother and earnings from tutoring fellow students, he completed the course before his 21st birthday with an academic record unsurpassed in the history of the school.

Law Career

Brandeis formed a law partnership in Boston with a former classmate, and by the age of 30 he had achieved financial independence, thanks both to the success of his legal practice and to a deliberately frugal style of living. This simplicity came to be shared and abetted by his wife, Alice, daughter of Joseph Goldmark, a noted Viennese scientist. The wedding ceremony was performed in 1891 by her brother-in-law Felix *Adler, founder of the Ethical Culture Society.

In appearance Brandeis was a figure at once compassionate and commanding – tall, spare, ascetic, with deep-set, dark, penetrating eyes. Many who saw him thought of Lincoln. President Franklin Roosevelt spoke of him as "Isaiah."

As a lawyer Brandeis devoted himself increasingly to public causes and to the representation of interests that had not theretofore enjoyed such powerful advocacy: the interests of consumers, investors, shareholders, and taxpayers. He became known in Boston as the "People's Attorney." When Woodrow Wilson was elected president in 1912 on a platform of the New Freedom, he turned to Brandeis for counsel in translating ideas of political and social reform into the framework of legal institutions. In 1916 Wilson nominated Brandeis as a justice of the Supreme Court, precipitating a contest over confirmation in the Senate that lasted more than four months. The conservatives in that body were unprepared for a nomination to the Court so deeply innovative: the nominee was a Jew, and he was a lawyer of reformist bent. Standing firm against great pressure to withdraw the nomination, Wilson insisted that he knew no one better qualified by judicial temperament as well as legal and social understanding, and confirmation was finally voted on June 1, 1916.

Jewish and Zionist Activities

Brandeis' involvement in Jewish affairs began only a few years before his appointment to the Court. He had never disavowed the faith of his fathers and had contributed to Jewish philanthropies, but his concerns had been overwhelmingly secular. In 1911, he recounted, his interest in Judaism was stirred by two experiences. One was his service as mediator in the New York garment workers' strike, in an industry dominated on both sides by Jews of humble origin in Eastern Europe. He found a strong sense of kinship with these people, who were remarkable not only for their exceptional intelligence but above all for a rare capacity to see the issues from the other side's point of view. The other experience was a meeting with Jacob *De Haas, then editor of the *Jewish Advocate* in Boston, who had served as Herzl's secretary in London. De Haas was thoroughly familiar with the accomplishments of Lewis Dembitz in Kentucky, and excited in the nephew a new interest in Jewish history and particularly in the Zionist movement. Brandeis, as was his habit, read everything on the subject that De Haas could furnish, footnotes as well as text, De Haas said, and became convinced that, so far from bringing a threat of divided loyalties, American and Zionist ideals reinforced each other. "My approach to Zionism," he said, "was through Americanism. In time, practical experience and observation convinced me that Jews were by reason of their traditions and their character peculiarly fitted for the attainment of American ideals. Gradually it became clear to me that to be good Americans we must be better Jews, and to be better Jews we must become Zionists. Jewish life cannot be preserved and developed," he asserted, "assimilation cannot be averted, unless there be established in the fatherland a center from which the Jewish spirit may radiate and give to the Jews scattered throughout the world that inspiration which springs from the memories of a great past and the hope of a great future."

Brandeis' rise to leadership in the movement was rapid. When war broke out in 1914 and certain leaders of the World Zionist Organization moved to America, Brandeis consented to serve as chairman of the Provisional Committee for General Zionist Affairs. He supported the convening of an American Jewish Congress representing all important Jewish groups in the country to give the widest support to Jewish interests at the peace conference. He thereby brought himself into conflict with eminent non-Zionists in the United States. His close relations with President Wilson and high administrative officials played an important part in securing support for the *Balfour Declaration, and later for the British Mandate, with adequate boundaries.

Conflict within the Zionist Movement

A turning point in Brandeis' leadership developed out of his relationship with Chaim *Weizmann. The two met for the first time in London in the summer of 1919, when Brandeis was making a trip to Paris, site of the peace conference, and then to Palestine. In Palestine he was exhilarated by the spirit of the settlers but distressed by the debilitating prevalence of malaria and by the lack of business methods and budgetary controls in the handling of Zionist funds. He insisted that priority be given to remedying these physical and financial troubles. In the summer of 1920, at a meeting of the World Zionist Conference in London, Brandeis sought agreement on a plan to concentrate Zionist activity on the economic upbuilding of Jewish settlement in Palestine and to conduct that activity with efficiency and in accordance with sound financial principles. He proposed a small executive body that would include Weizmann and several men of great business experience, including Sir Alfred Mond and James de Rothschild, together with Bernard Flexner, an American lawyer, and others to be co-opted with the aid of Lord Reading. Weizmann was at first attracted to the plan because of the new strength it would give to the movement; but when he found his old colleagues from Eastern Europe offended because of their exclusion from the executive, he felt the tug of divided loyalties and expressed misgivings to Mond and de Rothschild, who withdrew because of the prospect of internal strife.

Brandeis was deeply disturbed by these developments and decided that he could not accept responsibility for the work of the World Organization; he consented to continue as honorary president only when persuaded that his withdrawal would have serious implications for the safety of the Jews in Eastern Europe. In June 1921, at a convention of American Zionists, the controversy brought serious repercussions. Many delegates had strong ties of loyalty to Weizmann and other Eastern European leaders, and shared Weizmann's view that the financial autonomy Brandeis desired for the American organization would weaken the strength of the World Organization. When a majority of the delegates refused a vote of confidence to Brandeis' position, he resigned from any position of responsibility, although not from membership in the organization. In this action he was joined by his principal supporters, including Julian W. Mack, Rabbi Stephen S. Wise, Felix Frankfurter, and Robert Szold.

The ardor of Brandeis' commitment, however, did not slacken. He inspired the organization of the Palestine Cooperative Company, which became the *Palestine Economic Corporation, to work in the investment field on projects that could become self-supporting, and the establishment of the Palestine Endowment Fund to administer bequests and trust funds primarily for projects not expected to yield a financial return. Brandeis contributed generously of his spirit and fortune. In his will the largest bequest was to the Zionist cause. He continued to receive frequent calls for counsel, which he would give, consistent with his judicial office, generally in the form of searching questions that would clarify the problem for the inquirer's own good judgment.

Supreme Court

In his judicial career, as in his Zionist activity, Brandeis was preeminently a teacher and moralist. His important judicial opinions are magisterial in character, notable not merely for their solid craftsmanship and analytical power but for their buttressing with data drawn from history, economics, and the social sciences. At a time when a majority on the Court was striking down new social legislation, Brandeis (together with his colleague Justice Holmes) powerfully insisted that the U.S. Constitution did not embody any single economic creed, and that to curtail experiment in the social sciences, no less than in the natural sciences, was a fearful responsibility. Not only did Brandeis vote to sustain such measures as minimum wage laws, price control laws, and legislation protecting trade unions against injunctions in labor disputes; his dissenting opinions in these cases served to illuminate their basis in experience and in social philosophy. These controversies arose under the vague constitutional standard of "due process of law."

Another notable category of cases concerned the distribution of governmental powers between the national government and the states. Brandeis believed that the American federal system was designed to encourage diffusion and sharing of power and responsibility, so he was receptive to the claims of the several states to engage in experimental legislation unless Congress itself had plainly exercised authority over the subject matter. Deeply convinced that responsibility is the greatest developer of men, and that even in the ablest of men the limits of capacity are soon reached, he regarded the dispersal of power within a continental domain to be both a moral imperative and a practical necessity.

In one important field Brandeis saw a duty incumbent on the Court to be less hospitable to legislative intervention: the area of freedom of thought and expression. Only when speech constituted a genuinely clear and imminent danger to public order would he uphold its suppression. He believed that "the greatest menace to freedom is an inert people;… that order cannot be secured merely through fear of punishment for its infraction; that it is hazardous to discourage thought, hope and imagination; that fear breeds repression; that repression breeds hate; that hate menaces stable government; that the path of safety lies in the opportunity to discuss freely supposed grievances and proposed remedies; and that the fitting remedy for evil counsels is good ones" (*Whitney* v. *California*, 274, U.S. Reports 357, 375 (1927)). By the time of his retirement in 1939, he saw the Court well on its way to the adoption of the positions he had for so long taken in dissent.

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[Paul A. Freund]

BRANDEIS-BARDIN INSTITUTE was founded in 1941 by Shlomo *Bardin (1898–1976) with the initial support of Justice Louis Brandeis, and settled on its 3,200-acre campus in Simi Valley of Southern California in 1947. It was not associated with any organization or movement, religious or secular, but rather was devoted to practicing traditional Judaism as related to the needs of modern living.

The programs stressed instruction in Judaism for American Jews and non-Jews alike. There were three principal programs: Brandeis Camp Institute, a leadership training program for college youth; Alonim, a summer camp for children; and weekend sessions for adults through the House of the Book Association. The latter was centered on the observance of the Sabbath and a scholar-in-residence. Upon the death of Bardin, Dennis Prager became the director of the Institute, and in 1977 the Brandeis Institute was renamed the Brandeis-Bardin Institute.

The institute's mission is primarily "to touch and teach Jews, to inspire them through their intellect and emotion, to enhance their connectedness to the Jewish people through the arts as well as academics, and to make a contribution to the advancement of Jewish culture as a means of Jewish identity." As an educational outreach resource, in addition to its Sabbath retreats for all, the institute developed a special weekend program for newly married couples to learn more about incorporating Judaism into their lives while meeting other newlyweds and making new friends. Another innovation is the T'hila Jewish Summer Arts Institute. In this program, youth aged 14–18 study with accomplished Jewish artists as well as teachers of drama, dance, music, creative writing, and visual arts. In 1992 the institute created an Elderhostel program, offering seniors week-long educational activities and classes on Jewish themes. The Brandeis-Bardin Institute also provided the setting for media productions, from movies and TV shows to videos and student films.

[Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

BRANDEIS UNIVERSITY, the only secular institution of higher learning in the Diaspora that is both Jewish-sponsored and non-sectarian. Brandeis University was founded in 1948 and has continued to rank near the top of academic life in the United States. In 1985 Brandeis was elected to membership in the Association of American Universities, an elite organization of the nation's 59 research universities. Controlling for size and judged according to faculty publications and citations, Brandeis was ranked ninth in 1997 among research universities. Over 3,000 undergraduates were enrolled at the beginning of the 21st century, plus another 1,300 graduate students. As of 2004, the campus consisted of 96 buildings, located on 235 suburban acres nine miles west of Boston. Brandeis University is especially renowned for its programs in the physical and natural sciences, in history, and in Jewish studies.

Its founding president, Abram L. *Sachar, was a scholar of Jewish history; in 1968 he retired after two decades, and became chancellor and then chancellor emeritus. (He died in 1993, at the age of 94.) Sachar's successor was an attorney, Morris B. Abram, who had served as president of the American Jewish Committee. Amid considerable political turmoil on campus, he remained as president for only two years, and was briefly replaced by Charles Schottland, the former commissioner of the Social Security Administration and the founding dean of the Florence Heller Graduate School for Social Policy and Management (established at Brandeis in 1959). By 1972, when Schottland resigned in favor of Marver H. Bernstein, the Rosenstiel Basic Medical Research Center was completed, as was the Feldberg Computer Center.

Bernstein, a specialist on the politics of Israel and the former dean of Princeton University's Woodrow Wilson School of Public Affairs, served until 1983. His tenure at Brandeis was marked in particular by deepening financial problems, stemming from a loss of donor support due to Israel's immediate needs in the aftermath of the Yom Kippur War, and from a stagnant if not declining national economy. Co-educational from the outset, Brandeis also lost a competitive advantage when neighboring Ivy League institutions accepted female matriculates. Bernstein's successor was a Hungarian-born biologist, Evelyn Handler, the president of the University of New Hampshire. Serving at Brandeis until 1991, Handler confronted an ongoing problem of how to define the Jewish auspices of the institution. It had been formed in no small measure to counteract the academic antisemitism that had especially characterized Ivy League institutions, which had discriminated against Jewish students seeking admission and Jewish scholars seeking employment. Brandeis promised to be a haven against the discrimination inherent in the quota system. But after such antisemitism had vanished, the Jewish character of Brandeis University looked increasingly ambiguous. In an effort to expand its constituency, a more variegated campus cuisine – that would include unkosher foods like pork and shellfish – was to be introduced, intensifying controversy over the Jewish heritage of the university that bedeviled its presidency.

In 1991 Samuel O. Thier, a physician who had headed the Institute of Medicine of the National Academy of Sciences, became president; he served for three years. In 1992 the Goodman Center for the Study of Zionism was established; and two years later, the Volen National Center for Complex Systems, with particular focus upon the neurosciences, was dedicated. The International Business School was also created in 1994. Thier's successor was his provost, Jehuda *Reinharz. The first Brandeis alumnus (Ph.D. 1972) to serve as president (and the first to have been born in Israel), he had taught Jewish history in the Lown School of Near Eastern and Judaic Studies. President Reinharz served longer than any predecessor other than Sachar. He supervised the establishment of an International Center for Justice, Ethics and Public Life, which enhanced the historic reputation of the university for promoting undergraduate interest in social activism and progressive causes. Among the activists and scholars who joined the faculty during Reinharz's presidency were former Soviet refusenik and Israeli politician Natan *Sharansky, former Texas governor Ann Richards, and the former Secretary of Labor under President Bill Clinton, Robert B. *Reich.

In 1948 the Brandeis library was a converted stable, housing a few dozen volumes (including multiple copies of *Gone with the Wind*). By 1997 a million books had been shelved at the Goldfarb-Farber Library. (The millionth copy was a rare first edition of *The Law of God*, Isaac Leeser's 1845 Hebrew-English edition of the Pentateuch.) The chief source of funding for the libraries has been the Brandeis University National Women's Committee. With about 50,000 members organized in over a hundred chapters, it is the largest voluntary organization of supporters of any academic library in the United States. Jewish women themselves became objects of research in 1997, when the world's only university-based institute for the study of Jewish women, the Hadassah-Brandeis Institute, was created; its founder and co-director has been sociologist Shulamit Reinharz (Ph.D. 1977).

At the dawn of the 21st century, the university's endowment was about $400 million; and over 300 full-time professors and instructors served on the faculty, providing an official student-faculty ratio of 9:1. The teaching staff belonged to 24 autonomous departments and 22 interdisciplinary programs, offering three dozen majors. Degrees in nearly two dozen disciplines were also offered in the graduate programs. Probably the most famous faculty member was Morris Schwartz, the subject of a memoir by his former student, Mitch Albom, 1979, entitled *Tuesdays with Morrie* (1997), which ranked first on the *New York Times* hardcover best-seller list for four straight years. MacArthur Foundation Fellowships (or "genius" grants) were bestowed on three faculty members: Bernadette Brooten of the Lown School of Near Eastern and Judaic Studies, a specialist in the social history of early Christianity; historian Jacqueline Jones, whose expertise combines the history of American women, labor, and African-Americans; and biologist Gina Turrigiano, who works on activity-dependent regulation of neuronal properties. *Washington's Crossing* (2004), by David Hackett Fischer of the Department of History, was also a finalist for the National Book Award. The faculty in the early decades of the university had been heavily stocked with Jewish refugees, some of whom had academically unconventional careers or even limited formal education. The origins of the faculty in later decades were far more likely to resemble the pattern of other elite institutions. The shift to native-born scholars was evident in Jewish studies. Brandeis was the first secular university in North America to create such a department; and its faculty has been especially distinguished, including Bible scholars Nahum *Sarna and Michael *Fishbane, sociologist Marshall *Sklare, historians Ben *Halpern and Jonathan D. *Sarna, and such scholars of Judaic thought as Nahum *Glatzer, Alexander *Altmann, Marvin *Fox, and Arthur *Green.

Because the university is neither a religious seminary nor a sectarian institution, the Jewishness of its origins and character has instigated a considerable effort to negotiate and define; and press accounts timed to honor both the 40th and 50th anniversaries of the founding of the institution referred to an "identity crisis" from which Brandeis University was reportedly suffering. That dilemma has persisted. Beginning in the 1970s and gathering momentum in succeeding decades, Brandeis has been sensitive to the celebration of diversity as a desideratum in public life and especially on the nation's campuses. About 16% of the student body is classified as "minority"; 101 foreign countries are also represented among the undergraduates and graduate students. The effort to ensure that both the student body and the personnel of the faculty and administration would reflect the ethos of multiculturalism was bound to generate some friction with a yearning to keep intact the heritage of Jewish distinctiveness, with the continuing effort of both undergraduates and institutional leaders to articulate the meaning of the Jewish legacy of Brandeis University, and with imperatives of its Jewish communal sponsorship and auspices.

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[Stephen J. Whitfield (2nd ed.)]

BRANDENBURG, German province. The earliest Jewish community in the mark of Brandenburg was established in Stendal before 1267. In 1297, it received a liberal grant of privileges which served as the model for the other communities there. Most of the communities (*Berlin, Pritzwalk, Salzwedel, Spandau, *Frankfurt on the Oder) maintained synagogues but few had rabbis. A liberal charter, granted to the Jews in Neumark in 1344, was later extended to the Jews of the mark of Brandenburg (1420, 1440). The Jews were not restricted to a specific quarter in the cities of the mark and were often granted rights of citizenship. Many of the communities were annihilated during the *Black Death (1349–50). The Jews were expelled from the area in 1446, but permitted to return a year later. Exorbitant taxes were levied in 1473 which only 40 Jews were able to pay. In 1510 a charge of desecrating the *Host developed into a mass trial in which 38 Jews were burned at the stake and the remaining 400 to 500 Jews expelled. Elector Joachim II (1535–71) permitted Jews to trade in Brandenburg (1539) and to settle there (1543) after discovering that the accusations were groundless. The favor he showed toward his *Court Jews Michel *Jud and *Lippold was greatly resented.

On Joachim's death anti-Jewish riots broke out and the Jews were again driven out. Jews expelled from *Vienna in 1670 were permitted to settle in Brandenburg, then part of Prussia. The Jewish population in the province of Brandenburg, excluding Berlin, numbered 2,967 in 1816; 12,835 in 1861 (an increase mainly due to emigration from Poland); and 8,442 in 1925. After World War II, few Jews lived in the area. In the *Land* Brandenburg there were 162 Jews in 1989 and 1,028 in 2003, mostly in Potsdam.

The City of Brandenburg

Jews are mentioned in the city at the end of the 13th century. In 1322 they owned a synagogue and several private houses. Despite the sufferings caused by the Black Death, their numbers increased during the second half of the 14th century; the privilege accorded to them by Elector Frederick II in 1444 mentions their "weakness and poverty." In 1490 mention is made of a Jewish street and in 1490–97 of a Jewish cemetery ("*kiffer,*" a corruption of the Hebrew *kever*). The Host desecration libel in 1510 led to the execution of Solomon b. Jacob and other Jews of Brandenburg (see above). In 1710 five Jewish families with residential rights were living in the city. A community was organized in 1729. It acquired a prayer hall and two cemeteries (1720, 1747). The Jewish population numbered 21 families in 1801 (104 persons; out of the total population of 10,280); 18 families in 1813; 130 persons in 1840; 209 in 1880; and 469 in 1925. It had declined to 253 by 1939 and came to an end during World War II. The Jewish community was not reestablished after the war.

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BRANDES (Cohen), CARL EDVARD (1847–1931), Danish author, playwright, and politician; younger brother of Georg *Brandes, Brandes specialized in Oriental languages at the University of Copenhagen and received his doctorate in 1879. He published translations from Sanskrit and also Danish versions of Isaiah (1902), Psalms (1905), Job, and Ecclesiastes (1907). However, he openly professed atheism and had no connection with Jewish affairs. Brandes entered politics as a member of the Radical Party. After the split in the party in 1884, he founded a new opposition paper *Politiken* which attained great political and cultural influence. From 1889 until 1894 and from 1906 until 1927 he sat in the Chamber of Deputies. Brandes served as finance minister during 1909–10 and from 1913 to 1920. His diplomatic skill as a negotiator gained him considerable renown, and he acquired further distinction as the administrator of neutral Denmark's finances during World War I. Brandes was also deeply interested in the theater and even tried to become an actor. He wrote on modern Danish and foreign drama, and in his plays fought against conventional morality and hypocrisy in human society.

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[Frederik Julius Billeskov-Jansen]

BRANDES, GEORG (**Morris Cohen**; 1842–1927), Danish literary critic and writer. Brandes was born into an assimilated family which had retained some nominal ties with the Copenhagen Jewish community. As a student of philosophy, he was at one stage strongly attracted to Søren Kierkegaard's Christianity. Turning more and more to literature, Brandes abandoned the idealist philosophy of his time, mainly during a stay in Paris (1866–67), where he was especially influenced by Taine. In 1870 he received his doctorate for a thesis on Taine's aesthetics and at about this time he also became Denmark's leading advocate of the new positivism. A series of public lectures which Brandes delivered in 1871 appeared as *Hovedstrømninger i det 19de Aarhundredes Litteratur* (6 vols., 1872–90; *Main Currents in 19th Century Literature*, 1901–05) and was notable for its new and unorthodox approach. In this work he formulated his opposition to romanticism, and demanded that literature should stimulate the discussion of modern problems. Nevertheless, Brandes' essays on the Scandinavian romantics are among his best works.

Meanwhile, the new naturalist school had gained support and the critic found gifted disciples in Ibsen and Strindberg, among others. However, he encountered strong opposition from conservative and church circles and as a result was denied the chair of aesthetics at the University of Copenhagen. (Years later, in 1902, the title of professor was eventually conferred on him, but without the obligation to lecture.) Bitterly disappointed, Brandes left Denmark and from 1877 until 1882 lived in Berlin. There he became active in the field of German literature, embarking on a new, and ultimately decisive, trend: concentration on personalities rather than on literary currents. Brandes' essays on John Stuart Mill, Renan, Flaubert, and the two great Norwegian writers, Bjørnson and Ibsen, testify to this change, as do his monographs on Lassalle (1877) and Disraeli (1878). In 1883 Brandes returned to Denmark, where friends helped him to secure a livelihood. His new lectures and essays appeared in a selected English edition as *Eminent Authors of the 19th Century* (1886). In 1886 and 1887 travels in Eastern Europe provided him with material for two books, *Indtryk fra Rusland* (1888; *Impressions of Russia*, 1889) and *Indtryk fra Polen* (1888; *Poland, A Study of the Land, People and Literature*, 1903).

In the 1880s Brandes read the still unknown Friedrich Nietzsche and found a message for himself. His Danish article on the German philosopher (1888) was published in Germany (*Aristokratischer Idealismus*, 1890) and marked the starting point of Nietzsche's world fame. Thereafter Brandes indulged in a kind of hero worship. His books on great figures include *Shakespeare* (1895–96; seven English editions appeared from 1898 to 1924); *Goethe* (1915; Eng. tr. 1924–36);

Voltaire (1916–17; Eng. tr. 1930); *Julius Caesar* (1918); and *Michelangelo* (1921). When *Eminent Authors* appeared in a new English edition in 1923 as *Creative Spirits of the 19th Century*, it was characteristically enlarged with essays on Swinburne, Garibaldi, and Napoleon. In one of his last works, *Sagnet om Jesus* (1925; *Jesus, a Myth*, 1927), Brandes sought to refute the historical basis of Christianity and launched another attack on early Christianity in *Urkristendom* (1927). His collected works appeared in Danish (1899–1910) and in German (*Gesammelte Schriften*, 1902–1907).

Georg Brandes was one of Denmark's greatest writers and his enormous influence on Danish culture and on European literature is still apparent. He was also one of the outstanding representatives of the greatness and tragedy of the assimilated European Jew. It is significant that the Jewish figures whom he tried to understand and describe were *Heine, *Boerne, *Disraeli, and *Lassalle. Although Brandes created a new type of literary critic and was familiar with all of the different national literary and political manifestations in Europe, he himself was never really at home anywhere and his relationship with Denmark was ambivalent. He was never really accepted by the Danes and his ideas still provoke either enthusiasm or disgust. Brandes denounced the progroms in Eastern Europe, but repudiated his own Jewishness and disliked "Jewish" characteristics in others. He defended Dreyfus, but did not take Herzl's *Jewish State* or the Zionist movement very seriously, much to Herzl's dismay. After the Balfour Declaration, Brandes recognized the reality of Zionism. He expressed this change of view in an article entitled "Das neue Judentum" (1918), which later appeared in a biographical study by Henri Nathansen. Here, an intimate friend described the critic's struggle with his Jewish identity.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: H. Nathansen, *Jude oder Europaeer: Portraet von Georg Brandes* (1931); J. Moritzen, *Georg Brandes in Life and Letters* (1922); P. von Rubow, *Liter're Studier* (1928); idem. *Georg Brandes' Briller* (1932); *Correspondance de Georg Brandes*, 5 vols. (1952–66); H. Fenger, *George Brandes et la France* (1963), contains bibliography and list of works, including posthumous editions of his correspondence; A. Bein and G. Herlitz (eds.), *Iggerot Herzl*, 1 (1948), contains Herzl's letters to Brandes.

[Frederik Julius Billeskov-Jansen / Leni Yahil]

BRANDES, LUDWIG ISRAEL (1821–1894), philanthropist and chief physician of the General Hospital in Copenhagen. Brandes was one of the first Danish doctors to understand and practice physiotherapy, and he wrote a treatise on this subject. He established the first Danish day nursery and a society for children's care. In 1859 he founded a private old-age home called Københavns Sygehjem, which still exists, and initiated several new social projects for the benefit of Danish communal life. His autobiography *Mine Arbejders Historie* ("The Story of My Works," 1891) gives evidence of a great scholar and humanist.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Dansk Biografisk Leksikon*, 3 (1934), 643–4.

[Julius Margolinsky]

BRANDON, OHEB (Oeb) ISAAC (1830–1902), Dutch *ḥazzan*. Brandon was one of the best-known Sephardi *ḥazzanim* of Amsterdam, serving the congregation from 1861 to 1902. He wrote a guide for *ḥazzanim* which was probably partly a translation of the Hebrew guide, *Seder Ḥazzanut*, preserved in the community's archives. Brandon's work gave minutely detailed information about the melodies used on various occasions. It also dealt with local traditions such as the allocation of functions during services and included a chapter on the Portuguese phrases used for announcements in the synagogue. Brandon had considerable influence on his successors, especially Jacob *Blanes.

BRANDSTAEDTER, MORDECAI DAVID (1844–1928), Galician Hebrew writer. A successful manufacturer, he became a leading figure in the Tarnow Jewish community, and was appointed lay judge in the district court. His first short stories, "*Eliyahu ha-Navi*" ("The Prophet Elijah") and "*Mordekhai Kizoviẓ*," appeared in *Ha-Shaḥar* (1869), which published most of his subsequent work. Brandstaedter ridiculed the Ḥasidim and their *Ẓaddikim*. He also exposed the foolishness of the so-called "enlightened" Galician Jews, and their shallow materialism. He did not employ the biting satire or the rationalistic didactic moralizing of most of his contemporaries in the Haskalah movement. He gently mocked his characters' petty and ridiculous activities, without hate or anger. His work bore traces of romanticism; he invented intricate and wonderful plots and idealized characters and situations. Although he did not delve into economic or social problems, he had a grasp of prevailing conditions in the Pale and opposed defects in marriage customs, family life, education, and communal affairs. He derided Jewish petty mercantilism and advocated that Jews engage in craftsmanship and agriculture. In later life, Brandstaedter joined the Ḥibbat Zion movement, and his stories "*Kefar Mezaggegim*" ("The Glaziers' Village"), and "*Zalman Goi*" ("Zalman the Gentile") extolled Zionism and life in Ereẓ Israel. In his work, the dialogue tended to take dramatic form, but occurred naturally within the plot, and avoided lengthy philosophizing and blatant propaganda. Brandstaedter shunned elaborate phrases, and preferred a more concise style. His descriptions were realistic. During World War I Brandstaedter was forced to flee to Vienna. He returned to Tarnow in 1918, and wrote a series of aphorisms, entitled "*Keisamim*" for the New York Hebrew magazine *Hadoar* (1924–29). His autobiography "*Mi-Toledot Ḥayyai*" also appeared in *Hadoar* (1926, nos. 12–20). A three-volume edition of his collected works was published in *Warsaw* (1910–13).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Lachower, Sifrut, 2 (1929), 237–8, 315; Klausner, Sifrut, 5 (1955^{2}), 232–42.

[Mordechai Rabinson]

BRANDSTAETTER, ROMAN (1906–1987), Polish poet and playwright. A grandson of the Hebrew writer Mordecai David *Brandstaedter, he was born in Tarnow. His early verse, collected in *Jarzma* (1928), *Droga pod góré* (1931), and *Wézty i* *miecze* (1933), was on general themes. During the 1930s he edited Zionist periodicals and began writing poems extolling the return to Zion and the rebuilding of the Jewish national home. Two of his collections at this period were entitled *Królestwo trzeciej świątyni* ("The Kingdom of the Third Temple," 1934 and *Jerozolima światla i mroku* ("Jerusalem of Light and Twilight," 1935). For the first 40 years of his life Brandstaetter was a devoted Jew. In 1936 he published a brilliant attack on antisemitism in *Zmowa eunuchów* ("The Conspiracy of the Eunuchs," 1936), and his studies of Jewish interest included one on *Mickiewicz, *Legion żydowski Adama Mickiewicza* ("The Jewish Legion of Adam Mickiewicz," 1932) and another on the writer Julian *Klaczko, *Tragedia Juliana Klaczki* (1933). When he escaped to Palestine in 1940 he was warmly received by the Hebrew writers and his play about antisemitism in pre-war Poland was staged. After World War II Brandstaetter moved to Rome and swiftly abandoned all ties with the Jewish people, marrying the relative of a Polish cardinal, and converting to Catholicism. In 1948 he returned to Poland, where he joined the Catholic group of writers. His later works include dramas inspired by Polish history, such as *Powrót syna marnotrawnego* ("The Return of the Prodigal Son," 1948; 19562); a play about *Rembrandt; and the first part of a novel about Jesus, *Jezus z Nazaretu: Czas milczenia* ("Jesus of Nazareth: The Time of Silence," 1967; 1982).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: E. Korzeniewska (ed.), *Sȟownik wspóȟtczesnych pisarzy polskich*, 1 (1963), 260–3 (incl. bibl.).

[Moshe Altbauer]

BRANDT, BORIS (**Baruch**; 1860–1907), Russian Zionist, writer, and economist. Brandt, who was born in Makhnovka (now Komsomolskoye) near Berdichev, Ukraine, was educated in a *ḥeder.* Though he learned Russian only as an adult, he graduated with honors from the law faculty of Kiev University. He wrote many books and articles on economics and taxation and in 1897 was appointed a senior official and later member of the research committee of the Russian ministry of finance. He was an adviser to the minister Count Sergei Witte. Brandt was one of the few Jewish senior officials in the czarist government administration. A convinced and active Zionist, he was forced, as a civil servant, to conceal this activity. He regarded himself as a disciple of Perez *Smolenskin, about whom he wrote a long article. He was a member of the *Benei Moshe, and participated incognito at the First Zionist Congress in 1897 as the delegate of the St. Petersburg Ḥovevei Zion. Brandt regarded emigration as a way of solving the Jewish problem in Russia and persuaded the Jewish Colonization Association to renew its aid to Jewish emigrants. Toward the end of his life, he collected material for a comprehensive study of the economic development and settlement in Ereẓ Israel. He wrote (in Russian, Yiddish, German, and Hebrew) books on foreign capital in Russia, the fight against alcoholism, contemporary woman in Western Europe and Russia, and articles on Zionism and Jewish history for *Russkiy yevrey, Razsvet*, etc.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: A.L. Jaffe (ed.), *Sefer ha-Congress* (1950^{2}), 366; N. Sokolow, in: *Die Welt*, 20 (1907), 17.

[Yehuda Slutsky]

°**BRANDT, WILLY** (1913–1992), German Social Democratic politician and chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG) from 1969 to 1974. He was born Herbert Frahm and immigrated to Norway after Hitler's rise to power, where he adopted the pseudonym Brandt. After the war, Brandt returned to Germany and started his political career, first as mayor of West Berlin, then as chancellor. His administration marked the beginning of a new era in German history. In domestic as in foreign affairs reforms were initiated. In 1971 he was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize. From 1977 until his death he was head of the Socialist International. Brandt published several volumes of memoirs (e.g., *Links und frei*, 1981; *Erinnerungen*, 1989). In 2002 an edition of his collected writings in 10 volumes began to appear.

As early as 1933, Brandt was aware of the propaganda value of antisemitism for the NS regime. After the November pogrom of 1938 (the so-called *Reichskristallnacht*) he published a remarkable report of the event in a Norwegian daily. One of his close friends, Stefan Szende (1901–1985), a Hungarian Jew, told him about the murder of Hungarian Jews. But only during the *Nuremberg Trials did he understand the extent of this "biggest crime against humanity" (Brandt, *Forbrytere og andre tyskere*, 1946, 78) and its importance. Particularly emblematic of this insight was the gesture with which Brandt's name remains connected: his kneeling in Warsaw in 1970 in front of the ghetto memorial. The photographic documentation of that moment has become one of the icons of 20th century history. In June 1973 Brandt was the first German chancellor to visit Israel. Out of deep concern for its existence he was willing to act personally on its behalf (as in the Yom Kippur War); his attempts to mediate in the Middle East conflict in general, however, were without major success.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: B. Marshall, *Willy Brandt* (1990); P. Merseburger, *Willy Brandt* (2002) (Ger.).

[Marcus Pyka (2nd ed.)]

BRANDWEIN, YEHUDA ẒEVI (1903–1969), kabbalistic author. A descendant of the ḥasidic dynasty of the rabbi of Stretyn, he was born in Safed and studied in yeshivot in Jerusalem where he was ordained by such great authorities as A.I. *Kook and Ḥ. *Sonnenfeld. Despite the fact that he was an hasidic rabbi, he did not want to earn his bread by serving as a rabbi, but preferred manual labor and worked as a builder. At night he would study and meditate on mystical writings. Brandwein was brother-in-law, disciple, and friend of R. Yehudah *Ashlag, who taught him Kabbalah. After Ashlag's death, Brandwein completed Ashlag's commentary on the *Zohar, calling it *Ma'alot ha-Sullam* (1958). He also wrote a commentary on *Tikkunei ha-Zohar* (1960); he published the complete works of Isaac *Luria (1961–64) in 14 volumes, with punctuation, glosses, and references; and republished Moses *Cordovero's *Or Ne'erav* (1965). From 1957, he served as chairman of the Department for the Provision of Religious Requirements in the Histadrut, and was called by many, "the rabbi of the Histadrut." After the Six-Day War, Brandwein settled in the Old City of Jerusalem (1968).

BRANDYS, KAZIMIERZ (1916–2000), Polish author. Born in Lodz, Brandys studied at Warsaw University and managed to survive the Nazi occupation. After the war he became a leading figure in Polish intellectual life. He helped to found the Lodz weekly *Kuźnica* and was a member of the editorial board of the Warsaw weekly *Nowa Kultura*. Brandys' works, mainly novels, include *Miasto niepokonane* ("Invincible City," 1946), a book about Warsaw; *Sprawiedliwi ludzie* ("Just People," 1953), a play about the Polish revolt of 1905; *Obywatele* ("Citizens," 1954); *Obrona Grenady* ("The Defense of Granada," 1955); and various short stories. His novel cycle, *Miédzy wojnami* ("Between the Wars"), comprises *Samson* (1948), *Antygona* (1948), *Troja, miasto otwarte* ("Troy, Open City," 1949), and *Czȟowiek nie umiera* ("Man Does Not Die," 1951). The first part, *Samson*, tells the story of a hunted Jew whose tragic existence is alleviated only when he joins the partisans. After 1955 Brandys tried to assess the effects of the Stalinist era on Poland and to apportion the moral responsibility for his country's social and political situation. An accent of irony marks the volumes of *Listy do pani Z.: Wspomnienia z teraźniejszości* ("Letters to Mrs. Z.: Memoirs of the Present," 1st ser. 1957–58, 2nd ser. 1959–60; 19682), which contain Brandy's reflections on contemporary issues and attack outdated social, political, and artistic concepts.

His brother, Marian Brandys (1912–1998), wrote travel books and stories on historical themes.

[Stanislaw Wygodzki]

BRANDYS NAD LABEM (Ger. **Brandeis an der Elbe**), town in Bohemia (Czech Republic). The first Jewish settlement in the beginning of the 16th century was located in the suburb of Hrádek. After the general expulsion from Bohemia in 1559, the Jews from Brandys went to *Poznan. However, the Brandys municipality undertook to safeguard Jewish property there for an annual payment of 20 *groschen*. In 1568 the Jews were permitted to return and to reclaim their property. Nine houses in Jewish ownership are recorded in 1630. Subsequently, a considerable number of the Jews expelled from Prague in 1745 found refuge in Brandys. There was a small Jewish ghetto in the town in the 17th to 19th centuries. Filip *Bondy officiated as rabbi from 1856 to 1876. Brandys was one of the first communities in Bohemia to introduce liturgical reforms in its synagogue. The Jewish population numbered 380 in 1893; 272 in 1921 (6% of the total), 13 of declared Jewish nationality; and 139 in 1930. The community ceased to exist during the Holocaust and was not revived thereafter. The well-known Jewish surname Brandeis was probably derived from the name of the town.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Mandl, in: H. Gold (ed.), *Juden und Judengemeinden Boehmens*, 1 (1934), 56–58. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** J. Fiedler, *Jewish Sights of Bohemia and Moravia*, (1991), 65.

[Oskar K. Rabinowicz]

BRANN, MARCUS (1849–1920), historian. Brann was born in Rawicz, Poland, where his father was rabbi. He studied under Z. *Frankel and H. *Graetz at the Jewish Theological Seminary and at the University of Breslau. From 1875 to 1883 he served as assistant rabbi in Breslau and from 1883 to 1885 as director of the Berlin Jewish orphanage. He was rabbi in Pless from 1885 to 1891, when he received a call to the Breslau Seminary as Graetz's successor, receiving the title of professor in 1914.

Brann's early studies dealt with the house of Herod (in his doctorate thesis, which was published in Latin in 1873), and *Megillat Ta'anit* (MGWJ, 25, (1876)). Later he turned to German-Jewish history. He was the first among German-Jewish historians systematically to use Jewish and general archives. Brann made a thorough study of the history of the Jews of Silesia and published in particular *Geschichte der Juden in Schlesien* (6 vols., 1896–1917). He became widely known through some more popular works such as *Geschichte der Juden und ihrer Literatur* (2 vols., 1893–95; 1910–13^{3}) and a textbook on the history and literature of the Jewish people, *Lehrbuch der juedischen Geschichte* (4 vols., 1900–03). The historian Dubnow made great use of Brann's work in the first editions of his *History of the Jews*. In addition to the above, Brann (with others) published and annotated the posthumous editions of Graetz's *Geschichte der Juden* (1890–1909). In his popular works Brann followed the general pattern established by Graetz; in his independent scientific publications he was a faithful disciple of his mentor in his analysis of the sources and systematic presentation. In 1893 Brann revived the publication of *Monatsschrift fuer Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums* (MGWJ), which had been discontinued in 1887. Until 1899 he was coeditor with David *Kaufmann, continuing alone after the latter's death. Brann also edited: D. Kaufmann's *Gesammelte Schriften* (3 vols., 1908–15); *Gedenkbuch zur Erinnerung an David Kaufmann* (with F. Rosenthal, 1900); *Festschrift zu Israel Lewy's siebzigstem Geburtstag* (with I. Elbogen, 1911); and *Festschriften* in memory of the 100th anniversary of Zacharias Frankel's and Heinrich Graetz's birth (in 1901 and 1917). Brann was also editor of part 1 (A through L) of volume 1 of the *Germania Judaica* (with A. Freimann, 1917). He also wrote *Geschichte des juedisch-theologischen Seminars in Breslau* (1904); Brann's bibliography was partly reproduced in G. Kisch (ed.), *Das Breslauer Seminar 1854–1938* (1963), 394–5. In addition to his literary activity, Brann was active in various Jewish organizations.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: W. Cohn, in: *Schlesische Lebensbilder*, 4 (1931), 410–6. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** R. Heuer (ed.), *Lexikon deutsch-juedischer Autoren*, 3 (1995), 403–9, bibl.

BRANT, HENRY DREYFUSS (1913–), composer, flautist, pianist, and conductor. Born in Montreal, the son of a violinist, Brant began experimenting in composing at the age of eight. From 1926 to 1934 he studied in Montreal, New York, and the Juilliard Graduate School. In New York, he worked as a composer, conductor, and arranger for radio, film, jazz groups, and ballets, later extending his commercial music to Hollywood and Europe. Brant taught composition and orchestration in several institutions. Among his honors are Guggenheim Fellowships (1947, 1956), Prix Italia (first American recipient, 1955) and the Pulitzer Prize (2002).

Brant was one of the first American composers to incorporate elements of jazz and popular culture in concert music. His earlier works include a Saxophone Concerto, while *Music for a Five and Dime* (1932) for clarinet, piano, and kitchen hardware indicates his humor. Fascination with unusual instrumentation/timbral combinations has been his distinctive trait. *Angels and Devils* (1931) is scored for solo flute with flute orchestra, his *Consort for True Violins* (1965) is written for eight instruments of the New Violin Family, which he helped to develop.

In the early 1950s, inspired chiefly by Ives, Brant became a pioneer in the field of spatial music, in which the variously independent ensembles (instruments and vocal) were to be placed at specified point in space.

He felt that spatial music would speak more expressively to the human predicament, and create audience participation. Early work in the genre is *Antiphony 1* (1953) for five widely separated orchestral groups, a work that predated the signal European spatial work, Stockhausen's *Gruppen.* Later pieces also make use of theater (*The Grand Universal Circus*, 1956), lighting (*Concerto with Lights*, 1961) and continuous movement of the performers (*Windjamme*, 1969). Because of the magnitude of their production and the logistic problems of placing ensembles outdoors or around an auditorium, large-scale works like *Kingdom Come* (1970) are rarely staged and recordings fail to reflect the nature of the music.

In the 1980s Brant expanded his concept of stylistic diversity to include the music of non-Western peoples. *Meteor Farm* (1982) is scored for Indonesian gamelan ensemble, jazz band, three South Indian soloists, and West African chorus with percussion as well as conventional European performers. He also turned to improvisational scoring. Gaining recognition in his later years, Brant received commissions for big works. He continued to eschew amplification and dreamed of developing larger, louder acoustic instruments and a new kind of concert hall with movable walls. Three Brant works were premiered in the year 2000, including *Prophets* for four cantors and a **shofar* player at the Uilenberger Synagogue in Amsterdam.

Brant composed over 100 spatial works, as well as symphonic, chamber, and choral works, ballets, and films scores. He made the scoring of Ives's *Concord Sonata* (1995) a project of 30 years.

His writings include "Space as an Essential Aspect of Musical Composition" (in *Contemporary Composers on Contemporary Music,* ed. E. Schwartz and B. Childs, 1967) and "Spatial Music Progress Report" (in *Quadrille*, 1979).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: NG2; MGG2; B. Morton and P. Collins (eds.), *Contemporary Composers* (1992), 114–116.

[Naama Ramot (2nd ed.)]

BRASCH, RUDOLPH (1912–2004), Australian Reform rabbi. Brasch was born in Berlin to British parents, his father having been one of the early pioneers in South Africa. He studied at the universities of Berlin and Wuerzburg, where he received his doctorate, and, under Rabbi Leo *Baeck, at the Hochschule fuer die Wissenschaft des Judentums in Berlin, where he received his rabbinical diploma. After having held ministerial positions in London, Dublin, and Springs, South Africa, in 1949 he was appointed minister of Temple Emanuel, Sydney, and later ecclesiastical head of the Australasian Union for Progressive Judaism.

Brasch was active in the field of public and interfaith relations, conducting a weekly television program and contributing a regular weekly column on "Religion and Life" to the *Sun-Herald*, the leading Australian Sunday newspaper.

A prolific author, Brasch has a large number of books to his credit, some of which have gone into a number of editions and have been republished as paperbacks. They include *The Star of David* (1955) and a companion volume *The Eternal Flame* (1958); *The Unknown Sanctuary* (1969, American edition *Judaic Heritage).* His *How Did It Begin* (Customs and Superstitions and Their Romantic Origin, 1965) has gone into ten editions and has been translated into German and Japanese. He wrote the first biography of General Sir John *Monash, which was published by the Royal Australian Historical Society (1969).

He was awarded an O.B.E. in 1967. After his retirement from Temple Emanuel in 1979, he served for some years as a rabbi in Birmingham, Alabama.

ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY: Obituary, in: *Australian Jewish News* (Nov. 26, 2004); W.D. Rubinstein, Australia II, index.

BRASLAV (Pol. **Brasław**), small town in Belarus; in Poland until 1795 and between 1921 and 1939. A small number of Jewish families lived there in the 16th century and numbered 225 in 1766. The community grew to 1,234 in 1897 (82% of the total population), and 1,900 in 1926. There was a *Karaite settlement in Braslav and its vicinity. Jews traded in flax and grain, exporting them to other parts of the country. In 1905 a pogrom was staged. During the Polish period most of the children studied in a Yiddish school. In September 1939 Braslav was annexed by the Soviet Union and all Jewish organizations and parties ceased their activities.

[Shmuel Spector (2nd ed.)]

Holocaust Period

In 1941, on the eve of the Holocaust, there were 2,500 Jews in Braslav. The city was captured by the Germans on June 28, 1941, and on the following day the German army and police removed all the city's Jews to the nearby swamp area, where they were held for two days. Meanwhile, all Jewish property had been stolen by the local population. On August 2, 1941, a "contribution" of 100,000 rubles was demanded of the Jews. At the beginning of April 1942, a ghetto was established, and, in addition to the local Jewish population, Jews from Dubinovo, Druya, Druysk, Miory, and Turmont were interned there. The population of the ghetto was divided into two parts: the workers and the "nonproductive." In the first *Aktion* – on June 3–5, 1942 – about 3,000 people were killed; local farmers actively helped the Germans in this *Aktion*. After some of the Jews went into hiding, the German commander announced that those Jews who came out of hiding of their own free will would not be harmed, but the handful who responded to this call were executed on June 7. In the autumn of 1942, the ghetto was turned into a work camp in which the remainder of the Jews from the entire area were concentrated. On March 19, 1943, the Nazis began to liquidate the camp, but this time they met with opposition. A group of Jews, fortified in one of the buildings, offered armed resistance. Only after their ammunition ran out did the Nazis succeed in suppressing the opposition. The fighters fell at their posts. There were 40 survivors of the Braslav community, some of whom fought in partisan units in the area. After the war a monument was erected to the Jews killed there by the Nazis. In 1970 there were 18 Jewish families with no synagogue.

[Aharon Weiss]

BIBLIOGRAPHY: J.J. Kermisz, *"Akcje" i Wysiedlenia*, 2 (1946), index; Yad Vashem Archives.

BRASLAVI (Braslavski), JOSEPH (1896–1972), Israeli geographer and author. Braslavi went to Ereẓ Israel from the Ukraine as a boy of ten. During World War I he was an interpreter in the Turkish army. In the early 1920s he taught Hebrew in various kibbutzim. In 1924 he was sent on an exploratory journey to Transjordan and the Negev in connection with the projected settlement of *Ha-Shomer, the Jewish watchmen's organization, in these areas. He went to Berlin to study Semitics in 1927. On his return he resumed his explorations and his lectures on the geography of the country. From 1938 he taught at the Teachers' Seminary in Tel Aviv. Braslavi's most important work is his six-volume *Ha-Yadata et ha-Areẓ?* ("Do You Know the Land?" 1940–65), a detailed description of all the regions of Israel. Other books include: *Milḥamah ve-Hitgonenut shel Yehudei Ereẓ Yisrael me-aḥar Mered Bar-Kokhva ve-ad Massa ha-Ẓelav ha-Rishon* (1943); *Le-Ḥeker Arẓenu* (1954); and *Me-Reẓu'at Azzah ad Yam Suf* (1956).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Tidhar, 3 (1958^2), 1233–35.

BRAȘOV (Hung. **Brassó**; Ger. **Kronstadt**; between 1950 and 1960 **Orașul Stalin**), city in Southern Transylvania, central Romania; until 1918 in Hungary. From 1492 onward Jews are mentioned living there temporarily or passing through Brașov in transit. For a long time the city was inhabited by Romanians, Hungarians, and Germans (Saxons).The Jews took part in the trade between Hungary, Muntenia, and Turkey. In 1826 several Jewish families received permission to settle there permanently, and in 1828 they also received the right to organize their own community. In 1870 the Jewish community started a program for teaching Hebrew to its members, and for this purpose invited the Hebrew poet Solomon Ehrenkranz to serve as a teacher. The community numbered 103 in 1865 and 1,198 in 1900. A secular Jewish school was established in 1860. In 1868, the Brașov community became Liberal (see *Neology). A separate Orthodox community was established in 1877. The school continued to serve both communities. A significant part of the Jews of Brasov were assimilated (mostly to Hungarian and German culture, but some also tried also to assimilate to Romanian culture). Immediately after the end of World War I Zionist youth organizations made their appearance in Brasov and were active in promoting the ideology of reconstructing Israel. The Jewish population numbered 2,594 in 1930. During World War II, under the Fascist Antonescu regime, the communal buildings and much Jewish property were confiscated. Jewish men, including many from throughout the region, were drafted into local labor battalions and survived the war. The rehabilitated community was reorganized in 1949 in accordance with the law on the organization of Jewish communities in Romania. Instead of two communities, a unified one was established with an Orthodox section. The Jewish population numbered 1,759 in the city of Brașov and 4,035 in the district in 1956, and 2,000 in the city in 1968. At the outset of the 21st century only a few hundred Jews continued to live in Brasov, mostly elderly, the rest having emigrated to Israel or to the West.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Magyar Zsidó Lexikon* (1929), 137–8; L. Pap, in: *Sinai*, 3 (Bucharest, 1931), 133–7; 5 (1933), 72–75; PK Romanyah, 291–4.

[Yehouda Marton / Paul Schveiger (2nd ed.)]

BRATISLAVA (Ger. **Pressburg**, Hg. **Pozsony**; former Slovak name **Prešporek**), capital of *Slovakia; until 1918 in Hungary; former chartered capital of the kings of Hungary. It was one of the most ancient and important Jewish centers in the Danube region. The first Jews possibly arrived with the Roman legions. The *Memorbuch of the community of Mainz commemorates the "martyrs of Pressburg" who perished in the First Crusade. The first documentary mention of Jews in Bratislava dates from 1251. In 1291 King Andrew III granted a charter to the community, which paid taxes to the royal treasury, and from 1345 also to the municipality. Bratislava Jews mainly engaged in moneylending, but included merchants and artisans, vineyard owners, and vintners. A synagogue is first mentioned in 1335 and was rebuilt in 1339.

In 1360 the Jews were expelled from Hungary, and some of the Jews of Bratislava took refuge in Hainburg (Austria). They returned in 1367 and resumed possession of their homes. In 1371 the municipality introduced the *Judenbuch* regulating financial dealings between Jews and Christians. Isaac *Tyrnau officiated as rabbi in Bratislava about 1410. In 1392 King Sigismund exempted Christians for a year from paying the interest on loans borrowed from Jews; in 1441 and 1450 all outstanding debts owed to Jews were canceled; and in 1475 Jews were forbidden to accept real estate as security. An attempt by many Jews to leave Bratislava in 1506 was prevented by Ladislas II who confiscated the property of those who had already left.

The Jews were expelled from Bratislava in the general expulsion from Hungary in 1526, although they apparently continued to live in several places, including the Schlossberg ("Castle Hill"), outside the municipal bounds. The first Jew subsequently to reside within them was Samuel *Oppenheimer, who received permission to settle in a suburb in 1692. He was followed by other Jews and a synagogue was built in 1695, where the first known rabbi to officiate was Yom Tov Lipmann. In 1699 the *Court Jew Simon Michael, who had settled there in 1693, was appointed head of the community; he built a *bet midrash* and acquired land for a cemetery. By 1709 there were 189 Jews living in Bratislava and 772 by 1736. The Jewish quarter in the Schlossberg remained outside the municipal jurisdiction. It later passed to the jurisdiction of the counts Palffy, who gave protection to the Jews living there. In 1714 they granted a charter of privileges to the 50 families living in its precincts and in Zuckermandel. The Jews in the Schlossberg resided in a single row of houses, but in 1776 the municipality permitted Jews to settle on land owned by the city opposite these houses and thus to constitute a "Jewish street." The Jews living on the Palffy side, however, enjoyed different rights from those under municipal jurisdiction, the former, for instance, being permitted to engage in crafts and all branches of commerce. They enjoyed freedom of religious worship. After the status of the community improved, the customary provision of geese to the Viennese court on St. Martin's Day, formerly an onerous tax, developed into a ceremony (performed until 1917). The Jews in Bratislava pioneered the textile trade in Hungary in the 18th century. Under the direction of Meir Halberstadt the yeshivah became an important center of Jewish learning, while the authority of Moses *Sofer (d. 1839) made Bratislava a center of Orthodoxy for all parts of the Jewish world. During the reign of Maria Theresa (1740–80) the representatives of Hungarian Jewry used to meet in Bratislava to arrange the tax administration.

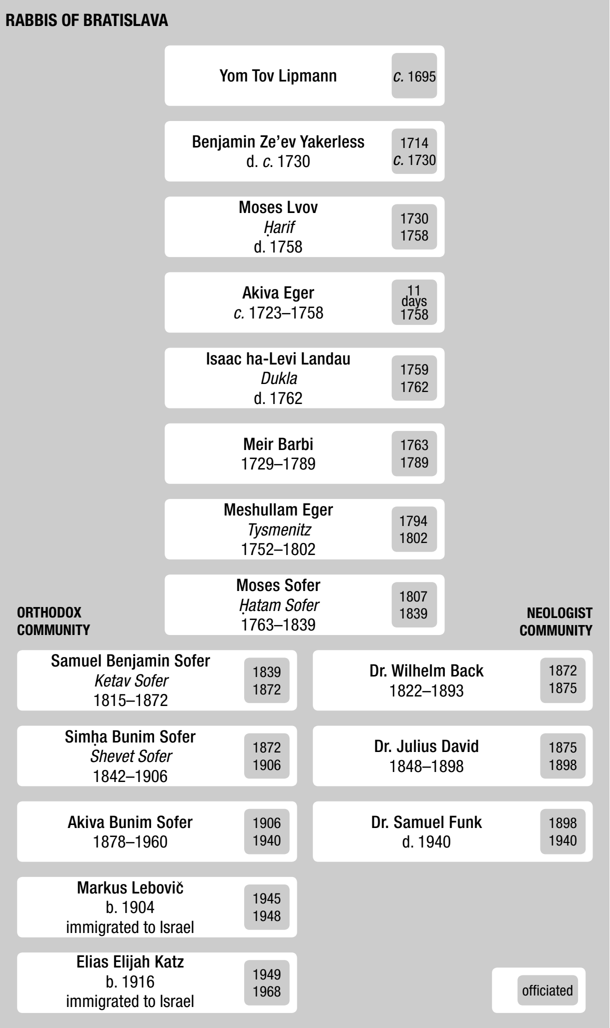
RABBIS OF BRATISLAVA
Yom Tov Lipmann c. 1695
Benjamin Ze'ev Yakerless d. c. 1730 1714 c. 1730
Moses Lvov Ḥarif d. 1758 1730 1758
Akiva Eger c. 1723–1758 11 days 1758
Isaac ha-Levi Landau Dukla d. 1762 1759 1762
Meir Barbi 1729–1789 1763 1789
Meshullam Eger Tysmenitz 1752–1802 1794 1802
Moses Sofer Ḥatam Sofer 1763–1839 1807 1839
ORTHODOX COMMUNITY
NEOLOGIST COMMUNITY
Samuel Benjamin Sofer Ketav Sofer 1815–1872 1839 1872
Dr. Wilhelm Back 1822–1893 1872 1875
Simḥa Bunim Sofer Shevet Sofer 1842–1906 1872 1906
Dr. Julius David 1848–1898 1875 1898
Akiva Bunim Sofer 1878–1960 1906 1940
Dr. Samuel Funk d. 1940 1898 1940
Markus Lebovič b. 1904 immigrated to Israel 1945 1948
Elias Elijah Katz b. 1916 immigrated to Israel 1949 1968
officiated

During the revolution of 1848, anti-Jewish riots broke out. The Jewish quarter was put under military protection and Jews living elsewhere had to retire within it. Jews volunteered to serve in the National Guard but were opposed by the general public. Further outbreaks of anti-Jewish violence followed the *blood libel case in *Tisza-Eszlar in 1882 and 1883. From 1898 tension mounted between the Orthodox and the pro-Reform members of the community (see *Reform; *Hungary). After 1869 the Orthodox, Neolog, and *status-quo-ante* factions in Bratislava organized separate congregations. The Orthodox provincial office (*Landeskanzlei*) later became notorious for its opposition to Zionism. The Neolog and *status-quo-ante* congregations united in 1928 as the Jeshurun Federation. A large part of the Jewish quarter was ravaged by fire in 1913 but was later rebuilt.

Jewish institutions in Bratislava included religious schools, charitable organizations, and a Jewish hospital (founded in 1710; a new building was constructed in 1931). The Hungarian Zionist Organization was founded in Bratislava in 1902 and the World *Mizrachi Organization in 1904, both on the initiative of Samuel *Bettelheim. During the Hungarian Revolution of 1919 anti-Jewish excesses were prevented by a guard formed by Jewish veterans. With the establishment of Czechoslovakia, Bratislava became the center of a number of Jewish national communal institutions and of Jewish national as well as Zionist activities. Bratislava also became the center of *Agudat Israel in Czechoslovakia. During this period, several Jewish newspapers and a Hebrew weekly, *Ha-Yehudi*, were published there. In 1930 the Jewish population in Bratislava numbered 14,882 (12% of the total population), 5,597 of declared Jewish nationality.

In the titularly independent state of Slovakia set up under Nazi auspices in 1939, Bratislava was the seat of the Jewish central office (*Ústredňa židov*). Even before the declaration of the independent state, attacks on the synagogues and yeshivah on Nov. 11, 1938, inaugurated the regime of antisemitic terror. Nearly a thousand Jewish students were expelled from the university. Subsequently, anti-Jewish terrorization, restrictive measures, and pogroms increased. On the outbreak of World War II in September 1939 all Jewish shops were confiscated, and in August 1940 the Jews were forced to surrender their homes. Many transports of the "illegal" immigration to Palestine were organized in Bratislava. Numbers of Jews who had fled from Nazi persecution in Vienna in 1938 were put into camps in the Patronka and Petržalka suburbs. In October 1941, 6,473 Jews were expelled to 16 provincial towns, mostly to Trnava, Nitra, and Nove Mesto. Deportations and flight continued until the arrival of the Germans in September 1944, when the 2,000 or so remaining Jews were sent to Auschwitz via Sered. Only a fraction of the Jewish population survived the Holocaust. The old cemetery was destroyed in a town planning project during the war. A small plot including the tomb of R. Moses Sofer was spared. In 2002 the entire area underwent restoration and reconstruction. The street leading to the tomb was named Ḥatam Sofer. In the ancient Jewish quarter only a few original Jewish houses survived.

Hebrew Printing

Some 340 Hebrew and Yiddish books were printed in Bratislava between 1831 and 1930, the first being *Torat ha-Emunah*, an ethical treatise in Yiddish. But already in 1789 and 1790 two smaller items had been issued here. In 1833 the well-known Vienna printer Anton Edler von Schmidt bought the press of K. Schniskes, and Schmidt's son printed Hebrew books to 1849. He was succeeded by Heinrich Sieber, and he and his heirs were active to 1872, and their successors F. and S. Nirschi to 1878. O. Ketterisch, later K. Ketterisch and Zimmermann, set up a Hebrew press in 1876. The first Jewish printers were Lewy and Alkalay, later A. Alkalay only, whose firm printed from 1877 to 1920.

[Samuel Weingarten-Hakohen]

Contemporary Period

On April 15, 1945, a few days after the liberation of the city, the Jewish community of Bratislava was reestablished, and Max Weiss became its chairman. In September, Chief Rabbi Markus Lebovič was installed in his post in a ceremony in the only synagogue that had not suffered damage during the war; the first public prayer services were held there also on the occasion of the High Holidays. In 1946 Bratislava became the headquarters of the 42 reconstituted Jewish communities of Slovakia. Religious functions – ritual slaughter, *mikva'ot*, a kosher butcher and canteen, and religious instruction in the schools – were reintroduced; the Chief Rabbinate also insured the supply of *maẓẓot* and kosher wine. In 1947, when the membership of the Jewish community had grown to 7,000, a second synagogue was opened. One synagogue building serves now as a television studio. International charitable organizations (notably *ORT and the *American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee) played a prominent role in the revival and development of the religious, economic, and social life of the Jewish community. Homes for the aged, youth centers, and a hospital were also established. The *Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓair built training farms (*hakhsharot*) to prepare Jewish youth for settlement in Palestine under the auspices of *Youth Aliyah. Jewish periodicals, notably *Tribuna, Ha-Matḥil*, and *Ha-Derekh*, came into being, and Bratislava became the center of the rapidly developing Jewish life in Slovakia. An archive on the Holocaust period was founded after the war by the Union of Slovakian Jewish Communities and a large section of it was later transferred to *Yad Vashem. Difficulties were encountered, however, in the restitution of Jewish property; the local Slovaks, who had become the "Aryan owners" of such property during the war, did all they could to prevent its return to its rightful owners. Antisemitic hate propaganda, which accused the Jews of having been "the tools of Magyarization and exploiters of the Slovak people," resulted in anti-Jewish riots and the plunder of Jewish property (during the summer of 1946 and in March 1948).

The year 1949 was a turning point in the renewed history of the Jewish community. Under the Communist regime Jewish religious and cultural life was gradually restricted, the property of Jewish organizations was nationalized, and the existing social and economic institutions were deprived of their Jewish character. An agreement between Czechoslovakia and Israel facilitated the emigration of about 4,000 Bratislava Jews. In 1949 a new chief rabbi, Elias Elijah Katz, later of Beersheba, and a new community chairman, Benjamin Eichler, were appointed. Any attempts to reactivate Jewish life, however, were nipped in the bud. In January 1952 the Bratislava *Pravda* warned against "Jewish citizens who are in the service of the American imperialists and are trying to undermine Slovak life." Until the end of the decade, the Jewish community, which had been reduced to about 2,000 persons, lived under the threat of dismissal from employment, compulsory manual work, evacuation to different places of residence, and long prison terms. The political changes which took place in 1963 resulted in the immediate resumption of Jewish activities and contact with world Jewry. Several Jews who had been wrongfully imprisoned were rehabilitated, and Jews found it easier to gain employment. Religious instruction was intensified and Jewish ceremonies, such as bar mitzvahs and religious weddings, became a more frequent occurrence. After the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia (August 1968), about 500 Jews left Bratislava. The Jewish population of Bratislava in 1969 was estimated at about 1,500. By the early 21st century it had dropped to around 800.

Following the "Velvet Revolution" of fall 1989, the Jewish community also revived. Many individuals who had hidden their Jewish identity stepped forward, swelling the local congregation. The Union developed relations with Jewish communities elsewhere and started to communicate with Jews in Israel originally from Slovakia. The Joint Distribution Committee assisted in the restoration of Jewish life. A new rabbi, Baruch Mayers, began to officiate in Bratislava's congregation while serving at the same time as chief rabbi of all of Slovakia. The synagogue on Hajdukova Street was used for the High Holidays, while a small room was utilized for services on regular days, though a *minyan* was not always present. Bratislava had a kosher restaurant, a Hebrew kindergarten, a Jewish old age home, a *ḥevra kaddisha* with a well-kept cemetery, and various Jewish associations and circles. As part of the Slovak National Museum, there was a Museum of Jewish Culture, with small exhibition rooms in the Jewish Street. On the site of the former imposing Neolog synagogue a memorial to the Slovakian Jews who perished in the Holocaust was erected. In the office of the Bratislava's congregation a major collection of administrative books of he former famous yeshivah are preserved. A Holocaust Domumentation Center is dedicated to research on Slovakian Jewry.

[Erich Kulka / Yeshayahu Jelinek (2nd ed.)]

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BRATSLAV, small town in Podolia, Ukraine, on the River Bug. A Jew leased the collection of customs duties in Bratslav in 1506, and it appears that a Jewish settlement developed in the town from that time. In 1545 the Jews were exempted from the construction of roads "so that they could travel on their commercial affairs." The Jews underwent much suffering during the attacks of the Tatars on the town during the 16th century (especially in 1551). At the beginning of the 17th century, commercial relations were maintained between the Jews of Bratslav and those of Lvov. In the *Councils of the Lands, Bratslav was attached to the "Land of Russia," of which Lvov was the principal community.

In 1635 King Ladislas IV confirmed the rights of the Jews of Bratslav. At the time of the *Chmielnicki massacres, a number of Jews from Bratslav were murdered in Nemirov and Tulchin, where they had taken refuge. The community, however, was reconstituted soon afterward. In 1664, when the Cossacks invaded the land on the western side of the Dnieper River, they massacred the Jews in Bratslav. Between September 7, 1802, and October 16, 1810 (date of his death), Rabbi *Naḥman of Bratslav lived in the town, and it became an important ḥasidic center during this period. His disciple, Natan Steinherz, set up a Hebrew press in the town in 1819 and published the works of his teacher. At the end of that year, the authorities closed down the press after they had been approached by informers. The community numbered 101 according to the census of 1765 (195 including Jews in the surrounding areas) and 221 in 1790 (398 including those in the surrounding areas). After Bratslav's incorporation into Russia (1793), 96 Jewish merchants and 910 townsmen lived in the district in 1797. The Jewish population numbered 3,290 according to the census of 1897 (43% of the total population). In the beginning of the 19th century, most of the industrial enterprises and workshops in the town were owned by Jews, Nearly all the shops also belonged to Jews and all the dentists and midwives were Jews. Between May 1919 and March 1921, there 14 pogroms in Bratslav, over 200 Jews were killed, 600 children became orphans, and 1,200 people were left without livelihoods. As a result of the pogroms, many Jews left for the bigger towns. The population dropped to 1,504 in 1923, rose to 1,840 in 1926, and dropped again to 1,010 in 1939 (total population 3,974). During the 1920s, many Jews worked as artisans but faced discrimination in their unions. The local government refused to grant land to Jews who asked to organize a farm cooperative. Bratslav was taken by the Germans on July 22, 1941, and included in Romanian Transnistria on September 1. In the same month a ghetto was established, and Jews deported from Bessarabia and Bukovina were brought there. At the end of December there were 747 Jews in the town. It can be assumed that many more had been killed or died there before that time. On January 1, 1942, most of the ghetto inmates were deported to the Pechora concentration camp and 50 were drowned in the South Bug River. There was a Jewish underground in the ghetto numbering 16 persons. They were discovered by the Romanians and executed. Bratslav was liberated on March 17, 1944. Three hundred local Jews and 30 refugees were found there. In 1989 there were 137 Jews in the town and in 1993 only 71. In 1995 a monument to those murdered in the Holocaust was erected in the local cemetery.

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[Shmuel Ettinger / Shmuel Spector (2nd ed.)]

BRAUDE, ERNEST ALEXANDER (1922–1958), English chemist. Braude was born in Germany and went to England in 1937. He spent his student and working life at Imperial College, London, where he became professor of organic chemistry in 1955. The first field in which Braude specialized was in the spectral properties of organic compounds. He was one of the pioneers of the use of radioactive tracers in organic chemistry, and also of the thermochemical study of organic reactions; he also did research in the field of the chemistry of natural products, discovered lithium alkenyls, worked on the synthesis of vitamin D, and devised a new synthesis for thioacetic acid.

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[Samuel Aaron Miller]

BRAUDE, JACOB (1902–1977), Anglo-Jewish communal leader, educationalist, and philanthropist. Braude was born in Fuerth, Bavaria, where his parents settled upon leaving Russia. He studied law at Leipzig University and received a doctorate summa-cum-laude for a thesis on Anglo-Saxon Common Law. When the legal profession was closed to Jews under the Nazi regime, he entered his father-in-law's business. In his student days Braude became active in youth work and represented the Orthodox (*Ezra*) movement in the Jewish Youth Center established by the community as a result of his efforts. In 1938 he emigrated to London, where he became involved in communal work. He established, with other European refugees, the Hendon Adath Yisrael Congregation which was to become one of the leading Orthodox synagogues in London and of which Braude eventually became a life president. He also took an active part in the Jewish secondary school movement, established by Rabbi Dr. Victor *Schonfeld and developed by his son Solomon.

Braude served as a member of the Executive of the Board of Deputies of British Jews, in which he organized the Orthodox group. He became a vice president of the World Jewish Congress (British Section), and served several times as chairman of the Mizrachi Federation and later as its executive vice-president. His regular reports on the state of Jewish education in Britain and elsewhere in the Jewish world, which were published in the *Jewish Chronicle*, were recognized as a reliable and valuable source of communal information. Braude also served on the Congress Tribunal of the World Zionist Organization. From 1952 he took an increasing interest in Midrashiat Noam, the pioneering yeshivah college at Pardes Ḥannah, and later in its preparatory school at Kiryat Yaakov Herzog, Kfar Saba. He founded the Friends of the Midrashia in Britain, of which he was chairman, and subsequently chaired its World Council as well as its Israeli branch.

[Alexander Carlebach]

BRAUDE, MARKUS (**Mordekhai Ze'ev**; 1869–1949), rabbi, educator and Zionist leader. Braude was born in Brest-Litovsk (then Russia). He was the son of R. Aryeh Leib Braude and his maternal grandfather was the rabbi of Lvov, Ẓevi Hirsch *Ornstein. Braude completed his studies at the University of Freiburg in 1898. An active Zionist from an early age, he attended the First Zionist Congress in Basel (1897), and became a leader of the Zionist Organization in Galicia. On his initiative Galician Zionists decided to take part in the political life of the country, and Braude directed their campaign for election to the Austrian Parliament (1907). Between 1909 and 1939 he was a preacher in Lodz. He founded a network of Jewish secondary schools in Poland and, between 1920 and 1926, was a member of the Polish senate. He was one of the founders of the Institute for Jewish Studies in Warsaw, and of other public and cultural institutions in Poland. Braude settled in Palestine in 1940, was active in the Polish Immigrants' Association, and undertook research in the history of Galician Jewry.

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[Getzel Kressel]

BRAUDE, MAX A. (1913–1982), U.S. rabbi and organization executive. Braude was born in Harmony, Pennsylvania. He was ordained at the Hebrew Theological College in Chicago (1941). Braude joined the U.S. Army during World War II, and became the highest-ranking Jewish chaplain with the armed services in Europe, in charge of the welfare of displaced persons. In 1947 Braude joined the International Refugee Organization, with which he remained associated until 1959. In 1951 he became director of the World ORT Union, and in 1957 director general of its international office in Geneva. Frequently called upon as a consultant by the U.S. government, Braude participated in numerous conferences and studies on vocational and refugee problems.

[Edward L. Greenstein]

BRAUDE, WILLIAM GORDON (1907–1988), U.S. Reform rabbi and scholar. Braude was born in Telz, Lithuania, the son and grandson of rabbis who were scholars at the famed Telz yeshivah. In 1920, they left Europe for New York and he was enrolled at Rabbi Isaac Elchanan Yeshiva. The family then moved to Denver, Colorado, where Braude became a public school student for the first time. In 1922 his father moved to Dayton, Ohio, where Braude developed an interest in the Reform rabbinate. A graduate of the University of Cincinnati (1929), he was ordained at Hebrew Union College in 1931. After a year in Rockford, Illinois, he served as rabbi of Temple Beth El, Providence, Rhode Island, from 1932. Throughout his career, Braude was a scholar-rabbi, writing, publishing, and teaching. While in Providence, he studied at Brown University. He was awarded his Ph.D. (1939). He joined the Brown faculty, first as a lecturer in Hebrew and later in biblical literature. He later taught at Yale, the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, and Leo Baeck College.

As a rabbi, Braude was one of the leaders of the right wing within the Reform movement and advocated a return to traditional practices and became known as one of the leading students of rabbinics in the Reform movement. He was a leading supporter of the Hebrew day school concept, reintroduced the head covering at his services, and argued for respect of the dietary laws and other observances. In 1965 he participated in the civil rights demonstration led by Martin Luther King in Montgomery, Alabama. A member of various scholarly bodies, he also served on many civic agencies and lectured widely. Braude wrote *Jewish Proselyting in the First Five Centuries of the Common Era, the Age of the Tannaim and Amoraim* (1940); a translation with critical notes of *Midrash on Psalms* (1959); *Pesikta de Rav Kahana* (1975), a translation with critical notes of the *Pesikta Rabbati* (1968); and *Tanna debe Eliyyahu* (1980). These books represent important contributions to the study of midrashic literature and are based on manuscripts and early printed editions. The synagogue library that bears his name contains more than 25,000 volumes.

[Jack Reimer / Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

BRAUDES, REUBEN ASHER (1851–1902), Hebrew novelist and advocate of social and religious reform. Braudes, who was born in Vilna, early established a reputation as a brilliant talmudic student, and published his first articles in the rabbinic periodical *Ha-Levanon* (1869). Leaving Vilna at 17, he spent three years at the rabbinical seminary at Zhitomir before wandering through southern Russia to Odessa, which was then the center of the Haskalah (Enlightenment). Influenced by the critical attitude toward traditional Judaism then dominating Hebrew literature, Braudes began to write articles advocating the religious and social reform of Jewish life such as *Si'aḥ Sha'ah Aḥat Aḥar ha-Mavet* ("A Conversation One Hour After Death"), published in *Ha-Meliẓ* (1870), and in his first short story, *Misterei Beit Ẓefanyah* ("The Mysteries of the Zephaniah Family") which appeared in *Ha-Shaḥar* (1873). In 1875 Braudes left Odessa to spend a year in Warsaw before proceeding to Lemberg where he edited the monthly *Ha-Boker Or* (1876–79). There he published much of his novel *Ha-Dat ve ha-Ḥayyim* ("Religion and Life," 1885), an important work describing the struggle for religious reform that raged within Lithuanian Jewry from 1869 until 1871, as well as many stories, articles, and book reviews.

The years 1879–81 were again spent in Vilna, where he edited most of the first volume of a literary miscellany, *Gan Peraḥim* ("A Garden of Flowers," 1881), which contains an important article on the revival of Hebrew. Shocked by the 1881 pogroms in Russia, he joined the Ḥibbat Zion, although he had previously attacked Smolenskin's advocacy of nationalism in an article *"Beit Yisrael"* which appeared in 1880 in David Gordon's *Maggid Mishneh* (nos. 49–50). After a brief sojourn in St. Petersburg, Braudes fled to Bucharest where from 1882 to 1884 he edited a Yiddish periodical *Yehudit* which advocated Jewish colonization in Palestine. After his expulsion from Romania as an alien Jew in 1884, Braudes resided in Lemberg until 1891. In 1885 he founded a Hebrew biweekly, *Ha-Yahadut*, of which only four issues appeared. At the same time he participated in a story-publishing venture under the imprint *Eked Sippurim*. Part of his second novel *Shetei ha-Keẓavot* ("The Two Extremes"), which skillfully depicts the clash of contemporary and traditional attitudes and habits within Jewish life in and about Odessa, appeared in the same series, while a finished version was published in Warsaw in 1888. In an introduction to his collection of eight stories (some of which had previously appeared in *Ha-Boker Or*), published under the title *Zekenim im Ne'arim* ("Old and Young," 1886), Braudes laments the dearth of essential vocabulary in Hebrew which limits the scope of the Hebrew story. In 1888 he edited the second volume of the annual *Oẓar ha-Sifrut* published by Shealtiel Isaac Graber in Cracow. His short monograph on Adam Mickiewicz and the Jews (Cracow, 1890) represents the first study in Hebrew of the great Polish poet's attitude toward a Jewish renaissance in Palestine.

From 1891 to 1893 Braudes resided in Cracow, editing a weekly which appeared under the names *Ha-Zeman* and *Ru'aḥ ha-Zeman* in alternate weeks, to avoid paying the duty levied on a weekly. In the former he included the first part of an unfinished novel, *Me-Ayin u-Le'an* ("Whence and Whither") which appeared separately in Cracow in 1891; and in the latter he published a long biographical novel *Shirim Attikim* ("Old Songs"), the finished version of which appeared posthumously in Cracow in 1903. Both novels depict the ideological struggles of contemporary Jewish life.

From 1893 to 1896 Braudes again resided in Lemberg, where from 1894 he edited a Yiddish weekly, which also appeared in alternate weeks, under the titles *Der Karmel* and *Der Vekker.* With the removal of the duty on weeklies, the journal appeared each week under the name *Juedisches Wochenblatt*, serving as the official Zionist organ in eastern Galicia. Toward the end of 1896 Braudes moved to Vienna where he resided until his death. Here he served as a correspondent for *Ha-Maggid he-Ḥadash*, in which capacity he attended the First World Zionist Congress in 1897. He was appointed editor of the Yiddish edition of the Zionist weekly, *Die Welt*, by Theodor *Herzl. During his last years he composed many articles, sketches and stories, although his plans to complete his unfinished novels were realized only in the case of *Shirim Attikim*.

Braudes' fame as an author rests primarily on the novels, *Ha-Dat ve-ha-Ḥayyim* and *Shetei ha-Keẓavot*, both of which display a highly developed sense of literature. The narrative is clear, concise, and interesting, and the presentation straightforward and direct. The plots, particularly in the case of *Shetei ha-Keẓavot*, are skillfully constructed, with events portrayed in a natural and unforced sequence. In spite of the powerful dramatic tensions and conflicts experienced by the principal characters, the novels are almost entirely free from the crude melodrama and wildly improbable devices to which most of his contemporaries were prone. Both characterization and dialogue are competent within the linguistic limitations of the period. Even the didactic elements which permeate the Hebrew literature of that time are mostly introduced without too much grating on the reader's susceptibilities. Only in the third part of *Ha-Dat ve-ha-Ḥayyim* is the literary aspect deliberately neglected in favor of Braudes' didactic purpose. In *Shetei ha-Keẓavot* the author's advocacy of social reform is introduced with such consummate skill that the novel achieves an artistic unity unrivalled in the Hebrew literature of the period. By utilizing his penetrating knowledge of Jewish life in Eastern Europe, Braudes succeeded in depicting the spiritual conflicts which raged within the community in his time with an uncanny accuracy.

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[David Patterson]

BRAUDO, ALEXANDER ISAYEVICH (1864–1924), Russian-Jewish historian and civic leader. After graduating from the University of Dorpat he became head of the bibliographical section of the Historical Society at the St. Petersburg (Leningrad) University and was appointed librarian of the Imperial Public Library. Braudo was active in many associations fighting for social equality and freedom for Russian Jews. He edited *Trudovaya pomoshch* ("Workers' Relief"), cooperated with the *Society for the Promotion of Culture Among the Jews, and was on the editorial staff of the periodicals *Voskhod* and *Perezhitoye*. He was also one of the founders and directors of the publishing house *Rasum*, dedicated to the fight against antisemitism. His review *Russian Correspondence*, published in London, Paris, and Berlin, provided information about Russian politics, and especially about anti-Jewish activities of the Russian authorities. Braudo was among the initiators of the massive history of the Jewish people, *Istoriya yevreyskogo naroda*, contributing largely to volumes 11 (1914) and 12 (1921).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Yevreyskaya letopis*, 4 (1926), 195–6.

BRAUDO, YEVGENI MAXIMOVICH (1882–1939), musicologist. Born in Riga, Braudo studied music at the Riga Music School (1891–97) and philology at St. Petersburg University (graduating in 1911). He studied music history with Hugo Riemann and Hermann Kretzchmar in Germany. Braudo was appointed professor at the Russian Institute of Art History in 1921 and later professor at Leningrad University. He contributed music criticism to *Pravda* and was music editor of the first edition of the *Bolshaya Sovetskaya Entsiklopediya*. He wrote a history of music in three volumes (1922–27) as well as works on Bach, Wagner, Borodin, Nietzsche, Beethoven, Schubert, E.T.A. Hoffman, and the foundations of material culture in music.

BRAUN, ABRAHAM (**Sergei**; 1881–1940), Bundist leader in Latvia. Born in *Riga, Braun joined the *Bund in 1900 while a student at the Riga Polytechnikum. A brilliant speaker and propagandist, he worked clandestinely on behalf of the party in various towns and was imprisoned several times for revolutionary activities. Braun took part in 1906 in the seventh conference of the Bund in Berne and in its seventh convention in Lvov. He was also sent to South Africa as an emissary of the party. After 1917 Braun renewed his activities in the Bund, and at the eighth party convention that year he was elected to the central committee. From 1921 he lived in Riga, where he was active as a speaker and a journalist. After the Fascist take-over in Latvia in 1934, he was sent to a detention camp, and later deported. From 1938 he lived in New York, traveled as speaker for the Arbeiter-Ring (*Workmen's Circle), and contributed to its publication *Friend*.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: J.S. Herz (ed.), *Doyres Bundistn* (1956), 298–307.

BRAUN, ADOLF (1862–1929), Austrian-born socialist leader in Germany who was active in the Social Democratic Party for more than 40 years. He was the brother-in-law of Victor *Adler. Adolf Braun, son of a wealthy Jewish entrepreneur, joined the socialist movement in Austria as a student. In 1889 he went to Germany and became editor of several socialist newspapers. On his expulsion from Prussia under the anti-socialist laws, he edited the Nuremberg socialist daily, *Fraenkische Tagespost*. Although he belonged to the left wing of the Social Democrats, Braun did not vote against war credits during World War I. He was, however, among the first to demand the abdication of the Kaiser in 1918. His articles of that period were reprinted in the book *Sturmvoegel der Revolution* (1919). After his naturalization, Braun was elected to the National Assembly in Weimar in 1919 and then to the Reichstag. From 1920 to 1927 he was a member of the Social Democratic Party executive. He wrote on economic, social, and trade union questions. Many socialist journalists received their training in newspaper work under his guidance.

His brother **HEINRICH BRAUN** (1854–1927) founded, together with Karl Kautsky and Wilhelm Lichtknecht, the periodical of the German Social Democrats, *Neue Zeit*, in 1883. Periodicals devoted to the study of social policy and founded by him included the *Archiv fuer soziale Gesetzgebung und Statistik* of which he was editor until 1903; his successors were Werner Sombart and Max Weber. Braun also edited socialist publications including the *Neue Gesellschaft*. In 1903–04 Braun sat in the Reichstag but his election was declared invalid and his opponent defeated him in the following by-election. His wife and co-worker was the author Lily Braun, daughter of General von Kretschman.

ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY: NDB, 2 (1955), 539–41; U. Lischke, *Lily Braun* (2000); I. Voss, in: M. Grunewald and H.M. Bock (eds.), *Le milieu intellectuel de gauche en Allemagne* (2002), 55–74 (Ger.).

BRAUN (**Brown**), **ARIE** (1934–), chief *ḥazzan* of the IDF for many years. Born in Jerusalem, Braun first trained as a *ḥazzan* under his father, Naḥum Yiẓḥak Brown, and the ḥazzan Zalman Rivlin. He further studied voice development and music under Rosenstein and the musicians Shmuel Rivlin, Yosef b. Barukh, and Yehoshua Zohar, and won a study grant from the Norman Fund. He was senior *ḥazzan* of the Ramah and Beth-El synagogues of Tel Aviv, and officiated at services and concerts in Australia, South Africa, Mexico, the United States and Canada. In 1974 he won first prize at the *Ḥazzanut* Festival in Israel. Braun served as chief *ḥazzan* of the IDF with the rank of major from 1976 to 1981, when he was promoted to the rank of lieutenant colonel, the first time that an IDF *ḥazzan* has received this rank. He has made a number of recordings. He is the proud possessor of a stentorian baritone voice, and has made a name for himself singing the Moishe *Oysher repertoire.

[Akiva Zimmerman / Raymond Goldstein (2nd ed.)]

BRAUN, FELIX (1885–1973), Austrian poet, playwright, and novelist. Braun was born in Vienna, where he studied history and literature. From 1928 he taught at the universities of

Padua and Palermo, but in 1939, because of his Jewish origin, he had to flee to London. He returned to Austria after the end of World War II. Braun was an impressionist poet, deeply influenced by his friend Hugo von *Hofmannsthal. His first collection of verse was *Das neue Leben* (1913); *Viola d'amore* (1953) contained a selection of his poems spanning the years 1903–53. As a playwright Braun at one time showed a fondness for themes drawn from classical mythology, such as *Tantalos* (1917) and *Aktaion* (1921), and he also dramatized the biblical story of *Esther* (1925). Later, however, he turned to historical subjects, as in the tragedy *Kaiser Karl der Fuenfte* (1936) and *Rudolf der Stifter* (1956). His *Agnes Altkirchner* (1927) is a seven-volume novel depicting Austria's decay and eventual collapse after World War I. Braun's autobiography, *Das Licht der Welt* (1949), and his book of reminiscences, *Zeitgefaehrten* (1963), both provide an insight into Viennese culture in the early years of the 20th century.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: F. Lennartz, *Deutsche Dichter und Schriftsteller unserer Zeit* (1959), 98–100. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** D.G. Daviau, *Bruecken ueber dem Abgrund* (1994), 317–36.

[Sol Liptzin]

BRAUN (Braunstein), MIECZYSLAW (1900–1941), Polish poet. Braun published verse collections, some of which reflect the industrial society in his native Lodz: *Rzemiosła* ("Craftsmanship," 1926), *Przemysły* ("Industry," 1928), *Zywe stronice* ("Living Pages," 1936), *Sonety* (1937), and *Poezja pracy, Wiersze wybrane* ("Poetry of Toil, Selected Verse," 1938). He died of typhus in the Warsaw Ghetto.

BRAUN, YEHEZKIEL (1922–), Israeli composer. Braun was born in Germany but was brought to Eretz Israel at the age of two. He studied composition with A.U. *Boscovitch at the Academy of Music, Tel Aviv, where he was appointed as a teacher in 1966. Braun also studied Gregorian chant with Dom Jean Claire at Solesmes (1975) and served as a jury member for prizes in Gregorian chant at the Conservatoire National Superieur, Paris (1990, 1996, 1997); he published a study on a Hebrew Sephardi cantillation: *Iyyunim ba-Melos ha-Sephardi-Yerushalmi* (*Pe'amim* 19). Braun is best known for his vocal compositions, which are frequently performed. He has shown originality of invention in a number of works of striking value. In his early works he adopted the ideology of a national Israeli music, merging folk dance patterns with cantilation motifs and modal chromaticism. His compositions include *Three Movements for Solo Flute* (1955); *Concerto for Flute and Strings* (1957); *Psalm for Strings, Sonata for Piano* (1957); *Pedals on Vacation for Harp* (1964); *Apartment to Let* (1968), for narrator and orchestra; *Seven Sephardic Romances*, for voices and piano (1968); *Serenade for Chamber Orchestra* (1971), commissioned by the Tel Aviv Foundation for Literature and Art; *Cantici Canticorum Caput III for Solo and Choir a capella*, commissioned by the Tel Aviv Foundation for the 1973 Zimriyyah. His subsequent major works include *Itturim li-Megillat Ruth* ("Illuminations to the Book of Ruth," 1983); *Piano Trio No. 1* (1988), *Kinnoro shel David*, cantata (1990); *Mi-Shirei Itzik* (I. Manger, Y. Orland), for two sopranos, alt, and piano (1997); *Fantasia Lirica* for guitar and orchestra (1998); *Hexagon*, divertimento for string sextet (1998).

He was awarded the Israel Prize in 2003.

ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY: Grove online; MGG².

[Uri (Erich) Toeplitz / Gila Flam and Israela Stein (2nd ed.)]

BRAUNER, HARRY (1908–1988), Romanian ethnomusicologist and brother of surrealist painter Victor Brauner. Disciple and long time assistant of Constantin Brăiloiu, he was a hardworking member of the sociological teams that made pioneering monographical and interdisciplinary studies on rural Romania. From 1928 to 1939 he was a very active collaborator of the Arhiva de Folklore (Folk Music Archive) of the Societatea Compozitorilor (Composers' Society), which he then headed as deputy director (1944–1948). From 1939 he was an honorary member of The English Folk Dance and Music Society (London), and for almost two years (1948–1950) taught folk music studies at the Conservatory of Music in Bucharest. Until 1950 Brauner excelled mainly as folk music collector, and, after the late 1960s, as promoter of Romanian folk music that he considered to be genuine and traditional within nationalist frameworks. His mid-career was crowned by taking over managerial responsibility for the two national folk music archives that were scattered and somehow abandoned after World War II and he succeeded in founding the Institute of Folklore (1949), an institution of powerful, nationwide and even international academic prominence. Brauner headed this institution for just one year, after which he was involved in a political and antisemitic plot (known as "Pătrăşcanu's trial"). After spending twelve years in jail and two years in an imposed dwelling in a countryside settlement, he was no longer accepted in the academic institution he had founded (which became more and more ideologized, nationalistic, ethnocentric, and propagandistic). He started to publish original children's songs and newspaper articles, served as consultant for the national records company (Electrecord), and briefly acted as founder and leader of a laboratory for ethnomusicology at the Conservatory of Music in Bucharest (1971–1974). His journalistic articles from the 1970s were collected in the volume *Să auzi iarba cum creşte* ("Listening to the Growing Grass"; 1979), and a collection of monovocal songs composed during his imprisonment appeared twice, posthumously (1998, 2000). His complex personality was emphasized by several academic biographical essays as well as by a memorial book published by Irina Nicolau and Carmen Huluţă in 1999. Brauner's wife, artist Lena Constante, outlived him and continued to work for preserving, improving and enhancing Brauner's memory and intellectual legacy.

Harry Brauner was a tragic character. Although he lectured brilliantly at several international folk music festivals in the 1930s (London, Istanbul), he failed to have an international career and was eventually prevented from enjoying national prominence.

[Marin Marian (2nd ed.)]

BRAUNER, ISAAC (Wincenty; 1887–1944), painter, graphic artist, sculptor, and stage designer. Brauner was born in Lodz, Poland, and received a traditional Jewish education. His artistic and musical gifts manifested themselves already at an early age; he attended a private art school in Łodz and took private violin classes. In 1907, he started his education at the Berlin Conservatoire, but had to give up a professional musical career because of a hand injury, deciding to dedicate himself entirely to art. In 1908–11, he studied at the Hochschule fuer die bildende Kuenste in Berlin. At Berlin art exhibitions, Brauner made his first acquaintance with Van Gogh's paintings, became an ardent admirer of his art, and even adopted his name – Wincenty. Another formative influence of this period was the work of the German impressionists, mainly members of "Der blaue Reiter" group whose artistic ideas and plastic techniques Brauner thoroughly adopted.. On the eve of World War I, he returned to Łodz. In 1914–15, he showed his work at exhibitions arranged by the local Artistic Society and was praised by critics as one of the most promising young Polish artists. In Łodz, he became close to a group of young Jewish artists who shared national ideas and aspired to achieve an organic synthesis between Jewish tradition and European modernist art. Brauner became one of the most steadfast apologists for these ideas and strove to realize them in his work. As a leading figure of the Jewish artistic movement in Poland, he was a member of almost every Jewish modernist group or association. In 1919, he participated in the exhibition organized by the Artistic Section of the Kultur-Liga in Białystok. During the same period, he was among the initiators and ideologists of the "Yung Yiddish" group in Łodz (1919–21). He also maintained close contact with the "Khalyastre" group, which brought together Yiddish modernist writers, and produced a cover drawing for the group's first anthology (1921). While living in Łodz, he founded, together with Moshe *Broderzon, an Yiddish puppet show "*Ḥad Gadya*" (1922–23), executing the settings and making puppets for its productions. In the same period, he designed the settings for productions staged by Yiddish drama theaters in Łodz and Gdansk. In 1924, Brauner moved to Warsaw and had his first one-man show, which revealed him as one of the most radical Jewish painters in Poland. Although his painting retained its general figurative style, he experimented radically with form and implemented techniques of coloristic abstraction. Most of the subjects that he treated in his paintings, chasings, wooden sculptures, and typography were scenes of Jewish *shtetl* life or episodes from Jewish folklore. In the 1930s he continued his theater work. In the late 1930s, he again settled in Łodz. From 1939, when the city was occupied by the Germans, he was confined to the local ghetto, portraying ghetto life in his graphic works and paintings, part of which survived. In July 1944, he was sent to Auschwitz in of one of the last "selection" operations.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Y. Sandel, *Umgekomene Yidishe Kinstler in Poiln*, vol. 1 (1957), 66–71; J. Malinowski. *Grupa "Jung Idysz" i żidowskie środowisko "Nowej Sztuki" w Polsce. 1918–1923* (1987); idem, *Malarstwo i rzeźba Żydow Polskich w XIX i XX wieku* (2000), 154–55, 188–89; C. Shmeruk, "Mojżesz Broderson a teatr w językу jidisz w Łodzi (przychynki do monografii)," in: *Łódzkie sceny żydowskie. Studia i materiały* (2000), 62, 65–66.

[Hillel Kazovsky (2nd ed.)]

BRAUNER, VICTOR (1903–1966), surrealist painter. Brauner, born in Pietra Neamţ, Romania, grew up in Bucharest, where he joined the avant-garde of Romanian artists. In 1930 he settled in Paris where he associated with André Breton and the surrealists and participated in all the major surrealist exhibitions until 1949. During World War II he hid from the Germans in an Alpine village and returned to Paris in 1945. Some of Brauner's early works contain an element of social satire (e.g., *L'étrange cas de monsieur K*). He later elaborated a complex private world of symbolism and mythology, and drew on numerous sources of inspiration in order to make this private world universal. To this end he studied myth, psychology, ethnology, child art, the art of the insane, and that of primitive peoples. In 1948 he made a series of paintings with himself as subject (e.g., *Victor, Empereur de l'espace Infini*). After 1951, in a state of deep depression, he painted his series of "Rectractés": These are people who find no peace in the world. Unable to escape, they turn, instead, a terrifying gaze on the spectator (e.g., *Regard de la lumière*). Many of Brauner's later works were almost abstract, executed with a wry sense of humor.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: A. Jouffroy, *Brauner* (Fr. 1959); S. Alexandrian, *Victor Brauner, l'illuminateur* (1954); idem (ed.), *Les dessins magiques de Victor Brauner* (1965).

BRAUNSTEIN, MENAHEM MENDEL (pen name **Mibashan**; 1858–1944), Hebrew writer and leading figure in the Zionist movement in Romania. He received his early education in Jassy and had a broad knowledge of the Bible and of traditional Hebrew literature. After his marriage, however, he took up secular studies and learned several European languages. In 1887 he was one of the founders in Jassy of Doresh le-Zion, an organization which sought to revive the movement of Romanian Jews to Palestine following the decline which had set in after the relatively large-scale emigration during 1882–83. From 1887, he edited the newspaper *Juedischer Volksfreund* (German in Hebrew script). He helped found Oholei Shem, an association aimed at disseminating knowledge of Jewish history and literature among Romanian Jewry. For 23 years he taught Hebrew subjects in Jewish schools in various towns in Romania. He advocated teaching Hebrew through the medium of Hebrew, founded Hebrew libraries, and struggled to overcome the objections of an apathetic public and of assimilationist opponents to the teaching of Hebrew in Jewish schools. He wrote *Divrei ha-Yamim li-Venei Yisrael* ("History of the Jews." Warsaw, 1897, 1904) and *Sefer ha-Moreh* ("The Teacher's Book," Piatra, 1910). From 1885 he also contributed to the Jewish press in German and Romanian but wrote mainly for the Hebrew press. He settled in Ereẓ Israel in 1914, and continued writing stories and poems, especially for young people. Four volumes of his works were published between 1928 and 1937. Braunstein was one of the last modern Hebrew authors to use a purely biblical style. His translations from European literature include: Lehmann's *The House of Aguilar* (St. Petersburg, 1896); Edmondo de Amici's *Il Cuore* (Warsaw, 1923); and Swift's *Gulliver's Travels* (Tel Aviv, 1944).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Y. Klausner, *Ḥibbat Ẓiyyon be-Romanyah* (1958), 259–68.

[Yehuda Slutsky]

BRAUNTHAL, JULIUS (1891–1972), Austrian journalist, historian, and socialist leader. The son of a bookkeeper who emigrated from Russia, Braunthal joined the Socialist youth movement in Vienna at the age of 15 when he was a bookbinder's apprentice. He participated in the mutiny of the Austro-Hungarian Navy at Cattaro (Boka Kotorska) at the end of World War I, and he was appointed adjutant to the undersecretary of state for the armed forces when the Austrian socialists joined the government. His journalistic activities covered a wide range. He was deputy-editor of the *Arbeiterzeitung*, the Austrian socialist daily, founder and editor of the popular daily *Das kleine Blatt*, and for many years editor of the socialist monthly *Der Kampf*. Braunthal was imprisoned for a year by the Austrian government in 1934, and after his release immigrated to England where he joined the staff of *The Tribune*, and later became editor of the *International Socialist Forum*. In 1939 he worked under Friedrich *Adler in the secretariat of the Labor and Socialist International in Brussels and after World War II he became secretary of the reconstructed Socialist International.

Braunthal's enormous literary output includes a massive two-volume *Geschichte der Internationale* (1961–63) and biographies of Victor and Friedrich Adler and Otto *Bauer. He also compiled anthologies of the writings of Victor *Gollancz, Otto Bauer, Friedrich Austerlitz, and Zsigmund *Kunfi and was editor of the *Yearbook of the International Socialist Labour Movement* and of the *Yearbook of the International Free Trade Union Movement*. Braunthal supported Labor Zionism in the Vienna Socialist press. In his autobiography, *In Search of the Millennium* (1945), he stressed the roots of the socialist idea in Jewish messianism and discussed the impact of this Jewish background on certain socialist leaders.

ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY: A. Barkai, "The Austrian Social Democrats and the Jews," in: *Wiener Library Bulletin*, 24 (1970); J. Bunzl, "Arbeiterbewegung, 'Judenfrage' und Antisemitismus: am Beispiel des Wiener Bezirks Leopoldstadt," in: *Bewegung und Klasse: Studien zur oesterreichischen Arbeitergeschichte* (1979); H. Gruber, *Red Vienna: Experiment in Working Class Culture 1919–1934* (1991); J. Jacobs, *On Socialists and the 'Jewish Question' after Marx* (1992); A. Rabinbach, *The Crisis of Austrian Socialism: From Red Vienna to Civil War, 1927–1934* (1983); R.S. Wistrich, *Socialism and the Jews: The Dilemmas of Assimilation in Germany and Austria-Hungary* (1982).

[Robert Weltsch / Lisa Silverman (2nd ed.)]

BRAVERMAN, AVISHAY (1948–), Israeli economist and president of Ben-Gurion University. His fields of inquiry are development economics, agricultural economics, industrial organization, public policy, and management of water resources. Braverman was born in Ramat Gan, Israel. In 1968 he graduated in economics and statistics from Tel Aviv University and in 1976 he received his Ph.D. in economics from Stanford University. From 1976 until 1990 he served as senior economist and as a division chief in the World Bank in Washington. In this position he participated in research programs, projects, and policy work of the World Bank for South America, Africa, Asia, the Middle East, and Eastern Europe. In 1990 he was appointed president of Ben-Gurion University and succeeded in getting it out of the red. Under his presidency, the university tripled its student body. Braverman was made a member of several international economic associations, the Russian Academy of Natural Sciences, the European Academy of Sciences and Arts, and the Israeli-American High-Tech Commission for Science and Technology. He was awarded the Ben-Gurion Prize in 1999 for his leadership in developing the Negev. He wrote several books and lectured on globalization, educational reform, and the Middle East. In 2006 he was elected to the Knesset on the Labor list.

[Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

BRAWER, ABRAHAM JACOB (1884–1975), Israeli geographer and historian. Brawer, who was born in Stry, Ukraine, studied in Vienna at the university and at the rabbinical seminary. From 1910 to 1911 he taught at a secondary school in Tarnopol. While there he published Dov Ber *Birkenthal's *Divrei Binah* which dealt with false Messiahs in Jewish history (*Ha-Shilo'aḥ*, 33 (1917); 38 (1921). In 1911 he settled in Ereẓ Israel and taught at the Ezra Teachers Seminary in Jerusalem. In the summer of 1914 he taught in Salonika and from 1915 to 1918 in Constantinople, where he also served as rabbi of the Ashkenazi congregation. After pursuing research work in geography at the University of Vienna, he returned in 1920 to the Teachers Seminary in Jerusalem, where he taught until 1949. He wrote *Avak-Derakhim* (2 vols., 1944–46) about his travels in Lebanon, Syria, Iraq, and Persia and his descriptive *Ha-Areẓ* (later *Ereẓ Yisrael*), the first modern regional geography of Ereẓ Israel, was published in 1928 (3rd ed. 1954). Brawer also published several textbooks on geography, an atlas, and maps and was geography editor of the Hebrew Encyclopedia. He was one of the three founding members of the *Israel Exploration Society and its first honorary secretary.

BRAWER, MOSHE (1919–), Israeli geographer, specializing in borders, cartography, and the Arab village. Brawer was born in Vienna in 1919 and immigrated to Israel in 1920 with his family. From 1934 to 1938 he studied teaching in the Mizrachi Teachers Seminar in Jerusalem. In 1938 he studied geography and geology at the University of London and in 1939–42 he studied geology and mathematics at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. In 1945 he returned to the University of London, graduating in geography and geology in 1947. In 1950 he received his master's degree there in geography and in 1958 his Ph.D. In 1964 he joined the departments of geography at Tel Aviv and Bar-Ilan Universities. In 1980–83 he was dean of the Faculty of Humanities in Tel Aviv University, and in 1989 he became professor emeritus in Tel Aviv and Bar-Ilan Universities. During these years he was also visiting professor in universities all over the world. In addition to his academic positions, Brawer served on the editorial boards of *Ha-Ẓofeh* (1941–65) and the *Palestine Post* (1940–45). He was the editor of the geographical section of the *Hebrew Encyclopedia* from 1953 to 1973 and from 1963 to 1997 he served as geographical advisor to the Ministry of Education. In the 1980s and 1990s he served as a government adviser on internal and external borders. Brawer has hundreds of publications to his credit, including 19 books and atlases, among them *Regional Geography Atlas of the Middle East* (1964), *University Atlas* (1973), *The Green Line: The Border of the West Bank* (1980), and *Israel's Borders – Past, Present and Future* (1988). In 2002 he was awarded the Israel Prize for his contribution to the field of geography. The committee cited his efforts to disseminate geographical knowledge and apply it in public and political life.

[Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

BRAY-SUR-SEINE, village in the department of Seine-et-Marne, central France. In 1190, after the execution of a Christian who had murdered a Jew, a rumor spread that the Jews had crucified the murderer in order to mock the death of Jesus. The king of France, Philip Augustus, dispatched an armed force to the town, and ordered the entire Jewish community to be burnt at the stake. The identification of the place in question has been disputed, some scholars placing it in Bresmes, other in Brie-Comte-Robert. Toward the middle of the 13th century, Jews were again found living in Bray-sur-Seine. They seem to have returned there in 1315 after the general expulsion of the Jews from France in 1306. The Rue des Juifs was named Rue Emile Zola at the beginning of the 20th century.

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[Bernhard Blumenkranz]

BRAZ, OSIP (Joseph; 1873–1936), painter. Braz was born in Odessa, Ukraine. He studied at the Odessa Art School and on completing the course was awarded a Grand Bronze Medal. He later continued his art education in Munich, where in 1891–93 he attended Sh. Halloshi's private art school and took drawing classes at the Academy of Art. In 1894, he lived in Holland studying old masters. In 1895–96, Braz studied at the St. Petersburg Academy of Arts. In the same period, P. Tretyakov, a prominent patron of art and collector of Russian painting, commissioned Braz to execute a portrait of A. Chekov. The painting, which brought the artist fame, became the best-known portrait of the writer. From 1900, Braz was a regular participant of "World of Art" exhibits. He established a private art school in St. Petersburg that remained open until 1905. In 1907–11, he resided mainly in France, where together with portraits, his favorite genre, he created landscapes and still lifes. Under the influence of contemporary French art, Braz' manner underwent changes, his compositions becoming simpler, colors more intensive, and decorative features more pronounced. At the same time, he continued to execute portraits, and by World War I had created a gallery of portraits of prominent figures in Russian culture and art. After 1917, Braz participated in major exhibits of Russian artists both in Russia and West Europe. In 1918–24, he served as the curator and manager of the Department of Dutch Art at the Hermitage, being also active in the restoration of paintings. In 1924, Braz was accused of engaging in illegal art trade, arrested, and imprisoned in the correctional forced-labor camp on the Solovets Islands. He was released in 1926 and sent into exile in Novgorod. Soon afterwards, Braz was allowed to return to Leningrad and to resume his work at the Hermitage. In 1928, he left for Germany and in the same year settled in France. He lived in Paris and engaged in the antiques trade while continuing to paint. He participated in collective exhibits of emigrant artists. He had a one-man show at a Paris gallery in 1930.

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[Hillel Kazovsky (2nd ed.)]

BRAZER, ABRAM (1892–1942), painter, graphic artist, and sculptor. Brazer was born in Kishinev, Bessarabia. He studied art at the Kishinev Art School in 1905–10 and at the École des Arts Décoratifs, Paris, in 1912–14. He became close to a group of Jewish artists of La Ruche studios in Paris and executed several portraits of its members. He exhibited at the salons in Paris. In 1916, he returned to Russia and settled in Petrograd. He was a member of the Jewish Society for the Encouragement of the Arts and participated in its exhibitions in Petrograd and Moscow (1916, 1917). In 1917, Brazer showed his works at "World of Art" exhibition in Petrograd, and later in the same year moved to Vitebsk. In 1918–23, Brazer taught painting and sculpture at the Vitebsk People's Art School established by Marc *Chagall. In 1924, Brazer moved to Minsk. In the 1920s and 1930s, he participated in many exhibits in Minsk and Moscow. Working in all the genres, including landscapes and still lifes, he gave a prominent place to Jewish themes in his work. He executed a number of sculptural portraits of leading figures in Jewish culture and art, among them the artist Y. Pan (1921, 1926), the Jewish actor S. *Mikhoels (1926), the Yiddish poet I. *Kharik (1932), and others. He had a one-man show in 1941 in Minsk. When the war broke out, he missed the chance to be evacuated from Minsk and remained in the ghetto, where he perished.

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[Hillel Kazovsky (2nd ed.)]

BRAZIL, South American federal republic; general population (est.) 183 million (2005); Jewish population 97,000.

Jewish history in Brazil is divided into four distinct periods with a specific interval: (a) The presence of *New Christians and the action of the *Inquisition during the Portuguese colonial period (1500–1822); (b) An interval under Dutch colonialism, with the settlement of a Jewish community in *Recife, Pernambuco, Northeastern Brazil, in the 17th century, when the Dutch promoted religious freedom for the Jews; (c) The modern period, when Brazil became an independent country (1822), up to the proclamation of the Republic (1889), when non-Catholic religions were accepted. The beginning of scattered immigration to some cities was followed by the establishment of the first Jewish community in the city of Belém in the state of Pará, in the north of Brazil; (d) The period of the Republic (in 1889 Brazil adopted a constitution that guaranteed religious freedom), from the first decade of the 20th century, when communities settled in agricultural colonies of the Jewish Colonization Association (ICA) in Rio Grande do Sul, in the south of Brazil, to the years of World War I, when organized Jewish communities settled in some of the main cities of Brazil, particularly in *Rio de Janeiro, *São Paulo, and *Porto Alegre.

Estimates of the number of Jews in Brazil in 2005 range between 97,000 and 130,000 (the latter adopted by the Jewish institutions in the country). It is the fourth largest Jewish community in America, after the United States, Canada, and Argentina. The main Jewish communities are located in São Paulo, Rio de Janeiro, Porto Alegre, Curitiba, Belo Horizonte, Recife, and Salvador. Although it makes up less than 0.01% of the total population of the country, the Jewish communities of these state capitals have a solid institutional network and the Jews play an important role in many different fields and activities in the country including the economy, culture, the professions, and the arts, thus forming a minority whose participation and visibility in Brazilian life very much surpasses its minute percentage. There are Jewish federations in 13 states of the country, but in some of those, such as Santa Catarina and Amazonas, there are only a few dozen families. In dozens of other cities, there are small organized communities.

Colonial Period

The presence of Portuguese New Christians began with the discovery, conquest, and colonization of the land that would become Brazil, then inhabited by many groups of indigenous peoples. In the colonial period (1500–1822), thousands of New Christian Portuguese came to Brazil, but they never formed an organized Jewish community that expressed publicly what could be characterized as Judaism.

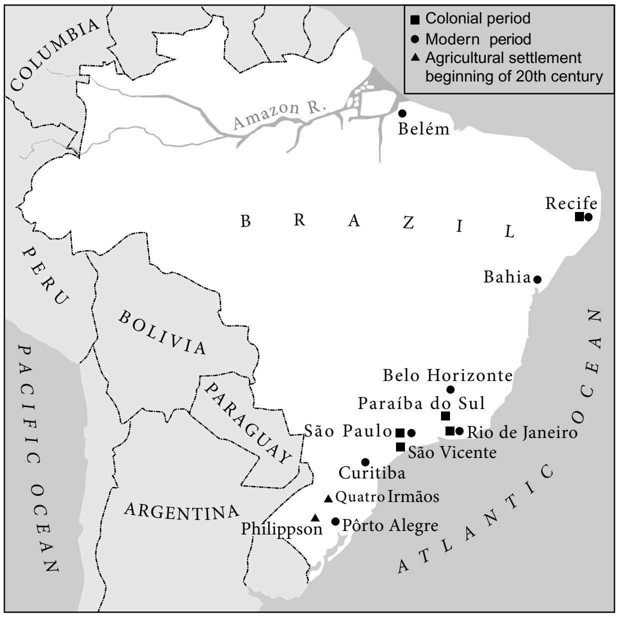

Map showing the main areas of Jewish settlement in Brazil.

Until the proclamation of independence in Brazil, in 1822, Catholicism was the official religion and there was no freedom regarding the practice of other religions. The New Christians contributed to the establishment of the first villages, to the mercantilist state and church struggle against the Indians, to the finance of and participation in the expeditions to the interior, and to cultivation of the land and of sugar cane, particularly in the mills of Bahia, Paraíba, Pernambuco, and other states. New Christians were also slave merchants, farmers, and craftsmen, among other occupations. They ascended socially and economically, but they were faced with the restrictions on belonging to religious orders or holding political positions, such as the *Irmandades de Misericórdia* and Câmaras Municipais (city councils), plus marriage restrictions with Old Christians. Other groups such as Indians and black slaves also suffered from these restrictions.

Some sources maintain that one New-Christian, Gaspar da Gama, was part of Pedro Álvares Cabral's fleet, in 1500. A significant number of Jews were involved in the sciences and the art of navigation in Portugal during the period of overseas expansion in the early 15th century. During most of the colonial period, the *Tribunal do Santo Ofício da Inquisição* (the Inquisition) was active in Brazil. Established in Portugal in 1536, it operated in the Metropolis up to 1821. The conversion of non-Christians in the Americas (such as members of the indigenous and pre-Columbian cultures) was a central colonial activity in the process of the expansion of the Portuguese and Spanish empires. After the first auto-da-fé, in 1540 in Portugal, the emigration of New Christians to the Brazilian colony grew, and many of them arrived in Bahia and other regions of the northeast with the first governors.

The Inquisition did not settle permanently in colonial Brazil. From 1591, the *Tribunal do Santo Ofício* carried out several visitations to Brazil, powers were delegated to some bishops, as for instance the bishop of Bahia, and clergymen used to indict people for Jewish practices and send them for trial in Lisbon. The action of the Inquisition became more intense after the union between Portugal and Spain in 1580.

The best-known action of the Inquisition against *Crypto-Jews in Brazil were the Visitations of 1591–93 in Bahia; 1593–95 in Pernambuco; 1618 in Bahia; around 1627 in the Southeast; and in 1763 and 1769 in Grão-Pará, in the north of the country. In the 18th century, the Inquisition was also active in Paraíba, Rio de Janeiro, and Minas Gerais. The Inquisition also condemned people accused of sexual deviations, witchcraft and slandering the Holy Church.

In 1773, during the liberal government of Marques de Pombal, governor general of Brazil, the differentiation between New Christians and Old Christians was abolished and the Inquisitional procedures came to an end. Consequently the New Christians were then integrated into society at large. The Inquisition in Brazil was less systematic and more infrequent than its Portuguese counterpart, probably owing to the difficulty of controlling the colony, the fact that a permanent tribunal was never established in Brazil, and the greater permeability of the social and religious relations established in the Portuguese New World, which also allowed the New Christians to find alternative forms of social and economic advancement and often alternative ways to get around restrictions, creating identity strategies to survive socially, including, in some cases, disguising New Christian traces. During the 17th century, in Rio de Janeiro, episodes were recorded of Old Christians testifying in court in favor of New Christians belonging to the same social strata, proving that there were also forms of social intercourse coexisting with the system of Inquisitorial persecution.

According to Arnold Wiznitzer, in the two and a half centuries of the Inquisition in Brazil, around 25,000 people were brought to trial by the Portuguese Inquisition, out of which 1,500 were condemned to capital punishment. In Brazil, approximately 400 judaizers were prosecuted, most of them being condemned to imprisonment, and 18 New Christians were condemned to death in Lisbon. Three New Christian writers stood out in the colonial period with works that reveal elements of Jewish expression: Bento Teixeira, author of *Prosopopéia* – one of the most important colonial poems; Ambrósio Fernandes Brandão, author of *Diálogos das Grandezas do Brasil* (both in the 16th century); and one of the best-known Portuguese playwrights, Antonio Jose da Silva, "the Jew," who lived part of his life in Portugal and part in Brazil, and was condemned to death by the Inquisition in 1739.

The presence of New Christians in colonial Brazil has always been a controversial issue in both Brazilian and Portuguese historiography. Some historians believe that the interventions of the Inquisition Tribunal in Brazil, supported by the nobility and the Catholic clergy, were aimed at expropriating the New Christians' possessions and impeding the social ascension of a group with bourgeois aspirations. Therefore, the Inquisition created a myth regarding the origin and purity of blood, which discriminated against those with "infected blood," according to the Statutes on Blood Purity. Other historians see strictly religious and political reasons related to the history of the Portuguese Catholic Church and Portuguese Empire.

Meanwhile, some historians maintain that Judaism or Crypto-Judaism was "fabricated" during the Inquisitional processes (that is, by means of intimidating, indicting, menacing, and torturing, the Inquisition "created" Judaism or Crypto-Judaism in order to justify its own existence and legitimacy). Others maintain that New Christians deliberately and furtively professed Judaic or Crypto-Judaic traditions inherited from their ancestors, even though in the 18th century the Inquisition condemned New Christians as such, that is, as descendants of Jews rather than Judaizers, which would show a more definite anti-Judaism on the part of the persecutors. The debate includes the manner in which to read documents of the Inquisition, the main source for these studies, and in what measure they can constitute a trustworthy source from the point of view of the Jewish way of life of each person prosecuted. This debate assumes different forms when it relates to the 16th or the 18th centuries, since in the 1700s the New Christians were evidently much more distant from their Jewish origins. There was also a regional variation in Brazil that needs to be taken into account. According to Anita Novinsky, the New Christian was a "split human being," socially and existentially, with a differentiated identity in the colonial Portuguese-Brazilian world.

The anti-Jewish attitude found in the Inquisition's procedures did not lead to disseminating hatred against Jews among the population in Brazil, although the imaginary extension of the Inquisition and the terror it implied can hardly be assessed and there are traces in the country of a Catholic popular imagery, which – although it has never triggered any form of persecution in modern history – does have a relatively medieval vision of the Jews and Judaism.

There is no actual link between the history of New Christians and contemporary 20th century Jewish history. Nevertheless, the remote (and secret) Jewish origin of many traditional Catholic Portuguese has been recently acknowledged by the traditional families of the country through genealogical research, and the presence of the Jews, or "Semites," has been brought to light in the historical studies of the country. Equally, the theme and memory of the New Christians have been exaggerated by the Jewish communities in Brazil, which tend to consider erroneously all the New Christians as secret Jews, exaggerating the Jewish colonial heritage of the country. This memory often transcends the boundary which separates the New Christians' lives in the colonial period and the establishment of modern Jewish communities in Brazil, as if we were dealing with – and this is not the case – a continuous and identical historical line, which began with the conquest of Brazil by the Portuguese in 1500.

DUTCH DOMAIN. The first organized Jewish community in Brazil was established in Recife, Pernambuco, in the northeast, during a brief period of Dutch colonial occupation in the 17th century, which permitted religious freedom, and legally defended Jews and New Christians from the restrictions imposed by Portugal. The estimates of the Jewish population at Recife vary considerably. According to Wiznitzer, it reached 1,450 members in 1645. Egon and Frieda Wolff's research found around 350 Jews.

From the end of the 16th century, Amsterdam became an important Jewish religious, cultural, and economic center, formed mainly by New Christians of Portuguese origin who returned to Judaism. When the West India Company, aided by the Dutch government, equipped an expedition to Brazil, some Dutch Jews joined the expedition. In May 1624 two important forts in Bahia were captured by the Dutch; but a large Portuguese and Spanish expeditionary force arrived shortly afterwards, and two months later, the Dutch had to surrender (May 1625). The West India Company soon prepared another expedition, this time to Pernambuco. The States General at The Hague proclaimed that the liberty of Spaniards, Portuguese, and natives, whether Roman Catholics or Jews, would be respected. Jewish soldiers, traders, and adventurers joined the expedition that successfully landed at the ports of Olinda and Recife in the middle of May 1630.

Johan Maurits van Nassau, who was appointed governor-general of Brazil in 1637, gave the non-Christian inhabitants of Dutch Brazil a sense of security. In 1636 the Jews founded the first Brazilian synagogue in Recife, the first on American soil: Kahal Kadosh Zur Israel. Later they founded the synagogue Kahal Kadosh Magen Abraham in Maurícia. There are records of a prayer house in Paraíba. The Jewish community was very well organized along the same lines as the mother community in Amsterdam. All Jewish residents were members of the community and were subject to its regulations, taxes, and assessments. The Jewish cemetery was located in the hinterland, separated from Recife and Maurícia by the Capibaribe River. Jews from Recife addressed an inquiry regarding the proper season to recite the prayers for rain to Rabbi Ḥayyim Shabbetai in Salonika, the earliest American contribution to the rabbinic *responsa literature.

By 1639 Dutch Brazil had a flourishing sugar industry with 166 sugar cane mills, six of which were owned by Jews. Jews also had an important role in tax farming, were engaged in the slave trade, and were also very active in commerce, and all these opportunities attracted many Jews to Dutch Brazil. In 1638 a group of 200 Jews, led by Manoel Mendes de Castro, arrived on two ships. Soon after, the Jews of Recife needed rabbis, Hebrew teachers, and ḥazzanim and thus invited the famous Rabbi Isaac Aboab da *Fonseca, one of the four rabbis of the Talmud Torah congregation in Amsterdam, and the scholar Moses Raphael *d'Aguilar to come to Brazil as their spiritual leaders. A young Jew by the name of Isaac de *Castro, who had come to Bahia – then under Portuguese rule – from Amsterdam via Dutch Brazil, was arrested for teaching Jewish rites and customs to the New Christians. He was extradited to Lisbon and was one of the victims of the auto-da-fé on Dec. 15, 1647.

Jews were enrolled into the militia; one of the four companies was composed entirely of Jews and was exempt from guard duty on Saturdays. As early as 1642 the Portuguese began preparations for the liberation of northeastern Brazil. In 1645 they began a war that lasted nine years. Jews joined the Dutch ranks, and some were killed in action. Scores of people died of malnutrition. Famine had set in and conditions were desperate when, on June 26, 1649, two ships arrived from Holland with food. On that occasion, R. Isaac Aboab wrote the first Hebrew poem in the Americas, "Zekher Asiti le-Nifle'ot El" ("I Have Set a Memorial to God's Miracles"). Soon afterwards other ships arrived with 2,000 soldiers and more supplies. The war continued, and some Jews taken prisoner by the enemy were sentenced and hanged as traitors; others were sent to Lisbon for trial. The war ended with the defeat and capitulation of the Dutch in January 1654. Even though during the war many Jews died and many returned to Holland, in 1650 there were still about 650 Jews in Recife and Maurícia. It was stipulated in the capitulation protocol of January 26, 1654, that all Jews, like the Dutch, were to leave Brazil within three months and had the right to liquidate their assets and to take all their movable property with them. The majority left for Amsterdam, but some sailed to the Caribbean Islands (*Curaçao, *Barbados, etc.). Wiznitzer maintains that a group of 23 Brazilian Jews arrived in New Amsterdam (old name of New York), then under Dutch rule, on the *Saint Catherine* at the beginning of September 1654 and they were the founding fathers of the first Jewish community in New York. Egon and Frieda Wolff reject this historical connection and argue that there is no documentary basis to assume that the Jews who arrived in New York were the same who had left Recife during the expulsion of the Dutch.

Independent Brazil

Two years after Brazil declared its independence from Portugal (1822) it adopted its first constitution. Roman Catholicism remained the state religion, but the constitution proclaimed some tolerance of other religions. After the proclamation of independence from Portugal and during the period of monarchy in Brazilian history (1822–89), Brazil had two emperors, Dom Pedro I and Dom Pedro II. The latter was interested in Judaism, was a Hebraist, and maintained correspondence with illustrious Jews of his time and had visited the Holy Land during one of his international voyages.

The second organized Jewish community in Brazilian history, in modern times, was founded in Belém, capital of the State of Pará, in the north, in 1840, made up of Jews who had come from Morocco. The immigrants were attracted by the wealth derived from the rubber economy. They established the first modern synagogue in the country, Eshel Abraham, in 1823, and around 1826 the second one, Shaar Hashamaim. The first synagogue followed the rites of Tanger and Tetuán (which later became part of Spanish Morocco), and Shaar Hashamaim followed the rites of Arab Morocco (later under French colonial rule, Algeria, and other parts of North Africa. In 1842 a Jewish cemetery was founded in the same city. Revival of the rubber industry between the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th attracted more immigrants. Immigrants from Morocco formed small communities in other places in northern Brazil. There were also small Moroccan nuclei in the Amazonas, another northern state, attracted by the wealth of the rubber industry, in places such as Itacoatiara, Cametá, Paratintins, Óbidos, Santarém, Humaitá, and others. Most of these Jews mixed with the local population, giving origin to many local legends mixing Judaism and Catholicism. By World War I, Belém's Sephardi community, of Moroccan origin, had about 800 people.

Early Modern Period

Contemporary Jewish Brazilian history started in the last quarter of the 19th century, when a few hundred Jewish immigrants arrived from both Eastern and Central Europe, mainly from the Alsace-Loraine region, settling in some of the main cities in the country, principally Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo. It was not an organized and systematic immigration flow, but one which occurred rather on an individual basis. These first immigrants did not organize a Jewish community in Brazil. The new constitution adopted by Brazil in 1891, after the country became a republic in 1889, abolished all traces of religious discrimination, ensured the civil rights of all citizens, and provided for the introduction of civil marriage and the establishment of nonsectarian municipal cemeteries. The principles of freedom of conscience and religion and equality before the law have been retained in all the constitutions subsequently adopted by Brazil – in 1934, 1937, 1946, and 1967.

AGRICULTURAL SETTLEMENT. The earliest discussion of a plan for the agricultural settlement of Jews took place in 1891, when the Deutsches Central Committee fuer die Russischen Juden, established after the expulsion of Jews from Moscow, sent Oswald Boxer – a Viennese journalist and close friend of Theodor Herzl – to Brazil to investigate the possibilities of founding agricultural settlements for Russian refugees. Boxer was warmly received by government representatives and after an inspection tour he reported to the committee that Jewish settlement could indeed prosper in Brazil and that the first settlers could be dispatched as early as March 1892. The revolution of November 3, 1891, and the counterrevolution of November 23, which ended the rule of General Deodoro da Fonseca, invalidated Boxer's forecast, and the project was finally abandoned in 1892, when Boxer died of yellow fever. In 1901, on the initiative of the vice president of the *Jewish Colonization Association (ICA), who had contacts with the Belgian railway company in Rio Grande do Sul, Brazil again became the objective of Jewish agricultural settlement. The continuing stagnation in the agricultural colonies of Argentina prompted ICA to seek new land where the expenses of agricultural settlement would be lower than in Argentina.

The first organized immigration and the first Jewish communities in contemporary Brazil settled in the State of Rio Grande do Sul, the southernmost state of Brazil, which borders on Argentina and Uruguay. Through the Jewish Colonization Association and by means of agreements with the state government, hundreds of immigrants from Eastern Europe settled in agricultural colonies, following the example of similar colonies established in Argentina from 1893.

The first colony in Brazil, with an area of 4,472 hectares, was Philippson, in the region of Santa Maria, in 1904, consisting of 37 families (267 persons) from Bessarabia. The first Jewish school in Brazil was founded in Philippson in 1906, where the official curriculum was taught. In 1908, the colony had 299 inhabitants. The meager chances of economic success in the settlement, contrasted with the prospect of more comfortable livelihoods as peddlers or artisans in Santa Maria soon led to the settlement's disintegration. In August 1926 the director of ICA in Buenos Aires reported that of the 122 families who settled in Philippson at various periods, only 17 remained.

In 1912 Quatro Irmãos was established, with over 350 families divided into four nuclei: Quatro Irmãos, Baroneza Clara, Barão Hirsch, and Rio Padre. The first colonists came from Argentina and Bessarabia. In each of the nuclei a school functioned, teaching both the official and the Jewish curricula. In 1915 the population in Quatro Irmãos reached 1,600 people.

The colonists also cleared fertile areas of forest and groves (*mato*), which were enriched by the wood ash created by burning the vegetation. The salvaged wood was sold to ICA's sawmills in the area, and, in order to facilitate transportation and marketing, ICA began building an 18-kilometer railroad that joined Quatro Irmãos and the town of Erebango early in 1918. Flour mills and a consumer cooperative organization were also established, and in 1912 a school was built and cultural life began to develop.

In 1924 Rabbi Isaiah Raffalovich arrived in Brazil as a representative of ICA. He played a decisive role in the development of the Jewish presence in the country and tried, unsuccessfully, to organize in Brazil a unified community, inspired by *kehillah* principles.

In the 1920s the majority of the colonists moved to Porto Alegre and other cities in the hinterland of Rio Grande do Sul, such as Erebango, Pelotas, Cruz Alta, Passo Fundo, Santa Maria, and Erechim, establishing communities in each one of these cities.

Some of the factors that made the immigrants abandon the colonies were the precarious quality of the land; lack of credit; isolation of the immigrants; lack of agricultural experience; commercial and industrial interests associated with ICA (such as the railroads) which exploited the Jewish colonists; lack of government support, plus a military uprising that occurred in Rio Grande do Sul in 1923 and devastated the region, as the colonies were situated along the strategic railroads.

From the 1920s, ICA began to concentrate its immigration efforts on the cities. In 1935, with ICA's support another small agricultural colony was established in Rezende, in the State of Rio de Janeiro. The colony was planned to be also a haven for some German Jewish refugee families who had previous agricultural experience, but they were unable to obtain entry visas because of the restrictions on Jewish immigration during the Vargas regime after 1937. Another attempt at negotiations by ICA, to bring some Polish families in 1939, similarly failed. The last families of the colony of Rezende left for urban regions in 1939.

URBAN IMMIGRATION AND THE NATIONAL BASIS OF JEWISH LIFE. From World War I and through the 1920s and 1930s Jewish immigrants from Eastern and Western Europe and the Middle East formed well-structured communities in the main cities of the country, such as São Paulo, Rio de Janeiro, Porto Alegre, Curitiba, Belo Horizonte, Recife, and Salvador (as well as Belém, where a community settled in the 19th century). This process occurred during the so-called "Old Republic" or "First Republic" (1889–1930) in the history of Brazil. Jewish immigration to Brazil counted on the direct organization and support of international Jewish assistance organizations, mainly ICA, Joint, Emigdirect, and HIAS. In many cases these organizations put pressure on local Jewish groups so as to welcome more immigrants trying to flee from Eastern Europe. Small settlements were also established in dozens of cities in the interior of Brazil, following the main economic possibilities of the country. In the State of São Paulo, some small communities settled alongside the railroad that transported coffee, the main product of the country up to 1929. They settled in places such as Santos, Campinas, Santo André, Ribeirão Preto, Piracicaba, Taubaté, São Carlos, Sorocaba, Mogi das Cruzes, and São José dos Campos.

By World War I, Brazil had a Jewish population of between 5,000 and 7,000 persons. After World War I there was a marked increase in Jewish immigration, and in the 1920s, 28,820 Jews entered the country, mostly from Eastern Europe. In the 1930s, the number of Jewish immigrants increased to approximately 56,000. According to official statistics, the Jewish population per state was as follows:

State	1900	1940	1950
São Paulo	226	20,379	26,443
Rio de Janeiro	25	22,393	33,270
Rio Grande Do Sul	54	6,619	8,048
Bahia	17	955	1,076
Paraná	17	1,033	1,340
Minas Gerais	37	1,431	1,528

In Pernambuco, in 1920 there were around 150 families.

Several factors contributed to a successful process of settlement and social, cultural, and economic integration of Jews into contemporary Brazilian society from 1910. Since the end of the 19th century, and particularly after the abolition of slavery in 1888, Brazil has become a "country of immigrants," with religious tolerance and intense social and cultural permeability, which was not hindered by the manifestations of prejudice and racism. From the 1880s to the 1940s, Brazil welcomed about 4 million immigrants (65,000 of them – up to 1942 – were Jews). Mostly, immigration came from Italy, Portugal, Spain, and Japan, but also from Germany, Syria, Lebanon, Turkey, Russia, Lithuania, Poland, and other countries. These immigrants, with their dynamic cultural, social, and economic drive, played a decisive role in the development of the country and left their mark on the urban culture wherever they settled, such as in São Paulo, Rio de Janeiro, and Porto Alegre.

As well as allowing religious freedom, Brazilian legislation was tolerant towards European immigrants and they could always find loopholes that allowed more immigrants to enter the country, despite legal bureaucracy and the need for "cartas de chamada" (call letters). It was not any different for Jewish immigrants; this was the open social environment full of economic opportunities that successive migratory waves met, at least until the 1930s. From the 1920s on, Brazil became a desirable and viable destination due to the restrictions and quotas imposed by the United States, Canada, and Argentina. In the 1920s, over 10% of all Jews who emigrated from Europe had chosen Brazil as their destination, and between 1920 and 1930 about half of the immigrants from Eastern Europe who arrived in Brazil were Jewish. Only very traditional state circles such as diplomats and the military were not always receptive to the presence of the Jews, but this did not hinder the development of Jewish life in the country by any means. Between 1920 and 1940, immigrants took advantage of the high rates of economic growth and urbanization in Brazil, as well as the commercial and industrial opportunities available. The combination of religious and political freedom, solid community ties, and the individual dream of "making it in America," produced a social and economic dynamism that allowed for individual and collective social integration and the progress of immigrant communities.

Many of the early Jewish settlers became itinerant peddlers (*klientelchik*), except for a small group of immigrants who worked as artisans. In the course of time, however, this situation underwent a change. The Jewish tradesmen who settled in the country after World War I soon became manufacturers and industrial pioneers in their fields – especially in textiles, readymade clothes, furniture, and at a later period, construction. An outstanding example of industrial pioneers is the *Klabin family, leaders in paper manufacturing and related industries.

COMMUNITY LIFE AND SOCIAL ORGANIZATIONS. The organization of the community was a decisive factor for successful integration. Wherever large groups of immigrants settled, as for instance in Rio de Janeiro, São Paulo, Porto Alegre, Salvador, Recife, Belo Horizonte, Belém, and other cities, there was always at least one or more charitable organization, a credit cooperative, and one or more schools, which provided immigrant children with good social and educational opportunities. In 1917, the first Congresso Israelita no Brasil took place.

The first charitable society, Achiezer, was founded in Rio de Janeiro in 1912. The Sociedade Beneficente Israelita, Relief, was founded in 1920. Three years later the Froien Farain and the Lar da Criança Israelita (children's home) were founded. The Policlínica Israelita was established in 1937, later becoming the Hospital Israelita. In Rio de Janeiro, the Sociedade das Damas would later found the Lar da Velhice (old age home), in 1963. Also, a credit cooperative was founded in that city, which was Brazil's capital until 1960 (when it was transferred to Brasilia).

In São Paulo, between the years 1920 and 1940 there were 10 charitable entities in the community which offered all the necessary support to the newly arrived immigrants, from welcome at the port, assistance to pregnant women, and loans to set up a small business. Some of these organizations were run by individuals and families who had arrived some time before and had already prospered and did not want to see their brethren having to beg in the streets or looking like poor immigrants. The Sociedade Beneficente Amigos dos Pobres Ezra was established in 1915, in São Paulo, followed by the Sociedade Beneficente das Damas Israelitas a year later. The Policlínica Linath Hatzedek was established in 1929, and later the Gota de Leite of B'nai B'rith, the Lar das Crianças da CIP, the Lar das Crianças das Damas Israelitas, the Organização Feminina de Assistência Social (Ofidas, 1940), and the Asilo dos Velhos (1941). Between 1936 and 1966 the Sanatório Ezra for tuberculosis patients operated in São Jose dos Campos (50 miles from São Paulo). It had 120 beds, taking care of Jewish people from about 30 cities from all over Brazil. In 1928 the Cooperativa de Crédito Popular of the Bom Retiro neighborhood was established.

Even though the Bom Retiro neighborhood of São Paulo concentrated the main nucleus of immigrants coming from Eastern Europe, there were also small communities scattered throughout the city, and the groups from Western Europe, the Germans, and the Sephardim basically kept themselves apart, maintaining contact only from time to time. Each group had its own burial society, but the cemetery was common to all. In Porto Alegre and Rio de Janeiro there were common institutions from the beginning of the immigration.

Community life also developed in and around the synagogue, social, sporting and cultural clubs, political movements, and the active press. In Rio de Janeiro, União Israelita do Brasil was founded in 1873 and the first synagogue, Centro Israelita, opened in 1910. The first Jewish institution to be opened in São Paulo was the Kahal Israel synagogue (1912). In São Paulo, the Sephardim from Lebanon and Syria founded two synagogues in the Mooca neighborhood in the 1920s. The German Jews (as well as Italian and Austrian Jews) established the Congregação Israelita Paulista in São Paulo (1936) and the Associação Religiosa Israelita (1942) in Rio de Janeiro. Both were liberal congregations.

In Porto Alegre, capital of Rio Grande do Sul, the local União Israelita was founded in 1909 by Ashkenazi and Sephardi immigrants together. Sephardim founded the Centro Hebraico Rio-Grandense in 1922. Sibra (Sociedade Israelita Brasileira de Cultura e Beneficência) was created in 1936. In the interior of the State of Rio Grande do Sul, small comunities were formed in Santa Maria (1915), Pelotas (União Israelita Pelotense, 1920), and Rio Grande (Sociedade Israelita Brasileira, 1920, with many immigrants from the agricultural colony of Philipson), Passo Fundo (União Israelita Passo-Fundense, 1922), and Erechim (1934, Sociedade Cultural e Beneficente Israelita, with many immigrants from Quatro Irmãos).

In Salvador, capital of Bahia, a synagogue opened in a private household in 1924. Jewish immigrants from Eastern Europe began to arrive in Recife, capital of Pernambuco, in the 1910s and in the same year a *shill* in a private house was created. In 1918 Centro Israelita de Pernambuco and an *Ídiche Schul* were founded, followed by the cemetery (1927), the Synagoga Israelita da Boa Vista (1927), and a cooperative (1931). In the 1930s Sephardim built their synagogue in Recife. The community at Recife had a very active Jewish life, with five schools, a library, a theater group, youth movements, and Zionist women's organizations (WIZO and Naamat).

In Curitiba, capital of Paraná, União Israelita do Paraná was founded in 1913 and later became Centro Israelita do Paraná (1920). The cemetery was built in 1925 and the local community reached around 3.500 Jews.

In São Paulo, Porto Alegre, Rio de Janeiro, and Recife the Jews concentrated in specific neighborhoods: in Bom Retiro, Bonfim, and Praça Onze, respectively, in the first three cities and in Boa Viagem and Boa Vista in Recife. Eliezer Levin is the main chronicler of Jewish life in Bom Retiro and the writer Moacyr *Scliar wrote several novels set in the little *shtetl* of Rio Grande do Sul. In Rio de Janeiro, the main writer of memoirs from Praça Onze (also the heart of the Rio de Janeiro carnival) is Samuel Malamud. In these four large Brazilian cities, a defined Jewish urban space existed, with its stories, both real and imaginary, its meeting places, bars, restaurants, and lively folklore.

Women prostitutes were exploited by the international Tzvi Migdal traffic network based in Buenos Aires from the end of the 19th century and segregated by the community. They founded the Associação Beneficente Funerária e Religiosa Israelita (1906 to 1968) in Rio de Janeiro, and the Sociedade Religiosa e Beneficente Israelita in São Paulo (1924 to 1968), with their own mutual-aid organizations. They maintained separate cemeteries in São Paulo, Rio de Janeiro, and Cubatão (a neighboring city of Santos) and a synagogue in Rio. Within the Jewish communities themselves, the traffickers sponsored the Yiddish theater. The existence of Tzvi Migdal was an issue that made newspaper headlines in the 1930s and served as a pretext for those who wanted to ban Jewish immigration. But the history of the Jewish prostitutes or *polacas* (Poles), as they were known, entered the social and cultural imagination of the two most important Brazilian cities, even though Jews were only a minority among the women prostitutes. These stories can be found in the novel *Macunaima* by Mario de Andrade, the founder of Brazilian Modernism, and they were also the subjects of paintings and songs by popular artists and musicians. The subject, already a strong taboo in the community, became the theme of a novel (*O Ciclo das Águas*) by the Brazilian Jewish writer Moacyr Scliar.

EDUCATION AND CULTURE. Jewish communities all around Brazil maintained schools in the most important cities where they settled. In 1929, there were 25 schools in the country, with about 1,600 students. In São Paulo, Rio de Janeiro, and Salvador there was an ideological plurality of schools dividing Zionists, who taught Hebrew, and Yiddishists, who taught Yiddish. In São Paulo, Rio de Janeiro, and Recife there was a Jewish theater.

The Dr. Weizmann school was established in Belém, Pará State, in 1919. The Maguen David School was founded in Rio de Janeiro in 1920, later renamed the Colégio Hebreu-Brasileiro. In São Paulo, a small *talmud torah*, a "*ḥeder,*" opened in 1916. The first school in São Paulo was the Ginásio Hebraico-Brasileiro Renascença (1924). Renascença and *talmud torah* (1932) schools started to incorporate Jewish teaching with the Brazilian official curriculum, resulting in an important form of social integration for the children and young people. In São Paulo, a small school linked to the Bund existed in the 1930s and leftist sectors founded the Yiddishist Scholem Aleichem school in the 1940s. Other schools were C.N. Bialik and I.L. Peretz and the religious Beit Chinuch.

The Escola Israelita Jacob Dinezon of leftist and Yiddishist orientation was founded in Salvador in 1924. During the 1930s, a second school was founded – Ber Borochov, of Zionist orientation. Jewish schools were founded in Belo Horizonte (1928) and in Curitiba (1935). There were also schools in Nilópolis, in the interior of Rio de Janeiro State, and in Santos, interior of São Paulo.

The Jewish press in Yiddish was very active until the 1960s and there was an active Jewish press in Portuguese until the 1990s, when the remaining newspapers and magazines were confined to a limited Jewish public.

The first Jewish newspaper in Yiddish in Brazil was *Di Menscheit*, published in 1915 in Porto Alegre. The press reflected the ideological diversity, embracing left-wing and Zionist newspapers. Later came *Kol Yisrael* (1919) and *Dos Idishe Vochenblat* (1923), later to be called *Brazilianer Yiddishe Presse* (1927). Other Yiddish newspapers were *Di Yidishe Folkstsaytung, Yidishe Tsaytung* and *Der Nayer Moment*.

The first Jewish newspaper published in Portuguese was *A Columna*, in 1916. In 1933–39 São Paulo also had a Portuguese-language newspaper, *A Civilização*. Newspaper and magazines edited in Portuguese were *Crônica Israelita*, *Semana Judaica* (both linked to CIP in São Paulo), *Aonde Vamos?, Shalom, O Reflexo, Revista Brasil-Israel, Encontro,* and *Boletim da Associação Sholem Aleichem* in Rio de Janeiro. Many institutions had their own publication or newsletter.

ZIONISM AND POLITICAL PARTICIPATION. The large immigration of the 1920s consisted of Jews of different political positions and the whole spectrum of ideological orientation. All the Zionist parties were represented among Brazilian Jewry, and they left their mark upon the community. As a result, communal social Jewish life was greatly enriched. The first Congresso Sionista in Brazil took place in 1922, bringing together four movements – Ahavat Sion (São Paulo), Tiferet Sion (Rio de Janeiro, established in 1919), Shalom Sion (Curitiba), and Ahavat Sion (Pará) – founding the Federação Sionista do Brazil. One year before, in 1921, a Brazilian representative took part in the 12th Zionist Congress in Carlsbad. In the 1929 election to choose the Brazilian representative to the 16th Zionist Congress a total of 1,260 votes were cast, and for the Congress of 1934 the total number of votes was 2,647. The Zionist movement was very active within the Jewish communities, from Belém (Pará) to Rio de Janeiro, and in 1929, in Rio de Janeiro, Zionists assembled and marched through the streets in a public demonstration in which 1,500 people participated.

From the year 1930 Zionist youth movements were active mainly in São Paulo, Rio de Janeiro, and Porto Alegre: Hashomer Hatzair, Ichud Habonim, Dror, Gordonia and also the Scout movement Avanhandava. In the 1960s, Chazit Hanoar and Netzach were also active.

The leftist movements were also quite significant. The movement of left-wing Jews in Rio de Janeiro was connected with the Sholem Aleichem Library, Brazkcor, the Sociedade Brasileira Pró-Colonização Judaica in the Soviet Union, and the Centro Operário Morris Vinchevsky (the last two were established in 1928, ran a Jewish worker's school, and edited the periodical *Der Unhoib*). In São Paulo there were the groups Cultura and Progresso, as well as a small nucleus of Bund and later, in 1954, the Instituto Cultural Israelita Brasileiro (ICIB), the pro-Communist Casa do Povo (People's House), together with Teatro de Arte Israelita Brasileiro (TAIB) and the Escola Sholem Aleichem. Yiddish language and culture were key factors within these movements. The Jews were leaders in the Partido Comunista Brasileiro. In other communities, such as Porto Alegre, Belo Horizonte, and Salvador, there were also left-wing nuclei, comprising left-wing Zionists and Communists.

THE JEWS UNDER GETÚLIO VARGAS. In the 1920s and 1930s, having settled in a few cities and because of their economic, social, and cultural activities, the Jews became one of the "most visible" groups of immigrants in the words of the historian Jeffrey H. Lesser. Thus, they came to be the object of local, national, and international gambling interests, of stereotypes, and of political intrigue, "pawns of the powerful," especially during the Vargas regime (1930–45), when "the Jewish question" was raised in the country, involving political interests.

In 1930 the "First Republic" came to an end and a revolution brought Getúlio Vargas to power with a nationalist government that overcame the supremacy of the rural oligarchies of the States of São Paulo and Minas Gerais, which had dominated the country since 1889. Brazil began to industrialize and define the urban middle classes in the large cities. In the year 1937, Getúlio Vargas, who had already governed since 1930, decreed the dictatorship of the "Estado-Novo" (New State). This was a turning point in Brazil's immigration policy, which became increasingly restrictive and had an adverse effect on the immigration of Jews. In 1934 the tendency to select immigrants on the basis of their ethnic origin came to the fore, and afterwards it was taken to the extreme when a secret order was circulated through the Brazilian consulates abroad to reject all visa applications submitted by Jews. Both the 1934 and 1937 constitutions and a decree issued in 1938 provided for a quota system of immigration that was not to exceed 2% (annually) of the total number of immigrants from any particular country in the period 1884–1934 and was to consist of up to 80% agricultural laborers. The Estado-Novo military coup was orchestrated by Vargas on the pretext that a plan for a Communist revolution was underway. This plan received the (Jewish) name "Plan Cohen."

Nevertheless, Jewish immigration, mainly from Nazi-dominated Europe, continued individually by a variety of means, mainly case by case negotiations, but never organized through charitable organizations. From time to time, special provisions were made for the immigration of people skilled in certain fields or relatives of Brazilian citizens. The law also made it possible for the authorities to accord to tourists the status of permanent residents. Some 17,500 Jews entered Brazil between 1933 and 1939 (until 1945 an additional 6,000 entered), but many refugees from occupied Europe had their visa applications denied. During this time, some diplomats tried to act sympathetically towards the Jews; among them were Luiz Martins de Souza Dantas and Aracy Carvalho de Guimarães Rosa.

During the years of the Estado-Novo (1937–1945) and World War II, a general climate of xenophobia was present in government circles and in sectors of the political elite and among intellectuals. At least two militant Jewish Communist women were deported by Vargas' political police to Germany and handed over to the Gestapo: Jenny Gleizer and Olga Benário, wife of Luis Carlos Prestes, the most important Brazilian Communist leader, having led a Communist revolt in the country in 1935. The teaching of foreign languages and publication of newspapers in foreign languages were prohibited and immigrant organizations had to "nationalize" their names and to elect boards of directors with native-born Brazilians. As a rule, these restrictions were imposed on all immigrant groups and not exclusively on Jewish immigrants, affecting the Italians and hitting the Japanese hard (who were deported from São Paulo and Santos to the interior of the state).

Despite the dictatorship and the climate of nationalistic xenophobia, the Jewish organizations adjusted to the legislation and learned how to deal with the restrictions so as to continue operating. The schools continued to teach Hebrew and Jewish culture, the synagogues kept up their services, radio programs played Jewish music, and innumerable organizations were established during this period (including the Associação Religiosa Israelita – ARI, founded by German Jewish refugees in 1942 in Rio de Janeiro, with around 1,000 members) resulting in a very fertile period for the organizations of the Jewish community. The German Jews were the ones who became most alarmed, especially after Brazil broke off relations with Germany and Italy in 1942, but their organizations operated as usual during the war years.

During the Estado-Novo and especially in the war years, there are no records of any forcible closure of Jewish organizations in São Paulo, then the biggest Jewish community. The antisemitism which was present in governmental and intellectual circles, among diplomats and the elite, did not result in criminal actions against the Jews living in Brazil and those who managed to evade the immigration barriers. Daily Jewish life followed its normal course, in spite of the restrictions in immigration and the antisemitic rhetoric in official circles.

In São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro the communities took part in campaigns in support of the war effort by Brazil, which broke off relations with the Axis powers in August of 1942 and followed a policy of alignment with the United States and the Allies. The Jewish community of Brazil donated five airplanes to the newly created Brazilian Air Force, in 1942, and formed several committees to help refugees of the war in Europe, some of which were linked to the Red Cross. In July 1944 Brazil sent the Força Expedicionária Brasileira (FEB) to Italy, consisting of over 30,000 men, who fought together with the U.S. Army in Northern Italy, participating in the victorious battle of Monte Castello. Jews were part of the FEB. Among them were the artist Carlos Scliar, who later published an *Álbum de Guerra* (*Album of War*), and Boris Schnaiderman, who published *Guerra em Surdina*, an eyewitness novel about the FEB.

Also during the war, several campaigns were undertaken to help the refugees in Europe. With the restriction on imports and the naval blockade, there was significant industrial and technical development in the great urban centers, in order to supply goods that had previously been imported. This created jobs for the inhabitants of the cities, among them the Jewish immigrants who had technical, commercial, and industrial skills.

Between 1933 and 1938 the Ação Brasileira Integralista (AIB) Fascist movement was active in Brazil, led by Plínio Salgado, Gustavo Barroso, and Miguel Reale. Inspired by European and South American Fascism, *Integralismo* had an antisemitic platform. Gustavo Barroso, the head of the militia, was the main antisemitic spokesman. He translated into Portuguese *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, and published adaptations of the book for the Brazilian public, such as *A Sinagoga Paulista; Brasil, colônia de banqueiros; História secreta do Brasil*, and others. Gustavo Barroso ran the column "International Judaism" in the main Integralist newspaper. He was also the author of about 80 books, a member and president of the Academia Brasileira de Letras, and an intellectual respected throughout the country, and can be considered the most active antisemitic activist in modern Brazilian history. However, there is no documented evidence of open violence against Jewish communities, who reacted when necessary. No Jewish organization stopped functioning because of the antisemitic propaganda spread by AIB. In Curitiba, Baruch Schulman wrote *Em Legítima Defesa*, in 1937, a publication in defense of the Jews, and in Belo Horizonte the historian Isaías Golgher created an Anti-Integralist Committee. A group of Brazilian intellectuals, supported by the ICA and by the Klabin company, published a book in defense of the Jews called *Por que ser anti-semita?*, an inquiry among Brazilian intellectuals, in 1933.

Postwar Period

After the end of World War II and with the participation of Brazil in the military campaign against the Axis, the dictatorship of Getúlio Vargas fell and Brazil enjoyed a period of democratic regimes up to 1964, including the democratic election of Vargas himself as president in 1950.

It was through the creation of the Federação Israelita do Estado de São Paulo in 1946, under the inspiration of Zionism, that the community in São Paulo started to evolve a general community ideal in order to organize postwar immigration. The campaigns undertaken during the war and Zionist activism generated greater unity. The Zionist movement, which had remained inactive during the war years, resumed its public activity. The Jewish left became quite active again, also in the ranks of the Communist Party. The Federação Israelita do Rio de Janeiro was founded in 1947.

The establishment of the State of Israel in 1948 was a source of great encouragement to the Jewish minority in Brazil. In the period 1946–47, federations of Jewish organizations and institutions were formed in the larger communities, and 1951 witnessed the establishment of the Confederação das Entidades Representativas da Coletividade Israelita do Brasil (Confederation of Jewish Institutions in Brazil) – now known as Confederação Israelita do Brasil (CONIB) – to act as the authoritative and representative body of the country's entire Jewish community.

Jewish immigration to Brazil was resumed in the 1950s. In the period 1956–57 about 2,500 Jews from Egypt and 1,000 from North Africa (mainly from Morocco) and in 1956, some 1,000 from Hungary entered Brazil. According to the official census, the Jewish population of Brazil was 55,663 (1940), 69,955 (1950), 96,199 (1960), and 86,417 (1991). In 1991, 70,960 Jews lived in the Sudeste, mainly São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro; 10,614 in the South, basically in Rio Grande do Sul; 1,693 in the Nordeste; 2,308 in the North; and 841 in Centro-Oeste. According to statistical studies, estimates of the Jewish population in 2005 were 96,700 people, but Jewish institutions in the country expanded this figure to 130,000.

Israel's War of Independence (1948) and Sinai Campaign (1956) brought new waves of Sephardi immigration from Lebanon, Egypt,and Syria, especially to São Paulo, where four new synagogues were founded from the 1960s, three of them in the neighborhood of Higienópolis. From that period Sephardi Jews became politically active in the community and leaders of some of the more important Jewish institutions in the city and also in the country, holding positions such as the presidency of Confederação Israelita do Brasil. Generally, the integration between Ashkenazim and Sephardim in Brazil was successful.

Brazilian Jews experienced considerable economic mobility. The peddlers of the prewar period eventually became wholesalers and retailers, and some also became industrialists. Besides getting involved in trade and industry, from the 1960s a significant number of Brazilian Jews began taking up various professions, becoming physicians, administrators, engineers, university professors, journalists, publishers, psychologists, etc.

Important organizations were also founded in the postwar period. The Hebraica club, founded in São Paulo in 1953, is the largest Jewish organization in the country in terms of numbers of members (25,000). In the field of charity, the Centro Israelita de Assistência ao Menor (Ciam) was created in 1959 in São Paulo, and in 1993 it also developed into the Aldeia da Esperança (Village of Hope), inspired by the model of Kefar Tikvah in Israel. Unibes, the most important Jewish charitable organization in the country, was founded in 1976. Some time later, Ten Yad was established. The Hospital Israelita Albert Einstein, inaugurated in São Paulo in 1971, became one of the most important hospitals in the country and maintained an active Department of Volunteers carrying out important medical and social work in a neighboring shantytown.

In 1964, through a coup de état, a military dictatorship took control in Brazil, interrupting 19 years of democracy since the end of World War II. Under the military regime, there was neither a specific Jewish policy nor any spread of antisemitism. The policies of the military government benefited the middle classes and the country underwent a development boom with high economic growth rates during the 1970s, the so-called "Brazilian miracle." In São Paulo, from 1960, many Jews improved themselves economically and moved up the social ladder, leaving the Bom Retiro neighborhood for well-to-do districts such as Higienópolis, and later Jardins and Morumbi. Thus, the centers of Jewish life in the city partly moved to other neighborhoods as well.

Before Parliament was dissolved in 1968, six Jews representing various parties were elected to the federal legislature in the 1966 parliamentary elections. There were also Jewish politicians in the state legislatures and city councils. Horacio *Lafer was a leading Jewish political figure and served as finance minister and foreign minister of Brazil. A former federal deputy, Aarão *Steinbruch, was elected senator, the first Jew to be elected to that prestigious post.

In November 1975, the Brazilian vote in favor of the UN resolution condemning Zionism as "racism" aroused considerable criticism. It was considered an expression of Brazil's foreign policy, aimed at the Third World and the Arab oil-exporting countries. In 1980 a document issued by the Serviço de Informações do Ministério de Minas e Energia accused the Jewish community of being among the main opponents of the nuclear agreement signed by Brazil and Germany because Jewish physicists such as Mario Schenberg, Jose Goldemberg, and others were among the leaders of this opposition. Some Jewish left-wing activists became involved in movements against the dictatorship and even joined armed guerrilla groups that fought against the dictatorship. The Academic Center of the Institute of Psychology of the University of São Paulo was named for Iara Iavelberg in memory of an activist assassinated by the military regime in 1971. In 1975 the murder of the Jewish journalist Vladimir Herzog in a military prison, reported as a "suicide," triggered off mass protests in the country and was one of the events that led to the end of the military regime. There was great tension in the Jewish community, as many opposed burying the journalist as a suicide. Rabbi Henry I. Sobel was one of the leaders of the movement who challenged the Army's official version of the facts and gave Herzog a regular burial.

In 1978 there were antisemitic outbursts in the southern state of Rio Grande do Sul. In the same year, Gustav Franz Wagner, an officer who served in the Sobibor concentration camp, was arrested after participating in a meeting of the so-called "Movement for the Liberation of the German Reich." He was held by the Brazilian authorities, while extradition was requested by Austria, Poland, West Germany, and Israel. However, the requests were rejected by the Supreme Court of Brazil. Brazil was a shelter for probably a few dozen Nazis, some of whom had arrived via Argentina. Among the Nazis who took refuge in Brazil was Joseph Mengele, who probably died in the country.

The slow return of the country to democracy started in 1979, first with the Amnesty Policy and in 1984 with the direct election for president of the republic. The return to democracy in 1984 brought new hope, but also some serious economic and social crises. Under the government of Fernando Collor de Melo (1990–92, when the president was politically impeached), Celso Lafer was minister of foreign affairs. In the two terms of President Fernando Henrique Cardoso (1994 to 1998 and 1998 to 2002) numerous members of the Jewish community took an active part in the government.

Antisemitism

Antisemitism is not a determining factor in the contemporary history of Jews in Brazil. Apart from the activism of Gustavo Barroso and Integralismo in the 1930s, antisemitism in Brazil has never been an organized movement. Even during those years Jews living in Brazil suffered neither discrimination nor violent persecution, except for a political campaign by a specific party and official antisemitism that was oriented toward restriction of immigration. In contemporary Brazilian history, antiemitism has always been ephemeral and isolated and the majority of incidents have been limited to occasional slogans on the walls of Jewish institutions and public statements or antisemitic articles in the press or more recently on the internet, which has been used the world over as a means of racist and antisemitic propaganda.

In the 1990s a new Nazi publishing house, Revisão, published antisemitic books, such as *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion, The International Jew* (Henry Ford), *Brasil, colônia de banqueiros* written by Gustavo Barroso in the 1930s, and Holocaust denial books, such as *Holocausto judeu ou alemão? Nos bastidores da mentira do século*, writted by S.E. Castan. The books were well publicized and had considerable repercussions. In 1989, an alliance of Jews, Afro-Brazilians, and other sectors organized a movement (Movimento Popular Anti-Racismo – MOPAR) in Porto Alegre, to fight the antisemitic editor and his books. The Revisão publishing house took part in events and book fairs in several state capitals, which provoked much debate between those who defended absolute freedom and those who attacked the distorted, racist content of these books. In 2004, the editor S.E. Castan was convicted of racism and antisemitism by the Supreme Federal Court, the highest court in the country, establishing an important precedent in this type of case.

Anti-Zionism is an important ideological component in left-wing parties and movements in the country, mainly since the 1970s, but not always has such anti-Zionism been distinctly associated with antisemitism.

Despite the fact that antisemitism was sporadic and isolated for almost four centuries, Brazil was a Portuguese colony in which the Catholic Church and the activities of the Inquisition in the country had a decisive influence until the end of the 18th century. This left a mark on the culture, mentality and popular imagination of Brazilians, diffusing elements of a medieval anti-Judaism that associate the Jews with the crime of deicide, usury, and greed. There are many pejorative examples in the popular language, such as "*judiar,*" meaning "to mistreat," as well "*Judeu,*" meaning miserly and tightfisted. Such imagery does not induce concrete action, also because over 90% of the Jews reside in large urban centers, where this imagery has even less of an impact.

Interfaith Relations

Brazil is a country with a Catholic majority and a more recent high percentage of Protestants, mainly Evangelists. The growth of Protestantism helped produce a kind of philosemitism and greater support for Israel. The inter-religious dialogue, especially with the Catholic Church, is solid and permanent. Following the orientations of the Vatican II Council, the National Conference of the Bishops of Brazil published *a Guide for Inter-Religious Dialogue*. The archbishop of São Paulo, Cardinal Dom Cláudio Humes, repeatedly positioned himself in favor of inter-religious dialogue as an important element in a country with a Catholic and Protestant majority. The liberal rabbi Henry I. Sobel, from CIP, São Paulo, led this movement in the country and played a leading role in ecumenical and political events, where the presence of a Jewish representative is important. He was the best-known spokesman of Brazilian Judaism. The Conselho de Fraternidade Cristão-Judaica, founded in 1962, maintained an active inter-religious dialogue. From the 1990s many Protestant groups and churches appeared as "Christian-Hebrews," calling themselves "Jews who follow Jesus."

In the 21st Century

As stated, the number of Jews in Brazil in 2005 was estimated at between 96,700 and 130,000. In spite of the vitality of Jewish institutional life in Brazil, there were hundreds of Jews who did not belong to any Jewish body. There were organized Jewish federations in the States of Amazônia, Bahia, Brasilia (Federal District), Ceará, Minas Gerais, Pará, Paraná, Pernambuco, Rio de Janeiro, Rio Grande do Norte, Rio Grande do Sul, Santa Catarina and São Paulo. The main Jewish communities were located in São Paulo, Rio de Janeiro, and Porto Alegre, concentrating more than 80% of the Jews in the country, followed by Curitiba, Belo Horizonte, Recife, and Salvador. In Manaus, Brasilia, Fortaleza, Natal, and Florianópolis, the Jewish communities numbered a few dozen families. Out of the 5,560 Brazilian municipalities there were very small Jewish groups in a few dozen of them.

Although constituting less than 0.01% of the total population of the country, Jewish communities were very active and the Jews made a notable impact in such areas as the economy, culture, professional life, and the arts. The Jewish population generally belonged to the middle and upper classes, which constituted a minority within society at large. In cities such as São Paulo (which boasted over 11% of the national income), the Jews constituted 0.6% of the total population, but this percentage was certainly much higher in the strata with high social, political, economic, and cultural visibility in a country where large sections of the population live in the margins of consumer society as second-class citizens.

The state policy of noninterference in religious freedom, social mobility, cultural tolerance, and the economic and urban development of the country resulted in the development of their communities and very successful integration in the middle and upper reaches of society for the majority of Jews. The economic and social crisis which began in the 1980s resulted in poverty for many of the Jews, but they were succored by a solid network of Jewish community aid and social assistance. Jewish social assistance institutions, hospitals, and sports clubs were very active. The Albert Einstein Hospital, in São Paulo, was one of the best in the country and the Hebraica club was one of the most important on the continent. Three social institutions in São Paulo, Unibes, Lar das Crianças da CIP, and Ciam were models of social assistance both inside and outside the community, maintaining important partnerships with local governments.

Although Jews individually played an important part in several areas of Brazilian culture, the depth and intensity of Jewish cultural production can be said to have been in decline since the 1970s, despite the great number of events produced by Jewish organizations.

The Arquivo Histórico Judaico Brasileiro, in São Paulo, maintained the most important historical archive and Jewish library, including a Yiddish section. The Instituto Cultural Israelita Marc Chagall, in Porto Alegre (1986), the Instituto Histórico Israelita Mineiro, in Belo Horizonte, the Arquivo Judaico de Pernambuco, in Recife (1992), and the small Museu Judaico, in Rio de Janeiro (1998), housed historical documentation and promoted cultural activities. No central cultural organization existed in the country. The Jewish communities operated with almost complete independence, with little interaction or mutual connection. The communities functioned more as a conglomerate of institutions, despite the foundation of state federations and a National Confederation, CONIB, whose activities, since its origin, have been limited to several important issues.

Cultural life was associated with social life and developed in the clubs and organizations. In São Paulo, a highly developed cultural network had its main centers in Hebraica, B'nai B'rith, CIP, and the Casa de Cultura de Israel; in Rio de Janeiro, in ARI and ASA. There were also other clubs in São Paulo (Macabi), Rio de Janeiro and Salvador.

The most important Brazilian Jewish writer was Moacyr Scliar, a member of the Brazilian Academy of Letters and one of the outstanding contemporary Brazilian authors. Many critics see important Jewish traces in the work of Clarice *Lispector, one of the most important modern Brazilian writers, born in the Ukraine, particularly in her book *A Hora da Estrela*, a classic work of Brazilian literature. Among the writers and chroniclers who wrote about the Jewish experience in Brazil, one can cite Samuel *Rawett, Jacó Guinsburg, Alberto Dines, Cíntia Moscovich, and also Samuel Malamud, Eliezer Levin, and Samuel Reibcheid. Brazil had a small, but significant movement of writers who wrote in Yiddish, among them Meir Kucinsky and Rosa Palatnik. There was also a small but significant number of memoirs of immigration, with several books on the agricultural colonies in Rio Grande do Sul, and equally memoirs of the Holocaust published by survivors who had immigrated to Brazil. The writer Stefan *Zweig, a refugee of Nazism in Brazil, wrote *Brasil, País do Futuro*, praising Brazil. Perspectiva was the main Jewish publishing house in Brazil, directed by Jacó Guinsburg; other publishing houses were Sefer (which ran a Jewish bookstore in São Paulo), Mayanot, and small religious publishing companies.

There were Jewish television programs in Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo, one of them, *Mosaico na TV*, was the longest running program on Brazilian television. The Jewish written press lost much of its circulation and turned inward to the community. Most of the main organizations had their own newsletters.

Among artists distinctly reflecting Jewish culture in their works, Lasar Segall was one of most important representatives of Modernism and Expressionism in Brazil and the world. In São Paulo, the Museum Lasar Segall housed his works and a permanent exhibit, A Festival of Jewish Cinema, was annually organized in the Hebraica club in São Paulo jointly with movie theaters in town. There were also courses in Hebrew at the state universities in Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo, where a Center of Jewish Studies in the University of São Paulo offered, besides a graduate course on Hebrew literature, Master's and Ph.D. degrees in Jewish studies.

The Jewish community in Brazil did not have a central rabbinate. Each of the two major cities had several rabbis who seldom met. The larger cities had both Sephardi and Ashkenazi synagogues. The Conservative/Liberal denomination of Judaism had the largest number of members: in Rio de Janeiro, Associação Religiosa Israelita (ARI), with around 800 families and a woman as second rabbi, and the Congregação Judaica do Brasil headed by Rabbi Nilton Bonder; in São Paulo, Congregação Israelita Paulista and the Comunidade Shalom with 350 families and a female rabbi in 2005. The Orthodox movement, with many synagogues in the country and most of the synagogues in São Paulo, had a growing interest in Brazil, exemplified by Beit Chabad in São Paulo, and in the main Jewish communities around the country. The Beit Chabad organizational structure assists small communities, sending rabbis to visit them weekly and supplying whatever is needed for worship. In Petrópolis, State of Rio de Janeiro, the Orthodox Mahane Yisrael Yeshivah was in operation.

Jewish youth movements were still active, but with less adherence than in the 1930–80 period, when they maintained an active Zionist and ḥalutz ideology. The active Zionist movements were transformed in "identity ties" with Israel. Jewish youth also met in clubs and synagogues. Assimilation was a major issue, but difficult to measure, particularly because of the increasing number of mixed marriages and conversions, where the couples remain close to the Jewish community. The social and religious permeability of Brazilian culture makes it easy for the families to maintain more than one religion.

The terrorist attacks against the Israel embassy in 1992 and the Jewish Community – AMIA, in Buenos Aires, Argentina, in 1994, made the Jewish communities in Brazil more cautious. They committed themselves to improving the security systems protecting Jewish institutions in a country where daily violence is on the upswing and affects the Brazilian population as a whole.

In 2001 the federal government, through the Instituto do Patrimônio Histórico e Artístico Nacional (IPHAN), declared the site occupied by the synagogue of Recife (capital of Pernambuco State) during the Dutch domination in the 17th century a "federal historic site." A museum was erected in the place where the first Jewish community settled in Brazil. The "Rua dos Judeus" (Street of the Jews) and the location of the ancient synagogue became the historic tourist attractions of the city.

In 2000 a demonstration in São Paulo led by Hebraica attracted about 10,000 people supporting Israel against terrorism and also supporting the peace process. It was the largest public demonstration of the Jewish community since the festivities celebrating the foundation of Israel in 1948.

In 2002, Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva, leader of the Partido dos Trabalhadores (Workers' Party), was elected president. For the first time in Brazilian history a left-wing party won the national elections with a social program whose main objective was eradicating hunger in the country. The PT already governed cities like São Paulo, Porto Alegre, Belo Horizonte. The government's political support of the Palestinians and the Arab cause did not turn into official hostility toward Israel. President Lula visited Israel before being elected and proclaimed repeatedly his admiration for the country.

Some Jews joined the higher ranks of the federal government elected in 2002, including the spokesman of the presidency, André Singer, and special advisers to the president Clara Ant and Oded Grajew, among others. The Workers' Party (PT) maintained an officially constituted "Jewish committee" for a number of years. In 2003, President Lula, the governor of the State of São Paulo, and the mayor of the city of São Paulo were present at the celebration of the 50th anniversary of the Hebraica club, the largest Jewish institution in Brazil – a clear sign of the importance of the Jewish community in São Paulo and Brazil.

In 2005 the official delegation accompanying President Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva to Rome for the burial of Pope John Paul II consisted of only 16 people, among whom was Rabbi Henry I. Sobel of the liberal CIP. This fact shows the importance and the official and public visibility of the Jewish population in Brazil.

In 2005 the main concerns of Jews in Brazil related neither to social integration nor to prejudice in a country where they could develop and progress freely, consolidating prosperous and well-integrated communities. Their main concern was the preservation of their Jewish identity in a country whose tolerance, both official and public, presents new challenges for a community searching for ways to preserve its uniqueness in the absence of external pressure.

Relations with Israel

The Brazilian statesman Oswaldo Aranha – who, as a minister in the 1930s and 1940s, was instrumental in restricting the immigration of Jewish refugees from Europe when serving as foreign minister in the war years – presided over the 1947 General UN Assembly, which voted for the partition of Palestine and the creation of the Jewish state. Apart from casting his delegation's vote in favor of the Partition Resolution, Aranha played a key role in the adoption of the resolution, preventing delaying tactics and guiding the Assembly to the conclusive vote. In appreciation of his historical role, a street in Tel Aviv and the cultural center in kibbutz Beror Ḥayil (settled by Brazilian Jews) were named after him. Brazil recognized Israel in February 1949 and from 1952 maintained an embassy in Tel Aviv; Israel had an embassy in Rio de Janeiro which later was moved to Brasilia, and a consulate general in São Paulo, which was closed in 2004.

Brazil followed the line of the Western powers on the question of Jerusalem, voting in favor of the internationalization of the city (December 1949) and against its reunification by Israel after the Six-Day War (June 1967). In the wake of the Sinai Campaign (1956), Brazil supported the creation of the UN Emergency Force and contributed a contingent of soldiers. In 1967, as a member of the Security Council, Brazil was active in the negotiations and debates that followed the Six-Day War and sponsored the Latin American resolution which blocked the acceptance of anti-Israel proposals.

In 2003 commerce between the two countries was very limited relative to their total trade. Of Israel's $31.8 billion in exports $571 million went to South America and $364 million to Brazil, representing a little more than 1% of Israeli exports and around 0.7% of Brazilian imports. Israeli imports of Brazilian products amounted to $128 million in 2003 (out of $381 million from South America), representing less than 0.75% of Israel's total imports of $34.2 billion and 0.18% of Brazilian exports.

Technical cooperation existed but could have been much more intensive, especially because of Brazil's large semi-desert areas and the necessity to improve agriculture and provide water resources. The economic and commercial interests of Brazil in Arab countries, and the adoption by different governments of Third World policies, in general hostile to Israel, have been a permanent drawback to closer relations between Brazil and Israel. Despite the inroads of the Palestinian cause in Brazil, Brazilians maintain a positive image of Israel, an example of a country which has overcome difficulties and developed both economically and culturally, particularly in the field of agriculture, which remains a permanent challenge in the semi-arid northeastern region of Brazil, an area subject to extensive droughts. This region concentrates some of the poorest communities in the country.

In 2005 the Brazilian government organized in Brasilia a meeting with Arab and South American countries to improve commercial relations between the two regions. Despite Brazil's diplomatic efforts, the final document included anti-Israel rhetoric. In 2005, after the meeting in Brasilia, the Brazilian foreign minister visited Israel to tighten political and commercial relations between the two countries.

According to Israel's Central Bureau of Statistics, a total of 9,914 Jews born in Brazil immigrated to Israel between 1948 and 2003. In 2003, 207 Jewish immigrants arrived from Brazil.

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[Roney Cytrynowicz (2nd ed.)]

BREAD (Heb. לֶחֶם, *leḥem*), a baked commodity from a cereal flour. The primary sense of *leḥem* is "food" in general (Gen. 37:25; Num. 28:2; I Kings 5:2; etc.). The Ugaritic *lḥm* has the same general sense and the same particular sense, while the Arabic *laḥum* has only the specialized sense of "meat" (see relevant lexicons). In biblical times bread was prepared from wheat or barley, but most of the verses mentioning bread do not indicate the exact species used. Bread of *solet* (semolina, the hard particles in the interior of the wheat grain) is mentioned explicitly with reference to sacrifices (Ex. 29:2), and no doubt both the flour and the semolina (*solet*) that were baked in Solomon's ovens were from wheat (I Kings 5:2–3). The well-known fact that barley ripens earlier than wheat explains why "bread of first fruits" was baked from it (II Kings 4:42), and for the same reason barley bread was eaten mainly in the early summer.

It is possible that bread was also made from spelt, as was customary in the ancient Orient and as evidenced by, among other things, the remnants of such bread found in Egyptian tombs. The symbolic bread of Ezekiel – a suggestion of the bread of siege (4:9) – prepared from a mixture of different kinds of crops such as wheat, barley, beans, lentils, millet, and emmer was no doubt never resorted to except in the extreme conditions of a siege.

Bread was made of flour or semolina which was a more desirable choice than ordinary flour (Ex. 29:2; Num. 5:15; I Kings 5:2; II Kings 7:1, 16–18). The flour was made into dough that was baked on coals, like "a cake baked on the hot stones" (I Kings 19:6; Isa. 44:19), or on special devices akin to various types of ovens. Dough to which leaven was added was called *ḥameẓ* (leavened) to differentiate it from *maẓẓah* (unleavened). The baked bread had several names according to its shape and possibly even according to its weight.

Kikkar (Ex. 29:23) was the round flat loaf of the Arab peasant (*fatteh*). *Ḥallah* (II Sam. 6:19) was probably more like the European loaf and is the term commonly used in scripture. *ʿUgah* (or *maʿog*) seems to have been baked directly on the fire or on a heated stone but covered with ashes. This explains Ezekiel's squeamishness about the nature of the fuel with which his *ʿugah* was baked (Ezek. 4:12–15). As far as can be determined, the *ʿugah* was not used in ritual ceremonies (e.g., Gen. 18:6; 19:3, etc.). It is possible that *rakik* ("wafer") was similar to the *ʿugah* but thinner (Lev. 8:26; I Chron. 23:29). The word *pat* meant a piece of bread at first (Lev. 2:6; I Kings 17:11), but was sometimes used simply to refer to bread in general (Gen. 18:5; I Sam. 2:36; 28:22). Apparently, the *levivah* was also made simply from flour and prepared in a special shape (II Sam. 13:6). Some ate the kernels of fresh corn (called *karmel*) or roasted corn called *kali*.

Apart from the word "bread," the combination "bread and water" was used to indicate food or was descriptive of man's minimal nutritional needs (e.g., Gen. 21:14; and in a different form in I Kings 19:6). The symbol of poverty is referred to in the Bible as eating "scant bread and scant water" (I Kings 22:27; II Chron. 18:26), or "sparing bread and scant water" (Isa. 30:20). The phrase "bread and *wine" means "food and drink" but implies that at least the drink was not limited to water (Gen. 14:18). Bread is regarded as the mainstay of man's nourishment, as implied by the expression "every stay of bread and every stay of water" (Isa. 3:1) or "the staff of bread" (Ezek. 4:16; etc.; cf. Prov. 30:8, "my allotted bread"). (On the part played by bread in various forms in the meal offerings of the cult, see *Cult and also *Cooking and Baking.) Bread is also used as a metaphor in the Bible, e.g., the ungodly are said to "eat the bread of wickedness" (Prov. 4:17), while the good wife (*eʾshet ḥayil*) "does not eat the bread of idleness" (Prov. 31:27).

[Samuel Abramsky]

In Rabbinic Literature

The rabbis regarded bread as the staple of any diet and no meal was considered complete without it. They instituted a special benediction to be recited before eating bread made from one of the *five species of cereals grown in Ereẓ Israel. This blessing (popularly called *Ha-Moẓi*) is: "Blessed art Thou, Lord our God, King of the universe, Who bringeth forth (*ha-moẓi*) bread out of the earth" (Ber. 6:1; cf. Ps. 104:14). The benediction is pronounced by the person who presides at the table (Ber. 46a; see also Matt. 14:19, 15:36, 26:26; Acts 27:35). A person who eats alone is also required to say the benediction. After pronouncing this blessing, other food or beverages may be eaten without saying another blessing except for wine and fruits, whose particular blessings must be recited in all cases (see Sh. Ar., OḤ 167). Before the benediction over bread is said, one is obliged to wash his or her hands by pouring a quarter "log" (approximately 0.137 lit.) of clean water over them, and drying them properly (OḤ 158–64; see *Ablution). After eating a portion of bread at least the size of an olive, the full *Grace after Meals has to be said.

A religious duty of Jewish women baking bread is to separate a small portion of the dough, about the size of an olive, as *ḥallah* (Shab. 2:6) and to burn it (O Ḥ 457). From talmudic times, it was the special duty of the housewife to bake the bread for the Sabbath (Taʾan. 24b–25a). This bread, usually prepared from white flour, is called "*ḥallah*" (Heb. for "loaf," or because *ḥallah* was taken from its dough). Two such loaves are placed on the festive Sabbath table as a symbol for the double portion of *manna, which the Israelites in the wilderness received every Friday (Ex. 16:5), or because of the Showbread (see *Temple) in the Temple, which was displayed each Sabbath (Lev. 24:8–9; I Sam. 21:7). The bread for the Sabbath is usually of an oblong shape, but for Rosh Ha-Shanah it is round. Where wine is lacking, the evening *Kiddush* (but not the morning Kiddush or *Havdalah*) may be made over bread. As a protective measure against assimilation which might lead to intermarriage, the rabbis prohibited Jews from eating food cooked by a gentile, or bread baked by a non-Jew (*pat akkum*). However, this interdiction does not apply to bread sold by a professional non-Jewish baker (*pat palter*), if the ingredients are not otherwise forbidden by the dietary laws (Sh. Ar., YD 112). Bread must be treated with special regard. Raw meat should not be placed on it nor spilled wine be allowed to spoil it; it should not be thrown across the table nor used to support another object (Ber. 50b; DER 9). Providing bread to the poor was regarded as a great religious duty (Isa. 58:7; Prov. 22:9); the withholding of it from the hungry, a sin (Job 22:7). Even Micah, the idolater (Judg. 17), was not deprived of his share in the world to come, because he provided bread for the poor (Sanh. 103b). Whenever R. Huna broke bread for a meal, he first opened his door and said, "Let everyone in need come and eat" (Taʾan. 20b), as is done at the beginning of the Passover *seder.* Bread with salt was regarded in midrashic literature as the poor man's food (Ber. 2b) but sufficient for the humble student of the Torah (Avot 6:4), and it has remained a custom to sprinkle a little salt on bread to be eaten at the beginning of meals. A folk belief ascribed protective power to bread and salt and they were frequently given to newly married couples.

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BRÉAL, MICHEL (**Jules-Alfred;** 1832–1915), French linguist and educator. A student of F. Bopp, one of the founders of comparative linguistics, Bréal taught comparative grammar at the Collège de France from 1864. From 1879 to 1888 he was inspector general of secondary schools. Bréal was a pioneer in the field of semantics on which he wrote his *Essai de sémantique* (1897; *Semantics: Studies in the Science of Meaning*, 1900).

He also published papers on a variety of general linguistic and Indo-European topics.

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BREASTPLATE, metal shield placed in front of the mantle of the Torah scroll in Ashkenazi communities. This custom did not develop in Sephardi communities because their Torah scrolls were kept in a case (*tik*) which did not lend itself to such additional decoration. Symbolic of, and sometimes similar to, the breastplate prescribed for the high priest (Ex. 28:15ff.), the object is often called *ḥoshen mishpat*, the Hebrew for the breastplate. Because of this symbolic identification, the Torah ornament often contained a reproduction of the 12 precious stones which adorned the high priest's breastplate. Since more than one Torah scroll was usually kept in the synagogue Ark, it also became customary during the late Middle Ages to indicate on each scroll the occasion or festival for which it was to be used. From this practical function there gradually developed the practice of including in the breastplate a section specifying the festival on which the scroll was to be utilized. Some of the breastplates are beautiful examples of Jewish *ceremonial art.

See also *Priestly Vestments.

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BRECHER, GIDEON (1797–1873), physician and scholar. He was born in Prossnitz, Moravia, where he was the first Jew to study for the medical profession. Brecher edited *Judah Halevi's *Kuzari*, in four parts with a Hebrew introduction and commentary (1838–40, including notes by S.D. Luzzatto and J. Weisse). He published *Transcendentale Magie und magische Heilarten im Talmud* (1850); *Beschneidung der Israeliten…* (1845), with an introduction by H.B. Fassel and an appendix by M. *Steinschneider, a nephew of Brecher, on circumcision among the Muslims; and *Unsterblichkeitslehre des israelitischen Volkes* (1857; French tr. by I. Cahen, 1857). Brecher's unfinished concordance of biblical names (*Elleh ha-Ketuvim be-Shemot*) was published posthumously in 1876.

BRECHER, GUSTAV (1879–1940), conductor, composer, and writer. Born in Eichwald, Bohemia, Brecher conducted at various operatic theaters and became music director of the Leipzig Opera (1924–33), where he presented the world premieres of Ernst Krenek's *Jonny spielt auf* (1927) and Kurt *Weill's *Mahagonny* (1930). Among his compositions was the symphonic poem *Rosmersholm*, first presented by Richard Strauss (1896). His writings were mostly concerned with operatic problems and include *Ueber Operntexte und Opernuebersetzungen* (1911). In 1940 he and his wife committed suicide on a ship intercepted by the Nazis off the Belgian coast.

BRECKER BROTHERS, U.S. jazz musicians. MICHAEL BRECKER (1949–), saxophonist, flutist, pianist, and RANDY BRECKER (1945–), trumpeter, pianist, are unusually good weathervanes for jazz history since the 1970s. The two Philadelphia-born brothers played rock, jazz-rock, fusion jazz, and neo-bop in turn as each of these genres rose and have generally been among the most gifted practitioners of whatever musical language they have chosen. Their father was a piano player and both parents were avid jazz fans, so perhaps their career path was inevitable. Randy took up the trumpet in the third grade and by high school was playing with local rhythm and blues bands. He excelled in the jazz program at the University of Indiana and, after the school's Big Band won a competition in 1965, was part of a group sent to Europe and the Middle East by the State Department. He stayed on for three months in Europe as a freelance trumpeter before moving to New York in 1966. Michael followed him quickly, spending a year at Indiana before heading to New York in 1970. Randy had already made his breakthrough, playing with several well-regarded big bands, then joining the nascent Blood, Sweat and Tears for their first album in 1968. He recorded his first session as the group's leader that year, with 19-year-old Michael also playing on the album.

The two brothers became an integral part of the growing fusion scene, forming Dreams with drummer Billy Cobham, and eventually putting together their own band, The Brecker Brothers. Their first album under that name was nominated for four Grammy Awards. The band broke up in 1982, in no small part due to the pressures of other commitments. They co-owned the jazz club Seventh Avenue South from 1977 to 1987 and both musicians were in constant demand for recording sessions (Michael alone appeared on over 500 recordings). As fusion jazz gradually turned into the more soporific "smooth jazz," both brothers returned to their roots in be-bop.

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[George Robinson (2nd ed.)]

BRECLAV (Ger. **Lundenburg**), town in Moravia, Czech Republic. Jews are first mentioned there in 1411. By the middle of the 16th century there was a large Jewish settlement and a synagogue. The community suffered from outbreaks of violence in 1574, 1605, and 1622, and was annihilated when the city was captured by the Swedes in 1643. Jews expelled from the Austrian town of Feldberg settled in Breclav in 1651. In 1697, the council of Moravia (see **Landesjudenschaft*) met there. The 11th of Tevet was kept as a holiday by the Breclav community to commemorate their escape in 1697, when the synagogue roof collapsed while the congregation was waiting to enter. Mordecai *Banet officiated as rabbi there from 1787 to 1789. The historian Heinrich *Graetz taught at the Jewish school from 1850 to 1852. After 1848 Breclav was constituted as a political community (see **Politische Gemeinden*). The Jewish population numbered 30 families, living in 12 houses, in 1702, 66 families in 1726, and 589 persons in 1930 (4.3% of the total population), of whom 432 were of declared Jewish nationality. In April 1942 during the Nazi occupation the Jews were deported to Theresienstadt and from there to the death camps. About 100 survived the Holocaust. The synagogue appurtenances were sent to the Jewish Central Museum in Prague.

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[Oskar K. Rabinowicz]

BREDIG, GEORGE (1868–1944), German physical chemist. Bredig was a faculty member at Leipzig University; professor of chemistry at Heidelberg (1901–10); at Technische Hochschule, Zurich; and at Technische Hochschule, Karlsruhe (1911–33). He took out many patents and wrote *Denkmethoden der Chemie* (1923). He spent his last years in the U.S.

BREGSTEIN, MARCEL HENRI (1900–1957), Dutch jurist. Born in Amsterdam, Bregstein was professor of civil law at Rotterdam University (1934–39) and professor of commercial and private international law at the University of Amsterdam (1939–40). After the war he became professor of civil law at the University of Amsterdam (1945–57). He served the university as its rector magnificus in 1951–52. He was legal adviser to the Dutch Treasury and a member of the commission for the revision of civil legislation. He represented Holland on the committee for the unification of the legal system of the Benelux countries. His collected works were published posthumously (Verzameld Werk, 2 vols., 1960), with a biographical sketch by H.G. Levenbach. His son, PHILO BREGSTEIN (1932–), is the author of both novels and works of nonfiction and is a filmmaker as well. In both books and documentaries he deals with Amsterdam Jewish history and antisemitism.

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[Bart Wallet (2nd ed.)]

BREIDENBACH, WOLF (1751–1829), court agent of several German princes and champion of Jewish emancipation in Germany. He left his birthplace, Breidenbach in Hesse, to attend the yeshivah in Frankfurt and then settled in Offenbach. Breidenbach used his connections with the nobility to press for the abolition of the humiliating *Leibzoll* ("body tax") which Jews had to pay on entering places where they had no rights of residence. Thanks to his efforts the toll was abolished in centers such as Isenburg, Hamburg (1803), the electorate of Mainz, Regensburg, Frankfurt (1804), and Darmstadt (1805). Breidenbach was a friend of the publisher and scholar B.W. *Heidenheim of Roedelheim, for whose edition of the *maḥzor* he translated several prayers into German. Two of his sons, Moritz and Julius, held high governmental positions and became converted to Christianity after their father's death.

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[Itta Gutgluck]

BREISACH (or **Alt-Breisach**), town on the Rhine, Germany. Jews are first mentioned there in 1301. The community was annihilated during the *Black Death in 1349. Subsequently, Jews again settled in Breisach but were expelled in 1424. The community was reestablished in 1550, and a cemetery opened. In 1750, a Jew owned a textile factory in Breisach employing 330 weavers. The synagogue, built in 1756, was destroyed in November 1938. The Jewish population numbered 438 in 1825 (14% of the total), 564 in 1880 (17%), but only 231 in 1933. On *Kristallnacht* (Nov. 9–10, 1938), the synagogue was burned down. By 1940, 157 Jews had fled or emigrated, many to nearby France. On Oct. 22, 1940, the last 34 Jews were deported to the *Gurs concentration camp. In 1967, the sole survivor was a woman who tended the two remaining cemeteries.

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BREITEL, CHARLES (1908–1991), U.S. judge. A graduate of the University of Michigan and Columbia Law School, Breitel served as a member of the Special Rackets Investigation from 1934 to 1937 and as assistant and then chief of the indictment bureau of the district attorney of New York County through 1941. In that position he was one of a group of young, aggressive prosecutors recruited by Thomas E. Dewey to go after a number of notorious racketeers throughout the 1930s. Dewey became governor of New York and Breitel served as his counsel from 1943 to 1950. During this period Dewey was twice the Republican candidate for president of the United States.

When Dewey named Breitel a judge in 1950, he said he had "the finest legal mind in the state." Breitel remained on the bench throughout the rest of his career, becoming chief judge of the New York Court of Appeals, the highest in the state, in 1973. He served in that position until reaching the mandatory retirement age of 70 in 1978.

During his tenure on the Appeals Court, he wrote the opinion upholding the state's liberalized abortion law of 1970. He also wrote an opinion saying that poor people seeking a divorce did not have the right to be represented by a lawyer paid from public funds. Another opinion, affirmed by the United States Supreme Court, upheld the landmark designation for Grand Central Terminal. Long before he joined the Court of Appeals, Breitel's jurisprudential philosophy was well known. In a 1965 lecture that was widely quoted, he said: "The power of the courts is great indeed but it is not a power to be confused with evangelic illusions of legislative or political primacy. If this is true, then self-restraint by the courts in lawmaking must be their greatest contribution to the democratic society."

[Stewart Kampel (2nd ed.)]

°**BREITHAUPT, JOHANN FRIEDRICH** (1639–1713), German Lutheran Hebraist and Jurist. Breithaupt studied in Jena. He published Latin translations of *Josippon* (Gotha, 1707, reprinted in 1710) and of Rashi on the entire Hebrew Bible (3 vols., Gotha 1710–14). No earlier published version of Rashi's commentary had covered more than isolated books or sections, and Breithaupt's gained in importance as, in the 18th and 19th centuries, gentile Hebraists came to restrict themselves more deliberately to biblical Hebrew.

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[Raphael Loewe]

BREITNER, HUGO (1873–1946), Austrian socialist economist. Born in Vienna, he worked as a clerk in the Landesbank, one of Vienna's leading banks, and was prominent in the bank clerks' union. Breitner became a director of the bank, but relinquished this post in 1918 to take charge of the city's finances at the invitation of the socialist municipal council. He remained in this post until 1932 when he retired due to ill health. Breitner was a government adviser during the economic crisis of 1919–22, and persuaded the Austrian government to institute a taxation policy which alleviated the tax burden of the lower classes at the expense of the rich and could provide housing for the poor. The government actually built over 60,000 cheap and comfortable homes for workers which became the model for other European cities. In 1934 Breitner was imprisoned for a time by the fascist government of Dollfuss and fled Austria for the United States shortly before the Nazis entered Austria in 1938. From 1939 to 1942 he worked and lectured on research projects at Claremont College in California. He died shortly before his planned return to Vienna.

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BREMEN, city and *Land* in Germany. There are a few references to Jews in Bremen from 1199. In 1345 Jews were prohibited from trading in Bremen, but Jewish moneylenders are still mentioned in the 14th century. Subsequently, Jews were not admitted to Bremen until 1803, when the inclusion of the Hanoverian townships of Barkhof and Hastedt within the boundaries of Bremen brought a viable Jewish community within its jurisdiction. Although Jewish settlement was still officially prohibited in Bremen, at the time of the Napoleonic Wars several Jewish families were living in the city, besides those settled in its two suburbs. The community sent representatives (see Carl August *Buchholz) to the Congress of *Vienna in 1815 to press for Jewish rights in the German cities. The community in Bremen continued to grow, still without official authorization, and numbered 87 in 1821. The situation was regularized by the act of 1848 permitting Jews to settle in the city, and the community moved its institutions from Hastedt to Bremen. A synagogue was built in the Gartenstrasse in 1876. Subsequently, Bremen became an important port of transit for many thousands of Jews emigrating from Eastern Europe to America. The Jewish population in the *Land* Bremen numbered approximately 2,000 in 1933, including 1,314 living in the city. On Nov. 9, 1938, five Jews in Bremen were murdered and Jewish men were imprisoned in the Bremen-Oslebshausen jail until mid-December. By 1941 over 400 Jews had managed to emigrate. About 500 were deported directly from the city between November 1941 and September 1942, including 180 from the Jewish old age home. Other Bremen Jews were deported from different German cities and places of refuge outside Germany. The community was revived after the war, and a new synagogue was inaugurated in 1961. There were about 150 Jews living in the *Land* Bremen in 1967 and 132 in 1989. As a result of the arrival of Jews from the former Soviet Union, their number rose to 1,154 in 2003.

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[Ze'ev Wilhem Falk]

BRENER, PYNCHAS (1931–), chief rabbi of Unión Israelita de Caracas, Venezuela, president of the "Committee of Relations between Churches and Synagogues Established in Venezuela." Born in Tyszowce, Poland, where his father was a rabbi, he moved with his family to Lima, Peru, when he was four a half years old and was raised and educated there. After obtaining a teacher´s diploma and a B.A. at Yeshiva University, he received the Distinguished Rabbinic Alumnus Award and was ordained a rabbi in 1955. He was honored by the University of Bar-Ilan with an honorary doctorate and with the "History of European Jewry and their Destruction during the Holocaust" Chair. He was recipient of important awards from the Government of Venezuela and one of his books was sponsored by the Venezuelan Congress. A prolific author, Brener published *El Diálogo Eterno*, *Fe y Razón*, *Las Escrituras: Hombres e Ideas*, *Tradición y Actualidad*, *Luto y Consuelo*. *The Synagogues of Venezuela and the Caribbean* and a revised version of his *siddur* and *maḥzor* received the 1999 and 2000 Venezuelan National Prizes.

[Jacob Carciente (2nd ed.)]

BRENNER, FRÉDÉRIC (1959–), French photographer. After completing studies in ethnology and sociology, Brenner began traveling around the world to document Jewish communities, from the United States to Yemen, China, and Russia, collecting a large amount of information and photographs about communities sometimes almost forgotten or capturing diverse aspects of Jewish life in America, Israel, or Europe. This quarter-of-a-century-long quest gave birth to a number of books and exhibitions (International Center for Photography, New York; Rencontres internationales de la photographie, Arles; Musée de l'Elysée, Lausanne), and was summarized in 2004 in an exhaustive two-volume book, *Diaspora*, where Brenner's pictures echo texts by the author and major Jewish writers or philosophers (*Derrida, Benny *Levy). The outstanding value of Brenner's work was confirmed by the Niepce Award for photography in 1981 and the Prix de Rome in 1992. He also directed the documentary film *Les derniers marranes* ("The Last Marranos," 1990).

[Dror Franck Sullaper (2nd ed.)]

BRENNER, JOSEPH ḤAYYIM (1881–1921), Hebrew writer. A disciple of the "psychology" approach to literature and a writer of the "uprooted" generation, Brenner became a key figure of the school in modern Hebrew literature; he focused and ruthlessly exposed the anxieties, self-probing, and despair of intellectual anti-heroes overwhelmed by life in a society that had lost meaning and direction. His fiction, bleak and fiercely honest, nourishes, however, a belief in artistic truth where faith in all else has failed. A contemporary and friend of G. *Schoffmann and U.N. *Gnessin, Brenner, like them, was also influenced by M.J. *Berdyczewski. In style, he considered himself a follower of Berdyczewski, and in social outlook, a disciple of Mendele Mokher Seforim. Like many Hebrew writers of the early decades of the 20th century, he was mainly influenced by Russian literature, specifically by writers such as Tolstoy and Dostoevski (he frequently mentions the latter in his letters), and by such European writers as Nietzsche and Hauptmann. Brenner, a novelist, critic, philosopher, translator, editor, and publisher, wrote in Hebrew and in Yiddish. He exercised a powerful personal influence, often exceeding his impact as a writer and a critic, on his generation, and on the following one. His colleagues and friends saw in him "a secular saint caught in a world that was not worthy of him" (H. Zeitlin), and he became their moral, social, and artistic yardstick. Brenner's approach to literature demanded a close link between the creative process, the artistic work, and real life.

Born in Novi Mlini (Ukraine), he studied in yeshivot, including that at Pochep where he befriended U.N. Gnessin, the son of the principal of the yeshivah. From there he went to Gomel where he joined the *Bund and published his first story "*Pat Leḥem*" ("A Loaf of Bread") in *Ha-Meliẓ* (1900). His collection of short stories *Me-Emek Akhor* ("From the Valley of Trouble"), which was similar both in spirit and style to the "social" stories of the *Ḥibbat Zion period, was published in 1901. In "*Ba-Ḥoref*" ("In Winter," written in 1902 and published in *Ha-Shiloaḥ*, Jan–Dec. 1903), a short novel, his independent literary personality emerges for the first time.

Brenner lived in Bialystok and Warsaw after 1900 and served in the Russian army from the end of 1901 to the beginning of 1904. At the outbreak of the Russo-Japanese war, with the help of some friends, he escaped to London, where he was active in the *Po'alei Zion movement. He worked in a printing shop and founded the periodical *Ha-Me'orer* (1906). In 1908, he moved to Lemberg where he was editor of the periodical *Revivim* (1908–09) and wrote a Yiddish monograph on the life of Abraham *Mapu. In 1909, he migrated to Ereẓ Israel where he worked in Ḥaderah and later moved to Jerusalem. During World War I, Brenner became an Ottoman citizen so that he would not have to leave the country. He moved to Jaffa in 1915 and taught Hebrew grammar and literature in the *Herzliah high school. When the Jews of Jaffa and Tel Aviv were driven out by the Turkish authorities he moved to Gan Shemu'el and Ḥaderah, returning to Jaffa after the British conquest of Ereẓ Israel. Brenner contributed to two important periodicals of the Second Aliyah: *Ha-Po'el ha-Ẓa'ir* and *Ha-Aḥdut*, and also to the weekly *Kunteres*. He continued publishing *Revivim* (1913–14), was the editor of the monthly *Ha-Adamah* (1920), and one of the founders of the *Histadrut (1920). In 1921, he returned to Jaffa from Galilee and was murdered in the Abu Kabbir district during the Arab riots on May 2, 1921.

Brenner's life and experiences are reflected in his work. In "*Ba-Ḥoref*," a young village boy goes to a yeshivah in a larger town, then to a big city where he becomes "enlightened" and participates in the life of the Jewish intelligentsia. These phases are reminiscent of Brenner's life at Pochep and Gomel. The story "*Shanah Aḥat*" ("One Year," *Ha-Shiloaḥ*, 1908) reflects Brenner's own army service and the story "*Min ha-Meẓar*" ("Out of the Straits," *Ha-Olam*, 1908–09) and the play *Me-Ever la-Gevulin* ("Over the Borders," *Ha-Me'orer*, 1907) deal with the life of Jewish workers in London. "*Aggav Orḥa*" (*Safrut*, 1909) and "*Aẓabbim*" (*Shallekhet*, 1911) describe the Second Aliyah to Ereẓ Israel; "*Bein Mayim le-Mayim*" ("Between Water and Water," 1910) and "*Mi-Kan u-mi-Kan*" ("From Here and There," 1911) depict life in the Ereẓ Israel settlements. In this last work, the main hero is the editor of a Hebrew newspaper, as Brenner had been. Brenner was attacked because of the obvious similarity of his characters to actual people and situations; his critics found parallels between the periodical described in "*Mi-Kan u-mi-Kan*" and *Ha-Po'el ha-Ẓa'ir* and its editor Joseph *Aharonovitz. *Shekhol ve-Khishalon* (1920; "Bereavement and Failure," complete edition 1920; *Breakdown and Bereavement*, 1971) describes the transition of a pioneer, who did not succeed on the land, from an agricultural settlement to Jerusalem. His stories "*Ha-Moẓa*" ("The Solution") and "*Avlah*" ("Injustice," 1920) are set in Ereẓ Israel during World War I. "*Me-Hatḥalah*" ("From the Beginning," *Ha-Tekufah*, 1922) describes life in the Herzliah Hebrew high school. Brenner's writings are directly related to real events; a similar approach is also evident in his attitude to social problems. The societies which he describes are treated in a negative light, whether they be Russian Jewry at the beginning of the 20th century, Jewish workers in England, or Jewish Jerusalem that lived on *ḥalukkah. His fiction is always concerned with contemporary society and its immediate social problems. The atmosphere of strict authenticity, which is a principal characteristic of Brenner's fiction, is reinforced by the narrative "I" often found in his work. As a consequence, he developed four main literary techniques: (a) The autobiography, in which the narrator recounts his experiences after a lapse of time ("Ba-Ḥoref"); (b) The "fragmentary" documentary technique, in which the narrator fragmentarily relates a recent event, without observing chronological sequence ("Min ha-Meẓar," "Mi-Kan u-mi-Kan"); here the effect of verisimilitude and authenticity is stressed by the use of a narrator editor; (c) "Edited memoirs." The editor transfers memoirs written in the first person into the third person and acts as a sort of mediator between the authentic document (in the first person) and the fictitious work (in the third person; *Shekhol ve-Khishalon*); (d) The narrator is a reliable witness to the events, but is not the main character, e.g., the testimony of the narrator who hears the account of Ḥanina Mintz in "*Shanah Aḥat*" or the narrator who recounts the story of the hero in "*Aẓabbim*" as told to him by the latter.

The two novels *Mi-Saviv la-Nekuddah* and *Bein Mayim le-Mayim*, though written in the style of the "omniscient narrator," have an intimate, personal, and confessional tone. The narratives give the impression of being rooted in personal experiences. The authentic technique answers Brenner's demand for "engagé writing." His characters indulge in confessions and in the exposure of their psyche, revealing their unmediated relation to their fate. Brenner's writings are mostly tales of wandering, in which his characters constantly change their abode, deluding themselves that their destiny will also change. The wanderings are in random directions: from town to city ("*Ba-Ḥoref*" and *Mi-Saviv la-Nekuddah*); from Eastern to Western Europe ("*Min ha- Meẓar*"); from the *Diaspora to Ereẓ Israel ("*Aggav Orḥa,*" "*Aẓabbim,*" "*Mi-Kan u-mi-Kan*"); and finally in Ereẓ Israel itself, from the village to Jerusalem (*Shekhol ve-Khishalon*). The hero learns that the change of domicile does not necessarily mean a change of life. He comes to understand that external circumstances are less important than internal factors.

Brenner's protagonists are "anti-heroes" who openly profess their "anti-heroism" ("*Ba-Ḥoref*"); some constantly search for a meaning in life, for their identity, and hope to attain these through change (these are roving characters like Feierman, Abrahamson, Mintz, and Oved-Eẓot); others are in despair from the very outset and helplessly submit to their fate (Davidovsky, Menuḥin, and Ḥanokh Hefeẓ). The satirical antagonist is the self-satisfied hero who succeeds in his social life and in his sex life (Bursif, Hamilin, and others), in contrast to the protagonists who are failures and forever outsiders.

Brenner in his endeavor to capture reality used in his fiction the "spoken language" (Hebrew) which at the time hardly existed. He improvised by adapting Yiddish, Russian, and German words and phrases; used Yiddish idioms in Hebrew translation, and created local idioms by introducing words from the language where the story is set (Anglicisms in *Me-Ever la-Gevulin*, and Arabisms in "*Aẓẓabim*"). He thus broadened the scope of Hebrew. His syntax is also dramatic, close to the spoken word, using parentheses, repetitions, incomplete sentences, and emotive punctuation, e.g., dots, exclamation marks, and hyphens to give the effect of live speech. His language sometimes becomes pathetic through the use of all types of rhetoric repetition. Poetic images come only at climactic points in the narrative where they tend to epitomize the entire work.

In his many articles and essays, he took issue with the views of *Aḥad Ha-Am. The basic point of contention between them was the interpretation of the *galut* (diaspora) concept which to Brenner was a life based on idleness as opposed to a life based on work. He felt that the Jew in the Diaspora was idle and that his salvation was in labor. Productive work for the Jewish people was a question of life. Judaism was not an ideology but an experience of individuals which could only become a collective experience through a change in the social and economic pattern. As a critic, Brenner wrote about major writers of modern Hebrew literature, including Peretz *Smolenskin (1910), J.L. *Gordon (1913), M.J. *Berdyczewski (1913), *Mendele Mokher Seforim (1907 and 1914), Ḥ.N. *Bialik (1916), S. *Tchernichowsky (1912–13), I.L. *Peretz (1915), U.N. Gnessin (1913), *Shalom Aleichem (1916), and others. He also published criticism on Hebrew literature in general: *Ha-Genre ha-Ereẓ Yisre'eli va-Avizeraihu* ("The Genre of Ereẓ Israel and Its Paraphernalia," 1911), *Bavu'atam shel Olei Ẓiyyon ba-Sifrut* ("The Image of the Immigrant in our Literature," 1913–19), and wrote about contemporary Hebrew writers, European writers whose works were translated into Hebrew, and on Yiddish Literature. In his literary critiques, Brenner insists on "engagé writing" as opposed to art for art's sake. He nevertheless rejected ideological tendentiousness whether it was socialist or Zionist and advocated the kind of literature that educates by revealing truth. He therefore examined the creative writer on his sincerity and on his ability to harmonize experience and expression. He opposed florid phraseology and verbiage, and also the attempts of the writers in Ereẓ Israel to glorify their actual situation.

Brenner translated into Hebrew: G. Hauptmann's *Die Weber* (1910), *Michael Kramer* (1911), *Einsame Menschen* (1912), *Fuhrmann Henschel* (1913); Dostoevski's *Crime and Punishment* (1924); Tolstoy's *The Landlord and his Work* (1919); A. Ruppin's *The Jews in Modern Times* (1914); and Trumpeldor's diary. He also wrote and translated into Yiddish. In his translations as in his original writings, Brenner used a simple style, avoiding the "elevated" manner of Mendele and Bialik. Contemporary critics received Brenner the writer with mixed feelings. Some condemned his style and his failure to establish aesthetic distance between the author and the aesthetic object (J. Klausner, Lubetzki). Others praised his courageous sincerity and his impact upon society, despite his artistic shortcomings (S. Zemach). Bialik found him to be an important author who wrote rather carelessly, while Berdyczewski stressed the great sincerity of his writings which compensated for his shortcomings as a novelist. Critics of a later generation (D. Sadan) emphasized his complex inner world and his heroes' attitudes to life; others tried to interpret Brenner from a purely sociological point of view. Modern Israel critics tend to refer back to Brenner, some stressing the existentialist aspects of his works (M. Meged, N. Zach), while others praise the structural and stylistic aspects (D. Miron, N. Zach, G. Shaked), pointing out the simplicity, directness, and authenticity of the style. Brenner became the prototype for many young writers who tried to break away from the patriotic literature written in the wake of Israel's War of Independence. Through his writings they found a link with European existentialist literature. A comprehensive study, "The Literary Creation of Joseph Ḥayyim Brenner" (Hebr., 1972), has been published by A. Cohen.

A list of Brenner's works in English translation appears in Goell, Bibliography, 64–87. Excerpts from *Breakdown and Bereavement* are available in E. Ben Ezer (ed.), *Sleepwalkers and Other Stories: The Arab in Hebrew Fiction* (1999); "Nerves" is included in A. Lelchuk and G. Shaked (eds.), *Eight Great Short Hebrew Novels* (1983).

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[Gershon Shaked]

BRENNER, ROSE (1884–1926), fifth president of the *National Council of Jewish Women (NCJW), helped build the organization's national membership from 30,000 to 52,000 during her tenure. Born in Brooklyn to Louise (Blumeneau) and Jacob Brenner, a judge, Brenner attended Adelphi College, where she earned a B.A. in 1908. While still in college, Brenner took on the responsibility of raising her five younger brothers and sisters after their mother died.

After graduation, Brenner became involved in the NCJW's Brooklyn Section, serving as president from 1912 to 1918. While in office, she suggested that the Sabbath nearest Purim be designated "Council Sabbath"; synagogues across the nation later recognized and observed this date. Brenner also served as a national vice president (1915–16) and eventually national president (1920–26) of the NCJW. During her presidency, the Council's speakers bureau and junior division grew, and the Council pushed for child-labor regulations and for America's participation in the League of Nations. Likewise, under her leadership, the NCJW extended its immigrant aid work to include social-welfare services for Jews living in rural areas. NCJW's Department of Farm and Rural Work was the only organization that provided ongoing services for the religious, health, and education needs of rural Jews. The Council organized and hired traveling Hebrew teachers, nurses, and lecturers, who shared information on a variety of subjects – ranging from Jewish history to sexual hygiene – with Jewish residents in rural communities. The organization also arranged Jewish holiday celebrations and provided the required foods and ritual objects.

Brenner served on the Brooklyn School Board, was the first woman on the executive board of trustees of Beth Elohim Temple (Brooklyn), and was a president of its sisterhood. Although she remained single, she had a lifelong companion, Fannie R. Cohen.

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[Aleisa Fishman (2nd ed.)]

BRENNER, SYDNEY (1927–), British scientist and Nobel laureate. Brenner was born in Germiston, South Africa, and studied medicine at the University of the Witwatersrand in Johannesburg, which incorporated a medical B.Sc. course and stimulated his interest in research. He published his first paper at age 18 and obtained an M.Sc. in cytogenetics in 1947 before becoming an M.D. in 1951. He received his Ph.D. in bacterial viruses from Oxford University in 1954, where his contacts with Francis Crick and Jim Watson determined the direction of his research interests, further stimulated by a visit to the U.S. on a Carnegie Corporation Traveling Fellowship. After a brief return to South Africa he joined the Medical Research Council's Laboratory of Molecular Biology in Cambridge in 1956, of which he was director in 1979–86. He directed the molecular genetics unit in 1986–91. In 1996 he was appointed president and director of science at the Molecular Sciences Institute, La Jolla, California, and in 2000 distinguished research professor at the Salk Institute, La Jolla. He used the small worm (nematode) *Caenorhabditis elegans* and later the Japanese pufferfish *Fugu* to study the genetic control of nervous system development. He and his colleagues correlated gene mutations with developmental abnormalities initially by anatomical and later by gene-cloning techniques. These studies helped establish the important principle that the origin of human diseases can be investigated by detecting mutant genes and the abnormal proteins these genes encode. They foreshadowed the medical benefits anticipated from mapping the human genome. He was awarded the Nobel Prize for medicine in 2002 (jointly with Robert Horwitz and John Sulston). His honors include FRS (1965), Lasker awards (1971 and 2000), Gairdner awards (1978 and 1991), and the Harvey Prize of the Israel Technion (1987).

[Michael Denman (2nd ed.)]

BRENNER, TEDDY (1917–2000), U.S. boxing matchmaker, member of the International Boxing Hall of Fame. Widely acclaimed as the greatest matchmaker in boxing history, Brenner promoted many fights at Madison Square Garden, including the historic Muhammad Ali-Joe Frazier match in 1971. Born in Brooklyn, N.Y., Brenner was first exposed to boxing as a teenager, working the corner of a friend at the 1934 Golden Gloves. After serving with the Navy in the Pacific during World War II, Brenner started working as a matchmaker in New Brunswick, N.J., Laurel Gardens in Newark, N.J., Brooklyn's Eastern Parkway arena, Manhattan's St. Nicolas arena, the Coney Island Velodrome, and Long Beach Stadium in New York before moving full-time to Madison Square Garden. Brenner worked on and off at the Garden from 1947 to 1978, before joining Bob *Arum's Top Rank in 1980. "A matchmaker is a guy who starts fights and then gets out of the way," is how Brenner defined his occupation. His philosophy for arranging matches was simple: Would he buy a ticket, and was the public interested? "The best kind of match you can make," he said, "is one where you yourself wonder which is the better man." While this conflicted with managers who preferred their boxers to take on easy competition, it nevertheless made for hundreds of exciting fights that fans were willing to pay to see. His matches included headliners such as Muhammad Ali, Sugar Ray Robinson, and George Foreman, but also amateurs in whom he saw potential, like the young Roberto Duran, Alexis Arguello, and Wilfred Benitez. "There is Teddy Brenner, and there is everybody else – he was clearly the best," said Arum, adding: "He was honest to a fault. He was a dead-honest guy. Everybody knew they could take Teddy's word. In a business that has so many sleazy people, Teddy's word was all you needed." Brenner received the Boxing Writers' Association of America's James J. Walker Award for "Long and Meritorious Service to Boxing" in 1971; he is the author of *Only the Ring Was Square* (1981).

[Elli Wohlgelernter (2nd ed.)]

BRENNER, VICTOR (1871–1924), U.S. medalist. Born in Lithuania, Brenner received training in various crafts before going to America in 1890. He settled in New York, worked as a die cutter and engraver of badges, and studied at the Art Students' League and the National Gallery of Design. In 1898 he went to Paris where he studied under Roty and Charpentier, the famous medalists. On his return to the United States he was recognized as one of the country's foremost medalists. He was chosen to model Theodore Roosevelt's head for the Panama Canal medal and Lincoln's for the familiar one-cent piece, which remained unchanged for 50 years. The Lincoln design was well liked, except for the undue prominence given to Brenner's initials. Brenner made many medallions, including Amerigo Vespucci, John Paul Jones, and Whistler. Brenner also displayed a mastery of the nude or draped human figure. His three-dimensional work is less known; an outstanding example is the Schenley Memorial Fountain in Pittsburgh (1916). Of Jewish interest are his engravings of the pianist and composer Rafael Joseffy, the scholar Solomon Schechter, the painter Abraham Walkowitz, and the financiers Jacob Schiff and Solomon Loeb. Brenner is one of the few holders of the J. Sanford Saltus Award of the American Numismatist Society.

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BRENTANO, U.S. family of booksellers. AUGUST (1831–1886) was the founder of the firm of Brentano's, the largest bookselling firm in the world with bookstores in many cities of the United States and London. Born in Austria, Brentano immigrated to the United States in 1853, where he sold newspapers on the streets of New York for two years before setting up a stand for the sale of local and foreign newspapers and magazines. In 1858 he opened a book and stationery store, and in 1870 established the much larger Brentano's Literary Emporium which became New York's leading bookstore, and served at the same time as a meeting place for the literati in New York City. In the 1870s he was joined in his business by his nephews AUGUST (1853–1899) who was born in Evansville, Indiana, ARTHUR (1858–1944), and SIMON (1859–1915), the latter two natives of Cincinnati. In 1877 August Brentano sold the business to his nephews, who expanded the firm and incorporated it in 1887. Simon, who had become head of the firm upon his uncle's retirement, devoted much of his time to the study of fire control and wrote a number of books on the subject. His principal work, which was translated into many languages, is entitled *The Control of Fire* (1904). In 1894 August Brentano was forced to retire because of illness, leaving his brothers Simon and Arthur to continue to direct and expand Brentano's, which they converted from a corporation into a partnership, with Simon as president of the company. Simon was later succeeded by his brother Arthur, who was also director of Brentano's Ltd., London, and Brentano's S.A., Paris. Arthur Brentano, a fervent canoeist, founded the American Canoe Association and published its magazine. LOWELL (1895–1950), Simon's son, entered the firm after graduation from Harvard in 1918 and took over the responsibility for Brentano's editorial department. He wrote a number of novels and plays, some in collaboration with other writers: *Zeppelin* (1929); *The Spider* (1932); *Family Affairs* (1929); *The Penguin Pool Murder* (1931); *Lady Cop* (1934); *Torches in the Night* (1937); *Great Lady* (1938); *and Bride of a Thousand Cedars: A Novel of Bermuda* (1939). Some of his books were made into motion pictures. In 1933 he collaborated with Mae West on the screenplay for *I'm No Angel*, in which she starred with Cary Grant.

Brentano's headquarters, on New York City's Fifth Avenue, was the largest bookstore in the city and the third largest in the country, with 250,000 books for sale in its 31,000 sq. ft. The bookstore chain had some 20 branches from Chicago to San Francisco, including the Pentagon. One of the oldest and most respected booksellers, Brentano's owed its success to its vast assortment of books, the elegance of its premises, the dedication of each successive family member to the business, its erudite, hand-picked staff, and its remarkably cordial service.

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[Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

BRESCH, JUDAH LOEB BEN MOSES NAPHTALI (**Leyb Brześć**; 15th–16th century), Polish-born translator of a Yiddish Pentateuch (*Ḥamishah ḥumshei torah im keẓat perush Rashi*), published in Cremona in 1560 and based on the Augsburg and Constance translations of 1544, but radically transforming their slavishly literal style into a slightly more idiomatic Yiddish while still retaining much from the older literal syntactic tradition of biblical translation. He broadened the audience appeal of his version by integrating midrashic material into the text and adding an abbreviated version of Rashi's commentary. The rhymed preface to the translation, printed with vowel pointing, provides detailed information on 16th century Yiddish pronunciation.

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[Ignacy Yizhak Schiper / Jerold c. Frakes (2nd ed.)]

BRESCIA, city in northern Italy. Inscriptions found in Brescia mentioning a *Mater Synagogae*, and an *Archisynagogos, show that there was a Jewish community there in the late classical period. In 1426 Brescia came under the sovereignty of Venice; in 1444 and 1458 the town unsuccessfully applied to the pope for permission to admit Jewish moneylenders. Later, however, moneylending was evidently permitted. The Jews in Brescia were attacked in 1475 after the blood libel case of Simon of *Trent, but further rioting was prevented by order of the Venetian Senate. In 1481 an attempt to prohibit moneylending in Brescia was unsuccessful. *Bernardino da Feltre preached anti-Jewish sermons in 1494 and a number of Jews were again expelled from the city. Between 1491 and 1494 the printer Gershom b. Moses *Soncino was active in Brescia. His productions included the *Meshal ha-Kadmoni* of Isaac ibn *Sahula, the first illustrated Hebrew book; the *Sefer Maḥbarot le-Mar Immanuel ha-Romi* (1491) of *Immanuel b. Solomon of Rome, and the third complete edition of the Hebrew Bible (1494).

After the French captured Brescia in 1509, the houses of the Jews were plundered, moneylending was prohibited, and most of the Jews were expelled. On its reversion to Venice, however, in 1519, they were allowed to return. One of the most famous rabbis of Brescia and Mantua was Joseph (called Giuseppe) Castelfranco, ben Samuel, who lived during the first half of the 16th century. Perhaps he was the founder of Yeshivah of Brescia, mentioned by Eliah *Capsali in his *Divrey Hayamim*. Most of the Jews were expelled again in 1572 and no official Jewish community existed in Brescia until the 19th century. In 1820 forty Jews lived in Brescia and owned also a synagogue. They were mainly from Verona and devoted to commercial activities. The majority of them moved to Milan in 1840s.

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[Umberto (Moses David) Cassuto]

BRESLASU, MARCEL (**Bresliska**; 1903–1966), Romanian poet and musician. Breslasu was born in Bucharest, where he studied law and music. His biblical poem *Cantarea Cantarilor* ("Song of Songs," 1938) was staged as an oratorio at the Bucharest Opera. Best known as a fabulist, he also wrote *Niste fabule mici si mari pentru mari si mici* ("Fables Small and Big for the Big and Small," 1946) notable for their originality and didactic satire; *Dialectica poeziei sau cantece despre cantec* ("Dialectics of Poetry or Songs about Song,"1957); *Alte niste fabule* ("Other Fables,"1962); *O noua poveste a vorbei* ("A New Story to Tell," 1963), all published in Bucharest. He also published volumes of poems for young adults. Breslasu was known for the musicality of his verse. During the 1930s he published poems in Jewish journals too, using the Hebrew pen name "Ahad Katan." After World War II Breslasu, who became a Communist in 1942, became a politically engaged poet. He published "socialist-realist" poems and was editor of the literary review *Secolul XX* ("The Twentieth Century") from 1961 to 1966 after serving as rector of the Bucharest Art Institute in 1950–53. He also wrote nonconformist poems, including love poems and a long poem based on the biblical book of Job. They were published only in fragments after his death.

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[Lucian-Zeev Herscovici (2nd ed.)]

BRESLAU (Polish **Wroclaw**), city in Silesia, Poland (in Germany until 1945). The ownership by Jews of villages in the vicinity of Breslau (Klein-Tinz and Falkendorf) is recorded (1180–1208). The earliest evidence of Jews in Breslau is a tombstone of 1203. In 1267 a church synod decided to restrict the rights of the Jews in Breslau but Duke Henry IV granted them privileges between 1270 and 1290. In 1347 the community was placed under the jurisdiction of the municipality. The medieval community owned synagogues, a bathhouse, and cemeteries, from which a number of tombstones have survived. In the course of the 14th century, Jews were expelled from Breslau several times (1319, 1349, 1360). In 1453, 41 Jews were burned at the stake and the rest expelled after they had been accused of desecrating the *Host by the Franciscan John of *Capistrano. An imperial privilege *de non tolerandis Judaeiis* was given to Breslau in 1455 excluding all Jews from the city, excepting those visiting the fair. The prohibition remained in force *de jure* until 1744.

From the beginning of the 16th century Jews began to visit the city, and sometimes stayed longer periods, in order to attend the fairs, which were important for trading throughout the neighboring countries. The municipal council gradually began extending visiting permits to Jews at other times. The Jews also instituted a special type of communal organization for those attending the fair. The "fair treasurers" (*Parnasei ha-Yarid*) represented the Jews to the authorities, levied imposts from them, which they assessed in accordance with Jewish law, and took precautions against thieves and swindlers. Associated with them were the "fair arbitrators" (*Dayyanei ha-Yarid*), two from Poland and one from Moravia, who were empowered to levy fines and impose the ban. The "fair committee" (*Va'ad ha-Yarid*) supervised dietary requirements for Jews attending the fairs. Functioning "between the fairs" were special officials (the *Schammesse* – שַׁמָּשִׁים) appointed by the Council of the Four Lands. It levied certain sums from Jews attending the fairs, and also farmed out the right to convey *etrogim* for the Jews in Poland via the Breslau fair. These officials eventually became permanent residents of Breslau, as did a number of other Jews who attended the fairs.

In the late 17th century individual Jews succeeded in obtaining limited rights of settlement in Breslau because of their usefulness to the imperial mint and their importance for trade with Poland and Bohemia-Moravia. The two categories of *Schutzjuden* ("protected Jews") enjoyed either imperial or municipal protection. They were grouped according to their place of origin in various synagogue congregations (*Schulen*), forming a loose union without a rabbi or cemetery, since there was officially no community in existence. They combined with the congregations formed from about 1670 in the suburbs of Breslau. One of the oldest institutions of the Breslau community was the burial society, established in 1726.

After the capture of the city by the Prussians in 1741, the new authorities permitted the organization of a community limited to 12 families in 1744, and confirmed the appointment of Bendix Reuben Gomperz (Baruch Wesel) as its first rabbi. The community acquired a cemetery in 1761, replacing the cemeteries of *Lissa, *Dyhernfurth, and *Krotoszyn. The importance of the Jews for trade with Poland led the authorities gradually to increase the number of Jews admitted as residents. These held various degrees of restricted rights, and consisted of the "generally privileged" (*Generalprivilegierte*), the "privileged," the "tolerated," and the *Fix-Entristen*, i.e., those paying a regular fee for temporary sojourn, as well as the *Schutzgenossen*, i.e., persons employed in communal or private service. In 1776, there were nearly 2,000 Jews in Breslau. In 1791 a new regulation divided the Jews into *Generalprivilegierte*, who formed the "community"; their relatives, *Stammnumeranten*; and *Extra-Ordinaere* (i.e., those outside the privileged categories). Although the latter formed the majority, they were not recognized as members of the community. The community was led and controlled by the wealthy "generally privileged" Jews. The leading Breslau families were generally in favor of *Haskalah and *Reform tendencies. Those of this group who stopped short of conversion, either for themselves or their children, attempted to prepare for emancipation by providing what they considered a suitable education for Jews. In order to carry out their ideas, they utilized their connections with tolerant Prussian officials, to establish schools providing a modernized education for the poorer families. Such were the Koenigliche Wilhelmsschule, established in 1791, and the Maedchenschule fuer arme Toechter ("School for Poor Girls," 1801), which were recognized and encouraged by the government. These Haskalah-promoted schools met with resistance from Orthodox Jews.

Modern Community

The division between the majority of the community and its leadership became accentuated after the Prussian Emancipation Edict of 1812. The new communal representatives increasingly tended to work for Reform and assimilation. Their attitude gave rise to serious dissensions within the community. Solomon *Tiktin (d. 1843) and his son Gedaliah (officiated 1843–86) led the Orthodox wing against the Reform wing led by Abraham *Geiger (officiated in Breslau 1840–63). The community, however, remained an "Einheitsgemeinde" (according to the terms of the Statute of March 6, 1856) with two separate religious commissions (*Kultuskommission*), whose Orthodox and Liberal sections each maintained their own rabbis, synagogues, and schools. The "Storch" synagogue (1829), the first large synagogue building to be constructed in Breslau, and the private synagogues were governed by the Orthodox commission. Both sections of the community led an active Jewish religious and cultural life.

Several rabbis of Breslau were distinguished scholars. Noted among the Orthodox section were Joseph Jonas Fraenkel (1705–1793), Isaiah b. Judah Leib *Berlin (Pick), Ferdinand Rosenthal (1887–1921), Moses Hoffmann (1921–38), and B. Hamburger (1938 until his deportation to Poland in 1943). Liberals included besides Abraham Geiger, Manuel *Joel (1863–90), Jacob *Guttmann (1891–1919), Hermann *Vogelstein, and Reinhold Lewin (1938 until his deportation to Poland in 1943). Alongside the talmudic scholars, there gathered a literary circle (Breslauer Dichterschule) of Hebrew essayists and authors (Mendel Broese, Marcus Friedenthal, Raphael Fuerstenthal, Moses Koerner, Joel *Loewe-Brill, Heinrich Miro, Solomon *Pappenheim, Suesskind Raschkow, and David Samoszc). A "Bruedergesellschaft" was founded before 1800.

The study and reading circle Israelitischer Lehr- und Leserverein was established in 1842, its library later belonging to the community. The first modern Jewish theological seminary, the Juedisch-Theologisches Seminar, was established in Breslau by Zachariah *Frankel in 1854. With its celebrated library it became a center of Jewish scholarship and spiritual activity until 1938. It also published the first comprehensive Jewish learned journal, **Monatsschrift fuer Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums* (MGWJ). The first Jewish students' fraternity, Viadrina, was founded in Breslau in 1886, as a reaction to the antisemitic tone of the general student bodies. The *Juedisches Volksblatt*, later renamed *Juedische Zeitung fuer Ostdeutschland*, was published in Breslau from 1895 to 1937, and the *Breslauer Juedisches Gemeindeblatt* from 1924 to 1938. The *Blau-Weiss youth movement was founded in Breslau by Joseph Marcus in 1912. Jewish cultural activities expanded after World War I. A Jewish elementary school was established in 1921, followed two years later by a Reformrealgymnasium, both of conservative orientation. The "Neuer Juedischer Schulverein" established a school of Liberal orientation. A youth institute and a home for the aged was opened in 1930. Two outstanding personalities of the Breslau community were the historian Heinrich *Graetz, of the theological seminary, and Ferdinand *Lassalle, one of the founders of the German workers movement.

The Jewish population of Breslau numbered 3,255 in 1810; 7,384 in 1849; 13,916 in 1871; 19,743 in 1900; 20,212 in 1910; 23,240 in 1925; 20,202 in 1933; and 10,309 in 1939.

Under Nazi Germany and After

In November 1938, Jewish educational, cultural, and social activities were disrupted. All prayer houses, including the "New Synagogue" (completed in 1872), as well as schools, were destroyed. The "Storch" synagogue was the sole house of worship still standing after November 1938. Beginning in September 1941, Breslau Jews were driven from their homes and crowded into "*Judenhaeuser,*" to be deported a few months later to Gruessau, Tormersdorf, and other places in Silesia, and from there to *Auschwitz. From April 1942 the remaining Jews in Breslau were deported directly to Auschwitz, *Sobibor, *Riga, or *Theresienstadt. By 1943 only partners of mixed marriages and some children remained of the Breslau community. Of the 3,800 deported to Theresienstadt, only 200 survived. Most of the others who were deported also perished. The oldest cemetery, consecrated in 1761, was destroyed. The communal archives, founded in 1924, were preserved in a cemetery building. They were transferred to the Jewish Historical Institute in Warsaw in 1945.

After the war a community in Breslau was established by Jews from Poland, with the "Storch" as its synagogue. In 1960 there were about 1,200 Jewish families living in Breslau, and there were three Jewish producers' cooperatives. In 1967 a Yiddish state elementary school, that also provided secondary education, functioned in the city. After the Six-Day War most of the Jews who lived in the city immigrated to Israel. About 70 remained in 1990.

Hebrew Printing

Some 190 Hebrew books were printed in Breslau between 1719 and the end of the 19th century. Toward the end of the 18th century the Grassche Stadt-Buchdruckerei was active in face of fierce opposition from the privileged *Dyhernfurth printers. When the Dyhernfurth monopolies lapsed, Loebel Katzenellenbogen-Sulzbach, who had served his apprenticeship in Dyhernfurth, set up a press in 1814, with his son Hirsch as partner from 1825 and sole owner from 1836 to 1877, when it was sold to T. Schatzky.

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[Bernhard Brilling]

BRESLAU, ARYEH LOEB BEN ḤAYYIM (1741–1809), rabbi and author. Aryeh Loeb was born in Breslau but lived from his childhood in Lissa. He served first as rabbi in the *bet ha-midrash* of Daniel Jaffe in Berlin (see responsa *Penei Aryeh*, no. 1), then as rabbi in Emden, and in 1781 succeeded Abraham Lipschutz as rabbi of Rotterdam, where he remained for the rest of his life (*ibid.*, no. 40). He gained a reputation as a profound talmudist, and several of the outstanding scholars of the time, among them Phinehas ha-Levi *Horowitz and Meir *Weyl, addressed halakhic problems to him. He was the author of *Penei Aryeh* (Amsterdam, 1790), responsa, halakhic rulings, and expositions, in which he included *Ma'amar Yesod ha-Shetarot* in 12 chapters. His responsa, distinguished by their simple and clear style and written in a pure Hebrew, reflect his tendency toward a certain degree of independence in halakhic decision. They also contain explanations of various biblical and midrashic passages (no. 60). In connection with a responsum on levirate marriage, he discusses the problem of immortality, stressing that the essence of levirate marriage is connected with the doctrine of metempsychosis and the improvement of the soul (*tikkun ha-nefesh*), and its ultimate perfection (no. 79). Breslau also had a general education, and was in touch with Christian scholars in Holland. The prayers that he composed in Hebrew in connection with the Franco-Dutch war of 1793 were published both in Hebrew (*Tefillot u-Vakkashot*, Amsterdam, 1793), and in a Dutch translation with an introduction by the Christian Jan Scharp (Rotterdam, 1793). One of his poems, "*Mizmor le-Shabbat,*" shows considerable talent. His sons adopted the family name Lowenstamm ("descendant of the lion") in reference to their father's name Aryeh ("lion") Loeb. Two of them, Abraham and Ḥayyim Lowenstamm, followed him in the rabbinate, as did Menahem Mendel, the son of the latter who was rabbi of Rotterdam.

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[Yehoshua Horowitz]

BRESLAU, ISADORE (1897–1978), U.S. rabbi and communal leader. Born in Kabilnik, Russia, in 1897, Breslau came to Holyoke, Massachusetts, with his parents in 1906. When he was a teenager, the family moved to Albany, New York. In 1917, he interrupted his college studies at New York University to join the United States Navy during World War I, and served as a furnace stoker on the battleship USS *Kentucky*. After the war, he returned to NYU to earn his degree. He then graduated from Albany Law School, but decided against taking the bar exam or practicing law because of what he perceived as the flaws in the American justice system. Breslau then attended Albany State College. In 1923, Breslau enrolled in the Jewish Institute of Religion, where he studied under Rabbi Stephen S. *Wise, who remained Breslau's close friend.

Breslau occupied pulpits at the Washington Heights Free Synagogue and the 82nd Street Synagogue, both in New York, and Temple Israel in Waterbury, Connecticut. The Depression posed financial difficulties for many congregations, and Breslau's was no different. This forced him to leave the rabbinate to find another means to support his family, although Breslau continued to serve as a volunteer rabbi for High Holiday services.

Moving to Washington, D.C., the Breslaus opened a branch of the family business, the Mill End Shops. While his wife worked in the store, beginning in 1939 Breslau served for two years as unpaid director of the American Zionist Bureau, a forerunner of AIPAC. In 1939, he also served as an American delegate to the World Zionist Congress in Geneva. He was appointed executive director of the Zionist Organization of America in 1940, a position he kept for almost two years.

Breslau's days with the AZB and ZOA were among his happiest. He met daily to brief Justice Louis D. Brandeis, chair of the ZOA, on matters pertaining to Palestine and the Jewish community. However, the rise of Hitler and Nazism in the 1930s moved the focus of Zionism away from the Jews of Palestine and toward the endangered Jews of Europe.

Frustrated by the inability of American Jewish organizations to forestall the Nazi threat to the Jews, Breslau volunteered to serve as a military chaplain in 1943. In 1944 the Army assigned him to the European Theater, where Breslau worked with Jews liberated from Vichy France in Marseilles, and then to Germany, where Breslau became the first Jewish chaplain in Berlin, Germany, after the fall of the Nazi regime.

After the war, Breslau served as department chaplain for the Department of the District of Columbia Jewish War Veterans of the United States. In 1949, he founded and served as the first president of the Jewish Community Council of Washington, D.C., and as president of the American Association for Jewish Education, which he was also instrumental in founding.

Breslau headed the Louis D. Brandeis Zionist District of Washington, D.C., served as the chairman of the United Palestine Appeal of the Seaboard Region, and helped found and served as co-chair of the United Jewish Appeal in Washington D.C. In addition, he was a member of the National United Jewish Appeal Executive.

[Michael Feldberg (2nd ed.)]

BRESLAU, JOSEPH MOSES BEN DAVID (1691–1752), German rabbinical scholar apparently born in the city of that name. Breslau studied under Abraham *Broda, whose daughter he married. He served as rabbi in Krefeld and, from 1743 until his death, in Bamberg. He was author of (1) *Shoresh Yosef* (1730), on the laws and principles of *Migo* (in talmudic law the credence given to a party in a lawsuit on the premise that if he were lying he could have told a more convincing lie); (2) *Ḥok Yosef* (1730), on the laws of Passover, comprising novellae on the *Oraḥ Ḥayyim* sections of the *Shulḥan Arukh (429–94). In it Breslau criticizes the *Ḥok Ya'akov* of Jacob Reischer. The two books were published together under the title *Ḥukkim Tovim* (1767). Reischer wrote a reply entitled *Lo Hibbit Ayen be-Ya'akov*, which was published in the 1814 edition of *Ḥukkim Tovim*; (3) *Ketonet Yosef*, sermons, published by his son, Abraham of Muehlhausen, as an appendix to the *Toledot Avraham* (1769) of Broda. His glosses on *Oraḥ Ḥayyim* and on *Yoreh De'ah* as well as responsa remain in manuscript.

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[Yehoshua Horowitz]

BRESLAW, JOSEPH (1887–1957), U.S. labor leader. Breslaw, who was born in Odessa, went to the United States in 1907. He worked as a cloak presser in the garment industry and joined a local union in 1909. Breslaw was rapidly promoted, and in 1916 became its manager. By 1922 he had become the dominant voice in one of the metropolitan area's most important locals of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, and was elected vice president of the ILGWU, leading the Union's right wing in the struggle against the communists. Unlike other prominent immigrant Jewish unionists, especially those who went to America after the 1905 revolution, Breslaw did not share a revolutionary tradition or evince socialist sympathies. He acted as a right-wing mainstay for the anti-Communist administration of President Morris Sigman between 1922 and 1925, but was forced off the General Executive Board during the compromise effort with the radical wing. However, upon the collapse of the compromise arrangements with the Communists, Breslaw was called back to office (1929), and a year later was placed in charge of the successful strike in New York City's dress industry. He was a loyal lieutenant to David *Dubinsky. Though more conservative than most garment workers, Breslaw, thoughout his career, was still more radical than the non-Jewish members of the American labor movement. In 1936 he joined the newly founded American Labor Party, and became a member of its state executive committee. Breslaw was prominent in establishing the ILGWU's health center. He also served on various committees to aid Palestine labor colonies, and, for over a decade, was chairman of the American Trade Union Council for the *Histadrut.

[Melvin Dubofsky]

BRESSE, region in France. There is proof of Jewish settlement in Bresse from at least 1275. The main localities inhabited by Jews during the Middle Ages were *Bourg-en-Bresse, Bâgé, Pont-de-Vaux, Louhans, and Pont-de-Veyle. Jews often levied the tolls. They remained longest in Bagé, leaving the town in 1524.

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[Bernhard Blumenkranz]

BRESSELAU, MEYER ISRAEL (d. 1839), Hebrew writer and one of the leaders of the Reform movement. He was the state notary for the Jews of Hamburg. In 1818, together with I.S. *Fraenkel he edited and adapted a prayer book for the Hamburg Reform Temple under the title *Seder ha-Avodah*. In answer to *Elleh Divrei ha-Berit* (Altona, 1819), a pamphlet which collated the views of the greatest Orthodox rabbis of Western Europe against Reform Judaism and its innovations, he published anonymously his polemic work *Ḥerev Nokemet Nekam-Berit* (Dessau, 1819; reprinted as appendix 4 in S. Bernfeld's *Toledot ha-Reformazyon ha-Datit be-Yisrael*, 1900). *Ḥerev Nokemet Nekam-Berit*, a rhymed work written in a satirical biblical style, is remarkable in its witty take-off on the Orthodox rabbis who opposed the reforms in the Hamburg Reform synagogue (temple). It ranks among the best Hebrew polemic literature written at the time of the Haskalah. To counteract Bresselau's polemic work M.L. Reinitz published *Lahat ha-Ḥerev ha-Mithappekhet* (1820).

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[Gedalyah Elkoshi]

BRESSLAU, ERNST (1877–1935), German zoologist. After taking a medical degree, he studied zoology at the University of Strasbourg, where he subsequently became professor. His major research interests were the origin of the mammary glands and the biology of the turbellarians, a class of flatworms. When in 1918 Strasbourg became part of France, Bresslau went to Frankfurt as head of the zoology department of the Institute for Experimental Therapy founded by Paul Ehrlich. In 1926 he became professor of zoology at the University of Cologne, where he established and built up an outstanding research institute. Bresslau left Germany shortly after Hitler's accession to power and in 1934 became professor of zoology at the newly founded University of São Paulo, Brazil. He started to organize a zoological institute there but died before his task was completed.

[Mordecai L. Gabriel]

BRESSLAU, HARRY (1848–1926), German historian. Born in Dannenberg, Hanover, he studied law in Goettingen and later history and philosophy at Berlin University, especially encouraged by Wilhelm Droysen. In 1869, he received his doctorate from Georg Waitz in Goettingen. Then he taught at the Philanthropin school at Frankfurt and at a Jewish orphanage in Berlin. Bresslau joined the faculty of the University of Berlin in 1872 and was appointed associate professor in 1877. From 1890 to 1918 he was professor at the University of Strasbourg, but when Strasbourg reverted to France in 1918, he was expelled as a militant German national and left for Hamburg. His remaining years he spent in Heidelberg. Bresslau was a member of the editorial board of the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* and published a history of the *Monumenta* (1921). He edited the journal of the society for the study of earlier German history *Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft fuer aeltere deutsche Geschichtskunde* from 1889 to 1904 and in 1907 founded the historical records periodical *Archiv fuer Urkundenforschung*. He compiled the volumes dealing with the emperors Henry II and Conrad II in the *Jahrbuecher des deutschen Reiches* (1875, 1879–84). In 1909 his edition of the charters of Conrad II appeared, followed posthumously by an edition of the charters of Henry III. Bresslau's manual on the study of records, *Handbuch der Urkundenlehre fuer Deutschland und Italien* (2 vols., 1889–1915), is a basic source-book in its field. Bresslau was a founder and president of the commission for the history of the Jews in Germany and contributed extensively to Jewish historical journals. In 1880 he wrote *Zur Judenfrage*, a reply to *Treitschke's attack. An autobiographical sketch was published in *Die Geschichtswissenschaft der Gegenwart in Selbstdarstellung* (1926). Bresslau's daughter, Helena, was the wife of Albert Schweitzer.

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[Zvi Avneri /Marcus Pyka (2nd ed.)]

BRESSLER, DAVID MAURICE (1879–1942), U.S. social worker and leader in American Jewish efforts to assist Jewish immigrants to the United States, and to aid European Jews during and after World War I. Bressler was born in Charlottenburg, Germany, and was taken to the United States in 1884. He served as manager of the Industrial Removal Office (1900–16), a branch of the Jewish Agricultural and Industrial Aid Society, directing the resettlement of 75,000 immigrant Jews from congested Eastern port cities of the United States to less crowded areas of the country. During World War I Bressler joined the *American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee, in which he played an important role until his death. During the 1920s he headed a number of campaigns to aid European Jews. Bressler served as national chairman of the Allied Jewish Relief campaign of 1930. During the 1930s Governor Herbert Lehman appointed him to important posts in New York State agencies.

[Irwin Yellowitz]

BREST-LITOVSK (**Brisk**, Heb. בריסק דליטא; until 1921 Brest-Litovsk; from 1921 until 1939 Brześć nad Bugiem; after 1939 Brest), capital of Brest district, Belarus. In the medieval grand duchy of *Lithuania, from the 14th to the 17th centuries, in particular after the union of Poland and Lithuania in 1569, it was the main center of Lithuanian Jewry. Its situation on the River Bug, at the junction of commercial routes and near the borders of the two countries, made Brest-Litovsk an important communications and commercial center. The first Jews settled there under the grand duke Kiejstut (Kestutis; 1341–82). His son Vitold (Vytautas) granted them a generous charter in 1388, which was later extended to all the Jews in the duchy. Jewish merchants from Brest-Litovsk are mentioned in 1423–33 in the municipal records of Danzig (Gdansk) where they bought textiles, furs, and other goods. The community increased toward the end of the 15th and in the first half of the 16th century, and became one of the largest in Lithuania. It also became the most important organizationally as contacts with Poland steadily expanded. The Jews of Brest-Litovsk engaged in commerce, crafts, and agriculture. Some conducted extensive financial operations, farming customs dues, taxes, and other government imposts. They also farmed and owned estates. Their business connections extended throughout and beyond the duchy. By 1483 Jews in Brest-Litovsk had established commercial ties with Venice.

In 1495 all Jews who refused to accept Christianity were expelled from Lithuania. Only one convert, of the *Jozefowicz family, remained behind in Brest-Litovsk. The Jews were permitted to return in 1503, and the community regained its former eminence. Michael Jozefowicz played a leading role in its communal affairs in the first half of the 16th century. Records of 1566 show that there were 156 Jewish-owned houses in the town out of a total of 746. Two years later, after the great fire there, the Jews were exempted by King Sigismund Augustus from paying tax for nine years, provided that they built their homes of stone only. The Jews in Brest-Litovsk took over an increasing share in the Polish export trade to Germany and the import trade from Germany and Austria in the 16th century. Their financial success and the scale and range of the activities of the great merchants, such as the three Jozefowicz brothers, the customs contractor and merchant Michael Rybczykowicz, and many others, were partly due to the combination of customs farming with the export and import business. In Brest-Litovsk the Jews could continue to engage in agriculture, and 16% of the real estate was Jewish-owned. The influential Saul *Wahl of Padua, who lived in Brest-Litovsk, established a synagogue and yeshivah in the town.

The satisfactory relationship between the Jews and the townspeople in the 16th century subsequently deteriorated. In 1636 Christian students conducted a savage raid (*Schuelergelaeuf*) on the Jews. The Lithuanian Council (see *Councils of the Lands) defined it as a "calamity" and treated it as a matter of concern to Lithuanian Jewry as a whole, to be dealt with at its expense. Jewish stores were looted and burned in 1637 by the townspeople, but the Polish authorities compelled the municipality to restore the stolen merchandise to its Jewish owners and punish the rioters. A mixed Jewish-Christian watch was instituted to guard the stores. Despite the increasing anti-Jewish feelings fostered by the clergy, kings Sigismund III and Ladislas IV ratified the Jewish charters. During the *Chmielnicki uprising of 1648–49 many Jews who had the means escaped from Brest-Litovsk to Great Poland and Danzig; hundreds of those who remained were massacred (according to one source, 2,000). Shortly afterward, Jews resettled in Brest-Litovsk and were granted a charter of protection in 1655 from King John Casimir. The wars with Russia, Sweden, and Turkey caused much hardship among the Jews, and many were massacred by the Russian army in 1660. In 1661, in order to relieve their economic distress, the king exempted the Jews from the obligation to billet troops and all other taxes for four years; Jewish debtors were granted a three-year moratorium. In 1669 King Michael Wisniowiecki confirmed the privileges granted in former charters and permitted the Jews to retain the land and buildings they had owned before the wars, including synagogues, courthouses, public baths, cemeteries, and stores. Jews were permitted to engage in every sphere of commerce and crafts and were required to pay only the same taxes as Christians. The municipality and non-Jewish citizens were ordered to cooperate in suppressing anti-Jewish agitation. The privileges were ratified in 1676 and in 1720. Twenty-two Jewish merchants were recorded in the city in 1662, ten of whom were innkeepers who paid a special tax. By 1676 there were 525 Jews (excluding children under 11) living in Brest-Litovsk. The number grew during the 18th century. The 1766 census recorded 3,353 Jews in the town and its environs. Toward the end of the 18th century there were fresh disturbances between the Jews and the non-Jewish citizens, in particular in 1792. A memorandum was presented by 20 Jewish representatives to the Polish *Sejm* (Diet) urging that the complaints of the Jews in Brest-Litovsk should receive justice.

For many generations the Brest-Litovsk community assumed the lead in communal affairs and cultural activities of Lithuania (see *Councils of Lands). It was one of the three founding communities of the Council of Lithuania (later expanded to four and then to five constituents) in which Brest obtained the widest area of jurisdiction. At first (1623–31) the Council of Lithuania convened in Brest-Litovsk, and 19 of its 42 meetings took place there. The delegates and rabbi of Brest-Litovsk were for a long time given precedence in the Council. The community represented Lithuanian Jewry before the central authorities according to the following resolution: "It has been thus decided. If His Majesty the King has occasion to visit one of the three principal communities, in the event of his arrival in *Grodno or … *Pinsk, they will inform the Brest community. Should the Brest community send their representative to approach His Majesty the King with a gift, then all the expenses incurred thereby shall be defrayed by the Council. Should the Brest community omit to send a representative, then half [only] of the expenses [incurred by the community where the king came] shall be defrayed by the Council, and half by the community concerned" (S. Dubnow, *Pinkas Medinat Lita* (1925). Council Session 1639, par. 398, p. 80). A resolution of 1644 further expresses the precedence accorded to the Brest-Litovsk community: "As to the order of signatures of the honorable members of the Council, it has been thus decided: they shall sign in the following order: first the Council members from Brest.…" (*ibid.*, Council Session 1644, par. 415, p. 86). The demands of the Brest-Litovsk community that the importance of its institutions and their sacred character should be recognized throughout Lithuania are manifested in the following resolution: "… All the members of the sacred conventicle, the conventicle of the Great Synagogue, the Klaus in Brest-Litovsk … All know full well that this Great Synagogue is a holy place.… For many generations its sacredness has been established.… He who seeks the Lord, whose spirit is moved to wisdom and understanding, knowledge and fear of the Lord, will come to this Great Synagogue, will take on his shoulders this burden, will bear the yoke of Torah study in groups [of students]." The resolution persuaded the Council to undertake the management of funds for the institution and to pay annual sums to it out of the funds (*ibid.*, Council Session 1667, par. 619, pp. 147–8). The leadership assumed by the Brest-Litovsk community in social and economic affairs is instanced by its attempts to control the contracting for vodka-distilling and milling (see **Arenda*) for the good of all the members of the community: "that many should have a living" (Joel Sirkes, Responsa, 1 (1697, 1834), par. 60).

Brest-Litovsk was a stronghold of the **Mitnaggedim* in opposition to *Ḥasidism. Some of the early disputations between the leaders of the two movements took place there. Distinguished rabbis officiating in Brest included Jehiel b. Aaron Luria, the grandfather of Solomon *Luria (mid-15th century); Moses Raskowitz; Menahem Mendel *Frank; Kalonymos, the father-in-law of Solomon Luria (16th century); Solomon Luria; Judah Leib b. Obadiah Eilenburg, author of *Minḥat Yehudah* (1609); Moses Lipschitz; Ephraim Zalman *Schor, author of *Tevu'at Shor* (1613); Joel b. Samuel *Sirkes; Abraham Meir *Epstein; Jacob Schor, author of *Beit Ya'akov* (1693); David *Oppenheim (17th century); *Aryeh Leib, author of *Sha'agat Aryeh*; Abraham b. David Katzenellbogen; Naḥman Halperin; and *Aaron b. Meir Brisker, author of *Minḥat Aharon* (18th century); Ẓevi Hirsch b. Mordecai *Orenstein; Moses Joshua Judah Leib *Diskin; Joseph Baer *Soloveichik; his son Ḥayyim; and his grandson Ze'ev (Welvelei; see *Soloveichik family).

After Brest-Litovsk's incorporation into Russia in 1793, its economic importance diminished. Many historic edifices of the Jewish quarter, including the old synagogue and cemetery, were demolished to give way to the building of a fortress in 1832. The economic position again improved after the completion of the Dnieper-Bug Canal in 1841, and the Jewish community, which handled most of the commerce and industry in the city, began to grow appreciably. A tobacco factory and two large mills were established by Jews in 1845. A hospital was erected in 1838, a new synagogue during 1851–61, and a home for widows in 1866.

The Jewish population numbered 8,135 in 1847 and 27,005 in 1889 (out of a total of 41,625). In 1886, 4,364 Jews were employed as artisans and 1,235 as merchants (out of 25,000). There were 30,608 Jewish residents in 1897 (out of 46,568), 3,506 of them artisans, who were nearly all Jews at the time, many of them shoemakers and tailors. The city was almost completely destroyed by fire in 1895 and again in 1901. In the pogroms in the wake of the 1905 revolution several Jews in Brest-Litovsk were wounded or killed. A number of Jews there were active in the underground revolutionary groups. However, as elsewhere in Russia, their activities subsided with the failure of the revolution. Although the Jews comprised 70% of the population before World War I, they had only three representatives on the municipal council, while there were 20 non-Jewish members.

The Jews were driven out of Brest-Litovsk on August 1, 1915, by order of the Russian high command. On August 26 the Austro-German army occupied the city, and many of the exiles returned. Shortly afterward, however, they were again expelled by the Germans. After the Poles occupied the region in 1919, Jewish communal life revived. Although more attention was paid to secular aspects, the traditional cultural activities continued to flourish. A communal committee was organized and other institutions were established. Half of the pupils in the general schools (which included a commercial school, a *real gymnasium*, and a secondary school) were Jewish. In 1921 the Jewish population numbered 15,630 (out of a total of 29,460) and in 1931, 21,440. For several years the deputy-mayor of Brest was a Jew. Prominent in Brest in the late 19th and early 20th centuries were the philologist and talmudist Jacob Nahum *Epstein; Michael *Pukhachewsky, a pioneer farmer in Ereẓ Israel; the journalists Abraham *Goldberg and Noah Finkelstein; and the author and physician Benjamin Szereszewski.

[Nathan Michael Gelber]

Holocaust Period and After

Almost 30,000 Jews lived in Brest in 1941. The Germans first took the city on September 15, 1939, looted it, and kidnapped Jews for forced labor. Following the Soviet-German agreement on the division of Poland, however, the city came under Soviet rule (September 22, 1939). The Soviet authorities disbanded the communal bodies, repressed independent political activity, and arrested Jewish leaders. Among those exiled to the Soviet Union was Israel Tenenbaum, the local "Bund" leader. Although the community institutions could no longer function, mutual aid was set up and extended to the Jews who fled from German-occupied Poland and sought refuge in Brest. Immediately following the outbreak of the Soviet-German war the Germans reentered Brest. On June 28–29, 1941, the Germans kidnapped 5,000 Jewish men supposedly for forced labor, but the men were taken outside the city limits and murdered. In the autumn of 1941 the Jews were segregated into a ghetto, and only a few physicians and their families were allowed to remain on the "Aryan" side. Ways were devised to smuggle food into the starving ghetto. A *Judenrat was imposed, headed by Zvi Hirsh Rozenberg and his deputy, Naḥman Landau. Within the ghetto, aid was organized for the needy and various workshops were created to provide the Jews with "productive" work for the Germans in an attempt to prevent their deportation to death camps. At the end of June 1942 a group of 900 skilled artisans were taken away for forced labor in the East. Only 12 of them came back to the ghetto several weeks later. In mid-1942 an underground resistance movement, led by Arieh Scheinman, came into existence in the ghetto and planned an uprising when the Germans came to liquidate the ghetto. Its members also raised funds to buy arms for fighting groups in the forests. But the Soviet unit that made contacts with them turned out to be a gang of robbers and many underground fighters were murdered. On October 15, 1942, the Germans surprised the underground and began to liquidate the ghetto, sending the inmates to Brona Gora, where they were massacred. Following the *Aktion* the Germans continued a manhunt for those hiding in bunkers. The Jews who had managed to flee the Germans joined the partisan units operating in the forests. A number of Brest's Jews belonged to the "Kotowski" Soviet partisan unit, and Hana Ginzberg of Brest was regarded as an outstanding partisan. When Brest was liberated in July 1944, there were less than ten Jews to be found in the city. After the war a committee set up in the U.S. by former residents of Brest provided aid to the approximately 200 survivors of the Holocaust from Brest, dispersed throughout Poland and in displaced persons camps in Germany. The Jewish population of the town was estimated at 2,000 in 1970. It had no synagogue, the last one having been converted into a moviehouse in 1959. Most of the Jews left in the 1990s but Jewish life revived with a synagogue, Sunday school and *kolel* in operation.

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BRETHOLZ, BERTHOLD (1862–1936), Moravian historian. He was baptized when young. Bretholz collaborated in the publication of *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* (1886–92). In 1892 he was appointed official historian of Moravia, then director of the Bruenn (Brno) municipal archives and the provincial archives (1900). Bretholz published numerous works on Bohemian and Moravian history. The "Bretholz-theory," expounded mainly in his four-volume work *Geschichte Boehmens und Maehrens* (1921–24), ascribes the descent of the Bohemian and Moravian Germans to Teutonic tribes who had settled the area before the advent of the Czechs and not to medieval colonists. The theory became an important argument of extremist German nationalists in Czechoslovakia. In the last years of his life Bretholz turned to Jewish history; he wrote *Geschichte der Juden in Maehren im Mittelalter* (1934), edited *Quellen zur Geschichte der Juden in Maehren* (1935), and contributed to the yearbooks of the Jewish historical society in Czechoslovakia. His *Geschichte der Stadt Bruenn* (1911) contains a chapter on the Jewish community in Bruenn (pp. 363–81).

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BRETHREN OF SINCERITY, EPISTLES OF (Arab. *Ikhwān al-Ṣafā'*), series of Arabic treatises ostensibly covering the spectrum of philosophic studies: mathematics and logic, the natural sciences, metaphysics, and the political and religious organization of society including a discussion of the nature and organization of the "Sincere Brethren." The authors of the work were a group of people belonging to the class of government secretaries and men of letters in 10th-century *Baghdad. They were connected with the Ismāʿīliyya movement which opposed the claims of the reigning *Abbasid caliphs. Their treatises or epistles no doubt also served to propagate their political and religious ideas under the cloak of a philosophic encyclopedia. The level of learning set forth in the encyclopedia is popular and its philosophy is essentially neoplatonic, in contradistinction to the purer Aristotelianism preferred by, e.g., al-*Fārābī. Their writings seem to have influenced a number of Jewish philosophers, notably Joseph ibn *Ẓaddik and Solomon ibn *Gabirol as well as Moses *ibn Ezra. Shem Tov Ibn *Falaquera translated excerpts from their writings in his *Sefer ha-Mevakkesh* (1778). In Arles (1316) *Kalonymus b. Kalonymus translated a treatise of the *Epistles* into Hebrew under the title *Iggeret Baʿalei Ḥayyim* ("The Epistle of the Animals"). It has been printed a number of times and the Hebrew version has been translated into Yiddish and Ladino.

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[Lawrence V. Berman]

BREUER, ISAAC (1883–1946), theoretician and leader of German Orthodoxy; son of Solomon Breuer and grandson of Samson Raphael *Hirsch. Born in Papa, Hungary, Breuer was brought as a child to Frankfurt, where he studied at his father's yeshiva and became a prominent figure in the local separatist Orthodox community (*Austrittsgemeinde*). He subsequently studied law, philosophy, and history at various universities and practiced as a lawyer in Frankfurt. He soon took a leading part in various communal organizations. He defended the secession of the Orthodox from the Jewish community in his *Preussische Austrittsgesetzgebubg und das Judentum* (1913). When *Agudat Israel was founded in 1912, Breuer became one of its ideologists and most prominent spokesmen, though he developed a unique, non-conventional direction within ultra-Orthodox thought. He settled in Jerusalem (1936), practicing as a lawyer, and devoting himself to organizing Po'alei Agudat Israel, of which he became the president. His appeared on behalf of the Agudah before the Peel Commission (1937) and the Anglo-American Commission (March 1946). Baruch *Kurzweil, his close student and spiritual heir, describes him as a charismatic teacher and a bohemian, artistic personality.

Breuer, an heir to the work of S.R. Hirsch's doctrine of *Torah im derekh ereẓ*, redirected it with a national focus. In his early works – *Messiasspuren* (1918), *Judenproblem* (1922^4; also in a condensed English edition, 1947), *Wegzeichen* (a collection of articles, 1923; in expanded form in Hebrew, *Ziyyunei Derekh*, 1955) – he developed a notion of the Jewish people's national meta-historical Being as based on the juristic act of the covenant and the common duty to fulfill the divine law. Breuer's relationship to Zionism was ambivalent and dialectic. On the one hand, he regarded the movement as removing the Jewish people from the Torah by secularizing it and by locating it within historical temporality. In that respect he believed Zionism to be the worst enemy of Judaism. While Reform Judaism explicitly attacked the Torah, Zionism falsely pretended to assure the existence of the Jewish people, detaching it from its essential nature. On the other hand, Breuer shared the Zionist notion of the centrality of Ereẓ Israel and of the ideal of establishing a Jewish national home there, a state that should be a "state of Torah." In a series of works (*Das juedische Nationalheim* (1925; English translation, 1926); *Elischa* (1928), *Der neue Kusari* (1934), etc.) he developed this notion, viewing the British mandate over Ereẓ Israel and the Balfour declaration as the hand of divine providence, and called for an adjustment of the Hirschian "*Torah im derekh ereẓ*" doctrine as "*Torah im derekh Ereẓ Israel*."

After settling in Ereẓ Isrel, Breuer began to write in Hebrew (*Moriyyah*, 1944; *Nahali'el*, 1951), while selected articles appeared posthumously in English (*People of the Torah*, 1956). In the earlier period he had written some – not very successful – novels (*Ein Kampf um Gott*, 1920; *Falk Nefis Heimkehr,* 1923), also as vehicles for his religious concepts. He defended his conception, in the philosophical terms of the 19th century that God's eternal truths were revealed in and to His "Torah people." When historical reality forced itself on his thought, he met its demand with struggle and reluctance.

Breuer was also an heir of Hirsch in his religious-philosophic doctrine, combining a strong attachment to Kant with the freedom to move beyond the ontological and epistemological sphere of Kant's "thing-in-itself" (*Ding als sich*) as the object of faith and revelation. In line with Kant he defined rational scientific knowledge as limited and bound to its inner structures, which revelation overcomes and exceeds. Therefore miracles cannot be perceived by regular rational perception, bound to the laws of causality; only faith, perceiving the world as God's free creation, can transcend these boundaries and accept the idea of miracle.

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[Yehoyada Amir (2nd ed.)]

BREUER, JOSEPH (1842–1925), Austrian physician, neurophysiologist, and precursor of psychoanalysis. Born in Vienna, he taught at the university there from 1875. From 1890, he specialized in diseases of the nervous system. His neurophysiological research on the effect of the vagus on respiration (1868) and the role of the semicircular canals of the ear in the bodily equilibrium (1874) is of great significance. In his treatment of the case of Anna O., an hysteric, which he communicated to Freud, he laid the foundation for the development of Freud's psychoanalytic methods. He and Freud collaborated in writing *Studien ueber Hysterie* (1895) but each later returned to his separate field of research. Breuer remained a widely acknowledged internist and was elected to the Viennese Academy of Science. He was active in Jewish community affairs all his life.

BREUER, JOSEPH (1882–1980), Orthodox rabbi; son of Solomon Breuer and grandson of Samson Raphael *Hirsch. Breuer was born in Papa, Hungary. In 1906, he became a lecturer at the yeshivah founded by his father in Frankfurt on the Main and became its head after his father's death in 1926.

Immigrating to the U.S. in 1939 to escape Nazi persecution, he became the rabbi of the recently founded K'hal Adath Jeshurun in Washington Heights, N.Y., and founder of its Yeshivah Rabbi Samson Raphael Hirsch (1944), modeled after the separatist Orthodox Jewish community of Frankfurt which had been founded by Hirsch. Hirsch's community had severed all institutional ties to the official Frankfurt Jewish community because the latter represented both Reform and Orthodox Jews, while Hirsch saw all cooperation with Reform as heresy. Besides a large synagogue and a school system from nursery school to advanced yeshivah, the *kehillah* which he headed had its own *kashrut* supervision, and a wide array of charitable and religious societies. K'hal Adath Jeshurun, colloquially known as "Breuer's," was the largest and most influential of over a dozen synagogues founded by German Jewish refugees from Hitler who arrived in Washington Heights, on the northern end of Manhattan in the late 1930s. The congregants at "Breuer's" were mainly strictly Orthodox German Jews from Frankurt, its surrounding rural areas, and other large German cities, and their children.

Regarded as one of the spiritual heirs of Hirsch, his maternal grandfather, Rabbi Breuer wrote extensively in German and English defending staunch Orthodoxy. Closely affiliated with *Agudat Israel, Breuer took a strongly anti-Zionist religious stance. Compared to his more yeshivah-oriented colleague Shimon Schwab (appointed in 1958), Rabbi Breuer was also an advocate of both aspects of his grandfather's philosophy of "*Torah im derekh ereẓ*" (the idea that traditional study and pursuits should be integrated with worldly culture). He continued to favor a degree of openness to general culture and higher education even as the congregation moved further to the right. Breuer also emphasized the importance of the synagogue's decorous atmosphere and men's choir. Although he retired from official duties in 1967, he continued to be a moral influence and a beloved figure within his community until his death at the age of 98.

Breuer published biblical translations and commentaries on Jeremiah (1914) and Ezekiel (1921), introductions to S.R. Hirsch's Commentary on the Torah (Ger. 2 vols, 1926; Eng. 2 vols, 1948), translations of and commentaries (with text) on the *piyyutim* for Rosh ha-Shanah and the Day of Atonement and also wrote *Jewish Marriage* (Ger. 1923; Eng. 1956). A Jubilee Volume was published in his honor on the occasion of his 80th birthday (*Ateret Zevi,* Eng. and Heb., 1962, with a bibliography of his writings).

[Isaac B. Gottlieb / Steven Lowenstein (2nd ed.)]

BREUER, MARCEL (1902–1981), architecture and furniture designer. Breuer was born in Pécs, a city in southwest Hungary. In 1920, after high school, he won a scholarship to the Vienna Academy of Fine Art. Disliking the Academy, he went to work for an architect and then applied to the Bauhaus, a school of applied design in Weimar, Germany. At the Bauhaus, he joined the newly formed furniture workshop. By 1923 he qualified as a journeyman. He became a protégé of Walter Gropius, director of the school. Even so, Breuer became impatient and left for Paris in 1924 to work for an architect. Again disappointed with his career, when Gropius invited him back to the Bauhaus to run the furniture workshop, he accepted. In 1926, Breuer designed his tubular steel chair. Unusually light and easy to assemble from ready-made steel tubes, the result of his years of experiment, the chair became famous. It was later renamed the "Wassily" after Wassily Kandinsky. Breuer taught at the Bauhaus in Dessau until 1928 when he followed Gropius to Berlin, where he set up as an architect but was barred from practice because of lack of experience. After working in Budapest and Switzerland he joined Gropius in London and then in 1937 followed him to the United States, where they both became professors at Harvard University. With much enthusiasm, Breuer taught the principles of the International Style (form follows function) to students such as Philip Johnson and Paul Rudolf, who later became important architects. Breuer and Gropius each built their own homes: two story boxlike structures of glass, wood, and stone rubble. Commissions followed. In 1946 Breuer left Harvard to open an architectural office in New York in partnership with industrial designer Eliot Noyes. The Geller House on Long Island, completed in 1946, was hailed as the "house of the future." This house of glass, wood, and stone became the paradigm for enlightened house design in mid-century with its careful attention to each function of the dwelling. His favorite house plan was an H-plan or a T-plan, designs he used for the many homes he built on the East Coast of the U.S. In 1949 Breuer built and furnished a model home for the Museum of Modern Art and in 1953 he won, together with Pier Luigi Nervi, the competition to design the headquarters of UNESCO in Paris. Also in 1953, Breuer designed the Bijenkorff Department store in Rotterdam. For his large buildings, Breuer shifted to massive concrete block shapes. His major legacy is the 1963 Whitney Museum of Art in New York City.

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[Betty R. Rubenstein (2nd ed.)]

BREUER, MORDECHAI (1921–), religious Bible scholar. Breuer was born in Karlsruhe, Germany. His father, Samson Breuer, was a mathematician, and his uncle, Rabbi Isaac Breuer, was an Orthodox Jewish thinker who carried on the work of Samson Raphael *Hirsch. Mordechai is Hirsch's great-grandson. At the age of 13, Breuer came to Israel with his family. He studied in the Horev yeshivah high school in Jerusalem, then Yeshivat Kol Torah, and finally in Yeshivat Hevron. In 1947 he taught Talmud in the *Bnei Akiva yeshivah in Kefar ha-Ro'eh. He was a Bnei Akiva emissary to the detention camps in Cyprus. During the War of Independence, Breuer was the counselor of the Bnei Akiva group that assisted in defending Jerusalem. From 1949 through 1965, he taught Talmud at Yeshivat ha-Darom in Reḥovot. Afterwards, he was a Ministry of Education national supervisor for Talmud study for two years. From 1967 to 1982, he taught Bible at Mikhlelet Yerushalayim le-Vanot and from 1969 he taught Bible at Yeshivat Har Eẓyon and at other institutions. In 1999, he received the Israel Prize for Torah literature. He was awarded an honorary doctorate by the Hebrew University. His son, YOḤANAN, became head of the Hebrew Language Department at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem.

Breuer's major contribution to Jewish studies is in two fields. The first is in the determination of the exact text of the Hebrew Bible. In the 1970s and 1980s Mossad ha-Rav Kook published a *Tanakh* edited by Breuer based on early printed editions along with manuscript editions. Subsequently, when the Aleppo Codex became available, Breuer gained expertise in that valuable manuscript, first using it to publish a corrected *Tanakh* in 1998 and then again in 2001, in a format that mirrors the Aleppo Codex. This edition was adopted by the Hebrew University and is called *Keter Yerushalayim: Tanakh ha-Universitah ha-Ivrit bi-Yerushalayim*. Breuer has written numerous articles regarding the Aleppo Codex and his work in determining the correct text of the Bible. This edition was accompanied by Breuer's *Nusaḥ ha-Mikra be-Kheter Yerushala'yim: Mekorotav be-Mesorah u-ve-Khitvei ha-Yad* (2003). Despite his lack of academic training, his work on the Aleppo Codex has been widely accepted in the academic world.

Breuer's second contribution is also in the field of biblical studies, particularly in the area of biblical interpretation. In keeping with his Hirschian heritage of meeting the challenges presented by the "scientific" and academic study of Judaism, Breuer has developed a new approach to Bible study called "multiple perspectives." In essence, Breuer accepts the questions posed by biblical criticism but gives a totally different set of answers. As a devout Jew, Breuer accepts the divine authorship of the Bible, especially the Pentateuch. However, he acknowledges that the Pentateuch text seems to be written in different styles, which the biblical critics attribute to different authors and different historical periods. Breuer rejects the multiple authorship hypothesis and maintains instead that God, Himself, wrote the Pentateuch using the different styles and then combined them into the text we know as the Five Books of Moses. In a number of works, particularly *Pirkei Mo'adot* (2 vols., 1986) and *Pirkei Bereishit* (2 vols., 1999), he attempts to explain why God constructed the text in this manner. Aside from a small cadre of his students, Breuer's system of "multiple perspectives" has not been adopted by religious teachers.

In addition, Breuer translated Hirsch's commentary on the Pentateuch and Haftorahs from German into Hebrew (1967–88). Other works include a Passover *Haggadah* with Hirsch's commentary (Heb., 1961) and *Ta'amei ha-Mikra be-21 Sefarim u-ve-Sifrei Emet* (*Iyyov, Mishlei, Tehillim*) (1982).

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[David Derovan (2nd ed.)]

BREUER, RAPHAEL (1881–1932), district rabbi at Aschaffenburg, Bavaria; son of Solomon *Breuer. His candidacy for the succession to his father's office led to a bitter struggle in the Frankfurt congregation in which the majority, the Israelische Religionsgesellschaft (under Jacob *Rosenheim's leadership), opposed the narrow Orthodoxy with which the name of Breuer had become associated. Raphael Breuer's published works include translations and commentaries (in German) on the Five Scrolls (1908–12; 1924^{2}); on the Former Prophets (2 vols., 1915–22); and on Ezra and Nehemiah (2 vols., 1933–38). The literalist interpretation of his commentary on the Song of Songs (1912) caused some scandal among the Orthodox; in the second edition (1923), he gave a more traditional rendering. An appreciation of the ideas of his grandfather S.R. *Hirsch was contained in Breuer's *Unter seinem Banner* (1908). His strong anti-Zionist views were aired in *Nationaljudenthum ein Wahnjudenthum* (1903) and other polemics.

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BREUER, SOLOMON (1850–1926), rabbi and author, leader of German Orthodoxy (*Trennungsorthodoxie*). After studying at the Pressburg yeshivah under A.S.B. Schreiber and at German universities, Breuer officiated as rabbi in Papa, Hungary. He married the youngest daughter of Samson Raphael *Hirsch, and in 1888 he succeeded his father-in-law, in Frankfurt. A firm advocate of strict Orthodoxy, Breuer founded the Association of Orthodox Rabbis in Germany, excluding from it Orthodox rabbis who cooperated in communal work with Reform Jews. He was president of the Freie Vereinigung ("Free Union") for the advancement of Orthodoxy and cofounder of the Agudat Israel movement, barring members of mixed Reform-Orthodox communities from the leadership of this movement. In 1890 he founded a yeshivah and directed it for 36 years. In conjunction with Phinehas (Pinchas) *Kohn he published the periodical *Juedische Monatshefte* (Hebrew subtitle, *Doresh Tov le-Ammo*) from 1913 to 1920. His writings include *Ḥokhmah im Naḥalah* (4 vols., 1930–35), sermons, and *Divrei Shelomo* (1948), interpretations of *halakhah* and *aggadah*.

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[Moshe Nahum Zobel]

BRÉVAL, LUCIENNE (née **Berthe Schilling**, 1869–1935), French soprano singer. Breval was born in Maennedorf (Switzerland) and studied at the conservatories of Geneva and Paris, where in 1892 she made her opera debut (as Selika in *Meyerbeer's *L'Africaine*), and where she remained a star for nearly 30 years, excelling in Wagner roles. She sang the title role in the first performances of Fauré's *Pénélope* (Monte Carlo, 1913) and appeared at the Metropolitan (first New York performance of Reyer's *Salammbô*, 1901) and at Covent Garden. An artist of noble voice and grand, elevated style, she was the leading French soprano of her day.

[Max Loppert (2nd ed.)]

BREYER, JULIUS (gyula) (1893–1921), Hungarian chess master. Breyer won an important Berlin tournament (1920) and broke the then-existing record of 25 games for blindfold play. He was a theorist of "Hyper-Modern" school and established several variations which retain great strategic importance.

BREYER, STEPHEN GERALD (1938–), law professor, Senate staff counsel, federal appellate judge, and seventh Jewish appointee to the Supreme Court of the United States. Breyer was born in San Francisco, California, to a middle-class Jewish family. His father was a lawyer for the city school system. He excelled at San Francisco's "magnet" public high school and at Stanford University, where he graduated with highest honors in 1959. Breyer won a Marshall Scholarship to attend Oxford University, where he received a B.A. with first-class honors in 1961 and developed an interest in economics.

At Harvard Law School Breyer was selected articles editor of the *Harvard Law Review.* Following his graduation magna cum laude in 1964, he served as one of two law clerks to Supreme Court Justice Arthur J. *Goldberg in 1964–65. He then worked at the Department of Justice for two years as a special assistant to the assistant attorney general of the Antitrust Division, former Harvard Law Professor Donald F. Turner. In 1967 he married Joanna Freda Hare, the daughter of Lord John Blakenham, who was a wealthy leader of Britain's Conservative Party.

Breyer began a teaching career at Harvard Law School in the fall of 1967, specializing in administrative and antitrust law. When Harvard Law Professor Archibald Cox became the Watergate Special Prosecutor in 1973, Breyer served briefly as an assistant to Cox. He became the staff director for the Senate's investigation of the Civil Aeronautics Board in 1974 and participated, after his return to full-time teaching at the Harvard Law School and at the Kennedy School of Government, in the hearings and legislation that led to the 1978 deregulation of the airline industry. In 1979 Breyer became chief counsel of the Senate Judiciary Committee under Massachusetts' Democratic Senator Edward M. Kennedy. Breyer's interpersonal skills as well as his keen intellect and even-handedness won him admirers among the Republican members of the Judiciary Committee. In the waning days of the Democratic Carter administration – after Ronald Reagan had been elected president – Breyer was nominated and confirmed with Republican support for a seat on the United States Court of Appeals for the First Circuit as the last judicial appointee of Jimmy *Carter.

The First Circuit is the smallest federal court of appeals, and Breyer advanced to becoming chief judge in 1990. In 1985 he became a member of the United States Sentencing Commission and was a principal architect of the *Sentencing Guidelines,* which became the mandatory standard for federal criminal sentences in October 1987. Years later, in January 2005, a five-member Supreme Court majority held that the *Guidelines* were unconstitutional to the extent that they prescribed any increased sentence resting on factual findings not made by a jury. Breyer salvaged the *Guidelines'* applicability to future cases with a creative opinion for the four dissenting Justices, who were joined, in this aspect of the ruling, by Justice Ruth *Ginsburg, who had concurred in the finding of unconstitutionality. Breyer's opinion for five Justices invalidated the mandatory nature of the *Guidelines* and made them advisory only. During his tenure as chief judge of the First Circuit, Breyer also oversaw, in detail, the construction of a modernistic federal courthouse in downtown Boston overlooking the harbor.

When the Democratic Party retook the White House with the election of President Bill Clinton, Breyer's name was frequently mentioned as a likely Supreme Court nominee. He was interviewed by President Clinton for the first such vacancy in 1993 and was nominated as the second Clinton appointment (both of whom are Jewish) in May 1994 for the seat vacated by Justice Harry A. Blackmun. Blackmun, who was not Jewish, had been named by President Richard Nixon to the "Jewish seat" that had been occupied successively by Justices Benjamin Cardozo, Felix Frankfurter, Arthur Goldberg, and Abe Fortas. Breyer was easily confirmed by an 87–9 vote and took his Supreme Court seat on August 3, 1994. The Court that he joined remained the same (with Breyer as the most junior justice) for more than a decade.

Breyer is viewed as a liberal centrist member of the Supreme Court. He concurs most frequently with Justice Ginsburg and disagrees most often with Justice Clarence Thomas. He occasionally joins the Court's three most conservative Justices – William Rehnquist, Antonin Scalia, and Thomas – and if either Justice Kennedy or Justice O'Connor agrees with the three conservatives, Breyer's is often the fifth vote to create a majority. His votes in business and criminal cases are conservative, but he joins the liberals in authorizing a broad role for federal, as opposed to state, regulation. On church-state issues, Breyer's vote is unpredictable. Although he opposed overruling a leading precedent that had prohibited state-financed teachers of handicapped students from teaching on religious-school premises and also opposed government tuition vouchers that could be used in parochial schools, he joined a Supreme Court majority that permitted the loan of publicly financed computer equipment to religious schools.

Breyer is an active questioner at Supreme Court argument sessions, although he frequently withholds his questions until late in the argument. His questions are lengthy and intricate, appearing to summarize an advocate's point but testing its logical and practical reach. His opinions are carefully balanced and tend to be scholarly rather than polemic.

In public speeches to Jewish audiences, Breyer often refers to his grandfather, who immigrated to St. Paul, Minnesota, from Poland. Breyer delivered an address at the Capital Rotunda marking Yom Hashoah 1996, and spoke stirringly of the historic significance of the *Nuremberg trial half a century earlier and the participation as prosecutor of then Supreme Court Justice Robert Jackson. Under the influence of Justices Breyer and Ginsburg, the Supreme Court for the first time in its history took an official holiday for Yom Kippur on October 6, 2003, delaying the formal opening of the Court from that date, which was the first Monday in October.

[Nathan Lewin (2nd ed.)]

BREZNICE (Cz. **Březnice**; Ger. **Bresnitz-Lokschan**), town in Bohemia, Czech Republic. Jews settled there in 1592. The Jewish quarter, with a synagogue and cemetery established about 1720, was in the suburb of Lokšany. The synagogue was destroyed by fire in 1821 but subsequently rebuilt. The two "primators" of Bohemian Jewry, Wolf and Joachim *Popper, originated from Breznice. Its rabbis included Isaac Spitz, son-in-law of Eleazar *Fleckeles and author of a volume of poems, *Matamei Yiẓḥak* (Prague, 1843). In 1897 the community adopted Czech as the official language, closing down its German-language school in 1901. The community numbered 17 families in 1649. In 1731, 22 Jewish houses were recorded. There were 30 Jewish families in 1840, 118 Jewish persons in 1900, and 30 in 1930. Those remaining on the outbreak of World War II were deported to death camps in 1942. The old Jewish quarter, called Lokšany, still exists, offering an example of ghetto town planning.

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[Oskar K. Rabinowicz]

BRIBERY, making a gift to a person in authority, especially a judge. The injunction not to take bribes is several times repeated in the Bible, twice with the reason given that "bribes blind the clear-sighted and upset the pleas of the just" (Ex. 23:8; Deut. 16:19). This was later interpreted to mean not only that a corrupt judge tends to identify the interests of the donor with his own and is thus blind to the rights of the other party (Ket. 105b, Shab. 119a), but also that such a judge would not grow old without becoming physically blind (Pe'ah 8:9). The warning is also sounded that the taking of bribes might lead to the shedding of innocent blood (Deut. 27:25). God is praised as being unreceptive to bribes (Deut. 10:17, et al.), and as human judges are generally exhorted to imitate divine qualities (Shab. 133b; Mekh, Shirah 3) so they are urged to be impartial, and not susceptible to bribes (II Chron. 19:7), and reminded that judicial services should be given free (Bek. 29a). There is no penalty and no non-penal sanction prescribed in the Bible for taking bribes. The donor of bribes is blamed as a tempter or accomplice of the taker (Maim. Yad, Sanhedrin 23:2; Sh. Ar., ḤM 9:1), transgressing the injunction "you shall not place a stumbling block before the blind" (Lev. 19:14). Bribery seems to have been rather widespread (cf. I Sam. 8:3), or else the prophets would hardly have denounced it so vehemently (Isa. 1:23; 5:23; 33:15; Ezek. 22:12; Amos 5:12; Micah 7:3), but it was in the nature of unethical misconduct rather than of a criminal offense.

Under talmudic law, where no penalty was prescribed in the Bible for the violation of a negative injunction, the transgressor was liable to be flogged (Mak. 16a; Tosef., Mak. 5:16; see *Minḥat Bikkurim* for reading). In the case of bribery this provision was largely academic, as the requisite witnesses would not normally be available – the act being always committed in secret (cf. Ibn Ezra to Deut. 27:14). The rule was therefore evolved that taking a bribe invalidates the judge's decision, and this was extended even to the taking of fees (Bek. 4:6). The invalidation of the proceeding was regarded as a quasi-penalty (*kenas*) imposed on the judge for taking bribes or fees (Tos. to Kid. 58b top; Sma, ḤM 9:5), and it may have counted toward the judge's liability to pay damages where a party had already acted on his judgment. The prohibition against a judge taking fees was mitigated by a renowned jurist, Karna, who allowed both parties to reimburse him in equal shares for the loss he had actually suffered by sitting in court instead of earning his wages as a winetaster (Ket. 105a). This precedent was not applied to a judge who took a fee for the loss of his time without proving actual loss of money: while his decisions remained unaffected he was called "ugly" (*ibid.*). Other talmudic jurists carried the rule against bribery to extremes by refusing to sit in judgment over any person who had shown them the slightest courtesy, such as helping them to alight from a boat (*ibid.*).

Originally, judges were remunerated from Temple revenues (*ibid.*), which furnished the legal basis for their remuneration, in later periods, from communal funds. As all members were required to contribute to the communal funds, so were litigants later – as today in the rabbinical courts in Israel – required to pay court fees, not to any particular judge but into a general fund out of which all court expenses were defrayed. There are, nevertheless, occasional instances of judges demanding exorbitant fees for their services (e.g., the incident reported by Obadiah of Bertinoro to Bek. 4:6).

Bribing non-Jewish rulers, officials, and judges was regarded as legitimate at all times. In view of their bias against Jews it is not difficult to understand such an attitude. Not only was it quite usual to bribe kings (I Kings 15:19; II Kings 16:8; Ber. 28b; et al.), but expenses involved in bribing judges and sheriffs were often expressly included in the expenses recoverable from debtors (cf. Gulak, Oẓar, 237, no. 249).

In the State of Israel the taker and the donor of bribes are equally punishable. Demanding a bribe is tantamount to taking it, and offering or promising one to giving it. Even the intermediary between the donor and the taker (or the intended taker) bears the same criminal responsibility. No extraneous evidence being normally available, the taker is a competent witness against the donor, and vice versa, and though they are accomplices their evidence need not be corroborated (Penal Law Amendment (Bribery) Law, 5712–1952).

[Haim Hermann Cohn]

In the Penal Law Amendment (Bribery) Law, 5712–1952, later incorporated in the Penal Law 5737 – 1977 (§290–297), an entire area of Israeli Criminal Law was constituted on the basis of the principles and sources of Jewish Law. The explanatory note to the draft proposal emphasized that "the proposal follows in the path of Jewish Law, which equates giving a bribe with partiality." The Law includes a number of distinctive elements based on Jewish Law: the imposition of criminal liability on both the giver and the recipient of the bribe, and the immateriality of whether the bribery caused an injustice or not: "Thou shall not take bribes."

"It is obviously forbidden when the intention is to pervert justice, but even if the intention is to acquit the innocent and convict the guilty it is still forbidden" – Maim., MT, *Hilkhot Sanhedrin* 23:1, in accordance with *Sifrei Devarim* §144)

On the other hand, Israeli law differs fundamentally from the position adopted in Jewish Law on two counts, also mentioned in the draft proposal. It does not obligate the recipient of a bribe to return it to the person who gave it, as opposed to the requirement to do so in Jewish Law (MT, Yad, *ibid.*). It also contains a provision allowing the court to confiscate the sum of the bribe, in the form of a fine. Interestingly, not a single MK challenged this departure from Jewish Law, in contrast to the staunch opposition to any deviation from Jewish Law expressed by MKs (from religious parties) in other cases. It may be that they agreed to this particular deviation because the provisions of Jewish Law requiring the return of the bribe to the briber contradict currently prevailing social and moral sentiments, a point made in the draft proposal. Another possible explanation is that the obligation of restitution is in fact a *religious obligation*, in the framework of the briber's repentance, between himself and his Creator (and not an act of monetary restitution in the usual sense).

In the decisions of the Israel Supreme Court, as well as in halakhic discourse, it was emphasized that in Jewish Law the offense involved in bribery is not restricted to the relations between the litigant and a person fulfilling a judicial role, as indicated in the biblical sources cited above, and as discussed and decided in practice in the Talmud and the halakhic literature mentioned above. It applies to any person discharging a public function who is in a position to adopt decisions that may either benefit or harm the briber. In this context the comments of Rabbi J.M. *Epstein, in his book *Arukh ha-Shulḥan* (ḤM 9.1), were cited: "And not only the judge is enjoined from receiving bribery, but all officials and persons involved in public matters, even though their decisions do not have the status of the law of the Torah, are forbidden to be biased in any matter as a result of friendship or hostility, and all the more so by the taking of bribery."

These remarks were cited by the court (Justice Elon) in *State of Israel v. Darwish* (Cr.A. 121/88), 45 (2) 663). The case concerned the State's appeal against the acquittal of Jerusalem Municipality employees who had accepted benefits from a tour company in return for their recommendation to all of the Municipality's employees to avail themselves of the tour company's services:

> In concluding this matter I would add that the laws of bribery were discussed extensively in Jewish Law … The issues raised in our case can be illuminated and reinforced by the principles of Jewish Law on this issue, although this is not the forum for their explication. But it should be mentioned that while the principles governing the offense of the Jewish sources were set forth primarily with respect to people discharging judicial roles (see Deut. 16:18–19, 25; Micah 2:11, and other biblical sources, and even in Maimonides, *Hil. Sanhedrin* 23; *Tur* and *Shulḥan Arukh* (ḤM 9), where the rules of bribery appear in relation to judges), the prohibition was also applied to "all those engaged in public affairs," and was not restricted to judicial or quasi-judicial frameworks …[In this context, mention was generally made of the aforementioned comments of *Arukh ha-Shulḥan* – ME.] Those dealing in public affairs should "devote themselves *conscientiously* to the needs of the community" (*Tanya Rabbati, Hilkhot Shabbat*, 16. Sabbath Morning Service). This is especially applicable to those serving the needs of the public in Jerusalem, where the high-minded people were meticulous in their habits and their conduct (see *Sanh.* 23a and other sources). (*ibid.*, 689–90).

Another kind of bribery dealt with in case law of the Israel Supreme Court and in halakhic literature over the last few years is election bribery (Cr.A. 71/83 *Flatto Sharon v. State of Israel*, 38 (2) PD 757). In this case the Court heard the appeal of a candidate for the Knesset who was convicted for having promised payment to those who would vote for him. In its ruling the Court (Justice D. Levin) ruled that certain halakhic authorities regarded election bribery as bribery for all intents and purposes, citing the responsum of Ḥatam Sofer:

> This was the ruling and the view of our Sages regarding bribery in general, and similarly with respect to what we refer to as an election bribe. R. Moses Sofer (Ḥatam Sofer), a prominent Hungarian rabbi during the last part of the eighteenth century and the first part of the nineteenth century, ruled already in his day that, where there were competent witnesses who testified that, during the elections for community rabbi, some members of the electoral body received bribes, it would invalidate the appointment of the rabbi, and necessitate new elections. He further added that: "if there are witnesses that the rabbi himself offered a bribe, then he is absolutely disqualified from being a rabbi until he repents." As for the recipients of bribery, the view was expressed that they might be disqualified for any public office, but in any event were no longer permitted to participate in the new elections for the appointment of the communal rabbi,

> even if they had returned the bribe they received, had repented, and had undertaken by oath never to repeat such actions. The reason given was "for they already have an affinity for him and they will always remain biased …" (*Resp. Ḥatam Sofer*; pt. 5, ḤM 160; cf. *Resp. Minḥat Eliezer,* pt. 1:6) (p. 773 of judgment).

The Ḥatam Sofer's responsum, coupled with others, also served the Supreme Court in an additional ruling (LCA 83/94 *Hisrallah v. Election Clerk*, 49 (3) PD 793, Justice Goldberg), which ruled that election bribery constitutes grounds for their nullification.

In another judgment the Supreme Court emphasized that the prohibition on bribery in Jewish Law applies not only to money but also to a bribe by way of "words" (i.e., action): "If the recipient mistakenly thought that the prohibition on bribery only applied to a monetary bribe, the Sages corrected him; for the taint of bribery and its impropriety apply not only to a monetary gift, but also to any matter liable to produce the negative result, in accordance with the Sages' teaching, 'And thou shalt take no gift' – there was no need to speak of [the prohibition of] a gift of money, but even a bribe of words is also forbidden, for Scripture does not write, 'And thou shalt take no gain' [but rather 'thou shalt take no gift' – in other words, it is not necessarily pecuniary – ME]" (Cr.A. 355/88 *Levi v. State of Israel*, 43 (3) 221, 229 *per* Justice Levin).

[Menachem Elon (2nd ed.)]

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BRICE (Borach), FANNY (1891–1951), U.S. actress and singer. Born in New York, Brice made her first appearance at the age of 14, eventually becoming a leading comedienne of stage, screen, and radio. She had a gift for mime and satire, and was noted for songs with a Brooklyn accent.

Brice was the third child of relatively well-to-do saloon owners of Hungarian descent. Her first amateur appearance was in a talent contest at Keeney's vaudeville theatre in Brooklyn, where she won first prize.

In 1910 Florenz Ziegfeld heard her singing in a burlesque house and made her a headliner in his *Follies* of that year. From then on, she appeared in almost every annual production of the *Ziegfeld Follies* until 1924. In 1910 she was asked to appear at the College Girls, a major New York theater, and perform in a benefit. Needing some original material to sing, she went straight to her long-time friend Irving Berlin. He wrote several special numbers for her, including "Sadie Salome, Go Home." When he played it for her, he insisted that a Yiddish accent was needed to render it. Although Brice did not know any Yiddish, it soon became her trademark dialect. But Brice attained real stardom with the song "My Man." Already famous as a comedian, she introduced the poignant ballad in the 1921 edition of the *Follies.* On a trip to Paris, Ziegfeld had bought the rights to a heartbreaking chanson called "Mon Homme" and had English lyrics written for it. Brice wanted to play it for comic effect, but Ziegfeld knew that she had the pathos to sing it from the heart. The song became her cachet. Other songs identified with Brice were "Second Hand Rose," "I Should Worry," and "Rose of Washington Square."

Belasco's Broadways production *Fanny* (1926), starring Brice, marked another high point of her career.

And, in Billy Rose's Broadway musical revue *Crazy Quilt* (1931), she introduced the character of Baby Snooks, a mischievous toddler she had first played in vaudeville. That character later became a *Follies* favorite. From the late 1930s until her death, she had her own radio show, featuring her as the bratty baby. Brice also appeared in several motion pictures: *My Man* (1928), *Night Club* (1929), *Be Yourself!* (1930), *The Man from Blankley's* (1930), *The Great Ziegfeld* (1936), *Everybody Sing* (1938), and *Ziegfeld Follies* (1946).

Brice first met the notorious Julius (Nick) Arnstein in Baltimore while on tour in the Shubert Brothers' 1912 revue *Whirl of Society.* At the time, he was betting on horses under the name Nick Arnold, one of his many aliases to cover his criminal record of international swindling. They married in 1919, after waiting seven years for his divorce to come through. Shortly after they met, he went to jail for wiretapping, and Brice visited him every week in Sing Sing prison. In 1920 he and several other hoodlums stole $5 million worth of Wall Street securities. After remaining in hiding for four months, he surrendered to the authorities but fought the charges in court for four years. Ultimately, a federal court sent him to Leavenworth prison for 14 months. Upon his release in 1927 Arnstein ran off, abandoning Brice and their two children and leaving her no recourse but to divorce him. In 1929 she married Broadway producer/lyricist Billy Rose; the marriage ended in divorce in 1938.

Brice's fame has lived on for decades through the Broadway musical *Funny Girl* (1966) and the films *Funny Girl* (1968) and *Funny Lady* (1975), loosely based on her life.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: N. Katkov, *The Fabulous Fanny* (1953); B.G. Grossman, *Funny Woman: The Life and Times of Fanny Brice* (1991); H. Goldman, *Fanny Brice: The Original Funny Girl* (1992)

[Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

BRICEVA, Jewish agricultural settlement in Bessarabia, Ukraine; in Romania 1918–40 and 1941–44. Briceva was founded in 1838 on an area of 308 hectares (approx. 760 acres) acquired by colonists originating from Podolia. In 1899 there were 301 Jewish families (1,510 persons), of whom 83 owned their holdings (averaging approx. 9½ acres per family), possessing 1,244 sheep and goats. Because of the scarcity of farm equipment, plowing was hired out. As a result of the Romanian agrarian reform of 1922, 72 Briceva farmers received 216 hectares (approx. 533 acres) from the state. In 1924, 176 Jewish families were engaged in agriculture on an area of 1,134 hectares (approx. 2,800 acres, of which 1,605 acres were leaseheld); in 1930 the Jewish population numbered 2,431 (88.9% of the total). A Jewish elementary school and a Hebrew intermediate school operated in Briceva. In the face of antisemitic outburts in the 1930s, a Jewish self-defense group was organized.

[Eliyahu Feldman]

Holocaust Period

The settlement's proximity to the Dniester River enabled many Jews of Briceva to escape to the U.S.S.R. before the arrival of the Romanian and German troops in July 1941. Those who stayed, as well as those caught in flight, were robbed; the women were raped by Romanian soldiers. Later they were deported to *Transnistria, where most of them met their death. After the war, a few dozen families, the surviving remnant of the community, returned to Briceva, finding their homes occupied by non-Jews. None remained there.

[Jean Ancel]

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Yakir, in: *Eynikeyt* (Sept. 10, 1946).

BRICHANY (Rom. **Briceni**), town in Bessarabia, Moldova. Jews first settled there in 1760. There were 137 Jewish families living in the town in 1817; another 47 had previously left the settlement when it was partly destroyed by fire. The community increased in the first half of the 19th century, and by the middle of the 19th century it was among the largest in the region. In 1897 there were 7,184 Jews in Brichany (96.5% of the total population), served by seven synagogues and a Jewish state school, opened in 1847. A branch of Ḥovevei Zion was active there. In February 1917 and particularly in 1918 Romanian soldiers staged pogroms. In 1924, 125 Jews were engaged in agriculture on 641 hectares (approx. 1,600 acres) of land, most of it (500 hectares) held on lease. According to the official census figures, the Jewish population numbered 5,354 in 1930 (95.2% of the total). Between the world wars Jews traded in cattle, hides, and farm produce. Communal institutions on the eve of World War II included a hospital, founded in 1885, and a Hebrew *Tarbut school.

[Eliyahu Feldman]

Holocaust Period

Before the war many Jews from surrounding areas concentrated in Brichany and by 1940 it had a Jewish population of about 10,000. In June 1940, when the city was annexed by the U.S.S.R., Jewish property and community buildings were confiscated and only the synagogue was saved because it was used as a granary. Some 80 Jews, mainly community leaders, were exiled to Siberia. On July 8, 1941, Romanian and German troops passed through Brichany and murdered many Jews. Jews from the neighboring towns of *Lipkany and *Sekiryany were brought to Brichany. On July 28, all Jews were dispatched across the Dniester and several were shot en route. When they arrived in Mogilev, the Germans "selected" the old people and forced the younger ones to dig graves for them. From Mogilev the rest were turned back to *Ataki in Bessarabia and then on to Sekiryany. Hundreds died en route. For a month they stayed in the ghetto, only to be deported again to *Transnistria. All the young Jews were murdered in a forest near Soroca. In 1944–46 about 2,500 Jews from the town and surrounding area returned and reestablished the community.

[Jean Ancel]

BIBLIOGRAPHY: M. Carp, *Cartea Neagră*, 3 (1947), 34; M. Mircu, *Pogromurile din Basarabia* (1947), 1; T. Fuchs, *A Vanderung iber Okupirte Gebitn* (1947), 119.

BRICK, DANIEL (1903–1987), journalist, born in Stockholm, Sweden. He founded a number of short-lived Jewish newspapers and periodicals (some of them together with M. *Ehrenpreis). At the head of a group of young Jewish intellectuals, Brick launched the *Judisk Kronika* in 1932, which immediately became the organ of the young Zionist movement in Sweden. Brick was the general secretary of the Zionist Organization in Sweden from 1935 to 1949 and in 1952 a forest was planted in his honor in Israel. In 1957 he established the Judiska Kulturinstitutet in Stockholm, where both Jews and non-Jews attended lectures and participated in discussions on Jewish problems. His dedication and hard work made Zionism an accepted part of the Swedish cultural and political scene of his day, aided not least by publications such as *Varför anklagar man judarna?* ("Why Are the Jews Always Blamed?" 1939, 1944) and *Mot anti-Semitism, Svenska författare uttalar sig* ("Against Anti-Semitism; Swedish Authors Take a Stand," 1943).

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[Hugo Mauritz Valentin / Ilya Meyer (2nd ed.)]

BRICKNER, BALFOUR (1926–2005), U.S. Reform rabbi. Brickner, the son of Rabbi Barnett *Brickner and Rebecca Aaronson Brickner, was born in Cleveland and served in the United States Navy during World War II (1943–46). His parents' strong Zionist leanings are evident in his given name. He received his B.A. from the University of Cincinnati (1948) and his M.H.L. together with ordination from *Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion in 1952. He was twice awarded Doctor of Humane Letters degrees – from Iowa's Simpson College (1969) and Mississippi's Tougaloo College (1980) – as well as a Doctor of Divinity degree from HUC-JIR (1981).

Brickner began his career as the founding rabbi of Temple Sinai in Washington, D.C. (1951–61), where he also taught biblical and post-biblical history as the Resident Jewish Chautauqua Society lecturer at American University (1952–61). While living in the U.S. capital, Brickner gained a reputation as a leader of social and political activism in the Reform movement; the positions he espoused were influenced by his outspoken conviction that right-wing influences on American life were historically threatening to Jews. In 1961, Brickner was appointed co-director of the National Commission on Social Action of the *Union of American Hebrew Congregations (UAHC), a position he held until 1978. Throughout the 1960s, Brickner was a prominent Jewish activist on behalf of civil rights, traveling widely through the South under a Merrill Foundation grant (1961–64) to rally Jewish support for equal rights – campaigning that frequently landed him in local jails. He was also a leader of religious opposition to the Vietnam War: he founded, and served on the executive board of, Clergy and Laity Concerned about Vietnam (1955–73), visiting that country in 1970 at the behest of the Fellowship for Reconciliation.

At the same time, Brickner moved to the forefront of national Jewish involvement in interfaith activities. In 1961, he became the founding director of the UAHC Department of Interreligious Affairs, in which capacity he displayed diplomacy, creativity, and innovation. He hosted a popular weekly radio program, "Adventures in Judaism," which won the coveted Religious Heritage Foundation Award (1968) and several Ohio State Awards. In the realm of cross-faith understanding, he wrote *An Interreligious Guide to Passover and Easter* and a study guide to *Jesus Christ Superstar* (1978). He also initiated and co-directed an annual summer seminar program in Israel for Christian scholars on "The Jewish Sources of Christianity." As a founder of Religious Leaders for Free Choice (later, Religious Coalition for Abortion Rights) and an executive board member of the National Association for the Repeal of Abortion Laws (NARAL), Brickner took a forthright pro-choice stand on this controversial issue.

In 1980, Brickner became rabbi of the Stephen Wise Free Synagogue in New York, a position he held until 1992, when he was appointed senior rabbi emeritus. In addition to his congregational duties, he lectured at Fordham University (1983), the New York Theological Seminary (1987–88), and the New School for Social Research, while continuing to pursue an unrelenting activist agenda. In the Jewish world, he served, among other positions, as co-chairman of the National Religious Cabinet of State of Israel Bonds and vice president of the American-Israeli Civil Liberties Coalition. In addition, he was a leader of the Interreligious Coalition for Health Care; a member of the national board of the Planned Parenthood Federation of America; a board member of the New York Civil Liberties Union; and a member of the New York City Commission on Human Rights.

In 1992, Brickner was appointed executive director of the Alfred and Gail Engelberg Foundation. He is the author of numerous articles, pamphlets, and filmstrips, as well as of *Searching the Prophets for Values* (with Alfred Vorspan, 1981) and *Finding God in the Garden: Backyard Reflections on Life, Love and Compost* (2002).

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[Bezalel Gordon (2nd ed.)]

BRICKNER, BARNETT ROBERT (1892–1958), U.S. Reform rabbi. Born in New York, Brickner was a youthful orator in Zionist circles on New York's Lower East Side. He attended Columbia University and was awarded a B.S. and an M.A. (1914) and simultaneously studied at the Teachers Institute of the Jewish Theological Seminary (1910–15) before moving to Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati, where he was ordained in 1919 and received a Ph.D. in social science at the University of Cincinnati (1920). He then became rabbi of the Holy Blossom Congregation in Toronto in 1920. He also served as president of the Toronto Federation of Jewish Philanthropies and editor of the *Canadian Jewish Review*. In 1925 Brickner moved to Cleveland as rabbi of Congregation Anshe Chesed (Euclid Avenue Temple, later called the Fairmont Temple). There he instituted Sunday services (later discontinued), which attracted large audiences and improved the congregation's educational program, and became active in the life of the city. He was appointed president of the Cleveland Bureau of Jewish Education (1932) and was active in Zionist affairs and a significant figure in the United Palestine Appeal. He argued forcefully for the primacy of Israel in the life of American Jews. He also advocated that Reform rabbis spend a year of study in Israel well before it became commonplace. In 1942 Brickner became chairman of the Committee on Chaplains of the Central Conference of American Rabbis, which was responsible for recruiting chaplains for the U.S. armed forces. Later he was appointed administrative chairman of the Committee on Army and Navy Activities of the Jewish Welfare Board, and undertook a world tour of American military bases. He received a Medal of Merit (1947), the highest honor the American government confers on a civilian and the first one ever given to a rabbi. He was an activist within his community and in international Jewish life. Brickner served as chairman of the Jewish Welfare Fund Committee in Cleveland, and president of the Centeral Conference of American Rabbis (1955–56), among others. He was the author of *The History of the Jews of Canada* (1925) and *The God Idea in Light of Modern Jewish Thought* (1930).

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[Sefton D. Temkin / Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

BRIDEGROOMS OF THE LAW (Heb., sing., חֲתַן תּוֹרָה, *ḥatan Torah*), honorary titles bestowed on those who are called up to the reading of certain sections of the law during the morning service of *Simḥat Torah (which coincides, in Israel, with Shemini Aẓeret), when the annual cycle of the reading of the Torah is concluded and a new one begun. "Bridegroom of the Law" is, strictly, the title reserved for the person called up to read the last portion of the Pentateuch (Deut. 33:27–34:12). The person called up to the reading of the first chapter of Genesis, immediately afterward, is called the "bridegroom of the beginning" (*ḥatan Bereshit* (Genesis) or *ḥatan matḥil*). The Yemenite and Egyptian rites have only one bridegroom, who completes the reading of Deuteronomy, and commences that of Genesis. Other Oriental communities have three: *ḥatan Torah, ḥatan Bereshit*, and *ḥatan me'onah* (the first word of the passage). Where the passage is further subdivided, the second part begins with Deuteronomy 34:1, and the bridegroom is known as *ḥatan va-ya'al*. Some Ashkenazi congregations have four "bridegrooms," with the title of *ḥatan maftir* given to the person called up to read the *haftarah*, and *ḥatan kol ha-ne'arim* ("bridegroom of all the lads") to the person for whom Deuteronomy 33:22–26 is read. The latter term derives from the fact that the person called up is joined in his *aliyah* to the Torah by children under *bar mitzvah age.

In both the Ashkenazi and Sephardi rites, the bridegrooms of the law are summoned to the Torah reading by special *piyyutim*. These vary in the different rites, but all emphasize, with much poetic hyperbole, the privilege of concluding and beginning the reading of the Torah, and they laud and bless the honored *ḥatanim*.

According to the *Maḥzor Vitry* (ed. by S. Hurwitz (1923^2), 458), the term *ḥatan Bereshit* was already known to the disciples of Rashi in the 12th century. The kabbalistic elaboration of the ancient rabbinic image of the Torah as the "betrothed of Israel" (an aggadic interpretation of Deuteronomy 33:4 associates *morashah*, "heritage," with *me'urasah*, "betrothed") may have helped to popularize the custom.

The honor of *ḥatan Torah* was usually given to the rabbi of the congregation or a scholar; and *ḥatan Bereshit*, the president, or a distinguished lay member of the congregation. In some Sephardi and Oriental communities, it was customary to so honor actual bridegrooms of the past year.

In some Oriental rites, candy is showered on the *ḥatanim* as they ascend or descend to and from the reading (cf. Ber. 50b). In medieval Europe, *ḥatanim* made generous donations to charity and threw sweets to the children in the synagogue. In some communities it was customary to erect a baldachin (as for real bridegrooms) on the *bimah* for Simḥat Torah, to decorate the synagogue walls with carpets, and to provide special seats of honor for the bridegrooms. In many congregations it is customary for the *ḥatanim* to entertain the members of the congregation after the service or on the afternoon of Simḥat Torah.

During the last quarter of the 20th century, particularly in North America, it gradually became customary to include women in the Simḥat Torah honors. It began with women joining in the *hakkafot* (processions with the Torah) and then with their carrying and dancing with the Torah. In some Modern Orthodox circles, women danced separately with a Torah on one side of the *meḥiẓah* (partition separating the sexes) or in a separate room. In Conservative synagogues, the honors of *ḥatan Torah* and *ḥatan Bere*shit were made available to women who had served the community and the congregation. In *Siddur Sim Shalom,* published by the Rabbinical Assembly and the United Synagogue of Conservative Judaism, the medieval *piyyutim* are given in two versions: the traditional one in the masculine form and a rephrased version for a *Kallat ha-Torah* (bride of the Torah) and a *Kallat Bereshit* (bride of Genesis).

[Rela Mintz Geffen (2nd ed.)]

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BRIDGEPORT, largest city in the state of Connecticut, U.S. A handful of Central and West European Jews, part of what is known as the German migration, settled in the city in the mid-19th century. A much larger migration of Jews from Eastern Europe began in 1881. In addition to the predominance of Russian and Polish Jews, a large number came from Hungary and gave Bridgeport proportionately one of the most sizeable Hungarian Jewish populations in America. The city had a Hungarian neighborhood that housed Jews and non-Jews from Hungary. The city's general population also reflects this ethnic distribution. In the mid-20th century, most Bridgeport Jews were self-employed, in retail and wholesale business, manufacturing, and the professions. By the end of the 20th century, the movement into the professions was dominant. Their economic standing is higher than the average in the city and the surrounding surburbs. Migration to the suburbs began in the 1950s and continued unabated though some Jewish institutions have remained in the city. Most Bridgeport-area Jews live in Fairfield, Stratford, Trumbull, Easton, Shelton, Monroe, Redding, and Huntington as well as in one enclave within Bridgeport proper. As a result of the suburban migration, the Jewish Federation is known as the Federation of Eastern Fairfield County. There are five separate Federations within the County: Westport, Greenwich, Stamford, Danbury, and Eastern Fairfield.

In the early 21st century there were 10 congregations in greater Eastern Fairfield County, which is now synonymous with greater Bridgeport – three Orthodox, five Conservative, one Reform, and one Humanistic, which is the only synagogue community not to have its own facility. Three rabbis served their congregations for many decades; Conservative rabbis Israel Stein and Leon Waldman and Orthodox rabbi Moshe Epstein. In the mid-20th century, long-serving Rabbi Harry Nelson established Conservative congregation Rodeph Shalom as a dominant regional institution.

In 1996 the Jewish Community Center and the Federation merged to become one organization: the Jewish Center for Community Services. For recreational and fundraising purposes a separate identity is sometimes used but the community supports a Jewish Home for the Elderly; Jewish Family Service; a Modern Orthodox day school called Hillel Academy, along with a family and children's agency. The Torah Institute of Connecticut, which is a post-high school program, is also based in Bridgeport. The Jewish population of greater Bridgeport was 12,000 in 2005, a decline of some 20% from the figure in 1968. There is more westward migration and movement down the coast toward New York as socioeconomic conditions are more favorable the closer one is to New York.

[Eli Kornreich (2nd ed.)]

BRIE, LUIS HARTWIG (1834–1919), Argentinian communal leader. Born in Hamburg, Germany, Brie arrived in Brazil in 1847 and enlisted in the Brazilian Legion formed to help General Urquiza in his uprising against Rosas, who held absolute power in Argentina. He participated in the battle of Caseros in 1852, in which Rosas was ousted. He stayed in Argentina and became a citizen in 1871. In spite of the fact that he intermarried and his children were raised in the Catholic faith, Brie was very active in the foundation and organization of the main Jewish institutions in Argentina. He was president of the Congregación Israelita de la República Argentina during the periods 1895–97 and 1904–15, one of the promoters of the *ḥevrah kaddisha* in 1894 (see *AMIA), and was its first president during 1894–97. Brie participated in the Argentine war against Paraguay during the 1860s and served in the government's forces against the uprising in 1890. He also held responsible posts in the municipality of Buenos Aires for several decades.

[Victor A. Mirelman]

BRIEL, JUDAH BEN ELIEZER (1643–1722), exegete, halakhic authority, and polemicist. Appointed a member of the *bet din* of Mantua, Briel succeeded Moses Zacuto (d. 1697) as the rabbi of that community, a position he occupied until his death. Among his pupils was Isaac *Lampronti. In the controversy connected with the banning of the writings of the Shabbatean Nehemiah *Ḥayon, Briel expressed his vehement opposition to Ḥayon in polemical letters. Briel's antipathy to Kabbalah stemmed from his hostility to the Shabbatean movement. Stimulated by the contemporary polemics between Judaism and Christianity and the appearance of numerous antisemitic writings, Briel wrote works against Christianity in Italian and Hebrew. Most are still in manuscript. They include (1) *Discorso Apologetico* (in defense of Manasseh Ben Israel against the attacks of the priest Vincenzo of Ragusa); (2) *Riposta alla Synagoga disingannata dal padre Pinamonti*; (3) *Animadversiones in evangelia* (a criticism of the New Testament). Of his many other works only *Kelalei ha-Dikduk* ("The Rules of [Hebrew] Grammar," Mantua, 1729) has been published. Those still in manuscript include his responsa and his commentary on the Prophets and the Hagiographa. He also wrote occasional poems, such as a sonnet in honor of Isaac Cardoso, and translated the letters of Seneca from Latin into Hebrew.

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[Yehoshua Horowitz]

BRIGHTON, town on the south coast of England. Jews began to settle in Brighton in the middle of the 18th century. When the town became a fashionable resort, wealthy Jews flocked there, including the *Goldsmid family at the beginning of the 19th century and the *Sassoons at its end. A congregation was first organized in 1800 but soon fell apart. It was reorganized in 1821. Jewish affairs are coordinated by the Brighton and Hove Jewish Council. The Jewish population of Brighton and Hove was estimated in 1968 at 7,500. In the mid-1990s the combined Jewish population numbered approximately 10,000. The 2001 British census found that there were 3,358 Jews by religious affiliation in Brighton and Hove, although the actual figure was probably much higher. In 2004 Brighton continued to have a wide range of Jewish institutions, including four synagogues, two Orthodox, one Liberal, and one Reform.

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[Cecil Roth / William D. Rubinstein (2nd ed.)]

BRIK, OSIP MAKSIMOVICH (1888–1945), Russian literary critic, scholar, and writer. Brik was born in Moscow and graduated from the Law Faculty of Moscow University. He began to publish his works in 1915. A founding member of the Society for the Study of Poetic Language (OPOYAZ), he was publisher of its famous *Sborniki* (1916–17). In 1917, he published his pioneering study *Zvukovye povtory* ("Sound Reiterations"), in which he analyzed the repetitions of consonantal groups in the poetry of Pushkin and Lermontov. In 1919–20, he took an active part in the organization of the Moscow Linguistic Circle. Although he published very little, his deep insight into the problems of poetic structure profoundly influenced most members of the Russian formal school. Together with V. Mayakovsky, he edited the Russian avant-garde periodicals *Iskusstvo Kommuny* (1918), *LEF* (1923–25), and *Novy LEF* (1927–28). In the mid-1920s, Brik developed the "theory of social demand" and wrote several important studies of the sociology of art, trenchant critical articles directed against the epigones of Tolstoyan realism among the so-called Proletarian writers, and another outstanding paper on poetics, "*Ritm i sintaksis*" ("Rhythm and Syntax"), *Novy LEF* 1927, No. 3–4, 6. Among his numerous screenplays, the best known is *Potomok Chingis Khana*, known in the West as "Storm over Asia" (dir. by V. Pudovkin, 1928). Brik's short "publicistic novel" *Evrey i blondinka* ("A Jew and a Blonde"), which he completed in 1927, remains unpublished along with many of his scholarly papers, but his literary works have been preserved and some of them appeared in 1969–70 in the French structuralist journal *Change.*

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[Omri Ronen]

BRILL, ABRAHAM ARDEN (1874–1948), Austrian-born psychoanalyst. Brill studied with *Freud in Vienna, and to him belongs the main credit for introducing Freud's writings to the English-speaking world. Beginning in 1909 with a translation of *Studien ueber Hysterie* (1895; *Studies in Hysteria*, 1936), written by Freud jointly with J. Breuer, Brill continued over the years to present a systematic translation of most of Freud's work. In 1911 he founded the New York Psychoanalytical Society, and was appointed head of the Psychiatry Clinic at Columbia University.

While Brill's most significant contribution to psychoanalysis was his translation of Freud, he was a talented psychoanalytic practitioner and did some noteworthy research especially on necrophilia. He made an historic contribution to the integration of psychoanalytic concepts into psychiatry. Brill's own writings include *Freud's Contribution to Psychiatry* (1944) and *Psychoanalysis: Its Theories and Practical Application* (1922^3).

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[Danah Zohar]

BRILL, AZRIEL (1778–1853), rabbi and scholar born in Zay-Ugróc, Hungary. He studied under Ezekiel *Landau, Moses *Muenz, and Mordecai *Banet. In 1814 he was appointed teacher of Hebrew, mathematics, and geography at the Jewish school in Pest, and in 1827 he became a member of the rabbinate of that city. Brill was the author of *Ein ha-Areẓ* (Buda, 1821), an outline of the geography and history of Hungary in Hebrew; and *Hadrat Kodesh* (1828), a vocalized text of the Mishnah orders *Rosh Ha-Shanah* and *Yoma*, with a German translation and commentary, and the liturgy for the High Holy Days. Azriel's brothers adopted the name Schossberger; one of them, Eliezer, was the ancestor of the barons Schossberger of Tornya. His son, SAMUEL LOEW BRILL (1814–1897), was appointed in 1850 a member of the *bet din* in Pest, which he headed from 1872. His glosses on the Talmud were published by L. Blau (in *Magyar zsidó Szemle*, 1896, and in MGWJ, 1897).

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[Alexander Scheiber]

BRILL, ISAAC LIPA (1874–1936), U.S. rabbi and journalist. Brill was born in Mainz, Germany, the son of Jehiel *Brill, noted scholar and journalist who published the first Hebrew-language newspaper in Palestine. Isaac Lipa attended Marcus Lehmann's Religionshule until he was 10 and then moved with his family to London, England, where he attended the Yiddish Folkshule. With both his parents fervent Zionists, he enrolled in the youth group, Pirchei Zion, and became an avid Zionist for life.

Brill studied at London's Jews' College and in 1896 continued his secular studies at Berlin University and his Jewish studies at Rabbi Azriel *Hildesheimer's rabbinical seminary. At the same time, he was a journalist for *Die Deutsche Zeitung*. After he married in 1898, he returned to England to work for two Jewish newspapers in Leeds: the *Jewish Express* and the *Jewish Recorder*. He freelanced for the *Jewish Chronicle* and the *Jewish World*, both in London.

When in his mid-thirties, Brill and his wife decided to immigrate to United States, arriving in 1909. He became the editor of a fledgling newspaper, *the Hebrew Standard*, which later merged with *the Jewish Tribune.* At the same time, he was the editor of the English section of *Yiddishe Tageblatt.* He wrote hundreds of articles, several plays, and short stories. At the same time, Brill, the avid Zionist, joined and served on the national executive committee of the Zionist Organization of America. He was also the executive secretary and "outspoken advocate" for the *Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations of America and for Orthodox Jewish values.

He received his ordination from Rabbi Moses S. Margolies and became a pulpit rabbi at Congregation Shaarei Tzedek and later at Agudath Achim in the Bronx, New York. In the 1920s, he served as the spiritual leader of the Jewish Center in University Heights, and devoted a great deal of his philanthropic zeal to a number of Jewish organizations: HIAS, the Federation of Jewish Philanthropies, Young Judaea, and the YMHA.

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[Jeanette Friedman (2nd ed.)]

BRILL, JEHIEL (1836–1886), pioneer of the Hebrew press in Palestine. Brill left his native Russia in the late 1850s, and after much wandering went to Ereẓ Israel. He married the daughter of Jacob *Saphir, and settled in Jerusalem from where he sent reports to Hebrew newspapers in the Diaspora. Together with Joel Moses Salomon and Michael Cohen he established Jerusalem's second Hebrew printing press, and began publishing the monthly *Ha-Levanon* (1863), the first Hebrew periodical to appear in Palestine. A year later the publication was suspended and Brill went to Paris. There he revived his paper in 1865, first as a biweekly and later as a weekly. After the Franco-Prussian War (1870–71) he moved to Mainz, where he established a Hebrew printing press and published *Ha-Levanon* (1872–82) as a Hebrew supplement to *Der Israelit*, the Orthodox German weekly. *Ha-Levanon* supported the *ḥalukkah* and the Jerusalem rabbis. A staunch defender of religious tradition, Brill also pleaded the cause of settlement in Ereẓ Israel along the lines attempted by members of the old *yishuv*, outside the Jerusalem walls, and in Petaḥ Tikvah. After the Russian pogroms of 1881 and the rise of Ḥibbat Zion, Brill returned to Ereẓ Israel at the head of a small group of Jewish farmers from Belorussia who settled in Mazkeret Batyah (Ekron). However, he became embroiled in an argument concerning the policy of the agricultural school, *Mikveh Israel, and with other settlers and left the country disillusioned. Brill related these experiences in *Yesud ha-Ma'alah* (1883). In 1884 he settled in London and began publishing the short-lived Yiddish weekly, *Ha-Shulamit*. Shortly before his death he revived *Ha-Levanon* in London, but only 11 issues appeared. During his stay in Paris and Mainz, he published several medieval Hebrew manuscripts: *Yein Levanon* (1866, three manuscripts, including one of Maimonides, on tractate *Rosh ha-Shanah*); R. Hananel's commentary on tractate *Pesaḥim* (1868); *Sefer Iggerot* by R. Meir ha-Levi Abulafia (1871), and *Be'er ha-Golah* (1877).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: G. Kressel, *Ha-Levanon ve-ha-Ḥavaẓẓelet* (1943); idem, *Toledot ha-Ittonut ha-Ivrit* (1964), 25–47; LNYL, s.v.

[Getzel Kressel / Gedalyah Elkoshi]

BRILL, JOSEPH (better known by his pen name **Iyov of Minsk**, איו"ב ממינסק; derived from the initials of *Ani Yoseph Brill*; 1839–1919), Hebrew writer and humorist. Brill, who was born in Gorki near Mogilev, studied at Lithuanian yeshivot where he began to read modern Hebrew literature clandestinely. He became a *maskil* and took to writing. His first essay appeared in *Ha-Maggid*, 2 (1858), 35–36. From 1858, he published critical essays and satirical *feuilletons* in *Ha-Karmel, Ha-Meliẓ*, and *Ha-Boker Or*. He supported the Socialists against *Smolenskin and published a stinging poem against the latter in *Asefat Ḥakhamim*, 3 (1878). He translated Richard Cumberland's comedy *The Jew* into Hebrew (1878). Particularly popular in their time were Brill's parodies: *Mishnat-Mevakkerim* (*Ha-Shaḥar* (1877), 317–24), a satire on Hebrew writers and the low state of culture among Russian Jews; *Megillat Ta'anit* in *Keneset Yisrael* of Saul Phinehas *Rabbinowitz, 1 (1886), 593–605, a satire on assimilationists; a parodied *Kiẓẓur Shulḥan Arukh* for educators and teachers, in *Oẓar ha-Sifrut*, 3 (1889–90), section on "Satire and Humor," 17–34. Some of his letters were published in *Oẓar Mikhtavim ve-Sippurim* ed. by J. Rosenberg (1882).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Toledot Iyov* (autobiography), in *Oẓar ha-Sifrut*, 4 (1892), 643–50; Klausner, Sifrut, 5 (1955), 117–8.

[Gedalyah Elkoshi]

BRILLING, BERNHARD (1906–1987), German rabbi and scholar. From 1927 to 1939 Brilling was archival assistant and then archivist of the Breslau Jewish community. After settling in Palestine in 1941, he served for a time as archivist of the city of Tel Aviv. From 1957 Brilling pursued various scholarly projects at the Institutim Judaicum Delitzchianum of the University of Muenster. Of his nearly 50 publications in Jewish history, the most important are *Geschichte der Juden in Breslau von 1454–1702* (1960) and, together with Richtering, *Westfalia Judaica 1005–1350* (1967).

[Michael A. Meyer]

BRIN, SERGEY (1973–), U.S. co-founder of Google, the most popular search engine in the world. The son of a mathematician-economist, Brin, who was born in Moscow, left the Soviet Union with his family in 1979. He followed in his father's footsteps, earning a degree in computer science and math at the University of Maryland in 1993, and began graduate studies at Stanford University that fall. He met Larry Page in 1995 when Page, son of a highly regarded computer science professor at Michigan State University, attended an orientation for new students.

According to industry lore, Brin and Page argued often, though the sparring soon ended when they began developing a new kind of Internet search engine from their college dormitory. They called their program BackRub for its ability to analyze "back links," the pointers from one Web site to another. They developed the theory that a search engine based on a mathematical analysis of the relationships between Web sites would produce better results than the basic techniques then in use. BackRub allowed the search engine to list results according to the popularity of the pages, after Brin and Page realized that more times than not the most popular result would also be the most useful. They worked on BackRub until mid-1998, and then sought to sell licenses to the technology. Their immediate goal was to move out of the dormitory and pay off the credit card debt they had amassed. Andy Bechtolsheim, a cofounder of Sun Microsystems, was immediately enthusiastic about the technology, which Brin and Page called Googol, for the amount of information the search engine would be able to search. Googol is a word for the number represented by 1 followed by 100 zeros. At their first meeting, Bechtolsheim did not need to hear too many details; he wrote a check for $100,000, Brin said. The check was made out to Google, Inc., essentially forcing the two young men to set up a corporation, if only to cash the check, with a slightly different spelling from their original name.

Ultimately, Brin and Page raised $1 million from family, friends, and other investors, and on Sept. 7, 1998, Google was commercially launched from a friend's garage in Menlo Park, Calif. Initially, Google got 10,000 queries a day. By 2004, the number was 200 million a day.

Operating out of a 500,000 sq. ft. headquarters in Mountain View, Calif., affectionately known as the GooglePlex, the company in 2004 had almost 2,000 employees. According to forms filed with the Securities and Exchange Commission, Brin and Page owned more than 38 million shares of Google stock, or roughly 40 percent of the company. When Google went public in 2004, it was estimated that the company had a value of $23 billion, and each founder was worth many billions of dollars. Many employees, whose perks at the workplace include washing machines, doctor visits at company offices, roller hockey, table tennis, pool, a staff masseuse, and free meals and snacks, became millionaires.

"To google," as a verb, has come to mean "to search for something on Google"; because of Google's popularity (80 percent of all Web users, perhaps) it has also generically come to mean "to search the Web." At its peak in early 2004, Google handled upwards of 80 percent of all search requests on the World Wide Web through its Web site and clients like Yahoo!, AOL, and CNN.

In September 2004, Brin and Page went to Israel for the 80th birthday party of Shimon *Peres and praised Israeli technology. "Israel looks to me like the next Silicon Valley; it has the potential to be even more successful than Silicon Valley, because people here are hungrier," Brin said.

[Stewart Kampel (2nd ed.)]

BRINDISI, seaport in southern Italy. Jews lived in Brindisi from an early period, as testified by several tombstone inscriptions, one of which dates back to 834. The inscriptions include several lines of a poem attributed to Amittai, derived, apparently, from the same source as the poems of *Amittai ben Shafatiah in Megillat *Ahimaaz (the Scroll of Ahimaaz). Brindisi was destroyed in 838 during the Muslim invasions of Southern Italy and rebuilt by the Byzantines at the end of the 10th century. About 1165 *Benjamin of Tudela reported that ten Jewish families of dyers lived there. The Jews of Brindisi were occupied as dyers, moneylenders and brokers, and skilled artisans. In 1278 King Charles I of Anjou invited the Jew Simone, an expert at melting gold in the mint of Brindisi, to exercise his skills in the mint of Naples. By the end of the 13th century the Jews had left Brindisi to escape forced conversions and onerous taxes, mainly to the lands of the pontifical state and Taranto. In 1323 the Jews of Brindisi again sought to escape the city because they were being forced by the Christian inhabitants to convert. Fearing that without the Jews the city's economic prosperity would be affected, the inhabitants petitioned the king to order their return, promising to protect them. King Robert the Wise declared in 1334 that even the rights of "those who were outside the womb of the Church" should be respected. Ten years later the Jews suffered another wave of persecution, and Queen Joanna I ordered the local population to cease molesting the Jews and advised the archbishop to investigate cases of forced conversion. But in 1368 Joanna treated harshly converts and false converts who left Brindisi and Alessano for Lecce and Copertino to return there to Judaism. The Dominican Pino Giso, archbishop of Brindisi, and the Franciscan Marchisio da Monopoli played an important part in instigating the persecution of converts and the destruction of new synagogues. But during most of the 15th century the Jews of Brindisi enjoyed a peaceful existence. In 1409 King Ladislas, addressing the request of the citizens of Brindisi, confirmed the right of Jews to loan money at interest, up to 40 percent. The city's population was greatly reduced in the first half of the 15th century. According to a privilege issued in 1463 by King Ferrante I to Brindisi, the city complained that out of a hundred Jewish families who had once lived there, only 12 or 15 remained. The king promised the city that he would offer inducements to encourage their return. In 1468 the city again petitioned the king to prevent the Jews' from leaving for other cities or the lands of the barons. In 1494–95, when Jews in the kingdom of Naples were attacked, the Jews of Brindisi attempted to avert disaster by signing over their property to the municipality. However, in 1496 the 50 families living there found it preferable to move from Brindisi to nearby Gallipoli. In 1510 the Jews of Brindisi were included in the general expulsion of Jews from the kingdom of Naples. A few families were able to return in 1520, but in 1540–41 the decree of expulsion was definitely renewed.

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[Attilio Milano / Nadia Zeldes (2nd ed.)]

BRINIG, MYRON (1896–1991), U.S. novelist. Brinig was born in Minneapolis and grew up in Butte, Montana, where many of his most noted works were set. As an adult, Brinig lived in Taos, New Mexico, and New York City, where he died. His painted a grim picture of the life of second-generation American Jews. Largely autobiographical, *Singermann* (1929) tells the story of a Jewish family in Silver Bow (Brinig's fictitious name for Butte): parental authority collapses and the children drift away, marry non-Jews, and are scattered. This family chronicle was continued in three later novels, *This Man Is My Brother* (1932), *Sons of Singermann* (1934), and *The First Book of Michael Singermann* (1935), but these were less successful. Brinig's other works largely reflect memories of life in the American West or in New York. They include *The Sisters* (1937), *Anne Minton's Life* (1939), *The Family Way* (1942), *Footsteps on the Stair* (1950), *The Sadness in Lexington Avenue* (1951), and *Looking Glass Heart* (1958). *The Sisters* was turned into a film of the same title in 1938 starring Errol Flynn and Bette Davis. Brinig's fictional protagonist, Harry Singermann, is considered the first significant gay character to appear in American Jewish fiction; Brinig's compassionate and sympathetic characterization avoids the stereotypes of the era. Brinig's papers are housed in the Beinecke Library at Yale University. His letters are described in Yale University Library's "Gay and Lesbian Studies Research Guide" as providing a "detailed account of the life of a gay man in New York."

WEBSITES: www.library.yale.edu/rsc/gayles/gaymss.html; www.glbtq.com/literature/jewish_am_lit.html.

[Judith R. Baskin (2nd ed.)]

BRINKER, MENACHEM (1935–), scholar of philosophy and literature. Brinker was born in Jerusalem. In 1956 he received his B.A. in literature and philosophy and in 1960 his M.A. in philosophy, both from the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. He received his Ph.D. from Tel Aviv University in 1973. In 1968 he became a teacher in the Department of Philosophy and in 1969 in the Department of Literature at Tel Aviv University. In 1969–70 he was the editor of *Massa*, a literary journal. In 1974 he founded and served as editor (until 1978) of *Emdah*, a journal for culture and social affairs. In 1976–79 he was the chairman of the Israel Association of Philosophy. In 1978–79 he taught literature and Jewish studies at Harvard University. In 1988 he became a full professor at the Hebrew University and in 2000 professor emeritus. In 2004 he was awarded the Israel Prize.

Brinker had some 250 publications, including five books. He wrote on Sartre, Spinoza, and Nietzsche as well as Tolstoy, Dostoyevsky, and Shakespeare. He edited *Jerusalem Studies in Hebrew Literature in Memory of Dan Pagis* (1988).

[Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

BRISBANE, capital of Queensland, Australia. The first community was organized there in 1865, and its synagogue, Sha'arei Emunah (now the main synagogue), was consecrated in 1886. There were then 446 Jews in Brisbane out of 724 for the whole of Queensland. The small South Brisbane Congregation, consisting principally of Russian immigrants, was founded in 1928. Another synagogue was opened at Surfers' Paradise, a holiday resort, in 1961. Although religious observance is not strong, all three synagogues are Orthodox. The small congregation in Toowoomba (100 mi. (160 km.) from Brisbane) is now extinct. The main synagogue, to which a hall, classrooms, and a *mikveh* are attached, is the center for social and cultural activities. There is a strong Zionist movement; the overall Zionist body, the State Council, is affiliated with the Zionist Federation of Australia. Relatively few immigrants settled in Brisbane after World War II, and the growth of the community has been slow. In 1966 Brisbane Jewry numbered approximately 1,400; another 400 lived in Surfers' Paradise and other country towns. In 1911 Australian-born Jews represented 64% of the Jewish population in Queensland; Jews from the United Kingdom 16.9%; and from Europe 16.7%. The figures for 1961 were: 53.1%; 11%; and 27.4%. In the late 20th century Jewish numbers in Queensland expanded considerably, although chiefly as a result of migration to the Gold Coast, a resort area south of Brisbane, rather than to Brisbane itself. Indeed, Brisbane's Jewish population apparently declined after the mid-1990s. According to the 2001 Australian census, there were 1,667 declared Jews by religion in Brisbane, 39.0% of Queensland's total of 4,271 Jews. In 2004 Brisbane had an Orthodox and Liberal synagogue.

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[Israel Porush]

BRISCOE, ROBERT (1894–1969), Irish politician and communal leader who was the first Jewish member of the Irish Dail (parliament) and the first Jewish Lord Mayor of Dublin. He was active in the struggle for Irish independence. From 1917 to 1924 he served in the Irish Republican Army and was sent to the United States to secure financial and moral aid from Irish Americans. He sat in the Dail as a member of De Valera's Fianna Fail Party from 1927 to 1965. From 1928 he was a member of the Dublin Corporation (city council), serving as mayor from 1956 to 1957 and 1961 to 1962. Briscoe was an active supporter of the Revisionist movement and a member of the executive of the New Zionist Organization. He gave support to the activities of the *Irgun Ẓeva'i Le'ummi, which utilized his experience of clandestine paramilitary strategy in Palestine. Briscoe was also active in Jewish affairs and was president of the Dublin Board of Sheḥitah. His son Benjamin was elected to the Dail in his father's constituency after the latter's retirement from politics in 1965 and also served as Lord Mayor of Dublin in 1988. Briscoe wrote his autobiography *For the Life of Me* (1959). After his death, a Robert Briscoe Award was created to honor Jews who helped Ireland or Irish immigrants to the United States.

ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY: D. Keogh, *Jews in Twentieth Century Ireland* (1998), 88–90, index.

BRISTOL, seaport in southwest England. Its medieval Jewish community is sometimes said to have been one of the more important in England, although it ranked only thirteenth among the twenty-one communities in the 1194 Donum. In about 1183 it was accused of ritual murder (*blood libel) but few details are extant. At the end of the 12th century, an **archa* for the registration of Jewish financial transactions was set up. In 1210 all the Jewish householders of England were sent as prisoners to Bristol and a levy of 60,000 (or 66,000) marks was imposed upon them. During the Barons' Wars, in 1266, Bristol Jewry was attacked and the *archa* burned. Another attack occurred in 1275, though no lives were lost. At this time the Bristol community received an influx of Jews from Gloucester who were sent there after the expulsion of theJews from the queen mother's dower-towns. Subsequently, several Bristol Jews were hanged for coin clipping. The community came to an end with their expulsion in 1290. Medieval scholars of Bristol include Samuel ha-Nakdan (probably identical to Samuel le Pointur) and Moses, a descendant of R. Simeon the Great of Mainz and ancestor of R. Moses of London and Elijah b. Menahem of London.

In the middle of the 16th century Bristol was the only English town other than London where *Marranos are known to have lived. No organized Jewish community was established, however, until about 1751. Despite the virtual absence of Jews, the local Tory newspaper was among the most vociferously anti-Jewish during the agitation over the "*Jew Bill" of 1753. In 1786 the former Weavers' Hall was taken over as a synagogue. The community leader was Lazarus *Jacobs, a glassmaker, whose work is still sought after by collectors. His son Isaac Jacobs was glass manufacturer to George III. A secessionist community existed between c. 1828 and 1835 when it rejoined the parent body. A new synagogue was opened in Park Row in 1842. The present synagogue was constructed in 1870. Eastern European Jews arrived after the beginning of the Russian persecutions in 1881. In the 20th century the community dwindled, numbering 410 in 1968.

[Cecil Roth / Joe Hallaby (2nd ed.)]

In the mid-1990s the Jewish population numbered approximately 375. There was some growth, however, in the size of the local community at the end of the 20th century, with the 2001 British census finding 823 Jews by religion in Bristol. In 2004 Bristol had an Orthodox and a Liberal synagogue.

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BRISZK, family of Transylvanian rabbis.

MORDECAI BEN JOSHUA BRISZK (1884–1944), founder and head of the yeshivah at Tasnad. He was educated in the home of his father who was born at Brest-Litovsk (Brisk), Lithuania, whence he took his family name, but later moved to Hungary, where he became rabbi of Tiszadada. Briszk subsequently studied at the *bet midrash* of Mordecai Loeb Winkler, the rabbi of Mad. In 1908 he was appointed *dayyan* at Marghita, Transylvania, where he had already laid the groundwork for a yeshivah. After he became rabbi of Tasnad in 1919, he expanded his yeshivah, which in 1935 had 450 pupils, making it the largest in Hungary and Transylvania. In his teaching he pursued two basic aims: to equip his pupils with an extensive knowledge of the Talmud and its commentaries, and to prepare them to arrive at halakhic decisions based on a clear understanding of the principles contained in the authorities. Accordingly, he did not limit himself to teaching talmudic themes (*sugyot*) alone, but provided a thorough grounding in the literature of the earlier and the most outstanding later authorities. In 1937 he erected a large building for his yeshivah. Seven years later he and his family were taken to the ghetto at Simleul-Silvaniei. From there he was transported to Auschwitz where he died. Briszk published the work of his father-in-law, Joshua Aaron Ẓevi Weinberger, the rabbi of Marghita, with important addenda of his own, in 1913. He himself was the author of responsa in three parts (Tasnad, 1939), but the printing of the third part was interrupted in the middle and completed in New York in 1963. NATHAN ẒEVI BEN JOSHUA (1883–1944), rabbi and author. The brother of Mordecai and the son-in-law of Naphtali ha-Kohen Schwarz, he too perished in Auschwitz. From 1909 he was rabbi of Magyarcseke (Ceica), and later of the Orthodox community of Nagyszalonta (Salonta), both in Transylvania. He was the author of several works: *Naḥalat Ẓevi*, on *Avot* (1916); *Naḥalat Avot*, a commentary on the Passover *Haggadah* (1919); *Naḥal Dimah* (1923); *Naḥalat Shivah* (1932), on the festivals and on talmudic themes; and *Ma'amar Esther* (1937), homilies on the Book of Genesis.

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[Naphtali Ben-Menahem]

BRITH ABRAHAM, fraternal order founded on June 12, 1859, in New York City by German and Hungarian Jews. It later attracted also Russian, Polish, and Romanian Jews. The five original objectives set by Brith Abraham were (1) aiding members in need, (2) giving medical aid, (3) burying deceased members "in accordance with Jewish Law and ritual," (4) providing for families of deceased members, and (5) assisting members to become citizens. In 1887, 27 delegates to the convention in New York left the order, and at a synagogue on Norfolk Street, under the chairmanship of Jacob Schoen, founded the Independent Order of Brith Abraham. These delegates were dissatisfied with the incompetence of the administration of the original order, and being unable to bring about a change from within, they decided to organize a new order with the same objectives and programs as the old one. In time Brith Abraham became the largest Jewish fraternal order in the world. Yet, though it outnumbered B'nai B'rith, it never equaled the latter in importance. Early in the 20th century, the Independent Order of Brith Abraham reported 302 lodges with a membership of 56,949; by 1909 the number grew to 210,000, but by 1940 the membership declined to 58,000 and since then it has continued to decline. The old Order Brith Abraham had 73,109 members in 1913, but was dissolved in 1927. In 1968 the Independent Order Brith Abraham (which now calls itself Brith Abraham) listed as its activities and objectives: "Fosters brotherhood, Jewish ideals and traditions, and concern for welfare of Jews; provides fraternal benefits to members; supports camps for under-privileged children and senior citizens." It also espoused interest in Zionist and general philanthropic activities. It issued a publication called *The Beacon*.

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[Morris A. Gutstein]

BRITISH COLUMBIA, province of Canada bordering the Pacific coast. Although much smaller than the Jewish communities of Ontario and Quebec, the Jewish presence in Canada's western-most province, British Columbia (B.C.), has been part of the region's history and development since the late 1850s. Drawn to B.C. by the discovery of gold in the Fraser River and Cariboo regions of the mainland, by 1858 approximately 100 Jewish merchants had established themselves in the port city of *Victoria, then capital of the crown colony of Vancouver Island. Predominantly of British and West European origin, many of these merchants had business connections with gold-trading firms in San Francisco. From their base in Victoria, these Jewish businessmen played a significant role in developing the wholesale and distribution networks which supplied Victoria and the B.C. hinterland with a wide range of consumer goods. A smaller number of Jewish miners, traders, and small shopkeepers also ventured into B.C.'s interior, pioneering in boomtowns like Yale and Barkerville.

By the mid-1860s, Victoria's Jewish population reached about 250. In addition to its economic prominence, the highly acculturated community enjoyed social acceptance. When the city's first synagogue, Temple Emanu-El, was consecrated in 1863, more than half of the building fund contributors were non-Jews. Further, many Victoria Jewish businessmen were elected to important civic and political positions. In 1860 Selim *Franklin became the first Jew to take a seat in any legislature in British North America. His brother Lumley Franklin was elected Victoria's mayor in 1866. He campaigned for political union with the mainland of B.C., which came to pass that same year. In 1871, soon after B.C. joined Canada, Victoria merchant Henry *Nathan became the first Jew elected to the House of Commons in Ottawa.

The decline of the gold trade in the 1870s spurred a shift in the province's Jewish demographics. Victoria's Jewish community stagnated. Many of its most prominent residents relocated to Vancouver, attracted by the potential of its natural harbor and resources. Among them was David Oppenheimer, who became widely known as "the father of Vancouver." Although *Vancouver was soon to become the center of Jewish life in the province, during these early years its Jewish population remained quite small. When a Reform congregation was established by Rabbi Solomon Philo in the 1890s, it had a membership of only 22 families. A smaller, more traditional congregation numbered only a dozen men.

This situation changed dramatically with the influx of large numbers of East European Jews between 1901–31. Vancouver's Jewish population grew from 214 to 2,440. The newcomers were largely from Russia, bringing with them strong currents of Orthodox Judaism, Zionism, and socialism. Unlike their more affluent and acculturated Jewish counterparts in the west end of the city, the majority of the East European Jews initially clustered in Vancouver's east end Strathcona and immigrant districts, adjacent to Chinatown. While some had spent time in eastern Canada or the U.S., the majority were new to Canada. Their arrival in Vancouver coincided with a period of growth, permitting a fairly high degree of economic mobility. Many peddled produce or various forms of secondhand merchandise until they accumulated enough capital to open their own retail or manufacturing establishments, particularly in the clothing industry. To assist economic integration, the community organized a Hebrew Aid and Immigration Society and Hebrew Free Loan Association in 1915, succeeded in 1927 by an Achduth Cooperative Society.

The East Europeans concentration in Vancouver's east end also created a more "Old-World" style community revolving around religious observance and a cluster of Jewish shops and institutions. In 1911–12 Vancouver's first synagogue, the Sons of Israel, opened. In 1917 the Orthodox congregation was renamed Schara Tzedeck, and in 1921 it consecrated a new house of worship with a seating capacity of 600. The synagogue was led by Nathan Mayer Pastinsky, who, while not an ordained rabbi, was highly esteemed by all Vancouverites for his religious knowledge, welfare work, and tireless activity among immigrants. A Conservative congregation, the Beth Israel, was also established in the mid-1920s and incorporated in 1932, absorbing what remained of the community's Reform element. Each synagogue maintained its own congregational school. The school originally associated with the Schara Tzedeck synagogue eventually evolved into the Vancouver Talmud Torah, the city's only Jewish day school.

Vancouver's small Jewish community reflected a broad range of organizational affiliations, even in its formative period. A B'nai B'rith lodge was established in 1910, followed in 1913 by a Zionist and Social Society. A local Hadassah chapter was founded in 1920 as well as a chapter of the National Council of Jewish Women in 1924 and Pioneer Women in 1933. Active groups for young people included Habonim, Aleph Zadik Aleph, and Young Judaea. Communal fundraising was managed through a Jewish Community Chest, the precursor to a 1932 Jewish Administrative Council. The latter also oversaw the community's only newspaper, the *Jewish Western Bulletin*, which began publishing in 1928, the same year that a Jewish community center opened. In the mid-1930s, B.C. delegates began participating in the activities of the Canadian Jewish Congress (CJC) but it was not until 1949 that a CJC Pacific Region encompassing B.C. was formed. During World War II, CJC helped to organize the Jewish community's war relief efforts and assumed responsibility for community relations and numerous Jewish cultural and educational initiatives.

The postwar period was one of tremendous growth for B.C. Jewry, Vancouver remaining the primary center. By 1971 the city's Jewish community had grown to more than 10,000. Newcomers included many former military personnel and Jews from other parts of Canada, as well as more than 400 Holocaust survivors and 250 Hungarian refugees. The community enjoyed substantial upward mobility and occupational diversity, and shifted its geographic center from the east end to the more affluent Oakridge district in the city's southwest. In 1948 both the Schara Tzedeck and Beth Israel congregations built new synagogues in this area, followed by an impressive new Jewish Community Center in 1964. Organizational expansion also included the founding of a Reform congregation in 1965, the establishment of a Sephardi group in 1973, and a Lubavitch presence in 1974.

Among community priorities during these years, fundraising and advocacy support of Israel remained very prominent. Although antisemitism was never regarded as a major problem in B.C., the B'nai B'rith and Pacific Region of the CJC spearheaded considerable human rights activism in coalition with other like-minded groups. The community also included a strong Jewish secularist presence through the Peretz Institute created after the war to foster secular humanist Judaism. Vancouver also had a chapter of the left-wing United Jewish People's Order. The Vancouver section of the National Council of Jewish Women was a pioneer in areas of social welfare, organizing programs in volunteer training, preschool education, and gerontology.

Jews also had an impact on the larger civic society. Between 1972 and 1975, David *Barrett, a social worker and the leader of the New Democratic Party, served as the premier of

British Columbia. Several well-known Jews were also heavily involved in support of higher education in B.C., including former provincial chief justice Nathan *Nemetz and Jack *Diamond, a prominent businessman and philanthropist. The *Belzberg, *Wosk, and Koerner families have also been extremely generous Jewish donors to the province's universities.

By 2001 the Jewish population of B.C. had grown to more than 30,000, a nearly threefold increase in 30 years, but Jews still constituted less than one percent of the provincial population and only about eight percent of Canadian Jewry. Unlike earlier years, when fully 90 percent of B.C.'s Jews lived in Vancouver, recent growth occurred outside of Vancouver, particularly in the nearby suburbs of Richmond, Maple Ridge, and Burnaby. Victoria's Jewish community likewise witnessed a revival, and relatively new Jewish communities emerged in interior towns such as Kelowna. As a result, approximately one in four B.C. Jews now lives outside of Vancouver. The need to provide community services and outreach to this increasingly dispersed populace led in 1986 to the creation of a Jewish Federation of Greater Vancouver, a central body responsible for the planning and distribution of communal funds. With B.C. being an attractive destination for retirees, an aging Jewish population is of particular concern. Other prominent items on the communal agenda are support for Israel and Holocaust awareness. The latter is coordinated through the Vancouver Holocaust Education Centre, created in 1985.

[Barbara Schober (2nd ed.)]

BRITISH ISRAELITES, advocates of the Anglo-Israeli theory, which maintains that the English and their ethnic kinfolk throughout the world are descended from the *Ten Lost Tribes of Israel. The theory is based on bizarre theological and linguistic assumptions. Christianity's claim to be the "New Israel" is reinforced by the legend that Joseph of Arimathea established an English church predating that of Rome; the belief that British monarchs, seated at their coronation on the Stone of Scone, are thus in fact consecrated by the patriarch Jacob's stone of Bethel; and the old Puritan idea that the English have refought Israel's battles against God's enemies. By a selective and – according to currently accepted criteria – utterly unscientific interpretation of the Scriptures, British Israelites are able to "prove" that the Japhetic Cymri or Cimmerians are the ancient Britons (*Berit-Ish*, or "Men of the Covenant") and the Saxons, "Isaac's Sons," while the wanderings of the "lost" tribe of Dan are traced from the Dnieper to Denmark and those of the Gadites, from Gotland to Cambria.

Anglo-Israelism's first manifesto was issued by the Puritan Member of Parliament John Sadler, author of *Rights of the Kingdom* (1649), but the movement began to gather force only at the end of the 18th century, when Richard *Brothers, a messianic prophet and self-styled "Nephew of the Almighty," began publishing a series of pamphlets. A later writer, Edward Hine, published the bestselling *Forty-seven Identifications of the British Nation with the Lost Ten Tribes of Israel* (1871), by which time Anglo-Israelism had crystallized into an organized movement. The British Israel World Federation, with headquarters in London, claims hundreds of thousands of supporters in English-speaking countries; but a kindred organization in the U.S., the Anglo-Saxon Federation of America, exploited antisemitism in order to further its claims. Anglo-Israelism has become part of the doctrine of various Christian sects, for example, the Mormon church. In recent years the long-established British Israelite movement has unquestionably dwindled in size, consistent with a loss of certainty about Britain's special status and the decline of unscientific ethnic theories.

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[Godfrey Edmond Silverman]

BRIT IVRIT OLAMIT (Heb. "World Hebrew Union"; Eng. "World Association for Hebrew Language and Culture"), organization for the promotion of Hebrew language and culture. The idea of establishing what became the Brit Ivrit Olamit originated in October 1930, when Simon *Rawidowicz delivered a lecture at a meeting in the Bet Am Ivri in Berlin, in which he surveyed the development of modern Hebrew literature. Noting that Hebrew creativity in Eastern Europe and the Germanic lands had greatly declined after World War I and perceiving in this a great danger for the Jews of the Diaspora as well as for Hebrew creativity in general, he proposed the creation of a broad-based cultural organization to deal with the situation. Rawidowicz's idea gained much support, and together with Dov Lipitz, head of the *Tarbut school system in Lithuania, he established a committee to organize a Hebrew Conference that convened in Berlin in June 1931. There, in his opening speech, Rawidowicz went beyond the issue of establishing an organization to stimulate and guide Hebrew creativity in the Diaspora, as he additionally proposed a completely new approach to Jewish life and culture that rejected the accepted view that the Land of Israel should serve as a spiritual center for the Diaspora and instead advocated a theory of "partnership" according to which the Diaspora was to assume responsibility for actively creating its own Hebraic culture. While Rawidowicz's idea of establishing an international Hebrew movement was accepted, the ideological basis that he proposed generated much heated discussion. Finally, it was decided to establish an organization called the Brit Ivrit Olamit, and to set up a Temporary Central Committee to administer the Brit and to organize a Hebrew Congress. That committee then entrusted Rawidowicz with heading the Brit, and began to plan the Congress.

However, with the Nazi rise to power in early 1933, the Central Committee could not continue to function in Berlin and decided to establish a new Temporary Central Committee in Warsaw under the direction of Zvi Zohar. This Committee convened an enlarged committee of the Brit which met in Prague in August 1933 before the Eighteenth World Zionist Congress. There, it was apparently decided that Central Committees of the Brit were to be established in Warsaw and London and an Executive in London, which was headed by Rawidowicz; additionally, some members of the Berlin Central Committee who had settled in Ereẓ Israel were apparently authorized to set up a local Central Committee, but instead they, together with some local figures, claimed to be the sole successor of the Berlin Central Committee and rejected the claim of the London Executive to jurisdiction over the Brit, thereby greatly limiting the scope of its activities.

The Brit in Ereẓ Israel immediately ran into financial difficulties and its activities were very limited, although it published a significant series, *Am va-Sefer* (1936–74, 1981–92). Finally after World War II and the establishment of the State of Israel, it convened the long-awaited Hebrew Congress in 1950. Headed by distinguished figures such as Izhak *Ben-Zvi, Zalman *Shazar, and Arieh *Tartakower, the Brit remained an independent organization which cooperated with the Jewish Agency and the World Zionist Organization in fostering the study of Hebrew in the Diaspora. In the early 21st century its main activity consisted of co-sponsoring European academic Hebrew conferences (17 up to 2005), many of whose proceedings have been published, and also the journal *Revue européenne des études hébraïques* (since 1996).

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[Benjamin Ravid (2nd ed.)]

BRITTAN, LEON, BARON (1939–), British Conservative politician who held a variety of senior offices in the government of Margaret Thatcher. Educated at Cambridge University, where he was president of the Cambridge Union Society in 1960, Brittan practiced as a barrister and became a member of the Queen's Council in 1978. He was chairman of the Conservative Party's Bow Group in 1964–65. Brittan served as a Conservative member of Parliament from 1974 to 1988 and held cabinet posts as home secretary (1983–85) and secretary of state for trade and industry (1985–86). A pro-European moderate within the Conservative Party, in 1986 he resigned from Margaret Thatcher's cabinet in protest over its alleged anti-European policy in the Westland Helicopter affair. Brittan then served as British commissioner of the European Communities from 1989 until 1993 and as a full member of the European Commission in 1993-94. Brittan was knighted in 1986 and given a life peerage in 2000. His brother SIR SAMUEL BRITTAN (1933–) is a well-known economics columnist on the London *Financial Times.*

[William D. Rubinstein (2nd ed.)]

BRITTANY (Fr. **Bretagne**), region and former province of western France and ancient independent duchy. Canon 12 of the ecclesiastical Council of Vannes in Brittany (465) forbade clerics to partake in meals with Jews. At about the same time, Nunechius, bishop of *Nantes, welcomed a newly converted Jew. Jews are again found in Brittany from the end of the 12th century living in Ancenis, Clisson, Dol, Guérande, Lamballe, Nantes, and Rennes, and probably also in some other places. By an agreement of Feb. 23, 1222, Pierre Mauclerc, duke of Brittany, confirmed the jurisdiction of the bishop of Nantes over the Jews living in his see. In 1236 many Jews in Brittany were massacred by Crusaders. The remainder were expelled in April 1240 by the duke Jean le Roux who declared a moratorium on all debts owed to Jews and ordered them to return all pledges of chattels or real estate. The duke bound himself and his successors to uphold the decree in perpetuity. For several centuries, therefore, only converted Jews are found living in Brittany. A problem is presented, however, by the Hebrew tombstone (dated 1574) of Solomon b. Jacob Semahes found in Quimperlé. From the beginning of the 17th century, numerous *Marranos settled in Brittany, mainly in Nantes; their Christian competitors failed to have them expelled. During the 18th century, Jewish traders from Bordeaux, Alsace, and Lorraine began to visit the fairs and markets. In 1780, as a result of an isolated incident, they were all expelled. Immediately after the French Revolution, they are found again, notably in Nantes, Brest, Rennes, and Saint-Servan. In 1808, when the *consistories were established, the total number of Jews living in Brittany was only about 30. In the late 20th century there were communities in Nantes, Brest, and Rennes.

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[Bernhard Blumenkranz]

BRIVIESCA, city in Castile, northern Spain. Briviesca Jewry was closely connected with the communities of *Burgos and *Miranda de Ebro. In 1240 Ferdinand III of Castile ordered the community to continue to pay the amount of 30 denarii annually to the cathedral in lieu of the 30 shekels paid to Judas Iscariot. A number of Jews who had settled in the quarter of Santa Cecilia in Briviesca were conveyed in gift to the monastery of Huelgas by Alfonso X in 1270. Briviesca Jewry was annihilated during the civil war between Pedro the Cruel and Henry of Trastamara in 1366–69 but subsequently reestablished. Records of 1380–81 show Jews of Briviesca engaged in various tax-farming operations. In 1387 the Cortes convened in Briviesca and promulgated a series of anti-Jewish restrictions, including separation of the Jewish, Moorish, and Christian quarters. In 1414 a number of Jewish residents of Briviesca sold land in their possession to a monastery in neighboring

Oña. The levy for the war with Granada imposed in 1485 on the Briviesca community and Jews in the vicinity totaled 127 Castilians. No information is available on the fate of the Briviesca Jews after the expulsion from Spain in 1492.

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[Haim Beinart]

BRIYO VE-ZIMRO, anonymous Yiddish narrative from 1585. This remarkable tale is a love story without equal in early Yiddish literature, features one of the earliest significant female characters in Yiddish, and displays the intense emotion of contemporary Shakespearean tragedy, while uniting the lovers by means of a post-mortem wedding in Paradise, thus weaving a variety of international motifs (a quasi-Solomonic judgment, a hero's journey to the bewitched Other World, star-crossed lovers whose union is blocked by parental prohibition, the riddling hero who saves himself by his wits while in the power of the enemy leader, the sword in the stone) into an essentially Jewish narrative set during the Maccabean monarchy.

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[Jerold C. Frakes (2nd ed.)]

BRNO (Ger. **Bruenn**), capital of Moravia, Czech Republic. A community was established there in the first half of the 13th century by Jews invited by the margrave of Moravia. A charter granted in 1254 guaranteed protection to Jewish lives and property, freed Jews from restrictions on trade and occupations, and exempted them from wearing distinguishing dress; the community had to contribute a quarter of the amount required for the upkeep of the city fortifications. The charter was renewed in 1268 and incorporated in the city statutes in 1276. There were about 1,000 Jews living in Brno in 1348. A charter granted in 1345 encouraged Jewish settlement. There was then a Jewish quarter with its own "Jews' Gate." Jewish tombstones have been discovered dating from 1373. In the first half of the 15th century Israel *Bruna officiated as rabbi. The Jews were expelled from Brno in 1454, after John of *Capistrano preached there, and were formally excluded from Brno until 1848 by the privilege *de non tolerandis Judaeis*. Individual Jews, however, paid for permission to attend the markets in the city with an admission fee. This license was extended in 1627 and 1648, but curtailed in 1661. A special inn (leased in 1724 by Jacob Dobruschka) was assigned for Jewish travelers who were officially permitted to spend one night in the city, but often stayed longer illegally. In 1706 the authorities prohibited Jews from holding religious services in public, although these services were tolerated in private. There were then 52 Jews living in Brno. In 1722 the chief representative of Moravian Jewry, the *Landesjudensollicitator*, was permitted to settle near the city gate. The exclusion of the Jews from Brno was renewed in 1745. In 1764 the brothers Hoenig took over the city bank but in the following year, when two of the brothers were permitted to lease houses in Brno, there was an outbreak of rioting. In 1769 Solomon Dobruschka received permission to hold services in his house and to keep a "small" Torah scroll there. However, the authorities still made attempts to prevent the holding of services in public and in 1812 levied a special tax for "keeping a Torah."

A Hebrew printing press was set up in Brno in 1753 by Franz Joseph Neumann. Jacob *Frank lived in Brno between 1773 and 1786. Following the revolution of 1848 the Jewish community was organized and received official recognition in 1859. The first rabbi was David Ashkenazi. A cemetery was consecrated in 1852, and a synagogue built in 1855. Baruch *Placzek, when rabbi of Brno, also held the title of *Landesrabbiner from 1884 until his death in 1922, when it was discontinued. Jewish industrialists, such as Lazar *Auspitz, Julius Ritter von *Gomperz, Loew-Beer, and others, played an important part in developing the textile industry in Brno. During World War I about 16,000 refugees from Eastern Europe were received by the community and many remained there after the war. The Jewish school network established there included the only Jewish high school in western Czechoslovakia. The Jewish population numbered 134 in 1834; 2,230 in 1859; 4,505 in 1869; 7,809 in 1890; and 10,202 (6.9% of the total population) in 1930, of whom 3,295 declared their nationality to be Jewish. Jewish students from Eastern Europe studied at the University of Brno between the two world wars. Largely members of Zionist student groups, they influenced the local Jewish youth in the national spirit. Brno was the seat of the Juedischer Buch- und Kunstverlag and the weekly *Juedische Volksstimme*, founded by Max *Hickl.

During World War II the mass deportation of Jews from Brno and its surrounding commenced on Nov. 26, 1941, when 1,000 Jews were sent to the Minsk ghetto. Another 2,000 were sent to Theresienstadt on Dec. 2 and 5, and 7,000 more were deported between Jan. 28 and May 27, 1942, most perishing in Auschwitz. A memorial plaque to the Jewish victims of Nazism deported from Brno has been affixed to the building where the transports of deportees were concentrated. The survivors who returned to Brno after the Holocaust numbered 1,033 in 1948. The Orthodox synagogue (built in 1932) was restored in the 1950s and was in use in 1968. The rabbi of Brno, Richard *Feder, in 1969 was also chief rabbi of Bohemia and Moravia. The community numbered c. 500 in 1959 and c. 700 in 1969, but by the early 2000s the number had dropped to slightly less than 300. The community was responsible for the management of 10 synagogues and 45 cemeteries throughout Moravia, including restoration work.

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[Isaac Ze'ev Kahane]

BROAD, ELI (1933–), U.S. businessman, philanthropist, art collector. The New York-born only child of Lithuanian immigrants, Broad built two of the largest businesses in the United States from the ground up. He was chairman of AIG Retirement Services Inc., formerly SunAmerica Inc., and founder-chairman of KB Home, formerly Kaufman & Broad Home Corporation.

Broad grew up in Detroit and earned an accounting degree from Michigan State University in 1954. In 1957, with $25,000 borrowed from his in-laws, Broad teamed up with a builder, Donald Kaufman, to produce simple low-priced houses (no basements, no garages) for first-time buyers. In the 1960s their company went public and expanded to California, where it became one of the largest builders in a market that was growing spectacularly. (Kaufman left the company shortly after it went public in 1961 and died in a plane crash in 1983.) The business eventually lost its challenge for Broad, and in the early 1970s he devoted himself to his family and to travel. When the California real estate bubble burst in 1973, Broad returned to his company and spent 10 years building it up again. All told, the company constructed more than 500,000 homes. In 1983 Broad decided to devote more of his time to financial issues and philanthropic activities. He also achieved some notoriety as one of the financial backers of Ivan F. *Boesky's and Michael R. *Milken's questionable junk-bond operations.

For his next move, Broad theorized that the people who had bought houses from him were starting to worry about retirement. Kaufman & Broad had a small insurance subsidiary. It was spun off in 1989 to become his next vehicle, SunAmerica, an insurance conglomerate that was the fastest-growing stock on the New York Stock Exchange for much of the 1990s. Broad believed that insurers, selling policies against an early death, should be selling policies to baby boomers who faced a long life that might outpace savings. His solution was annuities. When he sold SunAmerica in 1998 to the insurance giant AIG, Broad had amassed the largest fortune in Los Angeles, estimated in 2004 at $4.8 billion. Broad also owned the Sacramento Kings professional basketball team.

Avid supporters of contemporary art, the Broads created one of the world's finest art collections. Since 1984 the Broad Art Foundation has operated an active "lending library" to more than 400 museums and university galleries worldwide. From 2001 to 2003 an exhibition of their collection was shown at the Los Angeles County Museum of Art, the Corcoran Gallery of Art in Washington, the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston, and the Guggenheim Museum in Bilbao, Spain. The Broads also announced a major gift to build the Broad Contemporary Art Museum at the Los Angeles County Museum of Art.

In 1999 the Broads founded the Broad Foundation, whose mission is to dramatically improve urban public education. In its first five years, it committed over $400 million to support new ideas and innovative leadership in the largest urban school systems. In 2001 the Eli and Edythe L. Broad Foundation created the Broad Medical Research Program, which seeks to stimulate innovative research on inflammatory bowel disease. And in June 2003, in partnership with the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Harvard University, and the Whitehead Institute, the Broads announced the founding gift to create the Eli and Edythe Broad Institute for biomedical research.

Strong believers in higher education, the Broads made a major contribution to the School of the Arts and Architecture at the University of California at Los Angeles toward the construction of the Edythe L. and Eli Broad Art Center, designed by Richard *Meier. In 1991 the Broads endowed the Eli Broad College of Business and the Eli Broad Graduate School of Management at Michigan State, his alma mater. In addition, the Broads were major contributors to Jewish philanthropic causes, and they were among the early donors of works to the Israeli Museum in Jerusalem.

[Stewart Kampel (2nd ed.)]

BROCH, HERMANN (1886–1951), Austrian novelist and essayist. Broch was born in Vienna into a Jewish industrialist family. He was educated privately with the intention of getting an administrative position in his father's textile factory. It was not until he was in his forties that he turned to writing. Broch published his first novel, the trilogy *Die Schlafwandler* (3 vols. 1931/32; *The Sleepwalkers*,) dealing with the decay of values in Germany in the period between 1888 and 1919. The spread of fascism made Broch abandon his literary projects. He was arrested by the Nazis in 1938. Inspired by the visions of impending death in prison, he wrote a few elegies, which became the core of *Der Tod des Vergil* (1945; *The Death of Virgil*), a philosophical novel describing the end of Virgil's life after his return from Greece. Broch's interest in the collective psychological sources of Nazism was later expressed in *Massenpsychologie* (1951) and in *Die Schuldlosen* (1950). Broch traces the rise of Nazism to political apathy and the psychological disorientation of European society. His characters have lost their values; they are outsiders in their own life. *Die Verzauberung* (1976) also deals with mass psychology. The story is set in a small Tyrolean mountain village where farmers believe the promises of a fanatical fundamentalist and participate in the ritual murder of a young girl. Broch worked on the book periodically from the 1930s, but it was left unfinished. Broch's literary style has a lyrical, almost hymn-like quality. His writing is pervaded by the sense of man's mortality; his characters struggle to overcome their constant awareness of their inevitable end. However, he perceives a redeeming spark of divinity which breaks through the contemporary decline of values and allows new hope to spring from apparent despair. On the eve of a planned return to Europe from the United States, where he had settled, Broch died in 1951. His *Gesammelte Werke* were published in 10 volumes (1952–61).

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[Sol Liptzin / Ann-Kristin Koch (2nd ed.)]

BROCINER, JOSEPH (1846–1918), publicist and communal leader in Romania. Brociner was born in Jassy and after studying law moved to Galati, where he spent most of his life and was active in the struggle of Romanian Jewry for emancipation during and after the Congress of Berlin (1878). His major contribution was in the sphere of literary polemics. He sought to refute by historical evidence the claim that the Jews were "aliens," adduced against granting them citizenship rights in Romania. The most important of these works is *Chestiunea Israelitilor Romani* ("The Romanian Jewish Question," 1910), because of the many documents published in it, some for the first time. However, his publication of documents was in an apologetic rather than a scholarly form. Brociner was also active in reconstructing the officially recognized Jewish communal organization, which had been disorganized since 1862. In March 1896, he convened in Galati a general conference of the representatives of the communities in Romania, the first in the country, where a plan for communal organization was reviewed. In 1901, he convened a second conference at Jassy, when the Union of Israelite Communities in Romania was founded. He also wrote several publications on the subject, among them a detailed memorandum to the government; these publications also included important historical documents. Brociner was among the first members of Ḥovevei Zion in Romania. He also became associated with political Zionism and sent a proposal to Theodor *Herzl for the organization of the Zionist movement in Romania. Brociner's brother MAURICIU (Moritz; 1855–1946) was the first Jewish officer in the Romanian Army. He distinguished himself in the Romanian War of Independence of 1877 and later attained the rank of colonel. For many years he filled senior administrative posts at court and served as private secretary to the queen. Another brother was the Austrian author and playwright MARCO BROCINER (1852–1942). Another brother, ANDREI BROCINER (1842–1930), was also a publicist and fighter for emancipation of the Jews in Romania.

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[Eliyahu Feldman]

BROD, DOVIDL (**Strelisker, David**; 1783–1848), Hungarian *ḥazzan. Born in Brody, Brod officiated in synagogues as a child prodigy but received no musical training. Although destined originally for the rabbinate, he entered business. His business failed and he became a professional *ḥazzan* in Althofen, Austria, in 1822. In 1830 he moved to Budapest where he served as *ḥazzan* until his death. Unable to read a musical score, he improvised his own melodies and though he left no written record of his compositions, most of the *ḥazzanim* of Hungary and Galicia and their pupils owed their style and their melodies to his inspiration.

BROD, MAX (1884–1968), Czech-born German author, composer, and representative member of the "Prague Circle" (*Prager Kreis*). Born in Prague, Brod studied law at the German university there and then entered the Czech civil service. After working in postal management in Prague, he became a minor government official for cultural affairs. In 1929 he joined the *Prager Tagblatt* as theatrical and musical editor. His acquaintance with Martin Buber, who gave lectures in Prague in 1909/10, influenced Brod as well as his encounter with a Yiddish actors group and, a few years later, with Jewish war refugees from Eastern Europe. He became active in the Zionist movement and helped found the National Council of Jews of Czechoslovakia in 1918. As its vice president he not only tried to gain equal rights for Jews but also national acceptance and cultural autonomy. As a central representative of the Prague *Kulturzionismus* he initiated the establishment of Hebrew schools in Prague. In 1939 he left Prague with his wife and settled in Tel Aviv, where he worked as a music critic and drama adviser to *Habimah.

Brod's prolific writings include poetry, fiction, plays, libretti, literary criticism and essays on philosophy, politics, and Zionism. The fundamental thought in all his writing is the problem of dualism, i.e., the difficulty of reconciling a belief in God with the evil that exists in the world. Man's task, he believes, is to strive toward perfection. Judaism, which represents the "miracle of this world," is a critical stage on this road as opposed to the "continuation of this world" in paganism and the "negation of this world" in Christianity. This is propounded in his most influential philosophical work, *Heidentum, Christentum, Judentum*, 2 vols. (1921). Brod's best-known writings are his 20 novels, some of them romantic, others historical. The former include *Schloss Nornepygge* (1908), *Juedinnen* (1911), *Arnold Beer: Das Schicksal eines Juden* (1912), *Die Frau, nach der man sich sehnt* (1927), and *Die verbotene Frau* (1960); among the latter are *Tycho Brahes Weg zu Gott* (1916; *The Redemption of Tycho Brahe*, 1928); *Rëubeni, Fuerst der Juden* (1925); *Galilei in Gefangenschaft* (1948); *Unambo* (1949), about the Israel War of Independence; *Der Meister* (1949) – another version of this book about Jesus appeared in Hebrew in 1956 with the title *Aḥot Ketannah* – and *Armer Cicero* (1955). Brod's plays include *Eine Koenigin Esther* (1918), *Die Retterin* (1919), *Die Faelscher* (1920), and *Klarissas halbes Herz* (1923). He also wrote a biography of Heine (1934).

Brod was the first person to recognize the unique quality of his lifelong friend Franz *Kafka, about whom he wrote his novel *Das Zauberreich der Liebe* (1928; *The Kingdom of Love*, 1930). It was Brod who arranged the publication of Kafka's works after the novelist's death despite Kafka's wish that the works be burned. His biography of Kafka appeared in 1937. He also revealed the genius of Jaroslav Hašek, author of *The Good Soldier Schweik*, and of the composers Leoš Janáček (whose biography he published in 1924–25) and Jaromir *Weinberger, publishing German translations of Janáček's *Jenufa* (1918) and Weinberger's *Schwanda the Bagpiper*.

Many of Brod's books and plays were translated into Hebrew and together with Shin *Shalom he wrote two dramatic works in Hebrew: *Sha'ul, Melekh Yisrael* ("Saul, King of Israel," 1944) and the libretto for Marc *Lavry's opera *Dan ha-Shomer* (1945).

Brod's last works were his autobiography, *Streitbares Leben* (1960), and reminiscences, *Der Prager Kreis* (1967).

[Felix Weltsch / Mirjam Triendl (2nd ed.)]

As a Composer

Brod studied music with Adolf Schreiber and began composing in 1900. Among his compositions are works for orchestra, notably *Requiem Hebraicum*, song cycles, and several suites. His musical style is lyrical and expressive, and thoughts about music were always woven into his novels and poetry. After he moved to Palestine, he tried to blend Oriental and European traditions in the "Mediterranean" style, as in *Zwei israelische Bauerntänze*, which was played by the Israel PO. His book *Die Musik Israel's* (1951) deals with the early development of Israeli music. His numerous writings include a biography of Janiček and a book on Mahler (1961). He also translated opera librettos (notably for Janiček) in addition to writing his own.

[Naama Ramot (2nd ed.)]

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BRODA, family of rabbis in Lithuania and Slovakia (then in Hungary) from the 17th century on. ḤAYYIM BRODA, a grandson of Abraham *Broda was rabbi of Janow; his son AARON was rabbi of Kalvanÿa, Lithuania; and his son BENJAMIN (d. 1818) was appointed rabbi of Grodno in 1792 and was the last *av bet din* of the city. A dispute between the supporters of Broda and the adherents of Tanḥum b. Eliezer led to the abolition of the office.

Benjamin's son ḤAYYIM wrote *Torah Or ve-Derekh Ḥayyim* (Grodno, 1823), on the laws of ritual slaughter, and *Zera Ḥayyim* (published by his grandson Ḥayyim *Heller in 1907), the aim of which was to defend the rulings of the Shulḥan Arukh against the criticisms of *Shabbetai b. Meir ha-Kohen in his *Gevurot Anashim*. Ḥayyim engaged in halakhic correspondence with Abraham *Danzig and *Abraham Abele b. Abraham Solomon Poswoler of Vilna. One of his sons, DOV BER (d. 1897), was the author of *Divrei Binah* (2 pts., 1888–90) on the tractate *Makkot*. Ḥayyim's son-in-law was Israel Issar b. Mordecai Isserlin (1827–1899), who served as rabbi in Vilna. The following among his works are known: *Shem Yisrael* (1859, published anonymously), a commentary to the Mishnah *Seder Zera'im; Ishei Yisrael* (1864), novellae to the tractate *Shabbat; Tosefot Yerushalayim* (1871), on the Tosefta; *Pitḥei Teshuvah* (1875), on the Shulḥan Arukh, *Oraḥ Ḥayyim*. Another son-in-law of Ḥayyim Broda was Eliezer b. Samuel Landau (1805–1883), who was born in Vilna and served as the head of the Brodno community. He was the author of *Dammesek Eliezer* (1868–70), a commentary in two parts on the expositions of *Elijah b. Solomon Zalman to the Shulḥan Arukh, *Oraḥ Ḥayyim*.

Other important members of the family were (1) AARON B. ISRAEL (second half of the 17th century), who compiled *Otot le-Mo'adim* (Grodno, 1798), a calendar for the years 5549–5624, appended to which is *Nahara u-Fashta*, a book on customs by Ḥayyim b. Israel Broda. He also wrote *Tekumah*, a digest in rhymed prose of the laws of the Shulḥan Arukh, of which only the section on *Even ha-Ezer, Even Ẓiyyon be-Mishpat*, was published (Shklov, 1784; complete edition by his son Nissim, Vilna, 1818). Other works have remained in manuscript; (2) ẒEVI HIRSCH B. DAVID (d. 1820?), rabbi of Szenice, and after 1787 rabbi of Kittsee (Köpcsény), Hungary; was the author of *Erez Ẓevi* and *Te'omei Ẓeviyyah* (pt. 1, Vienna, 1823; pt. 2, Presburg, 1846), a commentary on chapters 1–65 and 119–178 of the Shulḥan Arukh, *Even ha-Ezer*; and *Shenei Ofarim* (Prague, 1825), sermons, published by his son Aaron; (3) ABRAHAM B. SOLOMON ZALMAN (1825–1882) was born in Ungvár (Uzhgorod) and studied in the yeshivah of Moses *Sofer in Pressburg. He lived in Kleinwardein and was rabbi of Nagyberezna from 1876 until his death. He was the author of *Peri he-Ḥag* (2 pts., 1871–76), on the laws of Passover, and *Halikhot Olam* (1874–75, pt. 1 (1927^5), ed. by I. Gruenwald), in Judeo-German on laws of daily application; (4) ABRAHAM AARON B. SHALOM (d. after 1860) was born in Vilna. He was the author of *Beit Va'ad* (1832), a selection of laws from the four parts of the Shulḥan Arukh, to which was appended *Beit Middot* on weights and measures in the Talmud; and *Bayit ha-Gadol* (1838), a commentary on *Pirkei de-Rabbi Eliezer*; (5) MORDECAI B. NATHAN NATA (1815–1882) was born in Nádas, Hungary, and from 1864 served as rabbi of Myjava. His *Ḥiddushei She'elot u-Teshuvot Maharam Broda* (1908) was published by his son-in-law Akiva Strasser. His son JOSEPH, who succeeded him as chief rabbi of Myjava, perished at Auschwitz in the Holocaust.

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[Josef Horovitz]

BRODA, ABRAHAM BEN SAUL (d. 1717), rabbi and halakhic authority. Broda was born in Bunzlau (Bohemia) and served as rabbi in Lichtenstadt and in Raudnitz. In 1693 he was appointed head of a yeshivah in Prague but left after a dispute with other rabbis of the city. In 1709 he was appointed rabbi of Metz, and in 1713 of Frankfurt, where he remained until his death. In these last two cities he established yeshivot which attracted many students. In his approbation to *Eshel Avraham*, Jonathan *Eybeschuetz paid tribute to Broda's contribution to education and teaching: "He was remarkably successful in learning, teaching, and disseminating Torah, and most contemporary scholars of renown were his disciples." Among his outstanding students were Nethanel *Weil, Jonah *Landsofer, and Samuel Helman of Metz. His novellae were noted by his students, who quoted them in their works, or published them together with their own works. Broda's most important work is *Eshel Avraham* (1747), novellae on the tractates *Pesaḥim, Ḥullin*, and *Bava Batra*. This reveals his erudition, keen intellect, and methodical treatment of the subject matter. The first part, *Ḥiddushei Halakhot*, summarizes each topic on the basis of the Talmud and its commentaries, and the second, *Ḥiddushei Posekim*, deals with halakhic rulings which derive from these sources. Other works by Broda are *Ḥiddushei Ge'onim* (Offenbach, 1723), on *Bava Kamma, Bava Meẓia*, and *Sanhedrin; Ḥiddushei Hilkhot Gittin* (Wandsbeck, 1731), published by his disciple, Jonathan b. Isaac ha-Levi; *Shema'ta Ḥadta* (Frankfurt, 1737), novellae and explanations on *Ketubbot* and the second chapter of *Gittin*, and *Toledot Avraham* (Fuerth, 1769), novellae to *Kiddushin* and *Ketubbot* (incomplete). Israel Isserl b. Isaac ha-Levi (beginning of 18th century), a disciple of Broda, published *Asefat Ḥakhamim* (1722), which included novellae by Broda. In a *takkanah* of 1715, Broda deals with the question of modesty, warns against extravagant festivities, and pleads for abstention from extravagance and forbidden foods. His son, MOSES (1674–1741), served from 1704 as rabbi of Hanau, and from 1718 as rabbi of Bamberg, transferring to Worms in 1733. He prepared his father's *Eshel Avraham* for publication, adding to it his own glosses, entitled *Ohel Moshe*. The publication was completed by Moses' son Saul.

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[Yehoshua Horowitz]

BRODER (Margolis), BERL (c. 1815/1817–1868), Yiddish balladist and folksinger, who derived his name from the city of Brody (Galicia), where he started his nomadic artistic activity. A brushmaker by profession, Broder composed songs and rhymed verses in the style of the *badḥanim*, although his themes and compositions were quite original. He later became a buyer for his firm and on his business trips entertained his fellow travelers and chance acquaintances at the various inns with his lyrics. Itinerant minstrels imitated and disseminated his texts and tunes, which influenced Benjamin *Ehrenkranz (Velvel Zbarazher), Eliakum *Zunser, and Abraham *Goldfaden. In the 1860s Broder organized the first troupe of professional Yiddish folksingers, which traversed Galicia, Hungary, and Romania, singing in wine cellars and inns. The stage of the *Broder Singers consisted merely of a table with two lit candles. Though their lyrics were at first hardly suitable for such dramatic presentation, the success of their acting and singing was immense, and they paved the way for the Yiddish theater. Only a small part of Broder's original songs survived in his collection *Shire Zimre*, *Draysik Herlikhe Broder Lider in Reyn Yudesh Loshn* ("30 Marvelous Brody Songs in Pure Yiddish," Pressburg, c. 1860, Warsaw 1882^2).

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[Sol Liptzin]

BRODER, DAVID SALZER (1929–), U.S. political columnist. Broder, who was born in Chicago Heights, Ill., received his bachelor's degree and a master's in political science from the University of Chicago. He served in the Army for two years. Upon his discharge in 1953, he got a job on *The Pantagraph*, a newspaper in Bloomington, Ill. Two years later he joined the *Congressional Quarterly* in Washington, where he stayed for five years. He covered his first presidential campaign, the Kennedy-Nixon election, in 1960 for *The Washington Star.* He covered national politics for *The New York Times* from 1965 to 1966 before joining *The Washington Post*. He covered every national political campaign and convention from 1960, traveling up to 100,000 miles a year to interview voters and report on the candidates. In May 1973 Broder won the Pulitzer Prize for commentary for his columns the previous year. He became an associate editor of the *Post* in 1975. His twice-weekly columns, which are nationally syndicated, cover a broad spectrum of American life beyond politics. In March 2001 the *Washingtonian* magazine rated Broder among the four leading and most influential journalists, calling him "the most unpredictable, reliable and intellectually honest columnist working today." He was also voted, in 1990, the "hardest working" and "least ideological" among 123 columnists by opinion-page editors of the largest 200 newspapers in the United States. Broder is also a regular commentator on television's leading public affairs programs. He is author or co-author of seven books, including *Democracy Derailed: Initiative Campaigns and the Power of Money* (2000) and *Behind the Front Page: A Candid Look at How the News Is Made* (1987). His column is carried by more than 300 newspapers around the world.

[Stewart Kampel (2nd ed.)]

BRODERICK, MATTHEW (1962–), U.S. actor. The son of an actor and a playwright, Broderick was raised in New York City's Greenwich Village and began appearing in theater workshops at the age of 17. Broderick's first success came quickly, with critical acclaim for his role in Harvey Fierstein's off-Broadway production *Torch Song Trilogy*. Following a Tony Award-winning performance in the role of Eugene Jerome in Neil *Simon's Broadway play *Brighton Beach Memoirs* in 1983, Broderick launched his film career later that year with his turn as a teenaged computer hacker in the film *War Games*. In 1986, Broderick achieved a new level of stardom with his breakthrough performance as celebrity high-school delinquent Ferris Bueller, in John Hughes' iconic comedy *Ferris Bueller's Day Off*. In 1989, he received acclaim for his dramatic role opposite Morgan Freeman and Denzel Washington in the Civil War film *Glory*. Broderick's range was displayed during the early 1990s with roles in films as disparate as the gangster farce *The Freshman* (1990) and Disney's animated blockbuster *The Lion King* (1994). During this period, Broderick continued to move effortlessly between the stage and the screen, winning his second Tony Award in the Broadway musical *How to Succeed in Business Without Really Trying* (1994). Broderick made his directorial debut in 1996 with the romantic comedy *Infinity*. His subsequent notable performances included roles in the satire *Election* (1999) and Kenneth Lonnergran's family drama *You Can Count on Me* (2000). In 2001, Broderick returned to Broadway in Mel *Brooks' highly popular musical *The Producers*. In 1997, Broderick married his longtime girlfriend, actress Sarah Jessica *Parker.

[Walter Driver (2nd ed.)]

BRODER SINGERS, generic name for small groups of itinerant male Yiddish singers who from the 1850s entertained on weekdays (as distinct from Sabbaths and festivals) on improvised stages in wine cellars and restaurant gardens in Galicia, Romania, and southern Russia. The name designates a kind of cabaret tradition, its style and repertoire, rather than a specific group or individual. The impact of this tradition on the Yiddish poetic imagination may be gauged in *Peretz' drama *Baynakht oyfn Altn Mark*, and in the works of Itzik *Manger.

The Broder Singers are important in the prehistory of the modern Yiddish theater. They were essentially vocalists (many were former *badḥanim* (see *Badḥan) and choirboys) who gradually added costume, mimicry, and dance to songs which to begin with were generally dramatic monologues. Solo performance gave way to dramatized duet and subsequently to the musical sketch, with prose recitative linking the songs. The Broder Singers were a source for the first Yiddish stage professionals – Yisroel Gradner, regarded as the first "regular" Yiddish actor, was a Broder Singer before joining *Goldfaden. The reputed "father" of the Broder Singers was Berl *Broder. Though Broder's date and place of birth are disputed, it is almost certain that his association in the years before the Crimean War with the Galician commercial center, Brody (from which he took his name), accounts for the name Broder Singers. Broder composed songs, some of which are extant, but the repertoire was mainly appropriated from the folk poets Eliakum *Zunser and Velvel Zbarazher (Benjamin *Ehrenkranz), from I.J. *Linetzky and the dramatist *Goldfaden, all four of whom were closely linked to the Broder Singers. The repertoire was serious as well as satiric and comic. The prevalence of anti-ḥasidic songs does not justify the often expressed view that the Broder Singers were the poor man's Haskalah, for the principal emphasis was always on entertainment.

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[Leonard Prager]

BRODERZON, MOYSHE (1890–1956), Yiddish poet and theater director. A descendant of a family of wealthy merchants who were permitted to reside in Moscow, Broderzon received his early education in that city and at a Lodz business school. He experienced the revolution in Moscow and then lived in Lodz (1918–38). Active as a journalist, poet, and writer of short plays, he founded little theaters in Lodz: *Ḥad Gadya* (the first Yiddish marionette theater), *Ararat*, and *Shor ha-Bor.* He was head of the literary group **Yung-Yidish* and discovered many new Jewish talents for the stage. He wrote songs for children, which were frequently reprinted and set to music, and also libretti for operas, including *Bas-Sheve* ("Bathsheba," 1924). His volume *Yud: Lid in Fuftsik Kapitlen* ("Yod: Poem in 50 Chapters," 1939) comprises 50 poems of 16 lines each, laden with premonitions of the catastrophe looming over Polish Jewry. Broderzon returned to his native Moscow in 1939. At the time of Stalin's persecutions of Yiddish writers he was imprisoned in a Siberian slave labor camp (1948–55). Repatriated to Poland on his liberation, he was enthusiastically acclaimed by the surviving Jews there, but collapsed and died a few weeks later while visiting Warsaw. Broderzon was a consummate stylistic master of Yiddish and composer of strikingly original Yiddish rhymes. His poems combine Jewish folklore with European expressionism. His wife, the actress Sheyne Miriam Broderzon, described their years of suffering

(1939–56) in *Mayn Laydnsveg mit Moyshe Broderzon* ("My Tragic Road with Moshe Broderzon," 1960). His *Oysgeklibene Shriftn* ("Selected Works," 1959) and *Dos Letste Lid* ("The Last Poem," 1974) appeared posthumously.

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[Melech Ravitch / Jerold C. Frakes (2nd ed.)]

BRODETSKY, SELIG (1888–1954), mathematician and Zionist leader. Brodetsky, who was born in Olviopol, Ukraine, was brought to London by his family in 1893. He received his early education at the Jewish Free School in London, at the same time attending a *talmud torah*. The exceptional ability which he early displayed in mathematics earned him a scholarship to Cambridge. At the age of 20 he was given the honors title of Senior Wrangler. He continued his studies in mathematical astronomy at the University of Leipzig and received his doctorate in 1913. In 1914 he returned to England, where he was appointed lecturer in practical mathematics at Bristol and was professor at the University of Leeds from 1920 to 1949. A highly successful educator, he specialized in theoretical aerodynamics, a field vital for the development of the airplane, dealt with in his *Mechanical Principles of the Aeroplane* (1920). He also wrote on the general theory of relativity and on Newton as well as popular works on mathematics and the sciences. *The Meaning of Mathematics* (1929) was translated into Dutch, Spanish, and Hebrew. From his earliest youth Brodetsky was a dedicated Zionist. When the Zionist Association was established in Cambridge in 1907, Brodetsky was appointed its secretary. In Leipzig, he served as president of the Zionist Student Organization. In 1928 he became a member of the executive committee of the Zionist Organization in England, and through it, also of the governing body of the Jewish Agency, serving as head of its Political Department in London. In this position he led the struggle against Lord Passfield's White Paper of 1930. He was a loyal supporter of Chaim *Weizmann. From 1939 to 1949 he was president of the *Board of Deputies of British Jews, the first East European Jew to serve in this capacity. He was responsible for bringing this body closer to Zionism. When Weizmann became president of the new State of Israel, Brodetsky succeeded him as president of the British Zionist Federation. Brodetsky was also a member of the board of trustees and of the academic council of the Hebrew University. In 1949, he succeeded Judah *Magnes as president of the Hebrew University, making his home in Israel. For reasons of ill health and because of differences of opinion over the management of the university, he resigned from this position and returned in 1952 to England. Brodetsky was a Fellow of the Royal Societies of Astronomy (FRAS) and of Aeronautics (FRAE-S) and for some time was also the president of the Association of University Teachers in England. He was the president of the World Organization of Maccabi. His biographical work, *Memoirs – From Ghetto to Israel*, was published posthumously in 1960.

[Yehudah Pinhas / Leo Kohn]

BRODIE, SIR ISRAEL (1895–1979), chief rabbi of the British Commonwealth, 1948 to 1965. Brodie was born in Newcastle-on-Tyne and educated at Jews' College, London, and at Oxford.

He served in World War I as a Jewish chaplain on the Western Front, and then worked in London's East End. From 1923 to 1937 he was senior minister in *Melbourne, Australia. Brodie returned to England in 1937 to study for an advanced degree at Oxford, and was also on the staff of Jews' College. He again served as a military chaplain during World War II, becoming senior Jewish army chaplain in 1944. He was briefly principal of Jews' College in 1946 and in 1948 he succeeded J.H. *Hertz as chief rabbi, holding office until 1965. He was involved in two important controversies: one over his ruling (later modified) that the Israeli pronunciation of Hebrew should not be used in synagogues and in classrooms; the other when he decided that the liberal theological views of Louis *Jacobs disqualified him from being appointed as principal of Jews' College or a minister of the United Synagogue. Brodie edited the *Eẓ Ḥayyim* of *Jacob b. Judah Ḥazzan of London (3 vols., 1962–67). He was the divisional editor for rabbinical literature in the *Encyclopaedia Judaica*. Brodie was chief rabbi at a time of far-reaching change, marked by the creation of the State of Israel, the end of the British Empire, and the emergence of many divisions within Anglo-Jewry. He was a dedicated Zionist and recognized the centrality of Israel to contemporary Jewish life. He insisted on maintaining the traditional Orthodox interpretations of Jewish identity and practice. He generally conducted his office – with the exceptions noted above – in a quiet, reserved manner which avoided controversy. It can be argued that the *United Synagogue was at the peak of its influence during this time, which was generally one of expansion in the Anglo-Jewish mainstream. A Festschrift for Brodie, *Essays Presented to … Israel Brodie*, edited by Hirsch Jacob Zimmels, Joseph Rabbinowitz, and Israel Finestein, was published in two volumes in 1967.

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[Vivian David Lipman / William D. Rubinstein (2nd ed.)]

BRODSKI, family of industrialists and philanthropists in Russia, whose members played an important role in the Russian economy and Jewish communal life from the middle of the 19th century. It was founded by Meir Schor, a member of the Schor family of distinguished rabbis and communal leaders, who moved from Brody in Galicia to Zlatopol in the province of Kiev in the early 19th century and took the name of Brodski (i.e., "from Brody"). Of his five sons, all wealthy businessmen, the most prominent, ISRAEL (1823–1888), took a leading part in the development of the sugar industry in the Ukraine. During the 1840s, he financed the establishment of several sugar refineries by Russian estate owners in conjunction with other investors. Subsequently, he began to manage them himself and leased or founded additional plants. Brodski introduced many improvements in production methods and an elaborate administration for marketing the sugar within Russia and for export. In 1876 he moved to Kiev, where he became one of the leaders of the community. He built the Jewish hospital and other welfare institutions there. He also helped the *Volozhin yeshivah to establish a *kolel* for young scholars.

His sons ELIEZER (Lazar; 1848–1904) and ARIEH LEIBUSH (Lev; 1852–1923) enlarged their father's enterprises. In the early 1890s the plants owned by Brodski produced approximately one-quarter of the total amount of sugar refined in Russia. The brothers continued to contribute generously to Jewish and Russian cultural and welfare institutions, and among other benefactions founded the polytechnical and bacteriological institutes in Kiev, donated 300,000 rubles for the establishment of a Jewish school with a department for vocational training, built the great synagogue in Kiev, and gave substantial assistance to victims of the pogroms. The efforts of the Zionist Organization of Russia to persuade Lev Brodski to redeem the area around the Western Wall in Jerusalem were unsuccessful. The Brodski firms employed thousands of Jewish office workers and agents. The Hebrew writers, J.L. *Levin (Yehalal) and Eleazar *Schulmann, were among their employees. After the 1917 Revolution their property was confiscated and Lev Brodski left with his family for Western Europe. ABRAHAM (1816–1884), Israel's brother who settled in Odessa in 1858, contracted to collect the communal meat tax and donated the revenues to Jewish institutions. He also established two Jewish agricultural colonies. Both he and his son SAMUEL (1837–1897) served as municipal councillors in Odessa.

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[Yehuda Slutsky]

BRODSKII, ISAAK (1883/1884–1939), painter, graphic artist, art critic, and educator. Brodskii was born in Sofievka, Taurida county, Ukraine. He studied at the Odessa School of Art from 1896 to 1902. He then attended the Academy of Arts in Saint Petersburg until 1908, receiving a grant from the institute to travel in Western Europe between 1909 and 1911. As early as 1904, Brodskii exhibited his paintings with various associations, in particular with the Society of Itinerant Art Exhibitions and the "World of Art" group. Before 1917, he primarily painted landscapes and portraits. Examples of the former include *Through the Branches*, 1907 (I. Brodskii Museum of Painting, St. Petersburg); the latter genre was represented by his *Portrait of the Artist's Wife on the Terrace*, 1908 (Russian State Museum, St. Petersburg). With a fine sense of color, Brodskii combined the realistic study of nature with impressionist techniques and stylization in the spirit of art nouveau. Critics reviewed his vivid works favorably, and he quickly achieved commercial success. He became a fashionable portrait painter, with Russia's leading political, cultural, and literary figures gladly posing for him and commissioning portraits. Thus, for example, even as a student traveling abroad he painted a portrait of Gorky on the Isle of Capri, 1910 (A.M. Gorky Museum, Moscow). Brodskii's social and political views reflected Russian liberalism. In 1905, he took part in the student strike at the Academy of Arts, and in 1907 he drew political caricatures for a number of opposition satirical journals. The events of the first Russian revolution also became the source of one of Brodskii's rare works on a Jewish topic, the painting *After the Pogrom*, 1907. Although he was far from the mainstream of Jewish cultural and social life, Brodskii served as a member of the board of the Jewish Society for the Encouragement of the Arts and participated in its 1916 exhibition, as well as in the Exhibition of Paintings and Sculptures of Jewish Artists held in Moscow in July–August 1918. His main interests, however, lay elsewhere. After the Revolution of 1917, Brodskii was one of the first Soviet artists to use the genre of multifigure monumental composition for portraying events of the Bolshevik Revolution and glorifying its leaders (among his works was *Lenin and Mass Demonstration*, 1919). In 1924, Brodskii served as a leader and ideologist of the Association of Artists of Revolutionary Russia (AKhRR), a group of artists who used realism and had as their goal "to subordinate artistic creativity to the objectives of socialist construction." In pursuit of these "objectives," Brodskii painted several large-format canvases, with Lenin as the main figure. In 1928, after completing a portrait of Stalin, Brodskii became the Soviet Union's leading official portrait artist. In 1932, he was appointed professor at the All-Russian Academy of Arts (in Leningrad), and from 1934 he was its director. His paintings set the basic iconographic standard depicting Lenin in Soviet painting. Indeed, Brodskii's work exerted great influence on the formulation of the style of official Soviet art.

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[Hillel Kazovsky (2nd ed.)]

BRODSKY, ADOLF (1851–1929), Russian violinist. Brodsky was born in Taganrog and studied in Vienna and Moscow, where he was professor at the conservatory from 1875 to 1879. He was a friend of Brahms, Grieg, and Tchaikovsky, who dedicated his *Violin Concerto* to him. Brodsky gave the first performance of the concerto with the Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra in 1882. From 1883 to 1891 he was a professor in Leipzig, where he formed the noted Brodsky Quartet. He toured widely as a soloist and was leader of the *Damrosch

Symphony Orchestra in New York (1891–94) and of the Hallé Orchestra in Manchester, England. On Hallé's death in 1895, Brodsky succeeded him as director of the Royal College of Music in Manchester.

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[Dora Leah Sowden]

BRODSKY, JOSEPH (Yosif Brodski; 1940–1996), Soviet Russian poet and translator. Although he was widely regarded as one of the most promising Soviet poets, none of Brodsky's original verse had been allowed to appear in the U.S.S.R. as late as 1970. He was known there only as a translator from several languages, including English, Spanish, and Polish, and as the author of poems printed in the illegal, mimeographed literary journal *Sintaksis* (1958–60). In February 1964, Brodsky was tried as a "social parasite" (*tuneyadets*) who changed jobs too frequently, and was sentenced to forced labor in the far north. His trial had pronounced antisemitic overtones. Jewish witnesses for the defense, such as the scholars Y.G. Etkind and V.G. *Admoni, were ridiculed for their "strange-sounding" names; and the intercession of such distinguished older writers as Kornei Chukovksi, Samuel *Marshak, and Anna Akhmatova also failed to help Brodsky. He was later arrested and released several times. Brodsky's verse is traditional, though with occasional traces of symbolist and surrealist influence. *Isaak i Avraam*, one of his long narrative poems, is based on biblical motifs, while *Yevreyskoye kladbishche okolo Leningrada* ("The Jewish Cemetery near Leningrad") is one of the most remarkable poems on a Jewish theme ever written by a Soviet author.

[Maurice Friedberg]

A new collection of Brodsky's poetry, *Ostanovka v pustyne* ("Halt in the Wilderness"), which appeared in Russian in New York (1970), confirmed his reputation as the most talented Russian poet of the 1960s and a daring innovator in Russian syntax. In 1972, Brodsky was forced to leave Russia and immigrated to the United States, where he became the University of Michigan's poet-in-residence. Brodsky received the Nobel Prize for literature in 1987, and in May 1991 was named the fifth U.S. poet laureate. His collected poems appeared in English in 2000. His essays were collected in *Less than One* (1986) and *On Grief and Reason* (1995).

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BRODSKY, STANLEY L. (1939–), U.S. psychologist and criminologist. Born in Boston, Mass., Brodsky received his M.A. (1962) and his Ph.D. (1964) from the University of Florida. He taught and pursued research at the Center for the Study of Crime, Delinquency and Correction, Southern Illinois University. He was a co-founder of the American Psychology-Law Society and in 1967 was elected president of the American Association of Correctional Psychologists. Brodsky's main interests were the psychology of criminal behavior, the development of psychological services in correctional setting, and the improvement of police attitudes toward suspects and treatment facilities. While serving in the U.S. Army (1964–67), he engaged in fundamental research projects on the psychological aspects of military prisons.

Brodsky was a professor of psychology at the University of Alabama and the coordinator of the Psychology-Law Concentration, an academic program that aims to develop scientist-practitioners who can apply research and intervention skills to the understanding, prevention, and treatment of behavioral problems. In 1996 he received the Distinguished Contribution Award for Outstanding Achievement in Forensic Psychology by the American Academy of Forensic Psychology. Regarded by many as the premier expert on courtroom testimony in the U.S., Brodsky led workshops in the U.S. and Canada on the subject, with an emphasis on interactive teaching. He also had a private practice in forensic and clinical psychology as well as trial consultation.

Brodsky was the founding editor of the bi-monthly international journal *Criminal Justice and Behavior,* the official publication of the American Association for Correctional and Forensic Psychology. Books by Brodsky include *Psychologists in the Criminal Justice System* (1974), *Families and Friends of Men in Prison: The Uncertain Relationship* (1975), *Handbook of Scales for Research in Crime and Delinquency* (with H.O. Smitherman 1983), *The Psychology of Adjustment and Wellbeing* (1988), *Testifying in Court: Guidelines and Maxims for the Expert Witness* (1991), *The Expert Expert Witness: More Guidelines and Maxims for Testifying in Court* (1999), and *Coping with Cross-Examination and Other Pathways to Effective Testimony* (2004).

[Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

BRODY, city in Lvov district, Ukraine (in Russia until 1772; in Austria, 1772–1919; and in Poland, 1919–39). An organized Jewish community existed in Brody by the end of the 16th century. In 1648 approximately 400 Jewish families are recorded. The Jewish quarter was destroyed by fire in 1696. Subsequently the overlords of Brody, the Sobieskis, granted the Jews a charter (1699) permitting them to reside in all parts of the town, to engage in all branches of commerce and crafts, and to distill beer, brandy, and mead in return for an annual payment; the communal buildings, including the hospital and the homes of the rabbi and cantor, were exempted from the house tax. The Jews gradually replaced the Armenian commercial element in Brody until by the middle of the 18th century trade was concentrated in Jewish hands. The Jewish artisans in Brody – cordmakers, weavers, and metalsmiths – achieved a wide reputation and exported their products. The Potockis, who subsequently controlled Brody, continued to support the

Jews; in 1742 they compelled merchants living on their other estates to attend the Brody fairs.

In 1664 the Jewish community of Brody joined with the communities in Zholkva and *Buchach to attain independence from the communal jurisdiction of Lvov, which had extended its authority over the outlying communities. At the session of the provincial council of Russia (see *Councils of the Lands) held at the time, Brody obtained two seats out of seven, and in 1740 the Brody delegate, Dov Babad, was elected **parnas* of the provincial council. For generations a few powerful families controlled the Brody community, among them the Babad, Shatzkes, Perles, Rapaport, Brociner, Bick, Chajes, Rabinowicz, and Bernstein families.

In 1742 the bishop of Lutsk challenged the Brody Jews to a public religious disputation in the synagogue. As he refused to recognize the rights of the representatives of the congregation – the physician Abraham Uziel and the *dayyan* Joshua Laszczower – to participate in the debate, the community leaders invited the surrounding settlements to choose alternative disputants. When the group assembled in Brody, however, it was disbanded by Count Potocki, who arrested several of the Brody communal leaders.

The community in Brody vigorously opposed the Frankist movement (see Jacob *Frank), which found supporters in the area in the middle of the 18th century. Brody was the meeting place of the assembly which excommunicated the Frankists in 1756. A rabbinical assembly convening in Brody in 1772 excommunicated the followers of *Ḥasidism, and Hasidic works were burned there. In these struggles the circle formed by the Brody *Klaus* joined talmudic scholars and mystics as protagonists of Orthodoxy.

During the 1768–72 wars in Poland, the Jews of Brody were ordered to provision the armies passing through the town. The Jewish economic position deteriorated considerably as a result, and to save the community from ruin the overlords of the town granted it a loan. After the annexation of Galicia – including Brody – by Austria in 1772, the lot of the Jewish merchants improved. They were exempted from payment of customs dues on all merchandise in transit through the empire. The guilds of Jewish innkeepers, bakers, and flour dealers were supported by the central authorities in Vienna, in compelling the lord of the town to reduce the taxes. Brody had the status of a free city between 1779 and 1880. After 1880 many Jewish wholesale merchants living in Brody moved to other towns with which they had business connections. A group of Brody Jews had already settled in *Odessa and founded a synagogue there.

In 1756 there were 7,191 Jews living in Brody; in 1779, 8,867 (over half the total population); in 1826, 16,315 (89%); in 1910, 12,188; and in 1921, 7,202.

Rabbis officiating in Brody include Saul Katzenellenbogen, appointed before 1664; Isaac Krakover ("from Cracow"), who was the progenitor of the Babad family (end of the 17th century); Eleazar *Roke'ah; and Aryeh Loeb *Teomim. In the 19th century Solomon *Kluger exerted a wide influence. The last rabbi of the community was Moses Steinberg (1929–42).

The Jews of Brody, who often traveled to Germany, helped to diffuse the philosophy of the Berlin Enlightenment (*Haskalah) movement in Galicia. Some of its earliest adherents living in Brody were Israel b. Moses ha-Levi of Zamosc, Menahem *Lefin, Jacob Samuel *Bick, and Naḥman *Krochmal. The community opened a *Realschule* in 1815 where teaching was in German. Among *maskilim* residing in Brody in the middle of the 19th century were Dov Ber Blumenfeld, Isaac *Erter, and Joshua Heschel *Schorr, who published the Hebrew periodical *He-halutz* ("The Pioneer") in Brody between 1852 and 1889. Other noted personalities from Brody were the literary historian Marcus Landau, the Orientalist Jacob *Goldenthal, the writer Leo Herzberg-Fraenkel, and his son Sigmund Herzberg-Fraenkel, the historian. A folk choir, the "*Broder Singers," was founded by Berl (Margolis) *Broder. Baruch Werber and his son Jacob edited the Hebrew weekly *Ivri Anokhi* (also, *Ivri*) in Brody between 1865 and 1890. As a border town, Brody often served as a point of assembly for the masses of Jewish refugees from the Russian pogroms, intending to emigrate to America or to Western Europe.

Throughout the period of Austrian sovereignty, Brody returned Jewish deputies to the parliament in Vienna. In 1907 the president of the Galician Zionists, Adolf *Stand, was elected as deputy; however, he was maneuvered out of office in 1911 as a result of government pressure and political manipulation by the assimilationist Heinrich *Kolischer. After Brody reverted to Poland in 1919, Jewish communal life was revived under the leadership of Leon Kalir.

[Nathan Michael Gelber]

Holocaust Period

There were approximately 10,000 Jews in Brody when World War II broke out. This area came under Soviet occupation following the partition of Poland in 1939. The town fell to the Germans in July 1941, at which time the Germans set up a Judenrat headed by Dr. Abraham Glasberg. Persecution of the Jews began immediately, and several hundred were murdered by the Nazis and their Ukrainian collaborators. Among the victims were 250 Jewish intellectuals. A ghetto was established in January 1942 for the 6,500 remaining Jews of Brody, who were joined later on (in September 1942) by some 3,000 refugees from the neighboring towns and villages. The unbearable conditions in the ghetto (lack of fuel and foodstuffs), led to the decline of the ghetto population at a rate of 40–50 daily. In the hopes of better chances for survival, a few Jews managed to get into work camps in the vicinity by bribing the guards. Typhoid fever, claiming several hundred victims, broke out in the ghetto which was completely sealed off from contact with the outside.

Mass extermination of the Brody community began with the deportations to *Belzec death camp of several thousand Jews on Sept. 19–21, 1942, followed by several thousand more on November 2. The ghetto and labor camp for Jews were finally liquidated on May 21, 1943, when the surviving 3,500 Jews were deported to *Majdanek. Around 250 Jews survived the war.

RESISTANCE. During the Russian occupation and particularly after the Nazis invaded Russia, large numbers of young Jews from Brody joined the Soviet Army. By the end of 1942 a fighting unit (ZOB), consisting of young Jews of all political trends was formed in the ghetto, and led by Jakub Linder, Samuel Weiler, and Solomon Halberszstadt. The ZOB was divided into an urban unit which prepared for armed resistance within the ghetto, and a unit which trained small groups for partisan operations in the neighboring forests. The Jewish fighting organization maintained contacts with the non-Jewish resistance. So far as is known no Jewish community was reconstituted in Brody after World War II.

[Danuta Dombrowska]

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BRODY, ALTER (1895–1979), U.S. poet. Born in Pruzhany, Belarus, in Czarist Russia, Brody immigrated to New York City in 1903 and grew up on Manhattan's Lower East Side. In his first book, *A Family Album and Other Poems* (1918), Brody contrasted his childhood in Europe with the harsh realities of the New World, and interpreted industrial history against a background of ancient dreams. Indeed, according to Louis Untermeyer's appreciative introduction, Brody presented young America seen through the eyes of old Russia. This volume contains his most famous poem "Kartushkiya-Beroza," as well as poems with American themes such as "Times Square," "A Family Album," and "The Neurological Institute."

Brody's next literary volume was *Lamentations: Four Folk-Plays of the American Jew* (1928). The *New York Times* reviewer saw "… a powerful crescendo movement in each piece which carries the reader through to the end; a cumulative effectiveness, but an effectiveness of argument rather than dramatic effectiveness."

Alter Brody's other books were concerned with the political situation in Eastern Europe on the eve of World War II. The three titles, *The U.S.S.R. and Finland* (1939), *War and Peace in Finland* (1940), and *Behind the Polish-Soviet Break* (1943) were all published in New York by Soviet Russia Today, a Soviet government agency. Brody attempted to explain the outbreak of war in a Soviet light, stressing the plight of Polish Jewry from 1939 to 1942.

[Mark Padnos (2nd ed.)]

BRODY, HEINRICH (**Ḥayyim**; 1868–1942), researcher of Sephardi *piyyutim* and medieval Hebrew poetry. Brody was born in Ungvar (Uzhgorod), Hungary, the son of Solomon Zalman *Brody, the grandson of Solomon *Ganzfried, author of *Kiẓẓur Shulḥan Arukh*. Brody studied at the Bratislava (Pressburg) Yeshivah and at the Rabbinical Seminary in Berlin where he also attended university and came under the influence of Abraham *Berliner and Moritz *Steinschneider. In 1894 he published the first part of his proposed edition of the poems of Judah Halevi. Brody continued until 1930 to edit Halevi's poems, with extensive commentaries, but he never completed this edition. Brody intended to publish the works of all the important medieval Hebrew poets. In 1897 he began to publish the poems of Solomon ibn Gabirol, in 1910, those of Samuel ha-Nagid, and in 1926, *Maḥberot Immanuel* of Immanuel of Rome; but for various reasons these editions, too, were not completed. Brody became a Zionist while serving as rabbi in Nachod, Bohemia. After the establishment of the Mizrachi in 1902 he became president of the Hungarian organization. Brody expressed his views on Zionism and the role of religion in a pamphlet (published under the nom de plume H. Salomonsohn) *Widerspricht der Zionismus unserer Religion?* (1898). In 1905 he coauthored with K. Albrecht an anthology of Hebrew poetry of the Spanish-Arabic school entitled *Sha'ar ha-Shir* (English ed., 1906). In 1922, with M. Wiener, he edited an anthology of Hebrew poetry, *Mivḥar ha-Shirah ha-Ivrit*. Brody founded the bibliographical periodical *Zeitschrift fuer hebraeische Bibliographie* in 1896 and published it until 1906 (from 1900 to 1906 together with A. Freimann). He went to Prague in 1905 to head the local *talmud torah* and after the death of Nathan *Ehrenfeld became in 1912 chief rabbi of Prague. When the institute for research of Hebrew poetry (Ha-Makhon le-Ḥeker ha-Shirah ha-Ivrit) was founded in Berlin by S. Schocken in 1930, Brody was invited to head it, and in 1933 he moved with the Institute to Jerusalem. During his years at the Institute he edited the secular poems of Moses ibn Ezra (1935) and *Be'ur la-Divan* (a commentary on the *diwan* of Judah Halevi), a book containing a wealth of information on Hebrew poetry in Spain. He also published the *diwan* of Eleazar bar Jacob (1935) and edited (from 1933 to 1938) the Institute's studies (YMḤSI) in which he printed important original works. Brody published other research papers in Hebrew, German, and Hungarian. Years after Brody's death, Ḥ. Schirmann published under Brody's and his own name the critical edition of Ibn Gabirol's secular poetry (1974).

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[Abraham Meir Habermann]

BRODY, JANE E. (1941–), U.S. health and science writer. Born in Brooklyn, N.Y., Brody earned a B.S. degree in biochemistry from the New York State College of Agriculture and Life Sciences at Cornell University in 1962 and a master's degree in science writing from the University of Wisconsin School of Journalism the following year. She worked as a general assignment reporter for the *Minneapolis Tribune* until 1965, when she joined the *New York Times* as a specialist in medicine and biology. In 1967 she was named Personal Health columnist, and her no-nonsense, clearly written accounts of common health problems became one of the most widely read and frequently quoted columns in the country. In addition to her column, she wrote articles on other aspects of science and medicine; these appeared in more than 100 American newspapers. She also wrote scores of magazine articles and eight books, which were revised and updated regularly, and lectured widely on health and nutrition to audiences of lay people and professionals. Her books frequently turned up on the bestseller lists in hardcover and paperback.

As part of her belief in health, she insisted on daily physical activity, alternating with walking, cycling, swimming, ice skating, tennis, hiking, and occasionally roller-blading and cross-country skiing. A diminutive woman, she maintained a trim figure. Her regular menu focused on vegetables, fruits, grains, potatoes, beans, and peas as well as low-fat dairy products, lean meats and poultry, and all varieties of fish and shellfish. For those struggling with the battle of the bulge, she preached moderation and variety, not deprivation and denial.

Her reports on a healthy nutritious diet and good health – she was fervently against smoking – were widely influential among the medical profession. No medical topic was excluded from her columns: the minor risks of circumcision, fighting cancer (her mother died of cancer); the latest research on sleep; allergies; the perils of too much sun; raising twins (she had twin boys); caring for the elderly, or Marfan's syndrome, to name a few subjects from the thousands of articles she wrote. Brody appeared on countless radio and television programs and received numerous awards for journalistic excellence. In 1987 she was awarded an honorary doctorate from Princeton University and in 1993 an honorary doctorate from Hamline University in St. Paul. Among her books are *Jane Brody's New York Times Guide to Personal Health, Jane Brody's Good Food Book, and Jane Brody's Food Gourmet.*

[Stewart Kampel (2nd ed.)]

BRÓDY, LÁSZLÓ (1897–), Hungarian poet. Brody's verse, the first collected volume of which, *Bohóc* ("Clown"), appeared in 1921, deals with urban poverty and often betrays nostalgia for traditional Jewish life. His works include the verse comedy, *Bábszinház* ("Puppet Theater," 1926), and *Esztendők* ("Years," 1945), poems written during the Nazi era. Some of his verse has been translated into Hebrew and Yiddish.

BRÓDY, LILI (1906–1962), Hungarian author and journalist. A regular contributor to *Pesti Napló*, Lili Bródy wrote sketches and short stories that were popular in the 1930s, but made her name with novels such as *A Manci* (1932) and *Felesége tartja el* (1932; *Kept by his Wife*, 1936). Although the characters were not explicitly Jewish, the novelist in fact painted a vivid picture of the Budapest Jewish middle class between the world wars.

BRÓDY, SÁNDOR (1863–1924), Hungarian novelist and playwright. Born in Eger (Hungary), Bródy began his career as a journalist. In 1902 he started his own monthly *Fehér könyv* ("The White Book") and three years later helped to found the weekly *Jovendő* ("The Future"). He portrayed the typical citizen of Pest and his writing helped to mold the characteristic brand of humor associated with Budapest. Bródy's real literary merit lies, however, in the fact that he prepared the ground for the flowering of Hungarian prose in the 20th century. His style was archaic and folkish, interspersed with the emerging idiom of Pest. A number of his stories and plays introduce Jewish characters, and with *Nyomor* ("Misery," 1884) he became the first writer in Hungarian literature to describe the Jewish worker. His letter to Géza Gárdonyi (reprinted in *Haladás*, 1947, no. 17) praises Judaism, and in his last novel *Rembrandt* (1925; Eng. tr. 1928) his own Jewish associations and memories form an integral part of the whole book. His play *Timár Liza* (1914) dramatized the decadence of assimilated Jewish parvenus. Some of Bródy's plays were performed outside Hungary and several were adapted for the screen.

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[Jeno Zsoldos]

BRODY, SOLOMON ZALMAN BEN ISRAEL (1835–1917), rabbi and author. Brody, a member of the well-known rabbinical family of that name, was born in Ungvar (Uzhgorod), Hungary. He was a pupil of Abraham Samuel *Sofer at the Bratislava yeshivah. From 1885 he served as *dayyan* in his native town. Brody became known for his insistence on the strict observance of the law, and in particular took a stand against circumvention of the law of usury. He set out his uncompromising attitude in an essay called "*Neshekh ve-Tarbit*" (*Ha-Maggid*, 23 (1879), nos. 34–38), in which he opposed the practice, then customary, of a *shetar iska* (an agreement between a lender and borrower in connection with an interest-bearing loan applied for trading purposes). Despite his conservative outlook, he took a positive attitude in support of Zionism, to which he devoted an essay, "*Derishat Ẓiyyon*" (first published in D.Z. Katzburg's *Tel Talpiyyot*, 12, 1904), and containing some of his homiletical and halakhic novellae. He also wrote a work called *Divrei Shelomo ha-Yisre'eli*, the manuscript of which was in the possession of his son Ḥayyim, chief rabbi of Prague. Brody was the son-in-law of Solomon *Ganzfried, the author of the *Kiẓẓur Shulḥan Arukh*.

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[Elias Katz]

BRODY, TAL (1943–), basketball player, Israeli sports hero. Born in Trenton, New Jersey, Brody played at the University of Illinois, where he was named All-American in 1965 and was the No. 13 pick in the NBA draft, selected by the Baltimore Bullets. Brody led the U.S. team to a gold medal at the 1965 Maccabiah Games before joining the Maccabi-Tel Aviv team a year later. He was named Israel's Sportsman of the Year in 1967 after leading Maccabi-Tel Aviv to a second-place finish in the European Cupholders Cup. Drafted into the U.S. Army in 1968, Brody served primarily on the All-Army and All-Armed Forces basketball teams, with the latter finishing third in the World Championships in Belgrade. He helped Israel win its first Maccabiah Games basketball gold medal in 1969 and became a citizen of Israel in 1970. Brody then led Maccabi-Tel Aviv to a European Champions Cup in 1977, a historic moment in Israeli sports history, with political undertones. The key game on the road to the championship was against CSKA Moscow – the Red Army team – four-time winners of the European Cup. The Soviet Union had no diplomatic relations with Israel and the team refused to play in Tel Aviv or allow the Israelis to come to Moscow. The game was played at a neutral site in Virton, Belgium, where Brody's Maccabi team triumphed 91–79. The championship contest against Italy's Mobil Girgi was held in Belgrade, Yugoslavia, and the El Al plane that brought the team was the first Israeli plane permitted to land in the country. Maccabi-Tel Aviv defeated Italy 78–77 to capture the European title. Brody's exultant postgame interview, in heavily accented and less than perfect Hebrew, gave Israel one of its most famous quotes: "We're on the map and we're staying on the map, not just in sports but in everything!" Brody went on to help Maccabi-Tel Aviv win 10 Israeli championships and six Israeli State Cups, and in 1979 received the Israel Prize for his contribution to sports.

[Elli Wohlgelernter (2nd ed.)]

BRÓDY, ZSIGMOND (1840–1906), Hungarian journalist and poet. He used his pen in the struggle to attain equal rights for Jews. This was also the theme of his poetry, written under the pen-name, "A Hungarian Jew." His hymns (in Hungarian) for the Neolog Great Synagogue in Pest were in use for some years. Bródy was cofounder of the literary periodical *Pannonia*, which published Hungarian writings in German translations, and became known for his contributions to the papers *Magyar Sajtó* and *Pesti Napló*. He was active in Hungary's struggle for equality with Austria under the Hapsburg monarchy and was secretary at the Ministry of Interior in 1871. Resigning the following year, he bought the German-language newspaper *Neues Pester Journal*. In 1896 he was appointed to the Hungarian Upper House as a life member. Bródy made large donations to charitable causes and left most of his estate to a Jewish hospital for children, which was named after his wife Adel.

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[Baruch Yaron]

°**BROGLIE, VICTOR-CLAUDE, PRINCE DE** (1757–1794), French statesman. Broglie supported the French Revolution, but opposed granting the Jews emancipation, both in writing (*Opinion sur l'Admission des Juifs à l'Etat Civil*, in Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris) and at the Constituent Assembly. Broglie argued that granting civil rights to German-speaking Jews would cause further unrest in *Alsace and Lorraine, that the majority of Alsace Jews were indifferent to citizenship, and that the Jewish claim for citizenship was based on a Jewish plot (January 1791). On September 27, 1791, after a draft resolution demanding equal rights for Jews was approved almost unanimously by the Assembly, Broglie proposed that the Jews be required to swear the Oath of Citizenship ("to Nation, King, and Law"), which amounted to a renunciation of their communal jurisdiction. A modified version of Broglie's amendment was finally approved. Broglie's arguments were among those that inspired *Napoleon Bonaparte's policy toward the Jews and their communal organizations.

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BROIDA, SIMḤAH ZISSEL BEN ISRAEL (1824–1898), rabbi and moralist. He came from a distinguished family which traced its descent to Abraham *Broda, rabbi of Frankfurt. Broida was the outstanding disciple and follower of Israel Lipkin (Salanter), the founder of the Musar *movement. Broida was usually referred to as the "*sabba* (an affectionate term, roughly equivalent to "grand old man") of Kelme." Broida taught the principles of *musar* in Zagare (Lithuania) and St. Petersburg, subsequently founding the *talmud torah* in *Kelme which became the chief center for the spread of the movement. Compelled to leave Kelme as the result of a false accusation, he went to Grobin and founded a *talmud torah* which eventually numbered hundreds of disciples, including noted rabbis of the succeeding generation: Nathan Ẓevi *Finkel, Isser Zalman *Melzer, Aaron Bakst, Moses Mordecai *Epstein, Naphtali Trop, Joseph Leib *Bloch, and Joseph of Nowogródek. His ethical teachings emphasized the need for self-improvement, humility, and making allowance for others. He himself was regarded as a living example of his teaching.

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[Itzhak Alfassi]

BROIDES, ABRAHAM (1907–1979), Hebrew poet. Broides, who was born in Vilna, settled in Palestine in 1923. He worked for several years as a laborer, an experience which his poetry is rooted in, and was one of the founders of Ha-No'ar ha-Oved ("Working Youth Organization"). From 1928 until 1964 he was secretary of the Hebrew Writers Association and also edited their publication, *Daf*. Broides first began to publish poetry in the early 1920s in *Ha-Kokhav* and other journals. He began as a proletarian poet describing the anguish and the toil of the poor. Later he wrote landscape poetry with simple and lyrical lines. He is also the author of several volumes of children's verse.

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[Getzel Kressel]

BROIDO, EPHRAIM (1912–1994), Hebrew essayist, translator, and editor. Born in Bialystok, he went to Tel Aviv at the age of 13. From 1931 to 1933 he studied at the University of Berlin, during which time he also contributed articles to *Davar*, was a member of the Central Committee of He-Ḥalutz, and compiled the *Kedem Taschen-Woerterbuch* (1934–35), a Hebrew-German dictionary. In 1934 he returned to Tel Aviv and joined the editorial staff of *Davar*, writing numerous articles on political, social, and literary issues and translating poetry and prose. During World War II he was *Davar*'s correspondent in London. In 1948 he founded the influential literary-political monthly *Molad* (from 1968 a bimonthly).

Among the works he edited are *Derekh Ge'ullim* (1935), a selection of M.L. *Lilienblum's writings; and two chrestomathies, *If I Forget Thee* and *The Call of Freedom* (London, 1941). Broido translated Shakespeare's sonnets and several of his plays: *Macbeth* (1954), *The Tempest*, *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, *Much Ado About Nothing* (all published in 1964), and *The Comedy of Errors* (1965). He also translated selections from the poetry of W.B. Yeats and of Michelangelo.

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[Ezra Spicehandler]

BROIDO, LOUIS (1895–1975), U.S. business executive and communal leader. Broido was born in Pittsburgh. He served with the U.S. Army in France, in World War I, then as a member of the U.S. Commission for War Claims in France and Italy until 1920. Broido returned to practice law in Pittsburgh and then in New York from 1926 to 1936, when he left the bar to become executive vice president and later chairman of the advisory commission of Gimbels Brothers. He retired from this post in 1961 and became managing partner of a private investment company from 1962. Named New York City commissioner of commerce in 1961, Broido was also a New York retail trade leader and a member of several municipal committees. He was vice chairman of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations for many years, president of the United Jewish Appeal in 1951 and 1952, and from 1965 chairman of the *American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee. His wife, LUCY KAUFMANN BROIDO (1900–1969), helped found the Women's Division of the New York United Jewish Appeal. She was vice president of the Jewish Education Committee (1946–53), and president of the New York section of the National Council of Jewish Women (1949–53).

[Edward L. Greenstein]

BROKERS. The large variety of commercial intermediaries and agents to which this term refers, in both medieval and modern times, generally included a substantial proportion of Jews. They were particularly numerous at fairs and in ports which were centers of interregional trade, and later also in various types of exchanges. In this kind of occupation, skill, information, a wide command of languages, and international connections were the chief requirements, and even men with little initial capital of their own could make a living and often a fortune.

Jewish brokers, itinerant and resident, were frequently found in the Mediterranean commercial centers throughout the Middle Ages. In Muslim countries brokerage was often specialized to a high degree. The activity of Jewish brokers was not distinct from that of non-Jews, but benefited periodically from Christian-Muslim political tension. In Christian countries the economic value of brokers was not widely recognized in the early Middle Ages, and their activity was often curtailed. In addition, Jewish traders and brokers suffered from religious animus. Nevertheless Jewish brokers were found in major ports such as Marseilles, Pisa, Barcelona, and Venice. In Spain the position of *corredor* ("broker") was a lucrative one, licensed by the king's bailiffs. Their activity was not limited to the ports, for they were also active in the countryside, particularly on royal and noble estates where they were in charge of selling agricultural produce and buying luxury commodities. The economic and social position of the broker within the Jewish community was generally inferior to that of the merchant. Brokers were excluded from community leadership in Majorca in 1356.

A new era in the history of Jewish brokerage began in the 16th century with the waves of exiles from Spain and Portugal to the ports of Italy, northern Europe, North Africa, the Balkans, and the Ottoman Empire, which coincided with European maritime expansion. Many of the exiles turned to brokerage, utilizing connections between their far-flung places of refuge. In Amsterdam brokerage in goods from the colonies, especially tobacco and sugar, was very profitable; Jewish brokers were allowed to operate unhindered; the entire brokerage of Brazilian sugar was in Jewish hands. In 1612 ten of the 300 authorized brokers were Jewish, and 30 of 430 in 1645. Among the 1,000 unauthorized brokers were many Ashkenazim. Of the 442 Jews who had an annual income exceeding 800 guilders in 1743, 25 were licensed and 100 unlicensed brokers. Marrano brokers had been active in England even before the readmittance (1656). In 1668 there were ten Jewish brokers on the London exchange; in addition there were also many unlicensed ones. An attempt to suppress the activities of unauthorized brokers (and to evict the Jews) led to a parliamentary commission which in 1697 regulated the number of brokers at 100 Englishmen, 12 aliens, and 12 Jews. Attempts to raise the permitted number of Jews failed in 1723, 1730, and 1739. In Hamburg there were four professional Portuguese-Jewish brokers in the early 17th century in addition to numerous unauthorized ones, mainly Ashkenazi; by 1692 there were 20 Sephardi and 100 Christian brokers. The city council succeeded in lowering the ratio and total number of Jewish brokers in the 18th century.

A different type of Jewish brokerage developed in Poland-Lithuania. During the 16th and 17th centuries domestic commerce as well as export (timber, grain, furs; see *Arenda) and import (cloth, wine, luxuries) were largely in Jewish hands, and brokers played an important role, particularly at the regular fairs (*Lublin and *Jaroslaw). The anti-Jewish polemicist Sebastian *Miczyński wrote in 1618, "A short while ago … the Jews made, among themselves, a general agreement and regulation whereby no Jew is to deal with a Christian for their profit, neither to act as intermediary for any merchandise if they request it of him, nor to lead a merchant to Christian merchants or craftsmen, but to Jews alone. And on whoever transgresses this agreement they have applied great bans, curses, and punishments." This is a hostile presentation of a real conflict within the Jewish community. Merchants, who were predominant in community leadership, struggled to preserve their vested interests against brokers.

Tension between brokers and merchants is illustrated in the *Poznan community, where resident brokers dealing with foreign merchants were vigorously harassed. Between 1626 and 1696 the community records show an attempt to address their activity almost annually, but warnings, fines, and excommunications were to no avail for their numbers increased. Their commission was fixed between ½ and 1%, a rate that could be profitable only given a high turnover. Merchants were considered as justified in paying the regular fee only, even when a higher one had been agreed upon; brokers were accused of causing the economic ills of the community, in particular of revealing trade secrets to Gentiles; they were sometimes equated with informers. Toward the end of the 17th century pronouncements against brokers became milder and rarer. The community, in economic straits, had acquiesced to a situation in which ever-growing numbers of its members were brokers or prepared to deal in brokerage.

On their arrival in Western Europe and the United States, immigrants from Eastern Europe found a niche in several new types of brokerage, among them many new intermediary businesses like real estate brokerage, employment agencies, commodity and security exchanges, and commission agencies. In Central Europe the position of Jewish brokers combined Eastern and Western characteristics. Jews handled a large proportion of the trade between town and country, particularly grain and livestock, but were often excluded from the exchanges in the main cities. The first Jewish merchant to enter the Danzig exchange did so in 1808, accompanied by French gendarmes, after the occupation of the city. In Leipzig, center of the *fur trade, six Jews were appointed brokers for the duration of the fur fair in 1813. By 1818, 28 of 35 fair brokers were Jews, 14 of them from *Brody. Jews were prominent in regional as well as central exchanges in southern and central Germany, Hungary, and Romania. Their position deteriorated in the 20th century as a result of the rise of producers' cooperatives, which attempted to bypass the middleman, and other developments hostile to small traders.

In Yiddish literature Shalom Aleichem created the figure of the broker Menahem Mendel of Kasrilevke who with his dreams is a kind of Jewish Walter Mitty.

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Henry Wasserman]

BRONER, ESTHER M. (1930–), U.S. author. Broner was born in Detroit and is the author of nine books, including her first publication, the play *Summer is a Foreign Land* (1966), the novel *A Weave of Women* (1978), and the work of non-fiction *Bringing Home the Light: A Jewish Woman's Handbook of Rituals* (1999). The child of Russian immigrants, she is best known for her attempts to include women in Jewish ritual. Using feminist principles, her work often turns to alternative traditions of healing and magic. Broner's concern with boundaries and separation led her to fight the constraints traditional Jewish ceremonies imposed on women. In *A Women's Haggadah* (co-written with Naomi Nimrod), part of the *The Telling* (1993), she chronicles the creation of the first women's *seder*s in New York. Within this feminist *Haggadah*, the women ask and answer questions about the contributions women have made to Judaism. Broner's work has appeared in numerous national publications, including *Ms. Magazine, Women's Review of Literature*, *North American Review, Mother Jones, The Nation* and *Tikkun*. She has taught and lectured at numerous American and Israeli universities: Columbia University, CUNY-City College, Haifa University, Ohio State, New York University, Oberlin College, Sarah Lawrence College, Tulane University, and UCLA. She has also received various honors, the O. Henry Award, two National Endowment for the Arts Awards (1987 and 1979), The City of New York Award for "A Celebration of Jewish Heritage" (2000), and a Distinguished Alumni of Wayne State University Award, where she is professor emerita. In addition to writing about Jewish ritual and faith, she has performed various peace ceremonies around the world, for example, in the Sinai Desert, on the White House lawn, and at a UN event in Nairobi.

[Sara Newman (2nd ed.)]

BRONFENBRENNER, MARTIN (1914–1997), U.S. economist. Bronfenbrenner was born in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.

He received his Ph.D. from the University of Chicago in 1939. He taught for some time before going into government service, first with the Treasury (1940–41) and then with the Federal Reserve System. In 1947 he returned to teaching, at Wisconsin (1947–57), Michigan State (1957–58), and Minnesota (1958–62) Universities. In 1962 he joined the Carnegie Institute of Technology in Pittsburgh, and in 1966 became chairman of the economics department at Carnegie-Mellon University. He then taught at Duke University in North Carolina, where he held the Kenen Chair from 1971 until 1984. Bronfenbrenner moved to Japan in 1984 as a professor of international economics at the Aoyama Gakuin University in Tokyo. He returned to Duke University in 1991, where he taught until his death.

He served as vice president of the American Economic Association (1976–77), president of the Southern Economic Association (1979–80), and president of the History of Economics Society (1982–83). In 1997 he was elected a Distinguished Fellow of the American Economic Association.

Bronfenbrenner's main interests were the economics of the Far East, particularly of Japan and Korea. His books include *Lessons of Japanese Economic Development* (1961), *Survey of Inflation Theory* (1963), *Academic Encounter: The American University in Japan and Korea* (1963), *Is the Business Cycle Obsolete?* (1970), *Income Distribution Theory* (1971), *Macroeconomic Alternatives* (1979), *Economics* (1987), *Macroeconomics* (1987), and *Microeconomics* (1990).

[Joachim O. Ronall / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

BRONFMAN, Canadian family prominent in business, philanthropy, and Jewish affairs. SAM BRONFMAN (1891–1971), the patriarch of the family, claimed he was born in Brandon, Manitoba, in 1891 although, according to his biographer Michael Marrus, he was probably born in Russia shortly before the family immigrated to Canada. Before World War I Sam and his brothers, Abe (1882–1968) and Harry (1886–1963), worked in the small family-owned Manitoba hotels, better known for their bars than their rental rooms.

Even as Prohibitionist sentiment rolled across English-speaking Canada, an ambitions and competitive Sam Bronfman gradually refocused his business goals from running bars to distributing liquor – skirting the edge of the law as he supplied spirits to bootleggers who serviced Prohibition America – and eventually to manufacturing liquor. In 1924 Bronfman and his wife, Saidye, moved to Montreal, Quebec, where attitudes toward liquor were more open. Here Bronfman built his first distillery.

Bronfman's timing could not have been better. Prohibition was a waning force in Canada and, Prohibition or no Prohibition, there was money to be made in quenching the thirst of nearby American population centers. With the end of Prohibition in the United States, Bronfman's liquor company, Seagram's, acquired a significant share of the American liquor market and Bronfman came to control one of the largest family fortunes in Canada. With the passage of time, Bronfman also expanded into other profitable enterprises, including commercial and business land development across North America.

While Sam Bronfman, Mr. Sam as he was commonly called, retained the rough edges of his gritty upbringing, wealth afforded him membership in Montreal's Jewish elite. By the early 1930s Bronfman was active in a wide range of Montreal Jewish fund-raising activities, although the Yiddish-speaking industrialist kept his distance from the Montreal downtown immigrant world and its politics, preferring philanthropy over ideology.

In November 1938 came **Kristallnacht* (the "Night of Broken Glass" in Germany and Austria). The Canadian Jewish elite was forced to admit that philanthropy afforded no answer to the rise of Nazism in Europe, to the crisis of Jewish refugees denied Canadian entry, and to fears of growing antisemitism in Canada. A new and active community political agenda was required. Bronfman, now an influential community leader and financial powerhouse, was approached by H.M. *Caiserman to become actively involved in the Canadian Jewish Congress and, specifically, to take up the cause of Jewish refugees. Bronfman, who had previously dismissed the Congress as an ineffectual debating society for "greenies," an organization scarred by ideological divisions he neither understood nor cared to understand, accepted. For Bronfman, the challenge was not just to advance the cause of refugees but also to build the Canadian Jewish Congress into a powerful voice in Jewish and Canadian life. This, he concluded, required a firm hand at the organizational wheel, his hand. He was soon elected president of the Canadian Jewish Congress and with him and his financial clout came support from others in the Jewish elite, a revitalized and "Canadianized" Congress agenda, and a businesslike organization run by dedicated professional staff. With Bronfman as its president for a quarter century and supporter until his death in 1971, the Congress became the organizational heart of Canadian Jewry.

In spite of the Congress' organizational success, not all of Bronfman's hopes were realized. An outspoken Canadian patriot, he never satisfied his personal dream of being appointed to the Canadian Senate. But he did cast a long shadow across Canadian and particularly Montreal Jewish life, contributing generously to the organizational and institutional success of the community. An ardent champion of Israel, Bronfman was also active in support of the Jewish state. In 1964 Bronfman was appointed the first Jewish governor of McGill University, reflecting both his status and the changing status of Jews in Montreal. When Bronfman died, the billionaire head of the world's largest distillery had been for 40 years the single most influential leader of the Canadian Jewish community.

On his death, Bronfman's business empire, as well as his legacy of community service, passed to his four children: Aileen (Baronne Alain de Gunzburg), Phyllis (*Lambert), Edgar Miles *Bronfman, and Charles Rosner Bronfman.

AILEEN MINDEL BRONFMAN DE GUNZBURG (1925–1986) was born in Montreal. She went to Smith College in the United States before taking a graduate degree in history at Columbia.

In 1953 she married Alain de Gunzburg, a banker and member of a prominent and aristocratic French-Jewish family. They lived in Paris, where, then a baroness, she became deeply involved in *Youth Aliyah.

CHARLES ROSNER BRONFMAN (1931–) was born in Montreal and attended McGill University. He joined the family business and in 1958 assumed responsibility for the family's Canadian holdings, which had gradually expanded beyond the liquor business to include new areas of enterprise, including major commercial property development. His business interests also included professional sport when, from 1968 to 1990, he was chairman and principal owner of the Montreal Expo baseball team. He also served as chairman of Koor Industries Ltd., Israel's largest industrial holding company.

Deeply committed to Jewish community life, Charles Bronfman has devoted time and wealth to community service. His Andrea and Charles Bronfman Philanthropies is working to strengthen Canadian identity and to promote Jewish education and cultural awareness in Canada, the United States, and Israel. To foster appreciation for Israel among Jewish youth around the world, Bronfman was also a founding partner of Birthright Israel and chairman of its forerunner organization, Israel Experience. He helped found and was chairman of United Jewish Communities, an umbrella body of merged Jewish Federations and the United Jewish Appeal across North America, and he serves on many boards including the McGill Institute for the Study of Canada and the Washington Institute for Near East Policy.

The Bronfman family's tradition of service to the Jewish and larger community continues but their financial empire has been greatly reduced. After the handover of management of the family's business empire to a new generation, a series of business reversals and resulting corporate adjustments in the 1990s cost the family considerable wealth.

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[Harold Troper (2nd ed.)]

BRONFMAN, EDGAR MILES (1929–), industrialist and Jewish leader. Bronfman was born in Montreal to Saidye and Samuel *Bronfman. He attended Trinity College in Port Hope, Ontario; Williams College in Williamstown, Massachusetts; and graduated with a bachelor's degree from McGill University in Montreal in 1951. In 1953 he joined Distillers Corp. Seagram Ltd. in Canada (renamed the Seagram Company Ltd. in 1975). In 1955 Bronfman moved to New York, where he became a naturalized citizen of the U.S. In 1957 he became president of the U.S. subsidiary of Seagram and undertook the construction of a new corporate headquarters, the Seagram Building, a New York City landmark skyscraper. After his father's death in 1971 Bronfman assumed complete control of the firm, becoming chairman and chief executive officer of the Seagram Company Ltd., the Canadian parent firm, and of Joseph E. Seagram & Sons, Inc., the U.S. subsidiary, in 1975. Under his leadership the Seagram empire grew and diversified, from natural gas and oil holdings in Asia and Europe to a significant interest in the international chemical firm E.I. du Pont de Nemours & Company. In 1995 Bronfman acquired Universal, one of Hollywood's major studios. In 1998 he purchased the PolyGram NV record company. In 1994 he relinquished the position of chief executive officer to his son, Edgar Bronfman, Jr. The senior Edgar Bronfman served as chairman of the Seagram Company Ltd. until its merger under Vivendi Universal in 2000.

Bronfman had a notable career as a Jewish communal leader and philanthropist. Foremost among his positions is that of president (from 1981) of the *World Jewish Congress, an association of Jewish representative organizations in more than 80 countries. Bronfman took that organization through a period of consolidation and assumed an active role on behalf of Jewish communities and causes in many parts of the world. He also held significant positions with many other Jewish and non-Jewish organizations, such as the International Board of Governors of Hillel, the American Jewish Committee, the American Jewish Congress, the ADL, and the National Urban League.

Bronfman wrote three books: *The Making of a Jew* (1996), *Good Spirits: The Making of a Businessman* (1998), and *The Third Act: Reinventing Yourself after Retirement* (2002). In 1999 he was awarded the Presidential Medal of Freedom by President Clinton, the highest civilian honor in the U.S.

[Mark Friedman / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

BRONFMAN, YEFIM (1958–), Russian-born Israeli, later American pianist. Bronfman began his training with his mother, a piano teacher. When he was 15, the family immigrated to Israel. There he studied piano with Arie *Vardi, then head of the Rubin Academy of Music in Tel Aviv. He made his international début with Zubin *Mehta and the Montreal Symphony Orchestra (1975). After his appearance in the Marlboro Music Festival in 1976, he immigrated to the U.S. He continued his studies at the Juilliard School in New York City and the Curtis Institute of Music in Philadelphia, as a pupil of Leon *Fleisher, William Masselos, and Rudolf *Serkin.

Noted for his commanding technique and exceptional lyrical gifts, Bronfman appeared with leading orchestras and conductors. He gave recitals in North America, Europe, and the Far East, and made acclaimed debuts in Carnegie Hall (1989) and Avery Fisher Hall (1993). In 1991 he gave a series of joint recitals with Isaac *Stern in Russia. That same year he was awarded the Avery Fisher Prize.

A devoted chamber music performer, Bronfman has collaborated with the Emerson, Cleveland, and Juilliard Quartets, as well as with Yo-Yo Ma, Joshua *Bell, Shlomo *Mintz, and Pinchas *Zukerman. His expansive repertoire extends from Scarlatti to contemporary music. Among his recordings are the complete Prokofiev Piano Sonatas; all five of the Prokofiev Piano Concertos; and works by Rachmaninoff, Mussorgsky, Stravinsky, and Tchaikovsky. He won a Grammy award in 1997 for his recording of the three Bartok Piano Concertos.

Summer engagements have regularly taken him to the Aspen, Lucerne, Mostly Mozart, Ravinia, Salzburg, Tanglewood, and Verbier festivals.

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[Naama Ramot (2nd ed.)]

BRONOWSKI, JACOB (1908–1974), British mathematician, philosopher, and writer. Bronowski was born in Poland, and went to England at the age of 12. He was educated at Cambridge and from 1934 to 1942 lectured in mathematics at the University College of Hull. During World War II, he was sent to Washington to work on the Joint Target Group and served as a member of the chiefs of staff mission to Japan in 1945–46. In 1948–49 he was UNESCO's Head of Projects and from 1950 headed the Coal Research establishment of the National Coal Board. In 1964 he became a senior fellow and deputy director of the Salk Institute for Biological Studies and settled in the United States.

He became an authority on the poet William Blake; his books on this subject include *William Blake, a Man without a Mask* (1944). Bronowski also wrote a number of experimental radio plays, of which *Face of Violence* won the international Italia Prize for 1951. His philosophical appraisal of the history of ideas appears in *The Western Intellectual Tradition* (1960). The urgency of the need for the scientist and the humanist to understand each other's language became his preoccupation from the 1950s onward. His works in this field include *The Common Sense of Science* (1951) and *Science and Human Values* (1958).

During his later years Bronowski attained fame as a leading popular exponent of the philosophical basis of scientific research, which reached its climax in a 13-part television series done for the British Broadcasting Corporation entitled "The Ascent of Man." The filming of the series took place from July 1971 to December 1972, and was first broadcast between May and July 1973. The book of the same name, based on the series, was a best-seller. Bronowski also published *William Blake and the Age of Revolution* (1972). Two books of his essays edited by Pierro E. Ariotten in collaboration with Rita Bronowski have also appeared: *A Sense of the Future: Essays in Natural Philosophy* and The *Visionary Eye: Essays in the Arts, Literature, and Sciences.*

ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY: ODNB *online.*

[George H. Fried]

BRONSTEIN, DAVID (1924–), Russian chess grand master. Born in Belaya Tserkov (Ukraine), Bronstein established his place by victories gained in Moscow in 1946, 1948, and 1949, and in Stockholm in 1948. At Budapest in 1950 he shared first place in the Candidates' Tournament with Isaac *Boleslavski, whom he defeated in the play-off. This victory qualified him to play a match of 24 games with Mikhail *Botvinnik, only to draw the match, which left Botvinnik the world champion. He did not win a Candidates' Tournament after 1950 though he was highly placed more than once. He played exceptionally well in the Interzone Tournament in Goteborg in 1955. Bronstein owed his successes to his exceptional originality. His tremendous efforts of thought in the middlegame often left him too exhausted to do justice to the endgame. He contributed much to chess theory, especially regarding openings. His book *Zurich International Chess Tournament, 1953* (1979), annotating all the games in that famous competition, was published in several editions and translated into many languages. In the 1980s he visited Israel twice.

[Gerald Abrahams / Shmuel Spector (2nd ed.)]

BRONSTEIN, HERBERT (1930–), U.S. Reform rabbi and liturgist. Bronstein was born in Cincinnati, Ohio, where he earned his B.A. (1952) and M.A. (1953) at the University of Cincinnati. He received his B.H.L. from Hebrew Union College in 1954, followed by his M.H.L. in 1956, and rabbinic ordination in 1957. Bronstein began his career as a congregational rabbi at Temple B'rith Kodesh in Rochester, New York (1957–72), where he also taught history of religions at the University of Rochester, founded the Institute of Pastoral Counseling in cooperation with the Department of Psychiatry of that university's Medical School, and served as chairman of the Jewish Community Relations Council. In 1972, Bronstein was appointed senior rabbi of North Shore Congregation Israel, in Glencoe, Illinois, a suburb of Chicago, where he also lectured on the faculties of the University of Illinois at Chicago, Northwestern University, and the Catholic Theological Union. In addition, he served as president of both the Chicago Association of Reform Rabbis and the Chicago Board of Rabbis. In 1997, he was appointed rabbi emeritus/senior scholar of the congregation he had served for 25 years. From 1995, he lectured on history of religions at Lake Forest College.

Active in interfaith relations, Bronstein founded a number of ecumenical organizations on the local, regional, and international levels. He founded the Council of Religious Leaders of Metropolitan Chicago and served as its first vice president (1987). Together with Joseph Cardinal Bernardin, he established the Catholic-Jewish Dialogue (1984), and later the Midwest Conference on Conscience, under the auspices of the Religious Action Center of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations and the Board of the Joseph Cardinal Bernardin Center. Additionally, Bronstein was a founder, member, and trustee of the Council for the Parliament of World Religions from its inception in 1988, as well as founder and co-chair of the Jewish-Muslim dialogue under the auspices of the Council for the Parliament of World Religions. He delivered papers at the Parliaments of Religions sessions in Chicago (1993), Cape Town, South Africa (1997), and Barcelona, Spain (2004), and helped write and organize the Inter-Religious Celebrations that opened the first parliament in Chicago, as well as the opening of the Assembly of Religious Leaders at Monserrat, Spain, prior to the Barcelona Parliament.

Bronstein was a leading figure in shaping the liturgy and ritual of the Reform movement. He was a member of the Reform Jewish Liturgy Committee of the *Central Conference of American Rabbis for more than 30 years (1965–97) and chairman of the committee for six of those years (1981–87). During that time, the committee published the "Gates of …" series of prayer books, plus two works that Bronstein himself edited: the *Haggadah* for Passover and the Five Scrolls (Festival Worship). The *Haggadah* has had several editions issued over the years; in 1999, the CCAR declared it a "Modern Liturgical Classic." Additionally, Bronstein was chairman of the Joint [CCAR-UAHC] Commission on Worship (1972–82) and a member of those organizations' Joint Social Action Committee. He also served on the Executive Committee of the Central Conference of American Rabbis and chaired the CCAR's first two Rabbinic Academic Convocations (1992, 1994). In 1988, Bronstein received the Isaac Mayer Wise Award for contributions to Reform Judaism, and was designated Distinguished Alumnus of the Year 2000 at McMicken College of Arts and Sciences of the University of Cincinnati.

[Bezalel Gordon (2nd ed.)]

BROOK, BARRY SHELLEY (1918–1997), U.S. musicologist. Brook studied at the City College of New York and at Columbia University and received his doctorate from the Sorbonne in 1959. In 1945 he became professor of musicology at Queens College, New York, and was a visiting professor at New York University (1964–65) and the University of Paris (1967–68). From 1974 he was responsible at City University of New York for a facsimile archive of 18th- and early 19th-century autographs, manuscripts, and prints. He was the general editor of the Breitkopf Thematic Catalogues (New York, 1966) and of the historical series The Symphony, 1720–1840 (New York, 1979–85). Brook was also the president and editor of the planned 17-volume reference work Universe of Music. His special fields of research were 16th-century secular music and 18th-century instrumental music. He was one of the pioneers in the application of computer technologies to various musicological and bibliographical problems. In 1966 he founded the computerized *Répertoire International de Littérature Musicale* (RILM), the first journal of systematic musicological abstracts. His publications include *La symphonie française dans la seconde moité du XVIIIe siècle* (3 vols., 1962); *Thematic Catalogues in Music: An Annotated Bibliography* (1972); and *The Symphony, 1720–1840: Reference Volume* (1986). Other editions of his include, with F. Degrada and H. Hucke: *Giovanni Battista Pergolesi: The Complete Works* (1986–); with B.C. MacIntyre: *Streichtrios, Joseph Haydn: Werke, XI/1–2* (1986–96).

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[Israela Stein (2nd ed.)]

BROOK, PETER STEPHEN PAUL (1925–), British theater producer, director, and filmmaker. Born to Russian Jewish immigrants in London, by his early twenties Brook became famous for his avant-garde productions of the plays of such writers as Jean-Paul Sartre and, especially, for his experimental and controversial staging of Shakespeare's plays at the Royal Shakespeare Company in Stratford-on-Avon. At the age of only 22, he was also appointed director of the Royal Opera House, Covent Garden. In 1964 Brook achieved notoriety by staging Peter Weiss's *Marat/Sade*, with its shocking depictions of sadism. Brook also directed a number of films, including *The Lord of the Flies* (1963). Among the best-known and most influential theatrical figures of the recent past in Britain, in 1998 Brook was made a Companion of Honour (C.H.); he is the author of an autobiography, *Threads of Time: A Memoir* (1999).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: R. Helfer and G. Loney (eds.), *Peter Brook: Oxford to Orghast* (1998); A. Hunt and G. Reeves, *Peter Brook* (1995); J.C. Trewin, *Peter Brook: A Biography* (1971); M. Kustow, *Peter Brook* (2005)

[William D. Rubinstein (2nd ed.)]

BROOKNER, ANITA (1928–), writer and art historian. Brookner was born in London, England, into a family of Polish origin. She was educated at the University of London and at the Courtauld Institute in London. In her professional life, her achievements have been in the areas of both art history and English literature. She was a visiting lecturer at the University of Reading from 1958 to 1964 and shortly thereafter became a lecturer in art history at the Courtauld Institute. From 1967 to 1968 she was Slade Professor at Cambridge University, the first woman to hold that position. She is considered an international authority on 18th- and 19th-century painting. Her academic works include *The Genius of the Future: Studies in French Art Criticism* (1971) and *Greuze: The Rise and Fall of an Eighteenth-Century Phenomenon* (1972).

In the field of literature, Anita Brookner has written literary reviews for the *Times Literary Supplement, Observer, London Review of Books*, and the *Times* (London). However, she is best known for her novels. She wrote *A Start in Life* (1981; U.S. title *The Debut*), *Providence* (1982), *Look at Me* (1983), *Hotel du Lac* (1984) for which she was awarded the Booker Prize of 1984, *Family and Friends* (1985), and *Fraud* (1992). She continued to write prolifically, publishing 11 books in the period between 1995 and 2005, including *Altered States* (1995), *Bay of Angels* (2001), and *Leaving Home* (2005)

Brookner's literary style very much reflects her background in art. She writes in an elegantly formal, highly structured prose reminiscent of the staid, carefully composed character studies found in 18th- and 19th-century portraits of individuals. With the exception of *Family and Friends* her novels are, in fact, verbal portraits of a single main character.

Brookner's novels concern the relationships between men and women in modern society. She depicts men as the activists and catalysts in the world, while women, though competent and accomplished, are presented as meek, lonely objects waiting for men to confer love upon them to deliver them from their prudent, patient, long-suffering lives.

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[Beverly Mizrachi]

BROOKS, ALBERT (1947–), U.S. director, actor, comedian. Albert Brooks was born Albert Lawrence Einstein in Beverly Hills, Calif., to radio comedian Harry and singer Thelma Einstein (née Leeds). One of his three brothers is Bob Einstein, a writer and comedian who performs under the name Super Dave Osborne. As a child, his best friend was Rob *Reiner. Reiner's father, Carl, when asked who the funniest person he knew was, answered that it was a 13-year-old kid named Albert Einstein. Albert Brooks began his professional career as a sportswriter for KMPC radio in Los Angeles (1962–63), briefly attended Los Angeles City College, and then studied drama at Carnegie-Mellon University from 1966 to 1967. He changed his name to Albert Brooks when he went into stand-up comedy in 1968, the same year he wrote for the ABC TV show *Turn On*. Brooks directed his first short film in 1973, titled *Great American Dream Machine*, and then created shorts for NBC's *Saturday Night Live* in 1975–76. He made occasional appearances on TV starting in 1968, including memorable appearances on *The Johnny Carson Show,* but his first acting debut in a feature film came with Martin Scorsese's *Taxi Driver* (1976). Brooks continued to star in films, including his Academy Award-nominated turn as frustrated reporter Aaron Altan in *Broadcast News* (1987), but his primary focus was directing, which served as his platform to lampoon everything from the film industry to family relationships to the afterlife. Brooks' first feature film, *Real Life* (1979), was a black comedy about suburban life. *Lost in America* (1985) offered up a yuppie take on *Easy Rider*, while in *The Muse* (1999) he starred alongside Sharon Stone and Andie McDowell. He also won great acclaim as the voice of "Marlin," the father, in *Finding Nemo* (2003).

[Adam Wills (2nd ed.)]

BROOKS, JAMES L. (1940–), U.S. producer, director, writer. Born in Brooklyn, New York, to Edward M. and Dorothy Helen (Sheinheit) Brooks, James L. Brooks grew up in suburban New Jersey. He attended New York University from 1958 to 1960. At CBS News, he worked his way up from copy boy to news writer and reporter, from 1964 to 1966. He left New York for Hollywood in 1966, working for producer David Wolper at Wolper Productions and selling scripts he penned for shows like *My Three Sons, The Andy Griffith Show, My Mother the Car*, and *That Girl*. In 1968, he was hired on as executive story editor for ABC and created the Emmy Award-winning series *Room 222* with partner Allan Burns. Brooks went back to CBS in 1970, creating, writing, and producing the hit TV show *The Mary Tyler Moore Show*, based on his experiences working for CBS News. Brooks finished out the decade with numerous Emmy wins under his belt and three series on the air at the same time – *Rhoda* (1974–78), *Lou Grant* (1977–82), and *Taxi* (1978–83). He moved into feature films first as a writer on *Starting Over* (1979) and then as writer-director of the Academy Award – winning *Terms of Endearment* (1983), a comedy about a dysfunctional family and fatal illness staring Shirley MacLaine, Debra Winger, and Jack Nicholson, based on the novel by Larry McMurtry. Brooks launched his own production company, Gracie Films, in 1984, and in 1987 drew again from his time at CBS News for the film *Broadcast News*, and served as executive producer of the TV comedy *The Tracey Ullman Show* (1987–90). As a producer, his string of hits continued with *Big* (1988), *Say Anything…* (1989), *The War of the Roses* (1989), and *Jerry Maguire* (1996). As a director, his films after *Broadcast News* included *I'll Do Anything* (1994), *As Good as It Gets* (1997), and *Spanglish* (2004). Before *The Tracey Ullman Show* ended, Brooks spun off a series of animated shorts featured on the show into its own series, *The Simpsons* (1989), which has the distinction of being the longest running cartoon in the history of television. Brooks has been nominated for and won numerous Emmys (41 nominations, 18 wins), Golden Globes (11 nominations, three wins), and Academy Awards (eight nominations, three wins). In 1998, he was inducted into the Academy of Television Arts and Sciences Hall of Fame.

[Adam Wills (2nd ed.)]

BROOKS, MEL (**Melvin Kaminsky**; 1926–), U.S. comedian, actor, director. Born in New York, Brooks began working as a stand-up comedian in a string of resorts in the Catskill Mountains. He was known for his odd antics, including performing impromptu monologues and routines, pretending to insult both his co-workers and the guests. After years of stand-up, he began writing jokes for Sid Caesar's TV program *Your Show of Shows* until the mid-1950s. Turning to Broadway, Brooks wrote the material for *All American* (1962), *Shinbone Alley* (1957), and *Leonard Sillman's New Faces of 1952* (1953). In the 1960s he teamed up with fellow writer Carl Reiner on a number of comedy albums based on Brooks' character The 2,000 Year Old Man, which led to a best-selling album, a Grammy award, and numerous television appearances. He then teamed up with Buck Henry to develop *Get Smart,* a successful satirical spy sitcom (1965–70).

Turning to yet another medium, Brooks wrote and played the title role in the four-minute animated short *The Critic* (1963). It won an Academy Award for Best Short Subject, Cartoon. Brooks broke into feature films by writing and directing the critical success (but commercial failure) *The Producers* (1968), for which he won an Oscar for Best Original Screenplay. Brooks' second film, *The Twelve Chairs* (1970), met a similar fate. But his third effort, *Blazing Saddles*, (1974), was a box-office hit. It was followed by many other films, including *Young Frankenstein* (1974); *Silent Movie* (1976); *High Anxiety* (1977); *History of the World, Part I* (1981); a remake of the 1942 wartime comedy/drama *To Be or Not To Be* (1983) in which Brooks co-starred with his wife, Anne Bancroft; *Spaceballs*

(1987); *Life Stinks* (1991); *Robin Hood: Men in Tights* (1993); and *Dracula: Dead and Loving It* (1995).

Mel Brooks' production company, Brooksfilms, has produced a wide variety of formidable films. In addition to Brooks' films, the company produced the movies of other filmmakers, such as David Lynch's *The Elephant Man* (1980); David Cronenberg's *The Fly* (1986); Graeme Clifford's *Frances* (1982); Richard Benjamin's *My Favorite Year* (1982); and David Hugh Jones' *84 Charing Cross Road* (1986), for which Anne Bancroft received the BAFTA Film Award for Best Actress.

In 2001 Brooks parlayed *The Producers* into a Broadway show. He produced it and wrote the music, lyrics, and book for the musical version. It won three Tony Awards for Best Musical, Best Book of a Musical, and Best Original Score. After more than 1,500 performances, it was still going strong in 2004.

He also won three successive Emmys as Outstanding Guest Actor for his role of Uncle Phil on the TV sitcom *Mad about You* (1997, 1998, and 1999). In addition, Brooks received three Grammy awards, for Best Musical Show Album (*The Producers*); Best Long Form Music Video for Recording (*The Producers: A Musical Romp with Mel Brooks*); and Best Spoken Word Album (*Comedy for The 2000 Year Old Man in the Year 2000*). Thus Mel Brooks was one of a select few to win an Oscar, an Emmy, a Grammy, and a Tony.

Brooks was named one of *People* magazine's 25 Most Intriguing People of 2001 and was listed as one of E!'s Top 20 Entertainers of 2001. Brooks also wrote a number of books: *Get Smart* (with Buck Henry 1967); *Mel Brooks History of the World* (1981); *The 2000 Year Old Man* (1984); *The 2000 Year Old Man in the Year 2000: The Book* (with Carl Reiner, 1998); and *The Producers: The Book, Lyrics, and Story Behind the Biggest Hit in Broadway History* (with Tom Meehan, 2001)

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[Jonathan Licht / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

BROOKS, RICHARD (**Ruben Sax**; 1912–1992), U.S. film director and writer. Born in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, Brooks worked as a sportswriter for the Philadelphia *Record* (1932–34). After joining the Atlantic City *Press Union*, he moved to New York, where he got a job with Radio WNEW. He was appointed news writer, commentator, and narrator for NBC radio. In 1940 Brooks founded the Mill Pond Theater Company with David Loew in Roslyn, New York, where he made his directorial debut. That fall, on a trip to California, he landed a job at a local radio station, writing a short story every day and reading it over the air. He also wrote and directed the radio show *William Sands*. In 1942 Brooks got his start in the feature film industry, writing additional dialogue for *Sin Town* and *Men of Texas*. In 1943 he wrote his first screenplay for the feature film *White Savage*.

That same year he joined the U.S. Marine Corps, where he was threatened with a court-martial for his novel about racial discrimination in the services, *The Brick Foxhole* (1945). Sinclair Lewis intervened successfully on his behalf, and he later won an Oscar for his direction of Lewis's *Elmer Gantry* (1960). Brooks also wrote the screenplay and directed *Blackboard Jungle* (1955), a film about racial tension in New York City schools, and the racially charged *Something of Value* (1957) as well as *Cat on a Hot Tin Roof* (1968); *The Brothers Karamazov* (1958); *Sweet Bird of Youth* (1962); *The Last Time I Saw Paris* (1954); *Lord Jim* (1965); *The Professionals* (1966); *In Cold Blood* (1967); *The Happy Ending* (1969); *The Heist* (1971); *Bite the Bullet* (1975); *Looking for Mr. Goodbar* (1977); *Wrong Is Right* (1982); and *Fever Pitch* (1985). He also wrote the screenplay for director John Huston's *Key Largo* (1948). He married actress Jean Simmons in 1960; they divorced in 1977.

ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY: P. Brion, *Richard Brooks* (1986).

[Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

BROOM, the biblical *rotem* (Ar. *ratam*), the wild shrub *Retam roetam*, widespread in the deserts of Israel and in sandy regions. It produces a few leaves in the winter, which it sheds in the summer, its green stalks filling the function of the leaves in photosynthesis. According to R. Meir the shrub under which Hagar left her son Ishmael (Gen. 21:15) was the broom, "since it grows in the desert" (Gen. R. 53:13). Elijah lay down in the shade of a broom in the wilderness "a day's journey from Beersheba" (I Kings 19:3–5), "and he requested for himself that he might die"; and indeed it is difficult to find refuge from the powerful rays of the desert sun in the shade of this leafless bush. In the tents of Kedar they used "coals of *rotem*" for fuel and for fashioning arrows (Ps. 120:4–5). The roots are bitter but it is apparently possible to render them edible by roasting. Thus the hungry dwellers in the desert eat the saltwort (Heb. *malu'aḥ*, *Orach) "and the roots of the broom are their food" (Job 30:4; however, some translate *laḥmam* לַחְמָם, "their food" as "to warm themselves thereby" from חמם). According to the *aggadah*, the glowing embers of the broom have a remarkable characteristic: "For all embers are extinguished within [after they die down on the outside] but broom embers still burn within when extinguished on the outside" (Gen. R. 98:19). According to another *aggadah* coals of broom retain their heat for 12 months (BB 74b). Onkelos and the Vulgate translate the *rotem* by *juniper to whose embers Jerome attributes this quality of retaining their heat for 12 months. This identification is however wrong.

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[Jehuda Feliks]

BROSS, JACOB (1883–1942), lawyer, a founder and leader of the *Jewish Social Democratic Party (ZhPSD.) in Galicia. Bross became known as an orator for the party and the editor of its organ *Social-Demokrat*. The son of a tailor in Cracow, he was attracted to socialism when still at secondary school. His brother, Ignatius, was already active among Jewish workers during the 1890s. While still in the Polish Social Democratic Party of Galicia, Bross fought against assimilationist tendencies and campaigned for organizational autonomy of the Jewish workers in the party. After demobilization from the Austrian Army in 1918, he did not assume a political function in the Polish *Bund. He lived in Cracow and appeared as an advocate in political trials. He was also active in child and youth welfare. He died in the Holocaust in Kremenets. His essays on the history of the Jewish socialist movement in Galicia were published in *Royter Pinkes*, 2 (1921); a second essay in *Historishe Shriften*, 3 (1939) was reproduced in YIVO *Annual* (5 (1950), 55–85).

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[Moshe Mishkinsky]

BROTHERS, JOYCE (1927–), U.S. psychologist and television and radio personality. Born Joyce Diane Bauer, Brothers grew up in Queens, New York City, and studied at Cornell and Columbia University, receiving her Ph.D. in 1953. She served as a research fellow on a United Nations leadership project and as an instructor at Hunter College, New York City.

In 1955 she tried out for *The $64,000 Question* quiz show. She chose boxing as her subject and became the only woman ever to win the top prize of $64,000. She was equally successful in the same category on the *$64,000 Challenge.*

A co-host of NBC's *Sports Showcase,* Brothers was offered a TV counseling show on NBC in 1958. Her sympathetic approach and straightforward advice made the program a great success, pioneering the discussion of intimate emotional and sexual matters on daytime television. She continued to host radio phone-in programs, write a daily column syndicated in some 350 newspapers nationwide, contributed a monthly column to *Good Housekeeping*, and was a special feature writer for United Press International. A UPI poll named her one of the 10 Most Admired Women in America, and for six years she was on the Gallup poll's list of Most Admired Women.

A motivational speaker and a consultant to the business world, Brothers created and performed in films and seminars designed for corporate personnel training programs. She appeared on numerous TV talk shows and in more than 50 television acting roles, often as herself as the consummate advice-giver. She made cameo appearances in this capacity in dozens of films as well, including *Oh God! Book II* (1980); *The King of Comedy* (1983); *The Lonely Guy* (1984); *Troop Beverly Hills* (1989); *The Misery Brothers* (1995); *Dear God* (1996); and *Analyze That* (2002).

Brothers' books have been translated into 26 languages. They include *Ten Days to a Successful Memory* (1959); *Woman* (1961); *What You Probably Don't Know about Sex Relations* (1968); *The Brothers System for Liberated Love and Marriage* (1972); *Better Than Ever* (1975); *How to Get Everything You Want Out of Life* (1978); *What Every Woman Should Know about Men* (1983); *The Successful Woman: How You Can Have a Career, a Husband, and a Family – and Not Feel Guilty about It* (1988); *What Every Woman Ought to Know about Love and Marriage* (1985); *Widowed* (1990); and *Positive Plus: The Practical Plan for Liking Yourself Better* (1994).

[Rohan Saxena and Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

°BROTHERS, RICHARD (1757–1824), founder of the British-Israelite movement. After serving in the Royal Navy (1771–83) Brothers retired on half pay but refused to take the statutory oath on religious grounds. He next began to address letters to the king, the prime minister, and other public personages foretelling the future. He regarded himself as the messiah who was to restore the "Hebrews" (i.e., Englishmen who had seen the light of truth) to their land. His name, according to him, signified that he was descended from James, the brother of Jesus, so that he called himself "The Nephew of the Almighty." In 1794 Brothers published the first part of his *A Revealed Knowledge of the Prophecies and Times* foretelling the restoration of the "Hebrews" to Jerusalem in 1798. He had many followers, and large numbers of pamphlets were published supporting or opposing his views. Jews showed no interest, but David *Levi published a derisive pamphlet. Brothers' activities were suspected of being exploited for revolutionary ends and the government had him confined in an asylum for the criminally insane (1795–1806). Although his prophecies were unfulfilled, this did not affect the faith of his disciples. To the last Brothers continued to compose pamphlets about the government and architecture of the new Jerusalem. Upon his death, leadership of the group passed to John Finleyson (1770–1854).

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[Cecil Roth]

BROUDY, HARRY SAMUEL (1905–1998), U.S. educator. Born in Filipowa, Poland, Broudy studied at Boston University and at Harvard, where he began teaching philosophy. Between 1937 and 1957 he was professor of philosophy and education at two Massachusetts colleges – North Adams and Framingham. In 1957 he became professor of education in the College of Education, University of Illinois, where he taught until his retirement in 1974. His best-known work, *Building a Philosophy of Education* (1954), reveals his concern with established tradition and his emphasis on the function of education for intellectual discipline, moral character, cultural conservatism, and national survival.

He and his wife, Dorothy, conducted seminars on interdisciplinary thinking and esthetic education in the U.S., Canada, Europe, South America, Asia, and Australia. Broudy served as editor of *The Educational Form* (1964–72) and was the general editor of the University of Illinois Press. He also served on the editorial boards of *The Music Educators Journal*, *Educational Theory*, and *The Journal of Aesthetic Education*. In 1984 he was honored by the state of Illinois for his efforts to create statutory requirements for arts education in schools. He served on the advisory board and was a senior faculty member of the Getty Institute for Educators on the Visual Arts.

Broudy's other books include *Psychology for General Education* (1957); *Paradox and Promise* (1961); *Democracy and Excellence in American Secondary Education* (1964); *Exemplars of Teaching Method* (1965), with J.R. Palmer; *Philosophy of Education* (1967); *The Real World of the Public Schools* (1972); *Enlightened Cherishing: An Essay on Aesthetic Education* (1972); and *The Role of Imagery in Learning* (1989).

[Ernest Schwarcz / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

°**BROUGHTON, HUGH** (1549–1612), English Puritan, Hebraist, and controversialist. Broughton studied at Cambridge from 1569, learning Hebrew from A.R. Chevalier; he lived and lectured in London from 1579 to 1589, and thereafter lived mainly in Germany and Holland (Middelburg). Much of his energy was devoted to the defense of the scriptural chronology of his first book (*Concent of Scripture*, London, 1588), to the proposal of a new English Bible translation, and to the castigation of the resultant King James' Version (1611). Broughton also worked on a Hebrew New Testament, but published only *Apocalypse* (Book of Revelations) (Middelburg?, 1610). His lectures on chronology at St. Paul's Cathedral attracted weekly audiences of 100, and he exhibited enough Jewish scholarship to engage in controversy at Frankfurt in 1590 with R. Elijah *Loans. This resulted in Hebrew correspondence from David *Reuveni of Constantinople, which, together with his reply, was published in English, Latin, and Greek (Amsterdam, 1606, etc.). He was apparently interested in Jewish conversion, and published his controversy with R. David "Farar" on Jesus' genealogy in Latin (1605) and English (Amsterdam, 1608). Broughton's works were republished incompletely by J. Lightfoot (London, 1662), with a prefixed "Life"; manuscript material, largely relating to Bible translation, is held at the British Museum (Mss. Sloan 3088, Harley 1525; *Lansdowne Catalog*, pp. 220, 331, 332).

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[Raphael Loewe]

BROWARD COUNTY, district in the southwestern part of Florida, U.S. In 2005 Broward had around 260,000 Jews, about 15% of the population there and the largest concentration of Jews in Florida. Broward County comprises 30 cities, including Fort Lauderdale, Hollywood, Cooper City, Deerfield Beach, Hallandale Beach, Margate, Oakland Park, Pembroke Pines, Plantation, Pompano Beach, Tamarac, and Weston.

By 1910, five years before Broward became a county, Louis Brown, a Jew, had arrived in Dania, the first of the county's cities. The Sokolow and Rubinstein families followed. In 1916 Rose Seitlin and Max Lehrman, who married in 1913 in the first Jewish wedding in Miami, moved with two daughters to Fort Lauderdale, where they had two more children, the first to be born there in 1918 and 1919. By 1923 seven Jewish families were living in Fort Lauderdale. Among them were Moe and Mack Katz, who had migrated there to speculate in real estate. It is believed that Moe received the first real estate license issued in Florida, just prior to the boom that transformed a frontier area into an emerging metropolitan region. The boom reached its peak in 1925, when Fort Lauderdale claimed, for the first time, a growing Jewish population. Mack Katz, Abe Newman, Archie Robbins, and other pioneer Jews opened stores that provided most of the retail activity for the towns. These first Jewish families faced much discrimination, but more Jews arrived, and together they built the foundations of a Jewish community. The first Jewish service in Broward County was held on September 17, 1926, in rented quarters over a restaurant on Las Olas Boulevard. The building was destroyed a few hours later by the fury of the killer hurricane of 1926. This congregation became Temple Emanu-El, which erected the county's first synagogue in 1937. The businesses that Jews opened, the institutions they created, and the civic leadership they demonstrated all helped to make it more attractive and comfortable for other Jews to settle there. By 1940 there were 1,000 Jews in Broward County; in 1970 there were 40,000; and in 1990 there were 275,000, with a slight decline by 2005. The median age of the current Jewish population was 59; 50 percent were over 65 and 29 percent over 75. About 24,000 or 9 percent were "snowbirds," 5,300 Hispanic, and 3,400 Israeli, another 275 households Russians, and over 7,000 Holocaust survivors.

The boom went bust in 1926, but the Jewish community remained. By the second half of the 1930s, the area was emerging from the economic doldrums on the heels of a surge of tourism, another building boom, and the advent of commercial aviation. No family was more influential in the development of the city of Hollywood than the Horvitzes through their Hollywood Inc. In the 1920s, Sam Horvitz entered into a contract to build sidewalks and streets for Hollywood, and with the bust he ended up controlling more than half the vacant land in the city. With nearly 25,000 lots, Horvitz began building and selling single-family homes; after World War II, he introduced the first planned residential community, then Hollywood Mall, considered at the time of its opening in the 1970s as a prototypal mall.

For much of its existence, Broward County has also relied heavily on agriculture as an economic engine. Thus many Jews were drawn into farm-related businesses, including the families of Rubinstein (tomatoes), Gross (poultry), Levy (cucumbers and other produce), Roth (citrus), and Berman (dairy cows).

The 1939 story of the plight of 937 Jewish refugees aboard the *s.s. St. Louis*, who were fleeing the Nazis on the eve of World War II, is familiar. But there is little awareness of Broward County's role in the drama. The ship attempted to land off the coast of southeast Florida, awaiting permission to enter the U.S. Instead, Coast Guard vessels dispatched from Fort Lauderdale patrolled the waters to prevent anyone from swimming ashore. The Jews aboard the *St. Louis* stared at the Broward-Dade coastline but were denied entry. After the ship was forced to sail back to Europe, some Jews disembarked in England. The remainder went to France and Holland, where a year later they were again subject to the Nazi terror after the German invasion.

A rising postwar prosperity contributed to the early stages of recovery. The advent of air-conditioning made year-round living in Florida much more comfortable. Members of Broward's small but growing Jewish community remained close to one another, knitted together by their common interests and institutions. In 1943 the Jewish Welfare Federation of Hollywood began operations; young physicians arrived. In the 1950s, Broward's 2,200 Jews began playing an ever-larger role in county affairs. Jews recorded solid accomplishments in community building, operating major businesses, entering politics, and leading the way in philanthropic endeavors. New cities were developed. Russian-born Morris Cooper arrived in the U.S. in 1908 with one suit and pocket change. He went to work in a shirt factory making $4 a week. Within four years Cooper owned the shirt company and began visiting Florida and buying citrus groves. In 1958 he retired to Florida and created Cooper City. Moving to Hollywood in 1950, Abraham Mailman, renowned for his leadership and philanthropy, played a large part in shaping the Broward Jewish community. Mailman was a highly successful industrialist, property developer, and banker. He created the city of Miramar to provide affordable homes for working people. Samuel Friedland, who built the Diplomat Hotel and Country Club in 1956, was already a successful grocer with his Food Fair chain of stores and a developer of shopping centers when the $26 million hotel opened. Leonard Farber, another pioneer in shopping-center development, built dozens of centers, including the Galleria Mall on East Sunrise Blvd., "Fort Lauderdale's most fashionable address." For Jewish culture and traditional experiences, many Jews still reached out to Miami Beach and Palm Beach County, so this was an impetus for many new organizations. In 1966 Maynard Abrams was Broward's first Jewish mayor (of Hollywood). Notwithstanding these gains, antisemitism and discrimination remained a reality in Broward.

In the 1970s, the Jewish population of Broward was growing at a much more rapid rate than that of Dade County, which had been since the end of World War II one of America's most important Jewish communities. The large influx of Jews in Broward enabled them to develop a real sense of community. Synagogues opened in new municipalities. Nova Southeastern University grew when Dr. Abraham Fischler served as its president for ten years, followed by another Jew, Dr. Stephen Feldman.

By the end of the 1980s, Broward County contained a larger Jewish population than Dade County. The epicenter for this population stood west of I-95 along West Oakland Park Boulevard. Increasingly, Jewish retirees were embracing Broward as their new home and for many of them the proliferating retirement communities in west Broward, such as Century Village in Pembroke Pines, helped fill their needs for community and activity. The vast increase in the number of Jews was especially evident in the community's heightened political involvement. By 2005 more than 114 Jews had served in public office in Broward County, including four U.S. Congressional representatives, 33 state legislators, 29 mayors, 41 judges, and 7 county commissioners. Mara Giulianti was serving her seventh term as mayor of Hollywood (1986–2005).

As the population exploded, the number of synagogues grew, while new cultural and educational centers continued to proliferate. In 1979 the Jewish Community Center of Fort Lauderdale purchased 16 acres of land in Plantation that became the Samuel and Helene Soref Jewish Community Center. David Posnack had begun as a peddler before moving to Hollywood in 1944, where he went into the produce business and prospered. He quickly immersed himself in philanthropic pursuits; the David Posnack JCC in Davie and Posnack Hebrew Day School are some examples.

By the 1990s, Jews comprised over 25 percent of the enrollees at Broward Community College, which offered a Judaica Studies program. Jewish women deepened their involvement in every element of community life. Culturally, Jews were the driving force in the creation and direction of the new County Performing Arts Center as well as the art museum. Fort Lauderdale is the yachting capital of the world and Jewish yacht builders, brokers, and owners play a prominent role.

At the outset of the 21st century, Jews in Broward were living a vibrant community life with about 65 congregations and a full array of support organizations. In Davie, the United Jewish Community of Broward County, referred to also as the Federation, was created in 1996 with the merger of the Jewish Federation of South Broward (Hollywood) and the Jewish Federation of Greater Fort Lauderdale, which was founded in 1967. The Broward edition of the *Jewish Journal* began publishing in 1976 and continued into the 2000s. In 2004 the county's first congregation, Temple Emanu-El, merged with Temple Kol Ami. The 24-year-old Holocaust Documentation and Education Center secured a permanent home in Hollywood. A Jewish Home for the Aged in Broward was being planned. Florida's largest Jewish community was thus entering its second century with a robust future, having come from an environment that discouraged Jews from settling there at all.

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[Marcia Jo Zerivitz (2nd ed.)]

BROWN, AIKA (1937–1964), Israeli painter. Brown was born in Tel Aviv, and studied graphics at the Bezalel School of Art, Jerusalem. He lived in Paris from 1959 to 1963, and after a short stay in Israel returned to France where he was killed in a car accident. Brown's early paintings were abstract, with intense colors and brushstrokes, but the whole composition suggests concrete images such as landscapes, as in his *Sun over Houses* (1959). Shortly after arriving in Paris, however, he produced his first assemblages, which showed a drastic change in his work, attitude, and place, and which reflected new means of expression, new style, and new materials. Torn sacks, hammers, screws, pieces of wood, and ropes were assembled into dramatic compositions, revealing a new reality which he was striving to obtain. Employing the pieces of junk which cluttered his studio as legitimate art material, he endowed them with a new expressive reality, at the same time painting them as objects of everyday use. Brown most frequently employed dolls to represent anonymous figures. A Memorial Exhibition of his work was held at the Israel Museum in 1965.

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[Judith Spitzer]

BROWN, BENJAMIN (1885–1939), organizer of U.S. Jewish farm cooperatives. Brown was born in Tulchin, Russia. He immigrated to the United States in 1901 and studied at Philadelphia. Moving to Utah, Brown was president from 1909 to 1915 of the Jewish Agricultural and Colonial Association, which sponsored a farm settlement in the central part of the state, after which he continued to be active in the cooperative movement in Utah, Idaho, and the Pacific Northwest. In 1929 he traveled to Russia as part of an American commission to act in an advisory capacity to Jewish agricultural settlers in Birobidzhan. Upon his return he served as chairman of the Provisional Commission for the Establishment of Jewish Farm Settlements in the United States. In 1936 Brown was instrumental in founding the New Jersey Homestead, a cooperative Jewish settlement near Heightstown, New Jersey. The project was discontinued in 1939, the year of his death.

BROWN, DAVID ABRAHAM (1875–1958), U.S. industrialist and civic leader. Brown, born in Edinburgh, Scotland, was brought to Detroit, Mich., as a child. He became a prominent businessman and community leader, and moved to New York in 1929. There he assumed control of the Broadway National Bank and Trust Co. He published the weekly *American Hebrew* (1930–35). Brown was national chairman of the American Jewish Relief Campaign (1921–22) and the United Jewish Campaign (1925–28) as well as the U.S. division of China Famine Relief (1928–33). He played an active role in the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee and the Union of American Hebrew Congregations.

[Robert Rockaway]

BROWN, HAROLD (1927–), U.S. physicist and secretary of defense. Brown was born in New York and graduated from Columbia University, earning his Ph.D. in physics in 1949 at the age of 21. After a short period of teaching and postdoctoral research, Brown became a research scientist at the Radiation Laboratory at the University of California in Berkeley. In 1952 he joined the staff of the Lawrence Radiation Laboratory at Livermore, California, and became its director in 1960. During the 1950s he served as a member of or consultant to several federal scientific bodies and as senior science adviser at the 1958–59 Conference on the Discontinuance of Nuclear Tests. In 1961 he was appointed a member of the President's Science Advisory Committee. That year he was awarded the Distinguished Civilian Service Award of the U.S. Navy.

Brown worked under U.S. Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara as director of defense research and engineering from 1961 to 1965, and then as secretary of the Air Force from 1965 to 1969. From 1969 – when he was appointed general advisor to the Committee on Arms Control and the Disarmament Agency – to 1977 he was president of the California Institute of Technology.

Brown, the first scientist to become secretary of defense, served in the Carter administration from 1977 to 1981. While in office, he helped lay the groundwork for the Camp David accords and took part in the strategic arms negotiations with the Soviet Union. After leaving the Pentagon in 1981, he remained in Washington and joined Johns Hopkins University's School for Advanced International Studies as a distinguished visiting professor of national security. He was later appointed chairman of the university's Foreign Policy Institute. He continued to speak and write widely on national security issues. In later years Brown was affiliated with research organizations and served on the boards of a number of corporations.

[Ruth Rossing (2nd ed.)]

BROWN, HERBERT C. (1912–2004), U.S. chemist and Nobel laureate. Brown was born in London to parents who had emigrated from the Ukraine. The family moved to Chicago in 1914. He received his B.Sc. (1936) and Ph.D. (1938) from the University of Chicago. Following a year as a postdoctorate fellow, he was appointed to the staff at the university with the rank of instructor. In 1943 he went to Wayne University and in 1947 transferred to Purdue University. He was made distinguished professor in inorganic chemistry in 1954, research professor in 1960, and emeritus professor in 1978. Subsequently, he became R.B. Wetherill Research Professor Emeritus.

In 1979 Brown was awarded the Nobel Prize in chemistry for his studies on the application of borohydrides and diborane to organic synthesis, which has had a revolutionary impact on synthetic organic chemistry. He discovered that the simplest compound of boron and hydrogen, diborane, may be added with remarkable ease to unsaturated organic molecules to give organoboranes. In addition, his studies of molecular addition compounds contributed to the reacceptance of steric effects as a major factor in chemical behavior.

Brown was elected to the National Academy of Sciences in 1957 and to the American Academy of Arts and Sciences in 1966. He was the recipient of numerous awards, including the American Chemical Society's Award for Creative Research in Synthetic Organic Chemistry for 1960, the Elliott Cresson Medal for 1978, the National Academy of Sciences Award in Chemical Sciences for 1987, the ACS Herbert C. Brown Medal and Award for Creative Research in Synthetic Methods for 1998, and selection by the ACS publication, *Chemical Engineering News*, as one of the Top 75 Chemists Contributing to the High Status of Current Chemistry (1998).

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[Ruth Rossing (2nd ed.)]

BROWN, LAWRENCE H. (**Larry**; 1940–), U.S. basketball coach and member of the Basketball Hall of Fame. Brown is the only coach to win both a college basketball championship (University of Kansas, 1988) and an NBA championship (Detroit Pistons, 2004), and the only person to ever win an Olympic gold medal as a player (1964) and coach (2000).

Born in Brooklyn, New York, the 5′ 9″ point guard grew up on Long Island, where he attended Long Beach H.S. before playing at the University of North Carolina from 1959 to 1963, captaining the 1962–63 team as a senior and being named an honorable mention All-American. Selected by the Baltimore Bullets in the seventh round (56th overall) but considered too small to play in the NBA, Brown went to the NABL Akron Goodyear Wingfoots, where he played for two years (1963–65), leading the team to the 1964 AAU National Championship, and then played that summer on the 1964 U.S. Olympic team.

After serving as an assistant coach at North Carolina (1965–67), Brown joined the newly formed American Basketball Association and played for five teams in five years, being named MVP of the 1968 All-Star game and holding the ABA record for assists in a game with 23. In 1972 Brown became head coach of a Carolina Cougars team that had gone 35–49 the year before and led the team to a league-best 57–27 regular-season record and his first Coach of the Year award. After one more season with Carolina, Brown took over the Denver Rockets and won two more Coach of the Year awards, in 1975 and 1976. The ABA then merged with the NBA and the Rockets became known as the Nuggets in 1976–77 with Brown leading them to Midwest Division titles in 1977 and 1978 before resigning late in the 1978–79 season.

Brown then coached at UCLA for two seasons before returning to the NBA with the New Jersey Nets in 1981. He left them in the 1982–83 season and became head coach at the University of Kansas, winning the 1987–88 national title by defeating Oklahoma 83–79 and earning the Naismith Award as College Coach of the Year.

Brown returned to the NBA to coach the San Antonio Spurs from 1988 to 1992, when he was let go midway through the season, the first time Brown was ever fired. He took over the Los Angeles Clippers less than two weeks later and led them to their first playoff appearance in 16 years.

Brown coached the Indianapolis Pacers in 1993–97, when he resigned after posting only his second losing season in 25 years of coaching. Brown became coach of the Philadelphia 76'ers five days later, leading a team that had gone 22–60 the year before his arrival to playoff appearances in five of his six years there. The 2001 team went to the NBA championship game for the first time in 18 years and Brown won Coach of the Year honors.

Brown began coaching the Detroit Pistons in 2003, and in his first year led the team to the 2004 NBA championship, becoming the oldest coach in NBA history to win a title and the only coach in NBA history to lead seven different teams to the playoffs – no other coach had even done it six times. He thus became the fifth Jewish head coach to win an NBA title, joining Eddie *Gottlieb, Red *Auerbach, Red *Holzman, and Les *Harrison. Brown again reached the finals in 2005, losing in seven games. His lifetime record was 177–61 in seven full collegiate seasons for a .744 winning percentage; 229–107 (.682) in four ABA seasons; and 987–741 (.571) in 23 NBA seasons as of the end of the 2005 season. Brown ranks first in all-time cumulative coaching victories, covering all levels of basketball from high school to professional including playoffs, and is second all-time with 1,216 combined NBA/ABA head coaching victories. After the 2005 season Brown left the Pistons and was named coach of the New York Knicks.

Brown won a gold medal at the 1961 Maccabiah games, and in 2002 was the 20th Jewish inductee in the National Basketball Hall of Fame in Springfield, Mass.

HERB BROWN (1936–), Larry's older brother, is also an experienced basketball coach. Herb graduated from the University of Vermont in 1957. He was Coach of the Year at SUNY Stony Brook in 1969 and in 1975 coached the Israel Sabras to the championship of the European Professional Basketball League. Brown was head coach of the Detroit Pistons from 1976 to 1978 and assistant coach for a number of NBA teams. He was also a head coach in the WBA and CBA, and other professional basketball leagues in his 40-year coaching career. He coached the U.S. team to a gold medal at the 2001 Maccabiah Games and a bronze at the 1997 games. He is the author of three books, *Basketball's Box Offense* (1995), *Preparing for Special Situations* (1997), and *Let's Talk Defense* (2005).

[Elli Wohlgelernter (2nd ed.)]

BROWN, MICHAEL STUART (1941–), U.S. medical geneticist and Nobel laureate. Brown was born in New York and received his B.A. in chemistry (1962) and his M.D. (1966) from the University of Pennsylvania. He was an intern and resident at the Massachusetts General Hospital in Boston, where he met Joseph L. *Goldstein, who was to become his lifelong scientific collaborator. Between 1968 and 1971 Brown was a postdoctoral fellow, first with Dr. Earl Stadtman at the National Institutes of Health, then at the National Institute of Arthritis and Metabolic Diseases, and finally in the biochemistry laboratory of the National Heart Institute.

In 1971 Brown moved to Texas and joined the faculty of the University of Texas Southwestern Medical School in Dallas. He became a professor in 1976 and in 1985 was appointed Regental Professor of the University of Texas.

Soon after his arrival in Dallas, Brown succeeded in solubilizing and partially purifying 3-hydroxy-3-methylglutaryl coenzyme A reductase, a previously enigmatic enzyme that catalyzes the rate-controlling enzyme in cholesterol biosynthesis. Formal scientific collaboration with Goldstein began in 1972, after Goldstein returned to Dallas from a postdoctoral fellowship in Seattle. The two discovered the low-density lipoprotein (LDL) receptor, which controls the level of cholesterol in blood and in cells. They showed that mutations in this receptor cause familial hypercholesterolemia, a genetic disease in which excess cholesterol accumulates in blood and tissues because cells are not able to absorb low-density lipoprotein. The disorder leads to premature heart attacks in one out of every 500 people in most populations.

Brown and Goldstein received many awards for their work, most notably the Nobel Prize for medicine in 1985. In addition, Brown was awarded the Albert D. Lasker Award in Basic Medical Research (1985); the William Allan Award of the American Society of Human Genetics (1985); the U.S. National Medal of Science (1988); and the Albany Medical Center Prize in Medicine and Biomedical Research (2003).

Michael Brown was elected to the U.S. National Academy of Sciences in 1980. He is a member of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, the American Society for Clinical Investigation, the Association of American Physicians, the American Society of Biological Chemists, and the American Society for Cell Biology. He is a diplomate of the American Board of Internal Medicine and a fellow of the American College of Physicians. From 1974 to 1977 he was an Established Investigator of the American Heart Association. He served on several review boards, including the Molecular Cytology Study Section of the National Institutes of Health (1974–77) and the editorial boards of the *Journal of Lipid Research*, the *Journal of Cell Biology*, *Arteriosclerosis*, and *Science*. He was a member of the Board of Scientific Advisors of the Jane Coffin Childs Fund from 1980. At the University of Texas Southwestern Medical School, he became Paul J. Thomas Professor of Molecular Genetics and director of the Jonsson Center for Molecular Genetics.

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[Ruth Rossing (2nd ed.)]

BROWN, SAUL PARDO (d. 1702), the first known religious leader, or *ḥazzan,* of New York. Brown (an English alias for Pardo) came to New York in about 1685 from Rhode Island where he had been a merchant. In that year he petitioned Governor Thomas Dongan for permission to engage in retail trade. The privilege was denied to all Jews, but he did receive the right to be a wholesale trader. In 1695 Brown was already *ḥazzan* when he is recorded as ministering to the Congregation Shearith Israel. It is possible that Brown died in Curaçao. The family disappeared from New York records after the death of his wife in 1708.

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[Leo Hershkowitz]

BROWNE, EDWARD B.M. (1845–1929), U.S. Reform rabbi, lecturer, and writer on talmudic and rabbinic literature. He was an honorary pallbearer for President Ulysses S. Grant in 1885, and the first rabbi to give the opening prayer in the United States Senate, 1884. Browne translated *The Book Jashar,* and created *Prayers of Israel,* for American Reform Services in Temple Gates of Hope, New York, 1884. Born in Eperies, Hungary, the son of Jacob and Katje Sonnenschein Browne, he immigrated to United States in 1865, after studying at a government academy and receiving a rabbinical degree from I.H. Hirschfield at Fuenfkirchen Theological Seminary. He studied with Isaac Mayer Wise in Cincinnati in 1868–69, earned a medical degree from Cincinnati College of Physicians and Surgeons, and a law degree from the University of Wisconsin. Among colleagues he became known as "Alphabet" Browne because of the many academic letters in his signature, E.B.M. Browne, L.L.D., A.M., B.M., D.D., M.D.

Highly popular on the public lecture circuit, he served numerous congregations in the South, Midwest, and Northeast, notably Atlanta, 1871–81, where he established *The Jewish South,* the first Jewish newspaper in the South; New York, 1881–89, where he established *The Jewish Herald;* and Columbus, Georgia, 1893–1901. Often in conflict with New York's Reform leadership, he first offended philanthropists in 1881 by identifying malpractice in the treatment of Jewish immigrants. He drew criticism for insisting on walking rather than riding with the other pallbearers in the funeral procession of President Grant because the event took place on the Jewish Sabbath, and again opposed Jewish leadership in a long struggle to win excused absences from public schools for Jewish children on the High Holidays. He was forced to leave New York after defying popular opinion to save the life of an innocent Jewish immigrant who had been railroaded to death row on a much publicized murder charge.

While basically a "reformer" who began his career as a disciple of I.M. Wise, Browne became estranged from his former mentor and veered away from the Reform Movement as the more radical changes took place. He opposed the Sunday Sabbath Movement and embraced Zionism, being appointment as a delegate to the First Zionist Congress in 1897, but was prevented by his congregation from attending it. While rabbi in Atlanta, he was appointed by Georgia Governor Alfred Colquitt to represent the state at a "World Congress of Social Science" in Stockholm but had to cancel the trip due to the illness of his wife. A staunch advocate for public education, he was the spokesman and the only Jew on a committee appointed by the Union League Club of New York to lobby Congress for a bill temporarily subsidizing schools in states unable to establish them without help, and he served as vice president of the United States Government Educational Congress at the World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago. In the 1890s and again in 1902–03, he traveled in the Middle East on behalf of the European Jewish Archaeological Commission, under the protection of the Ottoman government.

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[Janice Rothschild Blumberg (2nd ed.)]

BROWNE, LEWIS (1897–1949), U.S. Reform rabbi, author, radio commentator, and lecturer. Browne was born in London, England, and immigrated to the United States in 1912. He received his B.A. from the University of Cincinnati in 1919 and was ordained at Hebrew Union College in 1920. Browne served as a rabbi of Temple Israel in Waterbury, Connecticut (1920–23), while attending Yale University, where he earned his M.A. in 1923. In 1924, he became rabbi of the Newark, New Jersey, branch of Stephen S. Wise's Free Synagogue in New York. When his sermon topics provoked controversy among his congregants, he left the practicing rabbinate for the world of academia. He organized, taught, and acted as president of Newark Labor College (1925), was a visiting professor at Pennsylvania State College (1926), and subsequently joined the faculty of the University of California (1932–37) and the University of Hawaii (1937).

Browne achieved a measure of celebrity extending far beyond the Jewish community as a writer, pundit, world traveler, and lecturer. In addition to being a contributor to *The Nation, The New Republic*, and other well-known periodicals, he became a popular author of historical and biographical works. These books include *Stranger Than Fiction: A Short History of the Jews from Earliest Times to the Present Day* (1925, 1929, 1932), *This Believing World: A Simple Account of the Great Religions of Mankind* (1926), and *Blessed Spinoza: A Biography of the Philosopher* (1932). He compiled *The Wisdom of Israel: An Anthology* (1945; reissued in 1987 as *The Wisdom of the Jewish People*) and also wrote a novel, *See What I Mean?* (1943).

Throughout his entire adult life, Browne conducted correspondence with hundreds of people, some of them quite famous, especially in the areas of literature, politics and entertainment. Letters he exchanged with such notables as George Bernard Shaw, Sir Arthur Conan Doyle, Joseph Conrad, Hubert Humphrey, Upton Sinclair, Charlie Chaplin, and many more have been preserved in a collection of his manuscripts. Browne's papers also include notes on the lecture tour he made with Sinclair Lewis in 1941 and transcripts of his radio broadcasts.

[Bezalel Gordon (2nd ed.)]

°BROWNING, CHRISTOPHER R. (1944–), U.S. historian of the Holocaust, primarily concerned with the study of its perpetrators. Long associated with Pacific Lutheran University, Browning was the Frank Porter Graham Professor of History at the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill from 1999 replacing the distinguished scholar Gerhard Weinberg. His best-known book, *Ordinary Men: Reserve Police Battalion 101 and the Final Solution in Poland* (1992), challenges conventional notions about the men who carried out the Final Solution. Analyzing a group of middle-aged men who were members of a reserve unit of Order Police, Browning found that when given a choice the men participated willingly in the round-up and face-to-face killing of Jews. Browning contends that it was not ideology but peer pressure that swayed the ordinary Germans to commit genocide. His work received blistering criticism from Daniel Jonah Goldhagen, who worked through the same set of documents and argued that these killers were not "ordinary men but ordinary Germans who moved from eliminationist antisemitism, getting rid of the Jews, to exterminationist antisemitism with relative ease." In intense dialogue that turned into heated debate, Browning responded in measured tones, weighing evidence, interpreting documents, avoiding personal attacks or responding to them. He maintained the same posture in a widely publicized lecture at Yad Vashem, which had sponsored his book, *The Origins of the Final Solution*, whose conclusions differed markedly from the work of the Jerusalem school.

Browning is widely regarded as the leading successor of Raul *Hilberg in the United States, a man of documents and decision-making, yet he researches slave labor camps based on the oral testimony of its Jewish survivors. His publications include *The Final Solution and the German Foreign Office: A Study of Referat D III of Abteilung Deutschland, 1940–43* (1978), *Fateful Months: Essays on the Emergence of the Final Solution* (1985), *The Path to Genocide: Essays on Launching the Final Solution* (1992), *Nazi Policy, Jewish Workers, German Killers* (2000), and *Collected Memories: Holocaust History and Postwar Testimony* (2003). He wrote with Jurgen Matthaus *The Origins of the Final Solution: The Evolution of Nazi Jewish Policy, September 1939–March 1942* (2004).

Browning served as a consultant to the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum War Crimes Branch and the Office of Special Investigations, Justice Department, U.S. He also gave expert witness testimony in court in several cases, including David Irving vs. Penguin Books and Deborah *Lipstadt in Great Britain, in which he was called upon to give evidence of the "Final Solution." He is regarded as a moderate functionalist arguing that the rivalry within the unstable Nazi power structure provided the major driving force behind the Holocaust. After other programs of expulsion did not work, they resorted to genocide.

[Beth Cohen (2nd ed.)]

BROWNING, JOHN (1933–2003), American pianist. Born in Denver to a musical family, he made his concert debut at the age of ten, performing a Mozart concerto. He studied in Los Angeles with Lee Pattison (a Schnabel pupil) and in New York with Rosina *Lhevinne at the Juilliard School of Music. In 1954 Browning won the Hollywood Bowl Young Artist Competition and the Steinway Centennial Award, and in 1955 the Edgar M. Leventritt Award. He made his debut with the New York Philharmonic Orchestra in 1956, and won second prize (after Vladimir *Ashkenazy) at the Queen Elizabeth International Competition in Brussels. Browning was exceptional in his interpretive skills and blessed with one of the easiest, most brilliant techniques of any pianist of his time. The range of music he played was distinguished: chamber music; the first performance of the Samuel Barber Piano Concerto in September 1962, a modern and difficult work that became his signature piece; concertos by Prokofiev and works by Debussy and Ravel as well as the standard repertory. He made many world tours, including trips to the Soviet Union, performing with leading orchestras. Awarded honorary doctorates in music, he became a professor at the Juilliard School of Music in 1986). Among his many recordings are the complete piano concertos of Prokofiev with Leinsdorf and three recital-length disks of Rachmaninoff, Liszt, and Musorgsky. His recording of the complete Barber repertoire for solo piano earned him a second Grammy Award.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Grove online* s.v.; MGG^2; *Baker's Biographical Dictionary* (1997).

[Max Loppert / Naama Ramot (2nd ed.)]

°BROWNING, ROBERT (1812–1889), English poet who wrote many works of Jewish interest. Browning's appearance and associations combined to give rise to a report that he was of Jewish extraction, but this was wholly unfounded. Nevertheless, he knew Hebrew, was an assiduous student of the Old Testament (in Hebrew), had some knowledge of rabbinical literature, and always displayed strong sympathy for the Jews. During his long residence in Italy, he witnessed the degradations inflicted by the ghetto system in its last phases. The most famous of Browning's Jewish poems is "Rabbi Ben Ezra" (1864). It sets forth, in the form of a soliloquy, the optimistic philosophy of a Jewish sage, who may perhaps be identified with Abraham *Ibn Ezra. "Jochanan Hakkadosh" (1883) is apocryphal legend, Jewish in feeling as well as in title; "Ben Karshook's Wisdom" (1865) is a short, perceptive poem based on R. Eliezer's celebrated injunction that a man should "repent the day before his death" (Avot 2:15); and "Paracelsus" (1835) shows some understanding of the Kabbalah. "Holy Cross Day" (1855), another soliloquy, presents a Roman Jew of the 17th century forced to attend a conversionist sermon at Eastertide. Other poems by Browning of Jewish interest are "Saul" (1845) and "Solomon and Balkis" (1883), while Hebrew phrases or reminiscences may be found in "Doctor," "The Melon Seller," and "Two Camels." Browning showed his practical sympathy by supporting in 1881 a public protest in London against the persecution of the Jews in Russia.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: E. Berdoe, *Browning Cyclopaedia* (1892); J. Jacobs, *Jewish Ideals* (1896), 84–96; J. Kelman, in: *Prophets of Yesterday* (1924), 137–62; J.B. Lieberman, *Robert Browning and Hebraism* (1934). **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** D. Goldstein, "Jews and Robert Browning: Fact and Fiction," JHSET, 30 (1987–88), 125–34; R. Fowler, "Browning's Jews," *Victorian Poetry*, vol. 35 (1997); D. Thomas, *Robert Browning: A Life Within Life* (1983); M. Ward, *Robert Browning and His World* 2 vols. (1969); ODNB online.

[Cecil Roth]

BRUCE, LENNY (**Leonard Alfred Schneider;** 1926–1966), U.S. comedian. Born in Mineola, New York, Bruce moved to Hollywood after World War II, in which he served in the Navy, to take acting classes. He spent the next few years entertaining in nightclubs and soon attracted attention for his blunt attacks on sacred-cow subjects and remarks on sex and race, areas that few comics had ever ventured into. The 1950s was a significant decade for comedians and satirists like Bruce, Mike *Nichols, Elaine *May, and Mort *Sahl, all of whom were Jewish, and all of whom found an audience among sophisticated, generally college-educated people with their scathing wit and assaults on hypocrisy. It was a style that came to be known as "black humor," and Bruce was its progenitor. Bruce's humor was pointed and sharp.

"A lot of people say to me, 'Why did you kill Christ'?" Bruce said in one of his routines. "I dunno. It was one of those parties, got out of hand." Then he added, with an eye on contemporary beliefs: "We killed him because he didn't want to become a doctor, that's why we killed him."

But Bruce's acerbic rants, which included gutter language, offended a more conservative audience and he was arrested in 1961 after a performance in a San Francisco nightclub for using a vulgar word. He was later acquitted but in 1963 he was refused permission to enter Britain and his show was banned in England and in Australia. He was unable to perform some of his material because club owners feared arrest, but Bruce refused to clean up his language. "'Sex' and 'obscenity' are not synonymous," Bruce said. Nevertheless, in 1964 he was arrested and convicted of obscenity. A hundred writers and intellectuals, including Norman *Mailer, defended him as a social satirist "in the tradition of Swift, Rabelais and Twain."

Bruce also developed a serious drug habit. In 1961 he was arrested in Philadelphia for possession of narcotics; the charges were later dropped. In 1962 he was arrested again for drug possession and later became addicted to heroin. For most of the 1960s he fought charges of obscenity and drug possession and these bouts sapped his strength and forced him to stray from comedy to monologues about his legal troubles. The public became less receptive to his problems. In 1965, with the help of the writer Paul Krassner, he published his autobiography, *How to Talk Dirty and Influence People.* The book was inspired by Hugh Hefner, the publisher of *Playboy*, who published the book in serial form over two years. It found a wide audience. In 1966 Bruce was found dead in the bathroom of his home, a victim of a drug overdose. He was 40 years old.

Bruce's life inspired the 1971 Broadway play *Lenny,* largely composed of his nightclub routines, but also dealing with his failed marriage, his court cases, and his fantasies. It reproduced his mocking attacks on the Establishment, his scorn for the misuse of words, his hatred of cant and hypocrisy. In 1974 the film *Lenny* was produced by Bob Fosse, portraying Bruce as a martyr of freedom of speech. Bruce was played by Dustin *Hoffman, who performed many of Bruce's most-remembered monologues from recordings and nightclub engagements, with a live audience looking on.

Because of his influence on latter-day comedians and performers, Bruce inspired a number of books and articles, including a memoir by his daughter and a song by Bob *Dylan.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: L. Bruce and J.M. Cohen, *The Essential Lenny Bruce* (1967); B. Julian, *Lenny: a Play, Based on the Life and Words of Lenny Bruce* (1972); A. Goldman and L. Schiller, *Ladies and Gentlemen – Lenny Bruce!* (1974); F. Kofsky, *Lenny Bruce: The Comedian as Social Critic and Secular Moralist* (1974); G. Carey, *Lenny, Janis, and Jimi* (1975); L. Bruce and K. Bruce, *The Almost Unpublished Lenny Bruce: From the Private Collection of Kitty Bruce* (1984); W.K. Thomas, *Lenny Bruce: The Making of a Prophet* (1989).

[Stewart Kampel (2nd ed.)]

BRUCHSAL, town in *Baden, Germany. The first mention of Jews there dates from 1288. In 1337 the bishop of *Speyer granted them the right of domicile for an annual payment of 700 marks. The community was annihilated during the *Black Death, 1348–49. After a long interval Jews again settled in Bruchsal, but were persecuted during the *Reformation. A prayer room is first mentioned in 1672. The synagogue, built in 1881, was restored in 1923. Between 1886 and 1928, 641 children were educated in the orphanage founded by J. *Eschelbacher. A Jewish district school was opened in 1935–36. Violent anti-Jewish riots occurred in Bruchsal during the March Revolution of 1848. The Jewish population numbered 128 in 1814, and 752 in 1885 (6.2% of the total); it had diminished to 501 in 1933, but there were still six benevolent societies. On Nov. 11, 1938, the synagogue was burned down. By 1939 the community had declined to 166 in the wake of flight and emigration. Of those who remained 79 were deported to the *Gurs concentration camp in 1940. The community no longer exists.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Germ Jud, 2 (1968), 135–6; G. Taddey and F. Hundsnurscher, *Die Juedischen Gemeinden in Baden* (1968); FJW (1932/33). **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** *Synagoge Bruchsal 1881–1938* (2000).

BRUCK, GRIGORI (Ẓevi Hirsch; 1869–1922), Russian Zionist. He was born in Chernigov, Ukraine, graduated in 1893 as a physician from Kiev University, and worked as a doctor in Gomel. From his youth, he was a member of the Ḥovevei Zion and the Zionist movement, and at the Third Zionist Congress he was elected regional representative for Belorussia. In 1901 he became government-appointed rabbi in Vitebsk. In 1905 he was elected to the first Duma on the Constitutional Democratic (Kadet) Party ticket. When the Duma was dissolved, he was a signatory to the protest of the radical delegates (the Viborg Manifesto) and was arrested and removed from his official rabbinical post. Opposing the *Helsingfors Program (1906) which required the Zionists to act as a political party in the Diaspora, he retired from the Zionist leadership. During World War I he served as a doctor in the Russian Army. At the 1917 Russian Zionist Conference in Petrograd he again opposed the participation of Zionists as a party in the Russian Revolution. In 1920 he settled in Ereẓ Israel.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: K.I. Silman (ed.), *Z. Bruck. Alim le-Zikhrono* (1929); *Sefer Vitebsk* (1957), 109–28.

[Yehuda Slutsky]

BRUCK, LAJOS (1846–1910), Hungarian painter, specializing in Hungarian folk life. He was brother of the painter Miksa *Bruck. Bruck settled in Paris in 1874. There his sentimental and idealistic style of painting was not to the French taste. Later he moved to England, where he was very popular. Among his most important paintings are *Loneliness*, *View of Budapest*, *The Quartet Rehearsal,* and *The Postmaster.* His works were widely disseminated through engravings and photographs.

BRUCK, MIKSA (1863–1920), Hungarian painter born in Budapest, brother of the painter Lajos *Bruck. In 1887 he exhibited his picture *At the Races* in the Budapest Hall of Arts, but he became well known for his paintings of interiors, some of which hang in the Budapest Museum of Art. He founded and administered the Society of National Art Buyers.

BRUCKHEIMER, JERRY (1945–), U.S. movie/TV producer. The son of German Jewish immigrants, Bruckheimer grew up poor in Detroit, Michigan. After graduating with a degree in psychology from the University of Arizona, he landed a job in advertising. He went from creating commercials to producing, first as an assistant producer on a few small-budget pictures to producing such films as *American Gigolo* (1980) and *Thief* (1981) and the remake of *Cat People* (1982) (as executive producer). In 1983 Bruckheimer partnered with former publicist Don Simpson to create Simpson-Bruckheimer Productions. Together they generated a string of high-concept hits at Paramount: *Flashdance* (1983), *Beverly Hills Cop* (1984), *Top Gun* (1986), and *Beverly Hills Cop II* (1987), a streak that ended with the Tom Cruise car-racing picture *Days of Thunder* (1990). Simpson-Bruckheimer moved their operation to Disney's Hollywood Pictures in 1991, and after a shaky start with *The Ref* (1994), they found success with *Bad Boys* (1995), *Crimson Tide* (1995), and *Dangerous Minds* (1995). *The Rock* (1996) would be the last film the two produced together. One month after Bruckheimer ended the partnership, Simpson died from a drug-related heart attack. Bruckheimer continued to produce glossy high-octane thrillers and even family films with unparalleled success, including *Con Air* (1997), *Arma-*

geddon (1998), *Enemy of the State* (1998), *Coyote Ugly* (2000), *Remember the Titans* (2000), *Pearl Harbor* (2001), *Black Hawk Down* (2001), *Bad Boys II* (2003), and *Pirates of the Caribbean* (2003). Bruckheimer also is of the most successful television producers ever, producing such shows as the *C.S.I.* franchise (*C.S.I., C.S.I. Miami, C.S.I. N.Y.*), *Cold Case*, and the reality program *The Amazing Race.*

[Adam Wills (2nd ed.)]

BRUCKMAN, HENRIETTA (1810–1888), founder of the Independent Order of True Sisters. Henrietta Bruckman and her husband Philip, a physician, immigrated to America from Bohemia in 1842, settling in New York City. The Bruckmans joined the city's immigrant German Jewish elite, supporting charitable efforts on behalf of their less well-off fellow immigrants, and participating in the community's cultural life. Shortly after his arrival, Philip, together with a group of other middle-class German immigrants, founded the Mendelssohnian Society. This Cultus Verein provided the impetus for the establishment of the *B'nai B'rith, a secular Jewish fraternal order, in 1843, and the basis of Temple Emanu-El, which was formed in 1845. Despite considerable interest, the B'nai B'rith refused to accept female members. Temple Emanu-El similarly rebuffed efforts to create a society for the women of the congregation. In 1846, Henrietta Bruckman, mustering support from among her friends, proposed the creation of a female counterpart to the B'nai B'rith open exclusively to women. The initiative was supported by Philip Bruckman, his business partner Dr. James Mitchel, Rabbi Dr. Leo *Merzbacher, the minister of Emanu-El, and a number of influential members of the B'nai B'rith and Temple Emanu-El. The Emanuel Lodge of the Unabhängiger Orden Treuer Schwestern (Independent Order of True Sisters) was established a few weeks later as a philanthropic and educational organization. At its first meeting, James Mitchel provided instruction in the ritual and functioning of the lodge system, and Henrietta Bruckman was installed as its first president. Thereafter the Order operated independently of the B'nai B'rith. At its founding, it was the only fraternal organization in America open exclusively to women.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: H. Grinstein, *The Rise of the Jewish Community of New York* (1847); C. Wilhelm, in: *American Jewish Archives Journal*, 54 (2002), 4–42.

[Adam Mendelsohn (2nd ed.)]

BRUCKNER, FERDINAND (pseudonym of **Theodor Tagger**; 1891–1958), German poet and playwright. Bruckner was born in Vienna, and studied music and law in Vienna and Paris. He began his literary career as a lyric poet and essayist, but soon became a playwright. In 1923 he founded and became director of the Renaissance-Theater in Berlin. After Hitler came to power, Bruckner wrote the first anti-Nazi exile-drama, a play titled *Die Rassen* (1934). This play was directed and performed in the Zürcher Schauspielhaus the same year. Bruckner emigrated to the U.S. He returned to Berlin in 1951, where he lived until his death. Most of Bruckner's plays deal with contemporary life and politics. One of his favorite themes was the struggle between the generations, which he dealt with in *Krankheit der Jugend* (1928), *Die Verbrecher* (1929), *Die Rassen* (1934), and *Die Befreiten* (1945). Bruckner also wrote several historical dramas, including *Elisabeth von England* (1930), *Napoleon der Erste* (1937), and *Simon Bolivar* (1945). His last play was *Pyrrhus und Andromache* (1952).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: H. Friedman and O. Mann, *Deutsche Literatur im 20. Jahrhundert*, 1 (1961), 162ff.; E. Rieder Laska, *Ferdinand Bruckner* (thesis, Heidelberg, 1961). **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** F. Bruckner, *Werke, Tagebücher, Briefe*, ed. H.G. Roloff (2003); G. Labroisse, in: *Die Resonanz des Exil* (1992), 154–63; H.P. Bayerdörfer, in: *Deutsch-jüdische Exilund Emigrationsliteratur* (1993), 165–83.

[Rudolf Kayser / Noam Zadoff (2nd ed.)]

BRUDO, ABRAHAM BEN ELIJAH (known also as **Abraham Chelebi**; 1625?–1717), Turkish rabbi and preacher. Born in Constantinople, he was appointed rabbi there at an early age. When the Shabbatean movement began to spread, he became one of its adherents. In 1666 he was a signatory to a letter of the rabbis of Constantinople and Smyrna supporting Shabbetai Ẓevi's messianic claims. However, a year later they sent another letter now expressing opposition, but apparently some time later the spark of Shabbateanism was rekindled in him. In 1688 or somewhat later, he served as rabbi and preacher in Adrianople, afterward returning to Constantinople. Following the war between Venice and Turkey (1685–87), in which the Venetians conquered the Peloponnese (Morea), he traveled to raise ransom money for the Jews who had fallen captive. In 1694 he was in Leghorn and from there proceeded to other Italian cities. In 1695 he was in Amsterdam, Germany, and Austria, and in 1696, again in Venice. After this journey he settled in Jerusalem, where he spent his remaining years as chief rabbi. Among his disciples were many Ashkenazim, including Nethanel *Weil. In 1697 Abraham published *Birkat Avraham*, a book of sermons on Genesis, in the introduction to which he mentions a book he wrote on the Bible. A few of his numerous responsa were published in works of his contemporaries.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Frumkin-Rivlin, 2 (1928), 103–4; Rosanes, Togarmah, 4 (1935), 191–3; J. Sasportas, *Ẓiẓat Novel Ẓevi*, ed. by I. Tishby (1954), 134, 209; Sonne, in: *Sefunot*, 5 (1961), 292ff.

[Abraham David]

BRUDO, MANUEL (c. 1500–c. 1585), Marrano physician and author. His father, Dionysius Rodrigues (d. 1541), was at first physician to the Royal Court in Portugal and later practiced medicine in London and Ferrara. Like his father, Manuel also practiced medicine for some time in London and later in Italy. His study on diets (*De Ratione Victus, Venice*, 1544, 1559) includes much curious information on the living conditions of the Marranos who escaped to England. He finally settled in Turkey (probably in Constantinople) and openly returned to Judaism. Here he entered the employment of the sultan for whom he composed a work, translated into Turkish under the title, *ʿAsāʾ-i Pīrān* ("The Walking Stick of the Old"), on the maladies of old age and their cure. There is some doubt as to his authorship of the book *Taʿamei ha-Mitzvot* mentioned by *Ibn Verga in his *Shevet Yehudah* (par. 64) which dealt with the reasons of the sacrifices. Brudo's arguments against Christianity are mentioned admiringly by Abraham ha-Levi ibn Migash in his *Kevod Elohim* (Constantinople, 1585, 127b).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: U. Heyd, in: *Eretz-Israel*, 7 (1963), 48, 53: C. Roth, England, 137, 238; idem, in: JHSET, 19 (1960), 4–6; H. Friedenwald, *Jews and Medicine*, 2 (1944); 346, 389, 461, 463–7, 714; Baer, in: *Tarbiz*, 6 (1934/35), 162.

[Cecil Roth]

BRUELL, family of Jewish scholars. The first member of the family was Jacob *Bruell, talmudic scholar. NEHEMIAH (Nahum; 1843–1891) was the son of Jacob. After rabbinical ordination, he continued his studies in Vienna at Jellinek's *bet ha-midrash* under I.H. Weiss and M. Friedmann and at the university. He became associated with the Reform movement, and after serving as rabbi in Bisenz (Moravia), he succeeded A. *Geiger in 1870 as rabbi of the Reform synagogue in Frankfurt where he took an extreme standpoint regarding religious matters. Here he found a doughty opponent in S.R. Hirsch. After his failure in the struggle with Orthodoxy, and as a result of heavy personal attacks against him, Bruell eventually left the rabbinate and devoted himself to scholarship. He founded and edited the *Jahrbuecher fuer juedische Geschichte und Literatur* (ten volumes, 1874–90) contributing most of the articles himself. His plan for publishing the *Central-Anzeiger fuer juedische Literatur* as a continuation of *Steinschneider's *Hebraeische Bibliographie*, was cut short after the appearance of the first volume (1891) by his death.

Bruell's monographs in Hebrew and German covered nearly the entire field of Jewish studies, including Bible and Apocrypha, *halakhah* and *aggadah*, talmudic and rabbinic literature, Jewish history, medieval Hebrew, *piyyut* and poetry, and Hebrew grammar and linguistics. His best studies (mostly published in the *Jahrbuch*, as well as in other periodicals and jubilee volumes) include monographs on the literary development of the Babylonian Talmud (in which the contribution of the *savoraim* is well described), the origins and composition of *Avot*, the character of the Tosefta, the *Sifrei Zuta*, foreign words in the Talmud and Midrash, the tractates on mourning, the apocryphal addition to Daniel, and the Jewish (including Yiddish) medieval folk-legends. He had prepared a new edition of Zunz's *Gottesdienstliche Vortraege* (1892), in which his notes were included. Collections of Bruell's sermons and speeches were published in 1869, 1878, 1891, and 1895. Bruell was an astute and profound scholar, whose works on the tannaitic literature and the Babylonian Talmud were an important contribution to research in these fields.

ADOLF (Elhanan; 1846–1908) was another son of Jacob Bruell. Bruell studied at the universities of Vienna, Prague, and Breslau, and at the Breslau Jewish Theological Seminary. From 1871 to 1903 he taught at the Philanthropin Jewish High School in Frankfurt. His special field of study was the Samaritan translation of the Pentateuch. Among his published works are *Fremdsprachliche Redensarten… in den Talmuden und Midraschim* (1869), *Trachten der Judenim nachbiblischen Alterthum* (1873), *Kritische Studien ueber Samaritanische Manuscript-Fragmente* (1875), *Zur Geschichte und Literatur der Samaritaner* (1876), and *Beitraege zur Kenntnis der juedisch-deutschen Literatur* (1877). Bruell also edited articles in the *Populaerwissenschaftliche Monatsblaetter zur Belehrung ueber das Judentum fuer Gebildete aller Konfessionen* (1881–1908), to which he contributed numerous articles. He wrote a biography of David Einhorn and was a contributor to the *Jewish Encyclopedia*.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: B. Cohen, in: *Studies… in memory of A.S. Freidus* (1929), 219ff.

[Moshe David Herr]

BRUELL, IGNAZ (1846–1907), Austrian pianist and composer. Born in Prossnitz, Moravia, he was taken to Vienna at the age of three, showed early talent, and became famous as a concert pianist. He toured Europe and gave twenty concerts in London in 1878. As a composer he had most success with "Das Goldene Kreuz" (1875, libretto by S.H. *Mosenthal). Also popular was "Der Husar" (1898). He composed ten operas, two piano concertos, and a body of chamber music. Bruell was a close friend of Brahms and, being a remarkable sight reader, often tried out new works with the composer in four-hand arrangements. He also gave the first public performance of some of them.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: H. Schwarz, *Ignaz Bruell und sein Freundeskreis* (1922); Baker, Biog Dict.

[Dora Leah Sowden]

BRUELL, JACOB (1812–1889), talmudic scholar. Born in Neu-Raussnitz, Moravia, he was ordained by his father-in-law Nehemiah *Trebitsch. From 1843 until his death, he served as rabbi in *Kojetin. Among his disciples were his sons Adolf and Nehemiah *Bruell, and David *Kaufmann, all of whom became renowned Jewish scholars. Bruell developed his own distinctive, scientific, critical approach. His first scholarly work was an annotated and revised edition of Ẓevi Hirsch *Chajes' *Iggeret Bikkoret* on the Targums and Midrashim (1853). His own "addition, corrections, and criticism," were named *Misgeret*. The influence of Zunz's *Gottesdienstliche Vortraege* is noticeable in Bruell's critical notes. His *Doresh le-Ẓiyyun* ("Interpreter of Signs," Ger. *Die Mnemotechnik des Talmuds*, 1864) deals with the mnemotechnical signs in the Babylonian Talmud. Bruell's largest and most important work is his *Mevo ha-Mishnah* ("Introduction to the Mishnah," 2 vols., 1876–85). The first volume deals with the biographies and methods of sages from the time of Ezra to the end of the mishnaic period, and the second, with the method used by Judah ha-Nasi in the arrangement and editing of the Mishnah. Bruell's last work was *Ben Zekunim* (studies in talmudic literature, 1889). He also contributed extensively to the periodicals *Ben Chananja* (ed. by L. Loew) and *Beit Talmud* (ed. by I.H. Weiss).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Zeitlin, Bibliotheca, 43, 54.

[Moshe David Herr]

BRUGGEN, CARRY VAN (1881–1932), Dutch novelist and philosophical writer. Born in Smilde as Carolina Lea de Haan, she was the sister of Jacob Israel de *Haan. Her first husband was the non-Jewish writer Kees van Bruggen, her second the art historian A. Pit. Carry van Bruggen, who worked for a while as a schoolteacher, published her first novel, *De Verlatene* ("The Forsaken Woman"), in 1910. This was pitilessly self-analytical and autobiographical, as were *Heleen* (1913), *Het Huisje aan de Sloot* ("The House on the Canal," 1921), and her last novel, *Eva* (1927). Carry van Bruggen displayed an ambivalent, at times antagonistic attitude to Jewish tradition and nationalism, although she described the joys and sorrows of the religious family in which she grew up with great affection. The tragedy of believing Jews whose children become estranged from tradition is a constant theme in her work. She was an original thinker, with a profound knowledge of the history of philosophy. Her main work, *Prometheus* (1919), is an attempt to follow a freethinker in his struggle with the powers of darkness, and it had a significant influence on leading Dutch writers. She analyzed modern superstition in *Hedendaagsch Fetischisme* ("Fetishism in our Time," 1925). Her novels further include *Het Joodje* ("The Little Jew," 1914), *Een Indisch Huwelijk* ("An Indian Marriage," 1921), and *Vier Jaargetijden* ("Four Seasons," 1924). She also published some minor novels under the pen name Justine Abbing. Carry van Bruggen spent the last years of her life in a mental hospital.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: M.-A. Jacobs, *Carry van Bruggen, Haar leven en literair werk* (1962); J. Fontijn and D. Schouten, *Carry van Bruggen: Een documentatie* (1985); J.M.J. Sicking, *Overgave en verzet: De levens - en wereldbeschouwing van Carry van Bruggen* (1993); R. Wolf, *Van alles het middelpunt: Over leven en werk van Carry van Bruggen* (1980).

[Maritha Mathijsen (2nd ed.)]

BRUNA, ISRAEL BEN ḤAYYIM (c. 1400–1480), German rabbi and communal leader. He studied under David of Schweidnitz, and later Jacob Weil, Israel Isserlein, and Zalman Cohen of Nuremberg. His first rabbinical post was in Bruenn, his native city. When R. Goddel of Orenburg arrived there sometime later, and began to exercise rabbinical functions, Bruna lodged a complaint before Isserlein who advised him to resign himself to Goddel's presence. By 1446 he was in Regensburg, where he opened a yeshivah and served as rabbi to his followers, thereby arousing the hostility of a well-known local rabbi, Anshel Segal, who also headed a yeshivah. Despite the decisions of Jacob Weil and Israel Isserlein (Isserlein, *pesak* 128), upholding Bruna's right to work and teach in Regensburg, his rival's supporters made him endure great indignity, which ceased only with R. Anshel's death, at which time Bruna became the acknowledged leader of the community and *av bet-din*. After the death of Weil and Isserlein, he was recognized as the halakhic authority of Germany, and his opinion in communal and rabbinical matters was widely sought. In 1456 Bruna was imprisoned for 13 days, apparently to spur the collection of a "coronation tax" imposed on the Jews of his city by the emperor Frederick III. In 1474 he was imprisoned again, this time the victim of a blood libel; an apostate, Hans Vayol, accused him of buying a Christian youth and killing him to make use of his blood. The Church demanded his death, but the community secured the intervention of Frederick III and Ladislav II, king of Bohemia, which led to Vayol's confession and subsequent execution. Bruna was freed only after formally renouncing all claim to compensation for the injustice done to him. His son was *dayyan* in Prague. Bruna's responsa, which provide valuable information on the German Jewish scene of his time, were collected and published posthumously (Salonika, 1788) with many printing errors, again in 1860, with even more errors, and a third edition was published in 1960.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Berliner, in: MGWJ, 18 (1869), 317–8, no. 29; J. Freimann (ed.), *Leket Yosher* (1904), xxxix–xl (preface), no. 82; S.A. Horodezky, *Le-Korot ha-Rabbanut* (1911), 37–44; Zimmels, in: MGWJ, 74 (1930), 57, no. 7; B. Suler, in: JGGJČ, 9 (1938), 101–70; M. Frank, *Kehillot Ashkenaz u-Vattei Dineihen* (1938), index; R. Straus, *Regensburg and Augsburg* (1939), 67–69; S. Eidelberg, *Jewish Life in Austria in the 15th Century* (1962), index.

[Isaac Ze'ev Kahane]

BRUNER, JEROME SEYMOUR (1915–), U.S. psychologist. Bruner was born in New York City and educated at Duke University (A.B., 1939) and Harvard, (M.A. 1939; Ph.D., 1941); he served in the U.S. Army during World War II as an intelligence officer, studying public opinion and propaganda. He joined the faculty at Harvard in 1945 and remained there through 1972; with George Miller, he founded Harvard's Center for Cognitive Studies in 1960 and was its director from 1961 to 1972. That year he became Watts Professor of Psychology at Wolfson College, Oxford. In 1980 he returned briefly to Harvard and in 1981–88 was George H. Mead University Professor at the New School in New York. From 1991 he was research professor of psychology and adjunct professor of law at New York University. Among other organizations, Bruner was a fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, the American Association for the Advancement of Science, and the National Academy of Education. He was a member of the executive committee of the International Union of Scientific Psychology and was president of the American Psychological Association in 1964–65.

Bruner's work focused on the study of perception and cognition and their implications for education. He is considered to be a seminal thinker in these areas and a founder of modern cognitive psychology – the study of how people think. His work of the late 1940s and 1950s, drawing on contemporary developments in linguistic philosophy and anthropology, is credited with turning American psychology (and educational theory) away from the sort of physiologically based behaviorism associated with B.F. Skinner and toward a more flexible understanding of the (culturally conditioned) psychological process of discerning the logic of a given problem ("to perceive is to categorize"). In 1959 Bruner chaired a curriculum reform group sponsored by the National Academy of Sciences (a response to the national anxiety induced by the Soviet success in 1957 in launching Sputnik), and his summary report, *The Process of Education*, became a classic (and a bestseller in 1960). Its conclusions ("Any subject can be taught effectively in some intellectually honest form to any child … providing attention is paid to the psychological development of the child"), recommending that children be taught in such a way that they develop a grasp of the logic of the material being taught, rather than being made to remember contextless facts, became highly influential among educators in the 1960s and 1970s.

In later years Bruner concerned himself with the function of narrative, or "storytelling," as a way of mediating or creating a context for information, and in the creation of a culturally characteristic "folk psychology." He collaborated with law professor Anthony Amsterdam in examining the role of narrative and rhetoric in the shaping of legal cases.

Bruner was a prolific and influential author. Among his more important books are *A Study of Thinking* (1956), *The Process of Education* (1960), *On Knowing: Essays for the Left Hand* (1962), *Man: A Course of Study* (1965, a proposed school social studies curriculum), *Toward a Theory of Instruction* (1966), *Processes of Cognitive Growth* (1968), *Beyond the Information Given: Studies in the Psychology of Knowing* (1973, edited by Jeremy M. Anglin), *In Search of Mind: Essays in Autobiography* (1983), *Actual Minds, Possible Worlds* (1986), *Acts of Meaning* (1990), *The Culture of Education* (1996), *Minding the Law: How Courts Rely on Storytelling, and How Their Stories Change the Way We Understand Law and Ourselves* (2000, with Anthony Amsterdam), *Making Stories: Law, Literature, Life* (2002).

[Drew Silver (2nd ed.)]

°**BRUNETTI, ANGELO** (known as "**Ciceruacchio**"; 1800–1849), leader of liberal reform in Rome. Without formal education, Brunetti exerted great influence over the populace. On July 8, 1847, he achieved a reconciliation between the Jews of Rome and the inhabitants of the Regola quarter, near the ghetto, who had always been anti-Jewish. Eight days later, thousands of citizens streamed into the ghetto and publicly fraternized with the Jews. On April 17, 1848, hearing that Pope Pius IX had ordered the abolition of the ghetto, he rallied help to demolish the walls, while the Jews, unaware of his action, were celebrating Passover. He was executed by the Austrians in Northern Italy after the collapse of the Roman Republic in 1849.

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[Umberto (Moses David) Cassuto]

°**BRUNNER, ALOIS** (1912–), Nazi deportation expert. Brunner was born in Rohrbrunn, Austria. "He was an extremely unscrupulous individual, one of the best tools of *Eichmann. He never had an opinion of his own, and as Eichmann himself described him, he was 'one of my best men.'" Adolf Eichmann's reliance on Alois Brunner confirms this Nuremberg testimony of Dieter Wisliceny, Brunner's coworker in the SS program to deport Europe's Jews to Poland.

Adolf Eichmann turned over the Central Office of Jewish Emigration in Vienna to Brunner, who organized the first European experiments in deportation of the Jews as early as October 1939. As director of the Central Office in 1941 and 1942, Brunner co-opted Jewish leadership by threats and promises; after decimating the Austrian Jewish community, he was promoted to SS Hauptsturmfuehrer in 1942. In the fall of 1942 Brunner applied the methods he had used in Vienna in Berlin. Then, in February 1943 Eichmann posted Brunner to command technical aspects of deportation in Salonika, Greece, the center of Sephardi Judaism in Europe. There Brunner perfected his methods of pressure and deception, destroying in six weeks a community that had flourished for five centuries. He also presided over the deportation of Jews from Bulgarian-occupied Trace and Macedonia.

In order to accelerate the deportation program in France, Eichmann sent Brunner to France's main transit camp, Drancy, where he was commandant from June 1943 to August 1944. Brunner radically altered Drancy, and with it the condition of the Jews in France: he denied French officials access to the camp, provisioned it with funds taken from Jews, deceived and tortured the inmates, and deported even those with *de facto* exemptions – Jews from neutral or friendly states, welfare workers, orphans, and French-Jewish nationals. When Germany occupied the Italian zone of southern France in September 1943, Brunner took charge of one of the most brutal roundups in Western Europe, sending off transports even as the Germans retreated from France. He then took up his last post, commandant of Camp Sered, the deportation center of Slovakia.

In Slovakia, from September 1944 to April 1945, Brunner dismantled the Jewish community, and punished both Jews and Nazis who had negotiated to ransom Jewish lives. In 1945, as Russian troops approached, Brunner disappeared. According to his own account, Brunner was arrested by Czechs, Americans, and British, but released under a false name. He obtained false papers and left Europe in 1954 for Egypt and then Damascus, Syria, where he lived under the name Georg Fischer. Brunner claimed to have planned to bomb a World Jewish Congress meeting in Vienna, with Syrian help, and also to abduct Eichmann from Israel. Warrants for his arrest are on the books in Germany and Austria; France sentenced him to death *in absentia*; West Germany requested his extradition in 1984, but the Syrian government refused to respond.

Brunner deported at least 129,000 people to ghettos and death camps in Poland – 47,000 from Vienna, 44,000 from Salonika, 24,000 from France, and 14,000 from Slovakia.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: M. Felstiner, "Alois Brunner, Eichmann's Best Tool," in: *Simon Wiesenthal Center Annual* (1986); D. Wisliceny testimonies, in: *The Holocaust: Selected Documents*, J. Mendelsohn (ed.), vol. 8, and in *Trial of the Major War Criminals before the International Military Tribunal*, vol. 4; Brunner interview, *Bunte* 45, 46 (Oct. 30, Nov. 7, 1985).

[Mary Lowenthal Felsteiner]

BRUNNER, ARNOLD (1857–1925), U.S. architect. Brunner was born in New York and graduated from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. Most of his buildings were of a public character and included bridges, hospitals, university buildings, and synagogues as well as the Lewisohn Stadium for the College of the City of New York, which is used as an open-air concert hall. Brunner was a pioneer of civic planning and did valuable work in this field in Baltimore, Rochester, Albany, and Denver. Of his synagogues, Beth El (1891) and Shaaray Tefila (1894) in New York, and Mishkan Israel (1897) in New Haven, were designed in a Romanesque style with Islamic and Byzantine elements. This concept of synagogues had originated in Germany and spread to America through the German Jewish congregations. Brunner's later synagogues were built exclusively in a classical style. This change was due, he maintained, to the investigation of ancient synagogues in Galilee, built in a Greco-Roman tradition. An example of this style was the new place of worship Shearith Israel (1897) built for the Sephardi community of New York. He also employed this classical style for the small Henry S. Frank Memorial Synagogue (1901) on the grounds of the Jewish Hospital in Philadelphia. In this case the design was inspired by *Kefar Baram, a second-century synagogue in Galilee.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: R. Wischnitzer, *Synagogue Architecture in the U.S.* (1955), 49–60; Roth, Art, 739–40.

BRUNNER, CONSTANTIN (pen name of **Leopold Wertheimer**; 1862–1937), German philosopher. He lived in Potsdam until 1933, and immigrated to Holland when the Nazis came to power. He constructed his own philosophical system. He followed Plato, and to an even greater extent, Spinoza. His major work is *Die Lehre von den Geistigen und vom Volk* (1908).

Central to Brunner's theory is the characterization of three different aspects of contemplation (including emotion and will): (1) Practical reason, which every human possesses and which serves one's normal needs. (2) The spiritual faculty, which rises above the relative truth residing in experience and in science, and strives toward a perception of the one eternal and absolute essence. This spiritual faculty finds expression in the artist's inspiration, in the endeavor to penetrate the mysteries of the universe as part of the pursuit of the absolute, and in philosophy as the knowledge of the eternal. Very few are endowed with this faculty. (3) "Superstition" – pseudo-contemplation, which is the mode of contemplation of most ordinary men. Unfounded belief is a distortion of the spiritual faculty. While practical reason recognizes that the "relative" is only "relative," superstition elevates what is relative to the status of the absolute. As part of his theory of society and the state, Brunner argued for total assimilation of the Jews and staunchly opposed Zionism. Among his admirers were Gustav *Landauer and Walter *Rathenau. In 1924 the Constantin Brunner Society was founded in Berlin. An International Constantin Brunner Institute exists in The Hague. Brunner's other works include *Der Judenhass und die Juden* (1918); *Materialismus und Idealismus* (1928); *Von den Pflichten der Juden und von den Pflichten des Staates* (1930); and *Derentlarvte Mensch* (1951).

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[Otto Immanuel Spear]

°BRUNNER, SEBASTIAN (1814–1893), Viennese Catholic priest and antisemitic journalist and writer. Ordained in 1838, Brunner was employed in *Metternich's police bureau from 1843 to 1848. He subsequently founded the conservative daily *Wiener katholische Kirchenzeitung* which he edited until 1860. In its pages Brunner claimed, among other allegations, that the Old Testament spirit was vindictive and that Jewish influence endangered Christian morals. In 1860 the Jewish communal leader Ignaz *Kuranda forced Brunner to sue him for libel, claiming that Brunner had merely resurrected the old charges made by Johan Andreas *Eisenmenger and Johannes *Pfefferkorn, and that he was motivated by business interest. Kuranda was acquitted. The proceedings aroused great interest among Eastern European Jewry and were published in Hebrew by David Gordon (*Milḥemet ha-Ḥoshekh ve-ha-Or,* (1861).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: P.G.J. Pulzer, *The Rise of Political Anti-Semitism in Germany and Austria* (1964), index; F. Heer, *Gottes erste Liebe* (1967), 232, 303, 354; O. Rommel (ed.), *Der oesterreichische Vormaerz (1816–47)* (1931), 251–79; *Oesterreichisches Biographisches Lexikon.*

BRUNSCHVICG, LEON (1869–1944), French philosopher. In 1909 he was appointed professor of philosophy at the Sorbonne, and in 1920 a member of the Académie des Sciences Morales. Brunschvicg, who was a spokesman of the idealistic school of thought in France, published many books, best known of which are *La modalité du jugement* (1897); *Introduction à la vie de l'esprit* (1900); the valuable historical work *Les étapes de la philosophie mathématique* (1912); another historical work *Le progrès de la conscience dans la philosophie occidentale* (1927); *La Raison et la Religion* (1939); *Spinoza et ses contemporains* (1923); and *Descartes et Pascal, lecteurs de Montaigne* (1944). Brunschvicg published the standard edition of Pascal's writings (1897–1904) and for many years he was also editor of the *Revue de métaphysique et de morale*. In 1945 a memorial collection of essays was published by this journal.

Brunschvicg advocated an idealism of consciousness and did not admit any existence outside the realm of consciousness. The irrational, which consciousness confronts and which appears to consciousness to exist independently, is nothing but the limits of consciousness itself, confronted by consciousness with astonishment and pain. As the spirit develops, the limits of consciousness expand – but only in consciousness itself are both truth and existence present together. God is but the "word" – the force which sets consciousness in motion and gives life to it. The development of consciousness in Brunschvicg's conception is very close to Hegel's "spirit of the absolute," though contrary to Hegel, it does not follow an inevitable course; rather it splits into various directions, which are sometimes determined by chance, as an expression of absolute freedom. What Brunschvicg thus attempted was the integration of Hegel's view with Bergson's. Brunschvicg's doctrine is an immanent, monistic philosophy, sometimes reminiscent of Spinoza's. He believed that with the development of consciousness and the elevation of man to higher stages, humanity would reach a "third covenant," which would be able to replace the "second covenant" ("the New Testament"). Brunschvicg saw 20th-century religion as at a crossroad. Religion's past weighs down on it and may smother it. According to him, only a brave decision between its past and future can save it. Religion's past is the religion of personification, which enslaved itself to the selfish aspirations and hopes of man, whereas the future of religion is the pure religion which would free itself from anthropomorphism – a religion of the heart, a pure spiritual religion, a philosophical religion. At a meeting of the French Philosophical Society on March 24, 1928, Blondel, Gilson, and Le Roy debated with Brunschvicg and defended traditional religion. Brunschvicg defended himself against the accusation of atheism. The protocol of this convention was published in Brunschvicg's book *De la vraie et de la fausse conversion, suivi de la querelle de l'athéisme* (1951). His *Ecrits philosophiques*, edited by A.R. Weill-Brunschvicg and C. Lehec, were published in two volumes (1951–54).

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[Pepita Haezrahi]

BRUNSCHVIG, GEORGES (1908–1973), Swiss lawyer and communal leader. Brunschvig was born in Berne, where he studied law; during his military service, he was an artillery captain and also served as a judge. Brunschvig was one of the lawyers at the trial held in Berne in the 1930s at which the *Protocols of the Learned *Elders of Zion* were declared a forgery. Together with another of the lawyers, Emil Raas, he published *Vernichtung einer Faelschung* (1938), dealing with the history of the *Protocols* and giving an account of the trial. He distinguished himself in two sensational espionage trials: one in 1958 at which he served as counsel for Max Ulrich who was accused of handing over State secrets to French Intelligence; the other in June 1963, when he defended an Israeli agent named Ben-Gal, and an Austrian scientist, Otto Joklik, who had been charged with threatening German scientists who purchased radioactive materials for Egypt to use against Israel. Brunschvig was prominent in Jewish affairs from his early years. From 1940 to 1948 he served as the youngest president of the Berne community, and in 1946 was appointed president of the Swiss Federation of Jewish Communities, retaining the position until his death. In this capacity his advice was often sought by Swiss authorities on matters affecting the Jewish community. In 1962 he became the first president of the Le-Ma'an Yerushalayim Society in Zurich, and offered his services to Israel to exploit any possibility of a neutral Switzerland intervening in the Arab-Israeli conflict.

ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY: J. Picard, *Die Schweiz und die Juden 1933–1945* (1994), v. Index.

BRUNSCHVIG, ROBERT (1901–1990), French Orientalist. Brunschvig, who was born in Bordeaux, began his teaching career at Tunis University. In 1932 he became professor of Muslim civilization at Algiers and in 1945 was appointed professor of Arabic language and literature at Bordeaux. Ten years later he went to Paris, where he became director of the Institute of Islamic Studies at the Sorbonne and editor of the journal *Studia Islamica*.

Brunschvig wrote many authoritative works on *Islam and Islamic culture, including a monumental political, literary, social, and religious history of the Hafside Kingdom, *La Berbérie orientale sous les Hafṣides, des origines à la fin du XVe siècle* (2 vols, 1940–47). This contains an impressive study of the Jews of Algeria and Tunisia, based on the responsa of North African rabbis. There is also some important historical information about Jews in his *Deux récits de voyage inédits en Afrique du Nord au XVe siècle* (1936).

Always an active Zionist, Brunschvig worked tirelessly on behalf of the persecuted Jews of Algeria during the Vichy regime of World War II. In 1940, when they lost their education rights, he organized primary and secondary schooling for them throughout the country. He was on the executive of the Committee for Study, Aid, and Assistance which saved the lives of many Jews, and in 1942–43 was president of the Committee of Social Studies which played a political role in the face of Algerian antisemitism.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: M. Eisenbeth, *Pages vécues 1940–43* (1945), passim; M. Ansky, *Les Juifs d'Algérie* (1950), passim.

[David Corcos]

BRUNSWICK (Ger. **Braunschweig**), city and former duchy in Germany. Jews were living in the duchy at the beginning of the 12th century, and in 1137 the emperor gave jurisdiction over them to the duke. The only specific information concerning the Jews living in the duchy before the *Black Death relates to Blankenburg (1223) and Helmstedt (1247), apart from the capital city where a community was established at the end of the 13th century. Both the dukes and the municipality gave the

Jews protection and levied taxes. Their economic conditions and legal status were favorable, and Jews from other places in northern Germany moved there. At the beginning of the 14th century the Jews in the capital lived in a street near the market and ducal castle. By the middle of the century they numbered approximately 150. Over half were massacred during the Black Death (1348–49). In 1364 jurisdiction over the Jews passed entirely to the municipality. Jews from Goslar were permitted to settle in Brunswick in 1417. The Jews in the city of Brunswick were accused of desecrating the *Host in 1510, and 16 were expelled. Anti-Jewish riots occurred in 1543, provoked by the polemical writings of Martin Luther, and in 1571 the Jews were expelled from the duchy. The emperor procured their return seven years later, but the decree of expulsion was renewed in 1590. This time the imperial representations were of no avail and the Jews were compelled to leave.

Several Jews were permitted to settle in the duchy at the beginning of the 17th century. Duke Charles William Ferdinand (1780–1806), whom Israel *Jacobson served as *Court Jew, corresponded with Moses *Mendelssohn on philosophical and religious subjects; he invited Mendelssohn for a visit and encouraged him to write his *Morgenstunden*. In 1805 the duke abrogated the *Leibzoll* ("body tax") hitherto levied on Jews. The school Jacobson founded in Seesen in 1801, the first to educate children in the spirit of *Haskalah, was opened under ducal patronage. A second "progressive" school, the Samson school, was opened in *Wolfenbuettel in 1807; I.M. *Jost and Leopold *Zunz were among its pupils. Between 1807 and 1813 Brunswick formed part of the Napoleonic kingdom of Westphalia, and the Jews were granted civic equality. After the downfall of Napoleon in 1814, when the kingdom was abolished, the Jews were again disqualified from holding public office and deprived of the franchise. They acquired the franchise and elective rights in 1832. The "Jewish oath" was abolished in 1845. In 1848 mixed marriages were legalized and Jews were allowed to acquire real property. The civil service remained closed to Jews until 1919. A synagogue was built in the city of Brunswick about 1780 and another in 1784. The Brunswick community adopted *Reform Judaism at the beginning of the 19th century. The rabbi of Brunswick, Levi *Herzfeld (1842–84), convened the first *synod of German rabbis there in 1844. The community in Brunswick numbered 378 in 1812, 258 in 1852 (0.3% of the total), and 1,750 in 1928. However, by 1933 the number had decreased to 980, since the city had become a stronghold of Nazism. On *Kristallnacht* (Nov. 9–10, 1938), with 620 Jews remaining in the city after further flight and emigration, the synagogue was burned down and Jewish stores were demolished. Another 200 managed to flee up to 1941. The rest were deported to the east in 14 transports up to the end of the war; in all, 377 local Jews perished in the Holocaust. A concentration camp was established in Brunswick; there were a number of Jews in it at the end of World War II. There were 43 Jews living in the city of Brunswick in 1967.

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[Zvi Avneri / Ze'ev Wilhem Falk]

BRUNSWIG, ALFRED (1877–1927), German philosopher of the school of Theodor Lipps, later influenced by *Husserl. He was born at Plan, taught at Munich (1911–16) and then became professor of philosophy at Muenster. He tried to synthesize psychology and pure logic, and to analyze phenomena to bring together philosophy and experimental research. He was an advocate of critical realism as well as an interpreter of Kant and German idealism. His main works were *Die Frage nach dem Grunde des sittlichen Sollens* (1907), *Das Vergleichen und die Relationserkenntnis* (1910), *Das Grundproblem Kants…* (1914) as well as works on Hegel (1922) and Leibniz (1925).

[Richard H. Popkin]

BRUSSELS, capital of *Belgium. A Jewish community existed in Brussels by the mid-13th century. Its cultural standard is attested to by the fine illuminated Pentateuch completed there by the scribe Isaac for Ḥayyim, son of the martyr Ḥayyim, in 1310. The Jews of Brussels were massacred during the *Black Death (1348–49). A few subsequently resettled, but a further massacre followed an accusation of desecrating the Host (May 1370), and the Jews were officially excluded from Brussels until the end of Spanish rule in Belgium. The memory of the reputed sacrilege was preserved, as the wafers became an object of worship, still commemorated on the third Sunday of July. The episode is depicted in the stained-glass windows of the St. Gudule Cathedral of Brussels. Marranos, however, found their way to Brussels from time to time, such as the Mendes family in the 16th century. In the 17th century several Marranos, including Daniel Levi (Miguel) de *Barrios, served in the Spanish army in Brussels. Some of them later settled in Amsterdam where they openly professed Judaism.

After the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713, Belgium came under Austrian rule and Jews began to settle in Brussels. Decrees of expulsion were issued in 1716 and in 1756, but were averted by gifts to the crown. In 1757 the community of Brussels consisted of 21 men, 19 women, and 26 children, many of whom had moved there from Holland. In 1783 Philip Nathan, who received the right of citizenship of Brussels, asked the authorities to assign a site for a new Jewish cemetery. With the annexation of Belgium in 1794 by France, Jews were able to settle freely in Brussels. At the beginning of the 18th century, the Brussels community recognized the authority of the rabbinate of Metz. The Napoleonic edict of March 17, 1808, included Brussels in the *Consistory of Crefeld. When Belgium was united with Holland, Brussels became the head of the 14th religious district of Holland. Belgium became independent in 1830 and the constitution of 1831 accorded religious freedom. Brussels became the center of the Belgian consistories, and Eliakim *Carmoly (1802–1875) was appointed chief rabbi of Belgium in 1832. The community, originally made up primarily of Jews from Holland and Germany, increased through immigration from Poland and Russia and, after 1933, again from Germany. Before World War II, the Brussels community totaled some 30,000, although it remained second in size to Antwerp.

[Kenneth R. Scholberg]

Holocaust Period

The Nazis occupied Belgium in May 1940. A committee of the Association de Juifs en Belgique (AJB) was created in Brussels. All Jews were subjected to direction from this organization under the pretext of providing social relief for their brethren. The local Jews were sent to the labor camp of Mechlin (Malines) and from there they were sent to the extermination camps in the east.

For details see *Belgium: Holocaust Period.

Contemporary Period

From 1945 until approximately 1950, the Jewish population of Brussels was as large as it had been before World War II (about 27,000), owing to the temporary sojourn of thousands of refugees from Eastern and Central Europe there. After that period, however, immigration to Belgium decreased and an important wave of emigration began to the U.S.A., Canada, Australia, and Israel. The total population was not known precisely, but certain statistical data, such as the average family size (which is 2.6 persons), indicated that it did not substantially exceed 18,000. The age distribution, owing to a low birthrate and an increasing trend of assimilation, points to the fact that the population had become stationary and was on the road to natural diminution. The community's reconstruction after World War II was severely hampered by Belgium's economic instability and the process of rehabilitating war victims. Furthermore, as the majority of Jews were foreigners, it was difficult for them to obtain work permits. In 1946 a monthly average of 4,500 persons required relief or some form of aid from Jewish agencies, while only a few hundred were still in need in 1970. Priority was given to the creation of general institutions for social assistance and public services, such as L'Aide aux Israélites Victimes de la Guerre (now the Service Social Juif), L'Heureux Séjour, an old-age home, and the Caisse de Prêt de Crédit, to cope with the needs of the postwar Jewish community. The important contributions of the *American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee and the *Conference on Jewish Material Claims against Germany to the institutions largely supported by them for 20 years eventually tapered off. A central fund-raising agency, La Centrale d'Oeuvres Sociales Juives, unifying 15 institutions, was created in 1952.

In 1970 Brussels had two primary Jewish day schools run on different ideological bases: one religious-traditionalist, l'École Israélite, and the other, Ganenou, more specifically Zionist-oriented. The Athénée Maimonide high school was run by the same board as the École Israélite. These three schools were recognized and subsidized by the state. Participation in a Jewish curriculum was also been expanded through other endeavors, such as the creation of Sunday schools, a school of Yiddish language and literature, and a number of Hebrew classes. Three ideologically different communal centers also provided educational and leisure activities. Apart from its four legally recognized religious communities (three Ashkenazi and one Sephardi), Brussels had several groups that organized their own religious services. In 1966 Belgian Jews and American Jews residing in Belgium created L'Union Israélite Libérale de Belgique, which had a Progressive ideology. The Centre National des Hautes Études Juives, created by the Free University of Brussels and subsidized by the state, promotes research and studies on contemporary Jewry and played an active role in the cultural renewal of the community.

The community grew slightly in the ensuing decades and reached a population of around 15,000 in 2002, representing about half the Jewish population of Belgium (with the other half in *Antwerp). In addition to maintaining its three Jewish schools, the community saw to the religious instruction of those in public schools in voluntary classes taught by Consistoire-appointed rabbis, with around 60% of Jewish public school children in attendance. The community had over a dozen synagogues and a yeshivah operated in the borough of Forest, where Orthodox Jews were concentrated. A Jewish Studies Institute operated within the framework of the Brussels Free University. The Jewish Secular Community Center (Centre Communautaire Laic Juifs) offered lectures, seminars, and Hebrew and Yiddish classes.

[Max Gottschalk / Willy Bok]

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BRUSSILOVSKY, YEVGENI GRIGORYEVICH (1905–1981), Soviet composer. Born in Rostov-on-Don, he revealed his musical talent during performances while on military service. He studied in Moscow and then moved to Leningrad, where he played the piano in cinemas. From 1926 he studied composition at the conservatory with M.O. Steinberg. His first two symphonies, performed in 1931 and 1932, won instant acclaim. In 1933 he settled in Kazakhstan and began collecting Kazakh folk music as a member of the local Music Research Institute. Brussilovsky's first opera, *Kyz-Zhibek* (1934), initiated the development of a Kazakh national opera; it was followed by *Zhalbyr* (1935), *Zolotoye zerno* (1940), *Dudaray* (1953), and other operas and ballets. He was artistic director of the Kazakh Music Theater (1934–38), and taught at the Alma-Ata conservatory. In 1970 he settled in Moscow. Brussilovsky composed nine operas, three ballets, nine symphonies, instrumental concertos, cantatas, and other works. He was awarded the Badge of Honor (1936), the title People's Artist of the Kazakh S.S.R.

(1936), the Order of the Red Banner of Labor (1945, 1956), and the State Prize of the U.S.S.R., the Order of Lenin (1959), and the State Prize of the Kazakh S.S.R. (1967).

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[Michael Goldstein / Marina Rizarev (2nd ed.)]

BRUSTEIN, ROBERT SANFORD (1927–), U.S. drama critic, playwright. Born in New York City, Brustein was educated at Amherst College, Yale, and Columbia. He wrote for the weekly magazine *The New Republic* and other periodicals, putting forward his belief in the need for a theater that expressed social concerns and political realities. In 1965 he was given an opportunity to test his theories when he was appointed dean of the Yale School of Drama. At Yale he sought to develop a professional repertory theater in which students could learn and work with established actors, playwrights, directors, and stage designers. To that end, he founded the Yale Repertory Theater. His unconventional ideas and imaginative productions led to vigorous controversy. He elaborated his theories in *The Theater of Revolt; An Approach to the Modern Drama* (1964). In 1978 the Yale Drama School decided not to renew his contract.

After leaving Yale, Brustein moved to Harvard, where he founded the American Repertory Theater. Brustein served for 36 years as director of the Loeb Drama Center, which is the headquarters of the American Repertory Theater. He was professor of English at Harvard and served as drama critic for *The New Republic* from 1959. He wrote eleven adaptations for the American Repertory Theater, such as *Shlemiel the First*, *The Wild Duck*, *The Master Builder*, *Three Farces and a Funeral*, and *Enrico IV*, and authored 13 books on theater and society. His plays include *Demons, Nobody Dies on Friday, Poker Face, Chekhov on Ice*, and *Divestiture*.

Brustein received the George Polk Award in journalism; the Elliot Norton Award for professional excellence in Boston theater; the New England Theater Conference's 1985 Annual Award "for outstanding creative achievement in the American theater"; the 1995 American Academy of Arts and Letters Award for Distinguished Service to the Arts; the Pirandello medal; and a medal from the Egyptian government for his contribution to world theater. His *Six Characters in Search of an Author* won the Boston Theater Award for Best Production of 1996. Brustein is a member of the American Academy of Arts and Letters and the American Academy of Arts and Sciences.

Books by Brustein include *Seasons of Discontent: Dramatic Opinions, 1959–1965* (1967); *The Third Theater* (1969); *Revolution as Theater: Notes on the New Radical Style* (1971); *The Culture Watch: Essays on Theater and Society, 1969–1974* (1975); *Critical Moments: Reflection on Theater & Society, 1973–1979* (1980); *Making Scenes: A Personal History of the Turbulent Years at Yale, 1966–1979* (1981); *Who Needs Theater? Dramatic Opinions* (1987); *Reimagining American Theater* (1991); *Dumbocracy in America: Studies in the Theater of Guilt, 1987–1994* (1994); *Cultural Calisthenics: Writings on Race, Politics, and Theater* (1998); and *The Siege of the Arts: Collected Writings 1994–2001* (2001).

[Raphael Rothstein / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

BRUTZKUS, BORIS DOV (1874–1938), Russian agrarian economist and communal leader. Boris Brutzkus, a brother of Julius *Brutzkus, was born in Palanga, Lithuania. He studied agriculture in Poland and in 1898 became head of the agriculture department of the *Jewish Colonization Association (ICA) in Russia. The following year he took part in the association's investigation of Jewish farming in Poland, Lithuania, Belorussia, and the Ukraine. In 1907 he resigned from ICA because he disagreed with its philanthropic approach and became a lecturer at the Agricultural Institute in St. Petersburg, where he remained for some 15 years. At the same time he worked for the Russian-Jewish organization *ORT, and came to play an important role in its activities both in Russia and in Germany.

Brutzkus was a leading figure, together with Simon *Dubnow, in the Jewish People's Party (*Folkspartei*), but nevertheless showed considerable interest in settlement in Ereẓ Israel. In 1922 he left the U.S.S.R. and settled in Berlin, where until 1932 he served as professor at the Russian Scientific Institute. During these years he was active in *YIVO and, together with Jacob *Lestschinsky and Jacob Segall, edited the *Bleter far Yidishe Demografye, Statistik un Ekonomik* (1923–25). When Hitler came to power Brutzkus moved to Paris and from there to Ereẓ Israel. He settled in Jerusalem in 1936 and became professor of agrarian economy at the Hebrew University.

His principal books were *Professionalny sostav yevreyskogo naseleniya v Rosii* ("Jewish Population in Russia by Professions," 1908); *Yevreyskiye zemledelcheskiye poseleniya Yekaterinoslavskoy gubernii* ("Jewish Agricultural Settlements in Ekaterinoslav," 1913); *Agrarny vopros i agrarnaya politika* ("Agricultural Question and Agrarian Politics," 1922); *Sotsialisticheskoye khozyaystvo* ("Socialist Economy," 1923); *Agrarentwicklung und Agrarrevolution in Russland* (1925); *Di Yidishe Landvirtshaft in Mizrekh-Eyrope* (1926); *Die Lehren des Marxismus im Lichte der Russischen Revolution* (1928); *Der Fuenfjahrplan und seine Erfuellung* (1932); *Economic Planning in Soviet Russia* (1935, a translation and abridgment of the two foregoing works); *URSS, terrain d'expériences économiques* (1937); and *Kalkalah Ḥakla'it* ("Agrarian Economics," 1942), which contains a selected list of his works.

[Joachim O. Ronall]

His son DAVID ANATOL BRUTZKUS (1910–) was an Israeli architect. He was born in St. Petersburg and went to Ereẓ Israel in 1935. His public buildings stress their individual function and the character of the site. Brutzkus was also active in town planning. He collaborated with H. *Rau on the first town planning project for Jerusalem after the War of Independence, and after the Six-Day War worked with A. *Sharon on a plan for the Old City and surroundings.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Ginzburg, in: *Zukunft* (Feb., 1939), 99–100; B. Dinur, *Benei Dori* (1963), 80–85; I. Gruenbaum, *Penei ha-Dor*, 1 (1957), 326–8.

BRUTZKUS, JULIUS (1870–1951), communal worker, brother of Boris *Brutzkus. He was born in Palanga, Lithuania, and studied medicine at the University of Moscow during the 1880s. Brutzkus was a member of the Benei Zion (see *Ḥibbat Zion) group and worked for an improvement in the conditions of the Jews who had been expelled from Moscow in 1891. He settled in St. Petersburg where he participated in the activities of the "Society for the Propagation of Culture Among Russian Jews" and became a member of the editorial board of the Russian-Jewish monthly **Voskhod*. He also took a part in the activities of the ICA (*Jewish Colonization Association) among the Jews of Russia. In 1902 he resigned from *Voskhod* because of its anti-Zionist attitude. In 1905 he became a member of the editorial boards of the Zionist periodicals *Yevreyskayazhizn* ("Jewish Life") and the reestablished **Razsvet* ("Dawn"). During the revolution of 1905 he played a role in the Committee for the Protection of Emancipation of Russian Jews. In 1909 he was elected to the enlarged Zionist organization executive and to the council of the *Jewish Colonial Trust. Brutzkus favored "practical work" in Palestine. In 1917 he was elected to the all-Russian Constituent Assembly as the representative of the "Jewish List" of the Minsk district. In 1921 Brutzkus became the minister for Jewish affairs in the Lithuanian government. In 1922 he was elected to the Lithuanian parliament. After the restriction of Jewish autonomy in Lithuania, he settled in Berlin where he worked with *YIVO, became a vice president of *OSE, and was one of the founders of the Zionist Revisionist Party. When the Nazis rose to power in Germany, he immigrated to France. Arrested by the Vichy government, he succeeded in escaping and immigrating to America, and finally to Palestine. As a historian, Brutzkus' activity was principally concerned with the history of the Jews in Russia and Lithuania and the Khazars. His works were published in Russian, Yiddish, and German. His writings include *Ukazatel o russkoy literatury o yevreyakh* ("Bibliographical Guide to Russian Literature on the Jews") in collaboration with L. Bramson (1892); "Documents and Records on the History of the Jews in Russia" (Rus., 1899–1900); *K istorii yevreyev v Kurlyandiyi* ("History of the Jews in Courland"; in *Voskhod*, 1895); "History of the Mountain Jews of Caucasus" (in YIVOA, 1938); and *Pismo khazarskogo yevreya ot X veka* ("Letter from a Khazar Jew of the Tenth Century"; in a special pamphlet in Russian, 1924, and in English, 1935).

[Abba Ahimeir]

BRYANSK, Oriol district, Russia. Jews lived in the town in the 15th century but were expelled. Bryansk was outside the *Pale of Settlement, and the community established there in the second half of the 19th century was made up of Jews who were permitted to live outside the Pale (discharged soldiers, registered merchants of the guilds, etc.). In 1896 they were authorized to maintain a synagogue and by 1897 the Jewish residents numbered 1,321. Pogroms occurred in Bryansk in October 1905. After the 1917 Revolution, the Jewish population increased, numbering 2,500 in 1926 (9.1% of the total) and 5,102 in 1939 (total population 87,490).The Germans occupied the city on October 6, 1941. The Jews who had not managed to escape were murdered in August 1942. After the war 7,500 bodies of Jews and gypsies were found in 14 graves. In 1970 it was estimated that between 4,000 and 6,000 Jews lived in the town. They had one synagogue but no rabbi. According to the 2002 Russian census the Jewish population of the entire Bryansk district, of which the city of Bryanski was the capital, was 2,344.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Die Judenpogrome in Russland*, 2 (1909), 498–504.

[Yehuda Slutsky]

BRYER, MONTE (1912–), South African architect. Born in Bloemfontein, he practiced in Johannesburg. His work as an architect was marked by boldness of conception and a flair for experimentation. His outstanding achievement was in 1963, when he headed a team that produced the winning design in an international competition for the new civic center of Johannesburg. Also typical of his technique was a design for a metal industries center, in which he exploited to the full the use of structural steelwork instead of reinforced concrete and of light metals instead of heavy conventional materials. Bryer's other works included the Jewish communal center and synagogue in Bloemfontein. He was president of the Institute of South African Architects (1961–62), and a joint president of the Royal Institute of British Architects, representing the South African Institute on that organization.

[Louis Hotz]

BRYKS, RACHMIL (1912–1974), Yiddish poet and novelist. Bryks was born in Skarzysko, a Polish townlet in the district of Kielce which he commemorated in his *Di Vos Zeinen Nisht Geblibn* ("Those Who Didn't Survive," 1972).

Bryks began his literary career in Lodz in 1937 with a poem in the local Yiddish literary journal *Inzl* (Island) and then with a volume of lyrics entitled *Yung-Grin-Mai* ("Young Green May," 1939). Three months after its publication, however, Lodz was occupied by the Germans, and Bryks experienced the horrors of its ghetto until 1944. In that year, after reading his long poem *Geto Fabrik 76* ("Ghetto Factory 76") before a ghetto audience, he was deported to Auschwitz, but was saved when the camp was liberated in 1945. (The manuscript of the poem was later discovered in the ruins of the Lodz ghetto and published in 1967, with an English translation, and as a cantata, with music by William Gunther.) After recuperating in Sweden, Bryks settled in New York in 1949.

All Bryks' subsequent works are based on his ghetto experiences. The first, *Oif Kiddush Ha-Shem* ("For the Sanctification of God's Name," 1952; Heb. 1970) deals with the degradation of man by his fellow men, and also the ability to surmount all pressures and to sanctify the name of God in the hour of death. His grotesque *A Katz in Geto* ("A Cat in the Ghetto," 1959) met with considerable success. It was translated into English in 1954 with a foreword by Eleanor Roosevelt, into Hebrew in 1966, and was filmed in 1970.

His *Der Kaiser in Geto* ("The King in the Ghetto," 1961) and its sequel *Di Papierne Kroyn* ("The Paper Crown," 1969) center on Chaim Mordechai *Rumkowski, the head of the Lodz Judenrat. The compassionate novelist portrayed Rumkowski at the summit of his power, sending tens of thousands of Jews to their death, and then, crushed by the weight of conscience, adding his own name to the list of deportees.

His last completed novel *Antloifers* ("Escapees"), portions of which appeared in 1974, deals with the plight of Jews from the outbreak of the war until the sealing of the Lodz Ghetto; it is largely autobiographical.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: S. Liptzin, *History of Yiddish Literature* (1972), 435–6.

[Sol Liptzin]

BRZECHWA, JAN (Jan Wiktor Leśman; 1900–1966), Polish poet. A lawyer by profession, Brzechwa wrote satirical works and poems for children and adults in the style of the folk song or fairy tale. His works include *Oblicza zmyślone* (1926), *Talizmany* (1929), and *Wiersze wybrane* (1955), collected verse, and *Poszla w las nauka* (1956), a fairy tale.

BRZEG (Ger. **Brieg**), town in Opole province, southwest Poland (until 1945 in Germany). Jews living in Brieg are mentioned in the 14th century. In 1358 certain Jews loaned sums of money to noblemen and the duke of Brieg, Ludwig I, who granted the Jews freedom of movement in the duchy in that year. An outbreak of anti-Jewish violence occurred in 1362. In 1423 Ludwig II granted the Jews rights of residence on payment of an annual tax of 20 gulden, but they were expelled from the duchies of Brieg and Liegnitz in 1453 as a result of the inflammatory preachings of the Franciscan John *Capistrano. Among the few Jewish residents in the 16th century was the ducal physician, Abraham. In 1660 a community was again formed. There were five Jewish families in Brieg in 1741. A cemetery was opened in 1798, and a synagogue was built in 1799. A rabbi was first appointed in 1816. For many years the popular German yearbooks *Jahrbuch des Nuetzlichen und Unterhaltenden* (from 1841) and *Deutscher Volkskalender und Jahrbuch* (from 1851) were published in Brieg by K. Klein and H. Liebermann, both Jews. The Jewish population numbered 156 in 1785; 376 in 1843; 282 in 1913; 255 in 1933; and 123 in 1939. In the **Kristallnacht* pogroms of 1938 the interior of the synagogue was completely demolished and the Torah scrolls publicly burned; numerous shops were ransacked. Deportations to the east commenced in March 1942. The community was not reestablished after World War II.

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BRZESC KUJAWSKI (Rus. **Brest Kuyavsk**; Yid. **Brisk de Koyavi**), town in Warsaw district. A Jewish community is mentioned in 1538; the Jews then owned 15 houses there. On April 15, 1656, 100 Jewish families were massacred by Polish soldiers in Brzesc Kujawski after they refused to be baptized. The Jews again suffered in the mid-17th century during the Swedish invasion. Between 1822 and 1862 Jewish residence was restricted to certain parts of the town. The Jewish population numbered 164 in 1765; 678 in 1897; 794 in 1921 (out of a total of 3,813); and 633 in 1939. In the independent Polish Republic (1918–39) the Zionists and the Bund were active. The Jews earned their livelihoods in trade and crafts.

[Shlomo Netzer (2nd ed.)]

Holocaust Period

Under the Nazi occupation Brzesc Kujawski belonged to the Warthegau. At the outbreak of World War II about 630 Jews were living there. A *Judenrat was created, but no ghetto set up. Jews underwent physical suffering, were plundered of all their property, were compelled to perform humiliating work, and endured acts of religious persecution, e.g., the burning of the synagogue. During January–September 1941, able-bodied men and women were deported to slave labor camps in the Posen region. Most of the remaining 400 Jews were then removed to *Lodz ghetto and the rest were sent to the death camp at *Chelmno.

[Danuta Dombrowska]

BIBLIOGRAPHY: I. Schipper (ed.), *Dzieje handlu żydowskiego na ziemiach polskich* (1937), index; L. Lewin, *Die Judenverfolgungen im zweiten schwedisch-polnischen Kriege (1655–1659)* (1901); D. Dabrowska, in: BŻIH, 13–14 (1955), 122–84; D. Dabrowska and L. Dobroszycki (eds.), *Kronika getta łódzkiego*, 1 (1965), 262.

BRZEZINY (Yid. **Brezin**), town 2 mi. (3 km.) E. of Lodz in central Poland. Jews are mentioned there in 1564. In 1656, 40 Jewish families were massacred in Brzeziny by Polish soldiers (Czarnecki units). At the beginning of the 20th century, Brzeziny became a big Jewish garment-manufacturing center, exporting to Russia and the Far East. In the early 1920s the economic situation deteriorated when the town was cut off from its Russian markets. Most of the Jewish tailors were unemployed and left the town. In the interwar period the Zionist organizations were very active, taking part in the elections to Parliament, to Zionist Congresses, and the community and local councils. In 1930s there was a sharp rise in antisemitic incidents.

The Jewish population numbered 243 in 1765, 3,917 in 1897 (over half of the total population), 8,214 in 1912, and 4,980 in 1925.

[Sara Neshamith / Shlomo Netzer (2nd ed.)]

Holocaust Period

In 1939 there was still a Jewish majority in Brzeziny – 6,850 out of a total population of 13,000. During the Nazi occupation Jewish property was confiscated and pillaged; people in the streets or in their homes were kidnapped for forced labor; and community leaders and members of the liberal professions were deported to unknown destinations. In February 1940, a ghetto was established and included over 6,000 inhabitants. In 1942 (Purim?) there was a public execution of ten Jews. The final liquidation of the ghetto took place on May 19–20, 1942. Elderly Jews were sent to *Chelmno extermination camps and others to *Lodz ghetto.

[Danuta Dombrowska]

BIBLIOGRAPHY: I. Schipper (ed.), *Dzieje handlu żydowskiego na ziemiach polskich* (1937), index; L. Lewin, *Die Judenverfolgungen im zweiten schwedisch-polnischen Kriege (1655–1659)* (1901), 14; *Bzheshin Yisker-Bukh* (1961); J.J. Kermisz, *"Akcje" i "Wysiedlenia,"* 2 (1946), index; D. Dąbrowska and L. Dobroszycki (eds.), *Kronika getta łodzkiego*, 2 vols. (1965–66), passim; D. Dąbrowska, in: BŻIH, no. 13–14 (1955), 122–84. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** Lovitsch, *A shtot in Mazovie* (1966).

BUBER, MARTIN (1878–1965), philosopher and theologian, Zionist thinker and leader. Born in Vienna, Buber as a child lived in Lemberg with his grandfather Solomon *Buber, the noted Midrash scholar. From 1896 he studied at the universities of Vienna, Leipzig, and Zurich, and finally at the University of Berlin, where he was a pupil of the philosophers Wilhelm Dilthey and Georg Simmel. Having joined the Zionist movement in 1898, he was a delegate to the Third Zionist Congress in 1899 where he spoke on behalf of the Propaganda Committee. In this speech, which bore the influence of modern Hebrew and Yiddish writers, notably of Aḥad Ha-Am, Buber emphasized the importance of education as opposed to a program of propaganda. In 1901 he was appointed editor of the central weekly organ of the Zionist movement, *Die Welt*, in which he emphasized the need for a new Jewish cultural creativity. This emphasis on cultural rather than political activity led, at the Fifth Zionist Congress in 1901, to the formation of the Zionist *Democratic Fraction which stood in opposition to Herzl. Buber, a member of this faction, resigned before the Congress as editor of *Die Welt*. Together with his friends, he founded the *Juedischer Verlag in Berlin, which went on to publish (in German) books of literary quality. At the age of 26 Buber took up the study of Ḥasidism. At first his interest was essentially aesthetic. After attempting to translate the tales of Rabbi *Naḥman of Bratslav into German, he decided to retell them in German in the form of a free adaptation. Thus originated *Die Geschichten des Rabbi Nachman* (1906; *The Tales of Rabbi Nachman*, 1956) and *Die Legende des Baalschem* (1908; *The Legend of the Baal-Shem*, 1955). Later Buber's interest turned from the aesthetic aspect of Ḥasidism to its content. Deeply stirred by the religious message of Ḥasidism, he considered it his duty to convey that message to the world. Among the books he later wrote on Ḥasidism are *Gog u-Magog* (1941, in *Davar*; translated into English under the title *For the Sake of Heaven*, 1945), *Or ha-Ganuz* (1943), and *Pardes ha-Ḥasidut* (1945; translated into English in two volumes *Hasidism and Modern Man*, 1958, and *The Origin and Meaning of Hasidism*, 1960).

In 1909 Buber resumed an active role in public affairs. He delivered three addresses to the Prague student organization, *Bar Kochba, in 1909, 1910, and 1911 (*At the Turning, Three Addresses on Judaism*, 1952; see also Bergman, in *Ha-Shilo'aḥ*, 26 (1912), 549–56), which had a great influence on Jewish youth in Central Europe, and also marked a turning point in Buber's own intellectual activity. With the outbreak of World War I Buber founded in Berlin the Jewish National Committee which worked throughout the war on behalf of the Jews in Eastern European countries under German occupation, and on behalf of the *yishuv* in Palestine. In 1916 he founded the monthly *Der Jude*, which for eight years was the most important organ of the Jewish renaissance movement in Central Europe. In the spring of 1920, at the convention of *Ha-Po'el ha-Ẓa'ir-Ẓe'irei Ẓiyyon in Prague, Buber defined his Zionist socialist position and his adherence to utopian socialism in an address which reflected his affinity to Aharon David *Gordon and Gustav *Landauer. He was opposed to the current concept of socialism which looked upon the state, and not upon a reaffirmation of life and of the relationship between man and man, as the means of realizing the socialist society. Buber envisaged the creation of *Gemeinschaften* in Palestine, communities in which people would live together in direct personal relationship. During the years following World War I Buber became the spokesman for what he called "Hebrew Humanism," according to which Zionism, described as the "holy way," a notion explained in *Der heilige Weg* (1919), was different from other nationalistic movements. Buber also emphasized that Zionism should address itself also to the needs of the Arabs and in a proposal to the Zionist Congress of 1921 stated that "… the Jewish people proclaims its desire to live in peace and brotherhood with the Arab people and to develop the common homeland into a republic in which both peoples will have the possibility of free development." In 1923 Buber published his *Ich und Du* (*I and Thou*, 1937) which contains the basic formulation of his philosophy of dialogue. In 1925 the first volumes of the German translation of the Bible appeared as the combined effort of Buber and Franz *Rosenzweig. In *Die Schrift und ihre Verdeutschung* (1936) the translators set forth the guiding principles of their translation: today's reader of the Bible has ceased to be a listener; but the Bible does not seek to be read, but to be listened to, as if its voice were being spoken today. The Bible has been divested of its direct impact. In the choice of words, in sentence-structure, and in rhythm, Buber and Rosenzweig attempted to preserve the original character of the Hebrew Bible. After Rosenzweig's death in 1929 Buber continued the work of translation alone and completed it in 1961.

In 1925 Buber began to lecture on Jewish religion and ethics at the University of Frankfurt, and in 1930 he was appointed professor of religion there, a position he retained until

1933, when with the rise of the Nazis to power he was forced to leave the university. In 1932 Buber published his *Koenigtum Gottes*, which was to be the first volume of a series dealing with the origins of the messianic belief in Judaism. This work was never completed. The third German edition (1956) was translated into English (*Kingship of God*, 1967). In 1933 Buber was appointed director of the newly created Central Office for Jewish Adult Education (Mittelstelle fuer juedische Erwachsenenbildung) established to take charge of the education of Jews after they were prohibited from attending German educational institutions. In the same year he was invited to head the Juedisches Lehrhaus in Frankfurt. During the beginning of the Nazi period Buber traveled throughout Germany lecturing, teaching, and encouraging his fellow Jews, and thus organized something of a spiritual resistance. In 1935 he was forbidden to speak at Jewish gatherings. He was then invited to speak at Quaker meetings until the Gestapo prohibited his appearing there as well.

In 1938 Buber settled in Palestine and was appointed professor of social philosophy at the Hebrew University, where he taught until his retirement in 1951. In 1942 his first book written in Hebrew, *Torat ha-Nevi'im* (*The Prophetic Faith*, 1949) was published. This book, a history of biblical faith, is based on the supposition that the mutuality of the covenant between God and Israel testifies that the existence of the Divine Will is as real as the existence of Israel. Another book born out of Buber's efforts to penetrate the essential meaning of the Bible is his *Moses* (1946). Buber in his later years remained very active in public affairs and in Jewish cultural endeavors. He was one of the leaders of Iḥud, formerly *Berit Shalom, which advocated the establishment of a joint Arab-Israel state. Even after the outbreak of the Arab-Israel war, Buber called for a harnessing of nationalistic impulses and a solution based on compromise. Recognizing the importance of the cultural assimilation of immigrants to Israel, especially those from the Islamic countries, Buber was one of the founders of the College for Adult Education Teachers (Beit Ha-Midrash Le-Morei Am) established to train teachers from among the new immigrants themselves. Buber was the first president of the Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities (1960–62), one of the founders of Mosad Bialik, and active in many other cultural institutions. In the years following World War II Buber lectured extensively outside Israel, visiting the United States in 1952, and again in 1957–58, and became known throughout the world as one of the spiritual leaders of his generation, making a deep impact on Christian as well as Jewish thinkers.

[Samuel Hugo Bergman]

Buber made a substantial contribution to the ethical thought and the religious consciousness of the 20th century. In his Hebrew humanism, he considered Judaism principally as a pioneering way of life in ethical openness. Philosophically he influenced many thinkers, including Gabriel Marcel, Theodor Steinbuechel, Ernst Michel, Paul Tillich, Wilhelm Michel, Walther Nigg, J.H. Oldham, M. Chaning-Pearce, John Baillie, H.H. Farmer, Reinhold Niebuhr, Sir Herbert Read, Karl Heim, Friedrich Gogarten, Eberhard Grisebach, Karl Barth, Friedrich-Wilhelm Marquardt and Emmanuel Levinas.

Philosophy

Buber refused to be called a philosopher because he thought that philosophical language did not adequately render the idea of dialogical life. He wanted to conduct a conversation. He tended to disqualify systematic thinking as belonging the I–it domain, which he, in almost Manichaean fashion, separated from the I–you (I–Thou in Smith's translation) sphere. He only used the philosophical discourse because he had no alternative. The book "What is Man," first published in Hebrew in 1943, contains his philosophical anthropology: it discusses the self-understanding of man from Aristotle to Max Scheler, and defines human being as dialogical. However Buber's philosophical masterpiece is the small book, *Ich und Du*, "I and you." (The German "Du," which has widely been translated in archaic English as "Thou," is used in German for an immediate and intimate relationship, e.g., within the family or with children, and is also how God is addressed in prayer, in contrast with the formal form "Sie.")

The first outline of "I and you" goes back to May 1916. The book received its final form in the spring of 1922. The two English translations are of Ronald Gregor Smith (first edition 1937) and of Walter Kaufmann (1971).

"I and you" develops the idea that the I exists in-relation rather than as a separated Cartesian thinking entity. In a nonfragmentary attitude to what surrounds it, the I is I–you. It becomes I–it in a partial approach. In I–it there is a dichotomy between subject and object: things, persons, and ideas are situated in time and space. Causality reigns in the I–it realm. In the authentic relationship there is presence, mutuality, and directness.

The I as the related I welcomes without interpreting, and is distinguished from the dominating, controlling, and mastering I. The other is to be approached not first of all by knowledge but in answerability as the one to whom one owes response from the whole and united I. Response leads to responsibility. Buber uses the term *Umkehr,* turning, to describe the return to the center of the self by the recognition of "you." The I is called to answer a you and to turn back to perfect relation. The I (*Ich*) by turning to a you (*Du*) becomes I–you.

The two types of relationship, I–you and I–it, are mutually exclusive. When I experiences, utilizes, thinks, or imagines the other, the relation is characterized as I–it. When I relates with his whole being, in immediacy, the relation is characterized as I–you. There is a connection between I–it and I–you, since everything in the world can become you, but it necessarily also becomes an it, because one can not always live on the intense plane of I–you. The link and tension between the two ways of relating and Buber's own hesitations in this respect gave way to different interpretations in secondary literature (see Theunissen and Bloch). In Buber's perspective, I–it is to be overcome. Man stands for a choice: either to address the world as "you" or to treat it as an object. The world of relation arises in three spheres: in our life with nature, with man, and with spiritual beings (*geistige Wesenheiten*). Relation (*Beziehung*), as the I that recognizes a you, leads to encounter (*Begegnung*) as the peak of relation. Encounter is the graceful moment of reciprocal openness of the I and you. Buber's I–you is not the result of a mere idealistic attitude: the relating I is part of an event that occurs between (*zwischen*) I and you. Encounter cannot be sought out. There is a task, man has to initiate it, but the grace of a real encounter can never be acquired in activism.

The relation between the I and the eternal You is explicitly discussed in the third part of "I and you." In every you, one addresses the eternal You. One can only address God as You. He cannot be made object of speculation. Buber made one significant change in a subsequent edition of his "I and you." He found the biblical backing for his eternal You in the divine words in the episode of the burning bush, which he translated (with Rosenzweig) as "I am there such as I am there" (Ex. 3:14; the translation of Exodus was published in 1926; cf. Rashi's commentary on the verse). Buber now wrote: "The word of revelation is, *I am there such as I am there* (*Ich bin da als der ich da bin*)" and expressed thereby that revelation is divine Presence, the everlasting voice that sounds, nothing more.

Various thinkers influenced Buber's thinking in "I and you," especially Franz Rosenzweig. Buber felt that his dialogical thoughts were close to those expressed in Rosenzweig's *Star of Redemption*, which he read as early as December 1921. The two friends had many parallel thoughts. But there were also disagreements. In the essay "Atheistische Theologie" (1914), Rosenzweig had attacked Buber's early thought as excessively immanent. He further criticized "I and you" for not appreciating the I–it and focusing too exclusively on the I–you, as if God did not create the world of objects. He also thought Buber ignored the we-it relation. Rosenzweig finally disagreed with Buber's rejection of positive, institutional religion in favor of informal and personal religiosity, which he regarded as the real kernel of all religions.

According to Buber's own testimony, it is fruitful to compare his "I and you" with Ferdinand Ebner's "*Das Wort und die geistigen Realitaeten*" (Innsbruck, 1921; "The World and the Spiritual Realities") and with the work of the Protestant theologians Karl Heim, Friedrich Gogarten, and Emil Brunner. Buber knew Ebner's work, parts of which were first published in the periodical *Der Brenner* in 1920. Ebner formulated the dialogical principle of the I in relation with the divine You, who remains a-cosmic and exists only in the second person. Buber also speaks of God in the second person: God had always to be addressed in the second person and could not to be spoken of in the third person, which would degrade Him to an object and displace Him in the it-world. Like Ebner, Buber did not lend importance to religious forms. There are also divergences between the two thinkers: Ebner denied the world, Buber highlighted the relation between people.

Rivka Horwitz analyzed the inception and development of Buber's "I and you" in his lectures "*Religion als Gegenwart*" ("Religion as Presence") which he delivered in Rosenzweig's Freies Juedisches Lehrhaus and contain the themes that later appeared in "I and you." (*Buber's Way to I and Thou*, 1988).

Thinking about God

Buber thought that God is spoken to, not spoken about. His is a living God, to be met in dialogue, not a philosophical God. One has to get rid of the concept of God, in order to meet Him through the inter-subjective encounter. His living presence comes through the presence of a "you." In his essay "The Question to the Single One" ("Die Frage an den Einzelnen," 1936), Buber attacked Søren Kierkegaard's notion of the "single one," and contrasted this notion with that of the "person," who lives in the presence of others and, consequently, in the presence of the eternal You. There is no contact with the eternal You, except through relations with finite beings. God does not help or intervene: He is linked to the inter-human relation. By saying "you," one catches a glimpse of God.

After the Holocaust, Buber had to cope with the idea of God and the problem of evil. In his *Eclipse of God* (1952), he maintained that God's face has been temporarily obscured by the deeds of humans. Emil *Fackenheim has maintained that Buber did not cope with the Holocaust in his thinking. Others, including David Forman-Barzilai, have shown that this reading of Buber is incorrect. Buber's God is not magical: human beings are responsible for His absence.

For Buber, revelation is an ongoing event. The content of revelation, however, remains undefined. Revelation is the meeting of the divine and the human, not a divine content poured into an empty human vessel.

Whereas Ebner, under the influence of the Gospel of John and of Kierkegaard, developed a Gnostic view of God, Buber gradually internalized Rosenzweig's criticism and came to accept God as Creator of the world. His attack on Kierkegaard, who fully neglected the Creator and the inter-human relation to You, should be seen in this perspective, and gradually Buber put aside the Gnostic tendencies that are palpable in his early writings.

Religion

Buber opposed religion as a domain apart. He developed a ḥasidic way of thinking in which the entire life should be hallowed. In contrast to Ḥasidism in its historic appearance, however, Buber opposed religious observance. He advocated religiousness as the recognition of divine Presence in daily life. He had a negative attitude towards religions which were an "exile." Consequently, he had an aversion to any kind of mission.

Buber is critical of institutions, especially political and religious ones. His is a religiousness that combined humanism with a way of life inspired by the Bible and Ḥasidism. Ritual in this perspective is problematic and precludes the immediacy of God's presence. Buber felt that institutionalization of relations depersonalizes and that authentic life lies outside institutionalized religion. His emphasis was on religiosity, which is spontaneous, informal, and personal, rather than on positive religion, which he regarded as institutionalized, formal, and historical.

Buber inherited the term "religiosity" from his teacher Georg Simmel. He defined it as the attitude that needs not to be expressed in observances, prescriptions, or dogmas, which reduce it to a conditional universe. This explains why he wrote extensively on Ḥasidism without committing himself to the ḥasidic way of life, based on Halakhah and ritual observance. He was linked to the tradition, but felt himself free of its shackles. He laid bare the deeper layers of the Jewish tradition without considering the different commandments and ritual prescriptions as divinely promulgated. Religiosity brings no security, but is rather the difficult demand to become an answerable being.

Buber appreciated the plurality of religions. He was one of the three editors of *Die Kreatur,* an inter-religious journal, the other two editors being the Catholic Joseph Wittig and the Protestant Viktor von Weiszaecker.

In *Two Types of Faith* (1950) he distinguishes between the Greek word for faith, *pistis,* and the Hebrew one, *emunah*. *Emunah* is trust, belief "in" God, *pistis* is belief "that" God exists. Community creates *emunah*, *pistis* causes community. The first type of faith is that of a community that lives in *teshuvah*, in return to real life. The second is that of an individual who comes to faith through a mental act, *metanoia*. In his description of both types of faith that are different and related, Buber is influenced by Rosenzweig's theory in the third part of the *Star of Redemption*. *Pistis* is typical of Christianity, which is mainly a community of converted individuals, whereas *emunah* as characteristic of Judaism, which is a community of covenant into which one is born. Despite their fundamental differences, Buber sees the possibility of a true relationship between Christians and Jews.

He held original Christianity in high esteem. The teaching of Jesus is authentically Jewish. Jesus is his Jewish "big brother." Nevertheless, with time, Buber became more and more critical of Christianity. He came to associate Christianity with a Gnostic dichotomy of matter and spirit and with a faith that lacks demands and realization. He severely criticized Kierkegaard's position and his "suspension of the ethical."

Judaism

True religiosity for Buber is anti-magical and anti-Gnostic. Magic and Gnosis threaten true religiosity, i.e., true meeting: in magic, one manipulates the higher reality in a childish way and in gnosis, there is mastery through secret knowledge. Buber's Judaism is a believing humanism, a humanism which cannot exist without faith, and vice versa. The real *humanum* is the capacity of meeting other existing beings. Against Kierkegaard, who recognizes only the meeting between humans and God, and against Ludwig Feuerbach, who excludes any transcendent element from the inter-subjective relation, he sees the I–you relation as a relationship with God *and* humans.

The Jewish people have the vocation of realizing unity. Buber was convinced that no other community had entered with such fervor into the experience of the dialogical situation as had the Jews. His position on the Jewish law (*halakhah*) is a much discussed topic in the secondary literature. In Buber's eyes, Judaism comes before the Law. The Law is addressed to the soul, which cannot be understood outside of this Law. But the soul is not the Law. For Buber, the soul of Judaism is pre-Sinaitic. He disliked halakhic Judaism, afraid as he was of objectivization and neutral codification. His attitude is not Lawless, yet he regarded all ritual as potentially magic.

In Buber's eyes, symmetrical communication is the only authentic relation. Strategic rationality would belong to the domain of I–it. Buber made strategic rationality responsible for the evil in the world. He emphasized that this functional rationality in the economic, political, or scientific sphere is not enough. He separated the relating I–you from the controlling, knowing and comparing I–it. Yet, one may ask if institutions do not reduce man's problematic natural state. Buber could have placed more emphasis on the conjunction of I–you and I–it. Nonetheless, by his prophetic criticism of the institutions of Israel, by his stressing the prophet rather than the priest, he wanted to bring a healthy correction of structures that tend to eternalize themselves at the expense of dialogical, living reality.

Buber called for a renewed, dialogic lifestyle of which Jews are destined to be pioneers. His Judaism was far from pious or dogmatic, and he approached it in terms of engagement with the world at large.

Mysticism and Dialogue

Buber was attracted to mysticism. The subject of his doctoral thesis (Vienna, 1904) was: "The History of the Problem of Individuation: Nicolas of Cusa and Jacob Boehme." In 1909 he published his *Ekstatische Konfessionen* on ecstatic mystics, mostly Christians, but also Jewish, Sufi, Chinese, and Hindu mystics. Later, he moderated his initial enthusiasm and became a religious existential thinker for whom the realization of a true community was imperative. In "I and you" he rejects mystical union with God: I and You remain distinct and the one cannot be absorbed by the other. Paul Mendes-Flohr described Buber's transition from his earlier asocial interest in mysticism to dialogue, and illuminated the shift of the axis of Buber's thinking from pathos to ethos. Whereas Buber in his mystical enthusiasm initially overlooked the moral dimension, his later philosophy of dialogue required alertness to the interpersonal and to the moral dimension of reality.

Buber wanted a true community such as he found in Ḥasidism, and it is not surprising that he became famous for his retelling of ḥasidic tales. Real life for him is meeting in which the I transcends itself. In the words of Daniel, it is "realization" (not "orientation"), or in the words of *I and you*: it is I–you, not I–it.

Zionism

Buber advocated dialogue with the Palestinian Arabs. Very early, he distanced himself from Theodor *Herzl's *Realpolitik*, which was first criticized by *Ahad Ha-Am and later by *Weizmann, *Feiwel, and Buber himself. The renewal of the Jewish spirit would depend upon coexistence with the Palestinian Arabs. Buber took part in the group Iḥud (Unity) that strived for cooperation between Jews and Arabs and for a bi-national state. This group, to which belonged Judah Magnes, Henrietta Szold, Ernst Simon, Chaim Kalvarisky, Gavriel Stern, and Moshe Smilansky, saw Palestine as the land of two peoples. Buber feared, as did the prophet Samuel, that the nation of Israel would become like all other nations, and wanted Zionism to be the teaching and realization of righteousness.

Buber was critical of Israeli politics. Already at the Twelfth Zionist Congress in Karlsbad, in 1921, he pleaded that Arabs and Jews unite their life interests. Made aware of the pathology of nationalistic chauvinism by his friend Gustav Landauer, he became allergic to nationalism in the form of collective egoism. Before World War II, he thought, as did many Jews at that time, that a Jewish State was not necessary. Social units could be linked in a federation and form a greater society. After the foundation of the Jewish State, he had a dovish standpoint in the Jewish-Arab dispute. Buber believed that Israel is more than another nationalism.

Buber conceived Zionism as the possible embodiment of Jewish Renaissance. His socialist, cultural Zionism, influenced by Ahad Ha-Am, hardly matched the practical, national approach of the movement. Although in 1901 he became editor of the Zionist periodical *Die Welt*, his Zionism was much more spiritual than political. He proclaimed that the renewal of Judaism and the renewal of the world were one. Judaism had had its creative periods: it was renewed in the time of the prophets, in early Christianity, through the ḥasidic masters, and finally, in the period of the Zionists pioneers. Buber longed for a just society in Israel and conjoined ethics and politics. He wanted the creation of a new community of Hebrew humanism.

Bible

Buber studied and translated the Bible, and adopted biblical criticism as well as the unity of the Bible. However, what finally interested Buber, like Rosenzweig, was not the critical question of how the Bible was written (the Bible as Scripture, *Ketuvim*), but the spiritual question of how it is read (the Bible as *Mikra*). Biblical scholars did not consider him to be one of their own, because his aim was not so much the reconstruction of history as the hearing of the voice of the supreme Presence. He came to an existential-dialogical understanding of the biblical text, which was seen as an example of dialogue. In 1925 he started a new German translation of the Bible with Rosenzweig. In this project, Buber translated and sent his translation to Rosenzweig, who commented upon it. They discussed the translation in their correspondence and in regular meetings. In their translation, they wanted to recapture the spoken character (*Gesprochenheit*) of the Bible, so that the reader could become a listener of the ongoing Divine voice. They stayed close to the Hebrew original, to the Hebrew sentence structure and rhythm, to the Hebrew words and sounds. They did not Germanize Hebrew, they surprised German with Hebrew culture. The very fact of the translation itself was a bridging of German and Jewish cultures. At the time of Rosenzweig's death in 1929, they had reached the book of Isaiah. Buber finished the translation of the entire Bible only in 1961. Buber's other works on the Bible include *Das Kommende. Untersuchungen zur Enstehungsgeschiche des messianischen Glaubens. I. Koenigtum Gottes* (*Kingship of God*, 1932; Eng., 1967), *Moses* (first published in Hebrew, 1945; English, 1946; German, 1948), and *Der Glaube der Propheten* (*The Prophetic Faith*) (first published in Dutch translation, 1940; Hebrew, 1942; English, 1949; German, 1950).

Socialism

In *Paths in Utopia* (English, 1947; Hebrew 1949) he gives vent to his utopian socialism from which he expected the birth of an authentic and true "religious" society. He discusses the theories of Saint-Simon, Fourier, Owen, Proudhon, Kropotkin, and finally Gustav Landauer. He further discusses Marx, Engels, and Lenin. The last chapter of the book is entitled "An Experiment that Did Not Fail," which deals with the *kevutzah* (village commune) and *kibbutz* (working collective) as small groups that did not fail. In his social as in his political thinking, Buber contributed to the ethical renewal of society.

[Ephraim Meir (2nd ed.)]

Centenary of Buber's Birth

The centenary of Buber's death (1978) was marked in a number of ways. A four-day conference on his philosophy, attended by 300 scholars from Israel and abroad, was held at the Ben Gurion University of the Negev in January, and a one-day conference in New York in February, sponsored jointly by Fordham University and the Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion.

The West German Government issued a special commemorative stamp to mark the centenary and the Hebrew University initiated a fund to endow a Buber Chair in Comparative Religion.

Buber's former home in Heppenheim became headquarters for the International Council of Christians and Jews in 1979.

A comprehensive bibliography of Buber's writings (1897–1978) was published in 1980, edited by M. Cohen and R. Buber.

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BUBER, SOLOMON (1827–1906), scholar and authority on midrashic and medieval rabbinic literature. Buber was born in Lemberg, Galicia, into a well-known rabbinic family and devoted himself to the publication of scholarly editions of existing Midrashim, printed or in manuscript, and to the reconstruction of those that had been lost. His Midrash editions and those of some medieval works constituted a veritable revolution in the production of reliable texts. Their learned introductions are major research works in themselves, and the annotations give a complete picture of the textual problems and parallel passages. While scholarship in this field has not stood still since Buber's days and his work and method are in part, at least, outdated, subsequent researchers in this field owe him much.

Buber was a man of independent means and financed his scholarly projects personally. Not only did he pay for the expense of publication, but he also paid for people to visit various libraries to copy manuscripts. Buber's achievement is all the more remarkable in view of his active business life. He was a governor of the Austro-Hungarian Bank and the Galician Savings Bank, president of the Lemberg Chamber of Commerce, and a member of the Lemberg Jewish community's executive council from 1870.

Buber's Midrash editions were (1) **Tanḥuma* (on the Pentateuch), an older and different version of the previously known and printed Midrash of that name (Vilna, 1885, 1913; repr. 1946, 1964); (2) **Midrash Lekaḥ Tov* or *Pesikta Zutrata* by Tobias b. Eliezer (11th century) on the Pentateuch (part of the work, from Leviticus on, had been printed previously) in Buber's edition with a commentary by Aaron Moses Padua of Karlin (1880, 1884, 1921–24; repr. 1960); (3) *Midrash Aggadah* on the Pentateuch (1894; repr. 1961); (4) *Sekhel Tov* on Genesis and Exodus by Menahem b. Solomon (12th century; 1900–02; repr. 1959, 1964); (5) **Aggadat Bereshit* on Genesis (first published by Abraham b. Elijah of Vilna, 1802), 28 homilies following the triennial cycle of the Palestinian rite (1903, 1925; repr. 1959); (6) *Likkutim mi-Midrash Avkir* on Genesis and Exodus (1883; repr. 1967); (7) a reconstruction of *Midrash Devarim Zuta* in *Likkutim mi-Midrash Devarim Zuta*, on Deuteronomy (1885); (8) **Midrash Shemu'el* (1893, 1925; repr. 1965); (9) **Midrash Tehillim*, or *Shoḥar Tov*, on Psalms (1891; repr. 1966); (10) *Yalkut ha-Makhiri* on Psalms by Machir b. Abba Mari (14th century; 1900; repr. 1964); (11) **Midrash Mishlei* on Proverbs (1893; repr. 1965); (12) *Midrash Zuta* on the Five Scrolls except Esther (1894, 1925; repr. 1964); (13) *Eikhah Rabbah* [*Rabbati*], on Lamentations (1899; repr. 1964); (14) *Aggadat Ester*, part of *Midrash ha-Gadol* (1887, 1925^2; repr. 1964); (15) *Sifrei de-Aggadata*, three Midrashim on Esther (1887; repr. 1964); and (16) *Pesikta de-Rav Kahana*, a hitherto unpublished selection of homilies for special Sabbaths and festivals by Rav Kahana, first discovered by L. Zunz, from a manuscript written in Egypt in 1565, which Buber found in Safed (now in the Alliance Israélite Universelle in Paris, no. 47; 1868, 1925; repr. 1963). Of these 16 items, numbers 1, 9, and 15 are the most important. Buber also annotated L. Gruenhut's edition of the *Yalkut ha-Makhiri* on Proverbs and of *Yelammedenu* fragments on Genesis (*Sefer ha-Likkutim*, 6, 1903). He also edited many other works by medieval authors as well as some historical works, including a biography and bibliography of Elijah *Levita. Buber also contributed some hundred articles to various periodicals. Martin *Buber was his grandson.

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BUBIS, IGNATZ (1927–1999), German-Jewish political leader. Born in then German Breslau to Polish-Jewish parents, Bubis returned with his family to Polish Deblin in 1935. After his mother died of cancer, Bubis was forced into the Deblin ghetto in 1941 together with his father, who was murdered in Treblinka a year later. Spending the rest of the war in the camps of Deblin and Czestochowa, Bubis was liberated in January 1945. He first moved to the Soviet Occupation Zone of Germany, and in 1949 settled in West Germany. He became a successful businessman, specializing in jewelry and later real estate.

In 1978 Bubis was elected president of the Frankfurt Jewish community. In 1985 he aroused public attention as one of the leading opponents of the staging in Frankfurt of the allegedly antisemitic play *The Garbage, the City, and the Death*. In this play the renowned film writer Rainer Werner Fassbinder depicted a wealthy real estate owner, according to some based on Bubis, as "The Rich Jew." Bubis and other members of the Jewish community successfully prevented the staging of the play and were thus responsible for the first major public demonstration among Jews in postwar Germany. In 1992 Bubis was elected president of the Zentralrat der Juden in Deutschland, successor to the late Heinz *Galinski. During his seven years in office, Bubis became enormously popular with the German public and was once proposed as a candidate for president of Germany, an offer he rejected immediately. He visited hundreds of schools to discuss Jewish matters with German pupils and was a regular guest on German TV talk shows. He was also active in the Liberal Free Democratic Party, heading their list in the Frankfurt communal elections in 1997.

In 1998 Bubis accused the German writer Martin Walser of relativizing the Holocaust after Walser's acceptance speech for Germany's most highly regarded literary prize. The Bubis-Walser debate split the German public and was one of the most fiercely contentious issues in the Germany of the late 1990s. In his last interview in July 1999, Bubis distanced himself from his earlier optimistic tone regarding German-Jewish reconciliation when he stressed that he had not been able to achieve much during his period in office. He asked to be buried in Israel out of fear that his grave might be desecrated in Germany. Shortly after his burial an Israeli artist desecrated his grave.

An autobiographical volume, *Ich bin ein deutscher Staatsbuerger juedischen Glaubens. Ein autobiographisches Gespraech mit Edith Kohn*, appeared in 1993.

[Michael Brenner (2nd ed.)]

BUBLICK, GEDALIAH (1875–1948), U.S. Yiddish journalist and Orthodox Zionist leader. Bublick was born in Grodno, Russia. He began his literary career in 1899 with an article on Jewish nationalism that appeared in the Hebrew periodical *Ha-Shilo'aḥ*. In 1901 he helped lead a group of 50 Jewish families from Bialystok to Moissville, Argentina, where he worked for three years teaching Hebrew. Settling in New York City in 1904, Bublick joined the editorial staff of *Yidishes Tageblat*. He became editor in chief in 1915, and continued as co-editor when the paper merged with the *Morgen-Zhurnal* in 1928. Bublick was appointed president of the American *Mizrachi organization, which he helped to establish in 1911, and in 1918 vice president of the *American Jewish Congress. He served on the executive of the World Zionist Organization (1919–26), and of the Jewish Agency for Palestine (from 1929). Among Bublick's publications were *Mayn Rayze in Erets-Yisroel* ("My Travels in Palestine," 1921), and *Min ha-Meẓar* ("Out of Distress," 1923), a collection of his lectures and essays about modern Judaism. He was a frequent contributor to Hebrew and Yiddish periodicals.

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[Edward L. Greenstein]

°**BUCER** (**Butzer**), **MARTIN** (1491–1551), German religious reformer. Bucer displayed a characteristically ambivalent approach toward the Jews. Ostensibly preaching understanding for and love toward them, in practice his teachings stirred up hatred – his thesis being that the Jews, having scorned the message of Jesus, had, according to him, forfeited the promised privileges; however they still remained free to embrace Christian teachings, this being the ultimate destiny of Israel and the purpose of its survival. Like Martin Luther, Bucer regarded the Jews as the descendants of the Patriarchs, a people who had received the Commandments from God, but who had been rejected by Him in anger for not fulfilling His will. When Landgrave Philip of Hesse wished to give the Jews in his territories a definitive status (1538), Bucer and six Hesse clergymen offered their written opinion to the effect that the Jews should not be allowed to raise themselves above the Christians but should be confined to the lowest estate. Against the recriminations of Bucer, Joseph (Joselmann) of Rosheim appeared as spokesman on behalf of the Jews.

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[B. Mordechai Ansbacher]

BUCHACH (Pol. **Buczacz**), city in Tarnopol district, Ukraine (until 1939 in Poland). A Jewish settlement there is mentioned in 1572; the earliest Jewish tombstone dates from 1633. In 1672 the town was burned down by the Turks, who killed most of the inhabitants. In 1699 the overlord of the town, Stephan Potocki, renewed privileges previously granted to Buchach Jewry, according to which Jews were not subject to the jurisdiction of the Christian courts; disputes between Jews and Christians were heard by an official appointed by the lord of the town, and inter-Jewish suits by the *bet din*. Jews were free to own and build houses and to trade or engage in crafts, including distilling of brandy and barley beer. In 1765 there were 1,055 Jews living in Buchach and a further 300 in neighboring settlements within the bounds of the Jewish community of Buchach. Jewish economic activities expanded under Austrian rule (see *Galicia), particularly after the grant of equal civic rights in 1867. In the period preceding 1914, most of the large estates in the neighborhood of Buchach were Jewish owned or leased from the Polish nobility. Distilling and commerce remained major Jewish occupations. Between 1867 and 1906 Buchach, Kolomyya, and Sniatyn were combined to form a single constituency and a Jewish deputy was elected to the Austrian imperial parliament. At the beginning of the 20th century, there were approximately 7,000 Jews living in Buchach. During World War I most of the Jewish inhabitants left but many returned later.

Among notable rabbis of Buchach were Ẓevi Kara (18th–19th centuries), author of *Neta Sha'ashu'im*; his son-in-law Abraham David b. Asher *Wahrmann, the "holy" Ḥasid (d. 1841), author of *Da'at Kedoshim* (on the laws of ritual slaughter and dietary laws); Abraham Te'omim, author of the responsa *Ḥesed le-Avraham*; and Samuel Shtark, author of *Minḥat Oni*. The Orientalist David Heinrich *Mueller was also from Buchach. Among the writers of the *Haskalah movement before 1914, the best known is Isaac *Fernhof. A Yiddish weekly *Der Yidisher Veker* was published at the beginning of the 20th century, edited by Eliezer *Rokeah of Safed. A large printing press was established in 1907. Descriptions of Jewish life in Buchach are given in the tales of S.Y. *Agnon, the Nobel prizewinning author, who was born there.

[Abraham J. Brawer]

Holocaust Period

On the eve of the Nazi invasion about 10,000 Jews lived in Buchach (1941). Under Soviet rule (1939–41), Jewish community life suffered and its institutions ceased functioning. All independent political activity was forbidden. Private enterprise was suppressed and the few privately owned stores that remained were subjected to heavy taxes in order to bring about their liquidation. Officially, religious life was not repressed, but synagogues were obliged to pay heavy taxes. The Hebrew education system was disbanded and in its place a Yiddish language school was set up. When war broke out between Germany and the U.S.S.R. (June 22, 1941), Jews were drafted into the Soviet Army. Groups of young Jews also fled to the Russian interior. The Germans invaded Buchach on July 7, 1941. The Ukrainians immediately began murdering and looting the local Jews. On July 28, 350 Jews were killed on Fedor Hill, about a mile (2 km.) from the town. A *Judenrat was set up, headed by Mendel Reich, the head of the former Jewish community organization until its dissolution in September 1939. Jewish refugees began arriving from Hungary and were extended aid by the Judenrat and local community. Young, able-bodied Jews were taken off for forced labor in camps at Velikiye Borki. On Oct. 17, 1942, the Germans carried out a massive *Aktion* in which over 1,500 Jews were rounded up and sent to *Belzec death camp. Over 300 Jews were murdered during the *Aktion*. On Nov. 27, 1942, a second transport with 2,500 Jews was dispatched to Belzec, while about 250 persons were shot in the roundup. On Feb. 1–2, 1943, close to 2,000 Jews were murdered at Fedor Hill on the contention that they were infected with typhus. A labor camp was then set up in a suburb, Podkajecka, for skilled craftsmen. In March–April, over 3,000 Jews were also murdered at Fedor Hill, while other groups were shipped to *Chortkov, Kopiczynce, and Tlusta.

Resistance

A Jewish resistance movement was organized in Buchach at the end of 1942. Arms were obtained and training was given in preparation for a break for the forests. In mid-June 1943 the Germans liquidated the ghetto and labor camp, but met with resistance. Some Jews managed to escape to the forests while others were murdered near the Jewish cemetery. Armed Jewish bands were active in the vicinity, notably attacking Nazi collaborators. On March 23, 1944, when the city was captured by Soviet forces, about 800 Jews came out of hiding and returned from the forests. However, the German Army again took over, and additional Jews fell victim. On July 21, 1944, when Soviet forces definitively entered the city, there were less than 100 Jewish survivors. About 400 Jews returned from the U.S.S.R. After the war most of them emigrated from Buchach to settle in the West or in Israel. The community was not reestablished after the war.

[Aharon Weiss]

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BUCHALTER, LOUIS ("**Lepke**"; 1897–1944), U.S. racketeer. At the age of 18 he embarked on a criminal career. After serving three years in Sing Sing prison on two burglary convictions, he turned to racketeering, commanding 200 gangsters, who extorted millions of dollars from his victims. He "protected" manufacturers from strikes and unionization of their shops by intimidating workers and using strong-arm measures. He forced unions to do his bidding by installing his own business agents or by creating his own rival unions. In 1933 Buchalter was arrested for violating an anti-trust law. Found guilty, he was fined and sentenced, but a higher court reversed the decision and he was freed on bail. He went into hiding, but in 1939 he surrendered to FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover at a rendezvous arranged by the radio commentator Walter Winchell. He was tried on a narcotics charge and sentenced to 14 years imprisonment, during which he was returned to New York City to be tried on a charge of murder committed in 1936. He was found guilty and executed.

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[Morton Mayer Berman]

°BUCHANAN, CLAUDIUS (d. 1815), Christian missionary and collector of Hebrew manuscripts. Buchanan went to Calcutta as chaplain in 1797, and was appointed professor and vice provost of the College of Fort William. During repeated visits to southern India between 1806 and 1808 Buchanan stayed in Cochin searching for ancient Hebrew manuscripts. His methods alarmed the Jewish population. They claimed that they were being robbed of their records and sought the intervention of the chief magistrate of Cochin. Buchanan also made a facsimile of Jewish copperplate inscriptions and was accused of having taken away the original. He deposited the manuscripts, obtained from both Jews and Syrian Christians, in the Cambridge University library.

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[Walter Joseph Fischel]

BUCHAREST (Rom. **București**), capital of Romania. Before the union of the Danubian principalities (Moldavia and Walachia) in 1859, it was the capital of the principality of Walachia. Up to the 19th century almost the entire Jewish population of Walachia was concentrated in Bucharest, where the great majority continued to live subsequently. Thus the history of the Jewish community in Bucharest is essentially the history of Walachian Jewry. The community, consisting of merchants and moneylenders from Turkey and the Balkan countries, is first mentioned in the middle of the 16th century in the responsa of several Balkan rabbis (e.g., Samuel de Medina, nos. 5, 54). When Prince Michael the Brave revolted against the Turks in November 1593, he ordered the massacre of the Jews in Bucharest along with the other Turkish subjects. Toward the middle of the 17th century, a new community, now predominantly Ashkenazi, was established. In the 18th century the Jews were concentrated in the suburb of Mahalaua Popescului, but as the community grew, a number began to move to other parts of the city, where they even established synagogues; however, these were closed by the princes. The populace, afraid of Jewish economic competition, was intensely hostile toward the Jews, and in 1793 the residents of the Razvan suburb petitioned Prince Alexander Moruzi to remove Jews who had recently settled there and demolish the synagogue they had erected. The prince ordered the synagogue to be closed (January 1794), but refused to have the Jews removed from the suburb, and a few days later even issued a decree affording them protection. In 1801 there were anti-Jewish riots following blood libel charges, and 128 Jews were killed or wounded. The community again suffered persecution during the Russian occupation of Bucharest from 1806 to 1812, and in particular during the Greek revolt (*Hetairia*) under Alexander Ypsilanti and its suppression by the Turks in 1821. During this period, the Bucharest Jews, like those elsewhere in Walachia and Moldavia, were organized as an autonomous Breasla Ovreilor ("Jewish corporation") headed by a *Staroste* ("provost"). The head of the Bucharest community also acted as the deputy of the *hakham bashi* (Jassy rabbi and Jewish leader of Moldavia), whose authority extended over Walachian Jewry as well. In 1818–21, the *Staroste* of Bucharest seceded from the authority of the Moldavian *hakham bashi* and assumed the title independently. The few Sephardi Jews, whose numbers began to increase only at the end of the 18th and the beginning of the 19th century, did not then constitute a separate community, although they had their own synagogue in a rented house in Mahalaua Popescului and in 1811 established their own burial society. In 1818 they were granted permission to build a synagogue. The Bucharest community grew rapidly in the 19th century through immigration. From 127 families registered in Bucharest in 1820 and 594 in 1831, the community grew to 5,934 persons in 1860 and 40,533 (14.7% of the total population) in 1899. (See Table: Bucharest Jewish Population). Under the capitulations system foreign subjects were free from the regular taxation and jurisdiction in Romania. Hence the immigrants questioned the authority of the community leadership and refused to pay the tax on kosher meat, which constituted its sole income. The authorities, drawn into the conflict, at first upheld the traditional rights of the Breasla Ovreilor. Following repeated complaints from both sides, however, as well as constitutional changes in the principality resulting from the promulgation of the Organic Statute (see *Romania) in 1832, the community was given a new constitution in that year which severely curtailed its autonomy and placed it under the direct authority and close supervision of the municipality. The Ashkenazi community was again reconstituted in 1843, and the new statute, which further curtailed the community's autonomy, was confirmed with slight changes by the reigning prince in 1851; although never formally abolished, it fell into disuse in the second half of the century. In the meantime the Sephardi Jews (numbering about 150 families in 1854) had founded their own community. Within the Ashkenazi community, the conflicts between the native and foreign-born members continued. Finally, in 1851, the Prussian and Austrian subjects (about 300 families) were permitted to found a separate community. In 1861, a bitter conflict broke out between the native community and the Russian subjects because some articles had allegedly been removed from the Russian synagogue.

Bucharest Jewish Population

Year	Number of Jews
1800	204 families
1835	2,600
1860	5,934
1889	23,887
1899	40,533
1912	44,000
1930	74,480
1940	95,072
1942	98,048
1947	150,000
1956	44,202
1969	50,000
2004	5,313

At that time, the Bucharest Ashkenazi community was also torn by violent strife between the Orthodox and Progressive wings (the latter led by Julius *Barasch and I.L. *Weinberg). The controversy centered around the modern school opened in 1852 (a year earlier a similar school had been established by Austrian and Prussian subjects) and a proposal in 1857 to build a Choir Temple and introduce certain reforms into the service. The dissension reached its peak when, in 1858, Meir Leib *Malbim was called to the rabbinate. He placed himself at the head of the Orthodox wing and a fierce struggle ensued. The conflict also had a social character since the Progressives were drawn mainly from the well-to-do, while the masses were Orthodox. In 1862 the Progressives achieved success; the government deposed Malbim from the Bucharest rabbinate, and in 1864 he was arrested and expelled from the country. The Temple project was resumed in 1864; it was completed in 1866 and became the center of Progressive Jewry and the focus of a variety of cultural and educational activities. Continued quarrels within the community and repeated complaints to the authorities by each of the competing factions brought about in 1862 the government's decision (which applied to the whole country) not to interfere any more with the internal affairs of the Jewish communities and to withdraw from them their official status. The decision, reiterated in 1866, led to the gradual disorganization and dissolution of the Ashkenazi community in Bucharest, which in 1874 had ceased to exist as as organized entity. Several attempts were later made to reconstitute the community, the most serious in 1908. However, it was only in 1919 that an organized Jewish community was again established in Bucharest. Until then various benevolent societies and organizations undertook educational and social welfare activities. Chief among them were the Choir Temple Congregation, formally constituted in 1876 as a separate and independent organization levying its own tax on kosher meat, and the Brotherhood Zion of the B'nai B'rith, founded in Bucharest in 1872 by the American consul B.F. *Peixotto. These succeeded in setting up and maintaining a network of educational and charitable institutions, including, in 1907–08, 15 schools, filling the void created by the lack of an organized community. Cultural bodies were also established, and a number of Jewish journals and other publications made their appearance. Bucharest also became the center of Romanian Jewry's political activity and the struggle for emancipation. National Jewish bodies, among them the Union of Native Jews, established their headquarters there. Among the most prominent spiritual and religious leaders of the community before World War I were Antoine Levy and Moritz (Meir) *Beck, rabbis of the Choir Temple Congregation from 1867 to 1869 and 1873 to 1923, respectively, and Yitzhak Eisik *Taubes, rabbi of the Orthodox congregation from 1894 to 1921. The most prominent lay leader was Adolf *Stern. In the 19th century, a high proportion of the Jews in Bucharest were occupied in crafts. There were 2,712 Jewish artisans in the city in 1899. Others engaged in commerce and several, notably Sephardi Jews, were prominent in banking. During the second half of the 19th century a number of anti-Jewish outbreaks occurred in Bucharest. In 1866, when the legislative assembly was discussing the legal position of the Jews, an excited mob started a riot in which the new Choir Temple, then under construction, was demolished. Another serious riot took place in December 1897, when hundreds of Jewish houses and shops were attacked and looted.

After World War I

In the period between the two world wars the Bucharest community grew in both numbers and importance. The Jewish population of the city, now the capital of greater Romania and attracting settlers from all parts of the country, increased from 44,000 in 1912 to 74,480 (12% of the total population) in 1930, and to 95,072 in 1940. About two thirds of those gainfully employed were occupied as artisans, workers, clerks, and shop assistants; others were active in the liberal professions, especially medicine and law. In 1920, the statute of the reconstituted Ashkenazi community was officially approved, and in 1931, following the publication of the new law for the Organization of the Cults, the community was officially recognized as the legal representative of the city's Ashkenazi Jewish population; at the same time the community's statute was amended to conform to the requirements of the law. The organization of the community was again modified by a new statute in 1937. With the reconstitution of the organized community, all Jewish institutions were brought under its jurisdiction. The community's religious, educational and welfare institutions included over 40 synagogues, two cemeteries, 19 schools, a library and historical museum, two hospitals, a clinic, two old-age homes, and two orphanages. The spiritual head of the Ashkenazi community during this period was rabbi J.J. *Niemirower, while the outstanding lay leader was W. *Filderman. Like many other Jewish communities in Romania, the Bucharest community and its leaders continued to play an important role in the social and political life of Romanian Jewry, representing in particular the attitude of the Jews from the Old Kingdom.

Holocaust Period

In 1941, 102,018 Jews lived in Bucharest, although possibly there were more, due to the influx of refugees from other parts of Romania. Many Jewish properties were "Romanized." Jewish professionals were not allowed to work, and Jewish pupils were excluded from public schools. On January 21, 1941, when the Iron Guard rose in rebellion against Antonescu, Jewish districts, institutions, and persons became victims. The legionnaires robbed Jewish shops, homes, and synagogues. Among the destroyed synagogues was the Sephardi ("Spanish") Great Temple ("Kahal Grande"), considered the most beautiful synagogue in the city. One hundred and twenty-five Jews were murdered; some of the bodies were carried to the slaughterhouse and the words "kosher meat" were written on them. Order was reestablished after three days, but the legal status of the Jews did not improve. The Federation of Jewish Communities was dissolved and its place the *Centrala evreilor* (Jewish Center) was set up. The only Jewish journal published was *Gazeta evreiasca*, which was censored. The Jews of Bucharest were obliged to pay high taxes. Many Jewish men were taken to forced labor. Due to the pauperization of many Jews, the community had to help them. However, Jewish schools – primary, secondary, and higher – were founded. A Jewish theater was opened. A Jewish canteen for the poor also operated. Zionist leaders made efforts to prepare the Jews for emigration to Ereẓ Israel and dealt with the Romanian government in order to enable emigration. At the end of 1943 and in the beginning of 1944 the situation began to improve.

Communist and Post-Communist Period

After a short period of democratization (August 23, 1944–December 30, 1947), and the establishment of the Communist regime in 1947, all Jewish national, cultural, and welfare institutions in Bucharest were gradually closed down. The welfare institutions were nationalized and the schools absorbed in the general educational network. A state Yiddish school was opened in 1949, but closed a few years later. Communal activity was organized by the Federation of Jewish Communities in Romania. Jewish cultural activities centered on the Yiddish theater taken over by the state in 1948. Two Jewish newspapers, the Romanian *Unirea*, followed later by *Viața Noua* and the Yiddish *Ikuf Bleter* were published, but both were discontinued in 1952–53. From October 1956 a periodical (sometimes biweekly, sometimes monthly) in Romanian, Yiddish, and Hebrew, *Revista Cultului Mozaic* ("The Review of Jewish Religion") was published on behalf of the Federation of Jewish Religious Communities. It continued until 1994, when it was superseded by *Realitatea Evreiasca*, a cultural biweekly in Romanian, Hebrew, and English. The Federation also cared for the religious needs of its members, supplying them with matzot, prayer shawls, prayer books, etc. In the late 1960s, there were 14 regular synagogues in Bucharest, including the Choir Temple. There was also a *talmud torah*, a "Hebra-Shas" (weekly courses in Talmud), a Yiddish theater, and a kosher restaurant. About 400 Jewish students participated in courses in Hebrew and Jewish history organized by the religious community. Of the 44,202 Jewish (3.6% of the total population) registered in the city in the 1956 census, 4,425 declared Yiddish to be their mother tongue. In 1969 it was estimated that 50,000 Jews lived in Bucharest. After the 1989 revolution, Jewish communal property nationalized by the Communist regime was returned to the Federation of Jewish Communities. Jewish life was reborn. A Jewish publishing house, Hasefer, was founded and many books on Jewish subjects were published. The Center of Jewish History in Romania, founded in 1976 but lacking legal status, obtained legal standing. A department of Jewish studies was founded at Bucharest University. In 2004, 5,313 Jews lived in Bucharest, where three synagogues, a community center, a youth club, an old-age home, a kosher restaurant, three cemeteries, and other institutions operated.

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[Eliyahu Feldman / Lucian-Zeev Herscovici (2nd ed.)]

BUCHBINDER, NAHUM (1895–?), Soviet historian. Buchbinder was born in Odessa. Son of the Yiddish writer Abraham Isaac Buchbinder, he studied from 1916 at the Seminary for Oriental Studies at Petrograd (Leningrad) and began his literary career in the Russian press in Odessa and Simferopol. Buchbinder was one of the first to join the Commissariat for Jewish Affairs after the Revolution and edited Yiddish Communist newspapers and other publications in Moscow and Minsk. He first wrote on Russian-Jewish literature (studies of Lev *Levanda) and afterward specialized in the history of the Jewish labor movement in Russia, on which he published articles in the learned journals *Krasnaya letopis, Proletarskaya revolutsiya*, and *Yevreyskaya starina*. His main work, *Istoriya yevreyskogo rabochego dvizheniya v Rossii* ("History of the Jewish Labor Movement in Russia," Leningrad, 1925; Yiddish translation, Vilna, 1931), chiefly dealing with the Bund, is based on material from the czarist police archives. Nothing is known of Buchbinder's fate after the 1930s.

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[Yehuda Slutsky]

BUCHENWALD, German concentration camp on the Ettersberg, near Weimar. Opened on July 19, 1937, it was one of the largest camps in Germany proper with 130 satellite camps and units. Buchenwald was considered the worst of the camps prior to World War II. Its first commander was the notorious Karl Koch, who remained in charge until his transfer to *Majdanek, Poland, on Jan. 22, 1942. He was replaced by Hermann Pister. The camp was divided into three parts: the large camp, the small camp, and later a "tent camp" set up for Polish prisoners after September 1939. Originally erected to house prisoners from several smaller camps that were being disbanded, its first inmates were professional criminals. They were soon followed by political prisoners. When the criminals were found to be stealing, the political prisoners, among whom were several Jews, succeeded in appropriating for themselves such administrative posts as were available to prisoners. That facilitated the beginning of resistance cells. The first whole group of Jews were political prisoners who arrived in June 1938 as a result of an action against "asocial" Jews. In the summer of 1938, 2,200 Austrian Jews were transferred from *Dachau. Later that year, the mass arrests of Jewish men aged 16–60 after the **Kristallnacht* more than doubled the number of Jewish prisoners. The 10,000 new Jewish prisoners, quartered in recently built huts, suffered far more than the non-Jews, 244 dying during the first month of their imprisonment. Jews arrested on *Kristallnacht* could still leave the country if they had somewhere to go. Most of the Jewish prisoners were released by the spring of 1939, deprived of their property, and compelled to leave Germany. More than 600 were killed or died, some by their own hand before the war began. The outbreak of World War II brought a new influx of prisoners, most of them stateless people from Poland. As Hitler's armies conquered further territory, the camp's population was swollen by prisoners from the occupied countries. Most Soviet prisoners of war were killed upon arrival, at least until their potential as workers was recognized. Hermann Pister, Koch's successor, remained commander until the camp's liberation in 1945. From the beginning of 1942, Buchenwald, in common with other camps in Germany, became a forced labor camp for war production. The demands of German industry brought transport after transport from all over Europe. On Oct. 17, 1942, in keeping with a general order to transfer all Jewish prisoners in the Reich to Auschwitz, all Jewish prisoners, with the exception of 200 building masons, were transferred to *Auschwitz. After December 1942, the camp received German criminals who had been handed over to the *SS by the prison authorities. Most of them became the victims of the pseudo-medical experiments performed in the camp hospital. After May 1944 Hungarian Jews arrived from Auschwitz and were distributed among the various satellite camps, especially the infamous Dora. On Oct. 6, 1944, the number of prisoners reached a peak of 89,143. This increase in numbers diminished the food supplies, led to a further deterioration in the already dangerously unhygienic conditions, and increased the death rate. From the winter of 1944, and especially after January 1945, the camps in the east were evacuated owing to the approach of the Soviet Army, and thousands of prisoners, among them many Jews, were transferred to Buchenwald. The mass arrival of prisoners, already weakened by what was known as the death marches, overwhelmed the camp, whose facilities could not handle the new prisoners. Among those who arrived were Shelomo Wiesel and his son Eliezer. Exhausted by the march, Shelomo died along with a great numbers of other Jews. At the beginning of April 1945 the SS evacuated several thousand Jews. It is estimated that some 25,500 people were killed during the forced evacuation of Buchenwald and its satellite camps. During the last weeks of the camp's existence an armed underground movement came into being among the prisoners, which helped slow down the pace of evacuations. The Germans left before the American troops arrived on April 11, 1945, so members of this underground movement were in control and handed over the camp to them. Of the 238,380 prisoners the camp held since it was opened, 43,045 had died there or been murdered. Around 21,000 Jews were liberated, 4,000 of them children. American troops entered Buchenwald on April 11, 1945. General George Patton, who was not known for his love of Jews, ordered the citizens of Weimar marched through the camp. Their visit was filmed. They entered as if they were on an excursion, a picnic. They left gasping for air.

Twenty-one Nazi leaders of Buchenwald were tried by an American court in 1947; two were sentenced to death, four were imprisoned for life.

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[Yehuda Reshef / Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

°BUCHHOLZ, CARL AUGUST (1785–1843), German lawyer and author. A champion of Jewish civil rights, Buchholz was an admirer of Moses *Mendelssohn's philosophy. He was appointed by the Jewish communities of *Luebeck, *Hamburg, and *Bremen as their representative at the Congress of *Vienna (1815), the conference of Aachen (1818), and at the Diet of Frankfurt. In 1815 he published a collection of laws regarding the improvement of the status of the Jews issued by various German principalities and states (*Aktenstuecke, die Verbesserung des buergerlichen Zustandes der Israeliten betreffend*), with a foreword which is considered one of the best pleas for Jewish emancipation written in that period by a gentile. He advocated uniform all-inclusive legislation for the Jews in all German states.

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BUCHMIL, JOSHUA HESHEL (1869–1938), Zionist leader. He was born in Ostrog, Volhynia, and from 1896 to 1903 studied agriculture and law at the University of Montpellier (France), where he was a member of the Zionist student organization, Atidot Israel. In 1896 Herzl assigned him the task of persuading the Ḥovevei Zion of Russia to participate in the First Zionist Congress, and he succeeded in this, visiting cities and villages in the south of Russia and in Lithuania. A militant opponent of the *Uganda Scheme, Buchmil was a member of the *Democratic Fraction of the Zionist Organization and one of its leading spokesmen. In 1906 he was sent by the *Odessa Committee of the Ḥovevei Zion to Ereẓ Israel to study the economic and legal aspects of Jewish colonization there. After the Revolution of 1917, he joined the Central Zionist Committee of Russia. In 1921 he left for Poland and in 1923 went to Ereẓ Israel where he worked for *Keren Hayesod. He published articles on current topics in the Zionist press in Russian, French, and Yiddish and also wrote *Problèmes de la renaissance juive* (1936), with a biographical essay by Avraham Elmaleh.

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[Yehuda Slutsky]

BUCHNER, ABRAHAM (1789–1869), assimilationist and linguist, born in Cracow. Buchner left Cracow in 1820 for Warsaw at the invitation of the banker Joseph Janasz to teach his children. On his recommendation, Buchner was appointed teacher of Bible and Hebrew at the rabbinical seminary of Warsaw. In his Hebrew works, *Doresh Tov* (Warsaw, 1823), *Yesodei ha-Dat* (*ibid.*, 1836; with Pol. tr.), and *Ha-Moreh li-Ẓedakah* (*ibid.*, 1838), a commentary on the reasons for the *mitzvot* according to Maimonides, Buchner advocates loyalty to the state, religious tolerance, and "productivization" of the Jews. He also compiled *Oẓar Lashon Ivrit* (1830), a Hebrew-German dictionary with an appendix on grammar. His *Kwiaty wschodnie* ("Flowers of the East," 1842) attempts to show the talmudic legends in a positive light. He also praises the Talmud in his Polish "The True Judaism" (Warsaw, 1846). From 1848, however, an inimical tone appears; he was in contact with the antisemitic priest *Chiarini, for whom he translated portions of talmudic and rabbinic literature. Buchner's German work *Der Talmud in seiner Nichtigkeit* ("The Worthlessness of the Talmud," 1848) expresses this attitude. His two sons converted to Christianity.

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[Moshe Landau]

BUCHNER, ZE'EV WOLF BEN DAVID HA-KOHEN (1750–1820), Hebrew grammarian and liturgical poet. Buchner, who was born and lived most of his life in Brody, was the secretary of the Jewish community and one of the forerunners of the Haskalah movement. He wrote several epistolary guides in poetic language, e.g., *Zeved ha-Meliẓah* (1774); *Zeved Tov* (1794); and *Ẓaḥut ha-Meliẓah* (1810), all of them dealing with Hebrew style. The last work also contained 120 samples of letters. These works went through several editions. He also wrote religious poems, such as *Keter Malkhut* ("Royal Crown," 1794), in the style of Ibn Gabirol's hymn by the same name; *Shir Nifla* ("Wonderful Song," 1802); *Shir Yedidut* ("Song of Friendship," 1810); and *Shirei Tehillah* ("Songs of Praise," 1808^3). The last work consists of two parts. In the first, the roots of all the words have only letters from *alef* to *lamed*, while the second part contains words composed of letters from *lamed* to *tav* only.

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BUCHWALD, ART (1925–), U.S. columnist. Born in Mt. Vernon, N.Y., Buchwald, together with his three sisters, spent his first four years in a Seventh Day Adventist children's shelter, as his mother had been institutionalized a few weeks after his birth. His father, a successful businessman, visited his children once a week but took them out of the facility when he heard his young son singing, "Jesus loves me, this I know." Buchwald spent the next several years in various foster homes in New York. He worked from age nine until he dropped out of school to join the Marines at 17. After the war ended, he enrolled in college but left before graduating and went to Paris on the money he received from the GI Bill. He remained there for 14 years.

Buchwald began his journalistic career in 1948, working for *Variety* and then the Paris edition of the *Herald Tribune*. He wrote with zest and irreverence about people, politics, and places. In 1952 his editors brought his column to the U.S., and the *Washington Post* Syndicate began running it in 1966. His popular political satire later became syndicated with the *Los Angeles Times* Syndicate, appearing in more than 550 newspapers around the world. In 1982 Buchwald won the Pulitzer Prize in the category of Outstanding Commentary. Four years later, he was elected to the American Academy and Institute of Arts and Letters.

Collections of his columns have been published in volume form, among them the autobiographical *The Brave Coward* (1957), *Is It Safe to Drink the Water*? (1962), *And Then I Told the President* (1965), and *Have I Ever Lied to You*? (1968). He also wrote *Son of the Great Society* (1966); *Counting Sheep* (1970); *I Am Not a Crook* (1974); *Washington Is Leaking* (1976); *Down the Seine and Up the Potomac with Art Buchwald* (1977); *The Buchwald Stops Here* (1978); *Laid Back in Washington* (1981); *While Reagan Slept* (1983); *You Can Fool All of the People All of the Time* (1985); *I Think I Don't Remember* (1987); *Whose Rose Garden Is It Anyway?* (1989); *Lighten Up, George* (1991); *Leaving Home* (1993), an autobiography; *I'll Always Have Paris* (1996), the second volume of his memoirs; *Stella in Heaven: Almost a Novel* (2000); and the post-9/11 *We'll Laugh Again* (2002).

[Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

BUCHWALD, NATHANIEL (**Naftule**; 1890–1956), Yiddish theater critic. Born in Volhynia, Buchwald immigrated to New York in 1910 and studied at New York University. He contributed to various socialist publications and was on the editorial staff of the left-wing daily *Frayhayt* from 1922 and later contributed to the *Morgn Frayhayt*. In the 1920s he translated some works of leading Communist authors into Yiddish and took a deep interest in Soviet Russia. His cultural interest, however, focused on the problems of the Yiddish theater, especially in the United States, where he founded the Frayhayt Dramatic Studio, which later achieved eminence under the name *Artef*. His criticism tended to be both learned and emotional, and he was under fire at times from left-wing partisans for approving plays which they would have preferred him to denounce. His most important work in this field is *Teater* ("Theater," 1943).

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[Richard F. Shepard]

BUCHWALD, THEO (1902–1960), conductor. Born in Vienna, Buchwald studied harmony, counterpoint, and composition with Arthur T. Scholz, musicology with Wilhelm Fischer and Guido Adler, and piano with Richard Robert. He began his conducting career at the Barmen–Elberfeld (Wuppertal) in 1922. Later he held conducting positions at the Berlin Volksoper (1923), Magdeburg (1924–26), and Munich (1927–29). He worked under Erich Kleiber at the Berlin State Opera (1929–30), and was director of symphony concerts in Halberstadt until the Nazis came to power in 1933. Reaching South America (Santiago) in 1935, he conducted in Chile and later moved to Peru, where he was entrusted by the government with creating the National Symphony Orchestra in Lima (1938). He was appointed permanent director of the National SO, and toured with the orchestra throughout South America for 20 years while serving in this post.

ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY: Grove online.

[Israela Stein (2nd ed.)]

BUCKY, GUSTAV (1880–1963), radiologist. Born in Leipzig, from 1918 to 1923 he was head of the department of roentgenotherapy of the Berlin University clinic. He emigrated to the U.S. in 1923 but returned to Berlin in 1930 to serve as director of the radiological department and cancer institute of the Rudolph Virchow Hospital. In 1933 he left Germany and served as head of the department of physiotherapy at Sea View Hospital in New York City, consulting physiotherapist at Bet David Hospital, and as clinical professor of radiology at Bellevue Hospital, N.Y. Bucky is known as the inventor of the Bucky diaphragm for roentgenography, which prevents secondary rays from reaching the film, thereby securing better definition. He also invented a camera for medical color photography in radiography and was the originator of grenz ray therapy (infra roentgen rays) called Bucky rays. He wrote numerous scientific articles on his subject and was the author of *Die Roentgenstrahlen und ihre Anwendung* (1918); *Anleitung zur Diathermiebehandlung* (1921) and *Grenzstrahltherapie* (1928).

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[Suessmann Muntner]

BUCOVICE (Cz. **Bučovice**; Ger. **Butschowitz**), small town in southern Moravia, Czech Republic. Its Jewish community, one of the oldest in Moravia, increased in importance when Jews expelled from *Brno in 1454 settled in Bucovice. Moravian community synods were held there in 1709, 1724, and 1748. Bucovice was one of 52 communities officially recognized in 1798. A synagogue was built in 1690, and rebuilt in 1853. The community numbered nine families in 1673, 508 persons in 1798, 566 in 1848, 180 in 1900, and 64 in 1930 (2.07% of the total population), 13 of whom declared their nationality as Jewish. Rabbis included Avigdor, son of the "saintly" R. Paltiel (d. 1749), Abraham Hirsch Halberstadt, and Bernard *Loewenstein (1857–1863), author of *Juedische Klaenge* (1862), popular poems which he dedicated to the community. In March and April 1942 the Jews were deported to Theresienstadt and from there to the death camps.

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[Oskar K. Rabinowicz]

BUDAPEST, capital of Hungary, formed officially in 1873 from the towns of Buda, Obuda, and Pest, which each had Jewish communities.

Buda (Ger. **Ofen**; Heb. אובן)

A community was formed there by the end of the 11th century. Its cemetery was located near the Buda end of the present Pest-Buda tunnel under the River Danube. In 1348 and 1360 the Jews were expelled from Buda but returned after a short interval. As Buda became the royal residence under King Sigismund (1387–1437), its community rose to prominence in the Jewish life of the country. Its leaders were entrusted by the king with the representation of Hungarian Jewry, and the position of Jewish prefect was held by members of the Buda *Mendel family, who sometimes took part in royal ceremonies. After 1490 the Jews of Buda were subjected to continual persecution, their property was frequently confiscated and the debts owing them were often unpaid. Following the Ottoman victory over the Hungarians at Mohacs in 1526 many Jews from Buda fled abroad or to the western part of Hungary, while the remainder were deported to Ottoman territory. Shortly afterward, in 1528, Jews were again living in the Jewish quarter of Buda. A census of 1547 showed 75 Jewish residents in Buda and 25 newcomers. During the 150 years of Ottoman rule the Jews were severely taxed, but their numbers continued to increase. A conscription roster of 1580 numbered 88 Jewish families, comprising about 800 persons, including three rabbis, inhabiting 64 houses. They engaged in commerce and finance, and sometime rose to hold official posts in the treasury as inspectors or tax collectors. Jews specialized in the manufacture of decorative braids for uniforms; the family physician of the pasha of Buda was a Jew (c. 1550). In 1660 the community numbered approximately 1,000 and was the largest and wealthiest in Hungary. The ruinous fighting between the Ottoman and Austrian imperial forces put an end to this prosperity. The Jews sided with the Turks; when in 1686 Buda was taken by Austria only 500 Jews survived the siege, the Jewish quarter was pillaged, and the Torah scrolls were burnt.

Jewish residence in Buda was prohibited until 1689, when a few Jews began to resettle there and had a prayer room by 1690. In 1703, when Buda was constituted a free royal city, a struggle began between the Jews of Buda, who preferred to remain under royal protection, and the citizenry which made efforts to extend its jurisdiction to the Jewry. This culminated in a decree ordering the expulsion of the Jews in 1712. In 1715 Charles III ordered the burghers to end the continual disturbances and a more tranquil period ensued. A few Jewish families were exempted by the emperor from certain restrictions. The exemptions led to an attack and plunder of Jewish homes in the fall of 1720. Charles, however, again gave them protection. According to a 1735 census, the community numbered 35 families (156 persons), the majority merchants; five families owned open stalls. The repeated accusations of the citizenry bore fruit, however, under *Maria Theresa who in June 1746 issued a decree ordering the expulsion of the Jews from Buda. The obstinate resistance of the burghers was broken by *Joseph II, and in 1783 Jewish residence was again permitted. The antagonism of the guilds recrudesced during the Hungarian revolution of 1848 when renewed demands were made for the Jews' expulsion.

COMMUNAL LIFE. Organized communal life in Buda dates to the 13th century. Under King Matthias Corvinus (1458–90) the head of this community had jurisdiction over the Jews of the entire country. During the Ottoman era, Buda Jewry had Sephardi and Ashkenazi congregations. Two synagogues are known to have existed in 1647.

RABBIS. The first rabbi whose name is recorded was *Akiva b. Menahem ha-Kohen (15th century) known by the honorific of *nasi*. In the second half of the 17th century difficulties in finding appropriate candidates for the rabbinate of Buda compelled the community to employ as rabbis scholars passing through Hungary on pilgrimage to Ereẓ Israel. *Ephraim b. Jacob ha-Kohen, a refugee from Vilna, became rabbi of Buda in 1660. About this time the movement of *Shabbetai Ẓevi gained a large following in Buda; a number of rabbis, among them Ephraim's son-in-law Jacob Sak, supported the messianic movement. The Austrian capture of Buda is recorded in the *Megillat Ofen* of Isaac b. Zalman *Schulhof. Jacob's son was the celebrated Ẓevi Hirsch *Ashkenazi (Ḥakham Ẓevi). Among rabbis of the Haskalah period was Moses Kunitzer. Prominent Jews of Buda in the 19th and 20th centuries include the orator and poet Arnold Kiss (d. 1940), and the scholar and educator Rabbi Bertalan Edelstein (d. 1934).

SYNAGOGUES. The synagogue of the Jewish community of Buda fort is mentioned in the Buda chronicle of 1307 as having stood beside the Jews' Gate. It remained in existence until the expulsion of the Jews from Buda in 1360. The second synagogue, built in 1461 in the new Jews' Street, survived until the recapture of Buda. It is mentioned and reproduced in 17th-century engravings. A Sephardi house of worship has been revealed, dating back to the Ottoman era. Subsequently the Jews of Buda could only hold prayer meetings in rented rooms. In 1866 a temple was built in Moorish style in Öntöház Street. In the heyday of assimilationism (from the mid-19th century), especially after the administrative union of Buda and Pest, the Pest community repeatedly tried to impose its hegemony on that of Buda, which, however, succeeded in safeguarding its unique historical character. The Buda community opened an elementary school in 1830.

Obuda (Hung. **Óbuda**, Ger. **Alt-Ofen**, Heb. אובן ישן)
"Old Buda," a village and later part of Buda, had a Jewish community in the 15th century which disappeared after the Ottoman conquest in 1526. It was rehabilitated from 1712 on, when the Jews lived under the protection of the counts Zichy, who granted them a charter in 1746, and to whom they paid an annual protection tax. The 1727 census records 24 Jewish families living in Obuda, and the 1737 annual conscription roster, 43. By 1752 there were 59 families, and the community employed two rabbis and three teachers; by 1784 there were 109 families with four teachers. The 1803 conscription list records 527 families. An elementary school was opened in 1784, the first secular Jewish school in the country. Moses *Muenz was rabbi in Obuda from 1781 to 1831. The Jewish linen weavers of Obuda won a reputation for the town; the Goldberger factory had an international reputation. After the revolution of 1848–49 a large contribution was levied on the Obuda community. The old synagogue of Obuda was demolished in 1817 and an imposing new one, still in existence, was consecrated in 1820. Julius *Wellesz was rabbi of Obuda from 1910 to 1915.

Pest
Jews are first mentioned in Pest in 1406; in 1504 they owned houses and land. Records again mention Jews living in Pest from the middle of the 16th century, and a cemetery is known to have existed by the end of the 17th. After the Austrian conquest in 1686, Jewish residence within the city was prohibited. In the middle of the 18th century Jews were allowed to attend the country-wide weekly markets held in Pest, but the only Jews permitted to stay in the city for a specified time were *Maganten* ("transients"; see *Familiants laws). In 1783 Joseph II abrogated the municipal charter with its exclusion privileges and permitted Jews to resettle in Pest. The first "tolerated" Jew received permission to settle within the city walls in 1786 in return for paying a "toleration tax" to the local governorate. Article 38 of the *De Judaeis* law passed in 1790 ratified the legal position of the Jews established under Joseph II. In Pest, however, the law was understood to apply only to Jews living there before 1790, hence new arrivals were not permitted to settle permanently. An attempt was even made to expel the married children of the "tolerated" Jews. In 1833 there were 1,346 Jewish families in Pest. The restrictions on Jewish residence were abrogated by article 29 of the annual national assembly of 1840. Jews had the right to establish factories, and engage in trade and commerce as well as to acquire property. Pest Jewry took the lead in pressing for the abolition of the tolerance tax, and in 1846 the "chamber dues" were abolished. On the outbreak of the Hungarian revolution of 1848, Jews volunteered for civil defense, but the German citizens of Pest objected to their enrollment. On April 19 a mob which attacked the Jewish quarter was repelled by the military. Nevertheless many Jewish youths enlisted in the revolutionary army, and the Jews of Pest gave large financial contributions to the revolutionary cause. After the suppression of the revolt, a huge contribution was levied on the Pest community, and to help

the Obuda and Pest communities a collection was made by Hungarian Jewry of 1,200,000 forints. The Pest community played a leading role in the struggle for *emancipation in Hungary. The half century preceding World War I was a period of prosperity and cultural achievement for Pest Jewry. Their numbers increased, and they played a prominent role in the capital's economic development. Max *Nordau and Theodor *Herzl were born there during this period. With the growth of Nazism before World War II Jewish communal and economic life was again restricted.

COMMUNAL LIFE. Active community life is not recorded in Pest until the first half of the 18th century. The first synagogue was opened in 1787, and in 1788 the community received a burial site from the municipality; Moses Muenz of Obuda officiated as rabbi. The first rabbi of Pest (1793), was Benjamin Ze'ev (Wolf) *Boskowitz. Other noted rabbis of the community were Loew *Schwab, S.L. Brill, W.A. Meisel, S. *Kohn, M. *Kayserling, S. *Hevesi, and J. *Fischer. The new constitution for the religious community, approved by the local authorities, came into effect in 1833. The noted Orientalist I. *Goldziher served as secretary of the Neolog community of Pest from 1874 to 1904. A separate Orthodox community was established in Pest in 1871. Koppel *Reich became its rabbi in 1886, and a member of the Hungarian upper house in 1926.

See *Orthodoxy, *Reform

SYNAGOGUES. The Jews of Pest rented a place for worship in the Orczy building in 1796, whose congregation observed the conservative ritual; a more progressive temple existed in the same building, known as the "Kultustempel." In 1859 a double-turreted Moorish-style temple was built in Dohány Street. Construction of the octagonal temple in Rombach Street was completed in 1872. In 1913 the synagogue of the Orthodox congregation was erected in Kazinczy Street.

EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS. The first Jewish school in Pest was established in 1814 by Israel *Wahrmann. A Jewish girls' school was opened in the fall of 1852 and in 1859 a Jewish teachers' training college was founded. After the attainment of emancipation, a number of Jewish schools closed down, including those in Buda and Obuda. The Orthodox congregation of Pest opened its school for boys in 1873. The Rabbinical Seminary and its secondary school (gymnasium), opened in 1877, helped to make Pest the center of Jewish learning. The Pest community established a comprehensive secondary school in 1891. Following the widespread antisemitism aroused by the *Tiszaeszlar blood libel case in 1882, the idea of establishing a Jewish secondary school (gymnasium) found increasing support, and in 1892 Antal Freystaedtler donated one million forints for this project. The school was opened in the fall of 1919 as the Pest Jewish Boys' and Girls' Gymnasium. Because of the existing discriminatory restrictions, the Pest community also opened an engineering and technical college and a girls' technical college. The rabbinical seminary and a secondary school continue to function.

WELFARE INSTITUTIONS. Welfare and communal institutions of the Pest community included a hospital, opened in 1841; the hospital of the Orthodox congregation, opened in 1920; the Hungarian Jewish Crafts and Agricultural Union (MIKEFE), established in 1842; the Pest Jewish Women's Club, founded in 1868, which established an orphanage for girls in 1867; an orphanage for boys, established in 1869; the deaf and dumb institute, founded in 1876; and the blind institute, founded by Ignác Wechselmann and his wife in 1908. In 1950 the Orthodox community and the communities of Pest, Buda, and Obuda were unified by government order, forming the Budapest Jewish community existing under conditions similar to those prevailing in other communities in Soviet satellite states.

The Jewish population of Budapest, 1813–2004

Year	Numbers	Percentages
1813	5,525	0.78
1830	8,750	0.81
1848	18,265	13.80
1869	44,890	16.60
1880	70,227	19.70
1910	203,687	23.10
1920	215,512	23.20
1925	207,563	21.60
1935	201,069	18.90
1941	184,453	15.80
1946	96,000	9.50
1967	50,000	3.90
2004	80,000	0.07

POPULATION. The annual registers of 1735–38, the first to show the number of Jewish families residing in the area which forms Budapest today, recorded 2,531 heads of families of whom 1,139 engaged in commerce. The Jewish population increased with the development of a capitalist economy and the growth of Budapest into a metropolis and reached its highest level in the period preceding and immediately following World War I. Subsequently it declined sharply due to the lowered birthrate, an increasing number of conversions to Christianity, and emigration during the counterrevolution and the Horthy regime. There were 44,890 Jews living in Budapest in 1869, 102,377 in 1890, 203,687 in 1910, 215,512 in 1920, and 204,371 in 1930. (See Table: Jewish Population of Budapest.)

[Jeno Zsoldos]

Holocaust Period

According to the census of 1941, the last before the Holocaust, Budapest had a Jewish population of 184,453, representing 15.83% of the total of 1,164,963. In addition, the city also had some 62,000 converts or Christians who were identified as Jews under the racial laws then in effect. As a result of the anti-

Jewish measures taken by the various Hungarian governments between 1938 and the German occupation on March 19, 1944, approximately 15,350 Jews of Budapest perished. Most among these victims were labor servicemen; many others were murdered near Kamenets-Podolski in late August 1941 following their deportation for failure to prove their Hungarian citizenship. The Jews of the capital were subjected to severe social and economic restrictions in the wake of the many anti-Jewish laws. Many of these, including the first two major anti-Jewish laws of 1938 and 1939, were passed with the support of the Christian church leaders. Thousand of men of military age and older were drafted into labor service companies, many of which were deployed in the Ukraine.

The status of the Jews turned for the worse after the German occupation, which took them and their Christian supporters by surprise. On the day of the occupation, the Germans arrested a large number of hostages – prominent anti-Nazi Hungarians as well as influential Jews – on the basis of lists prepared in advance by the Gestapo. They also arrested a large number of ordinary Jews who happened to be in and around railroad stations and boat terminals. Most of these Jews were first interned in the facilities of the National Rabbinical Seminary, then transferred to the internment camps at Kistarcsa and Topolya, from where they were among the first to be deported to Auschwitz in late April. Supreme control over Jewish affairs was exercised by the Eichmann-*Sonderkommando.* The SS was able to implement the Final Solution program at lightning speed primarily because it had received the support of the newly established Döme Sztójay government that placed the instruments of state power at its disposal. The Sztójay government, constitutionally appointed by Miklós Horthy, Hungary's head of state, played a determining role in the planning and implementation of the Final Solution. Within the government, the Ministry of the Interior headed by Andor Jaross and his two undersecretaries of state, László Endre and László Baky, coordinated its anti-Jewish activities with the *Sonderkommando.* On March 20, the leaders of the Jews of Budapest were ordered to establish a Central Jewish Council with exclusive jurisdiction in all matters affecting the Jews of Hungary. The Council was organized under the chairmanship of Samu Stern, the head of the Jewish community of Pest, and included representatives of the major communal organizations: Ernö Boda, Ernö Petö, and Wilhelm Károly, representing the Neolog community of Pest; Samu Csobádi, representing the Neolog community of Buda; Samu Kahan-Frankl and Fülöp Freudiger, representing the Orthodox community; and Nison Hahan, representing the Zionists. As elsewhere in Nazi-dominated Europe the Council of Budapest, while doing its best to serve the community, was exploited by the Nazis as an instrument for the implementation of their sinister designs. The Council's Nazi-censored weekly, the *A Magyar Zsidók Lapja* (Journal of Hungarian Jews), served as a major vehicle in the Nazis' anti-Jewish drive, distracting the Jews from the danger awaiting them.

Within a few days after the occupation, the Jews of Budapest, like those of Hungary as a whole, were subjected to a large number of anti-Jewish measures calculated to bring about their isolation and eventual destruction. Starting on April 5, the Jews were compelled to wear a yellow star on their outer garments. Unlike the Jews of the countryside, however, the Jews of Budapest escaped being placed into a ghetto – at least until early December 1944. The authorities decided against establishing a territorially contiguous ghetto for fear that the Allies might then bomb the other parts of the capital. The Jews' freedom of movement was severely restricted, especially in the wake of the first major bombing that took place on April 2. At first, the Jews were ordered to vacate hundreds of apartments for Christian bombing victims. They were later concentrated in buildings that were identified by a yellow star. The so-called yellow star buildings were selected on the basis of a housing inventory made in May as ordered by Endre earlier in the month. According to that inventory, 2,681 of the close to 36,000 residential buildings in the capital were originally designated as yellow star houses. As a result of complaints by Christians, the yellow star designation was subsequently removed from 700 to 800 buildings, drastically reducing the living space assigned to Jews. In accordance with the June 16 order issued by Mayor Ákos Doroghi Farkas, the relocation and concentration of the Jews of Budapest in the designated yellow star-marked buildings was completed by June 24. Overall responsibility for the resettlement of the Jews was exercised by Rezsö Müller, the head of the Housing Department of the Jewish Council, acting in conjunction with József Szentmiklóssy, head of the Social Policies Section of the Municipality of Budapest. At first the Jews were allowed to leave the buildings only between 2:00 and 5:00 P.M., a restriction that was later eased to 11:00 A.M. to 5:00 P.M. György Auer and other leaders of the Association of the Christian Jews of Hungary campaigned for the exemption of the 40,000 to 50,000 converts from these restrictions.

Under the Nazis' original plan, the Jews of Budapest were to be deported to Auschwitz following the completion of the anti-Jewish drive in the countryside. The plan failed because Horthy halted the deportations on July 7 – a decision he took largely in response to pressure from abroad and especially the realization that the Axis would lose the war. The Nazis, nevertheless, managed to continue their deportation program until July 9, liquidating the Jewish communities in the cities surrounding the capital, including those of Kispest, Újpest, Sashalom, and Szentendre. While the Jews of Budapest were under the constant threat of deportation, they survived relatively intact until October 15, 1944, when the Arrow Cross Party, popularly known as the *Nyilas*, came to power with the help of the Germans.

Under the leadership of Ferenc Szálasi, the *Nyilas* unleashed a terror campaign against the Jews. Thousands of Jews, labor servicemen and others, men and women, were murdered by roaming gangs and thrown into the Danube. Tens of thousands, mostly women, were concentrated in the brickyards of Óbuda, from where they were force-marched early in November to the border with the Reich, ostensibly to build fortifications for the defense of Vienna. Approximately 50,000 Jewish labor servicemen were handed over to the Germans. The anti-Jewish drive by the *Nyilas* was largely coordinated with Eichmann, who had returned to Hungary on October 17. (He was compelled to leave the country at the end of August.)

Representatives of the Vatican and the neutral powers in Budapest did their best to help the Jews by issuing various protective passes (*Schutzpässe*). Officially, some 7,800 Swiss, 4,500 Swedish, 2,500 Vatican, 698 Portuguese, and 100 Spanish *Schutzpässe* were issued. A large number of these safe-conduct passes (and a variety of Hungarian identification papers) were reproduced and distributed by the underground Zionist groups, saving countless numbers of Jewish lives. It was during the *Nyilas* era that foreign representatives, including Angelo Rotta of the Vatican, Carl Lutz of Switzerland, and Raoul *Wallenberg of Sweden, engaged in heroic rescue efforts. The Jews in possession of foreign passports or protective passes were placed in specially designated "protected buildings" that came to be known as "the international ghetto." With the approach of the Red Army, close to 70,000 Jews were placed in a closed ghetto established in District VII, close to the Dohány Street Synagogue, early in December. They lingered there under awful conditions during the Soviet siege of the capital, suffering thousands of casualties. The Nazis and their Hungarian accomplices planned to destroy the ghetto prior to their withdrawal. At the end, the ghetto together with the Pest part of the capital was liberated by the Red Army on January 17–18, 1945; the Buda part was liberated on February 13.

The losses of the Jews of Budapest were not as great proportionately as those incurred in the countryside. At the time of the German occupation, Hungary had a (racially defined) total Jewish population of 762,007, of whom 231,453 lived in Budapest. Of the total of 564,507 Jewish casualties incurred during World War II, 100,803 (17.8%) were from Budapest. Of these, 85,453 were killed during the German occupation and 15,350 before the occupation, especially in labor service. At the end of 1945, Budapest had a Jewish population of approximately 144,000, representing 75.78% of the total of about 190,000 Jews who then lived in Trianon Hungary. Of these, 119,000 had been liberated in Budapest: 69, 000 in the ghetto, 25,000 in protected houses of the international ghetto, and 25,000 who had been in hiding (most with false Aryan papers). The others had moved to the capital from other parts of liberated Hungary.

Postwar Community

The Jewish community of Budapest had a strong base for revitalization. During the first phase of the post-liberation period, the survivors devoted much time to the day-to-day problem of survival and the arrangements for the return of the liberated deportees. They organized communal hostels and public kitchens, supported largely by the *American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee – the Joint. The Neolog and Orthodox Jewish communities resumed their operations soon after the end of hostilities. The Neolog community was led by Lajos Stöckler (the last head of the Central Jewish Council), who was also elected president of the National Bureau of Hungarian Jews. The Orthodox community was led by Samu Kahan-Frankl, who concurrently served as head of the Central Bureau of Orthodox Communities. The various relief and welfare organizations were unified to form the National Jewish Aid Committee under the chairmanship of Frigyes Görög, the head of the Joint in Hungary. The National Committee for the Care of Deportees was in charge of aiding the return of deportees and recording their personal accounts.

The surviving Jews regained their legal rights under the terms of the Armistice Agreement of January 20, 1945. In accordance with these terms, on March 17, the Provisional National Government repealed all the anti-Jewish laws and decrees that had been enacted during the Horthy and *Nyilas* eras. The Jewish communities' drive for restitution and reparation ended in failure, largely because of the bankruptcy of the state after the war and the policies of the Soviet-backed Communist regime that was installed in 1948–49. The political and socioeconomic measures of the Communists induced many of the Budapest Jews to leave the city. In particular, the antisemitic drive of the Stalinist era, disguised as a struggle against Zionism and Israel, convinced approximately 20,000 to 25,000 Jews to leave the city after the Hungarian Revolution of 1956, mostly for Israel and other parts of the free world. During the Communist era, the Jews of Hungary were represented by the National Representation of Hungarian Jews, an umbrella organization led by Endre Sós and later Géza Seifert. It operated under the guidance of the Department of Religious Affairs, an agency of the Ministry of the Interior.

Following the systemic change of 1989, Jewish life was revitalized with the emergence of a number of social, cultural, educational, and Zionist organizations and institutions. The National Rabbinical Seminary, the only theological institution in the Soviet Bloc, was transformed into a Rabbinical University. Several of Budapest's synagogue, including that on Dohány Street, were refurbished, and in 2004 the Páva Street Synagogue was transformed into a Holocaust Museum. A Jewish day school sponsored by American philanthropist Ronald S. *Lauder was opened. The Jewish community of Budapest in 2004 included most of the approximately 80,000 Jews living in Hungary, constituting the largest concentration of Jews in East Central Europe. Of these, only 3,000 to 4,000 were dues-paying members of either the Neolog or Orthodox communities.

[Randolph Braham (2nd ed.)]

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°BUDDE, KARL FERDINAND REINHARD (1850–1933), German Protestant Bible scholar and Hebraist. Budde was born at Bensburg near Cologne. He taught Bible at the universities of Bonn (1873–88), Strasbourg (1889–99), and Marburg (from 1900). With B. Duhm, B. Stade, R. Smend, and Emil Kautzsch, Budde was an ardent supporter of historical criticism as formulated by Eduard Reuss, Abraham Kuenen, Karl Heinrich Graf, and, above all others, Julius Wellhausen, his intimate friend. His detailed study *Die biblische Urgeschichte* (1883) is an attempt to recover the original sources of Genesis 1–11, to clarify their relation to each other, and to determine their origin. During the years 1888–89 Budde delivered a series of lectures at Harvard University on *Religion of Israel to the Exile* (1899), in which he championed the *Kenite hypothesis of the origins of YHWH worship. Throughout his life he was deeply interested in the history of Israel's literature and its literary characteristics. The former received expression in his work *Geschichte der althebraeischen Litteratur* (1906, 1909^2); the latter, in a series of articles on Hebrew metrics (in ZAW 1882, 1883, 1892) and in his discussion of Hebrew poetry in J. Hastings (ed.), *A Dictionary of the Bible* (vol. 4, 1902). Among his greatest achievements was his treatment of the *kinah*, or lamentation meter.

With the advance of critical studies, the need arose for a new series of exegetical commentaries on the Bible, and Budde joined with many other scholars in the publication of the *Goettinger Handkommentar zum Alten Testament*. In addition to those mentioned above, the following are his most important works: *Die Buecher Richter und Samuel, ihre Quellen und ihr Aufbau* (1890); *The Books of Samuel, Critical Edition of the Hebrew Text* (1894); *Das Buch Hiob* (1896, 19132); *Die sogenannten Ebed-Jahwe-Lieder und die Bedeutung des Knechtes Jahwes in Jesaja 40–55, Ein Minoritaetsvotum* (1900); *Der Kanon des Alten Testaments* (1900); and *Die Buecher Samuel* (1902). Budde also translated into German a number of works of Abraham Kuenen, edited several editions of W.A. Hollenberg's *Hebraeisches Schulbuch,* and coedited *Eduard Reuss: Briefwechsel mit seinem Schueler und Freunde Karl Heinrich Graf* (1904).

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[James Muilenburg]

BUDKO, JOSEPH (1888–1940), painter and graphic artist. Budko, who was born in Plonsk, received a traditional Jewish education. In 1902 he went to study at the art school in Vilna. In 1910 Budko moved to Berlin where he learned metal-chasing and also studied at the Museum of Arts and Crafts. In Berlin Budko met Hermann *Struck who taught him the technique of etching. Eventually he also took up woodcutting, lithography, and painting. In 1933 Budko settled in Palestine. In 1935 he became the director of the reopened New *Bezalel school of arts and crafts. Budko stressed the teaching of graphic design and utilized the ornamental value of the Hebrew letters. Budko's subject matter was determined by the Jewish environment in which he grew up and to which he returned in Jerusalem. Budko developed a style that combined the personal with the Jewish, being a synthesis of Jewish tradition and modern art. He also revived the spirit of Jewish book illustration, adapting it to modern design. Among the books he illustrated are the *Haggadah*, and he designed many bookplates.

[Elisheva Cohen]

°BUDNY (Budnaeus), SZYMON (Simon; c. 1530–1593), Polish sectarian theologian. During the struggles of the Reformation in Poland-Lithuania he led the Lithuanian anti-Trinitarian ("Arian") wing of the Polish reformist camp which took a radical stand in questions of theology though a conservative one in its acceptance of the social order. Budny translated the Bible into Polish, using the Hebrew text. An original thinker, he was well known to and in contact with Jewish scholars. In the anti-Trinitarian camp Budny represented a trend of opinion, mainly prevalent in Lithuania where he conducted his theological activity, which while stressing the human nature of Jesus opposed many of the other anti-Trinitarians in their advocacy of pacifism and rejection of all secular or ecclesiastical authority. Budny was much concerned with upholding the purity of the biblical canon and preserving it in translation. His social views stemmed from his appreciation of Mosaic law and biblical Jewish society, which he regarded as the paradigms for the ideal Christian society. In support of his appreciation of authority he argued in his *Ourzedzie miecza używającem* (edited in 1932 under this title; first published as *Obrona…* in 1583) that "the Lord Jesus Christ is not a lawgiver, but he is the interpreter of Divine Law… You have to accept that the Divine Law recorded by Moses is excellent in itself. The most that you may say perhaps is that it is not perfect from this aspect, that we cannot fulfill it in its entirety…

You well know what Jesus says in Matthew chapter 5 – that it is not against Moses, or his Law but against the Jewish clergy and the Pharisees (who set up themselves as exponents and were therefore so-called) that the sayings and teachings of Christ are directed… He opposes and rejects their commentaries, but not the words of Divine Law… Therefore, as the Divine Law is not destroyed and even now exists how can they [i.e., the pacifist Arians] say now there is no need of an office carrying the sword in the Divine Church… With every word they usually call out: 'What have we to do with Moses? What is the Old Testament to us? For Christ gave us another law. According to the one it was permitted to kill. According to the second it is even forbidden to be angry.' Now it has been proved that these are monkish legends, inventions and errors – to invent two laws" (ed. by St. Kot (1932), 102–3). In another connection he quotes the argument of his opponents: "You do not quote anything from the New Testament, only everything from the Old Testament" (*ibid.*, p. 53). Budny's contemporary, Isaac b. Abraham *Troki, who was well acquainted with Budny's writings and Bible translations, remarked the Jewish significance of this passage. In his *Ḥizzuk Emunah* (Breslau, 1873, 129), Isaac refers to Budny's "book called *Obrona*" summing up Budny's opinion that Jesus was a commentator on the Law only, and stating, "and he [Budny] adduced there lengthy evidence from the prophets and rational arguments as you will see on page 39 and page 41 and also in other places in this book." While Isaac praises Budny as "the scholar, the latest of Christian translators" (p. 50), elsewhere he refers to him as "our opponent" (p. 65). Altogether there are 24 quotations from Budny in *Ḥizzuk Emunah*.

In his translation of the New Testament, Budny stressed the importance of the knowledge of Hebrew for a proper understanding of the Gospels, "For as the holy Matthew wrote in Hebrew… then he could not quote these testimonies… except as he read them in the Hebrew books" (H. Merczyng, *Szymon Budny jaro krytyk tekstów biblijnych* (1913), 141). In his other notes to the New Testament Budny bases arguments on proof from the Hebrew spirit and semantics, and accepts many Jewish interpretations. The extent of Budny's Judaizing was limited by his devotion to Jesus. He expressed great indignation at the Jewish custom of pronouncing Christian Hebrew names in a way that tarnished them (*ibid.*).

Budny had a forceful and stirring impact on his contemporaries, but his influence was not permanent. His relative rationalism and broad general culture, as well as his knowledge of Hebrew and deep appreciation of the Hebrew Bible, combine to make him an outstanding figure in the history of reciprocal contacts and influences between Jews and Poles and Judaism and Christian opinion in Poland-Lithuania of the 16th century.

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[Haim Hillel Ben-Sasson]

BUDYNĚ NAD OHŘÍ (Ger. **Budin**), town in Bohemia (Czech Republic). Jews are first mentioned there in the 13th century. A Hebrew inscription in a flour mill records that in 1535 the Czech traveler Jan of Hazmburk leased it to a Jew to obtain money for his journey to Palestine. A synagogue was built in Budyně in 1631 (burnt down in 1759 and rebuilt in 1821). The community numbered 49 persons (11 families) in 1638. The old cemetery was closed under *Joseph II and a new one consecrated in 1798. In 1800 the community adopted a yellow flag for its insignia, similar to the guild flags. In 1892 it adopted Czech as the official language and closed down its German-language school. There were 176 persons living in 11 localities under the Budyně communal jurisdiction in 1902, and 50 Jews living in Budyně in 1930. The community was liquidated by the Nazis in 1942.

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[Oskar K. Rabinowicz]

BUECHLER, ADOLF (1867–1939), theologian and historian. Buechler received his early training in the Jewish seminaries of Budapest and Breslau and was awarded his doctorate in Leipzig in 1890. His earliest studies were in the fields of Hebrew philosophy and masorah. He was ordained rabbi in Budapest in 1892 and held a rabbinic post in that same city for a short time. He spent some time doing research under the guidance of his renowned uncle, Adolf *Neubauer, after which he was invited to work as an instructor at the Israelitisch-Theologische Lehranstalt in Vienna. In 1905 he was invited to become chief assistant to Michael Friedlaender, the principal of Jews' College, London, and in 1907 succeeded the latter as principal.

Buechler's main contribution to Jewish learning concerned the history of the Second Temple period, especially the latter part of that era. He wrote the important work on the Great Sanhedrin, *Das grosse Synhedrion in Jerusalem und das grosse Beth-din in der Quaderkammer des jerusalemischen Tempels* (1902). This work contained his theory of the two Sanhedrins. His articles appeared in learned periodicals in several languages. He made a very important contribution to the history of the synagogue during his stay in Oxford; it was published in the *Jewish Quarterly Review* (vols. 5, 1893, and 6, 1894), under the title "The Reading of the Law and Prophets in a Triennial Cycle." In these essays he displayed an enormous amount of erudition and initiative. His main theological work appears in *Studies in Sin and Atonement in the Rabbinic Literature of the First Century* (1928). Part of his work included a probing criticism of E. *Schuerer based on rabbinic sources, emphasizing the religious element of Pharisaism.

The greater part of Buechler's active life was spent at Jews' College. As principal, he was a very exacting man. It was admitted even by his admirers that he did not understand the Anglo-Jewish community any more than the community understood him. He was never completely reconciled to the fact that at Jews' College men were being prepared for the ministry of an Anglo-Jewish community, and he overburdened the students with a type of learning in *Juedische Wissenschaft* which so far as that community was concerned was superfluous for its clergy. After a great deal of dissatisfaction on the part of many leaders with the affairs of the college, a committee was established to revise the curriculum (1938). Buechler died suddenly during the critical stage of these deliberations. Buechler twice criticized the chief rabbinate at public events at Jews' College. He acidly criticized Chief Rabbi Herman Adler in 1911, disagreeing with the evidence given by the latter at the Divorce Law Commission set up by Parliament. In 1913 he attacked the chief rabbi's court for having granted the rabbinical diploma to a student who, he claimed, should have been examined by the college.

Buechler always maintained a great interest in raising the standard of Jewish education. He failed nevertheless in his attempt to establish a department of pedagogics at Jews' College.

Apart from the works mentioned above, some of his more important monographs are *Types of Jewish Palestinian Piety from 70 B.C.E. to 70 C.E.* (1968^2), *The Political and Social Leaders of the Jewish Community of Sepphoris in the Second and Third Centuries* (1909), and *Der galilaeische Am Ha'areṣ des zweiten Jahrhunderts* (1906).

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[Alexander Tobias]

BUECHLER, ALEXANDER (1870–1944), Hungarian historian. From 1897 he served as rabbi at Keszthely and also lectured on Hungarian Jewish history at the Budapest university. In 1944 he was deported to the Auschwitz concentration camp, where he died.

Buechler wrote *A zsidók története Budapesten* ("History of Budapest Jewry," 1901). On the basis of archival material he prepared material for a continuation of S. Kohn's *A zsidók története Magyarországon* ("History of the Jews in Hungary," 1884), which covered events to 1526; however, only a few monographs appeared (*Magyar Zsidó Szemle*, 10 (1893), 7–15; A. Wertheimer, et al., *Emlékkönyv… Dr. Mahler Ede* (1937), 406–14; A. Scheiber (ed.), *Jubilee Volume… B. Heller* (1941), 139–46). Buechler also published letters of such scholars as S.J. *Rapoport in *Shai la-Moreh* (1895), which he edited.

[Alexander Scheiber]

BUEDINGER, MAX (1828–1902), historian. Buedinger was born in Cassel, Germany, the son of a Hebraist and teacher. After completing his studies in Marburg and Berlin – his teachers included the great German historians Leopold von Ranke and Heinrich von Sybel – Buedinger was unable to obtain an academic appointment because of his Jewishness. He tutored private pupils in Vienna (1857–61), traveled widely, and joined the circle of young Austrian historians. In 1861 he obtained a professorship of history at Zurich University, and during his ten years' tenure of the chair raised Swiss historiography to its highest level. After his conversion to Protestantism, he was appointed professor of general history at Vienna (1872–99). A universal historian, Buedinger combined excellent teaching with imaginative writing on ancient, medieval, and modern European history. Among his many books and articles was the first critical history of early Austria from unpublished primary sources (*Oesterreichische Geschichte bis zum Ausgange des 13. Jahrhunderts*, vol. 1, 1858). His major works include *Die Universalhistorie im Alterthume* (1895), *Untersuchungen zur mittlern Geschichte* (2 vols., 1871), *Untersuchungen zur roemischen Kaisergeschichte* (3 vols., 1868–70), and *Vorlesungen ueber englische Verfassungsgeschichte* (1880). Buedinger shared Ranke's views about the role of ideas in history and the interlinking of civilizations, and combined romantic ideas with historical criticism. An essay on Egyptian influences in Jewish ritual which he published in 1871–73 reflected contemporary scholarly fashion, but was marred by fallacies.

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[Herbert A. Strauss]

°**BUEHLER, JOSEF** (1904–1948), Nazi official. After studying law, Buehler was articled to Hans *Frank in Munich in 1930, joined the Nazi Party in 1933, and thereafter was Frank's deputy in the various posts he held. Frank, appointed governor-general of Poland, made Buehler a head of government with the title Staatssekretaer (from 1939 to January 18, 1945). On January 20, 1942, Buehler represented the General Gouvernement of Poland at the *Wannsee Conference. He duly represented the problems of his domain of responsibility, explaining the overcrowding of the Polish ghettos and the potential problems for disease and epidemics. Thus, he pressed that the "Final Solution," which at that point was to come to mean the systematic deportation of Jews to death camps in the occupied territory begin with Poland where the problem was most urgent and transportation was less of a problem. Jews constituted a danger there as "carriers of disease." He argued that their black market activities were threatening the economy and that most were in any case "unfit to work." However, the liquidation should be carried out "without upsetting the local population." Buehler managed to leave Cracow before the entry of the Soviet Army, but was arrested in April 1946. He appeared as a defense witness for Frank at the International Military Tribunal at Nuremberg. He was later extradited to Poland and tried there by the People's High Court, charged with planning, organizing, and executing mass robbery and murder of the population in the General Gouvernement. The indictment mentioned the persecution and liquidation of Jews in the territory he administered. The verdict declared that Buehler caused the deaths of an incalculable number of

Jews. He was sentenced to death and hanged in Cracow on August 21, 1948.

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[Nachman Blumental]

BUENO (Bueno de Mesquita), family of Marrano origin. JOSEPH BUENO (d. 1641), physician and poet, graduated in medicine at Bordeaux, where he used the alias Ruy Gómez Frontera. In Amsterdam, where he openly professed Judaism, he became noted for his medical skill; in 1625, he attended Prince Maurice of Orange on his deathbed. Bueno, who was on intimate terms with *Manasseh Ben Israel, contributed a laudatory preface to his *Conciliador* and a prefatory sonnet to the *De la Resurrección de los Muertos*. His son EPHRAIM HEZEKIAH (alias Martin Alvarez; d. 1665) was also a physician, graduating in medicine in Bordeaux in 1642. He edited and subsidized many works; he translated into Spanish and published a good part of the liturgy as well as the Book of Psalms, helped to edit the Shulḥan Arukh of Joseph Caro, and wrote Spanish poetry. In 1656, with Abraham Pereira, he founded the Or Torah academy. Bueno's portrait was painted by Rembrandt as *The Jewish Doctor.*

[Kenneth R. Scholberg]

The BUENO DE MESQUITA family later became distinguished and its members are found in Amsterdam, London, and America. DAVID BUENO DE MESQUITA (17th century) was resident in Holland for the margrave of Brandenburg, and was moreover entrusted with various diplomatic missions by the sultan of Morocco. In 1684 he served as agent general of customs of the duchy of Brunswick-Luneburg (Miguel de Barrios, *Aumento de Israel*, p. 172). In that same year "Enigma del principio" was presented in his honor when he was *ḥatan* on Simḥat Torah. JACOB (17th century) escaped from the Inquisition and settled in Salé, Morocco, where, in collaboration with his relatives in Amsterdam and London, he established an important business firm before 1670. He was one of those who expected the Messiah to appear in 1672 in Holland, according to an anecdote reported by G. Mouette (*Relations de la captivité*, Paris, 1683). He was one of the wealthy members of the synagogue in Amsterdam, where he had a very prominent seat. ISAAC and JOSEPH were appointed by the Dutch government in 1682 to negotiate the peace treaty with Morocco that was signed in 1683, as a result of the collaboration of Joseph Maimoran and Joseph Toledano, both Moroccan subjects, and the rich Amsterdam merchants Jacob de Oliveira, Daniel de Mesquita, and Manoel de Belmonte. The famous Jacob *Sasportas also had a hand in the affair, which was of interest primarily to the Jewish Dutch-Moroccan big business interests. ISAAC was sent as the Moroccan ambassador to The Hague in 1729. The monument erected to BENJAMIN BUENO DE *MESQUITA, who died in New York in 1683, is one of the oldest in the city. DAVID BUENO DE MESQUITA (1878–1954) was assistant *ḥazzan* and later *ḥazzan* (1904) of the Spanish and Portuguese congregation of London (1901–45).

[David Corcos]

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BUENO, ISAAC ABRAHAM (17th century), Jerusalem rabbi. Bueno studied under Isaac Zabaḥ, an eminent Jerusalem scholar. His signature appears before that of Moses ibn *Ḥabib on an attestation of 1627. In 1680, he was in Leghorn, where he gave his approval to a halakhic decision of Jacob *Sasportas (*Oholei Ya'akov* (1737), no. 50), and Sasportas corresponded with him in connection with his bitter dispute with the communal leaders of Leghorn. Bueno wrote *Shullḥan Melakhim* (in manuscript) on *Oraḥ Ḥayyim* and *Yoreh De'ah*, in which he incorporated the customs of Jerusalem as well as a selection from the novellae of Jacob *Castro. The work was used to a considerable extent by Jerusalem scholars in succeeding generations, among them Naḥman Nathan *Coronel, in his *Zekher Natan*.

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BUENOS AIRES, (1) the most important province in the Argentinian republic in terms of economic wealth (cattle raising, wheat farming, and industriy) and concentration of population (13,827,203 out of a total population of 36,60,130 in 2001); (2) federal capital of the Republic of Argentina, general population 2,768,772 (2001). The Jewish population of the capital and its suburbs ("Greater Buenos Aires") was estimated at 180,000–200,000 in 2004.

The Province

The first colony of the *Jewish Colonization Association (ICA) – Maurício (1891) – was established in Buenos Aires and was followed by the Baron Hirsch colony (1904–05) a few years later. In the early 21st century there were many small Jewish communities in the province, the largest being La Plata, Bahia Blanca, Mar del Plata, and Rivera, all affiliated with the Va'ad ha-Kehillot.

The City

During the colonial period a few *Crypto Jews settled in Buenos Aires, mainly during the 16th and 17th centuries. There is evidence that the number of "Portuguese" (as many judaizers were identified at the time) of Jewish descent rose during the 18th century as Buenos Aires developed into an important administrative and commercial port city. However, there is no trace of Jews living openly as such during the time of the revolt against Spanish rule (1810), or at the time of Argentina's declaration of independence (1816). During the middle decades of the 19th century Jews arrived in small number from two areas, Western Europe and Morocco. The earliest public Jewish event was an officially recognized religious marriage ceremony in 1860. The first *minyan* took place during Yom Kippur of 1862, which led to the founding of the first Jewish organization, the Congregación Israelita de la República Argentina (CIRA). New arrivals from North Africa and Gibraltar led to the founding of the Congregación Israelita Latina (1891). The year 1889 saw the arrival in the port of Buenos Aires of a group of 824 Jews from Russia, most later proceeding to the Province of Santa Fe. From then on a steady migration movement from Eastern Europe ensued, helped by the open door policy in Argentina early on, and by the publicity given to Argentina in the European Jewish press as the agricultural settlements of the ICA were established and developed. Thus Argentina, especially its capital city of Buenos Aires, turned into a major target of immigration for East European Jews.

In 1909 there were approximately 25,000–30,000 Jews in Buenos Aires. In spite of some manifestations of antisemitism, especially during the repression against workers' strikes during the early years of the 20th century, and the "red-scare" pogrom – known in Argentina as La Semana Trágica – of January 1919, whose main targets were Russian Jews, immigration continued unabated, interrupted only during World War I.

After the war it was further enhanced by the quotas established in the United States starting in the early 1920s. By 1936 there were over 120,000 Jews in the capital, constituting over 5% of the total population. After 1933 a relatively large number of Jews from Central Europe established themselves in Buenos Aires. A few more did so after World War II from neighboring countries in South America. However, the Argentinian government closed Jewish immigration after the war, and only a small number of Jews entered after that. The city's Jewish population increased naturally and by internal migrations from provincial cities and from the ICA settlements.

Buenos Aires was a city of immigrants, cosmopolitan in character, and the Jewish population remained diversified as well. About 85% of the Jews were Ashkenazim, the vast majority from Eastern Europe and a minority from Central Europe. The other 15% were Sephardim from various areas in the Balkans, the Middle East, and North Africa. These Jews founded their new societies and communities along the lines of their places of origin. Ashkenazim were organized in *AMIA, the largest community organization in Argentina, while Sephardim organized themselves in four separate communities: Moroccan, Ladino-speaking (from Turkey and the Balkans), and two Arabic-speaking ones, the Jews from Damascus and the Jews from Aleppo. Each group had its own cemeteries, religious leadership, schools, and mutual-aid institutions. Most synagogues founded during the formative period by East Europeans and Sephardim were Orthodox, while those founded by the German Jews were either Conservative or Reform. During the 1950s CIRA became Conservative. The founding of the Bet El community in 1963 and the Seminario Rabinico Latinoamericano in 1962 led to the spread of this movement not only in the city of Buenos Aires but also throughout Latin America.

The Reform movement established the Emanuel congregation in 1964. In addition, the Chabad movement has gained adherents, especially during the past generation. Nevertheless, Jewish identification is based more on national consciousness, and the influence of Israel and of Israeli political parties is greater.

This is made particularly evident by the important role of the OSA (Organización Sionista Argentina). Another central organization is DAIA, the representative body of Argentinian Jewry vis-à-vis the government and in the sphere of world Jewry.

Jewish education in the city was imparted along ideological and political lines as well as according to communal groupings. Most of the latter fall under the umbrella of the Va'ad ha-Ḥinnukh. Some of the day schools are among the best schools in the city, and at the end of the 1990s about 50% of Jewish children of primary school age and more than a third of secondary school age were reached by them. Many cultural, social, and sports organizations served local Jewry, especially Sociedad Hebraica Argentina, Hacoaj, and Maccabi ha-Ko'aḥ and Hebraica.

In earlier decades Buenos Aires was a major center of Yiddish journalism, to the point that in the 1940s three Yiddish dailies were published. In addition many monthly publications in Yiddish reflected the vigorous political and ideological splits in the community, ranging from Zionism of various schools to Bundism, socialism, communism, and anarchism. Buenos Aires was also a world center for the publication of books in Yiddish and a leading city for Yiddish theater. Subsequently, Spanish became the predominant and almost exclusive language for communal publications.

The Jewish population of Greater Buenos Aires peaked somewhere in the 1950s at approximately 250,000–260,000. From then on its numbers diminished, mainly because of emigration. The largest group immigrated to Israel, mostly for ideological reasons, during the military repression of 1976–83. Israel became a haven for Jews suspected of leftist or guerilla activism. Moreover, during the Argentine economic debacle that began in 2001, another current of emigration to Israel developed. In addition, Jews left Buenos Aires for other places in Latin America, the U.S., and Europe, mainly for professional and economic reasons, though, again during the repression, for political reasons as well. Thus, Buenos Aires, and Argentina as a whole, went from being a city of settlement to a city of exodus.

Jewish institutions were targeted during the 1990 by groups generally considered to be serving the cause of anti-Israel terrorism. Thus the Israeli embassy in Buenos Aires was bombed in 1992 with 29 people killed, and the premises of AMIA were razed in a major terrorist act in 1994 which killed 85 people. Ten years after the latter event the Argentine courts had not resolved important issues, including the local connections of the perpetrators nor their true international connections.

In spite of the ups and downs of antisemitism, especially, but not only, during military repressions, Jews have played an important role in industry, commerce, the arts, literature, and journalism, and also in politics. During the administrations of Alfonsin (1984–90) and Menem (1990–2000), Jews were visible in all spheres of government.

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[Victor A. Mirelman (2nd ed.)]

BUERGENTHAL, THOMAS (1934–), judge on the International Court of Justice since 2000. Born in Lubochna, Slovakia, to Menachem (Mundek) and Gerda Buergenthal (Silbergleit), he came to the United States in 1951 and was naturalized in 1957. At age nine, he was one of the youngest survivors of Auschwitz (Aug. 1944–Jan. 1945), including a death march from the camp, and Sachsenhausen (Feb. 1945–Apr. 1945). Prior to that, he had survived the *Kielce ghetto in Poland and various labor camps in the Kielce region.

In the United States Buergenthal was taken in by his aunt and uncle and despite having just two and a half years of schooling in Germany before the war and about a year of high school in New Jersey, he was accepted on a scholarship by Bethany, a Christian college in West Virginia. Buergenthal completed his courses at Bethany and went on to become a distinguished professor of law, dean of American University's School of Law, and one of the nation's leading authorities on human rights.

Buergenthal held endowed professorships in international law and human rights at various U.S. law schools. He was the Fulbright & Jaworski Professor of Law at the University of Texas (1975–80), the I.T. Cohen Professor at Emory University (1985–89), and the Lobingier Professor at the George Washington University (1989–2000). He served as dean and professor of international law of the American University's College of Law, Washington, D.C. (1980–85).

Buergenthal served as judge (1979–91), vice president (1983–85), and president (1985–87) of the Inter-American Court of Human Rights of the Organization of American States. He was nominated to the court by Costa Rica. He is the only U.S. citizen to date to be elected to that court. (The U.S., not being a party to the American Convention on Human Rights, is not in a position to nominate its citizens to the court.) Buergenthal also served as judge of the Administrative Tribunal of the Inter-American Development Bank (1989–94) and as its president (1993–94). He was an arbitrator (1997–2000) and vice chairman (1999–2000) of the Claims Resolution Tribunal for Dormant Accounts in Switzerland.

As a member of the United Nations Truth Commission for El Salvador (1992–93), Buergenthal helped investigate the large-scale violations of human rights committed in that country during its lengthy civil war. In 1995, Buergenthal became the first U.S. citizen to be elected to the United Nations Human Rights Committee. He resigned from the committee in 1999 in order to assume the vice chairmanship of the Claims Resolution Tribunal for Dormant Accounts in Switzerland, a position he had to relinquish when he was elected to the International Court of Justice. His was the lone dissent in the 2004 ICJ vote against Israel's erection of a fence/wall separating Israeli and Palestinian territories, insisting that the context of terror and suicide bombers must be considered.

Between 1974 and 1978, Buergenthal represented the United States in various UNESCO bodies dealing with human rights issues. In that capacity he helped, *inter alia*, to draft the UNESCO Recommendation on International Education and Human Rights (1974). He was the chief U.S. representative to the UNESCO working group (1976–78) that drafted the UNESCO procedures for dealing with human rights complaints, and was one of its principal drafters. Similarly, as a member of the U.S. delegation to the 1990 Human Dimension Meeting of the Organization of Security and Cooperation in Europe, Buergenthal helped draft the "rule of law" section of the 1990 Copenhagen Declaration on the Human Dimension.

[Jeanette Friedman (2nd ed.)]

BUERGER, LEO (1879–1943), U.S. physician born in Vienna, who contributed substantially to knowledge of urology, pathology, bacteriology, and the study of vascular diseases. In 1901 he became pathologist and later surgeon at Mt. Sinai Hospital in New York City. In 1930 he was appointed professor of urological surgery in Los Angeles. Buerger gave his name to "Buerger's disease" (thromboangiitis obliterans), a non-inflammatory vascular condition of the extremities which is apt to cause severe occlusion and ultimately even loss of the limb. The disease had been known from 1878 but had not been accurately described in pathological terms until Buerger did so in 1908. It is an infrequent disease and only affects males, generally in middle age. It occurs among all races, but is more common among Jews and for some time was erroneously thought to be a disease peculiar to Jews.

[Joshua O. Leibowitz]

BUFFALO, the second largest city in New York State and the seat of Erie Country. Erie County had a Jewish population in 2004 of between 15,000 and 18,000. In heavy industry, the principal support of Buffalo's economy, Jews have occupied relatively minor roles. They are chiefly involved in trade distribution and professional services. In 2004 a major hi-tech bioinformatics and health sciences campus was built in Buffalo, attracting Jewish scientists and researchers in growing numbers. It is expected that this, along with new economic initiatives, will help to stem the tide of the region's dwindling Jewish population. There were 13 congregations in Greater Buffalo in 2004: three Conservative, five Orthodox, one Reconstructionist, three Reform, and one Traditional. The first Jew in the area came during the War of 1812, when Captain Mordecai Myers was assigned to the Williamsville cantonment. In 1825 Mordecai Manuel *Noah launched his short-lived utopian plan for a Jewish homeland, the city of Ararat, near Buffalo. Jewish settlers came to Buffalo in the decades following 1825, a period of great growth for the city. The first Jew to arrive was L.H. Flersheim, who emigrated from Germany in 1835 and taught his native language in the public schools. Jewish merchants and manufacturers soon followed Flersheim. Buffalo's first retail clothing store was opened by Mordecai M. Noah's nephew in the 1840s. Congregation Beth El, composed of Polish and German Jews, was established in 1847. Needy German-Jewish arrivals were aided by the Jacobsohn Society, organized in 1847 on the community self-help idea. The society lasted into the 1860s and also established Buffalo's first Jewish cemetery. Differences in background created dissension in Beth El, and in 1850 the German element seceded to form Beth Zion, one of a succession of splinter groups to emerge from the original congregation. By 1864 the various Reform elements had united to form Temple Beth Zion. Eventually, Beth El became a Conservative congregation.

Most Buffalo Jews are descendants of the Eastern Europeans who came after 1880. These newcomers worked as peddlers, tailors, junkmen, and storekeepers, and with the immigration, the main location of the Jewish residential population shifted from lower Main Street to the East Side. A community house, a Jewish library, and about twelve Orthodox synagogues were set up in the area.

While the synagogues were unable to bring unity into the ghetto, the lodges and charitable organizations were a unifying force. A *ḥevra kaddisha* appeared early in the life of Buffalo Jewry. Montefiore Lodge of B'nai B'rith dates from 1866 and was the first of many groups which provided social companionship and mutual aid. In the 1850s the Buffalo Young Men's Hebrew Association, one of the first in the U.S., aided Jews traveling through the city and also offered cultural programs. Other institutions that were set up included an orphans' home, operated in conjunction with Rochester Jewry, a sheltering house, and Zion House, established by Beth Zion's Sisterhood to care for the newly arrived Russian Jews. Zion House was popularly known as the Jewish Community Building and formed the nucleus for the Federated Jewish Charities of Buffalo, which was established in 1903. The Federated Jewish Charities incorporated several rival societies and became the direct ancestor of the present United Jewish Federation. While Buffalo Jews early established afternoon and Sunday Hebrew schools, it was not until the late 1920s that a bureau of Jewish education was established which in 1928 established The High School of Jewish Studies, which today has over 200 students. In 1959 the Kadimah School created an elementary and middle school. The weekly *Buffalo Jewish Review* has been published since 1917.

Following World War I the Jewish East Side began to deteriorate. Greater Jewish affluence and the increased speed of urban transportation resulted in a general exodus, first to the West Side of the city, then to the Humboldt-Utica-Ferry section of mid-Buffalo, and still later to the North Park-Hertel Avenue part of North Buffalo. The Humboldt area was served by Temple Beth David, established in 1923, and Congregation Ohel Jacob, established in 1926. In North Buffalo, Anshe Zedek, later named Ner Israel, eventually merged with Beth David which had also resettled in the northern part of the city. Temple Emanu-El, Conservative, was founded in the mid-1920s. In 1967, Emanu-El and Beth David joined as Shaarey Zedek. Then many of the former East Side congregations were now situated in the North Park area. As industries expanded in western New York, bringing general prosperity, Jews moved to Kenmore, the town of Tonawanda, Snyder, and other suburban settlements. Beth Zion (Reform), Beth Am (Reform), Sinai (Reconstructionist), Beth El (Conservative), Havurah (Reform), B'nai Shalom (Traditional), Amherst Synagogue (Orthodox), Kehillat Ohr Zion (Orthodox), Shaarey Zedek (Conservative), and Young Israel (Orthodox) are among the congregations in the suburbs.

While Beth Zion decided to rebuild its main sanctuary in the central city after it was destroyed by fire in 1961, the congregation also has a suburban branch. The population shift has continued from North Buffalo to the suburbs. In 2004 the Jewish population was higher in the suburbs than in the city.

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[Milton Plesur]

BUFFALO (Heb. מְרִיא, *meri*; AV "fat cattle" or "fatling"), animal which in biblical times was sacrificed and the flesh eaten (II Sam. 6:13; I Kings 1:9, 19). The Dead Sea Scroll text of Isaiah 11:6 has *yimru* instead of *meri* ("they shall pasture") for the masoretic reading "*Meir*" and this corresponds to the Septuagint reading. The reference is to the water buffalo, the *Bubalus bubalis*, which until the end of the 1940s roamed in the Ḥuleh marsh, where the Bedouin reared it for food. It is also reared in the Beteha Valley at the foot of the Golan Heights, the biblical Bashan, which was famed for its buffaloes (Ezek. 39:18). The buffalo originates from a wild species found in India. It is a powerful animal suitable for work and was employed in Ereẓ Israel for plowing. In addition to the identification of the *meri* with the buffalo (see also the Bible translation of Saadiah Gaon who uses the Arabic word *jamūs*), some have identified the buffalo with the *te'o* (תְּאוֹ) listed as a clean animal (Deut. 14:5) and which Isaiah mentions as being caught in a net (51:20). This identification is improbable, however, since in Ereẓ Israel it was a domesticated and not a wild animal. The *te'o* has also been identified with the bison (*Bison bonasus*). Others have identified the buffalo with the *koi* (כּוֹי) mentioned in the Talmud in connection with the doubt whether it belongs to the category of *behemah* (domesticated cattle) or *ḥayyah* (wild beast), which would involve differing regulations concerning ritual slaughter (cf. Ḥul. 80a, where four opinions are expressed as to its identity).

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[Jehuda Feliks]

°**BUGENHAGEN, JOHANN** (also known as **Pomeranus**, i.e., from Pomerania; 1485–1558), German reformer; friend of Martin Luther. In 1517 he became lector in Scripture and patrology in a monastery of the Premonstratensian order in Belbuck. From 1523 onward he served as professor in the University of Wittenberg. He was influenced by the writings of Erasmus and Martin Luther. Bugenhagen was among those who aided Luther in translating the Bible. His most important work is his commentary on the Psalms (*Interpretatio in librum Psalmorum*, Basle, 1524).

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°**BUHL, FRANZ PEDER WILLIAM MEYER** (1850–1932), Danish biblical and Semitic scholar. Buhl was born in Copenhagen and educated at the University of Copenhagen, where he taught Old Testament from 1880 to 1890. From Copenhagen he was called to the University of Leipzig, remaining there until 1898, when he was recalled to Copenhagen as professor of Semitic languages (1898–1932). Buhl collaborated in the editing of the 13th (1915) and following editions of *Hebraeisches und aramaeischesHandwoerterbuch ueber das Alte Testament* of Gesenius, and of R. Kittel's *Biblia Hebraica* (where he edited the books of Psalms, 1930, and Esther, 1935). In his article on biblical poetry, "Dichtkunst bei den Israeliten" (in *Realencyklopaedie fuer protestantische Theologie und Kirche*, 4 (1898), 626–38), he anticipated the study of form criticism in his recognition of the literary types (*Gattungen*) and life situations of the poetic compositions. His study of the canon and text of the Old Testament appeared originally in German, *Kanon und Text des Alten Testaments* (1891; English translation by J. Macpherson, 1892) and is among the most influential of his works. Besides the foregoing, he wrote *Den gammeltestamentlige Skriftoverlevering* (1885; German translation, 1891; English translation, 1892); *Jesaja oversat og fortolket* (8 parts, 1889–94); *Gennesaret Sö og dens Omgivelser* (1889); *Palästina i kortfattet geografisk og topografisk Fremstilling* (1890); *Det israelitiske Folks Historie* (1892, 19368); *Geschichte der Edomiter* (1893); *De messianske Forj'ttelser i det Gamle Testament* (1894); *Til Vejledning i de gammeltestamentlige Undersögelser* (1895); *Geographie des alten Palaestina* (1896); *Die socialen Verhaeltnisse der Israeliten* (1899); *Psalmerne oversatte og fortolkede* (12 parts, 1898–1900); and *Muhammeds Liv* (1903; German translation, 1961^3). A *Festschrift* was presented to Buhl on the occasion of his seventy-fifth birthday in 1925.

[James Muilenburg]

BUHLER, CHARLOTTE (1893–1974), developmental and clinical psychologist. Born in Berlin, Buhler taught at the University of Vienna from 1923, becoming assistant professor in 1929. She focused her research on the cognitive and personality development of children from infancy through adolescence. She wished to create a unified theory of the psychological development of childhood that included a child's entire life experiences. When Hitler came to power, she and her husband, Dr. Karl Buhler, were arrested on racial and political grounds. They fled to the U.S. in 1938. There they held positions in Minnesota, Massachusetts, and California. Buhler served as a professor of psychology, the director of a child guidance center, and a clinical psychologist, respectively. At the University of Southern California she specialized in the study of the development of children and their social behavior in infancy. As early as the 1920s, her research and writings reflected the concept of personal fulfillment and the use of one's own special talents to attain goals. She believed that people could find personal fulfillment by using their full potential, living constructively, setting goals and assessing progress, and establishing a personal system of values. She distinguished her theories from those of traditional psychoanalytical theory by calling hers "humanism," implying that one lives with a purpose and a goal and seeks a meaning in life beyond oneself. In California she met Carl Rogers and Abraham Maslow, whose ideas were similar to hers. She is believed to have influenced Maslow, who is regarded as the "father of humanistic psychology." In 1950 she retired to private practice. She returned to Germany in 1972 to spend the last years of her life with her son.

Among her numerous published works are *Soziologische und psychologische Studien ueber das erste Lebensjahr* (1927; *The First Year of Human Life*, 1930); *Kindheit und Jugend* (1928), *Kind und Familie* (1937; *The Child and His Family*, 1939), *Childhood Problems and the Teacher* (1952), *From Birth to Maturity* (1956), *The Course of Human Life: A Study of Goals in the Humanistic Perspective* (1968), *Psychology for Contemporary Living* (1968), *The Way to Fulfillment: Psychological Techniques* (1971), and *Introduction to Humanistic Psychology* (with M. Allen, 1972).

[Helmut E. Adler / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

BUHUSI (Rom. **Buhuşi**), town in Moldavia, E. Romania. Jews settled there haround 1823, when the lord of the land of Buhusi, which was then a village, decided to set up a town on its grounds; they numbered 82 in 1831. Buhusi became an important center of Ḥasidism in Moldavia when the *ẓaddik* Isaac Friedman (1835–1896), the grandson of Rabbi Israel of

*Ruzhin, many of whose followers being Bessarabian and Moldavian Jews, made his home there. The community increased from 537 in 1859 to 1,728 in 1899. Welfare associations and educational institutions included a *talmud torah* and a Jewish-Romanian elementary school, founded in 1897. A yeshivah, founded in 1908 adjacent to the "court" of the *ẓaddik*, existed until 1916. In 1930 there were in Buhusi 1,972 Jews (22.6% of the total population), occupied in commerce and crafts. Beginning in 1940, their situation deteriorated. In 1940, 20 Jews, among the leaders of the community, were arrested and taken hostage. In June 1941 a project was planned to deport all Jewish men between the ages of 16 and 60 to the Targu-Jiu concentration camp, but was not carried out. Jews from the villages of Rediu, Roznov, Tazlau, Candesti, and Borlesti and from the town of Targu-Neamt were forcibly transferred to Buhusi. The community had to help them, together with other pauperized Buhusi Jews.

After the war the Jewish population rose to about 8,000 as some of the people driven out of the nearby villages chose to resettle in Buhusi. Most of these emigrated and by 1969 the town had 50 Jewish families and one synagogue. In 2004, there were no Jews left in Buhusi, but the synagogue of the *ẓaddik* remained and members of the ḥasidic community of Buhusi ("Bohosh"), organized in Bene Berak, Israel, made a pilgrimage there once a year.

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[Eliyahu Feldman and Theodor Lavi / Lucian-Zeev Herscovici (2nd ed.)]

BUITRAGO, town in Castile, central Spain. The first information about the Jewish community there dates from 1290, when it paid an annual tax of 6,048 maravedis, a relatively inconsiderable sum indicating it was a small community. It was one of the four *aljamas* in the vicinity of Madrid and was still a legally recognized community in the second half of the 15th century. At the time of the expulsion of the Jews from Spain in 1492, more than 50 Jews owned buildings within the town and valuable properties outside. Moshe Cuéllar possessed a huge and modern farm. Don David de Hija was then the majordomo to the duke of Infantado, the local feudal lord – an office occupied in 1482 by Isaac Adarique. The property of the Jews expelled from Buitrago was bestowed by the Catholic Monarchs upon the duke in compensation for his loss of the Jewish revenues. Although the majority of the Jews in Buitrago were craftsmen, some were very rich. At the expulsion, the majority went to Portugal and some continued to North Africa. After 1493 some of the refugees returned to Buitrago and were baptized. Six files recording prosecutions by the *Inquisition of New Christians in Buitrago between 1514 and 1532 are extant; among them was the municipal councillor (*regidor*), Inigo López de León.

In Buitrago there were two Jewish quarters. One was by the wall of the city where there were about 100 houses and the other was outside the city walls, in Arrabal, where some 30 families lived. In each Jewish quarter there was one synagogue.

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[Haim Beinart / Yom Tov Assis (2nd ed.)]

BUKARAT (Abukarat, Abucarat, Bukrat), ABRAHAM BEN SOLOMON HA-LEVI (late 15th–early 16th century), exegete and poet. Bukarat lived in Malaga, Spain. He was well versed in the natural sciences as well as in Spanish and Arabic. After the expulsion of the Jews from Spain he went to Tunis, where he remained for many years. His *Sefer ha-Zikkaron* (Leghorn, 1845), one of the best supercommentaries on Rashi to the Pentateuch, was completed there in 1507. In it he reveals himself as a painstaking scholar, with a sensitive feeling for language. Bukarat utilized his linguistic knowledge to elucidate the meaning of words and concepts and also to collate manuscripts to determine the correct version. Some of his poems are preserved in the Guenzburg collection, Moscow. His elegy on the expulsion from Spain, which was printed by Ben-Sasson, is of considerable importance. In it he describes the situation of those Spanish and Portuguese exiles who came to Morocco and Algeria, giving precise information as to their numbers. According to A. Berliner, Bukarat translated the responsa of Isaac Alfasi from Arabic to Hebrew. ABRAHAM BEN ISAAC HA-LEVI ABUKARAT, who lived in the following generation in Egypt, may have been his grandson. He was a wealthy scholar, whose library contained important manuscripts.

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BUKHARA, capital of the former khanate of the same name in Russian Central Asia, now within Uzbekistan (see Map: Bukhara).

Introduction

The Jews of Bukhara are an ethnic and linguistic group, concentrated in Central Asia, particularly in the area of the Uzbek and Tadzhik Republics. The term "Bukharan Jewry" was coined by European travelers who visited Central Asia before the Russian conquest; it derived from the fact that at that time most of the community lived under the Emir of Bukhara. The members of the community call themselves "Isro'il" or "Yahudi." They speak a distinct dialect of the Tajik language, the so-called Judeo-Tajik, defined also as the Judeo-Tajik language. In Uzbekistan the largest concentrations are in Samarkand, the second largest city in the Uzbek Republic, Tashkent (capital of the Republic), Bukhara, Kokand and other cities. In Tadzhikistan they could be found mainly in the capital, Dushanbe. A considerable number of Jews of Bukharan origin can be found in Israel.

It is difficult to estimate exactly how many Jews lived in Central Asia before the second half of the 19th century. Benjamin of Tudela estimated that at the end of the 12th century there were 50,000 in Samarkand alone, but there is no doubt that this figure was not based on direct observation. Arminius *Vambery estimated the Jewish population of the Bukharan khanate in 1863–64 at 10,000. At the end of the 19th century the figure was about 16,000. On the basis of Soviet censuses and other assessments it may be assumed that in 1970 30–35,000 Jews lived in Soviet Central Asia (with 8,500 in Bukhara itself). This figure dropped to around 10,000 in the early 21st century after the mass emigration of the 1990s. Of the 200,000 or more Bukharan Jews in the world, around 100,000 live in Israel and 50,000 in New York.

The Jews of Iran, Central Asia and Afghanistan constituted a single community until the 16th century, when historical-political developments divided them into two sections: the community of Iranian Jews and the community of the Jews of Central Asia and Afghanistan. In the middle of the 18th century, similar circumstances brought about a further division of the latter group into two separate communities.

The Origin and Sources of the Jewish Community

It may be assumed that the first Jews arrived in Central Asia following the conquest of Babylonia by Cyrus King of Persia (539 B.C.E.): the majority of the Babylonian exiles did not return to the Holy Land (see Ezra 1:4, 2:64) and remained in Babylonia, at that time part of the Persian Empire. It is thus not unlikely that some came to the three Central Asian provinces of the Empire.

Rabban Gamaliel the Elder (first half of the first century C.E.) addressed a letter "to our brothers the children of the exile of Babylonia and to our brothers in Media and to the other exiles of Israel" (Sanh. 11). It is possible that "the other exiles" referred to the Jews living east of Babylonia and Media, including those of the area known as Central Asia. The first unquestionable evidence about the Jewish presence in Central Asia is a story in the Babylonian Talmud (Av. Zar. 31b) about the refusal of an *amora* called Samuel bar Bisna (the first half of the 4th century C.E.) to drink wine and beer in Margwan, i.e., Margiana, the medieval Merv (now the region of Mari in Turkmenistan). Early Muslim sources (late 7th, early 8th century) refer to the presence of Jews in the area. At the beginning of the 8th century a Jew called Akiva is mentioned as collecting taxes from the Jewish community of Merv. The Jews were the only group in Central Asia which did not accept Islam.

There is evidence that Jewish communities in the area flourished in the 9th to the 12th centuries, particularly in the towns of Balkh, Khorezm and Samarkand and that they recognized the authority of the exilarch in Baghdad and communicated with him.

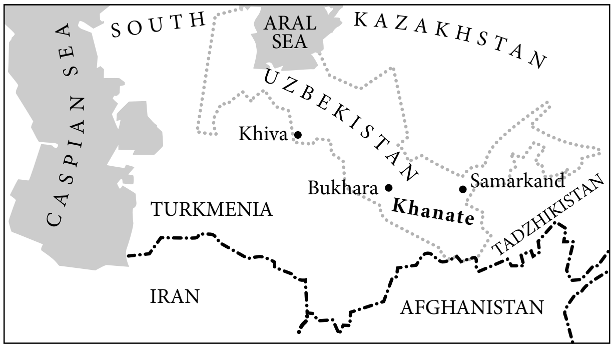

Map showing the location of Bukhara, Uzbekistan

The *Mongol invasions which early in the 13th century laid waste the cultural centers of Central Asia apparently also devastated the Jewish communities. Data from the 13th century attest to the existence of the remnants of a community in Balkh and a small community in Khorezm, where Jews from other places were prohibited by the authorities from settling. A Jewish presence in Bukhara is first mentioned in the 13th century. In 1336 a religious disputation was conducted in Merv, apparently sanctioned by the Muslim authorities, between Christian monks and one of the leaders of the Jewish community. In 1339 Solomon b. Samuel compiled in the town of Gurganj an exegetical dictionary of the Bible in Judeo-Persian, the literary language common to the Jews of Iran, Afghanistan and Central Asia in this period.

At the beginning of the 16th century a dynasty that adopted Shi'ism – the non-Orthodox stream of Islam – ruled in Persia, while Central Asia and Afghanistan retained their allegiance to the Sunni, Orthodox stream of Islam. As a result, the links between the Jews of the area were severed, and the community was divided into two distinct entities.

The town of Bukhara apparently became a center of Jewish life in Central Asia in the 16th century, also absorbing many Jews living in cities in the zone of battle between the Persians (Iranians) and the local Sunni rulers.

Toward the end of the 16th and at the beginning of the 17th centuries the Jewish quarter (*Maḥalla*) was established in the town of Bukhara, still known as the "Old *Maḥalla*," and the Jews were forbidden to reside outside its boundaries. The main (and today, only) synagogue of this town was built in this quarter in the first half of the 17th century.

The middle of the 18th century saw the creation of the Afghani kingdom, ruled by the Durrani dynasty (1747–1842), while Bukhara was ruled by the Manghit dynasty (1753–1920), who made their country the strongest in Central Asia. There was constant hostility between the two countries, and the ties between the Jews of Afghanistan and those of Central Asia were effectively severed too. From that time Central Asian Jewry became a distinct entity, known as the "Community of Bukharan Jews."

Forced Conversion and Detachment from Jewish Centers

In the middle of the 18th century the first attempt was made at forcibly converting the Jews of Bukhara, leading to the creation of a community of *anusim*, called in the local languages (Tajik and Uzbek) *Chala* (lit. "not this and not that"), i.e., Jews who were externally faithful to Islam but secretly observed the commandments of their own faith.

Forced Islamization was resumed at the beginning of the 19th century and the number of *anusim* increased. However, when Russia conquered the kingdoms of Central Asia in the last third of the 19th century (see below), the new rulers did not recognize the *Chala* as Muslims, and regarded them as a special group of Bukharan Jews; some of them, living in those areas of Central Asia that were under direct Russian administration, returned to Judaism. Relicts of the *Chala* community have survived in Central Asia, especially in Bukhara, and are registered as Uzbeks or (in Tadzhikistan) as Tadzhiks.

Toward the end of the 18th century separation from Jewish culture centers led to a decline in the spiritual and religious level of the Jews of Bukhara. One consequence was the community's inability to produce its own religious leadership. The spiritual-religious decline, the absence of leadership and the forced Islamization could have produced a process of increasing assimilation within the general population. However, in 1793, R. Joseph Maman (Mamon) Maghribi, a native of Morocco, arrived in Bukhara as an emissary from the community of Safed, where he had settled a few years previously. When he saw the wretched situation of the Bukharan community he decided to settle there, and thanks to his efforts a revival of the religious and spiritual life took place. He introduced the Sephardi prayer rite to replace the existing Persian rite.

The Jewish population of Bukhara increased and the Muslim authorities permitted them to settle outside the quarter; this led to the establishment of the "*New Maḥalla*" and the Amirabad quarter, which for administrative purposes was regarded as part of the "*New Maḥalla.*" During the first half of the 19th century Jewish quarters were established in Marghelan, Samarkand, Dushanbe as well. There were also relatively large concentrations of Jews in Shahrisabz and Merv, which in the 1840s absorbed many Jews who had escaped from Meshed, Persia, after its community was forcibly converted to Islam.

The Jewish community enjoyed a degree of autonomy before the Russian conquest. The community of every town was headed by a *kalontar,* elected by the community. His election had to be ratified by the head of the government (*qöshlegi*) as well as by the Emir of Bukhara himself. He was aided by two deputies – *ossoqols*, heads of the Old and New *Maḥallas*, whose election also had to be approved by the Emir. These communal officers served for life, unless removed from office by request of the authorities or a considerable number of community elders. They acted as judges in cases of litigation within the community; the *kalontar* also represented the community vis-à-vis the authorities. There were instances where the chief rabbi of Bukhara was appointed a *kalontar* as well. Criminal cases, as well as cases in which a Muslim was involved, were brought before the Muslim court.

Bukharan Jewry set up a network of schools, similar to the *ḥeder* of European Jews, known as *khomlo*. Although it was obligatory for all children up to bar-mitzvah age to attend these schools, this regulation was in fact never implemented, and there were no schools for girls. On the other hand, there was a yeshivah, established, according to several sources, by R. Joseph Mamon Maghribi. Prayerbooks were imported, especially those printed in Leghorn, including some that contained *tafsir* – a Judeo-Persian translation with commentary. Other study books (e.g., alphabet books, portions of the Pentateuch) were prepared by the teacher (*khalfa*) himself.

As in all other Muslim countries, the Jews had to pay the *jizya*, the tax required of non-Muslims. The Muslim tax-collectors were emissaries of the government, but the assessment was made by Jewish assessors, who were subordinate to the *kalontar.* After receiving his due, the Muslim tax-collector would slap the Jews twice on the cheeks. (Respected members of the community received a mere symbolic tap.)

The chief occupation of the Jews of Bukhara on the eve of the Russian conquest was dyeing of cloths. This trade was so typical that visiting Central Asia in the mid-19th century European travelers could recognize the local Jews by their stained hands. Other less common crafts were weaving of special silk and cotton cloths, tailoring and hairdressing. Craftsmen would sell their own products, and the number of Jews who engaged in trade was small. A Hebrew letter written from Central Asia by a Jew called Benjamin to the Jews of Shklov, Russia, in 1802, indicates that at that time the Jews financed the commercial activities of their Muslim fellow-townsmen, who peddled their wares in Russia. Subsequently the Jews themselves began to trade in goods produced in Bukhara (particularly cotton) within nearby areas of the Russian empire, and also to import Russian-made goods. A Russian regulation of 1833 permitted the "Asian" Jewish traders to reside outside the Pale of Settlement, which was in force for the Jews of Russia. They were also permitted, in 1842, to trade at the fairs at Orenburg and Troitsk, and in 1844 even at the country's most famous fair at Nizhni-Novgorod (present-day Gorki).

After the Russian Conquest

The concessions accorded in Russia to the Jewish traders from Bukhara helped to disseminate the notion that the situation of the Jews in the Russian Empire was good, and when Russia conquered Central Asia in 1864–88 the Jews welcomed the Russians and even aided them, for example in the conquest of Samarkand (1868). According to the 1868 peace treaty, Bukhara, which had been decisively defeated, became a vassal of Russia and other parts of its territories, including Samarkand and several other towns with a Jewish population, were incorporated into the region (*kray*) of Turkistan, which was annexed directly to the Russian Empire. In the first few years, the Russians took several measures to gain the allegiance of Central Asian Jewry, which they regarded as the only loyal element within the native population. The regime did not restrict Jewish autonomy, and only added to the communal structure the office of official rabbi (*kazyonny ravvin*), whose functions were similar to those of the official rabbis in other areas of the Russian Empire. The Russian-Bukharan peace treaty included three paragraphs that defined the rights of the Jews of Bukhara to live freely in Russia, to trade freely there, and to purchase real estate within its borders. In 1866 and 1872 it was decreed that the Jews of Bukhara and two other states in Central Asia, Khiva and Khuqand, or, in the Russian pronunciation Kokand (in the former, which became a Russian vassal in 1873, there were, in effect, no Jews, while the latter was abolished in 1876 and its territory annexed directly to Russia) would be granted Russian citizenship even if they resided in these countries, on condition that they join the trade guilds in Russia (thus exempting them from the law that denied Russian citizenship to "alien" Jews).

This policy aided Bukharan Jewry in acquiring a powerful status in trade relations, both with Central Asia and in trade with central Russia. Bukharan Jews established trading companies which opened branches in the large Russian cities as well as factories for the initial processing of local products, especially cotton and silk (the most known of them – the Va'adiyayev, the Potilahov and the Dividov companies). The local Jewish trader and industrialist, familiar with local conditions, had the advantage in competition with his Russian counterpart who was new to the area. At the same time the Emir of Bukhara and his government attempted to make of the Jews who remained within the borders of the kingdom scapegoats for their defeat, persecuting them and extorting money from them. These decrees resulted in the mass emigration of Jews from Bukhara to Turkistan. The Jewish population increased greatly in Samarkand, Tashkent and other cities. Fierce competition between the local Jewish tradesmen and industrialists and their Russian rivals and the movement of Jews from Bukhara to Turkistan were the main causes for the imposition of discriminatory measures against the Jews of Central Asia as early as the 1880s. In secret government circulars these measures were explained unequivocally as necessary to protect the Russian traders and industrialists and to limit the number of "native" Jews in the Turkistan region. In the year when the Russian conquest of Central Asia was completed (1888), the Russian authorities decreed the expulsion of the Jews from all the towns of the Trans-Caspian *kray*, which covered approximately the territory of the Turkmen Soviet Republic. However, implementation was postponed indefinitely for fear of damaging the interests of the Russian traders engaged in trade with the local Jews. At the same time a decree was issued (but in a short period of time suspended) closing the synagogues in Merv. In 1887–89 new regulations were issued that divided the Bukharan Jews who lived in the Turkistan *kray*, into two categories: "native Jews of the Turkistan *kray*," i.e., the Jews who had lived in what was now the *kray* before the conquest and their direct descendants, and those who could not prove that they or their ancestors were natives of the *kray*. The former were granted equal rights with the local Muslims, while the latter (as well as the Jews from Iran and Afghanistan who were in Turkistan) were regarded from a legal standpoint as foreign citizens. Their rights were restricted and it was stipulated that by 1905 they were "to return to their place of residence," i.e., within the borders of the Bukharan khanate. From 1900 on they were permitted to reside only in three border settlements – Osh, Katta-Qurghan and Petro-Alexandrovsk (now Törtkäl) – three townlets which were not industrially developed and located away from the trade routes.

The possibility of obtaining Russian citizenship, accorded in regulations between 1866 and 1872, remained merely theoretical and its realization became very difficult. In 1892 the general governor of the Turkistan region issued a secret circular severely restricting the entry into the region of Jews residing within the boundaries of Bukhara. Czar Nicholas II himself added a note to the protocol of the government session held on November 20, 1898, defining the policy of the regime in Central Asia towards the Jews as follows:

> To protect the General Governorship (region) of Turkistan and the General Governorship of the Steppes (i.e., the Kazak and Kirgiz areas conquered by Russia in the second half of the 19th century) from the harmful activities of the Jews, so long as this is possible.

However, already in 1900 it was evident that it would not be possible to implement the proscription. The authorities were confronted by the mutual responsibility of the members of the community, who protected the "aliens" in their midst and covered up for them, thus preventing the attempt to banish individuals, and even groups of Jews. The Jews were also aided by the lack of organization and the confusion in the Russian administration of the region. Moreover, the lower echelons of officialdom, whose task it was to carry out these orders, often accepted bribes and ignored the presence of the "aliens." Implementation of the decree was thus postponed first until 1909 and then until 1910, and in the meantime, the chief rabbi of Turkistan, R. Salomon Tajer, intervened in this matter. He appealed to the government, using the assistance of advocates who were well-versed in the law and wealthy Bukharan traders, and thus the town Khuqand, Marghelan, and Samarkand were added to the list of places where residence was permitted. In 1910 the committee of Count Pahlen, entrusted with the task of examining the situation in the Turkistan region, recommended that additional decrees be issued against the Jews residing there. One of the high officials of the local regime announced publicly in that same year that the Jews are "robbers of the people" and "counterfeiters of documents." He ended his statement thus: "It is to be expected that the people itself will issue a sentence against the Jews." This was an open call to the masses to terrorize the Jews. Indeed, already in January 1911 a memorandum to the authorities by a high official reported that "the local population [i.e., the Muslims] demands that all the Jews be banished," and that it "requests permission to massacre them." During these years the press and literature of local Muslim modernists (*jadids*) displayed hostility towards the Jew (and the Armenian), the "robber," and usually depicted an image of a Jewish tradesman "robbing" the local Muslim tradesmen of their profits, since the latter do not know how to compete with him.

With the outbreak of World War I, there was a violent upheaval within the Muslim population of Central Asia, which in 1916 became an open revolt that the Czarist army managed to subdue only with great difficulty. The Jewish problem thus lost some of its urgency. But even during the course of World War I, as is attested in secret documents of the period, the rulers continued to formulate decrees directed against the Jews.

The Russian conquest aided in the establishment of a stratum of tradesmen and industrialists within Bukharan Jewry that was limited in number but had significant economic power and ability to compete. Nevertheless, the new conditions brought about the impoverishment of the masses of Bukharan Jewry since the importation of the cotton and silk cloths that were produced in Russian industrial enterprises resulted in the elimination of the major occupation of the Jews of Bukhara – the dyeing of cloths. The impoverished craftsmen turned to other professions. Thus, by the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century, hairdressing and shoe-shining and repairing became the almost exclusive monopoly of the Jews in Central Asia; many of them also became petty traders.

The advent of the Russian regime brought changes also in the field of education. Alongside the *khomlo* (*ḥeder*), schools were established that taught some basic principles of secular culture. The teachers were mostly Bukharan Jews who had been educated in Jerusalem, where a Bukharan community had been established. In addition secular schools supported by the regime were established "Russian–native Jewish schools," in which the language of instruction was Russian. The first periodical in the language of the Bukharan Jews, entitled *Raḥamim*, began to appear in 1910 in the town of Skobelev (now Ferghana) and continued to be published until 1916.

Under the Soviets

Military actions carried out after the Bolshevik Revolution of October 1917, ending in 1920 with the conquest of Bukhara by the Red Army and the abolition of the Emir's rule, were regarded by the Bukharan Jewish masses as a further manifestation of the conflict between the Russians and Muslims; despite the harsh decrees of the Russian regime, many sided with the Russians. The radical Jewish intelligentsia in Turkistan supported the idea of establishing a democratic republic, whether an independent state or tied to Russia on the basis of local autonomy. Two representatives of Bukharan Jewry, Raphael Potilaḥov and Jacob Va'adiayov, served in 1918 as ministers in the short-lived autonomous government in Khuqand. Radical representatives of the Jewish community in Bukhara supported Muslim modernists (*jadids*) in their demands for reform; one of the Jewish radicals, Yunusov, was executed after the Bukharan authorities broke up a *jadid* demonstration in 1918. There were around 3,500 Jews in Bukahara during the 1930s. The entrenchment of the Soviet regime brought to an end the existence of the upper strata of Bukharan Jews. Most of them lost all rights because they had been engaged, according to the Soviet conception, in occupations of exploitation. Even the petty traders, who constituted a significant part of the community, were deprived of rights. Heavy taxes were imposed on the craftsmen and most of them had no choice but to work as laborers in government-supervised enterprises. Thus there were many Jews among the workers in the national factories, especially those near the Jewish quarters such as the silk-mill of Samarkand, or the cotton gin in Khuqand. Cooperatives of tailors, shoe repairers and barbers were organized, and many former craftsmen had to join them.

From 1926 on, under the aegis of OZET (the Soviet organization for the encouragement of agriculture among the Jews), many attempts were made to set up Jewish kolkhozes in Uzbekistan. In 1929 there were 26 such kolkhozes, but the experiment failed and by the early 1950s only two still existed. The censuses of 1959 and 1970 show that the number of Jewish rural dwellers in Central Asia was negligible.

Attempts were also made to weaken and ultimately to eradicate religious ideology. Notwithstanding the fact that this policy was implemented more cautiously in Central Asia than in the European sector of the Soviet Union, most synagogues were closed down by the late 1920s and early 1930s. The campaign against the Jewish religion increasingly intensified throughout the 1930s and was halted for a few years during World War II but resumed in greater force in the late 1940s. It resulted in a situation in which only one synagogue remained in each of most of the large communities, while in smaller centers prayer services were held in private homes. Nevertheless, the great majority of members of the community of all ages, regardless of education or social status, maintained traditional religious observances relating to the human life-cycle: circumcision, marriage and burial practices. Maintenance of *kashrut* and observances related to the yearly cycle (e.g., weekday prayers individually or in a *minyan*, Sabbath observance, synagogue service on Sabbath and the festivals, traditional practices relating to Passover and Sukkot, fast days) was more widespread among the older members of the community and in the lower echelons of social and educational status.

The Soviet authorities initially declared war on traditional antisemitism but anti-Jewish hostilities did not abate, and even intensified periodically. Thus, for example, there were blood libels in 1926 in Charjui (now in Turkmenistan), and in 1930 in the village of Aghaliq near Samarkand. After World War II, an antisemitic campaign was directed from above. In 1948–53, when there was intensive anti-Jewish agitation in the U.S.S.R. in general, the press in Uzbekistan and Tajikistan also printed some "satirical" feuilletons whose villain was the local Jew. From the late 1940s the Jews of these two republics were excluded from the regulation that gives priority to natives of the region in studies at the local universities and the prestigious institutes of higher learning in the major academic and cultural centers of the U.S.S.R., such as Moscow and Leningrad, according to the quota allotted to every distant republic.

In 1956, during and following the Sinai Campaign, letters and declarations signed in the names of Bukharan Jews appeared in the newspapers of Uzbekistan and Tajikistan, in not a few cases the signatories had been compelled to write the letters or to sign letters written in their name by others.

New blood libels erupted against the background of increased anti-Jewish public sentiments. In 1961 an old Jewess of Marghelan was accused of kidnapping a two-year-old Uzbek child and killing him for religious purposes. The child was found shortly thereafter in perfect health. A similar event occurred in Tashkent in 1962. In 1967, after the Six-Day War, articles appeared in the press signed by Bukharan Jews and in 1973, during the Yom Kippur War, some Bukharan Jews spoke at meetings condemning Israel and displaying "solidarity with the peoples of Egypt and Syria who are struggling for their freedom." In these years, too, in many cases, this was in obedience to instructions given by the organizers of the campaigns. On the other hand, however, instances are known in which local Jews refused to sign letters condemning Israel or to speak at anti-Israel meetings.

At the onset of the Soviet rule a network of secular government schools was established for the Bukharan community; the first teachers in these schools were Ashkenazi Jews, who did not know the language of the Bukharan Jews, and the language of instruction in these schools was Hebrew. From 1923, however, Judeo-Tajik became the language of instruction at schools. In 1921 a teachers' seminary was opened in Tashkent, and in 1925 a newspaper entitled *Röshnoyi* began to appear in this language (its name was changed to *Bayroq-i Miḥnat* in 1930). In 1929 the alphabet of Judeo-Tajik was changed from Hebrew to Latin. A literary journal entitled *Ḥayot-i Miḥnati* began to appear in the early 1930s, and several years later a Judeo-Bukharan language theater was established in Samarkand, as well as a "section" of Judeo-Bukharan writers. In the 1930s Tashkent became the center of book publishing in Judeo-Tajik. Numerous books were issued in this language, especially propaganda works and textbooks, but also original literary creations.

The wave of imprisonments of 1936–38 dealt a harsh blow to cultural activity. In 1938–39 the newspapers were closed down, theatrical activity was terminated and in 1940 the publication of Judeo-Tajik books as well as the functioning of the Judeo-Bukharan schools was discontinued. The elimination of Judeo-Bukharan culture greatly accelerated the processes of assimilation with the community. In the large cities of Central Asia, where the Bukharan Jewish population is mainly concentrated, thirty years after the elimination of the community's cultural life and particularly its network of schools, the Judeo-Tajik language was the major means of communication in all areas of life only among those aged 55–60 or more. For most middle-aged Jews the cultural language is Russian, while the language of the community is spoken in the home. The younger generation often prefers Russian to the language of the community even in daily domestic usage. As for the children – some of them do not understand the language at all, and some of them understand but cannot speak it. Thus, the same intensive process of linguistic assimilation that occurred in the Ashkenazi community of the Soviet Union in the late 1920s–early 1930s is occurring, one generation later, within this community.

A basic change in the occupational composition of Bukharan Jewry occurred during the period of Soviet rule. The complex hierarchical structure of the Soviet society, in which personal social status is directly related to education, resulted after World War II in a sizeable increase in the members of the community who had received secondary and higher education. The most widespread occupations in the community still remain those that had constituted the primary means of livelihood at the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century (i.e., hairdressing, shoe repairing, and instead of petty trades – selling in government stores); however, there was a great increase in the professions (doctors, teachers, engineers) and the free professions (actors, singers, artists, lawyers, etc.).

The Literature of Bukharan Jewry

Because, as stated above, until the beginning of the 16th century the Jews of Iran, Afghanistan and Central Asia constituted one community, they had a common literature, which was created in their common literary language – the classical Judeo-Persian. In the early 16th century the poet Khaja Bukhari composed a poem about Daniel, "*Daniel-nama*." In the 17th century the poet Elisha b. Samuel Raghib wrote a verse and prose work entitled *Ben ha-Melekh ve-ha-Zufi* ("The Prince and the Sufi") about the same subject which in Hebrew literature is treated in Abraham ibn Ḥasdai's *Ben ha-Melekh ve-ha-Nazir* ("The Prince and the Hermit"). In the 18th century the poet Joseph b. Isaac Bukhari wrote a poem "*Antiochus nama*" about the Maccabees and a poem "*Haft Biradarau*" ("Seven Brothers") about Hannah and her seven sons (following a poem on the same subject by a Judeo-Persian poet, Imrani, who lived at the end of the 15th– beginning of the 16th century). At the beginning of the 19th century the poet Ibrahim ibn Abi-l-Khayr dedicated a poem in memory of his contemporary Khuidadcha (Khudaidad) who had been executed for refusing to convert to Islam. R. Simeon Ḥakham (1843–1910), who came to Jerusalem in 1890, laid the foundation for the Ereẓ Israel literary school of Bukharan Jewish literati, which engaged primarily in translations. His greatest achievements were the translation into Judeo-Tajik of the Bible and of Abraham Mapu's *Ahavat Ẓiyyon*, popular with generations of Bukharan Jews. Members of the school of R. Simeon Ḥakham also translated Shakespeare's *Comedy of Errors* and Abraham Friedberg's *Zikhronot le-Veit David*.

The Judeo-Bukharan literature created during the Soviet period follows the path of Soviet literature in general.

From an artistic point of view its most important creations are the prose works (whose most prominent representatives are J. Ḥayyimov, N. Fuzailov, M. Yitshaqbayev, B. Qalandrov, G. Samandarov). Drama, written for the most part for performance by amateur troupes, is influenced by contemporary Uzbek plays (the foremost dramatists are J. Ḥayyimov, and M. Amonov), while poetry is influenced by the Tajik literature, which in terms of language is very close to the Judeo-Bukharan literature. Prominent from the artistic standpoint are the poems of Muḥib (Mordechai Bachayev) and Y. Kurayov.

As has been stated, Judeo-Bukharan literature ceased in 1940; from that time to the present day no work has been issued in this language in the Soviet Union.

Immigration to Israel

The first information about Jews immigrating to the Holy Land from Central Asia dates to the beginning of the 19th century, but large groups of Bukharan Jews who immigrated to and settled in Israel are known only from the 1880s. In the early 1890s the quarter called Reḥovot was established by them in Jerusalem (to this day it is known as the "Bukharan Quarter"), which was considered at the time one of the most magnificent quarters of the New City. Groups of Bukharan immigrants, some of whom had managed to bring money with them and were among the wealthy of Jerusalem at that time, continued to arrive in Ereẓ Israel until the outbreak of World War I. The number of Bukharan Jews who arrived in this first Bukharan Jewish *aliyah* has been estimated at approximately 1,500. These immigrants represented about 8 percent of the total community, a proportion which had no equal in any land of Jewish emigration at that time.

The second *aliyah* of Bukharan Jews began in the 1920s and continued until the early 1930s. The number of members of the community who settled in Ereẓ Israel during these years is not known, but it may be assumed that it was no less than 4,000 souls. The overwhelming majority had to leave Russia secretly, to cross the borders with Iran or Afghanistan with the aid of Muslim guides, and then to receive permits on the basis of certificates issued to them by the British consulate. Only a minority of these immigrants chose the legal procedure. They would sail by boat from Odessa to Turkey, with the help of documents attesting to their Afghani, Persian or Turkish citizenship (purchased at high prices from the legations of those countries), and in Istanbul they would obtain their immigration permits for Ereẓ Israel.

Henceforth followed the period of almost complete severance of Bukharan Jewry from Ereẓ Israel, and only in 1972, with the beginning of mass immigration from the U.S.S.R., did they renew the tradition of immigration to the Holy Land – this time to the State of Israel. About 8,000 Bukharan Jews arrived from 1972 to the first half of 1975. A new wave commenced in the late 1980s.

[Michael Zand]

Costume

Before the Russian Revolution, Bukhara and the other towns of Uzbekistan were distinguished by the splendor of their costumes, jewelry, woven silks, and embroidered fabrics. Restrictions were imposed periodically on Christians and Jews with regard to costume. In earlier periods, they were obliged to wear special colors, in the case of the Jews black and yellow, the black generally an outer garment, worn in the street. Until the 1920s, Jewish men were obliged to wear in the street a cord girdle and a hat trimmed with fur – the *telpak*. The latter was apparently of a special type but its exact shape cannot be ascertained. These two items seem to be the last vestiges of a Jewish costume known only through vague literary descriptions. Apart from these features imposed on their costume, the only garments peculiar to Jewish wear in Bukhara were the white robes worn on the Day of Atonement, and a bridal gown with a special type of veil, both made of bespangled white cotton tulle. Otherwise Jewish costume was similar to Muslim; ceremonial robes were copied from those worn at the court of the emir, who used to present such robes to his distinguished subjects, Muslims and Jews alike.

Men's coats were long garments of the "kaftan" type found in various versions all the way from Eastern Europe to China. Their cut was in simple, straight lines, in a wide, enfolding shape. They wore several coats, one over the other. Women's coats were of three kinds:

(1) the *kaltshak*, a long ceremonial coat, narrow at the waist, open in front, with very wide sleeves;

(2) the *kamzol*, for more general use, shorter and of a European-style, flared-out cut; and

(3) the *frandjin*, a mantle worn in the street, enveloping the whole figure from head to toe. Their dresses were wide, long, shirt-like. They were cut from lengths of cloth without a shoulder seam. The fabrics used were mostly local silks or imported materials.

Ornamentation on the costumes was of various kinds: most common were many-colored edgebands, generally tablet woven, on the borders of nearly all garments. Headgear and the paired bands on the front of women's dresses were embroidered with colored silk threads but also with gold thread, which was used lavishly for ceremonial attire. In private, Jewish men wore various kinds of caps; those current among Bukharan Jews even today are caps heavily embroidered with colored silk or gold. Women had various types of caps, and many kinds of kerchiefs and scarves. Unmarried women at ceremonial or family gatherings wore a *topi-tos*, a soft cap entirely covered with gold embroidery in traditional geometric patterns. For festive dress, mothers and older women bound the forehead with a special kerchief of brocade. On ceremonial occasions Jewish notables wore jeweled belts. In private, Jewish men wore various kinds of the plain cord girdle obligatory on the street. Soft boots of colored, floral patterns were worn indoors and boots resembling black leather galoshes outdoors.

Jewelry

Jewelry formed part of a girl's dowry, and was handed down from mother to daughter. Women normally wore simple earrings, a ring, and a bracelet, but on ceremonial occasions put on a magnificent display of jewels, including various kinds of forehead ornaments, earrings, necklaces, bracelets, and rings. They were made of gold, adorned with pearls, green and rosy stones, and coral beads. The design of jewels for the head and neck comprised two main ornamental elements:

(1) solid pieces, originally made of solid gold and later of gold sheet stuffed with a kind of bitumen, studded with semi-precious and precious stones;

(2) pendants, known as *poya* ("feet"), made of coiled gold wire threaded with a varying number of pearls, stones, and granulated gold beads.

Bukharan folkways and costumes were long perpetuated by the community in Jerusalem, making it the most colorful and picturesque element in Jerusalem Jewry. In recent years, however, this distinctive dress has been increasingly abandoned, being worn only at weddings and on other festive occasions.

[Aviva Muller-Lancet]

Musical Tradition

Jewish musicians in Bukhara and other centers of Uzbekistan and Tajikistan were active in all spheres of musical life, Jewish and non-Jewish. The first and foremost of the different generic-stylistic groups in which they were involved was the traditional art music called *Shashmaqom* (*six maqoms*) and referring to a cycle of six extensive vocal-instrumental suites principally performed both by Jewish and Muslim musicians at the court of the Bukharan *emir*s until the 20th century. However, the Jewish musicians were generally recognized as among the most distinguished interpreters. This was the case with Boruhi Kalkhok (1845–1891) and Levi Babakhanov (1873–1926).

During the Soviet period, Jewish musicians continued to occupy an important position as performers of *Shashmaqom* in concerts, on the radio, and in studio recordings. In the 1960s, Jews make up at least 30% of the contingent performers in Uzbekistan and Tajikistan. Among them were family clans of performers such as the Babakhanovs, Tolmasovs, Mullokandovs, Davidovs, and distinguished individuals including singers Barno Izhakova, Izhak Katayev, Neryio Aminov, Izro Malakov, and others.

WOMEN'S MUSIC AND DANCE GENRE. A popular women's music-dance *sozanda,* is included in the musical category involving a secular repertoire that marks life-cycle events (marriage, circumcision, etc.). This genre was mostly typical of the Bukharan Jews. In Bukhara and Samarkand the *sozanda* is performed in bands of three or four women. One is the soloist, who sings and dances, the others accompany her performance with a *doira* (frame drum) and sing the refrains of the songs. The repertoire of *sozanda* consists of large vocal-dance cycles with elements of theatrical playing, and requires a high professional performing level. The best *sozandas* were performed at the Emir's court. Among the prominent female music-dance Jewish artists during the early 1930s were Shishahon and Malkoi Oshma, Tuvoi and Michali, Karkigi, Kundal, Chervonhon, Gubur, Noshputi. Tuhfahon was quite popular from the 1960s to the 1980s. Berta Gulomova, Mindal, Nina Bakaeva, and others gained prominence In Dushanbe (Tajikistan), during the years 1940–80.

MALE FOLK MUSIC GENRES. On mourning occasions, Bukharan Jews usually perform the *haqqoni* pieces, which are extensive vocal compositions sung without accompaniment, either by soloist or antiphonally by two or three male singers. The *haqqoni* are performed both by Muslims and Jews in the Bukhara region but the Jews chant them typically as part of the funeral repast. In connection with the latter one should mention the remarkable chanting of the *Sefer ha-Zohar* (Book of Splendour), performed by a specialized singer (*Zuarhon*) on various ceremonial occasions, but especially at the funeral repast.

BUKHARAN JEWS IN CONTEMPORARY ART MUSIC. In the post-Revolutionary period, Bukharan Jews were among the musicians who played leading roles in the formation of new genres of Western art music. In 1930 the first Bukharan-Jewish Theater of musical drama was founded where such well-known actors as Freho Mullokandova, Nina Bangieva, and Pinchas Kurayev were active. In 1938 this theater was closed. Many Jewish artists continued their activities in the musical and theatrical institutes of Uzbekistan and Tajikistan. In Uzbekistan, one finds numerous prominent Jewish opera singers: Ksenia, Morduchai and Michoel Davidovs, Sara and Zaur Samandarovs, Sason Beniaminov, Robert Boruchov, and Moshe Mosheev; in Tajikistan: Roshel and Zalman Mullokandovs, Raphael Tolmasov, Michoel Alloev, and Roza Mullojanova.

Bukharan-Jewish composers made an important contribution to the contemporary music of Central Asia. Solomon Udakov was among the leading Uzbek composers. He wrote operas, cantatas, chamber vocal music, and music for the national anthem of Tajikistan. His opera *Tricks of Maisara* is the first Uzbek comic opera. Manos Leviev composed the ballet *Suhail and Mehri*, musicals dramas, comedies, and vocal music. The noted Tajik composer Yahiel Sabzanov was well known for his opera *Bozgasht* ("Return") as well as his vocal-symphonic compositions.

After the break-up of the U.S.S.R. in the 1990s most of the prominent Bukharan-Jewish musicians resettled in Israel and the U.S., where they continue to develop their musical traditions.

[Elena Reikher (Temin) (2nd ed.)].

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BUKIET, MELVIN JULES (1953–), U.S. writer. Born to a father who was a Holocaust survivor and his American-born wife, Bukiet has devoted much of his fiction to the world of the Holocaust. In *Stories of an Imaginary Childhood* (1992), which deals with a young boy growing up in pre-Holocaust Poland, Bukiet creates the dimming world – as did Aharon *Appelfeld and I.J. *Singer – of those whose ends we already know, but whose actions are now understood with pathos and terror. His concern with the legacy of the Holocaust includes the collection *While the Messiah Tarries*, (1995), the novel *After* (1996) and his edition of *Nothing Makes You Free: Writings by Descendants of Jewish Holocaust Survivors* (2002). He is at ease in enfolding myth – both Jewish and Christian – into his works, as *Signs and Wonders* (1999) testifies. His writings also concern Israel, as with the darkly comedic *Strange Fire* (2001) and his sobering thoughts about the peace process in the Middle East, "Hope Against Hope" (*New York Times*, June 11, 2001). He taught at Sarah Lawrence College and was fiction editor of *Tikkun*.

[Lewis Fried (2nd ed.)]

BUKOFZER, MANFRED (1910–1955), musicologist. Born at Oldenburg, Germany, Bukofzer lectured at the Volkshochschule in Basle (1937–38). In 1941 he joined the faculty of the University of California at Berkeley, becoming chairman of the music department in 1954. His writings, characterized by lucidity and creative thinking, which furnished important contributions to the study of music from the Middle Ages to the baroque, include *Geschichte des englischen Diskants und des Fauxbourdons* (1936), *Music of the Baroque Era* (1947), *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance Music* (1950), and an edition of the complete works of Dunstable (1954). A brilliant scholar, Bukofzer was one of the most important Jewish musicologists active in the transfer of the center of musicological research from Germany to the U.S. following the ascent of the Nazis to power.

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[Jehoash Hirshberg (2nd ed.)]

BUKOVINA, region between the E. Carpathians and the upper Dniester, part of Ottoman Moldavia until 1775, when it passed to the Austrian Empire as a result of the Kutsug-Kainargi peace treaty (the entire region named Bukovina from 1774); after World War I incorporated into *Romania; in 1940 the northern part was incorporated into the Soviet Union (western Ukrainian S.S.R.), the southern part remaining in Romania. The main town of Bukovina is *Chernovtsy, formerly Czernowitz (see entry for some major aspects of Jewish life in the region. Czernowitz is the German form of the city's name; in Romanian it is called Cernauti, in Ukrainian Tsernivcy). Jewish merchants passing through Bukovina are mentioned from the 13th century, and Jews settled there from the 14th century. In 1408 they were granted the right of freedom of movement and commerce along the Moldavian trade routes. The Jewish population increased steadily, and maintained close commercial links with the Jews of *Poland-*Lithuania, being mainly occupied in the transit trade and purveying of alcoholic beverages. The Cossack invasion from the Ukraine in 1656 (see *Chmielnicki) caused much suffering in the region.

Jewish communal life in Bukovina developed along the same lines as in the other communities of the Ottoman Empire. From 1710 to 1834 Bukovina Jewry had an independent *ḥakham bashi*, who held hereditary office, and was also responsible for collecting the taxes imposed on Bukovina Jewry. Another office of the Jewish leadership from 1716 was that of *rosh medinah* (head of the region). From the end of the 17th century the growing Polish-Jewish element imparted a distinct Ashkenazi character to the Bukovina communities. The census of 1776 recorded a Jewish population of 2,906 in the region, now under Austria. Their economic position was satisfactory. That year the government prohibited additional Jews from settling in the communities of Bukovina and limited trade in alcoholic beverages to Jews resident there before 1768. In 1780, when 1,069 Jewish families were recorded in Bukovina, a proposal was made to limit residence of the Jews to three main towns, with permission to settle elsewhere only if they engaged in agriculture. Orders along these lines became effective in 1782, and by 1785 the number of Jewish families had dwindled to 175. It had increased by immigration from *Galicia to 360 in 1791. From 1816 Jews were granted individual residence permits to settle in the region. After 1867 the Jews of the region were emancipated together with the rest of the Jews in Austria-Hungary. The number of Jews increased throughout Bukovina after 1848 and the attainment of emancipation (see *Austria), and by 1890 numbered approximately 90,000. Ḥasidism struck roots in Bukovina, one of the early leaders there being *Abraham Joshua Heschel of Apta (Opatow). A branch of the *Ruzhin dynasty of *ẓaddikim* made Sadagora a center of Ḥasidism in the region. Another dynasty originating in Kossow settled in *Vizhnitsa. From the second half of the 19th century Jews in Bukovina tended increasingly to prefer a secular education, in which the Chernovtsy community led the way. They also took part in the political and social life of Bukovina, in general tending toward assimilation into Austro-German culture and identification with its aspirations. Zionism penetrated Bukovina at the end of the century. Jews took an active part in Bukovina's industrial and commercial development, initiated timber and cement industries, and were prominent in railroad construction and banking. A number of these Jewish industrial and financial magnates were awarded Austrian titles. Most owned large estates. The status of Jewish artisans also improved, and certain trades, such as tinsmithing, were exclusively Jewish. The relative prosperity of the Jews provoked frequent nationalistic outbursts amongst the Ukrainian (Ruthenian) and Romanian population of the region. After the incorporation of Bukovina into Romania – in 1919 – the situation of the Jews declined, since Romanian Jews had not yet been legally emancipated like the Austrians and because of the virulent antisemitism of the local Romanians and Ukrainians. However there was an upsurge of communal, in particular Zionist, activity among the Bukovina Jews. The *Bund gained ground among the growing Jewish proletariat. Among Jews active in politics was the Zionist leader and member of the Romanian senate Meir *Ebner. The incorporation of northern Bukovina into the western Ukrainian S.S.R. – in 1940 – brought new economic and political hardship to the local Jewish population, and Jewish cultural and social life came to a total standstill. On June 18, 1941, 3,800 "bourgeois" Jews of the region were deported to Siberia. When in July 1941 northern Bukovina was occupied by the Germans and the Romanian Fascists, the German and Romanian soldiers proceeded to massacre the Jewish population. The yellow *badge was introduced, their personal belongings were looted, and all occupation in professions and crafts was prohibited to Jews. Forced labor was imposed. On Oct. 11, 1941, a ghetto was set up in Chernovtsy; 40,000 Jews were deported from there, to be followed shortly by another 35,000 Jews from the surrounding areas, to the death camps in *Transnistria. On the partition of Bukovina after World War II, the Jews in the northern sector eventually had to conform to the general pattern of Jewish existence under Soviet rule. In 1945 a few thousand non-Bukovinian Jews were allowed to repatriate to Romania. The more liberal attitude of communist Romania permitted emigration to Israel from the south, where very few Jews remained. The majority of the Jews who continued to live in Ukrainian Bukovina (in the cities) were mostly not local inhabitants but Jews from the rest of the former Soviet Union (including the non-Slavic republics) who tried to improve their lives by moving closer to the western parts of their homeland.

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[Manfred Reifer / Paul Schveiger (2nd ed.)]

BULA, RAPHAEL MOSES (d. 1773), scholar and emissary of the Jerusalem community. During his stay in Constantinople (1752) while on a mission to Turkey, Bula published his homiletical collection, *Ḥayyei Olam*. In 1758 he was one of the scholars at the Neveh Shalom yeshivah in Jerusalem. He wrote *Get Mekushar* (Constantinople, 1767) on divorce, and *Zekhut Moshe* (Salonika, 1818) on ownership rights. Bula is one of the signatories of the letter (1770) authorizing Yom Tov *Algazi and Jacob Ḥazzan to collect funds on behalf of the Jerusalem community. Bula's son SOLOMON (1734–86), a Jerusalem-born rabbi and halakhic authority, left Jerusalem after his father's death and went to Salonika, where he became one of the most renowned scholars. Solomon's work *Leḥem Shelomo* (Salonika, 1795) deals with possession, property rights, and divorce law. His responsa were never published.

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[Avraham Yaari]

BŪLĀN, Khazar king. According to tradition he instituted Judaism in Khazaria. The "Reply of Joseph" to the letter of *Ḥisdai ibn Shaprut in the "Khazar Correspondence" refers to Būlān as a reforming king who drove the diviners and idolaters (i.e., shamanists) from the land, and accepted monotheism (Judaism) in consequence of a dream or vision. In consequence of another dream or vision he made a successful military expedition south of the Caucasus to Ardabil, from the spoils of which he consecrated cult objects (tabernacle, ark, candelabrum, etc.), still preserved in the time of the writer. After a religious debate held in Khazaria on the merits of Christianity, Islam, and Judaism respectively, Būlān gave his verdict in favor of Judaism which henceforth became the religion of the king and his servants, i.e., apparently the leading Khazars, rather than the people as a whole. Būlān here appears as the Khazar khaqan to whom the beg (Heb. *sar*, "general") is subordinate. M.I. Artamonov makes Būlān the beg. The most probable date for these events, the historicity of which is confirmed at least in part by other sources, is 730–40 C.E. Parallels for the acceptance of a new faith after a religious debate are the conversion of the Uigurs to Manichaeism shortly after 762 and the account of the missions of the Muslims, Latins, Jews, and Greeks to Vladimir I in 986 in the "Russian Chronicle," before Vladimir's final acceptance of Orthodoxy. The name Būlān appears to be Turkish, but there is no agreement as to the meaning. The suggestion of J. *Brutzkus that it is a participial form from the root *bil*, "know," in the sense of "wise," has met with no general acceptance. S. Szyszman, followed by Artamonov, proposes *bulan*, "elk" or "stag" in some Turkish dialects, as the origin of the name, and finds numerous place and personal names in Russia of which *Būlān* is the principal component.

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[Douglas Morton Dunlop]

BULAT, JUDAH BEN JOSEPH (c. 1475–c. 1540), talmudist who settled in Turkey after the expulsion from Spain. The first mention of him is in 1510, when he published the second and corrected edition of the *Halikhot Olam* (Constantinople, 1510) of Yeshu'ah b. Joseph ha-Levi. To it he appended *Mevo ha-Talmud*, attributed to Samuel ha-Nagid. He served in Constantinople as a *dayyan*. Bulat was opposed to the practice of basing halakhic rulings on the codes without studying thoroughly the actual circumstances of the case. He tended to disregard stringencies not found in the Talmud. When the Constantinople rabbis decided that a certain bill of divorce was invalid, Bulat declared it valid even against the opinion of Elijah *Mizraḥi. Some of his published responsa testify to serious differences of opinion between him and contemporary scholars. His responsa appear among those of Elijah Mizraḥi (Constantinople, 1560), and in the responsa *Oholei Tam* of Tam ibn Yaḥya, which are included in *Tummat Yesharim* (Venice, 1622). Another halakhic work of Bulat is mentioned in the *Yemin Moshe* of Moses Ventura (Mantua, 1624). He also published *Kelal Kaẓar* (Constantinople, 1532; new ed. 1936), a methodology for the study of the Torah, *halakhah*, and exegesis. He also deals with the classification of the sciences, extending the accepted system to include Jewish studies.

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BULAWAYO, one of the two main commercial and industrial centers in *Zimbabwe (formerly Rhodesia). Jews were among the earliest pioneers in Bulawayo. The first white child born there (April 1894) was Jewish, and the first newspaper (March 1894), the *Matabele Times and Mining Journal*, was owned and edited by a Jew, William Francis Wallenstein. A Hebrew congregation was formed that same year and the foundation stone of the synagogue building was laid in 1897. A Chovevei Zion society was established in 1898. In 1900, when there were 300 Jewish residents (76% of the total Jewish population of Rhodesia), Moses Isaac Cohen (1876–1939) from London became minister of the Bulawayo Hebrew Congregation. He was an active Zionist and the acknowledged leader of the Jewish community. An authority on general education, he helped plan the system of public education in Rhodesia and was also a mediator in industrial disputes.

Despite its remoteness, Bulawayo Jewry was notable for its active communal and cultural life, and especially for its strong Zionist affiliation. In 1958 a Jewish primary day school, Carmel, was established, which in 1968 had 158 pupils (57% of total Jewish school attendance). A Progressive congregation, with its own rabbi, was established in 1956. In addition to local communal institutions, two national organizations had their headquarters in Bulawayo, both formed in 1943 – the Rhodesian Zionist Council and the Rhodesian Jewish Board of Deputies. The Jewish population declined precipitously following Rhodesia's Unilateral Declaration of Independence in 1965 and the white-black civil war that ensued. The conclusion of the war and the ushering in of black majority rule in what was now called Zimbabwe in 1980 did not halt the exodus. From the mid-1990s, Zimbabwe entered into a prolonged period of political strife, authoritarianism, and economic collapse, resulting in the small Jewish community declining still further. Carmel School, whose pupil enrollment had become almost entirely non-Jewish, finally closed at the end of 2003. The historic Bulawayo synagogue burned down in a freak fire that same year and services are today held on the premises of the Jewish old age home, Savyon Lodge, and in the hall of the now defunct Reform congregation. The Jewish population in 2004 numbered 140, with an average age of over 70.

Jews established many of the light industries in the former Rhodesia, and predominated in the furniture and clothing sectors. Many were prominent in commerce and Jews were well represented in medicine, dentistry, law, and accountancy. They also took an active part in civic affairs. The first mayor of Bulawayo was a Jew, I. Hirschler (1897–98); later Jewish mayors have been E. Basch (1907–11), H.B. Ellenbogen (1927–29), C.M. Harris (1934–36), A. Menashe (1965–67), and J. Goldwasser (1968–). Cecil Isidore Jacobs (1896–1967), prominent in communal and legal circles, was president of the Rhodesian (later Zimbabwe) Jewish Board of Deputies for seven years. The Hon. Abe Abrahamson represented the Bulawayo East constituency in parliament from 1953 to 1965. During these years he served as a cabinet minister from 1958 to 1962, initially holding the portfolios of Treasury and Housing and later of Labor and Social Welfare and Housing. Abrahamson was also extensively involved in Jewish communal affairs, *inter alia* serving as president of the Rhodesian Jewish Board of Deputies from 1956 to 1958 and from 1964 to 1979, and as chairman of the South African Zionist Federation following his relocation to South Africa in 1986.

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[Maurice Wagner / David Saks (2nd ed.)]

BULGARIA, East Balkan republic located along the Black Sea.

Ancient Period

A Jewish settlement is known to have existed in Macedonia in the time of Caligula (37–41 C.E.; Philo, *Embassy to Gaius*, par. 281). A late-second century Latin inscription found at the village of Gigen on the shore of the Danube (near Nikopol, the site of the ancient Roman settlement Oescus) bearing a *menorah* testifies to the existence of a Jewish community. The Latin inscription mentions the *archisynagogos Joseph. Theodosius I's decree to the governors of Thrace and Illyria in 379 shows that Jews were persecuted in these areas and synagogues destroyed.

Byzantine and Bulgar Rule

When the Byzantine emperor Leo III (718–41) persecuted the Jews, a number of them may have fled to Bulgaria. There, during the reign of the Bulgar czar Boris I (852–89), the Jews are said to have tried to exploit the religious unrest among the Bulgars, then heathens, by converting them to Judaism, but Christian emissaries were more successful. The faith of the early Bulgarian Christians was, however, a syncretistic mixture of Christian, Jewish, and pagan beliefs. A curious insight of the contemporary religious situation is afforded by the 106 questions submitted by Bulgarian representatives to Pope Nicholas I (858–67). Among the questions on which guidance was requested were the proper regulations for offering the first fruits; the law concerning amulets; which day is the day of rest – Saturday or Sunday; which animals and poultry may be eaten; whether it is wrong to eat the flesh of an animal that has not been slaughtered; should burial rituals be performed for suicides; how many days must a husband abstain from intercourse with his wife after she has given birth; should a fast be observed during a drought; should women cover their heads in houses of prayer; and so on. The names of the Bulgarian princes at this time – David, Moses, Aaron, and Samuel – may also show Jewish influence.

The monks Cyril (Constantine) and Methodius from Salonika, who were sent to Greater Moravia in 863 by the Byzantine emperor Michael III (840–67) to convert the Moravians, had mixed with Jews in their native town and studied with Jewish teachers. Cyril invented a new script called Glagolitic (later Cyrillic) in which to write Slavonic. The script was based on the Greek alphabet, but used the Hebrew alphabet as well in order to represent sounds which did not exist in the Greek alphabet, e.g., *Sh* and *Ts*. It is believed that Cyril made his translations of parts of the Bible from the Hebrew original.

There is evidence of Jewish settlement in Nikopol in 967. In the early 12th century Leo Mung, born a Jew and later a pupil of the 11th-century Bulgarian talmudist Tobiah b. Eliezer, became archbishop of the diocese of *Ochrida and Primate of Bulgaria. The Bogomil movement, a Christian sect that spread through Bulgaria in the 11th century, rejected most books of the Old Testament, but awakened interest in Judaism as the source of certain Christian theological doctrines. The Bulgarian attitude to Jews at the time was generally favorable; Jewish

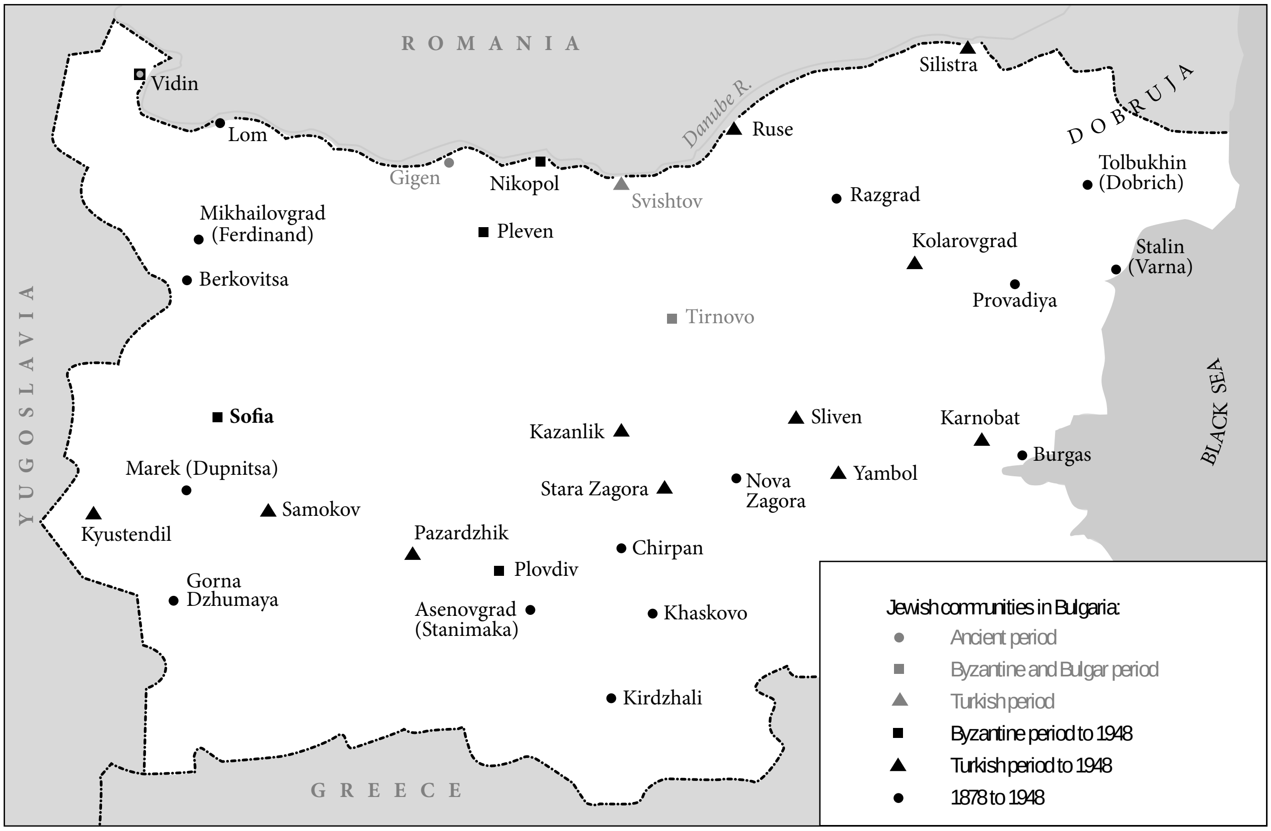
ROMANIA
YUGOSLAVIA
GREECE
DOBRUJA
BLACK SEA
Danube R.
Vidin
Lom
Gigen
Nikopol
Svishtov
Ruse
Silistra
Tolbukhin (Dobrich)
Razgrad
Mikhailovgrad (Ferdinand)
Pleven
Kolarovgrad
Stalin (Varna)
Provadiya
Berkovitsa
Tirnovo
Sofia
Kazanlik
Sliven
Karnobat
Burgas
Marek (Dupnitsa)
Stara Zagora
Nova Zagora
Yambol
Kyustendil
Samokov
Pazardzhik
Chirpan
Plovdiv
Gorna Dzhumaya
Asenovgrad (Stanimaka)
Khaskovo
Kirdzhali
Jewish communities in Bulgaria:
● Ancient period
■ Byzantine and Bulgar period
▲ Turkish period
■ Byzantine period to 1948
▲ Turkish period to 1948
● 1878 to 1948

Jewish population of Bulgaria, 1878-1948.

merchants from Italy and Ragusa (*Dubrovnik) who settled in Bulgaria received royal privileges. Also during the Crusades many Jews may have found refuge in Bulgaria. Jacob b. Elijah in his polemical letter to the apostate Pablo *Christiani mentions two Jews who were thrown from a mountaintop for refusing to obey the order of Czar Ivan Asen II (1218–41) to put out the eyes of Theodore I Angelus, Greek ruler of Salonika in 1230. Czar Ivan Alexander (1331–71) married a Jewish woman named Sarah, who took the name Theodora on her baptism (see *Sarah of Turnovo); her influence on state affairs was considerable. The church's struggle with heresy in Bulgaria also affected the Jews. The Church Council of 1352 excommunicated Jews and heretics. Three Jews were condemned to death on a false charge of blaspheming saints. Although the verdict was repealed by the czar, the mob took vengeance on the accused.

The largest part of the Bulgarian Jewish community before the 15th century belonged to the Byzantine (Romaniot) Jewish rite. Only a minority spoke Bulgarian. The *Romaniots had their own special prayer book, which eventually was replaced by the Sephardi prayer book. They regarded the sending of gifts from the groom to the bride as part of the marriage ceremony, and if the bride did not later marry the sender of the gifts, she had, in their opinion, to receive a divorce (*get*) before she could marry another man (see Kid. 3:2). The bride's dowry was guarded and the husband was forbidden to negotiate with it. Furthermore, according to their custom a husband could not inherit from his wife. The Romaniots did not accept the decree of R. *Gershom b. Judah in the 11th century forbidding bigamy. Among the rabbis of the Romaniot synagogue was Abraham Semo (15th century) who befriended the new Ashkenazi community that settled in Sofia (1470). Another famous rabbi of the Romaniots was Joseph b. Isaac ibn Ezra (late 16th–early 17th centuries), who wrote the book *Massa Melekh* (1601).

Many Jews went to Bulgaria from Hungary after the expulsion of 1376. These Hungarian Jews kept their own particular customs, but later adopted the customs of the other Ashkenazim, and eventually all of them adopted Sephardi customs and spoke *Ladino. A famous contemporary sage was Rabbi Shalom Ashkenazi of Neustadt, who founded a yeshivah at *Vidin. His pupil Rabbi Dosa the Greek wrote in 1430 *Perush ve-Tosafot*, a supercommentary to Rashi on the Pentateuch.

Turkish Rule

At the time of the final Turkish conquest of Bulgaria (1396), Jews were living in Vidin, *Nikopol, Silistra, *Pleven, *Sofia, Yambol, Philippopolis (now *Plovdiv), and *Stara Zagora. Jewish refugees came to Bulgaria from Bavaria, which had banished them in 1470, and, according to various travelers, Judeo-German was heard for a long time in the streets of Sofia. Despite their adoption of Sephardi customs, language, and names, the Ashkenazi Jews maintained separate synagogues for a long time and followed the medieval German rite. The Ashkenazi prayer book was printed in 1548–50 in Salonika by R. Benjamin ha-Levi Ashkenazi of Nuremberg who was also the rabbi of the Sofia Ashkenazi community.

Spanish Jews reached Bulgaria apparently after 1494, settling in the trading towns in which Jews were then living. They came to Bulgaria from Salonika, through Macedonia, and from Italy, through Ragusa and Bosnia. Until 1640 Sofia had three separate Jewish communities – the Romaniots, the Ashkenazim, and the Sephardim. Then a single rabbi was appointed for all three communities. R. *Levi b. Ḥabib lived for a short time in Pleven and R. Joseph *Caro lived in Nikopol for 13 years (1523–36). Caro founded a yeshivah there and continued to write his great work *Beit Yosef*. In the 17th century Bulgarian Jewry was caught up in the whirlwind of the pseudo-messianic movement of Shabbetai Ẓevi; Samuel *Primo and *Nathan of Gaza, proponents of Shabbateanism, were active in Sofia in 1673.

Jews conducted trade with Turkey, Walachia, Moldavia, Ragusa, and Venice. Jewish traders were granted firmans giving them various privileges. One of the most important trading towns in the 16th century was Tatar-Pazardzhik, to which the Jewish merchants of Salonika turned after the wars with Venice (1571–73). They established commercial relations with Sofia merchants and some of them settled there as well. Merchants from *Skoplje (Turkish Üsküb) bought clothing in Salonika and sold it in Sofia and neighboring towns. In 1593 Sinan Pasha founded an annual fair at Ozundzhovo in the district of Khaskovo, southern Bulgaria. It was attended by Jews from European Turkey and Western Europe. Some Jews also farmed the taxes on European merchandise. The Jewish merchants were able to extend their commercial activities when the Ragusa merchants, who had taken part in the Bulgarian rising of 1688 against the Ottoman rule, had to give up their businesses. In Samokov some Jews owned quarries and leather tanneries. Jewish government officials of that period are also known. In the early 19th century a Jew, Bakish, of Tatar-Pazardzhik, held an important position in the court of the sultan, and proposed the introduction of a uniform system of Turkish coinage.

From Independence to World War II

General rioting, robbery, and arson broke out in Sofia in 1878 when the Turks retreated from the town; the Jews formed their own militia and a fire brigade to prevent the Turks from setting fire to the town; the fire brigade was retained after independence. Among those who welcomed Russian General Gurko were the rabbi of Sofia, Gabriel Mercado Almosnino, and three other Jews. During the war Jewish property was looted and in Vidin, Kazanlik, and Svishtov, where the local population regarded them as supporters of the Turks, Jewish property was plundered, and Jews were expelled in atrocious circumstances; most of them fled to Adrianople and Constantinople. Before the Congress of Berlin in 1878 the major Jewish organizations of Western Europe had tried to secure equal rights for Bulgarian (as well as Serbian and Romanian) Jewry; the Berlin Treaty included a clause obliging the Balkan countries to give equal rights to Jews. Rabbi Gabriel Almosnino attended the Bulgarian Constituent Assembly (*Sobranie*) in 1879 as the Jewish delegate *ex officio* as the chief rabbi and cosigned the constitution. In 1880 an official code to regulate the organization of the Jewish communities was formulated. Jews also participated as advisers in town councils. However, the Bulgarian population displayed signs of resentment against the Jews. Most Bulgarian political parties were steeped in antisemitism. The Bulgarian peasantry did all in their power to prevent Jews from acquiring land, and from time to time there were blood libels.

In 1885, during the war between Serbia and Bulgaria, Jews were drafted into the Bulgarian Army for the first time. The principle of equality concerning the defense of minority groups was emphasized after World War I in the Treaty of Neuilly (1919). However, despite all declarations, the principle of equal rights had no genuine value for Jews; in practice the various Bulgarian governments discriminated against Jews. Anti-Jewish legislation was introduced indirectly in various memoranda. Jews were not accepted at the military academy, the state bank, or in government or municipal service. The coup against the Stamboliski regime in 1923 prepared the ground for the spread of antisemitism and its intensification. In the difficult years that followed the Bulgarian people's wrath was channeled toward the minority groups, especially the Jews, whom they held responsible for their hardships. Antisemitic nationalist associations sprang up. In 1936 the Ratnik ("Warrior") antisemitic association was founded; it was structured on the lines of Hitlerite organizations, accepting their theory of race and adapting it to its own ideological concepts. Nonetheless, in all this period, and even during the war, the Jews did not experience pogroms.

In the decades preceding World War II, the relative percentage of Jews within the Bulgarian population declined steadily, indicating a lower birth rate than the national average. The 1934 census showed 48,565 Jews, constituting 0.8% of the total population. (The respective percentages for the years 1920 and 1926 were 0.9 and 0.85.) In the mid-1930s more than half of Bulgaria's Jews resided in Sofia. Most Jews were engaged in commerce, and the majority were self-employed. In the prewar years, the number of wage earners showed a certain upward trend. A growing identification with Jewish national ideals characterized the intellectual development of the Bulgarian Jewish community. In the interwar period the Zionist movement completely dominated all Jewish communal organization, including the highest elected body, the Jewish Consistory. The younger generation spoke Bulgarian rather than the Ladino of their fathers.

THE ZIONIST MOVEMENT. Bulgarian Jewry joined the movement for national revival as early as the days of Ḥovevei Zion (founded in 1882). Three Bulgarian delegates attended the First Zionist Congress in 1897 at Basle – Ẓvi *Belkovsky, Karl *Herbst, and Yehoshu'a (Joshua) *Kalef. Before the congress, in 1895, Bulgarian Jews had founded the settlement Har-Tuv in Ereẓ Israel. However, there was also considerable emigration to other countries. In 1900 several Jews settled on the land at Kefken in Turkey, on the shores of the Black Sea. Other Bulgarian Jews took up farming in Adarpazari (in the Kocaeli district near Istanbul). Among the pioneers of Zionism in Bulgaria, the most noteworthy was Joseph Marco *Baruch. Between 1919 and 1948, during the British Mandate, 7,057 Bulgarian Jews emigrated to Palestine.

ORGANIZATION OF THE JEWISH COMMUNITY. After 1878 a chief rabbinate was created, headed by a chief rabbi. In 1900 a conference of Jewish communities assembled and passed a new constitution, which, however, was not recognized by the Bulgarian government. The constitution dealt with elections to synagogue or community and school committees. The community committees chose a central council (Consistory) of Bulgarian Jewry from among their members. The council functioned independently of the chief rabbi, who was also head of the central rabbinical court. The central rabbinical court exercised authority over the rabbinical courts of Sofia, Plovdiv, and Rushchuk (now Ruse).

EDUCATION. Bulgarian Jewish education passed through three periods: (1) the period of the *meldar,* the Sephardi religious school, equivalent to the Ashkenazi *ḥeder,* which flourished in Bulgaria before national independence; (2) the period after independence during which the Alliance Israélite Universelle maintained many schools; and (3) the period of modern, national education. Jewish schools were maintained at the expense of the community. Many Jewish children, especially in large cities, attended schools of other denominations.

RABBIS AND SCHOLARS. Rabbi Isaac b. Moses of Beja (16th century), who lived in Nikopol after the Turko-Walachian war (1598), wrote the book *Bayit Ne'eman* (1621). Rabbi Isaiah Morenzi (d. after 1593), who also lived in Nikopol, introduced new customs into the yeshivah founded by Joseph Caro. Another rabbi of Nikopol was Abraham b. Aziz *Borgil, author of the book *Leḥem Abbirim* (1605). Moses Alfalas of Sofia, a famous preacher, published *Va-Yakhel Moshe* (Venice, 1597). In the 18th century Solomon Shalem of Adrianopolis and Issachar Abulafia were among the famous rabbis. Chief rabbis after Bulgarian independence (1878) were Gabriel Almosnino, Moses Tadjer, Simon Dankowitz from Czechoslovakia, Mordecai Gruenwald, and Marcus *Ehrenpreis. Ẓemaḥ Rabbiner was chief preacher to the Bulgarian communities. David Pipano, author of *Ḥagor ha-Efod* (1925) and other books, was head of the rabbinical court. Other scholars of Bulgaria include Solomon *Rosanes, author of *Divrei Yemei Yisrael be-Togarmah*, the standard history of Turkish Jewry. Mention may be made also of Saul Mézan, author of *Les Juifs espagnols en Bulgarie*.

JOURNALISM. In 1899 the Bulgarian-language newspaper *Chelovecheski prava* ("Human Rights") was published to repudiate the libels of antisemitic newspapers. The first Ladino newspaper, *La Alborada* ("The Dawn"), was launched in 1884.

Later, Ladino publications ceased publication and were replaced by Bulgarian-language periodicals. In 1933 the *Yevreski Vesti* ("Jewish News") began to appear, resuming publication after WWII and continuing to come out every two weeks through the early years of the 21st century.

[Simon Marcus]

Demography of Jewish Population (within the boundaries of historical Bulgaria)

Year	Number of Jews	% of Total Population
1878	19,000	0.900
1888	23,541	0.750
1893	27,777	0.830
1900	33,663	0.900
1905	37,656	0.930
1910	40,076	0.920
1920	43,232	0.890
1926	46,558	0.850
1934	48,565	0.800
1945	49,172	0.800
1949	9,707	0.014
1950	7,000	0.009
1964	7,000	0.008
1967	6,000	0.007
2004	7,000	0.001

In World War II

Comprehensive anti-Jewish legislation in Bulgaria was introduced after the outbreak of World War II. The regime's main motivation in its antisemitic pursuits could be explained by its determination to conform to the orientation of Nazi Germany, with which Bulgaria was allied. Yet even a German official, Karl Hofmann of the RSHA, expressed skepticism that conditions were ripe for the expulsion of Jews. He wrote: "The Jewish problem does not exist in Bulgaria in the sense that it exists in Germany. Ideological and racial prerequisites for convincing the Bulgarian people of the urgent need for a solution to the Jewish question as in the Reich are not to be found here."

The turning point in events came on Feb. 15, 1940, with the appointment of Bogdan Filov, a noted scientist and a determined Germanophile, to the premiership. In July 1940 the government announced its decision to curb the freedom of the Jewish minority. In August of the same year the cabinet approved the anti-Jewish "Law for the Protection of the Nation," patterned after Nazi regulations. On Dec. 24, 1940, Parliament approved the proposed legislation, which was officially promulgated on Jan. 23, 1941. On March 1, Bulgaria joined the Tripartite Pact and the German Army entered the country. A declaration of war on the western Allies followed; yet Bulgaria did not enter the war against the Soviet Union, mainly because of Slavophile sentiments of its population. In June 1942 Minister of Interior Gabrovski, the architect of the anti-Jewish legislation, demanded and received from Parliament a blank authorization empowering the government with absolute prerogatives on all questions pertaining to the Jews. Protests against this measure, coming from such well-known democrats as Nikola Mushanov, were of no avail. The fact of such protests was an indicator of things to come. At the end of August the government promulgated new restrictive regulations and provided for the establishment of a Commissariat for Jewish Affairs. On Sept. 3, 1942, the lawyer Alexander *Belev, a German-trained antisemite, became the head of this Commissariat.

The Deportations Program

In January 1943 Adolf Beckerle, the German minister to Sofia, was joined by SS-Obergruppenfuehrer Theodor Dannecker, an associate of *Eichmann, who came to Bulgaria in order to arrange for the deportation of Bulgarian Jews to the eastern territories. By the summer of 1942, the Bulgarian government had already surrendered into German hands Bulgarian Jews residing in countries occupied by Germany, but not Bulgarian Jews residing in Bulgaria. On Feb. 2, 1943, Gabrovski and Dannecker agreed that all Jews living in Greek and Yugoslav Macedonia and in Thrace, administered by Bulgaria since the spring of 1941, would also be surrendered to the Germans for deportation. On Feb. 22, Belev and Dannecker signed a formal agreement to deport 20,000 Jews. As the total number of Jews living in Bulgarian-held Thrace and Macedonia was only slightly over 11,000, Dannecker informed Eichmann that Jews from Bulgaria proper, mainly from the capital and other large towns, would also be deported. On March 2, the government approved the surrender of 20,000 Jews into German hands, but the fiction that only Jews from Macedonia and Thrace were to be deported continued to be maintained. The collection of Macedonian and Thracian Jews into special transit camps began immediately. Bulgarian police controlled the entire operation until the Jews boarded the train. Preparations were also begun for the concentration of those Jews from Bulgaria proper who were to make up the agreed figure of 20,000.

OPPOSITION TO THE DEPORTATIONS. Rumors of the forthcoming deportations and of the fate of the deportees aroused unexpected opposition. An action group headed by the vice president of the Bulgarian Parliament, Dimiter Peshev, was organized in the town of Kustendil. Peshev appeared before the minister of interior on March 9, and insisted that the deportation orders be altered forthwith. Both humanitarian and political considerations motivated the protest movement. Conditions in 1943 were rather different than in 1942 when German victories seemed inevitable. There were pragmatic as well as altruistic reasons for coming to the aid of the Jews In the aftermath of the German debacle at Stalingrad, it was thought that Bulgaria should not endanger her chances of an eventual disengagement from the German alliance by giving her hand to so monstrous an act. The initiative of Dimiter Peshev developed into a minor revolt within the government's own majority in Parliament. On March 17 Peshev presented the prime minister with a petition against the deportations signed by 42 deputies. Political figures outside Parliament and prominent figures from the Greek Orthodox Synod hierarchy joined in the effort. Under the pressure, the government of Bogdan Filov decided on a compromise. It ordered all deportations of Bulgarian Jews to be stopped. The surrender of Macedonian and Thracian Jews, however, was carried out. Transported in part by railroad and in part by river boats on the Danube, a total of 11,384 Jews from the "new territories" were taken to the death camps in the east (Poland), where the overwhelming majority died. For the remaining Jews of Bulgaria proper, conditions were difficult, dangerous, even deadly, but they did not face deportations. Unlike the Italians, the Bulgarians treated the Jews with exceptional cruelty and strictly applied the racial restrictions: the Jews were prohibited the free use of the main thoroughfares, were not allowed to move from one town to another or to engage in commerce, had to wear the yellow badge, and were issued special yellow identity cards. Jewish houses were identified as such by a special sign. In the summer of 1942, several hundred young Jews were sent to forced labor, and in January 1943 young conscripts were sent to Bulgaria to work on road construction. Every town with a Jewish population had its commissioner for Jewish affairs, whose task it was to ensure that the anti-Jewish orders were properly carried out. Any jewelry and gold currency in the possession of Jews was confiscated and handed over to the Bulgarian national bank. Later, the government justified its action by contending that since Macedonia and Thrace were never formally annexed to Bulgaria, and since Thracian and Macedonian Jews were not given Bulgarian citizenship, the regime could not effectively withstand German pressures. On March 26, Dimiter Peshev was reprimanded by Parliament and removed from the vice presidency. His bold intervention on behalf of the Jews of Bulgaria later helped save his life at the People's Trials held in the winter of 1945. The Nazi representatives in Sofia continued to press for the deportation of the Bulgarian Jewish community during April and May of 1943. In the light of the parliamentary upheavals of March, the government showed signs of vacillation. At the end of May it ordered the resettlement of the Jews of Sofia in the provinces – their expulsion from the city – as a first step toward their eventual dispatch to the death camps in the east. Neither an abortive mass demonstration attempted by the Jews of Sofia on May 24, nor several protestations by pro-Jewish public figures prevented the execution of the order. But even if the demonstration was not effective in achieving its goal it was a public demonstration of Jews protesting their own fate, something that was rare indeed in German-dominated Europe. Furthermore, several hundred prominent Jewish families were sent to the Somovit concentration camp established on the banks of the Danube. Throughout the war male Jews continued to work in forced labor camps, employed in various public construction projects. With these programs, the summit of anti-Jewish persecution was reached, and the gravest danger of deportation to the German-occupied eastern territories passed. On Aug. 28, 1943, King Boris III died under somewhat mysterious circumstances. According to N. Oren, Boris showed no special affection for the Jews of his country, nor did he exhibit any particular humanitarian inclinations. The contention that Boris' own act of benevolence had prevented the deportation of the Jews from Bulgaria proper is without firm foundation, but, in common with his government, Boris responded to the pressures from below generated by Peshev and his friends. According to Nuremberg Document No. NG-062, although Boris had agreed to the deportation of Jews from Macedonia and Thrace, he was unwilling to deport Jews from Bulgaria proper, with the exception of "Bolshevist-Communist elements." The other Bulgarian Jews were to be sent to forced-labor camps to work on road construction.

ABOLISHMENT OF ANTI-JEWISH POLICIES. In September a Regency Council and a new government headed by Dobri Bozhilov were established. Minister of Interior Gabrovski was not included in the new cabinet. Belev, the head of the Commissariat for Jewish Affairs, was also dropped and replaced by the more moderate Khristo Stomaniakov. In December the resettled Jews of Sofia were allowed to return to the capital for brief periods in order to attend to private affairs. Early in 1944 a small number of Jewish families were permitted to leave the country for Palestine. These and other signs of relaxation were aimed at establishing Bulgaria's greater independence in foreign affairs, and the Bozhilov regime's effort to appear more reasonable in the eyes of the western Allies. Representations on behalf of the Bulgarian Jewish community by Jewish organizations to both Washington and London produced a number of Allied protests, communicated to the Bulgarian government throughout 1943 and 1944. At the end of May 1944 the cabinet of Bozhilov was replaced by a new cabinet headed by Ivan Bagrianov. Determined to extricate Bulgaria from her war involvement, the Bagrianov regime opened truce negotiations with the western Allies. Earlier, secret talks were held between Nikola Balabanov, Bulgaria's minister to Turkey, and Ira Hirschmann, representative of the United States War Refugee Board, one of the few American officials with permission to negotiate directly with the enemy. In August Hirschmann was informed of the decision of the Sofia government to abolish all anti-Jewish measures. On Aug. 24 the minister of interior told representatives of the Bulgarian Jewish community that the Commissariat for Jewish Affairs had been abolished. All anti-Jewish legislation was officially abrogated on Aug. 29. The decrees of abolition were published on Sept. 5, 1944, by which time a new government, headed by the democratically oriented agrarian leader Kosta Muraviev, had come to power.

On Sept. 5, 1944, while truce talks were being held between Bulgarian and Anglo-American representatives in Cairo, the Soviet Union declared war on Bulgaria. On Sept. 8, the Soviet Army entered the country, and on the following day the Muraviev government was overthrown and replaced by a coalition government of the Fatherland Front, which was dominated by the Bulgarian Communist Party. Following an armistice agreement, signed in Moscow on Oct. 28, 1944, Bulgaria was placed under the surveillance of a Soviet-controlled Allied Control Commission, which governed the country until the ratification of a peace treaty in 1947. With the institution of the Fatherland Front regime, organized Jewish life was reestablished. After September 1944 there existed 34 Jewish communities headed by a Central Jewish Consistory as well as a Jewish weekly, *Yevreyski vesti* ("Jewish News"), and an anti-Fascist Jewish society named "Ilya Ehrenburg." According to Consistory figures, there were a total of 49,172 Jews in the country in the autumn of 1945. More than three-quarters of them lived in seven urban communities: Sofia, 27,700; Plovdiv, 5,800; Ruse, 1,927; Varna, 1,223; Kustendil, 1,100; Yambol, 1,076; Dupnitsa, 1,050.

The reasons that the fate of Bulgarian Jews differed from that of most of Germany's allies are contested by historians. As expected, the Communists credit the Communists; some government figures give undue credit to the king. Undoubtedly, two effective forces on behalf of the Jews were the Parliamentarians and the Church, where intervention on behalf of the Jews was direct. There were protests on behalf of the Jews from various segments of the Bulgarian populace, most especially lawyers and physicians and prominent cultural figure, which had their effect on the government and its perception of popular opinion. The protests also strengthened the internal resilience of the Jewish community. Certainly, the Bulgarian alliance with Germany lessened direct German involvement in the deportations and the sense that Germany was losing the war and that the Allies were interested in the Jewish question also influenced government policy. Omar Bar Tov commented: "On the moral scale that is most urgent to those who try to extract lessons from the Holocaust – what really matters are the moments, however rare, in which a few shades of goodness were introduced into the general canvas of evil, opportunism, and indifference. These moments matter not because they made a significant difference in the general scheme of things: they did not. They matter because they illustrate that, all the contemporary (and subsequent) talk of inevitability notwithstanding, it was possible to make choices and that the right choice at the right time by the right people could make a difference for *some* of the victims."

[Nissan Oren / Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

The Postwar Period

REVIVAL OF JEWISH LIFE. From the beginning of the Fatherland Front's rule, Jewish communal life fell under the control of the Communists and their sympathizers. Jewish communities were controlled by the Central Jewish Committee of the Fatherland Front, which was in turn subordinate to the Front's Commission for National Minorities. The Communists supervised the Central Jewish Consistory, and, as a rule, policy statements were signed jointly by the Central Jewish Committee and the Consistory. In January 1945 the official Jewish Communist leaders announced Bulgarian Jewry's severance from all international Jewish organizations, Zionist or otherwise. Bulgarian Jews were to be considered Bulgarians of Jewish origin, having nothing in common with other communities around the world. The Zionist organization was called bourgeois and chauvinist. The majority of Bulgarian Jews, however, continued to support the Zionist organization. In 1946 its president, Vitali Haimov, claimed 13,000 active members. Zionist organizations continued to function in the face of continuous harassment. Independent weeklies were published until 1948 by the General Zionists and Po'alei Zion. The majority of Jewish youth were organized by He-Ḥalutz ha-Ẓa'ir and *Ha-shomer Ha-Ẓa'ir.

Since political power resided with the Jewish Communists, whereas rank-and-file support was given to the Zionist groups, the Communists, under the leadership of Zhak Natan, undertook to absorb the Zionists by way of "unification" in the common "struggle against antisemitism and Fascism." In May 1946 the Zionist groups joined the Communists in a formal agreement providing equal representation in the Consistory, the Central Jewish Committee of the Fatherland Front, and all other Jewish communal organizations. An effective Communist majority was assured, however, since the balance of power was in favor of pro-Communist Jewish Social Democrats and pro-Communist "non-partisans."

ECONOMIC RESTITUTION. The economic condition of Bulgarian Jews was desperate. Immediate restitution of property lost during the war was essential if the Jewish population was to recover from the deep poverty to which it had been reduced. In March 1945 the government passed the Law of Restitution, providing for the return of all Jewish rights and property, but many months passed before the law began to be enforced. Determined to achieve the eventual socialization of all property, the Fatherland Front regime actually prevented the execution of its own laws. Throughout the existence of the Front, there continued to be a huge discrepancy between the letter of the Law of Restitution and its implementation. Only a small part of Jewish losses were actually recovered, and these were further reduced by the postwar inflation. Thanks to relief measures from international Jewish organizations, a large number of Bulgarian Jews were able to carry on until their eventual emigration. The regime exhibited greater interest in punishing those guilty of anti-Jewish persecutions during the war. A special section of the People's Court, set up at the end of 1944, dealt with crimes against the Jews, and the sentences it issued were among the most severe in postwar Europe.

EXODUS TO ISRAEL. During the first two years of its tenure, the Fatherland Front regime expressed open hostility to Jewish emigration, particularly to Palestine. The first signs of change in this attitude came in 1946. The reversal of Soviet policy on Palestine was reflected in Bulgaria and reinforced by local conditions that showed the Zionist movement to be much more influential in the Jewish population than expected. Upon assuming the premiership in December 1946, the veteran Communist leader Georgi Dimitrov told a group of Jewish leaders that, in principle, resettlement in Palestine would be allowed. The real turn in events came with Gromyko's UN speech in favor of the partition of Palestine and the establishment of an independent Jewish state. Although they supported the Jewish efforts in Palestine, the Communist Jewish leaders continued their assault on all Zionist manifestations at home. Ironically, the campaign against local Zionists was intensified alongside growing Jewish Communist support for the Haganah and Israel's War of Independence. Throughout the postwar period "illegal" movement from Bulgaria to Palestine was considered a crime. On several occasions frontier guards shot and killed Jewish youth attempting to leave the country clandestinely, though groups of children whose *aliyah* certificates had been issued within the framework of the Youth Aliyah movement during the wartime regime were allowed to leave legally. Only after the United Nations' Partition Plan was voted upon did the regime permit the emigration of able-bodied young men and women, who were to join in the "fight against imperialism."

Between September 1944 and October 1948, 7,000 Bulgarian Jews left for Palestine. The exodus was due to deep-rooted Zionist sentiments, a relative alienation from Bulgarian intellectual and political life, and depressed economic conditions. Humanitarian considerations and a general feeling of goodwill on the part of the Bulgarian people helped to ease the process of resettlement. The Bulgarian Communist Party was not weakened by the exodus because few Communist Jews held central positions of power. Bulgarian policies toward national minorities were also a factor that motivated emigration. In the late 1940s Bulgaria was anxious to rid itself of national minority groups, such as Armenians and Turks, and thus make its population more homogeneous. Further numbers were allowed to depart in the winter of 1948 and the spring of 1949. The mass exodus continued (between 1949 and 1951, 44,267 Jews emigrated to Israel) until only a few thousand Jews remained in the country.

After the Exodus

In the following decades Jewish life in Bulgaria was systematically circumscribed in keeping with the agenda of the Communist regime. The organized religious life of the community steadily declined while the rate of intermarriage increased. There were no recognized rabbis to provide leadership or religious schools to perpetuate Jewish education. Religious affairs were directed by the Jewish Religious Council, affiliated with the Cultural and Educational Society of Jews in Bulgaria, a non-religious, Communist-dominated organization that replaced the Consistory in 1957 and was responsible for conducting Jewish affairs and officially representing the Jewish community. It held lectures, supported a theater group, and presented programs and exhibitions honoring Jewish anti-Nazi resistance. The Bulgarian Academy of Sciences published a number of works on Jewish subjects, among them an authoritative collection of responsa pertinent to the economic history of the Balkan Jews (A. Hananel and E. Eškenazi, *Fontes Hebraici…*, 2 vols., 1958–60, Heb., Bul., Fr.). The Hebrew Scientific Institute was founded in 1947; from 1952 it was a part of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences. The Bulgarian government looked with disfavor upon ties with other Jewish communities, but the remnant of Bulgarian Jewry lived free from persecution. The Jewish Religious Council also continued to publish *Yevreyski Vesti*, which incorporated news from the Jewish press in other countries, including news on Israel. In 1966 the Cultural and Educational Society began publishing its *Godishnik* ("Annual"), a literary miscellany in Bulgarian and English for Jewish studies in history, ethnography, linguistics, and Jewish folklore. A film, *The Transports for the Death Camps Have Not Yet Departed*, showing Nazi preparations for the deportation of Bulgarian Jews during the German occupation in World War II, won its producer, Naim Oliver, the National Front Prize at the third festival of short films held at Plovdiv in 1978. Only one synagogue continued to function in Sofia, attended by a handful of elderly people with a quorum on Sabbath. The only other synagogue was in Plovdiv where services were held only on the Day of Atonement. The synagogue in Burgas was converted into an art gallery and the one in Pazardzik into a museum. In the late 1970s, in only one marriage in three were both partners Jewish. By the 1980s the first post-war generation of Jewish communal leaders and outstanding personalities in the public life of the country had almost entirely disappeared following the deaths of Dr. Salvator *Israel, head of the Cultural and Educational Society and a participant with observer status in meetings of the World Jewish Congress, even when held in Jerusalem, and of the international lawyer, Dr. Nissim *Mevorah.

[Nissan Oren]

Post-Communist Period

After the collapse of the Communist system in 1989–90 and the institution of democratic changes a new wave of *aliyah* set in as 4,288 Bulgarians took advantage of the Law of Return and moved to Israel – Jews with their families, many of them in mixed marriages or themselves the product of mixed marriages and all retaining their Bulgarian citizenship. At the same time, in accordance with the new Bulgarian legislation, a great number of Jews who left in the 1949–51 period had their Bulgarian citizenship restored and their property returned and thus began to spend a large part of the year in Bulgaria. Consequently, it is estimated that around 7,000 Jews lived in Bulgaria in 2004.

The post-1990 period also saw the creation of the Shalom organization in place of the Communist-oriented Cultural and Educational Society. In 2004 it had around 4 000 members in 15 independent branches – Burgas, *Varna, *Vidin, Dupnitza, *Kyustendil, Lom, *Pleven, *Plovdiv, *Ruse, Sliven, *Sofia, *Stara Zagora, Haskovo, Shumen (*Kolarovgrad), and Iambol. In addition, Maccabi, Ha-Shomer Ha-Tzair, and B'nai B'rith were active. Shalom was the coordinator of the social, educational, and cultural life of the Bulgarian Jewish community and was generally recognized as its representative. The restitution of Jewish communal property made it possible for Shalom to develop Jewish educational and cultural facilities.

The synagogues in Sofia and Plovdiv were restored. The community had a rabbi who was officially recognized as the chief rabbi of Bulgaria. Jewish education had a formal and informal aspect. Formal Jewish education is received in a state secondary school, one of the best in the country, which, though mixed, has compulsory Hebrew and Jewish history studies for all 800 of its students. Informal Jewish education is in framework of Sunday schools run by the bigger regional organizations.

The Jewish population included over 1,300 Holocaust survivors. An old age home, considered the best in Bulgaria, operated in Sofia, as well as the Keshet Jewish theater, which put on An-Ski's *Dybbuk* in 2004, the Haggadah Jewish Choir, and the Dulce Canto Jewish Vocal Ensemble. Around 500 Jewish children participated yearly in Jewish camps and seminars.

[Emil Kalo (2nd ed.)]

Relations with Israel

Bulgaria recognized the State of Israel upon its establishment, and formed diplomatic ties with her. The two states also developed trade relations. Over the years, however, Bulgaria grew closer and closer to the official Soviet line on relations with Israel. In the process of deteriorating relations, a Bulgarian Air Force plane shot down an El Al passenger plane that had crossed the Bulgarian border in error in August 1955, killing all the passengers aboard. In 1967, after the *Six-Day War, Bulgaria severed diplomatic relations and discontinued trade relations with Israel (the expected turnover for 1967 was to have been about $10 million). In addition, Bulgarian representatives in the UN were conspicuous in the sharpness of their attacks against Israel. In the beginning of 1968, however, Bulgaria resumed trade relations with Israel. In 1977 a delegation of members of the Israel Knesset participated in the Inter-Parliamentary Union which met in Sofia, one of the rare occasions since the establishment of the State that elected representatives of Israel set foot on Bulgarian soil. In 1990, with the collapse of the Communist regime, diplomatic relations between Bulgaria and Israel were reestablished and general relations between the two countries improved dramatically.

[Eliezer Palmor / Emil Kalo (2nd ed.)]

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BULGARIAN LITERATURE. The early history of Bulgarian literature is closely linked with that of the Bulgarian language, and with both there are interesting Jewish associations. During the 9th century C.E., as part of his proselytizing campaign in the Balkans, the missionary monk Cyril of Salonika (also called Constantine the Philosopher) created Glagolitic, the basic Slav alphabet, later modified by Clement of Ohrid to form the Cyrillic alphabet. Since the Greek symbols on which this was based could not convey all the phonemes of the old Slav tongue, several consonantal symbols had to be drawn from other sources, including the Hebrew alphabet which yielded Б (ב), Ц (צ), Ч (ץ), Ш (ש), and Щ (ש) – the phonetic equivalents of *b, ts, ch, sh,* and *shch*. This new alphabet facilitated the translation of Greek liturgical works into the new literary language – Old Church Slavonic (or Bulgarian) – to which Cyril, his brother Methodius, and perhaps their pupils such as Clement added a version of the Bible, reputedly translated from the original Hebrew. According to some authorities, they had learned Hebrew from the Jews of Salonika and Kherson; Cyril and Methodius also translated part of a Hebrew grammar. The influence of a Hebrew textual source (as well as of Greek or Latin translations) has been detected in an Old Church Slavonic version of the Psalms – the 12th-century *Psalterium Sinaiticum* – now in the possession of St. Catherine's Monastery in the Sinai Peninsula. Other medieval Bulgarian works translated or drawn from Jewish sources include *Shestodnev* ("The Six Days"), an account of the creation of the world in the biblical tradition, composed by Ioan (John) the Exarch (b. 860). During the 11th and 12th centuries the Bogomils – a heretical Christian sect, the Western counterparts of which were known as the Cathars or Albigensians – produced a literature rich in biblical themes.

The Figure of the Jew in Bulgarian Literature

From the beginning of the Bulgarian national revival in the early 19th century, most Bulgarian writers instinctively sympathized with their fellow Jewish victims of oppression. While protesting against antisemitism, some of these non-Jewish writers portrayed Jewish suffering as a tragic destiny, while others advocated a solution to the problem, either through total emancipation or Zionism. Authors in the first category were Peyo (Kracholov) Yavorov (1877–1914), a leading symbolist poet who wrote *Yevrei* ("Jews," 1901) on Jewish martyrdom; Petko Yordanov Todorov (1879–1916), whose "Kamuni" ("Stones") published in *Idilii* (1908) describes the Jewish tragedy; and the versatile Petko Rachev Slaveykov (1827–95), who portrayed Jewish suffering with an elegiac pathos reminiscent of the Psalms in his poem "*Plachete za oniez*" ("Weep for These," 1852). The poet and playwright Emanuil Pop Dimitrov (1885–1943) used his knowledge of Bulgarian Jewry in two biblical works, *Deshcherite na Yeftaya* ("Jephthah's Daughter") and *Rut* ("Ruth"), which appeared between the world wars. On the other hand, there were writers like Konstantin Konstantinov (1890–1970) who, after World War I, regarded the Jew as a comrade in the struggle for social justice. Jewish participation in the Bulgarian national movement is a prominent theme of the novel *Robi* ("Slaves," 1930) by the social writer Anton Strashimirov (1872–1937); Aleko Konstantinov (1863–97), outraged by the police brutality against Joseph Marcou *Baruch, the founder of the Bulgarian Zionist movement, wrote a pro-Jewish pamphlet entitled *I sega biyat, brate moy* ("We Fight On, My Brother," 1921). Other works in this genre were E.P. Dimitrov's *Yevrei* ("Jews"), and "Poslednata kal" ("The Last Mud," 1929), a story by Yordan Kovachev (1875–1934). Hostile treatment of the Jew is rare in Bulgarian literature, the one outstanding example being the classic drama *Kem propast* ("Toward the Abyss," 1910) by the prolific Ivan Vazov (1850–1921). In this play, which has a medieval setting, the central character, Queen Theodora, is shown to have been responsible for the defeat of her realm. The figure of Theodora is directly inspired by the converted Jewess, originally named Sarah, whom the Bulgarian czar Ivan Alexander married in 1335. Periodically from the late 19th century and especially during the decade of fascist rule (1934–44), some pamphleteers and journalists encouraged antisemitic tendencies, but their activities gained little popular support.

After World War II Bulgarian writers generally saw the Jew as an anti-fascist hero. In his novel *Na zhivot ili smert* ("Life or Death," 1953) Dimitur Anghelov (1904–) portrays the Jewish democrat Sami Mevorakh executed by the fascists; Dimitur Dimov (1909–1966) brings several Jewish characters into his novel *Tyutyun* ("Tobacco," 1953), sympathetically describing the Communist Max Eshkenazi and the partisan Varvara, and including some dialogue in Judeo-Spanish (Ladino); while Dimitur Talev (1898–1966) introduces into his novel *Glasovete vi chuyam* ("I Hear Your Voices," 1954) several Jewish heroes, including a young Macedonian revolutionary. Similar figures also appear in the novel *Krayat na delnite* ("The End of the Brigands," 1955) by Emil Manov (1919–1982); in the play *Borbata produlzhava* ("The Fight Continues," 1945) by Krum Kulyavkov (1893–1955), and in a number of other works. In the tragedy *Ivan Shishman* (1962) by Kamen Zidarov (1902–1987), Queen Theodora (whom Ivan Vazov had earlier treated rather unsympathetically) is presented in a positive light.

The Jewish Contribution to Bulgarian Literature

At around the time of World War I Jews began to write literary works in Bulgarian as well as Ladino. The pioneer in this field was the gifted poetess Dora Gabe (1866–1983), who produced many of the classics of Bulgarian literature. Later she beccame president of the Bulgarian PEN Club and head of the Council of Bulgarian Writers. Haim Benadov (1907–1991) describes Jewish poverty in a Sofia suburb in his satiric short stories. In the first half of the 20th century there were three significant poets who devoted their works to the Zionist ideal: Oram ben Ner (pen name of Saul Mezan, 1893–1944), author of *Pesni za Erusalim* ("Songs of Jerusalem"); Simcho Isakov (1919–1949), author of *Stihove* ("Poems," 1953); and Leo Cohen, who wrote *Moiat narod* ("My People," 1930) and *Poezia I jivot* ("Poetry and Life," 1938). Bucha Behar wrote popular stories about Jewish country life. Mois Benaroya (1896–1967) worked as a critic, and Albert Mihael was a prolific contributor to the Jewish press as well as a playwright. A number of Jewish writers worked in the field of political journalism. The most important of them was Jossif Herbst (1875–1925), murdered by the Fascists because of his acerbic pen. Others were Benjamin and Eliezer Arditi, Jossif Israel, and Isak Naimovich. This important Jewish contribution to Bulgarian literary life undoubtedly inspired leading Bulgarian writers to submit a petition to the Bulgarian Parliament in 1940 protesting proposed anti-Jewish legislation.

After World War II many more Jews gained literary prominence. Armand Baruh (1908–1990) was a popular novelist, mainly known for *Ralevi* (1955). Victor Baruh (1921–) wrote mainly about the fate of the Jews during the Holocaust years. His most famous work is the novel *Otrecheni ot zakona* ("Denied by the Law," 1960). Others are *Svatbeni sveshti* ("Wedding Candles," 1968), *Iaponskata kukla* ("The Japanese Doll," 1965), and *Oklevetenata* ("The Slandered," 2003). Valeri *Petrov was an outstanding poet, theater and cinema writer, and translator, under the pen name of Valeri Mevorah (1920–). Poems like "*V mekata esen*" ("In the Soft Autumn," 1961) and "*Krai sinioto more*" ("Along the Blue Sea") made him one of the most important Bulgarian poets of all times, while his plays such as *Kogato rozite tantzuvat* ("When the Roses Dance"), *Biala prikazka* ("White Story"), and *Kopche za san* ("Button for a Dream"") are produced in many dramatic and puppet theaters around the world. Also highly acclaimed is his translation of Shakespeare into Bulgarian. David Ovadia (1923–1995) was a poet whose work dealt mainly with anti-Fascist resistance. Salis Tadjer (1924–1988), poet and belletrist, wrote *Kopnej v pustiniata* ("Longing in the Desert," 1960) and *Bulgaria v mene* ("Bulgaria Within Me," 1964). The outstanding Jewish playwright of the 1960s was Dragomir Asenov (pen name of Jak Melamed, 1926–1981), who wrote *Rojden den* ("Birthday," 1965) and *Rozi za Doktor Shomov* ("Roses for Doctor Shomov," 1967). The fate of one Jew is the subject of his trilogy *Kafiavi horizonti* ("Brown Horizons," 1961), *Golemiat kamenen dom* ("The Big Stone House," 1963), and *Plodat na vetrovete* ("The Fruit of the Winds," 1966).

The two most important Jewish literary critics were Iako Molhov (1915–2002), who wrote *Problemi na savremennia balgarski roman* ("Problems of the Contemporary Bulgarian Novel," 1956) and Maxim Naimovich (1921–1982). Also prominent during the postwar period was the prolific novelist and screenwriter Anjel *Vagenshtajn (1922–), whose screenplays were internationally acclaimed. "In his later years he turned mainly to novels, with Jewish themes predominant in *Petoknijie Isakovo* ("Pentateuch of Isaac") and *Sbogom, Shanhai* ("Good-bye, Shanghai"). Leon Daniel (1926–) is an outstanding essayist The poetry of Victor Samuilov (1946–) and the prose of Chavdar Shinov (1941–) are richly satiric. Eddy Schwartz (1937–) works as a playwright and novelist.

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[Salvator Marco Israel / Emil Kalo (2nd ed.)]

BULLS, PAPAL, generally official statements by the head of the Roman Catholic Church. Although the term "Bull" (from the Latin *bullum*, "seal") was sometimes applied to imperial documents as well, its use has been limited as defined above. Bulls bearing the seal of the reigning pope and dealing with matters of Jewish interest were fairly numerous in the Middle Ages, though they constituted a small fraction of the vast papal correspondence; in recent centuries their number has decreased. Earlier they took the form of letters addressed to prelates, to secular rulers, to the Christian faithful in general, and in rare instances directly to Jews. Later, they increasingly took the form of memoranda (briefs outlining policy), headed by the phrase *Ad futuram rei memoriam* ("A reminder for the future"). Either type of document usually began with a statement of general attitude, proceeded to a discussion of the specific problem involved, continued with the pope's decision on the resolution of the problem, and concluded with a statement of the penalties for disobedience. The statement of attitude frequently cited scriptural verses or referred back to the authority of the incumbent's predecessors. The following are examples of some of the more significant papal bulls concerning the Jews, illustrative of Church policy. They are identified, as usual, by their initial words.

Sicut Judaeis. First issued by *Calixtus II around 1120, it was a general Bull of Protection for the Jews, who had suffered at the hands of participants in the First Crusade (1095–96) and were being maltreated by their Christian neighbors. It forbade killing them, using force to convert them, and otherwise molesting them, their synagogues, and cemeteries. The bull was modeled on a letter, which began with the same phrase, sent to the bishop of Palermo by Pope *Gregory I in 598, objecting to the use of force as a conversionary method. Calixtus' formulation was repeated by most of the popes from the 12th to the 15th centuries. They often added references to problems current in their day. Several of them condemned the accusation of ritual murder (see *blood libel).

Post Miserabile by *Innocent III in 1198, was addressed to the prelates of Europe and dealt at length with the need for another crusading effort in the Holy Land. Among the privileges granted to those who took the cross was the protection of their property while they were away, including the suspension of payment of principal and interest on their debts to Jews. The formula in which this suspension was expressed became standard in calls to Crusades which followed in the next few centuries.

Etsi non displiceat by Innocent III in 1205, addressed to the king of France, is a list of accusations against the Jews: usury, blasphemy, arrogance, employing Christian slaves, and even murder. The king is urged to put a stop to the evils. Yet the same "evils" continue to be mentioned by various popes for centuries and to be completely disregarded by others.

In generali concilio by Honorius III in 1218, addressed to the archbishop of Toledo, demanded the enforcement of the decision of the Fourth *Lateran Council that Jews wear clothing to distinguish them from Christians; also that Jews be made to pay the tithe to local churches. Both items were frequently repeated by later popes.

Etsi Judaeorum by *Gregory IX in 1233, addressed to the prelates of France, urged the prevention of attacks on the Jews, usually motivated by greed. The sentiment, if not the exact words, was repeated by a number of popes in the 14th and 15th centuries.

Si vera sunt also by Gregory IX, in 1239, addressed to the kings and prelates of France and Spain, ordered the seizure and examination of the Talmud and all other Jewish books suspected of blasphemies against Jesus and Christianity. The burning of such Jewish books was ordered several times from the 13th to the 16th centuries.

Lachrymabilem Judaeorum by *Innocent IV in 1247, addressed to the prelates of Germany in response to Jewish complaints, urged an end to murder and persecution on the baseless blood libel. Several other popes made the same plea, but neither consistently nor forcefully.

Turbato corde by *Clement IV in 1267, addressed to the inquisitors of heresy, expressed dismay over the rumor that Jews were trying to induce Christians (possibly converts from Judaism) to turn to their religion. Charges of such Judaizing activity were raised frequently by later popes.

Vineam soreth by *Nicholas III in 1278, addressed to Franciscans in Austria and Lombardy, ordered the selection of trained men to preach Christianity to the Jews. Secular rulers were requested not to interfere with the preachers. Henceforward, frequent reference is made to this method of missionizing among Jews.

Quamvis perfidiam by *Clement VI in 1348, addressed to various prelates, urged the protection of Jews against the accusation that they had brought on the *Black Death by poisoning the wells. It was an instance of specific application of protection in the face of a threat to Jewish life.

Etsi doctoribus gentium by antipope *Benedict XIII (Peter of Luna) in 1415, a brief for the guidance of Church policy, was one of the most complete collections of anti-Jewish laws. Though not by a recognized pope, it served as a precedent for several later popes.

Numquam dubitavimus by *Sixtus IV in 1482, empowered Ferdinand of Aragon to appoint inquisitors to extirpate heresy and to prevent Jewish practices among those who had been converted to Christianity.

Cum nimis absurdum by *Paul IV in 1555, was a brief in the spirit of antipope Benedict XIII. It established the ghetto in Rome, limited Jewish economic activities, prohibited more than one synagogue in a town, and forbade contact between Jews and Christians.

Hebraeorum gens by Pius V in 1569, a brief, accused the Jews of many evils, including the practice of magic. It ordered the expulsion of the Jews from all papal territory, excepting Rome and Ancona.

Sancta mater ecclesia by *Gregory XIII in 1584, confirming his Vices eius nos of 1577, ordered the Jews of Rome to send 100 men and 50 women every Saturday afternoon to listen to conversionist sermons which were delivered in a church near the ghetto.

Christiana pietas by *Sixtus V in 1586, relieved the Jews of many oppressive social and economic restrictions which had been imposed upon them by Paul IV and Pius V. They enjoyed this relief for only a few years, for in 1593 *Clement VIII issued a number of edicts restoring the previous situation which remained in force till the 19th century.

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[Solomon Grayzel]

BULOFF, JOSEPH (1899–1985), U.S. Yiddish actor. Buloff was born in Vilna, Lithuania. At the age of 20, he played with the Vilna Troupe, performing in Russian, German, Yiddish, and Polish. In 1926 he was invited by Maurice *Schwartz to join the Yiddish Art Theater in New York. After working with him for about a year, Buloff became director of the Jewish Literary and Dramatic Society in Chicago (1927–29). After having performed in more than 225 Yiddish plays, Buloff turned his talents to acting in English, making his Broadway debut in 1936 in the comedy *Don't Look Now*. He appeared in many other comedies on Broadway, including *Call Me Ziggy* (1937); *To Quito and Back* (1937); *The Man from Cairo* (1938); *Morning Star* (1940); *My Sister Eileen* (1940–43); *Spring Again* (1941–42); *Oklahoma* (1943–48); *The Whole World Over* (1947); *Once More with Feeling* (1958–59); *Moonbirds* (1959); as well as John Hersey's Broadway version of *The Wall* (1960–61) and the drama *The Price* (1979).

In 1952 he directed *Mrs. McThing* on Broadway, which he staged in Hebrew in Israel. In 1952 he also staged a Yiddish version of *Death of a Salesman*, in which he starred as Willy Loman. Buloff's wife, Yiddish actress Luba Kadison, took on the role of his stage wife, Linda. In 1968 Buloff toured with *The Kibbitzer* in Israel, where he later settled. In 1982 Buloff and Kadison wrote and performed off-Broadway in *The Chekhov Sketchbook*, three short stories by Anton Chekhov that they adapted for the stage.

On screen, Buloff appeared in the films *Let's Make Music* (1941); *They Met in Argentina* (1941); *Carnegie Hall* (1947); *To the Victor* (1948); *The Loves of Carmen* (1948); *A Kiss in the Dark* (1949); *Monticello, Here We Come* (1950); *Somebody Up There Likes Me* (1956); *Silk Stockings* (1957); and *Reds* (1981).

He appeared on such television shows as *The Philco Television Playhouse* (1950s); *The Untouchables* (1959); *Ben Casey* (1964); and *Medical Center* (1969). He also was a regular on the 1951 sitcom *Two Girls Named Smith* and appeared in the TV movies *Wonderful Town* (1958) and *Running Out* (1983).

He won an Obie Award in 1973 and 1978.

Buloff wrote *From the Old Marketplace: A Memoir of Laughter, Survival, and Coming of Age in Eastern Europe* (translated and published in 1992), and *On Stage, Off Stage: Memories of a Lifetime in the Yiddish Theatre* (with Luba Kadison and Irving Genn, published in 1992).

[Richard F. Shepard / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

BUND (abbr. of **Algemeyner Yidisher Arbeter Bund in Lite, Poyln un Rusland**; "General Jewish Workers' Union in Lithuania, Poland and Russia"), Jewish socialist party founded in Russia in 1897; after a certain ideological development it came to be associated with devotion to Yiddish, autonomism, and secular Jewish nationalism, envisaging Jewish life as lived out in Eastern Europe ("*Doykeyt*"; "Hereness," in Bund ideology), sharply opposed to Zionism and other conceptions of a world-embracing Jewish national identity.

Beginnings (Pre-Bund)

The structure and ideology of the Bund, while stemming from the social patterns and needs, from the problems and tensions within Jewish society in the *Pale of Settlement in the second half of the 19th century, were also an outcome of the aims, tendencies within, divisions in, and methods of the Russian socialist movement in the multinational empire of the czars.

The first stirrings of the Jewish labor movement in general, and the formation of the Bund subsequently, occurred in "Jewish Lithuania," i.e., the six northwestern Lithuanian-Belorussian provinces with some adjoining districts, headed by Vilna. From here came the earliest leaders and pioneers of the Bund. In this region the working element was relatively important in Jewish society and its proportion among the proletariat (occupied in crafts and industry) in the cities and towns was higher than elsewhere. The trend to *assimilation was less strong in a region where sociocultural and political conflict among the Russian, Polish, Lithuanian, and Belorussian elements was rife, none of whose aims appealed to the Jewish population which had attained independently a high cultural standard, exemplified in its celebrated yeshivot. From the Lithuanian-Belorussian provinces the Jewish labor movement spread only gradually to Poland and the Ukraine.

The Jewish labor movement, in particular "pre-Bund" and Bund socialism, drew its support from three sectors in Jewish society. The first, the hired-worker class, was just then assuming corporate consciousness and cohesion as an outcome of the capitalization of the crafts and the breakup of the traditional craft associations (*ḥevrot*), which brought about the separate organization of apprentices (from the mid-19th century especially in the garment industry). Sporadic strikes had taken place in the 1870s among the textile and tobacco workers. Secondly, there were the circles of the radical intelligentsia who in this region combined revolutionary ideas and Marxist ideology with feelings of involvement with their Jewish identity and of responsibility toward the Jewish proletariat. Finally there was the semi-intelligentsia, who, though lacking a formal general education, were deeply rooted in Jewish culture.

In the 1870s Aaron Samuel *Liebermann and his circle made the first attempts to spread socialist ideas among the Jewish people in their own language and to start a revolutionary movement. From the 1880s this became a continuous development creating the Jewish labor movement.

Study circles for Jewish intellectuals to promote culture and socialism among Jewish working men were formed in Vilna during 1886 and 1887, and all their activities were conducted in Russian. Workers' mutual assistance funds were founded and attempts were also made to found artels. Gradually, however, the ideology of these circles changed, and, from following the traditional populist position taken by Russian socialists, turned to Marxism as advocated by Plekhanov. The circles of intelligentsia also gradually changed their attitude toward the Jewish artisan and abandoned their former "cosmopolitan" stand, which in practice had meant the "Russification" of the Jewish elements in Russia.

The change matured through several stages during the years 1890 to 1895, in which a leading part was taken by A.I. *Kremer, S. *Gozhanski, J. *Mill, I. *Eisenstadt, Z. *Kopelsohn, V. *Kossovski, and A. *Mutnik(ovich), among others. The number of circles and their membership increased, while efforts to obtain an amelioration of working conditions were intensified, in particular to shorten the working day in the sock-knitting, tobacco, and tailoring trades where conditions were notoriously disgraceful.

In addition to the general revolutionary tension in Russia at this time, unrest among Jews was enhanced by the widespread antisemitism in general society and government circles, which, combined with the social and economic constriction in the overcrowded shtetl, also led to massive emigration, and revived Ḥovevei Zion activity (see *Zionism). Eventually the leaders of these circles reached the conclusion that Jewish workers could and must form their own socialist labor movement, since their specific circumstances necessitated demands which were largely peculiar to the Jewish worker. They also considered that the Jewish environment in general was more objectively receptive to the idea of opposition to and revolt against the authoritarian czarist regime. A new line of action was formulated by Kremer in his "On Agitation" that was to influence the whole Russian Social Democratic movement. Elaborated by Gozhanski ("Letter to Agitators," 1893) and Julius *Martov (May Day lecture, 1895), it called for a change from activity in closed propaganda "circles" to mass "agitation" in order to rally workers to struggle for better conditions as a "phase" toward revolutionary political consciousness and activity. To enable the "agitation" to reach the Jewish masses, both orally and in writing, it was decided to replace Russian by Yiddish as the medium for propaganda, and "Jargon committees" were formed (in Vilna in 1895) for this purpose. Thus the movement was integrated into the concomitant process of revival of the Yiddish language and literature. The radical Jewish intelligentsia was called upon to abandon its "mistrust of the Jewish masses" and "national passivism," to work for the establishment of an organization of Jewish workers aimed at obtaining their rights, and to carry on a "political national struggle" in order to obtain civic emancipation for all Jews. This organization should associate itself with the non-Jewish proletariat and the all-Russian labor movement in an "indissoluble bond," but only on the basis of equal partnership and not of integration of the Jewish within the general labor movement. This dualism was to be the cause of ideological oscillation throughout the whole of the Bund's existence.

The "Workers' Opposition" to the "new program" led by A. *Gordon failed, and from 1894 the new trend gained support in many industrial centers. Funds ("*Kases*") hitherto established for mutual assistance were converted into workers' struggle funds (trade unions). At the beginning of 1896, 32 such funds existed in Vilna alone. A wave of successful strikes ensued. The Jewish labor groups were represented at the congress of the Socialist International in London in 1896. A central "Group of Jewish Social Democrats" was formed, and published the periodical *Yidisher Arbayter* (1896–1905), as well as *Arbayter Shtime* (1897–1905), both of which later became the organs of the Bund.

The Bund

The Bund was founded at a secret convention held in Vilna on Oct. 7–9, 1897, with the participation of 13 delegates (eight of them working men). At the founding convention of the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party in March 1898, three of the nine delegates were Bundists. The Bund entered the Russian party as an autonomous body, and Kremer was elected a member of its central committee. The sovereign institution of the underground Bund was its periodic convention. In addition to the founding meeting, the following conventions were held: the second convention, October 1898, in Kovno; the third, December 1899, in Kovno; the fourth, May 1901, in Bialystok; the fifth, June 1903, in Zurich; the sixth, October–November 1905, in Zurich; the seventh, August–September 1906, in Lemberg (Lvov); the eighth, December 1917, in Petrograd (Leningrad). The convention elected a central committee which was the chief political administrative and representative body of the Bund. Between the conventions, conferences, whose authority was more limited, also met. Larger branches were headed by committees, mostly comprising members nominated by the central committee. The "strike funds," including the national unions of bristlemakers and tanners, were integrally incorporated within the Bund. There were also groups of intellectuals. The number of Bund members from 1903 to 1905 varied between 25,000 and 35,000. The "Committee Abroad," which was founded in December 1898 by students and workers who had left Russia, its members including at various periods the most important Bund leaders, served as the Bund representative vis-à-vis the international socialist movement, raised funds, printed literature, and organized its transportation. Considerable assistance was given to the Bund by its "*Landsmanschaften" and branches of sympathizers in the United States, headed by the "Central Farband," which in 1906 comprised 58 organizations with 3,000 members. Although the Bund opposed cooperation with the Jewish labor movement in other countries, it had a significant influence on the formation of the *Jewish Social Democratic Party in Galicia in 1905. Bundist principles contributed to the establishment of the Jewish Socialist Federation of America in 1912. Some prominent activists of the American Jewish Labor Movement came from the ranks of the Bund, including S. *Hillman, B. Hoffmann (*Ẓivion), B. *Vladeck, Y.B. Salutzki-Hardman, M. *Olgin, N. Chanin, and D. *Dubinsky. The activity and ideas of the Bund also had influence on Jewish socialism in Argentina, Bulgaria, and Salonika (Greece).

From the beginning of the 20th century, the Bund concentrated its activities on the political sphere, and the party became an important factor in Jewish public life. The fourth convention of the Bund (1901) already recommended discretion in the proclamation of strikes – for the government was suppressing them severely and they brought little amelioration of the workers' conditions – and called for struggle through purely political agitation, May Day demonstrations and strikes, accompanied by political demands. This trend gained in strength as a result of various economic, social, and political factors (see also *Independent Jewish Workers' Party).

Feelings became inflamed when Jewish workers were flogged during the May Day demonstrations in 1902 on the order of the governor of Vilna who was subsequently shot by a Bundist youth, Hirsh *Lekert. However, the tendency to advocate violent measures – "organized vengeance" – which evolved in the Bund after this assault was short-lived. The pogroms at the beginning of the 20th century intensified political alertness among the Jews as a whole, and efforts were made toward active *self-defense. These bloody attacks dissipated the reservations of many who had formerly held aloof from the revolutionary activity of the Bund. The Bund then became one of the principal promoters, and in some places the main organizer, of the self-defense movement to combat the perpetrators of the pogroms. It began to find support among the Jewish middle classes, and gained adherents in the provincial towns of Poland and southern Russia. From mid-1903 to mid-1904 the Bund held 429 political meetings, 45 demonstrations, and 41 political strikes, and issued 305 pamphlets, of which 23 dealt with the pogroms and self-defense. The number of Bundist political prisoners in 1904 reached 4,500. A children's organization, Der Klayner Bund, was formed. The Bund reached its peak influence during the revolution of 1905. It then acquired semilegal status, played an important role in general revolutionary and political activities, and began to publish a daily newspaper under various names (*Veker, Folkstsaytung*).

About this time (at the fourth convention in 1901) the Bund advanced beyond its former demand for equal political and civic rights for Jews. Various internal and external factors pressured this change, such as the solutions advocated by S. *Dubnow, the views of H. Zhitovsky, and the growth of Zionism. The Bund now drew a Marxist legitimation for its nationalist tendencies from the Austrian Social Democratic Party which had changed its structure to a federal-nationalist one, approximate to the concepts of *autonomism, as the basis for the constitution of a multinational state. The third convention of the Bund (1899) still rejected Mill's suggestion that the demand for Jewish "national rights" be included in its program. However, at the fourth convention, promoted by M. *Liber, a representative of the second generation of Bund leaders, with the support of the older leaders, Kremer, Mill, and Kossovski who were absent at the convention, the proposition was advanced that Russia should be converted into a federation of nations without reference to region of domicile, with the provision that the concept of nationality should be applied to the Jews. However, as a compromise with opponents of this proposal, it was decided not to campaign for Jewish autonomy as a concrete demand for fear of "inflating the national feeling" which was liable "to blur the class consciousness of the proletariat and lead to chauvinism." This limitation was not observed in practice even in 1904, and was officially removed at the sixth convention in 1905. A further resolution of the fourth convention sought to reconstruct the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party on a national-federal basis. This proposal was rejected by the second convention of the Russian Social Democratic Party. In consequence the Bund seceded from it and constituted itself as an independent party.

Even after its fourth convention, the Bund did not consider the Jews a worldwide national entity, and was opposed to a global Jewish policy, limiting its demands for rights and autonomy with reference to Russian Jewry. The Bund rejected, in the name of class-war principles, any collaboration with other Jewish parties, even in the organization of self-defense against pogroms. While assimilationist Russian Social Democrats regarded Bundist ideology as "inconsistent Zionist," the Bund, for its part, defined Zionism as reactionary and bourgeois or petit-bourgeois, even including such parties as the *Po'alei Zion, the *Jewish Socialist Workers' Party (the Sejmists), and the *Zionist Socialist Workers Party (the Territorialists), in this category. From 1903 the struggle with other Jewish parties sharpened, as the Bund's Zionist and other rivals penetrated the proletarian camp. The Bund itself remained in a constant state of ideological vacillation and internal strife in its perpetual effort to square nationalism with internationalism, and the conception of the Jewish proletariat as part of the all-Russian proletariat with its position as part of Jewry. Opposing nationalist, cosmopolitan, and semi-assimilationist elements confronted each other within the Bund and prevented a clear-cut decision either for or against devotion of its efforts to seeking full Jewish political and cultural identity, while even its positive attitude toward the use of Yiddish was mainly governed by pragmatic considerations. Hence the Bund adopted the doctrine of neutralism developed by the party ideologist V. *Medem with the fundamental reservations of Kossovski. Neutralism assumed that no prognosis of the survival of the Jewish people could be advanced: they might equally be expected to subsist or assimilate. The task of the Bund was to fight for a political framework which would guarantee freedom of evolution for both trends, but not to regard as incumbent on it to assist intentionally national continuity. During 1905–06, the Bund sided on many questions with the Bolsheviks, whose support at the convention of the Social Democratic Party in Stockholm in 1906 enabled the Bund to return to the all-Russian organization. After a sharp cleavage of opinion, the "softliners," prominent among them Medem, Rosenthal, and B. *Mikhalevich, prevailed, and amalgamation with the Social Democrats was decided at the seventh convention of the Bund (1906). The question of the national program was left open, and in practice the Bund retained its independence.

1907 to 1917

With the failure of the 1905 revolution the Bund suffered a serious decline and succeeded in maintaining only the nucleus of its organization. Terrorization, frustration, and despair, together with the massive emigration, considerably reduced the ranks of the Bund. With the limitation of political and trade union activities, the semilegal activities of the Bund now concentrated on culture – the organization of literary and musical societies, evening courses, and drama circles. The Bund became an advocate of fundamental Yiddishism. The eighth conference of the Bund (October 1910) decided in favor of pressing for freedom of rest on the Sabbath and for state Yiddish schools. The Bund agreed to participate in several conferences and cultural institutions of a general Jewish nature, such as the *Society for the Promotion of Culture among the Jews of Russia and the meeting of Jewish communal leaders, where the Bundists demanded greater autonomy, and secularization, and democratization in Jewish communal life. The theory of Neutralism was rejected by some prominent Bundists. In 1910–11 the Bund made renewed efforts to strengthen its organization, both openly and by underground activity. It took part in the elections to the fourth *Duma (1912). In Warsaw the joint candidate of the Polish Socialist Party (PPS) and the Bund, E. Jagello, was returned thanks to the support of the nonsocialist Jewish electorate. The Bund campaigned actively on several Jewish issues, including the Polish anti-Jewish *boycott, and the ousting of Jewish workers from their places of employment. It organized a protest strike (Oct. 8, 1913) in reaction to the *Beilis trial, which was observed by some 20,000 Jewish workers. The Bundist press was also revived (*Lebns-Fragen, Tsayt*). In regard to the division in Russian social-democratic opinion between those who supported continued underground activity and those opposing it, the Bund in general adopted a mediatory stand. After the final split between the Bolsheviks and Mensheviks in 1912, the Bund remained within the Menshevik Social Democratic Party, which now tended to favor Jewish national-cultural autonomy, while the Bolsheviks hardened their position against it. The Bund belonged to the socialist wing that condemned all belligerents in World War I, and approved the manifestos of Zimmerwald, 1915, and Kienthal, 1916. The Bund at this time turned more expressly toward adopting a general Jewish stand. At a consultation held in Kharkov (spring 1916) the Bund decided, in contrast to its former position, to take part in activities of the communal Jewish relief organizations, such as *ORT, *OZE, and *Yekopo. It also recognized there, to a certain extent, that the Jewish question had assumed some international significance. The Bund publicized cases of persecution of Jews in Russia through its committee abroad. However, discussion on the question of constituting a World Jewish Congress was not resolved.

The 1917 Revolutions and Their Aftermath

By the end of 1917 the Bund had approximately 40,000 members, in almost 400 branches, of whom 20% were outside the former Pale of Settlement, mostly refugees expelled from the Pale. On the general political scene, Bund leaders (M. Liber and R. *Abramowitz) were spokesmen for both the right and left wings of the Mensheviks, and the Bund discussed and took a stand on problems connected with the revolution. At the same time, it brought forward the claim for Jewish national-cultural autonomy. It participated in communal elections and was represented on the organizing committee for a general Jewish convention to be held in December 1917. However, it opposed the moving of Zionist formulations there as well as debate on the guarantee of rights to Jews living outside Russia. In the Ukraine, the Bund, led by M. *Rafes, was in favor of an autonomous Ukraine as part of federal Russia. At the elections for the Jewish National Assembly of the Ukraine (November 1918), the Bund received 18% of the votes.

From the fall of 1918, Bundist sympathies, especially in the Ukraine, the scene of frightful pogroms, began to incline toward the Communists. In March 1919, the "Communist Bund" (Kombund) was established in the Ukraine led by Rafes. In May it joined the United Jewish Communist Party to form the Komfarband, which in August amalgamated with the Communist Party of the Ukraine. At the all-Russian (12th) conference of the Bund held in Moscow (April 1920), a split occurred. The majority, led by A. *Weinstein and *Esther (Lifschitz), favored affiliation with the Communists, but on an autonomous basis. Although this condition was rejected by the Communist International, the conference at Minsk (March 1921) nevertheless decided to join the Russian Communist Party. In January 1925, there were only 2,795 former Bundists in the Communist Party, forming 9% of its Jewish members. These included some leaders of the *Yevsektsiya (Jewish section of the Russian Communist Party). A minority at the 12th conference (which included Abramowitz, Eisenstadt, and G. *Aronson) broke away and established the short-lived Social Democratic Bund. Sooner or later the activists in both factions became victims of Communist government persecution.

The Polish Bund

In November 1914, when the threat of German invasion became apparent, a Committee of the Bundist Organizations in Poland was formed in Warsaw by the central committee of the Bund (including *J. Portnoy and *V. Shulman). The forced dissociation from the all-Russian movement, and the resurrection of Poland led the Polish Bund to constitute itself as an independent body. The more moderate regime of the German occupation authorities enabled the Bund in Poland, though still functioning clandestinely, to stress Jewish demands, and to set up Jewish trade unions, workers' kitchens, cooperative shops, and a network of cultural institutions. It began to publish a weekly organ (from the end of 1918, a daily), *Lebns-Fragen*. The Bund also participated in elections to the municipal councils. At the first conference of the Polish Bund at Lublin (end of December 1917) an independent central committee for Poland was elected. At the first all-Polish convention in Cracow (April 1920), the Bund organization became united with the Jewish Social Democratic Party of Galicia.

Subsequently the following conventions were held: the second, in December 1921, in Danzig; the third, December 1924, in Warsaw; the fourth, January 1929, in Warsaw; the fifth, June 1930, in Lodz; the sixth, February 1935, in Warsaw; the seventh, November 1937, in Warsaw. The most prominent leaders of the Polish Bund were H. *Ehrlich and *V. Alter. It published a daily organ *Naye Folkstsaytung* between 1921 and 1939. The Polish Bund functioned as a legal, independent political party from the outset, unlike the Russian parent body. It maintained a youth organization, Zukunft, which numbered 15,000 members on the eve of World War II; a children's organization, SKIF, from 1926; a women's organization, YAF; and a sports organization, Morgenstern. During the first years of its existence the Polish Bund was severely persecuted because of its opposition to the war against Soviet Russia. During the 1930s some of its activists were incarcerated in the *Bereza Kartuska concentration camp. The party was split into permanent factions, which were proportionately represented in its central institutions, the centrist or rightist faction (Einser) and the leftist (Tsvayer). The split originally occurred over affiliation to the International. Parallel to development of the Kombund in Russia, the Bund in Poland also shifted its allegiance to the "dictatorship of the proletariat" and "government of the Soviets." The Cracow convention in 1920 decided in principle on affiliation with the Comintern, which demanded that the Bund accept its full program as a condition to affiliation. The intended affiliation did not materialize but caused some older prominent Bundists to feel out of place within the movement and they finally emigrated (V. Medem, *A. Litwak); others (notably P. *Rosenthal) formed the short-lived Social Democratic Bund. One group, however, established the Kombund which later joined the Communist Party. The question of affiliation with the Comintern continued to disturb and divide the Bund for a long time, the majority shifting first one way and then the other. Even the leftist faction, whose chief spokesman was Joseph *Lestschinsky ("Chmutner"), had reservations in regard to affiliation if this was likely to impair the unity of the Bund. The fifth convention (1930) decided, by a small majority, on affiliation to the Socialist International, where the Bund formed part of the left wing. Another cause of division was its relationship with the Polish Socialist Party (PPS), which left-wing Bundists regarded as anathema because of its "nationalism and reformism" and its policy to form a center-left front with the nonsocialist peasant parties. A convergence between the two parties occurred, mainly as a result of the Bund's affiliation to the Socialist International and radicalization within the PPS during the 1930s.

Among the Jewish public, the Bund pursued its relentless campaign against Zionism and religious Orthodoxy, but in contrast to its former policy, collaborated in various fields with other Jewish labor parties. On more than one occasion it aligned with the left Po'alei Zion in municipal elections. In 1930, a common list was drawn up with the right Po'alei Zion for the elections to the Sejm (parliament). The Bund held the overwhelming majority in the national council of Jewish Trade Unions, which, at the end of 1921, comprised seven unions with 205 branches and 46,000 members, and, in 1939, 14 unions with 498 branches and approximately 99,000 members. The Polish Bund, not without opposition, approved initiatives and institutions to work with and organize small-scale artisans' and contractors' cooperatives (1927) in conjunction with the *American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee and ORT.

In 1921 the Central Yiddish Schools Organization was established, with large participation of the Bund. The Bund was adamant in its extreme opposition to instruction in Hebrew but slightly modified its attitude toward the traditional Jewish holidays and the teaching of Jewish history. In the 1930s the Bund was active in the party lists for Jewish representation on municipal councils and for communal leadership. It maintained a bureau to deal with emigration – but its fixed attachment to the principle of "Doykeyt" ("hereness") prevented the Polish Bund from appreciating the importance of Jewish emigration.

The Polish Bund achieved its greatest political influence between 1936 and 1939, on the eve of the Holocaust. It scored a substantial success in the municipal elections. This was due less to its socialist appeal than to the role it played in campaigning against the rabid antisemitism within the Polish government and general public after Hitler's rise to power. The Bund displayed initiative and energy in organizing self-defense groups, a protest strike after the pogrom of *Przytyk, a Workers' Congress against antisemitism (1936), which was banned by the authorities, as also a proposed Congress for the Struggle of the Jewish Population in Poland (1938).

During the Nazi occupation of Poland, the Bund took an active part in the Jewish resistance movement (prominently A. Blum, L. Feiner, B. Goldstein, M. Edelman). *S. Zygelbojm left the Bund underground in order to represent it on the National Council of the Polish Government-in-Exile in London. His suicide in 1943 was a heroic symbolic act of identification with the Jewish martyrs and a protest against the silence and apathy of the general public in face of the annihilation. The Bund was also active among the refugees from Poland in the Soviet Union. Two of its prominent leaders – V. *Alter and H. Erlich – were executed in 1941 by the Stalinist regime on false espionage accusations.

After World War II the Bund renewed its activities among the survivors of Polish Jewry but it was liquidated in 1948 with the Communists' liquidation of the general political life of the country.

The International Jewish Labor Bund

At the beginning of World War II, some of the Polish Bundists succeeded in reaching the United States, mainly with the assistance of the Jewish Labor Committee. An American Representation of the Bund was formed and for some time continued activity under the leadership of Portnoy. Beginning with 1941 the monthly *Unzer Zeit* has been published in New York. The first world conference of the Bund was held in Brussels (1947). It established a World Coordinating Committee of Bundist and Affiliated Socialist Jewish Organizations, with headquarters in New York. Its secretary until 1961 was Emmanuel Novogrodski, formerly the secretary of the Bund in Poland and later of the Representation in the United States. The World Bund affiliates included the Bund organization of Israel, as well as the older Bundist organizations of various countries, most of which had already existed before World War II, and later absorbed the refugee members of the former Polish Bund. In its postwar transfiguration it embodied the previously rejected idea of Jewish world nationality. The Bund differed from other sections of Jewish labor opinion in the United States in that it did not recognize the special importance of the State of Israel in the life of the Jewish people or necessity for a Jewish international policy. At the same time the Bund demanded that the Jewish population in Israel recognize the supremacy of world Jewry. It took a "neutralist" position on the Israeli-Arab conflict. A minority in the Bund, as represented by Liebmann, *Hersh and J. *Pat, attempted to argue for a certain re-evaluation toward a more positive attitude of the Bund toward the State of Israel. As a moribund movement, it remained officially affiliated with the Socialist International.

The Gotteiner Institute for the History of the Bund and the Jewish Labor Movement was established in 1991. The archives of the Jewish Labor Bund are located at the YIVO Institute for Jewish Research in New York City.

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[Moshe Mishkinsky]

BUNIM, IRVING M. (1901–1980), U.S. lay leader. Born in Volozhin, Lithuania, Bunim arrived in the United States in 1909 and settled with his family on the Lower East Side of Manhattan. He attended the Rabbi Jacob Joseph Yeshiva on the Lower East Side and DeWitt Clinton High School in the Bronx, and took business courses at Columbia University. In 1919, he established Eden Textiles Company in New York, which became a prosperous business.

Bunim was raised in a home steeped in Jewish values and tradition and dedicated his life to furthering Orthodox Judaism and Jewish education, often acting as an ad hoc ambassador from the Orthodox to the more secular American Jewish community. He was a prominent lay leader in the Orthodox Jewish community and a philanthropist active in the *Va'ad ha-Haẓẓalah (the Orthodox Rescue Committee) to save Jews during the Holocaust. He also wrote *Ethics from Sinai*, three volumes of commentaries on Ethics of the Fathers (*Pirkei Avot*), and was the subject of a book, *Fire in his Soul* (1987), written by his son, Amos.

After the Depression, Bunim dedicated himself to Young Israel, the nascent Orthodox synagogue movement, whose roots were in his own Lower East Side neighborhood. There he delivered lectures on religious topics and organized synagogue youth activities. A charismatic, inspiring speaker, he succeeded in lessening assimilation among the youth in his area.

Young Israel was a base for Bunim's World War II activities. He helped mold Rabbi Aharon *Kotler's and Rabbi *Kalmanowitz's Va'ad ha-Haẓẓalah into an important rescue organization. Already a public speaker of note, Bunim argued effectively for an increase in U.S. immigration quotas and battled indifference to the plight of Europe's Jews. He publicized Nazi atrocities against the wishes of Rabbi Stephen *Wise, the established Jewish community organizations like the Federations of Jewish Philanthropies and the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee, fundraising indefatigably and facilitating negotiations with the Nazis for the release of the *Kasztner Transport.

After the war, Bunim turned his attention to Jewish education. His support was instrumental in the development of the Rabbi Jacob Joseph School, the Beth Yosef Navarodker Yeshiva, the Beth Jacob/Esther Schoenfeld girls' school on the Lower East Side, and the founding of Beth Midrash Govoha, the prestigious Lakewood, New Jersey Yeshiva. He championed the cause of Torah Umesorah in America and Chinuch Atzmai in Israel, both umbrella organizations for networks of religious elementary schools, Yeshiva University, and the Rabbi Isaac Elchanan Theological Seminary.

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[Jeanette Friedman (2nd ed.)]

BUNIN, ḤAYYIM ISAAC (1875–1943), author and teacher. Bunin was born in Gomel, Belorussia. He spent most of his life as a wandering teacher in Russia, Lithuania, and Poland, settling in Warsaw in 1929. Bunin devoted himself in particular to research on *Ḥabad Ḥasidism, on which he first published a series of essays and studies in *Ha-Shilo'aḥ* (1913–15, 1928, 1929, 1931). His monumental work, *Mishneh Ḥabad*, mainly a compilation from the sources and sayings of its leaders, appeared in installments from 1932 to 1936. His publicist writings and literary compositions were published in the Hebrew and Yiddish press after World War I in the journals *Ha-Ẓefirah, Ha-Mizraḥi*, and *Ha-Toren*, among others. In 1922 in Lodz he published and edited a journal entitled *She'ar Yashuv*. He also published *Limmudei ha-Yahadut* ("Instruction in Judaism," 1917) and his *Ketavim* (1936). He perished in *Treblinka during the Holocaust.

[Esther (Zweig) Liebes]

BUNSHAFT, GORDON (1909–1990), Pritzker Prize–winning architect. Bunshaft was born in Buffalo, New York, and received his master's degree in architecture from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. After winning two fellowships to study abroad, he explored Europe and North Africa. Returning home, he worked first for architect Edward Durell Stone and then joined Louis Skidmore in 1937. Bunshaft first designed some buildings for the 1939 World's Fair. Then World War II intervened and he served in the Army Corps of Engineers. When he returned to work in 1946, his firm had become Skidmore, Owings and Merrill, otherwise known as SOM, and Bunshaft became a partner. His first major project in 1952 was the 24-story Lever House in New York City. This building is often considered to have helped establish the International Style for corporate architecture in America. Known for its use of steel, glass, simplified surfaces, and cantilevered construction, Lever House has since been declared a national historic landmark. Although his garden for Lever House was unrealized, Bunshaft went on to design other gardens with sculptor Isamu Noguchi, such as the sunken garden at the Yale University Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library (1960–64), the Plaza at the Chase Manhattan Bank, New York (1961–64), two gardens at IBM headquarters (Armonk, N.Y., 1964) as well as the garden complex of the Hirshhorn Museum in Washington, D.C. (1974). In 1954 Bunshaft designed the Manufacturer's Trust Bank, a 13,000 sq. ft. glass box on Fifth Avenue, New York, that used clear glass curtain walls because heat-resistant glass was not available in the size needed. These panes were the largest ever used up to that time. Additions to the Albright-Knox Art Gallery (Buffalo, N.Y., 1962) and the Lyndon Baines Johnson Library (Austin, Texas, 1971) are among Bunshaft's best-known buildings. But his last building, created before his retirement, was his favorite. The design for the National Commercial Bank Headquarters in Jedda, Saudi Arabia (1981–83), combines the movements of natural air – with warm desert air rising through a funnel – with that generated by air-conditioning and through vents. "The dramatic 100-foot-wide façade openings were designed to provide daylight without direct sunshine." Windows on the top floor are set 10 feet back from the outer wall surface. The citation for the Pritzker Architecture Prize Laureates which Bunshaft received (together with architect Oscar Niemeyer) in 1988 stated that "perhaps no other architect has set such a timeless standard in the urban/corporate world, a standard by which future generations will judge this era, no doubt with acclaim thanks to his abilities. Already acknowledged by peers and critics of his own era, the bestowing of the Pritzker Architecture Prize reaffirms his place in history for a lifetime of creativity in beautify and uplifting the environment."

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[Betty R. Rubenstein (2nd ed.)]

BUNZEL, RUTH LEAH (1898–1990), U.S. anthropologist. Born in New York City, Bunzel was an art student before she studied anthropology under Franz *Boas. Bunzel obtained intimate knowledge of primitive art and artists by her research on the potters of the Pueblo Indians of the American Southwest. Her first fieldwork experience came as part of a trip to observe the Zuni. Remarking that women were barred from the ritual practices of the Zuni, Bunzel gravitated toward researching pottery, as it offered her an area in which women's work and skill were integral. In 1960 she became professor of anthropology at Columbia University. Her field research on American Indians was done in New Mexico, Arizona, Guatemala, and Mexico; she also undertook social and anthropological studies of the Chinese community in New York City. Her later research interests were problems of a national character, American and Chinese, and the interrelations of personality and culture.

She contributed to Boas' *General Anthropology* (1938) and to the journal *Psychiatry*.

Among her publications are *The Pueblo Potter*: *A Study of Creative Imagination in Primitive Art* (1929); *Zuni Katcinas: An Analytical Study* (1932); *The Golden Age of American Anthropology* (1960), which she edited with Margaret Mead; and *Zuni Ceremonialism* (1992).

[Ellen Friedman / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

BUNZL, Austrian and British industrialists. In 1854 Moritz Bunzl founded a shop for fashion accessories in Bratislava, which his son Max transferred to Vienna in 1883. Under the leadership of Max and Max's sons, HUGO, MARTIN, ROBERT, EMIL, FELIX, and GEORGE, "Bunzl & Biach" became Austria's most important paper manufacturer and had branches in all parts of the Austro-Hungarian empire by 1914. In 1936 the company became a corporation with headquarters in Switzerland, while the Austrian branches were "aryanized" and taken over by the Nazis two years later. After World War II the enterprise expanded to England, the United States, Germany, Switzerland, Italy, South Africa, and Austria. In the early 2000s Bunzl & Biach, located again in Austria, supplied materials to paper mills and dealt with waste and wastepaper management.

Hugo (1883–1961) studied in Manchester and joined the company in 1905. In the interwar period his mills became famous for their workers' benefits, which earned him the nickname the "Red Industry Baron." In 1938 he emigrated to England, where he became chairman of Bunzl Pulp & Paper Ltd. in 1948. GEORGE (1915–1981) joined the firm in 1936 and in 1960 became chairman of the board. He subsequently was succeeded as the firm's chairman by his nephew Gustav George. George Bunzl was prominent as an artist, photographer, and art collector and was active in Jewish communal work.

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[Joachim O. Ronall / Mirjam Triendl (2nd ed.)]

°**BURCHARD OF WORMS** (c. 965–1025), bishop of Worms from 1000. The publication of the *Decretum*, a canonical collection compiled by Burchard or under his direction between 1008 and 1012, was an important event in the history of canon law. The canons concerning Jews appear in Book IV, which deals with questions of baptism and confirmation. As the theological basis for behavior toward the Jews, Burchard refers to a passage from the *Moralia* of *Gregory the Great which recalls the prophecy of their final conversion. Extensive use of Burchard's *Decretum* was made in the canonical collection of *Ivo of Chartres toward the end of the 11th century but a much more hostile attitude to the Jews was evident by then.

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[Bernhard Blumenkranz]

BURCHARDT, HERMANN (1857–1909), German explorer. The son of a wealthy merchant family in Berlin, Burchardt worked for many years in his father's business but was never happy there. Following his father's death he set out in 1890 on a series of travels to remote corners of Asia, North Africa, the Middle East, and Australia. Following a brief return to Berlin in 1892, during which he studied Oriental languages, he renewed his expeditions with a sharpened ethnological interest and greater linguistic equipment. In the course of his journeys he amassed a large collection of photographs of places never previously visited by Europeans, which was later presented to the Berlin University Library, and also collected legends and folklore of the areas he visited. While on an extended trip in Yemen he took an interest in the all-but-forgotten Jews of that country and later brought them to the attention of world Jewry. He met his death at the hands of marauders in the Arabian desert between Mecca and Sanʿa.

During his lifetime Burchardt contributed articles to various journals of ethnography. His photographs of South Arabian inscriptions were edited and published by Martin

Hartman in his *Orientalische Literaturzeitung* (1907–09) and portions of his travel diaries were published posthumously by Eugen *Mittwoch in 1926, together with a detailed report written by Burchardt's traveling companion and Arabic tutor Ahmad al-Jarādi. He wrote essays on the Jews of Yemen in *Ost und West* (1902) and on the Jews of Persia in *Ost und West* (1906)

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[Ephraim Fischoff]

°BURCHARDUS DE MONTE SION (13th century), German Dominican. Born at Strasbourg or Magdeburg, Burchardus traveled to the East in 1232, visiting Egypt, Syria, and Cilicia. From 1275 to 1285 he resided in Jerusalem where sometime before 1283 he wrote his *Descriptio Terrae Sanctae* (Latin edition by W.A. Neumann, 1880; Eng. by A. Steward, 1896). Burchardus arranged his book by "divisions" radiating from Acre, with special focus on Jerusalem. For a pious medieval author he was tolerant, and an accurate observer. His work was handed down in two different versions; in 14th- and 15th-century Europe it was widely read and translated into German and French.

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[Michael Avi-Yonah / Marcus Pyka (2nd ed.)]

°BURCKHARDT, JOHANN LUDWIG (1784–1817), Swiss Orientalist and explorer. Burckhardt specialized in Oriental studies in Leipzig and in Goettingen. In 1809, he set out on behalf of the British Society for African Exploration for Aleppo (Syria), where he mastered the Muslim way of life so well that he was able to travel through Arab lands under the name of Ibrahim ibn Abdullah, without arousing any suspicion. Burckhardt visited Palmyra, Damascus, the Lebanon, and afterward the Hauran. From there he proceeded to Safed, Tiberias, Nazareth, Beth-Shean, and by way of the Sinai Peninsula, to Cairo. Reports on his journey based on his personal notes were published between 1819 and 1830. One of these monographs (London, 1822) is a description of his travels in Syria and the Holy Land. Burckhardt paid special attention to the layout of the ancient cities which he visited, and to the Greek and Latin inscriptions. From Burckhardt the Europeans first learned of the antiquities of Petra (see also *Seetzen). Burckhardt also was the first to draw an accurate map of the Gulf of Elath. He died in Cairo, possibly by poison.

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[Michael Avi-Yonah]

BURDUJENI, small town in Moldavia, Romania. Jews began to settle there from 1792 when the urban settlement was founded, and there were 183 Jewish taxpaying heads of families in 1820. During the 19th century, the number of Jews grew to constitute the majority of the population, numbering 1,140 (two thirds of the total) in 1859 and 2,038 in 1899. A Jewish school for boys was founded in 1898, with the help of the Jewish Colonization Association (ICA). In 1907 anti-Jewish riots broke out in Burdujeni. After World War I the Jewish population decreased, numbering 1,244 (25.7% of the total population) in 1930. A Jewish elementary school for boys was functioning then in the town. After the outbreak of the war against the U.S.S.R., all the Jews of Burdujeni (1,261 persons) were deported to Transnistria and their property confiscated (Oct. 9–10, 1941). Half of them died. Survivors returned to Burdujeni after the war. About 20 Jewish families were living there in 1970. In 2004, no Jews lived in Burdujeni.

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[Eliyahu Feldman and Theodor Lavi / Lucian-Zeev Herscovici (2nd ed.)]

BURG, AVRAHAM (Avrum; 1955–), Israeli Labor politician, member of the Twelfth, Thirteenth, Fifteenth, and Sixteenth Knessets. Avraham Burg was born in Jerusalem, the son of National Religious Party leader Yosef *Burg. He attended a yeshivah in Jerusalem and studied sociology and African studies at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem.

After Operation Peace for Galilee, in which he was wounded, Burg set up a group of "soldiers against silence" and was one of the speakers at the mass demonstration held at Malkhei Yisrael Square in Tel Aviv on September 25, 1982, in protest against the Sabra and Shatila massacre in Lebanon, and demanding the establishment of a Commission of Inquiry and the resignation of Minister of Defense Ariel *Sharon. He became active in *Peace Now, and was wounded on February 10, 1983, when a hand grenade was thrown by a right-wing Jewish protester into a Peace Now demonstration in Jerusalem, killing Emil Grunzweig. Burg joined the Labor Party and served as advisor on the Diaspora to Shimon *Peres when he became prime minister in 1984. In 1986–88 he headed the Center for Judaism and Tolerance. He was then one of a group of young dovish MKs elected by the Labor Party to the Twelfth Knesset. In the Labor Party Conference held in November 1991, Burg supported the adoption of a declaration in favor of the separation of religion and state, but finally agreed to a compromise that spoke of the separation of religion and politics. In the elections to the Thirteenth Knesset he was elected to third place on the Labor list after Yitzḥak *Rabin and Peres, but was not included among the ministers chosen by Rabin to serve in his government because he had supported Peres in the primaries for the chairmanship of the Labor Party. He served as chairman of the Knesset Education and Culture Committee until resigning from the Knesset in July 1995 when he was elected chairman of the *Jewish Agency. There he called for major changes in the structure of the Zionist Organization and Jewish Agency, made major cuts in their expenditures, and fought for the return, to the Jewish people, of money deposited during World War II in Swiss banks by Jews who later perished in the Holocaust.

After leaving the Jewish Agency, Burg was reelected to the Fifteenth Knesset, and after prime minister Ehud *Barak failed to appoint him as a minister in his government, ran successfully against Barak's candidate for speaker of the Knesset. As Knesset speaker, he established the Knesset Research and Information Center and the office of the Commissioner for Future Generations, and in defiance of Foreign Ministry policy hosted the Tibetan Dalai Lama and the speaker of the Palestinian parliament, Ahmad Ali Saliman Kari'a (known as Abu Allah) in the Knesset. In December 2001 he contested the Labor Party leadership opposite Binyamin (Fuad) *Ben-Eliezer and lost by a narrow margin, claiming fraud. He was reelected to the Sixteenth Knesset but, frustrated by the situation created within the Labor Party following Amram Mitzna's defeat, resigned in June 2004 to take time out from active politics and go into business.

[Susan Hattis Rolef (2nd ed.)]

BURG, MENO (**Menke**; 1788 or 1789–1853), Prussian officer. After studies at the Berlin Stadtschule (the later famous Gymnasium zum Grauen Kloster) and the Berlin Bauakademie, Burg became land surveyor in 1807. Six years later, after the appeal "*An mein Volk*" by Prussian king Frederick William III, he sought to enter the Prussian guard, but was refused because of his religion. Through the good offices of the king's uncle, Prince August of Prussia, he was allowed to enter the artillery and became an officer, teaching geometry at several military academies in Danzig and Berlin. Here he published a didactic treatise on the subject. Despite his military rank, he was never an active combatant (conceivably to prevent him as a Jew from commanding Christian soldiers in a battle). Burg was an active member of the Berlin Jewish community, including service on its board of directors (probably in 1849–50). Though he had considered conversion in 1824, some years later, when he was asked to become a Protestant, he refused. He remained the only Jew in Prussia's officer corps in the 19th century, a celebrity known as "*Judenmajor.*" When he died, 60,000 people are said to have gathered for the funeral. In his later years he wrote his memoirs, which were published posthumously (*Geschichte meines Dienstlebens*, 1854; 1909 with a foreword by Ludwig *Geiger; 1998 with forewords by Geiger and Hermann Simon).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: R. Rieger, in: *Deutsche Juedische Soldaten* (1996), 125–36.

[Marcus Pyka (2nd ed.)]

BURG, YOSEF (1909–1999), national-religious political leader and member of the First to Eleventh Knessets. Burg was born in Dresden, Germany. His father, Abraham, who came from East Galicia, was active in the *Mizrachi and in the establishment of religious institutions in Dresden, and Yosef Burg attended the *talmud torah* founded by his father, receiving a religious education side by side with a general education. He was ordained a rabbi by the Hildesheimer Rabbinical Seminary in Berlin and, after studying at the universities of Leipzig and Berlin, received his doctorate from the latter. During his student days he was active in Berit Ḥalutzim Datiyyim (Baḥad; "Covenant of Religious Pioneers") in Berlin, and during the Nazi regime worked for *Youth Aliyah, until settling in Eretz Israel in 1939. In that year, just before the outbreak of the World War II, Burg was a delegate to the Twenty-First Zionist Congress in Geneva, and after being elected to the Zionist General Council, remained in Geneva as a director of Youth Aliyah until 1940, when he returned to Eretz Israel. From 1942 to 1946 he taught and directed a religious school for youth and adults in Tel Aviv. From 1946 until the elections to the First Knesset, he was director of the Central European section of *Mizrachi and *Ha-Po'el ha-Mizrachi in Paris, which offered aid to Holocaust survivors and displaced children.

After returning to Israel, he became politically active in Ha-Po'el ha-Mizrachi, and set up the Lamifneh faction that called for cooperation with the nonreligious labor movement, moderation in the political sphere, and settlement activities in the spirit of the slogan "*Torah va-Avodah*" (Torah and Labor). Burg was elected to the First Knesset within the framework of the United Religious Front. He was deputy speaker in the course of the First Knesset. In 1956 he was one of the founders of the *National Religious Party, which united Mizrachi and Ha-Po'el ha-Mizrachi. Burg served in all the Israeli governments from 1951 to 1986, except for a brief period at the beginning of the first Rabin government in 1974 and at the end of the 1976–77 term, after he was dismissed from the government when he and his colleagues abstained in a vote of no-confidence in the government over the alleged desecration of the Sabbath as a result of a military ceremony held at an air force base. Burg served as minister of health (1951–52), minister of postal services (1952–58), minister of welfare (1959–70), minister of the interior (1970–76), and minister of the interior and police (1977–81). In the Tenth Knesset (1981–84) Burg was minister of the interior and police as well as minister for religious affairs, and in the first National Unity Government, led by Shimon *Peres (1984–86), he served as minister for religious affairs. Following the signing of the peace treaty with Egypt, Burg headed the ministerial committee that held talks with Egypt on an autonomy plan for the Palestinians, but these talks broke down in 1980. From 1977 to 1986 he stood at the head of the NRP, but under his moderate policy, in a period when the national-religious public in Israel started moving to the right, the party lost around two-thirds of its seats. Burg resigned.

Burg served as a member of the board of directors of *Bar-Ilan University, chairman of the Social Welfare Council in Israel, and chairman of the board of *Yad Vashem. He wrote *Das leben geht weiter* ("Life Goes On," 1980) and *Perakim me-Otobiographiah* ("Chapters from an Autobiography," 2001).

Yosef Burg's son Avraham (Avrum) *Burg was a member of the Twelfth to Thirteenth and Fifteenth to Sixteenth Knessets and speaker of the Knesset.

[Susan Hattis Rolef (2nd ed.)]

BURGENLAND, one of the federal states of Austria, on the Hungarian border. Located in Burgenland were the "seven communities" (*sheva kehillot*), noted for their outstanding yeshivot and eminent rabbis: *Eisenstadt (Hung. Kismarton; Heb. א״ש), *Mattersburg (Mattersdorf; Hung. Nagymarton), *Deutschkreutz (Hung. Sopronkeresztúr, Németkeresztúr, today Keresztúr; Hebr. צעלם, צלם), *Frauenkirchen (Hung. Boldogasszonyfalva; Heb. abbr. פ״ק), Kittsee (Hung. Köpcsény; Heb. קיצע), Kobersdorf (Hung. Kabold; Heb. ק״ד), and Lackenbach (Hung. Lakompak; Heb. ל״ב). Other communities in the region were those of Donnerskirchen, Gattendorf (in Jewish sources, Kottendorf), Guessing, Neckenmarkt, Neufeld (for some time included in the "seven communities"), Nikitsch, Rechnitz, Rust, and Schlaining (Stadtschlaining). Under Hungarian administration, the community of *Sopron (Oedenburg) was closely connected with the seven. According to legend there was a Jewish settlement in the region in the eighth century, but the first documentary record of the Jews of Eisenstadt is from the year 1296. Jews are also mentioned in the Eisenstadt city privileges from 1373. From 1491, when the region was under the administration of Lower Austria, the communities of Burgenland were ruled by local lords, who treated them well. In 1496 Emperor *Maximilian I resettled in the area Jews expelled from *Styria. In 1529 *Ferdinand I renewed the Jewish privileges for Eisenstadt, Mattersdorf (Mattersburg), and Kobersdorf. The Burgenland communities began to flourish when between 1622 and 1626 they came under the protection of the counts Esterházy; the southern communities of Rechnitz, Guessing, and Schlaining were protected by the counts Batthyány, others by the counts Nádasdy. From 1647 the region was administratively a part of Hungary within the framework of the Habsburg monarchy. At the time of the expulsion of the Jews from Lower Austria in 1670–71, the communities of Eisenstadt, Kobersdorf, and Mattersburg were also forced to leave, but these communities were transferred by the Esterházys to other localities in their territories and were soon able to return. Around 1700 12 Jewish communities were situated in Burgenland.

The charter granted by the Esterházys in 1690 to the Eisenstadt community, which guaranteed them autonomy and protection in time of war, was extended later to all the seven communities, and formed the basis of their considerable measure of self-administration. The representatives of the seven communities met periodically in Eisenstadt, mainly to apportion among themselves the heavy taxes and "gifts" (*mezigot*) which they had to make to all the staff of the count, including the coachman, and to defend their legal position. The minutes of these meetings were recorded in the "black ledger" of the seven communities. When in 1749 the Hungarian government fixed the "tolerance-tax" to be paid by Jewish residents according to counties, five of the communities (excluding Frauenkirchen and Kittsee) were included in the county of Sopron, thus terminating their special status. They organized themselves as the "five communities" and were joined by a sixth community formed by the Jews scattered throughout Sopron county. In 1840 the Hungarian parliament (Reichstag) authorized free choice of settlement and profession for Jews. As a result of changes following the 1848 revolution in Austria-Hungary, all the communities except those of Eisenstadt and Mattersdorf lost their autonomy. Many Jews left Burgenland, mainly for Vienna. Around 1850 the Jewish population in Burgenland was 8,487 persons, in some communities over 50% of the population.

In the late 19th century the Burgenland communities became the mainstay of separatist *Orthodoxy in Hungary. The rabbi of Deutschkreutz, Menahem Katz-Wannfried, invited the rabbis of Hungary to decide on secession (1869). At the end of the 19th century the communities diminished in importance. After World War I and the collapse of Austria-Hungary Burgenland became part of the new Austrian republic (1921). Before 1921 the seven communities were organized in the Orthodoxe Israelitische Landeskanzlei; Schlaining, Rechnitz, and Guessing were part of the liberal Israelitische Landeskanzlei. In May 1922 the combined communal organization was renewed as the Verband der autonomen israelitischen Kultusgemeinden des Burgenlandes, which included all the Burgenland communities. The Austrian school law of 1936 gave the Jewish schools in Burgenland equal status with Catholic and Protestant schools. The Jewish population in Burgenland numbered 3,800 in 1938.

Immediately after the Anschluss, the Jews were driven out; 1,900 had been expelled or had emigrated by February 1938, and 1,510 were removed, entirely destitute, to Vienna. Ten places, including Eisenstadt, were declared "free of Jews" (*Judenrein). A notorious incident was the fate of 51 Burgenland Jews, who were placed on a narrow land-strip in the middle of the Danube, because neither Czechoslovakia nor Hungary would let them enter their territory. Nearly all the synagogues in Burgenland were destroyed on November 10, 1938 (**Kristallnacht*), the others at a later date. At least 30% of the Jewish population of Burgenland was killed in concentration camps.

After 1945 and into the 21st century there were no organized Jewish communities in Burgenland; the cemeteries were cared for by the Vienna community's Israelitische Kultusgemeinde Wien (Kobersdorf, Lackenbach) or the individual communities (Deutschkreutz, Eisenstadt, Kittsee, Mattersburg, Frauenkirchen). The Verein Schalom association helped to rebuild and care for the cemeteries. Many of the relics of the communities were preserved in the special department (developed out of the museum established by Sándor Wolf) of the Burgenlaendisches Landesmuseum in Eisenstadt, and the Juedisches Zentralarchiv des Burgenlandes, which is part of the Burgenlaendisches Landesarchiv, contained nearly 100,000 items.

In 1972 the Austrian Jewish Museum (Oesterreichisches Juedisches Museum) was founded, located in the former residence of the Hof- und Kriegsoberfactor rabbi Samson *Wertheimer (1658–1724) in Eisenstadt. The private synagogue of Wertheimer on the first floor is part of the museum. The collection contains a small part of the Judaica collection of Sándor Wolf. From 1974 the Verein Oesterreichisches Juedisches Museum Eisenstadt has published the "Studia Judaica Austriaca" series.

The synagogue of Stadtschlaining (Schlaining) is today used as a library for the Oesterreichisches Studienzentrum fuer Frieden und Konfliktloesung and the EPU – European University Center for Peace Studies.

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[Aharon Fuerst / Barbara Staudinger (2nd. ed.)

BURGOS, city in Spain, formerly capital of Old Castile. Information about Jewish settlement in the neighborhood of Burgos dates from 974, and in Burgos itself from the 11th century. The Jews then resided close to the citadel of Burgos, while in the 12th century they moved to the fortified enclosure of the castle. It was here that the emissaries of the Cid raised a loan from certain Jews to finance his campaigns. In 1200 a Burgos Jew was acting as *almoxarife* (collector of revenues) and Todros b. Meir *Abulafia, also connected with the court, lived there too.

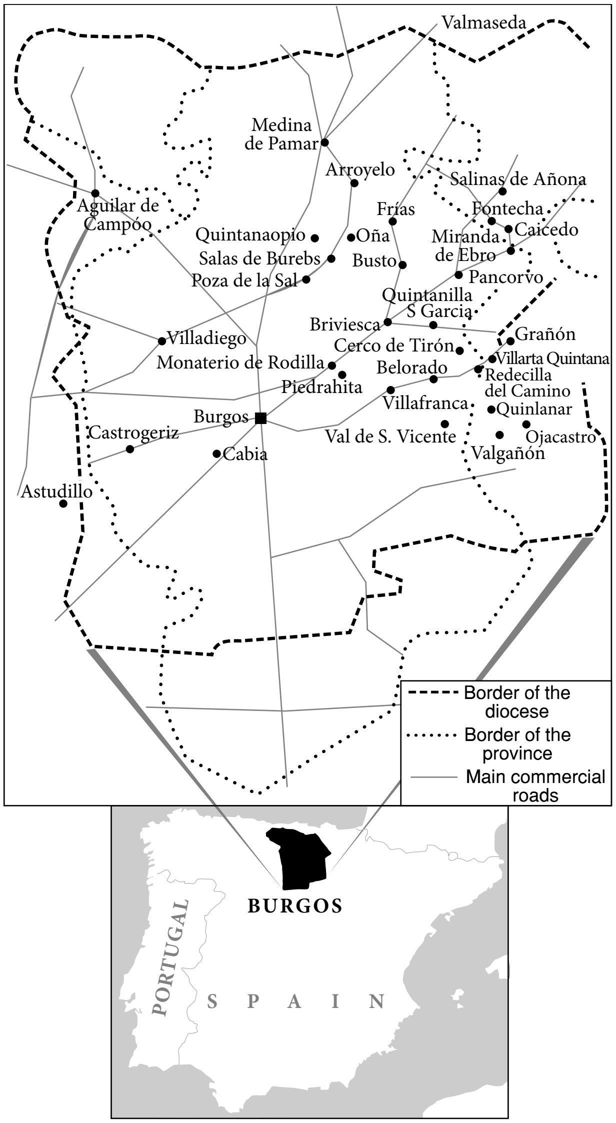
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Cerco de Tirón
Villarta Quintana
Monaterio de Rodilla
Belorado
Redecilla del Camino
Piedrahita
Villafranca
Quinlanar
Burgos
Val de S. Vicente
Ojacastro
Castrogeriz
Cabia
Valgañón
Astudillo
Border of the diocese
Border of the province
Main commercial roads
BURGOS
PORTUGAL
SPAIN

Jewish centers of population in the diocese and province of Burgos at the period of maximum settlement, before 1492. Sefarad*, vol. 8, 1948.*

During the 13th century the Burgos community became the largest Jewish center in north Castile, and together with Toledo the most flourishing Jewish cultural center. The literary sources indicate clearly that Burgos was a very lively and productive seat of Jewish learning. Some of the greatest Jewish scholars of 13th century Castile came from Burgos. These include R. Meir Halevi *Abulafia, R. Todros ben Joseph Halevi *Abulafia, the poet Todros Halevi *Abulafia, and others. The large number of Hebrew manuscripts written in Burgos indicate clearly the prominent place the Jews of Burgos played in Jewish culture in Castile. Future generations referred again and again to the very precise manuscripts produced in Burgos.

Burgos also occupies a major position in Hebrew book illumination. The question of the relationship between Burgos and Toledo poses no problem. Many of the great scholars whom we find in Toledo began their careers in Burgos. This should in no way mislead us into thinking of the Burgos Jewish center as a center of secondary importance. Quite the contrary, Burgos should be seen as part of the foundation of the Jewish scholarship that developed in Toledo in the 13th century and as a necessary and vital stage before Toledo reached the peak of its cultural efflorescence. Some 120–150 families lived there at the end of the century, occupied as merchants, tax farmers, and physicians, and owning real estate and vineyards. During the reign of Ferdinand III (1217–1252) they paid a regular tax of 30 denarii to Burgos cathedral, and from 1282 also a tithe to the Church. The rabbis of Burgos appointed the administrative officers (*muqaddimin*) of the Sahagun community, a day's journey distant, and the *bet din* of Burgos also served Sahagun. The non-Jewish authorities assisted in enforcing adherence to Jewish observances by the community when necessary, and sometimes imposed fines on offenders. In the second half of the 13th century the kabbalist R. Moses b. Solomon b. Simeon, a disciple of R. Jacob ha-Kohen, was living in Burgos, while many kabbalists were to be found in the small towns of the vicinity. Some of the important kabbalists of the second half of 13th century in Castile were born in Burgos, lived there, or stayed there for a while. In 1325 Alfonso XI bestowed an annual grant of 4,000 maravedis on the convent of Santa Maria la Real, out of the yearly tax paid by Burgos Jewry; the grant was subsequently increased by a further 1,000 maravedis from the same source.

During the civil war for the crown of Castile (1366–68) the city supported Pedro. When Henry captured Burgos he exacted a sum of one million gold maravedis from the Jews; to meet this demand the community was forced to sell the crowns and ornaments on all the Torah scrolls, except the celebrated "scroll of Ezra the Scribe." In addition Henry declared a moratorium on Jewish loans to Christians, ruining the Jewish creditors. When Henry was forced to leave Castile, Burgos again passed to Pedro, and on Henry's second entry he was attacked from the Jewish quarter and the fortress, which only surrendered after the walls had been destroyed. In 1379 new restrictions were enforced and Jewish trading outside the *Judería* was prohibited.

During the persecutions of 1391, the Jews of Burgos took refuge in the houses of the Christian merchants. A small number were martyred. Some were baptized and later settled in a special quarter for Conversos. The best known convert from Burgos was its rabbi, Solomon Halevi, who assumed the name *Pablo de Santa María and the position of the bishop of Burgos. He joined several other converts on the Iberian peninsula who led the campaign against the Jews. In 1414 many Jews became converted through the activities of Vicente *Ferrer. During the 1440s only 23 heads of families are recorded as liable to pay tax. Several Jews are known to have practiced as physicians in the 1450s and 1460s. In 1485 the Jews of Burgos and district paid 56½ castellanos toward the cost of the war with the Moors in Granada, and both Jews and Moors were forbidden to engage in commerce, ostensibly in order to keep prices low. Toward the end of the 1480s even more severe restrictions were imposed on the Jewish residents, until the municipality was directed by the crown to alleviate their condition. The majority of the Jews of Burgos adopted Christianity after the Edict of Expulsion of 1492; those who remained in the faith left, presumably for Portugal. The Conversos in Burgos adapted themselves to Christianity, and few were tried by the *Inquisition.

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[Zvi Avneri / Yom Tov Assis (2nd ed.)]

BURGUNDY, former French duchy (to be distinguished from the county of Burgundy; see *Franche-Comté). Jews were living in Burgundy at least from the first half of the ninth century, primarily in *Chalon-sur-Saône and *Macon. From the tenth century, Jews cultivated fields and vineyards in the neighborhood of these two towns. The Jewish population of Burgundy reached its maximum in the 13th century. The presence of Jews is attested to in about 50 additional towns in the duchy, including *Auxerre, Auxonne, Avallon, *Baigneuxles-Juifs, Beaune, *Bourg, and *Dijon. The Jews of the duchy were under the jurisdiction of the duke, except in Dijon where both the municipality and the duke claimed them. In addition to the regular *taille*, or poll tax, the Jews were required to pay extraordinary taxes, known as the "*rançon*" (ransom). The amounts paid in taxes increased constantly. For the fiscal year 1277, the Jews in the duchy paid a total of almost 1,500 livres, while between 1297 and 1302 those in the bailiwick of Auxerre alone paid almost the same amount. The position of the Jews deteriorated at the beginning of the 14th century. Although ducal protection was specifically recommended by Duke Robert II who declared in his testament in 1302, "I desire that the Jews shall live on my land," in 1306 they received the same treatment as the Jews in the kingdom of France and were expelled. Most of them took refuge in the county of Burgundy. The debts and securities seized in Chalon and Buxy alone amounted to 33,295 livres. A few Jews apparently returned to Burgundy after 1311, and a general permission to return was given in 1315, when they mainly settled in the same localities as previously. The Jews in Burgundy continued to share the fate of the Jews in the kingdom of France, both expulsion in 1322 and readmission in 1359. In 1374 Duke Philip the Bold granted privileges to the Jews in Burgundy, but limited the number of families with authorized residence to 12, increased in 1380 to 20. Despite popular requests for their expulsion, the duke made them a new grant of privileges in 1384; he also increased the number of families to 52, although in fact fewer were willing to take advantage of this. In this period, Jews were only living in Dijon, Chalon, and Beaune. In 1394, before the end of their 12-year term, they were all expelled. Numerous medieval Jewish scholars were natives of Burgundy. The liturgy used by the Burgundian communities had some special features.

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[Bernhard Blumenkranz]

BURIAL.

In the Bible

Decent burial was regarded to be of great importance in ancient Israel, as in the rest of the ancient Near East. Not only the Egyptians, whose extravagant provision for the dead is well known, but also the peoples of Mesopotamia dreaded above all else the thought of lying unburied. One of the most frequently employed curses found in Mesopotamian texts is: "May the earth not receive your corpses," or the equivalent. In the same way one can measure the importance that Israelites attached to burial by the frequency with which the Bible refers to the fear of being left unburied. Thus, one of the curses for breach of the covenant is: "Thy carcasses shall be food unto all fowls of the air, and unto the beasts of the earth" (Deut. 28:26). Again and again the prophets use this threat, especially Jeremiah. He says, in judgment on King Jehoiakim, "He shall be buried with the burial of an ass, drawn and cast forth beyond the gates of Jerusalem" (22:19).

There is also abundant positive evidence for the importance of burial. Abraham's purchase of the cave at Machpelah as a family tomb (Gen. 23) and the subsequent measures taken by later patriarchs to ensure that they would be buried there (Gen. 49:29–33; 50:25–26) occupy a prominent place in the patriarchal narratives. Biblical biographies ordinarily end with the statement that a man died, and an account of his burial (e.g., Josh. 24:30), especially if this was in some way unusual (e.g., that of Uzziah, the leprous king, II Chron. 26:23); this is not only a literary convention, but reflects the value assigned to proper interment. To give a decent burial to a stranger ranks with giving bread to the hungry and garments to the naked (Tob. 1:17–18). Tombs of the Israelite period in Palestine show that considerable, though not lavish, care was given by those who could afford it, to the hewing out of tombs and the provision of grave goods.

Nevertheless, this assessment of the importance of decent burial must be qualified. Archaeology reveals no distinctively Israelite burial practices during almost the whole of the biblical period. The Israelites continued to use modes of burial employed in Palestine long before the conquest. It follows that it is risky to draw firm conclusions about Israelite religious beliefs on the basis of specific burial practices, e.g., the provision of grave goods or lack of them, communal or individual burial, and so on, since any or all of these may have been dictated by immemorial custom rather than by consciously held conviction. The law says relatively little about burial, and where it treats the subject, the concern is to avoid defilement by the dead (Num. 19:16; Deut. 21:22–23). The dead do not praise God, they are forgotten and cut off from His hand (Ps. 88:6, 10–12), and in consequence mourning and the burial of the dead are at most peripheral matters in Israelite religion.

The one thing expressed most clearly by Israelite burial practices is the common human desire to maintain some contact with the community even after death, through burial in one's native land at least, and if possible with one's ancestors. "Bury me with my fathers," Jacob's request (Gen. 49:29), was the wish of every ancient Israelite. Thus, the aged Barzillai did not wish to go with David, "that I may die in mine own city, [and be buried] by the grave of my father and of my mother" (II Sam. 19:38); and Jerusalem was beloved to Nehemiah, in exile, as "the city of my fathers' sepulchers" (Neh. 2:5). In harmony with this desire, the tomb most typical of the Israelite period is a natural cave or a chamber cut into soft rock, near the city. Bodies would be laid on rock shelves provided on three sides of the chamber, or on the floor, and as generations of the same family used the tomb, skeletons and grave goods might be heaped up along the sides or put into a side chamber to make room for new burials. This practice of family burial, though not universal if only because not all could afford it (see references to the graves of the common people in II Kings 23:6; Jer. 26:23), was common enough to give rise to the Hebrew expressions "to sleep with one's fathers" (e.g., I Kings 11:23) and "to be gathered to one's kin" (Gen. 25:8; et al.) as synonyms for "to die."

There is no explicit biblical evidence as to how soon after death burial took place (Deut. 21:23 refers to hanged criminals only), but it is likely that it was ordinarily within a day after death. This was dictated by the climate and by the fact that the Israelites did not embalm the dead (Jacob and Joseph were embalmed following Egyptian custom, Gen. 50:2, 26). *Cremation was not practiced by the ancient Israelites. There is no archaeological evidence that this was their practice, and the references to "burnings" at the funeral of certain kings (Jer. 34:5; II Chron. 16:14; 21:19) presumably refer to the burning of incense or some of the king's possessions, not the body. On the other hand, it may be going too far to say, as is often done, that cremation was regarded as an outrage. That the men of Jabesh-Gilead burned the mutilated bodies of Saul and his sons is not spoken of as a desecration, but as part of their loyalty (*ḥesed*) to their overlord (I Sam. 31:9–13; II Sam. 2:5). The references to burning of certain criminals, often cited in this connection, refer to a mode of execution, not to a mode of burial (Gen. 38:24; Lev. 20:14; 21:9), and note the remarkable way in which the Mishnah (Sanh. 7:2) prescribes that this be carried out – burning of the corpse is not involved. Bodies were buried clothed and carried to the tomb on a bier (II Sam. 3:31), but not in a coffin. Joseph's coffin is to be understood as Egyptian custom (Gen. 50:26).

The New Testament sheds some light on Jewish burial practices of the first century C.E. Jesus' disciples took his body, bought a great quantity of myrrh and aloes, "and wound it in linen clothes with the spices, as the manner of the Jews is to bury" (John 19:40). There was a delay in completing the preparation of the body for burial because of the Sabbath (Mark 16:1; Luke 23:56). Luke (7:11–17) gives a vivid picture of the simple funeral of the poor; the body of a young man of Nain is borne out of the city on a pallet, clothed but without coffin, followed by the weeping mother and "much people of the city."

[Delbert Roy Hillers]

In Post-Biblical Times

Rabbinic legend stressed the antiquity of inhumation by relating that Adam and Eve learned the art of burial from a raven which showed them how to dispose of the body of their dead son Abel by scratching away at a spot in the earth where it had interred one of its own kin (PdRE 21). Maimonides ruled that even a testamentary direction not to be buried is to be overruled by the scriptural injunction of burial (Maim. Yad, Evel, 12:1 and *Sefer ha-Mitzvot*, Positive Commandments no. 231). The Talmud (Git. 61a) rules that the burial of gentiles is also a religious duty (cf. Tosef., Git. 5:5 and TJ, Git. 5:9, 47c).

In talmudic times, burial took place in caves, hewn tombs, sarcophagi, and catacombs; and a secondary burial, i.e., a re-interment (*likkut aẓamot) of the remains sometimes took place about one year after the original burial in *ossuaries (Maim. Yad, Evel, 12:8). The rabbinic injunction (Sanh. 47a) that neither the righteous and the sinners, nor two enemies (Jeroham b. Meshullam, *Sefer Adam ve-Ḥavvah* (Venice, 1553), 231d, *netiv* 28) should be buried side by side is the origin of the custom of reserving special rows in the cemetery for rabbis, scholars, and prominent persons.

Jewish custom insists on prompt burial as a matter of respect for the dead, a consideration of particular relevance in hot climates. According to one kabbalistic source, burial refreshes the soul of the deceased, and only after burial will it be admitted to God's presence (*Midrash ha-Ne'lam* to Ruth; cf. Zohar, Ex. 151a). The precedents set by the prompt burials of Sarah (Gen. 23) and of Rachel (Gen. 35:19) are reinforced by the Torah's express command that even the body of a man who had been hanged shall not remain upon the tree all night, but "thou shalt surely bury him the same day" (Deut. 21:23). The Talmud (BK 81a) states that speedy burial of a corpse found unattended (*met mitzvah*) was one of the ten enactments ordained by Joshua at the conquest of Canaan and is incumbent even on the high priest who was otherwise forbidden to become unclean through contact with the dead (Nazir 7:1). Josephus records that it is forbidden to let a corpse lie unburied (Apion, 2:211), and consideration for the dead is one of the central features of Tobit (2:8). Some delays in burial are, however, justified: "Honor of the dead" demands that the proper preparation for a coffin and shrouds be made, and that relatives and friends pay their last respects (Sanh. 47a; Sh. Ar., YD 357:1). Even then, however, only a few hours should elapse (David b. Solomon ibn Abi Zimra, Responsa, Warsaw ed., 1 (1882), no. 311). In talmudic times, while the burial was not delayed, graves were "watched" for a period of three days to avoid all possibility of pseudo-death (Sem. 8:1). Later, however, it became customary to bury as soon after death as possible and in 1772, when the duke of Mecklenburg-Schwerin (with Moses Mendelssohn's approval) decreed an interval of three days before the burial, the leading rabbinic authorities protested vigorously (*Ḥatam Sofer*, YD 338). Certain delays are unavoidable. Funerals may not take place on the Sabbath or on the Day of Atonement; and although the rabbis at one time permitted funerals on the first day of a festival, provided that certain functions were performed by gentiles, and regarded the second day of *yom tov* as a weekday as far as the dead are concerned (Beẓah 6a), some modern communities prefer postponement. Where there are two interments at the same time, respect demands that the burial of a scholar precedes that of an *am ha-areẓ* ("average citizen"), and that of a woman always precedes that of a man.

The duty of burial, although primarily an obligation incumbent on the heirs (Gen. 23:3 and 25:9; Ket 48a), ultimately rests with the whole community. In talmudic times, the communal fraternal societies (**ḥevra kaddisha*) for the burial of the dead evolved out of an appreciation of this duty (MK 27b).

Similarly, escorting the dead (especially a deceased scholar) to his last resting place is considered a great *mitzvah* "the fruit of which a man enjoys in this world while the stock remains for him in the world to come" (Pe'ah 1:1 as adapted in the morning service). It justifies even an interruption in the study of the Torah (Ket. 17a and Sh. Ar., YD 361:1) and is called "the true kindness" (*ḥesed shel emet*) since one can expect no reciprocation of any sort (Rashi to Gen. 47:29; cf. Gen. R., ad loc.). Josephus states that "All who pass by when a corpse is buried must accompany the funeral and join in the lamentations" (Apion, 2:205); the minimum duty is to rise as the funeral cortege passes (TJ, Bik. 3:3, 65c; Sh. Ar., YD 361:4), and accompany it for four cubits ("four paces"). "One who sees a funeral procession and does not escort it," states the Talmud (Ber. 18a), "transgresses thereby 'whoso mocketh the poor (i.e., the dead) blasphemeth his Maker' (Prov. 17:5), and should be placed under a ban" (YD 361:3). Only if the hearse passes a bridal cortege is the bride given preference: to honor the living is considered greater than to honor the dead (Ket. 17a, Sem. 11:6, although cf. Maimonides' conflicting opinion, Yad, Evel 14:8). A custom instituted by kabbalists, and still largely observed in Jerusalem, forbids sons to follow the bier of their father and attend his funeral.

In rabbinic times, funeral processions were led by lamenting female mourners, often professionals. The Mishnah quotes R. Judah as ruling that "even the poorest in Israel should hire not less than two flutes and one wailing woman" for his wife's funeral (Ket. 4:4). Women also composed elegies that were chanted aloud, as evidenced by the Talmud's inclusion of eight elegies attributed to the women of Shoken-Zeb in Babylon (MK 28b). Prohibitions against women's voices being heard in public were relaxed for funerary rituals (Kid. 80b; Suk. 52a). The more elaborate ancient rituals have either disappeared or been modernized. The recital of psalms in the home still precedes the burial act; however, the custom of having musicians (Ket. 46b), torchbearers, and barefooted professional mourners in the funeral procession has been discontinued. In Great Britain, the custom of reciting the *meḥillah* (asking pardon of the corpse on the arrival at the cemetery) was discontinued by Chief Rabbi Marcus Adler in 1887. The dressing (*halbashah*) of the dead (even princes) in costly garments of gold or silver is forbidden (Maim., Yad, Evel 4:2), despite the rabbis' view that anyone who dresses the dead in comely shrouds (*takhrikhim*, from the Hebrew verb "to wrap up") testifies to a belief in the resurrection (*Nimmukei Yosef* to Alfasi, MK 17a). R. Judah ha-Nasi expressly ordered that he be buried in a simple linen shirt (MK 27b). Since talmudic times, it has been customary to bury a male in the *tallit* which he had used during his lifetime, after its fringes have been deliberately rendered ritually unfit. The victim of an unnatural death is buried in his blood-soaked garments over which the white shrouds are placed in order that all parts of the body should be interred (Naḥmanides, *Torat ha-Adam; Inyan ha-hoẓa'ah*).

Coffins were unknown to the early Israelites (as they are to contemporary Oriental Jewry). The corpse was laid horizontally and face upward on a bier (II Sam. 3:31); the custom of burying important personages in coffins evolved only later. R. Judah ha-Nasi, however, ordered that holes be drilled in the base of his coffin so that his body might touch the soil (TJ, Kil. 9:4, 32b) and Maimonides mentions the custom of burial in wooden coffins (Yad, Evel 4:4). In Ereẓ Israel, coffins are not usually used. In the Diaspora, it is still customary to spread earth from Ereẓ Israel on the head and face of the corpse, but the customs of placing ink and pen beside a deceased bridegroom (Sem. 8:7) and a key and book of accounts beside a childless man (*ibid.*) have been discontinued (*Baḥ*, YD 350). The older practice of food offerings to the dead (Deut. 26:14; Tob. 4:17; Ecclus. 30:18), of placing lamps in graves, and of burying the personal effects of princes and notables with the corpse (as was done for Gamaliel I by Onkelos (Av. Zar. 11a)), have completely disappeared. The more recent custom of placing flowers on the grave is discouraged by Orthodox rabbis because of **ḥukkat ha-goi*. Before the funeral, the mourners tear their upper garment as a symbol of mourning (**Keri'ah*).

The funeral service, now often conducted in the vernacular, varies according to the age of the deceased. A male child who died before he was seven days old is circumcised and given a Hebrew name at the cemetery (*Haggahot Maimoniyyot*, Milah 1:15). Only two men and one woman participate at the funeral of children who die before they reach the age of 30 days, although children who have learned to walk and thus are already known to many people are escorted as adults. In such and normal cases, the coffin is carried on the shoulders of the pallbearers into the cemetery prayer hall (*ohel*; Maim., Yad, Evel 4:2) where the **ẓidduk ha-din* ("acknowledgment of the Divine judgment") beginning with the affirmation "The Rock, His work is perfect, for all His ways are judgment" is recited. In some communities, this prayer is recited after the coffin has been lowered into the grave, and on those days on which the **Taḥanun* is not said, Psalm 16 is substituted for *ẓidduk ha-din*. In the cemetery while the coffin is being borne to the grave, it is customary (except on those days when the *Taḥanun* is not recited) to halt at least three times and recite Psalm 91. In talmudic times, seven stops were made for lamentations (see Ket. 2:10; BB 6:7), symbolizing the seven times that the word *hevel* ("vanity") occurs in Ecclesiastes 1:2 (BB 100b); corresponding to the days of the creation of the world and also to the seven stages which man experiences during his lifetime (Eccles. R. 1:2). Some Sephardi rites have the custom of seven *hakkafot* ("circumambulations") at the grave.

When the coffin is lowered into the grave, those present say, "May he (or she) come to his (or her) place in peace"; they then fill in the grave. As they leave, they throw grass and earth behind them in the direction of the grave, while saying, "Remember (God) that we are of dust." Prior to leaving the cemetery they wash their hands (in Jerusalem, it is customary not to dry them afterward). In the *ohel*, Psalm 91 and the **Kaddish* are recited by the mourners. The participants at the funeral then recite "May the Almighty comfort you among the other mourners for Zion and Jerusalem" as they stand in two rows between which the mourners pass. The precise order of the funeral varies from place to place and from community to community. Many of the customs among the Sephardi Jews are closer to those of talmudic times than Ashkenazi customs.

Reform Jewish Practice

Certain burial practices are unique to Reform Jews (mainly in the U.S.). Embalming and delay of burial for a day or two are permitted if necessary to wait for the arrival of relatives from a distant city (sometimes funerals are delayed even without this reason). Reform Jews are usually buried in ordinary clothes, without dirt in the coffin. Reform rabbis generally permit cremation, although it is still rare among Jews. Suicides are buried in their family plots.

Sephardi Practice

In the Sephardi communities in Ereẓ Israel, it is customary to carry the bier of a rabbi or scholar by hand, whereas for an ordinary person it is carried on the shoulders. When the men of the burial society leave the house they break an earthenware jar in front of it, symbolic of man as a "broken sherd" and in order to frighten away the evil spirits.

In Safed it was customary to immerse the corpse in the *mikveh* of R. Isaac Luria which is close by the cemetery whereas in Tiberias, Lake Kinneret was used for this purpose.

In most communities it is usual to walk in a ceremonial circle seven times around the bier reciting appropriate verses and in some, coins are thrown to the four directions and the verse "And to the children of Abraham's concubines he gave gifts" (Gen. 25:6) is recited. The "children of the concubines" are the evil spirits and the money is in order to satisfy them so that they should not make claims on the deceased.

It was also customary for old men to buy a grave and actually go into it, after which they would give a festive banquet.

In Egypt the funeral service usually was held in the synagogue. Occasionally the deceased's *tefillin* were buried with him and he was buried with his head toward Jerusalem. In Yemen, however, the body was buried with the feet toward Jerusalem so that when the dead will be revived he will stand and immediately bow toward the Holy City.

In Libya if a man died and left a wife in the early stages of pregnancy, those carrying the bier would lift it high when they left the house and the widow would pass under it in order to demonstrate that the deceased is the father and prevent malicious gossip later. Sons did not go near the bier and did not enter the cemetery but stayed at the entrance where they recited the *Kaddish* at the end of the burial service. The burial society supplied the mourners' meal and buried the remains of it in the ground so that mourning should not return to that family.

If the deceased was an old scholar a small meal was eaten before the bier was removed from the house. Participation in the meal was meant to ensure long life. At such a funeral no dirges or lamentations were recited. **Yigdal* and *Adon Olam and a special *piyyut* in honor of Simeon b. Yoḥai were recited instead.

In Yemen the mourners followed the bier in black *tallitot* (prayer shawls) and the sons of the deceased uncovered their right arms and shoulders (cf. BK 17a). The participants walk around the bier seven times and a formal declaration releasing the deceased from all penalties that may have been put on him is made.

In Kurdistan the sons of the deceased do not follow the bier but remain in the courtyard of their house.

[Reuben Kashani]

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BURLA, family of Jerusalem rabbis from the 18th century onward; members of the Burla family are also found in Greece and Turkey.

ISRAEL JACOB BURLA (d. 1798) is mentioned in 1770 as one of the seven leading scholars who headed the Jerusalem community. He was a member of the *bet din* of Yom Tov Algazi, and later *av bet din*. In 1774, a year after the invasion of Ereẓ Israel by the armies of Ali Bey, ruler of Egypt, he and Yakar b. Abraham Gershon Kitover traveled to Europe as emissaries, to acquaint the communities there with the misfortunes of the Jerusalem community and to enlist their aid. His letter of appointment, printed in Portuguese in Amsterdam, 1776, contains an account of important historical events. His plan for a system of taxation, written at the request of the communal leaders of Siena, during his stay there in 1777, was published in Italian in a pamphlet entitled *Legge del Ẓorkhei Ẓibbur* (Florence, 1778). In 1782 Israel was back in Jerusalem, where he remained for the rest of his life. His responsa, *Mekor Yisrael* (1882), were published by his great-grandson, Joseph Nissim Burla, together with the responsa, *Naḥalat Ye'udah*, of his son, Judah Burla.

Israel Jacob Burla's son JUDAH BEKHOR BEN ISRAEL JACOB (d. 1803) was also a Jerusalem scholar. His signature appears on approbations beginning with 1789, and in 1795, while still a young man, he was the third member of the *bet din* of Raphael Joseph b. Rabbi. After Napoleon's invasion of Ereẓ Israel in 1799, and the consequent suffering of the Jerusalem community, he went as an emissary to Arab countries, and in 1800 was in Baghdad. His responsa, *Naḥalat Ye'udah*, were published together with those of his father.

SAMUEL BURLA (d. 1876) was a wealthy Jew of Janina, who settled in Jerusalem and was appointed Greek consul. MENAHEM BEN JACOB BURLA (possibly Israel Jacob's son), Hebron scholar, traveled abroad in 1835 as an emissary for the Hebron community.

JOSEPH NISSIM BEN ḤAYYIM JACOB BURLA (1828–1903) was a rabbinical emissary, and preacher. In 1859 he was sent to Morocco together with Baruch Pinto. Joseph Nissim was one of those who built and settled in the Mishkenot Sha'ananim quarter, the first settlement outside the walls of Jerusalem. The sermon he preached at its consecration in 1863 was published under the name *Divrei Yosef* (1863). That same year he was sent as an emissary to North Africa and Western Europe on behalf of the Battei Maḥaseh community in Jerusalem and in 1871 he was sent to Turkey. In 1878–81 he and his son Ḥayyim Jacob were emissaries to North Africa and Tripoli. In 1882 he helped Nissim *Behar found the Torah u-Melakhah school. Joseph Nissim was the author of: (1) *Leket Yosef* (1900), a collection of laws arranged in alphabetical order; (2) *Va-Yeshev Yosef* (1905), responsa, published together with *Shuvu Banim*, sermons; (3) *Yosef Ḥai* (Jerusalem, National Library, Mss. Heb. 8° 716, 715), the first part a collection of his sermons for the years 1848 and 1852, and the second part a talmudic methodology; (4) *Olat Shabbat (ibid.* 4° 153), sermons; (5) *Petaḥ ha-Ohel* (ibid. 8° 719), a talmudic methodology; (6) a responsum on the Mishkenot Sha'ananim development, in manuscript in the Benayahu collection. He also composed prayers and *piyyutim*, some of the latter being included in *Yagel Ya'akov* by his nephew Jacob Ḥai Burla.

His son, ḤAYYIM JACOB (1847–1929), accompanied his father as an emissary to Turkey and Morocco. Twelve volumes of his sermons, along with a register of promissory notes, accounts, etc., are in the National Library of Jerusalem (443, 8⁰).

JACOB HAI BEN JUDAH BURLA (d. 1892) was a Jerusalem cantor. He founded the Ḥemed Baḥurim society for evening and Sabbath study, and published a number of *tikkunim* ("orders of study for special occasions"): *Marpe la-Nefesh* (1873), studies for the Sabbath in accordance with *Ḥemdat Yamim; Tikkun ha-Berit* (1881); and *Oraḥ Ḥayyim* (1890), a *tikkun karet* ("an order of expiation"). He also published *Yismaḥ Yisrael* (1875), a small collection of poems, a Ladino edition of *Shivḥei ha-Ari* (1876), and *Yagel Ya'akov* (1885), poems by himself and other authors.

JOSHUA BEN BEKHOR JUDAH BURLA (1852–1939), bookbinder by trade, was in charge of the graves of Rachel in Bethlehem and Simeon ha-Ẓaddik in Jerusalem. He was the father of the writer, Yehuda *Burla.

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BURLA (Bourla), YEHUDA (1886–1969), Hebrew novelist, one of the first modern Hebrew writers of Sephardi Middle Eastern background. Born in Jerusalem, Burla was a descendant of a family of rabbis and scholars (originally from Izmir, Turkey) that had settled in Ereẓ Israel some three centuries previously. He studied in yeshivot and the Jerusalem Teachers' Seminary (1908–11). During World War I he served in the Turkish army as an interpreter. After the war he was director of Hebrew schools in Damascus for five years. He taught in Haifa and Tel Aviv. From 1930 he spent several years as head of the Arab Department of the Histadrut, was an envoy of Keren Hayesod to the Latin American countries (1946), and director of Arab Affairs in the Ministry of Minorities (1948). Burla served several terms as president of the Hebrew Authors' Association and as chairman of the Bio-Bibliographical foundation, Genazim.

When he was 18, Burla read the classical modern Hebrew authors (*Mendele Mokher Seforim, Ḥ.N. *Bialik, J.Ḥ. *Brenner, I.L. *Peretz) for the first time, and discovered that they portrayed only the life of the Ashkenazim of Eastern Europe, while neglecting the world of the Middle Eastern Sephardim. He determined to correct this imbalance by depicting the milieu, language, customs, and thinking of this hitherto neglected community. When he completed his final year in the Teachers' Seminary, he wrote his first story "*Lunah*," which he sent to the noted writer Joseph Ḥayyim Brenner. A week later came the decision, a turning point in Burla's life: "You are talented," said Brenner, "Write!"

Beginning with "*Lunah*," a love story set in the Sephardi communities of old Jerusalem, and continuing with his many other works, Burla became the first modern Hebrew writer to deal extensively with the life of Middle Eastern Sephardim. He may be termed the epic writer of this Jewry, encompassing Jewish life in Arab and Balkan lands as well as in Ereẓ Israel – Jerusalem, Safed, Hebron – from its Turkish period to the State of Israel. Just as an entire Eastern European Ashkenazi society could be reconstructed from the works of *Shalom Aleichem and S.Y. *Agnon, so the Sephardi Jewish world can be recreated from Burla's writings. His novels and stories depict a way of life that is fast disappearing as a result of immigration and acculturation to Israeli life. His fiction recorded the garb, diet, language, and folklore of that community.

"*Lunah*" set the tone in subject matter (Sephardi Jewry), theme (characters overwhelmed by the power of love and the forces of destiny), and narrative mode (a blend of realism and romanticism) of his ensuing works. His second story "*Beli Kokhav*" ("Without a Star," 1937) continues this method. Here the setting changes to Bedouins instead of Jews, but the same tragic fate in love befalls the protagonists. Burla's first novel *Ishto ha-Senu'ah* ("His Hated Wife," 1928) centers on a Sephardi Jew in Ereẓ Israel who does not love his wife, but, afraid of the financial ruin that a divorce might bring, remains married to her. The same theme of emptiness in marriage is seen in *Naftulei Adam* (1929, *In Darkness Striving*, 1968), the story of a man who is continually unfaithful to his wife and falls in love with a selfless Arab divorcee. In this series of infidelities as a traveling merchant in the Arab villages on the outskirts of Damascus, he expresses his soul's longing for beauty and his gratitude to God who blessed him with such good fortune. Tragedy in love and the eventual insanity of the beloved are themes developed in *Alilot Akavyah* ("The Adventures of Akavyah," 1939). This two-part novel portrays a romantic and primitive child of nature with a sense of prophetic mission. He falls in love with an Armenian woman in the Anatolian mountains, is later rejected by her, then goes to Ereẓ Israel where he meets her reincarnation. Burla's two major historical novels deal with Sephardi Jews who had visions of Zion restored. *Elleh Masei Yehudah Halevi* ("The Journeys of Judah Halevi," 1959) depicts the life of the great poet of the Golden Age who 800 years ago called for a return to Ereẓ Israel, and *Ba-Ofek* ("On the Horizon" (three parts), 1943) portrays R. Judah Ḥai *Alkalai, the early 19th century Sephardi rabbi who urged immediate resettlement of Zion without waiting for miracles.

Although Burla's subject matter is mainly the Jews of Middle Eastern communities, his aesthetics and literary discipline are Western, shaped both by his education and his readings in modern Hebrew literature. His writing has no educational or didactic purpose, as did the works of the first Hebrew authors of Ashkenazi Jewry. Burla is primarily a storyteller. He is not a revolutionary in form or style but a traditional, somewhat romantic, narrator of the realistic school. Other works by Burla include (1) story collections: *Im Shaḥar* (1946), *Nashim* (1949), *Tom va-Meri* (1951), *Be-Ma'gelei Ahavah* (1953), *Reshafim* (1961); (2) novels: *Meranenet* (1930), *Bat Ẓiyyon* (1930–1), *Na'amah* (1934), *Bi-Kedushah o-Ahavah* (1935), *Senunit Rishonah* (1954), *Ba'al be-Amav* (1962); (3) collected works (8 volumes) were published in 1962. For

English translations of Burla's works, see Goell, Bibliography, 19, 64f., 102.

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[Curt Leviant]

BURLE-MARX, ROBERTO (1909–1994), Brazilian landscape designer. Born in São Paulo, Burle-Marx began his career as a painter. He turned to landscape gardening and joined the revolutionary group which introduced modern architecture into Brazil in the 1930s. Among his gardens are the Flamengo scheme for landscaping a million square yards of land reclaimed on the coastline of Rio de Janeiro, the botanical and zoological garden for Brazilia, and six patios for the UNESCO building in Paris. As a painter, his works gradually came to express the colors and shapes of the Brazilian landscape.

BURLE MARX, WALTER (1902–1990), conductor, composer, and pianist. Born in São Paulo, Burle Marx started his musical studies with Henrique Oswald and Angelo Franca. At the age of 12, he appeared in two piano concerts with Artur Napoleao. From 1924 he studied in Europe: piano with Kwast (1924–26), orchestration with Reznicek (1926–28), and conducting with Weingartner (1928–29). In 1925–26 he toured Europe as a pianist. On his return to Brazil, he formed the Philharmonic Orchestra of Rio de Janeiro (1931) and in 1947 became director of the Rio Municipal Theater. In 1952 he was appointed to teach the piano and composition at the Settlement Music School, Philadelphia. His compositions include four symphonies (1945, 1950, 1956, 1970), *Theme, Variations* and *Fugue* (1926), *Episodio Fantastico* (1939), *Variaçòes sobre o hino nacional* (1947), and Samba concertante (1961).

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[Israela Stein (2nd ed.)]

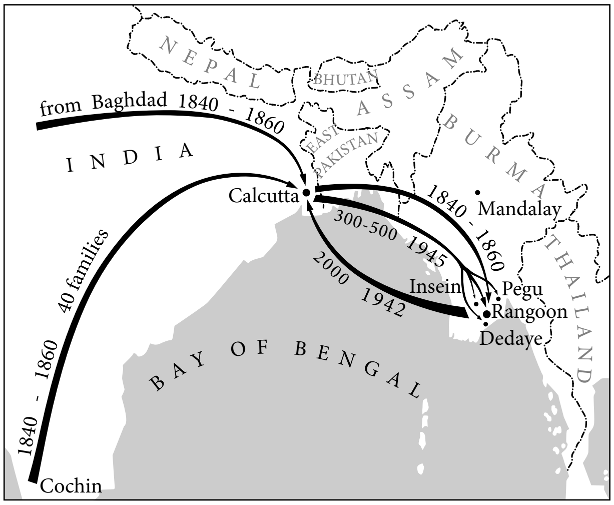

Movement of Jews to and from Burma in the 19th and 20th centuries.

BURMA (Myanamar), republic in southeast Asia. Jews from Calcutta, Cochin, and Persia may have settled in various towns of Burma in the first half of the 19th century. Specifically Baghdadis from Calcutta with business interests – often based on opium – further east would stop at Rangoon on the way to Singapore, Jakarta, Manila and Shanghai. The first Jew known definitely to have settled in Burma was Solomon Gabirol, probably a *Bene Israel, who served as commissar in King Alaungpaya's army. A Jewish merchant, Goldenberg, from Romania, engaged in the teakwood trade and accumulated great wealth. Solomon Reineman of Galicia arrived in Rangoon, the capital of Burma, in 1851 as a supplier for the British army and opened stores in various places. His *Masot Shelomo* ("Solomon's Travels," 1884) contains a long chapter on Burma, and is the first Hebrew account of the country and its towns. In 1857 the synagogue Maẓmi'aḥ Yeshu'ah was established in Rangoon, first taking the form of a wooden structure and later in 1893–6 rebuilt in stone. A second synagogue, Beth El, was built in 1932. The Jewish community, scattered in several places in the country, particularly Mandalay (where there are still a few Jews), Bassein, Aykab, and Toungyi, included members of the *Bene Israel group from Bombay, Arabic-speaking Jews from Calcutta, and Jews from Cochin and other parts of the Oriental Diaspora. The number of Jews in Rangoon and other places peaked at 1200. With World War II and the Japanese invasion of Burma, community life was disrupted and many Jews fled to Calcutta or Ereẓ Israel. After the war, about 500 Burmese Jews returned, but later they left the country. In 2005 just a handful of Jews remained in Rangoon although the Maẓmi'aḥ Yeshu'ah was still maintained through the efforts of Jack Samuels, the community leader.

"Lost Jews"

From the beginning of the 19th century, first Christian missionaries and later some Jews found reason to believe that the populous Karen tribe of Burma was descended from Jewish stock. Above all it was the cult of the High God Yuwah or Ywa, reminiscent of the Hebrew YHWH, which excited Christians and later Jews and inspired them with the certainty that here must be some long-lost relic of the ancient religion of the Hebrews. Until recent times, when the cause of the Karen was taken up by Amishav, Christian and particularly Baptist missionaries were the most fervent supporters of the idea. Nonetheless some Jews too were convinced of similarities. In a Bombay Jewish journal, *The Jewish Tribune*, of April 1934, there appeared the first of a series of articles written by a member of the Bene Israel by the name of J.E. Joshua. Joshua, who was based in Rangoon, called his article "The Lost Jews of Burma." "They live in forests and villages and hills," he wrote. "They hunt animals, grow paddy and keep elephants…. In fact, the Chinese Jews, who originally migrated from Persia to China, are to-day within the confines of the land of golden pagodas, spirits and white elephants but known as Karens."

[Walter Joseph Fischel / Tudor V. Parfitt (2nd ed.)]

Burma-Israel Relations

Burma became independent in January 1948 and therefore did not participate in the deliberations of the UN on the partition of Palestine. The specific Jewish aspect of the problem was completely alien to her and, like many Asian countries, she regarded the Jewish settlement in Palestine as a manifestation of "Western Colonialism." Thus, in the spring of 1949, when Israel applied for membership in the UN, Burma cast a negative vote. However, following a seeming stabilization of the situation in the Middle East, in December 1949 Burma accorded full recognition to Israel. The first contacts between the two countries were created in the framework of the international labor movement. In 1952 a Burmese socialist mission visited Israel and additional contacts were developed when an Israel delegation, headed by the then foreign minister, Moshe *Sharett, took part in the first Asian Socialist Congress in Rangoon in 1953. Shortly after, full diplomatic relations were established and Israel's first minister to Burma, David Hacohen, opened a legation in Rangoon. The Burmese opened theirs in Israel in 1955. Until 1963 the relations between the two countries developed swiftly. Prime Minister U Nu paid the first state visit to Israel in 1955, shortly after the Bandung Conference, at which Burma unsuccessfully fought for Israel's admittance to the caucus of Asian-African countries. A special agreement concluded in 1956 served as a framework for the constantly growing cooperation. Israel sent a large number of professional and agricultural experts to further Burmese projects. A model agricultural settlement was set up by Israeli experts in the northern dry zone (the "Namsang" project); a joint shipping line was built (the Burma Five Star Line); irrigation schemes were set in motion; nurses were trained; the Burma Pharmaceutical Industry (BPI) was provided with Israel technological assistance; a joint construction and contracting firm was established; and expert counselors co-managed important Burmese projects. This cooperation also extended to the Burmese army, the nucleus of whose parachute corps was Israeli-trained. Under a commercial contract, Israel imported substantial quantities of rice from Burma. A constant exchange of visits was made by leaders of both countries: the chiefs of staff paid almost annual visits; Israel's president Ben-Zvi went to Burma in 1958, Prime Minister Ben-Gurion in 1961, Golda Meir, then foreign minister, in 1962. General Ne Win, who succeeded U Nu, also visited Israel. Both countries' missions were raised to ambassadorial level in 1957. This wide-ranging cooperation came to a rather abrupt end in 1963, when Burma, under General Ne Win, embarked on a new policy of nationalization, self-reliance, and reemphasis on strict neutrality and noninvolvement with non-Burmese parties. Israel-Burma joint ventures wound down, though some Burmese students and professionals still came to Israel to study and a number of Israel experts went to Burma. Mutual trade also continued. In 1988, after the Burmese (Myanmar) armed forces (or Tatmadaw) formed the State Law and Order Restoration Council (SLORC) and took over control of the country, there were rumors of a secret military partnership between Israel and Burma. Low-level contacts in others spheres continued into the 21st century.

[Michael Pragai / Tudor Parfitt (2nd ed.)]

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BURNING BUSH, the *seneh*, which is connected with God's revelation to Moses and of which it is stated that "The bush burned with fire, and the bush was not consumed" (Ex. 3:1–4). Various identifications have been proposed for the plant. One suggestion is that it is a variety of thorn-bush which grows extensively in desert wadis, namely, the wild jujube (*Zizyphus spina-Christi*) known in Arabic as in Egyptian as *nabs*. An ancient inscription found in the Sinai Desert reads: "The god Safdu who dwells in the *nabs,*" an expression analogous to the biblical Divine epithet "Dweller in the bush" (Deut. 33:16). Others identify the *seneh* with a variety of acacia widely found in Sinai or with a parasite plant that lives on it; the climber, *Loranthus acaciae*, is covered by red flowers and fruit, and from a distance creates the illusion of being on fire. Others see a similarity between the biblical word and the plant known in Arabic as *sana*, the desert plant *Cassia obovata*, which grows very low and might appear too humble a vehicle for the revelation. However, the opening of an incantation prescribed in the Talmud suggests that the *seneh* is a rather low tree. It reads: "O *seneh*, it is not because you are the tallest of the trees that the Holy One, blessed by He, caused His Divine Presence to rest upon you, but because you are the lowliest of all the trees" (Shab. 67a). Yet others, on the basis of the traditions of the monastery of St. Catherine in Sinai, identify it with the shrub *Colutea istria* which has bright yellow flowers and distended pods, or with the bramble, or blackberry (*Rubus sanguineus* (*sanctus*)). The latter identification is supported by rabbinic literature in which the bramble is referred to as *seneh* and its fruit, first red and later black, as *innevei seneh* ("the berries of the *seneh*"; TJ, Ma'as. 1:3, 48d). In their many homilies in *Midrash Rabbah* on the revelation of God in the *seneh*, the sages had the bramble in mind, and sought to explain why God had chosen to reveal Himself to Moses in this particular plant. The homilies cited here are those that contain some description of it. The bramble grows on wadi banks (also in Sinai) and in moist fields, hence the homiletical interpretation: "Even as the *seneh* grows both in a garden and by a river, so Israel has a share in this world and in the world to come." "Even as this *seneh* flourishes wherever there is water, so Israel flourishes only by virtue of the Torah which is called water." The bramble has no central stem but instead produces long, thin branches with spiked thorns and is therefore used as a hedge: "Even as this *seneh* is used as a hedge for gardens, so is Israel [a hedge] for the world." The thorns of the bramble are unusual in that "they all bend downward" so that whoever picks the sweet black fruit "puts his hand into it and feels nothing but when he withdraws his hand it gets scratched. Even so when Israel went down to Egypt no one knew them, but when they went out, they went out with signs and wonders." Similarly, a bird "gets into it and feels nothing but when it goes out, its wings are scratched." The bramble has pink flowers that resemble small roses and hence "the *seneh* produces thorns and produces roses." Its leaves consist of between three to five leaflets and the fact that "the *seneh* has five leaves" was used in an allusion to Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Moses, and Aaron. (The sources of the above Midrashim are Ex. R. 2:5 and Song R. 1:6.) These descriptions confirm the sages' identification of the *seneh* associated with God's revelation to Moses with the bramble. This is the earliest and most authentic tradition.

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[Jehuda Feliks]

BURNS, ARTHUR FRANK (1904–1987), U.S. economist. Born in Stanislau, Austria, Burns studied at Columbia University, New York, and then taught at Rutgers and Columbia. In 1930 he began a long association with the National Bureau of Economic Research, whose president he became in 1957. Burns served as a presidential adviser and was a member of numerous government bodies concerned with economic matters. From 1953 to 1956 (during the Eisenhower administration) he was chairman of the President's Council of Economic Advisers. In October 1969 Burns was named chairman of the Board of Governors of the U.S. Federal Reserve System by President Nixon, a position he held until 1978.

Later on, he took a position at the American Enterprise Institute. He then served as an adviser to Ronald *Reagan. From 1981 to 1985 Burns was the U.S. ambassador to the Federal Republic of Germany.

His publications include *Economic Research and the Keynesian Thinking of Our Times* (1946), *Measuring Business Cycles* (with W.C. Mitchell; 1946), *Stepping Stones Towards the Future* (1947), *The Cumulation of Economic Knowledge* (1948), *Production Trends in the United States since 1870* (1950), *New Facts on Business Cycles* (1950), *Looking Forward* (1951), *Business Cycle Research and the Needs of Our Times* (1953), *Frontiers of Economic Knowledge* (1954), *Prosperity without Inflation* (1957), *The Business Cycle in a Changing World* (1969), *Reflections of an Economic Policy Maker* (1978), *The Anguish of Central Banking* (1979), *The Condition of the American Economy* (1979), *The Ongoing Revolution in American Banking* (1988), *Arthur Burns and the Successor Generation: Selected Writings of and about Arthur Burns* (with Hans N. Tuch; 1988).

[Joachim O. Ronall / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

BURNS, GEORGE (1896–1996), U.S. comedian. Born in New York City, Burns was one of 12 children. He supported his family with his show business earnings after his father died.

As Nathan Birnbaum, the young Burns sang for pennies at street corners. He started his career at the age of seven, singing in the Pee Wee Quartet. He went on to vaudeville, where he worked as a seal trainer, a trick roller skater, and a dance teacher. In 1923 he teamed up with his future wife, Gracie Allen. Their act starred Burns as funny man, but later they exchanged roles. They appeared in big vaudeville houses and in 1932 were hired for a radio program, *The Burns & Allen Show*, which ran for 17 years.

In 1950 they starred in their own TV program, *The George Burns and Gracie Allen Show*, which ran until 1958 when Gracie retired. Essentially using themselves and their family life as the main premise for the show, Burns added an unprecedented and seemingly original dimension to programming for television viewers. But, as Burns put it, "My major contribution to the format was to suggest that I be able to step out of the plot and speak directly to the audience, and then be able to go right back into the action. That was an original idea of mine; I know it was because I originally stole it from Thornton Wilder's play *Our Town*." Eventually, the show's writers (Burns was head writer) gave him additional omniscience by placing a closed-circuit TV in his den, which enabled him to watch the goings-on in the household and comment on the activities even when he was not a participant.

His production company, McCadden, produced the sitcoms *The Bob Cummings Show* (1955–59), *The People's Choice* (1955–58), and the highly popular show about a talking horse, *Mister Ed* (1961–66).

When Gracie died in 1964, Burns continued performing on his own, taking on dramatic roles as well as comedic ones. In 1975 he co-starred with Walter Matthau in the film *The Sunshine Boys,* which won him an Academy Award as Best Supporting Actor. At 80, he became the oldest Oscar recipient. Still going strong, Burns appeared in several other movies, namely *Oh God* (1977); *Going in Style* (1979); *Just You and Me, Kid* (1979); *Oh God! Book II* (1980); *Oh God! You Devil* (1984); and *18 Again* (1988). He also recorded several albums, and at age 84 won the 1990 Grammy for Best Spoken-Word Recording for *Gracie: A Love Story.* In 1994 *The Burns & Allen Show* was inducted into the Radio Hall of Fame.

Burns' signature feature was his ever-present cigar. Not just a prop, he actually smoked at least ten a day, and lived to be 100. When someone asked him what his doctor's opinion of his frequent smoking was, Burns responded, "My doctor is dead." For his body of work over the many years, Burns received Lifetime Achievement Awards from the American Comedy Awards (1987 and 1978), the British Comedy Awards

(1991), and the Screen Actors Guild (1995). In 1988 he was a recipient of the Kennedy Center Honor.

Burns produced his first book of memoirs in 1955, entitled *I Love Her, That's Why!* He went on to write *Living It Up, or They Still Love Me in Altoona* (1976); *The Third Time Around* (1980); *How to Live to Be 100: Or More! The Ultimate Diet, Sex and Exercise Book* (1983); *Dear George: Advice and Answers from America's Leading Expert on Everything from A to Z* (1985); *Gracie: A Love Story* (1988); *All My Best Friends* (with David Fisher, 1989); *Wisdom of the 90s* (with Hal Goldman, 1991); and *100 Years, 100 Stories* (1996).

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[Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

BURRIANA, city in the medieval kingdom of Valencia, eastern Spain, which was part of the medieval Crown of Aragon. Shortly after the Christian reconquest of the area in 1233, Jews settled in the citadel and the unwalled area nearby, as well as in the neighboring village of Villareal. The history of the communities in the two places was closely connected. The status of the Jews was regulated by the *Furs,* the local collection of laws and customs. As the Jews belonged to the Crown, James I decreed that the Jews of Burriana would be under the jurisdiction of the *justicia,* a local functionary who held judicial authority. Several Jews of Burriana were in the service of the king. Astruc Jacob Siso (Xixo) served as *baile* of Burriana from 1268 until 1273. Documents give a picture of his varied commercial activities, including loans to royalty, administration of the salt tax, and supervision of works on the fortress of Peñiscola. Another local notable was Solomon Vidal who received from James I land for orchards, vineyards, and gardens, and for building a residence, and was appointed *baile* of Villareal in 1276. Salomon Vidal, who was the *baile* of La Plana, collected the rents of the region that included Burriana, Castellon, and Onda in 1278. During the 13th century, Jewish landowners were granted various privileges. The communities of Burriana, Murviedro (Sagunto), Onda, and Segorbe formed a single tax administrative unit (*collecta*), assessed to pay an annual tax of 2,000 sólidos. The first reference to the *aljama,* to a legally constituted community, is from 1326 under James II. In that same year the King gave instructions that land for a cemetery should be made available to the community. The juhería or judería of Burriana consisted of two main streets, known today as de la Mare de Déu dels Desamparats and Santa Teresa. There were about 30 dwelling places in the Jewish quarter. The Jews also had their synagogue there. When the *baile* appointed an unacceptable candidate as *ḥazzan* in 1369, the community appealed to Pedro IV who ordered the *baile* to appoint someone with more suitable qualifications. The physician Vidal Garcian practiced here in 1390; his son Lobell was physician to the royal family. During the massacres of 1391 the Jewish quarter was destroyed. The king empowered Francisco Desplugues, governor of Valencia, to restore looted property to its rightful owners. The municipality and city elders (*jurados*) were fined 13,000 sólidos of the Barcelona mint, and the optimates and council of Villareal, 7,000 sólidos. Subsequently the Burriana community recovered to some extent. Martin I freed a number of reputed Conversos who had come to Burriana from Castile and whose extradition had been demanded. At the time of the expulsion in 1492 the Burriana Jews left Spain from the nearby port of Valencia.

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[Haim Beinart / Yom Tov Assis (2nd ed.)]

BURROWS, ABE (**Abram Solman Borowitz**; 1910–1985), U.S. author and director. Born in New York City, Burrows was educated at the City College of New York and New York University. He began his writing career as a scriptwriter for *Duffy's Tavern* on radio, and later for the Rudy Vallee program. He sang on his own radio program (*The Abe Burrows Show*), in nightclubs, and on television.

Burrows wrote *Guys and Dolls* (1951), *Can-Can* (1953), *Silk Stockings* (1955), *The Solid Gold Cadillac* (1956), *How to Succeed in Business Without Really Trying* (1961), and *Cactus Flower* (1965).

On Broadway, he directed *Two on the Aisle* (1951–52), *Can Can* (1953–55), *Happy Hunting* (1956–57), *Say, Darling* (1958–59), *How to Succeed in Business Without Really Trying* (1961–65), *What Makes Sammy Run?* (1964–65), *Cactus Flower* (1965–68), *Forty Carats* (1968–70), and *Guys and Dolls* (revival, 1976–77).

When *Guys and Dolls* first appeared on Broadway in 1951, it won a Tony Award for Best Musical. It is still considered one of the finest musical comedy scripts ever written. And Burrows' *How to Succeed in Business Without Really Trying* was so successful that in 1962 it garnered him a Pulitzer Prize for Drama, as well as three Tony Awards for Best Musical, Best Author, and Best Director. Because of his talent for music and comedy, Burrows was known in the business as "the show doctor," often being called in to administer to an ailing script or libretto.

Burrows also hosted several television shows, namely *This Is Show Business* (1949–51), *Abe Burrows' Almanac* (1950), *We Take Your Word* (1950–51), *The Name's the Same* (1951–52), *This Is Show Business* (1956), and *What's It For?* (1957–58). He also made frequent appearances as a guest panelist on such shows as *What's My Line?* and *To Tell the Truth.* In 1980 Burrows wrote his autobiography *Honest, Abe: Is There Really No Business Like Show Business?* His son, JAMES (1940–), was the director of such popular TV sitcoms as *The Bob Newhart Show, Lou Grant, Taxi, Cheers, Night Court,* and *Friends*, and won seven Emmys.

[Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

BURSA (**Brusa**, formerly **Prusa**), city in northwestern Anatolia, capital of the Ottomans in the 14th century; afterward a provincial capital. According to seven Hebrew inscriptions from 820 C.E., Jews lived in Bursa in the Byzantine period. When Bursa was captured by the Ottomans (1326), the city was vacated by its inhabitants but the Jews returned shortly thereafter. A 14th-century colophon identifies a member of the Jewish community in Bursa as Shlomo ha-Nasi, son of Rabbi Jesse ha-Nasi of Trnovo. In one case, in 1471–74, the public scales at the market in Bursa, where goods were officially weighed and certified, were in the hands of Istanbul Jews originally from Trnovo and Cernova. The tax farmers were still paying off their debt to the government as late as 1478. Spanish exiles settled in the city in the first half of the 16th century and the existing community of *Romaniot (Byzantine) Jews assimilated among them. The Jews in Bursa lived in a special quarter where they continued to reside until the 1960s. The Eẓ Ḥayyim synagogue, which resembles a mosque, is the oldest of the town's three synagogues, the others (Gerush and Mayor) having been established later by Spanish exiles. In 1592 several Jews were accused of luring a man named Mirza b. Ḥusain into their home and tying him to a pillar where they drew his blood although he ultimately escaped. The sultan ordered the eight Jews involved to be exiled to Rhodes. In the late 16th century, an attempt was made to remove Jews from shops in the marketplace at Bursa, but the Jews were able to produce orders proving that the government had guaranteed them the right to occupy those shops without interference and even to pass them on to their children. This privilege was probably issued in the early part of the century to encourage Jews to settle and stay in Bursa. According to the Tapo documents and other Ottoman documents, in the years 1538–39 and 1540–41, 166 Jewish families lived in the city of Bursa, in 1546 there were 250 Jewish families, and in 1594–95 there were 650. By 1598, 735 Jewish families lived in Bursa. All these families paid the *jizya* tax to the Ottoman Empire. There are many documents about the Jewish community of Bursa in the 17th century. In 1618–19 and c. 1641–42, 270 Jewish families lived in the city, but by 1696–97 there were only 141 Jewish families in Bursa. The Jews lived in large corporate houses that were owned by Muslim waqfs in the city, the majority of them in the Koro-Çesme quarter. The Jews were deeply involved in the economic activities of Bursa unlike the Christians. Generally, the Jews enjoyed the favors of the authorities and there were Jews who even purchased Muslim slaves. They also bought Jewish slaves and ransomed them. Only a few Jews were murdered in Bursa during the Ottoman period. The Jews owned many shops in the city markets and did business with other groups. The Jews were also members of the local guilds. They paid the *jizya* tax through their representative, the **kakhya*. In 1603–04 the *kakhya* was Joseph ben Moses. In the 17th century there were local Jews who had a monopoly (*Iltizam*) on the mercantile taxes of the Ottoman government, including the Persian silk tax, the wine tax, etc. By the mid-17th century many Jews lost their businesses to military personnel who took control of the markets. During the Ottoman period the Jews in Bursa stood out especially as goldsmiths, luxury metalworkers, and financiers but only a few were moneylenders. Sometimes the Sarraf-Bashi in the city was a Jew, such as Isaac ben Joseph. The majority of Jews were textile workers and merchants. Many imported Persian silk and were members of the silk merchants guilds. Many others were silk manufacturers and dyers. Many, however, were poor. In 1539 or 1543 Rabbi Abraham Ibn Ya'ish (b. c. 1520) lived there. He was a member of the yeshivah founded around that time by R. Isaac ibn Lev and also the rabbi of the Gerush congregation in the city. Other known scholars of the period were Moses Ibn Gamil, Yom Tov Alroyo, Meir Halevi ibn Migash, Moses Shorbiel, and Jacob Sirilano. They corresponded with such famous rabbis as Joseph *Caro and Samuel *Medina. R. Gabriel ben Elia founded another yeshivah in Bursa and was head of the city's rabbis until 1560. He settled in Lepanto in 1561 but died before 1570. Ibn Ya'ish immigrated to Istanbul and died there before 1579. The rabbis of Bursa in the first half of the 17th century were Abraham Algazi and his son Judah Algazi (d. 1636) and Abraham Ganso. In the second half of the same century the rabbis Samuel Sagnis and Isaac Raphael Alfandari served in the city. Moses Algazi, the father of R. Solomon Algazi of Izmir, was the chief rabbi of Bursa in 1668. Joshua *Benveniste lived in the city for a short period in the mid-17th century. Raphael Samuel Hadjes was the chief rabbi in 1672–80. At the beginning of the 18th century Elijah Joseph Shilton was the chief rabbi in the city, and Yom Tov Saban officiated in Bursa in the mid-18th century.

The majority of Bursa Jews during the Ottoman period were religious but not cultured people. Modernity penetrated the city only in the late decades of the 19th century and at the beginning of the 20th century. The Jews spoke and wrote Ladino. Before Passover 1865, another blood libel accusation occurred, but the authorities took immediate measures to punish the Greeks who rioted in the Jewish quarter. At the end of the 18th century R. Ḥayyim Moses Galipolity lived in the city. The latter was also a physician. In the 19th century R. Jacob de Leon, the stepfather of R. Hayyim *Palache, lived in Bursa. He wrote *Tikkun ha-Shulḥan*, published in Istanbul in 1849. R, Shabbetai Galipolity served as a rabbi in the second half of the 19th century and wrote his book *Yismaḥ Mosheh*, published in Izmir in 1868. Other rabbis in the city during the last decades of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th were Nissim Medini, Solomon Uziel, David Papo, and Moses ben Habib.

The Alliance Israélite Universelle founded a boys and a girls school in 1886, which 450 pupils attended in 1914–18. In 1923 the schools were closed and the students were transferred to a Turkish school. Another scholar in that town was R. David Papo, the author of the book of sermons *Benei Me'ir,* which was published in Izmir in 1888. There were a few cases of local Jews who married Muslims. In 1883, 2,179 Jews lived in the city; in 1886, 600 families (2,800 people). The entire Jewish community lived in the same quarter and was poor. Before World

War I the community numbered 3,500. In 1927 this fell to 1,865, due to considerable immigration to South America. In 1939 there were 2,400 Jews, but by 1969 only 350–400 remained. By 1977 that number had dwindled to 192 Jews. The number of those employed was 52, of whom 46 were textile merchants. The leaders of the community were then Joseph Ventura and Kamal Ezuz. The rabbi was Uriel Arisa, a native of Istanbul. The Jewish waqf survived. It contained a complete street with 30 shops that in the past were rented by Jews and a large area where the Etz Ḥayyim synagogue once stood. This synagogue was burned in 1851. The estate is rented to Gentiles, with the monies going to the community treasury. The Gerush synagogue has existed for 400 years and includes seating for 500 men and 200 women. The ancient Mayor synagogue has seating for 250 men and 100 women.

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[Aryeh Shmuelevitz / Leah Bornstein-Makovetsky (2nd ed.)]

BURSTEIN, family of actors. PESACH (1900–1986), born in Warsaw, joined a wandering Yiddish troupe as a boy. In 1924 he was engaged by Thomashefsky's Broadway company and appeared in many productions. In 1940 he married the Yiddish actress Lilian Lux and with her formed a company which had its own theater, the Hopkinson, in Brooklyn, N.Y. They played there in summer and toured abroad in winter. In 1954, they settled in Israel. The family enjoyed its biggest success in the musical *The Megilla*, based on poems by Itzik *Manger, and featuring their son Mike *Burstyn (1945–), a popular performer. After Pesach's death, his wife remained active in the Yiddish theater. In 1999 a documentary film called *The Komediant* on the Burstein family premiered in Israel and the United States, and winning an Israeli Academy Award.

[Dora Leah Sowden]

BURSTEIN, ABRAHAM (1893–1966), U.S. rabbi, author, and editor. Born in Cleveland, Burstein was ordained at the Jewish Theological Seminary in 1917. After serving in graves registration for the Jewish Welfare Board in France, he held pulpits in New England and New York. He was chaplain for the New York Department of Correction from 1934 until his death, chaplain of the Jewish Theatrical Guild from 1924, and executive secretary of the Jewish Academy of Arts and Sciences. Burstein was editor of the *Jewish Outlook*, editor and researcher of many Jewish scholarly works, and a leading book reviewer for the Anglo-Jewish press for many years. Author of books for children, he wrote *Boy of Cordova* (1934) about Moses ben Maimon, *Adventure on Manhattan Island* (1957) about Peter Stuyvesant and the Jews, and *A Jewish Child's Garden of Verses* (1940). He also wrote *Religious Parties in Israel* (1936) and *Laws Concerning Religion in the United States* (1950). Among his other books are *Ghetto Messenger* (1928), *Unpastoral Lyrics* (1930), *A Boy Called Rashi* (1940), *Judah Halevi in Granada* (1941), *The Boy of Wilna* (1941), and *West of the Nile: A Story of Saadia Gaon* (1942).

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[Abraham J. Karp]

BURSTEIN, ISRAEL (1891–1951), Hebraist. Born in Nadvornaya, Galicia, he studied at the University of Vienna, specializing in research on Hebrew language, the results of which he published in his book *Vollstaendige Grammatik der neuhebraeischen Sprache* (1929). After the *anschluss* of Austria by the Nazis, Burstein immigrated to Palestine in 1939 where he became an associate of the Va'ad ha-Lashon (see *Academy of the Hebrew Language). His main work *Torat ha-Hegeh ba-Lashon ha-lvrit* (1941) deals with Hebrew phonology. He elaborated a new method of Hebrew shorthand and a system for the fusion of Hebrew numbers (based on the Hebrew alphabet) with the commonly used (Arabic) numerals.

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BURSTYN, MIKE (1945–), U.S. actor. Born to Yiddish-theater performers Pesach *Burstein and Lilian Lux in New York, he first appeared on stage at the age of three. Often billed as Motele, Burstyn toured the world with his parents and sister Susan from 1952 to 1962, moving from the United States to Argentina and then to Israel seeking out Yiddish audiences. In Israel, Burstyn kicked off his screen career with a small part in director Ephraim Kishon's *Sallah Shabbati* (1964), followed by roles in *Shabbat Hamalka* (1965), *The Dybbuk* (1968), and *Hershelle* (1977). However, Burstyn is best remembered for his Kinor David award-winning performance as Kuni Leml in *The Two Kuni Lemls* (1966) and *Kuni Leml in Tel Aviv* (1976). After serving in the Israeli Defense Forces in 1967, Burstyn performed in the Broadway production of *The Megillah of Itzik Manger* (1968–69) with his parents and then in *Inquest* (1970). He relocated to Holland in 1978, where he hosted *The Mike Burstyn Show* (1978–81), a TV variety program that also aired in Israel. In 1980, he played the lead of P.T. Barnum in the Tony Award-winning musical *Barnum*, and the lead in the musical comedy *Ain't Broadway Grand* (1993). His numerous off-Broadway performances include *The Rothschilds* (1990) and a turn as Tevye in *Fiddler on the Roof* (1997). Burstyn continued to appear on stage in such productions as *Jolson* (1998) and *The Tale of the Allergist's Wife* (2003) and on screen as a Mossad agent in *Minotaur* (1997). In 1999, Burstyn, his family, and the history of Yiddish theater were the subject of the documentary *The Komediant.*

[Adam Wills (2nd ed.)]

BURSZTYN, MICHAL (1897–1945), Yiddish novelist. Bursztyn, who was born in Blonie, left home for Warsaw at age 12, studied in Polish schools, and then at the university. A teacher of history and literature, he was among the pioneers of Jewish *shtetl*-tourism in Poland during the 1930s. He contributed articles and short stories to various Yiddish journals. His first novel, *Iber di Khurves fun Ployne* ("On Ployne's Ruins," 1931), a realistic depiction of the difficulties of Polish-Jewish coexistence in independent Poland, won him immediate recognition. This work, his two later novels, *Goyrl* ("Destiny," 1936) and *Bay di Taykhn fun Mazovye* ("By the Rivers of Mazovia," 1937), and his stories collected in *Broyt mit Zalts* ("Bread and Salt," 1939) vividly chronicle all levels of Jewish society in Poland until the Holocaust. In September 1939 Bursztyn escaped to the Soviet territories. Trapped in the Kovno ghetto in 1941, he continued writing. He died in March 1945 at Dachau concentration camp.

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[Melech Ravitch]

BURTON, SIR MONTAGUE (1885–1952), British industrialist and philanthropist. Born in Russia as Moishe Osinsky, Burton went to Leeds, England, as a young man and, after working as a tailor, founded a clothing factory in 1910. He soon became known as a pioneer of cheap, well-made men's clothes and established a chain of shops which was the largest of its kind in Europe, employing over 20,000 people. Burton held radical views on the relations between employer and employee, and his factories were known for their good working conditions and generous employee benefits. He endowed chairs of industrial relations at the universities of Cambridge, Leeds, and Cardiff, and of international relations at Oxford, London, Nottingham, and the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. An enthusiastic traveler, Burton wrote a two-volume diary of his journeys, *Globe Girdling* (1936–38). Long after his death, Burtons continued to be one of the most familiar and successful of High Street retailers in Britain, probably the best-known men's clothing chain.

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BURY ST. EDMUNDS, English country town in Suffolk, East Anglia. A Jewish community developed there in the later 12th century, under the aegis of its famous monastery, where Jews were allowed to deposit their deeds and money and send their families for refuge in time of danger. During the slack rule of Abbot Hugh (1173–80) the monastery fell deeply into debt to a group of Norwich Jews. His successor, Abbot Samson, set about freeing it from its debts. In 1181 the Jews were accused of ritual murder and on Palm Sunday 1190, 57 Jews were killed in a massacre. Shortly afterward, Samson procured a royal writ to expel the survivors on the grounds that all inhabitants ought to be vassals of St. Edmund – the first occurrence of its kind in England. The whole episode became famous through Carlyle's account in *Past and Present* (1843). No basis exists for the suggestion that Moyse's Hall was the medieval synagogue.

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[Cecil Roth / Joe Hillaby (2nd ed.]

BUSAL, ḤAYYIM BEN JACOB OBADIAH DE (d.c. 1565), rabbi and kabbalist in Salonika. Busal, a Spanish exile, studied under Elijah Mizraḥi in Constantinople and was a disciple of Isaac Amarillo in Salonika. After the death of Eliezer Hashimoni (1530), Busal was elected to succeed him as rabbi of the Catalan community in Salonika. His tenure was marked by conflicts in the Salonika communities, particularly between the rabbi and lay leaders over the extent of their respective authorities. A major dispute occurred between Busal and the community before 1540. Busal was required to issue a certain document (of an unknown nature) and was warned that his refusal to comply with the requirement would disqualify him and any of his sons from being rabbi of the community. Busal refused to submit the document. Another dispute took place between him and one of the great rabbis of Salonika, Joseph Taitaẓak. Tam b. Yaḥya of Constantinople endorsed the legal decisions of Busal; however, after Taitaẓak wrote to Tam, the latter changed his mind and withdrew his support from Busal (responsa *Oholei Tam* no. 162 in *Tummat Yesharim*, Venice, 1620). Shortly after 1550, Busal went to Constantinople (Joseph Caro, *Avkat Rokhel*, no. 209). Nevertheless he continued to serve as rabbi of the Catalan community until his death. The poet Saadiah Longo wrote an elegy on him and considered him one of the important scholars of his generation. The manuscripts of most of the numerous responsa he issued have been lost. However, several of his responsa, as well as his endorsements (*haskamot*), have been printed or mentioned in the works of his contemporaries (e.g., *Mabit*, resp. no. 218; *Divrei Rivot*, nos. 130, 186; *Maharashdam*, YD, resp. nos. 61 and 89 and EH nos. 2, 21, 129; *Mishpetei Shemu'el*, resp. no. 100). Ḥayyim Benveniste mentions some of his responsa (*Ba'ei Ḥayyei*, YD no. 215; EH nos. 7, 11, 12). Busal was engaged for many years in the composition of his code of law following the order of the talmudic tractates. In 1546 he had completed his work on the order of *Zera'im*, as well as 13 additional tractates. He was one of the few Salonika scholars – who were mostly also kabbalists – whose kabbalistic works were published. His kabbalistic works include *Be'er Mayim Ḥayyim*, the first two parts of which were published (Salonika, 1546).

The other parts exist only in manuscript (Munich, Ms. 46). There are also some passages on eschatology (Oxford, Ms. Opp. Add. 40 105 and 181).

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BUSCH, CHARLES (1954–), U.S. actor and playwright. New York City–born, Busch grew up in the Westchester suburbs but was infatuated with the theater from an early age. He attended Northwestern University, where, he said, he realized he was an offbeat type, and the only way he was going to have a career was to create roles for himself. He started writing material to perform solo, learned the basics of style and exposition, and booked himself at gay bars and small theaters around the country.

In the early 1980s he and a friend assembled an informal company of performers who put on campy shows at a New York nightclub. With Busch performing in women's clothing, their play, *Vampire Lesbians of Sodom*, won a cult following and moved to the Off Broadway Provincetown Playhouse, where it ran for five years. In 1986 he created *Psycho Beach Party,* a spoof of surf movies. He wrote *The Lady in Question* in 1989, ostensibly a takeoff on World War II movies, as a critique of the New Age philosophy of enlightened selfishness. Another play, *Red Scare on Sunset*, in 1991, was a comic melodrama set during the McCarthy era with a heroine who spouted a politically incorrect ideology. "As I began creating these vehicles for myself," he said, "I gradually, without intending to, became a writer."

In the 1990s he experimented with several literary forms and wrote a novel, *Whores of Lost Atlantis*, a nightclub act, a musical revue, a play in which he played a male role (*You Should Be So Lucky* in 1995), and the book for an unsuccessful musical. Around that time, Busch wrote a one-man show in which he played several female characters, one of whom was a New York housewife seeking self-expression. "This was one of the few times I'd looked at my own suburban Jewish background and the people I grew up with," he said. He conceived of putting these characters in a cryptic Harold *Pinter-like play, and *The Tale of the Allergist's Wife*, with Linda *Lavin, was born. The major character, Busch said, was a composite of his octogenarian Aunt Belle and his late Aunt Lillian, who raised him after his mother died when he was seven. "It's ironic that the career I had all these years was based on my sexuality and performing in drag, which was a little too weird for a woman of her generation to embrace," he said. "And yet it was only because she made me so confident about myself that I was able to have this very odd career." The play ran for 777 performances on Broadway and received a Tony nomination for best play. Busch wrote and starred in the film versions of his plays *Psycho Beach Party* and *Die Mommie Die,* the latter winning him the Best Performance Award at the Sundance Film Festival. For two seasons he appeared on television as the cross-dressing inmate Nat (Natalie) Ginzburg in the HBO prison drama *Oz.* In 2003 he received a special Drama Desk Award for career achievement as both performer and playwright.

[Stewart Kampel (2nd ed.)]

BUSEL, JOSEPH (1891–1919), Zionist-Socialist pioneer; one of the originators of the idea of the *kevuẓah* (see *kibbutz movement) and among its founders in Ereẓ Israel. Busel was born in Lachowicze, Minsk Region (Belorussia). Before he went to Ereẓ Irael in 1908 he worked in an agricultural settlement established by *PICA in the Kherson province in the Ukraine. In Ereẓ Israel he joined the group cultivating land at the settlement of Kinneret, where he evolved the idea of the independent agricultural collective group. In 1910 Busel, together with members of his "commune of Ḥaderah," settled at Um-Juni (*Deganyah), which became the first *kevuẓah*. He played a major role in formulating and implementing the principles on which the *kevuẓah* was founded, e.g., equal burden of work for men and women and communal child care. Busel was a leader of *Ha-Poel ha-Ẓair, and during World War I was active in the general institutions of the *yishuv* in Ereẓ Israel. He drowned while crossing Lake Kinneret from Tiberias to Deganyah. His wife, HAYYUTA BUSEL (1890–?), was an educator and agriculturalist. She was born in Lachowicze, settled in Ereẓ Israel and married Joseph in 1917. She was a leading member of the *Histadrut and women's labor movement, and of Iḥud ha-Kevuẓot *ve-ha-Kibbutzim. She settled in Deganyah.

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[Simha Katz]

°BUSH, GEORGE HERBERT WALKER (1924–), 41st president of the United States (1989–93). Bush was born in Milton, Massachusetts, in 1924 to a prominent New England family. He is the son of Prescott Bush, a United States senator from Connecticut. After distinguished war service and graduation from Yale, he moved to Texas to make his fortune in the oil business. After losing a bid for the Senate in 1964, he was elected to the House of Representatives in 1966. He ran again for the Senate in 1970 and was again defeated. He then served as U.S. ambassador to the United Nations (1971–72), chairman of the Republican National Committee (1973–74); chair of the Liaison Office in Beijing (1974–76) and director of the CIA (1976–77). In 1980, he ran unsuccessfully for the Republican presidential nomination and then accepted Ronald Reagan's offer of the GOP vice presidential nomination. He served two terms as vice president (1980–88) and won the presidency in 1988, soundly defeating Democratic candidate Michael Dukakis, a Massachusetts liberal whose wife was Jewish, by carrying 54% of the vote. The Jewish community, however, supported Dukakis by a margin of almost two to one. After reaching pinnacles of popular support for his victory in the 1991 Gulf War, he lost a three-way election in 1988 to William Jefferson Clinton.

For many in the Jewish community, Bush's presidency could be encapsulated in his offhand quip to reporters in September 1991 during an AIPAC lobbying effort on Capitol Hill in support of the proposed $10 billion loan guarantee to Israel: "I'm one lonely little guy" up against "some powerful political forces" made up of "a thousand lobbyists on the Hill." The comment triggered a spate of antisemitic letters and comments for which the president later apologized.

Bush had opposed the loan guarantees as long as Israel continued settlement in the West Bank and Gaza. The president finally agreed to a loan guarantee package in August 1992, requiring as a set-off any funds Israel spent to build housing or infrastructure in the territories. Despite this action, the political damage was done. The loan guarantee controversy later motivated Jewish opposition to President Bush, who received no more than 12% of the Jewish vote in the 1992 election (down from close to 35% in 1988). While some claimed that Jewish opposition to Bush caused his 1992 defeat, there is little evidence that this was the case. Other actions had caused problems with the Jewish community as well. In March 1990, Bush expressed objection to "new settlements in the West Bank or in East Jerusalem." His reference to eastern Jerusalem and his suggestion that it was not a sovereign part of Israel created a furor and added to strained feelings between Israel and the U.S.

Bush's relations with the Jewish community, however, were far more nuanced than the issue of loan guarantees. As vice president, he personally spearheaded Operation Joshua, the 1985 rescue of Ethiopian Jewry, and was involved in every step of the U.S. military's manning and execution of that mission. In 1991, America was a key to the success of Operation Solomon, which brought 14,000 more Ethiopian Jews to Israel. In 1991, the Bush administration succeeded in reversing the infamous U.N. resolution that equated Zionism with racism.

In addition, the aftermath of the 1991 Gulf War led to a heightening of the military relationship between the two countries. Central to Bush's strategy was keeping Israel from entering the war and thereby placing the U.S. in the role of Israel's protector from an irate Iraq. Patriot anti-missile batteries were sent to Israel to provide protective cover. In the end, Iraq sent missiles towards Israel, and while they caused terror among the population, and isolated property damage, only one person was killed. Israel's responsiveness to U.S. strategy needs led to an intensification of the military relationship. Intelligence sharing, joint exercises, access to military, equipment, and personal relationships among military personnel reached new levels. The Bush Administration financed much of the Arrow anti-missile program and created the concept of prepositioning of U.S. arms in Israel.

Bush's perception problem with the Jewish community grew, in large measure, from the views and actions of his Israeli counterpart for much of his term, Prime Minister Yitzhak *Shamir. Shamir's "tough" line on issues related to settlements and to negotiations with the Palestinians would have made his relations with most American presidents delicate at best. Secretary of State James Baker's widely reported statement, "Bleep the Jews; they didn't vote for us anyway," did little to help.

One of the major achievements of the George Herbert Walker Bush administration was the Madrid Peace Conference of 1991, which reopened the door to the Middle East peace process and indirectly to the Oslo accords. Bringing all the parties to the table in Madrid was a triumph for Bush's Secretary of State James Baker, who alternatively applied carrots and sticks to cajole the parties to sign on.

[Marshal Breger (2nd ed.)]

°BUSH, GEORGE WALKER (1946–), 43rd president of the United States (from 2001). Bush was born in New Haven, Connecticut, the oldest son of George Herbert Walker *Bush, the nation's 41st president, and Barbara Bush. In 1994, Bush won the election for governor of Texas and was reelected in 1998, the first Texas governor to win consecutive four-year terms. He was elected president in 2000 defeating Al Gore in a race so close it was only decided after the Supreme Court, by a 5–4 decision, awarded him Florida's electoral votes, giving him a 271–266 victory in the Electoral College. He was re-elected in 2004, besting Massachusetts Senator John Kerry by around 2.5%.

Bush's share of the Jewish vote in 2000 was a modest 19%. During his first administration the Republican Party made concerted efforts to outreach to Jews, including a special event for Orthodox Jews at the 2004 nominating convention. Given his strong support for Israel's security concerns, many thought Bush would achieve a breakthrough in Jewish popularity. Notwithstanding his increased popularity among American Jewish activists, Bush received no more than 22–25% of the Jewish vote. Nonetheless, the 2004 election cast in doubt the "myth" of a homogeneous Jewish vote, institutionalizing the idea that American Jews are a two-party community with Republicans having a niche of predominance among the Orthodox.

Bush's presidency was transformed by the September 11 terrorist attack on the United States. The subsequent "war on terror" led to the invasions of Afghanistan (Oct. 7, 2001) and Iraq (March 20, 2002). It became the defining act of his presidency.

After 9/11, American Jewish opinion of Bush changed as the president moved closer to Israeli Prime Minister Ariel *Sharon as an ally in the war against terror. Even Democrats spoke of his support for Israel in glowing terms. Many credit his strong religious faith for this attitude. In particular, Bush gained considerably in the Orthodox community, where his strong pro-Israel views and his social conservatism found significant resonance.

Domestically, Jews remained concerned about the perceived rise of the Christian right in government. During Bush's first term, his political advisors focused on his conservative evangelical base and indeed, many credit that voter group for Bush's 2004 victory. The president explicitly spoke of himself as "born again." He urged use of "faith-based" organizations to provide social welfare, which concerned many Jewish organizations. He supported "school vouchers" for private (including religious) schools. He supported efforts to stop enactment of a Florida State Court – ordered withdrawal of life support for Terry Schiavo. He limited Federal funding for stem-cell research.

Bush came to the White House without much foreign policy experience. He had visited Israel in 1998 with the Republican Jewish Coalition and took a famous helicopter trip with Ariel Sharon over the West Bank. Because of the failure of President Clinton's Camp David initiative, Bush's initial attitude in the first year of his administration was to maintain a "hands-off" policy and do little to force the peace process forward. As the second Palestinian Intifada grew in intensity and Sharon turned to the military option, sending Israeli troops into Palestinian-controlled areas, the U.S. showed considerable understanding of Israel's needs. After Israeli forces captured 50 tons of weapons on the *Karine-A* vessel designated for the Palestinian uprising, Yasser *Arafat's credibility with Bush was destroyed; it was never to be regained.

On June 24, 2002, Bush called for "a new and different Palestinian leadership" effectively rejecting Arafat. At the same time he called for creation of an independent and democratic Palestinian state, and for Palestinian leadership opposed to terror and committed to reform. This two-part vision became the lodestar of Bush administration policy and the basis for the U.S. sponsored "road map" designed to assure security to Israel and result in the creation of an independent Palestinian state.

With the death of Yasser Arafat on November 11, 2004, the U.S. re-engaged in the peace process promoting both parts of Bush's June 24 vision. It supported Sharon's "unilateral" withdrawal from Gaza and parts of the West Bank and held out the future promise of a "two-state" solution.

The Bush presidency showed unusual understanding of Israel's security needs. It supported the controversial "security fence" (while pressing for a route closer to the "green line"), called suicide bombers "homicide bombers," and praised Sharon even while he was being accused of war crimes in many parts of Europe. Bush underscored his preferences by never inviting Arafat, who had been a most frequent visitor during the Clinton presidency, to the White House.

The Bush administration received plaudits from American Jews for its efforts to combat increased antisemitism in Europe and elsewhere. Under his watch, the U.S. walked out of the 2001 UN Durban World Conference on Racism; publicly rebuked Malaysian Prime Minister Mahathir Mohamad for allegedly antisemitic remarks; with the passage of the Global Anti-Semitism Review Act of 2004, established an office to monitor and combat antisemitism in the State Department; and appointed a special envoy on antisemitism with ambassadorial rank.

[Marshall J. Breger (2nd ed.)]

BUSH (Busch), ISIDOR (1822–1898), journalist, political liberal, and viticulturist. Bush was born in Prague, the son of Jacob Busch, partner of the Hebrew printer Anton von Schmid. He entered the printing profession at the age of 15 under the influence of M.H. Letteris, who worked for his father as a proofreader, and became interested in Hebrew literature. For a number of years he published yearbooks in German to which well-known Jewish writers contributed. In 1842 he initiated the *Jahrbuch fuer Israeliten*, the first almanac by Jewish authors for a Jewish public. Together with I.S. Reggio he published the Hebrew-German *Bikkurei ha-Ittim ha-Ḥadashim* (one issue, Vienna, 1845), and edited its German section, stressing in his preface the need to disseminate the Hebrew language. In 1848 he and Letteris published the weekly *Oesterreichisches Centralorgan fuer Glaubensfreiheit, Kultur, Geschichte und Literatur der Juden* and he also issued *Mikhtevei Ivrit*, a compilation of Hebrew letters (1847).

He participated in the revolutionary movements of 1848 and, after their failure, fled to America. In New York City in 1849, he became a bookseller and publisher-editor of the liberal German weekly *Israels Herold*, which soon failed. He then moved to St. Louis, where his wife's relatives, the well-known Taussig family, had already settled. Bush engaged in a number of business ventures, only one of which, the introduction of viticulture, seems to have been genuinely successful. At various times he was also a grocer, real estate promoter, banker, actuary, hardware dealer, and railroad executive. However, his major interests were cultural, political, and communal. He was a founder of Congregation Beth El, a leader in B'nai B'rith, and a popularizer of Jewish learning. He served as a St. Louis alderman in 1866 and as a member of the Board of Education from 1881 to 1884. In 1865 Bush was secretary of the Missouri State Board of Immigration, for which he had been prepared by his presidency for 12 years of the St. Louis German Immigrant Aid Society. His most notable political activity was as a Republican member of the Missouri state constitutional conventions during the Civil War, in which he warmly supported the Union cause and abolitionism in an area where large numbers of Confederate sympathizers lived.

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[Bertram Wallace Korn]

BUSH, SOLOMON (1753–1795), U.S. patriot and Revolutionary War soldier. Bush was born in Philadelphia, Pa., the son of a merchant, Mathias Bush. He was seriously wounded during a skirmish against the British in September 1777, and taken prisoner. Freed, Bush was made a lieutenant colonel in the Continental army (1779), the highest rank held by a Jewish officer in the Revolutionary army. In 1782 Bush contributed toward a new building for the Mikveh Israel Congregation in Philadelphia. A prominent Mason, Bush also joined the Quaker Abolitionist Society. At his own request he was buried in the Friends Burial Ground in Philadelphia.

[Leo Hershkowitz]

BUSHIRE (Arab. **Bushehr**), port city at the northern end of a peninsula on the Persian Gulf. During the 18th century it was a small town when Nader Shah (1736–47) built a naval base for Iran's fleet there. Subsequently Bushire became a center of trade and thus attracted the attention of the English East India Company (EEIC), which later moved many Iranian Jews as well as Iraqi Jews from *Basra and *Baghdad, and those who already had been living around the Persian Gulf, to settle in the city. The Jews of Bushire were mostly connected with the EEIC and Dutch Trading Company, an exporter of silk, woolen cloth, sugar and spices to European markets.

In the 18th century the general population was estimated at 20,000, which remained more or less stable throughout the 19th century. In 1808 Dupré counted 24 Armenian and Jewish households in Bushire. The Jewish traveler David d'Beth Hillel wrote the following about the Jews of Bushire in around 1828: "Bushire is a small town … it is a place of much trade, because it is the gate of Persia … there are about 200 poor families of Persian Israelites, having three synagogues; most of them are goldsmiths; they are very badly treated by the common Mahometans [i.e., Muslims]." He also reported that there were 500 families of Armenians who were "ill treated as are the Jews," all of them live among 5,000 Muslim families (p. 106; see Bibliography below).

Twelve years later, Coste found 200 Jewish and five Armenian households in the city. Around that time, because of Davud Pasha's despotic rule in Baghdad (1817–31), many Jews emigrated to the East, and probably some of them on their way to Calcutta, Sydney, and China settled in Bushire. Benjamin II (1850) wrote: "Here [Bushire] live about 70 Jewish families, who are less oppressed than those living in the interior of Persia. They owe this to the English consul" (p. 226). Rabbi Yehiel Fischel Castlemen (1860) reported that there were 40 Jewish families in Bushire, most of them silversmiths (p. 58).

The Anglo-Indian telegraph (completed in 1876) was one of the main factors that boosted the economy and made Bushire the main harbor on the Iranian side of the Persian Gulf, which accounted for 40 percent of all traffic in the Persian Gulf at the beginning of the 20th century. After World War II, *Abadan and Khorramshahr took the lead in commerce, which caused Bushire to decline. Naturally, the Jews were affected by the deterioration of the economy. However, the city's general population increased from 30,000–40,000 in the mid-1950s to over one million according to the census at end of the 20th century.

The Jews of Bushire were among the first groups of Khuzestani Jews who emigrated to the Land of Israel at the end of 19th and the beginning of the 20th centuries. They organized an institution (1913) called Ḥevrat Shalom ve-Reʿut, which aimed at helping the poor Persian Jews in Jerusalem. The sign on the door of their institution can still be seen in Agrippas Street near Maḥaneh Yehudah. According to *ʿĀlam-e Yahūd*, a Jewish Persian monthly published in Teheran, there were 400 Jews in Bushire after World War II. About 10 percent belonged to the middle class and the rest were poor. They had four synagogues and most were small-scale goldsmiths and textile dealers. They had no Jewish school of their own and lived under poor sanitary conditions. After the Islamic Revolution (1979) many left for *Teheran, Israel, and the U.S., so that no Jewish families were reported in Bushire by the end of the 20th century.

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[Amnon Netzer (2nd ed.)]

BUSINESS ETHICS.

The Role of Wealth

Any discussion of business ethics, within any cultural or religious framework, requires at the very outset a definition of the role of material wealth, financial assets, and other forms of economic possessions. Furthermore, there is a limit to what legislation can achieve and therefore, as important as is having legislation which caters to ethical principles, it is essential for a society to have a moral code within which its members are educated and to which they aspire beyond the discipline of the courts. As often as not, it is their attitude towards these material goods which will determine in no small measure the behavior of people in the market place. In those societies in which the possession of material goods is the be-all and end-all of man's life, or where simply ownership is the main thrust of the culture, it is very difficult, perhaps impossible, to maintain any form of ethical behavior since the norms of that society, both legal and cultural, will crumble before the onslaught of unbridled wealth. A concept of unlimited private property will destroy the social obligations which go together with the possession of wealth. The needs of the weak and the inefficient members of society will be neglected as will the protection given to other people's property against damage to the environment or to the natural resources by possessors of such unlimited private property rights. On the other hand, a society which rejects possession of material goods or which does away with concepts of private property or one which insists on poverty as a desirable social goal, creates its own moral problems since this runs contrary to the normal instincts of man. In such societies there soon grows a separate real underground economic reality of vast inequalities alongside the official egalitarian one.

So too a discussion of Jewish business ethics has to begin with an examination of the Jewish attitude to wealth and the moral attitudes created by its religious teachings, literature, and role models.

By and large, apart from a number of isolated ascetic trends in the days of the Second Temple and later in the 14th century pietistic movements of European Jewry, Judaism sees nothing wrong per se with the pursuit of wealth and with its acquisition. Basically this human need to provide for the material needs of the individual, the family, and society, is viewed in Judaism merely as one of many needs or urges possessed by the individual, which are considered to be essential for the propagation and continuation of the human race. The attitude of Judaism towards economic activity is exactly the same as its treatment of other human needs such as food, clothing, shelter, sex, and social organization. These needs or urges are legitimate provided they operate within the framework laid down by Jewish law and tradition. The aim of Judaism in this respect is not to destroy or to uproot these urges, which is considered both impossible and undesirable, but to educate them so that man will become sanctified in the way he satisfies these needs.

All wealth originates from the Deity who in His unlimited benevolence, grants it to His creatures in order to satisfy their legitimate needs. This promise of the Divine provider frees man from the unremitting pressure to provide through his own efforts, not just for himself but also for his children, grandchildren, and even for the unborn generations. This lesson was taught in its simplest form in the daily gift of manna to the children of Israel coming out of Egypt. It continues, however, to be part of the Jewish business fabric even though the miraculous manna was substituted in the Land of Israel and down to our own times, by the normal economic cycle of human endeavor in all its forms. The first fruits of the Jewish farmer were brought to the Temple in a confession which stressed that the source of that wealth was not man's luck, wisdom, or prowess but God; the blessings and grace over food, the institution of the sabbatical and jubilee years, and the prayers for prosperity on the Days of Awe, all contribute to the awareness of this source.

The Divine origin of wealth, however, brings with it an obligation to a pattern of business conduct in accordance with the Divine will. Over and above the parameters for the conduct of business activity lies the injunction to study Torah. This is an injunction which is unlimited in time, being unrelated to one's intellectual ability, age, economic welfare, or political status. Since time is an economic good and severely limited, such learning reduces the amount of time available for the acquiring and spending of wealth and is an important limitation on the business activity of the Jew. Furthermore, the use of wealth for conspicuous consumption and as a means of power becomes limited since the time devoted to this form of economic endeavor is being taken away from Torah study. So a concept of modesty in lifestyle and the pursuit of wealth becomes a basic tenet of Jewish business education.

Wealth therefore is legitimate provided it is earned and used within the parameters of Jewish religious teaching. These parameters insure the highest moral and ethical form of living since they owe their existence to a Divine code of absolute truth and morality. By and large, Jewish economic life, both that of individuals and that of society, has operated for thousands of years according to this framework within which the satisfaction of material wants is limited by the demands of morality, the rights of the individual are protected and provision is made for the needs of society, both at the individual and communal levels.

Since Judaism is an action-oriented religion rather than one which emphasizes faith, these parameters are expressed in detailed and clearly defined legal constraints and obligations. Furthermore, the fact that it aims to create a holy national group as distinct from religious individuals gives communal welfare and needs a proprietary interest which has to be recognized within the parameters of economic activity of the individual.

Sources

It may be argued that the moral and ethical framework for Jewish business behavior represents an idealistic society which never existed in reality. There is however sufficient empirical evidence to show that this argument is not valid. The three major codes of law – Maimonides' *Mishneh Torah* (12th century, North Africa), Jacob ben Asher's *Arba Turim* (14th century, Spain) and Joseph Karo's *Shulḥan Arukh* (16th century, Ereẓ Israel) – include sections related to business activity alongside sections regarding marital relations, religious ritual, and the dietary laws. It is illogical to admit that all the latter have always been an integral part of Jewish living and at the same time to argue that only the halakhic rulings regarding business are different. Furthermore, the extant enactments of the Jewish communities, which in effect represented mini-states rather than associations of co-religionists, included market regulations and punishment for economic misdeeds as well as curbs on patterns of consumption. The autonomous communities existed in all the countries of the Jewish Diaspora from the beginning of the exile after the destruction of the First Temple (586 B.C.E.) down to the Napoleonic period and even later in parts of Eastern Europe and North Africa.

Alongside the codes and communal enactments there exists an extensive responsa literature (halakhic answers to problems covering all aspects of Jewish civil, commercial, and ritual law) which shows that Jews had recourse to the rabbinic courts on business practices and litigation both at the individual and communal levels. This literature serves not only as evidence of the practical implementation of the Jewish ethical parameters for business activity but also as a refutation of the common assumption that Jewish law applies to an archaic, primarily agrarian economy.

Change in business techniques consistently requires reexamination of previous halakhic rulings to ascertain which of them are applicable and which are not. The responses to questions addressed to rabbinic authorities in all the centuries and countries of the Diaspora are a reflection of the applicability of the *halakhah* to changes in business techniques. In our day questions of advertising, full disclosure, insurance, labor unions, ecology, etc., form part of the ongoing responsa literature. At the same time, the basic human responses to having or not having wealth remain the same in all economic systems and therefore the moral guidelines of Judaism apply irrespective of the sophistication or lack of it in a particular stage of economic development.

Individual or Corporate Moral Responsibility

It would seem that many of the problems in modern business ethics flow from the separation of identity which exists in almost all legal systems between the corporation and the individual share holders who make up that corporation. This creates moral problems since the same person who in his private life would not think of stealing or robbing or breaking the law sees nothing wrong with doing exactly those things in his role as a director or an official of a corporation. It is as though the individual is divorced from the machinery and mechanism which goes to create wealth in our modern society by viewing the corporation as a separate legal personality. Jewish law has a provision for such business forms as the corporation in which the liability to the creditor is limited to the share capital of that corporation with no recourse to the private assets of the individual shareholders. This is something which is public knowledge and therefore it can be assumed that all involved in the transaction are aware of it so that there is no moral problem involved.

Judaism, however, cannot accept the separation between the corporation and the individual when it comes to abrogate the responsibilities of the latter as seen in Jewish business law. Two examples may suffice to demonstrate this (*Minḥat Yizḥak*, Part 3, section 1; Part 4, sections 16 and 18). Jews are not allowed to own leavened bread during Passover, so a corporation which has a majority of Jewish shareholders would likewise be forbidden from possessing such leavened bread. In the same way, the view that since the corporation is not a human being, the biblical injunction against interest does not apply to loans between two corporations or between an individual and a corporation has been rejected by most rabbinic authorities. So, a corporation whose shareholders are Jewish would suffer the same restriction on lending money at interest as do individual Jews. This means that the limitations on business activities imposed by Jewish moral teachings and rabbinic law, and the social obligations flowing from the possession of wealth, which apply to the individual, are binding on the corporation as well. Jewish executive officers cannot claim that their sole responsibility is to maximize the profits of their shareholders even in those cases where this can only be done contrary to Jewish ethical principles. In the same way, shareholders would be required to dismiss their corporate officers if these would perform actions on their behalf considered to be immoral or non-permissible in Judaism; otherwise, the responsibility, moral and legal, devolves on them. Furthermore, awards for damages granted by a *bet din* (rabbinic law court) against the corporation could be made against the private assets of the shareholders and not just against those of the corporation, since they are morally responsible for the actions of the corporation.

Truth in Trading

The basis of any business ethic is the protection of the property rights of all those involved in the market; buyer and seller, employer and employee, developer and community. So it is easy to follow Maimonides in regarding the Mosaic laws against dishonest dealings which in effect deprive one of the parties of their property, simply as rational and logical sanctions, essential to the existence of the market place. Most biblical commentators, however, did not accept this attitude but saw the injunction against theft as revealed Divine wisdom and therefore extending beyond human wisdom (Malbim on Exodus 20). Furthermore, business dishonesty thus becomes a transgression against God's will, a religious crime, over and beyond the legal aspects of the crime involved. This aspect becomes clear when we read the comment of the Talmudical sages that the fate of the generation of the Flood was only sealed because of *ḥamas*, robbery or theft even of something of no intrinsic value. The ḥasidic rabbi of Sochaczew queried why this should have been the cause of the Flood, since we know that that generation actually committed all three of the gravest sins – idolatry, adultery and murder – for which the penalty is death. He explained that *ḥamas* is the beginning of the unraveling of the whole fabric which culminates in the three cardinal sins, so that it was the robbery which sealed their fate.

This viewpoint is categorically at odds with the cost-benefit analysis common to much present-day teaching of business ethics which seeks to calculate the cost (imprisonment, shame, etc.) of committing a crime against the benefit (increased profits, status, etc.). Basically this argues that crime does not pay and therefore it should not be committed. However, when crime does not pay, no moral dilemma exists and therefore this type of analysis does not contribute much to an ethical framework. The Jewish value structure, in contrast, provides a framework of permissible and non-permissible actions irrespective of the gain or loss involved.

Halakhically, dishonesty in business falls into two categories – theft and robbery – both extended far beyond the idea of the cat burglar and highwayman. Theft is understood as all those acts whereby one takes illegal possession of another's property without him being cognizant of it, while robbery refers to the forcible taking of that property, exploiting the other's inability to protect himself. An example of the former is the case of a hired buying agent who accepts bribes or payments under the table in order to prefer a certain supplier so that his employer receives either inferior goods or pays a higher price; in those cases, where the goods are identical in every way to that of the other suppliers the bribe has to be shared with the employer since one is not allowed to make a profit from the use of somebody else's property. Robbery includes all those cases where a person uses his legal or financial position in order to withhold from another property which rightly belongs to him. So a debtor who falsely takes an oath that he has repaid a debt, a squatter living in somebody else's property without paying rent, or one who finds an article which he is obligated to return to the owner by Jewish law but does not do so are all considered robbers. The personal use of trust money, one who receives an asset as security for a debt and then claims to have bought it, and the withholding of a worker's wages are all seen in rabbinic language as cases of robbery.

Halakhically there are, however, other forms of business dishonesty, such as "*geneivat da'at*," literally "stealing another's knowledge," defective weights and measures, "*li-fenei ivver*" – a stumbling block in the path of the blind (Lev. 19:14), and *ona'ah, the act of wronging another by selling him an article for more than its real worth.

The mixing of good and inferior apples is classified by all the codes as *geneivat da 'at* but the ruling goes far beyond this simple example. Judaism in essence rejects the concept of "let the buyer beware" and places the full onus for disclosing defects and other shortcomings on the seller, even in the absence of a written guarantee. So *geneivat da'at* applies to the sale of a used car when the seller hides the fact that it has been involved in a serious accident, as it applies to the supply of goods or services which are not in accordance with the specifications regarding weight, size, color, etc. Advertising properties of goods which they do not really possess, false statements regarding the comparative efficiency of the articles sold, and even decorative packaging or wrapping so as to create a false impression are all examples of *geneivat da'at*.

When a corporation does not make full disclosure of any items in its financial reporting which are relevant to its creditors or its shareholders or the governmental agencies, it could quite easily be guilty of *geneivat da'at* since the trading conditions under which it is operating are not what they are made out to be. This lack of full disclosure of the corporate financial reporting would also seem to be an infringement of the law of *ona'ah*, which provides for redress for overcharging. Maimonides rules that in all those cases where important information regarding price is withheld, the injured party could claim the protection of the rabbinic court against the infringement of his rights under the law of *ona'ah* (Yad. Hilkhot Mekhirah, chapter 13, halakhah 4). Since the financial reporting has an effect on the price of a corporate share, the withholding of such information could also constitute an infringement of *ona'ah*.

The biblical injunction against putting a stumbling block in the path of the blind comes within the framework of truth in trading beyond its meaning of a physical obstacle in the path of a blind person (Rashi on Lev. 19:14). The rabbis considered as blind one who does not have access to unbiased information relevant to his business dealings, or one who is unaware of the physical and moral damage done to him by the consumption of certain goods. Halakhically, one may not give a person business advice in which the interest of the giver is not made clear, so any professional who advises his clients to purchase certain goods or certain stock in which he has an undisclosed interest or which he intends to sell, would be guilty in rabbinic terms of *li-fenei ivver* and could be forced to make redress in a rabbinic court. The same would apply to the giver of bribes to a purchasing officer in order to make a sale or to the use of insider information in trading on a stock exchange. This concept also poses a problem when we are selling goods which are harmful to somebody, such as cigarettes, liquor, drugs, pornography, and weapons which are used for aggression. In each case where a person is ignorant of the physical or moral damage done to him the seller would be guilty of *li-fenei ivver*. Naturally, the same would apply to the advertising of such goods.

The injunction regarding just weights and measures is repeatedly ordered in the Bible and so forms another facet of Jewish business morality. The fact that in all Western countries there exist laws protecting the public against defective weights and short measures does not detract from the importance of this Jewish injunction. *Halakhah* places responsibility on the rabbinical courts for the supervision of scales, measures, etc., so that infringement of them becomes a religious transgression irrespective of whether pertinent legislation exists outside the Jewish framework or not. Some rabbinic insights into these laws have a special contribution to business ethics since they create an ideological framework for our actions in the market place.

Most economic crimes are carried out in great secret, the fear of discovery often being a major constraint on business immorality. Tampering with weights and measures, "short changing" clients, and "cutting corners" are especially conducive to the secret defrauding of others and are often not considered to be serious crimes. The sages saw them in a different perspective. In the book of Deuteronomy, the verses regarding weights and measures precede the commandment to wipe out the memory of the arch enemy of God and Israel, Amalek. Rashi questions this linkage and answers that it was because the Jews were negligent of honesty in their weights and measures that God sent enemies upon them. Furthermore, infringements of these market rules were considered not only immoral but also illegal even if they were almost valueless, unlike other forms of theft which had to be of at least some value before they could be dealt with in a court of law. In Exodus the laws of weights and measures are linked to the deliverance of the Jews from Egypt. The *Sifri* explains the connection between the two seemingly unrelated matters by saying that "He who distinguished between the seed of the first born and that of the other sons will surely search out one who soaks his weights in salt (in secret and to distort them)."

Once, Israel Ba'al Shem Tov, the founder of Ḥasidism, was traveling by coach. The coachman halted the horses in order to reap some barley from one of the fields adjacent to the road. He asked the Ba'al Shem Tov to keep guard and to call him when he saw anyone watching him. As soon as the coachman put the sickle to the barley, the rabbi called out, "They see, they see." Quickly the coachman dashed to the coach, got up on his seat, looked around and saw nobody. He turned angrily to the Ba'al Shem Tov to complain about his needless intervention since nobody was there to witness the theft. "But there really is," answered the Ba'al Shem Tov, pointing heavenward, "there really is."

Social Responsibility

The purpose of all business is to earn profits for the entrepreneur, and the sages of the Talmud, recognizing this, held that a trader who bought and sold without profit was not a trader. The question, however, is whether the managing directors of a corporation have only an obligation to earn maximum profits for their shareholders or do they also have social obligations and objectives. This question goes beyond the requirement of truth in trading and also beyond the demands of legality. After all, laws of human society are the result of the consensus of the members of that society so that it is quite easy to imagine one which negates the social responsibilities of the individual and refuses to pass legislation providing for the communal needs. From what has been said above, it should be obvious that the corporation has the same social obligations as individual shareholders and therefore, just as they may not conduct their business without respect to these obligations, so too their representatives, the directors of the corporation, may not shirk them. The full discussion of these obligations is an extensive topic and here we will look at only two aspects of the social responsibility of business; the issue of ecological damage and the field of communal costs.

ECOLOGICAL DAMAGE. In Jewish law a man may not cause damage either with his body or property to another man's body or property, and, whenever such damage is done, monetary compensation has to be paid (Yad, Hilkhot Nizkei Mamon, ch. 5; Sh. Ar., ḤM, sections 153–156). It is immoral, however, to plan or conduct one's economic activity which will cause damage on the assumption that it is cheaper to pay for the damage concerned than to introduce technological devices to prevent that damage. Businesses, therefore, which pollute the environment or which destroy the quality of living, either physical or aesthetic, have to be placed in such areas as to prevent any damage from occurring to others; alternatively, where the siting of the firm or plant of itself does not cause ecological damage then safeguards must be introduced to prevent any damage.

Jewish teaching, in this respect, does not differentiate between ecological problems relating to individual neighbors and those problems which arise from the clash of interests between individuals and the community. Halakhically, the community has economic needs which have to be met and this often means acquiring rights in the private property of the individual through taxation not only of money, but also of assets. So, a Jewish community can force corporations or individuals to pay taxes in order to provide for the costs of communal living and to appropriate land for roads and other facilities. In the same way, Jewish law requires zoning of industrial and commercial premises in a way which prevents damage or enhances the aesthetic pleasure of the community. There may, however, be cases where the economic advantage to the community far outweighs the damage caused by the industry, as for instance where ecological restraints on development mean unemployment and poverty. There are rabbinic responsa which ruled in favor of an industry as against the ecological damage where the livelihood of the entire community depended on that industry (*Teshuvot Maharashakh*, part 2, subsection 98, and *Shemesh Ẓedakah,* ḤM, section 34, subsection 11). However, the same sources held that this was only a result of Jews living in exile where they did not have authority to introduce zoning rules, but in their own country they would be able to plan so as to ensure economic development without suffering ecological damage.

Where the damage caused is one to life or to the human body, there can be no compromise and no monetary compensation is sufficient. If an industry is shown to be detrimental to the health of its workers, then the owners would have to introduce safeguards to protect them. If there are no technological possibilities for removing the danger to health then it might well be that in Jewish law such industries would not be possible at all. Furthermore, since Judaism does not see a man as being the master of his own body, one is not allowed to place oneself in danger. Workers therefore cannot agree to accept employment which is hazardous to their health, even if the employer is willing to increase their wages.

The conflict between individuals or between individuals and the community regarding scarce resources may take the form of nuisance issues or minor discomfort rather than actual damages. In these cases, Judaism argues that one should do another person a favor and forego one's rights. In a 14th-century responsa, for example, the case was ruled against a plaintiff who argued that the smoke from his neighbor's kitchen bothered him. Even though smoke constitutes a major ecological damage, nevertheless the rabbi held that people could not cook without using their stoves and this outweighed the irritation caused (*Teshuvot ha-Rashba*, part 2, section 65).

Judaism teaches that man has the right to use the wealth of the world since that is the purpose for which God created that wealth. At the same time, he does not have the right to willfully mismanage it or waste it, even if it is legally his property. This means that the wasteful use of natural resources by the corporation or by society in general would be frowned upon. Steps have to be taken to insure that future generations have the ability to enjoy these resources just as the present one does. At the same time, however, if there is a conflict between destroying a certain species in order to provide a livelihood for human beings, the needs of man take precedence since the whole creation was meant for the enjoyment and profit of mankind.

COMMUNAL COSTS. Man's wealth is given to him by God in trust to be used inter alia to assist the weaker and inefficient members of society and to fulfill his communal responsibilities. This applies also to the wealth of the corporation. This wealth sharing is not left up to the conscience or generosity of the individual, but is a religious obligation, enforceable by a rabbinic court. So the community has the right to tax its members, corporate or otherwise, in order to provide for these costs. The evasion of such taxes is considered tantamount to theft, either from the recipients of the communal services or from other taxpayers who are required to pay more. This applies not only to the taxes levied by the Jewish community but also to those of the general society in which Jews live (Yad, Hilkhot Gezeilah ve-Aveidah, ch. 5, *halakhot* 11–12; Tur, Sh. Ar., ḤM, section 369. A.I. Ha-Kohen Kook. *Mishpat Kohen*, section 148, who extended this to include Jewish state authority even where there is no longer a king). This is in keeping with the principle that in money matters "*dina de-malkhuta dina*" – "the law of the land applies" except where it contradicts Torah law. It is only where the government is illegal, having usurped its powers, or where the laws are discriminatory, immoral, or erratic, that some authorities have ruled that it is permissible to disobey the law and this too only on condition that others are not harmed thereby.

Today, many corporations have their headquarters in a country or area which has a lower tax rate rather than the area in which they conduct their business, thus escaping their obligation to share in the latter's social costs. Jewish law would require taxes to be paid where the money is earned thus insuring the social and physical infrastructure (*Teshuvot ha-Rashba*, part 1, nos. 664, 788). There are even precedents in Jewish law where the community has prevented wealthy citizens from leaving, on the grounds that this would damage or destroy their tax base (*Takkanot Va'ad Arba Araẓot* – enactments of 1661).

There is a halakhic consensus that competition between entrepreneurs is permissible where the community benefits from it or where the competition in no way involves any aspect of theft or coercion. As often as not, however, competition brings with it not only communal economic benefits but also social dislocation. This occurs when it results in the dismissal of workers or in the destruction of the inefficient competitor. In these cases, society has to decide whether or not there is any moral responsibility for the unemployed or for the displaced entrepreneur. If so, the question remains as to who is obligated to bear that responsibility, the corporation or society itself.

In Judaism there is undoubtedly a clear-cut moral problem created by the unemployed worker and by the displaced entrepreneur since obligations are owed both to the people who are poor as well as to those who become so. The question as to whether it is their fault or not is irrelevant. Nor is there a concept of "the deserving poor." Nevertheless, the issue of placing the responsibility for solving the moral problem is less clear.

It would seem that, in order to provide a Jewish answer to this question, a distinction has to be made between legal rights which can be enforced by a rabbinic court and what is required by Jewish concepts of charity.

Employer-employee relationships are in Jewish law primarily part of the general laws of hiring and these make the fulfillment of contracts binding. The corporation therefore has a responsibility for any compensation provided for in the employees' contracts as well as those provided for by local custom such as severance pay, even where these are not expressly mentioned in the contract. In parenthesis it should be noted that workers who, owing to old age or illness, become unable to work at their usual productivity cannot be fired without compensation, either monetary or through shortened work hours or physically less demanding jobs. Those unable to work at all have to be compensated. Some authorities would link this to the grant given in the Torah to the Hebrew bondsman while others argue that long-term employment assumes that people age or get ill so that, even in the absence of a contractual agreement, the employers express their assumption of this obligation (*Ziknei ha-Dayyanim*, *Torah ve-ha-Medinah*, vols. 9–10; see also Mordechai, Bava Meẓia 246, who holds that courts can enforce charitable acts on Jews. See also *Teshuvot ha-Rosheh*, part 1, section 300).

It seems, however, that, where the firing is the result of economic factors such as unprofitability or competition, the employer does not have any obligation to provide compensation other than that granted by custom or specified in the labor contract. Similarly, it would seem that the corporation has no legal obligations to the competitor who has been displaced as a result of halakhically permitted competition. There is no doubt however about the halakhic obligation of the community to provide either the financial or spiritual assistance needed or of the corporation (or its shareholders) to participate in funding this assistance through their tax payments. Assistance to the poor and needy is one of the obligations of the communal purse and cannot, for example, be negated by majority vote, in order to lower the communal tax burden as can other communal services.

This assistance, nevertheless, is charity, not a redistribution of income or transfer payment. Charity, even though a hallmark of Jewish life throughout the Diaspora and over the centuries, and despite the fact that it shares in Hebrew a common root with justice, is nevertheless charity with all its negative overtones for the recipient. So the rabbis frowned on making a living off charity a profession, insisting that a man should flog a carcass in public (considered one of the lowest menial tasks) rather than be dependent on the community. This is no way lessens the obligations of the giver, community, individual, or corporation but militates against the creation of a welfare mentality.

Although the communal obligation is clear, nevertheless, the possessor of wealth also has charitable responsibilities, even if these cannot be enforced in a court, over and above his communal taxation. Maimonides classifies giving a person a job, a loan, or suitable business advice which will prevent him from becoming dependent on the communal purse as the highest form of charity (Yad, Hilkhot Mattanot Aniyyim, ch. 10, *halakhot* 7, 18, 19). It would seem that in this respect the corporation can be far more effective and varied than the individual. Employees who are laid off, or for that matter displaced competitors, can be retrained, using the corporation's equipment and technology so as to qualify for alternative employment. The corporation can make information regarding job opportunities and economic prospects, either locally or nationally, available, thus overcoming a serious obstacle to reemployment, or to establishing new small enterprises. Part of the corporate profits can be set aside to form a fund for granting interest-free loans to its unemployed workers or those whose firms have ceased to operate as a result of its competitive success. Such interest-free loans, the corollary to the biblical and rabbinical injunctions against taking interest, have been a feature of Jewish communal living since biblical days. These loans are not meant solely for temporary assistance to hard-pressed farmers. Their use for enabling people to start their own business is legitimate and could constitute a major corporate contribution not only to the discharged workers but also to the unemployed, underprivileged, and temporarily financially strapped entrepreneur in general.

Summary

There exists a distinctive Jewish ethical framework for the conduct of business within which Jews have always operated. This framework regards wealth as a gift of God, legitimate and useful but operative within the parameters laid down by Jewish law, morality, and custom. These parameters forbid the earning of wealth through dishonest means which include theft but also coercion, misrepresentation, unrevealed conflict of interest and defects, rejecting the concept of "let the buyer beware" but placing the onus for full disclosure on the seller. Corporations share the moral obligations of the shareholders and therefore what is not permissible for the individual is also forbidden to the corporation.

As a result of the national orientation of Judaism, the group and society have, as it were, a share in the wealth of the individual. Private property rights are recognized and protected but are never absolute. This means that possessors of wealth, corporate or otherwise, can be taxed to meet the social needs of the community, whether these include charity for the poor and inefficient citizens or the unemployed, or the provision of public services. Furthermore, business may not be conducted in such a way as will damage another's property or health, or for that matter the ecological quality of life of other individuals or of society.

The legal nature of Judaism means that its ethical framework is transferred into obligations, permissible or otherwise, and the rabbinical courts are obligated to enforce them. At the same time operating beyond the limits of the law, doing one's fellow man an economic favor and voluntarily relinquishing one's property rights are part of the religious education of the Jew.

[Meir Tamari]

Additional Aspects

In general, the realm of ethics in trade and business is divisible into three categories: (a) tradesman-customer relations; (b) competition and relations among and between tradesman and craftsmen; and (c) competition among customers. Regarding the first category, see *Consumer Protection; *Deceit; *Hafka'at She'arim* (Profiteering); *Sale; and *Mistake. Concerning the subjects included in the second category, the monopoly rights of professionals and holders of licenses in specific occupations, and intellectual property rights, see *Trespass. In the present entry we shall focus on further issues in the second and third categories: the frustration of an emerging transaction between the parties; protection from competing business; price cutting; and advertising. Some of the discussions may be relevant to more than one of the aforementioned subjects.

The basic doctrine governing commercial law is the legal principle of trespass. The term and doctrine of "trespass" (*hassagat gevul*; lit. "moving a landmark") underwent many stages of expansion and development. The Torah, from which the phrase originates, uses it to refer to the unlawful taking of a neighbor's land by physically moving the boundary markers into the neighbor's property so as to annex part of that property to the trespasser's own adjacent land. The Torah deals with this situation in two verses: (a) "You shall not move your neighbor's landmarks, set up by previous generations, in the property that will be allotted to you in the land that the Lord your God is giving you to possess" (Deut. 19:14) and (b) "Cursed be he who moves his neighbor's landmark" (Deut 27:17). Even in the patriarchal period, it was customary to insist on precise landmarks, as evidenced from the description of the field in "Machpelah" (lit., the "double cave") that Abraham bought from Ephron the Hittite (Gen 23:17). The Hebrew prophets and wisdom literature protested against the movers of landmarks (Hos. 5:10; Prov. 22:28; Job: 24:2), and the prohibition of trespassing into another person's land was also discussed in talmudic literature and in the Codes (Maimonides, Yad, Hil. Genevah 7:11; Sh. Ar., ḤM 370.1; cf. at length in **Hassagat Gevul* (Encroachment).

Already in talmudic times, and particularly in the post-talmudic era, it was necessary to confer legal recognition and protection to rights which had not yet been crystallized in legal formulae. Legal expression and protection was given to such rights by extending the doctrine of "moving a landmark" to include the prohibition against "moving" or "trespassing" upon various economic, commercial, and intellectual boundaries. The meaning of the term "boundary" was likewise extended beyond the physical to include additional areas, so that even those relating to the occupation and livelihood of a competing business owner came to be referred to as a "boundary." Initially this prohibition was of moral standing only, without any legal sanction. However, the steadily increasing development of businesses and commercial life from the talmudic period to modern times was accompanied by an increased development and sophistication of categories and parameters enabling the qualified exercise of judicial coercive power in preventing the violation of the business owner's rights by unfair competition, without unduly restricting free market trade.

TRESPASS BY FRUSTRATING THE CRYSTALLIZATION OF A TRANSACTION BETWEEN PARTIES – "THE POOR MAN SIFTING THROUGH LEFTOVER BREAD." According to the talmudic rule, when a poor man is sifting through leftover bread and another one comes and takes it for himself, the latter is called "an evildoer" (Kid. 59a). The Talmud cites this rule in the commercial context of "competition" between two potential purchasers vying for the same item. When a person is about to purchase an item from a seller, and another person precedes him and buys the same item (hereinafter, "an interloper"), the latter is also called "an evildoer." The talmudic commentators and medieval codifiers established the rules governing the application of this principle.

The determining stage of the transaction for the application of the rule is the stage at which the two parties – the seller and the would-be purchaser – agreed upon the sale of the item and set its price. From that stage onwards, any third party who attempts to replace the party interested in purchasing is called an "evildoer" (Maharam of Ruttenburg, cited in Mordechai, Bava Batra §651; Rema, on ḤM 237:1). According to the *Perisha*, even prior to the determination of the price – i.e., during the negotiating stage – an acquisition by the interloper will be regarded as an act of trespass (Tur, ibid.).

Where the interloper's potential loss exceeds that of the would-be purchaser, the prevailing opinion among the authorities is that the interloper will not be called an evildoer. The reason is that it resembles the case in which the potential purchaser and the interloper are competing over an abandoned article, in which case it cannot be claimed against the interloper that he could have found an item similar to the one being sold in another place. This view endorsed the opinion of Rabbenu Tam (Tos., Kid. 59a; see also in Asheri, Kid. 3b).

According to the authorities, the legal import of the determination that the interloper is called "evildoer" is that, for as long as he has not completed the transaction, he should be prevented from doing so (Resp. Maharshadam, on ḤM 259). On the other hand, if the transaction between the seller and the interloper has already been completed, the would-be purchaser cannot take the item away from the interloper (Ritba, Kid. 59a; Responsa Maharik, 132; Rabbenu Tam's view, cited in Ritba, ibid., is that the item can be taken from the interloper). The only sanction is therefore a public declaration in the synagogue that the interloper is an "evildoer" (*Hagahot Maimoniot*, *Hil. Hovel*, 5:1; *Perisha*, ḤM 237).

The Severity of Damage and the Scope of the Right. Where the effort invested by the potential purchaser exceeds that of the interloper, or if he stands to incur a pecuniary loss if the transaction is not completed, the sages ruled that the interloper was to be regarded as a *robber*. The Mishnah provides that: "If a poor man gleans on the top of an olive tree [i.e., beats the tree so that its fruit will fall] that which is beneath him is regarded as having been robbed, in the interests of peace" (Mish. Git. 5:8). In this case, even though the fruit is regarded as having been abandoned (*shikheḥah*; forgotten fruit), the sages made an enactment that, insofar as the poor man had already invested effort and work to acquire them, their appropriation by an interloper would be regarded as robbery (Maharik §132). Admittedly, an object considered as "robbed" by virtue of rabbinic edict cannot be judicially expropriated; nevertheless, during the medieval period this Mishnah served as the basis for the ruling that where a person sought to rent an apartment in the city for purposes of setting up a shop, and during the course of his negotiations for the shop's rental another person came and preceded him in renting it, then the rights of the former prevail, and the latter is enjoined from entering the shop without the former's consent. (Maharik, *ibid.*).

Consent to Waive an Act of Trespass. The nature of the prohibition against trespass precluded a determination of its precise parameters. Any attempt to fix a determining stage for purposes of this prohibition could be circumvented by a merchant encroaching upon his neighbor's borders and interfering with a transaction about to be completed, at a stage not covered by the prohibition. This possibility induced Rabbi Jair Ḥayyim Bacharach (Germany, 17th century) to rule that it was forbidden to make conditions for reciprocal waiver of the prohibition, even within a defined group of merchants (Resp. *Ḥavot Yair*, 163).

PROTECTION FROM A COMPETING BUSINESS – ENCROACHING UPON A NEIGHBOR'S CRAFT. In a Midrash cited in the Babylonian Talmud (Mak. 24a) the *amoraim* construe the verse "nor taketh up a reproach against his neighbor" (Ps. 15:3) as implying a prohibition against "entering the profession of his neighbor." Ezekiel 18:6, "neither has he defiled his neighbor's wife," is interpreted similarly (Sanh. 81a). This midrashic exegesis does not lay down binding law, but rather establishes a moral threshold; the authorities therefore ruled that it was "a degree of piety" not to do so, even though legally it was permitted (Resp. Maharam of Ruttenburg, 4:67; Resp. *Ḥavot Yair* §42).

The *beraita* (BB 21b) refers to a case in which an artisan prevents his fellow from receiving anticipated profit that he would definitely have received: "Fishing nets must be kept away from [the hiding-place of] a fish [which has been spotted by another fisherman] the full length of the fish's swim" (i.e., where a fisherman discovers a place where fish live and leaves a bait there to capture them, it is forbidden for another fisherman to lay down his own traps). According to Tosafot, this case is restricted to a professional fisherman; hence, the other fisherman may apply for and receive a remedy from the court. This contrasts with our earlier comments regarding the poor man beating an olive tree, which did not concern the protection of a person engaged in his craft, thus precluding the possibility of receiving a judicial remedy.

When dealing with craftsmen competing over a group of customers, the issue is not one of absolute denial of profit, but rather of its reduction. Moreover, the profit itself is not certain, being dependent on customers who have complete discretion to decide which craftsman to approach. Consequently, the sages' enactment in this case differed from their enactment in the aforementioned *beraita*, and considerably less protection is afforded to the owner of an existing business. The Tosefta deals with cases in which the sages made enactments to prevent a craftsman from opening a business in a particular place: "The residents of a passageway can prevent one another from bringing in a tailor or a tanner or any other kind of craftsman, but one resident cannot prevent another resident. R. Simeon b. Gamaliel, however, says that they may prevent one another" [Tosef., ed. Zuckermandel], BM 11:16; a similar formulation is also cited in Bava Batra 21a; cf. *Tosef. ki-Feshuta,* Lieberman, *ad loc.*). The aforementioned tannaitic dispute on the question of whether one resident can prevent another one from engaging in a particular occupation is also found among the *amoraim* – i.e., R. Huna and R. Huna b. Rav Yeshoshua (*ibid.*) The codifiers and the talmudic commentators disputed the interpretation of this ruling. Who exactly was permitted to prevent another person from engaging in his craft? Who has the authority to prevent him: the craftsman himself or the local residents? And is such prevention justified by the need to protect a person already engaged in that craft in that particular place, or by the need to prevent the environmental disturbance caused by his work?

The *halakhah* is that the damage to his business ("denial of livelihood; *posek le-ḥayuto*) does not constitute grounds for preventing one craftsman from opening a business in competition with another craftsman in the same town (Maim., Yad, *Hil. Shekhenim*, 68; Maharam of Ruttenburg §677; Tur, ḤM 156:10; Sh. Ar., ḤM 156:5).

Even so, where the opening of a new business is not merely competition, but will actually eliminate the livelihood of the original craftsman (*bari hezekah* – lit. definite damage), the Rema ruled, following the view of Aviasaf (cited in the Mordechai, BB 21b, 616) that the businessman can prevent the opening of a competing business by the competitor, even if the person wishing to open it comes from the same town (*Darkhei Moshe*, ḤM 156:4; Resp. *Rema* 10, The First Principle).

When a person comes from another town, the *amoraim* agreed that the townspeople can prevent him from opening a business in competition with the residents of that town, so as not to harm their businesses, unless he shares in the tax burden of that town (BB 21b; Maim.; Sh. Ar., *ibid.*). However, according to some authorities, permission to open a competing business on the same street as that of an existing business of one of the town's residents will only be granted if the competitor establishes his residence in the same town (Tos. BB, *ibid.*; Tur. *ibid.; Rema* on ḤM 156:6–7).

In trade, on the other hand, a distinction is drawn between peddlers who regularly go from town to town – not being restricted in any form – and merchants who regularly bring their specific merchandise to the market day and who are only permitted to come on the market day (BB 22a; Maim., Yad, *Hil. Shekhenim* 6:9–10; Tur, ḤM 156:9; Sh. Ar. 156:6–7).

The Israeli Rabbinical Court of Appeals adjudicated a dispute between a group of ritual circumcisers (*mohalim*) who had received permission from a particular hospital to offer their services to women who gave birth, and a *mohel* who had recently joined their number. The group claimed that by joining the group he was encroaching upon their professional domain and damaging their livelihood (File 5730/89, 8 PDR 227). Citing *Rema*'s aforementioned distinction between definite damage caused by the elimination of livelihood and a situation which only leads to increased competition, R. Eliashiv ruled that such a distinction had not been accepted, and that the leading authorities – Alfasi, Maimonides, Semag, Tur, and Shulḥan Arukh – made no mention of the law that "fishing nets must be kept away." Consequently, the Rabbinical Court was unable to prevent the *mohel* from competing with his colleagues in offering services in the hospital.

R. Yisraeli, on the other hand, felt that the *Rema*'s distinction should be adopted and that as a matter of *halakhah* one must draw a distinction between a competitor who merely reduced the income of the craftsman, regarding whom "it cannot be said that he damages him at all, because the purchasers still have a choice, and it is in the hands of Heaven," and a case in which the competitor "actively attracts customers to him." In the latter case, "even if he only reduces the income of the original party, he is regarded as if he altogether negated income, because he [the original *mohel*] cannot say, 'Whoever comes to me will come, and whoever goes to you will go to you.' The reason is that the latter invests efforts and stratagems in attracting people to him" (p. 237 of judgment). According to R. Yisraeli, in this particular case, the new *mohel* was clearly trespassing upon the domain of the other *mohalim* and would definitely reduce their income. Hence, it should be regarded as if he was altogether negating their livelihood and therefore engaged in outright robbery, the fruits of which may be expropriated by the *bet din*.

Nevertheless, R. Yisraeli agreed to dismiss the appeal and allow the new *mohel* to be accepted for work. The reason was that the new *mohel* had originally applied for permission to work in the hospital alongside the other *mohalim,* and the hospital had denied his request for no justified reason.

PRICE CUTTING. *Price Cutting in Relation to the Market Price.* The Mishnah (BM 4:11) cites a dispute as to whether one of the merchants in a city is allowed to reduce the prices of his merchandise below the market price in order to attract customers: "R. Judah said: … Nor may he reduce the price; but the sages say, he is to be remembered for good." The reason cited in the *gemara* is "because he eases the market" (i.e., reduces the overall market price). In other words, not only will the residents of the town benefit from the price cut, but the suppliers will also reduce their prices accordingly, so that the merchants will not suffer as a result. The *halakhah* was fixed in accordance with the sages' view; namely, that it is permitted (Maim, Yad, *Hil. Mekhirah* 18:4; Tur, ḤM 228:17; Sh. Ar., ḤM 228:18). However, beyond this the *Rema* rules that a substantial price reduction is not permitted, because in such a case one can say that the damage is certain "*bari hezeka*," similar to the rule concerning the opening of a business in competition with an existing business. (Resp. *Rema* 10, §1).

Some of the authorities restricted the permission given for price reduction, limiting it to the cheapening of basic consumer items only, such as dairy products and fruit, because the consideration of the customers' benefit is only relevant with respect to this kind of item. It is forbidden to reduce the prices of other kinds of produce, such as liquor, because such a reduction would cause a "market failure" and damage the other merchants.(Resp. Mahariaz Amil, §69; Arukh ha-Shulḥan, 228:14).

Price Cutting in Relation to the Agreed Price. The Tosefta states that the residents of the town are permitted to determine prices and rates that will be binding upon all the residents: "The townspeople are at liberty to fix weights and measures, prices, and wages, and to inflict penalties for the infringement of their rules." (Tosef., ed. Zuckermandel, TB, BM 11:23; a similar formulation also appears in Bava Batra 8a; c.f. Lieberman, *Tosef. ki-Feshuta*, *ibid.*). This authority also includes the power to adopt decisions that may cause profits to some and losses to others, such as the fixing of low prices that will harm the sellers and profit the buyers. These decisions need not be supported by all of the townspeople, and the communal leaders can adopt the decisions in a manner that binds the entire community (Resp. Rashba 5:125). Similarly, a particular sector of craftsmen are permitted to enact regulations that bind all members of the same craft (Tos., ed. Zuckermandel, BM 11:24–25; cf. Lieberman ad loc; BB 9a). However, according to talmudic commentaries and authorities, the majority has no power to force its position on the minority, and the regulations only bind those who agreed to their enactment. Consequently, a new member of the same craft who came to the town, and did not agree to the regulation regarding the fixing of prices is not bound thereby and can sell his merchandise at a price lower than that prescribed (Resp. Maharshadam 1:117; *Leḥem Rav* §216.)

MARKETING AND ADVERTISING. Both the Mishnah and the Talmud abound with examples of techniques adopted by shopkeepers and craftsmen to advertise their wares in order to attract customers – by presenting their merchandise in an attractive manner (BM 60b; Pes. 37a), and by public proclamation (*ibid.*, Pes. 116a).

The Mishnah (BM 4:11) records a dispute between the *tannaim* as to whether the shopkeeper is permitted to hand out sweets to children in order to accustom them to come to him. R. Judah prohibits it and the sages permit it. The law was fixed according to the view of the sages (Maim., Yad, *Hil. Mekhirah* 18:4; Sh. Ar., ḤM 228:18) – in other words, the other merchants cannot prevent him from doing so.

Regarding the improvement of the merchandise's external appearance in order to promote sales, the rule in the Mishnah is that "men, cattle, and utensils may not be painted [enhancing]" (*ibid.*). The Talmud explains that the prohibition lies in altering the external appearance of the merchandise in a manner that may mislead the customers as to their real nature (*ibid.*, 60b) The *amoraim* distinguish between the adornment of old utensils to make them appear new, which is prohibited because of the laws of deception, and the adornment of new utensils, where the merchant's intention is to induce the customers to purchase from him and not from other merchants, which is permitted. Here too the authorities fixed the *halakhah* in accordance with the position of the sages (Maim., Yad, *Hil. Mekhirah*, 18:2–4; Sh. Ar., ḤM 228:9, 17).

THE LAW IN THE STATE OF ISRAEL. The Commercial Wrongs Law, 5759 – 1999, addresses some of the issues dealt with in Jewish Law. Section 3 of the law provides that: "No person who carries on business shall unfairly prevent or impede access by customers, employees, or agents to the business, property or service of another person who carries on business." The law does not specify what kind of action will constitute "prevention" or "impeding" and what manner thereof would be "unfair." In addition, the law prohibits "misleading use" – in other words using the trade name of another so that an asset or service provided by one person will be mistakenly regarded as being the asset or service of another person (§1); false description regarding the occupation or the service of the advertiser or of another person (§2); and theft of trade secrets, defined as the unauthorized receipt, appropriation, or use of commercial information which is not public knowledge, whose secrecy grants its owner an advantage over his competitors (§§5–10). The law permits the court to award damages without proof of actual damage.

[Ariel Ehrlich (2nd ed.)]

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BUSK, small town in Ukraine (E. Galicia); in Poland until 1772 and from 1918 to 1939. Jews were known there before the 16th century. In 1518 the king exempted them from taxes for one year as they had suffered from Tatar raids. In the first half of the 18th century Busk was known as a Shabbatean center (see *Shabbetai Ẓevi), and later King Augustus III assigned the town as a residence for Frankists. Naḥman b. Samuel of Busk represented the Frankists in the disputation at Kamenets-Podolski in 1756. Jacob *Frank himself stayed for a while in Busk, leaving there in 1759 to take part in the disputation at Lvov. There were about 481 Jews living in Busk in 1765, about 2,000 in 1909, and 1,460 in 1921.

Holocaust Period

About 1,900 Jews lived in Busk when German forces entered in July 1941. Jews were immediately kidnapped for slave labor; the free movement in public of Jews was restricted, and Jews were physically attacked. A *Judenrat was set up, headed by Isaac Margalit. It attempted to organize the Jews for the emergency, in particular by ensuring work for the entire community, in the belief that thereby deportation could be avoided. The Germans carried out the first *Aktion* on Yom Kippur 1942 (Sept. 21), executing around 700 Jews in a village near Zloczow. In November a ghetto was set up for all the Jews in the area. A resistance movement, headed by Jacob Eisenberg, collected arms inside the ghetto and made plans for a breakthrough to the forests, but these could not be carried out, because on May 19–21, 1943, the ghetto was liquidated. There is a society of former residents of Busk in Israel and a B'nai B'rith branch in New York comprising former residents of the town.

[Aharon Weiss]

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BUSNACH (Heb. בוג'נאח), Algerian family of shipowners and merchants. In the 17th century the Busnach family emigrated to *Leghorn, *Italy, but was reestablished in Algeria in the 18th century. In 1721 NAPHTALI left Italy and after two years in Minorca (then under English rule), settled in *Algiers. Together with his relatives the *Delmar and *Bacri families, he established there a powerful commercial firm. His grandson NAPHTALI BEN MOSES played a significant political role in Algeria in the latter part of the 18th century. Enjoying an unprecedented degree of trust by the bey and in direct contact with European governments whose representatives had to rely on his intervention, he dominated foreign policy, made beys and overthrew them, controlled the administration of the treasury, and with the help of his uncle Joseph Bacri and his many agents in Europe, monopolized trade. Nicknamed the "viceroy of Algiers," he was jealous and dominating. However, he had remarkable courage. His coreligionists described him as pious, educated, generous, and upright; in February 1800 he was appointed "head of the Jewish nation." Busnach's power displeased the Turkish garrison, which on occasion revolted against excessive shortages of grain; they blamed the shortages on Busnach's export of large quantities of wheat to *France. In 1805, Naphtali b. Moses was assassinated by a janissary. Subsequently, when Algiers was pillaged, the Busnach family took refuge in Leghorn, settling there for the second time.

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[David Corcos]

BUSTANAI BEN ḤANINAI (c. 618–670), the first exilarch in Babylonia after the Arab conquest. According to legend, toward the end of Persian rule in Babylonia the king decreed that all the descendants of the house of David be killed, including the exilarch Ḥaninai, whose wife was pregnant at the time. Later the king had a dream in which he saw himself hewing fruit trees in a grove (*bustan*). Before the last tree was felled, a venerable old man appeared before him and struck him on the forehead. On the advice of his courtiers the king consulted a Jewish sage concerning the meaning of this dream. The sage, who was Ḥaninai's father-in-law, interpreted that the old man represented King David trying to prevent the extermination of his descendants. The king then summoned Ḥaninai's widow to his court and supplied her with all her needs. When she bore a son, she named him Bustanai in memory of the king's dream. When Bustanai grew up, he appeared in court before the king and the wisdom he displayed on that occasion amazed all who were present. Thereafter the king honored him and appointed him exilarch, to the great satisfaction of the Jews. After the Arabs had conquered Babylonia, the Caliph Omar confirmed Bustanai as exilarch; he gave Azdaudar, one of the captive daughters of Chosroes II, king of Persia, to Bustanai in marriage, while the caliph himself married her sister, thereby giving de facto recognition to Bustanai as one of the successors of the kings of Persia. (According to the *Sefer ha-Kabbalah* of Abraham ibn Daud, it was the daughter of Yezdegerd III, the son of Chosroes, and the caliph was ʿAli.) This legendary story throws light upon the course of events after the death of Bustanai. The Persian princess bore Bustanai three sons (according to another version, five sons). When Bustanai died, however, his other sons by his Jewish wives sought to treat their brothers by the Persian princess as slaves, because their mother had not been converted to Judaism. The scholars of the yeshivot, however, decided in favor of Izdundad, and her relatives, who held high offices in the government, also decided in her favor. The first *dayyan* who ruled that the descendants of the Persian wife were legitimate Jews was Haninai in the ninth century. The eldest son of Bustanai and the Persian woman even married a daughter of a chief *dayyan*. Nevertheless the question of the legitimacy of her sons remained a subject of controversy in the halakhic literature of the geonic period and thereafter. Sherira Gaon in the 10th century made a point of stressing that he himself was from the house of David but not a descendant of Bustanai. Bustanai was the progenitor of the Babylonian exilarchs of the period of Arab rule. His first successors were the offspring of his son born to one of his Jewish wives. Among the offspring of his Persian wife who attained the office of exilarch was Zakkai, a fourth-generation descendant of Bustanai. There was a longstanding rivalry between the descendants of Bustanai and the old *geonim* of Ereẓ Israel. R. Abraham ibn Daud belived that the Persian woman converted to Judaism. Concerning the age of Bustanai at the time of the Arab conquest, there are different versions. One says that he was 35 years old. According to other sources, the name of Bustanai's father was Kofnai. It seems that Bustanai was very active in the messianic movement before the Arab conquest of Babylonia. Arab sources note that he was in Medina in c. 623. Bustanai has other names and nicknames in Arabic and Christian sources. It seems that at the beginning of his activity he fought with the Muslim tribes, but he decided to sign an agreement with them in which he represented the Jews of Babylonia. At that time he received from the Muslim conqueror the Persian woman, an annual rent, and recognition as an exilarch. Bustanai was killed in a battle in 638. His sons by his Jewish wife were Hisdai (Gamil) and Bardai (Haled).

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[Simha Assaf / Leah Bornstein-Makovetsky (2nd ed.)]

BUSTENAI (Heb. בּוּסְתְּנָאי; "Owner of Orchard"), a Hebrew weekly of the *Farmers' Union and the *General Zionists, published in Palestine (1929–39). The journal supported the views of Chaim Weizmann, advocated Arab-Jewish cooperation, and the employment of Arabs by Jews under certain circumstances. This last point was a perpetual matter of controversy between the paper and the labor circles which demanded that the Jewish economy, especially agriculture, employ Jewish labor exclusively. The editors were Moshe *Smilansky, T.Z. Miller, who edited the agricultural column and coined many Hebrew agricultural technical terms, S. Perlman, and the journalist P. Ginsburg (1894–1947). *Bustenai* also published a magazine for youth, *Bustenai la-No'ar* (1935–37), and the monthly (later bi-monthly) *Mi-Yamim Rishonim* (1934–35), which published material on the history of the *yishuv* and the new agricultural settlements in Palestine.

[Getzel Kressel]

BUTLER, JUDITH (1956–), U.S. theorist and philosopher. Butler's interest in philosophy grew out of many years of education at the synagogue in her hometown of Cleveland, where she was first exposed to existential theology and ethics. After attending Bennington College, she received a B.A. and, in 1984, a Ph.D. in philosophy from Yale University. She was named Maxine Elliot Professor in the Departments of Rhetoric and Comparative Literature at the University of California, Berkeley, and also taught at Wesleyan and Johns Hopkins Universities.

Regarded as one of the founders of queer theory, Butler is best known for her work addressing gender, identity, power, and desire. In her influential 1989 book *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity*, she draws on thinkers such as Michel Foucault, Jaques Lacan, and Jean-Paul Sartre in order to argue against the assumption that one's masculine or feminine gender identity is necessarily linked to his or her reproductive sex. Rather, she argues, gender is a fluid variable, with no independent existence of its own, and it shifts and changes depending on a person's context. She describes this phenomenon as "performance," suggesting that repeated, subtly gendered acts take shape to form a "coherent" gender identity. But, she maintains, this identity can never be stable, both because it is never performed the same way twice, and because a myriad of acts are performed daily which, though unacknowledged in significance, ultimately disrupt the otherwise consistent pattern of gender. In other words, all people do things that "perform" gender in different ways depending on the situation, but they also are responsible for other actions that, if included in a reading of one's gender identity, would tell a very different story about that same person's gender. She suggests that the deconstruction of assumptions about gender and even the unconscious performance of acts that subvert a neat binary "male/female" system has the potential to create a more equal society in which people are not constrained by masculine and feminine gender roles.

Butler extends this premise in *Bodies That Matter: On the Discursive Limits of "Sex"* (1993), in which she integrates an analysis of race in her examination of power's effects on our understandings of materiality itself. She addresses the intersection between the notion of "subjection," or the act of becoming a subject, and gay and lesbian identity in *The Psychic Life of Power* (1997), and applies a theory of agency to hate speech in *Excitable Speech: Politics of the Performative* (1997). *Undoing Gender* (2004) investigates the ways in which gender is regulated in social policy, aesthetics, and psychology. In *Precarious Life: The Power of Mourning and Violence* (2004), Butler examines war's impact on language and thought, using the political landscape after September 11, 2001, as a reference point.

Some of Butler's other publications include *The Judith Butler Reader* (2004), *Antigone's Claim: Kinship Between Life and Death* (2000), *Hegemony, Contingency, Universality* (2000), *What's Left of Theory?: New Work on the Politics of Literary Theory* (2000), *Feminist Contentions: A Philosophical Exchange* (1995), *Feminists Theorize the Political* (1992), *Subjects of Desire: Hegelian Reflections in Twentieth-Century France* (1987).

[Danya Ruttenberg (2nd ed.)]

BUTNAH (Heb. בּוּטְנָה), the site of a fair in Ereẓ Israel, famous in mishnaic and talmudic times. The fair was apparently established by Hadrian and is mentioned together with those of Acre and Gaza (TJ, Av. Zar. 1:4, 39d; Gen. R. 47–end). Josephus refers to Butnah as "a huge terebinth tree" (Wars, 4:533). After the collapse of the Bar Kokhba war (132–35 C.E.), large numbers of Jews were sold into slavery there. It was identified with *Mamre in the Second Temple period. In later times Jews, Christians, and pagans worshiped there. The emperor Constantine erected a church at Butnah and abolished the pagan cult, but as late as the sixth century Butnah attracted both Jewish and Christian pilgrims. It has been identified with Rāmat al-Khalil, about 1¼ mi. (2 km.) north of Hebron, and east of the Jerusalem-Hebron highway. The site was excavated in 1926–28 by E. Mader, who discovered remains of a Herodian enclosure surrounded by a strong wall (enclosing an area of 213 × 164 ft. (65 × 50 m.), as well as a Constantinian church, an altar, and a sacred well filled with the offerings (money, figurines, etc.) of worshipers. Additional excavations were conducted at the site by Y. Magen between 1984 and 1986. Butnah is apparently also to be identified with Ayelet mentioned in the Mishnah (Ma'as. Sh. 5:2), a locality one day's journey south of Jerusalem, and with the Bet Ilnis mentioned in *Sifrei Deuteronomy* (306). In the Roman period it was one of the forts of the Palestinian frontier fortifications (*limes*). It is represented on the *Madaba Map by a church and the inscription [*Ter*]*ebinthos*.

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[Michael Avi-Yonah]

°**BUTRYMOWICZ, MATEUSZ** (1745–1814), Polish noble, officer and politician, proponent of a liberal plan to ameliorate the status of the Jews. His interests in landed property in Belorussia convinced Butrymowicz that it was necessary to solve the problem of the status of the large Jewish population there. In 1789 he reprinted a tract, published in 1782 under the title "The Jews, or on the Urgent Necessity for Reform of the Jews in the Lands of the Polish Crown, by an Anonymous Citizen," entitling it "A Way of Transforming the Jews into Useful Citizens of the Country" and adding his own comments. He opposed limiting Jewish rights and advocated assimilation by liberal methods. While against state interference with the principles of Judaism, he suggested introducing certain changes in the Jewish way of life and limiting the number of Jewish holidays. Butrymowicz considered the notions that Jews should be granted the same rights as were accorded to burghers, and that Jewish communal authority should be limited to religious matters. He did not consider the question of Jewish military service relevant. As a deputy to the Sejm (diet) of 1788–92, he worked for the passage of reform legislation on these principles. He elaborated his ideas in a speech made in the Sejm on Jan. 31, 1789, suggesting that changes be introduced into the occupational hierarchy of the Jewish population by excluding Jews from innkeeping and directing them to agriculture, crafts, and commerce. On Dec. 4, 1789, he submitted his suggestions in a memorandum entitled "Jewish Reform" to King Stanislas Poniatowski. In May 1790 Butrymowicz was appointed to the Commission for Jewish Reform, becoming its most active member. At the same time he and two other deputies, Jacek Jezierski and Tomasz Wawrzecki, denounced in the Sejm the anti-Jewish riot that had taken place in Warsaw.

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[Jacob Goldberg]

BUTTENWIESER, U.S. family. JOSEPH LEON (1865–1938), lawyer, realtor, and community leader. Buttenwieser was born in Philadelphia, Pa., the son of German immigrants. A successful lawyer and real estate operator, Buttenwieser influenced New York State real property legislation. He belonged to the American Jewish elite and participated actively in communal and philanthropic activities in New York. He was prominent in the establishment of the Federation for the Support of Jewish Philanthropic Societies and served as its president during 1924–26. He served on the board of directors of the Hebrew Technical Institute for 28 years and played a major role in the Hebrew Sheltering Guardian Society, United Hebrew Charities, and United Palestine Appeal as well as the Associated Alumni of City College. BENJAMIN JOSEPH (1900–1992), son of Joseph, banker, civic leader, and philanthropist. Born in New York City, he graduated from Columbia College (1919), intending to devote himself to an academic career. However, he joined the investment-banking firm of Kuhn, Loeb and Company as a clerk, and by 1932 had become a partner. After service as an officer in the navy during World War II, Buttenwieser decided to go into public service. He was named assistant high commissioner for Germany by John J. McCloy in 1949, serving there as his adviser on economic matters and de-Nazification. He resigned in 1951, sensing a revival of German antisemitism and "arrogant nationalism." Buttenwieser was active in American politics from the 1930s. He became a leading backer of the Republican Wendell Wilkie in 1940. He was active in New York City and State civic affairs, serving as chairman of the State-City Fiscal Relations

Committee in 1956, and participating in labor mediation panels.

Buttenwieser's philanthropic commitments, both Jewish and nonsectarian, were manifold. In 1959 he became a trustee of Columbia University, to which his family contributed substantially. Prominent in the work of the Federation of Jewish Philanthropies from his youth, Buttenwieser served as its president in the 1940s. His wife HELEN LEHMAN (1905–1989), lawyer and civic leader, a niece of Herbert H. *Lehman, started her career as a social worker. She practiced law in New York City for many years, in addition to numerous civic activities.

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[Morton Rosenstock]

BUTTENWIESER, MOSES (1862–1939), Bible scholar. Buttenwieser studied at German universities, received his Ph.D. at Heidelberg, and then went to the United States, where he was appointed professor of biblical exegesis at the Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati, in 1897. He accepted the general approach of the K.H. Graf-J. Wellhausen school, but did not follow it slavishly. He drastically reconstructed the text of Job. He denied that the apocalyptic developed out of prophecy: Ezekiel and his successors, he held, were genuine prophets, though not of the highest rank, whereas the apocalyptic was altogether contrived, and borrowed its characteristic features from Iranian tradition. According to Buttenwieser, Isaiah held consistently to his conviction that Jerusalem was doomed to fall; and the narrative of Isaiah 37 (= II Kings 19) is legendary. Taking up a view first advanced by Seineke in the 1880s, he argued that Deutero-Isaiah lived in Ereẓ Israel rather than Babylonia.

He effectively stressed the precatory use of the Hebrew perfect tense; in light of this phenomenon, many Psalms previously understood as acknowledgment of past favors prove to be pleas for Divine help in the present. His English translations of the Bible are exceptionally vigorous and poetic. His earliest publications dealt with the medieval Hebrew apocalypses, *Die hebraeische Elias-Apokalypse* (1897) and *Outline of the Neo-Hebraic Apocalyptic Literature* (1901). Thereafter he concentrated on biblical studies, his principal works being *The Prophets of Israel* (1914), *The Book of Job* (1922), and *The Psalms, Chronologically Treated with a New Translation* (1938; 1969^2, with introd. by N.M. Sarna).

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[Bernard J. Bamberger]

BUTTONS, RED (**Aaron Chwatt;** 1919–2006), U.S. vaudeville and television comic. Born in New York City, Buttons sang on streetcorners at a young age to earn money. He then sang in the Coopermans Choir for three years, with the renowned cantor Yossele *Rosenblatt.

At 16, while in high school, he got a position as a singing waiter at Dinty Moore's Tavern in the Bronx. For the job he had to wear a bellhop's uniform, which had 48 shiny buttons. With that outfit and his red hair, the young Aaron was soon dubbed "Red Buttons." That summer, he got a job entertaining in the Catskills. In 1939, he began to perform at Minsky's Burlesque House. In 1942, he performed in *Vickie* on Broadway and in *Wine, Women, and Song* at Minsky's. This was the last burlesque performance in New York City, as Mayor La Guardia wanted to close these shows down. Buttons was actually on stage the night they raided Minsky's.

While serving in the army, Buttons appeared on Broadway in Moss Hart's *Winged Victory* (1943–44). After that stint, he joined Mickey Rooney's outfit in France and entertained the troops throughout Europe during World War II. After the war, he performed on Broadway in *Barefoot Boy with Cheek* (1947) and *Hold It!* (1948). From then until 1952, he performed with Big Bands in Broadway movie houses and nightclubs and made guest appearances on television. Then he landed his own TV show on CBS, *The Red Buttons Show* (1952–55). He won the Academy of Radio and Television Arts and Sciences Award (which later became the Emmy) as Best Comedian of 1953.

In 1956, at the Empire State Music Festival, Buttons performed with Basil Rathbone in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, with Leopold Stokowski directing a new score by Carl Orff.

In 1966, Buttons performed in another TV series, a spy spoof entitled *The Double Life of Henry Phyfe*. Adapting well to the small screen, Buttons was a guest on all the major TV variety shows, from *Ed Sullivan*, *Dinah Shore*, and *Andy Williams*, to Johnny Carson's and Merv Griffin's talk shows. Buttons was particularly popular on the *Dean Martin Roasts* (1974–79), where he initiated his famous "Never had a dinner" routine. His appearances on TV dramas included early theatrical programs such as *Playhouse 90*, *U.S. Steel*, and *Studio One,* and later series such as *Knots Landing*, *E.R.*, and *Street Time*.

On the big screen, Buttons' performance in the film *Sayonara* (1957) earned him an Academy Award and a Golden Globe for Best Supporting Actor. His other film credits include *Winged Victory* (1944), *Imitation General* (1958), *The Big Circus* (1959), *Hatari!* (1962), *The Longest Day* (1962), *A Ticklish Affair* (1963), *Your Cheatin' Heart* (1964), *Up from the Beach* (1965), *Harlow* (1965), *Stagecoach* (the remake, 1966), *They Shoot Horses, Don't They?* (1970), *The Poseidon Adventure* (1972), *Gable and Lombard* (1976), *Viva Knievel* (1977), *Pete's Dragon* (1977), *Movie, Movie* (1978), *When Time Ran Out* (1988), *18 Again* (1988), *The Ambulance* (1990), *It Could Happen to You* (1994), *The Story of Us* (1999), and *Odessa or Bust* (2001).

In 1995, to celebrate his 60th year in show business, he presented *Buttons on Broadway*. An original solo stand-up act, it ran for 33 performances.

Buttons received The City of Hope Spirit of Life Award, the Eddie Cantor Foundation's Suzie Award, the Friar's Club Lifetime Achievement Award, and the Junior Achievement

Award for his charitable contributions to many worthy causes.

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[Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

BUTZEL, family in Detroit, Michigan. MARTIN BUTZEL (1828–1906), born in Burgellern, Bavaria, immigrated to the U.S. in 1845. In 1851 he opened a dry goods store in Peekskill, New York, then moved to Detroit, and became associated with his brother-in-law, Emil S. Heineman, in the wholesale clothing business. In 1862 Martin, his brother Magnus, and Heineman opened the firm of Heineman, Butzel and Company, supplying uniforms for the Union Army, and later manufacturing ready-made clothing and men's apparel. Martin was a member of the first Detroit Public Lighting Commission and a charter member of the Merchants and Manufacturers Exchange and the Board of Charities. He was president of Detroit's Temple Beth El (1874–78) and of the Beth El Hebrew Relief Society. He took an active interest in the Palestine Colony in Bad Axe, Michigan, an unsuccessful venture in colonization by Russian Jewish refugees in the 1890s. MAGNUS (1830–1900), brother of Martin, born in Burgellern, Bavaria, left Bavaria in 1852 and joined his brother Martin in Peekskill, in the dry goods business. He moved to Detroit in 1861 as a partner in the clothing business. Magnus was a member of the Detroit Board of Education, president of the Detroit Public Library Commission, one of the first directors of the Detroit Board of Commerce, and a leader in the Michigan Republican Party. He was a leader in B'nai B'rith and congregational life. LEO M. (1874–1961), son of Martin Butzel, was born in Detroit. In 1919 he became the first president of the First National Company, an investment affiliate of the First National Bank of Detroit, and in 1925 he became a director of the bank. A recognized authority on corporation law, Leo was considered the city's outstanding lawyer for many years. His role was particularly important in developing the corporate structure of the automobile industry. Butzel was active in Temple Beth El and the American Jewish Committee. His three children included MARTIN L. (1906–82), a prominent Detroit attorney, and president of Temple Beth El and the Detroit chapter of the American Jewish Committee. HENRY M. (1871–1963), son of Magnus, was born in Detroit. He graduated from the University of Michigan (1891), where he was a founder of the student newspaper *Michigan Daily*. He was admitted to the Michigan Bar (1892) and, with his brother Fred, established the law firm of Butzel and Butzel in 1897. The firm specialized in corporation law and was general counsel for major companies and banks. In 1929 Henry was appointed to the Michigan Supreme Court. He was subsequently elected for a short term in 1930, then reelected in 1931, 1939, and 1949. He served as chief justice three times, in accordance with the bench's system of rotation. With his brother Fred, Henry founded the Detroit Legal Aid Bureau of the Bar Association. He was chairman of the Legal Aid Committee during World War I. Henry served as president of Temple Beth El, and also was president of the United Jewish Charities and of other Jewish organizations, receiving many public honors. FRED M. BUTZEL (1877–1948), brother of Henry, was born in Detroit and joined his brother Henry in law practice. However, Fred devoted most of his time to public service and became one of the nation's distinguished Jewish leaders. His main philanthropic interest was youth work. Fred was active during World War I in the Detroit Patriotic Fund, predecessor of the Community Chest (later the United Foundation), which he also helped to organize. He was president of the Servicemen's Bureau, Detroit Community Union, and Legal Aid Bureau, which he and his brother Henry founded. He served as commissioner of the House of Corrections. Deeply concerned with the problems of blacks, Fred served for 30 years on the board of the Detroit Urban League, was president of Parkside Hospital, a black institution, and helped finance the college education of many African-American boys. He took a deep interest in immigrants and aided hundreds of newcomers to the U.S. Fred Butzel was one of the few American-born Jews who actively espoused Zionism in its early years. He was president of the United Jewish Charities, one of the original directors of the Detroit Motor Bus Company, vice president of the Detroit Board of Commerce, and a director of the Detroit Federal Savings and Loan Association. In 1952 the Detroit headquarters of the Jewish Welfare Federation and many of its agencies were named after him.

[Irving I. Katz]

BUXBAUM, NATHAN (1890–1943), Polish leader of the *Po'alei Zion movement, and later of left-wing Po'alei Zion. Buxbaum was born in Lemberg (Lvov) and while at school, he was first secretary-general and from 1912 chairman of the high-school students' Po'alei Zion movement. After serving in the Austrian army during World War I, he became a leader of Po'alei Zion and edited the movement's newspaper, *Der Yidisher Arbayter*. When the party split in 1920, Buxbaum joined left-wing Po'alei Zion and edited its journal, *Folksblat*. In 1924 he moved to Warsaw where he was active in the administration of the party and contributed to its publications in Yiddish. From 1927 Buxbaum was a member of the Warsaw City Council. He visited Ereẓ Israel in 1937 and published a series of enthusiastic articles about the labor settlements. When World War II broke out, he lived in Lvov until he was brought to Warsaw by the National Jewish Council (the Jewish underground engaged in the rescue of Jews). He lived on the "Aryan side," but in early 1943 was deported with his wife and daughter as an "alien" to *Bergen-Belsen, from where he was taken in October 1943 to an unknown destination, probably Auschwitz.

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[Getzel Kressel]

BUXTON, ANGELA (1934–), tennis player; winner of the Wimbledon Doubles Championship in 1956 with Althea Gibson and singles finalist the same year. Buxton was born in Liverpool, England, her father's parents having arrived in England from Russia at the turn of the century. Her parents divorced when she was 13, and Buxton began playing tennis at a boarding school in North Wales. After winning junior tournament titles in the under-14, under-15, and under-18 categories, she and her mother moved to London to develop her potential. It was there that Buxton first faced antisemitism from the tennis establishment, which she would face her whole life. She took lessons at the Cumberland, one of London's leading clubs, but was not allowed to join. Indeed, even after reaching her 70th birthday she still had not been invited to join the exclusive All England Lawn Tennis Club, which hosts Wimbledon. "I think the antisemitism is still there," Buxton said in an interview in June 2004. "The mere fact that I'm not a member is a full sentence that speaks for itself." Buxton and her mother moved to Los Angeles in 1952, but again Buxton ran into antisemitism when the Los Angeles Tennis Club refused to let her play there. After playing on public courts under the tutelage of tennis great Bill Tilden, Buxton won her first international tournament at age 19, beating world-ranked No. 8 Anita Kanter at the Maccabiah Games in 1953. Buxton was ranked No. 4 in Britain in 1954 and No. 9 in the world in 1955, and played in the Wightman Cup for Great Britain in 1954, 1955, and 1956. Antisemitism continued to be a factor in her career, despite her top rankings, and Buxton had trouble finding doubles partners. In 1956 she joined with Althea Gibson, an African-American herself shunned by her American teammates, to form a lifetime friendship and an unbeatable doubles team. "The antisemitism made me more isolated, which I shouldn't have been," she said. "It made me more determined, more detached. People didn't realize what I was going through, because I didn't bother to spell it out. I just took another route. The result of which was that I was on my own and, for different reasons, she [Althea Gibson] was on her own. And then we came together and beat everybody." A book by Bruce Schoenfeld on the racism both of them faced, *The Match: How Two Outsiders – One Black, the Other Jewish – Forged a Friendship and Made Sports History*, was published in 2004.

Buxton was ranked No. 5 in the world in 1956 after capturing the Wimbledon doubles and reaching the singles finals. That year she also won the English Indoor and London Grass Court singles championships and the English Hard Court doubles with Darlene Hard. Buxton reached the semifinals of the French singles, and won the French Open doubles with Althea Gibson. A severe hand injury forced Buxton to retire after winning the Maccabiah Games singles in 1957, at the age of 22. She is the author of *Tackle Lawn Tennis This Way* (1958), *Starting Tennis* (1975), and *Winning Tennis Doubles Tactics* (1980), with C.M. Jones. She also helped found the Israel Tennis Centers.

[Elli Wohlgelernter (2nd ed.)]

°**BUXTORF, JOHANNES (I)** (1564–1629), Hebraist, professor of Hebrew at the University of Basle. He was also called "the elder," or "the father" (to distinguish him from his son Johannes Buxtorf II). Buxtorf devoted himself to compiling an edition of the Hebrew Bible with the Aramaic Targum, Masoretic Text, and the most important Jewish commentaries. He employed two Jewish scholars for this work. Buxtorf secured the right of residence for scholars from the Basle authorities, since, at that time, no Jews were allowed to live there. Buxtorf contended that the masoretic vocalization and cantillation marks are of very ancient origin. He also accepted Elijah *Levita's conception that the Hebrew canon was the product of Ezra and the men of the great assembly. His Bible research brought him into the field of rabbinical literature, of which he possessed a rich collection. He maintained a correspondence with Jewish scholars in Germany, Holland, and Constantinople as well as with non-Jewish Hebrew scholars. Many of his letters are preserved at the library of the University of Basle and are an important source for the study of the spiritual conditions of his time. His famous Hebraic library, which was supplemented by his son and grandsons, became part of the Basle Public Library (1705). Among his most important works are (1) a Hebrew textbook (*Praeceptiones Grammaticae Hebraicae*, 1605), which ran into 16 editions, one of them in English translation (London, 1656); (2) several Hebrew vocabularies and lexicons: *Lexicon Hebraicum et Chaldaicum* (1607), *Concordantiae Bibliorum Hebraicae* (1632), *Lexicon Chaldaicum Talmudicum* completed by his son (1640) which, although unreliable, served for generations as a guide for Christian scholars in their Jewish studies; (3) a catalog of his Hebrew books (with 324 entries); (4) a treatise on Hebrew abbreviations; and (5) a collection of over 100 Hebrew letters of medieval scholars (*Institutio Epistolaris Hebraica*, 1610). Buxtorf's attitude toward the Jews, as voiced in his work *Juden Schuel* (1603), was negative. This book enjoyed several editions and was known in its Latin version by the name *Synagoga Judaica*.

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[Zvi Avneri]

°**BUXTORF, JOHANNES (II)** (1599–1664), Hebraist, the son of Johannes Buxtorf I, succeeded his father in the chair of Bible and Hebrew studies at the University of Basle and edited some of his unpublished works. In common with his father, he held the view that the Masoretic Text is the genuine version of the Bible (*De Literarum Hebraicarum Genuina antiquitate*, 1643) and that the Hebrew square script preceded the Samaritan. The vocalization of Hebrew, he maintained, originated at least as early as the time of Ezra. These issues were the subject of his fierce controversies with another Hebraist, Ludovicus Capelus, with each defending his viewpoint in a series of scholarly studies. Buxtorf's view was formally adopted by the Swiss Church in 1675. Buxtorf translated *Maimonides' *Guide of the Perplexed* (1629), *Judah Halevi's *Kuzari* (1666), and part of Isaac *Abrabanel's commentaries to the Bible into Latin. The numerous Jewish scholars in many lands with whom he was in contact included *Manasseh Ben Israel. His collection of letters is preserved at the university libraries of Basle and Zurich.

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[Chaim M. Rabin]

BUZAGLO, Anglo-Moroccan family, sons of Moses Buzaglo, rabbi in *Mogador. ABRAHAM BUZAGLO (1710–1782), after an adventurous career, settled about 1762 in *England, and in 1765 was granted a patent for a new type of stove, known after him as "buzaglo." Making use of this invention, he introduced a new method of physical therapy whereby muscular exercise is undertaken after the body has been thrown into a profuse sweat; he recommended this method especially for gout. For a time it had great success, and is widely referred to in the literature of that period. He also invented a carriage warmer. JOSEPH BUZAGLO (d. 1767), who called himself De Paz, had a lively career in *France, during which he was condemned to the galleys, invented an incendiary bullet, and was imprisoned in the Bastille on a charge of spying for England. On his release from the Bastille he negotiated a commercial treaty between *Denmark and *Morocco, but when difficulties ensued, the sultan condemned him to death by burning and he again spent a long time in prison. Released through the intercession of the Danish authorities, he followed his brothers to England, and died in St. Eustatius (West Indies) on a fruitless journey to trace his son, who had become a soldier. Joseph's other brother was SHALOM *BUZAGLO.

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[Cecil Roth]

BUZAGLO (Buzaglio, Buzagli, Busaglo), SHALOM BEN MOSES (1700–1780), Moroccan kabbalist. Buzaglo was born in Marrakesh. Among his teachers in Kabbalah were Abraham b. Israel *Azulai, one of the rabbis of Marrakesh (d. 1741), Jacob Pinto, and Isaiah ha-Kohen. In his native land Buzaglo was persecuted by the sultan and was subjected to torture by fire. As a result of this experience he signed himself, "brand plucked out of the fire" (Zech. 3:2). In about 1745 he left Morocco and settled in London and there wrote his books on esoteric and exoteric matters. His major work was his commentary on the *Zohar. In the controversy between Jacob *Emden and Jonathan *Eybeschuetz both sides attempted to influence Buzaglo to endorse their particular points of view but he tried to remain neutral. He acknowledged, however, that Eybeschuetz' amulets were Shabbatean in character, but he also accepted the argument that they had been falsified. Buzaglo's commentaries on the Zohar were first published in 1750–1755 in Amsterdam and London. These are *Mikdash Melekh*, a commentary on the whole Zohar, book by book, in four volumes (to which he also added Moses *Zacuto's commentary from a manuscript); *Hadrat Melekh*, on difficult passages in the Zohar; *Penei Melekh, Hod Melekh*, and *Kevod Melekh*, all on the *Idras* in the Zohar and on *Sifra di-Ẓeni'uta Kisse Melekh* on *Tikkunei ha-Zohar. Mikdash Melekh* was the first systematic commentary on the whole Zohar to be published. It was very popular and was printed several times. Subsequently the text of the Zohar together with Buzaglo's commentaries were printed in Leghorn (1858) and in Zolkiew (1862). These were based mainly on Lurianic Kabbalah, including all the scattered work of Isaac *Luria's disciples, which Buzaglo usually copied word for word, occasionally quoting other opinions. Although this book does not convey the literal meaning of the Zohar, it has had a continuing value for scholars. In several books he added his own novellae on the Talmud. He spent his last years in London where he seems to have served for a time as a member of an Ashkenazi *bet din*. A number of his pamphlets referring to a halakhic dispute which broke out in London in 1774 were also published. He died in London. Several of his manuscripts were preserved in the *bet ha-midrash* of the Great Synagogue in London.

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[Gershom Scholem]

BUZAU (Rom. **Buzău**), town in Walachia, central Romania. The Jewish community there grew in the 19th century from three families in 1831 to 1,660 persons (7.6% of the total population) in 1899. An organized community was formed in the 1830s, but the communal organization in the second half of the 19th century was unstable. A Jewish school was founded in 1873. According to the official census, the Jewish population numbered 1,604 (4.5% of the total population) in 1930. Communal institutions before World War II included an elementary school for boys and for girls, a kindergarten and a bathhouse.

In December 1940, all Jews were sent to forced labor. In July 1941, all Jewish men between 18 and 60 were arrested and held prisoner until the end of the year. Jews from other Romanian cities (e.g., Targu-Neamt, Iasi) were forcibly expelled to Buzau. The community had to help them as well, including 900 orphans from Transnistria who arrived in April 1944. After World War II, the number of Jews in Buzau diminished considerably as a result of emigration. The Jewish population numbered 274 in 1956. In 1970 there about 30 families with a rabbi and *shoḥet*. In 2002, 22 Jews lived in Buzau.

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[Eliyahu Feldman and Theodor Lavi /
Lucian-Zeev Herscovici (2nd ed.)]

BUZZARD (Heb. אַיָּה, *ayyah*), bird of prey of which different species are found in Israel. The long-legged buzzard (*Buteo ferox*) feeds on birds, mammals, and insects. It can see very far and is apparently the *ayyah* referred to in Job 28:7 (AV: "vulture"), where the desert is described as a place which "even the eye of the *ayyah* has not seen." It is enumerated among the unclean animals (Lev. 11:14; Deut. 14:13). According to Abbahu, it is identical with the *ra'ah* mentioned in the same verse "and why is it called *ra'ah* – because of its remarkable sight" (*ra'ah*, it saw), adding "it can be in Babylon and see a carcass in the land of Israel!" (Ḥul. 63b).

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[Jehuda Feliks]

BYADULYA-YASAKAR, ZMITROK (pen name of **Samuil Yefimovich Plavnik**; 1886–1941), Soviet Belorussian writer, who was one of the founders of Belorussian literature. The son of a coachman, Byadulya-Yasakar studied in a yeshivah and began writing Hebrew verse at the age of 13. Only glimpses of this early phase of his career appear in his autobiographical novel *V dremuchikh lesakh* ("In the Depths of the Forest," 1939). Byadulya-Yasakar began publishing his works in 1910, under the pseudonyms "Byadulya" for prose works and "Yasakar" for verse. His prerevolutionary books portrayed downtrodden Belorussian peasants. An impassioned Belorussian nationalist, Byadulya-Yasakar was at first hostile to the Communist regime, to which he only gradually became reconciled. Except for the tales and poems rooted in Belorussian folklore – *Paleskiya bayki* ("Fairy Tales of Polesie," 1922) and *Yaryla* (1922) – his later work was conventional. Byadulya-Yasakar's more important achievements include two historical novels, *Salavey* ("Nightingale," 1927) and *Yazep Krushinski* (1929–1932); the background to the latter is the Russian Civil War.

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[Maurice Friedberg]

BYDGOSZCZ (Ger. **Bromberg**), capital of Bydgoszcz province, north central Poland. There were Jews living in the fortress of Bydgoszcz (*castrum Bydgoscense*) in the 11th and 12th centuries. Later a considerable number of Jews, engaged in trading provisions with Gdańsk, were found in the city adjoining the fortress, which was built by the order of Casimir the Great in 1346. In 1555 the city was authorized to expel the Jews, who moved to the nearby city of Fordon. The authorization was annulled by Frederick the Great after Bydgoszcz was annexed by Prussia in 1772. By 1788 there were 41 Jews living in Bydgoszcz, chiefly occupied in the silk trade, but a community was not officially established in Bydgoszcz until 1809. Jewish settlement in Bydgoszcz was subject to the agreement of the municipality until this restriction was revoked by the "Jewish Law" of July 23, 1847; subsequently the number of Jewish residents increased. The status of the Jewish community was enhanced through the efforts of the banker Louis Aronsohn, a member of the Prussian Landtag (Diet). In 1884 a magnificent synagogue was established, as well as a school and benevolent institutions. The 27 communities of the district formed a federation, presided over by Aronsohn in 1897. In 1905 the Jews numbered 2,600 out of a total population of 54,231. When the city was incorporated into Poland in 1918, most of the Bydgoszcz Jews moved to Germany; the community archives were transferred to the general archives of the German Jews in Berlin. In 1924 there were only 1,000 Jews living in Bydgoszcz, but by 1931 their number had increased to 3,000.

[Nathan Michael Gelber]

Holocaust Period

In the period of World War II Bydgoszcz was the second main town (after Danzig) of "Reichsgau Danzig-Westpreussen," a district created and incorporated into the Nazi Reich by a decree of Oct. 26, 1939, several weeks after the outbreak of World War II. Many of the Jewish families living in Bydgoszcz had fled before the entry of the German army on Sept. 5. Those who stayed behind were murdered or expelled to General Gouvernment territory, making the town one of the first in Poland to be "free of Jews" (*juderein*). After World War II the community was not rebuilt.

[Danuta Dombrowska]

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BYK, EMIL (1845–1906), lawyer, politician, and assimilationist leader in Austrian *Galicia. Byk was among the founders in 1869 of *Shomer Israel, the first Jewish political organization in Galicia, which adopted at first the policy of liberalism within the Austrian centralist framework. On Byk's initiative the Jewish communities in Galicia held a convention in Lemberg (LVOV) in July 1878 in order to establish their national framework. During the elections for the Austrian parliament in 1873, Shomer Israel, under Byk's leadership, adopted a special list of candidates in alignment with the Ruthenians, which was directed against the Poles. Later, however, the changed political situation caused Byk to alter his views. In 1879 he began to support the Polish national platform in Galicia and joined the Polish faction in the Austrian parliament. In internal Jewish affairs Byk also took up a pro-Polish assimilationist stand. He was one of the most determined opponents of the Zionist movement, and also opposed in the Austrian parliament, to which he was first elected as deputy for Brody in 1891, the proposed establishment of a special Jewish *curia* (electoral constituency). He was president of the Lemberg Jewish community (1903–06), and led it in an assimilationist pro-Polish spirit. Byk considered the central government in Vienna and not the Poles responsible for antisemitism in Galicia. Before his death in 1906, he convened representatives of the communities in Galicia to rally opposition to the claims put forward by anti-assimilationist Jews. The Zionists demonstrated against the convention.

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[Nathan Michael Gelber]

BYKHOV (or **Stary Bykhov**), city on the River Dnieper, Mogilev district, Belarus. It was one of the most important fortified cities in Belorussia. The Jewish community is mentioned in the reports of the period of the *Chmielnicki massacres 1648–49. In 1652 the Lithuanian Council (Va'ad ha-Medinah) decided to grant 40 zloti to the local synagogue. The minutes book of the *ḥevra kaddisha* of Bykhov contains entries from 1673. Three hundred Jews in Bykhov were massacred when it was captured by the Russians in 1659. For the help they extended to Polish troops in 1662, the Jews received a grant of privilege from the king Michael Wisniowiecki in 1669 relieving them of taxes for 20 years to ease conditions after the destruction of the city. A conference of the communities of the "Lands of Russia" (a part of Lithuanian Council; see *Councils of the Lands) met in Bykhov in 1670. In 1758 the community was given a special privilege by the lord of the city. The Jewish population numbered 887 in 1766; 3,046 in 1847; 3,037 in 1897 (47.6% of the total); 2,575 in 1926 (32.5%); and 2,295 (total population 11,026) in 1939. During the Soviet period most of the Jews were artisans and laborers and 44 families joined two kolkhozes. Bykhov was occupied by the Germans on July 4, 1941, and in September they murdered 250 Jews. In November, 4,000 Jews from the town and environs were held in the local castle for a few days without food and water and then executed. In 1943 children of mixed marriages were murdered. Two monuments were erected in Bykhov in memory of those killed. One bears the Russian inscription "Here lie buried the Jews of Bykhov murdered by German Fascists" above which is a *magen david*. In 1970 about 800 Jews lived in Bykhov; there was no synagogue.

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[Simha Katz / Shmuel Spector (2nd ed.)]

°BYRON, GEORGE GORDON, LORD (1788–1824), English poet. Byron's affection for the Old Testament and romantic interest in oppressed peoples led him to collaborate with Isaac *Nathan in publishing the *Hebrew Melodies* for which Nathan composed or adapted the music. Though not all are specifically Jewish in theme, some express sympathy for the plight of the Jews. They were published in 1815 as *A Selection of Hebrew Melodies, Ancient and Modern; with appropriate symphonies and accompaniments; the poetry written expressly for the work by the Right Hon. Lord Byron*. One of the best known of these poems is "The Destruction of Sennacherib." "Weep for those that wept by Babel's Stream" contains the familiar lines: "The wild dove hath her nest/the fox his cave/Mankind their Country/Israel but the grave!"

These poems were translated into Hebrew by J.L. Gordon as *Zemirot Yisrael* (1884) and into Yiddish by Nathan Horowitz (1926). There are musical settings by Balakirev, *Hiller, Loewe, *Mendelssohn, Moussorgski, Schumann, *Joachim, Hugo Wolf, and others.

In a later work, the satirical *Age of Bronze* (1823), Byron adopted a hostile attitude toward the Jews, whose emancipation he opposed and whose alleged support for foreign tyranny (Turks against Greeks) he denounced with many unpleasant allusions. More controversy was aroused in Christian circles by Byron's biblical verse play, *Cain* (1821), which reflected the radical poet's religious skepticism.

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BYTOM (Ger. **Beuthen**), town in *Silesia; in Germany until 1945. There were probably Jews living in Bytom before the *Black Death (1349), but the community disappeared; it was reestablished in 1655–59 by Polish Jews. In 1708 Jews without right of domicile in Bytom were expelled, those who remained being mainly taxfarmers. A cemetery was established in 1732, the first synagogue built in 1810, and a larger one in 1869. The Jewish population numbered seven persons in 1784; 131 in 1792; 255 in 1810; 2,549 in 1900; 3,500 in 1932 (3.77% of the total population), and 1,362 in 1939. A number of Polish Jews settled there after World War I. Attacks on Jews and Jewish shops occurred as early as 1923. In 1932 the community maintained a synagogue, an elementary and a religious school, and benevolent and cultural organizations. During World War II, 1,078 Jews were deported from Bytom (1942), most of them ending up in *Auschwitz. After the war a new community was established by Polish Jews, which maintained a Hebrew school and a producers' cooperative. In 1962 there were 248 Jews living in Bytom.

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BYZANTINE EMPIRE. Jewish communities existed in the Byzantine Empire throughout its history, from the foundation of *Constantinople in 330 to the Ottoman conquest of the city in 1453. The centers of Jewish population and the status of the Jews there underwent drastic changes throughout this long period and shifted under the impact of events within and outside the empire. The history of the Jews in the Byzantine Empire can therefore be divided into three major sections.

From Constantine to the Iconoclastic Period (c. 720). LEGAL AND SOCIAL STATUS. Numerous Jewish communities were located in the eastern Mediterranean region, including the Balkans, present-day Greece, Asia Minor, Constantinople, Syria, Ereẓ Israel (which alone had 43 communities), and Egypt. The legal status accorded to the Jewish faith within the Roman Empire as a *religio licita* (a religion permitted by law) was not changed explicitly. However, the attitude of the Byzantine rulers and society in practice, the methods employed by the Church, the language of official documents and legislation on details combined to humiliate the Jews and narrow the confines of Jewish society and religion and the opportunities open to Jews. Almost at the beginning of his legislative activity *Constantine described the Jewish religion as "baleful," and warned Jews, under threat of capital punishment, not to molest converts to Christianity. The second part of the law containing this injunction made it a crime to become a Jew: a Jew who circumcised his slave forfeited ownership of the slave (Cod. Theod. 16:8 (4, 1, 5)). Constantine and his mother Helena inspired a movement to Christianize Ereẓ Israel. His son Constantius added to his father's legislation a prohibition on marriage between Jews and Christians. An abortive revolt by the Jews in Ereẓ Israel against the provincial commander Gallus during his reign was suppressed in 351. The benign interlude of the reign of Emperor *Julian the Apostate only resulted in increased enmity on the Christian side and disappointment to the Jews.

The failure of Julian's plans to revive the pagan empire and its tolerance of the Jewish religion contributed to the breakdown of the old concepts and existent attitudes among religions and people. The consistent fanaticism prevailing in Byzantine Christendom covers the long span from Julian's death until the fall of Constantinople in 1453. Emperor *Theodosius I revived missionary activity and prohibited Jewish parents from disinheriting children who had apostatized to Christianity. However, the burning of the synagogue in Callinicum (Mesopotamia) in 388 led to a clash between the imperial traditions and the aims of the Church. The emperor still tried to uphold the imperial tradition of law and order for all, including the Jews. He therefore ordered that the perpetrators of the outrage in Callinicum should be punished and the synagogue reconstructed at their expense. *Ambrose, the

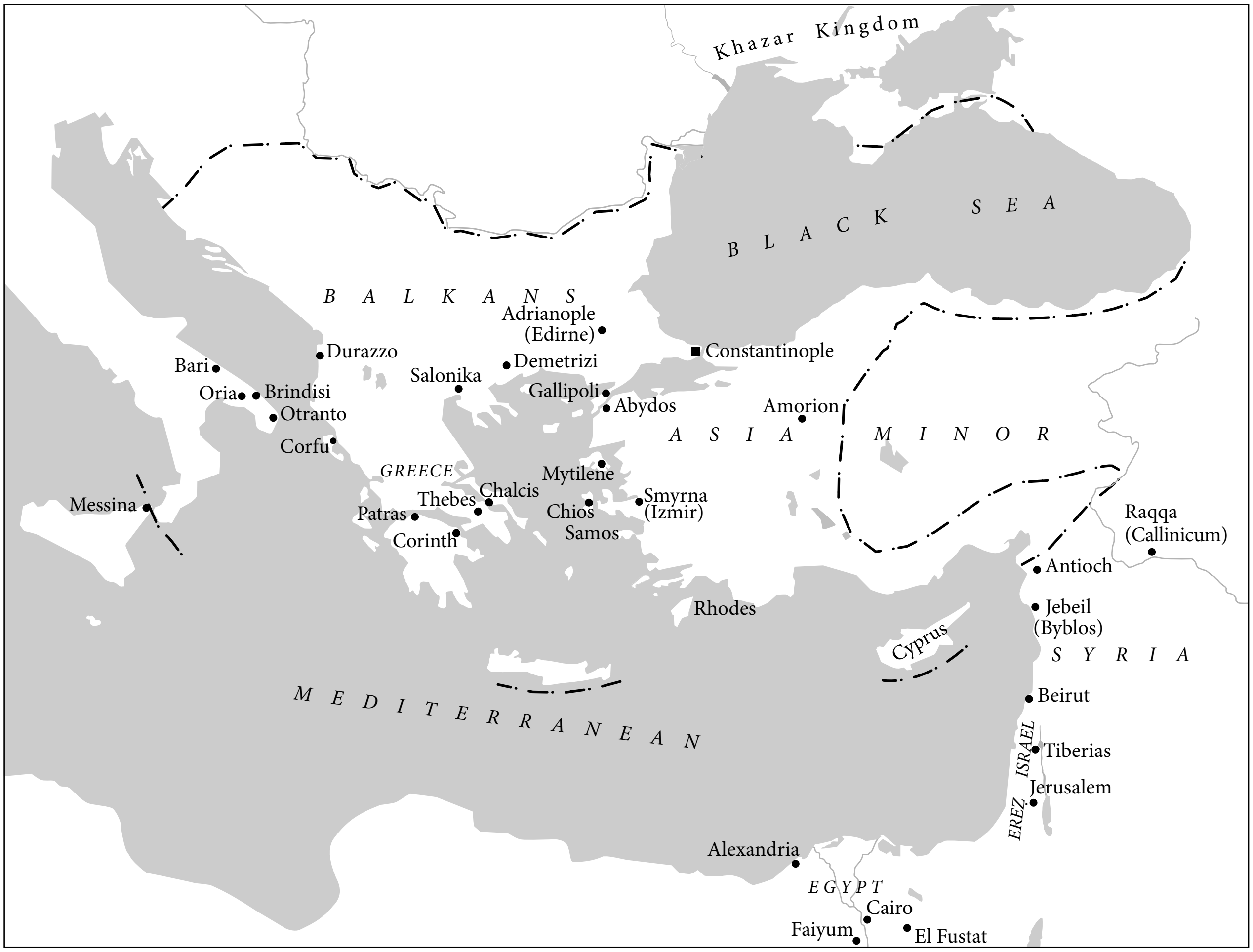
Khazar Kingdom
BLACK SEA
BALKANS
Adrianople (Edirne)
Durazzo
Demetrizi
Constantinople
Bari
Salonika
Oria
Brindisi
Gallipoli
Otranto
Abydos
Amorion
ASIA MINOR
Corfu
GREECE
Mytilene
Messina
Thebes
Chalcis
Smyrna (Izmir)
Patras
Chios
Samos
Corinth
Raqqa (Callinicum)
Antioch
Rhodes
Jebeil (Byblos)
Cyprus
SYRIA
MEDITERRANEAN
Beirut
EREẒ ISRAEL
Tiberias
Jerusalem
Alexandria
EGYPT
Cairo
Faiyum
El Fustat

Byzantine Empire end of 12th century showing the major centers of Jewish settlement.

bishop of Milan, viewed the emperor's order as sacrilegious and succeeded in compelling him to annul it. Thus toward the end of the fourth century the humiliation of the Jews and ascendancy of ecclesiastical ideas in regulating their affairs became established in the Byzantine Empire in both theory and practice. The temporary expulsion of the Jews from *Alexandria by the patriarch Cyril in 415 also marked a victory for the hatred stirred up by the Church among the populace with assistance from the authorities. The code of *Theodosius II (438) summed up the former anti-Jewish legislation, and included a prohibition on building new synagogues, permitting structural repairs only if absolutely necessary. Certain Purim celebrations were forbidden. In spirit and language this fifth-century codification crystallizes the atmosphere prevailing in the Byzantine Empire in the fourth century. A Church rent by internal struggles, bent on heresy hunting with the help of the imperial authority, and using increasingly violent and uncouth language toward its Christian adversaries, developed over the fourth century a vitriolic anti-Jewish polemic literature. Both writers and preachers seemingly vied with one another in their acrimony toward, and vilification of, the Jews and Judaism. In the eight sermons delivered by John Chrysostom from his pulpit in Antioch in 387, every imaginable evil is ascribed to the Jews. The venom embodied in these writings and sermons to a large degree lies at the root of medieval Jew-hatred, spreading beyond the boundaries of the Byzantine Empire and its culture.

In the sixth century the reign of *Justinian I inaugurated a hardening of attitudes toward the Jews and a departure for the worse in their treatment. The Jewish-Arab kingdom of *Ḥimyar in southern Arabia was destroyed on Byzantine instigation. Justinian attempted to regulate internal Jewish life and modes of worship in accordance with what he considered necessary and right from a Christian point of view through a number of laws and practical actions. In his famous *novella* 146, of the year 553, he even attempted to dictate to the Jews concerning their divine worship and forbade the use of the *deuterosis* (Mishnah) for understanding the Torah; he also took it upon himself to lay down which biblical translation (*Targum) they might use. This gross interference in Jewish religious practice is justified in the *novella* by hints that there was a division within Jewish society on these matters. However, while it is known that Greek was then beginning to be used in the Byzantine communities, which developed the "Romaniot" rite of prayer, it is also certain that no professing Jews would have asked for an imperial order to use translations which were mainly Christological. Justinian's tendency to resort to coercion found its severest expression in his *novella* 37, of 535, prohibiting the practice of Judaism in the reconquered territories in North Africa. All these measures were included in his *Corpus juris civilis*, with other anti-Jewish legislation. The first half of the sixth century saw a severely enforced but short-lived attempt by the emperor to abolish formally the last shreds left to Judaism of its status as a *religio licita*. Under assault from enemies from both within and without, the emperors of the weak empire of the second half of the sixth and first half of the seventh centuries permitted anti-Jewish riots and forced conversions of the Jews, such as ordered by Emperor Phocas in 608. The Jews reacted by revolts in self-defense. In the uprising near Antioch in 608 the patriarch was killed. The clashes of opposing forces and violence came to a head under Emperor *Heraclius, when the Jews, notable among them *Benjamin of Tiberias, allied themselves with the invading Persians during their capture of Jerusalem. On its recapture in 629, Heraclius avenged himself on the Jewish population by a series of massacres.

The appearance of Islam and the Muslim conquests deprived the Byzantine Empire of Ereẓ Israel and Egypt among other territories and awakened messianic expectations among the Jews (see *Messianic movements). In the remnant left to the Byzantine Empire the prevailing attitude toward the Jews was not relaxed. A council presided over by Emperor Justinian II in 692 prohibited Jews and Christians from bathing together in public places, and Christians from consulting Jewish physicians.

SOCIAL AND CULTURAL LIFE. At the beginning of this period, the Jews formed part and parcel of civic life in the towns. Like others, they refused to serve in the decurionate; Constantine's enforcement of their obligation to do so reflected the general reluctance of the citizenry to undertake this onerous municipal function and a specifically anti-Jewish bias on the part of the emperor. The Jews gradually withdrew from, or were forced out of, civic life, although they still continued to be active in the *circus parties for a long time. The abolition of the Jewish patriarchate (see *Nasi) in Ereẓ Israel in 425 threw back Jewish communal life onto the local leadership, already well established before this troubled time. The community's elders (*presbyteroi*), *archipherecites, and leaders with other titles led Jewish society in the various localities in all aspects of life. Apparently birth and wealth, in addition to scholarship, were major factors in attaining these leading positions. In the economic sphere, the Jews were only gradually ousted from their professions and positions of wealth, and from their places of residence in the cities (see *Constantinople). Many of them engaged in overland and maritime commerce. In a number of areas, such as Ereẓ Israel and Egypt, there was still a solid Jewish peasant population. In the sixth century *dyeing is mentioned as a major Jewish industry, remaining so down to the end of the Byzantine Empire.

In the cultural sphere, the center in Ereẓ Israel and its institutions led creative endeavor within the Byzantine communities in every field, even after the Arab incursions. Ereẓ Israel was the main source of Hebrew liturgical poetry, its leading poets including *Yose b. Yose, *Yannai, and Eleazar *Kallir. The monk Romanos, an apostate from Judaism, had a formative influence on Byzantine hymnology, transposing the mode of religious expression and worship used by the *paytanim* to the Byzantine liturgy and cultural expression. The violent changes at the end of the seventh and beginning of the eighth centuries aroused visions of an apocalyptic nature (see *Apocalypse) among Byzantine Jewry.

From the Iconoclastic Period to the Fourth Crusade (1204)

LEGAL AND SOCIAL STATUS. Throughout this period Jews were living in the major cities in the territories still remaining under Byzantine rule. The situation of the Jews in the Byzantine domains of southern Italy is well documented through the contacts they had with Ereẓ Israel as well as with countries under Christian rule, and by information given in the chronicle of *Ahimaaz. Main centers were *Bari, *Oria, and *Otranto. *Benjamin of Tudela in the mid-12th century describes many communities in the Balkans and Asia Minor, and in Constantinople, with their varied economy. The very nature of the Iconoclastic movement made its adherents suspicious of possible Jewish influences. The actual degree of such influence, if any, on the emperors and priests who rejected icon worship is still very much in dispute. Their opponents, the icon worshipers, regarded this influence as a certainty, and the iconoclasts were branded in sermons and tales circulating at the time as "Jews." The final restoration of icon worship in 843 was accompanied by renewed violent anti-Jewish manifestations. *Basil I issued a decree ordering the forcible conversion of his Jewish subjects in 873–74, and in the Ahimaaz chronicle he is depicted as the archenemy of Judaism and the Jews. The decree was rescinded by Leo VI. In 943 *Romanus I Lecapenus made another attempt at forcible conversion. There are reports of Jews who fled to Khazaria from these persecutions. Byzantine Jewry in the 11th and 12th centuries apparently lived under a regime of absolute humiliation although assured of relative safety for their lives and property.

SOCIAL AND CULTURAL LIFE. The economic structure of the Jews in the Byzantine Empire remained substantially the same in this period. Benjamin of Tudela found Jews in the Balkans engaged in agriculture, besides being occupied in the silk weaving and cloth dyeing industries which were widespread Jewish occupations throughout the Byzantine communities. According to his descriptions of the communal leadership, the smaller communities were headed by two elders and the larger by five. He seems to indicate that the *Karaites had a separate communal organization and leadership. The most flourishing area of Byzantine Jewish cultural life at the time was to be found in southern Italy. The stories in the Ahimaaz chronicle describe the strong ties of the Jews there with the center of learning in Ereẓ Israel and denote that a good knowledge of Hebrew was widespread, as well as showing the imprint of mystical and even magical elements on Jewish society in this area. Members of the upper circles of Jewish society are pictured as living a warm and diversified family life. The *Josippon chronicle, which was compiled in southern Italy in this period, reflects in many places the influence of Byzantine views and chronographical techniques. Southern Italy in the 9th to 11th centuries produced a considerable number of *paytanim*. Through its contacts with the north, it became the fountainhead of the Jewish culture of *Ashkenaz and the matrix of the Ashkenazi prayer rite. The Karaite communities also had a rich and variegated cultural life from the second half of the 11th century, centering around Constantinople. Prominent Karaite scholars of Byzantium were *Jacob b. Reuben, Judah *Hadassi, and *Tobias b. Moses. In some of the writings of this period apocalyptic ideas continue to find expression, as in the Vision of *Daniel. The First Crusade of 1096 gave rise to a messianic movement in Salonika.

From the Fourth Crusade to the Capture of Constantinople by the Turks in 1453

LEGAL AND SOCIAL STATUS. The Fourth Crusade (1204) disrupted the Byzantine Empire and placed its Jewish communities under the various administrations set up by the Latin (i.e., Western European) countries which had taken part in the crusade. The Jewish quarter in Constantinople, Pera, was burned down and pillaged during the sack of the city by the Latins. After the Latin rule ended in 1261 Jews lived both in Pera and outside the area, including parts of the city where the Venetians had been given special rights and commercial privileges. The existence of a Jewish quarter outside Pera elicited a complaint from the patriarch Athanasius to Emperor Andronicus II (1282–1328), who before 1319 assigned the Jews a quarter near that of the Venetians, although they were not restricted to that area. Many engaged in tanning, and the majority apparently were wealthy. Neither the native dynasty nor the Latin rulers made basic changes in the status of the Jews. In the parts of Greece and the Balkans, however, which fell to various Greek rulers and minor royalty (often referred to as "despots"), proscriptions of Judaism were issued at times, as in Epirus and Salonika under Theodore I Angelus (1214–1230), and in Nicaea under John III Vatatzes (1222–1254). Other former imperial lands, such as Chalcis, Rhodes, Patras, and Cyprus, were ruled by the Genoese, the Venetians, the Knights of Malta, the Veronese, and the Turks. The Jews continued to pursue their previous occupations, particularly the silk trade and commerce.

Social and Cultural Life

Jews in all these areas continued to follow the Romaniot rite which developed specific features. Among the Karaites there was extensive cultural activity, represented by such scholars as *Aaron b. Joseph ha-Rofe, the *Bashyazi family, and Caleb b. Elijah *Afendopolo. The year 1453 marked the end of the Byzantine Empire. For the Jews its downfall, after a short period of disruption, brought a renewed lease on life in the *Ottoman Empire in much improved conditions. Less than half a century later, the Jews exiled from Spain and Portugal found communities in the former Byzantine Empire ready and able to shoulder the burden of absorbing the refugees economically, and capable of integrating their social and cultural life. Although little information is available about conditions in the communities in this period, scholars and leaders of the stature of Elijah b. Abraham *Mizraḥi and Moses b. Elijah

*Capsali, with their diversified scholarship, creative abilities, and well-developed methods of leadership, could not have arisen out of a void. That the conditions existed in which they were able to flourish shows that in the period before the Ottoman conquest, Byzantine Romaniot Jewry had large reserves of intellectual ability and social cohesion, continuing a situation which still prevailed after the troubles of 1204.

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[Andrew Sharf]

BZENEC (Ger. **Bisenz**), town in Moravia, Czech Republic. The synagogue demolished in 1859 had probably stood for 500 years. Its community was one of the oldest in Moravia. It is referred to by a Bzenec medieval chronicler as *nidus judaeorum* ("nest of Jews"). The Jewish quarter was destroyed in 1458. In 1604 there were 400 Jewish residents, living in 49 buildings, and a Jewish hospital. The Jewish quarter was again destroyed in 1605. The community suffered extreme hardship during the Prussian invasion of 1742; in 1777 the 93 houses in Jewish ownership were burnt down. It became a political community (see **Politische Gemeinden*) in 1852. A new synagogue was built in 1863. There was a matzah factory in Bzenec and a sugar refinery owned by Rudolph *Auspitz. Rabbis of Bzenec include Nehemiah *Bruell (1866–70) and Moses Rosenmann (1894–97). The community numbered 137 families in 1753; 965 persons in 1857; 416 in 1900; and 138 (3.4% of the total population) in 1930. In Jan. 1943 the Jews in Bzenec were deported to Theresienstadt via *Kyjov and later to Nazi death camps, and the synagogue equipment was sent to the Jewish Central Museum in Prague. A small congregation administered by the Kyjov community was reestablished after World War II. In 1956 a monument in memory of the Nazi victims was dedicated in the cemetery.

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INCIP PARALIPOMEN LIBER. II.
ON
FORTATUS EST
ergo salomon filius dauid inregno suo.
et dns erat cum eo. et magnificauit eum

Initial "C" at the opening of II Chronicles in the Bible of Saint Martial of Limoges, *France, 12th century, depicting Solomon enthroned. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, ms. Lat. 8, vol. II, fol. 102.*

CA–COF

CAAN, JAMES (1939–), U.S. actor. Son of a German Jewish butcher, Caan grew up in the working-class neighborhood of Sunnyside, Queens, New York City, home to a mix of Italian, Irish, and Jewish families. Caan played football for Michigan State University, but transferred by the end of his first year to Hofstra University. After taking part in a small project at a children's theater, Caan was accepted to the Neighborhood Playhouse in 1960. His film debut was an uncredited part in Billy Wilder's *Irma La Douce* (1963). And while his role as Brian Piccolo in *Brian's Song* (1971) earned him critical attention, it was his break-out performance as family enforcer Sonny Corleone in Francis Ford Coppola's *The Godfather* (1972) that gained him the most notoriety, garnering him an Oscar nomination for best supporting actor and two nods as "Italian of the Year." He followed that performance with appearances in a diverse range of films such as *Freebie and the Bean* (1974), *The Gambler* (1974), and *Rollerball* (1975). A longtime rodeo fan with the nickname "The Jewish Cowboy," Caan snuck off during production of *Funny Lady* (1975) to take part in a roping competition in Palm Springs. Married four times, he lived in the Playboy Mansion after his divorce from second wife, Sheila Ryan, in the late 1970s. Caan made his directorial debut with *Hide in Plain Sight* (1980) and then starred in the well-received *Thief* (1981). After *Godfather II* (1974), he worked with Coppola again in the Vietnam War-era film *Gardens of Stone* (1987). Caan followed with such films as *Alien Nation* (1988), *Dick Tracy* (1990), *Misery* (1990), *Honeymoon in Vegas* (1992), and *Eraser* (1996). In 2004 he became known to a new generation with his starring role on the hit TV series *Las Vegas*.

[Adam Wills (2nd ed.)]

CABBAGE, vegetable known in rabbinic literature as *keruv*, i.e., kale (*Brassica oleracea var. acephala*). Highly regarded for nutritive and medicinal purposes (Ber. 44b), its leaves were eaten raw or boiled (*ibid.* 38b), its stem, called *isparagos* in the Mishnah (Ned. 6:10), being likewise used as food. In addition to kale which was grown as a perennial, garden cabbage, called *teruvtor* in the Mishnah, was also cultivated (Kil. 1:3).

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[Jehuda Feliks]

CABESSA (**Cabeça, Cabeção**), Moroccan family of Spanish-Portuguese origin, found in the 13th century in Toledo, Spain. Forced to accept baptism, the Cabessa family was persecuted by the Inquisition, and fled to the Canary Islands and after 1530 to Morocco. ABRAHAM CABESSA, head of the Spanish community in the kingdom of Marrakesh, was minister to the first Saadian sultan, whom he advised to take possession of Fez in 1549; he obtained many favors for his coreligionists. His brothers SAMUEL, financier of the court, and ISAAC, controlled Morocco's foreign trade. They particularly favored the English. When at the beginning of the 17th century freedom was granted to the Jews in certain European ports, the Cabessas extended their field of activities. ABRAHAM (II) settled in Marseilles in 1656; MOSES (d. 1636) settled in Hamburg; and ISAAC (II; d. 1699), MOSES (II; d. 1664), and AARON (d. 1699) settled in Amsterdam. SOLOMON (d. after 1700) directed the family business in Morocco.

At the beginning of the 19th century, Solomon's descendants obtained from Spain permission to reside in Alicante and Almeria. They moved their business center to Oran, Algeria. Some of the family settled in Mogador, Morocco, where DAVID was U.S. consul before 1914.

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[David Corcos]

CABUL (Heb. כָּבוּל), city in Western Galilee S.E. of Acre, mentioned in the territory of Asher (Josh. 19:27). Its area probably constituted the "land of Cabul" which did not please Hiram, king of Tyre, when he received 20 cities in the land of Galilee from Solomon (I Kings 9:13). In another passage, however, Solomon is said to have built and settled Israelites in these cities (II Chron. 8:2). Various suggestions have been proposed to resolve these contradictions; a possible explanation is that Cabul and its vicinity had become the border region between Ereẓ Israel and Phoenician Acre as in the Second Temple period when Cabul was a city on the border of Galilee and Ptolemais-Acre (Jos., Wars, 3:38). It was attacked by Cestius Gallus in 66 C.E. (*ibid.*, 2:503) and served for a time as Josephus' headquarters in Galilee in 67 C.E. (Life, 213, 227, 234). Judah and Hillel, sons of R. Gamaliel III, were guests at Cabul, where they were received with great honor and paid a visit to a local bath (Tosef., Shab. 7:17; Tosef., MK 2:15). It was the seat of R. Zakkai (TJ, Meg. 4, 78b, etc.) and was famous for its abundance of wine and oil; it also had a synagogue and public baths. After the fall of Jerusalem, priests of the Shecaniah (Shekhanyah) family settled there. In the Latin kingdom it was the seat of a seigniory known as Cabor. Still known by its ancient name, it is a Muslim village where Middle Bronze Age, Hellenistic, and Roman remains have been found.

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[Michael Avi-Yonah]

CACERES (Casseres), ABRAHAM (first half of the 18th century), Dutch composer. Caceres' name is found for the first time in 1718 as composer of the music for the annual celebration of the Amsterdam Talmud study fraternity, *Lekaḥ Tov*. In 1726 he provided the music for the consecration of the Ḥonen Dal synagogue at The Hague. In 1730–31 Immanuel Ḥai *Ricchi included in his *Sefer Hon Ashir* two melodies set down by Caceres. His reputation as the leading musician of the Portuguese community of Amsterdam is confirmed in the enthusiastic description by David *Franco-Mendes of the feast of Simḥat Torah of 1738, where Caceres appears as composer and accompanist of the cantata *Le-El Elim*, the text of which was written by M.Ḥ. *Luzzatto. In the probably posthumous manuscript 49 B 22 of the "Ets Haim" library of Amsterdam, which contains this cantata, the composer is described as the "celebrated R. Abm. Casseres." The same manuscript includes the choral piece *Ḥishki Ḥizki* for three voices, with instrumental accompaniment *ad libitum* to words written by Isaac Aboab for the inauguration of the Amsterdam synagogue in 1675. A third composition by Caceres which has survived is the *Ha-Mesi'aḥ Illemim* from the morning prayer for Sabbath and festivals for two voices with *basso continuo* and two violins doubling the voices ("Ets Haim" library, Ms. 49 A 14).

As far as can be gauged from his few surviving compositions, Caceres had a solid musical training. His music expresses tenderness rather than strong emotion. Even in his *Ḥishki Ḥizki*, which is modeled on the Protestant chorale, he chooses a gracious melodic line. Numerous imitations and adaptations of his compositions were made during the second half of the 18th century.

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[Israel Adler]

CACERES (Casseres), FRANCISCO (Joseph) DE (b. c. 1580), *Marrano litterateur. After leaving Spain, he first lived apparently in France where, styling himself "F. de Cazeres, a gentleman of Castile" (*Gentilhombre castellano*), he published *Nuevos fieros españoles* (Paris, 1607). As a Jew in Amsterdam, he continued his literary activity. He published *Los siete dias de la semana* (Amsterdam, 1613), translated from Guillaume de Salluste's French epic on the Creation, *La Divine Semaine*. This bore the author's Hebrew name Joseph and the Jewish date and was dedicated to Jacob *Tirado, *parnas* of the Amsterdam community, thus making clear the translator's religious allegiance. This was followed by *Dialogos satýricos* (Frankfurt, i.e., Amsterdam, 1616: 2nd ed. Amsterdam, 1617), consisting of four dialogues composed in a very Italianate, Lucianesque vein, and later *Visión deleytable y sumario de todas las sciencias* (Amsterdam, 1623; 2nd ed. 1663), both published under the name "Francisco." The last-mentioned volume was a translation from the Italian version (Venice, 1556) of a once-popular Spanish work by Alfonso de la Torre (1421–1461) of Salamanca, first published by the Jewish printer Abraham Usque (Ferrara, 1554). It is probable that Caceres was not aware of the language of the original, nor of the fact that the author was Spanish and was probably a *Converso. Francisco de Caceres is reputed to have been father of the "licenciado" Daniel de Caceres, who gave official approval to the first part of Manasseh Ben Israel's *Conciliador* (1632) and *De la fragilidad humana* (1642); of R. Samuel de Caceres (d. 1660), who edited the Spanish translation of the Bible published a year after his death, and who married a sister of Spinoza; and of Simon de *Caceres, one of the founders of the London Jewish community. The formerly accepted view that there were two writers named Francisco de Caceres is due to a confusion of M. Kayserling, who did not know of the 1623 edition of the *Visión deleytable* and concluded that the same person could not have been active in 1616 and 1663.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Kayserling, Bibl, 32; ESN, 1 (1949), 136–8; S. Seeligmann, *Bibliographie en historie* (1927), 44f., 49f.; A. Morel-Fatio, *Ambrosio de Salazar* (1900).

[Kenneth R. Scholberg]

CACERES, SIMON (Jacob) DE (d. 1704), English merchant. Born in Amsterdam, Caceres settled in London before 1656 when professing Jews were still not officially allowed in England. He apparently made no secret of his Judaism and urged *Marranos there to adhere openly to their religion. His business connections enabled him to advise *Cromwell during the conquest of Jamaica. He also suggested a plan to conquer Chile and offered to raise a Jewish force to fight under English command. He signed the petition of London Jews asking for freedom of worship and was responsible with Abraham Israel *Carvajal for the acquisition of the first congregational cemetery in 1657, but played no further part in the community's affairs. In 1697, Caceres was among the first 12 Jewish stockbrokers allowed to trade on the London stock exchange.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: A.M. Hyamson, *Sephardim of England* (1951), 12–14, 24, 33, 159, 166; JHSET, index; Roth, England, index. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** Katz, England, 186–87.

[Cecil Roth]

CADENET, village near Avignon, southeastern France. The first mention of a Jewish community there dates from 1283. In 1335 an anti-Jewish riot was accompanied by murder and pillage. Subsequently, there is no further evidence of the presence of Jews in Cadenet itself, but Jews originally from Cadenet are found in surrounding cities. The Rue de la Juiverie with a gate intended to isolate the Jewish quarter still exists in Cadenet. Jews wishing to settle there in 1775 were forced to leave.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Gross, Gal Jud, 548f.; Kahn, in: REJ, 39 (1899), 95ff.; E. Baratier, *Démographie provençale du XIIIème au XVIème siècle* (1961), index; Z. Szajkowski, *Franco-Judaica* (1962), no. 337.

[Bernhard Blumenkranz]

CÁDIZ, Atlantic seaport in S.W. Spain. Certain historians have identified Cádiz with the biblical *Tarshish; Jews may have been living there during the period of Muslim rule in the Iberian Peninsula. A Jew, Samuel of Cádiz, was among those allocated properties in the area after its reconquest and resettlement in the 13th century. The Jewish settlement increased in importance when the island on which Cádiz was situated became linked with the mainland by silt from the Guadalquivir. More about Cádiz Jewry is known during the 15th century. The Inquisition's ruthless handling of cases from Cádiz tried in 1481 in Seville shows that a community of *Conversos existed there at this time. When the Jews were expelled from Andalusia, those of Cádiz moved to Castile. A number of Jews – Moses and Isaac Aben Zemerro among others – were granted safe conducts to settle their affairs in the city. According to the chronicler Bernaldez, 8,000 Jews left from Cádiz, mainly for North Africa, on the expulsion from Spain (1492). The 1877 census showed 209 Jews in Cádiz, mostly from Morocco, but no permanent community was formed (JC, Oct. 8, 1886).

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[Haim Beinart]

CAECILIUS OF CALACTE (first century C.E.), literary critic, rhetorician, and historian. Born in Calacte, Sicily, he was active in Rome in the days of Augustus. He wrote in Greek various works on rhetoric and on literary criticism, among them treatises on such themes as the characteristics of the ten greatest Attic orators, a comparison between Demosthenes and Cicero, the sublime style, and others. Together with Dionysius of Halicarnassus he was a proponent of the clear, concise style of expression known as Atticism and a bitter opponent of the flowery style of Asianism. One of his works deals with the difference between the two styles. He is particularly noteworthy for his skill in exposing works falsely attributed to orators. In historiography he was renowned as the author of an account of the slave wars in Sicily and of a theoretical treatise on history.

According to his biography contained in the tenth-century lexicon of Suidas, Caecilius, originally called Archagathus, was born a slave, and was a Jew by religion. There is no reason to doubt this statement – he was presumably the son of a man sold into slavery in Sicily who, when freed, adopted his patron's Roman name. Since only a few fragments of Caecilius' works have been preserved, it is not known whether his Judaism found expression in his writings. Interesting in this connection is the enthusiastic praise given by the author of a work of literary criticism, *De Sublimitate* (commonly referred to as "Pseudo-Longinus"), to the words of the "Jewish lawgiver" (Moses) which is a paraphrase of "And God said: 'Let there be light.' And there was light" (Gen. 1:3; cf. *De Sublimitate* 9:9). Since it is known that the work of Pseudo-Longinus was written in consequence of Caecilius' treatise on the same subject, it has been suggested that he learned of this biblical verse from that source, but the possibility of his having acquired the information through other channels cannot be ruled out. Plutarch, in his *Life of Cicero*, tells of a joke by the Roman orator directed against the Jewishness of his contemporary, the *quaestor* Caecilius. As it is highly improbable that the latter was in fact a Jew, some scholars see in this account a confusion between the *quaestor* Caecilius and the Jewish writer of the same name. Caecilius was the first known European Jewish author who did not write on Jewish subjects. He is, moreover, a pioneer in the field of comparative literature. He was severely criticized by Plutarch, who undoubtedly owed much to him.

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[Menahem Stern]

CAEN, capital of the department of Calvados, France. The medieval Jewish community of Caen lived in the Rue des Juifs between Rue Desmoneux and the Rue de l'Eglise Julien, in the vicinity of which a property called "Jardin aux Juifs" (perhaps the medieval cemetery) still exists. In 1252 the Jews were expelled from Caen but they returned later in fairly large numbers, and in 1301 the Jews paid a total of over 700 livres in tallage, as compared to a little more than 462 livres in 1217. They were expelled once more by Philip the Fair in 1306. The chief rabbinical authority of Caen was R. Joseph Porat (or Joseph b. Moses; mid-12th century), also called Don Bendit, author of a commentary on the Talmud and perhaps also of a commentary on the Pentateuch.

There is no precise information on the fate of Jews of Caen during World War II, but one street bears the name of a Jewish physician, Peker, deported in 1943.

[Bernhard Blumenkranz]

In 1951 a Jewish community was established which provided religious services and instruction for its approximately 30 Jewish families. Since that year, the Jewish population has grown rapidly, with an estimated 700 persons living in Caen in 1969. A combined synagogue and community center was inaugurated in 1966.

[Georges Levitte]

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°CAESAR, SEXTUS JULIUS (d. 46 B.C.E.), kinsman of Julius *Caesar. After participating in the Spanish campaign against Pompey, he was appointed governor of Syria, where he met his death. Josephus writes that *Herod first came to his notice when he put to death Hezekiah "the bandit leader."

When Herod was summoned to stand trial before the Sanhedrin for this act and for other acts of violence (Jos., Ant., 14:159–60; Wars, 1:204–5), Sextus Caesar intervened by warning Hyrcanus not to condemn his protégé Herod (Jos., Ant., 14:170; Jos., Wars, 1:211). Soon afterward he appointed Herod to be the governor of Samaria and northern Palestine.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Schuerer, Hist, 110; Muenzer, in: Pauly-Wissowa, 19 (1917), 477f., no. 153; A. Schalit, *Koenig Herodes* (1969), 43, 45f.

[David Solomon]

CAESAR, SID (1922–), U.S. stage and television comedian. Born in New York, Caesar was the son of a Yonkers restaurant owner. In his formative years he was exposed to a variety of dialects and accents, which would serve him well as a mimic and comedian. Caesar first wanted to be a musician. He studied saxophone at Julliard, and later played with well-known bandleaders such as Charlie Spivak, Claude Thornhill, Shep Fields, and Art Mooney. During World War II, as a musician in the Coast Guard, he took part in the service show *Tars and Spars*. When the show's producer, Max Liebman, overheard Caesar improvising comedy routines among the band members, he switched him over to comedy. Caesar performed his routine in the stage and movie versions of the review, and continued to work with Liebman after the war, appearing in theatrical revues in the Catskills and Florida.

Liebman cast Caesar in the Broadway revue *Make Mine Manhattan* in 1948, and in 1949 brought him to star on television in the variety show the *Admiral Broadway Revue*. Caesar became a great success, starring with comedienne Imogene Coca. Lasting, however, only 17 weeks, it was followed by Caesar's *Your Show of Shows*. A 90-minute showcase for Caesar's unbridled talent, it became the viewing audience's Saturday night favorite for four years (1950–54). Caesar and Coca teamed up with Carl *Reiner and Howard Morris, performing material by them and their team of soon-to-be famous writers, such as Mel Tolkin, Mel *Brooks, Neil *Simon, and Larry Gelbart. Performing some 160 live, original comedy skits, the foursome combined revue and sketch comedy with satire and parody. The irrepressible Caesar, often deviating from the script, was a master at mime, dialects, monologues, foreign language double-talk, and all-round comedic acting. In 1954, Caesar launched *Caesar's Hour* (1954–57), with Nanette Fabray replacing Coca.

In 1972 Liebman compiled routines of several programs from the 1950–54 shows into a feature film entitled *Ten from Your Show of Shows* (1973). NBC had thrown away its copies of the program, but Caesar and Liebman had retained their kinescopes made during the original run. A series of 90-minute TV specials anthologized from the original shows were syndicated in 1976.

Not confining his multi-talents to television, Caesar appeared in a number of films as well, including *The Guilt of Janet Ames* (1947); *It's a Mad, Mad, Mad, Mad World* (1963); *The Busy Body* (1966); *The Spirit Is Willing* (1966); *A Guide for the Married Man* (1967); *Airport* (1975); *Silent Movie* (1976); *Fire Sale* (1977); *Barnaby and Me* (1977); *Grease* (1978); *The Cheap Detective* (1978); *The Fiendish Plot of Dr. Fu Manchu* (1980); *History of the World, Part I* (1981); *Grease 2* (1982); *Over the Brooklyn Bridge* (1983); *Cannonball Run II* (1983); *Stoogemania* (1985); *The Emperor's New Clothes* (1987); *The South*

Pacific Story (1991); *Vegas Vacation* (1997); and *The Wonderful Ice Cream Suit* (1998).

In addition to his stage debut in *Make Mine Manhattan* in 1948, Caesar also took to the stage in the Broadway musical comedy *Little Me* (1962–63), in which he played seven leading parts; *Four on a Garden* (1971), a set of four original one-act plays; the opera *Die Fledermaus* (1987); and *Does Anybody Know What I'm Talking About?* (1989).

Caesar has won an Emmy for Best Actor (1952); a Lifetime Achievement Award in Comedy from the American Comedy Awards (1987); and a Career Achievement Award from the Television Critics Association (2001). He wrote an autobiography called *Where Have I Been?* (1983).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: T. Sennett, *Your Show of Shows* (1977); K. Adir, *The Great Clowns of American Television* (1988)

[Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

CAESAREA, ancient city on the coast midway between Tel Aviv and Haifa.

From Ancient Times to the Mamluks

Caesarea was originally called Straton's Tower after its founder Straton (Abd-Ashtart), who was probably a ruler of Sidon in the 4th century B.C.E. (Jos., Ant., 13:395). The city is first mentioned in 259 B.C.E. by Zeno, an official of Ptolemy II, as a harbor where he disembarked on his way to Jerusalem (F. Preisigke, *Sammelbuch griechischer Urkunden aus Aegypten*, no. 6777e). During the dissolution of the Seleucid kingdom it fell into the hands of a tyrant called Zoilus. In 96 B.C.E. Alexander Yannai captured the city and it remained part of the Hasmonean kingdom until its restoration as an autonomous city by Pompey; it was rebuilt by Gabinius in 63 B.C.E. (Ant., 13:324ff., 395). After being for some time in the possession of Cleopatra, it was returned by Augustus to Herod (Ant., 15:215ff.), who greatly enlarged the city and renamed it Caesarea in honor of the emperor. Herod surrounded it with a wall and built a deep sea harbor (called Sebastos, i.e., Augustus in Greek); the new city was officially inaugurated in about 13 B.C.E. The population of Caesarea was half gentile and half Jewish and the divergent claims of the two groups to citizenship and municipal rights led to frequent disputes (Ant., 20:173ff.; Wars, 2:266ff.; 284ff.). After Herod's death (4 B.C.E.) Caesarea fell to his son Archelaus, but after his banishment to Gaul in 6 C.E. it became the seat of the Roman procurators of Judea. Except for the brief reign of Agrippa I (41–44), who died in Caesarea (Acts 12:19–23), the city remained the capital of Roman and Byzantine Palestine. The clashes between Jewish and gentile communities finally sparked the Jewish war against Rome in 66 C.E. During the war Vespasian made Caesarea his headquarters and when he became emperor he raised it to the rank of a Roman colony – *Colonia Prima FlaviaCaesarea*. The city prospered in the first and early second centuries but the harbor began to fill with sand in the late second century.

Caesarea was one of the first gentile cities visited by the apostles Peter and Paul (Acts 10:1, 24; 11:11; 21:8); Paul was imprisoned there before being sent to Rome (Acts 23:23ff.). During the Bar Kokhba War (132–135) the city was the headquarters of the Roman commander Julius Severus, and after the fall of Bethar several prominent Jewish leaders, including R. Akiva, were martyred there. In the third century Caesarea was a center of Christian learning; its celebrated scholars included Origen and later Eusebius, archbishop of Caesarea. Although it was the capital of Roman Palestine, Jewish life flourished there from the third century onward. The Talmud mentions judges or rabbis who lived in Caesarea, particularly R. Abba, R. Adda, R. Ḥanina, R. Assi, R. Hosheya, R. Hezekiah, and R. Ahava b. Zeira (Er. 76b; TJ, Shab. passim). R. Abbahu, the most important local leader, represented the Jewish community before the Roman governor (Ket. 17a, et al.). The Talmud also refers to the synagogue of Caesarea (*Kenishta Maradta* – possibly the "Synagogue of the Revolt," TJ, Ber. 3:1, 6a, et al.); it was situated near the harbor and prayers were said there in Greek (*Alunistin*; "Hellenic"; TJ, Sot. 7:1, 21b). Caesarea contained a large number of Samaritans who were recruited for the city guard (TJ, Av. Zar. 1:2, 39c). The city reached its greatest extent in Byzantine times when it was surrounded by a semicircular wall; it was then served by two aqueducts, one from Naḥal Tanninim and the other from the mountains near today's Zikhron Ya'akov. In the late Byzantine period Caesarea was the capital of the province of *Palaestina Prima*. It was the last Palestinian city to fall to the Muslims in 640. According to Arabic sources the Jewish inhabitants of Caesarea showed the conquerors a way into the fortress.

During the pillage that followed the capture of Caesarea in 1101 by Baldwin I, a leader of the First Crusade, Genoese soldiers discovered in a building some green glassware, among which was a bowl which the crusaders believed to be the Holy Grail. Taken to Italy and still preserved in the Cathedral of San Lorenzo, Genoa, it became known as the "*Sacro Catino*". Utilizing the remains of Herod's large harbor at Caesarea the crusaders built a smaller harbor inside it and fortified the city, making it the seat of an archbishop, and building a cathedral there. The city was made a *signoria* of the larger feudal third, into which Palestine was divided. However, it was destroyed by Saladin in 1187 and again in 1191, but was restored by the Knights Hospitalers in 1218 when the city's citadel and southern breakwater were largely rebuilt. From 1251–52 it was splendidly reconstructed by Louis IX. This time the city too was strongly fortified, by a deep moat and high walls. The moat was transversed by two bridges. Most of the remains of the Crusader period now visible at Caesarea after recent excavations date to the time of Louis IX. Under Crusader rule the Jewish community dwindled until in 1170 only 20 Jews remained (according to Benjamin of Tudela).

In 1265 Caesarea fell to Baybars, and the Mamluks systematically destroyed the city, which remained in ruins – serving as a quarry for the pashas of Acre – until 1884, when it was resettled by Muslim refugees from Bosnia who lived there for a short time, and whose place was taken by Arabs. A few remains of Straton's Tower have been found north of the Crusader city. The Herodian city is represented by the remains of a harbor (moles and vaulted magazines), one vault possibly serving as foundation of the Temple of Augustus, and the remains of a wall with round towers. The Roman and Byzantine cities (although mostly still buried under 12 feet (4 m.) of sand) are also amply represented by a city wall, hippodrome, theater, and a paved square, with staircase and mosaics, where Roman statues were set up, in secondary use in Byzantine times. The foundations of a cathedral and of another church outside the wall, paved with fine mosaics depicting beasts and birds, as well as the remains of a synagogue, have been uncovered near the harbor at its northern end. From the Crusader period, the wall of Louis IX, with its sloping fosse, gateways, and towers, has been cleared and partly restored. Many remains of sculpture (including a very large porphyry statue) and hundreds of inscriptions (among them the first epigraphic mention of *Pontius Pilate and of Nazareth) have been found in this site. Caesarea's exploration has been undertaken by the Israel Department of Antiquities, the Hebrew University, the Instituto Lombardo of Milan, the Link Underwater Expedition, and the Israel Department for the Preservation of Antiquities and Landscape. The full investigation of the huge site has, however, hardly begun.

[Michael Avi-Yonah]

New Excavations

Michael *Avi Yonah ended his essay on Caesarea (see above) with the words "the full investigation of the huge site has, however, hardly begun." Little did Avi-Yonah know but numerous archaeological excavations were soon to be conducted at the site, from the late 1970s and through to the early 2000s. Some of these exposures were extensive, especially along the western side of the city. In 1992 a new project was initiated with the aim of opening up Caesarea for tourism. The Combined Caesarea Project was undertaken by various institutions, notably the Israel Antiquities Authority, University of Maryland, University of Haifa, and University of Pennsylvania. Large-scale investigations were conducted in the area of the amphitheatre/stadium (described in the writings of Josephus) extending along and parallel to the coastline, from the theater area in the south and to the Crusader city wall to the north. Excavations were also conducted immediately east of the "promontory palace" dated to the time of Herod the Great, revealing a complex of buildings identified as the Praetorium, i.e., the Roman governor's seat. A large and sumptuous bath house was uncovered dating from the beginning of the Byzantine period. Excavations were also undertaken in the area of the vaults of the Roman temple podium. Various buildings, shops, and an octagonal church (of St. Procopius) from the Byzantine period were also uncovered. Numerous decorated mosaic floors, some with inscriptions, were brought to light. One structure had a fresco decorated with images of praying Christian saints. A possible Chapel of St. Paul may have existed in an upper story above the warehouses. Further work was also undertaken underwater and on land to recover information about the harbors and their installations. The inner Herodian harbor ("Sebastos") apparently fell into disuse in the Byzantine period.

[Shimon Gibson (2nd ed.)]

Modern Times.

The beginnings of modern Caesarea date back to 1884, when a small fishing village was set up on the Roman and Crusader remains near the ancient port. It was founded by Muslims from Bosnia who had chosen to leave their homes in the wake of the Austrian occupation of their country. The village soon became Arab-speaking; it was abandoned by its inhabitants in the War of Independence (1948) and most of its primitive dwellings disappeared with the progress of the archaeological excavation in the 1950s and 1960s. At the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century, large parts of the lands in and around Caesarea had been acquired by Baron Edmond de Rothschild and the Jewish Colonization Association (ICA) for development. The land was given as a gift by the Rothschild family to the State of Israel. Modern Caesarea was founded by wealthy families who built their homes in the area. It is an urban community managed by a private company, the Caesarea Edmond Benjamin de Rothschild Development Corporation Ltd. founded by the Baron de *Rothschild, and is the only privately run settlement in Israel, with residents paying service fees rather than property taxes. Over the years, hotels, a country club, vacation homes, the country's only golf course, and an industrial park were built. In 1984 Caesarea received municipal status. In 2002 the population of Caesarea was 3,560.

[Efraim Orni / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

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(2002), 66–77; idem, "Four Christian Objects from Caesarea Maritima," in: *Israel Museum Studies in Archaeology*, 1 (2002), 21–32; A. Raban, "The History of Caesarea's Harbors," in: *Qadmoniot*, 37 (2004), 2–22; Y. Arnon, "Early Islamic Period Caesarea," in: *Qadmoniot*, 37 (2004), 23–33. **WEBSITE**: www.caesarea.org.il.

CAESAREA IN CAPPADOCIA, capital of *Cappadocia. Before the country became a Roman province under Tiberius in 17 C.E. the city was known as Mazaca or Mazaga. This name continued to be used along with its other name, Caesarea. In talmudic literature it is variously referred to as Mezigah (Mazaga) of Cappadocia (Tosef., Shab. 15:8); Megizah (Magaza) of Cappadocia, which was visited by R. Akiva (TJ, Yev. 16:4, 15d; cf. Yev. 25b); and Megizah of Caesarea (Mazaca-Caesarea; MK 26a). During the war between *Shapur I and the Romans, its Jewish population suffered greatly. The Talmud relates that Shapur massacred 12,000 Jews in Mazaca-Caesarea and the walls of Laodicea were shaken by the noise of the arrows (*ibid.*).

[Lea Roth]

CAGLI, CORRADO (1910–1976), Italian painter. Cagli was born in Ancona. In 1933 he tried to establish a School of Rome to rival the School of *Paris and reaffirm the principles of classical and Renaissance art. The Fascist government supported his efforts and gave him commissions for mosaics and murals for public buildings. In 1939, however, he was forced to flee and sought refuge first in France and then in the United States. Cagli, who witnessed the liberation of Buchenwald, painted a memorable series of pictures of the release of the prisoners from the camps. He returned to Italy after the war. In later years, Cagli's style passed through neo-realist and figurative stages. He attempted to translate the discoveries of physics in terms of painting.

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CAGLIARI, city in *Sardinia. The first Jewish settlement in Cagliari was possibly established by the freedmen deported from Rome in 19 C.E. by Tiberius Caesar. In 599 the synagogue of Cagliari was desecrated by a Jewish apostate, and in 790 destroyed by fire. In 1258 the Jews were allotted a special quarter in the western part of the town. Under Aragonese rule (from 1325) their lot was comparatively favorable and immigrants from Barcelona, Majorca, and other Aragonese dependencies were absorbed. A charter was granted to the community by Alfonso IV of Aragon in 1335. Many Cagliari Jews were merchants; others were employed as artisans – weavers, metalworkers, silversmiths – or practiced medicine. Communal organization underwent changes in the course of the 14th century. At first, only the wealthy participated in communal government. But from 1369 on, King Peter IV ordered the community to elect 12 members each year, four for each social class. They, in turn, were to appoint three secretaries representing the three classes to administer community affairs. In 1397 King Martin I improved the electoral system, deciding that in case of a disputed candidacy, a majority vote would settle the matter. Although each community at first had its own rabbi, by the beginning of the 15th century only Bonjudes *Bondavin of Marseille held that function in all of Sardinia. After living for a time in Alghero, Bondavin moved to Cagliari, where he was elected leader of the Jewish community. During the 14th century all Sardinian Jews were under the jurisdiction of royal officials: the bailiff in Cagliari and the vicar in Sassari and Alghero. By the beginning of the 15th century the Cagliari community also came under the jurisdiction of the vicar. Nevertheless, city officials also intervened in Jewish affairs. At the beginning of the 15th century the concession for the sale of kosher meat was awarded to a Christian official, but it could still be sold to Christians as before. The position of the Sardinian Jews deteriorated after the accession of Ferdinand of Aragon in 1479. Anti-Jewish restrictions were imposed in 1481 and 1485, and with particular severity in 1487. Although permitted to enlarge the Jewish quarter in 1483, the Cagliari community was not exempted from the edict of expulsion from the Spanish dominions in 1492, and it was from this port that the exiles from Sardinia set sail. The former synagogue was converted into the Church of Santa Croce. An Inquisitional tribunal, the activity of which, however, was slight, was set up to deal with backsliding Jewish converts.

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[Umberto (Moses David) Cassuto / Nadia Zeldes (2nd ed.)]

CAHAN, ABRAHAM (1860–1951), editor, author, and socialist leader. Cahan, who was born in the town of Pabrade (Podberezye) near Vilna, seemed in many ways to incarnate the epic Jewish migration from Eastern Europe to America. Driven by a rare blend of common sense, uncommon talent, feverish energy, and a sure instinct for the issues and trends of Jewish life, he was intellectually and emotionally situated at the confluence of three worlds – the Jewish, the American, and the Russian-Socialist, whose crosscurrents and tensions were the stuff of every edition of his great Yiddish newspaper, the **Jewish Daily Forward*, which he helped found in 1897 and headed for almost half a century.

Cahan attended the government Teachers' Seminary in Vilna, where he absorbed Western culture and, more clandestinely, Russian revolutionary ideals, and arrived in New York in June 1882 after eluding the Russian police. Here his unerring flair for journalism, formal Russian training and aplomb, Jewish folk background, and unquenchable zest for America outfitted him uniquely for the role of teacher and preacher to a people in transit between two worlds.

Toward the end of his first year in America, eager for freedom and determined to write, Cahan mailed an unsolicited article describing the coronation of Czar Alexander III to Joseph *Pulitzer's *New York World*, where it promptly appeared. He briefly served as American correspondent for various Russian periodicals, but soon gave this up when he discovered a growing immigrant audience responsive to his Yiddish lectures with their call to labor unionism and socialism. The *Naye Ẓeit*, the *Arbeyter Tsaytung*, and the *Tsukunft*, which he edited, pioneered the popular Yiddish journalism that he was later to perfect. At the same time, his urge to transcend the Yiddish-speaking community was reflected in his feature articles, literary criticism, and stories in *The Workmen's Advocate, The Sun, The World, The Evening Post*, and various leading monthlies, as well as his books *Yekl, a Tale of the New York Ghetto* (1896), acclaimed by William Dean Howells as the harbinger of a "new New York"; *Imported Bridegroom* (1898); *The White Terror and the Red* (1905); and *The Rise of David Levinsky* (1917), his classic novel of the urban immigrant experience. After a brilliant four-year apprenticeship as a police reporter with Lincoln Steffens' avant-garde *Commercial Advertiser,* however, he returned to Yiddish journalism, whose style and milieu proved finely attuned to his talents and in which he could uninhibitedly seek to shape the heart and mind of the Jewish community. An anthology of his early journalism, much of it for *The New York Commercial Advertiser,* is found in Moses Rischin's *Grandma Never Lived in America* (1985).

Cahan's *Forward* became the pacemaker of the Yiddish press, an educator of the immigrant community, an executive board of the Jewish labor movement, and an introductory course in modern culture. At its peak in the 1920s, its circulation, encompassing 11 local and regional editions, surpassed a quarter of a million and its influence extended to many times that number of people. The *Forward* defended the cause of labor, socialism, humanity, and distinguished Yiddish and other modern literature. Among the authors whose careers were launched and sustained by Cahan were Sholem *Asch, Jonah *Rosenfeld, I.J. *Singer, and his brother Isaac Bashevis *Singer. At a time when many of his readers and staff were still dazzled by the Russian experiment, Cahan vigorously condemned Soviet totalitarianism. In 1925 his visit to Palestine inspired him to take a more sympathetic view of Zionism. In 1933 he became the first member of the Socialist Party to hail Franklin Roosevelt for moving in a socialist direction, for which he was threatened by the party with expulsion. Simultaneously the public chronicle of an age and a people and the private diary of a complex and often tormented man, the *Forward* displayed a fidelity to the felt needs of its readers without parallel in the mass journalism of its day.

When Cahan died, he had already been a legend for two generations. It has become apparent that he ranks among the great American newspaper editors, while in the annals of Yiddish journalism he continues to know no peer. Fairly recent studies have suggested the complexity and nuance of his life as well as fiction.

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[Moses Rischin]

CAHAN, JUDAH LOEB (Yehude-Leyb, Lewis; 1881–1937), U.S. Yiddish folklorist. Born in Vilna. Cahan compiled classic collections of Yiddish folksongs and folktales and wrote on the methodology of Yiddish folklore study and trained students in it. Associated with the *YIVO Institute for Jewish Research, he was chosen to head its folklore committee. His works include *Yidishe Folkslider mit Melodien* (2 vols., 1912, 1920²; 2nd collection 1930; another collection ed. by M. Weinreich, 1957); *Yidishe Folks-mayses* (1931); and the posthumous YIVO publication *Shtudyes vegn Yidisher Folksshafung* (1952).

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[Charles Cutter / David S. Braun (2nd ed.)]

CAHAN, YAAKOV (1881–1960), Hebrew poet. Cahan was born in Slutsk, Russia, and spent his childhood and youth in Poland, in the town of Zgierz, near Lodz. Cahan became a prolific writer and with his first poem, published at the age of 18 in *Sefer ha-Shanah*, edited by N. *Sokolow (1900), he began his long career. At the same time, he was active in Zionist and Hebrew cultural circles. In 1907 he was secretary of the Ivriyyah organization and from 1910 until the outbreak of World War I he headed the Hebrew Language Culture organization in Berlin, whose main objective was to spread the knowledge of Hebrew. His yearning for the revival of Hebrew culture and for the "New Hebrew" (a term coined by Cahan) found expression in a number of literary and art miscellanies which he edited: *Ha-Ivri he-Ḥadash* (1912), *Ha-Ogen* (1917), and *Seneh* (1929). In 1918 he joined the Stybel Publishing House in Moscow and later, together with F. *Lachower, coedited 21 issues (4–24) of *Ha-Tekufah* in Warsaw, and two issues (28 and 29) on his own. Together with Lachower he also coedited the *Keneset* anthologies (from 1936 onward). Cahan was lecturer in Hebrew literature at the Warsaw Institute for Jewish Studies from 1927 to 1933, and immigrated in 1934 to Ereẓ Israel, where he lived in Tel Aviv.

The Polish Jewish life of his youth, marked by emotionalism, optimism, kindliness, and idealization, deeply affected the young Cahan. His response to the external world was one of emotion rather than reason and the underlying themes of his poetry – beauty for its own sake and the search for the good – penetrate all levels of his writings. Cahan, however, did not belong to the school of individualistic poets whose poetry is completely personal. The emotions and ideals that inspired him were born out of his identification with national and universal values. In his aesthetics, Jewish values are fused with German thought, whose influence upon his work is strong. He saw Jewish revival effected through a complete identification of a "New" Judaism and enlightened humanism. In this approach, Cahan was not unique. The desire to blend the Jewish with the universal typifies a whole generation of Hebrew writers born in the last decades of the 19th century: it was the period of *Berdyczewski's *Ẓe'irim* and Cahan's *Ha-Ivri he-Ḥadash*, parallel organs to *Aḥad Ha-Am's **Ha-Shilo'ah*.

Cahan's hatred of the Diaspora, identifying it with the ugly, is the obverse of his love for the "New" Judaism welded to beauty. He saw the qualities that the *galut* ("exile") generated in the rootless Jew as an inherent ugliness, and he, therefore, negated the traditions sacred to the people, stating: "My heart has come to hate my brothers and to despise even that which is holiest to them."

Cahan was unaware of the conflicting forces at play in 20th-century man. He was rarely beset by doubts or skepticism, and, though lonely, he was a free spirit. His longing for the "New Hebrew" aroused in him a nostalgia for the distant, heroic Jewish past, which is a main theme of his poetry. His writings, however, are also inspired by those sparks of beauty that he felt had illuminated the darkness of the *galut*, and in this sense his poems and ballads draw life from the rich heritage of Jewish folklore.

His poetic sensitivity and curiosity encompass a wide range of subject matter and find expression in many different forms. Among the latter are the lyrical and descriptive poem (a cycle of poems called "*Helveẓyah*" in which he sings of the beauty of Switzerland); reflective and imaginative poetry ("*Ariel*"); lyrical epics ("*Of ha-Ḥol*"); dramatic poems ("*Ha-Nefilim*" and "*Be-Luz*"); and ballads based on Jewish folklore ("*Tanḥum*" and "*Be-Emẓa ha-Rikkud*" from the two series *Min ha-Am*). The subjects and themes of his writings include his visions of historical figures found in such poetic dramas as: "*Yiftaḥ*," "*Hoshe'a*," "*Ezra u-Neḥemyah*," "*Yannai u-Shelomit*," "*Aḥer*" (*Elisha b. Avuya*), and *Me'ir u-Veruriyyah*; messianic aspirations (the play "King David"); legends, allegories, and prophecies ("*Aggadot Elohim*," "*Mishlei Kedumim*" (1943), "*Ḥamesh Megillot*" (1941)). Cahan also wrote realistic prose, short stories, and plays. His translations of Goethe's *Faust Part One*, *Iphigenie auf Tauris*, and *Torquato Tasso* are masterpieces.

A rich heritage of Jewish folklore underlies Cahan's poems and ballads, which generically are halfway between the lyric and the epic. His dramatic poetry ("*Aggadot Elohim*," "*Of ha-Ḥol*," "*Tanḥum*," and some of the ballads in *Rom u-Tehom*) is also marked by epical grandeur. Cahan, however was not basically an epic poet, but rather a teller of legends; his style follows the Hebrew *aggadah* ("legend") in which epic and lyric elements are fused, and it is this fusion which is Cahan's hallmark. His verse dramas, "*Ha-Nefilim*," "*Be-Luz*," and "*Le-yad ha-Piramidot*," which are among Cahan's finest works, belong to this type of poetry.

Cahan's poetry revolves around two axes – messianism and the fusion of three major principles: beauty, holiness, and happiness. The messianic motif runs through most of his lyrical epics, verse dramas, and dramatized legends. It goes hand in hand with his identification of the Judaic-prophetic sanctity of life and the yearning for enlightened beauty and universal humanism, or with the identification of morality and the quest for happiness.

Cahan's writings were published in various editions. The main ones are the 12-volume jubilee edition (1950–56) and the two-volume edition (1964).

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[J. Yeshurun Kesheth]

CAHEN, ISIDORE (1826–1902), French scholar and journalist, son of the Hebraist Samuel Cahen (1796–1862) who translated the Bible into French. After studying philosophy with Taine and About, Cahen was appointed in 1850 professor of philosophy in a *lycée* of the ultra-Catholic Vendée. However, the intrigues of the Catholic faculty forced him to resign and he returned to Paris. He then began writing for the *Journal des Débats* and *Le Temps*. On his father's death (1862), he assumed the editorship of the monthly *Archives Israélites* and held it until his own death. Under Cahen, the journal assumed a radical-liberal point of view. In the wake of the *Mortara affair, Cahen published an appeal in November 1858 for the creation of an international committee for the defense of the Jews. The name he suggested for it, *Alliance Israélite Universelle, was adopted when the organization was established in 1860. From 1859 to 1879 Cahen taught at the rabbinical seminary in Paris. His writings include *Esquisse sur la philosophie du poème de Job* (1851) and *Deux libertés en une*, in which he pleaded the cause of freedom of conscience and of tuition (1848).

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CAHN, EDMOND NATHANIEL (1906–1964), U.S. lawyer and philosopher of law. Cahn was born in New Orleans, Louisiana. He practiced law in New York, specializing in tax law. In 1950 he gave up his practice to devote his time to writing and teaching law at New York University. For several years he was editor of the *Tax Law Review*.

In his legal philosophy Cahn dealt mainly with the ethical and moral insights found in the law. He held that law should aspire to express society's highest moral values. The testing ground for democracy's success, he wrote, lies in the practical operation of the law. In this context his thinking reflected the concept of "factskepticism," which he translated as the idea that a democratic society must always question its values in the pursuit of truth.

In Cahn's *Sense of Injustice* (1949) he argued that "Justice of righteousness is the source, the substance, and ultimate end of law." Cahn considered his book a conceptual statement of the Hebrew prophets' war on individual and social injustice. In his view, justice can be realized in "the active process of remedying and preserving what would arouse the sense of injustice." He continued his exploration of the interaction between law and morals in *Moral Decision* (1955). Supreme Court Justice William O. Douglas, reviewing Cahn's *Predicament of Democratic Man* (1961), noted "the voice of the Hebrew prophets summoning men to erect the pillars that support the moral authority of the representative government." Cahn's most important articles and speeches are assembled in *Confronting Injustice* (ed. by L.L. Cahn, 1966). He also edited *Supreme Court and Supreme Law* (1954), based on a symposium that he organized.

[Julius J. Marcke]

CAHN, MARCELLE (1895–1981), cubist painter and member of the School of *Paris. Cahn was born in Strasbourg and studied in Berlin under Louis Corinth. She then moved to Paris where she was connected at first with the "Nabi" painters, but later came under the influence of Fernand Léger and the purist painter Amedie Ozenfant. From 1926 she painted in a rigorous and geometrical style, subordinating every element to the interests of composition. She associated closely with the cubists and took part in important exhibitions with Picasso, Braque, Léger, and Arp. From 1925 until 1930 she exhibited with the "Effort Moderne" group and from 1930 with the "Cercle et Carré" group.

CAHN, SAMMY (**Samuel Cohen**; 1913–1993), U.S. songwriter. The son of Jewish immigrants, Cahn was born on the Lower East Side of New York City. He studied the violin as a child, and in his teens worked as an itinerant fiddler at weddings and bar mitzvahs. With his first songwriting collaborator, Saul Chaplin, he wrote material for vaudeville. They had their first success in 1935 with "Rhythm Is Our Business," written for the bandleader Jimmie Lunceford; it later became his signature song.

In 1938 Cahn and Chaplin wrote the English-language lyrics to a song from the 1933 Yiddish musical "I Would if I Could." The result was the enormously popular "Bei Mir Bist Du Schoen" (music by Sholom Secunda), which launched the recording career of the Andrews Sisters and became a No. 1 hit. Cahn and Chaplin also wrote "Until the Real Thing Comes Along." In the early 1940s the songwriting team moved to Los Angeles to write songs for Columbia Pictures. After they split, Chaplin became a well-known orchestrator of Hollywood musicals and Cahn began a collaboration with Jule *Styne. Between 1942 and 1951 they wrote songs for 19 films, including *Anchors Aweigh* (1944) and *Romance on the High Seas* (1948), which gave Doris Day her first No. 1 recording, "It's Magic." Many of the team's 1940s songs became synonymous with wartime nostalgia: "I'll Walk Alone," "Guess I'll Hang My Tears Out to Dry," and "It's Been a Long, Long Time." They achieved a major success on Broadway with the 1947 musical *High Button Shoes*, whose score included "Papa, Won't You Dance With Me" and "I Still Get Jealous." In 1954, two years before they split, they wrote the title song for the film *Three Coins in the Fountain*, which won an Oscar and was a hit for Frank Sinatra. Cahn had other collaborators, including Axel Stordahl and Paul Weston, with whom he wrote two of Sinatra's biggest 1940s hits, "Day by Day" and "I Should Care."

In 1956 Cahn began a full-time collaboration with Jimmy Van Heusen, and they concentrated on songs for Sinatra, starting with the title song for his film *The Tender Trap*. The singer recorded 89 Cahn songs, including "Love and Marriage," "All the Way," "High Hopes" (which became the theme of the Presidential campaign of John F. Kennedy), "Call Me Irresponsible," "The Second Time Around" and "My Kind of Town." They also wrote the title songs for four classic Sinatra albums: "Come Fly With Me," "Come Dance With Me," "Only the Lonely," and "September of My Years." Cahn's autobiography, *I Should Care*, was published in 1974, the year he starred on Broadway in a one-man show about his career. It ran for nine months and Cahn toured with it extensively. Cahn was a prolific lyricist, who was famous for writing special material for nightclub performers and for parodies and adaptations of his own and other people's lyrics. He won four Academy Awards.

[Stewart Kampel (2nd ed.)]

CAHNMAN, WERNER J. (1902–1980), U.S. sociologist. Born in Munich, Germany, Cahnman was regional secretary for Bavaria of the national association of German Jewry, the Centralverein deutscher Staatsbuerger juedischen *Glaubens, from 1930 to 1934. In 1933 he was arrested for a short time by the Gestapo and at the end of 1938, like many male Jews, was sent to a concentration camp. When he managed to obtain his release he went to the United States, where he studied sociology and anthropology. He then taught at several universities, being appointed professor of sociology at Rutgers University in 1961.

Cahnman's contributions are chiefly in the fields of sociological theory and the sociology of the Jews. His earlier theoretical publications, written under the influence of Robert E. Park, are primarily concerned with international ecology. His major publication, *Sociology and History* (with Alvin Boskoff, 1964), emphasizes the ideal-typical theory and crystallizes the interest in the historical dimension of sociology among contemporary American sociologists. Other examples of his work in historical sociology are *How Cities Grew* (with Jean Comhaire, 1963) and "Role and Significance of the Jewish Artisan Class" in *Jewish Journal of Sociology* (1965). He edited a symposium on Intermarriage and Jewish Life (1963), and published an analysis of the attitude of German youth toward Jews and the Third Reich under the title *Voelker und Rassen im Urteil der Jugend* (1965). He was *Encyclopaedia Judaica* departmental editor for Jews in sociology. Cahnman was executive secretary of the Conference on Jewish Social Studies (1954–56). Cahnman's later works are *Ferdinand Toennier on Sociology* (with Rudolf Heberle, 1971); *Ferdinand Toennier, A New Evaluation* (1972); and *Jews and Gentiles. A Historical Sociology of Their Relations* (1973). Cahnman was associate editor of the *Reconstructionist.*

[Alvin Boskoff]

CAIAPHAS, JOSEPH, high priest (18–36 C.E.) at the time of Jesus' activity and crucifixion. Caiaphas was mentioned by Josephus Flavius (Ant. 18:35:95) and in the New Testament (Matt. 26:3, 57; Luke 3:2; John 11:49; 18:13–14, 24, 28; Acts 4:6), Caiaphas was appointed by the procurator Valerius Gratus to succeed *Simeon b. Kimḥit. He served in office throughout the administration of Gratus' successor, *Pontius Pilate (26–36), and was deposed the same year as Pilate by Vitellius, governor of Syria. Jonathan b. Ḥanan was appointed to replace him. Historical sources indicate the influential priestly background of Joseph Caiaphas: he was the son-in-law of *Anan son of Seth, a member of a powerful and important priestly family in Jerusalem (John 18:13); the Mishnah (Par. 3:5) speaks of a high priest named Elioeneiai (*Elionaeus) b. ha-Kayyaf (ha-Kof), who may have been a son of Joseph Caiaphas; and the Tosefta (Yev. 1:10) mentions the House of Kaipha as a high-priestly family. Although Caiaphas was high priest at the time of Jesus' arrest, he does not seem to have played a major role in the matter. Jesus was first taken to the house of Anan b. Seth (John 18:12–13), only later being brought to Caiaphas (Matt. 26:57; John 18:24), who is reported as having said: "It is better for you that one man die for the nation than that the entire nation be lost" (John 11:49–51; 18:14; the quotation is adapted from a rabbinic statement, cf. Gen. R. 94:9). In 1990 a rock-hewn burial chamber was uncovered by Z. Greenhut to the south of Jerusalem and within it was a stone box containing bones (ossuary) bearing the Aramaic inscription "Yehosef bar (son of) Qafa (Caiapha)." It is assumed that this tomb belonged to the family of the High Priest Caiaphas.

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[Lea Roth / Shimon Gibson (2nd ed.)]

CAÏMIS, JULIUS (1897–1982), Greek author and translator, artist; son of Moisis *Caïmis. Julius Caïmis was born in Corfu and studied at the School of Fine Arts of the Polytechnic University of Athens. In the mid-1920s, in Rome, he succeeded his father as a contributor to the newspaper *La Tribuna*. Knowing Greek, Italian, French, and even Sanskrit, he translated Hesiod, Benedetto Croce, Tagore, Macchiavelli, Michelangelo, and Goldoni. His works include *Exi kanones zoghrafikyes* ("Six Laws of Art," 1937); *Vivlikyes istories* ("Bible Stories," 1954), based on rabbinic sources; and *La comédie grecque dans l'âme du théâtre d'ombres* (1935). His texts were published in prominent Greek periodicals like *Ellinikia Grammata* (1918–29), *Nea Estia* (1931–36), *Techni* (1938), *Neoelliniki Logotechnia* (1940), *I Stoa* (1971), and *Grammata* (1976), and newspapers like *Kathimerini*, *Ethniki*, and *Dimotis*. He also published in the Italian periodicals *Cinza* and *Olympio*. In the last decade of his life, he published *Greek Landscapes* (1973), writings of his travels accompanied by his and other drawings, *Traditions* (1975), aesthetic texts concerning devotional art, and *Myths* (1979), a collection of fairy tales with drawings.

His art work consisted of oil paintings, sketches, and watercolor paintings of landscapes throughout Greece and reflecting his foreign travels to Palestine, Syria, Yemen, and Italy. While most of his art never was published or displayed, he mostly devoted his endeavors to writing about art and translating. Throughout his life, he devoted his work to the Shadow Theater and the neglected figure of Karaghiozis. In 1935, he published in French *Karaghiozi ou la comédie grecque dans l'ame du théatre d'ombres* with the German printmaker Hap Grieshaber and painter Klaus Vrieslander. Caimis extensively researched its origins and evolution. In 1937, he published *The History and Art of Karaghiozis*. He continued to publish articles on Karaghiozis as late as the 1970s.

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[Yitzchak Kerem (2nd ed.)]

CAIMIS, MOISIS (1864–1929), Greek journalist and editor. Born in Corfu, Caimis was one of the first Jewish journalists in Greece to write in the Greek language. He wrote about the social and humanistic significance of Judaism, and the ties that existed between Judaism and Hellenism. As president of the Jewish community in Corfu, he was responsible for the founding of several philanthropic institutions. He taught Greek in Corfu for 16 years and Italian in Athens for 15 years. He championed the modern Greek language and wrote in its defense. In Corfu, he edited the *Israilitis Chronographos* from 1899 to 1901 and in Athens the *Israilitikgi Epitheorisis* (Israelite Review) from 1912 to 1916, the first periodical on Jewish life written in Greek. He tried to fight against antisemitism in the Athenian Greek press in the beginning of the 20th century, but had little practical influence on newspaper editors. As an early Zionist, in 1897 he founded the Zionist organization Mevasser

Zion in Corfu. In 1913, he helped reorganize the Zionist movement in Athens and was one of its leading members.

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[Rachel Dalven]

CAIN (Heb. קַיִן, *Qayin*, "smith"), the firstborn son of *Adam and *Eve, brother of *Abel and *Seth (Gen. 4:1, 25). In the Bible Cain and Abel both brought offerings to God from the fruits of their labors, but God did not pay heed to Cain's gift. Ignoring a divine warning on the seductive nature of sin, Cain killed his brother Abel (4:2–8). For this act he was doubly punished. Cain, the farmer, was to be denied the fruits of the soil and was to become a ceaseless wanderer on earth (4:11–12, 14). To allay Cain's expressed fear of being killed by any who might come across him, God placed a protective mark upon him, and he then settled in "the land of Nod" (4:14–16). Later he married and bore a son, *Enoch, after whom he named a city which he founded (4:17). This story is clearly fragmentary. No reason is given for the rejection of Cain's offering. His need for self-protection is inexplicable in that no other humans, save his parents, existed. For the same reason, his marriage is a mystery, as is also "the land of Nod." The latter name, indeed, may well be symbolic, designating a "place of wandering" (cf. Heb. *nad*, "wanderer," 4:12). The other problems apparently derive from the fact that a fuller story once undoubtedly existed, of which scripture has recorded only the outlines for its didactic purposes. The brevity of the narrative description contrasts strongly with the length of the dialogues between God and Cain (4:6–7, 9–15). These express clearly the idea that evil is not metaphysical, but moral, the perversion of man's God-given freedom of will. The punishment making Cain a social pariah conforms to the biblical view that the crime of murder is also a societal offense, and not just a personal wrong. At the same time it is a sin against God (4:14, 16). Finally, it cannot be accidental that the fraternal relationship of Cain and Abel is stressed seven times (4:2, 8 (twice), 9 (twice), 10, 11), intending to emphasize, perhaps, the notion that homicide is fratricide. According to the biblical narrative the name Cain was suggested to his mother by its similarity in sound to the Hebrew verb *kanah* (*qanah*); "to gain" or "create," as she explains, "I have gained [or created] a male child with the help of the Lord" (4:1), but what it actually means is "smith" (so in Arabic and Aramaic). Indeed, among Cain's descendants is Tubal-Cain "who forged all implements of copper and iron" (4:22).

[Nahum M. Sarna]

In the Aggadah

Cain was not only the "first murderer" (Esth. R., Proem 10), but also the first person to show ingratitude. Abel, who was far stronger than Cain, overcame him in the struggle, but being moved to compassion by his brother's plea for mercy released his hold upon him, only to be slain himself (Gen. R. 22:8). According to another Midrash (Gen. R. 22:7) the murder resulted from a proposal made by Cain that he and Abel divide the world between them, Cain to receive all lands and Abel all chattel. As soon as Abel agreed, Cain accused him of walking on the land, which belonged to him, whereupon Abel retorted that Cain was clad in garments made of animal skins, which belonged to him. In the ensuing quarrel Cain killed Abel with a stone. Another version is that the dispute arose over the prospective marriage of a twin sister to Abel. God preferred the sacrifice of Abel to that of Cain because Abel selected a choice animal from his flock, while Cain ate his animal and offered up only a few grains of flax. Some aggadists describe Cain as one who repented of his crime (Gen. R. 22:13). When Adam asked him what doom had been decreed against him, Cain answered that his repentance had propitiated God, whereupon Adam, exclaiming, "So potent is repentance and I knew it not," composed a hymn of praise to God (Psalm 92). Wherever Cain went as a fugitive the earth quaked under him and all kinds of animals tried to attack him to avenge the innocent blood of Abel. When Cain could bear it no longer and cried: "Whither shall I go from Thy spirit? Or whither shall I flee from Thy presence?" (Ps. 139:7), God gave him a dog for protection, or, according to another opinion, made him horns which caused the animals to fear him (Gen. R. 22:12). The implication that God cared for Cain's life is drawn from several aspects of the story. Cain's relatively mild punishment (wandering the earth; Gen. 4:12) and God's protection of him as a sign "lest any finding him should smite him" (Gen. 4:15), even in the face of the Biblical verse, "And no expiation can be made for the land for the blood that is shed therein, but by the blood of him that shed it" (Num. 35:33), form the basis of various aggadic interpretations. One is that the sign of Cain was not a protective device, but rather a sign of shame and an example for murderers (Gen. R. 22:12) because Cain's punishment was more severe than death, even worse than that of Abel, who died instantly (Ex. R. 31:17). A similar explanation is given by Philo (*De Virtutibus*, 200) and is reflected in the Septuagint rendering of the words "a fugitive and wanderer" as "groaning and trembling." Cain met his death at the hands of his blind grandson, Lamech, who, following the instructions of his son while out hunting, shot his arrow at an "animal with horns," which in fact was Cain bearing his horn-sign. In the ensuing paroxysm of grief, Lamech killed his son (cf. Gen. 4:23). Many of the universal folk tales which belong to the widespread, orally transmitted tale-type "Two Brothers" (Aarne-Thompson no. 303) are structurally dependent upon the pattern and motifs of the Cain and Abel story as expanded in the *aggadah*. This tale holds true with the Cain and Abel motifs found in literature generally.

[Elimelech Epstein Halevy]

In Christian Tradition

Abel and Cain are mentioned several times in the New Testament. Matthew 23:25 places Abel at the head of the line of prophets that were killed and the Epistle to the Hebrews 12:24 contrasts the blood of Abel that cried out for vengeance with that of Jesus, the better and superior sacrifice, that cries for mercy and forgiveness. The Church Fathers saw in Abel and in his innocent life as a shepherd, in his accepted sacrifice and in his death a prefiguration of Jesus and a prototype of all Christians suffering persecution and martyrdom. Cain represents the children of the devil and their hatred of the children of God (I John 3:12). From there it was only one step to identifying Abel with the righteous and innocent Jesus, and Cain with the Jews that murdered him. Augustine (*De Civitate Dei* 15:1) takes Cain as a type of natural unregenerate man and Abel as a symbol of the regenerate spiritual man. The Roman canon of the mass mentions Abel's sacrifice with those of Abraham and Melchizedek.

[R.J. Zwi Werblowsky]

In Islamic Literature

The Arabic names of Cain and Abel are Ḥābīl and Qābīl (Abel, Cain) by the same paronomasia that appears in pairs like Jālūt-Tālūt, Yājūj-Mājūj, though Qāyin or Qayin is also attested (e.g., Ṭabarī, *Taʾrikh*, 1 (1357 A.H.), 94, 95). the Koran (Sura 5:27/30) relates the essence of Genesis 4 with later aggadic accretions: as Qābīl had slain his brother, God sent a raven to show him how he might conceal the body of his brother… (cf. also Sura 33:72). The motif of learning burial from the practice of a raven is derived from Jewish sources (Tanḥ. B. 10; Gen. R. 22:8; as well as PdRE ch. 21, where it is Adam and Eve who emulate a raven by burying their murdered son). Cain's remorse can also be traced to Jewish, as well as Christian, legend. The climax of the Koran passage is clearly inspired by the Mishnah (Sanh. 4:5) as was first noted by A. *Geiger (*Was hat Mohammed aus dem Judenthume aufgenommen*, 1834). Post-Koranic Muslim sources, though aware of details of the Genesis narrative (e.g., Ibn Qutayba and al-Ṭabarī), tend to favor the accounts found in the *aggadah* and particularly Christian Syriac sources such as *The Treasure Cave* (ed. and trans. by C. Bezold, 1883–88). According to the typical post-Koranic Cain and Abel legend each brother had a twin sister, their names being Aqlīma and Labūdā. Each brother was destined to marry the other's sister. Cain, whose sister Labūdā was a beauty, refused, but at his father's bidding he consented to a trial sacrifice. A heavenly flame consumed only Abel's sacrifice, and Cain, finding the judgment unfavorable, murdered Abel with a stone and took his own sister (elements of this legend are found in Gen. R. 22:2, 7; PdRE ch. 21; and *Treasure Cave*, 34; cf. B. Uffenheimer, in: *Sefer Zikkaron li-Gedalyah Alon* (1970), 40ff., where the erotic theme and murder are traced to a Sumerian prototype).

[Joel Kraemer]

In the Arts

The biblical story of Cain and Abel has inspired works by many important writers, possibly because of the complex character of Cain. Even in the medieval mystery plays, where characters are usually portrayed in black-and-white stereotype, Cain is never wholly evil. Thus in the English *Mactatio Abel*, Cain feels it is wrong that God should require him to sacrifice the meager fruits of his toil. The 12th-century French *Jeu d'Adam*, on the other hand, portrays Cain as an avaricious peasant. The first important modern work on the theme was the prose epic *Der Tod Abels* (1758) by the Swiss writer Salomon Gessner, which depicted Cain as a tiller of the earth infuriated by the pastoral Abel. Other 18th-century treatments include *The Wanderings of Cain* (1798) by Samuel Taylor Coleridge and *Abele* (1797), a melodrama by the Italian poet and playwright Vittorio Alfieri. The best-known work is the romantic epic poem *Cain* (1821) by Lord *Byron, which was widely condemned as blasphemous because of its underlying challenge to the benevolence of God. Byron's work was translated into many languages, including a Hebrew version by David *Frischmann (1900), and it inspired several opposite treatments of the story with Cain as the traditional villain, notably *The Ghost of Abel* (1822) by William *Blake. Three examples of treatments of the story in 19th-century France are the anti-bourgeois poem *Abel et Cain* (in *Les Fleurs du mal*, 1857) by Charles Baudelaire; *La Conscience*, one of the early poems in *La Légende des siècles* (1st series, 1859) by Victor Hugo; and *Qaïn* (in *Poèmes barbares*, 1862), which reflects the bitterness and atheism of the Parnassian poet Leconte de Lisle. Another 19th-century work on the subject is the Danish *Abels død* (1844) by the Existentialist Frederik Paludan-Mueller. Two 20th-century treatments are *East of Eden* (1924), a one-act play by the American writer Christopher Morley, and a section of *A Sleep of Prisoners* (1951) by the English playwright Christopher Fry.

The episode has served artists throughout the ages. Cain was sometimes portrayed wearing the pointed hat (*Judenhut*) which Jews were forced to adopt in the Middle Ages, while Abel was sometimes shown as the Good Shepherd, bearing a lamb on his shoulders. The subjects treated are the oblations of Cain and Abel (Gen. 4:3–5), the murder of Abel (Gen. 4:8), and the curse on Cain and his flight (Gen. 4:11–12). The first two are illustrated in the 14th-century Spanish *Sarajevo Haggadah*. There are also several apocryphal subjects, such as the lamentation of Adam and Eve over Abel's body, and the legend of Cain's accidental death at the hands of Lamech. These two scenes were engraved in copper by Lucas van Leyden (1494–1533). A very early example of Abel's sacrifice may be seen on a first-century sarcophagus (Sant' Agnese, Rome) while Byzantine mosaics of the sixth century (San Vitale) and seventh century (San Apollinare), both in Ravenna, relate the sacrifice to parts of the Abraham iconography. In the 12th century, the same subject appears in sculpture at Moissac, South of France, and at Modena, on the bronze doors of San Zeno in Verona and in Hildesheim, Lower Saxony, and in mosaics at Monreale, in Sicily. Ghiberti included it on the 15th-century bronze doors of the Florence Baptistery. Cain and Abel were painted by Titian, Tintoretto, Rubens, and other artists. An example of a modern treatment is the bronze *Burial of Abel* (1938) by Jacob *Epstein.

Apart from some unimportant Italian oratorios of the early 17th century, the first significant musical treatment of the Cain and Abel story is an oratorio by Alessandro Scarlatti, *Cain, ovvero il primo omicidio* (1706), the autograph score of which was rediscovered in 1966. *La morte di Abele* (1732), a libretto by Pietro Metastasio, was set to music by Antonio Caldara and by Leonardo Leo. The English translation was set by Thomas Arne as *The Death of Abel* (1744), the same work being later performed as *Abel* and *The Sacrifice*. J.H. Rolle's *Singspeil* or ballad opera, *Der Tod Abels* (text by J.S. Patzke, 1769) was performed annually in many German towns until 1809. The reworking of the original text by the German poet Klopstock was set to music by Michael Haydn (1778), and Metastasio's text was used again by Franz Seydelmann (1801). Two other 19th-century musical treatments were Conradin Kreutzer's *La mort d'Abel* (1810) and Max Zenger's minor opera *Cain* (1867), with a libretto based on Byron's poem. Some later works are E. d'Albert's opera *Kain* (1900), F. Weingartner's opera *Kain und Abel* (1914), and the ballet *Cain* (1930) by Marc *Blitzstein.

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CAIRO, capital of *Egypt. The presence of Jews in Cairo can be traced to a very early date. Fustat (old Cairo) was founded in 641 by the Arab conqueror of Egypt, ʿAmr ibn al-ʿÂṣ, near the Byzantine fortress "Babylon." It is almost certain that Jews settled there shortly afterward, or possibly even at the time of its foundation. The town was inhabited by native Egyptian Christians and Yemenite Arabs who had come with the conquering army. It became the capital of the Muslim rulers of Egypt and rapidly developed into a large city and flourishing economic center, which attracted many immigrants. At first, the Jewish quarter and the oldest synagogues were situated in the ancient Byzantine stronghold. A Christian source indicates that in 882, during the reign of King Aḥmad ibn Tūlūn, the Coptic patriarch was forced to sell a church in Fustat to the Jews and that it then became a synagogue. During the 10th century many immigrants arrived from Iraq (Babylonia). This resulted in the formation of two Jewish communities, the Palestinian (the Jerusalemites – al-Shāmiyyūn) and the Iraqians (the Babylonians – al-Iraqiyyūn) in Fustat. Each community had its own synagogue and received guidance from the leaders of the *yeshivot* in Iraq and Palestine. It is thought that the synagogue of the Palestinian community was the former Coptic Church acquired in 882. Some evidence shows, however, that the Coptic Church was acquired by the newcomers from Iraq, while the synagogue of the Palestinians was pre-Islamic, as reported by Muslim chroniclers. It was later known as the Synagogue of Ezra the Scribe and it was there that the famous *Genizah was discovered. The synagogue of the Babylonian community was in the same area, as was the synagogue of the Karaites, who had a large community in Fustat by the tenth century. After the conquest of Egypt by the Fatimid army in 969, the newer town of Cairo was founded north of Fustat. The Jews immediately settled there and built their synagogues. It seems that at first the Jews dwelt in two quarters: al-Jawdariyya in the southern part of the town, south of as-Sikka al-Jadīda Street; and in Zuwayla north of al-Jadīda and between it and Khurunfush Street. The Jews were removed from the al-Jawdariyya quarter by the caliph al-Ḥākim at the beginning of the eleventh century, and after that they were concentrated in the area north of it, which became known as the Jewish Quarter. The Karaites settled in the eastern section of the quarter, where they remained until modern times. At the end of the tenth century the community of Cairo became the religious and cultural center of all the communities in Egypt. *Shemariah b. Elhanan, a pupil of R. *Sherira Gaon, founded a *Bet Midrash*, which continued to exist after his death in 1011, but

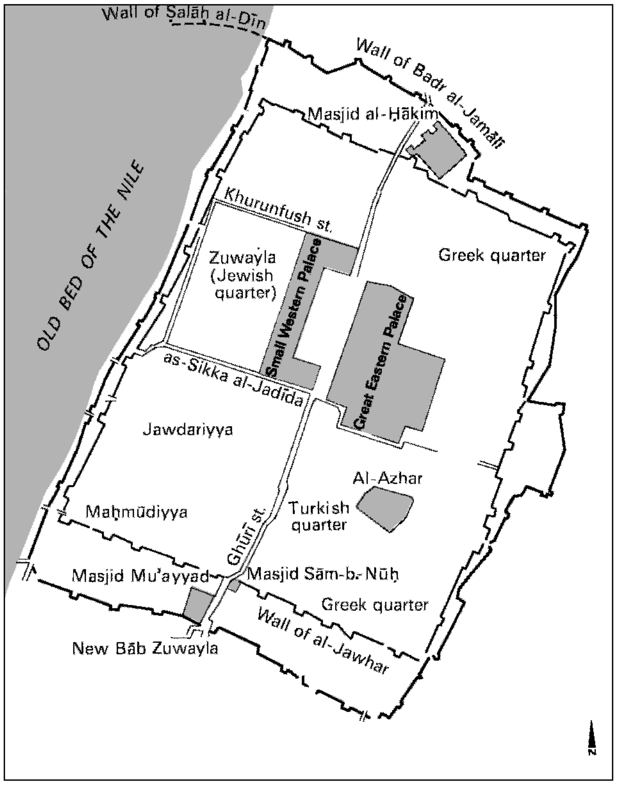

Ancient Jewish quarters in Cairo, from the Fatimid period. After E. Ashtor, Toledot ha-Yehudim be-Miẓrayim ve-Suryah.

did not replace the Palestinian yeshivah till the end of the 11th century, when Palestine was occupied by the Crusaders.

The leaders of Cairo-Fustat in the first half of the 11th century were distinguished scholars. In the Palestinian community they bore the title *ḥaver*, and in the Babylonian one, *allūf.* The Palestinian leader Ephraim b. Shemariah and the Babylonian leader *Sahlān b. Abraham wrote both religious and secular poetry. They were in close contact with the *geonim* of the *yeshivot* in Palestine and Babylon. *Maẓli'aḥ b. Solomon ha-Kohen, a member of the Palestinian family which directed the yeshivah in Palestine as *gaon*, arrived in Cairo during the first half of the 12th century. He tried to found a yeshivah that would replace the Palestinian yeshivah. These efforts continued to exist until the end of the century (see Mann, Texts, 1 (1931), 255ff.). During the second half of the century, the yeshivah, was headed by *Nethanel b. Moses ha-Levi and later by his brother Sar Shalom ha-Levi. The 12th-century traveler *Benjamin of Tudela relates that when he visited Cairo there were 7,000 Jews there, but this figure seems to be an exaggeration as there were probably not more than 1,500 Jews in Cairo (see E. Ashtor's notes in JQR, 50 (1959/60), 57ff.). The second half of the 12th century marked the decline of Fustat. In 1168 the Egyptians set the town on fire to prevent its seizure by the Crusaders; after its destruction it was not restored to its former state. While some Jews remained in Fustat, many of them left for the new Cairo. It seems that Maimonides lived in Fustat in the years 1171–1204.

Apparently his son Abraham and his grandson David still lived in Fustat but the late *negidim* from the Maimonides family all lived in New Cairo. It would seem though that Fustat declined only slowly. Under the rule of the Fatimids until 1171 and the Ayyubids from 1171 to 1250 the Jews enjoyed a certain amount of tolerance, but they suffered many persecutions during the reign of the *Mamluks from 1250 to 1517. Naturally, the decrees of the sultans against the non-Muslim communities were at first applied with severity in the capital. Sometimes the non-Muslims of Cairo were the only victims of this persecution, while the Christians and Jews in other places were exempted. These activities were most often directed against the Copts, the largest non-Muslim community in the Egypto-Syrian Mamluk kingdom, and were then extended to the Jews. In 1265 the Christians of Cairo were accused of setting buildings on fire to avenge the defeat of the Franks by the Muslim rulers of Palestine. According to Muslim chroniclers, Sultan Baybars (1233–77) gathered the Christians and Jews of Cairo under the citadel walls and threatened to burn them alive unless they agreed to pay a large sum of money, which they finally did over many years. In 1301 the general persecution of non-Muslims was renewed; those who suffered most were the Christians and Jews of Cairo. Christian and Jewish houses of prayer were closed down, and some of them were not reopened for many years, though one synagogue reopened in 1310. In 1316 the non-Muslim places of worship were again closed, but they were reopened after a short while. A severe persecution of non-Muslims took place in 1354. According to Muslim authors, there were riots in Cairo during which the fanatical mob destroyed all non-Muslim homes that were higher than the Muslim ones. During the 15th century the sultans made even greater efforts to prove their piety by persecuting the non-Muslims, and Muslim records of that time give much information on the attacks against Jews and Christians. From time to time searches for wine were carried out in their neighborhoods, and all the barrels found were poured out into the street. The Muslim fanatics often directed their attention toward the synagogues, accusing the Jews of having built additions to the synagogues, which were forbidden according to Islamic law; detailed searches were carried out and senseless accusations were brought against them. In 1442 there was a general investigation of all non-Muslim places of worship to ascertain whether any new portions had been added to the buildings. As a result of the accusation that the Jews had written the name of Muhammad on the floor where the *ḥazzan* stood, the Muslims destroyed the *almemar* ("pulpit") of a synagogue in Fustat and maltreated the Jews. Later, the Muslim judges decided that a Karaite synagogue and a Rabbanite *bet midrash* in the Zuwayla neighborhood should be confiscated because they had been private houses that had been turned into places of worship without authorization. Finally, the government demanded a solemn promise from non-Muslims that no alterations would be made in any of their community buildings.

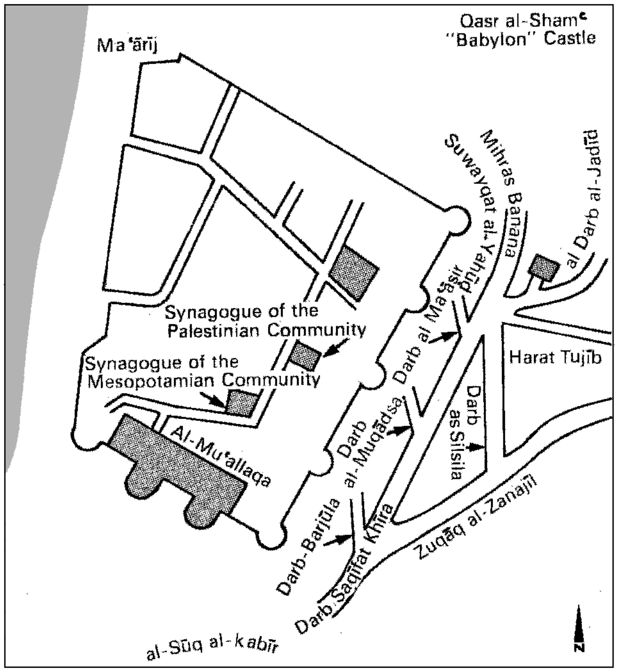

Plan of Fustat showing Jewish quarter. After E. Ashtor, Toledot ha-Yehudim be-Miẓrayim ve-Suryah.

During the reign of Sultan Ināl (1453–1461), after rumors had spread that the non-Muslims had built new places of worship, a further investigation took place. It was only rarely, as in 1473, that the Muslim authorities consented even to the repair of places of worship. During the whole of this period there existed a relatively powerful Karaite community in Cairo whose relations with the Rabbanites were not always good. A great dispute broke out between the two communities in 1465, when a newly arrived group of Spanish Marranos wanted to join the Karaites. The case was brought before the Muslim authorities and the son of the sultan tried to use the occasion to extort money from the Jews. However, the case was peacefully concluded; the two communities reached an agreement, and the sultan ordered his son not to interfere with the Jews. The Mamluk rule not only brought harsh legislation and persecution on the Jews of Cairo, but also barred most of them from commerce in spices and other Indian and Far Eastern products, which had become the monopoly of a wealthy group of merchants. The economic status of the Jews, who had been a middle class of artisans and merchants under the Fatimids and Ayyubids, was now undermined, even though there remained a small privileged group employed in the royal mint and in banking affairs. Meshullam of *Volterra, who was in Egypt in 1481, reports that at that time there were 800 Jewish households in Cairo, in addition to 150 Karaite and 50 Samaritan families. R. Obadiah of *Bertinoro, who visited Cairo in 1488, reports 500 Rabbanite families, 100 Karaite, and 50 Samaritan. According to the Muslim chronicler al-Maqrīzī (d. 1442), there were five synagogues in the new Cairo in the first half of the 15th century: two belonged to the Rabbanites, two to the Karaites, and one to the Samaritans.

At the beginning of the 16th century many refugees came from Spain. Three distinct congregations were then formed: *_Mustaʿrabs_ (native Arabic-speaking Jews), _Maghribim_ (Jews of North African origin), and Spanish. Among these congregations, each of which had its own _bet din_ and charitable institutions, there was occasional conflict, such as the great dispute of 1527 between the _Mustaʿrabs_ and the _Maghribim_ over precedents in the common synagogue. The Spanish exiles surpassed the other communities, both in Jewish scholarship and generally; their scholars were even appointed as rabbis in the other communities. Such was the case with R. Joseph Iskandari, who, although of Spanish origin, became rabbi of the _Mustaʿrabs_. Generally, in the course of time the _Mustaʿrabs_ accepted the customs of the Spanish Jews in their prayers, while in time the descendants of the Spanish exiles became assimilated with the majority of the Jewish population and to a great extent stopped speaking Spanish. During the 16th century eminent scholars filled the rabbinical positions of Cairo. Most of them were of Spanish origin, but their halakhic decisions were universally accepted. During the first half of that century R. *David b. Solomon ibn Abi Zimra was the foremost rabbinical author in Cairo. R. Moses b. Isaac *Alashkar and R. Jacob *Berab were his contemporaries. After Ibn Abi Zimra emigrated to Palestine, R. Bezalel *Ashkenazi became the recognized authority. During the second half of the century, R. Jacob *Castro, R. Ḥayyim Kafusi, and R. Solomon di Trani lived in Cairo.

The Turks, who conquered Egypt in 1517, did not usually interfere with the Jews in religious matters. Nevertheless, there were occasions when they were influenced by the accusations of the Muslim fanatics, as in 1545 when the central synagogue was closed down and not reopened until 1548. Also, Muslim mobs often attacked Jewish funeral processions on their way to the cemetery in Basātīn, some distance from the town. As a result, the dead were sometimes buried without procession, or the funerals were held at night, and at other times Muslim guards were hired. However, the greatest oppression of the Jews was economic. On the one hand, the Turkish governors delegated financial administration, such as the operation of the mint and the collection of taxes and customs to Jews, but on the other hand, they were jealous of the wealth of these Jewish bankers and from time to time maltreated them. The first such case occurred in 1524, when governor Ahmed Pasha extorted a large sum of money from Abraham *Castro, the director of the mint, and threatened to slaughter all the Jews of Cairo unless they provided him with a large sum of money. However, on the day appointed for payment, he was killed by some soldiers who opposed his plan to rebel against the sultan. This day of salvation was commemorated as an annual _Purim Miẓrayim_ ("Purim of Egypt"). Often false accusations were brought against the Çelebis (treasury officials of the governors, who were also Jewish community leaders), and several of them were executed. Others were executed without any pretext. Many Cairo Jews who were closely related to these wealthy officials also suffered greatly. The tyranny and extortion of the Turkish governors worsened during the 17th and 18th centuries, and the process of decline and corruption in the Turkish government also had an effect on the condition of the large community in the capital of Egypt. The standard of Jewish learning fell, even though some of the community's rabbis were eminent halakhic authorities. The most important rabbis were the following: in the 17th century, Isaac Castro, Samuel *Vital (the son of R. Ḥayyim *Vital), Mordecai ha-Levi and his son Abraham; in the 18th century, Solomon *Algazi; and in the 19th century, Moses Algazi, Elijah Israel, his cousin Moses, and Raphael Aaron *Ben Simeon, author of the works _Tuv Miẓrayim_ and _Nehar Miẓrayim_.

In independent Egypt under Muhammad Ali (1805–48) a new era of development for the Jewish community began. In 1840 Moses *Montefiore, Adolphe *Crémieux, and Solomon *Munk visited Cairo, and founded schools in which Jewish youth were educated according to European standards. The economic development of Egypt attracted Jews from other Mediterranean countries, many of whom settled in Cairo. Even so, the number of Jews did not exceed 4,000 until the middle of the 19th century. In 1882 there were 5,000 Jews in Cairo, and by 1897, 10,000 including 1,000 Karaites. In 1917 there were approximately 29,000 Jews. Among these immigrants there were some Ashkenazi Jews from Eastern Europe who founded their own synagogue, but also collaborated with the existing community. The economic situation of the Jewish community improved and many of its members, such as the

*Suarez, *Mosseri, and Cicurel families, prospered in commerce and banking. The greater part of the community moved from the ancient Jewish quarter and built houses in the newer districts of Zamālik, Heliopolis, and the "Garden City." The Jews became active in public affairs and some of them were appointed to the legislative assemblies and government institutions. R. Yom Tov Israel was appointed to the Legislative Assembly by Khedive Ismail Pasha, and Jacob *Cattaui became the khedive's private banker and the chief revenue officer of Egypt. His son Joseph became minister of finance in 1923, while another son Moses was president of the Cairo community for 40 years. Chief Rabbi Haim *Nahoum was appointed a member of the Egyptian Academy of Science in 1925.

The Zionist movement found supporters among the Jews of Cairo. From the beginning of the 20th century Zionist societies and newspapers were established in the city. In 1900 the weekly newspaper *Miẓrayim* ("Egypt") was published in Ladino, in 1907–08 the Yiddish periodical *Die Zeit* appeared, and in 1908 the French weekly *L'Aurore* was founded. The last appeared until World War II. In 1919 the French weekly *Israel* was founded and in 1939 it amalgamated with the *La Tribune Juive*, which was published in Alexandria until 1948. From 1934 to 1948 there was also an Arab weekly, *al-Shams*. The Karaite community published the Arabic weekly *al-Kalīm* from 1945.

[Eliyahu Ashtor]

Hebrew Printing In Cairo

The first Hebrew printing press in Cairo, which was also the first one in the whole Middle East outside of Palestine, was founded in 1657 by Gershom b. Eliezer *Soncino. He was the last printer of a famous family of printers; he had previously worked in his father's press in Constantinople. Two of his books printed in this year are known: *Refu'ot ha-Talmud*, a book of remedies, and *Pitron Ḥalomot* ("Interpretation of Dreams"), attributed to R. *Hai Gaon. A second printing press was founded in Cairo in 1740 by Abraham b. Moses Yatom, who had also previously worked as a printer in Constantinople. He printed only one book, the first edition of *Ḥok le-Yisrael*, edited by R. Isaac Baruch of Cairo. This work was later reprinted in many editions. The renewal of Hebrew printing in Cairo took place in 1905, and after that year there were five Hebrew printing presses. They were principally used for commercial purposes, with the printing of books as a secondary activity. Up to World War II, they printed over 50 books, most of which served the needs of the Egyptian communities or were the works of authors living in Egypt.

[Avraham Yaari]

Contemporary Period

According to the 1947 population census in Egypt, there were 41,860 Jews in Cairo (constituting 64% of Egyptian Jewry), of whom 58.8% were merchants, and 17.9% were in industry. Although it contained a few wealthy Jews, the Cairo community was poorer than that of Alexandria. After the arrests of Cairo Jews in 1948–49 and the deportations of 1956–57, only 5,587 Jews remained, according to the census of 1960. In 1968, after the *Six-Day War, the population numbered only about 1,500 and by 1970 had dwindled to a few hundred. At the beginning of the 21st century fewer than 200 remained, mostly elderly and poor. While some inhabited the Jewish quarter in the older part of the town, most Jews lived in mixed neighborhoods, particularly in the new suburb of Heliopolis.

In 1948 riots broke out as a result of the UN decision to partition Palestine, which was a tremendous political defeat for the Arab League. A mob was aroused and joined by shouting gangs of students in attacks on Jews and Jewish property and businesses. In December of the same year, the Arab League met in Cairo to consider its defeat against the background of vast demonstrations. Afterward reports leaked out of Egypt that in August, 150 Jews had been murdered in a particularly violent pogrom during which three rabbis were killed in Cairo's slaughterhouse. The real estate of many Jews was confiscated and transferred to the administration of a trustee for confiscated Jewish property (this occurred again after the Sinai Campaign in 1956). Many Jewish shops and businesses were damaged during the rioting of January 1952, when property valued at £10,000,000 – including the Jewish school in the ʿAbbāsiyya quarter and the chain of stores belonging to the Cicurel family – was destroyed or stolen. The chairman of the Cairo Community Council, Salvador Cicurel, resigned in protest against the rioting, returning to his post only in January 1953.

Mass arrests of Egyptian Jews began in June and July 1954. Those arrested, numbering about 100, were brought to two concentration camps. Many of the inmates of these camps were subsequently released, and only a minority of 10 to 15 were brought to trial. Much attention was attracted to the trial of 13 Jews charged with spying for Israel. The trial was opened on Dec. 11, 1954, and the court concluded its sessions on Jan. 5, 1955. Two defendants were condemned to death, two others received life sentences, and the rest were sentenced to imprisonment (see *Egypt; Moshe *Marzouk; Pinḥas *Lavon).

In late 1956 Cicurel left Egypt and was succeeded as chairman of the Cairo Community Council by Albert Romano. The council administered the institutions of the community, which included schools (four in 1954 containing 700 pupils) and a hospital. The government confiscated the hospital in November 1956 and agreed to pay an annual rent to the council, which was also responsible for the charitable organizations and synagogues. Ashkenazi Jews had their own council, synagogues, and charitable organizations. The 3,105 *Karaites living in Cairo in 1947 had dwindled to only a few hundred by 1968. Cairo's chief rabbi, Haim Nahoum, was also the chief rabbi of the country; upon his death in 1960, he was succeeded by Ḥayyim Duwayk who left in 1972.

[Haim J. Cohen]

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CAIRO TRIAL, a trial of 11 Jews accused in 1954 of carrying out espionage and sabotage activities on behalf of Israel in Egypt. This affair, involving the worst Israeli security mishap yet revealed, began in 1951 when an Israeli officer, Avraham Dar, was sent to Egypt under the pseudonym of John Darling to set up intelligence cells in Cairo and Alexandria. Early in 1954, it was decided to utilize these cells to undermine Egypt's improving relations with Great Britain and the U.S. A newly infiltrated agent, Avraham Elad, using the pseudonym Paul Frank, was ordered to supervise a series of sabotage attempts which was designed to implicate opponents of the Egyptian government. The object was to cast doubts on the stability of the country and thereby discredit the regime of army officers which had overthrown King Farouk two years earlier. The identity of the person who ordered the operation was subsequently to become the subject of a bitter dispute. Elad maintained that the order came from Col. Binyamin Gibli, head of army intelligence. Gibli, however, insisted that it emanated from the minister of defense, Pinḥas *Lavon, who vehemently denied the charge.

On July 2, 1954, the first sabotage attempt was successfully carried out when incendiary devices were set off at the Alexandria post office. On July 14, fires were set simultaneously at the U.S. libraries in Cairo and Alexandria. Nine days later, however, an incendiary device went off prematurely in the pocket of Philippe Nathanson, a member of the Alexandria cell, and he was arrested. Within a few days ten other persons were taken into custody, one of them a 16-year-old girl, Marcelle Ninio. The accused were tortured. One of them, Max Bennet, reportedly an Israeli army officer, committed suicide by cutting his wrist with a razor blade. Marcelle Ninio tried unsuccessfully to throw herself out of a window.

The trial began on December 7, 1954. Death sentences were handed down two months later against Moshe *Marzouk, a 28-year-old Karaite physician at the Jewish Hospital in Cairo, and Samuel Behor Azaar, 26, a teacher in Alexandria. They had been accused of heading the network's two cells and were subsequently hanged. Two other accused were acquitted. The remaining six – Nathanson, Ninio, Victor Levy, Robert Dassa, Meir Zafran and Meir Meyouhas – were given prison sentences ranging from seven years to life. The organizer of the cells, Avraham Dar, had left Egypt shortly before the first arrests were made. Paul Frank, who was known to the cell members only by a code name, escaped to Europe after their arrest. Known in Israel as "the Third Man," he became a key figure in the dispute that developed over the affair and led to the resignation of Lavon. He was tried in 1959 in Israel on a charge of illegal possession of secret documents and sentenced to 12 years' imprisonment, reduced to ten years by the Supreme Court. He served the full term and upon his release moved to Los Angeles, where he wrote a book giving his version of the affair.

The six persons imprisoned in Egypt eventually reached Israel, some after serving out their terms, others in prisoner exchanges following the Six-Day War.

Details of the long-secret affair were made public in Israel for the first time in November 1971.

[Abraham Rabinovich]

In January 1979 a ministerial committee finally approved the publication of a book by Hagai Eshed, *Mi Natan Ha-Hora'ah* ("Who Gave the Order") written in 1963, the publication of which had until then been forbidden by the Censor. According to this account, it was Lavon who gave the order to effect the raids on British installations in Egypt in order to delay the signing of the United Kingdom-Egypt agreement on the evacuation by Britain of the Suez Canal, but contrary to those orders the fateful attack was aimed at American targets. According to Eshed the change was ordered by the commander of the Israeli group, who was an Egyptian agent, for the purpose of catching the Israelis red-handed. The police had verified the authenticity of the so-called "forged letter" sent by the head of the Israel Army Intelligence, Binyamin Gibli.

CAISERMAN, HANANE MEIER (1884–1950), Canadian Jewish communal leader. Born in Piatre-Neamt, Romania, Caiserman immigrated to Montreal in 1911. A lifelong Labor Zionist, Caiserman was also a union organizer for the Montreal clothing workers and Jewish bakers. During the 1910s he took a leading role in the strikes for better conditions and union recognition. He also organized and actively promoted Jewish cultural activity, giving evening courses to workers on political economy. In 1919 he helped organize the Canadian Jewish Congress and was named the organization's general secretary. While the Congress at first failed to bring Canadian Jews together under one roof, with Caiserman's help it did establish the Jewish Immigrant Aid Society of Canada in 1920, and Caiserman served as its honorary president. Always in the forefront of Montreal Jewish affairs, during the 1920s he actively supported the cause of separate Jewish schools in Quebec and was closely associated with educational and cultural institutions such as the Peretz School, the Jewish Folk School, and the Montreal Jewish Library. Caiserman wrote widely in the Yiddish press on political, communal, and literary themes. He is the author of *Yiddishe dikhter in Canada* (1934). With the advent of Hitlerism, and the rise of antisemitism, Caiserman helped rebuild the Canadian Jewish Congress into a dynamic and proactive organization. He was instrumental in bringing Sam *Bronfman into the organization and stepped aside so that Bronfman could assume leadership of it. Caiserman, however, remained a leading spirit in the Canadian Jewish Congress until his death.

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[Gerald Tulchinsky (2nd ed.)]

CAISERMAN-ROTH, GHITTA (1923–), Canadian artist. Caiserman-Roth was born in Montreal, Quebec. Her parents were immigrants to Canada from Romania. Her mother, Sarah, owned a children's wear factory while her father, H.M. *Caiserman, was a trade unionist, chairman of the Montreal Jewish Library, champion of Quebec Jewish literature, and early supporter of the Canadian Jewish Congress.

Ghitta was early drawn to art. She studied under Alexander Bercovitch, a prominent Montreal Jewish artist. At the age of 13, she first exhibited and received honorable mention at the Spring Exhibition of the Art Association of Montreal. From 1939 to 1943, she studied in New York at the Parsons School of Design, American Artists' School and the Art Students' League. During summers, she worked in the war industries in Quebec and became involved in unions and leftist organizations. In 1945 she married Alfred Pinsky, a Jewish artist. They lived in Halifax while Pinsky was in the Royal Canadian Air Force, then moved back to Montreal, where, between 1946 and 1952, they founded and ran the Montreal Artists School. Drawn by the social involvement of art and the muralist movement of Mexican socialist artists, in 1948 they traveled through Mexico. Ghitta had a daughter in 1954, and in 1962 she married again, wedding Montreal architect Max Roth.

Forever exploring life's meaning and issues of social relevance through the language of art, Caiserman-Roth's forms of expression reflected a gradual change from expressionism to cubism, surrealism, and, by the 1980s, an appreciation of the abstract. In addition to producing her body of artistic work, she taught art at both Concordia University and the Saidye-Bronfman Centre in Montreal and at many other Canadian universities during summer sessions. Her art has been seen in numerous group and solo exhibitions and is found in major public galleries and private collections in Canada, the United States, and Israel. She was active in many important Canadian artistic associations and among her many awards and honors, she received in 2000 the prestigious Governor General's Award in Visual and Media Arts.

[Esther Trépanier (2nd ed.)]

CAJAL, NICOLAE (1919–2004), medical scholar and communal leader in Romania. Born in Bucharest, the son of the physicist Marcu Cajal, he studied medicine at Bucharest University and Caritas School for Jewish Students of Medicine (during the Holocaust period), became a doctor in 1944, and began work as a microbiologist. He taught virology at Bucharest University, Faculty of Medicine and Pharmacy, becoming a professor and head of the Department of Virology (1966). As deputy director (1953–67) and director (1967–94) of the Institute of Inframicrobiology of the Romanian Academy, he published some 400 scholarly works in this field and edited the *Revista Romana de Virusologie* ("Romanian Review of Virology," 1967–2004). He was a corresponding member (1964) and member (1990) of the Romanian Academy, becoming president of the Section of Medical Sciences. He was also president of the Consultative Council for Research and Development of Romania (1991–95) and president of the Menachem Elias Foundation and Hospital created through the will of Jewish banker Jacques Elias (1921). Cajal was active in the Federation of the Jewish Communities of Romania. After the death in 1994 of Chief Rabbi Moses Rosen, who had served as president, Cajal became the first elected president of the Federation since the 1989 revolution, serving from 1994 to 2004. He fought against post-Communist antisemitism, proposing the "real semitism" thesis, the idea of a cultural and intellectual dialogue between Jews and non-Jews. Cajal attempted to rebuild Jewish life in Romania, developed existing Jewish institutions, and encouraged the founding of others, such as a school and publishing house. He used his personal relationships with members of the Romanian leadership in order to obtain the return of Jewish community property nationalized by the Communist regime. Cajal developed good relations with Israel and with the Romanian Jews living there and in other countries.

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[Lucian-Zeev Herscovici (2nd ed.)]

CALABRESI, GUIDO (1932–), U.S. jurist and legal scholar. Calabresi was born in Milan, Italy. When he was six years old, he and his parents fled Fascist Italy under Mussolini and came to the United States. Calabresi's father was a cardiologist and a clinical professor at Yale University. His mother was a philosopher and literature scholar and chair of the Italian department at Albertus Magnus College (New Haven). Calabresi began his undergraduate course work at Yale in 1949. In 1953, he graduated first in his class, *summa cum laude*, earning a B.S. in analytical economics. From 1953 to 1955, on a Rhodes scholarship, he studied politics, philosophy, and economics at Magdalen College, Oxford University. In 1958, Calabresi graduated first in his class at Yale Law School. At Yale, he also earned the Order of the Coif and served as note editor of the *Yale Law Journal*. Additionally, Calabresi earned an M.A. from Oxford in 1959 and a M.A. (Hon.) from Yale in 1962.

Calabresi clerked for Justice Hugo L. Black, on the U.S. Supreme Court, from 1958 to 1959. He returned to Yale Law School in 1959 to begin his long and distinguished academic career. He was an assistant professor at Yale from 1959 to 1961. In 1962, he was made full professor, the youngest full professor in the history of Yale Law School. In 1985, Calabresi became dean of Yale Law School, and continued in this position until 1994, when he was nominated to the U.S. Court of Appeals. During his tenure as dean, Yale Law School began to be consistently ranked as the number one law school in the United States.

In his 35 years as a professor and scholar at Yale, Calabresi wrote more than 100 legal articles, lectured worldwide, and was awarded numerous honorary degrees. In May 1988, he was awarded an honorary doctorate from Tel Aviv University, and was given the same honor by the Hebrew University of Jerusalem in 2004.

As a law scholar, Calabresi is credited for being one of the founders of legal philosophy now known as economic analysis of the law, and especially as it is applicable to tort law. The latter is exemplified by his now classic work, *The Cost of Accidents: A Legal and Economic Analysis*, published in 1970. Among his other books are *Tragic Choices* (with P. Bobbitt, 1978); *A Common Law for the Age of Statutes* (1982); and *Ideals, Beliefs, Attitudes and the Law* (1985). In 2002, Scribes, the American Society of Writers on Legal Subjects, recognized Calabresi's legal scholarship by bestowing upon him its Lifetime Achievement Award.

In 1994, Calabresi was nominated to the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Second Circuit by President Bill Clinton. While on the bench, he continued to teach intermittently at Yale and held the title of Sterling Professor Emeritus of Law and Professorial Lecturer in Law. Calabresi also served on the Advisory Committee for the Jewish Fund for Justice (JFJ), founded in 1984. While Calabresi is a practicing Catholic, he proudly traces his lineage to the earliest Jewish community in Italy. He appears to be an interesting example of what the late Jewish American political scientist Daniel J. Elazar has called the permeability of the boundary line between Jew and non-Jew.

[Michael J. Bazyler (2nd ed.)]

CALABRIA, region in Southern Italy. Medieval Jewish chronicles attribute the beginnings of Jewish settlement in Calabria to Jewish captives exiled by Titus after the destruction of the Temple in 70 C.E. However there is no definite evidence of the presence of Jews there until the first half of the fourth century. The Calabrian community soon became prosperous, and was the object of envy and complaints during the reign of Emperor Honorius (398). The remains of a synagogue that appears to have been in use in the fourth and the fifth centuries were discovered in Bova Marina, on the southern coast of Calabria. The central hall has a niche with a bench and a mosaic floor where the designs of a menorah and a Salomon's knot can still be discerned. In the early 10th century Calabria was devastated by Arab raiders, the Jewish population being among the worst sufferers. Soon afterward, however, the position of the Jews improved both economically and culturally. Scholars of Calabria were in touch with *Hai b. Sherira (Gaon) in Mesopotamia in the 11th century. In the 13th century the silk industry and other state monopolies were in Jewish hands, mainly owing to the protection afforded by the emperor Frederick II. After 1288, under Charles II of Anjou, persecutions and attacks were fomented by Dominican friars in Calabria, as in the rest of the kingdom. About half of the 2,500 Jews were forcibly converted to Christianity. Later the Calabrian community recuperated and increased; in some towns the Jewish population is said to have outnumbered the Christian. Calabrian Jews enjoyed economic prosperity under the Aragonese dynasty, until 1494. The fairs of Calabria attracted large numbers of local and foreign Jews. In 1465 the Jews coming to the fair of Maddalena di Cosenza obtained the privilege of having to answer only to the king's official and to no other person in charge of the market. In 1481 King Ferrante I promulgated a series of laws regulating the status of the Jews in his kingdom, and the communities of Calabria were granted the following privileges: they were not to be subject to the jurisdiction of city officials; they could address themselves to any notary or judge they chose; they would be taxed only according to the actual number of households; no Jew would be exempted from taxation, except the king's physician. When in 1480–81 the Turks attacked Otranto and Jews throughout the kingdom were forced to pay substantial sums to the treasury, the Jews of Calabria alone were taxed 2,600 ducats. However, the heavy taxation of the 15th century caused some Jews of Calabria to migrate to Sicily.

Several Hebrew manuscripts are known to have been copied in the cities of Calabria during the 15th century. Rashi's commentary to the Pentateuch was printed in *Reggio di Calabria in 1475, the first dated Hebrew book to have been printed in the Kingdom of Naples. On the expulsion of the Jews from Sicily in 1492, many refugees arrived in Calabria, most of the Syracuse community coming to Reggio di Calabria. After the expulsion, the Jews of Calabria maintained commercial and personal relations with *New Christians in Sicily. Calabria also served as a refuge for New Christians from Sicily fleeing the Spanish Inquisition. After the region passed under Spanish rule, persecution of the Jews in Calabria was renewed, and in 1510 they were all expelled from the region, including New Christians. Some migrated to central and northern Italy, and others to Salonika, Constantinople, and Adrianople, where they founded their own congregations and synagogues.

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[Ariel Toaff / Nadia Zeldes (2nd ed.)]

CALAHOR(R)A (Kalahora), family of physicians and apothecaries in Poland. The name evidences the family's origin from Calahorra, Spain. Its first known member was SOLOMON (d. 1596), a pupil of the physician Brasavola in Ferrara, who settled in Cracow, and in 1570 was appointed court physician to King Sigismund Augustus. The appointment was continued by King Stephen Bátory in 1578. Solomon is cited in the responsa of Moses *Isserles (no. 30) and Solomon *Luria (no. 21). He engaged in large-scale business enterprises, and, in partnership with other Sephardi Jews, Solomon Ḥadidah and Abraham Calahora, he leased the concession for the salt mines in Felsztyn. Of Solomon's six children, MOSES (d. 1622), a merchant, continued the Cracow branch of the family, and Israel Samuel ben Solomon *Calahorra, the Great Poland (Poznan) branch. Of the Cracow branch DAVID (d. 1656), son of Moses, was an apothecary in the Jewish quarter in Kazimierz near Cracow. He supplied the needy members of the community with medicines on instructions from the elders and also cared for the sick in the hospital (*hekdesh*). For these services he was paid 114 florins in 1635 and 150 florins in 1643–45. Of his two sons MATTATHIAS (d. 1663) and NATA, the former took over his father's dispensary, and, according to the contemporary Polish historian Kochowski, was a "well-known physician with an extensive practice in Christian and even clerical circles." A Dominican friar, Servatius Hebelli, accused him of blaspheming the Virgin, and after being tortured, he was condemned to death. His family obtained a reexamination of the charge at the *Piotrkow tribunal but the latter confirmed the verdict. On Dec. 13, 1663, Mattathias was burned at the stake after undergoing frightful torture. His ashes were shot into the air, but some of the remains were redeemed by the community of Cracow and given burial. The calamity is described in *Theatrum Europaeum* as well as by Kochowski in his *Climacter* (Cracow, 1683) and by *Schudt in *Juedische Merkwuerdigkeiten* (Frankfurt, 1715). It was the subject of an elegy composed by *Berechiah Berakh, as well as of a contemporary rhymed report in Hebrew (Cat. Bodl. 4030).

Mattathias' son MICHAEL took over the dispensary. His two sons were both physicians. One of them, AARON, was the first Jew to be examined by the professors of the Cracow academy and to qualify there (1723–24). He had many patients among the Christian nobility, and King Augustus III granted him a writ of protection in 1750. Aaron was also active in communal affairs, and was involved in the dispute between the Landau and Fraenkel families over the Cracow rabbinate (1742). His brother MENDEL (d. 1772) was also a physician.

Aaron had two children, a daughter, JUTTA (d. 1776), who married the head of the Jewish community, Moses Jekeles (d. 1791), and a son, MENDEL (d. 1779), who in 1746 studied at the University of Frankfurt on the Oder where he also obtained his medical degree. His son ISAAC AARON KOLHARI (d. 1834) was a member of the Cracow communal board.

Of the Great Poland branch, the above-mentioned founder ISRAEL SAMUEL B. SOLOMON CALAHORRA was rabbi of Lenchitsa. His son SOLOMON (d. 1650), also a rabbi in Lenchitsa, married the daughter of the Posen physician Judah de Lima. Solomon's son, JOSEPH B. SOLOMON *CALAHORA, and his grandson ARYEH LOEB (c. 1736) were preachers in Posen. The latter, with the community trustee Jacob b. Phinehas and the physician Wolff Winkler, son of Jacob Winkler, who had to leave Vienna in the 1670 expulsion, was accused in a *blood libel and died under torture. The Landsberg and Posner families were descended from him. Aryeh Loeb's great-grandson SOLOMON POSNER (1780–1863) was the author of a family chronicle, *To'ar Penei Shelomo* (1870). In the course of the 19th century the family became assimilated. The Polish socialist leader STANISLAW POSNER was a grandson of Solomon. Daughters of the family married into well-known Catholic families.

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[Meir Balaban]

CALAHORA, JOSEPH BEN SOLOMON (called **Joseph Darshan**; 1601–1696), rabbi and author. Calahora was born in Posen, and was a grandson of Israel Samuel b. Solomon *Calahorra. For some time he lived in Belaya Tserkov, where he witnessed the suffering of the Jews in 1648, at the time of the *Chmielnicki pogroms. After returning to his home town, he served there as rabbi, but lived the later years of his life as an ascetic, devoting all his time to study. He wrote *Yesod Yosef* (Frankfurt on the Main, 1679; published with additions in Berlin, 1739; frequently republished). This small ethical work became one of the most popular ethical writings in Eastern Europe. It instructs the reader as to what life to lead in order to avoid nocturnal emission, which was considered a sin, and how to cleanse himself if it did happen. He uses the sin as a motif to build a complete system of Jewish ethics and purity, based on the Kabbalah. The book is supplemented by a collection of notes on different subjects and quotations from old sources by R. Joseph b. Gei. A commentary on it by Raphael Unna of Morocco appeared under the title *Yesod Ma'aravi* (Jerusalem, 1896). There has also been published his *Sedeh Bokhim*, containing homiletic explanations to the *Perek Shirah* and the *tikkun ḥazot* and miscellaneous writings of his brother, Isaac Lelower (Frankfurt on the Oder, 1679). A responsum of his is mentioned in *Eliakim Goetz b. Meir's *Even ha-Shoham* (Dyhernfurth, 1735). Several of his homiletical treatises remain in manuscript.

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[Samuel Abba Horodezky / Joseph Dan]

CALAHORRA, city in Castile, N. Spain, near the border of Navarre; its Jewish community was one of the most ancient in Castile. In 1145, Joseph Rayuso served as *merino* ("royal official") in Calahorra, and according to some sources, Abraham *Ibn Ezra died there in 1167. Jewish owners of vineyards, real estate, and shops are found in Calahorra from the beginning of the Jewish settlement. The community grew in size and importance in the course of the 12th and 13th centuries. Some of its members occupied official positions, arousing Christian opposition. In letters to the church authorities at Tudela (1252) and Burgos (1264) Popes Innocent IV and Urban VI requested them to oblige the Jews and Moors of Calahorra to pay a tithe to the diocese on property acquired from Christians. Hebrew deeds of the 13th–14th centuries record the conveyance of vineyards, gardens and real estate by Jews to members of the city council and local ecclesiastical institutions. Documents from the Archivo de la Catedral show the extensive real estate held by local Jews. In this period there were over 50 Jewish families living in Calahorra. At the end of the 13th century, there were about 400 Jews living there. In 1290 the tax paid by the community amounted to 14,590 maravedis. According to a document from 1320, two Jews and two Christians were appointed to supervise the building of a new mill, for which the Jewish community contributed a sum of 750 maravedis. From 1323 the community paid an annual levy of 200 maravedis for the war with Granada. In 1327 Alfonso XI imposed a special levy of 100 maravedis on each synagogue in the town, as well as on every church and mosque, for the war against the Moors. A distinctive local administrative arrangement was the method of collecting the annual impost of 30 denari on the Jewish *badge which the community itself contracted to levy and farmed out on an eight-year term.

In 1370 a large number of Jews left Calahorra for the kingdom of Navarre. Queen Joanna of Navarre gave the refugees protection and also exempted them from the annual tax of two florins for the first two years. No details about the Calahorra community during the anti-Jewish riots in Spain of 1391 are available. Their economic position deteriorated in the 15th century: in 1439 it was agreed that instead of paying 5,202 maravedis annually the community would pay a lump sum of eight maravedis of silver from 1434 to 1439, afterward reverting to the original sum. Toward the end of the reign of Henry IV the annual tax was reduced to 3,000 maravedis (1474) because of the difficult times. In the second half of the 15th century, the number of Jews in Calahorra was about 350–400. At the expulsion from Spain, the Jews left Calahorra on July 2, 1492. On August 7, Ferdinand of Castile ordered the conversion of the synagogue into a church and offered it to the Cathedral. It became the hermitage of San Sebastián. Later it was given to the Franciscans to erect their convent. Persons who settled in the Jewish quarter received special tax relief and in 1497 the king granted them exemption from taxes.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Baer, Spain, 1 (1961), 394, 450; Baer, Urkunden, index; Cantera, in: *Sefarad*, 6 (1946), 37–61; 15 (1955), 353–72; 16 (1956), 73–112; 18 (1958), 219–313; 22 (1962), 83ff.; idem, *Sinagogas Españolas* (1955), 185; León Tello, in: *Instituto Tello Téllez de Meneses*, 25 (1966), 45, 154. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** I. Reguera, *La Inquisición española en el País Vasco (el Tribunal de Calahorra, 1513–1570)* (1984); E. Cantera Montenegro, *Las juderías de la dioceses de Calahorra en la Baja Edad Media* (1987).

[Haim Beinart / Yom Tov Assis (2nd ed.)]

CALAHORRA, ISRAEL SAMUEL BEN SOLOMON (?1560–1640), Polish talmudist. Calahorra, who was a man of means, lived in Cracow where he maintained his own *bet midrash* although never accepting a rabbinical office. His only published work is *Yismaḥ Yisrael* (Cracow, 1626; Hamburg, 1686), a compendium of the laws of the Shulḥan Arukh arranged in alphabetical order. *Yismaḥ Yisrael* was republished, together with a commentary and supplements – *Ḥukkat ha-Torah* by Moses Jekuthiel b. Avigdor ha-Kohen Kaufmann – on *Even ha-Ezer* (Amsterdam, 1693); on *Oraḥ Ḥayyim* and *Yoreh De'ah* (Berlin, 1700); and on *Ḥoshen Mishpat* (Dyhernfurth, 1701). *Yoreh De'ah* was also published with the commentary *Olelot Ẓevi* of Mordecai Ẓevi Friedlaender (1865). In the introduction to *Yismaḥ Yisrael*, Calahorra lists six other works he wrote on Torah and Kabbalah.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: H. Dembitzer, in: *Oẓar ha-Sifrut*, 4 (Cracow, 1892), 244–9; idem, *Kelilat Yofi*, 1 (1888), 22b–25a; H. Tchernowitz, *Toledot ha-Posekim*, 3 (1947), 290–7; I. Lewin in: *Hadorom*, 18 (1963), 28–34.

CALAMUS, SWEET, a spice referred to in the Bible under three names: *keneh bosem* ("scented cane"), *kaneh ha-tov* ("goodly cane"), and simply *kaneh* ("cane"). The last term also means reed, but in the context it is clear that the reference is to a spice, since the prophet rebukes the people for not devoting some of their wealth to offer frankincense and *kaneh* (Isa. 43:24). Ezekiel (27:19) includes *kaneh* among the spices which Tyre traded with Arabia. It is included among the precious spices in the Song of Songs (4:14); "scented cane" is one of the spices from which the aromatic oil in the tabernacle was prepared (Ex. 30:23). Jeremiah (6:20) points out that *kaneh ha-tov* was brought "from a far country." This appears in Akkadian as "*qanū tabu,*" where it means an aromatic cane, and *tib* has the same meaning in Arabic. ("Goodly oil" too is used for aromatic oil.) The Septuagint distinguished between "goodly cane," which it identified with cinnamon, and "cane" or "scented cane," identified with sweet calamus. There is no doubt, however, that the last identification fits all the names. The name *kaneh* means something hollow and an aromatic reed, of which there are many species, is intended.

Apparently, it is the Indian plant *Cymbopogon martini* which accords with the statement that it came "from a far country." A similar aromatic species growing in Babylon is called in the Talmud *ḥilfa de-yama* ("the sea reed") since it grows in swamps (Ber. 43b; et al.). Theophrastus (*Historia plantarum*, 9:7, 1) points out that it grows in dried up swamps near Lebanon, a probable reference to the Ḥuleh region. Nowadays this plant does not grow in Israel or the adjacent countries. Some identify "the goodly cane" with sugar cane; but this is not aromatic, nor do the scriptural descriptions fit it, since sugar cane did not reach Ereẓ Israel before the talmudic era. The *Halakhot Gedolot* (Venice ed., 7:3) deals at length with sugar and the laws pertaining to it.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Loew, Flora, 2 (1924), 107–19, 278; J. Feliks, *Olam ha-Ẓome'aḥ ha-Mikra'i* (19682), 268.

[Jehuda Feliks]

CALATAYUD (Heb. קַלְעַת אַיּוֹב), city in Aragon, S.W. of Saragossa, northeast Spain. It had one of the most important Jewish communities in Spain and the second most important in the Kingdom of Aragon, after Saragossa. The earliest record of Jews in Calatayud is a tombstone apparently dating from 919. Under Muslim rule the Jews were concentrated in the *medinah*, the walled part of the city. The community continued to flourish after the downfall of the Umayads in 1031, when the Jewish population was estimated at 800. After the Christian reconquest of the city in 1120, the Jewish quarter was located between the mosque and the cathedral, adjacent to the western wall of the city, and Jews also lived in the fortress area. It is only at the end of the 12th century that the records refer to a legally constituted *aljama*. The stability of the Jewish community was an integral part of the royal policy designed to ensure the settlement of the conquered territories. Hence the favorable treatment of the Jews of Calatayud in the local *fuero*. In 1131 Alfonso I granted the city a *fuero* (municipal charter) in which the Jews were permitted to occupy the same quarter that they had occupied previously, in the fortified part of the city and were given equal legal and commercial status with Christians and Moors. In 1205 Pedro II granted privileges and concessions to several Jews there for services rendered to the royal house. In 1210 he confirmed the privileges granted to the Jews of Calatayud by his father Alfonso II releasing them from taxes and tolls and prohibiting the arrest of Jews for debt. A grant of privilege accorded by James I to the community in 1229 regulated the election of its officers, and empowered four *muqaddamūn* (**adelantados*) to draw up the communal statutes. They also had the right to try criminal cases and inflict the death penalty, the community having to pay the crown 1,000 sólidos for each execution. Under Pedro III (1276–85) a mob attacked the Jewish quarter and broke down the gates during the conversionist sermons preached by the friars. Pedro now confirmed his father's instructions that Jews should not be forcibly converted to Christianity. In 1325 the representatives of the poorer classes were accused of manipulating the communal accounts and Infanta María intervened on their behalf.

The Jewish community was administered by the *muqaddamūn* (*adelantados*). It was the head community of a *collecta*, an inter-communal organization originally established to collect the taxes. In the *collecta* of Calatayud were included the Jews of Ariza, Ricla, and possibly Cetina. In Calatayud there were many *minyanim*, some of which were held in private houses. At the end of the 14th century another synagogue was added to the eight already in existence. In view of the annual tax of 8,000 sueldos that the community paid at the end of the 13th century, we may assume that some 185 Jewish families, totaling 750–900 Jews, lived in Calatayud. Jewish society was divided into three social classes, the rich, the middle, and the poor. Many confraternities (*ḥavurot*) were established in Calatayud. In the *alcaicería* (the market), in 1344 a substantial number of the shops belonged to Jews. Until the mid-13th century the community continued to grow and prosper.

Anti-Jewish rioting broke out during the *Black Death in 1348–49. In 1349 the municipal authorities confiscated the property of Jews who had died intestate during the plague. The community suffered during the war between Castile and Aragon in 1356–69 as Calatayud was located on the Castilian border. Subsequently, the king released several Jews there from paying taxes and assigned a new location for the Jewish quarter.

The 300 Jewish families living in Calatayud in 1391 were apparently not harmed during the disorders but suffered economic and commercial decline. Consequently, Jews emigrated to Navarre. In 1397 there were 191 Jewish households, about 760–860 Jews, constituting more than 12% of the city's population. In 1398 King Martin prohibited the Jews from residing outside the Jewish quarter. The *nasi* Don Samuel Halevi and Moses b. Musa represented the community at the Disputation of *Tortosa (1413–14). In 1413 many Jews in Calatayud converted and the number of converts grew the following year. In 1414 the municipality prohibited the Jews from leaving the Jewish quarter, from drawing water from the river, and from using the bakery and flour mill even if they did not have contact with Christians. The community was deeply in debt to a convert, Pasqual Pérez de Almacan (Acach Agolit), for his expenses at the papal court, which they were supposed to cover. When at this time the Jews were attacked by the Christian population, Infante Alfonso, with the approval of the Dominican Vicente *Ferrer, issued instructions to the municipal officials to arrest anyone who attacked the Jews, for it is 'in absolute contravention of the will of God, the pope, and the king to effect the conversion of the Jews by force." Distinguished Conversos in Calatayud included Alfonso de Santangel and Miguel Pérez. Noteworthy also was Yucef Abencabra of the Cabra family, who after his conversion took the name Martín de la Cabra. In 1415 he was responsible for converting a synagogue into a church. A large part of commerce and industry was in the hands of Conversos. In 1417 Alfonso V reduced for five years the annual tax and other imposts levied on the community from 27,000 sólidos to 3,000 sólidos in Jaca coin to relieve its impoverished condition. The Jews in Calatayud complained to the king in 1418 of persecution by the municipal authorities and citizens, who had threatened to kill them if they did not withdraw certain charges and to expel Jews who remained faithful to Judaism. The king instructed the governor to give the Jews his protection. In 1420 he permitted them to return to the homes which they had owned in the Jewish quarter before 1415, from which they had apparently been dispossessed. In 1436 John, then viceroy, gave instructions for a radical reorganization of the communal structure. He appointed treasurers, trustees or magistrates, and councilors, and each of the three estates was represented by four members on the community council. A number of Conversos from other places settled in Calatayud, where they were received by the community and returned to Judaism. The Calatayud community came to an end with the expulsion of the Jews from Spain in 1492. An inventory of that year lists their effects, including chattels, pledges of gold and silver, Torah scrolls, and ornaments. The Inquisition was active in Calatayud between 1488 and 1502, but the inquisitional tribunal was combined in 1519 with that of Saragossa.

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[Haim Beinart / Yom Tov Assis (2nd ed.)]

CALATRAVA, Spanish order of knights, founded to protect the frontier areas and as a means of prosecuting the war with the Muslims. The Order was founded in 1158 when Sancho III granted it the village and fortress of Calatrava, after which it was named. Judah Ibn Ezra had previously held authority here as supervisor and military purveyor for the armies of Castile in the wars against the Muslims. Numerous settlements were established on the lands of the Order in Castile and Aragon, in which Jews took up permanent residence. They were granted privileges by the Order, which had the right of jurisdiction over them. Among such settlements were *Alcaniz in Aragon, where 30 families were living in the 14th century under the protection of the Order, Almaden, *Almagro, *Chillón, and *Maqueda.

When anti-Jewish disorders and restrictions increased in the 15th century, the Order took an independent line in its attitude toward the Jews, maintaining normal relations with Jewish scholars, moneylenders, and tax farmers. In 1422 the grandmaster Don Luis de Guzmán initiated the project for a Spanish translation of the Bible, which he delegated to Moses *Arragel. A unique event in the depressed state of the Jewish communities of Castile in this period was the erection of a synagogue in Almagro, the seat of the Order, in the 1460s. In the following decade, when the Conversos in Castile again suffered from persecutions, many found refuge on the lands of the Order. The dossiers of the Inquisition relating to persons living on the lands of the Order indicate the existence of groups of Conversos in many places where there were formerly Jewish congregations.

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[Haim Beinart]

CALCUTTA (today **Kolkata**), capital of West Bengal State, N.E. India. The earliest association of Jews with Calcutta goes back to transient Jewish merchants, especially from Fort St. George (*Madras) who toward the end of the 17th century established commercial contacts with Bengal. One of the most prominent was Alvaro de *Fonseca. In the second half of the 18th century, Abraham Jacobs distinguished himself by providing food for the survivors of the "Black Hole" tragedy (1756). He is also mentioned as a confidential agent of the East India Company there. A permanent Jewish settlement came into existence only at the beginning of the 19th century when Arabic-speaking Jews from Syria and Iraq who had previously resided in *Surat settled in Calcutta. The first Jewish merchant to settle there was Shalom b. Obadiah ha-Cohen (d. 1836), originally from Aleppo, who, after a successful stay in Surat, arrived in Calcutta in 1798 and developed a profitable trade there in jewels and precious stones. In 1816 he became the court jeweler of the Muslim ruler Ghāzī al-Dīn Ḥayḍar and his son at Lucknow. Shalom ha-Cohen was soon joined in Calcutta by members of his family and business associates from Surat and *Bombay, among whom Jacob Ẓemaḥ Nissim figured prominently. With the arrival of Moses b. Simon Duwayk ha-Cohen and his family from Aleppo, Calcutta began to develop into one of the most prosperous and flourishing cultural and economic centers of Jewish life in India. Jews from Cochin and Yemen flocked there and took an active part in its development. There was a small *Bene Israel community in Calcutta as well.

The first synagogue built in 1831 in Calcutta was called Neveh Shalom in honor of its founder, Shalom ha-Cohen. It was followed by the Beth El in 1856 and then by Magen David, built in 1884 in memory of David Joseph *Ezra (d. 1882). Probably the largest synagogue in the East, it was an imposing landmark distinguished by its beautiful architecture, and had a fine collection of Torah scrolls. Elijah b. Moses Duwayk ha-Cohen served as spiritual leader of the Magen David congregation for over 50 years. Glimpses into the internal communal life are offered by the Judeo-Arabic diaries (*Naurooz*) of Shalom ha-Cohen, of Moses b. Simon Duwayk ha-Cohen (d. 1861), and of Eleazar b. Aaron Saadiah ʿIrāqī ha-Cohen (d. 1864), all preserved in the Sassoon Library, as well as by the accounts of Western visitors such as *Benjamin II (1850), Jacob *Saphir (1859ff.), Solomon Reinman (1884), and later emissaries and travelers. A central role in the development of Jewish life was played for many decades by Sir David and Lady Ezra and communal leaders such as Elias Meyer, the families Jehuda, Masliah, Jacob, *Gabbai, Elias, Kurlander, and others. Hospitals, synagogues, boys' and girls' schools, and other educational and charitable institutions were established. Calcutta Jewry included prominent lawyers, physicians, industrialists, and artists. The events on the world scene after World War II, and the political and economic changes in the Middle East had a profound impact on the Jewish community in Calcutta and led to its economic decline. Through emigration to England, Australia, America, and Israel, the once large and prosperous community dwindled to a small group of about 70 Jews (1998).

[Walter Joseph Fischel]

Hebrew Printing

The first Hebrew printing press in Calcutta was founded in 1840 by Eleazar b. Aaron Saadiah ʿIrāqī ha-Cohen and continued until 1856. A scholar and poet, ʿIrāqī was an expert printer who probably cast his own type. The products of his press, some of them his own writings, are comparable with the best European productions of the time. Another press, operated by Ezekiel b. Saliman Hanin from 1871 to 1893, printed the Judeo-Arabic weekly *Mevasser* in Hebrew type from 1873 to 1878. This paper was followed by *Peraḥ* (1878–88), printed from 1871 by Elijah b. Moses Duwayk ha-Cohen. Two further weeklies, *Maggid Meisharim* (1889–1900) and *Shoshannah* (1901), were edited and printed by R. Solomon Twena, author of almost 70 works published by his own press.

[Avraham Yaari]

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CALÉ, WALTER (1881–1904), German poet. Calé abandoned his law studies at Berlin in 1903 to devote himself to literature and philosophy for a few months. Then, after destroying as much of his literary work as he could find, Calé committed suicide. His *Nachgelassene Schriften*, containing manuscripts that escaped destruction, were edited by his friend Arthur Brueckmann, with an introduction by Fritz *Mauthner (1907). The volume consists of poems, the final act of a drama, two fragments of a novel, and extracts from his diary. Calé's lyrics are filled with melancholy and lament the lack of communication between people. In his remaining writings there are no explicit statements concerning Judaism. Nevertheless Theoder *Lessing held Calé's suicide to be the outcome of his Jewish self-hatred.

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[Sol Liptzin]

CALEB, CALEBITES (Heb. כָּלֵב, בְּנֵי כָלֵב [כָּלְבִּי]), a leader of the tribe of Judah and eponym of many families living in the central and southern regions of Judah. Even though he is mentioned in the history of the conquest of Canaan as Caleb son of Jephunneh and in the genealogical lists as the son of Hezron son of Perez son of Judah, there is no doubt that all the references are to the same person. These genealogical changes reflect the independent origin of the families of Caleb, which were related to the Edomites and others in the south of the country. They were later integrated into the tribe of Judah (see *genealogy). Caleb, representing the tribe of Judah, was one of the spies sent by Moses to reconnoiter the land of Canaan. Only he and *Joshua son of Nun were of the opinion that the Israelites should attempt to invade Canaan immediately. The people, however, listened to the majority report of the spies and were doomed, with the exception of Caleb and Joshua, to die in the wilderness. Caleb, in particular, was praised for his loyalty (Num. 14:24; Deut. 1:36). The report of the sending of the spies (Num. 13) originally referred apparently to Caleb alone and dealt with the vicinity of *Hebron. It appears from many verses that the inclusion of Joshua and the description of the journey to Rehob, at Lebo-hamath, are a later addition (Num. 13:21–30; 14:24; 32:9; Deut. 1:24, 26; Josh. 14:6ff.). This report apparently reflects the tradition that the Calebites migrated to the mountains in the region of Judah and Hebron from the Negev, and only later were incorporated into the general history of the conquest. According to this viewpoint, Caleb received Hebron as a reward for his brave conduct during the expedition of the spies. After he had slain the offspring of *Anak and conquered Hebron, he set out for *Debir (Kiriath-Sepher), one of the towns in the south of Judah (Josh. 15:48); "And Caleb announced: 'I will give my daughter *Achsah as wife to him who attacks and captures Kiriath-Sepher.' His younger kinsman, *Othniel son of Kenaz, captured it" (Josh. 15:16–17; Judg. 1:12–15). Caleb himself is also referred to as a Kenizzite (Num. 32:12; Josh. 14:14); it therefore appears that Caleb was related to the Kenizzites (from Kenaz, see above) who in turn were principally related to the Edomites (Gen. 36:11, 15, 42, et al.), and were also listed with the Canaanite peoples who preceded the Israelite settlement (Gen. 15:19). The genealogical lists of the Calebites are given together with those of the families of Judah (I Chron. 2, 4) and many of their places of residence are also mentioned. Some of these lists are fragmentary and the relationships among the various families and between them and Judah are not always clear. The verses of I Chronicles 2:24, 42–51; 4:5–15, in which the localities of Tekoa and Beth-Zur in the north, Ziph and Maon in the east, and Madmannah in the south (Josh. 15:31), in addition to Hebron, are mentioned, can most certainly be understood as referring to the families of Caleb. A number of verses also seem to connect Hur to Caleb, the former being the progenitor of the families of northern Judah from Beth-Lehem to Kiriath-Jearim and Zorah, but they apparently have been corrupted. In I Chronicles 2:50, the words "these were the children of Caleb" terminate the previous paragraph, and "the son of Hur" is the beginning of a new subject. It also seems that in verse 19, Hur should be corrected to Ashhur, according to verse 24. Thus, the opinion of E. Meyer and others that the expansion of the Calebites into northern Judah and the Shephelah ("lowland") was due to the penetration of the Edomites into Judah after the destruction of the First Temple and that the genealogical lists belong to this period is to be rejected. The opinions of S.

Klein and M. Noth that these lists relate, at the very latest, to the period of the early monarchy are more acceptable. During this period there is additional evidence for the presence of the Calebites in the localities mentioned: Nabal, who was connected with Maon and Carmel, was a Calebite (cf. the masoretic text and the ancient versions of I Sam. 25:2–3). In the days of David, one of the regions of the Negev is still referred to as the Negev of Caleb together with the Negev of the Cherethites, the Negev of the Jerahmeelites, the Negev of the Kenites, and of others (I Sam. 30:14; cf. 27:10). Until the establishment of the monarchy, Caleb was one of the southern tribes, who, according to M. Noth, possibly formed an alliance of six tribes and whose center was in Calebite Hebron. It would seem that it was only with the advent of the monarchy that the Calebites were completely integrated into Judah and became one of its major family groups.

[Yohanan Aharoni]

In the Aggadah

Caleb was twice sent to Canaan as a spy, once by Moses and once by Joshua together with Phinehas (Num. R. 16:1). His name Caleb b. Jephunneh is interpreted to mean that "he spoke what he felt in his heart (כְּלִבּ) (Mid. Ag. to Num. 13:6) and turned aside (פָּנָה) from the advice of the rest of the spies" (Tem. 16a; Sot. 11b). When the spies reached Hebron, he paid a special visit to the grave of the Patriarchs to pray for their help against the evil intentions of the other spies (Sot. 34b). It was on his insistence that they took with them the fruit of the land in order to demonstrate its excellence to the people (Num. R. 16:14). Caleb pretended to agree with the spies, so that they should permit him to address the people. When, however, he began to defend Moses, they shouted him down, as they had Joshua (Sot. 35a). As a reward for their conduct, Joshua's and Caleb's portions of the Land were determined not by lots, but by the command of God; they received the portions that had been intended for the other spies (TJ, BB 8:3, 16a). Caleb married Miriam (Sot. 12a) and thus became the progenitor of the house of David (Sot. 11b). He also married *Bithiah, Pharaoh's daughter – a fitting match, because she had rebelled against her father's idolatry, as he had rebelled against the spies (Lev. R. 1:3).

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CALENDAR (Heb. לוּחַ, *lu'aḥ*). The present Jewish calendar is lunisolar, the months being reckoned according to the moon and the years according to the sun. A month is the period of time between one conjunction of the moon with the sun and the next. The conjunction of the moon with the sun is the point in time at which the moon is directly between the earth and the sun (but not on the same plane) and is thus invisible. This is known as the מוֹלָד, *molad* ("birth," from the root ילד). The mean synodic month (or lunation) is 29 days, 12 hours, 44 minutes, and 3⅓ seconds (793 parts *(ḥalakim*); in the Jewish system the hour is divided into 1,080 parts each of which is 3⅓ seconds). The solar year is 365 days, 48 minutes, and 46 seconds, which means that a solar year exceeds a lunar one (12 months) by about 11 days. The cycles of 12 lunar months must therefore be adjusted to the solar year, because although the Jewish festivals are fixed according to dates in months, they must also be in specific (agricultural) seasons of the year which depend on the tropical solar year. Without any adjustment the festivals would "wander" through the seasons and the "spring" festival (Passover), for example, would be celebrated eventually in winter, and later in summer. The required adjustment is realized by the addition of an extra month (Adar II) in each of seven out of the 19 years that constitute the small (or lunar) cycle of the moon (*maḥazor katan* or *maḥazor ha-levanah*). In 19 years the solar cycle exceeds the lunar by about 209 days, which are approximately 7 months. In Temple times this intercalation was decided upon in the individual years according to agricultural conditions (Tosef., Sanh. 2:2; Sanh. 11b); later, however, it was fixed to be in the years 3, 6, 8, 11, 14, 17, and 19 of the cycle (see below).

In the calendar month only complete days are reckoned, the full (מָלֵא, *male*) months containing 30, and the defective (חָסֵר, *ḥaser*) months 29 days. The months Nisan, Sivan, Av, Tishri, Shevat and (in a leap year) Adar I are always *male*; Iyyar, Tammuz, Elul, Tevet, and Adar (Adar II in a leap year) always *ḥaser*, while Ḥeshvan and Kislev vary. Hence, the common year contains 353, 354, or 355 days and the leap year 383, 384, or 385 days.

For ritual purposes, e.g., in reckoning the times fixed for prayers or the commencement and termination of the Sabbath, the day is deemed to begin at sunset or at the end of *twilight, and its 24 hours (12 in the day and 12 in the night) are "temporary" hours varying in length with the respective length of the periods of light and darkness. But in the reckonings of the *molad* the day is the equatorial day of 24 hours of unvarying length and is deemed to commence at 6 P.M., probably in terms of local Jerusalem time.

Fixing Rosh ha-Shanah (New Year's Day)

The year begins on Tishri 1, which is rarely the day of the *molad*, as there are four obstacles or considerations, called *deḥiyyot*, in fixing the first day of the month *(rosh ḥodesh)*. Each *deḥiyyah* defers Rosh Ha-Shanah by a day, and combined *deḥiyyot* may cause a postponement of two days: (1) mainly in order to prevent the Day of Atonement (Tishri 10) from falling on Friday or Sunday, and Hoshana Rabba (the seventh day of Sukkot; Tishri 21) from falling on Saturday, but in part also serving an astronomical purpose (see below). Rosh Ha-Shanah never falls on Sunday, Wednesday, or Friday (according to the mnemonic לא אד"ו ראש known as the postponement *addu* – probably first vocalized *iddo*; cf. Ezra 8:17). (2) Entirely for an astronomical reason, if the *molad* is at noon or later (מוֹלָד זָקֵן or מולד יח) Rosh Ha-Shanah is delayed by one day or, if this would cause it to fall as above, two days. These two *deḥiyyot*, owing to the mentioned limits on the number of days in the year, entail another two. (3) The third *deḥiyyah* is as follows: If the *molad* in an "ordinary" (not leap) year falls at ג״טר״ד, that is the third day (Tuesday), at 9 hours, 204 *ḥalakim*, that is, 3:11 A.M. and 20 secs. – Rosh Ha-Shanah is put off two days. A postponement to Wednesday is not permitted (as in (1)), so that it is deferred to Thursday. The object is as follows: If the *molad* of Tishri occurs at that hour, the outcome would be a year which is one day too long. The following table of *moladot* will illustrate this:

Tishri	Tuesday	3:11.20 secs. A.M.
Ḥeshvan	Wednesday	3:55.23 secs. P.M.
Kislev	Friday	4:39.27 secs. A.M.
Tevet	Saturday	5:23.30 secs. P.M.
Shevat	Monday	6:07.33 secs. A.M.
Adar	Tuesday	6:51.37 secs. P.M.
Nisan	Thursday	7:35.40 secs. A.M.
Iyyar	Friday	8:19.43 secs. P.M.
Sivan	Sunday	9:03.47 secs. A.M.
Tammuz	Monday	9:47.50 secs. P.M.
Av	Wednesday	10:31.53 secs. A.M.
Elul	Thursday	11:15.57 secs. P.M.
Tishri	Saturday	12:00.00 secs. (noon)

The last figure (Tishri) constitutes a *molad zaken* as described in (2), and this would, therefore, lead to a deferment of a day, thus making Rosh Ha-Shanah fall on Sunday, which again is not permitted, so that the festival will be moved one further day, to Monday. The interval between Rosh Ha-Shanah and the next one would then be 356 days which is a day longer than the maximum ordinary year. Rosh Ha-Shanah is therefore delayed from Tuesday to Thursday (as Wednesday is ineligible), and the result is a year of 354 days which, as distinct from the minimal year of 353 and the full one of 355 days, is called "regular" or "common." (4) This *deḥiyyah* is very infrequent. It is known as בט״ו תקפ״ט אחר עבור שנה, that is when the *molad* of Tishri, following immediately after a leap year, occurs on the second day (Monday) at 15 hours, 589 *ḥalakim*, which means Monday, 9:32 A.M. and 43⅓ secs. If the reckoning is made backward by subtracting 13 *moladot*, the Tishri of the preceding year would have had its *molad* on Tuesday at 12 noon. Having occurred at that time, Rosh Ha-Shanah of the previous year would have been on Thursday since Tuesday's *molad* was "*zaken*," and two days deferment must take place as Wednesday is impermissible. If Rosh Ha-Shanah then commenced on Thursday in the previous year, that year would have consisted of 382 days only which is too short for a leap year. By deferring Rosh Ha-Shanah of the current year from Monday to Tuesday, the year, retroactively, lasts for 383 days, which is a minimal leap year.

The Year

The "character" of the year, named *kevi'ah* (from קבע, *kava*; lit., "to fix"), is indicated by two or three Hebrew letters: the first, used as a numeral, gives the day of the week on which Rosh Ha-Shanah occurs; the second is the initial of the Hebrew word for defective, regular, or complete (*ḥaser, ke-sidrah*, or *shalem*); while in some calendric works a third letter, again used as a numeral, indicates the day of the week on which Passover begins. For an arithmetical reason inherent in the system, there are not 24 *deḥiyyot* – 4 × 3 × 2 for the four "permitted" days and the three types of both the common and the leap year – but only 14, i.e., seven for the common and seven for the leap year. For the common year, they are בח(ג), בש(ה), גכ(ה), הכ(ז), הש(א), זח(א), זש(ג) and for the leap year בש(ז), בח(ה), גכ(ז), הח(א), הש(ג), זח(ג), זש(ה).

Any particular year's sequence of the feasts and fasts and of the lectionary, in Israel and in the Diaspora, is determined by its *kevi'ah*. Tables of the 14 types of years, of the data necessary for the calculation of both the *kevi'ah* of every year and of the *molad* of every month, as well as tables of corresponding dates in the Jewish and in the secular calendar, are attached to a great many old and new treatises on the Jewish calendar.

THE TRUE AND THE MEAN MOLAD. Owing to inequalities in the rate of both the solar and the lunar motion in longitude, the mean conjunction may precede or be preceded by the true conjunction. The absolute maximum interval between them, arising from the combined effect of the maximum quotas of the solar and the lunar anomaly, is approximately 14 hours. In Tishri – never far from the time of the maximum effect of the decrease in solar velocity, the solar apogee being about July 1 – approximately 14 hours is the maximum interval from the true conjunction to the mean conjunction, whereas the maximum interval from the mean conjunction to the true conjunction will not exceed six to seven hours; in Nisan – never far from the time of the maximum effect of the increase in solar velocity, the solar perigee being about December 31 – approximately 14 hours is the maximum interval from the mean conjunction to the true conjunction and only six-seven hours from the true conjunction to the mean conjunction; with varying seasonal maxima and minima in the other months of the year.

THE PHASIS. Leaving out of account the unpredictable factor of atmospheric conditions, the length of the interval from the true conjunction to the first sighting of the new crescent, the *phasis* is determined by four predictable astronomical factors: the interval from the true conjunction to the ensuing sunset(s), the season of the year, the lunar latitude, and the geographical longitude and latitude of the place of observation. In the region of Jerusalem – observations at which may well be presupposed in the calculation of the astronomical basis of the Jewish calendar – shortly before the autumnal equinox the minimum interval from the true conjunction to the *phasis* is approximately 20 hours, while the maximum is close to 72 hours, with the minimum of approximately 18 hours shortly before the vernal equinox and the various respective maxima and minima throughout the year. The *phasis* necessarily occurs a short time of varying length after sunset, before or after the appearance of the stars. Hence, the day of the *phasis* may be the day commencing a short while before the moment of the *phasis* or the day ending a short while after the moment of the *phasis*. Rosh Ha-Shanah may commence nearly 18 hours before the moment of the *molad*, i.e., with the *molad* at 17 hours 1079 *ḥalakim* on one of the four "permitted" days (excepting the *deḥiyyot* (4) and (3) on Monday and Tuesday, respectively), or more than 38 hours after the moment of the *molad*, i.e., with the *molad* in any common year on Tuesday at 9 hours 204 *ḥalakim*, and Rosh Ha-Shanah postponed to Thursday (*deḥiyyah* (3), ג״טר״ד בִּפְשׁוּטָה), with the consequence of variations, *mutatis mutandis*, in the commencement of New Moons of months other than Tishri. The period of this calendric vacillation does not correspond with the periods of astronomical vacillations in the mentioned respective intervals between the true and mean conjunctions, from the true conjunction to the moment of the *phasis* and between the moment of the *phasis* and the commencement of the day of the *phasis*. This notwithstanding, it results from the mentioned four vacillations – one calendric and three astronomical – that in the vast majority of cases the four *deḥiyyot*, including *deḥiyyah* (1) לא אד״ו ראש, do not delay Rosh Ha-Shanah until after the day of the *phasis*, but merely bring the former nearer to the latter or make the two coincide, an astronomical reason underlying all the *deḥiyyot* noted by Maimonides. Rosh Ha-Shanah does, of course, occasionally occur before the day of the *phasis* begins or, in some extremely rare cases, on the day immediately after the *phasis* (never later), with a rather wider range of the occurrence of the New Moon before and after the day of the *phasis* in other months; such oscillation is inherent in a system, like the present Jewish calendar, based on mean values.

The mentioned reckoning of the lunation at 29d. 12h. 44 min. 3⅓ sec. slightly exceeds the present astronomically correct value (29d. 12h. 44 min. 2.841 secs.). The discrepancy is constantly increasing by a very small figure, owing to the secular acceleration of the mean lunar motion, but the cumulative effect of this is so small that it will remain negligible for hundreds of millennia. Nor can it be ascertained when, if ever, the moment of the *molad* was identical with the moment of the mean conjunction since, because of the great many inequalities in the moon's movement in longitude, it is practically impossible to fix the mean position of the moon at any time. Moreover, it is no more than an assumption (no less difficult to prove than to disprove) that the occurrences of the *molad* are expressed in the terms of local Jerusalem time.

Tekufot

As stated, the four seasons in the Jewish year are called *tekufot*. More accurately, it is the beginning of each of the four seasons – according to the common view, the mean beginning – that is named *tekufah* (literally "circuit," from קוף related to נקף, "to go round"), the *tekufah* of Nisan denoting the mean sun at the vernal equinoctial point, that of Tammuz denoting it at the summer solstitial point, that of Tishri, at the autumnal equinoctial point, and that of Tevet, at the winter solstitial point. The mean length of the seasons, each exactly one quarter of the year, was reckoned by Mar Samuel (c. 165–254, head of the academy at *Nehardea in Babylon) at 91d. 7½ h. Hence, with his solar year of 365d. 6h., or 52 weeks and 1¼ days – identical in length with the Julian year – the *tekufot* move forward in the week, year after year, by 1¼ days. Accordingly, after 28 years the *tekufah* of Nisan reverts to the same hour on the same day of the week (Tuesday 6 P.M.) as at the beginning: this 28-year cycle is named the great, or solar, cycle (*maḥazor gadol*, or *maḥazor ḥammah*). This length of the solar year is important in respect of two minor rituals only: (1) the date of *She'elah*, the commencement in the Diaspora of the petition for rain inserted in the benediction *Birkat ha-Shanim* in the *Amidah*, on December 5 or 6 in the twentieth century; (2) the Blessing of the Sun on the day of the *tekufah* of Nisan at the beginning of the 28-year cycle. The frequent occurrence, in the last centuries, of Passover (Nisan 15–21) prior to the day of Mar Samuel's *tekufah* of Nisan – whereas the purpose of intercalation is to avoid the *tekufah* of Tevet extending to Nisan 16 (RH 21a) – is held by some scholars to show that in the making of the present Jewish calendar Mar *Samuel's value was deliberately departed from, and the length of the solar year was more accurately calculated at 365d. 5h. 55 min. $25\frac{27}{57}$ sec., a calculation associated with the name of Rav Adda (perhaps Rav Adda b. Ahavah, a Babylonian *amora* of the third century). According to other scholars, this is but the fortuitous result of dividing by 19 the 6939d. 16h. 595p. contained in 235 lunations reckoned at 29d. 12h. 793p. each, the oldest sources knowing no other value for the length of the solar year than 365¼d., arising from Mar Samuel's *tekufah*. Actually clues are traceable in talmudic dicta,[1] as also in Abraham *Ibn Ezra's *Sefer ha-Ibbur* (ed. by S.J. Halberstam, 1874, 8a) and Maimonides' Code,[2] for values close to the modern estimate of the length of the tropical solar year at 365d. 5h. 48 min. 46 sec. If the average length of the solar year in the present Jewish calendar exceeds this by approximately 6⅔ min., this discrepancy was left out of account as it was assumed that its cumulative effect would remain negligible over a long period at the end of which the present system was expected to be replaced again by a system based on true values more akin to the earlier Jewish calendar in which New Moons (days of the *phasis*) and intercalations were proclaimed on the basis of both observation and calculation.

The notable days in the present Jewish calendar are in the main the Pentateuchal festivals, with additional days in the Diaspora (see *Festivals). Earlier additions include the fasts in Zechariah 7:5 and 8:19 observed on Tammuz 17, Av 9, Tishri 3, and Tevet 10, while the observance of the festive days enjoined in *Megillat Ta'anit* fell into desuetude, except Purim and Ḥanukkah on Adar 14–15 (in leap years, Adar II) and Kislev 25–Tevet 2 (or 3) respectively. Among later additions we note the Fast of *Esther on Adar 13 (or 11; or Adar II), New Year for

Trees (see *Tu bi-Shevat) on Shevat 15, and *Israel Independence Day (*Yom ha-Aẓma'ut*) on Iyyar 5.

Historical

According to a tradition quoted in the name of *Hai Gaon (d. 1038), the present Jewish calendar was introduced by the patriarch *Hillel II in 670 Era of the Seleucids = 4119 Era of the Creation = 358/59 C.E. (500 C.E., claimed to derive from another version, seems to rest on a mistake). This possibly only refers to the present fixed order of the seven leap years in the 19-year cycle, whose introduction would have had to be more suitable at that time than earlier to achieve the main raison d'être of intercalation – to prevent the lunar Nisan 16 from occurring before the day of the *tekufah* of Nisan (RH 21a, see above) in the crucial 16th year in the 19-year cycle – on the presupposition that the *tekufah* of Nisan stands for the true, not the mean, vernal equinox. Apparent variations in the *ordo intercalationis*, i.e., בהז יגוח (2, 5, 7, 10, 13, 16, 18), אדוט בהז (1, 4, 6, 9, 12, 15, 17) and גבטב״ג alias גבגגגב״ג = גהח אדוט (3, 5, 8, 11, 14, 16, 19) by the side of the present order גוח אדזט (3, 6, 8, 11, 14, 17, 19), which are met with as late as the tenth century, are but variant styles of the selfsame order. These are in part also indicated by the epochal *molad* variously given as (דכתח = 4d. 20h. 408p.), בהרד = 2d. 5h. 204p., ויד = 6d. 14h. 0p. and גכבתתעו = 3d. 22h. 876p. which artificially go back to the beginning of the Era of the Creation and variously place its epoch in the autumn of 3762, –61, –60, –59 and –58 B.C.E. respectively (see *Chronology). While it is not unreasonable to attribute to Hillel II the fixing of the regular order of intercalations, his full share in the present fixed calendar is doubtful.

Early Indications of Intercalation

Some elements in it clearly date from earlier times, others may well have been introduced much later. The present names of the 12 months are already attested in several post-exilic biblical books, the Assuan Papyri, the Apocrypha, and *Megillat Ta'anit*, replacing the pre-Exilic names *Abib, Ziv, Bul*, and *Ethanim* and the designation by numbers. Intercalation is claimed to be evident from the figures in Ezekiel 1:1, 3:15, 4:4–6 and 8:1, with similar indications in I Kings 12:32–3 and II Chronicles 30:2–3; the old sectarian claim that the ancient Israelite calendar was purely solar, in vogue again because of the solar year in Enoch and Jubilees and a Qumran fragment, is militated against by the evident derivation from the moon of the terms חֹדֶשׁ (*ḥodesh*) and יָרֵחַ (*yeraḥ*) and by the connection between the moon and the festivals in Psalms 104:19. The New Moon (Num. 28:11, and parallels) was determined by the *phasis* in the preceding evening, hence the plausibility of an early biblical record (I Sam 20:18) of its prediction for "tomorrow." At a much later age, any month still consisted of either 29 or 30 days, the "sanctification" of the 30th as the New Moon being subject to witnesses' reports of the time and circumstances of their sighting of the new crescent scrutinized by a court competent to check them, and only accepted if tallying with each other and not contrary to astronomical prediction, with the further proviso of agreement by the court and formal declaration of "sanctification" before night set in. Proceedings were at times deliberately prolonged or speeded up, with the occasional choice of some observational post favorable for early sighting of the new crescent (*Ein Tov*), in order to avoid whenever possible a festival day, especially the Day of Atonement, falling immediately before or after the Sabbath.[3] In keeping with this, the number of the full months[3] varied between four and eight in the common, and between four and nine in the leap years, with 352–6 days in 12 lunar months, variations greatly in excess of those in the present calendar. Some of these variations were early eliminated. Already under the aegis of R. *Judah ha-Nasi (c. 200) and of his pupil Ray (d. 247), Elul and Adar (in a leap year Adar II) contained invariably 29 days only. R. Yose b. Bun (c. 300) assumed the same fixed number of days in the months Adar-Elul as in the present calendar, with Rosh Ha-Shanah postponed from Wednesday and Friday but not yet from Sunday (TJ Meg. 1:2, 70b). Also the mean length of the lunation in the canon of Rabban *Gamaliel (c. 100) at 29d. 12⅔h. 73p. tallies with 29d. 12h. 793p. in the present calendar. Attested in all the texts of *Rosh Ha-Shanah* 25a, and with a parallel in the Almagest of Ptolemy (c. 140), even though wrongly calculated, his ⅔h. 73p. is unlikely to be due to "late interpolation." As for 792p. arising from a dictum (Ar. 9b) of *Ravina (d. 420), it is an approximation only as evident from its context.

Regularization of Intervals of Intercalation

The intervals of intercalation were at first irregular, intercalation being in part due to the prevailing state of various agricultural products and to social conditions. Regularity will also have been hampered by the Romans suppressing what they considered stirrings of Jewish nationalism (Tosef., Sanh. 2:2–9, and parallels). Astronomy was, however, always a powerful factor, as the state of the crops is ultimately determined by the sun's position in its annual path. Owing to the omission of intercalation over a period of some length, R. Akiva (d. 135) once intercalated three successive years as an emergency measure (*ibid*). The gradual regularizing of the intervals of intercalation had to be in the terms of the seven-year sabbatical cycle as none of the styles of the 19-year Metonic Cycle would have been compatible with the rule not to intercalate in sabbatical and post-sabbatical years (*ibid.*). R. Abbahu[4] (c. 300) reckoned, in fact, with a long cycle of 1176 y. = 24 × 49 y. (= 24 jubilee cycles)= 24 × 7 × 7 y. (= 168 sabbatical cycles)=14545 lunations (= 12 × 176 for the 1176 y., +433 intercalations)= c. 61360 weeks 4 d.[5] = c. 23 × 2556 w. 3½ d. (= 23 jubilee cycles with 606 lunations each, i.e., 49 × 12, + 18 intercalations) + 2560 w. 4d. (= the 24th jubilee cycle with 607 lunations, i.e, 49 × 12, + 19 intercalations), a system in which, in the first great cycle of 1176 years at any rate, Rosh Ha-Shanah (or perhaps only its *molad*) was to fall on Wednesday and Sunday respectively in the alternate first years of the 49-year jubilee cycles.[6] This cycle, devised by David and Samuel according to R. Abbahu's homily on I Chronicles 9:22, with a remarkably early record of a similar notion in Ben Sira 47:10, is unserviceable on account of its great length, and it is unlikely that there was ever any attempt to adhere to it in practice. It is the same with the oversimplified system, at the other end of the scale, propounded by an anonymous tannaitic authority, making the common year to consist invariably of 354d. and the leap year of 383d., exceeding the integral number of weeks by four and five days respectively (Ar. 9b and parallels). This appears never to have been accepted in practice, as it just ignores the problems entailed in the lunisolar calendar (see the bold statement by R. Hananeel of Kairouan (990–1053) to Sukkah 54b (לא הוי בקי ר׳ מאיר [האחרים] בסוד העבור). It is so *a fortiori* with the eight-year cycle in Enoch 74:13–16 and the often quoted observation by Sextus Julius Africanus (early third century) that both the Greeks and the Jews intercalate three extra months every eight years,[7] as also with the calendric data in *Pirkei de-Rabbi Eliezer*, chapters 6–8, marred by interpolations, and in *Baraita de-Shemu'el*, bristling with calendric and astronomical absurdities. Neither of the writers concerned had access to the Jews' "secret of the calendar intercalation" (*sodha-ibbur*) jealously guarded by its experts from outsiders, both Jewish and gentile. Convincing illustration of palpable ignorance in matters of the calendar, on the part of people otherwise highly gifted, may be seen in the famous sixth-century mosaic floor of the ancient *Bet Alfa synagogue. It represents the 12 signs of the zodiac with the *tekufah* of Nisan at the beginning of *Virgo*, that of Tammuz at the beginning of *Sagittarius*, that of Tishri at the beginning of *Pisces* and that of Tevet at the beginning of *Gemini* (sic!).

Development of the Present Order of Intercalation

There is, on the other hand, unimpeachable evidence from the works of writers with expert knowledge of the calendar that the present *ordo intercalationis* גוח אדזט and epochal *molad* בהרד were not yet intrinsic parts of the calendar of Hillel II, these being seen still side by side with other styles of the *ordo intercalationis* and the *molad* as late as the 11th century. Also the four *deḥiyyot* developed gradually. The *deḥiyyah* אד״ו as has been shown, grew out of the *deḥiyyah* ד״ו. The general acceptance of the *deḥiyyah* מולד זקן in the sense of 18h., instead of 18h. 642p., as advocated by *Saadiah Gaon's antagonist *Aaron b. Meir in their controversy, is not earlier than the tenth century. These are likely to have affected the remaining two *deḥiyyot* גטר״ד בפשוטה and בט״ו תקפ״ט אחר עבור since these are but corollaries of אד״ו and מולד זקן and the respective limits of 353–5 and 383–5 days in common and leap years. By the tenth century the Jewish calendar was exactly the same as today. A slight variation still prevails, between Israel and the Diaspora, in respect of the "secondary" days of the festivals, which lead in some years to fairly substantial differences in respect of the lectionary.

Notes

1. TJ, Yoma 4:5, 41d; TJ, Suk. 5:8, 55d = Ta'an 4:2, 68a; see *The Code of Maimonides, The Book of Seasons* (1961), 581.
2. Maim., Yad; interpretation of the figures there by E. Baneth (in *Siebzehnter Bericht ueber die Lehranstalt fuer die Wissenschaft des Judenthums* (1899), 31–42, and in *Moses Ben Maimon, sein Leben, seine Werke und sein Einfluss*, 2 (1914), 259) is correct; *contra* the strictures by O. Neugebauer, in *The Code of Maimonides, Sanctification of the Moon* (1956), 148; see also *The Book of Seasons* (1961), 581.
3. RH 2:6–8 and 3:1; Shab. 15:3; Suk. 4:2–3; Ar. 2:2, with related passages in Tosefta and the Jerusalem and Babylonian Talmuds.
4. For references see above, notes 1–2. A garbled version of this cycle is given in Kallir's *piyyut* for *Parshat Shekalim* (Baer, S., Seder, 654) where *be-esrim u-shenayim* and *u-shetei yadayim* need correction and the specification of the *tekufah* as 911/3d. is rounded off from less than 91d. 7½ h.
5. 1176 solar years at 365d. 5h. 48m. 48s. exceed this value by 18h. 43m. 12s. and 14545 lunations at 29d. 12h. 44m. 2.8s. by 2d. 9h. 4m. 26s. This discrepancy, if considered at all, may have been thought to be partly eliminated by 434 intercalations (instead of 433) in every alternate 12th and 13th great cycle of 1176 years, reducing the discrepancy to less than 16h. in 29,400 years. Its complete elimination is, of course, impossible; the length of the day and its parts, in the terms of mean solar time, being incommensurable with either the solar year or the lunation. Kallir's obscure ששת אלפים עושים חמשה ושתי ידים מחזורות appears to be an attempt to eliminate the discrepancy by limiting the applicability of the series to the interval from the institution of the 24 priestly courses some time in David's reign (I Chron. 24:3), between 2887 and 2927 Era of the Creation (calculable from I Kings 6:1 and the traditional talmudic dating of the Exodus in c. 2450 E.C.) to 6000 E.C.
6. See below for the affinity with the Qumran calendar.
7. Transmitted in the *Chronography* of Georgius Synkellus (8th century).

[Ephraim Jehudah Wiesenberg]

Sectarian Calendars

A calendric deviation from the approved norm (see above) by Jeroboam, ruler of the Kingdom of Israel, is implied in I Kings 12:32–33, according to many modern scholars. The talmudic interpretation of II Chronicles 30:2, 13–15 also infers such a divergence (TJ, Pes. 9:1, 36c). The *Samaritans seem to have followed the northern calendar as distinct from that of the other Jews. In Hasmonean and Herodian times the *Sadducees and *Boethusians each had their own calendar as did – subsequently in talmudic and post-talmudic periods – the Karaites and other less well-known sects.

THE 364-DAY SOLAR CALENDAR. These calendars differed in a number of respects from the normative Jewish calendar, but the most radical departure appears to have been made in the solar calendar advocated in the pseudepigraphic works, Enoch and Jubilees. The "astrological" section of the (Ethiopian) Book of Enoch (chs. 72–78) describes in detail the apparent yearly movement of the sun through several points ("12 gates") of sunrise and sunset. The (basically correct) description leads to the (wrong) calculation of 364 days for the solar year – 30 days for each month and four additional days for "the signs" ("in which the sun lingers"), i.e., the solstices and equinoxes. There is also a discussion of the lunar year, with a calculation of the difference in length between it and the solar year. The tenor of these observations is that nature obeys the solar calendar, whose four quarters are the four seasons of change in climate and vegetation; that the universe moves in perfect numerical harmony; and that any other reckoning of the year is wrong. Likewise the Book of Jubilees (6:29–30) stresses that there are exactly 52 (4 × 13) weeks in the year, and condemns vehemently the sinners who use a lunar calendar, thus observing the festivals on the wrong dates.

IN THE DEAD SEA SECT. In the writings of the Dead Sea sect, there are several indications that the sect adopted the 364-day calendar. The Book of the Covenant of Damascus (p. 16), for instance, states that the Book of Jubilees should be followed in all matters of calendar reckoning. Again, according to the *War Scroll (column 2), in the future Temple there shall be 26 "courses" (i.e., "divisions") of priests and levites, i.e., a neat allocation of two weeks of service per solar year to each "course" (in direct contradiction to the biblical division into 24 courses, which does not attempt an exact division of the year (I Chron. 24:1–18)). A fragment of a sectarian schedule for service in the future Temple has also been found; its evidence is, however, inconclusive (though deemed important by several scholars).

THE FIXING OF THE OMER. The 364-day calendar – obviously opposed to the lunisolar calendar of normative Judaism – must (like any Jewish calendar) somehow solve the problem of finding a fixed date for the Omer ceremony and for Shavuot, which follows seven weeks later. The Bible, fixing no date, commands that the Omer be offered on the "morrow of the Sabbath" (Lev. 23:11). According to the *tannaim* (Men. 65b) this means "on the second day of Passover" – an obviously forced interpretation, which was rejected by some sects (the Beothusians, Men. 10:3), according to tannaitic sources. It can be safely assumed that the advocates of the 364-day calendar insisted that "the morrow of the Sabbath" means "Sunday." To the problem of which Sunday was meant, a convincing solution has been suggested by A. Jaubert (in VT, 3 (1953), 250–64) as follows: The Book of Jubilees indicates that the correct date of Shavuot is the 15th of the third month. This is always a Sunday (for the obvious advantage of a 364-day calendar is that all dates fall on the same days of the week in all years). By counting back 49 days, the 26th of the first month (Nisan) is reached, i.e., the first Sunday after the week of Passover. This means that the last and first days of Passover, and the first days of Nisan and of Tishri (Rosh Ha-Shanah) are all Wednesdays, which is very logical, for the luminaries were created on Wednesday (the fourth day of the creation).

INCONCLUSIVE EVIDENCE FOR USE OF CALENDAR. As long as the sectarian calendar was known only from the Books of Enoch and Jubilees, there was no need to assume that anybody actually tried to put it into practice. The discovery of the writings of the Dead Sea sect introduces a thoroughly organized social body, with its own blatantly separatist way of life, which was quite capable of practicing what it preached. There is some force to S. Talmon's argument (in *Scripta Hierosolymitana*, 4 (1958), 162–99) that the sect's adoption of the 364-day calendar was the single most decisive factor of its separatism, for practical symbiosis of two groups using different calendars is impossible.

On the other hand, the assumption that the sect actually used this calendar – despite the rather convincing evidence in its favor – remains somewhat problematical. Because the true solar year has 365¼ days, whoever uses the 364-day calendar must discover within some 30 years that it is not in accord with nature. Passover, for instance, will fall in the middle of the (Palestinian) winter. Moreover, there is reason to suppose that the sect existed for more than 30 years. An intercalary device of some kind can be conjectured, although none is indic ated by our sources. It is also possible that the sect actually followed its calendar for a short period, or that it persisted with it regardless of the consequences. The evidence on the actual use of the calendar remains contradictory and inconclusive.

[Jacob Licht]

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CALENDAR REFORM. Attempts at calendar reform have been prompted by two desires: to achieve a closer synchronization of the civil year of 365 days with the astronomic fact that the earth revolves around the sun in nearly 365¼ days, and to make a symmetrical division of the year. The Gregorian system now in use achieves a close synchronization of the civil year with the astronomic year, but the calendar lacks symmetry. A date of the month never coincides with the same day of the week in successive years, and the months have a varying number of days. Moreover, the year is not divisible into either two equal halves or four equal quarters.

One of the reforms suggested is to divide the civil year into 13 months, each of 28 days; this total of 364 days would be supplemented every six years (sometimes five), with the addition of an extra week to the last month.

A more popular suggested reform is the so-called World Calendar, which proposes dividing the year into four quarters of 91 days (three months of 30, 30, and 31 days), giving a total of 364 days. The extra day needed to make the calendar conform to the astronomic cycle is to be suspended between December 31 and January 1 of each year. It would be called either Blank Day or World Day, but would be dateless. In a leap year, there will either be two such days in succession, or another added at the end of June. Such a system would be almost entirely symmetrical. Each date of the month would always fall on a given day of the week, with a recurring one-year pattern. However, whereas the Gregorian reform affected neither the regularity of the days of the week, nor any possible rite occurring on them, the main disadvantage of the proposed World Calendar from the Jewish point of view is that it would destroy the fixity of the Sabbath. If in one year the Sabbath coincided with the day known as Saturday, in the following year it would shift to Friday.

Such a reform would be unacceptable to Judaism, whose day of rest depends on an unbroken sequence of six working days followed by the Sabbath (Ex. 20:9–10 and Deut. 5:13–14). Opposition has been expressed to any world authority rearranging the Sabbath, which is considered neither merely a social institution nor simply a day of prayer, but a fundamental of faith. In 1929, the Synagogue Council of America (comprising Orthodox, Conservative, and Reform congregations) declared that it would oppose any calendar reform likely to interfere with the regularity of the Sabbath. In 1931, J.H. *Hertz, British chief rabbi, vigorously opposed the World Calendar reform before a committee established by the League of Nations to consider the question.

See: *Calendar.

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[Alexander Tobias]

CALGARY, city in Alberta and fifth largest in Canada with a population of more than a million people. This western Canadian city is the center of Canada's oil and gas industries and is home to the second largest concentration of head offices in Canada. The city is famous for the Calgary Stampede, an annual celebration of its Western heritage. Calgary also boasts the highest per capita income and highest number of people with post-secondary education in Canada.

Jews have been part of the city's history of more than a century. After the Canadian Pacific Railway reached Calgary in 1883, the Repstein brothers of Winnipeg temporarily established a "cheap cash store." The first permanent Jewish residents of Calgary were two brothers, Jacob Lyon Diamond and William Diamond. They were joined in 1888 by Jacob and Rachel *Diamond, and Jacob worked as a pawnbroker and liquor merchant. Others Jews followed. The first religious Jewish service was held in Jacob Diamond's home in 1894 and the Diamond brothers organized High Holiday services that same year in the rented Calgary Masonic Hall. In 1904, Jacob Diamond and Nathan Bell purchased land for a Jewish cemetery and established a *ḥevra kaddisha*.

By 1906, Calgary's small but active Jewish community was concentrated in the heart of the business district. Most of these Jews were of Russian origin and came to Calgary through the United States or from Eastern Canada. Many were active in commerce. In addition to Jacob Diamond's liquor store, Herman Bercuson, Phineas Waterman, and J.A. Guttman opened up dry good stores in the city's business center. Alberta's first full-time spiritual leader, Hyman Goldstick, moved to Edmonton from Toronto in 1906 to serve the Calgary, Edmonton, and nearby smaller Jewish communities. By 1907, the Jewish population in Calgary was about 400. As it continued to grow, so did its organizational structure. The first Zionist organization was also established in 1907 and the House of Jacob (Beth Jacob) Congregation was incorporated by Jacob Diamond, with services first held at rented facilities. In 1913, the Calgary Hebrew School (Talmud Torah) started offering afternoon classes and in 1929, the community's first Jewish day school, the I.L. Peretz School, opened, graduating its first class in 1934–35. A second Jewish day school began in 1947, when the Talmud Torah expanded its educational program. The first Jewish summer camp, Camp B'nai B'rith, opened on Pine Lake, 90 mi. (140 km.) northeast of Calgary, in 1956; in 1960 Martha Cohen founded the Jewish Family Service.

Through the Depression of the 1930s, with immigration restrictions preventing further growth, the majority of Calgary's Jewish community remained concentrated in two inner-city neighborhood where kosher butcher shops, dry goods stores, and grocery stores met their household needs. As the Jewish community became increasingly prosperous after World War II, it gradually shifted to better neighborhoods. Following World War II, Calgary's Jewish community increased with the arrival of Holocaust survivors and refugees. Prosperity in Alberta during the 1970s sparked more growth. Within a decade, Calgary's Jewish population increased by another 50 percent to close to 6,000 by 1980. This rapid growth encouraged growth in the Jewish communal network, including the construction of a large Jewish community center and the founding of a Reform temple, B'nai Tikvah, in 1979. In 1980, Akiva Academy, the first Orthodox day school, opened. In 1984, the Shaarey Tzedec and Beth Israel congregations agreed to merge to create a new Conservative synagogue, the Beth Tzedec. A few years later, in 1987, the Calgary Hebrew School and the Peretz School also merged to form the Calgary Jewish Academy. In addition to Modern Orthodox, Conservative, and Reform synagogues, since 1988 there has also been a Chabad presence in Calgary. However, most Jews in Calgary are non-Orthodox. A Jewish press also emerged. Between 1980 and 1990, *The Jewish Star* served both the Calgary and Edmonton Jewish communities. *The Jewish Free Press* now serves the Calgary Jewish community.

Later, Calgary's Jewish community witnessed yet another growth spurt with the arrival of Israelis, Russians and migrants from Eastern Canada. The 2001 Canadian census counted 8,180 Jews in the city. Calgary's Jews have been prominent in municipal and provincial life. From 1927 to 1937, Grigory Garbovitsky was conductor of the Calgary Symphony Orchestra. More recently, Sheldon Chumir, a well-known Calgary lawyer, Rhodes scholar, and Liberal politician, was twice elected to the Alberta Legislature. In 1981, Ron Ghitter of the Progressive Conservative party was elected to the provincial legislature from Calgary and, 12 years later, was appointed senator. Ghitter headed an 18-month long government commission on schools following the discovery and prosecution of Jim Keegstra, a teacher from Eckville, Alberta, who incorporated Holocaust denial materials into his teaching. Calgary was also home to Canada's first female chief of police, Christine Silverberg. In September 2001, Dr. Harvey Weingarten became the president and vice chancellor of the University of

Calgary. Jews have also played a vital role in Calgary's artistic life, with Jack Singer and Martha Cohen contributing significant funds and their names to a theater in Calgary's Centre for the Performing Arts.

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[Aliza Craimer (2nd ed.)]

CALICUT, port on Malabar Coast, W. India. Shaliat and Flandrina, both close to Calicut, are mentioned by Muslim and Christian geographers of the 12th and 13th centuries as having Jewish settlements. With the coming of the Portuguese to India, travelers such as G. Sernigi (1499) refer to the Jewish association with Calicut. L. di Varthema (early 16th century) mentions a Jew in Calicut who had built a fine galley and had made four iron mortars. Abraham *Farissol in his *Iggeret Orḥot Olam* (completed in 1524; printed Venice, 1587) alluded to the presence of Jews in Calicut and the neighboring islands. While the Portuguese historian Correa speaks in 1536 of the great number of Jews in Calicut, the Yemenite traveler Zechariah b. Saadiah (16th century) looked in vain for coreligionists there. Half a century later Pyrard de Laval lists Jews among the various religious groups in Calicut with their own quarter and synagogue. The outstanding Calicut Jew in the 18th century was Isaac *Surgun (d. 1792), a wealthy merchant who hailed from Constantinople.

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[Walter Joseph Fischel]

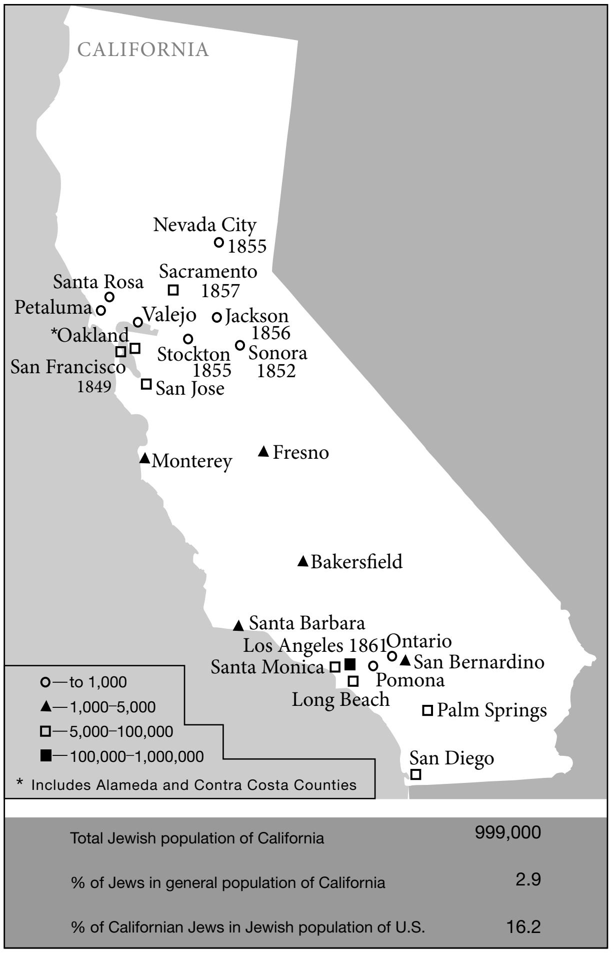

Total Jewish population of California	999,000
% of Jews in general population of California	2.9
% of Californian Jews in Jewish population of U.S.	16.2

Jewish communities in California and dates of establishment. Population figures for 2002.

CALIFORNIA, a state located on the Pacific Coast of the United States with a temperate climate, abundant natural resources, and numerous ports; it achieved statehood in 1850. The Jewish population in the late 1960s was more than 650,000. By the mid-1990s it was estimated at 922,000, and by 2002 it reached 999,000 out of a total population of 31,211,000, with large Jewish communities in *Los Angeles, the *San Francisco bay area (including *Oakland), *San Diego, *Sacramento, and Orange County (75,000). Among the less sizable communities are Ventura County (9,000), San Bernardino (3,000), Santa Barbara (4,500) and Santa Cruz (4,000). Smaller communities are found throughout the state. The Gold Rush of 1849, publicized world-wide, first attracted Jews to California. They traveled from England, France, Poland, Posen, Russia, the German states and many parts of the United States, to join with people from all corners of the globe seeking success in the former Mexican Territory. Some were American Sephardim, several generations in this country, while many others were immigrants who settled elsewhere in the United States before the great gold strike. Jewish and civic communities developed overnight, with Jews as California's founders serving in leadership positions in the new multi-ethnic state. Without a Protestant hegemony and with little antisemitism, Jews and Jewish institutions flourished. Many Jews, having first lived in the eastern United States, were familiar with English and American customs. Selling dry goods and clothing to miners and other new arrivals, most Jewish men became merchants, wholesalers, or clerks in San Francisco, Sacramento, or the numerous river and mining towns. Jewish women, usually the wives or sisters of merchants, also owned shops and worked as milliners and teachers. Frequently, merchants operated branches of their city stores in the foothill gold-mining camps or in the river supply towns under the management of relatives or friends whom they brought from Europe. Jews in Nevada City, Grass Valley, Mokelumne Hill, Jackson, Placerville, Marysville, and Sonora gathered to observe holidays and established cemeteries. Placerville and Jackson also built synagogues. By 1861 there were Jewish communities all over the state. Men and women established benevolent, religious, fraternal, and social associations. *Maẓẓot* were brought in from the larger cities in the spring, and in the fall stores closed for the High Holidays. Ephemeral Jewish communities are said to have existed in Coloma, Fiddletown, and Jesu Maria. Folsom, Los Angeles, Merced, Oakland, Oroville, Petaluma, San Bernardino, San Diego, *San Jose, San Luis Obispo, Sacramento, Santa Cruz, Shasta, Stockton, Visalia, and Woodland have long-lived Jewish communities.

By end of the 1870s, owing to the end of the gold rush, many Jews moved to the larger cities of the state, especially San Francisco. The estimated Jewish population of California then was 18,580, with the majority living in San Francisco. Indeed, Jews represented 7 to 8 percent of the city's population. From the 1850s to the present day San Francisco has supported a continuous Jewish presence. Organized Jewish religious life in California dates to the High Holidays of 1849, when services were conducted in San Francisco and Sacramento. The following year when men and women gathered in San Francisco plans were made to establish a congregation. However, when they could not agree on the selection of a proper *shoḥet* (ritual slaughterer), San Francisco's Jews founded two congregations in 1851. Sherith Israel's members were English, Polish, Posners, and Sephardim, while the French, Germans, and American-born Sephardim organized Congregation Emanu-El. Together with their benevolent associations the two congregations purchased adjoining land for cemeteries. The first lodge of B'nai B'rith in California and the West, Ophir Lodge No. 21, San Francisco, was chartered on August 13, 1855. Its members in 1870 founded the first region-wide organization, the Pacific Hebrew Orphan Asylum, to ensure that Jewish boys and girls were raised by their co-religionists and not by church orphanages. Early San Francisco also supported several religious schools for children, and a day school started by Rabbi Julius *Eckman, the state's first rabbi, who arrived in 1854. Eckman, beginning in 1857, also published *The Weekly Gleaner*. Jewish newspapers kept readers throughout the Pacific states informed about community life. In the 1870s Californians could subscribe to four Jewish newspapers.

In the 19th century, when San Francisco was the commercial capital of the U.S. Far West, merchants, Jewish and gentile, and the communities they served, from Alaska to New Mexico and Hawaii to Montana, depended upon the Jewish manufacturers and distributors of San Francisco. Many northern California Jewish families achieved prominence in various mercantile and agricultural enterprises. Most noted were Levi *Strauss for denim pants, M.J. Brandenstein for coffee, David Lubin for agriculture, Adolph *Sutro for mining engineering and the *Zellerbach family for paper. Families including the Fleishhacker, Steinhart, Stern, Hellman, Dinkelspiel, Gerstle, Lilienthal, Sloss and Sutro became noted for their philanthropy. San Francisco's Jewish women, many the daughters and grand-daughters of the city's founders, were active in social, cultural, and philanthropic organizations. The Emanu-El Sisterhood for Personal Service, started in 1894, assisted East European immigrants and later established a settlement house for Jewish working girls. Hadassah formed a chapter in the state in 1917 to support its medical causes in Palestine, later Israel. California was also home to anti-Zionists who were active members in the *American Council for Judaism, an organization committed to combating Jewish nationalism. Its large membership in California, especially San Francisco, may be attributed to an adherence to classical Reform and the view that California for them was the "Promised Land." After the establishment of the State of Israel, the community fully supported it.

In Los Angeles a Hebrew Benevolent Society was organized in 1854, followed by Congregation B'nai B'rith in 1862, now Wilshire Boulevard Temple. In the 20th century there was a great influx of Jews to Los Angeles, and the Jewish population of the southern part of the state soon overtook that in the northern part. Jews were attracted to Los Angeles because of its favorable climate and employment possibilities. The warm climate was a factor in the establishment by Jews of hospitals and health centers, the most notable of which is the *City of Hope Medical Center in Duarte. The advent of motion pictures also brought many Jews to southern California who soon emerged as the leaders of the industry: the *Warner brothers, Louis B. *Mayer, Samuel *Goldwyn, Irving *Thalberg, William *Fox, Jesse *Lasky, David O. *Selznick, and others. There has also been a great deal of participation by Jews in radio, television, and recording.

From statehood Jews participated in California's public life, Solomon *Heydenfeldt on the State Supreme Court (1851–57); Adolph Sutro, mayor of San Francisco (1895–97); Julius *Kahn in Congress (1899–1903, 1905–24) and his wife, Florence Prag Kahn (1924–1937), elected after Julius's death, became the nation's first Jewish congresswoman. Many other California Jews have been elected to national, statewide, and local offices. In the early 21st century the state was represented by two Jewish senators Barbara *Boxer and Dianne *Feinstein and several Jewish House members.

The Jewish population of the state increased dramatically after World War II because of increased employment. Jews, like other families, began to move to suburbs and new community organizations, schools, and synagogues complemented urban life. In 2005 there were well over 100 synagogues in Los Angeles and the immediate vicinity and almost 40 in the greater San Francisco-Oakland Bay area. In the smaller cities of the state there were congregations from Chico and Eureka in the north to Chula Vista and El Centro on the Mexican border. Fourteen communities maintained Jewish Federations: Bakersfield, East Bay, Fresno, Long Beach, Los Angeles, Sacramento, Salinas, San Bernardino, San Diego, San Francisco, San Jose, Santa Monica, Stockton, and Ventura. Ten Jewish periodicals were published within the state from Los Angeles, San Francisco, and San Diego. There were Hillel Foundations at almost every major college and university campus in the state. The state is a rich Jewish religious and cultural center with Jewish museums, such as the Judah Magnes Museum in Berkeley and the *Skirball Center in Los Angeles, chapters of most Jewish organizations and significant theological seminaries. Some national and international organizations such as the *Simon Wiesenthal Center and Mazon have their headquarters in California. In recent years Jews from all over the world have immigrated to California, and its Jewish composition continues to be diverse. With institutions and congregations that reflect all aspects of Jewish life, California Jews have thrived in an urban multi-ethnic society.

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[Robert E. Levinson / Ava F. Kahn (2nd ed.)]

°CALIGULA, CAIUS CAESAR AUGUSTUS, Roman emperor 37–41 C.E. The years of Caligula's rule mark a transition in the relationship between the Roman Empire and the Jews. For the first time in the history of the Julio-Claudian dynasty, the two sides came almost to a general clash of arms. At Caligula's accession, no sign of a change for the worse was detectable. Vitellius, governor of Syria, made the Jews in Judea swear allegiance to the new emperor. Agrippa I, a long-time friend of the new ruler and who had been imprisoned under Tiberius' rule, was freed and granted Philip Herod's territory in northeastern Palestine, along with a royal title (Jos., Ant., 18:237), which no Jewish ruler in Judea had been granted since Herod's death over 40 years earlier. Agrippa maintained his friendship with the emperor throughout the latter's lifetime and, under him, enjoyed an extension of his kingdom. Meanwhile, serious events were taking place in Alexandria, Egypt, that undermined the position of its Jewish community. The tension between the Greeks, who were taking advantage of Avilius *Flaccus' fear of deposition by Caligula, and the Jews reached serious proportions. The position of the Jews was somewhat ameliorated when Flaccus was deposed and a new governor appointed. Both sides were subsequently permitted to send delegations to the emperor in order to present their respective cases. It seems, however, that no final settlement was reached during Caligula's reign. More serious developments took place in Judea itself against the background of tension between the Jewish and the gentile populations as a result of Caligula's desire to impose his worship on all his subjects. The gentile population of Jabneh, encouraged by his attitude, set up an altar to the emperor, which was promptly destroyed by the Jewish majority. The emperor's reaction was to order a golden statue to be set up in the Temple itself, and, in anticipation of the inevitable reaction of the outraged Jews, ordered *Petronius, governor of Syria, to lead an army into Judea. Only the successful delaying tactics of Petronius and Caligula's assassination (January 24, 41 C.E.) staved off further calamity. However, the memory of the events that had taken place during Caligula's reign, and fear of their recurrence (Tacitus, *Annales*, 12:54) caused the relationship between the Roman government and the masses of the Jewish people to deteriorate.

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[Menahem Stern]

CALIMANI, SIMḤAH BEN ABRAHAM (**Simone**; 1699–1784), poet, playwright, grammarian, translator; worked as a rabbi in Venice, his native city. As a poet, Calimani composed several wedding poems (e.g. *Kol Simḥah ve-Shirei Yedidut*, ("The Voice of Happiness – or of Simḥah – and Poems of Friendship," Venice, Bragadina, 1758; many still in manuscript). His drama in three acts, *Kol Simhah o Nizu'aḥ ha-Hokhmah* ("The Voice of Happiness – or of Simḥah – or the Victory of Wisdom," Venice, 1734), was also written as a wedding poem: it describes in allegorical form the superiority of Wisdom (assisted by Intelligence) over Stupidity (assisted by Envy). *Tohakhat Megullah* ("An Open Rebuke") belongs to the genre of moral dialogues: it denounces the vices of contemporaries, including the use of Kabbalah without adequate preparation. Both *Kol Simhah o Nizu'aḥ ha-Hokhmah* and *Tohakhat Megullah* are written in endecasyllabic lines, with the rime *mi-le-ʿeyl* (accent on the penultiamte syllable), like most Italian poetry of the time.

As a grammarian, Calimani composed *Klalei Leshon Ever* ("Rules of the Hebrew Language") appended to a Venetian edition of the Bible (Foa, 1739) and reprinted several times, also separately. The treatise was translated into Italian by the author and published with a short description of Hebrew poetry (*Grammatica ebrea spiegata in lingua italiana*, Venice, Bragadina, 1750, and Pisa, Molho, 1815). Among his works in Italian are a translation of *Pirkei Avot* (with J. Saraval) and *Esame ad un giovane ebreo istruito nella religione* (Gorizia, Tommasini, 1783, and other editions). The latter was adopted as a textbook in the Jewish school of the community of Mantua, at least until the first decades of the 19th century.

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[Alessandro Guetta (2nd ed.)]

CALIN, VERA (**Clejan**; 1921–), Romanian literary historian. Born in Bucharest into a bourgeois family, she was the daughter of the architect Herman Clejan. As a consequence of the antisemitic measures of the Holocaust period, she could study only in a Jewish school and college. After World War II, she graduated from the Faculty of Letters and Philosophy, Bucharest University (1946), and received a Ph.D. Calin became professor of comparative literature at Bucharest University (1970). Regarded as one of the most original Romanian essayists of the postwar generation, she published various literary studies, including *Pornind dela clasici* ("Starting from the Classics," 1957), a biography of Lord Byron (1964), and *Alegoria si esentele* ("Allegory and Essence," 1969). *Metamorfozele mastilor comice* ("The Metamorphosis of Comic Masques," 1966) includes a section on Shylock and the psychology of his revenge. Calin emigrated from Romania and settled in Los Angeles in 1976, serving as visiting professor at American and Canadian universities (1973, 1977, 1980) as well as the Hebrew University of Jerusalem (1978). She published *Tarziu: insemnari californiene 1986–1996* ("Late California Notes," 1997), personal reflections describing the immigrant condition and the condition of the non-religious Jewish intellectual assimilated to European culture in the United States.

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[Lucian-Zeev Herscovici (2nd ed.)]

CALIPH, in Arabic *khalīfa*, means successor, deputy, or representative. It is generally considered to be an abbreviation of *khalīfat rasūl Allāh*, "successor of the Messenger of God," but recent research suggests that originally the title may have been "*khalīfat Allah*," "Deputy of God." The term *khalīfa* seems to be related to koranic usage (Sura 2:28; 38:25, etc., referring to certain biblical figures in their relationship to God). It soon became one of the standard titles of the rulers of the Islamic state that grew up following the death of the Prophet Muhammad (632 C.E.), alongside *Amīr al-Mu'minīn* ("commander of the faithful") and *Imām* ("leader," scil. in prayer). All three were regular titles of those who claimed overlordship of the entire Islamic world, from the first caliph, Abu Bakr (632–34), and his immediate successors, through the *Umayyads (661–750) and the *Abbasids (750–1258), though from as early as the middle of the 10th century few caliphs held much real political power outside *Baghdad. In 1258 the *Mongols who conquered Baghdad killed the last Abbasid caliph and the office in effect died. However, the *Mamluks, who ruled Egypt, found an Abbasid prince to whom they gave the title of caliph, and descendants of the Abbasids continued to hold the title, as minor officials of the Mamluk court, granting an illusory legitimacy to their patrons, until 1517, when the Ottomans conquered Egypt and put an end to the Mamluk regime there.

Reflecting the decline of the Abbasids in the 10th century, other rulers began to challenge them politically and in other ways, claiming also the title of caliph, first the Shi'i Fatimids who ruled North Africa (from 909) and Egypt (from 969), deposed by Saladin in 1171; then the Umayyads of *Córdoba in Islamic Spain, from 929 to 1031 (with a shadowy continuation thereafter till near the end of the 11th century). Later the title became even more devalued and was commonly found among the titulature of very minor rulers, and even in that of rulers whose territories had never formed part of the historic lands of the original caliphs. It is also found among the titular language of the Ottomans, though at first without any special significance. But following the end of the Ottoman Empire and the establishment of a secular Turkish state after World War I, the institution of caliph was formally abolished, in order to prevent its use as a universalizing ideology for Islamic unity. Nonetheless, it has continued now and again to surface as just that among a variety of Islamic revivalist movements, in the Arab world, in India, and even in the modern west.

At first just a political title, "caliph" came to have religious-political content too, but the decline of the political strength of the caliphate drained its political significance and left it with largely religious meaning (in this sense fairly comparable with the historical development of the title of pope). Theorists of the caliphate from the 10th century onwards, when the institution was already in decline, laid down qualifications for the holder of the title, including religious learning, moral rectitude, absence of physical blemishes, and above all descent from the tribe of Quraysh (that of the Prophet Muhammad). Succession to the title was, with that qualification, in theory elective, but in practice most caliphs were either nominated by their predecessors or installed (and as often deposed) by the soldiery. Mention of the name of the reigning caliph in the Friday sermon ("*khutba*") in the mosque and on coins signaled (often no more than formal) recognition of his suzerainty.

Until the time of the Abbasids, caliphs, as rulers, helped to create the basic lines of the practical relationship of Jews (and Christians) to Islam and the Islamic state. Early caliphs imposed restrictions on them and granted them freedoms in line with koranic pronouncements; in general caliphal relations with Jews (and Christians) followed an up-and-down pattern, though with a greater tendency to tolerance than what we find in medieval Christian Europe.

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[David J. Wasserstein (2nd ed.)]

CALISCH, EDWARD NATHAN (1865–1946), U.S. Reform rabbi. Calisch was born in Toledo, Ohio. Upon ordination from Hebrew Union College in its second graduating class in 1887, he served for four years as rabbi in Peoria, Illinois. In 1891 Calisch became rabbi of Congregation Beth Ahabah in Richmond, Virginia. Active as a scholar, innovator, and organizational leader, he was the originator of rabbinical circuit work in the United States, while his holiday service pamphlets and his *Book of Prayers* (1893) had a considerable influence on the development of a distinctive Reform liturgy. He was also author of *Jew in English Literature* (1908) and *Methods of Teaching Biblical History* (1914). In addition he was a prominent figure in Richmond civic life, where his talents as an orator were much in demand. During 1921–23 Calisch was president of the Central Conference of American Rabbis.

[Saul Viener]

CALISHER, HORTENSE (1911–), U.S. writer. Calisher was born in New York to a family whose ancestry encompassed Jews from the American South as well as Germany. She had, she wrote in her memoir, *Herself* (1972), "no shtetl background." Her stories and memoirs, often drawing upon her own sense of displacement, vividly brought the Jewish South and its problems into fiction. Her insight in rendering the texture of American society derives, in part, from her own family's impoverishment in the Great Depression, her experiences as a social worker after graduating from Barnard College in 1932, and her sense of family history which echoed, as she put it, Civil War Richmond, 1850 Dresden, and 1888 New York. This background enriched her acceptance of American life as diverse and enriching. Equally important, some of her work critiqued Jews' attitudes towards themselves – drawing fire from parts of the Jewish reading public – as well as blacks. Her prose has been described as Jamesean: nuanced, complex, and sophisticated though her stylistic range is large. Her works include the memoirs *Kissing Cousins* (1988) and *Tattoo for a Slave* (2004), and novels, most notably those encompassing a generational Jewish odyssey, such as *False Entry* (1961), and her magisterial *Sunday Jews* (2002), which deals with American multiple identities and pasts. *The Collected Stories of Hortense Calisher* appeared in 1975; *The Novellas of Hortense Calisher* in 1997.

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[Lewis Fried (2nd ed.)]

°CALIXTUS, name of several popes.

CALIXTUS II (1119–24). Calixtus II first issued the bull *Sicut Judaeis* which served as a model for many of his successors down to the 15th century (cf. Papal *Bulls). The reason for its first issuance may have been the deteriorating status of the European Jews following the massacres perpetrated in the First Crusade. Additionally, the likelihood that anti-Jewish legislation might be adopted by the Ecumenical Council, which the pope called to meet in the Lateran Palace in 1123, may have motivated the Jews of Rome to appeal to the pope. The date of this bull may therefore have been 1122 or 1123.

CALIXTUS III (1455–58). Calixtus III displayed the anti-Jewish sentiments which characterized his native Spain in the 15th century. His coronation parade was marred by a riot over the Torah scroll which the representatives of the Jewish community were carrying in accordance with custom; the mob's attempt to rob the ornaments endangered the pope's life. In 1455 Calixtus III objected to the proximity of the Palermo synagogue to a church. He imposed a special tax on the Jews of the Papal States to help to pay for the proposed Turkish war. In 1456 he issued a brief, revoking the privileges which some of his predecessors had extended to the Jews. However, he granted permission to establish Jewish loan banks in the duchy of Milan.

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[Solomon Grayzel]

CALLE, SOPHIE (1953–), French photographer and conceptual artist. After traveling seven years around the world, Sophie Calle, back in Paris in 1979, began following strangers in the streets, taking notes of their activities as a private detective might, once following a stranger to Venice, a pursuit which provided her with the material for her performance *Suite vénitienne* (1983). She also invited people to sleep in her bed on a 24-hour basis, in eight-hour shifts, acting as a *voyeur* and taking a picture every hour (*Les dormeurs*, 1981). Her future artistic work would follow the same lines, constantly and willfully blurring the boundaries between art and life, private and public spheres, fiction and reality, game and intimate inquiry, curiosity and indiscretion, invention and documentation, narration and exhibitionism. Her performances and books are usually in the genre of mixed media, mostly photography and written narration. The photographs operate as evidence, validating the narrated stories as "reality," but in a way that remains ambiguous and poetic. Calle herself most often appears at the center of the narrative or experiment, for example by imposing strange behavioral rules or rituals on herself and thus placing her own (real or fictive) life under observation (*L'ombre*, 1981; *20 ans plus tard*, 2001). The film she made together with American photographer Greg Shephard, *No Sex Last Night* (1995), an autobiographical account of a road trip across America, combining together the intimacies of desire (and the lack thereof), fear, and resentment with near-clinical observation of a complex artistic and personal relationship, was shown at the New York Film Festival and won the Sadoul Prize in France. Though self-centered, her work avoids being idiosyncratic; the artist uses her own self as a tool for observing the world. The division of public and private is thus crucial to her work, as exemplified by what she calls her "inquiries" ("*enquêtes*"), like *L'érouv de Jerusalem* ("The Jerusalem Eruv," 1996), using the Jewish-Orthodox device of the *eruv* as an almost invisible symbol of this blurred boundary, which one has to be very careful to notice. *Les aveugles* ("Blind People," 1986) deepens the inquiry into the way the other can perceive the gap in perception between two beings. Calle asked 18 blind people about their idea of what beauty would be like, and then displayed triptychs with their answers, their portraits in black-and-white, and a color photograph related to their answer, which of course they could not see. Thus Calle's intimate machinery of self-representation often seems to be aimed at confronting the other's reality, and her work has disturbing resonances.

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[Dror Franck Sullaper (2nd ed.)]

°CALLENBERG, JOHANN HEINRICH (1694–1760), German Protestant theologian and Orientalist; educated at Halle, where from 1727 (and as professor from 1735) he taught theology and Oriental languages. Being strongly concerned to missionize the Levant, he specialized in Arabic, but he also founded at Halle, in 1728, an Institutum Judaicum (absorbed into the Francke educational establishments in 1791) for the training of missionaries. He also ran (at his own expense) a Hebrew and Arabic press. From this emanated his brief introduction to Judeo-German (1733), a short Yiddish dictionary (1736; reprinted 1966 with an afterword by H.P. Althaus), and Yiddish editions of Psalms (1742), Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Lamentations, and Daniel (1745–46), these books including texts of importance to conversionists.

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[Raphael Loewe]

CALLIGRAPHY, MODERN HEBREW.

Origins

The origins of modern Hebrew calligraphy can be found in two ways. One can seek its sources in Hebrew scribal traditions, or one can see it as part of the international revival of calligraphy as an art form, a movement that has grown steadily since the 1960s.

A distinction must be made between the art of the Jewish *scribe and that of the calligrapher, both in purpose and style of writing and in the education of the writer. The Hebrew scribe, the *sofer*, has been called *sofer setam* at least since the late 19th century, *setam* being an acronym of *sefarim* – books (of the Torah), *tefillin* (scriptural passages encased in small black leather boxes worn by men during morning prayer) and *mezuzot* (similar passages affixed to doorposts). Since ancient times, the Torah scribe was a man of piety, one who donned *tefillin* himself (thus women were excluded from the profession) and prepared himself spiritually for the sacred task before him. In the Middle Ages, scribes wrote Bible codices as well as scrolls, for study and private use. Many of them signed their names in the colophons of the books they wrote, but ritual writings were never signed. Standards of script were high, with aesthetics taken for granted. Once Hebrew books were printed, by the late 15th century, the demand for hand-written codices decreased, and although there was always a need for ritual writings, there was not enough work in any one community to support the same number of scribes who had been occupied with writing in the Middle Ages.

History

Even before the days of printing, there were Hebrew scribes who specialized in calligraphy. Calligraphy, from the Greek *kalli* (beautiful) *graphos* (writing), is artistic writing for its own sake. The art was more important than the purpose, and certain kinds of books and shorter texts became popular subjects for calligraphic expression before and after the Renaissance. The calligraphers of the Middle Ages and even later ones were trained *soferim*; their script style was that of the *sofer*, but they were commissioned for their skills in decorating Bible codices, prayer books, **haggadot* (books read at the home Seder on the eve of Passover), and **ketubbot* (marriage documents), with illuminations, enlarged and decorated letters, and micrography, minute Hebrew script written in geometrical, vegetal and figurative shapes. In Ereẓ Israel and in Egypt from the late 9th through the 12th centuries, in Yemen in the 15th and 16th, and in Spain from the 13th to the 15th centuries, frontispiece and finispiece pages were decorated with carpet pages (full-page decorations resembling oriental carpets) that were entirely micrographic, or that combined micrography with illumination. Scribes in medieval Egypt also decorated *ketubbot* with micrography. The texts used for micrographic carpet pages in the Bibles of Egypt, Yemen and Spain were more often from Psalms than the masorah. In Spain, carpet pages were composed of complex geometric interlaces and interwoven palmettes. One exceptionally creative calligrapher from Barcelona illustrated, by writing all designs and figures with the text of Psalms, frontispiece pages of a Rosh ha-Shanah and Yom Kippur *maḥzor* with Jewish symbols as well as secular subjects and figures. In Germany, masoretic micrography appeared in the margins and initial word panels of Bibles, often drawn into the shapes of animals and grotesques familiar to the Romanesque and Gothic artist. Only in rare instances were there full-page micrographic pictures. Enlarged Hebrew initial letters were favored by artistic scribes of Germany; sometimes these were filled in with zoomorphic figures. Because the Ashkenazi letter displayed extreme contrasts of the thick and thin (shading) in its vertical stroke, the calligrapher often decorated the thinnest point with a rosette or circle or another ornament.

After the Renaissance, the major work done by calligraphers, especially in Italy, was the making of *ketubbot*, often enhanced with additional illumination and micrography. To some extent in the late 17th century, and even more so in the 18th century, in Holland, Bohemia, Moravia and Italy, calligraphers wrote and decorated *haggadot* for Passover. These men usually signed their works; at times Sofer or Schreiber formed part of their names. Sometimes calligraphers copied printed books, especially *haggadot*, with woodcut and engraved illustrations. Some never rose beyond the talent of folk artists, some were gifted draftsmen as well as calligraphers. One Jewish calligrapher, Jehuda Machabeu, was active in Amsterdam and Pernambuco, Brazil, in the first half of the 17th century. He wrote several prayer books in Spanish, and in 1660, in Amsterdam, he penned a sample Latin calligraphy book which included four examples of the Hebrew alphabet, *Libro que contiene diversos modos de caracteres*, now in the Richard and Beatrice Levy collection in Florida. Other manuscripts from his quill are in the Bibliotheca Rosenthaliana University

Library in Amsterdam, and the Ets-Ḥayyim/Livaria Montezinos of the Portuguese Jewish Rabbinical Seminary in Amsterdam. In addition to *haggadot*, 18th-century calligraphers wrote and decorated *megillot* (scrolls of Esther), as well as small books of benedictions for special occasions, such as the wedding service, grace after meals, circumcision (*pinkas mohelim*) Sabbath hymns (*Seder tikkunei shabbat*), books dealing with the laws of ritual slaughter, for visiting the sick, for burials and mourning, and calendars, especially for counting the *omer* between Passover and Shavuot. While some of these calligraphers remained anonymous, the names of many are known, among them: Shabbetai (Sheftel), son of Zalman Aurback, who wrote a *haggadah* in Prague in 1719, now in the Jewish Museum, Prague, and Aaron Berachiah, son of Moses who, with Samuel Ḥayyim, son of Judah Finklash Reich, in Mikulov (Nicolsburg), Moravia, worked on a book of laws for visiting the sick written in 1722, now in the Jewish Museum, Prague. More famous was Zimel (Meshullam) Sofer of Balin (Polna, Bohemia). A book of Sabbath prayers was written by him in 1714 (British Library Add. 1133), as was a Grace after Meals written in 1715 (Gross Family Collection, Tel Aviv). He also wrote a *haggadah* in 1719 (JNUL Ms. 8° 5573). He worked in Vienna in the 1730s, and in the middle of the decade wrote another *haggadah*. Two years earlier, he calligraphed prayers in honor of the sovereign on two large sheets, in Hebrew and German, now in the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna (Heb. 223 and 224). A contemporary of Zimel, Aaron Wolf (Schreiber) Herlingen of Gewitsch (Jevicko, Moravia), achieved greater prominence as the scribe of the Royal Library in Vienna; he was a first-rate draftsman as well as calligrapher in both Hebrew and Latin scripts. A circumcision register by him is now in Prague, and other works by him are in the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek (Cod. ser. nov. 1593 and 1594), the Israel Museum, the Kaufmann Collection of the Academy of Sciences in Budapest (A423), the Levy collection in Florida, and the Gross Family collection in Tel Aviv. He wrote two *haggadot* in 1728, and six others between 1730 and 1751. One of his specialties was the micrographic writing of the five *megillot* in French, German and Hebrew, with delicate drawings and gold leaf decorations. Other calligraphers were Joseph ben David of Leipnik, Moravia, who worked in Darmstadt and wrote several *haggadot*, one in 1712 (JNUL 8° 983), one now in the British Library (Sloane 3173) and one in the Jesselson collection, New York; Nathan ben Harav Samson of Meseritch (Moravia), who wrote a *haggadah* in Prague in 1728; Zvi Hirsch Dreznitz from Strassnitz, who worked in Nikolsburg, where he wrote a Grace after Meals now in the Royal Library in Copenhagen (Cod. Hebr. XXXII); Uri Feibush, son of Isaac Segal of Altona – Hamburg, whose *haggadah* of 1739 belongs to the Jewish community of Copenhagen, and whose circumcision register is in the Klau Library of Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati; Abraham of Ihringen, Germany; Jacob ben Judah Leib Shamesh of Berlin, who wrote a *haggadah* in Hamburg in 1729, and Nathan ben Abraham Speyer, who wrote a *haggadah* in Breslau in 1768 (JNUL 8° 2340.); Ḥayyim ben Asher Anshel of Kittsee (Austria), who wrote a *haggadah* in Vienna in 1748 (Gross Family collection, Tel Aviv), Ḥayyim ben Moses, a *haggadah* in Hamburg written in 1768 now in the Israel Museum; Mordecai Mirandola of Ferrara, Italy (*haggadah*, 1769). The making of these calligraphic ritual books continued into the 19th century; Mordecai (Marcus) ben Yeuzel Donath of Nitra (now Slovakia), known to be a *sofer setam*, was one of the most productive artists, famous for his circumcision and other prayer books, *megillot*, and *mizraḥim* (hung on the eastern wall of homes to indicate the direction of prayer). He drew enlarged Hebrew letters as ribbons, popular since the 18th century for titles and as initial word decorations. His works are in the Israel Museum, the Wolfson Museum of Hechal Shlomo, Jerusalem, the Hungarian Jewish Museum in Budapest, and in private collections.

On the title pages of several of the 18th-century handwritten books, the calligraphers proclaimed their script as the "Amsterdam" letters. This style of writing, even when it wandered far from its prototype, was modeled after the typeface designed and cast by the non-Jewish Hungarian printer and punchcutter Nicholas Kis, who worked in Amsterdam from 1680 to 1690 and was also the punch-cutter of the popular roman face known as "Janson." The types were used in the *Amsterdam Haggadah* of 1695, printed by Asher Anshel and Issachar Baer.

The calligraphers of Italian *ketubbot* were responsible for fine work, continuing an unbroken tradition from the 17th to the 20th centuries. Nearly all were anonymous, but one scribe, Samuel Manoah, son of Shabbetai Isaac of Fiano, signed a *ketubbah* in its micrographic decoration in 1757. Micrographic traditions continued in Eastern and Western Europe, the U.S. and the Near East, reinforced in the late 19th and early 20th centuries by the availability of lithographic reproduction, for single sheet illustrations. All the while, *sofrei setam* continued to write ritual books: the Torah, *Navi* (single scrolls of the prophets from which the *haftarah* was and still is read in some congregations), *tefillin*, *mezuzot*, and nondecorated *megillot* and *ketubbot*. By the 20th century, the Hebrew scribal hand could be classified broadly as Sephardi, with Italian and Dutch variations, Ashkenazi (Stam), and Oriental, which could also be further subdivided into Yemenite, Persian and North African variations.

Education

The training of the scribe differs profoundly from that of the modern calligrapher. Scribes today learn their script from a master scribe. They learn only one traditional script, the style in which the master writes, in an intensive course of about four months. Along with script they learn the *halakhah*, the traditional laws for the exact writing of sacred texts and for the preparation of materials: parchment (or vellum, which side may be used for each text), pens (reed for Sephardim, quill for Ashkenazim) and ink, and the ruling of the parchment. In Israel, classes for scribes are subsidized by the Ministry of Religion, and examination and certification for scribes are supervised by the Office of the Chief Rabbinate. The scribe does not deviate from the script taught him, and the ethnic origin of the scribe today has little to do with the script style. Scribes of Yemenite and other Near Eastern communities are often eager to learn Stam because this script brings higher prices.

Scribal writing is a totally disciplined art. Calligraphy combines discipline with freedom of expression. It is a profession for women as well as men. The 20th-century calligrapher, unlike the scribe, was and in most cases still is self-taught. Some calligraphers learn from the three popular how-to-do-it calligraphy books, by L.F. Toby, Reuben Leaf and Jay Greenspan (see bibliography). Even if they are taught formally calligraphers are on their own to choose or adapt a script style. No universal, objective standards have been set, and the borderline between amateur and professional is narrow and undefined. Some U.S. calligraphers have taken courses with other calligraphers who are only a few years ahead of them in being self-taught, either privately or through local calligraphy societies (for non-Hebrew script) or through adult education classes in Jewish colleges, Hillel houses, YM-YWHAS or Jewish community centers. In Israel, courses have been given in recent years by the Israel Museum, the Association of Americans and Canadians in Israel, the Popular University, and Yedidei Ha-Sefer, the Israel Bibliophiles. Many Hebrew calligraphers in the U.S. today improve their script through workshops sponsored by local societies or, more recently, at national conferences, headed by acknowledged leaders, such as Ismar David and Lili Wronker. Some calligraphers in the U.S. and England approach teachers in Israel for guidance. Calligraphers use metal nibs of all sizes and only a few of them work on parchment, preferring the less expensive, more available and familiar paper. Many combine writing with art or design; some reproduce their works in lithography and silkscreen. As yet there are no local or national organizations of Hebrew calligraphers in the U.S. and Canada, as there is in Israel, where the Calligraphers' Branch of the Israel Bibliophiles was formed in 1984 (now the Israel Calligraphy Society). It sponsors beginning and advanced classes and monthly lectures, demonstrations, workshops, exhibitions and tours of public and private manuscript collections. In America, Jewish calligraphers usually belong to their local society. Before and after "The Jewish Wedding" exhibition at Yeshiva University Museum in New York in 1977/78, where the works of several local calligraphers were hung, three *ketubbah* festivals were held. For the first time, standards of excellence were set, and amateur and professional calligraphers saw that they were not working in a vacuum.

Calligraphy in the U.S., Israel, and England

Most calligraphers in the U.S. started their careers by writing a *ketubbah*, or wedding and bar mitzvah invitations for their relatives or friends, or New Year's greetings for their families, then built up enough of a local and regional reputation to consider Hebrew calligraphy as a career. Some have their own mail-order businesses or sell through art galleries, retail bookstores, or the Internet. Others were established Jewish graphic designers who at least could write the Hebrew alphabet, often called upon by local synagogues and organizations to write testimonials, honorary certificates and contribution cards. Calligraphers and graphic artists were usually skilled in the Latin alphabet as well. In large cities there were veteran letterers, such as Sigmund Forst in New York, Dr. Solomon S. Levadi (a dentist and novelist who designed *ex libris*), Bin Noon, and Max Kupferstock in Chicago, and Irving Bookstein in Boston. Until the late 1960s, except for the occasional *ketubbah*, the need for Hebrew calligraphy was limited. In England, the demand for Hebrew lettering was even less. It was filled by graphic artists such as Jan Le Witt, George Him, and Abram *Games. Jan Le Witt (1907–1991) received his education in Czestochowa, Poland, and began his career as a designer in Warsaw in 1927. There he entered into a design partnership with George Him (b. Lodz, Poland, 1900–1981); the two moved to England in 1937 and remained partners until 1954. Together they designed the modern type "Haim." George Him studied comparative literature and history at the universities of Bonn and Berlin, then studied four years of design at the Staatliche Akademie für Graphische Kunst und Buchgewerbe (Academy for Graphic Arts and Book Design) in Leipzig. Along with his other graphic work and book illustration, he was chief designer of the Israel pavilion in the Montreal Expo of 1967. With Otto Treumann, he designed the El Al logo. Abram Games (1914–1996) designed War Office posters during World War II and is especially famous for his Festival of Britain posters and emblem of 1951. He has designed postage stamps and emblems for England and for Israel, covers for the *Jewish Chronicle*, and he designed the cover and endpapers of the *Encyclopaedia Judaica*. One of England's outstanding Latin calligraphers and historians of script, Berthold L. Wolpe (b. Offenbach, 1905–1989), was in his youth responsible for the Hebrew lettering of the *Offenbacher Haggadah* of 1927, in association with calligrapher and type designer Rudolph Koch and illustrator Fritz Kredel. He was originally trained in metalsmithing and engraving, and then studied with Koch at the Offenbach Kunstgewerbeschule (Art School) from 1924 to 1927, working as his assistant from 1929 to 1934. He also designed Hebrew lettering for synagogue and Passover tapestries and metal ceremonial objects. He left Nazi Germany to settle in England in 1935. In Holland, Otto Treumann (b. Fürth, 1919–2001), other than his design of the El Al logo with George Him, was inexperienced in Hebrew letter design. He taught at the Rietveld Academy in Amsterdam, and for many years was president of the Society of Graphic Designers in The Netherlands. He serves on the board of the Bezalel Academy of Arts and Design in Jerusalem and has designed postage stamps for Israel.

Just as Latin calligraphy has enjoyed a steady rise since the days of Edward Johnston in England and Rudolph von Larisch in Vienna, with a self-conscious renewal on both amateur and professional levels in the U.S. in the past 20 years, so Hebrew calligraphy has enjoyed a renaissance, sporadically since the 1920s, and steadily in the past 15 years. Fortunately, the Hebrew letter itself, calligraphic and typographic, has been given a new life in the 20th century. There had been no improvement in beauty or legibility in the scribal hand since the Middle Ages, and new typefaces were few and far between. Punch cutters were never Jewish, as far as is known, although a few typographers may have worked with Jewish scribes. Modern Hebrew calligraphy is closely interwoven with modern Hebrew typography, more so than at any time since the invention of printing, when the most beautiful and legible types were based on the medieval Sephardi hand.

ISRAEL. Three pioneers of modern Hebrew calligraphy in Israel were Franziska Baruch, Henri Friedlaender, and Yerachmiel Schechter. Franziska Baruch (b. Hamburg, 1901–?), studied graphic design and lettering at the Staatliche Kunstgewerbeschule (State School of Arts and Crafts), Berlin. Many of her early designs included Latin lettering. In about 1918, artist Jakob *Steinhardt asked the young Franziska to write out the Hebrew and German script for his illustrated edition of the *Haggadah*. For this Baruch studied, in the library of the Jewish community in Berlin, medieval and later Ashkenazi manuscripts and the printed *Prague Haggadah* of 1520. From these prototypes she developed an ornamental letter that Steinhardt used not only in his woodcut *Haggadah* of 1921/22 and its subsequent reprints, but in later offset-printed editions of individual books of the Bible, such as the 1953 *Jonah*. Her Ashkenazi-style typeface, "Stam," produced by the Berthold foundry in Berlin, was very popular in the 1920s and 1930s, but variations on this letter were made without her permission. She designed other fonts, the most famous of which was commissioned by the Schocken Publishing Company, for whom she worked in the 1920s, "Schocken-Baruch," produced by Monotype. It was based on the Sephardi letter of early Italian printers, and is still used today for special editions. Another Ashkenazi typeface was commissioned by Orientalist Leo Ary *Mayer, cast by Enschedé of Holland, named "Mayer-Baruch"; it did not appear on the market immediately, but was later manufactured by the Jerusalem Type Foundry of Moshe Spitzer. Baruch arrived in Palestine in 1933. Over the years, she designed signs and building inscriptions, logos (the Hadassah-Brandeis Printing School among them), medallions, publishers' emblems (Mosad Bialik and Tarshish Books), *ex libris*, and maps. She designed the first emergency currency of the new State of Israel, and the Israel passport (1948). In letter design, she always held to her principles of functionalism, readability and harmony.

Henri Friedlaender's influence on the modern Hebrew calligraphy and typography has been more lasting. Born in Lyons, France, in 1904, he grew up in Germany, working for two printing houses in Berlin from 1922 until 1925; he then studied at the Staatliche Academie für Graphische Kunst und Buchgewerbe (Academy for the Graphic Arts and Book Crafts) in Leipzig, in 1925/26. He also worked in Dresden, Hellerau, and Offenbach, in the last city in 1927/28 at the Klingspor typefoundry, and with Rudolf Koch. The next year he was in Hamburg, and from 1929 to 1932 he was designer and project manager at the Offizin Haag-Drugulin. While working there, he received a query from Schocken as to the existence of a Hebrew typeface. Because the answer was negative he began to experiment. An early version of what was eventually to become his "Hadassah" typeface was inspired by a Scroll of Esther that he owned, dating from ca. 1800.

With the rise of the Nazis, Friedlaender sought refuge in Holland. He was designer at Moulton & Co. Press in The Hague from 1932 to 1942. World War II was spent in hiding, during which time he worked on his Hebrew type design as well as his personal lettering in Hebrew, German and Dutch, often writing quotations from the Bible. After World War II, he continued to work for Moulton & Co. as a free-lance designer and as a teacher of typography.

After the establishment of the State of Israel, Friedlaender was invited by the Hadassah Youth services to start a printing school in Jerusalem; he headed the Hadassah-Brandeis Vocational School from 1950 until it closed in 1970. His "Hadassah" type was cut and cast in 1958 by Inter-type with a license from Lettergieterij, Amsterdam, and it eventually became available for photo-composition. The letter is exceptionally clear, bold and legible and is now the most widely used of all modern Hebrew typefaces. He has also designed successful Hebrew letters for IBM, "Shalom," "Hadar," and "Aviv". In 1971, Friedlaender was awarded the Gutenberg Prize in Mainz. Friedlaender believes that there is only one basic Hebrew alphabet (from the time the Aramaic branch of the Semitic alphabet was adopted), and that the different styles over the centuries can be accounted for by the difference in support (stone, papyrus, parchment) and writing tools (reed, quill, metal nibs). He taught his students the principles of letter forms, not specific styles. His students were then free to proceed from these principles.

Hella (AA) Hartman (b. Amsterdam, 1935), who assumed the teaching of Friedlaender's classes at the Brandeis School from 1960 to 1970, graduated from the Rietveld Academy in graphics and illustration in 1954; she then studied typography there for a fifth year. After immigrating to Israel in 1957, she returned to Amsterdam for a year to study privately with Otto Treumann. In Israel, she worked for the Jewish National Fund's graphics department and taught art and calligraphy in several schools; she now teaches calligraphy and the history of the printed letter in Hadassah College's printing department. Hartman teaches her own versions of Ashkenazi, Sephardi and "Yerushalmi" letters, in addition to a few of the basic Latin script styles.

The earliest teacher of calligraphy in Palestine was Yerachmiel Schechter (b. Horodenka, Galicia, 1900). Self taught as a calligrapher, he executed all of the official writings for the Zionist Congresses from 1921 to 1927. Moving to Palestine in 1934, he taught at the New Bezalel School of Arts and Crafts when it reopened in 1935 with Joseph *Budko as director. He had always researched the Hebrew letter, and he developed the first "Yerushalmi" style, which he based on the earliest manuscripts of the Middle Ages from the Firkovich collection in Leningrad and those found in the Cairo *Genizah*, as well as inscriptions from the Second Temple period. Most calligraphers today believe the "Yerushalmi" script was inspired by the Dead Sea Scrolls, but this version is a later phase of the letter (1950s). Schechter taught according to methods of Edward Johnston, with a strong emphasis on historical styles; he taught Sephardi, Ashkenazi ("Stam"), "Rashi" (Sephardi semicursive) and Latin styles with which the Hebrew letter could be integrated. "Budko" script was also developed and taught by Schechter; this style was initiated by Bezalel's director (1935–1940) when a committee requested the modernization of Hebrew script for teaching in grade schools. Schechter retired officially in 1972. He designed the lettering on the currency of the new State of Israel.

Among Schechter's students were several of Israel's best known calligraphers, including Zev Lippmann (b. Erfurt, Germany, 1920–), who settled in Palestine in 1933 and studied at Bezalel from 1936 to 1939. In 1951, Lippmann was asked by L.F. Toby, who was a semi-professional graphic designer, to do the illustrations in a booklet for which he had written the text. Lippmann believes that the source of "Yerushalmi" script, which is illustrated in the booklet, was the inscriptions of the Second Temple period, called "Even" or stone script, or "Even Yerushalmi" before it was called "Yerushalmi." But the version illustrated is closer to the aforementioned medieval manuscripts than to the earlier inscriptions. Other scripts were illustrated in the first edition: a cursive script called "Rollit," after the firm "Roli," Rothschild and Lippmann, and "Barcelona," based on the "Schocken-Baruch" type, itself based on Italian Renaissance typography. Over the years, this calligraphic bestseller has gone through many editions, with its brief text translated into English. Another script was added, "Universal," designed by graphic artist and Bezalel teacher Emmanuel Grau for the Hebrew University, to be seen on all of their buildings.

Fred Pauker (1927–1985), Israel's most creative master of script, was also a graphic designer. Love for the Hebrew letter is evident in everything he wrote. Born in Vienna, he spent the war years in England. In 1949 he immigrated to Israel, and studied at Bezalel from 1952 to 1956. Pauker had a natural feel for script, and was already accomplished in English lettering before enrolling in Bezalel.

Fred Pauker's many works included script; he also designed the lettering for commemorative plaques, monumental and building inscriptions in stone (the LA Mayer Museum in Jerusalem and the El Al offices in London and Paris), logos, and honorary certificates. He designed the publications of the Hebrew University and Ben-Gurion University of the Negev, but his real interest was calligraphy. His integration of the Hebrew and English letter is so perfect that it takes a while for the eye of the observer to separate one script from the other. Pauker's internationally acclaimed letter design is his 1969 traveler's prayer in El Al's folder, commissioned by W. Turnowsky.

Noah Ophir, born in Jerusalem in 1932, has been involved with Hebrew letters since he was a child; his father Moshe Zilberstein and his uncle, Yehiel Dresner, were sign makers. He graduated from Bezalel in 1956, and taught calligraphy there from 1956 to 1960, along with his teacher Schechter. Ophir's thesis was a modern version of the letters of the Dead Sea Scrolls. His alphabet received first prize in the competition for the exhibition commemorating the 10th anniversary of the State of Israel. Ophir uses his "Dead Sea Scroll" script for the writing of traditional texts. In his 1985 *Haggadah*, illustrated by Yossi Stern, the lettering is so even that it is mistaken for type. His letter has an Oriental-Yemenite character, with its vertical strokes slightly on the diagonal. Ophir's major output in graphic art stresses the Hebrew letter – corporate identity graphics for hotels, exhibition pavilions for museums and Israel's pavilions in world's fairs. He designs decorative walls for buildings which include script (Chief Rabbinate in Tel Aviv) and teaches calligraphy at the Popular University in Jerusalem. In addition to his printed *Haggadah*, he has also hand-written and illuminated facsimiles of medieval *haggadot* on vellum.

The Dead Sea Scrolls had a great impact on many calligraphers, professional and amateur. The "Yerushalmi" letter was transformed by several calligraphers under its influence, in the reduction of elimination of the lower part of the vertical stroke of many letters, with emphasis on a strong upper horizontal bar. The final *mem* also became elongated. Rabbi Zev Gotthold, who studied in *yeshivot* in Poland and New York, wrote and decorated *ketubbot* for friends during the time he lived in the U.S. (1938–1951), then brought the custom to Israel with him. He favors his own Dead Sea Scroll script for the *ketubbot* he still writes as an avocation.

Zvi Narkis (b. Botosani, Rumania, 1921) is a calligrapher, graphic artist and type designer, with 35 fonts, including variations, to his credit. He arrived in Palestine in 1944, and studied graphic arts and lettering at Bezalel during 1946, 1948 and 1949, but left to work for the Jewish National Fund. In 1958 he designed "Narkiss Block," a sanserif type for hand composition, and from 1965 to 1968, "Narkiss Book" and "Narkiss Bold," faintly serifed, for Linotype (now Linotron). The first book in which the latter two appeared was Moshe Levine's *The Tabernacle* (Tel Aviv, Hebrew ed., 1968; English ed., 1969). Letraset (England) and Transfertech (U.S.) produce "Narkiss" letters, and they are also available on Compedit of Addressograph/Multigraph ("Narkiss Tam," "Narkissim," and "Frank-Rühl Dor"). He is now preparing his letter designs for laser writers, and modernizing historical typefaces such as "Vilna" (ca. 1850), and creating the biblical accents and cantillation for his "Frank-Rühl Dor." A major calligraphic limited edition designed by Zvi Narkiss was *Great is Peace*, by Daniel Sperber, published in 1979. Talmudic sources were written by hand; commentary was set in Linotype "Narkiss Book" and "Bold." Zvi Narkiss researches and lectures in the history of the Hebrew letter, and has mastered all major and lesser-known historical styles.

Elly Gross (b. Vienna, 1921), another Bezalel graduate

(1942), immigrated to Israel in 1939. She has studied, traveled, and exhibited extensively in Europe and the U.S. As a free-lance graphic artist and illustrator in Tel Aviv, she has designed street signs, book jackets, bindings and logos. Script has played a major role in her work. Eli Preis (b. Berlin, 1921) studied at Bezalel from the year he arrived in the country, 1937, to 1941, then worked for the Jewish National Fund, after which he free-lanced. Some of his works were sponsored by the Jewish Agency, which, like the Zionist Congresses and the Jewish National Fund, were early patrons of Hebrew calligraphy. One calligraphic work by Preis unique for its time was a *Kiddush* and Grace After Meals, published by the Jerusalem Art Publishing Society (Korngold) in 1952. Also ahead of the *ketubbah* revival was Theo (Tzvi) Hausman (b. Berlin, 1920–1956), who calligraphed one in 1955. Hausman, who had studied in the Art School in Basle, immigrated to Israel in 1954. He worked as a free-lance designer, for the government and the Knesset, as well as for Heinz van Cleef and Moshe Spitzer at the Jerusalem Type Foundry. A modern display letter of his design was to become the typeface "Ha-Ẓevi," cast after he died. It is an open letter with almost even shading and minimal serifs.

Several recent immigrants established their reputations in the U.S. and brought their American calligraphic customs with them – this does not mean lettering style but rather the type of calligraphic work they produce. Instead of commercial and architectural lettering, they specialized in single-sheet works that are meant to be hung in private homes, commissioned *ketubbot*, or ones that are hand-printed, or books. Their writing is less apt to be based on historical styles than that of calligraphers trained in Israel.

David Moss (b. Dayton, Ohio, 1946) was the first in the U.S. to gain a national reputation writing *ketubbot* tailored individually to the couple. While visiting Israel after he received his B.A., Moss asked a *sofer setam* to write out the Ashkenazi alphabet for him. His method since has been to develop a letter of his own, use it for a few years, and then go on to a new letter design. He combines papercuts and micrography with calligraphy, working on parchment and paper. Recently he has spent less time on single sheet works such as amulets and *mizraḥim* to devote himself to books: in 1981 he wrote a small *alef-bet* book inspired by medieval children's primers found in the Cairo *Genizah*; in 1984 he completed his *Haggadah*, commissioned by Florida manuscript collector Richard Levy, which has been published in a limited edition facsimile. Moss settled in Jerusalem in 1983.

Malla Carl-Blumenkranz (b. Kalisz, Poland, 1927) has written more letters in the past ten years, at which time she returned to the art after a long absence, than most calligraphers write in a lifetime. After studying at the Kunstgewerbe Schule in Lucerne, where she learned calligraphy (Roman Capitals and Gothic) from graphic artist Max von Moos, she moved to Israel. From 1950 to 1957, she worked for Rothschild and Lippmann in Tel Aviv, then lived in Chicago until her return to Israel in 1969. In 1980 she expanded her calligraphic repertoire to include Ashkenazi, her own versions of classic Sephardi and "Yerushalmi," semicursive, 11th–13th century Oriental which she studied from photographs, and Pauker's letter. Carl-Blumenkranz's current works, on parchment and hand-made paper, are Jerusalem landscapes, animal sketches, and figures, all drawn from nature and models, integrated with texts from the Bible or other Jewish writings. She has received commissions from universities, museums, organizations, publishers and the government of Israel.

Other calligraphers working in Israel today include Asher Oron, a Tel Aviv graphic designer; Yehudit Abinun; Kitty Toren Bauer; Ruth Bowman; Naomi Solomon; Ada Yardeni (a graphic artist who has done academic research on the Hebrew letter and is an expert in the reconstruction of the appearance of ancient manuscripts); Avraham Cohen, also a papercutter; Menahem Berman, silversmith; Janet Berg, a calligraphic goldsmith; and Yitẓḥak Pludwinski, who is a Jerusalem *sofer setam* and a calligrapher, a rare combination. With calligraphy training in the U.S., Sharon Binder and Debra Warburg Walk are active in Israel today. Métavel (Renée Koppel, b. Soukaras, Algeria), is a Tel Aviv miniaturist who has made several books of the Kabbalah in miniature on old book paper: in 1985 she wrote and illustrated a *haggadah*. Shoshana Walker has divided her time between Jerusalem and New York, and Edna Miron, who learned Hebrew calligraphy in Israel and was a founder of the Israel Calligraphy Society, now works in Los Angeles.

THE UNITED STATES. One of the pioneers of the ornamental Hebrew letter in the U.S. was Siegmund Forst (b. Vienna, 1904). He studied all styles of Latin calligraphy with Rudolph von Larisch at the Graphische Lehrund Versuchsanstalt in 1929 and at the Vienna State Academy of Art. His studies there were sponsored by Max Eisler, a lecturer at the University of Vienna, to whom he was introduced by the artist Arthur Weiss. Professor Eisler wrote two articles on Forst's work, in the *Menorah Journal* and the *Jüdische Familienblatt*, and arranged for his woodcuts to be exhibited with those of the Hajen Bund (Artists' Society), the only works to have a Jewish theme. It was Larisch who first suggested applying calligraphic principles to Hebrew lettering. Forst designed monumental inscriptions, gravestones, diplomas and other works on parchment until he left for the U.S. in 1939. Like Wolpe, his ornamental letter was based on classic Ashkenazi style. Forst's best known illustrated work is his *Haggadah*, first published in 1946, but his Hebrew script can be found in all media, with or without illustrations.

In the U.S., Ismar David (Breslau, 1910–New York 1996) was the acknowledged master of Hebrew calligraphy. He studied at the Arts and Crafts School in Breslau, then at the Kunstgewerbe und Handwerker Schule (Municipal Arts and Crafts School) of Berlin-Charlottenburg. The winning of a competition for the lettering of the Jewish National Fund's Golden Book sponsored his passage to Palestine in 1932. His typeface design, begun in the 1930s and redesigned in 1949/50, was cast by Intertype in 1952. "David" is the most calligraphic of all modern type designs. Ismar David believed in going back to the historical source for letters, although he himself wrote them in his own style. He worked in New York as an architectural and graphic designer and illustrator, and was a key figure in Hebrew script workshops at calligraphy conventions.

Lili Cassel Wronker (b. Berlin, 1924) left Germany after Kristallnacht and came to the U.S. by way of London in 1940. In New York she attended the Washington Irving High School, where she was afforded the opportunity to study art for four hours a day. At fifteen, she had already read and absorbed Edward Johnston's works. After studying at the Art Students' League, she worked as assistant to calligrapher Arnold Banks, then art director of *Time*. Lili Wronker acknowledges that her greatest influence in the study of Hebrew calligraphy came through her friendship with Elly Gross, who introduced her to Franzisca Baruch, Jakob Steinhardt, Ismar David, Henri Friedlaender, and Emmanuel Grau when she visited Israel in 1948. Wronker often conducts workshops in Hebrew calligraphy, in addition to working as a children's book illustrator. She excels in integrating the Hebrew and Latin alphabets.

Maury Nemoy (b. Chicago, 1912–1985) studied at the Chouinard Art Institute in Los Angeles and at San Fernando Valley State College. From 1932 he worked as a graphic designer and calligrapher, and taught calligraphy at UCLA. Although he never claimed to be a Hebrew calligrapher, his mastery of Hebrew script is obvious. Paul Freeman (1929–1980) was another renowned American calligrapher who at times wrote Hebrew letters. One of Nemoy's students of Latin script at UCLA was Ruth Newlander Merritt (b. Chicago, 1935), an artist who had been drawing Hebrew letters since childhood. Her career has been typical of many American calligraphers; she began by making greeting cards and *ketubbot* for family and friends, until enough commissions allowed her to produce her own line of calligraphic cards, prints, and lettering in fabric and metal sculpture. Merritt maintains the classic shapes of letters.

Jay Greenspan (b. Chicago, 1947) received his B.A. from the University of Illinois in 1969, his M.A. in Hebrew literature was from the Jewish Theological Seminary in 1972. In 1970, when he was the roommate of David Moss, he became interested in Hebrew calligraphy. He has participated in many exhibitions and has taught Hebrew calligraphy at the 92nd Street YM-YWHA in New York. His book *Hebrew Calligraphy, a Step by Step Guide* is well known to aspiring and amateur Hebrew calligraphers. Jonathan Kremer (b. Staten Island, NY, 1953), who worked in Boston for several years before moving to Philadelphia, uses the Hebrew letter innovatively but does not believe in deviating from traditional form. After learning and practicing the basic letters from Toby's book, he improved them with the help of Jerusalem artist Likke Tov (sister of Hella Hartman). He now varies his script. His M.A. thesis at the Tyler School of Art of Temple University was the design of a Hebrew typeface, and his latest work is a hand-written, illustrated limited edition of *Lamentations* (1985), printed in gray and red on letterpress.

In Chicago, Rose Ann (Gelber) Chasman (b. Chicago, 1938) is an active participant in the renaissance of Hebrew calligraphy, having made her first *ketubbah* in 1976. Her B.A. is in art education. Her lettering is used in embroidery and papercuts in addition to the standard *ketubbot*, invitations, Hebrew texts, certificates, and logos. Chasman has taught calligraphy at the Spertus College of Judaica. Daryl (Rothman) Kuperstock (b. Chicago, 1951) was inspired to teach herself calligraphy after having met David Moss and Jay Greenspan in New York. She wrote her first *ketubbah* in 1975. A left-handed writer, she now favors biblical texts and modern Hebrew poetry.

In Detroit is Ilse (Hertz) Roberg (b. Beuel, 1915), who came to the U.S. in 1940, and studied Latin calligraphy in Detroit with Gil Hanna at the Center for Progressive Arts, and later continued with the writing master of the Detroit area, Lothar Hoffmann. As a Hebrew teacher, her desire for fine script motivated her to teach herself Hebrew calligraphy. In this, she received direction from Hugo (Haim) Mandelbaum, a mathematician now residing in Israel, who, when he was a professor at Wayne State University, designed many monumental Hebrew signs in Detroit in brass, copper, and stone. Lynne Avadenka is a book artist and printer who studied at Wayne State University (B.F.A., 1978, M.F.A., 1980). She established her own private press, Land Marks Press, in 1981. In addition to commissions, calligraphic and typographic Hebrew letters have found their way into her art, as in *A Meditation* (1976), for which she designed a dye that was cut for hand-printing. Avadenka has also curated exhibitions of the book arts at the Detroit Institute of Arts.

Other calligraphers and lettering artists working in the U.S. include Cynthia Bell (Boston), Abigail Chapman Diamond (Englewood, New Jersey), Judith Lopes Cardozo (New York), Mordechai Rosenstein, a graphic artist (Philadelphia), Avraham Cohen, a scribe-calligrapher (Baltimore), Stan Brod (Cincinnati), Hermineh Miller (Ann Arbor, Michigan), Gershon Judkowsky, an architect, and Renana Vishny (Chicago), Merilyn Moss (Mill Valley, California). New York silversmiths such as Nissim Hizme, whose wedding rings and other jewelry are worn by hundreds of American Jews, and Moshe Zabari, whose ceremonial objects naturally display Hebrew script, are the outstanding practitioners of calligraphy in metal. Zabari's predecessor at the Jewish Museum in New York, Ludwig Wolpert, had been a pioneer in the use of modern Hebrew script in silver.

No single American Hebrew calligrapher has had the influence upon a generation of professional graphic designers and calligraphers in the U.S., as have such master teachers in Israel as Henri Friedlaender and Yerachmiel Schechter.

ENGLAND. A few calligraphers are working in England today, although Hebrew calligraphy is not their full-time occupation. The making of books is of great concern to artist Ya'akov Boussidan (b. Port Said, Egypt, 1939), who arrived in Israel shortly after the establishment of the state. He first studied art in Tel Aviv with Joseph Schwartzman, then in

London at Goldsmith College, where his final project in 1969 was an etched *Songs of Songs*. He hand-lettered the Hebrew text for it ten years later, after he had already completed his *Haggadah*, an etched limited edition, in which Hebrew script was transferred to the etching plate photographically. *Song of Songs* has appeared in three different illustrated editions, the 1979 etched edition in black and white, where the script was lithographed; the offset-printed edition, where the script was rewritten and different illustrations were etched (printed in brown ink in Israel in 1982, with a limited number including an original etching), and a third silkscreen limited edition of 1986, with reworked etching plates and script from the 2nd edition, bound by Sangorski and Sutcliffe in London. His *Haggadah* script combined Ashkenazi and Sephardi elements; his *Song of Songs* letters are more elongated.

Simon Prais of Birmingham, England (1962), is a freelance designer, typographic consultant and teacher who specializes in combining Hebrew and English types, the subject of his M.A. thesis at Manchester Polytechnic. He has recently designed a series of Jewish holiday posters, and in the fall of 1986, a cover for the *Jewish Chronicle*. Others who have taken up Hebrew calligraphy in England are Gordon Charaton (an architect), Beatrice Wober, and Ruth Bruckner, all of whom reside in London.

Hebrew calligraphy has numerous applications. In Israel, there are necessarily more and better-trained calligraphers because there is a natural, constant and practical need for script – for the interiors and exteriors of buildings, street and commercial signs and displays, for corporate identity design, book jackets, record covers, posters, garments, postage stamps and currency, degrees, awards and testimonials, gravestones, jewelry design, typography and the manifold visual aspects of everyday life. Even Letraset and Transfertech letters must ultimately come from someone's hand. For professional designers involved in this graphic work, calligraphy for its own sake is often a pleasurable diversion or a special commission. For other calligraphers in the U.S. and England, their full-time occupation is lettering: the *ketubbah, haggadah*, scroll of Esther, biblical and other Jewish quotations, holiday pieces (such as *ushpizin* for the *sukkah*), *Songs of Songs* and the Seven Blessings for weddings, blessings on the New Moon, the physician's oath or Maimonides's prayer, greeting cards, or whatever text a patron may choose for hand-lettering on paper or vellum. Hebrew letters are found in fabric design (weaving, embroidery, appliqué), in papercuts, in ceramics, metal, jewelry, glass and stone. A few Jewish artists have made script an integral part of their works: Mordecai *Ardon, Ben *Shahn, Leonard *Baskin, Arthur *Szyk (whose Ashkenazi script was well suited to the engraved *Haggadah* he first published in 1941), Moshe *Castel, and Mark Podwal.

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[Leila Avrin]

CALLIGRAPHY AND WRITING MASTERS. The Jews of southern Europe under Arab influence paid particular attention to calligraphy and beautiful writing. In his ethical will, Judah ibn *Tibbon stressed the importance of writing in a beautiful hand, while Profiat *Duran in his *Ma'aseh Efod* insisted that as an aid to memory persons should study only from beautifully written books. Italian Jewish teachers in particular regarded calligraphy as an essential part of their pupils' education. When the study of Hebrew spread beyond the Jewish community into the circle of Christian Hebraists in the 16th century, Hebrew writing specimens were occasionally included in the calligraphic handbooks which now became common, e.g., Louis de Olod's *Tratado del origen, y arte de escribir bien* (Gerona, 1766). Conversely, from the 17th century, Jews began to figure as writing-masters: for example, Jacob Gadelle of Amsterdam (c. 1650) whose portrait was published in mezzotint (perhaps for advertisement); or Salomon Israel (later converted to Christianity as Ignatius Dumay) who flourished as a writing master in Latin as well as Hebrew characters in Oxford (c. 1745). In the 17th and 18th centuries, a new school of Hebrew calligraphers appeared, becoming active in Central Europe. It specialized in books of blessings, occasional prayers, and Passover *Haggadot*, often illuminated. In some cases the calligraphers modeled their handwriting, as they proudly announced, on "the letters of Amsterdam" – i.e., the fine Sephardi type which had been introduced by the printing-presses of that city. Formal documents such as the *ketubbah occasionally displayed much calligraphic skill. In Amsterdam, among the ex-Marrano community, polemical works in Spanish and Portuguese with artistic title-pages were produced by masters of the calligraphic art, such as Judah Machabea (c. 1600) or Michael Lopez (c. 1729). An ornate Hebrew writing book, *Saggio di caratteri ebraici ad uso della studiosa gioventù*, by Giuseppe Vigovano (engraved by G. Pirani) was published in Verona in 1824; this is the earliest Jewish publication of this type on record.

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[Cecil Roth]

CALLISTHENES, named in II Maccabees (8:33) as responsible for the burning of the Temple gates during the religious persecution by *Antiochus Epiphanes. After the Jewish victory over Nicanor (161 B.C.E.), "while they were celebrating the victory in the city of their fathers, they burned Callisthenes and some others who had set fire to the sacred gates, and who had taken refuge in a small house."

[Isaiah Gafni]

CALMANSON, JACOB (**Jacques**; second half of 18th century), a personal physician of the last Polish king, Stanislas II Augustus; son of a rabbi of Hrubieszow. Calmanson spoke German and French and was known for his enlightened and progressive views. In his public activities he became prominent mainly during the period of the Prussian conquest, by putting forward proposals for "improvement of the Jews" (see *Emancipation), entitled *Essai sur l'état actuel des Juifs de Pologne et leur perfectibilité*, which appeared in 1796, first in French and a year later translated into Polish; Calmanson dedicated his work to Count Hoym, the Prussian commissioner for the annexed Polish areas, who was an admirer of Moses *Mendelssohn. In his pamphlet Calmanson described the various trends in Jewish religious life, strongly opposing Ḥasidism, which he considered the main obstacle to "improvement." He suggested the reduction of Jewish *autonomy, the replacement of the *ḥeder* by state schools, supervision of marriages, and compulsory adoption of European dress and customs. Some of these proposals were included in the regulations for Jews introduced from 1797 in the new areas of southern and eastern Prussia.

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[Moshe Landau]

CALMER, MOSES ELIEZER LIEFMANN (1711–1784), the earliest French Jewish noble. Calmer, who was born in Aurich (Hanover), was one of the most colorful personalities of 18th-century Jewry in France. After being in the service of the *Suasso family in The Hague, Calmer settled in Paris. Here he made a fortune in commerce and became offical purveyor to Louis XV. In 1769 he received French citizenship, together with his sons. In 1774 he acquired the barony of Picquigny, through a purveyor of straw, and became a *gentilhomme*, with such feudal privileges as tax collecting, administering justice, and appointing priests. This inevitably provoked ecclesiastical animosity and eventually the sale of the property was annulled. Calmer was administrator of the "German" Jews in Paris. His son ANTOINE LOUIS ISAAC CALMER (1764–1794) joined the Jacobins at the outbreak of the French Revolution, and was appointed president of the Committee of Public Safety in the Clichy quarter. During the Reign of Terror, he was denounced for the allegedly arbitrary arrest of citizens, perhaps because of his Jewish, "cosmopolitan" origin. In July 1794 he was guillotined by a revolutionary tribunal which condemned him for "collusion with the external enemy."

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[Emmanuel Beeri]

°CALMEYER, HANS-GEORG (1903–1972), German official in World War II and Righteous Among the Nations. Born in Osnabrueck, Germany, Calmeyer was a lawyer by profession. During World War II he headed a section in the Interior Department of the German occupation administration in the Netherlands, dealing with cases arising out of the *Nuremberg Laws; more specifically, deciding on questionable racial cases, such as the racial status of persons claiming a semi-Jewish origin of one sort or another. His is an example of one of the greatest feats in the art of deception practiced by a German official in a high position in the attempt to save as many Jews as possible from deportation. Of the 4,787 cases brought to his attention, he decided that 42% were to be considered half-Jews (*mischlinge* 1st degree), and another 18% one-quarter Jews (*mischlinge* 2nd degree) – a total of 60%, who thus were exempt from deportation until a later period, as late as the conclusion of the war. In disregard of racial guidelines to which he claimed to conform, he made decisions on the basis of the flimsiest of evidence, such as classifying a person as semi-Jewish only on the basis of a claim that the person's real father was a Dutch non-Jew (i.e., Aryan) with whom his mother had an illicit out-of-wedlock liaison. Similarly, a person claiming non-Jewish parentage based on records only available in far-distant Dutch colonies (such as Indonesia), where the claimant was born, and which were not accessible due to prevailing war conditions in the Pacific area, was declared non- or only semi-Jewish and exempt from deportation. In these attempts to save as many Jews as possible, he was seconded by several trustworthy Dutch attorneys, who helped draw up false credentials, and German aides in his own section, such as Gerhard Wander (who later joined the Dutch underground and was killed during a shootout with the Gestapo in Amsterdam). The SS leadership in the Netherlands was highly suspicious of Calmeyer's work and his high-handed and dubious methods in such a vital issue to them (which in Germany was the special reserve of Hitler), and constantly urged the Nazi governor *Seyss-Inquart to cease Calmeyer's operation. The governor, for reasons of his own (to secure his "territorial" domain in an occupied country against SS encroachments), permitted Calmeyer to continue his operation but cautioned him to bring it to a swift conclusion. Disregarding this instruction, and playing for time, Calmeyer added more names to his special list, and in addition tried to extend his protective umbrella over other categories of persons, such as Jews who had performed significant services to the State. The most prominent case, involving a large group of persons whom Calmeyer tried to assist, was that of the Portuguese Jewish community, which numbered several thousand and which, in desperation to avoid deportation, claimed to be of non-Semitic origin (a race genealogist whom they consulted concluded that they were of Iberian stock), and therefore by the Nazi racial definition not linked to Jews and the bitter fate awaiting them. Calmeyer upheld their case, but was overruled by Nazi race "experts" who after much procrastination decided that the Portuguese of "Mosaic faith" were no less Jewish than their brethren of East European origin. In the end, Calmeyer was able to save a total of 2,900 lives. To cover his tracks, he had to decline petitions for racial reclassification when these were not corroborated by evidence satisfactory to the eyes of inquisitive and suspicious Nazi inspectors. Historian Jacob Presser, writes of him: "Though he knew that many Jews were trying to pull the wool over his eyes, he nevertheless let all of them go unpunished.… He went to endless trouble to prove helpful to all petitioners. There is no doubt that hundreds of Jews owe their lives to him.… If an absolutely hopeless petition was presented to him, he would do his utmost to look for a possible loophole.… He once described his position as that of a doctor in a lonely post, cut off from the outside world and left with a mere 50 vials of medicine for the treatment of 5,000 critical cases.… Since he could not save all, he did what he could for the few. Jews claiming to be the illegitimate offspring of non-Jewish fathers had become so much the fashion that it proved quite impossible for him to accept all their claims," for fear of undermining the whole rescue operation. Those he could not help were given advance notice, so as to allow them time to plan their escape before receiving official notification of their imminent deportation. The Calmeyer case is a clear example of the varieties of subterfuge available to German officials in a high position, for those prepared to use their authority to devise the ways and means to save Jews, while at the same time pretending to act in the best interests of the Nazi state.

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[Mordecai Paldiel (2nd ed.)]

CALNEH (Heb. כַּלְנֵה, כַּלְנֶה). (1) Mesopotamian city mentioned together with Babel, Erech, and Akkad as cities in the land of Shinar which constituted the beginning of the kingdom of *Nimrod (Gen. 10:10). At present there is no acceptable identification of Calneh, although the other cities mentioned together with it in Genesis are known from Akkadian inscriptions. No identification of Calneh can be made on the basis of the "land of Shinar," which serves in this instance, as elsewhere in the Bible, as a synonym for Babylonia (cf. Yoma 10a, which identifies Calneh with נופר, i.e., the modern Tell Nuffar, ancient Nippur, connecting this name with נינפי, i.e., *nymphe*; the Greek equivalent of the Hebrew כַּלָּה, *kallah*, "bride"). Some revocalize the word to read *kullaneh*, "all of them," i.e., "all of the aforementioned cities are in Shinar."

(2) Calneh, Calno (כַּלְנוֹ, כַּלְנֶה), a city in northern Syria identified with Kullāni or Kulania, which is mentioned in connection with *Tiglath-Pileser III's conquests in his annals of the third year of his reign. The references to the city in Amos 6:2 and Isaiah 10:9 (as Calno) allude to Tiglath-Pileser's conquest in 740–732 B.C.E.

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CALOF, RACHEL BELLA KAHN (1876–1952), Jewish American homesteader between 1894 and 1917 at Devils Lake, North Dakota, who wrote her autobiography in Yiddish in 1936. Born in Ukraine and orphaned early, Rachel lived with her rigidly observant grandfather until an inappropriate romance resulted in her family's arranging her engagement to Abraham Calof, who was already living in the United States. Rachel's memoir describes her journey, her meeting with Abraham in New York City, and her decision to move with him to North Dakota to join a larger community of Jewish homesteaders. Her accounts of her wedding, the harsh winters and demands of agricultural life, and some of her nine children's births reveal an environment of poverty, crowding, and deprivation. While observing Jewish traditions such as circumcision and dietary laws imposed difficulties on the desperately poor and isolated families, Calof also conveys religious observance as satisfying and makes clear that she took pride in her role as a Jewish homemaker. After 23 difficult years on the farm and eventual economic success, the Calof family moved to St. Paul, Minnesota, in 1917, where Calof wrote her memoir. Archival evidence indicates that she unsuccessfully submitted her manuscript to the Yiddish newspaper *The Forward,* indicating that she had literary aspirations beyond a family audience. Rachel Calof's manuscript was translated into English about 20 years after her death by her cousin, Molly Shaw, and edited and compiled into a typed manuscript by her son, Jacob Calof. J. Sanford Rikoon found a copy at the American Jewish Archives in Cincinnati and edited and published it as *Rachel Calof's Story: Jewish Homesteader on the Northern Plains* (Indiana University Press, 1995). Recent studies indicate significant divergences between the original Yiddish manuscript and its English versions, raising questions about its translation, editing, and likely additions of material from other sources. While a copy of the original Yiddish manuscript is at the Jewish Historical Society of the Upper Midwest, access to it is restricted by the Calof family, which also limits publication of this document. It seems likely that *Rachel Calof's Story* is a hybrid text, integrating both oral histories and an original written memoir to portray a more complete, if idealized, picture of life on the homestead.

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[Kristine Peleg (2nd ed.)]

CĂLUGĂRU (originally **Croitoru**), **ION** (1903–1956), Romanian novelist and journalist. Born in Dorohoi, Moldavia, Călugăru studied in Bucharest and published his first article in a literary review at the age of 17. He later contributed to such leading Romanian-Jewish organs as the Zionist daily *Mântuirea, Lumea Evree*, and the political and literary journal *Adam*, and over the years wrote thousands of articles and essays for Romanian newspapers and periodicals. He was one of the few Romanian-Jewish writers dedicated to portraying Jewish life. His novels constitute a panorama of Romanian Jewry, from the countryfolk of the small communities of Moldavia to the bourgeoisie and emancipated intellectuals of the major cities. These works, notable for their colorful descriptions, include *Caii lui Cibicioc* ("Cibicioc's Horses," 1922); and two satirical books, *Paradisul statistic* ("Statistical Heaven," 1926) and *Don Juan Cocoşatul* ("Don Juan the Hunchback," 1933). Călugăru's outstanding novel was the autobiographical *Copilăria unui netrebnic* ("Childhood of a Rascal," 1936) which, despite its ironic approach, showed the author's sympathy for the poor and oppressed.

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[Abraham Feller]

°CALVIN, JOHN (1509–1564), French Church reformer and theologian. Calvin was one of the foremost Christian Bible exegetes of his time. He wrote commentaries on Isaiah (1551), Genesis (1554), Psalms and Hosea (1557), the 12 Minor Prophets (1560), Daniel (1561), and the remaining four books of the Pentateuch (1563), as well as introductions to Jeremiah and Lamentations (1563). In the last year of his life he also wrote a commentary on Joshua. All his exegetic works were included in the collected editions of his writings, published in his *Opera* (see bibl.). On the other hand, Calvin had few occasions for contacts with contemporary Jewry. The first 25 years of his life he spent in his native Picardy, Paris, or Orléans long after the expulsion of the Jews from France. Nor did he have much occasion to encounter Jews during the last quarter century of his life, which included the period of his increasingly dictatorial rule in Geneva, since the Jews had been expelled from that city in 1491.

Concerning moneylending, Calvin's view differed sharply from the traditional ecclesiastical rejection of any kind of interest. In *De usuris*, commenting on the crucial passage in Luke 6:35, he stated clearly: "No scriptural testimony exists which would totally condemn usury. For that sentence of Christ which the populace regards as most unequivocal, namely 'lend, hoping for nothing again' (Luke 6:35), has been gravely distorted." However, in a sermon of 1556 he declared that the fact that the Jews had once been allowed to charge usury to the heathen nations does not mean that "today they may aggrieve and molest God's children." Calvin was undoubtedly impressed by the anti-Jewish teachings of most German reformers. Among the German theologians, Martin *Bucer (Butzer) in particular exerted a deep and permanent influence on Calvin's thinking. In the economic sphere Bucer and his associates stressed particularly the losses occasioned by the economic rivalry between Jewish and Christian merchants.

Calvin and his associates were particularly prone to hurl the accusation of Judaizing at their opponents, expecially Michael (Miguel) Servetus (1511–53), whose anti-trinitarianism smacked, in fact, of Jewish as well as of Muslim teachings. "It is indeed," reads one of Calvin's articles of accusation addressed to the syndics of Geneva in 1553, "an abomination to see how this wretched man [Servetus] excuses the Jews' blasphemies against the Christian religion." Almost in the same breath Calvin appears as the defender of the Old Testament against calumnies by Servetus, e.g., that ancient Judea had really been a very poor country, and as denouncer of Servetus' too great indebtedness to Jewish Bible commentators. Calvin also accused his enemy of having borrowed a "Jewish" interpretation from the commentary of a medieval Catholic, *Nicholas of Lyra. These denunciations constituted but a part of the Calvinist campaign against Servetus, which eventually resulted in the latter's being burned at the stake in 1553. Servetus for his part pressed charges based on Calvin's emphasis upon "Jewish legalism." Calvin was greatly attracted to the Old Testament law, which he tried to imitate as much as possible in his new Christian republic in Geneva. In another context Servetus accused Calvin of overlooking the new and living way inaugurated in the New Testament; he had thus "shocked me with your true Jewish zeal." These accusations were not silenced by Servetus' death and, in 1595, the Lutheran Aegidius Hunnius (1550–1603) published a polemical pamphlet under the title of *Calvinus Judaizans*.

Among Calvin's writings there is a small but remarkable tract entitled *Ad quaestiones et obiecta Judaei cuiusdam Responsio* (Opera, 9:653–74). This tract is identical with a letter by Calvin first published in 1597 and reproduced as an anonymous epistle in Johannes Buxtorf the Elder's *Synagoga Judaica* (see bibl.). Nothing is known about the circumstances which induced Calvin to write this noteworthy dialogue, nor about the date of its composition. It is quite remarkable that the Jewish debater tried to persuade Calvin through arguments largely borrowed from Christian theology. As if to pay back in kind, Calvin's replies were largely based on Old Testament passages. Secondly, the Jew's arguments are not only given with much objectivity, but they often appear more forthright and logical than Calvin's much longer and quite involved replies. If this Jewish debater had been a figment of Calvin's imagination, as is assumed by most scholars, this discrepancy between query and answer would appear doubly remarkable. As Calvin was temperamentally far from inclined to give any opponent an equal chance, it stands to reason, therefore, that he may indeed have heard such a presentation by a Jewish spokesman and tried to invalidate it by his replies. In that case the most likely period for the composition of this tract would appear to be the time of his sojourn in Strasbourg in 1539–41 and particularly his visit to Frankfurt in 1539. Here he may indeed have encountered *Joseph (Josel) b. Gershom of Rosheim, the chief defender of German Jewry at that time and a well-informed controversialist. Among the Protestant controversialists, according to Josel, there arose one who attacked him in a "violent, angry, and menacing" harangue. It would quite fit Calvin's temperament to have made such a menacing speech (cf. G. Kracauer, in: REJ, 16 (1888), 92). Citing the Old Testament passages concerning the eternal validity of the law which must not be added to nor subtracted from, and illustrating it by the law of circumcision, the Jew pointed out that Jesus' assertion, "I am not come to destroy, but to fulfill" the law (Matt. 5:17) was clearly controverted by the Christians' repudiation of circumcision. Calvin answered by referring to several Old Testament passages indicating that in the messianic age many laws would be abrogated.

Perhaps most relevant to the contemporary conflicts was the Jew's final query: "I ask those who contend that we are in this exile because of Jesus' execution, but this is not true because we had been in exile before his death. If it be true that in the hour of his death Jesus begged his Father and said, 'Father, forgive them; for they know not what they do' (Luke 23:34) and if Father and Son are identical and both have the same will, then certainly that iniquity was condoned which he himself had forgiven." In his reply Calvin could only harp on the theme of the Jews' obstinacy in persisting in their error and the numerous sins their forefathers had previously committed, as attested by the numerous prophetic denunciations. These cumulative sins over generations have sufficiently accounted for the sufferings of the people of Israel since it went into exile. With all this fury, Calvin showed himself somewhat more merciful toward the Jews, as well as the Muslims, than toward Christian heretics. He seems to have been satisfied, on the whole, with keeping the Jews out of Geneva and with echoing the long-accepted anti-Jewish polemics.

Impact of Calvinism

If Calvin's own tyrannical temperament often played havoc with his best intentions and led to the establishment of his despotic theocratic regime in Geneva, the ultimate outcome of his reformatory work was the very opposite. Even as an immediate reaction to the execution of Servetus many voices were heard in Switzerland and elsewhere condemning this first inquisitorial "act of faith" on the part of Protestant believers in individual conscience. The Jews, whose position in 16th-century Europe might seriously have been endangered by Calvin's wrathful denunciations, unwittingly became major beneficiaries of the ensuing trend toward religious liberty.

Calvin's influence was even more directly felt in the new appreciation of religious "legalism." His long elaboration of the Decalogue, to which he devoted 59 chapters, and his emphasis that the intention behind the act is as important as the act itself, were wholly in line with long accepted rabbinic teachings. In fact, so closely did Calvin adhere to the Jewish interpretation of the Ten Commandments that he reemphasized the Jewish prohibition of imagery in a way shared by few of his confreres. It is small wonder, then, that the disciples of Calvin in many lands so eagerly turned for enlightenment to the Old Testament. With the newly awakened humanist recognition of the relevance of the original language for the understanding of any text, Calvinist divines and scholars in many lands became some of the foremost Christian Hebraists of the following two centuries.

The original sweeping theses by Max *Weber and Werner *Sombart concerning the far-reaching relationships between the Protestant ethic or the Jewish spirit and the rise and evolution of modern capitalism have rightly been toned down by the assiduous, more detailed work of later scholars. However, the historic fact that both Protestants and Jews contributed much more than their share to the rise of capitalist institutions and the so-called capitalist "spirit" has remained unimpaired. These activities by bankers and merchants of both faiths may have stimulated competition and economic rivalries between them which at times created new tensions, but these were more than counterbalanced by the ensuing opening of new lands and new economic avenues for the Jewish wanderers. In short, the total effect of Calvin's anti-Jewish preaching resembled that of the ancient prophecy of Balaam. The Geneva reformer, too, set out to curse the Jews, but in the end turned out to have blessed them.

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[Salo W. Baron]

CALVIN, MELVIN (1912–1997), U.S. biochemist and Nobel Prize winner. Born in St. Paul, Minnesota, to parents who had emigrated from Russia, he received his B.S. in chemistry in 1931 from the Michigan College of Mining and Technology and his Ph.D. in chemistry from the University of Minnesota in 1935. He spent 1935–37 as a fellow of the Rockefeller Foundation at the University of Manchester in England, where he studied with Michael *Polanyi. Calvin began his academic career at the University of California at Berkeley in 1937, becoming director of the bio-organic division of the Lawrence Radiation Laboratory in 1946, professor of chemistry in 1947, and in 1960, director of the biodynamics laboratory. Calvin began his work on photosynthesis in the mid-1940s. He used carbon-14 isotope as a radioactive tracer to study photosynthesis – the process whereby living plants convert atmospheric carbon dioxide into sugars under the influence of sunlight and chlorophyll. For his elucidation of reactions in this vital process, he was awarded the Nobel Prize in Chemistry in 1961. His research also included work in radiation chemistry, the biochemistry of learning, processes leading to the origin of life, and using plant oils as a petroleum substitute. He worked with the Manhattan Project (for atomic fission) in 1944–45 and was on the U.S. delegation to the 1955 Geneva Conference on the peaceful uses of the President's Science Advisory Committee. He was the recipient of many awards and a member of numerous learned societies. He was elected to the National Academy of Sciences, the American Philosophical Society, the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, the Royal Society of London, and many others. His writings include *Isotopic Carbon; Techniques in its Measurement and Chemical Manipulation* (1949) and *Path of Carbon in Photosynthesis* (in collaboration with James Bassham, 1957).

[Samuel Aaron Miller / Ruth Rossing (2nd ed.)]

°CALWER, RICHARD (1868–1927), German socialist, economist, and politician. He belonged to the reformist wing inspired by Ferdinand *Lassalle within the German Social Democratic Party (SPD). Calwer harbored a strong anti-Jewish bias. In a brochure published in 1894, he attacked the SPD's radical wing as having been "incited by a few Jews who make slander their business," and deplored that such "specific" Jewish characteristics as "zealousness, contentiousness, and commercial craftiness" had found their way into the party press and literature. He also criticized the SPD for combating antisemitism to the extent of creating the impression that Social Democracy had been "Judaized" (*verjudet*). Calwer left the SPD in 1909. He was a pioneer in Western socialist non-Marxian economics, which he taught until his suicide in Berlin.

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CAMBRIDGE, English university city. Cambridge harbored a fairly important Jewish community in medieval times though the report that it dates from 1073 is unfounded. The original synagogue, already apparently disused, was assigned to the Franciscans in 1244. Nearly 50 householders figure in the Cambridge Jewry lists during the period from 1224 to 1240. In 1266 during the Barons' Wars, a band of "Disinherited Knights" carried off the *archa and held some of the community's wealthier members to ransom. In 1275 Edward I empowered his mother, Eleanor of Provence, to banish all Jews from her dower-towns, including Cambridge. The community was ultimately sent to Huntingdon. Magister Benjamin, whose house on the site of the present Guildhall was granted to the town by the king in 1224 as a jail, was an early Cambridge Jewish notable. He is to be identified with R. Benjamin of Kantabria (קנטבריא; *Benjamin of Cambridge). In the 16th century, the university records list two converted Jewish teachers: John Immanuel *Tremellius of Ferrara (1510–1580), "King's Reader of Hebrew" in 1549, and Philip Ferdinand, originally from Poland, who published *Haec sunt verba Dei* (Cambridge, 1597). After the Resettlement the names of a number of Jewish teachers are known. These include: Isaac *Abendana; Isaac Lyons, a silversmith, who gave Hebrew lessons to members of the university (1732–1770); Joseph *Crool (c. 1812–1837); and Herman Bernard (formerly Hurwitz; 1837–1857). S. *Schiller-Szinessy taught talmudic literature (1869–1890) and S. *Schechter acted in a similar capacity (1891–1901). He was succeeded by Israel *Abrahams and the latter in 1931 by H.M.J. *Loewe. Hebrew manuscripts collected by the Dutch Orientalist Thomas Erpennius (1584–1624) were donated to the university library in 1632, and in 1647–48 the collection of Hebrew books of the Italian rabbi Isaac Faragi was bought by parliamentary vote. The Hebrew manuscripts in the university library are estimated at more than 3,000, including the unique collection of the Taylor-Schechter Cairo *Genizah fragments. It attracts Jewish scholars from all over the world, and many significant works of Jewish scholarship are based on its material. Trinity College has the Aldis Wright Collection of Hebraica and there are a number of *Genizah* fragments in Westminster College. Until 1856 religious tests prevented Jews from obtaining degrees, though not from studying at the university. There have since been many Jewish teachers and fellows and a high number of Jewish undergraduates. Toward the middle of the 18th century, a short-lived Jewish community existed. It was reestablished in 1847 and again in 1888. In 1908, when Selig *Brodetsky, a young Jewish immigrant from London's East End, was bracketed senior wrangler (the highest-ranking student in the university's mathematics examinations, a very prestigious result), a sensation was created in the Jewish East End. A significant number of Jews have been elected to the Cambridge Apostles, the semi-secret discussion society, among them Leonard *Woolf, Victor Rothschild, and Eric *Hobsbawm, while five Jews served as presidents of the Cambridge Union Debating Society between 1850 (before practicing Jews could not yet graduate from Cambridge) and 1952. In 1968 the number of residents was small and the congregation was supported almost entirely by students. As of the mid-1990s the Jewish community consisted of approximately 500 permanent residents and a similar number of students. By the early 21st century there were believed to be about 850 Jews in Cambridge, of whom about 500 were students. An Orthodox and Reform synagogue existed. William Frankel and Harvey

Miller, eds., *Gown and Tallith* (1989) contains many essays on Jews at Cambridge University.

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[Cecil Roth (2nd ed.)]

CAMBRIDGE YIDDISH CODEX, manuscript from the Cairo *Genizah (Ben Ezra synagogue in Fustat), now in the Taylor-Schechter collection, Cambridge University Library (T.-S. 10K22). It is the oldest known collection of Yiddish texts (dated 1382) and bears witness both to the geographical range and international scope of early Yiddish language and literature: the codex includes eight texts: "Moushe rabeynu" ("Moses the Teacher/Leader"), "Gan eydn" ("Paradise"), "Avrohom ovinu" ("Abraham the Patriarch") "Yousef ha-tsadik" ("Joseph the Righteous"), "Eyn alt leyve" ("An Old Lion"), a list of the weekly Torah readings, a Hebrew–Yiddish glossary of the gemstones on the high priest's breastplate, *Dukus Horant* ("Duke Horant"). The first four texts are examples of the genre best identified as "midrashic epic" – biblical themes enhanced by post-biblical traditions and rendered in epic verse form; the fifth belongs to an international fable tradition; the sixth and seventh pertain to religious practice; while the last text is the earliest example of the centuries-long Ashkenazi interest in adapting non-Jewish, secular epic poetry into Yiddish. The discovery and publication of the codex transformed Yiddish studies by extending the beginnings of mature Yiddish literature back to a significantly earlier date than previously thought possible.

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[Jerold C. Frakes (2nd ed.)]

CAMBYSES (Pers., **Kambujiya**; Bab., **Kam-bu-zi-(ia)**; Aram., **Kanbuzi**; Greek, **Cambyses**), the son of *Cyrus, king of Persia (530–522 B.C.E.). It appears that in 538, several months after Cyrus conquered Babylon, Cambyses was appointed king of Babylon by his father, but was removed from this position at the end of the same year. Cambyses was again proclaimed a co-regent when Cyrus went out to fight against the Massagetae near the Aral Sea – a battle in which Cyrus died (530 B.C.E.). Cambyses' greatest war was the conquest of Egypt (525 B.C.E.), which was then incorporated into the Persian Empire. In a carefully planned military campaign, Cambyses crossed the Sinai Desert with the help of Arab tribes who supplied his armies with water. At Pelusium he inflicted a heavy defeat on the forces of King Psammetichus III of Egypt, conquered the Delta, and established control over the whole of Egypt. Cambyses was aided in the war by Greek mercenaries, and by an Egyptian general who betrayed Psammetichus and delivered the Egyptian navy into the hands of the Persians. Cambyses' attempt to conquer Nubia failed, but his rule extended all the way to Aswan in the south. He considered himself the legitimate ruler of Egypt, and Egyptian inscriptions composed in his honor refer to him with the traditional Egyptian royal titles. He ruled wealthy Egypt harshly. Classical historians claim that Cambyses committed acts of sacrilege against the Egyptian cult and religious practices, and at the end of the fifth century the Jews of *Elephantine refer to the destruction of all the temples of Egypt at the time of his invasion. Contemporary Egyptian sources, however, assert he was concerned for the gods of Egypt and their temples. It seems that Cambyses curtailed the income of many Egyptian temples, but exempted others from taxes. He was favorably disposed toward the Jewish military colony at Elephantine in southern Egypt and allowed no harm to come to their temple. In the spring of 522, while Cambyses was still in Egypt, a rebellion against him broke out in Persia. Ancient sources and modern scholars differ in identifying the rebel who captured the throne. It is not clear whether the usurper was Bardiya (Smerdis in the Greek tradition), Cambyses' brother or, as Darius claims in the Behistun Inscription, it was Gaumāta who pretended to be Bardiya. According to Darius, Cambyses murdered his brother Bardiya before leaving for the conquest of Egypt, but this is doubtful. On his way to Persia to fight the rebels, Cambyses died suddenly and additional rebellions broke out in the empire, but ultimately Darius, a member of a lateral branch of the Achaemenids, gained control of the kingdom (see *Darius I). Cambyses is not mentioned among the Persian kings in Ezra 4. Some scholars claim that "Ahasuerus" (4:6) is another name for Cambyses, since Josephus assigned the libel in Ezra 4 to the time of Cambyses. This is, however, unlikely. It is also unlikely that the return of the Jews to Judah from the Babylonian Exile took place, as suggested by Galling, under Cambyses rather than Cyrus.

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[Hayim Tadmor]

CAMDEN, city and county in New Jersey. The earliest-known Jewish settlers in the city of Camden, primarily small merchants, began to arrive about 1890. In 1894 they formed the

Orthodox Sons of Israel Congregation and in 1907 they established a YMHA, which closed 25 years later due to the Depression and relocation of younger families to the residential area of Parkside. In 1924 a Conservative congregation, Beth El, was formed in Parkside.

The Conservatives established the Hebrew School and the Jewish Welfare Society. The Orthodox, under the leadership of Rabbi Naftoli H. Riff, a scholar of renown and a dominant figure in the Union of Orthodox Rabbis of the U.S. and Canada, sponsored the Ladies' Aid Society, the Talmud Torah, and the Federation of Jewish Charities. In 1937 the two groups cooperated in forming a new Jewish Federation to offer a coordinated approach in meeting the challenges of a growing Jewish community, including the financing of all religious schools in Camden County.

By 1945 the Jewish population of Camden County had reached 7,500, including many engineers who were attracted to such expanding Camden industries as the Radio Corporation of America (RCA). Parkside became the main Jewish residential area, and Congregation Sons of Israel relocated there. By the early 1950s, however, Jews started to move to the suburbs. Reform Temple Emanuel was created in suburban Camden and a Jewish community center was erected there in the mid-1950s.

The 1960s marked a continual growth of the Jewish community in the suburbs and a corresponding decline in the city of Camden. In 1965 there were 14,965 Jews in Camden County and the nearby parts of Burlington County. By 1969 this figure had increased to 18,230, of which only an estimated 1,400 were still living in urban Camden. A later population study estimated that by 1991 the Jewish population of the region had grown to approximately 50,000, with only a handful of Jews left within Camden city proper.

In 1973 the Jewish Federation of Camden renamed itself the Jewish Federation of Southern New Jersey to reflect the growing suburbanization of the Jews and their spread into the suburban areas of Camden and neighboring Burlington and Gloucester counties.

The 1990s marked a significant growth in community institutions, which reflected the increase and geographic spread of the Jewish population. The suburban towns of Cherry Hill and Voorhees in Camden County became the community's new center. The Jewish population also grew significantly in Burlington County, with the focus moving from Willingboro and Burlington to new communities, primarily Mount Laurel, Medford, Moorestown, and Marlton. Growth in Gloucester County, however, remained slow.

The synagogues and community institutions that were built during the first move out of Camden to suburbia in the 1960s and 1970s moved further east reflecting the shift in population. The opening of the new campus in 1997 for the Jewish Federation of Southern New Jersey and its affiliated agencies, including the Katz Jewish Community Center on the east side of Cherry Hill, marked the demographic change.

Religious life centers around large congregations: three Reform – Temple Emanual and Congregation M'kor Shalom in Cherry Hill and Adath Emanu-El in Mount Laurel; two Conservative – Temple Beth Shalom and Congregation Beth El, both in Cherry Hill; and one Orthodox, Sons of Israel, although smaller congregations have also grown in strength. The Jewish Community Center maintains a strong cultural program. The tradition of cooperation between the synagogues, the agencies of the Jewish Federation, and the Tri-County Board of Rabbis, whose membership includes all the congregational rabbis in the community, continues.

The community maintains two day schools, the Harry B. Kelman Academy, part of the Solomon Schechter system, and the Politz Day School, affiliated with the Orthodox Congregation Sons of Israel. The Jewish Community Center sponsors the largest Jewish day camp in the United States in Medford.

Jews have taken their place in the economic, social, and political life of Camden, Burlington, and Gloucester counties. Jewish community leaders often take leadership positions in new Jewish activities, such as the ground-breaking agreement between the Jewish community of Southern New Jersey and the Roman Catholic Diocese of Camden with a joint agreement of understanding that established the Catholic Jewish Commission of Southern New Jersey to coordinate activities beneficial to both communities in 2001. *The Jewish Community Voice*, a bi-weekly newspaper chronicles the life of the Jewish community of Southern New Jersey.

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[Bernard Dubin / Lewis John Eron (2nd ed.)]

CAMEL (Heb. גָּמָל, *gamal*), one of the first animals domesticated by man. Its bones have been found in Egypt from the time of the beginning of the First Dynasty, thus removing doubts as to the plausibility of Abraham receiving camels from Pharaoh (Gen. 12:16). The camel is included in the Bible among the animals that chew the cud but are not cloven-footed, and is prohibited as food (Lev. 11:4; Deut, 14:7). Unlike other ruminants, which have four stomachs, the camel has only three, and while it is cloven-footed, this is not visible from the outside on account of the cushions coverings its feet (see *Dietary Laws). The one-humped camel (*Camelus dromedarius*) was bred in Ereẓ Israel and adjacent countries. In ancient times the camel was used as the chief means of transporting people and goods, especially on long journeys. It is often mentioned in connection with the Patriarchs, and was used in war (Judg. 7:12). David appointed an official in charge of his camels (I Chron. 27:30). The size of a herd of camels was indicative of its owner's wealth. Thus Job is reported to have had at first 3,000 and finally 6,000 camels (Job 1:3; 42:12). Its wool was used for making tent cloth and clothes and the prohibition of *sha'atnez* ("material containing a mixture of wool and linen") does not apply to camel's wool (Kil. 9:1). There are several breeds of camel, some of which are used for transport and plowing, while others are fleet-footed, the latter being apparently the *bekher* or *bikhrah* ("the young camel") of Isa. 60:6 and Jer. 2:23. The Talmud refers to the difference between the Persian and the Bedouin camel, the former having a long, the latter a short neck (BK 55a). The *ne'akah* may also have been a special breed of camel which had to be led by a nose-ring (cf. Shab. 5:1). In mishnaic times, Jewish cameleers were regarded as mostly wicked (Nid. 14a; and Tos., *ibid.*). Although the camel has largely lost its value as a beast of burden, it still represents the principal asset of the Bedouin in desert regions where thousands of camels are to be found. They are used by the Bedouin of the Negev for plowing and in some Arab villages in Israel for transport, especially for bringing the harvest to the threshing floor.

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[Jehuda Feliks]

CAMERI (The Chamber Theater), Tel Aviv repertory theater founded in 1944 on the initiative of Josef *Millo primarily in reaction against the stagnant expressionist style then current in the major existing theaters. Millo's associates were mostly native-born "sabras" and their aim was threefold: to bring to the Hebrew theater new West European drama, particularly of an avant-garde nature, together with up-to-date methods of acting and production; to provide an outlet for talented actors who had not been absorbed by the existing theaters; and to create a theater that would reflect the attitudes and behavior of their own generation. The first productions were foreign works, since no original Hebrew plays were available, but the translations were into modern idiomatic Hebrew, the acting style was natural, and the standard of production was high. The first play to score a notable success was Goldoni's *A Servant of Two Masters*, which Millo himself translated into rhyming couplets and also directed. In 1948, the Cameri presented Moshe *Shamir's adaptation of his own novel *Hu Halakh ba-Sadot* ("He Walked in the Fields"). Its hero, a young kibbutz member, and soldier in the War of Independence, was the first truly indigenous character on the Hebrew stage. Other Hebrew playwrights who had plays commissioned or performed by the Cameri included Nathan *Shaham, Yigal *Mossinsohn, Lea *Goldberg, Nathan *Alterman, Yossef Bar-Yossef, Nissim *Aloni, and Binyamin *Galai. In time, Millo was joined as a director by Gershon Plotkin, Shemuel Bunim, and Leonard Schach. In 1950, the Cameri established a school for acting headed by Yemima Millo, but this closed down three years later. A children's theater, established in 1964 under the direction of the actress Orna *Porat, proved more enduring.

In 1961 the Cameri acquired new premises, which gave it an auditorium seating 890 spectators, but it still had to struggle with a severe financial crisis. From 1970 it received a subsidy from Tel Aviv municipality, which recognized it as the municipal theater. Like the other major theater companies it presented its performances not only in Tel Aviv but throughout the country. In the first 25 years of its existence, the theater staged 160 productions. In 1964 the Cameri was registered as an official company owned by 13 actors and directors, with salaries determined by a committee composed of two of the directors and two outsiders. The theater's artistic direction was in the hands of the directors Plotkin and Bunim and the theater critic Dan *Miron. Leading actors of the Cameri have included Josef Millo, Hannah *Meron, Yosef *Yadin, Avraham Ben-Yosef, Orna Porat, and Batia Lancet.

In 2003 the Cameri moved to a new home, with three large halls. Through 2004 it put on 400 plays in front of 20 million people. The theater presented up to ten new plays a year, reaching an audience of 600,000 and representing Israel around the world. Its troupe consisted of 80 actors, and well-known directors from Israel and abroad direct its plays. Five of the Cameri's actors have received the Israel Prize.

WEBSITE: www.cameri.co.il.

CAMERINI, EUGENIO SALOMONE (1811–1875), Italian literary critic. He studied at the universities of Pisa and Naples. He then became active in the establishment of schools for Jewish youth, who would otherwise have been denied a secular education. He remained devoted to the cause of Jewish emancipation. A pupil of the philologist Basilio Puoti, he was compelled to leave Naples because of his liberal ideas and his patriotic activities from 1848. He became a literary journalist in Turin and contributed to the periodical *Il Crepuscolo*. He also took part in the Piedmontese political and cultural movement advocating the unification of Italy. Camerini's critical writings were directed against the use of dialect – very common among the playwrights of his day – and toward the development of a written language resembling colloquial Italian. In 1859 he moved to Milan, where he lived until his death. There he supervised the *Biblioteca rara* and *I Fiori della letteratura*, and the Sonzogno series, *Biblioteca classica economica*. This, with Camerini's informative introductions to first-class translations, was instrumental in introducing Italian and foreign classics to the reading public. Camerini's works, which stand witness to the breadth and eclecticism of his culture, include a study of Petrarch (1837); *Profili lettarari* (1870), the first essays of their kind in Italian; *I precursori del Goldoni* (1872); and *Nuovi profili lettarari* (1875–76). Camerini's edition of Dante's *Divina Commedia* was very popular for many years. His correspondence with writers was partly published by C. Rosa (1882).

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[Giorgio Romano]

CAMMEO, FEDERICO (1872–1939), Italian jurist. After studying at Pisa, his birthplace, Cammeo became lecturer in administrative law at the University of Cagliari. He taught civil procedure at the universities of Padua and Bologna (1906–12) and in 1913 became professor of administrative law at Bologna. Beginning in 1911, Cammeo published an annual survey of Italian administrative law, *Commentario delle leggi sulla guistizia amministrativa*. In his writings, which include *Questioni di diritto amministrativo* (1900) and *Le manifestazioni di volontà dello stato* (1901), Cammeo was the first Italian to base his study of administrative law on scientific principles. He was also an editor of *Giurisprudenza Italiana*. In 1932, on the invitation of Pius XI, he drafted a new set of administrative rules for the Vatican, entitled *L'ordinamento giuridico dello Stato della Città del Vaticano*. Shortly before his death, he was dismissed from his teaching posts at the University of Florence following the promulgation of the Italian antisemitic laws. His wife and daughter were deported to Auschwitz. His academic work has come to be highly esteemed for its emphasis on human rights.

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[Giorgio Romano / Alfredo Mordechai Rabello (2nd ed.)]

CAMONDO (de), family of Turkish-Jewish financiers and philanthropists of Spanish-Portugese origin. Its most famous member in the Ottoman Empire was ABRAHAM-SALOMON DE CAMONDO (1785–1873), leader of the Jewish community and a philanthropist, who was referred to as "the Rothschild of the East." He exerted considerable influence at the court of sultans Abd al-Majīd (1839–61) and Abdul Aziz (1861–76) and succeeded in obtaining from the Sublime Porte a firman granting to non-Muslims, including Jews and foreigners, the right to land ownership and permission to construct private houses in the Pera and Galata quarters of Constantinople. Abraham-Salomon and his brother Isaac established a banking house under the name of I. Camondo & Cie. The bank financed the Ottoman Empire during the Crimean War (1853–56), when it gave loans to the government against the security of taxes, customs receipts, and monopoly revenues. Abraham was also a financial adviser to the governments of Austria and Italy. In recognition of his generous philanthropy the king of Italy gave him a hereditary title.

In the 1830s leadership of the Ottoman Jews passed to Abraham-Salomon de Camondo following the decline of some of the prominent Jewish families, such as the Gabbais, the Carmonas, and the Ajimans, who had maintained close relations with the discredited Janissaries. He became influential in official circles and was instrumental in securing the confirmation of the appointment of the first *ḥakham bashi* in Jerusalem in 1841. He headed the faction which tried to strengthen the position of the community in its economic competition with the Armenians and the Greeks.

His grandson ABRAHAM-BEHOR (1829–1889) together with Rothschild's envoy, Albert Cohn, founded in the capital the first modern Jewish school (1854), giving education in French, teaching Turkish and providing pupils with craftsman's skills. Shortly afterwards, the *Khaṭṭi Hümayūn*, the Imperial Rescript (1856), led to the creation of a secular committee of notables (*Va'ad Pekidim majlis jashnet*) consisting of wealthy, progressive-minded individuals under the chairmanship of Abraham-Behor Camondo. After 1860, Abraham-Behor was involved with the Alliance Israélite Universelle and was instrumental in the creation of schools all over Ottoman territories. His leadership of the committee of notables and in the establishment of schools where French was taught led to a clash with conservative religious circles. He was accused of encouraging the children to convert to Christianity and was excommunicated, but the grand vizier convened a special rabbinical court, which exonerated Camondo.

In 1869, Abraham-Salomon and his grandsons, Abraham-Behor and NISSIM (1830–1889), left Istanbul and settled in Paris with their families. According to Abraham-Salomon's wishes, his remains were sent to Istanbul, where he was given an official funeral. His bank continued to operate until it closed in 1897, although its real estate department continued to operate until 1913. When he died the Camondos were important real estate owners in Istanbul. They possessed several office buildings as well as apartment houses in Galata, where they were active in the modernization of the district by establishing the first Istanbul trolley car system and helped carry out the first municipal reform in 1855.

The generation of the Camondos who grew up in Paris abandoned educational philanthropy. They became patrons of the arts: ISAAC DE CAMONDO (1850–1910), son of Abraham-Behor, was famous for his collection of impressionist paintings and for his interest in music. He bequeathed his collection, which contained several paintings by Manet, Monet, Cezanne, and Degas, to the Louvre. It was one of the most important collections ever donated to the museum. His cousin, MOÏSE DE CAMONDO (1860–1935), son of Nissim, collected furniture, rugs, paintings, and porcelains of the 18th century. He had a mansion built at the edge of the Parc Monceau to house the collection. He, too, bequeathed both the collection and the residence to France, in memory of his son Nissim who was a pilot in French air force and was killed in combat in 1917. The mansion became the Nissim de Camondo Museum, a restoration of an 18th century aristocratic house. BEATRICE (1894–1945), daughter of Moïse de Camondo, was killed in Auschwitz with her two children and the Camondo family died out.

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[Nora Seni (2nd ed.)]

°**CAMPEN, JOHANNES VAN** (also **Campensis, de Campo, Transislanus**; 1490–1538), Dutch Hebraist and theologian. Van Campen, who may have begun to learn Hebrew during his school years, was a student of J. *Reuchlin and studied also at the new Trilingual College of the University of Louvain, which had been established at Erasmus' initiative. There he became professor of Hebrew, but later he traveled in Germany, Poland, Italy, and Switzerland where he taught Hebrew. In 1528, while still in Louvain, he published his Hebrew grammar, and in the same year in Leyden, a treatise on masoretic Hebrew, based upon the work of Elijah *Levita. His Latin paraphrase of the Hebrew text of Psalms (Nuremberg, 1532) attracted considerable attention and was translated into several languages, including English (1539). Van Campen also published a paraphrase of Ecclesiastes (Paris, 1532).

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[Joseph Elijah Heller]

CAMPEN, MICHEL HERMAN VAN (1874–1942), Dutch literary critic. Originally trained as a diamond worker, Van Campen published his first literary work, *Bikoerim*, a collection of sketches of Amsterdam Jewish life, in 1903. Over the following years he published numerous critical and didactic essays on contemporary Dutch (Jewish) literature in periodicals such as *De Gids*, *De Kroniek,* and *Het Volk*. His work betrays a strong social-realist orientation.

[Irene E. Zwiep (2nd ed.)]

CAMPS (**Concentration and Extermination**). The English-language term concentration camp is commonly used to describe a wide number of places of internment created by Nazi Germany, which served a variety of functions and were called by different names: labor camps (*Arbeitslager*); transit camps (*Durchgangslager*); prisoner-of-war camps (*Kriegsgefangenlager*); concentration camps (*Konzentrationslager KZ*); and death camps or killing centers, often referred to in Nazi parlance as extermination camps (*Vernichtungslager*).

Concentration camps underwent a series of developments over time to respond to differing German policies and needs. From 1933 to 1936 they were used for incarcerating political adversaries and preventive protective custody. During this period of time Jews were not arrested as Jews but because of their political or cultural activities. Most of those interned were trade unionists, political dissidents, communists, and others. In 1936 operational responsibility for the camps was consolidated under the SS and the camp universe expanded incrementally. In 1941–42 the major killing centers came on line: *Chelmno, *Auschwitz-Birkenau, *Majdanek as well as the Aktion Reinhard camps of *Belzec, *Sobibor, and *Treblinka. A series of labor camps were created in direct response to the impact of the war and Germany's growing need for workers. German companies participated directly in the growth of the labor camps and were the chief employers and thus beneficiaries of these captive workers. The SS profited greatly by these arrangements. In 1944–45 in the face of advancing Allied armies, the concentration camps in occupied countries were dismantled and evacuated, bringing back to Germany, often on foot in what became known as death marches, the Jewish population that had previously been expelled from Germany. The evacuees were moved to concentration camps within Germany, which resulted in overcrowding and their functional collapse, or they were simply walked endlessly until they dropped and were shot or until they were overrun by advancing Allied armies, (See Map: Camps in Europe, WWII).

Protective Custody of Enemies of the State (1933–39)

During the night following the declaration of a state of emergency after the Reichstag fire (Feb. 27, 1933), there was a wave of mass arrests of the Communist opposition. After the *Ermaechtigungsgesetz* ("Enabling Act") of March 23, 1933, the non-Nazi political elite, composed of trade-union members, socialists, and civil party members, was arrested, together with writers, journalists, and lawyers, who were Jewish, but arrested because of their activities – alleged or actual. In July 1933, the number of protective-custody detainees reached 14,906 in Prussia and 26,789 in the whole Reich. The SA (Storm Troops), the *SS, and the police improvised about 50 mass-detention camps. *Dachau, Oranienburg, Esterwegen, and Sachsenburg were thus created. The worst camp of all was the Berlin Columbia Haus. The methods of arrest, kidnappings, tortures, bribery, and blackmail of associates created chaos and aroused protest in newly Nazified Germany. In response to pressure from the judiciary, and upon the advice of the then head of the Gestapo, Rudolf Diels, to Hermann *Goering, most of the SA and SS *Wilde KZ* ("Wild concentration camps") were broken up. Oranienburg, Lichtenburg, and Columbia Haus remained, containing no more than 1,000 prisoners each. Later on there was less judicial pressure and a confident and dominant Nazi regime became less responsive – but never unresponsive – to public opinion. Public opposition to the regime was less forthcoming because of fear, coercion, despair and indifference.

The reduction in concentration camps during the early years of the Nazi regime was no indication of any move to abolish them; among the new victims of the terror were those who listened to foreign radio stations, rumormongers, Jehovah's Witnesses (*Bibelforscher,* in 1935), and German male homosexuals. There was no incarceration of lesbians qua lesbians. Jehovah's Witnesses were the only "voluntary victims" of Nazism. They refused to register in the Wehrmacht or to swear allegiance to the state. The words "Heil Hitler" never passed their lips. Their allegiance was to Jehovah and not to the state. Jehovah's Witnesses could be freed from concentration camps if they signed a simple document renouncing their faith and swearing to cease their religious activities. Few succumbed to this temptation, even at the risk of endless internment and conditions that might lead to death. There was a basic tension in German policy and among German policymakers toward the male homosexual population. The function of their incarceration varied between punishment and reeducation.

Under the command of Himmler, who on April 20, 1934, took over direction of the Berlin Gestapo, the SS gained total control of the concentration camps, and the judiciary was prevented from intervening in the Gestapo's domain. Small concentration camps were broken up, and their prisoners transferred to larger camps, such as Dachau (which was enlarged), *Sachsenhausen (established in September 1936), and *Buchenwald (established in August 1937). When the number of concentration-camp detainees dropped to about 8,000 in late 1937, it was augmented by the dispatch of criminal offenders and persons defined as "asocial." In April 1938 ordinary prisoners under preventive detention were transferred from prisons to concentration camps, which, in addition to their original function, then became *Staatliche Besserungs-und Arbeitslager* ("State Improvement and Labor Camps"). At about the same time, Jews qua Jews (not as Communists, Socialists, etc.) were interned in concentration camps for the first time.

The German state gave legal sanction to arbitrary imprisonment by the *Notverordnung des Reichspraesidenten zum Schutz von Volk und Staat* (Feb. 28, 1933), which served as a base for "protective custody" by authorizing the unlimited detention of persons suspected of hostility to the regime. The regulation requiring a written protective-custody warrant (*Schutzhaftbefehl*) was introduced on April 12–16, 1934, in order to placate the judiciary, who still demanded that the legality of each arrest be examined. A clause postulated on Jan. 25, 1938, extended protective custody to persons whose conduct endangered the security of the nation and the state for detention solely in the concentration camps. In an order of Feb. 10, 1936, Heinrich *Himmler invested the *Gestapo authority to make arrests and investigate all activities hostile to the state within the Reich. He also decreed that the Gestapo's orders were not subject to investigation by courts of law and handed over the administration of the concentration camps to the Gestapo. The protective-custody warrant was presented to the detainees, if at all, only after their arrest. They were first sent to prison and tortured for long periods. The detainee was then forced to sign the warrant that was sent to the concentration camp as his dispatch note.

The number of political detainees (Marxists, anti-Nazis, and Jews) rose after the annexations of Austria – in March and April 1938 – and Sudetenland – in October and November 1938 (see *Czechoslovakia). Overcrowding in the camps grew worse, especially after the arrest throughout the Reich of about 30,000 Jewish men – aged 16–60 – after the November pogrom of 1938 known as *Kristallnacht. The total number of detainees rose that year from 24,000 to 60,000. In 1939 the internment of individual Jews for the slightest violation of the *Schikanengesetzgebung* – irksome special legislation – began. Jews convicted for *Rassenschande* (violation of race purity), those Jews who remained married to "Aryans", were often put into internment camps after having served their sentence. But prior to World War II, Jews could be released from the camps if they could prove that they had a chance to leave Germany, and in 1939 the release of Jews possessing emigration papers, who paid exorbitant ransoms, resulted in a marked drop in the number of Jewish internees. Many historians argue that Germany's goal at this point was the forced emigration of the Jews, not their murder, and this policy is viewed as evidence for their argument. With the outbreak of war, the total number of detainees rose to 25,000 (including those in the women's camp of *Ravensbrueck, set up in May 1939 in place of Lichtenburg).

World War II

World War II wrought changes in the concentration camp system. There was an increase in the number of prisoners, extension of the network of concentration camps in and outside Germany, and an alteration in the camps' function. The security function (i.e., protective custody) was subordinated to the economic exploitation of detainees and mass murder, especially as the war progressed and German planners understood that an immediate victory would not be forthcoming and they had to plan for an extended conflict. Under the renewed security pretext, ten times as many political prisoners were arrested in the Reich as had been arrested in the years 1935–36. In the occupied countries, thousands of "opponents" were detained in local concentration camps while special groups were "transferred" in vast numbers to concentration camps within the Reich. From the outbreak of war until March 1942, the number of detainees rose from 25,000 to 100,000 and in 1944 the number reached 1,000,000; only between 5 and 10% of them were German nationals.

Late in 1939 the concentration camp organization in Germany was authorized to set up about 100 concentration camps of all types, including *Internierungslager* (detention or internment camps) and *Austauschlager* (exchange camps). To these were added *Auschwitz (May 1940), Gusen (May 1940), and Gross-Rosen (Aug. 1940). That year, a series of Jewish and non-Jewish labor camps was established, together with transit camps (*Durchgangslager*), as part of Himmler's "transfer and resettlement" plan designed to get Jews out of Germany and Germany's sphere of influence and move them eastward to German-occupied territories. In May 1941 *Natzweiler was set up, followed by Niederhagen (May 1940), *Majdanek (November 1940), Stutthof (November 1940), and Arbeitsdorf (April 1942). In early 1942 there was further expansion, when the extermination camps were set up in Poland. The rate at which camps were established varied but did not decline. Even as late as 1944 *Sonderlager* ("special camps") were established for Hungarian Jews in Austria on the borders with Czechoslovakia and Hungary.

Euthanasia

In October 1939, Hitler signed an order empowering his personal physician and the chief of the Fuehrer Chancellory to put to death those considered unsuited to live. He backdated it to September 1, 1939, the day World War II began, to give it the appearance of a wartime measure. In Hitler's directive:

> Reich leader Philip Bouhler and Dr. Brandt are charged with responsibility for expanding the authority of physicians, to be designated by name, to the end that patients considered incurable according to the best available human judgment of their state of health, can be granted a mercy killing.

What followed was the so-called euthanasia program, in which German men, women, and children who were physically disabled, mentally retarded, or emotionally disturbed were systematically killed.

Within a few months, the T-4 program (named for Berlin Chancellory Tiergarten 4, which directed it) involved virtually the entire German psychiatric community. A new bureaucracy, headed by physicians, was established with a mandate to "take executive measures against those defined as 'unworthy of living.' "

Patients whom it was decided to kill were transported to six killing centers: Hartheim, Sonnenstein, Grafeneck, Bernburg, Hadamar, and Brandenburg. The members of the SS in charge of the transports donned white coats to keep up the charade of a medical procedure. These camps were fertile ground for the training of staff that latter served the "Final Solution" – the mass murder of Jews in the "Aktion Reinhard" camps, both in leadership capacities and in secondary and tertiary positions. It also was used to master killing by gas.

The first killings were by starvation. Then injections of lethal doses of sedatives were used. Children were easily "put to sleep." But gassing soon became the preferred method of killing. Fifteen to 20 people were killed in a chamber disguised as a shower. Chemists provided the lethal gas, and physicians supervised the process. Afterwards, black smoke billowed from the chimneys as the bodies were burned in adjacent crematoria. It was a technique that was later used to kill millions not hundreds or thousands.

PRISON LABOR. In 1938, the SS began to exploit prison labor in its DEST (Deutsche Erd-und Steinwerke Gmb-H) enterprise (see OSTI), in coordination with Albert Speer, the man responsible for the Nazi construction program for rebuilding Berlin and Nuremberg. This policy determined the sites for new concentration camps – Flossenbuerg, a punishment camp, and Mauthausen, established in mid-1938. The war effort reinforced the function of the camps as a source of manpower for forced labor. Under Oswald Pohl, the concentration camps became centers for the exploitation of the inmates. According to German calculations, the fee for 11 hours (by day or night) of prisoner labor was 6 RM (= $1). The fees from prisoner labor, totaling hundreds of millions of marks, were one of the SS's principal sources of income. The SS incurred inconsequential expenses for the prisoner's upkeep, amounting to no more than 0.70 RM daily for food and depreciation in clothing. Taking into account the average life span of a slave laborer (about 9 months) and the plunder of the corpse for further profit, the total income to the SS for each prisoner averaged 1,631 RM. This excluded industrial exploitation of corpses and property confiscated before internment.

Private suppliers of military equipment, such as I.G. Farben, Krupp, Thyssen, Flick, Siemens, and many others used the concentration camps because of the cheap labor and maximum exploitation afforded, so that prisoners constituted 40% of the industries' labor force. Working conditions in private enterprises, worse than those in the concentration camps themselves, were the direct cause of a high death rate. In the Bunawerke (artificial rubber factory) belonging to I.G. Farben at Monowitz near Auschwitz, the manpower turnover was 300% per year. The employers were not authorized to mete out punishment, but with the aid of the Kapos they instituted so brutal a system of punishments that the SS sometimes intervened on the prisoners' behalf. Approximately 250,000 concentration camp prisoners were employed in private industry, while about 170,000 were utilized by the Reich Ministry of Munitions and War Production. The death rate in the concentration camps (60% in 1942 and 80% thereafter) appeared excessive even to the Inspection Authority, who, for fear of a depletion of a manpower reserve, were ordered to absorb new prisoners and lower the death rate.

The desire to exploit the prisoners was in direct tension to the killing program (the "Final Solution"). This opposition resulted in a continual battle between the employers, the SS-Wirtschafts-und Verwaltungshauptamt ("Economic and Administrative Main Office", WVHA) and the Reichssicherheitshauptamt, RSHA, who were responsible for the extermination policy. The former wanted workers; the latter dead Jews. The scenes of these conflicts were those concentration camps in which mass extermination facilities had been installed, such as Auschwitz, where SS officers and SS doctors sorted out the transports, sending the weak (including children) to their deaths and the able-bodied to work. The latter became camp prisoners and were registered accordingly. They were kept alive for as long as they could work. Reality had created a sort of compromise; the conditions of employment of prisoners helped to kill them and served merely as an extension of life until they completely collapsed and were sent as refuse to the crematories. These concentration camps thus became large-scale extermination centers where in the end Jewish slave labor was regarded as a consumable raw material to be discarded in the process of manufacture and recycled into the war economy.

THE CAMPS AND THE "FINAL SOLUTION." The killing of Jews began in June 1941 as the *Einsatzkommando* ("mobile killing units"), which accompanied the German army invading the Soviet Union, went into towns, villages, and cities and killed Jews, Soviet kommisars, and gypsies, one by one, bullet by bullet. This system of sending mobile killers to stationary victims was slow, public, and horrifying, however, even for the SS. Thus by late 1941 the system was reversed. The victims were made mobile – they were sent by train from ghettos and cities to stationary killing centers, where mass murder could be effected in an assembly line process with economies of scale and personnel. Soviet prisoners of war – often Ukrainians – staffed the camps, prison labor was employed to build and run the camps, and a few Germans could oversee the entire operation, most especially the killing.

From December 1941, Jews had been gassed in trucks at the *Chelmno extermination camp at a pace that did not satisfy those responsible for carrying out the solution to the "Jewish Question." After the Wannsee *Conference (1942), which was convened to smooth the cooperation toward liquidation of the Jews, the establishment of new killing centers, mainly on German-occupied Polish soil, was hastened. The first to use gas chambers was Odilo *Globocnik, chief of the SS and Police Force in *Lublin, who set up a Jewish labor camp in 1940 in the Lublin district. He later transformed this camp into a killing center. At Chelmno, situated in German-occupied Poland, gassing by carbon monoxide fumes introduced from exhaust pipes into hermetically sealed trucks was employed. It was also used in Yugoslavia. The use of trucks was facilitated by local mechanics, who improvised by reconfiguring existing vehicles and even strengthened the rear axles to prevent their breakdown as the victims pushed to the rear.

Mobile gas vans, which could deal with a limited number of victims, 1,000–2,000 a day, had many disadvantages and were superseded in 1942 by the use of stationary gassing installations. A second method was that of gas chambers, disguised as shower room facilities, with shower room notices in various languages. At first the gas used was diesel exhaust fumes, and the victims often waited outside for hours in long queues because the motor had broken down. At Auschwitz Zyklon B, a disinfectant provided by I.G. Farben, first employed to destroy insects, was used. It seems that bureaucratic rivalries between camp commandants prevented its universal use.

Between 1942 and 1943 Jews were gassed in *Belzec, *Treblinka, and *Sobibor. Near *Vilna, *Riga, *Minsk, *Kovno, and *Lvov, there were smaller killing centers where Jews were executed by firing squads. The large concentration camps became death camps, e.g., Majdanek, and the largest of all, Auschwitz, which at the height of the extermination program accounted for more than 10,000 victims per day. Adolf Eichmann gave priority to the murder of Polish Jews and those expelled from the Reich, since in their case the problem of transport was nil and particularly because Hans *Frank, governor of the General-Gouvernement, was urging that his area be "cleansed" of Jews, whose number he overestimated at 3,500,000. Thus in early 1942 the evacuation of the Polish ghettos began in an operation deceptively termed *Umsiedlung* ("resettlement"), the evacuees being sent to killing centers. The liquidation of the Jewry of the General-Gouvernement, organized by Globocnik, was termed *Aktion Reinhard* in memory of *Heydrich, who had been assassinated in June 1942. When the operation ended (October 1943), many Jewish labor camps still remained, but all of them were turned into concentration camps in 1944.

The deportations from the rest of Europe to the extermination camps (including transports from concentration camps) began in March and April 1942 and continued until late 1944. The pace of the killing was related to the availability of transports and many deportations and subsequent gassing occurred after it was clear that Germany would lose the war. It did not want to lose the war against the Jews. At first, those able to work were brought because the construction of the extermination camps had yet to be completed. Belzec was operational between February and December 1942; killings had ceased before the new year began. Its mission was complete. The Jews of Galicia were dead. All that remained in 1943 was to exhume the dead, burn their bodies to destroy all evidence of the crime, and to plow the camp under. Following the rebellion at Treblinka (August 1943) and at Sobibor (October 1943) and the advance of the Soviet army, these two camps were abolished, and the killing moved westward to Auschwitz, which only in the summer of 1944 became the most lethal of the death camps, and Stutthof. The gassing of Jews continued until November 1944, when it was halted on Himmler's orders, perhaps to keep some Jews alive who could be used as barter for peace with the West.

From 1941 crematoria were built in several concentration camps to solve the problem of body disposal. In a few death camps, the crematoria was an all-purpose facility complete with its own gas chamber and undressing room. Prisoners would be entered into the building, forced to undress, instructed to remember where they had left their clothes, as part of the effort to deceive them, and then forced into gas chambers disguised as showers. Men, women, and children were undressed together, killed together. Because of the large numbers of corpses, they were not all dissected before cremation, but nevertheless the *Selektion* provided the physicians in German universities with "specimens" for study and for collection. The *Sonderkommando* ("special squad") of prisoners who worked in the crematoria were routinely murdered and replaced by new squads, in order to prevent the leaking of information. After all, they were the most dangerous of victims. Much to the surprise of historians and also of the SS, several *Sonderkommando* survived to bear witness to what had happened. Camps of a special type were set up late in 1941 for the sole purpose of the extermination of "undesirable populations." These were from the first equipped with gas chambers and crematoria and differed from concentration and labor camps and from those camps with a combined program of concentration and murder.

Train transport to the camp was often in crowded cattle cars with merely a bucket for sanitation. Conditions were primitive and cramped and upon reaching their destination the new arrivals mistakenly thought they had survived the worst. At the entrance to each of the death camps – the reception area – the dead were removed from the trains and the living divided according to their ability to walk. Those able to walk were sent on, people unable to walk were taken away. Those who could walk then faced the first *Selektion*. An SS officer pointed to the left or to the right. Elderly people, pregnant women, young children, and the infirm were immediately condemned to death. Segregated by sex, they surrendered their valuables and removed their clothes before entering the gas chambers.

At Auschwitz, those selected for work were registered and branded and sheared. Their hair was shaved and their arms tattooed with a number. Uniforms were issued. Their ordeal as inmates was just beginning. They would face additional "selections" in the future. The officer in charge of the "selection" was a physician. His "expert opinion" was required to determine who would live and who would die. The most infamous of all of them, Dr. Josef *Mengele, who also oversaw some of the cruelest quasi-medical experiments conducted on inmates, was often to be found at the ramp in Birkenau. At other death camps, no selection was needed; arriving Jews were all sent to their death.

Those marked for *Selektion* and after it were forced to run to the "showers" to the accompaniment of a band playing music. Between 700–800 men and women, elderly people, and children were crammed into a chamber measuring 25 square meters (225 sq. ft). Certain tasks were restricted to the Germans; they alone emptied the Zyklon B into the chamber through slits in the roof; the gassing took about 20 minutes, depending on the number of persons in the chamber and then the gas had to be evacuated from the chamber. They alone pronounced the dead, dead.

Terrible shrieks could be heard from the hermetically sealed chamber when those inside began to suffocate and their lungs burst. One Sonderkommando from Auschwitz recalled, "People called one another by name. Mothers called their children, children, their mothers and fathers. Sometimes we could hear *Sh'ma Yisrael.*" Hear Oh Israel, the Lord is our God, the Lord is One, the traditional line recited by Jews at death. Rudolph Reder, one of two survivors of Belzec and the only one to bear witness said: "Only when I heard children calling: 'Mommy. Haven't I been good? It's dark.' My heart would break. Later we stopped having feelings."

Some of the victims understood what was about to happen. Others were deceived to the very end. When the doors were reopened, the *Sonderkommando* entered to take out the corpses. If anyone was left alive, he was beaten to death. The contorted and entangled bodies were separated, body cavities were inspected for possible valuables, and after rings and gold teeth were removed and hair was shorn, they were piled in tens for inspection and then taken and burned. Later, furnaces and cremating pits were constructed. As the rate of extermination increased, heaps of ashes accumulated by the pits, whose smoke was visible from far away. The distinct smell of burning flesh permeated the area. The economic exploitation of the corpses involved the extraction of tons of gold teeth and rings, which were sent to the Reichsbank and credited to the SS account; the hair and bones were employed in industry; the ashes were used as fertilizer; and the clothes were sent to other camps after fumigation. There is no credible evidence that body fat was used for soap.

The murder rate was so intense that at the beginning of 1942 eight out of ten of the Jews who were to die in the Holocaust were still alive. Fourteen months later, the figure was reversed, 80% of the Jews were already dead. The rate of extermination, which was subject to the rate of transports, took its toll on the communications system just when the army was in need of it, and the extermination of manpower undermined the war effort.

"MEDICAL" EXPERIMENTS. Pseudo-medical experiments were carried out in a number of camps. Prior to World War II governments routinely used vulnerable populations for experimentation, but German physicians operated without limits and with routine disregard for the humanity of those upon whom they experimented. Even before World War II interned Jews had been used for pseudo-biological "race research." Upon Himmler's initiative, unlimited supplies of live men and women were put at the disposal of the SS medical organization for the purpose of "medical" experiments in the camps and outside. Under the program of the biological destruction of the "inferior races", Viktor Brack, who had also been one of the heads of the Euthanasia Program, was charged in 1941 with developing a quick system of sterilizing between 2,000,000 and 3,000,000 Jews who were fit for work. The logic was simple: if Jews could be sterilized, then the imposition of the "Final Solution" would take but a generation as there would be no danger of their reproducing and perpetuating the Jewish people. In the interim, the German people could enjoy the benefits of their labor. The Brack system, employed in Auschwitz by Horst Schumann, consisted of the irradiation of the reproductive organs of men and women. Another system was also tested in Auschwitz by Karl Clauberg, who, during the gynecological examination of women, injected them with matter, which burned out the womb. Gerhard Madaus and Ernst Koch worked on the development of an herbal means of sterilization, using *Caladium seguinum*; Gypsies were used as guinea pigs. August Hirt worked on shrinking skulls for his collection at the anatomical institute at Strasbourg, for the purposes of "racial research." The "specimens" were put to death at Natzweiler. Upon orders received from the air force, experiments subjecting humans to conditions of high pressure and freezing were held at Dachau, to investigate the possibilities of the survival of pilots. In the name of "medical research", humans were infected with contagious diseases and epidemics, in order to try out new drugs and poisons. The SS doctors also amputated bones and cut muscles for transplantation purposes; they removed internal organs and introduced cancer into human bodies. Those victims who did not die immediately were left to perish from neglect and agony. Some of them survived, crippled or maimed for life.

In November 1943, Dr. Josef Mengele became the chief physician of Birkenau. Mengele wanted to "prove" the superiority of the Nordic race. His first experiments were performed on gypsy children supplied to him from the so-called kindergarten. Before long he expanded his interest to twins, dwarfs, and persons with abnormalities.

Mengele subjected his experimental group to all possible medical analyses that could be performed while the victims were alive. The tests he performed were painful, exhausting, and traumatic for the frightened and hungry children who made up the bulk his subjects.

The twins and the crippled persons designated as subjects of experiments were photographed, their jaws and teeth cast in plaster molds, fingerprints were taken from hands and legs. On Mengele's instructions, an inmate painter made comparative drawings of the shapes of heads, auricles, noses, mouths, hands, and legs of the twins.

When the research was completed some subjects were killed by phenol injections and their organs were autopsied and analyzed. Scientifically interesting anatomical specimens were preserved and shipped out to the Institute in Berlin-Dahlem for further research.

On the day he left Auschwitz, January 17, 1945, Mengele took with him the documentation of his experiments. He still imagined that they would bring him scientific honor.

STRUCTURE AND ADMINISTRATION. On July 7, 1934, Himmler appointed Theodor Eicke inspector of concentration camps and *Fuehrer* of the SS *Wachverbaende* ("guards"). A fanatic, brutal Nazi and efficient organizer, Eicke determined the uniform pattern of the concentration camps, fixed their locations, and headed their inspection authority until his transfer to the front in November 1939. The economic administration, including the financing and equipping of the SS Death Head Unit, members of which served as guards, was handled by Pohl. As a result of conflicts between the Gestapo and SS, a division of tasks was made: the Gestapo made arrests and the SS actually ran the camps. This, however, did not prevent the struggle between the various authorities and the resulting tangle of bureaucracy, which kept the prisoners from knowing which office decided their fate. The different types of concentration camps were classified into three categories in accordance with the severity of their detention conditions. In practice the various camps resembled one another in their inhumanity. Dachau served as the model camp, where guards and commandants were trained. Eicke created a combination of concentration camp and labor camp by exploiting the prisoners for profit and to finance the camps themselves.

The gate of the camp was a one-story construction in the center of which stood a tower with a clock and a searchlight. The gate usually bore a motto, such as "*Arbeit macht frei*" ("Labor makes free"). The parade ground (*Appellplatz*) stretched from the gate to the wooden huts where the prisoners were housed. The structure of the command was fixed in 1936 and included

(a) the *Kommandantur,* comprising the *Kommandant*, who held authority over the heads of divisions;

(b) the Political Department, an autonomous authority in the Gestapo, responsible for the file cards of the prisoners and, from 1943, in command of executions (it confirmed the lists of Jews chosen through *Selektion* ("selection") for death in the gas chambers);

(c) the *Schutzhaftlager* ("protective custody" camp), under command of the *Schutzhaftlagerfuehrer,* whose *Blockfuehrer* were responsible for order and discipline in the prisoners' quarters (there were also *Arbeitsdienstfuehrer,* responsible for the division of labor, and the *Kommandofuehrer,* who led the labor detachments);

(d) the administration, which dealt with administration, internal affairs, and economy (Concentration camps that absorbed transports of Jews had a special staff to classify their goods and send them on to the *Hauptversorgungslager* in Auschwitz.);

(e) *Lagerarzt*, the SS physician.

Guard duties were carried out mostly by the SS Death Head Units. In 1944, 1,000,000 prisoners were kept by 45,000 guards, of whom 35,000 were SS men and 10,000 were army or navy men or non-German auxiliaries. The guards were allowed the unstinted use of weapons against escapees or rebels, and if a prisoner escaped the guard was tried, while guards who killed escapees were rewarded.

The prisoners were classified as follows: political prisoners, including smugglers and deserters (after the outbreak of war these included all non-Germans); members of "inferior races", Jews and gypsies, and criminals; asocials, such as tramps, drunkards, and those guilty of negligence at work. Homosexuals constituted a special group. Each group wore a distinctive badge, a number, and a triangle colored according to the different categories. The Jews wore an additional yellow triangle, inverted under the first, thus forming a Star of David. At a later stage, in some concentration camps the prisoner's number was tattooed on his arm.

The prisoners' administration, whose structure resembled that of the concentration camp command, cooperated with the SS, and this structure resulted in dual supervision of the prisoners. Sadists and disturbed persons in an administrative post could brutalize their fellows. The prisoners' administration was headed by a *Lageraeltester* ("camp elder"), appointed by the camp commandant. Each block of prisoners' dwellings had a *Blockaeltester,* assisted by *Stubendienste* ("room orderlies"), who were responsible for maintaining order and for the distribution of food. The work detachments were headed by *Kapos*, work supervisors responsible to the SS *Kommandofuehrer* and assisted by a *Vorarbeiter* ("foreman"). These posts were generally given to criminal offenders, who often exceeded the SS in their brutality, either from sadism or from fear of the SS. The *Kapos* spied on their fellow prisoners and ingratiated themselves with their masters, but their hopes of survival through oppression of their fellow men failed, as they too usually fell victim to the machinations of the SS. In hard labor detachments a prisoner could escape the punishments meted out by the *Kapos* and remain alive only by bribing them. The *Kapos* created a regime of corruption and blackmail, which gave them a life of comfort and ease as long as they held their posts.

The prisoners, who reached the camps in a state of hunger and exhaustion, were forced to hand over the remainder of their personal property and in return received a set of clothing, which included a navy- and white-striped shirt, a spoon, a bowl, and a cup. They were allotted space in the tiers of wooden bunks in huts containing three or four times the number of persons for which the structures were originally intended. The prisoners' daily life resembled the outside world only in the names given to everyday objects. Horrific realities were often hidden under accepted words as "food", "work", "medicine", and "neutral" words such as *Sonderbehandlung* ("special treatment", i.e., execution) *Selektion* (the selection of those to be sent to their death), or *Desinfektion* (i.e., gassing). The prisoners' diet bordered on starvation and deteriorated further during the war years. The terrible hunger did more than anything else to destroy the human image and even reduced some to cannibalism. The extremely poor conditions of health and hygiene and the lack of water also aided the spread of disease and epidemics, especially typhus and spotted fever. The camp doctor and his prisoner assistant often caused or hastened death through neglect, mistreatment, or lethal injections.

END OF THE CAMPS. As the Russians advanced from the east and the British and Americans from the west, Himmler ordered the emergency evacuation of prisoners from camps in the occupied territories. No means of transportation was available for the evacuation, and in early 1945 most of the prisoners were dragged by the thousands in long death marches lasting several days in cold and rain and without equipment

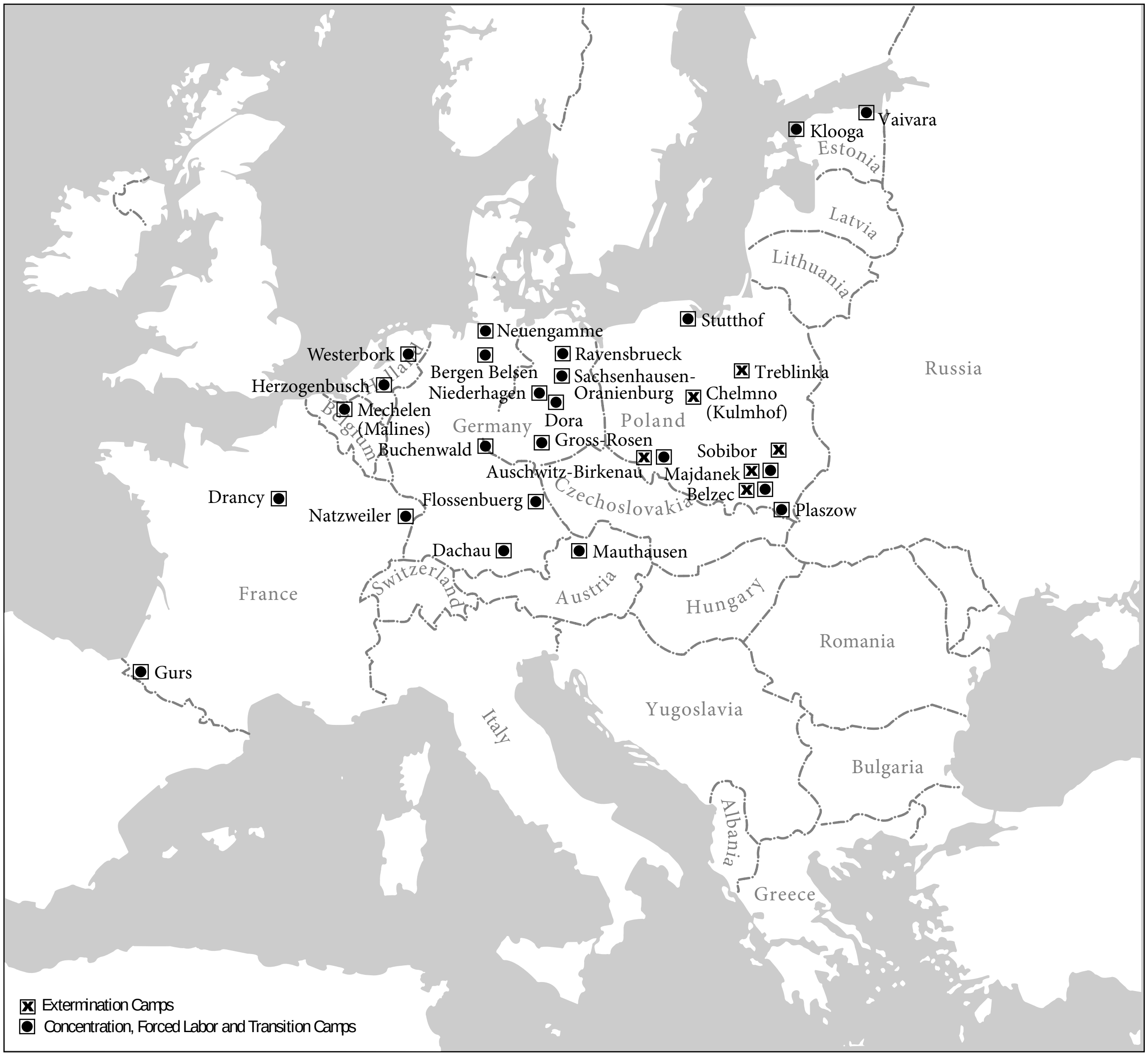
Vaivara
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Latvia
Lithuania
Stutthof
Russia
Neuengamme
Westerbork
Bergen Belsen
Ravensbrueck
Sachsenhausen-
Oranienburg
Treblinka
Herzogenbusch
Holland
Niederhagen
Chelmno
(Kulmhof)
Mechelen
(Malines)
Belgium
Germany
Dora
Poland
Gross-Rosen
Buchenwald
Sobibor
Auschwitz-Birkenau
Majdanek
Belzec
Drancy
Natzweiler
Flossenbuerg
Czechoslovakia
Plaszow
Dachau
Mauthausen
Switzerland
Austria
Hungary
France
Romania
Gurs
Yugoslavia
Italy
Bulgaria
Albania
Greece
☒ Extermination Camps
● Concentration, Forced Labor and Transition Camps

Major concentration, forced labor, transit, and extermination camps in Europe, World War II.

or food. The German prisoners were given weapons to help the SS. Exhaustion, starvation, thirst, and the killing of escapees and the weak accounted for hundreds of thousands of victims. The local populations, who had been incited against the prisoners, attacked them and refused sanctuary to those who escaped. At the reception camps, masses of the new arrivals died of starvation and overcrowding, which hastened the spread of epidemics such as typhus and spotted fever. The evacuation operation cost the lives of about 250,000 prisoners, many of them Jews.

The concentration and extermination camps constituted a terrifying example of the "new order" which the Nazis were preparing for the whole world, using terror and the impersonal murder of millions of anonymous victims to turn "ideology" into reality. The murder itself was the end process of the destruction of the victims' identity and their ethical personalities. The splitting of groups into individuals, and individuals into atoms reduced most of the prisoners into mere shadows of men; some became hungry animals fighting for their existence at the expense of their neighbor's lives; others became *"muselmann," – the walking dead who had lost the will to live. Nevertheless, there were prisoners, many of them Jews, who had the energy and the ability to organize revolts (as at Treblinka and Sobibor) and try to escape, individually or in groups (e.g., from Auschwitz), but only a small percentage succeeded. When the Reich crumbled there was no one to give the order to exterminate. The SS fled, dragging the remnants of the prisoners with them westward for extermination, in the hopes of destroying all remains of their crime. Only 500,000 concentration camp prisoners and those destined for extermination remained alive, most of them physically crippled and mentally broken. These surviving remnants, together with many documents which authorized the reign of terror, bore witness to the horrors of the phenomenon. Exact data are lacking, but there is a general consensus that at Auschwitz 1.1–1.3 million people were gassed, 9 out of 10 of them Jews; at Treblinka between 750,000 and 870,000 Jews were killed; at Belzec some 500,000 Jews were murdered; at Chelmno some 150,000 Jews were gassed; at Sobibor at least 206,000 Jews were murdered; at Majdanek some 170,000. The total may exceed 2,750,000 in the killing centers alone.

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[Nira Feidman / Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

CAMPULUNG MOLDOVENESC (Rom. **Câmpulung Moldovenesc**, Ger. **Kimpulung**), town in Bukovina, N. Romania; summer resort and center of the timber processing industry. Jews were living there in 1684. They engaged in trade and agriculture, and some kept hostels. In 1769, 21 Jews were forced to leave the town. After the Austrian conquest of Bukovina in 1775, the situation of the Jews deteriorated; the Austrian authorities restricted their economic activities. In 1785 the community of Campulung Moldovenesc was placed under the jurisdiction of the community of Suceava, situated 42 miles (67 km.) away. A request in 1794 for permission to form an independent community was refused, and the community did not receive independent status until 1859. From the end of the 19th century the number of Jews in Campulung Moldovenesc increased. They played an important role in trade, crafts and banking, and later in the professions. When Bukovina was annexed by Romania in 1918 the Jews were subjected to the same restrictions as the rest of Romanian Jewry. Zionism gained many adherents. The community numbered 49 in 1789; 799 in 1880 (14.4% of the total population); 3,500 in 1913; 1,488 in 1930 (14.9%); and 1,681 in 1941. During World War II the Jews at first suffered from economic restrictions. Trading licenses were canceled, their real property was confiscated, and their belongings looted. In 1940 the valuable Judaica library of Rabbi Joseph Rubin was dispersed and nearly totally destroyed. The synagogues were also pillaged. Jews were sent to do forced labor. In 1941 they were deported to Transnistria with the rest of the Jewish population of the region. By 1942, after the deportations, only 28 Jews remained in the town. After the war the survivors returned. The Jewish population numbered 1,350 in 1947 and 270 in 1970. In 2004 there were 18 Jews in Campulung Moldovenesc.

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[Yehouda Marton / Lucian-Zeev Herscovici (2nd ed.)]

CANAAN (Heb. כְּנַעַן), the fourth son of *Ḥam and the ancestor of the Canaanites (Gen. 10:6, 15–19; I Chron. 1:8, 13–16). The biblical narrative relates that when Noah awoke from sleep brought on by wine, he realized that his youngest son had seen his nakedness and he cursed Canaan, saying "Cursed be Canaan; a slave of slaves shall he be to his brothers" (Gen. 9:21–27).

In Islam

Canaan (Kanʿān) son of Ḥām is not mentioned in the Koran, but the commentators believe that Sura 11:44ff. refers to him, when it mentions the son who did not join Noah in the ark and drowned in the waters of the deluge. Ṭabarī calls him Yām. Arab historians believe that Kanʿan is the father of the Canaanites, who according to the legend either left the Land of Canaan of their own free will or fled before Yūshaʿ (see *Joshua) to Africa and that they are the ancestors of the *Berbers. Muslim legend (Thaʿlabī, p. 51), however, also states that Yākūnūn (= Canaan) son of Ḥām was cursed to be the slave of his brothers Sām and Yāfith (cf. Gen. 9:22–26).

[Haïm Z'ew Hirschberg]

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CANAAN, CURSE OF, curse invoked by Noah upon Canaan (Gen. 9:25–27). It is presented as punishment for a sinful act on the part of his father *Ham (Gen. 9:22–24), "who saw his father [the drunken Noah] naked," implying in the biblical Hebrew a sexual act or even rape (cf. Lev. 18:7ff.). Canaan was to be cursed by becoming "the lowest of slaves to his brothers" (Gen. 9:25). The tale is in keeping with the Torah's depiction of the Canaanites as sexual degenerates (Lev. 18: 24–30). It is elaborated with a blessing upon *Shem, Ham's older brother, and a reiteration of the curse that Canaan would be a slave to Shem (Gen. 9:26). The passage concludes with a blessing upon *Japheth, the youngest brother of Shem and Ham, asserting that he would "dwell in the tents of Shem," and that Canaan would be a slave to him (Gen. 9:27). *Lamo*, in verses 26–27, is taken to mean "to him"; other scholars interpret it to mean "to them."

This passage has posed a problem for modern interpreters, many of whom see in it an etiology of the historical conditions which brought about Israel's rise to power, namely, the domination of the descendants of Shem over the people of Canaan. The curse upon Canaan mirrors an alliance of the Israelites and the sons of Japheth against a common enemy, the Canaanites. This would best fit the period of David and Solomon, during which there were often close ties between Israel and the Philistines, who were part of the Sea Peoples who originated in the Aegean area (Gen. 10:2, 4, 5). The invasions by the Sea Peoples against Egypt and the eastern Mediterranean are recorded in inscriptions of Pharaoh Merneptah (c. 1212–1203 B.C.E.) and Ramesses III (1186–1155 B.C.E.).

Noah's curse upon Canaan, therefore, reflects a true historical situation: the alliance between the children of Israel (Shem) and the Sea-Peoples (Japheth) at the expense of the Canaanites. This special background of Genesis 9:20–27 accords very well with its traditional-historical isolation, long noted by commentators. The passage does not presuppose either the J or the P elements in the Flood story (6:9–9:19), since in the latter Noah's sons are already married and their names, in order of birth, are Shem, Ham, and Japheth, whereas in this story at least the youngest son evidently still lives in his father's tent, and the sons' names are Shem, Japheth, and Canaan – in that order. According to some scholars, "Ham the father of" in 9:22 may be a gloss; it was Canaan who committed the misdeed, and who is meant by Noah's "youngest son" in verse 24, and consequently it is Canaan who is cursed in verses 25–27. "Ham being the father of Canaan" (9:18b), too, would in that case also be a gloss added to connect verses 18–19 with verses 20–27. For another view, see U. Cassuto, *From Noah to Abraham*, pp. 149ff.

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[David Neiman / S. David Sperling (2nd ed.)]

CANAAN, LAND OF (Heb. [אֶרֶץ] כְּנַעַן, כְּנָעַן), the land promised to the Israelites by God (e.g., Gen. 17:8; Ex. 6:4). The name Canaan first appears in documents from the 15th century B.C.E. and was variously written: Akkadian: *Kinani*(*m*), *Kinaḫḫu / i*, etc.; Egyptian: *Knʿn·w* and *P3-knʿn*; Ugaritic: *Knʿny* ("a Canaanite"); Phoenician and Hebrew: *Knʿn*. Most scholars connect the name with the Hurrian term *kinaḫḫu* meaning (reddish) purple. Support for this is found in the similarity between the Greek Φοῖνιξ meaning reddish purple and Φοινίκη meaning Phoenicia. Those who derive the name from the Semitic root *kn’* consider it either a name for the conchiferous snail which yielded purple dye, or a term for the western nations, because the sun set in the west (see also Astour 1965). Since purple cloth was the chief export of Phoenicia, the term Canaan also appears in the sense of merchant (Isa. 23:8; Zeph. 1:11; Prov. 31:24; et al). The land of Canaan is also known in ancient sources as, variously, *ʿAʾmu-ḥryw-šʿ* ("'Asiatics' who dwell in the sand"), Amurru, Retenu, Hurru, and Hatti (for the first see Helck in bibliography). Apart from one instance of the mention of "thieves and Canaanites (who) are in Rahishum" in an 18th-century B.C.E. text from *Mari, the earliest written records mentioning Canaan are Egyptian from the late 15th and 14th centuries B.C.E., respectively a booty list of Amenophis II mentioning the deportation of Canaanites and the *Amarna letters. Mention of the Land of Canaan predominates in the Bible in the four books of Genesis, Numbers, Joshua, and Judges, but less so elsewhere.

No single geographical definition for the land of Canaan exists in the Bible (Num. 34:2–12; Ezek. 47:13–20; 48:1–7, 23–29) or in other sources. The term occasionally indicates an extensive area encompassing all of Palestine and Syria, while at other times it is confined to a strip of land along the eastern shore of the Mediterranean (for the southern boundary, see Josh. 15:2–4, and for the northern boundary, see Josh. 19:24–31). According to Genesis 10:19, Canaan extended in a restricted fashion from Sidon in the north to Gaza, Gerar, and the southern end of the Dead Sea in the south. The inclusion of Zemar, Arvad, and Sin (Siyanu, to the south of Ugarit) in Genesis 10:15–18, and the mention of Ammia (near Tripoli) as a city "in the Land of Canaan" in the inscriptions of Idrimi,

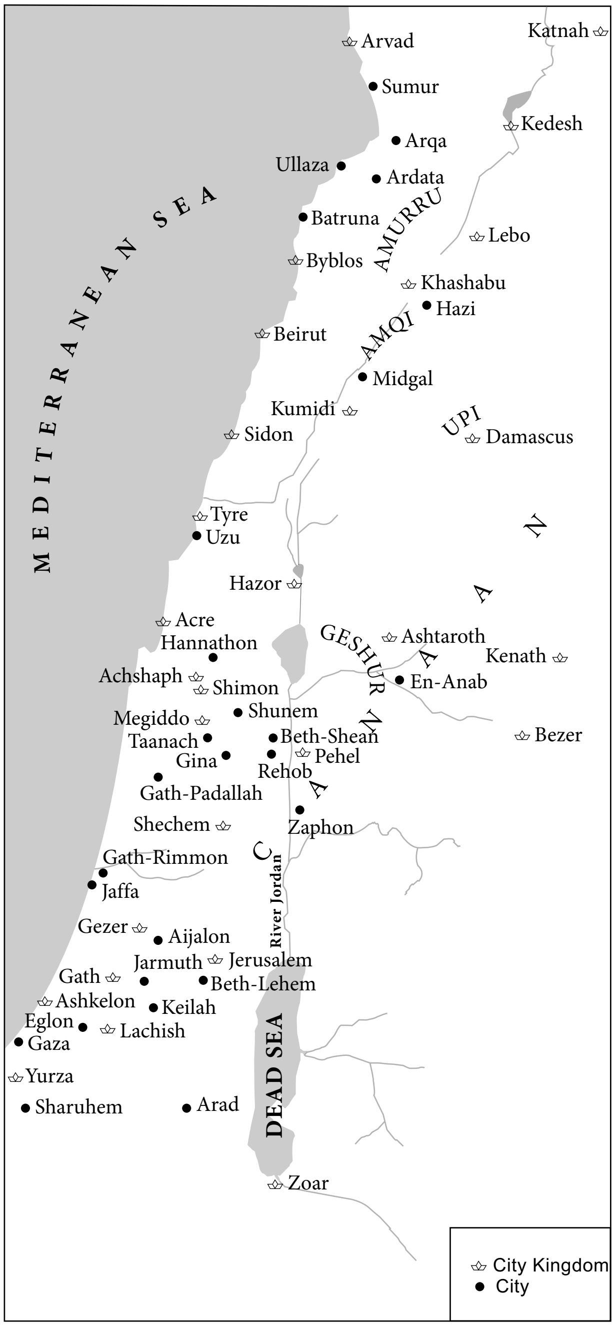
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
Arvad
Katnah
Sumur
Kedesh
Arqa
Ullaza
Ardata
AMURRU
Batruna
Lebo
Byblos
Khashabu
Hazi
Beirut
AMQI
Midgal
Kumidi
UPI
Damascus
Sidon
Tyre
Uzu
CANAAN
Hazor
Acre
Hannathon
Ashtaroth
GESHUR
Kenath
Achshaph
Shimon
En-Anab
Shunem
Megiddo
Taanach
Beth-Shean
Bezer
Gina
Pehel
Rehob
Gath-Padallah
Shechem
Zaphon
Gath-Rimmon
Jaffa
River Jordan
Gezer
Aijalon
Jarmuth
Jerusalem
Gath
Beth-Lehem
Ashkelon
Keilah
Eglon
Lachish
Gaza
DEAD SEA
Yurza
Sharuhem
Arad
Zoar
♔ City Kingdom
● City

Canaan in the El-Amarna age.

king of *Alalakh (dated by various scholars to the 15th–13th centuries B.C.E.), indicate that even areas north of Sidon were included in the land of Canaan. However, the mention of a Canaanite among other foreigners in a merchant list from Ugarit from around 1200 B.C.E. suggests, therefore, that at that time Ugarit was not considered a part of Canaan. According to the detailed description of the borders of the land of Canaan in Numbers 34:2–12, the southern border began at the southern tip of the Dead Sea and continued southwest to the ascent of Akrabbim and Kadesh-Barnea, reaching to the Brook of Egypt (probably Wadi El-Arish). On the west was the Mediterranean. The northern border started at the coast near a place known as Mount Hor and extended east to Lebo-Hamath, the present-day Labwa in the valley of Lebanon (the Biqāʿ), north of Baalbek (ancient Heliopolis). From there the border continued east to Zedad, the present-day Ṣadad, about 65½ miles (c. 100 km.) north-northeast of Damascus. The northeast corner of Canaan was marked by the settlements of Ziphronah and Hazar-Enan, identified today with Ḥawārīn and Qaryatayn, southeast of Ṣadad. The eastern boundary included the region of Damascus and the Hauran to the east and the Bashan and the Golan to the south, touching the southeast corner of the Sea of Galilee and continuing south along the Jordan River to the Dead Sea (cf. Ezek. 47:17–18). Neither Numbers 34 nor other biblical passages include Transjordan within the land of Canaan (Num. 33:51; 35:10; Josh. 22:10–11; et al.). It is reasonable to assume that the political and demographic realities reflected in the boundaries of Canaan given in Numbers 34 are roughly similar to those existing at the time of Egyptian rule in Ereẓ Israel and Syria in the third quarter of the second millennium B.C.E. This area is given in one instance, in a broken and doubtful context, as *[p-i?]-ḫa-ti ša ki-na-ḫi* (J.A. Knudtzon (ed.), *Die El-Amarna-Tafeln*, 1 (1915), 36:15, p. 288), which would mean "the province (?) of Canaan." According to certain biblical passages, the name Canaan applied to an area along the coast of the Mediterranean, including the important cities of Tyre and Sidon (e.g., Num. 13:29; Josh. 5:1; Isa. 23:11).

Canaan's population was not homogeneous. The names of various peoples living in Canaan are given in Genesis 10:15–18. In some passages the Canaanites are only one of several peoples settled in the land allocated to the Israelites (Ex. 3:8; 34:11). At times, the term *Amorite occurs as a general name for the inhabitants of Canaan (Gen. 15:16; I Sam. 7:14). Canaan's population was primarily Semitic, as is indicated by place-names such as Jericho, Megiddo, Gebal, and Sidon, and by documents from the first half of the second millennium B.C.E. containing names of places and rulers. During the first centuries of the second millennium, West-Semitic tribes known in the sources as Amurru penetrated into Canaan. The movement of the Hyksos brought considerable change to the ethnic composition of the population, since in its wake, Hurrian and Indo-European elements penetrated the country during the 17th and 16th centuries. The ethnic heterogeneity of Canaan's population is illustrated by the names of rulers of the country, appearing in the *El-Amarna letters and in Egyptian documents from the time of the New Kingdom.

Canaan was never consolidated into a unified political whole. Rather, it was split up into small political units, each usually under the rule of a king. Many Canaanite city-states are mentioned in inscriptions of the Egyptian pharaohs; most of the Tell el-Amarna letters were sent by Canaanite kings to the pharaoh. Thirty-one kings whom the Israelites fought during the conquest of the country are listed in Joshua 12. The most important city-states were Gebal, Sidon, Amurru, Hazor, Ashtaroth, Megiddo, Acre, Shechem, Jerusalem, and Ashkelon. The borders of the Canaanite city-states were fluid, each ruler attempting to expand at the expense of his neighbor. Some kings did not hesitate to enlist bands of nomads, such as the Shutu and the Apiru-*Habiru, in their support. The internal struggles of the Canaanite kings were concurrent with the competition of the larger powers for domination of Syria and Palestine. At first, the struggle was between Egypt, Babylonia, and Mitanni (15th–14th centuries) and later between Egypt and the Hittites (14th–13th centuries). Egyptian sovereignty over Canaan began in the Old Kingdom (third millennium B.C.E.), continuing until the last quarter of the second millennium. Ethnic and political changes rocked Canaan following the penetration of West Semitic tribes, including the Edomites, the Moabites, the Ammonites, the Israelite tribes, and the Arameans from the east, and the Sea Peoples from the north and west. Israelite settlement in Canaan about 1200 B.C.E. marks the end of the Canaanite period in Palestine, although Canaanite culture endured in the large coastal cities to the north (e.g., Tyre, Sidon, Gebal). The name Canaan began to be limited to the strip of land along the coast, which was later known as *Phoenicia, but it was rarely used after the Iron Age, though some third century B.C.E. coins have been found in Beirut inscribed in Phoenician "Laodikea which is in Canaan."

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[Bustanay Oded / Shimon Gibson (2nd ed.)]

"CANAANITES" (Heb. כְּנַעֲנִים; *kenaʾanim*), slightly derisory name given to a small group of Jewish poets and artists in Israel who began to act as a group in 1942, publishing pamphlets and booklets under the name "The Committee for the Formation of the Hebrew Youth." At the end of the Mandatory period and in the early years of statehood, they developed a political and cultural ideology aimed at evolving a new "Hebrew" nation – as opposed to a "Jewish" one – consisting of native-born Israelis, including Moslems and Christians (provided they regarded themselves as "Hebrews", and not Arabs, but without requiring them to change their religion), and of immigrants who wished to join the Hebrew nation. The "Land of the Hebrews" (Heb. *Ereẓ Ever*), as against "The Land of Israel" (Heb. *Ereẓ Yisrael*; Ereẓ Israel), would extend from the Mediterranean to the Euphrates Basin. The historiosophical basis for this concept was the rejection of the Judeo-Christian-Muslim chain of tradition in the history of the "Land of the Hebrews," and a return to a consciousness of the ethnic groups who inhabited the area prior to the appearance of Judaism (and consequently prior to Christianity and Islam).

The initiator and leader of this movement was the poet Yonatan *Ratosh (Uriel Halperin-Shelaḥ), and its chief supporters included the poet Aharon *Amir and the writer Binyamin *Tammuz. The differences and contrasts between the generation of locally born "sabras" and their immigrant parents led them to hope that their teachings would fall on fertile ground and that they might succeed in "molding" the younger generation. The group continued activities after 1948, publishing a periodical, *Alef*, which appeared until 1953. Ideas of the "Canaanite" type continued to be mooted in the literary quarterly *Keshet*, edited by Aharon Amir, mainly in articles by A.G. Ḥoron (Gurevitch), considered to be a forerunner of the "Canaanite" already in the late 1930s. Some of the "Canaanite" ideas reappeared in a modified form in the "Semitic Action" group, founded by Uri *Avnery and Nathan *Yellin-Mor, which, in journals such as *Ha-Olam ha-Zeh* and *Etgar,* advocated a distinction between the concepts of "Hebrew" and "Jew," separation from the Jewish Diaspora, and rapprochement with the Palestinian Arabs, in order to create a federation between them and Israel. However, the "Canaanites" of the Ratosh school did not aim at a federation between the two nations, but wanted to create a new "Hebrew" nation, combining Arab and Jew and abolishing their previous national affiliations. They therefore did not recognize "Semitic Action." The "Canaanites" made no perceptible political impression, but they left their mark on Hebrew poetry, reviving and enriching archaic Hebrew and eliminating later Aramaic and Diaspora influences. In 1969 the group renewed its activities advocating mainly the establishment of a network of Hebrew-language schools for the entire non-Jewish population of the Israel-held territories as well as their conscription into the Israel army. The group now adopted the nickname given it from the outside and termed itself "The Canaanites."

[Binyamin Eliav]

CANADA, country in northern half of North America and a member of the British Commonwealth. At the beginning of the 21st century, its population of approximately 370,000 Jews made it the world's fourth largest Jewish community after the United States, Israel, and France. This Diaspora has been shaped by features that are distinctive to the Canadian nation: French-English duality, the relatively small immigration of German Jews, and proportionally much larger emigration from Eastern Europe. In addition, Canada's Jews have never been subject to a unified, overriding, and jealous Canadian nationalism, which has facilitated the maintenance of a strong sense of Canadian Jewish identity. While American Jewry yearned for integration into the mainstream of the great republic, Canadians expressed their Jewishness in a country that had no coherent self-definition – except perhaps the solitudes and tensions of duality, the limitations and challenges of

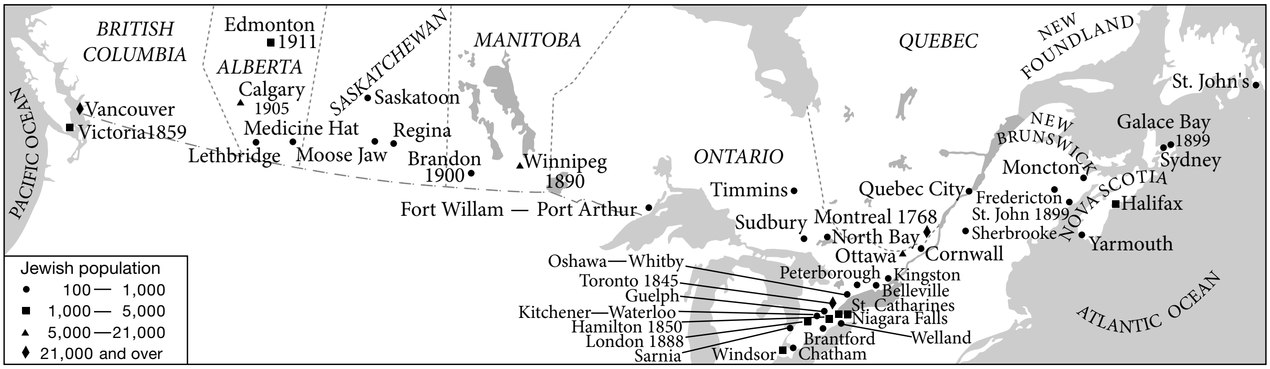
BRITISH COLUMBIA
Edmonton 1911
ALBERTA
Calgary 1905
SASKATCHEWAN
Saskatoon
MANITOBA
QUEBEC
NEW FOUNDLAND
St. John's
PACIFIC OCEAN
Vancouver
Victoria 1859
Medicine Hat
Regina
Lethbridge
Moose Jaw
Brandon 1900
Winnipeg 1890
ONTARIO
Timmins
Fort Willam — Port Arthur
Sudbury
Montreal 1768
North Bay
Ottawa
Cornwall
Quebec City
NEW BRUNSWICK
Moncton
Fredericton
St. John 1899
Sherbrooke
NOVA SCOTIA
Galace Bay 1899
Sydney
Halifax
Yarmouth
Oshawa—Whitby
Toronto 1845
Guelph
Kitchener—Waterloo
Hamilton 1850
London 1888
Sarnia
Windsor
Chatham
Brantford
Peterborough
Kingston
Belleville
St. Catharines
Niagara Falls
Welland
ATLANTIC OCEAN
Jewish population
• 100— 1,000
■ 1,000— 5,000
▲ 5,000—21,000
♦ 21,000 and over

Jewish communities in Canada, 2002, and founding dates of communities.

northernness, and the colonial-mindedness of borrowed glory. While in the United States, Irving Berlin wrote "God Bless America," in Canada the quintessential Jewish literary figure, Abraham Moses *Klein, wrote poems of anguish expressing longing for the redemption of the Jewish soul lost in a sea of modernity. A distinctive geography, history, population, and development patterns dictated the formative context of Canadian Jewish history and the personality of its community.

Early Beginnings

When 15 Jews gathered to organize Canada's first congregation, Shearith Israel, in *Montreal on December 30, 1768, they were continuing a North American Jewish communal tradition that had begun in New Amsterdam 114 years earlier. The Montreal congregation took its name from New York City's major synagogue and, though oriented for many years to London for religious personnel and guidance, the Montreal congregation continued its strong connection to the Jewish communities in New York and Philadelphia. While most congregants were Ashkenazim, they followed the Sephardi order of prayer, which was an integral part of early American Jewish culture.

Montreal's Jews benefited from the legal and economic advantages of their British ties. Jews worked with the British merchants who quickly dominated Canadian economic life, and these Jews exploited their political and commercial connections to London. Among them was Aaron *Hart, the most successful of Canada's early Jewish settlers. In 1759 Hart arrived in *Quebec from New York, having served as a sutler to the British army, mainly at Trois-Rivières, where he would later trade in furs and buy real estate. He thereby founded a mercantile and political dynasty that would survive for decades to come.

The Harts were not the first Jews of historical note. Joseph de la Penha, a Dutch Jewish merchant, was granted the territory of Labrador by England's King William III in 1697, possibly because one of de le Penha's captains had discovered the area. In 1732 a young Jew named Ferdinande Jacobs was employed as an apprentice by the Hudson Bay Company. He became chief factor at Fort Prince of Wales and at York Factory before returning to England in 1775. Like many other white traders, he took an Indian "wife" and fathered a number of children. Aside from the stories of the famous stowaway to New France, Esther *Brandeau, in 1738, and the Dutch Jew who converted upon reaching Louisbourg, Jews traded to the French colonies in the Americas, including New France and Acadia. Between 1744 and 1759, Abraham Gradis of Bordeaux conducted a huge trade with New France, much of it in conjunction with the Intendant, François Bigot. There may also have been a few *Marranos among the French merchants living in Quebec and Louisbourg during the French regime. There were also Sephardi traders, with names like: Moresca, Fonseca, Cordova, and Miranda, who had come north with invading British troops in 1759 and 1760.

The Montreal congregation founded by these merchants at first struggled to survive because many of its founders were transient, looking for quick gains in this commercial frontier. These early Canadian Jews behaved as if they were part of the new British administrative and commercial elite. Their language was English, many had been born in the 13 colonies or in England, and virtually all of them were traders whose ultimate political allegiance during the American Revolution was to Britain. Many signed the petitions that were periodically produced by agitators among the "old subjects" for a representative political body and other "reforms." Thus, while loyal to Britain in ways common to the Anglophone community to which they belonged, they also favored the same level of self-government present in the former American colonies.

It fell to Ezekiel *Hart, the second son of Aaron Hart, to become a casualty in the developing clash between English and French. In 1804 he won election to a seat in the Assembly of Lower Canada. His opponents publicly asserted that Hart could not be sworn in on the grounds that he was a Jew. The Assembly formed a special committee to consider the matter and recommended that he be expelled. This resolution was passed by the Assembly and Hart was thereby banned. Elected again in the ensuing by-election, Hart was expelled a second time, and he gave up the fight. Officially Jews were now second-class citizens in Lower Canada. They were ineligible for membership in the Assembly and legally unfit to hold any civil, judicial, or military office. This ban was removed in March 1831 through legislation supported by eminent reformers Louis-Joseph Papineau and Denis-Benjamin Viger. It became law in 1832, and after a challenge was confirmed in 1834 by a special committee of the Assembly.

Early Growth of the Montreal Community

As Montreal, the hub of Canada's import-export trade, prospered, so did Montreal's Jews. In 1847 Abraham de *Sola arrived from London to become their spiritual leader. For the next 35 years, he served as the community's religious leader while enjoying considerable eminence in the wider community. He was appointed to the faculty at McGill College and participated in local scientific and numismatic societies. He wrote widely on questions of science and religion and on Jewish history. He maintained contacts with the Jewish intellectual and social environment that stretched from London to Philadelphia. He took, as well, an interest in the persecuted Jews in Persia, charities in Palestine, and the threats to traditional Judaism from reformers in Germany and especially America.

Though still tiny in size, during de Sola's ministry the Montreal Jewish community grew through immigration. It now encompassed increasing numbers of English, German, Alsatian, and Polish Jews following the Ashkenazi traditions common throughout Central and Eastern Europe. They formed an Ashkenazi congregation in 1846, and a Hebrew Benevolent Society was started in 1847 to assist new immigrants.

The Jews of both congregations were mostly petty merchants, and with few exceptions, they were involved in Montreal's burgeoning financial, transportation, and manufacturing sectors which dominated the national economy. The same was true of the smaller Jewish communities taking shape in *Toronto, *Hamilton, and *Victoria. Jews began as marginal men, engaged mostly in the petty commerce of jewelry and fancy goods, tobacco, dry goods, and cheap clothing, much of it sold to upcountry storekeepers. In Victoria, the Jews also conducted a lively trade with the interior, gold-mining camps. The sale of clothing, both wholesale and retail, provided a major springboard for later Jewish entry into what was by 1871 one of the leading industries in major Canadian cities – the manufacture of men's and boys' apparel. Tobacco merchandising gave Jews another major manufacturing opportunity in Canada.

In addition to these Jewish settlements, there was some Jewish contact with the British colonies in Newfoundland and Nova Scotia. The New York merchant Jacob *Franks dealt in tea, shipping some to Newfoundland and some through Cape Breton in the early 1740s. In 1748 the executive of London's Spanish and Portuguese synagogue, then searching for a refuge for the city's Jewish poor, considered founding a Jewish colony in Nova Scotia. Nothing ever came of it. Some Jewish traders arrived in *Halifax shortly after it was founded in 1749, as a British naval and military base. By the 1750s there were many Jews among the army and navy purveyors and the merchants who supplied the growing local civilian population. Land was acquired for a cemetery. The Jewish presence here continued into the 1760s, but gradually died out and the cemetery land was appropriated for a provincial workhouse. Jewish communities were established in Halifax and *Saint John in the late 19th century.

Towards Maturity

Until the late 1890s individual Jewish communities existed in isolation from each other. Organized assistance to immigrants arriving in Montreal in 1882 marked the beginning of coordinated philanthropic activity in Montreal, Toronto, and *Winnipeg. But pressures for coordination emerged in the late 19th century to respond to the rise in immigration of destitute and persecuted East European Jews. Between 1880 and 1900, Canada welcomed about 10,000 Jewish immigrants. Between 1881 and 1901, Canada's Jewish population exploded from less than 2,500 to more than 16,000. The Jewish population increased more than 14 times faster than the total national population in those two decades.

The resident Jewish community was overwhelmed by the challenge to assist the destitute or sick of the influx of the 1880s and 1890s. They appealed to West European and British Jewish organizations to stop sending more immigrants and help support those who had already arrived. While financial assistance came from agencies like London's Mansion House Committee and the *Jewish Colonization Association, it was never enough to meet local needs. The new arrivals brought other problems besides poverty. The vast majority of Russian, Austro-Hungarian, and Romanian Jews who came in the 1880s and 1890s did not possess the adaptive language or commercial skills of the previous British and German settlers.

What was the solution? With the vast open spaces of Canada's western plains, Jewish agricultural settlement was encouraged. Alexander Galt, a leading Canadian government official, was interested in promoting immigration to the Prairies; in 1882 he proposed the migration of "agricultural Jews to our North West." These efforts resulted in the establishment of 28 families in a colony of about 9,000 acres near Moosomin in 1884. London's Mansion House committee provided each family with loans to buy cattle, implements, and food. Two years later, five Jewish families had settled near Wapella, including Ekiel *Bronfman, the founder of what was to become a prominent family. There were many more Jewish farm colony experiments on the Prairies in subsequent years, some of them moderately successful and others of only fleeting duration. The lure of the open plains as a place for the rehabilitation of East European Jews continued to interest many, although the Jewish Colonization Association's Paris officials were less sanguine about Canada than they were about Argentina.

Most Jews, in short, did not move to rural areas. Montreal Jewry was nevertheless severely strained by its staggering rate of growth during these years. While the city's total metropolitan population grew by some 55 percent in the 1880s and by

25 percent in the 1890s, the city's Jewish population rose by an average of nearly 300 percent in the same period.

Rise of an Ethnic Economy

Some of these immigrants took to peddling, a form of penny capitalism pursued by their predecessors. In Montreal the Baron de Hirsch Institute provided small start-up loans for these peddlers. Other forms of small-scale commerce also abounded: clothing, confectionery, fish and grocery stores, kosher bakeries, and butcher shops. Some men were employed within the Jewish community as ritual slaughterers, teachers, or rabbis. These and others in the service sector, many of them self-employed, constituted as much as 30 percent of the Jewish gainfully employed, approximately the same level that was obtained in Russia in the 1890s.

Many Jews were drawn to the booming ready-made clothing industry. Protected by high tariffs and stimulated by rising demand in the St. Lawrence Valley and in the more distant hinterlands, the industry's output doubled in the 1870s and doubled again in the 1880s. By 1900 clothing production was the province's second-largest industry. Many Jews found easy entry into the clothing industry, responding to its low capital requirements and the constant demand for seasonal labor in factories or in home workshops. By the 1880s, a new class of Jewish clothing manufacturers also emerged.

Served by several railway systems that reached into the interior and all the way to *Vancouver, clothing production mushroomed in Montreal, Toronto, and Hamilton. The lesson of how most of their Jewish employers had become successful manufacturers or contractors was not lost on immigrants, and that role model was emulated time and again in subsequent years. Many Jews were willing to work in this industry, at least temporarily, and to endure the low wage rates, seasonal unemployment, and miserable conditions. The sweatshops where they worked attracted notoriety and public outrage during federal government investigations. Reports by provincial factory inspectors on the existence of sweatshops in the Montreal clothing industry received full exposure in the *Jewish Times* which revealed appalling conditions and called upon the "Baron de Hirsch" to start a program training Jewish immigrants in other trades.

By 1900 Canada's Jewish community had grown and changed considerably from its earliest days. With its sizeable numbers of Romanians, Russians, and Poles, it was more diverse, and a more decidedly East European flavor was present. A distinct class structure had emerged, tending to sharpen differences among Jews. Workers in tailoring shops and clothing factories, machinists in railroad yards, tradesmen, peddlers, and small storekeepers had different economic agendas than the newly moneyed owners of substantial real estate, clothing manufacturers and contractors, and proprietors of large businesses.

The Rise of Antisemitism

Public reaction to the increasing number of Jews in Montreal during the 1880s and 1890s was generally accepting, evoking no alarm or animosity from the major urban newspapers. An exception was Quebec's *La Vérité*, which published antisemitic articles in the early 1880s (most of them drawn from militant ultramontane publications in France) and screeds favorable to Edouard *Drumont's diatribe *La France juive* as well as to other French antisemitic publications. *La Vérité*'s editor urged its readers "to be on guard against the Jews, to prevent them from establishing themselves here…. The Jews are a curse, a curse from God." These outbursts encouraged other French Canadian antisemites. Many antisemitic articles were published during the first stage of the *Dreyfus affair. But the major French newspapers in Quebec remained neutral. The most avowedly antisemitic of major Montreal newspapers of the 1890s was not a French publication but the daily serving the city's English-speaking Catholics. The *True Witness and Daily Chronicle* carried strongly partisan material during both Dreyfus trials, unabashedly in the camp of the French anti-Dreyfusards.

Meanwhile in Toronto, Goldwin Smith, a leading intellectual of his day, became Canada's best-known Jew-hater. Widely believed to be a liberal spirit, Smith was so virulent an antisemite that he gained notoriety for it throughout the English-speaking world. He claimed that the cause of the Boer War was Britain's demand that the franchise be extended to "the Jews and gamblers of Johannesburg"; that Jews were gaining greater control over the world's press and influencing public opinion; that "the Jews have one code of ethics for themselves, another for the Gentile"; that Disraeli was a "contemptible trickster and adventurer, who could not help himself because he was a Jew. Jews are no good anyhow"; that "the Jew is a Russophobe"; and so on.

Despite a growing atmosphere of Canadian racial prejudice, Jews sometimes fared better in the racial sweepstakes than other immigrant groups. Methodist minister and Social Gospeller J.S. Woodsworth, whose book about immigrants, *Strangers within Our Gates*, was suffused by the racism characteristic of some turn-of-the-century social commentators, in fact seems to have regarded Jews as more adaptable, assimilable, and culturally suitable to Canada than Ukrainians, Italians, Chinese, or blacks. The Winnipeg General Strike of 1919 witnessed more anti-Ukrainian than anti-Jewish sentiment, despite the fact that the strike probably had as much support among the Jewish working class as among Ukrainians, and the fact that Abraham Heaps – an English Jew – was among its major leaders.

Jews remained nevertheless prime targets of prejudice. In 1904 the Lord's Day Alliance, an organization devoted to protecting the sanctity of the Sabbath, viciously attacked Orthodox Jews who had complained about Sunday observance laws, stating that they "had sought out our land FOR THEIR OWN GOOD" and should conform to Canada's "civil customs." Reverend S.D. Chown, head of the Canadian Methodist Church in the early 1900s, called Jews parasites in the national bloodstream and another influential clergyman pointed out that "Jews have much to do with commercialized vice." As late as

1920, Dr. C.K. Clarke, Canada's leading psychiatrist, argued strenuously against allowing the immigration of refugee Jewish children from the Ukrainian famine on the grounds that they "belong to a *very neurotic* race."

University academics also were given to antisemitism. In 1919 Dr. R. Bruce Taylor, principal of Queen's University, rejoiced in the fact that there were only five Jews at Queen's, explaining: "The presence of many Jews tended to lower the tone of Canadian Universities." Dean Moyse of McGill reportedly resented the presence of Russian Jews in his English classes because they "were not even conversant with Shakespeare." At McGill, steps were taken to reduce the number of Jews. While they constituted 25 percent of arts students, 15 percent of medical students, and 40 percent of law students in 1920, university officials began to impose stiff quotas that would severely reduce those percentages during the interwar years.

Meanwhile, the early 20th century witnessesed a rise in French Canadian antisemitism as well. The Catholic Church, strongly ultramontane in spirit and drawing inspiration from Rome and France, perceived Jews as dangerous aliens. Accused of being allied with the anti-clericals, socialists, and freemasons, they were seen as threats to the preservation of a Catholic Quebec, while some young nationalists viewed them, along with the English, as an entirely foreign and dangerously disruptive element. As the "spearhead" of modern capitalism, the Jews were perceived as exploiters and destroyers of the purity and sacredness of Quebec's rural way of life. Leading intellectual and newspaper editor Henri Bourassa had only contempt for the poor ghetto-dwellers in Montreal's Jewish quarter. In his remarks to the House of Commons on the proposed Lord's Day legislation in 1906, he dismissed the effect on observant Jews, condemning provisions of the bill which would exempt Jews, as these were added, "pandering to the Jewish vote." To Bourassa Jews were "vampires on the community instead of being contributors to the general welfare of the people" and are "detrimental to the public welfare."

Jewish-Protestant relations fared only somewhat better. In Quebec education was divided along confessional lines. In 1894 the Protestant School Board of Montreal accepted responsibility for providing elementary schooling to the city's growing number of Jewish immigrant children. In return it received school taxes collected on Jewish-owned property. The Board also agreed to pay a salary of $800 annually to a teacher who would provide religious and Hebrew-language instruction to the Jewish pupils. But the Protestants felt aggrieved. Few Jews owned land, and the costs to the Board seemed to outweigh the benefits. In 1901 the Board denied a scholarship to a Jewish child. It should be noted, however, that Jewish children were never actually barred from Protestant schools. Nor were they forced to accept instruction in the Christian faith, or penalized for excusing themselves during religious instruction. While they were, in certain ways, made to feel unwelcome, and while Jewish teachers were not employed, all Jewish pupils seeking admission were accepted, received instruction, and enjoyed other facilities.

For all the ill-feeling over the school question, Jews reacted most assertively to the open support that at least some segments of the Quebec Catholic community gave to the most obscene medieval myths and superstitions about Jews. In the early 1900s a rising tide of antisemitic propaganda pervaded many of Quebec's nationalist and clerical newspapers. A major complaint was the increasing Jewish purchases of houses and businesses in the areas where both communities lived side by side. After 1910 much of this hate literature circulated in the clubs of the newly organized Association canadienne de la jeunesse catholique, an organization of French Canadian youth for nationalist and religious action.

On March 30, 1910, a Quebec City notary, Joseph Edouard Plamondon, delivered a lecture at the local club of Jeunesse catholique advancing some of the foulest lies about Judaism, including ritual murder. Jews did not believe that Russian-style pogroms would occur in Canada but feared that deep-seated Christian antisemitism could be reinvigorated by the repetition of such horrendous lies and might lead to highly unpleasant manifestations. One rabbi wired the federal minister of justice asking him to "direct [the] attorney general of Quebec to stop antisemitic agitation and [calls] for massacre against the Jews of Quebec." Continuing hysterically, the rabbi warned that "large meetings to plan riots against Jews [will] take place Wednesday night [in] Quebec city." The Jewish community sued Plamondon for libel.

On the whole, however, the Jews recognized that the existence of these and other manifestations of antisemitism – however nasty and frightening they might be – were only a pale shadow of what they experienced in Europe. Despite antisemitism, Jewish men (and a few women) attended universities, Jewish storekeepers and peddlers plied their trade, Jewish workers labored alongside non-Jews and walked the same picket lines, and Jewish householders shared neighborhoods with Christians. The Dominion of Canada allowed these and other possibilities for the blessings of peace, freedom, and opportunity.

Geographical Spread

In the late 19th century, off in the west, Victoria's population had already peaked in size, and Jews in *London, Ontario; Saint John, New Brunswick; and Halifax, Nova Scotia, were by the 1880s numerous enough to enjoy regular *minyanim*. Toronto's Jewish population grew by slightly more than 100 percent during the 1890s, Hamilton's by 50 percent, and Winnipeg's by about 90 percent. *Ottawa's Jewish population, on the other hand, rose by 800 percent during the 1890s, both *Windsor, Ontario and Saint John, New Brunswick grew by over 900 percent, and Quebec City by 600 percent. By 1900 all of these cities and towns, as well as Halifax, London, and Vancouver, possessed synagogues. In Winnipeg, the tiny Jewish community, which included only a handful of Jews in 1881, grew to more than a thousand Jews, with two active synagogues, by the turn of the century.

Toronto's first congregation, Holy Blossom, formed in 1856 and was housed in a modest new building as of 1875. But the new immigrants of the 1880s and 1890s were not easily absorbed into Holy Blossom, especially once the congregation opened its magnificent new building on Bond Street in 1898. The congregation incorporated elements of Reform into the services at the new synagogue, including prayers in English, mixed seating, organ music, and a choir. In Montreal, on the other hand, both major synagogues were decidedly Orthodox, and the Reform group was very small. Yet these distinctions in liturgy and ritual observance were of less importance in dividing Toronto's older and newer sub-communities than the social and cultural barriers between them. Sigmund *Samuel, the son of a well-to-do hardware merchant who had been the "moving spirit" in building the Richmond Street synagogue, completed his secular education at the elite Upper Canada College and the Toronto Model School, while his formal pre-bar mitzvah Jewish tutoring was limited to after-school hours. Although he experienced some anti-Jewish discrimination, Samuel became wealthy and circulated comfortably in Toronto's elite circles. Other Toronto Jews were so assimilated that the new Jewish immigrants regarded them as Gentiles. As a result, East European Jews established their own synagogues and organizational structures. The cleavages between uptown and downtown Jews widened.

Not only was the Jewish community divided, but it faced a divided Canada. The "sense of mission" among many Anglophone intellectuals was offset by the emergence in French Canada of a national ideology combining ultramontanism, messianism, and anti-statism. At the same time, many Canadian Jews understood that, while part of "Amerika," Canada was a unique society. It was not as secular, as democratic, as nationalistic, as liberal a nation – at least theoretically – as the real "Amerika," even though Canada held out the same promise of freedom from persecution, and of a better material life for them and their children. It must have seemed a paradox to the Jews settling in Canada that they had arrived in a country where a major province like Quebec should be reminiscent of Eastern Europe, with its masses of poor "peasants," its extensive system of Roman Catholic religious institutions, and a ubiquitous state-recognized clergy.

Continuing Immigration and Settlement

Jewish immigration rose between 1901 and 1922, to levels which have never since been equaled. Most of the Jewish immigrants were concentrated in the metropolitan centers. Between 1901 and 1911, Montreal's Jewish population grew by more than 400 percent, while Toronto's increased by nearly 600 percent, although the growth rates between 1911 and 1921 were a much more modest 60 and 70 percent, respectively. The Ottawa and Hamilton communities also grew dramatically during these decades, by about 400 percent from 1901 to 1911 and 70 and 50 percent, respectively.

The most noteworthy expansion between 1901 and 1911 occurred in the west, where Winnipeg's Jewish community experienced a staggering 800 percent increase and Vancouver's nearly 500 percent. Meanwhile, smaller centers in western Canada, such as *Calgary, *Edmonton, *Regina, and *Saskatoon, grew rapidly. Rare was the small town of booming western Canada that did not have one or two Jewish families by the early 1920s.

Small Town Jewries

The dispersion of the Jewish population outside metropolitan centers and secondary cities was also occurring in central Canada, especially in southwestern and northern Ontario and the Maritimes. By the outbreak of WWI many of these small communities boasted a synagogue. Jewish concentrations in the Maritime provinces also increased.

The importance of this sprinkling of small Jewish communities across Canada does not lie so much in the numbers involved. They were, after all, not large enough to indicate a significant demographic shift away from the metropolitan centers. The point about Jewish communities in Glace Bay, Brantford, and Moose Jaw, to take regional examples, is that they represent another dimension of the Canadian Jewish experience. Jewish life in these places differed in important ways from life in Montreal, Toronto, and Winnipeg, where Jews constituted a critical mass – a substantial minority in neighborhoods, schools, and workplaces. Small-town Jews had little such built-in community. There were too few Jews to form a distinctive neighborhood, and because they were almost entirely small-scale businessmen: storekeepers, peddlers, or junk collectors, they dealt daily with non-Jews. They lived among them, and their children were often the only non-Christians in the public schools they attended. On the cultural frontier between the Jewish and non-Jewish worlds, they were more directly exposed, on the one hand, to influences which drew them away from their identity as Jews, and on the other, to the need to explain and defend that identity on an almost daily basis.

The small-town Jew did not enjoy the luxuries of *landsmanschaften,* political clubs, and other forms of cultural expression that were emerging strongly in large centers. The forms of local association were often limited to the local synagogue, the B'nai B'rith lodge, and for women, *Hadassah and the synagogue Ladies' Auxiliary. For the youth, after 1917, there was usually a branch of Young Judaea. Jewish cultural life was also derived from Yiddish newspapers and magazines from New York, Toronto, and Montreal, or from an occasional speaker, frequently a Zionist fundraiser. Small-town Jews huddled close to each other for mutual support. Here, nothing could be taken for granted.

Unlike metropolitan centers, in small towns there was little or no Jewish working class. Most Jews were storekeepers, usually selling men's or women's clothing, furniture, or shoes. Others might operate a grocery, a theater, a flour mill, a candy store, or a dry cleaning shop. Some of these Jews began as peddlers selling merchandise from small carts or buggies from farm to farm in rural areas, or along the streets in towns and villages, securing the merchandise on credit from a Toronto, Montreal, or Winnipeg wholesaler. In a few years one might then open a small store. Instead of cash, some peddlers would take livestock or produce as payment, while still others accepted any scrap metal, hides, or furs that farmers had for barter. Thus, small-town Jewish commerce typically began on a partially rural basis, with the peddler providing an exchange, not simply selling merchandise in return for cash. Those seeking scrap metals, for example, often offered new kitchen utensils to farmers in exchange for cast-off implements. Such metals would be hauled back to the peddler's yard, knocked apart with sledgehammers, thrown into piles, and sold off to brokers who bought the lot to feed the steel mills in Hamilton, Sydney, and Sault Ste. Marie. Others collected rags, cleaned and shredded them, and sold off the product as "shoddy" to mills. Some dealt in hides and furs which they assembled, cleaned, sorted, and sold to brokers from the city.

Western Colonies

The Western farm colonies, most of them in Saskatchewan, grew in the early 20th century. Mostly under the direct management of the Jewish Colonization Association, the settlement projects there were professionally managed and better financed. But their fortunes were in decline.

By 1931, of all Jews who had settled on the Prairies, more than 60 percent were no longer living on farms. In 1921 only one in four Jews living in rural areas was directly engaged in agriculture, forestry, or mining. There were 700 Jewish farm families in all of Canada in 1921, the peak year of the colonization movement, most of them in Western Canada. But that farm population dropped significantly over the next decade, and by 1931 the whole Jewish agrarian experiment was in serious trouble. Within ten years, the Depression all but wiped out the colonies, even though a few families held on for another generation.

There were some exceptions, but the farming movement had failed to generate a significant Jewish rural life in Canada. Like the settlement schemes fostered by the ICA in Argentina, the Canadian Jewish colonies suffered from confusing changes in management and perhaps from an overdependence on the ICA. Meanwhile, restrictions on immigration introduced in the mid-1920s severely curtailed recruitment of new settlers. While all of these factors were, no doubt, important in the ultimate failure of the colonies, it is clear that – in contrast to colonies established by Mennonites and Hutterites – most Jews showed a low commitment to the agricultural way of life and gravitated to the major urban centers. Certainly, none of these Jewish settlements demonstrated the strong social ideals that underpinned the kibbutz movement in Palestine.

Urban Social Problems and Adjustment

Poverty, sickness, and burial were the most serious problems in metropolitan centers. In Montreal, the Baron de Hirsch Institute and its associated charity were extremely busy after 1900 offering assistance to those in need. There were so many burials of Jewish indigents (including 139 children) in 1908, for example, that local cemeteries ran out of space. Because the Institute's doctors' caseload tripled between 1907 and 1913, the Herzl Health Clinic was established to cope with the sick, many afflicted with tuberculosis. Mount Sinai Sanatorium was established in the Laurentian highlands near Ste.-Agathe, while for the growing numbers of children needing care an orphanage was built in the city's western suburbs.

Mutual benefit societies flourished. In Toronto in the early 1900s, they helped to lessen the pain "of alienation, loneliness and rootlessness in a strange new country," as well as the economic problems of adjustment. The members were mostly those who could not afford synagogue membership or were secularists. Three types of mutual benefit societies existed in Toronto: the non-partisan and ethnically mixed, the left-wing, and the *landsmanschafetn*, whose members were all from the same area of Europe. Altogether, there were 30 mutual benefit organizations in the city by 1925: ten *landsmanschaften*, eight ethically mixed societies, and 12 branches of the left-wing *Arbeiter Ring* (Workmen's Circle), each of them with memberships ranging from 80 to 500.

There was also a decided working-class orientation to these associations, even those that were not labor-oriented Workmen's Circle lodges: the Pride of Israel and the Judaean Benevolent and Friendly Society "often gave assistance to striking workers." Member benefits usually included payments during illness (excluding those caused by "immoral actions") and family doctors' visits, and free burial in the society's cemetery. Many also provided small loans at low interest. The annual price of this protection cost each member as much as two weeks' wages.

Just as important were the social and psychological benefits provided by the *landsmanschaften*. Members could share nostalgic reminiscences about Czestochowa, Miedzyrzec, Ostrow, or other Polish towns and cities from which Jews came to Toronto. The Workmen's Circle lodges provided left-wing ideology that stressed Jewish cultural autonomism, a comfort both to working men in an exploitative economic climate and to Yiddish speakers.

To those without the protection of such associations, cash, coal, food, bedding, and cooking utensils were dispensed by the Toronto Hebrew Ladies Aid; similar organizations sprang up for specific congregations, along with charities offering maternity care and child care and other social assistance needs. And in 1909 the Jewish dispensary was established to supply the poor with medicines and medical advice. An orphanage was established in 1910 and an old-age home in 1913.

In Winnipeg, beginning in 1884 the Hebrew Benevolent Society provided relief for the needy, jobs for the unemployed, railroad tickets for those intending to resettle elsewhere, help for the farm colonies, and assistance for other communal efforts. In 1909 it was reorganized as the United Hebrew Charities. Differences of opinion over priorities between the poorer and more numerous Jews of the north end and those of the prosperous south side were resolved by an amalgamated organization called the United Relief of Winnipeg in 1914. Two orphanages were established by 1917, and in 1919 the Jewish Old Folks Home of Western Canada was founded. As in Toronto, *landsmanschaften*, fraternal orders, mutual benefit societies in Winnipeg provided material support and a "wraparound culture" of social and cultural activities that involved their members in regular, almost familial association.

In major Canadian cities, lending societies serving the entire community like the Montreal Association Hebrew Free Loan provided a boost to Jewish penny capitalism. In 1918, of the more than 1,000 applicants, 31 were classified as ritual slaughterers, Hebrew teachers, or Jewish booksellers; 24 as merchants or manufacturers; 46 as peddlers (jewelry, eyeglasses, dry goods, tea, coffee, etc.); 21 as shopowners (plumbing, blacksmith, tinsmith, upholstering, and cooperage); and 25 as agents for other businesses. Other occupations included 16 farmers; 11 contractors (building, electrical, painting, carpentry); 38 custom tailors, tailor shop owners, or contractors; and 44 milk, bread, fruit, or ginger-ale peddlers. There were 47 shoe-repair store owners; 77 country, junk, rag, second-hand clothing, furniture, and fur peddlers; 54 small proprietors; 345 working men; and 239 store owners (jewelry, drugs, clothing, dry goods, hardware, shoes, fruit, grocery, second-hand goods, butcher, bread, and barber shop). While most of these loans were for business purposes, 38 were for remittances to Europe and five "to marry off a daughter."

Sin was also of concern. Rumors of "white slave" trade into North and South America led Lillian *Freiman of Ottawa to voice deep concern in an address to Hadassah members over the fate of orphaned Jewish girls in Eastern Europe who were being lured to South America "into a future worse than death [by] … human vultures." While only a small part of this traffic appears to have extended into Canada, the "Baron de Hirsch" took notice of the danger and cooperated with international organizations and the National Council of Jewish Women in attempting to arrest its spread. From time to time, Montreal was alleged to be a site of some of this activity, and Vancouver a way-station on the Pacific. In 1908 Toronto newspapers reported the arrest and deportation to the United States of two local Jews, well known to the Chicago police as brothel keepers, and wanted on charges of white slavery. The 1915 Toronto Social Survey Commission noted that Jewish pimps were active in Jewish neighborhoods, probably servicing mainly a Jewish clientele, and there were allegations that many of the city's bootleggers were Jews. The fact that some prominent Montreal Jews – like Samuel Schwartz and Rabbi Nathan *Gordon – took part in campaigns to suppress corruption and vice, including rampant prostitution, reflected their progressive and reformist impulses, and, possibly, a sense of guilt over Jewish participation in such crimes.

In Canada the "world of our mothers" also began to change. The first generation of Jewish women immigrants from Central Europe were influenced by social reform ideas then current among their non-Jewish contemporaries, and looked to "deliver Jewish women from their second bondage of ignorance and misery." Some organized aid committees and, later, the National Council of Jewish Women. East European women who arrived later formed the Hadassah organization in 1917 for the welfare of women and children in Palestine. But the Jewish women of the third wave of immigration, during the years of mass immigration after 1900, often found work in factories. Because of their lack of familiarity with the English language, they avoided joining Hadassah. They gravitated towards socialist organizations, like the Labor Zionists, the Social Democratic Party, and the Workmen's Circle. Despite gender barriers set up against them by the Jewish unions, "Jewish women played an important part within the Jewish labour movement … [with] militancy and class consciousness …." North American social and economic conditions were inducing different segments of Jewish society to conform to new norms, which were changing the role of women within the community.

Emergence of Zionism

The experience of the Canadian Zionist movement is an example of the national variations that occurred in the Zionist camp. At the first and second Zionist Congresses, Theodor *Herzl interpreted political Zionism as a call to sympathizers in the West to organize local Jewish support for the movement, while remaining good citizens of the countries in which they lived. Canadian Zionists could afford to be more strident than their American cousins partly because of the absence of a countervailing pan-Canadian nationalism and the more Zionism-compatible religious traditionalism of Canadian Jews. Zionism in Canada also owed much to the organizational genius of Clarence de *Sola, for 20 years the head of the Federation of Canadian Zionist Societies (FCZS). Under de Sola the movement increased numerically and spread throughout widely dispersed Canadian Jewish communities.

Fundraising became both the Canadian Zionist *raison d'être* and the measure of its success. Zionism demanded financial help from Canadian Jews, and they responded. The habit of giving became a substitute for a deeper, more positive experience. Discussion and debate on first principles and development of Jewish culture within the Zionist movement did not attract many participants. By the end of World War I, Canadian Zionism had produced only a few intellectuals with the ability to culturally energize the movement, or challenge the Federation's leadership.

During World War I Canadian Zionists supported a recruitment campaign for the *Jewish Legion, a 5,000-man force – the first Jewish military formation in modern times – organized to fight under Britain's General *Allenby to liberate Palestine from the Ottoman Turks. The Canadian government agreed to allow Jews who were "not subject to conscription in Canada" to join up. An officer from the British army arrived in Canada in late 1917 to begin a country-wide recruiting drive. Hundreds of Jews already in the Canadian military – both volunteers and conscripts – transferred to the Legion.

World War I also created a context for Canadian Zionists that differed significantly from that of American Jewry. Loyalty to Britain's cause provided Zionists with opportunities to identify their purposes with Britain's imperial mission. As far back as 1903, when the *Uganda proposal was under consideration, de Sola had spoken eloquently on the subject of Zion's redemption under the British flag. Fourteen years later, when Allenby's armies were poised in Egypt for an assault against Turkish Palestine, de Sola saw the British liberation of Eretz Israel as the dawning of a new messianic age. Thus mesmerized, he even announced at the 14th convention of the Federation in 1917 that it was time for the re-establishment of the Sanhedrin as the supreme court of Jewish law and the governing council of the people of Israel. Canadian Zionists were therefore able to identify their cause within the context of British Canadian nationalism, and without raising the question of whether adherence to Zionism conflicted with their loyalty to Canada.

After 1917 most Zionist women's groups in the country came in under the umbrella of Canadian Hadassah, which spread to every community. It became the most active arm of Zionism in Canada, infusing the movement with a sense of immediate and pressing urgency. In large and small centers Hadassah worked fervently for Palestinian causes, first for the Helping Hand Fund, and later for a Girls' Domestic and Agricultural Science School at Nahalal, a Nurses' Training School in Jerusalem, and a convalescent home and hospital for tuberculars. Innumerable raffles, bazaars, teas, and tag sales found members successfully raising money under leaders like Lillian Freiman, Rose *Dunkleman, and Anna Raginsky, who personified the Zionist cause to the thousands of Jewish women across Canada who worked to help their sisters in Palestine. The more ideologically committed Pioneer Women and Mizrachi Women performed similar tasks for their communities.

Zionist women's organizations in Canada were an expression of the earliest impulse among Canadian Jewish women for an independent voice and an emphasis on priorities which they chose to identify and support. In this sense, it was a vehicle for their Canadianization; it provided a medium of accommodation to a number of the cultural and social values shared by their non-Jewish sisters. It also served as an entrée into society in both the Jewish and the non-Jewish Canadian world. It raised the profile of Jewish women as Jews, as Canadians, and, above all, as women. Within the Jewish community the moral influence, political power, and fundraising ability of these women were of great significance. By 1920 Hadassah was the strongest, most coherent, and best-led national organization on the Canadian Jewish scene.

Corner of Pain and Anguish

The clothing industry was vital to the economic life of Jews in the major cities. The 1931 census shows that in Montreal 16 percent of all gainfully employed Jews worked in the industry, while in Toronto it was more than 27 percent, Winnipeg just under 12 percent, and Vancouver almost 9 percent. In 1931 Jews composed approximately 31 percent of all Canadian workers engaged in the manufacture of ready-made women's wear, 41 percent of the workforce in ready-made men's clothing, almost 27 percent in other clothing items, and almost 35 percent in hats and caps. Absorbing such a high percentage of all Jews "gainfully employed," the needle industry, or the "rag trade" as it was sometimes called, was easily the outstanding fact of Jewish economic life in Toronto and Montreal.

In the preceding decades, the percentages were probably even higher. Piecework, contractors, crowded conditions, dirty garret shops, immigrant labor – the hated "sweating system" – marked the industry, despite the publicity of the royal commissions and the accelerating tempo of strikes and picket line violence. Factory workers, many of them mere children who worked for a pittance, depressed wages in the industry. Seasonality was another problem. In the periods between the major production runs of July to September for fall deliveries, and January to March for spring deliveries, there were long layoffs for cutters, and only part-time work for operators. These conditions made it easy for employers to dictate terms of employment. In May 1904 jobs were so scarce that a planned strike was called off. Firms forced employees to post a formidable deposit guaranteeing that they would not strike; some employers would then foment a strike and pocket the monies from the guarantee.

In Montreal women's clothing factories, Jewish pressers and cloakmakers battling for union recognition had to confront intra-ethnic animosity. One employer – himself a Jew – demanded that "foreign [Jewish] agitators be deported," claiming that "not one of our native born employees were affected." In March 1908 the workers at a leading menswear company – owned by a prominent community leader – struck for a reduction in their work week from 61 hours to 48. Other fierce confrontations such as these ensued in cities all across Canada.

The fact that Jewish workers were locked in a struggle with Jewish employers, Jewish strike-breakers, and, sometimes, even Jewish gangsters (some of them arrivals from New York) during these confrontations, which continued for another generation, created deep and lasting divisions within communities. Beneath the surface, Jewish communal solidarity did not exist. Jewish employers blacklisted striking Jewish clothing workers. Union leaders even alleged that, as heads of Montreal Jewish charities like the "Baron de Hirsch," employers denied help to strikers who applied for it. Bitterness spilled over into other sectors of the city's Jewish life. When leading menswear manufacturer and communal leader Lyon *Cohen officiated at the opening of a new synagogue, a crowd of clothing workers hooted, jeered, and threatened violence to force him off the *bimah*. Economic warfare had thus penetrated into the sanctuary of the Lord.

Labor activity also spilled over into politics. In the early 1900s, the Toronto local of the Socialist Party of Canada had a large number of Jewish members, including women, while in 1911 the Social Democratic Party's Toronto Jewish locals participated in efforts to organize a socialist Sunday School. In September 1918 police wanted to outlaw the Jewish Social Democratic Party and monitor select Yiddish newspapers as part of a general program of censorship and surveillance of ethnic workers and organizations which had been declared subversive under wartime regulations. During Canada's "Red Scare" of 1919, the Royal Canadian Mounted Police believed that Jews were leading the Russian Workers' Party and that Jewish radicals were particularly dangerous because, as a cultural minority, they were especially hostile towards Anglo Canadians. During anti-alien riots in Winnipeg in January and February 1919, a Jewish-owned business was wrecked. Military intelligence reports held that two members of the Jewish Social Democratic Party in Montreal were the city's "cleverest and most outspoken" radicals. Three Jews were included among the five "foreigners" rounded up under Section 41 of the Criminal Code outlawing sedition following the 1919 Winnipeg General Strike. Three Winnipeg Jewish socialists were classified as dangerous enemy aliens, subjected to weeks of police surveillance, and charged with seditious conspiracy. They were threatened with deportation and jailed.

Education and Culture

All the while, within the Jewish community education was given a high priority. Talmud Torahs, following Old World tradition, were open to all regardless of ability to pay, and employed curricula stressing traditional subjects including Bible, Hebrew, Yiddish, prayers, and often Talmud and Mishnah. While the religious influences were strong, especially at the United Talmud Torah of Montreal and the Toronto Hebrew Free School (later known as the Brunswick Street Talmud Torah), certain "modern" ideals made their appearance, including instruction in modern Hebrew. The Winnipeg Hebrew Free Schools, which began offering instruction in 1905, put especially strong emphasis on Hebrew, not only as a subject but as a living language in which most subjects were taught.

In the early 1900s, daily Yiddish newspapers made their appearance in all three major cities: Montreal's *Kanader Adler,* Toronto's *Yiddisher Zhurnal*, and Winnipeg's *Dos Yiddishe Vort*. Dailies from the United States and even from Europe had been available for many years previously, and continued to attract many readers in Canada. By the end of the 1910s, Lazar Rosenberg collected the work of Canadian Yiddish poets and essayists – which often first appeared in the Yiddish press – in the anthology, *Kanada: A Zamelbuch*. This was a modest effort, to be sure, but it represented an important benchmark of self-expression by Canadian Yiddish authors. Here, in poetry, short stories, and essays, appeared the anguish and hopes of the immigrant. Jacob Segal celebrated Canada in his poem entitled "*Af fraye vegn*" ("On Free Roads"). Of Toronto's Yiddish poets, Shimon Nepom was the most renowned; a streetcar conductor, he wrote prolifically, publishing slim volumes of poetry – the last was entitled *Tramvai Lider* ("Streetcar Poems"). Yiddish culture also thrived in the smaller centers. In London, Ontario, for example, Dr. Isidore Goldstick, a high school language teacher, published translations of Yiddish literature in English, while Melech Grafstein published various Yiddish works, and two major English anthologies devoted to the Yiddish writers Judah Leib *Peretz and *Shalom Aleichem.

Thus the East Europeans who arrived prior to 1920 introduced far-reaching changes in Canadian Jewish life, the impact of which lasted for at least another generation. Not only did they create a parallel set of cultural, religious, and welfare institutions, with their *vereins*, makeshift *shuls, landsmanschaften*, newspapers, unions, and clubs, they also revolutionized Jewish political life on several different levels. They pressed for a democratic Jewish voice to speak out on issues of Jewish concern.

As an expression of that democratic impulse, the East European Jews established the *Canadian Jewish Congress (CJC). When the CJC – which convened at Montreal's *Monument National* on March 15, 1919, to address Canadian Jewish concerns and the fate of Jews in Eastern Europe – adjourned late in the evening of March 19, it had established for itself a formidable agenda. The main orientation of the CJC was domestic. Strong anti-alien sentiment was on the rise during and after World War I. The Winnipeg General Strike of May and June 1919 (which was attributed to "foreigners," especially the Austrians, Galicians, and Jews), the emergence of the Social Democratic Party and, in 1921, the Communist Party of Canada inflamed nativist and anti-immigrant sentiments. In this atmosphere of anti-immigrant suspicion and hatred, Jews were the object of special resentment. What is more, Canadian regulations against the immigration of "enemy aliens" implemented in 1919 prohibited the landing of Austrian, German, Bulgarian, and Turkish Jews. While Jews were later exempted from the enemy alien provision, the CJC remained deeply concerned about other immigration regulations concerning proper papers, a minimum amount of money in hand upon arrival, and continuous voyages as well as revisions to the immigration act that granted admitting officers wide discretionary powers. In November 1920 a new directive greatly raised the amount of cash needed by each immigrant. In the face of growing restrictions, CJC officials attempted to convince Canadian authorities that Canada should offer itself as a haven for Jewish refugees from the war, many of whom already had relatives in Canada.

By 1921, however, Congress was hobbled by a lack of leadership and funding. It stumbled on for a year or two and then virtually disappeared as a force in Canadian Jewish life. Thus through the 1920s, Canadian Jewry was without a unifying voice, without a constituent forum for the expression of opinions from across the intellectual spectrum, and without a voice for its collective concerns, such as immigration.

Jewish Geography

Between 1921 and 1941, the Canadian Jewish population increased by approximately 26 percent to reach nearly 170,000.

Compared with the total Canadian population between the world wars, Jews were more urbanized, more concentrated in lower-middle-class occupations, and better educated; divorce rates were higher, while fertility, death, and natural increase rates were lower. The Canadian Jewish population was also younger, and growing in major cities. This was especially so in Toronto, where the Jewish population rose by 35 percent during the 1920s, more than the growth rates of Montreal and Winnipeg. While the majority of Canadian Jews were concentrated in the downtown cores, suburbanization was under way as Toronto's Jews began moving into York township and Forest Hill; Montrealers into Outremont, Westmount, and Notre Dame de Grace; and Winnipegers north into newer areas.

And Jews outside the main cities were also urban. In nearly every city and town, as well as in many western villages, there was a Jewish presence, if only a general store. In some, there was also a Jewish district, a group of stores constituting an ethnic sub-economy of delicatessens, bakeries, groceries, clothing stores, pawnshops, and institutions, which catered largely to a predominantly Jewish residential district close by. Such places were not "ghettos" in any sense. They were neighborhoods like Montreal's The Main, Toronto's Kensington Market, and Winnipeg's North End, where there was a large Jewish community, and where there was an opportunity to buy Jewish food, books, and religious items and attend Jewish religious, social, and political gatherings.

Outside of these neighborhoods, Jewish-owned clothing stores, metal or upholstery workshops, and junkyards across the city served a larger clientele. Those businesses that were located in the "Jewish area," on the other hand, were specifically Jewish and were intended for a recognized and usually sizeable population. But even these neighborhoods were not exclusively Jewish. Even in those Montreal areas where Jews were in a majority, few streets or blocks were entirely Jewish; French Canadian neighbors, stores, and churches were never far away. The same was true in the other cities. In Toronto, for example, while Jewish high school students dominated Harbord Collegiate and Central Tech, the nearby Christie Pits baseball and football fields attracted a multi-ethnic presence. In Winnipeg's St. John's Collegiate, Jews, while numerous, rubbed shoulders with the non-Jewish majority, which included students drawn from Ukrainian, Polish, and German immigrant homes. They all shared the North End streets and parks. The lives of Jews and non-Jews, then, were interwoven in these gritty, colorful neighborhoods.

The Jews continued to adapt to their social and cultural surroundings. In late 1930s Montreal, one survey showed that English was the preferred language of Jewish newspaper and periodical readers, although in the downtown older areas of the city people preferred the Yiddish dailies by a considerable margin. But among children, even those in the old area, English publications far outsold Yiddish ones, while those in French and Hebrew ranked low. The transition to English culture was well under way. Without the antisemitism that barred even fuller Jewish integration into Montreal's Anglophone society, such transformation would probably have extended further and faster.

Antisemitism between the Wars

Antisemitism emerged in virulent forms in the interwar years. In French-speaking Quebec, the most serious antisemitic accusations held the Jews responsible for the Russian Revolution and the spread of international Communism. Articles stridently alleging these lies frequently appeared in *La Semaine Commerciale, L'Action catholique, and L'Action française* as well as in milder form in English dailies like the *Montreal Star.* Much of this antisemitism was generated by writings in *L'Action catholique*. Its wide clerical readership made it an especially influential newspaper in the province. Meanwhile, the "*Achat Chez Nous*" campaign urging French Canadians to buy only from their own and boycott Jews was a severe irritant. In English-speaking Canada, antisemitism may have been more genteel, but no less pernicious in intent. Whether rooted in canards of Jews as Christ-Killers, or Shylocks, or wrapping itself in the mantle of scientific racism and eugenics, antisemitism was equally corrosive to the opportunities for individual Jews.

The Canadian Jewish Congress, dormant since 1920, was revived in 1934, principally to battle the rise of domestic and foreign antisemitism. It sought to challenge the view among some contemporary opinion makers that "the Jew simply did not fit into their concept of Canada." As a result, Jews were denied professional, residential, and economic opportunities. Occasional antisemitic street violence – like the Toronto Christie Pits riot of August 1933 – erupted. Nazi-style uniformed "stormtroopers" also rallied and marched in several cities. In Quebec, dedicated antisemitic weeklies, such as *Le Goglu*, *Le Mirroir*, and *Le Chameau*, circulated by self-styled Nazi Adrien Arcand and his associates regularly featured cartoons caricaturing Jews as low, vile, and filthy. Arcand's Blue Shirts, modeled on Italian Fascist and German Nazi counterparts, marched and organized.

From his position at the Université de Montréal, the influential clerico-nationalist Abbé Lionel Groulx published denunciations of Jewish materialism, communism, and capitalism, while at the influential newspaper *Le Devoir*, editor Georges Pelletier regularly published antisemitic pieces, as did the editors of the monthly periodical *L'Action française*. Students at the Université de Montréal demonstrated against "Judeo-Bolshevism." The interns at four Montreal francophone hospitals went on strike in 1934 to protest the hiring of a Jewish intern at Notre Dame. As if these problems were not enough, Quebec Jews also had little help from the Anglo-Protestant community, which considered them, officially, second class citizens in elementary and secondary education. At the English-speaking McGill University of Montreal, Jews had serious problems gaining entry on the same basis as other Quebeckers. All of these unpleasant and menacing elements put the Jewish community on notice that, with respect to antisemitism, "*la province de Québec n'est pas une province comme les autres*."

In response the Congress mounted a vigorous educational campaign. In 1937 it distributed literature explaining the dangers of Nazism, the falsehood of the *Protocols of the Learned Elders of Zion*, and the need for vigilance against antisemitism at home. In Quebec City the tiny Jewish community of about one hundred families encountered the first attempt made in Canada to pass municipal legislation specifically against Jews, while their attempts to erect a synagogue were stymied by local politicians. Ultimately successful in securing permission, their new synagogue was burned to the ground on the eve of its opening in 1944. In English-speaking Canada, the Ku Klux Klan surfaced briefly in the 1920s carrying powerful antisemitic messages warning of Jewish domination in industry, corruption, plots against Christianity, and vice.

Immigration Restrictions

Among the most tangible impact of rising antisemitism was the imposition of anti-Jewish immigration control. Canadian immigration policy was changing in ways that adversely affected Jews, particularly in its preference for British subjects, Anglo-Saxons, North Europeans, and farmers. In addition, the "continuous journey" regulation adversely affected East European Jews because the shipping companies serving Canadian ports did not operate out of countries like Poland and Romania, making immigration nearly impossible for migrants who did not possess a prepaid ticket to Canada. Immigration restrictions placed serious burdens on Jews who had come from war-ravaged lands of Eastern Europe and had taken refuge in other countries.

Regulations implemented in 1921 also required immigrants to have valid passports from their countries of origin. This complicated matters for many Polish and Russian Jews who escaped from the old Russian empire, now replaced by the U.S.S.R. It was impossible for them to get passports unless they returned to the U.S.S.R. to try to get one – a risk few would take. A further requirement, introduced in 1921, that all non-agricultural immigrants such as Jews possess $250 in landing money created more problems. This was replaced in 1922 by a stiff occupational test, accompanied by a stipulation that Canadian, not British, consular officials examine all passports. Since there were few Canadian consular officials posted anywhere near the East European Jewish migrants, this too constituted a stumbling block for the potential Jewish immigrant.

Canadian immigration laws were tightened even further in 1923, when regulations demanded that immigrants be ranked according to the old racial preferences into "preferred," "non-preferred," and "special permit" classes. The last category included all Jews, irrespective of countries of origin. They were subjected to the most severe restrictions by which Jews were situated almost on the very lowest level of priority, along with blacks and Asians.

One influential Jew who fought to liberalize immigration was Lillian Freiman. The wife of Ottawa department store tycoon A.J. "Archie" Freiman, she influenced Mrs. Arthur Meighen, wife of the most powerful minister in the Borden Cabinet, to lend her official support to a project to save some Jewish children who had been orphaned by the anti-Jewish persecutions in Ukraine following World War I. Meanwhile, Sam *Jacobs, a Jewish member of Parliament from Montreal, and others appealed for the admission of Jewish refugees from Ukrainian pogroms. At the same time the Jewish Immigrant Aid Society (JIAS), led by Lyon Cohen and Sam Jacobs, spearheaded the Jewish community's appeal to the government to forestall the application of even tighter restrictions.

After Lillian Freiman secured special approval to allow up to 200 of these orphans into Canada "on humanitarian grounds," she led a team to Europe to select the orphans. While waiting to take the children to Canada, she presided over a moving Sabbath celebration where, she "carried the [*kiddush*] cup to each child and through the tears we could see her great *nachas* [joy] … from this experience."

Despite increasingly severe restrictions, JIAS also successfully negotiated the entry of up to 5,000 Jews who were stranded in Eastern Europe, principally in Romania, by the Russian Revolution and ensuing civil war. By the end of the project in November 1924, only 3,400 of the 5,000 permits had been used. Lobbying to allow the rest of the permits to be taken by refugee Russian Jews stranded in Constantinople or by relatives of Canadian Jews from other parts of Europe was refused. A new restrictionist-minded bureaucracy further tightened the screws. Perhaps the extreme resistance by department officials to the petitions for allowing in Jewish refugees during the 1930s and 1940s stemmed from resentment at the heavy lobbying associated with those permits. Officials now stiffened their resolve against all non-British, especially Jewish immigrants. While not totally ended, Jewish immigration – except by those who could qualify for "special permits" as first degree family members – was effectively halted. Canada now became closed to Jews.

Bowing to restrictionist pressures from bureaucrats, nativists, racists, trade unions, and outright antisemites, Liberal Prime Minister William Lyon Mackenzie King was firm. Despite his protestations of sympathy for the Jews in Germany in the 1930s, along with his willingness to receive Jewish delegations and meet with the Jewish MPs (Sam Jacobs, Abraham Heaps, and Samuel Spector), King was not prepared to overturn the restrictionist policy that closed Canada to the Jews.

Many Canadian intellectuals supported immigration restrictions. The distinguished historian of Canada, Arthur Lower, of Winnipeg's Wesley College severely criticized the government's previously generous immigration policies which, in his view, had attracted many unsuitable immigrants. Worse yet, it created, in Lower's eyes, a situation in which Canada's Anglo-Saxon character and institutions were jeopardized because "bad" immigrants drove "good" Canadians out of their own country.

Restrictionism, grounded in antisemitism and accorded wide public support in Canada, effectively reduced Jewish immigration into Canada. By 1931 it was less than one-fifth what it had been in 1930. Faced with immigration restrictions, the rising tide of domestic antisemitism, and the threat of Nazism abroad, the CJC sought an infusion of new leadership and money. In 1938 Montreal liquor baron and philanthropist Sam Bronfman became CJC president, and hired Saul *Hayes, a recent law graduate, as the CJC director. Buoyed by effective administration and Bronfman's financial support, the CJC made lobbying on behalf of Jewish refugee admissions a priority.

But there was no breaking Canada's wall of restrictions. Throughout the 1930s and beyond, despite desperate appeals from Jewish refugees and organizations, the government barred Jewish entry into Canada on the theory that, as one official later put it, "none is too many." When the Jewish refugee question emerged in acute form following *Kristallnacht* in November 1938, King told his Cabinet that "the time has come when, as a Government, we would have to perform acts which were expressive of what we believe to be the conscience of the nation, and not what might be, at the moment, politically the most expedient." But in the end, political expediency outweighed all else. Recognizing that there were few votes to be gained, and many to be lost, in admitting Jews, Canada's gates remained locked.

The Montreal School Question

Amidst deep concerns over limitations on immigration, the Jewish community of Montreal also faced special challenges because of the unique linguistic and cultural duality of the Province of Quebec. Throughout the 1920s, its leading problem was the Jewish school question, an issue which set the Montreal Jewish community apart from all others in North America. For many years, community spokesmen had demanded equal rights for Jewish pupils in the Protestant school system, which they could legally attend and were obliged to support through real-estate taxes. Eventually, some Jews even pressed for the right to establish an altogether separate Jewish school system.

Montreal Jewry was torn apart by this issue, which involved not only two major factions within the community, those who wanted a separate Jewish school system and those who wanted equal rights within the Protestant system, but also the Protestant Board of School Commissioners, the government of Quebec, the Roman Catholic hierarchy, French Canadian nationalists, and the general public of the province. The Jewish school question evoked strong opinions on all sides, and it dominated the community's agenda for the better part of a decade, leaving in its wake long-lasting division and acrimony. The controversy also accentuated the virulent antisemitism then current in Quebec. In the face of this threat, there were appeals for the establishment of a Jewish Vigilance Committee "to protect the good name of Jewry" in Montreal, where "we have been made the object of libellous attacks by certain vigilant tabloids." As a small minority, Jews had no choice but to keep a profile that made them apprehensive, defensive, and cynical. It was a bitter irony that, largely as a result of divisiveness in the Jewish community and the lopsided compromise with the Protestants in 1930, Jews were officially relegated to second-class status in the very province that, in 1832, had led the entire British Empire in extending them equal rights. Continuing attacks on Jews in the antisemitic Quebec press and the removal in 1936 of the Jewish exemption from the Quebec Sunday Observance Act (designed to protect workers against undue exploitation) increased their uncertainty.

Labor Militancy in the Clothing Industry

Profound philosophical differences over schools echoed even deeper divisions between Jewish employers and workers in the burgeoning, but fluctuating, clothing industry. Jews had become some of the largest manufacturers in the apparel trades. After World War I, there was an enormous increase in the manufacture of dresses and other women's ready-to-wear items, which became the dominant part of the womenswear sector. Known colloquially among its Jewish practitioners as the *shmatta* business, or the rag trade, it took on a personality of its own and attracted many daring (or foolish) entrepreneurs. The trade had rapidly increased during the war, when the market for inexpensive cotton smocks, housedresses, and shirtwaists increased, thus drawing large numbers into the factories. During the 1920s and 1930s, an even larger market emerged for inexpensive but stylish dresses for the growing numbers of women working in offices, banks, and stores.

For its workers, however, the dress industry created some of the worst labor conditions in Canada. In Montreal and Toronto, the Jewish-dominated trade unions emerged, including the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America (Amalgamated); the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union (ILGWU); the United Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers International Union; and the Industrial Union of Needle Trade Workers (IUNTW), affiliated with the Communist-affiliated Workers' Unity League. These unions were not concerned only with shop floor struggles. Their battles for better material conditions were linked to "a broader social vision." For many of their members, these unions and the struggles for improved conditions were based on socialistic ideals. But the struggle to make a living while working in such a volatile industry blunted much of the idealism and most union leaders concentrated on basic issues like the dispersion of the clothing factories (runaway shops), the improvement of wages and working conditions, and the establishment of union shops. Their goal was industrial stability.

The Jewish Left

While many young Jews were drawn to the radical and moderate left during the 1930s, it was not strictly from a desire to reform or overturn capitalism. Opposition to the growth of Fascism and Nazism were also important to the Young Communist League (YCL), which included many Jews. The RCMP even took note of the fact that at the almost all-Jewish Baron Byng High School in Montreal, the YCL's influence was "particularly strong…" and the RCMP maintained a sharp watch for Jews.

The RCMP was under no illusions that Jews dominated the Communist Party of Canada, recognizing that Jews made up less than 10 percent of the its membership. Two Jews, Fred *Rose (Rosenberg), a Polish-born Montreal electrician, and Joseph Baruch *Salsberg, a Toronto labor organizer, stood out. During the 1930s, Rose unsuccessfully ran for provincial and federal office in Montreal. However, in August 1943 he won Montreal-Cartier in a by-election, and successfully defended his seat in 1945. Nevertheless, in 1945, following revelations by defecting Soviet Embassy clerk Igor Gouzenko, Rose was arrested and charged with espionage. The court found Rose guilty of espionage and sentenced him to six years' imprisonment. He was released in 1951 and spent the remainder of his life in Poland.

Joseph Salsberg was an activist in the United Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers Union during the 1920s and 1930s and a member of the Toronto City Council in 1938. He entered provincial politics in 1943, and aided by the fact that the Soviet Union was by then an ally, was elected from Saint Andrew to the Ontario legislature, where he served until 1955.

The United Jewish People's Order (UJPO), with branches in major cities throughout Canada, was set up in 1945 by an amalgamation of the Labour League of Toronto, the Jewish Aid Society of Montreal, and the Jewish Fraternal Order of Winnipeg. While not Zionist, after World War II, UJPO, now an active component of Congress, strongly favored Jewish immigration to Palestine and the building of the *Yishuv* (settlement) there, until it was expelled in 1951. (It was readmitted to the CJC in 1995.) Education was also of great importance to UJPO. It supported afternoon schools, and summer camps, where programs on working-class struggles and the rising threat of Fascism were stressed.

The left *Po'alei Zion (sometimes known as Aḥdut Avodah – Po'alei Zion) thrived with educational and sick-benefit offshoots. Its main publications, *Proletarishe Gedank* ("Workers' Thought") and *Undzr Veg* ("Our Way"), included much working-class content.

In the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation (CCF), Canada's social democratic party, David *Lewis became National Secretary in 1936. He was well versed in British Labour Party thought. "My brand of socialism," remembered Lewis, a Rhodes scholar from the Bundist family background that stressed Yiddish culture and socialism, "was of the rather harsh medicine variety, the only cure for an increasingly sick system." A Polish-born agnostic, Lewis succeeded in modeling the CCF party of democratic socialism on the British Labour Party. He possessed the combined qualities of leadership, a penetrating mind, and a brilliant capacity to organize. Many of his efforts in these years focused on establishing links with the Canadian labor movement, which he recognized "was necessarily engaged on the economic front against the same forces which the party faced on the political front." Here he developed even stronger suspicions of, and antipathies towards, the Communists.

Zionism between the Wars

Zionism in Canada changed significantly in the interwar era as the Jewish community continued to diversify. In the Zionist Organization of Canada (ZOC) and the Hadassah-WIZO organization of Canada (Hadassah), both of them non-ideologically oriented groups affiliated with the World Zionist Organization, younger men and women had already assumed leadership roles. At the same time, Labor Zionism was gaining considerable strength among Jewish socialists, members of the working class, and others who supported the collectivist values and projects of the labor movement in Palestine.

With the decline of the Canadian Jewish Congress in 1920, the ZOC remained the only truly national Jewish body until 1934, when the Congress was revitalized. But the ZOC was clearly not representative of all segments of Jewish political opinion or social classes. While it remained stoutly independent of its American counterpart, strong links were forged between Canadian and U.S. members of Po'alei Zion and the Mizrachi, especially in their youth movements.

Canada was all the more fertile ground because, with the *Balfour Declaration, Zionism had received the imprimatur of Great Britain. Still legally and, for many, emotionally Canada's mother country, Great Britain was also the principal benefactor of the Jewish people because it was seen as the facilitator of its national homeland. Such circumstances created a near-perfect environment for Canadian Zionists because, as well, in sharp contrast to the cause in the United States, no problem of alleged dual loyalty arose here. Loyalty to Zionism, to the British Empire, and to Canada was an attractive "package deal" for Canadian Jews, with no apparent drawbacks.

Hadassah, meanwhile, remained in the vanguard of Zionism in Canada. Lillian Freiman emphasized that Hadassah was a women's movement. In the spirit of the "new womanhood" that was current among gender-conscious Canadian women, she always referred to its members as "sisters," to their efforts as "our hands joined in true sisterly love and endeavor," and to the collectivity as "our Jewish womanhood." In the late 1930s, reacting to the male leaders' hesitation in bringing Jewish children from Germany and Austria to Palestine, Canadian Hadassah women rallied behind *Youth Aliyah, asserting that "some infection must be drying up the channels of pity in Jewish life when Jewish fathers who could, with the stroke of a pen[,] lift a child from hopelessness to happiness have failed to do so." On their own and together with sister groups elsewhere, Hadassah members raised money to save tens of thousands of children who were otherwise doomed to die in Europe between 1939 and 1945.

Labor Zionist women also mobilized for their own causes. *Pioneer Women, a group formed in Toronto in 1925 as a branch of an American organization, had an explicitly feminist and socialist-Zionist agenda. It attracted mostly young, secularist, working-class Jewish women, often recent immigrants, who, because they were not well off and "green," felt uncomfortable with middle class, English-speaking Hadassah "ladies." Many were also attracted to the collectivist outlook of the movement and its social and educational opportunities. Often members of trade unions, or strongly sympathetic to the unionist cause, these women embraced Labor Zionism.

Propelled by Zionist and socialist zeal, *Ha-Shomer ha-Tza'ir also established groups in Toronto, Winnipeg, Hamilton, and Ottawa during the 1930s. In ensuing years, the movement sent dozens of *shomerim* from Canada to kibbutzim in Israel, the majority of them women. Their example stood as both a reminder and a reproach to checkbook Zionism, while their songs evoked a romantic declaration of their zeal to build the world anew. Some of them, however, defeated by the spartan conditions and extreme dangers, eventually returned home. Youth organizations committed to other ideologies also emerged, among them the Revisionist *Betar. *Habonim, a youth branch of Po'alei Zion, established groups in Montreal, Toronto, Winnipeg, and Vancouver, where it became a thriving and influential organization that stressed *aliyah* and *ḥalutzi'ut* (pioneering).

Whether as pioneers on the kibbutzim, small farmers, or urban dwellers, in the end there was only a trickle of Canadian immigrants to Palestine through the 1930s and early 1940s. Most were members of Zionist youth movements who underwent a year of agricultural instruction on *hakhsharah* (special training) farms in Canada and the United States. But the ZOC took little notice. As late as January 1936, the ZOC did not know how many Canadians were on these farms. Its own emphasis on fundraising was rarely questioned openly, although Congress veteran and Labor Zionist intellectual Hananiah *Caiserman shrewdly observed the discomfort felt by many Zionists. He warned that unless Zionists received substantial assistance for cultural programming, the movement would falter and the ZOC decline.

Canada's Jews at War

The Congress, from 1939 firmly presided over by Samuel Bronfman, monitored all aspects of the Canadian war effort. The Congress wanted Canadians to know that Jews were doing their full share for the country, contrary to the perception that their contribution during World War I was inadequate. Bronfman was strongly patriotic and insisted from the very beginning that Canada's Jews get fully behind the war effort. The Congress formed the National War Efforts Committee (WEC) in late 1940. Military recruitment centers were opened across the country and Bronfman paid particular attention to the figures of Jewish enlistments, directing WEC to do all it could to encourage Jews to sign up.

Until mid-summer of 1942, WEC concentrated on mobilizing the community while organizing programs for Jewish armed services personnel scattered in camps throughout Canada. It sent out field workers to organize hospitality, recreation, and entertainment for them, often through local communities and Jewish military chaplains.

Whether it is reasonable to expect Jews to have volunteered *en masse* for the war against Nazism remains a question that only the soldiers – and eligible Jewish men who, along with others, avoided military service altogether – can answer. Some Jewish veterans later reflected on their own reasons for volunteering. "As a Jew, you had to go," Aaron Palmer, a sergeant, recalled. Barney Danson, a junior officer in the infantry, remembered that "the evil of Nazism existed and we had to be in it, as Jews and as Canadians." Danson felt some anger at the thought of the Jewish boys who did not join up. "I don't know how they could live with themselves. How could any [such] Jew look himself in the mirror?" Edwin Goodman, a major commanding a tank unit, also believed that he had a special responsibility to fight Nazism.

According to the records of the War Efforts Committee, more than 16,000 Jewish men and almost 300 women served in the Canadian armed services during World War II. Jewish women constituted 0.55 percent of all Canadian women who joined navy, army, air force, and women's nursing units. Jewish enlistments were slightly less than the national average, but Jews were less likely to serve in combat units. As a result, Jewish casualties were substantially less than the national average. As Jews generally had a higher level of education than the national average, there may have been more who received non-combat postings.

But Jews served with distinction, and many with a sense of Jewish mission. When the Canadian Army advanced into Belgium and Holland, Jewish servicemen provided key roles in assisting Holocaust survivors. Beginning in December 1944, they distributed food, chocolate, and toys to surviving children, and later sent supplies to children still at Bergen-Belsen. Jewish communities in Amersfoort, Apeldoorn, Nijmegen, and Amsterdam were also given assistance, and Jewish service personnel were encouraged by chaplains such as Rabbi Captain Samuel Cass to be generous. Thirteen days after the town of Nijkerk was liberated by forces of Canada's 1st Division on April 17, 1945, Jewish soldiers were photographed standing by as armed members of the Dutch Resistance supervised the clean-up of a nearby synagogue by captured local Nazi collaborators.

Writing to Congress officials in January 1945, Rabbi Cass reported on the Hanukkah celebrations he had organized in several liberated Belgian and Dutch towns: "Parties were arranged for hundreds of children … and for adults too, for whom this was the first celebration in years." In what must have been a most moving reenactment of the first Hanukkah, which marked the rededication of the Jerusalem Temple defiled by the ancient Greeks, Cass and scores of Jewish soldiers and civilians "met in Synagogues which had been stripped and vandalized and rededicated them through the kindling of Hanukkah lights." Enthusiasm for these efforts ran high among Jewish soldiers.

"On the whole," Cass reflected, "relationships between Jew and non-Jew were of an excellent and wholesome character of comrades in arms." Most Jews made "splendid adjustments to their non-Jewish buddies, considering the fact that many of them, particularly the large numbers enlisted from … Montreal and Toronto, enjoyed only Jewish social relationships before enlistment." He went on to say, "Prejudices, very often melted away in the flames of battle and fast friendships were formed between Jew and non-Jew."

In a sense, then, the armed services constituted a school for a type of Canadianization that went far beyond what most Jews had previously experienced. The soldiers absorbed the Canadian "culture" of their military service. It might well be that the decline in antisemitism in Canada after 1945 was as much an outcome of enforced military togetherness and camaraderie as it was a reaction to the horrors of the Holocaust. At the same time, for many Jews, service in the armed forces during the Holocaust heightened their awareness of Judaism and deepened their identification with the Jewish people. The efforts of the Jewish chaplains, the soldiers' own war experiences, and a growing understanding of the evil intent of Nazism sharpened their identity.

Zionist Activity during World War II

Canadian Zionism in the 1940s and 1950s reached a new level of intensity. Vigorous political activity with a serious concern with *ḥalutzi'ut* was added to the long-established fundraising programs among members of Zionist youth groups. Political lobbying on behalf of a Jewish state probably had less effect on Canadian public opinion because of Canada's quasi-British identity than its United States counterpart. Nevertheless, some persons of influence were persuaded of the validity of Zionist claims. Thus, while not critical in the formation of Canada's policy on Palestine between 1945 and 1948, the publicity drives and lobbying efforts undertaken by Canadian Zionists advanced the Zionist cause in the Jewish community and served to further unite the Canadian Jewish community.

In the wake of the Holocaust, even non-Zionists lined up in support of the establishment of a Jewish refuge in Palestine. From 1945 on, Zionism moved slowly towards a position of legitimacy within the Jewish world. Following 1948, Zionism came as close to being the universal credo of Canadian Jewry as any belief could. To be sure, the battle for Canadian Jewish acceptance had never been as difficult as it was in the United States. There were some non-Zionists and a few anti-Zionists in the community, but apart from sporadic and ambivalent attacks by some Jewish Communists, no Canadian Jewish group set itself up in sustained opposition to Zionism.

Holocaust Survivors in Canada

In the years immediately following 1945, public attitudes remained strongly antisemitic, notwithstanding the newsreels showing horrific scenes from liberated concentration camps. In an October 1946 Gallup poll, Canadian respondents were asked to list the nationalities they would like to keep out of Canada. Only the Japanese fared worse than the Jews; Germans fared much better.

The attitude of some Canadian officials was as bad or worse. In a letter from the Canadian high commission in London, one official wrote of the "black marketing, dirty living habits and general slovenliness" of the Jewish survivors in the German DP camps. Nevertheless, Canada's virtually exclusionist immigration policy softened in 1946, when the government recognized the need for an increased labor supply in a more buoyant economy and also gave in to United Nations pressures. Substantial numbers of Jews began arriving, including the more than 1,000 sponsored by CJC. In Prien, Germany, a Winnipeg-born social worker, Ethel Ostry, organized the care of displaced children immigrating to Canada.

Samuel Bronfman took a special interest in this project. Reception centers were set up and foster homes arranged in communities across Caanda. At roughtly the same time, the first of more than 1,800 Jews arrived under the Tailor's Project, which looked to bring experienced clothing workers under the auspices of a committee representing CJC, industry, labor unions, and JIAS. In all, an estimated 35,000 survivors came to Canada from 1945 to 1956, forming a much greater proportion of the Canadian Jewish population than did survivors in the United States. They ranged from secular cosmopolitans to those immersed in a Yiddishist or devoutly Orthodox environment. These survivors helped invigorate educational and cultural life, and many found work as Jewish teachers and communal workers.

These new arrivals, offended by what they perceived to be "negative reactions and attitudes," often stood apart from the existing community. After a serious disagreement with a local union activist, one survivor realized "that this person knew nothing about the … Holocaust … [and I] pledged never to discuss my experiences again with a non-survivor." Other survivors developed a resentment towards the established Jewish community. One commented, "Maybe they were going around with the guilt they could not work out with themselves that they left us over there. They didn't put up here a big fuss."

A woman survivor who was crying at a Holocaust memorial service in 1949 was told by a Canadian-born Jew to stop. "Enough is enough … No more crying and no more talking about what happened. This is a new country and a new life." But among themselves, survivors felt free to reminisce: "Amongst our group, if we felt like talking about something, we could. We were listening to each other's stories, and it was just fine." These small groups, dedicated to mutual aid, support for Israel, and Holocaust commemoration, thrived, helping survivors to adapt. Many married, started businesses, had children, and established homes. Some lapsed into a lifelong depression that affected even their children and grandchildren. Most felt the significant distance between themselves and the established Jewish community open up again over the proper response to the reemergence of pro-Nazi organizations in the early 1960s.

Aiming for Equality

Meanwhile, Jews by the 1960s were accorded an unprecedented degree of recognition. In Quebec, a new spirit of urban and secular awakening was dominant, and the antisemitism of an earlier age was dismantled. Dr. Victor *Goldbloom was appointed to the cabinet in the Liberal government of Quebec premier Jean Lesage in the 1960s. At around the same time, Jewish parochial schools were accorded generous provincial financial assistance, and the semi-independence of the Jewish social-welfare network in Montreal was also upheld. Jews were even appointed to teaching posts in francophone universities. At the same time, however, Quebec's Jews still felt that they were walking a tightrope. The separatist upsurge in the 1960s, followed by the October Crisis of 1970, the language legislation of the 1970s, and ethnocentric nationalist statements by some sovereigntists, made Quebec Jews nervous and uncertain of their future. Many Jews, especially the young ones who were concerned that Québécois nationalist policies might hamper their career choices, began to leave the province. Many moved to Toronto or elsewhere in Canada.

In English Canada, antisemitism's long history also left strong vestiges. In one Ontario case, Bernard Wolfe of London agreed to purchase a summer cottage at nearby Beach O'Pines resort, but he was prevented from taking possession by a pre-existing covenant, which barred sales to persons of "Jewish, Hebrew, Semitic, Negro or colored race or blood." The Ontario Court of Appeal upheld a lower court decision declaring the covenant valid, but the Supreme Court of Canada overturned it in November 1950. Meanwhile, the Ontario legislature passed a bill voiding all covenants restricting the sale or ownership of land for reasons of race or creed. Although these actions lifted the prohibition on residence, the Congress and B'nai B'rith still battled against racial, ethnic, and gender discrimination in the work world and the schools. The Ontario government discouraged summer resorts from advertising that their clientele was "restricted" or "selected." It became increasingly difficult for haters to discriminate, and utterly impossible to restrict Jews from living in certain areas.

Ontario, which enacted the Racial Discrimination Act in 1944 and the Fair Employment Practices Act in 1951, led all levels of government in passing comprehensive bills to outlaw discrimination and the dissemination of hate literature. Joseph Salsberg, Rabbi Abraham Feinberg, various labor leaders, the Canadian Jewish Congress, Jewish activists in the Ontario Progressive Conservative Party, and the Canadian Jewish press were all leading advocates for human-rights legislation. Unfortunately, legislation could not prevent continuing antisemitism at the universities. The admission of Jews to some medical schools was still severely restricted. McGill, for example, limited Jewish admissions to a rigid 10 percent until the 1960s and the University of Toronto required Jews to have higher marks than other applicants. Most Jewish University of Toronto medical graduates had to leave the city for the necessary year of internship because, with a few exceptions, Toronto's hospitals barred their doors to them, regardless of their academic standing. Also, it was still difficult for qualified Jewish doctors to acquire admitting privileges at these hospitals. When Toronto's Mount Sinai Hospital was completed in the early 1950s, its status as a teaching hospital for the University of Toronto was delayed until 1962. Such discrimination forced the Toronto and Montreal Jewish communities to continue to support their own hospitals. Indeed, hospital building campaigns were the focus of their largest fundraising efforts; roughly 25 percent of all monies raised for capital projects in the 1950s and 1960s went to hospitals.

Women and Occupational Shifts

Depictions of women went unchanged. One widely circulated cookbook depicted the subservient and dependent role of the Jewish wife in the 1950s. Although poorly educated in religious traditions, she was, however, responsible for the domestic observances of the holidays, including the laborious preparation of special foods. Assumed to be solely a "housewife," her responsibilities outside the domestic realm included an active role in Canadian Hadassah-WIZO, the premier Jewish women's Zionist organization. Such volunteer groups were viewed by men as adjuncts to the main Jewish communal structure, which seldom allowed women into their inner councils.

Through the 1960s and 1970s, the situation for women began to change. In the later period nearly 21 percent of all Jewish working women were professionals, compared with less than 5 percent in 1931. During the same decades, the percentage of working Jewish women in blue-collar occupations fell dramatically. And increasing numbers of Jewish women entered the workforce, while still continuing to be homemakers. But the status of women in the workforce was far from equal to that of men, largely because, in the words of one scholar, "They enter later, often less prepared, and are often underpaid and overworked with their two jobs of paid work and homemaking." For most working women, therefore, entry into the workforce was not necessarily a liberating experience, and their responsibilities at home were not shared or reduced. A growing discontent raised the level of women's consciousness – including that of Canadian Jewish women – and led to the feminism that was to emerge in the 1970s and to flourish in the 1980s and 1990s. Some Canadian Jewish women assumed leadership roles in these feminist movements.

A Maturing Community

With prosperity growing across Canada between 1945 and 1952, investment in communal services expanded enormously. Money collected in the community built hospitals, synagogues, YMHAS, community centers, and schools. New and expanded health and recreation facilities consumed more than half of the community's financial expenditures, while religious and educational institutions accounted for more than one-third. Social-welfare programs and general community administration took up the remainder.

In the big cities, suburban synagogues replaced the old downtown *shuls*, while in smaller communities new synagogues often included community centers and athletic facilities. Typical of these multipurpose centers were the Jewish buildings in Halifax, Brantford, and Saskatoon. A plot of land was purchased near the house of the community's observant Jews, building and finance committees were set up, and a contractor was engaged. Once the new building was completed (often after stormy meetings where members, now "experts," hotly debated plans for the new structure), the congregation took its leave of the old *shul* with prayer and rejoicing.

These transformations were also reflected in shifting Canadian Jewish occupational patterns. The professional classes accounted for almost 6 percent of the gainfully employed in 1941 and almost 9 percent in 1951. The percentage of Jews in commerce held steady, but in manufacturing it dropped almost 10 percent. By 1961 the proportion of Jews in professional occupations had risen to almost 14 percent, while the number working in manufacturing had fallen dramatically. The Jewish community also had twice as many university-educated members as any other ethnic group.

According to the 1961 census, Jewish males had the highest average income in Canada. This, perhaps, had much to do with the fact that, in addition to being highly educated, Jews were the most highly urbanized of all Canadians. In addition, the Jews had a proclivity for self-employment, a preference explained party by job discrimination, which persisted on a fairly serious scale into the 1960s. Many Jews, anticipating anti-Jewish bias in fields like engineering and teaching, chose business or the other self-employed professions instead. Consequently, Jewish males were three times as likely to be self-employed as any other ethnic group in Canada. This meant that Jews were more likely to remain in the labor force after age 65, though they also entered it later because of a tendency to remain in school longer.

The face of Canadian Jewry was changing, and its numbers were also growing. The Jewish population rose from only 168,585 in 1941 to 204,836 in 1951 and 254,368 in 1961. It registered its strongest growth rate in Alberta and British Columbia, even though the vast majority of immigrants moved to Montreal and Toronto.

For all this growth, the face of Canadian Jewry was in many ways unchanged since its prewar days. A survey taken in 1960 showed that established synagogue affiliations had not fundamentally altered since 1935. For example, the vast majority of congregations were Orthodox in 1935 and modestly less so in 1960. The number of Conservative and Reform congregations grew, but did not challenge the numerical superiority of Orthodox congregations.

Where there was change was in the pulpit. Before WWII the majority of Orthodox rabbis serving Canadian congregations had been European-born and trained. By 1960 virtually all of them were graduates of seminaries located in the United States, with a few from the four small yeshivot in Montreal and Toronto. Conservative congregations continued to draw their rabbis from the Jewish Theological Seminary in New York and the Reform from Hebrew Union College in Cincinnati.

Membership levels in Conservative and Reform congregations had grown enormously since 1945, and their new synagogues and temples usually were large structures accommodating several hundred people. In contrast, most Orthodox congregations were much smaller, some unable even to afford their own rabbis. In general, Louis Rosenberg noted, "The rise in synagogue building and membership appeared to be motivated by a desire to 'belong' rather than [by] strong religious conviction…. With the exception of the ultra-Orthodox, postwar active participation in Jewish religious life appeared to be limited to bar mitzvah and *kaddish* observance and synagogue attendance on Rosh Hashana and Yom Kippur…"

Traditional Judaism nevertheless experienced a revival in postwar Canada. Once drawn only from a portion of the immigrant population, the Orthodox community, with larger families, soon had growing numbers of synagogues.

Two Centuries in Retrospect

Over almost two hundred years Canada's Jews adjusted to a distinctive political, constitutional, and social environment of the northern half of the North American continent. Here the tensions between "two founding peoples," French and English, had led to laws which seriously disadvantaged the civil rights of Jews in Quebec, where ultramontane Roman Catholic and ultranationalist attitudes had encouraged virulent antisemitism. For its part, English Canada developed a quiet but effective form of social and economic discrimination. Immigration patterns – the lack of a German influx in the 19th century – and the absence of a significant Reform movement had left Judaism essentially in its traditional forms. Zionism, as a result, was stronger here than in the United States and thrived in a polity that stipulated no exclusivist national identity.

By the 1960s, Canadian Jewry was a mature and strong community. Gone were the severe economic struggles of the early immigrant, though significant pockets of poverty remained, and the intracommunal strife in the embattled clothing industry was safely in the past as workers' sons and daughters entered the professions, moved to the suburbs, and in many ways lived upscale lifestyles. The old radical left still survived, but had lost much of its feistiness and, increasingly, its members. The Yiddish press had declined and a new, toothless, and bland English-language weekly, the *Canadian Jewish News*, purported to speak for the community. The Zionist organizations, too, had faded as their relevancy seemed dubious in the context of a strong and secure Israel. In terms of relationships between Jews and non-Jews, toleration – warm acceptance even – had replaced antisemitism, even in Quebec, where, by 1960, secular nationalism seemed to pose few problems for the community which now included many and growing numbers of francophone Jews. It seemed that in this respect Canada's Jews had arrived, if only just, and were now in large measure confident and secure. What lay ahead, however, were deep complexities and far-reaching challenges that only the wisest had anticipated.

[Gerald Tulchinsky (2nd ed.)]

The 1960s and Beyond

After the trauma of the Holocaust, Canadian Jews slowly acquired a self-confidence that modified the insecurity and ambivalence of the prewar period. Israel's War of Independence and the creation of the state initiated the process. The Six-Day

War of 1967 continued to strengthen Canadian Jewish identity, by enhancing the pro-Zionist and pro-Israel character of the community. The breaking of educational and occupational barriers and the rise of a broader Jewish middle class rooted in Canada provided the human and financial capital to create a wider and more professional network of Jewish communal organizations. Finally, the evolution of Canadian "multiculturalism" beginning in the late 1960s, reflected in the increasing ethnic diversity fueled by postwar immigration, official rhetoric, and government policy in various domains, served to enhance Jewish self-confidence. The community retained its particular ethno-religious identity, while maximizing participation in Canadian life. Both goals also reflected the agenda of Canadian multiculturalism.

The pluralistic nature of Canadian Jewry persisted, though along different dimensions. Ethnic differences fueled by immigration continued. But the ideological passions of the prewar period declined dramatically as the community developed a middle-class, liberal, pro-Israel consensus. In their place emerged religious cleavages, pitting the Orthodox against the non-Orthodox, similar to divisions in Israel and elsewhere in the Diaspora.

Jewish immigration to Canada continued in waves from a variety of sources. (Indeed in 2001 roughly 30 percent of Canadian Jews were foreign-born, compared to 10 percent in the United States. About 17 percent of all Canadians were foreign-born compared to about 11 percent of Americans.) Following the Holocaust survivors came Middle Eastern and francophone North African immigrants, beginning in the late 1950s and continuing through the 1960s, and settling mainly in Montreal. These Sephardi immigrants were strongly identified as Jews, both pro-Israel and rooted in traditional Judaism, and added a new bilingual and bicultural dimension to Montreal Jewish life. Indeed, these francophone Jews were at times courted by nationalist and separatist elements in Quebec, and posed a challenge to the mainly English-speaking and federalist Jewish establishment. By the 21st century those initial tensions had given way to significant integration and Jewish communal unity.

Another wave comprised "Soviet" and later Russian Jews, who began to arrive in significant numbers in the 1970s and continued into the 21st century. Many of these immigrants had grown up without formal exposure to Jewish religion or culture. Finally, Israeli Jews started to arrive in significant numbers in the 1970s and 1980s. These Jews posed an initial ideological dilemma for the receiving Jewish community, which was committed to Zionism. These immigrants wrestled with a certain ambivalence about having left Israel. But they brought with them a foundation of Hebraic culture, and many played roles in Jewish schools. Jewish immigrants from South Africa, Ethiopia, and Latin America also added to the Canadian mix.

These more recent immigrants, and their descendants, numbered together in the tens of thousands. As was the case for earlier Jewish immigrants, these postwar groups experienced some hostility or ambivalence on the part of the established Canadian Jewish community. And each sub-community responded, as had previous Jewish immigrants, by developing its own networks of institutions.

On many measures of identity, Canadian Jews were more "Jewish" than their American counterparts. Some might claim this is due to the higher levels of foreign-born Jews in Canada, and that over time this gap would narrow. Others might argue this is due to Canada's greater multicultural reality.

Socio-Demographic Overview

Canadian Jewry continued to grow during the late 20th and early 21st centuries. The census of 2001 lists 329,995 Jews by religion, and 348,605 Jews by ethnic origin. Of the ethnic Jews, 266,010 were also Jews by religion, 40,525 had no religion (secular Jews), and 42,070 had another religion. To get the best estimate of the number of Jews in Canada in 2001, one can add the secular Jews to all those who are Jewish by religion, for a total of 370,520. This compares to the estimate from the 2000 National Jewish Population Study of about 5.2 million American Jews, down from 5.5 million in 1990. Between 1991 and 2001 the Canadian Jewish population actually increased by 3.5 percent, and between 1981 and 1991 by more than 14 percent. Thus Canada differed sharply from most Diaspora communities where the Jewish population declined. Since 1971 Jews have comprised about 1.3 percent of the Canadian population. Canada, compared to the United States, had fewer secular Jews, more Jews "by choice," and fewer former Jews.

Canadian Jews continued to live in Canada's largest cities. As far back as 1931, almost four-fifths of Canadian Jews lived in the three largest cities, a ratio that remained constant. By 2001 Toronto had almost 180,000 Jews, Montreal almost 93,000, and Vancouver, eclipsing Winnipeg, had almost 23,000. This metropolitan concentration meant that Canadian Jews maximized their interactions with Canadian society and played a major role in the increasingly cosmopolitan nature of postwar Canadian life.

In this period Toronto clinched its position as the major Jewish metropolis, aided by the exodus of Jews, and corporate wealth in general, from Montreal beginning in the 1960s and 1970s as a result of the separatist movement in Quebec. And while many Montrealers stopped at Toronto, others carried on further west, approximating the general flow of the Canadian population to Alberta and British Columbia, or headed south to the United States. One distinctive source of Jewish immigration to Montreal was Ḥasidim from New York and elsewhere attracted by Quebec's financial support for private religious schools. Toronto was not the Canadian equivalent of New York City, but it was teeming with Jews and called "Jew York" by antisemites. And in many ways Jews have set the tone in Toronto and in English Montreal, in business, the professions, higher education, the media, and culture.

Canada's Jews were also aging, even faster than the rest of the population. In 2001 Jews over 65 comprised almost 17 percent of the Canadian Jewish population compared to just over 12 percent for all of Canada. This gap reflects both longer life expectancy, correlated with higher education and income, and lower fertility levels, which increase the proportion of the elderly. Age distributions varied widely by city, with the elderly proportions far higher in Winnipeg and Montreal than in Toronto and Vancouver.

The marital norm remained strong among Canadian Jews: in 2001 54 percent of Jews over 15, 10 percent more than for the general Canadian population. While just over 30 percent of Jews had never been married, almost 40 percent of the general population had never married. Divorce and separation were less frequent among Jews: less than 10 percent compared to almost 12 percent among non-Jews. Moreover, the non-Jewish divorce rate has grown more rapidly than the Jewish divorce rate since 1981.

Canadian Jewish fertility remained far below that of non-Jews, despite the fact that fewer Jewish women are childless, and a greater proportion of Jewish men and women do get married. The estimate for 1991 is that for 1,000 women over 15, Jews (by religion) had given birth to 1,601 children compared to 1,772 for non-Jews. But there is significant variation within the Jewish community. One estimate for ḥasidic women is that their fertility is a staggering four times higher than the Canadian Jewish average.

Jews were less likely to have children out of wedlock. This is actually an old story. In the 1920s and 1930s, the Jewish percentage of illegitimate births was only one-fifth the Canadian average. In 1991 over 2 percent of single/never married women had a child; among Jews the rate was 0.5 percent. Jews are half as likely to be found in common-law and single-parent families. Jewish marriage and family patterns vary by city. What some might describe as non-traditional family patterns are more likely in Vancouver than in Montreal.

Continuing Economic Success

As the postwar decades unfolded, Canadian Jews emerged as an educated, primarily middle- and upper middle-class community. Jews were far more likely than non-Jews to work as physicians, lawyers, managers, educators, and health and social service professionals. The relative affluence of Canadian Jews provided the material basis for the vitality of the organized community. Despite the persistence of Jewish poverty concentrated largely among seniors, new immigrants, and single-parent families, the main economic story was one of success.

The economic success of Jews was not a result of leaving the economic enclave. A 1979 study of Montreal Jewish household heads found that 70 percent were either self-employed or worked for mainly Jewish-owned firms, and 35 percent had Jews as most or all of their business associates – all without any negative impact on incomes. Another study found similar patterns in Toronto. Unlike the other minority groups, successful Jews did not abandon Jewish neighborhoods; instead, they re-created middle- and upper-middle-class Jewish neighborhoods in the suburbs. A Jewish "sub-economy" in Montreal and Toronto linked Jewish clients, customers, workers, suppliers, owners, and professionals like physicians, lawyers, and accountants. It included both a Jewish private sector and a Jewish public sector, referring to those many Jews employed by agencies of the Jewish community.

Jews became solidly entrenched in the middle class, and higher. Among Canadians over 15 in 2001, more than 45 percent of Jews had a university degree, compared to 18 percent for the entire population. The Jewish rates were the highest of any ethnic group in Canada. The advantage is even more pronounced for advanced degrees, fourfold or higher. These large Jewish advantages in education were not simply a result of Jews living in cities, where educational levels are higher. In Montreal, Toronto, and Vancouver one finds more Jews with higher educational achievements than non-Jews, with the highest proportions in Vancouver and the lowest in Montreal. The differences in the three cities result from different demographic profiles, notably the higher proportions of aged Jews in Montreal and the younger more mobile population in Vancouver.

In each city Jews were statistically overrepresented in medicine, law, and accounting, as well as human service professions like teaching and social work. But stereotypes should not be pushed too far. In none of these cases did Jews come close to being a majority of the profession. Education and professional occupations translated into higher average incomes for Jews. Jews had a lower unemployment rate than the Canadian average in 2001, 6 percent to 7.7 percent.

Canadian Jews became statistically well represented among the economically powerful and the "super-rich." For a long time the conventional wisdom held that even if Jews as a group were doing well educationally and economically, they were still largely shut out from the bastions of Canadian corporate power by a still exclusive "WASP" establishment. In

Jewish Population of Canada

Census Year	Jewish Population	# Change From Previous Census	% Change From Previous Census
1901	16,493	—	—
1911	74,760	+58,267	+353.3
1921	125,445	+50,685	+67.8
1931	155,766	+30,321	+24.2
1941	168,585	+12,819	+8.2
1951	204,836	+36,251	+21.5
1961	254,368	+49,532	+24.2
1971	286,550	+32,182	+12.7
1981	313,865	+27,315	+9.5
1991	358,055	+44,190	+14.1
2001	370,520	+12,465	+3.5

Data previous to 1971 are based solely on the religion variable, whereas statistics cited for 1971 to 2001 are based on a definition combining both religion and ethnicity.
Source: Shahar, C. 2001 Census Analysis Series: The Jewish Community of Canada. Part 1: Basic Demographics. UIA Federations Canada, November 2003.

his 1965 classic, *The Vertical Mosaic*, sociologist John Porter found that Jews in the 1950s made up far less than 1 percent of the Canadian economic elite, below their population percentage. Jews slowly increased their share of CEOs of major public corporations. More dramatic was their increase among Canada's super-rich. Of the 50 richest Canadians in January 1996, seven of the families were Jewish, or 14 percent. Among a list of the wealthiest Canadians as of April 2000, 20 percent were Jewish. By the beginning of the 21st century, the new Canadian "establishment" included Jews, francophones, other Europeans, and Asians. Sam Bronfman and his son Charles set the tone among the Canadian Jewish economic elite, followed by names like *Asper, *Azrieli, *Belzberg, *Dan, *Koffler, *Reichmann, and *Schwartz. Jewish wealth and influence were increasingly mobilized for Jewish and non-Jewish causes, from universities to cultural institutions.

Postwar Jewish Populations in Major Metropolitan Areas Historical Summary

	1971	1981	1991	2001
Atlantic Canada				
Halifax	1,405	1,465	1,775	1,985
Moncton	195	350	295	265
Fredericton	240	235	410	290
Quebec				
Montreal	112,020	103,765	101,405	92,975
Ontario				
Toronto	107,310	129,325	163,050	179,100
Ottawa[1]	6,665	9,240	11,420	13,130
Barrie	90	145	210	715
Guelph	400	390	600	770
Hamilton	4,250	4,660	5,165	4,675
Kingston	640	795	880	1,090
Kitchener	1,175	1,430	1,125	1,385
London	1,670	2,335	2,695	2,290
Oshawa	450	520	660	905
Peterborough	195	345	230	355
St. Catharine's-Niagara	1,140	1,155	1,295	1,125
Waterloo	375	400	390	565
Windsor	2,505	2,155	1,785	1,525
Manitoba				
Winnipeg	18,960	16,170	15,180	14,760
Saskatchewan				
Regina	830	855	665	565
Saskatoon	550	650	870	505
Alberta				
Calgary	3,470	6,085	7,255	7,950
Edmonton	2,675	4,705	5,470	4,920
British Columbia				
Vancouver	10,145	14,925	19,650	22,590
Kelowna	10	160	485	515
Victoria	380	930	2,025	2,595

1. Includes only the Ontario part of the Ottawa Census Metropolitan Area.

Source: Shahar, C. 2001 Census Analysis Series: The Jewish Community of Canada. Part 2: Jewish Populations in Geographic Areas. UIA Federations Canada, March 2004.

Jews and Canadian Culture

The contribution of Jews and Jewish styles and themes to the broader Canadian culture has been large. Yet this major contribution to Canadian culture took place despite – or because of – a perceived historic and ongoing cultural distinctiveness. Canadian Jews have remained cultural insiders and outsiders at the same time.

In this period Jews began to influence both Canadian high culture and popular culture. Authors such as Leonard *Cohen, Matt *Cohen, *Naim Kattan, A.M. *Klein, Irving *Layton, Anne *Michaels, Mordecai *Richler, Miriam *Waddington, Adele *Wiseman – among others – became well-regarded Canadian writers whose work has been influenced by Jewish history, the Jewish immigrant experience, and eternal Judaic themes. They spoke to Jewish and non-Jewish Canadians alike, though the degree of Jewishness in their writings and its significance remain a matter for debate.

The Jewish impact on Canadian culture has occurred mainly through individual artists who have reflected a Jewish sensibility. Jewish writers served as an opening postwar wedge in the penetration of a largely Anglophilic cultural establishment. They were the first celebrators of Canadian multiculturalism. They were among the first writers to sensitize Canadians to the immigrant and urban experience. Other European and later non-European writers have followed Jews and become accepted with them into the evolving Canadian literary canon.

Jews have also been prominent in all sectors of Canadian music, theater, fine arts, radio, journalism, television, and cinema. They have found success as artists, directors, producers, cultural entrepreneurs, and administrators. Many have been quite open about their Jewish background. As one example, the celebrated comedy duo of Johnny *Wayne and Frank Shuster regularly sprinkled Yiddish throughout their skits. In both Toronto and Montreal, cultural institutions of the Jewish community – the Koffler Center and the Saidye Bronfman Center – play important roles in the general cultural life of each city.

Jews in Canadian Politics

Jewish security and political acceptance both increased in this period. Canadian Jews continued to cluster on the left/liberal side of the political spectrum, although signs of a new conservatism are also to be found. Nevertheless, most Jewish voters continue to cast ballots for center/left mainstream parties, even as Jews tilted away from working class politics and the more extremist left-wing options popular up to the 1950s. Jews were more likely than other Canadians to vote for the NDP or the long-ruling Liberals, even taking into account factors like trade union membership, education, and economic status.

The historic Jewish support for the center/left Liberal Party is not hard to explain. The peak periods of mass Jewish migration took place under Liberal Party governments, first under Wilfrid Laurier at the beginning of the 20th century and later under Louis St. Laurent in the late 1940s and early 1950s. (The restrictive prewar immigration policies of Mackenzie King's Liberals are either unknown, forgotten, or forgiven.) Also, in the postwar period, Jews and other immigrants were moving from a European experience marked by extremism of the left and right – Communism and Fascism and their attendant brutalities. They wanted no part of that in Canada. Seeking the relative safety of the ideological center, immigrants, and Jews, found their home in the Liberal Party. They felt – incorrectly – that possible dangers of European-style extremism were associated with the democratic socialist CCF/NDP and the Conservative parties. Indeed by the 21st century the renewed Conservative Party became the most strongly pro-Israel. But by the time they realized that the European analogies did not hold, Canadian Jews had grown comfortable with the centrist welfare-state policies of the Liberals. The Liberal Party was seen as a promoter of social welfare, civil rights, and multiculturalism, so some of the attraction is similar to that of American Jews to the Democratic Party.

The mobilization and awareness of ethnic votes, whether in elections or even nomination meetings, emerged as an important new element on the Canadian scene. While predominantly Liberal, Jews in Canada have been influential in all political parties and causes and prominent as donors and fundraisers, though less than in the United States. In these activities Jews generally act as individuals, and rarely as part of an official coordinated campaign led by the non-partisan CJC. But the informal networks linking Jewish politicians, public servants, and Jewish communal leaders have a life of their own. Jewish communal leaders on occasion have been involved in party politics. The best example is former CJC President Irwin *Cotler, who in 2003 became minister of justice in the Liberal government of Prime Minister Paul Martin.

Jewish political clout in Canada grew significantly in the latter half of the 20th century. Nevertheless, it was less than that in the United States, and not only because American Jews were more numerous in absolute and relative terms. The American political system with the distinction between the legislative and executive branch gives American Jews more points of leverage to influence policy than is the case with Canada's parliamentary system. Compared to American Jews, Canadian Jews are more likely to be foreign-born and thus less acculturated into local politics. Moreover the international stakes are not as great in Canada on any issue on the Jewish political agenda, from the Middle East to repayment of Nazi-era financial claims. So Jewish political mobilization and participation in Canada have been less important, and less effective. Throughout this period Jews have comprised 6 to 10 percent of the Congress compared to around 2 percent of the House of Commons. While heavily Jewish ridings in Montreal tend to elect Jewish members, in the rest of Canada Jews are as likely as not to be elected in ridings with few Jewish voters.

Canadian Jews defended Israel's interests in a non-partisan way through the Canada-Israel Committee and later through the Canadian Council for Israel and Jewish Advocacy. Jewish organizations try to influence both the general public and policy makers. Traditionally policy makers in External Affairs have not welcomed input from any ethnic groups who may be seized with passion on a homeland issue, including Jews – and perhaps now Arab Canadians – on the Middle East.

Jewish political involvement has focused on several key objectives. First is support for a united Canada. Jews fear the instability and uncertainty which might follow a hypothetical declaration of independence by Quebec. The rise of the Quebec independence movement and the Parti Québécois in the 1960s and 1970s exacerbated a sense of insecurity and marginality among Quebec Jews. Three Jews have served as mayor in postwar Toronto – Nathan *Phillips, Phil *Givens, and Mel *Lastman. Montreal has not yet elected a Jewish mayor.

Second is support for immigration in general and Jewish immigration in particular. It is hard to find many Jews who would rally around a Canadian political party or movement which was, or was perceived to be, anti-immigrant. It remains to be seen how strong this view will remain, giving the dramatic increase in Canada's Muslim and Arab population and Jewish concerns about the rise of a renewed antisemitism.

The defense of Israel's right to live in peace and security is a third item. This does not mean that Canadian Jewish organizations, to say nothing of all Jews, inevitably supported every policy of the Israeli government. They did not. But the bedrock principle – Israel's right to exist as a Jewish state in peace and security – is inviolate. Canadian foreign policy vis-à-vis Israel has had its ups and down over the years, including UN votes where Canada abstained on or supported resolutions which were seen as tilting against Israel.

Another item on the Jewish policy agenda is opposition to racism, xenophobia, and antisemitism, and a general support for human rights and the principles of multiculturalism. This involves public policy. There are many cases, for example, where "reasonable accommodation" to Jewish religious concerns or sensibilities – in jobs, schools, or elsewhere – must be determined. How is a line drawn between legitimate debate over aspects of the Holocaust and Holocaust denial and hate speech? What of opposition to male circumcision? Of course the most complex issue is deciding where media or academic criticism of Israeli policies, or denying Israel's right to exist, deserves protection as free speech or crosses over into antisemitism.

The future of Canadian ethno-racial coalition politics is unclear. Since the 1970s nearly three-quarters of immigrants to Canada have been non-European. They are non-white and low-income, while Jews are perceived, rightly, as affluent. The political demography for Canadian Jews is changing for the worse. This is not primarily because of overt antisemitism on the part of "visible minority" immigrants. But in advocating its interests, the Jewish community has been able to draw upon common experiences with other European immigrant groups, for whom the Holocaust and support for Israel are part of a shared historical discourse. Many visible minority Canadians do not share the same frame of reference. This is certainly true for the increasing numbers of Arab and/or Islamic immigrants. The Holocaust does not resonate in their historical memories, and Israel is an enemy.

Old and New Forms of Antisemitism

As noted, antisemitism was perhaps the dominant feature of Canadian Jewish life in earlier periods of Canadian history. The key issue facing Jews in their private and public lives was discrimination, in its many forms. Canadian Jews into the 1950s played down their Jewish identity, traumatized by the Holocaust and still insecure in their new-found middle-class suburban status. Yet despite the fact that antisemitism is receding from the daily interactions of Canadian Jews and the general improvement in their social conditions, antisemitism has remained a defining feature of the Canadian Jewish consciousness. Economic success and social acceptance cannot fully erase bitter historical memories. The most successful nonfiction book ever written on a Canadian Jewish topic is *None Is Too Many,* exploring the antisemitism which provided the context of Canada's closed-door policy toward Jewish refugees before and during World War II.

Antisemitism in Canada, as we have seen, has come in various forms. At the dawn of the 21st century it persisted among certain fringe elements of the far right, notably those involved in Holocaust denial. In addition it has remained present as background contextual noise, as prejudice, the holding and asserting of negative stereotypes, and residual discomfort in social interactions. Most significantly, it may be manifested as insensitivity to Jewish interests, and opposition to Israeli policies and even to the idea of the Jewish state, which most Jews see clearly as antisemitic in consequence if not always in motivation.

One way to monitor contemporary trends in antisemitism has been through B'nai B'rith Canada annual counts of reported antisemitic incidents. Since 1982 the numbers of reported incidents have increased fivefold, reaching 469 in 2002 and 584 in 2003. But much of the increase in numbers derives from more enhanced data-collection procedures. No person would or should conclude that Canadian "antisemitism" has quintupled since the 1980s. But the general increase corresponded to the increase in Holocaust denial and hate speech in Canada, and to criticism of Israeli actions on the part of the Canadian media and commentators.

Several high-profile cases of Canadian antisemitism marked this period and helped multiply Jewish apprehensions. A new provision in the Criminal Code in the 1960s made illegal any public expressions that "willfully promote hatred" against identifiable groups, and the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms allows "reasonable limits" to be placed on free speech. In the 1980s and 1990s several court cases tested the limits of free speech in Canada in the face of Holocaust denial and the preaching of a Jewish conspiracy. The first involved publisher Ernst Zundel, a major distributor of Holocaust denial literature, based in Toronto. The second involved Alberta high school teacher Jim Keegstra, who taught his students that all of modern history could be understood as resulting from a Jewish conspiracy. The third involved schoolteacher Malcolm Ross in New Brunswick, who publicly espoused Holocaust denial views outside his classroom. A fourth involved British Columbia columnist Doug Collins, who explored a Hollywood conspiracy to promote the Holocaust, using hurtful puns such as "Swindler's List." Eventually the courts upheld restrictions on such hate speech.

Such blatantly antisemitic views became increasingly uncommon, and have no significant support among Canadians. Towards the end of the 20th century, one study found only that one in seven Canadians held negative attitudes toward Jews; the rest were either positive or neutral. Another national survey in 2003 found that only 10 percent felt Jews "had too much power" in Canada and 8 percent felt Jews would "use shady practices to get what they want." Such numbers are much smaller than revealed in previous studies in Canada and the United States. Immigrants and respondents from Quebec had slightly higher percentages for holding antisemitic views. Seventy percent of Canadians said they were comfortable with their son or daughter marrying a Jew. A variety of studies have found that Christian religiosity is no longer a source of antisemitism as in the past. Contact with Jews also plays a role. Canadians who had met at least one Jew were apt to be less prejudiced. Regardless of this evidence of broader social acceptance, many Canadian Jews still perceived antisemitism. About 30 percent of Canadian Jews in 2003 said they had experienced actual antisemitism in public places in the previous three years.

The new battleground for antisemitism revolves around Israel. In 2003, 30 percent of Canadians expressed sympathy with Israel, 20 percent with the Palestinians, and 47 percent did not know. This reflected a decades-long shift away from greater support for Israel. Many Canadian Jews, as individuals and through their organizations, have despaired at the rising tide of criticism against Israel expressed in the press or in various national media. Among Canadians in general, 70 percent thought their television and radio were neutral, with the remainder feeling by a 4 to 1 ratio a bias in favor of Israel. Canadian Jews differed, with only about 40 to 50 percent feeling those media were neutral and the remainder feeling by a 3 to 1 ratio a greater bias in favor of the Palestinians! "Terrorists" were now routinely called "militants or fighters or insurgents or the resistance."

Throughout this period issues arose which intimated possible dual loyalties or clashes of interest between Canadian Jews and their government on Israel-related matters. In the 1970s Canadian Jews opposed the compliance by Canadian firms and agencies with the Arab boycott against Israel. In 1979 the short-lived Conservative government of Joe Clark stumbled on its promise to move the Canadian embassy from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem. Later, the appointment of a Canadian Jew, Norman *Spector, as ambassador to Israel raised eyebrows. And in the 1990s and 2000s, concerns were raised over the illegal use of Canadian passports by Mossad agents.

The strong links between the United States and Israel which emerged in the aftermath of Sept. 11 terrorist attacks by al-Qaeda hurt Israel's position among Canadian progressives and nationalists, who had long been ambivalent about the United States. Canada's refusal to participate in the Iraq war of 2003 exemplified this feeling. Whereas the Americans emerged as supporters and defenders of Israel, Canadians saw themselves as honest brokers and even-handed peacemakers. To defend Israel strongly in Canada was often seen as endorsing American actions in the Middle East and generally, and thus out of step with an "independent" Canadian foreign policy. While this is a far cry from traditional antisemitism, the perceived isolation of Israel has demoralized many Canadian Jews. Recently, the new Liberal government of Paul Martin has signaled a positive shift in policy towards Israel.

Contemporary Judaism

Judaism in Canada through this period fared well against the forces of secularization and modernization, compared to Judaism in the United States. There were significant numbers of secular or atheistic Jews in Canada, about 11 percent of all Jews in 2001. But some of those self-declared Jewish atheists or agnostics still engaged in some religious practices and observances. For example, in Toronto 20 percent of Jews who never attended services still fasted on Yom Kippur and one-third attended or hosted a Passover *seder.* There are also more Jews with Christian ancestry – converts to Judaism – as well as Christians of Jewish ancestry. So more Jews and Christians had familial connections.

There is a spectrum of religiosity among Canadian Jews. For those Canadian Jews who identified religiously in 1990, about 19 percent were Orthodox (9 percent in the United States), 37 percent were Conservative (38 percent in the United States), 11 percent Reform (43 percent in the United States), and 32 percent "other Jewish" (9 percent in the United States), which would include terms like "traditional." Two-thirds of Canadian Jewish adults were members of a synagogue, and the pattern of memberships followed roughly the pattern of identification. This confirms the relative strength of Reform in the United States and Orthodoxy in Canada. Part of the large Canadian percentage claiming "other Jewish" reflects the large Sephardi proportion, in which the usual denominational categories of Conservative and Reform do not apply. A 2000 survey of Montreal Sephardim found that one-half identified themselves as "traditional" Jews. Canadian Jews who are lapsed Orthodox or even Conservatives also might choose the term "traditional" more than Americans.

Despite high levels of identity Canadian Jews are not avid synagogue-goers. Surveys in Montreal and Toronto have found that 10 to 20 percent never attend services. At the other pole 10 percent of Jews go to synagogue once or several times a week, and about 13 percent once or several times a month. There is still incongruence in the denominational patterns. For example, 56 percent and 67 percent of Orthodox Jews in Montreal and Toronto attended synagogue at least once a month, far more than the other denominations. What of the other 44 or 33 percent? A large minority of those who claim to be Orthodox are only sporadic synagogue-goers. On the other hand, about 20 percent of Toronto's Reform Jews attend services at least once a month.

By the 21st century Orthodoxy was the most vibrant Canadian denomination. It was losing the fewest adherents to mixed marriage and its large families were adding to the population base. The ultra-Orthodox, whether ḥasidic or yeshivah-based, epitomizes this vitality; their communities, synagogues, and schools are bursting with children. Reform Judaism in Canada became more "ethnic," more open to Israel, more open to particularism, all without losing the traditional Reform concern with social justice, universalism, and integration into host societies. In a sense Reform in Canada anticipated the evolution of American Reform in the postwar period, which now includes an embrace of Hebrew and Israel and other elements of tradition. At the same time Reform has paradoxically had to embrace increasingly marginal Jews and innovations which lead to minimalism as a result of the increasing rates of intermarriage. Conservative Judaism in Canada remained generally more ritually traditional than in the United States. Canadian Conservative Judaism became a battleground on issues of the status of women. Rather than offering a happy medium, Conservatism was caught between the absolute gender egalitarianism of Reform and Reconstructionism, and the self-confident traditionalism of Orthodoxy.

At the institutional level, Judaism in Canada remained an operation akin to the branches of a plant. Reform, Conservative, and Reconstructionist Judaism are all completely dependent on their American counterparts for infrastructural support, and more importantly, for the major rabbinic seminaries. Rabbis in Canada must be trained in the United States. There were some ultra-Orthodox rabbinic seminaries in Canada, but the larger, modern Orthodox institutions such as Yeshiva University were likewise south of the border.

By the close of the 20th century ritual observance among Canadian Jews was high: 92 percent attended Passover seders, 87 percent lit Hanukkah candles, and 77 percent fasted on Yom Kippur, all higher than in the United States. Sabbath observance was marked by a range of rituals and practices; 54 percent lit Sabbath candles compared to only 26 percent in the United States. In Canada 46 percent claimed to keep separate milk and meat dishes compared to only 18 percent in the United States. However, strict Sabbath observance – not handling any money – was observed by only about 15 percent in both countries.

Levels of religious observance in Canada vary by region and by other social background characteristics. They were higher in the more traditional Montreal and Toronto, lower in western and smaller communities. Perhaps due to the greater fertility among religious Jews, there were more younger Jews who are observant. Observant Jews also tend to be those with a more Jewish social network, and who live in Jewish neighborhoods Needless to say, levels of observance are highest among Orthodox Jews, followed by Conservative, Reform, and Reconstructionist adherents.

Religious friction between the Orthodox and non-Orthodox grew during this period, but was far less in Canada than in the United States or Israel. Moreover, for the vast majority of Canadian Jews, the doctrinal differences that defined these conflicts did not intrude on their daily lives. Most Canadian Jews voluntarily and happily self-segregated. They tended to go to synagogue, send their children to school and camp, socialize with, and marry, Jews who were like them. Thus, while there is no denying a gulf between Orthodox and non-Orthodox Jews in Canada, it is nowhere near as pronounced as found in the United States or Israel.

The Informal and Formal Community

Informal community life refers to family, friends, and neighborhoods. Jewish feminism has posed challenges to organized Canadian Jewish life. There were proportionally far fewer practicing women rabbis in Canada compared to the United States, although their number is growing. Bat mitzvah celebrations grew among the non-Orthodox, and even among the Orthodox there emerged new ceremonies, such as delivering a *devar torah* at a *kiddush* after services. Women became leaders of major Canadian Jewish organizations. As more Jewish women entered the work and professional worlds, Jewish day care centers proliferated.

Other issues have been more controversial. One is the role and status of gay and lesbian Jews, and their organizations. The trend has been toward increasing acceptance. But support for gay marriage varied among and within Jewish and other religious denominations. Canada's governmental tilt toward a more liberal position on the matter, compared to the United States, may influence Jewish responses and become a point of division within the Jewish community.

The aging of the Jewish population has added increased financial burdens to communal services. The close-knit multigenerational Jewish family has become strained. Parents and grandparents in Toronto and even more so in Montreal may have had children living in another city, perhaps out west or in the United States. Winters spent in Florida by elderly Canadian Jews remain another source of geographic separation.

No issue challenges the Jewish future, in Canada as elsewhere in the Diaspora, like intermarriage. The annual mixed marriage rate (no conversions to Judaism prior to marriage) in Canada stood at 10 percent or under through the mid-1960s. The rate then rose steadily, reaching an estimated 27 to 29 percent in the early 1980s, and remained at that level right through the end of the century. The Canadian rates were lower than for other religious groups in Canada, and far lower than the NJPS 2000 estimated American rate of 47 percent for those marrying between 1995 and 2000. Canadian Jews who were third or fourth generation were most likely to marry outside Judaism, as were the less religiously observant or non-Orthodox and those with less Jewish education. Adolescent dating patterns, in which Jews become habituated to dating Jews or non-Jews, were key in the United States and, one suspects, in Canada.

Despite the increasing rates of mixed marriage, surveys in Montreal and Toronto found that Canadian Jews remained firmly opposed to it, unless there was a conversion to Judaism. In these attitudes against intermarriage, Jews were clearly at odds with Canadian public opinion, where 90 percent favored marriage among Protestants, Catholics, and Jews, as well as between various ethnic or racial groupings.

Canadian intermarriages where conversion to Judaism took place yielded Jewish marriages comparable to those of two original Jews. More problematic for Jewish continuity have been mixed marriages where there is no conversion. The majority of children raised in these households will likely be lost to the Jewish community. Almost no non-Orthodox Canadian Jewish family – and many Orthodox Jewish families – remains untouched.

Mixed marriage in Canada has been highest in the West and in the Maritimes, while being much lower in Ontario and lower still in Quebec. This corresponds to American patterns which find much higher rates of intermarriage outside older Jewish population centers in the Northeast. Part of the reason lies in the demographic concentrations; intermarriage rates for Jews will be higher in those places with fewer Jews. On the other hand, there is some self-selection at work. Jews who move to outlying or frontier regions in Western Canada are likely less attached to Jewish tradition and community.

Jewish neighborhoods have persisted in urban and suburban areas of Toronto and Montreal, as well as other cities. Jews have been the most residentially concentrated of any minority group, and this is largely by choice. A survey of Montreal Jews in 1991 found that about 48 percent claimed "all or most" of their neighbors were Jews, Even more revealing, in a 1996 Montreal survey 82 percent said it was "very or somewhat important" that they live in a neighborhood with a sizeable Jewish population. These patterns would apply to Toronto as well. But Jewish neighborhoods themselves were not homogeneous. In Toronto and Montreal, Jews know where their wealthy live, as compared to the broad middle class, the *amkha* or typical Jew. Moreover, religion also differentiates Jewish areas. There are well-known areas where ultra-Orthodox Jews, modern Orthodox, and Sephardi Jews live, in proximity to their synagogues and institutions. Jews not only live together, they stick together. Over three-quarters of adult Canadian Jews in 1990 claimed that "most of their friends" were Jewish, compared to one-half – still high – for American Jews. This pattern of intra-group friendship persisted into the third generation, and the levels were far higher than for any Canadian minority group of European origin.

The "formal" community continued to expand during this period, operating at the local, regional, and national level. The organizations of the Jewish polity became increasingly sophisticated and well financed, and touched every aspect of Jewish life. A fascinating paradox: as individual Canadian Jewish identities were threatened by assimilation and mixed marriage, the organized Jewish community thrived.

By the beginning of the 21st century a Canadian Jew in Toronto or Montreal and possibly other cities could live his or her entire life within an institutionally complete Jewish community. A Jew could be born in a "Jewish" hospital; attend Jewish day care or nursery, Jewish day schools or supplementary schools, and summer camps; take Jewish Studies courses on campus and socialize at a Jewish Students' Union; find work within a Jewish organization; pray in a synagogue; patronize a Jewish library and health club and play in Jewish sports leagues; get help from a Jewish social service agency; read Jewish papers and magazines; listen to Jewish radio and watch Jewish TV programs; attend plays, concerts, and lectures of Jewish interest; buy food or eat at kosher grocery stores, butchers, bakers, restaurants, and caterers; spend post-retirement years participating in programs at a Jewish Golden Age Center; move into a Jewish old age home or seniors residence or hospital as needed; and be buried in a Jewish cemetery. Orthodox Jews involved in civil disputes can even go to a religious court or *bet din*.

Until recently, the Canadian Jewish Congress remained the major official national Jewish organization representing Jews to the government and the media. For all its imperfections, it has been seen as a model for other Canadian minority groups. While the CJC's roots were in populism and Labor Zionism, later the Congress became seen as the "Establishment," and has been challenged by B'nai B'rith as being too timid in defending Jewish interests, especially in opposing antisemitism, or out of touch with ordinary Jews. Another force weakening the unique position of the CJC has been the creation by established Jewish leaders of a new organization, the Canadian Council for Israel and Jewish Advocacy (CIJA). Created in 2003 and working with existing lobby organizations like the Canada Israel Committee, CIJA's mandate is to increase the level of professional advocacy for Israeli and Jewish causes directed towards the Canadian government and media.

In effect, however, the CJC has been supplanted by the power of the federations. As in the United States, welfare federations became the units responsible for collecting general communal funds and then disbursing them to a variety of welfare, social, cultural, and recreational agencies. Throughout this period power and money became concentrated in their hands. Federation-CJA in Montreal and the UJA Federation of Greater Toronto became professional organizations which controlled the annual collection and disbursement of tens of millions of dollars. All their constituent agencies were run by lay boards and professional staff. Occasionally there was tension between the two, with power relations varying by agency and specific personalities. Quite often seasoned professionals wielded more power than elected or selected lay leaders from the community – not unlike the power wielded by senior public servants in government.

The Canadian Jewish polity is supported by annual *ẓedakah* to the main Jewish Appeal. But throughout this period, Canadian Jewish philanthropy was increasingly marked by three major innovations. First is the habit of directed giving to specific agencies or causes, and away from federations and appeals. An example is the New Israel Fund, which receives donations aimed at progressive causes in Israel. Other examples are the "Canadian Friends" of various Israeli organizations, or direct giving to Israeli and Jewish organizations. Second is the development of Jewish community foundations in major cities, relying on endowments of capital sums where the interest is used to fund programs. Third is the spread of Jewish family foundations, where the giving often reflects specific interests of the donors rather than communal priorities.

Canadian Jews have been generous. According to 1990 survey data, 41 percent of Canadian Jews gave $100 or more to the Appeal, compared to only 21 percent in the United States. Moreover, for those households who gave $100 or more, the average gift in Canada was $1,700, compared to $1,300 in the United States. Canadian Jewish communal life has had an abundance of organizations, leading to vibrancy as well as duplication and turf battles. In 1990, 47 percent of Canadian Jews claimed to belong to a Jewish organization, 31 percent to actually do volunteer work, and 25 percent to belong to a board or committee, all higher than the American Jewish figures. A Toronto study also found that Jews were significantly more likely than other ethnic groups to know of any communal organizations, to belong to an organization, and to express views about community affairs. Jews have had contradictory attitudes about their communal organizations and leaders, possibly a legacy of the tortured dilemmas facing Jewish leaders during the Holocaust. Those same Toronto Jews did not feel themselves "close to the center of community activities" despite their high levels of participation.

It is certainly true that women, those with low income, the very old, and recent immigrants remained underrepresented in leadership positions. (The same is true of the Canadian Parliament.) But by and large positions of power on lay boards have been open to those who have the time and talent to get involved and contribute. Those who do well are generally rewarded with more responsibilities, as the demand for leaders has exceeded the supply. The bias here favors the middle class rather than an elite group of affluent Jews. Some presidents of the Canadian Jewish Congress were clearly not chosen because of wealth: Rabbi Gunther *Plaut, Professor Irving Abella, and Professor Irwin Cotler. The Jewish polity has slowly become fairly inclusive. Only groups which advocate violence, such as the Jewish Defense League, or which deny the legitimacy of Israel's existence are excluded from the Canadian Jewish Congress.

Regional differences also continued to impact on Canadian Jewish life. Winnipeg declined as a major Jewish center, though it still retained its Yiddishist and populist traditions. As Toronto has grown, it has also become more heavily Orthodox in its character, and observers have noted greater friction between Orthodox and non-Orthodox there than in Montreal. Jewish communities in Ottawa, Calgary, Edmonton, and Vancouver have grown over the decades and have begun to assert a greater voice in national Jewish affairs, but without the long tradition of the major philanthropic families that typified Toronto and especially Montreal. Jewish communities in Atlantic Canada and in smaller towns have continued to struggle.

Jewish Culture in Canada

Compared to that of most other Canadian ethno-cultural groups, Jewish culture thrived during this period. Yet this coincided with agonizing Jewish fears of assimilation and cultural dilution.

This period saw the steady decline in the once vibrant Canadian Yiddish culture. The Yiddish press disappeared. Yiddish was claimed as a mother tongue by a little more than 32,000 in 1981 and a little more than 19,000 in 2001. Still, in 2001, 10,680 Canadians used Yiddish at home. The increasing ḥasidic population, and some elderly immigrants from the former Soviet Union, helped offset the loss as old-timers and older Holocaust survivors died off. More Canadians could speak some Yiddish than claimed it as mother tongue or home language. The *klezmer* revival, marked by the Ashkenaz festival in Toronto and Klez Canada in Montreal, has also helped keep Yiddish culture alive.

Hebrew language abilities increased. In 2001 more than 12,000 claimed Hebrew as their mother tongue, up from 8,300 in 1981, and almost 16,000 claimed they used it at home. (This larger number includes the recitation of Sabbath blessings.) A surprising 60,750 Canadians in 1996 claimed they could hold a conversation in Hebrew, up by almost 20 percent since 1991. Here the influence of increasing levels of Jewish education and travel to Israel is apparent. Both Hebrew and Yiddish are used in Canada far more than in the United States.

Jewish culture in Canada was shaped by a robust Jewish media. Most prominent in this period has been the weekly newspaper the *Canadian Jewish News*, heir to the Canadian Yiddish press. The *CJN* enters tens of thousands of households. There are separate Toronto and Montreal editions, which add local items in addition to a central core of national news material. In this way the *CJN* has strived to create a national Jewish consciousness and became a model for other ethnic community newspapers. About 60 percent of Canadian Jews reported reading a "Jewish" newspaper regularly, compared to only 33 percent in the United States. The Canadian Jewish press was successful in a communal sense. But it did not, it could not, nourish a cohesive sub-community of "New York" Jewish intellectuals, with their own institutions and publications, discussions and debates. Journals like *Commentary, Tikkun,* or *Moment* are all American.

Any discussion of the content of contemporary Canadian Jewish culture must recognize the thematic roles played by Israel and the Holocaust. By the 1990s two-thirds of Canadian Jews had visited Israel; 87 percent felt that Israel is important to their being a Jew; 85 percent felt that if Israel were destroyed, it would be a "personal" tragedy. Canadian research has found that trips to Israel were most frequently cited as having a strong positive impact on Jewish life. Encouraged by these findings, Canadian Jewish philanthropist Charles *Bronfman along with American colleagues helped create Birthright Israel in the 1990s, used to subsidize tours of Israel for young Diaspora Jews.

Following the Eichmann trial in 1961, and after the early trauma of the Six-Day War when Canadian Jews feared for Israel's survival, the Holocaust as a theme permeated Canadian Jewish culture. It became commemorated in Jewish museums and played a growing role in Jewish school curricula and in new synagogue rituals and prayers, including courses in university Jewish Studies programs. Canadian artists and intellectuals began to wrestle with the Holocaust. Anne Michaels' award-winning *Fugitive Pieces* had the Holocaust as a thematic backdrop. The poetry of Irving Layton and the early Leonard Cohen wrestled with the Shoah. Layton's poem "For my sons, Max and David," a meditation on Jewish victimhood, ends with the hard-nosed charge to his children to "Be gunners in the Israeli Air Force." The Holocaust was also a way for some largely secular and unaffiliated Canadian Jewish intellectuals to identify themselves publicly as Jews.

Jewish education was both cause and effect of the relatively high levels of Canadian Jewish identification and cultural vitality. The Jewish schools of the pre-war period expanded into full-fledged school systems, with different religious and cultural orientations, and there was dramatic growth in day school options. In Toronto in 1990 an estimated 90 percent of Jewish children at one time or another had received some form of Jewish education, and 58 percent were currently enrolled in such a program. Some 86 percent of parents of preschool children expected them to receive some form of Jewish education. A 1996 survey of Montreal Jewry found that 73 percent of adults (82 percent of those under 35) had at one point in time received some Jewish education. These figures are far higher than the national Canadian figures for Christian or other ethnic education, and for Jewish education in the United States.

Moreover, during the modern period Jewish education in Canada became focused on day schools. One study found that 61 percent of Montreal parents said their school-age children were currently attending a Jewish day school. Levels in Toronto might be slightly less at the level of elementary schooling. Education in Canada falls under provincial jurisdiction. These high day school enrollments in Quebec were helped by tuitions which are more affordable due to provincial government grants, which were unavailable in Ontario. The level of formal Jewish education of Canadian Jewish children in the late 20th century was on the whole much greater than that of their Canadian-born parents or grandparents, whose education consisted mainly of tutors or Sunday schools or a few years of afternoon schools.

Jewish education highlights an important difference between Canadian and American Jews, and indeed between the two countries. American Jewish official organizations have been fierce supporters of the separation of church and state, which is rooted in the American Constitution. They usually opposed public funding of private religious schooling, seeing Jewish day schools as potentially ghettoizing. American Jews and Jewish organizations have been staunch defenders of the American public school system. Canada never developed an American mythology about the egalitarian nature of the public school system and did not have a constitutional separation of church and state. Hence provincial governments could choose to support religious private schools, as some have done. Indeed, since as a prerequisite of Canada's Confederation in 1867, Catholic schools received government funds in Ontario, Jews and other religious groups whose schools do not receive government support have challenged this policy as discriminatory, without complete success as of 2004.

Jewish education in Canada became common before and after elementary and high school levels, and throughout the religious spectrum. Jewish nurseries, play groups, and day care centers proliferated in every Jewish community and catered to every Jewish orientation. A similar explosion has taken place at the post-secondary level and beyond. Ultra-Orthodox men were able to continue studying in a *kolel*, even after they got married. For more secular Jews, the campus has become an increasingly important venue. As of the beginning of the 21st century, strong Jewish Studies programs existed at McGill University and Concordia University in Montreal, the University of Toronto and York University in Toronto, and smaller programs and course offerings at various other universities. Synagogues and other institutes sponsor lectures and courses on Jewish topics.

Conclusion

The Canadian Jewish experience through the closing decades of the 20th century was a comparative success story. The diverse pieces of the Jewish mosaic helped define a vibrant community. A Canadian Jewish equilibrium balanced the forces of tradition and change, reinforced by the rhetoric and the policies of Canadian multiculturalism. No current Diaspora community can surpass this blend of comfortable integration with Jewish cultural retention and vitality. The Jewish community in Canada was on its way to becoming the second most important Diaspora community, after the United States. Not population size, but the ability to participate fully in public life while retaining a rich multidimensional heritage has been the strength of Canadian Jewish life.

But Canadian Jewish life has not been static. The common argument is that Canadian Jewry is just one generation behind American Jewry in the process of assimilation. If this proves true, then an eventual decline in Jewish migration to Canada, and the impact of Canadian multiculturalism, may not be sufficient to perpetuate the Canadian Jewish distinctiveness. But given Canadian patterns of religious particularism, ritual observance, and the communal priority given to identification with Israel and Jewish education, Canadian Jewry may continue to travel a different path from Jews in the United States.

Certainly, challenges await. While by the early 21st century the drive for Quebec independence seems stalled, one cannot rule out its revival, which would destabilize Quebec Jews and Canada as a whole. More generally, the advantages of a more recent and relatively larger Canadian Jewish immigration will likely fade at some point, and the rapid growth of the Arab/Islamic communities poses political challenges. There are strong ties of family, friendship, and organized community between Canadian and American Jews, cemented by migration of educated young Canadian Jews southward for school and work opportunity, and a general pattern of cross-border Jewish marriages. It remains unclear how or if the relatively high levels of Jewish identity found in Canada will persist deep into the 21st century.

Canada-Israel Relations

The general Canadian public, like the Jewish community, has been generally supportive of Israel. Scattered surveys in the first few decades of Israel's existence as a state showed Canadians to be generally more favorable to Israeli positions in the Middle East conflict than those of the Arabs. With the Intifadas, Canadian Jewish leaders perceived a shift away from support for Israel by certain influential segments of Canadian society, notably within the intellectual and media communities. In addition, public opinion polls taken since 2000 have reported a narrowing of the gap in support for Israeli positions; the change has been more pronounced in Quebec, where there is a sizeable Arab-origin community. An anti-Israel riot that forced the cancellation of a planned talk by Binyamin Netanyahu in 2002 and a 2004 firebombing of a Montreal Jewish school library by a young Arab-origin Montrealer shocked the Canadian Jewish community.

Official ties between the governments of Canada and Israel have been generally strong, albeit with some rough patches. Canada has always been a strong supporter of Israel's right to exist within secure borders. But as a middle-ranking power and a solid member of the Western alliance, Canada has never been a major economic or political stakeholder in the Middle East. Seeing itself as evenhanded in dealings with both Israel and its Arab neighbors, Canada has periodically attempted to play the role of honest broker in the region. Former Prime Minister Lester Pearson earned a Nobel Peace Prize in formulating a policy for a UN peacekeeping forces in the aftermath of the *Suez Campaign in 1956, and for years after that Canadian (and other) forces were stationed in the Sinai separating Israel and Egypt and later in the Golan separating Israel and Syria.

However, after the 1967 war and even more pronouncedly through the 1980s and 1990s, Canada's voting record at the UN routinely included abstentions or negative votes (from Israel's perspective) on matters such as the West Bank settlements or Palestinian rights. Relations with Israel were sometimes even a political hot potato in Canada. In 1981, for example, the short-lived government of Conservative Prime Minister Joe Clark announced its intention to move the Canadian embassy to Jerusalem from Tel Aviv, catching much of the Canadian Jewish leadership by surprise. The uproar in the Arab world and among Canadian corporations doing business in the Arab world caused the government to reverse its position and may have undermined the government's general credibility. In this regard the Canadian Jewish community consistently opposed any compliance of the Canadian government, and Canadian firms, with the Arab boycott of Israel.

In the 1990s, misuse of Canadian passports by Mosad agents caused friction between Canada and Israel. The appointment of Norman *Spector, the first Jewish Canadian ambassador to Israel in the early 1990s, also raised eyebrows and caused rumblings in some quarters. In addition, the decision by some Canadian refugee determination tribunals to grant Canadian refugee status to Israelis of Russian origin seeking to come to Canada naturally irked both Israel and Canadian Jewry.

All these irritations were of short duration and were ultimately resolved. The major Canadian pro-Israel lobby, the Canada Israel Committee, maintains a strong and active presence in Ottawa, and its annual Parliamentary dinner in Ottawa is well attended by representatives of all political parties and all Canadian political parties support Israel's right to exist within secure borders. Liberal and Conservative parties have remained steadfast in their support of Israel even as Prime Minsters Trudeau, Mulroney, Chrétien, and Martin have all spoken in favor of eventual statehood for the Palestinians. Observers report the shift to a more pro-Israel position by the Liberal minority government of Paul Martin elected in 2004. However, the left-leaning New Democratic Party and the sovereigntist Bloc Québécois have remained somewhat more critical of Israeli policies, especially on the West Bank. A recent wrinkle in Ottawa's political scene is a more sophisticated lobby effort being put forward by the growing Muslim and Arab communities in Canada. During the federal election of 2004 their lobbying showed better organization and voter mobilization than ever before.

There are a wide array of institutional links between Canada and Israel, many mediated by Canadian Jews. Some have a decidedly Canadian flavor. Canadian Jewish philanthropists established an active Chair in Canadian Studies at the Hebrew University, and Canadians even built a skating rink and set up an infrastructure for ice hockey in Metullah. Through the efforts of McGill law professor and later Justice Minister Irwin Cotler, strong links have been forged between Canadian and Israeli legal scholars and court systems. Canadian and Israeli universities have also developed strong ties, and Canadian political and business leaders are routinely taken on study missions to Israel. As a tangible result of this effort in 1997, Canada and Israel negotiated a free trade agreement and trade between the two countries has greatly increased as a result. Jewish Canadian business leaders such as David *Azrieli, Charles Bronfman, and Murray *Koffler continue to play important roles investing in new Israeli enterprises and more generally promoting the growth of the Israeli economy.

[Morton Weinfeld (2nd ed.)]

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CANADIAN JEWISH CONGRESS. The Canadian Jewish Congress is a unique organization. It has no parallel anywhere else in the Jewish world. Founded in 1919, it has been for much of its history the singular democratic voice of Canadian Jewry. Though it is a national organization, it has offices and affiliates in all of Canada's regions. And until the rise of the Federation movement – the local organizations that raise, collect, and allocate United Jewish Appeal funds – in the 1970s and 1980s, Congress stood unchallenged as the community's interlocutor with government and with the non-Jewish world. It was, until recently, the one forum where all the problems of Canadian Jewry – and for that matter, all of world Jewry – could be debated, where agendas were set, and where campaigns were organized.

It was largely because of the irresistible pressure of newly arrived immigrants, many of whom were allied with the trade union and Labor Zionist movements, that the Canadian Jewish Congress came into being. Since by 1919 these newcomers – the tens of thousands who had arrived as part of the mass migration of Jews from Eastern Europe at the turn of the century – vastly outnumbered members of the so-called "establishment" who had come earlier, they wanted a voice in the direction of the community. Exhilarated by the Balfour Declaration of 1917 and the possibility of a Jewish state in Palestine, desperately concerned over the plight of their kin in war-ravaged Europe, and determined to find a way to open Canada's immigration doors that had slammed shut in 1914, these activists were convinced that creating a democratic, representative umbrella organization for Canadian Jewry would provide a panacea for all of their problems.

On March 2 and 3, 1919, over 25,000 Jews from coast to coast went to polling places in various synagogues and schools to elect delegates. And on March 16, 208 men and one woman from every part of Canada representing almost every point of view and ideology in the community met in Montreal to create what they hoped would be "the Parliament of Canadian Jewry." More than a debating society, these founding fathers and mother intended that the Canadian Jewish Congress would maintain Jewish unity, would assist in building a Jewish homeland in Palestine, would commit itself to the preservation of a Jewish – and Yiddish – heritage in the new world, would guarantee its continuity, and finally, would safeguard human rights and dignity while advancing a flourishing sense of Canadianism among its member organizations. And for most of its history that is precisely what the Congress did – or at least, tried to do.

However, Congress's first few years were disappointing. Indeed, aside from creating the Jewish Immigrant Aid Society which would deal with the critical immigration issues besetting the community – and would do so for the next three generations – Congress achieved nothing. Paralyzed by a lack of funds and a waning interest among most Jews, who were more concerned about earning a living in an economy on the verge of collapse, Congress limped along without wide community support and did not meet again until the rise of Nazi Germany mobilized the community once again.

In 1934 under the leadership of Sam *Jacobs, a Member of Parliament from Montreal, Congress reconvened. But it was not until four years later when, swallowing hard, Jewish trade unionists convinced Sam *Bronfman, a wealthy industrialist and philanthropist, to become president, that Congress was revivified. And none too soon. Canadian Jews now confronted a rapidly rising tide of domestic antisemitism and a federal government committed to doing whatever it could to prevent Jewish refugees fleeing Nazi Germany from entering Canada.

Bronfman's first act was his most important. He hired an energetic young lawyer to take charge of Congress. Over the next 40 years, Saul *Hayes revolutionized Congress, providing it with the professional expertise and political leadership it so desperately needed. Meanwhile, Bronfman gave Congress credibility as well the funding it sorely lacked.

But despite its valiant efforts Congress was confounded by the situation it faced. It could do little to dissipate the anti-Jewish feelings sweeping the country, and even less to convince the federal Liberal government to open its gates to the desperate Jews of Europe. Nevertheless it persevered. Congress delegations met regularly with politicians and federal authorities to try to get the closed-door policy changed. And from time to time they were able to convince the government to allow in some refugees. Congress also formed coalitions with other groups to advance their agenda. With the respected League of Nations Society it created the United Jewish Refugee Agency to lobby on behalf of Jewish refugees. And with B'nai Brith it formed a Joint Public Relations Committee (JPRC) to combat antisemitism. This committee functioned effectively until it was disbanded in the 1980s.

When war broke out in 1939, Congress, aware of the incorrect perception that Canadian Jews were not doing their share for Canada's war effort, aggressively urged all eligible Jews to enlist. To encourage Jewish participation it set up a Chaplains Committee to ensure that there were enough rabbis in the armed forces, and it created a War Efforts Committee to mobilize Canadian Jewry and to provide for the needs of Jewish servicemen and women across the country. It also joined with the American Joint Distribution Committee to provide whatever assistance was possible to an embattled European Jewish community. And throughout the war Congress lobbied vigorously – but in vain – to influence a hostile government to allow in the handful of Jews who had escaped the Nazis.

At the end of the war, Congress turned its full attention to the survivors. It sent a small delegation to Europe to meet with the pathetically small number of Jews still alive to find any who had relatives in Canada who could sponsor survivors. At the same time, while it was shipping vast amounts of money and supplies, Congress hired some dedicated men and women to provide succor and hope to Jews in the various displaced persons camps spotted all over Europe. And while Canada still refused to accept Jewish refugees – and would not until 1947 – Saul Hayes was able to use an obscure Cabinet decision made in 1941 to persuade officials to allow in more than 1,000 Jewish orphans. Congress also accepted responsibility for finding them homes, schools, or jobs, and families who would adopt them. Congress also devised an arrangement to bring in badly needed garment workers which the government grudgingly approved, though at the last minute it limited the number it was prepared to accept. Throughout this period and especially after 1948, Congress was deeply involved in arranging for homes and jobs for the more than 30,000 survivors who arrived over the next 10 years.

As the pervasive antisemitism began to recede following the war, restrictions and quotas in housing, jobs, and universities still continued. Congress decided it was an opportune moment to launch an all-out offensive against remaining discriminatory practices in Canada. Young activists in the JPRC and the Jewish Labour Committee devised a masterful – and very aggressive – public relations and education campaign which, by the end of the 1950s, resulted in legislation barring discrimination in housing and employment. This was, perhaps, Congress' greatest success.

The period from 1938 through the 1960s were heady years for the Canadian Jewish Congress. Ably led by Saul Hayes and

Sam Bronfman, Congress played the key role in the life of every Canadian Jew. Jewish organizations of almost every political and religious stripe were affiliated to it. No one doubted that when the CJC spoke, it spoke on behalf of all Canadian Jewry. And its triennial plenary was the most important event in the Jewish calendar. There, not only were officers elected, but community leaders and rank and file delegates met to determine their future.

Following the 1960s, once the status of the Jewish community seemed secure, Congress turned its energies to other causes. It became the primary advocate for the State of Israel in Canada and confronted the enemies of the Jewish state, particularly in the period just before and after the Six-Day War in 1967. It took the lead in campaigning for Soviet Jewry and formed committees to lobby on behalf of Jews in Arab lands and for Ethiopian Jews determined to immigrate to Israel.

Domestically, while it still continued the apparently never-ending struggle against the remnants of antisemitism, it devoted much of its energy to Holocaust remembrance, to providing sustenance and support to small Jewish communities throughout the country, to ensuring the survival of the Yiddish language and to a whole series of social justice matters impacting immigrants, visible minorities, aboriginals, women, and the disabled. Also, largely because of Congress's lobbying, the federal government introduced anti-hate legislation. Sadly, despite the unceasing efforts of CJC leaders and members, attempts to persuade government officials to prosecute Nazi war criminals in Canada met with little success.

By the late 1970s the paramountcy of Congress in the Jewish community began to recede as federations, especially those in Toronto and Montreal, which oversaw community funding through the United Israel Appeal, increasingly dictated the community social and political agenda as well. Congress's budgets were reduced and many of its responsibilities were assumed by local communities. By the beginning of the new century, with the creation of a new body, the Council of Israel and Jewish Affairs, much of the CJC's authority and influence had been stripped away though it still remained the primary advocacy voice on domestic issues and on combating antisemitism.

The Canadian Jewish Congress began as an organization for Canadian Jews. It soon became not just an organization of Canadian Jews but also for all Canadians who needed its help. Throughout its history it has been in the forefront of the battles for human rights, equity, immigration reform, and civility. It was a pioneer in the creation of multiculturalism, and while it defended freedom of speech, it also led the fight for freedom from hate speech. It has been and to some extent still is a forum for conflicting visions, but is ultimately one voice – a voice that has steadfastly done battle against antisemitism and racism, supported the rights of persecuted minorities, fought for the freedom of oppressed Jews wherever they might be; a voice that speaks as the advocate, conscience and soul of Canadian Jewry.

[Irving Abella (2nd ed.)]

CANADIAN LITERATURE.

English

A.M. *Klein (1909–1972), the founding father of Canadian-Jewish literature, grew up in Montreal, the birthplace of that body of writing. A polyglot and autodidact, Klein absorbed his Hebrew and Yiddish heritages, as well as traditional English literature, Joycean modernism, and French-Canadian influences within the province of Quebec. These streams make their way into his novel, *The Second Scroll*, and his last collection of poetry, *The Rocking Chair,* where he combines Jewish and French traditions, moving away from his earlier archaic style and Hebraic subject matter toward modernism in contemporary Quebec. The five short chapters of *The Second Scroll* are loosely structured on the Five Books of Moses, and are followed by five talmudic glosses in the form of poetry, a play, and an artistic essay. The narrator searches for his Uncle Melech Davidson, a messianic figure, throughout the Diaspora and Zion. Surrounded by a group of Yiddish writers such as J.J. *Segal (1896–1954), Melech *Ravitch (1893–1976), Jacob *Zipper (1900–1973), Ida *Maze (1893–1962), and Rochl *Korn (1898–1982), Klein participated in intellectual activities at the Jewish Public Library, wrote for the *Kanader Adler,* and became editor of the *Canadian Jewish Chronicle*. Eventually this multilingual spokesman turned silent for the last 17 years of his life

Klein mentored Irving *Layton (1912–), who gave voice to his teacher's silence throughout the second half of the 20th century. Layton developed an outspoken Nietzschean persona, and as a fierce prophet he excoriated the materialism of Jews around him and the smugness of Canadian conservatism, dominated by an Anglo-Saxon elite. Layton's poetry in turn influenced his friend Leonard *Cohen (1934–), who began writing poetry in Montreal before turning to a career in singing and song writing. To Layton's prophetic mode, Cohen added his own secular, ironic priestly role. Cohen's two novels, *The Favorite Game* and *Beautiful Losers*, move from a realistic, autobiographical portrait of the artist coming of age in Montreal to a mythological, postmodern recreation of indigenous history combined with contemporary Quebec politics. Seymour *Mayne (1944–) and David Solway (1941– have carried on Klein's tradition in their own verse.

While these poets are sympathetic towards Klein, the fiction of Mordecai *Richler (1931–2001) is more critical. Richler viewed Klein as a sentimental, old-fashioned poet who sold out his true vocation by becoming a speechwriter for Sam *Bronfman, the head of Seagram's Whisky. In his epic novel *Solomon Gursky Was Here*, Richler sets up a figure of Klein within the Bronfman whisky dynasty. Like Layton, Richler relies heavily upon satire to denounce parvenu Jews and staid Canadian Christians. From his energetic breakthrough novel, *The Apprenticeship of Duddy Kravitz* to the more cosmopolitan *St. Urbain's Horseman* (which uses a quest motif similar to Klein's in *The Second Scroll*), Richler comes closest to the achievement of Bellow, Malamud, and Philip Roth in the

United States. For most of these Montreal writers, New York remained a cultural Mecca, and their writing often mediated between a progressive American outlook and a more conservative British heritage in Canada. These writers draw upon their European roots, while making it new in ways that differed from the American mainstream. Montreal's French and Yiddish strains remained unique in North America throughout the 20th century with literary translations contributing to the cross-fertilization of this singular polyglot culture.

If the Jewish immigrant energy in Montreal has passed its heyday, nevertheless a number of younger writers have accommodated to the shifting French-speaking majority. The experimental fiction of Robert Majzels (1950–) translates French into English, and the contemporary Jewish scene into his Quebec milieu. His first novel, *Hellman's Scrapbook*, features the letters of an institutionalized son to his parents who are Holocaust survivors. Superimposed on these letters are French newspaper clippings that disorient the reader alongside the patient. His second novel, *Apikoros Sleuth*, is written in talmudic format, with Hebrew letters at the center of the page surrounded by different columnar narratives and commentary about a mystery in Montreal. His radical style challenges our preconceptions about the act of reading, while simultaneously borrowing from his Hebrew heritage. In a similar vein, *La Québécoite* (trans. *The Wanderer*) of Régine Robin (1939–) flows between French and Yiddish signs and narratives integral to Montreal. Her work straddles the French writings of Monique *Bosco (1927–) and Naim *Kattan (1928–), and the Yiddish fiction of Yehuda *Elberg (1912–2003), and Chava *Rosenfarb (1923–).

If Montreal has traditionally been the center of Canadian-Jewish literature, then Winnipeg stands as the second most important contributor to this body of writing. Instead of any significant French influence, Winnipeg's Jewish writers – Jack Ludwig (1922–), Miriam *Waddington (1912–2004), and Adele *Wiseman (1928–1992) – were influenced by Yiddish socialist ideals at the Peretz School, Ukrainian neighbors, and an open prairie suggesting unlimited horizons. Ludwig's novels move from the particulars of Winnipeg's Jewish north end towards a Whitmanesque embracing of America. Wiseman's first novel, *The Sacrifice*, chronicles the immigrant situation within three generations of the same family against a biblical backdrop. The tragic circumstances of her first novel turn comic in her second novel, *Crackpot*, a bizarre account of a young Jewish prostitute who comes of age in Winnipeg. Miriam Waddington's poetry deals with social and political causes, while some of her critical writing has focused on A.M. Klein and other Yiddish writers.

Further west, one finds the isolated prairie examples of the poetry of Eli *Mandel (1922–1992) and the fiction of Henry *Kreisel (1922–1991). Although Mandel's early poetry dealt with Greek mythology, he turned increasingly to Hebraic roots, exploring gravesites in his native Saskatchewan, looking for communities that have virtually disappeared beneath prairie bedrock. Both Mandel and Kreisel have paid homage to A.M. Klein. Kreisel's short story, "The Almost Meeting," recounts a failed encounter between Kreisel and Klein. Kreisel's first transatlantic novel, *The Rich Man*, portrays the return of a son to his Austrian family on the eve of World War II. His second novel, *The Betrayal*, deals with the aftermath of the Holocaust as it impinges on innocent lives in Edmonton.

Now that the high point of immigrant writing in Montreal and the west has receded, some Ontario writers have emerged to pave the way toward a new ethos reflective of Toronto's multicultural scene. Norman *Levine (1923–), a senior Ottawa short story writer, spent much of his adult life in England, portraying both the artistic community in rural Britain as well as his Jewish origins in Ottawa. Matt *Cohen (1942–1999) wrote several novels about rural Ontario before turning to Jewish themes in his later fiction. Cohen has outlined his position of alienation with regard to the Jewish establishment on the one hand, and a dominant Ontario Presbyterian culture on the other. Marginalized by both groups, Cohen sought to identify with Sephardic Jewish history. Younger writers such as Cary Fagan (1957–) and Norman Ravvin (1963–) have confronted similar obstacles trying to portray Canadian-Jewish subjects in their fiction. The experimental fiction of Helen Weinzweig (1915–) has added to the panorama of perspectives.

Younger writers have taken a variety of approaches in their fiction. Lilian Nattel (1956–), who, like a number of other authors, moved from Montreal to Toronto partly in response to Quebec's nationalist, separatist political agenda, uses magic realism in her historical fiction set in Poland (*The River Midnight*) and England (*The Singing Fire*) a century ago. The short stories of J.J. Steinfeld (1946–) deal obsessively and surrealistically with the Holocaust. Anne *Michaels (1958–) has turned from poetry to her internationally acclaimed first novel, *Fugitive Pieces*, a highly poetic and metaphoric work of fiction where the protagonist survives the Holocaust by escaping from Poland and spending the war years hidden on a Greek island before leaving for Toronto at the end of the war. Michael Redhill (1966–), another Toronto poet who has turned to fiction, writes about Martin Sloane, half-Irish, half-Jewish, who leaves Ireland to join part of his family in Montreal. More steeped in Jewish roots, Aryeh Lev Stollman's fiction combines science, fantasy, realism, Jewish learning, and history, originating in Windsor, Ontario, but radiating outward from the Canadian border to Europe. The leftist plays of Jason *Sherman (1962–) have been critical of violence in Israel, as Sherman explores his ambivalent reactions as a Jew in the Diaspora. Also leftwing in her ideology, Edeet Ravel (1955–) has set her novels in Israel. David Bezmozgis (1973–) is the youngest of the new breed of short story writers in Toronto. His debut collection, *Natasha*, portrays the recently arrived Russian community in the northern suburbs of Toronto. In poetry, Kenneth Sherman (1950–), Robyn Sarah (1949–), Rhea Tregebov (1953–), and Susan Glickman (1953–) combine regionalism, nostalgia, and the Canadian landscape. Overshadowed by the titans of American-Jewish literature, Jewish writers in Canada have written through a northern absence to arrive at a quieter, different place – from Klein's exile to the Diaspora's edge.

[Michael Greenstein (2nd ed.)]

French

Although a few of the early 20th century Yiddish immigrant writers in Canada knew French well and at times wrote in French, one must wait for the post-WWII period to see the emergence of a Francophone Jewish literature in Canada. The first Canadian Jew to write in French and establish a literary career in that language was Monique Bosco. Born in Vienna in 1927 she came to Canada in 1948. She earned a doctorate from the University of Montreal where she also taught literature. Her first novel, *Un amour maladroit*, earned her the 1961 American First Novel Award and her second novel, *La Femme de Loth*, won the prestigious Governor General's award in 1971. Bosco published 12 novels through 2005, most of which chronicle the uprooting of immigration, the effects of feminine isolation, and the bitterness of existence.

Following in Bosco's footsteps was Naim Kattan, born in Baghdad in 1928 and a student of literature at the Sorbonne between 1947 and 1951. Deeply influence by the Jewish experience of his native Iraq, Kattan arrived in Montreal in 1954 where the Jewish community was then almost entirely Ashkenazi in origins and experiencing rapid Anglicization. This gave Kattan the opportunity both to serve as liaison between Canadian Jewish Congress and the French-Canadian majority (most notably through his work in the Cercle juif de langue française) and to pursue his own career in Francophone newspapers, such as *Le Devoir*. In 1967 Kattan became the head of the literary section of the Canada Council, a federal funding agency for the arts in Canada, a position he held until 1990. His first novel, *Adieu Babylone*, published in 1975, chronicles the life of a young Jew about to enter a new world of European culture. This book was followed by six others, populated by characters who straddle different cultural worlds and express the fragility and vagaries of human relationships. Kattan also published collections of short stories, notably *Dans le désert* in 1974 and *La distraction* in 1994, plus a series of essays revolving around the issue of the encounter between the Middle East, Europe, and the Americas. Kattan was awarded the Athanase David Award in 2004 for recognition of his career as a writer.

A more recent entry to the field of French-language Jewish literature in Canada is Régine Robin. She was born in Paris in 1939 of Polish-Jewish parents who embraced the ideals of Communist egalitarianism. Robin arrived in Montreal in 1977 after completing a doctorate in history at the Université de Paris and began teaching sociology at the Université du Québec à Montréal. Her first novel, *La Québécoite*, was published in Montreal in 1983 and describes the struggles of an immigrant from the French metropolitan who must decipher the cultural realities of both the Francophone majority of Québec and the Anglophone Jewish community living in its midst. Subsequently Robin published *L'immense fatigue des pierres* in 1996, a series of short stories with a strong biographical streak. Deeply affected by the experience of the Holocaust and absorbed by the loss of Yiddish as a significant Jewish language, she also published a number of essays on this theme, among with *L'amour du yiddish* in 1984.

Other significant Francophone writers include Victor Teboul, born in Alexandria, Egypt. He immigrated to Canada in 1963 and is author of a series of essays and a novel entitled *Que Dieu vous garde de l'homme silencieux quand il se met soudain à parler*, published in 1999. Serge Ouaknine, born in Rabat, Morocco, published in 1993 book of poems entitled *Poèmes désorientés*.

[Pierre Anctil (2nd ed.)]

Yiddish

Offshoots of Yiddish literature sprang up in many of the countries to which East European Jews migrated. The origins of Yiddish literature in Canada can be traced back to the late 19th century Yiddish press. The Yiddish press played a very special role, not only as a disseminator and interpreter of news but also as the chief tribune of modern Yiddish literature. Given the much greater numbers of East European Jews who immigrated to the United States, it is not surprising that the Yiddish press of New York found a Canadian following. But a Canadian Yiddish press also developed. Yiddish newspapers in Montreal, Toronto, and Winnipeg provided Canadian Yiddish writers with a platform, reported Canadian Jewish news, and raised questions of specific Canadian concern, thus contributing to the formation of a strong sense of Canadian Jewish community.

MONTREAL – YIDDISH CAPITAL OF CANADA. As early as 1887, when Canada's Jewish population numbered less than 6,000, the Yiddish lexicographer and scholar Alexander Harkavy foresaw the need for a Canadian Yiddish press separate from that of the U.S. While working temporarily in Montreal as a Hebrew teacher at the Shaar Hashomayim Talmud Torah, he published one issue of a lithographed periodical, *Di Tsayt* ("Time," or "The Times"), the first Yiddish newspaper in Canada. Twenty years later, in 1907, Hirsh Wolofsky founded *Der Keneder Adler* ("The Canadian [Jewish] Eagle"), Canada's most influential Yiddish daily. The *Adler* grew in journalistic and literary quality thanks to several prestigious and talented editors. From 1912 to 1915 the renowned Hebrew and Yiddish writer Reuben *Brainin edited the *Adler*. In 1914 Brainin and Judah Kaufmann (*Even Shmuel) were among the principal founders of the Jewish Public Library of Montreal, which became the community's central Yiddish cultural institution and a magnet for Yiddish writers and literature. Continuing success of the *Keneder Adler* can be attributed, in part, to the talents of its editor of many years, Israel Rabinovitch, a journalist, essayist, and author of a number of books on Jewish music, in Yiddish and English. The *Adler* also exerted a significant influence on the development of Canadian Yiddish literature, especially after the noted poet J.J. Segal became the editor of the paper's weekly literary supplement in 1941.

Canada's foremost Yiddish poet, J.J. Segal, was also an essayist, critic, and an editor known for encouraging other Canadian Yiddish writers both to develop their individual talents and to establish a literary community. A prolific poet, he achieved recognition beyond Canada's borders and is considered a significant voice in modern Yiddish poetry. In 1911 the 15-year-old Segal left the Czarist Ukraine for Montreal, where he spent his entire creative life, except for a sojourn in New York from 1923 to 1928. Torn between two worlds, he attempted to sublimate this tension through his search for beauty and purity and in his romantic view of the holiness of the Jewish past. He devoted his poetry to the ordinary experiences of daily life, to plain people, to Yiddish as a symbol of the sacred suffering and simplicity of Jewish life, as well as to ḥasidic motifs of his native Ukraine.

Jacob (Ya'akov) *Zipper (the adopted name of Yankev Shtern), educator, writer, and critic, arrived in Montreal in 1925, part of a Yiddish educational, literary, and cultural "dynasty." His father, Rabbi Abraham *Shtern, one of the notable Orthodox Jews in Canada, and Rabbi Yudl Rosenberg (the maternal grandfather of Mordecai Richler) contributed to the old genre of pietistic literature in Yiddish in addition to their output of religious works in rabbinic Hebrew.

The leftist poet Sholem Shtern (1907–1991) arrived in Montreal from Poland at the age of 20. Although steeped in Jewish tradition, he was arguably the most Canadian of the Yiddish writers. In a two-volume novel in verse, *In Kanade* ("In Canada"), he depicts a broad range of problems of acclimatization faced by the Eastern European Jews in Montreal. In another clearly autobiographical verse-novel, *Dos Vayse Hoyz* ("The White House") Shtern spotlights the struggles of Jewish immigrants during the late 1920s through characterizations of tubercular patients – an artist, a Hebrew scholar, a young communist, a talmudist, shop workers – in the Mount Sinai Sanitarium in Ste-Agathe-des-Monts, Quebec. Shtern also portrays the life of French Canadian farmers and their relationships with the Jews. In both works, the autobiographical figure of the young radical Yiddish poet is central.

Ida Maze played an important role in Canadian Yiddish literature, not only as a writer of children's poetry but also as "the mother" of Canadian Yiddish writers. She conducted a literary salon in Montreal for many years, encouraged other writers, and was instrumental in organizing the publication of their works. Many Canadian Yiddish writers were also teachers in the secular Yiddish schools. One such poet was M.M. Shaffir (1909–1988) who was known for the purity of his language and the rich use of East-European Jewish folklore in his writing.

The cataclysm of World War II and the immigration of survivors of the Holocaust strengthened the ranks of the Canadian Yiddish literary community in quantity and quality. The first of the important refugee writers to arrive in Canada was Melech Ravitch, the adopted name of Zekharye-Khone Bergner. He proved a towering figure of modern world Yiddish literature. With a childhood in Galicia, Ravitch's mother tongue was Polish and his second language was German. But as a youngster he adopted Yiddish as a response to the Jewish national renaissance in Eastern Europe in the earlier years of the 20th century. At the end of World War I Ravitch settled in Warsaw to participate in the great enterprise of creating a modern, secular national Jewish culture in Yiddish. He was a prominent figure on the Yiddish literary scene in interwar Poland. Ravitch eventually was overcome with despair for the future of Polish Jewry and left the country in 1934. He became a world traveler in the latter half of the 1930s and finally settled in Montreal in 1941. Here he became a dynamic organizer of Yiddish literary, cultural, and educational activities and was, for many years, the director of Montreal's Jewish Public Library and People's University. Four of his 21 volumes of verse were compiled in Montreal. In addition, the Canadian period of Ravitch's life also saw the publication of his Yiddish translation of Kafka's *The Trial* as well as three encyclopedic volumes devoted to portraying in a personal fashion the major figures of the Jewish national cultural renaissance (*Mayn Leksikon*). While in Canada he also composed his three volume autobiography, *Dos Mayse-bukh fun Mayn Lebn*. Melech Ravitch's life and voluminous writings are an embodiment of the humanism of the I.L. *Peretz tradition of secular Jewishness. But Melech Ravitch, was more than a poet, writer, and editor. He was a dynamic, central figure in modern Yiddish literature who worked tirelessly to ensure the survival and growth of Yiddish literature on a world scale.

Another talented and recognized Yiddish writer who came to Canada after World War II was the poet and short story writer Rochl Korn. Also a native of Galicia, she established a reputation as a writer of stature in Poland during the late 1920s and 1930s, producing lyrics of rural tranquility but in modernist form. In her post-Holocaust poetry, Korn revealed and explored memories of her vanished home with great sensitivity. To the landscape of the old home in Eastern Europe, Korn added a new dimension, seeing herself in the present-day world of a "supplanted reality" that has "placed her like a partition between yesterday and today." In her later poems she described passing over a boundary that not everyone can cross, and "in the concealed circle" she has entered, "only saints, fools and prophets of extinct worlds feel at home." The poet belongs to the latter; her "extinct worlds" are the key to her poems as they are to much of post-Holocaust Yiddish literature. The unspeakable tragedy cast its shadow on all the poet's experiences and feelings and gave her a special calling to give voice to all that was lost. Korn's reflective mood, infused with the pain of unimaginable loss, neither weakened nor dulled the thrust of her modernist imagery.

Mordkhe Husid (1909–1988) was also a postwar immigrant to Canada. Although his first book, published in Poland in 1937, was a collection of short stories, he later turned to poetry. His post-Holocaust work was the product of a mature poet who tended towards intellectualism; filled with the imagery and symbolism of traditional Judaism in its East European forms, his poems are veiled by the all-pervading sadness of a Jew who feels he is "a brand snatched from the fire."

Yehuda Elberg was the scion of a distinguished rabbinic family in Poland where he began his Yiddish literary career at the age of 20. He escaped from the Warsaw Ghetto, participated in the underground resistance, and played a significant role in the restoration of the Yiddish press and literature in Poland just after the liberation. He immigrated to Montreal in the 1950s and became a leading short story writer and novelist of the post-Holocaust period of Yiddish literature. Elberg devoted his artistic creativity to the depiction of Jewish life in Poland prior to the Holocaust as well as to the Jewish tragedy during the Destruction.

Chava *Rosenfarb (1923–), a native of Lodz, Poland, began to write in Yiddish as a child. Incarcerated in the Lodz Ghetto, she was active in the underground writers' circle. Rosenfarb survived Auschwitz and Bergen-Belsen and settled in Montreal in 1950. She became a published and recognized poet, short story writer, playwright, and novelist after World War II. Her three-volume novel of life in the Lodz Ghetto, *Der Boym fun Lebn* (1972; *The Tree of Life*, 1985) achieved broad acclaim. One of the last significant Yiddish writers in Canada, Chava Rosenfarb in later years devoted much of her creative energy to the English translation and publication of her works.

OUTSIDE MONTREAL. Although Montreal was the "capital city" of Yiddish literature in Canada, Toronto and Winnipeg also had Yiddish literary communities. Toronto's principal Yiddish newspaper, *Der Yidisher Zhurnal* ("The Hebrew Journal"), founded as a weekly in 1912, and published as a daily from 1917 to the early 1960s, served as a forum for many local Yiddish writers. A group of Yiddish proletarian writers and poets was active in Toronto during the 1920s and 1930s, including Benjamin Katz, Shimen Nepom, Abraham Nisnievich, Shimshen Pizel (later better known as Sh. Apter), Leyzer Treyster, and others. In addition to his role as a Yiddish writer, Gershon Pomerantz (1904–1968) established a small Yiddish publishing house in Toronto which produced a literary magazine, *Tint un Feder* ("Pen and Ink") and issued works by several major Yiddish writers. After World War II, Peretz *Miransky (1908–1993), a member of the influential Yiddish writers and artists group "Yung Vilne" ("Young Vilna"), settled in Toronto, where he continued to cultivate the fable as well as his lyric poetry.

The Yiddish cultural life of Winnipeg centered around its newspaper, *Dos Yidishe Vort* ("The Israelite Press"), edited for many years by the talented journalist Mark Selchen (Shimen-Mordkhe Zeltshen, 1885–1960), and around the Yiddish day school, the I.L. Peretz School, founded by a coalition of Labor Zionists, Socialist Territorialists, and Bundists in 1914. The Yiddish writer Falik Zolf (1896–1961) was a teacher in this institution for many years. Between 1938 and 1943, the distinguished Jewish pedagogue and Yiddish writer Abraham *Golomb (1888–1982) was principal of the Peretz School. Golomb was the ideologue of "Integral Jewishness," a philosophy fusing Yiddishism and Hebraism, secular Jewishness with the Jewish religious tradition, in order to maintain Jewish national distinctiveness in the diaspora as well as in the State of Israel. Golomb published five Yiddish works while residing in Winnipeg.

Individual Yiddish writers lived in various other locales throughout Canada, such as Michael Usiskin, who published an important memoir of the founding and development of the Jewish agricultural colony of Edenbridge, Saskatchewan (*Oksn un Motorn*, 1945; *Uncle Mike's Edenbridge*, 1983). The Yiddish-Hebrew writer, poet, and translator Mordkhe Yofe (1894–1961), one of the most prolific and talented Yiddish translators of Hebrew poetry, spent 1927–37 in Vancouver, where he published irregularly the periodical *Di Yidishe Velt* ("The Jewish World").

SCHOLARSHIP AND TRANSLATIONS. Jewish scholarship and the translation of classical Jewish texts also hold an important position in Canadian Yiddish literature. Yiddish writers, for example, pioneered the field of Canadian Jewish historiography. B.G. Sack of Montreal began his research in the field during the first decade of the 20th century; his *Geshikhte fun Yidn in Kanade* ("History of the Jews in Canada") was published in 1945 in English, and in the original Yiddish three years later. Abraham Rhinewine (1887–1962), the Yiddish writer, journalist, and early editor of Toronto's Yiddish newspaper, *Der Yidisher Zhurnal* (*The Hebrew Journal*) also did pioneer research in Canadian Jewish history, published in his two volume *Der Yid in Kanade* ("The Jew in Canada," 1925–27). The Yiddish philologist, folklorist, and ethnologist Y. Elzet (Rabbi Yehudah Leyb Zlotnick-*Avida, 1887–1962) lived in Montreal and Vancouver from 1920 to 1938 and published a number of his important works. Simkhe Petrushka's edition of the Mishnah, including the Hebrew original plus his Yiddish translation of the text and selected commentaries, was published in Montreal in 1945–49. The Montreal Jewish educator Shimshen Dunsky was highly praised for his annotated translation, which is also a critical edition, of the Midrash Rabbah to the five biblical scrolls. Nachman Shemen of Toronto published works on Ḥasidism and the historic Polish-Jewish community of Lublin, as well as studies on the attitudes of traditional Judaism towards labor, the woman, the stranger, and the proselyte. Yekhiel Shtern of Montreal was awarded the coveted Louis Lamed Prize for his detailed study of traditional Jewish education in his hometown of Tishevits (Tyszowce), Poland.

CONCLUSION. Serious study of Canadian Yiddish literature is still in its early stage. H.M. Caiserman-Vital's pioneer work *Yidishe Dikhter in Kanade* ("Jewish Poets in Canada"), published in 1934, treated both Yiddish and Anglo-Jewish poets. And while the United States, Poland, and the Soviet Union were the three main centers of Yiddish literature during the interwar years, Canada also became a visible point on the map of world Yiddish literature and remained so until the end of the 20th century.

[Eugene V. Orenstein (2nd ed.)]

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CANAKKALE (Turk. **Çanakkale** or **Kala-i Sultaniye;** Eng. **Dardanelles**), town in Turkey. Canakkale was established in 1463 on the Asian shore of the Dardanelles between the ancient Abydos and Dardanos. Jews initially settled in Parium about 48 B.C.E. during the Roman era and then in Gallipoli and Koila during the Byzantine era. They settled in the newly founded Canakkale in the 17th century. Toward the end of the 18th century there were approximately 50 Jewish families there. In the 19th century the Jewish population of Canakkale increased from about 550 Jews (118 households) in the 1820s to about 1,100 (139 households) in 1876, 1,354 in 1888, and 1,805 in 1894. In addition, in 1894 there were 926 foreign Jews, *yabanciyan*, in Canakkale. As the community tripled in size, the number of synagogues rose from one to three at the end of the 19th century, *Yachan, Hadache,* and *Halio*, and the community spread to *Bayramic, *Ezine, and *Lapseki after the 1880s. During the Gallipoli Campaign, the Jewish population of Canakkale temporarily fled the war zone to Bayramic. The Jews generally specialized in trade and crafts as peddlers, merchants, tailors, greengrocers, mercers, tinners, bakers, jewelers, tobacconists, grain merchants, porters, and winegrowers, while some served as dragomans in foreign consulates and in provisioning ships sailing between Europe and Asia. In 1878 The *Alliance Israélite Universelle opened its first school. The famous *Aynalı* Bazaar (Halio Passage), an important trade center in Canakkale, was built in 1889 through a donation by Iliya Halios, the Jewish merchant. The town suffered from disastrous fires in 1836, in 1845 (when the whole Jewish quarter was destroyed), in 1860, and in 1866, from an earthquake in 1912, and from British and French naval bombardment in 1915. The collapse of the Ottoman Empire and the establishment of the Turkish Republic opened a new era for the Jews of Canakkale. The official 1927 census recorded 200 Jewish families with 952 surrounding men and women. In 1934 anti-Jewish incidents took place in the area and as a result a considerable number of Jews took refuge in Istanbul. In 1940 the community numbered 250 families. After 1948 many of the Jews of Canakkale settled in Israel. According to estimates, not more than 300–400 Jews were left in the town in 1970. In 2005 about 10 Jews lived there and there was only one synagogue. As part of the Jewish cultural heritage, one may include the Jewish cemeteries, redesigned as the Quincentennial Park, the clock tower built in 1897 by a Jewish merchant and Italian vice consul, the entrance to the *Aynalı* Bazaar, a large number of houses, and a bakery.

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[M. Mustafa Kulu (2nd ed.)]

CANARY ISLANDS, islands belonging to Spain, off N.W. Africa. Since the Canary Islands were taken over by Spain after the Expulsion of 1492, the first Jewish immigrants to the Canary Islands were *Conversos from Spain and Portugal seeking refuge from the Inquisition and persecution. The first Converso settlers came with their families and continued to follow a traditional life. The Conversos from southern Spain were the first Europeans to join the small local population of Berber-African origin. As elsewhere in the Spanish and Portuguese world, here too the Converso settlers were followed by the Inquisition. The Inquisition began to operate in 1504. Evidence given in a trial held by the Inquisition in 1520 tells of a Jewish community in one of the islands which had a synagogue and *shoḥet*. In 1502 the inquisitor-general, Francisco Diego Deza, summoned a number of Conversos from the islands before the tribunal in Seville; others were tried by the tribunal of Córdoba. The first *auto-da-fé* in the Canaries was held in 1526. Later the Inquisition relaxed its activities, but they were revived as a result of the plague of 1523–32. Among those burned at the stake were Alvar González of Castello Branco, the moving spirit of the Palma Converso community, and Pedro González, a royal official who left Spain in 1492, but later became a nominal convert to Christianity. The tribunal resumed its activities in 1568 when Diego Ortiz de Fuñez, formerly prosecutor in the tribunal of Toledo, arrived in the Canaries. In 1524 a movement to leave for Ereẓ Israel stirred the Converso community and some set off despite the dangers involved; one family reached its destination. Lucien Wolf based his study of the Converso community in the Canaries on the basis of 76 volumes of Inquisition records which were sold to a private individual in 1900. Since that time these volumes have disappeared. Wolf published the material in *regesta* in English with useful notes. Beinart discovered a few more trial reports in Spain. The material suggests that the Converso community maintained strong links with London.

In the 17th century, many Conversos, largely from Portugal, settled in Palma and Tenerife. Many of the Conversos who settled in the Canaries led a Jewish life. Some knew how to slaughter ritually, baked matzah for Passover, and continued to pray in the Jewish manner. Some of the Conversos adhered to a strictly religious way of life. During the 17th century the islands witnessed a revival of Judeo-Converso life. The islands were a convenient stepping stone to the New World and London. The number of Conversos increased considerably. Conversos in Western Europe saw the economic and strategic importance of the islands in international trade. The inquisitional records of the 17th century indicate that close connections existed between the Conversos in the Canaries and those in England and northwestern Europe. Among those denounced were Antonio Fernández *Carvajal, a founder of the London Jewish community, and his kinsman Lorenzo Lindo. During the 18th century, a few Conversos were still brought before the Inquisition in the Canaries, but without serious consequences. In the 1950s a number of Jews, mainly immigrants from Morocco, settled in the Canaries but did not form an organized community.

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[Haim Beinart / Yom Tov Assis (2nd ed.)]

CANDLES. In the Bible and Mishnah only oil-lamps and torches were used for lighting (see *Pottery). The torch (*lappid*) is not only mentioned in the Bible (Gen. 15:17) but also in Assyrian sources. It was used to spread fire in time of battle (Judg. 15:4–5; Isa. 62:1) and as a bright light (Judg. 7:16; Dan. 10:6), but because of its excessive smoke it was not employed much. In the Mishnah, the torch is mentioned as being liable to similar impurity as the lamp (Kelim 2:8). In later times candles made of tallow mixed with palm oil or wax, or candles of paraffin, gradually took the place of oil, especially in Europe. Although there is traditional basis for the use of candles in Judaism, undoubtedly their widespread employment in the rites of the Catholic Church encouraged their use among medieval Jewry. Even though people generally used candles, oil was still regarded as the more appropriate fuel for ritual purposes, especially for the Sabbath and *Ḥanukkah lights. This was because prior to the invention of paraffin candles, candles were often made from the fat of ritually forbidden animals. Oil was considered a more appropriate fuel for Ḥanukkah lamps because the miracle occurred with oil, and it was recommended for the *ner tamid ("eternal light") in front of the synagogue ark because of its symbolic significance as a substitute for the candelabrum (*menorah) in the Temple. For the same reason oil was used for the light kindled at the death of a person and during the whole mourning period (see *Mourning rites) as well as on the anniversary of a person's death (*Yahrzeit), although these customs are unknown in the Shulḥan Arukh, and appear late. But paraffin candles gradually replaced the oil lights and still later, with the introduction of electricity, small electric bulbs gradually replaced the *ner tamid*.

R. Moses b. Mordecai *Basola reported in his *Shivḥei Yerushalayim* (cf. I. Ben-Zvi, *Masot Ereẓ Yisrael*, pp. 21, 72) that it was customary in the synagogues of Jerusalem on weekdays to carry a candle before the scroll of the Torah when it was removed from the ark and taken to the *bimah. It was counted a special *mitzvah* to hold this candle while the Torah was being read. Similarly, in other parts of the world, candles still accompany the Torah when it is taken to a special place in the synagogue, to symbolize the light of the law. For the *Havdalah ceremony at the departure of the Sabbath a braided wax candle having at least two wicks is used (because of the benediction "who createst the lights of the fire"), though in the absence of a braided candle two candles having one wick each may be held together. In the Sephardi rite, however, a simple unbraided candle is used in the *Havdalah* blessing. A simple candle is also used for the ceremony of searching for leaven (*bedikat ḥameẓ*) on the evening before Passover. Candles are also lit at the popular celebrations (*hillula*) on the anniversary of the death of rabbis and scholars, especially of R. Simeon b. Yoḥai and R. Meir Ba'al ha-Nes (see *Lag ba-Omer) and in some communities also on Hoshana Rabba night during the study vigil (*tikkun*) in the synagogue. In the period of the Second Temple, one of the most popular festivities was the kindling of candles and torches on the eve of the first day of Tabernacles on the Water-Drawing Festival (Simḥat Beit ha-Sho'evah). It became customary, especially among Oriental Jews, to light candles on the traditional graves of famous historical leaders, rabbis, etc. (e.g., King David, Simeon b. Yoḥai).

[Meir Ydit]

Candles and Women

Although technically not a commandment specified in the Torah, kindling lights to usher in the Sabbath and festivals was transformed into an obligation by the rabbis. Kindling lights is a positive time-bound commandment, a category of obligations from which women were traditionally exempted in Jewish law. However, from early rabbinic times, lighting Sabbath and festival lights was considered one of three *mitzvot* (commandments), together with **ḥallah* and **niddah*, which women were obligated to perform even if men were present in the household. These three commandments are known as the *ḤaNaH* mitzvot, an acronym of *Ḥallah, Niddah, and Hadlakat ha-Ner,* which, in a play on words, also evokes Hannah, the mother of the biblical Samuel. A number of midrashic sources declare that these obligations are female punishments or atonement for the disobedience of the first female in the Garden of Eden (ARNB 9 and 42; Gen. R. 17:8; Shab. 2:6, 8b). According to the Mishnah (Shab. 2:6), women who neglect these commandments risk death in childbirth (also ARNB 42).

Jewish women have traditionally taken the observance of kindling Sabbath and festival lights seriously. In the contemporary era, where candles are generally used, women usually light two candles. Some women, who forget for even one week, add an extra candle for the rest of their lives; others add a candle on the birth of each child. Among some groups women do not begin to light their own candles until marriage while among others, such as the Lubavitcher ḥasidim, even young girls are encouraged to light one candle. Since the candles are lit before the blessing is said, women have traditionally covered their eyes while saying the benediction so that the light will only become visible after the blessing is completed. On Friday night some women make circles with their arms and hands before covering their eyes in a gesture of welcome to the Sabbath queen. Several popular vernacular *tekhinnot* were written for women to recite after completing the benediction and before uncovering their eyes. If there is no woman over *bat mitzvah* age present, then a man must light the candles and say the benediction.

[Rela Mintz Geffen (2nd ed.)]

CANDLE TAX, tax imposed in the Jewish community in Eastern Europe upon Sabbath, festival, and other candles connected with Jewish ritual or custom. Information about it is found from the beginning of the 18th century, a period of financial deterioration for the Jewish communities of Poland, who imposed this tax upon their members to raise money to repay their many debts. In 1816 an assembly of communal representatives in Minsk levied a candle tax for three years on all the communities in Lithuania in order to support Jewish settlers in southern Russia. In 1797 the candle tax was officially imposed by the Austrian government on the Jews in Galicia, a measure suggested by a Jewish taxfarmer, Solomon Kofler, and recommended by N.H. *Homberg, as a substitute for the "tolerance tax" (*Toleranzgebuehr*). It was levied upon all candles used for Jewish ritual, including wedding and memorial candles. The tax was raised from time to time and was particularly burdensome to the Jewish poor. Its collection was delegated to Jewish tax farmers, who were hated by the Jewish populace. A special office (Pachtungsgesellschaft des juedischen Lichterzuendungsaufschlags) was set up to deal with its collection. In 1800 tax farmers paid 350,000 gulden for the right to collect the tax. The right of suffrage in communal elections was determined according to the amount of candle tax paid by members. The candle tax was abrogated in Galicia in 1848.

In Russia the candle tax was of a different kind. After the constitution formulating the regulation of the meat tax (1839) explicitly prohibited taxation of any kind on a ritual implement, the candle tax was renewed in 1844 in connection with a government project to establish state schools for the Jews. Collection of the tax was delegated to the ministry of education. The amount was fixed at 230,000 rubles yearly, which was divided among the Jewish communities in proportion to the amount of meat tax paid. In 1855 permission was given to combine collection of the candle and meat taxes, so that in practice the two taxes were amalgamated. In many small communities in Eastern Europe, the rabbi's wife would be granted a kind of monopoly on selling candles for Sabbaths and festivals at an increased price, which served as a kind of consumption tax for the upkeep of the rabbi.

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[Yehuda Slutsky]

CANEA, second largest city of Crete, on the N.W. of the island. In 1350 the Venetian authorities set aside a special quarter for the Jews. In 1398 the Senate of Venice issued an order limiting the interest on debts owed by the Venetian patricians to Jewish moneylenders to 12% per annum. The Jews of Canea contributed toward the strengthening of the town's fortifications, the construction of the harbor, and the navy. In the Venetian period, the Ez̦ Ḥayyim synagogue was used as the St. Katherine Church, and in 1522, when returned to the Jews, it was rebuilt. In 1571 the community numbered 300 souls. Jewish refugees fled to Canea when the Greek Revolution of 1821 broke out. The majority of Crete's Jewish population was concentrated in this city. Their principal occupations were in handicrafts and commerce. They also included interpreters, clerks, and agents. In 1875 Aba Delmedigo was elected delegate to the Cretan General Assembly of the island. In 1880 the Beit Shalom synagogue and new Alliance Israélite Universelle school were founded. In the Greek Insurrection beginning in 1896, many Jews from the island fled to Izmir, and Rabbi Abraham Eblagon saved 28 Christian families from death. He also was praised for his efforts at this time in locating and returning stolen church bells from Izmir. In 1915, some 600 Jewish refugees from Syria and Erez̦ Israel were given temporary refuge by the Jewish community at the local Jewish school and in nearby Halepa. In 1904 there were 646 Jews in Canea and in 1941, 314. On June 6, 1944, the Nazis placed them on the ship *Danae*, which was scuttled on the high seas when bombed three days later by the British Royal Air Force after being identified as an enemy ship. In 1948 there were only seven Jews in Canea. In 1995, the Ez̦ Ḥayyim synagogue was renovated by Nikos Stavrolakis as a museum.

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[Simon Marcus / Yitzchak Kerem (2nd ed.)]

CANETTI, ELIAS (1905–1994), novelist, playwright and essayist. Canetti was born in Bulgaria in multicultural Rustschuk on the Romanian border. Growing up in a Sephardi family Canetti was socialized in several languages: Spaniolish (the language of the Sephardi Jews), Bulgarian (the official language of the country), and German, which at first was the "secret language" of his parents; only from 1913 did Canetti learn this language from his mother in Lausanne, and from then on it was the medium of his writing. In the autobiography of his childhood *Die gerettete Zunge* (1977; The *Memoirs of Elias Canetti*, 1999, including the subsequent two volumes) Canetti emphasized this linguistic plurality, which he understood as a Jewish gift and at same time regarded as crucial for the linguistic consciousness of his writing. Cultural plurality becomes an even stronger basis of his writing after Rustschuk. In 1911 the family moved to Manchester, and after the early death of his father to Lausanne (1913), Vienna (1913), Zurich (1916), Frankfurt (1921) and again back to Vienna (1924), where Canetti studied chemistry. There he was influenced by Karl Kraus, met Veza Taubner-Calderon, herself a writer and his future wife, and there he found (seeing also the burning palace of justice in Vienna in 1927) a central theme in his writing: the phenomenon of masses and power (cf. the second part of the autobiography, *Die Fackel im Ohr,* 1980). Living mainly in Vienna until 1938, Canetti became acquainted with several writers and artists, such as George Grosz, Bert Brecht, and Isaac *Babel in Berlin, where he worked as translator for the Malik publishing house in 1929, and with Hermann *Broch, Robert *Musil, Abraham Sonne, and Fritz Wotruba in Vienna. At this time he began to write. He wrote two plays (*Hochzeit*, written in 1931, published in 1932, and *Komödie der Eitelkeit*, written in 1933/34, published in 1950), in which he followed Kraus' technique of the "acoustic quotation." In 1930/31, he wrote the novel *Die Blendung*, which was published in Vienna in 1935. Ignored in German-speaking Europe it was translated early into English (*Auto da Fe*, 1946) and seen as an uncanny and at the same time comic description of the fall (and self-destruction) of the old-European intellectual and cultural mind and the rise of mass ideologies in prewar Europe. Only after the war – after new editions in 1948 and 1963 in Germany – was this novel recognized as one of the most important works of the 20th century and earned Canetti the Nobel Prize for literature in 1981. The writing and publication of this novel is the subject of the third part of Canetti's autobiography, *Das Augenspiel* (1985). Of similar importance but less appreciated and read was his anthropological-political essay *Masse und Macht* (*Crowds and Power*, 1960). After his immigration from Paris to London in 1938 Canetti stopped writing and devoted himself to the anthropological, ethnological, mythological, and psychiatric studies which form the background of his essay on crowds and power. The work is a general investigation of the phenomenon of power, dealing with ethnographical examples such as the hunting practices of primitive peoples. He explains the rituals and the psychology of power (e.g., power-increase by triumph over the killed victim) and analyzes the rhetoric and symbolism of the masses (e.g., the fire). In the shadow of the Nazi terror, though less explicitly, the book also deals with the mythical and anthropological roots of mass murder. Here, but also in his play *Die Befristeten* (written in 1952, published in 1964), Canetti conceives of death as the core of evil, contradicting life. Against death he posits the social "facility of transformation," which is the duty especially of the poet, as Canetti explains in his speech *Die Verantwortung des Dichters* (1976). The possibility of transformation leads also to his ethnographic novel *Die Stimmen von Marrakesch* (1968), which is based on a journey to Marrakesh in 1954, and his notebooks written since 1942, in which – as in the autobiography – Canetti also reflects on topical issues relating to Judaism, such as Zionism, assimilation, Jewish self-hatred (Kraus, Weininger), the possibility of Jewish cultural life in Germany after the Holocaust (cf. *Die Provinz des Menschen*, 1973; *Das Geheimherz der Uhr,* 1987). Canetti died in Zurich, his favorite city, in August 1994.

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[Andreas Kilcher (2nd ed.)]

CANNSTADT, KARL FRIEDRICH (1807–1850), German physician. Cannstadt was born in Regensburg. His monograph on a cholera outbreak in Paris led to his being invited to establish a cholera hospital for the Belgian government. In 1844 he was appointed professor of internal medicine at Erlangen University. His *Handbuch des medizinischen Klinik* (1841) shows him to have been one of the first to substitute clinical observation for speculative natural philosophy. Another notable work was *Die Krankheiten des hoeheren Alters und ihre Heilung* (1839), and from 1841 he edited the *Jahresbericht ueer die Fortschritte der gesamten Medizin in allen Laendern.*

CANPANTON (Campanton), ISAAC BEN JACOB (1360–1463), Castilian rabbi. Canpanton was the head of a yeshivah in Zamora in western Spain, among whose students were Isaac de *Leon, Isaac *Aboab II, Samuel b. Abraham Valensi, and Shem Tov *Ibn Shem Tov. He laid down methodological rules for the study of the Talmud which had a profound influence. These he summarized in his *Darkhei ha-Talmud* (called *Darkhei ha-Gemara* in the Mantua edition of 1593). In this work he departs from the method of previous writers on talmudic methodology, who had merely laid down talmudic rules. Canpanton systematically and logically explained the proper method of studying the text, and the pedagogical principles to be employed in that study. He was also the first to lay down methodological rules for the study of the *rishonim*. His system was transmitted by his students to Jacob *Berab, who introduced it into his yeshivah in Safed. Samuel ibn *Sid, the pupil of Isaac de Leon, also describes at length in his *Kelalei Shemuel* the method of study at the yeshivah as determined by Isaac Canpanton. A *Darkhei ha-Talmud* was first published in Constantinople, 1515–20 (?); a more complete edition was published in Venice in 1565. It has since been frequently republished; the 1891 edition had corrections and notes by I.H. *Weiss. Canpanton also took an active part in communal affairs. In 1450, after the death of Don Abraham *Benveniste, he became a member of the committee, along with Joseph *Ibn Shem Tov, the well-known philosopher, and Joseph b. Abraham Benveniste, appointed to apportion taxation among the Jews of Castile. He died in Peñafiel after undergoing considerable hardships. He appears to have engaged in the study of Kabbalah and miraculous deeds were attributed to him. His kabbalistic doctrine was circulated by his disciples and, in turn, by their disciples. Canpanton was greatly admired by his contemporaries, both on account of his personality and as a teacher, and he is widely quoted by them in their works on talmudic methodology. The *Darkhei ha-Talmud*, however, is his only extant work.

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[Abraham David]

CANPANTON, JUDAH BEN SOLOMON (14th century), ethical writer and philosopher. Very little is known about his life; only a few scattered remarks in his work, *Arba'ah Kinyanim*, give information about him. He was a pupil of R. *Yom Tov b. Abraham Ishbili whom he quotes extensively. His specific reference to *Sefer ha-Zikkaron*, a work in defense of Maimonides, as having been written by his teacher, proves that R. Yom Tov b. Abraham Ishbili is its author. It seems that Canpanton lived in Molina, at least while he wrote the book, and witnessed persecutions of the Jews in Spain (the date is unknown). He also seems to have taken part in disputations with Christians, but it has not been ascertained whether he wrote a treatise on these polemics. It has also not been established whether he belonged to the same Canpanton family as the 15th century talmudist Isaac b. Jacob *Canpanton. *Arba'ah Kinyanim*, his major extant work, is a philosophical and ethical treatise which has mystical and kabbalistic overtones. It is divided into four parts, each of which is designed to deal with a special subject. Canpanton, however, does not faithfully follow the structure he outlined and he discusses many subjects that are not directly related to the main theme. His sources were mostly the works of the Spanish Jewish philosophers: Abraham ibn Ezra, Maimonides, and others. He also drew on great rabbinic writers, e.g., Naḥmanides and Jonah b. Abraham Gerondi, on *heikhalot* literature, and it is assumed that he knew the Zohar, though he does not actually mention the work. His works, except for a few sections of *Arba'ah Kinyanim* (published by E.H. Golomb, 1930), have not been published. *Lekaḥ Tov*, which seems to be a kabbalistic treatise, has been neither published nor studied.

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[Joseph Dan]

CANSINO, North African family, originally from Seville. The first known member was JACOB CANSINO, grammarian and lexicographer of the 13th–14th centuries. The Marrano PEDRO FERNANDEZ CANSINO was a victim of the Inquisition in 1480. His family later sought refuge in *Tlemcen, Algeria, where the ruler entrusted them with his affairs in *Oran and in 1512 obtained from Ferdinand the Catholic authorization for them to settle there. SOLOMON was known as a poet; the learned MOSES and his brother JONAH were political agents. Their uncle JACOB became dragoman (official interpreter) in *Fez, Morocco, in 1555. This position was later held by his nephew and son-in-law ISAAC (d. 1603–04), who maintained a regular correspondence with the rabbis in Palestine. His eldest son, JACOB, had two sons; the elder, ISAAC, was converted to Christianity when the Jews were expelled from Oran in 1668, and the younger, ABRAHAM (d. apparently after 1709), was *dayyan* and the author of *Aguddat Ezov*, a poetical work that has since been lost. Because a copy of the Talmud was found in Abraham's possession, the Spaniards sent him as a prisoner to Murcia, Spain, together with his son, possibly ISAAC. They were set free only after the payment of a heavy fine. Abraham later became rabbi in Leghorn. Isaac was a publisher in Amsterdam in 1685. The second son of Isaac, ḤAYYIM (d. 1625), was a royal interpreter. He had three sons, of whom the eldest was ISAAC (d. 1672), a poet of distinction; some of his liturgical poems are included in the *maḥzor* of Oran. The second son, AARON (d. 1633), succeeded his father as royal interpreter; after his assassination he was replaced by his brother JACOB (d. 1666), the most influential member of the family. He was opposed to the politics of the Marquis de los Velez, governor of Oran, who succeeded in expelling the Jews only after Jacob's death. In Madrid on a diplomatic assignment, Jacob published *Extremos y Grandezas de Constantinopla*, based on its Ladino original (1638), by Moses *Almosnino. Jacob's preface to this edition enumerates the positions held and the services rendered by the Cansinos. The third son of Isaac, ABRAHAM (late 16th–early 17th centuries), was a scholar and poet. A fourth son was SAMUEL (late 16th–early 17th centuries), for a time president of the community and a beloved philanthropist; he ultimately ruined himself by gambling. During the 18th century the Cansinos were established in Leghorn, Italy; Mahón, Minorca; Mogador, Morocco (1775); Gibraltar (1785–1830), London (apparently before 1798), Manchester (end of 19th century), and New York (mid-20th century).

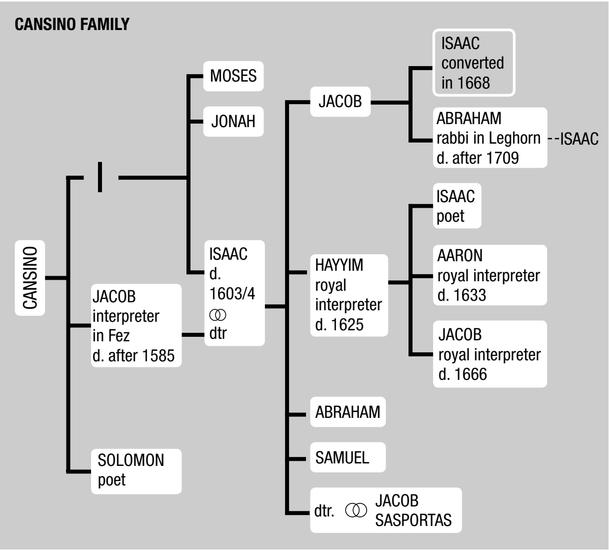
CANSINO FAMILY
CANSINO
I
MOSES
JONAH
JACOB interpreter in Fez d. after 1585
SOLOMON poet
ISAAC d. 1603/4 ⚭ dtr
JACOB
HAYYIM royal interpreter d. 1625
ABRAHAM
SAMUEL
dtr. ⚭ JACOB SASPORTAS
ISAAC converted in 1668
ABRAHAM rabbi in Leghorn d. after 1709
--ISAAC
ISAAC poet
AARON royal interpreter d. 1633
JACOB royal interpreter d. 1666

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[David Corcos]

CANTARINI (Heb. מִן הַחַזָּנִים), Italian family, descended from Marco (Mordecai) Cohen, one of the victims of the massacre at Asolo in 1547. The family acquired the additional name Cantarini because one of its members was cantor ("cantarín") of the synagogue. Noteworthy were: ANGELO DI GRASSIN (b. 1694), physician who drafted the statutes of the celebrated Padua relief association *Sovvegno* (1713), and published a treatise on practical surgery (1715), dedicated to the naturalist Antonio Vallisnieri. ḤAYYIM MOSES (1660–1731), rabbi, physician, and poet in Padua and Rovigo. LEONE DI SIMONE (1592–1651), rabbi and physician in Venice and Padua; he wrote sermons, a commentary on the Book of Joshua, treatises on biblical subjects, and medical miscellanies.

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[Attilio Milano]

CANTARINI (Heb. מִן הַחַזָּנִים), **ISAAC VITA HA-KOHEN** (1644–1723), rabbi, author, and physician of Padua, Italy. Cantarini graduated in medicine at the University of Padua in 1664 and remained in practice in Padua for the rest of his life. His principal work *Paḥad Yiẓḥak* (Amsterdam, 1685) describes in a curious allusive Hebrew style the anti-Jewish outbreaks at Padua in 1684. He also wrote *Et Keẓ* (Amsterdam, 1710), and *Ekev Rav* (Venice, 1711), and in Latin *Vindex Sanguinis* (Amsterdam, 1680), a refutation of the *blood libel. Some of his responsa figure in the *Shemesh Ẓedakah* by Samson *Morpurgo, and one in the *Paḥad Yiẓḥak* of Isaac *Lampronti. A popular preacher, Cantarini attracted non-Jews also among his hearers. A number of his Italian sermons have been preserved. Cantarini also composed occasional poetry, some of which was printed, and left a collection of medical prescriptions. Three of his letters written in Latin to gentile correspondents were published by M. Osimo (Padua, 1856).

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[Umberto (Moses David) Cassuto]

CANTATAS AND CHORAL WORKS, HEBREW. The term "cantata" is used here to designate an accompanied vocal composition in several movements for one or more soloists, with or without choral sections. Contemporary names for works in this form can vary: "dialogo," for example, or "oratorio." During the 17th and 18th centuries the performance of such works was widespread in some European Jewish communities such as Italy, southern France, and the Netherlands. These works appeared side by side with simpler settings for individual prayers or religious poems for two or more voices, with or without accompaniment. They were not intended to replace the traditional synagogue chants, nor did this practice arise through any consideration of reform. These performances of art music in the synagogue took place only on particular occasions, such as "special Sabbaths and feasts" (*Shabbatot Reshumim u-Mo'adim*, in the words of Leone *Modena; cf. S. de *Rossi, *Ha-Shirim Asher li-Shelomo* (Venice, 1623), fol. 5a), and at "times of rejoicing" (*Zemannei Sason; ibid.*, fol. 2a), weddings, circumcisions, the inauguration of synagogues, or festivities of religious fraternities.

Italy

The introduction of art music into the Italian synagogue appears to have begun in the late 16th century, probably as the result of segregation. The Jewish musicians who had flourished in Italy during the Renaissance period and were now excluded from gentile society and confined to the ghetto turned to the synagogue. Some literary sources predate the first actual musical evidence. There are references to this kind of music in Padua about 1555–65 and especially in Ferrara about 1605. Leone Modena headed a choral association whose members "raise their voices at the time of feasts and they sing at the synagogue songs of praise… *Ein k-Elohenu*, *Aleinu Leshabbe'aḥ*, *Yigdal*, and *Adon Olam*…" (De Rossi, op. cit., introd., fol. 4b). The introduction of art music in the Mantuan synagogue took place between 1605 and 1622. The main evidence is De Rossi's *Ha-Shirim Asher li-Shelomo*, a collection of 33 psalms, liturgical chants and other religious poems set to music for three to eight unaccompanied voices. It was printed in Venice with important introductory texts, mainly by Leone Modena who had been editor and proofreader for this publication. De Rossi wrote his synagogal compositions in the musical style of his period, apparently with no attempt to use or adapt traditional tunes of the synagogue. The same trend is also obvious in all other synagogal compositions during the 17th–18th centuries. In the Venice ghetto between 1628 and 1639 the existence is known of a Jewish music "academy" called "Accademia degli Impediti" and later on "Compagnia dei Musici," again headed by Leone Modena. It had an extensive repertoire of Hebrew texts set to art music (*musica figurata*), including compositions for double choirs and settings with an instrumental accompaniment. Modena's disciple, Giulio *Morosini, who converted to Christianity, describes a particularly brilliant celebration of the feast of *Simḥat Torah* in Venice about 1628 with the musical participation of this "Accademia di Musica." The only other musical document of this period known at present, apart from De Rossi's *Ha-Shirim*…, is an anonymous Italian manuscript (HUC, Birnbaum 4F 71, now lost or mislaid), containing the upper parts of the second choir from a collection of synagogal and other religious music for double choir. By the middle of the 17th century such performances of art music in the synagogue had become customary in many places. In the collection of texts relating to the heated dispute about choral singing in the synagogue of Senigallia, from about 1642 to 1652, the well-known rabbi of Modena, Nethanel *Trabot, states in his *pesak* (rabbinic decision) of Nov. 9, 1645, "By God! It is not my intention to condemn those who sing according to music, for in all the religions through which I have passed there is the custom of singing [thus] in honor of our God on the days of our feasts…" (Budapest, Ms. Kaufman 151, resp. 142).

The performance of cantatas, dialogues, and oratorios between the second half of the 17th and the end of the 18th century for specific circumstances in such communities as Modena, Venice, Florence, Ancona, Padua, Leghorn, and Siena is documented mainly from the libretti which have been preserved. They have indications for the performance of music interspersed between poems, dialogues, and plays. Surveys and inventories of these sources were published by Ḥ. Schirmann and by I. Adler (see bibliography). A few musical sources that have survived are the following:

(1) The printed publication by the Christian composer Carlo Grossi, *Il divertimento de Grandi*… (Venice, 1681), contains the "Cantata ebraica in dialogo," *Aḥai ve-Re'ai*, for a *Shomerim la-Boker* ("Watchmen of the Dawn") fraternity of unknown location. The cantata is set for a solo singer in dialogue with a four-voice choir, with cembalo ("basso continuo") accompaniment, and the text reveals that it was written for the annual celebration of the founding of the fraternity, coinciding with the feast of *Hoshana Rabba*.

(2) Manuscript 807 of the Guenzburg collection (Lenin State Library, Moscow) contains three cantatas and additional music from the repertory of the "Zerizim" fraternity in one of the communities of Piedmont for the celebration of *Hoshana Rabba* in the years 1732, 1733, and 1735. Each of the three cantatas is preceded by arias and duos on liturgical texts, *Adon Olam, Va-Ani be-Ḥasdekha* (Ps. 13:6), or *Mizmor le-Todah* (Ps. 100:1), for one and two voices, with cembalo accompaniment and orchestral overtures, preludes, and interludes. The title page of the score for the celebration of 1732 shows that the name of the conductor was Joseph Ḥayyim Chezighin, who as usual also performed the cembalo part and is known to have been *ḥazzan* at the great synagogue of Turin in the middle of the 18th century. The text of the cantata, *Yonah bein Ḥagvei ha-Sela* ("Dove in the clefts of the rock"), is by Samuel Ḥayyim Yiẓḥaki and is also preserved in print (*Va-Yeẓe Yiẓḥak Lasu'aḥ ba-Sadeh*, preface dated at Vercelli, 1732). The name of the composer is not given. The subject is the consolation of Jerusalem and the characters – the Dove (i.e., Zion), two angels, the Defender (*meliẓ*), the "Man clothed with Linen" (Ezek. 9:2; Dan. 10:5) and the "Voice of God" – express themselves in arias, recitatives, duos, and a final choir, with orchestral accompaniment and basso continuo (cembalo). The text of the cantata of 1733 – *Elyon, Meliẓ u-Mastin* ("God, defender and accuser"), of unknown authorship (though possibly S.Ḥ. Yiẓḥaki or Menaḥem Chezighin, rather than J.H. Chezighin) – has been preserved in two other manuscripts (London, Montefiore Ms. no. 373; Jerusalem, Schocken Ms. no. 67) and also in print (*Piẓḥu Rannenu ve-Zameru*, Mantua, 1733). The Guenzburg and Schocken manuscripts include an Italian translation of the Hebrew text, under the title (in the Guenzburg Ms.) *Dio Clemenza e Rigore*. The subject is the judgment of man before God, and the musical structure is similar to that of the previous cantata. The cantata of 1735 is an anonymous religious poem in ten strophes, relating to the feast of *Hoshana Rabba*. It starts with the poem *Oseh Shalom bi-Meromav*, and is without dramatic personages. An orchestral overture is followed by a succession of arias, with orchestral accompaniment and interludes and recitatives with cembalo accompaniment, and concludes, as usual, with a choir.

(3) Manuscript It. 33 of the Jewish Historical General Archives of Jerusalem contains the "score of the music performed on the occasion of the inauguration of the new synagogue [of Siena] on May 27, 28, and 29 of the year 1786, music by the Sgre. Volunio Gallichi, dilettante." The libretto, with extensive descriptions of the ceremony and its background, appeared in print in Leghorn in 1786 under the title *Seder Zemirot ve-Limmud*. The ceremony began with processions from the two old synagogues toward the new one. The music contained the traditional, one-voice tunes, followed by a "spiritual concert" in the new synagogue consisting of arias, duos, recitatives and choral pieces, for solo singers, choir, and orchestra.

(4) Manuscript It. 34 (*ibid.*) is the first violin part of the musical score for the consecration at Siena, in January 1796, of a Torah scroll donated by Moses Castelnuovo. The Hebrew texts, beginning with the poem *Zeh ha-Yom Asah El*, are also preserved in two other manuscripts (New York, JTS, Ms. no. 568; BM, Or. 9608) and in print as *Yashir Moshe* (Leghorn, 1796). The text, comprising poems by various Siena authors, and the music are both composed in the same vein as the texts and music written ten years earlier for the consecration of the Siena synagogue. The composer, Volunio Gallichi, also served as cello player, tenor solo, and conductor of the ensemble which comprised players and seven singers – two basses, three tenors, and three boy-sopranos – all mentioned by name.

(5) Manuscript It. 35 (*ibid.*) consists of the first violin part and two copies of the second violin part of a score most probably composed by Volunio Gallichi for a Sienese ceremony similar to the one described above. The initial poem, performed by choir and soloist, begins *Kumu Sharim Piẓḥu Shirim*. Another Jewish composer from Tuscany, M. *Bolaffi, who was possibly a young contemporary of Volunio Gallichi, wrote for the synagogues of Florence and Leghorn. The score for his setting of Daniel Terni's *Simḥat Mitzvah*, composed for the inauguration of the "Italian" synagogue of Florence in 1793, seems to have been lost. Some of his synagogal compositions for solo singer with instrumental accompaniment, for choir, choir and orchestra, and for solo, have been preserved in several 19th-century manuscripts.

Southern France

The only notated relic of synagogal art-music activity in the "four holy communities" of the *Comtat Venaissin district of Provence so far discovered is found in manuscript Vm¹ 1307 of the Paris Bibliothèque Nationale. This is the score of the *Canticum Hebraicum* by Louis Saladin, a local, and probably gentile, composer, and is an extensive cantata for three solo singers, choir and orchestra, composed about 1680–1700 for a local circumcision ceremony. The main part of the cantata, on the liturgical text *Yeled ha-Yulad Yihyeh be-Siman Tov*, was later transformed into a one-voice chant which became traditional and can be traced in this form in the *Seder ha-Kunteres* (Avignon, 1765).

Netherlands

The practice of synagogal art music in the Netherlands, mainly within the Amsterdam Portuguese Jewish community, was similar to the Italian but apparently more intensive. For the 17th century only literary and documentary evidence is available at present. The 18th century repertoire is preserved in several important music manuscripts (Amsterdam, Ets Haim Mss. 49 B 22, 49 A 14, and 49 A 13), comprising cantatas for solo voice with orchestral accompaniment and liturgical compositions for one, two, three and four voices with basso continuo or orchestral accompaniment. The principal occasions for such art music performances were Shavuot, Shabbat Bereshit, and especially Simḥat Torah and Shabbat Naḥamu, which coincided with the annual commemoration of the inauguration of the Great Synagogue in 1675, as well as celebrations of fraternities, weddings, royal visits to the synagogue and, above all, the competitions for the appointment of a new cantor. Together with works by anonymous composers, these sources reveal the names of M. (?) Mani, Abraham Rathom, Abraham *Caceres, who was the local composer par excellence of the Amsterdam Portuguese Jewish community, and the Italian gentile composer Cristiano Giuseppe Lidarti (1730–after 1793). Lidarti's works left a profound imprint on the musical repertory of the community which has lasted down to present times.

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[Israel Adler]

°**CANTERA BURGOS, FRANCISCO** (1901–1978), Spanish Hebraist. Born in Miranda de Ebro, Cantera Burgos had as his teachers the distiguished scholars R. Menéndez Pidal, A. Castro, and, above all, Gaspar Remiro. Under the latter's supervision he wrote his doctoral thesis on *Shevet Yehudah* by Solomon ibn Verga, which he translated into Spanish (1927). He taught at Madrid University, becoming professor of Hebrew and rabbinical language and literature. He was closely associated with José Maria *Millás Vallicrosa of Barcelona as codirector of the Instituto Arias Montano de Estudios Hebraicos y Oriente Proximo and as coeditor and cofounder of the scholarly journal *Sefarad,* which he edited for three and a half decades. When Millás, who taught in Madrid, accepted the chair of Hebrew at the University of Barcelona, he recommended Cantera as his successor. Cantera filled the position for almost 40 years (1934–72).

Cantera made significant contributions to Spanish-Jewish scholarship. His main contribution in his scholarly works was in the following fields: archaeology and epigraphy of the Jews in Spain; history of the Jews in Spain; history of famous Converso families; the Conversos in Castilian poetry. From 1924 onwards, he published hundreds of items, books, articles, and reviews on every aspect of Hispano-Jewish history. His publications include *El judío salmantino Abraham Zacut* (1931), *The Beginning of Wisdom: an Astrological Treatise by Abraham ibn Ezra* (in collaboration, 1939), *La judería de Miranda de Ebro (1099–1492)* (1941), *Fuero de Miranda de Ebro* (1945), *Sagrada Biblia* (Spanish version with J.M. Bover, 1947, 1953^{3}), *Las sinagogas españolas* (1955), *Las inscripciones hebraicas de España* (1956), *La canción mozárabe* (1957), *El tratado "Contra caecitatem iudaeorum" de fray Bernardo Oliver* (1965), *La familia judeoconversa de los Cota de Toledo* (1969), *Judaizantes del arzobispado de Toledo habilitados por la Inquisición en 1495 y 1497* (1969), *El poeta Ruy Sánchez Cota (Rodrigo Cota) y su familia de judíos conversos* (1970), *Sinagogas de Toledo, Segovia y Córdoba* (1973), and *Las juderías medievales en la provincia de Guadalajara* (in collaboration with C. Carrete Parrondo, 1975).

***BIBLIOGRAPHY*:** J.L. Lacave, in: *Sefarad*, 37 (1977), 5–104 (Cantera's publications); S.W. Baron and B. Netanyahu, in: PAAJR 48 (1981), XXXII–XXXVI.

[Yom Tov Assis (2nd ed.)]

CANTERBURY, cathedral city, Kent, England. Canterbury possessed one of the most important medieval Anglo-Jewish communities, first mentioned c. 1160. The Jewish quarter was in the modern Jewry Street. Traces of the synagogue were to be seen in the High Street as late as the 17th century. Canterbury was the seat of one of the local *archa instituted after 1190 for registering Jewish-held debts. The names of 20 Jewish Canterbury householders figure in the *Northampton Donum of 1194: the contribution of the Jews of Canterbury on this occasion was exceeded only by those from London and Lincoln. In the levy of 1255, however, they ranked only eighth. The community was attacked in 1261 and again in 1264, when the *archa* was seized and several Jews were killed. Subsequently,

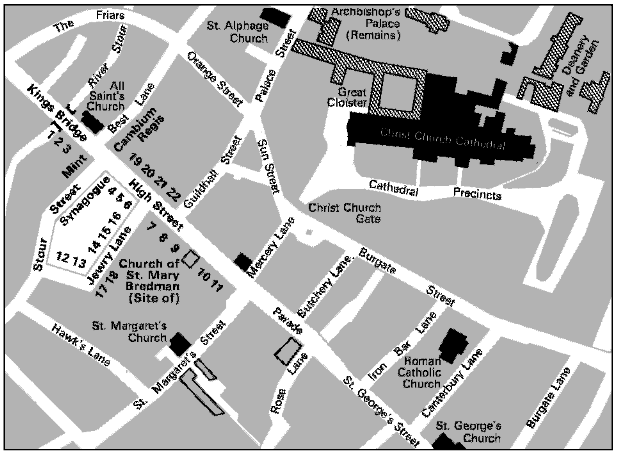
The Friars
River Stour
St. Alphage Church
Archbishop's Palace (Remains)
Deanery and Garden
Kings Bridge
All Saint's Church
Best Lane
Orange Street
Palace Street
Great Cloister
Christ Church Cathedral
1 2 3
Mint
Cambium Regis
19 20 21 22
Guildhall Street
Sun Street
Cathedral Precincts
Christ Church Gate
Synagogue Street
4 5 6
High Street
14 15 16
Stour
12 13
Jewry Lane
17 18
7 8 9
Church of St. Mary Bredman (Site of)
10 11
Mercery Lane
Butchery Lane
Burgate Street
Parade
St. Margaret's Church
Hawk's Lane
St. Margaret's Street
Rose Lane
Iron Bar Lane
Roman Catholic Church
Canterbury Lane
St. George's Street
St. George's Church
Burgate Lane

Map of medieval Canterbury showing the Jewish quarter. After M. Adler, Jews of Medieval England.

there seems to have been some immigration into Canterbury. In 1266, 18 local Jewish householders bound themselves to see that no "liars, improper persons, or slanderers" should be admitted to the Jewish community. After the *Statutum de Judaismo* of 1275, the Canterbury Jews began trading in corn and wool (see *England). In 1279 they were implicated in the general accusation of debasing the coinage. The whole community was confined in the castle and six Jews were eventually hanged. Jews resettled in Canterbury early in the 18th century. A congregation was formed c. 1730 and a burial ground was acquired in 1760. A synagogue erected in 1763 was demolished in 1847 to make place for the railway and replaced by another building with a quaint semi-Egyptian exterior. By the early 20th century there was no Jewish congregation in Canterbury and the former synagogue was now used as a parish hall. In the mid-1990s the Jewish population numbered approximately 35. However, according to the 2001 British census, 210 Jews lived in Canterbury and its surrounding districts.

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[Cecil Roth]

CANTILLATION, a term derived from the Latin *canticum* and *cantilena*, which besides "song" also meant the sing-song delivery of an orator or an insistent talker. It was introduced into musical terminology by the influential work of J.N. Forkel, author of *Allgemeine Geschichte der Musik* (Leipzig, 1788–1801, p. 156), to indicate the musical reading of the Hebrew Scriptures. In its subsequent broadest application, cantillation can be defined as having simpler, freer structure than ordinary vocal music, closer to solemn declamation than to structured, organized singing. Although on occasion this music may be ornamented with rich vocalizations, its form and flow are subordinated to the text being sung. Cantillation is primarily, but not exclusively, associated with religious rites. The basic principles of cantillation are universal, although their application reflects unique local attributes as expressed in language and intonation, as well as in the temperament and mores of a given population. The style comprising any form of cantillation may be defined according to Curt *Sachs as "logogenic," i.e., a word-created, word-dependent, and word-supporting system of musical expression.

In 1961, the eminent French scholar Solange Corbin published an extensive article on cantillation in the Christian ritual wherein she discusses its numerous parameters. Although her definitions relate to cantillation in Christian ritual, they nevertheless have many points in common with its use in Jewish ritual. Dealing with the universal principles of cantillation E. *Gerson-Kiwi has given the interesting name of "Sounds of Alienation" to the special vocal tension inherent in cantillation (1980). It should be noted, however, that biblical cantillation is distinguished by a unique musical phenomenon within the Jewish musical oral culture referring to an exceptional combination of orality on one hand and written text with its *Masoretic accent system on the other.

The term cantillation is also found in Judaic and musical literature with any of the following meanings: Delivery of a talmudic text by projection of the rhetorical speech-curve into a few standard "melodic clauses" ("talmudic cantillation"); recital of biblical poetry for similar texts in a standard "melodic sentence" recurrent for each verse ("Psalm cantillation," "Psalmody"); recital of liturgical formulae and texts, mostly prose but often also poetry, by the improvised but conventional linking of the elements of a melodic pattern in free oratorical rhythm ("synagogal cantillation," "cantorial recitative").

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[Bathja Bayer / Amnon Shiloah (2nd ed.)]

CANTON, port in southern China. The first mention of Jews in the city dates back to 878–79, when 120,000 Mohammedans, Jews, Christians, and Parsees are said to have been massacred during a rebellion. (As for the Jews this is not confirmed, since the Chinese record did not mention Jews, but a group called Zhuhu or Woto, and it has been speculated they were Jews). The figure may be correct, as it was based on the Chinese registers for the head tax of foreigners. This event interrupted the flourishing Arab and other international trade under the T'ang dynasty. There are no statistical details regarding the various ethnic groups. The existence of a synagogue in Canton was reported at a later date, but the facts cannot be confirmed from available literary sources.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: L. Wieger, Textes Historiques… de la Chine depuis l'origine, jusqu'en 1912, 2 (1923^2), 1507; M. Broomhall, Islam in China (1910, repr. 1960), 31, 50.

[Rudolf Loewenthal]

CANTONI, ALBERTO (1841–1904), Italian humorous author. Cantoni, who was born in the little community of Pomponesco near Mantua, showed an early taste for literature and languages. Financial independence enabled him to travel widely and to acquire a remarkable knowledge of culture. His early short stories appeared between 1875 and 1880, but his reputation dates from 1887, when he published a volume of essays and stories entitled *Il demonio dello stile*. In addition to his many short stories and grotesque sketches, he wrote one novel, *L'illustrissimo*, which was published posthumously in 1906. His work is not without social content, and his sharp judgments on life and his general sense of the "pain of living" led critics to regard his writing as contemporary in the second half of the 20th century. Cantoni had some knowledge of Hebrew and one of his stories, "Israele Italiano," dealing with a Jewish theme, led to a correspondence between himself and Theodor Herzl (preserved in the Zionist Archives in Jerusalem).

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[Giorgio Romano]

CANTONI, LELIO (**Hillel**; 1802–1857), rabbi of Turin. Born at Gazzuolo, near Mantua, Cantoni became rabbi in 1832 and was chief rabbi of Turin from 1833. In 1845 he formed the Committee of the Jewish Communities of the Kingdom of Sardinia and Piedmont; in this he obtained the support of Roberto and Massimo *d'Azeglio. After the Jews of Piedmont obtained emancipation in 1848, Cantoni published his proposals for the organization of the communities on the French *consistory model, with a central consistory at Turin and divisional consistories. The law ultimately promulgated by the minister of the interior Rattazzi (July 1857) differed, however, widely from Cantoni's project, constituting the authorized Jewish communities as autonomous corporations without central control.

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[Giorgio Romano]

CANTONI, RAFFAELE (1896–1971), economist and communal leader. Born in Venice, Cantoni studied economics and became counselor to the Banca Nazionale del Lavoro and president of the Fiduciaria. He participated heroically in World War I and took part in the conquest of Fiume, led by Gabriele D'Annunzio. For his participation in antifascist actions he was arrested in 1930 with other opponents of the regime like Riccardo Bauer and Ferruccio Parri. In 1933 he became a leader of the Comitato Assistenza Ebrei Italiani (Committee for Assistance of Italian Jews) of DELASEM (Delegation for the Assistance of Immigrants) and other Jewish relief institutions. He was connected with the *American Joint Distribution Committee and the *World Jewish Congress; he founded many Italian *hakhsharot*. During World War II he strongly and continuously assisted Italian and European Jews; he was arrested by the Fascists in 1940 and interned in Urbisaglia (a town near *Macerata) and in the Tremiti Islands, but he continued his activities. In 1943 he was betrayed and captured in Florence by the Nazis and sent to Auschwitz, but during the journey he jumped from the train near Padua and saved himself. He escaped to Switzerland and there began to reorganize the life of Italian Jews, establishing Jewish schools and various activities with the Milanese Astorre Mayer. After the liberation in 1945 he assumed the position of president of the Jewish community of Milan and was an active member of the CLNAI (Committee for National Liberation of North Italy). He was also the Italian leader of the OSE (Oeuvre de Secours aux Enfants). While organizing Jewish life in Milan, he was also a strong supporter the Aliyah Bet (*"illegal" immigration to Ereẓ Israel), raising substantial funds. He held other posts in the Italian Zionist Federation and in the *Keren Hayesod. He was a member of the executive of the World Jewish Congress. From 1946 to 1954 Cantoni was president of the Union of Italian Jewish Communities and worked to obtain from the Italian government freedom of Jewish worship equal to that of the Catholics, without complete success. He was also president of the Organizzazione Sanitaria Ebraica (Jewish Health Organization) from the inception of its activities in Italy. Until his death, he spared no effort to maintain relations between the Jews of the Diaspora and Israel and to establish diplomatic relations between Israel and other countries.

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[Sergio DellaPergola / Federica Francesconi (2nd ed.)]

CANTONISTS, Jewish children who were conscripted to military institutions in czarist Russia with the intention that the conditions in which they were placed would force them to adopt Christianity. The "cantonist units" were properly barracks (cantonments) established for children of Russian soldiers. They provided instruction in drill and military training, as well as a rudimentary education. Discipline was maintained by threat of starvation and corporal punishment. At the age of 18 the pupils were drafted to regular army units where they served for 25 years. Enlistment for the cantonist institutions, which originated in the 17th century, was most rigorously enforced during the reigns of *Alexander I (1801–25) and *Nicholas I (1825–55). It was abolished in 1856 under *Alexander II.

Military service was made compulsory for Jews in Russia in 1827, the age for the draft being established as between 12 and 25 years. The 1827 statute also provided that "Jewish minors under 18 years of age shall be placed in preparatory training establishments for military training," i.e., the cantonist units. The Jewish communal authorities, who were required to furnish a certain quota of army recruits, were authorized to make up the number of adults with adolescents. The high quota that was demanded, the brutally severe service conditions, as well as the knowledge that the conscript would be forced to contravene Jewish religious precepts and cut himself off from his home and family, made those liable for conscription try every means of evading it. The communal leaders who were made personally responsible for implementing the law took the easiest way out and filled the quota from children of the poorest homes, who made up over half the total of those conscripted. Every community had special officers, known in Yiddish as *khapers* ("kidnappers") for seizing the children, who were incarcerated in the communal building and handed over to the military authorities. The *khapers*, who were not scrupulous about adhering to the minimum age of 12, also impressed children of eight or nine. These were alleged by witnesses on oath to have reached the statutory age. An additional consideration in sending minors was reluctance to cause hardship to adults who were generally married and had to support their families.

The objective of the Russian authorities was to alienate the cantonist children-recruits from their own people and religion. The children were therefore transferred from their homes within the *Pale of Settlement and sent to cantonist institutions in Kazan, Orenburg (now Chkalov), Perm, and in Siberia. The journey took several weeks.

The Russian radical author A. Herzen described his meeting in 1835 with a convoy of Jewish cantonists:

> "The officer who escorted them said, 'They have collected a crowd of cursed little Jew boys of eight or nine years old. Whether they are taking them for the navy or what, I can't say. At first the orders were to drive them to Perm; then there was a change and we are driving them to Kazan. I took them over a hundred versts farther back. The officer who handed them over said, 'It's dreadful, and that's all about it; a third were left on the way' (and the officer pointed to the earth). Not half will reach their destination,' he said.
>
> "'Have there been epidemics, or what?' I asked, deeply moved.
>
> "'No, not epidemics, but they just die off like flies. A Jew boy, you know, is such a frail, weakly creature, like a skinned cat; he is not used to tramping in the mud for ten hours a day and eating biscuit – then again, being among strangers, no father nor mother nor petting; well, they cough and cough until they cough themselves into their graves. And I ask you, what use is it to them? What can they do with little boys?…'
>
> "They brought the children and formed them into regular ranks: it was one of the most awful sights I have ever seen, those poor, poor children! Boys of twelve or thirteen might somehow have survived it, but little fellows of eight and ten… Not even a brush full of black paint could put such horror on canvas. Pale, exhausted, with frightened faces, they stood in thick, clumsy, soldiers' overcoats, with stand-up collars, fixing helpless, pitiful eyes on the garrison soldiers who were roughly getting them into ranks. The white lips, the blue rings under their eyes, bore witness to fever or chill. And these sick children, without care or kindness, exposed to the icy wind that blows unobstructed from the Arctic Ocean were going to their graves" (A. Herzen, *My Past and Thoughts*, 1 (1968), 219–20).

Once in the cantonments they were handed over to the supervision of Russian sergeants and soldiers who had been directed to "influence" the children to become baptized. Their *ẓiẓit* and *tefillin* were removed forcibly. They were forbidden to pray or even to talk in their own language, and forced to attend Christian religious instruction and learn the ritual. If routine measures, such as threats of starvation, of deprivation of sleep, or of lashing, proved unavailing, the "educators" would resort to all kinds of physical torture until their more stubborn victims either died or became converted. Only a few, mainly the older ones, held out. The cantonists were sometimes sent to Russian farmsteads in remote villages where they performed exhausting labor and were forced to change their faith.

After the baptismal ceremony, when the youngsters changed their names and were registered as children of their sponsors, there commenced a period of training in the company of the non-Jewish cantonists who did not forget the Jewish origin of the converts and continued to maltreat them. Sometimes a youth who reached the age of 18, when about to be drafted to the regular army unit, would state that he wished to revert to Judaism. For this he would be sent to a detention center and punished until he signed a retraction. Some converts returned to the faith on their release from the army, but discovery meant prosecution. A number of cases brought to court during the reign of Alexander II revealed the full horrors of the regime in the cantonist institutions to the Russian public.

The conscription laws were imposed with particular rigor during the Crimean War (1854–55), when a Jewish quota of 30 conscripts per thousand males was required, and gangs of *khapers* went to hunt down their victims. It is difficult to estimate the number of Jewish minors recruited under the cantonist legislation in the 29 years of its operation. The incomplete data available indicate that they numbered 30,000 to 40,000. In 1843, 6,753 children of Jewish origin were reported in 22 cantonist institutions, and in 1854, at the height of the enforcement of the laws, 7,515 Jewish minors were conscripted into the Russian army.

The government of Nicholas I regarded the cantonist laws as part of the system of legislation for "correcting" the Jews in the realm, their principal object being to convert large numbers of Jewish children to Christianity and make them conform to the Russian environment. The cantonist laws were therefore used as a means of exerting pressure on Jews in other spheres. Jewish youths who attended the state schools, for instance, were exempted from their military obligations, as were children of Jewish agricultural colonists. These concessions, therefore, to some extent promoted an increase in the proportion of Jewish children at state schools and of Jewish agricultural settlers. The cantonist legislation also did not apply to districts of the Kingdom of Poland and of Bessarabia – the latter until 1852 – so that a number of Jews moved from the Ukraine, Belorussia, and Lithuania to these areas. The law thus also stimulated Jewish emigration from Russia.

The "kidnapping rules" left a bitter residue in the minds of the Jewish masses in Russia. The opposition which sometimes flared up was generally directed against the Jewish communal leaders. Tales circulated of tragic cases of death and martyrdom among the cantonists. It is no accident that in those districts where the cantonist problem was acute social tension within Jewish society was more intense. The horror that descended upon the Jewish communities is reflected in the folk poems of the period:

> "Tears flood the streets
> Bathed in the blood of children –
> The fledglings are torn from *ḥeder*
> And thrust into uniform –
> Alas! What bitterness.
> Will day never dawn?"

Accounts of the afflictions endured by the cantonists appear in memoirs of the period by the Russian revolutionary A. Herzen (see above), the Jewish authors Judah Leib *Levin, A.S. *Friedberg, Eliakum *Zunser, and others. In Jewish literature their sufferings find expression in works by *Mendele Mokher Seforim (*Emek ha-Bakha*), Judah *Steinberg (*Ba-Yamim ha-Hem*, 1906), and Yaakov *Cahan (*Ha-Ḥatufim*) as well as in the books of V. *Nikitin, who was of cantonist origin (*Vek perezhit – ne pole pereyti*, 1910).

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[Yehuda Slutsky]

CANTOR, BERNARD (1892–1920) U.S. Reform rabbi murdered by Soviet troops. Cantor was born in Buffalo, New York, and earned both his B.A. (1914) and M.A. (1915) at the University of Cincinnati. He remained at the university as a teaching assistant in philosophy while studying for the rabbinate at *Hebrew Union College, where he was ordained in 1916. His first pulpit was at Congregation Rodef Shalom in Wabash, Indiana, while completing his studies at HUC. Following ordination, he became rabbi of Temple Emanuel in Wichita, Kansas, where he also organized the city's Legal Aid Bureau. After one year in Wichita, he moved to New York City in 1917 to assume the position of associate rabbi at Stephen S. *Wise's Free Synagogue. Ignoring risks to his own health, in the dual role of social worker-clergyman, Cantor headed up the temple's efforts to ease the suffering of Jews and Gentiles alike from the deadly influenza epidemic that was ravaging the city that year.

In 1918, Cantor became the rabbi of the Flushing branch of the Free Synagogue. In 1920, the Joint Distribution Committee issued a call for volunteers to organize relief programs for 600,000 Jewish victims of post-World War I antisemitism in Eastern Europe. Cantor did not hesitate. At a service in his honor at the Free Synagogue on the eve of his departure, Cantor said, "In consonance with our traditions, we again go forth to serve our suffering people, and gladly do I go, and I rejoice at the opportunity." Cantor, representing the *Union of American Hebrew Congregations, and Dr. Israel *Friedlander, a professor at the Jewish Theological Seminary, led the JDC's Overseas Unit Number 1 on a successful mission to Poland. In July 1920, they set off for the Ukraine on the second stage of their undertaking. Cantor had an unsettling premonition: "If I should die, it is nothing; if I am forgotten, it is nothing; if only the Jews remember the cause for which I die," he wrote in a letter to his fiancée.

On July 10, Cantor and Friedlander were shot dead in mysterious circumstances while traveling on the road to Kiev. Initial reports indicated that the perpetrators were bandits; it subsequently turned out, however, that the killers were Soviet troops. After much protest and pressure from the United States, the Soviet government in Moscow admitted their mistake and offered an apology for the murders. But no details were forthcoming – not even concerning the whereabouts of the martyrs' remains.

On September 9, 1920, thousands of grieving mourners gathered in New York City's Carnegie Hall for a memorial service in honor of both men. Generations later, in 2000, a JDC-sponsored fact-finding trip finally discovered Cantor's and Friedlander's graves in a remote Jewish cemetery. The two stones bore their names with identical Hebrew inscriptions: "Emissary of American Jewry who fell sanctifying God's name. July 10, 1920."

On August 27, 2003, with American and Israeli descendants of Cantor and Friedlander in attendance, a commemoration ceremony was held in Yarmolintz, Ukraine, to dedicate a new memorial denoting their final resting places.

[Bezalel Gordon (2nd ed.)]

CANTOR, EDDIE (1892–1964), U.S. comedian and vaudeville performer. Cantor was born Isidor Iskowitch on New York City's Lower East Side. In 1907 he won a music-hall amateur contest, and then began touring with a comedy blackface act. He was eventually booked into major vaudeville circuits and set records for long runs at all the major American variety houses. He toured the music halls of Europe and was given top billing in the *Ziegfeld Follies* of 1917, 1918, and 1919. In 1923 he starred in the musical *Kid Boots*, which ran for three years.

After the depression, Cantor entered films and worked for the major studios until 1940. Among his most popular films were *The Kid From Spain*, 1933, *Roman Scandals*, 1934, and *Ali Baba Goes to Town*, 1937. On the radio, songs associated with him were immediate hits. He raised large sums for Jewish refugees from Nazi Germany and other Jewish causes. He also aided Christian and non-denominational philanthropies, especially the March of Dimes. He was a founder and president of the Screen Actors' Guild and the Jewish Theatrical Guild. In 1964 he was awarded a medal by President Johnson for his services to the United States and humanity. He published his autobiographies, *My Life is in Your Hands* (1928; rev. ed. 1932), *Take my Life* (1956), *The Way I See It* (1959), and a book of reminiscences, *As I Remember Them* (1963).

[Raphael Rothstein]

CANTOR, ERIC (1963–), U.S. congressman. The son of Eddie and Mary Lee Cantor, Eric Cantor was born in Richmond, Virginia. As a child he was one of the few Jews to attend Collegiate, an elite private, Protestant-based school. He attended George Washington University in Washington, D.C. In 1980, he became a volunteer in local congressman Thomas Bliley's first reelection campaign. Cantor wound up becoming the congressman's driver and eventually interned in his office. Following his graduation, Cantor attended law school at William and Mary. He received a *juris doctor* from William and Mary in 1988 and a master of science in real estate from Columbia University. Within a year, 27-year-old Eric Cantor was elected to the Virginia House of Delegates, thereby becoming its youngest member.

Cantor married DIANA FINE, a vice president at Goldman Sachs. Both a CPA and an attorney, she was a political power in her own right, becoming executive director of the Virginia College Savings Plan, an independent state agency that helps families save for college. In 2003, Jewish Women International named her "One of Ten Women to Watch."

Along with his wife, Delegate Cantor raised the Jewish community profile in Richmond, Va., where Jews are a distinct minority. They were prime movers in getting the first day of school changed so it would not fall on Rosh Hashanah and helped support a new Holocaust museum in the area.

Cantor's Judaism became the "unspoken issue of his race in 2000 for Congress." Although Cantor never directly blamed his opponent, there were those going around during the election saying that there was "one Christian in the race and it wasn't Eric Cantor." Cantor eventually squeaked by with a 264-vote margin for the nomination and then coasted to a victory in the November general election. At age 37, Cantor had become the only Jewish Republican in the United States House of Representatives.

As a freshman serving in the majority party, Cantor was given seats in two committees: House Financial Services and International Relations. Within four months of his arrival on Capitol Hill, Cantor was picked by House Speaker Dennis Hastert to serve as chair of the Congressional Task Force on Terrorism and Unconventional Warfare. Cantor also authored the "Temple Mount Preservation Act," legislation that would cut off all aid to the Palestinian Authority until all unauthorized excavations from the Temple Mount ceased.

Cantor easily won reelection in 2002. Upon his return to Washington for the beginning of the 108th Congress, his partisan political prowess was rewarded not once, but twice. He was appointed to the all-powerful Ways and Means Committee and as chief deputy majority whip, the highest appointed position in the House of Representatives.

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[Kurt Stone (2nd ed.)]

CANTOR, JACOB AARON (1854–1921), U.S. politician. Cantor was born on the Lower East Side of New York City. He attended public school until age 14, then became a law clerk and a reporter for *The World*. Turning to politics, he was elected in 1884 as a Democrat to the first of three successive terms in the State Assembly. In 1887 Cantor was sent to the State Senate and became a powerful leader of the Democratic minority for many years. Opposed to Tammany boss Richard Croker, Cantor joined the reform ticket of Seth Law in 1901 and won the Manhattan Borough presidency. Back in the party fold by 1913, Cantor became a New York congressman. He was later appointed president of the Department of Taxes Assessments by Mayor John Hylan, and held this position until his death.

[Richard Skolnik]

CANTOR, MORITZ BENEDICT (1829–1920), German mathematician. Born in Mannheim, Cantor was appointed to a chair of mathematics at Heidelberg in 1877. After the publication of several mathematical papers, the article "Ueber die Einfuehrung unserer gegenwaertigen Ziffern in Europa" in the *Zeitschrift fuer Mathematik und Physik* (1865) was the first of his many contributions to the history of mathematics. Cantor's most important work was *Vorlesungen ueber Geschichte der Mathematik*, which was published in four volumes between 1880 and 1908. The first three were his own work on the history of mathematics from remote antiquity until 1758. The fourth volume, which traced the history to 1799, was written by collaborators under his direction. Cantor wrote several other books, including a history of the mathematics of primitive people. He founded and edited from 1877 until 1918 the *Abhandlungen zur Geschichte der Mathematik*; he also edited the historical and literary section of the *Zeitschrift fuer Mathematik und Physik.*

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[Barry Spain]

CANTOR, NORMAN FRANK (1929–2004), medieval historian. Born in Winnipeg, Manitoba, Cantor graduated from the University of Manitoba in 1951, after which he moved to the U.S. He received a master's degree and Ph.D. from Princeton University and became a Rhodes Scholar at Oxford. He began his teaching career at Princeton in 1955, and after appointments at Johns Hopkins and Columbia became professor at Brandeis University in the mid-1960s. He served as vice chancellor for academic affairs at the University of Illinois. In 1978 he joined New York University as dean of the College of Arts and Science faculty, until 1981. He taught there as a professor emeritus in history, sociology, and comparative literature until his retirement in 1999. He was also a Porter Ogden Jacobus Fellow at Princeton University and a Fulbright Professor at Tel Aviv University. He served as editor of the *Encyclopaedia of the Middle Ages* (1999).

Cantor published *Church, Kingship, and Lay Investiture in England, 1089–1135* (1958). In 1963 he published *Medieval History: the Life and Death of a Civilization,* a general introduction to the Middle Ages that was widely used as a college textbook and was also a main selection of the History Book Club for 19 years. In print for 28 years, it was updated and expanded by Cantor in 1991 and reissued as *The Civilization of the Middle Ages*. It is considered one of the most authoritative introductions to medieval studies.

Other books by Cantor include *How to Study History* (1967); *The English: A History of Politics and Society to 1760* (1967); *Renaissance Thought: Dante & Machiavelli* (1969); *Western Civilization: Its Genesis and Destiny* (1970); *The Age of Protest* (1971); *Perspectives on the European Past: Conversations with Historians* (1971); *The Medieval Reader* (1974); *Inventing the Middle Ages* (1991); *Medieval Lives: Eight Charismatic Men and Women of the Middle Ages* (1995); *The Sacred Chain: The History of the Jews* (1995); *The Jewish Experience: An Illustrated History of Jewish Culture and Society Including Short Stories, Essays, Novels, Biographies, Memoirs and Other First-Person Accounts* (1996); *The American Century: Varieties of Culture in Modern Times* (1997); *In the Wake of the Plague* (2001); *Inventing Norman Cantor: Confessions of a Mediaevalist* (2002); *The Last Knight: The Twilight of the Middle Ages and the Birth of the Modern Era* (2004); *Antiquity: From the Birth of Sumerian Civilization to the Fall of the Roman Empire* (2004); *Alexander the Great: Journey to the End of the Earth (Eminent Lives)* (2005).

[Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

CAPA, CORNELL (**Kornel Friedmann**; 1918–), U.S. photographer. The younger brother of the famed war photographer Robert *Capa, Cornell Capa was the son of middle-class Jewish parents, tailors, in Budapest. He achieved fame in his own right as a sensitive photographer of socially significant issues and political subjects. In addition, he founded the International Center of Photography in New York in 1974, one of the leading study and exhibition centers in the world.

At 18 he moved to Paris to assist his brother, then Andre Friedmann, who was working as a photojournalist. The brothers were remarkably close, to the point of adopting the same pseudonym, which Andre probably based on the name of the movie director Frank Capra. In 1937 Cornell Capa moved to New York to join the new Pix photo agency. He supported himself by working in the darkroom of *Life* magazine until his first photo-story, on the New York World's Fair, was published in the magazine *Picture Post*. After serving in the U.S. Air Force, Capa became a staff photographer for *Life* magazine in 1947. His book *Retarded Children Can Be Helped*, published in 1957, was the product of his pioneering work on mentally retarded children, a project he began in 1954. He covered the election campaigns of Adlai Stevenson and Nelson Rockefeller. He witnessed firsthand the excitement John F. Kennedy generated, and he obtained an assignment from *Life* to cover his 1960 Presidential campaign. After the inauguration, he decided to assemble a book on the new administration's first 100 days, and he drafted eight other Magnum photographers to assist in the project. Capa converted Kennedy into an outsize figure who exerts a commanding presence. In one picture, a pair of godlike hands emerge from two cufflink-fastened sleeves and reach down to meet the feverish fingers of fans. Capa and his colleagues set the terms for the way subsequent presidencies would be chronicled. They developed a repertory of scenes: the candidate on the hustings, chin jutting over microphones; the sober chief conferring with his advisers; the burdened leader turning his shoulders to the camera for a moment of private contemplation

Capa made several trips to Latin America, where he chronicled the decimation of indigenous cultures. Through the 1970s he traveled back to the area to continue the tale of endangered civilizations, and he published three books about the area, including *Farewell to Eden*, a famous study of the Amahuaca Indians of the Amazon, published in 1964. He photographed across a wide range of social issues, particularly his Jewish heritage, which are embodied in *Judaism* and *Six-Day War*. He also chronicled American family life. In 1959 he practically moved in with the Mahaffeys of Philadelphia, then one of 3 million families who lived with aged parents, shooting the interactions among the elderly grandmother, her son and daughter-in-law and their children.

He remained a staff photographer with *Life* until his brother's death in 1954; Robert Capa, covering Vietnam's war against France, stepped on a land mine, becoming the first American war correspondent to die there. Cornell then joined Magnum, the photographers' cooperative, and took over two years later after the death in Suez of David (Chim) *Seymour. Capa ran the agency until 1960. He continued his relationship with *Life* until 1967. Among his other memorable images were a scene on the set of *The Misfits* with Marilyn *Monroe and Clark Gable and of a Hasidic teacher bending over three children who are studying the Torah.

In 1974 Capa founded the International Center of Photography, dedicated to the history of photojournalism, current makers and future producers, through its archives, galleries, library and school in New York City. Since its opening the center has put on more than 450 exhibitions, showing the work of more than 2,500 photographers. In some ways the center was considered an example of Capa's devotion to his brother and his legacy. Cornell Capa stepped down as director in 1994 and, despite being stricken with Parkinson's disease, continued to be influential as founding director emeritus. Over the years he won many honors, including the Honor Award of the American Society of Magazine Photographers in 1975, and produced more than a dozen books.

[Stewart Kampel (2nd ed.)]

CAPA, ROBERT (1913–1954), U.S. photographer. The most famous war photographer of the 20th century, Capa, whose original name was Endre Erno Friedmann, was born in Budapest to Deszo Friedmann and Julianne Henrietta Berkovitz. Like many of his student friends, he was keenly involved in the political turmoil of the period, and at the age of 18 he decided to leave Hungary. He moved to Berlin, where he found work as a darkroom assistant at a prestigious photo agency, Dephot. In 1932, as Berlin was paralyzed by street fighting among Social Democrats, Nazis, and Communists, he was sent to Copenhagen to photograph Leon *Trotsky giving a speech to Danish students. The images were featured in a full-page layout in *Der Welt Spiegel*.

In 1933, as Hitler came to power, he moved to Paris, where he met the photographers David (Chim) *Seymour and Henri Cartier-Bresson. There, with his Polish fiancée, Gerda Taro, he struggled to establish himself as a freelance journalist. The story of that struggle is recounted in a classic magazine article by John Hersey, *The Man Who Invented Himself*. Andrei, as he was then known, and Gerda formed an association of three "people." Gerda was secretary and sales representative; Andrei was a darkroom worker. They were ostensibly employed by a rich, famous, talented and "highly successful American photographer named Robert Capa." Actually, Friedmann took the pictures, Gerda sold them, and the imaginary Capa got the credit. Their secret was soon uncovered by the editor of *Vue*, who was unconcerned. He sent the couple to Spain, where Capa became famous overnight for his stunning picture of a Loyalist soldier taken the moment he was shot and killed. He took other striking photographs during that war, including an action shot on a city street of frightened civilians looking anxiously up to the sky or running for shelter, sometimes so fast that the photographer had to blur the background to keep the runner in focus. Such images could not have been captured earlier, because photographers did not have cameras small enough and fast enough to record events as they happened. The Spanish Civil War was thus the first to be covered by modern photography, and Capa's derring-do up-close images, seen decades later, retain their brilliance. "If the photograph isn't good enough," he said later, summing up his philosophy, "you're not close enough."

Capa returned to Paris in 1937, leaving Gerda, the great love of his life, in Spain, where she was killed by an out-of-control Loyalist tank. Capa read about her death, at the age of 25, in *L'Humanite*. Grief-stricken, Capa went off to China, where he took a series of memorable pictures at the battle of Taierchwang, the only significant Chinese victory of the war with Japan. Returning to Europe, he covered the Spanish war until its end in 1939. During that period he took some of his most dramatic front-line photographs of the war. *Picture Post* devoted 11 pages to his photos and declared the 23-year-old "the greatest war photographer in the world." When World War II broke out, Capa sailed for New York, where, despite being labeled an enemy alien, he got an assignment from *Collier's* magazine and in 1942 he joined the invasion convoy to North Africa, where he switched to the staff of *Life* magazine. Leaving Africa, he parachuted into Sicily with the Allied forces and went on to the attack on "the soft underbelly of the Axis" in the grim winter of 1943–44. In 1944 Capa was the only press photographer to go in with the first wave of infantry to hit Omaha Beach on D-Day. Later he photographed the Battle of the Bulge, and the following year joined the 2nd Infantry Division as it fought its way across the Zeppelin Bridge. He saw the war through, actually photographing the death of one of the last Americans killed. In Paris, too, he met the actress Ingrid Bergman. Their two-year romance was the basis for the Alfred Hitchcock film *Rear Window*.

Capa, who became an American citizen after the war, joined Cartier-Bresson, Chim, William Vandivert, and George Rodger in founding the international photographers' agency Magnum Photos. He spent the next few years making Magnum successful, and photographing the good times with his artist friends, including Picasso, Hemingway, and Steinbeck, with whom he supplied the photographs for *A Russian Journal*. The creation of the State of Israel impressed Capa greatly, and in 1948 he went there for the founding of the state. "During the war for independence," his brother the photographer Cornell *Capa said, "Bob put his heart into it. His non-practicing Jewishness came out." He was with David *Marcus in the battle for the "Burma Road," Jerusalem's vital link to the outside world. Capa's photographs of Israel appeared in *This Is Israel* by the journalist I.F. *Stone in 1948 and the same year he was the co-author, with Irwin Shaw, of *Report on Israel*. "Warm and perceptive," a critic wrote in the *New York Times*, "Capa's camera has ranged over the faces of land and people, seeking the human qualities as well as historic milestones." Capa returned to Israel in 1950 to make a fund-raising film for the United Jewish Appeal on the arrival, interment, and eventual settlement of immigrants.

"I'm not a photographer," he often said. "I'm a journalist." Cornell Capa said that the 35-mm. camera was the ideal form of expression for his brother. "Who knows Hungarian?" he said. "Hungarians who want to communicate once they leave Hungary are sunk. The camera was a natural way to communicate, the perfect instrument that suited Bob's persona and his interest in people. He considered himself a photojournalist. He loved it when he wrote text with his pictures and his credit read, 'By Robert Capa, photographs by the author.'"

In 1954 Capa went to Japan with a Magnum exhibition. *Life* suddenly needed a photographer on the Indochina front, where the French were fighting the Vietnamese. Capa volunteered, but it was one war too many. He was killed after stepping on a land mine. He was 40 years old.

[Stewart Kampel (2nd ed.)]

CAPER (Heb. צָלָף; *ẓalaf*), the shrub *Capparis spinosa*, which grows wild in Israel in rocky places, as well as in old stone walls, including the Western Wall. The personal name Zalaph occurs in the Bible (Neh. 3:30). The caper's fruit, the *evyonah*, is mentioned in Ecclesiastes 12:5 as a symbol of shortness of man's life, because very soon after it blossoms, the fruit scatters its seeds and the plant withers; "The almond-tree shall blossom… and the caperberry shall fail; Because man goeth to his long home…." Frequently mentioned in *aggadah* and *halakhah*, the caper was grown for its edible flowerbuds, the *kafrisin*, as also for its young fruit, which was eaten after being pickled in salt or vinegar. The plant produces new fruit daily and Rabban Gamaliel used this phenomenon as proof that in messianic times “trees will yield fruit every day” (Shab. 30b). The caper flower’s structure is unique: its ovary, from which the fruit develops, is borne on a long style which protrudes from the flower, a fact noted by the rabbis (TJ, Ma’as. 4:6, 51c). The rabbis were unsure whether to consider the caper a tree or a vegetable, the distinction bearing on which blessing is to be said over it, and whether the law of *orlah applies to it (Tosef., Kil. 3:17). The caper grows tenaciously among rocks and is difficult to uproot; thus the Talmud declares that the caper among shrubs is distinguished for its strength even as is “Israel among the nations” (Beẓah 25b).

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[Jehuda Feliks]

CAPERNAUM, ancient village on the N.W. shore of the sea of Galilee. Its name is derived from the Hebrew *Kefar* (“village of”) *Naḥum* (an unknown personage). It is first mentioned by *Josephus as a village on his line of advance toward the issue of the Jordan into the Sea of Galilee and is described by him as “a highly fertile spring called by the inhabitants Capharnaum” (Wars, 3:519–20). In the New Testament it appears as the place of residence chosen by Jesus on the shore of the lake and it is sometimes even termed “his own city” (Matt. 4:13; 9:1), and it is also stated that he preached in the synagogue of Capernaum one Sabbath (Mark 1:21; John 6:59). It was the seat of a customs house (Matt. 9:9) and at least five of the apostles, including the very first ones, were fishermen from Capernaum. Although Jesus in the end reproved the people of Capernaum for their lack of belief (Matt. 11:23; Luke 10:15), a Judeo-Christian community continued there into talmudic times (Eccles. R. 1:8). Capernaum is identified with a ruin called Tell Ḥm in Arabic. Remains of a synagogue were excavated there by H. Kohl and C. Watzinger in 1905; it was entirely cleared and partly restored by the Franciscan fathers who own the site. Dating from the late second or early third century, it is one of the best preserved Galilean synagogues of the early type. The synagogue measures 360 sq. m. (c. 3,240 sq. ft.) and consists of a main basilica-shaped hall with one large and two small entrances in the facade which faces south toward Jerusalem. The facade is ornately decorated: above the main entrance is a large semicircular window with a sculptured frieze running round it. The base of the triangular gable is arched in the “Syrian” style. The hall contains two parallel rows of columns along its length and one transverse row, and stone benches along the walls. The interior is undecorated and no evidence was found of a fixed Torah ark. Steps outside the building led to an upper gallery (probably for women worshipers). The wall of the gallery was adorned with an elaborate stone frieze depicting symbols of the plants of the Holy Land, Jewish religious symbols, including the Tabernacle, *menorah*, and Torah ark, and magic symbols such as the pentagram and hexagram. A colonnaded court with porches east of the hall probably served as a guest house.

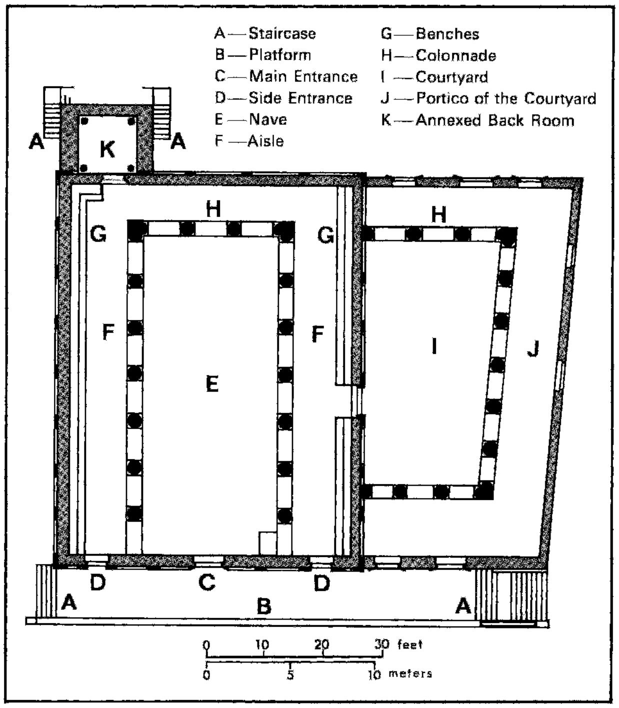

Plan of the Capernaum synagogue, third century C.E. E.L. Sukenik, Ancient Synagogues in Palestine and Greece, *London, 1934.*

Excavations in 1978–87 revealed a Roman Bath house of the “corridor” type and excavations in 1998 found cist graves belonging to the necropolis.

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[Michael Avi-Yonah]

CAPESTANG, town N. of *Narbonne in Southern France. Disputes between the archbishop and the viscount of Narbonne, who both claimed jurisdiction over the Jews and their revenues, were submitted to arbitration in 1276; in 1284 the registration of a Jew, Vital of Capestang, as a “Jew of the king” was again contested. Before the expulsion of the Jews from the kingdom of France in 1306, Jews from Capestang had acquired possessions in *Montpellier. The new community, formed after 1359, which used a “Jewish oven” belonging to the archbishop of Narbonne, came to an end with the final expulsion of the Jews from France in 1394. Fifteen scholars of Capestang signed a letter to Abba Mari b. Moses b. Joseph *Astruc of Lunel early in the 14th century during the dispute about the study of philosophy, among them the kabbalist Isaac b. Moses ha-Kohen.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Gross, Gal Jud, 546ff.; G. Saige, *Juifs du Languedoc* (1881), 128, 214, 317.

[Bernhard Blumenkranz]

CAPE TOWN, legislative capital of the Republic of South Africa, capital of Western Cape Province. Founded in 1652 by the Dutch East India Company as a victualing station at the Cape of Good Hope, southernmost tip of Africa, the town had Jews among its early settlers. The rules of the company, however, allowed only Protestants as settlers; two Jews were converted to Christianity in Cape Town as early as 1669. After the British occupation of the Cape in 1806, a steady flow of Jewish immigrants came from Central Europe and England and later, in larger numbers, from Eastern Europe. As the oldest Jewish community in South Africa, Cape Town's organized communal life provided the pattern for the future development of South African Jewry. The Cape Town Hebrew congregation, the first in South Africa, dates back to 1841. The first synagogue, which still stands, was built in 1849. It was called Tikvath Israel ("Hope of Israel"), a reference to "Good Hope." Isaac Pulver was the first minister (1849–51). He was succeeded by Joel *Rabinowitz (1859–82), Abraham Frederick Ornstein (1882–95), Alfred Philip *Bender (1895–1937), and Israel *Abrahams (1937–68). As the Jewish community grew, other congregations and synagogues were established.

For many years, Cape Town was the principal center of Jewish communal life in South Africa. With the discovery of diamonds in Kimberley and the rise of the Witwatersrand gold fields, however, there was a northward shift of the population. In 1904, the Cape Jewish Board of Deputies was formed at Cape Town, a year after the corresponding body was created for the Transvaal and Natal. The two organizations merged in 1912 to establish the South African Jewish Board of Deputies. Among its most prominent members was Morris *Alexander. From the early days of the Zionist movement in South Africa, Cape Town was a center of Zionist activity. The Bnei Zion was formed in 1897 and was followed by the Dorshei Zion Association (1899) and the Bnoth Zion (Women's) Association (1900). One of the outstanding personalities in the Zionist movement was Jacob *Gitlin. Jews have made large contributions to the cultural and civic life of Cape Town. These include the Max Michaelis Art Gallery, the De Pass collection in the South African National Gallery, and the Mendelsohn Library, one of the most important collections of Africana, presented to the nation and stored in the Houses of Parliament. Hyman Liberman was the first Jew to become mayor of Cape Town (1903–07); others were Louis Gradner (1933–35), Abe Bloomberg (1945–47), Fritz Sonnenberg (1951–53), Alf Honikman (1961–63), Walter Gradner (1965–67), Richard Friedlander (1971–73), David Bloomberg (1973–75), Ted Mauerberger (1977–79), Louis Kreiner (1979–81), Solly Kreiner (1983–85), Leon Markovitz (1985–87), and Patricia Sulcas Kreiner (1993–95).

In 1969 Cape Town was the second largest Jewish center in South Africa (after Johannesburg), with a Jewish population of approximately 25,000 (out of a total population of 750,000). Cape Town was the seat of the provincial branches of national organizations with headquarters on the Rand. These included the Cape Council of the South African Jewish Board of Deputies, the Western (Cape) Province Zionist Council (representing the South African Zionist Federation), and the Union of Jewish Women. Although both the Cape Committee of the Board of Deputies and the Western (Cape) Zionist Council were a part of their national organizations, they preserved a considerable autonomy. Organizations situated in Cape Town, such as the Cape Board of Jewish Education and the United Council of Orthodox Hebrew Congregations, were entirely independent. This emphasis on Cape autonomy from the more dominant Johannesburg Jewry characterized much of the later history of Cape Jewry but has diminished. In 1988, the Orthodox congregations in Cape Town joined with those in the northern part of the country to form the Union of Orthodox Synagogues of South Africa, under a single chief rabbi, and subsequently under a single *bet din*. The Reform congregations subsequently fell under the South African Union for Progressive Judaism. The Cape Board of Education in 1969 supervised 31 Hebrew schools and was responsible for a fine Hebrew secondary day school (Herzlia), three Hebrew primary day schools, and a hostel. In 1969 there were 12 Orthodox congregations in Cape Town and its neighboring communities and two Reform Congregations under a Council of Progressive Judaism, with its own school. Among the welfare institutions were a Jewish orphanage and old-age home. The Zionist movement, especially among the youth, was strong. The main charitable organization was the Jewish Board of Guardians, which subsequently came under the umbrella of Jewish Community Services. Apart from the Jewish museum based in the old synagogue building, various cultural Hebrew and Yiddish societies functioned.

At the turn of the century, Jews numbered approximately 18,000, about 22 percent of all Jews in South Africa. Half the population lives in a cluster of suburbs on the Atlantic coast; 21 percent in the southern suburbs and 11 percent in the City Bowl.

The United Herzlia Schools run a network of Jewish day schools, including four primary schools; a middle school and a high school, incorporating approximately 1,600 pupils. The Cape Council of the South African Jewish Board of Education supervises religious instruction for Jewish pupils who attend state schools and whose main access to Jewish education is through the Cheder program. Since by then well over 80% of Jewish children in the city were in the Jewish day school system, either attending one of the Herzlia schools or the small religious Hebrew Academy school, the need for this facility had significantly diminished. Hebrew and Jewish Studies is taught at the University of Cape Town which, in addition, incorporates the Isaac and Jessie Kaplan Center for Jewish Studies and Research.

There are 17 synagogues affiliated to the Union of Orthodox Synagogues and three Reform temples. The Lubavitch movement was established in 1976. In 1995 Cape Town inaugurated its first yeshivah. The Cape Council of the South African Jewish Board of Deputies incorporates a range of cultural and welfare institutions. Zionist activities are coordinated by the Western Province Zionist Council. Two important new cultural institutions that came into being in Cape Town in the late 1990s were the Cape Town Holocaust Centre and the South African Jewish Museum, the latter focusing on the history of the Jewish community in South Africa.

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[Louis Hotz / Milton Shain and David Saks (2nd ed.)]

CAPHTOR (Heb. כַּפְתּוֹר, כַּפְתֹּר), place located either in the Aegean Sea area or on the southern coast of Asia Minor. According to Amos 9:7, Jeremiah 47:4, and possibly Genesis 10:14, the Philistines came from Caphtor prior to their penetration of southern Palestine. Deuteronomy 2:23 notes that the Caphtorim destroyed "the Avvim, that dwelt in villages as far as Gaza,, taking over their lands. In an Assyrian document, based upon an ancient Babylonian tradition, describing the empire of Sargon the Great, king of Akkad (24th century B.C.E.), Kaptara is located beyond the "upper sea," i.e., west of the Syria-Palestine coastline. In the *Mari texts the terms *Kaptarû, Kaptarītum* occur as names of precious goods apparently imported from the region of the Aegean Sea. According to Ugaritic texts, Kōthar (= Kōsar), the god of crafts, lived in Caphtor (*Kptr*). It is accepted that the Keftiu (*Kftyw*) mentioned in inscriptions of Egyptian kings and nobles in the second half of the second millennium is identical with Caphtor. *Kftyw* is known in Egyptian sources as a distant land accessible by ship.

The location of Caphtor or *kftyw* is in dispute. Most scholars consider Caphtor to be the ancient name for *Crete and the surrounding islands (cf. "islands" in LXX, Jer. 47:4). In Jeremiah 47:4 Caphtor is defined as an island. Furthermore, several verses place the origin of the Philistines among the Cretans (Ezek. 25:16; Zeph. 2:5), while elsewhere they are identified as coming from Caphtor. The descent of the Caphtorim from the Egyptians (Gen. 10:14) hints at the close relationship that existed between Egypt and Caphtor. Archaeological excavations in Crete have shown that the island was a center of Minoan culture in the second millennium B.C.E. and that the population traded with Egypt, Palestine, Syria, and Mesopotamia. An Egyptian wall painting from the reign of Thutmosis III shows men from *kftyw* bringing gifts to the Egyptian king. The name Caphtor may be preserved in the name of the island Karpathos, near Crete. Those who reject the identification of Caphtor with Crete look for it on the southern coast of Asia Minor, near Cilicia, on the basis of the Septuagint and Targum Onkelos which use the name Cappadocia (Gr. Καππαδοκία) in place of Caphtor.

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[Bustanay Oded]

°**CAPISTRANO, JOHN** (**Giovanni**) **OF** (1386–1456), Franciscan friar and popular preacher, born in Capestrano, Abruzzi province, Italy. He conducted an unremitting campaign against heretics and especially against Jews. In 1427, Capistrano instigated the queen of Naples to abolish the privileges accorded to the Jews in the kingdom, but shortly afterward the decree was rescinded. He may have been responsible for the papal edict of the same year which prohibited the citizens of Venice and Ancona from transporting Jews to Ereẓ Israel in their ships. Capistrano visited Ereẓ Israel in 1439. In 1447, as inquisitor in Sicily, he initiated anti-Jewish restrictions. In 1450 he arranged a disputation between Christians and Jews in Rome. He then offered the pope a ship to deport the remnant of the community overseas. Shortly thereafter Capistrano was sent to northern Europe to preach against heretics. As a result of his activities, the privileges granted to the Jews of Bavaria were abrogated in 1452, and in several places Jews were obliged to wear the Jewish *badge. In 1453 the privileges granted them by the bishop of Wuerzburg were revoked. The Jews were expelled from several villages and debts owed them by Christians were canceled. In Breslau many Jews, forced by torture to admit desecration of the *Host, were burned alive; others committed suicide. Capistrano also attempted to persuade Casimir IV to abolish the privileges accorded to the Jews of Poland. After his defeat by the Teutonic Order, Casimir gave his consent; the decision set off a train of anti-Jewish violence in Poland. Capistrano was canonized in 1690.

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[Menachem E. Artom]

CAPITAL PUNISHMENT, the standard penalty for crime in all ancient civilizations.

In the Bible

Many of the crimes for which any biblical punishment is prescribed carry the death penalty. The three methods of executing criminals found in the Bible are stoning, burning, and hanging.

STONING. Stoning was the instinctive, violent expression of popular wrath (Ex. 17:4, 8:22; Num. 14:10; I Sam. 30:6; I Kings 12:18; II Chron. 10:18), and is often expressly prescribed as a mode of execution (Lev. 20:2, 27, 24:16; Num. 15:35; Deut. 13:11, 17:5, 21:21, 22:21, et al.). As the survival of *vindicta publica*, it was and remained characterized by the active participation of the whole populace (Lev. 24:16; Num. 15:35; Deut. 17:7; et al.) – all the people had to pelt the guilty one with stones until he died. Stonings were presumably the standard form of judicial execution in biblical times (Lev. 24:23; Num. 15:36; I Kings 21:13; II Chron. 24:21).

BURNING. Burning is mentioned as a pre-Sinaitic punishment (Gen. 38:24). As a mode of judicial execution it is prescribed in respect of two offenses only (Lev. 20:14, 21:9), but it seems to have been used to aggravate the punishment of stoning, the corpse being burned after execution (Josh. 7:25). It is also reported as a non-Jewish (Babylonian) punishment (Dan. 3:6). There is no biblical record to indicate whether and how judicial executions were ever carried out by burning.

HANGING. Hanging is reported in the Bible only as either a mode of execution of non-Jews who presumably acted in accordance with their own laws (e.g., Egyptians: Gen. 40:22; II Sam. 21:6–12: Philistines; and Persians: Esth. 7:9), or as a non-Jewish law imported to or to be applied in Israel (Ezra 6:11), or as an extra-legal or extra-judicial measure (Josh. 8:29). However, biblical law prescribes hanging after execution: every person found guilty of a capital offense and put to death had to be impaled on a stake (Deut. 21:22); but the body had to be taken down the same day and buried before nightfall, "for an impaled body is an affront to God" (*ibid.*, 23).

Talmudic Law

Talmudic law distinguished four methods of judicial execution (*arba mitot bet din*): stoning, burning, slaying, and strangling. In no area can the genius of the talmudic law reformers better be demonstrated than in that of capital punishment. Two general theories were propounded which, though dated from a period too late to have ever stood the test of practical application (see below), reflect old traditions and well-established ways of thinking: namely, first, that "love your neighbor as yourself" (Lev. 19:17) was to be interpreted as applying even to the condemned criminal – you love him by giving him the most humane ("the most beautiful") death possible (Sanh. 45a, 52a; Pes. 75a; Ket. 37a); secondly, that judicial execution should resemble the taking of life by God: as the body remains externally unchanged when God takes the life, so in judicial executions the body should not be destroyed or mutilated (Sanh. 52a; Sifra 7:9).

STONING. Stoning was not only confined to the 18 offenses for which the Bible had expressly prescribed it (Maim., Yad, Sanhedrin 15:10), but instead of having all the people kill the convicted person by pelting stones at him a "stoning place" was designed from which he was to be pushed down to death (Sanh. 6:4). This must not be too high, so that the body should not be mutilated falling down (Rashi, Sanh. 45a), and not too low, so that death would be instantaneous. One of the hermeneutical reasons given for this change of the law was the scriptural rule that "the hands of the witnesses shall be first upon him to put him to death" (Deut. 17:7); it is true that "the hand of all the people [should be on him] afterward" (*ibid.*), but it is the hand of the witness which is to put him to death. A mode of "stoning" had therefore to be devised in which the witness would not only be assured of the first chance to lay hands on the convicted person, but also of the certainty of thereby putting him to death (Sanh. 6:4). Talmudic jurists may have been influenced by Roman law (Saxum Tarpeium of the Twelve Tables 8:13 f., 8:23) or by Syrian or Greek laws (cf. II Macc. 6:10), or perhaps by a single biblical precedent with prisoners of war (II Chron. 25:12) – what they attained was a more humane substitute for the biblical stoning, by which the danger of mutilation was considerably reduced and death accelerated. Maimonides justifies the talmudic method with the reflection that it really made no difference whether stones were thrown at one or one was thrown on the stones (Maimonides, Comment. to Sanh. 6:4). A great penal reform was achieved with the exclusion, contrary to biblical command, of the general public from the execution of death sentences and the elimination therefrom of all traces of *vindicta publica*. The participation of witnesses – and perhaps also the blood avenger – was not eliminated because they were regarded as a lesser evil in comparison with professional executioners.

BURNING. Burning remained confined to the *adultery of a priest's daughter and to certain forms of *incest (Sanh. 9:1; Maim. Yad, Sanhedrin 15:11). Here again the question arose of how to execute by burning without destroying the body: an old tradition has it that when Aaron's sons were consumed by divine fire (Lev. 10:2) only their souls were burnt, their bodies remaining intact (Sanh. 52a); in accordance with this, a mode of burning which would leave the body intact had to be devised. The man to be burnt was to be immersed in mud up to his knees (so that he should not fall); two kerchiefs were then to be bound round his neck, each to be held in the hands of one witness and drawn in opposite directions until he opened his mouth, and then a burning wick was to be thrown into his mouth "which would go down into his bowels" (Sanh. 7:2). As will be seen, this mode of execution is almost identical with that of strangling, it being reasonable to suppose that the wick will no longer burn when it arrives in the bowels, but suffocation will already have supervened. Maimonides substitutes hot lead or zinc for the comparatively harmless mishnaic wick (Sanh. 15:3), taking the wick to be a metallic substance, but insisting that as little pain as possible should be inflicted (Comment. to Sanh. 7:2). There is no record that this method of burning was ever actually practiced. There is a report that a priest's daughter was burnt for adultery by being bound with bundles of grapevine which were then ignited (Sanh. *ibid.*). The explanation there given was that this may have been the method employed by a Sadducean court, leading some scholars to conclude that that had been the original biblical mode of burning, the Sadducees rejecting later oral law modifications. The same older method of burning is reported to have been adopted by a later Babylonian scholar, Ḥama b. Tobiah, who was rebuked for it (Sanh. 52b). That burnings may also have taken place at the stake appears from midrashic sources (cf Gen. R. 65:22; Mid. Ps. 11:7). Josephus reports that Herod ordered men who had incited others to desecrate the Temple to be burnt alive and their accomplices to be killed by the sword (Wars, 1:655).

SLAYING. Slaying by the sword was the mode of executing murderers and the inhabitants of the subverted town (Sanh. 9:1). As for the subverted town, it is the biblical prescript that its inhabitants be "put to the sword" (Deut. 13:16); and as for murderers, a slave murdered by his master must be "avenged"

(Ex. 21:20), and as God is said to "avenge" by the sword (Lev. 26:25), the murderer of the slave, and *a fortiori* of the free man, is to be executed by the sword (Sanh. 52b). Slaying consisted in decapitating with a sword, "in the way practiced by the [Roman] government" (Sanh. 7:3). There ensued a discussion, which continued for centuries (cf. Tos. to Sanh. 52b), whether this would not contravene the injunction, "neither shall ye walk in their statutes" (Lev. 18:3). One scholar thought it would be less cruel or mutilating, and less Roman-like, to have the convict lay his head on a block and decapitate him with a hatchet, but the majority held that to be worse (Sanh. 7:3). While there was no particular mode of execution for murder prescribed in the Bible, it is probable that originally such executions were by way of *talion: in the same manner in which the victim had been murdered, his murderer would be executed (cf. Philo, Spec., 3:83 ff.; Jub. 5:31; Jos., Ant., 4:279). If that be so the talmudic reform would equalize the law and have death made instantaneous in all cases. There are no reports of murderers having been judicially executed by the sword, but kings are reported to have used this mode of execution, not necessarily for murderers (cf. Jos., Ant., 14:450, 464; Acts 12:2). It became the law that the king, who may order the execution of rebels and of offenders against his majesty even without judicial conviction, always executes with the sword (Maim., Yad, Melakhim 3:8, Sanhedrin 14:2). Indeed, God, too, kills by the sword (Num. 14:16; Lam. 2:21).

STRANGLING. Strangling is the residuary capital punishment; where no other mode of execution is prescribed, the death penalty is carried out by strangulation (Sanh. 52b, 84b, 89a), supposed not only to be the most humane but also the least mutilating (Sanh. 52b). The mishnaic procedure resembles that for burning. The convicted man is immersed in mud up to his knees, two kerchiefs are bound round his neck and then drawn in opposite directions by the two witnesses until he suffocates (Sanh. 7:3). Strangling is applied in six capital offenses (Sanh. 11:1; Yad Sanh. 15:13). There is no report of this mode of execution ever having been carried out. (For strangulations by hanging, see *Extraordinary Remedies.) *Post mortem* hangings were restricted by talmudic law, some holding that only executions by way of stoning should be followed by a *post mortem* hanging, and the majority view being that these hangings should be limited to the two offenses of blasphemy and idolatry only (TJ, Sanh. 6:4, 45b).

Though in strict law the competence to inflict capital punishment ceased with the destruction of the Temple (Sanh. 52b, Ket. 30a; cf. Sanh. 41a, 40 years earlier), Jewish courts continued, wherever they had the power (e.g., in Muslim Spain), to pass and execute death sentences – not even necessarily for capital offenses as defined in the law, but also for offenses considered, in the circumstances prevailing at the time, as particularly dangerous or obnoxious (e.g., *informers: Yad, Ḥovel u-Mazzik 8:11), or even for such offenses alone as distinguished from those originally punishable under the law (cf. Resp.Rosh 17:1). In order not to give the appearance of exercising sanhedrical jurisdiction, they would also normally refrain from using any of the four legal modes of execution (Resp. Maharam of Lublin, 138); but isolated instances are found of stoning (*Zikhron Yehudah*, 75), slaying (*ibid.*, 58; Resp. Rosh. 17:2), and strangling (*Zekan Aharon* 95), along with such newly devised or imitated modes of execution as starvation in a subterranean pit (Resp. Rosh 32:4), drowning, bleeding, or delivering into the hands of official executioners (S. Assaf, *Ha-Onshin Aḥarei Ḥatimat ha-Talmud*, no. 48). In most cases, however, the execution of death sentences was probably left to the discretion of the persons who were authorized or assigned by the court to carry them out (cf. Resp. Rema, 11).

[Haim Hermann Cohn]

In Practice in the Talmud

It is of extreme difficulty to determine whether the modes of capital punishment given above, and based on the detailed discussion, mainly in the tractate Sanhedrin, reflect actual practice, or whether they were academic discussions, as, for instance, are the detailed discussions on the sacrifices. Thus the law of the "stubborn and rebellious son" covers five mishnayot (Sanh. 8:1–5) and four folios of the Babylonian Talmud (68b–72a), and it is laid down that he is put to death by stoning and then hanged (*ibid.*, 46a). Yet it is stated that "It never happened and it never will happen" and that the law was given merely "that you may study it and receive reward" (for the pure study; Tosef., Sanh. 11:6; Sanh. 71a), though on the other hand in the talmudic passage R. Jonathan protests "I saw him and sat on his grave." The same statement is made in the case of the death penalty for communal apostasy (Tosef., Sanh. 14:1) and the same reason given for its study.

Much more pertinent, however, is a passage of the Talmud which explicitly compares the study of, and the discussion on the various death penalties with that on the sacrifices. The *halakhah* was established in the case of the death penalty for an adulterous woman. R. Joseph asked, "Is there need to establish a *halakhah* for the messianic age (the Sanhedrin no longer having jurisdiction in capital offenses)?" Abaye answered, "If so, we should not study the laws of sacrifices, as they also apply to the messianic age. But we say 'Study and receive reward'" (Sanh. 51b). Similarly, the passage in Mishnah Makkot 1:10: "A Sanhedrin that puts a man to death once in seven years is called a murderous one. R. Eleazar ben Azariah says 'Or even once in 70 years.' R. Tarfon and R. Akiva said, 'If we had been in the Sanhedrin no death sentence would ever have been passed'; Rabban Simeon b. Gamaliel said: 'If so, they would have multiplied murderers in Israel.'" Instructive though this is, it is merely an academic discussion, the right of imposing capital punishment having been taken from the Sanhedrin by the Romans a century before, "40 years before the Destruction of the Temple" (Sanh. 41a; TJ, Sanh. 1:18a). The rabbis agreed that with the destruction of the Temple the Sanhedrin was precluded from inflicting capital punishment (see above).

The Talmud actually asks whether the statement of

Eleazar b. Azariah was one of censure or reflected the fact of the rarity of death sentences, and leaves the question undecided, as it does for the question as to how R. Tarfon and R. Akiva would have prevented the death verdict being passed (but see Makk. 7a).

That the discussions are largely academic is reflected in the language of the Mishnah. Of capital punishment by the sword it is stated that "they used to decapitate him, as the [Roman] government does [at the present time]" (cf. Tosef., Sanh. 9:10) and R. Judah proposes another method. It goes on to state how "they used to" fulfill the method of death by strangulation (*ibid.*, 7:3). No less significant is the fact that R. Akiva himself, who would have abolished capital punishment, enters into the halakhic discussion on it as fully as his colleagues (cf. *ibid.*, 11:7, 12:2).

All that one can do is to assemble the available evidence. That the Sanhedrin had the power of inflicting the death sentence and that they exercised it is historically attested. Herod was arraigned before it on a capital charge, although he was enabled to escape and avoid the penalty (Jos., Ant., 14:168–70). Judah b. Tabbai admitted that he had wrongly sentenced a perjured witness to death (TJ, Sanh. 6:4, 23a–Tosef., Sanh. 6:6). The son of his colleague, Simeon b. Shetaḥ, was also wrongly condemned to death through false witness, and when the witnesses confessed their perjury the condemned man refused to take advantage of it lest his father, the head of the Sanhedrin, be accused of favoritism, and he went to his death, though innocent (TJ, loc. cit.). It is also clear from an incident vividly described by Simeon b. Shetaḥ that the laws of evidence were strictly adhered to (Tosef., Sanh. 8:3). One anonymous case is cited in the same context. "It happened that a man was being led to his execution. They said to him, 'Say, "May my death be an atonement for all my sins."' He replied 'May my death be an atonement for all my sins, except for this one (for which I have been sentenced to death). If I am guilty of it, may my death not be an atonement, and the Bet Din and all Israel shall be guiltless'" (the version in the Babylonian Talmud adds "but may the witnesses never be forgiven"“). When the matter was reported to the sages, their eyes filled with tears, but they said, "It is impossible to reverse the decision, since the matter is endless; [he must be executed] but his blood is on the necks of the witnesses" (TJ Sanh. 6:5, 23a).

Nevertheless, in none of those cases is the manner of execution given and the remarkable fact emerges that in the two cases cited where the mode of execution is explicitly stated the verdicts were extra-judicial. One was the action of Simeon b. Shetaḥ in sentencing 80 women in Ashkelon to hanging for witchcraft (Sanh. 6:4, cf. Sanh. 46a. Derembourg suggests that Simeon b. Shetaḥ is a mistake for the Hasmonean), while of the other it is stated: "It once happened that during the Greek period a man was sentenced to death by stoning for riding a horse on the Sabbath. Not that he was liable to death, but because the special circumstances of the time demanded it" (Sanh. 46a).

What is perhaps the most cogent evidence that the talmudic discussions on the death sentence did not reflect the actual practice is provided by a third instance. In Sanhedrin 7:2 R. Eleazar b. Zadok gave evidence of an actual case of death by burning which differed diametrically from that given by the Mishnah. The answer was given that "the Sanhedrin at that time was not competent." In the Tosefta (9:11) and the Jerusalem Talmud (7:2, 24b) Eleazar b. Zadok vividly describes the circumstances under which he witnessed it. "I was a child and was being carried on my father's shoulders and I saw it," to which his colleagues replied "You were then a child, and the evidence of a child is inadmissible." That the incident happened is therefore definite; the rabbis in the two replies were concerned with establishing their theoretical view of the law even when it conflicted with the actual practice of the past. There are no recorded cases of execution by strangulation or the sword. It would seem therefore that discussions on the various modes of execution and the details of their implementation were made to "study and receive the reward therefore," i.e., academic. As is evident from the above quoted mishnah in *Makkot*, the whole tendency of the rabbis was toward the complete abolition of the death penalty.

[Louis Isaac Rabinowitz]

In the State of Israel

The death penalty was in force in Israel for offenses under the Nazis and Nazi Collaborators (Punishment) Law, 5710 – 1951 and under the Penal Law, 5737 – 1977, for treason and assisting the enemy in times of actual warfare (Sections 97, 98, 99). In addition, a military tribunal may impose the death sentence upon a soldier for offenses of treason committed in times of actual warfare (Military Justice Law, 5715 – 1955, Section 43) and military courts in the administered territories are empowered to impose the death penalty for certain offenses, though such rulings must be unanimous and can only be given by a panel of justices all of whom have at least the rank of lieutenant colonel. The death penalty has only been carried out in one instance (in 1962) following the conviction of Adolf *Eichmann for crimes under the Nazis and Nazi Collaborators (Punishment) Law, 5710 – 1951. The death penalty for offenses under this law was also imposed in the *Demjanjuk case (in 1988) but was not carried out following his acquittal in the Supreme Court. The proliferation of brutal terrorist acts, and the imposition of life sentences instead of capital punishment, led the military courts to state (cf. *Ram 3009/89 Army Pros. v. Ahmed Gibril Ottrrzan Takrzrru*) that though the death penalty may be a more appropriate punishment, they were bound "to uphold principles of the State of Israel, the moral concepts of Jewish tradition, in which a Sanhedrin that passed a death sentence was considered to be a 'a bloody Sanhedrin.'" This refers to the statement in the Mishnah (Mak. 1:10; Mak. 7a) that a Sanhedrin that kills (gives the death penalty) once in seven years (R. Eleazer b. Azariah said: once in 70 years) is called "bloody" (*ḥovlanit*, the term "*ḥovel*" generally implying a type of injury in which there is blood).

This position of Jewish Law and the related developments over the generations were often the basis for Supreme Court deliberations in cases in which a person was murdered but the findings and evidence connecting the suspected murderer to the commission of the offense were circumstantial only. There were cases in which despite the quantity and probity of the findings, there was no direct evidence to prove that it was the suspect who actually committed the act. In assessing the position in Jewish Law regarding the possibility of relying on circumstantial evidence the Court discussed the various techniques adopted in Jewish Law over the generations in the attempt to relax the strict evidentiary requirements prescribed by the original Jewish Law, which placed an onerous burden on the Jewish courts in their attempts to deal with murderers and dangerous criminals.

In the judgment in Nagar (CA 543/79 *Nagar v. State of Israel* 35 (1) PD 113), the Supreme Court addressed the question of whether the suspects could be convicted of murder even though the court had no direct evidence of their having committed the offense, and given that the body itself had not been found. The Supreme Court (Justice M. Elon) referred to a previous Supreme Court ruling (Cr.A. 112/69 *Muhamad Halil* 23 (1) PD 733) which examined the disparity between the position adopted by Jewish Law regarding the offense of murder and the position adopted by modern systems of law, having reference to the far-reaching statements of the *tannaim* R. Tarfon and R. Akiva, who said:"Had we been in the Sanhedrin [during the period when it possessed capital jurisdiction] no man would ever have been killed" (Mish., Mak., 7:1). Further on, the judgment cites statements made by certain *amoraim*, explaining how the judge can disqualify any testimony on murder and render any piece of evidence circumstantial, thereby precluding its admissibility: "Did you note whether he (the victim) was suffering from some fatal condition or was in good health?" R. Ashi said: "Even if the reply is that he was in good health, there may have been a lesion where the sword struck [from which he would have died in any event]."

On this basis, further on in the decision, Justice Silberg concluded that a modern legal system cannot endorse the position in Jewish Law, which is prepared to rely on remote eventualities, on the basis of which it exempts dangerous criminals from punishment "since there is a need for judicial action to punish dangerous criminals, it is necessary to disregard 'remote possibilities,' i.e., exceptional, unlikely eventualities, even though this may possibly cause a miscarriage of justice. In other words, the legislature was aware of this danger, but found it to be necessary, for in its absence, the needs of the law would never be met (p. 741 of judgment).

In the Nagar judgment (pp. 163–71) Justice Elon discussed the various developments in Jewish Law with respect to this sensitive and fundamental issue. First of all, the aforementioned view of R. Akiva and R. Tarfon was a minority view, which merited the ironic demurrer of the *tanna*. R. Simeon b. Gamaliel that "they too would have multiplied the number of murderers in Israel." An absolute moratorium on enforcement of judgments against murderers would lead to the loss of the court's deterrent power, and thus lead to the increase of bloodshed (see Rashi ad loc. TB, Mak. 7a).

In fact, in its original format, Jewish Law was stringent in its requirements for direct evidence, and in this context Maimonides makes the following illuminating observations on the strict evidentiary requirements of Jewish Law (*Sefer ha-Mitzvot*, Negative Commandments, 290), "that even if A pursues B with intent to kill and B takes refuge in a house, and the pursuer follows him, and we enter the house after them and find B in his last gasp and his enemy, A, standing over him with a knife in his hand, and both of them are covered with blood, the Sanhedrin may not find the pursuer A liable for capital punishment, since there are no direct witnesses who actually saw the murder…" The reason given by Maimonides is that if the court was permitted to convict a suspect of a criminal offense not on the basis of the unequivocal testimony of witnesses who actually witnessed the act, then the court might soon find itself convicting in criminal offenses on the basis of a "the judge's speculative evaluation of the evidence." Maimonides concludes his comments with the observation that "it is better and more desirable that a thousand guilty persons go free than that a single innocent person be put to death (a statement that later on became a well-known maxim, see G. Williams, *The Proof of Guilt* (1963) l86ff.).

Towards the end of the tannaitic period, a principle in Jewish criminal law was enunciated though it had actually been in practice for many years. The acceptance of this principle accommodated a substantive change in Jewish criminal law, both with respect to sanctions and also with respect to evidence and procedure:

> It was taught: R. Eliezer b. Jacob said: I have heard that the court may impose flogging and punishment not prescribed in the Torah – not for the purpose of transgressing the law of the Torah, but in order to make a fence around the Torah.

Justice Elon pointed out that on the basis of this fundamental provision, which enabled the courts to deviate from the original law of the Torah in criminal and evidentiary law, in accordance with the needs of the time and the place, both the courts and the communal leaders, utilizing their authority to enact communal regulations (see **Takkanot*), adopted detailed legislation in the area of penal law. Formally speaking this legislation was referred to as "exigencies of the hour," but in effect it became part of the substantive Jewish Law. Jewish courts all over the Jewish Diaspora used this authority at various times, even to the extent of imposing capital punishment, without the Court of Twenty Three, and without complying with the strict evidentiary requirements of the original Jewish Law (see *Jewish Law*, 515–19).

Rabbenu Asher, upon his arrival in Spain at the beginning of the 14th century, states that he was surprised to discover that the Jewish courts in Spain had arrogated to themselves capital jurisdiction and were even imposing capital punishment. In one of his responsa he writes:

> …You surprised me greatly by your inquiries about capital jurisdiction. For in all the countries of which I have heard, there is no capital jurisdiction, except here in Spain. And I was astonished to discover upon my arrival that the courts adjudicate capital matters in the absence of a Sanhedrin, and they informed me that they had governmental authorization, and the community used its jurisdiction to save… and I permitted them to persist in their custom, but I never gave my consent to an execution… (Responsum, Rosh, 17:8).

However, despite the reservations expressed by the Asheri regarding capital punishment, in the particular question put to him concerning a Jew who blasphemed the name of God in public, he was prepared to abide by the questioner's position, writing that "It is fitting that the name of Heaven be sanctified by the elimination of this evildoer. And do as you deem appropriate … because I know that your intention is to sanctify the Divine name, and you will be successful in fulfilling God's will."

In contrast with the Asheri's almost forced acknowledgment of the capital jurisdiction exercised by Jewish courts in Spain, his son, R. Judah b. Asher (Spain, North Africa, end of 14th century) praised and thanked the non-Jewish authorities for allowing the Jewish courts to exercise capital jurisdiction:

> It is well known that from the day the Sanhedrin was exiled from the Chamber of Hewn Stone, jurisdiction over criminal cases [under the law of the Torah] has been abrogated for Jews, and the only purpose for the law today is to protect the current generation against wrongdoing. Blessed be the Almighty, who has inclined the hearts of the rulers of the land to give to the Jews the authority to judge and wipe out evildoers. Without this, the Jews could not survive in this country. Moreover, many Jews who would have been executed by non-Jewish judges have been saved by the Jewish judges. And the law we apply in criminal matters is not in full conformity with the Torah (Resp. *Zikhron Yehudah*, 58).

Most of the cases in which capital punishment was imposed were for convictions of murder. Hence we find a responsum of R. Isaac b. Sheshet Barfet (Spain and N. Africa, end of 14th century) when asked regarding a person accused of murder, and the nature of the evidence on the matter:

> You know that the law applicable to criminal cases in these times when the government has granted criminal jurisdiction to Jewish courts is not the strict law [i.e., biblical], for jurisdiction over criminal cases [under the law of the Torah] has been abrogated. However, in order to "create a safeguard," the courts, when the exigencies of the time demand it, impose flogging and punishment not prescribed in the Torah.
>
> And if the death penalty – although not prescribed by the Torah – was carried out for other offenses because of the exigencies of the time, then it goes without saying that it applies in cases of murder, concerning which our Sages were most stringent…. In any event, in order to "create a safeguard," since one of them was killed, if you decide that the death penalty is called for because a crime has been committed heinously, violently, and deliberately (it appears that they lay in wait for him [the victim] at night and during the day, and they openly brandished weapons against him in the presence of the communal leaders), then you may [impose the death penalty] … even when there are no eyewitnesses, if there are convincing proofs and valid grounds (Resp. Ribash, 251; see also Resp. *Zikhron Yehudah*, 58).

In an additional responsum the Ribash ruled that for the same reason it is also possible to rely on the confession of a litigant, supplemented by circumstantial evidence (similarly to the provision in the law of evidence practiced in the State of Israel, which allows the conviction of the accused on the basis of a confession given outside the court, with the addition of "something extra"):

> …Jewish courts [at this time] impose flogging and punishment not prescribed by the law, for capital jurisdiction was abrogated, but in accordance with the needs of the time, and even without unequivocal testimony, so long as there are clear grounds to show that he [the accused] committed the offense. In such a case, it is the practice to accept the defendant's confession even in a capital case, even where there is no clear proof, in order that what he says, together with some measure of corroboration, may shed light on what happened (*ibid*., 234).

Not every part of the Jewish diaspora enjoyed such wide autonomous criminal jurisdiction, and even within a given location, the extent of juridical authority fluctuated over time. As we have seen, the Spanish Jewish center enjoyed broad criminal jurisdiction – even including power to inflict capital punishment – for an extended period. Similarly we find that such jurisdiction also existed in a later period in the Jewish community of Poland. For example, in a responsum of R. Meir of Lublin, a leading Polish halakhic authority in the 16th century, he rules that the courts even have the power to impose capital punishment, by virtue of the principle of "imposing punishment not prescribed in the Torah," in order to create a barrier. Even so, on many occasions, the Jewish courts in Poland preferred that the actual sentence be carried out by the non-Jewish authorities (Resp. Maharam of Lublin, 136; Resp. *Eitan ha-Ezraḥi*, 43–44).

These principles were succinctly set forth in the codificatory literature, "Even though there is no jurisdiction outside the Land of Israel for capital punishment, flogging, or fines, if the court deems that it is an exigency of the time, in as much as the crime is rampant among the people, it may impose the death penalty, monetary fines, or other punishments" (Tur, ḤM, ch. 2, and Sh. Ar. *ibid.*). Apparently, the reason for the brevity of these codes in their exposition of criminal law lies in the limited criminal jurisdiction of Jewish communities of that time, in contrast to their extensive civil and administrative jurisdiction, and the great detail in which these fields were regulated in the codificatory literature of that period. Another factor may have been that criminal activity was not widespread in the Jewish communities of that time, even though here too there were "high" periods and "low" periods" (p.170 of judgment).

The Court summed up its comments in the Nagar case by emphasizing that even though it was necessary to exercise capital jurisdiction and convict on the basis of circumstantial evidence, in contravention of the provisions of the original Jewish Law, it "constantly emphasized that although clear and direct testimony may not always be available, the evidence must be such that the judges 'believe it to be the truth'" (Resp. Rashba, attributed to Naḥmanides, 279) and that the charge must "proved to be well grounded"; and that "the sole intention is to pursue justice and truth and there is no other motive" (Resp. *Zikhron Yehudah*, 79). The judgment also cites (*ibid.*, 166) the comments of Maimonides, who warned the court to be doubly careful in its exercise of this special jurisdiction, so that the human image and dignity would not be violated more than was necessary: "All these matters are carried out in accordance with what the judge deems necessary under the exigencies of that time, and his acts should always be for the sake of heaven and he should not take a frivolous attitude to human dignity" (Maim. Yad. *Hil. Sanhedrin*, 24:10).

[Menachem Elon (2nd ed.)]

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°CAPITO, MARCUS HERENNIUS (first century C.E.), Roman public servant. Capito served as an officer (*tribunus legionis, praefectus alae* and *praefectus veteranorum*) and later as procurator for Empress Livia, the wife of *Augustus, and for the emperors Tiberius and Caligula. Josephus (Ant. 18:158) shows that he served as procurator of Jabneh in Judea, which had become the private estate of the empress Livia (d. 31 C.E.). While Capito was serving in this capacity, he attempted to detain *Agrippa I who was about to set sail for Italy, knowing that he still owed money to Tiberius' treasury. Agrippa managed to escape, but Capito did not give up. He sent Tiberius a letter on the subject (*ibid.*, 163) as a result of which the emperor refused to receive Agrippa until the debt was paid. During Caligula's reign, Capito was particularly active against the Jews. According to Philo (*De Legatione ad Gaium*, 199), he arrived in Judea a pauper, but illegally amassed vast funds and feared that his victims might denounce him to the emperor. Hence, when the Jews of Jabneh destroyed the altar which the local gentiles had built to honor Caligula, Capito informed the emperor. This was the reason for Caligula's order that his statue should be placed in the Temple in Jerusalem. With Caligula's assassination and the appointment of Agrippa as king, conditions changed and Capito could no longer retain his office.

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[Menahem Stern]

°CAPITO (Koepfel), WOLFGANG FABRICIUS (1478–1541), German humanist and mystic, friend of Erasmus and one of the leaders of the Reformation in Strasbourg. He felt that "Christians should deal more kindly with the Jews." This attitude found expression in his relationship with Joseph (Josel) b.Gershom of Rosheim, who attended Capito's sermons in Strasbourg "because of his great scholarship," although he used to leave whenever points of faith arose. Capito appreciated Josel as an outstanding personality "among his own people." In 1537 Capito gave Josel a letter to Martin Luther (ZGJD, 5 (1892), 326–7) requesting him to arrange an audience for Josel with the elector of Saxony. Capito told Josel that he had never found "insulting things" about the Christian faith or Jesus in Jewish books. Capito, who was professor of theology at Basle, was not primarily concerned with the Bible, but he wrote commentaries to Hosea and Habakkuk, *In Habakuk Prophetam … Enarrationes* (Strasbourg, 1526, 1528); he composed two Hebrew grammars: *Institutiuncula in Hebraeam Linguam* (Basle, 1516, published in Conrad Pellicanus' and Sebastian Munster's Hebrew Psalms under the name Volphangus Faber) and *Hebraicarum Institutionum Libri Duo* (Basle, 1518; Strasbourg, 1525^2).

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[Misha Louvish / Raphael Loewe]

CAPITOLIAS, city E. of the Jordan founded in 98/99 C.E. which later became one of the cities of the *Decapolis. It is located between Gadara and Adraha (Derʿa), 16 miles from each on the Peutinger Map, and 36 miles from Neve in the Antonine Itinerary. Capitolias is called Bet Reisha in the Talmud and cattle pastures are mentioned in its vicinity (Ḥul. 80a). It has been identified with Beit Ras' 3 mi. (5 km.) north of Irbid.

Covering an area of 20 acres, it is surrounded by a wall (built in the second century C.E.) with three gates facing north, enclosing paved roads, a marketplace, reservoirs, a temple of the Capitoline triad, etc. It was originally built as a planned Roman city in the first century C.E., perhaps for military reasons, and continued to be settled throughout the Byzantine and Early Islamic periods (to the 10th century C.E.), The site was mentioned by various 19th-century explorers, including G. Schumacher, and in the 20th century it was visited by numerous archaeologists, notably by Nelson Glueck, G. Lancaster Harding, and S. Mittman. Systematic archaeological research with excavations at the site began in the early 1980s and continued into the 21st century. Excavations have concentrated on a three-tiered Roman marketplace and on a church of mid-fifth century date (converted into a mosque in the eighth century C.E.). Water was brought into the city by aqueduct.

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[Michael Avi-Yonah / Shimon Gibson (2nd ed.)]

CAPITULATIONS, treaties signed between the Ottoman sultans and the Christian states of Europe concerning the extraterritorial rights which the subjects of one of the signatories would enjoy while staying in the state of the other.

As a result of the capitulations, commercial colonies – in which international trade was concentrated – were established in various regions of the empire, especially in the countries of the Levant by the French and in a later period also by the British. The most important were Salonika, Constantinople, Smyrna, Tripoli, Sidon, Acre, Alexandria, and (in the interior) Aleppo, Cairo, Ramleh, etc. In most of these centers, there were large Jewish communities. These merchants generally required intermediaries and agents between the purchasers and the suppliers. This was the almost exclusive function of Jews and Christians and it was passed down from father to son. These agents received from the Ottoman authorities letters of protection which were known as *berat* and which also served as the certification of an agent recognized by the consulate. In addition to their protection, the holders of the *berat* were exempted from the payment of taxes. In this way, the Jewish merchants, who played an important role in the domestic and foreign trade of the Ottoman Empire from the 16th century onward, indirectly benefited from the capitulations. Even after France had been deprived of its exclusive right, when treaties were made with other countries, its representatives continued to regard themselves as the protectors of the Jews.

Aleppo

From the close of the 17th and throughout the 18th century, the so-called *Francos of *Aleppo rose to importance. They were European Jews who had settled in the town on a temporary or permanent basis in order to trade in the country; they did so on the strength of the rights which were granted to the countries whose protection they enjoyed. The Francos, who became a most useful factor in the economic life of Aleppo, were protected by the French capitulations and they endeavored to exploit their rights by all means available to them. But at the close of the 18th century, Sultan Selim III began to issue letters of appointment to his subjects (mainly Jews); he did not recognize them as the agents of foreign merchants but granted them the status of government-approved merchants, known as "European merchants." At the beginning of the 19th century, foreign consuls extended their protection to the Jewish communities of the empire beyond the scope of commercial affairs, a policy which they had also adopted toward many Christians.

Egypt

The capitulations system was also in force in Egypt. In order to protect themselves from arbitrary measures, many Jews of this country endeavored to obtain foreign nationality, or at least foreign protection. Thus, during the 19th century there was hardly a Jewish family in Egypt whose head was not a foreign subject – in spite of the opposition of the Egyptian authorities to the extension of the capitulation system. The protection of the Austro-Hungarian and French representatives was the most sought after by the Egyptian Jews. The number of subjects who benefited from the capitulations increased at the close of the 19th century, especially as the result of widespread immigration.

North Africa

In North Africa, in the Ottoman provinces of Tripolitana, Algeria, and Tunisia, as well as in Morocco (which was not under Ottoman dominion), the capitulations regime also influenced the status of the Jewish communities. According to the capitulations treaties, all the subjects of the European states which did not have their own delegates were placed under the protection of France. As a result, almost all the "Christian" or Frankish Jews, i.e., those who came from countries of Christian Europe, were at first under French protection. In Algeria the capitulations provided them with the following rights: freedom of movement and the possibility of leaving the country at any time of their own free will (on condition that they did not leave any debts); the right of residence in any place which they desired; exemption from wearing distinctive signs on their clothing and their head covering, which were imposed on their native coreligionists. Jews exploited the facilities which were opened to them once equal rights were granted in commerce to foreign merchants by the French government (during the second half of the 18th century).

At the close of the reign of Hammuda Bey (1782–1814), who generally acted favorably toward the Jews of Tunis, related problems arose over the incidence of the capitulations terms for the Jews. He refused to confirm the registration of a Tuscan Jew who had settled in Tunis as a French protégé and who demanded this registration in accordance with the capitulations terms. The ruler argued that the Jews were stateless and had no rights of citizenship; he therefore prohibited the Jews (the *Gornim) who had come from Leghorn several generations before to wear the French emblem on their clothing. He claimed that these Jews were his subjects and their status was not comparable to that of the French. In Article IV of the capitulations treaty, concluded between France and Tunis in 1824 it was stipulated that a non-French Christian who exported goods from France to Tunisia could not benefit from the 3% customs privilege to which the French were entitled, and that he was to pay according to the rate which had been fixed for his state. This was in order to protect the Jews, who paid customs duties at the rate of 5%. In Article XI of the same treaty, it was agreed that Jewish agents and others who operated in the service of France would continue to benefit from those privileges which had been decided upon in former capitulations for the Tunisian ports. Husein Bey (1824–1835), however, attempted to block their advancement. The protection of the consuls assumed additional importance during the 19th century with the intensification of the campaign for equality and emancipation. The British stipulated in their peace treaties of 1751 and 1760 that the consul and the British merchants would be authorized to employ Moors and Jews without any restrictions as interpreters and agents and that the latter would be exempted from all taxes, just as British officials were; they would also be able to trade without restrictions and receive various forms of protection. This promise resulted in the entry of Jews, even if only ostensibly, into the service of the British consuls and agents. In 1856 England and in 1861, Spain concluded a protection treaty with Morocco. According to these treaties, the right was granted to accredited diplomats, consuls, vice consuls, and consular agents to protect Arabs or others (namely Jews) who were employed as interpreters or in other functions. This protection exempted them from the payment of personal taxes, levies, etc. A Jew of Moroccan nationality who was appointed vice consul in a Moroccan port by the chief of a diplomatic mission would be exempted – together with the members of his family – from personal taxes and similar levies. In 1863 a protection treaty was signed between France and Morocco; this treaty was subsequently signed by Belgium, Sardinia, the United States, England, and Sweden. According to this treaty, protection was accorded only to its recipient and his wife and children who lived with him; it was not hereditary. Many sought to benefit from foreign protection, and as their numbers increased, the influence of France, in particular, and the European states, in general, intensified in Morocco. In 1880 the Treaty of Madrid, which limited the protection rights, was signed. Until 1912 many Moroccan-born Jews held secondary consular positions for the sole reward of the accompanying protection rights.

Ereẓ Israel

From the close of the 18th century the European powers, led by France and England, took a growing interest in the Middle East. The European governments therefore established consulates in the larger commercial towns. There were no such towns in Ereẓ Israel during the 18th century, but as soon as the port of Acre attained some commercial importance after the Napoleonic Wars, Austria and Russia appointed consuls. From this period increase of the Jewish population would have been impossible without the protection of foreign consuls and the extensive rights which the capitulations bestowed upon it. On the basis of the capitulations, European Jews were considered as Europeans in every respect, without regard to their religion. The endeavors of the Ashkenazim to benefit from the rights of being foreign nationals in 1822–23 were a cause of internal strife within the Jewish community, since the Sephardim were opposed. There were no consuls in the towns of the country and the immigrants were subjected to the authority of the pasha of Acre; their delegate before the pasha was the *wakīl* (agent) who was elected or appointed from among the Sephardim and who was also responsible for the collection of the poll tax. The efforts of the Ashkenazim, however, were crowned with success, and by 1840 the Jews obtained the capitulation rights in their entirety. The consuls who were sent to Jerusalem, Acre, Jaffa, and even Safed, protected the Jewish subjects. It was due to this protection that Jews were able to immigrate to Palestine in their thousands.

The influence of the consuls in the coastal towns was extremely limited and a fundamental change occurred with the opening of the first consulate in Jerusalem (the British consulate in 1838–39). In 1843 France reopened its consulate in Jerusalem after an interruption of about 130 years. The greatest number of Palestinian Jews, however, were placed under the protection of the Austrian consulate. These Jews held important positions in the consular services as interpreters and vice consuls. R. Isaiah *Bardaki, the leader of the Ashkenazi community of Jerusalem, was vice consul of Russia and Austria during the 1840s. In 1849 he appealed to the British consul in Jerusalem with a plea that the latter should grant protection to the Jews who had become stateless as a result of the discriminatory laws of Russia. R. Abraham Solomon Zalman *Ẓoref acted as vice consul of Prussia during this period (most of the Prussian citizens in the country were Jews). Because of the **ḥalukkah* system the consuls were relief workers rather than diplomats and economic attachés and they generally extended themselves to assist the Jewish population. Britain also intervened on behalf of the Jews of the European countries when their consuls refused them their assistance. At the time of the *Damascus Affair, the British government proposed to the sultan that he authorize his non-Muslim subjects to address their complaints to him through the exclusive intermediary of the British consuls.

From the second half of the 19th century the Turkish government attempted, although without success, to obtain the abolition of the capitulations on the grounds that it considered them as an encroachment on its sovereignty. However, when the first groups of Zionist immigrants arrived from Russia, the Ottoman government prohibited the immigration and the settlement of Jews in the country for fear of the intervention of the European states in its affairs. In 1914 it unilaterally abolished the capitulations, an act bringing much suffering to the Palestinian *yishuv*, which now lacked the protection of the European powers. In 1923 the abolition of the capitulations was internationally ratified by the Treaty of Lausanne.

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[Abraham Haim and Leah Bornstein-Makovetsky]

CAPLAN, ELINOR (1944–), Canadian politician. Caplan was born in Toronto. Drawn to electoral politics, she spent more than a quarter-century in elected office. In 1978 she was first elected to the municipal council in the borough of North York, home for much of the Toronto Jewish community. Shifting to provincial politics, during the 1985–90 Liberal government of Premier David Peterson, Caplan held several cabinet portfolios, including that of minister of health. Forced back to the Opposition benches after the Liberal defeat in 1990, she served for a time as chief Opposition whip. In 1997 she ran federally for the Liberal Party in the heavily Jewish riding of Thornhill just north of Toronto and was handily elected. In 1999 Prime Minister Jean Chretien appointed Caplan to his cabinet, making her the first Jewish women to serve in the federal cabinet. As minister of citizenship and immigration, she shepherded a new Immigration and Refugee Protection Act through Parliament. Running for re-election in 2000, Caplan became a lightning rod for those upset at what they regarded as unjust Canadian criticism of Israeli occupation policies; nevertheless she won easily. In 2002 she moved to the post of minister of national revenue but retired from electoral politics in 2004. Caplan is married and has four children, one of whom is a Liberal member of the Ontario legislature and cabinet minister.

[Harold Troper (2nd ed.)]

CAPLAN, HARRY (1896–1980), U.S. classical and medieval scholar. Born in Hoag's Corner, New York, Caplan spent his entire career, except for various visiting professorships, at Cornell University, where he received his doctorate in 1921 and served on the faculty from 1919 to 1967, being appointed professor in 1930 and serving as chairman for 17 years (1929–46). He taught in the Department of Public Speaking (1919–23) and in the Department of Classics (1924–80). His doctoral thesis was *A History of the Jews in the Roman Province of Africa: A Collection of the Sources*; but Caplan turned his attention thereafter to the study of ancient, medieval, and Renaissance rhetoric, the history of preaching, and the intellectual history of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance. He wrote or edited *A Late Medieval Tractate on Preaching* (1925); *Gianfrancesco Pico della Mirandola on the Imagination* (1930); the two-volume *Mediaeval Artes Praedicandi* (1934, 1936); *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, the treatise on rhetorical theory ascribed to Cicero (Loeb Classical Library, 1934); he was co-author of a two-volume work *Pulpit Eloquence* (1955–56); and he wrote *Of Eloquence: Studies in Ancient and Mediaeval Rhetoric* (1970).

From 1930 on he was joint editor of Cornell *Studies in Classical Philology*. In 1955 he became the first Jew to hold the position of president of the American Philological Association.

After Caplan's death, a letter was found in his desk that he had kept for 61 years. Sent to him in his graduate student days by a group of his former teachers at Cornell, the letter was an attempt to discourage him from aspiring to teach at the university, mainly because he was Jewish:

> My dear Caplan: I want to second Professor Bristol's advice and urge you to get into secondary teaching. The opportunities for college positions, never too many, are at present few and likely to be fewer. I can encourage no one to look forward to securing a college post. There is, moreover, a very real prejudice against the Jew. Personally, I do not share this, and I am sure the same is true of all our staff here. But we have seen so many well-equipped Jews fail to secure appointments that this fact has been forced upon us. I recall Alfred Gudeman and E.A. Loew – both brilliant scholars of international reputation – and yet unable to obtain a college position. I feel it wrong to encourage anyone to devote himself to the higher walks of learning to whom the path is barred by an undeniable racial prejudice. In this I am joined by all my classical colleagues, who have authorized me to append their signatures with my own to this letter.
>
> [Signed] Charles E. Bennett, C.L. Durham, George S. Bristol, E.P. Andrews [Dated] Ithaca, March 27, 1919.

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[Louis Harry Feldman / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

CAPON, AUGUSTO (1872–1944), Italian admiral. Capon commanded a corvette during the Italo-Turkish War (1911–12) and was a frigate commander during World War I. He later became chief of naval intelligence and in 1931 was promoted to admiral. The Italian racial laws of 1938 forced him to resign his commission and in 1944 he was seized by the Nazis. He subsequently perished in Auschwitz.

CAPP, AL (**Alfred Gerald Caplin**, 1909–1979), U.S. cartoonist. Born in New Haven, Conn., Capp created the comic-strip character Li'l Abner, an endlessly virile, eternally innocent, hopelessly naïve 19-year-old hillbilly, in 1934. Starting with eight newspaper subscribers, Capp built a following of tens of millions of readers for outrageously frolicsome characters who cavorted in more than 900 newspapers. Capp was hailed as the greatest humorist of his day, a peer of Mark Twain. Abner lived in Dogpatch, where poverty was endemic; it was a never-never land without indoor plumbing, and laughter was the law of the territory. Abner's parents were Mammy Yokum, a pipe-smoking matriarch, and her brow-beaten husband, Pappy Yokum. Daisy Mae was a lightly clad blonde woman forever pursuing Abner, who seemed immune to her advances until Capp bowed to reader pressure in 1952 and let them marry. As he got older, Capp changed from liberal to conservative, and his strident politics in the late 1960s and early 1970s soon lost him his audience. The strip, with fewer than 400 newspapers, was retired in 1977. His characters formed the basis of a Broadway musical, *Li'l Abner*, in 1956 and several books, including *Life and Times of the Shmoo*, a comic invention and take-off on the shmoo, in 1953.

[Stewart Kampel (2nd ed.)]

CAPPADOCIA (Gr. Καπποδοκία), country in Asia Minor, which was made a Roman province by Tiberius in 17 C.E. The first known Jewish settlement there dates back to the second century B.C.E., when Ariarathes, king of Cappadocia, was asked by the Romans to maintain friendly relations with the Jews in view of the treaty between the Hasmoneans and Rome (I Macc. 15:22). In the first century B.C.E. friendly relations existed between the Herodian dynasty and the royal house of Cappadocia. Archelaus, the last Cappadocian king, gave his daughter Glaphyra in marriage to Alexander, the son of Herod (Jos., Ant, 16:11); Agrippa and Herod traveled to Cappadocia together (*ibid.*, 16:23), and Archelaus visited Herod in order to reconcile him with Alexander (*ibid.*, 16:261–69). In the quarrels between members of the Herodian dynasty, Archelaus acted as the mediator and succeeded in bringing a brief peace (Jos., Wars, 1:498–512). In appreciation, Herod reconciled Archelaus with the governor of Syria (Jos., Ant., 16:270). Glaphyra's return to Cappadocia after the execution of her husband Alexander did not mark a rupture of relations with the Herodian dynasty; she had borne Alexander two sons, Alexander and Tigranes (*ibid.*, 17:139), and was subsequently married to Archelaus, the brother of Alexander (*ibid.*, 18:350). Contacts between Cappadocia and Ereẓ Israel were not restricted to the royal families. At a later period, Cappadocian Jews lived in Jerusalem (Acts 2:9), in Sepphoris (TJ, Shev. 9:5, 39a), and in Jaffa (see *Frey in bibl.). A tombstone inscription found at Jaffa mentions a Cappadocian flax merchant buried there. Two Cappadocian sages who had settled in Ereẓ Israel are mentioned: Judah of Cappadocia (TJ, Pe'ah 1:4, 16c; TJ, Kil. 8:1, 31b), and Samuel of Cappadocia (Ḥul. 27b; TJ, Ber. 2:6, 5b). Nathan the Babylonian (Ḥul. 47b; Tosef., Shab. 15:8) and R. Akiva (TJ, Yev. 16:4, 15d) visited Cappadocia, the latter reaching the capital, Megizah (Mazaga) of Cappadocia (Caesarea in Cappadocia). Cappadocia was considered one of the great Jewish settlements, like Babylonia and Alexandria (TJ, Shab. 2:2, 4d). The conditions of life of the Jews in Cappadocia were familiar to the sages, as is evidenced, for example, by their permitting the Cappadocian Jews to use naphtha for their Sabbath lights, since no other oil was available to them (TJ, Shab. 26a; Tosef., Shab. 2:3). Contacts between Ereẓ Israel and Cappadocia are further attested to by the Mishnah (Ket. 13:11), which states that in the view of R. Simeon b. Gamaliel, a Jew who married a woman in Cappadocia and later divorced her in Ereẓ Israel was to pay her *ketubbah* in Cappadocian currency.

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[Lea Roth]

CAPSALI, ELIJAH (c. 1483–1555), rabbi and historian of Candia, Crete. His father, Elkanah Capsali, also rabbi in Candia, in his capacity as "constable" (civil head of Cretan Jewry), directed the relief work for Spanish exiles in 1492–93. In 1508 Elijah Capsali went to Padua, then a great center of talmudic scholarship, to study in the yeshivah of Judah *Minz. Minz died soon after his arrival, and Capsali continued his studies under Israel Iserlein Ashkenazi. His studies were interrupted by the occupation of Padua by German troops in 1509, after which he moved to Venice. In 1510 Capsali returned to Crete, studied there under Isaac Angelheiman, and c. 1528 became rabbi in Candia. Capsali served as constable of the Jewish community several times, in the years 1515–19, 1526–32, and also during the war with the Turks in 1538–41, without compensation. In 1523 during the plague he was put in charge of treating the infected Jews. In 1538 when the Jews were threatened with massacre by the Greek populace, he took the lead in intervening with the Venetian authorities; when they were saved, he instituted a special local Purim on Tammuz 18th.

Capsali was in communication with some eminent contemporaries, among them Jacob *Berab and Joseph *Caro. He was responsible for the collection and redaction of the *takkanot* of the Candia community. In general, he showed himself learned and vigorous but somewhat quarrelsome and intolerant of opponents. His most memorable literary work was in the field of history. *Seder Eliyahu Zuta* (wrongly referred to as *de-Vei Eliyahu*), written as a distraction during the plague of 1523, is a survey of the history of the Ottoman Empire up to his lifetime, with special reference to the Jews. It also includes an account of Spanish history and of the sufferings of the Jews of Spain and Portugal at the time of the expulsion, for which this book is a primary source. An appendix discusses and demonstrates by historical instances the triumph of righteousness. In this work Capsali shows wide knowledge, a keen historical sense, and a power of description almost unique among Jewish historians of his age. Capsali's earlier and less-known work *Divrei ha-Yamim le-Malkhut Venezia* was written in 1517, and gives an account not only of Venice but also of the condition of the Jews in the Venetian dominions. Particular attention is devoted to the intense intellectual life of the yeshivot established by the Ashkenazi immigrants and the hardships they suffered during the war of the League of Cambrai in 1509; personal reminiscences of the period are also included. Capsali's account, written in a lively and fascinating style, is a primary source for the social, cultural, and political history of the north Italian Jewry in the early 16th century. Capsali also wrote various responsa and a book about honoring parents, *Mea Shearim,* still surviving in manuscript form.

Capsali was also a notable book collector; many manuscripts formerly owned by him are now in the de'Rossi Collection in the Vatican Library. Among them is an Italian glossary to the Prophets and Hagiographa bearing his signature (Rossiana Ms. 72); the composition of the glossary was at one time wrongly ascribed to him.

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[Cecil Roth]

CAPSALI, MOSES BEN ELIJAH (1420?–1500?), Turkish rabbi and communal leader. Capsali was born in Crete; he studied with his father and later in Italy and Germany. He served as a rabbi in Constantinople under Byzantine rule, from 1445? and after the conquest of the city by the Turks in 1453 was the most important rabbi in the Ottoman Empire. Fulfilling the role of both spiritual and communal leader of Constantinople until his death, Capsali discharged his duties with conscientiousness and was known for his piety and asceticism. According to *Sambari, he was greatly esteemed by the sultan Mehmet II ("the Conqueror"), who appointed Capsali to the *divan*, the imperial council, together with the mufti and the Christian patriarch; this, however, is incorrect, for even the mufti was not a member of the *divan*. Capsali forbade teaching the Talmud to Karaites, thus ending a protracted dispute on the subject. His relative Elijah *Capsali told Joseph *Taitaẓak that four jealous rabbis of Constantinople accused Capsali of misinstructing the public in matters of family law, thereby causing many to commit incest. R. *Moses "Esrim ve-Arba", an emissary from Jerusalem, was angered at Capsali's refusal to consent to his collecting funds in Turkey, as a result of a ban by the authorities on the export of currency. He carried the indictment of the four rabbis to Joseph *Colon who, without investigating the facts, wrote that Capsali should be excommunicated. When Capsali heard of this, he called a meeting of the scholars in his city and denied the accusation in their presence; he then sent a written denial to Joseph Colon. Convinced of his error, Colon sent his son Perez to seek Capsali's forgiveness; Capsali received him warmly and showed him great respect. Capsali worked toward absorbing the Spanish exiles. His only known responsa were published by S. Assaf.

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[Abraham David]

CAPTIVES, RANSOMING OF (Heb. פִּדְיוֹן שְׁבוּיִים; *Pidyon Shevuyim*): The religious duty to ransom a fellow Jew captured by slave dealers or robbers, or imprisoned unjustly by the authorities to be released against ransom paid by the Jewish community. The fulfillment of this *mitzvah* was regarded by the rabbis of the Talmud as of paramount importance (BB 8a, 8b). It is told of R. Phinehas b. Jair that he went to ransom captives, and because he was fulfilling this duty, a river parted to enable him to cross (Ḥul, 7a, TJ Dem. 1:3). Maimonides explains that "(The duty of) ransoming captives supersedes (the duty of) charity to the poor.…" (Yad, Mattenat Aniyyim, 8:10).

To avoid the extraction of exorbitant ransom payments or repeated kidnapping by captors, the rabbis ordained that captives should be redeemed only at their market value as slaves (Git. 4:6; Git 45a; also Ket. 52a, b) unless the captive had been taken in place of the person who had to ransom him. When R. Joshua b. Hananiah was in Rome he ransomed a young man who later became the scholar R. Ishmael b. Elisha. Joshua heard of the young man's imprisonment and went to the prison and said "I swear not to move from here until I ransom him no matter what the price" (Git. 88a). The following rules for the ransoming of captives were laid down in the *halakhah*:

(1) Women captives should usually be given preference before male captives (Hor. 3:7; Hor. 13a).

(2) A person captured together with his father and his teacher may ransom himself first. He is then bound to ransom his teacher and only thereafter his father. A scholar should be given preference even to a king of Israel (Hor. *ibid.*).

(3) When a person is captured together with his wife, his wife takes precedence, and the court (*bet din*) has the power to compel the husband to ransom his wife) (Sh. Ar., YD 252:10).

(4) Money set aside for charity purposes or for the building of a synagogue may be used to ransom captives (BB8b).

(5) A person who delays the fulfillment of this duty and causes an undue prolongation of his fellow-Jew's imprisonment is regarded as if he has spilled his blood (Yad, loc. cit., 8:12). Notwithstanding the limitation set by the Mishnah against excessive ransoms, a person may redeem himself with any amount of ransom demanded by the captors.

Middle Ages

Under Islam, as under Roman rule, Jews had frequent occasion to fulfill this commandment. During the 9th–12th centuries in Muslim countries Jews were often seized by soldiers or pirates while on business on the high seas or during revolts and disturbances. The community of Alexandria imposed a special levy upon its wealthy members or conducted campaigns in other communities for ransoming captives. In the Middle Ages in Christian lands, the captives were often Jews who had been imprisoned in consequence of a *blood libel or *Host desecration libel, or simply to extort money from them. The ransoming of Jewish captives was facilitated by the fact that their devotion to the Sabbath and *kashrut* observance made Jews inconvenient servants with whom their new masters were willing to part. *Judah Halevi describes this as one of the gifts the Sabbath has conferred on the Jews: "For the gentiles would have apportioned you among them as their slaves were it not for those dates that you keep with such strict observance" (*Kuzari*, 3:10). *Meir b. Baruch of Rothenburg, at the end of the 13th century, forbade Jews to ransom him after he had been imprisoned to forestall the development of a precedent which would encourage despots to hold rabbis for ransom.

According to *Sefer Ḥasidim* (12th–13th centuries), a person who ransoms captives is meritorious because he saves men from torture and women from dishonor. The Jews of Spain considered that ransoming captives was an important duty; although their communities had no special fund for ransoming captives, when necessary, the communal leaders used endowments designated for this purpose, or the official in charge of charity collected money from the community.

Communities would spend large sums for this purpose and special officers were appointed for this task. Many of the regulations of the Council of Lithuania (see *Councils of the Lands) concern the ransom of captives, for the Tatar raids from the Crimea during the 16th and 17th centuries made the ransoming of the captives thus seized a frequent phenomenon in Jewish life, particularly in the Ukraine and Volhynia. At the time of the *Chmielnicki massacres (1648–49), when masses of Jews were taken captive, the majority were ransomed by the Jewish communities in the Ottoman Empire. The Council of Lithuania permitted all communities having at least ten adult Jews, i.e., a *minyan*, to ransom captives without first obtaining permission to draw from the general budget of the Lithuanian community. This was allowed to prevent delay of their redemption, since the expenses were levied on the Jews throughout the country: it was noted by the Council that "the quicker one acts in this matter, the more praiseworthy will he be deemed, and his reward will be paid by the One who dwells in abundance." To redeem captives taken to lands in the Ottoman Empire, the Council of Lithuania collected contributions from every community and settlement within its jurisdiction. Throughout the Russian-Polish war (1654–67) the Council conducted a campaign in all the synagogues for ransoming the captives, and appointed special officers to go from house to house to collect contributions. The Council of Four Lands appointed a special person for the task of redeeming captives. In Nathan Nata *Hannover's *Yeven Meẓulah* it is related that captives were assisted by their brethren in all countries which they reached, such as Moravia, Austria, Germany, and Italy.

Among the associations (see *ḥevrah) formed for the purpose of ransoming captives in the communities, that of Venice became the most important: the Society of the Supporters of the Fund for Ransoming Captives, established by the brothers *Aboab, assisted captives and obtained their release in Eastern Europe, Persia, and the Barbary coast. The society's income was derived from the annual payments made by its members; it also received contributions from other communities. During the Middle Ages and into modern times the concept of the captive has been broadened to include a Jew unjustly constrained and imprisoned.

The ransoming of captives is one of the traditions in Jewish life expressing and encouraging feelings of compassion and solidarity.

[Natan Efrati]

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CAPUA, town in southern Italy, 13 mi. (22 km.) north of Naples. The Jewish community dates back to the last centuries of the Roman Empire. Probably Jews continued to live there afterward; the community is known to have flourished in the latter half of the 10th century when some of the ancestors of the chronicler *Ahimaaz b. Paltiel of Oria were prominent there. Ahimaaz' grandfather Samuel b. Hananel was appointed supervisor of the treasury and the mint of the principality of Capua; his father Paltiel b. Samuel (b. 988) was in charge of its finances. About 1167 when *Benjamin of Tudela reached Capua, he was told that there were 300 Jews there. In 1231 Emperor Frederick II granted two Jews the monopoly of the dye-works of Capua. During the wave of anti-Jewish persecutions in southern Italy in 1290–94, 45 Jews were forcibly converted to Christianity. From the 13th to 15th century the community in Capua is often mentioned in connection with its loan-bankers and physicians. In 1464 the Jews of Naples, Aversa, and Capua complained to King Alfonso that taxes were so oppressive that many would have to leave the kingdom. The king accepted their plea and decreed that the Jews must be treated "*humanamente*." The community increased when refugees from Spain and Sicily reached Capua (1492–93). They later suffered the fate of the Jews in the kingdom of *Naples and were expelled in 1510. A few Jews were permitted to reside there in the following decades, but all were finally expelled in 1540–41.

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[Attilio Milano / Nadia Zeldes (2nd ed.)]

CAPUSI, ḤAYYIM (c. 1540–1631), Egyptian rabbi. Capusi was born in Algiers, but by 1555 had apparently reached Cairo. He is thought by some to have studied Kabbalah under Isaac *Luria. He was known for his uncompromising firmness. When Bezalel *Ashkenazi was in Egypt, a vehement dispute arose between him and Capusi with regard to a suit for debt in which Capusi found in favor of the defendant. His three responsa on this subject were published by J.M. Toledano (1908). When he later became blind, he was suspected of having accepted a bribe in this case (cf. Deut 16:19). The subsequent restoration of his sight was regarded as a clear vindication, after which he was called "*Ba'al Nes*" (the subject of a miracle) and the synagogue in which he prayed, was called "the synagogue of the *Ba'al Nes*." The anniversary of his death in Cairo on Shevat 12 was observed by local Jews as a day of pilgrimage to his grave. In one of the letters published in his *Be-Or ha-Ḥayyim* (Jerusalem, 1929), he made known his intention of immigrating to Ereẓ Israel, but it is uncertain whether he did so. His *Sefer Ḥayyim* (Moscow, Guenzburg MS no. 19), a commentary on the midrash, remains unpublished. Some of his responsa were published in the works of his contemporaries, and others are still in manuscript.

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[Abraham David]

°CAQUOT, ANDRÉ (1923–2004), French scholar. Caquot was born in Epinal. After studies in Vesoul and Paris, he entered the Ecole Normale Supérieure (Paris) in 1944 and was first in the grammar "agrégation" (French, Latin, Greek) in 1948. He specialized in ancient Semitic studies, attending the lectures of the leading professors at the Sorbonne (André Dupont-Sommer) and the École Pratique des Hautes Études/EPHE (Isidore Lévy, Edouard Dhorme, Charles Virolleaud, Marcel Cohen, James G. Février), focusing particularly on the new Ugaritic and Qumran texts and the Ge'ez (ancient Ethiopian) language.

With this background in ancient Semitic languages, he worked at the French Institute of Archaeology of Beirut from 1949 to 1952 and the French Archaeological Mission in Addis-Ababa (Ethiopia) in 1953–54, supplementing his knowledge of Semitic languages with Arabic and studying the new Ugaritic and Ge'ez texts there. Meanwhile he received his diploma at the EPHE, Religious Sciences section, in 1951. Back from the Middle East, in 1955 he obtained a professorship in comparative Semitic religions in the Religious Sciences section of the EPHE and Paris-Sorbonne. From 1957 to 1960, he also taught history of religions at the Protestant Faculty of Strasbourg and from 1964 to 1968, Hebrew and history of Israel Religion at Sorbonne University. In 1972, he succeeded André Dupont-Sommer as Hebrew and Aramaic professor at the Collège de France (Paris), serving until his retirement in 1994. From 1977 until his death, he was a member of the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres (Paris), being the undisputed French master of ancient Semitic philology and biblical studies.

He was a member and for a time president or secretary of many learned societies: Société Asiatique, Société des Études Juives, Société des Études Renaniennes, Société française d'Histoire des Religons. As a Protestant, he was a passionate devotee of the Hebrew Bible, taking into account the Jewish exegetical tradition. He was involved in the ecumenical translation of the Bible into French and taught the various biblical books as well as new Ugaritic and Qumran texts, emphasizing the new light shed on the biblical texts. Among his publications are *Textes ougaritiques I. Mythes et légendes*, LAPO, 7 (1974, with M. Sznycer and A. Herdner); *Textes ougaritiques II. Textes religieux, rituels, correspondance*, LAPO, 14 (1989, with J.M. de Tarragon and J.L. Cunchillos); *Les livres de Samuel*, CAT VI (1994, with Ph. De Robert); numerous contributions in *Histoire des religions* 1–2 (ed. H.Ch. Puech, 1970–72); in *La Bible. Écrits intertestamentaires* (ed. A. Dupont-Sommer and M. Philonenko, 1987), and in the *Revue d'Histoire et de Philosophie Religieuses, Semitica, Annales d'Éthiopie, Annuaire de la section des Sciences religieuses de l'EPHE,* and *Annuaire du Collège de France.*

[André Lemaire (2nd ed.)]

°CARACALLA, MARCUS AURELIUS ANTONINUS, Roman emperor 211–217, the eldest son of Emperor Septimius *Severus. The reign of Caracalla was a continuation of the period of rapprochement between the Roman Empire and the Jewish people begun by his father Severus. Contemporary legal sources (*Corpus Juris Civilis, Digesta* 50:2, 3) indicate that both emperors granted Jews honorary offices in the cities of the Empire on the condition that their religion not come into play. The Church Father *Jerome also refers to their friendship with the Jews in his commentary on Daniel (11:34), and an inscription found in the Kasyoun synagogue in Galilee (Frey, Corpus, 2, no. 972) expresses the friendship of the Jews with these two emperors. Some scholars hold that *Judah ha-Nasi's friendship with Antoninus refers to Caracalla, who was also known by this name. According to *Historia Augusta* (Caracalla 1:6), Caracalla was a child of seven when he first disclosed his sympathy toward Jews. This source also mentions that Septimius Severus agreed that his son was to hold a triumphal procession, and the Senate voted for a "Jewish triumph" (Severus 16:6–8). Caracalla's political move to grant Roman citizenship to all free residents of the empire (212 C.E.)

naturally affected the masses of Jews as well, and though its purpose was to simplify taxation and legal procedures in the empire, its effect was that parity was nominally granted to the Jews for the first time.

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[Menahem Stern]

CARACAS, capital of *Venezuela; population, 4,000,000; estimated Jewish population, 15,700 (2003).

There are few references to the arrival of Jews in Caracas during the colonial period, although the presence of some *Crypto-Jews was recorded in 1642. This capital was considered by Jews as an unattractive destination, due to fear of the long hand of the Inquisition and the prohibition against residence for those who did not profess the Catholic faith. After 1819, when the government of New Granada gave the *Nación Hebrea* (Jews of Iberian origin) the right to settle in the country, granting them religious liberty and proclaiming the abolition of the Inquisition, the first groups of Jews, Sephardim of Dutch origin, started to arrive and to settle in Caracas. The support given by these Jews to Simón Bolívar is well known. In 1827 Elías Mocatta, a prominent businessman of English nationality who had resided in Caracas since 1825, was appointed by the foreign colonies as their representative to welcome the Liberator in his visit to the city. Distinguished personalities during this period were Samuel Hoheb, who published Menasseh ben Israel's *Esperanza de Israel*, and Angel Jacobo Jesurun, who translated and published the *Tratado de Moral y Religión* of S. Cahen and *Memorias de un Médico* of A. Dumas.

A new wave of Sephardim coming from North Morocco commenced towards the end of the 19th century. Within a few decades they established the first of the Jewish commercial companies that later prospered and became pioneers in various industries. The Moroccan Jews founded the Sociedad Benéfica Israelita (1907), inaugurated the Jewish cemetery (1916), and gathered for prayers in private houses. Greatly devoted to religious tradition, the small group residing in Caracas founded in 1930 the Asociación Israelita de Venezuela (AIV), whose first objective was to build a synagogue. Since then, this institution has united, represented, and provided services to all the Sephardi community of Venezuela. In 1939, the AIV inagurated the El Conde synagogue, but the building had to be demolished in 1963 to make way for an avenue and was replaced by the present Great Sephardi Synagogue, Tiferet Israel.

In this period the following Jewish periodicals were founded in Caracas: *Macabeo* (1922), *Israel* (1933), *Prensa Judía* (1944), *Paz* (1946), and the weeklies *El Mundo Israelita* (1943) and *Unión* (1968).

In the second decade of the 20th century, under the dictatorship of General Juan Vicente Gómez and the Venezuelan oil boom, Sephardi Jews from Greece, Turkey, Palestine, Yugoslavia, and Bulgaria arrived in Caracas, along with Jews from Yemen, Persia, Syria, and Lebanon. At the same time the first Ashkenazi Jews from Romania, Poland, and Austria settled in Caracas. In 1931, they founded the Sociedad Israelita Aschkenazit and later the Centro Social y Cultural Israel, which merged in 1950 to establish the Unión Israelita de Caracas (UIC), representing the majority of the Ashkenazi community. In 1961, the UIC laid the cornerstone of its synagogue and social center, acquiring its own cemetery. In 1984, a congregation of Lubavitch Chabad was established in Caracas; it came to possess an impressive synagogue. In more recent years small groups of people from the same communities of origin have founded their own synagogues, maintaining their affiliation with the two mother organizations, the Sephardi AIV and the Ashkenazi UIC.

During WWII, Venezuela did not have an open door policy towards the Jews who were able to escape from Europe. Nevertheless, the Law of Immigration and Colonization of 1936 provided a way, under certain conditions, for emigrants to enter the country. The country was moving towards democracy. A Jewish Committee for Refugees was established in Caracas, and thanks to its intercession, in 1939, the president of the republic, General Eleazar López Contreras, was able to bring to a happy conclusion the tragic voyage of the ship *Koenigstein*: its 165 Jewish passengers from Austria were permitted to disembark. In the 1940s, new groups of refugees from Eastern and Central Europe were admitted, and in 1946, the Comité Venezolano pro-Palestina was established under the slogan "Palestine belongs to the Jews and it has to be turned over to the Jews."

In the 1950s and 1960s, Venezuelan Jewry was strengthened by the arrival of relatives of those already established in the city, attracted by the prosperity and liberty characterizing the country, as well as by new immigrants leaving Arab countries after the creation of the State of Israel or emigrating from Central and Eastern Europe.

Sephardim and Ashkenazim, deeply identifying with the new State of Israel, began their own process of integration in social life as well in new family bonds. All the Jewish communities of Caracas were represented in the Confederación de Asociaciones Israelitas (CAIV). A fundamental role in this process of integration was played by the creation, in 1950, of the Moral y Luces Herzl-Bialik School by the Unión Israelita de Caracas. After 20 years of successful operation, the school moved to a modern building where over 1,500 children receive their primary and secondary Jewish and general education, and where Sephardim and Ashkenazim share economic, administrative, and academic responsibilities. At the same time, schools of religious orientation have been functioning since the 1970s. In addition to the Congregation of Chabad Lubavitch founded 1984, other small groups of Jews of the same origin later founded their own synagogues, which remain affiliated with the AIV and the UIC mother organizations.

With the consolidation of the social and economic position of the immigrant generation, their children, who were born in Venezuela, gradually began to replace the mercantile activities of their parents with employment in the liberal professions. Doctors, engineers, lawyers, and economists graduated from the universities and began to occupy prominent national positions. Thanks to their contribution to society, science, politics, finance, and the arts, the names of distinguished personalities of the community are common currency in the streets of Caracas. The Sofía Imber Museum of Contemporary Art, one of the most important museums in South America, advertises the name of its founder.

Numerous communal organizations conduct intensive activities in culture, sports, and social assistance. The B'nai B'rith, the Yolanda Katz Health Center, the Instituto Cultural Venezolano Israelí, the Instituto Superior de Estudios Judaicos, the Federación Sionista and its affiliated groups, the Hebraica Social, Cultural and Sports Center, the Centro de Estudios Sefardíes, and the Morris E. Curiel Museo Sefardí are but a few of the institutions that are prominent on the national as well as the community level. The weekly *Nuevo Mundo Israelita* and the quarterly *Maguen* are prestigious organs of information and of the cultural expression of the community.

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[Jacob Carciente (2nd ed.)]

CARASSO, EMMANUEL (1862–1934), Turkish lawyer and politician. Born in Salonika, Carasso lectured on criminology at the University of Salonika. He was one of the prominent figures in the Young Turk movement to which he gave considerable material support, largely via the masonic lodges in Salonika, in which Carasso held an influential position. After the Young Turks seized power in 1908, Carasso was elected deputy for Salonika in the Turkish parliament and headed the committee which informed Sultan *Abdul Hamid II of his deposition in 1909. Subsequently, he was a member of the parliamentary commission of 1912 which negotiated the treaty of Ouchy concluding peace with Italy. He was economic adviser to the Turkish government during World War I and in recognition of his services was granted licenses to export Turkish goods to Germany, which enabled him to amass a considerable fortune. However, when Mustafa Kemal Ataturk came to power in 1923, Carasso fell into disfavor (like other Young Turk activists) and his fortune was confiscated. He lived his last years in penury in Italy and died in Trieste.

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[Joseph Nehama / Jacob M. Landau (2nd ed.)]

CARBEN (Karben), VICTOR VON (1422–1515), apostate and anti-Jewish writer. He claimed to have been a rabbi before becoming converted to Christianity at the age of 49 and leaving his wife and children. In 1480 he took part in a disputation with Jews before the archbishop of Cologne at Poppelsdorf, near Bonn, which is said to have led to an expulsion of Jews. In 1485 he became a member of the theological faculty of Cologne University. His main work, though probably written in German (c. 1504), was published in Latin under the title *De vita et moribus Judaeorum* ("Life and Customs of the Jews", Cologne, 1509; Paris, 1511); enlarged versions of the work appeared as *Opus aureum ac novum…* (Cologne, 1509) and *Confutatio Judaeorum; contra errores Judaeorum* (1504); it was also published in a German adaptation as *Juden Buechlein* (Strasbourg 1519, 1550). The book contained the usual accusations against the Jews and the Talmud alleging their hatred of Christianity and Christians, and of apostates in particular, their greed, revolting superstitions, etc. It has been suggested that the real author was the Dominican friar Artwin de *Graes, who used material supplied by Carben; probably the Latin version should be ascribed to de Graes. Carben published another anti-Jewish tract in the form of a dialogue between a Jew and a Christian, *Propugnaculum fidei Christianae…* (Cologne, 1518, 1550; also in German, Strasbourg, 1519). In the *Pfefferkorn-*Reuchlin controversy over the confiscation of the Talmud, Carben was among the experts appointed by Emperor Maximilian both in 1509 and in 1510.

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CARCASSONNE (Heb. קרקשונה), capital of the department of Aude, in Languedoc, S. France. The first definite evidence of Jews there dates from 839. The Jew Gaudiocus (Isaac?) and his two sons enjoyed the protection of the emperor Louis the Pious (814–840) and owned land in the suburbs of Carcassonne. Later a community was established which owned a cemetery on the slopes of a hill, an area still known as the "Pech Judaïc"; at the end of the 13th century two further plots of ground were purchased to extend the cemetery. The suburb of Saint-Vincent included a Jewish farm known as *honor Judaicus*. The Jews of Languedoc owned real estate in freehold (alodium) and therefore sometimes exercised certain seigneurial rights. In Carcassonne in 1142, for example, the Christian tenants of land belonging to Jews donated it to the Knights Templar. The latter consequently became tenants of the Jewish owners Guilhem Mancip and Bonysach, as they did later (1173) of the Jews Ruben, Belfait, Juceph, and Mosse Caravita, in respect of a vineyard. The same Mosse Caravita held the office of bailiff, and Jewish bailiffs are found in Carcassonne at least until 1203. From 1195, the Jews in the neighboring localities, in particular in *Limoux and Alet (-les-Bains), had to contribute toward the taxes imposed on the Jews of Carcassonne.

The situation of the Jews there deteriorated when Languedoc was incorporated into the Kingdom of France.

A number of Jews were still able to practice there as brokers. However, anti-Jewish measures were enforced by the synodal constitutions of the bishop of Carcassonne in 1272 which prohibited Jews to leave their homes during Easter week and forbade Christians to employ Jewish physicians. In 1288 a decision by the parliament of Toulouse authorized the seneschal of Carcassonne to designate a special judge to deal with the affairs of Jews, but the office was abolished in 1292. Shortly afterward, an investigation was made to determine the number of Jews in the area and whether they fell under the jurisdiction of the crown or the local barons. Previously, in 1291, the king ordered that the Jews who had recently arrived in Carcassonne from England should be expelled. The activities of the Inquisition in Carcassonne were limited by Philip the Fair, who in 1293 instructed the seneschal that it should only deal with relapsed Jewish converts. The inquisitional archives of Carcassonne contained "a parchment volume inscribed in Hebrew characters" and "a large parchment register inscribed in Hebrew characters." In 1304, shortly before their expulsion with the rest of the Jews from France (1306), the Carcassonne community was made to contribute to the local taxes from which they had previously been exempt, in addition to their special taxes. Reestablished in 1315, the community suffered from the hostility of the local townsmen, who complained to the king, and it soon disappeared. A third community was established in 1359, whose members were still engaged in moneylending; the commune of Labruguière (Tarn) was among the debtors. When finally expelled in 1394, the Jews of Carcassonne found refuge in Provence and in *Comtat-Venaissin. The surname "Carcassonne" was retained by several families in this region in particular, as well as in Sardinia.

Medieval scholars of Carcassonne include the liturgical poet *Joseph b. Solomon; Elijah b. Isaac *Lattes; Jacob b. Eli, author of a polemic addressed to Pablo *Christiani; Samuel b. Solomon Nasi, author of a commentary on Maimonides' *Guide*; Mordecai b. Isaac Ezovi, alias En Crescas of Orange, one of the exiles of 1306; the physician Dolan Bellon; Benjamin b. Isaac, translator of medical works; and the physician Leon Joseph, who was one of the victims of the expulsion of 1394.

After the invasion of France by the Germans during World War II, a number of Jews found refuge in Carcassonne, then in the unoccupied zone. They numbered approximately 150 in 1941. An internment camp established in the town for foreign workers also included many Jews. In 1968 there were 75 Jews living in Carcassonne.

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[Bernhard Blumenkranz]

CARCHEMISH (Heb. כַּרְכְּמִישׁ), ancient city in N. Syria, on the east bank of the Euphrates. Known today as Jerablus, it is about 62 miles (100 km.) northeast of Aleppo. The city's importance as a political and commercial center derived from its location at the crossroads connecting Mesopotamia with Anatolia, Syria, and Egypt. It is first mentioned in Akkadian sources of the 18th century B.C.E. as Karkamiš. During that period Carchemish was ruled by an "Amorite" dynasty. Carchemish (*k-r-k-m-š*) was one of the cities conquered by Thutmosis III, king of Egypt (15th century). In the 15th and 14th centuries the city came into the sphere of influence of Mitanni, and with the decline of Mitanni, it became part of the Hittite empire. It is included among the states allied with the Hittite king in the battle against Egypt at Kadesh (c. 1286 B.C.E.). The disaster which overtook the Hittite empire with the invasion of the Sea Peoples did not spare Carchemish; however, the city was resettled by people from Asia Minor and soon became a center of Neo-Hittite culture. Ashurnaṣirpal II and *Shalmaneser III (ninth century B.C.E.) subjugated Sangara of Carchemish, imposing a heavy tax upon him. The attempts of such rulers of Carchemish as Pisiris to free themselves of Assyrian rule, with the aid of Ararat or the Syrian states, ended when Sargon II turned it into an Assyrian province in 717 B.C.E. (cf. Isa. 10:9). Carchemish continued to be a large commercial center under Assyrian rule. At the same time, the population of the city absorbed Aramean and Assyrian cultural influences. When Pharaoh Neco went to Assyria's aid against Babylonia and Media in 609 B.C.E. he established his camp at Carchemish (cf. II Chron. 35:20), occasionally venturing forth to attack the enemy. The Babylonian Chronicle reports that in 605 B.C.E. Nebuchadnezzar inflicted defeat upon the Egyptian forces at Carchemish (*Galgameš*; cf. Jer. 46:2), thereby opening the way to Syria and Palestine for the Babylonian forces.

*Benjamin of Tudela reported 500 Jews in Kirkisiya (Girgisiya), a town on the bank of the Euphrates, which he identified with Carchemish.

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[Bustanay Oded]

CARDIFF, Welsh seaport. In 1537, a sea captain who had contracted to convey a number of *New Christians from Lisbon to London made them disembark instead in Cardiff and exacted blackmail for taking them on to Flanders. A small community was established in 1840 and Lord Bute presented a plot of ground for use as a cemetery in the following year. The reputed founder of the community, which in 1852 had 13 members, was Mark Marks, an auctioneer, father of the painter B.S. Marks (1827–1916). After the influx of Jews from Russia at the end of the 19th century, the Jewish population rapidly increased. Cardiff, with its growing prosperity, replaced *Swansea as the principal Jewish center in Wales. In 1968 there were two associated Orthodox synagogues with ancillary institutions, a Reform congregation and an active Jewish life. In 1968 the Jewish population numbered approximately 3,500. In the mid-1990s the Jewish population dropped to approximately 1,200. The 2001 British census found 941 Jews by religion in Cardiff. In the early 21st century Cardiff had an Orthodox and a Reform synagogue as well as a range of Jewish institutions.

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[Cecil Roth]

CARDIN, BENJAMIN LOUIS (1942–), U.S. congressman. Cardin was born in Baltimore. His father, Meyer Cardin, served as a Baltimore city judge for more than 40 years. The Kardinskys had come to the United States from Lithuania in 1902. His uncle Jack, the first attorney in the family, received his law degree in 1918. That year he legally changed the family name to Cardin. Ben Cardin grew up in Baltimore's Lake Ashburton area, where his parents maintained an observant, kosher home. The Cardins belonged to an Orthodox synagogue, where Meyer served as both president and chairman of the board.

Following his graduation from public high school, Ben Cardin entered the University of Pittsburgh, where he majored in political science. He received his B.A., *cum laude*, in 1964, and immediately entered the University of Maryland School of Law. In 1966, a full year before receiving his law degree, the 23-year-old Cardin was elected to represent a suburban Baltimore district in the Maryland House of Delegates. To the people of his district Cardin's election was not a total surprise; the seat had previously been held by his uncle. In 1979, at age 35, he became the youngest speaker in the history of the Maryland House. As speaker, Cardin was recognized for his decency, fair-mindedness, and political instincts.

Cardin then set his sights on a seat in the United States House of Representatives. Running as a Democrat in an open primary in Maryland's Third District, Cardin swamped his closest opponent, garnering 82% of the vote. In the House, Cardin received assignments on Judiciary and Public Works. During his first term he compiled a solidly liberal voting record, and took pains to speak out about the plight of individual Soviet Jewish refuseniks. Working quietly behind the scenes with the party leadership, Cardin was rewarded with a seat on Ways and Means Committee at the beginning of the 102nd Congress. He was concomitantly appointed to the House Committee on Official Conduct – Ethics. After the Republicans gained majority control of the House following the 1994 elections, Cardin's Democratic colleagues chose him to oversee the logistics of moving the party from majority to minority status. The editors of the well-respected *Almanac of American Politics* said that Cardin, "perhaps more than any Democrat in the House… has worked skillfully on bipartisan legislation at a time when few were sufficiently clever or independent to pursue such initiatives."

The Cardins belonged to Beth T'filoh, an Orthodox congregation in Baltimore.

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CARDIN, SHOSHANA SHOUBIN (1926–), Jewish lay leader and pioneer for women rights.

Cardin is best known as the first woman president of the *Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations (1984). Her self-defined greatest accomplishment was to encourage women to achieve positions of authority and leadership, by example. She was the first woman to become national president of five major organizations with budgets ranging from $2 million to $100 million. She attended Johns Hopkins University, McCoy College (1942–45), but received her degree from the University of California at Los Angeles, B.A. (1946) and later returned to school to hone her skills in non-profit management, completing an M.A. from Antioch University, Baltimore (1979). She began working on the local level, assuming positions of authority and responsibility in the Baltimore and Maryland community, and then moved on to the national level. As president of Maryland's Federation of Jewish Women's Organizations in 1960 and 1961, she called attention to issues of racial inequality. In 1967, Cardin served as a delegate to Maryland's Constitutional Convention and joined Maryland's Commission for Women in 1968. She was nominated to the Federal Reserve Board and turned it down, yet continued to work to change federal and state laws concerning women's legal access to credit. She also served as chair of Maryland's State Employment and Training Council from 1979 to 1983.

Her most significant accomplishment, in her own words, "was to personally persuade former Soviet President Gorbachev in 1991 to condemn antisemitism and racism in a public statement and to remove such anti-social action from government policy. This was the opening for the inclusion of such language in international political arenas, such as the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe."

The consensus of those who know her work is that unlike many who have assumed the presidencies of multiple organizations, she brought to each organization superb skills and leadership and left any organization she worked with better than it was when she first got there. She played major roles in local, national, and international causes, with an emphasis on women's rights, Jewish issues, and Israel.

Among the highlights of her career, which she self-describes as "lecturer, fundraiser, and self-employed organizational consultant," she has served as chairman of the *National Conference on Soviet Jewry during the time when the Soviet Union was collapsing and Jews were experiencing new opportunities and different dangers; president of the *Jewish Telegraphic Agency (JTA); chairman of the board of the Associated Jewish Community Federation of Baltimore; commissioner of the Maryland Commission on Human Relations; chairman of the Maryland State Employment and Training Council, and chairman of the Maryland Commission for Women.

In 1984, Cardin was elected as the first woman president of the Council of Jewish Federations, a national umbrella organization for local groups raising money for social and educational services and for Israel in 189 North American Jewish communities. In this role, she became the first woman to lead a major national Jewish organization. In subsequent years, Cardin also led the United Israel Appeal and the Center for Learning and Leadership. She was almost always the first woman and a most successful leader – male or female.

She is also one of Maryland's Most Influential 100 Women. She was a founder of her namesake school – the Shoshana S. Cardin Jewish Community High School of Greater Baltimore.

Cardin believes Jewish educators are holy vessels who are most responsible for the future generation of Jews. No profession is more vital, she said, and teachers need partnerships with lay leaders so that they receive due respect and recognition.

[Jeanette Friedman (2nd ed.)]

CARDOSO (**Cardozo**), ex-Marrano family, known to have lived in Morocco from 1540 onward. ISAAC NUÑES CARDOSO (18th century), born in Gibraltar, became dragoman for Sultan Muhammad ibn Abdallah. He acted as mediator in certain agreements concluded between Morocco and the Christian nations, notably in the treaty with the United States in 1786. His brother ABRAHAM CARDOSO (d. 1789), "merchant of the Sultan," was the victim of the intrigues of the favorite Elijah ha-Levi and was executed in a barbarous manner. JACOB CARDOSO, born in Oran (1793?), was a prosperous Mediterranean merchant. Established in Lisbon, he rendered valuable service to the communities of Marseilles, Mogador, Larache, and Tangier, where in 1823 he obtained residence rights for Spanish political refugees. DAVID CARDOSO (b. 1852), born in Tunis, was the first Tunisian barrister.

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[David Corcos]

CARDOZO, U.S. family distinguished for its jurists, descendants of prominent colonial American Sephardim. ISAAC NUÑEZ CARDOZO (1751–1832), American Revolutionary patriot, was one of four sons of AARON NUÑEZ CARDOZO (d. 1800), a London merchant who migrated to New York in about 1750. Born in London, Isaac Nuñez was brought to New York by his mother in 1752. He was among the company of Jews who helped defend Charleston harbor against the British (1776) during the American Revolution. For a time he resided in *Easton, Pa., where he was a tailor of men's fashions. He married Sarah Hart (1763–1823). Isaac's brother, DAVID NUÑEZ (1752–1835), patriot of the American Revolution, was born in New York. He settled in Charleston in about 1775. Enlisting in the South Carolina Grenadiers, David Nuñez saw action against the British repeatedly, and was taken prisoner once. Two other brothers were MOSES (1755–1818), and ABRAHAM (1758–1816). David's son, JACOB NUÑEZ (1786–1873), economist, was born in Savannah, Ga. He lived in Charleston from 1796 to 1860 and during the Civil War spent time in Atlanta and Mobile. Jacob had a distinguished career as a journalist, and was an important Union partisan in the States-rights Nullification controversy in South Carolina in the 1830s. He was one of the most able economists of the classical liberal tradition in early America. His writings include *Notes on Political Economy* (1826). Philadelphia-born ALBERT JACOB (1828–85) was the grandson of Isaac Nuñez. He was educated in New York City, where he began to practice law in 1849. In 1863 Cardozo was elected to the Court of Common Pleas on the Tammany ticket, and in 1867 became a judge on the New York State Supreme Court. In the wake of the Tammany Hall exposé in 1872, the state assembly recommended Cardozo's impeachment, and he resigned. He collected a magnificent law library, which he bequeathed to his son, BENJAMIN NATHAN *CARDOZO (1870–1938), lawyer and justice of the Supreme Court of the United States. ERNEST ABRAHAM (1879–1947), attorney, born in New York City, was the son of an attorney and first cousin once removed of Benjamin Cardozo. He graduated from Columbia College (1899) and Columbia Law School (1902), and practiced law until 1916, when he retired. He was buried in the Catholic rite. His son, MICHAEL HART IV (1910–1996), law professor and attorney, was born in New York City. Cardozo served with the U.S. Securities and Exchange Commission (1938–40), with the Justice Depart-

CARDOZO FAMILY

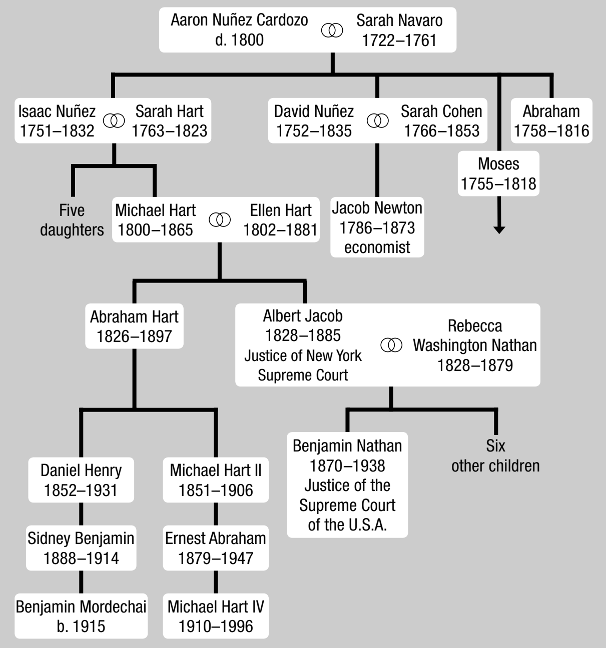
Aaron Nuñez Cardozo
d. 1800
Sarah Navaro
1722–1761
Isaac Nuñez
1751–1832
Sarah Hart
1763–1823
David Nuñez
1752–1835
Sarah Cohen
1766–1853
Abraham
1758–1816
Moses
1755–1818
Five daughters
Michael Hart
1800–1865
Ellen Hart
1802–1881
Jacob Newton
1786–1873
economist
Abraham Hart
1826–1897
Albert Jacob
1828–1885
Justice of New York Supreme Court
Rebecca Washington Nathan
1828–1879
Daniel Henry
1852–1931
Michael Hart II
1851–1906
Benjamin Nathan
1870–1938
Justice of the Supreme Court of the U.S.A.
Six other children
Sidney Benjamin
1888–1914
Ernest Abraham
1879–1947
Benjamin Mordechai
b. 1915
Michael Hart IV
1910–1996

ment (1940–42), with Lend Lease (1942–45), and with the State Department (1945–52). He joined the law faculty of Cornell University in 1952. Cardozo wrote *Diplomats in International Cooperation*, published in 1962.

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CARDOZO, AARON NUÑEZ (1762–1834), Gibraltar merchant. Cardozo, who was probably English-born, settled in Gibraltar and became an important local figure and consul for the beys of Tunis and Algiers. In 1798, when he and Judah Benoliel uncovered a conspiracy to betray the fortress to the French, Cardozo was publicly thanked for his services before a parade of the garrison. He acted as intermediary with the North African rulers during the Napoleonic Wars to keep Gibraltar supplied with water and provisions. Before the battle of Trafalgar (1805), he undertook a similar mission to the bey of Oran on behalf of Lord Nelson. Cardozo's mansion ultimately became the Gibraltar City Hall. Mordecai Manuel *Noah appointed him one of the European commissioners for implementing the Ararat scheme. He spent his last years in reduced circumstances in Lisbon.

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[Cecil Roth]

CARDOZO (Cardoso), ABRAHAM MIGUEL (1626–1706), an outstanding leader of the Shabbatean movement and brother of Isaac *Cardozo. Cardozo was born in Rio Seco, Spain, to a Marrano family. He studied medicine at the University of Salamanca and, according to his own testimony, two years of Christian theology as well. He lived for a time with his brother in Madrid and in 1648 left Spain and went to Venice. In Leghorn he returned to Judaism and later continued his studies in medicine and acquired considerable rabbinic knowledge, studying under the rabbis of Venice. Apparently, he earned his living as a physician and was trusted also by non-Jews. Even during his stay in Italy he was assailed by religious doubts and immersed himself in theological speculations on the meaning of Jewish monotheism. Most of his stay in Italy was spent in Venice and in Leghorn. About 1659 he started a life of wandering, marked by instability, persecutions, and intensive activity. According to one tradition, he first settled in Tripoli, as the bey's doctor (*Merivat Kadesh*, 9), but according to his own testimony, he first went to Egypt and lived there for five years, mainly in Cairo, where he started to study Lurianic Kabbalah. In 1663 or 1664 he arrived in Tripoli, and there he began to have revelations through visions and dreams. In Tripoli, Cardozo was respected as the religious leader by many in the community, although he had also many opponents. He stayed there presumably for almost ten years. When information about the appearance of *Shabbetai Ẓevi and *Nathan of Gaza was first received, Cardozo became, from 1665, one of the new "messiah's" most fervent supporters, and initiated widespread propaganda activities on behalf of "the faith." He acted as his prophet. He tells of his many visions of redemption and the messiah. He claimed that opposition to Shabbetai Ẓevi was necessary so that belief in him would become an act of faith. Cardozo refers to Gallipoli, where Shabbetai Ẓevi was emprisoned, as *migdalot.* He persisted in his belief even after Shabbetai Ẓevi's apostasy, which he justified, although he opposed the apostasy of other Shabbateans. Some of the long letters he wrote in defense of Shabbetai Ẓevi's messianic claims between 1668 and 1707 have been preserved: among them letters addressed to his brother, to his brother-in-law, B. Enriques in Amsterdam, and to the rabbis of Smyrna (J. Sasportas, *Ẓiẓat Novel Ẓevi* (1954), 361–8; *Zion*, 19 (1954) and 22 (1957)). Cardozo wrote in 1668 that the Muslim authorities recommended strongly that Ẓevi not be put to death to avoid the emergence of a new religion. The most important of these theological pleas in defense of the messiah's apostasy is *Iggeret Magen Avraham* (published by G. Scholem in *Kovez̩ al-Yad*, 12 (1938), 121–55). The tract ascribed in one manuscript to Abraham Perez̩ of Salonika, a disciple of Nathan of Gaza, has now been definitely proved to be the work of Cardozo. (An analysis of the treatise is given in G. Scholem's *Shabbetai Ẓevi*, 2 (1957), 701–7). During those years, Cardozo corresponded with the other leaders of the movement, particularly with Nathan of Gaza, Abraham *Yakhini, and with Shabbetai Ẓevi himself. At the beginning of 1673 he sent Shabbetai Ẓevi his first theological work on his new interpretation of monotheism, *Boker Avraham.* This work was completed in Tripoli at the end of 1672, and is extant in many manuscripts. Cardozo expounds in it the new doctrine: that a distinction should be made between the first cause, which has no connection with created beings, and the God of Israel who is the God of religion and revelation, whom one must worship by studying the Torah and by fulfilling the *mitzvot*, although He himself emanates from the first cause.

For more than 30 years Cardozo composed many books, pamphlets, and treatises in support of this paradoxical theology, which aroused stormy controversy. In 1668, when the rabbis of Smyrna accused him of misconduct relating to his observance of *mitzvot*, the *dayyanim* of Tripoli defended him in a manifesto confirming his religious integrity (Ms. Hamburg 312). Nevertheless, he was banned from Tripoli at the beginning of 1673 after conducting intensive propaganda in favor of Shabbetai Ẓevi. He stayed in Tunis until 1674, under the protection of the local ruler, whom he served as personal physician. At that time he was in close contact with rabbis and Shabbateans in Morocco. Letters of excommunication, issued by the rabbis of Venice and Smyrna, followed him to Tunis as well. In the autumn of 1674 he arrived in Leghorn, where in 1675 Pinheiro told him about Shabbetai Ẓevi's circle of disciples in Smyrna in 1650. In Leghorn the community council demanded his isolation from the community and at the end of May 1675 he left for Smyrna. In spite of this he maintained a close relationship with the Shabbatean group in Leghorn, led by Moses Pinheiro. In Smyrna, Cardozo found many Shabbateans and had many disciples among them. The foremost among those was the famous preacher and author Elijah ha-Kohen ha-Itamari, then a young man, and the *ḥazzan* Daniel *Bonafoux. His group evolved a sectarian life marked by numerous visions and revelations in which a **maggid* confirmed Cardozo's Shabbatean and general theological theories. The rabbis of Smyrna were apparently powerless in the face of Cardozo's influence and their continued persecution did not achieve his expulsion from Smyrna until the spring of 1681. During these years, Cardozo started calling himself "Messiah ben Joseph." He also made this claim in some of his books, although in his later days he retracted it, and even denied having ever made such a claim. From Smyrna he traveled to Brusa, where he stayed a fortnight and where the town's scholars became his followers. He proceeded to Constantinople. Cardozo claims that during his stay in Rodosto, on the Sea of Marmara whither he had removed from Constantinople, he received letters from Shabbatai Ẓevi's widow, proposing to marry him as "leader of the believers" and that he also met her. It was a time of profound religious ferment among the Shabbateans and Cardozo prophesied with strong conviction that redemption would come on Passover, 1682. After this prophecy came to naught, Cardozo was forced to leave Constantinople in disgrace and settled for four years in Gallipoli. During that period, mass apostasy occurred in Salonika, occasioning the birth of the *Doenmeh sect. Cardozo opposed this sect and polemicized against it in some of his writings (*Zion*, 7 (1942), 14–20). Strangely enough, this fact notwithstanding, the Doenmeh literature, both in its homilies and in its poetry, is full of praises of Cardozo and refers to him as to an authority. In those years, Cardozo began to dissent also from the new kabbalistic and Shabbatean system of Nathan of Gaza, pitting against it his own system regarding the true nature of God which, according to him, was understood correctly only by Shabbatai Ẓevi and himself. He calls this secret teaching *Sod ha-Elohut* ("Secret of Divinity"). During the same period, he first visited Adrianople. In 1686 Cardozo returned to Constantinople, where he lived until 1696, under the protection of some eminent Christian diplomats despite the hostility of the town's rabbis, who persecuted him and his disciples. During Cardozo's stay in Smyrna and Constantinople, he was beset by many personal misfortunes and almost all of his children died of plague. His opponents accused him of maintaining illicit relations with various women and of fathering illegitimate children. Apparently, he was forced to leave Constantinople when his relationships with those consuls who gave him protection deteriorated. He then stayed for a long time in Rodosto where he obtained the short tract *Raza de-Meheimanuta* ("The Mystery of Faith"), which was dictated by Shabbetai Ẓevi at the end of his life to one of the learned Shabbateans, who in turn passed the text to Cardozo's disciples in Constantinople. This treatise, which Cardozo viewed as strong support for his own new kabbalistic system, figured prominently in most of his later writings. From Rodosto, Cardozo tried to move to Adrianople, but failed, because of the opposition of Samuel *Primo, who caused his expulsion from the town after three months. During this visit some stormy discussions were held between Cardozo and Primo and his followers. There are conflicting statements about the date of this visit in Cardozo's writings. He returned to Rodosto and then he traveled to the island of Chios, and later, from 1698 or 1699 on, spent a few years in Candia, Crete. For several years, Cardozo corresponded with Polish Shabbatean leaders, such as the prophet Heshel *Ẓoref, and commented also on the immigration to Ereẓ Israel in 1700 of *Judah Ḥasid and Ḥayyim *Malakh and their group. Cardozo was aware of the Shabbatean character of this immigration, but the opposition of Ḥayyim Malakh's disciples to his system displeased him. In Candia, Cardozo wrote some documents of specific autobiographical import, such as the homily *Ani ha-Mekhunneh* published by C. Bernheimer, and the letters published by I.R. Molcho and S. Amarillo.

His attempt to return to Constantinople failed. Cardozo was party to the belief that Shabbetai Ẓevi would reappear and be revealed again 40 years after his apostasy, in 1706, and he therefore tried to settle in Ereẓ Israel. He went to Jaffa (c. 1703), but the spiritual leaders of both Jerusalem and Safed did not allow him a place in their communities. According to the testimony of Abraham Yiẓḥaki (Jacob Emden, *Torat ha-Kena'ot*, 66), Cardozo met Nehemiah *Ḥayon, who lived at the time in Safed. Cardozo continued to Alexandria, and stayed there for about three years. He was killed by his nephew during a family quarrel.

Among the Shabbatean leaders in the last third of the 17th century, Cardozo stands out in his originality and eloquence of thought. His character was erratic, and although the main threads of his thought have coherence and consistency, his writings show many contradictions and inconsistencies regarding details. A flair for visions and all sorts of secret rituals is combined with a remarkably profound preoccupation with theological thought. His literary work alternates between these extremes. In addition to numerous letters, almost all of them concerning the messianic doctrine and claims of Shabbatai Ẓevi (two of which were in Spanish; Oxford Ms. 2481) and some about his own life, he wrote many *derushim* ("enquiries") which are not homilies but theological studies, wherein he developed his system of theology, based on a certain gnostic dualism with a reversal of evaluation. Whereas the second century Gnostics considered the Hidden God as the true God, and disparaged the worth of the Demiurge or Creator (*Yoẓer Bereshit*), i.e., the God of Israel, Cardozo disparages the value of the hidden First Cause and places supreme the positive religious significance of the God of Israel as the God of Revelation. His writings abound with anti-Christian polemic. He viewed the doctrine of the Trinity as a distortion of the true kabbalistic doctrine. His anti-Christian polemic is based on sound knowledge of Catholic dogma. He also attacked the doctrine of the Incarnation of the Messiah, which was accepted by the extreme Shabbatean groups. In practice, Cardozo adhered to the rabbinic tradition and opposed religious antinomianism. Nevertheless, his opponents interpreted his system as clearly in conflict with the fundamental tenets of traditional Jewish theology, even in its kabbalistic form. His books were prohibited from being printed and were even burnt in some places, e.g., in Smyrna and in Adrianople. An attempt made by one of his disciples, Elijah Taragon, to publish Cardozo's main book *Boker Avraham*, in Amsterdam, shortly after Cardozo's death, failed because of the intervention of the rabbis of Smyrna. On the other hand, many copies of his writings were circulated and over 30 manuscripts containing compilations of his *derushim* are extant. He had influential disciples and admirers even in countries he never visited, such as Morocco, and England. He corresponded with many of his followers, including some in Jerusalem, between 1680 and 1703.

Among his theological works, mention should be made of the large collection of writings (Adler Ms. 1653) in New York, the major work *Sod Adonai li-Yre'av* consisting of 24 chapters (Institute Ben-Zvi, Ms. 2269), and *Raza de-Razin* (Ms. Deinard 351 in N.Y.) written against Samuel Primo. In this book, he mentioned that he wrote 60 *derushim*. Excerpts from his writings, as well as complete treatises, were published by A. Jellinek ("*Derush ha-Ketav*" in the *Bet ha-Midrash* of A.H. Weiss, 1865); Bernheimer (JQR, 18 (1927/28), 97–127); G. Scholem (*Abhandlungen zur Erinnerung an H.P. Chajes* (Vienna, 1933), 324–50; *Zion*, 7 (1942), 12–28; and *Sefunot*, 3–4 (1960), 245–300); and I.R. Molcho and S.A. Amarillo (*ibid*., 183–241).

Shortly after Cardozo's death, one of his opponents Elijah Cohen of Constantinople (not to be confused with the famous rabbi of that name in Smyrna) wrote a hostile biography of Cardozo, *Merivat Kadesh*, which contains many important documents (published in *Inyenei Shabbetai Ẓevi* (1912), 1–40).

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[Gershom Scholem]

CARDOZO, BENJAMIN NATHAN (1870–1938), U.S. lawyer and justice of the Supreme Court of the United States. Cardozo was born in New York City, where his ancestors had settled prior to the American Revolution. After graduating from Columbia College, he studied at Columbia Law School and was admitted to the New York State Bar in 1891. Cardozo practiced law for 22 years, distinguishing himself as a "lawyer's lawyer." In 1913 he was elected justice of the Supreme Court of New York, and shortly thereafter was designated temporary associate judge of the Court of Appeals, the highest appeal court of the state. In 1917 he was appointed a regular member of that court and in the same year was elected for a 14-year term. Elected chief judge of the Court of Appeals in 1927, Cardozo served until President Herbert Hoover appointed him to the Supreme Court of the U.S. in 1932.

Quiet, gentle, and reserved, Cardozo was deemed "a paragon of moral insight on the American bench" by legal philosopher Edmond *Cahn, while Dean Roscoe Pound of Harvard Law School ranked him as one of the ten foremost judges in American judicial history. An outstanding judicial stylist, he is still recognized as the great interpreter of the common law. During his judgeship on the Court of Appeals, the court exerted great influence on the development of the common law throughout the United States, and even in England, because of the brilliancy of Cardozo's reasoning and the weight of the authorities upon which he based his decisions. His opinion in *McPherson* v. *Buick Motor Co.* (217 NY 382, 1916) on the duty owed by an automobile manufacturer to a purchaser of its cars has left its imprint on the law of torts.

Cardozo is particularly noted for his original thinking as expounded in his books: *Nature of the Judicial Process* (1921), *Growth of the Law* (1924), *Paradoxes of Legal Science* (1928), and *Law and Literature* (1930). He emphasized that a judge had to look beyond the legal authorities to meet responsibility to those seeking justice. He had to be cognizant of, and acquaint himself with, the latest developments in the fields of psychology and economics. According to Roscoe Pound, Cardozo was one of America's greatest writers on law: "In American sociological jurisprudence the outstanding work is that of Mr. Justice Cardozo."

On the Supreme Court Cardozo was a bulwark in defense of New Deal legislation, finding constitutional such important social programs as social security and old-age pensions. In *Helvering* v. *Davis* (301 US 619, 1937), he upheld these programs within the conception of the "general welfare" clause of the U.S. Constitution. Cardozo set forth his constitutional philosophy in this case as one which justified searching the language of the Constitution for a grant of power to the national government to improve the well-being of the nation by providing for needs which are "critical or urgent." Chief Justice Hughes in eulogizing him said: "No judge ever came to this court more fully equipped by learning, acumen, dialectical skill, and disinterested purpose." Cardozo was a member of his ancestral Spanish and Portuguese Synagogue in New York and was a supporter of the Jewish Education Association of New York. *Selected Writings of Benjamin Nathan Cardozo* was published in 2003 (ed. M.E. Hall).

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[Julius J. Marcke]

CARDOZO (Cardoso), ISAAC (Fernando; 1604–1681), Marrano physician and philosopher; brother of Abraham

Miguel *Cardozo. Born in Trancoso, Portugal, Cardozo studied at Salamanca and was accorded the title of *phisico mayor* ("chief physician") by Philip IV. After practicing as a physician for several years at Valladolid, in 1632 he was appointed physician at the royal court of Madrid. Despite the bitter hostility that grew very strong in Madrid, his career for the next 15 years was an outstanding achievement. He was a popular guest in rich circles in Madrid, where he also mixed with many New Christians, with some of whom he maintained friendly relations overseas after they returned to Judaism. One such person was Dona Isabel Henriquez, who eventually joined the Amsterdam community. Cardozo was also in excellent terms with Lope de Vega, the famous playwright. After 1640 the position of the New Christians in Spain deteriorated immensely. Particularly the Portuguese who lived in Spain suffered. A new inquisitor, Diego de Arce Reinoso, was to act in a very harsh manner, leading thousands of News Christians to leave Spain. Cardozo was actively engaged in campaigning for Judaism. This is known from evidence offered to the Inquisition in 1658, years after his departure from Spain, according to which he tried to persuade Mendez Silva, the royal chronicler, that Judaism was the true faith. Some time in 1648, Cardozo fled to Venice with his brother, openly embracing Judaism and taking the name of Isaac. In Venice both brothers joined the Ponentine or Portuguese synagogue, known as the Talmud Torah, which grew considerably following the disappearance of the mainly ex-Converso Ferrara community in 1581. The two brothers received instruction in Judaism. Five years later, in 1652, Cardozo settled in Verona, where he lived for the next 30 years. He lived a quiet life and worked as a doctor and was an active member of the community. Between 1631 and 1640 Cardozo published in Madrid, in Spanish, a number of medical and scientific works. One of the famous medical treatises was *Utilidades del agua y de la nieve*, which he dedicated to the Count of Oliovares, the prime minister of Spain. According to Daniel Levi de Barrios, he also published collections of poetry. In his philosophical and theological work *Philosophia libera* (Venice, 1673), which he wrote during his long stay in Verona, Cardozo, unlike his brother, firmly opposed the teachings of the Kabbalah and *Shabbetai Ẓevi. His comprehensive apologetic work *Las excelencias y calumnias de los Hebreos* (Amsterdam, 1679) described ten virtues of the Jewish people and refuted ten common calumnies.

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[Joseph Elijah Heller / Yom Tov Assis (2nd ed.)]

CARDS AND CARDPLAYING. Cardplaying was not known in the ancient world. There is reason to believe that card games were first introduced into Europe from Arabia about 1379. The impropriety of card games in Jewish law was derived only by inference from talmudic dicta on *gambling generally. At the age of 14 Leone *Modena wrote a celebrated condemnation of gamblers, *Sur me-Ra*, a dialogue on games of hazard. Later he himself became a gambling addict and in 1631 the Venice community leaders pronounced the excommunication on any member of the community who played cards within the next six years. This was intended to deter him from gambling. Communal decrees (*takkanot*) were frequently promulgated against cardplaying, and many Jews made ritual vows (*nedarim*) not to play cards.

Later *halakhah* generally permitted cardplaying, though the rabbis would never release from their oaths those who had foresworn gambling. Playing cards with gentiles for stakes, however small, was regarded as a venial practice, but cardplaying among Jews on joyous occasions such as weddings, the New Moon, Purim, and especially Ḥanukkah, became acceptable. Some even played on Passover (though there was doubt as to whether cards were permitted on this festival in case the cards were made from pasteboard). Also Jews played on Christmas Eve when, traditionally, they refrained from studying Torah.

In modern times Jews have played all kinds of card games. Jewish enthusiasm for sixty-six was the subject of one of Shalom Aleichem's best stories. Whist, poker, bridge, rummy, pinochle, and klaberjass have been popular in Jewish circles. Bridge has been accepted as a scientific game comparable to chess. Many distinguished chess players played and taught bridge, among them Emanuel *Lasker, who was one of the first to consider bridge a science.

Contract bridge became established in 1928 and immediately achieved tremendous popularity, many Jews being prominent in match play. Sidney Lenz (1871–1948) participated in a celebrated marathon bridge contest against Eli Culbertson in 1932 described as the "bridge battle of the century," which was featured on the front pages of American newspapers for a month. In 1949 Charles *Goren formulated a new point-count system for bidding. Under Goren's system each player counted points for the high cards in his hands and added additional points according to specific rules. This method rapidly became popular since it provided a series of rules indicating how to bid for almost any combination of cards.

Goren was one of many Jews who represented his country in international bridge competitions. Two Viennese, Paul Stern (1865–1946) and Hans Leist (1881–1948), played for the winning Austrian teams in the European bridge tournaments of the 1930s. Many Jewish players represented Britain and the United States in bridge tournaments after World War II. They included Nicholas Gardener (1906–1989), Boris Schapiro (1913–2002), the brothers, Joel (1908–1991) and Louis Tarlo (1911–), Kenneth Konstam (1913–), Harold Franklin (1907–), S.J. Simon (1902–1956), and Rixi Marcus (1914–1992).

Marcus, the leading lady international bridge player, was a Bridge Grandmaster. Born in Austria, she moved to England before World War II.

The outstanding American players of the 1930s included a group known as the "Four Aces," Oswald *Jacoby, David Burnstone (1889–1950), Howard Schenken (1894–1979), and Michael Gottlieb (1900–1980), who developed their own system of bidding. Goren and Jacoby became accepted as the leading bridge players in the United States.

Bridge has acquired steadily increasing popularity in Israel, where some of the newspapers carry a regular bridge column. In the larger cities bridge is played in a polyglot atmosphere with English terminology, and Israeli players have taken part in international competitions.

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[Gerald Abrahams]

CAREGAL (Karregal), ḤAYYIM MOSES BEN ABRAHAM (18th century), Sephardi *ḥazzan* of Jerusalem. Because of the heavy taxes imposed by the Jerusalem authorities, Caregal undertook a mission to Europe in the years 1712–14, both for the community and on his own behalf. This enabled him to arrange for the publication in Amsterdam of *Sefer Yemin Moshe* which appeared in 1718. This is a reprint with his own additions of the *Yemin Moshe* (Mantua, 1624) of Moses b. Joseph Ventura, a work on *sheḥitah*, very popular among the *shoḥatim* of Jerusalem. In the preface, he gives his biography as well as the novellae of his father, who, he said, was the only person to escape the Inquisition in *Reggio. The work also includes the *Shoḥatei ha-Yeladim* of Israel b. Moses *Najara, and the *Zikkaron li-Venei Yisrael* of Abraham b. Baruch Mizraḥi, a *shoḥet* of Jerusalem.

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[Simon Marcus]

CAREI (formerly Carei-Mare; Hung. Nagykàroly; Heb. **קרלאי**), town in Northern Transylvania, Romania; up to World War I in Hungary, and between 1940 and 1944 again in Hungary. The town was first mentioned in 1335. Jewish settlement there is first recorded around the beginning of the 19th century. The Jews came to the town at the invitation of the local lord in 1720, when he brought in 12 Jewish families. Organized community life dates from that same year. There were 66 Jewish inhabitants in 1740, increasing to 56 families in 1770, and 300 families in the 1860s. In the middle of the 18th century Count Sándor Károlyi, the lord of the town, brought a rabbi from outside to ensure the residence of the Jews on his estate. The proximity of Carei to Galicia led to the settlement of Galician Jews there, increasing the size of the community and introducing Ḥasidic trends. A yeshivah was founded in 1883, and two large synagogues were built in 1870 and 1901. After 1869 the community remained in the *status quo ante* group (see *Hungary) for some time. The first Jewish school was built in 1785. In 1881 an Orthodox community was founded, and in the course of time the original community also became Orthodox. Joel *Teitelbaum served as rabbi of Carei from 1926 to 1934. There was no *Neolog community in the town. The Jewish population numbered 2,073 in 1891 (out of 13,475), 2,491 in 1910 (out of 16,078), and 2,394 in 1930 (out of 16,042). The Jews of Carei dealt mainly in leather, tools, timber, and building material. The changes in 1919, and later on in 1940, contributed greatly to the deterioration of the local Jewish community. After the change of regime in 1919 several Zionist groups began to operate in the town. Immediately after the Hungarian occupation of the town in 1940 the "foreign Jews" from Carei were deported to Kamenets-Podolski, where they were murdered by Magyar troops. When the deportations commenced in 1944, there were 2,255 Jews living in Carei. In the summer of 1944 the Jews were concentrated in certain streets and confined in a ghetto before being deported to Szatmár and subsequently to the death camps. By 1947 their number had been reduced to 590 (including those who returned to Carei from the German death camps or tried to start a new life after World War II), many of whom later emigrated and settled in Israel. There were approximately 40 Jews in Carei in 1969, 20 in 1977, and even fewer at the turn of the twenty-first century in a community that hardly functions.

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[Yehouda Marton / Paul Schveiger (2nd ed.)]

CARIA, a district on the S.W. coast of Asia Minor. Caria is listed among those countries which were notified by the Roman consul Lucius of the pact between the Jewish high priest Simeon and the Roman senate (142 B.C.E.). The document, addressed "to the kings and the countries" under Roman influence, requests that no harm be done to Jews among them, and that any renegades from Judea be returned to the high priest. It would appear, therefore, that a Jewish community existed in Caria by the middle of the second century B.C.E. There is also a document about Jews in Halicarnassus preserved in Jos. Ant., 14:256–8.

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[Isaiah Gafni]

CARIBBEANS, SPANISH-PORTUGUESE NATION OF THE: LA NACION.

Introduction

Many of the Jews expelled from Spain in 1492 sailed to seek refuge in other Mediterranean lands. A group estimated at 50–100,000 crossed the frontier into Portugal where they joined a Jewish community that has been established for several centuries. The breathing space they secured for themselves did not last long. In 1496, the Portuguese King Manuel I issued an order for their expulsion. However, when he realized the serious economic implications, the king decided to keep them in the country – as Christians. He ordered that all Jews up to the age of 21 be forcibly baptized, in the hope that this would stop their parents from leaving. When 20,000 Jews did gather in Lisbon to sail away from the country, he had them baptized by force and declared citizens of his kingdom.

Only a very few submitted to baptism willingly. In most cases, the Jews were dragged to the font, but continued to observe Judaism privately. At first their secret Jewish observance was much easier to maintain than under similar circumstances in Spain, as the Inquisition was not introduced into Portugal until the mid-16th century.

As they were no longer Jews, these "New Christians" sought to exploit their new status in order to leave the country. In 1499 Manuel I published a decree forbidding any "New Christian" to leave the country without special permission, and this law remained in force throughout most of the 16th century. Furthermore, the "New Christians" were not accepted by the "Old Christians" and were still known as "Jews," "Conversos," or "Persons of the Nation" (La Nación). There was strong prejudice against them, and once the Inquisition was fully established in 1547, they were subjected to a reign of terror. Those accused of secretly observing Judaism were tortured, tried, and brought to punishment.

Whenever the opportunity to escape from the country presented itself, these "New Christians" left. They traveled far and wide in search of non-Catholic lands where they could cast off their adopted faith and resume their Jewish identity. Those who reached western Europe headed for the Protestant centers of Amsterdam, Hamburg and London, where they returned to Judaism and established their own congregations. In Catholic France, they had to remain nominal Christians, but since there was no Inquisition to persecute them, they eventually dropped the pretense, forming communities in Bordeaux, Bayonne and elsewhere. They began to play a key role in international commerce, partly by virtue of their wide family connections. Certain branches of trade were entirely in their hands.

The "Nación" pioneered modern Jewish settlement in much of western Europe and eventually, following the burgeoning trade routes, in the New World. Conversos began to arrive in the transatlantic settlements soon after these were discovered. The ban on emigration from Portugal did not apply to Portuguese colonies abroad and many "New Christians" were attracted both by the financial opportunities and by the safe distance from the Inquisition. However, their advance was so rapid that the Iberian rulers took action and in 1571, the Spanish King, Philip II, who was also king of Portugal, instituted an Inquisitional tribunal in Mexico in order to "free the land which has become contaminated by Jews and heretics, especially of the Portuguese nation." Henceforward, the Conversos in the New World lived under the same rule of terror as their brethren in Spain and Portugal.

One of the largest secret groups of Jews had settled in Brazil. The activity of the Inquisition drove them to welcome the attempts by the Protestant Dutch to conquer the country in the 17th century. Equally enthusiastic were the former Conversos now living in Amsterdam. The Dutch, in establishing their West India Company, counted on the support of both groups. After the Dutch captured the Brazilian city of Recife in 1630, its Jews were allowed to practice their faith openly and the first community was established, founded by local ex-Conversos and by new arrivals from Holland (mostly of Spanish or Portuguese descent).

The Dutch enclave in Recife, capital of the province of Pernambuco, lasted for a quarter of a century. It was a period of prosperity for the Jews, and by 1645 they numbered 1,500 – as many as in Amsterdam. During this interlude, Jewish religious and communal life flourished, and the Jews were engaged in a wide range of occupations, particularly in sugar cane growing, business and finance.

The Dutch position in Recife was never secure and after a period of guerrilla warfare, the Dutch were ousted from their territories. Finally, after two sieges in which the Jews, who now numbered only 650, joined the Dutch in a valiant defense, Recife capitulated in 1654. Its 150 Jewish families had to leave with the Dutch; the majority returned to Amsterdam; 23 Jews made their way to New Amsterdam (New York) where they founded its Jewish community, while others moved to the Caribbean area. Individual Jews had been arriving in the Caribbean from Europe in the 1620s and 1630s. They were now joined by Jews from Recife, and by the 1660s there were Jewish settlements in *Cayenne (French Guyana), *Surinam (Dutch Guiana), Essequibo (British Guiana), *Curaçao, *Barbados, and other smaller islands.

The Caribbean provided a congenial environment for the Jewish newcomers. The Protestant colonial powers – Holland, Britain and Denmark – were liberal and tolerant towards settlers of different faiths. The Jews were particularly welcome since they were dynamic Spanish-speaking businessmen who could conduct trade with the Spanish main and with Europe; moreover they were innovative in agriculture, navigation and other fields.

In 1658 the Dutch Parliament recognized the Jews as Dutch citizens who would be defended if captured at sea by the Spaniards. This encouraged the Jews to develop trade and shipping in the Caribbean zone. The Dutch West India Company which viewed the Jews as a useful, dependable, and industrious element encouraged their settlement in the Dutch colonies. The Jews started with agricultural plantations growing and refining sugar, vanilla, coffee, cocoa, indigo, vermilion, coconuts and also introduced cantaloupe, watermelon, and eggplant. However, agriculture alone was not enough to meet the needs of the large families and they took up other occupations. The region had its share of Jewish shipowners and navigators, and Jewish merchants who often traveled together with their ships and cargo. In some places the Jews even owned dockyards.

The Spanish-Portuguese Jews took synagogue and communal life very seriously. The synagogues were built with sand-covered floors, for which various theories exist. It is said that clandestine Marrano synagogues in Portugal covered their floors with sand in order to muffle the sound of the steps of those who would come to pray. The Caribbean Jews explain that as long as they are not back in Jerusalem, they still walk in the desert. In fact, the sand was a useful protection against snakes and insects. Usually the synagogues were built around four columns known as "the four matriarchs."

Religious life was part of daily existence. The planter did not work his laborers on the Sabbath, and the navigator took his prayer shawl and kosher meat for his voyage.

The Jewish festivals were celebrated with splendor, the Jewish law court was respected, and Jewish schools had a priority in communal expenses.

Permanent contact was maintained with the Holy Land. Emissaries from Jerusalem, Hebron, Safed, and Tiberias came regularly to collect contributions for institutions in the Holy Land. Earth from Israel was placed on the eyelids of the dead before burial.

Contacts were maintained among the Spanish-Portuguese communities in the Caribbean and with the sister communities all over the world – New York, Philadelphia, Newport, London, Copenhagen, Hamburg, Amsterdam, Bayonne, Bordeaux, Leghorn, Venice, Vienna, Salonica, Istanbul, and Izmir.

The Caribbean Jewish "Nation" was concerned about the rights of Spanish-Portuguese Jews elsewhere. When European countries sought trading rights, the agreement of the Caribbean Jews was often conditional upon the rights of the Jews in those countries. A legend relates that when Napoleon asked the Jews of Surinam for their assistance with his interests in Haiti, the Jews inquired whether the Jews of France "have the same privileges as we happily enjoy in Surinam." (There is no written proof supporting this legend.)

Larger communities helped the smaller ones – New York, Philadelphia, and Newport were helped by Curaçao and Surinam; St. Eustatius was helped by Amsterdam, New York, and Curaçao; Barbados was helped by London and Surinam; St. Thomas – by Copenhagen, Amsterdam, and Curaçao, and so on. They saw themselves as an extended community and even in the 19th and 20th centuries when some sections had become Christianized links were maintained with them.

The Spanish-Portuguese "Nación" was sensitive to the movements towards autonomy and independence in the New World and in the 19th century played a role in various liberation movements. Simon Bolivar, the "Great Liberator" found refuge among and assistance from the Jews of Curaçao – mainly from Mordechai Ricardo – when he was planning his struggle against the Spanish. Jews participated in the liberation struggle of the Dominican Republic against Spain – led by Mordechai de Marchena – and the Cuban struggle against Spain was aided by the Jamaican Jewish family De Cordova. The channeling of supplies by the Jews of St. Eustatius to the North American revolutionaries provoked the British to destroy the community.

The 19th century and the liberation of the Spanish colonies from Spanish rule saw two waves of immigration which brought the "Nación" to new centers. Newly independent Venezuela and Colombia invited Jews to settle there. Others moved to Panama, the Dominican Republic, and Costa Rica. Another wave settled in the early North American communities (Newport, Savannah, Charleston, New Orleans, Philadelphia, and New York).

A general decline of the Spanish-Portuguese communities in the Caribbean set in during the 19th century. Growing competition in agricultural products, the abandonment of the plantations by the Afro-American laborers due to the abolition of slavery, assimilation, and emigration were the main causes of this decline.

Among those who remained, many became well integrated within the upper classes of the countries where they lived and continued to contribute to the development of the area.

Today in Curaçao, Surinam, Jamaica, and Panama there are active Spanish-Portuguese communities whose roots can be traced back to settlers originating from the Iberian peninsula. Their flagging Jewish identity was strongly aroused by the establishment of the State of Israel. In some places (St. Thomas, Virgin Islands; Barbados) new communities have taken over and continue the work of the pioneers. In other places only remnants can be found, and it is simply a matter of years before these last links may disappear altogether. Elsewhere, the communities have disappeared, leaving only material remains – gravestones or synagogue ruins – as a final record of a distinguished past.

The Wild Coast (The Guianas)

The so-called Wild Coast stretches from the Amazon River on the east to the Orinoco River on the west. From the beginning of the 17th century European powers were greatly attracted to it owing to the possibility of importing tropical produce from it. The Portuguese were settled in the Amazon River basin and the Spanish occupied the Orinoco River banks, today Venezuela. Between them were the territories of *Cayenne (now French Guyana), Berbice, Demerara, Essequibo and Pomeroon (today the Republic of Guiana – formerly British Guiana), and Surinam (formerly Dutch Guiana).

To gain a foothold on the Wild Coast, the Dutch, the English, and the French began a series of expeditions that deteriorated into a series of armed conflicts among them, with territory passing from hand to hand, accompanied by murder, pillage, and destruction. This situation continued up to the 19th century.

The successful colonization of Dutch Brazil, its plantations, sugar mills, and commerce, along with the important Jewish presence there, made the Jewish exiles from Brazil a very desirable human reservoir for colonizing the Wild Coast. To attract the Jews to the area, the Dutch and the English (the

French were not enthusiastic about drawing Jews to their territories) began to compete with each other in offering benefits to satisfy the Jews, namely, civil rights, free observance of their religion, Jewish schools, and observance of the day of rest – the Sabbath.

This resulted in "the Grant by the Dutch West Indies Company (Amsterdam Chamber) to David *Nassy and Partners for a Jewish Colony at Cayenne" dated September 12, 1659.

It is important to note that the rights and privileges given the Jews applied exclusively to the area of the Wild Coast, while the Jews were treated differently in other Dutch and English possessions.

To gain a secure foothold on the Wild Coast the colonial powers needed bases that could serve as refueling stations and a military backup. This was among the purposes served by the islands of Martinique, Guadeloupe, St. Eustatius, Tobago, and Barbados.

Jewish settlement on the Wild Coast was quite tragic in most places, and the Jews, many of them refugees from Dutch Brazil, had to suffer a third or fourth exile. The Jewish settlers of Remire on the Dutch island of Cayenne, who had arrived in 1660, were forced to leave – one group in 1664, with the French occupation, the other with the English occupation in 1667. After having started a successful settlement in 1659 in Dutch New Middelburgh on the Pomeroon River, the Jews were evacuated in 1666 by the English to other English possessions after the total destruction of the settlement. In their new locations, the Jews again developed high-level plantations and produce, only to see it savagely plundered.

The only place on the Wild Coast where the Jews could attain permanent settlement was Surinam, where Jewish exiles from Cayenne and Tobago joined the Jewish settlers already there and were able to begin a normal life and a community that exists until today.

SURINAM (FORMER DUTCH GUIANA). When *Surinam was settled by the English in 1652, they already found some Spanish-Portuguese Jewish families living there peacefully among the Indians. In 1665 the British Colonial Government granted several very important privileges to the Jewish community including freedom of religion, a Jewish civic guard, and the permission to work on Sunday while observing the Sabbath on Saturday. With the Dutch occupation in 1667, the Jewish rights and privileges were preserved, and special privileges were even added.

The Jews settled the so-called "Jewish Savanna" with flourishing plantations bearing biblical names and by the mid-18th century the Jews constituted more than half the white population of Surinam.

Economic decline of the community was largely due to the fact that export of sugar dropped off during the 19th century, the inhabitants made efforts to adapt the soil to other uses; as their efforts failed, they moved largely to the coastal areas and the capital Paramaribo. The Jewish population dropped off during the first quarter of the 20th century – there were only 818 Jews in 1923. During World War II a few Jewish refugees from the Netherlands and other parts of Europe settled temporarily in Surinam. By 1970 there were only about 500 Jews left in the community, which held alternating services at the synagogues of Congregations Neve Shalom and Zedek ve-Shalom, the congregations of the Ashkenazi and Sephardi communities respectively.

Surinam attained its independence in 1975 and maintains full diplomatic relations with Israel. As of 2000 some 200 Jews lived there. Two 18th century synagogues in the capital, Paramaribo, have been restored. There is a community organization and a newspaper, *Sim Shalom*, which appears in Dutch.

Netherlands Antilles

The Netherlands Antilles (or Dutch Antilles; formerly Dutch West Indies) are two groups of islands: Saba, St. Eustatius, and the southern half of St. Martin Island in the Leewards group; and Bonaire, Curaçao, located off the coast of Venezuela, and Aruba, independent under the Dutch crown; population (1990) approximately 184,000.

In 1621, the Dutch West India Company was formed to preserve and promote the Dutch interests on the American continent. One of its aims was "to remove the resources which Philip IV, king of Spain and Portugal, drew from his American possessions." The West India Company was, in a way, an instrument of war against Spain, and this purpose dictated many of the company's decisions when sending colonists to the New World.

The founder of the West India Company, William Usselinx, was a fanatic Christian who saw it as the company's duty to bring Calvinism to America. He was bitter when the company's charter hardly mentioned the Christianization of the new colonies. He was also a thoroughly convinced anti-Jew.

The company itself did not adopt his stance regarding the Jews but rather considered them as a positive colonizing element. Thus, even though the Dutch Reformed Church was the only religion permitted in the colonies, Jews were given the right to exercise their religion. It its initial policy the West India Company had taken into account the possibility of having a relatively high number of Jews among its settlers, and it gradually permitted the exercise of the Jewish religion. The priests of the official Dutch Reformed Church that prevailed in the Caribbean did not engage in missionary work and avoided wearing their frocks in public.

CURAÇAO. After the Dutch capture of Curaçao from the Spanish, *Curaçao had several governors who had various attitudes toward the Jews. In some cases the Jews had to apply to the Dutch West India Company's head office in Amsterdam or to the Jewish community there to defend their interests or to ask for justice. Peter Stuyvesant, who after being nominated governor of New Amsterdam, did not relinquish his post in Curaçao and continued with his anti-Jewish policy. Extreme in his anti-Jewish attitude was Balthazar Beck, captain of the Civil Guard, slave commissioner, and brother of Governor Mathias Beck (1668). Balthazar Beck had an "irreconcilable hatred for the Jews and he swore that he would be a second Haman to the Jews." Relations with the Dutch authorities improved in the 18th century. The company was more than satisfied with the growing commerce generated by the Jews, and with the taxes levied on this commerce. Most of the governors recognized the importance of the Jews for the islands' well-being, and by 1789 the Jewish population exceeded 2,000, about one-half of the total white population. During the 18th century, governors often entrusted Jews with delicate missions to Latin American countries. The Jews contributed liberally to the construction of fortresses, hospitals, and even churches. Three Jews attained the rank of commandant major of the Civil Guard, three others became presidents of the Colonial Council in the 19th century. Many Jews represented Holland as consuls in different cities in the Americas.

As the "mother community" of the Spanish-Portuguese congregations in the Caribbean, and actively assisting them until the first half of the 20th century, Curaçao also became the spiritual center of those communities all over the American contintent. Shearith Israel of New York, Mikve Israel of Philadelphia, and the Touro synagogue of Newport still mention in their services the assistance they received from Curaçao. The synagogues of St. Eustatius and Berakha ve-Shalom in the Jewish Savanna were refurbished by Curaçao. An important part of the community chest was for contributions to the Holy Land.

ST. EUSTATIUS. St. Eustatius is a small Dutch volcanic island with an area of 7.5 square miles, lying 250 miles from Puerto Rico, and a large natural port. By 1722, 21 Jews lived on this small island. By 1750 there were more than 450 Jews among the 802 free citizens of St. Eustatius. They originated from the refugees of Recife-Brazil, from Tobago, Surinam, North Africa, Curaçao, and Amsterdam. At a later stage several Ashkenazi families from Rotterdam joined the community. The Jews had full civil rights, except for serving in the Civil Guard, supposedly to save them from serving on Saturdays.

In 1737 the community of "Honen Dalim" was found, and in 1738 permission was given to build a synagogue on condition that "it does not disturb Christian religious services."

The St. Eustatius community had very close relations with that of Curaçao, and in 1772 when the synagogue was damaged by a hurricane, financial help came from Curaçao, Amsterdam, and the Spanish-Portuguese Jews of New York.

From 1760, St. Eustatius became the commercial entrepôt of the Caribbean region. Sugar was exported from the French and Spanish colonies in the Caribbean to North America (in 1770 St. Eustatius exported 10 million kg of sugar), meat was imported from North America and Canada, corn from Venezuela, flour from Scandinavia, all with ships owned by St. Eustatius' Jews. The commerce embraced European ports and the Mediterranean ones; there were strong commercial ties with North African Jews. After 1760, between 1,800 and 2,700 ships anchored in St. Eustatius port each year. The record year was 1779 with 3,551 ships. St. Eustatius was the commercial center of the Americas and was called by many "The Golden Rock."

St. Eustatius Jews were instrumental in supplying arms and military equipment to the American revolutionaries from their sources in Antwerp and in France. The British Navy started seizing ships from St. Eustatius, many owned by Jews, on their way to North America. Nevertheless, in May 1776 alone, 18 ships from St. Eustatius reached the 13 colonies.

As the frequent British protests were of no avail, in 1781 British Admiral Rodney and General Vaughan invaded and captured the island. Admiral Rodney called the island a "nest of vipers." He arrested 101 Jewish heads of families who were maltreated and beaten, their property confiscated, and 30 of them banished from the island leaving their penniless families behind. Edmund Burke in a speech in the British Parliament condemned the treatment of St. Eustatius Jews.

In Nov. 1781, the French captured the island, tried to restore the plundered Jewish goods and money, and invited the Jews to remain.

When the Dutch captured the island in 1816 they found only five Jews.

Today the synagogue, ritual bath, and the Jewish warehouses remain in ruins.

ARUBA. Aruba is an independent autonomous island under the Netherlands crown. The first permanent Jewish settler was Moses de Salomo Levi Maduro in 1754. He was authorized to have farm land but was not permitted to have cattle. The Levi Maduros were joined by other Curaçao Jews. Between 1816 and 1926 they numbered about 30 people. The local Jews were usually dependent upon Curaçao for religious services. New immigrants from Eastern Europe reached Aruba in the 1920s. A cemetery was established in 1942 and an Orthodox synagogue, Beth Israel, was founded in 1962. The Jewish population in 2000 was estimated at around 200.

SINT MAARTEN (ST. MARTIN). The island of Sint Maarten is divided roughly into two halves between the French and the Dutch. The Dutch side is part of the Netherlands Antilles.

In the 18th century there was a sporadic Jewish population, mainly refugees from the English raid on St. Eustatius. In 1783, there were enough Jews there to ask permission to build a synagogue, which was already in ruins by 1828 – not much is known of its short life. A disastrous hurricane and dwindling Jewish population brought an end to the community.

Tobago

Tobago is an island part of the state of Trinidad and Tobago. The island was inhabited by the Arawak and the Carib Indian tribes. In 1652 Latvian Courlanders settled on one side of the island with the capital at Jekabspills, while the other side was settled by the Dutch (1654). In 1659 a boatload of Jews from Leghorn landed on the Dutch side of the island followed by a second one in 1660, comprising mainly Sephardi Jews from Leghorn. The Jews did not manage to found a settlement or a community. In 1661 the Jewish population was reduced to "poverty and misfortune." Some of the Jews managed to proceed to the Jewish settlement in Cayenne, others, including the famous poet Daniel Levi de *Barrios, whose wife died on the island, returned to Amsterdam.

French Antilles

MARTINIQUE, GUADELOUPE. Martinique and Guadeloupe are part of the French Overseas Departments. Upon the French occupation of Martinique in 1635, they found a number of Jews there who had arrived earlier from Amsterdam to serve as agents and managers for Dutch enterprises established on the islands. The Jewish presence changed dramatically with the Portuguese occupation of Dutch Brazil. Ships loaded with Jews and Dutch settlers roamed the Caribbean Sea exploring the possibility of settlement. Reaching Martinique and Guadeloupe in 1654 they were received with open arms by the French governors M. de Porquet and M. Houel, respectively, who overcame the bitter enmity of the Jesuit priests. The Jesuits saw the Jews as delinquents who had returned to Judaism after being Catholic. With the arrival of the Jews, both islands switched from tobacco culture to sugar cane. In a short while the Jews erected sugar mills and specialized in processing cocoa and vanilla. In 1661 there were 71 sugar mills in Guadeloupe, with Martinique lagging behind. By 1671, however, Martinique had 111 sugar mills with 6,582 workers and in 1685 reached 172 mills.

The most famous of the Jews, Benjamin d'Acosta de Andrade, specialized in sugar production and also found a way to transform the Indian cocoa drink, chocolate, into pellets and to export it to Europe.

The Jesuit priests did not relent. They finally managed to convince the French king, Louis XIV, to issue the "Black Code" in 1683, ordering the expulsion of the Jews from the French islands in the Caribbean. Most of the Martinique Jews settled on the Dutch island of Curaçao.

As for French *Haiti (today an independent state), despite the "Black Code" a limited number of Jews remained, mostly foreign citizens (Dutch, Danish, or English) or holders of special residence permits (*lettres patentes*). These Jews specialized in agricultural plantations. Portuguese Jews from Bordeaux and Bayonne settled mainly in the southern part of Haiti (Jacmel, Jeremie, Les Cayes) and Jews from Curaçao in the northern part (Cap Haitien). With the slave revolts at the end of the 18th century, Jews gradually abandoned Haiti for other Caribbean islands or for the United States (New Orleans, Charleston).

British West Indies

Although the English colonial authorities were very generous in 1665 in granting rights and privileges to the Jewish settlers in Surinam, this was not the case in the English islands of the Caribbean. Jews in these islands were mainly merchants and not planters, creating envy among the English colonists. There the authorities, even though benefiting from the Jewish commerce, preferred to have the Jews as first-class merchants but second-class citizens. It was only in 1820 in Barbados and 1826 in Jamaica that the Jews received full civil rights, and all disabilities against them were removed.

Another difference was that in the English islands the Jews, although relatively numerous, did not reach the majority of the white population as was the case in Surinam, Curaçao, St. Eustatius, and St. Thomas.

BARBADOS. *Barbados, a small island of the Lesser Antilles, uninhabited when settled by the English in 1627. Jews began to arrive mainly as sugar specialists from Dutch Brazil a year later. In 1654 a Jewish community was founded and the synagogue Nidhe Israel was established. A second synagogue, Semah David, was founded in Speighstown. By 1679 the Jewish population had reached 300 and by 1750 between 400 and 500, all of the Spanish-Portuguese. Decrees levying special taxes on the Jews, prohibitions barring Jews from employing Christians as their plantation workers, and lack of civil rights prevented the Jews from having a comfortable life in Barbados.

The Speighstown community was destroyed in 1739 by a mob that burned the synagogue and drove the Jews out of town, a very unusual incident in the Caribbean. Bridgetown Jews gradually began to abandon the island for the island of Nevis, for England or New York. By 1848 only 70 Jews remained; in 1925 the last professing Jew died. Nidhe Israel was abandoned.

With the rise of Nazism in Europe about 30 Jewish families, mostly from Eastern Europe but also from the island of Trinidad, settled in Barbados.

In 1987 the synagogue Nidhe Israel was restored and the old Jewish cemetery cleaned.

JAMAICA. *Jamaica was a Spanish colony from 1494 to 1655. During that period there was a constant stream of Jewish settlers from Spain and Portugal who came as Conversos and found Jamaica a place in which they could live, away from the centers of the Inquisition.

In 1655 the British occupied the island and were welcomed by the Conversos, who threw off their guise and started openly to profess their Jewish religion. In the same year they founded a synagogue in Port-Royal. After a disastrous earthquake which completely destroyed Port-Royal, synagogues were erected in Spanish Town (Neve Shalom, 1704) and Kingston (Shaare Shamaim, 1750).

Jews fleeing Recife after the Portuguese reconquest arrived in Jamaica in 1662. They were joined by Spanish-Portuguese Jews from England in 1663, from Essequibo in 1664, and in the next years there were Jewish arrivals from Surinam, Barbados, Bordeaux, Bayonne, and even from Amsterdam.

Under the British the Jews were permitted to own land and to profess their religion openly. This resulted in Jewish settlements all over the island, attested by the 23 Jewish cemeteries existing in different localities. In a short time the Jews with agricultural plantations controlled the sugar and vanilla industries, and those in the towns were the leaders in foreign trade and shipping.

With their success, the Jews fought for complete equality with the other British subjects on the island. In 1700 the Jews paid the bulk of the taxes levied in Jamaica.

In 1831, all disabilities against the Jews were removed. The Jews of Jamaica now started to play a prominent role in the political, social, and cultural life of Jamaica.

By 1881 the Jewish population had reached 2,535, out of 13,800 whites in Jamaica.

In the 20th century the Jewish population was reinforced by the arrival of Jews from Syria and Germany. However, the Jewish population diminished due to economic decline, emigration, and intermarriages. Today, 90 percent of the Jews live in Kingston, and the synagogues of Shaarei Yosher, Shaarei Shamaim, and Shaarei Shalom have amalgamated in Shaarei Shalom to form the United Congregation of Israelites. In 1969 the Jewish population was about 600, but today less than 300 remain. Jewish institutions are maintained, including the Hillel Academy school, a home for the aged, WIZO, synagogue sisterhood, and B'nai B'rith.

NEVIS. A permanent Jewish settlement in the island of Nevis was started in 1671 by Jews from Barbados and the oldest grave in the Jewish cemetery is from 1679. In 1688 a synagogue was built. Some Jews were plantation owners, others were merchants in the capital of Charlestown. In 1724 Charlestown had 300 white inhabitants, of which one-fourth were Jews, and they continued growing until 1772 when a disastrous hurricane all but destroyed the island and most of its Jews left. The last Jewish grave dates from 1768. The Jewish school, where Alexander Hamilton studied, still existed in 1772.

The Jewish cemetery in Nevis was rededicated in 1971, by Jewish volunteers residing on the island.

Virgin Islands – St. Thomas, St. Croix

The *Virgin Islands were formerly the Danish West Indies. The settlement began in 1655, and from the outset Spanish-Portuguese Jews moved there. They came as shipowners, and actively participated in the sugar, rum, molasses, and general trade with Europe and the American colonies. The Jewish settlers came from Recife (Brazil), Surinam, Barbados, France, and Holland.

A community existed on the island of St. Croix, and in 1766 there was a synagogue and a cantor. The oldest grave in the Jewish cemetery of Christianstad, St. Croix, dates from 1779.

The exodus of St. Eustatius Jews in 1781 helped the formation of a Jewish community in St. Thomas. In 1796 the congregation Berakha ve-Shalom ve-Gemilut Hasadim (Blessing and Peace and Acts of Piety) was established and a synagogue erected, still in service today.

The 1837 census shows the number of whites in *St. Thomas were 250 Danes and Germans, 250 Anglo-Saxons, 350 French and Italians, and 400 Jews. In 1850 in St. Croix the Jews numbered 372, whereas in St. Thomas there were 800 Jews, more than half of the island's inhabitants.

In March 1864 the Danish West India Company nominated the Jew Gabriel Milan, originally from the Hamburg Portuguese Jewish community, as governor of St. Thomas over all other candidates. His governorship was marred by high-handedness. He arrested his predecessor, did not consult the council over his decisions, and alienated the planters. Recalled to Denmark, Milan was accused of rebellion and beheaded in 1689. Historians deduce that the trial had antisemitic overtones.

In 1814 the Jews received full civil rights and in 1835, Jews were given the freedom to intermarry with gentiles.

With the opening of the Panama Canal, and the transfer of the islands of St. Thomas and St. Croix to the United States, commerce declined and the Jewish population diminished. By 1942 there were no more than 50 Jews on the island. Most of the Virgin Islands Jews emigrated to Panama.

The U.S. government named two Jewish governors of the islands – Morris Fidanque de Castro and Ralph Paiewonsky.

Today the Jewish population is increasing due to the influx of Jews from the United States. The community is active, preserving the synagogue and community life.

Among the prominent Virgin Islands Jews have been David Levi *Yulee from St. Thomas, the first Jewish senator in the United States; Judah P. *Benjamin of St. Croix, secretary of state and war in the confederacy; and Camille Jacob *Pissarro of St. Thomas, who became one of the founders of French Impressionism.

Caribbean Jews in the Liberated Colonies of Spain

VENEZUELA. *Venezuela was the country on the South American mainland closest to the island of Curaçao where a well-established flourishing community existed. Jews from Curaçao traded with Venezuela, helped by their knowledge of the Spanish language, the ownership of ships, and the favorable location of Curaçao. Jews used to exchange manufactured goods for tobacco, hides, coffee, corn, powdered gold, and cocoa. Even the Inquisition saw the benefits of this trade and tolerated it.

After the short-lived community of *Tucacas (1693–1720), there was almost no Jewish presence until the liberation from Spain.

After the liberation of Venezuela, Bolivar invited the Curaçao Jews to settle there and help the development of the newly independent state. Starting in 1821, Spanish-Portuguese Jews started to settle in various Venezuelan cities, namely, Barcelona, Caracas, Carabobo, Barquisimiento, Maracaibo, and Puerto Cabello. The main Jewish settlement was in Coro, some 35 miles (60 km) from Curaçao.

In 1830 the Venezuelan government passed a law giving foreigners equal rights. In that year David de Samuel Hoheb was elected mayor of Coro, and a Jewish cemetery was established. However, the non-Jewish merchants in Coro initiated a campaign against the settlement of Jews. This was one of the reasons why, although the Jews had the right to build a synagogue, they did not do so and used to pray in private houses. By 1848 the community numbered 160 and was growing. There were anti-Jewish riots in 1848 and 1854, when the government of Curaçao sent warships to protect its Jewish citizens in Coro, the Jews of Coro were evacuated to Curaçao. The Jews returned in 1858 after their right for reparations had to be recognized. Still an anti-Jewish feeling remained.

Although small in number the Jewish community of Coro became influential all over Venezuela. Dr. Jose David Curiel became president of the Supreme Court of Justice, his brother Elias Curiel was a national poet and writer, and David Lopez de Fonseca held high political posts including that of senator.

The Jews of Coro never had a feeling of security and, even after three generations, saw their situation as temporary. Most of the Jews started leaving Coro for Caracas and Maracaibo in the 20th century, and today only one or two Jews remain.

In 1970 the minister of public works, José Curiel (the grandson of the *mohel* [ritual circumciser] of Coro), restored the old Jewish cemetery, and it is kept as a national monument.

Spanish-Portuguese Jews in Venezuela, descendants of Curaçao and Coro Jews, have distinguished themselves in Venezuelan life.

COLOMBIA. Already in 1819 the government of *Colombia accorded the Jews the right to settle, religious liberty, and political privileges identical with those of other citizens, and the Inquisition was officially abolished two years later.

Jews, mainly from Curaçao with a sprinkling from Jamaica and Surinam, started settling in Barranquilla on the Caribbean coast and to a lesser extent in Riohacha and Santa Marta.

In 1855 Barranquilla became one of the principal cities in Colombia and its Jews were involved in steamship companies, railroads, and river transportation. In the 20th century Ernesto Cortissoz founded the first airline in Latin America, which is still in operation today under the name Avianca (the international airport in Barranquilla is named after him).

The Barranquilla Spanish-Portuguese Jews founded several banks and some were prominent in national affairs.

The Jews used to pray in private houses until they decided to form their synagogue in the house of Augustin Senior in 1880. In 1874, the Jews formed the "Colombian Jewish Community," at that time numbering 61 souls, and founded a cemetery.

Colombia being under strong Spanish influence did not adapt easily to Jewish presence and from time to time there were anti-Jewish phenomena. One famous incident in the mid-19th century was the murder of Moshe Lopez-Penha, when he refused to bend his knees during a Catholic procession.

The 20th century brought an influx of Jews from Europe and the Middle East to Barranquilla. However, by the end of World War II, there were no practicing Jews remaining there from the Spanish-Portuguese community.

PANAMA. Although a Spanish territory, *Panama, due to its geographic location, served as a transit point for many Spanish-Portuguese Jews en route from North to South America or from the Atlantic to the Pacific Oceans. Sephardi Jews settled there under the guise of New Christians or as "Portuguese merchants" which became a synonym for Jews. The Inquisition in Lima from 1569 and later from 1610 in Cartagena, Colombia, sent emissaries to try to control the activities of the so-called "New Christians" in Panama. Prominent Conversos citizens of the Spanish Colony were arrested by the Inquisition. Sebastian Rodriguez, who decided to establish a secret synagogue in the city of Panama, was arrested and condemned by the Inquisition of Cartagena in 1643.

The settlement of Jews in Panama started in 1836, when Panama served as the land route from the eastern U.S.A. to rapidly developing California. Jews from Jamaica and Guadeloupe formed transport companies. The 1851 cholera epidemic in Jamaica and the 1867 hurricanes in the Virgin Islands brought a new wave of the Jews to Panama. These were joined at the turn of the century by Jews from Curaçao.

In 1876 the community of Kol Shearith Israel was founded, and in the same year the cornerstone of the Jewish cemetery was laid. In 1890 the Spanish-Portuguese community in the city of Colon founded "Kahal Kdosh Yaacov."

The Spanish-Portuguese community in Panama took a prominent part in the life of the Republic of Panama, and has included two presidents of the republic – Max Shalom Delvalle (1969) and his nephew, Eric Shalom Delvalle (1987–88).

From the 1920s the Spanish-Portuguese Jews were joined by Ashkenazi Jews from Europe and Jews from the Middle East.

Kol Shearith Israel is considered the most active Spanish-Portuguese community in Latin America. It participates in maintaining a Jewish school, the sisterhood of Kol Shearith Israel, and other Jewish organizations.

COSTA RICA, EL SALVADOR, BELIZE, DOMINICAN REPUBLIC, HONDURAS. Spanish and Portuguese Jews settled in Central America and the Spanish-held Caribbean islands mostly after the liberation of these regions from Spain. Before that period some Jews lived there as British or Dutch citizens.

The Jews arriving in *Costa Rica during the 19th century came from the Netherlands, Denmark, or British Antilles, most of them via Panama. At the turn of the century there were 26 family groups of Spanish-Portuguese Jewish origin in Costa Rica. They did not manage to form a community, and by the mid-20th century the majority had assimilated into the local population.

In *El Salvador and *Honduras there were even fewer Spanish-Portuguese Jewish families. One of their descendants, Dr. Juan Lindo, was president of El Salvador 1841–42.

He is remembered as the founder of the National University of El Salvador, author of the second constitution, and the law to build schools in every village. In El Salvador there were three or four family groups of Spanish-Portuguese Jews originating in St. Thomas who became noted coffee planters and agro-industrialists.

Juan Lindo was also president of Honduras in 1847–1852 where he distinguished himself as an educator and jurist. In 2002, Ricardo Maduro, of Jewish origin, was elected president of Honduras.

In the *Dominican Republic, in the old Jewish cemetery (later renamed "the foreigners' cemetery") the oldest grave is from 1826. Even earlier Jews from Curaçao lived there under Spanish rule as Dutch citizens.

In 1856 after a commercial treaty was signed between Holland and the Dominican Republic, more Jews from Curaçao came to settle in Santo Domingo, Monte Christi, Puerto Plata, La Vega, and St. Pedro Macoris.

These Jews never organized as a community. They prayed in private homes and had a *ḥazzan-mohel* for marriage ceremonies and circumcisions. Some of them and their descendants achieved prominent positions, including President Francisco Henriquez y Carvajal, a grandson of Jews, who took office in 1916.

A prosperous settlement of German Jewish refugees from Nazi persecution, Sosua, on the Atlantic coast, has been decimated by intermarriage and emigration. Almost all of the Spanish-Portuguese Jews assimilated into the local population.

Not much is known about the Jews in Belize. The Jewish cemetery, situated south of Belize city, has tombstones of Spanish-Portuguese Jews originating from Hamburg. There is a theory that Jews of St. Eustatius settled in Belize after the destruction of their Jewish community.

Comfortable Disappearance

Although the Caribbean area was dominated by several independent countries, and Dutch, British, and French colonies, the Spanish-Portuguese Jews of the Caribbean lived as one national unit, calling themselves the Caribbean Jewish Nation. Since the 20th century the gradual disappearance of Jewish life in the region has become discernible.

At the beginning of the 21st century the situation can be summed up by noting that the only active Spanish-Portuguese communities in the Caribbean area are those of Curaçao, Jamaica, Surinam, and Panama. The community in St. Thomas is still active, with very few Spanish-Portuguese members. The communities mentioned have a diminishing number of congregants. In Latin America (except for Panama), Caribbean Jews have almost completely disappeared. A disappearance without acts of antisemitism, pogroms, or discrimination can be called a "comfortable disappearance." An examination of the causes of such a fading away can serve as an example for other communities in similar situations.

Most of the Spanish-Portuguese Jews in the Caribbean had returned to Judaism after living for three, four, or more generations as New Christians. In that period they had to do without religious leaders, schools, synagogues, and orderly communities. They could only practice limited Judaism in secret. Once in America, they became dependent upon *hahamim* (rabbis) brought in from Europe. The *hahamim* led the communities along the path of strictly Orthodox observance. The temperament of the imported leadership clashed with the lax way of life and morals in the tropics and the distances of the Jews from the synagogue.

We see in *responsa from Istanbul, Salonika, and Amsterdam that the special conditions in tropical America were not always taken into consideration in rendering rulings on questions of religious observance. This created opposition among the younger generations and alienated them from communal life.

The Reform movement saw the Caribbean as an area ripe for the introduction of Reform Judaism and the movement met with success in the Jewish communities of St. Thomas, Curaçao, Jamaica, and Panama. The Jews of Surinam continue with strictly Orthodox ways.

The Reform movement introduced its own prayers and brought its own religious leaders to the islands. Gradually it began erasing the Sephardi (Iberian) roots and traditions so dear to the Spanish-Portuguese communities all over the world.

The sand-covered floors of the synagogues in Surinam, Curaçao, St. Thomas, and Jamaica have a special meaning for the Caribbean Jews. These floors are the link to the past. The walking on sand gives one a sense of silence, tranquility, and respect that were so typical of Caribbean Jewish prayer. The synagogue in Panama and the rededicated one in Barbados have concrete floors, and the feeling is that something has been lost.

The hymns that were sung in Spanish were replaced with English texts set to non-Sephardi melodies. An effort has now been made to preserve what remains of the Sephardi heritage. They still want to be connected with their common past. The synagogue was no longer felt to be an intimate family center, but only a temple for prayers. Of late, this situation has been corrected. Neither Orthodoxy nor Reform has found a way to preserve Judaism in the Caribbean.

Hispanidad (The Spanish Way of Life)

After about 200 years of life in English-, Dutch-, or Danish-speaking islands, the Jews were permitted to settle in Spanish-speaking countries, but this time they were well received, with equal rights, and in most places respected and appreciated. The Jews excelled in the Spanish language, which they preserved; they always wanted connections to Spanish culture. The widespread social acceptance of Sephardi Jews led to intermarriage and assimilation. The Sephardim took pride in their Jewish ancestry and their Spanishness, but they were being lost to Judaism.

Spiritually, Caribbean Jews depended on guidance from Istanbul, Salonika, Amsterdam, Hamburg, Bordeaux, and Bayonne. These communities served as their link to Judaism. With the advent of Nazism, and the destruction and disappearance of most of those Sephardi communities, the Caribbean Jews began to lose hope. The Holocaust broke them in spirit. For some the birth of the State of Israel came too late; they only hope that for those who have remained Jews, the existence of Israel will strengthen their resolve to continue to be Jews.

Another factor in the gradual disappearance of the Spanish-Portuguese Jews in the Caribbean is the arrival of Ashkenazi and Oriental (Middle Eastern) Jews in Latin America. Most of them started life as peddlers or petty shopkeepers. They did not know the Spanish language or culture. This was seen as detrimental to the standing of the Spanish-Portuguese Jews as bankers, shipowners, professors, generals, and even presidents of republics. They did not wish to be lumped together with the newcomers and endanger their high social standing.

Another reason for the decline of the Jewish population in the Caribbean area was its gradual replacement as a center for the production of sugar, vanilla, cocoa, and other tropical products. Africa and southeast Asia also became suppliers of these commodities. Transatlantic ships no longer needed coal stations. This caused a reduction in the importance of Jewish trading and shipping companies in the region. Caribbean Jews saw the opportunities offered by the United States. This tendency has drained the Jewish communities of the younger generation, usually educated and trained in American universities.

Curiously enough, the relatively new communities in Latin America (excluding Panama) have almost completely disappeared, whereas the older ones – dating back nearly 350 years – still exist, as in Curaçao, Surinam, and Jamaica. They are declining numerically but feel great pride in belonging to the Spanish-Portuguese Jewish Nation of the Caribbean, its rich history, its tradition, and the spirit of the pioneer builders and entrepreneurs of the first settlements in America.

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[Robert Cohen / Mordecai Arbell (2nd ed.)]

CARICATURES. The earliest caricatures of Jews extant are believed to be certain terracotta figurines dating from the last period of the Roman Empire, which have been unearthed in the Rhineland, showing persons with exaggerated Semitic features believed to be intended as representations of Jews. This is, however, open to doubt.

The history of medieval caricature begins with an elaborate caricature drawn by a court scribe in the margin of an English administrative document of 1233. This shows the great Jewish magnate Isaac son of *Jurnet of Norwich with his wife and some of his household, apparently being dragged off to Hell by a number of appropriately labeled demons. A few other caricature portraits of medieval Jews are extant. At the close of the Middle Ages, coarse caricatures of Jews sucking at the udders or anus of a sow became relatively common in Germany both in line and in sculpture. In fact, German woodcut representations of Jews at this period were so coarse and unsympathetic in conception that most of them border on caricature. In the 17th century, Alessandro Magnasco, the great Genoese painter, and some of his contemporaries painted fantastic representations of the interior of imaginary synagogues with equally fantastic praying figures intended to represent Jews, but only in the remotest fashion.

Caricature in the modern sense began in the 17th–18th centuries. What is believed to be the oldest English caricature portrait (c. 1720) is of an otherwise unknown Nunes, a Jew. At the time of the Jewish Naturalization Bill controversy in England in 1753, a series of anti-Jewish caricatures were published, some quite amusing, such as one showing the state of Judaized England once the bill came into law. The second half of the 18th century and the beginning of the 19th were the golden age of English caricature and Jews are depicted in a very large number in the famous colored caricatures of Rowlandson, Gilray, Woodward, etc. which were popular at the time. These are for the most part coarse and satirize the alleged Jewish parsimony, uxoriousness, and the occupations – above all moneylending and peddling. The ferociousness and coarseness of these were, however, part of the tradition of English caricature of the period, and no section of society, from the royal family downward, was treated better. It is perhaps significant that the same period saw the inclusion of good-natured portrait-caricatures of many Jews in the famous series of Dighton caricatures – Sir Moses Montefiore, Abraham Goldsmid, and others –forerunners of the mid- and late-century Pellegrini and Spy caricatures in which many Jews were to figure. There was a great difference between these productions and the ugly, pornographic anti-Jewish caricatures which disgraced Germany about the same time. Simultaneously, porcelain figures were produced in various parts of Europe showing Jewish peddlers, bill-brokers, etc., some of which verged on caricature while others were highly romanticized. The conversion of Lord George *Gordon to Judaism occasioned a spate of caricatures, not wholly spiteful, as did also Richard *Brothers' messianic pretensions and promise to lead "the Jews" back to the Holy Land.

The 19th century saw the caricature transferred from an independent publication, often in color, to a feature in popular journalism. The Jews as a group, and Jews as individuals sometimes satirized as Jews, were in many lands a natural preoccupation of the cartoonists. The English *Punch*, for example, gave space to many cartoons on Jewish emancipation during the long-drawn struggle in the mid-19th century – at first mainly antagonistic but later favorable. On the continent, satirical periodicals which gave space to antisemitic caricatures included the *Fliegende Blaetter* of Munich, *Puck* of Leipzig, *Kladderdatsch* and *Kikeriki* of Vienna, and *Pluvium* of St. Petersburg; and in France, the *Libre Parole* and the obscene *Psst! Punch* caricatures illustrating the career of Benjamin *Disraeli, at first violently critical but later patriotically admiring, were so numerous as to constitute a substantial volume in collected form. The *Dreyfus case similarly prompted a very large spate of caricatures in all countries, as did the Czarist persecution of the Jews in Russia.

The earliest caricature satirizing internal Jewish communal affairs is presumably "The Jerusalem Infirmary," published in London in 1749 to accompany a satirical play of the same title, dealing with the deplorable administration of the Sephardi hospital in London. Zechariah Padova in Italy published in 1777 a caricature attacking the communal leaders of Modena, where he had formerly been rabbi. This is probably the earliest caricature with the legend entirely in Hebrew. A London caricature in full English tradition criticizes the indifference of Nathan Mayer *Rothschild to the needs of his indigent coreligionists. In the late 19th and early 20th centuries when Jewish periodicals began to become important, some of them, such as the *Jewish Chronicle*, occasionally published caricatures. The New York *Puck* (from 1894) concentrated on caricatures and satirical drawings.

[Cecil Roth]

After World War I

During World War I, antisemitic cartoons had appeared rarely, since every country at war strove at this time to unite the entire nation for the common war effort. Once the war was over, antisemitic cartoons resumed their appearance. The subjects treated were the same as before, but the attacks upon the Jews became even sharper. After the war, beginning in 1919, illustrated antisemitic posters made their appearance in Austria, Germany, Hungary, and Poland. During the election campaigns in these countries, antisemitic posters covered the walls in every town and village. Thus, in 1920, the Christian-Socialist party in Austria used a poster inscribed "Save Austria" which showed a snake with a Jewish face strangling the Austrian eagle. Other posters appearing at this time were inscribed with the swastika and the word "Germany." Antisemitism also played a significant role in the White Russian fight against the Bolshevik revolution and cartoons were used to show the Jews joining the Bolsheviks in the plunder and murder of the people. In Hungary, poisonous anti-Jewish cartoons that appeared in this period were mainly the work of an artist called Manno Miltiades.

At the beginning of the 1930s, antisemitic cartoons appeared in most countries that had taken part in and lost the war. Two journals, *Der Goetz* and *Der Abend*, in particular, were notorious for their antisemitic cartoons.

Nazi Cartoons

In his early youth Hitler came under the influence of anti-Jewish hate propaganda and the antisemitic cartoons in the Austrian press inspired by Karl *Lueger and his Christian-Socialist Party. He soon came to recognize the value of antisemitic cartoons for propaganda directed at the masses, and after consultations with Alfred *Rosenberg and Eckart the journalist, put Julius *Streicher in charge of the Nazi Party's antisemitic campaign.

Streicher put out *Der Stuermer,* an illustrated magazine, which became one of Goebbels' principal propaganda organs. *Der Stuermer* inaugurated a new phase in the history of anti-Jewish cartoons. Antisemitic cartoons and the captions attached to them were used to indoctrinate all sectors of the German people, and it became the duty of every German to make himself familiar with this material. Every issue of *Der Stuermer* was full of crude and obscene cartoons. The magazine usually dealt with subjects taken from pre-Nazi antisemitic literature and adapted by the Nazis to their ideology and purposes. In 1934 a special issue was devoted to "Ritual Murder" (*Ritualmordnummer*), showing infamous cartoons from the Middle Ages in which the Jews were depicted as using human blood in the observance of religious rites. Streicher did not confine himself to the magazine. He also published illustrated books for use in kindergartens and elementary schools. Every page showed a color cartoon depicting the Jew as a frightening creature, a kidnapper etc., and contained lessons for the children on "how to recognize a Jew from afar." Streicher also awarded prizes to children who excelled in drawing caricatures of Jews. As *Der Stuermer* was compulsory reading, its subject-matter was used as essay material in grades five to eleven, while the cartoons were used in the drawing and art classes. The outstanding compositions and drawings had to be forwarded to the magazine, for publication, and the teachers would point with pride at the achievements of their pupils.

The Nazis also used antisemitic cartoons on posters, publishing them in the hundreds. In the period 1937–1940 they organized a mobile exhibition under the title "*Der Ewige Jude*" ("The Eternal Jew") which circulated throughout the country. They also put out a documentary film, made up of cartoons, which dealt with the Talmud, the doctrine of race and blood, and many other antisemitic subjects. When World War II broke out, the Nazi propaganda apparatus accompanied the invading forces. In Eastern European countries the cartoons were received with glee by the local antisemites, and some of the local artists in these countries even excelled the Nazis in their zeal. Antisemitic cartoons were also published in other countries belonging to the Axis, especially in Italy.

In the free countries anti-Nazi cartoons were published in the 1930s and during the war, depicting the Jews as victims of the Nazi beast. In Ereẓ Israel, political cartoons also made their appearance, aimed at the Nazis and their allies. In the postwar period, the cartoons took issue with British policy toward the country.

After the Establishment of Israel

In the immediate postwar years, when the memory of the Jewish sufferings was still fresh in the minds of the public, antisemitic cartoons disappeared for a while. They reappeared after Israel gained its independence and achieved victory over the Arabs. Antisemitic propaganda, however, was sometimes disguised as propaganda directed against the Jewish state. This was mainly the work of neo-Nazis who had found refuge in Germany, the Arab states, Spain, and Latin-American countries. They formed their own clubs and published their own papers, as for example the German *National- und Soldatenzeitung*. The center of these antisemitic activities was now in Cairo and Damascus, where a variety of antisemitic books were put out in Arabic by government publishing houses.

An impressive number of antisemitic cartoons appeared in the Soviet bloc press from the 1950s: during the anti-*cosmopolitan campaign and the *Doctors' Plot; and during the 1960s, culminating in the famous book by T. Kichko, *Judaism Without Embellishment* (1963). Especially after the Six-Day War these showed the Israeli (in a Jewish stereotype) as a murderer, financial tycoon, and a snake, but also as a Nazi-like aggressor. Cartoons depicting the Jew as an aggressor supported by American money also appeared in other countries, supporting Arab policy.

In the Arab states, the hatred of Jews is based on the hatred of Israel. This also expressed itself in cartoons. For example, cartoons published in Egypt show the Israel army lying in the dust under the heel of the Egyptian soldier, or a black-bearded Jew dressed in a caftan, whose head is held in an Egyptian vise. After the Six-Day War, more and more cartoons of this kind were published, becoming increasingly crude and obscene. A survey of these cartoons revealed that the Arabs depicted the Jew as he was drawn by the Nazis in their time.

[B. Mordechai Ansbacher]

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CARIGAL (Carregal, Karigal), RAPHAEL ḤAYYIM ISAAC (1729–1777), emissary of Hebron. Born in Hebron, Carigal was ordained in 1750 and was sent in 1754 by the Hebron Jewish community as an emissary to the Jewish communities in the Near East. In 1757, he visited Europe, and again returned to Italy during 1759 and 1760. Carigal arrived in Curaçao in 1762 and was at least the fourth emissary from Hebron to visit the island from 1750. The community, then the largest Jewish center in the Americas, conducted a massive appeal for his mission. He was also engaged as its visiting rabbi at 750 pesos annually, until then the highest salary paid a *ḥakham* in the Americas. In 1764, he returned to Hebron, and four years later again departed for Europe. In London Carigal was engaged as an instructor in Talmud. After he had spent 1771 in the Caribbeans, he arrived in Philadelphia in 1772. He preached in the synagogue of Newport, Rhode Island, on May 28, 1773, the first day of Shavuot, in the presence of the governor and magistrates. This sermon, written in Spanish, was translated into English and published by Abraham Lopez (Newport, 1773).

In Newport, he made the acquaintance of Ezra *Stiles, later to become president and professor of ecclesiastical history and divinity at Yale College. Stiles became his great admirer and frequently praised Carigal as an erudite talmudic scholar and a man of experience and dignity. They maintained an extensive correspondence over the ensuing years. On July 21, 1773, Carigal left for Surinam, sojourning there for over seven months before departing for Barbados, where he was engaged as *ḥakham* and officiated until his death. He left a widow and son in Hebron.

Liberal for his time, Carigal attended a church service in Newport and advocated love and brotherhood among all mankind. He covered a greater distance than any other emissary of his era. His portrait, first done in crayon, was painted in 1772 by Samuel King at the request of Ezra Stiles. Some of his correspondence was published by M. Benayahu (*Oẓar Yehudei Sefarad*, 1 (1959), 26–37).

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CARINTHIA (Ger. **Kaernten**), federal state of Austria bordering on Slovenia and Italy. The presence of Jews there in the Middle Ages is indicated by places named Judendorf, near Friesach (mentioned in 1124), *Klagenfurt, Tamsweg, and Villach, among others. Voelkermarkt is referred to as "forum Judeorum" in about 1105. Shabbetai ha-Parnas, murdered in 1130, came from there. A community existed in Friesach in 1255, which maintained a cemetery for the Jews of the region. The privileges granted to the Jews of St. Veit were reconfirmed in the town muniments in 1270. The minnesinger Ulrich von Lichtenstein mentions Carinthian knights taking loans from Jews to redeem their armor from pawn (1244). The Jews living in the territorial enclaves of the bishops of *Bamberg and *Salzburg and in the Hapsburg domains were prohibited from transferring their residence in these territories. When Carinthia passed to Austria in 1335, a general Jewish tax was introduced. A number of Jews were massacred in *Wolfsberg following a *Host desecration charge in 1338. Emperor Friedrich III permitted a few other Jews to settle in Carinthia in 1453. In 1491, a record-book (*Judenbuch*) to register Jewish financial transactions was introduced, and the permissible interest rate for Jewish moneylenders was fixed. The Jews were expelled from the see of Bamberg following the *blood libel of *Trent. After repeated requests from the Estates of the realm, *Maximilian I expelled the Jews from the whole of Carinthia in 1496. He ordered their debtors to pay the Jews and took over former Jewish property, the Estates having to reimburse him for the loss of income he would sustain in consequence of the expulsion.

In 1783 Jews were permitted to attend fairs in Carinthian towns. Those Jews who had acquired civic rights when part of Carinthia was included in the "province of Illyria" established by Napoleon (1809) were permitted to retain them (1817). Jews again settled in Carinthia after the promulgation of the "forced constitution" of 1849 (see *Austria) but were not permitted to acquire real estate there until 1867. The first immigrants mainly came from Galicia, Bohemia, Moravia, and Hungary. Adolf *Fischhof, one of the leaders of the 1848 revolution in Vienna, lived from the 1870s until his death in 1893 in Emmersdorf, but did not play any important role in the development of Carinthian Jewry. The first congregation was founded at Klagenfurt in 1886. The number of Jews living in Carinthia remained small even in modern times: there were 169 Jewish residents in 1890, of whom 122 lived in Klagenfurt and the rest in nine other localities. Until 1922 the communities were affiliated to the community of *Graz. There were 269 Jews living in Carinthia in 1934, and 257 at the end of 1938. The men were deported to *Dachau concentration camp on November 10, 1938, but were released before February 1939. Subsequently the Jews in Carinthia moved to Vienna or emigrated. There were ten Jews living in Klagenfurt in 1968 and the Jewish population of Carinthia has remained marginal into the 21st century.

In 1989–91 Joerg Haider, a leading figure of the populist right-wing Austrian Freedom Party (Freiheitliche Partei Oesterreichs/Buendnis Zukunft Oesterreich) was governor of Carinthia. After his statements about the employment of Nazis he was forced to resign, but he was reelected in 1999. In the 2004 elections to the provincial parliament in the Freedom Party won 42.5% of the vote.

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[Silvio Shalom Stoessl / Barbara Staudinger (2nd ed.)]

CARLEBACH, ELISHEVA, historian of early modern European Jewry. Carlebach received her Ph.D. in history from Columbia University (1986). She is a professor of history at Queens College and the Graduate Center, CUNY. She is the author of two award-winning books, *The Pursuit of Heresy: Rabbi Moses Hagiz and the Sabbatian Controversies* (1990), which traces the upheavals of early modern European Jewish communities in the wake of the *Shabbetai Ẓevi messianic movement; and *Divided Souls: Jewish Converts to Christianity in German Lands, 1500–1750* (2001), which studies the lives and writings of converts from Judaism and shows the variegated nature of the conversion phenomenon. She is also a co-editor of *Jewish History and Jewish Memory*, a *Festschrift* honoring her teacher, Yosef Ḥayyim Yerushalmi.

[Jay Harris (2nd ed.)]

CARLEBACH, EZRIEL (1908–1956), Hebrew writer and journalist. Carlebach, who was born in Leipzig, left there at the age of 15 to study at Lithuanian *yeshivot* and later became a pupil of Rabbi *Kook in Jerusalem. He was secretary of the international Sabbath League and organized its first conference in Berlin in 1929. Carlebach worked on the editorial staff of the *Hamburger Israelitisches Familienblatt* from 1929; of the *Haynt* of Warsaw from 1933; and also the Tel Aviv papers *Haaretz* and *Ha-Ẓofeh*. His candid reports on the condition of Jews in Soviet Russia (1932) angered the communists, and he was shot and seriously wounded by a fanatic. As a foreign correspondent he traveled widely and was recognized as a brilliant and versatile journalist. He was editor of the Tel Aviv afternoon newspaper *Yedi'ot Aḥaronot* from 1939 and founder (1948) and editor in chief (1948–56) of its rival *Ma'ariv*, which became the largest Hebrew newspaper in Israel. Among his published works are: *Hodu: Yoman Derakhim* ("Indian Diary," 1956); *Sefer ha-Demuyyot* ("Profiles," 1959); *Sefer ha-Ḥurban* ("Destruction," 1967); *Sefer ha-Tekumah* ("Revival," 1967).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: G. Kressel, *Toledot ha-Ittonut ha-Ivrit be-Ereẓ Yisrael* (1964), 191–3; *Ma'ariv*, Supplement (Feb. 15, 1966); D. Lazar, *Rashim be-Yisrael*, 2 (1955), 272–8.

CARLEBACH, JOSEPH (1882–1942), rabbi and educator, son of Solomon Carlebach (1845–1919) and rabbi of Luebeck for nearly 50 years. Joseph Carlebach probably served as the prototype for the rabbi in Thomas Mann's *Dr. Faustus*. After a period of teaching, he opened a Hebrew high school in German-occupied Kovno, Lithuania, during World War I. He later became headmaster of the Talmud Torah high school at Hamburg and rabbi of Luebeck (1919–22), Altona (1927–37), and ultimately of Hamburg. Carlebach published commentaries on the Song of Songs, the Prophets (1932), and Ecclesiastes (1936), and his thesis on *Levi b. Gershom as a mathematician, besides many articles in German-Jewish periodicals. He perished in the Holocaust, in a concentration camp near Riga, Latvia. (see Chart: Rabbis of the Carlebach Family).

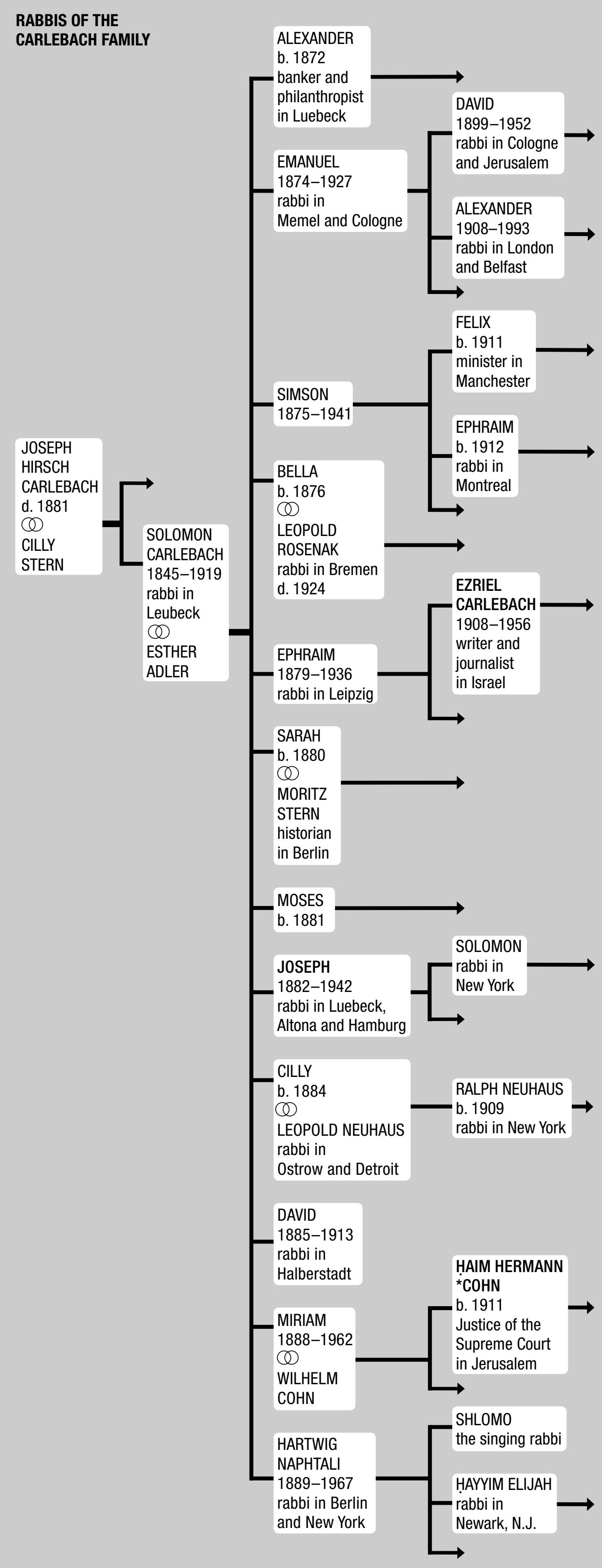

RABBIS OF THE CARLEBACH FAMILY
JOSEPH HIRSCH CARLEBACH d. 1881 ⚭ CILLY STERN
SOLOMON CARLEBACH 1845–1919 rabbi in Leubeck ⚭ ESTHER ADLER
ALEXANDER b. 1872 banker and philanthropist in Luebeck
EMANUEL 1874–1927 rabbi in Memel and Cologne
DAVID 1899–1952 rabbi in Cologne and Jerusalem
ALEXANDER 1908–1993 rabbi in London and Belfast
SIMSON 1875–1941
FELIX b. 1911 minister in Manchester
EPHRAIM b. 1912 rabbi in Montreal
BELLA b. 1876 ⚭ LEOPOLD ROSENAK rabbi in Bremen d. 1924
EPHRAIM 1879–1936 rabbi in Leipzig
EZRIEL CARLEBACH 1908–1956 writer and journalist in Israel
SARAH b. 1880 ⚭ MORITZ STERN historian in Berlin
MOSES b. 1881
JOSEPH 1882–1942 rabbi in Luebeck, Altona and Hamburg
SOLOMON rabbi in New York
CILLY b. 1884 ⚭ LEOPOLD NEUHAUS rabbi in Ostrow and Detroit
RALPH NEUHAUS b. 1909 rabbi in New York
DAVID 1885–1913 rabbi in Halberstadt
MIRIAM 1888–1962 ⚭ WILHELM COHN
ḤAIM HERMANN *COHN b. 1911 Justice of the Supreme Court in Jerusalem
HARTWIG NAPHTALI 1889–1967 rabbi in Berlin and New York
SHLOMO the singing rabbi
ḤAYYIM ELIJAH rabbi in Newark, N.J.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: N. Carlebach, *Joseph Carlebach and His Generation* (1959).

[Ze'ev Wilhem Falk]

CARLEBACH, SHLOMO (1925–1994), rabbi, composer, and performer. Born in Berlin to Rabbi Naphtali Hartwig and Pessia Carlebach, Shlomo moved with his parents and twin brother Eli Chaim to New York City in 1939. He received a yeshivah education, studying at Mesivta Tora Vo-da'ath and the Beth Midrash Gevoha of America in Lakewood, New Jersey, under Rabbi Aaron *Kotler. Carlebach developed an interest in ḥasidic Judaism during his studies and soon became one of the first outreach emissaries for Chabad Lubavitch. Paired with Zalman Schachter (Shalomi), he went on several missions to college campuses and elsewhere in an effort to bring Ḥabad's message to young people. Sent out to change the world, but not be changed by it, Carlebach let the world change him: early on, he began learning guitar and composing songs in the then-popular folk idiom as a way to make his teaching more effective. His songs, which he would produce prolifically for the rest of his life, blended elements of the ḥasidic *niggun*, Israeli song, and American folk revival to yield melodies that were both infectious and easy to sing; and his lyrics usually consisted of short phrases either taken from or inspired by scripture and liturgy. Carlebach left Lubavitch in the mid-1950s, but he continued to minister to young people through a combination of stories, songs, and religious Jewish teachings, consistently attempting to recast the broader society's values within a framework of Jewish tradition and belief.

Carlebach performed in coffeehouses throughout the 1950s and 1960s, usually to great enthusiasm; and his first album, *Hanshomoh Loch / Songs of My Soul* (1959), established him as a musical artist. *Live at the Village Gate* followed in 1963. His zenith on the folk music scene was reached in 1966, when Carlebach accepted an invitation to play at the Berkeley Folk Festival. The following year – influenced, according to some accounts, by the "lost Jewish souls" he found while at the Festival – he opened his House of Love and Prayer in Haight-Ashbury, San Francisco. A well-known site for disaffected Jewish youth for ten years, the House of Love and Prayer involved its residents, under Carlebach's spiritual guidance, in a life of Jewish text study and observance, as well as storytelling, singing, and dancing. An attempt to set up a similar center in Jerusalem effectively ended when the house burned down in 1970.

In 1977 Carlebach and his "Holy Hippelach" left Northern California and established Moshav Me'or Modi'in outside Tel Aviv. When not touring, the "singing" or "dancing" rabbi, as he was known, maintained both the moshav and his late father's congregation on New York's Upper West Side (Congregation Kehilath Jacob, later known as the Carlebach Shul) as his bases of operation. Much of the rest of his time he devoted to a tireless concert schedule, including some of the first concerts in support of Soviet Jewry. Carlebach's performances would comprise a succession of songs and stories, sometimes until the wee hours of the morning; and he consistently played to a mixed gender crowd. At the time of his death, Shlomo Carlebach had become a legend of sorts, having recorded over 25 albums, composed up to 5,000 songs, performed on five continents, released two official songbooks, amassed a broad following, granted *semikhah* to both male and female students, and given away nearly all his earnings. Several of his songs, moreover, had become "traditional" during Jewish events; revelers would sing such songs as "*Esa Einai,*" "*David Melekh Yisrael,*" "*Am Yisrael Ḥai,*" and "*Od Yishama*" with little knowledge of their author.

After his death, Shlomo Carlebach's memory continued to have a significant impact on American Jewry, one that seemed to grow with each passing year. "Carlebach-style" services that emphasized group singing (and often, but not always, Carlebach's tunes) became a staple in prayer groups across denominations and around the world. Compact discs of old, reissued, or re-mixed Carlebach recordings continued to come into the market at a rapid pace. Musical artists from across the denominations invoked Carlebach's name as a way of gaining an imprimatur; and a number of musicians who had either worked with or been inspired by Carlebach began developing careers of their own, including Chaim David, Soulfarm, and the Moshav Band, as well as his daughter Neshama Carlebach. Orthodox Jewish groups, meanwhile, which had been critical of Carlebach's religious philosophies and behavior during his lifetime, began to warm to the man as a creator of timeless music and came to integrate his memory more fully into their spiritual communities.

Carlebach's life and philosophy, meanwhile, have gained prominence in their own right. Followers of his, several of whom attained positions of power in renewal, liberal, and even Orthodox circles, continued to compile and distribute his stories and teachings. He personally ordained at least one woman as a rabbi. New generations of young people gained inspiration and religious guidance from Carlebach's philosophies. Books written by supporters provided accounts of his life that bordered on hagiography, reproducing Carlebach's penchant for parable-like storytelling. The Carlebach Shul continued to spread his message through services, conferences, and Yahrzeit concerts, and served as a major distributor of his albums and songbooks. By the turn of the 21st century, moreover, the term "Carlebachian" had become an informal term for describing a form of Orthodox observance. Although controversy has arisen in some circles regarding Carlebach's treatment of women, his music, teaching, and image remain popular symbols in American Jewish life.

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[Judah M. Cohen (2nd ed.)]

CARLSBAD (Cz. **Karlovy Vary**, Ger. **Karlsbad**), spa in West Bohemia, Czech Republic. An express prohibition on Jewish settlement there remained in force from 1499 to 1793, and until 1848 Jewish residence in Carlsbad was contested in protracted litigation initiated by the non-Jewish merchants, in which the authorities generally took the part of the Jews. However, the Jews living in the nearby communities of Becov (Petschau; 18 in 1930), Luka (Luck; 21 in 1930), and *Hroznetin did business in Carlsbad. After 1793 Jewish peddlers were permitted to visit the town, while Jews could take the cure there during the official season and sick persons on doctors' orders in the winter. A hostel for needy Jewish patients, founded in Carlsbad by a Prague philanthropic association in 1847, was the first Jewish institution of its kind. Religious services were held during the season. A number of Jews began to settle in Carlsbad and acquired houses after 1848. The community received authorization to form a congregation in 1868, and it grew rapidly. A synagogue able to accommodate 2,000 worshippers was opened in 1877. Ignaz *Ziegler officiated as rabbi from 1888 to 1938. He fled in the fall of 1938 and died in Jerusalem in 1948. In the second half of the 19th century the Moser family established a famous glasswork factory.

Carlsbad became popular among Jews as a resort and a rendezvous of matchmakers and as a meeting place for rabbis and communal leaders from Eastern Europe. The 12th and 13th Zionist Congresses were held there in 1921 and 1923. The German population in Carlsbad was largely antisemitic, but anti-Jewish manifestations were restrained during that season, when political activities were banned. The Jewish population numbered 100 in 1868; 1,600 in 1910; 2,650 in 1921; and 2,120 in 1930 (8.9% of the total). An additional 292 lived in the industrial area of Rybáře (Fischern). All but four Jews left Carlsbad during the Sudeten crisis in 1938. The synagogue was destroyed on Nov. 10, 1938. A new community was established in 1945, mostly by Jews from Sub-Carpathian Ruthenia, numbering approximately 400, including the members of the congregation and old-age home in Marienbad under its administration. A communal center, with a synagogue, *mikveh*, and reading room, was installed. A memorial to Nazi victims and the fallen in World War II was erected in 1956 on the site of the destroyed synagogue. It was demolished in 1983. Carlsbad had an active Jewish community in 2004. The historian Bruno Adler (1889–1968) was born in Carlsbad, as was Walter Serner

(1889–1942), one of the founders of the Dada movement in art, who was murdered in a concentration camp.

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CARMEL (Heb. כַּרְמֶל), city in the territory of Judah. It is mentioned in connection with the fateful meeting between Samuel and Saul after the war against the Amalekites (I Sam. 15:12). Carmel belonged to Nabal, the Calebite, who raised sheep and held great shearing feasts there (25:2). His wife Abigail, called the Carmelitess, married David after Nabal's death and the estate thus passed into David's hands (27:3). His descendant Uzziah still possessed vineyards in Carmel (II Chron. 26:10). Hezrai, one of David's warriors, was originally from Carmel (II Sam. 23:35). In Roman times it was garrisoned with Illyrian cavalry and formed part of the Limes Palaestinae. Carmel is mentioned in *Notitia dignitatum…* 73, 20 (ed. 1876 by O. Seeck) as Chermela. In the fourth century Eusebius describes it as a large Jewish village (Onom. 92:19ff.). The remains of two Byzantine churches and tomb caves have been found there and the ruins of a crusader castle are still visible. The city is identified with Khirbat Karmil 9 mi. (15 km.) south of Hebron.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Alt, in: PJB, 26 (1930), 48; 27 (1931), 75–76; Press, Ereẓ, 3 (1952), 508; Aharoni, Land, index; Avi-Yonah, Land, index

[Michael Avi-Yonah]

CARMEL (Zalizky), MOSHE (1911–2003), Israel military commander and Labor Party leader. Carmel was born in Minsk Mazowiecki, Poland, and went to Palestine with his parents in 1924. There he worked as a typesetter and was active in the labor youth movement Ha-No'ar ha-Oved, of whose kibbutz, Na'an, he became a member in 1937. Joining the Haganah, Carmel rose from section commander to commanding officer of the Central Officers' School, and later to commanding officer of the Haganah Youth Battalions. In 1939 he was sentenced by the British Mandatory government to ten years' imprisonment in Acre Fort prison for illegally carrying arms. He served 18 months of his sentence and during this time wrote *Mi-Bein ha-Homot* ("From Within the Walls," 19656), which contains a vivid description of life in prison. During the War of Independence, 1948, as brigadier-general (*aluf*) of the Israel Army, he became commanding officer of the Northern District and directed operations which brought Haifa, Acre, and most of Galilee under Jewish control. In 1949 he published *Ma'arkhot Ẓafon* ("Battles of the North"). During the 1950s Carmel studied history and philosophy at the universities of Jerusalem and Paris. He served as editor in chief of *La-Merḥav*, the *Aḥdut ha-Avodah daily newspaper, from 1960 to 1965. Carmel was a member of Knesset for Aḥdut ha-Avodah (later the Israel Labor Party) from 1955, and served as minister of transport in 1955–56 and again from 1965 to 1969. He continued to serve in the Knesset until 1977 and subsequently became director of El Al.

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[Netanel Lorch / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

CARMEL, MOUNT (Heb. הַר הַכַּרְמֶל), mountain range on the northernmost coastal plain of Israel. The range branches off from the Samarian Mountains and runs toward the Mediterranean coast. Its eastern border is the Jezreel Valley, in the south it is bordered by the Manasseh Heights, in the west by the sea, and in the north by the Gulf of Haifa. Average annual rainfall is 600 mm. The range is covered by Mediterranean vegetation and inhabited by many species of animals. The striking shape of the Carmel promontory made it a conspicuous landmark for early seafarers who venerated it as the seat of a god, the Baal of Carmel. The first settlers were Neanderthals and Homo sapiens. Traces of them have been found in caves there. Carmel is possibly mentioned in an Egyptian document from the time of Pepi I (c. 2325–2275 B.C.E.) which describes the landing of troops at the rear of a high mountain called "the Nose of the Gazelle's Head." In inscriptions from the 15th to 12th centuries B.C.E., it appears as *rosh kadesh* ("sacred promontory"); references to the *rosh* ("promontory") also occur in the story of Elijah (I Kings 18:42), in Amos (9:3), and in the Song of Songs, where the head of the beloved is likened to Carmel (7:6). Carmel by the sea is compared with Tabor among the mountains in Jeremiah (46:18) and with Bashan in Nahum 1:4 and Jeremiah 50:19, etc. It extended as far as Jokneam and is mentioned as a point on the boundary of the tribe of Asher (Josh. 12:22; 19:26). It was located on the border of Phoenicia and a Roman inscription states that there the Phoenicians worshiped the god Hadad, the Baal of Carmel. In Ahab's time it was the scene of the famous contest between Elijah and the priests of Baal (I Kings 18:19ff.). In Assyrian inscriptions Carmel is called Bali-rasi ("Baal of the head [of Carmel]"). Tyre and Israel paid tribute to Shalmaneser III there in 841 B.C.E. From the Persian period onward (with the exception of the time of Alexander Yannai), Carmel belonged to Acre and its altar and sanctuary were then devoted to the god Zeus of Carmel, whose oracles were consulted by Vespasian and Trajan (Pliny, *Natural History*, 5:75; Tacitus, *Histories*, 2:78). According to Josephus there was a Jewish settlement in the Carmel area from Hasmonean times (Ant., 14:334; Wars, 1:250). In Christian times Zeus was supplanted by St. Elias, the el-Khider of Muslim legend. In the Crusader period a monastery was founded on Mount Carmel by St. Brochardus, a Frenchman born in Jerusalem. In 1291 the Muslims destroyed the monastery and murdered the monks. The Cave of Elijah at the foot of the hill is sacred to Jews, Christians, and Muslims.

[Michael Avi-Yonah / Gideon Biger (2nd ed.)]

Until the 20th century, remnants of natural forest were preserved better on Mount Carmel than in most other parts of the country. Before the expansion of the city of *Haifa, beginning in the 1920s, the mountain area was only thinly populated. There were two Druze villages, Isfiya and Dāliyat al-Karmil, in its central part, the Arab village Ijzim in a small intermontane vale in the south, and several more Arab villages along the western rim which had their farming lands in the Coastal Plain. Only one of the non-Druze villages, al-*Fureidis, was not abandoned during the *War of Independence (1948). In the initial period of modern Jewish settlement the moshavah *Zikhron Ya'akov was founded (in 1883) on Mount Carmel's southernmost tip, but the rest of the area was left outside the scope of Jewish settlement until Jewish suburbs of Haifa, particularly Hadar ha-Karmel, expanded to the mountain's northern slope. Two small Jewish outposts, Ya'arot ha-Karmel and *Bet Oren, were founded on the mountain ridge in the late 1930s and suburbs of Haifa (Har ha-Karmel, Aḥuzah) reached the hilltop further north. In the early years of Israel statehood, new moshavim were established in the Carmel Coastal Plain in the west, but only a few settlements were added on the mountain itself (e.g., *Nir Eẓyon, the artists' village *Ein Hod, Kerem Maharal) and further settlement was curtailed. However, the natural growth of the city of Haifa led to further inhabitation of the mountain as new neighborhoods were built. Still, a large part of the mountain (21,000 acres) is part of the Mount Carmel National Park, Israel's largest, with a third of the area a nature reserve protected from development and urbanization.

[Efraim Orni / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Abel, Geog, 1 (1933), 350ff.; Aharoni, Land, index; Avi-Yonah, in: IEJ, 2 (1952), 118ff.; Avi-Yonah, Land, index.

CARMI, ISAIAH ḤAI BEN JOSEPH (1740–1799), Italian Hebrew poet. Carmi was a disciple of Israel Benjamin Bassani, whom he succeeded as rabbi of Reggio in North Italy. He died there when he was about to accept a call to Trieste. Carmi's pupil Anania (Hananiah Elhanan) Coen in his poetics *Ru'aḥ Ḥadashah* printed some of his poems. Carmi carried on a scholarly correspondence with the bibliophile Moses Benjamin *Foà and with the Christian Hebraist G.B. *de' Rossi. Isaiah Ḥai Carmi is not to be confused with an earlier poet, Isaiah Nathan Carmi, who lived c. 1591 (Ms. Kaufmann, no. 291).

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[Jefim (Hayyim) Schirmann]

CARMI, JOSEPH JEDIDIAH (c. 1590–?), Italian rabbi and liturgical poet. Carmi was brought to Modena as a child before the Jews had been banished from the Duchy of Milan in 1597. He began to teach in Modena in 1612, and in 1623 was appointed *ḥazzan* of the private synagogue of the Usiglio family there. Encouraged by the example of his brother-in-law, Aaron Berechiah of *Modena, Carmi composed prayers in which the influence of the Kabbalah is apparent, to be recited by the Shomerim la-Boker ("association for vigils") of this synagogue. These were published with brief glosses by the author in *Kenaf Renanim* (Venice, 1626). His responsa are preserved in manuscript (C. Bernheimer, *Catalogue … Livourne* (1914), no. 19).

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[Abraham Meir Habermann]

CARMI, T. (pseudonym of **Carmi Charney**; 1925–1994), Hebrew poet. Born in New York, Carmi grew up in a home where Hebrew was the spoken language, and as a child, lived in Ereẓ Israel. After working with refugee children in France (1946–47), he immigrated to Palestine in 1947, fought on the Jerusalem front during the War of Independence, and then served as an officer in the air force. Carmi, one of the editors of the literary journal *Massa*, was also a member of the repertory committee of *Habimah, and children's book editor for the Am Oved publishing company. Carmi's first book of verse, *Mum ve-Ḥalom* (1950), composed mostly in a lyrical vein, is characterized by original and concrete imagery, while his idiom is precise and conversational although drawing on all the strata of literary Hebrew. It is unsentimental and marked by its frequent recourse to irony. In *Ein Peraḥim Sheḥorim* (1953), he describes a French institution for refugee children in a series of dramatic monologues whose speakers are the children and their educators. *Sheleg bi-Yrushalayim* (1956^2) includes several social protest poems as well as lyrical verse. Other works, dominated by a strong sensuous tone, are *Ha-Yam ha-Aḥaron* (1958); *Neḥash ha-Neḥoshet* (1961; in English, *The Brass Serpent*, 1967); and *Ha-Unikorn Mistakkel ba-Marah* (1967). The volume of poems by Carmi, *Hitnaẓlut ha-Meḥabber* (1974), includes an elegy to Lea *Goldberg. His collected Hebrew poems appeared in 1988.

A selection of poems entitled *Shirim: Mivḥar, 1951–1994* was published in 1994; in 1981 the *Penguin Book of Hebrew Verse* appeared. It was edited and translated by Carmi and covers a wide range of poetry, from biblical poetry through modern Hebrew poets.

One of the editors of *The Modern Hebrew Poem Itself* (1965), he translated many literary works (mostly drama) into Hebrew. Poems of T. Carmi in English translation are available in S. Mitchell (ed.), *T. Carmi, Dan Pagis* (1976). The English Collection *At the Stone of Losses* was published in 1983. For a list of works translated by Carmi into English, see Goell, Bibliography, nos. 1557–81.

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[Abraham Huss]

CARMILLY-WEINBERGER, MOSHE (1907–), historian and rabbi (chief rabbi of the Cluj Neolog community), and professor at the Yeshiva University of New York. Born into a religious family in Budapest, he studied in yeshivot and high schools in Transylvania and rabbinical seminaries in Budapest and Breslau, obtaining his Ph.D. from the Budapest University. For many years he led the Jewish Neolog community of Cluj, until 1944, when he left for Bucharest in the face of the danger of ghettoization and subsequent deportation of the North Transylvanian Jews to the German death camps by the fascist Hungarian authorities. From Bucharest he arrived in Mandatory Palestine, from where he then went to New York, where he pursued a career studying the history and culture of Transylvania's Hungarian-speaking Jews. After 1989 he contributed to the creation of the Carmilly-Weinberger Institute for the study of Hebrew and Jewish History, which operates within the framework of the Babes-Bolyai University of Cluj-Napoca (Romania). Here he organized many conferences and lectures about the history of Transylvanian Jews, their traditions, and their culture. Among his best known works is *Censorship and Freedom of Expression in Jewish History* (1977).

[Paul Schveiger (2nd ed.)]

CARMOLY, ELIAKIM (1802–1875), rabbi, writer, and editor. Carmoly, who was born in Sulz, Alsace, studied under distinguished rabbis in Colmar. After spending some years examining Hebrew manuscripts in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, he took up a rabbinical post in Brussels in 1832. He resigned after seven years because of criticism of his reformist tendencies and moved to Frankfurt. There he devoted himself to the collection and study of ancient manuscripts and books, about which he published articles in Hebrew, French, and German journals. However, he was suspected by the Hebrew scholars of his time of carelessness and even forgery. His Hebrew books include: *Toledot Gedolei Yisrael* ("Biographies of Famous Jews," 1828); *Sippur Eldad ha-Dani* ("Story of Eldad ha-Dani," 1828); *Mevasseret Ẓiyyon* (1885²), concerning the ten lost tribes; *Elleh ha-Massa'ot* (1841), about travels in Palestine; and *Ha-Orevim u-Venei Yonah* (1861), a genealogy of the Rapoport family. He also wrote a coronation poem, in Hebrew and French, in praise of Louis-Philippe of France (1830). Carmoly was, in addition, one of the pioneers in the study of the history of Jewish medicine and Jewish physicians, and wrote *Histoire des Medecins juifs* (1844). He edited *Revue Orientale* (1841–46), contributing most of the articles himself.

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[Getzel Kressel]

CARMOLY, ISSACHAR BAER BEN JUDAH LIMA (1735–1781), Alsatian rabbi and author. According to Zunz and Steinschneider, the name Carmoly, an anagram for the city of Colmar, was first adopted by Issachar's grandson Eliakim Goetz and retroactively applied to his forebears. Issachar studied under Jonathan *Eybeschuetz and Jacob Joshua *Falk (author of *Penei Yehoshu'a* (1715)) and served as rabbi in Sulz. He wrote commentaries on *Tosefta Beẓah* (1769) and tractate *Makkot*, both of which are called *Yam Yissakhar,* as well as responsa and novellae which remain unpublished.

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[Isaak Dov Ber Markon]

CARMONA, city in Andalusia, S.W. Spain. Like Cádiz, Carmona has been identified by some historians with the biblical *Tarshish. A Jewish quarter near the southern wall of the city existed during the period of Muslim rule. It was located west of rúa Postego. The name *Judería* is still retained by a street in the district. The community, which never exceeded some 200 in number, flourished in particular during the 11th century when Carmona was the capital of a Berber principality: in this period it is apparently referred to in a responsum (279) of Isaac *Alfasi. The *fuero* ("municipal charter") granted by Ferdinand III to the city after the Christian Reconquest in 1246 defined the rights of the Jews. However, as settlement began in the region of Seville, the restrictive ordinances imposed in Castile, in *Toledo in 1118, were also applied to the Carmona community. The clause which most affected the Jews of Carmona prohibited a Jew, or a recent convert, from holding any office giving him authority over Christians; however, as regards Carmona there was a proviso exempting the *almoxarife* ("collector of revenues") appointed by the seigniorial owner from this regulation. On the death of Don Çulema (Solomon *Ibn Zadok of Toledo), the chief *almoxarife* of the kingdom, his estates in Carmona, including vineyards and olive groves, were confiscated.

The Carmona community was destroyed during the anti-Jewish riots in Spain in 1391. Accused by the crown in 1395 of destroying and plundering the synagogue, the municipal council defended itself by arguing that it had been unable to control the situation while violence was raging in Seville. Jews were subsequently forbidden to live in Carmona. The community of Conversos living there was subsequently destroyed in the wave of attacks in 1473–74. The aged Converso poet Anton de *Montoro addressed a lengthy poem on the calamity to the king: "Had you seen the sack of the town of Carmona your heart would have welled with tears of great pity." The last evidence of the presence of Jews in Carmona dates from 1489 when Queen Isabella permitted ten Jews from Castile, including Meir *Melammed and Don Abraham *Senior, to visit Carmona, despite the regulation which prohibited Jews from living there, in order to ransom Jews taken captive during the conquest of Málaga who had been sent to Carmona as prisoners. Descendants of the Spanish exiles with the family name *Carmona are found in Turkey.

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[Haim Beinart]

CARMONA, BEKHOR ISAAC DAVID (1773–1826), Turkish financier. The Carmona family is of Spanish origin and appears to have come from the Andalusian city of the same name. Bekhor Isaac bore the title *Çelebi* ("gentleman of fashion," "Sir"), a Turkish award to educated persons. As a young man he dealt in alum (*şap* in Turkish), and hence came to be known as "*Şapci Basi.*" He was also a money changer, and with two other Jews, Ezekiel Gabbai and Isaiah Ajiman, the paymaster of the Janissary regiments, which he even accompanied on campaigns. He lent money to the commanders of the regiments to enable them to advance payment to the soldiers; the commanders then shared the profits from these loans with Bekhor Isaac and his two associates. Later, he became the court banker and chief tax collector.

Bekhor Isaac moved from his residence at Hasköy to an imposing mansion he had built for himself on the Bosporus. Here he maintained a yeshivah, providing the students with all their personal needs and supplying them with books. In 1826 an Armenian rival accused him of conspiring with the Janissaries, who had been disbanded, and of defrauding the government treasury. On a Sabbath evening Bekhor Isaac was arrested by the sultan's guards and executed on the spot; the family's property was confiscated. The sultan's mother, who had greatly respected him, delivered his body to his sons, and he was buried the following Sunday with great honors. For many years the Jews of Istanbul added a special elegy in memory of Çelebi Bekhor Isaac to the *kinot* recited on the ninth of Av.

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[Abraham Haim]

CARNEGIE, HATTIE (1886–1956), U.S. milliner, fashion designer, manufacturer. The second of seven children, Henrietta Kanengeiser was born in Vienna and immigrated with her family to Manhattan's Lower East Side at the turn of the 20th century. Although she started out as a messenger girl at Macy's, owning only one skirt and a couple of blouses, her sense of style and business savvy led her to set standards for fashion for over a generation and she left an estate of $8 million upon her death at the age of 69. She started in the fashion business in 1909 when she and a seamstress, Miss Roth, opened a shop on East Tenth Street. Roth made dresses and Henrietta, who made the hats, changed her name to Hattie Carnegie, taking the last name of the steel magnate, Andrew Carnegie. In 1919, following a business dispute, Carnegie bought out her partner and Roth & Carnegie, Inc. became Hattie Carnegie, Inc. Between 1919 and 1939, Carnegie made more than seven buying trips to Paris each year, bringing back samples to restyle as custom dresses for sale at her exclusive shop. Carnegie, who is credited with training many U.S. dress designers, including John Louis, Bruno, and Norman Norell, located her offices in a building on Fifth Avenue that also housed her wholesale business, where she created and sold models of her designer dresses to manufacturers for reproduction and sale in major department stores. In addition to selling dresses, she had a millinery shop and jewelry, perfume, and cosmetics factories. After two unsuccessful marriages, Carnegie embarked in 1928 on a long-lasting union with John Zanft, vice president of the William Fox Circuit of Theaters and a childhood friend. Carnegie's fashions were often cited for excellence of design as when New York City Mayor O'Dwyer presented her with a trophy at the sixth annual American Fashion Critics Ceremony at Gracie Mansion in 1948. The award was given for "her distinguished contribution to the long range development of good taste in dress in America" (*New York Times*). She died after a long illness.

[Sara Alpern (2nd ed.)]

CARNIVAL, festive period in the Christian calendar which precedes Lent, becoming more intense during the last three days. In the past, Rome was the most lively center of the carnival, which was regarded by many as a substitute for or continuation of the Roman *Saturnalia*. It had deplorable consequences for the Jewish population, which from 1466 was forced to make an exhibition of itself before the Roman populace by running foot-races before the jeering crowd and other humiliating performances. The races were abolished in 1668 and replaced by the payment of an offering of 300 scudi.

The rabbi and the leaders of the community henceforth had to appear at the Capitol on the first Saturday of the carnival to render homage and pay the money; a century later they were obliged to kneel during this ceremony. The carnival period was dreaded by the Jews of Rome because of the anti-Jewish manifestations to which it gave rise. The ceremony of homage, revived after the French Revolution, was abolished by Pope Pius IX in 1847.

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[Giorgio Romano]

CARNOVSKY, MORRIS (1897–1992), U.S. actor. Born in St. Louis, Missouri, Carnovsky appeared as Reb Aaron in Sholem Asch's *God of Vengeance* in 1922 and in Theater Guild productions, such as *Men in White* (1933). He distinguished himself on Broadway as the grandfather in Odet's *Awake and Sing*, 1935. He acted with The Group Theater, of which he was a founding member, and worked as an actor and director for the Actors Laboratory Theater in Hollywood (1945–50), a progressive theatrical group made up of film actors dissatisfied with the roles assigned them by the big studios.

He appeared in *The World of Sholom Aleichem* (1953) and

The Dybbuk (1954). Blacklisted for his refusal to give names to the House Committee on Un-American Activities, he concentrated from 1956 on Shakespearean portrayals at Stratford, Connecticut. Invited by actor John Houseman to join the American Shakespeare Festival in Stratford, Carnovsky took on such roles as Shylock in *The Merchant of Venice* and Lear in *King Lear.*

He also acted in films, which include *The Life of Emile Zola* (1937), *Tovarich* (1937), *Edge of Darkness* (1943), *Address Unknown* (1944), *The Master Race* (1944), *Our Vines Have Tender Grapes* (1945), *Rhapsody in Blue* (1945), *Cornered* (1945), *Dead Reckoning* (1947), *Dishonored Lady* (1947), *The Knockout* (1947), *Saigon* (1948), *Deadly Is the Female* (1949), *Cyrano de Bergerac* (1950), *The Second Woman* (1951), *A View from the Bridge* (1961), *Dig* (1972), *The Gambler* (1974). He also appeared in the TV movies *Medea* (1959), *The World of Sholom Aleichem* (1959), and *The Cafeteria* (1984), based on the short story by Isaac Bashevis Singer.

During a span of 40 years, Carnovsky performed in more than 40 Broadway productions. These include *Saint Joan* (1923), *The Brothers Karamazov* (1927), *Marco Millions* (1928), *Volpone* (1928), *Uncle Vanya* (1929), *Elizabeth the Queen* (1930), *Success Story* (1932), *Paradise Lost* (1935), *Golden Boy* (1937), *My Sister Eileen* (1940–43), *Café Crown* (1942), *Joy to the World* (1948), *Tiger at the Gates* (1955), *Nude with Violin* (1957), *Rhinoceros* (1961), and *A Family Affair* (1962). In 1979 Carnovsky was inducted into the Theatre Hall of Fame.

[Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

CARO, SIR ANTHONY (1924–), British sculptor. Caro, a member of an old English Sephardi family, was born in Kingston-upon-Thames, Surrey and educated at Cambridge. He originally studied engineering, but after service in World War II studied art. From 1951 to 1953 he was assistant to Henry Moore. He became prominent as a teacher as well as a sculptor, both at St. Martin's School of Art in London and at Bennington College, Vermont, United States. Caro's earliest work, in clay and bronze, concentrated on the female form in a somewhat brutal, expressionist, emotional style. In 1960, following a visit to the United States, he dramatically changed his style to an uncompromisingly abstract one, making use of sheet metal, iron girders, and ready-made engineering parts. In 1963, when his large steel and aluminum structures were shown at the Whitechapel Art Gallery in London, Caro was acclaimed as a major artist. He subsequently represented Britain at the Biennales in Venice (1966) and São Paulo, Brazil (1969). Regarded as one of the greatest contemporary sculptors, Caro was awarded a knighthood in 1987 and was made a member of the Order of Merit (OM) in 2000.

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[Charles Samuel Spencer / William D. Rubinstein (2nd ed.)]

CARO, DAVID (c. 1782–1839), Hebrew writer and educator. Born in Fordon, Poland, he was attracted to the Haskalah movement at an early age and in 1800 moved to Posen where he joined the local group of *maskilim* and took a special interest in problems of education. His article "*Giddul Banim*" ("Bringing up Children," *Ha-Me'assef*, 9 and 10, 1810–11) is one of the best articles about education in the Hebrew literature of the period. In 1815, he founded the first Jewish school in Posen, where German was the language of instruction and where general subjects comprised most of the curriculum. He conducted the school according to the pedagogic innovations of his time, especially those of Pestalozzi, the Swiss educational reformer.

During the controversy over the Hamburg Reform Temple, Caro published a book called *Berit Emet* (Dessau, 1820) using the pseudonym "Amittai ben Avida Ahizedek" and with the false imprint "Constantina" (Constantinople). The first part of the book, called *Berit Elohim*, is divided into three sections: (a) letters to friends on questions of religion and ethics; (b) a defense of the changes introduced in the reformed synagogues; (c) a criticism of the pamphlet *Elleh Divrei ha-Berit* which had been published in 1818 by the leading Orthodox rabbis in Western Europe, attacking the Hamburg Temple. The second part, called *Berit ha-Kehunnah, o Tekhunat ha-Rabbanim*, strongly criticizes the state of the contemporary rabbinate. This was the first open attack by a Haskalah writer upon the rabbinate of his time. The second part of *Berit Emet* was republished by J.L. *Mieses under the title *Tekhunat ha-Rabbanim* (Vienna, 1823) with the pseudonym of the writer listed as Uriah mi-Mishpaḥat ha-Falaquera. At the end of the book, Mieses added some remarks of his own. Caro also published poems and essays in *Bikkurei ha-Ittim* (11, 1830).

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[Gedalyah Elkoshi]

CARO, GEORG MARTIN (1867–1912), German economic and social historian. Born in Glogau, Silesia/Germany, Caro finished his Ph.D. thesis in Strasbourg in 1891, where he studied with Harry *Bresslau. After a long sojourn in Italy he taught at Zurich University in Switzerland. His interests were focused on medieval and modern economic and social history in Italy and Central Europe. His major works include *Genua und die Maechte am Mittelmeer 1257–1311* (1895–99, Caro's *Habilitation*) and *Beitraege zur aelteren deutschen Wirtschafts-und Verfassungsgeschichte* (1905–11). His main contribution to Jewish historiography is the unfinished *Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte der Juden im Mittelalter und der Neuzeit* ("Social and Economic History of the Jews in the Middle Ages and Modern Times," 2 vols., 1908–20; reprint 1964). This work, which was also translated into Hebrew, succeeded in combining a concise overview with a popular style of writing.

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[Hanns G. Reissner / Marcus Pyka (2nd ed.)]

CARO, HEINRICH (1834–1910), German chemist. Born in Posen, Prussia, he was taken to Berlin in 1842. In 1859 he went to England, and worked for seven years with Roberts, Dale and Co. in Manchester. There he developed new aniline dyes, and synthesized original dyes, such as Manchester Yellow. Caro was one of several Germans working in England at the beginnings of the new synthetic dyestuff industry, but they all eventually returned to Germany and established an important dyestuff industry there. In 1868 he became the technical director of Badische Anilin und Sodafabrik (founded in 1865, later a main subsidiary of I.G. Farben). Caro was responsible for the discovery and industrial production of a vast range of dyestuffs. The compound permonosulfuric acid is known as "Caro's acid."

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[Samuel Aaron Miller]

CARO, ISAAC BEN JOSEPH, Spanish scholar who lived at the time of the expulsion of the Jews from Spain in 1492. He was a native of Toledo, where he headed a yeshivah. Several years before the expulsion he moved with his yeshivah to Portugal. When the expulsion of the Jews from Portugal was decreed in 1497 he escaped to Turkey where he became one of the rabbis of Constantinople. There he published *Toledot Yiẓḥak* (Constantinople, 1518), a concisely written commentary on the Pentateuch, which included literal, homiletical, kabbalistic, and philosophical interpretations. His book reveals him as a man of very wide culture. Its extreme popularity is evidenced by the fact that four editions were published in the short period of 14 years. In the introduction he describes the many hardships, including the death of his children, which he endured during his wanderings. He adopted his nephew, Joseph *Caro, the author of the Shulḥan Arukh, who frequently mentions him in terms of the highest admiration. He states his desire to settle in Ereẓ Israel but it is not clear whether he was able to fulfill his wish. Only remnants of his other works remain. Three of his responsa appear in the works of Joseph Caro (*Avkat Rokhel*, Salonika 1791, no. 47, 48; *Beit Yosef*, Salonika 1598, on *Even ha-Ezer*, end). In his introduction to the latter work Judah, the son of Joseph Caro, declared his intention of collecting and publishing the rest of Isaac's responsa. Some of them are extant in manuscript (JTS, no. 0348). He also wrote novellae to tractate *Ketubbot* (Oxford Bodleiana Mich. 250, Catalogue Neubauer 535). His homilies under the title *Ḥasdei David* have recently been published by S. Regev. Remnants of his commentary on *Avot* are quoted in the *Midrash Shemu'el* (Venice, 1579) of Samuel de *Uceda.

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[Abraham David]

CARO, JOSEPH BEN EPHRAIM (1488–1575), author of the *Shulḥan Arukh.

Life

Caro was apparently born in Toledo, Castile. It seems that after the expulsion from Spain (1492) his family left for Turkey or Portugal, but it is possible that they left for Portugal even before the expulsion and that Caro was born there. It is certain that after the expulsion from Portugal in 1497 the family left for Turkey where Caro lived for about 40 years. At first he lived with his family in Istanbul, but subsequently, not later than 1522, he lived in Adrianople, *Nikopol, and Salonika. He first studied under his father Ephraim, himself a distinguished talmudist. After the death of his father, which occurred while Joseph was still young, he was brought up by his uncle Isaac *Caro. In Turkey he apparently met with Solomon *Molcho, whose martyrdom at the stake in 1532 made a deep impression on Caro, with the result that he too yearned to meet a martyr's death. He was also influenced by Joseph *Taitaẓak, whom he met in Salonika, and by Solomon *Alkabeẓ, whom he met both there and in Nikopol. In Salonika and in Adrianople there were groups of pietists and kabbalists led by these scholars. In 1522 at the age of 34 he began writing his great work, the *Beit Yosef*, and in 1536 he left Turkey for Safed. He apparently stayed for some time in Egypt, before going to Safed, and possibly studied there under Jacob *Berab, but it is also not unlikely that he studied under him in Safed. He was one of the four scholars ordained by Berab in 1538 (see **Semikhah*). However, he did not consider his ordination as sufficiently authoritative and in his works he laid it down that "nowadays we have no ordained *dayyanim*." The *bet din* of Safed which he headed based its authority on the fact that it was "recognized by the public and was great in wisdom and numbers" and not as an ordained *bet din*.

After the departure of Berab from Safed in 1538, about three months after the renewal of *semikhah*, Caro was regarded as the leader of the scholars of Safed. His name almost invariably appears first on all documents issued by the *bet din* and on the rulings and decisions emanating from the scholars of Safed and its *battei din*. He also apparently served as the head of the communal council of Safed. There were many halakhic differences between him and Moses di *Trani. Caro headed a large yeshivah; according to the testimony of one traveler, 200 pupils attended his lectures at the yeshivah. He wrote hundreds of responsa to halakhic queries addressed to him from the whole of the Diaspora, besides devoting himself to the needs of the community. A few days before his death he ordered a ban to be issued against the *Me'or Einayim* of Azariah dei *Rossi, but died before he could sign it. Caro's pupils included Moses *Cordovero and Moses *Alsheikh, who was ordained by him.

Caro married at least three times. In his works he cites traditions in the names of his three fathers-in-law, Ḥayyim Albalag, Isaac Saba, and Zechariah Zaksel Ashkenazi, referring to each of them as "*mori*" ("my teacher"). While he was in Turkey two of his sons and a daughter died. He was survived by three sons, Solomon, Judah, and another (possibly Isaac), who died several years after him. According to one tradition a son of Caro was betrothed to the daughter of Isaac *Luria. His son Judah was born four or five years before his father's death. In Caro's responsa *Avkat Rokhel* (no. 134) there is a note, "Here the master, of blessed memory, left the paper blank. He should have added to the responsum, but was called to the Academy on High." He died in Safed on the 13th of Nisan at the age of 87; as a mnemonic Song of Songs 5:11 was quoted: "His head is as the most fine gold" (*paz*, "fine gold": numerical value 87). He was buried in Safed where his grave is still to be seen in the old cemetery.

[David Tamar]

As a Halakhist

Although Joseph Caro has been immortalized by his most famous work, the Shulḥan *Arukh, which has become the authoritative code of Jewish law for Orthodox Jewry throughout the world, it is the least important of his works from the point of view of talmudic scholarship. It was, as he himself says, a digest of his *magnum opus* the *Beit Yosef* designed *inter alia* for "young students" (introd.) and he himself set no great store by it. He never quotes it in his responsa, quoting instead the *Beit Yosef.*

THE BEIT YOSEF. Caro began writing the *Beit Yosef* in 1522 in Adrianople, and worked on it unceasingly for 20 years, completing it in Safed in 1542, although the first volume was not published until 1555. In his admirable, brief introduction Caro sets out the aim and purpose of his work. The multiplicity of codes, and their tendency to give halakhic rulings without going thoroughly into the sources or giving opposing views, together with the reliance of different communities on different codes, had brought about a bewildering variety of local customs. His aim was to make order out of this chaos and – by thoroughly investigating every single law, beginning with its source in the Talmud, discussing each stage of its development, and bringing in every possible divergent view – arrive finally at the decisive ruling (see *codification of the law). He decided against writing an independent work, "in order to avoid having to repeat what my predecessors have already written," but to write it in the form of a commentary on an existing code. He first thought of Maimonides' classic code, "since he is the most famous *posek* in the world," but rejected the idea because Maimonides posits the *halakhah* without giving divergent opinions; he finally decided on the *Arba'ah Turim* of *Jacob b. Asher "who gives the opinions of most of the *posekim*."

There is little doubt that this resolution had a decisive influence on the whole development of Jewish law. It enhanced the importance of the *Arba'ah Turim*, already an authoritative code, to an even greater extent and established for all time the division of that portion of Jewish law which is of practical application into four sections which Jacob b. Asher had evolved (see *Shulḥan Arukh). There was probably another reason which Caro does not mention. Jacob b. Asher, although brought up in Spain, was the son of *Asher b. Jehiel, one of the greatest figures in the Franco-German school, and had thus given due weight in his code to the views of the Ashkenazi scholars which Maimonides had virtually disregarded. During the two centuries which had elapsed since the composition of Jacob b. Asher's work, however, talmudic scholarship had continued and flourished in Central and Eastern Europe while it had declined in Spain. Caro gives an impressive list of no less than 32 works which he consulted, from Rashi to Joseph Colon, mentioning those who belonged to the Franco-German school and those of the Spanish tradition. He adds that he uses the Zohar sparingly, and in point of fact only rarely does he give a ruling based on the Zohar which conflicts with Jacob b. Asher. His sense of unease at so doing is seen in the fact that in two such cases (Tur and Sh. Ar. OḤ 111 and 288) the *maggid* (see below) comes to him in a vision and confirms his ruling (*Maggid Mesharim*, Mishlei 23 and portion Va-Yakhel).

There was another reason to give preference to Jacob b. Asher's Tur over the code of Maimonides about which Caro is strangely silent. Whereas the latter is a comprehensive code, embracing the whole of Jewish law whether it was in force and applicable in contemporary circumstances or not, Jacob b. Asher in his code confines himself severely to those laws only which are of practical application in his time. Caro's approach coincided with the latter and it is difficult to see how, despite his statement, he could have based himself on Maimonides. Nevertheless, he shows his admiration for and dependence upon Maimonides, in that to a considerable extent he adapts Maimonides' language. It has been estimated that no less than a third of the text is copied verbatim from him. In a responsum (*Avkat Rokhel* no. 32) in answer to a question whether a community which followed Maimonides' code might be obliged to accept Caro's rulings, he vigorously forbids it, speaking in the most glowing terms of Maimonides, and firmly insists that they continue to adhere to his rulings.

Caro carefully collated the existing text of the *Turim*, comparing it with manuscripts and correcting the scribal errors which had crept into it. But his work had a practical purpose: to finally lay down the definitive *halakhah* so that there should be "one law and one Torah." Here he was faced with a difficulty. He felt that his own authority was insufficient to decide between conflicting opinions, and he therefore adopted an empiric method. Taking as his basis the works of the three giants of *halakhah* – Isaac *Alfasi, Maimonides, and Asher b. Jehiel – he decided to accept the ruling of a majority of these three. He explicitly retained, however, a certain elasticity, of which he took full advantage. When a majority of the other codes which he consulted followed the single opinion of one of three or where a custom had been accepted in practice, or where no clear decision was given, he would depart from this rule, and with a refreshing liberality, laying it down that if his decision ran counter to the established custom in any country they were free to disregard his ruling, especially when the custom followed the more stringent interpretation.

For encyclopedic knowledge and complete mastery of the subject, for thoroughness of research, and for keen critical insight this work is unmatched in the whole of rabbinic literature. To this day it is an indispensable guide for anyone desirous of following the development of any individual law of the Talmud from its source to the stage of its development in the 16th century.

THE SHULḤAN ARUKH. It was the acknowledgment and appreciation of the perfection of this work which ultimately gave the Shulḥan Arukh its unchallenged place as the code par excellence of the *halakhah*. The fact that it was a digest of the *Beit Yosef*, in which a detailed examination of the source and development of every law is given, made it impossible to level against Caro the vehement criticism which had been leveled against Maimonides' code, that it lays down the law without giving sources or divergent opinions. The massive folios into which subsequent commentaries and supercommentaries have swelled the original text mask the fact that it was originally very brief. In the third edition (Venice, 1567) the text is divided into 30 sections, to be read consecutively, one section daily, so that the whole work could be gone over in 30 days, a task which is by no means impossible if it is read merely to refresh the memory. Even a pocket edition appeared, and the title page of the sixth edition (Venice, 1574) states specifically that it was designed in this format, "so that it could be carried in one's bosom so that it may be referred to at any time and any place, while resting or traveling."

Constant reference is made to the statement of Caro that it was designed for the "young students" (*talmidim ketannim*). It is true that he employs this phrase, but he says more than that. In the short introduction he makes three almost contradictory statements. It was written, he says, "in a succinct manner and with clarity of language" (he uses the identical phrase to describe the code of Maimonides: see below), in order that "a scholar may give the *halakhah*, and not hesitate to give the answer clearly and unambiguously, since he will know this work fully." He then adds, "In addition the young students, by meditating on it regularly and learning it by heart, will learn the *halakhah* from their very youth." But there is no doubt that at the back of his mind was the hope that this book would be the instrument which realized his passionate desire, constantly reiterated in the *Maggid Mesharim*, that he would be vouchsafed to write a code which would be accepted as authoritative by world Jewry, and he concludes, "I am confident that through Divine Grace, as a result of this work the world will be filled with knowledge of the Lord and will be utilized by small as well as great scholars in addition to decisors."

The Shulḥan Arukh is devoid of any aggadic material which Jacob b. Asher's Tur uses to illustrate and emphasize halakhic rules, and unlike Maimonides' *Mishneh Torah* it contains no ideological or metaphysical discussions. One looks in vain in it for statements on the attributes of God, or ethical discussions. Comprehensive though the Shulḥan Arukh is, it fails to mention some laws. For example, there is a surprising omission of the law against wanton destruction of property (*bal tashḥit*) which is detailed at length in the Talmud, as well as the laws of *teshuvah*, which are included in Maimonides' code. The first edition was published in Venice, 1564–65. (For a list of later editions see *Kovez̦ R. Yosef Caro* (1969), 89–120.)

KESEF MISHNEH. The second in importance of Caro's rabbinic works (if the *Beit Yosef* and the Shulḥan Arukh are regarded as one) is his *Kesef Mishneh* (Venice, 1574–75), a commentary on part of Maimonides' *Mishneh Torah*. It was written as a complement to the *Maggid Mishneh* of *Vidal of Tolosa, a 14th-century Spanish scholar. His work had covered the whole *Mishneh Torah*, but only the commentary to six of the fourteen books, which Caro enumerates, were extant. Caro's work consisted of a commentary on the other eight with additions to the commentary of Vidal. In the introduction to *Kesef Mishneh* he pays tribute to Maimonides who taught "in a succinct manner and with the clarity of the Mishnah," and his work served to remove the one failing in that monumental code, the failure of Maimonides to give his sources or alternative opinions. It has become, with the *Maggid Mishneh*, the standard and indispensable commentary to the *Mishneh Torah*.

RESPONSA. Caro's responsa are not nearly as important as his other works. It is noteworthy that although his son Judah, following one of the last requests of his father, assembled and arranged them for publication, only the first volume, on *Even ha-Ezer,* was published shortly after his death (Salonika, 1598). His responsa on the other three sections of the Shulḥan Arukh, entitled *Avkat Rokhel* (cf. Song 3:6), were not published until 1791 in Salonika.

Both volumes include responsa written in Nikopol and in Safed; those written in the latter town reveal a continuing dispute with Moses di Trani, his colleague, along with *David ben Solomon ibn Abi Zimra, on the *bet din* of Safed. Caro generally inclined to a more stringent view than did Trani. They disagreed on the laws appertaining to *shemittah*, which fell in 1574 (*Avkat Rokhel*, nos. 22–25) and in a case involving the inheritance of the *ketubbah* of a widow (Responsa *Beit Yosef, Ketubbot*, no. 2 ff.). In order to give a complete picture, there are included on certain topics the responsa of the contemporary rabbis on the question under discussion with the result that the *Avkat Rokhel* contains responsa of Moses di Trani, Jacob Berab, Joseph Taitaz̦ak, and Elijah *Capsali, as well as of rabbis in Greece, Turkey, and Egypt. Caro stoutly defended his point of view against that of those who differed with him, and though usually they refer to one another in terms of the highest respect, they sometimes indulge in strong language in refuting opposing views. On the other hand in one of his responsa (*ibid.*, no. 66) on the question of the permissibility of the use of a curtain (*parokhet*) in the synagogue, embroidered with figures of hinds, he states emphatically that it is completely permissible, though he forbids three-dimensional figures, especially of lions (*ibid.*, no. 63). Nevertheless he insists that since there is an ordained rabbi in the city from which the question came, his decision is subject to that rabbi's approval, and should he forbid it his ruling must be accepted. Some of his responsa (e.g., *ibid.*, nos. 31, 157) consist of only one sentence, in which he gives his decision without any discussion, and in one responsum he specifically states that "it is not my purpose to bring all the proofs and fill the pages with mere quantity." Caro's other halakhic works are *Kelalei ha-Talmud*, a methodology of the Talmud (with Joshua b. Joseph, *Halikhot Olam*, Salonika, 1598) and *Bedek ha-Bayit* (*ibid.*, 1605) consisting of supplements and corrections to his *Beit Yosef*, both published posthumously.

[Louis Isaac Rabinowitz]

As a Kabbalist

Like all leading rabbinic scholars of his time, Caro was also a kabbalist, profoundly concerned with kabbalistic doctrine and committed to the kabbalistic ideals of ascetic and spiritual perfection, even though the main focus of his activity as a writer and teacher was in the halakhic field. He belonged to a circle of scholars and ascetics that included the leading kabbalists of the age, many of whom were known to have had extraordinary visionary, auditory, and other mystical experiences. These kabbalistic circles flourished already in the Balkans (Salonika, Adrianople) even before Safed developed into the leading center of kabbalist teaching and piety. Among Caro's acquaintances and associates mention should be made of Moses *Cordovero (who considered Caro his "master"), of Cordovero's teacher, friend, and brother-in-law Solomon *Alkabeẓ (who was also Caro's close friend), and of other leading kabbalists of Safed. In Caro's circle Kabbalah was not merely a matter of mystical theology and theosophical speculation, and several members experienced mystical revelations of diverse kinds (Solomon *Molcho, Joseph Taitaẓak, and others). Caro believed himself to be regularly visited – generally at night – by a heavenly mentor ("*maggid*") who revealed to him kabbalistic doctrines, as well as rules and predictions for his private ascetic life. This heavenly mentor (see *Maggid) identified himself as the heavenly archetype of the Mishnah and the *Shekhinah*, and manifested himself in the form of "automatic speech," i.e., as a voice coming out of Caro's mouth which could be heard by others. The best-known account of this phenomenon is that contained in a letter by Solomon Alkabeẓ, recounting such a "maggidic" manifestation during a *Shavuot-night vigil in Caro's house, probably in Nikopolis. These visitations, which continued for about 50 years, were not experienced in a state of trance, for Caro subsequently remembered the messages and wrote them down in a kind of mystical diary. A small part of this diary has survived in manuscript and was subsequently printed under the title *Maggid Mesharim* (1st, incomplete, ed. Lublin, 1646; 2nd, supplementary, ed., Venice, 1649; 1st complete ed., Amsterdam, 1708). Attempts to deny Caro's authorship of the *Maggid Mesharim* were mainly inspired by the prejudice that this lucid halakhist could not possibly have exhibited such mystical states (seen as irrational, trance-like, or even pathological); the authenticity of the book is, however, beyond doubt.

Caro's mystical diary was recast by the editors before it was published in the form of a kabbalistic-homiletical commentary on the Pentateuch. While it lacks the scope, depth, and synthetic sweep of, e.g., Cordovero's writings, it is a major source for a better knowledge of the state of the Kabbalah in the period after the expulsion from Spain and before the great revival in Safed of the new Kabbalah associated with the name of Isaac *Luria. While not creating a new kabbalistic system or synthesizing earlier doctrines, Caro's diary throws much light on contemporary pre-Lurianic kabbalistic discussions, and on several points (especially the doctrine of the *Shekhinah* and of the intermediary realms of being between the world of *Aẓilut* and the lower worlds) it shows considerable originality.

[R.J. Zwi Werblowsky]

According to new evidence, Caro played a leading role in the earliest known case of exorcism in Safed. The phenomenon of the *maggid*, though found earlier in kabbalistic sources, also reflects developments related to magic. R. Elior pointed out the possibility that some aspects of Caro's mysticism had an impact on Ḥasidism in the 18th century.

[Moshe Idel (2nd ed.)]

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CARO, JOSEPH ḤAYYIM BEN ISAAC (1800–1895), rabbi. He was born in Slupca, where his grandfather was rabbi and his father *dayyan*, and studied under Akiva *Eger. After holding the post of rabbi in a number of towns in the Poznan district, he was appointed in 1859 to Wloclawek. He had a good knowledge of German literature and preached in the language, often quoting from the German classics. He also spoke Hebrew fluently – unusual attainments in those days for a rabbi of unswerving orthodoxy. He even gave endorsements to works by *maskilim*.

He associated himself with the activities of Ẓevi Hirsch *Kalischer and Elijah *Gutmacher in behalf of settlement in Ereẓ Israel, and warmly praised those who worked toward that end. In 1872, on the occasion of his golden wedding anniversary, he was the recipient of a gift from Kaiser William I. His sons were Jacob Caro, professor of history in Breslau and Ezekiel Caro, rabbi of Lemberg. Caro's best-known book is *Kol Omer Kera* (published in four parts, 1866–85; second and standard edition Vilna 1895; since republished). It consists of sermons on the Sabbath and festivals in the classic rabbinic manner. Written in a lucid style, it reveals his fervent faith. He does not hesitate fearlessly to rebuke his congregation for their failings. His works also include *Yoreh u-Malkosh* (1894), funeral orations; *Minḥat Shabbat* (1847), containing two commentaries on *Avot*; and *Tevaḥ ve-Hakhen* (1859), on *Sheḥitah*.

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[Itzhak Alfassi]

CARO, NIKODEM (1871–1935), chemist. Born in Lodz, he received his doctorate in Berlin and then set up his own laboratory for industrial chemistry. Subsequently, he became a director of the Bavarian *Stickstoffwerke A.G.* His main area of research was calcium carbide and acetylene, and he was the chief developer of this field, which grew to major importance in the German chemical industry. The Caro method for assaying calcium carbide is still the official German standard. With Adolf Frank, he discovered the fixation of nitrogen by its reaction with calcium carbide to form calcium cyanamide, which is still an important fertilizer, although it declined in relative importance after World War II. Much of the manufacture of cyanamid is still carried out in "Frank-Caro" ovens. Caro took out numerous patents and wrote *Handbuch fuer Acetylen* (1904).

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[Samuel Aaron Miller]

CAROB (Heb. חָרוּב, *ḥaruv*), the tree *Ceratonia siliqua*. Though not mentioned in the Bible it presumably existed in Ereẓ Israel in biblical times, as is indicated by its Hebrew name and by the fact that it grows wild in the Mediterranean regions of the country. It is often referred to in rabbinic sources, which give full details of its characteristics. It is one of the most attractive trees in Israel (of. TJ, Suk. 3:5, 53d). In tannaitic times "a carob in Kfar Kasm" was stated to have been formerly used in the *Asherah cult (Tosef., Av. Zar. 6:8). On account of its high and spreading top, a considerable distance was left between one carob tree and another (Pe'ah 2:4). While some of its roots spread to a distance of 50 cubits (BB 2:7, 11), others strike deep into the ground, even reaching down to "the abyss" (Gen. R. 13:17, end). It develops a very thick trunk, one tree having been so huge that three girdles could not encircle it (TJ, Pe'ah 7:4, 20a). Its fruit grows not on the thick branches but on the thin ones and on the trunk (this being characteristic of a tree of tropical origin), and in this respect it resembles the sycamore (Men. 71a–b). It begins to bear fruit at a much later age than other fruit trees, producing a good yield, according to the *aggadah*, only 70 years after being planted (Ta'an. 23a). Actually it bears fruit after ten years, and the *aggadah* may refer to the fact that the male tree (the carob tree is dioecius, i.e., has male and female plants) when very old begins to produce female flowers as well as fruit. There are different varieties of carob trees. Besides the wild species there were excellent varieties that were grafted on the inferior types (BB 4:8). The latter, being mediocre, were not considered liable to the priestly offering (*Terumah*; Tosef., Ter. 5:6–7), and were regarded as fodder (Shab. 155a; TJ, Ma'as. 3:1, 50b). It was the poor man's fruit; for example it was said of the pious *tanna* Ḥanina b. Dosa "a *kav* of carobs sufficed him from one Sabbath eve to another" (Ta'an. 24b). Their nutritive value is high, and a well-known *aggadah* relates that carobs sustained Simeon b. Yoḥai and his son for 12 years while they were hiding in a cave from the Roman authorities (Shab. 33b). Carobs were of economic importance and were included among the fruits to which the law of *pe'ah* applied (Pe'ah 1:5). The best kinds were exported and were renowned outside the borders of Ereẓ Israel (Dem. 2:1; TJ, Dem. 2:1, 22b). Since these exude a honey when ripe and grow among the rocks, there may be a reference to such carobs in the verse: "And He made him to suck honey out of the crag" (Deut. 32:13; cf. TJ, Pe'ah 7:4, 20a).

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[Jehuda Feliks]

CARO-DELVAILLE, HENRI (1878–1928), French painter of portraits, conversation pieces, and nude studies. Born in Bayonne, Caro-Delvaille became known for his elegant and fashionable paintings of women. Of particular interest is *My Wife and Her Sisters* (1904) depicting the daughters of the rabbi of Bayonne. In 1923 he published a philosophical work entitled *L'Invitation à la Vie Intériure.*

CAROL, ARYEH (1923–), Israeli official and activist. Carol was born in the town of Holofonitchi near Minsk in Belarus and immigrated to Israel in 1935 with his mother. In 1941 he was one of the founders of religious army group (*gar'in*) that participated in security actions in the Bet-Shean valley. In 1946 he commanded the Biriyyah camp and in 1947 he was named to the national executive of the Bnei Akiva movement. In the same year he helped found Kibbutz Sa'ad, and later served twice as kibbutz coordinator (1951–56, 1959–63). From 1963 to 1967 he was the chief executive of Sahar ha-Negev Industries. In 1966 he was sent to the U.S.S.R. to develop connections with the Jewish people there. From 1968 to 1987 he was in charge of clandestine Jewish activity in the U.S.S.R. In 1987 he was named chairman of Ha-Kibbutz ha-Dati movement. In 1989 he was one of the founders of the First House project in the kibbutz movement, aimed at absorbing new immigrants in kibbutzim. From 1991 he was the coordinator of Bnei Akiva activities in former Soviet Unions countries. In 2000 he was awarded Israel Prize for special contribution, in recognition of his important work in strengthening the ties between Israel and the Jews in the U.S.S.R. under Communist rule.

WEBSITE: www.education.gov.il/pras-israel.

[Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

CARP, HORIA (**Jehoshua**; 1869–1943), Romanian journalist. Born in Harlau, Carp received a medical degree from the University of Jassy. He became a member of the Zionist movement as a youth and from 1901 to 1904 edited the Romanian-language weekly *Mevaseret-Zion*. He also contributed to the Romanian press, and in 1911 edited the magazine *Cultura*. Devoting much of his activity to the Union of Romanian Jews, he founded in 1906 the weekly *Curierul Israelit*, which became its semiofficial publication. His published books include *Ganduri faramate* ("Tormented Thoughts," 1905), *Suflete obosite* ("Tired Souls," 1918), and *Din vremuri de urgie* ("From Wrathful Times," 1924), all on Jewish themes. Carp also translated Herzl's *Altneuland* (in 1918), Graetz's *History of the Jews* (in 2 vols., 1903), and Yiddish literature. He was a member of the Romanian Senate, but in 1941 was arrested and tortured by the legionnaires in the period of their rebellion. He eventually succeeded in making his way to Ereẓ Israel.

[Abraham Feller]

Carp's son, MATATIAS CARP (1904–1952), born in Bucharest, was a lawyer and secretary of the Union of Jewish Communities of Romania. From 1946 to 1948 he published *Cartea Neagra* ("The Black Book"), three volumes of documents about the suffering of Romanian Jews in the Holocaust (new edition 1996). He later immmigrated to Israel, where he died.

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[Lucian-Zeev Herscovici (2nd ed.)]

CARP, PAULA (1911–1991), Romanian ethnomusicologist and theorist. She studied at the Conservatory of Music in Bucharest and taught for a while in high schools. She joined the Arhiva de Folklore (1934–1944), and worked as researcher at the Institute of Folklore (1949–1968). She also was member of the Uniunea Compozitorilor şi Muzicologilor (National association of professional composers and musicologists) in Romania. Paula Carp was C. Brăiloiu's preferred transcriber of music, for this reason she transcribed for him the pieces published in Brăiloiu's famous essay "Bocete din Oaş" ("Laments in Oaş County", as well as preparing the transcriptions for other ethnomusicological studies and books. In the interval between the two world wars she committed herself to the study of Jewish musical traditions such as the Sephardic synagogal tunes, which were recorded in the 1930s on cylinders. These recordings were provided by Brăiloiu from the Arhiva de Folklore and were transcribed by her. Yet, none of these music collections or academic essays acknowledged her contribution. Besides Romanian and Jewish folk music, Paula Carp also worked on Bulgarian and Tartar music. She did numerous ethnomusicological field work, collecting and transcribing thousands pieces. She would make sketchy transcriptions during actual performances for archival and cataloguing purposes and was very keen in observing and theoretizing on the characteristic features of folk melodies. She eventually devised a complex method for the refining and the establishing of multifunctional musical transcription. Her method became normative after 1960. Thus, besides acting as a mentor to all folk music transcribers, she marked the development of Romanian ethnomusicology by her relative notation. Her method was based on and aimed at integrating the tunes in a system that facilitated comparison and classification, on ease of identifying variants and versions as well as on circulation, interferences, and contacts or links between melodies. In terms of ethnomusicological theory, Paula Carp contributed ideas, methods of analysis, and demonstrative ways for dealing with the compositional development of folk tunes, the foundation and dynamics of melodic and rhythmic formulas, and the architectural structures that build up tunes. She studied the political subgenre of "new folk songs," as well as the free-form and free-style of the epic songs (ballads) and the lyrical rubato that was typically characteristic of folk music in Romania (*doine*). She was co-author with Al Amzulescu of the collection *Cântece şi jocuri din Muscel* ("Songs and Dance Pieces from Muscel region," 1964). Her relatively few but seminal academic essays became long-lasting landmarks of the Romanian ethnomusicology understood as basic and fundamental research: collecting and transcribing, cataloguing, classifying, and typologizing.

[Marin Marian (2nd ed.)]

CARPENTRAS (Heb. קארפנטראץ), town in Vaucluse department, France, about 14 mi. (22 km.) N.E. of Avignon.

History of the Community

Apparently Jews did not settle there before the 12th century. They were expelled at the beginning of the 13th century, and having returned briefly were again expelled in 1269. However, they were present in the town when it was ceded by the king of France in 1274 to the Holy See (in whose possession it remained until 1791). Frequent conflicts arose concerning the jurisdiction over the Jews of Carpentras between the "*recteur*" (the representative of the pope) and the bishop. The Jews had to pay imposts to the latter. An agreement on these dues was signed by 64 heads of families in 1276. Besides exiles from the Kingdom of France who arrived in Carpentras in 1306, a number found refuge there after the renewed expulsion of 1322. This influx soon led to the exclusion of the Jews from the town and the destruction of the synagogue. A new community was founded in 1343. The same year, authorization was given for the purchase of a cemetery and erection of a synagogue. During the second half of the 14th century, the community numbered 90 families. Its members occupied the first Jewish quarter, the rue Fournaque, near the ramparts. After a riot in 1459, the Jewish quarter was sacked and 60 people were killed. Subsequently Cardinal de Foix banished several of the culprits. A short while later in about 1477, the Jews were compelled to move to the center of the town, into the new Jewish quarter consisting of the rue de la Galafet (or de Galaffe) and rue de la Muse (later known as the carrière or rue des Juifs). They were finally confined exclusively to the rue de la Muse, which was closed at both ends by gates. The very numerous notarial deeds extant show that from the end of the 14th century the Jews of Carpentras engaged in brokerage, moneylending, and commerce, especially in grain and other agricultural products. From the 15th century, the municipality frequently called for restrictions on Jewish trade and a decrease in the number of Jewish residents. A census held in 1473 shows that there were 69 families, totaling 298 persons. The average size of a family was thus 4.3, as against 5.2 for Christian families.

Under Bishop Jacopo Sadoleto, particularly in 1523, new restrictions were imposed on Jewish economic activities and severe measures were taken to prevent Jews from having social contacts with Christians. Then, as on subsequent occasions, the Jews found the pope willing to be their defender against the bishop of Carpentras. From the middle of the 16th century many Jews left Carpentras for Turkey and Ereẓ Israel. In addition there were large-scale expulsions in 1570 and 1593. The community considerably diminished, and in 1571 consisted of only six heads of families, with their wives, children, and domestics, four Jews in prison, and 14 newcomers without official rights of residence. In 1669, after the arrival of Jews from the smaller localities of *Comtat Venaissin, there were 83 Jewish families in Carpentras.

Renewed demands for limitations in the occupations practiced by Jews were made by various guilds from the beginning of the 18th century. These were effectively imposed, especially in 1705, 1713, and 1720. A particularly severe regulation was issued by Bishop d'Inguimbert in 1735. During his period of office there was protracted dispute and litigation over the construction of a new synagogue. During the occupation of Comtat Venaissin by French troops from 1746 to 1758 the community was not troubled other than being forced to provide loans. The community protested, claiming that of its 160 families (approximately 800 persons), 30 were poor and 60 destitute, while the debts of the community amounted to 250,000 livres. Toward the end of the 18th century the community of Carpentras reached its maximum size, numbering 1,200 persons in 1760 and 2,000 in 1782. If many lived in poverty or misery, there were also wealthy members. In 1766, Jacob de la Roque possessed over 200,000 livres; Abraham Crémieux left a fortune of 600,000 livres in 1789; the assets of Jassuda (Judah) David Crémieu were estimated as 728,000 livres in 1790. Especially from 1787, many Jews from Carpentras settled in Montpellier, Nîmes, Arles, and Aix-en-Provence, and by 1789 only 173 Jewish families (690 persons) remained in Carpentras. Even the municipal authorities showed concern over this exodus. The French Revolution apparently brought little change in the position of the Jews in Carpentras. During the spring of 1790, conversionist sermons were still delivered (see *J.F. *Boudin). Though the Representative Assembly of Comtat Venaissin decided on October 28 of the same year to suppress compulsory wearing of the yellow hat by the Jews, those of Carpentras did not take advantage of this measure to avoid provoking the Christians. Similarly they did not participate in the municipal elections held at the end of 1791. It was not until the summer of 1792 that the Jews of Carpentras began to play an active role in the municipal institutions. The synagogue became the meeting-place for the Jacobin club at the end of 1793, and the Jews agreed to its closure after 1794. It was not reopened for religious services until May 1800. By 1811 only 360 Jews remained in Carpentras, all living in modest circumstances. Liquidation of the community's debts, which still amounted to 306,866 francs, involved them in considerable difficulties. The community thereafter rapidly declined in numbers and by the 1920s services were held only on the Day of Atonement. In 1843, David Naquet, the descendant of an old Carpentras Jewish family, became a municipal councilor. Between the two world wars, although the number of Jews in Carpentras had declined even further (35 in 1935), a Jew served as mayor of the town. During World War II, no more than 12 Jewish families were living there. The synagogue was partly restored in 1930 and again in 1953. The French government declared it a historic site and completed the restoration in 1959. A small community was reestablished after the arrival of Jews from North Africa, in the late 1950s and early 1960s. It numbered 150 in 1970.

Statutes and Synagogues

The first statutes of the Carpentras community are thought to have been drawn up by 1276. The complete text of the statutes of 1645 has been preserved. The "*baylons*," who, with the inclusion of councilors and collectors of dues, could number up to 18, were in charge of various spheres of the communal administration: taxes, welfare, education, synagogue maintenance and order, etc. They were elected by the three "*mains*" ("hands"), heads of family grouped according to their economic standing. Taxes were assessed not according to income but according to capital assets periodically declared in writing. Failure to declare or dishonest declaration was punishable by excommunication. The statutes were at times amplified in sumptuary laws, such as those issued after the earthquake of 1738, to restrict luxury in clothing and jewelry, and excesses in family festivities.

The present synagogue was built between 1741 and 1743 and includes parts of a more ancient synagogue. The interior decoration is harmonious and elegant, with fine wainscoting, and banisters and chandeliers of wrought iron. In the former synagogue, the section reserved for women was situated in the basement and the only communication with the men's synagogue was through a small garret window. To enable the women to follow the services, a special official known as the "rabbi of the women" was appointed. In the present basement are to be found the bakery for the unleavened bread (*matzah*) and the ritual bath, known locally as the *cabassadore*. The earliest Jewish cemetery in Carpentras, confiscated after the expulsion of 1322, was situated in the north of the town. Some of its tombstones were used for constructing the ramparts. Others are to be found at the museum. The present cemetery, to the northeast, dates from 1367, but owing to the restrictions during the period of Papal rule it has no ancient tombstones or inscriptions. The community also owned a slaughterhouse.

Rabbis and Scholars

It is unlikely that the rabbis of Carpentras took part in the synod of *Troyes. In general, this community produced few scholars of renown. Among these are: Ḥanan b. Nathan Ezobi, the poet Abraham Malakhi during the 13th century, and Mordecai b. Isaac, who took part in the controversy over Maimonides' writings in the early 14th century. Several celebrated physicians lived or originated in Carpentras. Solomon Ezobi, originally of Sofia, held the office of rabbi in Carpentras from 1617 to 1635. His disciple was David b. Joseph Carmi (Crémieu[x]). Mordechai Astruc, late 17th century, was a liturgical poet, as were Saul b. Joseph of Monteux and Mordecai b. Jacob, of the same period. Several rabbis were called from abroad to officiate in Carpentras. They included, besides Solomon Ezobi, Abraham Solomon of Amsterdam (1650–60), and Elie Vitte Ispir of Prague (1775–1790). The community was one of the Four Communities of the Comtat Venaissin which had a specific liturgy based on the old Provençal rite. Long preserved only in manuscript, the volumes for the High Holidays, the Festivals and the fast days according to the Carpentras rite were printed in Amsterdam in the 18th century (see *Liturgy). A literary style particularly in vogue in Carpentras and the Comtat Venaissin generally was poems of a popular character in which Hebrew words or verses were interspersed with the Provençal text. Of the same popular nature are several plays, such as *La Reine Esther* of Mardochée Astruc of Carpentras and Jacob de Lunel (The Hague, 1739), which to some extent inspired the comic opera *Esther de Carpentras* of Armand *Lunel (first presented in Paris in 1938).

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[Bernhard Blumenkranz]

CARPI, LEONE (1887–1964), Italian Zionist leader. Carpi was born in Rome from ancient Jewish family deeply involved in the Italian National Revival (so-called Risorgimento) and graduated in law from the University of Rome and in philosophy from the University of Padua. During World War I he served in the Italian army in the artillery corps and was decorated. After the war he became an active Zionist, working mainly in Milan. Carpi was one of the first Italian Jews to join the *Revisionist movement (1925) and was its leader in Italy from 1928. He edited the Italian Revisionist organ *L'Idea Sionistica*. Carpi was the guiding spirit behind the founding of the *Betar naval school at Civitavecchia in 1934, and helped organize "illegal" immigration to Palestine from the Italian coast. In 1956 he settled in Jerusalem. He died there in 1964.

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[Massimo Longo Adorno]

CARR, JUDY FELD (1933–), Canadian rescuer of Syrian Jews. Carr was born in Montreal and raised in the northern Ontario town of Sudbury, where her father was a fur trader and leader of Sudbury's tiny Jewish community. After Carr finished high school in 1957, she earned a degree in music education from the University of Toronto. In 1960 she married a young physician, Ronald Feld.

In the late 1960s the couple became involved in the Soviet Jewry campaign but soon refocused on the plight of Jews in Syria. They organized a Syrian Jewish support committee modeled on the Soviet Jewry campaign. Their committee mailed packages of religious items to Syria which local authorities allowed to be delivered. In the process, the Felds made covert contact with Syrian Jewish leaders. Coded communication began, as did the secret transfer of money to support Syrian Jews in distress.

When Ronald died suddenly in 1973, his wife continued their Syrian work. She eventually remarried a Toronto lawyer and Jewish leader Donald Carr. They formed an enlarged family of six children. In 1977 she was approached with the idea of bringing an elderly and sick Syrian rabbi to Toronto for medical treatment. Syrian authorities generally refused to allow Jewish departures but Judy, intrigued at the thought of actually removing a Jew from Syria, accepted the challenge. She soon learned that in Syria money could make the impossible happen. With bribe money quietly raised in Toronto, Judy eventually got the rabbi out of Syria.

Before long, Carr was secretly engineering the exit of more and more Jews. And with every rescue came the names of more Jews desperate to leave. Each case was different. Costs varied: an old man generally cost less than a young and single woman, a little boy more than a little girl. In addition to bribe money, the Syrians also demanded a fig-leaf excuse for allowing Jews to leave. Judy was inventive. Some were said to be departing for medical treatment, others as caregivers for the sick or for business or to visit family who had left Syria in the 1940s and 1950s, before Syria's doors were sealed. Officially, each exiting Jew was supposed to return, but bribed authorities knew no Jew would be back. When it was imperative that an individual or family leave Syria immediately, Carr dealt with smugglers who, for a handsome price, illegally transported people and goods across Syria's border with Turkey. Once in Turkey, rescued Jews were moved on to Israel.

In the early 1990s hopes for a Middle East peace were high and Syria eased its restrictions on Jewish departures. Unsure how long the Syrian door would remain open, Carr threw all her energy and resources into removing Syria's remaining Jews as quickly as possible. Most left. In the early 2000s there were virtually no Jews remaining in Syria. As a direct result of her efforts, more than 3,000 Jews were rescued from Syria.

Long working in secret, Carr finally received recognition for her work. She was awarded the Order of Canada, the highest award Canada can give a citizen, in 2001. She was also honored in 1995 by Israeli Prime Minister Yizhak Rabin. "Very few people, if any," wrote Rabin, "have contributed as greatly as you have."

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[Harold Troper (2nd ed.)]

CARRASCON, JUAN (17th century), Spanish controversialist. According to the work *Danielillo*, Carrascon, a friar born in Madrid, converted to Judaism after discussions with ex-Marranos in Leghorn, and then wrote a book to demonstrate the errors of Christianity. His brother, who followed his example, settled in Jerusalem. Juan has been identified with Fray Carrascon, reputed author of the anti-Catholic work *Carrascon* ("Nodriza," 1633) – written in fact by the Spanish Protestant theologian Fernando de Texeda. There is reason to believe that the Juan Carrascon who became converted to Judaism is a figment of the imagination of the author of *Danielillo*, who misinterpreted the religious tenor of Texeda's work. On the other hand the fact that *Carrascon libro curiosissimo* is included in a catalogue of the printing house of *Manasseh Ben Israel in 1652 suggests the possibility of some Jewish association.

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[Cecil Roth]

CARRION DE LOS CONDES, city in Castile, N. Central Spain, near *Burgos. Jews were already in the city in 1127. At that time, according to Alfonso de Valladolid or Abner of Burgos, in his *Mostrador de Justicia* ("Teacher of Righteouness," or *Moreh Ẓedek*), many *Karaites lived in the community. The community was in existence in 1225 when its privileges served as the model for those granted to the nearby community of Sahagún. In the 13th century the community was very important and its privileges were confirmed by Alfonso X. A number of Jews from Carrión were allocated property after the Christian reconquest of Seville and *Jerez de la Frontera in 1266. In 1290 the communities of Carrión, Saldaña, and *Monzón were paying a sum of 91,987 maravedis in annual taxes and services. This was the period of the activity of the Shem Tov Ardutiel (*Santob de Carrión), author of the *Proverbios morales*. He was the only poet who wrote both in Hebrew and Castilian and achieved prominence in Hebrew and Castilian literature. At the time between 50 and 100 Jewish families lived in Carrión.

According to the chronicler Solomon ibn Verga, author of *Shevet Yehudah*, the Carrión community was attacked during the anti-Jewish riots in Spain of 1391 when many Jews were forcibly converted, but it revived in the 15th century, when a number of Jews there were engaged in tax farming on a large scale. In the second half of the 15th century, the Jews of Carrión did not constitute an *aljama*, that is, a legally recognized community. The Jews were excluded from relief from certain imposts granted to the other inhabitants in 1453. In 1486 the Jews of Carrión paid a forced levy of 11,692 maravedis for the war with Granada, and this sum reached 13,500 in 1490. In 1488 the crown renewed the exemption, accorded by Juan II and Henry IV, of the Jewish community from the duty of furnishing accommodation, clothing, and salaries for the *corregidor* (military commandant) and tax officers. Only In 1481 were the Jews obliged to live in a separate quarter. After the decree of expulsion of the Jews from Spain in March 1492, some Jews of Carrión were accused of failing to defray their share of the *alcabala* (indirect taxes). In the same period an order was given by the crown that Jewish debts should be speedily settled.

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[Haim Beinart / Yom Tov Assis (2nd ed.)]

CARTAGENA, Mediterranean port in Castile, S.E. Spain. Jewish settlement dates from the period of Roman rule in the Iberian Peninsula. The designation Cartageni or Cartigena appearing in the Talmud and Midrash was used to denote the whole of Spain. It appears in the midrashim, including the legend concerning the expedition of Alexander the Great (Lev. R. 27:1). The traditions concerning the Jewish community there undoubtedly fostered these legends. Detailed information about Cartagena Jewry becomes available after the conquest of the area by Castile in the 13th century. Sancho IV granted the bishop of Cartagena in 1290 an annual tithe from the Jewish taxes, this being confirmed by Ferdinand IV in 1310. Nothing is known of the fate of the Jews in Cartagena during the anti-Jewish rioting in Spain in 1391, but they were probably not spared. There are references to the community during the 15th century. In 1453 the tithes and customs dues of the bishopric were farmed by Don Symuel Aventuriel, and in 1462 by Don David aben Alfacar. The Cartagena community paid the sum of ten castellanos levied in 1485 to prosecute the war in Granada, and the same amount in 1489. After the expulsion of the Jews from Spain in 1492 Cartagena served as a port of embarkation for the exiles. A tribunal of the Inquisition was established in Cartagena in 1500, but little is known of its activities.

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[Haim Beinart]

CART AND CHARIOT, primary forms of land transport in the ancient world. The chariot (Heb. מֶרְכָּבָה, רֶכֶב, the latter mostly collective, "Chariotry") was used in battle, in hunting, and in ceremonies; the cart served to transport freight, people, and captives. From the 15th century B.C.E. onward, chariots, like their immediate predessors, were two-wheeled and drawn by two horses, but the wheels had six spokes and the axle was located at the extreme rear; they were also operated by one or two persons. The Sea Peoples, including the Philistines, used chariots and carts (Heb. עֲגָלָה), which are depicted on the Medinet Habu reliefs portraying the battle between them and Ramses III. Stronger chariots with more than six spokes per wheel were widespread, primarily in Assyria. Battle or hunting chariots always indicated an honored status. In the Bible the chariot is mentioned as a sign of importance to its owner: Pharaoh had Joseph ride in the chariot of his second-in-command (Gen 41:43; cf. 46:29; 50:9), and David's heir apparent Absalom acquired a chariot and horses and 50 outrunners (II Sam. 15:1; cf. I Kings 1:5). When the tribes of Israel entered Canaan, they found the local population's iron chariot a serious obstacle to the conquest of the plains (Judg. 1:19). The Philistines dominated the Israelites due to their formidable chariotry during the time of Samuel and Saul (cf. I Sam. 13:5). David did not develop this technique of warfare, as may be seen from the fact that he simply destroyed the chariotry he captured from the Arameans (II Sam. 8:4). Solomon, however, put his army on a par with those of his neighbors by the development of an army of chariots (I Kings 9:15–19). The Egyptians, Hittites, and Arameans were Solomon's main suppliers of chariots (I Kings 10:29), and chariots were prominent in the army of the northern kingdom; it is significant that the idea that the great northern prophets, Elijah and Elisha, were Israel's true defenders is expressed by the metaphor "Israel's chariots and horsemen" (II Kings 2:12; 13:14; cf. II Kings 13:7). Since chariotry was less developed in Judah, the people of Judah were more dependent on Egypt for help in chariot warfare (Isa. 31:1). Unlike the chariot, the cart was a heavy four-wheeled vehicle designed to carry heavy loads. It was usually drawn by cows or oxen, as is attested on Egyptian and Assyrian monuments and in the Bible (Num. 7:3–8; I Sam. 6:7; II Sam. 6:3), and was employed for the transport of people and things (Gen. 45:19; 46:5). The Bible describes the cart as heavy and awkward: "Draw sin as with cart ropes" (Isa. 5:18); "[creaks] as a cart full of sheaves" (Amos 2:13, the translation is, however, uncertain). The transporting of captives in carts is depicted on Assyrian and Egyptian monuments of the seventh century B.C.E. The design of these vehicles is known from these monuments and from models uncovered in excavations. The word *galgal*, found in Ezekiel 23:24, probably refers to army transport wagons, and military transport may also be referred to by the term *ʿagalot* in Psalms 46:90. Carts whose railing was built as a trellis have also been unearthed; they were covered with fabric and were called *ʿeglot ẓav*, i.e., "turtle wagons" (Num. 7:3), because of their resemblance to the back of the turtle's armor.

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[Ze'ev Yeivin]

°CARTER, JIMMY (1924–), 39th president of the United States (1977–81). Carter was born in Plains, Georgia. A graduate of the Naval Academy, he served in the Navy from 1946 to 1953. In 1962 he was elected to the Georgia State Senate. After losing a gubernatorial primary in 1966, he went on to win the primary and general election in 1970 and served as governor from 1971 to 1975. In the 1970 gubernatorial primary much of the Jewish community of Atlanta supported the better-known former governor, Carl E. Sanders, over the unknown aspirant from Plains. However, Carter established strong relationships with Atlanta Jewish leaders such as Stuart *Eizenstat (who worked on his gubernatorial campaign staff), Robert Lipschutz, and Marvin Goldstein.

In the 1976 presidential primaries Carter upset a number of Democrats who were better-known in the Jewish community. In the general election Carter captured 64% of the Jewish vote while President Gerald Ford received 34%. During one of the presidential debates candidate Carter came out in support of legislation that would prohibit U.S. corporations from complying with the Arab boycott of Israel.

The Carter administration reflected the growing influence of Jews in American politics; in his one term in office he appointed four Jewish Americans to his cabinet – Harold *Brown at Defense, Michael *Blumenthal at Treasury, Neil *Goldschmidt at Transportation, and Phillip *Klutznick at Commerce. Moreover, Eizenstat, Lipschutz, and Al Moses served in senior roles in the administration.

However, President Carter's support in the Jewish community often suffered as a result of the administration's policies in the Middle East. Early in the administration Carter called for a "Palestinian Homeland" – the farthest any president had ever gone in supporting Palestinian nationalism. By the fall of 1977 the president and his national security adviser, Zbignew Brzezinski, were pressing Israel to attend a proposed Geneva Conference where a comprehensive peace accord would be discussed. Partially in reaction to this Geneva convention plan, which he saw as leading nowhere, Egyptian President Anwar *Sadat made his historic trip to Jerusalem in November 1977. The administration's first reaction was to oppose Sadat's initiative but to the administration's credit it reversed course and in the fall of 1978 Carter was instrumental in helping Sadat and Israeli Prime Minister *Begin hammer out the Camp David Accords. This historic first peace treaty between Israel and an Arab state was signed on the White House lawn in the spring of 1979.

Two other events eroded Carter's Jewish support. In the spring of 1978 he proposed a controversial sale of America's top fighter aircraft, the F-15, to Saudi Arabia. Both Israel and the American Jewish community vigorously opposed this sale and Carter only narrowly prevailed in a close U.S. Senate vote. In the process, however, Mark *Siegel – a senior White House official and the President's Jewish liaison – resigned in protest. Furthermore, in the fall of 1979 Carter's UN ambassador, Andrew Young, was forced to resign when it was revealed that he had arranged secret meetings with representatives of the PLO.

On the domestic front Carter had greater success with the Jewish community. In the spring of 1978 Eizenstat, Carter's domestic policy advisor, took to the president a Siegel-Ellen Goldstein proposal to establish a Holocaust Memorial in Washington, D.C. Subsequently, Carter established a President's Commission on the Holocaust, chaired by Elie *Wiesel, which eventually led to the opening of the Holocaust Museum in 1993. Carter also supported and signed legislation to ban U.S. corporate compliance with the Arab boycott of Israel. Moreover, in the wake of the Iranian revolution, the administration arranged for easier immigration for Iranian Jewish and Bahai refugees. Carter's focus on human rights was extended to Soviet Jewry and in the Carter years Jewish immigration from the Soviet Union dramatically expanded.

In the fall of 1979 the administration reached out to the Jewish community by appointing Klutznik as secretary of commerce. Klutznik was a fixture in American Jewish communal life who was probably the most prominent Jewish communal leader to be appointed to the U.S. cabinet since Oscar Strauss in 1906.

However, in 1980 many Jewish voters abandoned Carter – first for Senator Edward Kennedy in the primaries and then for Governor Ronald Reagan and Congressman John Anderson in the fall. In November Carter bested Reagan in the Jewish community by only a narrow margin – 45%–39%. This was the worst showing among Jewish voters for a Democratic presidential candidate since James Cox in 1920.

In retirement, President Carter revived his reputation among many Americans with his support for democracy and human rights overseas and such domestic initiatives as his support for Habitat for Humanity. However, his relations with the Jewish community often remained strained because of his continued criticism of Israeli policies.

[Ira Forman (2nd ed.)]

CARTER, NELL (**Nell Hardy**; 1948–2003), U.S. actor-singer. One of nine children, Carter grew up Presbyterian and sang in her church choir in Birmingham, Alabama. As a teenager she sang in coffeehouses with The Renaissance Ensemble and on the radio with the Y Teens. The 4-foot-11 singer moved to New York at 19 to study acting and performed in such local nightclubs as Dangerfield's, the Village Gate, and the Rainbow Room. Carter made her Broadway debut in *Soon* (1971), which featured yet-to-be-discovered talent Richard Gere and Peter Allen. But her real success came in 1977 with her Tony-, Obie-, and Emmy-winning performance in the Broadway musical *Ain't Misbehavin'*. Carter made her big-screen debut with a small singing part in *Hair* (1979), followed by her memorable role as the voodoo maid Dorita in the comedy *Modern Problems* (1981) and then lent her voice to the African American animated feature *Bébé's Kids* (1992). It was her success in *Ain't Misbehavin'* that helped Carter land the role of sassy housekeeper Miss Nellie Ruth Harper in the NBC sitcom *Gimme a Break!* (1981–87), for which she received two Emmy nominations. In 1982, Carter converted to Judaism before her marriage to Jewish lumber company executive George Krynicki; she maintained memberships at Los Angeles-area synagogues Temple Shalom and Temple Emanuel. Carter had a daughter, Tracey Hardy, and adopted two African American sons, Joshua and Daniel, with Krynicki. The couple divorced in 1989, and a 1992 marriage to Canadian record producer Roger Larocque lasted one year. Carter struggled with drug and alcohol addiction from early in her career, but was able to overcome her problems with a 12-step program in the mid-1980s. She also suffered from type-two diabetes, and in 1992 had two brain surgeries to repair aneurysms. After her surgery, she returned to the small screen from 1993 to 1995 as principal P.J. Moore on the ABC sitcom *Hangin' with Mr. Cooper* and to the stage in 1996 in the role of Miss Hannigan for the 20th anniversary revival of *Annie*. Following her death from diabetes-related complications in 2003, Carter left custody of her children to her partner, Ann Kaser.

[Adam Wills (2nd ed.)]

CARTER, VICTOR M. (1910–2004), U.S. businessman and philanthropist. Carter, born in Rostov, Russia, was brought to America at age 11 by his parents, who settled in Los Angeles. At 16 he worked full time in his father's hardware store. Carter went into business for himself at age 19, opening the original do-it-yourself hardware store, which evolved into Builder's

Emporium. A highly successful building materials company, it included an engineering plant and a large hardware concern. In 1959 Carter bought a major interest in Republic Pictures, of which he became president and chairman of the board.

Carter retired from business in 1967 to devote himself to his philanthropic activities, which included the State of Israel and many Jewish organizations. He was national chairman of the American Israel Bonds Campaign from 1962 to 1965 and chaired the international economic conferences to promote investment in Israel, which were held in Jerusalem in 1968 and 1969. He was president of the Jewish Federation Council and the Jewish Community Foundation and held leadership posts in support of Tel Aviv, Ben-Gurion, and Brandeis universities, as well as Cedars-Sinai Medical Center, City of Hope, and the Histadrut. He was also involved in municipal government and in the African-American, Hispanic, and Asian communities.

[Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

CARTHAGE, ancient city in North Africa near the modern Tunis; founded in the 9th century B.C.E. by Phoenicians. There is no evidence of Jews in Carthage during the Punic period (before 146 B.C.E.); on the other hand, a number of modern scholars maintain that the expansion of the Phoenicians from Tyre and Sidon owed something of its impetus to the collaboration of Hebrews from the Palestinian hinterland. Substantial Jewish settlement is known only from the time of the Roman Empire. Its existence is shown from inscriptions (mainly on tombstones) and from literary sources, especially those of the Church Fathers. The majority of Jewish inscriptions from Carthage (discovered in a cemetery excavated near the city) show that the language of its Jews was Latin, although a few inscriptions are in Hebrew. The *menorah is common, and some of the tombs are decorated with wall paintings. The city is also mentioned in the Talmud. Of particular interest is the paradoxical statement: "From Tyre to Carthage the nations know Israel and their Father who is in heaven, but from Tyre westward and from Carthage eastward the nations know neither" (Men. 110a). "Africans" (Carthaginians) are also described as disputing with Israelites the title to the ownership of Ereẓ Israel. The Septuagint translates "Tarshish" by Karhadon (= Carthage). The Jews of Carthage and its surroundings were most probably originally emigrants whose number grew, particularly after the disasters in Ereẓ Israel (in 70 and 132–5) and in Egypt (in 115–117). Some scholars maintain that in the Mediterranean area there was intensive proselytizing activity among the Phoenician populace, who felt particularly close to Judaism and who attached themselves to Judaism after their political decline. By this means the Phoenicians preserved their Semitic identity and were not assimilated by the Roman-Hellenistic culture which they hated. This view, though interesting, is highly problematical. Nevertheless, the possibility of successful Jewish proselytizing there cannot be dismissed. With the spread of Christianity the status of the Jews began progressively to deteriorate. The hatred of the Christians stemmed partly from the influence exercised by the Jewish religion in Carthage and the surrounding area, where there were many Judaizing sects and proselytes. Tertullian and Augustine give a few details about the Jews in Carthage, whose situation particularly deteriorated in the days of Justinian when the regulations issued against heretics affected them also. As a result synagogues were seized and converted into churches and many Jews fled. It is possible that in that period, under the influence of the exiled Jews, a number of North African pagan tribes became converted. The Moslem conquest ended the importance of Carthage and the center of Jewish life in the area passed to *Kairouan.

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[Uriel Rappaport]

CARTOONISTS. Jews have exerted considerable influence on cartooning, particularly in the 20th century. In the United States, a large percentage of the creators of newspaper comic strips were Jewish, Jews played a leading role in the creation and leadership of the comic book industry, and Jews had important parts in the origin and then renewed popularity of animated films.

Although *caricature was developed in the 17th century and became a favorite art form for some of the greatest painters and draftsmen, it was not until the 1890s in America that the comic strip received its impetus. Shortly after the appearance in 1895 in Joseph Pulitzer's *New York World* of R.F. Outcault's "Yellow Kid," the first cartoon series in story form, William Randolph Hearst prevailed on his leading caricaturist and political lampoonist, Frederick Burr *Opper, a Jew, to draw a strip. This resulted in "Happy Hooligan" and a later series featuring "Alphonse and Gaston," who became symbols for politeness carried to extremes. Opper's work was a major contribution to the evolution of the comic strip, which soon grew into an international phenomenon when Moses *Koenigsberg, in 1913, started King Features Syndicate, destined to become the largest worldwide distributor of comic strips.

The following year Harry Hershfield (1885–1974) introduced a new character, Abie Kabibble, described as "the wandering Jew taking a short rest in the suburbs of the world." Hershfield's strip, entitled "Abie the Agent," was called "the first adult comic strip in America."

Comic strips, at first funny and addressed mainly to children, later developed in different directions, using a variety of art forms, techniques, and themes. Leading Jewish practitioners of this art form were Al *Capp (Alfred Gerald Caplin), creator of "Li'l Abner"; Jules Feiffer (1929–), a witty dissector of the complex pretensions of urban Americans; Rube (Reuben Lucius) Goldberg (1883–1970), the originator of Boob

McNutt and Mike and Ike, and of humorous cartoons depicting elaborate contraptions for performing simple operations; and Milt Gross (1895–1953), popular artist of "Banana Oil" and narrator of illustrated dialect stories. In 1938 Jerry Siegel and Joe Shuster introduced a new character, Superman, whose superhuman powers had an enormous impact on the later development of comic strips. Other Jewish artists noted for their work on comic strips include Sam Leff ("Joe Jinks"), Moe Leff ("Joe Palooka"), Mel Lazarus ("Miss Peach"), Jerry Marcus ("Trudy"), Hy Eisman ("Little Iodine"), Howard Schneider ("Eek and Meek"), Ted Key ("Hazel"), Irwin Hasen ("Dondi"), and Will Eisner ("The Spirit"), Art *Spiegelman (the Holocaust), Al *Hirschfeld (Broadway caricaturist), *Herblock (editorial cartoons), R. *Crumb ("underground" comics), and Jeffrey *Katzenberg (animated films at Walt Disney and DreamWorks).

While most cartoonists specialize in one form, many vary their output. Goldberg, for example, started as a sports cartoonist and even won a Pulitzer Prize for an editorial cartoon. Nearly all studied art seriously, many had their works collected in books, and a considerable number are represented in reputable museums both by cartoons and by other works. Lyonel Feininger, who left America to return to pre-Hitler Germany, was an outstanding craftsman in two strips, "The Kinder Kids" and "Wee Willie Winkle's World" before he became a great expressionist and cubist painter.

Internationally regarded as one of the outstanding editorial cartoonists of the 1960s was Herblock (Herbert Lawrence *Block), of the *Washington Post*, who won two Pulitzer Prizes and numerous other awards.

In the more than 2,000 Jewish periodicals that appeared and disappeared in Europe in nearly 300 years, cartooning played an insignificant role. There were exceptions in some some Jewish satirical periodicals that began to appear in the 1870s, such as *Kikeriki* in Vienna, the London *Pipifax*, the St. Petersburg *Schegez, Puck* in New York, and *Schlemiel* in Germany. Several attempts were made to create satirical journals in Israel: *Na'aseh ve-Nishma, Ozer Dallim*, and *Purimon*.

Jewish cartoonists, however, have made substantial contributions to newspapers and magazines all over the world, through imaginative caricature, incisive social and political commentary, and sheer humor. Thomas Theodor *Heine, a German painter and cartoonist, was one of the founders of the satirical review, *Simplizissimus*, of Munich. Imre *Kelen, born in Hungary, established a reputation with his caricatures of statesmen at the Versailles Peace Conference in 1919. Henry (Hy) Mayer went to the United States from Germany, worked for ten years for the *New York Times*, and was editor of *Punch* in London in 1914. Walter Tirer, born in Prague, contributed his imitations of the Old Masters to publications in Europe and America. Leo *Haas, a Czech political cartoonist, is known for his vivid secret drawings of the life he endured in concentration camps. Arthur *Szyk, born in Lodz, turned from his specialty, book illumination, to draw savage anti-Nazi caricatures.

The line between humor and social commentary is generally thin, but a number of cartoonists and caricaturists attracted a following because of the essentially serious emphasis in their work: in Israel, Kariel Charles *Gardosh ("Dosh"), Raanan *Lurie, Aryeh Navon, Yoseph Bass, and Yaakov Farkas ("Ze'ev"); in Great Britain, Victor Weisz ("Vicky"), Michael Isaacson ("Niky"), and Ralph Sallon; in the United States, William *Gropper, Ben *Shahn, David Levine, William Auerbach-Levy, and Al Hirschfeld. William Marcus drew political cartoons for the *New York Times* for fifty years until his retirement in 1958.

Contributors of cartoons to the *New Yorker* include Romanian-born Saul *Steinberg, William Steig, Carl Rose, Syd Hoff, Anatole Kovarsky, Mischa Richter, Dave Pascal, Abe Birnbaum, Al Roth, and Barney Tobey.

Other "comic panel" cartoonists whose work became familiar in America and abroad include Max Fleischer, whose "Betty Boop" was one of the early stars of the animated cartoon industry, Dave and Irving Breger, Stan Berenstain, Dave Hirsch, George Wolfe, Al Kaufman, Alan Jaffee, Larry Katzman, and Jack Mendelsohn. Four Roth brothers, Ben, Irving, Salo and Al, who were all born in Seletyn in the Carpathian Mountains – and signed their cartoons, respectively, as Roth, Roir, Salo, and Ross – established individual reputations as humor panelists.

In the United States, the traditional Jewish resistance to representational art no longer seems relevant. From the magazine *Mad* to Spiegelman's *Maus*, Jews have put their lives in pen and ink and thus portrayed identity, culture and history. The editorial director of *Mad*, Harvey *Kurtzman, along with the publisher, William *Gaines, brought a distinctly Jewish flavor to what became one of the seminal magazines of postwar American culture. The first issue, in 1952, included a parody of gangster cartoons titled "Gonefs." The Yiddish in the magazine was undefined. Later issues of *Mad* had sprinklings of Yiddish and Jewish-inspired satire. In the fantasy world of comic strips and comic books, Jews had a major presence, as authors and as characters in the stories, promoting truth, justice, and the American Way. In the late 1960s, Jews played a major role in the new "underground" comics whose best-known practitioner was R. Crumb. Aline *Kominsky, later Crumb's wife, and Diane Noomin collaborated on the comic "Twisted Sister," which recounted their experiences of growing up in Jewish families in New York. In New York, Ben *Katchor created "Julius Knipl, Real Estate Photographer," which nostalgically captured the nuances of Jewish life and culture in America. The strip was serialized nationally. Through the cartoon medium, the stories of the Jews were incorporated into the mainstream of American life. Perhaps the most influential Jewish artist and writer was Art Spiegelman, whose highly praised *Maus* series culminated in a special Pulitzer Prize. The book was so unusual that it appeared on the *New York Times* bestseller list first as a work of fiction and then, after Spiegelman objected, as a work of nonfiction. In expressing the horrors of the Holocaust and its aftermath through words and pictures, Spiegelman meshed comics with art and emerged as a foremost presence in American letters. Days after the World Trade Center fell in 2001, Spiegelman contributed a haunting black-on-black cover to *The New Yorker* magazine showing the towers as dark, stately silhouettes. The image seared many memories.

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[Irving Rosenthal / Stewart Kampel (2nd ed.)]

CARVAJAL, a distinguished New Christian family in 16th-century Mexico. LUIS DE CARVAJAL Y DE LA CUEVA (1539–1591?) was comptroller for the Cape Verde Islands and an admiral of the Spanish fleet off Flanders before going to New Spain in 1568. On his way there, he defeated a group of corsairs off Jamaica and fought against the English buccaneer John Hawkins; later, he captured many of the latter's followers who had been left behind. Carvajal went back to Spain in 1578, and in 1579 was named governor of the New Kingdoms of Leon, a territory comprising at least one-fifth of the area of modern Mexico. Returning to New Spain in 1580, he began to explore and exploit his territory, discovering silver and establishing towns like León, New Almaden, and San Luis, the precursor of modern Monterrey. Governor Carvajal's wife, Guiomar, secretly a Jewess, refused to accompany him to New Spain, but his sister Francisca and her husband Francisco Rodríguez de Matos, both ardent Judaizers, joined him with their nine children in 1580. Carvajal was arrested by the Inquisition in 1589 on the charge of having failed to denounce his niece Isabel as a Judaizer. Stripped of his command and sentenced to exile for six years, he died in the civil jail in Mexico City before he could leave the country.

The governor's nephew and namesake was LUIS DE CARVAJAL "EL MOZO" ("the Younger"; 1566–1596). When Luis was 13 and attending a Jesuit school at Medina del Campo, his family introduced him to the practice of Judaism. Unaware of this, his uncle made him his heir and successor. After serving as the governor's aide in the wild territories under his dominion, Luis finally decided to leave his uncle and become more active in the practice and promulgation of secret Judaism. Like all Conversos in 16th-century New Spain, Luis' acquaintance with Judaism was extremely limited, but his knowledge of the Vulgate and Catholic devotional literature, which often included references to Judaism, made him the most learned Judaizer in his society. As he traveled, he encouraged and taught Conversos and led religious services. He was reconciled at the auto-da-fé of March 14, 1590, and, to complete his sentence, was assigned to the school for Indians at Santa Cruz de Tlaltelolco as a teacher of rhetoric and secretary to the rector. He eventually reverted to Judaism, was rearrested in 1595, and burned at the stake on Dec. 8, 1596. His autobiography, letters, and last will are among the finest examples of Spanish belles lettres in colonial Mexico. He also composed religious poetry, though the fine mystical poem found in his trial records and often wrongly ascribed to him is the work of an earlier Portugese Converso, Dr. Manuel de Morales.

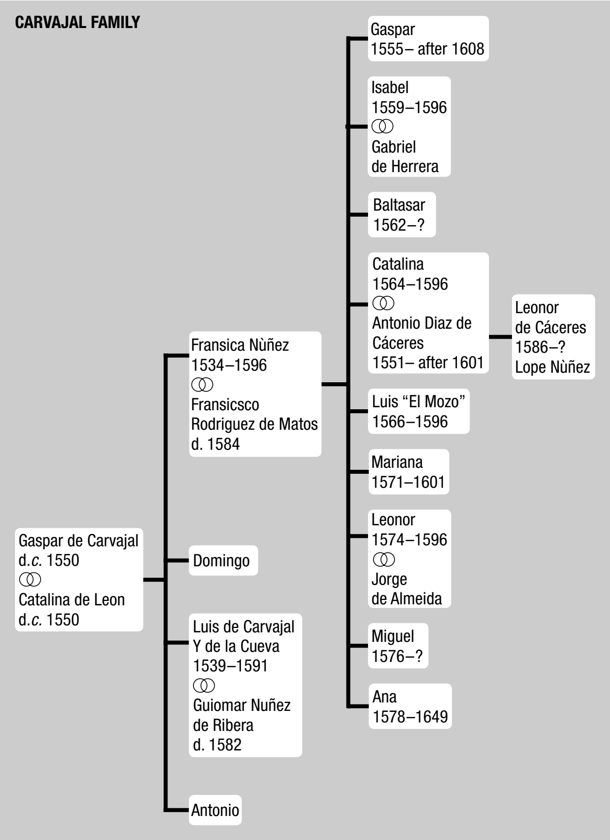
CARVAJAL FAMILY
Gaspar de Carvajal d.*c.* 1550 ⚭ Catalina de Leon d.*c.* 1550
Fransica Nùñez 1534–1596 ⚭ Fransicsco Rodriguez de Matos d. 1584
Domingo
Luis de Carvajal Y de la Cueva 1539–1591 ⚭ Guiomar Nuñez de Ribera d. 1582
Antonio
Gaspar 1555– after 1608
Isabel 1559–1596 ⚭ Gabriel de Herrera
Baltasar 1562–?
Catalina 1564–1596 ⚭ Antonio Diaz de Cáceres 1551– after 1601
Leonor de Cáceres 1586–? Lope Nùñez
Luis "El Mozo" 1566–1596
Mariana 1571–1601
Leonor 1574–1596 ⚭ Jorge de Almeida
Miguel 1576–?
Ana 1578–1649

Burned at the stake with Luis were his mother, FRANCISCA NÂÇEZ, and three of his sisters: ISABEL, widow of the Judaizer Gabriel de Herrera; CATALINA, wife of the merchant adventurer Antonio Díaz de Cáceres; and LEONOR, wife of the wealthy mine-owner Jorge de Almeida. Before Luis' first arrest, his brothers BALTASAR (b. 1562) and MIGUEL (b.c. 1576) escaped to Europe. Their eldest brother, GASPAR, a Dominican priest in Mexico City, was arrested by the Inquisition for concealing his knowledge of the family's Judaizing activities but was reconciled in 1590. A sister, MARIANA, also reconciled in 1590, was burned at the stake in 1601, while the youngest sister ANA (b. c. 1578) was burned alive in 1649. Catalina's daughter, LEONOR DE CÂERES (b. 1586/7), was penanced by the Inquisition in 1601, but after a half century of apparently exemplary Christian life, appeared voluntarily before the Inquisition in 1650 to deny that she had ever Judaized. Her purpose was clearly to free her descendants from the disabilities attached to those found guilty by the Inquisition. Her great-grandson JOSE DE LA ROSA, hoping to escape the disabilities, failed in his attempt (in 1706) to disclaim her as an ancestor.

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[Martin A. Cohen]

CARVAJAL, ABRAHAM ISRAEL (born Antonio Fernandez, 1590–1659), founder of the London Jewish community. Carvajal, who was born into a Marrano family in Fundão, Portugal, settled as a merchant in the Canary Islands and later in Rouen. When the Rouen Marrano colony was temporarily disbanded in 1632–33, Carvajal moved to London and engaged in large-scale trade with the East and West Indies. He owned his own ships and served as grain contractor for the parliamentary forces during the Civil War. His foreign connections enabled him to participate in organizing an information service abroad for Oliver *Cromwell. He was head of the crypto-Jewish community at the time that *Manasseh Ben Israel undertook his mission to request the readmission of the Jews to England. Jewish services were apparently held in his house. In March 1655–66 Carvajal was one of the signatories under his Jewish name to the petition to Cromwell asking for freedom of worship. In the following year, Carvajal and Simon de *Caceres leased the ground for the original congregational cemetery. Samuel Pepys attended the memorial service for Carvajal in 1659, when the bells of the parish church were tolled.

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[Cecil Roth]

CARVALHO, MORDECAI BARUCH (c. 1705–1785), Tunisian rabbi and author. Carvalho was one of the most distinguished pupils of Isaac *Lumbroso. He served with him as a *dayyan* of the community of Leghorn in Tunis, and later became his successor (1752). He wrote: (1) *To'afot Re'em*, a supercommentary on the commentaries of Rashi and Elijah *Mizraḥi on the Pentateuch (Leghorn, 1761–62), in which he quoted various scholars, including his son Isaac, whose work, *Ḥayyei Yizḥak*, he also published as an appendix to his own book; (2) *Me'ira Dakhya* (Leghorn, 1792), glosses and novellae to various talmudic tractates as well as notes to Maimonides' Yad.

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[Joseph Elijah Heller]

CARVALHO, SOLOMON NUNES (1815–1897), U.S. artist, early photographer, inventor, Jewish communal leader. Carvalho was born in Charleston, South Carolina, to a Sephardi family. His family was very active in secular and religious activities; indeed his father, David, was one of the founders of the Reformed Society of Israelites, the first reform congregation in the United States, and his uncle Emanuel was an itinerant rabbi at several early American congregations.

Carvalho's artistic schooling is unclear, but it is possible that he studied with Thomas Sully. While one of his earliest paintings is of the interior of his childhood synagogue (1838), his career as a professional painter began as a portrait maker. At the age of 25 years old he painted *Child with Rabbits*, an image later reproduced on U.S. one-, two-, five-, and ten-dollar bills. After the invention of daguerreotype photographs in 1839, Carvalho took up the process. Between 1849 and 1853 he had photography studios in Baltimore, Charleston, Philadelphia, and New York. In 1853–54 he served as the official photographer of a 2,400-mile exploratory expedition through the territories of Kansas, Colorado, and Utah; the goal of this survey – the fifth led by General John Charles Frémont – was to map out a transcontinental railway route between the Mississippi River and the Pacific Coast. Unfortunately, all but one of Carvalho's several hundred photographs of the trip are lost. A painting of a Utah Indian Chief (1854, Gilcrease Museum, Tulsa) and a sketch of a dead child (1854) survive. However, Carvalho wrote a popular volume on the expedition that went through a number of printings, called *Incidents of Travel and Adventure in the Far West*. Reconstructed from Carvalho's journal and letters written to his wife, this volume discusses the rigors and the discoveries of the journey, while also providing personal reflections and commentary.

After returning from the expedition, Carvalho again painted portraits. In addition to depicting members of the Jewish community, he made allegorical portraits, including one of Abraham Lincoln (1865, Rose Art Museum, Brandeis University). He also tried his hand at biblical painting, such as the now lost *Intercession of Moses for Israel* (c. 1852), and landscapes, some of which are based on his travels west. Unable to make a decent living as an artist, Carvalho invented two steam heaters, which were patented in 1877 and 1878.

Following the example set by his father, Carvalho was a leader in Jewish communal affairs, particularly in Jewish education. He lived in several cities, including Philadelphia, where he served as an elected officer of the Hebrew Education Society (1849–50), and in Baltimore, where he founded the Sephardi congregation Beth Israel in 1857, which disbanded two years later because of financial problems.

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[Samantha Baskind (2nd ed.)]

CARVALLO, JULES (1820–1893), French engineer. Carvallo planned and executed various large-scale public works in France and elsewhere, notably an irrigation system in the Ebro area in Spain. His views were vaguely Saint Simonian. In two articles which were published in S. Bloch's Orthodox monthly, *Univers Israélite* in 1851 and 1853, he called for an "International Congress for the defense of Jewish rights." He was later one of the founders of the *Alliance Israélite Universelle (1860). He also founded a newspaper, *L'Opinion Nationale*, "for the defense of oppressed peoples," in collaboration with Adolphe *Crémieux.

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CASABLANCA (Ar. **Dār al-Baiḍā**), largest city and harbor of (former French) *Morocco, known as Anfa during the Middle Ages. The city was destroyed by the Portuguese in 1468, and its Jewish community was dispersed. Moses and Dinar Anfaoui (i.e., "of Anfa") were among the signatories of the *taḳḳanot* of Fez in 1545. In 1750 the Rabbi Elijah Synagogue was built, but it was only in 1830 with the arrival of Jewish merchants, principally from *Mogador, Rabat, and *Tetuan, that the community really developed. At the beginning of the 20th century there were 20,000 inhabitants, of whom 6,000 were Jews. There were then two synagogues, eight talmud torah schools, and four private schools. The first *Alliance Israélite Universelle school, founded in 1897, was supported by the local notables. After the plunder in 1903 of Settat, an important center of the region, the community received 1,000 Jewish refugees. Later, Casablanca was itself devastated by rebellious tribes, and a large number of its inhabitants were massacred in August 1907. Among the Jews, there were 30 dead, others gravely injured, and 250 women and children abducted. By 1912 Casablanca had become the economic capital of Morocco and, thereby, an important center for the Jews of Morocco, as well as for their coreligionists all over North Africa and Europe. The Casablanca community distinguished itself in all spheres by the intensity of its activities. Many of its members held high positions in commerce, industry, and the liberal professions.

Urbanization and Growth of the Community

The process of urbanization in Morocco during the 20th century turned Casablanca into both the country's major economic center and the place of the chief concentration of its Jews. The new Jewish population was young. Many Jewish immigrants to Casablanca were like the Muslims who were moving from agriculture to modern professions, but they resembled no less the city's European residents: the more skillful Jews became agents for French commercial companies; others joined the ranks of the French bureaucracy or became suppliers to its administration and army or telephone and telegraph companies. Casablanca required numerous officials, lawyers, notaries, technicians, and manual workers. In all these fields, Jews had to compete with other groups. Socioeconomic differences were expressed in residential areas as well. The more affluent lived among the Europeans in Casablanca's new quarters, the poor resided in the suburbs, in the *medīna* or the Muslim quarters. Among the Jews immigrating to Casablanca from 1850 to the early 20th century were those from the villages in the Middle Atlas who had suffered from the arbitrary rule of the *Ḳāids* or the internecine quarrels of the Berber tribes. In 1931 Jews numbered close to 20,000 (out of a total population of 163,000), almost as many as the longer established community in Marrakesh. In 1936–51 their number grew by more than 90% (while the number of Muslims tripled), but most continued to live in their own **mellah* – both for socioeconomic reasons and because they felt safer there.

The upper class of Casablanca's Jewish community founded numerous philanthropic societies to care for the needs of their coreligionists who arrived in successive groups from the interior of the country. The new arrivals, who were often without any means of livelihood, gathered in the *mellah* district of the ancient *medina* and lived in great poverty. The "community council" provided them with various kinds of support, the funds for which were collected from a tax on meat and from private donations. The schools of the Alliance also provided free education. During World War II the anti-Jewish policies of the Vichy government restricted the rights of the Jews, especially in Casablanca, where a Gestapo office was active, and even deprived them of their livelihood until the landing of the Allies in 1942. A transit camp was later set up near Casablanca for about 3,000 Jewish refugees from Spain, Malta, Libya and Greece, most of whom migrated to the U.S. After the liberation of Morocco, many Jews from the interior, often only the men, were attracted to Casablanca by the city's prosperity. For more than 35 years the community was led by Yahia Zagury (d. 1944). Principal spiritual leaders of the community had included Hayyim Elmaleh (d. 1857), David Ouaknin (d. 1873), Isaac Marrache (d. 1905), Moses Eliakim (d. 1939), and Ḥayyim Bensussan. A *bet din* continued to deal with matters of personal status, ritual slaughter, and supervision of the cemeteries. Rabbis continued to encourage the community and, in some cases, to stand up for the poor, R. David Danino, who devoted most of his writings to remonstrate with the rich about their indifference to their less fortunate brethren. Among the well-to-do were immigrants from Algeria, who had their own synagogues, like the splendid Beth-El.

[David Corcos / Shalom Bar-Asher (2nd ed.)]

From 1945

The Zionist movement intensified its activities among Jews in Muslim lands following the end of World War II, including Morocco, the largest Jewish community among those lands. Plans were drawn up to bring to Ereẓ Israel not only Jews from the 19 towns but also from the Sahara desert and the Atlas mountains, where about a third of Morocco's Jews were living. Transit camps were set up throughout Morocco in 1947–48 and Zionist groups established in the towns increased their activity as Morocco's independence drew near.

Between 1948 and 1968 tens of thousands of Moroccan Jews went to Casablanca, either to settle there or to await emigration. Numerically, the drop in population resulting from the emigration was offset by the constant influx of Jews from the provinces so that the population figures of the Jews in the town hardly changed until 1962. In 1948 the number of Jews in Casablanca was estimated at about 70,000; while census reports indicated that 74,783 Jews in 1951 (34% of Moroccan

Jewry) and 72,026 Jews in 1960 (54.1% of the total Jewish population of Morocco) lived in Casablanca. However, in 1964 the number of Jews in Casablanca was estimated at only about 60,000 out of the 85,000 Jews in Morocco. There followed a large-scale exodus of Jews from the town; their numbers were not replenished by new arrivals. Out of a total of 50,000 Moroccan Jews there remained an estimated 37,000 in Casablanca in 1967 and no more than 17,000 out of a total population of 22,000 Jews in the following year. Until Morocco gained its independence, Casablanca Jews did not enjoy equal rights, and in 1949 only 600 of the 70,000 Jews in Casablanca had the right to vote in municipal elections. From 1956, however, when all Moroccan Jewry acquired equal rights, Jews in Casablanca voted and were elected in municipal elections. In 1964 three Jewish representatives sat on the Casablanca City Council, and in 1959 Meyer Toledano was elected deputy mayor. From 1948 to 1968 there were several instances of attacks on Jews, particularly on the eve of Moroccan independence (1956) and to a lesser extent after the Six-Day War of June 1967. The authorities did their utmost to protect the Jewish population.

R. Ḥayyim ben Shushan officiated as the head of the *bet din* and afterwards, for 23 years, R. Shalom Mashash, one of the greatest Sephardi *poskim*, until his death in 2003. Among the best-known rabbis of his *bet din* were R. Moses ben Malka, R. Isaac Hazan, and R. Makhluf Abihatsira.

As the largest Jewish community in North Africa, Casablanca had many communal institutions, including schools of Alliance Israélite Universelle, Otsar ha-Torah (which had 2,079 pupils in 1961), Em ha-Banim, and *ORT. There was also a rabbinical seminary, Magen David, founded in 1947. A total of 15,450 pupils attended Casablanca Jewish educational establishments in 1961 but most of these institutions closed after 1965. The community had many charitable organizations, administered by the community committee. The *American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee carried out social and professional activities in the city, starting in 1949. Its representative was a lawyer, Helen Cazès ben Attar, a prominent leader of Casablanca's Jews who later was a strong Zionist activist. *WIZO also had an office in town. All these were closed down in 1957 after Morocco became independent, but the Joint, as an American institution, was permitted to resume its activities, which it did until the early 1990s.

In 2005, around 3,000 Jews remain in Morocco. Regular community activities were held only in Casablanca: a community center and a primary school (named after Maimonides), of whose pupils 20% had to be Arabs by government order. A Chabad school operated as well. Some 30 *minyans* were active, but most of the synagogues were only partly attended. The city's Jews consisted mostly of businessmen and elderly people, while the young preferred to get an education in Europe or Israel; many of these did not return home. The city has become a starting point for Israelis coming on "roots tours" or on business.

[Hayyim J. Cohen / Shalom Bar-Asher (2nd ed.)]

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CASALE MONFERRATO, town in Piedmont, N. Italy. Jews first settled in Casale Monferrato during the 1430s. By the beginning of the 16th century, there was a small but well-organized community whose members engaged in commerce and loan-banking under the aegis of the Paleologi. Changes in the regime in 1536 led to anti-Jewish riots during which Jewish homes were pillaged. However, under the Gonzaga dukes (1536–1708) the rights formerly enjoyed by the Jews in Casale Monferrato were renewed. They were obliged to wear the Jewish *badge (a yellow cord sewn into the cape) and pay heavy taxes, in exchange for which they were permitted to engage in commerce, lend money on interest, and farm customs dues. A blood accusation was circulated in 1611, but no grave consequences ensued. Special privileges were granted in 1688 to the wealthy Clava (Katzigin) and Jona families. At that time the Jewish population numbered about 500 to 600. After Casale Monferrato passed to the dukes of Savoy (1709) the privileges formerly accorded to the community remained in force. During the 18th century the position deteriorated: in 1724 a ghetto was established in Casale Monferrato; the Jews were forced to sell their real estate and their economic situation was undermined. The Jews were granted equal civic rights during the French occupation of the area (1799–1814) but these were abrogated in 1814, and Jewish residence was again restricted to the ghetto. In 1848, the Jews were granted complete emancipation. The community then numbered about 850. Subsequently, the Jewish population in Casale Monferrato decreased because of migration to the large cities. The synagogue of Casale Monferrato, the "Oratorio Israelitico," was built in 1595. Its graceful arcades, recently restored frescoes, and numerous inscriptions make it one of the most interesting in N. Italy. In 1931 the Casale Monferrato Jewish community had 112 members. During the Holocaust period, 19 Jews were sent to extermination camps directly from the town and another few dozen inhabitants may have been deported from other places. After the war 44 persons remained in the community, which was reduced to a membership of 20 by the end of the 1960s. In the early 21st century a congregation of two dozen or so Jews, mostly from Milan and Turin, still worshipped at the local synagogue.

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[Daniel Carpi]

CASE (Casa), JOSEPH BEN ABRAHAM (d. before 1612), Polish rabbi. It is surmised by some that Joseph lived for a time in Italy, the name Case being very similar to the Italian family name *Cases. He is also known by the surname Shapiro. Case apparently served as rabbi of Lemberg when Joshua *Falk was head of the yeshivah there, and he seems also to have been rabbi of Posen, where he died shortly before his son, Solomon Zalman. Although he left no literary works, he was regarded as an outstanding authority. In the responsa of Meir of Lublin (no. 88), he is mentioned as one of "the four greatest halakhic teachers in the whole of Poland, Lithuania, and Russia," and he is referred to as "the *gaon* Rabbi Joseph, *av bet din* of Lemberg and the whole region of Podolia. Some identify him with a Joseph mentioned in the responsa *Masat Binyamin* (1633) of Benjamin *Slonik (no. 22).

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[Yehoshua Horowitz]

CASES, Italian family mainly centered in Mantua, where they maintained their private synagogue until the 20th century. Over many generations, members of the family were physicians, rabbis, and secretaries of the Mantua community. The family spread in due course to Ferrara and elsewhere. The first noteworthy member was the rabbi and halakhic scholar SAMUEL BEN MOSES (d.1572). His son MOSES BEN SAMUEL was rabbi of Mantua from 1586 to 1617, and wrote treatises on the Talmud and Mishnah. LULIANO SHALOM BEN SAMUEL served as rabbi of Mantua from 1622 to 1630, and compiled the communal regulations for taxation of 1626. MENAHEM BEN ELHANAN (or Elisha), rabbi of Modena (1642) and Ferrara (1655), was the author of responsa and halakhic decisions. JOSEPH BARUCH BEN MOSES was rabbi of Mantua from 1704 to 1721; some of his halakhic decisions are included in *Paḥad Yiẓhak* by Isaac *Lampronti and in *Shemesh Ẓedakah* by Samson *Morpurgo. ISRAEL GEDALIAH (Laudadio) BEN JOSEPH BARUCH, rabbi of Mantua from 1754 to 1793, was the author of responsa, poems in Italian and Hebrew, and a medical treatise (*Giornale medico storico*, Venice, 1776).

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[Attilio Milano]

CASÈS, BENJAMIN BEN DAVID (1680–1749), rabbi and author. Casès was born in Adrianople where he lived until 1730, when he moved to Constantinople. In 1740 he settled in Safed and headed a yeshivah. His novellae to the *Sefer Mitzvot Gadol* of *Moses b. Jacob of Coucy were published under the title *Megillat Sefer* (pt. 1, Constantinople, 1750). He also wrote commentaries to the Jerusalem Talmud, Midrash Tanḥuma, and Rashi's commentary on the Pentateuch, as well as a book on Maimonides' *Mishneh Torah* called *Ḥelko shel Binyamin*.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Fuenn, Keneset, 172; Rosanes, Togarmah, 5 (1938), 293; M.D. Gaon, *Yehudei ha-Mizraḥ be-Ereẓ Yisrael*, 2 (1938), 595; M. Benayahu, *Rabbi Ḥayyim Yosef David Azulai* (Heb., 1959), 82.

°CASIMIR III "The Great" (**Kazimierz Wielki**; 1310–1370), Polish king traditionally depicted as a protector and benefactor of the Jews. Casimir continued his father's work of uniting the Polish realms. The stimulus given to the cultural and economic life of the country, and its progressive urbanization during his reign, attracted many Jews there, and he encouraged them to pursue economic activities. There were, however, anti-Jewish outbreaks in Wroclaw and Cracow in 1349, and in Pozna in 1367. Casimir extended the rights granted to the Jews of Kalisz by the charter of *Boleslav the Pious to include the Jews throughout Poland. He had previously ratified the charter on Oct. 9, 1334, and the reconfirmed text was delivered by him on July 15, 1364, to Falk of Kalisz on behalf of his compatriots who had settled in Polish towns. On April 25, 1367, he extended this privilege to Jews in Lesser Poland and Ukraine. The special privilege granted to the Jews in Great Poland ascribed to him is forged. Casimir was on friendly terms with his Jewish banker, *Lewko of Cracow. According to tradition, Casimir had a Jewish mistress, Esterka of Opoczno, by whom he had daughters who probably remained Jewish. The affair became the theme of many legends, literary compositions, and romances.

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[Jacob Goldberg]

CASPARY, EUGEN (1863–1931), German social welfare pioneer. Born in Berlin, Caspary became one of the leading figures in the social welfare work of the German Jewish community during the first three decades of the 20th century. He evolved new methods for meeting social problems and improving social services. At the close of World War I, he established an employment program for released Jewish prisoners. As Germany's postwar inflation reduced the capabilities of existing welfare programs and increased sharply the community's needs, Caspary enrolled and directed 1,000 volunteers to serve in food kitchens, to work in playgrounds, and to operate the free loan funds. During the years 1917–28, when he was director of the Central Welfare Bureau for German Jews, he unified many small, separate programs for the care of orphans.

[Joseph Neipris]

CASPER, BERNARD MOSES (1917–1988), chief rabbi of the United Hebrew Congregation of Johannesburg and of the South African Federation of Synagogues. Casper became the first chief rabbi of all South Africa when the Federation of Synagogues and Orthodox congregations in the Cape Province combined to form the Union of Orthodox Synagogues in 1986. Born in London, Casper moved to South Africa in 1963 after serving as a rabbi in London and Manchester (1939–54) and as dean of students at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem (1954–63). During World War II, Casper was a Jewish chaplain in the British army and senior chaplain in the *Jewish Brigade. He published *With the Jewish Brigade* (1947), *Talks on Jewish Prayer* (1958), *An Introduction to Jewish Bible Commentary* (1960), and *Judaism Today and Yesterday* (1965).

CASPI, MATTI (1949–), pop-rock multi-instrumentalist, singer-songwriter. Caspi was born in kibbutz Ḥanitah. He developed a keen interest in music as a child, starting piano lessons at the age of 10. He made his first public appearance at the age of 16, playing live on Israel Radio's popular young talent show *Teshu'ot Rishonot* ("First Applause"). He made his recording debut the next year, contributing a song entitled "*Leiẓan Kippurim*" ("Kippur Clown") to an album called *Heidad la-Ẓe'irim* ("Salute to Youth").

Caspi's musical career began in earnest after he joined the army. He spent his military service as a performer in the original Southern Command Group line-up and began experimenting with different types of music. He composed songs for the troupe's debut performance and later appeared on one of Israel Television's first music clips, performing "*Ani Met*" ("I Am Dying") alongside Gadi Oron and Ya'akov Noi. The trio became known as the Three Fat Men, changing the band's name to They Don't Care on their release from the army. They Don't Care recorded one eponymous album and Caspi simultaneously wrote music for theater productions, such as *Lili Gam* ("Lili Too") and *Ir ha-Gevarim* ("City of Men") as well as for music festivals and other performers.

In 1973 Caspi formed Behind the Sounds together with pianist-singer-songwriter Shlomo Gronikh and released a groundbreaking album of the same name, incorporating rock, jazz, and psychedelia alongside more familiar Hebrew pop sounds and rhythms. One year later Caspi released a highly successful debut solo album, called *Matti Caspi*, following that up with *The Bell* in 1976. Caspi was now an established star and his composition "*Emor Shalom*" ("Say Hello") was chosen as the Israeli entry to the 1976 Eurovision Song Contest, performed by all-girl trio Chocolate, Menta, Mastik.

Over the years Caspi collaborated, performed and recorded with many of Israel's leading artists, including premier songwriter-pianist Sasha *Argov, songwriter Ehud *Manor, the Parvarim duo, rock songstresses Riki Gal and Yehudit Ravitz, and blues-rock singer Dani Litani. While generally poker-faced on stage Caspi has also revealed his comic side, particularly in the humoristic 1990 album *Shirim be-Miẓ Agvaniyot* ("Songs In Tomato Juice") on which he teamed up with comedian-songwriter Dori Ben-Ze'ev. In 1993 Caspi left Israel for the United States, but quickly resumed his leadership position on the Israeli entertainment scene on his return in 1997.

[Barry Davis (2nd ed.)]

CASPI, SAUL (c. 1600), Provençal Hebrew poet; lived in Carpentras. In addition to individual poems which have been included in the rites of Avignon and Carpentras, there is a complete manuscript collection, consisting of 44 secular and religious poems by him, together with 24 pieces in rhymed prose (Ms. Leghorn 117). Among these poems, some of which are written in metric form, are hymns for the various holidays, a paraphrase of the Book of Esther, kabbalistic pieces, fables, riddles, epithalamia, and others. Particularly noteworthy are the poems written on the occasion of the marriage of Judah Leon to Esther, daughter of Joshua Leon and of Gad (Astruguet) de Meyrargues to Caspi's sister, Regina, in 1599. The latter poem was published by C. Bernheimer, together with an admonition to the study of theology and two texts in rhymed prose. The Columbia University Library, New York, possesses manuscripts, containing several of Caspi's *piyyutim* composed in two languages (Hebrew and Provençal).

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[Jefim (Hayyim) Schirmann]

CASS, FRANK (1930–), British publisher. Born in London, Cass worked as a bookshop clerk and an antiquarian book dealer before becoming a publisher in 1957. Beginning by republishing out-of-print academic books, he became a leading publisher of academic journals, producing no fewer than 66 academic periodicals by the time he retired. Cass became well known in the Jewish world in 1971 when he acquired Valentine Mitchell (founded in 1949), Britain's leading publisher of Jewish interest works. His firm, Frank Cass & Co., publishes a wide variety of Jewish books and journals including *The Jewish Year Book*, *The Library of Holocaust Testimonies,* the *Journal of Holocaust Education*, and the Parker-Weiner Series on Jewish Studies. He has also provided an international publishing venue for many Israeli writers. Frank Cass & Co. was sold to the American firm Taylor & Francis in 2003.

[William D. Rubinstein (2nd ed.)]

CASS, MOSES ("Moss") HENRY (1927–), Australian politician. Born in Corrigin, Western Australia, Cass became a physician and was medical director of the Trade Union Clinic in Melbourne. From 1969 to 1983 he served as Australian Labour Party member of the House of Representatives for Maribyrnong in northern Melbourne. Cass held cabinet office under Gough Whitlam (1972–75), serving as the environment minister and, later, as minister for the media.

[William D. Rubinstein (2nd ed.)]

CASS, SAMUEL (1908–1975), Canadian rabbi and chaplain, Hillel director, and social worker. Cass was among the first Canadian-born rabbis to occupy a Canadian pulpit. He was born in Toronto but studied in New York. He received his B.A. from the City College of New York in 1929, then attended the *Jewish Theological Seminary and was ordained in 1933. He immediately took a position as rabbi at Vancouver's recently formed Congregation Beth Israel (Conservative), where he remained until 1941. During those years, with Nazism abroad and intensified antisemitism in Canada, Cass was frequently called upon to speak to non-Jewish groups on Jewish life and against prejudice.

Cass left Vancouver for the Herzl Congregation in Seattle but soon applied to return to Canada as a chaplain to the Canadian forces. Like his friend from Toronto and classmate at JTS, Gershon *Levi, Cass was appointed a chaplain in 1942. First responsible for Jewish soldiers stationed in Canada, from 1944 to 1946 Cass served overseas, initially as chaplain for the First Canadian Army Overseas and later at the Canadian Military Headquarters in London. He was with the Canadian army when Belgium and Holland were liberated and at the Dutch concentration camp *Westerbork shortly after it was liberated by Canadian forces. He also visited *Bergen-Belsen on a number of occasions. In his letters to his wife and in the record of his experiences which he submitted as a D.H.L. thesis to JTS (with a doctorate awarded in 1948), Cass conveyed shock and anger at the fate of Europe's Jews, and strongly supported the Zionist cause as the answer to the postwar refugee crisis. He took an active interest in the rebuilding of the Dutch Jewish communities. In addition to leading services for Jewish soldiers and survivors, in 1945 he joined Isaac Rose, another Canadian chaplain, in organizing the Jewish Chaplains' Center in Amsterdam, where Canadian Jewish soldiers received a quick introduction to Judaism and Jewish history.

Back in Canada, Cass did not return to the pulpit. Instead, he was appointed director of the B'nai B'rith Hillel Foundation for McGill University as well as Macdonald College and Sir George Williams University until 1967. Cass went on to work as a social worker at Montreal's Miriam Home for the Exceptional, which was a school for challenged children. He died tragically with his wife and son in an automobile accident.

[Richard Menkis (2nd ed.)]

CASSAB, JUDY (1920–), Australian painter. Born Judith Kaszab in Vienna, she spent her childhood in Budapest, and studied there and in Prague. After surviving War War II in Nazi-occupied Budapest by concealing her Jewish identity, in 1951 she immigrated to Sydney with her husband and children. Cassab held her first one-woman show the following year, and became noted as a portrait painter, winning a number of coveted awards. She was commissioned to paint portraits of various members of the British royal family. From the late 1950s she occupied a prominent place in nonrepresentational art. Cassab's work is characterized by a strong sense of color balance and composition. Among the best-known recent Australian artists, she was the only woman to win the Archibald Prize, one of the most important Australian art prizes, twice, and was made an Officer of the Order of Australia (AO) in 1988. Her *Diaries* were published in 1995.

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[Shmuel Gorr / William D. Rubinstein (2nd ed.)]

CASSEL, DAVID (1818–1893), German educator and scholar. Cassell was one of a group including L. *Zunz, M. *Steinschneider, and others that founded the *Wissenschaft des Judentums movement for the scientific study of Judaism. Cassell was born and educated in Gross-Glogau, Silesia. While still a student in Berlin, he helped found the Hilfsverein fuer juedische Studierende, a society for assisting poor Jewish students. Though ordained (by Z. *Frankel), he chose not to pursue a rabbinical career but instead dedicated himself to teaching and research. His educational posts included a principalship at the educational institute Dina Nauenschen Erziehungsanstalt in Berlin (1846–79) and a lectureship at the *Hochschule fuer die Wissenschaft des Judenthums (1872–92). Among Cassel's works written primarily for use by students and teachers are *Sabbath Stunden zur Belehrung und Erbauung der israelitischen Jugend* (1868); *Lehrbuch der juedischen Geschichte und Literatur* (1879, 1896^2; *Manual of Jewish History and Literature*, 1883, 1902^2); *Hebraeisch-deutsches Woerterbuch* (1871, 1916^9); *Schulwoerterbuch der hebraeischen Sprache* (1854, 1876^3); and *Leitfaden fuer den Unterricht in der juedischen Geschichte und Literatur* (1868, 1895^9), translated into many languages.

Cassel translated the Apocrypha into German (1866) and edited several critical editions of classical works. Noteworthy among these are Bonfils' compilation of responsa (1848, reprinted 1959; 1964); Conforte's *Kore ha-Dorot* (1846); Judah Halevi's *Kuzari* (1853); Isaac Israeli's *Yesod Olam* (1848). Cassel and Steinschneider attempted to publish an encyclopedia of Judaica. Their outline, *Plan der Real-Encyclopaedie des Judenthums*, was published (1844), but the plan did not materialize; instead he wrote all the articles on Judaism and the Jews in the widely read *Brockhaus'sche Konversationslexikon*. Cassel's other works include *Psalmenueberschriften* (1842); *Geschichte der juedischen Literatur* (2 vols., 1872–73); and *Gesetze fuer das Leben* (1843). He also wrote numerous articles for Jewish and Christian magazines and contributed to the publications of the Society of Hebrew Literature of London.

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[Charles Cutter]

CASSEL, SIR ERNEST JOSEPH (1852–1921), British financier. Cassel, a banker's son, was born in Cologne. As a boy, he began to work at the Eltzbacher bank. At 16, he went to England where he became a clerk for a Liverpool grain dealer. He subsequently joined the London banking firm of *Bischoffsheim and Goldschmidt where he showed his ability by solving the firm's problems in Sweden, Turkey, and Latin America. After his success in this enterprise Cassel became an independent financier and an international banking figure. His operations included: the financing of foreign governments such as China, Morocco, and Latin American countries; the formation of the National Bank of Egypt; construction of the first Aswan Dam; the consolidation of Vickers-Armstrong, Britain's leading arms manufacturers; and national and international railroad construction. He was made a baronet for his services to Egypt. Cassel was closely associated with King Edward VII, both as financial adviser and intimate friend. During World War I an unsuccessful attempt was made to remove him from the privy council because of his German descent. His philanthropic contributions, mainly to British causes, were estimated at several million sterling, and he left over £7 million at his death, probably the largest fortune ever left by a British Jew up to then. In 1878 Cassel married Annette Maxwell, and his granddaughter, Edwina (1901–1960), who inherited most of his wealth, married Earl Mountbatten of Burma (d. 1979), the uncle of Queen Elizabeth II. Cassel died a Roman Catholic.

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[Joachim O. Ronall]

CASSEL, PAULUS STEPHANUS (**Selig**; 1821–1892), German theologian and historian; brother of David *Cassel. Cassel took rabbinical studies as well as philosophy and history in Berlin, the latter in particular under Leopold von Ranke. He wrote a study of Jewish history from the destruction of Jerusalem in 70 to 1847 for the *Allgemeine Encyklopaedie der Wissenschaften und Kuenste…* published by J.S. Ersch and J.G. Gruber (2nd series, vol. 27), the first historical examination of the subject to rely extensively on non-Jewish sources and take into account political and social considerations. From 1850 to 1856 Cassel was editor of the *Erfurter Zeitung*. After his conversion to Christianity in 1855 he was appointed librarian at the Royal Library and secretary of the Erfurt Academy of Sciences. In 1866 and 1867 he was returned as conservative member to the Prussian *Landtag*. From 1868 to 1891 he was mainly concerned with his duties as preacher at the Christuskirche in Berlin and as a missionary for the London Society for Promoting Christianity among the Jews. However he combated antisemitic allegations and directed a pamphlet against the anti-Jewish literary campaign of Heinrich von *Treitschke (1880). He also responded to the antisemitic charges made by E. von Hartmann, A. *Stoecker, and Richard *Wagner, and published a brochure entitled *Die Anti-semiten und die evangelische Kirche* (1881). In the field of biblical research he wrote on the Books of Judges and Ruth (1865), Esther (1878), and on the *Targum Sheni* to Esther (1885).

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[Reuven Michael]

CASSIAN (**Katz**), **NINA** (1924–), Romanian poet. Starting with proletcultist poetry during the Stalinist period, Cassian became later one of the most important Romanian poets. Among her collections of poetry were *Sărbătorile zilnice* ("The Daily Holydays," 1961), *Spectacolaer liber. O monografie a dragostei* ("Show in the Open. A Monograph of Love," 1961), and *Recviem* (1971). Her works include children's stories in verse and prose as well many translations from Russian, German, and French poetry. Together with Israil Bercovici she translated from Itzik Manger's ballades. Cassian left Romania in 1985 and continued her literary activity in the United States, publishing in English *Life Sentence* (1990) and *Take My Word for It* (1997).

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CASSIN, RENÉ SAMUEL (1887–1976), French jurist, statesman, and Nobel Prize laureate. Born in Bayonne, Cassin studied literature and law in Aix-en-Provence and Paris. He was called to the bar in 1909, while continuing his studies preparatory to an academic career. Cassin's university career was interrupted by World War I. He fought in the infantry and was severely wounded, being awarded the Croix de Guerre and the Médaille Militaire. In 1920, Cassin was appointed professor of law at Lille and in 1929 at Paris, where he continued to teach until 1960. In addition, he taught at the Academy of International Law of The Hague, and at the Institut Universitaire des Hautes Etudes Internationales of Geneva, among other places. Cassin, who had a passion for justice as well as being a jurist and educator, was also a man of action, and devoted himself to social problems and human rights. He helped to found the first war invalids' associations in France and to coordinate their efforts in the Union Fédérale des Anciens Combattants, of which he became president in 1922. In this capacity, he was concerned in the education of 800,000 French war orphans and in organizing action for peace. Representing France from 1924 at the League of Nations and later at the United Nations and UNESCO, Cassin collaborated in the elaboration of a new legal system to counteract war and further the progress of civilization.

World War II, during which several members of his family were murdered by the Germans, revealed Cassin's full stature. He was one of the first civilians in high positions to respond to the call for resistance by General de Gaulle in June 1940, found his way to London, and drew up the agreements between Churchill and de Gaulle which defined the status of the Free French Forces. In his broadcasts from the BBC, he restored the courage of his fellow countrymen and lent his gifts as a jurist to de Gaulle in the work of liberation and reorganization of France from the chaos of defeat. As a member of the Comité National Français, Cassin presided over the first Free French study commissions, and became national commissioner for justice and education in the French government in London (1941–43), a member of the consultative assembly of Algiers, and president of the judicial committee. After Cassin returned to France, he held high positions in the state, becoming vice president of the Conseil d'Etat (1944–60), president of the Ecole Nationale d'Administration and the Cour Suprême d'Arbitrage (1945–60), and, in 1960, member of the Conseil Constitutionnel. He also served as president of the Académie des Sciences Morales et Politiques, of which he was a member from 1947. In the international sphere, Cassin served from 1946 as a member and president of the United Nations Commission of Human Rights. In this capacity, he was one of the initiators and the principal draftsman of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. It was largely due to Cassin's skilled diplomacy that the text was adopted in Paris in December 1948.

While striving for the establishment and consolidation of the United Nations, Cassin also contributed to the organs of a united Europe. He served as president of the European Court of Human Rights, of the Society of Comparative Legislation, of the International Institute of Administrative Sciences, of the Committee of Foreign Legislation and International Law, and of the International Institute of Diplomatic Studies. In 1943, General de Gaulle entrusted to Cassin the direction of the *Alliance Israélite Universelle, when its central committee ceased to function in Vichy France. As its president he took part in the rehabilitation of contemporary Jewry, reorganized its work, and developed its educational and cultural activities in France, the free world, the Muslim countries, and Israel. Cassin also became honorary president of the World Sephardi Federation. Cassin is the author of numerous books. He has been awarded the highest French and foreign honors. The United Nations awarded him one of the six prizes in the sphere of Human Rights. In 1968, Cassin was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize.

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[Andre N. Chouraqui]

CASSIRER, ERNST (1874–1945), philosopher. Son of a well-to-do merchant from Breslau, Cassirer received his doctorate at the University of Marburg as a student of Hermann *Cohen with whom he maintained a lifelong friendship. In 1906 he started his teaching career at the University of Berlin and received a full professorship at the newly founded University of Hamburg in 1919, of which he was rector from 1929 to 1930. In 1933 he went to Oxford, England, where he taught from 1933 to 1935, then to the University of Goteborg, Sweden, until 1941, and finally he left for America. He lectured first at Yale University (1941–44), and later at Columbia University until his death. Cassirers first major work was *Leibniz' System in seinen wissenschaftlichen Grundlagen* (1902), supplemented by a valuable edition of Leibniz' selected works (1904–1915). In 1906–07 he published the first two volumes of *Das Erkenntnisproblem in der Philosophie und Wissenschaft der neueren Zeit*, one of the most learned historical studies of the problem of knowledge, a work which ultimately traced that problem from Nicolaus of Cusa to the end of the 19th century (vol. 3, 1920; vol. 4 published in an English translation from manuscript as *The Problem of Knowledge: Philosophy, Science, and History since Hegel* (1950; published in Germany, 1957). In his later publications, Cassirer founded his own theory of the history of ideas. The goal of his new genetic method was what he called "unity" ("Einheit"). The genetic method involved regarding each work as the response to a situation and each response as a logical sequence to a preceding one. He wrote a number of important studies working with the genetic method. These are *Individuum und Kosmos in der Philosophie der Renaissance* (1927), *Das Problem Jean-Jacques Rousseau* (1932), *Die platonische Renaissance in England und die Schule von Cambridge* (1932), *Die Philosophie der Aufklaerung* (1932), *Descartes* (1939), and *The Myth of the State* (1946).

Cassirer's starting point was and remained the neo-Kantianism of Hermann Cohen. But, as Cohen admitted, he soon transformed the general philosophical position held by the Marburg School. In his *Substanzbegriff und Funktionsbegriff* (1910), he showed why in mathematics, physics, and chemistry the traditional concept of "substance" had to be replaced by the concept of "function". Instead of seeking in vain to present a faithful copy of given existing things, the critical exploration of nature should seek merely to unveil precise functional relations between given phenomena on the basis of verifiable scientific hypotheses. In his chief work, *Philosophie der symbolischen Formen* (3 vols., 1923–29) and in his *Essay on Man* (1944) Cassirer develops, on the basis of an overwhelmingly rich store of detailed material, the thesis that language, mythology, and science do not present different realms of real objects but rather vitally different symbolic expressions for understanding the world in which man lives, thinks, and feels. The center of the *Philosophie der symbolischen Formen* was a new "critique of culture" in place of the classical enlightenment "critique of reason." He also wrote *Freiheit und Form* (1916), *Kants Leben und Lehre* (1918), *Idee und Gestalt* (1921), *Zur Ein-*

steinschen Relativitätstheorie (1921), and *Determinismus und Interdeterminismus in der modernen Physik* (1936). From 1919 until its closure in 1942 by the Nazis Cassirer was a member of the board of trustees of the Lehranstalt fuer die Wissenschaft des Judentums and a member of the academic board of the *Akademie fuer die Wissenschaft des Judentums.

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[David Baumgardt / Thomas Meyer (2nd ed.)]

CASSIRER, PAUL (1871–1926), German art dealer and publisher. He was born in Goerlitz, Germany, and achieved a wide reputation as a promoter of new movements in the arts. After finishing his studies in the history of art, he opened an art gallery and a publishing house in Berlin together with his cousin Bruno Cassirer in 1898. His art gallery in Berlin became a centre of the German art world, because Cassirer was the first to exhibit the French impressionists in Germany, such as Manet, Monet, but also Cezanne, Van Gogh, and Gauguin, and also championed the work of the German impressionists such as Lovis Corinth, Max Liebermann, and Lesser Ury. He was associated with the Berlin Secession, a group which opposed the accepted salon and the officially sanctioned style of painting.

After dissolving the partnership with his cousin in 1901, Paul Cassirer became a very active publisher. He established not only the Pan Presse and launched the bi-monthly journal *Pan*, which provided a forum for new ideas on art and literature, but also founded the *Gesellschaft Pan* which presented unknown or ignored dramatic works to an exclusive circle of theatregoers. The Paul Cassirer publishing house, founded in 1908, focused on editing works of modern artists. In World War I, he launched two journals, *Kriegszeit* (1914–16) and *Bildermann* (April–December 1916). *Kriegszeit* showed graphic works which dealt with the war in an optimistic light, because Cassirer himself, like many other intellectuals and artists, saw at first saw the war in nationalistic terms. However, he moved toward pacifism while serving as a despatch rider in the war. After the war he became active in politics and developed theories about the place of art in socialism (*Utopische Plauderei*, 1919; *Unser Weg*, 1920). Among his later commissions were the illustrations for Chagall's *My Life* in 1922. After his relationship with his wife, the actress Tilla Durieux, deteriorated, Cassirer committed suicide in 1926. Max Liebermann, Harry Graf Kessler, and René Schickele published a memoriam in the same year.

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[Sonja Beyer (2nd ed.)]

°**CASSIUS LONGINUS** (d. 42 B.C.E.), Roman general. After the death of *Crassus, during the disastrous Parthian campaign of 53 B.C.E., Cassius successfully repelled Parthian incursions into Syria and then turned his attention to Judea. He captured Tarichaeae and executed Peitholaus who had rallied around him the anti-Roman partisans of *Aristobulus. In 51, Cassius returned to Rome, and in the year 44 played a decisive role in the conspiracy against Julius Caesar. Later Cassius returned to Syria. He imposed a tribute of 700 talents of silver on Judea, the collection of which was undertaken by *Antipater. Antipater's son *Herod was the first to bring his quota of one hundred talents from Galilee; this won him the favor of Cassius. Gophna, Emmaus, Lydda, and Thamna delayed paying their tribute with the result that their citizens were enslaved by Cassius. Meanwhile Cassius appointed Herod governor of Coele-Syria and according to Josephus even promised to make him king of Judea. Cassius left Syria in 42 B.C.E. and in October of that year was defeated in battle by Antony at Philippi.

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[Isaiah Gafni]

CASSUTO, UMBERTO (**Moses David**; 1883–1951), Italian historian and biblical and Semitic scholar. Born in Florence, son of Gustavo and Ernesta Galletti, Cassuto came from a traditionalist Jewish family, rooted in the Florence Jewish community for generations. He was educated at the University of Florence, where he completed his studies in 1906, and the Rabbinical College, where he was ordained in 1908. S.H. *Margulies, the head of the Rabbinic College, had a profound influence on him. After being ordained rabbi, he continued studying at the rabbinical seminary, taught there, and served as secretary and assistant rabbi of the Jewish community until 1922.

When Margulies died in 1922, Cassuto was appointed his successor both in the rabbinate and as director of the Rabbinical Seminary. In 1925 he resigned from the rabbinate to become professor of Hebrew language and literature at the University of Florence, where he taught until 1933. Thereafter he began to withdraw from the domain of Italian-Jewish history and to concentrate on Bible studies, a field in which he had published important papers as early as 1912. In 1933 he received a similar appointment at the University of Rome. While there, he cataloged the Hebrew manuscripts of the Vatican Library. Cassuto, like all the other Jewish professors, was dismissed from the University of Rome with the Racial Laws in 1938.

A life-long Zionist, Cassuto accepted an invitation to fill the chair of Bible studies at the Hebrew University in 1939, where he taught till his death in 1951.

Cassuto's last years were clouded by the tragic loss of two members of his family. The first loss was that of his son NATHAN (d. c. 1945). A successful physician, he headed the Jewish community of Florence during the Holocaust. Nathan was arrested by the Germans in 1943, and soon after he was joined by his wife, who was also arrested. Both were deported to Auschwitz. The other loss was his daughter-in-law, who lost her life when the convoy to Mount Scopus was ambushed in 1948.

The scholarship of Cassuto can be divided in three main fields: the history of Italian Jews and biblical and Ugaritic Studies.

As early as the beginning of the 20th century Cassuto began to make a name in the world of scholarship by virtue of a series of articles on the history of the Jews in Italy, published largely in the *Rivista Israelitica* which he helped to edit from 1904 on. Some of these papers, e.g., his study on the Italian influences in the writings of Immanuel of Rome, the contemporary of Dante, were major monographs and are still of great significance. Cassuto also published, in various scholarly periodicals, catalogs of the Hebrew manuscripts and incunabula in various Florentine libraries that were models of their type. Cassuto's historical researches culminated in his great work *Gli ebreia Firenze nell' età del rinascimento* (1918), which displays a remarkable mastery of the source material from both the Florentine archives and Hebrew manuscripts in many countries. This work is the most important ever written in the field of Italian Jewish history. In subsequent years Cassuto continued to publish historical monographs in Italian and foreign periodicals; his series of articles on Italian communities and personalities, in the German *Encyclopaedia Judaica* in particular, is still considered a primary source. He also contributed articles on Jewish subjects to the *Enciclopedia Italiana*; those on Jewish literature were republished in book form as *Storia della letteratura ebraica postbiblica* (1938). In addition, Cassuto published basic articles on the Judeo-Italian dialect, the Hebrew inscriptions of southern Italy, and various allied subjects.

However, Cassuto is mainly known for his contribution to biblical studies. While he appreciated the scholarly basis of Higher Criticism, he was an opponent of the *Graf-Wellhausen theories. In place of the documentary theory, he posited the existence of an oral tradition and a number of ancient poetic epics, which were subsequently woven into the unitary and artistic texts of the Pentateuch and other biblical books. His expositions focused on the existing text, analyzing its spiritual and ethical teachings, pointing out its literary devices, and discussing its exegetical problems, on which he brought to bear comparative literary and linguistic material whenever possible. In that field Cassuto anticipated Scandinavian and German scholars who arrived at the same conclusions at the end of the 1930s and 1940s. His primary contribution, "*Shirat ha-Alilah be-Yisrael*," was published in 1944 in *Knesset* 8 (English translation in *Biblical and Oriental Studies* II). Among his books on biblical research are a critique of the documentary hypothesis of the composition of Genesis in Italian (*La questione della Genesi*, 1934); and in Hebrew (*Perush al Sefer Bereshit*, 2 vols., 1944–49; English: *A Commentary on the Book of Genesis*, 2 vols., 1961–64); a commentary on Exodus (*Perush al Sefer Shemot*, 1942; *A Commentary on the Book of Exodus*, 1967); and *Torat ha-Te'udot* (1941; *The Documentary Hypothesis*, 1961). He was the chief editor of the biblical encyclopedia *Enẓiklopedyah Mikra'it* and took an active part in its planning and the preparation of its first volumes.

Cassuto was one of the first scholars who understood the importance of the archaeological finds from Ugarit in Syria, and the similarity between the Ugaritic literature and the Bible. His Ugaritic studies thus throw considerable light on the literary structure and vocabulary exegesis of the Bible. His treatise *Ha-Elah Anat* (1951, 1965^4; *The Goddess Anath*, 1970), a translation with introduction and commentary of Ugaritic texts, particularly the epic of Baal, is of special importance. Other important works are "Il nome divino El nell'Antico Israele," in: *Studi e materiali di storia delle religioni*, 8 (1932); "Il capitolo 3 di Habaquq e I testi di Ras Shamra, in *Annuario di studi ebraici*, 2 (1935–37); "Le tre aleph dell'alfabeto ugaritico," in: *Orientalia*, XVI (1947).

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[Israel Abrahams / Cecil Roth]

CASTEL, MOSHE ELAZAR (1909–1991), Israeli painter. Castel was born in Jerusalem to Rabbi Yehudah Castel and descended from a Spanish family that emigrated from Castile to settle in Israel. The family lived for many generations in Hebron. His father was a scholar and a Judaica artist as well as a *sofer*. From 1922 Castel studied at *Bezalel in Jerusalem. In 1940 after 13 years in Paris, where he studied art and participated in exhibitions, he returned to Israel and settled in Safed. He was inspired by the ancient holy places and the mystic atmosphere created by the kabbalist rabbis of this medieval town. Castel was one of the founders of the "New Horizons" artists group (Ofakim Ḥadashim) that had a central role in the history of Israeli art.

Over the years Castel created a number of mural paintings, one of them for Israel's Knesset in Jerusalem (*Glory of Jerusalem*, 1966) and others tailored to the Presidential Residence in Jerusalem (*Wall of Glory to Jerusalem* and *Golden Scroll*, 1970–71).

Castel was recognized by his unique technique. The material he used in most of his works is ground basalt. Castel said that he chose this material after he visited Galilee, where he was inspired by the ancient synagogues constructed from basalt stone and decided to create a new material. He was attracted to the integral blending of the Jewish faith and the Israeli landscape. It was clear to him that the new material was appropriate for his art, since its themes involved Judaism and biblical visions.

The content of Castel's art refers to significant events in Israel's chronicles, such as the unification of Jerusalem in 1967, using symbols taken from biblical prophecy. These symbols, such as scrolls and ancient Hebrew letters, connect national history to his personal memories of his father's profession. Some of his works describe the pilgrimage to the Temple, with the stones of the wall combined with the scrolls and letters in the background. In the 1950s and 1960s Castel's work incorporated cuneiform script as well as the Canaanite and Aramaic languages. His symbolic style was consolidated after an early figurative-naive period where he described life in Galilee and the synagogues of Safed.

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[Ronit Steinberg (2nd ed.)]

CASTEL-BLOOM, ORLY (1960–), Hebrew writer. Born in Tel Aviv, Castel-Bloom studied film at Tel Aviv University and began publishing in 1987. She is considered to be the one of the most original writers of the new generation, who – along with Etgar *Keret – introduced postmodernistic techniques into Israeli prose works. Rejecting ideological writing and probing daily and literary language, metaphors, and clichés, she developed her own distinctive style, marked by involvement and irony, sensitive intensity and alienation, black humor, and wording that is razor sharp. Gershon *Shaked noted that she "has succeeded in giving shape to the terrible despair of the metropolitan person, whose every contact with the world is imaginary," and Dan *Miron wrote: "No other writer of her generation is as interesting. . . . There is in her work a shout of resistance, a scorn for social norms and public taste." Her first book, the collection *Lo raḥok mi-Merkaz ha-Ir* ("Not Far from the Center of Town," 1987), is composed of urban stories taking place against a background of banality: the seemingly dull marriage routine of Dalia and Avishai; the operation transforming a successful journalist into a 13-year-old boy ("Wonderful"); an ironic-satiric description of Israelis in the United States ("The Mystery of the Pig's Head," included in R. Domb, ed., *New Women's Writing from Israel*). The second collection, *Sevivah Oyenet* ("Hostile Surroundings," 1989), was followed by Castel-Bloom's first novel, *Heykhan Ani Nimẓet* (*Where Am I?,* Dutch trans., 1992), the story of the picaresque, fantastic passage of a nameless 40-year-old divorcee through a crass, materialistic society. Her second novel, *Doli Siti* (1992; *Dolly City*, 1997), enters with wild imaginative energy into the psyche of an Israeli mother. Dolly, a young physician who received her professional training in, of all places, Katmandu, runs a laboratory in which she slices and cuts, eviscerates, and examines animals. The narrator introduces a cancerous world, a bureaucracy that operates in mysterious and destructive ways, a world in which disease and death prevail. But even new life yearns for perdition. Dolly finds an infant by the side of the road and adopts him as her son with the name Ben (Hebrew for son). Concern, repulsion, anger, and infinite love characterize Dolly's complex relationship with the boy. Indeed, the narrator seems to offer a postmodern variation on the theme of the "Yiddishe Mamma." Afraid that he will become ill, Dolly gives him every known vaccination. To ensure that there is no disease in his body, she cuts him, is reassured for a moment, but is soon wracked again by doubt. Worried to distraction, she transplants a kidney, his third one. The mother's bond with the boy becomes an obsession with ambivalent meanings. The mother-son relationship can also be interpreted as a metaphoric contemplation of the Israeli situtation. Castel-Bloom's spectrum of criticism and irony is stretched to encompass the Occupation, the Lubavitch ultra-Orthodox movement, the myth of the Western Wall, and the Israeli lifestyle. The novel is included in the UNESCO Collection of Representative Works, and the French daily *Le Monde* hailed the author as "Kafka in Tel Aviv."

Ha-Minah Lizah (1995; "The Mina Lisa," trans. into French, German, and Chinese) is yet another typical literary tour de force for Castel-Bloom: the story of a happy housewife, whose routine is shattered when her husband's grandmother, 200-year-old Flora, comes to stay with the family, devouring Mina's screenplays. The two women fly off on a fanciful journey in time, in a novel combining fizzy realism and fantasy. *Ḥalakim Enoshiyim* (2002; *Human Parts*, 2003) is a topical novel, dealing with painful reality in terror-ridden Israel, featuring figures from various social classes and neighborhoods, poor and rich, successful, jobless, sick, ambitious, forlorn. They all try to cling to life in a situation that appears almost apocalyptic. Castel-Bloom published also *Sippurim bilti Reẓoniyim* ("Unbidden Stories," 1993); a book for children entitled *Shneinu Nitnaheg Yafeh* ("Let's Behave Ourselves," 1997); *Radikalim Ḥofshiyim* (2000; "Free Radicals," French trans., 2003); *Ha-Sefer ha-Ḥadash shel Orly Castel-Bloom* (1998); and a selection of 28 stories produced during 17 years of prose writing entitled *'Im Orez lo Mitvakḥim* ("You Don't Argue with Rice," 2004). Orly Castel-Bloom was awarded the Prime Minister´s Prize (1994 and 2001) as well as the Newman Prize (2003). An English translation of "Someone Else's Story" is included in M. Gluzman and N. Seidman (eds.), *Israel: A Traveler's Literary Companion* (1996); "High Tide" is included in G. Abramson (ed.), *The Oxford Book of Hebrew Short Stories* (1996).

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[Anat Feinberg (2nd ed.)]

°**CASTELL, EDMUND** (1606–1685), English Orientalist and lexicographer; professor of Arabic at Cambridge from 1666. Castel edited (with Latin translations) the Samaritan, Syriac, Arabic, and Ethiopic versions of B. *Walton's great *Polyglot Bible* (London, 1657); he thereafter devoted his life – and virtually his entire assets – to producing the sevenfold lexicon of its vocabulary (*Lexicon Heptaglotton*, London, 1669) – Hebrew, Jewish-Aramaic, Syriac, Samaritan, Ethiopic, Arabic, and Persian. The Hebrew and Syriac portions were subsequently extracted and republished at Goettingen (*Lexicon Hebraicum*, 1790; *Lexicon Syriacum*, 1788). A volume of congratulatory odes addressed (1660) to the returning Charles II, with the aim of ameliorating Castell's fortunes, included poems in the aforementioned languages, as well as in Greek, and secured him late in life some modest ecclesiastical status. The sale catalog of Castell's library, *Bibliotheca Castelliana*, was printed in 1686 (now in the British Museum).

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[Raphael Loewe]

CASTELLAZZO, family of German origin once settled in Castellazzo Bormida, near Alessandria, N. Italy. The most important members of this family were the artist Moses Da *Castellazzo and R. JEHIEL B. MOSES SAKS DA CASTELLAZZO, also known as R. JEHIEL ASHKENAZI, a 16th-century rabbi and kabbalist, who may have been the son of Moses Castellazzo. Jehiel was in Austria until after 1529. He was also in Salonika and Safed, and finally settled before 1565 in Jerusalem, where he died. He violently criticized Joseph Caro's assumption that the *bet din* of Safed had the authority of a great *bet din*, and also condemned the activities of the city's religious leadership and rabbinic tribunals. He was probably the editor of *Heikhal ha-Shem* (Venice, 1601), a collection of essays by early kabbalists. Two of Jehiel's sons are known: SIMEON (d. 1588), rabbi and kabbalist, pupil of R.*David b. Solomon ibn Abi Zimra, and friend of R. Bezalel *Ashkenazi and R. Isaac *Luria. He was also rabbi in Cairo. Simeon's decisions and novellae are mentioned in the works of his contemporaries. He was one of those who excommunicated Da'oud, the disloyal agent of Joseph *Nasi between the years 1570–1573. He left a collection of responsa and also wrote a kabbalistic commentary to the Book of Esther, entitled *Megillat Setarim*. Simeon's son AVIGDOR (d. 1659), rabbi in Cairo, was an associate of R. Aaron *Ibn Ḥayyim and the teacher of R. Isaac b. Abraham *Azulai. Another son of Jehiel, R. MOSES (d. after 1621), exchanged halakhic opinions with the rabbis of Safed, where he settled after 1601. By 1610 Moses was the most prominent rabbi and leader in the Ashkenazi community of Safed and a member of the local council of *dayyanim*; though an attempt in 1621 was made to replace him with R. Issachar Baer Eulenburg of Gorizia. However, it seems he retained his position until his death.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Neubauer, Chronicles, 159, 162; Kaufmann, in: REJ, 23 (1891), 139–43; Scholem, in KS, 1 (1925), 45–52; S. Assaf, *Mekorot u-Meḥkarim be-Toledot Yisrael* (1946), 222–3, 225–8; Benayahu, in: *Tarbiz*, 29 (1959/60), 71–5; David, in: *Sinai*, 64 (1969), 282–7; 65 (1969), 336.

[Abraham David]

CASTELLAZZO, MOSES DA (1467–1527), Italian painter and engraver. A son of Abraham Sachs, a German immigrant, he lived at Venice, Mestre, and Ferrara. He was brother-in-law of Jacob *Landau, author of *Agur*. Castellazzo boasted in a petition to the Venetian Council of Ten that he had been occupied "for many years past in this happy city in making portraits of gentlemen and other famous men, so that their memory should remain for all time, and similarly in other parts of Italy." In 1521 he received both from the Council and from the Marquess of Mantua a copyright for a series of illustrations to the Pentateuch, which were to be engraved in wood by his sons.

Castellazzo was also a medallist and worked in metal. His patrons included the future Cardinal Bembo. None of his work can now be traced. When the adventurer David *Reubeni arrived in Venice in 1523, Castellazzo supported him and helped him to go to Rome.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: L.A. Mayer, *Bibliography of Jewish Art* (1967), index; C. Roth, *Jews in the Renaissance* (1959), 192, 354.

CASTELLI, DAVID (1836–1901), Italian scholar. Castelli was born in Leghorn. From 1876 until his death he taught Hebrew at the Institute of Higher Studies in Florence. Castelli introduced higher biblical criticism, which was developing in Germany and in Italy. He translated books of the Bible, including Job, Ecclesiastes, and Song of Songs, and wrote various studies on the Bible, *Della poesia biblica* (1878) and *La profezia nella Bibbia* (1882), and on the Talmud, *Leggende Talmudiche* (1869). His studies on Jewish history, politics, and law include *Storia degli Israeliti dalle origini fino alla Monarchia* (2 vols., 1888), *Gli Ebrei* (1899), *La Legge del popolo Ebreo* (1884), and *Il diritto di testare nella legislazione Ebraica* (1878). Castelli published a scholarly edition of Shabbetai *Donnolo's commentary to *Sefer Yeẓirah, Il commento di Sabbatai Donnolo sul Libro della Creazione* (1880).

ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY: C. Facchini, *Ebraismo e laicità. David Castelli e le concezioni del Giudaismo nell'Europa dell' Ottocento* (2004).

[Alfredo Mordechai Rabello]

CASTELLO, ABRAHAM ISAAC (1726–1789), rabbi and Hebrew poet. Castello, who was born at Ancona, worked for some time at the Leghorn coral industry before becoming a cantor, and subsequently was rabbi and preacher in Leghorn. Several of his occasional poems were published in A.B. Piperno's collection *Kol Ugav* (Leghorn, 1846), and in the following collections: *Shema Shelomo* (on the occasion of Solomon Michell's wedding, Leghorn, 1788); *Kol Millin* (*ibid*., 1765); and *Minḥah Ḥadashah* (1785). Another work by him on the occasion of a marriage was published by A. Toaff (1904), and his work on the occasion of the consecration, in 1789, of the restored Leghorn synagogue, was published in *Kol Rinnah* (1790). Excerpts from his unpublished halakhic work *Si'aḥ Avraham* were incorporated in the prayerbook *Tefillah Zakkah* (Leghorn, 1789).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Steinschneider, in: MGWJ, 43 (1899), 568–9; A. Lattes and A. Toaff, *Studi ebraici a Livorno nel secolo XVIII* (1909), 16–18; Davidson, Oẓar, index; Schirmann, in: *Zion*, 29 (1964), 99.

[Umberto (Moses David) Cassuto]

CASTELLÓN DE LA PLANA, city in the province of Valencia, E. Spain. Castellón was conquered by James I in 1233. After their rebellion in 1247, the Muslims who constituted the majority of the population were expelled. New settlers were encouraged to fill the vacuum, and soon afterwards it was decided to transfer the town to the fertile plain. From the period of the *Reconquista* the town was granted to feudal lords to whom all taxes, including those of the Jews, would be paid. Hence the paucity of the documents referring to the local Jews in the royal archives. The community prospered in the second half of the 13th century. The Jews there engaged in agriculture, commerce, and crafts, mainly as weavers and saddle makers. By 1306 the Jews were already organized as an *aljama*. They had a synagogue, and land for a cemetery was acquired in 1320. In 1368 the town reverted to the king. There was constant friction between the Jews and the royal officials. In 1390 the Jewish community reached its peak, but it was destroyed in the anti-Jewish riots of 1391 in Spain. Despite the defense measures taken by the authorities, most Jews of Castellón were forced to convert. The New Christians (*xristians novells*) were not accepted by the local Christians. The community ceased to be sustained by the individual Jews who continued to live in the town. In 1400 the Jews asked permission to acquire a *sefer torah*. In the 15th century, the *baile general* of the kingdom took steps to encourage Jewish resettlement. Under Fernando I (of the new Trastamara dynasty) harsh measures affected the Jews. His successor, Alfonso V, was a true protector of the Jews. In 1427 the *baile general* directed the municipality to allocate a street for Jewish residence. In 1423 the municipal authorities decided to force the Jews live in a separate quarter. In June 1427 the confines of the Jewish quarter were at last determined. Thirty years later we still find Jews living outside their quarter. When in 1451 the Jews complained concerning problems in the supply of *kasher* meat, the *baile general* ordered the local authorities to remove any obstacles. During Holy Week the Jews suffered from violence perpetrated by Christians. In 1468 the local *baile* summoned a resident of Castellón, Astruc Azar, to answer an accusation that he had contravened Jewish religious precepts in the course of a dispute with other local Jews. In 1473 he authorized Abraham Bitas and several Christians to search for treasure in the former citadel. The Jews of Castellón, 25 families, were forced to sell their property and presumably left Spain in 1492, from the port of Valencia.

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[Haim Beinart]

CASTELNUOVO, ENRICO (1839–1915), Italian author. Born in Florence, Castelnuovo spent most of his life in Venice, where for many years he taught at the commercial high school. He was the father of the well-known mathematician Guido Castelnuovo. He wrote literary criticism and history but was known chiefly as a novelist and short-story writer. He published about 20 novels, including *Nella lotta* ("In the Struggle," 1880), *Il fallo di una donna onesta* ("The Sin of an Honest Woman," 1897), *I coniugi Varedo* ("The Varedo Couple," 1899), *Nella bottega del cambiavalute* ("In the Moneychanger's Shop," 1895), and *I Moncalvo* ("The Moncalvos," 1908). His two collections of short stories, *Alla finestra* and *Reminiscenze e fantasie*, both appeared in 1885. Castelnuovo wrote in the style of late 19th-century Italian popular fiction, describing provincial life in Venice during the period of deception that followed the ideals of the Italian "Risorgimento." In *I Moncalvo* he deals with a Jewish milieu; the main characters are a rich Jewish banker who wishes to be accepted by the clerical and reactionary aristocracy and his brother, an austere scientist who follows positivist ideas.

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[Giorgio Romano / Alessandro Guetta (2nd ed.)]

CASTELNUOVO, MENAHEM AZARIAH MEIR (Menahem Ḥayyim) BEN ELIJAH (1760 or 1772–1847), rabbi and author. Castelnuovo, the son of a merchant, was born in Siena. Besides his rabbinical and general knowledge, he was familiar with the Kabbalah. After serving as a rabbi in Siena and Padua until about 1828, he went to Leghorn, where he was *dayyan* until 1840, first in the *bet din* of Raphael Ergas and later in that of Joseph Franco. His published works include *Misgeret ha-Shulḥan*, glosses and novellae to the Shulḥan Arukh (1840); *Emek ha-Melekh*, a responsa collection edited by his grandson, Jedidiah (Leghorn 1868), and *Petaḥ ha-Teva*. His two treatises *Seder ha-Get* and *Seder ha-Ḥalizah* were never printed and *Minhagei Kehillatenu ha-Kedoshah*, on the customs practiced in Leghorn, and collections of his sermons and correspondence (the latter in Hebrew and Italian) have also remained in manuscript. Some of his letters were included in *Kevuẓat Kesef*, Ghirondi's manuscript collection of correspondence.

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[Heinrich Haim Brody]

CASTELNUOVO-TEDESCO, MARIO (1895–1968), composer, pianist, and music critic. Castelnuovo-Tedesco, a member of an old Florentine family, studied piano with Edoardo del Valle and composition with Pizzetti at the Istituto Cherubini. His first opera, *La mandragola* (1920–23), won first prize – a performance at La Fenice – at the first Concorso Lirico Nazionale in 1925. He worked as a music critic for *La Critica Musicale* (1919–23), *Il Pianoforte* (1921–27), and *La Rassegna Musicale* (1928–36). In 1939, forced by the Nazi racial laws to leave Italy, he settled in Hollywood, where he devoted some of his time to writing film music. Castelnuovo-Tedesco was one of the foremost Italian composers of his time. His early music was impressionistic, but his later style tended toward neo-classicism. In 1925 he found in his grandfather's house a notebook containing Jewish melodies. These made a great impression on him and he started to write Jewish compositions. He became, like Ernest *Bloch, one of those European musicians who tried, deliberately and successfully, to create Jewish music. His Jewish works include: *La Danza del Rei David*, a rhapsody for piano (1925); *Tre Corali su Melodie Ebraiche*, choral arrangement (1926); a violin concerto, *The Prophets* (1931); *Sacred Service* (1943); the oratorios *Ruth* (1949), *Jonah* (1951), *Naomi and Ruth* (1959), and the opera *Saul* (1960). Among his other works are *The Song of Songs* (1954–55, subtitled "A Rustic Wedding Idyll"); *Tobias and the Angel* (1964–65); Two operas based on Shakespeare's *All's Well that Ends Well* and *The Merchant of Venice* (1956), which won first place in the Concorso Campari Internazionale sponsored by La Scala. He also wrote a series of lectures on opera: *Under the Sign of Orpheus*.

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[Claude Abravanel / Israela Stein (2nd ed.)]

CASTELO BRANCO, city in central Portugal, S. of *Covilhã. A Jewish community existed there until the expulsion and forcible conversions of 1496–97. In 1384/85, one Lopo Vasques was granted the rights to all the taxes paid by the Jews of Castelo Branco and the revenues from their contracting activities. In 1393 the same privileges were transferred to the commander of the citadel of Obidos. After 1496–97 Castelo Branco became an important *Marrano center. Some of the most distinguished Portuguese Marranos of the 16th and 17th centuries were born there, among them *Amatus Lusitanus, Elijah Montalto, and Antonio *Ribeiro Sanchez. Amatus Lusitanus left Castelo to study medicine in Salamanca, returned to Portugal to practice medicine, moved to the Low Countries, and finally arrived in Salonica in 1559, where he lived and died as a Jew. The celebrated Portuguese author, Camillo Castello-Branco (1825–1890), was a descendant of the Marranos of Castelo Branco. When in the 1920s the Portuguese Marranos had renewed contacts with Judaism a number of Marranos in Castelo Branco returned to the faith. The local museum contains a stone with a Hebrew inscription from the synagogue of *Belmonte dated 1297.

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CASTELSARRASIN, small town in the Tarn-et-Garonne department, Southwest France. It is known that there was a small Jewish community in Castelsarrasin before the expulsion of 1306, although it is not clear if this was reestablished after the return of the Jews to France in 1315. However, at the time of the *Pastoureaux persecutions of 1320, many Jews sought refuge in Castelsarrasin. In *Shevet Yehudah* (ed. by A. Shochat (1947), 24) Solomon ibn Verga relates that 200 Jews there took their own lives when they realized that they could not escape their persecutors. However, according to a Latin source (based on a Jewish account) which was contemporaneous with the event, it was the Pastoureaux who massacred 152 Jews, not just at Castelsarrasin but also in neighboring localities.

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[Bernhard Blumenkranz]

CASTIGLIONI, CAMILLO (1879–1957), Austrian financier. Born in Trieste, the son of Ḥayyim (Vittorio) *Castiglioni, he began his business career as a tire salesman, worked for German and Austrian automobile and aircraft industries, and during World War I arranged for regular supplies to the army and air force. Taking advantage of the postwar inflation Castiglioni increased his interests in finance, industry, real estate, and publishing, until he headed an economic empire, which enabled him to found an art collection and to open a theater for Max Reinhardt in Vienna 1923. The depression of the mid-1920's led to the collapse of the Castiglioni empire and most of his assets, including a valuable art collection, were sold. He moved to Switzerland and later to Milan where he opened a small bank. After World War II he was again successful and became one of the first Italians to establish contact with the new Yugoslav government. Always an art patron, Castiglioni contributed substantially to the formation of the Salzburg Mozarteum. Castiglioni converted to Christianity in 1912.

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[Joachim O. Ronall / Bjoern Siegel (2nd ed.)]

CASTIGLIONI, ḤAYYIM (**Vittorio**; 1840–1911), Italian rabbi and writer. Castiglioni, who was a disciple of Samuel David *Luzzatto, taught mathematics and pedagogy in his native Trieste for 32 years until appointed chief rabbi of Rome in 1903. He wrote *Pe'er ha-Adam* ("Glory of Man," 1892), a discussion of Darwin's theories, and scholarly articles in Hebrew that dealt mostly with the relationship between religion and the natural sciences. Castiglioni published a book of 126 sonnets entitled *Nizmei Zahav* (1906), including several sonnets in Italian with Hebrew translation, one of which commemorates the death of Herzl. He was a patron of Italian Jewish writers, encouraged the publication of some of the works of Samuel David Luzzatto, including his letters, and translated Luzzatto's history of the Hebrew language *Toledot Leshon Ever* from the original Hebrew to Italian (1895).

[Getzel Kressel]

CASTOR-OIL PLANT (Heb. קִיקָיוֹן, *kikayon*), the *kikayon* in the shade of which the prophet Jonah sat outside Nineveh after his prophecy concerning that city's destruction had not been fulfilled. He was glad of the shade, "but God prepared a worm" that attacked the plant so that it withered and Jonah was left unprotected against the burning rays of the sun (Jonah 4:6–11). The identification of *kikayon* with the castor-oil plant is supported by contextual and linguistic evidences as also by the tradition of the Talmud and translators. The castor is the perennial plant *Ricinus communis*, which grows wild in the Jordan valley, in the coastal plain, and on wadi banks in other regions of Ereẓ Israel. It grows quickly and produces large, shady leaves. The word *kikayon* is connected with *k'k'* the Egyptian name of the plant (in Coptic and Greek: *kiki*) while in Aramaic and Syriac it was known as *ẓeluliva* which Rabbah bar bar Ḥana identified as the *kikayon* of Jonah (Shab. 21a). From its seeds a medicinal oil is the *kik* oil included by the Mishnah among the oils that may not be used for lighting the Sabbath lamp (*ibid.*, 2:1). The *kikayon* has also been identified with the calabash gourd (*Lagenaria vulgaris*), an identification first mentioned in the Septuagint and apparently based on the passage that Jonah built himself a booth at the side of which the *kikayon* came up. The gourd fits in well with this, being a climber that grows quickly and has large leaves. On these two identifications of *kikayon*, Abraham ibn Ezra, who quotes them in his commentary, makes the observation that "it is not necessary to know which it is," i.e., it was a supernatural phenomenon, for no plant comes up, as the *kikayon* was said to do, "in a night," and so it cannot be identified with any ordinary plant growing at present.

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[Jehuda Feliks]

CASTRATION, the removal of testes or ovaries. In the Hebrew Bible, the term *saris*, commonly rendered "eunuch," occurs more than 40 times. As a rule, the *saris* designated a court official who, occasionally, even reached the high rank of military commander (II Kings 25:19). *Sarisim* were found serving at the courts of Egypt (Gen. 37:36), Ethiopia (Jer. 38:7), Persia (Esth. 1:10 ff.), and even Israel (II Kings 9:32). Since in at least one known case (Pharaoh's Potiphar) the *saris* was definitely married (Gen. 39:7 ff.), it is doubtful whether the term always or usually refers specifically to a eunuch rather than to a palace official in general. Whatever the exact designation of the term, Judaism has always forbidden all forms of castration. Alone among the nations of antiquity, the Hebrews imposed a religious prohibition on the emasculation of men and even animals, a prohibition not found in the teachings of Buddha, Confucius, Christ, or Muhammad. The Bible directly refers to the ban on castration only by excluding castrated animals from serving as sacrifices on the altar (Lev. 22:24), a descendant of Aaron "who hath his stones crushed" from the priestly service (Lev. 21:20), and a man "that is crushed or maimed in his privy parts" from entering into "the assembly of the Lord" (Deut. 23:2), i.e., from marrying within the Jewish community. In the Talmud (Shab. 110b–111a) and codes (e.g., Sh. Ar. EH 5:11–14), the biblical interdict is widely extended to cover any deliberate impairment of the male reproductive organs in domestic animals, beasts, birds, and man, including the castration of a person who is already impotent or genitally maimed. While technically emasculation does not apply to females, the sterilization of women is also prohibited, though somewhat less severely (*ibid.*). The Talmud records one view according to which the ban on castration is of universal validity, having been included among the *Noachide Laws (Sanh. 56b).

The explicit disqualification of priestly castrates strikingly indicates how repulsive to Judaism is the notion of emasculating ecclesiastics or temple servants in order to promote their spirituality, let alone for so slight a motive as to preserve the soprano voices of religious choristers (practices widely rampant among ancient and medieval Christians). Jewish law, by contrast, not only abhorred such operations but extended the ban to certain categories of judges and synagogue officials (Tosef., Sanh. 7:5; Sof. 14:17). As in the religious rulings on *birth control, only pressing medical considerations are recognized as setting aside the objections to castration or other forms of deliberate sterilization. Numerous recent rabbinic responsa discuss and rule on such operations in various circumstances, e.g., prostatectomies which may involve a generally forbidden form of emasculation by severing the seminal ducts. The opposition to the castration of animals by Jews also raises serious halakhic problems frequently treated in rabbinic literature (for a wide-ranging survey of relevant responsa, see *Oẓar ha-Posekim, Even ha-Ezer*, 1 (1955^{2}), 208–55; and Birg, in *Noʾam* 1 (1958), 245–62).

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[Immanuel Jakobovits]

CASTRO, family name, widespread throughout the Sephardi and Marrano Diaspora, common also in Rome in a family deriving from a place of this name in the Papal States. In some cases, the name was changed to Crasto. In Europe the family was numerous in Holland, England, Bordeaux, Bayonne, etc. In Amsterdam, the Henriques de Castro branch was particularly prominent: its outstanding member was DAVID HENRIQUES DE CASTRO (1832–1898), numismatist and bibliophile, who compiled a magnificent work on the cemetery of the Sephardi community in Ouderkerk, *Keur van grafsteenen op de Nederlandsch-Portugeesch-Israëlitische begraafplaats te Ouderkerk* (1883), as well as a bicentennial history of the Amsterdam synagogue, *De synagoge der Portugeesch-Israëlitische gemeente Amsterdam 1675–1875* (1875). The sale catalog (1899) of his great library and collections, particularly strong on materials relating to Sephardi history, is still studied. In London, the Castro family was prominent from the 18th century. Apart from members who have individual entries below, mention should be made of the *ḥazzan* DAVID ISAAC DE CASTRO (d. 1785), the surgeon-physician JACOB DE CASTRO (1704–1789) not to be confused with his contemporary, Jacob Castro *Sarmento, and the communal leader HANANEL DE CASTRO (1794–1849). A Mrs. de Castro exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1777–78. Members of the English branch were active in the diamond trade in India from 1749. It was first represented in Madras by SAMUEL DE CASTRO, son of a London diamond merchant SOLOMON DE CASTRO. Samuel arrived in Madras in 1749. Other members of the family, such as Daniel, David, Joseph, and Isaac, resided for several years in Madras and received permission to engage in the diamond trade in India in return for coral beads, amber, and bullion. The last member of the merchant house in London, MOSES DE CASTRO, son of David, apparently came to Madras in about 1766 from the Dutch West Indies (Curaçao), and was subsequently listed in the records as chief consignee at Madras of coral beads and other precious commodities to England. ISAAC DE CASTRO (1764–1825), originally of Venice, was entrusted with organizing and managing the first Ottoman government printing press, which became an important instrument in modernizing the country's administration. MOSES WOODROW DE CASTRO (1918–1998), a Panama lawyer, was alternate judge of the magistrate court of Panama and technical adviser to the national committee in charge of studying relationships with the United States. He was active in Jewish affairs.

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[Cecil Roth / Walter Joseph Fischel]

CASTRO, ABRAHAM (d. 1560). Castro was of Spanish origin, perhaps himself an expellee, and an outstanding figure in early Ottoman Egyptian-Jewish society. Contemporary Hebrew and Muslim sources (including Cairo Genizah documents) indicate that he moved in official government circles, especially in the financial realm. He leased the taxes on customs and trade in Alexandria, and from 1520 (and perhaps earlier) he served as master of the mint (*muʿallim dār al-darb*). He was also renowned for his philanthropic activity on behalf of individuals and institutions in Egypt and Ereẓ Israel. Hebrew sources as well as Jerusalem Sharia court documents indicate that Castro resided in Jerusalem from the late 1530s. Here, too, he played a central role in the city's Jewish society, primarily in its economic life, dealing with real estate and apparently tax farming as well. During his residence in Jerusalem, Castro maintained close relations with various sages, Joseph Ibn Sayyah in particular. Moreover, it seems that Castro had a special interest in Kabbalah. A Jerusalem Sharia court document from 1540 mentions his name as a convert to Islam. This, however, contradicts our knowledge of the man. Non-Jewish sources indicate that another Jew by the same name also resided in Jerusalem at the time, and it was this individual who converted. Castro evidently remained in Jerusalem until his death in 1560. Two of his sons are known: Moses and Jacob. The latter was the famous halakhic sage in Egypt, R. Jacob *Castro.

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Avraham Castro?" in: *Zion*, 47 (1982), 407–18; E. Shochetman, "Additional Information on the Life of R. Abraham Castro," in: *Zion*, 48 (1983), 387–405 (Heb.); B. Arbel, *Trading Nations: Jews and Venetians in the Early Modern Eastern Mediterranean* (1995), 28–54.

[Avraham David (2nd ed.)]

CASTRO, DE, family of Marrano physicians in Hamburg, Germany. RODRIGO DE CASTRO (1550–1627) was active in medical practice in Lisbon where he was of service to the Spanish Armada before it sailed in 1588. In 1594 he settled in Hamburg, where he was reconverted to Judaism at the persuasion of another Marrano physician, Samuel Cohen (formerly Enrique Rodrigues). In Hamburg, Castro was in attendance on the count of Hesse, the bishop of Bremen, and the king of Denmark. His *De universa mulierum morborum medicina* (Hamburg, 1603) is considered to have laid the scientific foundations of the study of gynecology, while in his *Medicus Politicus* (*ibid.*, 1614) he was one of the fathers of medical jurisprudence. His son, BENDITO DE CASTRO (alias Baruch Nehamias; 1597–1684), after studying in Padua, returned to Hamburg where he was physician to Queen Christina of Sweden. He was active in communal life and an ardent votary of *Shabbetai Ẓevi. His *Flagellum Calumniantium seu Apologia in qua Anonymi cujusdam calumniae refutantur* published under the pseudonym "Philotheus Castellus" (Amsterdam, 1631) answered the attacks on Portuguese physicians made by Joachim Curtius (1585–1642). He also published a work on fevers, *Monomachia sive certamen medicum* (Hamburg, 1647), dedicated to Queen Christina. Another son of Rodrigo de Castro, ANDRE DE CASTRO (alias Daniel Nehamias) was also a physician of note and attended the Danish king.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: H. Friedenwald, *Jews and Medicine*, 2 vols. (1944), index; Roth, Marranos, index. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** Y.H. Yerushalmi, *From Spanish Court to Italian Ghetto…* (1971).

[Cecil Roth]

CASTRO, JACOB BEN ABRAHAM (known as **Maharikas** from the Hebrew initials of his name; 1525?–1610), halakhic authority and talmudic commentator. Castro was born in Egypt. According to D. Conforte, he was the grandson of Abraham *Castro. In his youth he went to Jerusalem, where he studied under R. *Levi b. Ḥabib, and R. *David b. Solomon ibn Abi Zimra. Castro later became rabbi of the *Mustaʿrabs* in Cairo, a position he held until his death. In 1570 he visited Palestine, and was the guest of Joseph *Caro in Safed. He maintained a regular correspondence concerning halakhic questions with such authorities as Caro and R. Moses di *Trani. His collected responsa, *Oholei Ya'akov* (Leghorn, 1783), are a most important source for the history of Egyptian Jewry. He also wrote *Erekh Leḥem* (Constantinople, 1718), a collection of annotations on the Shulḥan Arukh similar to that of R. Moses *Isserles. (Castro did not see Isserles' work although it was published during his lifetime, but they often reached the same conclusions.) The halakhic decisions set forth in *Erekh Leḥem* were accepted as binding by the rabbis of Palestine and Egypt. Castro's novellae on several tractates of Talmud were known to Ḥ.J.D. *Azulai. Those on tractate Beẓah were published under the title *Toledot Ya'akov* (1865). *Hilkhot Nezirut* ("Laws of Naziriteship") and *Mazkeret Gittin* ("Memorandum on Divorce Bills") were printed at the end of the *Halakhot Ketannot* of Jacob *Ḥagiz (Venice, 1704). The manuscript of Castro's collected sermons, *Kol Ya'akov*, has been lost.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Conforte, Kore, 33, 41; R.A. Ben Simon, *Tuv Miẓrayim* (1908), 19–20; Nissim, in: *Sefunot*, 2 (1958), 89–102; idem, in Y. Rafael (ed.), *Rabbi Joseph Caro* (Heb., 1969), 64, 75–81; J.M. Toledano, *Oẓar Genazim* (1960), 213f.; Marx, in: REJ, 89 (1930), 293–304.

[Abraham David]

CASTRO, JACOB DE (**Jacob Decastro**; 1758–1824), English comedian. De Castro was the son of a teacher at the congregational school of the London Sephardi community, at which he was himself educated. He first revealed talent as a mimic in the traditional Purim plays, and in 1779 members of the community helped to introduce him to the stage. In 1786 he took up an engagement with Philip Astley, the leading English showman of his day, whose troupe became known as "Astley's Jews" because of the large number of Jews employed in it. In 1803 De Castro was appointed manager of the Royalty Theater, London, but afterward returned to Astley, remaining with him until the latter's death in 1814. De Castro is principally remembered through his *Memoirs*, edited by R. Humphreys in 1824. His last years were chiefly spent in Dublin.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: A. Rubens, *Anglo-Jewish Portraits* (1935), 20f.; A.M. Hyamson, *Sephardim of England* (1951^2), 113, 115.

[Cecil Roth]

CASTRO, PEDRO (Ezekiel) DE (b. 1603–after 1657), Marrano physician. Born in Bayonne in southern France of Portuguese parents, he studied in Spain, practiced medicine in Avignon and in about 1640 made his way to Verona (Italy) where he joined the Jewish community under the name Ezekiel and lived in the ghetto. After about a decade he apparently reverted to Christianity, renewing his former name. As a Christian he could then join the College of Physicians in Verona. He published works in Italian and Latin on medical and scientific subjects. Three of his medical works were published in 1642 and 1646 when he was a Jew. Once a Christian, Castro was dismissed as physician of the community. The vacant position was probably the reason for Isaac Cardozo's move to Verona. Cardozo had been Castro's teacher of medicine.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: H. Friedenwald, *Jews and Medicine* (1944), index; Roth, in: REJ, 94 (1933), 96f.; 95 (1933), 82–85; Cassuto, *ibid.*, 93 (1932), 215–7. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY.** Y.H. Yerushalmi, *From Spanish Court to Italian Ghetto…* (1971), 210–14

[Cecil Roth / Yom Tov Assis (2nd ed.)]

CASTROJERIZ, town in N. Castile, Spain. Castrojeriz had one of the earliest Jewish communities in Spain. In 974 the count of Castile ruled that the fine imposed for killing a Jew should not exceed that for a Christian peasant. On the death of King Sancho the Great in 1035, the inhabitants of Castrojeriz broke into one of the king's residences near Burgos, killing four of the king's officials and 60 Jews. The survivors were compelled to settle in Castrojeriz. The inhabitants of Castrojeriz were exempted from the fines imposed on them for taking part in anti-Jewish riots after the death of Alfonso VI in 1109. In 1118 Alfonso VII extended the privileges granted to the city of *Toledo to Castrojeriz. These prohibited a Jew or new convert to Christianity from holding a position of authority over Christians, and established legal procedures for cases involving Jews and Christians. In 1240 Ferdinand III ordered the Jews in Castrojeriz to continue to pay 30 dinars annually to the local church. Nothing is known about the fate of the community during the anti-Jewish riots that occurred in Spain in 1391. The community subsequently declined and in 1485 the small sum of 23 castilianos was levied as tax for the war against Granada. After the decree of expulsion of the Jews from Spain in 1492, instructions about the payment of Jewish debts were issued to the mayor.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Baer, Urkunden, 2 (1936), index; Baer, Spain, 1 (1961), 43, 384; Huidobro, in: *Sefarad*, 7 (1947), 137–45; Suárez-Fernández, Documentos, index; León Tello, in: *Instituto Tello Téllez de Meneses*, 25 (1966), 62ff., 165ff., 258; Cantera Burgos, in: Roth, Dark Ages, 364, 366ff.

[Haim Beinart]

°CASTRO QUESADA, AMERICO (1885–1972), Spanish historian and literary critic. Castro was a professor at the University of Madrid and later at Princeton University. He interpreted the culture and history of Spain as a result of the coming together of Christianity, Islam, and Judaism, which created a peculiarly Hispanic form of life, different both from the East and from the civilization of Western Europe. Problems of the Hispanic personality are treated especially in his *España en su historia; Cristianos, Moros y Judíos* (1948; *Structure of Spanish History*, 1954), and in its revised and expanded version, *La realidad historica de España* (1954, 1962^2; *The Spaniards*, 1971). He suggests that the cultural superiority of the Jews in medieval Spain allowed them to exercise a "supremacy from below." The expulsion of 1492 was in Castro's view the result of uncontainable pressures from below. He believes that the preoccupation with purity of lineage in Christian Spain from the 15th century on was a transfer of a Jewish concept, due to the infiltration of converts into Christian society (*De la edad conflictiva*, (1961). The use of secrecy and informers by the Inquisition was a continuation of methods used by Jewish tribunals. Among his important works is *Los Españoles como llegaron a serlo* (1956). Ultimately, according to Castro, it was the Jews and their descendants the Conversos who were responsible for the discrimination by the Spaniards against the New Christians because of the latter's blood or race and for the cruel and unjust methods employed by the Inquisition and the maltreatment of those who were brought to trial before it. These were all derived from Jewish sources and traditions. Castro relied on "evidence" from the Bible, from the origin of the Spanish aristocracy, from medieval Jewish authors like Santob de Carrión (Shem Tov ben Ardutiel), R. Moses Arragel, R. Asher ben Yehiel, R. Solomon ben Adret, and others. Castro's evidence is based entirely on a basic misunderstanding of the sources, of the Jews' understanding of the biblical text, and of the essence of Jewish law. Similarly all the evidence he derives from Jewish sources in the Iberian Peninsula reflects a fundamental ignorance of the concepts that guided their authors. In trying to explain the racist attitude of Christian society which had to be, by Christian definition, anti-racist, Castro thought he had found the correct explanation. His explanation, however, was based on a complete misunderstanding of the Jewish sources, which he believed to be responsible for the racial and discriminatory attitudes adopted by old Christians in Spain.

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[Kenneth R. Scholberg / Yom Tov Assis (2nd ed.)]

CASTRO SARMENTO, JACOB (Henrique) DE (1691–1762), Marrano physician. He was born in Braganza (Portugal) to Francisco de Castro Almeida and Violante de Mesquita, both of whom were arrested by the Inquisition in 1708. He studied classics and philosophy at the university of Evora and in 1711 he began his studies of medicine in Coimbra. He completed his studies in 1717, when he began practicing. This period of his life is little known and we know nothing about his religious beliefs and practices. It seems obvious that he joined Crypto-Jewish communities in Beja and Lisbon. The circumstances that led to his flight from Portugal are rather obscure. He emigrated to London, where we find him with his wife Raḥel, whom he remarried in 1721 according to Jewish law. Soon he became renowned for his vast medical and scientific erudition. There, owing to a confusion of names he was falsely accused of having denounced some Marranos to the Inquisition, but was able to clear himself of the charge. In 1724 he published in Portuguese three sermons in a booklet entitled *Exemplar de Penitencia*. In the same year he also wrote a verse paraphrase of the Book of Esther for Purim, *Extraordinaria Providencia quel el gran Dios de Israel uso con su escogido pueblo… por medio de Mordehay y Esther…* (1724). In 1724 he was appointed the doctor of the Hebra of Gemilut Ḥasadim to take care of the medical needs of the poor in the community. Soon, however, he was dismissed from his post for having transgressed on a festival. He was supposed to publicly ask for forgiveness. Evidently he overcame this problem, for in

1728 he preached one of the memorial sermons on the death of David Nieto, *Sermão Funebre….* His problems in the community never seemed to end. He also wrote poems. He built up a fashionable medical practice, and published numerous medical works in Portuguese, Latin, and English, especially on variolation (smallpox inoculation), on the tides, and on the *Agua de Inglaterra*, a derivative of quinine, which he introduced to England, apparently with considerable financial profit. His work on smallpox, published first in English and then in Latin, was widely appreciated. In 1730 he became a Fellow of the Royal Society after attempts by a Jewish fellow-doctor, Dr. Schomberg, had failed and was awarded a medical degree by the University of Aberdeen in 1739. In 1735 he wrote his most important medical work: *Materia medica.* The book was even well received in Portugal. In the late 1740s he was involved in establishing a Jewish hospital. His life was unhappy in many respects. The two sons born to his wife Raḥel died in 1724 and 1725. After the death of Raḥel, he married Sarah, who died in 1756. In 1758 he severed his ties with the community. For some years he had a Christian mistress called Elizabeth who bore him a son, Henry. By 1759 he had married his mistress. In 1758 his second son was baptized. He was among the founders of the *Beth Holim,* the first hospital in England. He was buried in a cemetery in Holborn.

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[Cecil Roth / Yom Tov Assis (2nd ed.)]

CASTRO TARTAS, DAVID DE (c. 1625–c. 1700), Amsterdam printer. Born in Tartas (southern France) and brother of the martyr Isaac de *Castro Tartas, he also wrote his name as de Crasto Tartaz. His New Christian parents left Portugal for Tartas and came to Amsterdam with their children in 1640. He worked in 1647 for *Manasseh Ben Israel as a compositor but in 1662 set up his own press. Among the earliest works printed by de Castro Tartas were a Pentateuch (1666) and an edition of Rashi on the Pentateuch and the Five Scrolls (1664). He produced a fine printing of the *Sermoes que pregarao os doctos ingenios do KK de Talmud Torah* (Amsterdam, 1675), the seven sermons that leading members of the community preached on successive days at the inauguration of the new synagogue in 1675. Romeyn de Hooghe illustrated the latter work with eight engravings. Another outstanding product of his press was the *Gazeta de Amsterdam* (from 1672 onward), the earliest known newspaper in Spanish published by a Jewish printer, mainly intended for the Marrano diaspora, and which dealt particularly with mercantile news. He also published an Italian version. In 1687 he took over the publishing of the Amsterdam Yiddish *Dinstogishe* and *Fraytogishe Kurantn*. In 1980 a unique copy of an edition by de Castro Tartas of a Yiddish version of the Arthurian legends was discovered in the University Library at Erlangen. In 1694 Hayman Jacobs of Amsterdam bought from Elias Jacobs 10,000 copies of Hebrew books printed by David Tartas. From his press came various works of Solomon de *Oliveyra, and several rabbinical editions. He also printed works in Spanish for the use of the Amsterdam Sephardi community and the greater part of the poetical works by Daniel Levi de Barrios. The majority of messianic prayer books in connection with the false messiah *Shabbetai Zevi, both in Hebrew and in Spanish, was printed by him. De Castro Tartas was actively engaged in the printing trade until 1697. In that year he left the city, selling to Moses b. Abraham Mendes *Coutinho all his printing equipment as well as his exclusive rights to produce certain books and left either for Palestine or Hamburg. The output of de Castro Tartas' press is considerable: about 70 works in Hebrew and Yiddish and over 40 works in Spanish and Portuguese. Coutinho carried on the press until 1711. Associated with de Castro Tartas in the business were his brother Jacob and from 1678 his son-in-law Samuel b. Isaac Texeira Tartas, who worked as a compositor, corrector and general manager, and translated Hebrew prayers into Dutch. He assisted Coutinho in 1699 and then left for Livorno, returning to Amsterdam in about 1722.

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[Cecil Roth / A.K. Offenberg (2nd ed.)]

CASTRO TARTAS, ISAAC DE (c. 1625–1647), Marrano martyr. Born in Avignon, then under papal rule, he was the son of fugitive Portuguese *New Christians who had settled in southern France. He was baptized at birth under the name of Thomás Luiz and also known as Joseph de Lis. While a young man, he left his parents and moved to Tartas and then to Bordeaux and Paris. In Paris he studied philosophy and medicine, living as a Crypto-Jew. Later the family took up residence as Jews in Amsterdam, where they all lived openly as Jews. Within a week father and sons were circumcised. In 1641, at the age of 16, Isaac went to *Recife (Pernambuco) in Brazil, at that time under Dutch control. In 1644, he went on to Bahia, which was under Portuguese rule, now outwardly living as a Catholic as he had done in his childhood. He was arrested in December 1644, after some Catholics denounced him to the Inquisition, claiming that they saw him attending synagogue in Recife, and was then, in 1645, sent to Lisbon for trial after a pair of *tefillin* were found among his belongings. At first he maintained that he had never been baptized, relying on the fact that the Portuguese Inquisition never tried Jews who had never been baptized, but his claim was disproved. He then proclaimed himself a Jew unshaken in his faith and determined to observe the precepts of Judaism. He confessed he was the son of Jewish parents, Abraham and Sarah Meatoga, born in Braganca and that he had always been a practicing Jew, keeping the festivals and fasts and observing the precepts of the Torah. Serious efforts were made to convince him to renounce his Jewish faith but he refused to do so. He was accordingly condemned and burned alive in Lisbon on Dec. 15, 1647. It was reported that the Lisbon populace long repeated the impressive cry of the *Shema*, which they heard from him at the last moment. A number of members of the Amsterdam community, among them José *Pinto Delgado, collaborated in a volume of elegies in his honor, which was probably printed at the time, although only a manuscript copy has survived. Isaac de Castro Tartas was long remembered as one of the exemplary martyrs whose memory was revered by the communities of the Marrano Diaspora.

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[Cecil Roth / Yom Tov Assis (2nd ed.)]

CAT. The cat is not mentioned in the Bible although cats were domesticated in ancient Egypt, as is evidenced by the fact that vast numbers of mummified cats have been found in tombs at Beni Hasan and elsewhere. In rabbinic literature there are few references to the cat, which was apparently not bred to any great extent, other animals being preferred for catching mice and snakes. It was permitted to breed cats in Ereẓ Israel together with other animals that rid the house of pests (BK 80a–b). Wild cats abounded and they preyed on fowl (TJ Pe'ah 3:8, 17d). In Babylonia the cat was highly regarded as a means of ridding the home of poisonous snakes, and it was even stated that entering a house after dark in which there is no cat was dangerous, for fear of being bitten by a snake (Pes. 112b). The cat was praised for its extreme cleanliness, and it was said: "If the Torah had not been given, we could have learnt modesty from the cat" (Er. 100b). A mosaic, uncovered at Nirim in the Negev, on which there is the figure of a cat, testifies to its having been bred in Ereẓ Israel in Byzantine times. Some moralists of the Ghetto period recommended that cats or other domestic pet be kept in the home in order to accustom children to fulfill the *mitzvah* of feeding animals before partaking of food themselves. The Italian loan-bankers of the Renaissance period were often bound by their contract to keep cats in order to control the mice and other pests which might do damage to the pledges in their care.

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[Jehuda Feliks]

CATACOMBS, deep, subterranean tunnels, intended for the most part for the burial of the dead. The name is derived from the late Latin *catacumba* (etymology uncertain) and originally indicated a particular cave, "ad Catacumbas," on the Appian Way outside Rome. Since the ninth century C.E., however, it has been used to designate any subterranean place intended for the burial of the dead. The catacombs of the Christians were already known in the Middle Ages; those of the Jews have come to light only in relatively modern times.

In Rome

Six Jewish catacombs have been found in Rome, mainly along the Appian Way: (1) Monteverde, near the ancient Via Portuensis, which was discovered in 1602 and reopened between 1740 and 1745, contains a wealth of inscriptions in Greek, Latin, and Hebrew (A. Bosio, *Roma sotterranea*, 2 (Rome, 1632), ch. 2; N. Mueller and N.A. Bees, *Die Inschriften der juedischen Katacombe am Monteverde zu Rom* (1919); Frey, Corpus, 1 (1936), 206–359); (2) Vigna Randanini, discovered in 1859 near the Appian Way, contains Greek and Latin inscriptions (R. Garrucci, *Dissertazioni archeologiche di vario argomento*, 2 (1865), 150–2; Frey, Corpus, 1 (1936), 53–145); (3) Vigna Cimarra was discovered in 1866 in the vicinity of the preceding catacomb, but all traces of it have been lost (Frey, Corpus, 1 (1936), 194–7); (4) Catacomb of Via Labicana, in the vicinity of Porta Maggiore, was discovered in 1882, but all traces of it have also been lost (Frey, Corpus, 1 (1936), 46–50); (5) Catacomb of Via Appia Pignatelli, discovered in 1885, is small and not easily accessible today (Frey, Corpus, 1 (1936), 50–53); and

(6) Villa Torlonia, on the Via Nomentana, is both extensive and well preserved and contains remarkable decorations (H.W. Beyer and H. Lietzmann, *Die juedische Katacombe der Villa Tolornia in Rom* (1930); Frey, Corpus, 1 (1936), 9–46).

The Roman catacombs consist of a great labyrinth of tunnels dug deep into the earth under the hills surrounding the city. The construction of the Jewish and Christian catacombs is similar: the tunnels are placed at different levels, frequently as many as four or five, one upon the other, and they cross several times on the same level. The main tunnels, about one meter wide and three to four meters high, are themselves connected by smaller tunnels whose walls contain horizontal graves or burial niches (*loculi*) in which the corpses were placed. Unlike the Christian catacombs, the Jewish ones do not contain large rooms for gatherings or religious celebrations, since Judaism was a permitted religion in the Roman Empire, and public worship was permitted. The little open spaces which are found in the Jewish catacombs may have served for the washing of the corpses before burial or for family graves. In order to explain the use by the Jews of Rome of catacombs it has been suggested that the practice was adopted by those Jews who were averse to following the Roman and Greek custom of cremation (as some, in fact did) but who were reluctant to perform their burials openly. The use of catacombs is permitted in Jewish tradition and can even be considered as a return to the early traditions of Ereẓ Israel (cf. the Cave of *Machpelah, see Gen 23; Isa. 22:16). The modest nature of the tombs has been attributed to the great poverty of the community, but it should be noted that ostentatious tombs were condemned by Jewish tradition (cf. Gen. 3:19). Although the tombstones have few identifying data they constitute a valuable source for reconstructing the history of the Roman Jews in the classical period.

The inscriptions date from the period between the first and fourth centuries C.E. The predominating language dating from the first to third centuries is Greek (76%). There are also some Latin inscriptions, written however in the Greek alphabet. From the third century on, the use of Latin in the Latin script becomes usual (23%). There is also one epigraph written in Greek with Latin letters. There are a few words in Hebrew: שאלים על ישראל, שלום (sic, with the א *mater lectionis* which is found sometimes also in Venosa; H.J. Leon, *Jews of Ancient Rome* (1960), ch. 4). The names are for the most part foreign: Latin (46%) and Greek (31%). The Semitic names (13%) include Astar, Benjamin, Eli, Gadias, Jacob, Jonathan, Judas (twice), Mara-Maria-Marta, Rebekah, and Sarah. That there are many double names is explained by the fact that most of the Roman Jews were freedmen, who on emancipation adopted the surname of their former master. The inscriptions are useful both for giving a picture of the intimacy of family life, and for attempting to reconstruct the life of the community and its organization.

SYMBOLS. The seven-branched candelabrum (**menorah*) is almost always found among the symbols which surround the inscriptions. Although the use of the *menorah* symbolically was widespread throughout the entire Jewish world, it may be assumed that in Rome its use was particularly common because of its prominent representation on the Arch of Titus (Kaufmann). Among the other objects represented are the *Sefer Torah*, the *shofar*, the *lulav* and *etrog*, a palm branch, the circumcision knife, the pomegranate, and an ampula for oil. Of the various scholars who have viewed these objects as symbols, Goodenough (Goodenough, Symbols, 4 (1954), 209) asserts that "the cult objects which the Jews of the Greco-Roman period depicted on their synagogues and tombs have gone far to confirm the surmise that they were Jewish substitutes for pagan symbols similarly used." However, the opinion of those who see in these representations merely a sign of an attachment to the Torah and to its precepts is more probable. Representations of birds and animals, hens, roosters, sheep, bulls, rams, peacocks, eagles, and lions, are also found, as well as representations of trees, flowers, fruit, of the sun and stars, and rather frequently of the heart. Some pagan mythological representations have also been found (Victory crowning a nude youth, the goddess Fortuna, etc.).

In Venosa

A small town in Apulia, southern Italy, some Jewish catacombs were found between 1853 and 1935. The tombs, dug into the pavement of volcanic tufa, were found open and empty. The tunnels are wider (two meters) than those in Rome and the arcosolia (arched niches in the catacombs) are on the top with a column of burial niches underneath; they probably date from the fourth to the seventh or eighth centuries. Their major interest lies in the numerous inscriptions in Greek, Latin, and Hebrew. Hebrew is used much more extensively in Venosa than at Rome. In addition to שלום על משכבו, שלום על ישראל־אמן, שלום there also occur invocations with the name of the deceased שלום על בני ריקיאנו and even a short Hebrew epitaph inserted in the middle of the Latin text. In another, the Hebrew text precedes the Latin translation, while one is only in Hebrew משכבו של ביטה בן פווסטינו־נוח נפש נשמתו לחיי(י) עולם. Finally, another epitaph is in Greek transcribed in Hebrew characters, with the invocations in Hebrew שלום על משכבו־טפוס סהקונדינו פרסביטרו אטון אגדואנטא קימיסי אן יראנא (τάφος Σεκουνδίνου πρεσβυτέρου ἐτῶν ὀγδοῆντα κοίμησις ἐν εἰρήνῃ).

In one inscription, surmounted by a seven-branched *menorah*, is the invocation "God give rest to his soul with the righteous of Paradise until he leads them into the House of Sanctuary and he will be placed among all those who are inscribed for life in Jerusalem."

Other Catacombs

On the island of Sardinia, a Jewish catacomb was discovered in S. Antioco (Sulcis). This consisted of a large room with only eight burial niches, dating from the Roman period. In the Latin inscriptions some conventional Hebrew words may be read; one of these is written from right to left. On the island of Sicily, whose terrain is suited to the construction of tombs excavated into the rock, many catacombs have been found, but it is impossible to determine whether they are Jewish or Christian. There is, for example, an *arcosolium* without an inscription, with only a *menorah*, in the middle of a group of little Christian catacombs. However it appears certain that there are Jewish catacombs at Syracuse and inscriptions which are definitely Jewish have been found also in Catania. Jewish catacombs have been found on the island of *Malta. Jewish catacombs have been found also in Alexandria, Egypt (where the excavations have not produced enough material for any definitive conclusions), at Cyrene in Libya, and at Carthage. Of the Jewish catacombs found in various other parts of the Mediterranean world, those in Ereẓ Israel have particular importance.

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[Alfredo Mordechai Rabello]

CATANIA, Sicilian port. A lengthy Jewish tombstone inscription has been found in Catania dating from 383, and an epistle of Pope *Gregory I (596) indicates that there were also Samaritans in Catania. In 1168 the bishop of Catania authorized the Jews there to conduct litigation according to Jewish law. There were two distinct Jewish quarters, each with its synagogue, one by the hill of Montevergine (the *giudeca di susu*) and the other in a lower part of the town (the *giudeca di giusu*). The Jews also had houses and shops outside these quarters, and they took an active part in the economic life of the city. A document from 1414 mentions a Jew as tax farmer of the dyers tax. In 1448 the city officials of Catania gave permission to a Jew to plant olive trees and linen plants in the lower part of the town, and in 1458 city officials accepted the offer of a Jew to supply the town with candles for the lighting of three neighborhoods. A number of Jews in Catania practiced medicine, among them a woman, Viridimura, wife of Pasquale di Medico, who obtained in 1376 the license to practice medicine in all of Sicily. In 1481 Israel Lu Presti, a physician of Catania, was exempted from wearing the Jewish badge. The Jews formed a particularly industrious element and had to pay heavy taxes. The amount of tax revenue received by the crown in 1415 shows that Catania Jewry was then the fourth largest group of taxpayers in Sicily. In 1457 many Jews threatened to leave the town because of the heavy taxes and the wealthy among them transported themselves to the lands of the nobility. The taxes were reduced only in 1466, probably because of the diminishing number of Jewish households following the outbreak of the plague in 1463. That year the community complained that it could not pay the customary taxes since out of 200 families, only 30 remained in the city. According to the tax amounts paid in 1481, the community of Catania indeed paid proportionally less than cities considerably smaller, such as Randazzo, Marsala, and Agrigento. In 1455 Jews from Catania and other towns in Sicily attempted to immigrate to Jerusalem but were discovered by the authorities and punished. In May 1492 rumors of intended persecution caused several Jewish families to flee the city. To prevent flight, the authorities issued an order forbidding all ships to embark Jews. The Catanian Jews were finally expelled with the rest of Sicilian Jewry in 1492. Two marble plaques commemorating the expulsion of the Jews were posted in the city of Catania: one in the senatorial palace in 1493 on the first anniversary of the expulsion and the other in 1500 inside one of the cathedral doors. After the expulsion, the New Christians of Catania fared better than those living in other places in Sicily. In 1502 members of the city council were excommunicated for impeding the work of the Inquisition's officials and, again in 1522, the city population forced an inquisitor to release New Christians and return their confiscated property. According to lists made by the Spanish Inquisition, there were 40 New Christians in Catania.

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[Attilio Milano / Nadia Zeldes (2nd ed.)]

CATANZARO, town in Calabria, southern Italy. Jews were apparently invited to Catanzaro in 1073, under Robert Guiscard, to introduce mulberry cultivation and silk spinning; subsequently Catanzaro became the most important silk-producing center in Italy. From Norman times the Jews were forced to wear the red badge and pay special taxes. When in 1417 the town rebelled against the local administration, the Jews seized the opportunity to demand concessions from Queen Joanna of Naples, including the abolishment of the Jewish badge and exemption from taxes. The concessions granted by Queen Joanna gave them almost complete equality with the Christians. A controversy regarding tax payments between the town and the Jews ended in 1454 when King Alfonso ruled in favor of the Jews. In 1456 the king transferred the Jews from episcopal jurisdiction to that of the Civic Tribunal headed by a lay official. During the baronial revolt against King Ferrante I, the Jews were compensated for their loyalty to the king and in 1466 were accorded various privileges, including complete freedom from the jurisdiction of the bishop. Other privileges were accorded in 1476. The favorable conditions they enjoyed attracted Jews from other localities, thus increasing the size of the Jewish population. The Catanzaro community suffered along with other communities of Calabria between 1494 and 1495 during the invasion of King Charles VIII. In 1495 the synagogue of Catanzaro was transformed into a church and dedicated to St. Stefano. The former synagogue is mentioned in two bulls of Pope Alexander VI. The community was expelled in 1510 during the general expulsion of Jews from Calabria.

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[Ariel Toaff / Nadia Zeldes (2nd ed.)]

CATECHUMENS, HOUSE OF (**Casa dei catecumeni**), institution in Rome for intended converts (catechumens) and converts in Christianity (*neofiti*). A building in Rome to house intended Jewish or Muslim converts to Christianity was allocated by Pope Paul III in 1543. In 1554, Pope Julius III imposed a tax of ten gold ducats on each of the 115 synagogues in the Papal States to cover the cost of maintaining the converts. Subsequently the tax was borne by the Jewish community in Rome alone, which had to pay 1,100 scudi yearly. A College of Neophytes was established in 1575 to accommodate converts who wished to enter a religious order. Both institutions were supervised by a cardinal-protector. Houses of catechumens were also established in other Italian cities where there was a ghetto. The potential convert received instruction for 40 days, and if he then refused baptism was allowed to go back to the ghetto. The pressures exerted on him however were so great that this seldom happened. It is estimated that 1,195 Jews were baptized in Rome between 1634 and 1700, and 1,237 between 1700 and 1790, i.e., two per 1,000 and one per 1,000 respectively of the total Jewish population in these periods. The Jewish contributions were abolished in 1810. As late as 1864 a Jewish peddler was savagely punished for passing under the windows of the House of Catechumens in Rome. The House of Catechumens still exists in name.

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[Attilio Milano]

CATEGORIES, in medieval Jewish philosophy the highest logical as well as metaphysical classification into which all beings are divided. *Aristotle (*Categories*, chs. 5–9; *Metaphysics*, book 5, especially chs. 8 and 30) speaks of the categories which are divided into substance and nine accidents: quality, quantity, relation, place, time, position, possession, action, and passion. In his categories Aristotle distinguishes between two kinds of substances, primary and secondary. Substance in its primary sense is defined by him as "that which is neither predicable of a subject nor present in a subject," an example of this kind of substance being an individual man or an individual horse (*Categories*, 5, 2a). Species and genera are examples of secondary substances. These secondary substances as well as the accidents are described by Aristotle (*Categories*, 5, 2b) as those properties which are either predicated of primary substances or present in them.

These definitions and groupings became a commonplace in medieval Jewish philosophy. Thus, for example, the neoplatonist Joseph ibn *Ẓaddik discusses them in his *Olam Katan* (1:2; ed. by A. Jellinek (1854), 7–10), as do the Aristotelians Abraham *Ibn Daud (*Emunah Ramah*, ch. 1) and *Maimonides in his *Millot ha-Higgayon* (*Treatise on Logic*, tr. by I. Efros, in PAAJR, 8 (1938), 34–65; *ibid.*, 34 (1966), 155ff.). *Judah Halevi defines substance as that which does not need a substratum for its existence, e.g., matter, form, and the concrete individual, and accident as that the existence of which needs an abode or substratum, e.g., color and dimension, whose existence cannot be conceived of without matter wherein to reside (*Kuzari* 5:18).

Once the categories had been formulated, it became a recurrent problem of Jewish philosophy whether the categories can be applied to God. *Philo, in addressing himself to this question, states that God is without quality, but he holds that the category of relation does apply to Him. *Saadiah Gaon refers to Aristotle's classification of the ten categories as an argument against the dualist notion that all existing things may be subsumed only under one of two classifications – useful or harmful (*Book of Beliefs and Opinions* 2:2). He further analyzes each of the categories in terms of its possible application to God, and concludes that none of the categories may be attributed to God (*ibid.*, 2:9–12). Similarly, Joseph ibn Ẓaddik argues that God cannot be subsumed under any of the categories (*Olam Katan*, ch. 3, p. 53). Because God is infinite and eternal, one cannot ask about Him what, how, why, of which kind, where, and when. Maimonides also makes reference to the ten categories in his discussion of the attributes of God (see H.A. Wolfson, in *Essays and Studies in Memory of Linda R. Miller* (1938), 151–73), where he concludes that the categories, being accidents, cannot be attributes to God who is the creator of all accidents, and their attribution to God would introduce multiplicity into God's being. Even the category of relation is rejected by Maimonides. Referring to the categories in a different context, *Baḥya ibn Paquda uses them as a basis for his argument for the unity of God (*Ḥovot ha-Levavot* 1:7). The higher the classes, the fewer they are, he states. The most comprehensive of the classes are the ten categories, which have five causes – motion, and the four elements. These, in turn, are caused by matter and form. Since matter and form are two, their cause must be one – the cause of all causes, who is God.

The Aristotelian categories play a significant role in the ontological hierarchy and metaphysical scheme of Solomon ibn *Gabirol. A central doctrine of Ibn Gabirol's thought is that all created beings, spiritual as well as corporeal, are composed of matter and form, and he envisages that these matters and forms are arranged in an hierarchical structure. As part of this scheme he speaks of a general matter which underlies those beings that can be perceived by the senses, and he describes this matter as the one sustaining the nine categories (*Mekor Ḥayyim* 3:1; 3:4–10).

[David Kadosh]

The doctrines contained in Aristotle's *Categories* became familiar to Hebrew readers in the late 12th or early 13th centuries from a variety of sources. Samuel Ibn *Tibbon's *Explanation of Foreign Terms* (*Perush ha-Millim ha-Zarot*), which the author appended to his translation of Maimonides' *Guide of the Perplexed*, explained the ten categories in a rudimentary fashion. Maimonides' *Logical Terms* (*Millot ha-Higayon*), which includes a brief expose of the categories, was one of the most popular medieval Hebrew works of any kind; it is extant in over 80 mansucripts and numerous printed editions. (The work's attribution to Maimonides has been questioned by H. Davidson.) More detailed treatments are found in Alfarabi's short commentary on the *Categories* (translated twice) and Averroes' paraphrase (middle commentary), translated in 1232 by Jacob Anatoli, the son-in-law (or perhaps brother-in-law) of Samuel Ibn Tibbon. The latter work is extant in over 80 manuscripts, making it one of the most popular works of medieval Hebrew philosophy. (Aristotle's own version of the *Categories* was never translated into Hebrew, nor, for that matter, were his other works on logic; the paraphrases of Averroes were deemed sufficient.) Averroes' *Epitome on Logic*, which included a section on the doctrine of the categories, was translated twice into Hebrew. The translation by Jacob b. Machir was very popular and was printed in the 16th century (Riva di Trento). As for Jewish authors, one should point out the very popular commentary on Averroes' paraphrase by Gersonides in the 14th century and the very rare commentary by Elijah Xabillo (*Habillo) in the 15th. Shorter discussions are found in works by Joseph *Kaspi and Judah b. Solomon ha-Kohen Ibn *Matkah. Scholastic treatments of the categories and the so-called postpredicaments (e.g., opposition, etc.) appear in the various Hebrew versions of the *Tractatus* attributed to Peter of Spain and in the voluminous *Mikhlal Yofi* of Judah Messer Leon. The *Categories*' most significant doctrine for medieval Jewish theology was that of the signification of terms, for that doctrine provided the semantic and metaphysical framework for the discussion of Divine names and attributes. Abraham *Ibn Ezra used the ten categories to explain the relationship of the first commandment in the Decalogue ("I am the Lord your God"), which he compared to substance, to the other nine, which he compared to accidents, since the existence of God is the foundation of all the other commandments (Long Commentary to Ex. 20:1).

[Charles Manekin (2nd ed.)]

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°**CATHERINE II**, empress of Russia, 1762–1796. While Catherine leaned to the theories of the Enlightenment and its savants, the effect this may have had on her policies was lessened, since, because of her foreign origins, she had to depend on the support of the nobility and take the church and magnates into consideration. It was during Catherine's reign that Russia encountered the "Jewish problem." Her appreciation of the commercial role played by the Jews before 1772 led her to admit unofficially Jewish merchants and men of means into Riga and St. Petersburg. In 1772 the vast tracts of *Belorussia, where tens of thousands of Jews were living, came under Russian rule with the first partition of Poland. In the "Placard" issued on August 11, 1772, Catherine affirmed that the "Jewish communities residing in the cities and territories now incorporated in the Russian Empire shall be left in the enjoyment of all those liberties with regard to their religion and property which they at present possess." In 1791 Catherine gave way to the pressure of the merchants in the administrative provinces of Moscow and Smolensk and prohibited the admission of Jews to the mercantile estate in the provinces of inner Russia and thus laid the foundation for the *Pale of Settlement as well as "New Russia" – the areas on the shores of the Black Sea captured from Turkey – which thus came to be included within the Pale. In 1780 Jews were admitted to the mercantile estate, and in 1783 all Jews living in townships where their residence was authorized were admitted to the burgher estate and permitted to participate in the municipal leadership. In fact, however, the Jewish community organization remained responsible for paying taxes and implementing the directives of the state in the Jewish sphere. With the further partitions of Poland in 1792 and 1795, the same laws and regulations were applied to the Jewish population of the new territories. In 1794 the area of permissible Jewish settlement was extended to three provinces in the Ukraine east of the River Dnieper. Russian policy toward the Jews took an ominous direction with the issue of the ukase of 1794, which required them to pay double the taxes levied on Christians.

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[Yehuda Slutsky]

CATTAN, North African family. JOSEPH B. SAMUEL CATTAN left *Fez as a result of the upheavals of the 1640s and settled in Leghorn, Italy, where he published the *Sefer ha-Yashar* and *Ketonet Yosef*. He was appointed *dayyan* in Leghorn and then in Venice. ABRAHAM CATTAN (c. 1669) was rabbi in *Tetuán, Morocco. JACOB CATTAN, physician and kabbalist in Fez, wrote between 1695 and 1715 a work on the effects of plants and fruits on the human body and a second allegorical work on the subject of dreams, both unpublished. In *Tunis, ABRAHAM CATTAN was appointed *dayyan* in about 1780. In the 19th and 20th centuries, the family produced many prominent figures in Tunisian and French Jewry.

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[David Corcos]

°**CATTANEO, CARLO** (1801–1869), Italian jurist, statistician, and politician. Cattaneo was among a group, including Vincenzo Gioberti, Angelo Brofferio, Massimo, and Roberto *d'Azeglio, which advocated reforms in favor of the Jews of Piedmont. His study "Ricerche economiche sulle interdizioni imposte dalla legge civile agli Israeliti" was first published in *Annali di giurisprudenza pratica* in 1836, and subsequently separately, having a wide circulation. It was one of the most influential publications in the struggle for Jewish emancipation in Italy. The work was reprinted in 1962, under the title *Interdizioni israelitiche.*

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[Giorgio Romano / Manuela Consonni (2nd ed.)]

CATTAUI, Egyptian family of merchants and community leaders. The Cattaui family originated in the village of Catta, a few kilometers north of Cairo. Joseph *Sambari, the historian who lived during the 17th century, was a member of this family. At the end of the 18th century ELIJAH HADAR CATTAUI settled in Cairo. He had two sons JACOB (1801–1883) and SHALOM and a daughter KAMAR, who married the leading Cairo rabbi at that time, Elijah Algazi. Jacob obtained many concessions from the government, such as managing the customs, operating the flour mills in the vicinity of Cairo, and developing the city's new quarters. He was also the first Jew in Egypt to be honored with the title "Bey." During the rule of the khedive Abbas I (1849–1854), he was appointed director of the treasury. In his old age Jacob became president of the Jewish community of Cairo. After his death, his son MOSES CATTAUI (r. 1850–1924) succeeded him as president of the Jewish community. Moses was decorated by the Egyptian and Austrian governments, and during the last year of his life was elected to the Egyptian parliament.

Upon Moses' death the leadership of the Cairo community was taken over by his nephew JOSEPH ASLAN CATTAUI (1861–1942). Joseph Aslan had studied engineering in Paris; when he returned to Cairo in 1882, he became an official in the ministry of public works. Later he went to Moravia to study sugar manufacturing and subsequently directed a sugar factory in Egypt; he set up many other industrial plants as well. Joseph Aslan was appointed to the councils of various economic and financial institutions and managed several business companies. In 1915 he entered politics, later becoming a member of the Egyptian delegation to London to negotiate the independence of Egypt. In 1922 Joseph Aslan was assigned to the committee in charge of drafting the 1923 Egyptian constitution. In 1924 he was appointed minister of finance, and in 1925, minister of communications. From 1927 to 1936 he served as senator. In 1938, because of paralysis, he had to retire. Joseph Aslan published a study in French (1935), defending the economic policy of the khedive Ismaīl.

His son ASLAN (1890–1962), born in Alexandria, was appointed in 1938 to Joseph Aslan's seat in the senate and held it until the late 1940s. Joseph Aslan's other son, RENÉ (1896–?), assisted his father in the management of communal affairs; in 1943 he was elected president of the Cairo community in his place and served for three years. René was employed in the archives of the royal house and there he gathered the material for his work *Le règne de Mohamed Ali d'après les archives Russes en Egypte* (3 vols, 1931–36). During the 1930s and 1940s he directed many financial companies in Egypt and also served as a member of the Egyptian parliament. The brothers Aslan and René left Egypt in 1957.

Another member of this family, JOSEPH EDMUND CATTAUI (1885–?), born in Alexandria, wrote *Histoire des rapports de l'Egypte avec la Sublime Porte du XVIII siècle à 1841* (1919). Still another member of the family, GEORGES CATTAUI, was formerly in the Egyptian diplomatic service. Although sympathetic to Zionism, he entered the Roman Catholic Church, together with a few other Egyptian Jewish intellectuals of his generation. He published volumes of poetry in French, as well as studies on Proust and aspects of modern French and English literature.

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[Hayyim J. Cohen]

CATTLE. The domestication of cattle began in prehistoric times. Ancient Sumerian inscriptions refer to the raising of cattle, and from the third millennium B.C.E. they are depicted in Egyptian, Assyrian, and Babylonian drawings as used for plowing (see *Agriculture) and milking. Domesticated cattle (*Bos taurus*) probably originated from the wild ox (*Bos primigenius*; see Wild *Bull) from which were domesticated the short- and long-horned cattle, two species found in ancient Egyptian drawings. Yet another ox reared was the humped zebu (*Bos indicus*). The Bible mentions cattle among the possessions of Abraham (Gen. 12:16), of the other Patriarchs, and of Jacob's sons both in Ereẓ Israel and in Egypt. In the wilderness, the Israelites had a considerable number of cattle. The spoil which they took from the Midianites alone amounted to 72,000 head (Num. 31:33). Cattle were extensively raised in the ample pasture lands of Transjordan, especially in Gilead, which was given as an inheritance to the cattle-raising tribes of Reuben and Gad (Num. 32:1–4, where both sheep and cattle are meant). The "kine of Bashan" were renowned, and being stronger than other breeds of cattle gored them (Amos 1; cf. Ps. 22:13). David appointed special supervisors over the herds that grazed in the broad pastures in the valleys and in Sharon (I Chron., 27:29). With the consolidation and expansion of agriculture in Ereẓ Israel, particularly in the mountainous regions, pasture lands progressively diminished, and cattle began to be reared in sheds where they were fed from mangers. Their feed consisted of shredded straw (Isa. 11:7), grass (Job 40:15), or a mixture of shredded straw and pulses (Isa. 30:24), and in mishnaic and talmudic times chiefly of vetches (see *fodder). Cattle were raised for work in the field and for their meat which was eaten particularly on solemn occasions (cf. Gen. 17:7). Calves fattened for this purpose are referred to as "fatted calves" (I Sam. 28:24) or "calves of the stall" (Jer. 46:21). The provision for Solomon's table included, besides "oxen out of the pastures," also "fat oxen" (I Kings 6:3). Cattle were extensively used for *sacrifices. "Curd of kine" (Deut. 32:14; cf. Judg. 5:25; Job 20:17) was a highly prized food. Cattle are mentioned hundreds of times in the Bible and various terms are used for them. Some are synonyms, while others indicate the cattle's age, sex, characteristics, or employment. *Bakar* is the generic term for cattle, other terms being *alafim* ("oxen"), and *abbirim* ("bulls"). Names indicating sex are *par* ("young bull"), *parah* ("cow"), and *shor* ("ox" or "bull"). Those indicating age are *ben-bakar* ("young bull"), *eglah* ("heifer"), and *egel* ("bull-calf").

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[Jehuda Feliks]

CAUCASUS, mountainous region between the Black and Caspian Seas, in the south of the former Soviet Union. For over 2,000 years this inaccessible region served as a refuge for a variety of nations, tribes, and adherents of different religions, including Jews, who thus preserved their cultures and languages. Russia began conquest of the area at the end of the 18th century. The northern part was incorporated in the Russian Soviet Republic, while the southern was divided between the Soviet republics of Azerbaijan (whose inhabitants are mostly Turks-Azerbaijanis), Georgia, and Armenia. It is uncertain when Jews first arrived in the area. Jewish as well as non-Jewish traditions of the Caucasus, as also the ancient historical literature of *Armenia and *Georgia, relate that the Jews there originated from the exiled Ten Tribes or the exiles from Judah. Aristocratic Christian families in Armenia and Georgia regarded themselves as descendants of these exiles. Other traditions, for which there is some vague support in the Talmud, trace the beginning of Jewish settlement in the Caucasus to the Second Temple era and following its destruction. Yet other traditions found in the works of the Armenian historians Moses of Chorene (fifth to sixth centuries) and Faustus Byzantinus (fourth century) mention a large Jewish settlement in Armenia, from which Jews emigrated to Babylonia and Persia.

With the Muslim conquest in the eighth century, many Jews in the Caucasus were compelled to convert to Islam. The Karaite *Al-Kirkisānī and the Muslim historian al-Masʿudi tell of many Jews living in the Caucasus. The *Khazar state, which incorporated the northern part of the Caucasus, served as a haven for Jews who fled from the persecutions of the Christians and Muslims even before the conversion of its rulers to Judaism, and some maintain that the Jews of the Caucasus played a role in this conversion.

With the decline of the Khazar kingdom in the tenth century, the situation of the Jews deteriorated. *Benjamin of Tudela mentions, among the communities which were subordinated in the late 12th century to the *exilarch in Baghdad, the Jews living in the Ararat mountains, in the land of Alanyia "which is surrounded by mountains" and the land of Gurga (Georgia). Their existence is also reported by the non-Jewish traveler Guillaume Rubruquis (13th century).

After the Mongolian conquest of the Caucasus contacts between this area and Europe were severed. Information on the Jews there is interrupted over a lengthy period. The Caucasian Jews themselves preserved no record of their history during their many centuries of settlement before the coming of the Russians. European travelers passing through the Caucasus during the 18th century reported on the difficult position of the Jews living in the areas of Muslim and Christian rule. They had to pay special taxes; in Muslim regions in particular, onerous and humiliating public tasks were imposed on them. In many places they were considered serfs of the country's rulers. With the beginning of the Russian conquest, Muslim fanaticism intensified. Jews suffered much in particular at the hands of the Murids, a fast-spreading Muslim sect, who regarded the war with Russia as a Jihād (holy war) for uniting all the Caucasians within Islam. Consequently large numbers of Jews fled to the regions conquered by the Russians or to the towns, while many Jewish villages were abandoned or their inhabitants converted to Islam.

With the gradual conquest of the region by Russia during the first half of the 19th century, the question of the rights according to Russian law of the Jews living there arose under the rabidly anti-Jewish Czar *Nicholas I. The central government intended to expel the Jews from the Caucasus, and an expulsion decree was sent to the local authorities. These, however, pointed out that the Jews – numbering over 12,000 – had been living in the area for many generations and were integrated in the life of the region. Most of them were farmers or craftsmen while some were serfs over whom the local landlords would not consent to waive their rights. In 1837 the right of residence within the borders of the Caucasus of locally born Jews was ratified by law, but their residence in other parts of Russia was not authorized. On the other hand residence in the Caucasus was prohibited to the Jews of Russia, whom the local Jews knew as "Ashkenazim." It was only during the 1860s that some Jews then permitted to live beyond the *Pale of Settlement began to settle in the Caucasus. Jewish entrepreneurs played an important role in the development of the petroleum fields of *Baku region. During the second half of the 19th century, contacts were made between the *Mountain Jews and Georgian Jews and those of other parts of Russia. The Jewish press published reports on the Caucasian Jews, including letters and articles by the traveler Joseph Judah *Chorny and the Mountain Jew Ilya *Anisimov. A few Caucasian Jews also studied in the Lithuanian yeshivot and later returned to serve as rabbis in their communities. *Zionism soon occupied an important place in the life of the local Jews as well as the "Russian" Jews there.

The number of Jews in the Caucasus was recorded as 56,773 in 1897 (0.5% of the total population of the region), of whom 7,038 belonged to the Mountain Jews, 6,034 to the Georgian community (a figure apparently below the actual number), and 43,390 were "Ashkenazi" Jews, almost all of them originally from the Pale of Settlement (about 10% of these served in the army stationed along the Turkish and Persian borders); 93% of the "Ashkenazi" Jews declared Yiddish as their spoken language. During the 1917 Revolution and civil war (1918–21), the Jews in the Caucasus suffered with the other inhabitants of the region. Many of the Mountain Jews were compelled to abandon their villages and concentrate in the towns. During this period the Caucasus served as a transit route for the pioneers who left Russia for Ereẓ Israel. After the establishment of Soviet rule over the Caucasus in 1920–21, conditions for the Jews there were similar to those of the Jews in Russia; however, the government was compelled to take into consideration the special character of this frontier region, and attempted to avoid offending the national-religious feelings of its inhabitants, and the Jews also benefited from this policy. Thus the local Jews maintained their patriarchal society, their strong family ties, and their deep attachment to the national and religious tradition. Soviet ethnographers continued to study the lives and customs of the Caucasian Jews. During World War II the Germans only reached the northern extremity of the Caucasus and the number of Jewish communities annihilated in the Holocaust was thus relatively small. In those years the towns of the Caucasus served as a refuge for many Jews of Western Russia.

In 1959, 125,000 Jews (approximately 1% of the total population) were recorded in the Caucasus (including those in the republics of Azerbaijan, Georgia, and Armenia, and the autonomous republics of Dagestan, Kabardino-Balkar, North Ossetia, and Chechen-Ingush). Of these approximately 35,000 were registered as belonging to the Georgian community, and over 25,000 to the community of Mountain Jews, while the remainder were mostly of Russian origin. The two largest Jewish centers were Baku (26,623 Jewish inhabitants) and Tbilisi (17,311). Later information from the Caucasus indicated that a warm national Jewish feeling existed among Georgian and Mountain Jews, observance of religion within a patriarchal family framework, the existence of synagogues and rabbis (*ḥakhamim*), and a yearning for the land of Israel. When in the 1960s a yeshivah was established in the Moscow synagogue, the majority of its few students came from Georgia. Massive emigration to Israel and the West from the late 1980s on reduced the Jewish population considerably by the early years of the 21st century, to around 7,500 in Azerbaijan, 4,700 in Georgia, 500–1,000 in the Republic of Armenia, and barely 3,000 in the North Caucasus republics of the Russian Federation.

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[Yehuda Slutsky]

CAUSE AND EFFECT. Divergent conceptions of the relation between cause and effect (or agent and act) can be found throughout Jewish religious and non-religious literature from ancient times to the present. Indeed, this relation clearly underlies many of the most characteristic affirmations of the Jewish faith, e.g., that God is the Creator of the universe and of all creatures in it, who, in turn, have established ways of behaving and interacting; that God exercises providence as the Lord of history, acting as the past and the future Redeemer of Israel and other peoples, miraculously or otherwise; that God reveals his will and his laws to chosen individuals and peoples, establishing covenants with both human beings and even parts of the created universe and expecting willing adherence to these laws and covenants; that human beings are free to obey or disobey God's mandates; that God both rewards and punishes human behavior, yet human beings have the power to repent; and that God both hears and responds to prayer).

Until the modern era, virtually all claims expressing the cause-effect relation presupposed some form of the doctrine of causal efficacy, namely, that causes (or agents) produce their effects and can be known to do so. In general, it is possible to distinguish between three different conceptions of how this cause-effect relation actually works. First, there is the view that God is the sole and direct cause of all things that exist – objects, persons, processes, and states of affairs. Thus, causal efficacy resides in God alone. This view is closely associated with the classical rabbinic idea of God's having originally created the world *ex nihilo*. It may also have a connection with later rabbinic teaching, formulated in the liturgy, that each day God continually renews the work of creation. The most radical theoretical expression of this view was the occasionalist teaching of the Islamic theologians that God continually creates the world by recreating, moment by moment and out of nothing, the ephemeral atoms and accidents of which it is comprised in whatever configurations He wishes. (See *Kalam and occasionalism.) The second view holds that there are many non-divine causes, variously called "intermediate," "secondary," or "natural," which produce specific kinds of effects that act as causes in their own right. On this view, causal efficacy is widely diffused throughout creation, i.e., the natural world, but is nevertheless constrained to produce only those effects that are in accordance with the specific character or nature of their causes interacting with the objects or circumstances that they affect. These intermediate causes may or may not have their ultimate source in God. (If the latter is granted, it was generally held that God is able to miraculously interrupt or suspend these causes either by divine intervention *ad hoc*, or the unanticipated use of other existing causes in ways not guessed at.) This view is closely associated with the biblical teaching that causal efficacy is given to plants, animals, and human beings to reproduce and populate the earth and otherwise behave in ways that characterize their different kinds. It may also reflect the rabbinic teaching that "the world follows its customary course" (*olam ke-minhago noheg*). Third and finally, there are those who consider human beings to be unique and independent causes (or agents) in their own right, in that they are capable of producing an astonishing array of antithetical kinds of effects through choice; these considerations serve to vindicate claims asserting human free will. This view is associated with biblical sources asserting the unique status of humankind in creation, others emphasizing human consent as a prerequisite for entering into covenants with God, specific divine mandates to choose good over evil, and rabbinic teachings about the soul's two inclinations and God's endorsement of human liberty.

In the Bible and rabbinic literature, of course, no clearcut definition or developed theory of causality is enunciated. The two basic assumptions are that God works in nature and history in various ways and that man has freedom of choice. In medieval Jewish religious philosophy, however, articulate positions are taken with respect to these positions under the influence of Greco-Arabic philosophic speculation. Thus, for example, it is highly likely that there were Jewish intellectuals who were attracted by Islamic occasionalism and its metaphysics of atoms and accidents, which considered God the sole direct cause of everything that exists in the universe. The clearest evidence of this is the length to which *Maimonides goes to refute this doctrine of Kalām (*Guide*, 1:73). Others were drawn to a rigorous and all-encompassing theory of causal necessity such as that held by *Avicenna. According to this view, effects both inhere in, and necessarily follow from, their causes in a manner that seems to be modeled on the necessity implicit in logical systems, where certain propositions necessarily follow from others. This way of understanding the cause-effect relation clearly allowed for expanded and ever more refined knowledge of the natural world, but it left virtually no room for human freedom, despite Scriptural verses to the contrary. Among medieval Jewish philosophers and theologians, Hasdai *Crescas' views come closest to supporting this deterministic position. Nevertheless, the majority of these thinkers accepted the reality and efficacy of intermediate causes, thus remaining within the shared Neoplatonic and Aristotelian framework they inherited, while at the same time maintaining each person's responsibility for his/her actions. *Judah Halevi embraces key elements of all three conceptions of the cause-effect relation discussed above, but also includes the operation of chance. Thus, he states that everything derives from God's decree, but adds that the effects of God's decree may be divided into divine, natural, coincidental, and freely chosen effects (*Kuzari* 5:20). Still, the most popular classification of types of causes in the medieval period was the fourfold division of Aristotle into formal, material, moving (i.e., efficient), and final causes, since it provided the fullest possible account of the various kinds factors that explain existing things. Ultimate explanations, however, would necessarily have to identify that cause or group of causes on which all else depends. Thus, Maimonides finds that God alone satisfies this requirement to the fullest possible extent. Moreover, he defends the designation of God "the First Cause" against the position of the scholastic theologians of Islam, who preferred to speak of "the Maker of the world," on the ground that He is the efficient cause of the world, its form, and its end (*Guide*, 1:69). Another popular designation for God was "the Cause of causes." One even finds God referred to as "the Cause of the cause of causes" in a work by Nathanel b. al-Fayumi (Yemen, 12th century), who was influenced by heterodox (Ismaili) Islamic ideas. In modern times careful consideration of the relation between cause and effect is far more common with general philosophy than theology. Even so, developments within the first domain have continued to elicit serious and thoughtful responses within the second.

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[Lawrence V. Berman / Barry Kogan (2nd ed.)]

CAVAILLON, town in Vaucluse department, Southeast France, about 14 mi. (22 km.) S.E. of Avignon. From the 13th century, there was a Jewish community in Cavaillon, which later was one of the four tolerated in the French possessions of the Holy See. The Jews lived in the Rue Hébraïque, which from 1453 was their compulsory quarter (and still exists) and was stormed by the populace in 1456. The community at the end of the 18th century was so small that it was governed by a council of only three *baylons*. The numbers declined through emigration, especially after the French Revolution opened up France to the Jews. There were 49 Jews living in Cavaillon in 1811 and only eight in 1935. After a temporary influx of refugees during World War II, the community ceased to exist until the arrival of a small number of Jews of North African origin, who formed a new community. The communal statutes of 1620 (also valid for *L'Isle-sur-la-Sorgue) have been published. The present synagogue, classified as a historical monument, which was constructed in 1772, incorporated parts of the 16th-century former building. Smaller than that of *Carpentras, it surpasses it in the richness of the interior decoration, especially the carved wood and wrought-iron work. Adjoining the synagogue is the ancient bakery for unleavened bread which now forms part of the small Musée Judéo-Comtadin. The community followed the same liturgy as Carpentras, with slight differences, extant in several manuscripts written by local scribes.

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[Bernhard Blumenkranz]

CAVALLERIA (Caballeria), DE LA, family in Aragon, Spain, prominent from the second half of the 13th century. There is information about its early connections with the Order of the Knights Templar, especially during the second half of the 13th century when its members are even referred to as "homines templi." Hence the name "Caballeria" (Knights) that the family bore. The family was also known by the name Ibn (Abu) Lavi (Heb. **אבן לביא**): a document of 1370 makes explicit mention of "[Salomonem] de la Cavalleria, alias cognominatum Abenlavi." Members of the family lived in Saragossa, Barcelona, Villafranca, and Lérida. The family experienced many changes in fortune. The earliest document in which it is mentioned is a letter from the Saragossa community dated 1232 dealing with the controversy over the writings of Maimonides, bearing the signature "Abraham b. R. Judah of blessed memory b. Lavi." After the death of Judah de la Cavalleria, the family lost part of its fortune and influence. After the Black Plague, under Pedro IV members of the family rose again to prominence at court. In the 14th century members of the family belonged to the "francos," the free men, who were not subject to the communal jurisdiction. During the 15th century a family schism occurred after a large section of its members adopted Catholicism without, however, changing their surname. Their baptism was the result of the growing pressure exerted by the Church and by King Ferdinand I, who was ready to prove his Christian fervor. Some members of the family were baptized in February 1414, during the *Tortosa Disputation. As a result some families were split, when one of the spouses and some of the children remained Jewish. The privileges of those remaining faithful to Judaism, including Judah de la Cavalleria and his son Vidal, were renewed by King Alfonso V in 1419. After this time, however, they had little influence in Jewish life. Towards the middle of the 15th century there was hardly any member of the family who remained Jewish. The will of Tolosana, the widow of Benveniste de la Caballeria, illustrates the situation well.

Prominent members of the family include the following:

(1) JUDAH DE LA CAVALLERIA (d. 1276) is already mentioned as bailiff of Saragossa in 1257. In 1260 the king empowered him to collect the crown revenues for the kingdom of Aragon and to deal with the royal expenditure. All royal bailiffs were ordered to submit to him a report of their activities, while he himself had to account to the royal exchequer. In 1263 James I granted him a special privilege allowing him to keep a hired Jewish or Christian huntsman to provide him with up to 30 game birds a day. In the same year Judah provided the king with a large sum for constructing a fleet to be used against the Muslims. Subsequently, when James I attacked Murcia, Judah assisted him in garrisoning the border fortresses of Valencia. Judah was also appointed bailiff of Valencia. He owned real estate and flocks of sheep both there and around Saragossa. Despite his high position, he was accused in 1266 of concealing a crucifix bearing the figure of Jesus, and it was alleged that his household had mocked the agony of Christ. Judah's wife, daughter, and son-in-law Astruc Bonsenyor, as well as others were also implicated. The king, however, acquitted them of the charge, and Judah retained his influence. He was also active in the leadership of the Saragossa community, where, as at court, he had rivals in the *Alconstantini family. At his request James I prevented a member of the Alconstantini family from being appointed chief *dayyan* of the Kingdom of Aragon in 1271. Judah had four sons, SOLOMON, bailiff of *Murviedro in 1273, ABRAHAM, ḤASDAI, and ASTRUC. Their privileges were confirmed by James II in 1273.

(2) VIDAL DE LA CAVALLERIA (d. 1373), son of Abraham and Bonosa and grandson of Judah (1). Vidal served as a tax farmer in Aragon and held important positions in the Jewish community and the state. From 1361 on, he collected on behalf of the king the payments that were approved by the Cortes for the military equipment of the cavalry. He and his brother Salomon had business interests in the towns of Fuentes and La Almunia de Doña Godina. In 1372, he and Perpinyan Blan were granted the right to mint the gold coin of Aragon and currency for Castile. In addition to his business activities, Vidal was well versed in Jewish law and kept vigilant religious discipline in the Saragossa community. His will, drawn up by a Christian notary, as then customary, has been preserved. His children included his sons JUDAH and Bonafos (8) and a daughter Bonfilla, who married Joseph *Benveniste.

Vidal was learned in Jewish sources and supported the policy of maintaining religious observance in the Jewish community.

Vidal's versatile wife (3) OROVIDA was associated with her husband in his projects, sometimes collecting taxes and imposts in his name. Her signature appeared on various documents. She conducted her husband's affairs after his death.

(4) SALOMON (Solomon), Vidal's brother, was a partner in his tax-farming projects. In the 1380s he leased the customs dues on the Aragon-Castile border with his son Judah Benveniste (5). He was active in communal affairs and acted as *dayyan* in complicated cases. He was specially authorized by the king to deliberate problems of Jewish law with contemporary scholars. Salomon also wrote poems, and his liturgical hymns in Hebrew have been preserved. He was a leader in the movement to regenerate Hebrew culture.

(5) JUDAH BENVENISTE (d. 1411), son of Salomon (4), was active in many spheres in Saragossa and in the kingdom of Aragon. He is not to be identified with Benveniste de la Cavalleria (son of Bonjuba) of Barcelona who was fined in 1341–42 because he had traveled to the Orient (Ereẓ Israel) in defiance of a prohibition issued by the king. Judah developed large-scale commercial activities and had trading connections with Christians in Barcelona, Gerona, and elsewhere. However, his most important activity was in the royal administration. From the late 1370s he engaged in banking and also farmed the church revenues of the archdiocese of Saragossa and of the Order of St. John. After the death of his father, Judah Benveniste continued to lease the customs dues on the Aragon-Castile border from 1383 to 1387, and his influence on the customs administration and on commerce in the border areas was also felt in economic policy. Apparently his official activities ceased in 1391 but he is again mentioned in 1396 as a banker and as tax farmer of the archdiocese of Saragossa. In 1401 he represented King Martin in discussions with the representatives of a council of the estates of Catalonia and Aragon on tax questions. He also took part in marriage negotiations between the royal families of Aragon and Navarre. His signature in Hebrew appears on official documents. Judah Benveniste is also known for his numerous activities as a leader of the Jewish community. In 1381 he arbitrated tax questions in the community of *Alcañiz. He also acted as *dayyan* and authority on Jewish law in the affairs of the smaller communities in the neighborhood of Saragossa. His home was a meeting place for scholars and poets, and his letters in Hebrew testify to his profound Hebrew learning and wide knowledge of the Bible, the Talmud, and Jewish philosophy. Like his father Salomon, he was on friendly terms with Nissim *Gerondi and he seems to have supported *Isaac b. Sheshet in his controversy with members of the Saragossa community. Joshua *Lorki was friendly with him for some time, and produced several works and translations from Arabic to Hebrew at Benveniste's request. During the anti-Jewish persecutions of 1391, his home became a haven for the refugees from attacks of the mob. The poet Solomon Da *Piera was also welcomed there, continuing his literary activities and acting as teacher to Vidal (9), his benefactor's son.

His wife (6) TOLOSANA (d. 1443), daughter of Bonafos (8) and granddaughter of Vidal (2), was a woman of wide interests, and continued her husband's activities after his death. She witnessed the conversion to Christianity of most of her children. King Ferdinand I prohibited Tolosana and her two daughters who had remained faithful to Judaism from leaving Saragossa. By her will, Tolosana distributed her possessions among the five children who had become Christians and the two who had remained attached to Judaism, and left a fund for the communal charitable institutions: the burial society, the *talmud torah*, and the *bikkur ḥolim*, for the salvation of her soul and that of her husband.

(7) BONAFOS (d. 1402), son of Abraham and brother of Vidal (2) and Salomon (4), was a physician in Saragossa. His son Judah became converted to Christianity, taking the name Gaspar, and attempted to induce the rest of the family to accept baptism. A daughter Reina remained attached to Judaism.

(8) BONAFOS (FERDINAND), son of Vidal (2), continued to administer his father's affairs. His marriage in 1380 was a widely publicized occasion and Pedro IV issued a special order authorizing Jews from various localities to attend the ceremony. From this marriage he had a son Leonardo, who became converted and held a high position at court, and a daughter, Tolosana (6). Influenced by the course of the disputation of *Tortosa, Bonafos adopted Catholicism on Feb. 2, 1414. He changed his name to Ferdinand and divorced his wife, who remained faithful to Judaism. His second wife, Leonor de la Cabra, bore him nine children, several of whom rose to leading positions of state. On Feb. 8, 1414, he was appointed treasurer (*thesaurarius*) to the king of Aragon, the highest office in the kingdom. He lived to an old age, and until his death continued to hold important official posts and to organize the collection of taxes.

(9) VIDAL JOSEPH (c. 1370–c. 1456), son of Benveniste (5) and Tolosana (6). His teacher Solomon Da Piera had a favorable influence on him after he took up residence in Benveniste's house. Vidal exchanged poems in Hebrew with his teacher, and translated several works into Spanish, including Cicero's *De officiis* and *De amititia*. At the disputation of Tortosa, he represented the community of Saragossa. During September–October 1413, when the disputation was suspended, Vidal was one of the Jewish representatives whom Pope *Benedict XIII refused to allow to return home. Vidal was then ordered by King Ferdinand to present himself together with Bonafos (8) to help organize the siege of Balaguer. Vidal's subsequent conversion to Catholicism caused much pain to the Jewish community, several of whom (Bonastruc Desmaestre and Solomon *Bonafed) expressed their grief in poems. After his conversion he took the name Gonzalo.

(10) PEDRO (c. 1415–c. 1461), elder son of Bonafos (8) and his Christian wife Leonor de la Cabra. Pedro won a reputation as a jurist, advocate, and adviser to Alfonso V. He was also comptroller general (*maestre racional*) of Aragon. In the 1440s he made great efforts to obtain a certificate signed by Christian notables that he was of pure Christian descent, even though it was impossible to deny his origin. In 1450 he completed an anti-Jewish polemic entitled *Zelus Christi contra*

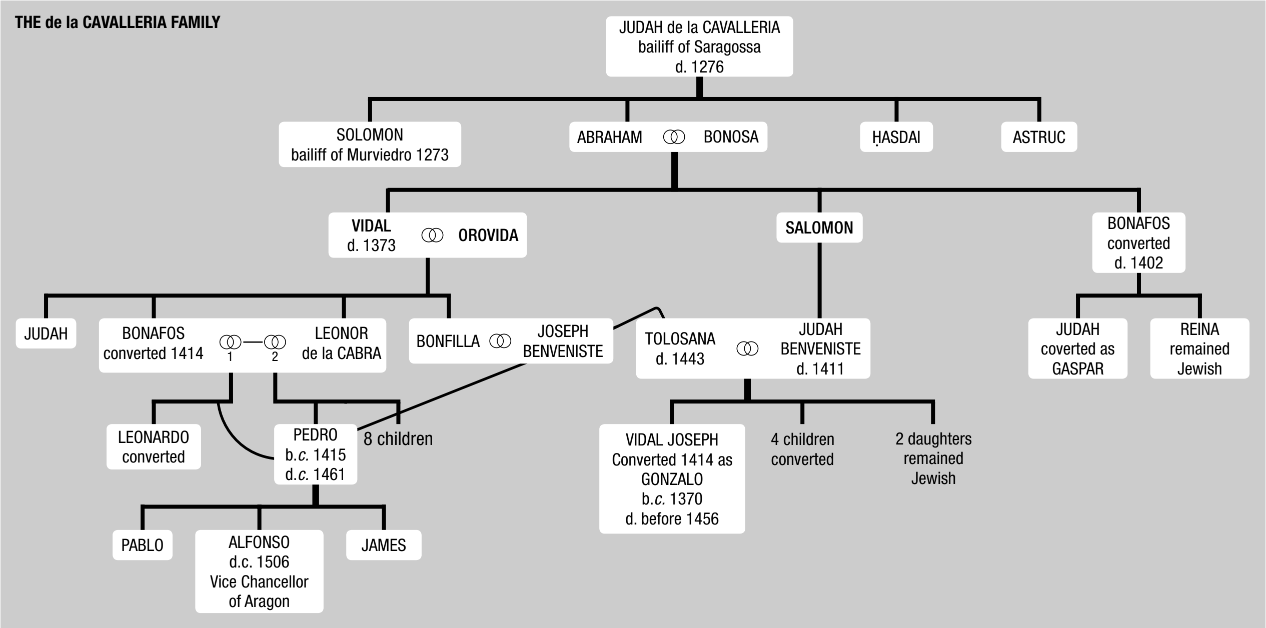
THE de la CAVALLERIA FAMILY
JUDAH de la CAVALLERIA bailiff of Saragossa d. 1276
SOLOMON bailiff of Murviedro 1273
ABRAHAM
BONOSA
ḤASDAI
ASTRUC
VIDAL d. 1373
OROVIDA
SALOMON
BONAFOS converted d. 1402
JUDAH
BONAFOS converted 1414
1
2
LEONOR de la CABRA
BONFILLA
JOSEPH BENVENISTE
TOLOSANA d. 1443
JUDAH BENVENISTE d. 1411
JUDAH coverted as GASPAR
REINA remained Jewish
LEONARDO converted
PEDRO b.c. 1415 d.c. 1461
8 children
VIDAL JOSEPH Converted 1414 as GONZALO b.c. 1370 d. before 1456
4 children converted
2 daughters remained Jewish
PABLO
ALFONSO d.c. 1506 Vice Chancellor of Aragon
JAMES

Judaeos, Saracenos et infideles. The work demonstrates a profound acquaintance with Hebrew literature which few born Christians were likely to possess. He was killed at the beginning of the Catalan revolt.

(11) PEDRO, a Converso, not to be confused with Pedro (10). He was sent in 1469 on a special mission by the infante Ferdinand with the chronicler Alfonso de Palencia to convey the famous pearl necklace which served as guarantee for the marriage contract with Isabella of Castile.

(12) ALFONSO (d. c. 1506), probably the son of Pedro (10). Alfonso, also a jurist, became a counselor at the court of Aragon and *procurator fiscalis*. In the early 1480s he was appointed vice chancellor of Aragon. His brother James also held important posts at court. Another brother, Pablo, became a monk and subsequently bishop of Malta. Ferdinand II entrusted Alfonso in 1479 with the administration of the kingdom and its reorganization. In 1486 Alfonso participated in establishing the Inquisition in Barcelona. His philosophy was summed up in a remark recorded by his contemporaries: "In this world one has only to be born and to die. There is no other Paradise." Despite these Averroist opinions Alfonso may be considered an outstanding humanist for his time. Immediately after the assassination of the inquisitor Pedro de *Arbues in Saragossa Cathedral, the Inquisition there began to gather evidence to incriminate Alfonso. From the testimony, some given by Jews a few weeks before the expulsion from Spain, it emerged that he had a close relationship with Isaac de *Leon, the celebrated rabbi of Ocaña. It was alleged that Alfonso had supported R. Isaac in an argument on *halakhah* against R. Isaac Zayet, a scholar of Saragossa, who in turn was supported by another Converso, Luis Sánchez. Alfonso had stayed at R. Isaac's home in Ocaña, had read the Bible in Hebrew with other Conversos, and partaken of the food of the Jews. By 1488 the case had been transferred by order of the pope to the jurisdiction of the archbishop of Seville, where the trial reached a standstill. The defense maintained its formal denial, and it was only in 1501 that Alfonso was finally acquitted. His friendly attitude toward the Jews can be deduced from several sources indicating his opposition to the expulsion decree of 1492.

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[Haim Beinart]

CAYENNE, island separated by rivers from the mainland of French Guyana, today a French overseas department. On September 12, 1659, the Dutch West India Company (Amsterdam chamber) granted David Nassy, a refugee from Dutch Brazil, and his partners the status of Patroons of a "colony on the island of Cayenne." The intention was to permit an exclusively Jewish settlement which had to be distanced from the lands tilled by the non-Jewish settlers around the city of Cayenne. The Jews were given "Liberties and Exemptions," including freedom of conscience and the right to build a synagogue and open a school. This Jewish settlement was established in Remire.

The first group, composed mainly of Jewish refugees from Brazil and a number of Jews from Amsterdam, arrived in September 1660. They were joined by Spanish Jews from Leghorn, directly or through the island of Tobago, which was the scene of armed clashes between Dutch and Latvian forces and also of cruel attacks by the Arawak Indians. The Jews who had intended to settle in Tobago went on to Cayenne.

In a short time a sugar mill was built and a community founded. Apart from sugar cane, the Jews produced dyes from indigo and roucou and experimented with cocoa and other tropical products. Remire was the setting of "idyllic" Jewish life, which was cut short by a French invasion in 1663 headed by Lefebure de la Barre and Alexandre Prouville de Tracy. The Dutch quickly capitulated, but in the surrender document, the French had to promise to give freedom of religion to the Jews, estimated at 300–400 people. Nevertheless, the majority of them trekked to neighboring *Surinam, at that time in English hands, and settled in what is called the "Jewish Savanna."

In 1667, the English general Henry Willoughby attacked Cayenne, occupied Remire, and destroyed the settlement. He also ordered that the French settlers be left to their fate and the remaining Jews, some 50–60 persons, be taken aboard English ships, since the English needed their skills for their sugar plantations in Surinam and Barbados.

In 1994, a small Jewish community numbering about 80 people was established.

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[Mordechai Arbell (2nd ed.)]

°**CAZALET, EDWARD** (1827–1883), British industrialist who worked for the return of the Jews to Ereẓ Israel. Through his contacts with Russia, Cazalet became aware of the hardships endured by Russian Jewry. He proposed settling the Jews in Syria and Palestine, under British protection, and advocated his ideas in a pamphlet entitled *England's Policy in the East: Our Relations with Russia and the Future of Syria* (1879^2). In 1881 Cazalet sent James Alexander, a Jew, to Constantinople, to negotiate with the Turkish government regarding a permit to lay a railway from Syria to Mesopotamia and the receipt of adjacent lands for settlement. His intention was to employ Jewish immigrants in the railway construction, and settle them along the route. The negotiations lasted for several years, but when Great Britain consolidated its control over Egypt (1883), there was no longer room for negotiation and Cazalet's activities ended. His grandson, VICTOR ALEXANDER CAZALET (1896–1943), was a Conservative member of parliament, chairman of the Parliamentary Pro-Palestine Committee, and a leading supporter of Zionism. He was a close friend of Chaim *Weizmann; his last public function included a meeting with David *Ben-Gurion in Palestine. Cazalet was killed near Gibraltar in July 1943 in the plane crash which also took the life of Polish government-in-exile head General Wladyslaw Sikorski. Cazalet was one of the most important and active Gentile pro-Zionists in England.

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[Israel Klausner]

CAZÈS, DAVID (1851–1913), Moroccan historian and educator. Born in *Tetuán, he became one of the first workers of the *Alliance Israélite Universelle. At the age of eighteen Cazès was entrusted by the Alliance with the establishment of schools in the Middle East: Volo in Thessaly (1869), at Izmir (1873), and in North Africa (1873–93). The French authorities then commissioned him to reorganize the Tunisian Jewish communities. In an attempt to lessen Algerian antisemitism, he settled a group of Jewish farmers on an estate acquired by the Alliance in Algeria. He also worked in the Baron de *Hirsch colonies in the Argentine (1893–1904). Cazès published *Essai sur l'histoire des Israélites de Tunisie* (1888) and *Notes bibliographiques sur la littérature Juive-Tunisienne* (1893); he also contributed a large number of articles to the *Revue des Etudes Juives* and other Jewish periodicals.

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[David Corcos]

C.D.E. (Comitetul Democrat Evreiesc, Jewish Democratic Committee), organization created and run by the Communist Party of Romania to control and propagandize the Jewish population of Romania. Founded in June 1945, it included not only Jewish Communists but also "temporary allies": left-leaning Zionists, activists in the Yiddisher Kultur Farband, dissidents from the Union of Romanian Jews, and some Jewish members of the Social-Democratic Party. After December 1948, when a decision of the newly founded Romanian Workers' Party defined the Zionist movement as fascist, the "reactionary elements" (i.e., the non-Communists) were excluded, with only Communists remaining in the C.D.E. until its "autodissolution" (i.e., liquidation) in March 1953. Although there were some Jewish Communist intellectuals in its leadership, such as the painter M.H. *Maxy, the writer Barbu *Lazareanu, and professors of medicine Maximilian Popper and Arthur Kreindler, its real leaders were second-rank Jewish Communist activists, such as Bercu Feldman, C. Leibovici-Serban, and Israel Bacalu. Its functions were control of the activities of the Federation of Jewish Communities and of individual Jewish communities; anti-*aliyah* propaganda; cultural activities promoting Yiddish and rejecting Hebrew; qualification of Jewish youth in productive professions. In secret letters sent to the party and state leadership, C.D.E. activists noted that the main reason for Jewish emigration was antisemitism, but their letters asking to fight against it remained without results. The only successful field of C.D.E. activity was Yiddish culture. Yiddish literature (although with a "socialist" content) was developed, Yiddish-language schools were founded, Yiddish was taught as a national minority language, and school textbooks were published. Two Yiddish state theaters were founded. C.D.E. published a journal in Romanian, *Unirea* (1945–51), replaced by *Viata noua* (1951–53); a literary review in Yiddish, *Yikuf Bletter* (1947–52); and a bilingual Romanian-Hungarian bulletin (1948).

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[Lucian-Zeev Herscovici (2nd ed.)]

CEA, city in northern Spain. The Jewish quarter to the south of the town is first mentioned in 1110 and the "Jewish fortress" in 1166. As a market center, Cea attracted Jewish merchants, but the Jews living there obtained their livelihood from agriculture. In 1093, "Salomon the Jew" is mentioned as a man of wealth and a landowner in Cea. On the death of Alfonso VI in 1109, there was an outbreak of anti-Jewish riots in Cea as a penalty for which the Christians paid a fine until 1127. The Cea community paid an annual tax and services fee of 6,138 maravedis in 1290, but by 1439 it had dwindled to only 780 maravedis. After the edict of expulsion of the Jews from Spain was issued in March 1492, the Jews in Cea complained to the Crown that some of their number in debt to Christians had been arbitrarily imprisoned, although the Christian debtors had been granted a moratorium. On June 29, 1492, the Jews of Cea made a special request to the Crown for protection and defense, fearing that they would be robbed during their evacuation. Nothing is known about the royal attitude toward this request.

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[Haim Beinart]

ČECHŮ-ŽIDŮ, SVAZ ("League of Czechs-Jews"), union established in 1919 to embrace the existing Czecho-Jewish assimilationist associations. The Czecho-Jewish movement came into being in the 19th century, when the process of Jewish assimilation in *Bohemia and *Moravia was complicated by the antagonism between Czechs and Germans under Hapsburg rule. In the German-language Jewish schools established through Emperor *Joseph II, Jews acquired a German education and became a Germanizing factor. This added fuel to Czech antisemitism, although before emancipation was granted, Bohemian Jewry, mainly living in the Czech countryside, had generally mastered the Czech language. However, it was not until the 1840s that the first attempts were made by Jews to assimilate into the Czech environment. In 1844 David *Kuh called on Jews to amalgamate with the Slavs. This view was supported by the Czech writer Václav Nebeský. In 1846 Siegfried *Kapper published poems in Czech. Philip *Bondy was the first rabbi to preach in Czech. A growing number of Jews settled in the cities after 1848 and began to take an increasingly active part in their developing political and cultural life. In 1876 some students, with the support of prominent Czecho-Jewish leaders, such as Alois Zucker, professor of law at the new Czech university, and the economist and historian Bohumil *Bondy, established the League of Czecho Jewish Academics (Svaz českých akademiků židů), the first organization of the movement for Czech assimilation (in 1919 it adopted the name "Kapper"). The league issued the *česko-židovský kalendář* ("Czech-Jewish Almanac," 1881–82 to 1937–38).

The outcome of this activity was that in 1881 two Czech candidates were elected for the Jewish quarter of Prague, instead of Germans as previously; this result decided the election of a Czech mayor to the city. The congregation "Or Tomid," with Philip Bondy as its first preacher, was founded in Prague in 1883. August Stein translated the prayer book into Czech. In 1894 the Národní Jednota českožidovská ("National Czech-Jewish Union," later the Česko-židovská jednota) was founded, and the *Českožidovské Listy* ("Czech-Jewish Paper") began publication. The organization successfully opposed the Jewish German-language schools in Czech towns, the last of which (at *Benesov) was closed down in 1914. Mainly as a result of Czecho-Jewish activities, 55% of Bohemian Jews declared Czech as their colloquial speech (*Umgangssprache*) in the census of 1900. Members of the movement became active in all the political parties. After the *Polna blood-libel case (1899) a wave of antisemitic violence swept the Bohemian countryside. This was a setback to the movement and led to more realistic approaches. Many of the members dissolved their former party affiliations and supported T.G. *Masaryk's Realist party. In 1907 the Svaz českých pokrokových židů ("League of Czech Progressive Jews") was founded, led by Viktor Vohryzek, whose periodical *Rozvoj* ("Progress") became the chief publication of the entire movement. The Politická Jednota Českožidovská ("Czecho-Jewish Political Union"), founded later, was intended to make possible cooperation among Czech Jews of different parties. In 1910 the movement became active in Moravia. After the founding of the Czechoslovakian republic in 1918, these organizations united in the Svaz čechů-židů. The League gained strong support in the new Czechoslovakian state. For a short time it published a daily, *Tribuna*. In Slovakia a parallel movement, Sväz slovenských židov, was founded but had little success. In Carpatho-Rus the League tended to cooperate with the Orthodox community. The Masaryk brand of democracy and common Jewish-Czech interests in the face of growing German antisemitism ensured support for the movement between the two world wars. The Prague community was headed by a Czecho-Jew. The Czecho-Jews opposed Zionism but supported colonization activities in Ereẓ Israel. The outstanding leader of the movement was Jindřich *Kohn; Eduard *Leda-Lederer was its spokesman. After 1938 (see *Sudetenland) the League drew a "demarcation line" between Jews who declared Czech nationality and those who did not. It agreed to the measures advocated by the press and the Czech municipalities to prevent refugees from the Nazi-occupied area from settling there permanently, because this "menaced not only their national character, but also the livelihood of Czech people, without distinction of religion," despite the fact that 90% of those refugees were Jews. The League subsequently sent only observers to Jewish conferences and then only to those dealing with social welfare. During the Nazi occupation, all the Czecho-Jewish organizations and publications were suppressed. After the Communist takeover of Czechoslovakia, the League cooperated with the Communists as part of the Council of Jews in Bohemia and Moravia. But the attempt to reorganize the League in 1948 failed.

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[Jan Herman / Meir Lamed]

CECIL, HENRY, pen name of Henry Cecil Leon (1902–1976), English lawyer and author. Born in London, Cecil was a county court judge (1949–67) and wrote serious legal works, but became popular with his lighthearted novels on lawyers and the law. These include such successes as *Brothers in Law* (1955), made into a motion picture; and *Settled Out of Court* (1959) and *Alibi for a Judge* (1960), which were staged in London. As H.C. Leon, he wrote an autobiography, *Just Within the Law* (1975).

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CEDAR (Heb. אֶרֶז, *erez*), the *Cedrus libani*. The cedar formerly covered extensive areas of the Lebanon mountains. In biblical times, potentates used cedar-wood in the construction of palaces and other major buildings (cf. Isa. 9:9). The cedar was felled intensively during many generations and, at present, only a few large trees remain. Mentioned 70 times in the Bible, they are described, on account of their beauty, hardiness, and longevity, as "the cedars of God" (Ps. 80:11), and as "the trees of the Lord" (*ibid.*, 104:16). Many biblical parables and symbols are associated with the cedars of Lebanon, such as the parables of Jehoash (II Kings 14:9) and of Ezekiel (Ezek. 31:3–7). The cedar is the symbol of the tallest tree in contrast to the hyssop, which typifies the lowest (I Kings 5:13), and the fact that the Lord's thunder splits cedar is a measure of its force (Ps. 29:5). Sennacherib boasted that he had reached the height of Lebanon and cut down cedars there (*ibid.*, 37:24). The Sidonians who, assisted by 10,000 of Solomon's men, cut cedars for his Temple were experts in felling these trees (I Kings 5:20, 28). The timber was used for the walls and ceilings of houses, for masts (Ezek. 27:5), and in the building of the First as well as the Second Temple (Ezra 3:7). Several trees of Lebanon, foremost among them the cedar, are mentioned in the prophetic vision of the flowering of the wilderness (Isa. 41:19). Almost all the biblical mentions of *erez* refer to the cedar of Lebanon, even when this is not explicitly stated. In Psalms 148:9 the reference to cedars ("fruitful trees and all cedars") is apparently intended as a generic term for the various non-fruit-bearing trees, the evergreen species of which, in post-biblical literature, were denoted by the term *erez*. Four coniferous trees (species of *Pinus* and *Cupressus*) were included under this term by some, and 10 and even 24 types of evergreen by others (RH 23a). In talmudic times the cedars of Lebanon were cut by Jews from Ereẓ Israel (TJ, BK 5:9, 5a), but since they apparently diminished greatly in number, the name *erez* was also applied to other local hardy trees. The cedar of Lebanon is a conifer that grows on mountains at a height of more than 3,000 ft. (1,000 m.). It develops slowly but is longeval, the estimated age of some surviving cedars of Lebanon being more than 1,000 years. It is fragrant and yields cedar oil as well as an aromatic resin. Attempts have been made in modern times to cultivate the cedar of Lebanon in Israel, but it grows so slowly that the faster-growing Atlantic cedar (*Cedrus atlantica*) is preferred.

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[Jehuda Feliks]

CEDAR, CHAIM (1943–), Israeli geneticist. Cedar was born in New York City and received his B.Sc. in mathematics from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and his M.D. and Ph.D. in microbiology from New York University Medical School. After research training in neurobiology at the National Institutes of Health, Bethesda, he immigrated to Israel (1973), where he joined the faculty of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, becoming full professor in 1978. His research interests concern gene regulation and include the key original observation that chemical modification of DNA (a process termed methylation) determines which genes become active in normal development. His work has fundamental implications for understanding normal development, immune responses, selective chromosome activation ("imprinting"), cloning, and cancer research. Cedar also made major contributions to genetics teaching and science administration in Israel. His many honors include the Israel Prize (1999) and election to the Israel Academy of Sciences (2003).

[Michael Denman (2nd ed.)]

CEDAR, JOSEPH (1968–), American-born Israeli film director whose first two movies, *A Time of Favor* (2000) and *Campfire* (2004), both won the Ophir Award for Best Picture, the top prize of the Israel Academy for Film and Television. Born in New York, Cedar moved to Israel as a child and was raised in Jerusalem in a religiously observant family. He studied film at New York University and then returned to Israel to make *A Time of Favor* (better known by its Hebrew title, *Ha-Hesder*), the story of yeshivah students on the West Bank who plot to bomb the Temple Mount. He drew wide acclaim for being the first director to take an in-depth look at the religious right. He followed it up with *Campfire*, the story of a widow trying to join a West Bank settlement. His father is Howard (Chaim) *Cedar, a molecular biologist who won the Israel Prize.

[Hannah Brown (2nd ed.)]

CELAN (Antschel), PAUL (1920–1970), Romanian-born German poet. Celan grew up in Czernowitz, Bukovina, the only child of middle-class, partly assimilated Jewish parents. He learned Romanian at school, studied Hebrew until his bar mitzvah, and after a year in France, began studying Romance philology in 1939. During the Nazis' June 1942 deportations from Czernowitz, Celan fled but his parents were sent to Transnistria and soon were killed. He spent 18 months at forced labor and returned home in 1944, shortly before the Soviets annexed northern Bukovina. In 1945 Celan left his homeland for Bucharest, fled in 1947 to Vienna where he published his early poems, *Der Sand aus den Urnen* ("The Sand from the Urns," 1948), and in 1949, he settled in Paris. He married the artist Gisèle de Lestrange in 1952, had a son, taught German at the Ecole Normale Supérieure, and continued writing poetry.

The bitter "Todesfuge" ("Deathfugue"), in his first major collection *Mohn und Gedächtnis* ("Poppy and Remembrance," 1952), made a great impact in Germany. He won the Bremen Prize in 1958, the Büchner Prize in 1960, and others, publishing eight books of poetry and many translations from French, Russian, and English. In 1960 a groundless plagiarism charge against Celan, triggered by Claire *Goll, widow of Yvan *Goll, acutely afflicted the poet and increased his fear of a new era of National Socialism and antisemitism which would target him and his work. At the same time he succored his friend Nelly *Sachs, also undergoing a nervous crisis. Celan's most pervasively Jewish writings emerged from this period, in *Die Niemandsrose* ("The No-One's-Rose," 1963). He visited Israel in 1969, appeared intensely affected by it, and considered settling there. This journey became a turning point and gave him the opportunity to reconsider his life. His experiences in Israel are mainly reflected in the poems of the volume *Zeitgehöft*. But in late April 1970, aged 49, he drowned himself in the Seine.

"Todesfuge" (1944–45) remained Celan's best-known work (particularly in German school books). "Black milk of daybreak we drink it at dusk," a voice begins, "we shovel a grave in the sky." A commandant orders Jews to "strike up for the dance," then writes home to his beloved Margarete. The poem ends by counterpointing her "golden hair" with "your ashen hair Shulamith."

Celan's writing never dismissed the Jewish dead, personified in his mother, or neutralized the shock of the Holocaust on articulate existence – even when he explored wholly different regions: geology, geography, botany, physiology. What critics called obscurity in his later verse, Celan insisted was exemplary clarity. "The Meridian" (1960), his major speech on poetry, says "Go with art into your very self-most straits. And set yourself free."

Celan's last poems, issued posthumously as *Zeitgehöft* ("Homestead of Time," 1976), aim at a final yet originative point of rest. The collection includes 20 lyrics inspired by Celan's visit to Israel, expressing a fitful hope "that Jerusalem *is*," that "we're finally there." The last poem he wrote, ten days before his death, speaks of vinegrowers digging up "the dark-houred clock," and ends with a stone – usually a sign of muteness, blindness, and death for Celan – now resting not upon but "behind the eyes – it knows you, come the Sabbath."

Celan's literary translations reached the height of that art. He made ingenious versions from Rimbaud, Valéry, and other French poets, did the German script for Resnais' *Night and Fog* (1956), and translated Yevtushenko's "Babi Yar." Having learned Russian during the war, Celan in 1957 began translating Aleksandr Blok, Sergei Esenin, and Osip Mandelshtam. In Mandelshtam he recognized a brother, affecting him in ways that tested and deepened his own poetic identity. Celan also responded to the taut, tragic vision of Emily Dickinson, and to Shakespeare's sonnets on beauty and death in German visions that often intensify their original.

While Celan's affinities with Hölderlin, Rilke, Heidegger, and others ally him to German tradition, the strain of Jewishness marks his writing in the mother tongue: "Circumcise the word," pleads a poem on Kafka and the *golem*. His prose "Conversation in the Mountains" (1959) voices in quasi-Yiddish cadences a Jew's search for himself and lost kin, for "the love of those not loved." Throughout Celan's work Jewish terms persist, including Hebrew and Yiddish, amid many other references. Gershom Scholem's Kabbalah studies heightened Celan's mystical, messianic sense of language, and the addressable "Thou" his poems sought reflects his reading of Buber. He felt a lifelong kindredness with Kafka, leaning toward East European Judaism yet at odds with Orthodox spirituality: "Apostate only am I faithful."

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[John Felsteiner / Peter Gossens (2nd ed.)]

CELIBACY. The deliberate renunciation of marriage is all but completely alien to Judaism. Scarcely any references to celibates are to be found in the Bible or in the Talmud, and no medieval rabbi is known to have lived as a celibate (see L. Loew, *Gesammelte Schriften*, 2 (1890), 112; 3 (1893), 29 ff.). The demands of celibacy were included neither among the acts of self-denial imposed upon the Nazirite (Num. 6:1–21), nor among the special restrictions incumbent upon the priesthood (Lev. 21:1–15). Celibacy among Jews was a strictly sectarian practice; Josephus ascribes it to some of the *Essenes (Wars 2:120–21). Equally exceptional is the one solitary case of the talmudist Simeon ben *Azzai who explained his celibacy with the words: "My soul is fond of the Law; the world will be perpetuated by others" (Yev. 63b).

The norm of Jewish law, thought, and life is represented rather by the opening clause in the matrimonial code of the Shulḥan Arukh: "Every man is obliged to marry in order to fulfill the duty of procreation, and whoever is not engaged in propagating the race is as if he shed blood, diminishing the Divine image and causing His Presence to depart from Israel" (Sh. Ar., EH 1:1). The law even provides for the courts to compel a man to marry if he is still single after passing the age of 20 (*ibid.*, 1:3). Since the late Middle Ages, however, such authority has not been exercised (Isserles, *ad loc.*). Only if a person "cleaves to the study of the Torah like Simeon b. Azzai" can his refusal to marry be condoned, provided he can control his sexual lust (*ibid.* 4).

The Jewish opposition to celibacy is founded first on the positive precept to "be fruitful and multiply" as a cardinal duty to perpetuate life, a duty which also underlies the attitude of Judaism toward *birth control. Second, celibacy is incompatible with the Jewish scheme of creation in which a man is regarded as half a human being unless he be married, and in which "he who is without a wife lives without joy, without blessing,… without peace" (Yev. 62b, based on Gen. 5:2). Third, far from regarding celibacy as a means to the attainment of holiness, Judaism views it as an impediment to personal sanctification. This is strikingly illustrated by the rabbinic use of the term *kiddushin* ("sanctification") for marriage and by the insistence that the high priest be married (Lev. 21:13), especially at the time when he officiates in the Holy of Holies on the holiest day of the year (Yoma 1:1, based on Lev. 16:6, 11, and 17). For similar reasons, unmarried people are also debarred from holding certain public and religious offices, notably as judges in capital cases (Sanh. 36b) and as synagogue readers (Sof. 14:17; cf. OḤ 53:9). Jewish moralists in all ages have advocated severe self-control and occasionally even a measure of asceticism, but they did not encourage celibacy or any form of monasticism (although exceptionally there was a note of sympathy, cf. Baḥya's *Ḥovot ha-Levavot* 193, Abraham b. Ḥiyya's *Meditation of the Sad Soul* 133, and Abraham Maimonides' *Highways of Perfection* 249, 265, 279). Their writings and teachings reveal no trace of the condemnation of marriage as a compromise with evil, a concept already found in the New Testament (Mat. 19:12; I Cor. 7:9; Luke 20:27–36). The notion that there was something immoral in marriage was refuted in a special tract by *Naḥmanides as early as the 13th century (Graetz, Gesch, 7 (1908^3), 41).

[Immanuel Jakobovits]

CELLER, EMANUEL (1888–1981), U.S. congressman. Born in Brooklyn, New York, Celler practiced law until 1922. In that year he ran for a seat in the House of Representatives in the 10th (now the 11th) congressional district of Brooklyn and became the first Democrat ever to be elected to Congress from there. In his freshman term, Celler became involved in the issue of immigration legislation, which was to remain one of the dominant concerns of his political career. Throughout the 1920s he was active in the fight to repeal the discriminatory features of the Immigration Act of 1924. He was a fervent supporter of Roosevelt's New Deal and established a consistently liberal voting record in Congress. An internationalist in foreign affairs, he became a champion of political Zionism in the 1940s and sought both on the floor of the House and elsewhere to commit the American government to a more pro-Zionist position. In 1948, as a result of his accumulated seniority, Celler was chosen chairman of the House Judiciary Committee. He used this position to introduce liberal immigration legislation and a wide range of anti-trust laws. An early and vociferous opponent of McCarthyism, he voted steadily to deny appropriations to the House Un-American Activities Committee. Despite his positive record on civil rights and civil liberties however, his identification with the Democratic Party establishment disaffected many of his reform-minded constituents and in the late 1960s he narrowly survived several attempts to unseat him by Democratic insurgents. Celler was defeated in the primary in 1972, and thus ended a continuous service of 25 successive two-year terms of membership of the House of Representatives, a record not matched by any other member of Congress; he continued to practice law. He was chairman of the American Red Magen David from 1948.

[Fred Greenbaum (2nd ed.)]

°CELSUS (second century), Greek philosopher and anti-Christian polemist. Fragments from his *The True Word* (Ἀληθής Λόγος) are preserved in *Origen's refutation of the book, *Contra Celsum*. Celsus' discussion of Christianity led him to elaborate on Jewish beliefs. This reveals the influence of the derogatory conceptions of the Jews traditional in Greek and Roman literature. Thus in attacking Christianity Celsus found it necessary to denounce the imperfections of its Jewish origin. He emphasized the fact that Judaism is a national religion. Celsus rated the Jews as inferior to the Egyptians, Assyrians, Persians, and others. His principal contentions against the Jews are that the cosmogony of Moses is nonsensical, and that Mosaic history cannot be given a figurative or allegorical interpretation. In the Creation story, God figures as a bad workman who tires of his labors and is obliged to rest. Similarly, Celsus criticizes the biblical passages for attributing human passions to God, for the concept that God created everything for the sake of man, and for the doctrine of the Messiah. According to Celsus, the Jews were rebel Egyptians who, for no logical reason, abandoned their religious rites and renounced polytheism. The cosmological sections of Genesis are not Celsus' sole targets. Other accounts, such as those dealing with the flood, the tower of Babel, Lot, and Joseph, are also ridiculed. He says that the role played by the Jews in civilization is insignificant and Jewish customs are not unique. For instance, no special sanctity attaches to the rite of circumcision, since both the Egyptians and the Colchians practice it. The prohibition against eating pork is also an Egyptian taboo. Celsus was the first pagan writer to make frequent references to the Bible. One of the interesting aspects of *The True Word* is that Celsus puts the case against Christianity in the mouth of a Jewish spokesman. Indeed, certain arguments are of the type that might be expected from a Jew and apparently Celsus is indebted to a Jewish source, even if not all of his assertions can be traced to one. Some of the statements made by the Jew have their parallels in talmudic literature. For instance the Christians invented the story of the virgin birth while, in fact, Mary was divorced by her carpenter husband for adultery. Because of his poverty, her son hired himself out as a laborer in Egypt, where he learned the art of sorcery in which the Egyptians excelled. The real father of Jesus was a Roman soldier named Panthera. It should be noted that Celsus' Jew belongs to the type of the Hellenized Jew. This is evident from his acquaintance with Hellenistic literature and mythology as well as from his acceptance of the doctrine of the *Logos*, which was widespread among Hellenized Jews.

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[Menahem Stern]

°CELSUS, AULUS CORNELIUS (first half of the first century C.E.), Roman medical writer. He mentions a treatment on head fractures and, similarly, a prescription for arresting gangrene suggested by "Judaeus," which may mean a Jew or a person of that name (*De Medicina* 5:19. 11; 5:22. 4).

[Jacob Petroff]

CEMETERY. In Hebrew a cemetery is variously termed as *bet kevarot* ("place of the sepulchers"; Neh. 2:3, Sanh. 6:5); *bet olam* ("house of eternity"; see Eccles. 12:5) or its Aramaic form *bet almin* (Eccles. R. 10:9, Targ. Isa. 40:11, TJ, MK 80b); *bet mo'ed le-khol ḥai* ("the house appointed for all living"; Job 30:23); or euphemistically *bet ḥayyim* ("house of the living").

The institution of a cemetery as a common burial ground is post-biblical; the general custom until talmudic times was burial in family sepulchers. However, II Kings 23:6 mentions "the graves of the common people" at the brook of Kidron in Jerusalem. In mishnaic times special cemeteries are mentioned for persons executed by court order (Sanh. 6:5), otherwise the general custom was burial in family plots on a person's own property, either in caves (Palestinian custom), or in the earth (Babylonian custom). A family grave site was marked by a whitewashed stone (*ẓiyyun le-nefesh*) to warn passers-by against defilement (Shek. 1:1). Tombstones, mausoleums, and special grave monuments on these sepulchers are often mentioned in biblical and talmudic literature. Cemeteries are not "hallowed ground" in any religious sense.

The establishment of communal cemeteries arose out of practical considerations among which were the traditional purity laws which forbid Kohanim to touch a corpse or come within four cubits of a grave. In talmudic times the cemetery was the object of fear and superstition as it was regarded as the dwelling place of evil spirits and demons. Thus it was considered dangerous to remain there overnight (Ḥag. 3b; Nid. 17a). The cemetery, perhaps for these reasons, was to be located far from a town, at least 50 cubits distant from the nearest house (BB 2:9). It was guarded by watchmen against grave robbers or animals (BB 58a). This is the origin for the custom of fencing off the cemetery.

The care bestowed upon the cemetery in talmudic times is reflected in the saying: "The Jewish tombstones are fairer than royal palaces" (Sanh. 96b; cf. Matt. 23:29). A plot designated for a cemetery may not be used for any other purpose. Any occupation showing disrespect of the dead such as eating, drinking, or using the cemetery as a shortcut, is forbidden. Animals are not permitted to graze there and grave vaults may not be used as storage rooms (Meg. 29a; Sh. Ar., YD 364:1; 368). Based upon Proverbs 17:5 *tallit* or *tefillin* should not be worn in a cemetery, nor should a Torah scroll be read there so as not to "shame" the dead who are no longer able to perform these *mitzvot* (Sh. Ar., YD 367:2–4). Kohanim are forbidden to enter a cemetery except for the burial of a close relative – parent, child, wife, brother, or unmarried sister (Lev. 21:2–4); it has therefore become the custom to bury kohanim in a special row close to the cemetery wall to enable their relatives to visit the graves without entering the cemetery proper. In the Middle Ages cemeteries were situated at the extreme end of the ghetto with a special building for the ablution of the dead (*tohorah*) where the burial prayers were also recited. The limited area of the Jewish cemetery in the ghetto often made it necessary to inter bodies above those previously buried there. Thus the rule became general to have a space of six handbreadths between each layer of graves (Tur, YD 362:4; also *Siftei Kohen* ad loc.). This is also the minimum space to be left between adjoining graves.

Visiting cemeteries on public fast days to offer prayers at the graves of the departed "in order that they may intercede in behalf of the living" (Ta'an. 16a, 23b, Sot. 34b, Maim., Yad, Ta'anit 4:18) was a widespread custom and remained such throughout the ages (Sh. Ar., OḤ 579:3), especially on the

Ninth of Av and in the month of Elul (Isserles to OḤ 559:10; 581–4). In times of danger of pestilence or epidemics as well as at a difficult childbirth, it was customary to have a procession around the cemetery (*hakkafot*), during which psalms and penitential prayers were recited to avert the danger. Ashkenazi women customarily measured the circumference of the cemetery walls with cotton thread and used the rewound twine as wicks for white wax candles that would be long enough to burn twenty-four hours; these were then donated to the synagogue for use on Yom Kippur. Prayers and supplications recited over every wick asked dead relatives, particularly pious women, to intercede for the living.

Owing to the lack of space the dead were buried in a row in the chronological succession of their burial. It was, however, accepted custom to reserve a special area for the rabbis and other prominent and pious members of the community. In many communities men and women were buried in separate rows. Apostates, especially baptized Jews, persons of evil repute, and suicides, were buried in a separate corner of the cemetery (Sh. Ar., YD 345). This rule was later mitigated by most halakhic authorities in the case of suicides as they could not be certain that the act of suicide was deliberate and premeditated, and also out of consideration for the feelings and the good reputation of the family (Ḥatam Sofer, Resp., YD, no. 326). In this spirit the general custom in Reform and Conservative Judaism is to bury suicides in their family plots (see *Suicide). The burial of "sinful people" (apostates, etc.) in their family plots is also permitted by many communities on the principle that death in itself is an atonement for sin (cf. Sif. Num. 112). Two enemies should not be buried side by side, neither should the wicked be interred next to the righteous (Sh. Ar., YD 362:5–6).

The custom of decorating graves with flowers was strongly opposed by Orthodox rabbis on the basis of the talmudic rule that "whatever belongs to the dead and his grave may not be used for the benefit of the living" (*ibid.*, 364:1), and because they regarded this custom as an imitation of gentile customs (*ḥukkat ha-goi*). Reform and Conservative Judaism do not object to the planting of flowers and shrubs in the cemetery since it is done in reverence of the dead (cf. Beẓah 6a, also Loew, Flora, 4 (1934), 340). Many cemeteries in Israel permit such decoration and, particularly in military funerals, it has become the custom to put wreaths of flowers on the grave.

During the last century many cities in Europe established communal cemeteries in which separate sections were provided for the different faiths. Leading rabbinical authorities held that if the Jewish section is given to the Jewish community as a permanent possession, this section may be used as a Jewish burial ground but it must be fenced-off with a space of four cubits between the Jewish and the general section (M. Deutsch, *Duda'ei ha-Sadeh* (1929), no. 66). Upon visiting a cemetery after the lapse of 30 days a prayer is recited which closes with the second benediction of the *Amidah* (Ber. 58b; Tosef., Ber. 5:6; Sh. Ar., OḤ 225:12). The most widespread book of special prayers to be recited when visiting a cemetery was *Ma'avar Yabbok* compiled by the 17th-century Italian kabbalist *Aaron Berechiah of Modena. In modern times prayer books of all trends in Judaism contain special prayers, in Hebrew or in the vernacular, to be recited at the visit of gravesides.

See: *Cremation, *Death, *Grave, **Ḥevra Kaddisha*, *Tombstones.

[Meir Ydit]

In the United States

Since Jewish worship does not require a special building, the purchase of a cemetery often indicates the establishment of a Jewish community. In 1656 the New Amsterdam (New York) authorities granted to Shearith Israel Congregation "a little hook of land situated outside of this city for a burial place." The exact location of this cemetery is now unknown. The congregation's second cemetery (Chatham Square), purchased in 1682, is still in existence. The Newport, Rhode Island, cemetery dates from 1677; Philadelphia's first Jewish burial plot from 1738; and that in Charleston, South Carolina, from 1762. The early cemeteries were managed by the officers of the synagogue. Toward the end of the 18th century, Shearith Israel established a society (Hebrah Gemilut Hasadim) to handle the administration of cemetery affairs. This practice was followed elsewhere. In the 1850s societies independent of synagogues began to be established for the purpose of owning cemeteries and providing grave spaces. Another change was the outright sale of burial plots, as against the allocation of graves in rotation. A more striking divergence from the older Jewish practice was the development of cemeteries on a commercial basis. This is now often carried out in conjunction with the allocation of sections of a cemetery to congregations, fraternal orders, or landsmanshaften.

[Sefton D. Temkin]

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°CENSORINUS (third century C.E.), Roman grammarian. In his work *De Die Natali* (11, 6), derived chiefly from *Varro and *Suetonius, he notes that the Jews favor the number seven in the numbering of all their days.

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[Louis Harry Feldman]

CENSORSHIP.

Church Censorship

The theory of the Catholic Church that it had a duty to protect man from endangering his eternal salvation through exposure to heretical books and ideas made its form of censorship the most intolerant, and the power of the Church enabled it to become all pervasive. Although the Church had denounced and burned books early in its history, the first instance of Jews being forced to eliminate supposed blasphemies against Christianity dates from the mid-13th century. After the disputation of Barcelona in 1263, James, the king of Aragon, ordered that the Jews must within three months eliminate all the passages in their writings which were found objectionable. Non-compliance with this order was to result in heavy penalties and the destruction of the works concerned. The official intrusion of the Church into Jewish life came to a head with its persecution of the Talmud (see *Talmud, Burning of). Listed in 1559 in the *Index auctorum et librorum prohibitorum* issued by Pope Paul IV, the Talmud was subjected to innumerable disputations, attacks, and burnings. In March 1589 Sixtus V extended the ban in his *Index* to "Books of the Jews" containing anything which might be construed as being against the Catholic Church. In 1595 the *Index expurgatorius* (*Sefer ha-Zikkuk*) of Hebrew books was established. This *Index* listed books which could not be read without having individual passages revised or deleted before publication. Official revisers, who often were apostate Jews, were appointed to effect this revision according to the rules laid down in *De correctione librorum*, which appeared with the *Index* of Clement VIII in 1596. Objectionable passages in Hebrew books and even expressions such as "Talmud" and "*goi*" were deleted, altered, and at times torn out. Four hundred and twenty Hebrew books, beginning with *Ẓeror ha-Mor* by Abraham Saba (Constantinople, 1514) and ending with *Sefer Seliḥot ke-Minhag Ashkenazim* (Venice, n.d.), are listed in a manuscript of the *Sefer ha-Zikkuk* (published by N. Porges, in *Festschrift … A. Berliner* (1903), 273–95). There are thousands of Hebrew books with signs of the censor's work, words or whole passages blacked out with ink, and censors' signatures at the end of the volumes. Quite a number of textual errors in the standard editions of Hebrew texts owe their origin to such censorial activity. The last edition of the papal *Index librorum prohibitorum* in 1948 still included works written by Jews, converted Jews, and non-Jews dealing with Jewish subjects. Among the Hebrew books still on the list were *Ein Yisrael* (*Ein Ya'akov*) by Jacob ibn Ḥabib, published with *Sefer Beit Leḥem Yehudah* by Leone Modena and banned in 1693 and again in 1694; *Sha'arei Ẓiyyon* (1662) by Nathan Nata Hannover, the publication of which resulted in the trial of its publisher Shabbetai Bass of Dyhernfurth, banned in 1775; the kabbalistic work *Eshel Abraham* (1701) by Mordecai b. Judah Leib Ashkenazi, forbidden by the Church authorities in 1702; and the aggadic collections *Yalkut Shimoni* and *Yalkut Re'uveni* which contain various kabbalistic interpretations of the Bible. Christian censors deleted the entire tractate *Avodah Zarah* from the Basle edition of the Talmud (1578–80). The Latin translation of *Hilkhot Avodah Zarah* of Maimonides' *Yad* (*De Idolatria liber cum interpretatione latina et notis Dionysii Vosii*, Amsterdam, 1641) was placed on the *Index* in 1717. Among other well-known books placed on the *Index* were Manasseh Ben Israel's *De resurrectione mortuorum* (Amsterdam, 1636); Baruch Spinoza's *Tractatus Theologico-Politicus*, published anonymously in 1670; Spinoza's other work, banned under the heading *Opera Posthuma*, as was the German translation of the *Tractatus* (*Theologisch-Politische Abhandlungen von Spinoza*, 1826) by J.A. Kalb; and the works of Spinoza's followers. Among historical books found unacceptable by the Church was an excerpt from Josephus prepared by Johann Baptist Otte, *Spicilegium sive excerpta ex Flavio Josepho* (Amsterdam, Leyden, 1726), which was placed on the *Index* in 1743. Some of the most famous names in philosophy and literature figure in the prohibited lists, among them Jews such as Edmond Fleg, whose *L'Enfant prophète* (1926) and *Jésus, raconté par le juif errant* (1933) were placed on the *Index* in 1940.

Government Censorship

The 19th century saw the introduction of severe censorship of Hebrew and Yiddish literature in Russia and Poland. Ḥasidic literature in particular was burned and destroyed. The Polish censors prevented the importing of Hebrew books not printed in Poland, and examiners visited Polish cities to make sure that this regulation was obeyed. In Prague, Jesuits had controlled the censorship of Hebrew books by means of a *Commissio inquisitionis Judaicae pravitatis*. Only with permission given by the consistorium appointed by the archbishop could Hebrew books be printed. The power of censorship remained in the hands of the consistorium until the end of the 18th century, when the Landesgubernium took it over. The Nazi and fascist persecutions were directed at not only the Jews but also their literary and scientific work, which was confiscated, banned, and burned en masse. In Germany the confiscation of thousands of books, which began with the order signed by Hindenburg on February 28, 1933, "for the protection of the nation and the state," ended with the Gestapo's list of forbidden books containing 12,400 titles and 149 authors. On May 10, 1933, the works of Jewish authors were burned in many cities of Germany; among the many authors whose works were burned were Alfred Adler, Sholem Asch, Max Brod, Ilya Ehrenburg, Sigmund Freud, Lion Feuchtwanger, Heinrich Heine, Franz Kafka, Else Lasker-Schueler, Emil Ludwig, Jakob Wasserman, Franz Werfel, and Arnold and Stefan Zweig. In Hungary, books dealing with antisemitism in Hungary and with the *numerus clausus, the law limiting the number of Jewish students enrolled in universities, were confiscated in September 1919, following the counterrevolution. In 1940 a general censorship was introduced in Hungary, and everything deemed unacceptable by fascist authorities was banned, including the works of Jewish writers. In June 1944, when 600,000 Jews were deported from Hungary to the extermination camps of Poland, 500,000 Hebrew and Jewish books and the works of Jewish writers composed in different European languages were destroyed.

Jewish Censorship

Censorship in the proportion of the Christian world was unknown to Judaism. Even the restrictions against the Apocrypha (*Sefarim Ḥiẓoniyyim*) referred to its use in public study only. The Talmud quotes the Wisdom of *Ben Sira, although the reading of it is forbidden by rabbinic authorities. Opposition to Greek culture was expressed because of a fear of Hellenization. The Aramaic translation of Job, the first book described in the Talmud, was suppressed (Shab. 115a). The "books of the *Minim*" (probably referring to the books of the early Christians) were also considered objectionable (Tosef., Shab. 13 (14):5). On June 21, 1554, a rabbinic ordinance was adopted by a synod in Ferrara, Italy, establishing a system of internal control over the printing of Hebrew books. Fourteen rabbis representing the Italian Jews resolved that no Hebrew book be printed without the authorization of three recognized rabbis and the lay leaders of the nearest large community. The action in Ferrara was repeated in Padua in 1585; similar steps were taken by the Council of the Four Lands in Poland and the Jewish community of Frankfurt in 1603 and by the Sephardi community in Amsterdam in 1639. In the past 400 years there have been a number of reasons for censorship within the Jewish community. Salacious and trivial publications were banned by rabbis. A classic example of a distinct prohibition is Joseph *Caro's interdiction in his Shulḥan Arukh (OH 307:16) of *Immanuel of Rome's erotic *Maḥbarot*. Books that contained what were considered incorrect halakhic decisions and explications; books written or published by apostates; books printed on the Sabbath; and prayer books in which changes opposed by the rabbis were made by the editor or publisher were banned. The banning of books was used as a weapon in ideological struggles. There were objections to the study of philosophy for fear of misleading the masses and to the study of Kabbalah; books were banned in the fight against the Shabbateans, the Frankists, Ḥasidism, Haskalah, and the Reform movement. There were political considerations against political and cultural emancipation – the fear that assimilation and apostasy would come in their wake; Zionism, viewed by some rabbis as a dangerous ideology because of its secular aspects, resulted in efforts to control its publications.

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[Moshe Carmilly-Weinberger]

CENSUS. The term "census" derives from the ancient Roman institution of registering adult males and their property for purposes of taxation, military levy, and the determination of political status. However, similar practices are recorded much earlier among the peoples of the ancient Near East. Thus, biennial cadastral surveys took place in the Old Kingdom in Egypt, and other polls in second millennium Mari, Ugarit, and Alalakh. Everywhere they served the same basic purposes: taxation and conscription. Ancient Israel was no exception. The Bible reports that the first census took place at Mount Sinai prior to the end of the first year following the exodus from Egypt (Ex. 40:17). The count was made in connection with the remittance of a half shekel by each male Israelite 20 years of age and older "that there might be no plague among them" (Ex. 30:12). The resulting total was 603,550 (38:26), the figure recorded following the survey ordered "on the first day of the second month of the second year" (Num. 1:1, 45ff.). The levites who were not included totaled 22,000 males one month of age or older (*ibid.* 3:15, 39), almost as many as the 22,273 firstborn of all the other tribes, whose cultic responsibilities the levites were to take over (3:40–43).

Another census took place at Shittim in Moab, just before the Israelites were ready to enter the Promised Land. At that time, the corresponding figures were 601,730 for adult males (Num. 26:2, 51) and 23,000 for all male levites (26:62). One more census of able-bodied men is reported in the Bible at the close of David's reign (II Sam. 24). The totals recorded in II Samuel 24:9 are 800,000 for Israel and 500,000 for Judah, respectively, while the corresponding figures in I Chronicles 21:5 are 1,100,000 and 470,000. Both accounts indicate that David incurred divine wrath for this census, though the former states that it was God Himself who moved David to number the people (II Sam. 24:1), while the latter attributes this act to Satan (I Chron. 21:1).

Critical View

Modern scholars have tended to reject all of these figures, particularly those found in the Pentateuch. Thus, G.B. Gray summed up the arguments concerning the latter: "These numbers must on every ground be regarded as entirely unhistorical and unreal; for (1) they are impossible; (2) treated as real, and compared with one another, they yield absurd results; and (3) they are inconsistent with numbers given in earlier Hebrew literature." Recent authorities on demography are skeptical of all population estimates for pre-modern times, and do not put much stock in the accuracy of early censuses. As a possible check on them, they suggest careful comparison of their figures with earlier and later enumerations, as well as a close study of the internal consistency of the totals noted. Judged by both of these standards, Gray's objections are unanswerable. Thus, the Song of *Deborah, which was probably written within a century of the time of Joshua, refers to the existence of only 40,000 fighting men (Judg. 5:8) in the six tribes which, according to the census in Shittim (Num. 26), numbered 301,000. Similarly, 600 warriors reportedly constituted a sizable portion of the tribe of Dan (Judg. 18:11) during the period preceding the establishment of the monarchy, while the figure at Shittim was 64,400 (Num. 26:42–43). As for internal consistency, the 603,550 total hardly is in keeping with the 22,273 figure for all firstborn males, because even if we assume a slightly larger number of female firstborn children, this would still imply that only one out of 12 or 13 women above the age of 20 were mothers!

The figures for the Davidic census occasion similar criticisms, and it has even been argued, as in the case of the sojourn in the desert, that the land could not sustain such a large population. Moreover, the Annals of Sennacherib (701 B.C.E.) indicate that Judah had approximately 200,150 males, while the details of the tax levied by Menahem (in 738) on the prosperous heads of households in order to raise the tribute he paid to King Pul, i.e., Tiglath-Pileser III of Assyria (II Kings 15:19–20) have led at least one careful scholar to conjecture that the total population of the northern kingdom was approximately 800,000 at that time.

In an imaginative attempt to resolve these problems, W.F. Albright suggested that the figure listed in Numbers 1 and 26 actually comprised the results of the Davidic census, while those offered in II Samuel 24 were schematic approximations of them. Though this would entail an overall population of 750,000 for the Davidic empire, a figure which is entirely plausible, no convincing reasons are offered to explain the retrojection of these figures to the Mosaic period. Besides, it is likely that enumerations of the Israelite tribes were required before the establishment of the monarchy for military reasons. G.E. Mendenhall's general thesis, then, has much to commend it. It is based on a modification of Sir Flinders Petrie's suggestion that the term *elef* did not initially mean "thousand," but "tent group" or, as Mendenhall amends it, an undefined "subsection" of a tribe – and on the assumption that the census lists were prepared for military levies during the age of the Judges. Based on tribal counts, these lists were exhaustive as far as the *alafim* were concerned, but contained only the numbers of men each *elef* was required to contribute to the combined armies. U. Cassuto rejected this notion, suggesting that the census figures were typological, based on units of 60, to indicate the extraordinarily large number of the people involved, viz. 10,000 units of 60. Accepting this approach, first A. Malamat and then S.E. Loewenstamm suggested that the figures probably should be seen as pointing to an old tradition about "a thousand" (in reality merely a great number of) military detachments of 600 men each (Judg. 18:11), poised for the conquest of the Holy Land.

As for the divine wrath incurred by David's census, it is generally explained in terms of the warning that no direct count of the individuals be made "that there might be no plague among them" (Ex. 30:12). It has also been suggested that this census was due to David's desire to replace the ancient tribal levy with his own centralized administration, and hence, the census was viewed as a direct challenge to the ancient charismatic institution and to the God of Israel who had ordained it. In any event, primitive taboos seem to have lingered in the ancient world against attempts to record (פקד) either cattle or crops, people or their possessions. Possibly this was originally due, as Speiser has suggested, to the fear of having one's name recorded in lists that might be put to ominous use by unknown powers, and hence, the need to propitiate them with some kind of a monetary *kofer*, "ransom." At a later date, however, the reason generally offered for this taboo was that the divine blessing should not be investigated in detail, but received gratefully and reverently.

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[David L. Lieber]

CENTER FOR JEWISH HISTORY, consortium established in New York in 2000 of five American Jewish research and cultural institutions, each of them a leading repository for documentation on a major geographic area and cultural period in the history of the Jewish people: (1) the *YIVO Institute for Jewish Research, whose library and archive are recognized internationally for their vast and varied collections relating to East European and Yiddish-speaking Jewry, (2) the *Leo Baeck Institute, the preeminent source of documentation on German Jewry, (3) the *American Jewish Historical Society, the oldest ethnic historical society in the United States, focusing on the American Jewish experience, (4) the *American Sephardi Federation, concentrating on the study of Sephardi and Oriental Jewry worldwide, and (5) the *Yeshiva University Museum, which mounts educational exhibitions promoting the unity of the Jewish experience.

Through the cohabitation of these five institutions in a single building (the realization of a visionary plan by its founder and chairman Bruce Slovin), the Center has unique resources for the study, research, and contemplation of Jewish history and culture. Uniting the various factions of contemporary Jewish life, the Center also serves to effectively challenge the forces of divisiveness within the Jewish community. Its combined collections constitute a trove of more than 100 million archival documents, 500,000 books, and thousands of pieces of artwork, textiles, and ritual objects which together represent the largest repository of Jewish archival materials on a single site outside of Israel. By virtue of its broad range and the magnitude of its combined holdings, the Center has been accurately described as the "Library of Congress of the Jewish Diaspora."

Staffed by librarians, archivists, and academics, including subject and language specialists in various areas of Jewish culture, the Center for Jewish History and its constituent research institutes have served researchers from over 50 countries. The Center also provides annual research fellowships to advanced students and scholars from universities in America, Europe, and Israel. Aside from assisting researchers *in situ*, the Center's online catalogues, guides, and digitized collections mounted on the Internet provide scholars and students around the world with easy access to books, documents, and images. A number of the Center's collections of books, newspapers, archival documents, and photograps have been filmed, microfiched, or digitized. State-of-the-art temperature- and humidity-controlled storage facilities are complemented by preservation work carried out in an on-site laboratory.

Located in the Manhattan neighborhood of Chelsea, near historic Union Square, the Center is also a lively forum for Jewish and artistic life in New York City. Its educational public programming includes films on a variety of Jewish themes, lectures by prominent Jewish writers and academics, conferences and colloquia in every area of Jewish studies, and concerts. The Center's kaleidoscope of exhibitions in various galleries, visited by school groups as well as the interested public, presents unusual aspects and hidden facets of Judaic culture that are left unexplored by other institutions.

Serving both the academic community and the general public, the Center for Jewish History functions as both a research institute and a focal point of intellectual and cultural life. By ensuring the physical survival of the documents of Jewish history, and at the same time stimulating public interest in every element of the Jewish experience, this consortium of institutions promotes a broad understanding and appreciation of Jewish history and civilization.

WEBSITE: www.cjh.org.

[Brad Sabin Hill (2nd ed.)]

CENTERSZWER (Centerszwerowa), STANISŁAWA (1889–1943), Polish painter, graphic artist, and art critic. Centerszwer was born in Warsaw into an accultured Jewish family and attended a Polish gymnasium. She began her art education in Warsaw, where in 1904–07 she studied at a private art school headed by Adolph Edward Herstein (1869–1932), an ethnic Jew who was both an artist and a liberal public figure. In 1907–13, Centerszwer lived in Paris and took classes at private art studios. She displayed her works at exhibitions held by the Salon d'Art Independent in Paris, in 1911 and 1912. In 1913, she was among the organizers and participants of the exhibition of Polish emigré artists in Barcelona. Later in the same year, she returned to Warsaw, where she was immediately recognized as one of the leading women figures in Polish modernist art. At the same time, she was active in the Jewish art movement. In 1913, in Warsaw, she took part in exhibitions organized by Młoda Sztuka ("Young Art") association and Jewish Plastic Artists group. From 1914, Centerszwer regularly showed her works at exhibitions organized by the Polish Society for the Encouragement of Young Artists. After World War I, she was a member of the organizing committee of the Jewish Society for the Encouragement of the Arts, established in 1921, and participated in exhibitions arranged by the Society in 1920–30. She published her reviews of art exhibitions in the Polish press. Her first one-woman show took place in 1924 in Warsaw. In 1934, her works were shown at the exhibition of Polish women artists in Paris. In her paintings, she was seen as a profound connoisseur of West European art techniques. Following mainly postimpressionist stylistics while using, at the same time, the techniques of cubism, Centerszwer was perceived as a bold and original artist, as well as a subtle colorist. She created works in almost every genre while preferring portraits and landscapes. In 1939, when Poland was occupied by the Germans, Centerszwer and her family managed to flee to Bialystok then annexed by the U.S.S.R. In 1941, she failed to get evacuated and was transferred, with the rest of the Jews of Bialystok, to the ghetto where she died in the course of one of the last "actions."

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[Hillel Kazovsky (2nd ed.)]

CENTIPEDE, called in the Bible *marbeh raglayim* ("many-footed"). It is included among the "swarming things," which it is forbidden to eat (Lev. 11:42). According to Targum Pseudo-Jonathan and rabbinic tradition, the reference is to the *nadal* (centipedes; Sifra 10:10). Several species of centipede are found in Israel, the most common being the species *Scolopendra cingulata*, which has 42 legs and 22 segments, is up to 8 in. (about 20 cm.) long, and feeds on insects and earthworms. The name *marbeh raglayim* may also refer to the class Diplopoda (millipedes) which has two pairs of legs to each of its segments and lives on decayed organic matter.

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[Jehuda Feliks]

CENTO, small Italian town near Ferrara, north central Italy. Cento is probably the place of origin of the Meati family (100 = Heb. *me'ah* = *cento* in Italian), known from the 13th century as translators. In 1390 the banker Emanuele del Gaudio opened a small pawnshop. In the late 14th and 15th centuries the Jews in Cento were afforded protection by the house of Este. In 1598 Cento became subject to papal jurisdiction, with the rest of the duchy of Ferrara. A ghetto of intercommunicating houses with a central courtyard was built in 1636 in the center of the city (Via Provenzali and Via Malagodi), accommodating between 100 and 150 residents. There is documentation of the existence during the 17th century of two confraternities (the *Gemilut Ḥasadim* and the *Talmud Torah*) and of a cemetery. In 1727 the community received a new constitution and both societies were merged into the single *Confraternita di Studi Sacri e di Misericordia*. The principal synagogue existed already before 1636 and was restored in 1826. Even though sporadic attacks by the populace occurred during the ghetto period (i.e., in 1689 after the fall of Buda in Hungary), the Jews in Cento were left relatively in peace and did not confine themselves to banking but also engaged in commerce and crafts. The family of Benjamin *Disraeli originated in Cento. The famous sociologist Leone *Carpi (1810–98) from Cento was a protagonist of the Italian Risorgimento, participating in the insurrections of the 1830s and 1840s. He was chosen by Giuseppe Mazzini as general secretary of the Constituente Romana and in 1850 became deputy of the first Italian Parliament. The community of Cento died out completely in the second half of the 20th century. In 1954 the ark of the synagogue was transferred to Netanyah in Israel and reconstructed in the Givat Meir Temple. In 2001 the area of the ghetto was completely restored and renovated by the municipality.

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[Federica Francesconi (2nd ed.)]

CENTOS (Pol. **Zwiazki Tow. Opieki nad sierotami Zyd. Rzecz. polskiej;** Yid. **Farband fun Zentrales far Yesoimim farsorgung in Poylen;** "Federation of Associations for the Care of Jewish Orphans in Poland"). It was set up in 1924 as a federation of nine regional committees for (1) Congress Poland (Warsaw, Lodz, Lublin, Kielce); (2) Polesie (Pinsk); (3) Volhynia (Rovno); (4) Bialystok; (5) the committee of *Yekopo for the regions of Vilna and Nowogrodek; (6) the city of Vilna (established as a separate committee evidently because of its importance and the scope of its activities); (7) eastern Galicia (Lvov, Stanislav, Tarnopol); (8) western Galicia (Cracow); and (9) the city of Poznan. World War I and the upheavals connected with it created the serious social problem of orphaned children for whose welfare the public felt responsible, both in continuation of ancient Jewish tradition, stressing care of the orphan and widow, and as a result of modern concepts of child care. As the Jewish institutions in the area had been incapacitated by the war, the *American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee assumed their responsibilities within its general activities. Parentless children were therefore either placed at its expense with families or accommodated in special institutions. With normalization in the early 1920s local Jewry gradually assumed this task. In 1924 the Joint transferred the care of orphans to Centos. Its regional committees administered their activities autonomously, represented on the all-Polish level by its central committee, which also advised on and supervised their work in conjunction with the Joint. In 1926 Centos assumed full responsibility for the enterprise, while the contributions of the Joint gradually diminished. By 1929 the Joint contributed 15% of the general budget only. From 1930 to 1932, the participation of the Joint increased from 22% to 46% due to a special fund-raising campaign to strengthen the existing institutions and widen the scope of vocational training. In 1931 there were 10,000 orphans in the care of Centos, half of them in orphanages, and the other half in the care of foster parents. Much attention was paid to vocational training, from which some 3,000 pupils benefited in special boarding schools. Centos had 327 local committees for 60,000 paying members. The annual budget amounted to 6,000,000 zlotys, the government and municipalities contributing only 25%.

Besides regular medical care, Centos also maintained permanent clinics and convalescence institutions as well as summer camps of various categories. A medical-pedagogical institution for retarded children was also established in Otwock. Centos published two monthlies, *Unzer Kind* (in Yiddish) and *Przegląd Spoteczny* (in Polish), which dealt with theoretical and practical problems of child care and Jewish orphans. Theoretically the education of Centos achieved its aims and its pupils graduated successfully. The practical test of their success in life was cut short by intensified antisemitism and the ousting of Jews from the crafts in Poland. The tragic events following Hitler's rise to power in 1933 made Centos direct renewed efforts to solve the problem of needy children who were victims of the pogroms in Poland or refugees from Nazi Germany. From 1934 to 1939, the task of carrying out these activities fell mainly on the local Jewish population, since government support substantially decreased due to antisemitism. In 1938 the activities of Centos embraced 15,000 children, of whom 40% were in the care of families and 60% in orphanages and children's hostels. The majority (55%) were girls who required shelter over a longer period.

From its inception, the organization was presided over by Senator Rafael Szereszewski. The Centos orphanage in Warsaw, directed by the educator Henryk Godschmidt, also known by his pen name Janusz *Korczak, was noted for its humanitarian directorship and enlightened pedagogical experimentation. Korczak accompanied his charges to the extermination camps, and master and pupils met their deaths together in the *Holocaust.

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[Moshe Landau]

CENTRAL BRITISH FUND (CBF), now known as World Jewish Relief, the principal British refugee relief agency, established in May 1933 as the Central British Fund for German Jewry, for emergency relief to persecuted persons following the Nazi rise to power. The CBF formed the Jewish Refugees Committee (JRC) as its case-working body and financed its activities. The purpose of this Committee was to assist Jewish refugees from Central Europe in the United Kingdom. The CBF also aided settlement in Palestine, and facilitated various emigration schemes. The CBF assumed a blanket guarantee vis-à-vis the British government that the refugees from Nazi oppression would not become a burden on public funds. When the number of refugees from Germany and Austria reached 60,000 at the outbreak of World War II, the British government agreed to subsidize the work of the JRC. In 1944 the CBF formed the Jewish Committee for Relief Abroad which sent teams of volunteers to work first in Italy and Greece, then in former concentration camps in Germany and Austria. At the same time the CBF changed its name to Central British Fund for Jewish Relief and Rehabilitation. In the immediate postwar period it extended help to the stricken Jewish communities in Europe, and in the summer of 1945 brought 750 orphaned children from concentration camps to the United Kingdom. After the Suez crisis and the Hungarian uprising (1956), the CBF assisted the Jewish refugees from Hungary and Egypt admitted to the United Kingdom. From 1958 onward, the CBF established close cooperation with the *American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee in North Africa, Iran, Poland, and in particular France, where it contributed to relief and the housing of Jewish refugees from North Africa. The CBF was instrumental in the creation of the *United Restitution Organization (URO) in 1948, and the Jewish Trust Corporation for Germany in 1950; it was also one of the founding members of the *Conference on Jewish Material Claims. In recent years it has changed its name to World Jewish Relief, and continues to provide assistance to beleaguered Jews in the Diaspora, especially in the former Soviet Union and Argentina. Amy Gottlieb's *Men of Vision: Anglo-Jewry's Aid to the Victims of the Nazi Regime, 1933–1945* (1998) is a history of the CBF during the Nazi period.

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[Charles I. Kapralik / William D. Rubinstein (2nd ed.)]

CENTRAL CONFERENCE OF AMERICAN RABBIS (CCAR), national organization of Reform rabbis. It was founded in 1889 by Isaac Mayer *Wise, who had earlier established the *Union of American Hebrew Congregations (UAHC, called the Union for Reform Judaism since 2003) and *Hebrew Union College. After the college had ordained 20 rabbis, Wise felt it was time to replace the several regional rabbinic bodies with a national organization. Wise was elected president and headed the CCAR for 11 years until his death in 1900; subsequent presidents served for only two years. The conference thus took its place as the third major arm of the Reform Movement along with the UAHC and the college, and set the standard that each of the movements in American Judaism would have a theological seminary, a congregational body, and a rabbinic organization.

From the beginning the CCAR saw a major part of its role as reflecting and directing the trends and theologies of the growing Reform Movement. From 1890 onward it published a yearbook containing papers delivered at its conventions. The first volume included the resolutions passed by the German rabbinical conferences and synods as well as the proceedings of the 1869 Philadelphia Conference and the 1885 *Pittsburgh Platform. By publishing these documents, the CCAR symbolically established itself as the heir of those gatherings and the standard bearer of their theologies.

As the optimism of the 19th century began to wane in the wake of World War I and the rise of Nazism, the conference felt called upon to issue a new set of "Guiding Principles of Reform Judaism" that would reflect the world's sober new realities which made it imperative for the first time to support a homeland in Palestine. This document, approved in 1937, became known as the Columbus Platform and, under the influence of increased involvement by East European Jews in the previously German Jewish movement, committed Reform Judaism to a greater emphasis on Jewish observance and social justice as well as support of Zionism. With the end of World War II, the revelation of the horrors of the Holocaust, the establishment of the State of Israel, and the euphoria of the Six-Day War and the anguish of the Yom Kippur War, the CCAR prepared in 1976 a new declaration of principles on the hundredth anniversary of the founding of the UAHC and the Hebrew Union College, called the Centenary Perspective, which spoke frequently of the need to secure Jewish survival. It also based Reform on the "informed choice" of each individual Jew who, through study, would act autonomously to make individual religious decisions. The 1970s and 1980s also marked the culmination of several decades of widespread CCAR support for farmworkers and the labor movement as a whole, for civil rights (a number of Reform rabbis joined in demonstrations in the South and the North), opposition to the Vietnam War, and active support for the liberation of Soviet and Ethiopian Jews.

Twenty-three years later, in 1999, the CCAR returned to Pittsburgh to issue a fourth Statement of Principles, intended to demonstrate that Reform Jews might now feel called upon to accept mitzvot "both ancient and modern" that "demand renewed attention as the result of" contemporary life. Reflecting a partnership of rabbinical and lay authorship, the 1999 Pittsburgh Principles also demonstrated the many changes in the Conference since 1976: the growth in the number of ordained women, the impact of the resolution to publicly recognize children raised as Jews having only one Jewish parent (the "patrilineal" resolution), and the CCAR's encouragement of HUC-JIR to admit gays and lesbians to the rabbinical school.

The CCAR also provided liturgies for the increasingly diverse movement. In 1895 it published the first edition of the *Union Prayer Book*, a liturgy primarily in English that opened like an English book. By 1940 the book had been slightly revised twice, but not until 1985 did the Conference publish a completely new liturgy responding to events in the major part of the 20th century. The new volume was called *Shaarei Tefila, Gates of Prayer,* which included much more Hebrew than the *Union Prayer Book* and offered a great variety of services uniting the movement's different theologies beneath the same cover. It appeared in both English-opening and Hebrew-opening editions. The Gates series also included a High Holiday prayerbook (*Gates of Repentance*), a home prayerbook (*Gates of the House*), and for the first time a set of guides to observance (*Gates of Mitzvah* for the lifecycle, *Gates of the Seasons*, and *Gates of Shabbat*).

In the wake of the influence of women rabbis and Jewish scholars, as well as the increase in mixed-faith families in Reform synagogues who struggled with the increased Hebrew in the new prayerbook, the conference published in 1994 a slim gray "gender-sensitive" revision called *Gates of Prayer for Shabbat and Weekdays*. In addition to adding the matriarchs to Hebrew prayers and removing specifically masculine terms from English readings the "Gates of Gray" for the first time included transliteration of major prayers on the same page as the Hebrew, rather than relegating them to the back of the book. This interim liturgical embrace of Reform's diverse populations ultimately led to work on another new prayerbook, this time referred to by its Hebrew name, *Siddur*. The conference completed a methodical study of lay and rabbinic views of worship in the early 1990s, on the basis of which it created a gender-sensitive book called *Mishkan T'filah*, published in 2005, opening exclusively from the Hebrew side, expressing diversity through alternate readings on the page facing the Hebrew text, rendering every prayer in both Hebrew and transliteration, and featuring extensive notes and commentary. It restored several traditional prayers that the 19th century Reformers had excised. The book was piloted widely across North America, reflecting the input not only of Reform rabbis but also of cantors, other Jewish professionals, and laypeople.

The membership of the CCAR increasingly reflected the diversity of the movement as a whole. The conference elected its first woman president, Rabbi Janet Marder, in 2003, and more Reform rabbis served in Hillel foundations, hospital chaplaincies, and Jewish organizational positions. As women swelled the ranks of the rabbinate, concerns about balancing family and profession increased. In 1999 the director of placement began to develop mentoring programs for newly ordained rabbis and in 2000 the conference added a director of rabbinic services to its staff. The CCAR took steps to toughen and strictly enforce its ethics code of rabbinic behavior. As the new century's first decade progressed, the conference looked forward to a prayer life with a new *Siddur* and to continuing to make a contribution to the welfare of the rabbinate and the world its members serve.

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[Richard N. Levy (2nd ed.)]

CENTRAL-VEREIN DEUTSCHER STAATSBUERGER JUEDISCHEN GLAUBENS (Ger. **Central Association of German Citizens of Jewish Faith**, abbreviated CV), organization founded in Berlin in 1893 to safeguard Jewish civil and social equality against rising German antisemitism. The Central-Verein or CV advocated a German-Jewish "symbiosis" and denied that German Jews were a part of a worldwide Jewish national entity. It was therefore accused by contemporary Zionists and some later historians of promoting assimilation. Actually the CV opposed apostasy and intermarriage. Starting as a solely outward-looking defense organization ("*Abwehrverein*"), its leaders, mainly influenced by Eugen Fuchs (1856–1923), soon added the goals of an organization of conviction ("*Gesinnungsverein*"), embracing an internal Jewish aim to strengthen the ties of Jewish identity. Accused of assimilationism, Fuchs declared in 1917: "If indeed the *Centralverein* would promote apostasy and the disintegration of Judaism, while Zionism confirms antisemitism, I would go over, without a moment`s hesitation and under flying banners, into the Zionist camp because … I regard antisemitism as the lesser evil" (quoted in *Um Deutschtum und Judentum,* p. 258).

Besides initiating legal action and publicity campaigns against the defamation of Jews or Judaism, the CV devoted much energy and funds to its literary activities, not only in defense against antisemitic invectives, but also as part of the internal Jewish discourse on the substance or the re-definition of Jewish identity in modern times. The organization's main publications were the monthly *Im Deutschen Reich,* from 1895 on the official organ of the CV, replaced in 1922 by the weekly *Central-Verein Zeitung*, which issued a monthly selection for non-Jewish readers. *Der Morgen*, a learned bimonthly (1925–38), and over 100 books published by the CVs *Philo-Verlag* dealt with a wide range of current and historical problems, not only concerning German Jewry but also worldwide Jewish issues. Its press printed, under different covers, numerous brochures, pamphlets, and flyers to be used in the political campaigns of the liberal and socialist anti-Nazi parties in the last years of the Weimar republic.

At the end of the republic the CV had 70,000 dues-paying members in over 500 local chapters, and the *CV Zeitung* a circulation of 55,000. The organization's claim to represent the majority of German Jewry was therefore not unfounded. After Hitler's accession to power in 1933 the CV cooperated with the Zionists and other Jewish organizations in the establishment and work of the *Reischsvertretung der Juden in Deutschland,* presided over by Leo *Baeck. In a quietly agreed-upon division of labor, its experienced staff provided Jews all over Germany with legal advice and counsel on economic problems. By official order, the name was changed in 1935 to Central-Verein der Juden in Deutschland ("Central Association of Jews in Germany"), and in 1936 to Juedischer Central-Verein ("Jewish Central Union"). After the *Kristallnacht* pogrom of November 1938 the C.V. was dissolved by the Nazi authorities together with most Jewish organizations.

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[Ze'ev Wilhem Falk / Avraham Barkai (2nd ed.)]

CENTRE DE DOCUMENTATION JUIVE CONTEMPORAINE (CDJC), "Jewish Contemporary Documentation Center," a French Jewish organization clandestinely created in Grenoble in 1943, during the German occupation, in order to collect documentation on the Holocaust. Its founder, Isaac *Schneersohn, organized a committee which enlisted the cooperation of several Jewish organizations, and a group of scholars immediately set to work to collect and preserve documents. Their work carried the death penalty, and activity was necessarily sporadic as a result. In 1944, after the liberation of France, the CDJC was transferred to Paris, and from 1956 was located in a building in the Marais housing the memorial to the Unknown Jewish Martyr. In 2004, the building was renovated and expanded to house the Centre's growing archival collection and to enable it to mount exhibits and to hold conferences. The CDJC has numerous collections of documents from the French Gestapo, the German Embassy in Paris, the German Supreme Military Command in France, and the French Commissariat Général aux Questions Juives. It also possesses vast collections of documents gathered by the Allied authorities in Nuremberg, including original documentation on the activities of Alfred *Rosenberg; proceedings of the trials of Nazi war criminals in France, Germany, and elsewhere; and collections of photographs. Two annotated inventories of the CDJC collections have appeared – the Rosenberg Collection by J. Billig (*Alfred Rosenberg dans l'action idéologique, politique et administrative du Reich hitlérien*, 1963) and the German Authorities Collection by L. Steinberg (*Les autorités allemandes en France occupée*; vol. 1, 1963, vol. 2, 1966). The C.D.J.C. has a specialized library of over 50,000 volumes, while its archives contain close to a million documents. The Centre also houses a collection of survivor testimonies, a film archive, and an extensive photograph collection. The CDJC has published over 50 volumes, generally based upon the Centre's archival material. Of particular importance are the three volumes on the *Commissariat Général aux Questions Juives* (1955–57) by J. Billig and others. The Centre has also published catalogues from its many exhibits on Holocaust-related topics, as well as the proceedings of conferences that it has sponsored. The CDJC publishes a semi-annual journal entitled *La Revue de l'histoire de la Shoah,* which contains articles and documents on the Holocaust. It also concerns itself with topical matters connected with the Nazi period, such as the fight against racism, Holocaust denial, the punishment of war criminals and their assistants, and the compensation of victims by the German Federal Republic. The Centre has recently created a multimedia encyclopedia on the Shoah, which is available on the Internet. It has been one of the recipients of substantial financial aid from the Conference on Jewish Material Claims Against Germany (later the Memorial Foundation for Jewish Culture).

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[Michel Mazor / David Weinberg (2nd ed.)]

CEREMONIAL OBJECTS. Due to the partial prohibition of plastic arts (see *Art), Jews found an outlet for their artistic abilities in the synagogue and in producing ceremonial objects. The high regard in which the fashioners of religious art were held is evident from the biblical description of *Bezalel as being filled "with the spirit of God, in wisdom, and in understanding, and in knowledge, and in all manner of workmanship" (Ex. 31:3). The rabbis, commenting upon the verse, "This is my God and I will adorn him" (Ex. 15:2), declare it meritorious to observe the precepts with attractive objects such as "a beautiful *sukkah*, a beautiful *lulav*, a beautiful *shofar*, beautiful fringes, and a beautiful Scroll of the Law" (Shab. 133b). Such an interpretation imposes upon the Jew the necessity of utilizing aesthetically pleasing appurtenances in the performance of his religious duties. The ceremonial objects of the Jews are used in religious worship in the synagogue and home, on the Sabbath and festivals, and in observance of the life cycle. The focal object in Jewish worship is the Torah Scroll (**Sefer Torah*) and ritual art in the synagogue centers around it. Since the scroll itself may not be directly touched by the bare hand (Shab. 14a), it became customary in oriental communities to enclose the scroll in an ornamental case (*tik*). These cases are usually of wood, often decorated with metal inscriptions, but are occasionally of silver, and sometimes even gold. In other communities, the Torah scroll is wrapped in a mantle. Before the mantle is placed on the Torah, the scroll is fastened together by a long strip of material or "binder." In Germany, it became customary for the mother to fashion a binder, termed "Wimpel," for the scroll from the piece of linen used on the occasion of her son's circumcision. The child presented it to the synagogue on his first visit, and it usually was embroidered and inscribed with a blessing for him.

Torah-crowns (*keter*) or finials (*rimmonim*) are placed on top of the staves of the Torah. These are usually decorated with bells whose chime symbolizes both the joy of the Torah and the bells which were attached to the robe of the high priest (Ex. 28:31–35). The Torah is also adorned with a breastplate which often contains semi-precious stones. To obviate the touching of the sacred text by hand when reading from it, a pointer is provided. In most countries the form ultimately developed for this was a rod terminating in a hand with an outstretched forefinger. It is therefore generally termed **yad* ("hand"). The Torah is often housed in a specially built and elaborately decorated *Ark of the Law, placed on the eastern wall of the synagogue. It is popularly known as the "*aron ha-kodesh*" or the "holy ark" after the Ark of the Covenant in the Tabernacle and the Temple (Ex. 25:10–22), and among the Sephardim it is termed *Heikhal* ("palace"). The perpetual lamp or eternal light (**Ner Tamid*) is usually hung in front of it. Although not required by Jewish law, this probably alludes to the light set up "to burn continually" outside the veil in the sanctuary (Ex. 27:20–21). The curtain (*parokhet*) adorning the Torah ark may have also been intended as an illusion to the sanctuary, representing the veil which partitioned off the Holy Ark. In many Sephardi congregations, the *parokhet* is placed behind the doors of the Torah ark, while in Ashkenazi congregations it is placed in front of the ark door, where it occupies a more prominent position. Synagogues usually use colorful veils during the year and a white curtain for the High Holy Days. Usually some biblical or Mishnaic phrase is written above the ark in elaborate characters in beautiful colors, e.g., *Shivviti Adonai le-Negdi Tamid* (Ps. 16:8; "I have set the Lord always before me"), or *Da Lifenei Mi Attah Omed* ("Know before whom you are standing"). Some of the most beautiful ceremonial objects have been fashioned for the items used in fulfilling the Sabbath rituals. Sabbath lamps, candlesticks, **Kiddush* beakers, and bread knives have been manufactured in a multitude of designs from various precious metals, glass, and wood. The spice box used in the **Havdalah* ceremony at the termination of the Sabbath has long been a favorite for imaginative craftsmen. It has been shaped like fruits, flowers, fish, towers, and windmills. Interesting forms were at times devised by combining the spice-box with a candle holder for the candle used in the Havdalah ritual. Besides the spice-box, the *Ḥanukkah lamp is the only other ceremonial object that can boast of a great variety of forms and material. These have been made of clay, stone, brass, pewter, copper, porcelain, glass, and silver. Their forms have represented trees, animals, biblical scenes, and events in Jewish history. For Purim, cylindrical cases of precious metal, wood or ivory, fashioned to hold the Esther scroll, have also been decorated with scenes from the Esther story. The "groggers" utilized by the children during the reading of the Esther scroll are usually made of wood, although occasionally silver was used. These silver rattles sometimes had floral decorations or depicted Haman on the gallows. Special decorative plates have also been designed for the bringing of the food-gifts on Purim. A further opportunity for Jewish ritual art was also provided by the domestic **seder* service on Passover eve. *Seder* plates were designed to hold the symbolic food preparations. In Germany, three-tiered *seder* dishes were made, so that the three *maẓẓot* ("pieces of unleavened bread") could also be accommodated. To simplify the counting of the seven weeks between Passover and Shavuot (*sefirat ha-Omer*), **Omer* calendars have been fashioned. These usually are simply unadorned tablets and books, or wooden cases with adjustable rolls inside. **Etrog* containers have been constructed from wood or precious metals for usage during the festival of *Sukkot.

Ceremonial objects were not restricted to the Jewish holidays, but were also created for other important events in the life cycle of Jews. A beautifully carved chair or bench, known as the "chair or throne of *Elijah," was used at the circumcision ceremony since the prophet Elijah traditionally attends this ritual. Even the circumcision instruments themselves have been embellished, the knives sometimes having on their handles scenes from the life of Abraham, the sacrifice of Isaac, or simply representation of a circumcision scene. Since ancient times the bride has been adorned on her wedding day. In some communities, she wore a crown, diadem, or wreath on her head, as is still customary in Oriental Jewish communities. The *ḥuppah* ("canopy") used for the wedding ceremony has also been richly decorated, and the rings given by the groom to the bride were occasionally adorned with filigree and enamel decorations. Sometimes they were inscribed with the words *mazzal tov* ("good luck") and were crowned by a house which symbolized at the same time the Temple and the future home.

Most Jewish communities possess an organization known as the **ḥevra kaddisha* which is responsible for the burial of the dead. Generally, once a year, often on the legendary anniversary of the death of Moses (Adar 7), the members of the *ḥevra kaddisha* observe a special day of fasting and the recitation of penitential prayers. The day is concluded with a banquet for which large wine beakers were made. These wine beakers, made of glass, frequently were decorated with scenes of the society carrying out its pious work. Large silver beakers were sometimes engraved with the names of the members of the society. To remind a Jew of his daily ritual obligations, he was commanded to affix a **mezuzah* to the doorposts of his home (Deut. 6:9). These have been fashioned from precious metals and wood in innumerable designs and figurations. On the wall of the home, it became customary to hang a **mizraḥ* (east)-tablet to indicate the direction which should be faced when praying. These tablets were often painted with biblical and holiday scenes. Sometimes they were decorated with the verse, "From the rising of the sun unto the going down thereof the Lord's name is to be praised" (Ps. 113:3).

Collectors

The earliest known collector of Jewish ritual art was the court Jew Alexander David (1687–1765), whose collection was later housed in the synagogue which he built in Brunswick, Germany. After 1850 such collections began to be assembled more widely and systematically. One of the most important was that of Joseph Strauss, the musician and conductor, which was exhibited at the Universal Exhibition, Paris, in 1878, and at the Anglo-Jewish Historical Exhibition, London, in 1887. Subsequently, the collection was acquired by Baron Nathaniel de *Rothschild who presented it to the Musée de Cluny in Paris, where it was on exhibit for some time. In England, Philip Salomons (1796–1867), the brother of Sir David *Salomons, gathered some outstanding pieces of liturgical silver for use in his private synagogue in Brighton. They were later acquired by Reuben *Sassoon, in whose extensive family collection these pieces remained. Another outstanding English collection was that of the banker-publisher Arthur Ellis *Franklin. With his death it passed to the London Jewish Museum. In the 1920s Arthur Howitt (1885–1967) built up a superb collection in a remarkably short time at his home in Richmond, outside London. However, in 1932 business reverses compelled him to dispose of the collection by auction. The objects purchased from the Howitt collection formed the nucleus of both the newly established Jewish Museum in London and the Gustave Tuck collection of the Jewish Historical Society of England. Howitt later assembled another collection, which was small but distinguished. More recently in England, the private collection of Cecil *Roth and that of Alfred *Rubens – which consists largely of engravings – have become important. In Germany, before the Nazis, there were numerous collectors. Leopold Hamburger of Frankfurt on the Main probably had the greatest collection of Jewish coins in the world. It was acquired by the British Museum in 1908 and forms the base of their entire collection. George Francis Hill wrote the *Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Palestine* (1914), the standard textbook on Jewish coins, using this collection. Outstanding among them was Sally Kirschstein (1869–c. 1930). The bulk of his collection was dispersed by auction in 1932, but a secondary collection was purchased intact for the Museum of the Hebrew Union College in Cincinnati. A good representative collection was built up by Sigmund Nauheim (1879–1935), who made his purchases largely during his travels in Italy. His acquisitions were bequeathed to the Frankfurt Jewish Museum and they shared the museum's fate in World War II. In Eastern Europe, Matthias *Bersohn was a pioneer in gathering ritual objects. His collection formed the basis of the museum bearing his name in Warsaw, until its destruction during World War I. In Israel, the collectors include Heshel Golnitzki, who devoted the scholarly volume *Be-Maḥazor ha-Yamim* (1963) to his possessions; Heinrich Feuchtwanger, whose collection was given to the Israel Museum; Adolf *Reifenberg, whose collection of Jewish coins forms the basis for his definitive writing on coins; and Yitzḥak Einhorn, whose collection is distinguished for its specimens of Jewish folk art. The museum at Bat Yam houses the bulk of the ceremonial art collection of Sholem *Asch, deposited there by Victor *Carter of Los Angeles, who had purchased the collection after the novelist's death. In Paris, memorable collections are owned by Victor Klagsbald and the Kugel family. In the Amsterdam Jewish Museum there is the collection of Arthur Polak, which concentrated on medals and ceremonial silver.

In about 1890 Ephraim Benguiat brought from Smyrna to the United States an uneven collection, which, however, included some fine pieces. Benguiat's collection was exhibited at the World's Columbian Exposition, Chicago, during 1892 and 1893. After his death it was placed with the Smithsonian Institute in Washington. Cyrus *Adler and I.M. Casanowicz cataloged the collection in 1901. In 1925 it was acquired for the Jewish Theological Seminary of America, and comprised the nucleus of the exhibits at the Jewish Museum in New York during the 1930s. The greatest benefactor of the Jewish Museum was Harry G. Friedman (1882–1965), who responded to the museum's requirements with large-scale yet discriminating purchases. In 1941 he made an initial gift of 850 objets d'art. Subsequently, his gifts totaled 5,000 objects, amounting to about 50 percent of the museum's holdings. The remarkable medal collection of Samuel *Friedenberg also went – in 1960 – to the Jewish Museum. Another American collector of renown was Michael Zagayski (1895–1964) who, after having lost all he owned when the Germans occupied Warsaw in 1939, built an unrivaled collection anew in the United States. This collection, which comprised mostly ritual silver, was dispersed at Parke-Bernet auctions held from 1955 to 1968. Another American collection is the small but exquisite one of Judge Irving L. *Lehman, which on his death passed to Congregation Emanu-El in New York City, where it is now displayed. Other important U.S. collectors include Joseph B. Horwitz of Cleveland, S.B. Harrison of Ardmore, Pennsylvania, and Charles E. Feinberg (d. 1988) of Detroit, whose collection was dispersed in 1967. The S. Salomon collection, formerly in Paris and London, was sold in New York City in 1949. This collection formed the basis for the illustrations in H. Guttmann's *Hebraica, Documents d'art juif* (1930). By the late 1960s, the collection of Jewish ritual objects had become more widespread than in any former period, particularly in the United States. In addition, there sprang up commercial collectors, who from time to time put their acquisitions up for sale. At present, authentic 15th-century Jewish ceremonial objects are difficult to find, 17th- and 18th-century objects are rare, and good 19th-century pieces are snatched up. And with the various Jewish museums competing for the finest specimens, it is virtually impossible now to build up private collections on a level with those of the past.

[Cecil Roth]

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CERF, BENNETT ALFRED (1898–1971), U.S. publisher, editor, and humorous writer. Cerf began his career as a writer for the financial section of the *New York Tribune*. His first wife was the actress Sylvia Sydney. In 1923 he became vice president of the publishing house of Boni and Liveright. Four years later, with Elmer *Adler and Donald Klopfer, he founded the Random House Publishing Company to distribute the limited editions of the Nonesuch Press. This company soon developed into one of the largest publishing houses in the United States. Random House was bought in 1967 by RCA and Cerf became vice president of Random House Operations. Cerf was a popular panelist on the radio and TV program "What's My Line?" which ran for some 15 years. He edited a number of anthologies among which were *Great German Short Novels and Stories* (1933), *Bedside Book of Famous American Stories* (in collaboration with Angus Burres (1939)), *Bedside Book of Famous British Stories* (1940), and collections of anecdotes, including *Encyclopedia of Modern American Humor* (1954).

CERFBERR, HERZ (1726–1794), French politician and philanthropist. Born in Medelsheim, Alsace, Cerfberr prospered as an army contractor and employed his wealth and influence to promote the welfare of his community. After receiving French citizenship in 1775 "for services to the country," Cerfberr established several factories where he employed Jews. In this way he realized an ideal characteristic of the Emancipation era: to help Jews to withdraw from petty trading and to engage in manual labor. With his sons Max and Baruch, Cerfberr played a prominent part in the struggle for Jewish emancipation in France. In 1780 Cerfberr asked Moses *Mendelssohn to help him in his efforts on behalf of the Alsatian Jews. Mendelssohn referred Cerfberr to C.W. *Dohm, who included Cerfberr's memorandum in his *Ueber die buergerliche Verbesserung der Juden*, which had great influence in the fight for Jewish emancipation. Cerfberr had Dohm's book translated into French. These efforts brought about the appointment of a commission which was to report to the king on the legal condition of Jews, and led to the abolition of the polltax for Jews. Cerfberr was arrested and imprisoned for a year on suspicion of royalist sympathies during the Reign of Terror.

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CERFBERR, MAXIMILIEN-CHARLES ALPHONSE (1817–1883), French publicist. Cerfberr devoted much of his time to the study of penitentiary conditions. His school for young convicts in Poissy was the first of its kind. Cerfberr, who at different periods was a sailor and a soldier in Algeria and the Levant, served for a short time as the republic's representative (*commissaire*) in the department of Saône-et-Loire after the 1848 revolution. His writings include *La vérité sur les prisons* (1844) and *Les juifs, leur histoire, leurs moeurs*.

°**CERVANTES SAAVEDRA, MIGUEL DE** (1547–1616), Spanish novelist and playwright, whose classic work, *Don Quixote*, has been used to support theories of its author's New Christian origin and sympathies. The Spanish critic Américo Castro, has suggested that *Don Quixote* could only be the work of a *New Christian, living on the periphery of Spanish society. The novelist's father, Rodrigo de Cervantes, was a surgeon (a profession adopted by many Conversos). Miguel de Cervantes himself once had a mistress, Ana Franca de Rojas, who was a descendant of Fernando de *Rojas, the Converso author of the *Celestina*. Another factor cited is Cervantes' aversion to intolerance and to distinctions between "Old" and "New" Christians. In his plays *Los baños de Argel* and *La gran sultana* he presents both Christian and Jewish points of view on religion. In *Los alcaldes de Daganzo Cervantes* sarcastically derides the idea that *limpieza* (purity of descent) should be the prime qualification for holding office. While Sancho Panza is vocal about his *limpieza* (*Don Quixote*, 1, ch. 21; 2, ch. 4) and his dislike of Jews (2, ch. 8), Don Quixote himself is reticent about his background. Cervantes was influenced by the *Dialoghi d'amore* of Leone Ebreo (Judah *Abrabanel) and when he writes in *Don Quixote* (1, ch. 9) about "a better and older language [than Arabic]," he is presumably referring to the Hebrew language. Cervantes' criticism of traditional Christian society and tenets in *Don Quixote* was clear enough to be noted, but sufficiently mild not to be rejected. Dominique Aubier, a Catholic convert to Judaism, sees Don Quixote as "the standard-bearer of Jewish revolt in the cause of free expression and against the persecution of the Inquisition." On the basis of Jewish mystical sources she has reinterpreted the novel symbolically as a three-sided discussion involving science, Judeo-Christianity, and the Kabbalah. Leandro Rodríguez claims that Cervantes was a Crypto-Jew. Some suggest that Cervantes' choice of a military career was an attempt to assimilate within Old Christian society.

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[Kenneth R. Scholberg]

CERVERA, city in Catalonia, N.E. Spain. Around 1300 there were 30 to 40 Jewish families in Cervera. The Jewish quarter was located between Call del Vent and Call de Agramuntell and had its own cemetery. In the 13th and 14th centuries the community in Cervera was quite important. At times it formed part of the *collecta* of Barcelona. Due to the increase of the Jewish population Alfonso IV allowed them to occupy their quarter near San Miguel Place. Cervera was noted for its Jewish physicians, including Abraham des Portell (d. 1407), Abraham b. Isaac Shalom, author of *Neveh Shalom* (Constantinople, 1538), and Cresques Adret, physician of John II (1458–79). In 1341–42 the royal treasurer fined Astruga, the wife of David Adret, and their son Shealtiel for journeying to Ereẓ Israel in violation of a crown prohibition. In 1348 the bishop confiscated the house which Jews residing in the New Street had rented for use as a synagogue. During the *Black Death (1348–49), the Jewish quarter was looted and set on fire; 18 Jews were killed, some of the survivors fled to the citadel and others moved to neighboring communities.

The community had evidently revived by 1350, as in that year Pedro IV levied a sum of 400 Barcelona sólidos from the Jews in Cervera. During the civil war in Castile they had to pay 3,000 Barcelona pounds (1363). In 1369 Infante John restricted the Jews to their own quarter, and gave detailed instructions to ensure that it was sealed off from the rest of the town; it was to be rebuilt within two years so as to meet the requirements of all the inhabitants. However in 1384 Infanta Violanta asked the bishop of Vich to agree to the building of a second synagogue in Cervera, as some Jews were living outside the city walls. It was built the following year. After the anti-Jewish riots of 1391, John I ordered the bailiff of Cervera to give details regarding the property of Jews who had been killed in the riots and requested a list of those who had died. In 1392 the municipal authorities tried to expel the Jews from their main street of residence, where they had built new houses and a synagogue, to the old street where the houses were in disrepair and on the verge of collapse. However, the king countermanded the order. At the beginning of the 15th century payments were made by the community for protection. Besides the material prosperity that the Jews of Cervera enjoyed and wished to protect, there was also a flourishing Jewish cultural circle that turned Cervera into an important center of learning. An inventory from 1422 suggests familiarity of Jews with Judeo-Arabic philosophy and Greco-Arabic sciences. That this was typical of Catalan communities in general we can deduce from another library that originated in Perpignan and ended up in Cervera in 1484. The discovery of some sources in Hebrew and Judeo-Catalan has immensely enriched our knowledge of the Jews of Cervera. In the mid-15th century the community was relatively well established for the times. The communal regulations for 1455 in Hebrew and Catalan are extant and a list of the assets of Cervera Jewry shows that Jews still owned land, vineyards, and farmland, and there were some artisans. This list was used in May–June 1492 in a lawsuit between the municipal authorities and the Jews of Cervera on the eve of their expulsion from Spain. After the death of John II, who was kind to the Jews, representatives of the Jews of Agramunt, Bellpuig, Tárrega, and Santa Coloma de Queralt met in Cervera, where they held a memorial service. They were all dressed in black, as a sign of mourning. The Jews organized a procession through the Call Mayor, carrying a coffin and reciting Psalms in memory of the king. When the procession arrived at the Market Place, the coffin was placed on a platform, where Crescas Ha-Cohen, physician of the late king, pronounced an elegy. This entire impressive ceremony was undoubtedly staged to express the feeling of gratitude and recognition of the Jews of Cervera and those of the environs who had suffered heavily in the period prior to John II's reign. The Jews suffered much as they were identified with John II and his son Carlos, whose position was challenged by the supporters of the king's second wife, who was a descendant of a Jewess from Toledo. Carlos' death caused, from June 1462, severe attacks against the Jews of Cervera, many of whom were killed. This episode is barely mentioned in the sources.

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[Haim Beinart / Yom Tov Assis (2nd ed.)]

CERVETTO, JACOB BASEVI (1682–1783), violoncellist and composer. Cervetto was born in Verona of a branch of the Basevi family which had as its crest the head of a stag (*cervo*). He settled in London in 1728 or 1729 where he played in the orchestra at the Theatre Royal, Drury Lane, and later became its manager. He is credited with being the person who introduced the violoncello into England and was associated with the instrument by contemporary caricaturists. Cervetto composed several works for this instrument and chamber music. In his later years he had no connection with the Jewish community. His illegitimate son, James Cervetto (1746–1837), was also a popular cellist who composed various works.

CESARANI, DAVID (1956–), British historian. A well-known historian of modern Jewry, especially of British Jewry, and of the Holocaust, Cesarani was a professor at Manchester University before becoming head of the *Wiener Library in London from 1993 to 2000. Since 2000 he has served as professor of modern Jewish history at Southampton University. Cesarani is a prolific historian who has written or edited more than 15 books, including a controversial biography of Arthur *Koestler (1998), the first full-length biography in English of Adolf *Eichmann (2004), a history of the *Jewish Chronicle* newspaper (1994), and an account of attempts by the British government to try reputed Nazi war criminals in Britain, *Justice Delayed* (*1992*). He has also edited many collections of essays by historians on topics in modern Jewish history.

[William D. Rubinstein (2nd ed.)]

CESENA, small town in north central Italy, formerly in the papal states. Cesena was once a flourishing center of Jewish learning, whose notable scholars included the tosafist R. Eliezer, living there in the 13th century, Obadiah b. Judah *Sforno (1475–1550), a near contemporary of Isaac Emanuel de Lattes, and David de Rossi, who went from there to Ereẓ Israel and settled in Safed in 1535. During the 14th and 15th centuries a Jewish community of almost 40 members lived in Cesena, devoted mainly to loan activities and trade. Some of them were doctors. During the 16th century the Jewish community grew to more than 50. From about the 1440s they owned a cemetery and a synagogue.

The Jews were formally expelled from Cesena, as from the other small towns in the papal states in 1569, but there is documented evidence of exceptions: in 1590 the municipality gave the banker Emanuele from Terracina the permission to work and take up residence with his family and his partners in the town.

During the Napoleonic era, Jewish presence in the coast near Cesena is documented from 1799. At the end of 19th century, after the Italian unification, a small number of Jews came back to live in Cesena from Faenza, Pesaro, Lugo and Forlì. In 1938, after the institution of the racial laws, 12 familes (45 persons in total) were identified – at least one Jewish parent – and discriminated against (15 professing Jews). In 1943 nine of them were deported and died in Auschwitz.

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[Attilio Milano]

CESKA LIPA (Cz. **Česká Lípa**; Ger. **Boehmisch-Leipa**; Heb. לייפען), town in northern Bohemia, Czech Republic. Jews are mentioned there in 1562. Fourteen taxpayers are recorded in 1570. In 1628 there were 11 Jewish houses. From 1646 until the end of the 17th century, the jurisdiction over the Jews was contested in a protracted lawsuit between the *Herrschaft* (local lordship) and the municipality, as to the possession of the cemetery, where the *Herrschaft* had built a wall at its expense in 1670. In 1724 the community numbered 358 persons, occupying 15 houses. In 1744, 32 Jews, including the rabbi, were massacred by soldiers and 40 were wounded; a special prayer (*Seliḥah) was always recited on the anniversary of the disaster. Rabbis of Ceska Lipa included Daniel Ehrmann (1851–60) and Joel *Mueller (1867–72). A synagogue in Moorish style was built in 1862 and a new cemetery consecrated in 1905. The Jewish population numbered 130 families in 1852, 112 in 1893, 490 persons in 1912, and 301 in 1930 (2.7% of the total). The community dispersed at the time of the Sudeten crisis. The synagogue was burned down on Nov. 10, 1938, and the Jewish street where it stood was renamed "Stuermergasse"; many of the tombstones from the old cemetery were used for building. In 1959 a small congregation was established in Ceska Lipa by Jews from Sub-Carpathian Ruthenia, former soldiers of the Czechoslovak Army in the U.S.S.R. This congregation ceased to exist as well.

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CESKE BUDEJOVICE (Cz. **České Budějovice**; Ger. **Budweis**), city in Bohemia, Czech Republic. In 1341 two Jews were granted remission of taxes there for ten years. By 1390 the Jews were living in a separate quarter of the city. There were anti-Jewish riots in 1505, and nine local Jews accused of ritual murder were burned alive and 13 drowned. The next year 23 Jewish children were forcibly baptized and the rest of the Jews were expelled from the city. Jews were permitted to settle again only after 1848. A new congregation was established in 1856. In 1859 an organized *Kultusverein was established, a cemetery consecrated in 1866, and a synagogue built in neo-Gothic style in 1868. The community numbered 1,263 persons living in 19 localities in 1902. Remains of the old synagogue were discovered in 1908. Rabbis of Ceske Budejovice included Emil Krakauer (officiated 1905–06) and Karl Thieberger (1906–30). In 1930 the Jewish population numbered 1,138 (2.6% of the total population).

Ceske Budejovice and the vicinity were settled by ethnic Germans (*Sudeten Deutsche*). After the annexation of the region by the Third Reich, the Jews were persecuted by the authorities and the local population. In June 1939 the offices of the congregation were closed down. Jewish shops were attacked on July 21, and on August 16, 1940, the Jews had to relinquish their home. They were concentrated in an ancient building under difficult living conditions. On April 18, 1942, 909 were deported to the death camps. Another 386 who had previously left the area were also deported during the war. The Germans blew up the synagogue on June 5, 1942.

After World War II, the congregation was revived, but ceased to function in 1970 because of a lack of members.

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[Oskar K. Rabinowicz / Yeshayahu Jellinek (2nd ed.)]

°CESTIUS GALLUS (d. 67 C.E.), Roman governor of Syria, appointed by Nero in 63 (or 65) C.E. He was a senator, and in 42 had been consul. When he visited Jerusalem in c. 64 the Jews complained to him about the conduct of the procurator Florus. Although Cestius promised to take action he did nothing, possibly because Florus was in favor in Rome. While in Judea, Cestius took a census; according to Josephus, this was in order to convince Nero of the strength of the Jews and perhaps also to acquaint him with the gravity of the situation. When the revolt spread, both Florus and the Jewish leaders appealed to Cestius, making charges and countercharges. Cestius thereupon dispatched the tribune Neapolitanus to investigate the situation. His report placed the blame on Florus. Nevertheless, in the autumn of 66, Cestius set out from Antioch with the Twelfth Legion and other troops to quell the uprising in Judea. During their advance on Jerusalem, the Roman forces burned down *Cabul, on the road to Acre. Cestius continued on his way to Jerusalem, detaching forces to capture Jaffa, the villages in the district of Narbatene, and Lydda. In Galilee the rebels were defeated, but Cestius' policy of burning villages and of indiscriminately killing the inhabitants led even moderates to join the rebel ranks. Advancing by way of Beth-Horon and Gibeon (Gabao), the Roman army reached Scopus, seized the suburbs of Jerusalem, and besieged the Temple Mount. A few days later, however, Cestius decided to withdraw. Josephus maintains that this was a strategic error, for the situation in the city was critical, many of the inhabitants being inclined to capitulate. Cestius' decision may have resulted from a pessimistic appraisal of his army's strength or of the logistics situation in the light of the approaching winter. The retreat became a rout as the Jews pursued and attacked the Romans, *Simeon b. Giora and *Eleazar b. Simon distinguishing themselves in the battle. Cestius' defeat had several important consequences: many more moderates joined the rebels, a government was set up, and generals were appointed in command of various districts. In Rome the defeat led to the appointment of Vespasian as the commander of the army (Jos., Wars, 1:21; Suetonius, *Vespasian*, 4; Tacitus, *Historiae*, 5:10).

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[Lea Roth]

CEUTA (Arabic **Sebta**), Spanish enclave on the northwest coast of Morocco, 16 miles dirctly south of Gibraltar. According to legend, it was founded by Shem, the son of Noah. During the Middle Ages Ceuta was one of the most important Mediterranean ports. The wealthy Jewish colony was one of the most ancient and cultured communities in Africa, but it suffered persecution under the Almohade rule beginning in 1148. Joseph ibn *Aknin, a disciple of Maimonides, was born there. Merchants from Genoa, Marseilles, and elsewhere, assisted by the Jews, were responsible for its commercial expansion. The treaty of 1161 between Genoa and the emperor of Morocco increased the trade of the city, and in 1159 Benjamin of Tudela found in Genoa two Jewish dyers from Ceuta. In 1542 Jews evacuated from Safi and Azemmour, Morocco, settled there. Ceuta also served as a refuge for Marranos from Spain and the Balearic Islands. A Spanish possession and military station since 1580, Ceuta had a Jewish population only intermittently until the establishment in 1869 of a community. In 1969, it numbered 600 and had an organized structure including religious institutions.

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[David Corcos]

CEYLON (**Sri Lanka**), island, south of India, now an independent state. Legend and tradition, Islamic and Samaritan in origin, connect Ceylon with biblical personalities and events. Adam is said to have descended on the island after his expulsion from Paradise, and Noah's Ark allegedly rested on the mountains of Serandib, which tradition equates with Mount Ararat. The presence of Jews in Ceylon is alluded to by the 9th-century Muslim traveler Abu Za'id al-Ḥasan Sīrāfī and the 12th-century Muslim geographer al-Idrīsī. According to the latter, four of the Council of 16 appointed by the king of Ceylon were Jews. The number of Jews living there cannot be ascertained, though an obscure and doubtful passage in *Benjamin of Tudela (mid-12th century) reads either 3,000 or 23,000. When the Dutch East India Company established its foothold in Ceylon, Jews from the Malabar coast may have gone there for the purpose of trade. From 1758 to 1760, Leopold I.J. van Dort, a former Jew born in Holland, was professor of Hebrew at the Christian Theological Seminary in Colombo. In 1809, while Ceylon was under British rule, the chief justice Sir Alexander Johnston was seriously interested in a large-scale immigration of Jews to Ceylon and submitted his project to the government; however no further action was taken. According to the traveler J. *Saphir a small group of European Jews led by the brothers Wormser established a coffee estate in the hills above Kandy in 1841. No Jewish communal organization appears to have existed in any part of Ceylon.

[Walter Joseph Fischel]

Ceylon-Israel Relations

Diplomatic relations between Israel and Ceylon were established only in 1957. In Ceylon, which gained its independence in 1948 and always maintained a pro-Arab policy, opinions were divided with regard to Israel. The Moslem minority there, numbering around 1,000,000 people, has religious, cultural, and historic ties with the Arab world and exerts consistent pressure on its government to support the Arabs against Israel. An additional factor is that the Arab states buy a significant amount of Ceylonese tea, which is the major export item, and threaten to cut off these purchases if Ceylon were to improve its relations with Israel. The policy of the government of India also influences its Ceylonese neighbor. Several Jewish women of European origin, who are married to Ceylonese, are now living on this island, and they constitute its total Jewish population. Despite Israel's efforts, two major political parties in Ceylon continue to support the Arabs. Throughout the years of the relations between Israel and Ceylon, from 1957 until 1970, each Ceylonese government continued, more or less, the policy of its predecessor in supporting the Arab states. The government of Mrs. Bandaranaike, which was elected in 1970, resolved (under Arab and Communist influence) to take a more extreme approach than any previous government and suspended relations with Israel. In announcing this policy, the Ceylonese government declared that it was suspending relations until Israel's retreat from the territories occupied in the Six-Day War (1967) or until an agreement had been reached to the satisfaction of the Arabs. This policy resulted in the closing of Israel's legation in Colombo in August 1970. Low-level relations were resumed in the early 1980s but broken off again in 1990. In 2000, diplomatic relations were fully restored. Israel has supplied Sri Lanka with arms.

[Yitzhak Navon]

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CHABAD, a trend in the ḥasidic movement founded in the 18th century by *Israel b. Eliezer Ba'al Shem Tov. Ḥabad was created by *Shneur Zalman of Lyady, a disciple of *Dov Baer the maggid of Mezhirich and of *Menahem Mendel of Vitebsk. When Menahem Mendel emigrated to Ereẓ Israel (1777), Shneur Zalman replaced him as leader of the Ḥasidim of Belorussia; When Shneur Zalman assumed this leadership, he began to formulate his specific doctrine, which was published 20 years later in the book *Likkutei Amarim*, also known as *Tanya* (Slavuta, 1796). He developed a systematic theosophical doctrine concerning the conceptions of God, the mystical world of the spheres, the inner meaning of the revealed world, and of human religious obligations and mystical orientation, as based on the Kabbalah of Isaac *Luria. Chabad teachings combined Lurianic Kabbalah in its original form with the Ḥasidism of the Ba'al Shem Tov and particularly the innovations of the *maggid* of Mezhirich. Chabad theosophy is based on the mystical contention that all things in the world are imbued with dynamic divine vitality, and this divine presence is the foundation for all reality. The assertion that the divine element permeates every object, every act, and every thought, becomes the criterion for evaluating the whole of human experience. When seen in the light of the omnipresence of God, physical reality is grasped as a garment or as a vessel for the divine presence. Hence a dialectical worldview emerges that perceives a dual meaning for all existence. Therefore reality is grasped simultaneously as a divine essence and a physical manifestation, as a spiritual interior and a material exterior, as divine unity and a corporeal multiplicity, as Infinity and Nothingness, known as *Ayin*, and as finite existence, known as *Yesh*. These two perspectives incorporating opposite visages simultaneously condition one another and are united within each other. The foundation for divine worship is based on the assumption that a divine essence is at the root of every physical and spiritual phenomenon and that beyond all external reality there lies a hidden truth. Therefore the essence of the mystical worship is the realization of the new consciousness of the divine presence that radiates upon man or is contemplated by him. Chabad took it upon itself to elaborate systematically these mystical contentions and paradoxical observations of the unity of opposites underlying all existence. Chabad stresses both intellectuality, hence its name *Ḥokhmah*, *Binah*, *Da'at* ("Wisdom, Understanding, Knowledge"), and numerous mystical teachings concerning the unity of opposites as well as tracts on rapture and ecstasy, contemplation and meditation. Chabad described two contradictory divine wills within the Godhead which relate simultaneously to both "creation from nothingness into being" and "annihilation of being into nothingness." This perception further demanded a two-fold human commitment regarding divine worship: one is required to meditate on the concrete revealed existence of the *Yesh* ("being"), and equally to concentrate upon the concealed realm of the *ayin* ("nothingness"). The first demand focuses on Torah study and on the minute observation of the commandments – both described as "drawing down the divine abundance" from the abstract infinite to the concrete finite reality (*hamshakhat ha-shefah ba-gashmiut*), while the second demand focuses on the mystical ascent from the concrete to the abstract, accomplished through the divestment of corporeality, contemplation, and rapture (*hafshatat ha-gashmiut, ha'alah*, *hitbonenut* and *hitpa'alut*). The former is perceived in Chabad as transformation of the *Ayin* into *Yesh* while the latter is understood as transformation of the *Yesh* into *Ayin*. These transformations are possible since Chabad teachings acknowledge the existence of a single divine entity which transforms itself continuously from *ayin* into *yesh* and from *yesh* into *ayin*, while viewing all other apparent reality as an illusion devoid of any substance. This view is called acosmism, a concept that express the argument of the sole existence of the divine essence and denies that the world is a distinct entity: Shneur Zalman of Lyady argued: "For just as He was alone one and unique before the six days of creation, so He is now after the creation. This is because everything is absolutely as nothing and naught in relation to His being and essence" (Tanya, p. 219). Chabad teachings on this unity of opposites, on acosmism, and on dual divine worship, were published and disseminated in numerous books from the end of the 18th century until today.

In Chabad, in the first few generations, the leadership of the *ẓaddik* was mainly spiritual: encounters between him and the members of his congregation were devoted to the study of Torah, and to ethics and discussion of the problems of the community. In the 20th century, Chabad leadership underwent a profound transformation and generated a messianic resurgence in the wake of the Holocaust followed by a movement of repentance (*ḥazarah bi-teshuvah*) thereby developing a comprehensive spiritual and social bonding between the *ẓaddik* and his followers that was nurtured by messianic hopes. The immense messianic resurgence followed by the repentance movement produced both enthusiasm in some quarters and sharp criticism in others. In the 18th and 19th centuries the concern for Jewish interests often brought the leaders of Ḥabad into conflict with the authorities, but sometimes they were able to cooperate with them for the benefit of the community. In 1812 the founder of Ḥabad fled with the Russian armies before Napoleon – s advance and instructed his followers to give active support to the Russian side. All Ḥabad *ẓaddikim*, with the exception of Menahem Mendel (1902–1994), who lived in the United States, were imprisoned by the Russian authorities in different periods and were liberated only after special intervention. The Ḥabad Ḥasidim were the first ḥasidic teachers to establish yeshivot (*Tomekhei Temimim*) and they also developed a ramified speculative and propagandist literature as well as alternative historiography that challenged the position of the *Haskalah or enlightment as well as of academic scholarship. The first and principal center of Ḥabad until World War I was in Belorussia and from there it spread to different areas of eastern Europe. Ḥabad established a settlement in Ereẓ Israel and even reached central Russia. In Soviet Russia Chabad conducted widespread clandestine activities and during the period between the two world wars transferred their center first to Latvia, then to Poland, and finally to the United States. After World War II they participated in rescue activities and also worked in European Displaced Persons – camps and among the Jews of North Africa.

Two large centers of Chabad Ḥasidism emerged, one in the U.S. and the other in Israel (*Kefar Ḥabad), but its emissaries were active in many countries. In the last few decades of the 20th century Chabad divided into separate groups which differed in their perceptions surrounding the messianic beliefs focused upon the last rabbi Menachem Mendel *Schneersohn, who is perceived as the last Chabad mentor before the long awaited redemption.

For additional details and bibliography, see *Shneur Zalman of Lyady and *Shneersohn family. For Chabad activities in the latter part of the 20th century, see *Schneersohn, Menachem Mendel.

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[Avraham Rubinstein / Rachel Lior (2nd ed.)]

CHABON, MICHAEL (1963–), U.S. novelist. Chabon was born in Washington D.C., but moved at six to Columbia, Maryland, a city more of the imagination than of reality, as only a tiny part of the city had actually been built. The young Chabon placed a prospective plan of the city on his wall alongside a map of Walt Disney World, and these simultaneously imaginary and real worlds, along with such favorite childhood fantasy tales as *The Hobbit*, the Oz books, various books of mythology, and superhero comics, proved to be among his earliest influences. Chabon graduated from the University of Pittsburgh and received his master's in creative writing from the University of California, Irvine. His first novel, *The Mysteries of Pittsburgh* (1988), is the coming-of-age story of Art Bechstein, a homosexual Jewish college graduate coping with his gangster father. Chabon's *A Model World, and Other Stories* (1991) is a collection of stories dealing with unrequited love and adolescent angst. After abandoning *Fountain City*, his 1,500-page unpublished second novel, Chabon quickly wrote the highly regarded *Wonder Boys* (1995), the story of a disastrous weekend in the life of Grady Tripp, a burned-out, middle-aged writer who cannot finish his 2,600-page second novel. Next came *Werewolves in their Youth* (1999), which included nine tales set in the Pacific Northwest; many focused on troubled family relationships.

Chabon gained sterling reviews and wide popular attention for his third novel, the Pulitzer Prize-winning *The Amazing Adventures of Kavalier and Clay* (2000). With this wide-ranging work, Chabon broadened his canvas and demonstrated an expansive, lyrical, anti-minimalist style. *The Amazing Adventures of Kavalier and Clay* is a sweeping tale of the 1930s and 1940s that follows the lives of two Jewish cousins, the American Sammy Clay (né Klayman) and the Czech Josef Kavalier, who has escaped the Nazis with the help of an elderly magician and the legendary golem of Prague. As teens, Kavalier and Clay create a new comic book hero, The Escapist, a Houdini-like superhero who uses his amazing escapist ability to battle the Nazis. Chabon moves his readers from Prague to New York to Antarctica, bringing together in one giant Jewish American quilt such diverse elements as pulp adventure stories, vaudeville, the Jewish origins of American comic books, Salvador Dali, Orson Welles, the *golem*, and the Holocaust. The novel combines a literary and a pulp sensibility, realist and surrealist elements, and such disparate influences as comic books, Jewish folklore, magical realism, and the works of such authors as Jorge Luis Borges, Herman Melville, Vladimir Nabokov, and John Cheever. Chabon thus brings a fresh stylistic approach to bear on his tale of Jews striving to escape the horrors and limitations of the 1940s. Chabon's next work was *Summerland* (2002), an original fantasy for American children loosely based on American folklore. Chabon then published *The Final Solution* (2004), a novel about a British Sherlock Holmes-like retired investigator who gets involved in the case of Linus Steinman, a mute Jewish orphan escapee from Nazi Germany, and his parrot Bruno, who recites strings of mysterious German numbers. Given his more recent work, Chabon showed himself to be one of the most interesting of the new generation of Jewish American novelists.

[Craig Svonkin (2nd ed.)]

°**CHAEREMON** (first century C.E.), Egyptian stoic, historian, and priest. Chaeremon became celebrated for his learning and was invited to tutor Nero in Rome; he also succeeded *Apion as librarian in Alexandria. Fragments of his writings are extant in the works of other authors. His "History of Egypt," which has not survived but is mentioned by Josephus (Apion, 1:288) and Porphyry, attempts to prove the superiority of Egyptian culture, presenting it as a model of the true philosophy. The emperor Claudius, in his letter to the Alexandrians concerning the Jews, mentions a Chaeremon, who may be possibly the historian at the Alexandrian embassy. That Chaeremon held anti-Jewish views is evident from the passages from his book concerning the exodus from Egypt, cited by Josephus. In these, Chaeremon expresses a similar view to that of the Egyptian writer *Manetho, who connects the exodus with the expulsion of the *Hyksos dynasty by the Egyptians and describes the outcasts as lepers. Josephus tries to show that the two accounts contradict each other and are unreliable. Later writers, such as Porphyry, however, contend that he is trustworthy and accurate. The fact that Chaeremon sided actively with the Alexandrians in their struggle with the Jews, however, casts great doubt upon his objectivity in his writing about Jews.

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[Lea Roth]

CHAGALL, BELLA ROSENFELD (1895–1944), writer and wife of artist Marc *Chagall. Bella was born in Vitebsk, White Russia, the youngest of eight children of Shmuel Noah and Alta Rosenfeld. Her parents, owners of a successful jewelry business, were members of the ḥasidic community and conducted their family life according to Jewish tradition. However, they also sought out secular education and opportunities for their children. Chagall, who was educated in Russian language schools, became a student in the Faculty of Letters at the University of Moscow in her teens; she was particularly interested in theater and art, and as a university student, she contributed articles to a Moscow newspaper. In 1909, while visiting friends in St. Petersburg, she met Marc Chagall; their attraction was instantaneous and they were soon engaged. Although both were from Vitebsk, their social worlds were far apart and the Rosenfelds were unhappy with the engagement. The couple finally married in 1915 and their only child, Ida, was born the next year. In 1922, Marc Chagall moved his family to France. Bella was a constant subject in her husband's art, often represented as a beloved bride. The Chagalls fled to the United States following the outbreak of World War II, arriving in New York in 1941. Bella Chagall died in 1944 in the United States, apparently of a viral infection. Bella Chagall's literary work included the editing and translation of her husband's 1922 autobiography from Russian into French (*Ma Vie,* 1931; Eng. trans., *My Life*, 1960). Her major work, *Burning Lights* (*Brenendike Likht*), written in Yiddish in France in 1939, was published posthumously in English in 1946. Chagall said that her visits to Jewish communities in Palestine in 1931 and Vilna in 1935 prompted her to write in Yiddish, her "faltering mother tongue." In *Burning Lights*, Chagall arranges her reminiscences according to the calendar and observances of the Jewish year. Writing in the voice of her childhood self, Basha, she places female experience at the center of her luminous narrative. Chagall's selective portrait of her well-to-do urban family, living among and employing gentiles, successful in business, religiously active, and communally philanthropic, contrasts with contemporaneous depictions of the contained and impoverished Jewish life of the East European shtetl. A great part of the genius of *Brenendike Likht* is Chagall's ability to convey simultaneously the timelessness of traditional Jewish life and a dark foreboding prompted by the existential reality of East European Jewry in the 1930s. A second posthumous autobiographical volume, *First Encounter*, was published in 1983.

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[Judith R. Baskin (2nd ed.)]

CHAGALL, MARC (1887–1985), artist. Chagall was born in Liozno, Vitebsk in Belorussia; his family name was Segal, and he himself later adopted the spelling "Chagall." His father worked in the warehouse of a herring-monger. Chagall was sent to *ḥeder* as a child and then attended the public school. There he discovered his talent, and to the alarm of his father, but with his mother's support, he enrolled in the local art school. In the winter of 1906–07, he went to St. Petersburg and was awarded a scholarship to the school sponsored by the Imperial Society for the Furtherance of the Arts. Subsequently, he was greatly stimulated by the instruction he received at the Svanseva School from Leon *Bakst. The lawyer Max Vinaver admired Chagall's talent and gave him a monthly allowance so that he could go to Paris. He stayed in Paris from 1910 to 1914 and in May 1914 held a one-man show in Berlin. He then returned to Vitebsk, and the outbreak of World War I prevented him from going back to Paris. He was drafted into the Czarist army, and was given a desk job in a government office, being able to paint in his free time. In 1915 he married Bella Rosenfeld. In the fall of 1917, when the Bolsheviks came to power, Chagall was appointed commissar for fine arts in Vitebsk, and director of the newly established Free Academy of Art. Later, in Moscow, he was appointed designer for the Chamber State Jewish Theater. But his aesthetics, influenced by the cubism of Picasso, did not please the artistically reactionary party officials and, in the summer of 1922, he left Russia with his family. He stopped in Berlin, where the dealer Paul *Cassirer issued a portfolio of the 20 etchings Chagall had made to illustrate his autobiography, *Ma Vie* (1931; *My Life*, 1960).

In 1923, he settled in France. Etchings for deluxe editions of Gogol's *Dead Souls* and La Fontaine's *Fables*, and for the Old Testament, commissioned by the dealer, Ambroise Vollard, provided him with funds. Slowly his pictures found buyers, and he gained recognition in France, Germany, and Switzerland. But in Nazi Germany 57 of his works were confiscated from public collections, and some were held up for ridicule in the "Degenerate Art" exhibition at Munich in 1937. Fearing persecution by the Nazis when they invaded France, the Chagalls escaped to the United States, arriving in New York in June, 1941. Bella Chagall died in 1944, shortly after finishing her memoirs, *Burning Lights* (1946, with illustrations by Chagall). In 1948 Chagall decided to return to France. In 1952 he married Valentine Brodsky. Chagall received commissions to make decorations for a Catholic church in Assy in the French Alps, and to design stained glass windows for the cathedral in Metz, for the synagogue of the Hadassah Medical Center in Jerusalem, and a large glass panel in the entrance to the UN Secretariat. He also designed a stained glass panel for the audience hall in the Vatican. He painted a new ceiling for the opera in Paris, murals for the New York Metropolitan Opera House, and contributed a mural, floor mosaics, and designs for the curtains for the new Knesset in Jerusalem. He received many prizes as well as honorary university degrees. In 1967 plans were made for a Chagall Museum at Cimiez, just outside Nice, not far from his permanent residence at Saint-Paul de Vence. The artist donated many of his pictures on biblical themes to this museum.

Chagall's work – mostly paintings in watercolor, gouache, or oil, many etchings and lithographs, but also a few sculptures and ceramics, as well as designs executed by craftsmen in a variety of media – is not easily catalogued. At the very outset of his career he rebelled against the insipid realism that prevailed in Russia about 1900, though his color scheme remained darkish and subdued until his experiences in France allowed him to brighten his palette, especially under the influence of Gauguin. He was influenced by cubism, but his poetic quasi-cubism, with easily recognizable subject matter, was different from the experiments of the more rigid cubists, who whittled down life and content in geometrical patterns. Chagall's large curvilinear forms are arrived at through broad, rich, colors applied with a lyrical, poetic quality. Non-naturalistic colors are generally favored. There is little of the academic painter's orthodox perspective. His Jewish whimsicality is frequently apparent in his work and his simplification often calls to mind what a child or a peasant might have painted. Chagall in his youth must have looked with deep interest at the Russian popular art he encountered in or around Vitebsk.

The preponderance of specifically Jewish subject matter in Chagall's work is significant. He was thoroughly familiar with Jewish customs and his inspiration derived from a clearly definable, specific milieu in a particular period (c. 1887–1907). Though he was inspired by Parisian vistas and by various landscapes in France, the locale for most of Chagall's works is the Jewish quarter of his native city. Equally important is the influence of Ḥasidism which prevailed in his family.

[Alfred Werner]

A national museum, the Museum of the Marc Chagall Biblical Message, at Cimiez, near Nice, to house Chagall's work of biblical inspiration, was officially opened on Chagall's 86th birthday, July 7, 1973, by Mr. Maurice Druon, French minister of culture, and the main address was delivered by Andre Malraux. The artist donated many of his pictures on biblical themes to this museum

In 1977, his 90th birthday was celebrated both in Israel and France. In Israel, the Municipality of Jerusalem unanimously decided to confer on him the honor of Yakir Yerushalayim ("worthy of Jerusalem") and, in view of his age, to confer the honor on him in Paris. Chagall, however, insisted on coming to Jerusalem, and the ceremony was held at the presidential residence on Nov. 3, 1977. On the same occasion, the degree of Doctor of Philosophy *honoris causa*, conferred on him by the Hebrew University on the occasion of its Jubilee in 1975, was formally handed to him. A doctorate, *honoris causa*, was also conferred on him by the Weizmann Institute of Science, and an exhibition of his works was held at the Tel Aviv Museum. The Grand Cross of the Legion of Honor was conferred on him by France in January 1977, and in October he was honored by an exhibition at the Louvre, an honor never before given to a living artist. Chagall's later work included "The American Windows," which honored the 1976 U.S. bicentennial and Chicago's Mayor Richard J. Daley.

[Rohan Saxena (2nd ed.)]

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CHAGRIN, FRANCIS (1905–1972), French composer. Born in Bucharest into a wealthy family, Chagrin studied engineering in accordance with his father's wishes, but subsequently left home to study composition in Paris with Paul *Dukas and Nadia Boulanger. Before World War II he moved to London, where he settled, and continued his studies with Matyás *Seiber (1944–46). He joined the French section of the BBC Overseas Service in 1941, for which he was made an Officer of the Academie Française. He founded the Society for the Promotion of New Music (SPNM) in 1943, thus giving many young composers their first hearing. His works include two symphonies (he was at work on the third at the time of his death); *Prelude and Fugue*, and suites, for orchestra; a piano concerto; over 100 songs; piano pieces; and incidental music to Shaw's *Heartbreak House* and Gozzi's *II Ré Cervo.*

[Max Loppert (2nd ed.)]

CHAGY, BERELE (1892–1954), *ḥazzan* and composer. Born in Dagdo, Russia, Chagy took his first position as *ḥazzan* in Smolensk at the age of 18, but left after three years for the U.S. He held positions in Detroit, Boston, and Newark and in 1932 went to Johannesburg, South Africa, where he remained for nine years. On his return to the U.S. he became *ḥazzan* at Temple Beth-El in Brooklyn, New York, a post which he held until his retirement. Chagy attained great popularity through his concerts and recordings and was praised for his clear, ringing, tenor voice, with a naturally graceful and flexible coloratura. In 1937 he published *Tefillot Chagy*, containing 87 recitatives for Sabbath services.

CHAIKIN, SOL C. (1918–1991), U.S. labor leader. Chaikin, born in Harlem and the son of immigrants who were garment workers, was the ninth president of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union. He was the first to be born in the 20th century and the first to be born and educated in the U.S. Chaikin graduated from the City College of New York and joined the ILGWU in 1940, the year he received his degree from Brooklyn Law School. His first job with the union was as an organizer in the New England area. He served with the U.S. Air Force in Southeast Asia during World War II, then returned to the union, establishing a reputation as a skilled negotiator. In 1955, he was made a director of the Lower Southwest Region, consisting primarily of Arkansas, Louisiana, Oklahoma, and Texas. In 1959, he was made assistant director of the Northeast Department, whose 430,000 members made it the union's biggest unit. Chaikin was named an international vice president in 1965 and general secretary-treasurer in 1973. When Louis *Stulberg retired as president in 1975 because of illness, Chaikin was named to fill the remainder of his term. He was elected president in 1977 and reelected twice more before stepping down in 1986, when he was succeeded by Jay *Mazur.

When Chaikin became president, the ILGWU had some 400,000 members. Faced by an increasing number of nonunion shops, many in the South, and a flood of imports from low-wage factories in Asia, South America, and Europe, membership dwindled to 220,000 by the time Chaikin retired. His biggest battles as president were to heighten public consciousness of the loss of jobs to competition from overseas; to eliminate sweatshops, especially in New York City's Chinatown; and to fight the legalization of "homework," a practice that encouraged women to subcontract garment work at home but which unions believed fostered abuses in child-labor and minimum-wage laws.

Chaikin was also a vice president and member of the executive council of the AFL-CIO. In 1977, he was appointed by President Jimmy *Carter to the U.S. delegation to review the Helsinki Agreement on human rights at meetings in Belgrade and Madrid. He helped plan the Jacob K. Javits Convention Center on Manhattan's West Side and became acting president in 1989. He was part of AFL-CIO delegations to Egypt, Chile, Argentina, Brazil, Portugal, and Spain and represented the U.S. at labor summits in London in 1977 and Tokyo in 1979. He was the first chairman of the AFL-CIO's American Council of Education, a trustee of Brandeis University, the Fashion Institute of Technology, and the Long Island Jewish Medical Center.

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[Mort Sheinman (2nd ed.)]

CHAIN, SIR ERNEST BORIS (1906–1979), British biochemist and Nobel laureate for his role in the discovery of penicillin. He was born in Berlin and obtained doctorates at the Friedrich Wilhelm University in Berlin in 1930 and at Cambridge University in 1935. He worked at the Pathological Institute of the Charité Hospital in Berlin until Hitler came to power in Germany. In 1933 he began work at Cambridge, and in 1935 went to the Sir William Dunn School of Pathology in Oxford, to work with professor (later Lord) Florey. In 1928 Sir Alexander Fleming accidentally discovered the antibacterial powers of the mold from which penicillin was subsequently derived. In 1938 Chain and Florey collaborated on a systematic study of antibacterial substances, including Fleming's mold. They were able to prove that the product they extracted from his mold was effective, not only on infected laboratory animals but also on a London policeman dying of a blood infection, and on a boy with a streptococcal infection that would otherwise have been fatal. Industrial development of penicillin was impossible in England at the time because of the concentration on the war effort, but three American companies, Pfizer, Merck, and Squibb, undertook to mass-produce penicillin. For their work in developing penicillin, Fleming, Florey, and Chain shared the Nobel Prize in physiology and medicine in 1945. In 1948 Chain became the scientific director of the International Research Center for Chemical Microbiology at the Instituto Superiore di Sanità in Rome. In 1961 he returned to England, to become professor of biochemistry at Imperial College, London. He was given a knighthood in 1969. He is the author of *Landmarks and Perspectives in Biochemical Research* (1964). An ardent Zionist, Chain was a governor of the Weizmann Institute of Science at Reḥovot and active in the cause of Israel. In 1967 he became a member of the world executive of the World Jewish Congress.

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[Samuel Aaron Miller]

CHAJES (known also as **Birkenstadt**, **Bochstein**, **Bockstadt**, and **MaBaSh**, an abbreviation for **M**i-**B**irken**sh**tadt), **GERSHON BEN ABRAHAM** (d. 1789), rabbi in Moravia; grandson of Menahem Mendel *Krochmal. When rabbi of Hotzenplotz (*Osoblaha) in 1751, Chajes pronounced a *ḥerem on Jacob *Emden. He later became rabbi of Mattersdorf, and in 1778 rabbi of Nikolsburg (Mikulov), being elected *Landesrabbiner of Moravia in 1780. Although in constant conflict with the elders of Nikolsburg, Chajes was not permitted to move to another community because Nikolsburg had been designated the seat of the *Landesrabbinat* by the Judenordnung of 1753.

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CHAJES, HIRSCH (Ẓevi) PEREZ (1876–1927), rabbi, scholar, and Zionist leader. Chajes was born in Brody, Galicia, the grandson of Ẓevi Hirsch *Chajes. He studied Talmud and rabbinics with his father Solomon and his uncle Isaac Chajes, rabbi in Brody, and received a general education as well. He was considered a child prodigy. Later, he studied at the Jewish Theological Seminary and the University of Vienna, at the latter under the Orientalist D.H. *Mueller. In 1902, after serving for a short time as a teacher of religion in Lemberg and as librarian of the Oriental Institute in Vienna, Chajes began lecturing on Jewish history and Bible at the *Collegio Rabbinico Italiano in Florence. From 1904 he lectured on Hebrew at the University of Florence, where among his pupils was Umberto *Cassuto. An ardent Zionist from his youth, Chajes became the champion of Zionism in Italy, propagating his views in the *Settimana Israelitica*. In 1912 Chajes became rabbi of the

Trieste congregation. There he founded the periodical *Il Messaggero Israelitico*, which he wrote almost singlehandedly. In 1918 Chajes went to Vienna as deputy to Chief Rabbi Moritz *Guedemann, whom he succeeded on the latter's death shortly thereafter. He did much to relieve the suffering of Jewish victims of World War I both in Trieste and Vienna, and continued this work in the Jewish community during the depression and political upheavals after the war. During his nine years of office in Vienna, the second largest community in Europe, Chajes was the undisputed spiritual leader of Austrian Jewry, though his Zionist views were unpopular with the wealthy and comfortable assimilationists, and his liberal scholarship as well as his Zionism antagonized most of the Orthodox. But his influence on the younger generation was considerable. In time he was recognized as one of the leading men in world Jewry. A fine orator and a charismatic personality, Chajes greatly impressed his audiences with his sermons and speeches beginning with his first address as chief rabbi of Vienna, in which he made his Zionist confession of faith. In his charitable activities he was much helped by his friendship with some American Jewish leaders, and he visited the United States twice. Chajes took a great interest in Jewish education, founding or reviving two Jewish elementary schools, a high school (which after his death was given his name), the religious teachers' seminary, and in particular, a Hebrew *paedagogium*, of which he was director and where he taught Bible. He also served on the board of the Jewish Theological Seminary. As a leading Zionist, Chajes attended the San Remo Peace Conference in 1920 and was elected chairman of the Zionist Actions Committee for 1921–25. The coveted lectureship at the Hebrew University eluded him (despite Bialik's interventions) because of his critical approach to the Bible. In 1923 Chajes organized the first Jewish League of Nations Association, of which he was president until his death. Chajes' contributions to modern Jewish scholarship were mainly the fruit of his years in Italy. His dissertation, *Markus-Studien* (1899), was devoted to the New Testament; in it he suggested that some of Jesus' sayings were translated into Hebrew to give them greater sanctity, a thesis which did not find acceptance. In 1899, too, he published *Proverbia-Studien*, and in 1900, *Beitraege zur nordsemitischen Onomatologie*. His *Juedische und juedischindische Grabinschriften aus Aden* (with a contribution by J. Kirste on the Indian texts) appeared in 1903. To A. Kahana's series of modern commentaries to the books of the Bible, Chajes contributed those on Psalms (1907^2) and Amos (1906). He also edited the medieval author Solomon b. Ha-Yatom's commentary on the tractate Mo'ed Katan entitled *Perush Massekhet Mashkin*, from a unique manuscript (1909). Several hundred articles, notes, and book reviews of his appeared in the learned journals of the time as well as in several *Festschriften*; among the former was the *Rivista Israelitica*, of which he was a coeditor. At the age of 13 Chajes had a Hebrew poem accepted in *Ha-Ẓefirah* (May 31, 1890, p. 505; repr. *ibid.*, Jan. 13, 1928, p. 4); and he was proud to be one of the first European university teachers to accept a thesis on a modern Hebrew poet, U. Cassuto's thesis on Ḥ.N. Bialik's poetry. A memorial volume, *Abhandlungen zur Erinnerung an H.P. Chajes*, edited by V. Aptowitzer and A.Z. Schwarz, appeared in 1933. A collection of his speeches and lectures, *Reden und Vortraege*, appeared in 1933 and another, *Im heroischen Zeitalter: Reden und Vortraege*, in 1935; selections of his writings were published in Hebrew as *Ne'umim ve-Harẓa'ot* (1953) and *Be-Sod Ammi* (1962). In 1950, his body was reburied in Tel Aviv.

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[Salo W. Baron]

CHAJES, ISAAC BEN ABRAHAM (1538–c. 1615), rabbi of Prague. Chajes was appointed to this position in 1584 after having been rabbi of Prossnitz, but he was not, as his grandson Jehiel Hillel Altschuler, author of *Meẓudat David*, and some of his other grandsons maintained, also rabbi at Lemberg and Cracow. He may have received calls to these positions but declined them. The historian David *Gans, his contemporary, referred to him as "the great rabbi, renowned throughout the Diaspora, who has raised many pupils and has spread a knowledge of the Torah among Jews." He followed the pilpulistic method of Jacob *Pollak and was severely criticized by Jair Ḥayyim *Bacharach, who in his *Ḥavvat Ya'ir* wrote of Chajes that "anyone who reads what this person has written in the introduction to his works will testify and see how he has blundered, may the Lord save us." The precise date of his death is unknown; the exact date given by some, 18 Elul 1613, cannot be substantiated. All that is known is that in 1615 he was no longer alive. His sons were MONISH, *av bet din* of Vilna, ABRAHAM, author of *Holekh Tammim* (Cracow, 1634), and ELIEZER of Prague.

Isaac Chajes was the author of *Paḥad Yiẓḥak* on the *aggadot* in tractate *Gittin* (Lublin, 1573); *Si'aḥ Yiẓḥak*, laws for Passover night in rhyme, with commentary (Prague, 1587; 1905); *Penei Yiẓḥak* (Cracow, 1591), the laws of *Yoreh De'ah* in rhyme with a commentary. This work is quoted by all commentators on the Shulḥan Arukh. Chajes also mentions in his writings other unpublished works: *Kiryat Arba* and *Matammei Yiẓḥak*.

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[Yitzchak Arad]

CHAJES, SAUL (1884–1935), East European bibliographer. Chajes was born in Brody, Galicia, the son of Isaac Chajes, grandson of Ẓevi Hirsch *Chajes, and a cousin of Hirsch Perez *Chajes. He worked at the library and archives of the Vienna Jewish Community. His most important work is *Oẓar Beduyei* *ha-Shem* (1933; repr. 1967), the first work to present an exhaustive list of pseudonyms used in Hebrew literature. This book is still a standard reference work. Chajes completed Wachstein's *Mafte'aḥ Ha-ẓavva'ot* ("Index of Wills," KS 11, 1936), edited his bibliography (1933) and, together with M. Rosenfeld, that of H.P. *Chajes (1932).

CHAJES, ẒEVI HIRSCH (1805–1855), rabbinic scholar. Chajes was born in Brody, Galicia, where he studied Talmud and rabbinics under R. Ephraim Zalman *Margulies and other prominent rabbis. His father was a highly educated banker who resided for fifteen years in Florence before settling in Brody. The boy was taught French, German, and Italian by his father, and also instructed in secular subjects such as natural sciences, history, and Latin. He mastered the two Talmuds and their commentaries when he was still very young, and at the same time became familiar with medieval Jewish philosophic literature. Ordained at the age of 22, he was elected to the rabbinate of the important community of Zolkiew. Here he formed an intimate friendship with the philosopher Naḥman *Krochmal, a resident of the town. Krochmal exerted an influence on Chajes' extraordinary knowledge which was reflected in his subsequent writings. Chajes devoted his efforts to introducing modern critical methods in talmudic and cognate studies, de-emphasizing *pilpul, but without sacrificing Orthodox principles. He corresponded with the leading *maskilim* of Galicia and Italy, such as S.J. *Rapoport, S.D. *Luzzatto, and I.S. *Reggio, although their relations were sometimes marred by scholarly disputes. He was the only rabbi of the old school who voluntarily submitted to a university examination (required by the Austrian law of 1845), as a result of which he earned a doctorate. Chajes supported plans for agricultural schools for Galician youth. He was a vigorous champion of a more modern approach to Jewish education. In 1852 he was elected chief rabbi of Kalish (Kalisz), Poland, but could not withstand the opposition of the ḥasidic and anti-Haskalah elements in that community. Being an Austrian subject, he also encountered hostility from the Russian authorities, and he left Kalish to return to Zolkiew shortly before his death. Despite his leanings toward Haskalah and secular studies, he was a staunch defender of Orthodoxy. Chajes opposed the Reform Rabbinical Conference of Brunswick (1844) in a monograph entitled *Minḥat Kena'ot* (1849). The following were also among his published works: (1) *Torat Nevi'im* (or *Elleh ha-Mitzvot*, Zolkiew, 1836), a study of talmudic tradition and methodology; (2) *Iggeret Bikkoret* (Przemysl, 1840), on the Targumim and Midrashim (republished by J. Bruell with annotations and additions, 1853; abbreviated German translation in *Literaturblatt des Orients*, suppl. to *Orient*, 1 (1840) nos. 44–8; 2 (1841), nos. 3 and 9); (3) *Ateret Ẓevi* (Zolkiew, 1841), six essays on talmudic and midrashic topics, including a new enlarged edition of *Iggeret Bikkoret* mentioned above; "*Tiferet le-Moshe*," a defense of Maimonides against S.D. Luzzatto; and "*Darkhei Moshe*," on Maimonides' method in *Mishneh Torah* (repr. with annotations in: J.L. Fishman, ed., *Rabbenu Moshe ben Maimon*, part 2, 1935, 1–74; and in an edition of Maimonides *Mishneh Torah*, 1956); (4) *Darkhei Hora'ah* (Zolkiew, 1842), an examination of talmudic rules for deciding religious legal questions; (5) *Mevo ha-Talmud* (*ibid.*, 1845; R. Margulies, ed., 1928; English translation by J. Shachter, *Student's Guide through the Talmud*, with introduction and notes, 1960^2), perhaps his most important work; and (6) *She'elot u-Teshuvot Maharaẓ* (3 vols., *ibid.*, 1849–50) in three parts: "*She'elot u-Teshuvot*," responsa; "*Imrei Binah*," six treatises on varied subjects; and "*Minḥat Kena'ot.*"

Chajes' annotations to the Talmud appeared first in the Vienna Talmud edition of 1840–43, and later in the standard Vilna editions published by the Romm family. His writings on *aggadah* were also incorporated into the 1876 edition of Ibn Ḥabib's *Ein Ya'akov*. Most of his writings were republished in *Kol Sifrei Maharaẓ Chajes* (2 vols., 1958).

Chajes, Krochmal, and Rapoport formed the triumvirate of the important critical Galician school. Chajes' works are the first attempts of a modern Orthodox scholar to investigate the nature and authority of tradition. Solomon *Buber described him as "one of the rare Gaonim of his age, versed in all the chambers of the Torah and unequaled as a research worker." All subsequent researchers have benefited from his work, although he has not always been acknowledged. His sons, Leon, Ḥayyim, Joachim, Solomon (father of Hirsch Perez *Chajes), and Wolf, all merchants, were highly educated. His son, Isaac, was rabbi of Brody and the author of talmudic works.

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[*Encyclopaedia Hebraica*]

CHAJN, LEON (1910–1983), Polish lawyer and politician. Chajn was deputy minister of justice from 1945 to 1949. In 1957 he became deputy state comptroller and a member of the Council of State. After 1961 he was deputy chairman of the Polish Democratic Party. His publications include *Inteligencja I postępowe mieszczństwo nie zawioda nadziei polskich i robotnikow i chtopow* (1949) and *Trzy lata demokratyzacji prawa i wymiaru spawiedliwosci* (1947).

CHAKOVSKI, ALEXANDER BORISOVICH (1913–1994), author and journalist. Chakovski's trilogy *Eto bylo v Leningrade* ("It Happened in Leningrad," 1948) deals with the years 1942–45, when he was a front-line war correspondent. In 1954 he became chief editor of *Inostrannaya Literature* and in 1962 of *Literaturnaya Gazeta*. Becoming secretary of the Soviet Writers' Union in 1963, he was prominent in public life and traveled abroad. His works include *Tridstat dney v Parizhe*

("Thirty Days in Paris," 1955) and *Svet dalyokoy zvezdy* (1963; *Light of a Distant Star*, 1965).

CHALCIS, region of S. Lebanon. Chalcis, an independent principality in the first century B.C.E., was among the areas conquered by the Itureans. During the reign of Salome Alexandra there was tension between Chalcis and the Hasmonean kingdom. When Pompey conquered the East, the ruler of Chalcis, Ptolemy the son of Menaeus, succeeded in maintaining his rule by paying a large indemnity to the Romans. He married one of the daughters of Aristobulus II and later provided a refuge for her brother Antigonus. Ptolemy was succeeded by his son Lysanias, who shortly afterward was put to death by Antony at Cleopatra's request, Antony granting her the principality as a gift. During Claudius' reign, the principality was given to Herod, brother of Agrippa I. This Jewish ruler of Chalcis was also in charge of the Temple and its funds, as well as the high-priestly vestments. After the death of Agrippa I, Agrippa II ruled Chalcis for a brief period.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Schuerer, Gesch, 1 (1901^{4}), 707ff.; H. Buchheim *Die Orientpolitik des Triumvirn M. Antonius* (1960), 15ff.; A. Schalit, *Hordos ha-Melekh* (1960), 532.

[Uriel Rappaport]

CHALCIS (Euboea, Negropont), port on the Greek island of Euboea. Josephus mentions the Jewish settlement at Euboea in his *Antiquities* (14:2). The 12th-century traveler *Benjamin of Tudela found 200 Jews there, who were silk manufacturers and dyers. The inferior status of the Jews under Latin rule (1204–1470) was exemplified by confinement to a ghetto, discriminatory taxation, and refusal to grant them citizenship. In 1402 they were forbidden to acquire land and houses outside the ghetto walls. The ghetto dwellers were considered as serfs. In the early 15th century their taxes were doubled in order to lighten the burden on their gentile neighbors. In 1414 a general annual tax was imposed upon them, and special taxes were added for guarding the clock bell tower, the yearly renewal of St. Mark's flag, and a galley tax. They were not allowed to acquire Venetian citizenship, although there were a few individual exceptions, such as the Kalomiti family who held hereditary citizenship (in the 15th century David Kalomiti owned estates and even had Jewish serfs). As elsewhere in the Byzantine world, Jews were compelled to act as executioners, an abuse which was abolished in 1452. Despite their inferior status, Jews held an important position in the economy. They traded with Ottoman and Venetian ports in the Aegean Sea. Under Turkish rule (1470–1833) the importance of the Jewish community waned and only a few Spanish exiles were attracted to the town. The community thus retained its *Romaniot character, and Greek mixed with Hebrew words was the *lingua franca* of Chalcis Jews. Many Jews traded in fruit and vegetables, and many were tailors and tinsmiths. At the outbreak of World War II there were 325 Jews on the island. When the Germans invaded Chalcis many hid in the hills, later escaping to Turkey, and from there to Palestine. Ninety who were caught by the Germans were sent to Auschwitz on April 2, 1944. In 1948 there were approximately 180 Jews on the island, and in 1959, 122.

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[Simon Marcus]

CHALDEA, CHALDEANS, an ethnic group possibly related to the *Arameans. The Chaldeans penetrated southern *Mesopotamia toward the end of the second millennium B.C.E. In the course of time, they became the ruling class of the Neo-Babylonian Empire and southern Mesopotamia became known in classical sources as Chaldea. The biblical form of the name, *Kasdim* (כַּשְׂדִּים), represents an ethnic derivative from the name of the eponymous ancestor Kesed (Gen. 22:22). It appears with the gentilic suffix in Ezekiel 23:14 and II Chronicles 36:17. The Aramaic form *Kasdai* (and *Kasdaya*) is also gentilic. The Septuagint and other Greek sources use the form *Chaldaioi* and rabbinic texts utilize *Kaldiyyim* (Pes. 113b) and *Kalda'ei* (Shab. 119a, et al). This phenomenon stems from a linguistic peculiarity of the Akkadian language, viz., a phonetic shift of the sibilants to *lamed* when followed by a dental, which appears in the second millennium B.C.E. and continues until the Neo-Babylonian period. The forms attested in Akkadian sources are *Kaldu, Kald-*, and *Kaldaya*, the first apparently being the name of the people and the latter two being gentilics. The Aramaic dialect of the Chaldeans no doubt preserved the original sibilant, and the biblical form evidently came from an Aramaic source, probably by direct contact with the Chaldeans.

In the Bible

The Chaldeans arrived relatively late on the horizon of ancient Israel, as can be seen in the fact that they do not appear in the venerated genealogies of Genesis. Kesed, their eponymous ancestor, was a son of Nahor, the brother of Abraham. Yet, the patriarch's family is said to have come from *Ur of the Chaldees (explanatory note to identify the ancient city for the contemporary biblical reader; Gen. 11:28, 31; 15:7; Neh. 9:7), indicating that the arrival of those West Semitic tribes in southern Babylonia was recognized. A memory of their nomadic state is preserved in Job 1:17, where they are depicted as marauders prone to attack settled populations. The incident took place in Uz, whose eponymous ancestor was also a son of Nahor (Gen. 22:21). Apart from these early references the Chaldeans appear in the late seventh–early sixth century as the dominant class in the land of Babylon. Their hegemony over Mesopotamia is taken for granted (Isa. 13:19). It is unlikely that Ezekiel meant to distinguish between the original Babylonians and the Chaldeans when he speaks of "the Babylonians and all the Chaldeans" (Ezek. 23:23). Indeed he, like Jeremiah (Jer. 24:5; 25:12; 50:1, 8, etc.), calls Babylonia "(the land of) Kasdim" (Ezek. 1:3; 12:13; 16:16). The Chaldean nature of the Neo-Babylonian dynasty is plainly recognized in such passages as Ezra 5:12, where Nebuchadnezzar is referred to as "king of Babylon, the Chaldean." Finally, in the book of Daniel, *Kasdaʾe* (כַּשְׂדָּאֵי; "Chaldeans") appears as a technical term for astrologers (Dan. 2:5, 10; et al.). The same usage was apparently current outside of Israel, as is evidenced by the use of *Kldyʾ* ("Chaldeans") in this sense in Palmyrene Aramaic as well as by the various allusions to the Chaldeans in Greek sources (Herodotus 1:181, 5; Strabo 739; et al.).

Recorded History

The earliest reference to the Chaldeans is contained in a brief statement by Ashurnasipal II or III (883–859 B.C.E.): "The fear of my dominion extended to the land of Karduniash [Babylon], and the chilling fear of my weapons overwhelmed the land of *Kaldu*." The annals of *Shalmaneser III (858–824 B.C.E.) reveal important details about their tribal divisions. They were originally organized into several tribes, of which the most important were *Bit Dakkuri* in the north and *Bit Yakin* in the south. By the time of Shalmaneser III, these tribes had developed into small, independent states. Shalmaneser contented himself with forays into their territory and the exacting of tribute. He referred to the "sea of Chaldea, which they call the Bitter Sea." Sometime prior to 811 B.C.E., Shamshi-Adad V invaded Babylonia and was victorious in a confrontation with Marduk-balaṭsu-iḳbi, the king of Babylon, who was supported by an alliance of neighboring peoples, including Elam, the Aramean tribes east of the Tigris, and the Chaldeans. The latter had a firm grip on southern Babylonia and the important trade routes to the east. Adad-Nirari III (810–783 B.C.E.) claims that they became his tributary vassals. Tiglath-Pileser III (745–727 B.C.E.) apparently incorporated the territory of one Chaldean state, *Bit Šilni*, into the kingdom of Babylon, over which he had made himself king. The other Chaldean states apparently remained independent. During the successive reigns of Sargon II (721–705 B.C.E.) and Sennacherib (704–681 B.C.E.), the Chaldean tribes were led by *Merodach-Baladan. The political machinations of this strong personality are reflected in the Bible (Isa. 39). His checkered fortunes exemplify the Chaldean animosity to Assyrian rule. At times he succeeded in gaining power in Babylon itself, only to be ousted by Assyrian military intervention, in the face of which he was forced to flee to Elam for asylum. After his death the Chaldean-Aramean banner was taken up by Mushezib-marduk, who also made himself ruler of Babylon, gained Elamite support in the field, and was only brought down by a nine-month siege of Babylon by the Assyrians (689 B.C.E.). In the mid-seventh century, while Esarhaddon and Ashurbanipal ruled Assyria, the Chaldeans continued to be restive and troublesome. Only after the death of Ashurbanipal did a Chaldean leader, Nabopolassar, gain control of Babylon, this time with the support of the Babylonians, as well as the Chaldeans and Arameans. His alliance with the Medes led to the destruction of the Assyrian empire and the rise of the Neo-Babylonian monarchy. The best-known king of the new regime was *Nebuchadnezzer, Nabopolassar's son and successor. Chaldean eventually became a virtual synonym in the classical world for Babylonian. Since Daniel 2:5 states that the Chaldeans spoke Aramaic and since it was incorrectly inferred from Daniel 2:5 that "the language of the Chaldeans" is the proper name of the Aramean language, scholars said and wrote "Chaldean" for "Aramaic" until only a few decades ago.

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[Anson Rainey]

CHALIER, CATHERINE (1947–), French author. Born in Paris, Chalier received a classical French education, later acquiring a mastery of Hebrew and a doctorate in philosophy at the University of Paris (1981) and becoming a professor of philosophy at the University of Nanterre. Her books include *Judaï et altérité* (1982); *Figures du féminin* (Lecture d'Emmanuel Lévinas) (1982); *Les Matriarches: Sarah, Rébecca, Rachel et Léa* (1985); *La Persévérance du mal* (1987); and *L'Alliance avec la nature* (1989); *Lévinas, l'utopie de l'humain (1993); Sagesse des sens (1995); L'Inspiration du philosophe (1996); Pour une morale au-delà du savoir: Kant et Lévinas (1998); Trace de l'Infini: Emmanuel Levinas et la source hebraïque* (2002); and *Traité des larmes: fragilité de Dieu, fragilité de l'âme* (2003).

Strongly influenced by the philosopher Emmanuel Lévinas and his strong emphasis on Jewish ethics, Chalier applies a rigorous philosophical treatment to traditional Jewish texts, disclaiming the commonly accepted distinction between faith and reason. She sets out to show that the Hebrew Scriptures can stir and renovate the Western philosophical quest, thereby upsetting a French taboo against linking philosophical approach and Bible studies. She asks whether human speech was perhaps not primarily intended to articulate rational thinking, but rather to answer God's words, in accordance with biblical teaching. Thus in *La Persévérance du mal*, she seeks to refute the accepted philosophical equation between "being" and "reason for being." In *L'Alliance avec la nature*, she questions the common notion of a split between Judaism and nature. While cosmic order cannot constitute a source for ethical rules of behavior and standards of morality, nature has its share in the "Alliance": nature, like man, will be redeemed in the later days.

In a somewhat different vein, Charlier gives an interesting portrayal of the "Matriarchs": Sarah, Rebekah, Rachel, and Leah, bringing out their primary role in the founding of Jewish tradition. She skillfully blends the reading of the Hebrew biblical text in all its resonances and allusive meanings with references to Midrashim, talmudic controversies, Kabbalistic sayings, and even modern poetic readings. Neither mythological figures nor literary characters, the Matriarchs emerge as essentially responsible for Israel's universal mission of truth and morality.

[Denise R. Goitein]

CHALOM, MARCEL (1921–1985), poet, journalist, and translator. Chalom was born in Edirne and completed his education in Paris. He began his journalistic career at *Le Journal d'Orient,* where he wrote under the pen name Mar.Şal. He also worked at *La Boz de Türkiye* and *Politika*. In 1950 he returned to Paris, where he worked at *L'Echo Sioniste*. Between 1950 and 1953 he became the correspondent for Spain of two Turkish newspapers, *Yeni Sabah* and *Istanbul Ekspres*. From 1955 until his death he worked for *Milliyet* as its Spanish corrrespondent. While in Spain, he started teaching at the Oriental and African Studies Institute of Universidád Autónoma de Madrid. He translated poems of the well-known Turkish poets Nazim Hikmet and Yunus Emre into Spanish. He died before finishing his Turkish-Spanish dictionary. His works are *Brumes et Soleil* (1938), *Les Juifs* (1942), *Poèmes Juifs* (1949), *Poetas Turcos Contemporáneos* (1959), *A Las Puertas del Mundo* (1968), *El Sembradór de Tristeza* (1970), *Nazim Hikmet Antologia Selección Traducción y Prólogo* (1970), *Yunus Emre Antologia Poetica* (1974), and *Espanol-Turco Cuadernos de Intérprete y Traductor* (1982).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: R.N. Bali, "*Marsel (Süleyman) Şalom Türk Edebiyatının Bir Kültür Elçisi*," in: *Folklor Edebiyat*, 9 (March 1997), 112–14.

[Rifat Bali (2nd ed.)]

CHÂLONS-SUR-MARNE, capital of the department of Marne, northern France. The Rue de la Petite Juiverie and the Rue des Juifs still exist in the town. The medieval community possessed a cemetery, which was disposed of by Philip IV after the expulsion of the Jews from France in 1306. The custumal of the county of Châlons forbade Jews to sell articles they held in pawn without authorization from the seneschal. A stained-glass window in the cathedral from around 1150 depicts one of the oldest and most hostile representations of the allegorical "Synagoga." A new community was formed in Chalons-sur-Marne in the middle of the 19th century. In World War II, the prison there served as an assembly station for deportations carried out by the Germans. In 1968 there were 140 Jews living in Châlons-sur-Marne, and they had a synagogue.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Gross, Gal Jud, 592; Blumenkranz, in: *Mélanges… Crozet* (1966), 1153; Z. Szajkowski, *Analytical Franco-Jewish Gazetteer* (1966), 224.

[Bernhard Blumenkranz]

CHALON-SUR-SAÔNE, French town in the former duchy of *Burgundy. Around 820, *Agobard, the archbishop of Lyons, tried to convert forcibly the Jewish children in the city to Christianity, and later instructed the bishop of Chalon to enjoin his flock to avoid all association with Jews. From the middle of the tenth century the records mention numerous Jews owning fields and vineyards in the environs of the town, which they cultivated themselves, notably at Sennecey-le-Grand, Fissey, Buxy, and Droux. The medieval community had numerous communal facilities, including a baking oven (*Cartulaire Citeaux*, no. 193, folio 62–63), a cemetery on the site of the present Rue des Places (where three tombstones were found in 1957), and a ritual bath in the close of the former Capuchin convent at Saint-Jean-des-Vignes. The *vicus Judaeorum* ("Street of the Jews") occupied the site of the present Grand'rue. Around 1306, just before the general expulsion of the Jews from France, the community in Chalon conducted important loan operations with credit amounting to 23,000 livres. In 1384 a certain number of Jewish families were again authorized to settle in Chalon until finally expelled from France in 1394. The scholar Eliezer b. Judah lived there in the second half of the 11th century. Scholars of the town took part in the *synod which met under the presidency of Jacob b. Meir *Tam and Samuel b. Meir. A new community was formed after 1871. The Jewish population in 1968 numbered 140.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Gross, Gal Jud, 590ff.; B. Blumenkranz, *Juifs et Chrétiens…* (1960), index; L. Armand-Calliat, in: *Mémoires de la Société d'histoire et d'archéologie de Chalon-sur-Saône*, 34 (1955–57), 68–78.

[Bernhard Blumenkranz]

°CHAMBERLAIN, HOUSTON STEWART (1855–1927), racist, antisemitic author; British by birth, French by upbringing, German by choice. An enthusiastic Germanophile, Chamberlain settled in Bayreuth where he became friendly with Richard *Wagner, whose daughter he married. Influenced by the ideas of *Gobineau, *Lagarde, and Wagner, Chamberlain, who was partially paralyzed and highly neurotic, developed his theory of the supremacy of the "blond, dolichocephalic Nordic." Those of Teutonic race and blood, he considered, were the born leaders of humanity, responsible for everything of value in civilization, while all regressive tendencies stemmed from racial admixture. According to Chamberlain, the Jews are a mongrel race, incapable of creative activity and essentially irreligious, whose existence is a crime against humanity; all the important personalities in early Jewish history, such as King David, the prophets, and Jesus, were of Germanic descent. He found an ardent supporter in Emperor William II. Chamberlain's *Die Grundlagen des 19. Jahrhunderts* (1899) became the fount of National-Socialist ideology. He admired Adolf Hitler and they were on friendly terms. Chamberlain is regarded as one of the most influential figures in the evolution of modern antisemitism.

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°CHAMBERLAIN, JOSEPH (1836–1914), British statesman. Chamberlain, as secretary of state for the colonies, twice negotiated with Theodor *Herzl on territories for Jewish settlement. He first met Herzl on October 22, 1902, to consider the latter's proposal that a Jewish autonomous settlement be established in *El-Arish on the Sinai Peninsula. Chamberlain agreed, but the project was later abandoned because of Egypt's refusal to allow Nile River water to be used for irrigation necessary to the settlement. Chamberlain, after visiting Africa during 1902–03, received Herzl again and suggested a self-governing Jewish settlement in the uninhabited Uasin Gishu plateau of East Africa (Uganda, now Kenya). The proposal became the basis of the much-debated *Uganda Scheme (1903–04). Chamberlain's negotiations marked the first official recognition of the president of the Zionist Organization as the representative of the Jewish people. His son, NEVILLE CHAMBERLAIN (1869–1940), was prime minister when the British government issued the anti-Zionist White Paper (May 17, 1939) which severely limited Jewish immigration and land acquisition in Palestine, and envisaged an independent Palestine with an Arab majority, while at the same time increasing Jewish refugee immigration to Britain.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: T. Herzl, *Complete Diaries*, 5 (1960), index; O. Rabinowicz, in: *Herzl Yearbook*, 3 (1960), 37–47; J. Amery, *Life of Joseph Chamberlain*, 4 (1951), ch. 87; R.G. Weisbord, *African Zion* (1968). **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** R.V. Kubicek, *The Administration of Imperialism: Joseph Chamberlain at the Colonial Office* (1969); D. Judd, *Radical Joe: A Life of Joseph Chamberlain* (1993); ODNB online; D. Stewart, *Theodor Herzl: Artist and Politician* (1974), 303–16.

[Josef Fraenkel]

CHAMBÉRY (Heb. קנבארי), town in S.E. France, formerly capital of the duchy of Savoy. Jews are mentioned there from the beginning of the 14th century. They were not then living in the present Rue Juiverie, but in the nearby Rue Trésorerie. They were sufficiently numerous to figure not infrequently in criminal cases. In 1348, the Jews in the district, chiefly those living in nearby Montmélian, were accused of having spread the *Black Death, and imprisoned in Chambéry. Anti-Jewish riots followed, for which four of the ringleaders were executed; but at the ensuing trial, 11 Jews were condemned to death and burned at the stake. Nevertheless the town continued to employ the services of a Jewish physician, Maître Palmière, from 1349 and another from 1396 to 1402 and in 1418. In the 15th and 16th centuries, the community was known for its scholars, among them Joseph *Colon. During the 18th century, the interests of individual Jews temporarily residing in Chambéry were protected by the community of Turin. During World War II, a large number of Jews found refuge in Chambéry. In September, 1943, they were evacuated to the department of Alpes-Maritimes. The small community in Chambéry in 1968 numbered 120, the majority from North Africa.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: G. Perousse, *Le Vieux Chambéry* (1937), 20ff.; Gross, Gal Jud, 597f.; Gerson, in: REJ, 8 (1884), 241–2; Z. Szajkowski, *Analytical Franco-Jewish Gazetteer* (1966), 257.

[Bernhard Blumenkranz]

CHAMBON-SUR-LIGNON, French town. Located in the mountainous Haute-Loire department of France, Le Chambon with its environs was for several centuries a stronghold of French Protestants, with a large representation of Calvinist-Huguenots. Inspired by its own tradition as a persecuted minority, Le Chambon was transformed during World War II into a city of refuge for thousands of Jews in flight. André Trocmé (1901–1971), who served as pastor of the town, was one of the leading catalysts of this operation, seconded by his wife, Magda (1902–1996). Many Jews were diverted to this town from different parts of France, by Jewish as well as non-Jewish lay and religious organizations, and were dispersed in private homes as well as public institutions established by various welfare agencies before the war to house people in need, such as La Guespy, Faidoli, Coteau Fleuri, Tante Soly, Les Grillons, and Maison des Roches. Others were taken on long treks to Switzerland and passed on to Swiss Protestant hands across the border. André Trocmé was aided in this large endeavor by (to name just a few) Pastor Edouard Théis, director of the Collège Cèvenol; Mireille Philip, whose husband served on De Gaulle's London-based staff; and Daniel Trocmé, a distant cousin of André, who was eventually arrested by the Germans, and deported to the Majdanek camp, where he died in April 1944. At the time, Daniel Trocmé was in charge of the Les Grillons home, where refugees from the Spanish Civil War and Jews were sheltered; they were subsequently deported. When André Trocmé was asked by a senior police officer to turn over a list of Jews sheltered in Le Chambon, he categorically refused, stating, "Even if I had such a list, I would not pass it on to you. These people have come here seeking aid and protection. I am their pastor, their shepherd. The shepherd does not betray the sheep in his keeping." To the local prefect, Robert Bach, who asked him to desist from helping Jews, Trocmé responded: "We do not know what a Jew is. We only recognize human beings." Arrested in February 1943 by the French authorities, he was released five weeks later, in spite of his refusal to sign a statement committing himself to obeying all laws and regulations emanating from the Vichy government. He then went into hiding until the liberation of France in August 1944. It is estimated that several thousand Jews found refuge in Le Chambon and its environs at one time or another during the war years. The French-Jewish historian Jules Isaac was one of those who stayed in Le Chambon for a while. Asked by author Philip Hallie about what motivated them, one Chambonnais gave the following response: "How can you call us 'good?' We were doing what had to be done. Who else could help them? And what has all this to do with goodness? Things had to be done, that's all, and we happened to be there to do them. You must understand that it was the most natural thing in the world to help these people." Marie Brottes, a Le Chambon rescuer, gave a religious explanation, linked to the Calvinist belief that the Jews are the Chosen People: "What? God has sent His people and we would not receive them?" Israeli historian Ely Ben Gal described his stay in Le Chambon as a young boy as "one of the best times of my life.… I shall never forget it." In addition to André Trocmé, Daniel Trocmé, Edouard Théis, and Marie Brottes, Yad Vashem has awarded the title of Righteous Among the Nations to several dozen other rescuers of Jews who operated in the Le Chambon area as well as to the people of Le Chambon and the Vivarais-Lignon plateau as a whole.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Yad Vashem Archives M31–612, M 31–1037; P. Hallie, *Lest Innocent Blood be Shed* (1979); *Le Plateau Vivarais-Lignon: colloque du 12–14 octobre 1994* (1994); I. Gutman (ed.), *Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations: France* (2003), 134–35, 529–30; M. Paldiel, *The Path of the Righteous* (1993), 27–30.

[Mordecai Paldiel (2nd ed.)]

CHAMELEON, reptile of the family *Chamaeleonidae*, of which only one species, *Chamaeleo chamaeleon*, is found in Israel. It changes the color of its skin, according to that of its surroundings, to yellow, green, and black. In Aramaic the chameleon was known as *zikita* (Sanh. 108b), that which snuffs the wind, or hisses, or inflates itself with air. According to Pliny (*Historia naturalis*, 8:51), it "lives on the air" which it inhales. When in danger, it hisses. It is apparently identical to the *tinshemet* (from the root נשם, "to breathe"), which is included among unclean, swarming things (Lev. 11:30); however, in verse 18, *tinshemet* is mentioned among the birds and refers to a bird that hisses (see *owls).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Tristram, Nat Hist, 262; J. Feliks, *Animal World of the Bible* (1962), 101; Lewysohn, Zool, 224f.

[Jehuda Feliks]

CHAMPAGNE (Heb. קנפניא), region and former province, Northeast France. Champagne attracted numerous Jewish settlements at a relatively early date. In the 13th century Jews were living throughout the province, especially in Bar-sur-Aube, *Bray-sur-Seine, *Châlons-sur-Marne, *Château-Thierry, Châtillon-sur-Marne, *Dampierre-sur-Aube, *Epernay, *Joigny, Joinville, *Montereau-faut-Yonne, *Provins, *Rheims, *Sens, and *Troyes. Their chief occupation was moneylending, with the feudal lords and the monasteries as their principal clients. Wealthiest of the moneylenders in the late 12th and early 13th century was the Jew Cresselin of Provins. In 1192 Philip Augustus and Count Thibaut of Champagne concluded the first agreement between the king of France and a feudal lord to stop the mutual purloining of "their" Jews. The counts of Champagne took the precaution of keeping in their own hands jurisdiction over the Jews in the charters of freedom granted to various towns. As Champagne was not incorporated in the kingdom of France until 1286, the Jews there were unaffected by the expulsion of 1182, but they did not escape that of 1306. Though some Jews were found in Champagne between 1315 and 1321, they do not appear to have returned after 1359 (except for a few converts to Christianity). The great centers of Jewish learning in Champagne during the Middle Ages were notably Troyes, the seat of the activity of Rashi, whose commentaries illustrate the wide commercial horizons and personal contacts of the local Jewish communities, and Lhuître, Dampierre, Ramerupt, and Sens.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: F. Borquelot, *Etudes sur les foires de Champagne* (1865), 102–54; Gross, Gal Jud, 599–601; M. Poinsignon, *Histoire générale de la Champagne*, 3 (1885), 150, 190; A. Longnon, *Documents… Champagne* (1904), passim; Roth, Dark Ages, 152–4 and index.

[Bernhard Blumenkranz]

CHAMUDES REITICH, MARCOS (1907–1989), Chilean politician and journalist. Born in Valparaiso, Chamudes became an active Communist leader and the founder of the Avance student's group during his university studies in Santiago. He played a prominent role in the establishment of the Popular Front – a coalition that culminated in the election of Pedro Aguirre Cerda as president of Chile. In the elections for Parliament in 1937 he was elected as MP for Valparaíso. An excellent orator, he was considered the best speaker in the Chamber of Deputies.

In 1940 Chamudes abandoned the Communist Party, left his parliamentary seat, and moved to the United States, where he worked as a photographer. When the U.S. joined World War II Chamudes enlisted as a volunteer in the American army, but was forced to renounce his Chilean citizenship. After the war he returned to Chile. The Chilean Parliament then passed a law that gave him back his citizenship.

Chamudes worked with success as a newspaper and radio journalist. He joined the Radical Democratic Party, adopting an anti-Communist ideology. During the government of Jorge Alessandri in 1964 he was nominated director of the Santiago daily *La Nación*. He was an important adversary of Allende and his supporters. He founded the weekly *PEC*, which fulfilled a central role in the campaign against Allende that brought about the revolution of 1973. Chamudes published several books on political subjects. He lived his last years in Buenos Aires.

[Moshe Nes El (2nd ed.)]

CHANNEL ISLANDS, small archipelago off the coast of Normandy belonging to Great Britain. Jews seem to have lived there in the Middle Ages. A London Jew named Abraham was described in 1277 as being from "La Gelnseye" (Guernsey). The converted Portuguese Jew, Edward *Brampton, was appointed governor of Guernsey in 1482, and a few Jewish traders are recorded there in the second half of the 18th century. However, they did not set up a communal organization. Jews settled in Jersey in the first half of the 19th century. In 1843 J. Wolffson organized a diminutive community in St. Helier (Jersey), which died out in about 1870. Some Polish Jews settled in Jersey in 1892 without reestablishing a community. W.H. Krichefski (1916–74), born in Jersey, was a Jersey senator. The Channel Islands were the only part of Great Britain occupied by the Germans in World War II. It is believed that the small Jewish population was deported to extermination camps; none is believed to have survived. A slight revival of Jewish life took place after World War II and the present-day community was founded in 1962. In 2004 its Jewish population was estimated at about 120.

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[Cecil Roth]

CHANOVER, HYMAN (1920–1998), U.S. Conservative rabbi, educator, and author. Born in Poland, Chanover was brought to the U.S. as an infant. He was ordained at the Jewish Theological Seminary in 1945 and earned his Ed.D. at New York University in 1971, where he later served as adjunct professor of education in the graduate school (1974–78). In 1972, the Seminary awarded him a Doctor of Divinity degree, *honoris causa*. Although he spent the first 10 years of his career as a congregational rabbi, he left the pulpit to work full time in Jewish education, joining the *American Association for Jewish Education (AAJE, later the Jewish Education Service of North America) as director of personnel services and subsequently director of the Department of Community Planning and director of the National Curriculum Research Institute. He championed continuing education for teachers and developed a national licensing program for principals of Jewish schools. He edited *Our Teachers* (1958–63) and widely provided consulting services to organizations, including Jewish federations, the U.S. Office of Education, the National Institute for Education, the Educational Research Council of America, and the United Federation of Teachers. Upon his retirement from the AAJE in 1977 after 21 years of service, he became executive director of the Baltimore Board of Jewish Education and Isaac C. Rosenthal Professor of Jewish Education at Baltimore Hebrew College. He retired for a second time in 1984.

As a member of the United Synagogue's Commission on Jewish Education, Chanover contributed greatly to the shaping of Conservative Jewish education and the three-day-a-week congregational Hebrew school, writing more than 50 volumes of textbooks, prayer books, story books, curricula, syllabi, and teachers' guides. He was a member of the executive committee of the Jewish Book Council of America and vice president of the National Council for Jewish Education and the National Ethnic Studies Assembly. He served on the advisory board of the National Jewish Committee on Scouting and wrote nine programming manuals for Boy Scouts and Cub Scouts. In 1980, he was cited for distinction as the innovator of the popular "Home Start" family education program adopted by Jewish communities throughout the U.S. and Canada. He is the sole author of seven books on Jewish education and culture and teaching the holidays and prayer in Jewish schools, and co-author of seven more, including *When a Jew Celebrates* (with Eugene Borowitz and Harry Gersh, 1971); *When a Jew Prays* (with Eugene Borowitz and Seymour Rossel, 1973); and *When a Jew Seeks Wisdom* (with Seymour Rossel and Chaim Stern, 1975).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: P.S. Nadell, *Conservative Judaism in America: A Biographical Dictionary and Sourcebook* (1988).

[Bezalel Gordon (2nd ed.)]

CHAO, the most important family of the former Jewish community of *Kaifeng in China. Among the earliest members mentioned is Chao Liang-ching, great-grandfather of Chao Ying-ch'eng (see below), who is listed in the Kaifeng memorial book as "Son of Adam," normally implying non-Jewish origin; this however is hard to believe. The family included several successful military officers. The following were outstanding:

CHAO CH'ENG formerly An San (Hassan?) who lived in the 15th century. A common soldier, he was granted the Chinese surname Chao and a high military rank and post in Chekiang around 1421–23. According to the Chinese historical sources this recognition from the Ming emperor was obtained by informing against the prince Ting of Chou, then resident in Kaifeng. The Jewish inscriptions gloss over this and call him a physician. He was also allowed to rebuild the Kaifeng synagogue, and it seems likely that the later success of the community, and of the Chao family in particular, was the result of his promotion.

CHAO KUANG-YÜ (d. 1653?) was granted (in 1646?) the honorary rank and title of Ying-ch'eng (and later of Ying-tou). He figures as Abram in the Kaifeng Memorial Book and Judeo-Persian colophons. He made a donation to the synagogue in 1619 or 1620.

CHAO CH'ENG-CHI, captain-adjutant in Kaifeng some time after 1642, was promoted to major in Kuyüan in Shensi, 1657–61. He helped to preserve the community after floods had destroyed the synagogue in 1642. In 1663, he was back in Kaifeng and instrumental in the erection of the inscription installed in the rebuilt synagogue.

CHAO YING-CH'ENG (d. 1657), son of Kuang-yu, the most successful member of the family. He received the *chin-shih* degree in 1646, at the age of 28, and reached the rank of intendant, serving in Fukien, 1650–53, and in Hukwang, 1656–57, dying in office. Several biographies and two essays written by him are mentioned in Chinese local gazetteers, describing his activities in Fukien. He suppressed the bandits and built a Confucian school. The books he wrote are not extant. In the Memorial Book, he appears as "Moses, *chin-shih*." It is generally thought that he knew Hebrew, and was mainly responsible for rebuilding the Kaifeng synagogue in 1653. While

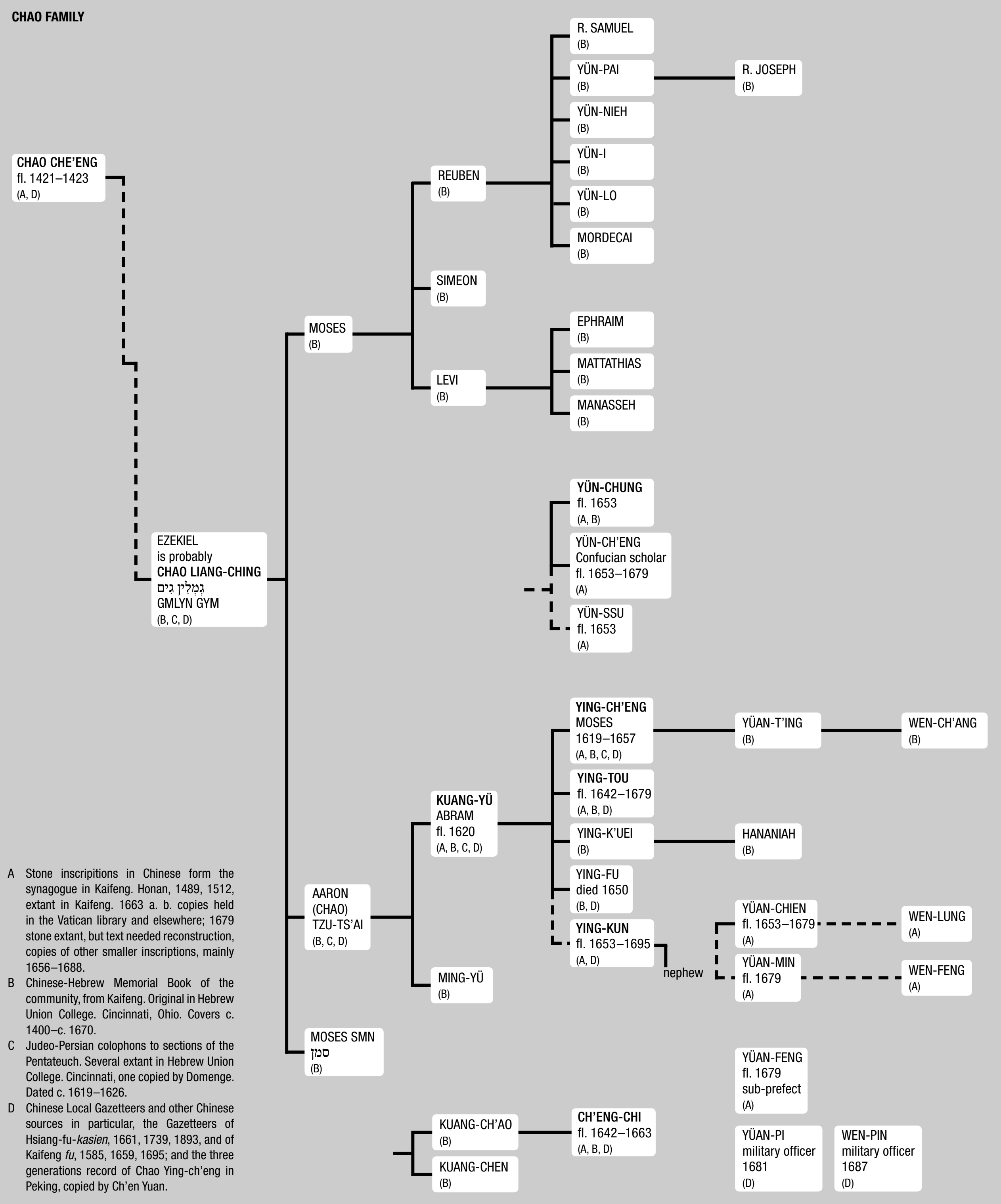
CHAO FAMILY
CHAO CHE'ENG fl. 1421–1423 (A, D)
EZEKIEL is probably CHAO LIANG-CHING גְּמְלִין גים GMLYN GYM (B, C, D)
MOSES (B)
REUBEN (B)
R. SAMUEL (B)
YÜN-PAI (B)
R. JOSEPH (B)
YÜN-NIEH (B)
YÜN-I (B)
YÜN-LO (B)
MORDECAI (B)
SIMEON (B)
LEVI (B)
EPHRAIM (B)
MATTATHIAS (B)
MANASSEH (B)
YÜN-CHUNG fl. 1653 (A, B)
YÜN-CH'ENG Confucian scholar fl. 1653–1679 (A)
YÜN-SSU fl. 1653 (A)
AARON (CHAO) TZU-TS'AI (B, C, D)
KUANG-YÜ ABRAM fl. 1620 (A, B, C, D)
YING-CH'ENG MOSES 1619–1657 (A, B, C, D)
YÜAN-T'ING (B)
WEN-CH'ANG (B)
YING-TOU fl. 1642–1679 (A, B, D)
YING-K'UEI (B)
HANANIAH (B)
YING-FU died 1650 (B, D)
YING-KUN fl. 1653–1695 (A, D)
nephew
YÜAN-CHIEN fl. 1653–1679 (A)
WEN-LUNG (A)
YÜAN-MIN fl. 1679 (A)
WEN-FENG (A)
MING-YÜ (B)
MOSES SMN סמן (B)
YÜAN-FENG fl. 1679 sub-prefect (A)
KUANG-CH'AO (B)
CH'ENG-CHI fl. 1642–1663 (A, B, D)
KUANG-CHEN (B)
YÜAN-PI military officer 1681 (D)
WEN-PIN military officer 1687 (D)

A Stone inscriptions in Chinese form the synagogue in Kaifeng. Honan, 1489, 1512, extant in Kaifeng. 1663 a. b. copies held in the Vatican library and elsewhere; 1679 stone extant, but text needed reconstruction, copies of other smaller inscriptions, mainly 1656–1688.

B Chinese-Hebrew Memorial Book of the community, from Kaifeng. Original in Hebrew Union College. Cincinnati, Ohio. Covers c. 1400–c. 1670.

C Judeo-Persian colophons to sections of the Pentateuch. Several extant in Hebrew Union College. Cincinnati, one copied by Domenge. Dated c. 1619–1626.

D Chinese Local Gazetteers and other Chinese sources in particular, the Gazetteers of Hsiang-fu-*kasien*, 1661, 1739, 1893, and of Kaifeng *fu*, 1585, 1659, 1695; and the three generations record of Chao Ying-ch'eng in Peking, copied by Ch'en Yuan.

regarded as a Confucian mandarin when in Fukien, it is believed that Ying-ch'eng had remained a religious Jew when in Honan, his home province.

CHAO YING-TOU, younger brother of Ying-ch'eng, received a degree in 1653, and served in Yunnan from 1663 to about 1669 as district magistrate. Active in the community from 1642 to 1653, he returned to Kaifeng in 1670, and was instrumental in erecting the 1679 synagogue inscription. In the Memorial Book, he appears as the husband of two women of non-Jewish origin.

CHAO YING-KUN is mentioned in 1653, and again in 1679, as responsible for the synagogue inscription of that year. He also figures in the Chinese local gazetteers as a degree holder of c. 1695, and as one of the junior editors of the Kaifeng prefectural gazetteer of 1695.

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[Donald Daniel Leslie]

CHAPBOOKS, popular literature in pamphlet form formerly hawked by chapmen or peddlers. Little attention has been paid to these in connection with Hebrew bibliography. Given the fragile nature of things, such flimsy, unbound publications tended to be thumbed out of existence, in many cases leaving no trace. It is probable, nevertheless, that from the 16th century chapbooks were produced by Jewish printers in Italy and the Balkans and hawked around the local fairs: few, however, have survived. In the 19th and 20th centuries very large numbers of such publications, crudely produced on the cheapest paper, were published in Eastern Europe for hawking by itinerant peddlers. These would consist in part of seasonal liturgical works (the **Haggadah* before Passover, sometimes crudely illustrated; Penitential Prayers (*Seliḥot*) before New Year; the Book of Lamentations and *kinot* before the Ninth of *Av), sometimes accompanied by Yiddish translations for the benefit of the women and the ignorant. Other works produced in this fashion were accounts of the "wonders" of Isaac *Luria or *Israel b. Eliezer Ba'al Shem Tov, books of wondrous stories ("*Mayse Bikhlekh*"; see *Ma'aseh Book), mainly Yiddish dicta of *ḥasidic rabbis, model letter books, simple ethical works, and divination handbooks (*Sefer Goralot*). With the development of Yiddish literature, cheap novels, whether original or in translation, were distributed in the same fashion. Similar works were produced in Ladino in Salonika up to the 20th century, and in Judeo-Arabic both in North Africa and Iraq until the 1940s.

[Cecil Roth]

CHAPIRO, JACQUES (1887–1972), Russian painter who became a prominent member of the School of Paris. Chapiro was born at Dunaburg and expressed an early taste for art by drawing in the sacred books of his local *ḥeder*, which led to his expulsion. After the outbreak of the Revolution he moved to Yalta in the Crimea, where he won a competition for the decoration of a Russian Orthodox basilica. Chapiro went to Moscow in 1920. There he taught painting and designed sets for the famous *Habimah production of "The Dybbuk." He also worked in the theater with Stanislavsky and others. He settled in Paris in 1925 and was deeply influenced by Bonnard and the Impressionists. Chapiro's style changed, and his exhibition of 1949 revealed him as an important and distinctive master of the School of Paris.

CHARAX OF PERGAMUM (probably second half of the second century C.E.), writer of Asia Minor. In a passage extant in the geographical lexicon of the sixth-century Stephanus of Byzantium (s.v. Ἑβραῖοι), Charax states that the appellation "Hebrew" for the Jews stems from Abramon (Abraham). A similar explanation is given by *Artapanus.

CHARES, (d. 67 C.E.), a leader of the Jewish defense of Gamala during the great revolt against Rome (Jos., Wars, 4:18, 68). Josephus gives two conflicting accounts of his death. According to one he was bedridden during the siege of Gamala, and died naturally after the Romans stormed the city. According to another passage, however (Life, 177, 186), Chares was murdered by the people of Gamala in an insurrection against the Babylonian kinsmen of Philip, the loyalist ally of the Romans.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Schalit, in: *Clio*, 26 (1933) 80ff.; Klausner, Bayit Sheni, 5 (1951^2), 197ff.

[Isaiah Gafni]

CHARGAFF, ERWIN (1905–2002), U.S. biochemist. Chargaff was born in Czernowitz, then Austro-Hungary, and gained a doctorate in chemistry from the University of Vienna (1928). He held postdoctoral research posts consecutively at the Universities of Yale, Vienna, and Berlin, and at the Institut Pasteur in Paris before awareness of the Nazi menace led him to immigrate to the U.S. (1934). He joined the Department of Biochemistry of Columbia University's College of Physicians and Surgeons, where he became professor, department chairman, and professor emeritus before retiring in 1992. Early in his research career Chargaff made major contributions to characterizing the proteins involved in blood clotting. In 1944 he accepted Avery's evidence that DNA in a bacterium determined its hereditary characteristics. He reasoned that genetic differences in DNAs must be attributable to chemical differences in these molecules. He established that in all species of DNA tested the molar ratios of purines to pyrimidines, of adenine to thymine, and of guanine to cytosine is virtually 1.0. These "Chargaff rules" were a vital contribution to the elucidation of the structure of DNA by Watson, Crick, and Wilkins and the role of base pairing in gene copying. Subsequently Chargaff was embittered that his contributions to solving arguably the most important problem in biology received inadequate recognition, not least from the proponents of the double helix model. As his skills as an analytical chemist became increasingly irrelevant to the development of molecular biology, he turned instead to his great literary skills, which he used to express prophetic warnings on the evils of unbridled biotechnology. Nevertheless his contributions are now recognized and his many honors included election to the U.S. National Academy of Sciences (1965) and the National Medal of Science (1974).

[Michael Denman (2nd ed.)]

CHARITY. The obligation to help the poor and the needy and to give them gifts is stated many times in the Bible and was considered by the rabbis of all ages to be one of the cardinal *mitzvot* of Judaism.

In the Bible

The Bible itself legislates several laws which are in effect a sort of tax for the benefit of the poor. Among these are **leket, shikhḥah,* and *pe'ah* as well as the special tithe for the poor (see **ma'aser*). The institution of the sabbatical year (see *Sabbatical Year and Jubilee) was in order "that the poor of the people may eat" (Ex. 23: 11) as well as to cancel debts about which the warning was given: "If there be among you a needy man, one of your brethren, within thy gates, in thy land which the Lord thy God giveth thee, thou shalt not harden thy heart nor shut thy hand from thy needy brother; but thou shalt surely open thy hand unto him and shalt surely lend him sufficient for his need in that which he wanteth. Beware that there be not a base thought in thy heart, saying 'The seventh year, the year of release, is at hand'; and thine eye be evil against thy needy brother and thou give him nought; and he say unto the Lord against thee and it be sin in thee. Thou shalt surely give him, and thy heart shall not be grieved when thou givest unto him; because that for this thing the Lord thy God will bless thee in all thy work…." (Deut. 15:7–10). The Pentateuch also insists that the needy be remembered when the festivals are celebrated, e.g., "And thou shalt rejoice before the Lord thy God, thou, and thy son, and thy daughter, and thy man-servant, and thy maid-servant, and the Levite that is within thy gates, and the stranger, and the fatherless and the widow that are in the midst of thee" (16:11, 14). The Bible expects Israel to be aware of the needs of the poor and the stranger (who is considered to be in an inferior economic position) because Israel itself had experienced this situation in Egypt: "Love ye therefore the stranger; for ye were strangers in the land of Egypt" (10:19) and promises "for this thing the Lord thy God will bless thee in all thy work and in all that thou puttest thy hand unto" (15:10).

Charity is an attribute of God Himself: "For the Lord your God, He is God of gods, and Lord of lords.… He doth execute justice for the fatherless and widow and loveth the stranger, in giving him food and raiment" (10:17, 18), a theme which was developed at considerable length by the psalmist (cf. Ps. 145:15, 16; 132:15). Both the prophets Isaiah and Ezekiel considered charity as an indispensable requirement for a life of piety. Indeed, Isaiah proclaims that the "acceptable day to the Lord" is not the fast which only consists of afflicting the soul and wearing sackcloth and ashes, but rather the day on which bread is dealt to the hungry, the poor that are cast out are brought into the house, and the naked clothed (Is. 58:5–7); Ezekiel (16:49) attributes the destruction of Sodom to its lack of charity, "neither did she strengthen the hand of the poor and needy." "A woman of valor" is one who "stretcheth out her hand to the poor; Yea, she reacheth forth her hands to the needy" (Prov. 31:20). Charity to the poor is equated with "lending to the Lord, and his good deed will He repay unto him" (*ibid.*, 19: 17). The virtue of charity and the fact that it deserves reward from God are stressed over and over in the arguments in the book of Job (22:5–9; 29:12, 13). Following the precedent in the Pentateuch, the book of Esther (9:12) makes sending gifts to the poor a part of the new festival it inaugurates (Purim), and when Ezra and Nehemiah taught the people anew the meaning of Rosh Ha-Shanah, they told them, "Go your way, eat the fat, and drink the sweet and send portions unto him for whom nothing is prepared" (Neh. 8:10).

In the Talmud and Rabbinic Literature

Although the idea of charity and almsgiving is spread throughout the whole of the Bible, there is no special term for it. The rabbis of the Talmud, however, adopted the word צְדָקָה (*ẓedakah*) for charity, and it is used (but not exclusively so) throughout rabbinic literature in the sense of helping the needy by gifts. It has been suggested that the word *ẓedakah* in this sense already appears in Daniel (4:24) and in the Apocrypha (Ben Sira 3:30; 7:10 and Tobit 4:7; 12:8–9); in some of the verses the context would seem to bear out such a supposition. All this indicates, however, is that the term had come into use in the post-biblical period; in Talmud times it was entirely accepted to the extent that the rabbis interpreted biblical passages where the word certainly does not mean charity in the sense of their own usage. The word has since passed into popular usage and is almost exclusively used for charity. The term חֶסֶד (*ḥesed*, "loving-kindness"), which is used widely in the Bible, has taken on the meaning of physical aid, or lending without interest (see *gemilut ḥasadim).

CHARITY AS ẒEDAKAH. The word *ẓedakah* literally means "righteousness" or "justice"; by their very choice of word the rabbis reveal a great deal of their attitude toward the subject, for they see charity not as a favor to the poor but something to which they have a right, and the donor, an obligation. In this way they teach "The poor man does more for the householder (in accepting alms) than the householder does for the poor man (by giving him the charity)" (Lev. R. 34:8) for he gives the householder the opportunity to perform a *mitzvah*. This attitude stemmed from the awareness that all men's possessions belong to God and that poverty and riches are in His hand. This view is aptly summed up in *Avot* (3:8): "Give unto Him of what is His, seeing that thou and what thou hast are His" and is further illustrated in a story told of *Rava. A poor man came before Rava who asked him what he usually had for his meal. The man replied, "Fatted chicken and old wine." "But do you not" said Rava "feel worried that you are a burden on the community?" "Do I eat what is theirs?" said the man, "I eat what is God's" (exegesis to Ps. 145:15). At that point Rava's sister brought him a gift of a fatted chicken and some old wine which Rava understood to be an omen and apologized to the poor man (Ket. 67b).

The importance the rabbis attached to the *mitzvah* of *ẓedakah* can be understood from R. Assi who stated that "*ẓedakah* is as important as all the other commandments put together" (BB 9a) and from R. Eleazar who expounded the verse "To do righteousness (*ẓedakah*) and justice is more acceptable to the Lord than sacrifice" (Prov. 21:3) to mean that charity is greater than all the sacrifices (Suk. 49b). *Ẓedakah*, to the rabbis, hastens redemption (BB 10a), ensures that the doer will have wise, wealthy, and learned sons (BB 19b), and atones for sins (BB 9a). Giving charity is the way in which man can "walk after the Lord your God" (Deut. 13:5) and be saved from death (Prov. 1:2). Together with Torah and service (i.e., prayer), the practice of charity is one of the pillars on which the world rests (Avot 1:2). Giving charity does not impoverish and not giving is tantamount to idolatry (Ket. 68a). Charity is an act of devotion and a complement to prayer; as such, the wise give charity just before praying as it is written, "and I, in righteousness (*ẓedek*) will see Thy face" (Ps. 17:15; BB 9a).

Since *ẓedakah* is considered a biblical commandment the rabbis found it necessary – as in the case of every other *mitzvah* – to define it in minute detail, e.g., who is obligated to give, who is eligible to receive, how much should be given and in what manner. These laws are scattered throughout the Talmud and were codified by Maimonides in his *Yad* in *Hilkhot Mattenot Aniyyim*, the first six chapters of which deal with the laws of *leket, shikḥah*, and *pe'ah*, and the last four, with the general laws of charity. In the *Tur* and Shulḥan Arukh, the laws are codified in *Yoreh De'ah* 247–59.

GIVERS AND RECEIVERS OF CHARITY. Everybody is obliged to give charity; even one who himself is dependent on charity should give to those less fortunate than himself (Git. 7a). The court can compel one who refuses to give charity – or donates less than his means allow – to give according to the court's assessment. The recalcitrant can even be flogged, and should he still refuse to give, the court may appropriate his property in the assessed sum for charity (Ket. 49b; Maim. Yad., Mattenot Aniyyim 7:10).

For the purposes of charity, a poor man is one who has less than 200 zuz (200 dinar – each of which coins is the equivalent of 96 barley grains – of a mixture of ⅞ bronze and ⅛ silver). This sum is the criterion if it is static capital (i.e., not being used in business); if, however, it is being used, the limit is 50 zuz (*ibid.*, 9:13). A man with more than these sums is not entitled to take *leket, shikhḥah*, and *pe'ah*, the poor man's tithe or charity – and he who does will be reduced to real poverty (*ibid.*, 10:19). Charity should be dispensed to the non-Jewish poor in order to preserve good relations; however, charity should not be accepted from them unless it is entirely unavoidable. Women take precedence over men in receiving alms, and one's poor relatives come before strangers. The general rule is "the poor of your own town come before the poor of any other town," but this rule is lifted for the poor of Ereẓ Israel who take precedence over all (Sh. Ar., YD 251:3). A traveler in a strange town who is out of funds is considered to be poor and may take charity even though he has money at home. When he returns to his home, he is not obliged to repay the charity he has taken (Pe'ah 5:4). A man is not obliged to sell his household goods to maintain himself but is eligible for charity (Pe'ah 8:8); even if he owns land, houses, or other property, he is not required to sell them at a disadvantage if the prices are lower than usual (BK 7a–b). It is permitted to deceive a poor man who, out of pride, refuses to accept charity, and to allow him to think that it is a loan; but a miser who refuses to use his own means is to be ignored (Ket. 67b).

THE AMOUNT OF CHARITY TO BE GIVEN. To give a tenth of one's wealth to charity is considered to be a "middling" virtue, to give a 20th or less is to be "mean"; but in Usha the rabbis determined that one should not give more than a fifth lest he become impoverished himself and dependent on charity (Ket. 50a; Maim. Yad., loc. cit., 7:5). The psychological needs of the poor should be taken into consideration even though they may appear to be exaggerated. Thus a once wealthy man asked Hillel for a horse and a runner to go before him, which Hillel supplied; on another occasion, when Hillel could not afford to hire a runner for him, Hillel acted as one himself (Ket. 67a). This attitude is based on the interpretation of the verse "thou shalt surely open thy hand unto him … for his need which he wanteth" (Deut. 15:8), the accent being on "his" and "he"; however, on the basis of the same verse, the rabbis taught that "you are required to maintain him but not to enrich him," stressing the word "need" (Ket. 67a). "We must be more careful about charity than all the other positive *mitzvot* because *ẓedakah* is the criterion of the righteous (*ẓaddik*), the seed of Abraham, as it is written 'For I have singled him [Abraham] out, that he may instruct his children and his posterity to keep the way of the Lord by doing what is just [*ẓedakah*; Gen. 18:19]' … and Israel will only be redeemed by merit of charity, as it is written 'Zion shall be redeemed with justice, And they that return of her with righteousness [*ẓedakah*'; Isa. 1:17]'" (Maim. Yad, loc. cit. 10:1).

MANNER OF DISPENSING CHARITY. This appreciation of the importance of charity led the rabbis to be especially concerned about the manner in which alms are to be dispensed. The prime consideration is that nothing be done that might shame the recipient. "R. Jonah said: It is not written 'Happy is he who gives to the poor,' but "Happy is he who considers the poor' (Ps. 41:2): i.e., he who ponders how to fulfill the command to help the poor. How did R. Jonah act? If he met a man of good family who had become impoverished he would say, 'I have heard that a legacy has been left to you in such a place; take this money in advance and pay me back later.' When the man accepted it he then said to him, 'It is a gift'" (TJ, Pe'ah 8:9, 21b). When R. Yannai saw someone giving a zuz to a poor man in public, he said, "It were better not to have given rather than to have given him and shamed him" (Ḥag. 5a). Out of consideration for the sensibilities of the poor, the rabbis considered the best form of almsgiving to be that in which neither the donor nor the recipient knew each other: "Which is the *ẓedakah* which saves from a strange death? That in which the giver does not know to whom he has given nor the recipient from whom he has received" (BB 10a), and R. Eliezer saw the "secret" giver as being greater than Moses (BB 9b). Stories are told throughout the Talmud illustrating this principle and relating how the pious devised ingenious methods of giving alms so as to remain anonymous (Ket. 67b.; Ta'an. 21b–22a, et al.). For the same reason, it is important to receive the poor in good humor, and even if one cannot afford to give, one must at least appease the poor with words (Lev. R. 34:15; Maim Yad loc. cit. 10:5).

Maimonides (Yad, loc. cit. 10:7–12) lists eight ways of giving *ẓedakah* which are progressively more virtuous: to give (1) but sadly; (2) less than is fitting, but in good humor; (3) only after having been asked to; (4) before being asked; (5) in such a manner that the donor does not know who the recipient is; (6) in such a manner that the recipient does not know who the donor is; and (7) in such a way that neither the donor nor the recipient knows the identity of the other. The highest form of charity is not to give alms but to help the poor to rehabilitate themselves by lending them money, taking them into partnership, employing them, or giving them work, for in this way the end is achieved without any loss of self-respect at all.

"CHARITY WARDENS". "In every town where there are Jews they must appoint 'charity wardens' [*gabba'ei ẓedakah*], men who are well-known and honest that they should collect money from the people every Sabbath eve and distribute it to the poor.… We have never seen or heard of a Jewish community which does not have a charity fund" (Yad, loc. cit. 9:1–3). Because the charity warden was involved in the collection and distribution of public funds, special care was taken to ensure that there should not be even the slightest suspicion of dishonesty. The actual collection had to be made by at least two wardens who were not permitted to leave each other during the course of it. The distribution of the money was to be made by at least three wardens in whose hands lay the decision as to whom to give and how much. Besides money, food and clothing were also distributed. It seems that the poor were registered with the fund and mendicants who went from door to door begging were not to be given any sizable sums (BB 9a); the fund did, however, supply the needs of strangers. Apart from maintaining the poor, the fund was also used for redeeming captives and dowering poor brides, both of which were considered to be among the most virtuous of acts. In addition to the fund (*kuppah*), there were also communal soup kitchens (*tamḥui) at which any person with less than enough for two meals was entitled to eat (Yad, loc. cit. 9:13).

Collecting and distributing charity is to some extent distasteful work and at times even humiliating. In order to encourage men to undertake it, the rabbis interpreted several scriptural verses as extolling the wardens who are considered to be "eternal stars" and greater even than the givers (BB 8a, 9a). R. Yose, however, prayed "May my lot be with those who collect charity rather than with those who distribute it" (Shab. 118b), apparently preferring the risk of humiliation to that of misjudgment.

Charity is a form of vow, and a promise to give must be fulfilled immediately (Yad, loc. cit. 8:1). Generally speaking, the charity money must be used for the purpose for which it was given, and it is forbidden to divert the funds to some other cause. For a more detailed discussion, see *Hekdesh.

THE ACCEPTING OF CHARITY. When necessary, accepting charity is perfectly legitimate and no shame attaches itself to the poor who are otherwise unable to support themselves. However, one is advised to do everything in one's power to avoid having to take alms: "Make your Sabbath a weekday (by not eating special food or wearing good clothes) rather than be dependent on other people" (Pes. 112a); and, "Even a wise and honored man should do menial work (skinning unclean animals) rather than take charity" (Pes. 113a). The greatest of the sages did physical labor in order to support themselves and remain independent. "A person who is really entitled to take charity but delays doing so and so suffers rather than be a burden to the community will surely be rewarded and not die before he reaches a position in which he will be able to support others. About such a person was it written: 'Blessed is the man that trusteth in the Lord' (Jer. 17:7)" (Yad, loc. cit. 10:18).

[Raphael Posner]

In the Middle Ages

The ideology of charity changed in consonance with contemporary attitudes and socioeconomic developments. The most exacting formulation of the obligations required by charity is that put forward by **Ḥasidei Ashkenaz* (13th century): "As God gives riches to the wealthy and does not give to the poor, He gives to the one sufficient to sustain a hundred – The poor come and cry to God: you gave to this one sufficient to sustain a thousand and yet he is unwilling to give me charity. [Accordingly] God punishes the rich man as though he had robbed many poor; he [the rich man] is told: I gave you riches so that you could give according to the ability of your riches to the poor, and you did not give. [Thus] I shall punish you as though you had robbed them, and you had repudiated My pledge [*pikkadon*]; for I gave you riches that you might divide them among the poor and you appropriated them for yourself" (*Sefer Ḥasidim*, ed. Wistinezki, par. 1345, p. 331). This conception views the precept of charity as enjoining the redistribution of means according to the divine rules of social equality and justice. It underlies many other, much more conservative, conceptions of charity. In Jewish tradition charity begins at home. The broad family circle is the primary and basic unit for giving relief, the *community being the second. *Begging was not considered shameful up to the 18th century. Social techniques and institutions for charitable purposes emerged in Jewish communities at a very early period. As Jews became increasingly concentrated in towns, in an environment of fierce rejection and hostility, Jewish feelings of solidarity and readiness to help their needy members correspondingly strengthened and broadened. The instability of the Jewish economic position in many countries throughout generations, and insecurity of property ownership and residence during the innumerable persecutions, massacres, and expulsions to which Jews were subjected, made the rich Jew of today a likely candidate for charity tomorrow, or the reverse. Much of the Jewish resilience and astonishing capacity for rehabilitation and social regeneration have their basis in the broadening of scope and consistent application of charity among Jews, to comprise all aspects of mutual help and social reconstruction. Nurtured in this tradition, Jews have been, and continue to be, open to compassion for the unfortunate and ready to help needy people and humanitarian and philanthropic causes far beyond their own community.

[Haim Hillel Ben-Sasson]

Regular charitable institutions and forms of social assistance – always in conjunction with individual help and almsgiving – were generally in the form of (1) money through the charity box (*kuppah*); (2) gifts in kind (*tamḥui* – soup kitchen); (3) clothing; and (4) burial. The first was the major form of charitable relief. The ancient custom of providing charity through the donation of produce was largely abandoned by the urban communities of the Middle Ages. Relief in kind was limited to the distribution of *mazzot,* sacramental wine, or feasts for the poor at weddings and other celebrations. It was also customary in the late Middle Ages among Ashkenazi Jewry for each householder to deposit a ticket or tickets (*pletten*) in an urn, to be drawn preferably by the *parnas* ("elder") or a special almoner (*plettenteiler*). This served a poor man as a meal ticket in a particular home for a day; often it also entitled him to a night's lodging. Usually, the host brought the guest with him from the synagogue on Friday evening for the Sabbath. The charity box became the major means of solicitation. R. *Moses b. Jacob of Coucy (13th century) states that when he visited Spain, he saw the charity wardens making the rounds daily and then distributing the proceeds on Fridays. Boxes and plates were circulated in homes, in the synagogue on the eve of major holidays, including gifts to the poor on Purim, in the women's section of the house of prayer, in the cemetery, or wherever the populace assembled. It was understood that the legal requirement was that each householder allocate at least a tithe (*ma'aser*) to charity, but no more than one-fifth of his income. In practice other formulas had to be found in order to shift the burden onto the wealthier residents rather than overtax the less well-to-do. Taxes for poor relief were imposed by the community. In Russia the charities department of the *kahal* was often called the *ẓedakah gedolah* ("community chest" or "welfare committee"). The officers in charge of this chest dealt with the collection and administration of all charities. Donations were collected in small amounts at frequent intervals. The sources of income were manifold: taxes, donations, legacies, fines, rental of community property, or interest on foundation funds.

CHARITABLE ASSOCIATIONS. Though charitable associations (**ḥevrah*) are not mentioned in northern France in the 11th and 12th centuries because the communities were small, they proliferated there in subsequent centuries. Before long the larger settlements had a multiplicity of charitable societies. In 1380 the Perpignan community in southern France had five associations: *talmud torah*, lights for the synagogue, sick care, general charity, and burial. In 1382 in Saragossa, Spain, the *Bicurolim* (*Bikkur Ḥolim* – "visiting the sick") society obtained permission to build a synagogue. After 1492 Spanish exiles brought their associations to the countries where they settled. The comparatively small community of Verona Jewry in 1750 had fifteen societies for poor relief, burial, care of the aged, and for religious and educational purposes. Soon every large community had a number of charitable societies, and even associations designed mainly for mutual aid, religious, and other purposes made charity one of their functions. Charitable associations imposed admission fees on new members, weekly dues, fees for burial or other services, fines for infringement of rules, honors auctioned in the house of prayer, charges for listing and reading of the names of deceased relatives at memorial services, special assessments at banquets or family celebrations, payment on conferment of honorary titles such as *ḥaver* and *morenu* among Ashkenazi Jews, and many others.

Although women always performed the ritual of preparing deceased women for burial, it seems that the first society consisting exclusively of females, the *nashim ẓadkaniyyot* ("pious women"), was founded in Berlin in 1745. They cared for sick or bedridden women, gave medical aid, offered prayers for the seriously ill, sewed shrouds, and performed the ritual ablutions before burial. In the 18th century youth societies were also formed in Germany, mainly for the care of the sick, but also for a large variety of other purposes.

Most influential among the associations was the burial society which adopted the generic name of all associations, **ḥevra kaddisha* ("Holy Society"). While it engaged mainly in supervision of the local cemetery and performed the burial rites for every Jew, it also became a major philanthropic agency, assuming responsibility for burying the poor. In more recent years the general term for the burial society, *gomelei ḥesed shel emet* ("providers of true loving-kindness"), became the specific name for that branch of the association which was concerned solely with burial of the poor. In addition, as one of the most influential and affluent associations, it found itself dispensing relief for the poor and the distressed. Members of the *bikkur ḥolim* ("visiting the sick") association visited or made arrangements for others to visit the bedridden poor. Ideally, they provided a physician, medicine, and nursing care as well as spiritual solace and prayers for recovery, and sometimes even a night vigil. However, since all local sick persons were cared for in their own homes, they were mainly dependent on the resources of their immediate family and the transient sick were usually placed in the local **hekdesh* ("hospital," "hospice," "poor house") along with other transients of both sexes. This created highly unsanitary conditions. Some communities had a *hakhnasat oreḥim* ("welcoming visitors") society, which owned a hostelry or rented a room or two from a resident family to accommodate respectable and scholarly travelers who would not stay in the *hekdesh*. Nor would the local poor stay there. In the Middle Ages and as late as the 18th century the larger communities hired a general practitioner or surgeon who, among his other duties, was responsible for providing medical care to the indigent; the same was true of druggists and barbers (who not only cut hair but also "let" blood and applied leeches). Those who could afford it paid; the poor obtained these services free. The *kahal*, or a specialized association, usually called the **hakhnasat kallah*, made provision for brides without dowries. There were also associations that catered to the religious needs of the destitute; a *Sandak* group arranged for circumcisions and the refreshments that followed; *mezuzot* and other ritual objects were provided; a *talmud torah* was maintained to educate the children of the poor; and finally there were associations for loans at little or no interest, called *gemilut ḥasadim, halva'at ḥen* ("loan of grace"), or *mishmeret kodesh* ("holy watch"). This service was of great assistance to small businessmen and artisans.

Modern Times

CHARACTERISTICS OF SOCIAL WELFARE. From the 19th century the attitude toward the beggar hardened, and alms were sometimes even considered socially harmful: the old application of Jewish charity assumed new forms consistent with its ancient spirit. The very term charity was discarded in favor of "social welfare" or "service." Once largely direct and indiscriminate, charity was now delegated to special agencies and supervised by trained and paid professionals. Scientific studies of the facts and causes of distress and thorough investigation and control of the administration of relief replaced haphazard lay activity. Social welfare became secularized and impersonal; a sense of civic duty largely replaced an awareness of the Divine Commandment. Momentary relief gave way to long-range remedial and preventive methods. Human suffering became the responsibility of society in general, of the political state. National and local legislation provided old-age pensions, medical insurance, and other fringe benefits, while trade unions, associations of small businessmen, fraternal and other groups adopted cooperative methods of mutual aid. Entire societies were built on the idea of equal opportunity or on collectivistic principles. These general developments together with the movement of large Jewish populations from areas of scarcity to countries of plenty (and later the nearly total destruction of large and impoverished communities by the Nazis) have gone a long way toward reducing poverty among Jews. It took massive programs of relief to achieve this state of affairs. Aid to immigrants, relief of suffering arising from several wars, and the return to the land movement in the Western Hemisphere and in Ereẓ Israel required the concerted effort of the entire Jewish people. The whole structure of charity changed: associations for visiting the sick were supplanted by medical and health services, including spacious, well-equipped hospitals; apprenticing a poor boy to an artisan gave way to vocational guidance and trade schools. At first the old-timers fought the new methods, but they were forced to yield to the standards of a newer generation. New and highly specialized institutions arose to serve the blind, the deaf and the dumb, the tubercular, etc. A profusion of local, national, and international philanthropic enterprises came into being, and before long the Jews surpassed other national, ethnic, or religious groups in the care of their coreligionists and in the extent of their fund raising for charitable causes.

LOCAL AGENCIES. A great many institutions for a large variety of services were set up on a local scale as well as the federation of all or most local causes under one all-embracing organization. The medieval *hekdesh* gave way to modern almshouses and hospitals. In London the Spanish and Portuguese congregation founded an almshouse in 1703 and a hospital (Beth Holim) in 1747. In the Ashkenazi community the Jews' Hospital (Neveh Ẓedek) was established in 1807, and the Solomon and Moses Almshouse in 1862. In Paris a general hospital was opened in 1842, another by Baron Rothschild in 1852, and a maternity hospital the following year. In New York Mount Sinai Hospital opened its doors in 1852. Since then virtually all communities in the United States with a Jewish population of over 30,000 have had hospitals under Jewish auspices. The Montefiore Clinic for Chronic Invalids opened its doors in New York in the early 1880s. Hospitals soon began to develop their own nursing and medical schools. Child care services consisted at first of orphanages in Charleston, S.C. (1801); in London, the Spanish and Portuguese Jews Orphan Society (1703) and the Ashkenazi Orphan Asylum (1831); orphanages in Berlin (1833); and orphanages in New York (1860). Gradually, the emphasis shifted to foster home placement, adoption, and small-group institutional care. Practically every large city established a home for the aged: Hamburg in 1796, Berlin in 1839, Frankfurt in 1844, and New York in 1848. Such institutional care was soon reserved only for persons who were unable to care for themselves, and was supplemented by boarding and foster home placement, homemaker services, sheltered workshops, recreation programs, etc. Facilities were provided for the care of the blind, the deaf and dumb, the insane, the delinquent, the defective, and many other handicapped and anti-social individuals. Vienna had a Jewish home for the blind in 1872, and one for deaf and dumb Jewish children in 1884. The Philadelphia Hebrew Sunday School Society (1838), followed by the Hebrew Education Society (1849), was one of a large number of schools established mainly for the poor. The Neighborhood Settlement Houses in America served to introduce the immigrant to the language, customs, and culture of his new country.

LOCAL CENTRAL AGENCIES. A movement also started to unite several local charities under one administration. First was the Paris Comité de Bienfaisance in 1809, followed by the Hebrew Benevolent Society in New York and the United Hebrew Beneficial Society in Philadelphia, both in 1822, the London Spanish-Portuguese Board of Guardians in 1837, and the Berlin Unterstuetzungsverein in 1838. In 1859 Ashkenazi Jews launched another Board of Guardians in London. In Chicago the same year nine groups formed the United Hebrew Relief Association. In New York the Hebrew Sheltering and Guardian Society originated in 1879. The United Hebrew Charities in New York, established in 1874, later changed its name to the Jewish Family Services. These are only a sample of the prevailing 19th-century trend in welfare groups. Toward the end of the century all local institutions began to band together for fund raising for national and overseas causes. In the course of time most of these central agencies served all causes while retaining their old names. Boston Jewry established the first Federated Jewish Charities in 1895; Cincinnati conducted the first united campaign in 1896; Chicago launched the Associated Jewish Charities in 1900; and the first Jewish Welfare Fund was started in Oakland, Calif., in 1925. Before long every sizable Jewish community in America conducted only one fund-raising campaign each year, eliminating multiple appeals and persistent solicitations and cutting down campaign costs. This arrangement made possible the development of central functional services, such as bureaus of Jewish education, community councils for overall coordination or for anti-defamation work, vocational, family, and medical services, community centers, and many others. The proceeds from such united campaigns often far exceeded the previous combined collections of the constituent agencies. National and overseas causes now had an address to turn to in each community.

NATIONAL AGENCIES. The first half of the 20th century also witnessed the evolution of a host of agencies that operated on a national scale, often coordinating the activities of local units. In Germany the *Deutsch-Israelitischer Gemeindebund was formed in 1869 to exchange information on philanthropic endeavor in all communities large and small, including villages. The main office in Berlin had provincial branches and was charged with the supervision of hospitals, houses for the aged, the blind, the deaf and dumb, orphanages, and many other institutions. The communities of Great Britain and other countries also developed national welfare services. For a long time French Jewry had no nationwide organization for social welfare; each community had to fend for itself and poverty was widespread. In 1945 the Comité Juif d'Action Sociale et de Reconstruction was formed. In the United States there were 35 national social welfare agencies in the late 1960s. The *Council of Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds (1932) provided national and regional services to 220 affiliates in the United States and Canada. The *National Jewish Welfare Board coordinated the work of Jewish community centers and Young Men's and Young Women's Hebrew Associations, as well as the religious and welfare needs of Jews in the armed services and in veterans' hospitals. *B'nai B'rith engaged in educational and philanthropic programs. The Family Location Service, formerly the National Desertion Bureau (1905), gave help in cases of desertion or other forms of marital breakdown. The *National Council of Jewish Women (1893) was one of a number of agencies dedicated not only to Jewish causes but also to the general advancement of human welfare and a democratic way of life. There were a number of national medical societies, such as the Leo N. Levi Memorial National Arthritis Hospital, the American Medical Center at Denver, Colorado, formerly the Jewish Consumptives' Relief Society (1904), the City of Hope Medical Center in Los Angeles, California (1913), and others for asthmatic, retarded, and arthritic patients. Most of the services were non-sectarian. Other agencies were dedicated to furthering agriculture among Jews, to helping the blind, conciliating disputes, and coordinating lay and professional endeavors in social service. There was a tendency in the U.S. for Jewish charities to extend their scope to all elements and to receive financial support not only from Jews but also from the government.

INTERNATIONAL AGENCIES. Developments from the mid-19th century onward called for unprecedented Jewish philanthropic efforts on a worldwide scale. Almost simultaneously the Board of Delegates of American Israelites (1859) and the French *Alliance Israélite Universelle (1860) came into being to defend Jewish rights abroad. The Alliance offered help to needy Jews and maintained schools in many countries. Meanwhile, the London *Board of Deputies, established in 1760, began to extend the scope of its international activities, while the Anglo-Jewish Association was established in 1871 with similar objectives to those of the Alliance. The Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society (HIAS) in New York (1884), reorganized in 1954 as *United HIAS Service, with affiliates all over the world, offered a variety of services to Jewish immigrants. The *Baron de Hirsch Fund (1891) sought to aid immigrants, teach them trades, and help in their education. The *Jewish Colonization Association (ICA) tried rather unsuccessfully to establish agricultural colonies in Argentina, Brazil, Canada, and the U.S. The German *Hilfsverein der deutschen Juden (1901) also undertook foreign aid similar to that of the Alliance. The French Fond Social Juif Unifié, patterned on the American United Jewish Appeal, originated in 1949. The *American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (JDC; 1914) has developed a vast network of activities in welfare, medical, and rehabilitation programs. The American *ORT Federation (1924) has trained Jewish men and women in the technical trades and agriculture. This organization, as well as *OSE, which was engaged in medical and public health programs, originated in Russia. The fund-raising organizations furthering a Jewish National Home have experienced the greatest growth. *Hadassah, the Women's Zionist Organization of America (1912), has been supporting Israel's medical and public health system, has transported young newcomers to Ereẓ Israel, maintained and educated them through *Youth Aliyah, and engaged in Zionist educational work; *Wizo (1920) has fulfilled a similar function in other parts of the world. The Palestine Foundation Fund (*Keren Hayesod, 1921) has been the financial arm of the World Zionist Organization. The largest of the American funds is the *United Jewish Appeal (1939) which has raised vast sums for Israel and for worldwide causes. This list of international agencies is far from exhaustive.

CONCLUSION. It was prophetic Judaism that upheld the cause of the poor by regarding their condition as brought on not by themselves but by the evils of the social order. Ever since then Jews have sought to care for the underprivileged. Throughout history there have always existed large numbers of Jews in need of help. There is still a good deal of Jewish poverty in many countries. In Israel, which aimed at building an egalitarian society, and where the pioneers established collective settlements, the problem of poverty is still far from solved, since Israel is the haven for disadvantaged Jews throughout the world. Yet there is no doubt that Jews have made a most significant contribution to charity and welfare. Their pioneering work in methods of central fund raising and distribution through their federations of charities has been most valuable. Since World War II, when their existence as a people was threatened, the Jews have risen to the challenge by an unprecedented outpouring of generosity and philanthropy.

[Isaac Levitats]

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°CHARLEMAGNE (742–814), king of the Franks from 768, emperor of the West from 800. Charlemagne was well disposed toward the Jews. A Jew, *Isaac, was a member (probably interpreter) of the delegation he sent to the caliph Harun al-Rashid. He was the only one to return from Baghdad, and brought back an elephant, Rashid's gift to the emperor. Charlemagne also had dealings with Jewish merchants, especially with an expert in jewelry. Some of his legal provisions were clearly influenced by the theological issues of his day. Thus he forbade the Jews to employ Christians to work on Sundays and Christian festivals and warned against the sale of church property to the Jews; when a Jew brought a charge against a Christian, he was required to have more witnesses than a Christian. Some legal documents, probably wrongly attributed to Charlemagne, indicate that there was a tendency to worsen the legal status of the Jews, e.g., by forcing them to take a humiliating oath. On the other hand, the legendary tales which flourished immediately after his death and gained greater currency from the 12th century onward extol Charlemagne's friendship for the Jews and make special mention of his appointment of a *nasi*, a "Jewish king," in Narbonne. They credit him with giving the Jews of that city special rights in recognition of their support when Narbonne was taken from the Muslims.

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[Bernhard Blumenkranz]

°CHARLES IV (**Charles of Luxembourg**; 1316–1378), king of Germany and Bohemia 1347–78; Holy Roman Emperor from 1355. The *Black Death and accompanying massacres of the Jews occurred during his reign. Charles ineffectually offered his protection to the Jews in *Bohemia, *Moravia, and *Silesia, and ordered the municipalities in *Luxembourg to protect their Jewish residents. He joined the pope in denying allegations that the Jews had poisoned the wells. In other regions in Germany, however, he unscrupulously utilized the massacres and expulsions to divide among his adherents the spoils taken from the victims. Anticipating anti-Jewish riots in *Nuremberg and *Frankfurt, he transferred his rights over the property of the future victims to the city councils. He sold pardons to cities where massacres of Jewish inhabitants had taken place, conducting only a perfunctory investigation in *Breslau. When, however, the decrease in his revenues resulting from these excesses became apparent, he induced the Jews to return. During his reign, the prerogatives formerly exercised over the Jews by the emperor gradually devolved on the municipalities and territorial princes.

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°CHARLES IV, king of France (1322–28). When he succeeded to the throne, Charles seemed at first to be following the favorable policy toward the Jews of his brother *Philip V, and on February 20, 1322, issued an ordinance protecting the Jews of *Languedoc. On June 24 of the same year, however, he issued an order expelling the Jews from his kingdom. This expulsion was not due, as later historians stated, to the accusation of well poisoning leveled against both the Jews and lepers. The main reason for the expulsion of the Jews seems to have been financial. Long after the departure of the Jews, officials of the royal treasury continued to claim debts owed to Jews on the plea that they had not paid an enormous fine which had been levied on them, at first fixed at 150,000 livres and then at 100,000 livres. In 1325 following an alleged child-murder by the Jews, Charles granted the children of the choir of Le Puy the right to order the punishment of any Jew who returned to the town.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Graetz, Hist, 4 (1894), 106–11, 127f.; Loeb, in: *Jubelschrift… Graetz* (1887), 39–56; Schwab, in: REJ, 33 (1896), 277–81; J. Viard (ed.), *Journaux du Trésor* (1917), passim; N. Berman, *Histoire des Juifs de France* (1937), 137–40.

[Bernhard Blumenkranz]

°**CHARLES V** (1337–1380), king of France, 1364–1380. In 1349, when he was still dauphin, he granted the right of residence to 11 Jewish families in Dauphiné. In 1358 or 1359, while he was regent for his father John II, then a prisoner, he authorized the Jews expelled in 1322 to return to France. The money the Jews had to pay in entry rights (14 florins for every couple) and in yearly residence rights (7 florins) enabled Charles to pay the ransom claimed by the English for releasing his father. He granted the Jews generous privileges, confirmed in ordinances of 1370 and 1372: they could acquire houses and cemeteries; they were not judged in civil or criminal courts by the local judges but by the king himself or their *conservateur*, an official specially appointed for this task, or else his delegates; they could decide themselves on the expulsion of particular Jews; they were not to be tried for any anterior crime; they were authorized to follow any occupation, especially moneylending at a specified rate of interest; they were not to be compelled to attend church services; their books and sacred scrolls could not be seized; and they were authorized to organize themselves in communities, to elect representatives, and to levy domestic taxes.

The right of residence, at first limited to 20 years, was twice renewed, for six and ten years respectively, long before it was due to expire. For the second prolongation granted in 1374, the Jews paid the king the sum of 3,000 gold francs. In 1378, in return for a loan of 20,000 francs, the king exempted the Jews of Languedoc from quitrents and local tariffs. In 1379, a royal ordinance protected the Jews from attempts to deprive them of monies owed to them when their debtors had died. Shortly before his death Charles ordered the commissioners sent to Languedoc to investigate also the conduct of the *conservateurs* and the judges appointed set over the Jews.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Prudhomme, in: REJ, 9 (1884), 244ff.; S. Luce, *La France pendant la guerre de cent ans*… (1890), 163ff.; *Ordonnances des Roys de France*… 4 (1734), 438ff.; 5 (1736), 490ff.; 6 (1741), 44ff., 339ff., 468ff.

[Bernhard Blumenkranz]

°**CHARLES V** (1500–1558), Holy Roman Emperor (1519–58) and king of Spain (as Charles I; 1516–56). Although maintaining the exclusion of the Jews from Spain, and upholding the Inquisition there, he continued to afford the Jews protection in the domains of the Holy Roman Empire. He refrained in 1520 from exacting the coronation tax customarily levied on the Jews, and in 1530 reconfirmed the privileges he had granted them at his coronation. The first public religious *disputation between Jews and Christians to be held in the presence of an emperor in Germany was conducted between the convert Antonius *Margarita and *Joseph (Joselmann) b. Gershom of Rosheim. After the debate Charles extended to the Jews throughout the empire the privileges which had been granted a century earlier to the Jews in Alsace. He reacted benevolently to the complaints presented to him by Joseph of Rosheim concerning Jews oppressed in various towns of the Empire. At the Diet of *Regensburg (1532) Charles was approached by the pseudo-messiahs Solomon *Molcho and David *Reuveni, but had them arrested and given up to their fate. In 1544, at the Diet of *Speyer, Charles granted the Jews liberal privileges in return for 3,000 Rhenish florins. He continued to utilize Jewish financial aid and to afford the Jews protection. Joseph of Rosheim regarded Charles as "a defending angel" of the Jews against the hostility of Martin *Luther and his supporters.

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°**CHARLES VI** (1368–1422), king of France, 1380–1422. He succeeded his father Charles V at the age of 12, but for eight years the country was governed by regents, beginning with Louis, duke of Anjou; after Charles was declared insane in 1392, the regency was again assumed by his uncles. The relatively favorable ordinance of March 26, 1381, after the anti-Jewish riots in Paris and other towns, which exempted Jews from the obligation to replace stolen pledges, was signed by Charles but was really the work of Louis of Anjou. When Charles himself assumed control, the official attitude changed. From 1388, the prerogatives of the *conservateurs* of the Jews were restricted. On Feb. 16, 1389, the two judges appointed over the Jews of northern France were dismissed, and the Jews were subjected to the jurisdiction of the Châtelet in Paris. Later the same month Charles confirmed the former privileges of the Jews and prolonged their right of residence until 1394, without however renewing it. On Sept. 17, 1394, the expulsion of the Jews from France was ordered in Charles' name. Properly speaking, this constituted a refusal on the part of the throne to renew the residence authorization issued by Charles V and which had expired in that year. The ordinance ordered the officers of the crown to call upon the debtors of the Jews to repay their debts so as to redeem their pledges, to watch over the security of the Jews and their property, and to conduct them, under protective escort, to the frontier.

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[Bernhard Blumenkranz]

°**CHARLES VI OF HAPSBURG** (1685–1740), king of Hungary as CHARLES III, and from 1711 Holy Roman Emperor. His attitude to Austrian Jewry was fanatically hostile although he appreciated the financial talents of Diego *D'Aguilar and availed himself of the services of Samson *Wertheimer and Samuel *Oppenheimer. Using the pretext of a *blood libel, Charles threatened Viennese Jewry with expulsion in 1715. Yet in 1720, as Holy Roman Emperor, he permitted the printing of the Talmud in Germany. In 1723 he renewed the privileges of Moravian Jewry, but in 1726 he ordered that Jews should be segregated from Christians in Moravian localities and issued the *Familiants laws. Under the peace treaties Charles concluded with the Turkish sultan (1718 and 1739), Jews who were

Ottoman subjects were permitted to move freely in Austria. In 1722 Charles ordered the destruction of the synagogue at *Usov (Maehrisch Aussee), and in 1732, he refused an application to build a synagogue in Vienna. He appointed David *Oppenheim as chief rabbi of Prague and Bohemia in 1713.

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CHARLES, GERDA (pen name of Edna Lipson; 1914–1996), English novelist. Charles' works reflect an Orthodox upbringing in Liverpool and her revolt against the "insensitivity" of the provincial life. She wrote novels including *The Crossing Point* (1960) and *The Slanting Light* (1963), which was awarded the James Tait Black Prize, and edited an anthology, *Modern Jewish Stories* (1963). Her last novel was *The Destiny Waltz* (1971), which won the Whitbread Prize that same year.

CHARLESTON, city in South Carolina and home of one of the oldest Jewish communities in the United States. Jews began to settle in Charleston in 1695, 25 years after the English founded Carolina. Governor John Archdale, in a descriptive report on the colony, mentioned having a Spanish-speaking Jew as an interpreter in his dealing with captive Florida Indians. The early Jews were mostly Sephardim who came to Charleston from England by way of the Caribbean islands for the commercial opportunities available in a growing Atlantic seaport, and the religious freedom and personal rights offered and tolerated by the colony's Lord Proprietors. They helped build the city's colonial prosperity largely as shopkeepers, traders, and merchants. Among them was Moses *Lindo, who helped develop the important indigo trade and was made "Surveyor and Inspector-General of Indigo" for the provinces.

Charleston Jewish community life began in 1749 when Jews were numerous enough to organize a formal congregation called Kahal Kadosh Beth Elohim (Holy Congregation House of God). Influenced by Sephardi congregation Bevis Marks in London, Beth Elohim adopted its strict Sephardi ritual and governance. Its founding fathers were Joseph Tobias, president; Michael Lazarus, secretary; Moses Cohen, rabbi; and Isaac Da Costa, ḥazzan. The congregation, in 1764, purchased Isaac Da Costa's family burial ground, established in 1754, as a congregational graveyard, now known as the Coming Street Cemetery, the South's oldest surviving Jewish cemetery. The congregation was incorporated in 1791 and, in 1794, dedicated a new synagogue with a capacity of 500 people. The Hebrew Benevolent Society, founded in 1784, and the Hebrew Orphan Society, chartered in 1802, handled charitable activities. (Both are still active.) During the first decades of the 1800s, Charleston, with more than 700 Jews, had "the largest, most cultured, and wealthiest Jewish community in America," but it began a long decline in importance soon thereafter.

The Jews of Charleston became acculturated and were well received by the general community, which to them became "this happy land." They viewed themselves and were recognized as "a portion of the people." During the American Revolution, more than a score of Charleston Jews served in the patriot forces, several as officers. Francis *Salvador, a delegate to the revolutionary Provincial Congresses, which established independence from Great Britain in South Carolina (1775–1776), was the first Jew to hold elective public office in the New World. Killed and scalped by Tory-led Indians on August 1, 1776, he was the first Jew to die for American independence. In 1790, Beth Elohim wrote congratulations to George Washington on becoming the first president of the United States; Washington replied, "May the same temporal and eternal blessings which you implore for me, rest upon your Congregation."

Charleston Jews fought in every other war in which the United States was involved. In the Civil War, even though ambivalent about secession, they joined their South Carolina neighbors in the Confederate cause. The war left Charleston and its Jews decimated and impoverished. Noticeable recovery did not occur until mid-20th century.

Jews were well integrated in the Charleston community. Jews were active Masons; Isaac Da Costa was a member of the first Masonic lodge in South Carolina and four others were among the 11 founders of the Supreme Council of Scottish Rite Masonry (1802). Isaac Harby and Jacob N. Cardozo were newspaper editors; Penina Moise was a regular contributor of poems to Charleston newspapers; Joshua Lazarus headed the utility company, which introduced gas lighting to the city; Mordecai Cohen, a peddler, became at one time the second richest man in South Carolina and was noted for his philanthropies.

Seeking to make their religion more compatible with the open American environment, petitioners sought reforms in the rituals and observances of Beth Elohim. Unsuccessful, they formed the Reformed Society of Israelites (1824–33), the first attempt at reform of Judaism in the United States. Its leaders were Isaac Harby, Abraham Moïse, and David N. Carvalho. This effort failed, but Beth Elohim did become the first Reform congregation in the United States under the Reverend Gustavus Poznanski. When a new synagogue was dedicated in 1841, the congregation installed an organ and other reforms. (The Orthodox members withdrew and formed Congregation Shearit Israel; they merged with Beth Elohim in 1866.) On that occasion Poznanski said, "This synagogue is our Temple, this city our Jerusalem, this happy land our Palestine, and as our fathers defended that temple, that city and that land, so will our sons defend this temple, this city, this land." The synagogue, now a National Historic Landmark, is the second oldest in the United States, and the oldest surviving Reform synagogue in the world.

In 1854, the Ashkenazi congregation Berith Shalome was formed, one of the oldest in continuous existence in the United States; it merged in 1954 with Congregation Beth Israel

(1911) to form present-day Brith Sholom Beth Israel. These congregations benefited from an influx of East European immigrants (1881–1920).

After World War II, industrial growth and port development, along with expansion of military facilities, brought a new prosperity to Charleston, in which its Jewish citizens shared. Accompanying this was the growth of educational and medical institutions and tourism. Demographically, the Jewish population of metropolitan Charleston grew from about 2,000 in 1948, in a general population of about 175,000, to about 5,500 in 2004, in a general population of about 570,000. This resulted from the influx of Jews from other parts of the United States attracted by economic opportunities, mild climate, and a good quality of life. Jewish population, once contained entirely in peninsular Charleston, now spread over annexed suburbs and newly developed municipalities around the city. Jews were prominent in the area's business, professional, and cultural life, but retail trade gave way to the professions – doctors, lawyers, educators, and many other occupations. Jews were active in civic clubs and charitable organizations and were often elected to public office.

There were three congregations with a combined membership of about 1,450 family units. Emanu-El Synagogue (1947), Conservative, and K.K. Beth Elohim, Reform, were the largest, each with about 550 units. Brith Shalom Beth Israel conducted a Hebrew day school, Addlestone Academy. There were six Jewish cemeteries, three of them still active, maintained by the congregations. The Charleston Jewish Federation, established as the United Jewish Appeal in 1949, raised money for local, national, and overseas causes, dealt with community relations, and published a monthly periodical. There was a Jewish Community Center and active local chapters of most national Jewish organizations. The College of Charleston's Yaschik-Arnold Jewish Studies Program provided Jewish educational opportunities to the community, and the college's Marlene and Nathan Addlestone Library housed the Jewish Heritage Collection, preserving records of the Charleston Jewish community and its people.

[Sol Breibart (2nd ed.)]

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CHARLEVILLE, town in the Ardennes, northern France, once ruled by the house of Gonzaga and therefore outside the kingdom of France. Jews received permission to settle in Charleville on May 25, 1609, shortly after the foundation of the city. In 1630, they were granted a plot of land on which to build a synagogue, and another to be used as a cemetery. Most of the Jews were expelled from Charleville in 1633 but a new community was formed there in 1651. The former Rue des Juifs is the present-day Rue Taine. In 1968 the community numbered 250, united with the community of Sedan, and had a synagogue.

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[Bernhard Blumenkranz]

CHARLOP, YECHIEL MICHEL (1889–1974), Orthodox rabbi. Charlop was born in Jerusalem. His father, Rabbi Ya'akov Moshe, was a close associate and disciple of Rabbi Abraham Isaac *Kook, chief rabbi of Palestine. Yechiel Michel studied in Jerusalem at the yeshivot Eẓ Ḥayyim and Torat Ḥayyim. At 18, he became the youngest student ever in the Yeshivah le-Meẓuyanim, a Talmud studies program at Ohel Moshe. Rabbi Isaac Jeroham Diskin, considered one of the greatest Talmud scholars of the era, handpicked Charlop to lecture in the yeshivah. As someone mentored by the leading rabbis in Jerusalem, the younger Charlop became a close family friend of Rabbi Diskin and Rabbi Kook.

The rabbi arrived in New York in 1920 and was ordained at the Rabbi Isaac Elchanan Theological Seminary. In 1930, he received additional ordination from Rabbi Kook. For a time Charlop became a pulpit rabbi at Cong. Anshei Volozhin in New York. In 1922 he moved to Canton, Ohio, where he established a Talmud Torah, and from 1923 to 1925 he served as a pulpit rabbi in Omaha, Nebraska.

In 1925, Charlop returned to New York and became the rabbi at the Bronx Jewish Center, one of the largest synagogues in the borough. He was a founder of the alumni association at RIETS, a founder of the Bronx Va'ad Harabbonim and first president and founder of the Rabbinical Council, the organization that became the *Rabbinical Council of America. He was honorary president of the Agudat Harabbonim for more than 20 years, and was instrumental in establishing kashrut supervision at the *Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations in America.

During the Holocaust, Charlop was an outspoken leader who helped organize the Rabbis' March on Washington to protest the Allies' lack of action on behalf of the Jews. As an ardent Zionist, he raised funds for the Bikkur Ḥolim Hospital, the General Orphans' Home for Girls, and three yeshivot in Jerusalem: Eẓ Ḥayyim, Torat Ḥayyim and Ḥayyei Olam. His closest involvement was with Yeshiva Beit Zevul, the kolel his father established in Jerusalem. When his father died in 1953, Charlop was asked to take his place in Jerusalem, but chose to remain in New York. In his later years, he broadcast a weekly radio program on the Torah chapter of the week.

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[Jeanette Friedman (2nd ed.)]

CHARLOTTE, city in North Carolina, U.S. Jewish communal growth followed the city's evolution from a country crossroads at its founding in 1768 to a mill town in the 1880s and then to a Sunbelt manufacturing, distribution, and financial center. The Jewish population was 104 in 1878 and 720 in 1937. As Charlotte grew into the nation's fifth largest urban region, with a city population of 540,288 in 2000, the Jewish population increased to 4,400 in 1984 and to 10,000 in 2005.

Jewish settlers arrived from South Carolina in the early republic era. Simon Nathan resided in Charlotte in 1779. Storekeepers Abraham Moses and Solomon Simons van Grol, natives of Surinam, appear on tax and military lists from 1783. Aaron Cohen was a Revolutionary War veteran. The 1820 county census lists Abraham Moses, Daniel Hyams, and Jonas Cohen.

The antebellum era saw an influx of German Jews, who peddled and opened grocery, furniture, and dry-goods stores. During the Civil War Charlotte's nine Jewish families contributed 11 soldiers, and Jewish women raised $150 to support local volunteers. Louis Leon published *Diary of a Tar Heel Confederate Soldier.*

Following the war a colony of 20 families formed. Henry Baumgarten, the city's first commercial photographer, organized local Jewry after arriving from Baltimore in 1866. Polish-born Samuel Wittkowsky served as a city alderman, first president of the Board of Trade, co-founder of the country club, and founder of the South's first building and loan firm. Jay Hirshinger served on the school board and helped establish a public library in 1891. By the 1920s the German families had largely faded.

An East European immigrant influx began in 1895 when Harris Miller opened a store, soon followed by Benjamin Silverstein. Tailors, cobblers, furriers, butchers, grocers, jewelers, and dry-goods merchants established stores near the "Square" at Trade and Tryon Streets. Local Jewry grew during World War II when Charlotte served as a military camptown. In the early 1960s a cadre of Cuban families arrived, concentrating in the textile industry.

The Hebrew Cemetery Society organized in 1867 and received a state charter three years later. Charlotte had a B'nai B'rith Lodge in 1877 and a Kesher Shel Barzel society. A Hebrew Ladies Aid Society formed in 1888. Shaaray Israel congregation held services at the Chamber of Commerce offices about 1893 with Henry Baumgarten as president. In 1895 an Orthodox congregation, Agudath Aachim (Hebrew Union Brotherhood) formed with Dr. Sam Levy as president. Its 25 families built a synagogue in 1916. In the 1930s the congregation hired a Conservative rabbi. In 1949 the congregation renamed itself Temple Israel when a new synagogue was dedicated. In 1942 Reform Jews splintered to form Temple Beth El, with a constitution by Harry *Golden, and built a sanctuary in 1948. In 1968 a second Reform congregation organized, Temple Beth Shalom, which leased space from a Baptist church until erecting a sanctuary in 1974. The two Reform temples later merged as Temple Beth El. In 1980 Lubavitcher ḥasidim established a congregation, Ohr HaTorah.

The community also supported B'nai B'rith youth groups, Women's ORT, Jewish War Veterans, and National Conference of Christians and Jews. A Hadassah chapter formed in 1934. The Charlotte Federation of Jewish Charities formally organized in 1939 in response to the European crisis. Excluded from elite societies, a dozen Jewish veterans organized the Amity Country Club in 1950, which in 1974 evolved into a Jewish Community Center. After it burned down, the community built a 54-acre, $50 million campus, Shalom Park, in 1986, which underwent a $32 million expansion in 2005. Shalom Park included a Jewish Community Center; Jewish Federation offices; Temple Israel; Temple Beth El; and a Jewish day school, originally founded in 1971 as the North Carolina Hebrew Academy.

Charlotte Jews have been notable for their entrepreneurship and philanthropy. Harry Golden, a New Yorker, published the outspokenly integrationist *Carolina Israelite* newspaper from 1942. Golden authored some 20 books, including the bestselling *Only in America*. I.D. Blumenthal, who moved from Savannah in 1924, founded Radiator Specialty Company. Blumenthal family philanthropies include the Circuit Riding Rabbi program; the Jewish Home for the Aged; Wildacres, a Jewish and ecumenical retreat; the Performing Arts Center; and the Cancer Center. Leon Levine developed Family Dollar Stores into a national chain of 3,000 stores. Leon and Sandra Levine benefactions include the Levine Museum of the New South, Children's Hospital, the Jewish Community Center, and university research facilities. Financier Dannie Heineman endowed the Medical Research Foundation. Serving in the state house were Arthur Goodman (1945, 1953, 1955) and Arthur Goodman, Jr. (1965) and in the state senate Marshall Rauch of nearby Gastonia (1967–91).

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[Leonard Rogoff (2nd ed.)]

CHARNA, SHALOM YONAH (1878–1932), educator. Born in Vilna, Charna studied there at the Jewish Teachers Institute. While most of the students and faculty were assimilationists, Charna chose the path of Jewish nationalism and Jewish scholarship. After graduating, he taught Russian language and literature for a short time. Apparently unsatisfied with this work, however, he moved to Berlin to pursue advanced studies. Upon his return to Russia, Charna became a leading figure at the Grodno Teachers Seminary, but with the outbreak of World War I, the school and its faculty moved to Kharkov. There, together with *Kahnshtam, he organized various education courses. In 1920, due to the anti-religious education policy of the *Yevsektiya (the Jewish section of the Communist Party), Charna left Russia for Kaunas (Kovno), where for two years he headed the Hebrew gymnasium and the Hebrew Teachers Seminary. Returning to Vilna in 1922, he was appointed head of the Teachers Institute under the aegis of *Tarbut, the organization for Hebrew culture and education. A prolific writer who wrote in Russian, German, Hebrew, and Yiddish, Charna's major works are a history of Jewish education (*Le-Toledot ha-Ḥinnukh be-Yisrael*, 3 pts. 1929–32) and a series of monographs on character education.

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[Judah Pilch]

CHARNEY, DANIEL (1888–1959), Yiddish autobiographer, poet and journalist; brother of Samuel *Niger (Charney) and Baruch Charney *Vladeck. Born in the *shtetl* of Dukor, near Minsk, Charney suffered from illness from his early childhood, a theme presented in his literary work, particularly in his various memoirs. Following his poetic debut in 1907, he spent his early years in journalism and in welfare work, especially during World War I. In 1918–24 he was a central figure in Moscow Yiddish literary circles. At the end of 1925 he immigrated to the U.S. but was refused entrance because of his ill health and returned to Europe. He assisted David *Bergelson in 1926 in Berlin with his pro-Soviet periodical, *In Shpan*, and from 1927–29 edited the *Yidishe Emigratsye* along with Elias *Tcherikower. After a long trip in 1929 to outlying Jewish communities in Lithuania, Latvia, and Poland he published a series of articles in the New York Yiddish daily *Der Tog* and other American and European Yiddish periodicals on the conditions of Jews there. Leaving Germany at the rise of Nazism, he lived in Paris until 1941, when he gained permission to enter the U.S. and settled in New York. He was appointed secretary of the I.L. Peretz Writers' Club (1944). Though confined to sanatoriums for long periods, he continued his literary work. His stories, poems, fables, and articles were printed in Yiddish newspapers all over the world. Among his most important works are *Barg Aroyf* ("Uphill," 1935) and his memoirs *A Yortsendling Aza: 1914–24* ("A Decade Like This," 1943).

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[Shlomo Bickel / Gennady Estraikh (2nd ed.)]

CHAROUSEK, RUDOLPH (1832–1899), Hungarian chess master. Charousek shared first place with Tchigorin (Budapest, 1896) and was regarded as a most dangerous potential challenger to Emanuel *Lasker. His games are instructive and suggest modern developments. The Charousek gambit is well-known.

CHARPAK, GEORGES (1924–), French physicist and Nobel Prize laureate. Born in Dabrovica, Poland, Charpak came to France with his parents when he was seven years old. A member of the Resistance in World War II, he was imprisoned by the Vichy authorities in 1943 and deported to the Dachau concentration camp, where he remained from 1944 until the liberation of the camp in 1945. He became a French citizen in 1946.

Charpak studied at the Ecole des Mines de Paris and was a professor at the Ecole Supérieure de Physiques et Chemie in Paris. He received a Ph.D. in 1955 from the College de France, Paris, where he worked in the laboratory of Frederic Joliot-Curie. In 1959 he joined the staff of the European Laboratory for Particle Physics at CERN in Geneva, and in 1984 also became Joliot-Curie Professor at the School of Advanced Studies in Physics and Chemistry, Paris. He was made a member of the French Academy of Sciences in 1985. In 1992 he was awarded the Nobel Prize in physics for his invention of particle detectors in high-energy physics so that, as stated in the Swedish Academy of Sciences citation, "largely due to his work, particle physicists have been able to focus their interest on very rare particle interactions, which often reveal the secrets of the inner parts of matter." His invention of the multiwire proportional chamber, enabling the collection of data a thousand times faster than with the old photographic methods, was particularly noted. It also has applications in medicine, biology, and industry.

[Ruth Rossing (2nd ed.)]

CHARTRES (Heb. קרטוש), French town, about 52 mi. (85 km.) S.W. of Paris. The importance of the Jewish community in Chartres during the Middle Ages, whose existence is attested to as early as 1130, is illustrated by the numerous street names which still exist, such as Rue aux Juifs, Ruelle aux Juifs, Place aux Juifs, and Cul-de-sac des Juifs. The Saint-Hilaire Hospital is believed to have once been a synagogue. The remains of another synagogue still existed in 1736. Probably as a consequence of the general expulsions in 1306 and 1321, Jews from Chartres are found in Aouste-sur-Sye in 1331 and in Serre in 1349. The scholars of Chartres included Mattathias, a highly esteemed contemporary of Rashi, the liturgical poet Samuel b. Reuben of Chartres, and Joseph of Chartres, who wrote a biblical commentary and an elegy on the York martyrs of 1190.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Gross, Gal Jud, 602ff.; P. Buisson and P. Bellier de la Chavignerie, *Tableau de… Chartres* (1896), 84–89.

[Bernhard Blumenkranz]

CHASANOWICH, JOSEPH (1844–1919), Zionist; one of the founders of the Jewish National *Library in Jerusalem. Chasanowich was born in Grodno, Russia and studied medicine in Koenigsberg. He settled in Bialystok, where he worked for most of his life as a doctor, devoting particular attention to the poor. In 1883 he set out to settle in Ereẓ Israel, but was forced back at Smyrna because of a cholera epidemic. In 1890 he visited Ereẓ Israel as a member of a Ḥovevei Zion delegation headed by Samuel *Mohilever. Chasanowich became one of Theodor *Herzl's fervent disciples, and supported the *Uganda Scheme. During Herzl's lifetime, he represented Bialystok at the Zionist Congresses. In 1915 he was forced to move to Yekaterinoslav, where he died in the old-people's home. Chasanowich devoted a great deal of time to collecting ancient and rare books for a national Jewish library in Jerusalem. Toward this end he published leaflets urging Jews to donate books, writing: "In our Holy City, Jerusalem, all the books written in Hebrew, and all books in all languages which deal with the Jews and their Torah, all the writings and drawings dealing with their life… will be treasured…." His vision was realized in the National Library, which was first built on Mount Scopus and later at the new university campus at Givat Ram. Altogether he collected about 36,000 books, 20,000 of them in Hebrew.

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[Avraham Yaari]

CHASANOWICH, LEON (pseudonym of **Katriel Shub**; 1882–1925), Labor Zionist leader. Chasanowich, who was born near Vilna, became active in Labor Zionism in 1905. In 1908 he fled from the Russian police to Galicia, where he edited *Der Yidisher Arbeyter*, publication of the Labor Zionists, and from 1909 worked for them in the United States, Canada, Argentina, and Britain. His book attacking the administration of the colonies of the *Jewish Colonization Association in Argentina, *Di Krizis fun der Yidisher Kolonizatsie in Argentine*, published in Yiddish and German in 1910, aroused considerable interest. He served as secretary of the world Po'alei Zion movement in Vienna (1913–19) and in 1917 edited its New York organ, *Der Yidisher Kemfer*. He joined with Ber *Borochov in agitating for an American Jewish congress. After World War I he published studies on the Polish and Ukrainian pogroms and between 1917 and 1920 he represented Labor Zionism at international socialist congresses. After the split in the Po'alei Zion movement in 1920, he worked for *ORT, mainly among Jewish farmers of Carpatho-Russia.

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[*Encyclopaedia Hebraica*]

CHASINS, ABRAHAM (1903–), pianist and composer. Born in New York, Chasins studied piano and composition at the Juiliard School of Music and later continued piano with Josef Hofmann at the Curtis Institute of Music in Philadelphia, where he became a piano teacher (1926–35). Chasins' romantically colored character piano pieces enjoyed considerable popularity. He wrote two piano concertos, which he performed with the Philadelphia Orchestra (1929, 1933). In 1941 he joined the staff of the radio station WQXR in New York as a consultant. He later became its musical director (1946–65), and gave regular broadcasts of an educational nature. From 1972 to 1977 he was musician-in-residence at the University of Southern California, Los Angeles., and music director of the university radio station KUSC. In 1976 he received the National Federation of Music Clubs' award for outstanding service to American music during the Bicentennial Year. He composed more than 100 piano pieces and famous pianists, such as Josef Lhevinne and Josef Hofmann, included them in their repertory. An orchestral version of his *Three Chinese Pieces* for piano was conducted by Toscanini with the New York Philharmonic in 1931, the first work by an American composer to be included in a Toscanini program. He wrote several books, such as *Speaking of Pianists* (1958), *The Van Cliburn Legend* (1959), *The Appreciation of Music* (1966), and *Music at the Cross-roads* (1972).

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[Gila Flam and Israela Stein (2nd ed.)]

CHASKALSON, ARTHUR (1931–), South African judge and human rights activist. Born in Johannesburg, Chaskalson was admitted as a member of the Bar in 1956 and became Queen's Counsel in 1971. He defended numerous anti-apartheid activists, serving on Nelson Mandela and others' defense team during the 1963–64 Rivonia Trial. In 1978, he founded the Legal Resources Centre, which was instrumental in opposing apartheid legislation. Shortly after South Africa's transition to a multiracial democracy in May 1994, he was appointed as the first president of the country's new Constitutional Court by President Mandela. He was appointed chief justice in 2001.

[David Saks (2nd ed.)]

CHAST, ROZ (1955–), U.S. cartoonist. Born in Brooklyn, N.Y., where she also grew up, the daughter of teachers, Chast graduated from the Rhode Island School of Design with the intention of becoming an illustrator. In 1978, the year after she graduated, she dropped off a stack of cartoons at the *New Yorker* magazine. One was accepted immediately. At first her cartoons shocked regular readers of the magazine, who were accustomed to its refined, gag-line-caption tradition. Chast developed a following for her queasy, wry commentary on middle-class American life. Soon she became the first woman to sign a long-term contract with the magazine. For more than 25 years, she submitted eight cartoons a week; of that number, one was normally published. In addition to the cartoons, Chast illustrated more than a dozen books, for children and adults, and did work for advertising agencies. Her largest cartoon, a marquee advertisement for Charles *Busch's Broadway play *The Tale of the Allergist's Wife*, in 2000, showed a doodle of a woman trapped in a shopping bag.

[Stewart Kampel (2nd ed.)]

CHASTITY, avoidance of illicit sexual activity. In the name of holiness, the Bible exhorts against following the abominations of "the land of Egypt in which ye have dwelt" and "of the land of Canaan into which I bring ye" (Lev. 18:3). Adultery, incest, sodomy, and bestiality are called abominations; rape and seduction are likewise censured (see *Sexual Offenses).

Maimonides writes, "No prohibition in all the Torah is as difficult to keep as that of forbidden unions and illicit sexual relations" (Yad, Issurei Bi'ah 22:18), quoting the talmudic statement that the Israelites initially objected when taught to desist from the immorality they had known in Egypt (*bokheh le-mishpeḥotav*, Num. 11:10 = *al iskei mishpeḥotav*, Yoma 75a). Accordingly, preventive measures are set forth in the Talmud and codes to keep one far from temptation and sexual sin. The force of this temptation, however, varies: while *yiḥud* ("being alone together") is forbidden as a safeguard against fornication, "Israel," says the Talmud, "is above suspicion of sodomy or bestiality" (Kid. 82a), and hence no preventive precautions were deemed necessary against these perversions (Yad, loc. cit., 22:2 and Sh. Ar., EH 24:1). Against incest, on the other hand, which might occur even unwittingly through the marriage of persons of unknown parentage, the preventive laws included measures to establish clearly the paternity of a child.

Adultery is severely condemned. It is both a sin (Joseph to Potiphar's wife: "How can I commit this great evil, sinning against God?" Gen. 39:9) included in the Ten Commandments (Ex. 20:14) – a sin which defiles (Lev. 18:20) – and a crime (Deut. 22:23–24). Along with murder and idolatry, the sexual offenses of adultery and incest are considered so grave that one must prefer death, viz. martyrdom, to committing them ("let him die rather than transgress," Sanh. 74a), whereas the entire Torah is otherwise set aside to preserve life or health (Yoma 82b). The adultery so roundly condemned is that involving a married woman, whereas sexual relations between a married man and an unmarried woman constitute an offense of a lesser category. This "double standard" is consistent with a patriarchal system, which allowed for polygamy but not for polyandry. Still, if the husband had not taken the second woman as wife or concubine, the relationship was considered to be one of *zenut* ("harlotry"). With polygamy and concubinage declining on both social and moral grounds, the mutual fidelity of *monogamy became the normative ideal. John Calvin was astonished at not finding an explicit reference to "fornication," i.e., relations between unmarried consenting adults, among the sexual prohibitions of the Bible. The Sifra (Kedoshim, *perek* 7:1), however, interprets Leviticus 19:29 ("Thou shalt not profane thy daughter to make of her a harlot") as referring to consensual relations without benefit of marriage (cf. Sanh. 76a). Maimonides codifies the view that declares such relations harlotry (Yad, Ishut 1:4) and that sees the marriage bond as the Torah's advance over primitive society. "A bride without the wedding blessings is forbidden to her husband like a *niddah*" (Kal. 1:1). Indeed, the laws of *niddah (of separation during the period of menstruation and subsequent purification) added a dimension to the regimen of chastity. Since even an unmarried woman, not having ritually immersed herself since her last period, is technically a *niddah*, the prohibition – interpreted to include contact (from Lev. 18:19; Maimonides, *Sefer ha-Mitzvot*, negative precept no. 353; cf. Naḥmanides ad loc.) – was construed to apply to her as well (Ribash, Resp., no. 425; *Maggid Mishneh* to Maim. Yad, Ishut 4:12). Intimacies already prohibited on grounds of erotic stimulation, or of temptation to illicit sex, were thus to be avoided on additional grounds (as opposed to other such permitted contacts: cf. Ex. R. 5:1 on "and Jacob kissed Rachel," Gen. 29:11; Ket. 17a). The implicit prohibition against premarital sex was strengthened by a decree against *yiḥud* with an unmarried woman (Av. Zar. 36b). But the temptations are seen as remaining formidable, and are best overcome by early marriage. One who passes the age of 20 and is not yet married "spends all his days in sin. 'Actual sin?' Rather say, 'in the thought of sin'" (Kid. 29b). The "sin" here, however, ends with marriage (Yev. 62b; Tur, EH 1:1, and Isserles to Sh. Ar., EH 1:1, based on Prov. 18:22) – which sets off the Jewish view of chastity from the classical Christian view. Chastity is not an avoidance of sex but of illicit sex. Sex is not intrinsically evil – embodied in original sin, incompatible with the holiness required of a priest or nun, a concession to human weakness for others – but is a legitimate good, even a *mitzvah*. Nor is procreation its justification or its primary purpose. The husband's conjugal obligations, independent of procreation, are defined in terms of frequency (Ex. 21:10; Ket. 47b) as well as quality (Isaac of Corbeille, *Sefer Mitzvot Katan*, no. 285, on Deut. 24:5; Pes. 72b); they continue even during the wife's pregnancy or if she is barren. When the procreational *mitzvah* must be set aside, for health reasons, for example, then proper contraception is called for by the various rabbinic responsa (see *Birth Control), as opposed to abstinence, which is rejected as an unwarranted frustration of the *mitzvah* of marital relations. Chastity, then, was the manner in which Judaism steered a course between the twin excesses of paganism and puritanism. To stipulate, for example, that husband or wife follow "the custom of the Persians" and remain clothed during conjugal relations is grounds for divorce according to Talmud and Codes (Ket. 48a; EH 76:13). Natural tendencies toward modesty or chastity within marriage are acknowledged in Talmud and moralistic works, but the law is established (Ned. 20b; Yad, Issurei Bi'ah 21:9) that a "man may do with his wife as he pleases," in keeping, i.e., with her wishes (*ibid.*; Abraham b. David of Posquières, *Ba'alei ha-Nefesh, Sha'ar ha-Kedushah; Sefer Ḥasidim*, ed. by R. Margalioth (1957), 339, no. 509). A man may not be "pious" at his wife's expense and pursue ascetic inclinations to the neglect of the marital *mitzvah* (Abraham b. David, loc. cit.), so that when *asceticism became popular among both Jews and Christians in the Middle Ages, there was "one important respect in which Ḥasidism differed sharply from its Christian contemporaries" – that "nowhere did penitence extend to sexual abstinence in marital relations" (Scholem, Mysticism, 106).

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[David M. Feldman]

°CHATEAUBRIAND, FRANÇOIS RENÉ, VICOMTE DE (1768–1848), French author, born in St. Malo. He led Catholic reaction against revolutionary ideas along with theorists such as De *Bonald, and De Maistre. Chateaubriand was a literary genius who drew inspiration from his native Brittany with its medieval and ultra-Catholic traditions. Thus he firmly believed in the Church doctrine that the Jews are ordained to permanent existence in a state of guilt, as a "deicide" people who had abjured and crucified the Savior (see, for instance, his essay on Sir Walter Scott). In attacking the adventurer-convert Simon *Deutz, who had been accused of reporting the Duchess de Berry conspiracy to the government of Louis Philippe, Chateaubriand called him "the descendant of the Great Traitor … Iscariot," a "Jew possessed by Satan," and challenged him to confess "how many pieces of silver he had been given for the bargain." In his *Mémoires d'outre-tombe* (12 vols., 1849–50) Chateaubriand rejoiced in the fate of "Christ's immolators": "Humanity has put the Jewish race in quarantine…," and denounced their prosperity: "Happy Jews, merchants of crucifixion, who today govern Christianity…." On the other hand, in his *Jerusalem* (3 vols., 1811) he emphasizes the durability of Jewish existence throughout the ages which has continued without any of the outer characteristics of a nation or a state. This he sees as a miracle and proof of the rule of Providence in history. Theories of this kind were typical of the conservative Romantic movement, and of a nobility hostile to the new social order. Another important example of this kind of thinking is the work of the poet A. de Vigny (1797–1863; see his *Journal d'un Poète*). Such ideas were destined to coalesce with anti-Jewish myths propagated by theoreticians of the political and social left such as *Fourier and *Proudhon and intended for the consumption of the exploited masses.

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[Emmanuel Beeri]

CHÂTEAU-LANDON, village S. of Paris. A Jewish community existed there from at least 1174. The Rue des Juifs was situated near the present Place au Change; the former mint was previously a Jewish house. The Jews were expelled in 1180, but there was a Jewish settlement in Château-Landon in the 13th century. The scholar Solomon b. Judah lived there at the end of the 13th century. The community ceased to exist with the expulsion of the Jews from France.

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[Bernhard Blumenkranz]

CHÂTEAU-THIERRY (Heb. כרך טיירי), town in Northern France, E. of Paris. The medieval Jewish community occupied the present rue de la Loi. There was certainly a synagogue in Château-Thierry during the second period in which Jews resided there, from 1315 to 1321; in 1317 legal proceedings were initiated against Christian inhabitants who had forced their way into the community. After the expulsion in 1322, Jews from Château-Thierry are found in Barrois (*Bar-le-Duc). The local scholars included Samuel of *Evreux and the tosafists Isaac and his son Bonne-Vie. During World War II the census of 1942 showed 14 Jews registered in Château-Thierry. Previously the *ORT organization had established an agricultural school there.

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[Bernhard Blumenkranz]

CHATHAM, seaport in Kent, England. A Jewish community was established there in the middle of the 18th century, composed largely of hawkers who traded with the sailors; many of them later became licensed navy agents. The first synagogue was erected c. 1760. In 1870 a new synagogue was built in memory of Captain Lazarus Simon Magnus by his father, in the gothic ecclesiastical style. The cemetery, going back to 1797 or earlier, is adjacent to the synagogue and contains a number of interesting Hebrew inscriptions. In 1968 the Jewish population of Chatham (with *Rochester) was approximately 150. In the mid-1990s the Jewish population numbered approximately 100, and was estimated at about 50 in 2004.

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[Cecil Roth]

CHATZKELS, HELENE (1882–1973), pedagogue, writer, and translator. Born in Kovno, she attended the pedagogical institute at St. Petersburg. From 1905 to 1908, she was a member of the illegal Bund. During the period 1916 to 1918, she was one of the founders of the Yiddish school network in Lithuania, remaining one of its leaders throughout its existence. The author of numerous works on education, Yiddish textbooks, children's stories, and travelogues, she also compiled the first curriculum for the study of natural sciences and geography in Yiddish schools (1918). In 1925, when the Yiddish Kultur-Lige ("culture league") was disbanded by the Lithuanian authorities, Chatzkels, together with Samuel Levin, set up an illegal leadership for the educational institutions affiliated with the league, thereby saving them from extinction. Although she supported the Soviet Union, she was also on friendly terms with Siegfried *Lehmann and acted as adviser to the educational institutions he directed at Kovno and Ben Shemen (Ereẓ Israel), visiting the latter institution in 1929. In 1931 she published a pamphlet entitled *Araber*, in which she expressed great admiration for the Zionist pioneers and denounced the Arabs for the murderous riots against the *yishuv*. After World War II she struggled for the reestablishment of the Jewish school system in Soviet Lithuania and headed the last Jewish children's home and elementary school in Kovno, until it was finally closed down by the Soviets in 1949 and 1950. During the anti-Jewish "struggle against cosmopolitanism" she wrote letters to the press and to Stalin himself, protesting Soviet antisemitism.

She was given the honorary title of "meritorious teacher" in 1947, and awarded the Order of the Red Flag in 1955. Until 1966 she was a teacher of Russian literature at a Lithuanian secondary school in Kovno.

[Esther Rosenthal (Schneiderman)]

°**CHAUCER, GEOFFREY** (1340?–1400), English poet. His major work, *The Canterbury Tales*, written during the final phase of his career (c. 1390), includes one story based on a *blood libel. *The Prioress's Tale*, which reflects contemporary prejudices, is the story of a widow's child murdered by Jews because he sings the hymn to the Virgin, "Alma redemptoris mater," when passing through the "Jewes Street" of some Asian city on his way to school. The Jews cut his throat and cast him into a pit, but he is miraculously enabled to continue singing, and in this way his body is discovered. The sequel is that all the Jews of the city are tortured and then massacred.

Chaucer refers in his tale to the story of *Hugh of Lincoln, one of the earliest blood libels in Europe, which was first heard of in the middle of the 12th century. However, Chaucer himself could not have known Jews in England, since they had been expelled a hundred years before his poem was written, though he may have visited some Jewish quarters on his travels to Italy in 1372–73. Elsewhere, in his *Tale of Sir Thopas* and in *The Hous of Fame* (c. 1380), he speaks of Jews with a degree of respect.

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[Harold Harel Fisch]

CHAVEL, CHARLES (Dov) BER (1906–1982), U.S. rabbi and author. Chavel was born in Ciechanow, Poland, and immigrated to the United States in 1919. He was ordained at the Hebrew Theological College in Chicago (1929). He served as rabbi of Congregation Anshe Sfard, Louisville, Kentucky, from 1924 to 1945 and, subsequently, spent a year as director of synagogue activities of the Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations of America. From 1946 he was rabbi of Congregation Shaare Zedek, Edgemere, Long Island. Chavel was one of the most productive American writers in rabbinical literature. His books include critical annotated editions of Naḥmanides' commentary to Pentateuch and other writings: *Perushei ha-Torah le-Rabbenu Moshe ben Naḥman* (2 vols., 1959–60), *Ramban, His Life and Teachings* (1960), *Kitvei ha-Ramban* (1962), *Perush Rabbenu Baḥya al ha-Torah* (1966–68), *Kol Kitvei Rabbenu Baḥya* (1970), and a translation with annotations of Maimonides' *Sefer ha-Mitzvot, Book of Divine Commandments* (1940). He also published critical editions of early commentaries on the Bible and Talmud. He also wrote *Sefer David Turei Zahav: Perush le-Rashi al ha-Torah me-et Rabbenu David ben Shemuel ha-Levi* (1978) and edited *Encyclopedia of Torah Thought: Rabbenu Baḥya ben Asher* (1980), *Ḥizkuni: Perushei ha-Torah le-Rabbenu Ḥizkiyyah ben Mano'ah* (1981), *Sefer ha-Mitzvot le-ha-Rambam im Hasagot ha-Ramban* (1982), and *Perushei Rashi al ha-Torah* (1982). From 1957 he was editor of *Hadorom*, the Hebrew journal of the Rabbinical Council of America.

[Elazar Hurvitz]

CHAVES, city in N. Portugal, W. of Bragança. A large Jewish community existed there in the Middle Ages noted for its *bet midrash*, said to have been named Genesim, after the Book of Genesis. The community was granted a charter of privileges in 1434. Before the expulsion of the Jews from Portugal in 1496/97, the community paid the crown an annual tax of 31,000 reis. Subsequently a Marrano community continued to exist in Chaves. When in the 20th century the Marranos in Portugal renewed contact with Judaism, some openly returned to Judaism in Chaves. In 1930 a committee of "New Jews" was established there, with Lieutenant Augusto Nuñes, himself a former Marrano, acting as chairman. With the establishment of the dictatorship in 1932, Jewish missionary activities among the local Marranos decreased.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: J. Mendes dos Remedios, *Os Judeus em Portugal*, 1 (1895), 361; Portuguese Marranos Committee, *Marranos in Portugal* (1938), 8.

CHAVES, Portuguese family, named after its town of origin, Chaves. After the expulsion and forcible conversions of 1496–97, it was one of the wealthiest and most distinguished of the Marrano families. Branches of the family settled in Amsterdam, Leghorn, and London in the 17th and 18th centuries. Notable among those in Amsterdam were MOZES DE CHAVES, a calligrapher who lived in the beginning of the 18th century; AARON DE CHAVES, who in 1767 published Reuel Jesurun's *Dialogo dos Montes*, prefacing it by a poem of his own, written in Portuguese; and JACOB DE CHAVES, disciple of Moses Ḥayyim *Luzzatto, to whom the latter dedicated his play *La-Yesharim Tehillah*, as a present on his marriage to Rachel de Vega Enriques in 1743. Members of the Chaves family in London included the cantor ISAAC DE CHAVES, who lived in the beginning of the 18th century, and his contemporary, DAVID DE CHAVES, a physician to the Beth Ḥolim society. An ex-captain in the Portuguese service, Captain Chaves, then living in Leghorn, was denounced to the Lisbon Inquisition in 1658.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: J.L. D'Azevedo, *Hoistoria dos christãos Novos Portugueses* (1921), index; J.S. da Silva Rosa, *Geschiedenis der Portugeesche Joden te Amsterdam* (1925), index; A.M. Hyamson, *Sephardim of England* (1951), index; I. Emmanuel, *Precious Stones of the Jews of Curaçao* (1957), index.

CHAYEFSKY, PADDY (1923–1981), U.S. playwright. Chayefsky, who was born in the Bronx, New York, first began writing while recovering from wounds received in the U.S. Army during World War II. In a number of his works, Chayefsky draws on his first-hand knowledge of Jewish life and tradition. *Marty* (1953), a television play, was a warm portrayal of a Bronx butcher's love for a teacher. It was made into a successful motion picture that won an Academy Award in 1955. This was followed by a number of other television plays including *The Bachelor Party* (1957) (which was also made into a screen play), and *The Catered Affair* (1955). In his play *The Tenth Man* (1959), Chayefsky revived the legend of the dybbuk, setting his story in the Bronx. *Gideon* (1961), a play inspired by the biblical account of the Hebrew judge's victory over the Midianites, dramatizes man's alternate dependence on and rebellion against God. Chayefsky's most ambitious work, *The Passion of Joseph D.* (1964), which he also directed, is a morality play dealing with the major personalities of the Russian Revolution of 1917. In 1974 Chayefsky was awarded the Laurel Award, the most coveted prize of the Writers' Guild of America.

[Joseph Mersand (2nd ed.)]

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Current Biography*, 18 (Sep. 1957), 16–18; *Newsweek* (Nov. 20, 1961 and Feb. 24, 1964); *Life* (Dec. 15, 1961); *Theatre Critic* (Jan. 1962).

CHAZAN, ELIYAHU SIMCHA (c. 1905–1982), Orthodox rabbi. Chazan grew up in Bransk near Bialystok. He stayed in Bransk after his bar mitzvah to study with Rabbi Simeon *Shkop, a noted scholar. He continued his studies with Rabbi Joseph Solomon *Kahaneman in Ponevezh, then went to Telshe to study with Rabbi Ḥayyim Rabinowitz, and spent some time in Slobodka and Mir before learning with Rabbi Baruch Ber *Leibowitz in Lukishok in 1921.

He followed Leibowitz to Kamenetz, where he stayed for several years, and in 1928, left on a fundraising mission with Rabbi Leibowitz's son-in-law, Rabbi Reuven Grosovsky, on his first trip to the United States. After World War II broke out, Chazan fled to Vilna and ultimately found refuge in Japan. After the war, he settled in Montreal, Canada. In Montreal, he served as a pulpit rabbi at Congregation Chevra Shas and as a Talmud teacher at Yeshiva Merkaz Ha Torah. He also worked closely with the Montreal Va'ad Harabbonim.

In 1946, at the request of Rabbi Shraga Feivel *Mendlowitz, he accepted an appointment to teach at Torah Vodaath in Brooklyn and earned a reputation as an outstanding teacher of the Talmud. He remained at Torah Vodaath for at least 20 years, and also, beginning in 1966, taught at the mesivta of the Ḥasidei Gur.

A prolific writer, in Europe he published several articles in the journal *Ohel Torah* and in the United States contributed regularly to *Ha-Pardes.* Other articles appeared in *Ha-Mesivta, Ha-Darom*, and *Talpiot.* In 1965, the first volume of his commentary on the Mishneh Torah, *Divrei Eliyahu,* was published to acclaim from Rabbi Joseph Dov *Soloveitchik of the Rabbi Yitzchak Elchanan Theological Seminary. He completed the rest of the work during the 1970s and also worked on the *Encyclopedia Talmudit* project sponsored by Yad ha-Rav Herzog.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: M. Sherman, *Orthodox Judaism in America: A Biographical Dictionary and Sourcebook,* (1996), 48–49.

[Jeanette Friedman (2nd ed.)]

CHAZAN, ROBERT (1936–), leading historian of the Jewish Middle Ages, focusing especially on Jewish-Christian relations and disputations. Chazan received his B.A. from Columbia College (1958), rabbinical ordination from the Jewish Theological Seminary (1962), and his Ph.D. from Columbia University (1967). He taught at the Jewish Theological Seminary (1962–67); Ohio State University (1967–80), where he also served as director of the Melton Center for Jewish Studies; Queens College (1981–87), where he served as director of the Center for Jewish Studies; and from 1987 has served as Scheuer Professor of Jewish Studies at New York University.

Beyond his teaching, Chazan has been very active in the American Jewish academic scene. He was the president of the Association for Jewish Studies (1988–91) and served as the editor of the *AJS Review* (1983–88). He was a member of the executive committee of the American Academy for Jewish Research and served as its president. In addition he was chairman of the Academic Advisory Board of the National Foundation for Jewish Culture and provided services to the Memorial Foundation for Jewish Culture and the Wexner Foundation.

He is the author of nine books: *Medieval Jewry in Northern France* (1974); *Church, State, and Jew in the Middle Ages* (1980); *European Jewry and the First Crusade* (1987); *Daggers of Faith: Thirteenth-Century Christian Missionizing and Jewish Response* (1989); *Barcelona and Beyond: The Disputation of 1263 and Its Aftermath* (1992); *In the Year 1096: The Jews and the First Crusade* (1996); *Medieval Stereotypes and Modern Antisemitism* (1997); *God, Humanity, and History: The Hebrew First-Crusade Narratives* (2000); and *Fashioning Jewish Identity in Medieval Western Christendom* (2004). He has authored dozens of articles and edited three volumes as well.

Chazan's work is characterized by a nuanced perspective on Jewish-Christian relations that were not by any means always characterized by hostility, and in which numerous factors – political, economic, religio-cultural – are seen as having contributed to the outbreak of hostilities between Jews and Christians when they did occur. Chazan is also deeply sensitive to the impact of the Crusades on the political, economic, and religious worldviews of Jews in the German Rhineland. He presents Jews not only as victims but also as people actively confronting the core issues of the day in a manner that mirrors the efforts of the surrounding Christian majority.

[Jay Harris (2nd ed.)]

CHEB (Ger. **Eger**), town in West Bohemia, Czech Republic. The community there, one of the oldest in Bohemia, dated from the 13th century. The privileges granted to Cheb Jewry by the rulers were successively endorsed by the kings of Bohemia, from Ottokar II in 1266 to Charles IV in 1347. When in 1322 the town was pawned to the king, the privileges of the

Jews were explicitly included in the agreement and reendorsed whenever the status of the town was reconfirmed, as in 1347 and 1385. The community had increased to almost 3,000 by the 14th century; almost all were massacred in 1350. The Jewish street became known as "Mordgaesschen," i.e., "Murder Lane" (the Jewish street today). Jews again began to settle in Cheb in 1352 but were forbidden to live in the former Jewish street. In 1364 Charles IV confirmed their right to a synagogue and cemetery. At the election of the town council in 1386, four *Judenmeister* were also appointed. Sigismund I granted certain privileges to the Jews, but in 1430 expelled them from Cheb at the request of the townspeople. The synagogue was converted into a church and the cemetery was closed. Jews were permitted to return to Cheb in 1435, but were again expelled in 1502. In 1463 King George of Podebrad permitted them to build a synagogue. During the intervals in which the community was able to flourish peaceably, a number of well-known Jewish scholars were active in Cheb. Rabbi Nathan (second half of the 14th century, first half of the 15th century) acquired international fame here. He died and was buried in Jerusalem. From the end of the 17th to the middle of the 18th centuries a few Jewish families lived there. They left for unknown reasons. A new congregation was established in 1862 and grew rapidly. By the beginning of the 20th century the name of Eger had become a byword for rabid antisemitism in the Hapsburg empire. There were 515 Jews living in Cheb in 1921, and 491 in 1930 (1.5% of the total population), of whom 75 declared their nationality as Jewish. During the Sudeten crisis of 1938 the Jewish community left Cheb. On September 23 the city's two synagogues were burned down. In January 1945 a transport of prisoners from Auschwitz stopped at the local railroad station and 139 dead bodies were removed. They were cremated at the local crematorium. In the cemetery a monument in memory of Nazi victims was dedicated in 1950. At nearby Pořiči another 180 bodies were removed from the same train, the victims having died en route or been shot. They were subsequently cremated or buried at the local cemetery.

A congregation of about 200 was organized in 1945, but dispersed in 1947. In 1962 ten Jewish families were living in Cheb. In 1969 a memorial to the Jewish victims of the Holocaust was unveiled on the site of the Jewish cemetery destroyed by the Nazis.

Noted Jews born in Cheb include Norbert *Frýd (1913–1976), who wrote about the Holocaust in his native country; the German-Jewish poet Hugo Zuckermann (1881–1914), and Paul Loewy-Levi (1891–1970), a pioneer of the puppet theater and stage designer.

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[Isaac Ze'ev Kahane / Yeshayahu Jellinek (2nd ed.)]

CHEBAR (Heb. כְּבָר [נְהַר]), a canal in Mesopotamia; in Akkadian, *nār kab(b)aru/i*, the "very thick" (i.e., wide, great) canal, perhaps identical with *Purat Nippur*, the "Euphrates [-canal] of Nippur" (cf. Gen. R. 16:3). On the banks of this canal near the village of Tel-Abib (where a colony of Ezekiel's fellow exiles lived – Ezek. 1:13, 15), the prophet Ezekiel experienced his initial vision (Ezek. 1:3; 3:23; 10:15, 20, 22; 43:3). The canal is referred to in the *Murashu documents discovered at Nippur. Since this town is virtually bisected by Shatt el-Nil, a canal that leaves the Euphrates north of Babylon and reenters it south of Warka (biblical Erech; Akk. Uruk), the Chebar canal is most likely the modern silted-up Shatt el-Nil.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: H.V. Hilprecht, *Exploration in Bible Lands* (1903), 411ff.; idem and A.T. Clay, *Business Documents of Murash – Sons of Nippur* (1898), 26ff., 76; S. Daiches, *The Jews in Babylonia* (1910), 10–11; G. Gardascia, *Les archives des Murashu* (1951), 2; E. Vogt, in: *Biblica*, 39 (1958), 211–6.

[Shalom M. Paul]

CHECINY (Pol. **Chęciny**), small town in Kielce province, Poland. A Jewish community is first recorded there in 1465. In 1656, during the Swedish-Polish war, 150 Jews were murdered by the soldiers of Stefan *Czarniecki. There were 912 Jews living in Checiny in 1765, including a large number occupied in the salt trade, 14 bakers, 11 distillers, and 5 butchers. The city council granted the right to manufacture and trade in alcoholic beverages to Jews. The Polish kings Michael Wisniowiecki and John III Sobieski confirmed the trading rights of the Jews in the town. For some time the Jews in Checiny formed the large majority of the population, numbering 2,860 in 1856 (76%), 4,361 in 1897 (70%), 2,825 in 1921 (55%), and 3,100 in 1939 (60%).

Holocaust Period

The German Army entered the town on Sept. 5, 1939, and during the winter, Jews from *Kielce and from the territory of Warthegau incorporated into the Third Reich were deported there. On June 24, 1940, 250 young men were sent from Checiny to the forced labor camp in *Cieszanow, where all of them perished. In June 1941 a closed ghetto was established. In June 1942, 105 men were deported to the forced labor camp in Skarzysko-Kamienna. On Sept. 13, 1942 (the second day of Rosh Ha-Shanah), the ghetto was liquidated, and the entire remaining population deported to *Treblinka death camp for extermination. The Jewish community in Checiny was not refounded after the war.

[Stefan Krakowski]

BIBLIOGRAPHY: L. Lewin, *Die Judenverfolgungen im zweiten schwedisch-polnischen Kriege* (1901); Rutkowski, in: BŻIH, 15–16 (1955), 75–82. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** M. Paulewicz, "Osadnictwo zydowskie w Checinach," in: BŻIH, no. 2, 94 (1975), 25–30; idem, "Stan demograficzno-ekonomiczny mieszczan checinskich narodowosci zydowskiej w 1919 r.," in: BŻIH, 3, 111 (1979), 106–12; A. Penkalla, *Zydowskie slady w wojewodztwie kieleckim i radomskim* (1992), 29–32.

CHEDORLAOMER (Heb. כְּדָרְלָעֹמֶר), king of Elam, to whom five kings in the southern region of the Land of Canaan had paid allegiance for 12 years. In the 13th year the Canaanite kings revolted, and in the following year Chedorlaomer led a punitive expedition against them, together with three other eastern kings. They routed the five kings of Canaan in the area of the Dead Sea. When Abraham heard that his nephew Lot had been taken captive by Chedorlaomer and his confederates, he mustered his retainers and pursued them, successfully attacking them north of Damascus, rescuing the captives and retrieving the booty (Gen. 14:1–16).

Neither the narrative nor Chedorlaomer is known from other ancient sources, although the name is genuinely Elamite. The name Chedorlaomer is composed of two elements, each of which appears separately in Elamite sources. "Laomer" is apparently a divine name whose Elamite form is *Lagamar*. "Chedor" is derived from the Elamite *Katir, Kutir,* meaning "servant." The name would thus mean "servant of [the god] Lagamar." Inasmuch as Genesis 14 places Chedorlaomer at the head of the coalition, the original form of the story may have originated during the Middle Elamite period (1500–1100 B.C.E.) when Elam was a dominant power.

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[Bustanay Oded]

CHEESE, mentioned in the Bible only once by the term *gevinah* (Job 10:10) and once as *ḥariẓei ḥalav* (I Sam. 17:18), a kind of cottage cheese. In the Talmud, cheese is much more frequently mentioned. Apparently in the period of the Second Temple the cheesemakers formed a guild and their name has been preserved in the Tyropoeon valley (Gr. Τυροποὲων, of the "cheesemakers") mentioned by Josephus (Wars, 5:140)

Cheese is most prominently mentioned in the Talmud with regard to the prohibition of eating cheese made by Gentiles. According to the Jerusalem Talmud (Shab. 1: 4, 3c), it was one of the 18 injunctions enacted by the sages in the upper rooms of Hananiah b. Guryon (the parallel passage in the Babylonian Talmud (13b) does not mention cheese). The Mishnah (Av. Zar 2:5) gives two reasons for the prohibition – one that the milk was curdled with rennet from the stomach of animals which had not been slaughtered according to the requirements of the *dietary laws; and the other, that rennet was used from animals sacrificed for idolatry. The *Halakhah* followed this talmudic injunction, applying it rigidly even if the rennet used by the Gentile cheesemaker was otherwise permissible, as when derived from vegetarian sources (Sh. Ar., YD 115:2). However, in later centuries, the law became more lenient, permitting a Jew to produce cheese in vessels of Gentile cheesemakers (*ibid.*, 105:12) and allowing the consumption of cheese made by Gentiles, if a Jew was present during its manufacture (Isserles to 115:2). The prohibition, however, does not extend to soft cheese of the cottage type, since rennet is not used.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: ET, 5 (1953), 84–91; Eisenstein, Dinim, 68.

[Louis Isaac Rabinowitz]

CHEHEBAR, ISAAC (1912–1990), rabbi of the Congregación Israelita Sefaradí de la Argentina *Yesod Hadath* – the main communal organization of the Jews from Aleppo in Buenos Aires. He was born in Aleppo, Syria, and lived there until 1952. He studied in a *talmud torah* and in a yeshivah, and in addition to the traditional studies of Bible, Talmud, and rabbinical law, he learned Arabic and French. In 1930 he was appointed principal of the *talmud torah* in his city, with about 700 students. He invested all his efforts in the modernization of the school but rejected the assistance of the *Alliance Israélite Universelle since it was a nonreligious institution.

At the end of 1947 the Arab population attacked the Jews of Aleppo following the UN General Assembly decision on the partition of Palestine (Eretz Israel). While most of the Jewish leaders fled from the city after the riots, Rabbi Chehebar undertook the leadership of the community and became its representative vis-à-vis the government. Jewish life continued but security conditions became precarious. In this role he encouraged and helped many Jews, including his parents and family, to immigrate to Israel. In 1952 Chehebar escaped to Lebanon with his wife and children. A year later he arrived in Buenos Aires and was appointed chief rabbi of the Aleppo Jewish community. He was deeply concerned about the observance of *mitzvot* by the members of his congregation and worked to establish religious schools for children and adults. In 1983 he received the Jerusalem Award for Jewish education in the Diaspora from the World Zionist Organization and the Jewish Agency for Israel.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: D. Bargman, "*Rabbi Itzjak Chehebar – Un visionario, vida y obra*" (1995).

[Efraim Zadoff (2nd ed.)]

CHEIN, ISIDOR (1912–1981), U.S. psychologist. Chein was a research worker in the psychological aspects of social problems such as intergroup relations and narcotic addiction. He wrote *The Road to H: Narcotics, Delinquency, and Social Policy* (1964) and *The Science of Behavior and the Image of Man* (1972).

His articles on the adverse effects of segregation were quoted by the U.S. Supreme Court in its desegregation decision of 1954. Chein was the associate director of research for the Commission on Community Interrelations of the American Jewish Congress (1949–52). He was also a council member of the Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues (1959–61) and served as its president from 1961 to 1962. In

1975 he was honored with the SPSSI's annual Lewin Memorial Award for "outstanding contributions to the development and integration of psychological research and social action."

Chein wrote about the place of the Jew in pluralistic American society. He advocated Jewish participation in institutional settings, such as integrated housing and hospitals, to avoid divisiveness or a sense of separateness, but he supported separation in matters uniquely religious. He wrote, "Our goal is a feeling of Jewish identification which is integrated with the best values of American culture and which opposes both assimilation and ghettoism." He was strongly in favor of multiple group membership as well, writing: "Opportunities for Jews to participate as Jews in affairs which are of concern to the general community – e.g., in working for specific civil rights programs – should be developed and exploited…. It helps the person to feel that being a Jew does not prevent him from participating as an individual in the broader grouping, and hence eliminates a barrier to a feeling of dual membership." He also promoted Jews' working on behalf of social justice for other ethnocultural and religious communities as well as their own. This, he felt, was possible only from the secure position of belonging to one's own group.

Chein's works on identity were found mainly in Jewish publications, as working documents for CCI, or as talks given to Jewish community center workers, parents, educators, and social workers. Most of them remain unpublished.

[Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

CHELM (Heb. חלם, חלמא), city in Lublin district, Poland. The community is considered one of the oldest in Poland, possibly dating from the 12th century, although the first recorded evidence of its existence is a tombstone dating from 1442. The ancient synagogue of Chelm was built in the characteristic style of the early synagogues of Poland (see *Synagogues, Architecture of). Jews of Chelm are mentioned as royal tax farmers from the end of the 15th century. R. Judah Aaron of Chelm, appointed tax farmer in 1520, was apparently also rabbi of the community (in documents he is mentioned by the title *Doctor Legis Mosaicae*). In 1522 he headed the communities in the districts of Lublin, Chelm, and Belz. His son was the kabbalist Elijah Ba'al Shem of Chelm (d. 1583), associated with stories of a Golem. There is also information from this period about the yeshivah in Chelm: its principals, Simeon Auerbach and Solomon Zalman, are mentioned by David Gans in his *Ẓemaḥ David* (1592/93). In 1550, the community numbered 371 persons living in 40 houses. The tax records for 1564 indicate that the Jews shouldered the major share of the town taxes. Frequent disputes between Jews and Christians in Chelm on money matters were litigated in court. In 1580 and 1582 there were anti-Jewish outbreaks following incitement by the clergy. Samuel Eliezer b. Judah *Edels (Maharha) was rabbi of Chelm from 1606 to 1615. During the *Chmielnicki massacres of 1648, 400 Jews perished in Chelm, probably including refugees from the surrounding areas. The few survivors were persecuted by the local populace and clergy, who attempted to dispossess the Jews of their property and abolish their legal rights.

The community had revived by the beginning of the 18th century, when Jews of Chelm took an important part in the export trade. From 1726 to 1739, the representative of Chelm in the *Councils of the Lands, Heshel b. Meir, served as *parnas* and *ne'eman* of the council. Prominent figures in Chelm in this period were Solomon b. Moses *Chelm and Ẓevi b. Joseph, who in 1789 published a pamphlet in Polish on the "Jewish problem." At the beginning of the 19th century the *ẓaddik* R. Nata (d. 1812) lived in Chelm and founded a local ḥasidic dynasty there. Subsequently the rabbis of the community were Hasidim. The community numbered 1,500 in 1765, 1,902 in 1827 (68% of the total population), 2,493 in 1857 (68%), 7,226 in 1897 (56%), 13,537 in 1931 (46.5%), and approximately 15,000 (almost 50% of the town's population) in 1939. In addition to religious institutions it maintained an orphanage, an old-age home, a yeshivah, and a secondary school. Two Jewish weeklies were published in Chelm during the 1920s and 1930s.

[Aryeh-Leib Kalish]

Holocaust Period

On Sept. 14, 1939, the Soviet Army occupied Chelm, but withdrew two weeks later in accordance with the Soviet-German agreement. At least several hundred young Jews also left the town during the Soviet army's withdrawal. The German army took over the city on Oct. 9, 1939, and immediately initiated a series of pogroms in which scores of Jews lost their lives. On December 1, 2,000 Jewish men between the ages of 15 and 60 were driven in a death march to the Bug River. Only 150 survived. The Jews in Chelm were forced to live in restricted quarters, but a closed ghetto was not established there until late 1941. The first mass deportation from Chelm took place on May 21–23, 1942, at which time 5,000 Jews (including 2,000 deportees from Slovakia) were sent to the *Sobibor death camp. Another 600 were sent there in June. On October 27–28, 3,000 were sent on a forced march to Wlodawa. Few survived. On November 6, the last Jews were dispatched in a final *Aktion* to Sobibor for extermination. Only a handful of workers were left in the town's prison; of these 15 survived and were liberated with the town on July 22, 1944. The Germans had destroyed all Jewish public buildings, among them the 700-year-old synagogue. Most Jews who left for the Soviet Union in 1939 joined the Soviet or Polish armies.

Until the 1950s, several Jewish families lived in postwar Chelm. Organizations of Jews from Chelm are active in Israel, South Africa, the United States, France, Argentina, Australia, Canada, and Brazil.

[Stefan Krakowski]

Chelm in Folklore

Chelm has a niche of its own in Jewish folklore and humor because of the reputed naiveté of its inhabitants. Numerous stories circulated about the doings of the Chelm community. The council is traditionally depicted as sitting "seven days and seven nights" to solve the problems brought before it. Hence "Chelm" has become a byword for an assembly of simpletons, and the "Chelmer" (person from Chelm) for the simpleton. The dilemmas which arise and solutions arrived at are both comic and unrealistic, generally involving questions of practical and theoretical wisdom in which the Chelmer is invariably expected to be out of his depth. The tales and their variants are similar to the stories related about "noodles" in towns of "wise men" in other cultural environments, told of Abdera in Greece and Gotham in England, for instance. The Chelm stories depict a community baffled by its surroundings and constantly faced with the predicament of applying "theory" to practice. The leaders of Chelm, and frequently the whole community, have been given by Jewish folklore the nickname *Chelmer Khakhomim* ("Wise Men of Chelm") while an inhabitant of Chelm is referred to as a *Chelmer Khokhem* ("Sage of Chelm").

[Aryeh-Leib Kalish]

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CHELM, SOLOMON BEN MOSES (1717–1781), Polish rabbi and one of the first *Maskilim in Poland. He was born at Zamosc, son of a wealthy merchant and scholar, under whom he studied. He apparently came under the influence of a circle of talmudists who pursued secular studies, since, according to his own testimony, he acquired an extensive knowledge of algebra, engineering, astronomy, philosophy, grammar, and logic. In his younger years, while still maintained by his father-in-law R. Moses Parnas, he was, according to R. Mordecai of Lissa, "already renowned for his keen intellect, his erudition and his many distinguished qualities and virtues." His first rabbinical position was at Chelm – hence his name. While there, he published in 1751 *Mirkevet ha-Mishneh*, which immediately established his reputation. He received a call first to serve as rabbi to the community of Zamosc and district in 1767, a post of considerable importance, and then, in 1771, to Lemberg and district. Solomon intervened in several disputes, among them the *Cleves Get, in which he supported the validity of the divorce document against the rabbis of Frankfurt and others who contended that it was invalid. His signature appears on the *Takkanot of the Council of Four Lands for the years 1742, 1751, and 1753. In 1777, after serving in the rabbinate for six years, he resigned, took leave of his family in Zamosc, and set out for Ereẓ Israel. En route he visited SMYRNA AND CONSTANTINOPLE (in 1779). He reached Tiberias and apparently went to Salonika as an emissary of Ereẓ Israel, where the printing of parts two and three of *Mirkevet ha-Mishneh* was interrupted by his sudden death. They were completed there a year later with the assistance of a local philanthropist and R. Joseph Ẓalmona. His *Mirkevet ha-Mishneh* (part 1, Frankfurt on the Oder, 1751; parts 2 and 3, Salonika, 1782 and New York, 1948; part 3, Jerusalem, 1956) contain novellae on the Talmud and the *Mishneh Torah* of Maimonides, whom he vehemently defended against the criticisms of *Abraham b. David of Posquières. In the introduction, written in polished rhymed prose, he vigorously attacked those who opposed the study of the sciences, and made several hostile allusions to the pietistic and mystic sects of the era before *Israel Ba'al Shem Tov. Because of the metaphorical language some scholars thought mistakenly that he referred to the latter's followers. He wrote *Sha'arei Ne'imah*, on the intonations of Psalms, Proverbs, and Job (Frankfurt on the Oder, 1766), republished by Judah Loeb b. Ze'ev as an addendum to his *Talmud Leshon Ivri* (Vilna, 1816), and a pamphlet entitled *Berekhot be-Ḥeshbon* on talmudic arithmetic and measures, appended to part 1 of *Mirkevet ha-Mishneh*. Other unpublished works are *Lev Shelomo*, consisting of 32 (the numerical value of "Lev") responsa, mentioned by Azulai in *Shem ha-Gedolim* and *Ḥug ha-Areẓ* on the geography of Ereẓ Israel. He wrote a comprehensive halakhic code in ten volumes, based on the Shulḥan Arukh, to which he gave the name *Asarah Shulḥanot* ("Ten Tables"). Only two of them were published – *Shulḥan Aẓei Shittim*, on the laws of Sabbaths and festivals (Berlin, 1762), and *Ḥakham Lev*, on the laws of marriage (Jerusalem, 1927). Chelm had extensive holdings which were successfully managed by two of his brothers, David and Ḥayyim of Zamosc.

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[Itzhak Alfassi]

CHELMNO (Ger. **Kulmhof**), Nazi extermination camp on the Ner River 37 mi. (60 km.) west of *Lodz, the first site used for the murder of Jews by gassing as part of the German Final Solution to the Jewish question. The gassing of Jews began on December 8, 1941, and continued through March 1943. Jews from the Warthegau district, which had been annexed by the Third Reich, were deported to Chelmno for extermination until there were no more Jews in the region, except for the inhabitants of Lodz, the last of the Polish ghettos, which remained in operation until August 1944, longer than any other ghetto, perhaps because of its productivity. The camp was reopened and restaffed in June–July 1944 to oversee the murder of 7,000 Jews from Lodz; the remaining Jews from Lodz were sent to Auschwitz. In the fall of 1944 special units under *Aktion* 1005 were sent to Chelmno to dig up the bodies and burn them, thus destroying evidence of the crime. The SS abandoned Chelmno on January 18, 1945, the very date the death marches left Auschwitz ahead of advancing Russian troops.

According to some sources, approximately 320,000 Jews were murdered at Chlemno, including 60,000 Jews from Lodz and 11,000 West European Jews who had been shipped to the Lodz ghetto. Other sources speak of half that number. Jews were the primary victims of this death camp, but not the only ones. Among those murdered were 5,000 gypsies who had been deported to Lodz and sent from Lodz to Chelmno, an unknown number of Soviet prisoners of war, and 88 children from the Czechoslovakian village of Lidice, which was destroyed because of its proximity to the site where Reinhard *Heydrich was assassinated, even though no one in the village was involved in the attack.

The camp personnel consisted of fewer than 20 SS men and about 120 German regular police for auxiliary functions, first under Herbert Lange (until the spring of 1942) and then Hans Bothmann.

Upon arrival, the victims were informed that they were to work in factories. The Germans carefully camouflaged the camp to hide from the new arrivals any outward sign of extermination apparatus. They utilized an innocent-looking ancient palace called the Schloss, surrounded by a high fence,

The camp was divided into two parts, the arrival camp (the Schloss) and the Waldlager, the camp for cremation and burial located some 2.5 miles away in the Rzuwowski forest to hide its function. Other death camps used stationary gas chambers and crematoria that were first used in the Nazi murder of the handicapped. Chelmno used mobile gas vans that had also been developed in the *euthanasia program and were also utilized in the contemporaneous murder of Jewish men in Serbia and in the murder of Jewish women and children there in 1942. Unlike the other death camps that were situated adjacent to major railroad lines, freight trains could not reach Chelmno directly. Jews were transported to the Kolo Station and then transferred to a narrow-gauge track and taken to Powiercie station, and from there by truck to the Schloss. They were concentrated there in groups of 50 and taken to the cellar, where their valuables were confiscated and they were told to undress. To deceive the victims, a sign read: “To the Washroom.” They proceeded by ramp to gas vans whose two rear doors were open. They too were disguised as delivery vans in an effort to deceive the local population. The doors were next shut and a flexible hose connected the exhaust pipe directly to the rear compartment of the truck as the short trip began to the Waldlager. The Renault trucks that were employed developed problems with their rear axles as victims rushed to the rear of the truck seeking to escape. Reinforced axles provided greater reliability for the mobile gas chambers. Death by gassing took a few minutes and the truck then continued slowly on its way to a mass grave in the nearby forest. The Germans constructed two crematoria following a typhoid epidemic in the district caused by the decaying corpses in the summer of 1942. A few Jews were kept alive temporarily to strip the corpses of their valuables, burn, and bury them. The belongings taken from the victims were collected under the German administration of the Lodz ghetto and most of them sent to Germany. From August 1944 until January 1945 the only function of the German crew was obliterating the traces of the extermination installations. In January 1945, with the Soviet troops fast approaching, the SS began to execute the remaining Jewish workers, some of whom attacked the Germans, killing two of them. The SS then burned the building in which the Jewish workers were housed. There were only two Jewish survivors of the camp, Mordechai Padchlebnik and Simon Srebnik, and one escapee, Jacob Grojanowski, who fled to Warsaw. His account of the camp's activities was received in mid-January 1942, just as the gassing began, by *Ringelblum's Oneg Shabbat group, which had intense interest in what was happening throughout Poland, and was transmitted to the London-based Polish government-in-exile and published there. The American Jewish publication *The Jewish Frontier* contained a detailed article on Chelmno in December 1942. In 1962–63, a trial of 12 members of the SS crew was held in Bonn. They were all found guilty and sentenced to 1 to 20 years' imprisonment.

Claude Lanzmann interviewed Simon Srebnik, who was just 13 when he entered Chelmno. Srebnik said: “There were 80 people in each van. When they arrived, the SS said, ‘Open the doors,’ and we opened them. The bodies tumbled right out. An SS man said, ‘Two men inside!’ These two men worked the ovens. They were experienced. Another SS man screamed, ‘Hurry up! The other van's coming!’ That's how it went all day long.”

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[Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.]

CHELOUCHE, Sephardi family in Ereẓ Israel. AVRAHAM CHELOUCHE (1812–1858), the first member of the family to settle in the country, was born in Oran, Algeria. He arrived in Haifa with a group of family and friends in 1840, after a stormy voyage in which one of their boats was damaged and 18 people died, among them two of Chelouche's sons. Chelouche eventually settled in Jaffa, being one of the first Sephardim to live there. He was active in the town's communal affairs. His nephew, YOSEF ELIYAHU (1870–1934), born in Jaffa, was instrumental in introducing several industries to Ereẓ Israel. He was a founder of Tel Aviv and one of its early builders. He served on the Tel Aviv Committee from its founding in 1909 until 1926, and later served on the town council. A leader of the Sephardi community, he was active in helping the refugees from Jaffa-Tel Aviv during World War I. His memoirs, *Parashat Ḥayyai* (“The Story of My Life”), were published in 1931. His sons MOSHE and ẒADDOK were also active in communal and financial affairs.

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[Benjamin Jaffe]

CHEMICAL CRAFTS AND INDUSTRIES. During the Middle Ages a number of crafts involving the use of chemical processes and a certain chemical knowledge were practiced by Jews. Jews sometimes dabbled in *alchemy, which frequently led to results of importance to chemistry; the responsa of the *geonim* mention merchants of Egypt who were attracted to alchemy. Prominent among the crafts involving chemistry were *dyeing and soapmaking, in which Jews specialized in various countries at different periods. The Jews of Tunisia exported soap in large quantities, on occasions involving hundreds of pounds in weight, to Egypt in the 11th and 12th centuries. Soap would sometimes be brought also from Ereẓ Israel and Syria; the fluctuation in prices coinciding with the arrival of ships from Tunisia is marked. A workshop for soap production was built by a Jew in Marseilles in the 14th century, and there were Jewish producers of soap at Arles and Genoa at that time. In 1381, a Jew in Majorca was granted a monopoly on the soap industry for ten years. In 1594–95 the Jews of Leghorn established two soap factories. Throughout the 16th century the finest quality soap, mainly from olive oil, was produced by Jews in the Ottoman Empire. Occasionally they used animal fat, even pig fat, for the handling of which they received special permission from the rabbis of Salonika. In 1515 it was reported that some Jews of Rome had invented an improved process for the manufacture of potassium nitrate (saltpeter), the principal ingredient in the manufacture of gunpowder. In 1630 a Levantine merchant named Naḥman Judah was permitted to manufacture cinnabar, sublimates and other chemical compounds in Venice, and even to live outside the ghetto for this purpose. After his death a similar privilege was granted to another Jew for the manufacture of these materials as well as aqua fortis and white lead.

Modern Period

Jewish scientists and industrialists have been prominent in modern chemical science and industry. However, despite individual enterprise and achievement, the proportion of Jews engaged in this branch has been small even in comparison with their participation in other industries. The 266 Jews employed in the chemical industries in Germany in 1882 formed 1% of the total number of Jews employed in German industries at that date. The number increased to 1,693 in 1925 but still formed only 3.43% of the total number of Jews employed in German industries. In Poland, 8,139 Jews were employed in chemical industries in 1931, forming 1.6% of the total number of Jews employed in Polish industries, compared with 2.5% for non-Jews. Notable individual contributions were made by Jews to chemistry in Poland in the 19th century, since this was a rapidly developing field which depended on scientific ability and skilled management and was relatively unhampered by old traditions. In the period between the two world wars Jews were the leading producers of soap, candles, and cosmetics in Poland. The sole factory for aniline dyes there was established by a Jew. The PPG factory for rubber products was founded by Jews.

Notable among the pioneers of the chemical industry in Germany were C.T. *Liebermann, in the production of dyes from synthetics; Heinrich *Caro, manager of the Badische Anilin-und Sodafabrik, who invented a number of synthetic dyes including red dye from aniline; Adolf von *Baeyer, inventor of a method for the production of indigo blue from intro-phenylpropiole acid; and the brothers Arthur and Carl Weinberg, who worked for Leopold Casella and Company on dye production, and subsequently for the I.G. Farben company. The first potash plant in Germany was established by Adolph Frank in 1861. Nikodem *Caro assisted him in developing the fixing of nitrogen and headed the Bayerische Stickstoffwerke in Munich. Fritz *Haber, the leading chemist of his era, saved the German munition industry in World War I by his timely discovery of a process for synthesizing ammonia. In England, important contributions were made by Ludwig *Mond and his son Alfred (Lord *Melchett). Ludwig, with his partner and assistant J. Brunner, established a soda factory in 1873 in Winnington and in 1880 founded the firm Brunner, Mond and Co. which became the leading alkali producers. He revolutionized the chemical industry with the discovery of a new method for the extraction of sulfur from by-products of alkalis; he also invented the famous mondgas and discovered the nickel carbonyl process. Alfred later became head of the firm and of the International Nickel Co. Ltd. and headed the Imperial Chemical Industries. Numerous Jews have founded or directed undertakings in the chemical industries in the United States, including H. Bennett, manager of Glyco Products Co. Inc., of New York from 1927–58; S. Cohen, chairman and manager from 1954 of Petrocarbon Chemical Inc. of Dallas, Texas; and A. Epstein (1890–1948), a leading member of Epstein, Reynolds, and Harris in Chicago. Important firms established in South Africa at the end of the 19th century include the Jewish-owned Schlesinger-Delmore soap factory in Cape Town, a match factory founded by F. Ginsberg in 1886 in King Williams Town, and a soap and candle factory also founded there by Ginsberg in 1890.

[Jacob Kaplan]

In Israel

In the early 1930s, well before the establishment of the State of Israel, there existed a chemical industry both in minerals (the Dead Sea Works) and pharmaceuticals. By 1969 the industry was exporting $80,000,000 worth of products and supplying local demand for fertilizers, detergents, and drugs. In 1970 the Dead Sea Works produced 1,000,000 tons of potash and 12,000 tons of bromine and bromine compounds, double the production of 1966, as well as supplying home requirements of table and industrial salts. Negev Phosphates at Oron produced 1,000,000 tons a year of phosphate rock, a raw material in fertilizer of grades ranging from 29–35% phosphate content. All these products were exported, apart from small quantities of phosphates made into fertilizer, and potash was upgraded locally for export. Chemicals & Phosphates Ltd. in Haifa supplied local demand for fertilizers and detergents and also manufactured sulfuric and phosphoric acids, ammonia, fluorides, and phosphate salts. *Timna Copper Mines exported 12,000 tons of copper cement in 1969. Haifa Chemicals Ltd. had constructed and was running a plant to produce 100,000 tons of potassium nitrate and 15,000 tons of high-grade phosphoric acid. The processes for these products had been developed by Israel Mining Industries, a research group specializing in minerals indigenous to Israel – potash, phosphates, chlorine, bromine, and magnesium.

Israel Petrochemical Industries were established in 1961 to utilize distillation products of the Haifa petroleum refineries. In 1970 the company produced 17,000 tons of polyethylene and 12,500 tons of carbon black sufficient to meet the requirements of local tire and plastic companies. Electrochemicals Ltd. produced chlorine, caustic soda, vinyl chloride monomer, polyvinyl chloride, and fruit essences. Gad and Carmel Chemicals manufactured urea formaldehyde and were erecting a methanol plant. Miles Chemicals Ltd. were producing food chemicals and, together with the Hebrew University and Weizmann Institute of Science, had joint companies for the manufacture of diagnostic systems and advanced preparations.

By the late 1920s companies producing pharmaceuticals for the local market had been set up in Jerusalem and Tel Aviv. In 1970 there were a number of companies producing a wide variety of drugs and other chemical preparations for the local market and for export. They include Makhteshim, Pazchem, and Agan (insecticides and pesticides), Assia, Teva, and Abic (pharmaceuticals).

Since the 1970s Israel's chemical industry has expanded to reach an export figure of $3.66 billion in 2000, representing 43 percent of total production in the industry, 14 percent of the country's industrial output, and 20 percent of Israel's total exports. The industry employed around 25,000 workers. In pharmaceuticals Israel became the world's largest generic producer, with Teva leading the way. In 2005 Teva purchased the Ivax Corp. for around $7.4 billion.

RESEARCH. Apart from research done in company laboratories, there were institutes working on local minerals (Israel Mining Industries), silicates, and fibers, financed mainly by government sources. The Fertilizer and Industrial Chemical Development Council worked on product development and market research for the manufacturing companies. The Hebrew University, the Weizmann Institute of Science, and the Haifa Technion also carried out research in the mineral and pharmaceutical field. All research bodies made their patents and know-how available both in Israel and abroad.

[Israel Gal-Edd]

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CHEMISTRY. Since the birth of modern chemistry at the beginning of the 19th century, Jews have taken a full part in all branches of the science, and the percentage of Jews achieving eminence has been high compared to their number in the general population, as has been true in scientific disciplines generally. Thus around 20% of Nobel Prize laureates in chemistry have been Jews.

Henri *Moissan (1852–1907), a French inorganic chemist, was one of the first Jewish scientists to win a Nobel Prize, awarded in 1906 for his investigation and isolation of the element fluorine and for the electric furnace named after him. Otto *Wallach (1847–1931) characterized 12 different terpenes which were different from one another, in place of the far greater number of products previously thought, and charted their interrelationships and determined their structures, based on rings with six carbon atoms as the basic skeletons. He received the 1910 Nobel Prize for chemistry for "his pioneer work in the field of alicyclic compounds." His work was scientifically important in clarifying a field of natural products, and also (through his students) led to the industrial synthesis of camphor and artificial perfumes. Richard *Willstaetter (1872–1942) showed that chlorophyll, the essential agent for plants to absorb sunlight and carbon dioxide for synthesis, has two components, contains magnesium, is closely analagous to the red pigment of blood, and contains phytol. At a time when enzymes were still considered to be mysterious agents specific to life processes, he emphasized the view that they are chemical substances. Fritz *Haber (1868–1934) synthesized ammonia from hydrogen and nitrogen, which led to its commercial production. George Charles de Hevesy (1885–1966) was a pioneer in the use of radioactive tracers or "labeled atoms," an important tool in chemical and biological research. Together with D. Coster, he discovered a new element, no. 72, which he called hafnium, and added a new field – X-ray fluorescence – as a method of analysis of trace materials in minerals, rocks, and meteorites.

Melvin *Calvin (1912–1997) used carbon-14 isotope as a radioactive tracer to study photosynthesis – the process whereby living plants convert atmospheric carbon dioxide into sugars under the influence of sunlight and chlorophyll. Max Ferdinand *Perutz (1914–2002) started the study of the structure of crystalline proteins by X-ray diffraction. After 30 years this enabled a complete analysis to be made of the positions of all the 2,600 atoms in the myoglobin molecule and the 10,000 atoms in the molecule of hemoglobin, the component of blood which carries oxygen to the body cells. Christian Boehmer *Anfinsen (1916–1995) was awarded the Nobel Prize for chemistry in 1972 (jointly with Stanford Moore and William *Stein) for proving that the three-dimensional, folded structures of protein chains depends partly on the amino acid sequences which make up protein chains and partly on the physiological milieu (the "thermodynamic hypothesis"). Later he applied the technique of affinity chromatography to protein isolation and purification, which enabled the production of large quantities of interferon and opened the way to advances in anti-viral and anti-cancer therapy. Ilya *Prigogine (1917–2003) and his associates used physical chemical experiments and mathematical modeling to understand the basis of stability in chemical reactions and biological systems. He refined the earlier concept of entropy, a measure of disorder in a system, with the theory of dissipation, that is, the regulated fluctuations which promote stability in the face of irreversible change. His theoretical and mathematical formulation of "dissipative structures" created by irreversible processes led to the award of the Nobel Prize in 1977. Herbert C. *Brown (1912–2004) was awarded the Nobel Prize in chemistry in 1979 for his studies on the application of borohydrides and diborane to organic synthesis, which has had a revolutionary impact on synthetic organic chemistry. He discovered that the simplest compound of boron and hydrogen, diborane, adds with remarkable ease to unsaturated organic molecules to give organoboranes. In addition, his studies of molecular addition compounds contributed to the reacceptance of steric effects as a major factor in chemical behavior. Paul *Berg (1926–) succeeded in developing a general way to join two DNAs together *in vitro*, work that led to the emergence of recombinant DNA technology, a major tool for analyzing mammalian gene structure and function. Walter *Gilbert (1932–), a molecular biologist, made significant contributions in the fields of biophysics, genetic control mechanism, and protein DNA interaction. He worked extensively in the field of the early evolution of genes. Roald *Hoffmann (1937–) focused on molecular orbital calculations of electronic structures of molecules and theoretical studies of transition states of organic and inorganic reactions.

Aaron *Klug (1926–) was awarded the Nobel Prize in chemistry in 1982 for his study of the three-dimensional structure of the combinations of nucleic acids and proteins. He developed techniques which enabled the study of both crystalline and non-crystalline material and led to "crystallographic electron microscopy." He demonstrated that a combination of a series of electron micrographs taken at different angles can provide a three-dimensional image of particles, a method which is of use in studying protein complexes and viruses. His work later formed the basis of X-ray CT scanner. His subsequent research was on the structure of DNA and RNA binding proteins which regulate gene expression and in particular on the interaction with the zinc finger family of transcription factors which he discovered.

Herbert Aaron *Hauptman (1917–), the only mathematician to have received the Nobel Prize in chemistry, developed with physicist Jerome Karle mathematical methods for establishing the structure of complex molecules which could previously only be determined by time-consuming, classical crystallographic techniques of more limited scope and accuracy. Sidney *Altman (1939–) shared the Nobel Prize in chemistry with Thomas Cech for similar discoveries they made in the 1970s and early 1980s while working independently. They found that in its role as a chemical catalyst, the RNA subunit of RNase P from bacteria can cleave some transcripts of genetic information. Rudolph Arthur *Marcus (1923–) was awarded the Nobel Prize in chemistry in 1992 for his mathematical analysis of the cause and effect of electrons jumping from one molecule to another. Marcus is also well known for his theory of unimolecular reactions in chemistry, the RRKM theory, which more than 50 years after its development is still the standard theory in the field. It treats the fragmentation of high-energy molecules, as in the atmosphere and in combustion.

George A. *Olah (1922–) was awarded the Nobel Prize for chemistry in 1994 for his work on carbocations. He and his colleagues showed beyond doubt that stable, positively charged organic hydrocarbons made up of hydrogen and carbon can be created. This work has broad theoretical implications for chemical bonding and organic chemistry and practical applications in hydrocarbon technology. Walter *Kohn (1923–) developed mathematical models and computational techniques for applying quantum mechanics to chemistry. His density functional theory based on electrons' spatial distribution made it possible to describe the bonding of atoms and thereby to study the structure and function of complex molecules.

Aaron J. *Ciechanover (1947–) and Avram *Hershko (1937–) became the first Israeli scientists to win the Nobel Prize, sharing it in 2004 with Irwin *Rose. They discovered the ubiquitin proteolytic system, which is now known to be involved in regulating a broad array of biological processes in health and disease, such as division, differentiation, signal transduction, trafficking, and quality control. A drug based on the general discovery of the ubiquitin system is used for the treatment of multiple myeloma.

CHEMNITZ (formerly **Karl-Marx-Stadt**), city in Germany. Jews are first mentioned in Chemnitz in 1308. In October 1367 the Jew Frondel was assigned a tax of 50 groszy. Later the Jews, once more mentioned in 1423, probably moved to nearby Bohemia and from there to Poland, preserving the town's Latinized name, Caminici, and other medieval versions such as Kamentz and Kempnitz in the family names Kempnitz, Karminsky, and others. In the 1860s a few individual Jews lived in Chemnitz; by 1871 there were 101. A Jewish religious and educational association organized religious services in 1874, founded a *ḥevra kaddisha* in 1878, and acquired a cemetery in 1879. The first rabbi was appointed in 1881 and the first teacher in 1885, when the community obtained corporate rights from the Saxon state. A synagogue was consecrated in 1899. In 1890, 955 Jews lived in Chemnitz; the numbers were 1,137 in 1905, 2,796 (0.84% of the total population) in 1925, and 2,387 (0.68%) in June 1933. Under the kingdom of Saxony (until the end of 1918) there was a ban on *sheḥitah*. The community had cultural, social welfare, and youth organizations.

Dr. Leo Fuchs (the last rabbi) was editor of the monthly paper *Juedische Zeitung fuer Mittelsachsen* from 1931 to 1938. Nazi excesses began early in 1933. In September 1935 Jewish children were no longer allowed to attend public schools; as a result a Jewish school was set up. On *Kristallnacht (Nov. 9, 1938) the synagogue was burned down and all male Jews were arrested; with the exception of the rabbi, protected by an Aryan physician, they were all sent temporarily to Buchenwald where one died and two shortly after being discharged. Presumably from the end of 1941, all those unable to emigrate were deported to the East; no records on emigration and deportation are available. In 1945/46, 50 Jews lived in Chemnitz; in 1959 there were 30 in the town, then renamed Karl-Marx-Stadt. Dr. Curt Cohn, who survived the Holocaust, moved to Berlin and became a judge of the Supreme Court of the German Democratic Republic.

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[Toni Oelsner]

CHEMOSH (Heb. כְּמוֹשׁ), the chief god of the Moabites. The Bible uses the form *kemosh* (Num. 21:29; Jer. 48:13, et al.), while in the *Mesha Stele the name appears as *kmš*, lacking the *vav*. In other epigraphic material the name appears as the theophoric component of proper names such as *kmšˁm* and *kmšʾl*. In Akkadian documents the name appears both alone as *dKa-am-muš* and as the theophoric component in proper names such as *Ka-mu-šu-na-ad-bi, dKa-mu-šú-šar-uṣur*. The etymology of the name is unclear. Some scholars tend to assume that Chemosh was the god of war in the Moabite pantheon. Thus Mesha, king of *Moab, attributed his victories over Israel to Chemosh, dedicating a *bamah* ("high place") to him at Dibon. Mesha also proscribed for him (see *Ḥerem) the Israelite city of Nebo and part of the spoils of the war. Support for the view that Chemosh was a god of war is sought in the Greek name of the site Areopolis (Rabbath Moab), since Ares is the name of the Greek god of war (cf. Jerome; in: PL23, col. 909). According to some scholars, the passage in which Jephthah argues with the king of Ammon, "Do you not hold what Chemosh your god gives you to possess?" (Judg. 11:24), alludes to Chemosh as a war god. It is difficult to understand why Jephthah would mention Chemosh when speaking to the Ammonites and many theories have been advanced to explain this. Others view Chemosh as the god of the netherworld on the basis of an Akkadian god-list which identified him with the god Nergal (*dKa-ma-muš, dNérgal*). Support for this identification may be found in Ugaritic texts in which the name *Kmṭ* appears next to the god *Ṭṭ*, whose name suggests "earth" (Heb. *ṭiṭ*, "mud, clay"). The compound Ashtar-Chemosh on the Mesha Stele may refer to the goddess Ishtar, who was considered, according to this, Chemosh's mate. Alternatively, it may identify Chemosh with the deity Ishtar, the morning star. The cult of Chemosh was known to the Israelites. Solomon built a high place to him in Jerusalem (I Kings 11:7, 33), and according to biblical tradition, it was only desecrated in Josiah's time some 400 years later (II Kings 23:13).

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[Bustanay Oded]

CHENNAMANGALAM (also known as **Chennotty** or **Shenut**), island in the Periyar River near *Cranganore, India, home of an old Jewish settlement. The present deserted synagogue, built in 1614, replaced several earlier ones which were successively burned down. A Hebrew inscription of 1269 dedicated to the memory of Sara, daughter of Israel, discovered in the old cemetery is the earliest Hebrew inscription so far found in India.

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[Walter Joseph Fischel / Yulia Egorova (2nd ed.)]

CHERITH (Heb. כְּרִית; Kerith), brook in the vicinity of the *Jordan where *Elijah hid at the beginning of the drought that he had prophesied (I Kings 17:3, 5). He was fed there by ravens who brought him bread and meat morning and evening until the brook dried up. Various identifications have been suggested but none is convincing. The Irish novelist George Moore wrote a novel under the title *The Brook Kerith* (1916) dealing with the life of Jesus.

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[Michael Avi-Yonah]

CHERKASSKY, SHURA (1911–), pianist. Cherkassky was born in Odessa, and as a child received piano lessons from his mother until 1922, when his family left for the United States. There he studied at the Curtis Institute, Philadelphia, with Josef Hofmann. In 1923 he began playing in public; five years later he toured Australia and New Zealand. From that time, with few interruptions, he gave concerts in almost every country in the world. Cherkassky was a virtuoso of fiery temperament, and his performances were varied in execution, from careless, imprecise playing to that of the utmost brilliance and emotional warmth.

[Max Loppert]

CHERKASSY, district capital on the River Dnieper, Ukraine. Jews settled there in the 16th century. During the *Chmielnicki massacres in 1648 they fled from the city. They suffered again during the *Haidamack disturbances in the 1730s. The community numbered 171 in 1765; 1,568 in 1847; and grew to 10,950 in 1897 (37% of the total population) and 12,979 in 1910. Jews contributed to the development of the food industry. Many were employed in grain dealing and crafts. A group of tailors organized a cooperative in 1910. The community of Cherkassy suffered tragically during the civil war in Russia (1917–21): about 700 Jews were massacred there by followers of the Cossack hetman Grigoryev in pogroms in May 1919, and some 250 perished at the hands of *Denikin's army the following August. Later a Jewish self-defense organization was established with the aid of the Soviet authorities. It continued in existence until 1921, and hundreds of families took refuge in Cherkassy from the surrounding towns and villages. The Jewish population of Cherkassy numbered 10,886 in 1926 (28.2% of the total population) and dropped to 7,637 in 1939 (15%). In 1924, 67 Jewish families founded a farm cooperative, later turned into a kolkhoz. In 1925 a Jewish law court and police department were opened, operating until the beginning of the 1930s. Two Yiddish schools also operated in Cherkassy. The Germans occupied the town on August 22, 1941. A ghetto was established on November 10, and at the end of the month 900 Jews were murdered. The rest of the ghetto inmates were massacred in 1942. A Ukrainian women rescued 25 Jewish orphans. In 1959 there were 5,100 Jews in Cherkassy (6% of the total population). Most left in the 1990s, but Jewish life revived and a synagogue was opened in 2003.

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[Yehuda Slutsky / Shmuel Spector (2nd ed.)]

CHERNEY, BRIAN (1942–), Canadian composer, musicologist, teacher. Cherney was born in Peterborough, Ontario. During his childhood he commuted several hours each week to study composition with Samuel Dolin at Toronto's Royal Conservatory. He went on to study composition with John Weinzweig at the University of Toronto and completed a Ph.D. dissertation (1974) on the Bekker-Pfitzner controversy during the Weimar Republic. While still a graduate student, he encountered Ligeti and Stockhausen at the Internationale Ferienkuerse fuer Neue Musik in Darmstadt and taught composition and theory at the University of Victoria and McGill's Faculty of Music, continuing there throughout his career.

Influenced by Messiaen, Ligeti, Lutoslawski, Carter, and Crumb, Cherney aimed for "a sense of poetry and mystery through lyricism, color and multilayered textures." Commissioned by I Musici of Montreal, his *Illuminations* (1987) is also influenced by certain aspects of Jewish mysticism, and in turn, his compositions have inspired such works as Vivie' Vincent's *In the Stillness of the Seventh Autumn* (1991). Later works include *La Princesse lointaine*, a double concerto for harp and oboe (2002).

Cherney is author of the only major biography of Canadian composer Harry Somers (1975). He has also had compositions commissioned by such organizations and performers as the Canadian Jewish Congress, the New Music America Festival, and Rivka Golani, who has premiered several of his works, including *Chamber Concerto for Viola and Ten Players* (1975); *String Trio* (1976), which tied for first place at the UNESCO International Rostrum of Composers in Paris, 1979; *Seven Miniatures* (1978); and *Shekinah* (1988).

Cherney's works have been performed and broadcast throughout Canada, the United States, Europe, Japan, South America, and Israel. Cherney's *River of Fire*, written for oboe d'amore and harp, was recorded by his brother, Lawrence (Larry; "Canada's Ambassador of New Music"), and Erica Goodman, and was awarded the Jules Léger Prize for New Chamber Music (1985).

[Jay Rahn (2nd ed.)]

CHERNIACK, SAUL MARK (1917–), Canadian lawyer, soldier, community leader, politician, and public servant. Cherniack was born in Winnipeg in 1917 to Alter and Fania Cherniack. Like his father he went into law, graduating from the University of Manitoba in 1939. During World War II he served in the Canadian Army, promoted to the rank of captain in the Canadian Intelligence Service as a Japanese-language specialist. In 1950 he was elected a Winnipeg School Board trustee; he then served as a Winnipeg Beach councilor, City of Winnipeg alderman and councilor of the greater Winnipeg Metropolitan Corporation before being elected to the Manitoba Legislature in 1962.

In 1969, Cherniack became minister of finance in Manitoba's first NDP government. He also served as deputy premier and as minister of urban affairs. In the latter role he led the way to creating a single metropolitan area out of Winnipeg and its adjoining suburbs. On retiring from elected office in 1981, he was appointed chairman of Manitoba Hydro. He was named to the Privy Council of Canada in 1984, and in 1993 to the Order of Canada, with a citation crediting him with a "significant contribution" to Canada's Security Intelligence Review Committee, which he was "instrumental in establishing" and where he served from 1984 to 1992.

In the Jewish community Cherniack followed the example set by his parents in serving as a leader in the I.L. Peretz Folk School (from which he graduated), as Western Region chair and national vice president of the Canadian Jewish Congress (of which his father was a founder), and as president of the Winnipeg Jewish Welfare Fund.

[Abraham Arnold (2nd ed.)]

CHERNIAVSKY, family of Odessa musicians. JAN (1892–1989), a pianist, LEO (1890–1974), a violinist, and MICHAEL (1893–1982), a cellist, were a well-known trio. They began as infant prodigies in Russia, toured in Western Europe from 1904, went to South Africa (1908–09 and 1911), India, Australia, and New Zealand (1914), and made their New York debut in 1916. After separating, they appeared individually. Another brother, ALEXANDER (1896–), a pianist, formed a trio with his sister Marion and cousin Boris, and they toured South Africa in 1912. After World War I, he settled there as an impresario.

CHERNIGOV, district capital in the Ukraine. An indication that Jews were living in Chernigov in the Middle Ages is provided by a 13th-century manuscript which mentions "a R. Itze from Sarangov" (*Isaac of Chernigov). Their presence ended with the Mongol invasions. It was renewed in the 17th century, but the Jews were periodically expelled from the town. In 1623 the king of Poland, Ladislas IV, ordered the expulsion of the Jews from the districts of Chernigov and Seversk after complaints by the Christian merchants and craftsmen about Jewish competition. However, the decree was not implemented. The community of Chernigov is recorded among those destroyed during the *Chmielnicki massacres of 1648. Chernigov passed to Russia in 1667, and the Jewish community was not renewed until the partition of Poland at the end of the 18th century, when the town was included in the Pale of Settlement. There were 1,389 Jews living in the city and district in 1801 and 2,783 in 1847. The census of 1897 recorded a Jewish population of 8,799 in the city (31.7% of the total) engaged in commerce and crafts (such as tailoring and shoemaking) and also in tobacco growing and business connected with the orchards in Chernigov and the vicinity. *Ḥabad Ḥasidim had a strong following in the community, and from the middle of the 19th century, Pereẓ Ḥen, one of the outstanding Ḥabad Ḥasidim, officiated as rabbi of Chernigov, followed by his son, Ḥayyim David Ẓevi Ḥen. Apart from *hadarim* there were a *talmud torah* with 110 pupils, elementary schools, and a vocational school for girls. Chernigov was the birthplace of the poet and doctor Judah Leib Benjamin *Katzenelson (Buki ben Yogli, 1846–1917) and the poet *Zelda Shneurson-Mishkovsky (1914–1984). In October 1905 a pogrom was staged, several Jews were killed, many wounded, and shops and homes looted. The Jews in Chernigov organized *self-defense against pogroms. There were 13,954 Jews living in Chernigov in 1910. Under Soviet rule communal and religious life came to an end. Many Jews left the city, and in 1926 there remained 10,607 (approximately 30% of the total population), rising to 12,204 in 1939. During the Soviet period Jews were employed in government offices and stores and artisan cooperatives. Many worked in a large textile factory. Chernigov was taken by the Germans on September 9, 1941. By late October 400 Jews had been killed, and at the beginning of November 3,000 were executed on the grounds of the city jail. Jews returned to Chernigov after the war and were soon subject to the restrictions imposed on all Russian Jewish communities. In 1959 there were 6,600 Jews in the town, and the last synagogue was closed down by the authorities the same year. In 1970 the Jewish population of Chernigov was estimated at 4,000. Most left in the 1990s, but Jewish life revived with a full range of religious and community services and a full-time rabbi.

Province

Jewish settlement in Chernigovshchina (the region of Chernigov), which ceased with the 1648 massacres, was again authorized in 1794. Subsequently, there was continual movement of Jews from Belorussia and Lithuania to the area. The communities in Chernigov and *Starodub were established at the end of the 18th century. From time to time the authorities issued regulations to prevent the settlement of Jews in the province, in particular in the villages. However, in 1865 the position of the Jews there was made to conform with that of Jews in other parts of the *Pale of Settlement. There were 1,113 Jews living in the area in 1797, and over 18,000 in the 17 communities of the province according to the census of 1847. In 1852, 28,919 were recorded (the increase shown probably reflecting the inaccuracy of the previous census), of whom 1,704 belonged to the merchant estate, 639 were agriculturalists, and the rest were classed as townsmen. In 1869 there were 35,624 Jews in Chernigov province (2.2% of the total population). The outbreak of pogroms in southern Russia in the spring of 1881 also spread to the south of Chernigov province, the communities of *Konotop and *Nezhin being the most severely affected. The census of 1897 recorded 114,452 Jews in the province (5% of the total population), a much lower proportion than in the provinces west of the Dnieper. A considerable number (approximately 39%) were scattered in the villages, where they had been living before the definitive prohibition on Jewish residence in the villages in 1882, and were employed in small businesses and crafts. The larger communities of the province were, besides that of the capital (see above), those of *Nezhin (numbering 7,630), Starodub (5,109), Konotop (4,420), Glukhov (3,853), *Novozybkov (3,836), and *Pochep (3,172). Because of the relatively small number of Jews in Chernigov province, many used the Russian language. Nearly half earned their living from trade, in particular in the sale of agricultural products, and approximately 30% from crafts. Severe pogroms broke out in 329 localities in October 1905, in which the communities in Nezhin, *Novgorod-Seversk, Novozybkov, Starodub, and Surazh suffered most. As a result, many Jews in the villages moved to the towns. In the spring of 1918 pogroms were perpetrated in the province by the Red Army during its retreat from the Germans in theUkraine. Subsequently, in 1919 and 1920, the Jews in the villages were almost all butchered by local peasant gangs.

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[Yehuda Slutsky / Shmuel Spector (2nd ed.)]

CHERNISS, HAROLD FREDRIK (1904–1987), U.S. scholar of classical philosophy. Cherniss traced the development of the Aristotelian system. He also analyzed Aristotle's interpretations of his predecessors and the way in which their ideas became part of Aristotle's system. Cherniss was born in St. Joseph, Missouri, and studied at the Universities of California, Goettingen, and Berlin. He taught at Cornell and Johns Hopkins Universities, occupied the chair in Greek at Berkeley (1946–48), and was appointed professor at the Institute of Advanced Studies at Princeton. His major writings are *Aristotle's Criticism of Presocratic Philosophy* (1935), *Aristotle's Criticism of Plato and the Academy* (1944), *The Riddle of the Early Academy* (1945), *Platonism of Gregory of Nyssa* (1971), and *Plutrach's Moralia* (1984). Cherniss also wrote extensively on the development of Plato's Academy after Plato's death.

[Richard H. Popkin]

CHERNOBYL, town on the River Pripet, Kiev district, Ukraine. It had one of the oldest Jewish settlements in the Ukraine, dating from the end of the 17th century. It was originally under the jurisdiction of the Lithuanian Council and attached in 1710 to the *Council of the Four Lands. In 1691 a Cossack gang killed many Jews and pillaged their property. There were 695 Jewish poll taxpayers in Chernobyl and the surrounding villages in 1765. In the late 18th century, Menahem Nahum (1730–1787), a disciple of *Israel b. Eliezer Ba'al Shem Tov, settled there. He was the author of *Me'or Einayim* and *Yismaḥ* Lev, both printed in Slavuta in 1798. His son Mordecai founded a dynasty of *ẓaddikim* and made Chernobyl a center of Ḥasidism (see *Twersky family). Mordecai's many sons also founded ḥasidic courts, the most famous being R. Duvidl of Talnoye. The community numbered 3,482 in 1847 and 5,526 in 1897 (59.4% of the total). Many engaged in trade in agricultural products and crafts. The Jews in Chernobyl suffered from pogroms in October 1905, when Jewish property was pillaged, and from April 7 to May 2, 1919, at the hands of the Struk peasant gangs, who killed 150 Jews, injured many, and burned down most of the Jewish shops and houses. With the establishment of the Soviet government in 1920, communal, social, and religious life came to an end. The Jewish population numbered 3,165 in 1926 (39% of the total), dropping to 1,783 in 1939 (total population 8,470). In 1939 most of the Jews worked in eight artisan cooperatives. There were also two Jewish kolkhozes and a Yiddish school in operation. The Germans occupied Chernobyl on August 25, 1941. On November 7 they executed a large group of Jews. Jews returned after the war. In 1965, when there was no synagogue and prayers had to be held in private, Jewish private prayer groups were dispersed by the militia and religious articles were confiscated. After the Jews complained to the central authorities in Kiev, only prayer shawls were returned to their owners. The Jewish population in 1970 was estimated at 150 families.

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[Yehuda Slutsky / Shmuel Spector (2nd ed.)]

CHERNOVTSY (Ger. **Czernowitz**; Rum. **Cernăuţi**), city in Ukraine, formerly capital of *Bukovina; under Austrian rule, 1775–1918, and part of Romania in 1918–40 and 1941–44. Jews are mentioned in Chernovtsy from 1408, and larger numbers – both Ashkenazim and Sephardim – settled there in the course of that century. Later the Chernovtsy community assumed a distinctly Ashkenazi character, with Yiddish as the spoken language. The "Breasla jidoveasca," as the community was called in Romanian, was first headed by an elder (*starost*). The second half of the 17th century brought Jewish immigrants and culture from Poland. They traded with agricultural produce and cattle and Jewish artisans were organized in their own unions. The Russian-Turkish wars (1766–74) caused severe hardship and the Jews had to leave Chernovtsy for a time. After the area came under Austrian rule in 1775, the Austrian military regime immediately began a policy of discrimination with the avowed aim of "clearing" Bukovina of Jews. The measures were resisted by the community, which attempted to obtain their revocation by the central government in Vienna. Nevertheless, a number of Jews from Galicia immigrated to Bukovina during this period, and many settled in Chernovtsy. Despite the restrictions still in force the Jews there acquired real property and engaged in large-scale commercial transactions. After 1789 the community was reorganized on the Austrian communal pattern. In 1812, during the Napoleonic wars, Jewish goods and property were plundered by the Russian Army.

Tension arose within the community between the Ḥasidim and *maskilim* around the beginning of the 19th century and later intensified. In 1853 the community converted its hospice for the sick, founded in 1791, into a full-scale hospital. An imposing synagogue was built in 1853, in addition to the many other houses of prayer. The community's first cemetery dated from 1770, and a second was opened in 1866. *Ḥayyim b. Solomon Tyrer (also referred to as Ḥayyim Czernowitzer) served as rabbi from 1789 to 1807. In the second half of the 19th century Jews dominated trade, and 307 of the city's 753 artisans were Jews. Cultural life developed after 1848, along with trends toward assimilation and the penetration of Haskalah attitudes into wider circles. Abraham *Goldfaden, one of the leaders of the Haskalah movement in Bukovina, was active in Chernovtsy. The foundation of a university there in 1875 attracted Jewish students throughout Bukovina and had a stimulating and diversifying influence on the social and cultural life of the community. From the end of the 19th century student organizations played an important part in the Zionist movement there.

In 1872 the community split into independent Orthodox and Reform sections. The scholar Eliezer Elijah Igel served as rabbi of the Reform community for a time. A splendid Reform Temple was opened in 1877. It was destroyed by the Nazis in 1941. The *Czernowitz Yiddish language conference held in 1908 proclaimed Yiddish to be a national language of the Jewish people. Zionism made headway in the city despite opposition from the assimilationist and Orthodox elements. Jews also took an active part in public affairs. As early as 1897 one of the Jewish leaders, Benno Straucher, was returned to the Austrian parliament as representative for Chernovtsy (1897–1914). Jews there joined the various socialist movements; the *Bund was also active in the city. Elections to the municipal council were strongly contested by the various Jewish parties.

During World War I, when the city passed from hand to hand between the Russians and Austrians (September–November 1914), the community suffered great hardship, and many left the city. After the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy in 1918, the soldiers of the Romanian Army who entered Chernovtsy behaved brutally toward the Jews and started a wave of persecution. With the incorporation of the city into Romania and the institution of a civil government, the situation of the Jews improved. One of the prominent personalities of Chernovtsy Jewry in general was the Zionist leader Meir *Ebner, editor of a German-language Jewish newspaper there. Other outstanding personalities who represented the Jews in the Romanian parliament were the historian Manfred Reifer and the socialist leader Jacob Pistiner.

The community numbered 14,449 in 1880; 17,359 in 1890; 21,587 in 1900 (31.9% of the total population); 28,613 in 1910 (32.8%); and 43,701 in 1919 (47.4%).

Hebrew works were printed in Chernovtsy for over a century, from 1835 to 1939, and nearly 340 items were issued by nine publishers and printers. Of these the most important was the house of Eckhardt (Peter, Johann, and Rudolf, 1835–92), where, with the help of Jewish experts, a complete Babylonian Talmud (1839–48), a Bible with standard commentaries (1839–42), the Mishnah with commentaries (1840–46), and other important rabbinic and kabbalistic-Ḥasidic works were printed; at a later stage some Haskalah literature was also printed there, and some Hebrew and Yiddish periodicals.

[Yehouda Marton]

Holocaust Period

In 1941 the Jewish population numbered 50,000, due to the influx of Jews from the smaller towns and villages in Bukovina. On the night of June 30, 1941, the Soviet Army vacated Chernovtsy. The following day gangs broke into Jewish homes, looting and burning them. On July 5, the first units of the German and Romanian armies entered the town, accompanied by Einsatzkommando 10b, which was a section of Einsatz gruppe D. This unit fulfilled its task of inciting the Romanians against the Jews; on the pretext that the Jews were plotting against the government, they murdered the Jewish intelligentsia. The reports of Einsatzkommando 10b contain data on the mass murders carried out in cooperation with the Romanian gendarmes and police. On July 8 and 9, the Einsatzkommando shot 100 Jews and another 400 were shot by the Romanian Army. On August 1, 682 Jews were murdered and on August 29, the number of victims in Chernovtsy and the district reached 3,106. However, the number was far higher than that listed in the official reports; between 2,000 and 3,000 Jews were slaughtered during the first 24 hours after the entry of the German and Romanian armies, in house-to-house operations. The victims, who included the chief rabbi of Bukovina, Abraham Mark, the chief cantor, and leaders of the community, were buried in four mass graves in the Jewish cemetery. The murders were accompanied by looting, robbery, and vandalism.

On July 30, when the anti-Jewish measures introduced by *Antonescu's government went into effect, hostages were taken from among Jewish leaders. Jews were compelled to do forced labor and to wear the yellow *badge. The authorities permitted Jews to be seen on the streets only between 8:00 and 11:00 a.m. Jews were hunted down in the streets and houses. On October 11, the Jews were concentrated in a ghetto; their property was confiscated; and deportations to *Transnistria began. On October 14, 1941, the chairman of the Union of Jewish Communities, Wilhelm Filderman, obtained an order halting the deportations, but the decision was carried out only a month later, and by November 15, 1941, about 30,000 Jews had been deported. The mayor of Chernovtsy, Traian Popovici, also attempted to stop deportations, issuing about 4,000 certificates of exemption from deportation, but the officials of the municipality, the police, and the gendarmerie extorted enormous sums of money in return for these exemptions. Many Jews were deported even after they paid the ransom.

The cessation of deportations caused the breakup of the ghetto. Jews who returned from the ghetto to their destroyed and looted homes were forced to contribute their clothing and bed linen to the aid committee headed by Antonescu's wife. The contributions collected by the community for rehabilitating its institutions were also confiscated for this purpose, while the removal of Jews from any kind of economic activity caused a serious worsening of their material condition.

After a short break, deportations were resumed and about 4,000 Jews were deported in three waves between June 17 and 27, 1942. The deportees included some who had exemption certificates issued by Popovici, which became invalid after he was removed from his post. Some of the deportees were taken to camps east of the Bug River (an area occupied by the Germans) where children up to the age of 15, old people, invalids, women, and those unfit for work were systematically murdered. About 60 percent of the deportees from Chernovtsy to Transnistria perished there. Most survivors who returned did not resettle in Chernovtsy, which had in the meantime been annexed to the Ukrainian S.S.R., but went to Romania and from there to Ereẓ Israel.

[Theodor Lavi]

Contemporary Period

In 1949 there were six synagogues functioning regularly. Except for one, all were closed by the authorities in the 1950s, and the Torah scrolls were removed to the municipal museum. In 1970 there was a small synagogue left open with seats for 50–60 people. In 1952 the Choral Synagogue was converted into a sports club, and the Reform Temple was converted into a movie theater; two other synagogues were converted into a mechanical workshop and a storehouse. In 1959 all *mohalim* were ordered to register with the authorities and to report the names of the circumcised babies. In the same year, the Great Synagogue, as well as its *mikveh*, was closed down. The baking of *maẓẓot* was allowed in that year only after lengthy dealings with the authorities. A year later the site of the Jewish cemetery was divided up, leaving the Jews with only a small plot, and another synagogue was closed. The Jewish State Theater of Ukraine, which returned from a tour of Uzbekistan in August 1944, was diverted to Chernovtsy (instead of the capital Kiev). It performed there until the summer of 1949, when it was shut down during the liquidation of Jewish culture in the Soviet Union.

In 1963 the organized baking of *maẓẓot* was prohibited. In the following year burial services in the cemetery were stopped by the authorities and its employees were dismissed. This action followed in the wake of an article published in Kiev's main newspaper, *Pravda Ukrainy*, condemning religious burials and recommending general cemeteries for all parts of the population. Nonetheless, the Warsaw Yiddish newspaper *Folkshtime* reported in May 1964 that a Jewish literary evening took place in Chernovtsy, with the participation of Jewish writers such as Moshe Altman, Meir Kharats, Yosl Lerner, A. Melamed, and Meshullam Surkis. In 1965 Jews were officially permitted to pray in *minyanim*, but the imposition of high taxes prevented the organized baking of *maẓẓot* in 1966.

In 1970 *kasher* poultry was available and the *mikveh* was functioning. On the High Holidays, thousands of Jews, among them many youths, congregated near the small synagogue, causing several streets to be closed to traffic. In 1970 the Jewish population of Chernovtsy was estimated at 70,000. Only around 6,000 remained in the early 2000s, but Jewish life again flourished with a full range of community services.

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CHERNY, SASHA (pen name of **Alexander Mikhailovich Glueckberg**; 1880–1932), Russian poet. One of the foremost Russian humorists of the early 20th century, Cherny was the chief contributor of verse to the weekly *Satirikon* and to its successor, *Novy Satirikon*. A bitter enemy of symbolism, then the dominant movement in Russian literature, Cherny ridiculed the affected mysticism, studied eroticism, and general pomposity of its adherents. The great Soviet poet Vladimir Mayakovski insisted that Cherny was the only writer who had influenced his verse. A noted wit, Cherny was fond of attacking sacred cows. He produced a good deal of charming verse for children and a volume of stories of army life. In 1920 Cherny left the U.S.S.R. and continued to write abroad, mostly in Germany and France. Much of his later work was militantly anti-Soviet.

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[Maurice Friedberg]

CHERTOFF, MICHAEL (1953–), U.S. prosecutor, judge, secretary of homeland security. Chertoff was born in Elizabeth, N.J., the son and grandson of rabbis. His grandfather, Rabbi Paul Chertoff, was a member of the Talmud faculty at the Jewish Theological Seminary in New York for more than 40 years. His father, Rabbi Gershon Chertoff, led Temple B'nai Israel in Elizabeth. His brother, Mordechai, is also a rabbi.

Chertoff earned undergraduate and law degrees at Harvard University. He was a clerk to Justice William J. Brennan Jr. of the United States Supreme Court from 1979 to 1980 and joined the Washington law firm Latham & Watkins, serving until 1983. Moving to Manhattan to join the United States Attorney's office, he was selected to work on an investigation of organized crime alongside the head of the office, United States Attorney Rudolph W. Giuliani. The goal was to build a case against the group made up of the five Mafia families that ran organized crime in New York. Chertoff became the lead prosecutor when Giuliani stepped aside to handle another case. In a case that made history, Chertoff obtained the conviction of the leaders of the Genovese, Colombo, and Lucchese crime families and earned a reputation as a gifted trial lawyer.

In 1987 Chertoff moved to the Newark prosecutor's office, became interim United States attorney, and was named to the post in 1990 by President George Bush. Chertoff served until 1994, when he was named special counsel to the Senate committee investigating a land deal involving President Bill *Clinton and others known as Whitewater. He served until 1996 and returned to Latham & Watkins as a partner in New Jersey. In 2001, under a new Republican administration, Chertoff took charge of the Justice Department's criminal division and, in the aftermath of the terrorist attacks on Sept. 11, advocated a new tactic – declaring suspects to be "material witnesses" and locking them up without charging them with any crime, just as he had done with mob figures before. Many civil rights advocates objected to the department's detention of dozens of uncharged terror suspects as material witnesses. But to his supporters, the tactic was typical of Chertoff's willingness to use smart, aggressive, and creative tactics to meet the newly urgent terrorism threat. For nearly two years Chertoff was the Bush administration's architect and exemplar of tough tactics against suspected terrorists. The Justice Department claimed a number of high-profile convictions in terrorism cases during Chertoff's tenure, but it suffered from a number of missteps as well. A report by the department's inspector general in 2004 criticized the department's detention of more than 700 illegal immigrants after the Sept. 11 attacks, most of whom turned out to have no connection to terrorism.

One of the department's best-known convictions under Chertoff came against John Walker Lindh, who was sentenced to 20 years in prison after admitting he had supported the Taliban in Afghanistan. That case also created complications for Chertoff when he was nominated to be a judge on the United States Court of Appeals. Democrats questioned his explanation as to why the FBI was allowed to interview Lindh after his family hired a lawyer to represent him. Chertoff contended that he was acting "in a time of war."

Chertoff has strong ties to Judaism and the Jewish community. In Bernardsville, N.J., where he resided, he was a member of Congregation B'nai Israel. His two children attended Jewish day school and his wife, Meryl, a lawyer, was chairman of the regional Anti-Defamation League's civil rights committee. In 2005 Chertoff was unexpectedly nominated to become the second secretary of homeland security, a federal agency composed of 22 subagencies and numbering 180,000 employees. The position is of cabinet rank and Chertoff gave up lifetime tenure as a judge to take the position.

[Stewart Kampel (2nd ed.)]

CHERUB (Heb. כְּרוּב, *keruv*, pl. כְּרוּבִים, *keruvim*), a winged celestial being which appears in the Bible in several different guises:

(1) In the story of the *Garden of Eden after the expulsion of Adam and Eve, God stationed cherubim at the entrance of the garden to guard the way to the tree of life (Gen. 3:24).

(2) The prophet Ezekiel relates a parable about a cherub, referring to the downfall of the king of Tyre (28:13ff.). The cherub who dwelt in Eden, the garden – or mountain – of God, sinned in his overwhelming pride against God and, as a punishment for his transgression, was hurled down from the mountain of God. In the Genesis version, the story of the Garden of Eden was demythologized, and the sin and punishment of man were substituted for that of the cherub.

(3) Two wooden images of cherubim overlaid with gold, facing one another on the two ends of the covering above the *Ark in the Tabernacle, form the throne of God with their outstretched wings (Ex. 25:18–20; 37:7–9). They are the counterparts of the two huge cherubim (10 cubits high and 10 cubits from the tip of one wing to the tip of the other) found in the Holy of Holies (*devir*) of Solomon's Temple. This role of the cherubim is alluded to in several biblical passages where God is spoken of as "He who sits [enthroned] upon the cherubim" (I Sam. 4:4; II Sam. 6:2; II Kings 19:15; Isa. 37:16; Ps. 80:2; 99:1). See also *Merkabah Mysticism.

(4) In II Samuel 22:11 and Psalms 18:11 a cherub, perhaps a personified wind, serves the Lord as a Pegasus: "He mounted a cherub and flew." In Ezekiel's vision of the chariot throne (ch. 1), the expanse on which the throne reposes appears to be supported by four strange composite creatures which chapter 10 identifies as cherubim (cf. I Chron. 28:18).

(5) The figures of the cherubim were also appropriated for cultic symbolism. They were used for decorative purposes: (a) embroidered on the veil separating the "holy place" from the "most Holy" (Ex. 26:31; 36:35) and on the curtains of the Tabernacle (Ex. 26:1; 36:8); (b) carved on all the inner and outer walls (I Kings 6:29), the doors of the inner and outer sanctuary (I Kings 6:32, 35), and the panels of Solomon's Temple (I Kings 7:29, 36); and (c) carved on the walls and doors of the Temple envisioned by Ezekiel (41:18–20, 25).

Description

The Bible itself contains variant descriptions of the cherubim. The two cherubim in the Tabernacle and in Solomon's Temple have two wings apiece (Ex. 25:20; I Kings 6:24, 27) and one face (Ex. 25:20). However, in the chariot vision of Ezekiel the symmetry of four predominates: Each of the four cherubim has four wings and four faces (1:6). Two of their wings, spread out above, touch one another, and the other two cover their bodies (cf. the description of the seraphim in Isa. 6:2: "Each had six wings: with two he covered his face, with two he covered his feet [i.e., lower extremities] and with two he flew."). Their four faces included one of a man, probably in front, a lion on the right side, an ox on the left side, and an eagle (Ezek. 1:10). Later, however, Ezekiel includes the face of a cherub among the four faces and omits that of the ox (10:14). The cherubim, moreover, have legs and "each one's feet were like a calf's foot; and they sparkled like burnished bronze. Under their wings on their four sides they had human hands" (Ezek. 1:7–8). In the Temple vision of Ezekiel, the cherubim engraved on the walls and doors are said to have only two faces, a man's face and a lion's face (41:18–19). This apparent contradiction may be explained as a result of Ezekiel's borrowing the motif of a "two-faced" cherub from the paradigm of the Tabernacle in Exodus or from Solomon's Temple, or it may be the result of his describing a two-dimensional picture on a flat surface rather than the three-dimensional one of his chariot vision.

Etymology and Ancient Near Eastern Prototypes

The etymology of the Hebrew word for cherub, *keruv*, has been subject to several different explanations, e.g., as a metathesis, or inversion of letters, of *rekhuv*, "chariot" (cf. Ps. 104:3 with II Sam. 22:11 and Ps. 18:11); or as a derivation from the Aramaic *karov*, "to plow," which is based on Ezekiel's substitution of the face of a cherub (10:14) for that of an ox (1:10), whose main function is to plow (Tur-Sinai). The most plausible derivation is from the Akkadian *kāribu/kurību* (from Akk. *karābu*; "to pray," "to bless"), an intercessor who brings the prayers of humans to the gods. Figures of winged creatures are well-known from the art and religious symbolism of the ancient Near East. Two winged beings flank the throne of Hiram, king of Byblos, and winged bulls were placed at the entrance of Babylonian and Assyrian palaces and temples. They appear on the pottery incense altars from Taanach and Megiddo. Winged sphinxes, griffins, and human creatures are represented in the art and iconography of Carchemish, Calah, Nimrud, the Samarian ivories, Aleppo, and Tell Halaf.

[Shalom M. Paul]

In the Aggadah

The Talmud enumerates the cherub among the five things which were in the First Temple, but not in the Second (Yoma 21a), though according to one opinion the Second Temple did possess pictorial reproductions of the cherubim (*ibid.* 54a). Consequently the only references to the cherubim in the Talmud are aggadic ones, referring to the cherubim in the First Temple. The word is interpreted as meaning "like a child" (*ra-*

bia in Aramaic=a child – Sukkah 5b). The well-known picture of the cherub as a winged child popularized by Renaissance artists is probably influenced by this interpretation, but it can also be traced back to the pictures of Greco-Roman "loves" or Erotes. Nevertheless, in the time of Josephus this description appears to have been unknown, since he says, "No one can tell what they were like" (Ant., 8:3, 3).

The passage from II Chronicles 3:13, "their faces were inward," is regarded as meaning that the cherubim faced away from one another, whereas Exodus 25: 20 states "with their faces to one another." It is explained that since the cherubim represented the relationship of love between God and His people, when Israel failed to fulfill the Divine will the cherubim were turned one from the other. When Israel fulfilled the will of God, however, not only did they face one another, but they were intertwined in the embrace of love. "When the Israelites came up on the Pilgrim Festivals the curtain would be removed for them and the cherubim shown to them, their bodies interlocked with one another, and they would say to them, 'Look, you are beloved before God as the love between man and woman'" (BB 99a; Yoma 54a). When the heathens entered the Temple they were shocked at this sight, and carrying the intertwined cherubim out, they scornfully exhibited them, disgusted that the Israelites "whose blessing is a blessing and whose curse a curse, should occupy themselves with such matters" (Yoma 54b). God's throne of glory is situated opposite the cherubim (Tanḥ. Va-Yakhel 7) and the *Shekhinah* hovered over it (Num. R. 4:13). Of the four-faced cherubim of Ezekiel (see above) *Pirke de-Rabbi Eliezer* 4 explains "When He spoke facing the east the voice came from between the two cherubs with human faces, and when He spoke facing the south the voice emerged from between the two cherubs having the face of a lion."

[Louis Isaac Rabinowitz]

Cherubim and Seraphim in the Arts

Cherubim and seraphim have not given rise directly to any independent literary works, but their name and image have nevertheless influenced writers in several ways. In the English language, the words "Cherub(im)" and "Seraph(im)" are variously spelled – cherubin (plural, cherubins); cherubim (regarded as plural or with *s* added); and cherub (plural, cherubim or cherubs). Seraphim followed a similar development. English writers mentioned cherubim when referring to the gates of Paradise or the throne of God. Thus, John Lydgate (c. 1370–c. 1451) speaks of "Cherubyn, my dere brother, to whom is commited the naked swerde for to kepe the entre of Paradys" (*Pilgrimage of the Life of Man*, 1426); and *Milton of "Cherub and Seraph, Potentates and Thrones and Vertues, winged Spirits" (*Paradise Lost*, 1667). Seraphim tended to remain in the ethereal heights. William Langland speaks of the "Cherubim and Seraphim and al the foure ordres" (*Piers Plowman*, 1362); Richard Crashaw (1613?–1649) has "We will pledge this Seraphin [i.e., Santa Teresa] Bowls full of richer blood"; and in 1897 the poet Francis Thompson mentions the "fledge-foot seraphim." The loving seraphim thus remain angelic, while the knowing cherubim become humanized (cf. Byron, in *Cain*, 1821: "I have heard it said, The seraphs love most, cherubim know most"). In French literature a similar process may be detected. Racine writes of "les chérubins" in the Miltonic sense, while Beaumarchais in *Le Mariage de Figaro* (1784) gives the name Chérubin to the enchanting young page who as Cherubino received equally preferential treatment from Mozart (*Le Nozze di Figaro*, 1786). In art, treatment of the motif has had an entirely different emphasis. The iconography of the four-winged cherubim and the six-winged seraphim derives respectively from Ezekiel 1:1–18; 10; and from Isaiah 6:2. Representations take the form of figures with multifaced heads – human, ox, lion, or eagle. Cherubim are painted blue (denoting sky) and seraphim red (denoting fire), and they originate from Babylonian depictions of multiple-winged creatures lighting up the heavens with brilliant flashes. The six-winged goddesses found on Hittite steles in the Tell Halaf site bear a close resemblance to the description of Isaiah. In Christian iconographic development the two types were often confused, cherubim being given six wings and seraphim having eyes on their wings, both frequently receiving only one face. They are found in Byzantine art and decorate liturgical fans, such as the one from the 14th-century Stuma treasure in the museum of Istanbul. A cherub appears in the Vienna Genesis (sixth century), a seraph in *Kosmas Indikopleustes* (Vatican, Greek Ms. 699, ninth century), neither being pure types. They recur with some regularity on the voussures (keytones) and tympanums (panels in arches) of Romanesque churches, e.g., Notre-Dame-du-Port, Clermont-Ferrand. In the Gothic cathedral of Bourges they appear on a decoration – Door of the Last Judgment. They may figure as attendants of Jesus enthroned (Santa Maria Maggiore, Rome, fifth century) and with Christian symbols. In the Renaissance, a shift in meaning occurred, and the rosy-lipped child-angels of later painting have no connection with the biblical cherubim and seraphim. Family names based on the words cherub and seraphim are fairly common among non-Jews (Luigi Cherubini) but unknown among Jews.

For Cherubim and Seraphim in Music, see *Isaiah, Book of, In Music.

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CHESLER, PHYLLIS (1940–), pioneering feminist, prolific author, psychotherapist, and expert courtroom witness. Chesler grew up in an Orthodox Jewish family in Brooklyn, New York. She graduated from Bard College and earned her doctorate from the New School for Social Research. Rebelling against the patriarchal aspects of Judaism that denied her full participation, she turned to secularism and Zionism. However, experiences that included advocating for women's rights in predominantly Islamic countries, encounters with antisemitism within the feminist movement of the 1970s, and involvement in the struggle for women's right to pray at Jerusalem's Western Wall in the 1980s led to a reengagement with religious Jewish life. An Emerita Professor of Psychology and Women's Studies at the College of Staten Island (City University of New York) and co-founder of one of the first academic women's studies programs, Chesler's organizational ties included the Association for Women in Psychology (co-founder), the National Women's Health Network (co-founder), the Women's Forum, the International Committee for Women of the Wall, the Arts and Letters Council of the Wyman Institute of Holocaust Studies, Scholars for Peace in the Middle East, and the Academic and Media Watch on Anti-Semitism. She was editor-at-large for *On The Issues* magazine, and a columnist for the conservative magazine *Frontpage* and various left-leaning Jewish publications including the *Forward*. A popular lecturer, she also organized political, legal, religious, and human rights campaigns around the globe and was a frequent guest on national and international television and radio programs. Chesler's books include *Women and Madness* (1972), addressing the mistreatment of women; *The New Anti-Semitism: The Current Crisis and What We Must Do About It* (2003); *Women of the Wall: Claiming Sacred Ground at Judaism's Holy Site* (2003); *Women's Inhumanity to Women* (2002); and *Letters to a Young Feminist* (1998).

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[Keren R. McGinity (2nd ed.)]

CHESS. The Jewish contribution to chess on an appreciable scale dates from the middle of the 19th century. There is no basis for the claim that Jews invented chess, or that King Solomon played the game, as is related in the Midrash (Ginzberg, Legends 4, 172–3). Nor was chess known to Jews in the talmudic period, which ended before the game could have reached them from Persia. This view is generally maintained despite *Rashi's identification of *nardeshir* with chess, in his comment on *Ketubbot* 61b. All that can be inferred from Rashi's rendering of *nardeshir,* a game probably played with dice, as *ishkukei*, is that the commentator was familiar with some word cognate to the French *échecs. Ishkukei* is the same name used by *Judah Halevi when he refers in his book *Kuzari* to the game as an intellectual exercise (pt. 5:20, "6th Principle"). Moritz *Steinschneider suggests in his *Schach bei den Juden* (1873) that Jews first became acquainted with chess in the tenth century. He mentions a tenth century convert, Ali of Taberistan, who recommended the game for its therapeutic value, and Moses Sefardi (11th century), baptized as *Petrus Alfonsi, who in his writings described chess as a knightly virtue. In the tenth century, Arabs introduced the game, which they called *shatranj* into Europe via Spain, and by the eleventh century it was widely played by Jews in that country and in Provence. The Persian-Arabic nomenclature for the pieces was known to at least one member of a famous Spanish family, Bonsenior Ibn Yaḥya, whose description of the game is preserved by Leone *Modena (*Ma'adannei Melekh*, 16th century; with French translation as *Délices Royales*, 1864). It seems that Abraham *Ibn Ezra (12th century) knew the game. An excellent verse description of the game attributed to him has been preserved by Leone Modena (translated into English by Nina Davis in her *Songs of Exile*, 1901). The metrical and verbal skill of the original suggests Ibn Ezra as author but the main difficulty about ascribing it to him is the reference to the double pawn move. The reference may, however, be an interpolation, and Steinschneider doubts the ascription to Ibn Ezra. The invention of printing crystallized the rules of chess and helped to terminate the evolutionary stage of the game. Nevertheless local varieties survived in the East and in Europe into the 19th century. A study of the Persian-Arabic names of the pieces used by Ibn Yaḥya, and retained in modern terminology, provides a key to the development of the terms for chessmen in various countries and languages.

Names of the Chess Pieces

The names of the chess pieces vary in different languages.

KING. The name of the principal piece of the game varied only locally, according to the ruler's title.

ROOK CASTLE. Called *Ruḥe* even in Ibn Yaḥya's time, was the piece with the furthest ranging maneuverability on the board. Its history is preserved in the English name "rook," a corruption of *ruḥ* which in Italian became *rocca* and in French *roche*. Both of these words mean "rock," and from this developed the concept of a fortress or tower, i.e., "castle" in English, and *ẓeri'aḥ* in Hebrew.

BISHOP. In Ibn Yaḥya's time, this piece was called in Persian *pil* ("elephant") and in Arabic *alfil. Alfil* was preserved in the Spanish and corrupted into Italian *alfiere* and thence into the French *le four*, and the German *Laeufer*. The German name, which means "runner," gave modern Hebrew its name for this piece, *raẓ*.

QUEEN. This piece was originally called *shegall* (a Persian word), meaning a consort or mistress. Its English name and its modern Hebrew name, *malkah*, came from this.

KNIGHT. The knight was always a horseman, for which the Hebrew name is *parash*.

PAWN. The pawn, a foot soldier, used to be called *ḥayyal* in Hebrew, but is known now as *ragli*.

Chess Playing among Jews

There were diverse views among Jewish scholars as to whether the playing of chess should be encouraged. *Maimonides, in his commentary on the Mishnah (Sanh. 3:3), expresses disapproval of chess when it is played for money and couples it with *nard* ("backgammon"), which is played with dice. The *halakhah* disapproved of chess as time-wasting, an attitude paralleled in Byzantine and Canon law. When the game first began to become respectable, it was a pastime for invalids and women. In fact, Israel Abrahams suggests (*Jewish Life in the Middle Ages* (1896), ch. 22) that it developed as a woman's game. But there was no unanimity on this subject in this period. *Kalonymus condemned the game, while Menahem ben Solomon *Meiri and the Sefer *Ḥasidim in casual references seem to express approval. Similar dissension existed among Christian authorities. Men as different as Peter *Damiani and Jan Hus condemned it. On the other hand, many popes played it. There is a legend of a Jewish father who recognized a pope as his son by a move that the latter played. Gradually, however, opposition to the game abated, both among Jews and Christians. Thus, when games were generally condemned by the rabbis of Cremona, after the plague of 1575, chess was excluded from the indictment. Similarly, in an opinion given by the rabbi of Ancona in 1718, chess was sharply distinguished from gambling games and time-wasting games. The later authorities, with the exception of Elijah de *Vidas and Elijah ha-Kohen of Smyrna (*Shevet Musar,* 1712), all seem to approve of chess. Modern rabbinic opinion, expressed in *Lampronti's *Paḥad Yiẓḥak*, Abraham Abele *Gombiner's *Magen Avraham*, and by Moses *Isserles, holds that chess is a proper pastime for the Jew, as long as it is not played for money. On this principle, chess may be played on the Sabbath. It should not be inferred from this that there is any extant valid rabbinic authority against professional chess, although Maimonides' views remain influential. Therefore, it has always been possible for an intellectual and pious Jew to learn Torah and play chess. Indeed, players as great as Akiva *Rubinstein, Aaron *Nimzovitch, and members of the Chajes family have emerged from yeshivot. In fairness it should be added that professional chess involves a mental effort that leaves little energy for scholarship. Moses *Mendelssohn unwittingly anticipated chess as a vocation when he said: "For a game it is too serious, and for a serious occupation, it is too much of a game" ("*Fuer Spiel ist es zu viel Ernst, fuer Ernst zu viel Spiel*"). It is believed that Mendelssohn's friendship with *Lessing originated in their games of chess. The governments of the U.S.S.R. and similar authoritarian societies encourage players such as the engineer Mikhail *Botvinnik and the musician Mark Taimanov, who can more properly be described as professionals or players by vocation than as amateurs. Thus it is not surprising that averages as well as standards, in the modern game, have been raised. In the Marxian formula, quality emerges from quantity, and this applies to Jewish as well as to other Soviet chess players.

The growth of European interest in chess, whether as game, art, or science, seems to have traveled from the Iberian Peninsula to Siberia. It was in the 19th century that a Jewish name appeared in French chess: Aron Alexandre (1766–1850). Little is known about his play, but his writings survive (*Encyclopédie des Echecs*, 1837). By the middle of the century, Jewish names began to emerge frequently as chess was established in the salons of Paris, which were frequented by German and Russian Jews, and in London and Berlin. The Jewish masters of this period included Johann Jakob Loewenthal, a Hungarian refugee settled in London; David Harrwitz (1823–1884), in Paris; Bernardt Horwitz (1807–1885), one of the Berlin Pleiades settled in Paris; and Ignaz Kolisch (later Baron von Kolisch) a Viennese merchant banker and a Rothschild protégé. A number of writers emerged from this group. They include S. Alapin (1856–1923) and Ernest Karl Falkbeer (1819–1885), who invented counter-gambits; Leopold Hoffer (1842–1913), whose books are still read; and Shimon Abramovich Winawer (1838–1920), a Polish Jew, whose variation of the French defense was successfully revived by Alekhine and Botvinnik. Another prizewinner was Samuel Rosenthal (1837–1902). Greatest was Wilhelm (William) *Steinitz, who was world champion from 1866 to 1894. Steinitz' writings constitute a major contribution to chess theory. His theories were accepted as basic by such great theoreticians as Emanuel *Lasker, Siegbert *Tarrasch, Savielly Grigorievich *Tartakover, and Nimzovitch. Steinitz also distinguished himself at blindfold chess. In the 20th century two Jewish players, George *Koltanowski and Mikhail (Miguel) *Najdorf, established a remarkable record by playing more than 50 blindfold chess games simultaneously.

As the 19th century advanced, more Jews appeared in the top rank of tournament and match play: Isidor Gunsberg, Max Weiss (1857–1927), Erich Cohn (1884–1918), Berthold Englisch (1851–1897), Rudolf Charousek, David Markelovich *Janowski, and Jacques Mieses (1865–1954). All were prizewinners in the big international events. The outstanding figure was Dr. Siegbert Tarrasch, a preeminent tournament player, who won seven great events. His status as a theoretician was such that he was acclaimed "*Praeceptor Germanorum.*"

Above them all towered Emanuel *Lasker, a mathematical philosopher as well as a chess giant. If Steinitz is the chess player's theorist, Lasker is the chess player's chess player. His doctrine was the importance of effort; *Kampf* ("Struggle," 1907), is the title of one of his books. His immense talent was most clearly revealed in the matches in which he defended his world championship title for 28 years. In 1921 he finally lost the title to the Cuban player, Capablanca. The number of Jewish players continued to grow in the 20th century. In the early years there were the Austrian Carl Schlechter (1874–1918) a drawing-master, the German Jacques Mieses, the Serbian Boris Kostić (1887–1963), and Edward Lasker (1885–1981) of Berlin and the U.S. – a friend and fellow student of Emanuel Lasker. Then came the émigré Russians, or Russian Poles, Ossip Bernstein (1882–1962), Savielly Tartakover, and Akiva Rubinstein, a genius who might have risen to world championship but for the exigencies of World War I. Great players between the World Wars are Rudolf Spielmann (1883–1942), Richard *Réti, Julius Breyer, Aaron Nimzovitch, and Salo *Flohr of Czechoslovakia, a child prodigy and a refugee from a Russian pogrom. In the 1930s there emerged in the U.S., among others, Isaac Kasdan (1905–?), Samuel *Reshevsky, who began his chess career as an eight-year-old in Poland, and Reuben *Fine, a Capablanca-type player who retired from the game to study psychology. Several of the names mentioned above are important in chess theory. Tarrasch perfected the statement of the Steinitzian logic. Rubinstein nearly perfected it in play. Breyer, Tartakover, Nimzovitch, and Alekhine are responsible for restating and refining the theory. Tartakover's *Hypermoderne Schachpartie* (1924) and Nimzovitch's *Mein System* (1925), though a collection of clever ideas, are source books for the theory of the fluid center, the fianchetto, blockade theory, and other technical aspects of development.

Meanwhile Soviet Russian Jews were becoming prominent: Ilya Kan (1909–), Grigori Yakelovich Levenfish (Loewenfisch; 1889–1961), Mikhail Iudovich (1911–), and Abraham (1878–1943) and Ilya Rabinovich (1891–1942) of Moscow and Leningrad. Eventually, in the mid-1930s, Mikhail Botvinnik of the U.S.S.R. drew a match with Flohr, and shared a first prize with Capablanca in 1936. In the later 1930s, the teams of the Slav countries and of the Russian émigrés in France and Belgium were almost entirely composed of Jewish players. New names included: Paulin Frydman (1905–) of Warsaw; Andre Amolodovich Lilienthal (1911–?) and Lázló Szabo (1919–) of Hungary; Arthur Dunkelblum (1906–?) of Belgium; Vladimir Vuković (1898–?) of Yugoslavia; Salo Landau (1903–1943) in Holland; and J. Zuckerman (1903–1940) in France. Some of these fell victim to the war and the Holocaust. A few survived because they were taking part in a tournament in Buenos Aires when World War II broke out. The absence of Jews from many East European teams in postwar Olympiads was a reminder of the Jewish tragedy. The only exceptions are the Hungarian survivors, Szabo, E. Gereben (1907–?), and Lilienthal. The last-named took refuge from the Nazis in his native U.S.S.R. Nevertheless, the Yugoslav and Czechoslovak teams are believed to contain many players of Jewish origin. At the Tel Aviv chess Olympiad in 1964, many Jews, Samuel Schweber among the best of them, appeared on a number of South American teams. Western Europe is no longer dominated by Jewish players, as it was before World War II. Germany, Scandivania, Spain, and Italy have never had many Jewish chessmasters. Some of the European masters escaped to Israel, and chess was developed there by players such as Joseph Porath (1909–?), Menahem Oren (1901–1962), Moshe *Czerniak, Aryeh Mohelever (1904–?), Joseph Aloni (1905–?), Rafi Persitz (1934–), and others who fostered a high standard.

British Jewish players include Gerald Abrahams (1907–1980), known for the "Abrahams Defense" and as the author of *The Chess Mind* (1951), *Technique in Chess* (1961), and other books on chess; Victor Buerger (1903–?), born in Latvia; Harry Golombek (1911– 1994), three times British champion, chess correspondent of the *Times*, official of the Fédération Internationale des Echecs and editor of some well-known collections of games; David Joseph (1896–?), famous in the end game field; and the very strong part-Jewish player, Victor Wahltuch (1875–1960). The British championship has been won by Ernest Klein (1910–?), originally from Vienna, Dr. Stephan Fazekas (1898–1967), who came from Czechoslovakia, and Daniel Abraham Yanofsky (1925–), a brilliant Canadian amateur who won against Botvinnik. The ex-Russian master, O. List (1887–1964), also played for Britain.

In the first official contests between the U.S.S.R. and the western world after World War II, the radio matches of 1946, the United Kingdom team had five Jewish players, the Soviet team five out of a total of ten players and the United States seven. In general, after World War II, Jews came to dominate the American chess scene. They include the veteran Edward Lasker, Israel Horowitz (1907–1973), Abraham Kupchik (1892–?), Arthur Bisguier (1929–?), Fred Reinfeld (1910–1964), Arnold Denker (1914–?), Imre Konig (1901–?), who came from Yugoslavia; Herman Steiner (1905–1955), one of several Hungarian players of the same name; Reshevsky, Fine, and in the 1960s, Robert "Bobby" Fischer. Canada was dominated by Daniel Abraham Yanofsky and Australia by Lajos Steiner (1903–?) and Gerald Koshnitzki. Outstanding players in South Africa were Kurt Dreyer, David Friedgood, and Wolfgang Heidenfeld, who later moved to Ireland.

Undoubtedly, one of the greatest phenomena in modern chess was the rise of Brooklyn-born Bobby Fischer, who was only 13 when he began to rank as a leading player. Until 1968 circumstances prevented him from challenging the world champion, though some of his international performances were great. His contemporaries were the Latvian Mikhail *Tal and David Bronstein from Moscow, who drew a match for the world championship. Julio Kaplan (1951–) of Latin America emerged as one of the leading juveniles of the late 1960s.

Jewish world champions include first Steinitz, who held the title for 25 years, until it was wrested from him by Emanuel Lasker, who held it from 1894 to 1921. Even during the periods when the title was held by non-Jews, most of the finalists were Jews including Rubinstein, perhaps the greatest end-game player who ever lived, Nimzovitch, and Flohr. In 1948 Botvinnik, a Soviet Jew, won the title from some of the strongest players in the world, including Reshevsky, and held it intermittently for nearly 20 years. His challengers were in turn Bronstein, who drew the series of matches; Vassily Vassilyevich Smyslov (1921–), a Russian reputed to be partly Jewish, who won the title and lost the return match; Tal, who also won the title and lost the return, largely through ill-health; and finally Petrosian, an Armenian non-Jew, who defeated Botvinnik in 1967. In 1969, Petrosian was defeated by Boris Spassky, son of a Jewish mother, who emerged as the new star of the chess world. In the zonal tournaments in which today the challengers for the championship reveal their potential – and in the great Soviet tournaments – Jews are placed high. Among them are Leonid Stein (1934–1973), Yefim Petrovich Geller (1925–), the musician Mark Taimanov (1926–), and Viktor Lvovich Korchnoy (1931–). Jews are also prominent in the realm of end-game composition. Some of the best work on end-play is by Reuben Fine and the Soviet player Levenfish. Other important names in this field are Réti, Frederic Lazard (1883–1949), Vladimir Bron (1909–), Abraham Gurvitch (1894–1933), David Joseph, and Grochin. In general, the Jewish contribution to theory has been immense. Steinitz, and after him Lasker and Tarrasch, taught the chess world the basic strategy of the game, and established chess as a science. Rubinstein may be said to have demonstrated this science in his beautiful play. To Réti, Nimzovitch, and Tartakover the world owes the refinement of strategic theories. As far as the literature of chess is concerned, masterpieces on opening technique have been produced by Russian Jews, including Yuri Lvovich Auerbach (1922–).

The year 1972 was of great importance in the history of chess. For the first time in 36 years, with the victory of Robert (Bobby) Fischer over Boris Spassky, the World Championship passed out of Russian hands and, for the first time in 160 years (i.e., since Paul Morphy), the chess world was dominated by an American. In addition, the match was more spectacular, and the superiority of the victor more pronounced than is usual in World Championships, and aroused unprecedented interest in the game among the general public.

Fischer qualified as one of the challengers by winning the Palma Interzonal Tournament in 1970 (15 wins and 7 draws out of 23 games). Thereafter, he won three qualifying matches, against *Taimanov (6–0), Larsen (6–0) and former title holder Petrosian (6½–1½). The final against Spassky took place at Reykjavik and ran from July 11 to September 1, 1972. Fischer commenced by losing a game. Next, he forfeited a game by failing to appear (a rare occurrence in championship matches). Thereafter, he began to gain the upper hand, winning the match by 12½–8½ (7 wins, 11 draws, and 3 losses, including one by default). However, Fischer lost the World Championship in 1975 when he refused to play the challenger Vassily Karpov. Karpov gained the right to challenge by defeating Viktor Korchnoy in the final qualifying round by a score of 12½–11½.

Ten years later, in 1985, Gary *Kasparov (Jewish father), at the age of 22, became the youngest player ever to win the World Championship, taking it from Karpov 13–11. The "Kasparov era" ended in 2000, when he was defeated by Vladimir Kramnik 8½–6½. In 2005 Kasparov, called by many the greatest player of all time, announced his retirement from competitive play.

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[Gerald Abrahams]

CHESS, LEONARD (**Lazer Shmuel Czyz**; 1917–1969), U.S. record producer instrumental in the development of electric blues through the company he co-founded with his brother Phil (Fiszel), Chess Records, the most important and influential post-World War II blues label. Chess was born in Motol, Poland, to Yasef and Cyrla Czyz. His father settled in Chicago upon immigrating in 1922, changing his name to Joseph Chess. In 1928 he sent for the rest of the family, including Leonard, his mother, his elder sister Malka (Mae), and his brother Phil, four years his junior. The house was kosher, the language Yiddish. Chess's father owned a scrap yard and junk shop across the street from a black gospel church and the young Chess began his working life behind the counter there in 1941. In 1945 he took a job at a South Side liquor store and then bought his own liquor store and a bar. He borrowed money from his father to open the upscale Macomba nightclub on Chicago's South Side, with Phil joining him in the business after being discharged from the army. Chess entered the record business by buying into Aristocrat Records in 1947, and in 1950 took over the label entirely with Phil as partner and renamed it Chess Records. The company signed significant blues artists such as Muddy Waters, Little Walter, Howlin' Wolf, Sonny Boy Williamson, John Lee Hooker, Willie Dixon, Etta James, and Koko Taylor, jazz artists Ahmad Jamal and Ramsey Lewis, and rock 'n' roll legends Chuck Berry and Bo Diddley, thus playing a major role in introducing black music to a wider white audience. It was an historic marriage of two first-generation migrant groups: African-Americans who had moved to Chicago from the Mississippi Delta and Jews recently arrived from Eastern Europe. Even the location of their company, 2120 S. Michigan Avenue, became famous as the address of a record label synonymous with the sound known as "Chicago Blues." The Rolling Stones even recorded an instrumental song with that address as the title and the building was designated a Chicago Landmark in 1989.

At first the two brothers ran the whole business. Phil was in charge of the nightclub and running the office of Aristocrat/Chess and its subsidiaries Checker, Argo/Cadet, and Specialist, while Leonard scouted talent, produced the sessions, and delivered the recordings to radio stations, sometimes accompanied by payola to gain the records airtime. While Leonard has been described as a slick operator who both greatly admired and frequently duped the performers who made him a multimillionaire, there is no denying that he changed the face of music in America and influenced three generations of musicians. Leonard died in Chicago and was inducted into the Rock and Roll Hall of Fame as a pioneer in 1987.

[Elli Wohlgelernter (2nd ed.)]

CHET, ILAN (1939–), Israeli microbiologist and pioneer of biological control in agriculture. Chet was about to complete his Ph.D. at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem's Faculty of Agriculture in Reḥovot when he was called up by the army on the outbreak of the Six-Day War in 1967. Sustaining head injuries and losing his eyesight in the fighting, he dictated his doctoral dissertation to his wife while lying in a hospital bed. Fortunately, he regained his sight, but was nevertheless physically unable to use one of his key research tools, the electron microscope. Changing his academic direction while remaining within the field of molecular biology, he conducted his postdoctoral studies at the University of Wisconsin and later transferred to the Department of Applied Microbiology at Harvard University. In 1975 Chet was appointed associate professor at the Hebrew University's Faculty of Agriculture and in 1978 full professor. He was named founder and director of the Otto Warburg Center of Biotechnology in Agriculture, Reḥovot (1983–86; 1990–92); dean of the Faculty of Agriculture (1986–89); and vice president for research and development at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem (1992–2001). Chet also worked as senior scientist at DuPont, Delaware, U.S., and as a member of the scientific advisory committees of both the European Union and NATO. He was a member of the United Nations Panel for Applied Microbiology and Biotechnology for ten years and was a member of the Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities from 1998. In December 2001 he became president of the Weizmann Institute of Science. He received many important awards, including the Israel Prize (1996), the Wolf Prize (1998), and the EMET Prize (2003).

His research focuses on the use of environment-friendly microorganisms for the improvement of plant resistance, reducing the need for pesticides. He has published more than 340 articles in international scientific journals, edited four books in his field, and holds 33 patents. Two products based on his research, which improve plant resistance, have been marketed.

[Bracha Rager (2nd ed.)]

CHETWYND, LIONEL (1940–), U.S. film director. Chetwynd was born in Hackney in London's East End. His family immigrated to Canada in 1948, and Chetwynd grew up in Montreal and Toronto. In 1956, he was charged with a car theft and denied involvement. Instead of attending reform school, Chetwynd opted to join Canada's Royal Highland Black Watch regiment. After his discharge in 1958, he studied at Sir George Williams University in Montreal, where he graduated in 1963 as valedictorian, won a scholarship to attend McGill University Law School, and completed his graduate studies in law at Oxford's Trinity College in 1968. Chetwynd went to work at the Columbia Pictures' distribution department in London, where he eventually became the assistant managing director. During that time he wrote the plays *Maybe That's Your Problem* (1971) and *Bleeding Great Orchids* (1971), both of which were produced in London. In 1970, Chetwynd met director Ted Kotcheff in London and took on the screenplay for *The Apprenticeship of Duddy Kravitz*, a comic tale about a Jewish man in 1940s Montreal, Quebec, based on the Mordecai *Richler novel. The script languished for a few years, and in the meantime Chetwynd moved to New York, where he wrote for the flagship CBS soap opera *Love of Life*, the PBS series *The Addams Chronicles*, and the CBS series *Beacon Hill*, based on the BBC's *Upstairs Downstairs*. *Duddy Kravitz* finally made it to the big screen in 1975 and won Chetwynd an Academy Award nomination for best screenplay adaptation. Chetwynd moved his family to Los Angeles, where he secured steady work writing feature films and television movies of the week. His next films were *Morning Comes* (1975) and *Two Solitudes* (1978), which he also directed. In 1979, he collaborated with Robert Altman on the gloomy post-apocalypse film *Quintet*. By 1976 Chetwynd was a naturalized U.S. citizen and had been tapped to write *The American 1776*, the official U.S. Bicentennial film. Chetwynd's television projects included *Johnny, We Hardly Knew Ye* (1977), a look back on John F. Kennedy's presidential campaign; *Goldenrod* (1977); and *It Happened One Christmas* (1977), a remake of Frank Capra's *It's a Wonderful Life*; *Miracle on Ice*, about the 1980 U.S. hockey team Olympic victory: *Escape from Iran: The Canadian Caper* (1981); and *Sadat* (1983), about the assassinated Egyptian leader who made peace with Israel; and *Children in the Crossfire* (1984). In 1987, Chetwynd wrote and directed *The Hanoi Hilton*, a feature film about American soldiers in a North Vietnamese prisoner-of-war camp; he was active in the National Sponsoring Committee of the Vietnam Veteran's Memorial and the Brotherhood Rally of American Veterans Organization. In 1990, he wrote and directed *So Proudly We Hail* for CBS television, a tale of three youths who become white supremacists and which won Chetwynd the B'nai Zion Creative Achievement Award. *Kissinger and Nixon* (1995) earned him a Writers Guild and Gemini Award nomination for outstanding script. *The Man Who Captured Eichmann* (1996) earned him a Cable Ace Award nomination, and in 2001 Chetwynd wrote the critically received *Varian's War*, the true story of Varian Fry, an American who rescued artists from the Nazis. Chetwynd served as an executive board member of the American Jewish Committee and taught at UCLA and NYU. A political conservative, Chetwynd was appointed to President George W. Bush's Committee on the Arts and Humanities in 2001. His also wrote *DC 9/11: Time of Crisis* (2003), a behind-the-scenes look at the Bush administration's response to the Sept. 11 terrorist attack, and the Emmy-nominated *Ike: Countdown to D-Day* (2004).

[Adam Wills (2nd ed.)]

°CHEYNE, THOMAS KELLY (1841–1915), English Bible scholar. Born in London, Cheyne studied at Oxford and Goettingen (under *Ewald) where he came under the influence of the German critical school. In 1885 he became professor of scripture interpretation at Oxford. Cheyne introduced the theories and methods of both Higher and Lower Criticism of the Bible into England and was one of their most radical exponents. He first adopted *Graf's hypothesis – developed by *Wellhausen – of the post-exilic date of the Priestly Code and later took up H. Winckler's theory of the North Arabian origin of the Jerachmeelites (I Sam. 27:10; I Chron. 2:9) and their influence on Israelite history. He edited in collaboration with S. Black the Encyclopaedia Biblica (4 vols., 1899–1903). In his numerous articles published in it, Cheyne developed his Jerachmeelite theory. Among his published works are several books on Isaiah (1870; 1880–81; 1884); *Job and Solomon* (1887); two books on Psalms (1888; 1891); *Founders of Old Testament Criticism* (1893); *Jewish Religious Life after the Exile* (1898, German ed. 1905^2); *Traditions and Beliefs of Ancient Israel* (1907); *The Two Religions of Israel…* (1911); *The Veil of Hebrew History* (1913). In his last work, *Reconciliation of Races and Religions* (1914), Cheyne, though still professing Christianity, had reached a point of seriously doubting the synoptic narrative, including the crucifixion.

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°**CHIARINI, LUIGI** (1789–1832), Italian abbé, Orientalist, and antisemitic author. Invited to Poland from Tuscany, Chiarini obtained the chair of Oriental languages at Warsaw University through the protection of Potocki, the minister of education. In 1826 he became a member of the government-appointed "Jewish committee." In his *Théorie du Judaïsme* (1830), Chiarini slandered the Talmud and the rabbinate in the style of Johann *Eisenmenger, and tried to revive the *blood libel. He considered that the state should assist the Jews in liberating themselves from the influence of the Talmud. He began a French translation of the Babylonian Talmud under the auspices of Czar Nicolas I, of which two volumes were published (1831), despite protests from both Jewish and Catholic quarters. Among his critics were L. *Zunz and M. *Jost in Germany and J. *Tugenhold in Poland. Chiarini was compelled to give up his project because of the Polish uprising. His other works include a Hebrew grammar, in Latin; a Hebrew-Latin dictionary, and a paper "Dei funerarii degli ebrei polacchi" ("Concerning the Funerals of the Polish Jews," Bologna, 1826).

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CHICAGO, the third largest metropolis in the United States is located in northeastern *Illinois. In 2000 it had an estimated population of 2,896,000 in a metropolitan population of 8,091,719. In 2000 the Jewish population of Chicago and its suburbs was estimated at 270,000, making it the fifth largest Jewish community in America. In 1930 Chicago had the second largest American Jewish community, an estimated 350,000 Jews, and in 1959 it was the third largest, with an estimated 282,000 Jews. The numerical decline is a result of migration primarily to the West Coast, especially Los Angeles, and to the Southwest and South, as well as a relatively low birth rate, intermarriage, and a decline in immigrants from overseas.

Early Settlement

Jews were among Chicago's earliest settlers. In 1832, a year before the little settlement was officially incorporated as a "town," Morris Baumgarten resided there. In 1834 Aaron Friend and Isaac Hays advertised in the *Chicago Democrat* concerning unclaimed mail, and Peter Cohen advertised "a large and splendid assortment of winter clothing" as well as a "fresh supply of provisions, groceries, and liquors" for sale in his store. In 1836 the "Jewish Peddler," J. Gottlieb, made his mark on the growing western town. In 1837 Chicago, with 5,000 inhabitants, was incorporated as a city; between 1840 and 1844 about 20 Jews settled in the city, most of them immigrants from Bavaria and the Rhenish Palatinate in Germany. The first High Holy Day service was held on the Day of Atonement, 1845. As in other cities in the Colonies and the States, the first community organization was the Jewish Burial Ground Society, which came into being late in 1845 and purchased an acre of land from the city to be used as a cemetery. On October 3, 1846, in the dry-goods emporium of Rosenfeld and Rosenberg, 15 Jews founded the first Jewish congregation in the city, Kehillath Anshe Ma'arav ("the Congregation of the People of the West"), subsequently referred to as KAM. They practiced the traditional *Minhag Ashkenaz* and worshiped in a room above a clothing store. The Jewish Burial Ground Society merged with KAM, and KAM dedicated the first Chicago synagogue in 1851. The Reverend Ignatz Kunreuther (b. 1811) from Frankfurt on the Main was invited to be *ḥazzan* and *shoḥet*; in 1853 he presided over a "Constituted Rabbinate Collegium" that converted a woman to Judaism. That same year Kunreuther was succeeded in his congregational post by Godfrey Snydacker from Westphalia, Germany; Snydacker, a trained teacher, laid the foundation of the day school at KAM, where Hebrew, English, and German were taught "in addition to the common branches." By the middle of the century two additional community organizations came into being: the Hebrew Benevolent Society of Chicago, a group of semi-religious character, dissatisfied with KAM's orthodoxy, and Kehillath B'nai Sholom (KBS), primarily consisting of Jews from Posen who practiced the traditional *Minhag Polen*. The latter was organized in September 1849 (not May 1852, the anniversary date given by many). The Hebrew Benevolent Society purchased three acres of land for a cemetery, part of which KBS purchased. In 1856 a segment of KBS formed the Chevrath Gemilath Chassodim Ubikur Cholem. A year later the Ramah Lodge No. 33 of B'nai B'rith was organized. By 1860 Chicago was home to the Juedischer Reformverein, founded as the Israelite Reform Society in 1857; the United Hebrew Relief Association, the charity organization founded in 1859; the Young Men's Fraternity; the Clay Literary and Dramatic Association; the Ladies' Benevolent Society; and the Young Ladies Benevolent Society. In 1860 the Jewish population stood at 1,500, out of the city's total population of 112,260.

After 1860

In 1861 the Reform Congregation Sinai was founded, a development of the Juedischer Reformverein, organized four years earlier. Its spiritual leader was Bernard *Felsenthal, who in 1859 had published *Kol Kore Bammidbar* ("Voice Calling in the Wilderness"), a German brochure, in favor of reform in Judaism. Three years later Felsenthal founded the Zion Congregation, and was succeeded at Sinai by Isaac Loew Chronik of Koenigsberg. Chronik was the first to publish a German-Jewish magazine in Chicago, *Zeichen der Zeit* ("Signs of the Time"). A year later Chronik returned to Germany and was succeeded by Kaufman *Kohler. In November 1861 the Chevrah Kedisha Ubikur Cholem seceded from the Chevrah Gemilath Chassodim Ubikur Cholem and evolved into a synagogue that became known as "Secesh [i.e., secessionist] Shule." By this time Russian, Polish, and Lithuanian immigrants from Eastern Europe began to arrive in the city. Their vernacular was Yiddish, and their chief occupation peddling. As early as the autumn of 1862 the East European Jews organized Congregation B'nai Jacob, and a year later, Beth Hamedrash Hagodol; in 1867 both congregations merged under the name Beth Hamedrash Hagadol Ub'nai Jacob. Soon after, the Russian-Polish Jews organized the Ohave Emuno ("Lovers of Faith") congregation. The decade closed with the organization in 1870 of Congregation Ohave Sholom Mariampoler and Congregation Ahavath Achim. The former grew out of a controversy over a straw hat that a Mariampoler man was wearing during Sabbath services at the Beth Hamedrash Hagodol and because of which he was ejected. The Mariampoler Aid Society had been organized earlier. During this decade some Jews from Germany and Bohemia organized the Congregation B'nai Abraham on the "southwest side." In August 1868 the Jewish Hospital built by the United Hebrew Relief Association was opened for patients, including many non-Jews. When Civil War hostilities began, the Jewish community in Chicago had increased to the extent that it was able to recruit a complete company of a hundred Jewish volunteers to join the 82nd Regiment of Illinois Volunteers. The Jewish community of Chicago quickly recovered from the Great Fire of 1871, which affected the neighborhood of the German Jews, and from the fire of 1874, which affected mostly East European Jews. The 1871 fire destroyed the new Jewish hospital, five of the city's seven synagogues, many Jewish institutional buildings, and most of the downtown Jewish-owned businesses and homes. The neighborhood of the Russian and Polish Jews received the cognomen "the ghetto" and that of the German Jews, the "golden ghetto." The so-called ghetto was described by a contemporary in 1891 as follows:

> On the West Side, in a district bounded by Sixteenth Street on the South and Polk Street on the north and the Chicago river and Halsted street on the east and west, one can walk the streets for blocks and see none but Semitic features and hear nothing but the Hebrew patois of Russian Poland. In this restricted boundary, in narrow streets, ill-ventilated tenements and rickety cottages, there is a population of from 15,000 to 16,000 Russian Jews. Every Jew in this quarter who can speak a word of English is engaged in business of some sort. The favorite occupation, probably on account of the small capital required, is fruit and vegetable peddling. Here, also is the home of the Jewish street merchant, the rag and junk peddler, and the "glass pudding" man. The principal streets in the quarter are lined with stores of every description. Trades, with which Jews are not usually associated, such as saloonkeeping, shaving and hair cutting, and blacksmithing, have their representatives and Hebrew signs. In a narrow street a private school is in full blast. In the front basement room of a small cottage forty small boys all with hats on, sit crowded into a space 10 × 10 feet in size, presided over by a stout middle-aged man with a long, curling, matted beard, who also retains his hat, a battered rusty derby of ancient style. All the old or middle-aged men in the quarter affect this peculiar headgear.… The younger generation of men are more progressive and having been born in this country are patriotic and want to be known as Americans and not Russians.… The commercial life of this district seems to be uncommonly keen. Everyone is looking for a bargain and everyone has something to sell. The home life seems to be full of content and easygoing unconcern for what the outside world thinks.… (*Chicago Tribune*, July 19, 1891).

This area contained the famous Maxwell Street Market, which flourished from the 1870s until it was closed by the city in 1994. For many years it was the third largest retail area in the city. Jews lived in the Maxwell Street area in large numbers until the 1920s. Among the prominent people who lived in the Maxwell Street area were Benny *Goodman, U.S. Supreme Court Justice Arthur *Goldberg, the father of the atomic-powered submarine, Admiral Hyman *Rickover, CBS founder William *Paley, novelist Meyer *Levin, Academy-Award-winning actor Paul *Muni, social activist Saul *Alinsky, movie mogul Barney *Balaban, world champion boxers Jackie *Fields and Barney *Ross, and a number of well-known local politicians and businessmen.

Economic Activity

Of the large migration from Germany, Prussia, Hungary, Bohemia, and Poland in the 1840s and 1850s, most became peddlers, and later many opened small businesses. In the 1860s Jews began to enter the medical and legal professions; some also went into banking, even founding Jewish banking houses. The new Russian immigrants of the 1880s preferred factory work and small business. The greatest number of them, 4,000 by 1900, were employed in the clothing industry, mainly its ready-made branches. The second largest number, 2,400 by 1900, entered the tobacco industry, primarily the cigar trade, many of them in business for themselves. The Russian immigrants had been preceded in these trades by the earlier Jewish immigrants, but now far outnumbered them. Among the Russian Jews at the turn of the century were also about 2,000 rag peddlers, 1,000 fruit and vegetable peddlers, and a good number of iron peddlers; others found work ranging from common laborers to highly skilled mechanics and technicians. The growth of sweat-shops in the needle trade in the 1880s with their unsanitary conditions and excessive hours was the determining factor in the development of the Jewish socialist movement and the Jewish trade-union movement. The Chicago Cloakmakers Union, predominantly Jewish, was the first to protest against child labor, which persisted despite compulsory education, and conditions in the sweatshops. They succeeded only in establishing a 14-year-old age limit and limiting any one sweatshop to the members of one family. In that period there were many short-lived unions and several strikes in the clothing industry in Chicago, mainly by East European workers against German-Jewish shopowners, but the first successful strike did not take place until 1910; it included workers from the latest influx of Russian immigrants, who fled the Russian revolution of 1905 and among whom were many revolutionary idealists. The strike was conducted in the face of the hostile leadership of the United Garment Workers, their union, which sent in strike-breakers. Nevertheless, it was this strike that in 1911 established collective bargaining in the clothing industry. It spurred the New York Tailors locals to organize nationally, and ultimately, laid the foundations for a new and lasting union, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, under the leadership of Chicagoan Sidney *Hillman. An alternative to sweatshops and peddling was provided for a few by the Jewish Agriculturalists Aid Society of America, founded in Chicago in 1888 by Abraham R. Levy. It made loans to prospective farmers in the Midwest, 89 of whom were still farming at that time.

Although they began as peddlers and small store owners, German Jews came to Chicago early and with a relatively good secular education. They soon prospered and went into the professions and large business. They ran such well-known national companies as Florsheim, Spiegel, Aldens, Kuppenheimer, Hart Shaffner and Marx, A.G. Becker, Albert Pick, Brunswick and Inland Steel. Julius *Rosenwald oversaw the growth of Sears Roebuck. He was a major philanthropist for Jewish and non-Jewish causes and for the establishment of the Museum of Science and Industry. His brother-in law Max Adler, also of Sears Roebuck and a philantopist, founded the Adler Planetarium. For a number of generations there was some friction between the German Jew and the Eastern European Jews, mainly due to differences in religious beliefs, tradition, language, and economic status. The two groups lived apart and each had their own institutions. Today in Chicago – as elsewhere – the former divisions of the two groups are virtually nonexistent.

Population Growth and Demographic Changes

From the 1880s to the 1920s the Jewish population grew from 10,000 to 225,000, or from 2 percent to 8 percent of the general population. In 1900 about 65 percent of Chicago's Jews were of East European origin; in 1920 about 80 percent were. Between World War I and World War II the west side, with the largest number and proportion of foreign-born, was the seat of the large Orthodox and smaller secular Jewish movements. The community of North Lawndale with an estimated 110,000 Jews in 1930 was the most intensively Jewish area and the center of Jewish life. The North Lawndale Jewish community was the largest such community that Chicago ever had. It was the home of 60 synagogues, all but two being Orthodox. It claimed Yiddish theaters, the Hebrew Theological College, the very active Jewish People's Institute, a much used community center, Mt. Sinai Hospital, facilities for the aged, blind, and orphans, and numerous Zionist, religious, cultural, educational, and social organizations. For a while Gold Meyerson (*Meir) lived in this area and worked in the local public library. Most of the area residents had previously lived in the Maxwell Street area. By contrast, the Albany Park area on the northwest side, which in 1930 accommodated an estimated 29,000 persons, was attractive to families desiring more rapid acculturation. In 1930 the Jewish population of Chicago increased to 265,450. A survey in 1937 revealed that of the adult Jewish population over 15 years of age, 57 percent were born outside the United States. Of the latter, 78 percent had come from the former Russian Empire; 18 percent from Central Europe (Germany, Austria, Bohemia, Hungary, and Romania); 2 percent from Western and Northwestern Europe; and 2 percent from the East and Near East. In 1930 other Chicago areas with sizable Jewish populations included the north lakefront area of Lakeview-Uptown, Rogers Park with 27,000 Jews; West Town-Humboldt Park-Logan Square with 35,000 Jews on the northwest side; and Kenwood-Hyde Park and Woodlawn-South Shore on the south side, The south side Jewish communities had the highest economic status, and consisted mainly of German Jews, followed by the north and northwest side Jews. Of all these communities, only Kenwood-Hyde Park in the University of Chicago area still has a small, but viable, Jewish community, as does the north lakefront area.

As of 1940, Jewish families were substantially smaller than those of other religious and ethnic groups. Among Jewish men, self-employment (employers and own-account workers) was much more prominent than among men of other groups. White-collar occupations, such as proprietors, managers, and clerical workers, were especially attractive to them. In local, as in national politics, Jews were predominantly identified with the Democratic Party. In the 1936 presidential election Franklin Delano Roosevelt received 95.95 percent of the vote in the Jewish 24th ward in North Lawndale, leading President Roosevelt to comment that it was the best ward in the whole country.

With the end of World War II the settlement pattern of the Jewish population of Chicago underwent a radical change. From the 1940s through the 1960s, Jews relocated their residences in the northern part of the city and in the suburbs to its north, including Skokie, Lincolnwood, Wilmette, Winnetka, Glencoe, Highland Park, and Evanston; south, including Park Forest; and west, including Oak Park and Des Plaines. In 1947 the *Chicago Tribune* recorded the Jewish population in the city and within a 40 mile radius of it as 342,800. By 1952 the Jewish population of Chicago had declined to approximately 300,000, mostly English-speaking and native-born. In 1963 it was estimated that 80 percent of the total Jewish population resided in the northern sector that stretches roughly from Albany Park in the city to the suburb of Wilmette in Cook County. In 1970 West Rogers Park and suburban Skokie were the largest Jewish communities, each with a Jewish population of almost 50,000, constituting about 70 percent of the total population of each area. In the late 1970s a small group of American Nazis tried to schedule a march in Skokie, specifically targeting its large Holocaust survivor population, who supported the efforts to ban the march and faced stiff opposition from the ACLU and other free speech advocates. To a considerable extent, the development of these new communities with religious, educational, cultural, and social service facilities was the result of a conscious effort to perpetuate the cohesion of Jewish groups. Community leaders held the opinion that a modicum of Jewish education and voluntary segregation in a high-status residential area would forestall assimilation. By 1969 there were growing Jewish communities in such other Chicago suburbs as Arlington Heights, Deerfield, Morton Grove, Mt. Prospect, Northbrook, and Buffalo-Groves. Yet the city of Chicago remained the center of the community, with many of the area Jews commuting into town for work and Jewish institutional life remaining there.

The 1970s and After

DEMOGRAPHY. During recent decades the Chicago Jewish community has been able to identify changes in the Jewish population through scientific surveys conducted by the Jewish Federation of Metropolitan Chicago. In 1970 the population was estimated at 251,000; in 1980 at 248,000; in 1990 at 261,000; and in 2000 at 270,000. In 2000 it was also learned that there were an additional 50,000 non-Jews living in Jewish households, including non-Jewish spouses, children, and partners.

Several trends were evident, which parallel those in other communities. The first involves the growth in the number of households, from approximately 97,000 in 1970 to 134,000 in 2000; the increase is related to more households with singles, empty nesters (i.e., families in which the children have grown and left home), and the elderly. The percentage of households with married couples having children has steadily declined, while the proportion of households with single adults has steadily increased.

The second trend is the suburbanization of the population. In the early 1950s, it was projected that only 4 percent of the Jewish population lived in the suburbs outside the city of Chicago. By 1971 the population was evenly split between city and suburbs, in 1980 nearly 60 percent lived in the suburbs and by 2000 nearly 70 percent lived in the suburbs. There were still neighborhoods with a significant Jewish population in the city, the most prominent being West Rogers Park on the north side of the city, in which nearly 30,000 Jews live, many of them Orthodox or Traditional, with some 20 synagogues and other community institutions, including the Bernard Horwich Jewish Community Center and Ida Crown Academy. Although the majority of the Jews live in the northern suburbs, the area of fastest growth has been the northwest suburbs (Buffalo Grove, Northwood, Deerfield). There were also areas of limited new Jewish concentration in the western and southern suburbs. Two new synagogues also existed in the far northwest McHenry County more than 50 miles from downtown Chicago. With every movement farther outward, Jewish density, political influence, and yiddishkeit decline.

While the population has become increasingly American-born, with only 10 percent of the adults foreign born, the community has witnessed an influx of Jews from the former Soviet Union. During the past 30 years, the Chicago Jewish Community, through the Jewish Federation, its agencies and congregations, has resettled nearly 25,000 Jews from the former Soviet Union. Further, the community continues to attract Jews from elsewhere in the United States. The most recent population study shows that nearly 50 percent of adult Jews come from outside the Chicago area, including many young adults.

CONTEMPORARY COMMUNITY. As a community with more than one-quarter million Jews, Chicago has a rich and varied institutional network. Within the religious sphere in 2004 there were 140 synagogues including 39 Orthodox, 14 Traditional (which includes Orthodox rabbis and services, but with mixed seating and sometimes the use of microphones), nine Lubavitcher congregations, 31 Conservative, 36 Reform, three Reconstructionist, one Humanist, and seven Non-Denominational. Among those who are affiliated with synagogues – less than half of the Chicago Jewish community – nearly 26 percent identify as Orthodox, Traditional, or Chabad, 35 percent as Conservative, and 35 percent as Reform, and the remainder to other groupings. The majority of households do not belong to a congregation – it was estimated that in 2000 the affiliation rate was 42 percent of all households – although other data show that households move in and out of synagogue affiliation – hence more than 62 percent are currently or have been members at some point in time during their adult lives. The two major rabbinic organizations are the Chicago Board of Rabbis (CBR) and the Chicago Rabbinical Council (CRC). The CBR, which in 1959 developed out of the Chicago Rabbinical Association (founded 1893), serves all denominational groups and had a membership in 1995 of 250 members; the exclusively Orthodox Chicago Rabbinical Association numbers some 200 Orthodox rabbis. In addition, the community has four *mikva'ot* and two *battei din*, or religious courts, one Orthodox, the other Conservative.

Many of the Jewish educational and social service organizations receive support from the Jewish Federation of Metropolitan Chicago. This organization traces its origins back to the Associated Jewish Charities (1900), which went through some organizational changes, becoming the Jewish Charities in 1922, when it incorporated the Federated Orthodox Jewish Charities. In 1936 the Jewish Welfare Fund was organized to assume responsibility for allocation overseas as well as local Jewish education and culture. In 1968 the Jewish Federation and Welfare Fund combined its fund-raising efforts with those of the Jewish United Fund of Metropolitan Chicago (JUF). In 1974 the Welfare Fund merged into the Jewish Federation of Metropolitan Chicago. In addition to funding overseas needs, the Jewish United Fund dollars also assist many Chicago and national community institutions through allocations via the Jewish Federation. These include employment service, services directed at families and children with emotional problems, comprehensive at-home and residential services for the elderly, seven community centers, as well as Jewish educational institutions and schools. For many years the Federation supported two hospitals, Michael Reese (founded in 1881) and Mount Sinai (founded in 1918 as the successor to Maimonides Hospital); following the sale of Michael Reese to a national health care organization, the Federation now supports only Mount Sinai.

EDUCATIONAL AND CULTURAL INSTITUTIONS. The Chicago Jewish community hosts a variety of Jewish educational and cultural institutions, many of them supported by the Jewish Federation with annual grants or allocations. Institutions of higher learning include the Hebrew Theological College, which for a generation was the home of Jewish philosopher

Eliezer Berkovits and Rabbi Aaron Soloveitchik, also houses a residential high school program, a Teacher's Institute serving women, a *kolel*, and the Saul Silber Memorial Library; the Spertus Institute of Jewish Studies which includes the Asher Library (with more than 400,000 books) and Spertus Museum of Judaica; a branch of Telshe Yeshiva, Brisk Yeshiva, and *kolelim*, many of the last arriving on the scene in the 1980s; two central agencies of Jewish education, the Associated Talmud Torahs (established in 1929), which oversees Orthodox programs, and the Community Foundation for Jewish Education (organized in 1993 and based upon a partnership of the Jewish Federation, religious movements, and the Board of Jewish Education), which serves a non-Orthodox constituency, primarily through supplementary congregational schools, early childhood programs, and its own high school program. During the past decade, the educational trends show a significant increase in day school enrollment (up from 3,000 to 4,000 in 12 elementary day schools in eight years), increased Jewish early childhood enrollment, expansion of adult Jewish education opportunities, and stable supplementary school enrollment. Projections are that nearly 80 percent of Jewish children receive some Jewish education during their childhood years.

The Zionist movement began in Chicago in pre-Herzlian days, when in 1886 a branch of Ḥovevei Zion was established. This was followed by the organization of several Zionist groups including the Chicago Zionist Organization No. 1 in 1896, the Knights of Zion on October 28, 1897, and young Zionist groups called B'nai Zion in 1898. By 1995 Zionist groups included the Zionist Organization of Chicago, a chapter of Hadassah, the Amit Women, Na'amath U.S.A., and the Aliyah Council, a community-based organization which promotes *aliyah* and is a beneficiary agency of the Jewish Federation. The Chicago Israel Bonds organization was active as well and the Israel Consulate General for Midwestern states is situated in Chicago. So, too, is the Midwest office of the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, the most successful of all its fundraising offices. In 1913 the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith was founded in Chicago to combat antisemtisim.

The change over time, however, in the culture of the immigrant population was most evident in the decline in landsmannschaften, which numbered 600 in 1948 (including those added by survivors of the Holocaust settling in Chicago) but only 13 in 1995. The Yiddish Theater, which made its Chicago debut in 1887, still existed in 1951.

Very early in the history of the Jewish community, Chicago Jewry began to participate in the civic and political lives of the larger community. In 1856 Henry Greenbaum of a prominent family was elected Alderman of the sixth ward. Abraham Kohn was City Clerk. In 1860 Kohn presented Lincoln, on his departure for Washington, with an American flag inscribed with Hebrew verses from Joshua. Throughout the history of Chicago, Jews have achieved positions of prominence in the local, state, and national communities. Jacob M. *Arvey was a National Committee member of the Democratic Party. Philip *Klutznik was the United States representative to the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations and secretary of commerce under President Jimmy *Carter. Abraham Lincoln Marovitz was a federal judge of the Northern District of Illinois. Abner Mikvah initially served as a congressman, then was appointed to the federal bench, and still later became Counsel to the President of the United States. Sidney Yates served in the House of Representatives for nearly 50 years, as did Adolph J. Sabath. The tradition of political involvement continues with Rahm Emanuel, an Israeli-born Clinton White House official who won election to the House of Representatives and Jan Schakowsky who replaced Sidney Yates upon his retirement. On the Republican side, University of Chicago Dean Edward Levi served as attorney general under President Ford; Leon Kass, the University of Chicago ethicist, who also wrote brilliantly on *Genesis,* chairs the President's Council on Bioethics and was instrumental in the compromise decision on stem-cell research. President Ronald *Reagan appointed Richard *Posner to the U.S. Court of Appeals and he has become the most intellectually prolific of federal judges. In recent years, Chicago Jewish leaders have assumed leading roles in national and international Jewish organizations. Maynard Wishner, a former president of the Federation, was president of the Council of Jewish Federations in 1995. Charles H. Goodman, also a past president of the Jewish Federation, was elected chairman of the Board of Governors of the Jewish Agency for Israel in 1995, and David Kahn became national president of the American Jewish Congress in 1995. Steven Nasatir headed JUF for 25 years and after the merger of the Council of Jewish Federations and UJA served for a limited period of time as the president of the United Jewish Communities; rather than "going national," he returned home to Chicago. Unlike other cities where there is a conflict between cosmopolitan and local leadership, Chicago Jewry respects those who assume national leadership and they in turn maintain their active involvement in the local community.

The Jewish community of Chicago represents a blending of Jews from many lands into a generally flourishing community that has produced people who have made significant contributions in diverse fields on local and national levels, including eight Jewish Noble Prize winners such as Saul *Bellow and Milton *Friedman. This success came about only after much adversity, toil, and perseverance.

Press

A bibliography of Hebrew and Yiddish publications published in Chicago between 1877 and 1950 shows 492 titles (L. Mishkin, in S. Rawidowicz (ed.), *Chicago Pinkas*, 1952). The Yiddish press in Chicago was most prolific. It made its bow in 1877 with the appearance of the *Izraelitishe Presse*, edited by Nachman Baer Ettelsohn, followed in 1881 by the *Chicagoer Israelit* and in 1885 by *Di Yidishe Presse*. In 1885 the weekly *Chicagoer Vokhenblat* under the editorship of Kathriel H. *Sarasohn appeared, followed a decade later by the *Yidisher Vokhenblat*. From 1887 to 1891 the *Yidisher Kurier* appeared as a weekly, changing into a daily in 1910; it continued publication under the title *Der Teglikher Yidisher Kurier* until 1934. Another Yiddish weekly, *Di Yidishe Velt*, appeared in 1893 under the editorship of Leon Zolotkoff. In 1947 the socialist element in the community began to publish the *Chicago Forward*, not to be confused with the later Chicago edition of the New York *Jewish Daily Forward*. A number of similarly inclined Yiddish newspapers followed, such as *Der Neyer Dor*, a weekly, in 1905. *Yidishe Arbeter Velt*, founded as a weekly in 1908, became a daily as *Di Velt* in 1917. Numerous Yiddish weeklies, monthlies, and other publications appeared over the years. The Hebrew press in Chicago was not as successful as its Yiddish counterpart. It made its debut in 1877 with the weekly *Heikhal ha-Ivriyyah*, which was a supplement to the *Israelitishe Presse* and was published until 1879. *Keren Or*, a monthly, followed in 1889. In 1897 the weekly *Ha-Pisgah* made its appearance and was replaced in 1899 by *Ha-Teḥiyyah*, which bore the English subtitle *Regeneration*. The first Jewish periodical in English to appear in Chicago was the weekly *Occident* in 1873, which continued publication until 1895. In 1878 another weekly, *The Jewish Advance*, made its appearance; it was superseded by *The Maccabean*, a monthly, in 1882. The *Chicago Israelite*, 1854–1920, a society paper, was a local edition of the *American Israelite*. The most outstanding Anglo-Jewish weekly was the *Advocate*, founded in 1891 and called the *Reform Advocate* from 1937. The *Chicago Jewish Chronicle* first appeared in 1919. In 1969 there was one Anglo-Jewish weekly, the *Sentinel*, founded in 1911; a Chicago edition of the *Jewish Post and Opinion*; the *Chicago Jewish Forum*, a quarterly, founded in 1942; and *The Jewish Way*, appearing before every major holiday, founded in 1948. Three principal Jewish newspapers existed in 2004. They were the weekly *Chicago Jewish News,* the bi-weekly *Chicago Jewish Star,* and the *JUF News*. In addition to Bellow, other prominent Jewish writers who have lived in Chicago for at least some of their lives include Ben *Hecht, Edna *Ferber, Studs *Turkel, and Maxwelll *Boidenheim. Others in the literary field include playwright David *Mamet, advice columnist Ann *Landers, and movie critic Gene Siskel.

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[Morris A. Gutstein and Erich Rosenthal / Irving Cutler (2nd ed.)]

CHICAGO, JUDY (1939–). U.S. artist, author, and feminist. Born Judy Cohen, Chicago took her surname from her city of birth to eschew the patriarchal name she was given as an infant and later as a wife. At the age of three she began drawing, and at eight she attended classes at the Art Institute of Chicago. She received a B.A. (1962) and an M.A. (1964) in art from the University of California, Los Angeles. Chicago and the painter Miriam Schapiro jointly founded the Feminist Art Program at the California Institute of the Arts in Valencia in 1971. The pair's initial installation, *Womanhouse*, opened in a renovated mansion in Hollywood (1972).

In 1974, Chicago began conceptualizing *The Dinner Party: A Symbol of Our Heritage*, the purpose of which was to raise awareness of a forgotten women's history in a male-dominated society. Executed between 1974 and 1979 with the assistance of more than 400 collaborators, this multimedia installation incorporated traditional women's work such as needlepoint and china painting. It has been seen by over one million viewers in six countries.

Birth Project (1980–85), a needlework series that emerged after Chicago noticed the lack of imagery depicting the moment of birth, was followed by *Powerplay* (1982–87), a multimedia endeavor that explored the effects of male gender constructs.

A growing interest in her Jewish heritage led to *Holocaust Project: From Darkness into Light* (1985–93). *Holocaust Project* first showed in October 1993 at Chicago's Spertus Museum and subsequently traveled throughout the United States until 2002. This installation culminated eight years of research and exploration, which included extensive reading on the subject, visits to concentration camps, and a trip to Israel. Stained glass and tapestry designed by the artist and executed by collaborators, Chicago's paintings, and her husband Donald Woodman's photography combine with information panels and an audiotape to guide the viewer through the installation. Chicago chose tapestry as one of the media for the work "to emphasize how the Holocaust grew out of the very fabric of Western civilization." The 4 1/2 by 18-foot tapestry, titled *The Fall*, shows the disintegration of rationality. Beginning with an interpretation of the *Pergammon Altar*, the narrative culminates with victims being forced into camp ovens.

Resolutions: A Stitch in Time (1994–2000) again employed needlework, along with Chicago's paintings, to illustrate and interpret familiar proverbs in a novel way.

Chicago has written seven books, including *The Dinner Party: A Symbol of Our Heritage* (1979) and *Holocaust Project: From Darkness into Light* (1993), and two autobiographies, *Through the Flower: My Struggle as a Woman Artist* (1975) and *Beyond the Flower: The Autobiography of a Feminist Artist* (1996).

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[Samantha Baskind (2nd ed.)]

CHICKEN. Chickens were raised in Ereẓ Israel in biblical times. Excavations at Tel Mizpah (Tell al-Nasba) uncovered a Hebrew seal from the period of the monarchy in Judah with the reproduction of a cock and, near the pool of *Gibeon, a pitcher with the figure of a cock.

In the Mishnah the chicken is called *tarnegol* (feminine, *tarnegolet*) which is derived from the Sumerian *tarlugal*, the king bird. The male (cock) is also called *gever*. The sages identified it with the *sekhvi* in Job 38:36, "Who hath given understanding to the sekhvi?" on which is based the blessing in the morning service: "Blessed art Thou … Who hast given to the cock intelligence to distinguish between day and night." Some sages identified the *zarzir motnayim,* included among those that are "stately in going," with the cock (Prov. 30:31; see Yal. ad loc). Hens, frequently mentioned in rabbinic literature and regarded as the choicest of birds (BM 86b), were raised near the home and brought into the hen-coop at night (Shab. 102b). Since the cock symbolized procreation, it was customary as part of a marriage ceremony to bring a cock and a hen and to say: "Be fruitful and multiply like chickens" (Git. 57a; cf. Ber. 22a). The sages were aware that a hen also laid eggs without mating. Red (TJ, Ber. 3:5, 6d) and white (Av. Zar. 13b) chickens were bred. Among other details given in the Talmud about the cock are: the color of its comb changes at different hours of the night (Ber. 7a) and its eyelids close upward because smoke entering its eyes from below would cause it to go blind (Shab. 77b). The hen's egg represents a basic unit of volume (see Weights and *Measures) for halakhic purposes.

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[Jehuda Feliks]

CHIEF RABBI, CHIEF RABBINATE. The office represents a continuation of the ancient trend in Jewish society to confer on one or more persons central religious authority, if possible for the whole of Jewry, or otherwise at least for a country or region. It found formal expression in the persons and offices of *king, high *priest, *patriarch, *exilarch, and *gaon. From the 11th century external rulers often used the chief rabbi for their own purposes, for instance for tax collection. However, even then the chief rabbi, if a scholar, was respected and in most cases accepted, by the Jewish community, although on occasion arousing opposition. In the 12th–13th centuries the office of *Presbyter Judeorum existed in England but his functions were mainly fiscal. In France a Jewish *procureur général* is mentioned in 1297 who served as intermediary between the crown and the Jews. In the 14th century Mattathias b. Joseph the Provençal, and after him his son Johanan b. Mattathias, acted as chief rabbi and judge for civil and criminal cases among Jews. In Spain James I of Aragon appointed his secretary Solomon chief judge of Aragonese Jewry in 1257. Other chief rabbis followed, the most prominent among them Ḥasdai *Crescas, the philosopher. In Castile, the holder of the office of *el rab* (*Rab de la Corte*) acted as a leader for the whole of Castilian Jewry and a judge who enjoyed high political and social status. There was a district chief rabbi in 1255 in Burgos, Castile. His office still acted as a court of appeal and appointed or deposed local elders in 1401. The community of Toledo had an "alcalde and chief judge of the Jews." In 1383–85 David ibn Yaḥya was titled *Raby mayor de toda Castella*. The pious Abraham *Benveniste, *Rab de la Corte*, presided over the Council of Valladolid in 1432 (see *Conferences). In 1465 Samaya Lubel, the court physician, was styled by the king "rabbi, chief judge, and tax distributor of all the Jewish communities of my kingdoms and dominions." The last office of this kind was held by Abraham *Senior, court banker and tax farmer. In Navarre, Joseph *Orabuena, the king's physician, acted as *rabi mayor de los judios del reyno* from 1391 until 1401. In Sicily the Aragonese ruler appointed in 1396 a *iudex universalis* or chief justice, called *dienchelele (Heb. *dayyan kelali*), for civil and criminal cases. The office lasted half a century and seems to have served mainly fiscal purposes. In Portugal, communal authority was highly centralized and hierarchical. A statute of 1402 provided for a chief rabbi, *arraby moor, who annually visited all Jewish communities to collect state revenue and supervise local justice and self-government. He appointed seven district overseers who were responsible to him. German Jewry in the 13th century had *Meir b. Baruch of Rothenburg as chief rabbi by imperial appointment. When King Rupert appointed Rabbi Israel in 1407 as Hochmeister, mainly for fiscal purposes, he met strong opposition. Yet a similar office continued until late in the 18th century in the form of the *Landesrabbiner. In Poland-Lithuania the kings at first arrogated to themselves the power to appoint regional rabbis. Jacob b. Joseph *Pollak was thus made chief rabbi of Cracow in 1503. Many other rabbis were similarly chosen. Soon election to such office was left to the Jews themselves as part of their broad autonomous rights. Moses *Isserles expressly asserted in his responsa the validity of a royal appointment of a chief rabbi. After the capture of Constantinople in 1453 the Turkish sultan appointed Moses Caspali *ḥakham bashi with wide powers to judge the Jews of the empire, impose punishments, appoint local rabbis, and collect taxes. The chief rabbi's powers were gradually weakened. The last *ḥakham bashi* of the Ottoman Empire, Haim *Nahoum, was elected in 1909. The reforms in Jewish leadership of Napoleon I inaugurated the office of *Grand Rabbin* in France. In England from the second half of the 18th century the rabbi of the Great Synagogue in London was informally recognized as chief rabbi and from 1845 officially designated Chief Rabbi of the United Hebrew Congregations of the British Empire (subsequently Commonwealth). Several other countries, especially in Western Europe, also came to appoint chief rabbis. Israel has two chief rabbis, one for the Sephardi ("Rishon le-Zion"), and the other for the Ashkenazi community. The office of Sephardi chief rabbi was recognized from the middle of the 19th century by the Ottoman authorities. The institution of two chief rabbis was given legal status by a British mandatory ordinance of 1920.

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[Isaac Levitats]

CHIEFTAIN. The prevalent term for "leader" in the pre-monarchic tribal society of Israel was *nasiʾ* (Heb. נָשִׂיא). The same term is applied to the leaders of the Midianites (Num. 25:18; Josh. 13:21) and Ishmaelites (Gen. 17:20; 25:16), who, like the early Israelites, were organized on a patriarchal basis. The office is also attested in Phoenician inscriptions. Two Israelite tribes, Reuben and Simeon, who settled in border districts – Reuben in the southern part of Transjordan and Simeon in the southwestern – preserved their chieftains even after the establishment of the monarchy (I Chron. 4:38; 5:6).

Nasiʾ is derived from *nasaʾ* ("to raise") and means "the elevated," like Ugaritic *zbl* (*zabūlu*), which means "prince" and is derived from *zbl* ("to raise" or "to lift up"; cf. *niseʾo* in Esth. 5:11). Actually, *nasiʾ*, meaning "the one elected" or "appointed," may be deduced from the use of the similar verb *harim* (also meaning "to elevate") in the context of divine election: "I elevated you from among the people and appointed you a prince (*nagid*) over my people" (I Kings 14:7; cf. 16:2; Ps. 89:20: *harimoti baḥur me-ʿam*, "I have elevated the chosen from the people"). The act of appointing also involves elevating in talmudic literature. In the description of Hillel's appointment it states: "They seated him at the head and appointed him their *nasiʾ*" (Pes. 66a). A comparison can be found also in Akkadian literature (*Enuma Elish* 1:147): "Kingu was elevated," i.e., became the leader. Morphologically, *nasiʾ* belongs to the class of professional names, such as *nagid, nadiv, nasikh, naviʾ*, etc.

The chieftains are defined as *qeriʾe moʿed/qeriʾe (qeruʾe) ha-ʿedah* (Num. 16:2/Num. 1:16), which E.A. Speiser translates as "nominees of the assembly council." However, it is possible that *qeriʾe ha-ʿedah* is to be understood not as elected by the council but as "the assembled of the council," i.e., those participating in the council (cf., e.g., Deut. 33:5, *be-hitʾassef raʾshe ʿam*, "when the heads of the people gathered"; for *qrʾ*, "to gather/assemble," see *Congregation). Chieftains are called "the heads of the children of Israel" (*rashe bene-Yisrael*, Num. 13:3); "the heads of the families" (*raʾshe ha-aʾvot*, Num. 36:1); "the chieftains of the ancestral tribes" (*nesiʾe maṭṭot avotam*, Num. 1:16); "the heads of the tribes" (*rashe ha-Maṭṭot*, Num. 30:2); and "the heads of the contingents of Israel" (*raʾshe aʾlfe Yisrael*, Num. 1: 16).

Nasiʾ designates the head of a tribe, but it may also be found as a term for the head of a clan or family, as, for example, in Numbers 3:24, 30, 35; 25:14; I Chronicles 4:38. This is corroborated by Numbers 16:2, where 250 *nesiʾim* are mentioned. At the same time, *nasiʾ* can be a designation for the highest local authority, as in Genesis 34:2, where Hamor, the Shechemite, is called "the *nasiʾ* of the country." In some cases, *nasiʾ* appears alternatively with "king," as may be seen by a comparison of Numbers 31:8 (*malkhe Midyan*) and Joshua 13:21 (*nesiʾe Midyan*). This kind of flexibility in terminology is also attested among the tribes of *Mari, where the tribal heads (*sugagum*) may be designated as "kings."

Nasiʾ, like *ʿedah*, is very common in priestly literature, but this does not prove the lateness of these concepts, as J. Wellhausen argued. On the contrary, *nasiʾ* is attested in the most ancient law code (Ex. 22:27) and, as M. Noth has shown, this was the classical term for the leader in ancient pre-monarchic Israel. Its frequent appearance in priestly literature is due to the affinity of the latter for ancient patriarchal institutions and genealogies.

Like *ʿedah, nasiʾ* refers to the pre-monarchic period, and late occurrences of the term may be explained either as referring to tribal residues in the border districts (I Chron. 4:38; 5:6; 7:40 and cf. above) or as tendentious employment of the term. Thus Ezekiel describes the future messianic king as *nasiʾ* (34:24; 37:25, cf. ch. 45–48), while he employs "king" for emperors (of Babylon and Egypt). In this respect as in others, Ezekiel was apparently influenced by priestly usage. On the other hand, the fact that emperors are called "kings" by him, while leaders of petty kingdoms (27:21; 32:29; 38:2; 39:1) are designated as *nesiʾim*, may indicate that *nasiʾ* does not always have an ideal connotation, but sometimes expresses the lower status of the leader as compared with the king. The awareness of this distinction may lie behind I Kings 11:34, where Solomon is called *nasiʾ*, after having been threatened with degradation. For the same reason, Sheshbazzar, the governor (*peḥah*, Ezra 5:14), at the time of restoration, is called *nasiʾ* (Ezra 1:8).

The main functions of the *nesiʾim* as reflected in the Bible were (1) *census – the *nesiʾim* were in charge of enrollment (Num. 1:4ff.) and are defined as the "ones who attend the census" (Num. 7:2), a procedure attested in Mari (*Archives Royales de Mari*, vol. 10, 82:7–9); (2) division of land (Num. 27:2; 32:2; 34:17–18; 36:1; Josh. 14:1ff.; 17:4; 19:51); (3) endorsement of pacts and covenants (Josh. 9:15; cf. Ex. 34:31); (4) responsibility for maintaining the sacral order (Josh. 22: 13ff.); (5) communal responsibilities (Ex. 16:22; Num. 13:1; 31:13–14). Census, land division, and endorsement of pacts were also the outstanding functions of the *sugagum*, the tribal leader in Mari. The *nesiʾim* mainly acted on behalf of the *ʿedah*, but held separate conventions (Num. 10:4). The entire *ʿedah* was convened only in very urgent cases.

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[Mark Wischnitzer]

CHIEL, ARTHUR ABRAHAM (1920–1983), U.S. Conservative rabbi and author. Chiel was born in Taylor, Pennsylvania, received an Orthodox education at Yeshiva University and his Reform ordination at the Jewish Institute of Religion (1946). In 1944, while still a student, he became religious director of

New York's 92nd Street YMHA, a position he retained until 1949, the year he joined the Conservative movement and the Rabbinical Assembly. That same year, he traveled to western Canada, where he would have a major impact on the Jewish community of the province of Manitoba, serving as director of the B'nai B'rith Hillel Foundation at the University of Manitoba, organizing the university's Department of Judaic Studies (where he also taught as an assistant professor), and becoming founding rabbi of Winnipeg's Congregation Rosh Pina. Chiel later published *Jewish Experiences in Early Manitoba* (1955) and *The Jews in Manitoba* (1961).

In 1957, Chiel returned to New York, where he became program editor of the Jewish Theological Seminary's *Eternal Light* television program and earned his Doctor of Hebrew Letters (1962). In 1962, he became rabbi of Congregation B'nai Jacob in Woodbridge, Connecticut, a position he held until his death. He helped found New Haven's Ezra Academy and was president of the Connecticut Valley Region of the Rabbinical Assembly, an organization whose *bet din* he served as secretary, and for which he wrote the introduction and commentary to *Megillat Hanukkah* (1980). Chiel's other scholarly writings include *Guide to Sidrot and Haftarot* (1971) and *Pathways Through the Torah* (1975). He edited both the magazine *Conservative Judaism* (1979–80) and *Perspectives on Jews and Judaism: Essays in Honor of Wolfe Kelman* (1978).

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[Bezalel Gordon (2nd ed.)]

CHIEL, SAMUEL (1927–), U.S. Conservative rabbi. Chiel was born in Taylor, Pennsylvania, and received his ordination from the Jewish Theological Seminary in 1952 and his Doctor of Divinity degree from the Seminary in 1977. He served as a chaplain in the U.S. Army (1952–54), rabbi of Temple Beth El, Quincy, Massachusetts (1954–56), and rabbi of the Malverne Jewish Center, Malverne, New York (1956–68), before becoming rabbi of Temple Emanuel in Newton, Massachusetts, in 1968, where he remained for the rest of his career and was appointed rabbi emeritus in 1995. Chiel represented the *Anti-Defamation League in several interfaith initiatives, including the dialogue begun with the Polish Catholic Church in 1988 in Cracow, a joint pilgrimage to Israel and Rome with Cardinal Bernard Law in 1999, and the program Catholics and Jews Together: New Directions in Catholic-Jewish Dialogue. The ADL honored him with the Abraham Joshua Heschel Interfaith Relations Award in 1992. In the field of Jewish education, he served as a member of the Chancellor's Cabinet of the Jewish Theological Seminary (1985–95) and director of the Rabbinic Institute of Boston's Hebrew College, which awarded him an honorary Doctorate of Humane Letters in 2000. He was also a member of the faculty of the Department of Theology at Boston College (1990–95). He served as chairman of the Rabbinical Assembly's Commission on Jewish Renewal and Commitment (1991–92) and was given the Jewish Theological Seminary's Rabbi Max Arzt Distinguished Rabbinic Service Award (1987). In 2001, Chiel received the Humanitarian Award from the National Conference for Community and Justice, the first time it was ever bestowed on a clergyman. He is the co-author with Henry Dreher of *For Thou Art With Me: The Healing Power of Psalms* (2000).

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[Bezalel Gordon (2nd ed.)]

CHIERI, town in Piedmont, Northern Italy. Jewish physicians and bankers living in Chieri, who formed the nucleus of a small Jewish settlement, are mentioned in documents from 1417 onward. In 1552, the *Segre family received an exclusive concession to engage in moneylending. They remained the most prominent Jewish family in Chieri through the 17th century. Joseph b. Gershom Conzio of Asti established a small Hebrew press in which he (and after his death his son Abraham) printed between 1626 and 1632 some dozen items, mostly by J. Conzio himself, but also including Isaac Lattes' *Perush Ma'amar she-be-Midrash Rabbah* (1629). In 1724, a ghetto was established in Chieri on the instructions of the dukes of Savoy; the community numbered about 70 persons. In 1797, after the first occupation by French revolutionary forces, an attempt was made by a mob to sack the ghetto; members of the community established an annual celebration on the New Moon of Av to commemorate their escape. During the French hegemony, the Jews were granted equal civic rights, and David Levi became deputy mayor. A period of reaction followed after 1815, but in 1848 the Jews of Chieri, with the rest of those of Piedmont, received complete emancipation. The community, which numbered about 150 in the mid-19th century, ceased to exist in the early 20th century.

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[Daniel Carpi]

°**CHILDEBERT I**, ruler of the Merovingian kingdom of Neustria (the Western Kingdom of the Franks) from 511 to 558. He ratified the anti-Jewish acts of the Third Council of Orleans (538). Childebert's nephew CHILPERIC also ruled in Neustria from 561 to 584. A self-styled poet, scholar, and theologian, he had a Jew named Priscus for an adviser. Chilperic had a disputation staged between Priscus and Gregory of Tours. After the debate ended in a draw, Chilperic ordered the forcible baptism of some of the Jews in his kingdom and attempted to ensure their prosperity by becoming their godfather. Priscus refused and was put in jail where he was murdered.

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CHILD MARRIAGE, a marriage to which either or both the parties are legal minors. A male is legally a minor (*katan*) until the end of his 13th year; thereafter he is considered an adult (*gadol* or *ish*; Maim. Yad, Ishut, 2:10). A female is legally a minor (*ketannah*) until the end of her 12th year; thereafter she is considered an adult (*gedolah*) – but with one additional distinction: for the first six months after her 12th birthday she is called a *na'arah* and from the age of 12½ plus one day she is called a *bogeret* (Maim. Yad, Ishut 2:1–2). A child marriage involves two considerations: first, the capacity of a minor to change his personal status by marriage contracted as his own independent act; and secondly, whether others – such as parents – may validly give a minor in marriage and the resulting effect on the minor's personal status.

Marriage of a Minor Acting by Himself

The rule is that "an act of marriage [*kiddushin*] by a minor is – as everyone knows – nugatory" (Kid. 50b) and thus no divorce is required for the dissolution (Yev. 112b; Sh. Ar., EH 43:1, *Ḥelkat Meḥokek, ibid.* 1). This is also the rule regarding a *ketannah* (Kid. 44b; Sh. Ar., EH 37:4, 11). After she has reached her 12th birthday, subject to her father being no longer alive, she may contract a marriage which is valid under biblical law (Yev. 109b and 110a; BB 156a; Maim. Yad, Ishut, 2:6; Gerushin 11:6). If her father is still alive and she is a *na'arah*, she requires her father's prior consent to her marriage (Kid. 79a; Sh. Ar., EH 37:1,2). Males and females, on reaching the age of 13 years and a day and 12 years and a day respectively – unless they do not show signs of physical maturity (i.e., puberty: Maim. Hil. Ishut, 2:1–20) – may contract a marriage which is valid in all respects.

Marriage of a Minor, Contracted by Parents

The rule in the case of a minor male is that neither his father nor anyone else may contract a marriage on his behalf, and the rabbis did not enact a special rule permitting such marriage as they did in the case of a female minor, since the reason in the latter case (namely, so that people should not treat her licentiously – *minhag hefker*) is not considered applicable to a male minor (Yev. 112b; Sh. Ar., EH 43:1). A talmudic statement commending a parent who gives his children in marriage when they are close to the age of puberty (*samukh le-firkan*; Sanh. 76b; Yev. 62b) was interpreted as meaning that a father may give his son in marriage even before the age of 13 (Rashi and Tos. ibid.; Bah, EH 1; Taz EH 1, m.3). However, the *halakhah* rejected this and the statement was interpreted to mean that, in the case of a boy, *samukh le-firko* meant just after his reaching the full age of 13. Giving him in marriage before that age was tantamount to prostitution and forbidden (Sh. Ar. EH 1:3 and Commentaries, *ibid.* 43:1; Oẓar ha-Posekim EH 1:14). Although it is a *mitzvah* to marry in order to be able to observe the *mitzvah* of procreation and generally one is obliged to observe the *mitzvot* from the age of 13 – this particular *mitzvah* of procreation only devolves on the male from the age of 18 (*Beit Yosef,* EH 1:3).

In the case of a girl, however, a different rule prevails. A father is entitled to arrange the *kiddushin* of his daughter, whether she is a *ketannah* or a *na'arah*, without her consent (Kid. 44b and Sh. Ar., EH 37:1 & 3). Accordingly, if a father effects *kiddushin* for his daughter by, e.g., accepting *kesef-kiddushin* for her (see *Marriage), she is considered a married woman and cannot remarry until the death of her husband or her divorce from him (Kid. 44b and Rashi; Tur and *Beit Yosef,* EH 37; Sh. Ar. EH 37:1, 3). However, by talmudic times some of the sages were opposed to child marriages of this kind and opined that "it is forbidden for a father to give his minor daughter in marriage until she has grown up and can say: 'I want so-and-so'" (Kid. 41a). In later times, the uncertainties of life in the Diaspora made parents reluctant to delay their daughters' marriages until they had grown up. The prohibition was therefore not accepted as *halakhah* (Tos., Kid. *ibid.*; Sh. Ar., EH 37:8) – its observance was seen as a *mitzvah* (Maim., Ishut, 3:19; Sh. Ar. EH 37:8).

On the other hand, if a father has, on the strength of the aforesaid *halakhah*, given his minor daughter in marriage she passes permanently out of his guardianship, and in order to give valid effect to any divorce she must receive the bill of divorce (*get*) herself. Her father is no longer authorized to contract another marriage for her, even if she has not reached her majority (Sh. Ar., EH 37:3). But, being a minor, she is prohibited by biblical law from contracting a marriage by herself – in the same way as if she were an orphan (Sh. Ar. EH 155:1). Thus, a *ketannah* who has become a widow or divorced is regarded as an "orphan in her father's lifetime" (Yev. 109a). However, because of the fear that nobody would take care of her or that she might be treated licentiously, a rabbincal *takkanah* permitted her – provided she understood the meaning and implications of marriage – to contract another marriage, either by herself, or, with her consent, through her mother or brothers (Yev. 107b; 112b and Rashi; Kid. 44b and Rashi; Maim.; Ishut, 11:6; Sh. Ar., EH 155:1,2). According to one opinion, her father is also empowered by this *takkanah* to contract another marriage for his daughter, with her consent, although he is no longer competent to do so under biblical law (commentaries to Sh. Ar., *ibid.*).

Me'un (Declaration of "Refusal" or Protest)

Since, according to biblical law, a marriage by a *ketannah* has no validity but is based only on a rabbinical *takkanah*, a formal divorce is not required if the girl subsequently refuses to live with her husband (see *Divorce). Such refusal can be expressed by an informal declaration before the court (and, in retrospect, it is sufficient if the declaration was made before two witnesses) – not necessarily in her husband's presence – to the effect that she no longer wishes to live with her husband. If she made no such declaration and she is subsequently widowed, she may make a similar declaration with regard to her *levir* (see *Levirate Marriage). This declaration is called *me'un* and the girl making it is called *mema'enet* – meaning that she refuses to continue to be the wife or levirate widow of the man she married, on the strength of which she is granted a bill of divorce by *me'un*, i.e., a certification of her "refusal" (Yev. 107b and 108a; Sh. Ar., EH 155:1, 3,4,5,7). The effect of *me'un* is not divorce, i.e., dissolution of the marriage thenceforward, but annulment of the marriage *ab initio*, as if it had never taken place. Accordingly, *me'un* does not have the legal consequences of divorce and, thus, among other things, the relatives of one party are not the prohibited kin of the other party; nor is she prohibited to a kohen; and if, after *me'un*, she contracts a second marriage which is subsequently dissolved, she may thereafter remarry her first "husband." Nor has she to wait 90 days after *me'un* before remarrying (Yev. 108a, EH 155:10; and see Prohibited *Marriages).

The marriage of a female minor, as mentioned above, is not effective unless she understands the implications of the marriage and consents thereto. In the absence of either of these conditions at the time of the marriage, therefore, even *me'un* is not required to annul the "marriage" (Sh. Ar., EH 155:1). On the other hand, she is entitled to declare her "refusal" as long as she is a *ketannah*, i.e., until the age of 12 years and a day (unless she showed no signs of puberty and had not had sexual intercourse with her husband). Her failure to do so until then is regarded as a form of consent, as an adult, to the marriage – which is thereafter binding on her and can only be dissolved by divorce or the death of her husband (Nid. 52a, Sh. Ar., EH 155:12; 19; 20; 21).

State of Israel

In the State of Israel steps have been taken by both the legislature (Knesset) and the chief rabbinate to prevent child marriages. By a *takkanah* adopted by the National Rabbinical Conference held in Jerusalem in 1950, a man is forbidden to contract a marriage with a girl under the age of 16, nor may her father give her in marriage (see Schereschewsky, bibl. pp. 431f.). However, this prohibition does not nullify a marriage that has nonetheless been celebrated in defiance of it, since in Jewish law such a marriage may be valid. Under the Marriage Age Law, 5710 – 1950, as amended in 5720 – 1960, it is an offense punishable by imprisonment or fine or both for any person to marry a girl under the age of 17 or to celebrate or to assist in the celebration of such a marriage in any capacity (e.g., as rabbi or cantor) or for a father, guardian, or relative to give the girl away in marriage. However, the district courts have jurisdiction to permit the marriage of a girl under the prescribed age in two cases: (1) regardless of her age, her marriage may be permitted to a man by whom she has had a child or is already pregnant; and (2) if in the discretion of the court there are special circumstances which justify such permission being granted, provided in this case that the girl is not under 16.

Until 1998 there was no minimum age for marriage in the case of males. The law provides that the celebration of a marriage in contravention of the law is grounds for the dissolution or annulment of the marriage in any legal manner – in accordance with the law applicable to matters of personal status with reference to the parties concerned. The law applicable in the case of Jews (citizens and residents of Israel) is Jewish law (Rabbinical Courts Jurisdiction (Marriage and Divorce) Law, 5713 – 1953 – sections 1, 2). Thus, if a marriage is valid according to the law governing the personal status of the parties, the mere fact that the marriage was celebrated in breach of the state law cited is not, of itself, grounds for divorce or annulment – if such a course would not be justified under the personal status law.

Generally speaking, child marriages do not occur in Israel – although there have been cases, among immigrants, of child marriages contracted in their countries of origin, notably in Yemen. Such cases have been the subject of discussion in proceedings before the rabbinical courts (see PDR vol. 1, p. 33ff.; vol. 3, p. 3; vol. 4, p. 244ff.).

[Ben-Zion (Benno) Schereschewsky]

The Marriage Age Law was amended in 1998, and today there is one statutory prohibition on child marriage, applying equally to boys and girls. The list of exceptional cases enumerated above, in which the court has jurisdiction to permit child marriages, is supplemented by an additional case – where a boy wishes to marry a girl who is pregnant by him.

[Menachem Elon (2nd ed.)]

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CHILDREN. The central purpose of marriage in Jewish tradition is procreation. The commandment in Genesis 1:28 is fulfilled according to Bet Hillel with one child of each sex and according to Bet Shammai with two boys (Yev. 6:6; Yev. 61a–64a). The aim of a *levirate marriage is to perpetuate the name of the childless deceased. Children are considered a great blessing (Gen. 22:17; 32:13), and childlessness a source of frustration and despair (Gen. 30:1; I Sam. 1:10). A childless man was regarded as dead (Gen. R. 45:2), and the rabbis interpreted the biblical punishment of *karet* ("being cut off") to mean that the sinner's children would die in his lifetime, leaving him without continuation (Yev. 55a). A wife's failure to bear children during the first ten years of marriage was considered grounds for divorce (Yev. 64a).

The statement in the Ten Commandments (see *Decalogue) that children are punished for their parents' sins "unto the third and fourth generation" (Ex. 20:5; Deut. 5:9) was explained by the rabbis to refer only to children who persisted in the wrong deeds of their parents (Ber. 7a; Sanh. 27b; etc.). If the children obey the Torah, they would not be punished for the sins of their fathers, "Every man shall be put to death for his own sins" (Deut. 24:16). The good deeds of parents, however, are rewarded to their children "unto the thousandth generation" (Ex. 20:6; Deut. 5:10). According to legend, an angel smites the infant on his face at the moment of birth so as to make him forget the celestial visions and wisdom that he possessed until then (*Seder Yeẓirat ha-Valad* in A. Jellinek, *Beit ha-Midrash* 1 (1938^{2}), 153–55). A newborn son was "protected" by the reading of the **Shema* in the presence of the children of the community. The custom to visit a newborn male child and to hold a small feast in his honor ("*Shalom Zokher*") has been practiced since the Middle Ages. Boys are named at circumcision, girls when the father is first called to the reading of the Torah after the birth.

The duty to circumcise and redeem (*pidyon ha-ben*) the firstborn child if it is a son is laid upon the father, as is the injunction to provide him with a proper education, a trade, and a wife. According to some *amoraim*, the father should also teach him how to swim (Kid. 29a). A father must also see his daughter married (*ibid.* 30b). The mother is enjoined to breastfeed her children during the first 24 months (Ket. 60b; Yev. 43a), and it is srongly recommended that the father provide for them until their maturity (Ket. 49a–b), and not only, as the synod of *Usha held, until they were seven years old (*ibid.*). A father bears only moral responsibility for damages incurred by his children when they are minors, and even this moral responsibility ceases with girls at the age of 12 and one day and boys at the age of 13 and one day (see *bar mitzvah), even though the young man does not attain responsibility in such matters as real estate until the age of 20 (BB 156a).

Children's major obligations toward their parents and their teachers are to honor them (Ex. 20:12; Lev. 19:3; Deut. 5:16) and, if they are needy, to provide them with food, dress, and personal attention (Kid. 31b; Sh. Ar. YD 240). Capital punishment should be meted out to those who curse or beat their parents (Ex. 21:15, 17; Lev. 20:9, Deut. 27:16). A "*rebellious son" should be stoned to death (Deut. 21:18–21), and children who offend their parents may be dispossessed by them (BB 8:5 and 133b), although such an action is otherwise frowned upon.

Great emphasis is placed on the training of children in religious observance and teaching them Torah. *Judah b. Tema advised that healthy male children were to be taught Scripture at the age of 5 and Mishnah at 10, to fulfill the law at 13, and to study Talmud at 15 (Avot 5:21). According to another opinion (Sif. Deut. 46; Suk. 42a), a child's education should begin as soon as he starts to speak distinctly. In the Middle Ages, the first day that a child attended school was considered an occasion for celebration. Jewish literature abounds in tales of child prodigies, and the wisdom of young Jerusalemites is especially noted. *Lamentations Rabbah* 1:1, 4 remarks upon the brilliance of a young girl of the town.

Children, when minors, are held to be free from the performance of religious duties; introduction into the observance of ritual law has, nevertheless, always begun at an early age. In Temple times, they participated in the ceremonies, and in the sabbatical year were brought to the Temple when the king read Deuteronomy (Deut. 31:10–12). The Mishnah (Yoma 8:4) suggests that children be trained gradually to fast on the Day of Atonement; the *Gemara* (Suk. 42a) states that a father ought to buy his son a *lulav, tallit*, and *tefillin* as soon as he can understand their import.

Parents are encouraged to take their children to the synagogue, where it is customary for them to sip *Kiddush* wine; to lead the congregation (in some communities) in the recital of **Pesukei de-Zimra, *Ein ke-Eloheinu, *Shir ha-Yiḥud*, etc.; and to dress the Torah scroll (*gelilah*). Although a minor is usually not eligible for inclusion in a *minyan*, he may, in the opinion of some authorities be counted as an adult in case of emergency and if he holds a Bible in his hand (Sh. Ar., OḤ 55:4). In many congregations in the western world, it has become customary to hold special *children's services on Sabbath and on holidays in order to initiate them gradually into synagogue rites and regular attendance. On *Simḥat Torah, the children participate in the special *hakkafot* ("circuits"), carrying flags adorned with apples and candles. They are also called to the Torah reading under the patronage of the "Bridegroom of the Boys" (*Bridegroom of the Law). At the Passover *seder*, the child is an integral part of the ceremony because he recites the *Mah Nishtannah (the four questions).

The rabbis advised parents to be firm in the upbringing of their children (Ex. R. 1:1) and drew attention to the verse "He that spareth his rod hateth his son" (Prov. 13:24). They also warned against favoritism, drawing on the Joseph story "because of the two sela weight of silk [the coat of many colors], which Jacob gave to Joseph in excess of his other sons, the brothers became jealous of him and the mantle resulted in our forefathers' exile in Egypt" (Shab. 10b). According to R. Ze'ira, parents must fulfill promises made to children lest they should learn to tell untruths as a result of the example of unfulfillment (Suk. 46b). It is customary for a father to bless his children on Sabbath eves (and in some places also on Saturday night), after the synagogue service. For the legal aspects, see *Parent and Child.

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CHILDREN'S LITERATURE. This entry is arranged according to the following outline:

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INTRODUCTION

The term children's literature in this article is applied to different types of literary works. Up to the end of the 18th century it refers to literature whose style and treatment of content is also suitable for a young readership (age group 4–14 approx.); in the modern period it denotes works written specifically for children and compositions by children whose subject matter and theme do not necessarily fall into the adolescent category, for example, some of the Holocaust literature by children.

CHILDREN'S LITERATURE IN HEBREW

While until modern times very little literature was written for children, there is no doubt that some of the biblical and post-biblical Hebrew literature was widely read by the young and was part of the curriculum in Jewish education. It was only with the rise of interest in children's education – the development of pedagogical methodology and child psychology – that a real children's literature began to be composed.

Early Period

BIBLICAL PERIOD (UNTIL 200 B.C.E.). In early times, the first literary writings composed for children might have been proverbs and the young probably learned by heart short maxims designed to teach them moral norms and proper behavior. Many of the proverbs were later written down and incorporated into early Hebrew literature: "Hear, my son, the instruction of thy father, and forsake not the teaching of thy mother" (Prov. 1:8). Undoubtedly, the Hebrew child was also an avid listener to the recitations of itinerant poets and storytellers, or to the legends and parables narrated by the elders and prophets sitting at the town gates. Biblical tales had a profound influence on the development of children's literature in general and Hebrew literature for children in particular.

MISHNAIC-TALMUDIC PERIOD. During the mishnaic-talmudic period the scope of education was enlarged and schools were established. Children learned to read the tales of the Bible: "How does a man learn Torah? First by reading the scroll and then the book" (Deut. R. 8:3). Isaac Baer *Levinsohn, in his *Te'udah be-Yisrael*, infers from this passage that in those days the teachers had small scrolls containing stories and parables which they used in the education of the children. Legends and folktales, which had also gained popularity, were taught and the sages praised the "masters of the legend, who draw man's heart like water" (Ḥag. 14a). The many legends and parables scattered throughout the Talmud and the Midrash, with their charm and simplicity, attracted children in every generation. The numerous collections and versions in which these have appeared bear witness to this phenomenon.

MEDIEVAL PERIOD. From the beginning of the Diaspora to the Haskalah, Jewish education was almost exclusively religious. The standard books at home or at school were the Bible, the Talmud, the Midrashim, and prayer books. From time to time, however, writers and scholars composed popular literary works which captivated young readers. Among these were Isaac ibn *Sahula's *Mashal ha-Kadmoni*, a 13th-century work written in rhymed prose (**maqama*), comprising parables, stories, and tales (Soncino, 1480); *Berechiah b. Natronai ha-Nakdan's *Mishlei Shu'alim*, written in France in the 13th century and containing revised and translated versions of animal fables (Mantua, 1557); and Jacob ibn Ḥabib's *Ein Ya'akov*, a collection of legends from the Talmud (Salonika, 1516), of which special versions for the particular needs of children were published.

Despite conservative teaching methods, many textbooks were published from the beginning of the 16th century, including books on grammar, on the Hebrew language, on letter-writing, and on ethical conduct. They were not specifically for children and rarely contained material that had literary value. *Petaḥ Sefat Ever li-Yladim*, by Abraham *Cohen (Vienna, 1745), was an exception; it includes parables and short legends. Side by side with this written literature, there existed an oral children's tradition: stories told by inspired teachers, mothers, and grandmothers, and the lullabies they sang. Some of these were eventually printed.

[Uriel Ofek]

Modern Period

The history of European Jewish-Hebrew and Hebrew literature, which dates back to 1779, as well as the history of Ereẓ-Israeli and Israeli Hebrew children's literature, is the history of an ideologically oriented attempt to build a new literary system and simultaneously generate the field of its consumers and producers. It is a history characterized by strong ideological inclinations as well as delayed developments, until Israeli children's literature was structured similarly to the European systems which it sought to emulate from its outset.

The peculiar circumstances of its development in the course of its more than 200-year history involve the special status of the Hebrew language as the language of high culture rather than the native language of its readership, as well as the multiterritorial existence of Hebrew culture, a situation which ended only when the center of Hebrew culture was categorically transferred to Ereẓ Israel in the mid-1920s.

EUROPE. Books for Jewish children or passages addressing children in texts or manuscripts for adults were written in Europe for as long as Jewish communities were in existence. In fact, one of the first acts of a Jewish community in the process of establishing its communal life was the creation of an educational system for children.

Every community facing the challenge of children's education responded to it, inter alia, by the production of texts for children. These texts endeavored to offer practical roads to the kind of socialization and identity the community wished to construct. Every community and every social group offered different solutions to these two issues: the issue of identity and the issue of socialization.

References to Jewish children as consumers of various Hebrew texts are to be found from the Middle Ages onward in various Jewish texts. From the 12th century, certain texts, taken mostly from the broader domain of Jewish literature – the Bible, the Talmud, commentaries on the Talmud, and prayer books – were used for educating the young. Several scholars believe that some passages were included in the *Haggadah* explicitly for the use of children. In the 16th and 17th centuries, there were increasing efforts to write texts specifically for children, mostly in the form of catechisms. However, these became a socially recognized phenomenon only towards the end of the 18th century, with the emergence and crystallization of the modern concept of childhood; as in the case with European children's literatures such a concept was a precondition for the development of Jewish-Hebrew children's literature. Nevertheless, Jewish-Hebrew children's literature required in addition a substantial modification of the basic views of Jewish society, in particular those concerning children's education and attitudes towards the non-Jewish world, in order to make possible the development of a distinct and autonomous system of children's books. Only when such a change occurred at the end of the 18th century within the framework of the *Haskalah (Jewish Enlightenment) movement in Germany was there culturally room for books for Jewish children in the modern sense.

The Haskalah movement believed that in order to shape a new mode of Jewish life and to change the Jewish world view into a modern and enlightened one, a total reform in the Jewish educational system must take place, basing the curriculum on a rational and non-religious foundation. The curriculum of its new network of schools proposed such a change and ultimately created a demand for new and different books. This was marked in 1779 by the publication of David Friedlaender's *Lesebuch fuer juedische Kinder* (Berlin 1779, edited with the help of Moses Mendelssohn), for the use of the Juedische Freischule zu Berlin's students. Its publication signified a turning point in the history of books for Jewish children, primarily because it was the first to declare itself as a Lesebuch (reader) in the modern sense of the notion, and secondly, because it gave expression to the social and cultural maskilic project in which books for children played an important role in distributing maskilic tenets and ideologies. The Lesebuch represented a unique attempt to translate the ideology of the Haskalah movement into practical terms, and reflected a unique effort to create a symbiosis between the German and the Jewish cultures, where the similarities between the two cultures were emphasized and points of appropriation were searched for. These two principles were beyond the need to publish maskilic books for children which would be distinctly different from the books published in the framework of the traditional former system, naturally unequipped to meet Haskalah demands. As a result, dozens of non-religious books were published during the Haskalah in the German-speaking world.

At first the books were written in Hebrew and German or in a bilingual format. Hebrew was used mainly in grammars and Lesebuecher, and to a lesser extent in literary translations and the few original works. Some of the books were bilingual – a side-by-side presentation of Hebrew and German. Towards the beginning of the 19th century writing in German became more and more predominant with the exception of grammar books, which continued to be published in Hebrew.

The maskilic texts could not be based on the traditional models of the Hebrew book and the new system had to find models upon which its repertoire could be constructed. In light of the close relations between the Haskalah and the German Enlightenment, books of the German Enlightenment were an ideal, if not the most desirable, model for imitation. As a result, dozens of books were written and published, all modeled on the German repertoire of books for children. The new system of books for Jewish children endeavored to follow German children's literature both in its stages of development and in the nature of its repertoire. However, in agreement with its internal ideological needs, it adapted itself to an earlier stage of development of German children's literature and not to that current at the end of the 18th century and the beginning of the 19th.

The concrete ways in which Haskalah used the German system was determined by its interpretation of the evolution of the children's literature of the German Enlightenment and of its repertoire. This process involved the translation of concepts and ideas which was not necessarily in accordance with the ways German children's literature viewed itself. Furthermore, once Jewish-Hebrew children's literature had created a certain image of German children's literature, this image was sustained for a long time without really taking heed of the changes and developments taking place within German literature itself. Jewish-Hebrew children's literature was characterized by the monolithic nature of its texts, and even in later stages of its development Jewish writers adhered to a limited number of textual models and seldom deviated from this fixed repertoire. It was almost as though at a given point in time certain models, texts, and processes of development in the evolution of German children's literature were joined to form a circle, which later became the sole frame of reference for the system of books for Jewish children for almost an entire century. This frame of reference consisted mainly of the translation of German Enlightenment texts, or the production of a small number of original Hebrew texts based on the German. Translated texts were in fact privileged to the extent that, to the best of our knowledge, all books for children published by the Haskalah in Germany were either official translations, pseudo-translations, or original texts based on existing German models.

The eligibility of texts for translation was determined by the extent to which they reflected the ideological inclinations of the Haskalah. Consequently, German texts were translated if they were written by German Enlightenment writers, and or if they explicitly conveyed Haskalah values.

These principles of selection resulted in an abundance of moralistic poems, fables, instructive texts, and geography books, and the total exclusion of fictional narratives, such as short stories and novels, until the mid-19th century. Most popular were biblical stories in accordance with the preference for Jewish themes *Avtalion Biblische Historien,* German and Hebrew fables (by Berachiah ha-Nakdan, Magnus Gottfried Lichtwer, Christian Gellert, Albrecht von Haller, and Friedrich von Hagedorn, or of ancient writers like Aesop), para-scientific texts which were characterized by an attempt to introduce new scientific ideas (Baruch Linda's *Reshit Limudim*, parts 1 and 2, Berlin, Dessau, 1788, which was based on the German *Naturgeschichte fuer Kinder*, by Georg Christian Raff), or Isaac Satanow's *Mishlei Asaf* in three parts (Berlin, 1789, 1792, 1793), and *Meggilat Ḥasidim* (Berlin, 1802), as well as instructive texts (predominantly translations of Campe: *Robinson der Juengere* (Breslau, 1824; Warsaw, 1849; Przemysl, 1872 [5672]; *Die Entdeckung von Amerika*, (Altona, 1807 [5567]; 1810 cannot be traced; Vilna, 1823 [5583]; Breslau, 1824 [5584]; Lemberg, 1846; *Merkwürdige Reisebeschreibungen* (Lemberg, 1818 [5578]; Yafo, 1912 [5672]; *Theophron* (Odessa, 1863); and *Sittenbuecher fuer Kinder aus gesitteten Staenden* (Breslau, 1819; Prague, 1831; Odessa, 1866; Warsaw, 1882)).

These texts continued to be present on the Jewish scene long after the cultural center had been transferred to Eastern Europe. Thus, the books for children transcended geographical boundaries and the boundaries between the centers of Hebrew-Jewish culture in Europe. Books for children also transcended the boundaries of the addressee, and texts written for children addressed adults almost until the end of the 19th century. More often than not, the same texts were published for adults as well as for children. Literary material which was first published by various Jewish periodicals was later recycled in the form of readers for children. These readers frequently served as reading material for adult Jews, especially of who had no formal education, paving their way into a modern world. Para-scientific books were read by adults, indeed, sometimes primarily by adults. In fact, it may be assumed that the label "a book for children" was occasionally used more as a cover than as an indication of a "real" addressee. It could function as a cover because the children's system, owing to its peripheral position in culture, stood less chance of being closely scrutinized and was therefore often a convenient vehicle for the introduction of new and hitherto prohibited texts and models.

With the transfer of the center of Hebrew culture to Eastern Europe (mostly to Poland and Russia) and especially in the framework of the Ḥibbat Zion and Ha-Teḥiyyah movements, the Hebrew language regained its dominance in texts for children. It is in those years that the basis of Hebrew children's literature was established and for the first time it formed a system distinct from other systems of Hebrew culture. It was shaped as a system different from other systems of books for Jewish children which continued to exist in Europe until World War II (in Yiddish or in the local languages: German, Russian, and Polish).

At the end of the 19th century, Hebrew children's literature in Europe underwent a change, which stemmed primarily from the establishment of an educational system in Hebrew intended to promote the national revival. Societies and organizations were founded in Europe with the aim of disseminating the Zionist idea, national education, and the Hebrew language through educational institutions. The aim of the Safah Berurah (Clear Language) and Ḥovevei Sefat Ever (Lovers of Hebrew) societies was to transform Hebrew from a literary language into a spoken language by founding Hebrew schools in which Hebrew was spoken and by the publication of children's books. One of its outcomes was the establishment of the *Moriah publishing house. Founded in Odessa in January 1902 by Yehoshua Ḥana *Rawnitzki, Shin *Ben-Zion (Simḥah Alter Gutmann), and Ḥayyim Naḥman *Bialik, Moriah was active primarily in publishing basic books, textbooks, and readers for schools. Its first project was the publication of five volumes of Bible stories (1902 and thereafter), which was very successful. In the first year of publication, the first volume was printed in five editions. Its second large project was a compilation of Hebrew legends (*aggadot*) adapted for youth, in six volumes, because Bialik believed that legend was at the time the only original literature for children in Hebrew. From 1910, Moriah also began publishing literature for young readers in a series called "the Moriah library for youth," which included original books written mainly by writers for adults, among them *Shalom Aleichem, Mendele Mokher Seforim (Sholem Yankev *Abramovitsh), Sholem *Asch, Aaron A. *Kabak, Shin Ben-Zion, M. *Berdyczewski, Eliyahu Miednik, and Meir Siko (Meir *Smilansky). In parallel, Rawnitzki and Bialik published translated literature printed by the Turgeman publishing house, which was founded in 1911 in the framework of Achinoar books and issued translations of classic children's books such as *The Adventures of Tom Sawyer* (Hebrew title *Me'ora'ot Tom*), *Pictures from the Life of Youth in America* (1910, translated by Israel Ḥayyim Tawiow), *Don Quixote* (1911, translated by Bialik), *Spartacus* (1911, translated by Jabotinsky), *A Thousand and One Nights* (1912, translated by David Yellin), *Grimm's Fairy Tales* (1919, translated by David Frischmann), and others. After the revolution in Russia, the publishing house discontinued its operations.

The most active publishing house for children in Eastern Europe was Tushiyah, headed by Ben-Avigdor. In the course of three years, from 1895, Tushiyah issued about 300 booklets in its Library for Youth in the form of two series: "for children" and "for young adults." Most of these were adaptations of classics by Grimm, Hugo, Gustafsson, Pushkin, Tolstoy, D'Amicis, and Thomas Mayne Reid. A small number were original works, such as *Ba-Ir u-va-Ya'ar* by Judah Steinberg, *Kol Aggadot Yisrael* by Israel Benjamin Levner, and *Le-Ma'an Aḥai ha-Ketanim* by Aharon Liboshitski

On the whole, translated literature continued to play an important role in the development of Jewish-Hebrew children's literature in Eastern Europe. Since contacts with the surrounding and neighboring cultures were strongly endorsed by the men of letters, Jewish-Hebrew children's literature tended to translate extensively as well as to use translated texts as models for original writing of Hebrew texts. For instance, Judah Steinberg, the author of the fables in *Ba-Ir u-va-Ya'ar* (1896, Odessa), which enjoyed much popularity and a wide readership, was called "the Hebrew Andersen," comparing him to a respected foreign example.

At the outset, the publication of Hebrew books for Jewish children in Europe in the 19th century gained great momentum. It was the first time in the history of modern Jewish-Hebrew children's literature that books for children were methodically published, out of a desire to build a complete system with a rich repertoire. Nearly all the big Hebrew publishing houses in Europe were involved in publishing Hebrew children's literature as well as newspapers and periodicals for children in Hebrew. Their motivation was both ideological and economic. A relatively large group of authors began writing for children. Some of them wrote primarily for children or only for children. A few were particularly prolific: Judah *Steinberg, Aaron *Liboshitzki, Solomon Berman, Judah Leib *Levin, Israel Ḥayyim *Tawiow, Noah Pines, Itzhak Berkman (*Katznelson), and Israel Benjamin *Levner, the last writing more than 25 books, some of which became bestsellers.

The flourishing publishing activity early in the century ended in a crisis. The number of publishing houses engaged in publishing children's books was greater than the demand of the market, and some of the publishers had to slow down or totally discontinue their activity. Some attempts were made in Warsaw to found publishing houses for children's books, such as Barkai and Ophir, but they did not succeed.

In 1911, Ben-Avigdor attempted to cope with the crisis by establishing a federation of publishing houses called Central, which also included Shrebrek, Progress, and Ha-Shaḥar. Central later merged with the Sifrut publishing house. After World War I, the publishing house recovered and remained in operation as a publisher of readers and books for children and young adults almost until World War II.

The establishment of the *Tarbut educational system in 1922, which operated in the interwar period in Poland, Romania, the Baltic states, and Russia in 200 elementary schools and kindergartens, secondary schools, and teachers' seminaries, created the need for the continuation of the existence of Hebrew children's literature in Europe, even after the center of Hebrew literature in Europe had declined. For a short period, Tarbut was successful because of the awakening of national consciousness. Hebrew became a spoken language in hundreds of schools, and an attempt was made to maintain the publication of Hebrew books at any cost, as well as to establish new publishing houses to replace those that had closed down or curtailed their activity during the war. Most of these publishing houses, like Senunit (1919); the Temarim illustrated library (1920); Bibliotheka Universalit (1919–20), and Sifriyat ha-Ḥinukh he-Ḥadash (1928) were supported by various educational institutions but received their major support from Tarbut. As long as a Hebrew school system existed in Europe, there was a justification for maintaining literature in Hebrew for Jewish children, and books in Hebrew continued to come out almost until the outbreak of World War II.

Nevertheless, despite the comprehensive educational project of Tarbut, Hebrew children's literature was still written in most cases for children whose mother tongue was not Hebrew. Even the overwhelming success of Abvraham *Mapu's *Ahavat Zion* 1853, Vilna) which continued to be a best seller among young and old until the end of the 19th century, could not change the fact that it never became a "native literature." This resulted in a gap between the insufficient demand, on the one hand, and the superfluous supply, on the other, which made the system unstable and fragile and caused recurrent economic crises.

Writers for children in Eastern Europe continued to regard Hebrew children's literature as an educational tool and consequently wrote texts with a didactic orientation. At this stage, Hebrew children's literature still tolerated only one criterion for the rejection or acceptance of texts for children: the extent of their conformity to didactic and/or ideological tenets. As a result of the circumstances of its existence, Hebrew children's literature in Europe maintained its superficial existence and was unable to release itself from the ideological frameworks which determined its character. The ideological hegemony resulted in the system's remaining incomplete for a considerable period, lacking some of the sub-systems existing in other European children's literatures at the time. In fact, Hebrew children's literature managed to liberate itself from the exclusive hegemony of ideology only much later in Ereẓ Israel and mainly after the foundation of the state of Israel, where Hebrew children's literature as a "native literature" developed into a heterogeneous and diversified system.

EREẒ ISRAEL AND THE STATE OF ISRAEL. The case of Hebrew children's literature in Ereẓ Israel was completely different. Already in the late 1880s, several decades before the establishment of a system of adult literature, children's literature began to develop in Ereẓ Israel. This means that the first literary system that developed in Ereẓ Israel was that of books for children, though it was stabilized only after the literary center had definitely been transferred to Ereẓ Israel, i.e., in the mid-1920s.

The first texts for children were educational texts – readers and textbooks, such as Eliezer *Ben-Yehuda's geography book *1813 le-Ḥurban Mikdashenu*, 5643 (1883), David *Yellin and Ben-Yehuda's first reader for children, *Mikra le-Yaldei benei Yisrael*, 5647 (1887), which included about 20 revised talmudic legends and parables of the sages in simple Hebrew; Yehudah Grasovski, Ḥayyim Ẓifrin, and David Yudelevitch's *Bet ha-Sefer li-Venei Yisrael*, 5651 (1891); Ben-Yehuda's *Kiẓẓur Divrei ha-Yamim li-Venei Yisrael*, 5652 (1892), and Mordekhai Lubman's *Siḥot bi-Yediot ha-Teva*, 5652 (1892). Later they were followed by some literary texts for leisure which included stories, poems, fables, legends, and moral tales, such as Grazovski and Arye Horovitz's series *Seḥiyat ha-Ḥemdah le-Yaldei Benei Yisrael* (eight translated booklets), 5652 (1892), and Grazovski, Ẓifrin and Yudelevitch's *Sha'ashuim Yom Yom*, 5652 (1892).

But when the system of Hebrew education adopted the method of teaching "Hebrew in Hebrew" the scraps could not satisfy the appetite of a lion. Once this method was adopted, the Hebrew language was much more powerfully disseminated, as the schools became the major agents of its distribution. In the process of the creation of Hebrew as the language of the culture of the Yishuv, children were viewed as a vehicle for distributing the new Hebrew culture and their teachers as the main soldiers in an army participating in this war. Ben-Yehuda, as well as major political figures such as Menahem *Ussishkin and Ze'ev *Jabotinsky spoke explicitly about the decisive role of the children and their educators in this national project of creating a new secular Hebrew culture.

Teaching in Hebrew in a Hebrew environment created for the first time in the history of Hebrew children's literature a genuine readership. This readership generated an urgent and immediate need for adequate texts for children in all the fields of child culture. Fulfilling the demand was not an easy task. The relation between demand and supply was just the opposite of the one prevalent in Europe. Memoirs of teachers relate time and again how difficult it was to find in Ereẓ Israel adequate books for children. In fact, until the 1920s, the publishing center of Hebrew children's literature was still in Europe and the needs of the system in Palestine were largely filled through books published in Europe. Furthermore, books by writers who had already settled in Ereẓ Israel at the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th were published mainly in Warsaw, Odessa, and to some extent Cracow, even if they were first published in Jerusalem. For example, Ze'ev Jawitz's book *Tal Yaldut* intended for the children of Palestine, was published in Vilna in 1897 and was also distributed for the use of Hebrew schools in Eastern Europe. *Kiẓẓur Divrei ha-Yamim li-Venei Yisrael be-Shivtam al Admatam* (Jerusalem, 1892) by Eliezer Ben-Yehuda, was also published in Vilna in 1906. Yehuda Grazovski's reader, *Bet Sefer Ivri* (Jerusalem, 1895–97), was published in Warsaw in 1912. Ze'ev Jawitz's *Divrei ha-Yamim* (Jerusalem, 1890) was published in an expanded edition in Warsaw in 1893. Yehudah Grazovski's *Ḥanukkah* was published in Odessa (1892) and then in Warsaw (1920) as well as his *Mi-Sippurei Anderson* (Odessa, 1893); Hemdah *Ben-Yehudah's *Me-Hayyei ha-Yeladim be-Ereẓ Yisrael* was published in Warsaw (1899), as well as her *Bimei ha-Bazzir* (Cracow, 1906). Kadish Leib (Yehudah) *Silman's *Ha-Ḥashmonayim ha-Ketanim* was published in Warsaw (1911).

However, already in the early 1920s books written and published in Europe were rejected as being inadequate for children growing up in Ereẓ Israel. European Hebrew children's literature, whose circumstances of development were drastically different from those of Ereẓ Israel, could not serve anymore as a reservoir of models and texts. Unlike the case of Hebrew literature for adults, where the transfer to Ereẓ Israel implied continuity in terms of the repertoire of the system, Hebrew children's literature, facing new needs, had to orient its development to new and different grounds.

During the first three decades of the 20th century, the creation of a children's culture in Ereẓ Israel demanded the construction from scratch of *all* its components, ranging from children's songs to fairy tales, stories, novels, and nonfiction prose, from schoolbooks to Hanukkah, Tu Bi-Shevat, and Passover poems as well as to the ceremonies in schools and kindergartens. The scarcity of schoolbooks overshadowed any other deficiencies of the child culture and consequently the needs and demands of the educational system enjoyed first priority.

The Kohelet publishing house, established by the Teachers Union in Ereẓ Israel in 5665 (1905), played a major role in this undertaking. Kohelet concentrated at first on supplementing the most urgent needs of the educational system and thus published very few literary texts for leisure. It published schoolbooks, a geographical lexicon, and a zoology book and after World War I began issuing literary texts in the series *Oẓar ha-Talmid*. Given however, the necessity to create a child culture from scratch, schoolbooks also included original poems and stories and served as reading material for leisure.

During World War I hardly any books for children were published, except for few that were issued in the framework of the project of the *Palestine Office of the Zionist Organization. The Palestine Office created a committee at the beginning of the war to produce a comprehensive program for the translation of masterpieces of world literature, among which several children's books were included. Two other minor projects were responsible for the publication of several booklets: Ha-Mashtelah, which was established in Jerusalem in 1915 and issued five booklets and Sifriyah Ketanah li-Yeladim, which was established in Jaffa in 1916 and issued 55 booklets.

Most of the schoolbooks published between 1905 and 1923 were written by a new group of teachers, among whom the three teachers of the Girls' School in Jaffa were the most prominent: Mordekhai Ezraḥi (Krishevsky), Yosef Azaryahu

(Ozarkovski), and Yeḥi'el Yeḥi'eli (Jochelchik). Along with purely educational considerations, the activities of the group were also – and perhaps mainly – guided by national considerations and the desire to create a new type of Jew. To this end, they attempted to compile a repertoire for everyday behavior and renovated ceremonies to replace the traditional religious ceremonies. In this framework they published several schoolbooks and readers, partially written by them and partially taken from other sources. One of their readers – *Sifrenu* (1919–21) – became especially widespread. The *Sifrenu* series was widely acclaimed, published in approximately 20 editions, and used by most of the Hebrew schools throughout the country; *as late as 1935 a revised version entitled *Karmenu* was still being published.

These texts endeavored to present an "autochthonic Hebrew child" by the use of several devices, among which the most conspicuous were representation of the "native" way of speaking (through the introduction of many dialogues) and repeated descriptions of various local settings in Ereẓ Israel. The texts offered clear-cut opposition between the child of Ereẓ Israel and that of the Diaspora, emphasizing the outdoor life of a child in Ereẓ Israel as compared with the indoor settings of the child of the Diaspora. The Hebrew child was presented as free, even naughty, self-confident and attached to the Land of Israel, engaged in new activities such as excursions to places linked to the ancient history of "the people of Israel" and singing the "songs of Zion." The textual plots usually consisted of a juxtaposition of events of ancient (biblical) history and current events in Ereẓ Israel.

In the 1930s the addressee of Hebrew children's literature was already a child for whom Hebrew was a native language, and very often his only language. Hebrew children's literature was no longer seen in the 1930s as a means of disseminating the Hebrew language, but it was still regarded as a means of disseminating national values and cultivating national yearnings as well as promoting ideological tenets. The leadership of the Yishuv coopted Hebrew children's literature as a major vehicle for educating the young and molding their character. Most writers for children were teachers and educators who, with the exception of Levin Kipnis, were politically defined and continued writing along the same lines as their predecessors. Most prominent among them were Eliezer Smoly, Ẓevi Livneh (Liberman), and Bracha Habas.

The framework of writing for children was indoctrinarian, as can be seen, for example, in the works of Bracha Habas. One of the most prominent figures in the field of children's literature-- an editor and author at the *Histadrut's Youth Center, which had been founded by Berl *Katznelson--and publishing regularly as a journalist for *Davar* and *Davar li-Yeladim*, Bracha Habas presented in her texts the narrative of an evolving nation, in which the Jewish community was fighting for its life and homeland. It was characterized by an attempt to present an ideal of the Hebrew individual consisting of his perfect conduct and his authentic language. The books also constructed national heroes and offered descriptions of the landscape of Ereẓ Israel, as well as encouraging *aliyah* (immigration to Ereẓ Israel). In terms of their values these writings promoted the agenda of the Zionist mainstream: self-sacrifice for the sake of the state in-the-making, national pride, love of the soil, agriculture work, and life in a collective.

This was true even for non-recruited literature, such as Yemimah *Tshernowitch-Avidar's *Shemona be-Ikevot Eḥad* and Naḥum Gutman's *Ha-Ḥofesh ha-Gadol, o Ta'alumot ha-Argazim*. It was even true for lullabies, such as *Shir Eres* by Emmanuel Harussi, which reads: "The granary of Tel Yosef is set on fire/ smoke also comes out of Bet Alpha/ but you should not cry anymore/ lay down, nap and sleep"

However, not all writers were required to comply with ideological demands, certainly not the most prestigious writers for adults such as Ḥayyim Naḥman Bialik, Saul *Tchernichowsky, Zalman *Shneour, Jacob *Fichmann, and Devorah *Baron, who regarded their writing for children as a national task, an indispensable component of the creation of the new nation.

The involvement of prestigious writers for adults in the writing for children continued to characterize Hebrew children's literature in the 1930s and 1940s, though they did not necessarily regard their writing for children as serving ideological aims. The texts of prominent modernistic poets such as Abraham *Shlonsky, Nathan *Alterman, and Lea *Goldberg later became classics of Hebrew children's literature. At the same time a specific group of professional writers for children began to emerge. This process of differentiation, whose first buds can be traced back to the late 1930s, was fully manifested in the 1950s with writers such as Yemimah Tshernowitch-Avidar, Yaakov *Churgin, Anda *Amir-Pinkerfeld, Miriam *Yalan-Stekelis, Fania *Bergstein, and Aharon Ze'ev.

One of the means of filling out the system as quickly as possible and approximating the conditions of European culture was by translation, which was reinforced by the wish to prove that all the child's educational and cultural needs could indeed be supplied in Hebrew. This made the translation of the so-called children's classics a priority. In light of the almost monolithic character of the original texts, the variety of the repertoire was achieved through translation. Already before World War I several translations of books for children had been published: Jules Verne's *Seviv ha-Areẓ bi-Shemonim Yom* (*Around the World in 80 Days,* translated by Ben-Yehuda, 5661 (1901)) and Karl Gutzkow's *Uriel Akosta*, translated by the teachers of the girls' school in Jaffa, Jerusalem, 1906). Later on some publishers began specializing in translated literature for children. Most prominent among them was Omanut, which published translated literature almost exclusively (in 1932, for example, Omanut published 30 translated books and one original). Until 1944, when it was closed down, Omanut published almost 500 translated books from among the best known classics, mostly translations from German and Russian. In the 1940s and 1950s Am Oved and Sifriyat ha-Po'alim concentrated on publishing translated literature. The books published by Sifriyat ha-Po'alim gave expression to its world view. Most of them were translated from the Russian and were deeply immersed in Soviet culture. The Shaḥrut series of Am Oved, on the other hand, concentrated on translations of classics such as *Yotam Ha-Kasam* and *Ziknei Bet ha-Sefer be-Vilbay*, or books with Jewish themes, such as George Eliot's. In fact, several publishers adopted the criterion of Jewish themes as determining their editorial selection. For instance, in the framework of the Dorot series of the Yizrael publishing house were published the 12 volumes of *Zikhronot le-Vet David* as well as adaptations of Meir Lehmann, Ludwig Philippson, George Eliot, and Benjamin d'Israeli

During the 1940s the narratives characterizing texts for children were in several respects a continuation of the previous ones: Hebrew children's literature continued to be an engaged literature, subjugated to ideological tenets. Ereẓ Israel was still presented as the antithesis of the Diaspora. The characterization of the protagonists remained the same: assertive children, independent, lovers of nature, and native speakers of Hebrew. Special place was given to historical heroes of the near or ancient past, like Judah Maccabee, Joseph Trumpeldor, and Alexander Zeid, who shared similar traits: courageous, motivated by their love for their country, working its soil, honest and moral, and prepared to give their lives in defense of its people and its land. The archetypal protagonist was involved in events in which enemies were endangering the land and people of Israel and injuring their national pride. Defending the people and the land, the protagonists restore their dignity and often die heroic deaths.

Much place continued to be given to the descriptions of Ereẓ Israeli holidays and festivals which replaced the traditional ceremonies of the Diaspora. Also similar was the preference of the agricultural settlement to the city and the lengthy descriptions of the landscape and of the nature.

In terms of their location, the stories were almost always set in a kibbutz or moshav. Even when the protagonist lived in the city, the story was to take place in an agricultural settlement. The message of the titles was more often than not of an ideological nature (Smoly's *Ha-Na'ar Amiẓ ha-Lev* ("The Brave-Hearted Boy"), Halperin's *Yaldei ha-Sadeh* ("Children of the Field")). The child protagonist is prepared to take chances, even risking his own life, but his relations with the adult world are fairly harmonious, with adults and children often replacing each other.

Despite the harmonious relations, the presentation of the family began to change in the 1940s. The parents were not represented anymore as the center of the child's life, nor as a source of authority. The child was represented as primarily attached to the Land of Israel and to nature, not to his parents. In many texts the children left home at an early age to fulfill pioneering missions and join a group (which thus replaces their family). Another change concerned the decline of the universal socialist ideology whose place was taken by the national ideology.

The most decisive change in the narrative of the 1940s resulted, however, from the need to relate to the Holocaust as well as to the preparations for the proclamation of the State of Israel. Three narratives were consequently developed: the narrative of the ties to European Jewry in times of affliction (and afterwards the narrative of the Holocaust), the "military" narrative, and the narrative of the lessons that should be drawn from the Holocaust.

The negation of the Diaspora typical of children's literature of the 1930s was replaced by the story of European Jewry in distress. It was marked by concern for and identification with their plight. Other stories dealt with the immigration of refugee children, describing their difficult exodus when leaving the dreadful conditions of Europe. Here the narrative of survival immigration replaced the previous narrative of ideological immigration in a clear attempt to change the readers' attitude towards survival immigration. From the end of 1942 the story of children from Ereẓ Israel rallying to help Jewish children in the Diaspora evolved (for example, Yemimah Tshernowitch-Avidar and Mira Lobe's *Shenei Re'im Yaẓu la-Derekh* (1950)), as well as of stories told by a grandfather to his grandson in Ereẓ Israel, in which he nostalgically describes his childhood in the Diaspora. The stories depicted the sense of a shared fate, and even alluded to the helplessness of the Yishuv and its inability to provide real assistance to Diaspora Jews in distress. The literature for very young children generally kept silent about the events in Europe, though sometimes it incorporated two levels of reading: the text for the very young was accompanied by a tragic level addressing the adult reading the texts to children.

In fact, the children's literature of the 1940s was the first to provide a means for telling a story of the Holocaust that was not being told in any other discourse. From this standpoint children's literature told a unique Holocaust story, colored by a sense of remorse about the negation of the Diaspora, dominant in the literary and educational discourse prior to World War II.

Alongside the Holocaust narrative there evolved in the early years of World War II the "military" narrative which told the story of youths (sometimes children) in Ereẓ Israel fighting the enemy in defense of the homeland. At its peak, particularly during the years of the anti-British struggle, it described children as daring and irreplaceable fighters. At first the war was a central theme in literature for very young children and was absent in the literature for older children. Latter most of the "military" literature addressed older children. The archetypal story was that of a close-knit group of children described as a quasi-"military" unit, who, instead of using their skill as detectives to solve a mystery (as was often the case with young detectives of Western literature), fought against an enemy threatening to conquer their country. They also described the fighting ability of the young Hebrew collective as representing an unparalleled "military" force. Several stories began to point directly to the British as the enemy of the Zionist endeavor. The Arabs of Palestine were also marked as the national enemy, against whom war was inevitable. The portrayal of an enemy who was present "here and now" turned the "military" narrative into a recruitment story. For the first time in the history of Hebrew children's literature, a present-day conflict was depicted in which children would play a unique and central role.

Translated literature continued to be published. Owing to the strong link with the Soviet Union and Russian culture, most of the texts were translated from Russian or by the use of Russian literature as a mediating system. Some were appropriated by the Hebrew system almost as original. This was the case of *Ha-Mefuzar mi-Kefar Azar* 1943) translated by Lea Goldberg, or Kornei Chukovsky's *Limpopo* (1943) and *Barmalai* (1946) translated by Natan Alterman.

Writing original popular children's literature, such as detective stories, was still tabooed in the 1940s, unless they were immersed in an ideology, which praised the military abilities of the younger generation. Two typical examples are Yemimah Tshernowitch-Avidar's best seller *Shemona be-Ikevot Eḥad* (1945) which told the story of a group of eight kibbutz children who managed to capture a dangerous German spy during World War II and Naḥum Gutman's *Ha-Ḥofesh ha-Gadol, o Ta'alumat ha-Argazim* 1946), which told the story of two youths who endanger their lives while trying to save an important shipment needed by the Jewish Yishuv under Turkish rule.

Towards the end of the World War II there evolved the narrative of the "national lesson" which combined the Holocaust and the "military" narratives into a new narrative – that of revolt and revenge of Jewish Diaspora children. This new narrative had its roots in the Warsaw ghetto revolt (April 1943) which left a mark on the narrative of the Yishuv. This narrative, often accompanied by chilling descriptions of violence, coupled the Holocaust to the heroic fighting of the few against the many. Its stories described children from "there" avenging family members who had been murdered; it also emphasized the generational aspect of the revenge and the ethos of an underground war waged by youngsters. The story of integrating the child-survivor into the society of children in the Yishuv began to take shape. Its protagonist was an orphaned child-refugee who arrives in Ereẓ Israel. Physically and mentally broken, he is integrated into a group of children within a short period of time, and forgets his traumatic past. The "correct" mode of absorption illustrated by this narrative took on the character of a "cure." The child was often adopted by a family or a Hebrew collective and his adoption was accompanied by a systematic effort to erase the memory of the horrors of the Holocaust. The survivor's successful integration was depicted as a happy ending. The large number of texts that presented such modes of integration indicates that very many writers were party to an effort to assist in the absorption process. It was only in the 1970s that the memory of the survivors was called upon and no longer required to be suppressed.

During the 1950s the Holocaust narrative was weakening whereas the "military" combined with the "national lesson" became dominant, especially in popular children's literature which gradually and cautiously was gaining some legitimacy, but still drew much fire. When Yigal *Mossinsohn began publishing in 1949 *Hasambah* – the first series of original popular literature – he was vehemently attacked for corrupting the souls of the children of Israel, and this despite the ideological underpinning of the series. The *Hasambah* series, first published by the children's magazine *Mishmar li-Yeladim*, told the story of a group of children who participated in many adventures and was deeply rooted in the Zionist narrative and values.

Hence, from the mid-1950s, Hebrew children's literature was no longer exclusively the product of an ideological motivating force. More emphasis was then put on the aesthetic and psychological features of the texts for children. Aspects of life which were previously ignored were gradually introduced in the 1960s. Themes which had been taboo were now placed on the literary stage: divorce, death, sex, protagonists of social groups previously ignored (such as women or young girls), urban life, various ethnic groups. The change can be discerned not only in terms of theme but in the poetics of the texts as well, driven by the wish to introduce the child's point of view. In several texts the authoritative point of view of a narrator was replaced by the child's point of view or by the introduction of more than one point of view.

Since the 1950s, with an acceleration of the process in the 1960s, children's literature has undergone a process of autonomization and normalization. From a literature bearing the ideological burden of the Zionist project, regarding itself as one of its major agents, it became similar to Western children's literature. This was evident in both the professionalization of children's literature – a clear distinction was made between literature for adults and literature for children – and the specialization of several publishing houses in children's literature. Almost all large publishing houses were involved in publishing for children and most of them appointed editors specifically for children's literature. The economic basis of children's literature became much more solid, several books for children became bestsellers, and several writers for children made their living from writing (Devorah Omer, Galila Ron-Feder) even before this was the case with writers for adults (*Oz, *Grossman). The professional differentiation coordinated with gender differentiation – most of the professional writers for children were women. At the same time almost all known writers for adults (with the exception of Yehoshua *Kenaz) wrote at least one book for children, though only Grossman and *Shalev did it systematically.

The status of the writer for children was enhanced by the award in 1978 of the highly prestigious Israel Prize to three authors in recognition of their life's work in children's literature (Nahum Gutman, Anda Amir, and Levin Kipnis).

The standard of visual presentation of books for children progressed enormously and a new generation of illustrators for children became an integral part of the scene. Age differentiation became more and more distinct: books for infants, books for toddlers, books for preschoolers, books for the first grades, books for youth.

Since the 1970s, Hebrew children's literature has experienced a tremendous boom. Publishing policy, even of the publishing houses of the labor parties, was now placed on a commercial basis in its broadest sense. That is to say, books were chosen for publication either because they were believed to be valuable, or saleable, or both.

The system of children's literature has managed to become a complete system consisting both of popular and high literature. The number of published books and the number of copies sold has increased considerably. No fewer than 480 children's books were published in 1976, of which 194 were new titles and 286 were reprints. The number of books published more than doubled between 1965/6 and 1979/80, and almost tripled in the 20 years between 1965/6 and 1986.

Year	No. of children's books	No. of total books	%
1965–66	145	2,230	6.5%
1970–71	173	3,353	5.1%
1975–76	480	3,522	13.5%
1979–80	366	4,892	7.4%
1980–81	219	4,387	4.9%
1986–87	304	5,300	5.7%
1992	244	4,608	5.2%
1996	210	4,909	4.2%

The Central Bureau of Statistics does not have data for books published after 1996. However, according to the data of the Jewish National and University Library (which is not necessarily in accordance with the data of the Central Bureau of Statistics), they received 463 children books in 1996 (7.7%), 518 in 1997 (7.8%), 450 in 1998 (7.2%), and 474 in 1999 (8%). Since then the percentage of children's books has declined: 370 in 2001 (5.3%), 317 in 2002 (4.5%), 346 in 2003 (4.1%), and 426 in 2004 (5.5%).

The ulta-Orthodox world did not remain indifferent to the boom in Hebrew children's literature. Probably in an effort to compete with it, ulltra-Orthodox writers, especially women writers, began writing in mass for children; among them most prominent is Yokheved Sachs. To a lesser extent was the effort to write books for the children of the settlers in the occupied territories (for instance Emunah Elon), probably in an attempt to promote a different value system from the one prevalent in Hebrew children's literature since the 1970s.

Poetry for children was allotted considerable space and new writers began writing poetry for children, introducing new models which emphasized the child's point of view and its individual character (Adulah, Datyah Ben-Dor, Hagit Benziman, Shlomit Cohen-Assif, Edna Kremer, Haya Shenhav and Miric Senir). Yehudah Atlas's *Ve-ha-Yeled ha-Zeh hu Ani* (1977) served as a model for the presentation of the child as a specific unique individual rather than a stereotyped "*ẓabar*." In addition, the writing of lyric poetry for children developed (Tirzah Atar and Nurit Zarchi), satirical poetry (Efrayim Sidon), philosophical poetry (Mikhal Senunit), or ironical poetry (Meir Shalev). Writing of prose for the very young also increased: some of it was based on a realistic model (Nira Harel, Miriam Roth), others on a didactic model (Alona Frankel), fantasy (Haya Shenhav), or prose challenging the family role model (Meir Shalev and Etgar Keret).

The range of topics covered by children's literature expanded greatly both as a result of the "normalization" of the system and because of its nexus with European and American children's literatures, which were undergoing a similar process. Instead of the earlier, almost exclusive focus on realistic fiction about the history of the Jewish people and the history and the life of the people of Israel the door was opened to themes from the private sphere which had previously been shunned, such as first love, friendship, parent-child relations, children's adventures, death in war, death of family members, divorce, and family crisis in general. Even when describing the group or the community the books concentrated on the child's point of view, his fears and his wishes. For instance, Raya Harnik's, *Aḥi Aḥi* (1993), Uri Orlev's *Ḥayat ha-Ḥoshekh* (1967) and Ya'akov Shavit's *Nimrod Kelev Ẓayid* (1987) deal with a child's response to the death of a father or brother. Other writers depict conflicts between the individual and society, notably Nurit Zarchi's *Yaldat Ḥuẓ* (1978), Ofrah Gelbart-Avni's *Kirot she-lo Ro'im* (1992), Roni Givati's *Mishalot Ḥoref* (1993), Yisrael Lerman's *Ha-Yeled mi-Gedat ha- Naḥal* (1992), and Yona Tepper's *David Ḥeẓi Ḥeẓi* (1990).

Some of the prose writing for older children continued to be realistic fiction about the history and life of the Yishuv in the pre-State period, and the history of the Jewish people. Merkaz Shazar and Yad Ben-Zvi, usually not involved in publishing for children, initiated the publication of historical novels, presumably due to the success of several historical novels as major agents in the construction of past images, notably Devorah Omer's *Ha-Bekhor le-Vet Avi* (1967) and *Sarah, Gibborat Nili* (1969). Among the prominent authors to publish such works were Dorit Orgad (*Ha-Ḥatufim li-Ẓeva ha-Ẓar,* 1986), Devorah Omer (*Pitom be-Emẓa ha-Ḥayyim,* 1984, and *Ahavat Itamar,* 2001), and Esther Streit-Wurzel (*Ha-Beriḥah,* 1969). These novels did not introduce the critical historical narrative which became popular in both historiographical and prose writing for adults. Except for Daniella Carmi, there was no attempt to shed light on the "other," nor to write critically about the Zionist project. On the other hand, unlike previous historical novels written during the pre-State period (like Smoly's), writers did not hesitate to explore the shortcomings of their protagonists and did not endeavor to imbue the child with national values of heroism.

The model of the Zionist adventure narrative of popular literature was replaced by an adventure model based on the child's world. Especially popular were books by Semadar Shir and the series *Jinji* by Galila Ron-Feder. Like any other popular literature the stories are based on a certain repetitive pattern. They are highly respected in terms of their characters, their role division, the world described, and the development of the plot.

The narrative of the Holocaust changed and was not limited to the survivor generation but to the second generation as well. The books relate the dreadful events of the Holocaust combined with stories of survival. The narrative is of a documentary nature or between realism and fantasy, for instance, Uri Orlev's, *Ha-I bi-Reḥov ha-Ẓipporim* (*The Island on Bird Street,* 1981), winner of the Andersen Prize; Tamar Bergman's *Ha-Yeled mi-Sham* (1983); Ami Gedalia's *Ha-Ed ha-Aḥaron* (1989); Ruth Ilan-Porath's *Kurt Aḥi* (1983); Rivka Keren's *Kayiẓ Aẓuv, Kayiẓ Me'ushar* (1986); Irena Liebman's *Sus Eẓ u-Shemo Zariz(* 1988); and Ruth Almog's *Ha-Massa Sheli im Aleks (*1999).

The fields of picture books and books for the very young have changed significantly in terms of the design and graphics of books. A new generation of artists followed Nahum Gutman and Aryeh Navon, who illustrated several books for children. Most prominent among them were Orah Eyal, Ora Eitan, Alona Frankel, Hilah Havkin, Avner Katz, Danny Kerman, Ruth Modan, and Ruth Tsarefati.

Translations and re-translations of children's classics (most of them dating back to the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th centuries) continued to predominate. The most important of these appeared in the framework of the *Kitri* series by the Keter publishing house, which published new translations of, among others, Joanna Spyri's *Heidi*, George Sand's *La Petite Fadette*, Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, Edmondo de Amicis's *Cuore*, Waldemar Bonsels's *Die Biene Maja und Ihre Abenteuer,* Jules Verne's *Michel Strogoff,* Henryk Sienkiewicz's *Wpustyni i w puszczy* ("In Desert and Wilderness"), Mark Twain's *The Prince and The Pauper,* Victor Hugo's *Les Miserables*, R.L. Stevenson's *Treasure Island,* Charles Kingsley's *The Water-Babies*, Rudyard Kipling's *The Jungle Book*, Alexander Dumas's *La Tulipe Noir,* Alphonse Daudet's *Tartarin Sur Les Alpes*, and L.M. Montgomery's *The Foundling*. The *Marganit* series by the Zemora publishing house specialized in translations of American and European classics of the 20th century, such as several of Roald Dahl's books (*Matilda* and *Danny the Champion of the World*), Laura Ingalls Wilder's *Little House on the Prairie*, Anna Sewell's *Black Beauty,* Joel Chandler Harris' *Uncle Remus*, Eleanor H. Porter's *Pollyanna*, Edith Nesbit's *The Railway Children*, Ferenc Molnar's *A Palutcai Fiuk*, Robert Lawson's *Rabbit Hill*, and Louise Fitzhugh's *Harriet the Spy.*

In addition, popular and successful children's literature, published mainly in the United States and England, began to be regularly translated into Hebrew, often within months following publication of the original. In addition to the *Harry Potter* series, works of well known writers such as Eric Hill (the English *Spot* series) or the *Olivia* books by the American Ian Falconer have also been translated almost immediately after they appeared.

Hebrew children's literature has undergone tremendous changes over the last 200 years. Starting as a literature with virtually no natural reading public, it has acquired a large and stable reading public. Although it was believed to serve as a tool for other purposes, it managed to liberate itself from ideological and didactic constraints, and to emerge as a full and "normal" system, having a "normal" reading public and functioning on the same basis as any other national literature in the West.

[Zohar Shavit (2nd ed.)]

IN THE UNITED STATES. Besides Israel and Europe, the United States is the other large Jewish center, where a substantial children's Hebrew literature developed. A function of the different aspects of the U.S. Jewish educational system at various times, it also depended on writers of children's Hebrew literature who had emigrated from Europe. The first U.S. readers were copies or imitations of children's books that had been put out in Europe; for example, *Reshit Limmudim le-Yaldei Benei Avraham*, by A.R. Levy (1895). By the turn of the century a considerable number of Hebrew readers, adapted to the U.S. Hebrew educational environment, were published. They were written in an easy style and had a limited vocabulary. Most prominent in this field was the educator Z. Scharfstein, founder of the New York educational publishing house Shilo, which printed dozens of Hebrew textbooks and readers.

Children's literature in the United States developed sporadically because it mainly depended on emigrant European authors (the most noted works of that period are Abraham Luria's *Ahavah Nisgavah – Ḥizzayon li-Venei ha-Ne'urim* (1892), and Ezekiel Levitt's *Ha-Nerot Hallelu* (1903). After 1916, however, it grew into a serious literary activity. The regular flow of publications has primarily been due to the activities of such public institutions as bureaus of Jewish education and the *Histadrut Ivrit. Public bodies, such as the Association of Hebrew Teachers, various bureaus for Jewish education, and the Jewish Education Committee, also published booklets for children in a very easy style. Among these were the following series: *Ma'asiyyot le-Tinokot* (15 numbers); *Orot* and *Mikra Oneg* (1930?, about 20 numbers), edited by Z. Scharfstein; *Sifriyyah le-Var-bei-Rav* and *Sippurim li-Yladim* (1954), by Akiva Ben-Ezra; *Ha-Ivri ha-Katan* (1938–45) published in Chicago and *Sippurim Yafim* (1932–38), by H.A. *Friedland (Cleveland, 100 numbers). The Lador Publishing House, established by the Jewish Board of Education in New York printed children's books, including adapted modern and classical works, biographies, and essays on religion and on society. Hebrew children's literature in the United States is only produced occasionally.

[Uriel Ofek]

CHILDREN'S LITERATURE IN YIDDISH

Yiddish literature for children had its beginnings in the folklore that sprang up among the people and for the most part was not especially oriented toward the young. Up to the end of the 19th century, children's literature was in general orally transmitted in the home: folksongs, lullabies, stories based on the Bible and Talmud, and stories translated into Yiddish. Relatively few Yiddish children's books existed; among them were *Spanishe Haydn oder Tsigayners* ("Spanish Heathens or

Gypsies"), an 18th-century translation; and two late 19th-century texts: *Reb Khayml der Kotsin* ("Reb Chaim, the Judge," a play by Joel Berish, 1867) and *Yontevdige Ertseylungen* ("Holidays Tales," a collection of stories by Mordecai Spektor, 1889). *Sholem Aleichem's story "Dos Meserl" ("The Penknife," 1887) may be regarded as the first Yiddish story for children, although it was not initially a children's story. Yiddish children's literature began to appear in the first half of the 20th century. It enjoyed its most fertile period during the interwar years. The origins of Yiddish children's literature are to be sought in the development of Yiddish-language educational institutions, both secular and religious, for which textbooks were published, both original compositions and translations. One of the early manifestations was in Yiddish periodicals for children, usually edited by teachers. The first was *Farn Kleynem Oylem* ("For the Young Audience"), edited by Joseph Heftman, which appeared as a supplement in *Di Yidishe Vokh* ("The Yiddish Week," 1912–13).

Following the Holocaust, Yiddish children's literature continued to be published only in the Americas. In Argentina, for example, the periodical *Argentiner Beymelekh* ("Argentine Saplings") began publication in the late 1930s, and in the United States, the periodical *Kinder Zhurnal* ("Children's Magazine"), appeared through the late 1970s.

In Europe

In the early 20th century numerous institutions began to publish children's literature, among them: the Kletzkin Farlag in Vilna (from 1908) and the Kultur Lige (founded in 1917 in Kiev), both of which later moved to Warsaw. The system of Yiddish-language schools in Poland, Tsisho (CYSHO; Tsentrale Yidishe Shul Organizatsye, "Central Yiddish School Organization"), founded the press Shul un Lebn ("School and Life"). By the 1920s there were several publishers of Yiddish books in Warsaw. Shloyme Bastomski founded a press in Vilna, Naye Yidishe Folkshul ("New Yiddish People's School"), and Moyshe Taykhman directed the press Kinderfraynd ("Children's Friend") in Warsaw. The Orthodox Agudat Israel founded the press Beys-Yankev in Lodz. All of these presses published Yiddish books (originals, adaptations, and translations) and periodicals for children.

In Vilna the periodicals *Der Khaver* ("The Friend," 1920–22 and 1929–39) and *Grininke Beymelekh* ("Green Saplings," 1914–15, 1919–22, 1926–39) appeared, most of the issues under the editorship of Bastomski. In Warsaw the periodical *Kinderfraynd* (1936–39) was edited by Moyshe Taykhman. Agudat Israel published the children's periodicals *Kinder Gortn* ("Kindergarten," from 1924) and *Frishinke Blimelekh* ("Fresh Blossoms").

The fathers of modern Yiddish literature also wrote and adapted childrens' literature – works by Sholem Yankev *Abramovitsh (Mendele Moykher Sforim) and Sholem Aleichem (e.g., his *Mayses far Yidishe Kinder* ("Stories for Jewish Children"; 1918)), and *Motl Peysi dem Khazens* ("Motl Peysi, the Cantor's Son"; 1913). I.L. *Peretz also wrote many books and poems for children, as well as adapting folktales. Modern Yiddish children's literature included original texts, adaptations, and translations. Literary works of various genres and for a range of ages were published. It began from song games and counting songs for small children, continued with stories about animals, friends, and school, and extended to folktales and travelogues for adolescents. Many writers emigrated from their original homes to other countries in the course of their lives.

The following is a partial listing of the most important authors: Soviet Union – Rokhel Boymvol, Benjamin Gutianksi, Yehezkel *Dobrushin, Daniel *Charney, Der *Nister, Leib *Kvitko, Itzik *Kipnis, Helene Khatzkeles (translator); Poland (including Vilna) – Shloyme Bastomski, Moyshe *Broderzon, Blume Hamburg, Falk Heilperin, Gabriel Weissman, Malke Chaimson, Joseph Tunkel (Der *Tunkeler, who also translated works of Wilhelm Busch), Kalman Liss, Kadie *Molodowsky, Leib Malakh, Sore Reisen; Romania – Eliezer Steinbarg, famous as a writer of parables, also wrote many works for children; Germany – Joseph-Hillel Levy, Eliezer Schindler.

In the United States

At the beginning of the 20th century there were a number of individual presses active, but most publishers of children's books were school systems. Children's periodicals were also published by such organizations as *Kinderland* ("Child-Land") and *Kindertsaytung* ("Children's Newspaper") by the Workmen's Circle; *Kindervelt* ("Children's World") by the Natsionaler Arbeter Farband; *Yungvarg* ("Young Folks") by the Internatsionaler Arbeter Ordn; *Kinder-Zhurnal* ("Children's Journal") by Matones, the press of the Sholem Aleichem Folks-Institut.

In the United States anthologies published for children included adaptations and abridgements of classics, as well as new original works. Most Yiddish children's authors in the Americas were immigrants born in Eastern Europe, some of whom began to write while they were still living in Europe and continued to do so after immigrating. Among them were Ephraim *Auerbach, David *Ignatoff, Benjamin-Jacob *Bialostotzky, Rivke Galin, Hermann Gold, Jacob *Glatstein, Naphtali *Gross, Leah K. Hofmann, Peretz *Hirschbein, Zishe *Weinper, Nahum Weissman, *Yehoash, Nahum *Yud, Chaver-Paver, Nahum Khanin, Aleph *Katz, A. Leib (Abraham-Mordecai), Mani *Leib, Ida Maaze, Kadie *Molodowsky, Yudl *Mark, Moyshe *Nadir, Shloyme Simon, Leon Elbe, Ida Kozlowsky-Glazer, Yosl Kotler, David Rodin (Eliyahu Levin), Isaac-Elkhanan Rontsh, Isaac-Hersh Radoshitsky, Abraham *Reisen, Shloyme Shneider; Argentina – Moyshe David Giesser, Shne'er (Shneur) Wasserman, Zalman Wassertzug, Litman (Simkha Freylekh), Zelik Mazur, Abraham Moshkowitz, Samuel Tzesler, Avigdor Spitzer.

[Adina Bar-El (2nd ed.)]

CHILDREN'S LITERATURE IN LADINO

In contrast to Hebrew and Yiddish, Ladino, the language spoken by Sephardi Jews in Mediterranean countries, especially Turkey, the Balkans, and Ereẓ Israel, was not taught in schools.

As a result, comparatively few literary works for children are written in Ladino. On the other hand, there exists a rich folk literature in this language, which formed part of the cultural upbringing of the youth.

The first readers for children in Ladino were translations or "imitations" from the Hebrew, including excerpts from *Menorat ha-Ma'or*, *King Solomon's Proverbs*, *Josippon*, and other works. The many *coplas* (folk sagas and ballads) found in Ladino literature greatly enriched the lives of children, e.g., *Akedat Yiẓḥak, Yosef ha-Ẓaddik, Nes Ḥanukkah*, and others, as well as poems composed for recital on Purim, at carnival time, and on other holidays. In the 18th century, some of these works began to be published, such as Abraham de Toledo's *Coplas de Yoçef ha-Ẓaddik* (Constantinople, 1732). An important collection of Ladino parables was published by Kayserling (Budapest, 1809).

When the demand for education made itself felt in the Sephardi communities, many textbooks for children came to be published, especially in Constantinople, Smyrna, Salonika, Belgrade, and Vienna. One of the readers written for children was *Sefer Ḥanokh la-No'ar* by Abraham Pontremoli (1872), including moral tales and parables.

In the 20th Century

At the turn of the 20th century, Ladino fiction for children made its appearance. Initially it consisted mostly of translations of classical works and Hebrew stories by Ben Avigdor, Yehudah Burla, and others. In Salonika, Jerusalem, and Constantinople there also appeared many adventure stories – originals and imitations – which were usually serialized. Among the writers of adventure tales were Alexander b. Ghiat; Elia Carmona (*Rav-ha-Ḥovel he-Amiẓ, Ḥalomo shel Jack ha-Katan*, 1910–12); Ize de Pirlilo ("*Bat-Soḥer ha-Peninim*," 1901); David Fresco (*He-Ḥayyat ha-Ivver*, 1926, and many other works); J.S. Behar (*Silamar*, 1926); and Benzion *Taragan, whose books appeared both in Salonika and in Jerusalem. Many of these works were read by adults as well as by children. Some modest literary activities in Ladino also took place in North Africa.

When the State of Israel was established, most of the Jewish communities in the Middle East emigrated either to Israel or elsewhere. With the demise of these Jewish centers in the Diaspora, the younger generation abandoned its "Diaspora" language, and for all practical purposes children's literature in Ladino came to an end.

[Uriel Ofek]

HOLOCAUST LITERATURE

Children's literature of the Holocaust emanates from two major sources: adults writing reflectively about themes derived from Holocaust occurrences and children writing, revising, or reflecting upon their personal adolescent experiences.

The first category includes such writers as Dr. Seuss (Theodor Geisel) and Eve Bunting. The former author's thinly disguised antisemitism theme in The Sneetches, and his Yertle the Turtle, a stand-in for Hitler, harken back to Seuss's March 20, 1942, turtle victory cartoon in the radical newspaper PM newspaper (Minear, 1999). Bunting's *Terrible Things* is a picture book allegory closely paralleling Martin Niemoller's poem, "First They Came for the Jews." Such literature, taught inductively, has great appeal for children 7–11. For slightly older readers is Hana Volavkova's beautifully edited *I Never Saw another Butterfly…*, children's drawings and poems from Terezin, 1942–1944, including Pavel Friedmann's poem, "The Butterfly." A much different book is Yuri Suhl's *Uncle Misha's Partisans*, about Jewish resistance fighters living in the forests near Klynov, a Ukranian village, where the 12-year-old orphaned Motele infiltrates Nazi operations.

This latter book, a novel, raises questions about using fictional works to depict Holocaust events. Key is veracity to psychological and historical truths. Definitely worthwhile are Lois Lowry's *Number the Stars*, about a 10-year-old Jewish girl assisted by a Danish peer to flee the Nazis by escaping to Sweden; Uri Orlev's *The Island on Bird Street,* about 11-year-old Alex's survival experiences in the Warsaw ghetto; Jane Yolen's *The Devil's Arithmetic*, wherein modern teen-age Hannah turns into Jewish Chaya living in a 1942 Polish village. Similarly, Cherie Bennett and Jeff Gottsfeld's *Anne Frank and Me* transforms the super modern teenager, Nicole, into a Jewish girl living in German-occupied Paris in 1942. The latter books both use a time warp effect to unsettle their protagonists and, hopefully, adolescent readers.

Good teachers choose literary selections allowing for maximum exploration of human values. Holocaust educator Karen Shawn recommends that works selected reflect historical reality, foster involvement and identification with the victims and survivors, engage and enlighten the students, present the truth without traumatizing the reader, and offer flexibility of classroom use. Shawn, invoking Louise Rosenblatt's reader response theory, stresses the value of teachers fostering a "transaction" between the reader and the text.

Adolescents definitely make transactions when reading *The Diary of a Young Girl* by Anne Frank. Whether the diary is read and studied to learn about World War II Amsterdam, teen *angst*, relationships, life in hiding, or growth toward maturity and responsibility, the book's 25,000,000+ copies sold worldwide elevate the book to its peerless status. "Anne had problems like mine!" is the universal cry of readers facing puberty. Recent critics are adjudging versions of Anne's diary, e.g., media depictions, or her father Otto's diary passages selections rather than Anne's own words. The diary remains, for many, the window to learning more about the Holocaust. Simon Wiesenthal gave his daughter the diary to read when she came of age.

Anne's writing, of course, is part of the world of children who have written, revised, or reflected upon their personal adolescent experiences. For older readers, the ones over 15, there is *Night*. Elie Wiesel's experiences as a 12- to 16-year-old Hungarian Jew caught up, with his immediate family, in the maelstrom of the Sighet ghetto, the Auschwitz-Birkenau factory of death, and Buchenwald, represent for many teens the epitome of Holocaust death, degradation, and destruction. Selling but a few thousand copies annually after its 1960 English publication, *Night* now sells approximately 400,000 copies a year notes literary agent Georges Borchardt.

Night, in fact, was one of five books most often taught by the then 100 Mandel (now Museum) Fellows trained at the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, according to a survey conducted by this writer in 2000. The others were Gerda Weissman Klein's *All But My Life*, Ruth Minsky Sender's *The Cage*, Nechama Tec's *Dry Tears*, and Primo Levi's *Survival in Auschwitz*. These books relate the experiences of relatively young victims (Levi, age 24, the exception) transported from Poland, Hungary/Romania, or Italy to various ghetto, concentration camp, or death camp sites. Several spent years in captivity, the persecution/destruction of such youths being the core of Nazi genocide.

A book set, widely sold, read, and studied, unusual in both form and approach, is *Maus I* and *Maus II*, which tell the story of Vladek Spiegelman, an Eastern Poland Jew transported to Auschwitz, as seen through cartoonist Art Spiegelman's second generation eyes. The graphic comic book Pulitzer Prize-winning set depicts Art's father as a victim mouse in a world of Nazi cats. Volume two broaches how children somehow survive having a Holocaust survivor parent.

A book, in many ways an adult book, often used with students in their later teens, is Simon Wiesenthal's *The Sunflower*. The 1998 version repeated the opening tale of the Jew Wiesenthal being confronted near the Lemberg (Lwow), Austria, camp by a dying Nazi asking forgiveness for his part in an atrocious mass murdering of Jews. Wiesenthal, aghast at the request, poses the question for possible responses by leading authorities of our time – and by the readers. As youths explore the responses of the 53 experts, they discover a wide range of views, from absolute forgiveness (The Dalai Lama) to none (Cynthia Ozick). The challenge is in mediating morality.

Cursory examination of foregoing literature reveals picture books, poetry, novels, diaries, graphic comic book, biographies, autobiographies, and memoirs. Owing to the varied forms, however, children's literature of the Holocaust remains cross genre literature; not a separate one.

One valuable addition to the diary genre is Alexandra Zapruder's *Salvaged Pages*. Researching diaries largely from Eastern Europe, many previously unpublished or excerpted only briefly elsewhere, Zapruder reveals a wide range of adolescent responses to the varying situations of Nazi entrapment. Ranging in age from 12 to 22, nearly two dozen diarists chronicle their world shrinking from city to ghetto, to reformulated Jewish life, sometimes to concealment, to trains – to refugee status – or death. The writers, only six of whom survive, share their fears, wishes, dislikes, and dreams. Mostly, however, these boys and girls explore their struggles to be moral in an immoral society. If Anne Frank's diary record reflects innocence, *Salvaged Pages* reveals innocence stripped away. Zapruder's diarists reflect considerable diversity of nationality, economic and social class, religious orientation, and wartime experiences. Sheer survival is the chief concern. The ghetto diaries (e.g., Terezin, Lodz, Kovno, Vilna) are the richest; yet hardest to distill. Why did young people even confide in diaries during such terrible times?

All 22 diarists were Jews. Zapruder's book's second appendix, however, provides rewritten and reconstructed diaries, letters, diary-memoirs, and texts by young non-Jewish Nazi genocide victims. Most helpful are the Editor's Note and Introduction, explaining how historians help readers distinguish among diaries as immediate records, revised records, and reflective (sometimes post-war) records.

The varied pieces of Holocaust literature written by adults and children can instruct and edify youths of all ages. "Age-appropriate," in fact, is the term found in many states' documents which mandate or promote (approximately half) Holocaust study. Works mentioned – and many others – can be used to reach educational objectives and standards. Adolescent readers entering the historical world of their peers become witnesses to the cataclysmic 1933–1945 events. Such witnessing can help perfect the world – *Tikkun Olam*.

See also "Children's Literature in Hebrew" above.

[William Younglove (2nd ed.)]

CHILDREN'S LITERATURE IN ENGLISH AND OTHER LANGUAGES

Most of the children's literature on Jewish themes written in languages other than Hebrew, Yiddish, and Ladino appeared in English (either in Britain or the U.S.), although there were other significant contributions in Central and Eastern Europe. In some countries Jews were prominent children's writers, producing books of general, rather than specifically Jewish, interest; a notable example was Felix *Salten, author of the German animal story *Bambi* (1923). However, those who dedicated their work to the Jewish youngster sought not merely to retell the Bible stories, but rather to increase knowledge of and pride in the Jewish heritage.

English

GREAT BRITAIN. Three pioneers of Jewish children's literature in English were the sisters Celia (Moss) Levetus (1819–1873) and Marion (Moss) Hartog (1821–1907), who wrote *Tales of Jewish History* (1840), and Grace *Aguilar, author of *Women of Israel* (1845) and various works of fiction, notably *The Vale of Cedars* (1850), a romantic tale of heroism set among the Spanish Marranos. Later, some of Israel *Zangwill's novels, such as *The Children of the Ghetto* (1892) and *The King of Schnorrers* (1894), were popular children's books. In time, too, English translations of many Hebrew and Yiddish classics by writers like H.N. Bialik and Shalom Aleichem became juvenile bestsellers. Under the pen name "Aunt Naomi," Gertrude Landa, wife of the journalist and author M.J. Landa, published a volume of *Jewish Fairy Tales and Fables* (1908), while another collection of *Jewish Fairy Stories* (1947?) was edited by Gerald Friedlander. These books were part of the Shapiro Vallentine publishing company's "Library for Jewish Children." The series also included Claud Field's *Jewish Legends of the Middle Ages* and Samuel Gordon's *The Lost Kingdom…* (1926), a romance about the Khazars. *Apples and Honey* (1921), a "gift book for Jewish children," was published by Nina (Davis) *Salaman, a noted writer and translator. Other books of the period included Kate Lady *Magnus' highly successful *Outlines of Jewish History* (1886; revised 1958); J.M. Myers' *Story of the Jewish People* (3 vols., 1924–25); and *The Golden Thread* (1963^2) by S. Davis and M. Kaye. In 1931, Izak *Goller began publishing a series of plays on biblical themes (e.g., *A Purim Night's Dream*), which long retained their appeal to Jewish youngsters.

The establishment in 1922 of the Jewish Memorial Council and of the Jewish National Fund's education department in 1935 accelerated the production of Jewish literature for the young. The JNF issued hundreds of Jewish publications, including the annual *Moledet*, and *Nitzanim* (1950–), short stories mainly about Ereẓ Israel. In 1935, Joseph Halpern published his *History of Our People in Bible Times*, sequels appearing in 1939 and 1965; and Hyman *Klein produced various annotated religious texts for the young. Later, the publishing houses of Vallentine Mitchell and Soncino Press produced many children's works on Judaism and Jewish history; the authors of these included I. Fishman, S.M. Lehrman (d. 1988), and Isidore *Epstein. Among the best-known writers of Jewish children's books in Britain were Arthur Saul Super, who coedited an illustrated *Children's Haggadah* (1933); Beth-Zion Abrahams (*The Jews in England*, 1950); Josephine Kamm (*Great Jews*, 1948–49; *Leaders of the People*, 1959); S. Alter Halpern (*Tales of Faith*, 1968); and Pamela Melnikoff (*The Star and the Sword*, 1968). Many works on Israel for Jewish youngsters also appeared. Books for Jewish children were published in the Commonwealth and included stories on Jewish and Israel themes by the South African writer Betty Misheiker (1919–).

An unusual and popular publication was *Chronicles, News of the Past* (1958), biblical newspapers in English and Hebrew editions, appearing in Israel.

[Joseph Halpern / Godfrey Edmond Silverman]

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA. Probably the earliest significant works for Jewish children to appear in the United States were those by the English writer Grace Aguilar, some figuring among the first books issued by the Jewish Publication Society of America. The poems of Emma *Lazarus also proved attractive to young American Jews. A pioneer of Jewish literature for the young was Abram Samuel Isaacs (1852–1920), who wrote *Stories from the Rabbis* (1894), books on Moses Mendelssohn (1910) and Grace Aguilar (*The Young Champion*, 1913), and *Under the Sabbath Lamp* (1919). Many Hebrew classics appealing to young people have also appeared in English, translated by Shulamit Nardi, I.M. Lask, Martha Marenof, and others. During the first decades of the 20th century Hannah Trager published stories about youngsters in Ereẓ Israel (2 vols., 1920); and Samuel S. Grossman (1893–1930) produced plays on biblical and other Jewish themes. A prominent children's writer of the era between the world wars was Jessie *Sampter, whose works in this field include *Around the Year in Rhymes for the Jewish Child* (1920) and *Far Over the Sea* (1939), translations of poems by Bialik. *The Tree of Life; Sketches from Jewish Life of Yesterday and Today* (1933), a volume of prose, verse, and drawings, was produced by Enrico (Henryk) *Glicenstein and Alexander M. *Dushkin. Other leading writers for Jewish children included Sadie Rose Weilerstein (1895–1993), author of *What Danny Did* (1928), *The Adventures of K'tonton* (1935), and *What the Moon Brought* (1942); Elma Ehrlich Levinger (1887–1958), who wrote *Jewish Holyday Stories* (1918) and *In Many Lands* (1929); and Sulamith Ish-Kishor, author of *The Bible Story* (2 vols., 1921–23) and various collections of verse and prose.

With the advent of Nazism in Europe, children's books on Jewish themes rapidly multiplied. The process gained added momentum after the creation of the State of Israel, when the literature issued by religious and educational bodies and the various Zionist youth movements was reinforced by eminent American writers. Thus, Howard *Fast produced a *Picture-Book History of the Jews* (1942) and popular biblical fiction; Meyer *Levin wrote works on Judaism and Israel for juveniles (*The Story of the Jewish Way of Life*, 1959); and Manuel Komroff (1890–1974) published a *Bible Dictionary for Boys and Girls* (1957) and *Heroes of the Bible* (1966). Other children's writers were Lilly M. Klaperman, Dorothy Freda Zeligs, Freda Clark Hyman, and Abraham *Burstein. Edith L. Calisch (1898–?) emulated Britain's Gertrude Landa with her *Fairy Tales from Grandfather's Big Book* (1938). A very high proportion of Jewish children's books have been sponsored by the various synagogue bodies in the United States and by national and local Jewish educational organizations. Children's books on the festivals and general religious knowledge written from the Reform standpoint were produced by Sophia M. Cederbaum, Lillian B. Freehof (1906–), and M.G. Gamoran (d. 1984); and from that of Conservatism or Orthodoxy by Lillian S. Abramson, Azriel Louis Eisenberg (1903–1985), Robert Garvey, the prolific Norma Simon, Morris Epstein (1922–1973), Sol Scharfstein (1921–), Hyman Goldin, Robert Sol, and Nissan Mindel (of the Ḥabad "Merkos l'Inyonei Chinuch"). Bible stories were published by Behn Boruch and Gay Campbell (Ruth Samuels, 1912–), and children's operettas and books on Jewish music by Harry Coopersmith (*Joseph and his Brothers*, 1953). Anthologies of interest to Jewish children and youth were *The World Over Story Book* (1952), edited by Norton Belth, *Feast of Leviathan* (1956), tales from Jewish literature by Leo W. *Schwarz and various "treasuries" by Nathan *Ausubel. Leading reference works included *The Junior Jewish Encyclopedia* (1957, 1963^2), edited by Naomi Ben-Asher and Chaim *Leaf, and A. Burstein's *New Concise Jewish Encyclopedia* (1962).

[Godfrey Edmond Silverman]

LATER TRENDS. Not until the 19th century, when educational philosophy and the growing popularity of child psychology proclaimed the child a distinct personality with special needs, was any attempt made to create a body of literature which took into account the needs and development of children. The Jewish community in America did not attempt to supply children with suitable religious material until the 1920s, when first the Reform (UAHC) and later the Conservative (United Synagogue) movements established commissions of education which encouraged the writing of books dealing with legends, stories, teaching Jewish values, biographies, and books about Jewish holidays in addition to textbooks. Soon commercial Jewish publishing houses began to publish children's books, but these seldom included original works.

Denominational publishing still exists. The UAHC (Reform), Torah U'Mesorah (Orthodox), and the Merkos l'Inyonei Chinuch (Lubavich) publish a respectable list of books for children each year. United Synagogue no longer publishes children's books except for pedagogical material and *Sidduri*, a recorded book for handicapped youngsters. Commercial Jewish publishing has not declined but has changed. Some of the old-time firms no longer publish children's (or any) books, but new Jewish publishers have taken their place. Some of these are small, independent presses like Kar-Ben Copies, Dov-Dov, and Aura. SBS is a new commercial Jewish publisher who works with the Olivestone Press. Many of the Orthodox presses specialize in children's books which depict a strict Torah life-style and use Hebrew or Yiddish freely within the text. Although the books are primarily written for children from all denominations because of their simple text and brightly colored cartoon pictures. However, stilted writing, poor characterization and didactic moralizing eliminates most of these from the realm of literature. There is even an Orthodox comic book – "Mendy the Golem," which features "Oy Vader."

Mesorah/Artscroll publishes with Torah U'Mesorah and has brought out several attractively illustrated anthologies of traditional modern stories. Judaica Press has established the Jewish mystery story as a vehicle for teaching Jewish values. Authors are Miriam Stark Zakon, Gershon Winkler, and Carol Korb Hubner. Feldheim has established a "Young People's Series" reviving many classics and commissioning original works like the *Savta Simcha* books by Yaffa Ganz. Children's literature from Orthodox Jewish presses remain a good source of stories based on Aggadah and tales of faith and piety.

Of the independent presses Kar-Ben Copies has consistently issued attractive low-cost books for the young child. The need for books for the very young is quite new and is also addressed by UAHC.

The Jewish Publication Society of America, long a producer of quality Jewish literature, inaugurated a new series of books for children in 1976 when it published *Haym Salomon, Son of Liberty* by Shirley Milgrim in honor of the Bicentennial. Since 1979 the JPS has brought out approximately 2–3 children's books each year of good literary quality and format.

Many of today's children's books are issued in paperback. Besides being less costly than hardcover books it has been found that children are more likely to pick up a paperback to read than a hardcover book.

Although the Jewish publishers are still deeply involved in publishing children's books, they are outnumbered by the large trade publishers. The Holocaust and the establishment of the modern State of Israel brought many professional writers, some of them non-Jews, to children's literature with Jewish themes. These writers primarily wrote fiction, and some of them wrote well. The trouble in many cases was that they were not educated Jewishly and so – with the best of intentions – often distorted the Jewish aspect of the story. There were, however, also many exceptions where the talents of the professional writer were combined with Jewish knowledge.

The 1960s and 1970s saw an upsurge in ethnic and minority interest. Many authors, some of them Jews, were moved to explore their own background. The Jewish content of the books began to improve along with the writing style. This is apparent in the handling of sensitive subjects like, antisemitism, intermarriage, and the Holocaust. Earlier novelists portrayed interdating and intermarriage as an answer to antisemitism and a step towards universal brotherhood, but books of the 1970 and 1980s recognized the insidiousness of intermarriage and celebrated the specialness of being totally Jewish.

As for the Holocaust early novels show Jews as helpless, depending upon the largesse of their Christian friends for rescue; later novels tell stories of resistance, both physical and spiritual, and of courage. Recently many personal narratives and biographically based novels have been written by survivors and their children, who are also writing about what it means to be a child of survivors.

Books about Israel have decreased since the 1960s. Five were written in the 1970s, but in the 1980s there has been no children's fiction about Israel. There has been one good nonfiction reference book, *The Junior Encyclopedia of Israel* by Harriet Sirof.

Because of the high costs of four-color printing there are still not enough good picture-books being produced. Nevertheless, there has been a certain increase and Yeshiva Museum held an exhibit of original Jewish children's picture-book art. Two awards are given annually for the best Jewish children's picture-book and there is no lack of good artists.

The Jewish Book Council continues to develop attractive posters, bookmarks, and kits and to publicize Jewish Book Month in schools and libraries. It grants annual awards for the best children's books and regularly reviews children's books in the press releases it distributes to the Anglo-Jewish press.

Other awards are granted by the Association of Jewish Libraries and by *Present Tense* magazine. All this generates public interest in Jewish books.

Children's literature as a subject for scholarly study has become more established, and with it Jewish children's literature. It has been the theme of dissertations, articles, and course-work.

Another reason why Jewish children's literature is becoming more prominent is the growth of Jewish book clubs and direct mail techniques of advertising and ordering.

Trade and Jewish publishers currently publish catalogues of Jewish children's books, as do booksellers such as Eeyore in New York City, whose *Eeyore's Books of Jewish Interest for Children* features a narrative storyteller, Peninnah Schram, and *The Jewish Bookshelf,* whose computerized lists are always up-to-date. Both sell books by mail. Trade publishers who furnish separate bibliographies of Jewish children's books are Atheneum, Bantam, Dell, Farrar, the William Morrow Group and others. Holiday, Clarion, Doubleday, Holt and Watt are trade publishers with a substantial number of Jewish-content children's books listed in their catalogues.

The growth of Jewish libraries and other factors mentioned above have encouraged the compilation of bibliographies of books for Jewish children. Among them are *Selected Jewish Children's Books* by Dr. Marcia Posner (JWB Jewish Book Council, 1982, 1984); *Jewish Children's Books: A Selected Bibliography of 100 Books for a Beginning Library* (Assoc. of Jewish Libraries – SSC Division, 1982); and *A Comprehensive Guide to Children's Literature with a Jewish Theme* by Enid Davis (Schocken, 1981).

Reviews of Jewish children's books are available in the Anglo-Jewish press, courtesy of the JWB Jewish Book Council Jewish Books in Review and the Jewish Book Work, and in most Jewish periodicals.

Children's literature for Jewish children has been the subject of a dissertation ("The Search for Jewish Content in American Children's Fiction") and for a research article published in *Phaedrus* (1980) by Philip E. Miller and Naomi M. Patz, "Jewish Religious Children's Literature in America: An Analytical Survey." The Association of Jewish Libraries publishes a newsletter four times a year which reviews and discusses children's books. In their *Building a Judaica Library Collection*, Ruth and Meir Lubetski include sources for Jewish children's books even though their book is directed mainly toward academic and research libraries.

Slowly but steadily children's literature with Jewish themes is making progress in the United States. The first Conference on Jewish Children's Books was held by the Jewish Book Council in 1982.

[Marcia Posner]

Other Languages

FRENCH. Children's literature on Jewish themes has not been outstanding in France. Yet it was here that one of the first Jewish children's writers was active in the early 19th century – Esther Eugénie Rebecca Foa (1795–1853), who published novels and stories for the young, such as *La Juive, histoire des temps de la Régence* (1835). As in the English-speaking countries, some works of interest to Jewish children and adolescents were also translated from Hebrew and Yiddish, and others by French Jewish writers were also popular among the young. Edmond *Fleg's *L'Enfant prophète* (1927; *The Boy Prophet*, 1928), the story of a child's return to Judaism, was a classic example of this process. There have been various juvenile publications on Judaism and the Jewish heritage, and an anthology of Jewish stories for children, *Les contes de l'arche de Noé* (1955), was published by Renée Neher-Bernheim (1922–), who also wrote popular works on Jewish history.

GERMAN. The picture was rather different in Germany and Austria, where books for Jewish children were more common from the mid-19th century. Some works by Berthold *Auerbach and Heinrich *Heine appealed to the young, as did the historical fiction of Ludwig Philippson, who endeavored to promote a sense of pride in Jewish heroism. Although they possessed more educational than literary value, the historical romances of the Orthodox writer Marcus *Lehmann, collected in *Aus Vergangenheit und Gegenwart* (6 vols., 1871–88), long enjoyed popularity among Jewish youngsters and many were translated into English and other languages. Others active in this field during the late 19th and early 20th century were M.S. Sperling, Eduard Kulke, C.Z. Kloetzel, and E. Gut (*Fuer unsere Jugend*, 3 vols., 1916–26). A comically titled German Jewish bestseller was *Schabbes-Schmus, Schmonzes Berjonzes von Chaim Jossel* (1907), which by 1912 had run to no less than 38 editions. Between the world wars, many books of interest to Jewish youngsters were published by Emil (Bernhard) Cohn. Heinrich Einstaedter and Karl Ochsenmann produced *Bilder und Klaenge aus juedischer Welt* (1925); and works about Ereẓ Israel were sponsored by the German Zionist organization, generally taking the form of translations from Hebrew literature. Irma Mirjam Berkowitz (1898–?) wrote children's fiction about life in Palestine, and Yaakov Simon's anthology *Lasttraeger bin ich; juedische Jugendgeschichten aus dem neuen Palaestina* (1936) was one of the last Zionist works for children to appear in Germany.

ITALIAN AND DUTCH. In Italy, too, attempts were made in the 19th century to promote adherence to Judaism by means of children's fiction. C. Coen's *Scelto fior di memoria per fanciulli israeliti*, a volume of poetry, appeared in 1860. The outstanding writer of books for Jewish youngsters was Giulia (Cassuto) Artom, who published illustrated works such as *Primavera ebraica* (1931). In the Netherlands, children's literature was rare, except for one or two books by Samuel Goudsmit (1884–1954), but several important works for and about Jewish children, notably the *Diary of Anne Frank* (*Het Achterhuis*, 1946), appeared after World War II.

[Godfrey Edmond Silverman]

ROMANIAN. The Zionist movement and the virulence of native antisemitism together provided the impulse for the creation of Jewish children's literature in Romania, where Jewish heroism and achievements were particularly emphasized. Translations from the Hebrew and Yiddish classics and from modern Hebrew works regularly appeared in the important fortnightly *Copilul Evreu*, a children's periodical that flourished between the world wars. Biblical, aggadic, and midrashic tales and legends also formed part of this publication and original contributions were made by Avram Axelrad, Marcel Breslaşu, Enric *Furtunt, B. Iosif, N. Kitzler, I. Mendelovici-Meron (the editor), Mayer *Rudich, and others. The Galil Publishing House also issued juvenile literature, such as N. Zelevinski's *Minunata călătorie a unui copil evreu* ("The Wonderful Journey of a Jewish Child," 2 vols., 1931). During the Nazi era, M. Blumenthal published works for Jewish children and adolescents (*Pioneri evrei*, 1942) sponsored by the Romanian Zionist organization; and Eugen Campus produced two volumes on Jewish folklore under the auspices of the Bucharest Sephardi community, *Peştera vrăjită* ("The Enchanted Cave," 1942) and *Vintule, tĭ harule* ("Wind, You Scoundrel," 1942). In 1945, after the Nazi defeat, the Bikurim Publishing House issued booklets on the Jewish festivals, and a volume of Bible stories for children by Joachim *Prinz, issued by the World Jewish Congress, appeared in Romanian translation (1948). Under the Communist regime, activity in this field came to an end.

[Dora Litani-Littman]

HUNGARIAN. Jews were among the pioneers of general children's literature in Hungary, Adolf *Àgai editing the one important periodical for the young and Ferenc *Molnár becoming Hungary's outstanding children's writer; Molnár's *A Pál-utcai fiuk* (1907; *The Paul Street Boys*, 1927) was a classic novel about young people, and, like most of his works, was based on urban Jewish life. At first, most fiction for Jewish youngsters was restricted to translations from authors such as B. Auerbach, M. Lehmann, and I.L. Peretz. Subsequently, a few Hungarian Jewish writers published Zionist works for the young, notably L. Sass, Zs. Mészáros, and János *Giszkalay, who wrote for young people. As in Romania, their aim was to prevent the total assimilation of Hungarian Jewish youth. In general, however, Jewish writers paid little attention to the need for literature of this type. After World War II, all further activity in the field ceased following the Communist bar on Zionist work in 1949.

[Baruch Yaron]

RUSSIAN. In Eastern Europe, books for Jewish children were, understandably, most often written in Hebrew or Yiddish rather than in the vernacular. During the late 19th and early 20th century, however, Shimon (Semyon) *Frug wrote highly successful lyric poetry on Jewish national themes, some of which appeared in Russian as well as Hebrew and Yiddish. Frug's brilliant and stirring verse greatly appealed to Jewish youth immediately before the Bolshevik Revolution. Two other writers of the same period were P.G. Klaczko, author of *Pod znamyenem Makkaveyev* ("Under the Maccabean Banner," 1903), and M.I. Daiches, who edited anthologies of verse and prose for Jewish children, such as *Yevreyskiye osenniye prazdniki* ("The Jewish Autumn Holidays," 1913). After the revolution, Jews became prominent as children's writers in the U.S.S.R. Lev Abramovich *Kassil was, in fact, the outstanding creator of Soviet juvenile fiction, others in the field being Samuel *Marshak, his sister Yelena Ilina (1901–1964), and his brother M. Ilin (1895–1953). However, none of them wrote especially for Jewish children, although Kassil's autobiographical *Shvambraniya* (1933) does include a scene relating to his youthful protest against Gogol's antisemitism. More recently, *Vetvi* ("Branches"), a volume of stories in Russian about life in Israel, originally written in Hebrew by Miriam Yalan Stekelis, appeared under the auspices of the Davar Publishing House, Israel.

POLISH. Material specifically written for Jewish children was long negligible, consisting mainly of translations or of Zionist educational pamphlets issued by the Aviv Publishing House during the 1930s. The one major writer in the field was the educator Janusz Korczak, whose name is linked with the Jewish orphanage which he heroically guarded under the Nazi occupation. Korczak's output was extraordinarily prolific and includes an entire volume for and about Jewish youngsters, *Mośki, Jośki, Srule* (1910) and many other tales of Jewish life among the poor, as seen through the eyes of a child. Of these, one describes a child's petition to the king of England for unrestricted Jewish immigration to Palestine; another, dealing with kibbutz life, was based on Korczak's impressions after a year's stay in Ereẓ Israel. Literary activity of this type ceased after the Nazi annihilation of Polish Jewry.

[Esther Tarsi-Gay]

CZECH AND SERBO-CROATIAN. The only writers of importance in Czechoslovakia who published works for the Jewish youngster were Richard *Feder (*Židovské besídky*) and Ivan *Olbracht, whose *Biblické příběhy* ("Bible Tales," 1939) were specially adapted for the young. In Yugoslavia, Mirjam Weiller edited *Priče za židovsku mladež* (1919), a volume in Croatian, the same language being used for Samuel *Romano's children's verse collection *Bajke, priče, slike Šemuela čike* (1938). Two later Yugoslav authors of Jewish children's literature were the Zionist writer and translator Hinko *Gottlieb and the poet and translator Ina Jun *Broda.

IN LATIN AMERICA. The strongly secular and radical Yiddishist tradition in Latin America has discouraged the growth of any vernacular literature intended for Jewish children and adolescents, despite the existence of Jewish publishing houses such as Candelabro in the Argentine. Works on Jewish themes have at best been translated from Hebrew or other languages. Brazil has, however, been something of an exception to this rule in that a few writers have managed to create a small reservoir of books in Portuguese for the Jewish youngster. Some of these publications retold the Bible stories, others fostered an interest in Hebrew or Israel, others dealt with Judaism and the Jewish religious calendar. Brazilian authors and editors of books for Jewish children included Pedro Bloch, H. Lemle, Bat-Sheva Iussim Segal, and Henrique Iussim. The last named, who specialized in works on the Bible, eventually settled in Israel.

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CHILDREN'S SERVICES, worship especially arranged for children of school age and conducted entirely or partially by them. According to *halakhah* only males older than bar mitzvah make up a *minyan*. Likewise only a boy older than bar mitzvah may function as the *ḥazzan* or be called up to the Torah reading (an exception to this rule is made on *Simḥat Torah). Orthodox tradition assumes that attendance at prayer services from an early age is the best way to familiarize a child with the liturgy and prepare him for more active participation after his bar mitzvah.

From its inception in early 19th-century Germany, Liberal Judaism has emphasized the need for active participation by school-age youth of both sexes in synagogue services. This became necessary because of insufficient home indoctrination in Jewish customs and prayers, and because the youngsters' inadequate knowledge of Hebrew precluded their understanding prayers conducted in this language. In almost all Liberal congregations, special services were introduced for children of school age; they are an abridged form of the order of prayer for adults, and contain its central portions such as **Shema*, **Barekhu*, **Amidah*, and **Aleinu*. The prayers in the children's service are composed in a simple language in the vernacular or in Hebrew and on a psychologically relevant level. The opportunity to recite aloud portions of the prayers before the assembled "junior congregation" prepares them for active participation in adult services. Many Liberal congregations regularly hold children's services on Sabbath mornings or afternoons, or before religious school sessions. All-day Hebrew schools and summer camps hold them at the daily assembly hours. The institution of children's services spread to most Conservative and to a few Orthodox synagogues in both the United States and England. In Israel, however, children's services are hardly known.

Many prayer books for children's services have been compiled; among the better-known ones are H. Chanover and E. Zusman, *A Book of Prayer for Junior Congregations* (Conservative, 1959); M. Silverman and H.E. Silverman, *Prayer Book for Summer Camps and Institutes* (Conservative, 1954); G.A. Rose, *Children's Services* (Reform, Rosh Ha-Shanah, Yom Kippur, 1926; Sabbath, 1937); M. Marenof, *Religious Service for the Junior Congregation* (Reform, 1949); idem, *Rosh ha-Shanah Service for the Junior Congregation* (Reform, 1952); idem, *Yom Kippur Service for the Junior Congregation* (Reform, 1952); M. Silverman, *The Junior Prayer Book* (Conservative, 1939).

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[Meir Ydit]

CHILE, South American republic; population 15,600,000 (2003); Jewish population 20,900.

Colonial Period

*Crypto-Jews were known in the earliest days of Chilean history. Rodrigo de Orgoños, one of the Spanish officers in the company of Diego de Almagro (who discovered Chile in 1535), is said to have been of New Christian origin. In 1540, Diego García de Caceres of Plasencia, Spain, accompanied the conquistador Pedro de Valdivia to Chile and later occupied an important position. Forty years after his death, Caceres' Jewish ancestry was asserted in the pamphlet *La Ovandina* (Lima, 1621; reprinted 1915). This publication created a scandal because it revealed the Jewish origin of many prominent families, and the *Inquisition ordered its withdrawal from circulation. Among Caceres' descendants were the heroes of Chilean independence, General José Miguel Carrera and the statesman Diego Portales.

The court of the Inquisition established in Lima in 1570 also had authority over what is now Chile, and the first auto-de-fé was held shortly afterward. Nevertheless, the Crypto-Jewish settlement in this relatively remote outpost of the Span-

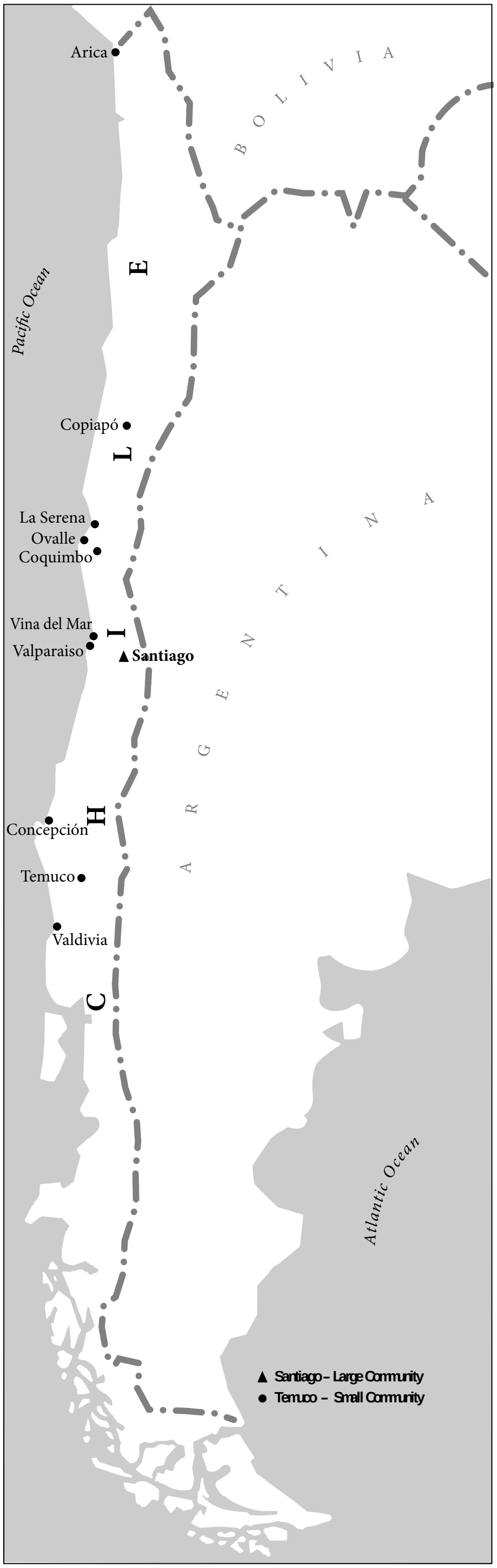

Jewish communities in Chile, 2005.

ish Empire continued to grow. The climax of the activity of the Inquisition here came in 1627 with the arrest in Concepción de Chile of the eminent surgeon Francisco *Maldonado da Silva, one of the most remarkable of all inquisitional martyrs, who was sent to Lima with others for trial. After nearly 12 years of imprisonment, he was "relaxed" (burned at the stake) with ten other persons in the auto-de-fé on Jan. 23, 1639 – the greatest known in the New World up to that time. Secret "judaizing" (Crypto-Jewish practices) nevertheless persisted in the colony. The physician Rodrigo Henriquez de Fonseca of Santiago and his wife were burnt at the stake in Lima in 1644 on a charge of adherence to the Law of Moses; his brother-in-law, Luis de Riverso, escaped a similar fate by committing suicide in prison. At the end of the 17th century, the Holy Office in Lima was informed of the presence of approximately 28 "Judaizers" in and around Santiago, though apparently no action was taken on this report. Among the other Chilean Crypto-Jews who suffered minor inquisitional penalties was Francisco de Gudiel, born in Spain in 1518, who, according to his sentence, "was still awaiting the coming of the Messiah" (Gudiel's daughter married the son of another Crypto-Jew, Pedro de Omepezoa). A New Christian soldier, Luis Noble, was punished in 1614 on the charge of having stolen a crucifix in order to practice "rites in the Law of Moses," and in 1680 Captain León Gómez de Oliva suffered confiscation of his possessions as part of his punishment for secretly practicing Judaism.

From the beginning of the 18th century there is no trace of Crypto-Jews or activities of the Inquisition against them in Chile, and the Inquisition itself was abolished with Chilean independence in 1813. Jews from other countries, in particular England, showed some interest in Chilean affairs in the 17th century. The outstanding case is that of Simon de *Caceres, a New Christian from Spain who returned to Judaism and settled in London. In 1656 he submitted to Oliver *Cromwell a plan for an expedition to conquer the "Wilde Custe" of Chile for the English with the assistance of a Jewish military contingent that he proposed to raise and to lead. The Jewish origin of Subatol Deul, said to have been associated with the English buccaneer Henry Drake and the burial of his treasure in 1645 near Coquimbo, is dubious, notwithstanding the documents regarding this discovered in 1926. The same applies to Carlos Henriques, who was in charge of the commercial mission that sailed from Deptford, England, in 1699, and to the Jewish ancestry of Juan Albano Pereyra, in whose home the hero of the Chilean revolution, Bernardo O'Higgins, spent his childhood. On the other hand, it is likely that in Chile, as elsewhere in Latin America, many of the older families are descendants of New Christians.

[Günter Böhm]

Modern Period

THE LEGAL BASIS FOR JEWISH LIFE. Until the Declaration of Independence was proclaimed (1810), entry into Chile was prohibited to foreigners and especially to Jews. At that time there were no traces of Judaism that might be attributed to the descendants of Crypto-Jews. Nevertheless, judaizing sects of Indian ascendancy were discovered in the 20th century who claim to have received their Judaism through the influence of Crypto-Jews. Some of them call themselves "Iglesia Israelita," and are concentrated in the regions of Curacautín, Cunco, and Gorbea – frontier areas of Spanish Catholic influences until the conquest of the Araucanos in the 1880s. Some of them observe a portion of the Jewish commandments, and others identify solely with the Old Testament and with a small part of the commandments. The early republican constitution did not serve as a legal basis for overt Jewish life, for it established Roman Catholicism as the state religion and prohibited open practice of any other religion (Paragraph 5 of the Constitution of 1833). It was only in 1865 that a special law permitted non-Catholics to practice their religion in private homes and establish private schools. A series of liberal laws from the years 1883–1884 that established, inter alia, civil marriage and state-controlled registration of citizens (rather than church-controlled) extended religious tolerance. The constitution of 1925 explicitly established freedom of religious observance for all religions that are not opposed to morality.

During the last decades of the 19th century, the liberal governments promulgated a series of laws that included the creation of lay cemeteries, where burials would be granted without distinction of creed or religious denomination. These laws were attacked by the Catholic Church and provoked dramatic conflicts between conservatives and liberals, terminating with the victory of the liberal government and the establishment of lay cemeteries. Authorization to create private cemeteries was granted a few years later, and was used mainly by Catholics. Owing to these developments, the Jews did not encounter any legal impediment in the burial of their dead, their only problem being the cost of mausoleums or plots in the lay cemetery of Santiago for the burial of Jews. Burial according to Jewish law was thus carried from the early stage of communal organization, resulting gradually in a Jewish cemetery that served both Ashkenazim and Sephardim. This old Jewish cemetery still exists in Santiago. A second cemetery was established in the 1930s in Conchali, adhering to stricter Orthodox norms of burial.

EARLY SETTLEMENT AND ORGANIZATION. During the 19th century individual Jews reached Chile and for the most part assimilated with the population. At the start of the pogroms in Russia in 1881–82, Chile was mentioned as a possible haven for persecuted Jews, and during subsequent years it seems that Jews arrived in the country either individually or in small groups. But it was only at the beginning of the 20th century that they began to increase in number. The most prominent immigrants until World War I were East Europeans who had first tried to settle in Argentina and Sephardi Jews from Monastir, Macedonia, who arrived in Temuco, southern Chile, and laid the cornerstone of Chile's Sephardi community. Outstanding among the early arrivals was Naum Trumper, the son of settlers from Moisésville in Argentina. Prominent among the later settlers were the Testa, Arueste and Albala families. The first communal prayers were held in Santiago in 1906, and the first Jewish organization, Sociedad Unión Israelita de Chile, was founded in 1909. Nevertheless, many Jews did not feel secure in the Catholic state, and therefore camouflaged their other organizations with such inconspicuous names as Filarmónica Rusa (founded in Santiago in 1911 and later known as Centro Comercial de Beneficencia, 1914) or Centro Macedónico, founded in Temuco in 1916 by Sephardi Jews from Monastir. The Centro Macedónico united all the Jews of this southern city, including the small group of Ashkenazim, and was converted in the 1930s into the Jewish community of Temuco. The first Jewish organization in Valparaíso was the Max Nordau organization, founded in 1916, which united all the Jews – Sephardim and Ashkenazim. In 1922, however, the Sephardim formed their own community, Unión Israelita de Educación y Beneficencia.

Zionist activity began in Chile in 1910, but it was the *Balfour Declaration and international recognition of the aims of Zionism after World War I that noticeably increased its momentum. In its wake, and under the impact of the Tragic Week in *Argentina (January 1919), the need for a centralized Jewish organization was forcefully expressed, and consequently, in September 1919, the first Congress of Chilean Jewry was convened. It was attended by representatives of 13 organizations from six cities, including both Ashkenazim and Sephardim, together with representatives of Hijos de Sión from Caracautín, the organization of the Indian judaizers. The congress dealt with Jewish matters of a general and local nature, and, despite the differences of opinion, established the Federación Sionista de Chile, the central organization of Chilean Jewry and its official representative vis-à-vis both the Jewish and the non-Jewish world. From then on, a local Zionist congress has been convened annually in Chile.

The unifying objectives were implemented further a year after the congress, when the Ashkenazi communal organizations in Santiago united to form the Círculo Israelita, which has remained one of the principal Jewish organizations in Chile. In the same year, the Centro Juventud Israelita was established by university youth, who in 1922 founded the Policlínica Israelita as a clinic for the general population. In 1922, the *Jewish Colonization Association (ICA) investigated the possibilities of implementing an agricultural settlement project in Chile and thereby expanding Jewish immigration. But these plans never materialized, and Jewish immigration throughout the 1920s continued to be a trickle.

The Jewish organizations continued to develop and by 1930 had crystallized. The Círculo Israelita embarked upon diversified community activity (in the field of culture, education, religious affairs, and especially in burial services) and also erected a large central building to serve the entire community.

The Sephardi organizations increased in number and diversified their activities. *WIZO was founded in 1926; the growing youth organizations united to form the Asociación de

Jóvenes Israelitas (AJI, 1928), which continued to administer the Policlínica and also developed a legal aid service. Zionist activity had likewise made great gains. As early as 1922 Chilean Jews contributed more to the *Jewish National Fund than Jewish communities with much larger population; 1,600 persons acquired the *shekel* in 1929, and the *Keren Hayesod had considerable revenues. On the other hand, during and following the 1920s, anti-Zionist and particularly communist elements were active among Jews in Chile.

In 1930–1932, a severe crisis overtook organizational life in Santiago, particularly the Círculo Israelita and the Federación Sionista. In part the crisis stemmed from the financial difficulties faced by the Jewish organizations as a result of the economic crisis that greatly affected the peddling business; in part it was caused by tension within the Zionist Movement and social and political instability. In the wake of the crisis, the philanthropic Bikur Holim organization of Santiago, founded in 1917, also entered the field of communal activity. In 1931 *HICEM established a committee in Santiago to represent the organization in matters of immigration. The committee did not support the activities of the local group, Bikur Holim, and the latter accused HICEM of spreading information about the great possibilities of absorbing a large immigration that created illusions incongruent with the actual economic situation in Chile. This conflict led to a public controversy within the Jewish community that lasted throughout the decade and negatively influenced the already limited possibilities for Jewish immigration. On the eve of World War II a new committee for immigration was established whose composition and activities were agreeable to both sides. Meanwhile, despite the restrictions and the difficulties imposed on immigration, thousands of Jews from Germany entered the country during the 1930s and quickly established an auxiliary organization (Hilfsverein, or Comité Israelita de Socorros, Cisroco, 1933), a communal institution (Sociedad Cultural Israelita B'nei Jisroel, 1938), and a B'nai B'rith lodge (1937). Thus another social and organizational element was added to Chilean Jewry and left its mark on the community as a whole.

Political Transition and the Impact of the Holocaust

The economic difficulties in Chile, especially following the Wall Street crash of 1929, promoted the emergence of anarchists, communists, and socialists and later of Fascists who professed admiration for the authoritarian regimes in Spain and Italy. A few Jews were represented among the former groups. Information on the arrival of Jewish anarchists to Chile is very scarce, since the government expelled them as soon as their ideological inclinations were revealed. According to the Law of Residence, promulgated in 1918, the government was authorized to deport any person whose behavior was considered undesirable or whose ideas ran counter to the Chilean Constitution. In the list of deportees is Nathan Cohen, but it is not clear whether he was an anarchist or a communist.

As for the socialist and communist Jews, one must distinguish between immigrants who brought over their ideological affiliations from Europe and young Jews who adopted their ideas in Chile, generally while studying at the university. Members of the former group had been active in the Bund or in other socialist groups while still in Europe, and they expressed themselves and conducted their activities in Yiddish. They published leaflets and articles in that language and founded the Sociedad Progresista Israelita, which acted sporadically without much influence on communal Jewish life. They organized campaigns on behalf of PROCOR and were also active in the foundation of Jewish schools. Persons belonging to this group arrived in Chile mainly via Argentina. The second group was composed of Jewish students who were born in Chile or reached there in their childhood. They integrated into the political life, first in the framework of the Federación de Estudiantes de Chile and later in the Chilean political parties. Three of them became Members of Parliament who formed part of the Popular Front under the presidency of Aguirre Cerda (1939): Marcos Chamudes was elected in 1937 on behalf of the Communist Party of Valparaíso, Natalio Berman was elected in the same year as a Socialist representative of the Province of Concepción, and Angel *Faivovich was an MP of the Radical Party. The secret visit of Manuilsky, a Jew from Latvia who used the pseudonym Juan de Dios, influenced the Communist Party in its formation of the Popular Front that won the elections of 1938.

Chilean politics, however, were influenced also by right-wing ideologies. Nazism was promoted by officers of the Chilean army who had studied in Italy and in Germany. The Movimiento Nacional Socialista – Nacis (sic), founded in 1932 and led by General Francisco Javier Díaz, and by the lawyer of German origin Gónzalez von Maríns, conducted a spirited campaign against the immigration of Jewish refugees. In 1927 Foreign Minister Conrado Ríus Gallardo sent orders to all the Chilean consuls abroad, prohibiting the granting of visas to Jews; Jewish immigration continued, though in limited numbers.

At that time, world Jewish organizations concentrated their efforts to find countries prepared to admit Jewish immigrants on the Atlantic coast, and had no interest in Chile.

When Hitler ascended to power in Germany, the Jewish community in Chile organized demonstrations of protest in all the cities, and as a result of its efforts the Chamber of Deputies sent a telegram to Hitler condemning the persecutions of the Jews.

The year 1936 saw the growing demand of Jews to immigrate to Chile, and international pressure on the Chilean government to admit them. A branch of HICEM, called like its counterpart in Argentina SOPROTIMIS (Sociedad Protectora del Inmigrante Israelita), got the government to authorize the admission of 50 Jewish families each year, under the condition that they engage only in agriculture. These groups of Jewish immigrants settled in the southern part of Chile. Some refugees – 879 in number – who reached Chile after the outbreak of World War II were accepted on condition that they settle in the south and not move to the capital. Fifteen families made an attempt at agricultural settlement, especially on the island of Chiloé, and dozens of others were supposed to follow them; the rest settled in the cities of the south. After several years of living in difficult climatic and economic conditions, however, a sizable number settled in the principal cities of the country. This move was in turn exploited by the antisemites, who had already attempted to harm Chilean Jews during the 1920s. The antisemitic activities increased during the 1930s and particularly during the war. They now demanded that all German refugees be obligated to settle in the south.

In 1936, following the outbreak of the Spanish Civil War and the growing influx of refugees, Chile increased its restrictions on immigration, due to the unemployment and to the right-wing opposition to the admission of both Republican Spaniards and Jews. After *Kristallnacht* in November 1938 the requests for a visa to Chile exceeded the quota allotted by the government to SOPROTIMIS.

On Sepember 5, 1938, the *nacis* (sic) tried to overthrow the government. The police captured and killed 62 students that belonged to the Naci Party, provoking a strong reaction against President Arturo Alessandri Palma and his candidate for the elections that were planned for the end of that year. The left-wing parties offered the Nacis an amnesty in exchange for their electoral support. This alliance resulted in the victory of their candidate by a small margin. The new government permitted the unrestricted immigration of any persecuted person anywhere in the world.

Consequently, Foreign Minister Abraham Ortega began helping Spanish and Jewish immigrants. Some of the Chilean consuls in Germany objected, and the consul in Bremen claimed that visas were being granted through bribes. The Parliament appointed an investigative committee, which submitted a report highly critical of the foreign minister, causing his resignation in February 1940, as well as dramatic debates in Parliament that resulted in the total prohibition of Jewish immigration.

In all, between 10,000 and 12,000 Jews were able to enter Chile in 1933–40. The two last ships, *Augusto* and *Virgilio*, arrived in January 1940 with a few hundred Jews who were moved to the south in a special train under military custody. An attempt to bring 50 French Jewish children to Chilean Jewish families who promised to adopt them was made in 1943 but failed.

In certain instances the Chilean government protected Jewish refugees of Chilean origin or Chilean citizens in zones occupied by the Nazis, to prevent their deportation to concentration camps. On a few occasions the foreign minister and the Chilean ambassador to Germany, Tobías Barros Ortíz, threatened to imprison German supporters of the Nazis who resided in Chile if Chilean citizens in Germany were detained.

Against the background of intensified antisemitism, the Comité Representativo de las Entidades Judías (CREJ), the central body of Chilean Jewry, was established in 1940. This organization encompasses all the Jewish organizations of Chile and represents Chilean Jewry vis-à-vis the authorities, combats antisemitism, and also engages in matters of a general nature. It is a member of the *World Jewish Congress. An agreement between the Zionist Federation and CREJ, signed in 1943, accords to the former all Zionist activity and its representation vis-à-vis the local authorities.

Despite antisemitism, the economic position of the Jews gained increasing stability during World War II, and in 1944 the Banco Israelita was established in Santiago. It rapidly became one of the most respected credit institutions in the country. After World War II a small number of Jews continued to arrive in Chile, and in 1957 some refugees from Hungary were permitted to enter the country.

During the last years of the war, young Jews who were members of Zionist youth movements in Europe had emigrated to Chile, creating branches in Chile. The first was *Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir, founded in 1939 and known in its early years by the name Kidma. It joined the two movements that already existed, AJI and Maccabi, in establishing the Youth Department of the Zionist Federation, which was to unite all the movements that were later created. *Bnei Akiva was founded in the early 1940s, and around 1945 Deror He-Ḥalutz ha-Ẓa'ir and *Betar were established. In the 1950s the Asociación de Jóvenes Sefardíes became the Ha-No'ar ha-Ẓiyyoni, and *Habonim – the youth group of the German community – was transformed into *Gordonia. These youth movements formed various groups of *ḥalutzim* who made *aliyah* and settled in kibutzim, moshavim, villages, and towns in Israel. The *aliyah* from Chile started even before the foundation of the State of Israel, including a few illegal immigrants. Among the soldiers who were killed in the War of Independence were also immigrants from Chile.

Contemporary Period

COMMUNITY ORGANIZATIONS. According to demographic estimates, in 2003 there were approximately 20,900 Jews living in Chile, the majority in Santiago, and the rest mostly in the small communities of Valparaíso-Viña del Mar, Concepción, Temuco, and Valdivia. Most belong to the middle and upper-middle classes and engage in commerce, industry, and the free professions. Jewish communal life in cities other than Santiago generally centers on one or two organizations, whereas in Santiago it revolves around a variety of frameworks.

In Valparaíso, the German-speaking Jews, who had established Habonim on the eve of WWII, united in the 1970s with the Ashkenazim and with a large section of the Sephardim, forming together the Jewish community of Valparaíso and Viña del Mar. At the same time, however, the Max Nordau organization (founded in 1916) still existed. In Concepción Ashkenazim and Sephardim were united in the Epstein Center.

In Santiago, the Comité Representativo de las Entidades Judías de Chile (CREJ) is an umbrella organization combating antisemitism, which has not disappeared in Chile. Neo-Nazi organizations and their newspapers are legal and since 1948 became stronger with the help of the numerous and economically and politically influential Arab population. The Federación Sionista channels pro-Israel activities and also serves as an umbrella organization for the various Zionist parties and organizations, simultaneously supporting local educational and cultural activities. The oldest of the community organizations, de Círculo Israelita, owns the block of principal buildings of the community. The Ashkenazi *kehillah* (previously Jevra Kedisha) tries to follow in the footsteps of the Ashkenazi community of *Buenos Aires (see *AMIA). Sociedad Cultural Israelita B'nei Jisroel, the congregation of German Jews, and the Comunidad Israelita Sefardi, which since 1935 united all the Sephardim, offered their respective communities all the communal services. Aside from these there were various Landsmanshaften: Polish Jews (founded 1932), Hungarian Jews (founded 1937), and others, that were active particularly in cultural and social fields.

Among the fraternal and women's organizations are *WIZO (founded 1926), and the Organización Pasi Cefi, which dedicates itself particularly to help the network of "Israel" schools located in distant parts of the country. In addition, it assists needy Chilean families on the periphery of Santiago. On Israel's Independence Day it distributes clothing and other supplies to babies born on that day in hospitals serving needy neighborhoods. Today each community has a women's department devoted particularly to assisting needy Jews, either through donations of provisions and money or through interest-free loans. The women also visit the Old Age Home (Hogar Israelita de Ancianos) founded in 1951 and the Cisroco Old Age Home, organizing cultural and recreational activities for their residents. Four B'nai B'rith lodges in Santiago, one in Valparaíso, and one in Concepción are also active. Bikkur Holim continues to be the principal welfare organization, and the Policlínica likewise continues to serve the general community.

Activities in sport and culture are organized around the Club Atletico Israelita Macabí, active since 1948, and, in particular, the Estadio Israelita, which from 1952 united a large part of the Jewish community in cultural and sports activities in luxurious buildings in the suburbs of Santiago that possess all the necessary installations for various sports. In 2004, Club Macabí organized the Pan-American Maccabean Games. At the end of 2004 the Estadio Israelita and Club Macabí decided to affiliate themselves with the Ashkenazi community, which owns a commodious community center. Members of Macabi Hatzair, together with other youth movements, send groups to the small communities of the countryside to conduct religious services and other activities there.

JEWISH EDUCATION. Jewish education in Chile, which began in a small school established in Santiago in 1914, is under the supervision of the Education Committee. This committee has operated since 1944; in 1967, within the framework of the three schools in Santiago, there were 1,217 students, and 140 in Valparaíso. As of 2004 the Instituto Hebreo Dr. Chaim Weizmann was the main Jewish day school in Santiago, with 1,400 students from kindergarten to high school. There were three Israeli teacher-couples sent from Israel (*sheliḥim*), one of them from the Orthodox sector. A new Orthodox school was opened in Santiago, organized and directed by Jews from the U.S. The Chabad Movement founded a *kolel.* In addition, all the rabbis, regardless of their religious orientation, teach Judaism, and there are evening courses for Hebrew. In the Weizmann day school in Valparaíso-Viña del Mar the students are both Jews and non-Jews. The rabbi conducts courses in Hebrew and Judaism.

In 1965 a seminar on Jewish art was introduced at the University of Chile, which laid the groundwork for the Centro de Estudios Judaicos (CEJ) of the University of Chile, which opened in 1968 under the chairmanship of the anthropologist Bernardo Berdichevsky. After Berdichevsky's emigration to Canada (1973) the CEJ was directed by the historian Günther Böhm, and since his retirement by the historian Ana María Tapia Adler. This center offers the widest selection of academic Jewish studies in Chile. It also houses the Institute of Sephardic Studies, directed by Jorge Zuñiga, who organized two Jewish museums, in Santiago and in Valparaíso, with artifacts that illustrate the history of Chilean Jews. He also organized a choir that performs Sephardi songs from the Middle East and the Balkan countries.

In the area of informal education, Zionist youth movements such as Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir, Betar, and Ha-Noar ha-Ẓiyyoni were active. Following the political upheavals under Allende and Pinochet (see below), the pioneer youth movements were temporarily closed down and their active members emigrated to Israel. Betar was closed in 2000, and the only remaining pioneer youth movement was Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir. New institutions, however, were taking shape. A local youth movement, Ẓe'irei Ami, was established by the Weizmann school of Santiago, with a Zionist orientation and the use of Hebrew in its activities. The Ashkenazi community, together with Rabbi Waigortin, established the Bet El movement, which has a communal character.

Publications and Culture

The Jewish press in Chile began to appear as early as 1919 with *Nuestro Ideal* and *Renacimiento*. In 1920 *La Patria Israelita* was published under the editorship of Boris Cojano. In the 1930s the monthly *Nosotros* was edited in Santiago by Dr. Natalio Berman, and *Alma Hebrea* was edited in Temuco by Dr. Isaac de Mayo. In addition, the bulletin of the Federación Sionista de Chile was published in Santiago, becoming in 1935 the weekly *Mundo Judío*.

During the 1940s, the organization of the German-speaking Jews, Bnei Isroel, began to publish a monthly bulletin, first in German and later bilingually (Spanish and German). The Jewish Youth Organization (AJI) edited the newspaper *Nueva Epoca* and the Club Deportivo Israelita de Valparaíso published a magazine with the initials of its name (*CDI*).

For several years the Federación Sionista published *Mundo Judío* (in Spanish) and *La Palabra Israelita* (at first as a bilingual Yiddish-Spanish publication and later only in Spanish). Today only *La Palabra Israelita* appears as a weekly, though there are also a few electronic publications.

A radio program, *La Hora Hebrea*, existed in the 1940s and 1950s, under the direction of the brothers Roberto and Elías Aron. It was closed, however, when these two emigrated to Israel. Other broadcasts, like the radio transmissions of the University of Chile, were of short duration.

Scholarly research on the history of Chilean Jewry gradualy intensified. Günter Böhm published numerous books and studies over the years, providing important information on the history of the Jews of Chile during the colonial period and under independence (19th and 20th centuries). Other books were published by Günter Friedlander on Crypto-Jews in the colonial period, by Moshe Nes El on the history of the Sephardim in Chile, and by Jacob Cohen Ventura on the Jews of Temuco. In the field of literature, the Jewish writer Volodia *Teitelboim published various books on literary and historical subjects, including his autobiography. A series of books and booklets were written in later years by Holocaust survivors, narrating their sufferings in Europe, as well as their difficulties in getting admitted into Chile and integrating in the country. Two authors had a major impact on the public: Milan Platovsky Stein, whose book *Sobre Vivir* ("On Living") tells the story of his life under the Nazi regime, later as a Communist in Czechoslovakia, and finally his adaptation to Chile. The writer and poet Marjorie Agosin published several autobiographical books in prose and poetry relating the epic of her family's voyage from Europe to Chile. In 2000 she published a bilingual collection of poetry in Spanish and English, *El Angel de la Memoria* ("The Angel of Memory").

Marcos Chamudes wrote his autobiography, *Chile: Una Advertencia Americana*. Ariel Dorfman, whose major work was written in exile during the regime of Pinochet, also wrote plays, one of which was translated to Hebrew and performed by the Habimah Theater in Israel.

Several Jews became prominent in other areas of the cultural life of the country. In the field of science, Alejandro Lipschuetz' studies on South American Indians gained international recognition. Efrain Friedmann was the director of the Chilean Atomic Research Committee; Jaime Wisniak was director of the Department of Engineering of the Catholic University of Santiago before he moved to Israel, and Grete Mostny was director of the Museum of Natural History. In music and the arts, Victor Tevah, was director of the National Symphony Orchestra, composer Leon Schidlowsky was director of the Institute for the Musical Extension of the State University, and the painters Dinora Doudtchitzky, Kurt Herdan, Francisco Otta, and Abraham Freifeld stood out. Among the lawyers in prominent positions were David Stichkin, twice rector of the University of Concepción, and Gil Sinay, who served for many years as president of the CREJ (Representative Committee of the Jewish Community of Chile). In his nineties he still directed the weekly *La Palabra Israelita* de Santiago.

Jews in Public Life During Political Transition

Some Jews, e.g., Natalio Berman, Marcos Chamudes (Communist deputy), Angel Faivovich (Radical senator), Jacobo Schaulsohn (Radical deputy), and Volodia Teitelboim (Communist senator), have participated in the political life of the country. After 1966, only Teitelboim remained active; he had, however, no connection with Jewish life and Jewish organizations.

When Salvador Allende became president (1970), he appointed a large number of Jews to important posts. A converted Jew, Jaques Chonchol, and the Jewish engineer David Baytelman participated in the planning of the agrarian reform. Engineer David Silberman was placed in charge of the nationalization of copper. The lawyer Hector Böhm Rosas was appointed director of the nationalized banks. The engineer Jaime Schatz was named director of electric services. Enrique Testa Arueste, former director of the nationalized Banco Israelita was appointed to oversee the banking reform and afterwards became attorney general. Other Jews who became involved in the banking politics of the government were the commercial engineers Marco Colodro, who worked in the Central Bank, and Jacobo Rosenblut of the banks Osorno and La Unión. Jaime Faivovich was the governor of the District of Santiago and later confronted the strike of the transportation workers that precipitated Allende's downfall. José de Mayo was director of the Casa de la Moneda (mint). Oscar Waiss was director of the government daily *La Nación*. Benjamin Teplitzky filled political posts on behalf of his party, the Partido Radical. Enrique Kirberg was rector of the Technical State University. This is only a part of the long list of Jewish officials, in practically all the branches of the government.

After the military putsch of September 11, 1973, which brought General Augusto Pinochet Ugarte to power, Jews continued to occupy posts in government and politics. José *Berdichevsky, a Jewish general, was part of the military junta and designated Air Force chief of staff and commander of the garrison of Santiago. Later there were Jews in various important administrative positions, such as Adolfo Yankelevich, who was sent as one of the representatives of Chile to the United Nations. The career diplomat Santiago Benadaba Catan, was ambassador of Chile to the Vatican and to Israel. His service in the Vatican was an important factor in the pope's decision in his arbitration of the frontier conflict between Chile and Argentina. During the last period of the Pinochet administration, a Jew held an important government position: Sergio Melnik, sympathizer of Chabad, was minister of the Office of Economic Planning of Chile (ODEPLAN).

Among the Jews who supported Pinochet's regime was ex-senator Angel Faivovich, one of the leaders of the Partido Democracia Radical. The journalist Marcos Chamudes, of the same party, edited the weekly PEC (*Política, Economía y Cultura*), which had an impact on the atmosphere of opposition to Allende, which was one of the reasons for his downfall. Chamudes was a Communist member of Parliament in 1937, withdrew from the party and enlisted in the U.S. Army during World War II. Upon returning to Chile he became one of the most popular journalists in the country and an avowed anti-Communist.

1990–2006

In 1990, in the presidential elections that followed the downfall of the government of Pinochet, President Patricio Alwyn, leader of the Partido Demócrata Cristiano, was elected. Among the leaders of the democratic parties that formed the political coalition, called *La Concentración,* were a few prominent Jews, such as Jorge Shaulson, one of the leaders of the Partido por la Democracia (PPD), and Benjamin Teplitzky of the Partido Radical. The Communist Party, which did not form part of this coalition, was led for some time by the writer Volodia Teitelboim.

Among the parties of the right and center that participated in and cooperated with the governments of Pinochet, there were also a number of prominent Jews, like Rodrigo Hinspeter of the Partido de Renovación Nacional (PRN) and Member of Parliament Lily Perez.

During this new period, a few Jewish journalists became prominent, such as Myriam Fliman, who was director of the National Radio.

In December 1993 President Eduardo Frey Ruiz Tagle, member of the Partido Demócrata Cristiano, was elected by the *Concentración*. The new president maintained an independent line with respect both to his party and the parties of the *Concentración*, being counseled by a small group of advisors that the press nicknamed El Círculo de Hierro ("Tthe Iron Circle"). In this group, which had much influence on all the aspects of government, there were three Jews: Pedro Halpern, director of the Division of Communications and Culture; Jorge Rosenblut, undersecretary of communications; and Eduardo Bitran, director of Corporación de Fomento (Corfo), which administered state enterprises.

In 1995, the director of the Partido Renovación Nacional, Alexis López, organized a Nazi Party, provoking a strong reaction among most of the members of his party, including the Jewish leaders. The party decided to expel Alexis López and his followers. López tried to organize a congress of all the Nazi parties in Latin America in 2000. Intensive activity by the Jewish community, progressive elements, and international institutions assured the failure of this project.

In 1996, however, an antisemitic incident of great import occurred in Chile. The minister of defense, Perez Yoma (of Arab ancestry) expressed in a meeting his fear of the influence of what he called "the Jewish Troika," referring to the Jewish officials of the Círculo de Hierro, advisors to President Frey. On November 21, 1996, the government daily *La Nación* echoed Yoma's views. The article provoked a wave of protests, including one from the president of the PPD, MP Jorge Shaulson. In a meeting with CREJ, President Frey strongly condemned these views. A few months later, Eduardo Bitran quit his post as general manager of Corfo, becoming general manager of the Fundación Chile, which unites important state enterprises.

In 2004 the 10th Pan-American Maccabean Games took place in Chile, with several foreign contingents and considerable coverage in the local press. In the same year Judge Manuel Libedinsky was elected president of the Supreme Court. Although Jewish judges had previously served in the Supreme Court, this was the first case of a Jewish president

Communally, the Ashkenazi community of Santiago was united with the Estadio Israelita Macabí, expanding its cultural and social activities. Also the two other communities, the Sephardi and the German-speaking B'nei Jisroel, conducted intensive activities. The religious life in each of the three communities in Santiago is led both by Conservative and Orthodox rabbis, the latter belonging to the Chabad movement, which opened the Rambam religious school.

[Günter Böhm and Haim Avni / Moshe Nes El (2nd ed.)]

Relations with Israel

Chilean public opinion has often shown a marked interest and sympathy for Zionism and the State of Israel. In 1945 a Pro-Palestine Committee was founded in Santiago, and its prominent member, Senator Gabriel González Videla (later president of Chile), was among those who sponsored the organization of the International Christian Conference for Palestine, which took place in Washington in 1945. In spite of his past record of goodwill toward Jewish aspirations, as president Videla gave in to the internal pressure of the Arab community (100,000 citizens of Arab descent lived in Chile at that time and were known for their financial and political influence) and instructed his delegation to the UN General Assembly to abstain from voting on the resolution to partition Palestine in 1947. Senator Humberto Alvarez, second-ranking member of this delegation, resigned in protest against that decision. This disappointment at a critical moment did not affect the cordial relations between Chile and Israel, however, and Chile recognized Israel in February 1949 and supported her admission to the UN. In 1950 a nonresident minister opened the legation of the State of Israel in Santiago, and Chile established its diplomatic representation in Israel in 1957. In November 1958 both raised their missions to the status of embassies, and in March 1965 the Embassy of Chile was transferred from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem. Chile abstained from voting on the UN resolution in favor of the internationalization of Jerusalem (Dec. 9, 1949) but voted against the reunification of Jerusalem after the *Six-Day War (July 14, 1967). In the General Assembly of the UN (July 4, 1967) it gave its full support to the resolution of the Latin American Bloc in the aftermath of the Six-Day War. The Chilean-Israel Institute for Culture, inspired by Alvarez and Carlos Vergara Bravo, is known for its diverse activities. In the framework of the Israel government's international scheme, an agricultural mission from Israel is active in Chile in the fields of settlement and marketing. The team, sponsored by an agreement between the Organization of American States and Israel for rural development, cooperates closely with CORA (Corporación de la Reforma Agraria) and participates in rural project planning. The Israeli company *Tahal is employed in the study of geological and hydraulic resources, as well as in rural development schemes in Chile. Prior to the elections of 1970, which brought President Salvador Allende to power, the parties that formed his coalition, Unidad Popular, already had a clearcut attitude towards Israel. The Communist Party followed the Soviet anti-Zionist line, and its daily, *El Siglo*, published anti-Israel articles every day. In the Socialist Party, before the election of Allende, the position with respect to Israel was divided. Allende proposed a resolution demanding on the one hand that Israel withdraw from the territories occupied in the Six-Day War, but adding that Chile would recognize the right of Israel to exist independently and securely. The opposing position, represented by Senator Aniceto Rodríguez, was firmly pro-Arab and anti-Israel. The position of Allende triumphed and was inserted into the program of Unidad Popular.

Under the government of Allende, Jacques Chonchol, leader of the Izquierda Cristiana Party, a member of the coalition, who was put in charge of the agrarian reform, visited Israel many times to study Israeli agricultural methods as well as the development of the kibutzim and moshavim. Upon his election, Allende repeatedly manifested his desire to maintain good relations with Israel, in spite of the political differences between the two governments. During the election campaign of 1969 the Arab National Union and the CREJ faced off in the press. The Arab community in Chile, and particularly the Palestinian one, had grown considerably since the Six-Day War of 1967, becoming the largest Palestinian community outside the Arab world. It thus became much more important than the Jewish community in terms of numbers and influence. Young Arabs desecrated Jewish cemeteries and carried out bomb attacks against Jewish institutions. In one of these attacks a Chilean police officer was seriously injured and the guilty parties (a Jordanian and a Chilean of Arab origin) were apprehended and convicted. As a result of police action the attacks against the Jews ceased for some time.

In a meeting between the minister of housing, Luis Matte Valdes, and Israel's ambassador to Chile, Moshe Tov (1972), projects for Israeli assistance in the field of housing were agreed on. Consequently, the Israeli director general of housing planning, Shaul Shaked, visited Chile. In April of the same year a World Conference on Technical Development (UNCTAD) took place in Santiago. The Israeli delegation used this opportunity to visit the plants where Israeli technicians were working in projects aimed at the reclamation of the desert, improvement of irrigation, and the supplying of water to the desert. Consequently, many projects in cooperation in agriculture, irrigation, afforestation, and mining were considered.

Similarly to the relations with Israel, Chile made serious efforts during the government of Unidad Popular to strengthen its relations with the Arab countries. In 1971 a representative of the Arab League visited Chile. In November of the same year he signed an agreement with the Government of Chile that authorized the establishment of a delegation of the Arab League in Santiago. In view of this situation, the CREJ turned to officials of the Foreign Ministry, expressing their concern and their fear that such an office would increase terrorist acts against the Jewish community. The year 1973 was crucial to Chile, since Allende's government was overthrown by a military coup d'état on September 11, as well as to Israel, which was attacked in the Yom Kippur War.

As a consequence of the coup d'état, a large number of persons identified with the deposed civilian regime sought refuge in the embassies, including the Israeli embassy. Israel took in several people, obtaining *laissez passer* guarantees from the government for their protection. From the outset, the military government tried to display a cordial attitude towards Israel as well as towards the Chilean Jewish community. The Jewish General José Berdichevsky, a member of the military junta, was charged with communicating to the Jewish community its friendly intentions toward both the Chilean Jews and Israel. The government of Israel was one of the first to recognize the new military government shortly after the victory of the revolution on September 26, 1973.

The new Chilean government looked favorably upon Israel's position vis-à-vis the Soviet Union and the Communist Bloc, especially its efforts to obtain permission for Russian Jews to emigrate to Israel. Officials of the military government also condemned Palestinian terrorist attacks against Israel's civil population. In the United Nations, Chile voted against the resolution, approved in December 1974, to suspend the membership of Israel in UNESCO. On the other hand, Chile voted for UN Resolution 3379 of November 1975, which equated Zionism with racism. The Chilean vote provoked criticism both in the U.S., which had repeatedly defended Chile in the United Nations, and among large sectors of the Chilean population. These reactions led General Pinochet to annul the vote of the Chilean delegation condemning Zionism. Nevertheless, the antagonistic Chilean diplomatic position towards Israel continued when in 1980 Chile moved its embassy from Jerusalem to Tel Aviv, and when Chile condemned the Israeli attack on Iraq's atomic reactor.

Throughout Pinochet's regime Chile maintained cordial relations with Israel, but at the same time it strengthened its relations with the Arab countries in an effort to attract capital from the oil-producing countries. In the 1980s Chile purchased the Arava aiplane from Israel's military industry. Trade between the two countries continued as well as the activities of Israeli experts in Chile in irrigation, agriculture, and technology

When Pinochet's regime came to an end in 1990, and with the return of democracy, the cordial relations between the two countries continued. Presidents were elected by a coalition of left-wing and center parties called *La Concentracion*: Patricio Alwyn (Christian Democrat), Eduardo Frey Ruiz Tagle (Christian Democrat), and Ricardo Lagos (Socialist) displayed cordial attitudes towards both the Jewish community and Israel.

Trade continued to develop, though showing an imbalance. In 2003 total bilateral trade amounted to over $56 million ($43.2 million exported to Chile and $12.9 million imported by Israel from Chile) and in 2004 it reached almost $60 million ($46.7 and $13.0 million respectively). This upward swing continued in the first half of 2005. The main items were agricultural and electronic equipments and foodstuffs.

[Shlomo Erel / Moshe Nes El (2nd ed.)]

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CHILLÓN, town in Castile, south central Spain. The Jewish community in Chillón was destroyed during the anti-Jewish riots in Spain of 1391. After 1492 it was an important center of the *Conversos. One of them, Isabel Sanchez, not only informed the Inquisition about their alleged practice of Judaism but also conducted private investigations, earning the appellation *la Inquisidora*. The excitement aroused by the prophetic movement in 1500 among the Conversos in Castile attracted many of the Conversos in Chillón. At the end of 1499, Inés from nearby Herrera was acclaimed a prophetess among the Conversos, including those of Chillón. The Conversos of Chillón, however, produced their own. In 1500 a local girl, Mari Gómez, was reported to have had a vision of her mother who told her that she had been divinely chosen and had ascended to heaven; she was said to have stated that a sublime reward awaited the Conversos who fasted, kept the Sabbath, and observed the Mosaic laws, and all would go to Ereẓ Israel. Mari and Inés had good reasons to cooperate since they both had a similar basis for their prophesies. The Inquisition wiped out both movements, which had large followings in La Mancha and Extremadura. Mari fled to Portugal while Inés was burned at stake. The prophecies indicate clearly that eight years after the Expulsion, Jewish practices and beliefs were quite widespread among the Conversos of these regions in Castile, including small villages, such as Chillón.

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[Haim Beinart / Yom Tov Assis (2nd ed.)]

CHINA, country of eastern Asia.

Early Jewish Visitors and Settlers

Individual Jews might have visited China before the eighth century, but the first authentic literary evidence of their presence dates only from that period. Two fragmentary documents of this period were found in Khotan, Chinese Turkestan (now Sinkiang Province), then the westernmost outpost of the Chinese Empire. Sir Aurel *Stein during his explorations here in 1901 found a mutilated Persian document, which is believed to be in Hebrew script, part of a business letter dating from 718. Shortly afterward Paul Pelliot discovered, among thousands of Chinese manuscripts, a single-leaf Jewish prayer text written in square Hebrew letters. The prayer was still folded when found; apparently the owner had carried it on his person in this way. Both Jewish visitors probably arrived by caravan from or via Persia across Central Asia.

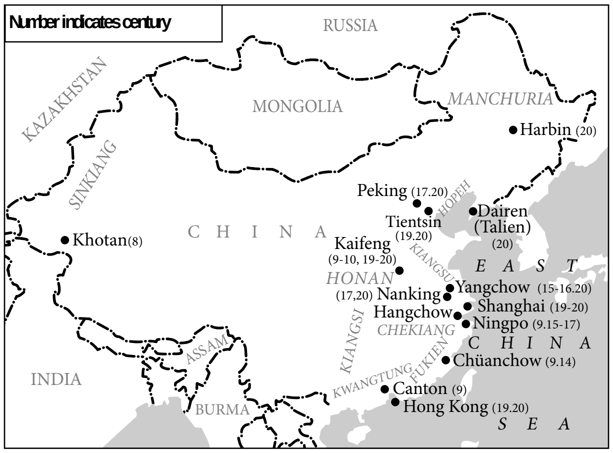

Main places of Jewish settlement in China from the eighth century to modern times.

While these visitors traveled by land, other Jews arrived in China by sea along the Muslim trade route to the southern Chinese port of *Canton, Kwangtung Province. There, during a rebellion in 878–79 some 120,000 Muslims, Jews, and other foreigners are said to have been massacred. The Jews who entered Khotan and Canton may never have had an opportunity of seeing the interior of China. Their stay was temporary and they exercised no lasting influence. Reports that there were other Jewish communities in Chüanchow (Zayton), Fukien Province, and Ningpo, Chekiang Province, may be true, but cannot be corroborated. Under the declining Sung Dynasty a cohesive Jewish group of some 1,000 people, including women and children, settled in the ninth or tenth century at the invitation of the emperor in *Kaifeng, capital of Honan Province. They were reported to be speakers of New Persian and arrived from either India or Persia. Some 250 of their descendants, whose sense of Jewish identity has been severely reduced through intermarriage, are still living in Kaifeng. By profession the original settlers were specialists in the manufacture, dyeing, or pattern-printing of cotton fabrics. This industry was then being developed in China, partly to meet the chronic silk shortage. Additional information is available regarding Jews in China under the Yüan Dynasty. Marco Polo, who visited China toward the end of the 13th century, reported that Jews, Muslims, and Christians were disputing the advantages of their respective religions before the Mongol conqueror and his court. Moreover, three decrees pertaining to Jews were issued in China under Mongol rule, indicating that the number of Jews in China at that period must have been sizable: (1) "Christians, Jews, and Mohammedans shall be taxed as before…" (1329);(2) *levirate marriages (*Ḥalizah*) were prohibited (1340); these were practiced among Jews and Muslims, but were an abomination in the eyes of the Chinese, Mongols, and Manchus; and(3) wealthy Muslims and Jews were summoned to the capital to join the army (1354). No new Jewish communities were formed in China until the middle of the 19th century. (See Table: Jewish Communities in China.)

[Rudolf Loewenthal]

Modern Jewish Communities

The three major Jewish communities in 20th century China were located in Harbin, Tientsin, and Shanghai. For each the story of settlement, development, and decline is different. The Jewish community in Shanghai consisted of three distinct groups. The earliest arrivals were Baghdadi and British Jews who came to trade in the newly opened treaty ports shortly after the Opium War (1840–42). Most prominent in this group were members of the *Sassoon family, whose base was Bombay and who specialized in warehousing, transport and the opium trade in China. As a result of astute land speculation and business investments, they gained an important position in all areas of commercial and financial life in South China. Although this largely Sephardi community built communal institutions, such as synagogues, schools, and a hospital, it was worldly, sophisticated, and very much a part of the new Western society of the treaty ports. The second group began to arrive after the Russo-Japanese War (1904–5), and especially after the Russian Revolution of 1917. They participated in Shanghai's commercial life on a lesser scale, primarily as import-export merchants and agents, and built their own communal institutions. This Ashkenazi community, which was formally founded in 1907, developed strong ties with world Zionism after 1913. One of the most able and devoted community leaders was N.E.B. Ezra, who also published the first Jewish paper in China, *Israel's Messenger.* Altogether the Shanghai Jews numbered several thousand in the 1930s. Refugees from Nazi persecution formed the third group. Starting as a trickle of mainly professional people after 1933, it became a flood in 1938 and 1939. According to one estimate, there were about 20,000 refugees in Shanghai by August 1939, the majority German Jews. Prior to 1943, the refugees lived in different sections of Shanghai, although most were concentrated in Shanghai's Hongkew district. After February 1943, however, the Japanese authorities ordered the establishment of a segregated area, where approximately 16,000 refugees spent the war years subject to hunger, disease, poverty, and subtle forms of persecution. However, unlike the two other groups,

Demography of major Jewish communities in China

City	Province	Year or Century	Number	Main origin	Remarks
Canton	Kwangtung	9th cent.	numerous	India/Persia	Numerous massacred together with Muslims, etc. Remainder disappeared
Chüanchow	Fukien	14th cent.	unknown	India/Persia	Disappeared
Hangchow	Chekiang	14th cent.	numerous	India/Persia	Disappeared
Hong Kong	Victoria	1882 1954 1968	60 250 230	India/Iraq	Sephardim, British subjects Half Sephardim, half Ashkenazim 70 Sephardim, 160 Ashkenazim
(mainly Harbin)	Manchuria	Early 20th cent. 1917–1946	few 5,000	Russia	Ashkenazim
(mainly Ulan) Bator (Urga)	Mongolia	1920s	800	Russia	Refugees, 600 in Urga were killed or fled to China
Ningpo	Chekiang	15th–17th cent.	unknown	India/Persia	Disappeared
Shanghai	Kiangsu	20th cent.	700	250 from Europe 50 from America 400 from Baghdad	British subjects
		1933–45	20–25,000	Poland, Baltic States, Germany, Austria, Italy, Balkan States	European refugees from Hitlerism
Peking (modern-day Beijing)	Hopeh	17th cent. 1933–1945	Few c. 100	Europe	Refugees
Tientsin	Hopeh	20th cent.	2,000	1,900 Russians 100 Europeans	Refugees
Yangchow	Kiangsu	15th–16th cent.	unknown	India/Persia	Disappeared
Kaifeng	Honan	10th–12th cent. 17th cent. 18th–20th cent.	1,000 750 200–250	India/Persia	Surviving descendants of Jewish community

the Hongkew refugees were a transient community. The Manchurian community began around the turn of the century in Harbin and along the Chinese-Eastern Railway as a pioneering venture by hardy Siberian and Russian Jews. Later, during the Russo-Japanese War, Jewish supply agents to the Russian army and Jewish soldiers came and remained in Manchuria. These early settlers contributed significantly to the development of Harbin, and actively promoted Manchurian commercialization and industrialization. They established soybean oil refineries, grain mills, and breweries, and participated in coal-mining and the lumber industry. The Russian Revolution dispersed thousands of Eastern European Jews to Manchuria, many of whom settled in Harbin. Others moved on to Mukden and Dairen, or to Tientsin and Shanghai. From its inception in 1902, the Harbin community, which consisted of around 12,000 persons in the 1920s, developed strong communal and cultural institutions. Jewish publishing in Russian flourished; there were synagogues, a library, a hospital, a Jewish high school, and a number of charitable and Zionist organizations. *Revisionists were especially active and, as in Shanghai, several Betar groups functioned in Manchuria, Subsequent to the Japanese occupation of Manchuria in 1931 and world economic difficulties, Jewish prosperity declined. Whereas in 1929, there were 15,000–20,000 Jews in Manchuria, this figure dropped as Jews left to look for better economic opportunities elsewhere in China. In spite of Tientsin's favorable location as North China's port and a foreign concession, the Tientsin community grew slowly and remained numerically smaller than either Shanghai or Harbin. Founded in 1904 by a handful of Siberian and Russian Jews, it consisted of 2,000–2,500 persons by the late 1930s, all of whom lived in the foreign concession. Tientsin Jewry engaged in lucrative export enterprises, notably the fur trade. A number of outstandingly energetic, gifted and imaginative communal leaders, such as L. Gershevich, created a cohesive and tightly knit community with charitable institutions, a Jewish school, a hospital, and a clubhouse. A synagogue was built as late as 1937. The Tientsin community had a number of Zionist organizations, and strong ties with the world Zionist movement. Emigration from China, which began in 1945, took many years to complete. In spite of technical difficulties, the resettlement and repatriation of unpropertied Shanghai refugees was a relatively simple matter. For other Jews in China, with their considerable private and communal assets, emigration was more problematic especially after the establishment of the People's Republic in 1949. Only gradually were properties sold or turned over to public custody.

[Irene Eber]

A few elderly Jewish residents without families were allowed to live out their days in Shanghai. Neither the Nationalist government on Formosa (Taiwan) or the Communist government on the mainland had any diplomatic relations with Israel until 1992 (see below). At the beginning of the 21st century there were some Jews living in China, particularly in Hong Kong, Peking (Beijing), and Shanghai. These communities consisted mainly of businessmen (exporters) and their families from North America, Israel, Australia, South Africa, and Latin America. There was also a kosher kitchen and a Jewish community center in Shanghai led by Rabbi Greenberg of the Chabad movement.

[Xun Zhou (2nd ed.)]

China and the Jews

While the dichotomy between Christians and Jews, or later in the 19th century between the "Aryan" and "Semitic" races, may not be applicable in China, the mystique of "the Jews," or pervasive images and constructions thereof, as well as perceptions of what "Jewishness" meant in specific historical periods, is just as apparent in China as it has been in the West. In other words, perceptions about the mythical "Jews" exist not only in the West but also in China, where they are anything but simple. While such perceptions may appear to correspond to images of the Jews in Europe, they have nonetheless been endowed with indigenous meanings. By constructing "the Jews" as a homogeneous group, or a constitutive outsider, who embodies all the negative as well as positive qualities that were feared or desired by various social groups in China, the Chinese as a homogeneous "in-group," were able to project their own anxieties onto the outsiders. In this respect, representing "the Jews" corresponds to a widespread fear of, as well as need for, an "other," which can be found in many cultures and societies. In modern China, definitions of "Jew" or "Jewishness" are very complex. The "Jew" is a symbol of money, deviousness, and meanness; the "Jew" may also represent poverty, trustworthiness, or warm-heartedness. It has religious as well as secular meanings. While it represents individualism, it also stands for collective spirit. On the one hand it symbolizes tradition, on the other it can equally invoke modernity. One day "the Jew" is a stateless slave, the next a dominant world power. "The Jew" is both nationalist and cosmopolitan. He can be a capitalist or an ardent communist, a committed revolutionary or corrupt traditionalist. In short anything which is not Chinese is "Jewish"; at the same time many things which are clearly Chinese are also "Jewish."

[Xun Zhou (2nd ed.)]

China and Israel

FROM THE BALFOUR DECLARATION (1917) TO THE CREATION OF THE STATE OF ISRAEL (1948) AND THE PEOPLE'S PUBLIC OF CHINA (1949). China and Israel both cultivate a rhetoric emphasizing their ancient historic roots and the claims derived from them. A feeling of affinity and a memory of shared suffering has regularly played a role in the relations between Chinese and the Jews, and later on Israel.

In 1920, Sun Yatsen, founder and first president of the Chinese Republic, endorsed the Zionist program and praised the Jewish contribution to "the civilization of the world." The latter statement has now become commonplace in China, repeated even by government leaders. Sun Yatsen's friendship led China to support the Balfour Declaration and vote for the League of Nations' resolution that conferred the Palestine Mandate (including Balfour's promise to the Jews) to Great Britain (1922). Some Chinese republican sympathy for Jewish national aspirations continued, expressed, for example, by the politician Sun Fo, son of Sun Yatsen. Not all intellectual attitudes were friendly, however. Zionism also became a target of campaigns against "Imperialism" and "Capitalism" already before World War II. China's politicians began to waver when the plan to partition Palestine between a Jewish and Arab state was submitted to the United Nations in 1947. Torn between Jewish and American lobbying efforts for a Jewish state, conflicting geo-political interests, and the hostility of its own Muslim minority and the Arab world, China finally abstained.

For the period between 1917 and 1948, no contacts between official Jewish representatives and the fledgling Communist Party of China have so far come to light. In the years between 1950 and 1955, when the antisemitic campaign orchestrated by Stalin in the Soviet Union and its satellites reached its peak, the Chinese Communists showed no hostility to Judaism and Zionism. Mao Zedong had mentioned in one of his early writings the "Jewish National Liberation Movement" and welcomed with open arms a few anti-fascist European Jews who joined his struggle against the Japanese invaders (1944).

FROM THE CREATION OF THE STATE OF ISRAEL (1948) AND THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA (1949) TO THE ESTABLISHMENT OF DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS BETWEEN THE TWO COUNTRIES (1992). The 42 years from 1950 to 1992 have been called the "frozen period," when Israel was diplomatically isolated from both the People's Republic of China (PRC) and Taiwan, in the latter case largely by Israel's own decision. However, this period also saw complex developments, which had major consequences for future relations between China and Israel. Many events seemed contradictory and were kept secret, and some still are.

January 1950. Israel recognized the PRC, only three months after its foundation by Mao Zedong – the first Middle Eastern country to do so. American policy interests played virtually no role in the decision of the newly founded Jewish state, which was seeking relations with as many non-hostile countries as possible. However, Israel's Prime Minister David *Ben-Gurion emphasized that his reasons were historic and not only "pragmatic"; the Jewish state had to forge long-term relations with the two great civilizations of Asia, China and India. China's Prime Minister Zhou Enlai acknowledged Israel's recognition and expected negotiations towards the establishment of diplomatic relations. The hostility of the Arab countries, considered as Western reactionary bastions, had at that time no perceptible influence on China.

1951–1953, War in Korea, where the Chinese army intervened massively. United States requests led to the end of Israel's contacts with the PRC. This was the first episode in a repeated history of tensions between Israel and its main protector caused by policy divergences on China. China has, arguably, become one of the most serious and enduring sources of foreign policy friction between the United States and Israel.

February 1955. Following renewed Israeli feelers towards the PRC, an Israeli "trade and goodwill" delegation was invited to Beijing, headed by David Hacohen, Israel's diplomatic representative in Burma. However, the Bandung Conference of Asian-African nations in April 1955 marked, as far as is known, the end of political contacts between China and Israel. Shortly thereafter, the first Arab country (Egypt) established relations with the PRC, followed by Syria and others. The PRC sought to expand its influence in the Arab Middle East and the Third World and was no longer interested in forging diplomatic ties with Israel.

1956–1976. From the Suez campaign on (Oct. 1956), China pursued a permanent public propaganda war against Israel, presented as a "tool" of Western and American imperialism. The virulence of the propaganda increased over the years. In 1965, the PRC recognized the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO). China gave the PLO and other radical Arab groups financial and military assistance. After his emergence as head of the PLO, Yasser *Arafat, was from 1970 on a frequent visitor in Beijing. Following its admission to the United Nations in 1971, the PRC took, internationally, a systematically hostile stance against Israel. However, China's true attitude towards the Middle East and Israel appears today influenced by geostrategic interests no less than by Third World solidarity. Verbatim transcripts of discussions conducted between Mao Zedong and Henry *Kissinger in November 1973 came to light in the late 1990s. Mao told Kissinger that China would continue its support for the Arab countries, but welcomed all American steps to stop the Soviet Union from controlling the Middle East, thereby implying a discreet but unequivocal endorsement of American military support for Israel.

1960s and 1970s. Israeli weapons, of unknown quantity, were sold to Taiwan but an official diplomatic recognition of Taiwan was not on Israel's agenda. Sales are said to have stopped at the latest in 1992.

1978–1979. Menaḥem *Begin, Israel's prime minister from 1977, authorized sales of military technology and equipment to the PRC, through the intermediary of a business magnate, Shaul *Eisenberg. As in the case of Ben-Gurion in 1950, the motives of Begin went beyond immediate commercial interests and included a long-term geo-political vision of China and Israel. China's agreement to buy Israeli weapons represented a moderation of China's attitude towards Israel that was greatly facilitated by the peace agreement between Israel and Egypt in 1979. It was also motivated by the poor performance of the Chinese military in its war with Vietnam in the same year, and the ensuing policy decision to modernize the Chinese armed forces.

1980s. Israel began to ship relatively important quantities of weapons to the PRC. Informal estimates that cannot be substantiated mention framework agreements worth billions of U.S. dollars over the years. No American opposition is known to have been aired, probably because the United States wanted to prop China up as a military counterweight to the Soviet Union. The 1980s also saw the first sales of Israeli agricultural technologies to China and increasing trade.

Israeli and Chinese delegations conducted discreet negotiations towards the establishment of official relations. The foreign ministers of both countries met during the United Nations Assembly in 1987. A "China International Travel Service" was set up in September 1989 in Tel Aviv, and a "Representative Office" of the Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities in Beijing (June 1990), and in November 1991, Israel's Defense Minister Moshe *Arens made a secret visit to China, and shortly after, China's deputy foreign minister visited Israel. These were the last "unofficial" steps leading to diplomatic relations.

FROM THE ESTABLISHMENT OF DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS (1992) TO 2005. On January 24, 1992, the foreign ministers of the two countries, David *Levy and Qian Qichen, signed a communiqué in Beijing establishing diplomatic relations at ambassadorial level. China's final decision to formalize its growing relations with Israel was triggered by a succession of events that changed China and the world between 1989 and 1991. The suppression of the Tian'anmen student protest in May 1989 left China politically isolated from the Western world and subject to an arms embargo. This was followed by the first Gulf War, which ended in February 1991 with an American military victory. Closely watched by China, this war initiated another readjustment of China's military strategy. Furthermore, although China was eager to participate again in world affairs, it was absent from the Arab-Israeli Madrid Peace Conference in October 1991, which was jointly sponsored by the United States and the Soviet Union. The collapse of the Soviet Union on December 25, 1991, was the final reason compelling Beijing to reassert its international standing. In order to participate in Middle Eastern peace efforts, however, China had to establish full diplomatic relations with Israel. Moreover, relations with Israel seemed a good way to reach out to the United States and possibly affect America's China policy through the American Jewish community's influence in the United States.

Political Relations and High-Level Bilateral Visits. Diplomatic ties were strengthened during the 1990s with important bilateral visits aimed at consolidating relations. In 1992 Chinese Foreign Minister Qian Qichen visited Israel, followed by state visits by the Israeli President Chaim *Herzog (1992) and Prime Minister Yitzhak *Rabin (1993). The Israeli Consulate in Shanghai was opened in 1994, and Prime Minister Binyamin *Netanyahu visited China (1998), followed by President Ezer *Weizman (1999). These exchanges culminated in the visits of the chairman of the Chinese National's People Congress, Li Peng (1999), and finally, that of President Jiang Zemin (2000) to Israel. President Jiang was the highest-ranking Chinese official ever to visit Israel, but also the last before the souring of relations between the two countries a few months later, after Israel was forced to cancel the sale of the Phalcon airplanes to China (see below). From 2000 to 2002 Israeli delegations visited China in an effort to reestablish ties. However, it was the visit by Foreign Minister Shimon *Peres to Beijing in March 2002, and the announcement that Israel would pay $350 million as compensation for the canceled Phalcon deal, which allowed both countries to "open a new book" in their relations.

The following year Israeli President Moshe *Katzav visited Beijing (December 2003) and met the "Fourth Generation" of Chinese leaders, President Hu Jintao and Prime Minister Wen Jiabao. In 2004 Israeli industrial delegations toured China and State Councilor Tang Jiaxuan visited Israel, followed by a visit from Foreign Minister Silvan *Shalom to Beijing. The Israeli foreign minister also met the mayor of Beijing and vowed to promote closer cooperation between the two countries in view of the 2008 Beijing Olympics.

Sino-Israeli Defense Relations. As mentioned above, defense ties preceded the establishment of diplomatic relations between the two countries. The Chinese military had long displayed genuine interest in the structure and performance of the Israeli army, and the larger Chinese public also showed interest in weapons and military history in general and in Israel's military achievements in particular. Against this backdrop, forging defense links was further encouraged by circumstantial factors mentioned above. China needed up-to-date weapons and Israel needed money and stronger foreign relations. Israeli weapons sales to China are said to have declined steadily in the 1990s compared to the 1980s. Israel supplied China with conventional weapons as well as training and know-how, some of which were allegedly inspired by American or jointly developed systems. The most controversial deal, the sale of the Israeli-manufactured Phalcon airborne early warning system, was initiated in 1994 and finalized in 1998. Initially, the deal concerned only one Phalcon, but China sought to modernize its military with four to eight Phalcons worth $1–2 billion. In June 2000, massive pressure by the United States, claiming the sale would upset the military balance in the Asia Pacific region, forced Israeli Prime Minister Ehud *Barak to cancel the deal. This provoked considerable Chinese anger. It was the biggest setback in relations between China and Israel since they had been established. However, senior Israeli military personnel continued to visit China. Exchanges were now reported to be limited to matters pertaining to "homeland security and counter terrorism." For example, Israeli and Chinese military experts were discussing tactics and technologies used in the fight against terrorism, but military relations were also subject to more American scrutiny. U.S. controls appeared to apply even to civilian goods produced by Israeli defense industries and technology transactions related to the 2008 Olympic Games in Beijing.

Civilian trade relations. Irrespective of the ups and downs in defense links, direct Sino-Israeli civilian trade continued to grow, rising steadily from $695 million in 1992 to $550 million in 1999 and $2.2 billion in 2004. However, Hong Kong has long been a privileged gateway to China, and much of the trade with China transits through the Special Administrative Region of Hong Kong. Therefore, when trade with Hong Kong after 1997 is taken into account, the figures rise sharply to $2.4 billion in 1999 and $5.7 billion in 2004. Trade with China and Hong Kong represented 7.8% of Israeli exports and 6.5% of imports in 2004. Exports from China consisted mainly of chemical products, plastics, textile, and electronic equipment and components. Exports from Israel included precious stones and metals as well as optical, photographic, measuring, and medical instruments.

Bilateral trade with Taiwan did not decline after 1992 and maintained steady albeit moderate growth

Agriculture and agricultural technology. Another important field for cooperation between the two countries has been agriculture. More than 60% of China's population lives from agriculture and related activities, which explains the rural populations' political weight as well as the need for Beijing to address the farmers' concerns. Israeli agriculture, agricultural systems, and technologies, including even the kibbutz, have thus attracted official and popular Chinese interest. In 1993, China and Israel signed a "Memorandum of Understanding" between their Ministries of Agriculture, and successively built a joint Agricultural Training Center and a Model Farm in a suburb of Beijing where flowers, vegetables, and fruit trees were planted with agro-technologies from Israel. Subsequently, collaboration in the fields of management of ground and surface water, utilization of low-quality water, and water-saving irrigation was launched, a demonstration dairy farm was created (2001), and Israeli delegations were encouraged to invest in agricultural projects in the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region, the region with the largest Moslem population in China.

Science, Technology and Education. From 1993 on, cooperation agreements were signed in a wide array of fields. Cooperation and scientific exchanges started off in basic research in the fields of agriculture and water resource management and gradually included information technology (telecommunications, semiconductors, software). Other sectors covered were medical equipment, biotechnology, biomedical engineering, and space technology. In 1993, China and Israel agreed to fund a small number of Chinese students to come to Israel every year, and vice versa. In 1995, a memorandum encouraging education exchanges was signed, followed by visits of Chinese schoolteachers and principals. In 1998 a fund was set up to allow 100 postdoctoral Chinese researchers to study at Bar-Ilan University, and in 2001 Tel Aviv University signed a cooperation agreement with the Shanghai Academy of Social Sciences. According to official Chinese sources, China was sending approximately 200–250 researchers every year to participate in training, and Israel was sending approximately 100–130 experts to China. Conferences and symposiums were held in Beijing and Jerusalem, sponsored by a joint fund created for this purpose.

Chinese who are interested in foreign cultures are usually intrigued by "Jewish" rather than "Israeli" culture, and often do not differentiate between the two. Thus, the establishment of diplomatic relations in 1992 did not represent a radical new beginning but gave a strong, officially sanctioned, boost to an already existing curiosity about Jewish culture and history. Mutual cultural interests between Chinese and Jews in modern times date from the late 19th and early 20th centuries. One of the first Chinese studies of Jews, particularly the old community of Kaifeng, appeared in 1897 (Hong Jun), the first known book on the Chinese written in Modern Hebrew was published in 1911 (Perlmann). A few Chinese authors continued to write about Jews, but regular and sustained study became possible only after the Cultural Revolution (1966–76).

Since the early 1980s, several hundred articles and books have been published on every aspect of Jewish and Israeli history and culture. The subjects included biblical history and archaeology, the Holocaust, Israel's history, economy, and intelligence service (Mossad), and more. Translations of books on Jewish and Israeli themes played a significant role in improving Chinese understanding of the Jewish people. Books by famous Jewish and Israeli writers and poets, as well as many books written by Israel's leaders are available in Chinese. Since the mid-1990s, translations of classical Jewish texts began to appear: rabbinic-talmudic texts, Maimonides, 20th century thinkers. Between 2000 and 2005, as many as 10 if not 20 books on Jews or Israel appeared annually. Judaic study centers or scholars are active in several academic institutions (e.g. Beijing, Harbin, Hong Kong, Jinan, Kaifeng, Kunming, Nanjing, Shanghai).

In Israel, it was Martin *Buber who introduced Chinese studies to the Hebrew University in Jerusalem in the 1940s. Sinology has been growing in Israel ever since.

Many of the Chinese classics, alongside modern and contemporary literature and poetry have been translated, and Mao Zedong's work could also be read in Hebrew in the 1960s. The main Chinese study centers are in the universities of Jerusalem, Tel Aviv, and Haifa, smaller ones in Ben-Gurion and Bar-Ilan University. Israeli Sinologists cover a wide span of themes ranging from Chinese culture to history and politics. In 2005 it was estimated that the number of young Israelis learning Chinese reached seven or eight hundred. The corresponding number of young Chinese studying Modern Hebrew in China was probably below 50.

Art, particularly the performing arts, was the second most important form of cultural exchange. Chinese acrobatic groups, folk dancers and musicians, the Beijing Opera and ballet groups have participated in Israeli art festivals every year since 1994. Israeli orchestras, ballet, and theater groups have performed in China over the same period. Israeli movies were shown in China and Chinese movies in Israel. Various Chinese art and history exhibitions took place in Israel. Most memorable was the exhibition "China: One Hundred Treasures" in the Israel Museum in Jerusalem in late 2001. In China, there were exhibitions of Israeli artists and of the Holocaust, amongst others. One planned exhibition, the Einstein exhibition, agreed by China and Israel during President Jiang Zemin's visit in 2000 (see above) was canceled by Israel in 2002, in the aftermath of the Phalcon crisis, after China demanded the deletion of references to the fact that Einstein was a Jew and a supporter of Israel. However, other cultural exchanges have apparently not been affected.

[Shalom Salomon Wald (2nd ed.)]

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CHINNERETH, CHINNEROTH (Heb. כִּנֶּרֶת, כִּנְּרוֹת), one of the fortified cities of the tribe of *Naphtali on the shore of the Sea of Galilee (Josh. 19:35). It first appears in the list of cities conquered by Thutmose III (c. 1469 B.C.E) together with Laish, Hazor, and Peḥel. A papyrus from about the same time contains a list of rations of grain and beer supplied to the noble class of charioteers (*maryannu*) from the major Canaanite cities, including Chinnereth. A district bordering on the Sea of Galilee was named for the city (Josh. 11:2). Chinnereth is last mentioned among the Galilean cities taken by *Ben-Hadad, king of Aram-Damascus, in about 885 B.C.E. (I Kings 15:20). The city has been identified with Khirbet el-Oreimeh (today Tell Kinrot), a high mound situated above the rich spring area of Tabgha, 5½ mi. (9 km.) north of Tiberias. It dominates the fertile valley (later called the Plain of Ginnosar) extending along the northwestern shore of the Sea of Galilee. Through this valley passed an important branch of the Via Maris ("maritime route") leading to *Hazor. Limited archaeological excavations carried out at the site in 1913 and 1939 by a German expedition uncovered remains of the Late Canaanite, Israelite, and Roman periods. In 1928 a fragment of an Egyptian stele was found on the surface of the tell. It dates to either the reign of Thutmose III or of his son Amenhotep II and refers to a victory over the Mitannian enemy.

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[Yohanan Aharoni]

CHINON (Heb. קִינוֹן), town in central France, southwest of *Tours. Jews are found in Chinon from the second half of the 12th century. At the beginning of the 13th century there was evidently a community of some importance, paying in 1217 a *taille* of 500 Paris livres. The Jews occupied the Rue de la Juiverie, still called by that name, near the Palais de Justice. The cemetery lay outside the city walls. With the other Jews in France, the Jews of Chinon were expelled in 1306 and readmitted in 1315. On 2 Elul, 5081 (Aug. 21, 1321), probably following an accusation that they had poisoned the wells in alleged conspiracy with the lepers, the 160 Jews of Chinon, led by R. Eliezer b. Joseph, were burnt at the stake on an island outside the town in a place later called Ile des Juifs (today Faubourg St. Jacques). Earlier scholars of Chinon were Joseph b. Isaac (second half of 12th century), the tosafists Jacob and *Nethanel of Chinon (mid-13th century), Isaac b. Isaac, called the "head of the rabbinical schools of France," Mattathias b. Isaac (c. 1300), and *Samson b. Isaac (1260–1330).

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[Bernhard Blumenkranz]

CHIOS (Turkish, **Sakis Adassi**), Greek Aegean island off Asiatic Turkey. Jewish settlement dates back to the Hellenistic period. According to Josephus, Jews lived in Chios in ancient times (Ant., 14:112–3). During the reign of the Byzantine emperor Constantine IX Monomachus (1042–55), 15 Jewish families lived there; they were considered serfs of the Nea Mone monastery at the western end of the island. Benjamin of Tudela stated (c. 1160) that there were 400 Jews in Chios, led by Rabbi Elia and Rabbi Shabbetai. Jews lived in a separate quarter during the Middle Ages. In 1457 they had only one synagogue, but by 1549 there were several. The small synagogue within the fortress was named for *Jacob b. Asher (1270–1343), the author of the *Turim*, who, according to tradition, was shipwrecked on the island with his pupils; Jews from Chios and the Anatolian mainland made pilgrimages to his reputed grave. During the period of Genoese rule (1346–1566), the Jews engaged mostly in trade; some were artisans and wine-producers. They lived within the fortress and within a concentrated neighborhood, the Judaica. On Christmas Eve they had to donate a flag embroidered with a red cross to the Church of St. George, and they recited prayers for the pope at Christmas and Easter. By 1395, in addition to the Romaniot Jews, there were Jews from Ashkenaz, Italy, Provence, and Spain. After 1492, Spanish exiles ultimately became a majority in Chios. In the 16th century, a Romaniot synagogue stood beside a Sephardi *kahal.* In 1549, there were several synagogues, each based on region of origin. The 1540 plague killed most of the communal leaders. Under the Genoese, the Jews had to wear a yellow hat. During the first half of the 17th century Isaac b. Abraham Algazi was rabbi of the community. In 1717 a fatal plague erupted on the island. In 1822, a Jewish woman uncovered the Greek insurgents' plan to blow up the fortress and the Ottomans rewarded the Jews with ownership of the cemetery. In 1892 there was a blood libel. Jews also suffered from Greek hostility during the Greco-Turkish war (1897). The ghetto was destroyed in 1881 by an earthquake. At that period Jews traded in iron implements, copper, cloth, oil, and figs.

In 1764 there were about 200 Jews on the island, and in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, between 250 and 350. After the Balkan Wars of 1912–13, the island was annexed to

Greece, and in 1913 there were 47 Jewish families there. Before 1940 the island contained a small number of Jewish families. In spring 1943, the Menashe family was deported to Salonika, but released as Italian subjects. Another group of Jewish refugees, who had arrived in Chios on a small boat in 1944, survived in the local prison and were liberated at the end of the war. There was no Jewish community in Chios by the 1960s.

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[Simon Marcus / Yitzchak Kerem (2nd ed.)]

CHIPKIN, ISRAEL (1891–1955), U.S. Jewish educator. Born in Vilna, Chipkin was taken to New York by his parents in 1892. He joined the group of young men who worked with Samson *Benderly, director of the Bureau of Jewish Education (organized 1910), became the principal of the Jewish preparatory school for girls (1913–16), and subsequently served as the educational director of the League of Jewish Youth (1916–20). He was also instructor and registrar of the Israel Friedlander classes of the Jewish Theological Seminary, which he helped to organize.

Chipkin's major work was as director of the Jewish Education Association of New York (1921–44), and the American Association for Jewish Education (1944–49). Among his significant contributions during this period were the creation of the National Council of Jewish Education, a professional fellowship of leading Jewish educators; the organizing of Beth-Hayeled, which represented the first experiment in pre-school Jewish education and has influenced the development of pre-school education in the entire American Jewish community; the introduction of Hebrew into the New York City high schools; and writings, in which he fostered the idea of community responsibility for Jewish education and the concept of progressivism in the Jewish schools' programs. From 1949 to his death, Chipkin served as vice president for research and experimentation of the Jewish Education Committee of New York.

Chipkin was editor of *Jewish Education* and associate editor of *The Reconstructionist*, and published a number of monographs, including *Handbook for Jewish Youth* (1922); *Twenty Five Years of Jewish Education in the United States* (1947); and *American Jewish Education at the Mid-Century* (1951).

[Judah Pilch]

CHIRINO, Spanish Marrano family. Its founder is said to have been a converted Jewish physician, whose son was ALONSO CHIRINO (d. 1430?), also known as Alonso Chirino de Cuenca or Alonso de Guadalajara. He was physician to John II of Castile and in 1428 was Cuenca's representative at the Cortes. He wrote three medical works. *Espejo de medicina* scandalized contemporary doctors by its expressed mistrust of the medical practice of the time. No copy of this is extant. *Replicación* (Madrid, Nat. Library Ms. 3384) is an answer to his critics including a refutation of astrological medicine. *El menor daño de medicina* (Toledo, 1505, and Seville, 1506), a further attack on medical incompetence, was frequently republished during the 16th century. In this Chirino advocated physical and moral hygiene and practical home therapeutics.

Alonso Chirino had four sons, one of whom was JUAN GARCIA, bishop of Segovia and chaplain to Henry IV. Another son was DIEGO DE VALERA (1412?–1487), historian and poet, who entered the service of John II in 1427. His *Doctrinal de principes* was written for the education of his future master, Ferdinand of Aragon. Valera's historical works include the *Crónica abreviada de España* (Seville, 1482); the *Memorial de diversas hazañas* (pub. 1941); and the *Crónica de los Reyes Católicos* (pub. 1927), which deals with the early part of the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella. This last work includes a summary of the Inquisition's activity in Seville which was evidently interpolated after the author's death. Valera's correspondence contains some interesting comments on the position of the Conversos during the latter part of the 15th century.

A number of Alonso Chirino's descendants were accused of Judaizing, on which charge his grandson, DIEGO, was in fact condemned. Diego's son, SEBASTIAN was tried by the Inquisition at Cuenca in 1566 for showing disrespect to the Inquisition and stating that he would rather be "a pig's tail" than "an Old Christian." He was compelled to recant, and was fined and exiled.

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[Kenneth R. Scholberg]

CHIROMANCY (**Palmistry**). The determination of a man's character and frequently of his fate and future from lines and other marks on the palm and fingers was one of the mantic arts which developed in the Near East, apparently, during the Hellenistic period. No early chiromantic sources from this period have been preserved, either in Greek or Latin, although they did exist. Chiromancy spread, in a much fuller form, in medieval Arabic and Byzantine Greek literature, from which it found its way to Latin culture. It would seem that from the very beginning there were two traditions. The first linked chiromancy closely with astrology and so produced a quasi-systematic framework for its references and predictions. The second was not connected with astrology at all, but with intuition, whose methodological principles are not clear. In the Middle Ages the Christian chiromantics found a scriptural basis for chiromancy in Job 37:7: "He sealeth up the hand of every man, that all men may know his work" which could be interpreted to mean that the hand imprints are made by God for the purpose of chiromancy. This verse is adduced in Jewish tradition only from the 16th century onward.

Chiromancy appears first in Judaism in the circle of *Merkabah mysticism. The fragments of their literature include a chapter entitled *Hakkarat Panim le-Rabbi Yishma'el* written in a rabbinic style. This chapter is the earliest literary source of chiromancy which has thus far been found. It is only partly comprehensible because it is based on symbols and allusions which are still obscure, but it has no connection to the astrological method. It uses the term *sirtutim* for the lines of the hand. A German translation of the chapter was published by G. Scholem (*Liber Amicorum in Honor of Prof. C.J. Bleeker* (1969), 175–93). From a responsum of *Hai Gaon (*Oẓar ha-Ge'onim* on tractate *Ḥagigah*, responsa section, p. 12), it is clear that the Merkabah mystics used chiromancy and Hellenistic physiognomy in order to ascertain whether a man was fit to receive esoteric teaching. They quoted as scriptural support for these sciences Genesis 5:1–2: "This is the book of the generations of man" (the Hebrew *Toledot* interpreted to mean "the book of man's character and fate") and "male and female created He them," which implies that chiromantic prediction varies according to the sex, the right hand being the determining factor for the male, and the left hand for the female.

Apart from the chapter mentioned above, there circulated for a long period of time translations of an as yet unidentified Arabic chiromantic source, *Re'iyyat ha-Yadayim le-Eḥad me-Ḥakhmei Hodu* ("Reading the Hands by an Indian Sage"). The sage is named in Hebrew manuscripts as Nidarnar. Of this source two translations and various adaptations have been preserved, and the work became known in Hebrew no later than the 13th century. One of the adaptations was printed under the title *Sefer ha-Atidot* in the collection *Urim ve-Tummim* (1700). At the end of the 13th century the kabbalist Menahem *Recanati had a copy of this text, which is based entirely on the principles of the astrological method of chiromancy relating the main lines of the palm and the various parts of the hand to the seven planets and their influences. The author was already familiar with the basic chiromantic terminology common in non-Jewish literature. His work deals not only with the meaning of the lines, or *ḥariẓim*, but also with *otiyyot*, i.e., the various marks on the hand.

Evidence of the chiromantic tradition among the early kabbalists is given by Asher b. Saul, brother of *Jacob Nazir, in *Sefer ha-Minhagot* (c. 1215; see S. Assaf, *Sifran shel Rishonim* (1935), 177): "[at the conclusion of the Sabbath] they used to examine the lines of the palms of the hands, because through the lines on the hands the sages would know a man's fate and the good things in store for him." In the Munich manuscript 288 (fol. 116ff.), there is a long treatise on chiromancy allegedly based on a revelation that was received by a Ḥasid in England in the 13th century. It does not differ in content from the astrological chiromancy current among contemporary Christians and the terminology is identical.

In various parts of the *Zohar, there are passages, some of them lengthy, which deal with the lines of both the hand and the forehead. A discipline was devoted to the latter, which corresponded to chiromancy and in the Middle Ages was called metoposcopy. Two different versions of this subject are included in the portion of Jethro and are based on Exodus 18:21, the first in the actual *Midrash ha-Zohar* (fol. 70a–77a) and the second an independent treatise called *Raza de-Razin* which is printed in columns parallel to the former, and continued in the addenda to the second part of the Zohar (fol. 272a–275a). Here the lines of the forehead are discussed in detail. A third account devoted to the lines of the hand is found in Zohar (2:77a–78a), and consists of three sections. Although the Zohar brings out the parallel between the movement of the heavenly bodies and the direction of the lines on the hand, the influence of astrological chiromancy is not apparent in the details of the exposition, which depends in an obscure way on five letters of the Hebrew alphabet (ז ה ס פ ר, *zayin, he, samekh, pe*, and *resh*). These are used as mystical symbols apparently referring to particular types of character. In a further elaboration of chiromancy in *tikkun* no. 70 (toward the end) of the *Tikkunei Zohar*, a relationship is established between the lines on a man's hand and forehead and the transmigrations of his soul. An interpretation of these pages in the portion of Jethro is found in *Or ha-Ḥammah* by Abraham *Azulai, and was printed separately under the title *Maḥazeh Avraham* (1800). As knowledge of the Zohar spread, several kabbalists tried to relate chiromancy back to the mysteries of the Kabbalah; especially Joseph ibn Ṣayaḥ, at the beginning of *Even ha-Shoham*, written in Jerusalem in 1538 (Jerusalem, JNUL, Ms. 80,16); and Israel *Sarug in *Limmudei Aẓilut* (1897, p. 17). Gedaliah *Ibn Yaḥya says in *Shalshelet ha-Kabbalah* (Amsterdam, 1697), 53a, that he himself wrote a book (1570) on the subject of chiromancy under the title *Sefer Ḥanokh* (or *Ḥinnukh*).

From the beginning of the 16th century several Hebrew books were printed summarizing chiromancy according to Arabic, Latin, and German sources; however, kabbalistic chiromancy received only incidental attention. Of these should be mentioned *Toledot Adam* (Constantinople, 1515) by Elijah b. Moses Gallena, and *Shoshannat Ya'akov* (Amsterdam, 1706) by Jacob b. Mordecai of Fulda, both of which were printed several times. Yiddish translations of the books also appeared. Abraham Hamoy included a treatise *Sefer ha-Atidot* on chiromancy in his book *Davek me-Aḥ* (1874, fols. 74ff.). Among the pupils of Isaac *Luria, the tradition spread that their master was an expert in chiromancy, and many traditions point to the fact that several kabbalists were knowledgeable in it. In the 19th century R. Ḥayyim *Palache mentions (in *Zekhirah le-Ḥayyim*, 1880, p. 20) that the contemporary Moroccan rabbis were skilled in chiromancy.

In Hebrew books on astrological chiromancy, the main lines of the hand are given the following names: (1) *Kav ha-Ḥayyim* ("the life-line"; Lat. *Linea Saturnia*); (2) *Kav ha-Ḥokhmah* ("the line of wisdom"; *Linea Sapientiae*); (3) *Kav ha-Shulḥan* ("the table line"; *Linea Martialis*); (4) *Kav ha-Mazzal* ("the line of fate") or *Kav ha-Beri'ut* ("the line of health"; *Linea Mercurii*). The idiomatic expression found in later literature, *einenni be-kav ha-beri'ut* ("I am not in the line of health"), meaning "I am not in good health," is derived from chiromantic terminology.

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[Gershom Scholem]

CHIZHIK, family of Ereẓ Israel pioneers.

BARUKH CHIZHIK (1884–1955), an Ereẓ Israel naturalist, was born in Tomashpol, Ukraine. He studied agriculture in the Crimea and the Caucasus, specializing in gardening and subtropical crops. He was a founding member of the *Po'alei Zion movement in Russia. In 1906 Chizhik went to Ereẓ Israel and settled in the moshavah Kinneret. He became head gardener for the Turkish authorities in Damascus in 1915. In 1922 he was appointed director of the Zionist Executive's agricultural museum, and taught citrus cultivation. Acquiring a farm in Herẓliyyah in 1932, he worked on improving strains of fruit trees and other crops. He published articles in agricultural journals, and his books include the encyclopedia of flora *Oẓar ha-Ẓemaḥim* (1956) and *Ẓimḥi'el* (1930), a collection of popular articles and legends on the flora of Palestine.

HANNAH CHIZHIK (1889–), founder of women's agricultural training in Israel. Born in Tomashpol, she went to Ereẓ Israel in 1906 with her brother Barukh. She worked as an agricultural laborer in various villages, as well as on her family's farm in Kinneret. In Tiberias (1917) and Ekron (1918) Ḥannah organized groups of young immigrant women as agriculturalists and was appointed agricultural instructor at the Neveh Ẓedek school in 1920. She founded a women workers' farm (*meshek po'alot*) in Naḥalat Yehudah in 1923 and one in northern Tel Aviv in 1926. The latter, under her directorship, became a center for Youth Aliyah training from 1940. Ḥannah was active in Po'alei Zion and Aḥdut ha-Avodah during their early years and became a leader in Mo'eẓet ha-Po'alot and of the Histadrut.

SARAH CHIZHIK (1897–1920), defender of *Tel Ḥai. Born in Tomashpol, Ukraine, another sister of Barukh, she was brought to Ereẓ Israel by her parents at the age of ten. She worked in agriculture. When the settlements in Upper Galilee came under Arab attack, she was among the volunteers at Kefar Giladi and Tel Ḥai. Fighting under the command of Joseph *Trumpeldor, she was killed in the surprise attack on Tel Ḥai.

EFRAYIM CHIZHIK (1899–1929), Haganah hero. Born in Tomashpol, Ukraine, a brother of Barukh, he was taken to Ereẓ Israel by his parents at the age of eight. During the riots of May 1921 he was among the defenders of the Neveh Shalom quarter of Jaffa. He worked on the construction of the power station at Naharayim, where he helped in establishing friendly relations with the local Arabs. During the 1929 riots he was among the defenders of Jerusalem and of the women's training farm in northern Tel Aviv. When the *kevuẓah* Ḥuldah was cut off by Arab rioters, Efrayim managed to reach the settlement, leading a group of 23 defenders against thousands of Arabs. He was killed in the subsequent retreat and was buried at the old site of Ḥuldah.

YIẒḤAK CHIZHIK (HORPI; 1907–1958), Israel civil servant. The youngest brother of the family, he was born in Sejera. Under the Mandatory government he served as district officer in various parts of the country. With the founding of the State of Israel, he served as military commander of Jaffa, director general of the Minsitry of Police, director of Jaffa port, manager of the Negev development authority, and Israel's chargé d'affaires in Liberia. He died in Chicago, where he was Israel consul.

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[Abraham Aharoni]

CHMELNITZKI, MELECH (1885–1946), Yiddish poet and medical popularizer. Born near Kiev, he spent his boyhood in Galicia and studied medicine in Vienna, where he practiced as a doctor. In 1939 he immigrated to New York. From 1919 he wrote articles mainly on medical themes for the New York *Forverts*, which were reprinted in the world Yiddish press and won him great popularity. He was also a Yiddish poet of distinction, publishing three volumes of lyrics that linked him to the early 20th-century impressionistic school. He was one of the first translators of Yiddish poetry into Polish.

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[Melech Ravitch]

°CHMIELNICKI (Khmelnitski), BOGDAN (1595–1657), leader of the Cossack and peasant uprising against Polish rule in the Ukraine in 1648 which resulted in the destruction of hundreds of Jewish communities; later hetman of autonomous Ukraine and initiator of its unification with Russia. The son of a minor landowning official of the lower aristocracy, in 1646 Chmielnicki became involved in a quarrel with the governor of the province where he lived. He was arrested, released on bail, and in 1647 fled to the Cossack center of Zaporozhye on the Dnieper, from where he began to foment rebellion against Polish rule. His propaganda fell on the soil of social-religious unrest, accompanied by repeated uprisings. Having gained experience from the failure of former rebellions, Chmielnicki sought the assistance of the Tatar khan of Crimea, who authorized one of his military leaders to join Chmielnicki. With varying luck and several interruptions he waged war against the Poles until his death; in 1654 his followers took the oath of allegiance to the Muscovite Czar.

In the course of their campaigns Chmielnicki's followers acted with savage and unremitting cruelty against the Jews.

Chmielnicki aimed at establishing an autonomous Ukraine, if not under Poland, then under the Ottoman Empire, Moscow, or Sweden. After his death, this plan ended with the annexation of eastern Ukraine to Muscovite Russia (1667). Chmielnicki was bent on eradicating the Jews from the Ukraine. From the social aspect, he aspired to transform the Cossack leaders into the ruling aristocracy of the principality while returning the peasantry to serfdom. His activity brought destruction and ruin to the land and did not assure its independence. Nevertheless, the members of the Ukrainian nationalist movement in recent generations have come to see him as a symbol of the awakening of the Ukrainian people, while Russian nationalists regarded him as a "great patriot" who brought about the unification of Ukraine with Russia. During World War II, a military decoration was named after him, and in 1954 the town *Proskurov was renamed Khmelnitski; the name of Chmielnicki was also added to that of the town Pereyaslav (Pereyaslav-Khmelnitski).

In the annals of the Jewish people, Chmielnicki is branded as "Chmiel the Wicked," one of the most sinister oppressors of the Jews of all generations, the initiator of the terrible 1648–49 massacres (גזירות ת"ח ות"ט, *gezerot taḥ ve-tat*). Chmielnicki has gone down in history as the figure principally responsible for the holocaust of Polish Jewry in the period, even though in reality his control of events was rather limited. The Jewish population of Ukraine had been an active factor in colonizing the steppes before the massacres. Many Jews settled in the villages, and were occupied as lessees (see *arenda) or administrators of the estates of the nobles; they also played a role in developing the towns and in their armed defense at times of danger. However, as agents of the Polish nobles and Polish rule, they incurred the hatred of the Ukrainian serfs. Both Polish and Ukrainian modern antisemitic historiography has attempted to attribute the overwhelming responsibility for the terrible bloodshed during the rebellion on the Jewish lessee and agent, thus justifying the singular cruelty directed against the Jews. But the reports of Jewish persecution of the peasants, or offenses against their religious feelings caused by the lease of churches to the Jews, find no confirmation whatsoever in the sources.

It was during the months of May to November 1648 that most of the massacres took place. At the beginning of the uprising, the communities east of the Dnieper were immediately destroyed. Those Jews who did not manage to escape or join the Polish army of Wisniowiecki on its retreat westward met violent deaths; some converted to Christianity to save their lives; many were seized by the Tatars and sold into slavery. During the summer, the persecutions spread to the western bank of the Dnieper and by the middle of June there were no more Jews in the villages and the open cities. The overwhelming majority, with the exception of those who had been murdered while fleeing, crowded into several fortified cities which were also occupied by Polish garrisons. Even these however were unable to sustain the siege of the peasant hordes, and after the towns were taken, most of the Jews were butchered.

The first large-scale massacre took place in *Nemirov, into which the Cossacks penetrated in the disguise of Polish soldiers. Jews died en masse as martyrs when faced with the demand that they convert to Christianity: "They arrived … as if they had come with the Poles … in order that he open the gates of the fortress … and they succeeded … and they massacred about 6,000 souls in the town … and they drowned several hundreds in the water and by all kinds of cruel torments. In the synagogue, before the Holy Ark, they slaughtered with butchers' knives … after which they destroyed the synagogue and took out all the Torah books … they tore them up … and they laid them out … for men and animals to trample on … they also made sandals of them … and several other garments" (*Shabbetai b. Meir ha-Kohen, *Megillah Afah*). In 1650 the leaders of the *Council of the Four Lands "took upon themselves and their children after them to fast in the Four Lands every year on the 20th day of the month of Sivan, the day upon which the calamity began in … Nemirov." The fortified city of *Tulchin fell at the end of June, after the Poles agreed to surrender the Jews to the rebels in exchange for their own lives. There is information on prolonged resistance by the Jews after they had been driven out of the fortress. At that time, all the Jews in the towns bordering upon Belorussia were massacred; only those living in the surroundings of *Brest-Litovsk succeeded in escaping. At the end of July, *Polonnoye fell into the hands of a band led by the hetman Krivonos and there was a frightful massacre. The remaining Jews in Volhynia left their towns and fled westward. In the important fortress of *Bar, where the Jews had stayed behind, they were slaughtered after its capture. During the months of October and November, the persecution also overtook the Jews living in the region of *Lvov; in this area a terrible slaughter took place at *Narol. In the town of Lvov itself, Jews took an active part in its defense and contributed a considerable share of the ransom paid for lifting the siege. Most of the Jews of this region who were saved fled to the areas beyond the Vistula.

It is impossible to determine accurately the number of victims who perished, but it undoubtedly amounted to tens of thousands; the Jewish chronicles mention 100,000 killed and 300 communities destroyed. The problem of refugees was a severe one: "for many of our people have left their countries and have been expelled from their places and properties; they have not yet gained rest and security, because the country has not found peace so that the distant ones can once again return to their possessions" (*Pinkas Medinat Lita*, ed. by S. Dubnow (1925), no. 460). The Jews also suffered during the military activities which continued subsequently. The blow struck at "the whole of the House of Israel, when … the hand of God went out against us and many myriads of Israel fell … and they were strewn over the fields as prey for the birds of heaven and were not even buried. The hand of the enemy also prevailed and they stretched out their hands against the synagogues." Under the impact of the calamity, the Council of Lithuania, at its meeting of 1650, decreed three years of consecutive mourning. This took the form of a prohibition on wearing elaborate clothes or ornaments during that time, and it was decided that "no musical instrument be heard in the House of Israel, not even the musical entertainment at weddings, for a full year"; "suitable measures were to be taken to limit feasts as much as possible" (*ibid.*, nos. 469–70). Authors of that generation also mention regulations which sought to prevent the increase within the community of the children born to women ravished by the Cossacks. A great effort was then made to ease the plight of thousands of *agunot* (wives of missing husbands), and the overwhelming majority of the women who escaped were freed from their marriage bonds by halakhic decisions; many precedents in *agunot* regulations were then established. A new wave of massacres occurred at the time of the joint campaign of the Muscovites and Cossacks in 1654, and the cruelty of the Muscovites toward the Jews (in *Mogilev and *Lublin) was no less than that of the peasants several years earlier. In Vilna, R. Shabbetai b. Meir ha-Kohen wrote: "The anger of God the King of Hosts is not yet appeased … the anger of the hand … of the oppressor … is yet outstretched with swords and spears; they continually invade the land and are prepared for war; wherever they find Jews, they kill them … a great multitude of the empty-headed have gathered with weapons and dressed in coats of mail; a large number of the Kedars [= the Tatars] have joined them and are encamped around them and they say: come let us destroy Israel" (*Megillah Afah*). The massacres of 1648–49 came as a deep shock to that generation, and R. Shabbetai Sheftel *Horowitz speaks of "the Third Destruction which occurred in the year 408 of the sixth millenium [1648] … which was just the same as the First and Second Destruction."

The Jewish settlement in Ukraine west of the Dnieper nevertheless continued. The Polish king authorized the forced converts to return to Judaism. The Councils of the Lands concerned themselves with the redemption of captives and the salvation of converts: "Many souls of Israel which were taken into captivity assimilated among and were almost lost among them … we have written an authorization to all the communities and to every place where there is a *minyan* [quorum] of Jews … to redeem every soul"; various tariffs and the share of the different communities in the acts of redemption were also established (*Pinkas Medinat Lita*, no. 452). Jews began to return to their localities in Volhynia at the end of 1648, and a short while later were again living throughout the territory up to the Dnieper. Despite the memory of the holocaust of 1648–49, this region was one of the most densely populated by Jews during the 18th and 19th centuries.

The horror of the massacres of 1648–49 is expressed in Hebrew literature; many liturgical poems and laments were composed on this subject, as well as many works of poetry and prose, including the ballad *Bat ha-Rav* ("The Daughter of the Rabbi") of Saul *Tchernichovsky. It also holds a most important place in popular folklore. Scholars differ as to the measure in which these massacres influenced the development of the Shabbatean movement.

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[Shmuel Ettinger]

CHMIELNIK, small town in southeast Poland. In the 17th century Chmielnik was a center of the anti-Trinitarians, who were expelled from the town after 1661; some think that remnants of their influence in Chmielnik and the vicinity led to a better attitude toward Jews among the local population to the end of the 18th century. Jews are first mentioned in Chmielnik in 1565, when there was a Jewish quarter and cemetery. In 1638 a magnificent synagogue was built. Within the framework of the *Councils of the Lands, the community of Chmielnik was included in the province of *Lesser Poland. In 1655 the army of Stefan *Czarniecki massacred many of its Jews, who were accused of helping the invading Swedes; about 150 Jews were murdered. The community of Chmielnik was gradually reconstructed in the last part of the 17th and during the 18th centuries, though at the end of the period the community was in severe financial straits and owed debts amounting to thousands of zlotys. A number of noted rabbis held office in Chmielnik in this period, among them Isaac Jair Fraenkel Teomim, and, toward the close of the 18th century, Joseph ha-Levi Ettinger. The Jews then mainly engaged in the grain, livestock, and timber trades; some traded at the fairs of Poland, especially in textiles. There were 1,445 Jews living in Chmielnik in 1764, among them 33 craftsmen and 10 merchants.

At the end of the 18th century *Ḥasidism penetrated the community. Abraham David Orbach, the *av bet din*, was among its propagators. Some of the first ḥasidic settlers in *Safed were from Chmielnik. From the middle of the 19th century *Lublin Ḥasidism was the dominant element in the community, though it was bitterly contested by adherents of other ḥasidic "dynasties." A yeshivah was founded in Chmielnik in the second half of the 19th century. Much damage was done to Jewish property by a fire which broke out in Chmielnik in 1876, but by the 1880s the economic situation had returned to normal. Several Jews established textile factories there and developed the market for village woven products. The Jewish population numbered 5,560 in 1897 (out of a total of 6,880);

among them 554 were engaged in trade and finance, four were physicians, and 40 lived on charity. There were 6,452 Jews in 1910 (out of 8,073). During World War I many Jews fled from Chmielnik. By 1921 the Jewish population numbered 5,908.

Holocaust Period

Prior to World War II Chmielnik had nearly 10,000 Jews, comprising 80% of the town's population. During the first months of the war several hundred Jews, mostly young men and women, fled to the Soviet-held territories. At the beginning of 1940 contact was made with the Warsaw underground leaders and Chmielnik was twice visited by Mordecai *Anielewicz, who came to help in the preparations for armed resistance. Because of the lack of arms, the underground could only show passive resistance, for which many were executed, among them the chairman of the Judenrat, Shmuel Zalcman. During 1940 and the winter of 1940–41 about 2,000 Jews who had been expelled from the smaller nearby towns and villages and from more distant regions of *Plock and *Ciechanow arrived in Chmielnik. The establishment of the ghetto in April 1941 drastically worsened the plight of the Jewish population which was greatly reduced by hunger and epidemics. From December 12, 1941, when a death decree was issued against anyone caught leaving the ghetto, many Jews were shot for smuggling food into it. On October 1, 1942, about 1,000 young men and women were deported to the forced labor camp in *Skarzysko-Kamienna. Many succumbed to the inhuman conditions there, while others were deported to the forced labor camp in *Czestochowa (Hasag) and to camps in Germany. Only a handful survived.

On October 3, 1942, about 1,000 Jews from Szydlow and 270 from Drugnia (in the vicinity of Chmielnik) were taken to Chmielnik. Three days later (on October 6, 1942) a special German and Ukrainian police force from Kielce conducted the *Aktion* in which about 8,000 Jews were deported to the *Treblinka death camp. On November 5, 1942, a second deportation took place. This time the remaining Jews, aware of the fate of the deportees, fled into the forests or went into hiding within the ghetto. Only a score of them survived in hiding until the liberation in January 1945. Those who left at the beginning of the war for the Soviet Union mostly joined the Soviet or the Polish army. Some of them rose to officer ranks and won the highest battle decorations, e.g., Capt. Moshe Kwaśniewski, who parachuted into his native Chmielnik region to engage in guerilla activities and Nahum Mali who commanded a tank unit. A handful of Jewish survivors tried to resettle in Chmielnik after the war, but gave up the idea because of the hostility shown by the local Polish population. The last 14 Jews left in July 1946, after the *Kielce pogrom in which four Jews from Chmielnik were also killed. Organizations of Chmielnik Jews exist in Israel, the United States, Canada, Argentina, France, Brazil, and England. A memorial book, *Pinkas Chmielnik* (Yid. and partly Heb.), was published in 1960.

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[Stefan Krakowski]

CHOCRÓN, ISAAC (1930–), Venezuelan playwright, novelist, literary critic, and stage director. One of the most prominent figures in his country's theater, Chocrón held important positions in official institutions and taught courses at United States universities. He wrote a score of dramas, eight novels, and a number of critical essays. His dramatic strategies are avant-gardist and experimental, with the purpose of bringing the audience into active involvement with the intellectual, social, and emotional issues of his plays. Jewish conflicts involving generational gaps, life in a non-Jewish environment, and the search for Jewish-Sephardi root are among his themes in the plays *Animales feroces* ("Wild Animals," 1963) and *Clípper* (1987), and in his novel *Rómpase en caso de incendio* ("Break Glass in Case of Fire," 1975). In these, as in his play *Escrito y sellado* ("Written and Sealed," 1993), there is a search for Jewish spiritual answers to the plight of man faced with uncertainty, alienation, and fate. Chocrón's writing focuses on the existential issues of modern times, such as loneliness, the search for identity, sexual marginality, social ambition, and spiritual vacuum within the context of Venezuelan reality.

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[Florinda Goldberg (2nd ed.)]

CHODOROV, EDWARD (1904–1988), U.S. playwright and director. Born in New York City, Chodorov, the older brother of playwright/screenwriter Jerome *Chodorov, entered the film industry as a publicity director for Columbia Pictures. In addition to writing films, he also wrote 14 plays. Chodorov's first play on Broadway was *Wonder Boy* (1931). In 1953 he and his brother were blacklisted by the Hollywood studios after being identified by choreographer Jerome *Robbins as members of the Communist Party.

Other Broadway plays of Chodorov included *Oh Men! Oh Women!* (1954), *The Spa* (1956), and *Monsieur Lautrec* (1959). He also wrote and directed the Broadway productions *Those Endearing Young Charms* (1943), *Decision* (1944), and *Common Ground* (1945). He was the author of a series of 26 television plays under the collective title of *The Billy Rose Show* (1952).

Chodorov's screenplay and film adaptation credits include *The Mayor of Hell* (1933), *Captured!* (1933), *The World Changes* (1933), *Madame DuBarry* (1934), *Gentlemen Are Born* (1934), *The League of Frightened Men* (1937), *Yellow Jack* (1938), *Woman against Woman* (1938), *Spring Madness* (1938), *Those*

Endearing Young Charms (with his brother, 1945), *Undercurrent* (1946), *The Hucksters* (1947), *Road House* (1948), *Kind Lady* (1951), and *Oh Men! Oh Women!* (1957).

[Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

CHODOROV, JEROME (1911–2004), U.S. playwright and director; brother of playwright/screenwriter Edward *Chodorov. Born in New York City, Chodorov worked as a journalist for the *New York World* before moving to California. He collaborated with Joseph Fields in writing the play *My Sister Eileen* (1940). In the 1953 musical version, Chodorov and Fields supplied the book, Rosalind Russell played the lead role of Ruth Sherwood, and Leonard *Bernstein, Betty *Comden, and Adolph *Green wrote the score. Other Chodorov and Fields Broadway successes included *Junior Miss* (1941), *Wonderful Town* (1953), and *Anniversary Waltz* (1954). In 1958 Chodorov directed the New York production of *The Gazebo*. Chodorov also supplied the books for several other musicals, including *The Girl in Pink Tights* (1954), which was composer Sigmund *Romberg's last Broadway musical, and *I Had a Ball* (1964), starring Buddy Hackett. His last Broadway production was *A Talent for Murder* (1981), a comedy-mystery that Chodorov co-wrote with Norman Panama, which starred Claudette Colbert and Jean-Pierre Aumont.

In 1953 Chodorov was blacklisted for a time after having been named in testimony before the House Un-American Activities Committee as having attended meetings of the Communist Party. He and his brother were denounced after the Broadway opening of *Wonderful Town* by the show's choreographer, Jerome *Robbins.

In California Chodorov worked on more than 50 films, including *Dancing Feet* (1936), *All Over Town* (1936), *Dulcy* (1939), *Louisiana Purchase* (1942), *Murder in the Big House* (1942), *Those Endearing Young Charms* (with his brother, 1945), *Man from Texas* (1948), *Tiki Tiki* (1971), and *Lucky Luciano* (1974) as well as film versions of *My Sister Eileen* (1942), *Junior Miss* (1945), the TV movie *Wonderful Town* (1958), *Happy Anniversary* (1959), and the TV movie *A Talent for Murder* (1984), starring Angela Lansbury and Laurence Olivier.

[Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

CHODOVA PLANA (Cz. **Chodová Planá**, Ger. **Kuttenplan**, Heb. abbr. ק"פ), town in West Bohemia. Jews lived there and in the vicinity from 1570. An organized community existed by 1620 and a synagogue is mentioned in 1645. When the community was threatened with expulsion in 1681, Abraham *Lichtenstadt succeeded in having the expulsion canceled. Abraham *Broda officiated as rabbi between 1690 and 1693. A baroque synagogue was built in 1759. There were 22 families living in Chodová Planá in 1736 and 32 families occupying 12 houses in 1767. In a conflagration in 1733 the Jewish quarter was spared, and this was commemorated by a special prayer and fast on the 13th of Iyyar. The minutes-book of the community (*pinkas*), incorporating earlier decisions, was written up in 1756 (published by S. Ochser, 1910). Count Cajetan of Berchem-Haimhausen (1795–1863) was unusually friendly and helpful to the Jews in Chodová Planá. He established an endowment in 1843 to ensure the employment of a rabbi "of a modern school of thought with opinions on reform suited to our age but not in conflict with the laws of the country." In 1861 he also endowed a fund for the Jewish poor. A memorial tablet to the Haimhausen family was placed in the synagogue. A new cemetery was established in 1890. The Jewish residents numbered 35 families in 1818, 230 in 1910, and three in 1932, while there were 18 in nearby Plana. The Hoenigsberg family originated from Chodová Planá, as did R. Joseph *Breslau and the renegade Johann Emanyel Veith. Closely associated with the community in Chodová Plan, included in Berchem-Haimhausen's endowment and under its rabbinical guidance, was the community of Drmoul (Duerrmaul). It had a baroque synagogue (built in 1801), though there was no church in the village, and a cemetery of ancient origin. Jews of Drmoul developed the spa amenities of Marienbad (Mariánské Lázně) and were among the founders of the Marienbad community. There were about 100 Jews living in Drmoul in 1896 and 48 in 1931. The Jews left at the time of the *Sudeten crisis. The synagogue was burned down by the Nazis in 1938.

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CHOERILOS OF SAMOS (fifth century B.C.E.), Greek poet. Josephus quotes Choerilos of Samos (Apion 1:172–5), stating that he refers to Jews who participated in Xerxes' expedition against Greece. However, the fact that they had round tonsures indicates that they were probably not Jews.

CHOIRS. A choir is a group of singers who perform together either in unison, or, more usually, in parts. Some choirs are composed of professional singers who are paid for their art, while others are associations of amateurs who come together for social as well as musical purposes. Some choral performances are highly polished, the result of extensive preparation, while others are simply the product of a group of people who happen to be singing together at the same time, with little concern for artistry. This article will explore some of the many forms of choral singing in the Jewish experience.

Jewish Liturgical Choirs

The earliest evidence of sacred choral singing in ancient Israel may be inferred from the Torah. After successfully fleeing Egypt through the Sea of Reeds, Moses and Miriam, both Levites, led the men and women of Israel in antiphonal singing.

> Then Moses and the Israelites sang this song to the LORD. They said: I will sing to the LORD, for He has triumphed gloriously; Horse and driver He has hurled into the sea. …

> Then Miriam the prophetess, Aaron's sister, took a drum in her hand, and all the women went out after her in dance with drums. And Miriam answered them: Sing to the LORD, for He has triumphed gloriously; Horse and driver He has hurled into the sea (Exodus 15:1, 20–21).

King David is credited with authorizing the leaders of the Levite tribe to establish a professional choir and orchestra to enhance the sacred service. These ensembles were comprised exclusively of men from the tribe of Levi.

> David told the leaders of the Levites to appoint their brothers as singers to sing joyful songs, accompanied by musical instruments: lyres, harps and cymbals. …
>
> All these were under the charge of their father for the singing in the House of the LORD, to the accompaniment of cymbals, harps, and lyres, for the service of the House of God by order of the king. Asaph, Jeduthun, and Heman – their total number with their kinsmen, trained singers of the LORD – all the masters, 288 (I Chron 15:16, 25:6–7).

The parallel structure of the Psalms gave rise to (or perhaps reflects) an ancient antiphonal and responsorial choral performance practice.

> When Israel came out of Egypt,
> the house of Jacob from a foreign people,
> Judah became God's sanctuary,
> Israel his dominion (Psalm 114:1–2).
> Give thanks to the LORD, for he is good.
> His love endures forever.
> Give thanks to the God of gods.
> His love endures forever (Psalm 136:1–2).

The Mishnah (Ar. 2:6) attests that in the time of the Second Temple there was a liturgical choir that comprised a minimum of 12 adult singers.

> There were never fewer than twelve Levites standing on the platform but there was no limit on the maximum number of singers. No children could enter the court of the sanctuary to take part in the service except when the Levites were standing to sing. Nor did they join the singing with harp and lyre, but with the voice alone, to add flavor to the music.

*Philo Judaeus (*On the Contemplative Life* XI, 83–90) reports a choral practice among the *Therapeutae, a Jewish sect in Egypt at the beginning of the Christian era. But we have no evidence that this was typical of mainstream Jewish practice.

> They all stand up together, and in the middle of the entertainment two choruses are formed at first, one of men and the other of women. … Then they sing hymns which have been composed in honor of God in many meters and tunes, at one time all singing together, and at another moving their hands and dancing in corresponding harmony, and uttering in an inspired manner songs of thanksgiving, and at another time regular odes, and performing all necessary strophes and antistrophes. Then when each chorus of the men and each chorus of the women has feasted separately by itself, like persons in the bacchanalian revels, drinking the pure wine of the love of God, they join together and the two become one chorus…. Now the chorus of male and female worshipers being formed, as far as possible on this model, makes a most pleasant concert, and a truly musical symphony, the treble voices of the women mingling with the deep-toned voices of the men. The ideas were beautiful, the expressions beautiful, and the chorus-singers were beautiful; and the goal of the ideas, expressions, and chorus-singers was piety.…

Group chanting has always been an important part of the synagogue service. The entire congregation is mandated to chant aloud certain sections of the liturgy, including *amen*; various responses in the *kaddish, kedushah, and barekhu*; the *ḥazak* at the end of the cantillation of each book of the Torah; and even certain verses from scriptural cantillation on Purim, Simḥat Torah, Tisha be-Av, and minor fast days. In traditional synagogues one hears a nearly constant wall of sound created by congregants in an undertone chanting spontaneously, coordinated by mode (*nusaḥ*), but not by rhythm. In the performance of metric hymns (and occasionally other prayers, as well), the cantor will initiate a melody and the congregation will follow in synchronization. Hymns such as *Adon Olam* with its regular meter, corresponding in a sense to our iambic tetrameter, were well suited to group performance. While in most cases, this is a far cry from artistic choral singing, it is safe to assume that in antiquity, as is the practice today, some congregants would rise above the norm of unison singing and embellish their performances with a degree of artistry, perhaps in the form of simultaneous improvisation (heterophony) or harmonization. In the West it is not uncommon to hear spontaneous harmonization in parallel thirds or sixths. Among the Yemenite Jews, congregants sing in parallel fourths, creating a sound reminiscent of medieval church choirs.

Congregational singing is, of course, a form of choral performance. But we also have evidence of another praxis: synagogue choirs comprising singers who were auditioned and trained and who performed alongside the ḥazzan for the benefit of the congregation. *Nathan ha-Bavli, a Jew who lived in the 10th century, witnessed the ceremony for the inauguration of the Exilarch (the *Rosh Galut*) in Babylon. On a Sabbath morning, the entire community congregated in the synagogue.

> Then a choir of boys assembled under the platform: boys who had been chosen from the elite of the community, experienced boys with beautiful voices, experts in the melodies, proficient in all matters of the prayers. … The *ḥazzan* began the prayers at *barukh she-amar*, and the boys responded antiphonally to each line.

In the Middle Ages in Ashkenazi lands there arose a practice of having two singers standing with the cantor at the *bimah* to provide musical support. The *zinger* (treble) and *bas* (bass) were known as *tomekhim* or *meshorerim*. An illustration in a 14th century *maḥzor* from Germany depicts the three singers in just such an arrangement. The accompaniment provided by the cantor's two assistants was in most cases either improvised or worked out in rehearsal; the performances were hardly ever notated. This practice typically called for humming of chords and pedal points, rhythmic accompaniments, harmonizing in parallel thirds, sixths or tenths, and fillers to provide relief for the cantor. Rabbi Leone of Modena, Italy, attested to this practice in his responsum of 1605. "If assistants who have been graced by the Lord with sweet voices stand beside him and create an accompaniment without formal structure but simply improvised, as is the common practice among the Ashkenazim, and if it happens that they harmonize well with him, should this be considered a sin?"

Charles Burney, a British (non-Jewish) composer, music teacher, and music historian, visited a "synagogue of the German Jews" in Amsterdam probably in 1772. Here is an excerpt from his description of the singing of the ḥazzan and the *meshorerim*.

> [T]hree of the sweet singers of Israel, which it seems are famous here … began singing a kind of jolly modern melody, sometimes in unison, and sometimes in parts, to a kind of *tol de rol*, instead of words, which to me, seemed very farcical. One of these voices was a falset, more like the upper part of a bad *vox humana* stop on an organ, than a natural voice. … The second of these voices was a very vulgar tenor, and the third was a *baritono*. This last imitated, in his accompaniment of the falset, a bad bassoon; sometimes continued one note as a drone base [sic], at others, divided it into triplets, and semiquavers, iterated on the same tone.

Beginning in the 16th century we begin to see evidence of choral singing in the synagogue in the manner of the artistic practice in the churches of Europe.

> There are in our midst [Padua, Italy, 1605] six or eight persons learned in the science of music, men of our community (may their Rock keep and save them), who raise their voices in songs of praise and glorification such as *Ein Keloheinu, Aleinu Leshabe'aḥ, Yigdal, Adon Olam* and the like to the glory of the Lord in an orderly relationship of the voices [i.e. polyphony] in accordance with this science [i.e., harmony].

The most illustrious and well-known example of this praxis centers around the figure of Salamone de' *Rossi Hebreo (c. 1570–c. 1630). Court composer to the dukes of Mantua, Rossi was encouraged by Rabbi Leone *Modena to compose choral music that could be sung in the synagogue to supplement the traditional chanting of the ḥazzan. In 1622 Rossi published a collection of 33 Jewish motets. This volume was not only the first collection of its kind, it would remain for two centuries the only work of its scope and quality. Not that Rossi was the only voice composing in the wilderness; musicologist Israel Adler has discovered dozens of other examples of Jewish polyphony. During the 17th and 18th centuries throughout Europe there were choral performances on special occasions, such as the dedication of a synagogue or a circumcision, or the annual feast of a confraternity. Venice, Siena, Casale Monferrato, Comtat Venaissin, Amsterdam, and Prague all boasted art music traditions. And in the 17th century the Jewish community in Adrianople, Turkey, established a synagogue choir, called "Ha-Maftirim."

But it was not until the emancipation and the enlightenment that choral singing became a regular feature in European synagogues. The first reformers in early 19th century Germany abolished the role of the cantor and awarded the role of the *shali'aḥ ẓibbur* to the rabbi. The music of the service would henceforth be provided by men and women singing chorales in the manner of Lutheran services. The constitution of the Hamburg Temple, dated December 11, 1817, specified, "… there shall be introduced at such services a German sermon, and choral singing to the accompaniment of an organ."

These innovations, considered shocking by traditional Jews, did not pass unopposed. In 1819 the Hamburg rabbinical court decreed, "…they continue to do evil. At the dedication of their house of prayer men and women sang together at the opening of the ark, in contradiction to the law set out in the Talmud and in the codes, 'a woman's voice is indecent' [Ber. 24a]. Such an abomination is not done in our house of prayer …"

A more moderate reform was proposed by synagogue musicians such as Salomon *Sulzer (1804–1890) in Vienna, Louis *Lewandowski (1823–1894) in Berlin, Israel Lowy (1773–1832) and Samuel *Naumbourg (1815–1880) in Paris, Israel Mombach (1813–1880) in London, and David *Nowakowski (1848–1921) in Odessa. These men composed music and conducted four-part choirs (of men and boys) that complemented the traditional solo artistry of the ḥazzan. While some of their compositions were indistinguishable from church anthems (other than the lyrics), others were marked by an adherence to the exotic modes and free rhythms of *nusaḥ*, traditional synagogue chant.

Sulzer expressed his conservative views in his memoirs,

> To limit the entire service to a German hymn before and after the sermon, to give a certificate of divorce to tradition, that was the intention of those who instigated the ill-fated extreme reform in Hamburg and Berlin. But to me it appeared that the confusion of the synagogue service resulted from a need for a restoration which should remain on historical ground, and that we might discover the original noble forms to which we should anchor, developing them in artistic style. Jewish liturgy must satisfy the musical demands while remaining Jewish, and it should not be necessary to sacrifice the Jewish characteristics to artistic forms.

Sulzer's choir was quite famous. The Catholic composer and music critic Joseph Mainzer (1801–1851) wrote, "The Synagogue was the only place where a stranger could find, artistically speaking, a source of enjoyment that was as solid as it was dignified. … Never, except for the Sistine Chapel, has art given me higher joy than in the synagogue…surely no one who has heard this unique boys' choir could miss the castratos." The Englishwoman France Trollope concurred. She wrote, "… about a dozen voices or more, some of them being boys, fill up the glorious chorus. The volume of vocal sound exceeds anything of the kind I have ever heard; and being unaccompanied by any instrument, it produces an effect equally singular and delightful."

But in Berlin the Polish-born Lewandowski decried the fact that in all the modern choral synagogues the congregation had been silenced.

> Prior to the introduction of choral singing, the congregations were entirely dependent on the often strange performances of ḥazzanim. [The congregants] participated or expressed their displeasure only through noisy praying. With the introduction of choral music, congregations were prevented *a priori* from direct participation in the services, because of the artistic nature of choral singing. Congregations were now condemned to silence, whereas they had previously been accustomed to shouting.

Lewandowski disapproved of congregants singing along with the choir. To rectify this situation he composed or arranged melodies that could be sung in unison by the congregation. In the Oranienburgerstrasse synagogue there was to be a clear division of roles among the cantor, rabbi, choir, and congregation. There would be no overlap, and there would be no "noisy praying."

> After a short while, out of a desire for equal participation, congregations adapted the melody, or soprano line, singing together with the choir in two, three and four octaves. The other voices [of the choir] were thus overwhelmed [by the congregation], and the artistic form was entirely destroyed. This situation eventually became intolerable, so that means had to be found to provide for equal participation of all three elements: cantor, congregation and choir. It was felt that introduction of unison melodies, in addition to the choir [pieces], would be sufficient to meet the demands of the congregation.

Choral singing even made its way into the Orthodox synagogue. Rabbi Samson Raphael *Hirsch (1808–1888), leader of modern German Orthodoxy, introduced a choir (with a professional conductor) into his synagogue in Frankfurt. In 1840 Galician immigrants to Odessa established the Broder Shul and hired Nissan *Blumenthal (1805–1903) as its cantor. This synagogue, like others of its type, came to be known as a "*chor-shul*." David Nowakowski, engaged as choir director in 1870, raised the artistic standards working with Blumenthal, and, even more so, with Blumenthal's successor, the cantor Pinchas *Minkowski (1859–1924).

The effects of 18th-century enlightenment and 19th-century nationalism also had a profound effect on many of the Spanish-Portuguese exiles in Europe. Some of their synagogues boasted a highly developed choral practice. New compositions were created – arrangements of traditional Sephardi melodies as well as newly composed works in the prevailing non-Jewish styles. Outstanding musical traditions were created in Livorno by David Garcia and Michele *Bolaffi, in Vienna by Isidore Loewit, in Sarajevo by Issac Kalmi Altaraç, in Bucharest by Giuseppe Curiel and Carlo Bianchi, and in Ruse (Roustchouk) by Maurice Rosenspier.

American Jews at first emulated European models. The first synagogue choir in the United States was organized in 1818 at New York City's Congregation Shearith Israel. In 1864 G.M. Cohen, music director at Temple Emanuel in New York, published 34 of his choral compositions for Sabbath services. *The Sacred Harp of Judah* is the first collection of original Jewish music known to have been created in the United States. In 1897 the *Central Conference of American Rabbis published the Reform movement's first "Union Hymnal," comprising 129 hymns for four-part choir. The musical style is indistinguishable from that of the Protestant hymnals. Many of the entries are adaptations of secular works by European composers (including Haydn, Beethoven, and Mendelssohn). Others were newly composed works in a similar style by Alois *Kaiser (1842–1908), choir director at Cong. Ohev Shalom in Baltimore. The second edition of the Union Hymnal, appearing in 1914, reflected the Reform movement's attitude about the status of the Jew in America.

> All melodies for the Sabbath [should] be in joyous strain, in major rather than in a minor key. … If 214 tunes are in major and 12 in minor, it was because of a very definite conviction that the Jew has come down to a modern day in a spirit of victory, and that the atmosphere of the American Reform congregation should be a reflection of the position, the culture, and the attainments of the Jew in this free and joyous land.

Many 20th-century composers tried to raise the musical standards of American synagogue music. Beautiful choral settings were created by Hugo *Adler, Samuel Adler, Abraham *Binder, Charles Davidson, Gershon *Ephros, Isadore *Freed, Herbert *Fromm, Jack Gottlieb, Max Helfman, Michael Isaacson, Max Janowski, Leo Low, Meyer Machtenberg, Lazar *Saminsky, Sholom *Secunda, Ben Steinberg, Lazar Weiner, Hugo *Weisgall, Yehudi Wyner, Zavel *Zilberts, and others. In 1951 the prestigious music publisher, G. Schirmer, issued a collection of liturgical pieces that had been commissioned by Cantor David *Putterman of New York's Park Avenue Synagogue. This volume contains gems by some of America's finest composers, Jewish and gentile, including Arthur *Berger, Leonard *Bernstein, Mario *Castelnuovo-Tedesco, David *Diamond, Lukas *Foss, Morton *Gould, Roy *Harris, Darius *Milhaud, Bernard Rogers, William Grant Still, and Kurt *Weill.

But standing high above all the others looms the figure of Ernest *Bloch (1880–1959). In 1933 Bloch completed his *Sacred Service*, arguably the greatest musical setting of the Jewish liturgy – the only one even remotely comparable in stature to Brahms's *Requiem* or Beethoven's *Missa Solemnis*. But, tellingly, like those other masterpieces, Bloch's work fares better on the concert stage than in the sanctuary. As the composer wrote, "It far surpasses a Jewish Service now. It has become a cosmic poem." The crystallization of Bloch's attitude can be seen (or heard) in his setting of *Adon Olam*. For Bloch this was not an anthem to be set strophically and sung cozily by the congregation, led perhaps by the choir. Instead, "…in the distance, outside of space, time, everything, you hear the chorus, as a solution of the laws of the universe and eternity, the smallness of this space, of life and death, and in what spirit you are to accept it." For Bloch the enormity of the text demanded a more profound response than a sing-along; only the highest art form could provide what was called for.

Secular Choruses

The late 19th century witnessed a new phenomenon, the establishment of secular Jewish choruses – independent ensembles, unaffiliated with a synagogue. The primary mission of these organizations was to perform concerts and to express Jewish cultural identity. Joseph Rumshinsky claimed that the Hazomir Chorale, founded in 1899 in Lodz, Poland, was the first of its kind. "When we stood up and started to sing, a holy musical fire was kindled by the first Jewish choral ensemble in the world." He was apparently unaware of the Serbian-Jewish Vocal Ensemble, founded in Belgrade in 1879.

Many emancipated Jews who had heard or performed or composed European concert music were eager to be a part of the new choral movement. Jews modeled these secular choruses on similar organizations that had recently become popular in Christian Europe. The spectacular growth of secular choral singing in 19th-century Europe was a result of the decline of the church, the emergence of a powerful middle class, the spread of universal education and the resultant prevalence of (musical) literacy, the growth of leisure time, the spread of democracy and socialism, and the increasing demand for performances of the great oratorios of Handel, Haydn, and Mendelssohn.

Music directors of some of the Jewish ensembles selected a repertoire similar to that of the non-Jewish choirs (oratorios, choral symphonies, operas, even selections from masses and requiems), to be sung either in the original language or translated into Yiddish. Other directors chose arrangements of Jewish folksongs and popular Zionist songs, workers' songs, and synagogue compositions. Still others created new compositions for their ensembles.

I.L. *Perets was one of the founders of the Hazomir Choral Society, which began its activities in Lodz, Poland, in 1899. Lodz Hazomir flourished under a succession of conductors, including Joseph Rumshinsky, Zavel Zilberts, Ephraim Skliar, Israel Faivishes, Isaac Sachs, and Theodore Rider. In the early 1940s the ensemble continued to perform concerts in the ghetto under Nazi occupation. Branches of Hazomir and other choruses with similar agendas were established throughout Eastern Europe – in Warsaw, Vilna, Lemberg, Cracow, Bialystok, and Radom – but also as far west as Copenhagen and Helsinki.

Israel

Music served an important social function in the fledgling Jewish community in Palestine. Communal singing was a significant activity in support of the collective ideology. In 1938 an anonymous member wrote in a kibbutz publication that "singing is the refuge from daily toil.… While singing one reaches full unity with one's comrades." Writing in the *Givat Brenner Newsletter* (December 17, 1941), Shimon B. advocated the establishment of a chorus as a miraculous solution to the social ills of the kibbutz:

> So often have we heard our members complain about the tenuous social situation. … But I think that there is a very simple cure for all such bitter pessimists, which is: a chorus! … One might ask: Our collective life, the dining hall, our shared work, the common education of the children and the very basic element of the kibbutz which is mutual aid, are they not sufficient to educate for social life together? … My answer would be: work is not always gratifying. There are different kinds of jobs. There are arguments, inequality. … I have attended the recent rehearsal of our chorus… and I was delighted. They all sang together. Here they are all really equal, members of one chorus. The melody, the harmony, the rhythmic sounds, the incredible effort to blend one's voice with all other voices, to create in both *piano* and *forte* a gentle and beautiful composition which is above the realm of daily good and bad. This is the primary factor in education for sociability.

An anonymous kibbutznik (probably from Gan Shemu'el) wrote in the March, 1931 issue of *Music for the People,*

> We want workers' songs, songs that would fit our life and wishes. The chorus is no longer satisfied with Mendelssohn and with religious songs. A workers' chorus is not allowed to develop a random art that is detached from the daily life of the worker and from its struggle for a new culture. … It is not enough to cause pleasure to the audience. The chorus must also enrich the spiritual life of the worker.

While kibbutz and school choirs proliferated, singing in Israel remained for the most part an amateur enterprise. There were sporadic attempts to raise the artistic level. In 1926 Fordhaus Ben-Tzisi founded the Bible Chorus to perform great oratorios, and in 1941 Eytan Lustig founded the Tel Aviv Chamber Chorus, which would become the Tel Aviv Philharmonic Choir. In 1952 Abraham Propes inaugurated the Zimriyah, a triennial international choral festival, which provided opportunities for Israeli singers to work with their counterparts from around the world. But the first serious and successful attempt at professionalizing choral singing came with the founding of the Rinat Choir in 1955 by its conductor Gary *Bertini. In 1975 Rinat was named the National Choir of Israel. Also in 1955 Yehuda Sharet established the Israel kibbutz Choir (Iḥud) to provide performing opportunities for the most talented singers from kibbutzim throughout the land of Israel.

America and Beyond

Included in the massive waves of Jewish immigration to America from Eastern Europe at the turn of the 20th century were many choral singers and conductors. In 1914 the first Jewish choirs in the United States were founded: the Chicago Jewish Folk Chorus, directed by Jacob Schaefer, and the Paterson (New Jersey) Jewish Folk Chorus, directed by Jacob Beimel. Soon Jewish choruses began to appear all across the Americas. Among them were the New York 92nd St. YMHA Choral Society (1917) directed by A.W. Binder; the New Haven Jewish Folk Chorus; the Philadelphia Jewish Folk Chorus (1923) and the Detroit Jewish Folk Chorus (1924), both directed by Harvey Schreibman; the Boston Jewish Folk Chorus (1924) directed by Misha Cefkin: the Los Angeles Jewish Folk Chorus directed by Arthur Atkins; the American-Jewish Choral Society of Los Angeles directed by Miriam Brada; the New York Workmen's Circle Choir (1925) directed by Lazar Weiner; the Halevi Chorus of Chicago (1926) directed by Harry Coopersmith; the Newark Jewish Folk Chorus (1928) directed by Samuel Goldman; Hazomir of Buenos Aires (1930) directed by Bernando Faier; the San Francisco Jewish Folk Chorus (1933) directed by Zari Gottfried; the New York Jewish Philharmonic Chorus directed by Max Helfman; and the Miami Jewish Folk Chorus (1943) directed by Bernard Briskin.

Many of these ensembles were originally affiliated with the American Communist Party. For example, the Paterson Jewish Folk Chorus was originally called the Fraihait Gezang Ferain. In the early years its repertoire focused on class struggle, the life of the working class, and revolution. They performed at workers' rallies as well as in major concert halls such as Madison Square Garden. In the late 1930s, to expand its outreach, the chorus began singing in English as well as Yiddish. In the cause of "friendship and peace between all peoples," they collaborated with black Baptist gospel choirs and prominent American folk artists such as Pete Seeger. But after World War II its membership began to decline, a result of both the pressures of the McCarthy era and the shrinking population of Yiddish speakers. The Paterson Jewish Folk Chorus disbanded in 1974.

In 1921, Jacob Beimel organized a conference of Jewish singing societies. Meeting at the YMHA in Paterson, New Jersey on May 29 and 30, the conference passed the following resolutions: (1) to create a federation named "The United Jewish Choral Societies of America and Canada," (2) to improve existing choral societies and establish new ones, and (3) to publish choral compositions in Yiddish, Hebrew, and English with Jewish textual content. The list of elected officers was a veritable who's who of Jewish music: Jacob Beimel was president, Leo Low and A.W. Binder vice presidents, Cantor Yossele *Rosenblatt treasurer, and Solomon Golub secretary. The United Jewish Choral Societies had a brief history, dissolving after but three years of existence. But in its final days it organized the largest Jewish chorus ever seen in America. On April 15, 1923, a concert was given at the Hippodrome in New York City featuring nine singing societies, totaling over 600 hundred singers.

With the slackening of immigration and the assimilation of most Jews into the cultural fabric of American life, by the middle of the 20th century the Yiddish folk choruses began to die out. But at the same time, American Jewish culture was experiencing a revival. There were two reasons for this revival: a new atmosphere in which Americans no longer sought to hide their ethnic origins and the tremendous pride Jews felt in the accomplishments of the State of Israel. Many Zionist organizations in America aggressively promoted Israeli culture through Zionist songs, often in choral arrangements. In 1960 Stanley *Sperber, inspired by experiences at Camp Massad in Pennsylvania, organized a group of friends to sing Jewish and Israeli choral music throughout the year. Several years later Sperber changed the choir's name to Zamir. In 1969 Joshua Jacobson established a Zamir Chorale in Boston, whose nucleus comprised veterans of another Zionist institution, Camp Yavneh in New Hampshire.

By the first decade of the 21st century there were dozens of Jewish community choruses, including the Zamir Chorales in Boston, Detroit, and New York; Zemer Chai in Washington, D.C.; the Arbel Choir in Philadelphia; Kol Dodi in S. Orange, New Jersey; and the Los Angeles Zimriyah Choir. Under the leadership of Matthew Lazar, New York's Zamir Choral Foundation was producing annual festivals for both adults and teenagers that attracted hundreds of Jewish choristers. A similar revival was evident in other countries, as well. The list of thriving vocal ensembles includes The Zemel Choir of London, The Coral Israelita Brasliero of Rio De Janeiro, Hazamir of Mexico City, the Lachan Jewish Chamber Choir of Toronto, the Moscow Hasidic Cappella, Coro Hakol of Rome, Mosa Pijade of Zagreb, and Tslil of Lodz.

In the 1990s Jewish "a cappella" choruses flourished on college campuses, inspired by the popularity of their non-Jewish counterparts. Ensembles such as Mangina (Brandeis), Koleinu (Princeton), Tizmoret (Queens College), Magevet (Yale), Shir Appeal (Tufts), and Mizmor Shir (Harvard) eschewed instrumental accompaniment as well as any hint of the adult establishment. The predominant repertoire of these student-led ensembles consisted of popular songs from Israel and America in arrangements patterned after 1950s "doo-wop" groups or the more sophisticated jazz vocal ensembles of the late 20th century.

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[Joshua Jacobson (2nd ed.)]

CHOLENT (**Shulent**; Yid. *Tsholnt*; Heb. *Ḥamin*), stew, traditionally prepared on Friday and placed in the oven before the Sabbath begins, to cook overnight and be eaten at Saturday lunch. Since cooking or heating food is forbidden by the *halakhah* on the Sabbath, such a process is necessary in order to have something hot to eat for the Sabbath morning meal, and thus the dish is common to Jewish communities throughout the world, but is known under various names. Among Ashkenazim it is called *cholent* or *shulent* (possibly from the French *chaud lent* or from the Yiddish *shul ende*, i.e., end of the Saturday synagogue service) and in parts of North Africa, *dafina* and also *shaḥine*. The Hebrew name *ḥamin* means "hot."

The basic ingredients of *cholent* are stewing cuts of meat, with or without bones, and pulses, plus other ingredients which are not spoiled by long, slow cooking. Ashkenazi Jews prepare the dish with fat beef, bones, barley, beans, potatoes, and onions, and season it with paprika. In Eastern Europe, the dish was often taken to the baker's, to cook in his oven, and be taken home in the morning. Most Sephardi Jews use mutton instead of beef, and rice instead of barley; Syrian Jews place the mixture inside a hollowed-out piece of pumpkin or squash. Iraqis use a whole chicken instead of meat, which they stuff with fried rice and the chopped gizzards of the bird, and season with cardamon seed and mint leaves. Afghan Jews also use chicken, to which apart from the standard rice, carrots, and onions, they add rose-leaves, cinnamon, and quinces. Other Sephardi and North African spices included are whole, sharp, red peppers, saffron (or turmeric), and coriander; the Sephardim and North Africans often add chickpeas to the mixture and the North Africans throw in a handful of cracked wheat (*kamḥ*). All communities use extra oil or fat, and sometimes add eggs and stuffed intestines or chicken-neck skin. In Turkish and North African communities, the eggs are often placed in the stew in their shells, to be hard-boiled overnight, in which case they are called *ḥamindas*. In all communities, *cholent* is often baked with a dumpling or savory pudding (*kugl*).

CHOMSKY, DOV (1913–1976), Hebrew poet and educator. Chomsky, who was born in Minsk, was educated in Poland, where he taught in Tarbut Hebrew schools. In 1936 he immigrated to Palestine and served in the Jewish Brigade during World War II. Later he was sent as an emissary of the Keren Hayesod to Poland and as an educator to Mexico. In 1958 he became director of Bet ha-Sofer ("Writer's House") in Tel Aviv, and from 1964 was the general secretary of the Authors' Association. His poems appeared in the Israeli press and in Hebrew journals from 1931. His books of poetry include *Ba-Me'arbel* (1933), *Ẓohorayim la-Ba'ot* (1937), *Vila'ot* (1940), *Ha-Ḥof ha-Aḥer* (1941), *Mafteḥot Avudim* (1942), *Ei Sham* (1944), *Mi-Shirei ha-Midbar* (1947), and *Alei Derekh* (1951). His volume of selected poetry *Ezov ba-Even* appeared in 1966, followed by *Avak Ḥuẓot* (1972) and the posthumously published collection *Ẓe'adim al Gesher* (1977).

[Getzel Kressel]

CHOMSKY, NOAM AVRAM (1928–), U.S. linguist; son of Hebrew scholar William *Chomsky. Born in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, Chomsky studied linguistics with Zellig S. *Harris and received his Ph.D. from the University of Pennsylvania in 1955. His dissertation contained the beginnings of revolutionary linguistic conceptions. According to Chomsky, grammars must be written more rigorously if linguistics is to become a theoretical science. Grammatical rules, rather than being purely descriptive, should "generate" all (and only) the sentences of the language concerned, as judged intuitively by native speakers. These sentences would then be assigned their correct structure (or structures, in case of syntactically ambiguous sentences), again in accordance with intuition. Such generative grammars should consist of a syntactical central component, itself made up of three parts: (1) a base component with very simple rules ("phrase structure") generating "underlying (or deep) structures," and a set of more complex rules of transformations generating the "superficial (or surface) structures"; (2) a semantic component "interpreting" (assigning meaning to) the deep structures; and (3) a phonological component providing the phonetic interpretations of the surface structures. Grammars adhering to such models have certain specific algebraic structures that can be studied by appropriate logical, algebraic, and automata-theoretic methods, giving rise to the new field of "algebraic linguistics." To account for our capacity for language acquisition, Chomsky employed ideas vaguely voiced by rationalists of the 17th and 18th centuries. He assumed that man is born with a species-specific capacity for evaluating competing grammars as well as with certain linguistic universals whose exact nature remains to be determined. Through an incisive critique of behavioristic theories of language and speech, Chomsky was instrumental in reviving mentalism in philosophy and psychology alike.

The Logical Structure of Linguistic Theory (1975), *Reflections of Language* (1975), and *Language and Responsibility* (in which he explores the relationship between language and politics, the history of ideas, and science) further developed his linguistic theories. The latter also bears evidence of his socio-political concerns. After receiving his doctorate, Chomsky taught at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology for 19 years, receiving the first award from the Ferrari P. Ward Chair of Modern Languages and Linguistics.

In addition to his work as a linguist, Chomsky was active as an outspoken critic of American domestic and foreign policy, particularly in regard to American involvement in Vietnam. He refused to pay part of his taxes in protest against military spending, and from 1968 was a member of the executive committee of Resistance, a movement to encourage civil disobedience in opposition to the Vietnam War. He also lectured widely on the subject and wrote many political articles, a collection of which appeared in 1969 under the title *American Power and the Mandarins*. He went on to establish himself as perhaps the best-known and most persistent radical critic of what he perceived as governmental abuse of power and increasing authoritarianism worldwide. In *Manufacturing Consent* (a film of the same name was released in 1993), he argued that American public opinion was being manipulated through a de facto conspiracy of big business, television, and the press; he cited reporting of Indonesian government suppression of the population of East Timor as an important example that bolstered his case.

Chomsky describes himself as a "libertarian socialist" and a "supporter of anarcho-syndicalism." He has also defined himself as a Zionist, although he acknowledges that his definition of Zionism is considered by most to be anti-Zionism, the result of what he perceives to have been a shift (since the 1940s) in the meaning of the concept. He is highly critical of the policies of Israel towards the Palestinians and its Arab neighbors. He has also consistently condemned the United States for its unconditional military, financial, and diplomatic support of successive Israeli governments. He characterizes Israel as a "mercenary state" within the U.S. system of hegemony.

Over the years, Chomsky has been involved in many public disagreements over policy and scholarship, both on ideological and academic grounds. His foreign policy writings remain very controversial, and he has both conservative and left-wing critics, who dispute his writings and political interpretations of world events.

Chomsky's many works include *Syntactic Structures* (1957), *Aspects of the Theory of Syntax* (1965), *Cartesian Linguistics* (with M. Halle, 1966), *The Sound Pattern of English* (1968), *Language and Mind* (1968), *At War with Asia* (1970), *Problems of Knowledge and Freedom* (1971), *For Reasons of State* (1973), *Middle East Illusions: Including Peace in the Middle East? Reflections on Justice and Nationhood* (1974), *Language and Responsibility* (1979), *The Political Economy of Human Rights, Vol. I and II* (with E.S. Herman, 1979), *Towards a New Cold War* (1982), *Fateful Triangle: The United States, Israel, and the Palestinians* (1983/1999), *Turning the Tide* (1985), *On Power and Ideology* (1986), *Language and Problems of Knowledge: The Managua Lectures* (1987), *The Culture of Terrorism* (1988), *Necessary Illusions: Thought Control in Democratic Societies* (1989), *Language and Politics* (1989), *Radical Priorities* (1981),*Terrorizing the Neighborhood: American Foreign Policy in the Post-Cold War Era* (1991), *Deterring Democracy* (1992), *Chronicles of Dissent* (1992), *Year 501: The Conquest Continues* (1993), *Rethinking Camelot: JFK, the Vietnam War and U.S. Political Culture* (1993), *Letters from Lexington* (1993), *The Prosperous Few and the Restless Many* (1993), *World Orders, Old and New* (1994), *Keeping the Rabble in Line* (1994), *The Minimalist Program* (1995), *Language and Thought* (1995), *The Common Good* (1998), *Rogue States* (2000), *A New Generation Draws the Line* (2000), *9–11* (2001), *Understanding Power* (2002), *Media Control: The Spectacular Achievements of Propaganda* (2002), *On Nature and Language* (2002), *The New War on Terrorism: Fact and Fiction* (2003), and *Hegemony or Survival* (2003), as well as various political essays that have appeared in the *New York Review of Books*.

Chomsky is a Fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences and the National Academy of Sciences. In addition, he is a member of other professional and learned societies in the United States and abroad and is a recipient of the Distinguished Scientific Contribution Award of the American Psychological Association, the Kyoto Prize in basic sciences, the Helmholtz Medal, the Dorothy Eldridge Peacemaker Award, the Ben Franklin Medal in computer and cognitive science, and others.

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[Yehoshua Bar-Hillel / Rohan Saxena and Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

CHOMSKY, WILLIAM (1896–1977), U.S. educator. Born in Russia, Chomsky went in 1913 to the United States, where he studied first in Baltimore while teaching Hebrew in a local Jewish school. From 1922 Chomsky served on the faculty of *Gratz College, in Philadelphia, becoming its chairman in 1949. From 1954, he also lectured at Dropsie College on Hebrew language and literature and Jewish education.

His writings include hundreds of essays in Hebrew and in English that appeared in scholarly journals and in the two U.S. pedagogic magazines, *Sheviley Hachinuch* and *Jewish Education*. His articles stress the centrality of classical Hebrew language and literature in the curriculum of the Jewish school. Chomsky claims that without familiarity with Hebrew classics there can be neither vigorous creativity nor intelligence in Jewish life, for in the majority of important writings which the pupils will come to know, more than half of the vocabulary is biblical. His major books are: *How to Teach Hebrew…* (1946); *David Kimḥi's Hebrew Grammar* (1952); *Hebrew the Eternal*

Language (1957); and *Teaching and Learning* (1953). The last two Chomsky also translated into Hebrew.

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[Judah Pilch]

CHOMUTOV (Ger. **Komotau**), city in northwestern Bohemia, Czech Republic. The first information about Jews there records their death as martyrs in 1421 when threatened by the *Hussites with forcible baptism. Between 1468 and 1526, 50 Jewish names appear in the municipal records as house owners. In 1517 the Jews were expelled from the town and requests for readmission in 1635 and 1659 were unsuccessful. After 1848 members of the surrounding communities moved to Chomutov, attracted by its developing industry. From 1860 to 1869 there was continuous strife between the Jews living in Chomutov who opened a prayer room there and their mother community of *Udlice which feared that this threatened its own existence and repeatedly attempted to close it.

There were 100 families living in Chomutov in 1873 when a congregation was officially formed; a synagogue was consecrated in 1876. It was destroyed by the Nazis. Most of the neighboring communities were dissolved in 1893 and the remainder were affiliated with Chomutov. The community then numbered 911 members living in 14 localities. Modern communal regulations were adopted in 1923. The community numbered 444 in 1930 (1.3% of the total population), of whom 164 were of declared Jewish nationality, and there was an active communal life. At the beginning of the Sudeten crisis, all the Jewish residents left Chomutov, which was reported "*judenrein*" on September 23, 1938. A small congregation administered by the *Usti nad Labem community was reestablished after World War II. The Jewish poet Max Fleischer, a native of Chomutov (1880–1941), died in a concentration camp.

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[Meir Lamed]

CHOPER, JESSE H. (1935–), U.S. legal scholar. Born in Wilkes-Barre, Pa., and a graduate of Wilkes University and the University of Pennsylvania law school, Choper served as a law clerk to Chief Justice Earl Warren of the United States Supreme Court. He joined the Boalt Hall School of Law at the University of California at Berkeley in 1965 and served as its dean from 1982 to 1992. He became Earl Warren Professor of Public Law.

As an author, lecturer, and educator, Choper has been an influential figure in the law for more than three decades. He delivered 20 titled lectures at major universities throughout the United States and served on the executive committee of the Association of American Law Schools and as vice president of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences.

His major publications include *Judicial Review and the National Political Process: A Functional Reconsideration of the Role of the Supreme Court* (1980) and *Securing Religious Liberty: Principles for Judicial Interpretation of the Religion Clauses* (1995). Later publications include the ninth edition of *Constitutional Law* casebooks; the sixth edition of his *Corporations* casebook; and the second edition of *The Supreme Court and Its Justices.*

[Stewart Kampel (2nd ed.)]

CHOPRA, JOYCE (1938–), U.S. producer, director. Chopra graduated from Brandeis University. Her reputation as a feminist filmmaker began with the autobiographical documentary *Joyce at 34* (1972), which she made in collaboration with Claudia Weill. The movie examined how Chopra's pregnancy impacted her work as a filmmaker. Chopra made several subsequent documentaries, including *Girls at 12* (1975) and *Martha Clark Light and Dark: A Dancer's Journal* (1980). She also produced and directed many feature films, both for movies and television, getting her fictional feature film debut with the much acclaimed *Smooth Talk* (1985), adapted from a short story by Joyce Carol Oates. From there, Chopra went on to direct *The Lemon Sisters* (1989), in conjunction with producer/star Diane Keaton. Chopra again turned to Joyce Carol Oates for inspiration with the television mini-series *Blonde* (2001), based on Oates' fictionalized account of the life of Marilyn Monroe. Chopra also directed many TV drama episodes of such programs as *Law & Order: Special Victims Unit* (2001) and *Crossing Jordan* (2001), and television movies such as *The Last Cowboy* (2003) and *Hollywood Wives: The Next Generation* (2003).

[Casey Schwartz (2nd ed.)]

CHORAZIN (**Khorazin**), town in Galilee where Jesus preached but was disappointed by the response of its inhabitants (Matt. 11:20–24; Luke 10:12–16). Wheat was produced at Chorazin according to the Talmud (Men. 85a). The town was reported to be in ruins in the fourth century by Eusebius (*Onomasticon* 174: 25) and Petrus Diaconus mentioned also that there had been repeated attempts by Jews to rebuild it. It is identified as Ḥorvat Korazin (Khirbet Karazeh), 2 mi. (3 km.) north of Capernaum. Factors relating to the identification of Chorazin were first dealt with by Robinson following his trip to the Holy Land in 1852. The synagogue at Karazeh was first excavated by H. Kohl and C. Watzinger between 1906 and 1909, with the exposing of a large building divided into four parts by three rows of columns, and with a three-doorway façade on the south. Numerous sculpted ornaments were also found representing human beings, animals, and plants. Additional excavations at the site were made by J. Ory in 1926 in order to elucidate further details of the plan of the building. He reported on an additional columned building at the site (whereabouts unclear) and Z. Ilan has suggested this might

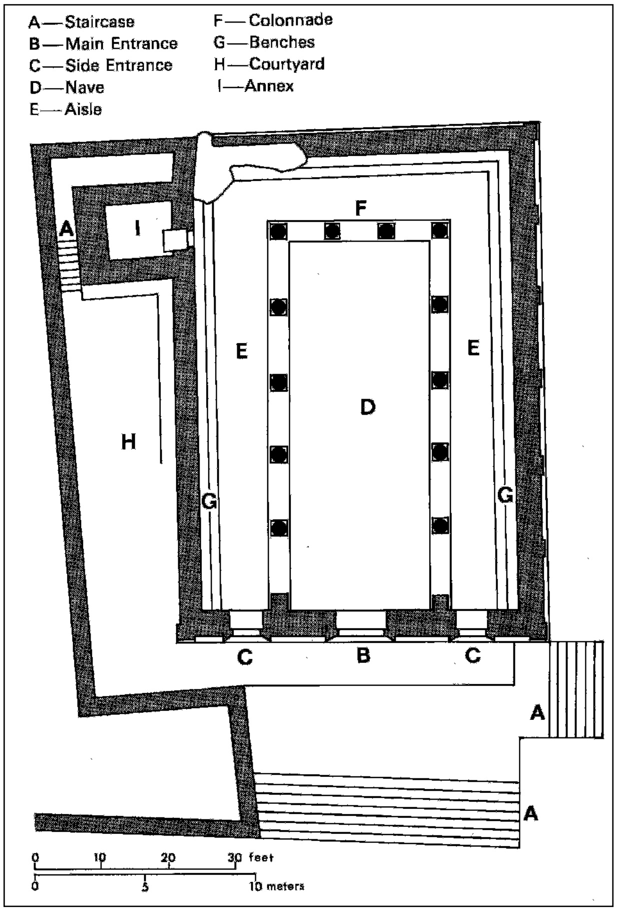

Plan of the synagogue at Chorazin. Assumed construction third century C.E.*, destroyed fourth century* C.E. *From* Encyclopaedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land *(Heb.), the Israel Exploration Society and Massada Ltd.*

represent the earlier Early Roman period synagogue at the site. Renewed excavations within the later synagogue, as well as new excavations within the town, were undertaken by Z. Yeivin in 1962–64 and 1980–87. Based on these excavations and a survey, the layout of the town and the setting of the synagogue became clear. The synagogue was built in the form of a basilica, 79 × 56 ft. (24 × 17 m.), with its ornate facade turned southward toward Jerusalem. In the hall are two rows of columns along its length and one row along its width. Steps descended from a terrace in front of the synagogue, which was constructed of basalt stones. The synagogue, and especially the frieze, was elaborately decorated with representations of human beings and mythological figures such as Hercules, a Medusa, a centaur, and other scenes showing a soldier and a vintage. A stone chair found inside the synagogue may be a "seat (*cathedra*) of Moses" such as is mentioned in Matthew 23:2, but there have been dissenting views about their function (Rahmani 1990). It bears a Judeo-Aramaic inscription commemorating a benefactor named Judah, son of Ishmael, who made the colonnade and its stairs. The date of the synagogue is still a matter of debate. The conventional date for Galilean-type synagogues is the second to third centuries C.E., but recent research suggests a fourth or fifth century C.E. date for the Chorazin synagogue. Next to the synagogue was a ritual bath and at a short distance several blocks of houses, one containing a large oil press.

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[Michael Avi-Yonah / Shimon Gibson (2nd ed.)]

CHORIN, AARON (1766–1844), Pioneer of Reform Judaism in Hungary. Born in *Hranice (Moravia), Chorin studied for two years in the yeshivah of Mattersdorf and then at that of Ezekiel *Landau in Prague, where in addition to his religious studies, he acquired a knowledge of general philosophy and developed an interest in Kabbalah. He was appointed rabbi of Arad in 1789, and in 1803 published in Prague his *Emek ha-Shaveh*, attacking those customs which he declared had no basis in Judaism, basing his reforms on rulings in the Talmud. The book caused a storm among the ultra-Orthodox, who found it heretical. Mordecai Banet of Nikolsburg appealed to the community of Arad to ban the book. Chorin was summoned to appear before a *bet din* who ordered the book to be burned and who compelled him to recant in writing. However, Chorin appealed to the government, which set aside the verdict. Chorin began by abrogating customs such as **kapparot* and placing copies of the Psalms of Ascent near a woman in childbirth, but in the course of time he extended his reforms, particularly to the synagogal liturgy, abolishing the **Kol Nidrei* prayer, changing the text of other prayers, permitting prayer in the vernacular with uncovered head, and approving the use of the organ on the Sabbath. He also curtailed the seven days of mourning and permitted riding and writing on the Sabbath. In his article, *Kinat ha-Emet* he supported the reforms of Israel *Jacobson; in *Davar be-Itto* (in Hebrew and German, 1820), he maintained that love of God and of humanity take precedence over the positive commandments; his article "Hillel" (*Bikkurei ha-Ittim*, 1824), which takes the form of a dialogue between *Hillel and his disciple *Johanan b. Zakkai, was written in the same spirit; in *Iggeret Elasaf* (Hebrew and German, 1826) he replied to questions raised by the government of Baden and the Jewish community of Karlsruhe by proposing further reforms. Toward the end of his life he supported the resolutions of the Conference of Reform Rabbis in Brunswick. Chorin also published *Avak Sofer* (1828), notes on the Shulḥan Arukh, *Yoreh De'ah* and *Even ha-Ezer; Ẓir Ne'eman* (1831); and *Yeled Zekunim* (1839), on the reform of Judaism. He was a fanatical fighter for secular education and endeavored to improve the social and cultural status of the Jews of his country by preaching in favor of the founding of a rabbinical seminary and of a school for promoting crafts and agriculture among Jews. In Orthodox circles he was contemptuously referred to as "Aḥer" (an acronym of his name "Aaron Chorin Rabbi"), the name applied to *Elisha b. Avuyah after his apostasy.

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[Jerucham Tolkes]

CHORNY, JOSEPH JUDAH (1835–1880), traveler and ethnographer, born in Minsk. While a young man Chorny settled in the Caucasus, where he became interested in the religious life and customs of the *Mountain Jews and of the communities of Georgia, Bukhara, and Persia. He subsequently published articles in the Jewish and Russian press in Russia and in Western Europe describing their mode of life, their difficult economic and social situation, and low cultural level. Chorny approached S.D. *Luzzatto, Adolphe *Crémieux, and other leading Jews about the problem. In 1864, with the help of the *Society for the Promotion of Culture among the Jews in Russia, Chorny obtained letters of recommendation from the governor of the Caucasus, Grand Prince Michael, to the local authorities and traveled throughout the Caucasian Mountains and Georgia for over ten years. At the end of 1879 he went to Odessa. The Society published part of his findings posthumously as *Sefer ha-Massa'ot* ("Book of Travels," 1884). It is important for its ethnographical description of the Mountain Jews and Georgian communities in the 19th century. Many of Chorny's writings survive in manuscript form.

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[Yehuda Slutsky]

CHORTKOV (Pol. **Czortków**), city in Ukraine; until 1945 in Poland. Jewish settlement in Chortkov dates from the town's establishment in the 16th century. The community numbering some 50 families was almost all massacred during the *Chmielnicki uprisings of 1648–49. Until 1705 Jewish leadership opposed the resettlement of Jews there. A charter granted in 1722 by the lord of Chortkov mentioned the synagogue (of the fortress-synagogue type) and the cemetery; Jews were permitted to reside around the marketplace and its adjoining streets in return for paying an increased impost. The census of 1765 records 746 Jews in Chortkov. After 1772 Chortkov was administered by Austria. The community numbered 3,146 in 1900 and 3,314 in 1921 (out of a total population of 5,191). The beautifully engraved tombstones in the cemetery attest to the presence of a family of Jewish masons in Chortkov at the beginning of the 18th century. The many scholars who resided at Chortkov include Rabbi Shraga, who lived there between 1717 and 1720, and the talmudist Ẓevi Hirsch ha-Levi Horowitz, active there in 1726–54. Chortkov became a ḥasidic center when in 1860 David Moses Friedmann, son of Israel of *Ruzhyn, settled there and founded a "dynasty." The author Karl Emil *Franzos who came from Chortkov described Jewish characters there in his novel *Juden yon Barnow*.

[Natan Efrati]

Holocaust Period

At the outbreak of World War II there were approximately 8,000 Jews in Chortkov. The Soviet period (September 1939–June 1941) brought far-reaching changes in the structure of the Jewish community, its economy, and educational system. Factories and businesses were nationalized, and many members of the Jewish intelligentsia sought employment in government service. Many refugees from western Poland found assistance and relief through the synagogue, which had become the center for community activity – in part underground. When the Germans attacked the Soviet Union (June 22, 1941), hundreds of young Jews fled, some joining the Soviet army and some escaping into the interior. The town was occupied by the Germans on July 6, 1941, and four days later some 200 Jews were killed in the first pogrom, which was followed in August by the murder of 100 Jews in nearby Czarny Las. In Chortkov itself, 330 Jews were killed that month in the prison courtyard. Shmuel Kruh was appointed head of the Judenrat. His stolid opposition to the Nazi policies resulted in his arrest and execution (on October 12, 1941). In October 1941 several hundred Hungarian Jews were brought to the vicinity of Chortkov, and most of them were murdered en route to Jagielnica. At the same time about 200 Jews in the professions were killed. In the winter of 1941–42, hundreds of Jews were kidnapped for slave labor camps in Skalat and Kamionka. A mass *Aktion* took place on August 28, 1942, when 2,000 Jews were rounded up and sent to *Belzec death camp. About 500 children, sick, and elderly persons were shot in Chortkov itself. Five hundred Jews were dispatched on October 5, 1942, to Belzec. Toward the end of the year, 1,000 Jews were sent to slave labor camps in the district. Almost all the inmates were murdered in July 1943. A month later the last remaining Jews in Chortkov were killed and the city was declared "*judenrein*." When the Soviet army occupied the area (March 1944), only about 100 Jews were found alive in Chortkov and a few in a nearby labor camp.

Several resistance groups were active in the ghetto, in the labor camps, and among the partisans who operated in the Chortkov forests. Their leaders were Ryuwen Rosenberg, Meir Waserman, and the two brothers Heniek and Mundek Nusbaum. After the war no Jews settled in Chortkov. Societies of Chortkov Jews exist in Israel and in New York. A memorial book *Sefer Yizkor le-Hanẓaḥat Kedoshei Kehillat Chortkov* was published in 1967 (Yid., Heb., with English summary).

[Aharon Weiss]

BIBLIOGRAPHY: F. Friedman, *Die galizischen Juden im Kampfe um ihre Gleichberechtigung, 1848–1868* (1929), 43, 182 no. 3.

CHORZÓW, city in Katowice province, Poland. It was amalgamated in 1934 with the industrial town Krolewska Huta (Koenigshuette), and with Maciejkowice, Hajduki Nowe, and Hajduki Wielkie to form the present city. Jews are mentioned in Koenigshuette in 1829. In 1854 they were affiliated to the Beuthen (*Bytom) community, and by 1865 had built a synagogue. The Jewish school passed to municipal administration in 1873. The rabbinate was established in 1890. Toward the end of the 19th century several small industrial enterprises were established by Jews in the area, and a number of Jews entered the technical branches of the metalworking and mining industries. The Jewish population in Koenigshuette numbered 640 in 1860, 1,020 in 1880, and 4,000 in 1931. In Chorzów it totaled 95 in 1880, and 2,811 in 1931.

Holocaust Period

When the German army entered the city on Sept. 5, 1939, the anti-Jewish terror began. In December 1939 the entire Jewish population was ordered to leave. Most of the refugees went to the General Gouvernement, while some settled in *Dabrowa Gornicza. Chorzów was one of the first cities in Poland to be officially proclaimed "*judenrein*." After the war the Jewish community there was not reconstituted.

[Stefan Krakowski]

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CHOSEN PEOPLE, a common designation for the people of Israel, expressing the idea that the people of Israel stands in a special and unique relationship to the universal deity. This idea has been a central one throughout the history of Jewish thought: it is deeply rooted in biblical concepts, and has been developed in talmudic, philosophic, mystical, and contemporary Judaism.

Bible

Narrowly viewed, one Hebrew root, *bḥr* (בחר, "to choose"), expresses with unmistakable intent the nature and manner in which the people of Israel is understood to be the people of God. This term, in addition to its secular meaning (e.g., Gen. 13:11), is used to indicate the choice of persons by God for a particular role or office, such as a priest: "For the Lord your God has chosen him and his descendants to come out of all your tribes, to be in attendance for service in the name of the Lord, forever" (Deut. 18:5, I Sam. 2:28); or a king, as David says to Michal, Saul's daughter, "Before the Lord, who chose me above thy father, and above all his house, to appoint me prince over the people of the Lord, over Israel" (II Sam. 6:21; Kings 8:16).

This root is also used to indicate the setting aside of a particular place for the site of the sanctuary, "But look only to the site that the Lord your God will choose amidst all your tribes as His habitation… there you are to go" (Deut. 12:5; cf. *ibid.*, 14, 18, 21, 26). Just as in these usages the verb *bḥr* indicates a role for the persons or place that have been chosen by God, so in the deuteronomic writings it has a particular theological meaning relating to the people of Israel: "For you are a people consecrated to the Lord your God: of all the peoples on earth the Lord your God chose you to be His treasured people" (Deut. 7:6, cf. 14:2).

The idea of election was already widespread when the Deuteronomist introduced the technical theological term "chosen" to express it. It is the essence of the *covenant, which signifies the fundamental relationship between God and Israel and is referred to throughout the entire Hebrew Bible. However contemporary critical scholarship may define that covenant, and there are a number of competing theories, there is general agreement that the biblical authors viewed such a relationship as essential. Yet the relationship between God and Israel is broader than indicated by the term "to choose." In Amos 3:2, for example, the verb *yada*ʿ ("to know intimately") in "I have known only you of all the peoples of the earth; therefore I will visit upon you all your iniquities" points to this special relationship. The second half of this verse is one of the classic passages which emphasizes that the doctrine of election does not imply the conferment of special privileges, but imposes extra obligations and responsibility.

The deuteronomic writers offered a further theological interpretation of the covenant, i.e., the status of Israel as the people of God. It was founded upon an act of divine choice motivated by love: "It is not because you are the most numerous of peoples that the Lord set His heart on you and chose you – indeed, you are the smallest of peoples; but it was because the Lord loved you…" (Deut. 7:7–8). Thus God, who chose Israel, could have chosen any other nation as well, for the whole earth belongs to Him (cf. Ex. 9:5). The deuteronomic writers and second Isaiah emphasized the universal rule of the God of Israel, and at the same time underscored the choice of Israel.

The covenant relationship defined in this manner carries with it responsibilities, in the same way that chosen individuals are responsible for certain tasks and are required to assume particular roles. Thus, Genesis 18:19, "For I have singled him out, that he may instruct his children and his posterity, to keep the way of the Lord, by doing what is just and right…" is reported in Nehemiah 9:7 as "Thou art the Lord the God, who didst choose (*baḥarta*) Abram…" with the obligations spelled out in the earlier verse now present by implication in the verb "choose." The divine choice, therefore, calls for reciprocal human response: "Ye are witnesses against yourselves that ye have chosen you the Lord, to serve Him…" (Josh. 24:22). Israel is obligated by this choice to "keep His statutes, and observe His Laws" (Ps. 105:45). Unlike the nonentities that the nations of the world worship, God has predicted both the marvelous victories of Cyrus that have already taken place and the miraculous restoration of Israel (led back from Babylonia to their homeland by a verdant, shady, well-watered path across the desert; etc.) that is soon to follow. Israel will convince the nations of the world that there is only one effective God who can do them any good, and so will be the agents of the planting of the true religion (Isa. 42:3a–4) and hence success and "light" (i.e., happiness) to the ends of the world (Isa. 49:6). The whole discussion in Isaiah 49 of Israel, God's servant, pivots on the idea of the task to which God has appointed her: that of spreading God's salvation (cf. Isa. 49:6). The passage in Isaiah 49:1ff. has been compared to (even, it is suggested, modeled on) Jeremiah 1:4ff. But whereas Jeremiah is to be a "prophet unto the nations" only in the sense that he will announce future events to them (Jer. 1:10), Israel is to be a prophet to the nations in the sense that it will bring them the light of salvation (Isa. 49:6). This idea of election as a task even leads to the doctrine of Israel's vicarious suffering for the nations (Isa. 52:13–53:12).

Further, although the people of Israel may not presume that God will always consider them favorably, regardless of their acts (e.g., Hos. 1:9), the thought of absolute rejection appears unimaginable: "Yet even then, when they are in the land of their enemies, I will not reject them or spurn them so as to destroy them, annulling my covenant with them: for I the Lord am their God." (Lev. 26:44). Indeed, an important element of prophetic writings is the concern to explain why the formally deserved rejection was not effected. The fundamental motive of the choice, love, is seen as ultimately overriding the legal requirement of rejection, although not that of punishment.

Rabbinic Literature

The relationship between God and Israel described in Scripture remained a focal point of religious contemplation and theological speculation not only for the Pharisaic-rabbinic tradition, but in other movements within the community both in Palestine and the Diaspora (Jub. 2:19; 15:30–31; 16:8; Philo, Abr., 98).

The rabbis themselves, while strongly upholding the doctrine of the Chosen People, insist that the election of Israel is based upon their voluntary acceptance of the Torah at Sinai. This idea, already expressed in Exodus 19:5, "If ye will hearken unto My voice, indeed, and keep My covenant, then ye shall be Mine own treasure from among all the peoples," is developed by the rabbis who state that the Torah was freely offered first to the other nations of the world, but all of them rejected it because of its restrictive ordinances which conflicted with their vicious way of life, and only Israel accepted it (Av. Zar. 2b–3a; Num. R. 14:10; Sif. Deut. 343). They go on to say that even the children of Israel accepted it only when God suspended the mountain over them like a vault, and said, "If you accept the Torah it will be well with you, but if not, here you will find your grave" (Av. Zar., loc. cit.). Much more prominent, however, was the view of the enthusiastic acceptance of the Torah by Israel, even before they acquainted themselves with its contents ("*na'a aseh ve-nishma'a*"; Ex. 24:7; Shab. 88a), a fact for which the heathens are made to sneer at them as an "unstable people" (Ket. 112a). Moreover the people of Israel, the spiritually "strongest among the nations," alone could observe the "fiery" law (Deut. 33:3; Beẓah 25b).

On the other hand, a special relationship of love exists between the children of Israel and God, which is made the basis of rabbinic allegorical interpretations of the Song of Songs, and is expressed in such sayings as, "How beloved is Israel before the Holy One, blessed be He; for wherever they were exiled the *Shekhinah (Divine Presence) was with them" (Meg. 29a).

Rabbinic literature evinces a concern to explain this election, and special relationship, as something other than arbitrary and to find in the character or behavior of Israel (or of the Patriarchs) some motive for the divine choice, such as exceptional holiness, humility, loyalty, or obedience. The Talmud has it that the qualities of mercy and forgiveness are characteristic of Abraham and his seed, and are a distinguishing mark of the true Jew (Beẓah 32b; Yev. 79a; cf. Maim. Yad, Teshuvah 2:10). Yet "even those rabbis who tried to establish Israel's special claim on their exceptional merits were not altogether unconscious of the insufficiency of the reason of works in this respect, and therefore had also recourse to the love of God, which is not given as a reward, but is offered freely" (S. Schechter, *Some Aspects of Rabbinic Theology* (1909), 61).

The Rabbinic conception of the election of Israel finds dogmatic expression in the Orthodox liturgy. "Thou hast chosen us from all peoples; thou hast loved us and taken pleasure in us, and hast exalted us above all tongues; thou hast hallowed us by thy commandments, and brought us near unto thy service" (Festivals *Amidah*, in Hertz, Siddur, 819; cf. *Kiddush* for Festivals, *ibid.*, 809; *Aleinu* prayer, *ibid.*, 209). The connection between the election of Israel and her role as guardian of God's Torah is expressed in the blessing recited on being called up to the reading of the Torah, "Blessed art thou, O Lord our God, King of the Universe, who hast chosen us from all peoples, and hast given us Thy Torah" (*ibid.*, 191).

Medieval Thought

With the rise of Christianity, the doctrine of Israel as the Chosen People acquired an added polemical edge against the background of the claim of the Church to be the "true Israel" and God's chosen people. In times of persecution and despair the doctrine, which was axiomatic in Jewish consciousness, was a source of great strength and forebearance. Similarly the talmudic explanation, that the willingness of Israel to accept and obey the Torah was the reason for their election, helped maintain loyalty to tradition and to *halakhah*, in periods of stress and forced conversion to other religions (cf. J. Katz, *Exclusiveness and Tolerance* (1961), 13–14).

In medieval Jewish philosophy the notion of the special status of the Jewish people found articulate and radical expression in *Judah Halevi's *Kuzari*. The entire Jewish people, according to Halevi, was endowed with a special religious faculty, first given to Adam, and then bequeathed, through a line of chosen representatives, to all of Israel (1:95). As a result of the divine influence thus inherited, the Jewish people were uniquely able to enter into communion with God (1:47). Because of this divine influence, Israel's election implies dependence on a special supernatural providence, while the rest of humanity is subject to the workings of the laws of nature (1:109).

While the notion of Israel as a Chosen People occupies a central position in Halevi's thought, it plays only an incidental role in the writings of other Jewish philosophers. *Saadiah mentions God's promise that the Jewish nation will exist as long as the heavens and the earth (*Book of Beliefs and Opinions*, 3:7), and holds that only Israel is assured of redemption, and will be included in the resurrection of the dead (*ibid.*, 7:3). Abraham *Ibn Daud echoes Halevi's notion that Israel alone is privileged to receive prophecy, while Halevi's theory of a special, supernatural providence which is exercised on behalf of Israel alone is repeated by Ḥasdai *Crescas and Isaac *Abrabanel. Though in the view of *Maimonides, Judaism is the one true revealed religion which will never be superseded by another revelation (*Guide*, 2:39), the doctrine of Jewish election does not play a very central role.

It would seem that the more extreme, and exclusive, interpretations of the doctrine of election, among Jewish thinkers, were partly the result of reaction to oppression by the non-Jewish world. The more the Jew was forced to close in on himself, to withdraw into the imposed confines of the ghetto, the more he tended to emphasize Israel's difference from the cruel gentile without. Only thus did his suffering become intelligible and bearable. This type of interpretation reaches its height in the Kabbalistic idea that while the souls of Israel stem ultimately from God, the souls of the gentiles are merely of base material (*kelippot*, "shells"). When the Jew was eventually allowed to find his place in a gentile world, the less exclusivist aspect of the doctrine reasserted itself.

Modern Views

The Enlightenment of the 18th century, and the gradual political emancipation of the Jews of Western Europe, challenged and undermined the notion of Jewish uniqueness both directly and indirectly. The earliest of the "modern" Jews, Moses *Mendelssohn, considered the intellectual content of Judaism to be identical with the "religion of reason," whose teachings coincide with philosophy. In reply to the question, "Why should one remain a Jew?" he stated that the Jews had been singled out in history by the revelation at Sinai, and thus had the obligation to remain the bearers of that revelation (cf. Leo Baeck, *Von Moses Mendelssohn zu Franz Rosenzweig*, p. 23). To a large extent this position, variously interpreted, has remained the implicit or explicit stance of a major portion of the Jewish community. Moreover, the concept was developed of the Jewish mission (especially by Reform circles). This stressed the role of the Jews as having received the special message of God which they would in turn pass on to the nations of the world – and in this mission was their chosenness.

Such a position has, however, been the object of criticism, misinterpretation, and attack from within and without. The antisemite has seized upon it as an unveiled claim to Jewish superiority, and caricatured it by maintaining that it is the basis of a program of Jewish world domination. It is this calumny which helped to give such virulently anti-Jewish documents as the notorious forgery "The Protocols of the Elders of Zion" a semblance of credibility. The misunderstanding, and nonplussed reaction, of certain sections of the non-Jewish world with regard to the Jews' conception of themselves as the Chosen People is summed up in Hilaire Belloc's jingle "How odd of God to choose the Jews" (to which the retort was penned "It was not odd – the Jews chose God").

Even certain intellectuals have been unable to view the Jewish doctrine of election sympathetically. Arnold Toynbee wrote, "The most notorious historical example of idolization of an ephemeral self is the error of the Jews… they persuaded themselves that Israel's discovery of the One True God had revealed Israel itself to be God's Chosen People" (*A Study of History*, 4 (1961), 262). The Hebrew writer J.Ḥ. Brenner declared, "… I would blot out from the prayer book of the Jew of our day the 'Thou hast chosen us' in every shape and form" (quoted in S. Speigel, *Hebrew Reborn* (1930), 375–89), and this has been effected in the prayer book of the *Reconstructionist movement which states: "Modern-minded Jews can no longer believe… that the Jews constitute a divinely chosen people" (*Sabbath Prayer Book*, The Jewish Reconstructionist Foundation (1945), xxiv). The Church early maintained that by their rejection of Jesus the Jews had forfeited their favored position which had been inherited by the Church. Certain modern liberal Christian theologians have however denied the annulment of the election of Israel. An eloquent contemporary attempt to come to terms with the criticism while maintaining the concept of election is found in Leo *Baeck's book *This People Israel* (1964), which says, in its concluding paragraphs: "Every people can be chosen for a history, for a share in the history of humanity.… But more history has been assigned to this people than other people" (p. 402). Moreover, Judaism has always been open to the *proselyte who – by accepting it – becomes part of the Chosen People. This fact is often cited to refute charges of a "racial" exclusiveness.

The criticism of the concept of election derives in the main from universality and humanist tendencies: Jews are men among men, and Israel is a nation among the others. The defense of the traditional concept is ultimately a theological task, defining the meaning of chosenness as distinct from "unique" or "different," let alone "superior." Modern Jewish thought is still grappling with the problem of redefining the traditional concept, in a way that does justice both to the universalist values of Judaism on the one hand, and to the specific character of Jewish historical and spiritual experience on the other.

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[Lou H. Silberman]

CHOTSH, ẒEVI HIRSH BEN JERAHMEEL (c. 1700), kabbalist and itinerant preacher who lived in Cracow, in Prossnitz, and in Western Europe. He published: *Shabtade-Rigla*, a collection of kabbalistic sermons (Fuerth, 1693); *Derekh Yesharah*, kabbalistic prayers and magic (*ibid.*, 1697); and *Ḥemdat Ẓevi*, detailed commentary on *Tikkunei Zohar* in the spirit of Isaac *Luria's Kabbalah (Amsterdam, 1706). A part of the first work was translated into German in 1698, probably with the assistance of the author, as *Verzeichnis der General- und Haupt-Lehrsaetze der alten Cabbalisten*. The autograph manuscript of his kabbalistic work *Tiferet Ẓevi* is extant in a Bodleian manuscript at Oxford. The contention by Eliakim b. Judah ha-Milzahagi *Mehlsack and D. *Kahana that Chotsh belonged to the ascetic wing of the Shabbateans is debatable. Chotsh also revised a Yiddish translation made by his grandfather Aviezer Zelig of easier parts of the *Zohar under the title *Naḥalat Ẓevi* (Frankfurt, 1711). In spite of its rather clumsy style, the book became very popular and was often reprinted.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: E. Milzahagi (A.G. Samiler, known as Mehlsack), *Sefer Ravyah* (Ofen, 1837), 27b; D. Kahana, *Toledot ha-Mekubbalim…*, 2 (1914), 123–6; E. Schulmann, *Sefat Yehudit Ashkenazit ve-Sifrutah* (1903), 38; M. Erik, *Geshikhte fun di Yidishe Literatur* (1928), 240ff; G. Scholem, *Bibliographia Kabbalistica* (Ger., 1933), 209–10.

[Gershom Scholem]

CHOTZNER, JOSEPH (1844–1914), scholar and writer. Chotzner studied at the Jewish Theological Seminary and at the university in Breslau, where he obtained a doctorate for a Hebrew adaptation of F.M. von Bodenstedt's *Die Lieder des Mirza-Schaffy* (1868). From 1869 to 1880 and again from 1893 to 1897, Chotzner was minister of the *Belfast Hebrew Congregation. From 1880 to 1892, he was in charge of a "Jewish house" for boys attending the famous Harrow school. Leaving Belfast once more in 1893, Chotzner became one of the resident scholars at the rabbinical college established by Moses *Montefiore at Ramsgate (England). From 1905 he lived in retirement in London. Chotzner devoted his scholarly interests chiefly to humor and satire in Jewish literature (from the Bible to modern Hebrew writers), and he wrote on this subject a number of articles which appeared in the *Jewish Quarterly Review* and later in book form (*Hebrew Humour and Other Essays*, 1905, and *Hebrew Satire*, 1911). He published a small volume of humoristic essays and poems (*Leil Shimmurim*, 1864) and wrote his youthful memoirs (*Zikhronot*, 1885). Though far from being Orthodox, Chotzner opposed radical reform and showed little sympathy for Herzl's Zionism. His son ALFRED JAMES (1873–1958), a graduate of Cambridge University, rose to be a High Court judge in Calcutta and a Conservative member of the British parliament from 1931 to 1934.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: A. Carlebach, in: JHSET, 21 (1968), 257ff.

[Alexander Carlebach]

CHOURAQUI, family originally of *Tlemcen, *Algeria. The first known members of the family lived in the 15th century: MOSES, mentioned by Simeon b. Ẓemaḥ Duran, and EPHRAIM, mentioned by Ẓemaḥ b. Solomon Duran. ELIJAH (d. 1706), theologian and poet, was rabbi of Tlemcen. His son SAADIAH wrote a treatise on mathematics, *Moneh Yisrael* (Ms. Jews' College, London), an extensive commentary on Psalm 119, *Shir Ḥadash* and *Shir ha-Ma'alot* (Ms. Jewish Theological Seminary of America). Several of his *piyyutim* and *bakkashot* have been published in various liturgical collections. In about 1735 ISAAC was *dayyan* in *Oran and after 1738 in *Algiers. With Judah Ayash, also *dayyan* in Algiers, he wrote a preface to Ḥayyim b. Moses *Attar's *Or ha-Ḥayyim*. Some of his responsa were published in Solomon Seror's *Peri Ẓaddik* (Leghorn, 1748). MASʿUD was *dayyan* of Tlemcen from 1720 to 1740, while JACOB held the same office in Gibraltar. Their descendants JUDAH, DAVID, and MOSES, who settled in Oran after 1792, on occasions played important roles in politics and commerce. Before 1835 MORDECAI became rabbi in Safed, where his son MOSES was chief rabbi in the 1860s.

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[David Coros]

CHOURAQUI, ANDRÉ (1917–), Israeli author and public figure. Born in Aïn-Témouchent, Algeria, Chouraqui studied political economy and Muslim law at Paris University and the Institut de France. A World War II French resistance fighter, he was awarded the Legion of Honor by the French government and also received various Israel decorations. Soon after World War II, Chouraqui worked as a lawyer and judge for two years in Algeria and was appointed deputy secretary general of the Alliance Israélite Universelle before serving as a permanent delegate for over 20 years

One of the few North African Jewish intellectuals who immigrated to Israel, Chouraqui served as personal adviser to Prime Minister David Ben-Gurion on problems of the integration of ethnic communities (1959–63). He was deputy mayor of Jerusalem from 1965 to 1969, in charge of cultural, interfaith, and international issues. His public activity reflected a deep commitment to dialogue between cultures and religions at an international level: he co-founded and presided over the Interfaith Committee, co-founded Judeo-Christian Friendship, and was associated with the World Conference on Religions and Peace. Together with Muslim and Christian clerics, he founded the Brotherhood of Abraham, an organization devoted to reconciliation among the three monotheistic religions. He published many works on Jewish history, biblical studies, contemporary Israel, and relations between religions, among them: *Les Juifs d'Afrique du Nord* (1952; revised translation, *Between East and West: a History of the Jews of North Africa*, 1968); *La pensée juive* (1965); *L'Alliance israélite universelle et la Renaissance juive contemporaine, 1860–1960* (1965); *Lettre à un ami Arabe* (1969, *Letter to an Arab Friend*, 1972); *Lettre à un ami chrétien* (1971); *Vivre pour Jérusalem* (1973); *La vie quotidienne des hommes de la Bible* (1978); *Ce que je crois* (1979, *Man in Three Worlds*, 1984); *Jesus et Paul, fils d'Israël* (1988); *La reconnaissance: le Saint-Siège, les Juifs et Israël* (1992, on the Vatican's policy toward Jews and Israel); *Moïse* (1995); *Jérusalem revisitée* (1995); *Jérusalem, ville sanctuaire* (1997); *Les dix commandements aujourd'hui* (2000); and *Mon testament – Le feu de l'Alliance* (2001). He also wrote a biography of Theodor Herzl (1960; *A Man Alone*, 1970) and, in 1990, he published an autobiography, *L'amour fort comme la mort*.

Chouraqui is also well known for having translated into French, in a highly individualistic way, the holy texts of the three monotheistic religions: the Old Testament, the New Testament, and the Koran. In June 1977 Chouraqui was awarded a gold medal by the French Academy for his literary work.

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[David Corcos / Dror Franck Sullaper (2nd ed.)]

CHRIQUI (**Shriki, Sarique** [= "from the East"], or **Delevante**), Moroccan family originally from Safi whose participation in commerce and politics was considerable. MORDECAI CHRIQUI (d. 1790), known as "ḥazzan bakka," counselor-banker of the sultan, opposed the anti-Jewish Mulay Yazīd, who upon his ascension to the throne gave him the choice of conversion or death; Mordecai chose to be martyred. The family was settled in London from the mid-18th century, then passing to Jamaica. ABRAHAM-ḤAYYIM DELEVANTE (d. 1870) was *ḥazzan* in Kingston (1853–67). Later he left for Philadelphia, then St. Louis, where he died. JACOB ADDY SHRIQUI-DELEVANTE organized the Jewish community of Safi (Morocco), effected the reopening of the port, and monopolized an important part of the traffic. His son ADDY SHRIQUI represented France in Mogador as consul until 1836.

From 1823 the Western European powers used the services of JOSEPH MASʿUD CHRIQUI (d. 1864), alias "Souiri," in Tangier. He intervened successfully in the Moroccan policies toward Sweden, Norway, and the United States, as well as in the Anglo-Moroccan disputes (1849). International intrigues caused the sultan in 1851 to request his removal from the French service. Because of this and other reasons, France bombarded Salé, menaced Tangier, and demanded reparations. In later life Joseph built the She'erit Joseph Synagogue in Tangier.

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[David Corcos]

CHRISTCHURCH, city in New Zealand. Louis Edward Nathan, merchant, founded the Canterbury Hebrew Congregation, holding the first services at his home. In 1863 he obtained a crown grant of £300 and land to build a small wooden synagogue for the congregation of 30. The gold rush to Hokitika almost caused the congregation to collapse. The Jewish diggers and traders returned in 1870, bringing with them from the goldfields their minister Isaac Zachariah (born in Baghdad but educated in Jerusalem), who served the community from 1870 to 1886. Nathan kept the congregation together and the beautiful new synagogue was consecrated in 1881. The community flourished under the leadership of Phineas Selig, later doyen of the New Zealand press, assisted by a group of energetic colleagues. Kosher meat was supplied locally from 1933, a welfare society was founded in 1938, a social club in 1940, and women's synagogue membership was inaugurated in 1942. From 1930 to 1958 Jerusalem-educated S.N. Salas of Auckland was minister. A small number of immigrants of German and Polish origin came in the 1930s and 1940s. In 1967 there was a Jewish population of 330, and in 2004, after some growth through immigration, 650.

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[Maurice S. Pitt]

CHRISTIANI, PABLO (d. 1274), convert to Christianity and anti-Jewish polemist, probably born at Montpellier, southern France. After becoming converted to Christianity, he joined the Dominican Order. Failing to convert the Jews of Provence through his preaching, Christiani transferred his activities to Aragon. In 1263 a public disputation was held in Barcelona (see *Barcelona, Disputation of) between himself and *Naḥmanides in the presence of King James I in which Christiani claimed to prove the validity of Christianity from the Talmud. Afterward Christiani was sent by the Dominicans to Rome to solicit Papal action against Naḥmanides and the Talmud. In 1269 Christiani persuaded Louis IX of France to compel the Jews to listen to his sermons and to enforce the wearing of the Jewish *badge. He conducted another disputation toward the end of his life with Mordecai b. Joseph of Avignon.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Baer, Spain, 1 (1961), 152, 155–9; Roth, in: HTR, 43 (1950), 117–44; F. Valls-Taberner (ed.), *San Ramón de Penyafort, Obras Selectas*, 1 pt. 2 (1953), 321–5.

CHRISTIANITY, a general term denoting the historic community deriving from the original followers of *Jesus of Nazareth; the institutions, social and cultural patterns, and the beliefs and doctrines evolved by this community; and – in the widest sense – the forms of civilization which it created or influenced. (Thus many elements in modern, secular, Western civilization are still, in one way or another, called "Christian" or attributed to "Christianity.")

The Term

The vague character of the term provides this wide range of meaning. In Christian tradition itself, however, a variety of more precise words are used to denote specific aspects of the religion; e.g., the body of all believers, conceived as a religious entity living in unity with Christ as head, is called the "Church." The Church itself can be looked at as a spiritual or "mystical body," in which case it is usually referred to in the singular; it can denote particular – nationally or denominationally organized – groups or organizations, in which case one speaks of the "Churches" (e.g., Roman Catholic, Baptist, Lutheran, etc.) in the plural. Very often one differentiates between the major historical forms and traditions of the church(es), and hence distinguishes between Roman Catholic, Protestant and Eastern (orthodox as well as non-Chalcedonian) Christianity. Christianity can be viewed as a religious institution (whether as a universal church or as distinct churches), as a body of beliefs and doctrines (Christian dogma and theology), or as a social, cultural, or even political reality shaped by certain religious traditions and mental attitudes. When the reference is to the human societies shaped by these traditions and attitudes, the noun "Christendom" rather than Christianity is sometimes used. The term derives from the Greek word *christos* (Eng. "Christ") which is the translation, occurring already in the *Septuagint, of the Hebrew *mashi'aḥ* (which in English became *Messiah), "the anointed." While the precise nature of Jesus' beliefs about himself and the nature of the "messianic" task which he attributed to himself are still a matter of scholarly controversy, there is little doubt that at an early date his followers saw in him the promised *mashi'aḥ*, the son of David. This view is evident in the gospel accounts which attempt to trace the ancestry of Jesus back to David, evidently for the purpose of legitimizing his messianic status. Jesus himself seems to have rejected the term in favor of other eschatological titles (e.g., the "Son of Man"), but the early community of his followers (see *Apostles), believing in his resurrection after the crucifixion, evidently held this term to be the most expressive of the role which they ascribed to their master and "Lord" (Gr. *kyrios*). In due course the title ("Jesus, the Christ") became synonymous with the personal name, and the word Christ was used by the believers as the name of the risen Jesus (cf. Gal. 1:6; Heb. 9:11). The early followers of Jesus referred to themselves as "brethren" (Acts 1:16), "disciples" (Acts 11:26), and "believers" (Acts 2:44), and the Jews at first called them "Nazarenes" (Acts 24:5) – i.e., probably the followers of Jesus the Nazarene (cf. Matt. 2:23). The term "Christians" seems to have been applied to them at first by outsiders (Acts 11:26), but was soon adopted by them as a convenient term of identification. In 64 C.E., during the Neronian persecution, the term seems to have already become current in Rome (Tacitus, *Annals* 15:44). In its subsequent usage in modern European languages, the adjective "Christian" has come to mean everything decent, moral, and praiseworthy (e.g., "a real Christian" is a term of praise, and "unchristian behavior" is an expression of opprobrium). In Jewish usage the term acquired a certain pejorative tone, referring mainly to the contrast between the profession of high ideals (religion of love, turning the other cheek) unmatched by actual performance (pogroms, discrimination, antisemitism).

The Background

Strictly speaking, the career and ministry of Jesus, and his relations with his disciples, do not come under the heading "Christianity." They are rather part of the history of Jewish sectarian movements toward the end of the Second Temple period. As a matter of fact, it is extremely difficult, if not impossible, to reconstruct with any degree of certainty the career and teachings of Jesus, and many scholars have given up the quest for the "historical Jesus" as hopeless. The extant sources (see *New Testament) reflect not the actual events of his life and his authentic preaching, but the emerging consciousness of the developing Christian community and the perspective from which they saw, that is to say, reshaped in retrospect, their traditions and beliefs concerning Jesus. As a result of "telescoping back" the consciousness and beliefs of the early church to the life and ministry of the founder, the use of the New Testament as a historical source requires much philological care and critical prudence. About one development, however, there cannot be much doubt: whatever the nature of the relationship of Jesus to the various Jewish groups of his time (*Pharisees, *Sadducees, and others – including the *Essenes and *Qumran Covenanters), the New Testament reflects a stage of development when relations between Jews and Christians had already begun to deteriorate. Hence, the New Testament describes Jesus as engaged in violent polemics against the "Scribes and Pharisees," and especially against the interpretation of Torah and Judaism which they represented. This embattled portrayal, as well as the tendency to ascribe to "the Jews" the responsibility for the passion and death of Jesus – articulated and exhibited in varying degrees in the different books of the New Testament – have made the New Testament, with its scriptural authority, the fountainhead of later Christian misrepresentation of Judaism and theological antisemitism.

Severance from Judaism

A major difficulty in tracing the growth of Christianity from its beginnings as a Jewish messianic sect, and its relations to the various other normative-Jewish, sectarian-Jewish, and Christian-Jewish groups is presented by the fact that what ultimately became normative Christianity was originally but one among various contending Christian trends. Once the "gentile Christian" trend won out, and the teaching of *Paul became accepted as expressing the doctrine of the Church, the Jewish Christian groups were pushed to the margin and ultimately excluded as heretical. Being rejected both by normative Judaism and the Church, they ultimately disappeared. Nevertheless, several *Jewish Christian sects (such as the Nazarenes, Ebionites, Elchasaites, and others) existed for some time, and a few of them seem to have endured for several centuries. Some sects saw in Jesus mainly a prophet and not the "Christ," others seem to have believed in him as the Messiah, but did not draw the christological and other conclusions that subsequently became fundamental in the teaching of the Church (the divinity of the Christ, trinitarian conception of the Godhead, abrogation of the Law). After the disappearance of the early Jewish Christian sects and the triumph of gentile Christianity, to become a Christian meant, for a Jew, to apostatize and to leave the Jewish community. It is only in modern times that in some missionary and other circles, the claim is again made that it should be possible to embrace faith in Jesus as the Christ (i.e., become a Christian) while remaining a Jew. The controversy found dramatic expression in the case of Daniel Rufeisen (see *Apostasy, *Jew) – a Jewish convert to Christianity and Catholic priest – who demanded recognition of his status as a Jew and to have the provisions of the Israel Law of Return applied to him. The majority of the court held – on grounds of secular rather than theological or halakhic reasoning – that in the historicosocial consciousness and in the linguistic usage of the ordinary man (and hence, by implication, of the Israel legislator) the term Jew could not be construed to include a Jew who had formally embraced Christianity, this act being tantamount, in the general feeling of most people, to opting out of the historical Jewish community.

The reasons for the extraordinary and tragic tension between Christianity and Judaism are not to be sought merely in the differences in religious beliefs and dogmas, which exist also in relation to all other religions. Neither are they, moreover, due exclusively to the long history of Christian persecution of the Jews (see *Antisemitism), since this was the result rather than the first cause of the tension between Christianity and Judaism. The tension is due essentially to the ambivalent position in which the Church found itself vis-à-vis Israel. By explicitly claiming not to be a new religion, and by conceiving itself the fulfillment of the promises in the Bible (the "Old Testament") as expressed in the *covenant with the patriarchs and in the message of the prophets, the Church placed itself squarely on a Jewish foundation: it was the consummation of the biblical promise. Jesus was not just a divinely chosen savior, but the promised Son of David, the Lord's Anointed (*Mashi'aḥ ben David*), and hence the Christian community, i.e., the Church, was the "true Israel" of God. It was the messianic universalization of that salvific destiny which God had in mind when He chose Abraham in whose seed all nations should be blessed, but which for reasons connected with God's own ways of allowing history to fulfill itself, was limited to one physical people ("Israel according to the flesh") for a certain preparatory period, i.e., until the coming of Jesus the Messiah. The doctrine that the "Law" – which had been an adequate and divinely willed institution during this preparatory period – had now lost its validity; that in Christ it had been "fulfilled," i.e., terminated, surpassed, and to all practical purposes abrogated; and that the order of Grace had now come in place of that of the Law – all these combined with the Gospel accounts of Jesus' harsh attacks on the Pharisees as hypocrites or as representatives of a mechanical religion of outward devotion, to create a climate of hostility and a negative Christian image of Judaism. The image implied that theologically Judaism was an inferior religion, historically the Jewish people had played out its positive role, and morally the Jews were examples of stubborn blindness and obduracy. Even at its best, i.e., in its biblical phase, Israel had been rebellious and had persecuted its prophets, and its Law – albeit divine – was but a preparatory discipline. Some early Christian writers had an even more negative view of the ancient Law or of Israel's understanding of it. Pharisaic Judaism was judged negatively altogether. The Church being God's "true Israel" according to the spirit, the Jewish people no longer had any vocation or reason to exist except as a witness to the misery and degradation that would befall a people originally chosen by God, but unfaithful to its election by rejecting the Messiah and bringing about his death. While the views sketched in the preceding lines do not describe all facets of Christian teaching on the subject – certainly not that of Paul who, in his Epistle to the Romans (ch. 9–11), grappled with what was to him one of the supreme and most agonizing mysteries of the divine economy of history – they certainly express what has been the dominant attitude of Christianity toward Judaism and the Jews. Had the Jews disappeared from the stage of history, it would have been possible to relate to them more positively as a preparatory phase in the coming of God's kingdom. Had the Church severed its ties to its Israelite antecedents and completely rejected the "Old Testament" and the "Jewish God" (as demanded by Marcion, whom the Church condemned as a heretic), then Christianity would have been a hostile but essentially separate religion. The Church, however, insistently maintained that it was the direct continuation of that divine action in history of which the election of Israel was a major part. Yet the Jews continued to exist, claiming the Bible as their own, their understanding of it as the only legitimate one and labeling Christian interpretations as heresy, falsehood, and idolatry. This mutual opposition created a climate of hostility and negation which made the Christian-Jewish relationship more ambivalent and complex, and hence, also, more pregnant with tragedy than any comparable relationship in history.

Jesus and His First Disciples

As has been indicated before, the teaching and activity of Jesus cannot be properly described under the heading "Christianity" but should rather be seen in the context of the religious, social, and political ferment in Palestine at the end of the Second Temple period, and in relation to the various sectarian movements at the time. Knowledge of the period and of the sectarian doctrines then extant has been revolutionized by the Qumran Scrolls (i.e., the writings of the so-called Dead Sea sect, probably identical with the Essenes), whose significance in a reappraisal of the origins of Christianity is still being evaluated by scholars. Although it may be difficult to penetrate the layers of tradition and legend in order to arrive at any certainty about the details of the life and ministry of Jesus, there is no valid reason for doubting his historical reality or assuming him to be a purely mythical figure. It is generally accepted that in most of his beliefs and practices, Jesus was closer to the Pharisees than to other contemporary groups, but that, at the same time, he shared the particularly intense eschatological expectations that were rife in certain circles (see *Eschatology; *Apocalypse). His meeting with *John the Baptist is described in the New Testament as having constituted a major turning point in Jesus' career and in his consciousness regarding his vocation. Jesus' subsequent preaching centered on the imminent apocalyptic events and the coming of the Kingdom of God, but much of it – probably deliberately – was obscure. After a relatively short period of activity as a wandering preacher, mainly in Galilee where he was revered by the multitude not so much for his teaching but for his reputed miraculous power in healing the sick and casting out demons, he went to Jerusalem. There his preaching led to his arrest, arraignment before the Roman procurator *Pontius Pilate, and subsequent execution – probably at the instigation of groups connected with the Temple priesthood and the Sadducean establishment. The precise background and details of his arrest, trial, passion, and death are almost impossible to reconstruct, since the only extant accounts are relatively late, tendentious, and inspired by the attitudes of the evangelists who were writing at a time when the rift between Jews and Christians had considerably widened, and Christianity was beginning to spread in the Roman Empire (hence the tendency to exonerate the Roman procurator and to ascribe the death of Jesus exclusively to the machinations of the Jews). After the death of Jesus on the cross, many of his followers undoubtedly lost their faith, but others soon came to share the belief that he had risen from the dead and ascended to heaven whence he would return before long in power and glory (the "Second Coming"). The elaboration of the twin themes of suffering and triumph, passion (i.e., death on the cross) and resurrection, subsequently became the warp and woof of Christian theology. The "risen Lord" came to be seen as more than a human figure, while the suffering savior was seen as the fulfillment of the obscure prophecies of the Deutero-Isaiah concerning God's Suffering Servant. The notion of the Davidic messiah, as well as that of a heavenly "Son of Man" merging with the specific Christian experiences, ultimately yielded the concept of the messiah, savior, and redeemer as essentially divine. Being committed to traditional biblical monotheism, as well as to a paradoxical belief in the identity of the human Jesus with the divine savior, Christianity developed a trinitarian conception of the godhead in which the ministry of the divine and pre-existent messiah was explained in terms of an incarnation. This doctrine was formulated by making use of the philosophic notion of a divine *logos as developed also by *Philo. In the Christology of the Church, however, the *logos* was identified with the second person of the Trinity which, in its human incarnation as Jesus of Nazareth, was the messiah and savior of the world. Jesus was always present – through the Holy Spirit – in the spiritual community which he had founded and of which he remained the Lord. Life in and with God meant, in the Christian view of things, life in Christ and in the Church. In their development of the idea of the Church, the *Church Fathers subsequently drew heavily on the rabbinic interpretation of the Song of Songs as an allegorical representation of the relationship between God and Israel. The concepts of Trinity (God as Father, Son, and Holy Ghost), of the Son as the incarnate "Word" and Messiah (*logos* and *christos*), and of the Church (i.e., the community of God's spiritual people) became the basis of all later Christian theology. Although many of the specifically Christian ideas are apparently incompatible with Judaism, they – or some of their constituent elements – are, to a large extent, transformations of originally Jewish ideas, e.g., the idea of election, of the Holy Ghost (see **Ru'aḥ ha-Kodesh*), of a messiah, and of *atonement which the death of martyrs brings to the community. Early Christianity tried to buttress its claims by adducing proof texts from the "Old Testament," and hence polemics between Jews and Christians were, for some time, essentially exegetical in character, i.e., concerned with the proper interpretation of scriptural passages, prophecies, and predictions. Thus the so-called servant chapters in Isaiah (cf. Isaiah 53) were interpreted by Christians as referring to the vicarious suffering and atoning death of Jesus. In addition, there arose a kind of Christian Midrash (allegorical or tropological exegesis) which enabled Christians to find allusions to their faith and doctrines almost everywhere in the Bible (see *Apologetics, *Disputations, and *Polemical Literature). For the Jews, the Christian interpretation perverted the obvious sense of Scripture; for the Christians, the Jews were spiritually blind and unable to perceive the true meaning of the "Old Testament" (II Cor. 3:14f.).

Jewish Origins and Influence on Ritual and Liturgy

Christian liturgy and forms of worship bear the mark of Jewish origins and influence. The very concept of church ritual (i.e., assembly of the believers for prayer, reading of Scripture and preaching) is indebted to the example of the synagogue. The reading of passages from the "Old" and the "New" Testaments is a Christian version of the synagogue reading from the Torah and the Prophets. The Psalms, in particular, play an immense role in both Catholic and Protestant liturgy. Some early Christian prayers (cf. *Apostolic Constitutions* 7:35–38; *Didache* chs. 9–10) are quotations or adaptations from Jewish originals. The Jewish origin is also evident in many prayer formulas (e.g., *Amen, *Hallelujah), the Lord's Prayer ("Our Father which art in Heaven"), and in many ritual institutions (e.g. Baptism) – whatever their specifically Christian transformations. The central rite of Christianity, the Eucharist, Mass, or Lord's Supper, is based on a tradition concerning Jesus' last meal with his disciples (represented in some New Testament accounts as a Passover meal), and contains such traditional Jewish elements as the breaking of the bread and the use of the cup (*kos shel berakhah*). Christians subsequently interpreted this "Last Supper" as the ultimate fulfillment of the Passover in which Jesus, the "lamb of God," acted as the true sacrifice. While it is correct to say that Christianity, after its separation from Judaism and its spread through the Roman world, increasingly absorbed non-Jewish, pagan elements and patterns of thought (the so-called "Hellenization of the Gospel"), it should be remembered that much that has formerly been held to be purely Hellenistic may, in fact, have been taken from certain contemporaneous forms of Judaism. The Qumran texts, as well as the apocryphal and pseudepigraphic literature, suggest that there was far greater variety in Jewish beliefs than has previously been allowed for, and that elements in early Christian teaching which patently deviate from the norms of Pharisaic and rabbinic Judaism may be indebted to forms of sectarian Judaism and not necessarily, or always directly, to Hellenism.

Needless to say, the very existence of similarities merely exacerbated the conflict. For the Christians, the similarities were further proof that they were the fulfillment of everything that was valid in the "Old Covenant," and that the Jews preserved nothing but an empty shell, a degenerate and corrupt form of a misunderstood reality. For the Jews it became impossible to see the Christians as merely a strange and completely alien religion, since they appeared as claimants to the Israelite heritage, bent on dispossessing the Jewish people of the validity and authenticity of its religious existence. In due course the Jewish Christians were included in the category of those sectarians (see *min) whom the Jewish community rejected and anathematized. The malediction of the *minim* contained in the daily *Amidah* was introduced, viz., reformulated, in order to render impossible Jewish Christian participation in the service of the synagogue, and to consummate their separation. The development of gentile Christianity that took place under the influence of Paul's activity (and as distinct from the Jewish Christians in their conflict within the Jewish community) made the estrangement between the two even more evident. The universalization of the ethnic and religious concept of Israel (the "church" taking the place of the Jewish people) and the abrogation of the commandments (faith in the fulfillment of the biblical promises in the person of Jesus the Messiah taking the place of the duty to observe the *mitzvot*) spelled the parting of the ways. It should not, however, be overlooked that the first gentile Christians were not pagans totally unacquainted with Judaism; they were people who had been attracted to Jewish teaching and ethics and who, as it were, lived on the periphery of the synagogues in the Diaspora but were not ready to accept totally the "yoke of the commandments" (especially circumcision). For some time Jewish influence and example must have been strong or persuasive enough to constitute – in the eyes of Christian pastors – a definite danger to their flock. Accordingly, the polemics against the "Judaizers" in the epistles of the New Testament, and the violent, and even obscene, vilification of Judaism in the sermons of such Christian leaders as, e.g., *John Chrysostom (see *Church Fathers). With its spread among the gentiles, the pagan characteristics of Christianity gained in influence, and after Constantine the Great and the adoption of Christianity as the official religion of the Roman Empire, the traditional Hellenistic-pagan forms of civic, social, and cultural antisemitism (see *Apion) merged with the specifically Christian theological motifs to form an amalgam that has left a tragic legacy to history.

Missions to Jews

While attempts at forced conversion (see *Baptism, Forced) were by no means rare, the early Church Fathers and the medieval Church did not cultivate genuine missionary activity toward the Jews. A missionary theology assumes that the gospel, i.e., the "glad tidings," have to be brought to those who do not know it. The Jews, however, were a *priori* in a different category, being the original recipients of God's promise and glad tidings but who, having rejected them, were living testimonies to obduracy, wicked blindness, and the wrath of God. Additional research is still required to determine the degree of validity to allegations, made by ancient Christian writers, as well as by some modern historians, that Jews instigated the anti-Christian persecutions by Roman emperors, such as Nero. The extent to which Christianity relentlessly persecuted and humiliated the Jews is detailed in the various articles dealing with the history of the Jews in Christian lands. Jewish history in the Christian world was marked by alternations of more or less violent oppression, relative toleration, expulsions, and occasional massacres, and at all times, restrictive legislation. All of these measures have varied according to time, place, and economic or other circumstances, e.g., legislative restrictions were periodically ignored by various rulers or mitigated by special privileges (see *Church; Church *Councils).

Attitudes Toward Jews

Various factors were operative, creating different combinations at different times. There were the more specifically theological theories regarding the Jews, their status in the divine scheme of things, and their destiny; there was legislation concerning the Jews in different forms: Roman law (see *Justinian), canon law (see especially the Fourth *Lateran Council), and various decrees and discriminatory regulations (and occasionally exemptions from the latter by special privileges) issued by rulers, feudal princes, or cities; and there were the attitudes cultivated by popular religion (e.g., Passion plays), reinforced by its understanding or misunderstanding of theological doctrines. The sacramental dimension of Christian religiosity led to the conclusion that the Jews stood outside the sacramental order of society, in fact, they belonged to a parallel, anti-sacramental order: the synagogue of Satan. According to the Law Code of Justinian, the Jews are "detestable people" that "live in darkness and whose souls do not perceive the true mysteries" (Novella 45). Even so, Roman Law provided for a minimum of respect for the Jew's life and person, but was often eviscerated by religious fanaticism and alternative forms of legislation. Thus, Thomas *Aquinas, basing himself on the traditional practice of the Church, as well as on natural law (i.e., the natural rights of parents to their children), opposed taking children away from their parents for baptism, although other canonists defended the practice. Even *Bernard of Clairvaux, who energetically opposed the massacres of Jews during the Second *Crusade, thereby saving many Jewish communities from a repetition of the fate they suffered during the First Crusade, used as his strongest argument the theory that Jews were not meant by Providence to be killed but rather to live in ignominy and misery until the last Day of Judgment as witnesses to their rejection of Christ. Accusations of desecration of the *Host and ritual murder (*blood libel) increased during the late Middle Ages. In spite of the interest in Hebrew studies, including the *Kabbalah, exhibited by some humanists (see *Kabbalah; *Reuchlin; *Pico della Mirandola), the *Reformation (see *Luther) did not in any way affect the general attitude toward Jews and Judaism. It was only in the 17th century that among Puritans and certain Calvinist and Pietist circles a new attitude toward the Jews began to emerge. This new attitude also gave a new impetus to missionary activity, since the Jews – especially if viewed positively – could not but appear as the "noble nation" of the Old Covenant, which, in the fullness of time, would enter into the perfection of the New Covenant.

The basic Christian pattern of contempt for and negation of Judaism persisted also throughout such later, though not specifically Christian, developments as the Enlightenment (cf. also *Voltaire), modern nationalism, and other secular movements (e.g., Socialism). Even the writings of anti-Christian or anti-clerical authors echoed the traditional Christian stereotypes regarding Jews and Judaism. The realization that the Christian heritage had decisively shaped the forms of national consciousness of European nations, and not only the general character of Western civilization, provided a basis for a new national antisemitism which was Christian in a socio-cultural, though not in a strictly theological, sense (cf. the *Action Française, or the role of Catholicism in France during and after the *Dreyfus Affair, and, for a Protestant example, the movement launched in Germany by the court preacher A. *Stoecker). It was only when these developments had run their full course and assumed their final and most diabolic form in 20th century antisemitism, that certain circles in the Christian world began to reexamine their positions. There was a groping toward the realization that antisemitism was in some fundamental sense also anti-Christian and admitting the Christian share in the responsibility for even anti-Christian antisemitism. Therefore, many modern Christian thinkers struggled for an understanding of their Christianity as a genuine fulfillment of the promise of biblical Israel in a manner that would not undercut the legitimacy and authenticity of Jewish existence. By striving to formulate an understanding of Judaism that would detract neither from the dignity of the latter nor from the dogmatic witness of Christianity, a number of Christian scholars and theologians are trying to correct the traditional caricature of post-biblical Judaism as a dead, petrified, or fossilized religion without spiritual vitality and dynamism. It is too early to say whether this effort is a pious wish doomed to failure, or whether it holds the promise for a new type of relationship between two groups committed to what is held by members of both to be a common loyalty to the same (biblical) God, and a common hope in this God's promise to humanity and creation. Many of the Christians rethinking their attitude toward Judaism do so on a narrowly religious basis (i.e., Judaism as a denomination), and consequently are bewildered by the fact that the Jewish people have recovered a sense of their national-ethnic existence with its social and political dimensions. Thus, many Christians who are ready to enter into a "dialogue" with Judaism as a religious (by which they mean denominational, theological, or semi-ecclesiastical) entity are at a loss how to face what is to them the "secular" phenomenon of Zionism and the modern State of Israel.

Orthodox Church

Within Christianity the various major and minor traditions (especially the three main divisions, Roman Catholic, Protestant, and Eastern Orthodox) exhibit characteristic differences of style, modes of thought, ethos, theological emphasis, forms of piety, and liturgical orientation. Much of what has been said above regarding a shift in Christian attitudes toward Judaism is true of the "Western" (Roman Catholic and Protestant) rather than the "Eastern" churches where traditionalism is stronger and the anti-Jewish heritage in liturgy and theology has been little affected by recent events. In fact, some Oriental (Uniate) churches in the Near East actively opposed the Vatican II declaration on the Jews not merely for political reasons but because of basic theological attitudes. Leading Russian Orthodox intellectuals have often expressed anti-Jewish ideologies (cf. Dostoevski, Gogol), and even thinkers who sought a theological reappraisal (e.g. Leon Shestov, Nikolai Berdyaev) have never attempted to understand the living reality of Judaism but merely discussed a philosophical construct of their own minds.

Jewish Attitudes Toward Christianity

The Jewish attitude toward Christianity has been determined by the religious and social factors referred to above. Christianity, especially after it had ceased to be a Jewish heretical sect, became a dominant religion, and assumed its medieval Catholic forms (including the cultic use of images), considered by Jews to be idolatrous. The fact that for many centuries Jewish philosophy was influenced mainly by Muslim thought only strengthened this view, since Islam shared with Judaism a conception of God which could be described as more monotheistic than that of Christianity. Rabbinic authorities debated whether the laws and injunctions concerning commerce and contacts with idolators also applied to Christians. To the Jews the Christian world appeared as the incarnation of Rome, symbolized by Edom or Esau, and as the evil power of this world bent on destroying Jacob, which – but for God's promise and mercy – would have succeeded. Occasionally Jewish thinkers would suggest that Christianity, recognizing the divine character of the Bible and being less polytheistic than classical and primitive paganism, might be a providential instrument used by God to bring the gentiles gradually nearer to true religion (see *Apologetics; *Judah Halevi; *Maimonides). Yet, in spite of the traditional attitude of hostility and distrust, reinforced by Christian coercion of Jews to participate in disputations and to listen to conversionary sermons, there always was – as is inevitable where cultures coexist – a certain amount of mutual interest. Jewish thinkers (e.g. Maimonides; Ibn *Gabirol; in modern times especially Martin *Buber) have influenced Christian theologians and biblical exegetes (e.g., *Nicholas de Lyra). Christian presence is noticeable not only in the direct and obvious influences on Jewish thinkers (see *Hillel of Verona), but also in the more subtle and indirect ways resulting from what might be called cultural osmosis. Thus Y. *Baer has attempted to demonstrate specific Christian influences on certain aspects of the thought and devotional practice in the Zohar and in German Ḥasidism. The rabbinic theological evaluation of Christianity also had repercussions in the sphere of *halakhah*, and the exigencies of the latter in turn influenced theoretical attitudes (see J. Katz, *Exclusiveness and Tolerance*). While modern Jewish biblical scholarship has been influenced by Christian "Old Testament" studies (see *Bible Research and Criticism), the latter still has exhibited enough of traditional anti-Jewish prejudice to provoke Solomon *Schechter's remark "Higher criticism – higher antisemitism," and Y. *Kaufmann's polemics. The liturgical reforms of *Reform Judaism have been clearly indebted to the example of contemporary Protestantism.

Comparison

A comparison between Christianity and Judaism as religious systems, and an analysis of their points of contact and divergence are difficult to undertake, since much depends on the definitions and points of view with which one approaches the task. There are Jewish stereotypes of Christianity and vice versa, and different elements of the religions have been given varying degrees of prominence at different periods. Often similar ideas can be found in both religions (e.g., original sin, or vicarious suffering), but the roles they have played in the total context of the life and history of faith of the respective communities vary considerably. Christian "other-worldliness" has often been contrasted with Jewish "this-worldliness" (sometimes in laudatory and sometimes in derogatory terms), as have Christian asceticism with the Jewish affirmation of this life and its values, the Christian doctrine of mediation with the Jewish belief in immediate communion with and forgiveness from God, the Christian religion of "love" with the Jewish religion of the "Law," Christian "universalism" with Jewish "particularism," the hierarchical sacerdotalism, i.e., dominance of the clergy in many forms of Christianity, with the forms of religious authority in rabbinic Judaism. In addition, comparisons have been made between the respective conceptions of sin and atonement, and dualism in soul/body, i.e., spirit/flesh. Although some distinctions are valid (e.g., Jews do not believe in the Trinity or in the atoning sacrifice of the Messiah, the Son of God, on the cross; Christians do not accept rabbinic tradition as the authentic interpretation of a still valid divine law), many others are inadequate, or have to be qualified, because both Jews and Christians have, in various historical periods, articulated different views about the details of their respective beliefs and the nature of their communities. There is, moreover, considerable variety within the two communities and apologetic interests, as well as the personal commitment and ideology of every writer on the subject, are apt to color his assessment of the issues. The problem is well illustrated by 19th-century idealistic philosophy which took it for granted that Christianity was the superior and Judaism an inferior form of religion. Accordingly, whatever variety in definitions of "Christianity," philosophers (e.g., *Hegel, *Fichte) described that which they considered superior as "Christian" and that which they considered inferior as "Jewish." Some Jewish thinkers, too, would accept the "Christian" norms and merely try to show that they were also taught by Judaism, while others emphasized the contrasts and rejected what was claimed to be the Christian norms. Modern secularism has posed for both religions – as, indeed, all religions in general, and theistic religions in particular – some apparently similar problems, though here, too, the similarities can be misleading since "secularization" has had different implications in a Jewish and a Christian context respectively. What is beyond doubt is the fact that Christianity, in spite of its Jewish beginnings and continuing Jewish associations through the Bible, has become a thoroughly distinct form of religious life with its distinct conceptions of salvation, forms of devotion and piety, emotional and intellectual attitudes, and historical consciousness. The ambivalence created by this sense of both relatedness and difference is still far from being resolved in the Christian world.

[R.J. Zwi Werblowsky]

Some 20th Century Christian Perceptions of Judaism and the Jews

INTRODUCTION. The "New Look" in Christian attitudes toward Jews and Judaism goes back to the 1930s. The pioneer of new Christian understandings of Jews and Judaism James Parkes published his epoch-making *The Conflict of the Church and the Synagogue* in 1934. He set out to study antisemitism and this brought him to the study of Jewish history and of Judaism. His conclusion was that Christianity based its theology on bad history. He wrote:

> The Christian public as a whole, the great and overwhelming majority of the hundreds of millions of nominal Christians in the world, still believe that the Jews killed Jesus, that they are a people rejected by their God, that all the beauty of the Bible belongs to the Christian Church and not to those by whom it was written; and if on this ground so carefully prepared, modern anti-Semites have reared a structure of racial and economic propaganda, the final responsibility still rests with those who prepared the soil and created the deformation of the people. (J. Parkes, *The Conflict of the Church and the Synagogue* (1961), 376).

Parkes cited one predecessor, Conrad Moehlman of the Colgate-Rochester Divinity School, author of *The Christian-Jewish Tragedy: A Study in Religious Prejudice* (1933) which taught that the charge of deicide against the Jews rested on false accounts in the New Testament (J. Parkes, *Anti-Semitism and the Foundations of Christianity*, edited by A. Davies (1979), viii). Another pioneer work from the same year was Erik Peterson's *Die Kirche aus Juden und Heiden* which tried to present Jews in a positive light from the standpoint of Christianity.

But these were still lonely voices and the revision in traditional thinking is essentially a post-World War II phenomenon which began to develop in the 1950s under the rather delayed impact of the Holocaust. Already in 1946, the first International Conference of Christians and Jews meeting in Oxford sought common ground on issues of "Responsibility and Justice" while a pioneering document on Jewish-Christian relations resulted from a further meeting in Seeligsberg, Switzerland, in the following year. This article will treat the issues thematically, quoting not only the new directions but also examples of stubborn retention of historical prejudices.

REJECTION OF JEWS. Even in postwar times, certain Christian theologians have continued to find the roots of their belief in God's "rejection" of the Jews already in the days of the Old Testament. After the Second Vatican Council (Vatican II) which ended in 1965, it was difficult for Catholics to express such extreme views (see below). But some Protestant sources, especially in Germany, still see the Jews as betraying the Covenant in the period following the Babylonian Exile. They maintain that the Jewish religion after the Exile was a break with the true faith of ancient Israel and represented a decline from "Israel" to "Judaism." Thus, the Bible scholar Martin Noth feels that the national life of Israel ended after the Babylonian Exile. By the year 70, "Jerusalem had ceased to be the symbol of the homeland, Israel had ceased to exist and the history of Israel came to an end." This was written in 1958 (see E. Fleischner, *Judaism in German Christian Theology* (1975), 31). Similar lines derived from classical Christian theology can be found in other New Testament scholars, such as Martin Dibelius and Rudolf Bultmann. Much Christian thought has held that if Jesus Christ is the last word, the New Testament is in the final analysis a rejection of the Old Testament. Christians continue to believe that the Old Testament can only be seen through the prism of the New Testament, although the original meaning and significance of the Old Testament is becoming known to growing circles of contemporary Christians, thanks to the insights of much of modern Christian Bible scholarship. The Vatican II declaration, *Nostra aetate*, stated: "The Church of Christ acknowledges that the beginnings of her faith and her election are already found among the patriarchs, Moses and the prophets. The Church cannot forget that she received the revelation of the Old Testament through the people with whom God designed to establish the ancient covenant" (H. Kroner, *Stepping-Stones to further Jewish-Christian Relations: An Unabridged Collection of Christian Documents* (1977), 1).

This has been the signal for radical changes in the Catholic Church and within 20 years great strides have been made to introduce the Catholic masses to the Old Testament – to the chagrin of certain Arab Christian circles, for example in Lebanon and Egypt, which would prefer to see the Old Testament cut off, relegated, and ignored. It is not to be expected, however, that the traditional thrust of Christian interpretation can be dropped. For example, even the positive 1973 document of the Committee for Catholic-Jewish Relations set up by French Catholic bishops, after stating that Christians must understand the Jewish tradition, must study the whole Bible and that the first covenant was not invalidated by the latter, continues "It is true that the Old Testament renders its meaning to us only in the light of the New Testament" (H. Kroner, *Stepping Stones*, 62).

There are also significant individual voices. The Catholic Cornelius Rijk wrote that the biblical renewal in Christian thinking is of the most utmost importance and the theology is becoming more biblical. To Rijk (in a paper on "The Theology of Judaism") the whole Bible – Old and New Testaments – is gospel because the whole Bible throws the light of God's spirit on human history, revealing God and the covenant relationship. Or, as simply put in the Guidelines on Relations with Jews issued by the Vatican in 1974, "The same God speaks in the Old Testament and the New Testament" (H. Kroner, *Stepping Stones…*, 13). On the Protestant side, Markus Barth has written:

> Every page of the New Testament has a quotation or concept from the Old Testament – not merely as timeless symbols or apologetic proof from prophecy but because they saw their good news as the continuation and coronation of God's history with Israel. The Old Testament is cited in the New Testament as an invitation to listen to the dialogue between God and Israel – and to join in it (M. Barth, *Jesus the Jew* (1978), 24).

As simply put by Paul Van Buren, "The Bible reminds us we are not the first to be called" (P. Van Buren, *Discerning the Way* (1980, 156). Mention should be made of the very special significance of the Old Testament for African Christians. Africans identify with the Old Testament and its rituals (such as sacrifice) and this sometimes brings them into conflict with missionaries who emphasize a Christianity based on the New Testament and European cultural taste. Africans want to embrace the Old Testament literally – such as its marriage customs and its emphasis on community – and find inspiration and sustenance in the Exodus theme of Liberation (J. Mbiti, "African Christians and the Jewish Religion," in: *Christian Attitudes on Jews and Judaism* (October 1977), 1–4).

THE PHARISEES. Moving forward into New Testament times, we find attempts to reach new understandings concerning the Pharisees – although the offensive tones linger, for example, the equation of Pharisaism with hypocrisy. But there are more original views. Paul Tillich has explained that the Pharisees were the pious ones of their times and they represented the Law of God, the preparatory revelation without which the final revelation could not have happened (C. Klein, *Anti-Judaism in Christian Theology* (1978), 77). Guidelines laid down by the American Catholic bishops make a point of rejecting the identification of Pharisaism with hypocrisy (E. Fisher, *Faith Without Prejudice* (1977), 26).

The American Catholic Eugene Fisher writes that modern scholarship has reclaimed the image of the Pharisees and depicted them as they really were (of course this started long before the period we are dealing with, with scholars such as Travers Herford and George Foote Moore). Fisher quotes talmudic condemnations of hypocrisy and adds that Jesus' condemnations of hypocrisy are typical Pharisaic preaching. "To understand the teaching of Jesus," he writes, "one must be open to the teaching of the Pharisees, for in many ways he showed himself to be one of them" (E. Fisher, *ibid.*, 52).

Another American theologian, Father Gregory Baum, notes two directions in which the New Testament was deliberately distorted against the Jews:

(1) Passages that were specifically directed to the Jews of Jesus' time were only later malevolently applied to all Jewish people;

(2) Prophetic passages made for purposes of propaganda of faith and not intended as literal descriptions of 1st-century Judaism received anti-Jewish meanings when repeated by gentile Christians as judgments on the Jewish religion (Introduction to R. Ruether, *Faith and Fratricide*((1974), 2).

JESUS THE JEW. The American writer Norman Cousins has commented that Jews and Christians have at least one thing in common: both have been unwilling publicly to live with the idea that Jesus was a Jew (see *Journal of Ecumenical Studies* (Fall 1984), 602). And Roy Eckhardt has written that antisemitism is in part the war of Christians against Jesus the Jew (A.R. Eckhardt, *Elder and Younger Brothers* (1973), 22). This implies that antisemitism is the triumph of the pagan in Christianity over the Judaic.

This attitude was reflected in the Ten Points of Seeligsberg in 1947 which stated: "Remember that Jesus was born of a Jewish mother of the seed of David and the people of Israel, and that his everlasting love and forgiveness embrace his own people and the whole world" (P. Schneider, *Sweeter Than Honey* (1966), 71). However, subsequently the subject has been handled gingerly and obliquely in official documents.

Individual theologians are prepared to go much farther. Eugene Fisher quotes a Catholic bishop preaching in Chicago in 1931 who dared to say Christ was a Jew. He was greeted with boos and hisses and a woman called out, "You're not a bishop. You're a rabbi." "Thank you, madam," he replied, "that's just what they called Our Lord." We need, says Fisher, to correct our traditional [Christian] teaching that sought to approach Jesus in isolation from his people, for the denial of Jesus' Jewishness is a denial of his humanity. To miss the distinctively Jewish context of his teaching is to miss the point entirely (E. Fisher, *Faith Without Prejudice*, 30). Markus Barth in his *Jesus the Jew* enumerates Jesus' characteristics and ways of behavior which are typically Jewish:

(1) He cannot be dissuaded from respecting the Jews as the Chosen People. He held on to his God, even in his hour of death, and to the Law which he quoted to the end. He was a body-and-soul member of the Jewish community.

(2) He affirmed creation, and did not denounce the earth as a vale of tears. God's election calls for decisions and deeds.

(3) He eschewed any cheap optimism. He knew the world was unredeemed. He did not preach original sin. He proclaimed forgiveness, healing, revival.

"We cannot believe in Jesus," writes Barth, "without tending love and loyalty to the people out of which he came and whose mission among other peoples he confirmed for all times" (M. Barth, *Jesus the Jew*, 31).

Christian writers also now stress the fact that Jesus' message was, after all, to the Jews. Hans Küng writes: "Christendom has asserted that Jesus Christ was a human being – but is not so ready to admit he was a Jewish human being." At the time, in the situation, he could not have thought of proclamation to the gentiles. Küng shows Jesus' message as very much a critique of the Judaism of his time, but stresses his message was to Jews; without Judaism there would be no Christianity, and only with Judaism has Christianity a relationship of origin (H. Küng, "Pseudo-Theology about the Jews," in: *Christian Attitudes on Jews and Judaism* (June, 1977), 1ff.). Of course, allied to this is the Jewishness of the Apostles and *Nostra aetate* recalls that the Apostles and early disciples sprang from the Jewish people.

Arab Christians tend to read the statement that Jesus was a Jew as Jesus was an Israeli, and Arab Christian scholars often protest any reflection on the Jewish origin and character of Jesus.

THE DEATH OF JESUS. On the subject of Jewish guilt for the crucifixion, the traditional concepts so deeply ingrained in the Christian conscience will not be expunged in a decade or two. The Catholic sister Charlotte Klein in her *Anti-Judaism in Christian Theology* quotes many sources, mostly German, who continue to take the New Testament literally, while expressing her surprise that these New Testament scholars do not detect the hand of the redactor in the Gospel stories. For example, Martin Dibelius writes "Out of Judaism grew the hostility that led to Jesus' death. In this sentence of death, Judaism passed judgment on itself," (C. Klein, *Anti-Judaism in Christian Theology* (1978), 112) and Leonhard Goppelt states that in the Jews' rejection of him, Jesus saw the conclusion of the conflict between God and Israel (*ibid.*, 97).

But there are new directions, clearly laid down by the Vatican Declaration: "Not all that happened in Jesus' passion can be charged against all Jews then alive nor the Jews today. Jews should not be presented as rejected or accursed" (*Biblical Studies*, edited by L. Boadt, H. Kroner, and L. Klenicki (1980)).

Fisher cites the 16th-century Catechism to the Council of Trent which reads: "In this guilt (i.e., the crucifixion) are involved *all* those who fall frequently into sin; for as *our* sins consigned Christ to death on the cross, most certainly those who wallow in sin and iniquity crucify to themselves again the son of God as far as in them lies and make a mockery of him. This guilt seems more enormous in us than in the Jews since according to the testimony of the apostle, if they had known it, they would never have crucified the Lord of glory; while we, on the contrary, professing to know him, yet denying him by our actions, seem in some sort to lay violent hands on him." Fisher notes that the essential Christian teaching has been that all humanity theologically is responsible for the death of Jesus. The same Council of Trent also declared that the crucifixion was Christ's free decision. Thus, guidelines were laid down long ago. The need is not to evolve a new theo-logy but to teach the old (E. Fisher, *Faith Without Prejudice*, 76).

THE ELECTION. We now come to the theological core of the Jewish-Christian relationship. The issues dealt with so far have been peripheral to Christian theology, even if they have had such a grim impact on Jewish history. But the question that arises after the crucifixion is basic – the election of Christianity and its assumption of the covenant between man and God. Hitherto, the Jews had been the chosen, the elected people with whom God had made His covenant. What was now the relationship between the new trinity – God, Judaism, and Christianity? With the New Covenant, what was the status, if any, of the Old? The key text here is Romans 9–11. Paul writes that God has brought forth the church from among the gentiles as well as the Jews but He has not cast off Israel and has not rejected the people He acknowledged of old as His own. Salvation has come to the gentiles to stir Israel to emulation. Paul's famous metaphor states "If the root is consecrated so are the branches … it is not you who sustain the root, the root sustains you." After the gentiles have been admitted in full strength, the whole of Israel will be saved.

Paul discerns great continuities between the Church and Israel but the effective discontinuity is greater. This basic text has been quoted and interpreted in many ways. Debate raged as to whether this means that the Jews were rejected, which is the thrust of classical Christian theology still to be heard today in fundamentalist circles – again, especially in Europe. Baum has stated that the anti-Jewish documents are deeply woven into the significant documents of the Christian religion and its expression of faith. At one time, he sought to show that the anti-Jewish trends were later developments in Church history but had to change his mind, recognizing that already New Testament passages reflect the conflict of Church and Synagogue in the first century. "As long as the Christian Church regards itself as the successor of Israel, as the new people of God, no theological space is left for other faiths and especially the Jewish religion," he writes. According to this exposition, the religion of Israel has been superseded, the Torah abrogated, its promises fulfilled in the Christian Church, and the Jews struck with blindness (G. Baum, in: R. Ruether, *Faith and Fratricide*, 1ff.).

Writing about the Protestant standpoint in 1978, Charlotte Klein finds that German theological books continue to start from the theses that Judaism has been superseded and replaced by Christianity; has scarcely any right to exist; its teachings and ethical values are inferior to Christianity; and so on. She gives some citations:

> With the loss of the Temple, the last tie with the homeland was broken and the Jews as a people ceased to exist. Post-exilic Judaism is unhistorical and if it acts as a nation and intervenes in history, this merely shows its lack of trust in God. Obstinacy and guilt deprive the Jews of salvation. The Jews of today are different from those of the Old Testament. Not only did they not enter the plane of fulfillment, but are in opposition to it. (Leonhard Goppelt) (C. Klein, *Anti-Judaism in Christian Theology*, 30).

This line of thinking is significant in indicating the theological rationale for Christian anti-Judaism, anti-Zionism to be found in certain Protestant circles and which has been encountered, for example, in World Council of Churches contexts. Michael Schmaus, author of the authoritative eight-volume *Katholische Dogmatik* writes:

> Israel is obsolete and its existence meaningless. Its only eschatological hope is redemption by Christ. The tragedy of the Jews, indeed their guilt, lies in the fact that they do not regard themselves as precursors. Consequently, God's curse lies upon them. Israel can neither live nor die; only wait, blinded and hardened. (Michael Schmaus, *Katholische Dogmatik* (1959)).
>
> Jews have forfeited all claims to be the Chosen People. Jesus' Jewish origin is merely of historical significance. Since his coming, the God whom the Jews worship is no longer the same as the God of the Christians. The Jews, in fact, are the synagogue of Satan and there is no possible way of Jew and Christian working together. The only possible relationship is the missionary one. (J.G. Mehl) (E. Fleischner, *Judaism in German Christian Theology*, 75).

But here too there are voices who reject "rejection" and, most important, these include official documents which represent Church thinking. For the Catholics, *Nostra aetate* was a landmark in that it explored the Church's continuity with Israel, referring to the "people of God," "the stock of Abraham," "election," "promise," and "covenantal revelation" (H. Kroner, *Stepping Stones,* 1ff.). The 1974 Guidelines issued by the Vatican state that the history of Judaism did not end with the destruction of Jerusalem but it has continued to develop traditions rich in religious value (M.-T. Hoch and B. Dupuy, *Les Eglises devant le Judaïsme* (1980), 360). The Pastoral Council of Catholic Churches in the Netherlands stated: "The Jewish people has a special place in the Church's faith. They can never simply be equated with non-Christian peoples. The Church knows that she cannot be the Church for all nations without being connected with the living Jewish people of today" (H. Kroner, *Stepping Stones*, 49).

The American bishops in 1975 said that the Church can understand its own nature only in dialogue with Judaism (E. Fisher, *Faith Without Prejudice*, 27), and there are documents from other countries in the same spirit. This revolution in Catholic thinking has been one of the major achievements in the Catholic-Jewish relationship since the 1960s.

On the Protestant side, the theology is not so monolithic, which makes it easier for extreme liberalism and extreme conservatism to sit side by side. The Faith and Order Commission of the World Council of Churches in 1968 stated that the separation between the Church and the Jewish people has never been absolute. God formed the people of Israel and it was God's own will and decision that made this one distinct people with its special place in history. The Jewish people still maintain their significance for the Church. They make it manifest that God has not abandoned them. "We reject the thought that their suffering down the ages is any proof of guilt. Why, in God's purpose, they have suffered in that way, we as outsiders do not know. What we do know, however, is the guilt of the Christians who have all too often stood on the side of the persecutors instead of the persecuted." It states that there is a difference of opinion among the Protestant Churches as to whether the Church is a continuation of Israel as the people of God or whether Israel is still God's elect people (H. Kroner, *Stepping Stones*, 74ff.).

The Swiss Protestant Churches in 1977 said that Israel and the Church coexist united in many ways, but divided on basic points. It lists the dividing points as: the Jewish attitude to Jesus; the blame attached by many Christians to the Jews for the crucifixion, for the stress on justice rather than grace, for insistence on ritual law; and because some Christians have seen Jews as cursed, to the extent of extermination. The two have also been divided by Church attitudes on the Holocaust and the State of Israel. The uniting points include: the Jewishness of Jesus and of his teachings; the Old Testament basis of the New Testament; the fact that the Church issued out of Judaism; that the first Christians were Jews; and that Christianity has taken many practices from Judaism (Hoch and Dupuy, *Les Eglises*, 238ff.).

Most liberal thinkers mentioned have expressed themselves against the concept of rejection. James Parkes was a pioneer in challenging the idea that the Church is successor to the Synagogue, suggesting that Judaism is not an alternative scheme of salvation but a different sort of religion. The fundamental difference is that Judaism is directed to man as a social being while Christianity is directed to man as a personal being. Christianity seeks to transform man; Judaism, to transform society (A.R. Eckardt, *Elder and Younger Brothers*, 82ff.).

In the German Catholic scholar Franz Muessner's "Traktaet ueber die Juden," we hear for the first time a Catholic priest, who is not a radical, express far-reaching ideas on the subject. His stated object is to prove that Judaism is a living reality which exists rightfully side by side with the Churches. Israel was not only the matrix of Christianity at its origin but remains at the root of the Church today. God's covenant with Israel was not abrogated by a later covenant. He also stresses the special role of the Land of Israel in the religion of the Jews (a subject to which we will return). Christians are not bound to a special country, but the land does form an integral part of Israel's election and covenant. In Judaism, religion, nationhood, and land cannot be separated (*Christian-Jewish Relations*, No. 71 (June 1980), 23ff.).

One of the main theological issues that has divided Christianity and Judaism has been Christianity's stress on grace at the expense of Law. There remains among the conservative Christians a consistent line, condemning the law and its observance. These translate Torah as "law" and give it pejorative implications. Many could still be living in earlier periods of Christendom. Charlotte Klein quotes a whole succession of writers who have no understanding of law as a spiritual confrontation with God the lawgiver. Père Benoit writes that it is the fault of the Jews that in its historic realization, the system of the law failed, and that God's help and grace are no longer given to the Jew (C. Klein, *Anti-Judaism*, 66.). Time and again we meet the same polemics, but there are also those who admit that law presupposes God's gift of grace to men and is itself grace.

And here on the positive side, we may quote one of the most influential of books on the subject, Rosemary Ruether's *Faith and Fratricide*. She points out that the original criticism of Jesus against legalistic aspects was internal Jewish criticism, Jew against Jew. So, if applied today, criticism of legalism and hypocrisy should be applied internally, to one's own people and to *Church* leaders, and not directed to another people with which the Church no longer identifies. This will recover the valid prophetic critique of the New Testament. The modern equivalent of Pharisees, she suggests, is theologians. She says that the most difficult schism to criticize is alleged Jewish particularism against so-called Christian universalism. What was seen once as the universal mission of the Church is on the wane and today survives mainly in Western imperialism and neocolonialism. Christianity has only conquered completely within the area that is heir to the Greco-Roman tradition; so from a world perspective, Christianity is highly particularistic, one particularism among many other particularisms. On the other hand, universalism and particularism are two sides of the relationship between Judaism and other peoples, with what is generally expressed through the concept of the Noachide laws.

She makes an important point regarding the effect of terminology. Compare Christian language concerning itself and Judaism, and pejorative connotations regarding the latter are apparent. Here are some relevant pairs: old and obsolescent/new; law, legalism, judgment/love, grace; universalism/particularism; eschatology/perfidy; spirit/letter. According to dictionaries "Christian" is a synonym for "humanitarian" and "Jew" for miser or cheat. Brought up and educated in such terminology, the Christian has an inbred attitude of superiority to Judaism, although not always realizing the implication of his everyday terminology (R. Ruether, *Faith and Fraticide*, 246).

MISSION TO THE JEWS. The subject of mission remains a thorny question in Christian-Jewish relations. The traditional position is clear. The Jew existed, and was allowed to continue to exist, as an object of mission. The non-Christianization of the Jews delayed the Second Coming and therefore mission to the Jew was integral to the Christian plan. Certain Christian enthusiasm for Zionism has not been out of identification with Zionism per se but out of the belief that the return of the Jews to their land was one step before their Christianization and two steps from the Second Coming. Such ideas are frequently heard in the context of fundamentalist evangelical theology.

Christianity, then, has been dominated by the hope for the conversion of the Jews. But new voices, formulations, and attitudes are making themselves heard in liberal Christian circles. There is, for example, the demand that there be no active proselytization, and there is the conviction that any hope of conversion should be deferred and left in the realm of eschatology, with a belief that the whole concept should be recognized as a mystery of God. Man should leave it to the Divine and, until such time as God makes Himself manifest on this issue, we should recognize and respect each other, walking side by side on our respective paths to God. This parallels the approach on the Jewish side by *Rosenzweig and *Buber. Most recently this has been beautifully expressed by Paul Van Buren. "The desire to share a blessing can be commended," he says, "and so the desire to show other *gentiles* that there is a Way through the mess of this world is to be commended. But the Jews are already in the Way. The only proper call is to a secularized Jew, calling him to be faithful to the Way of his people" (P. Van Buren, *Discerning the Way*, 53.).

Whether the mission to Jews is special or is the same as mission to other non-Christians is an oft-discussed question. Old-school theologians say that there is no difference; Judaism has lost its privileges and is in the same league as paganism. Others say Israel is no longer among the peoples of the world, but that it occupies a unique privileged position. Reinhold Niebuhr, who is seminal to contemporary liberal Christian thinking on Jews, wrote that missions are wrong because the two faiths, despite differences, are sufficiently alike for the Jew to find God more easily in terms of his own religious heritage than by subjecting himself to the hazards of guilt feeling involved in the conversion to a faith which, whatever its merits, must appear to him as a symbol of an oppressive majority culture (A.T. Davies (ed.), *Anti-Semitism and the Christian Mind* (1969), 145).

There are also voices from the Catholic side. Hans Küng has written: "The Church can never seriously take up the task of missionizing the Jews. The Gospel cannot be presented as something alien and external to them. They have never been guilty of false faith. In fact, before the Church existed, they believed in the one true God" (H. Küng, *The Church* (1967), 142). Paul Démann has distinguished between Israel and missionizable people. The Christian missionary task is to implant and give flesh to the gospel in a soil that has been alien. Since Israel is the mother soil out of which Christianity has grown, the concept of mission is not applicable. We must shift, he says, from a missionizing to an ecumenical outlook. This is easier among Catholics than among Protestants because missionary work among Jews has been less organized and more sporadic among the Catholics (E. Fleischner, *Judaism in German Christian Theology*, 31). An important Catholic statement, made by Tommaso Federici, said that the Church rejects all forms of proselytism (Hoch and Dupuy, *Les Eglises*, 371ff.). Indeed, another major post-Vatican II development has been the cessation of Catholic missionary activities aimed at Jews. In the words of Gregory Baum: "After Auschwitz, the Christian churches no longer wish to convert the Jews as this would only reinforce the Holocaust. Major churches have come to repudiate mission to the Jews and to recognize Judaism as an authentic religion before God" (G. Baum, in *Auschwitz: Beginning of a New Era*, edited by E. Fleischner, New York 1977, 113). The Dutch Catholic bishops in their 1970 statement said that any intention or design for proselytism must be rejected as contrary to human dignity (Hoch and Dupuy, *Les Eglises*, 197ff.).

Far less satisfactory, by and large, are the official Protestant statements. Many of these continue to be rooted in past prejudices and sometimes betray little awareness of post-Holocaust sensitivities. Of course, the pluralistic composition of Protestantism must be remembered, with the impossibility of an *ex cathedra* statement at the top and with the input of variegated churches, including the less liberal, from below.

The document of the first assembly of the World Council of Churches in Amsterdam in 1948 is ambivalent. There were conflicting statements by two subcommittees, and they were both put in without any attempt to reconcile them. On the one hand, it stated: "To the Jews, our God has bound us in a special solidarity, linking us together in His design. We will call upon all our churches to make this concern their own." Those who wished to pursue dialogue have seized on this text. But the document also says: "Jesus Christ said, 'Go ye into the world and preach the Gospel to every creature.' The fulfillment of this commission requires that we include the Jewish people in our evangelistic task. The Church has received its spiritual heritage from Israel and is in honor bound to render it back in the light of the Cross. We have, therefore, to proclaim to the Jews, 'The Messiah for whom you wait has come.'" It goes on to express regret that the mission to the Jewish people, the first Mission of the Church, has been neglected – but states it should now be a regular part of parish work and churches should have special ministers for this task.

The World Council of Churches' 1968 Faith and Order Commission also spoke in two voices, although in some ways it was an improvement on the earlier pronouncement. "If we stress the Church as the body of Jesus Christ," it says, "the Jews are outside and the Church's mission is to bring them to acceptance of Christ. The Church and the Jewish people can be thought of as forming the one people of God and the attitude to Jews should be different from that to other non-believers. We reject proselytising in the sense of the corruption of witness, in cajolery, undue pressure, or intimidation or improper words" (H. Kroner, *Stepping Stones*, 81–82).

According to the "Ecumenical Considerations on Jewish-Christian Dialogue," issued by the World Council of Churches' Dialogue with People of Living Faiths and Ideologies in 1983, "Christians are called to witness to their faith in word and deed. The Church has a mission and it cannot be otherwise. Christians have often distorted their witness by coercive proselytism … rejection of proselytism and advocacy of respect for the integrity and identity of all persons and all communities of faith are urgent in relation to Jews, especially those who live as minorities among Christians. Steps towards assuring non-coercive practices are of highest importance" ("Ecumenical Considerations on Jewish-Christian Dialogue," World Council of Churches (1983), 9). The Assembly of the Lutheran World Federation in 1984 recommended a statement which repudiated "organized proselytising" of Jews ("Luther, Lutheranism and the Jews," Lutheran World Federation (1983), 9).

The Rhineland Protestant Synod of 1980 came out with a statement: "We believe that Jews and Christians in their calling are witnesses of God in front of the world and in front of each other. Therefore, we are convinced that the Church has the testimony to bring its mission to other people – but *not* to the Jewish people."

This conclusion stirred up strong opposition in Germany where theological circles often stand strongly behind mission. A widespread counterdocument to the Rhineland Synod was published by a group of well-known theology scholars at the University of Bonn. It stresses the importance of mission. The gospel of Christ is for all people, it says, and the Church cannot give up the idea of teaching gospel to *all* people" (B. Klappert and H. Starck (eds.), *Umkehr und Erneuerung* (1980), 256; *Erwagungen zur kirchlichen Handsreichung zur Erneurung des Verhältnisses von Christen und Juden*, Evangelisch-Theologisches Seminar der Rheinisches Friedrich-Wilhelm Universitat Bonn, May 1980).

ANTISEMITISM AND THE HOLOCAUST. This subject requires a separate essay; a few individual insights may be mentioned. In various writings, Rosemary Ruether has explained that modern radical antisemitism is not a direct continuation of Christian anti-Judaism, but Christianity provided the essential background for this development. Without 20 centuries of Christian vilification of the Jews it is impossible to understand why it was the Jews, rather than some other group, that became the main Nazi victims. Christian anti-Judaism was not genocidal in the modern sense; in Christian terms, the final solution of the Jewish problem was conversion.

The Church, which fomented a cultural myth about the Jew as Christ killer, must now meet itself as Jew killer. Those who pursued the Jews for deicide are now guilty of at least laying the ground for genocide. In the long run, Rosemary Ruether has been deeply pessimistic. She suspected that anti-Judaism was too deeply embedded in the foundations of Christianity to be rooted out without destroying the whole structure (A. Davies (ed.), *Anti-Semitism and the Foundations of Christianity* (1979), 230ff.; R. Ruether, *Faith and Fratricide*, 11ff., 227ff.).

Many Christian scholars have been concerned with the chain leading from Christian antisemitism to Auschwitz. Roy Eckhardt lists in parallel columns Nazi law and Canon anti-Jewish law, showing them to be virtually identical. "Streicher" he says, "was simply carrying out what Luther had summoned any believer to do" (A.R. Eckhardt, *Elder and Younger Brothers*, 12.). It should be mentioned that the Lutheran Synod of New York has disavowed the antisemitic views of Luther and called upon its council to submit a declaration expressing their regrets to the Jewish people for the harm done by Christians to the Jewish people, especially that nourished by the views of Luther. It states that Luther's "On the Jews and Their Lies" is in flagrant contradiction of the New Testament and for four centuries has been cited by antisemites to justify the persecution of the Jewish people. It regrets that it has just been published in English, as part of the complete works of Luther, and calls for any profits made by the sale of the book to be used to fight antisemitism (Hoch and Dupuy, *Les Eglises*, 141–42). The Assembly of the Lutheran World Federation in 1984 recommended a statement rejecting Luther's anti-Jewish views (Hoch and Dupuy, *Les Eglises*).

Christians of all colors and denominations have expressed their condemnation of antisemitism – "a sin against God and man," as the World Council of Churches stated in 1948, also saying, "In the light of antisemitism and gas chambers, Christian words have become suspect in the ears of most Jews." However, some of the condemnations are tepid and remind us of Eckhardt's comment on Vatican II's remarks about the Jews: "They would have redeemed a little in the 13th century" (A.T. Davies (ed.), *Anti-Semitism and the Christian Mind* (1969), 43). Another American Christian scholar, Franklin Littell, has published extensively on the responsibility of German Christianity in making the Holocaust possible.

Various writers feel that despite efforts on the part of ecclesiastical authorities and some theologians, not much in the Church's attitude to Jews has really changed. Charlotte Klein concludes that Christian postwar theology speaks of Judaism as it did before the War, certainly in the European ambience in which she specializes (C. Klein, *Anti-Judaism*, 13). Since she wrote, however, the Synod of Protestant Christians in the Rhineland has stated unequivocally that Christians were guilty and co-responsible for the Holocaust, for the persecution and murder of Jews (Klappert and Starck, *Umkehr und Erneuerung*, 264).

ZIONISM AND ISRAEL. With reference to attitudes to Zionism and the State of Israel, this too is a full subject. The situation is complex and a few haphazard quotations would be a distortion. Therefore a selection of some official Church pronouncements follows.

Vatican statements avoid or skirt the subject while the statements of the World Council of Churches are, for Jews, highly disappointing. Its 1948 statement remarked that a Jewish State threatens to complicate antisemitism with political fears and enmities. It failed to mention the problem of the refugees and the Holocaust survivors (H. Kroner, *Stepping Stones*, 71ff.). By 1968 its Faith and Order Commission had to mention the State, "an event of tremendous importance for the great majority, giving them a new feeling of self-assurance," but also with evenhandedness it adds that it has brought suffering and injustice to the Arab people (*ibid.*, 74–75). The World Council of Churches' International 1974 Consultation on Biblical Interpretation and the Middle East carefully sets out the contrasting positions: it mentions first those who hold that the Old Testament has no specific bearing on the Middle East today. In their opinion one cannot speak of the theological or biblical relation between the modern State of Israel and the ancient state of Israel, or of the promise of the land and its present occupancy; nor is there any connection between the election of the people of Israel in the Old Testament and the Jewish community in the world today. It then quotes the opposing view that God's promises are irrevocable and that there is a theological foundation for a national self-expression on the part of the Jewish people in the land. Far from being nullified or transmuted by the Christ event, these promises and events are seen as confirming the faithfulness of God. The report of the Consultation focused on the question of justice, seeking equal justice for both the Palestinian people and the Jewish people in the Middle East. It called for mutual recognition and equality, with freedom and self-determination for both parties (documents published by World Council of Churches, Program Unit in Faith and Witness, March 11, 1974). The 1983 "Ecumenical Considerations on Jewish Christian Dialogue" of the WCC acknowledges the links between the Jews and their land saying "there was no time in which the memory of the Land of Israel and Zion, the city of Jerusalem, was not central in the worship and hope of the Jewish People," adding that "the continued presence of Jews in the Land and in Jerusalem was always more than just one place of residence among all the others." It goes on to say, "Now the quest for statehood by Palestinians Christians and Muslims – as part of their search for survival as a people in the Land – also calls for full attention" ("Ecumenical Considerations on Jewish-Christian Dialogue," World Council of Churches (1983), 8).

A different angle was conveyed in the 1970 statement of the Dutch Reformed Church on "Israel: people, land and state." It opens its statement: "Today the State of Israel is one of the forms in which the Jewish people appear. We would be closing our eyes to reality if we were to think about the Jewish people without taking the State of Israel into consideration." It develops the statement that Israel was always convinced that the Land was an essential element of the covenant and being allowed to dwell in the Land was a visible sign of God's election and a concrete form of salvation. The enforced separation of people and land has been abnormal. Then the statement executes some curious acrobatics, with: "This cannot be said of the city of Jerusalem or of the independent state, which were not inherent in Israel's election. The special importance of Jerusalem was based on the place of the sanctuary, chosen by God; the city of the Davidic kingdom as a symbol for the land and the people…." "We do not know," it continues, "if Jerusalem still has eschatological significance…. We rejoice in the reunion of the people and the land. But this is not to imply that this is the final stage of history or that the people can never again be expelled from its land. God's promise is people-land, not people-State. Perhaps some time in the future Jews could live unhindered without forming a specifically Jewish state, but as of now only a State safeguards the existence of the people and offers them a chance to be truly themselves" (H. Kroner, *Stepping Stones*, 94ff.).

The Swiss Protestant Churches in 1977 also addressed themselves to the theme. Zionism, their statement says, is a movement with biblical roots. Many Christians, and especially Jews, see in the foundation of the State, the fulfillment of certain prophecies. Others, Jews and Christians, only see in it a political act originating in human and political problems. The Swiss take a midway stand, stating that the birth of the State was good news for some, bad news for others. "If we are concerned for the Jewish people, we are also concerned for the Palestinians," and proceeds to balance the two. On Jerusalem, it is positive. "We know the Israeli government is making great effort to adapt itself to the situation but it is impossible to satisfy all interested." It pays tribute to Israel's care for the Holy Places and notes that there is more religious freedom in the country today than under the British or Jordanians (Hoch and Dupuy, *Les Eglises*, 236ff.).

Other Christian statements, many emanating from the United States, have expressed a deep understanding of the State of Israel and its significance for the Jewish people and for Jewish-Christian relations. One of the most recent, issued by the National Conference of Brazilian Catholic Bishops, says that "we must recognize the rights of the Jews to a calm political existence in their country of origin, without letting that create injustice or violence for other peoples. For the Jewish people these rights become a reality in the existence of the State of Israel."

NEW INSIGHTS. There has been argument as to whether one can speak of a "Judeo-Christian tradition." For Tillich, for example, this was an historical and present reality, not a pious fiction manufactured to promote goodwill between adherents of the two faiths. Jews and Christians, he maintained, are united insofar as both regard a unique series of events recorded in the Hebrew Bible as revelatory. They belong to each other in a special way: it may properly be said that Christianity is a Jewish heresy, and Judaism is a Christian heresy. Christianity will always need the corrective influence of Judaism. Judaism is a permanent ethical corrective of sacramental Christianity (B. Martin, "Tillich and Judaism," in *Judaism*, 15, 2 (Spring 1966), 180 ff.).

Ruether finds the phrase "Judeo-Christian tradition" a misleading oversimplification. She calls on Judaism to reexamine its misunderstandings of Christianity: that it is polytheistic (as it sees the Trinity); that good works have no place in Christianity; that it espouses blind faith; that it is ascetic and otherworldly (in contrast to Jewish this-worldliness); that it is pessimistic; that it maintains belief in magic and superstition; that it believes only Christians can be saved. These, she finds, are Jewish misnomers. According to Pawlikowski, Christianity would be enriched from aspects of Jewish tradition, especially its affirmation of life, its sense of peoplehood and community, its positive valuation of sexuality, its close interweaving of prayer and social action, its sense of creation as a visible experience and locale of God's presence, its emphasis on dynamism over form in religious experiences. Ruether goes further. To accept Jewish covenantal existence, Christians must learn the story of the Jews after Jesus; they must accept the Oral Torah as an authentic alternative route by which the biblical past was appropriated and carried on. This requires the learning of a suppressed history (*Journal of Ecumenical Studies* (Fall, 1974), 614; R. Ruether, *Faith and Fratricide*, 257).

Another statement comes from Markus Barth: "The intervention by Jews on behalf of social justice, their generosity, their joy in work, their steadfastness in suffering shame us. Often they carry out what was entrusted to the Church. Their survival and security, in Israel or the Diaspora, is essential for the continuing existence and faith of the Church if the Church is not to become a pagan culture and social institution but is to represent, together with the Jews, the one people of God on earth" (M. Barth, *Jesus the Jew*, 39).

Krister Stendhal, former dean of Harvard Divinity School and now Bishop of Stockholm, has written:

> Christian theology needs a new departure. We cannot find it on our own but only by the help of our Jewish colleagues. We must plead with them to help us. We must ask if they are willing, in spite of it all, to let us again become part of their family – relatives who believe themselves to be a peculiar kind of Jews. Something went wrong at the beginning. Is it not possible for us to recognize that we parted ways not according to but against the will of God (E. Fleischner, *Judaism in German Christian Theology*, 122).

Paul Van Buren, in his *Discerning the Way*, the first of a projected four-volume work on "the Jewish-Christian reality," puts it this way:

> We define ourselves as gentiles by reference to the Jews because Our Way has no starting point and no possible projection except by reference to the Way in which Jews were walking before we started and are walking still. The first walkers who produced the Apostolic Writings were convinced that our Way could only be walked with the help provided by carrying with us the Book that Jesus and all his apostles had understood to be their one and only Scriptures – which St. Jerome liked to call the 'Hebrew truth.' That book, backed as it was by the continuing vitality of the Jewish people, most of whom at least hear it in its original tongue, reminds us that we are gentiles, not Jews, although gentiles who worship Israel's God. When we talk of God we mean the one called in the Scriptures 'the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob.' We mean always and only the God of Israel. In everything that has to do with our future movement along the Way, we are profoundly dependent upon the Jews. We use a Jewish vocabulary (such as 'law,' 'prophets,' 'creation,' 'covenant,' 'sin,' 'repentance,' 'holiness,' 'Sabbath,' 'judgment,' 'resurrection'). God's dealing with Israel made our walk possible in the first place. The Church developed the view that the Jews have been cast off and developed the teaching of contempt. The Holocaust and the foundation of Israel have forced a re-thinking. If God was not faithful to His people, why should we assume He will be any more faithful to the gentile Church? What is our final hope in the Jewish-Christian conversation? To be one? How? Not one assimilating the other. Maybe walking side by side. (P. Van Buren, *Discerning the Way*, 25 ff.).

And a final Catholic voice – Cornelius Rijk (in a paper on "The Theology of Judaism"):

> One critique of Vatican II was that it spoke about Jews in Christian categories and showed no understanding for how Jews think about or see themselves. The later documents show development in this area, with their emphasis on reciprocity and their exclusion of proselytism. They emphasize the permanence of the religious values in Judaism and advocate social collaboration between the two religions because both have the concept of human dignity. Common involvement in the service of the world in the name of justice, covenant and charity is an efficient way of understanding each other, even on the theological level. Moreover, Jewish-Christian relations are essential for Christian unity as this unity cannot be attained without returning to the sources of Christianity.

APPENDIX

SOME OFFICIAL DOCUMENTS

Catholic

For the statement issued at the end of the Second Vatican Council in 1965, see *Church Fathers. Ten years later, the Vatican Commission for Religious Relations with the Jews issued the following "Guidelines and Suggestions for Implementing the Conciliar Declaration":

> The Declaration Nostra Aetate, issued by the Second Vatican Council on October 28, 1965, "On the Relationship of the Church to Non-Christian Religions" (n. 4), marks an important milestone in the history of Jewish-Christian relations.
>
> Moreover, the step taken by the Council finds its historical setting in circumstances deeply affected by the memory of the persecution and massacre of Jews which took place in Europe just before and during the Second World War.
>
> Although Christianity sprang from Judaism, taking from it certain essential elements of its faith and divine cult, the gap dividing them was deepened more and more, to such an extent that Christian and Jew hardly knew each other.
>
> After two thousand years, too often marked by mutual ignorance and frequent confrontation, the Declaration Nostra

Aetate provides an opportunity to open or to continue a dialogue with a view to better mutual understanding. Over the past nine years, many steps in this direction have been taken in various countries. As a result, it is easier to distinguish the conditions under which a new relationship between Jews and Christians may be worked out and developed. This seems the right moment to propose, following the guidelines of the Council, some concrete suggestions born of experience, hoping that they will help to bring into actual existence in the life of the Church the intentions expressed in the conciliar document.

While referring the reader back to this document, we may simply restate here that the spiritual bonds and historical links binding the Church to Judaism condemn (as opposed to the very spirit of Christianity) all forms of antisemitism and discrimination, which in any case the dignity of the human person alone would suffice to condemn. Further still, these links and relationships render obligatory a better mutual understanding and renewed mutual esteem. On the practical level in particular, Christians must therefore strive to acquire a better knowledge of the basic components of the religious tradition of Judaism: they must strive to learn by what essential traits the Jews define themselves in the light of their own religious experience.

With due respect for such matters of principle, we simply propose some first practical applications in different essential areas of the Church's life, with a view to launching or developing sound relations between Catholics and their Jewish brothers.

Dialogue

To tell the truth, such relations as there have been between Jew and Christian have scarcely ever risen above the level of monologue. From now on, real dialogue must be established.

Dialogue presupposes that each side wishes to know the other, and wishes to increase and deepen its knowledge of the other. It constitutes a particularly suitable means of favoring a better mutual knowledge and, especially in the case of dialogue between Jews and Christians, of probing the riches of one's own tradition. Dialogue demands respect for the other as he is; above all, respect for his faith and his religious convictions.

In virtue of her divine mission, and her very nature, the Church must preach Jesus Christ to the world (Ad Gentes, 2). Lest the witness of Catholics to Jesus Christ should give offense to Jews, they must take care to live and spread their Christian faith while maintaining the strictest respect for religious liberty, in line with the teaching of the Second Vatican Council (Declaration Dignitatis Humanae). They will likewise strive to understand the difficulties which arise for the Jewish soul – rightly imbued with an extremely high, pure notion of the divine transcendence – when faced with the mystery of the incarnate Word.

While it is true that a widespread air of suspicion, inspired by an unfortunate past, is still dominant in this particular area, Christians for their part will be able to see to what extent the responsibility is theirs and deduce practical conclusions for the future.

In addition to friendly talks, competent people will be encouraged to meet and to study together the many problems deriving from the fundamental convictions of Judaism and of Christianity. In order not to hurt (even involuntarily) those taking part, it will be vital to guarantee, not only tact, but a great openness of spirit and diffidence with respect to one's own prejudices.

In whatever circumstances as shall prove possible and mutually acceptable, one might encourage a common meeting in the presence of God, in prayer and silent meditation, a highly efficacious way of finding that humility, that openness of heart and mind, necessary prerequisites for a deep knowledge of oneself and of others. In particular, that will be done in connection with great causes, such as the struggle for peace and justice.

Liturgy

The existing links between the Christian liturgy and the Jewish liturgy will be borne in mind. The idea of a living community in the service of God, and in the service of men for the love of God, such as it is realized in the liturgy, is just as characteristic of the Jewish liturgy as it is of the Christian one. To improve Jewish-Christian relations, it is important to take cognizance of those common elements of the liturgical life (formulas, feasts, rites, etc.) in which the Bible holds an essential place.

An effort will be made to acquire a better understanding of whatever in the Old Testament retains its own perpetual value (cf. Dei Verbum, 14–15), since that has not been canceled by the later interpretation of the New Testament. Rather, the New Testament brings out the full meaning of the Old, while both Old and New illumine and explain each other (cf. ibid., 16). This is all the more important since liturgical reform is now bringing the text of the Old Testament ever more frequently to the attention of Christians.

When commenting on biblical texts, emphasis will be laid on the continuity of our faith with that of the earlier Covenant, in the perspective of the promises, without minimizing those elements of Christianity which are original. We believe that those promises were fulfilled with the first coming of Christ. But it is nonetheless true that we still await their perfect fulfilment in His glorious return at the end of time.

With respect to liturgical readings, care will be taken to see that homilies based on them will not distort their meaning, especially when it is a question of passages which seem to show the Jewish people as such in an unfavorable light. Efforts will be made so to instruct the Christian people that they will understand the true interpretation of all the texts and their meaning for the contemporary believer.

Commissions entrusted with the task of liturgical translation will pay particular attention to the way in which they express those phrases and passages which Christians, if not well informed, might misunderstand because of prejudice. Obviously, one cannot alter the text of the Bible. The point is that, with a version destined for liturgical use, there should be an overriding preoccupation to bring out explicitly the meaning of a text, while taking scriptural studies into account. (Thus the formula "the Jews," in St. John sometimes according to the context means "the leaders of the Jews," or "the adversaries of Jesus," terms which express better the thought of the Evangelist and avoid appearing to arraign the Jewish people as such. Another example is the use of the words "Pharisee" and "Pharisaism," which have taken on a largely pejorative meaning.)

The preceding remarks also apply to the introductions to biblical readings, to the Prayer of the Faithful, and to commentaries printed in missals used by the laity.

Teaching and Education

Although there is still a great deal of work to be done, a better understanding of Judaism itself and its relationship to Christianity has been achieved in recent years thanks to the teaching of the Church, the study and research of scholars, as also to the beginning of dialogue. In this respect, the following facts deserve to be recalled:

It is the same God, "inspirer and author of the books of both Testaments" (Dei Verbum, 16), who speaks both in the old and new Covenants.

Judaism in the time of Christ and the Apostles was a complex reality, embracing many different trends, many spiritual, religious, social, and cultural values.

The Old Testament and the Jewish tradition founded upon it must not be set against the New Testament in such a way that the former seems to constitute a religion of only justice, fear, and legalism, with no appeal to the love of God and neighbor (cf. Dt 6:5; Lv 19:18; Mt 22:34–40).

Jesus was born of the Jewish people, as were his apostles and a large number of his first disciples. When he revealed himself as the Messiah and Son (cf. Mt 16:16), the bearer of the new Gospel message, he did so as the fulfillment and perfection of the earlier Revelation. And although his teaching had a profoundly new character, Christ, nevertheless, in many instances, took his stand on the teaching of the Old Testament. The New Testament is profoundly marked by its relation to the Old. As the Second Vatican Council declared: "God, the inspirer and author of the books of both Testaments, wisely arranged that the New Testament be hidden in the Old and the Old be made manifest in the New" (Dei Verbum, 16). Jesus also used teaching methods similar to those employed by the rabbis of his time.

With regard to the trial and death of Jesus, the Council recalled that "what happened in his passion cannot be blamed upon all the Jews then living, without distinction, nor upon the Jews of today" (*Nostra Aetate*).

The history of Judaism did not end with the destruction of Jerusalem, but rather went on to develop a religious tradition. And, although we believe that the importance and meaning of that tradition were deeply affected by the coming of Christ, it is nonetheless rich in religious values.

With the prophets and the apostle Paul, "the Church awaits the day, known to God alone, on which all peoples will address the Lord in a single voice and serve Him with one accord (Soph 3:9)" (*Nostra Aetate*).

Information concerning these questions is important at all levels of Christian instruction and education. Among sources of information, special attention should be paid to the following: catechisms and religious textbooks, history books, the mass media (press, radio, movies, television).

The effective use of these means presupposes the thorough formation of instructors and educators in training schools, seminaries, and universities.

Research into the problems bearing on Judaism and Jewish-Christian relations will be encouraged among specialists, particularly in the fields of exegesis, theology, history, and sociology. Higher institutions of Catholic research, in association if possible with other similar Christian institutions and experts, are invited to contribute to the solution of such problems. Wherever possible, chairs of Jewish studies will be created, and collaboration with Jewish scholars encouraged.

Joint Social Action

Jewish and Christian tradition, founded on the word of God, is aware of the value of the human person, the image of God. Love of the same God must show itself in effective action for the good of mankind. In the spirit of the prophets, Jews and Christians will work willingly together, seeking social justice and peace at every level – local, national, and international.

At the same time, such collaboration can do much to foster mutual understanding and esteem.

Conclusion

The Second Vatican Council has pointed out the path to follow in promoting deep fellowship between Jews and Christians. But there is still a long road ahead.

The problem of Jewish-Christian relations concerns the Church as such, since it is when "pondering her own mystery" that she encounters the mystery of Israel. Therefore, even in areas where no Jewish communities exist, this remains an important problem. There is also an ecumenical aspect to the question: the very return of Christians to the sources and origins of their faith, grafted onto the earlier Covenant, helps the search for unity in Christ, the cornerstone.

In this field, the bishops will know what best to do on the pastoral level, within the general disciplicary framework of the Church and in line with the common teaching of her magisterium. For example, they will create some suitable commissions or secretariats on a national or regional level, or appoint some competent person to promote the implementation of the conciliar directives and the suggestions made above.

On October 22, 1974, the Holy Father instituted for the universal Church this Commission for Religious Relations with the Jews, joined to the Secretariat for promoting Christian Unity. This special Commission, created to encourage and foster religious relations between Jews and Catholics – and to do so eventually in collaboration with other Christians – will be, within the limits of its competence, at the service of all interested organizations, providing information for them, and helping them to pursue their task in conformity with the instructions of the Holy See."

Various Bishops' Conferences have issued their guidelines for local implementation of the Vatican documents. One of the recent ones, issued by the National Conference of Brazilian Bishops issued in 1983, reads as follows:

> ORIENTATIONS FOR CATHOLIC-JEWISH DIALOGUE
> National Commission for Catholic-Jewish Religious Dialogue: CNBB National Conference of Brazilian Bishops)
>
> After twenty centuries of co-existence which were given a particular hall-mark by the events in Europe which preceded and accompanied the Second World War, a new awareness of the origins and history of both Judaism and Christianity demonstrates the need for reconciliation between Jews and Christians. This reconciliation must take the form of dialogue, inspired by a healthy desire for knowledge of one another, together with mutual understanding.
>
> It is indispensable for dialogue that Catholics should strive to learn by what essential traits the Jews define themselves, that is to say, as a people clearly defined by religious and ethnic elements.
>
> The first constitutive element of the Jewish people is its religion, which in no way authorizes Catholics to envisage them as if they were simply one of the many religions in the world today. It was in fact through the Jewish people that faith in the one true God, that is to say, monotheism, has entered into human history.

It should be noted, on the other hand, that according to biblical revelation, God himself constituted the Hebrews as a people. The Lord did this after having made a covenant with them (cf. Gen. 17:7; Ex. 24:1–8). We are indebted to the Jewish people for the five books of the Law, the Prophets and the other sacred books which make up the Hebrew Scriptures that have been adopted by Christians as an integral part of the Bible.

Judaism cannot be considered as a purely social and historical reality or as a left-over from a past which no longer exists. We must take into account the vitality of the Jewish people which has continued throughout the centuries to the present. St. Paul bears witness that the Jews have a zeal for God (Rom. 10:2); that God has not rejected his people (Rom. 11:1ff); He has not withdrawn the blessing given to the chosen people (Rom. 9:8). St. Paul teaches also that the Gentiles, like a wild olive shoot, have been grafted onto the true olive tree which is Israel (Rom. 11:16–19); Israel continues to play an important role in the history of salvation, a role which will end in the fulfillment of the plan of God (Rom. 11:11, 15, 23).

It is thus possible for us to state that all forms of antisemitism must be condemned. Every unfavorable word and expression must be erased from Christian speech. All campaigns of physical or moral violence must cease. The Jews cannot be considered as a deicide people. The fact that a small number of Jews asked Pilate for Jesus' death does not implicate the Jewish people as such. In the final analysis, Christ died for the sins of all humanity in general. Christian love, moreover, which embraces all persons without distinction, in imitation of the Father's love (Matt. 5:44–48), should likewise embrace the Jewish people and seek to understand their history and aspirations.

Particularly in catechetical teaching and in the liturgy, unfavorable judgments with regard to the Jews must be avoided. It is desirable that courses in Catholic doctrinal formation, in addition to liturgical celebrations, should emphasize those elements common to Jews and to Christians. It should be pointed out, for example, that the New Testament cannot be understood without the Old Testament. The Christian feasts of Easter and Pentecost, as well as liturgical prayers, the Psalms especially, originated in Jewish tradition.

A contrast must not be made between Judaism and Christianity, claiming, for example, that Judaism is a religion of fear while Christianity is one of love. We find, in fact, in the holy books of Israel the origins of the expressions of the great love which exists between God and humanity (Deut. 6:4; 7:6–9; Pss. 73–139; Hos. 11; Jer. 31:2ff; 19–22; 33:6–9).

It is fitting to recall, as well, that the Lord Jesus, his holy Mother, the apostles and the first Christian communities were of the race of Abraham. The roots of Christianity are in the people of Israel.

In what concerns the land of Israel, it is well to remember that, as the fruit of his promise, God gave the ancient land of Canaan to Abraham and his descendants in which the Jews lived. The Roman occupation and successive invasions of the land of Israel resulted in harsh trials for the people who were dispersed among foreign nations. We must recognize the rights of the Jews to a calm political existence in their country of origin, without letting that create injustice or violence for other peoples. For the Jewish people these rights become a reality in the existence of the State of Israel.

We should emphasize, finally, the eschatological expectation which is the hope of Jews and of Christians, in spite of their different ways of describing it. Both are awaiting the fulfilment of the Kingdom of God; this has already begun, for Christians, with the coming of Jesus Christ, while Jews are still awaiting the coming of the Messiah. At all events, this eschatological perspective awakens as much in Jews as in Christians the consciousness of being on the march, like the people who came forth from Egypt, searching for a land "flowing with milk and honey" (Ex. 3:8).

(Taken from a French translation)

Protestant

In 1983, the Dialogue with People of Living Faiths and Ideologies Department of the World Council of Churches published "Ecumenical Considerations on the Jewish-Christian Dialogue."

> **Preface**
>
> One of the functions of dialogue is to allow participants to describe and witness to their faith in their own terms. This is of primary importance since self-serving descriptions of other peoples' faith are one of the roots of prejudice, stereotyping, and condescension. Listening carefully to the neighbors' self-understanding enables Christians better to obey the commandment not to bear false witness against their neighbors, whether those neighbors be of long-established religious, cultural or ideological traditions or members of new religious groups. It should be recognized by partners in dialogue that any religion or ideology claiming universality, apart from having an understanding of itself, will also have its own interpretations of other religions and ideologies as part of its own self-understanding. Dialogue gives an opportunity for a mutual questioning of the understanding partners have about themselves and others. It is out of a reciprocal willingness to listen and learn that significant dialogue grows
>
> **(WCC Guidelines on Dialogue, III.4)**
>
> In giving such guidelines applicable to all dialogues, the World Council of Churches speaks primarily to its member churches as it defines the need for and gifts to be received by dialogue. People of other faiths may choose to define their understanding of dialogue, and their expectations as to how dialogue with Christians may affect their own traditions and attitudes and may lead to a better understanding of Christianity. Fruitful "mutual questioning of the understanding partners have about themselves and others" requires the spirit of dialogue. But the WCC Guidelines do not predict what partners in dialogue may come to learn about themselves, their history, and their problems. Rather they speak within the churches about faith, attitudes, actions, and problems of Christians.
>
> In all dialogues distinct asymmetry between any two communities of faith becomes an important fact. Already terms like faith, theology, religion, scripture, people, etc. are not innocent or neutral. Partners in dialogue may rightly question the very language in which each thinks about religious matters.
>
> In the case of Jewish-Christian dialogue a specific historical and theological asymmetry is obvious. While an understanding of Judaism in New Testament times becomes an integral and indispensable part of any Christian theology, for Jews, a "theological" understanding of Christianity is of a less than essential or integral significance. Yet, neither community of faith has developed without awareness of the other.

The relations between Jews and Christians have unique characteristics because of the ways in which Christianity historically emerged out of Judaism. Christian understandings of that process constitute a necessary part of the dialogue and give urgency to the enterprise. As Christianity came to define its own identity against Judaism, the Church developed its own understandings, definitions and terms for what it had inherited from Jewish traditions, and for what it read in the Scriptures common to Jews and Christians. In the process of defining its own identity the Church defined Judaism, and assigned to the Jews definite roles in its understanding of God's acts of salvation. It should not be surprising that Jews resent those Christian theologies in which they as a people are assigned to play a negative role. Tragically, such patterns of thought in Christianity have often led to overt acts of condescension, persecution, and worse.

Bible-reading and worshipping Christians often believe that they "know Judaism" since they have read the Old Testament, the records of Jesus' debates with Jewish teachers, and the early Christian reflections on the Judaism of their times. Furthermore, no other religious tradition has been so thoroughly "defined" by preachers and teachers in the Church as has Judaism. This attitude is often enforced by lack of knowledge about the history of Jewish life and thought through the 1,900 years since the parting of the ways of Judaism and Christianity.

For these reasons there is special urgency for Christians to listen, through study and dialogue, to ways in which Jews understand their history and their traditions, their faith and their obedience "in their own terms". Furthermore a mutual listening to how each is perceived by the other may be a step towards understanding the hurts, overcoming the fears, and correcting the misunderstandings that have thrived on isolation.

Both Judaism and Christianity comprise a wide spectrum of opinions, options, theologies, and styles of life and service. Since generalizations often produce stereotyping, Jewish-Christian dialogue becomes the more significant by aiming at as full as possible a representation of views within the two communities of faith.

Towards a Christian Understanding of Jews and Judaism

Through dialogue with Jews many Christians have come to appreciate the richness and vitality of Jewish faith and life in the covenant and have been enriched in their own understandings of God and the divine will for all creatures.

In dialogue with Jews, Christians have learned that the actual history of Jewish faith and experiences does not match the images of Judaism that have dominated a long history of Christian teaching and writing, images that have been spread by Western culture and literature into other parts of the world.

A classical Christian tradition sees the Church replacing Israel as God's people, and the destruction of the second temple of Jerusalem as a warrant for this claim. The covenant of God with the people of Israel was only a preparation for the coming of Christ, after which it was abrogated.

Such a theological perspective has had fateful consequences. As the Church replaced the Jews as God's people, the Judaism that survived was seen as a fossilized religion of legalism – a view now perpetuated by scholarship which claims no theological interests. Judaism of the first centuries before and after the birth of Jesus was therefore called "Late Judaism". The Pharisees were considered to represent the acme of legalism, Jews and Jewish groups were portrayed as negative models, and the truth and beauty of Christianity were thought to be enhanced by setting up Judaism as false and ugly.

Through a renewed study of Judaism and in dialogue with Jews, Christians have become aware that Judaism in the time of Christ was in an early stage of its long life. Under the leadership of the Pharisees the Jewish people began a spiritual revival of remarkable power, which gave them the vitality capable of surviving the catastrophe of the loss of the temple. It gave birth to Rabbinic Judaism which produced the Mishnah and Talmud and built the structures for a strong and creative life through the centuries.

As a Jew, Jesus was born into this tradition. In that setting he was nurtured by the Hebrew Scriptures, which he accepted as authoritative and to which he gave a new interpretation in his life and teaching. In this context Jesus announced that the Kingdom of God was at hand, and in his resurrection his followers found the confirmation of his being both Lord and Messiah.

Christians should remember that some of the controversies reported in the New Testament between Jesus and the "scribes and Pharisees" find parallels within Pharisaism itself and its heir, Rabbinic Judaism. These controversies took place in a Jewish context, but when the words of Jesus came to be used by Christians who did not identify with the Jewish people as Jesus did, such sayings often became weapons in anti-Jewish polemics and thereby their original intention was tragically distorted. An internal Christian debate is now taking place on the question of how to understand passages in the New Testament that seem to contain anti-Jewish references.

Judaism, with its rich history of spiritual life, produced the Talmud as the normative guide for Jewish life in thankful response to the grace of God's covenant with the people of Israel. Over the centuries important commentaries, profound philosophical works and poetry of spiritual depth have been added. For Judaism the Talmud is central and authoritative. Judaism is more than the religion of the Scriptures of Israel. What Christians call the Old Testament has received in the Talmud and later writings interpretations that for Jewish tradition share in the authority of Moses.

For Christians the Bible with the two Testaments is also followed by traditions of interpretation, from the Church Fathers to the present time. Both Jews and Christians live in the continuity of their Scripture and Tradition.

Christians as well as Jews look to the Hebrew Bible as the story recording Israel's sacred memory of God's election and covenant with this people. For Jews, it is their own story in historical continuity with the present. Christians, mostly of gentile background since early in the life of the Church, believe themselves to be heirs to this same story by grace in Jesus Christ. The relationship between the two communities, both worshipping the God of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, is a given historical fact, but how it is to be understood theologically is a matter of internal discussion among Christians, a discussion that can be enriched by dialogue with Jews.

Both commonalities and differences between the two faiths need to be examined carefully. Finding in the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments the authority sufficient for salvation, the Christian Church shares Israel's faith in the One God, whom it knows in the Spirit as the God and Father of the Lord Jesus Christ. For Christians, Jesus Christ is the only begotten

Son of the Father, through whom millions have come to share in the love of, and to adore, the God who first made covenant with the people of Israel. Knowing the One God in Jesus Christ through the Spirit, therefore, Christians worship that God with a Trinitarian confession to the One God, the God of Creation, Incarnation and Pentecost. In so doing, the Church worships in a language foreign to Jewish worship and sensitivities, yet full of meaning to Christians.

Christians and Jews both believe that God has created men and women as the crown of creation and has called them to be holy and to exercise stewardship over the creation in accountability to God. Jews and Christians are taught by their Scriptures and Traditions to know themselves responsible to their neighbors, especially to those who are weak, poor and oppressed. In various and distinct ways they look for the day in which God will redeem the creation. In dialogue with Jews many Christians come to a more profound appreciation of the Exodus hope of liberation, and pray and work for the coming of righteousness and peace on earth.

Christians learn through dialogue with Jews that for Judaism the survival of the Jewish people is inseparable from its obedience to God and God's covenant.

During long periods, both before and after the emergence of Christianity, Jews found ways of living in obedience to Torah, maintaining and deepening their calling as a peculiar people in the midst of the nations. Through history there are times and places in which Jews were allowed to live, respected and accepted by the cultures in which they resided, and where their own culture thrived and made a distinct and sought after contribution to their Christian and Muslim neighbors. Often lands not dominated by Christians proved most favorable for Jewish diaspora living. There were even times when Jewish thinkers came to "make a virtue out of necessity" and considered diaspora living to be the distinct genius of Jewish existence.

Yet, there was no time in which the memory of the Land of Israel and of Zion, the city of Jerusalem, was not central in the worship and hope of the Jewish people. "Next year in Jerusalem" was always part of Jewish worship in the diaspora. And the continued presence of Jews in the Land and in Jerusalem was always more than just one place of residence among all the others.

Jews differ in their interpretations of the State of Israel, as to its religious and secular meaning. It constitutes for them part of the long search for that survival which has always been central to Judaism through the ages. Now the quest for statehood by Palestinians – Christian and Muslim – as part of their search for survival as a people in the Land – also calls for full attention.

Jews, Christians, and Muslims have all maintained a presence in the Land from their beginnings. While "the Holy Land" is primarily a Christian designation, the Land is holy to all three. Although they may understand its holiness in different ways, it cannot be said to be "more holy" to one than to another.

The need for dialogue is all the more urgent. When under strain the dialogue is tested. Is it mere debate and negotiation or is it grounded in faith that God's will for the world is secure peace with justice and compassion?

Hatred and Persecution of Jews – A Continuing Concern

Christians cannot enter into dialogue with Jews without the awareness that hatred and persecution of Jews have a long persistent history, especially in countries where Jews constitute a minority among Christians. The tragic history of the persecution of Jews includes massacres in Europe and the Middle East by the Crusaders, the Inquisition, pogroms, and the Holocaust. The World Council of Churches Assembly at its first meeting in Amsterdam, 1948, declared: "We call upon the churches we represent to denounce antisemitism, no matter what its origin, as absolutely irreconcilable with the profession and practice of the Christian faith. Antisemitism is sin against God and man." This appeal has been reiterated many times. Those who live where there is a record of acts of hatred against Jews can serve the whole Church by unmasking the ever-present danger they have come to recognize.

Teachings of contempt for Jews and Judaism in certain Christian traditions proved a spawning ground for the evil of the Nazi Holocaust. The Church must learn so to preach and teach the Gospel as to make sure that it cannot be used towards contempt for Judaism and against the Jewish people. A further response to the Holocaust by Christians, and one which is shared by their Jewish partners, is a resolve that it will never happen again to the Jews or to any other people.

Discrimination against and persecution of Jews has deep-rooted socio-economic and political aspects. Religious differences are magnified to justify ethnic hatred in support of vested interests. Similar phenomena are also evident in many interracial conflicts. Christians should oppose all such religious prejudices, whereby people are made scapegoats for the failures and problems of societies and political regimes.

Christians in parts of the world with a history of little or no persecution of Jews do not wish to be conditioned by the specific experiences of justified guilt among other Christians. Rather, they explore in their own ways the significance of Jewish-Christian relations, from the earliest times to the present, for their life and witness.

Authentic Christian Witness

Christians are called to witness to their faith in word and deed. The Church has a mission and it cannot be otherwise. This mission is not one of choice.

Christians have often distorted their witness by coercive proselytism, conscious and unconscious, overt and subtle. Referring to proselytism between Christian churches, the Joint Working Group of the Roman Catholic Church and the World Council of Churches stated: "Proselytism embraces whatever violates the right of the human person, Christian or non-Christian, to be free from external coercion in religious matters" (Ecumenical Review, 1/1971, 11).

Such rejection of proselytism, and such advocacy of respect for the integrity and the identity of all persons and all communities of faith, are urgent in relation to Jews, especially those who live as minorities among Christians. Steps towards assuring non-coercive practices are of the highest importance. In dialogue ways should be found for the exchange of concerns, perceptions, and safeguards in these matters.

While Christians agree that there can be no place for coercion of any kind, they do disagree – on the basis of their understandings of the Scriptures – as to what constitutes authentic forms of mission. There is a wide spectrum, from those who see the very presence of the Church in the world as the witness called for, to those who see mission as the explicit and organized proclamation of the gospel to all who have not accepted Jesus as their Saviour.

This spectrum as to mission in general is represented in the different views of what is authentic mission to Jews. Here some of the specifics are as follows: There are Christians who view a mission to the Jews as having a very special salvific significance, and those who believe the conversion of the Jews to be the eschatological event that will climax the history of the world. There are those who would place no special emphasis on a mission to the Jews, but would include them in the one mission to all those who have not accepted Christ as their Saviour. There are those who believe that a mission to the Jews is not part of an authentic Christian witness, since the Jewish people find its fulfillment in faithfulness to God's covenant of old.

Dialogue can rightly be described as a mutual witness, but only when the intention is to hear the others in order better to understand their faith, hopes, insights, and concerns, and to give, to the best of one's ability, one's own understanding of one's own faith. The spirit of dialogue is to be fully present to one another in full openness and human vulnerability.

According to rabbinic law, Jews who confess Jesus as the Messiah are considered apostate Jews, but for many Christians of Jewish origin, their identification with the Jewish people is a deep spiritual reality to which they seek to give expression in various ways, some by observing parts of Jewish tradition in worship and life style, many by a special commitment to the well-being of the Jewish people and to a peaceful and secure future for the State of Israel. Among Christians of Jewish origin there is the same wide spectrum of attitudes towards mission as among other Christians, and the same criteria for dialogue and against coercion apply.

As Christians of different traditions enter into dialogue with Jews in local, national, and international situations, they will come to express their understanding of Judaism in other languages, styles, and ways than have been done in these Ecumenical Considerations. Such understandings are to be shared among the churches for enrichment of all.

Many individual Protestant Churches have also issued statements. During the Lutheran year (1983–84), the Assembly of the Lutheran World Federation recommended to its constituents the following statement concerning Luther's utterances about the Jews:

We Lutherans take our name and much of our understanding of Christianity from Martin Luther. But we cannot accept or condone the violent verbal attacks that the Reformer made against the Jews. Lutherans and Jews interpret the Hebrew Bible differently. But we believe that a christological reading of the Scriptures does not lead to anti-Judaism, let alone antisemitism.

We hold that an honest, historical treatment of Luther's attacks on the Jews takes away from modern antisemites the assumption that they may legitimately call on the authority of Luther's name to bless their antisemitism. We insist that Luther does not support racial antisemitism, nationalistic antisemitism or political antisemitism. Even the deplorable religious antisemitism of the 16th century, to which Luther's attacks made an important contribution, is a horrible anachronism when translated to the conditions of the modern world. We recognize with deep regret, however, that Luther has been used to justify such antisemitism in the period of national socialism and that his writings lent themselves to such abuse. Although there remain conflicting assumptions, built into the beliefs of Judaism and Christianity, they need not and should not lead to the animosity and the violence of Luther's treatment of the Jews. Martin Luther opened up our eyes to a deeper understanding of the Old Testament and showed us the depth of our common inheritance and the roots of our faith.

Many of the anti-Jewish utterances of Luther have to be explained in the light of his polemic against what he regarded as misinterpretations of the Scriptures. He attacked these interpretations, since for him everything now depended on a right understanding of the Word of God.

The sins of Luther's anti-Jewish remarks, the violence of his attacks on the Jews, must be acknowledged with deep distress. And all occasions for similar sin in the present or the future must be removed from our churches.

A frank examination also forces Lutherans and other Christians to confront the anti-Jewish attitudes of their past and present. Hostility toward the Jews began long before Luther and has been a continuing evil after him. The history of the centuries following the Reformation saw in Europe the gradual acceptance of religious pluralism. The church was not always the first to accept this development: yet there have also been examples of leadership by the church in the movement to accept Jews as full fellow citizens and members of society.

Beginning in the last half of the 19th century antisemitism increased in Central Europe and at the same time Jewish people were being integrated in society. This brought to the churches, particularly in Germany, an unwanted challenge. Paradoxically the churches honored the biblical people of Israel but rejected the descendants of those people, myths were perpetuated about the Jews, and deprecatory references appeared in Lutheran liturgical and educational material. Luther's doctrine of the Two Kingdoms was used to justify passivity in the face of totalitarian claims. These and other less theological factors contributed to the failures which have been regretted and repeatedly confessed since 1945.

To their credit it is to be said that there were individuals and groups among Lutherans who in defiance of totalitarian power defended their Jewish neighbors, both in Germany and elsewhere.

Lutherans of today refuse to be bound by all of Luther's utterances on the Jews. We hope we have learned from the tragedies of the recent past. We are responsible for seeing that we do not now nor in the future leave any doubt about our position on racial and religious prejudice and that we afford to all the human dignity, freedom and friendship that are the right of all the Father's children.

See also *Church, Catholic; *Church Councils, *Jewish-Christian Relations.

[Geoffrey Wigoder]

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CHRISTIAN SCIENCE CHURCH, a Christian sect, organized in 1879 by Mrs. Mary Baker Eddy. It is maintained that Christian Science attracted thousands of American Jews, particularly Jewesses, seeking health and peace of mind through its religio-therapeutics. Because Christian Scientists do not undergo baptism upon joining the church, some Jews asserted that membership entailed no apostasy from Judaism. This situation of Jews openly dividing their religious allegiance between Christian Science and Judaism prompted the Central Conference of American Rabbis (Reform) to warn in 1912 that "adhesion to the one means rejection of the other." Other Jewish reactions to the drift of Jews to Christian Science included the publication of Rabbi Alfred Moses' *Jewish Science* (1916) and the organization in 1923 in New York City of the Society for Jewish Science by Rabbi Morris Lichtenstein. His system of faith healing employed techniques and rhetoric borrowed from Christian Science, Judaism, and popular psychology, but neither Lichtenstein's nor other "Jewish Science" groups had a lasting influence on American Jewry. After Lichtenstein's death in 1938, leadership of the Society passed to his widow Tehillah Lichtenstein, the first woman to occupy a pulpit and assume quasi-rabbinical leadership in an American congregation. She held this position for over 30 years.

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[John J. Appel]

CHRISTIAN SOCIAL PARTY, Austrian Catholic political party. Founded by Karl *Lueger in 1893, along ideological lines elaborated by Karl von *Vogelsang, it achieved the distinction of being the first political party anywhere to attain power on the issue of antisemitism, winning 66% of the seats on the Vienna City Council in 1895 (see Antisemitic Parties and *Organizations). Christian Social Party propaganda was conducted in the scurrilous anti-Jewish style popularized in Vienna by Abraham a Sancta *Clara and developed by Quirin *Endlich, Sebastian *Brunner, and Joseph *Deckert. Its program was made topically relevant by identifying big business and chain stores with Jews. The lower ranks of the clergy supplied the ideological backbone of the party. In character with its archaic tendencies, the party at the end of the 19th century revived the blood *libel, especially pressed by Ernst Schneider. On the other hand, at its founding, it was opposed by the episcopate, not least because of its vulgar antisemitism. In 1895, however, Pope Leo *XIII rejected protests by the bishops, thus giving the party Vatican approval. Eventually it gained ground over the veteran Austrian Catholic Conservative Party, some of whose main leaders joined the Christian Social Party, until the two amalgamated in 1907. Subsequently the Christian Social Catholic brand prevailed over G. von *Schoenerer's racial antisemitism. Hence a number of apostates such as Julius Porzer and Max Anton Loew could figure henceforth among its leaders.

After World War I the Christian Social Party became the dominant political party in Austria, leading all governments in Austria, excepting the first, until 1938. It thus shaped the policies of E. *Dollfuss, I. *Seipel, and K. von Schuschnigg. In the first few years after World War I the Christian Social Party propaganda still retained strong antisemitic elements. In 1918 the party talked about "the Jewish peril" and was prepared to grant the Jews national self-determination as part of the bitter "defensive war" against Jewry. In 1919 the Christian Social politician Leopold Kunschak, who later become a deputy of the parliament and leader of the party, openly agitated against the Jewish refugees in Vienna and called them "a plague of our time." In 1920 the theme of the Jewish snake strangling the Austrian eagle was still depicted on election posters. Later, the main leaders of the party attempted to tone down the virulence of its antisemitism. However the party rank and file and certain leading elements laid increasing stress on antisemitism, partly out of resentment at Austria's treatment by the Western "Jewish" powers, and later intensified by competition with the Nazis and their influence. One minister of education, Emmerich Czermak, advocated segregation of Jewish students in the universities. When in 1934 the Christian Social Party amalgamated with the Vaterlaendische Front, the latter inherited its ideas and slogans. After World War II a number of former leaders of the Christian Social Party, including Leopold Kunschak, continued to stress antisemitism. Some of them founded the Oesterreichische Volkspartei. Kunschak became the first president of the parliament of the second Republic of Austria.

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[Meir Lamed]

CHRISTIAN SOCIAL PARTY, GERMAN (**Christlichsoziale Partei**), originally the Christian Social Workers' Party, Christlichsoziale Arbeiterpartei, founded in Berlin in 1878 by the court preacher A. *Stoecker. Based "on Christian beliefs and the love of king and country," it rejected social democracy as "unchristian and unpatriotic" and aimed at "narrowing the abyss between rich and poor." The party's first meeting (January 1878) in the working-class district of Berlin was a fiasco, as was its bid for the workers' vote at the following general election. The party strategy to separate the workers from the Social Democratic Party was terminated and the word "workers'" pointedly dropped from its official name (1881), with a turn for support to other discontented elements – artisans, shopkeepers, and clerks – the typical members of the lower-middle classes. Though prone to occasional radical outbursts, this sector of the population was basically loyal to church and state, and, unlike the workers, highly receptive to antisemitism. When Stoecker's meetings began to attract the lower-middle class rather than the workers, his party became explicitly antisemitic. He had already made his own views clear in 1878 in the last paragraph of his election manifesto: "We respect the Jews as fellow citizens and honor Judaism as the lower stage of divine revelation, but we firmly believe that no Jew can be a leader of Christian workers in either a religious or an economic capacity." Antisemitism rapidly became one of the basic planks of the CSP's platform and soon paid political dividends. The "respectable" variety of antisemitism adopted by Stoecker paved the way for the racial antisemitism preached by agitators like E. Henrici and T. *Fritsch. Towards the end of the 19th century the CSP lost much of its support and in 1917 merged with the Conservatives and the Deutschvoelkische Partei to form the right-wing DNVP (Deutsch-Nationale Volkspartei).

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[Bjoern Siegel (2nd ed.)]

CHRONEGK, LUDWIG (1837–1890), German actor and stage director of the Meiningen Court Theater, Weimar. Chronegk was born at Brandenburg on the Havel. At the age of 18 he went to Paris to study and returned a year later, in 1856, to Berlin. After graduating he started acting in Liegnitz, Goerlitz, Hamburg, and Leipzig. In 1866 Chronegk joined the Meiningers, headed the company from 1872, and introduced through it new and unorthodox ideas. Although attacked at first for his use of realism, his approach was ultimately adopted throughout the German theater. Under his direction the Meiningers performed brilliantly as an ensemble but were criticized for neglect of individual characterization. The troupe first played in Berlin in 1874 and in London in 1881.

[Noam Zadoff (2nd ed.)]

CHRONICLES, BOOK OF, one of the books of the Hagiographa section of the Bible. In the printed Jewish editions of the Bible, it appears last. In Christian Bibles Chronicles follows II Kings and precedes Ezra.

Book of Chronicles – Contents

I Chron 1:1 – 9:44	An Introduction.
1:1–54	A collection of genealogical lists.
2:1–9:1	Various lists of the Israelite tribes.
9:2–18	A list of the inhabitants of Jerusalem.
9:19–34	Detailed list of the Levitical functionaries.
9:35–44	A list of the inhabitants of Gibeon.
I Chron. 10:1–11 Chron. 9:31	The monarchy under David and Solomon
Chron. 10:1–29:30	David.
II Chron. 1:1–9:31	Solomon.
II Chron. 10:1–36:23	History of the kings of Judah.
10:1–12:16	The reign of Rehoboam.
13:1–23	The reign of Abijah.
14:1–16:14	The reign of Asa.
17:1–20:37	The reign of Jehoshaphat.
21:1–20	The reign of Jehoram.
22:1–9	The reign of Ahaziah.
22:10–23:21	The reign of Athaliah.
24:1–27	The reign of Joash.
25:1–28	The reign of Amaziah.
26:1–23	The reign of Uzziah.
27:1–9	The reign of Jotham.
28:1–27	The reign of Ahaz.
29:1–32:33	The reign of Hezekiah.
33:1–20	The reign of Manasseh.
33:21–25	The reign of Amon.
34:1–35:27	The reign of Josiah.
36:1–4	The reign of Jehoahaz.
36:5–8	The reign of Jehoiakim.
36:9–10	The reign of Jehoiachin.
36:11–21	The reign of Zedekiah.
36:22–23	The decree of Cyrus.

Name of the Book and Its Place in the Canon

The work was first referred to as "boke of the Chronicles" by Miles Coverdale in 1535. The traditional Hebrew name *Divrei ha-Yamim* is apparently ancient and usually means "the events / narrative accounts of the times." It occurs in the Bible as the appellation of several books, generally with the addition of the subject described: "the book of the narrative accounts of the kings of Israel" (e.g., I Kings 14:19); "the book of the narrative accounts of the kings of Judah" (e.g., I Kings 14:29);

"the book of the narrative accounts of the kings of Media and Persia" (e.g., Esth. 10:2); "the narrative account of King David" (I Chron. 27:24). However, twice (Esth. 2:23; Neh. 12:23) *divrei ha-yamim* is best translated as "chronicles," i.e., a continuous register of events without regard for literary style. Canonical Chronicles contains both kinds of *divrei ha-yamim*.

Chronicles is mentioned by name in the Mishnah as one of the books read before the high priest on the eve of the Day of Atonement to prevent him from falling asleep and becoming disqualified (Yoma 1:6), and in the *baraita* (non-canonical *mishnah*) on the order of the books in the Canon (BB 14b–15a). The *amoraim* of the first talmudic generation said of it that "the Book of Chronicles was only to be expounded midrashically" (Lev. R. 1:3). In the Septuagint the book is called *paraleipomenōn*, meaning "[the book] of things omitted," alluding to the nature of the book according to the view of the translators, i.e., as a supplement to other biblical books. The Vulgate used the same name, *paralipomenon*, but following a comment by Jerome, the name *chronicon* also came into use and was accepted in this form, or in forms derived from it, in most translations of the Bible. In the *baraita* (see above), the Book of Chronicles appears at the end of the Writings, which is also the place it occupies in a large number of manuscripts and printed editions. In other manuscripts, however (including the Aleppo Codex and Leningrad Ms.), Chronicles appears at the beginning of the Writings. According to the book *'Adat Devorim* (1207 C.E.), this change reflects differences of custom between Palestine (Aleppo Codex) and Babylon. In the Septuagint, Chronicles is found among the historical books after Kings. This order was transferred to the Vulgate and to some of the new translations of the Bible. (See Table: Book of Chronicles.)

Chronicles is a single book. Its division into two parts was first made in the Septuagint and was carried on from there to the other translations. Beginning with the 15th century, the division became the norm in Hebrew editions of the Bible as well.

Contents

Chronicles describes the history of Israel from the time of David until the destruction of the kingdom of Judah during the reign of Zedekiah. A lengthy introduction, mainly composed of various types of lists, serves as a background, and at the end, an excerpt from the Edict of Cyrus (derived from the Book of Ezra) is given. The book can be divided into three parts: I Chronicles 1–9 – the introduction; I Chronicles 10–II Chronicles 9 – the history of Israel in the time of David and Solomon; II Chronicles 10–36 – the history of the kingdom of Judah from the division of the United Monarchy until its destruction.

INTRODUCTION. The introduction is divided into three unequal sections. Chapter 1 is a collection of genealogical lists all taken from the Book of Genesis. Most of the lists have been readapted and presented in an abridged and concentrated form, after omission of all the narrative elements and other details; at times only the names remain, enumerated in succession. It is difficult to propose a single principle for the choice of the material from the Book of Genesis. While some lists having no connection with the main genealogical line from Adam to Jacob, such as the sons of Cain (Gen. 4:17–26), the sons of Terah (Gen. 11:27–32), and the sons of Nahor (Gen. 22:21–24) have been omitted, the chapter does include various lists of the sons of Esau, which are also nonessential. Most attempts to find a consistent principle in the choice of the lists lead to the conclusion, which is no more than a conjecture, that the chapter was not written by a single hand and that many additions were made to it.

Chapters 2–8 are the central section of the introduction and contain various lists of the tribes of Israel. The order of the tribes given here is unlike that in any other list of tribes in the Bible; it does not conform to the enumeration of Jacob's sons after their mothers (Gen. 46:8ff.), and no single geographical principle can be discerned in it. The list begins with the tribe of Judah (I Chron. 2:3–4:23), which was the main component of the kingdom of Judah and of Judea (following the return of the exiles) and continues with Simeon (4:24–43), whose territory was included from the start within the territory of Judah (Josh. 19:1). After them comes another geographical unit comprising the tribes of Transjordan in the fixed order from south to north: Reuben, Gad, and half of Manasseh (5:1–26). At this point, roughly midway through the lists, the tribe of Levi is introduced (5:27–6:66). In the following group, which consists of Issachar, Benjamin, Dan, and Naphtali (7:1–13), the arrangement of Numbers 26, which served as its source, is preserved to a considerable extent, but Zebulun is omitted and Asher and Joseph are transferred to other places. The last group consists of Manasseh, Ephraim, Asher, and Benjamin (7:14–8:40). Without the tribe of Asher, it reflects a continuous geographical unit from north to south. It is possible that errors occurred in the order of the list in the latter stages of its transmission such as the omission of Zebulun and the change in the place of Asher. But it seems that from the beginning several different principles were followed in the arranging of the material, the principle being determined in each case by the character of the material and the nature of its sources and was not fixed according to a single principle, which would require reorganization and extensive adaptation.

The material of the lists is not uniform in quantity, type, or its sources. Judah is dealt with most extensively, followed by Levi and Benjamin. Only remnants of information are given about the tribes of Dan and Naphtali. Most of the material consists of lists, but it also includes additional information, and may be classified as follows: genealogical lists of families and tribes, such as 2:25–33; 3:1–9, etc.; genealogical trees, such as 3:10–16; 5:30–40; 6:18–31, etc.; what appear to be tribal genealogical lists but are in fact geographical-ethnic lists, such as 2:50–55, etc.; geographical lists, such as 4:28–33; 6:39–66; 7:28–29, etc.; information about wars, settlement expeditions, and the wandering of tribes, such as 2:22–23; 4:38–43, etc.; tribal folk traditions, such as 4:9–10; 7:21–23, etc.; short notes containing allusions to much longer biblical narratives, such as 2:3–4, 7; 5:25–26, etc. There is also great variety in the sources of the material, taken, *inter alia*, from other biblical books, military census data in the period of the monarchy (such as 7:1–11; 35–40), and also to a certain degree from traditions transmitted orally, etc. Alongside these sources there are also midrashic literary creations from the period of the Second Temple.

Chapter 9, except for verse 1, which concludes the previous chapters, consists of three parts. The first is a list of the inhabitants of Jerusalem (2–18), titled "the first inhabitants" and parallel to Nehemiah 11:3–19. This apparently dates from the time of Nehemiah or a little while thereafter, though it is possible that the Chronicler connected it with the period of the previous lists. Joined to it is a detailed list of the levitical functionaries (19–34), with marked emphasis on the gatekeepers. This list is not found in Nehemiah 11, and it is doubtful whether it was originally a direct continuation of the previous one. At the end there is a list of the inhabitants of Gibeon (35–44), which is a literal repetition of 8:29–38. The duplication seems to result from a late adaptation or from a copyist's error, and it is doubtful if the list can be exactly reconstructed or whether its original place can be fixed with certainty.

The aim of the introduction is to create as broad a background as possible to the kingdom of David, and for this purpose the author utilized as many helpful sources bearing on his subject as were available to him. It is possible that in the course of transmission, changes occurred in the introduction as a result of both errors and additions. It is of the nature of such material to be susceptible to errors and to attract additions and changes, and it is doubtful whether its original form can be reconstructed.

KINGDOM OF DAVID AND SOLOMON. (I Chron. 10–II Chron. 9). After an account of the defeat and death of Saul at Gilboa (I Chron. 10), which serves as an introduction, this section relates the history of Israel from the anointing of David as king over all Israel in Hebron to the death of Solomon. It can be divided into two parts.

David (I Chronicles chs. 10–29). The chief source for these chapters is the description of David's reign in the Book of Samuel, and there is a great deal of conformity between descriptions of the course of events in both books. Several chapters have been transferred almost verbatim, with only slight changes, from the Book of Samuel, but actually the congruence between the books is only partial. In Chronicles large sections of the history of David, described in great detail in Samuel, have been omitted, including the whole of his history from his crowning by Samuel until the death of Saul (I Sam. 16–30). The history of his reign in Hebron is noted briefly in I Chr. 3:4, (cf. I Chr. 29:27) but his struggle with Ish-Bosheth is omitted (II Sam. 2–4); omitted as well are his family life except as a progenitor (I Chr. 3: 1–9); his sin with Bath-Sheba; the revolts of Absalom and of Sheba son of Bichri; and the struggle at the end of his reign for succession to the throne (II Sam. 9; 11–12:25; 13–20; I Kings 1), etc. At the same time, much information that is not mentioned at all in Samuel – mainly in the sphere of the state administration, the preparations for the building of the Temple, and the organization of the Temple personnel – is added (I Chron. 15–16; 22–29).

In the parallel chapters a number of changes have been inserted, and the image of David's reign changed substantially. The main traits characterizing the description are as follows: (a) The center of interest is not the history of his kingdom. All the information on his successes and failures on the personal level has been omitted. (b) Even the interest in David's kingdom is only from the day it was established over all Israel; everything previous to this point is omitted. The complete disregard of the reign of Ish-Bosheth creates the impression that David became king of all Israel from the beginning. This is inferred from silence, but not stated explicitly. (c) The book omits all the weak points and failures of David's reign, such as information about Absalom's rebellion, the account of the famine, etc. Only the narrative of the census (I Chron. 21) was retained because of its great importance for the erection of the Temple. The remaining information was transferred wholly, or almost so, from the Book of Samuel. The silence creates the impression that David's reign was all light, without flaws or defects. (d) The transfer of the monarchy from David to Solomon is described with great emphasis as continuous and smooth, with the aim of supplying an alternative to I Kings 1–2. The anointing took place during David's lifetime, according to the will of God, who chose Solomon from among all of David's sons, with the agreement of the king and of the nation; it is directly connected with the preparations for the building of the Temple. (e) The central point is the account of the organization of the realm, both in the spheres of religious life and of civil administration. The organization of religious life is expressed in the following matters: (1) Determining the place of worship, effected in stages throughout David's reign. Bringing the Ark from Kiriath-Jearim to Jerusalem, the erection of the tent for it, and the arrangement of the service are described as David's first act after his crowning (I Chron. 13–16), followed by his request to build a permanent Temple for the Ark and its rejection by Nathan at God's command (ch. 17). Despite the rejection, David continued his activities, fixed the site of the Temple at the spot where God revealed himself on the threshing floor of Ornan the Jebusite (ch. 21), and began comprehensive preparations for building – conscription of craftsmen, provision of the necessary materials and precious metals, and even the plan of the Temple given to him by the Holy Spirit (22; 28:11–19). As a final activity before his death, he requested the people to bring contributions and donations for the building of the Temple (29:6–8). (2) A fundamental and broad organization of the Temple personnel, taking count of them, their division into courses, and the designation of their detailed functions in preparation for the Temple service (chs. 23–26). Together with the plan for the building, David also handed Solomon the complete organization of the Temple personnel (28:13). (3) Establishing the cult in two places: at the Ark of

God in Jerusalem (16:4–7, 37–38) and at the Tabernacle of the Lord in Gibeon, where the sacrificial worship was conducted under the direction of Zadok the priest (16:39–42). All these cult arrangements served as a basis for the establishment of the service of God by Solomon.

The administrative and military organization is described in both the parallel passages, the list of David's warriors (11:20–47) and the list of David's ministers (18:15–17) and in the supplementary passages – the description of the military organization and the list of its captains (27:1–15), the list of the tribal heads (27:16–22), the list of the administrators of the king's property (27:25–31), the list of the ministers of the central government (27:32–34), and a description of the functions of the officers and judges (26:29–32). (f) Special emphasis is placed upon the fact that David was king "over all Israel." The view expressed is that the unity of Israel and the sovereignty of David are two complementary facets of an ideal existence.

Solomon (II Chron. 1–9). The description of his reign in Chronicles is linked even more strongly to the source in Kings than that of David's reign, and draws most of its material from it. However, many details have been omitted, including David's will and its execution by Solomon (I Kings 2), the trial of the harlots (*ibid.* 3:16–28), the list of Solomon's officers (*ibid.* 4), the description of the provisions for his court, his wisdom, and his poetry (*ibid.* 5:1–14), etc. The additions made in Chronicles are few and limited in scope, and chiefly broaden the existing description and provide an explanation for some of its aspects: e.g., the explanation of the nature of the high place in Gibeon as a justification for the offering of sacrifices there (II Chron. 1:3–6); an amplification of the correspondence between Solomon and Hiram, and a description of the size and splendor of the Temple to explain David's turn to Hiram for help (2:2–9); the ritual arrangement established in the Temple by Solomon (5:11–13; 7:6; 8:13–16), etc. The treatment of Solomon's reign is similar to that of David's, despite a difference in details. The choice of the material and its mode of presentation focus the attention on those points which seem of major importance to the author and divert it from other matters: (a) Chronicles disregards the weak points of Solomon's reign and omits both the struggles for the crown at the beginning of it and the religious deviations, the sins, and the failings at the end (I Kings 11:1–40). The summary of Solomon's reign comes immediately after the description of his successes and his wealth, and passes over all the difficulties and sins at the end of his life. (b) The core of the description concentrates on the building of the Temple, and all of Solomon's other activities and qualities are placed aside and given less attention. Of the nine chapters assigned to Solomon, more than six are devoted to the construction of the Temple, its consecration, and its orders. Immediately upon his ascent to the throne – and after one chapter (II Chron. 1) describing God's revelation to Solomon in Gibeon and a few other matters – Solomon turned to the initial preparations by writing a letter to Hiram king of Tyre and organizing the craftsmen; immediately afterward he concentrated on the actual construction. Most of the material in I Kings 3–5, before the construction of the Temple, is omitted. (c) The emphasis on Solomon's wisdom, which is conspicuous in Kings, is substantially lessened in Chronicles, and all that remains are the story of Solomon's dream at Gibeon, allusions to his wisdom in Hiram's letter (II Chron. 2:11) and in the words of the Queen of Sheba (9:5–8). In this way the selection of material leads to the emphasis on wealth rather than wisdom as Solomon's chief trait. (d) Other omitted matter concerns the division of the country into administrative districts and the country's administrative organization (I Kings 4). In contrast, this matter is emphasized in connection with David, and as a result the initiative and execution are transferred from Solomon to David. (e) The additions in Chronicles supplement and strengthen the above-mentioned aims. Their major interest lies in the sphere of religion, such as the description of the cult organization, an amplification of the word of God to Solomon, etc. Only isolated verses describe other aspects of Solomon's kingdom, and the information about the conquest of Hamath-Zobah should be noted (II Chron. 8:3).

The description of Solomon's reign is a continuation of and complement to the description of David's reign, both in character and aim – silence regarding the weak points, emphasis on the description of the Temple in Jerusalem, and a view of the reign of Solomon as a stage in the realization of David's reign and a continuation of it.

HISTORY OF THE KINGS OF JUDAH. This section extends from Rehoboam to the destruction of the land and the Temple in the reign of Zedekiah. Material on the kingdom of Israel is included together with the history of Judah, but it is introduced only in connection with the kingdom of Judah. Once again, the Book of Kings serves as a main source for these chapters of Chronicles, especially in establishing a general framework for the period, providing fundamental data, establishing the course of events, and in describing of a number of crucial events. Together with this, however, there is much additional material, and the manner in which the book describes this period differs substantially from the way in which it describes the reign of David and Solomon: (a) the extraction of the material from Kings is comprehensive rather than selective. Almost everything in Kings having a connection with the kingdom of Judah is included in Chronicles, although there is a difference between the beginning and the end of the period. Everything in Kings up to Jotham is transferred *in toto* to Chronicles (except for two verses in the description of Rehoboam's reign with minor changes). The main difference between the two texts results from the additions made in Chronicles (see below). From Ahaz onward the omissions increase, but they are not necessarily of the weak spots. In most cases they are adaptations and abridgments that present the main contents in paraphrase; the narrative of Sennacherib's expedition to Judah (II Kings 18:13–19:37) is given with great brevity in a paraphrase of the source (II Chron. 32:1–22), as are the descriptions of the altar built by Ahaz and the changes he made in the Temple (II Chron. 28:23–24), the reforms of Josiah (34:29–33), the destruction of the Temple and the exile of Zedekiah (36:17–20). A number of matters, most of them at the end of the period, are omitted altogether. (b) The point of departure for the history of David and Solomon is the desire to fashion an image without blemish, whereas in the era of the kings of Judah no effort is made to describe an ideal picture. The evaluation of the kings of Judah (with the exception of Rehoboam, Abijah, and Manasseh) does not differ from that of Kings. In keeping with its theological outlook that virtue is rewarded and sin punished, Chronicles explains the setbacks of righteous kings by attributing to them sinful acts not known from the historical books. (The death of the commoner Uzza at YHWH's hand known from II Sam.6:7 is attributed to David's failure to follow proper ritual according to I Chr. 15:13.) Thus, Asa's foot disease (I Kings 16:23) follows upon his imprisonment of the seer Hanani for castigating the king for trusting in the Arameans rather than in YHWH. Asa then compounds the sin by seeking out the physicians rather than YHWH (II Chr. 16: 7–13; this last element, as already seen by *Wellhausen, is a midrash on the king's name based on Aramaic *sy*, "physician"). In the same fashion the long reign of the wicked Manasseh is attributed by the Chronicler to the king's repentance while imprisoned by the Assyrians (II Chr. 33:10–20; the imprisonment itself may have a historical basis). (c) The main difference in the description lies in the additions, which are found in connection with most of the kings, and in the subtle amendments in the quoted material. Despite the similarity of the general picture, the difference in details and in comprehensiveness leads to a substantial difference in the image of the period and of its kings. For example, the description of Hezekiah's reign is equally comprehensive in both books, and the evaluation of him is favorable, but in the Book of Kings three chapters are devoted to Sennacherib's expedition, the king's illness, and the visit of the Babylonian emissaries to his palace. Chronicles devotes only one chapter to these events (II Chron. 32), and in three long chapters describes Hezekiah's religious acts – the purification of the Temple (ch. 29), the celebration of the Passover (ch. 30), and the organization of the offerings and the tithes (ch. 31) – matters not mentioned at all in Kings. The shift in emphasis changes the image of the king and the nature of the whole period. This change occurs mainly in connection with those kings in whom the book shows particular interest (Asa, Jehoshaphat, Hezekiah, and Josiah), although also to a lesser extent in connection with other kings. (d) The additions include much information in the spheres of military, political, and economic history. They extend the limited knowledge of the period and add details to the incomplete picture of the Book of Kings. The following additions merit special note: the list of fortified cities built in Judah by Rehoboam (II Chron. 11:5–12), the towns captured by Abijah from Jeroboam (13:19), the wars of Asa and Jehoshaphat (14:8–14; 20:1–2), Jehoshaphat's organization of the judicial system (19:5–11), information on the wars of Uzziah, his organization of the army and weapons, his economic activity and his renown (26:6–15), the acts of Jotham in the military and economic spheres (27:3–5), and the steps taken by Hezekiah to fortify Jerusalem and to organize the water supply at the time of Sennacherib's expedition (32:3–6). Some of this information is confirmed by non-Israelite sources and by archaeological discoveries, but most is found only in Chronicles, whence the great importance of the information. It may be noted that this kind of attention to military, political, and economic details is characteristic of Mesopotamian royal accounts.

The Sources and Their Use

Like every historical work, Chronicles is dependent upon sources. This fact is confirmed by an examination of the book and the testimony of its author, who notes more than 20 books with different names and directs the reader to them to obtain more details. Despite the great detail, not all the sources are mentioned, as is evidenced by the fact that biblical books used as the main source are not mentioned at all. The sources of the book can be classified in two groups: those that have survived, through which the author's manner of working and his methods can be understood, and those that have not survived, including both those mentioned and those not mentioned. In clarifying their character and nature there is a great deal of conjecture and inference. Surviving sources that are not mentioned in Chronicles are the biblical books: the Pentateuch, Joshua, Samuel, and Kings, which serve as the central source for the entire history of David, Solomon, and the kings of Judah (see above). From the later prophets the noticeable influence of Isaiah, Jeremiah, Zechariah, and several Psalms and fragments of Ezra and Nehemiah are to be found.

The sources mentioned in the book can be divided by their names into three groups. The first consists of six general books, i.e., "the book of the kings of Israel and Judah" (e.g., II Chron. 27:7), "the book of the kings of Judah and Israel" (16:11), the same book with another similar title in Hebrew (25:26), "the book of the kings of Israel" (20:34), "the acts of the kings of Israel" (33:18), and "the *midrash* (perhaps "annotation / expansion") of the book of the kings" (24:27). Wherever one of these books is mentioned, it is mentioned alone, and nowhere does the Chronicler use two of these books as the source for any one period. The use of the names Judah and Israel in the titles of the books seems to be ambiguous or at least inconsistent. The difference between the names of most of the books is very slight, and they sound like variations of the same name. It seems highly probable that all of them indicate the same book, which had no fixed title, and all the different titles refer to the source's nature, not to its name. The question remains whether the book is to be identified with "the *midrash* of the book of the kings," mentioned only once in II Chronicles (24:27). It is apparent that it is not to be identified with the canonical Book of Kings since it contains additional information, nor with "The book of the chronicles of the kings of Judah" mentioned in the Book of Kings, since it deals with the kings of both Israel and Judah. It is reasonable to assume that it was more like the biblical book of Kings, while not identical with it.

The second group of sources includes 12 books whose authors were prophets, e.g., "the words of Samuel the seer," "the words of Nathan the prophet," "the words of Gad the seer" (I Chron. 29:29), and others (II Chron. 9:29; 12:15; 13:22; 20:34; 26:22; 32:32; 33:19). All the prophets except one are known from the books of the Former Prophets. It is difficult to assume that the author of Chronicles possessed authentic prophetic books, e.g., from the era of David. The death of Samuel occurred before David was made king, and therefore it is difficult to believe that the acts of David were written in "the words of Samuel the seer" (I Chron. 29:29). One has the impression that these references give expression to a certain point of view not limited to Chronicles, according to which the prophets of every generation wrote the history of their time.

The books with general titles are not mentioned where there is mention of the prophetic books and vice versa; it is thus clear that the two types are consistently and systematically mutually exclusive. A title consisting of double description occurs twice: "Now the rest of the acts of Jehoshaphat… are written in the words of Jehu the son of Hanani, which is inserted in the book of the kings of Israel" (II Chron. 20:34); and "Now the rest of the acts of Hezekiah… behold, they are written in the vision of Isaiah the prophet, the son of Amoz, in the book of the kings of Judah and Israel" (32:32). These titles indicate that "the acts of Jehu son of Hanani" and "the vision of Isaiah the son of Amoz" are not independent books but extracts of a comprehensive book on the history of the kings of Judah and Israel. Similarly it is likely that the other books, also named after prophets, are not separate works but fragments of a comprehensive book, and were each written, in conformity with the outlook mentioned above, by a prophet in his era. However, one cannot ignore the possibility that the author had access to prophetic tales and legends attributed to the time of the First Temple.

The third group consists of additional books and documents, such as "the writing of David king of Israel and the writing of Solomon his son" (35:4), "the words of David, and of Asaph the seer" (29:30), "the lamentations" (35:25), etc. In a number of places in Chronicles it is reported that certain information was noted and committed to writing, but it cannot be known whether the author meant to state that he had the document before him, such as, in the case of "These, written by name, came in the days of Hezekiah" (I Chron. 4:41), "All of these were reckoned by genealogies in the days of Jotham king of Judah, and in the days of Jeroboam king of Israel" (5:17), etc. It is possible to assume that "the words of David and Asaph the seer" refer to the Book of Psalms, but this is only conjecture. In contrast, it is doubtful whether "the lamentations" refers to the Book of Lamentations, as the latter is a lament for the destruction of the Temple and not for Josiah. In light of the manifold information preserved in the book, it is probable that the author did have actual documents before him, perhaps even monarchal and Temple chronicles that survived until his time.

The evaluation of the sources and of the information derived from them has changed substantially in the course of research. Scholars of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th centuries were of the unanimous opinion that this information lacked all substance and that its only historical value lay in what it was able to indicate about the time of the author – the Second Temple period. The author's sources were evaluated as midrash, lacking all historical value. Beginning with the 1920s, the pendulum swung toward the opposite view, in accordance with which much of the additional information gained respect as historical data, or at least as coming from sources available to the Chronicler, rather than freely invented by him.

It is possible to learn about the way in which the sources were adapted by investigating the author's attitude toward the books of the Former Prophets. The conclusion of research is clear: the approach of the Chronicler is one-sided and tendentious. He indeed transfers large sections of his sources into his book literally, and where the sources conform with his purpose, or at least do not contradict it, he transfers them with only slight changes, chiefly linguistic. However, the actual transference of the material is selective, and a result of the mere selection is a substantial change in the original picture. In addition, the Chronicler inserts substantial changes into the source and adds explanations, speeches, and words of prophets, creating an historical picture that conforms to his purpose. It is reasonable to assume that the author also employed this method with the sources that have not come down. Even if the latter were trustworthy, it is likely that the author also collected from them in accordance with his purposes, changing and editing them to his taste. This does not disqualify the value of all the added material. While the author may have at times "invented" facts, he also utilized given material provided by both the sources and the reality of his time, and set up the data to conform with his purposes, conceptions, and outlooks. The task of the exegete is to uncover these purposes and thereby reveal the methods of adaptation. Information that is neutral toward, or even opposed to, the purposes of the book, as well as information utilized as a basis and background for purposeful adaptation, undoubtedly contains solid historical elements. In contrast to his treatment of the Former Prophets, with regard to the Torah the Chronicler never alters his received data. In fact, in a well-known case (II Chr. 35:13) he harmonizes the instructions for the cooking of the paschal lamb in Exodus (12:9) with those of Deuteronomy (16:6–7).

Apart from its decisive importance for the actual understanding of the book, the discovery of the book's aims is, in the last analysis, the method by which the reliability and credibility of the historical information can be ascertained.

Aim and Purposes of the Book

From the beginning of biblical research, it was shown that Chronicles, far more than other historiographical parts of the

Bible, subordinated its description of the course of history to its aim and purposes, which were determined by the realities – both sociopolitical and ideological – of the time of the book's composition. Several efforts have been made to ascribe the entire book to a single comprehensive purpose that would explain all its characteristics. J. Wellhausen claimed that the differences in the historical description and in the general outlook resulted from the influence of the Priestly Source, and he attributes all its differences to this influence. Other scholars, including M. Noth and W. Rudolph, regard the book's aim in establishing that the legitimate worship of God is possible only in Jerusalem and that only Judah is the legitimate community of God, as a polemic against the *Samaritans and their claims. D.N. Freedman claims that its purpose was to form a basis for the legitimate claims of the house of David to rule in Israel, and in particular for its authoritative status over the Temple and the cult. These and other attempts raise the question of whether one single and unilateral purpose can be found in the book, or whether it is more correct to explain it as a result of a comprehensive standpoint in which sociological realities, religious views, and polemical purposes are intermingled.

The author rewrites the history of Israel and the institutions in Ereẓ Israel. His interest is not only in Judah, for he creates a broad setting of the people of Israel as a background to the kingdom of David and stresses the existence of this background during the time of David and Solomon as well as after it. Similarly, this interest is not in the house of David alone. Quite naturally the history of the period is written as the history of its leaders, but there is a growing emphasis on the place and function of the people, in comparison with the narrative in Kings. The history of the people is described from the period in which it was permanently consolidated and its institutions received their final form. The author is not interested in beginnings, false starts and failures, but only in the period when a line of stability and permanence existed, and he continues to describe only that portion of the history characterized by continuity and succession. In the history of the people, the author stresses several points, above all the tie between the people and their God. Although Yahweh is the sole god in existence and the universal creator, he is specifically the God of the Jews. This tie between Yahweh and his people exists not in consequence of any deed but in and of itself, as a reality existing from the beginning without need for reasons or explanations. The tie is mutual: the people serve their God and God watches over and provides for His people. The final and obligatory manner in which the people serve their God was determined in two stages: the Law with its precepts and the obligation of sacrifice and its details were given through Moses; the place of worship and its order and organization were established as permanent institutions by David and achieved their complete realization under Solomon. The time of David and Solomon was the period of the creation and consolidation of the permanent institutions, which were thereafter binding upon the people and its kings. The manner in which God leads His people and the details of His providence also find expression from the time of Rehoboam onward. The providence of God determines the fate of the people at every point of history and is a direct result of the people's conduct to which He reacts. God watches over the people, leads it in justice, rewarding the righteous and punishing the wicked, and immediately requites every individual according to his merits. In the conception of the Chronicler, and in contrast with the deuteronomistic theology of Kings (see e.g., I Kgs. 21:28–29; II Kgs. 23:26–27), there is no place for delayed recompense: favor and punishment are immediate. In conformity with this conception, the author makes changes in his sources and converts history into a continuous chain of divine recompense; the people and their king behave in a certain way, and God reacts to their behavior.

Like the tie between the people and their God, the tie between Israel and its land is described as a phenomenon existing in its own right without the need for assurances, explanations, and reasons. All those events in the history of the people which involved severance from the land, such as the descent to Egypt of Jacob and his sons, the Exodus from Egypt leading to the conquest of Canaan, and the various exiles, are blurred or omitted entirely in Chronicles. The silence on this matter creates the impression that the tie of Israel to its land was continuous and uninterrupted and need not be enlarged upon. The explanation for the approach taken by the Chronicler was the need to legitimate Jewish claims to the land under the circumstances of Persian rule. It was not to Jewish advantage to concentrate on those traditions that tied its history to absence from the land and conquest from outside; the very traditions that mark the Torah and Joshua.

The Chronicler describes the history of the people and the kingdom through the acts of the kings, but only the monarchy of David and his house is legitimate, it having been given "to David… forever and to his sons by a covenant of salt" (II Chron. 13:5). The northern monarchy is illegitimate; it was established by a revolt against God and the house of David and its perpetuation involved idolatry and unlawful worship. Nevertheless, the inhabitants of the north are also people of God. The author does not describe the history of this people, since no distinction can be made between them and their kings, and the northern kingdom as an entity has no right to exist; however, the people of this kingdom remained "the people of Israel" and "brothers" of the people of Judah. Those who remained faithful to God and His Temple came to Judah both to join it (during the reign of Rehoboam (II Chr. 12:16) and Asa (II Chr. 15:9)) and to serve God there (during the reign of Hezekiah (II Chr. 30) and Josiah (II Chr. 34–35)).

The religious life, at the center of which was the Temple, assumes an important role in the description. According to the outlook of the author, the life of the Israelite people in the period of the First Temple centered on the precepts of the Torah and the service of God in the Temple. The building of the Temple and the organization of the personnel constituted the focus of the reigns of David and Solomon. Even after the permanent arrangements had been established, the kings occupied themselves with the Temple and matters revolving around it: Joash and Josiah arranged for repairs in the Temple and renewed the service in it (II Chron. 24:4–14; 34:8–13), and Hezekiah, who, after the reign of Ahaz, did most for the Temple, purified and rededicated it to its function as the initial act of his reign (29:3–36). Various kings carried out religious reforms and renewed the tie between God and the people (Asa, 14:3–4; 15:8–15; Jehoshaphat, 19:4–6; Josiah, 34:3–7, 29–33), and other kings celebrated the festival of Passover with crowds of people and great splendor (Hezekiah, II Chron. 30; Josiah, 35:1–19). All these deeds, the various ceremonies, and the festivals are described in the book at great length, with attention to details that reveal the author's special esteem for them.

Of the Temple personnel, the book places most stress on the part played by the Levites. It does not diminish the tasks of the priests, but the frequent emphasis on the Levites in itself overshadows the priests. A clear aim to widen the compass of the Levites' functions and to stress their virtues is discernible. In comparison with the priests, the Levites are presented in a better light: e.g., "But the priests were too few… wherefore their brethren the Levites did help them, till the work was ended, and until the priests had sanctified themselves; for the Levites were more upright in heart to sanctify themselves than the priests" (29:34). The division of the Levites into courses and the dress ascribed to them (5:12) bring them still closer to the priests. Among the Levites, the Temple singers are given particular emphasis. The book consistently attributes to David the establishment of singing in the Temple, and this tradition is apparently not peculiar to Chronicles (cf. Ezra 3:10; Neh. 12:36, 45–46). In all the ceremonies and in the regular service of the Temple, song and music are stressed; many scholars attribute the composition of Chronicles to a Levite or Temple singer who wanted to express the claims of his class.

An important place in the book is devoted to the prophets. They are held to be writers of history, and in each generation there is a prophet who records the events of the period (see above). They also stand as God's emissaries, who, in each generation, appear before the king and the people, transmit the word of God to them, rebuke them for their deeds, warn them of God's wrath, and encourage faith in God and repentance. Throughout the monarchic period, there is a continuous line of such prophets: Shemaiah (II Chron. 12:5), Azariah son of Oded (15:1ff.), etc. Levites and priests also served as prophets when inspired by God (20:14; 24:20).

Composition of the Book

From the time of L. Zunz, the view long prevailed that Chronicles and Ezra-Nehemiah are a single continuous sequence and constitute a comprehensive historiographical work on the history of Israel from its beginning until the time of Nehemiah. This work was termed "the Chronistic Historiography" to distinguish it from "the Deuteronomic Historiography" of the Former Prophets, which extends to the destruction of the First Temple. The main arguments in favor of this assumption were expounded by Zunz, and over the years were diversified and extended. The first of these is the argument for the great similarity in language and spheres of interest in the two books. In the opinion of these scholars the linguistic peculiarities of the Chronicles are revealed to the same degree in the book of Ezra-Nehemiah. Lists compiled by some scholars, of linguistic forms and modes of expression which are characteristic of the language of Chronicles and differentiate it from the early books of the Bible, also include phenomena of Ezra-Nehemiah and exemplify this similarity. It has also been claimed that there is an actual identity in the spheres of interest, such as the detailed description of religious ceremonies, the abundant and precise occupation with genealogical lists, etc. Additional proofs are the congruence of the end of Chronicles with the beginning of Ezra, which suggests that the books were originally a single continuous composition, and that I Esdras, which commences with II Chronicles 35, includes the last two chapters of Chronicles and passes on to Ezra 1.

Even when this view was generally accepted, some scholars continued to challenge it, and a more careful investigation reveals that there is indeed reason to doubt the identity of the authors of Chronicles and Ezra-Nehemiah. While there are many lines of resemblance in the language of the two books, the advance of research in late biblical Hebrew has shown that they are common to the entire linguistic stratum, and do not suffice to indicate stylistic peculiarities of a single author. Alongside the similarities, there are substantial differences between the two books that cannot be explained if it is assumed that they originated from a single author. The same applies to the ideological affinity. There is a certain affinity in the spheres of interests, yet substantial differences exist in both the ideological aims and the literary approach; e.g., the house of David occupies an important place in Chronicles but is pushed into a corner in Ezra-Nehemiah, where even Zerubabbel is not traced to the house of David; Chronicles hardly mentions the Exodus from Egypt, the wanderings in the wilderness, and the conquest of Canaan, whereas in Ezra-Nehemiah these themes return to take a central position in the prayers and the historical reviews; the theme of intermarriage with foreign women is a topic of great importance in Ezra-Nehemiah, but there is neither mention of nor allusion to it in Chronicles; the function of prophecy and the prophets is also completely different in the two books. From the literary approach, it seems that while Chronicles tends to a tendentious presentation of the data, an obvious exaggeration in numbers, and much schematization, Ezra-Nehemiah is a more realistic and sober description with little exaggeration or schematization. It thus appears that the two books are separate works. Examination of the language and the use of terms advances the assumption that Chronicles is the later of the two. The beginning of the edict of Cyrus found at the end of Chronicles was taken from Ezra. The date of Chronicles in relation to that of Ezra-Nehemiah hints at the time in which the book was composed.

Several theories have been put forth on the question of the book's composition and formation, and these can be divided into three different groups: (a) The tendency to resolve Chronicles into sources, in the manner of Pentateuch criticism i.e., into complete and continuous documents, each with its own author, whose compilation into the book's final form was carried out by a late redactor. The sources are considered to number between two and four. K. Galling divided the whole of Chronicles into two strata that go through the entire books of Chronicles and Ezra-Nehemiah. (b) The second group regards whole sections of Chronicles as alien to the book. Note should be taken chiefly of A.C. Welch and his followers, who claim that all of I Chronicles 1–9 is an independent composition and that the book is thus divisible into two works, each of which must be considered separately. (c) The third group, with which M. Noth and W. Rudolph, among others, may be connected, regards Chronicles basically as a single composition but reveals many additions and adaptations made after its completion. In contrast to the theory of sources, there is no attempt to discover a limited and defined number of authors who precede the author of Chronicles; but rather, the conjectured original book is sought and the additions are attributed to other persons with a variety of interests.

These attempts are founded on considerations of content, spheres of interest, and the existence of contradictions, great or small, between different parts of the book. It seems, however, that they fail to take into sufficient account the book's special character. The various contradictions, mainly in the lists, can be explained satisfactorily by the variegated material which the author used without achieving, or even attempting to achieve, full harmony. One must not discount the possibility that during the course of transmission, certain additions were made to the book, mainly in the lists, which are most amenable to change. However, it is difficult to assume that the scope of additions was as wide as is suggested, for example, by M. Noth. It seems, rather, that the book was essentially composed by a single author, with a comprehensive outlook, clear aims, and a characteristic language and style. This author made use of many sources and cast the material he collected in the mold of his language and thought. The degree of adaptation of the sources and documents, however, is not uniform, and whereas the description of some matters was completely rewritten, others were transmitted in their own wording and sense; it is thus doubtful whether complete harmony could have been achieved among all sections and chapters of the book.

The Author and His Time

The *baraita* attributes authorship of Chronicles to Ezra the scribe and Nehemiah: "Ezra wrote his book and the genealogies of the Book of Chronicles up to his own time… Who then finished it? Nehemiah the son of Hacaliah" (BB 15a). This quotation can be interpreted in several ways. Among biblical scholars, this opinion was supported by W.F. Albright, who sought to identify the "Chronicler" with Ezra; however, it is doubtful whether there is any substance in this tradition. A number of data help to fix the date of the book. The language is close in form, vocabulary, and the influence of Aramaic on it to the language of the later books of the Bible (Ezra-Nehemiah, Esther, *Daniel), as well as to the language of the Isaiah Scroll from *Qumran and the Samaritan *Pentateuch, thereby fixing an upper limit to the date of its composition. Note, e.g., the Aramaic interrogative *hēk*, "how?" for classical Hebrew *ēk* in II Chr. 13:12. Note as well Iranian loanwords *nedānāh*, "sheath" (< **nidāna*; I Chr. 22:27); and *ganzak* "treasury" (< **ganza*, I Chr 28:11) At the same time the absence of Greek words encourages a date within the limits of the Persian period. The influence of Persian dualism can be seen in the Chronicler's attribution of David's ill-advised census to the proddings of Satan (I Chr. 21:1) rather than Yahweh (II Sam. 24:1). Attempts have been made to fix its date by means of more exact data, among them the list of David's descendants in I Chronicles 3:17–24. The assumption is that the author continued the list up to his own time, but this can be neither proved nor refuted. The text of the list is in some parts irremediably faulty, and opinions differ on whether it recounts six or eleven generations after Zerubabbel. It must also be remembered that a list such as this is very amenable to changes, and it is difficult to draw conclusions from it alone about the exact date of the entire composition. An attempt has also been made to fix the date of the book in accordance with the Samaritan schism. In this case the assumption is made that Chronicles was written as a polemic against the Samaritans after their separation and the construction of their Temple on Mt. Gerizim. However, this assumption also does not lead to an unambiguous conclusion, since scholars differ on the date of the separation, some ascribing it to the time of Nehemiah and others, accepting the testimony of Josephus, deferring it to the time of Alexander the Great. In actual fact the fundamental assumption is not proven at all. It has already been mentioned that Chronicles was composed after Ezra-Nehemiah, as is proven by an investigation of terms and the development of the institutions. It can also be determined that the book was likely composed during the Persian period; therefore, it seems that the date of composition falls within the fourth century B.C.E. At present there are no means for fixing a more exact date.

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[Sara Japhet / S. David Sperling (2nd ed.)]

CHRONOLOGY.

GENERAL

The human notion of time involves the simultaneous and successive occurrence of events; the science of chronology ascertains their proper sequence. The human idea of time also involves measuring; chronology, therefore, attempts to determine the duration of past events, the amount of time between events, and the distance between past events and our time, measured in regular astronomical units: days, years, etc. Thus chronology attempts to locate an event relatively with respect to other events, and absolutely in terms of the present system of reckoning dates.

Relative Dating

ARCHAEOLOGY. In an archaeological excavation several layers of habitation may be uncovered, those nearest to the surface being the most recent. Pottery specimens (especially good evidence because of their virtual indestructibility and therefore useful as a scale for relative dating in archaeology) may be found in each stratum, and a relative sequence of pottery styles can be established. Another way of establishing such a sequence is through finds in different sites whose relative chronology is known from another source, e.g., Greek colonies in Italy whose order of foundation is given by Thucydides. Once this stylistic, or typological, sequence is established, it is possible to determine the place in that sequence for other materials found in close association with one of the known pottery styles.

Paleography, the study of ancient modes of writing and alphabet forms, can often give relative dates for undated documents. Where evidence is abundant, e.g., epigraphic Athenian decrees or Greco-Roman papyri from Egypt, literary analysis – particular usage of language, especially technical terms or legal formulas – can be valuable for approximate dating.

NUMBERED AND NAMED YEARS. Ancient Near Eastern historical records such as king lists and annals furnish sequences of rulers, the number of years in a king's reign, and, in the case of annals and some monuments, events assigned to numbered regnal years. In counting years the historian must know when the first regnal year began. In Egypt the interval between a king's accession and the subsequent new year was his first regnal year; but in Babylon that period was called "the beginning of the reign," while the counting of regnal years commenced only after the new year.

In certain countries years were named after important events, as in ancient Mesopotamia, or after "eponymous" magistrates of whom there are some extant lists, e.g., *limmu* in Assyria, *archon* in Athens (in the histories of Diodorus and Dionysius of Halicarnassus), and *consul* in republican Rome (in the *fasti Capitolini*).

References to contemporary persons or events in ancient documents are helpful in establishing more accurate sequences, or in relating two known sequences to each other. An example is the so-called "Synchronistic Chronicle," an Assyrian document listing Assyrian monarchs and contemporary Babylonian kings. More sophisticated synchronisms are found in the works of historians like Diodorus, who prefaces each annual account with the year's Athenian *archon*, Roman *consul*, and, if appropriate, Olympiad.

The historian who works with these materials faces a variety of problems. Lists of kings and eponymous officials are often schematic and inaccurate, especially for early periods. Mesopotamian king lists, for example, are not reliable for the first part of the second millennium B.C.E., while Manetho's list of Egyptian pharaohs is reliable for the New Kingdom but unreliable for the First and Second Intermediate Periods, where it differs from another king list, the Turin Papyrus. Although trustworthy after around 300 B.C.E., the Roman *fasti* present difficulties for earlier dates. The date indicated by the *fasti* for the Gallic sack of Rome, for instance, differs from the date established by Polybius through synchronisms with Greek history.

Contemporary, often rival, dynasties were sometimes recorded as successive in the king lists, either erroneously or because of political considerations. Some rulers were accidentally omitted from the lists or intentionally suppressed, and a king could predate his years to the beginning of a previous reign in order to strengthen his own legitimacy by refusing to recognize that of his predecessor. Editors altered their material to bring it into harmony with accepted historical traditions. Another problem for the historian is that political calendars, e.g., the Athenian and Roman, began at different times of the year, making exact synchronisms difficult.

Absolute Dating

Where hypothetical sequences have been established, the dating still remains relative until an absolute date for at least one unit in the sequence is known. This is true for pottery, written documents, such as the Dead Sea Scrolls, and king or eponym lists. The goal of chronology is to date objects or events accurately according to our calendar (the Julian, see below).

A physical process known as radiocarbon dating, devised by W.F. Libby, is a direct method of determining approximately the absolute date of an ancient object. In living organisms, a certain organic proportion of the carbon is carbon 14, i.e., "heavy," or radioactive carbon, which, after death, disintegrates at a constant rate. In substances of organic origin, therefore, approximate dates can be calculated from the extent to which the ratio of carbon 14 to carbon 12 (the normal, non-radioactive variety) has fallen. This radiocarbon method is especially useful for dating prehistoric discoveries, e.g., organic (wooden) objects from the pre-urban civilizations of Mesopotamia. Dates, however, can be given only with wide margins of error, extending to centuries.

The most accurate keys for reduction to absolute dates are references to astronomical events, which modern science can pinpoint to exact calendar dates. For example, the entire series of Assyrian *limmu* (successive eponyms) from 911 to 648 B.C.E. can be dated by means of an eclipse which occurred in 763 B.C.E. Celestial phenomena, however, are cyclical; so the approximate date of the recorded event must be known before this method can be used.

The historical method of arriving at absolute dates is based on the fact that our reckoning of years continues (with slight modifications, see below) to be according to the Julian calendar. From a fixed point – the Christian Era – we can count forward or backward by Julian years and months to get an exact date. Thus all non-Julian, even Roman pre-Julian dates, must be converted into Julian ones before they can be made absolute. Several factors, however, make this task difficult.

Counting backward would be easier if we possessed a sufficient number of ancient systems of enumerating years. However, before the Seleucids, who used the date of the accession of their dynasty (312/311 B.C.E.; see below) as the key for calculating the years, such systems are nonexistent. Later eras also marked accessions (e.g., that of Diocletian, 284 C.E.), victories (e.g., that of Actium, 31 B.C.E.), or the establishment of a Roman province (e.g., Macedonia, 148 B.C.E.). None of these, of course, is of help for pre-Seleucid dates.

Other related systems are the counting of Olympiads (every four years from 776 B.C.E.), Roman reckoning *ab urbe condita* ("from the founding of the city," in 753 B.C.E.), the Jewish "Era of Creation" (*Anno Mundi*, from 3761 B.C.E.; see below), and the Christian Era, devised by Dionysius Exiguus 532 years after the Incarnation. These, however, are the reckonings of chronographers, and were not officially used as designations for years.

CALENDARS. Another factor which makes absolute dating difficult, even where a dated document is extant, is the great variation among ancient *calendar systems. Widespread in the Near East and Greece was the lunisolar year, a system of twelve annual lunar months made to correspond with the solar year, by means of periodic intercalation. Determination of the calendar evolved from declaring the beginning of each month upon the sighting of the first crescent of the new moon to the more sophisticated cyclical calculation of new moons and intercalations. The basic Babylonian scheme was adopted by the Jews (who did not, however, abandon lunar observation for calculation until the fourth century C.E.), the Persians, and later the Seleucids (who retained the Macedonian names of the months).

Greek calendars were theoretically lunisolar, but alternated "full" (30 days) with "hollow" (29 days) months. These were somewhat artificial calendars, according to which festivals were held, and they did not necessarily correspond to the actual lunar cycles. lntercalations and other adjustments were made arbitrarily when deemed necessary, even for political reasons. In Athens, there was in addition to the civil lunisolar calendar the political Prytany calendar, which divided the year into administrative periods. This artificiality and, furthermore, the lack of uniformity between the calendars of different Greek cities, makes it extremely difficult to establish a correct Julian date; the historian considers himself fortunate when he is able to determine the correct Julian year and season of an event in Greek history.

The Macedonian calendar used by the Ptolemies for official purposes was lunisolar; but by the end of the third century B.C.E. it was adjusted to fit the ancient standard Egyptian year, a uniform and completely solar year of 365 (12 × 30 + 5) days.

The early Roman calendar of 355 days with intercalations every second year also ignored the moon. Julius Caesar abandoned the old system and instituted the nearly astronomically correct year of 365¼ days, which agreed with the sun and the seasons. The modern calendar is this Julian calendar (used regularly from 8 C.E.) adjusted by Pope Gregory XIII: ten days were dropped in 1582 and the quadrennial intercalary day is to be omitted in three years out of every 400 (i.e., it was omitted in 1700, 1800, and 1900, but not in 2000).

It must be noted that although the various official calendars may aid the modern historian, the ancient peasant probably reckoned time according to the "natural" year, i.e., by the seasons, stars, and certain constellations like the signs of the zodiac.

CHRONOGRAPHY. Hellanicus of Lesbos was the first to adjust the dates of events to a common standard, the year of the priestesses of Hera at Argos. Timaeus and Eratosthenes dated by Olympiads. Eratosthenes, the first "scientific" chronographer, also produced a scheme for dating events in Greek history by counting the number of years in the intervals between important occurrences.

The "Canon" in Eusebius' *Chronica* (c. 300 C.E.), translated by Jerome and continued up to 378 B.C.E., has an ambitious scheme of synchronisms: years after Abraham (counted from 2016 B.C.E.), royal years, Olympiads, and so on. Theon's commentary on the astronomer Ptolemy's work (the "Ptolemaic Canon") gives astronomically exact dates for successive reigns of Babylonian, Persian, Ptolemaic, Roman, and Byzantine rulers.

Using these sources, especially Eusebius, the first modern chronographers, G. Scaliger (1540–1609) and D. Fetavius (1583–1652), calculated the ancient dates in terms of Julian years. The weakness of their systems was that they were limited in their sources to often erroneous dates furnished by the ancients themselves, and to sometimes faulty manuscript traditions which perpetuated errors.

The basic method of converting dates to our own reckoning is to establish a Julian date by working back through years in the era of Diocletian and Roman consular lists. For Roman pre-Julian and Greek dates with rare exception we must be satisfied with getting the Julian year and the approximate season with the help of synchronisms. Using king lists and synchronisms for the Near East, we must still recognize a margin of error of about ten years back to the 14th century B.C.E., 50 to the 17th century, and 100 or more for earlier dates. For the pre-literate period we must resort to archaeological methods.

[Stanley Isser]

JEWISH METHODS OF COUNTING

In the biblical period, especially from the beginning of the Monarchy, the years were counted according to the regnal years of the Israelite and Judahite kings. There was never a fixed era, such as the classical Greek Era of the Olympiads (see above). In the Persian period (from 539 B.C.E. on), the Jews, as Persian subjects, counted according to the regnal year of the contemporary Persian monarch (e.g., Haggai 1:1; Zech. 1:1).

In the Hellenistic period, the Seleucid reckoning came into use. The victory of Seleucus and his ally Ptolemy over Demetrius Poliorcetes at Gaza in 312 B.C.E. and the triumphant return of Seleucus to Babylon was taken to mark the beginning of a new era (Dec. 7, 312, in the Macedonian calendar and April 3, 311, in the Babylonian calendar). The Seleucid era was in vogue among the Jews until the Middle Ages (in the East it lasted until the 16th century).

Other eras which did not last were the Hasmonean era (from the accession of *Simeon the Hasmonean 143/2 B.C.E.), and the "Era of the Redemption of Zion" (between the years 66 and 70 and the era of "The Freedom of Israel," front 131 to 135 C.E.).

Dates have also been reckoned from the destruction of the Second Temple (*minyan le-ḥurban ha-bayit)*: year one of this era= 3830 *Anno Mundi* = year 381 of the Seleucid era = 69/70 C.E.

The era at present in use among the Jews is the *minyan la-yeẓirah*, "Era of the Creation," according to which the years are calculated from the creation of the world (*Anno Mundi*). This era came into popular use about the ninth century C.E. In various rabbinical computations the "Era of the Creation" began in the autumn of one of the years between 3762 and 3758 B.C.E. From the 12th century C.E., however, it became accepted that the "Era of the Creation" began in 3761 B.C.E. (to be exact, on Oct. 7 of that year). This computation is founded on synchronisms of chronological elements expressed in the Bible and calculations found in early post-biblical Jewish literature.

Traditional Jewish Chronography

The earliest Jewish chronological works that counted the years from the Creation have not survived. Of the work by the Alexandrian Jew Demetrius (third century B.C.E.), which deduced Jewish historical dates from the Bible, only a few fragments are extant. In the Book of *Jubilees, events from the Creation to the Exodus are dated by the cycles of jubilee and sabbatical years, i.e., cycles of 49 and seven years. Scholars differ as to the date and origin of Jubilees (see *Calendar). The Era of the Creation in this work is probably only hypothetical.

The earliest and most important of all the Jewish chronological works extant is the *Seder Olam, which, according to talmudic tradition, was compiled by Yose b. Ḥalafta in the second century C.E. The author, whose date is unknown, was possibly the first to use the rabbinic "Era of the Creation." His chronology extends from the Creation to the period of Bar Kokhba, i.e., to the days of the Roman emperor Hadrian; but the period from Nehemiah to Bar Kokhba (i.e., from Artaxerxes to Hadrian) is compressed into one single chapter. The Persian phase shrinks to only 54 years (the variant reckoning of 250 years is corrupt, see Seder Olam).

In the Talmud

Seder Olam combines an interpretation of biblical data with rabbinic tradition. According to the latter, the period of the Second Temple lasted 420 years (Av. Zar. 9a). This calculation is related to the 490 years of Daniel (Dan. 9:24), taken as the interval between the destruction of the First Temple and the destruction of the Second Temple. If 70 years are subtracted for the Exile, then a period of 420 years is left for the Second Temple. The author of *Seder Olam* divides this period as follows: the period of Persian rule – 34 years; the Greek period – 180 years; the Maccabees – 103 years; and the Herods – 103 years. Counting back from the destruction of the Second Temple (70 C.E.) would give the date 33 C.E. for the accession of Herod the Great, 136 B.C.E. for the Hasmonean era, and, with 180 years for the rule of the Greeks, would place Alexander the Great in the Land of Israel in the year 316 B.C.E. Before this, however, the schematic 420 years for the existence of the Second Temple leaves only 34 years from the completion of the Temple (according to our chronology 516 B.C.E.) to Alexander the Great (332 B.C.E.) instead of 184 years. In other words, a large error emerges in the *Seder Olam* author's calculations of the Persian period.

A number of attempts have been made to reconcile the *Seder Olam* with accepted historical data. H. Englander has suggested that the 34 years mentioned by the *tanna* are not to be counted from the conquest of Babylon by Cyrus to Alexander, but from the time when the Jewish community was truly reestablished on the basis of the Torah as the fundamental law after Ezra's arrival. This interpretation would imply that the Artaxerxes of Ezra's time was the second king by that name and that Ezra's arrival must be dated at about 398 B.C.E. The above assumptions are not the predominant view among scholars, and even if they were, they would place Alexander's arrival at 364 B.C.E. which in itself is incorrect. According to J.Z. Lauterbach, the chronological problem is the result of amoraic misunderstandings of tannaitic statements that were essentially correct. The intention of the author of *Seder Olam* was not to give one complete and congruous report on the period of the Second Temple. He merely assembles sundry ideas about the various governments, each one complete in itself but not connected. His statement attributing 103 years each to the Hasmonean and Herodian regimes is basically correct. The 180 years of Greek rule can also be upheld if Ptolemy's invasion of Jerusalem in 320 B.C.E. is taken as the beginning of Greek rule and the recognition of Jewish independence by the Roman senate in 139 B.C.E. as the end of Greek rule. As to the problematic 34 years of Persian rule, Lauterbach claims that the statement בפני הבית (at the time of the Temple) was not correctly understood. In reality it means לפני הבית (before the time of the Temple; there may even have been a copyist's error), and the intention was merely to state that Persian rule before the rebuilding of the Temple extended for 34 years. From Cyrus' conquest of Babylon in 549 B.C.E. until 516 B.C.E., when the Temple was completed, spans 34 years. The suggestion is ingenious but unacceptable, since Babylon fell not in 549 but in 539 B.C.E. Although Cyrus undertook the conquest of Lydia in 547–546, and large parts of Babylonian territory were conquered, Babylon itself was not.

The attempt to reconcile biblical and talmudic chronology with historical data is not always successful for a number of reasons. First, despite their relative proximity to the events, the ancients did not possess the scientific and archaeological methods that enable modern scholars to arrive at far more accurate conclusions. Second, and perhaps more significant, their interest was not so much academic as religious. Tradition had to be upheld at all costs, especially in the face of dissident sectarians.

A classic example of this situation is the *Sefer ha-Kabbalah* by Abraham ibn Daud. Until recent times, this work served as a standard textbook on Jewish history. Today, however, the work is recognized as virtually worthless as a source of information on the biblical, talmudic, and geonic periods. Its value lies mainly in the picture the author gives of the spirit of his day and of Spanish Jewry. It is quite clear from Ibn Daud's methods and chronological conclusions that he had neither the *Seder Olam Rabbah* or its *Zuta* at his disposal. The question as to what sources were available is problematic. Ibn Daud, the staunch Rabbanite defending traditional Judaism in the face of Karaite sectarianism, uses history as a polemic to prove the validity of rabbinic tradition. History, moreover, also comforts as there is consolation in its symmetry. One purpose of the study of Israel's history is to detect the hand of Divine Providence. The proof of the existence of this force is in its rhythmic working – construction, destruction, and reconstruction, "21 years passed from the beginning of the Exile until the destruction of the First Temple and 21 years from the rebuilding of the Temple to its completion." All this was decreed from heaven to occur in periods that were equal in length and therefore symmetrical. Thus according to Ibn Daud, both the First and Second Temples endured 427 years. The First Temple was built in seven years and destroyed after a siege of seven years. The Second Temple too was destroyed after seven years of subjection to Rome and rebellion against her. It is irrelevant that Ibn Daud's symmetry blatantly contradicts the chronological data contained in the Bible. The historian's task is to find the plan and rewrite the chronological facts if necessary. This approach was not Ibn Daud's invention. In the Midrash (Gen. R. 12:8) the symmetrical balance in the story of Creation is stressed. In fact parallelism and symmetry were part of the rabbinic mind. The novelty of Ibn Daud was his use of this pattern of thinking as a law of history, Jewish as well as general.

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CHRYZANOW (Pol. **Chrzanów**), town near Cracow, S. Poland. In the 16th century the Jewish community there was subject to the jurisdiction of the Cracow community. From 1682 it came under the jurisdiction of Olkusz. Following a *blood libel in Chrzanow in 1779, two of the community's leading members were arrested, and most of the Jews there fled to Olkusz. In 1780 the head of the Olkusz community protested over the case on behalf of Chryzanow Jewry to the permanent council of the kingdom. According to the census of 1765 there were 60 Jewish families (327 persons) in Chryzanow, occupying 65 houses of which 32 were owned by Jews. The community numbered 5,504 in 1900 (54% of the total population) and 6,328 in 1921 (45%), and some 8,000 in 1939.

Holocaust Period

The German Army entered on Sept. 4, 1939, and initiated the anti-Jewish terror. In the first months of German occupation, about 300 Jews succeeded in leaving for Soviet-held territory. In January 1940 a ghetto was established, and 3,000 Jews were sent in the first deportation for forced labor at the end of the year. In June 1942 the Germans rounded up about 4,000 Jews for deportation to *Auschwitz. The ghetto was then transformed into a slave labor camp, which was liquidated on Feb. 18, 1943, when all the remaining Jewish prisoners were deported to Auschwitz and murdered. Only a handful of Chryzanow's Jewish inhabitants survived the war, but the Jewish community in Chryzanow was not rebuilt.

[Stefan Krakowski]

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CHUDNOV, Zhitomir district, Ukraine. Jews settled there at the end of the 16th century. During the *Chmielnicki uprisings (1648–49) they fled to the fortresses of Ostrog, Polonnoye, and Zaslav but were killed there. Many were massacred by the *Haidamacks in 1756. The community, which numbered 1,283 in 1765, increased to 2,623 in 1847 and 4,491 in 1897 (out of a total population of 5,580). They were mostly engaged in small trade and crafts. Between 1906 and 1914 many Jews emigrated from Chudnov to the United States. In 1910 a *talmud torah* and three private schools were in operation. In 1905, 12 *self-defense members trying to helping the Jews of Zhitomir were killed en route. The Jewish population numbered 4,067 in 1926 (51.7% of the total), dropping to 2,506 in 1939. During the 1920s half the local Jews were unemployed. A primary school operated there. Chudnov was taken by the Germans on July 7, 1941. An open ghetto was established and Jews were sent to forced labor camps. In August, 68 Jews were murdered, and later the rabbi. On September 8, 1,500 Jews were executed in a park with the help of local Ukrainians. Artisans needed for work were spared but killed later on.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Yalkut Volhin*, 7–8 (1947), index; *Yevrei v Rossii* (1929^4), 49–52. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** PK Ukrainah, s.v.

[Shmuel Spector (2nd ed.)]

CHUDOFF, EARL (1907–1993), U.S. congressman. Chudoff (pronounced CHOO-doff), the son of Morris and Jenny Chudoff, was born in Philadelphia. The family lived in the Jewish enclave known as "Strawberry Mansion," where Morris first sold ladies dresses, then gravitated into the dental supply business. The Chudoff family belonged to the local Conservative synagogue, where Earl had his bar mitzvah in 1920. Earl Chudoff was educated in the Philadelphia public school system and received an undergraduate degree in economics from the University of Pennsylvania's Wharton School in 1929. Three years later, he received his law degree from the University of Pittsburgh. Passing the bar in 1933, he went into private practice in Philadelphia. From 1936 to 1939, he served as a building and loan examiner for the Pennsylvania State Department of Banking. With the coming of war, he entered the United States Coast Guard Reserve, where he served as chief boatswain's mate from December 1942 until September 1945.

A year before he entered the Coast Guard Reserve, Earl Chudoff was elected to the Pennsylvania State House of Representatives. He served in that body from 1941 to 1948, at which time he ran for Congress as a Democrat from Philadelphia's 4th District. Defeating Republican incumbent Franklin J. Maloney, who had won the seat just two years earlier, Chudoff won election to the 81st Congress in November 1948, and wound up spending nine years in the House of Representatives. In Congress, he served on the House District Committee and the House Operations Committee. At one point, he chaired the House Public Works Committee subcommittee on public works and resources. In January 1958 – midway through his fifth term – Chudoff resigned his seat in order to take a position as judge on the Philadelphia Court of Common Pleas. Elected to a ten-year term in 1958, he served on that body until his retirement in 1978. While on the bench, he was known for "often holding defendants, lawyers and witnesses in contempt of court for failing to act respectfully in his courtroom."

BIBLIOGRAPHY: K.F. Stone, *The Congressional Minyan: The Jews of Capitol Hill* (2000), 59.

[Kurt Stone (2nd ed.)]

CHUETAS, term of abuse given to the *Marranos of *Majorca, who lived as a separate and distinct community within Majorcan society after their ancestors had been compulsorily baptized at the time of the persecutions of 1391 and 1435. Opinions differ concerning the origin of this term. Some hold that it is derived from the Majorcan *chuya*, meaning "pork"; according to another hypothesis, the term is derived from *xuhita* or *xuheta*, the Majorcan form of *judío* ("Jew"). Unlike other places in what used to be the Crowns of Castile and Aragon, the Conversos, that is the Chuetas, of Majorca were the only group of New Christians who continued to live together and, apparently, to adhere to some form of Crypto-Judaism. The Chuetas, largely silversmiths, still live in a special district, where they have their own church, Santa Eulalia. A street known by the name *Call*, reminiscent of the old Jewish quarter, still exists. The Chueta quarter is not in the same place where the medieval Jewish quarter, the *Call mayor,* was. The Chuetas were moved in the middle of the 16th century from the medieval quarter to a new locality near what used to be the *Call menor,* the second and smaller medieval Jewish quarter. The new Chueta quarter consisted mainly of the three streets *Sagell, Platería* and *Bolsería.* Until the 20th century about 400 families continued to live as a closed society in *carrer del Sagell* and were referred to as "*los del carrer*". Their quarter was a unique phenomenon in Spain. In it were concentrated hundreds of inhabitants of Jewish descent who were suspected of Crypto-Judaism and were hated because of their Jewish origins. The Chuetas were barred from public offices and were totally segregated. In 1679 they were all imprisoned and accused of treachery or complicity. In 1688 many were again arrested and accused of judaizing. In 1691 many were burned in *autos-de-fé*. These tragic events were the result of anti-Chueta activities and feelings. A dramatic event was the material handed to the Inquisition by a "spy" or *malshin* (informer) from inside the community. The material shows that most of the inhabitants of the Chueta quarter followed the "law of Moses." However, the Chuetas themselves and the author of *Els descendaents dels jueus conversos de Mallorca*, himself a descendant of Chuetas from both sides, claim that the Chuetas were good Catholics. Despite his claim, some Chuetas did confess that they kept the fast of Esther. Even seemingly unimportant beliefs could have been of paramount importance to those who held them faithfully generations after their ancestors had formally converted. The community was severely persecuted up to 1782, when they were permitted to settle in any place in the island and the use of the term "Chuetas" was penalized. There followed the letters patent of 1785 and 1788 following petitions from the Chuetas. The petition aroused almost universal opposition in Majorca. There was hardly anyone, apart from the Chuetas, who supported it. The opponents claimed that the Chuetas continued with their Jewish practices and invoked the island's *limpieza de sangre* (Purity of Blood) statutes in their campaign against them. The formal abrogation of discrimination against the Chuetas was achieved. Nevertheless, discrimination against them continued. Numerous legends arose about the Chuetas, their customs and secret rites, and their reported adherence to Judaism, some of which entered Spanish and Catalan literature. The most notable work on this subject is Vicente Blasco Ibáñez' novel *Los Muertos Mandan* (1909). The Chuetas have continued to exist as a distinct entity, largely owing to the old prejudices against them still prevailing among the islanders. Their number probably amounts to some thousands. It is even now impossible to state with certainty whether and to what degree they still preserve any traces of Judaism. The publication in 1946 of a book containing the list of all those tried by the Inquisition since 1488 revealed the Jewish origin of numerous families on the island, until then known as Old Christians, and caused a great public uproar. In 1966 some families emigrated to Israel with the intention of returning to the faith of their ancestors, but the experiment failed and all went back to Majorca.

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[Yom Tov Assis (2nd ed.)]

CHUFUT-KALE (Turk. "**Jew Castle**"), ancient town in Crimea near Bakhchisarai, between Sevastopol and Simferopol, now in ruins. It was probably originally a Greek fortress dating from the time of Justinian I (sixth century C.E.) and perhaps identical to Phyllae (Phyll), later mentioned as a *Khazar possession. It had a settlement of *Karaites who probably made their appearance there before the Mongol invasion (13th century). Chufut-Kale retained its importance as a Karaite center until the Russian conquest of Crimea in 1783. It is referred to in Karaite sources as *Sela ha-Yehudim* ("Rock of the Jews"). The Karaite community numbered over 300 families in the middle of the 17th century. A Hebrew press was established by the Karaites in 1734, for publishing Karaite works; the press continued to function until 1741. Under the Russians, another press operated from 1804 to 1806. In the second half of the 19th century the Karaites abandoned Chufut-Kale. Attention was directed to Chufut-Kale in the 19th century as the most important source for the material gathered by A. *Firkovich: 546 of the 751 Hebrew epitaphs published in his *Avnei Zikkaron* (Vilna, 1872) were from Chufut-Kale, and biblical manuscripts from there are included in the Second Firkovich Collection, purchased after his death by the Imperial Public Library in St. Petersburg. During World War II the Karaites there were not killed by the Nazis, since in Berlin it was decided that they were of the Jewish faith but not of Jewish blood.

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CHUJOY, ANATOLE (1894–1969), U.S. editor, dance critic, and historian. Born in Riga, Latvia, Chujoy studied in Petrograd and graduated in law from the University of St. Petersburg. He was a committed balletomane in Russia. Chujoy immigrated to the U.S. in 1924. In 1936 he founded the influential *Dance Magazine* and edited it until 1941. He founded *Dance News* in 1942, remaining as editor and publisher until his death. He wrote, edited, and translated many books on dance. He compiled the *Dance Encyclopedia* (1949) and edited Michel Fokine's *Memoirs of a Ballet Master.* He translated important Russian works on ballet and wrote *Ballet* (1936), *Symphonic Ballet* (1938), and *The New York City Ballet*, a history (1953).

[Amnon Shiloah (2nd ed.)]

CHURCH, CATHOLIC.

Under the Roman Empire

While a Catholic (i.e., "universal") Church came into being only at the Council of Nicaea in 325, a unified interpretation of the new religion of *Christianity had begun to emerge during the three preceding centuries, and concomitantly the foundations of a Church attitude toward the Jews. The early *Church Fathers, eager to complete the break with the synagogue, urged the substitution of Sunday for the Jewish Sabbath and the abandonment of Passover, commemorative of the Exodus, for Easter, commemorative of the crucifixion. Retaining the Bible while denying the people that was its subject, the Church declared itself the New Israel. It claimed the patriarchs and prophets for itself and later pronounced Judaism an aberration from the Divine Will. All warnings and rebukes contained in the Jewish scriptures were applied to the Jewish people, while all praise and promise were applied to the Church. At the Council of Nicaea, Christianity was unified under the Roman emperor, whose favorite theologian at any given time set the standard for orthodoxy. Others were declared heretics and suffered worse persecution than did the Jews. Church, and therefore imperial, policy to eliminate Judaism as a rival remained unchanged, except during the two-and-a-half years under *Julian the Apostate (361–63). Under Church influence, the emperors forbade the conversion of pagans to Judaism. Slave ownership by Jews was made difficult and was completely outlawed if the slave were a Christian. Despite pronouncements of official protection, synagogues were frequently attacked and destroyed. On the other hand, the emperors pursued the traditional Roman policy of protecting Jewish life and the undisturbed practice of Judaism.

The attitudes expressed in the theological literature of the time were ultimately even more important. *Eusebius of Caesarea took every opportunity to stress God's "rejection" of the Jewish people. *John Chrysostom hurled bitter invective at the Jews and denounced Christians who associated with them and visited synagogues. *Jerome delighted in emphasizing the faults, real or imagined, of ancient and contemporary Jews. Most important was *Augustine, bishop of Hippo in North Africa. He put forward the theory, which long remained part of Christian theology, that it was the will of God to keep a remnant of the Jews alive in a degraded state as living witnesses of the Christian truth.

The Early Middle Ages

In the western part of the Empire, the number of Jews was then comparatively small. Moreover, the Goths, now the real masters of the West, were Arian Christians and therefore not under the influence of the Roman Church. Theodoric the Great (c. 520), while expressing the usual Christian view that Judaism was a deviation from the truth, granted that faith could not be forced. Pope *Gregory I (590–604) applied the same policy. In theory this remained the basic papal policy for many centuries, although in practice it was often flagrantly violated. In a series of Church councils, meeting in Toledo throughout the seventh century, the Visigothic kingdom of Spain, which had by this time become Catholic, passed a series of increasingly stringent laws to compel the Jews to join the Church or leave the country (see **anusim*). Only the Muslim conquest (711) made it possible for the Jews to return to their homes and their faith. In the Eastern Empire, Church and state continued to be closely bound together. Under the emperors *Heraclius (632) and *Leo III (721), Jews were forced into baptism. It may have been the examples of Spain and the Eastern Empire that led King Dagobert of the Franks to expel the Jews from his kingdom (633), but the order was enforced only briefly. Before long, the kings and nobles, especially *Charlemagne and his sons, found the Jews very useful, although several Church councils in France and Italy continued to object to friendly relations between Christians and Jews and some important churchmen, like Bishops *Agobard and *Amulo of Lyons, agitated against them. The weakening of Pope Gregory I's policy was exemplified when Pope Leo VII (937) advised the archbishop of Mainz to expel the Jews from his diocese if they continued to refuse baptism. On the other hand, in 1063, Pope *Alexander II commended the French and the Spanish clergy for protecting the Jews against physical attack. His successor, Pope Gregory VII (1081), however, objected to the employment of Jews in public office in the rising Christian kingdoms of the Iberian Peninsula. One may conclude that, as the Church in the West grew stronger, its policy grew more hostile; but the economic position of the Jews continued to work in their favor.

The Later Middle Ages

During the crusading era, the situation of the Jews underwent radical changes. When the first Crusaders, unorganized peasants and city rabble, reached the Rhineland, they were already convinced that killing a Jew nearby was as meritorious as killing a Muslim in distant Palestine – and much less dangerous. Here and there a local bishop tried to protect the Jews, but with little effect. Pope Urban II, who had started the crusading movement, did not rebuke the rioters; *Clement III, an antipope, protested the return to Judaism of those who had yielded to baptism when in danger of their lives. The experience proved to the Jews that their position in Christian society was a precarious one. They asked for and received a promise of protection from the Holy Roman emperor (1103), and they also sought a statement from the pope. The *bull *Sicut Judaeis*, first issued by Pope *Calixtus II (c. 1120), was evidently meant as an answer to this appeal. The effect of this bull of protection is naturally hard to evaluate. It did not stop threats to various Jewish communities in central Europe when the Second Crusade got under way in 1144. The worst effects of the Third Crusade were felt in England (1190).

Driven out of commerce during the 12th century by the rise of a middle class in the towns, the Jews turned to moneylending, especially since the Church prohibited the taking of interest by Christians. Churchmen, high and low, now joined the popular outcry against the Jews as extortioners ruining the Christian population. The hostility thus engendered resulted in the invention of charges which plagued the Jews for many centuries. The *blood libel first appeared in the 12th century, and that of the desecration of the *Host in the 13th. A number of popes, then and later, denied these accusations, but they continued to crop up in various localities and resulted in the torture and killing of many Jews, since the local clergy were rarely restrained by the expressions of papal doubt. Contact between Christians and Jews being considered dangerous, Pope *Innocent III (1215) imposed upon all Jews the obligation of wearing distinguishable garments, and this soon developed into the Jewish *badge. That the unregulated presence of Jews endangered Christianity was accepted by the theologian Thomas *Aquinas, though his approach to the problem of Jews in Christian society was precise, logical, and relatively tolerant.

Until the 13th century, though the conversion of Jews was actively sought, the Church's primary aim was the defense of Christianity against the possible attractions of Judaism. From the 13th century, the Church went over to the offensive; the primary aim now became the total conversion of the Jews. In theory, the use of force for this purpose was still prohibited; but once baptized, under whatever circumstances, a person could not revert without laying himself open to the charge of heresy, entailing relentless pursuit by the newly established

*Inquisition. A conscious effort was now made to weaken Judaism and degrade it among its own adherents. One target was the Talmud and other rabbinic works. The charge was raised, not only that the Talmud contained blasphemies against Christianity, but that its contents were ridiculous and aimed to mislead the Jews. Each of the three important public *disputations (Paris, 1240; Barcelona, 1263; Tortosa, 1413–14) resulted in the condemnation of the Talmud, repeated on several other occasions. An attempt to make listening to conversionist sermons compulsory was made briefly in Aragon after the Barcelona disputation. The ecumenical council of Vienne (1311–12) introduced the study of Hebrew and Arabic into the universities so as to prepare for more effective disputation with Jews and Muslims. Hostile preaching led to anti-Jewish riots on more than one occasion, but especially in Castile and Aragon in 1391. A number of Jewish communities were destroyed and the foundations laid for marranism in Spain (see *Marranos).

This historical period came to an end with the expulsion of the Jews from Spain in 1492 and from Portugal in 1496/97. In their desire to unify their state, the Catholic monarchs (Ferdinand and Isabella) made religion the supreme test of political loyalty. Their goal was frankly conversionary and the reorganized Inquisition was closely allied to royal power. In Castile and Aragon a choice was offered between baptism and exile. In Portugal conversion was achieved by naked compulsion.

Renaissance and Counter-Reformation

In the rest of Europe, for about a century (c. 1420–c. 1550) when the spirit of the Renaissance prevailed in Italy and among intellectuals elsewhere, the Church attitude toward the Jews was rather mild. The lower clergy continued to be hostile, but most of the popes in Rome and a number of cardinals extended favor and protection. Marranos, fleeing Spain and Portugal, were hardly molested. In the controversy over the Talmud, which broke out early in the 16th century, Pope *Leo x sympathized with the opponents of repression. But soon the rapid spread of the Lutheran and other heresies frightened the Church. The ecumenical council of Trent marked the turning point. In 1553, Cardinal Caraffa, head of the Inquisition in Rome, had all copies of the Talmud within his reach burned as well as much other Hebrew literature, and the pope tried to influence other rulers in Europe – especially in Italy – to do the same. The Jews labored hard to keep the council from prohibiting talmudic study entirely; they succeeded only after agreeing to a rigorous censorship of all suspected passages. When, in 1555, Cardinal Caraffa became Pope *Paul iv, he began a systematic persecution of Marranos who had fled from Spain to Italy, and imposed a harsh restrictive policy in his bull *Cum nimis absurdum*. Pius v, in 1569, expelled the Jews from the Papal States excepting Ancona, a business center, and Rome, where a strictly supervised ghetto had been established. Synagogues had to admit conversionist sermons. Though some of the extreme measures were temporarily modified by succeeding popes and the preaching was eventually transferred to a neighboring church, most of the regulations remained in force down to the 19th century, some of them as late as 1870.

The 16th to 18th centuries were the most sorrowful and degrading period in the history of the Jews in Catholic Europe. The introduction of ghettos and "Jews-streets," in the sense of compulsory places of residence for Jews only, spread rapidly in the 16th century. The Jewish badge was enforced everywhere, and Jewish socioeconomic activity was strictly regulated. Blood libels were frequent, especially in Poland, despite the stand taken against them by several popes. Conversion was pursued vigorously. One of the last instances of a forced conversion was that of the *Mortara child, in 1858 in Bologna, which aroused protests among Christians, too, the world over.

Modern Times

Following the French Revolution, the spirit of nationalism, rationalism, and political liberalism led to the separation of Church and state, in practice if not always in theory, and the consequent granting of political equality and economic opportunity to Jews in Central and Western Europe and in the Americas. Many in the Church hierarchy were affected by the general currents, but the Church continued to side with the conservative elements. Antisemitism in the 19th and early 20th centuries as a social and historical phenomenon has to be seen in the context of the profound economic changes, social dislocations, and national movements that characterized the period (see *Antisemitism). The population shift from the country to the growing cities, industrialization, the rise of capitalism on the one hand and of a class-conscious proletariat on the other, the influx of Jews into the professions and types of activity that were open to them, the frustrations and fears which these developments generated in the middle and lower classes – all these lent themselves easily to interpretation in terms of antisemitic propaganda that appealed to traditional prejudices. While the underlying developments were economic and social rather than specifically religious, their antisemitic interpretation and exploitation found a ready echo in Christian circles. Few Catholic political leaders or church dignitaries spoke up for the Jews, and where they did it was often in a social and political context in which Catholics found themselves a minority in a non-Catholic society. Cardinal Manning was exceptional in being sympathetic to the Jews – in spite of his otherwise anti-liberal attitudes – and in 1882 even took part in a protest meeting against the oppression of the Jews in Russia. In Germany, Bismarck's struggle against the Catholic Church (the *Kulturkampf*) created a situation in which an occasional rapprochement between Jewish and Catholic interests could occur. But by and large the growing antisemitism of the period permeated all Catholic circles and penetrated political Catholic parties. The writings of influential Bible scholars such as August *Rohling, professor of Catholic theology at the University of Prague, helped to foster antisemitism among the Catholic masses in Germany, Austria, and in France. Rohling held the Jews responsible for the ideology of liberal economy current in his time, accused them of preventing the coming of the messianic millennium of Jesus, and of practicing ritual murder. During the *Tiszaeszlar blood libel trial, he declared himself ready to testify on oath to the practice of ritual murder among Jews. Challenged by Rabbi Joseph Samuel *Bloch, who in the press accused him of perjury, Rohling sued him but withdrew the charge during the last stages of the trial at which well-known Protestant scholars, such as Hermann L. *Strack and Franz *Delitzsch, exposed Rohling's spurious scholarship. Rohling's works, however, were not discredited among the masses nor was the ritual murder libel discarded by antisemitic agitators. The French journal *La Croix* attacked the Talmud on the authority of Rohling's writings; Joseph *Deckert, a Viennese clergyman, published an account of a ritual murder which allegedly had taken place in 1875 (Bloch took legal action against him and Deckert was found guilty of slander); and the semiofficial Italian Jesuit bimonthly *La *Civiltà Cattolica* published excerpts from the trial of the Jews of Trent (in 1475) accused of the murder of Simon, the son of a tanner. On the other hand, there were a few Catholics who publicly rejected ritual murder libel, e.g., the clergyman F. Frank in his *Der Ritualmord vor den Gerichtshoefen der Wahrheit und Gerechtigkeit* (1901^2, supplement 1902).

Economic factors also became an important element of antisemitic propaganda. While the top echelon of the Austrian clergy opposed antisemitism, individual bishops approved of the exploitation of economic motives, e.g., Paul Wilhelm von Keppler, bishop of Rottenburg, and the pioneer of Christian socialism Ottokár Prohászka, appointed bishop of Stuhlweissenburg in 1905. Two prominent Catholic journals which were antisemitic were the organ of the German Center Catholic party and the French Catholic *La Croix*. In France violent anti-Jewish agitation incited mainly by conservative-monarchist Catholics, the opponents of liberalism and freemasonry, and the leaders of the Ralliement movement who sought the support of the masses through social reforms, culminated in the *Dreyfus case, where the majority of the Catholics supported Dreyfus' opponents. Antisemitic exploitation of economic motives remained characteristic of many Catholics also in the 20th century.

Efforts to arrive at a better understanding of Judaism met with little response. The Amici Israel association, founded in Rome on June 6, 1926, was one of the few Catholic organizations which, though missionary in its ideology, tried to foster such an understanding. Within a short time it gained a membership of 2,000 priests, among them numerous cardinals and bishops. While its first publications called upon its readership and members to support missionary institutions and conversion, in *Pax super Israel* (1927) members were asked to refrain from using any expression which might be offensive to the Jews. Emphasis was also laid on the fact that Israel continued to be the Chosen People. The Holy Office in Rome, however, considered the association contrary to the *sensus ecclesiae* ("the spirit of the Church") and on March 21, 1928, proscribed it. In the same decree the Church also proscribed antisemitism.

In pre-Hitler Germany open antisemitism as the voice of the Catholic masses was limited and even after 1933 those Catholics who rallied to it were marginal. But while only occasionally such publications as *Katholizismus und Judenfrage* (1923) appeared in which the author, J. Roth, a chaplain, vindicated antisemitism though with reservations, few attempts were made to reach a deeper understanding of Judaism. Among those who firmly opposed antisemitism in public there was Franz Roedel (1891–1969), director of the Catholic Judaica Institute (founded in 1958), and a contributor to the *Mitteilungen aus dem Verein zur Abwehr des Antisemitismus*.

In Nazi Germany the archbishop of Munich and Freising, Michael Cardinal von Faulhaber (1869–1952) combated antisemitism; his Advent sermons *Judentum, Christentum. Germanentum* delivered in Munich in 1933, while not directly referring to the faith and ethics of post-biblical Judaism, were interpreted by the *National Socialists as a defense of the Jews in general. He played a considerable role in the preparations of the encyclical of Pope Pius XI *Mit brennender Sorge* ("With Burning Anxiety," 1937), in which the pope vigorously denounced racism. While it became difficult to publish opinions favorable to the Jews in Nazi Germany, Catholics contributed to journals appearing in other countries. Msgr. John Oesterreicher's Pauluswerk, originally intended as a missionary organization for the Jews, and his periodical *Erfuellung* became militant instruments against antisemitism in Germany and Austria while providing at the same time factual information on Judaism and on Zionist aspirations. In 1938 Msgr. Oesterreicher escaped to the United States where he founded the Institute of Judeo-Christian Studies at Seton Hall University.

Help was extended to the persecuted in Germany, and in Austria after the Anschluss in 1938, by the St. Raphael Society until its suspension by the National Socialists. It aided "non-Aryans," though mostly converted Jews, to emigrate. (It was reestablished in 1945.) Until her arrest and imprisonment in a concentration camp, Gertrud Luckner was among those who worked indefatigably to help the persecuted. In 1948, together with Karl Thieme, she founded the *Freiburger Rundbrief*, which aimed at changing the attitude of the Church toward the Jews.

Pope Pius XI openly denounced Nazism and in a speech in 1938 stated: "Spiritually we are Semites." His successor, Pope *Pius XII, incurred wide criticism for having failed openly to condemn the Nazi effort to wipe out the Jews of Europe, though his personal abhorrence of their actions was generally recognized (see *Holocaust and the Churches). Since World War II Christian catechism has come under criticism. The writings of the French historian Jules *Isaac, *Jésus et Israël* (1948, 1959^2) and *L'Enseignement du Mépris* (1962; *The Teaching of Contempt*, 1969) in which the author holds the Church responsible for the teaching of contempt, which has fostered antisemitism, had its impact on the Church. Religious textbooks, catechisms, and manuals are, to an increasing extent, being examined and discriminatory passages are being eliminated. During the pontificate of Pope Pius XII the offensive term *perfidi*, in the prayer for the Jews on Good Friday, was no longer interpreted as meaning "faithless," but "unbelieving." Pope John XXIII expunged it altogether as well as the offensive passages in the "Consecration to the Sacred Heart."

A reform in the Catholic liturgy has thus been initiated which is not yet completed; Catholic scholars are also seriously examining the problem whether, and to what extent, antisemitic remarks appear in the New Testament, and whether these can be interpreted as the personal opinions of the evangelists or have to be accepted as authoritative expressions of Christian theology. The cult of Simon of Trent, whose origin is plainly an antisemitic libel, was suspended by the Congregation of Rites in 1965. From 1945 active attempts at Jewish conversion were rejected. In order to foster a better and genuinely dialogic understanding of Judaism, the Vatican established an Office for Catholic-Jewish Relations. The order of Notre-Dame de Sion, founded by the brothers *Ratisbonne for conversionist purposes in 1843, has replaced its aim with a willingness to enter into a dialogue with the Jews as equals. Many Catholics are also participating in various organizations for Christian-Jewish cooperation. Original fears that such cooperation with other Christian denominations would prove detrimental to the status of the Catholic Church have been overcome in the present, more ecumenical climate. The fact that the National Socialists attacked Christianity because it originated in Judaism has also contributed to a more profound Catholic reflection of the values of Judaism. It is acknowledged that the Jews continue to be the Chosen People, thus revising traditional theology; many theologians strive to regard relations between Christians and Jews as ecumenic, and there is an increasing readiness to learn about Judaism from Jews themselves. Reactionary forces clinging to traditional antisemitism are not lacking however – characteristic of this attitude is *Complotto contro la Chiesa* (1962) by Maurice Pinay, distributed at the II Vatican Council (see *Church Councils – also for the Vatican Council document on Catholic-Jewish relations).

[Willehad Paul Eckert]

In the U.S.

Both Roman Catholicism and Judaism have always been viewed as minority faiths in American life. Catholics, however, have always vastly outnumbered Jews by a ratio which has held steady at 7:1 for nearly 200 years, but which has changed significantly in the last decades of the 20th century with the dramatic increase of Hispanic-Roman Catholic–immigration to the United States and with the diminishing population of Jews both in absolute numbers and as a percentage of the American population. Despite this numerical preponderance, and in part because of it, Catholics have experienced a more intensive form of prejudice than have American Jews.

During the Colonial period only Rhode Island granted Catholics a respectable measure of civil and religious freedom. Unlike the situation among the few colonial Jews, no Catholic achieved prominence in public life. Even with the adoption of the Federal Constitution and the Bill of Rights, Catholics continued to suffer disabilities, both on the state and local level, more frequently than Jews.

Throughout the 19th and during the early years of the 20th century, Catholics continued to experience periodic, sometimes violent, outbreaks of Protestant animosity, a situation rarely experienced by American Jews. The Know-Nothing movement of the 1850s, the American Protective Association of the 1880s, and the Ku Klux Klan of the 1920s were typical examples. However, since such outbursts of nativism were directed at aliens in general, Jews were also targets. Both Jews and Catholics increased their numbers through European immigration. Both groups congregated in American cities, were blamed for the cities' ills, and were the butt of immigration restrictionists. Unlike the immigrant Jews, the Roman Catholic Church related to the American public school system as Protestant rather than non-sectarian and established a parochial school system of their own. Only a century later did Jews establish the day school movement in significant numbers and only in response to the decline of the public school and the increased desire for an intensive Jewish education.

POST–WORLD WAR I. Although attacks on Alfred E. Smith during his presidential campaign in 1928 indicated that prejudice against Catholics was still high, displays of animosity toward them abated somewhat in the 1930s, while antisemitism was on the increase. Undoubtedly, the rise of Nazism in Germany and of pro-Nazi groups in the United States was an important factor in the growth of anti-Jewish discrimination. Thus, on the eve of World War II, antisemitism became a "classic prejudice." The fact that Jews and Catholics shared the experience of frequent and severe discrimination did not prevent the fact that antisemitism, sometimes in rabid form, existed among Catholics. In turn, a sense of caution if not fear of Catholics could be found among Jews. A Detroit priest, Father Charles E. Coughlin, was the most prominent of these antisemites. The anti-Jewish attitudes among American Catholics had one of their sources in the traditional misinterpretation of the role Jews had played in the crucifixion, most prominently in the Gospel of Matthew. The result of this erroneous inheritance was a centuries-long "teaching of contempt" (in Jules Isaac's phrase), compounded by socioeconomic myths regarding the Jews. On this latter pragmatic level, Catholic and Jewish interests often collided in 20th-century America. Both incoming groups settled largely in cities, creating political and economic competition. Above all, Jewish immigrants brought with them historic memories of European persecution which sometimes led to a misattribution of responsibility for hostile acts committed by other branches of Christianity. Despite demonstrable Protestant sources of prejudice, Jews in the United States were inclined to blame Catholics more than Protestants for antisemitic incidents. This tendency was strengthened by the widely publicized anti-Jewish bigotry of Father Coughlin in the 1930s and early 1940s, a most vulnerable time in Jewish history as European Jews under the threat of Nazism were seeking to immigrate to the United States.

For defensive reasons both Catholics and Jews were staunch supporters of the principle of pluralism in American religious life and vigilant exponents of the separation of church and state. Only on the question of public support for parochial education did Catholics part company with Jews, at least until the 1980s. Protestant tendencies in the public schools during the second half of the 19th century motivated Catholics to develop an efficient network of parochial education. Consequently, Catholics contended that government should support the secular arm of their religious program, since they were being taxed for the support of public schools. A majority of American Jews on the other hand, fearful of breaching the "wall of separation" between church and state, remained stubborn opponents of such subsidies. In some urban areas this issue strained Catholic-Jewish relations. Orthodox Jews have joined forces with Christian evangelicals and American Catholics for support of parochial school education.

The election of John F. Kennedy as the first American president who was Roman Catholic brought into the American government some very prominent Jews of East European origin, the classical sons of immigrants. Abraham *Ribocoff and Arthur *Goldberg both served in Kennedy's first cabinet and many Jews served on his staff. Traditional outsiders and immigrants were now part of the governing establishment.

The Nazi atrocities against the Jewish people evoked widespread sympathy also among leaders of the Catholic Church in the United States and stimulated interest in specifically Catholic-Jewish interchanges. After World War II, however, the issue of the Nazi Holocaust became a source of friction between Catholics and Jews, pinpointed in the 1960s by a German play accusing Pope Pius XII of "silence" in the face of the Jewish wartime tragedy. Jewish opinion was divided on the issue. Some emphasized Christian "indifference" to the annihilation of the Jews and others focused on the considerable assistance extended to Jewish victims of the Nazis by Catholic clerics and laymen in numerous countries. The opposition of the Holy See to Israeli control of Jerusalem and its call for the internationalization of the Holy City in 1947, as well as the Vatican's reluctance to recognize the State of Israel, did not improve relations. Although these Vatican positions have not always been endorsed by U.S. Catholics, neither have they been publicly repudiated. From the time of John Courtney Murray, the American Church has adopted the American principles of civility in interreligious discourse and has been more pluralistic, ecumenical, and open. Furthermore, the minority status of Catholics – and Jews – in the United States gave the American Church a less dominant place in American society. It too needed allies.

ECUMENICAL MOVEMENT. In the late 1950s a direct Catholic-Jewish dialogue got under way. The largest contributions were made by Jewish human-relations agencies. At first related to issues of the common good and to civic matters, the dialogue eventually led to exchanges concerning theology, although this aspect of scholarly investigation is opposed by Orthodox Jewry, following a well-publicized article by the dominant spiritual leader of Modern Orthodoxy Rabbi Joseph Dov Baer *Soloveitchik, "Confrontations," published in the Rabbincal Council of America's Journal *Tradition*. The 1960s were revolutionary in Catholic-Jewish relationships in the United States. The Second Vatican Council gave great impetus to the Catholic-Jewish dialogue movement. The Council's promulgation in October 1965 of the Declaration on the Relationship of the Church to Non-Christian Religions, containing a landmark statement on the Jews, shattered an insurmountable barrier to Catholic-Jewish rapprochement. It emphatically denies the collective responsibility of Jews in all ages for the crucifixion drama. In a deep sense Vatican II represented the acceptance by the entire Church of the thinking of Murray and the practices of the American Church. It also, for the first time in the history of conciliar declarations, expressly names and attacks antisemitism. In March 1967 the National Conference of Catholic Bishops of the United States issued "Guidelines for Catholic-Jewish Relations," elaborating on the Vatican Council's statement. Two other documents were issued subsequently by the American hierarchy, both practical instruments suggesting specific programs and activities. The statement by the Secretariat for Catholic-Jewish Relations (1968) was followed by the "Guidelines for the Advancement of Catholic-Jewish Relations" drawn up by the dioceses of New York, Brooklyn, and Rockville Center (1969). These pronunciamentos have stimulated Catholics and encouraged Jews to progress far beyond the diffident dialogues among laymen of the late 1950s and early 1960s. An array of pragmatic undertakings has been initiated and carried through with special emphasis on the major source of the transmission of antisemitic education.

One cannot compare pre–Vatican II attitudes toward the Jews with post-Vatican II practice. On a Church-wide level there have been dramatic moves. Vatican II was followed by changes in Roman Catholic liturgy on Good Friday and even in Scriptural readings. No longer were Roman Catholics to read of "perfidious Jews" or from Matthew of Jews and their children accepting responsibility for the crucifixion. The teaching of contempt has been de-emphasized and greater emphasis has been paid to Jesus as a Jew and to his disciples as Jews and to what Judaism and Christianity share in common. It has become commonplace in the United States to speak of the Judeo-Christian tradition and thus to emphasize what the two historically antagonistic traditions have in common rather than what divides them. In the United States Judaism and Jews are not the Other. Greater antagonism is directed to materialism and secularism and greater emphasis within the Roman Catholic Church on fighting abortion. The prominence of Jews invites cooperation rather than condemnation. Two popes, John XXIII and John Paul II, went out of their way to revamp Roman Catholic teachings about the Jews. Pope John Paul II visited Israel, prayed at the Western Wall, apologized for the antisemitism of Christians – not of Christianity – at Yad Vashem, and visited Israel's Chief Rabbinate. His prayer service at the Roman synagogue, the first by the Bishop of Rome, was intended as explicit recognition of post-Christian Judaism.

Judaism is taught within the Roman Catholic school system. Rabbis are invited to lecture; many Roman Catholic schools teach the Holocaust in high school. On the University level, Jewish Studies are offered at major Roman Catholic Universities and inter-religious dialogue is commonplace within communities large and small. Cooperation is the norm. Within Roman Catholic intellectual life there is a group of priest and theologians who came to prominence in the post–Vatican II era who have been part of the ecumenical movement for their entire careers and have deep friendships and understanding with Jewish counterparts. Diocese officials are assigned to work with Jewish clergy and in cities with large Jewish populations such as New York, Los Angeles, Chicago, Boston, and elsewhere.

There is a general consensus within the American Roman Catholic Church that a renewed dialogue of mutual esteem between "the people of the New Convenant" and the "People of the Old Covenant, which was never revoked by God," should be encouraged. In practice, this agreement frays a bit on both the political left and the political right; on the left because of opposition to Israel and on the right among those who have never come to terms with the change in Roman Catholic teaching that no longer maintains that there is no salvation outside the Church.

Several documents are important and indicate the American Church's leadership and its impact on the Vatican. By 1970 U.S. bishops had issued the first set of guidelines in the history of Church for dealing with the Jews. A Vatican-written guideline was promulgated in 1975.

Ten years after Vatican II, the American Church issued a statement that spoke of the misinterpretation of the New Testament with regard to the crucifixion. It spoke of the relationship between the people of Israel and the Land of Israel as critical to understanding the context of the emergence of the State of Israel but did not adopt any theological interpretation of its meaning, in vivid contrast to some Christian evangelical understandings of that context, which view the Jews' return to their land as essential to the return of the Christ.

In a rare move, the Vatican notes of 1985 on the correct way to present Jews and Judaism quotes the American Church's 1975 statement. Two other documents have also been significant: that of the Bishops' Committee for Ecumenical and Inter-Religious Affairs Guidelines for the Presentation of the Passion, which seeks to implement the Vatican II teachings on the crucifixion, and the Bishops' Committee on Liturgy document, "God's Mercy Endures Forever," which gives guidance to pulpit preachers on how to deal with Jews and Judaism. In fact, six scholars who examined the script of Mel Gibson's controversial film *The Passion of the Christ* maintained that it violated the Bishops' Guidelines.

The 1998 Vatican pronouncement on the Shoah, "We Remember," was followed by a more forthcoming statement by the U.S. bishops calling for implementation in Catholic education of remembrance of the Holocaust. A comparison of the two documents and the dissatisfaction of some within the Jewish community with the Vatican document reveal some of the divisions within the Church with regard to the Jews.

One can also say that the fact that the film *The Passion of the Christ*, with its emphasis on Jewish responsibility for the crucifixion and its portrayal of first century Jews, did not lead to a measurable increase in antisemitism among Christians testifies to the success of Vatican II. Catholics and Christians in general can distinguish between purported acts of first century Jews and Jews today.

[Egal Feldman / Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

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CHURCH COUNCILS, ecclesiastical assemblies ranging from synods of the lower clergy of a single diocese to ecumenical gatherings of the upper clergy representing the Church as a whole and presided over by the pope or his representative. All but ecumenical councils meet at stated intervals to decide on matters of immediate concern to local Christians. Ecumenical councils are called together when major matters of faith and policy require definition and decision. The first eight ecumenical councils, recognized also by the Roman Church, were summoned by the emperor of the Eastern Roman Empire and were held in various places of the eastern Mediterranean; the others have been held in Western Europe. Vatican II was the 21st, and met in four sessions in 1962–65.

Many councils – diocesan, provincial, national, and ecumenical – have dealt with matters that concerned the Jews. The very first ecumenical council, that of Nicaea (325), called primarily for the purpose of defining the nature of Jesus, also had before it the problem of transferring the day of rest from the Jewish Sabbath to the Christian Sunday, a problem not solved for a long time after. Even before Nicaea, a council in Elvira (Spain) in c. 305 had tried to keep Jews and Christians apart by ordering the latter not to share a meal with Jews, not to marry Jews, not to use Jews to bless their fields, and not to observe the Jewish Sabbath. These objectives remained constant for centuries. For example, the prohibition against sharing a meal with Jews was repeated at Vannes (465), Epaon (517), Orleans III (538), and Mâcon (583); mixed marriages were prohibited at Orleans II (533), Clermont (535), Orleans III (538), and Orleans IV (541). As Jews entered commerce, pagan and Christian slaves became a subject for conciliar legislation. The trade in slaves was not forbidden, but Jews were forbidden to own Christian slaves and, especially, not to convert any slave to Judaism. These prohibitions were enacted and repeated at Orleans III (538), Orleans IV (541), Mâcon (583), Mâcon (626–27), Rome (743), Meaux and Paris (845–46), and – with less frequency – even later, down to the period of the Crusades.

In the meantime, a series of councils held at Toledo, Spain, during the seventh century adopted the more radical goal of seeking to uproot Judaism entirely. King Reccared (586–601) of Visigothic Spain, after he had abandoned the Arian heresy in favor of Catholicism, gained the complete support of the bishops. At Toledo III (589), it was decreed that children of a mixed marriage had to be Christians, that Jews could not be appointed to positions of authority, i.e., hold public office, and were not permitted to circumcise their slaves. These blows at the social and economic position of the Jews were not enforced by Reccared's immediate successors. King Sisebut (612–620), however, not only reintroduced these laws, but decreed for the Jews of Spain either conversion or exile. Perhaps under the influence of *Isidore of Seville, his successor King Swinthila rescinded the decree and even permitted the converts to revert to Judaism. But reaction came at Toledo IV (633). While condemning conversion by actual force, the council also condemned a return to Judaism. It dissolved mixed marriages, reinstated the regulation against Jews holding public office, applying this even to the descendants of Jews, and forbade slave-holding by Jews. A circumcised slave gained his freedom without compensation to his owner. This attempt at the total solution of the Jewish problem was reinforced at Toledo VI (638) which confirmed the expulsion from the country of the persistent Jews and ordered those already converted to make public confession of their adherence to Christianity. In 653, Toledo VIII reaffirmed all this legislation, as did Toledo IX (655), arranging for the converts to remain under the watchful eye of local priests and bishops. Yet in 681 King Erwig was still complaining (at Toledo XII) that there were Jews in his kingdom, and the council gave him even more authority. Finally, Toledo XVII (694) capped the series of laws by reducing to slavery all those in the Visigothic kingdom still found to be practicing Judaism. Their children were to be taken away to be brought up by Christians and to be married off to Christians. Property owned by declared or suspected Jews was confiscated. Only the Muslim conquest of Spain (711) restored Jewish life there.

The Visigothic experience proved that conciliar canons could be enforced only with the cooperation of royal authority. But such cooperation was not forthcoming in the rest of Western Europe at that time, where the Jews were still an indispensable economic factor. About a score of local councils were held in the 7th to the 11th centuries whose regulations concerning Jewish life have come down to us. With some slight modifications, they dealt with the same subjects: slave-ownership by Jews, social contacts with Jews, and Jews in public office. The council of Clichy (626–627) added that a Jew who accepted public office must be compelled to undergo conversion. For the most part the decisions remained ineffective. The provincial council of Meaux-Paris (845–46) showed an awareness of the situation. Under the influence of *Amulo, the zealous bishop of Lyons, this council repeated most of the existing restrictions and added some new ones on the subject of greater conversionary efforts and domestic service to Jews by free Christians. It then urged Emperor Charles the Bald to ratify this body of law. It was a clear attempt by the council to give the state a unified base along the lines of Visigothic Spain of the seventh century. However, the emperor disregarded the council's request, so that the Church canons continued to be violated. They were, however, incorporated in collections of canon law to be used later, when the state was more amenable to Church direction.

The age of the Crusades brought a vast increase in Church influence as well as a change for the worse in the status of the Jews. The results were to be noted in new emphases in the regulations passed by all councils and in the growing importance of ecumenical councils over local councils, which in most instances merely accepted guidance from above. As Jewish involvement in international commerce decreased, for example, the problem of Jewish-owned slaves was mentioned hardly at all, whereas the question of employment of Christians as domestics and wet nurses recurred constantly after the ecumenical *Lateran III (1179). The same ecumenical council revived and adjusted to its own time two provisions that dated back to the Code of *Theodosius and had received only occasional mention in previous local councils, namely the use of Jewish witnesses in lawsuits between a Jew and a Christian and a convert's inheritance rights. A number of local councils took up these regulations, insisting that witnesses must be equally balanced between adherents of the two religions and that a convert ought not be disinherited.

The ecumenical Lateran IV (1215) extended the anti-Jewish enactments in a number of directions. The subject of usury in connection with Jews had been first mentioned by the council of Avignon (1209) and of Paris (1213). Lateran IV took it up and thereafter it remained practically a constant at conciliar gatherings. As early as the 11th century, two local councils (Gerona 1067–68, 1078) demanded that Jews pay to the local churches the tithe on land which had formerly belonged to Christians. Lateran IV repeated this demand, and many local councils which followed in the next two centuries extended it to all land in Jewish possession. But the decision of Lateran IV which had the most baleful influence on Jewish life was the enactment of a rule that Jews must so dress as to be easily distinguishable from Christians. This was soon institutionalized into the Jewish *badge, about which resolutions were passed by more than 40 councils in every part of Western and Central Europe during the 13th and 14th centuries. It was another step in creating that separation between Jews and Christians which had begun with the prohibition against sharing a meal with Jews, continued in the enactment against living in the same house (e.g., the council of Breslau in 1266), and ended in the establishment of a *ghetto if not in total expulsion. The provincial councils of Breslau (1266), Vienna (1267), and Buda (1279) enacted complete codes for the guidance of their more recently Christianized populations, enumerating all the anti-Jewish legislation that had developed in the parts of Europe farther west. For the actual body of this legislation was now complete and all that remained for the local councils to do was to reiterate those regulations that needed stricter enforcement.

The ability of councils to enforce their regulations was limited. In some instances they could rely on the confessional, i.e., they could declare social contacts with Jews sinful. The use of a Jewish physician, for example, was a sin which called for confession and penance, as laid down in the councils of Trier in 1227 and Magdeburg in 1370 and in a dozen other councils between those dates. When the forbidden activity depended on the Jews, like moneylending at interest, where the Church found it impossible to enforce its prohibition directly, many councils resorted to the threat of imposing on the Christians a boycott of economic relations with the Jews. But there were still other regulations – like the appointment of Jews to public office, or acceptance of their testimony in a civil lawsuit – which could be enforced only with the aid of the civil authorities. In such cases, a threat of excommunication was made against the offending king, noble, or town official. By the end of the 15th century, the status of the Jews had so deteriorated that the problem solved itself, since the state willingly enforced the regulations of the Church. Thus the important ecumenical council of Constance (1414–18) discussed a variety of restrictive enactments against the Jews, but these remained, for political reasons, unratified by the newly elected pope. The next ecumenical council, that of Basle-Ferrara-Florence (1431–45), passed an inclusive code of anti-Jewish regulations. Since these were enacted while the council did not enjoy full papal approval, they also remained without full papal confirmation. No real confirmation was needed, however, for the regulations contained almost nothing that had not been mentioned in previous conciliar decrees and that the states of Central Europe were not ready to enforce; they were, in fact, already moving toward the establishment of ghettos.

The area of Jewish cultural and religious life received scant attention from Church councils. The prohibition against Jews having more than one synagogue in a town, and against their enlarging and decorating it, dated from the Theodosian Code (438). It was revived by several important councils (Oxford, 1232, and again in 1287; Chichester, 1245; Breslau, 1266; Vienna, 1267; Zamora, 1313; Prague, 1346, and again in 1355). However the attempts to interfere with synagogue worship had been few: *Agobard and Amulo of Lyons had tried in the ninth century; King James I of Aragon after the *Barcelona disputation had made attempts to force the Jews to listen to conversionary sermons, which were very soon discontinued. The ecumenical council of Vienne (1311–12) urged the introduction of Hebrew and Arabic into the university curriculum in order to train men for conversionary preaching. At the irregular ecumenical council at Basle (1431–37) bishops were asked to compel Jewish men and women to hear sermons on Christianity. With this in view, Basle repeated the enactment about teaching Hebrew at the universities. At the time, almost two centuries had passed since Gregory IX had initiated attacks on the Talmud and other rabbinical works (1239). The councils of Béziers (1255) and Toulouse (1319), both in southern France, echoed the papal policy by urging the proscription of this literature. On the whole, however, the matter was left to the popes. It became a very live issue again early in the 16th century as a result of the *Reuchlin-*Pfefferkorn controversy, although the ecumenical council Lateran V did not raise the proscription at its sessions. The ecumenical council of Trent (1545–48, 1551–52, 1562–63) was expected to forbid the reprinting of the Talmud, but was with great difficulty prevailed upon not to legislate on the subject since the Jews consented to permit a thorough censorship. Nevertheless, at the instance of Pope Paul *IV, while still a cardinal, the Talmud had been burned in Rome in 1553, and in the Papal States at least its possession and study were normally prohibited down to the 19th century.

From the 16th to the 19th centuries legislation about the Jews was hardly needed. Besides, other problems loomed larger for the Church in such Catholic lands as still harbored Jews.

[Solomon Grayzel]

Vatican Councils I and II

At the 20th ecumenical council (Vatican I, 1869–70) an abortive attempt was made to deal with the Jews. The Lémann brothers, who had been born into a Jewish family of Dijon and had converted to Catholicism at the age of 17 and become priests, presented a postulatum, signed by 510 fathers of the council, to the First Vatican Council, in which they asked the council to call upon the Jewish people to acknowledge Jesus as the Messiah and Savior. The call to conversion was sharply criticized in the press by Jews and non-Jews who also pointed out the dire situation of the Jews of Rome who were still living in a ghetto (abolished only when the city was taken by Italian troops and annexed to the Kingdom of Italy in 1870). Since the council broke up prematurely on October 20, 1870, the postulatum was not discussed.

The Second Vatican Council (1962–65), called on the initiative of Pope *John XXIII, also dealt with the attitude of the Catholic Church toward Judaism. A declaration, *Nostra aetate* ("In Our Time"), on the attitude of the Church toward non-Christian religions, was formulated by Cardinal *Bea and the Secretariat for Christian Unity, and was promulgated on October 28, 1965. It reads:

> As this sacred synod searches into the mystery of the Church, it remembers the bond that spiritually ties the people of the New Covenant to Abraham's stock.
>
> Thus the Church of Christ acknowledges that, according to God's saving design, the beginnings of her faith and her election are found already among the Patriarchs, Moses and the prophets. She professes that all who believe in Christ – Abraham's sons according to faith – are included in the same Patriarch's call, and likewise that the salvation of the Church is mysteriously foreshadowed by the chosen people's exodus from the land of bondage. The Church, therefore, cannot forget that she received the revelation of the Old Testament through the people with whom God in His inexpressible mercy concluded the Ancient Covenant. Nor can she forget that she draws sustenance from the root of that well-cultivated olive tree onto which have been grafted the wild shoots, the Gentiles. Indeed, the Church believes that by His cross Christ Our Peace reconciled Jews and Gentiles, making both one in Himself.
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> The Church keeps ever in mind the words of the Apostle about his kinsmen: "theirs is the sonship and the glory and the convenants and the law and the worship and the promises; theirs are the fathers and from them is the Christ according to the flesh" (Rom. 9:4–5), the Son of the Virgin Mary. She also recalls that the Apostles, the Church's mainstay and pillars, as well as most of the early disciples who proclaimed Christ's Gospel to the world, sprang from the Jewish people.
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> As Holy Scripture testifies, Jerusalem did not recognize the time of her visitation, nor did the Jews, in large number, accept the Gospel; indeed not a few opposed its spreading. Nevertheless, God holds the Jews most dear for the sake of their Fathers; He does not repent of the gifts He makes or of the calls He issues – such is the witness of the Apostle. In company with the Prophets and the same Apostle, the Church awaits that day, known to God alone, on which all peoples will address the Lord in a single voice and "serve him shoulder to shoulder" (Zeph. 3:9).
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> Since the spiritual patrimony common to Christians and Jews is thus so great, this sacred synod wants to foster and recommend that mutual understanding and respect which is the fruit, above all, of biblical and theological studies as well as of fraternal dialogues.
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> True, the Jewish authorities and those who followed their lead pressed for the death of Christ; still, what happened in His passion cannot be charged against all the Jews, without distinction, then alive, nor against the Jews of today. Although the Church is the new people of God, the Jews should not be presented as rejected or accursed as if this followed from the Holy Scriptures. All should see to it, then, that in catechetical work or in the preaching of the word of God they do not teach anything that does not conform to the truth of the Gospel and the spirit of Christ.
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> Furthermore, in her rejection of every persecution against any man, the Church, mindful of the patrimony she shares with the Jews and moved not by political reasons but by the Gospel's spiritual love, decries hatred, persecutions, displays of antisemitism, directed against Jews at any time and by anyone.
>
> Besides, as the Church has always held and holds now, Christ underwent His passion and death freely, because of the sins of men and out of infinite love, in order that all may reach salvation. It is, therefore, the burden of the Church's preaching to proclaim the cross of Christ as the sign of God's all-embracing love and as the fountain from which every grace flows.

The declaration in its final form is weaker than its penultimate draft, the result of the deliberations of the fathers of the council in 1964, and some of its formulations are not clear. Nevertheless it has contributed to the general recognition by the Catholic Church of demands for better relations between it and the Jewish people which hitherto had been fostered only by outsiders.

[Willehad Paul Eckert]

The last four decades of the 20th century and the beginning of the 21st have been a period of greater harmony and significantly less tension between the Roman Catholic Church and the Jews. The tentative steps undertaken by Vatican II led also to a series of steps that improved Catholic-Jewish relations enormously. The liturgy for Good Friday was changed; so too the scriptural readings. All this translated itself into the classroom and Church catechism, changing the way that Roman Catholic faithful respond to Jews and to Judaism.

The Vatican council led to the introduction of Jewish faculties teaching theology at major American Catholic universities such as Notre Dame, Georgetown, Boston College, Loyola, Seton Hall, Fordham, and many others. Judaism is taught in the Roman Catholic parochial schools in the United States and teaching of the Holocaust has been widespread within the Roman Catholic school system.

More Church bodies have apologized for acts of omission and commission during the Holocaust. Some statements have been bolder than others, but the general tendency has been to accept a greater measure of responsibility for the past and the future.

Under the papacy of Pope John Paul II, diplomatic relations were established with Israel, the Bishop of Rome prayed in a Roman synagogue for the first time in two millennia and gave unprecedented recognition of Jewish post-Christian continuity by praying at the Western Wall and visiting the offices of the Chief Rabbinate of Israel, one religious leader paying a courtesy call on other religious leaders.

While there have been conflicts and outstanding issues, it is clear that relations between Roman Catholics and Jews have dramatically improved and this has drawn a significant response from the Jewish community. Orthodox rabbis such as

Irving *Greenberg and David *Hartman have argued against the position of Rabbi Joseph Dov Baer *Soloveitchik regarding interreligious dialogue.

No one has articulated the change of atmosphere more clearly than the National Jewish Scholars Project in the United States. It issued a statement on Jewish Christian relations – *Dabru Emet* – which reads in part:

> In recent years, there has been a dramatic and unprecedented shift in Jewish and Christian relations. Throughout the nearly two millennia of Jewish exile, Christians have tended to characterize Judaism as a failed religion or, at best, a religion that prepared the way for, and is completed in, Christianity. In the decades since the Holocaust, however, Christianity has changed dramatically. An increasing number of official Church bodies, both Roman Catholic and Protestant, have made public statements of their remorse about Christian mistreatment of Jews and Judaism. These statements have declared, furthermore, that Christian teaching and preaching can and must be reformed so that they acknowledge God's enduring covenant with the Jewish people and celebrate the contribution of Judaism to world civilization and to Christian faith itself.
>
> We believe these changes merit a thoughtful Jewish response. Speaking only for ourselves – an interdenominational group of Jewish scholars – we believe it is time for Jews to learn about the efforts of Christians to honor Judaism. We believe it is time for Jews to reflect on what Judaism may now say about Christianity. As a first step, we offer eight brief statements about how Jews and Christians may relate to one another.
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> Jews and Christians worship the same God.
>
> Jews and Christians seek authority from the same book – the Bible (what Jews call "Tanakh" and Christians call the "Old Testament").
>
> Christians can respect the claim of the Jewish people upon the land of Israel.
>
> Jews and Christians accept the moral principles of Torah.
>
> Nazism was not a Christian phenomenon. Without the long history of Christian anti-Judaism and Christian violence against Jews, Nazi ideology could not have taken hold nor could it have been carried out. Too many Christians participated in, or were sympathetic to, Nazi atrocities against Jews. Other Christians did not protest sufficiently against these atrocities. But Nazism itself was not an inevitable outcome of Christianity. We applaud those Christians who reject this teaching of contempt, and we do not blame them for the sins committed by their ancestors.
>
> The humanly irreconcilable difference between Jews and Christians will not be settled until God redeems the entire world as promised in Scripture.
>
> A new relationship between Jews and Christians will not weaken Jewish practice. Jews and Christians must work together for justice and peace.

This document was signed by hundreds of Jewish scholars and rabbis of all denominations. It would not have been possible without Vatican II.

[Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)

For developments in Catholic-Jewish relations after Vatican II, see also *Church, Catholic.

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CHURCH FATHERS, term designating the spiritual and doctrinal proponents of Christianity during its first centuries. First reserved for bishops, the designation was later also accorded to other ecclesiastical authorities. The criteria of eligibility for this designation are (1) orthodoxy of doctrine (i.e., identification with the teachings of the official Church); (2) saintliness of conduct; (3) ecclesiastical approbation; (4) seniority. The authority of the Church Fathers resides in the principle accepted by the Church of considering tradition a source of faith. The patristic period ends in the West in 636 with the death of *Isidore of Seville and in the Orient in 749 with that of John of Damascus. In the main, two aspects concerning the relationship between the Church Fathers and the Jews and Judaism are discussed here: their contribution to anti-Jewish polemics; and their knowledge of Hebrew and rabbinic teachings.

Mention should be made of the "Epistle of Barnabas" (second century), a New Testament apocryphal work in Greek, which is unique in the literature of the early Church for its radical anti-Jewish attitude. According to the anonymous author of this text, the Jews have misunderstood the Law by interpreting it literally instead of looking for the spiritual meaning. The author stresses the obligation of Christians not to celebrate the Sabbath, but Sunday, the day of the resurrection of Jesus. ARISTIDES OF ATHENS, in his *Apologia* addressed to Emperor Hadrian in about 123–24, attacks the Jews at the same time as he polemicizes against the Barbarians and the Greeks. The first Christian polemicist to attack the Jews directly was ARISTON OF PELLA (mid-second century) in his "Dialogue of Jason and Papiscus"; this work has been lost and only the preface to a Latin translation (also lost) is extant. The first anti-Jewish polemic in Greek which has been almost entirely preserved is the "Dialogue with Tryphon" by JUSTIN (d. 165), the most important Christian apologist of the second century. The work is an adaptation of a debate which perhaps actually took place between Justin and a philosopher who lived in Ereẓ Israel, possibly R. *Tarfon. The discussion, which lasted two days, deals with the validity of Old Testament Law, the divinity of Jesus, and the Christian claim that the Nations represent a New Israel. Justin's work contains a considerable amount of aggadic material. Bishop APOLLINARIS OF HIERAPOLIS (Phrygia) wrote a polemic work against the Jews in about 175. The first anti-Jewish polemic in Latin, *Adversus Iudaeos*, dates from about 200 and was written by TERTULLIAN. It purports to present a written refutation of Jewish objections put forward in the course of an actual discussion during which the Christian spokesmen against the Jews could not make themselves heard. Here again, the discussion concerns the validity of the Law, the messiahship and divinity of Jesus, the rejection of the Jews, and the choice of the Christianized pagans in their place as the People of God.

To the beginning of the third century belongs the *Contra Judaeos* attributed to HIPPOLYTUS OF ROME which imputes the existing miserable condition of the Jews to their rejection of Jesus. *CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA (d. before 215), whose work contains many aggadic elements, attempts to prove to the pagans that the Greek philosophers are indebted to Jewish learning, while also seeking to answer the Jewish argument reproaching Christianity for fragmentation into numerous sects. In an even more complicated fashion, *ORIGEN (d. 253) is compelled in the same work, *Contra Celsum*, to take up to a certain extent the defense of Judaism and, simultaneously, to refute the anti-Christian arguments which the pagans borrowed from the Jews. It is believed that the mother of Origen was Jewish. He himself certainly maintained relations with the members of the family of the Palestinian patriarch. *Jerome also noted his indebtedness to Jewish teachers for his knowledge of both the Hebrew language and aggadic sources.

Before the middle of the third century, CYPRIAN OF CARTHAGE presented a series of biblical *testimonia* for use in discussions against the Jews, probably inspired by a similar collection in Greek which already existed in the second century. Four other anti-Jewish works have been attributed erroneously to Cyprian: a sermon *Adversus Iudaeos*; a treatise *De montibus Sina et Sion*, which attempts to point out the differences between the Old and New Testament laws; a preface to the Latin translation of the "Dialogue between Jason and Papiscus" entitled *De iudaica incredulitate*; and *De Pascha computus*, on determining the date of Easter. A pastoral letter *De cibis iudaicis* of Bishop NOVATIAN (third century), which evidently belongs to the same period, warns Christians against observing Jewish dietary laws. Novatian also wrote other anti-Jewish works on circumcision and the Sabbath, which have been lost.

*EUSEBIUS OF CAESAREA, who had a Jewish teacher to whom he is indebted for certain exegetical interpretations, points out to potential converts in his *Praeparatio Evangelica* (between 312 and 322), that the Christians have done well to prefer the theology of the Hebrews to paganism. In his *Historia Ecclesiastica*, the same author attempts to prove that immediately after their plot against Jesus, the Jews were struck by all manner of misfortunes by a kind of chastisement from heaven. Eusebius also participated in the paschal controversy: he insisted on the mystic significance of Passover which comes to its fulfillment in the Easter feast. JULIUS FIRMICUS MATERNUS is the first author of the patristic period to polemicize against the Jews on the subject of the Trinity, *De erroribus profanarum religionum* (336). In contrast to Eusebius (see above), GREGORY OF NYSSA, in his "Great Catechism" (386–7), takes up the defense of Catholic dogmas simultaneously against the pagans, the Jews, and the heretics. APHRAATES (first half of the fourth century), the first Syriac Church Father, in his *Demonstrationes* does not direct any missionary activity toward the Jews. If he argues against them, it is only to strengthen the faith of his own Christian believers who were often perturbed by the arguments of the Jews. In this respect, he examines, in particular, circumcision, the Passover, the Sabbath, and the Jewish dietary observances. EPHREM THE SYRIAN (c. 306–373), in three of his "Hymns on Faith" in Syriac, polemicizes against both Arian heretics and the Jews.

JOHN *CHRYSOSTOM (354–407) delivered eight sermons of extreme violence against the Jews while he was in Antioch. These were intended to warn certain Christians against the attraction which Judaism exerted over them to the extent that they participated in the Jewish festivals or adopted Jewish practices. The apologetic treatise *Contra Judaeos et Gentiles* attributed to John Chrysostom is of doubtful authenticity. DIODORE OF TARSUS (d. before 394) also wrote an anti-Jewish polemic. *JEROME (c. 345–c. 419) did not write a work directly intended as an anti-Jewish polemic. Passages scattered throughout his work contain adverse comments on the Jews. His significance for Jews, however, lies in the fact that he had recourse to the original Hebrew for the elaboration of a new Latin translation of the Bible and frequently used rabbinic exegesis and aggadic traditions to clarify the Scriptures. His numerous scattered references to the Jews in Ereẓ Israel during the fourth century provide a good insight into Jewish political and social conditions, family life, cultural standards, religious life, and especially in the case of the heretical movements, the Judaizing Christians and their messianic expectations. *AMBROSE OF MILAN manifested a violent anti-Judaism both in practice, as on the occasion of the destruction of the synagogue of Callinicum, and on the theological level, by several polemical epistles. *AUGUSTINE, who, on the contrary, does not appear to have had any personal contacts with Jews, defined his doctrine concerning them in his "Sermon against the Jews" where he asserts that even though they deserved the most severe punishment for having put Jesus to death, they have been kept alive by Divine Providence to serve, together with their Scriptures, as witnesses to the truth of Christianity. Augustine's reputation from his own times as a violently anti-Jewish author explains why many other anti-Jewish treatises by unknown or obscure authors have been attributed to him. The last Syriac Church Father to polemicize against the Jews was JACOB OF SERUGH (Sarug; 451–521), whose seven "Sermons against the Jews," still unpublished, are simple repetitions of themes already traditional in the Syriac Church. On the other hand, the "Letter of Consolation" addressed to the Himyarite martyrs, which has also been attributed to Jacob of Serugh, was the result of a new concrete situation: the persecution of the Christians in southern Arabia after the conversion to Judaism of *Yusuf Dhu Nuwas, king of the Himyarites.

QUODVULTDEUS, a disciple of Augustine and briefly bishop of Carthage (437–39), wrote two works which attack the Jews along with pagans and heretics. While Pope LEO THE GREAT (pope from 440 to 461) did not compose any anti-Jewish works (he fought the Manicheans with extreme violence), an anti-Jewish sermon has been attributed to him. MAXIMUS OF TURIN (d. between 408 and 423) delivered at least two sermons in which he polemicizes against the Jews. However, the "Treatise against the Jews" attributed to him was in fact written by the Arian bishop Maximinus. CAESARIUS OF ARLES (c. 470–543) deals with the "Comparison between the Church and the Synagogue" in one of his sermons. In another, he compares the two sons in the Gospel parable (Luke 15:11ff.) to the Jews and the gentiles. On the other hand, it is not certain whether the sermon in which Christians are warned against partaking meals with Jews really belongs to him. Pope *GREGORY THE GREAT (c. 540–604) was often compelled to intervene in matters affecting the Jews, as evidenced in his correspondence. The most important doctrinal and practical point which he was thus brought to formulate concerns the formal prohibition of the use of force in missionary activities among the Jews. ISIDORE OF SEVILLE (c. 560–636) is known as the last of the Latin Church Fathers. He wrote two important anti-Jewish treatises: *De fide catholica ex Vetere et Novo Testamento contra Judaeos*, consisting of a collection of scriptural testimonies (similar to the model already furnished by Cyprian, mentioned above; here, however, the testimonies are drawn from both the Old and New Testaments), and *Quaestiones adversus Judaeos et caeteros infideles*, the "other infidels" being in fact Judaizing Christians.

[Bernhard Blumenkranz]

Church Fathers and the Aggadah

Many Church Fathers lived and were active in Ereẓ Israel. Some of them studied with Jews learning Hebrew and even the Bible and its exegesis, useful to many of them in polemics against Judaism and the Jews. Hence their writings contain numerous aggadic and even halakhic traditions, some of which are otherwise unknown. Many aggadic phenomena are explicable only against the background of anti-Christian polemics, which contributed significantly to the flowering of the *aggadah* in Ereẓ Israel. This, as opposed to the situation in Babylonia, is indicated by Abbahu's statement in a conversation with sectarians (*minim*): "We [of Ereẓ Israel] who frequently meet with you, set ourselves the task of thoroughly studying it [i.e., the Bible], but they [i.e., those of Babylonia] do not study it so carefully" (Av. Zar. 4a).

Polemics with the Church Fathers led to a change in the appraisal of biblical figures by the Ereẓ Israel sages. In Second Temple times and at the beginning of the mishnaic period the repentance of the people of Nineveh was regarded as so exemplary that it was alluded to in the words of admonition addressed to the people on a public fast day (Ta'an. 1). The Babylonian sages praised the people of Nineveh even where their actions seemed highly irregular (Ta'an. 16a). In that same period, however, the Ereẓ Israel sages contended that the people of Nineveh had effected a "forged penitence," marked even by forcefulness and pressuring of the Almighty (TJ, Ta'an. 2:1, 65b). It is only in Midrashim of the seventh century C.E. that the people of Nineveh were once more praised in Ereẓ Israel. Through Jewish influence the Christians also came to regard the repentance of the people of Nineveh as exemplary; although they contrasted it with the stubbornness of the Jews both in biblical times and in those days. Church Fathers, such as Jerome and, in particular, Ephrem the Syrian, made considerable use of the repentance of the people of Nineveh to attack the Jews for rejecting Jesus and as a result the last of the *tannaim* and also the *amoraim* of Ereẓ Israel revised their appraisal of the repentance of the people of Nineveh. This revision was unnecessary in Babylonia where Christianity was weak and suppressed, and was no longer required in Ereẓ Israel after the Arab conquest of the country.

Because of the attitude of the Church Fathers, the Ereẓ Israel *tannaim* and *amoraim* from the days of the Second Temple adopted a different view of apocryphal literature. Hence the *aggadah* of the Ereẓ Israel sages from the second to the seventh century C.E. not only ignored the *Apocalypse, but completely altered its appraisal of various biblical events and personalities occupying a prominent place in that literature. Thus, for example, Enoch, who was highly praised in the literature of the Second Temple period, was disparaged by the Ereẓ Israel sages because he was regarded by the Christians as the prototype of Jesus. Not until the seventh century C.E. did the sages once more refer approvingly to him. Similarly, the identification of "the sons of God" (Gen. 6:2) with angels, current in Judaism throughout the entire Second Temple period, was no longer popular with the Ereẓ Israel sages once Christianity used it for its own purposes. Worthy of note is the influence of the aggadah in both content and form upon the Church Fathers' approach to the Bible.

[Moshe David Herr]

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°CHURCHILL, SIR WINSTON LEONARD SPENCER (1875–1965), British statesman and author. With some lapses, Churchill was a lifelong philo-semite and pro-Zionist. His general view on Judaism and the Jews was based on his awareness of their spiritual potentialities and their role in history, as well as his own Christian belief. "No thoughtful man can doubt the fact that they are the most formidable and the most remarkable race which has ever appeared in the world," he wrote in the *Illustrated Sunday Herald* (Feb. 8, 1920). Christianity and mankind, he concluded, owe to the Jews the system of ethics on which Western civilization has been built. This belief guided him to no small degree when he encountered Jewish reality and problems upon entering public life. The first confrontation occurred in 1904 when the *Balfour government submitted to Parliament a restrictive Aliens Bill which was to regulate immigration to Britain. Churchill attacked the bill from the opposition benches for its inhuman and antisemitic nature, and partly due to his efforts the measure was withdrawn. The revised bill, adopted the following year, contained many amendments proposed by Churchill. In the early years of his parliamentary activities Churchill strongly supported the Saturday Closing and Sunday Opening bills, the reduction of naturalization fees, and specific Jewish educational rights. As home secretary (1911), he had to handle anti-Jewish outbreaks that occurred during a coal strike in South Wales. Considering the local police force insufficiently strong, he dispatched a special riot police force to the affected areas to prevent further outbreaks. On the other hand, in 1919, as secretary for war and air, he was criticized for his failure to prevent the anti-Jewish excesses of the White Russian troops under General Denikin, whom the British supported in his war against the Bolsheviks. In self-defense Churchill published the telegrams which he had sent to Denikin demanding cessation of anti-Jewish outbreaks, but which went unheeded.

Churchill's attitude toward Zionism throughout his career was consistently sympathetic. In 1906, as undersecretary for the colonies, he publicly supported Israel *Zangwill's Jewish Territorial Organization (see *Territorialism), which advocated autonomous Jewish settlement within the British Empire. However, after a visit to East Africa in 1908, he avowed his belief in the Zionist conception of settlement in Palestine. As colonial secretary in 1921, after the French expulsion of King Feisal from Damascus, Churchill was confronted with unrest in the whole Middle East area, owing to the various, often contradictory, pledges given by Britain to Arab leaders. He attempted to end the uncertainty. At a conference in Cairo, Feisal was made king of Iraq. Then, at the end of March, Churchill went to Palestine for a week's visit. In Jerusalem he met Feisal's brother, Abdullah, who accepted an offer to become emir of *Transjordan. In May 1922 Churchill issued the *White Paper, named after him, in which the Arabs were assured that Britain did not intend to create a wholly Jewish Palestine, and that Jewish nationality would not be imposed upon them. Jewish immigration was to be limited so as not to exceed the country's economic capacity to absorb new arrivals. This White Paper was generally regarded by Zionists as a whittling down of Britain's promises and undertakings to the Jews. However, it also contained reassuring sections, such as the reaffirmation of the Balfour Declaration, which "was not susceptible of change," and the statement that "the Jewish community should freely develop its capacities in Palestine and that it is essential that it should know that it is in Palestine as of right and not on sufferance. That is the reason why it is necessary that the existence of the Jewish National Home in Palestine should be internationally guaranteed and that it should be formally recognized to rest upon ancient historic connection." Churchill regarded this document as binding for Great Britain, and throughout the Mandatory period it dictated his views on all problems that arose in connection with Palestine. Churchill fought fiercely against all moves in the 1930s which limited the scope of the National Home or proposed to stop immigration. His pleas for Zionism and his warnings to the government often rose to heights of eloquence and pathos that are Churchillian classics.

Churchill, as prime minister, has been criticized for not attempting to rescue more Jews from the Nazis during World War II – although it is difficult to see what he might realistically have done; for not abolishing the White Paper of 1939 which he had so strongly condemned; and for failing to take practical steps to save the remnants of European Jewry, primarily by opening Palestine to all those able to save themselves. In his *Memoirs* Churchill explained his attitude as a single-minded concentration on winning the war, disregarding all other issues. From this position followed the avoidance of any controversy within the Cabinet or Parliament which might accompany the desire to solve any problem, including that of Palestine. "I do not advise any decision at the present time on the Palestine policy," he wrote to Foreign Secretary Anthony Eden, on June 29, 1944. "I am determined not to break the pledge of the British government as modified by my subsequent statement at the Colonial Office in 1922. No change can be made in policy without full discussion in Cabinet." It was only in 1944 that Churchill, overruling the delaying tactics of the secretary of war, pressed for the formation of a *Jewish Brigade, for which he had expressed sympathy as far back as 1940.

While Churchill did not officially concern himself with solutions to any postwar problem, he had, prior to Lord Moyne's assassination by members of *Loḥamei Ḥerut Israel (1944), set up a commission to investigate the possibility of a partition of Palestine out of which a viable Jewish state (including the Negev) would emerge. On another occasion he informed Chaim *Weizmann that he planned to make King Ibn Saud the head of all Arabs, providing he came to terms with the Zionists. He advised the Zionist leader to discuss this with President *Roosevelt. "There is nothing that he and I cannot do if we set our minds to it," he told Weizmann. But Churchill had no chance of carrying out any of these suggestions. Soon after the end of the war the Conservatives were defeated at the general election, succeeded by Clement *Attlee's

Labour government. As leader of the opposition in the House of Commons, Churchill attacked the government's Palestine policy, accused Foreign Secretary Ernest *Bevin of antisemitism, and was one of the first to suggest the abandonment of the Mandate and to demand the recognition of the State of Israel after its emergence in 1948. Under Churchill's second premiership (1951–55) a complete change in Middle East policy and strategy emerged, which reflected Britain's postwar declining power. During the 1950s, too, Churchill made a series of extraordinarily pro-Zionist statements supporting Israel in its conflict with the Arabs. After his death in 1965, most of his multi-volume official biography was written by the distinguished Anglo-Jewish historian Sir Martin *Gilbert, which should certainly be consulted by anyone interested in Churchill's relations with the Jews and Zionism.

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[Oskar K. Rabinowicz]

CHURGIN, BATHIA (1928–), musicologist. Churgin, the daughter of Pinkhos *Churgin, was born in New York. She studied with Louise Talma at Hunter College and with Nadia Boulanger at Fontainebleau. She received her Ph.D. from Harvard University in 1963, where she studied theory with Piston and music history with Gombosi and Pirrotta. After teaching at Vassar College (1952–57, 1959–71) and Harvard summer school (1963), she immigrated to Israel in 1970 and was appointed head of the new department of musicology at Bar-Ilan University (until 1984). Churgin was chair of the Israel Musicological Society in 1994–95. Her special fields were Beethoven and the early classic symphony of G.B. Sammartini. A *Festschrift* in her honor was published in 2000. She was the editor of *The Symphonies of G.B. Sammartini* I (1963), II (1968); III (1976); *Thematic Catalogue of the Works of G.B. Sammartini"* (coeditor, 1976); the Israel Musicological Society's journal, *Israel Studies in Musicology*, 2 (1980 and 1996). Among her writings were "New Facts in Sammartini Biography," in: JAMS, 20 (1967), 107–12; "Galeazzi's Description (1796) of Sonata Form," in: *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 21 (1968), 181–99; "The Symphony as Described by J.A.P. Schulz (1774): A Commentary and Translation," in: CMC, 29 (1980), 7–16; "Beethoven's Sketches for His String Quintet, Op. 29," in: E.K. Wolf and E.H. Roesner (eds.), *Studies in Musical Sources and Styles: Essays in Honor of Jan LaRue* (1990), 441–80; "Exploring the Eroica: Aspects of the New Critical Edition, Haydn, Mozart and Beethoven," in: S. Brandenburg (ed.), …*Essays in Honour of Alan Tyson*, ed. (1998), 188–211; "Beethoven and the New Development-Theme in Sonata-Form Movements," in: JM, XVI (1998), 323–41.

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[Israela Stein (2nd ed.)]

CHURGIN, PINKHOS (1894–1957), educator, scholar, religious Zionist leader, and founder of *Bar-Ilan University. Churgin, who was born in Pohost, Belorussia, immigrated to Palestine with his parents in 1907 and settled in Jerusalem. In 1910 he was sent to study at the yeshivah of Volozhin, Lithuania. There he became interested in modern Hebrew letters and Zionist religious thought, which led to his correspondence with the founder of the Mizrachi movement, Rabbi Isaac Jacob *Reines. Churgin returned to Palestine at the end of 1912. In 1915 he went to America and accepted Hebrew teaching positions first in New Jersey and later in New Haven, Conn. He at once began to publish articles on current events and historical essays in the Hebrew periodicals, *Ha-Ivri* and *Ha-Toren*, and also wrote for the Yiddish and Anglo-Jewish press. In 1920 he began teaching at the Teachers' Institute in New York City, then under the joint sponsorship of the Mizrachi Organization and the Rabbi Isaac Elchanan Yeshivah.

In 1924 Churgin was appointed dean of the Teachers' Institute. Churgin was one of the moving spirits in the development of Yeshivah University, served for many years as chairman of the Council for Jewish Education under the sponsorship of the Mizrachi movement, and was instrumental in founding a number of Hebrew day schools in New York and in other cities. In 1949 Churgin became president of the Mizrachi Organization of America. During his years in office he was the chief architect and executor of the idea for the establishment of the Bar-Ilan University. In 1955 he left for Israel to head the new university. Under his guidance, the institute grew and became an important factor in the field of Hebrew education.

As a scholar, Churgin specialized in the study of the Targumim and the history of the Second Temple Period. He wrote *Targum Jonathan to the Prophets* (1927), *Targum Ketuvim* ("Targum to the Hagiographa," 1945), and *Meḥkarim Bi-Tekufat Bayit Sheni* ("Studies on the Second Temple Period," 1949). In 1934 he founded the quarterly *Horeb*, which appeared irregularly under his editorship until 1955. He also served as co-editor of the Hebrew monthly *Bitzaron* (1949–55). Churgin's analysis of historical and textual material led him to original conclusions on the question of relationship between Samaritans and Jews during the time of the Second Temple. He also shed new light on the attitude of the Jewish people toward the Hasmonean dynasty and ventured a new appraisal of Josephus' and Philo's historical writings.

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[Hayim Leaf]

CHURGIN, YA'AKOV YEHOSHUA (1898–1990), Hebrew writer and educator. Born in Jaffa, he was educated there and in Jerusalem. Churgin was a teacher from his youth. He taught Hebrew literature at Yeshiva University, New York (1952–54) and at Bar-Ilan University (from 1955). Churgin was also a poet, short-story writer, novelist, and essayist; his writings appeared in numerous journals in Israel and the United States. His historical novels and short stories for young readers enjoyed great popularity. His impressions of his American experience are reflected in *Galleryot Amerika'iyyot* ("American Galleries," 1964). He also edited several children's magazines and anthologies. Churgin was the subject of Aharon Reuveni's story, "*The Watchman and the Wall*," translated by M.Z. Frank (in: Frank, M.Z. (ed.), *Sound the Great Trumpet* (1955), 117–36, condensed). His prose appeared in *Kitvei Ya'akov Churgin* (1943). H. Bar-Yosef edited a selection of his stories in *Yalkut Sippurim* (1981) and added a foreword.

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[Getzel Kressel]

CHWILA ("**Moment**"), Jewish Polish-language daily published in Lvov, eastern Galicia, from 1919 to 1939. It was founded during the difficult period of the Polish revival, when anti-Jewish feelings were demonstrated in a pogrom in Lvov in November 1918, while the Poles and Ukrainians were struggling for control of this important city, most Jews having declared themselves neutral. The newspaper was initiated by Zionist leaders in eastern Galicia who wished to have a Polish-language organ to counter the accusations made against the Jews, react to the persecutions, and raise Jewish morale; the subsequent difficult position of the Jews and increased Polonization necessitated its continued publication. All sectors of the Jewish population, including non-Zionists, had confidence in the paper, not only for its political and general content and discussion of national and Zionist problems but also for its literary and art sections. The first editor of *Chwila* was Gerschon *Zipper, and subsequent editors were Henryk *Rosmarin. David Maltz, Julius Wurzel, Leon Weinstock, and Henryk Hescheles (pseudonym Trejwart). Among its important contributors were Leon *Reich, Ze'ev Berkelhammer, Moses *Schorr, Meir *Balaban, A. Insler, Adolf Rothfeld, and David Schreiber.

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[Moshe Landau]

CHWISTEK, LEON (1884–1944), Polish philosopher. Chwistek lectured in philosophy at the University of Cracow and was later appointed professor of mathematical logic at Lvov in 1930. Working within the brilliant Polish renaissance of modern philosophical and literary creativity during the first third of the 20th century, he undertook original investigations in logic, mathematics, theory of knowledge, aesthetics, and political thought. In his view of the world, which was humanistic and naturalistic, there are pluralities within reality, and for him it seemed clear that any interpretation which saw the world as a single reality would be beset by contradictions. For Chwistek there were at least four realities: the common sense objects of the sort treated by 19th-century British empiricism; the theoretical constructs, typically in scientific theories of the microworld; the realm of sensations and sensed impressions, treated by Hume and Mach; and the no less real world of fantasy, dependent upon men's individual wills. Perhaps his most significant philosophical work was *Granice nauki* (1935; *The Limits of Science*, 1948). He exerted a wide influence among students and colleagues within the arts as well as in philosophical scholarship, and among socialist and Marxist circles.

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[Robert S. Cohen]

CHWOLSON, DANIEL (Rus. **Daniel Avraamovich Khvolson**, 1819–1911), Russian Orientalist. Chwolson was born of poor, devout Jewish parents in Vilna. In 1841 he went to Breslau, where Abraham *Geiger befriended him and helped him prepare for matriculation at the university. Later he returned to Russia, settling in St. Petersburg. In 1855 Chwolson became a convert of the Russian Orthodox Church. He was then appointed professor of Hebrew, Syriac, and Chaldaic philology at the University of St. Petersburg, and three years later he was given the corresponding chair at both the Russian Orthodox and Roman Catholic theological academies in the same city. In this triple capacity he taught practically every eminent Semitic scholar in Russia during the second half of the 19th century and after. Among his disciples were the greatest Russian Orientalists; among them were P. *Kokovtzof, N. Mar, A. *Harkavy, J. *Israelson, H.J. *Gurland, and David *Guenzburg. Despite his conversion, Chwolson remained well disposed toward Jews and Judaism and retained his friendship with many eminent Jewish scholars and leaders. He was particularly welcome in Jewish Orthodox circles because of his frequent intervention on their behalf when government officials threatened the yeshivot or the publication of the Talmud. He joined the Ḥevrat Mefiẓei ha-Haskalah ("*Society for the Promotion of Culture among the Jews"), but was forced to withdraw after four years because of Jewish public opinion. Chwolson was also popular among the Jews for his works against the *blood libel, the first of which, *O nekotoryh srednevekovykh obvineniyakh protiv Yevreyev* (On Several Medieval Accusations Against the Jews, 1861), was written after such a libel in Saratov in 1857. Chwolson published his revised and enlarged doctoral dissertation as *Die Ssabier und der Ssabismus* (2 vols., 1856). His immense erudition and skill in combining and interpreting obscure and fragmentary sources were at once evident and established his reputation as a scholar both in Russia and abroad. Chwolson's subsequent publications cover a variety of subjects. *Ueber die Ueberreste der alt-babylonischen Literatur in arabischen Uebersetzungen* (1859) and *Ueber Tammuz und die Menschenverehrung bei den alten Babyloniern* (1860) are in a sense akin to his monumental work on the Sabians. In 1869 he published a monograph *Izvestiya o Khazarakh…* on the 10th-century Arab geographer Ibn Rustah's account of the Khazars, Magyars, Slavs, and Russians. His *Corpus inscriptionum he-*

braicarum (1882) is a major contribution to Hebrew paleography. *Das letzte Passahmahl Christi und der Tag seines Todes* (1892), while meant as an answer to antisemitic accusations, is a learned and detailed investigation of the circumstances of Jesus' trial and condemnation. In it Chwolson attempted to prove that Jesus was sentenced to death by the Sadducean high court and that therefore the Pharisees and masses of Jews bear no guilt. Other works deal with Syriac inscriptions, the Moabite inscription of *Mesha, and the Semitic nations. Chwolson edited a 12th-century Hebrew version of I Maccabees for the seventh *Kobez al jad* (1896/97) and contributed a paper on the quiescent Hebrew letters to the *Travaux* of the Third Session of the International Congress of Orientalists (vol. 2 (1876), 459–90).

Chwolson's reputation for vast learning and critical acumen was occasionally vitiated by his proposals of bold hypotheses feebly supported by historical facts. It was probably his predilection for such stances that led him to persist in defending the authenticity of some of Abraham *Firkovich's forgeries, even after they had been fully exposed. Chwolson was a diligent collector of Hebrew incunabula and rare books, and his essay on the beginnings of Hebrew printing, *Staropechatnya yevreyskiya knigi* (1896; *Reshit Ma'aseh ha-Defus be-Yisrael*, 1897), is still useful. He published a catalog of his library, *Reshimat Sifrei Yisrael* (1897), and supervised the publication of the early fascicules of S. Wiener's catalog of the Friedland collection of Hebrew books in the Asiatic Museum of the Russian Academy of Sciences (1893–). His own rich library was given to the same museum. Chwolson's son, OREST (1852–1934), was an eminent physicist and made important contributions to the study of the diffusion of light and of solar energy.

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[Yehuda Slutsky / Leon Nemoy]

°**CICERO, MARCUS TULLIUS** (106 B.C.E.–3 B.C.E.), Roman orator and statesman. In 59 B.C.E. Cicero delivered a speech in Rome on behalf of his client Flaccus (*Pro Flacco*), who was accused of having seized gold contributed by the Jews to the Temple, while he was proconsul of Asia. In his oration he describes Judaism as a barbaric superstition that should be opposed, and criticizes the Jews of Rome for playing too prominent a part in public assemblies. It is probable that Cicero spoke not from conviction so much as in the interest of his client. Cicero's observations indicate that the Jews ranked among the lower classes of the Roman population, attended popular assemblies, and took part in political life. Cicero attacks *Gabinius Aulus, the governor of Syria, for handing tax farmers as slaves to the Jews and Syrians, "races born to be slaves" (*De Provinciis Consularibus* 5:10). Plutarch (*Cicero* 7) attributes to Cicero the pun, "What has a Jew to do with a pig?" He supposedly said this when prosecuting Verres, governor of Sicily (*verres* = boar in Latin). Verres was defended by Cecilius, a Roman quaestor sympathetic to Judaism.

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[Uriel Rappaport]

CIECHANOVER, AARON J. (1947–), Israeli biochemist and Nobel laureate. Ciechanover obtained his medical degree in 1973 from Hadassah and the Hebrew University School of Medicine. Following military service as a physician in the Israeli Defense Forces (1973–76), including the Yom Kippur War, he obtained his Ph.D. in biochemistry from the Faculty of Medicine at the Technion in Haifa in 1981. During this period, along with his mentor, Prof. Avram *Hershko, he discovered the ubiquitin proteolytic system, which is now known to be involved in regulating a broad array of biological processes in health and disease. He continued his training at MIT and the Whitehead Institute in Cambridge, Mass. (1981–84). After returning to Israel, he joined the Faculty of Medicine at the Technion, becoming distinguished professor. He was director of the Rappaport Family Institute for Research in the Medical Sciences at the Technion from 1993 to 2000. Ciechanover holds the Janet and David Polak Chair in Life Sciences in the Faculty of Medicine at the Technion and has received numerous awards for his groundbreaking and far-reaching work in cancer research and the life sciences. These include the Albert and Mary Lasker Award for basic medical research in 2000, the EMET Prize in 2002, and the Israel Prize in biology in 2003.

Among Ciechanover's most significant contributions are major studies of ubiquitin, a protein that marks other proteins for destruction. Programmed, ubiquitin-mediated destruction of proteins has emerged as a critically important post-translational modification that plays major roles in regulating a broad array of basic cellular processes such as division, differentiation, signal transduction, trafficking, and quality control. A drug based on the general discovery of the ubiquitin system is used for the treatment of multiple myeloma. Ciechanover shared the 2004 Nobel Prize in chemistry with Avram *Hershko and Irwin *Rose for the discovery of the ubiquitin system.

[Bracher Rager (2nd ed.)]

CIECHANOW (Pol. **Ciechanów**), small town in central Poland. Jews were living in Ciechanow in 1569. Almost the entire community, of some 50 families, was annihilated in 1656 during the Polish-Swedish war by the troops of Stephan *Czarniecki. The census held in Poland in 1765 recorded 1,670 Jews living in Ciechanow. The community numbered 2,226 in 1856, 4,223 in 1897 (out of 10,000), 4,403 in 1921 (out of 11,977), and approximately 5,500 in 1925. Ciechanow was the residence of Abraham b. Raphael Landau *Ciechanow, a ḥasidic *ẓaddik* referred to as Czechanower. The last rabbi of Ciechanow was Ḥayyim Benjamin Braunroth (1916–39). The Polish army instigated a pogrom there in 1920.

[Natan Efrati]

Holocaust Period

During World War II Ciechanow was the main town of Bezirk (district) Zichenau, created and incorporated into East Prussia by Hitler's decree of Oct. 26, 1939. With many fleeing to Warsaw, there were 1,500–2,000 Jews living there when the German army entered the town on Sept. 3–4, 1939. In October 1939 the Germans began destroying Jewish houses, including the synagogue. A *Judenrat was created in the autumn of 1939 and the ghetto at the end of 1940. A Jewish police force was also set up. At the first deportation, on Dec. 11, 1941, nearly 1,200 Jews were evacuated to the townlet of Nowe Miasto (Neustadt), in the same district. Some Jews were shot. In Nowe Miasto the Jews from Ciechanow lived practically without shelter, and suffered from epidemic diseases. At the end of the summer of 1942 Jews deported from Makow Mazowiecki arrived in Ciechanow. With the final deportation, in November 1942, 1,800 persons left in two transports. The first, consisting of the elderly and weak persons, was taken to the ghetto in Mlawa in the same district; the second transport, composed of younger Jews, was sent to *Auschwitz. After this the ghetto was liquidated. A young girl from Ciechanow, Rosa Robota, a member of Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir, played a heroic role in the revolt of Auschwitz prisoners. About 200 Jews from Ciechanow survived the war, including 120 who returned from the U.S.S.R. The community was not reconstructed after World War II.

[Danuta Dombrowska]

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CIECHANOW (Tsekhanov), ABRAHAM BEN RAPHAEL LANDAU OF (**"Czechanower"**; 1789–1875), rabbi, author, and ḥasidic *ẓaddik* of Poland; talmudic scholar and ascetic. His family name was originally Dobrzinsky but when he married the daughter of Dan Landau, the *parnas* of Polock (Polotsk), who supported him for many years, he changed it to Landau. Abraham's mentor in *Ḥasidism was R. Fishel of Strykow. He was an admirer of *Simḥah Bunim of Przysucha whom he twice visited. In 1819 Abraham was appointed rabbi of Ciechanow, where he officiated until his death. Although invited to serve as rabbi in Lodz, Lublin, and Polock he refused to leave the smaller community. From 1866 he was acknowledged as a *ẓaddik* by the Ḥasidim in Ciechanow, but continued to follow the Ashkenazi rite contrary to usual ḥasidic practice. He never followed the custom of receiving "petitions" or money from his followers. Abraham frequently took part in consultations over public matters of Jewish interest. In general adopting a stand of extreme conservatism, he strongly opposed the order of the Russian authorities that Jews should modify their dress. His published works include *Ahavat Ḥesed* (1897) on the orders *Nashim* and *Tohorot; Zekhuta de-Avraham* (1865), sermons; and *Beit Avraham* (1899) on halakhic questions. Almost all his sons were *ẓaddikim*. The eldest and most prominent was ZE'EV WOLF OF STRYKOW (1807–1891), regarded as the "wisest" of the pupils of Menahem Mendel of *Kotsk (Kock), author of *Zer Zahav* (1900), on the Torah. He wrote poetry and had an elegant Hebrew style. Other sons of Abraham were JACOB OF JASOW (1834–1894); and DOV BERISH OF BIALA (1820–1876). Abraham's grandsons were also *ẓaddikim*.

[Itzhak Alfassi]

CILIBI MOÏSE (pseudonym of **Ephraim Moses ben Sender**; 1812–1870), Romanian popular philosopher, moralist, and thinker. Cilibi, who was born in Focsani, into a very poor Jewish family, received little formal education, hardly knew how to read or write, and earned his living as a peddler. He became a familiar figure in Bucharest, where he amused his clients with anecdotes, epigrams, and witticisms of his own invention. In time he came to be regarded as a Romanian counterpart of Hershele *Ostropoler, the 18th-century ḥasidic wit. The popularity of Cilibi's sayings encouraged him to collect them in *Viața lui Cilibi Moïse Vestitul* ("The Life of Moïse Cilibi the Famous," 1858), which he dictated to the printer. This was so successful that 13 more collections in editions of 10,000 copies appeared annually until his death – an amazing achievement for the era. Cilibi's sayings, which entered Romanian folklore even before they were printed, were sometimes humorous and satirical but mainly reflect the author's practical wisdom and moral standpoint. His keen common sense and native intelligence gave him a penetrating outlook on everyday life and the social scene. The Romanian language used by Cilibi Moïse remains close to today's spoken and literary variants of it. Cilibi's works won the approval of many leading Romanian writers, including the eminent playwright Ion Luca Caragiale, who praised the "modest Jewish writer's" artistic integrity, and acknowledged Cilibi's influence on his own work. Later on the renowned Romanian literary critic George Calinescu called Cilibi Moïse an "oral genius" and spoke about his important contribution to the "maturization" of Romanian literature. Many Romanian intellectuals have noted Cilibi Moïse's devotion to his homeland. One typical expression of Cilibi Moïse's humanism and moral thinking is: "He who distinguishes man from man is himself not a human being."

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[Isac Bercovici / Paul Schveiger (2nd ed.)]

CILICIA, district on the southeastern coast of Asia Minor, between Pamphylia and Syria. Cilicia became part of the Seleucid Empire on the death of Alexander the Great, and in

65 B.C.E. fell to the Roman conqueror Pompey, who immediately made the region into a Roman province. Tarsus, the capital of Cilicia, has been identified by various authors with the biblical Tarshish. Josephus relates how Jonah embarked at Jaffa "to sail to Tarsus in Cilicia" (Ant. 9:208), and a similar tradition is attributed to Saadiah Gaon, by Ibn Ezra in his commentary to Jonah (1:3). During the Second Temple period the kings of Judea maintained various links with Cilicia. Alexander Yannai recruited a major portion of his mercenary force among its inhabitants (Jos., Ant., 13:374), and Herod, on one of his return journeys from Rome, visited it with his sons (Jos., Ant., 16:131). Herod's great-granddaughter Berenice was married for a short time to Polemo, king of Cilicia (Jos. Ant. 20:145–6). Little is known of the early settlement of Jews in Cilicia. A general allusion to a community is made by Philo, who quotes the petition of Agrippa I to Emperor Caligula (*Legatio ad Gaium*, 281). The New Testament refers to Cilician Jews in Jerusalem (Acts 6:9), with Paul describing himself as "a Jew of Tarsus, a city in Cilicia" (Acts, 21:39; 22:39; cf. 9:11). After the destruction of the Second Temple a number of rabbis visited Cilicia, among them Akiva, who is mentioned at Zephyrion in Cilicia (Tosef., BK 10:17; Sif., Num. 4; TJ, Av. Zar. 2:4, 41), and Nahum b. Simai, who preached at Tarsus (PR 15:78). During the fourth century messengers were sent to Cilicia by the patriarchs to collect funds for Palestinian Jewry. The rabbis were so well acquainted with the wine and beans of Cilicia that the latter were even used by them as a standard measure: the space of a "bright spot" of leprosy must be "a square with both sides the length of a Cilician split bean" (Tosef., Shev. 5:2; Ma'as. 5:8; Kelim 17:12; Neg. 6:1).

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[Isaiah Gafni]

CINCINNATI, S.W. Ohio metropolis. Cincinnati shelters the oldest American Jewish community west of the Alleghenies. It was mid-19th century America's third largest Jewish community.

Congregational Life

The first Jew to settle in Cincinnati was Joseph Jonas, who arrived from Plymouth, England, in 1817. Additional Jews from England joined him in ensuing years, and in 1824, the small community met at the home of Morris Moses, and drafted a constitution for the first congregation west of the Alleghenies, K.K. Bene Israel (Rockdale Temple). Toward the end of the 1830s, Jews from Holland, Alsace, and Germany arrived, and in 1840 organized K.K. Bene Yeshurun (Isaac M. Wise Temple) Subsequently, numerous other congregations were founded – especially with the arrival of immigrants from Eastern Europe after 1880. Some 21 synagogues have left a significant history in the city, including Reform, Conservative, Orthodox, Reconstructionist, Humanist, and Chabad.

In 1854, Isaac Mayer *Wise was invited to serve as rabbi of Bene Yeshurun. An advocate of "bold plans and grand schemes," he proceeded to establish a series of institutions that became the basis of American Reform Judaism: *The Israelite* (a weekly newspaper, now *The *American Israelite*) in 1854; the *Union of American Hebrew Congregations (now Union for Reform Judaism) in 1873, the *Hebrew Union College in 1875 (of which an earlier prototype, Zion College, opened and closed in 1855). The alumni of the latter institution became the *Central Conference of American Rabbis in 1889.

Wise and his friend and colleague Max *Lilienthal, who came to K.K. Bene Israel in 1855 greatly advanced the cause of American Reform. The dominance of the Reform influence in Cincinnati was tempered by the influx of East European immigrants. Shachne *Isaacs arrived from Lithuania as early as 1856, and founded Bet Tefillah, a synagogue thereafter known a Shachne's Shul, and exercising a critical posture toward Reform. Louis *Feinberg who occupied the pulpit of Adath Israel from 1918 to 1949 greatly advanced Conservative Judaism in the city, being the first graduate of the Jewish Theological Seminary to hold that position. Strict East European Orthodoxy found a powerful advocate in Eliezer *Silver, head of *Agudat Israel (the *Union of Orthodox Rabbis), who was brought to Keneseth Israel in 1931. Silver greatly strengthened the institutional structures of Orthodoxy. He also helped to organize the Va'ad ha-Haẓẓalah, the worldwide rescue effort coordinated by Orthodox Jewry during the Holocaust.

Education

Cincinnati has offered an active and variegated educational and cultural scene. In the 1840s, Bene Israel established the first religious school, and in 1848 Bene Yeshurun opened an all-day school, supplemented by a bequest from Judah Touro, which enabled it to survive as an independent organization, the Talmud Yelodim Institute, until 1868. It then became a Sabbath and finally a Sunday school. In 1914, it became a supplementary school of the congregation. Bene Israel's Noyoth, founded in 1855, merged with it briefly in the 1860s.

In later years, all the major synagogues maintained religious schools. With increasing East European immigration in the 1880s, Moses Isaacs and Dov Behr Manischewitz established a Talmud Torah, which expanded by the early 1900s until 600 pupils sought to attend the school, when only 300 could be accommodated. In 1914, Manischewitz died, and left a bequest of $3,000, which provided the incentive the community needed. $15,000 was raised in just three weeks, and a new and modern building was erected which served the community until 1927. At that time, changed conditions called for the creation of a whole new structure, and a Bureau of Jewish Education was created which coordinated a variety of educational efforts until 1990.

The day school movement did not resume until 1947, when the Orthodox Chofetz Chaim (now Cincinnati Hebrew Day School) was created. In 1952, a non-Orthodox day school, Yavneh, was founded, and in 1988, a Hebrew high school for girls (RITSS: the Regional Institute for Torah and Secular Studies.)

In 1972, a Judaic Studies program was launched at the University of Cincinnati. An active Hillel organized in 1948 was greatly expanded in the 1970s by Rabbi Abie Ingber, who brought the student association into the larger community through innovative programming. The Cincinnati Kollel was inaugurated in 1995 and, in 1991, a branch of the Florence Melton Adult Mini-School, which, in its 10 years of existence, offered more than 1,000 adults a significant experience of Jewish literacy. Similar ventures followed and during the 1990s and early 2000s, most congregations offered programs for adult learners, from the Orthodox *Neshama* to the Reform *Eitz Chaim*, and the Institute for Interfaith Studies offered by HUC-JIR.

The Hebrew Union College continues to be an important centerpiece for the city's Jewish community. In 1948, a merger with Stephen S. Wise's Jewish Institute of Religion created a New York presence for the combined institution, and the dedication of campuses in Los Angeles and Jerusalem elevated the Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion to international stature. In 1948, Professor of History Jacob Rader Marcus proposed the establishment of the American Jewish Archives on the Cincinnati campus. At his death in 1998, Marcus left a legacy of $4 million to the institution, which allowed for the renovation and expansion of the institution, completed in 2005 under the direction of Rabbi Gary P. Zola In addition to the Rabbinical School, the Archives, the Graduate School, and the Academy for Adult Interfaith Study, the Cincinnati campus includes an Archaeology Center; a Center for the Study of Ethics and Contemporary Moral Problems, a Center for Holocaust and Humanity Education, the Skirball Museum Cincinnati, the Klau Library, containing one of the world's largest collections of printed Judaica, and the Dalsheimer Rare Book Room, which exhibits treasured illuminated manuscripts, communal records, and biblical codices. In 2005, grants from the Manuel D. and Rhoda Mayerson Foundation and the Jewish Foundation of Cincinnati inaugurated an expansion and renovation program for the Cincinnati campus.

Philanthropy

Philanthropy was for many years the hallmark of Cincinnati Jewish life. A benevolent society was founded in 1838, followed by the multiplication of charitable and social service organizations. By the middle 1890s, with the rise of new organizations necessitated by the influx of East European immigrants, a score of organizations, a United Jewish Charities was created under the leadership of Max *Senior and Bernhard Bettman. In 1910, over $117,000 was raised, the highest per capita contribution of any Jewish community in the U.S.

In 1904, Moscow-born Boris *Bogen came to Cincinnati to serve as its director of the United Jewish Charities. Described by Max Senior as "the greatest social agency find that had ever been made in America," Bogen was responsible for the professionalization of social work, not only in Cincinnati but throughout the United States.

In 1924, the organization's name was changed to the United Jewish Social Agencies, its board having decided that the term "charities" did not convey the preventive and rehabilitative nature of its work.

Over the years, the fundraising and social service functions diverged but, in 1967, the Jewish Welfare Fund and the Associated Jewish Agencies merged again to form the inclusive Jewish Federation. In 2004, this agency raised and allocated $6 million for education, elderly services, family and children, and national and overseas needs, including Israel.

Cincinnati Jews have also been deeply involved in non-Jewish charities, and private philanthropy has also played an important role. The Manuel D. and Rhoda Mayerson Foundation established in 1986 has made significant contributions to the city in the areas of the arts, education, children's services, inclusion of the disabled, medicine, and the vibrancy and continuity of Jewish culture. Other important contributors to the city's institutions include Samuel and Rachel Boymel, the Paul Heiman Family, and Claire and Charles Philips.

Cincinnati holds the distinction of establishing in 1850 the first Jewish hospital in the United States. In 1996, the institution merged with the Greater Cincinnati Health Alliance, but unlike its counterpart in other cities, has kept its original name and its association with the Jewish community. In the course of this merger, the reserves of the hospital, largely accumulated during the previous two decades under President Warren Falberg, became the basis of a new agency, the Jewish Foundation of Greater Cincinnati, with a board of trustees which deliberates over the capital proposals presented to it by community institutions.

In the 1880s, a Jewish Home for the Aged and Infirm (later Glen Manor) was created on the grounds of the Jewish hospital. In 1914, an Orthodox Jewish Home for the Aged was established, but despite numerous proposals to unite the two, they remained separate for 80 years. In the 1990s, the migration of the Jewish community to the northern suburbs necessitated the removal of both homes to a new location, and the merger was finally accomplished with the creation of Cedar Village, in which Reform and Orthodox senior citizens live together more or less amicably. The institution is staffed by both an Orthodox and a Reform rabbi, and an Orthodox synagogue and a Reform temple offer worship services side by side.

Culture

Cincinnati Jewish newspapers have included the weekly English-language *Israelite* (now the *American Israelite*) founded 1854, the German-language **Die Deborah* (1885–1900), both founded by I.M. Wise; *The Sabbath Visitor* (1874–93); and the weekly *Every Friday* (1927–65), also in English, and founded by Samuel Schmidt. A glossy bi-monthly magazine, *Jewish Living*, edited by Karen Chriqui, was launched in 2004, and has sought, like the *Every Friday*, to mirror the range of Jewish life in the city. A Jewish Community Center was founded in 1932 as a product of many mergers and reorganizations dating back to the establishment of the YMHA in the 1860s, and incorporating the functions of the Jewish Settlement (1896) and the Jewish Community House. In 1935, the "Center" opened its own doors, then followed the migration of the community northward, occupying a single postwar location for almost 40 years. Other active community agencies include a chapter of the American Jewish Committee, chapters of Hadassah, Women's American Ort, and Na'amat (Pioneer Women). Chapters of the National Council of Jewish Women and the Brandeis University National Women's Committee were forced to close in the 1990s due to a lack of volunteer resources in a situation of increasing female employment. The Poale Zion chapter and its successor, the Labor Zionists of Cincinnati, enjoyed a 52-year life before concluding activities in 1980. Chapters of Young Judea and Habonim have also closed, partly through the decline of the parent organizations.

As in other communities, Jews have become active in support of local, non-Jewish institutions of culture. Several such institutions, such as Pike's Opera House, Fleischmann Gardens, the Krohn Conservatory, the Robert Marx Playhouse in the Park, the Seasongood Pavilion, and the Lois and Richard Rosenthal Contemporary Art Center, display the Jewish commitment to local culture in their very names. Others reflect the leadership of Jews in various aspects of public life, such as the Aronoff Center for the Arts, and the Aronoff Center for Design, Art and Architecture at the University of Cincinnati, named for Stanley Aronoff, a president of the Ohio Senate where he served as legislator for 36 years, or the Albert Sabin Convention Center, named for the physician who developed the oral polio vaccine. Beyond this, the Art Museum, the Symphony Orchestra, the Opera, the Ballet, the Public Library, the May Festival, and numerous other cultural programs and institutions have for years depended heavily on Jews for much of their support and patronage. The names of Dr. Stanley and Mickey Kaplan and of Manuel D. and Rhoda Mayerson are associated with cultural institutions across the board. There have been two Jewish presidents of the University of Cincinnati, Warren Bennis and Henry Winkler, and attorney Stanley Chesley serves as chairman of its Board. An Institute for Learning in Retirement founded the 1980s by Aaron Levine, a former executive of Federated Department Stores, and coordinated by the University, offers dozens of courses conducted by lay facilitators to hundreds of Cincinnatians every year.

Two Jewish country clubs, Losantiville and Crest Hills, which succeeded the downtown social clubs of an earlier era (the Harmonie, the Phoenix, the Allemania) merged in 2004 to form the Ridge Club. The Phoenix, which was founded in 1856 as "a German organization of Jewish men," erected a three-story building in downtown Cincinnati in 1895, which was restored and reopened 100 years later as a restaurant and catering establishment.

Business

Jews have been represented in nearly every sector of the Cincinnati economy. The peddlers of the early years gave way to dry goods merchants who became the founders of the city's major department stores: Rollman's, the Paris, Giddings, and Jenny's, which merged to become Gidding-Jenny's, the city's high-fashion women's store. The progress from peddler to country merchant to wholesaler or manufacturer especially characterized the careers of those who came in the 1820s, 1830s, and 1840s. Those who came in the 1850s and 1860s followed a somewhat different pattern, sometimes expanding one or another aspect of the local business, or opening branch operations in areas nearby.

In 1928, the Lazarus family of Columbus, Ohio, bought into the retail business of John Shillito, a department store established in the 1830s, and made it one of the leading stores of the area. A year later, Fred Lazarus Jr. became a prime mover in the formation of Federated Department Stores, one of American's leading mercantile empires. Fechheimer Uniform was for many years a leading manufacturer of specialized clothing. Standard Textile, a business established by the Heiman family coming out of Hitler's Germany, was in 2004 one of the largest privately owned corporations in the city.

By the 1930s, while the clothing trade still employed a large number of Jews, many were entering the white collar occupations and professions. Jews were well represented in the medical and legal communities. Dr. Maurice Levine entered the department of psychiatry at the University of Cincinnati Medical School, and through his teaching and authorship of more than 20 books, helped to integrate the profession of psychiatry into mainstream medicine in America. In the 1970s, attorney Stanley Chesley pursued a class action lawsuit on behalf of victims of a devastating fire at the Beverly Hills Supper Club, and went on to defend victims of the tobacco industry and of silicone breast implants, becoming one of the best known class action lawyers in the United States. Others entered the real estate business, and in 2004, a number of areas of the city (Mt. Adams, Kenwood, and the University area) were developed or rehabilitated by Jews. The firm of Heidelbach and Seasongood (later Seasongood and Mayer) were the first investment bankers in the city. In 1895, Maurice Freiberg served as president of the Cincinnati Chamber of Commerce. In 2001, Michael Fisher became director of the same organization, helping to improve and promote the business environment of his city of residence.

Politics

In addition to their achievements in the economic realm, Cincinnati's Jews have long aspired to civic leadership. A 1904 account lists 50 different Cincinnati Jews who held public office prior to that time. Gilbert Bettman (1881–1942) served two terms as Ohio attorney general, then was elected to the Ohio Supreme Court. His son, Gilbert Bettman, Jr. was elected Municipal Court judge, then became presiding judge, and was elected to the Hamilton County Court of Common Pleas. Other Jewish judges include Robert Kraft of the Court of Common Pleas, Burton Perlman, chief bankruptcy judge of the Southern District of Ohio, Marianna Brown Bettman of the First Appellate District of Ohio, and Susan Dlott of the U.S. District Court, Southern District of Ohio, the latter occupying the Federal judicial seat vacated by S. Arthur Spiegel, also a Cincinnatian. Stanley Aronoff served as state senator for 36 years, becoming president of the Ohio Senate in 1987. There have been six Jewish mayors of Cincinnati. In 1900, two Jews actually ran against each other for this office, Julius Fleischmann, who won, and Alfred M. Cohen, who later served as international president of B'nai B'rith. Perhaps the most important Jewish contribution to civic betterment was the Good Government Movement of the 1920s, which culminated in the passage of a new city charter in 1924, and the adoption of a city manager form of government. Murray Seasongood, the Jewish lawyer who spearheaded the anti-corruption campaign against Boss Cox had a vision of how local government could work better and more efficiently.

Members of the Cincinnati Jewish community have become increasingly prominent on the national scene. Attorney Stanley Chesley serves on the board of the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee, was a member of the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Council, and in 1992 became national vice chairman of the United Jewish Communities. Since 1998, he has served as *pro bono* counsel for the Conference on Jewish Material Claims Against Germany and associated institutions. He has been president of the Jewish Federation, and Chairman of the Board of the University of Cincinnati, 1988 to 1992. His wife is U.S. district judge Susan Dlott. Jerome Teller, also an attorney and past president of the Jewish Federation, serves on the Board of Governors of the Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion, and is national chairperson of the Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society.

Jewish Residential Movement

Jewish residential movement reflects Cincinnati's metropolitan growth. The 19th century Downtown and West End centers shifted in the early 1900s to the "hilltop suburbs" of Walnut Hills and Avondale; then, beginning in the 1950s and 1960s, to outlying suburbs, with movement continuing into the 2000s. This suburbanization is reflected in the movement of synagogues and other communal institutions, but the community faces a problem of increasing dispersion, as well as a decline from its earlier population "highs" of 20–25,000 to the 2005 estimate of 17,500.

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[Nancy Klein (2nd ed.)]

CINNAMON (Heb. קִנָּמוֹן, *kinnamon*; also called in the Bible *keẓi'ah* and *kiddah*), a spice. *Kinnamon* or *kinneman besem* ("sweet cinnamon") was one of the ingredients of the "holy anointing oil," used for anointing the tent of meeting and its vessels as well as the high priest Aaron and his sons (Ex. 30:22–32). According to a *baraita* dating from the Second Temple period (Ker. 6a and parallel passages), cinnamon was one of the ingredients of the incense used in the Temple, although it is not included in those enumerated in the Bible (Ex. 30:34ff.). The woman of loose virtue perfumed her bed "with myrrh, aloes, and cinnamon" to entice her lovers (Prov. 7:17). Cinnamon was a costly spice and its source was a closely guarded secret. Many legends were woven around its origin, as for example that it was produced by the fabulous phoenix (II Bar. 6:13). Cinnamon comes from the bark of the *Cinnamomum zeylanicum*. There are two varieties, the genuine Ceylon cinnamon (*C.z. Breyne*), and the Chinese (*C.z.* var. *cassia* = *C. cassia Blume*), most scholars being of the opinion that the former did not reach the Mediterranean area before the Middle Ages and hence the references in early literature is to the latter. *Keẓi'ah* is mentioned among the spices used for perfuming the clothes of the king (Ps. 45:9) and as an ingredient of the incense used in the Temple (Ker. 6a). It has been identified with some part of the Chinese *C. cassia* tree, and by I. Loew with its dried flowers, known among the Romans as *flores cassiae*. It may, however, refer to some other layer of the bark of the cinnamon tree, which produces different kinds of cinnamon. The name *keẓi'ah* is apparently connected with the Chinese *kuei-chih* (in Latin *cassia*) meaning the bark of the cinnamon. *Kiddah* is mentioned with *kinneman besem* among the ingredients of the anointing oil, and identified by Onkelos with *keẓi'ah*. According to Ezekiel (27:19), Tyrian merchants imported *kiddah* from a place called Me'uzal (AV: "going to and fro"). An interesting parallel is given by the naturalist Dioscorides (*De Materia Medica*, 1:13), who mentions a species known as *kitto* or *mosylon* and similar to *Cassia*, on which Galen commented that the reference was to cinnamon coming from Me'uzal on the African coast. According to Pliny and others, it yields several products: a thin and a thick bark, flowers, and branches. The cinnamon is a tropical tree, which, an *aggadah* declares, grew in Ereẓ Israel: "Goats fed on the cinnamon tree and Jews used to grow it" (TJ, Pe'ah 7:4, 20a; Gen. R. 65:17). R. Judah stated: "The (fuel) logs of Jerusalem were of cinnamon trees, and when lit their fragrance pervaded the whole of Ereẓ Israel. But when Jerusalem was destroyed they were hidden" (Shab. 63a). The cinnamon tree was included among the trees of the Garden of Eden (Gen. R. 33:6).

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[Jehuda Feliks]

CIRCUMCISION (Heb. בְּרִית מִילָה, *berit milah*; "covenant of circumcision"), the operation of removing part or all of the foreskin which covers the glans of the penis. Circumcision dates back to prehistoric times and together with the trepanning of the skull forms one of the oldest operations performed by man. Originally a ritual procedure, it was undertaken for medical reasons only later. It is performed by many peoples all over the world. Jewish circumcision originated, according to the biblical account, with Abraham who, at divine behest, circumcised himself at the age of 99. Genesis 17:11–12 reads: "Every male among you shall be circumcised. And ye shall be circumcised in the flesh of your foreskin, and it shall be a token of a covenant betwixt Me and you. And he that is eight days old shall be circumcised among you, every male throughout your generations." Abraham circumcised his son Ishmael, all the males of his household, and his slaves. In the following year when Isaac was born, he was circumcised on the eighth day.

The promise that Abraham's seed should inherit the land of Canaan was bound up together with this covenant. The punishment for failure to observe this command was *karet*, to be "cut off" from one's kind (*ibid* 21:4), understood by the rabbis to mean "excision at the hand of heaven from the community." This commandment is considered so important that the rabbis declared (Shab. 137b) that were it not for the blood of the covenant, heaven and earth would not exist. Abraham was said to have circumcised himself on the tenth of Tishri, the day later celebrated as the Day of Atonement, when the sins of the people are forgiven (PdRE 29).

History

It seems that Abraham did not start the practice of circumcision; rabbinic legend suggests that it was known before (Gen. R. 42:8; and cf. "*Huppot Eliyahu Rabbah,*" in J.D. Eisenstein's *Ozar Midrashim*, 1 (1915), 165). However, circumcision became firmly established among the Hebrews. When Jacob's daughter Dinah was seduced by the Hivite prince Shechem and the question of marriage arose, the sons of Jacob insisted that the Hivites undergo the rite (Gen. 34:14); when Moses failed to circumcise his own son, the fault was repaired by Zipporah, his wife who declared (Ex. 4:25): "Surely a bridegroom of blood (*ḥatan damim*) art thou to me." The Hebrew term translated as "bridegroom" is connected with the Arabic for "to circumcise" (see EM, 3 (1965), 357, s.v. *Hatan Damim*). Circumcision was not merely a religious practice; it also took on a national character. Only circumcised males could partake of the paschal sacrifice (Ex. 12:44, 48). Before the Israelites entered Canaan, they were circumcised by Joshua, the rite having been omitted in the wilderness owing to the hazards of the journey (Josh. 5:2).

The importance of circumcision is further evident from the repeated contemptuous references to the Philistines as uncircumcised. There was a period, however, in the kingdom of Israel, under the influence of Queen Jezebel, when circumcision was abandoned (I Kings 19:14). Elijah's zeal in persuading the Israelites to resume the forsaken covenant won him the name of "Herald of the Covenant" (see Chair of Elijah). In the time of the Prophets, the term "uncircumcised" was applied allegorically to the rebellious heart or to the obdurate ear (Ezek. 44:1, 9; Jer. 6:10). Jeremiah declared that all the nations were uncircumcised in the flesh, but the whole house of Israel were of uncircumcised heart (Jer. 9:25). It has been suggested that the Hebrew word for uncircumcised עָרֵל (*arel*) means properly "obstructed," as is indeed explicitly stated by Rashi (to Lev. 9:23) and the fact that the same word and the related *orlah* ("foreskin") are also used to describe a certain kind of taboo (*ibid.*) has resulted in the infelicitous translation of many biblical passages. The word describes the lips of a person whose speech is not fluent (Ex. 6:12, 30) or the heart and ear of a person who will not listen to reason (Jer. 6:10; 9:25; for alternative translations see the JPS translation of the Torah (1962) to Leviticus 19:23 and Deuteronomy 10:16 and 30:6). Such passages as the foregoing, however, do not warrant a purely spiritual interpretation of the commandment which would make the actual physical circumcision superfluous. Ezekiel is full of contempt for the uncircumcised heathen whose fate he foretells (Ezek. 32:21, 24 et al.).

In Hellenistic times, Jews encountered the mockery of Gentiles who believed circumcision to be an unnecessary and unseemly mutilation and circumcision was widely neglected (Jubilees 15:33–34). Many Jews who wanted to participate nude in the Greek games in the gymnasia underwent painful operations to obliterate the signs of circumcision (epispasm).

The first definite prohibition against circumcision was enacted under Antiochus Epiphanes (1 Macc. 1:48). Many mothers who had their sons circumcised suffered martyrdom. It is recorded (2 Macc. 6:10) that two women who had circumcised their children were led round the city with their infants bound to their breasts and then cast headlong from the wall. Conversely, with the victory of the Hasmoneans and the extension of the frontiers, John Hyrcanus forced the conquered Idumeans to undergo circumcision (Jos., Ant., 13:257f., 318). Religious leaders at that time differed about the necessity for circumcision of proselytes. R. Eliezer b. Hyrcanus required both circumcision and ritual immersion for the admission of a proselyte, while R. Joshua held that a proselyte needed only ritual immersion (Yev. 46a; see Proselytes).

The custom of circumcision seems to have spread among the Romans in the Diaspora under the influence of the Jewish community in Rome. Hadrian again proscribed it, and this was one of the causes of the Bar Kokhba rebellion. According to a midrash, when a Roman official asked R. Oshaya why God had not made man as he wanted him, he replied that it was in order that man should perfect himself by the fulfillment of a divine command (Gen. R. 11:6). After the *Bar Kokhba revolt the rabbis apparently instituted *peri'ah* (laying bare of the glans), probably in reaction to attempts to "obliterate the Seal of the Covenant" by epispasm. According to Tractate Shabbat 19:2, circumcision and *peri'ah* became part of a unified process in which the *mohel* disposed of all or most of the foreskin and then split the thin layer of mucosal membrane that is under the foreskin and rolled it downward to uncover the head of the penis. The importance of *peri'ah* is emphasized in the early rabbinic period and supportive midrashic readings were constructed in order to base it in Torah (e.g. *ḥatan damim* (Ex. 4:25) is said to imply two acts: the blood of *milah*, the actual circumcision, and the blood of the *peri'ah* incision (TJ, Shab. 19:2 17(a)). With the rise of Christianity, circumcision became the sign of difference between the adherents of the two religions. Paul declared that justification by faith was sufficient for converts to Christianity (Rom. 3:4), and in Justinian's *Codex* surgeons were prohibited from performing the operation on Roman citizens who converted to Judaism.

Rabbinic Attitudes and Halakhic Legislation

Circumcision was long understood as "completing" the male and as essential for male entrance into the covenant (*brit*), the community, and the world to come. Rabbinic Judaism viewed the *brit milah* (covenant of circumcision) and the accompanying ceremony as a joyous occasion and the sages believed it important to circumcise converts and slaves as well. Some rabbinic midrash claims that a number of biblical heroes were born circumcised (ARN^1 2). Rabbinic explanations of circumcision are not concerned with the philosophical and medical rationales claimed by later sources, but with the sanctification of a divine commandment.

According to rabbinic legislation it is a Jewish father's duty to have his son circumcised (Sh. Ar., YD 260:1). Should he neglect to do so, it devolved on the *bet din* (*ibid.*, 260:2). It is not a sacrament, and any child born of a Jewish mother is a Jew, whether circumcised or not. Although circumcision may be performed by any Jew (including a woman, if no man is available: Maim. Yad, Milah, 2:1), in the first instance it is desirable that the operator, called a *mohel*, be a loyal adherent to the tenets of Judaism (Sh. Ar., YD 264:1). Even in talmudic times, he was described as a craftsman. In most modern communities, he has been specially trained in the principles of asepsis and in the technique of circumcision and has received rabbinic recognition. The operation must be performed on the eighth day, preferably early in the morning (YD 262:1), thus emulating Abraham in his eagerness to undertake a divine command. Should the child be premature or in poor health, the rite must be postponed until seven days after he has recovered from a general disease or until immediately after recovery from a local disorder (262:2–263:3). Should a child for any reason have been circumcised before the eighth day or have been born already circumcised (i.e., without a foreskin), the ceremony of "shedding the blood of the covenant" (*hattafat dam berit*) must be performed on the eighth day, provided it is a weekday and the child is fit (263:4). This is done by puncturing the skin of the glans with a scalpel or needle and allowing a drop of blood to exude. If the eighth day is a Sabbath or festival, the circumcision must nevertheless take place (266:2) unless the child is born by Caesarean section, when it is postponed to the next weekday. There are special laws relating to the time of circumcision of a child born during twilight of the Sabbath or festival (262:4–6). There was a talmudic disputation as to whether preparations for the operation that are forbidden on the Sabbath may be undertaken on that day, if they have been previously omitted (Shab. 130a–132b).

Joshua used flint knives to circumcise the children of Israel (Josh. 5:3). By Roman times metal knives were employed. The traditional lyre-shaped shield to protect the glans has been in use at least since the 17th century; this together with the knife and a flask for styptic powder were kept in a lyre-shaped bag. One set of instruments dating from 1801 also contains a probe. In the Middle Ages, the ceremony was frequently performed in the synagogue – and still is today in some communities. There are set parts of the service during which it should take place. Some synagogues have elaborate "Chairs of Elijah" for the desired presence of the Prophet. Today, the ceremony usually takes place in the hospital or at home; in Israel, maternity clinics have large rooms where the ceremony is performed.

Kelalei ha-Milah by R. Jacob ha-Gozer and his son R. Gershom ha-Gozer (13th century) contains the earliest guide to the laws of circumcision. The rite itself preserves the ancient notion that the deity desires the sacrifice of the whole child but is appeased with the offering up of the metonymic portion of the member and thus spares the life of the child. The tradition of naming the child at the time of circumcision is medieval, but it is mentioned in the Talmud (Shab. 134a) and *Pirkei de Rabbi Eliezer* 48. The medieval ritual confirms that the deeper meaning of circumcision is in the shedding of blood, not the removal of the foreskin, and connects the naming with the (rescued) life of the child: "Our God and God of our Fathers, sustain this child for his father and mother and let his name in Israel be ________ son of ________. May the Father rejoice in the child from his loins, and the mother receive happiness from the fruit of her womb, as it is written: 'When I passed by you and saw you wallowing in your blood, I said to you "Live in spite of your blood." I said to you "In your blood live"' (Ezek. 16:6)." Recent scholarship on the medieval parallels between baptism and circumcision has focused on shared conceptions of the salvific power of blood, the role of "god parents" or co-parents during the ceremony, and the staging of the ceremony itself (Baumgarten, *Mothers and Children*).

Philosophical Rationales

Philo of Alexandria advanced four reasons for circumcision: protection against the "severe and incurable malady of the prepuce called anthrax or carbuncle"; the promotion of the cleanliness of the whole body as befits the consecrated order; the analogy of the circumcised member to the heart (following Jeremiah); and the promotion of fertility. Philo also claimed that circumcision "spiritualizes" the Jewish male by decreasing pride and pleasure, hence enhancing the spiritual persona of the Israelite male (*De Circumcisione*, 11:210). For Maimoinides, circumcision both quiets lust and perfects what is defective morally. The "diminution" of the penis is not performed to correct a congenital problem but to diminish the pleasure principle through the painful surgical process. It alters the sensibilities of the male in ways commensurate with the optimal moral life of the Jew. Maimonides' ascetic attitude to sexual relations seems to inform his rationale for circumcision, and this type of logic was not adopted by the majority of legal scholars (Yad, Milah).

Magical and Mystical Understandings of Circumcision

The excision of the foreskin and the shedding of blood combines ancient apotropaic motivations to avoid disease and promote health by keeping the demonic away. Mystical and magical reasons for circumcision may have also have contributed to belief in the blood of circumcision as potent and expiatory. In Exodus 4:25, it is the circumcision blood that saves Moses' life when Zipporah circumcises Moses' son (or possibly Moses, himself). The creation of a collective tribal brotherhood based on circumcision ensured the continuity of the patriarchal lineage and acculturated the baby boy into maleness while publicly diminishing the female birthing role. Some have seen the performance of circumcision as a ritual of male empowerment that bonds men in a phallic way to the service of a deity who functions through men and their bodies, not only in procreative activity but also as the source of cultural and intellectual creativity. In Jewish mysticism, the Zohar implies that only one who has been circumcised can fully commune with or see God. Several central kabbalistic concepts are based on interpretations of the meanings of circumcision. These include the "inscription" of the name of God in the flesh and the viewing of the Divine Presence or connection to **Shekhinah* through the physical *berit milah*.

Modern Responses

In the 19th century, some Reform rabbis and theologians sought to eradicate circumcision on the grounds that it excluded the Jew from fulfilling his universal potential. Others viewed circumcision as a vestigial post-biblical practice and unnecessary accretion to true Judaism which was unhygienic and barbaric. *Mohalim* were considered medieval and unprofessional. Other Jewish criticisms of this era included charges that circumcision either robbed the Jewish man of his sexuality or promoted hyper-sexual behavior. Some 19th century German Jews created new welcoming ceremonies for boys without circumcision. Although such rituals were strongly opposed by most rabbinic leaders across the denominational spectrum, they set a precedent for innovative religious ceremonies in American, European, and Israeli society. In the 21st century, opposition to ritual circumcision continues among some Jews on humane grounds, although without any denominational sanction. On the other hand, in the past 100 years, supporters of circumcision, including physicians and many religious leaders, have argued the medical benefits of the procedure, including the claims that circumcision reduces the risks of urinary track infections, cervical cancer in women, and AIDS.

[Leonard V. Snowman / Jonathan Seidel (2nd ed.)]

Implications for Jewish Women

The centrality of circumcision raises difficult questions as to the place of Jewish women in the covenant affirmed at Mt. Sinai. H. Eilberg-Schwartz has written that "since circumcision binds together men within and across generations, it also establishes an opposition between men and women" (*The Savage in Judaism*, 171). S.J.D. Cohen has shown that the rabbis were quite aware that privileging of circumcision as the central marker of Jewish identity rendered half of the Jewish people ineligible. He suggests they evinced little concern because in rabbinic thinking to be a Jew was to be born into an ethnic community. Even if a woman could not be circumcised, she did not need circumcision or any other ritual to be accepted as a Jew. However, Cohen has also noted that for rabbinic Judaism, Jewish women were not Jews in the same way as Jewish men, writing that the rabbis were so convinced of "the fundamental inferiority, marginality and Otherness of women" that "the presence of a covenantal mark on the bodies of men, and its absence from the bodies of women, seemed natural and inevitable." J. Baskin has suggested that establishing the active agency of men and the passivity of women in reproduction was an important component of rabbinic constructions of female alterity. One aspect of this discourse argued that men were most like God in their ability to generate new life, while women, as submissive nurturers, were subordinate not only in relation to men but in their lack of resemblance to the divine. This dialectic of differenciation, based on the conviction that being like God required fully functioning male sexual organs, emphasized circumcision as the marker of complete status as a human being and as a Jew (Baskin, 18–20).

During the Middle Ages, Christian polemics attacked the exclusion of women from full status in Judaism, since they are not circumcised, as opposed to the more egalitarian Christian dispensation which did not require literal circumcision. Sages responded with the argument that Jewish women demonstrated their covenantal status through obedience to **niddah* regulations (e.g., *Nizzaḥon Vetus* §237). The excitement that traditionally accompanied the birth of a son as opposed to the disappointment at the birth of a daughter is expressed in rabbinic writings (e.g. Nid. 31b) and in modern literary works by authors such as Devorah *Baron in her Hebrew short story "The First Day." A traditional welcoming ceremony among Sephardi Jews is called *zeved ha-bat* ("gift of a daughter"). In recent decades, many Jewish families have instituted ceremonies, often called *simḥat bat* ("joy of a daughter") or *brit banot* ("daughters' covenant") to welcome daughters into the Jewish community and the divine convenant between God and the Jewish people.

[Judith R. Baskin (2nd ed.)]

Ritual

In traditional practice, the child is brought from the mother by the godmother and handed over at the door of the room to the godfather who, in turn, hands it to the *mohel*. Before this, the child is welcomed by the congregation with *Barukh ha-Ba* ("Blessed be he that comes") and the Sephardim sing a *piyyut* in which those who keep the covenant are blessed. The *mohel* places the baby for a moment on the Chair of Elijah, after which it is placed on a pillow on the knees of the *sandak* ("holder"). The infant's legs are held firmly by the *sandak*; the *mohel*, having previously thoroughly scrubbed and immersed his hands in a disinfectant solution, takes a firm grip of the foreskin with his left hand. Having determined the amount to be removed, he fixes the shield on it to protect the glans from injury. The knife, sometimes double-edged, is then taken in the right hand and the foreskin is amputated with one sweep along the shield. This discloses the mucous membrane, the edge of which is then firmly grasped between the thumbnail and index finger of each hand and is torn down the center as far as the corona. This part of the operation is called *peri'ah*. Sometimes this maneuver is performed with scissors, but it is known that a lacerated wound is much less likely to bleed than a cut wound.

The next stage is the performance of *meẓiẓah* ("suction"). Traditionally, the *mohel* sucked blood from the circumcised penis. This practice, originally based on medical notions of healing the wound more quickly, became subject to severe criticism by the mid-19th century on both hygienic and political grounds. The method now authorized by most rabbinical courts is for *meẓiẓah* to be performed either by a swab or through a glass tube, preferably containing a small piece of absorbent cotton. The rounded end of the tube is placed firmly over the penis, pressed firmly over the area of the pubis, and suction by the mouth is carried out through the flattened end of the tube or through a rubber attachment. This is followed by the application of a sterile dressing, and the readjustment of the diaper. Immediately after the actual circumcision the father recites the benediction "Who hast hallowed us by Thy commandments and hast commanded us to make our sons enter into the covenant of Abraham our father." In Israel this is followed by the *She-Heheyanu* benediction. The congregated guests reply "Even as this child has entered into the covenant so may he enter into the Torah, the nuptial canopy, and into good deeds."

The dressing of the wound does not form a statutory part of the rite, but the sages took an active interest in the incidence of hemorrhage after the operation. Hemophilia was apparently recognized in talmudic times, since there is a law that a mother who has lost two children from the unquestionable effects of circumcision must not have her next sons operated on until they are older and better able to undergo the operation. Moreover, should two sisters each have lost a son from the effects of circumcision, the other sisters must not have their sons circumcised (Sh. Ar., YD 263:2–3).

The child is then handed to the father or to an honored guest, and the *mohel*, holding a goblet of wine, recites the benediction for wine and a second benediction praising God who established a covenant with His people Israel. The *mohel* then recites a prayer for the welfare of the child during the course of which the name of the child is announced. Naming a child at the circumcision is an ancient custom already mentioned in Luke 1:59. It is customary for the *mohel* to give the infant a few drops of wine to drink. The ceremony is followed by a festive meal at which special hymns are sung, and in the Grace after Meals blessings are recited for the parents, the *sandak* and the *mohel*. Although women are permitted to perform circumcisions, it is only in the liberal Jewish denominations that *mohalot* have emerged from training programs sponsored by the Reform and Conservative movements in North America.

[Leonard V. Snowman]

Folklore

On the first Friday evening after the birth of a boy a ceremony called *ben zakhor* or *shalom zakhor* is held to express the joy at the birth of a boy, since "as soon as a male comes into the world peace comes into the world" (Nid. 31b). On this occasion the *Shema* is recited as well as Gen. 48:16 and various psalms and other prayers (cf. Isserles to Sh. Ar., YD 265:12). In Oriental communities this ceremony is called *shasha* or *blada*, and special prayers and portions of the *aggadah* are recited from a booklet called *Berit Olam* in honor of the prophet Elijah. It is customary to serve boiled chick peas on this occasion.

Another home ceremony, called in Yiddish *vakhnakht* ("watchnight, vigil"), was held on the night preceding circumcision. Candles were lit throughout the home, and following a festive meal, featuring cooked beans and peas, prayers were recited and the Torah was studied until after midnight. Before departing, the guests recited the *Shema* aloud at the bedside of the mother. This custom is mentioned as early as the Talmud by the name *yeshu'a ha-ben* or *shevu'a ha-ben* (Sanh. 32b; BK 80a). It probably evolved from the fact that when the *mohel* checked the infant's health on the eve of the circumcision, he was accompanied by the *sandak* ("godfather") and other friends who came to congratulate the parents. This custom later became associated with the belief that it is necessary to guard the child against Lilith and other evil spirits by guarding him throughout the night while reciting prayers and studying Torah. This vigil, also very popular among Sephardi Jews, is called "midrash" because of a discourse on the weekly Torah section delivered by the *hakham*. The *hazzan* also chants appropriate poems and the *Kaddish*. Poppy-seed, honey cake, and coffee are served at this ceremony. In Salonika, the eve of the circumcision was known as "*veula*" ("watchnight," from *vigilia* – "eve," "watch"), and the mother stayed awake all night. In Yemen, on the eve of circumcision, care was taken not to leave the mother and child alone, and incense was burned inside the room to ward off the evil spirits.

In Persia and Kurdistan, a ceremony known as "*Lel Ikd ill Yas*" was celebrated during which the Chair of Elijah was consecrated and adorned with silver crowns and various plants. In Ashkenazi communities it was customary to place the *mohel*'s knife under the mother's pillow until the following morning. In some places the kabbalistic Book of Raziel was also left there. It was customary to donate the swaddle in which the child was wrapped at the circumcision to the synagogue; richly embroidered, it would be used as a band for the Torah Scroll. In Salonika the severed foreskin was buried in the cemetery.

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CIRCUSES AND THEATERS. In rabbinic literature circuses are generally classed with theaters (Shab. 150a). The rabbis looked down on them as symbols of a debased Greek and Roman culture, in contrast to the houses of learning and synagogues which symbolized Jewish culture. Whenever Neḥunya b. ha-Kanah took leave of his *bet ha-midrash* he used to say, "I give thanks to Thee, O Lord, that Thou hast set my portion among those who attend the *bet ha-midrash* and synagogues, and not among those who attend theaters and circuses. I toil and they toil; I arise early and so do they. I toil to inherit the Garden of Eden, but they toil for the pit of destruction" (TJ, Ber. 4:2, 7d). According to the Midrash, Naomi said to Ruth: "My daughter, it is not the custom of Israelite women to visit gentile theaters and circuses" (Ruth R. 2:22). Abba b. Kahan expounded: "The People of Israel said to God: Lord of the Universe, I have never entered gentile theaters and circuses and amused myself in them" (PdRK 119). Apparently to reprove the common people who frequented them, the rabbis interpreted the verse: "The land was filled with them" (Ex. 1:7) as "the theaters and circuses were filled with them" (Tanḥ. B., Ex. 2). They foretold that eventually even theaters and circuses would become places of Torah (Meg. 6a). The identification of circuses with pugilism, gladiatorial combat, contests with wild beasts, and activities of doubtful morality in general gave rise to the comment of Phinehas b. Pazzi (to Ps. 1:1): "'Happy is the man who hath not walked in the way of the wicked' – to the theaters and circuses of idolaters; 'nor stood in the way of sinners' – not attending contests of wild beasts; 'nor sat in the seat of the scornful' – not participating in evil schemes" (Av. Zar. 18b; Yal., Ps. 613, Shab. 150a). A *baraita* quotes R. Meir as saying: "One should not go to theaters or circuses because entertainments are arranged there in honor of the idols," to which the Sages commented: "Where such entertainments are given they are banned because of suspicion of idolatry; where they are not given, they are banned as 'the seat of the scornful'" (Av. Zar. 18b; parallel sources, e.g., Tosef., Av. Zar. 2:5; TJ, *ibid.* 1:7, 40a, omit "circuses," possibly reflecting different places or periods). An additional objection to the theaters lay in their presentations, in which Jews were often derided and their customs and poverty mocked. Abbahu offers a graphic description of a typical presentation, which apparently took place in Caesarea, where he resided: "R. Abbahu opened his discourse with the text, 'They that sit in the gate talk of me' (Ps. 69:13): this refers to the nations of the world who sit in theaters and circuses. 'And I am the song of the drunkards': after they take their places, and have eaten and drunk and become intoxicated, they sit and talk of me, scoffing at me and saying, 'We have no need to eat carobs [the staple food of the poor] like the Jews.' They ask one another, 'How long do you wish to live?' 'As long as a Jew wears his Sabbath shirt.' They then lead a camel into their theater, put their shirts upon it, and ask one another, 'Why is it in mourning?' To this they reply, 'It is a Sabbatical year among the Jews and they have no vegetables, so they eat this camel's thorns; and that is why it is in mourning.' Next they bring a clown with shaven head into the theater and ask one another, 'Why is his head shaven?' to which they reply, 'The Jews observe the Sabbath, and whatever they earn during the week they eat on the Sabbath. Since they have no wood for fuel, they break up their bedsteads for this purpose. As a result they sleep on the ground and get covered with dust, and anoint themselves with oil which is [thus in short supply and] very expensive for that reason [so that to avoid the expense of anointing their heads with oil, they shave them].'" (Lam. R., Proem 17). The Jews did not always take this mockery passively. Once, during a Sabbatical year, the gentiles, in their haste to get to the circus left their produce unattended in the marketplace. When they returned, they found that the Jews had generously helped themselves to it in their absence (Tosef., Oho. 18:16).

Textual sources and archaeological finds in Israel show that the earliest theaters were erected only at the end of the first century B.C.E. One of the earliest theaters in the area was the one at Caesarea which was built between 20 and 10 B.C.E. Theaters have been uncovered at Sepphoris, Dor, Tiberias, Legio, Beth-Shean (two theaters), Shuni, Caesarea, Sebaste, Shechem, Antipatris, Jericho, and Elusa. These mostly date from the second century C.E. and were in use until the later Byzantine period. A theater also existed in Jerusalem but nothing has been found of it except for possible theater seats reused in walls close to the Temple Mount.

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[Jehoshua Brand / Shimon Gibson (2nd ed.)]

CIRCUS PARTIES, rival socio-political factions in the Byzantine Empire, active in the fifth to seventh centuries at the imperial circus chariot races. They were called "Blues" and "Greens" according to colors worn by their supporters. Jews in the Byzantine Empire participated in circus activities. In 423 the synagogue near Antioch was destroyed by the Greens, and in 484 and 507 they were attacked by the Greens in Antioch since the Jews were generally Blues. In the political troubles of 608–10, Jews were among the Blues at Antioch and among both Blues and Greens at Constantinople. A seventh-century

Midrash describes the glory of Solomon in terms of the circus life at Constantinople. The colors of Solomon and the audience are given according to circus rank as blue for the king, the priests, and the levites, white for the Jews of Jerusalem, red for other Jews, and green for gentiles. There were originally four colors, here also given their earlier Byzantine symbolism of the four seasons.

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[Andrew Sharf]

CISTERN (Heb. בּוֹר, *bor*), a subterranean artificially hewn reservoir for storing rainwater. Common in the highland regions of Palestine, diversion channels brought surface run-off rainwater during the short rainy season to the mouth of the cistern. Silting basins sometimes were built next to the mouth of the cistern to prevent dirt from entering. A square or circular stone capped the shaft leading to the cistern (Gen. 29:3–10); a hole in its center was used for drawing the water. Pulleys made of wood were sometimes erected above the entrance. The narrowness of the shaft helped to prevent evaporation of the water. The walls of the cistern were usually rock-hewn and covered with a coat of plaster containing lime, gravel, and potsherds, to which ashes were sometimes added. The plaster was normally applied in several layers, to ensure that it was waterproof. The interior of the cistern was usually bell-shaped, but other shapes are known. Troughs made of stone were sometimes located next to the cistern openings, used for washing clothes or watering animals. Early examples of cisterns cut in chalk without the use of plaster from the Chalcolithic and Early Bronze Ages are known at Meser and in Modi'in. Bottle-shaped cisterns dating from the Middle Bronze II and Late Bronze I are known from Hazor. On entering Canaan, the Israelites were said to have taken possession of cisterns hewed out by others (Deut. 6:11). It meant that villages and towns could be established in areas where natural springs were not available. Bell-shaped plastered cisterns were eventually a common feature in houses of Iron Age II (8th–6th centuries B.C.E.) settlements, and many examples are known from Tell en-Nasbeh, although some of these might very well have served as vats or cellars (as at Gibeon) and not necessarily as cisterns. In contrast to en-Nasbeh, small cisterns from the Iron Age have not been found in the domestic areas of Jerusalem (e.g., the Western Hill), but large reservoirs are known in the area of the Temple Mount, particularly the *bahr el-kabir* (Arabic for the "great sea") located in front of the Aqsa Mosque which has a capacity of 425,000 cubic metres of water. The cistern (*bor*) is referred to in the Bible (Deut. 6:11; II Kgs. 18:31; Isa. 36:16), and some seem to have had a "cistern house" (*bet ha-bor*) similar to a well-house built above them, and it was in one of these that the prophet Jeremiah was imprisoned before being thrown into the cistern itself (Jer. 37: 15–16; 38:6). Jeremiah narrowly escaped death in the mire at the bottom of the cistern through the intervention of Ebed-Melech. Cisterns, unlike wells, were usually private property, although it is recorded that Uzziah dug many cisterns in the desert and the latter may have been made in order to promote animal husbandry (II Chr. 26:10; Authorized version: "wells"). Larger storage tanks in valleys were referred to as *gbym* (singular *gbi*), though in the past they have been translated as "ditches" or "pools." II Kings 3:16–17, however, makes it clear that the *gbym* were reservoirs situated in valley landscapes and that these sources of water were only to be tapped at times when water was scarce. A large reservoir connected with a water system was referred to as an *aswkh* in the Mesha Stele 9:28 (9th century B.C.E.; cf. Eccles. 50:3); reservoirs of this sort are also mentioned as such in the first century C.E. Copper Scroll. A complete Iron Age II water system with a large reservoir was recently excavated near Suba, west of Jerusalem. Some cisterns were cut inside cities in preparation for a siege (Jer. 41:9). While some cisterns were provided with a small basin cut into the floor of the reservoir directly below the opening, presumably to catch impurities, they did nevertheless become extremely slimy at the bottom (Ps. 40:3; Jer. 38:6). The phrase "cisterns, broken cisterns that can hold no water" appears in a well-known passage contrasting the gods of the nations with Israel's God, "the fountain of living waters" (Jer. 2:13). "Drink waters out of your own cistern" (Prov. 5:15) is a figurative warning against sexual trespassing.

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[Shimon Gibson (2nd ed.)]

CITROËN, ANDRÉ GUSTAVE (1878–1935), French engineer and industrialist. Citroën was born and educated in Paris; his early talent for business and organization manifested itself in the successful exploitation of patents particularly related to automobile transmissions in France, with the cooperation of the famous Skoda Works in Austro-Hungary. In 1908 he joined the Mors automobile company, whose annual production of 125 cars soon rose to more than 1,200 cars. During World War I Citroën was instrumental in maintaining and steadily increasing French ammunition production. After the war he concentrated on his favorite project: the production of a popular, low-priced car. His idea succeeded; he rapidly expanded his industrial organization not only in France but also internationally. He organized the traffic lights in Paris and in return secured the use of the Eiffel Tower for advertising. Citroën sponsored Trans-African and Trans-Asian automobile crossings, the first of which was the first automobile crossing of the Sahara in 1922. He developed specially built automobiles for these crossings. In 1934 Citroën introduced the front wheel drive for his automobiles, but financial complications forced him out of business soon after that. The firm was taken over by Michelin.

[Joachim O. Ronall]

CITROEN, ROELOF PAUL (1896–1983), Dutch visual artist and important collector of modern art in the Netherlands. Citroen was born to Dutch parents in Berlin. His oeuvre – mostly drawings, paintings, and photographs – can be characterized as a mixture of modern vision and a more traditional naturalism. Between 1908 and 1912 Citroen received a traditional education at the Studien-Atelier fuer Malerei und Plastik in Berlin. After his acquaintance with avant-garde art in the expressionist Sturm bookshop/gallery in 1914, he became its representative and introduced the German expressionists in Holland. Inspired by the Dadaist collages of artists like Erwin Blumenfeld, he dedicated himself to making photo collages, of which his *Metropolis* (1923) brought him international fame. In 1922 he continued to study painting and drawing at the Bauhaus in Weimar. Here one of his teachers was Johannes Itten, who strongly influenced his ideas about art education, which Citroen would later bring into practice. In 1929, after having settled in Amsterdam and inspired by Berlin photographer Marianne Breslauer, he began to experiment with portrait photography. When he gave up photography professionally in 1935, he had made numerous portraits of artists, family, and acquaintances. In 1931 he published *Palet: een boek gewijd aan de hedendaagsche Nederlandsche schilderkunst*, the first book on the theory of modern art to be written in Holland and containing several of Citroen's portraits. In 1933 Citroen founded, together with the painter Charles Roelofsz, the Nieuwe Kunstschool (New Art School) in Amsterdam, the first free academy in Holland, where, on the model of the Bauhaus, the new art was taught. In 1935 Citroen was appointed as a teacher at the Academy of Fine Arts at The Hague, where he continued to work until his retirement in 1960, interrupted only during his years in hiding. After World War II he made numerous portraits, mostly of famous people – his total oeuvre consists of around 7,000 portraits – in which he distanced himself from modernism in favor of a psychological approach which placed the human psyche at its core. The book *Paul Citroen, as Seen by Mari Andriessen, Johan Bendien, Anna Blaman …* (The Hague 1956) contains a collection of Citroen's portraits of famous personalities, such as Marc Chagall, Thomas Mann, Yehudi Menuhin, Oskar Kokoschka, and Henry Moore, together with their evaluations of the artist. His drawings of landscapes, the majority of which he produced during the 1970s and 1980s, reflect a more naturalistic approach, which stems from his increased attachment to nature. Beside *Palet*, other art books appeared from his hand, such as *Kunsttestament* (1952) and *Introvertissimento* (1956).

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[Julie-Marthe Cohen (2nd ed.)]

CITRUS. Neither the orange nor any other variety of citrus appears among the seven products of the biblical "land of wheat and barley and vines and fig-trees and pomegranates… of olive-trees and honey" (Deut. 8:8). The only reference to citrus in the Bible is the "fruit of the goodly tree" (Lev. 23:40) identified with the *etrog. The *etrog* reached Ereẓ Israel probably during the Second Temple period and became widespread because of its use on the *Sukkot festival (cf. Suk. 4:9; Tosef. *ibid.*, 3:16). The sour lemon, also called the bitter Seville orange, and the sweet lemon were introduced in the Middle Ages by Arab merchants. The orange made its appearance in the early 18th century, apparently from Portugal, after which it is called in Arabic *burtuqāl*. The little mandarin called "Youssouf Effendi" was imported from Egypt early in the 19th century. The clementine, a variety of mandarin introduced into Algeria by a monk called Père Clément, was brought to Palestine after World War I, as was the Spanish Valencia Late, now known as the Jaffa Late. A few grapefruit trees were grown in Petaḥ Tikvah around 1900 and a few years later in Aaron *Aaronsohn's agricultural experimental station. In 1913 an agronomist on Baron Edmond de Rothschild's staff brought grafts of the Marsh Seedless grapefruit from the United States and taught local growers American methods of cultivation, packing, and marketing. With the growth of citrus exports, Jewish citrus growers lengthened the marketing season by introducing early and late-ripening varieties; as many as 200 varieties were cultivated in experimental stations. Commercial varieties are (in order of ripening dates): clementines, navel orange, grapefruit, Shamouti (Jaffa) orange, and Jaffa Late. Other varieties are still in the experimental stage. The Shamouti, the variety known commercially as the Jaffa, is oval, seedless, easily peeled because of its thickish skin, has a high sugar content, and is not damaged by transportation. For a time extreme orthodox circles preferred *etrogim* from Corfu for the celebration of Sukkot because of the fear that the Ereẓ Israel variety was from grafted trees and therefore invalid. These scruples were met however by the development of a non-grafted strain, and only the most extremely religious Jews insist on *etrogim* from Corfu.

Until 1914 citriculture developed slowly. During the 1913–14 season 1,300,000 cases of citrus were exported, about 70% of them to the United Kingdom. During World War I exports practically ceased and locusts ravaged many of the orange groves. By 1918 only about 30,000 dunams (4 dunams = 1 acre) remained under citrus in the entire country, about one-third owned by Jews. During the period between the two World Wars (1919–39) citriculture expanded tenfold to cover about 300,000 dunams, over half the area being in Jewish hands. During World War II export by sea was impossible and the crops could be sold only to neighboring countries, to the local population, and to newly established juice factories. Government loans assisted the growers to irrigate the groves, but by the end of the war the area had been reduced to 180,000 dunams. During the War of Independence in 1948, most of the Arab growers left the territory that became independent Israel, and their groves were taken over by the Custodian of Absentee Property.

The government of Israel encouraged extensive new citrus plantations and the modernization of packing houses, extended the facilities of Haifa port, and built a modern port at Ashdod. The Citrus Control and Marketing Boards, established in the Mandatory period, were reorganized. The citrus area of 430,000 dunams planted within the borders of Israel was divided as follows: Shamouti (Jaffa) oranges, 236,000 dunams; late (Valencia-type) oranges, 85,000 dunams; grapefruit, 65,000 dunams; lemons, 19,000 dunams; navel oranges, 12,000 dunams; others, 13,000 dunams

In the 1967–68 season all fruit was packed and shipped either in Bruce boxes (lightweight crates) – about 70% of the total – or in cartons weighing about 20 kilograms net. Some 38 million boxes and cartons were shipped, consisting of Shamouti oranges, 21,200,000; grapefruit, 7,500,000; late oranges, 7,350,000; lemons, 1,200,000; navel oranges, 750,000.

Major importers of Israel citrus in 1968 were the United Kingdom (25% of total export) and West Germany (24%), with France, Holland, Belgium, and Sweden taking from 5 to 9% each. Citrus was then the third largest source of foreign currency in Israel after diamonds and tourism, but 80% of citrus income remained in the country, in contrast with 25% of diamond income. About 75,000 tons of citrus fruit of second quality were sold in bulk to the local population, and some 340,000 tons of culls were supplied to the juice factories. At the time Israel ranked third in the Mediterranean area, after Spain and Italy, in production of citrus fruit and second as a citrus exporter, being surpassed only by Spain. Israel was a founding member of the Comité de Liaison de l'Agrumiculture Mediterranéenne, whose other members are Spain, Italy, Morocco, Tunisia, and France.

During the 1970s citriculture in Israel faced its first severe crisis. A devaluation of the British pound led to a drop in profits. As a consequence, total grove area decreased from 430,000 dunams to 300,000. The next crisis took place in the 1990s, when three dry years led to a reduction in agriculture water quotas by 50%. Most farmers chose to reduce grove areas, the total now falling to 175,000 dunams. This led to a substantial reduction in fruit production. In the early 2000s Israel's citrus groves yielded about 500,000–600,000 tons of fruit a year compared with 1.5 million in the 1970s. As a result, much of the "Jaffa" fruit sold around the world is no longer produced in Israel but in other countries, which pay for the use of the name.

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[Isaac Rokach / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

CITY. In biblical Hebrew, as in other Semitic languages, a single word, *ʿir* (עִיר, rendered in this article as "city"), is used usually to designate any permanent settlement. In itself it gives no indication of the size of the settlement, or of the number of its inhabitants, etc., and it may even be applied to what would today be called a village or hamlet. In the poetical style of the Bible various synonyms are employed: *qiryah* (קִרְיָה; Deut. 2:36; 3:4; Isa. 1:26; 22:2; Lam. 2:11; et al.), *qeret* (קֶרֶת; Prov. 8:3; Job 29:7); the Moabite term *qir* (קר), which occurs as a common noun in the *Mesha Stele, is used in the Bible only as a Moabite place name or an element in such a name. Another term, occurring mainly (in the plural) in Deuteronomy and in other passages belonging to the same literary stratum, is *shaʿar* (שַׁעַר; "gate"), used either as a parallel to *ʿir* or in its stead (Isa. 14:31; et al.). The etymology of the word *ʿir* is uncertain, the explanations so far offered being unsatisfactory. The point at which a settlement becomes a "city" is disputed by modern students of urban culture. Nevertheless, there is a large measure of general agreement that in antiquity, including the ancient Near East, a "city" was a settled community with a socially stratified population following a variety of trades and professions, and capable of producing surpluses of food for those of its members who were not engaged in agriculture. In addition, cities possessed physical aspects reflecting the administrative, military, and religious activities of its inhabitants, as well as various manifestations of communal planning (i.e., fortifications and gates; temples, zoning of neighborhoods, etc.).

The distinction between a settlement in the pre-urban stage and a city is based on criteria about which, too, there is no complete agreement. This is only to be expected, since the growth of a city out of a pre-urban settlement (or independently of it) is the result of extremely complex economic, social, and technical developments. However, it is generally assumed that the first sign of an urban settlement is the appearance of communal building projects (first of all a temple, followed by a palace, then fortifications and the like), which for their execution require an organized labor force, directed and controlled by a ruling class in accordance with its own needs and those of the whole community. Some authorities would add other distinguishing features, such as commercial activity – the market. Since, for mainly technical reasons, no complete city, with all its historical levels intact, has been uncovered by excavation anywhere in the Fertile Crescent, full data concerning the stages of ancient urban development are lacking. It is certain, however, that the process of urbanization began in Mesopotamia at about the end of the fifth or the beginning of the fourth millennium B.C.E. The first settlement that displayed distinctive urban features (the existence of a temple) was the city of Uruk. The creators of this urban culture were most probably the Sumerians, who lived in southern Mesopotamia.

In Syria and Palestine cities came into being in the third millennium B.C.E., at the same time as a similar process of urbanization in Asia Minor. On various sites, excavations have laid bare city walls (Jericho, Ai, Megiddo, Yarmuth, and elsewhere), palaces (Ai), and religious structures (Jericho, Megiddo). Although massive city walls were found at Jericho and dated to as early as the Pre-Pottery Neolithic period, there is some uncertainty whether these represent fortifications or walls designed to prevent flooding. What is certain is that by the beginning of the third millennium settlements with distinctively urban characteristics became increasingly numerous in Syria and Palestine at the junctions of highways, on the plains, in places easy to defend, and close to natural water supplies. In the first half of the second millennium the process of urbanization was accelerated, both politically and materially, by the historical upheavals of the time. This is clear both from the finds on the main archaeological sites in Palestine (Shechem, Megiddo, Gezer, Lachish, and others), and from Egyptian epigraphic sources which list tens of important cities in the region. All these were large, fortified by methods which had been previously unknown. It seems likely that the development and fortification of these cities were the work of various ethnic elements, Semitic and non-Semitic alike.

In the course of the second millennium, there gradually emerged all over Syria and Palestine a type of city known to scholars as the "city-state" or "city-kingdom," which continued in existence, with certain structural modifications and on a reduced scale, in the first millennium B.C.E. This type of city is not to be confused with the classical city-state, the Greek *polis*, which was quite different in origin, development, and character. The written records discovered at *Alalakh, *Ugarit, and *El-Amarna, covering most of the second half of the second millennium B.C.E., reveal several typical features which characterized the city-kingdoms throughout that period: (1) the territorial, political, and organizational dependence of the outlying settlements on the mother city; (2) relatively restricted territory; (3) monarchic-dynastic or oligarchic rule; (4) a privileged and economically powerful social elite, at first having a military character and later a much more plutocratic, mercantile one; (5) a rigid social and professional hierarchy; and (6) specific rights and obligations of the various classes.

It was "cities" of this type that the Patriarchs were said to have come upon in their wanderings. Later, it was these same cities that were apparently stormed by the Israelite tribes struggling to occupy Canaan. The Bible does not describe these cities at any length, the references being for the most part incidental and fragmentary, either because the writers had no proper information about the Canaanite city or because they wanted to adapt their descriptions of these cities to the known Israelite urban reality. The Canaanite cities appear to have made a profound impression on the Israelites, who described them as "fortified and very large" (Num. 13:28), or as "large with walls sky-high" (Deut. 1:28). Embedded here and there in the Bible is a description of a Palestinian city. The account of the purchase of the cave of Machpelah (Gen. 23) contains interesting details about the ethnic makeup of the Hebronites and their political regime, and there are similar details about Shechem in the story of Dinah daughter of Jacob (Gen. 34). Mention of a Canaanite city is also found in the description of Jericho at the time of Joshua's capture of it (Josh. 2–6). Authentic particulars of oligarchic political structure appear to be preserved in what is related about Succoth and Penuel in Gideon's day (Judg. 8), and especially in the story about Abimelech in Shechem, which contains a relatively detailed description of the city's institutions and even of its main buildings – the house of Baal-Berith, the city tower, the Beth-Millo, and the like (Judg. 9). Traces of a special federal alliance of cities, led by elders, are found in connection with the cities of the Gibeonites, who are described in the Book of Joshua as being of Hivite (Hurrite) stock.

A careful study of archaeological data, in conjunction with the relevant biblical passages, shows that, with the appearance of the Israelites in Canaan, the city-kingdom ceased to exist in the areas populated by Israelites, i.e., in the central highlands regions, apart from a few Canaanite enclaves. In fact, urbanism developed amongst the Israelites only from the 10th century B.C.E. It is also evident that the original Israelite settlements differed from the Canaanite cities in their political structure and in having larger territorial units attached to them. In the period when the tribes were struggling to occupy the territories allotted to them, the city was a part of the tribal organization and, as such, probably subject to the authority of the tribal leaders. At a later stage, with the establishment of the monarchy in Israel, the city was also brought into close relations with the central power and its administration. When the tribal divisions lost their political significance, only the ties with the central, national monarchy remained.

The political power in the city was at first wielded by the heads of the clans and of the whole tribe. There are even signs of an urban autonomy shortly before the establishment of the monarchy, as can be deduced from the account of the negotiations between the elders of Jabesh-Gilead and Nahash the Ammonite (I Sam. 11). After the foundation of the monarchy, the power and influence of the tribal representatives in the city government declined while that of the royal functionaries increased. Nevertheless, it would seem that the participation of the *elders in city government continued well into the period of the monarchy, though there are grounds for thinking that the elders among the leaders of the urban settlements were now chosen on the basis of their economic power and not on account of their family and tribal descent. This would mean that the growth of an independent urban population within the tribal framework went hand in hand with the consolidation of the monarchy. However, the degree of independence allowed to the Israelite city by the monarchy was limited by comparison with that enjoyed by the urban institutions of the Canaanite cities.

In the period of the monarchy no really significant changes occurred in the political relations between the city and the central power. On the other hand there was a marked development of the functional and economic specialization of various cities (see below). From the archaeological evidence, it would seem that the monarchy also paid special attention to raising the material standard of the city-dwellers, providing the necessary means for that purpose.

It is characteristic that the importance of the city finds no expression in the Bible, perhaps because of the stress placed on the tribal element in the Israelite nation. As already remarked, such descriptions of cities and urban institutions as are found in the Bible relate to non-Israelite cities. On the other hand, the biblical tradition does recognize the antiquity of the city, although, in contrast to the Mesopotamian traditions, it does not regard it as contemporary with the Creation: the establishment of the first city in the world by *Enoch son of Cain (Gen. 4:17) is represented as following on the quarrel between two brothers, the one a settled agriculturalist and the other a nomad herdsman. As for the Israelite cities, what is emphasized in the accounts of the conquest are their close ties with the tribal portions. This emphasis is to be found in the symbolically schematic genealogical lists of the tribes preserved in the first chapters of I Chronicles, which reflect processes of settlement and tribal movements. In these lists the urban settlements are recorded as part of the tribal structure, as sons of the eponymous tribal ancestor or of one of his descendants, side by side with clans and families: "The sons of Caleb brother of Jerahmeel: Mesha his firstborn, who was the father of Ziph; and the sons of Mareshah, the father of Hebron" (I Chron. 2:42; cf. 2:45, 51; 4:17–19; et al.). Summary descriptions of this kind may relate, at least in part, to organized settlement by clans in a city founded or rebuilt by them: "And the families of Kiriath-Jearim: the Ithrites, the Puthites, the Shumathites, and the Mishraites; from these came the Zorathites and the Eshtaolites" (I Chron. 2:53). By the same system, secondary settlements could be registered as the "sons" of principal cities: "The sons of Hebron: Korah, Tappuah, Rekem, and Shema" (I Chron. 2:43).

The close ties linking the small settlements to their nearby economic, administrative, and military center find expression in the Bible in a series of concepts which are also partly based on the tribal terminology. The above relationship is particularly evident in expressions such as "a city and its daughters" (i.e., villages: Judg. 1:27; I Chron. 2:23), "Heshbon, and all its cities" (Josh. 13:17), or "the towns of Hebron" (II Sam. 2:3). It also explains the figurative expression reserved for the great city: "a city which is a mother in Israel" (II Sam. 20:19). Another compound expression which likewise points to the close connection between a city and its environs is: "cities and their *ḥaẓerim*" (Josh. 15:57; et al.) A *ḥaẓer* was a group of houses or a temporary settlement close to a city, as is clear particularly from the verse "houses of the *ḥaẓerim* that have no encircling walls" (Lev. 25:31; cf. "and the field of the city and its *ḥaẓerim*" (Josh. 21:12)). Apparently, then, the "city" comprised not only the built-up area but also the cultivated fields and the pastureland in the vicinity. The line demarcating this whole urban district was called "the territory of the city" (Judg. 1:18; cf. "…as far as Gaza and its territory" II Kings 18:8), while the district itself was referred to as the "pastureland" (Heb. *migrash*); "…Pastureland around their towns" (Num. 35:2, 5; cf. "and pasturelands… for the cattle…" (Num. 35:3), "unenclosed land" (Lev. 25:34; II Chron. 31:19), or "the fields of the city" (Josh. 21:12; et al.)). As Gloria London has demonstrated (1992), during the Bronze and Iron Ages in Palestine more than 50 percent of the population were agriculturalists living in the countryside (in hamlets and/or villages). Some of those living in the small cities or towns dealt with the administrative needs of the ruler or members of the ruling class (e.g., as a scribe), or with the religious leaders (e.g., as a priest), or with the military (e.g., as a soldier). However, the masses living in the cities were employed in the sale and production of commodities.

Ecological and geo-political conditions, together with political and economic causes, resulted in the emergence throughout the Fertile Crescent of settlements of various types, differing from each other both in function and in outward appearance. In the Bible these various types of settlement appear in contexts relating to the period of the Israelite monarchy – a clear indication of the manifold activity of the Israelite kings in the economic, administrative, and military spheres, and one that is to some extent confirmed by the excavations of sites in Palestine. At the same time, it goes without saying that a city might be classified as belonging to more than one settlement type. The most fundamental and striking way of differentiating between the types of city is on the basis of the external distinction between a walled and an unwalled settlement. The original city was an administrative center and usually a military stronghold, whereas the later city was of only secondary importance. In the Bible "camps" are contrasted with "strongholds" (Num. 13:19), "fortified cities" with "unwalled villages" (I Sam. 6:18). Other expressions are "a town that has gates and bars" (I Sam. 23:7), "open towns" (Esth. 9:19), and "a city to live in" (Ps. 107:36). However, the presence or absence of a wall can only be a secondary differentiating feature of the types of city. Attention should therefore be paid to several terms which provide a clear function definition. Examples include the "store city," in which royal stocks of supplies and equipment were presumably kept (I Kings 9:19; II Chron. 8:6; 11:11–12; 17:12; et al.); the "city for chariots," a center for the chariot corps with the necessary installations and stables (as exemplified by Megiddo where excavation has uncovered chariot-horse stables from the reign of Ahab, king of Israel) and the "city for horsemen," which may also have contained installations and stables (I Kings 9:19; 10:26; II Chron. 8:6).

Some of the cities known from the Bible had specific functions and a special character. Such were the 48 levitical cities (Num. 35:1–8; Josh. 21; I Chron. 6:36 ff.) which were traditionally set apart, usually four from every tribe, for the exclusive residence of the levites. Some scholars regard the lists of levitical cities as a utopian ideal; but a more likely explanation is that they were ritual and administrative centers in which the levites were settled as part of their integration into the state apparatus in the reign of David. In some passages six "*cities of refuge" are included among the levitical cities (Num. 35:6 ff.; Deut. 4:41–43; 19:1–13; Josh. 20; 21:13 ff.). The exact nature of these asylum cities is not clear. Still equally unclear is the connection between these and the levite cities. Another expression of this kind may be the term "royal city" as a synonymous name for the capital city (II Sam. 12:26), unless it is supposed that this refers to a part of a city. The Bible does not mention all types of city, as for example "guild" cities whose inhabitants were all trained members of some craft (cf. the "city of merchants" Ezek. 17:4), and perhaps even the "city of priests" (I Sam. 22:19).

The structure, extent, population, and layout of the ancient city in Syria and Palestine at various periods are questions to which no complete answer is provided by the written sources or by excavations of the sites in the region. Obviously, there must have been considerable differences between the various cities, resulting from the topographical character of the site, from the city's function, etc., and no less from the fact that sometimes cities were built at the will of kings and did not come into being through a gradual historical process. On the basis of measurements and calculations that have been made, it can be asserted that in general the ancient cities occupied a restricted area. Even partial excavations are sufficient to show that a city covering an area of about 20 acres was considered large and comprised more than 3,000 inhabitants. Cities of medium size had from several hundred to a thousand fewer inhabitants. A few, mainly capital, cities, including Jerusalem and Samaria, had populations of as many as 10,000 or 20,000. Where the city was walled, it seems that one section of the population lived outside the walls and another inside. Many cities in Mesopotamia and Syria, and apparently in Palestine too, were divided into sectors, four of these being a common urban structure. Sometimes the inhabitants of the various quarters achieved a certain degree of administrative independence. The character of a particular quarter seems also in most instances to have been determined by the professional composition and class structure of its inhabitants.

Towering above the city, at its most easily defensible point, rose the inner fortified area, the acropolis, which was the center of government and the main military stronghold. The acropolis consisted of a complex of government buildings, including the palace of the ruler or king, the temple, the offices of the senior government officials, storehouses, and the like. This part was called the "tower" (Heb. *migdal*) or the "citadel" (Heb. *ʾofel*). Spread out around it were the quarters in which the inhabitants lived, with narrow streets winding between them. There were also a few open spaces (*reḥovot* in the terminology of the Bible), usually situated close to the inner side of the city gates and known as "the square at the city gate," which served as places for the inhabitants to gather and for public assemblies (Neh. 8:1; II Chron. 32:6). The city gate itself was a meeting place for the elders and ministers, and also the place where lawsuits were heard and legal sentences executed (Deut. 21:19; 22:24; Ruth 4:1 ff. et al.). Apparently it was also a center for commercial transactions (Neh. 3:1, 28; 12:39). The business of the city seems to have been conducted in markets (Song 3:2), most probably squares that were open during the day and could be locked at night (Eccles. 12:4). A parallel term to "market" is *ḥuẓ* ("outside," "street"), which was used specifically for international commercial transactions or as bazaar (I Kings 20:34), but is also commonly found in connection with local trade (cf. "bakers' street," Jer.37:21).

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[Hanoch Reviv / Shimon Gibson (2nd ed.)]

CITY OF HOPE NATIONAL MEDICAL CENTER, medical center under Jewish auspices. Initially conceived as a haven for those stricken with tuberculosis (TB), City of Hope began when volunteers pitched two tents in 1914. By 2004, City of Hope had reached many historic milestones, leading to the organization's reputation as an internationally recognized biomedical research institution focusing on cancer, diabetes, HIV/AIDS, and other life-threatening diseases. From its very beginning, City of Hope was blessed with visionaries from volunteer leadership to a forward-thinking medical, research, and administrative staff.

This history-laden journey to greatness can be traced to 1912, when the streets of Los Angeles rapidly filled with desperate TB victims. The death of a young tailor from St. Louis sparked a group of Los Angeles businessmen and neighbors, principally those in the garment industry, to establish the Jewish Consumptive Relief Association. Developed clearly not only in response to the problem of TB but also the exclusion of Jews from available sanatoria, they vowed to build a sanatorium that would never bar a human being on the basis of race, creed, or national origin, and that care would be rendered free to all those suffering from TB.

In 1912, 35 men and women met at the Music Hall in Los Angeles, and all agreed to "bind ourselves together and organize for the purpose of raising funds and establishing suitable quarters for the aid, cure and comfort of our brothers and sisters afflicted with tuberculosis. . . ." A charter was granted in May 1913, officially establishing the Los Angeles Sanatorium under the auspices of the Jewish Consumptive Relief Association of Southern California. A volunteer-driven organization, the institution was destined to become a national movement, with its mission of helping the afflicted "to find a new hope, a new healthy body and a new useful life."

Following the purchase in December 1913 of 10 acres of land in Duarte, California, for $5,000, and the pitching of two old army tents in 1914, the place that would subsequently become known as City of Hope had taken physical form.

City of Hope held conventions of volunteers and board members every two years until 2001 when the frequency decreased to every three years. At the 1946 convention, volunteers voted to transform the institution from a TB sanatorium into a national medical center dedicated to the treatment and research of cancer and other devastating diseases.

Advances came quickly. In 1954, a Parent Participation Program was pioneered, so mothers and fathers could learn details about the care their child was receiving. A year later, a low-cost cobalt "bomb" was developed, enabling clinicians to administer radiation therapy to cancer patients in a cost-effective manner. Another milestone was reached in 1976, when City of Hope became one of only six medical centers nationally to institute a Bone Marrow Transplantation Program, advancing cancer treatment profoundly. In 1978, recombinant DNA technology was developed at City of Hope that led to the first product of biotechnology approved by the U.S. Food and Drug Administration, a type of synthetic insulin that is now used by more than 4 million people with diabetes worldwide.

In 1983, a $10 million grant from Dr. Arnold and Mabel Beckman established City of Hope's Beckman Research Institute, securing its place as a renowned research center. And in 1998 the National Cancer Institute designated City of Hope a Comprehensive Cancer Center – one in a select group in the U.S. to be so named.

In 2001, a $36 million contribution from Betty and Irwin Helford, the largest gift ever made to City of Hope, provided major funding for the Helford Clinical Research Hospital, which opened in 2005.

[Deborah K. Swanson (2nd ed.)]

CITY OF REFUGE (Heb. עִיר מִקְלָט). Moses assigned six cities (Num. 35:13, Deut. 19:9) to which "shall flee thither and live whoso killeth his neighbor unawares and hated him not in time past." Moses himself set aside three of these cities (Bezer, Ramoth, and Golan) in Transjordan (Deut. 4:43), while Joshua "sanctified" the other three (Kedesh, Shechem, and Hebron) west of the Jordan after the conquest (Josh. 20:7).(See Map: Cities of Refuge). These cities were all populated towns in which the manslayer would be immune from persecution by the *blood avenger (Num. 35:12) and where he could lead a normal life and earn his livelihood. The biblical institution is not utopian. Among ancient peoples (Phoenicians, Syrians, Greeks, and Romans) certain shrines or sacred precincts provided security to fugitives (Greenberg, Greenfield in Bibliography). An Aramaic treaty inscription of the eighth century B.C.E. from Sefire (III:47–) indicates that Aleppo was a city of refuge. The institution of asylum is particularly well attested in the Hellenistic period.

Rabbinic tradition elaborated the biblical regulations. Thus the words "and live" (Deut. 4:42; 19:5) were interpreted to mean that he was entitled to all normal amenities of life: if he was a scholar he was even entitled to take his school with him; if a pupil he was entitled to have his teacher brought to him (Mak. 10a). But to discourage avengers from frequenting these cities, certain trades – believed to increase commercial intercourse – were banned to them, such as the manufacture of textiles, ropes, and glassware (Tosef., Mak. 3:9), and the sale of arms and hunting tools (Mak. 10a). According to a later tradition, it was not only the six cities of refuge proper (which were all levitical cities: Num. 35:6), but also the additional 42 cities allotted to the levites (Josh. 21; I Chron. 6:39 ff.) which provided a refuge to manslayers (Mak. 13a; Maim. Yad, Roẓe'aḥ 8:9) – the difference between the six cities and the other levitical cities being that in the former one was automatically immune from persecution, whereas in the latter asylum had to be expressly requested (*ibid.*, 8:10). Moreover, in the former one could claim housing as of right (Tosef., Mak. 3:6), whereas in the latter one had to pay rent (Mak. 13a).

The procedure – which talmudic scholars reconstructed from biblical accounts – was that the manslayer fled to the nearest city of refuge: in order to facilitate his escape, road signs had to be put up on all crossings showing the way to the refuge (Mak. 10b; Tosef., Mak. 3:5), and all roads leading to a city of refuge had to be straight and level and always kept in good repair (Yad, loc. cit., 8:5). On arrival, the man had to present himself at the city gate before the elders of the city, who would give him accommodation (Josh. 20:4). Afterward he would be taken to court, which provided an escort to protect him from any encounter with the avenger on the way from the city to the court or back (Mak. 2:5–6). Should the court find him guilty of premeditated murder, he would be executed; if found guilty of unpremeditated manslaughter, he would be returned to the city of refuge to stay there until the death of the then officiating high priest; if no high priest was alive or officiated at the time of the verdict, or if it was a high priest who killed or was killed, the killer would have to stay there for life (Maim. loc. cit., 7:10). It is reported that mothers of the priests would have food and clothing sent to the refugees, so as to persuade them to pray for a long life for

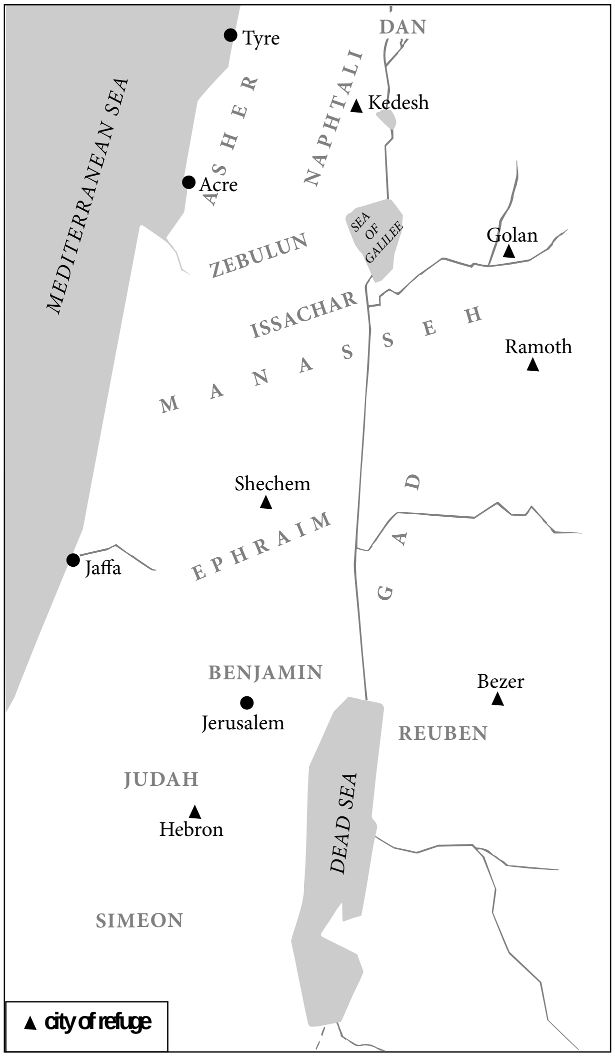

Cities of refuge in ancient Ereẓ Israel.

the priests, notwithstanding their exile (Mak. 2:6). During their stay they were not allowed to leave the city precincts, not even in order to testify in court where a man's life depended on their testimony (Mak. 2:7; Maim. loc. cit., 7:8); for if they left the city, the avengers were free to kill them (Num. 35:27). They were allowed to occupy places of honor in the cities of refuge, provided that they first disclosed to the people honoring them that they had come there as refugees (Mak. 2:8; Tosef., Mak. 3:8). On his release from the city of refuge, the refugee returned to normal life wherever he pleased, and if the avenger killed him he was guilty of murder (Maim. loc. cit., 7:13). Opinions were divided as to whether positions of trust and honor were restored to him or whether he had forfeited them (Mak. 2:8) because of the misfortune he had brought into the world (Maim. loc. cit., 7:14). Exile to a city of refuge was tantamount to punishment for unintentional homicide and, like punishment for murder, could not be compounded (see *Compounding Offenses) by the payment of blood money (Num. 35:32).

A more ancient type of asylum was the *altar: as a murderer with malice aforethought is to be taken from God's very altar "that he may die" (Ex. 21:14), so may the unintentional manslayer seek refuge at the altar to escape punishment (Mak. 12a; Maim. loc. cit., 5:12); and if he does, he is led away from the altar and escorted into a city of refuge (*ibid.*, 5:14). Several instances of manslayers seeking refuge at the altar are reported in the Bible (I Kings 1:50; 2:28–30).

[Haim Hermann Cohn]

In the State of Israel

The laws of exile to a city of refuge served the Israeli Supreme Court as an inspiration in establishing the rights of incarcerated prisoners. In the *Weil* case (HC 114/86, *Weil v. State of Israel*, 41(3) PD 477), the Court dealt with the issue of whether a prisoner has a right to have marital relations with his wife. In his decision, Justice Elon noted that Jewish law does not discuss the question because the penalty of incarceration was not used much in Jewish communities; nevertheless, the laws of the city of refuge in Jewish law may serve as an example and inspiration for the proper treatment of prisoners serving a jail sentence:

> The Torah explains exile to a city of refuge as providing the accidental killer with the means to be saved from the blood avenger. Already during the tannaitic period, exile to the city of refuge was seen as constituting *punishment* for the act of killing, so that the killer must be exiled even if there is no chance that the relative of the victim will be seeking revenge, or when the killer has voluntarily waived such a defense (*Sifrei Devarim* §181; cf. *Or Sameah* on Maimonides, Yad, Roẓe'aḥ u-Shemirat ha-Nefesh 6.12; D.Z. Hoffman, *Sefer Devarim* on Deut19:5) (pp. 494–495).

The Court cited *Sefer Ha-Hinnukh* no. 410 to the effect that the main reason for exile to the city of refuge is to punish the accidental killer, who caused such a great calamity, by his imprisonment in a city of refuge and separation from his friends and home.

The Court proceeded to discuss the conditions of the exile's stay in the city of refuge:

> One convicted of killing a person was exiled to a city of refuge together with his family. Moreover, he was given housing opportunities and means of support, means of education and study, and other essential human requirements. As stated, the 42 towns that were inhabited by the Levites, who were the people's teachers and wise men, served as cities of refuge, and this environment served to rehabilitate the exile-prisoner. These laws, and others like them, are repeated in various Talmudic sources. (See *Sifrei* on Numbers and Deuteronomy, *ibid.*; Mishna, Makkot 7.1–13.1; Tosefta, Makkot, 2–3). We will review several of these, as discussed by Maimonides, op. cit., 7.1, 67– ; 8.8:
>
> If a disciple is exiled to a city of refuge, his teacher must be exiled with him, for Scripture says, *And he shall live* (Deut. 9:4), that is: make it possible for him to live on. For life for scholars and for those who seek wisdom is like death when they are deprived of the study of Torah.
>
> Similarly, if a teacher goes into exile, his school must be exiled with him.

> If most of the inhabitants of a city of refuge are slayers, it cannot provide asylum further, for Scripture says, *And declare his cause in the ears of the elders of that city* (Josh. 20:4); but his cause must not be the same as their cause. Similarly, a city without elders cannot provide asylum, for Scripture says, *The elders of that city* (*ibid.*).
>
> If a slayer is exiled to a city of refuge and its citizens wish to honor him, he must say to them, "I am a slayer." If they reply, "That makes no difference," he may accept the honor from them.
>
> A city of refuge may not be situated either in a small town or in a large city, but only in a town of medium size. It must be situated only at places where there are markets and where there is a water supply. If there is no water supply, one must be provided. Such a city must be situated near other settlements. If the number of these diminishes they must be increased. If the population of the city diminishes, priests, levites and ordinary Israelites must be drafted into it …

There are a number of instructive disputes in the Mishnah regarding the status of the exiled prisoner after he has returned from his exile. Thus in TB, Makkot 13a we read:

> And he returns to the authority he held (if he was a tribal leader or head of a clan, he returns to his former prominence when he returns to the city upon the death of the High Priest (Rashi, *ad loc*). This is the view of Rabbi Meir. Rabbi Yehudah says: He does not return to the authority he held.
>
> The law is in accordance with Rabbi Yehudah's position. (Maimonides., *op cit.,* 7.13)
>
> If a slayer returns home after the death of the High Priest, he is regarded as any other person, … for his exile atoned for his crime. Yet although atonement was effected for him he may never resume any office he formerly had, but he must remain deprived of his honors throughout his life because so great an offense occurred through his agency. He does not return to his office and to his honors, but he can return to another [type of] office, and after serving his sentence – "he is like any other person."
>
> Rabbi Yom Tov Ibn Ashvili, the Ritba – one of the great Jewish legal sages of fourteenth century Spain – made an interesting comment. He wrote that anyone who has been convicted of intentional murder may not return to any position of authority whatsoever because of the severity of the sin of murder, which is more extreme than any other sin. In the Ritba's view, the severity of causing the death of another person – even if done accidentally – is also the basis of Rabbi Yehudah's position. Rabbi Yehudah believed that the killer does not return to the office he held, and therefore he agrees that "with regard to all other sins, anyone who has fully repented, can be appointed to anything of which he is worthy, even as a first choice, and there is no need to say that he returns to what he or his ancestors have held before" (*Hiddushei Ha-Ritba*, at *Makkot* 13a; cf. *Encyclopedia Talmudica*, 5:,. 220ff., 6: 122ff..). (*Ibid.*, pp. 4954–97).

The Court concludes the discussion of the city of refuge as a source for learning the proper methods of punishment by stating that:

> The rule of the blood avenger and the subject of the cities of refuge are not implemented in our time, but the concept of punishment represented by the city of refuge should be an example for us in discussing the methods of punishment, the manner in which they are to be executed, and the goals of these methods. The punishment of exile to a city of refuge and the details of its laws are an example of a form of restriction of freedom – the exiled prisoner is restricted in terms of his movement and may not leave the area of the city of refuge – in which the human dignity of the one being punished is maintained, as is his position as a family member and his place in the society in which he had lived. *The idea and the laws incorporated in the punishment of restriction of the freedom of a prisoner who has been exiled to a city of refuge constitute an example of imprisonment as an ideal punishment* to which society should strive, even if no chance of actually achieving it can be hoped for in our current society. (*Ibid.*, p. 497).

The court continues, with regard to the society and to the criminal activity within it:

> And the Jewish ideal of punishment places a great emphasis on the society's part in responsibility for the criminals within it, as perhaps exemplified by the idea developed by some commentators regarding the Torah's statement that the prisoner-exile shall remain in the city of refuge until the death of the High Priest. And why is that? Because the High Priest, who is the people's spiritual leader and educator, is "guilty" in that accidental killings occurred during his time, since if he had been successful in educating the generation and had properly prayed for that generation, such a calamity would not have occurred. Hence, the exile must stay in the city of refuge until the High Priest's death. The Mishnah thus goes on to say "the mothers of the priests would bring them [the exiles] food and shelter so that they would not pray for their sons' death (*Makkot*, *ibid.*), so that the prisoners would feel well and comfortable in the city of refuge, where they were serving their sentence … (*Ibid.*, pp. 4974–98).

In conclusion, relying upon the above discussion, the Court held that the prisoner's right to be with his partner exceeds the difficulties involved in realizing this right – difficulties which flow from the need to carry out the punishment of incarceration. The Court therefore held that the prisons and the legislature must allow the exercise of this right, by giving furloughs or setting up prison facilities for this purpose.

This ruling was written before the State of Israel enacted the Basic Law: Human Dignity and Liberty. Today, after the enactment of that law, which requires that laws be interpreted and implemented through a synthesis of the values of the State of Israel as a Jewish state with its values as a democratic state, *the Courts must certainly decide these matters relating to human rights and dignity in accordance with the principles established in Jewish law over the course of generations.*

For additional material on the city of refuge as source of inspiration for imprisonment in our days, see, Cr.F. 3007/02 State of Israel v. Avinon, (District Court of Jerusalem, Judge Moshe Drori).

For further discussion of this subject, see the entry *Imprisonment.

[Menachem Elon (2nd ed.)]

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CIUDAD REAL, town in Castile, Spain. Jews probably settled there at the period of its foundation as a frontier post by *Alfonso X (1252–84) under the name of Villa Real; they are mentioned in financial transactions here as early as 1264. The annual tax paid in 1290, 25,486 maravedis, indicates that the community was of average size. The Jewish quarter was located in the eastern part of the city. It was destroyed during the anti-Jewish riots of 1391, and the Jewish community ceased to exist, but a number of *Conversos remained. The riots against the Conversos in Castile in 1449 began in June in Ciudad Real. Here they defended themselves actively in street fighting, but the populace set fire to their homes and the survivors fled from the city. Riots recurred in 1464, 1467, and 1469, and reached a climax in 1474. Although no Jewish community existed, Don Abraham *Benveniste of Guadalajara was tax farmer in Ciudad Real in 1481.

In 1483, an Inquisitional tribunal was set up in Ciudad Real, empowered to prosecute those Conversos living in La Mancha, the archdiocese of Toledo, and throughout Campo de Calatrava, who were suspected of Judaizing practices. This tribunal was the third to be established in Castile, after those of Seville and Córdoba. It operated for two years, during which many Conversos were burnt at the stake. Fifty-seven files of cases tried by the Inquisition are extant, which suggest that the Conversos in Ciudad Real remained loyal to Judaism and even invited rabbis and scholars to instruct them in Jewish religion and law. The establishment of the tribunal in Ciudad Real may be considered a preliminary step towards its transfer to Toledo, where a strong Converso community resided. In the first period of the trials the most important Conversos suspected of judaizing were summoned so that their trial would encourage others to come forward and confess. There were about 50 Converso households in Ciudad Real at the time, which means that, on the basis of the records, not one Converso family escaped the attention of the tribunal.

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[Haim Beinart / Yom Tov Assis (2nd ed.)]

CIUDAD RODRIGO, city in Castile, western Spain, near the Portuguese border. The Jews living there already enjoyed certain rights in the 13th century. These are specified in the *fuero* (municipal charter), which regulated matters such as protection from assault, exaction of debts, legal testimony, etc. In 1285 the community of Ciudad Rodrigo was an *aljama*. After the death of Alfonso IX of León in 1230 the Jewish community of Ciudad Rodrigo was one of the Leonese communities that were attacked and sacked. Nothing is known of how the Jews in Ciudad Rodrigo fared during the anti-Jewish riots in Spain of 1391. The community flourished, however, during the 15th century. In 1439 it paid an annual tax of 1,000 silver maravedis. In 1481 R. Judah of Ciudad Rodrigo was appointed one of the tax farmers of the kingdom; in 1489 Lunbroso Abenaso was granted the considerable sum of 100,000 maravedis on the marriage of his daughter, in recognition of his services to the crown. The Jews of Ciudad Rodrigo formed one of the six *aljamas* that existed in León on the eve of the Expulsion. Ciudad Rodrigo became a transit station for exiles on their way to Portugal, after the decree of expulsion of the Jews from Spain in 1492. They were joined by those leaving the city itself. The synagogue had been sequestered in May and given to the municipality for conversion into a church. The Catholic monarchs donated the synagogue to the confraternity of the Passion to convert it into a church and establish a hospital there. The hospital building still exists. Within the convent-hospital there is an ancient church which could have been originally the synagogue. The Jewish quarter was nearby, in the streets of Velayos, Colegios, Campo de Carniceros, and Zurradores.

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[Haim Beinart / Yom Tov Assis (2nd ed.)]

CIVIDALE, small town in Friuli, northeastern Italy. Erroneous interpretation of an inscription led the Jews of Cividale to boast that their ancestors had been living there from 604 B.C.E., but the first authentic evidence of Jewish settlement dates from 1239 C.E. when a rabbinical court met in Cividale. Jewish moneylenders are first mentioned in 1321. In 1336 the building of a synagogue was interrupted. Numerous tombstones dating from the 14th century have been found. In 1494 a *Monte di Pietà was opened in Cividale and moneylending by Jews was temporarily prohibited. In 1509 during the wars of the League of Cambrai against Venice, the Jews were accused by the Venetians of having aided the imperial army to enter the city, and were expelled from Cividale, but were subsequently readmitted. Renewed threats of expulsion in 1518 and 1572 were probably not carried out. In 1603 Jews were still engaged in moneylending in Cividale. The community gradually diminished after this date and subsequently ceased to exist. The name Cividal(e), common in Italian Jewry, was borne by a family originating from this place. Its best-known member was ABIGDOR CIVIDAL (d. 1601), rabbi in Venice in 1597 and eminent talmudist.

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[Attilio Milano]

CIVIL MARRIAGE, a marriage ceremony between Jews, celebrated in accordance with the secular, and not the Jewish law.

The Problem in Jewish Law

Since in Jewish law a woman is not considered a wife (*eshet ish*) unless she has been married "properly," i.e., in one of the ways recognized by Jewish law (Yad, Ishut 1:3; Tur, EH 26; Sh. Ar., EH 26:1), any marriage celebrated according to the secular law and not intended to be in accordance with the "Law of Moses and Israel" should prima facie not be a "proper" one in the above-mentioned sense. The authorities nevertheless discuss the question whether, according to Jewish law, the consequences of marriage may apply to a civil marriage. This question arises from the fact that the parties are living together with the intention to live as husband and wife and not licentiously, and also from the halakhic presumption – the application of which is subject to differences of opinions (see below) – that "a Jew does not live licentiously when he is able to live according to the *mitzvah*" (Yad, Ishut 7:23). Therefore, in the absence of evidence to the contrary, a Jewish couple living together as husband and wife are presumed to be doing so for the purpose of marriage to be constituted by their intercourse (*kiddushei bi'ah* – see *Marriage), and such a marriage is to be regarded valid when there is no other impediment (Git. 81b; Ket. 73a; Yad, loc. cit. and Gerushin 10:17, 19; Sh. Ar., EH 149:1, 2). The question accordingly is whether a couple married in a civil ceremony only and living together with the intention to live as husband and wife, and regarded as such by the public, are to be considered as being married to each other according to *halakhah* by way of *kiddushei bi'ah*, which would necessitate a *get* (*divorce in accordance with law) if they should want to marry other parties. The civil (or un-Jewish) ceremony may indicate that the parties do not want to be married according to Jewish law and the situation would thus be worse than if no ceremony at all had taken place.

Difference of Opinions of the Posekim

The above question, in all its implications, first arose at the end of the 15th century with regard to the *anusim of the expulsion from Spain (1492) who were prevented from openly practicing the Jewish faith and thus compelled to marry not in accordance with the "Law of Moses and Israel" but in accordance with the customs of the Catholic Church only. The opinions of the *posekim* were divided on the matter and have remained unreconciled.

One view was that on the basis of *halakhah* no significance is to be attached to non-Jewish marriages and that cohabitation by virtue thereof does not amount to *kiddushei bi'ah*, inasmuch as the latter means sexual relations between the parties for the sake of *kiddushin*, in this manner to create between themselves the legal tie of husband and wife according to Jewish law – whereas cohabitation between the parties by virtue of a civil marriage takes place not in order to thereby establish the marriage but rather on the basis of a marriage already celebrated. Moreover, their very marriage in a civil ceremony is an indication that they specifically desire to have the marital status not in accordance with the Law of Moses and Israel but in accordance with secular law. Hence, according to this view, a woman married in a civil ceremony could at most be considered a *concubine and therefore without the legal status in relation to the man which emanates from marriage according to the Law of Moses and Israel: "Having started with marriage in accordance with the laws of the gentiles, they are to be considered as if having declared explicitly their intention not to be married in accordance with the law of Moses and Israel but in the ways of the gentiles who are not subject to *gittin* and *kiddushin* and, if so, she is not as a wife to him but like a concubine without *ketubbah* and *kiddushin*" (Resp. Ribash nos. 5 and 6; see also *Beit Yosef*, EH 149 (concl.); Sh. Ar. EH 33:1; 149:6).

According to this view, the legal result of such cohabitation cannot be more favorable than if the man, even for the purpose of *kiddushin* in accordance with law, recites toward the woman words which, according to the *halakhah*, are incapable of bringing about their marriage; in a civil marriage, moreover, the words he recites not only are not intended for *kiddushin* according to the Law of Moses and of Israel but have as their express object marriage in accordance with the secular law (Resp. Ridbaz, cited in Freimann, *Seder Kiddushin…*, 365). Thus, there is also no room for applying here the presumption against "licentious living" (see above), since that presumption only applies to "good" Jews (*kesherim*) – i.e., not to the licentious, such as those who willingly deny the Jewish faith (Resp. Ribash no. 6; see also Yad, Gerushin 10:19, *Maggid Mishneh* thereto and to Naḥalot 4:6; Tur, EH 149; Sh. Ar., EH 149:5; Resp. Radbaz no. 351; *Kol Mevasser*, pt. 1, no. 22). According to this opinion, a civil marriage creates no rights or change of status, neither concerning family law nor the law of inheritance, and thus there is no need for divorce or for prior permission in order to enable the parties to marry other persons. This view rejects also the legal reasoning which would require the said parties – in order to obtain permission to remarry – to obtain a *get mi-ḥumra* (i.e., out of strictness), lest the public, being unaware of the true position and considering them to be husband and wife in accordance with Jewish law, conclude that any such husband and wife could each enter into a marriage contract with another party without first having been divorced from each other; on the contrary, the requirement of a *get mi-ḥumrah* may create the mistaken impression that a civil marriage creates a matrimonial tie – since a *get* is only possible in respect of an existing marriage – and therefore even a *get mi-ḥumra* is to be refrained from. Accordingly, the problem of an *agunah can also not arise in respect to a woman married in a civil ceremony only (see Freimann, op. cit., and sources there quoted, pp. 358–60, 364; *Mishpetei Uzi'el,* EH no. 59).

According to another opinion, upholding the requirement of *get mi-ḥumra* for parties married in a civil ceremony only, as a precondition to the marriage of either of them to another party in accordance with Jewish law, emphasizes the danger that the public be led astray and believe that husband and wife, although properly married, are permitted to enter into a marriage contract with others before being divorced from each other (see Freimann, op. cit, 367, 370–5). This view is supported in various additional ways. Some scholars hold that a civil marriage may, possibly, be regarded as a form of *kiddushei shetar* (marriage by deed – see *Marriage), since in connection with civil marriage the parties to it generally sign in a governmental marriage register, and on the strength of such marriage take upon themselves, by virtue of law, certain obligations resembling those imposed on husband and wife married in accordance with Jewish law (Freimann, 370–1). Nevertheless, the first opinion sees a fundamental difference between a marriage by *shetar* and the said signing of the register, to wit: in the former case the man delivers the *shetar* to the woman for the purpose of thereby bringing about the marriage – i.e., the delivery of the *shetar* concurrently with his recital of the words ,"Behold, you are consecrated unto me by this *shetar* according to the Law of Moses and of Israel," creates the matrimonial status between the parties – whereas signing the register in connection with a civil marriage is no more than proof that their marriage has already taken place.

Another reason advanced in upholding the requirement of *get mi-ḥumrah* in the circumstances outlined above is that cohabitation following upon a civil marriage may possibly be seen as having an element of *kiddushei bi'ah*, since the parties live together not for the purpose of prostitution but because they regard themselves as married (although only by virtue of civil marriage) and are so regarded by the public. According to this opinion, to such parties the above-mentioned presumption against licentious living may possibly be applied (*Ḥelkat Meḥokek* 26, n. 3; and see Freimann, 360). Other *posekim* see an element of *kiddushei kesef* ("marriage by money" – see *Marriage) in a civil marriage, at all events when celebrated in countries where the groom, in accordance with local custom, hands a wedding ring to his bride even though he does so in pursuance of the civil marriage and not for the sake of *kiddushin* in terms of Jewish law (see Freimann, 371ff.).

The Halakhah in Practice

The above dispute stems essentially from the fact that on the one hand a civil marriage is a prima facie indication by the parties of their disinterest in marriage according to Jewish law; yet on the other hand, the surrounding circumstances may sometimes leave room for doubt as to whether the requirements of a Jewish marriage had not been fulfilled nevertheless. Hence, the legal status of the parties requires determination according to the circumstances of each case, with particular regard to the legal system, social background, and degree of freedom pertaining to the celebration of marriages prevailing in the country concerned. In countries with no restriction on the celebration of marriages in accordance with Jewish law, whether recognized – or allowed – by the state without or only after a civil marriage, the absence of the Jewish ceremony can be considered a clear expression of the parties' intention to be married only in accordance with the secular law, and therefore they are not to be considered married under Jewish law. Consequently, neither Jewish family law or law of inheritance will be applicable to the parties, nor any branch of Jewish law whose operation is dependent upon the existence of a valid Jewish marriage between them. In contrast, however, in countries where the celebration of a Jewish marriage is likely to bring the parties into danger – as may be the case in some communist states – and it can be assumed that, but for the danger, the parties would have celebrated their marriage according to Jewish law, there may be room for assuming, by virtue of the presumption against "licentious living" (see above), that a valid *kiddushin* has taken place between them. In this event the parties will require a *get mi-ḥumrah* before either is permitted to enter into another marriage (*Terumat ha-Deshen* no. 209; Sh. Ar., EH 26:1 and *Rema* thereto; *Ḥelkat Meḥokek* 26, n. 3; *Mishpetei Uzi'el,* EH no. 59 and cf. nos. 54–57). It follows that even in such countries no element of *kiddushin* is recognized as attaching to the relationship between parties entering into a civil marriage if they are non-observant Jews who completely deny Jewish law (*Kol Mevasser*, pt. 1, no. 22).

It is accepted, however, that in cases where there would be danger of the woman becoming an *agunah*, the circumstances that gave rise to the need of a *get mi-ḥumrah* will not be considered sufficient grounds to bar her from remarrying and she will be granted permission to do so without a *get* (*Kol Mevasser*, pt. 1, no. 22; *Melammed Leho'il*, EH 20). Either party to a civil marriage will be entitled from the start to demand that the *bet din* oblige the other party to grant or accept a *get* because the doubt arising from such a marriage entails a risk, as above-mentioned, for the claimant and there is no justification for the defending party to be permitted to prolong this situation of risk and all it entails for the claimant (*Keneset Gedolah*, EH 1, *Beit Yosef* 24; PDR 3:369, 373–80).

Where a *get mi-humra* is granted, there is a difference of opinion among rabbinic authorities as to whether or not the divorced woman may remarry a *kohen*, who is generally proscribed from marrying a divorcee. The general consensus among Sephardi authorities is to allow the woman to remarry a *kohen* since a *get mi-humra* is the result of stringency and not absolutely required. Many Ashkenazi rabbis, however, do not permit a woman who has received a *get mi-humra* to marry a *kohen* (Rema, EH 6:1; *Yabi'a Omer*, pt. 6, EH 1; *Shemesh u-Magen*, pt. 3, EH 14–15, 75; *Seridei Esh*, pt. 3, no. 51; *Ẓiẓ Eliezer*, pt. 11, no. 81, ch. 2).

The claim by a wife for alimony cannot be entertained against her husband on the strength of their civil marriage alone, since such a claim must be founded on a marriage contract in accordance with Jewish law. She cannot do any more than offer facts giving rise to doubt only of the existence of *kiddushin*, a doubt which does not suffice to entitle the plaintiff to obtain a monetary judgment against the defendant (PDR 3:378f.; a decision of a local rabbinical court in Israel may be noted, however, in which it was held, in the case of a Jewish couple seeking a divorce after being married in 1942 in a civil ceremony in Russia, that, on the basis of an assumed agreement, their common property was to be divided in accordance with the *lex loci celebrationis* with reference to the division of property in such circumstances; PDR, 5:124–8 and see *Conflict of Laws).

The Approach of the Courts in the State of Israel

Marriage and divorce in Israel between Jews can only take place in accordance with Jewish Law (sec. 2 of the "Rabbinical Courts Jurisdiction (Marriage and Divorce) Law, 5713–1953") and, thus, no civil marriage between Jews can be contracted in Israel. In the case of a Jewish couple married abroad in a civil ceremony, the Israeli Supreme Court has yet to rule definitively on the validity of such a marriage. Instead, it has adopted an approach whereby the legal consequences of the civil marriage are determined under civil contract law and the doctrine of "Good Faith." Thus, a civil court may decide on the financial ramifications of the civil marriage, such as alimony and division of assets, including property, based upon the intent of the parties and principles of good faith, even without necessarily addressing the legal issue of the couple's marital status.

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[Ben-Zion (Benno) Schereschewsky / Dov I. Frimer (2nd ed.)]

CIVILTÀ CATTOLICA, LA, official Catholic bi-monthly. Founded in 1849 by Jesuit writers, and published first in Naples (1850) then in Rome, this review has been the faithful interpreter of papal thought and gained an influence far beyond Catholic circles. Until 1933, its contributors also remained strictly anonymous. From the outset, the review attacked *Freemasonry, liberalism under all forms, and, above all, the synagogue which "had put Man-The-God on the Cross" (vol. 46 (1895), no. 1, 262), thus bringing about the dispersion of the Jews and causing their "irritating" presence throughout the earth.

With the accession of Pope Leo XIII (1878), the casuistic approach was replaced by systematic defamation. *Civiltà* wrote of "Jewish hatred… against mankind – Jews excepted" (vol. 32 (1881), no. 5, 727); of the "anti-social spirit of Judaism"; and of the "necessity of hating it" (*ibid.*, no. 6, 603, 608). Worst of all was the review's attitude concerning the *blood libel. More than a century earlier Cardinal Ganganelli (later Pope *Clement XIV) had declared the accusation groundless but *Civiltà Cattolica* nonetheless wrote of the Jews of *Trent, "mingling unleavened bread with Christian blood, every year, at Passover," and of the "present Jewish use of Christian blood in paschal bread and wine." *Civiltà* dwelt further on "the reality of the use of Christian blood in many rituals of the modern synagogue" (vol. 34 (1883), no. 1, 606ff.) as "demonstrated" in the *Tiszaeszlar case, which *Civiltà* considered to be authentic beyond doubt. Likewise Captain *Dreyfus could be nothing but a traitor, while France was governed by *Freemasonry, which itself was controlled by the Jews. However, the Jews should not be exiled from France for they were a people accursed by God, scattered to the four corners of the earth in order to testify by their ubiquity to the truth of Christianity (vol. 49 (1898), no. 1, 273–87). Thus, anti-Jewish prejudice had again been given a moral *nihil obstat* and an encouragement to proceed with the worst excesses. Nor did *Civiltà* relent during the following decades, although "blood" charges were dropped.

Three years after the advent of the Third Reich, the review actively competed with Nazi propaganda, setting out in detail all the arguments for Christian antisemitism as distinguished from the racial antisemitism of the Nazis. The Jews, stated the writer, "have become the masters of the world" (vol. 87 (1936), no. 37–8); "Their prototype is the banker, and their supreme ideal to turn the world into an incorporated joint-stock company" (*ibid*, 39–40). In search of a solution to the "Jewish Question" *Civiltà* analyzed Zionism. Would the Jews, asked the writer, once they had realized the Zionist state, "give up their messianic aspiration to world domination and preponderance, both capitalistic and revolutionary? Besides, what would be the attitude of the Christians when they saw the Holy Places in Jewish hands?" (vol. 88 (1937), no. 2, 418–31). As *Civiltà Cattolica* saw it, the only way to salvation was through conversion.

Throughout World War II (1939–45), *Civiltà's* silence over the fate of the Jews echoed that of *Pius XII. Later, the "unprecedented cruelty of the massacres of Jews and Poles," and "the horror of concentration camps, gas and torture chambers," were mentioned in an article which raised doubts about the very principle and objectivity of the Nuremberg trials and stated, among other things, that "conceding even that, on the diplomatic ground, Germany had been the one to set the gunpowder on fire, historically, they had been compelled to do so" (vol. 97 (1946), issue 2297). From the 1950s *Civiltà*'s century-long antipathy was replaced by a definitely more dispassionate attitude, in conformity with the Vatican's recent moves toward reconciliation.

[Emmanuel Beeri]

CIVITA, DAVIT (**David**; 17th cent.), one of the group of Jewish musicians connected with the court of the Gonzagas of Mantua. Several members of the Civita family are known to have lived in Mantua in the 17th and 18th centuries. Davit Civita is mentioned in the Mantuan archives as a local resident who lost his six-year-old child on April 30, 1630. He is known by only one publication: *Premite armoniche a tre voci de Davit Civita Hebreo…* (Venice, 1616), a collection of seventeen three-voice canzoni, the sheets of which were marked "Madrigali Ebrei." In his dedicatory letter to the duke of Mantua, Ferdinado Gonzaga, dated Venice, May 15, 1616, he calls himself "*… giovanetto et di poca inteligenza…*," describes his work as "*primi fiori*" (first flowerings) and signs himself "Davit da Civita Hebreo." The only known copy of this publication was at the Royal Library of Berlin, but has disappeared.

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[Israel Adler]

CIXOUS, HÉLÈNE (1937–), French writer, playwright, and theorist. Cixous was born in Oran, French Algeria. Her father was a Jewish doctor of French descent whose early death would leave a mark on her writing. Her mother was an Austro-German from a Sephardi family. Cixous was raised in Paris and lived through the persecutions of World War II. She began her career as an academic in 1958, in Bordeaux, then at Paris universities (Sorbonne, Nanterre), and eventually took part in the creation of the new, experimental Paris VIII-Vincennes, which was intended as an alternative to the traditional academic system in the wake of the May 1968 students movement. Cixous' work as a theorist is closely related to that of *Derrida, Tzvetan Todorov, and Gerard Genette (with whom she founded the avant-garde review *Poesie*, soon a forum for exploring new ways of writing and reading), with emphasis on the feminist dimension. Cixous founded in 1974 the Centre de Recherches en Etudes Féminines at Paris-VIII, developed the concept of "ecriture feminine" (female writing), and was actively involved in Antoinette Fouque's Des Femmes publishing house, a feminist venture. But feminism was not the only liberation movement that was of interest to her: she was also active in Third World-related struggles, as well as struggles against legal injustice (Pierre Goldman affair), and she praised psychoanalysis as a tool of self-liberation. She also collaborated with avant-garde theater director Ariane Mnouchkine, founder of the Theatre du Soleil.

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[Dror Franck Sullaper (2nd ed.)]

CLAL – The National Jewish Center for Learning and Leadership. CLAL was founded in 1974, originally as the National Jewish Conference (and later Resource) Center, by Rabbi Irving *Greenberg, Elie *Wiesel, and Rabbi Steven Shaw. In 1983 the Institute for Jewish Experience, founded by Rabbi Shlomo *Riskin, merged with CLAL.

The name CLAL (the word means "principle," totality," "community," and "collectivity") is part of the foundation expression "Clal Yisrael" – "the community (or society) of Israel" – referring to the entire, indivisible Jewish community, and alludes to the various aims of the Center. Among CLAL's major goals is that of Jewish-Jewish dialogue and intercommunication with respect between the trends in contemporary Judaism, Orthodox, Conservative, Reform, and Reconstructionist, conducted in a spirit of pluralism. Rabbi Irving Greenberg headed CLAL until he left to devote full time to the Jewish life network. Under its current president, Rabbi Irwin Kula, CLAL has reshaped its mission – that of "re-imagining the Jewish future" – to meet the changing needs of a community in an era of Jewish success and affluence.

CLAL conducts programs geared to the training of knowledgeable Jewish leaders through the teaching of Jewish history and source materials, to the strengthening of Jewish unity, to achieving a meaningful appreciation of Jewish culture and religion, and to the preparation of well-equipped, informed individuals – especially with leadership potential – who can meet the challenges of the modern era with authentic Jewish responses. Increased commitment to the Jewish people and community is consciously striven for, particularly among those of little Jewish background or experience. Programs conducted by CLAL include leadership education, directed toward Jewish organizational leadership. Originally conceived of as "Shamor," the program involves learning and pluralistic religious experiences as well as the development of community leadership, generally conducted in coordination with local Jewish federations or other local Jewish communal agencies; rabbinic programs, which include a half-year rabbinic intern program for rabbinical students, and annual rabbinic retreats for rabbis with up to five years of experience. Any rabbi who has been through CLAL's rabbinic programs is a member of "Chevra," which meets to learn and to examine diverse issues facing the Jewish community; teaching Jewish content and "Jewish vision" to individuals – not necessarily Jewish – in leadership positions; and counseling synagogues. In the Jewish public-affairs arena, CLAL's Jewish Public Forum is a Web-based publication that enables exchanges of views on a range of issues. CLAL has over the years published monographs on topics such as philanthropy, pluralism, the Jewish community, and ethics. It has regularly convened conferences; particularly noteworthy in this regard was the first international conference (1979) on children of Holocaust survivors, which generated a "Second-Generation" movement. This conference was a function of "Zachor," the Holocaust Research Center, a CLAL initiative whose aim was to commemorate and examine the basic challenges inherent within the Holocaust. "Zachor" was founded just months before the establishment of the President's Commission on the Holocaust, of which Elie Wiesel became chairman, Irving Greenberg became director, and Michael *Berenbaum, who was at Zachor, his deputy. Thus it was deeply involved in the establishment of the United States Holocaust Memorial Council, and its mission was ultimately incorporated into the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum.

CLAL's headquarters are in New York. CLAL's budget, which in 2005 was $4 million (unchanged in some years), derives from fees-for-service from local federations and synagogues, and from foundation grants. A major outlet for CLAL's work, the Jewish federation system, has diminished in recent years (50 contracts in 2000, 30 in 2005) as more federations have taken on the tasks of providing "in-house" Jewish education and training services. CLAL works with a full-time faculty of 12 and with a number of associates.

[Jerome Chanes (2nd ed.)]

CLASSICAL SCHOLARSHIP, JEWS IN. Contributions to classical scholarship began in the 19th century with the introduction of classical philology into institutions of higher Jewish learning, such as the Theological Seminary of Breslau (where J. *Bernays, J. *Freudenthal, and I. *Heinemann taught).

During the 19th century, the type of the gentleman scholar became increasingly rare even in England, and the full participation of Jews depended upon the possibility of making a living by teaching classics either in secondary schools or in universities. However, as gentlemen-scholars, Aby *Warburg founded in Hamburg his "Bibliothek" for the study of the classical tradition (now the Warburg Institute of the University of London) and James *Loeb founded the collection of classical texts with English translation (now administered by Harvard University); these two foundations made an immense difference to classical studies, especially in the English-speaking world.

Until 1933, Germany was the center of classical studies, and many Jews from all parts of the world received their training there. However, until 1919, German Jews were normally admitted to teaching only if baptized: such were Joseph Rubino (1799–1864), Gottfried Bernhardy (1780–1875), Karl Lehrs (Kaufmann; 1802–1878), Ludwig Friedlaender (1824–1909), Friedrich Leo (1851–1914), Heinrich Otto *Hirschfeld (1843–1922), Eduard Norden (1868–1941), Felix Jacoby (1876–1958), and Friedrich Muenzer (1868–1943: he died in Theresienstadt). Franz Skutch (1865–1912) and Ludwig *Traube (1861–1907) are among the exceptions. The situation was only slightly different in the Austro-Hungarian empire, where, however, Theodor *Gomperz played a prominent part in Vienna, to be succeeded for a brief period by Emil Szanto (1857–1904). Consequently, there was an emigration of Jewish classical scholars educated in Austria and Germany to other countries, where they introduced German methods of scholarship – for instance Heinrich (Henri) Weil (1818–1909) in Paris; Emanuel *Loewy in Rome; E.A. Lowe (Loew; 1879–1969) in Oxford and later at the Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton. This exodus of German-Jewish scholars after Hitler's rise to power in 1933 resulted in Great Britain and the United States replacing Germany as the creative centers of classical studies. To mention only a few names, Felix Jacoby, Paul Maas (1880–1964), Eduard *Fraenkel, Paul *Jacobsthal, David *Daube, and V.L. *Ehrenberg all settled in England, while Georg Karo (1872–1963), Paul Friedlaender (1882–1968), Hermann Fraenkel (1888– 1977), Ludwig Edelstein (1902–1965), Herbert *Bloch (1911–) and G.M.A. *Hanfmann (1911–1986) emigrated to the United States. Jewish participation in classical studies had previously been weak in number (but not in quality) in Great Britain, where the great editor of Greek literary papyri Edgar Lobel (c. 1888–1982) and the influential Oxford ancient historian Hugh M. Last (1894–1957) were of Jewish descent. A more recent scholar dealing both with the Roman world as such and the Jews under their rule is Martin *Goodman (1953–). Far more conspicuous had been the part played by American-born Jewish classical scholars, such as the latinist B.L. Ullman (1882–1965), the hellenist Harold *Cherniss (1904– 1987), the papyrologist Herbert *Youtie, and the ancient historian Moses I. Finley (Finkelstein; 1912–1986), from 1957 Fellow of Jesus College and from 1970 professor at Cambridge, England. Sarah B. Pomeroy, professor of classics at Hunter College in New York, wrote the highly acclaimed *Goddesses, Whores, Wives, and Slaves: Women in Classical Antiquity* (1975).

Next to Germany, the most original contributions by Jews to classical scholarship in Europe are to be found in France-the brothers Solomon and Théodore *Reinach, Gustave *Bloch, Gustave *Glotz, Henri *Levy-Bruhl, and Jacqueline Worms de Romilly (née David; 1913–), the first woman classical scholar to be elected a professor at the Collège de France, 1973. In Italy, the Jewish participation has been especially strong in the field of ancient history, Roman law, and archaeology: Giacomo *Lumbroso (1844–1925: baptized late in life) was a pioneer in ancient social history; *Alessandro Della Seta (1879–1944) and Teodoro Levi (1898–?) directed the Italian Archaeological school at Athens and Mario Segre (1904–1944; died in Auschwitz) was an authority on Greek epigraphy. In Sweden, Ernst Nachmanson (1877–1943) was a leading hellenist; and in Hungary a baptized Jew, Andras Alföldi (1895–1981), was the most influential Roman historian before he emigrated to Switzerland and later to the Institute of Advanced Study at Princeton. In Russia, Solomon Lurie (1891–1964) was recognized as the greatest classical scholar, notwithstanding years of persecution. In Germany, after 1945, only one Jew, Kurte Latte (1891–1964), returned to an eminent position.

Classical scholarship has never been a "neutral" subject: it has involved questions of values about art, ethics, politics, and religion: and it particularly affects the understanding of Judaism in the critical stage accompanying the rise of Christianity. It is interesting that, in their formative years, both Karl

*Marx and Ferdinand *Lassalle devoted research to problems of Greek philosophy. To such diverse Jewish thinkers as Moses *Hess, Lev *Shestov, and Leo *Strauss, Rome or Athens have appeared antithetic to Jerusalem.

Concern with the confrontation between Judaism and Greco-Roman civilization is inevitable in all the historians of Judaism from I.M. *Jost to J. *Klausner, S. *Baron, and G. *Allon. It is also natural that Jewish scholars should take an interest in Jewish-Hellenistic literature, particularly in Philo, and in the history of the Jews under the Greco-Macedonians and Rome. One need only mention the masterly work by J. *Juster in *Les Juifs dans L'Empire Romain* (1914). Only a few scholars, however, have tried to arrive at a cross-fertilization of Jewish and classical subjects. Jacob Bernays was the pioneer, and more recent representatives of this approach are Eugen *Taeubler, Yoḥanan (Hans) *Lewy, and Elias *Bickerman. Bernays modeled himself on J. *Scaliger, while in later scholars the influence of Eduard *Meyer is evident. Bernays and his followers considered Jewish Hellenism to be a poor substitute for normative Judaism, whereas Bickerman tends to emphasize what Jews and Greeks had in common. He has in his turn inspired the work of other scholars, such as Morton *Smith and Martin Hengel, both non-Jews. An interest in Jewish-classical contacts is also to be found in certain classical scholars of Jewish origin, who do not otherwise claim any special preoccupation with the Jewish tradition, such as Eduard Norden and Richard Laqueur (1880–1959).

The greater part of Jewish contributions to classical scholarship in the 19th and 20th centuries does not bear distinctive marks, Jews merely following patterns of research current in their time and place. There are, however, some traits in the Jewish contribution to classical scholarship, seen as a whole, which do not seem to be fortuitous:

1. In Germany, scholars of Jewish origin turned with greater zeal and sympathy to the study of Latin literature, history, and law. This may partly be a matter of human relations. The latinists F. Ritschl and F. Buecheler, and especially the great master of Roman history, Th. *Mommsen, were readier than others to accept Jewish pupils. But in Germany the Greeks were treated as the ancestors of the modern Germans. Roman universalism attracted Jewish scholars (F. Leo, E. Norden, E. Fraenkel, O. Hirschfeld, A. *Stein, H. *Dessau, F. Muenzer, Arthur *Rosenberg, later a political leader and modern historian, etc.).

2. There is a definite inclination in Jewish scholars to follow up the classical tradition into the Middle Ages and the Renaissance. With A. Warburg, L. Traube, F. Saxl (1890–1948), F. Gundolf, Paul Maas, Hermann *Kantorowicz, and Ernst *Kantorowicz, this in fact became a recognized feature of German-Jewish *Geistesgeschichte.*

3. Jews have often been pioneers and, in any case, very active in the history of ancient sciences (philology, K. Lehrs; linguistics, H. *Steinthal; mathematics, M. Kantor; physics, S. *Sambursky; biology, C. *Singer; medicine, L. Edelstein, etc.).

4. Less characteristic, yet noticeable, is the special interest in Greek law (E. Szánto, G. Glotz, K. Latte, F. Pringsheim, H.-J. Wolff, etc.) and philosophy (Th. Gomperz, K. *Joel, R. *Mondolfo, Friedrieh Solmsen, etc.) as compared with the limited attention paid to Greek religion and even literature.

In variety and subtlety of research, probably no classical scholar of Jewish origin can be compared with E. Norden, a master in the study of ancient literary prose, Latin poetry, ethnography, forms of religious texts and, finally, of German-Roman and Jewish-Roman contacts. Yet the work of his life-long friend F. Jacoby as an editor, commentator, and expounder of Greek historiography ranks among the greatest achievements of classical scholarship of any time.

[Arnaldo Dante Momigliano]

°CLAUDEL, PAUL (1868–1955), French poet, playwright, and diplomat. A nominal Catholic who experienced a profound religious reawakening in 1886, Claudel was increasingly influenced by the Bible and by the continuity of the Jewish people. The theme of the confrontation of Jewry and Christendom first appeared in two plays, *Le pain dur* (1918) and *Le père humilié* (1920). He gradually freed himself from traditional Christian prejudice and developed an original, unorthodox, and purified vision of the Jewish people. Claudel's biblical meditations fill *Une voix sur Israël* (1950) – which reappeared under the revealing title *La restauration d'Israël* as part of a larger work, *L'Evangile d'Isaie* (1951) – and *Paul Claudel interroge l'Apocalypse* (1952). Traces of Claudel's early theological hostility were visible as late as 1942, but the poet's awareness of the Christian world's terrible responsibility for the Holocaust of European Jewry prompted his suggestion, in a letter to Jacques *Maritain in 1945, that the Pope institute a ceremony of expiation for crimes committed against the Jews. Later, he advocated the State of Israel's appointment as the official guardian of the Christian holy places. Israel's role in the Holy Land was, in Claudel's view, "to reconstruct the Temple at the crossroads of three continents and of three religions, or simply to take the initiative in summoning the universe to take part in that glorious task… and teach the world the interdependence of nations." In this spirit of cooperation and amity, Israel and Christendom would thus coexist and combat the threats posed by modern atheism.

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[Claude (Andre) Vigee]

°CLAUDIAN (**Claudius Claudianus**; fourth century C.E.), Latin poet. He mentions the imaginative pictures of India painted upon Jewish veils in *Eutropium*, 1:350ff. If the text is correct, it contains a unique reference to ornamented Jewish fabrics and possibly reflects India's influence on Jewish art.

[Jacob Petroff]

°CLAUDIUS (*Tiberius Claudius Drusus Nero Germanicus*), Roman emperor 41–54 C.E. Claudius was partly assisted in his accession to the throne by the diplomacy of *Agrippa I, whom he appointed as king of Judea, restoring all the lands ruled by his grandfather *Herod. After Agrippa's death, he reestablished the rule of the procurators, although in 49 he allotted Agrippa II parts of northern Palestine. He nevertheless continued to receive sympathetically Jewish embassies and granted the Jews, inter alia, the right to appoint the high priest, to administer the Temple and its funds, and to look after the high-priestly vestments. On the death of Caligula, rioting broke out between the Jews and Greeks of Alexandria over the question of equal civic rights. Claudius quelled the riots and issued two edicts: in one he reaffirmed the rights of the Jews of Alexandria to keep their religion and ethnarch, while directing both parties to maintain the peace. In another edict, issued to the world at large, Claudius reaffirmed the same privileges to the rest of the Jews in the Roman Empire. He also decided in favor of the Jews in their dispute with the Samaritans, and banished *Cumanus Ventidius, procurator at the time. Influenced by his friendship with the family of Agrippa he took steps to secure the rights of Jews in other parts of the empire, put down disturbances against them in Alexandria, and had their privileges restored. According to Suetonius, Claudius banished the Jews from Rome, but the details are obscure. Disputes between Jews and members of the Christian sect in Rome had caused disturbances and Claudius apparently either banished certain Jews or prohibited them from assembling, which led to their voluntary departure, sometime between 41 and 50 C.E. It is generally accepted that the emperor's aim was the preservation of peace and not an act of hostility toward the Jews.

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[Lea Roth]

°CLAUDIUS IOLAUS (or **Julius**), Phoenician historian of unknown date. The passage preserved from his writings in the sixth-century geographical lexicon of Stephanus of Byzantium gives the etymology of the name Judea as deriving from the legendary hero Oudaios (Οὐδαῖος), one of the men "sown" (*spartoi*) by Cadmus ("the man of the East," Heb. *Kedem*), who fought as the ally of Dionysius and is connected with the origins of Thebes. (This may explain the connection alleged by the Maccabees between the Jews and the Spartans.) Since the fragment mentions *Caesarea, the author cannot have antedated Herod the Great.

CLAYBURGH, JILL (1944–), U.S. actress. Known as a major feminist actress during the 1970s and 1980s, Clayburgh was born in New York to Albert Clayburgh, a manufacturing executive, and his wife, Julia, a former theatrical production secretary. Clayburgh became interested in acting while attending Sarah Lawrence College and later joined the Charles Playhouse in Boston, Massachusetts. She starred in several Broadway productions, including *The Rothschilds* (1970), *Pippin* (1972), and *Design for Living* (1984). Her first major film was *Portnoy's Complaint* (1972), followed by *The Terminal Man* (1974), *Silver Streak* (1976), *Semi-Tough* (1977), and *An Unmarried Woman* (1978), which earned her a 1978 Cannes Film Festival best actress award and 1979 best actress Academy Award and Golden Globe nominations. She was nominated for a best actress Academy Award again in 1980 for *Starting Over* (1979). Clayburgh married playwright David Rabe in 1979. After *I'm Dancing as Fast as I Can* (1982), written by Rabe, and *Hanna K.* (1983), which featured Clayburgh as a Jewish lawyer living in Tel Aviv, she scaled back her career to focus her attention on her family. Clayburgh then resurfaced in movies like *Naked in New York* (1994) and *Fools Rush In* (1997) and appearances on television shows such as *Ally McBeal* (1997), *The Practice* (1997), and *Nip/Tuck* (2003).

[Adam Wills (2nd ed.)]

°CLEARCHUS OF SOLI (in Cyprus; fourth and third centuries B.C.E.), Greek philosopher. Clearchus is generally regarded as a disciple of Aristotle, although his concepts of the soul have more in common with Platonism. In the fragment preserved in Josephus (Apion 1, 176–82) Clearchus describes a meeting between Aristotle and a Jew in Asia Minor. The Jew is defined in this context as hellenized, not only by virtue of the language he speaks but in his soul. The Jews in general are regarded as philosophers dwelling among the Syrians, akin to the Calani, the philosophers of the Indians. Lewy suggests that the Jew is a figment of Clearchus' imagination, similar to other Orientals who are represented as superior in wisdom to Greeks.

°CLEMENT, the name of 14 popes and three antipopes. The antipope CLEMENT III, who claimed the apostolic throne between 1080 and 1100, protested strongly when Emperor Henry IV permitted Jews who had become converted to Christianity during the anti-Jewish riots of the First Crusade to revert to Judaism. The recognized CLEMENT III (1187–91) reissued the bull *Sicut Judaeis*, protecting the Jews at the time of the Third Crusade. CLEMENT IV (1265–68) not only approved the condemnation and banishment of Naḥmanides after his public disputation at Barcelona with the apostate Pablo *Christiani (though he forbade his execution or mutilation), but by his bull *Turbato corde*, reiterated by several of his successors, increased the powers of the Inquisition to track down converts who had reverted to Judaism, including those forced to convert on peril of their lives. CLEMENT VI (1342–52), one of the Avignon popes, showed favor to the Jews on several occasions, although he enforced the wearing of the *badge. He granted the Jews of Seville permission to build a new synagogue (1342), on the grounds that they had been helpful in the struggle against the Muslims. He advised against the expulsion of the Jews from *Dauphin. Above all, he did all in his power, in a number of bulls issued in 1348–49, to protect the Jews against the charges of well-poisoning which were rife at the time of the *Black Death, and against the rioting Flagellants who roamed throughout Europe. CLEMENT VII (1523–34) was impressed by the messianic claims of Solomon *Molcho and by David *Reuveni. In 1530 he extended privileges to Jewish physicians, especially Samuel *Sarfatti. He tried to ameliorate the lot of Spanish and Portuguese Marranos (1533, 1534) and the Jews in the *Comtat-Venaissin. In 1530 he allowed the Ashkenazi Jews of Mantua to open their own synagogue. However, when preparations were being made for another war against the Turks, he imposed an additional heavy tax on the Jews of the Papal States.

By the time of CLEMENT VIII (1592–1605), the situation of the Jews had undergone a radical change. The limitation of Jewish residence to Rome, Ancona, and Avignon in the Comtat (1593); their enforced attendance at conversionist *sermons; the prohibition against their dealing in new articles of clothing; the repeated condemnation of the Talmud, copies of which were publicly burned in 1601 (see Burning of *Talmud) all indicated the repressive climate of the time. Yet Clement reduced the tax of the Roman Jewish community by one-third. CLEMENT X (1670–76) left the Jews alone on the whole, even protecting them during riotous carnivals. CLEMENT XII (1730–40) ordered Hebrew books to be confiscated once more (1731), but he tried to lighten the Jewish financial burden to some degree (1732). Of greatest interest in the pontificate of CLEMENT XIII (1758–69) was his concern with the *blood libel then being leveled against the Jews in Poland. In 1758, this problem had been brought by a delegate of Polish Jewry, Jacob Selig, to the attention of his predecessor, *Benedict XIV, who had requested the Holy Office of the Inquisition to make an investigation. This body had entrusted the task to one of its members, Fra. (later Cardinal) Ganganelli. The latter's report, emphatically condemning the libel, was submitted shortly after his accession to Pope Clement XIII, who instructed Ganganelli to draw up instructions for the papal nuncio in Warsaw in accordance with his conclusions. Ganganelli was himself later elected pope as CLEMENT XIV (1769–74). He was deeply concerned with the economic condition of the Roman Jews, accorded them a certain liberty of occupation, and freed them from the immediate jurisdiction of the Inquisition. He also showed marked favor to the Roman Jewish leader Alessandro Ambron.

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[Solomon Grayzel]

°**CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA** (**Titus Flavius Clemens**; 150?–?220 C.E.), a Church Father, writing in Greek. He was profoundly influenced by *Philo in his approach to Scripture, ethics, attitudes toward Jewish history, and metaphysics. Clement certainly knew no Hebrew and relied on Philo, whose knowledge of Hebrew is itself debated. Besides accepting specific comments from Philo, he also followed Philo's allegorical approach to Scripture, which became the hallmark of Alexandrian Christian scholars. Clement preached a modified asceticism and praised the biblical dietary laws and injunctions regarding dress and sexual restrictions as instruments which help man reach that goal (*Paedagogus*, passim; *Stromata* 2:20). Like Philo he emphasized the primacy of piety (*Stromata* 2:18). His approach to history follows Philo: e.g., Moses is an ideal Hellenistic ruler (1:24); Greek philosophers plagiarized Jewish thoughts (1:17; 5:11; 5:14). His theology, both in substance and method, echoes Philo; e.g., philosophy should serve as Scripture's handmaid (1:50); the biblical commandments contain historical, legislative, ceremonial and theological divisions (1:28); Mosaic Law is natural law (1:29); God is ineffable and unknowable (2:2; 5:12). Yet despite his sympathies toward Judaism vis-à-vis paganism, Clement expressed antipathy toward Jews vis-à-vis Christianity and even wrote a tract against them: Adversus eos qui errores Judaeorum sequuntur (Eusebius, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, book 13).

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[Jacob Petroff]

CLEODEMUS MALCHUS (2nd century B.C.E.), obscure Hellenistic historian, held by some to be Jewish. Josephus records in the name of Alexander Polyhistor that a certain "Cleodemus the Prophet, also called Malchus" wrote a history of the Jews (Jos., Ant., 1:238–41). The epithet "the Prophet" and the syncretistic nature of the fragment led Freudenthal to believe that Cleodemus Malchus must have been a Samaritan. Schuerer, however, disputes this theory stating that at that period such syncretistic tendencies were also common to Jews. In fact, there is reason to believe that he was neither Samaritan nor Jew, for neither would refer to Moses as "their lawgiver" (although this phrase may be by Alexander Polyhistor). The title "the Prophet" may indicate a temple official which implies Phoenician or Nabatean origin. Also, in view of the fact that Josephus never consciously quotes Greco-Jewish writers, it is most likely that Cleodemus Malchus was not a Jew.

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[Ben Zion Wacholder]

°**CLEOMEDES** (second century C.E.), author of an astronomical work permeated with Stoic concepts. Cleomedes mentions the Jews in passing when deprecating the vulgar idiom employed by Epicurus. He compares the Greek – vulgar but apparently good – spoken by the Jews with the language of the brothels and that common among women celebrating the Thesmophoria.

°**CLEOPATRA**, a name common to several Egyptian queens, the most important of whom are the following: CLEOPATRA I, daughter of *Antiochus III and Laodice, daughter of *Mithridates, king of Pontus. Antiochus III, taking advantage of Egypt's weakness, conquered Judea and proceeded along the west coast of Asia Minor. To discourage the intervention of Rome, he betrothed his daughter to Ptolemy V Epiphanes. The marriage took place at Rafi'aḥ (Rafa) in 193 B.C.E., having been delayed several years on account of their youth. According to Josephus, it was agreed that Cleopatra be given *Coele-Syria including Judea as a dowry, but according to Polybius when the Egyptians laid claim to this area the existence of such an agreement was denied by *Antiochus IV. In any event Judea remained in Seleucid hands. Cleopatra bore two sons, Ptolemy VI and VII, and a daughter, Cleopatra II (see below). After her husband's early death, she ruled together with her son, Ptolemy VI Philometor (181 B.C.E.), until her own early death in about 173.

CLEOPATRA II married her brother Ptolemy VI and ruled from 169 to 164 B.C.E. with her two brothers. Under pressure from Rome, Antiochus IV was forced to leave Egypt. When Egyptian rule was divided in 163, Cyrenaica being awarded to Ptolemy VII, she continued to rule with her husband. During this period a friendly attitude was displayed toward the Jews, and the priest *Onias IV, who fled to Egypt, was sympathetically received there. Both he and Dositheus received important commands in the army and Onias was granted permission to erect a temple in *Leontopolis, modeled after the Temple in Jerusalem. In the struggle for the throne between Ptolemy VII and Cleopatra after Ptolemy VI's death in Syria (145) the Jews sided with Cleopatra and rendered her valuable assistance. When Ptolemy VII went from Cyrenaica to Alexandria to seize the kingdom, he was met there by an army under the command of Onias. The peace, which was brought about when Cleopatra married her brother, was short-lived, ending when Ptolemy VII married Cleopatra III. The Roman delegation under Scipio Aemiliamus apparently succeeded in reconciling the brother and sister, but the quarrel did not finally subside until about 125 B.C.E.

CLEOPATRA III daughter of Ptolemy VI Philometor and Cleopatra II. Her marriage to Ptolemy VII Physcon in 142 B.C.E. led to war between the latter and Cleopatra II, who was, at the same time, his sister, his wife, and the mother of his young wife, Cleopatra III. After their death Cleopatra III ruled jointly with her son Ptolemy Lathyrus, driving him out in 107, and replacing him by her other son, Ptolemy Alexander. Lathyrus fled to Cyprus and succeeded in winning over the army sent by Cleopatra to dislodge him; only the Jews from the territory of Onias, under the command of his sons Ananias and Hilkiah, remained loyal to Cleopatra. His position was strengthened when the people of Acre gained Lathyrus' assistance against Alexander *Yannai. When Lathyrus was victorious, Cleopatra mobilized her forces and herself joined her Jewish army commanders *Ananias and Helkias, in a successful march on Acre. Ananias having warned her that the annexation of the whole of Coele-Syria would incur the enmity of the Jews, Cleopatra concluded a pact with Alexander Yannai at Beth-Shean and returned with her army to Egypt (Jos., Ant., 13:284–287, 328–355; 14:112).

CLEOPATRA VII (69–30 b.c.e.) the last queen of Egypt before its conquest by Rome. When Herod fled from Judea to Alexandria in 40, he was well received by Cleopatra, who offered to appoint him as commander of her army. Anxious to reach Rome, Herod declined. After Herod became king of Judea, enmity developed between them, for his accession had frustrated Cleopatra's plans to annex Judea. Cleopatra incited Antony against Herod. She also lent a ready ear to the complaints of Alexandra, Mariamne's mother, who had quarreled with Herod for refusing to appoint her son Aristobulus as high priest. Cleopatra openly sided with Alexandra and it was as a result of her intervention that Herod was required to account to Antony for the death of Aristobulus. Though Herod succeeded in saving his throne, he was compelled to cede to Cleopatra Jericho and its environs together with certain areas of Arabia. These he subsequently leased from her; but this did not improve their personal relationship. When Antony prepared for battle against *Augustus, Cleopatra ordered Herod to take up arms against the Arabians who had failed to discharge their debts. Herod, though fully aware of Cleopatra's enmity toward him, realized the extent of her influence on Antony, to whom he owed his kingdom and accordingly took pains to prevent their personal differences from jeopardizing his position. Therefore, it is highly unlikely that Herod had counseled Antony to do away with Cleopatra, as was rumored to Augustus. It is possible that Cleopatra's feelings toward Herod may have caused her evident dislike of the Jews of Alexandria. Cleopatra ruled for over 20 years, taking her life at the age of 39 after Augustus' victory over Antony. There is a reference in the Talmud (Tosef., Nid. 4:17; Nid. 30b) to Queen Cleopatra of Egypt, but it is unclear which Cleopatra is meant.

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[Lea Roth]

CLEOPATRA OF JERUSALEM, one of the ten wives of *Herod and mother of his two sons, Herod and Philip. The latter was among those sons sent to Rome for their education. After his father's death (4 B.C.E.), he was appointed tetrarch of certain portions of northeast Palestine.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Jos., Wars, 1:562; Jos., Ant., 17:21.

[Isaiah Gafni]

CLERMONT-FERRAND (Heb. קלארמונטי), city in Auvergne, France; capital of the Puy-de-Dôme department. The presence of Jews there dates back at least to 470, as attested by several letters of Sidonius Apollinaris, bishop of the town; these are the oldest written records to mention Jews in France. The Jews in the locality maintained fairly friendly relations with bishops Gallus and Cautinus, but the situation changed with Bishop *Avitus, who in 576 forced over 500 Jews to accept baptism. The remainder fled to *Marseilles. A new community was formed at the latest during the tenth century in the quarter of the town whose name Fontgiève (= Font-Juifs, "Fountain of the Jews") still preserves their memory. A hillock nearby is known as Montjuzet (= Mons Judeorum, "Mountain of the Jews"). Although Jews were to be found in Auvergne in considerable numbers during the remainder of the Middle Ages, there is no evidence that any resided in Clermont-Ferrand itself. A prayer room appears to have been established in about 1780. A new community was organized at the beginning of the 19th century by Israel Wael and subsequently led by R. Moïse Wolfowicz (1820–48). Numbering 25 to 30 families in 1901, it belonged to the *consistory of Lyons until 1905. During World War II, many Jews took refuge in Clermont-Ferrand, as it was situated in the Free Zone. Their number reached 8,500, but from the summer of 1942 they were compelled to leave by the police. There were approximately 800 Jewish residents in 1969. The community had a synagogue, a cultural association, a *talmud torah*, etc.

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[Bernhard Blumenkranz]

°CLERMONT-GANNEAU, CHARLES (1846–1923), French Orientalist. He studied under Ernest *Renan and served as translator at the French embassy in Constantinople and at the consulate in Jerusalem (1867); he was later vice consul in Jaffa. In 1868 he discovered the *Mesha Stele and an inscription from Herod's Temple forbidding gentiles to enter the inner court. From 1871 to 1874 he was associated with the Palestine Exploration Fund and he identified Gezer in 1873. In the 1880s Clermont-Ganneau helped expose the "Moabite" pottery fraud and challenged the authenticity of the *Shapira manuscripts. In later life he taught at the Collège de France. His works include *La Palestine inconnue* (1876); *Les fraudes archéologiques en Palestine* (1885); *Archaeological Researches in Palestine* (2 vols., 1896–99); *Album d'antiquités orientales* (1897). He wrote hundreds of articles and notes, collecting them in his *Études d'archéologie orientale* (1880–96) and *Recueil d'archélogie orientale* (1888–1920).

[Michael Avi-Yonah]

°CLERMONT-TONNERRE, COUNT STANISLAS DE (1757–1792), French revolutionary. Clermont-Tonnerre was an outspoken advocate of human liberties and of equal rights for the Jews and was active in the first stages of the French Revolution. In September 1789 the Constituent Assembly convened to discuss the Jewish question, prompted by Abbé H. *Grégoire, Clermont-Tonnerre, and several other deputies who were alarmed by news from Alsace, where the Jews had been attacked by peasants. Speaking after Abbé Grégoire, Clermont-Tonnerre demanded that the Jews be brought under the protection of the law. He further urged the Assembly to discuss the question of civic rights for the Jews, as a matter of principle. When the debate was resumed in December, he proclaimed that the rights of the Jews, of the Protestants, or of any other religious group had been implicitly recognized by the Declaration of the Rights of Man, which states that no man should be persecuted for his religion. To those who questioned whether the institutions of Jewish self-government should be maintained, Clermont-Tonnerre declared that "Jews should be denied everything as a nation, but granted everything as individuals. . . ." His words epitomize the attitude of the 18th-century rationalists and French revolutionaries toward Judaism and the Jewish question.

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[Emmanuel Beeri]

CLEVELAND, city situated in Northeast Ohio on Lake Erie. Its metropolitan area has the largest Jewish population in the state (81,500 in 1996). Jewish settlement began in the 1830s, when Daniel Maduro Peixotto (1800–43) joined the faculty of Willoughby Medical College in 1836 and Simson Thorman (1812–1881), a trader in hides, came from Unsleben, Bavaria, settling permanently in Cleveland in 1837. The opening of the Ohio and Erie canals and the development of stage routes provided countless economic opportunities for new immigrants, and Thorman must have written to his family in Unsleben; in 1839 a group of 19 departed on the sailing ship *Howard* and 15 made the trip to Cleveland, arriving in July of that year, joining two other men who had emigrated from Unsleben.

Community Life to 1865

The Unsleben group arrived in America prepared to continue Jewish observance. They carried with them an ethical testament, known as the Alsbacher Ethical Testament, written by their teacher in Unsleben, who implored them not to forsake their heritage. Simson Hopferman (later Hoffman) served as a *ḥazzan* and *shoḥet.* They had a *Sefer Torah*, and with enough men to form a *minyan*, established the Israelitic Society in 1839. In 1840 the group purchased land on Willett Street for a cemetery, and more Jewish settlers arrived. There were two married and five single women with the *Howard* group, and marriages and births quickly followed.

In 1841 internal divisions led to the formation of a second congregation, Anshe Chesed (today known as Anshe Chesed Fairmount Temple). The two groups reunited temporarily, but split again in 1850, when a group of some 20 dissidents left to establish Tifereth Israel (today known as The Temple – Tifereth Israel). Rabbi Isadore Kalisch (1816–1886), later coauthor with Isaac Mayer *Wise of the first American Reform prayer book, *Minhag America*, led the new congregation. Both congregations moved towards reform before the Civil War.

In addition to the congregations, there were six communal organizations that were established before the end of the Civil War, including a local chapter of B'nai B'rith (1853), the Hebrew Benevolent Society (1855), the Young Men's Literary Society (1860), the Jewish Ladies Benevolent Society (1860), the Zion Singing Society (1861), and the Hungarian Aid Society (1863). These reflected the growth of the Jewish community to approximately 1,000 individuals, 78% from German states (primarily Bavaria), and 19% from the Austrian Empire (primarily Bohemia). Benjamin Franklin Peixotto (1834–1890) was a founder of some of these organizations; while living in Cleveland, he owned a clothing factory and wrote for the local newspaper, *The Plain Dealer*, before leaving the area.

Most of Cleveland's Jews through the Civil War were laborers, peddlers, or small merchants, but even then they were gravitating toward the garment industry, which was to become the nation's second largest concentration of such businesses. Several Jewish firms made uniforms for Civil War soldiers, including Sigmund Mann and Davis and Peixotto & Co. Some 38 men from Cleveland served in the Civil War, including Joseph A. Joel, later known for his comic description of a wartime Passover *seder* published in the *Jewish Messenger* in 1862.

From 1865 to the 1890s

The Cleveland Jewish population grew from approximately 1,000 at the close of the Civil War to 3,500 in 1880. During this period the pioneering families and newer settlers established congregations and cultural institutions, built businesses, and were active in public affairs and politics. B'nai Jeshurun and Anshe Emeth (both still in existence in 2004 with the latter known today as Park Synagogue) were founded, respectively, by Hungarian and Polish immigrants in 1866 and 1869, while the earlier congregations, Anshe Chesed and Tifereth Israel, continued to grow. The Jewish Orphan Asylum (today known as Bellefaire) was established by B'nai B'rith in 1868 to care for the region's Civil War orphans. The Hebrew Immigration Aid Society (1875) and Montefiore Home to serve the aged (1881) were formed to complete services to a growing community. The Jewish elite enjoyed the Excelsior Club (1872). The Anglo-Jewish press began with the *Hebrew Observer* in 1889; four years later the *Jewish Review* appeared, and the two merged as *The Jewish Review and Observer* in 1899. The *Jewish Independent* was founded in 1906.

Members of the community were successful in business and public affairs. Kaufman Hays (1835–1916) began as a peddler, and in 1894 took over the Cleveland Worsted Mills. Other major clothing manufacturers were Joseph and Feiss, Richman Brothers, Printz-Biederman, and Kaynee. The major department stores, Halles, The May Company, and Sterling Lindner, were owned or managed by Jews.

Jewish participation in general community life took many directions. By 1892 a number of Jewish merchants were members of the Cleveland Board of Trade, whose president that year was Frederick Mulhauser, a mill owner. Rabbi Moses J. Gries (1868–1918) was a trustee member of the Society of Organized Charities, founded in 1881. Baruch Mahler and Peter Zucker were presidents of the Board of Education (1884–85 and 1887–88), and Kaufman Hays was vice president of the City Council in 1888. Louis Black, of Hungarian origin, served as United States consul in Budapest under presidents Cleveland and Harrison. Joseph C. Bloch became the first Jewish judge in Cleveland.

The 1890s through World War I: The Impact of East European Immigration

The Jewish population of Cleveland increased greatly from the 1880s on, as East Europeans fled pogroms and economic hardships. In 1890 the Jewish population was over 5,000 and by 1900 it was 20,000; at the end of the immigration period the estimated Jewish population of Cleveland was between 90,000 and 100,000. Clustered in the Woodland Avenue/55th Street neighborhood, the East Europeans worked as peddlers, in small businesses, and as employees in the clothing industry dominated by the established firms of the preceding immigrant generation. The new settlers were more attached to Orthodox traditions, and decidedly poorer, putting a strain on the existing social institutions. The Cleveland Section of the National Council of Jewish Women (founded in 1894) created an ambitious social settlement house through the Council Educational Alliance in 1899. To prevent duplication of efforts in activities and fundraising, in 1903 the established leadership created the Federation of Jewish Charities. In spite of these efforts, there were tensions between the newcomers and the earlier settlers. The East Europeans created their own institutions, including the *Yiddishe Velt*, a newspaper established by Samuel Rocker in 1911, a Jewish Relief Society (1895), an Orthodox Home for the Aged (1906, today known as Menorah Park Center for Senior Living), and the Orthodox Orphan Home. An attempt to create an Orthodox hospital failed when the existing Mt. Sinai Hospital (founded in 1903) agreed to provide kosher food. Numerous *landsmanshaften* also helped new immigrants adjust to Cleveland life, and at least 25 small Orthodox congregations could be found in the neighborhood, often associated with their members' place of origin in Europe. Yiddish theater flourished in the community; one of the theater owners, Harry "Czar" Bernstein (1856–1920), was also a colorful Republican ward boss.

Many of the East European immigrants brought with them a trade-union outlook. The years before World War I were the high point of Jewish labor activity, particularly in the garment industries, where a series of strikes, not all successful, took place. A notable example of Jewish trade unionism was the Jewish Carpenters' Union Local No. 1750, chartered in 1903. In 1910 William Goldberg began his lifelong leadership of the union and became a prominent figure in Ohio labor circles. Years later the garment workers' union and the carpenters' local lost their Jewish character as Jewish occupations shifted to the professions, service industries, and business enterprises. Unique expressions of Jewish economic activity were the Cleveland Jewish Peddlers' Association, formed in 1896, and the Hebrew Working Men's Sick Benefit Association.

Jewish Life through World War II

With the East European influx into Cleveland also came enthusiasm for Zionism. While Reform rabbis Moses Gries and Louis Wolsey opposed the movement, Zionist groups of all political persuasions proliferated, especially after two new rabbis were installed at the Reform congregations, Abba Hillel *Silver (1893–1963) and Barnett R. *Brickner (1892–1958). Many national conferences were held in Cleveland, notably the 1921 meeting that led to a schism between the factions headed by Louis *Brandeis and Chaim *Weizmann. *Hadassah, the women's Zionist organization, was established in Cleveland in 1913, and a Cleveland nurse, Rachel (Rae) Landy (1884–1952), along with New Yorker Rose Kaplan began visiting nurse services in Palestine that year. Zionism also affected Jewish education. Abraham H. *Friedland (1892–1939), brought from New York to direct the Talmud Torah supplementary school system, infused Hebrew language and Zionist philosophy into its educational curriculum. He also headed the Bureau of Jewish Education (founded in 1924) until his death in 1939.

After World War I, the Jewish community migrated east of the Woodland neighborhood: Glenville, a city neighborhood northeast, became a center of middle-class life with Orthodox, Conservative, and Reform congregations, and boasted a much admired public school system which had illustrious graduates such as U.S. Senator Howard Metzenbaum (b. 1917) (D-Ohio) and Joe *Shuster (1914–92) and Jerome *Siegel (1914–1996), creators of the comic hero *Superman*. Mt. Pleasant-Kinsman, to the southeast, larger geographically but less densely Jewish, had only an Orthodox synagogue and was noted for its working-class and Yiddish-language atmosphere, with trade union headquarters and organizations such as the Workmen's Circle. The more affluent began settling in the eastern suburbs of Cleveland Heights and Shaker Heights, and in 1926 B'nai Jeshurun, which had joined the Conservative movement, built an impressive structure in Cleveland Heights, where it was known for the next 55 years as Temple on the Heights.

The events of the 1930s – economic depression and increased local and international antisemitism – moved the Jewish community in various ways. First, the Federation of Jewish Charities underwent an effective reorganization, creating a Welfare Fund to coordinate fundraising and a Community Council to mediate local disputes and represent the Jewish community to the general public. Second, the nonsectarian League for Human Rights, led behind the scenes by Abba Hillel Silver, strongly reacted to events in Europe by boycotting German-made products, monitoring the German-American Bund and other such organizations' local activities, and providing an organized response to German student exchange in Cleveland. Several Jewish Clevelanders, including David Miller (1908–1977) and Morris Stamm (1904–2000), served in the Abraham Lincoln Brigade during the Spanish Civil War.

By the eve of World War II, Cleveland Jewry had fewer internal disagreements as the more recent immigrants had acculturated and the leadership of major organizations was no longer exclusively in the hands of the earlier families' descendants. Although there was never a Jewish mayor of Cleveland, Jews were active in local politics and in the judiciary. Alfred A. *Benesch (1879–1973) served for 37 years on the Cleveland Board of Education, Maurice Maschke (1868–1936) was a Republican leader between 1900 and 1940, and judges Samuel H. *Silbert (1883–1976) and Mary Belle Grossman (1879–1977) had long periods of service on the bench.

World War II and the Establishment of the State of Israel

Of the 8,500 Cleveland men and women who served in the armed forces during World War II, over 200 lost their lives. In 1943 Rabbi Barnett Brickner was selected by the National Jewish Welfare Board to serve as executive chairman of the Committee on Army and Navy Religious Activities and traveled throughout the war theaters. The Telshe Yeshiva was relocated in Cleveland, its rabbis escaping Europe prior to its destruction. Several thousand Holocaust survivors settled in the metropolitan area after the war was over.

In 1945 David *Ben-Gurion met with 17 Americans at the Sonneborn Institute to discuss strategies in anticipation of establishing the State of Israel. Among them was former Cleveland law director Ezra Z. *Shapiro (1903–1971), who would later immigrate to Israel to head *Keren Hayesod. Continuing his activist role in rallying the community to the Zionist cause, Abba Hillel Silver dramatically addressed the United Nations in 1947 calling for a Jewish state. Over the years, after the establishment of the state, the Israeli landscape would become dotted with schools, synagogues, community centers, parks, and businesses bearing the names of Cleveland-area philanthropists and Zionists, including Max Apple, the Mandel, Ratner, and Stone families, and the Cleveland sections of ZOA, Hadassah, Na'amat USA, Amit Women, and the Histadrut.

Post–World War II through the 1970s

The trickle of families into the Eastern suburbs accelerated after World War II, and the bulk of the population relocated to Cleveland Heights, Shaker Heights, South Euclid, University Heights, and Beachwood despite some restrictive covenants that were overturned. Institutions quickly followed, leading to the merger of no fewer than 15 smaller Orthodox congregations into Taylor Road Synagogue, Warrensville Center Synagogue, Green Road Synagogue, and Heights Jewish Center. The massive Cleveland Jewish Center, originally Anshe Emeth, relocated from Glenville into an architecturally notable building in Cleveland Heights designed by Eric Mendelsohn, and became known as Park Synagogue. This congregation had joined the Conservative movement earlier in the century after a fierce legal battle. The Reform movement experienced growth in the suburbs as well. Two new congregations, Emanu El and Suburban Temple, were founded. Arthur J. *Lelyveld (1913–1996) led Anshe Chesed Fairmount Temple from 1958 to 1986. Active in the civil rights movement, Lelyveld was severely beaten in Mississippi in 1964, and also officiated at the funeral of slain civil rights worker Andrew Goodman. At the Temple-Tifereth Israel, Daniel Jeremy Silver (1928–1989) became senior rabbi upon the death of his father, Abba Hillel Silver; he oversaw that congregation's building of a satellite structure in the suburbs, published several scholarly works, and was instrumental in establishing the National Foundation for Jewish Culture.

Although a 1962 book called Cleveland "a city without Jews," this was not strictly accurate, as Beth Israel-The West Temple served the Jews living on Cleveland's West Side. This small congregation made several important contributions to Cleveland's Jewish history. Scientists were important in its founding, among them Abe Silverstein (1920–2002), who worked at the nearby NASA Lewis Research Station and contributed to the Mercury and Apollo programs of the U.S. space effort. One of the congregation's students, Sally *Priesand, went on to become the nation's first female rabbi, and in 1963 three of its members founded the Cleveland Council on Soviet Antisemitism, the first known advocacy group in the Soviet Jewry movement which would eventually lead to some 6,000 Jews from the former Soviet Union settling in Northeast Ohio.

This was an extremely productive time for the Jewish Community Federation, which in 1951 merged its two divisions, the Jewish Welfare Federation and the Jewish Community Council. Under the leadership of Sidney Z. Vincent (1912–1982) and Henry L. Zucker (1910–1998), the Federation was the first in the nation to directly fund day school education (to the Orthodox Hebrew Academy), pioneered leadership training courses, and developed a comprehensive approach to building endowment funds. Cleveland was subsequently known as the most successful city in the United States in per capita fundraising as well as a training ground for future federation directors. In later years, Boston, Pittsburgh, Atlanta, Seattle, and New York, among others, would be headed by individuals who started their careers in Cleveland.

The workforce moved from the labor unions into the professions, service industries, light manufacturing, and banking. Fewer spoke Yiddish, and the longtime Yiddish newspaper ceased publication in 1952. In 1964 the two English-language newspapers became the *Cleveland Jewish News*, which continues as an independent publication.

1975 to 2006

In the last quarter of the 20th century and into the 21st, the Cleveland Jewish community has been concerned with geography and identity. The numbers appear to have remained constant; although a 1987 population survey showed a decline to 65,000, the 1996 survey estimated the population to be 81,500, casting some doubts on the previous survey's methodology. The inner ring eastern suburbs house nearly half of this population, yet movement to more affluent areas farther east continues, including institutions. A concerted effort by the Jewish Community Federation to slow population movement from Cleveland Heights has succeeded to some extent in keeping several centers of Jewish life viable. In Cleveland Heights, the Taylor Road area is home to kosher stores, the Jewish Education Center of Cleveland (a reconfigured Bureau of Jewish Education, founded earlier in the century), several Orthodox synagogues, including a Taylor Road Synagogue with a much smaller membership, and two large Orthodox day schools. Hebrew Academy, Cleveland's first day school, continues to thrive in its Taylor Road location, while the ultra-Orthodox-built Mosdos Ohr Hatorah's girl's division is close by. Park Synagogue (Conservative) has its main sanctuary several blocks away, and a new egalitarian traditional congregation purchased Sinai Synagogue, whose members now meet farther east in University Heights. Chevrei Tikva, a congregation reaching out to gays and lesbians (founded in 1983), also meets in Cleveland Heights. In University Heights, Fuchs Mizrachi School (founded in 1983) has grown rapidly to over 300 students, from preschool through high school in a Zionist, Orthodox setting.

Another center of Orthodox life flourishes in the Green Road area, the border between Beachwood and University Heights. Green Road Synagogue moved here in 1972, later joined by Chabad of Beachwood and Young Israel in reconverted houses. In the late 1990s, Chabad, Young Israel, and the Hebrew Academy proposed building plans for an Orthodox campus in this location, which were accepted, rejected, and then accepted with modifications during a period of contentious discussions noted nationally as an example of dissension within the Jewish community. The Jewish Federation created a task force, B'Yachad/Together, to try to heal some of these rifts. The Beatrice Stone Yavne School for Girls has since been built, as has the new Young Israel building, with Chabad under construction at this writing. The Green Road area also has kosher food stores, restaurants, and gift shops.

The Laura and Alvin Siegal College of Jewish Studies, formerly housed on Taylor Road, moved to a new building in Beachwood, which it shares with the Agnon School, a community day school. This campus also houses the Mandel Jewish Community Center in its only remaining building now that the Cleveland Heights JCC has been sold; the eastern satellite of Temple-Tifereth Israel; and the new (2005) Milton and Tamar Maltz Museum of Jewish Heritage, a collaborative effort of the Temple-Tifereth Israel, the Jewish Community Federation, and the Maltz family, with many artifacts and documents from the Cleveland Jewish Archives collections of the Western Reserve Historical Society. Slightly to the east in Pepper Pike are B'nai Jeshurun and the Gross Schechter School, both associated with the Conservative movement.

Despite continued strength in the inner suburbs, buildings housing Jewish institutions continue to be constructed in suburbs farther east, with a new branch of the Cleveland Hebrew Schools under construction in Solon, Montefiore Home's assisted living facility in Bainbridge, along with several small congregations.

Mt. Sinai Hospital, after a near century of providing outstanding health care, research breakthroughs, and opportunities for Jewish physicians, was sold to a for-profit health care system that eventually dissolved the hospital. Jewish physicians and scientists have increasingly made their mark at the Cleveland Clinic, University Hospitals, and Case Western Reserve University, where earlier Albert *Michelson (1852–1931) won a Nobel Prize in 1907, and Harry Goldblatt (1891–1977) made notable contributions in the field of renal hypertension. Philanthropic dollars have constructed major buildings at each of these facilities, including the Lerner Research Building and the Sam and Maria Miller Emergency Room at the Cleveland Clinic, the Mandel School of Advanced Social Services, the Peter B. Lewis Building of the Weatherhead Business School and the Wolstein Research Building at Case Western Reserve University, and the Horvitz Tower at Rainbow Babies and Children's Hospital. In the business world, the Stone and Weiss families continue to lead the American Greetings Corporation, the Ratner family heads Forest City Enterprises, a major construction firm, and Peter Lewis' Progressive Insurance Company employs over 14,000 workers.

In politics, Beryl Rothschild, Harvey Friedman, and Merle Gordon served as mayors of University Heights and Beachwood; in addition to Howard Metzenbaum in the U.S. Senate, Eric Fingerhut has represented the district in Ohio state government. Milton A. Wolf served as ambassador to Austria during the Carter administration.

Contributions to the Arts and Popular Culture

Cleveland Jews have enriched the cultural life of the community in many areas. In literature, Martha Wolfenstein, Jo *Sinclair, Herbert *Gold, Jerome Lawrence, and more recently, Alix Kates Shulman, Susan Orlean, and Harvey Pekar worked in Northeast Ohio. David Dietz was a noted science writer, while David B. Guralnik (1920–2001) was the chief editor of *Webster's New World Dictionary* for more than 40 years. Abraham H. Friedland, Libbie Braverman (1900–1990), and Bea Stadtler (1921–2000) wrote in the field of Jewish education. In the visual arts, Max Kalish (1891–1945), William *Zorach (1887–1966), and Louis Loeb were sculptors, Abel and Alex Warshawsky were painters, and Louis Rorimer (1872–1939) was influential in interior design. In music, Nikolai Sokoloff (1886–1965) was the first conductor of the Cleveland Orchestra; composer Ernest *Bloch (1880–1959) was the first director of the Cleveland School of Music and Arthur *Loesser (1894–1969) and Beryl *Rubinstein (1898–1952) led the piano departments at the school. Cleveland has also been called the birthplace of rock and roll music, beginning with the 1952 Moondog Coronation Ball, led by disk jockey Alan *Freed (1922–1965). Dorothy Fuldheim (1893–1989) was the first woman in America with her own television news program. Some Cleveland Jewish individuals and families have long been interested in professional sports. Max Rosenblum founded a professional basketball team in the 1920s. Members of the Gries family, Art *Modell, and Alfred Lerner all owned or shared in the ownership of the Cleveland Browns football team.

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[Jane Avner (2nd ed.)]

CLEVES (**Cleve**), town and historic duchy in North Rhine-Westphalia, Germany. Jews are mentioned in the duchy in 1142 (see *Xanten), but were granted a charter of privilege only in 1361. Patents granting them freedom of movement (*Geleitbriefe*) were issued in 1647–51 and 1713–20. In 1750 a *Generaljudenregelment* tightened the regulations concerning tax collecting and controlled Jewish settlement by restricting residence to the eldest son of the family. The taxes paid by the Jews to the central government in Berlin (*Schutzgelder*) were regulated in conventions (*Landtage*) representing the Jews of the duchy (*Landjudenschaft*). Their minutes (*Protokolbuch*) comprise the period from 1690 to 1817. The *Landtage*, headed by a *shtadlan*, the chief rabbi (*Landrabbiner*), and tax collectors (*Steuerrezeptoren*), convened every three years in the town of Cleves alternating with Kalkar and Wesel.

Jews in the town of Cleves are mentioned in 1333, and in the city ordinances of the 16th century ("*von der Joeden Koepmanschip*"). A cemetery was opened in the town in the 17th century, and a synagogue was erected in 1671. The banker Elijah *Gomperz (d. 1689) was community leader and chief tax collector for the duchy and in his position as *Court Jew interceded on behalf of his brethren with the authorities. The *Leibzoll* (body tax) imposed on Jews in Cleves was abolished in 1789. The town of Cleves was the seat of the *Landrabbiner*, among whom the most important were Judah Mehler (1661–1751) and Israel *Lipschuetz (appointed in 1763). The community in Cleves numbered four families in 1661, 19 in 1739, 22 in 1787, 142 persons in 1812, 185 in 1880, 134 in 1900, and 158 in 1933. An elementary school was founded in 1862, and two charitable societies in 1762 and 1825. After the establishment of the Nazi regime, most of the Jews left Cleves; 50 remained in 1939 and about 30 were deported to the East in 1941–43.

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[Chasia Turtel]

CLEVES GET. During 1766–67, a great controversy flared up, which was to become known as the Cleves *get* (bill of divorce), one of the causes célèbres of the 18th century. Though its focal point was Frankfurt, it came to involve most of the great scholars of the day. On Elul 8, 5526 (August 14, 1766), Isaac (Itzik), son of Eliezer Neiberg of Mannheim, married Leah, daughter of Jacob Guenzhausen of Bonn. On the Sabbath following the wedding the bridegroom took 94 gold crowns of the dowry and disappeared. After an extensive search he was found two days later in the house of a non-Jew in the village of Farenheim and brought home. A few days later Isaac informed his wife's family that he could no longer stay in Germany because of the grave danger which threatened him there, and that he was obliged to immigrate to England. He declared his willingness to give his wife a divorce in order to prevent her from becoming an *agunah. His offer was accepted, and Cleves on the German-Dutch border was selected as the place for the *get* to be given. Consequently, on the 22nd of Elul, Israel b. Eliezer *Lipschuetz, the *av bet din* of Cleves, effected the divorce. Leah returned to Mannheim and Isaac proceeded to England. When his father learned of the divorce, he suspected that the whole affair had been contrived by the woman's relatives to extort the dowry money from Isaac. He turned to R. Tevele Hess of Mannheim who invalidated the *get* on the grounds that in his view the husband was not of sound mind when he delivered it. Hess, not relying upon his own judgment, applied to the *bet din* of Frankfurt and to Naphtali Hirsch Katzenellenbogen of Pfalz, Eliezer Katzenellenbogen of Hagenau, and Joseph Steinhardt of Fuerth, requesting their confirmation of his ruling. The *bet din* of Frankfurt, headed by Abraham b. Ẓevi Hirsch of Lissau, not only agreed, but demanded that Lipschuetz himself declare the *get* invalid and proclaim Leah to be still a married woman. The rabbis of Pfalz, Hagenau, and Fuerth, on the other hand, upheld Lipschuetz, declared the divorce valid, and the woman free to remarry. Both sides appealed to all the rabbinical authorities of the time. The rabbi of Cleves received the support of almost all of the leading scholars of the generation, among them Saul b. Aryeh Leib *Loewenstamm of Amsterdam, Jacob *Emden, Ezekiel *Landau of Prague, Isaac *Horowitz of Hamburg, David of Dessau, Aryeh of Metz, Elhanan of Danzig, Solomon b. Moses of Chelm, and ten scholars of the *klaus* (*bet-midrash*) of Brody. The *bet din* of Frankfurt was virtually alone in its opposition. The moving spirit in the dispute was the Frankfurt *dayyan*, Nathan b. Solomon Maas, on whose initiative the Frankfurt rabbis even went so far as publicly and with solemn ceremony to commit to flames the responsa of the Polish rabbis in protest against their intervention in favor of Lipschuetz. The couple finally remarried and out of deference to the opinion of Rabbi Abraham of Frankfurt, no blessings were pronounced at the ceremony. Instead the groom said that "with this ring you are still married to me." The complete episode of the Cleves divorce was recorded in *Or ha-Yashar* (Amsterdam, 1769) by Aaron Simeon Copenhagen who had followed the events and who had himself played a part in the granting of the *get*. Israel Lipschuetz devoted no less than 37 of his responsa to the polemic in his *Or Yisrael* (Cleves, 1770).

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[Shlomo Tal]

°**CLINTON, WILLIAM JEFFERSON** (**Bill**; 1946–), 42nd president of the United States. Clinton was born in Hope, Arkansas. He was attorney general of the state in 1977–79 and then served as governor in 1979–81 and 1983–93.

Although Clinton came from a state with a small Jewish community, he polled exceedingly well among Jewish voters in both the presidential primaries and the general election of 1992. In the general election he polled dramatically better among Jewish voters (80 percent) than any Democratic presidential nominee since Hubert Humphrey in 1968.

His close relationship with the African-American community led more than one African-American leader to remark that Clinton was the first black president. Similarly, his policies, his opening up of the White House to numerous Jewish events, and his remarkable ability to empathize with Jewish audiences led Jewish leaders to claim Clinton as one of their own.

Never before in American history have Jewish Americans had such a role in a presidential administration. Five Jews – Robert E. *Rubin, Lawrence H. *Summers, Daniel R. *Glickman, Mickey *Kantor, and Robert B. *Reich – were part of the Clinton cabinet. Moreover, both of his Supreme Court nominees (Stephen *Breyer and Ruth Bader *Ginsburg), and many other cabinet-level officials (such as UN Ambassador Richard *Holbrooke, National Security Advisor Samuel R. *Berger, Trade Representative Charlene *Barshevsky, and OMB Director Jack *Lew) were Jewish.

Clinton took an intense personal interest in the Middle East peace process from his earliest days in office. Once Israelis and Palestinians reached an agreement in secret talks held in Oslo, Clinton arranged for the PLO's Yasser *Arafat and Israel's Prime Minister Yitzhak *Rabin to sign the Oslo Declaration of Principles on the White House lawn on September 13, 1993.

The president worked with four Israeli prime ministers – Rabin, Shimon *Peres, Binyamin *Netanyahu, and Ehud *Barak – to try to arrange peace accords between Israel, the Palestinian Authority, Syria, and Jordan. He hosted successful early efforts to construct the peace treaty that Rabin and King *Hussein of Jordan signed in 1994; he attended the Sharm El-Sheikh summit in an attempt to shore up Peres' peace efforts in 1996; he hosted Netanyahu and Yasser Arafat at the Wye River conference in 1998; and he attempted to bring about a Golan deal between Syria and Barak in Shephardstown, West

Virginia, in 2000. Clinton tried in vain to persuade Arafat to accept generous peace offers from Barak at Camp David in summer of 2000 and again in January 2001 in Washington.

For Israelis he is perhaps best remembered for his close friendship with Prime Minister Rabin and his moving eulogy at Rabin's Jerusalem funeral in which he closed with the memorable words "*Shalom ḥaver*" ("Goodbye, friend").

Clinton's strong personal commitment to seeking Arab-Israeli peace agreements did not endear him to everyone in the American Jewish community. Some criticized him for investing too much in the peace process and for meeting too often during the peace process with Arafat. But these criticisms did not damage him among the vast majority of American Jewish voters, who continued to support him strongly on both his progressive domestic policies and his Middle East polices. In the 1996 election Clinton captured 78% of the Jewish vote.

Despite the Lewinsky scandal, President Clinton remained very popular with both American Jews and Israelis throughout his second term and into his post–White House years. As late as 2004–5 he remained among the most highly regarded political figures in both Israel and the American Jewish community.

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[Ira Forman (2nd ed.)]

°CLOOTS, JEAN BAPTISTE DU VAL-DE-GRÂCE, BARON DE (later adopted the name **Anacharsis**; 1755–1794), French revolutionary who was born in Germany. Before and after the outbreak of the French Revolution, Cloots envisioned the emergence of a "Universal Republic." In 1783 he published in Berlin a "Letter on the Jews to a Priest, One of my Friends." In this he ascribed the survival of Jews not to supernatural causes but to their specific function as the main promoters of trade in the world throughout the ages. Unlike most of the French rationalists, Cloots was not anti-Jewish, considering then that the existence of Jews as a distinct trading class was beneficial to the human race. Shortly after he published his famous *La République Universelle* (1792) expressing extreme cosmopolitan views, there appeared a curious public letter addressed to him written in the name of world Jewry by someone who called himself "Samuel Levi, Prince of the Diaspora" (*Chronique de Paris* (April 3, 1792), 374–5). The letter calls upon all Jews in the world to see France as their promised land, and the French Revolution as the real fulfillment of the promises given to Israel. The name and title of the alleged author, and the striking similarity to Cloots's style, makes it probable that he wrote the letter to himself. One of the group of Hébertists with whom Cloots was guillotined in 1794 was his lifelong Jewish friend, J. Pereire, an adherent of the "cult of reason."

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[Baruch Mevorah]

CLORE, SIR CHARLES (1904–1979), British financier, industrialist, and philanthropist. Clore was born in London of immigrant Russian parents. His commercial ability was early revealed in a variety of transactions. He attracted public attention after World War II when, over a period of seven years, he bought a shipbuilding firm, one of England's leading shoe companies, and a Scottish road haulage firm. The cost of these three purchases totaled nearly $50,000,000, and they became prototypes of the "take-over bid," a method of gaining control of large public companies by direct approach to shareholders and without necessarily consulting the directors. Within a short time Clore became the center of public controversy. Critics claimed that his take-over bids would eventually undermine confidence in company management. Nevertheless, takeover bids soon became a common feature of British industry. In 1965 Clore purchased a chain of stores at a price of nearly $150,000,000. His vast building projects involved the reshaping of whole sections of central London. A staunch Zionist, Clore gave large donations to the development of Israel, notably to the Weizmann Institute at Reḥovot, and was one of the founders of Wolfson, Clore, Mayer and Co., an investment company in Israel. He also contributed millions of pounds to general philanthropic causes, especially to British universities. Clore was knighted in 1971. He established the Clore Foundation as a leading charitable trust. Since his death in 1979 its head has been Clore's daughter Dame Vivien Duffield. Now known as the Clore Duffield Foundation, it has given away more than £11 million, largely to museums, and is chiefly responsible for funding the construction of the Clore Gallery at London's Tate Museum.

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[Moshe Rosetti]

°CLOTAIRE II (Clothar, Lothaire, Lothar), ruler of the Merovingian kingdom of the Franks from 584 to 629. His rule, fully established in 613, was moderately successful, and was free from the civil wars which had marred the reigns of his father and uncles. Shortly after becoming confirmed as king, he called a Church council in Paris (Oct. 18, 614), the fifth to meet there, to obtain the support of the Church. Clotaire seems to have employed Jews as military and civilian officials. The practice was sufficiently commonplace for the council at Paris to decree that Jews were henceforth forbidden to exercise military or civil jurisdiction over Christians. It did not, however, interfere with the internal affairs of the Jewish community. The Church seemed to have had little faith that Clotaire would, in fact, ban these important officials from royal service, as is evidenced by the further decree that a Jew who retained a position which exercised power over Christians should forthwith be baptized with his family. Though Clotaire ratified the acts of the council, there is no evidence that he enforced them.

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[Bernard Bachrach]

CLUJ (Hung. **Kolozsvár**; Ger. **Klausenburg**), city in western Romania, the cultural, industrial, and political center of Transylvania; from 1790 to 1848 and 1861 to 1867 capital of Transylvania; until 1920 and between 1940 and 1944 in Hungary. Today the official name of the city is Cluj-Napoca, in commemoration of its two-thousand-year history, going back to the time it was built by the Roman occupiers of Dacia after the Roman-Dacian wars of 101–102 C.E. The earliest mention of the city under the name of Napoca also dates from the times of Roman Dacia, that is, the second century. Jews visited the Cluj fairs in the 16th and 17th centuries (but the earliest mention of a Jew there is from 1481). A Jew is also mentioned there in 1769. Eight Jewish families are recorded at Cluj in the census of 1780. In 1784 the municipal council prohibited the inhabitants from selling real estate to Jews, and Jews were forbidden to lodge temporarily in the city: a prolonged struggle on the question of Jewish rights ensued. In 1807 the Jews in Cluj opened a prayer room, and by 1818 the community, then numbering 40 persons, had a synagogue, constructed of reeds. A *ḥevra kaddisha* was founded in 1837. Fifteen Jewish families were permitted to remain in the city in 1839 but were debarred from accommodating additional Jews in their houses. When in 1840 the Jews applied for permission to fence in their cemetery, the request was rejected on the ground that their presence had no legal authorization. With the revolution of 1848 the prohibition on Jewish residence was abolished, and subsequently the Jewish population rapidly increased. The Jews in Cluj at first engaged mainly in commerce, trading especially in goods from the Orient, notably Turkey. They later entered the crafts and, during the 19th century, the professions. The Jewish population of Cluj in 1857 was 231.

The rabbis and *dayyanim* in Cluj, on whom information is available from 1812, were subject to the supervision of the chief rabbi of Transylvania, in Alba Iulia. The Great Synagogue was inaugurated in 1850. The first rabbi, Hillel *Lichtenstein, who officiated from 1851 to 1853, had to leave after opposition by a section of the community and his failure to obtain a certificate from the Transylvanian chief rabbi. Immediately after 1868, when Hungarian Jews divided into three religious groups, the majority of the Jewish inhabitants of Cluj remained Orthodox. The rabbi of Cluj from 1863 to 1877 was Abraham Glasner. He was opposed by the ḥasidic movement then gaining ground.

The first convention of Transylvanian Jewry was held at Cluj in 1886. The community was organized on an Orthodox basis in 1869. A short-lived *Reform community was then also established. Moses *Glasner, Orthodox rabbi from 1878 to 1922, took a leading role in communal affairs. The *status quo community, organized in Cluj in 1881 and affiliated to the neologist communities, built a magnificent synagogue in the principal avenue of the city (opened in 1887 and still standing in 1970). Mátyás Eisler was appointed its rabbi in 1891. The Ḥasidim established a separate communal organization in 1921. The small Neolog community in Cluj included mostly Jewish professionals assimilated to Hungarian culture. The first Neolog synagogue was built in 1867–68.

In 1910 the Jewish population of the city represented 11% of the entire population. After World War I the Jewish national movement was active in Cluj. Cluj remained the center of the Zionist movement for Transylvania, although some of its offices were later transferred to *Timisoara. By the end of 1918 *Uj Kelet, a lively Zionist weekly, later a daily, began publication in Cluj. It had a large readership and became a leading influence among the Jews of Transylvania and Romania. The newspaper was also the organ of the (principally Zionist) Jewish Party (*Partidul Evreiesc*), some of whose local activists were elected to the Romanian Parliament. A printing press set up in Cluj in 1910 operated until the Holocaust. After World War II the newspaper moved to Israel, where it continued to appear into the 21st century.

The schools of the Cluj community attracted pupils throughout Transylvania. The Orthodox community opened an elementary school in 1870, and the neologist community opened one in 1904. A Hebrew *Tarbut secondary school, started in 1920, took the lead in education of the youth until closed by the Romanian authorities in 1927; its director, Mark Antal, was former director general of the Ministry of Education and Culture of Hungary. After Cluj had been annexed by Hungary – in 1940, as a consequence of the Vienna award of Hitler and Mussolini – and Jewish children were prohibited from attending general schools, a Jewish secondary school for boys and girls was opened in October 1940; it remained open until both pupils and teachers were interned in the ghetto.

The Jewish population numbered 231 in 1857; 994 in 1869; 2,414 (7.4% of the total population) in 1891; 7,046 (11.6%) in 1910; 10,633 in 1920; 14,000 (13.4%) in 1927; and 13,504 in 1930. After the Hungarian annexation in 1940, anti-Jewish measures and economic restrictions were imposed, followed by physical persecution. A large number of Jewish males were drafted into forced labor and transported to the eastern front to the Nazi-occupied area of the Soviet Union, where most of them perished. In the summer of 1941, several hundred Jews who could not prove their citizenship were deported to the area of Kamenets-Podolski, where they were massacred. In May 1944, after the Germans entered Hungary, a ghetto was set up in the Iris brickyard in the northern part of the city. At its peak it contained approximately 18,000 Jews, including those brought in from Szamosújvár and from the neighboring communities in Kolozs County. The Jews were deported in six transports between May 25 and June 9. Exempted from the deportation were 388 Jews who were taken to Budapest on June 10. Their transfer to Budapest was part of a controversial agreement between Rezsö (Rudolph) *Kasztner and other leaders of the Budapest-based Relief and Rescue Committee (the *Va'adah*) and the SS. These Jews were included in the so-called Kasztner transport of 1,684 Jews, which left Budapest on June 30, 1944, and, after an ordeal of several months in a special camp in Bergen-Belsen, ended up in Switzerland.

The few survivors who returned to Cluj from the camps, with those who had joined them from other localities, numbered 6,500 in 1947. Community life was subsequently reorganized. A Communist-inspired local Jewish organization was also set up, principally to fight the remnants of Zionism; Zionist activities continued until 1949. By 1970 only 1,100 Jews (340 families) remained registered with the community. Prayers were held in three synagogues. The unified communal organization maintained a kosher butcher and canteen. Community life was declining, however, and Jews were leaving Cluj. At the turn of the century there were about 300 Jews in Cluj, mostly elderly and ill.

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[Yehouda Marton / Paul Schveiger and Randolph Braham (2nd ed.)]

CLUNY (Heb. קלינו), town near Mâcon, central France. Although there were no Jews residing in medieval Cluny, those living in the region, notably in *Chalon-sur-Saône, had transactions with the famous abbey of Cluny, lending money to it to ensure the security of religious objects. *Peter the Venerable, abbot of Cluny (d. 1156), opposed the practice, and the Statutes of Cluny of 1301 expressly forbade borrowing from Jews. Nathan b. Joseph *Official took part in a religious *disputation with the abbot of Cluny. During another disputation in Cluny, in 1254, the Jewish speaker was killed by a Christian knight.

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[Bernhard Blumenkranz]

CLURMAN, HAROLD (1901–1980), U.S. theater director and drama critic. Born in New York City, Clurman studied at Columbia University and the University of Paris. When he returned to the U.S., he became involved with the Greenwich Village Theater. In 1931 he joined with Lee *Strasberg to become the founder and director of the Group Theater, one of the most significant attempts to sustain a repertory company in the U.S. Influenced by the principles of naturalism, social consciousness, and the "method" theory of Stanislavsky, Clurman directed plays by Clifford Odets for the Group, and also several Broadway successes. The Group disbanded in 1941. While most of the members moved to Hollywood, Clurman stayed on and directed a series of important plays on Broadway, including *The Member of the Wedding* (1950), *Tiger at the Gates* (1955), *Bus Stop* (1956), *Pipe Dream* (1956), *The Waltz of the Toreadors* (1957), *Touch of the Poet* by Eugene O'Neill (1957), *A Shot in the Dark* (1962), *Incident at Vichy* by Arthur Miller (1965), and *Where's Daddy?* (1966). He was nominated for four Tony awards for Best Director.

As drama critic for *The New Republic* from 1948, and *The Nation* from 1952, he earned a reputation as a serious commentator. His special interest in Jewish theater was reflected in essays on the Yiddish stage and directing assignments for *Habimah. His books include *The Fervent Years* (1946), an account of the Group Theater; *Lies Like Truth* (1958) a collection of drama criticism; *Naked Image* (1966), observations on modern theater; *On Directing* (1972); *The Divine Pastime: Theater Essays* (1974); *All People Are Famous: Instead of an Autobiography* (1974); *Ibsen* (1977); and *Nine Plays of the Modern Theater* (1981).

In 1943 he married actress and director Stella *Adler; they divorced in 1960.

[Raphael Rothstein / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

COALITION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF JEWISH EDUCATION (CAJE; formerly Coalition for Alternatives in Jewish Education). The Coalition for Alternatives in Jewish Education (CAJE) was conceived in Boston in 1975 by a group of graduate students from the North American Jewish Students' Network, whose primary goal was to make a contribution to the improvement of the quality of Jewish education. These students sought to present alternatives to Jewish educational organizations, which they said served administrators and were divided, counterproductively, into Orthodox, Conservative, and Reform denominations. CAJE's first task was the organization of a conference to serve as a forum for "teaching, learning, and sharing."

The first CAJE conference, held in 1976 at Brown University in Providence, Rhode Island, attracted 500 participants. Since that time, conferences have been held yearly in sites throughout the United States and have grown steadily in both size and content. Conferences now include workshops, lectures, movies, seminars, and displays of educational materials.

Membership in CAJE and participation in its conferences are open to anyone concerned with the transmission of Jewish custom, culture, and belief. No standards or prerequisites exist, and members are composed of various ages and ideological, professional, and geographical backgrounds. Orthodox, Conservative, Reform, Reconstructionist, and secular Jews come together with the common goal of improving Jewish education. The coalition's constituents come primarily from North America, but also from Europe, Israel, Morocco, and Australia.

Based in New York, CAJE has become the largest North American Jewish educators' organization. Its ongoing aim is to enhance the professional development and dignity of the Jewish teacher and thereby elevate the status of Jewish education on the Jewish communal agenda. To that end, CAJE continually seeks to provide services that will facilitate the members' personal and professional development. Such services include access to CAJE's entire database of lesson plans via e-mail or snail mail; online access to material about Jewish festivals; subscriptions to CAJE's curricular publications and *Jewish Education News*; grants of up to $10,000 for innovative educational projects; 16 CAJE networks by which to connect with members who have similar interests as well as exchange opinions via an online discussion group; mini-CAJE programs held in various locations throughout the year; opportunities to learn with master teachers via an online video and audio website; a training program to become a mentor for new teachers; affordable medical, long-term care, and life insurance benefits; and a website that posts professional employment opportunities.

CAJE's annual conferences attract some 1,500 Jewish educators, including classroom teachers, principals, rabbis, cantors, camp and youth work personnel, academicians, writers, artists, students, and lay leaders. In addition, participants can purchase a wide range of Judaic products from the hundreds of vendors at the conferences.

CAJE believes that if assimilation is the greatest threat to the future of American Jewry, then Jewish education is the key to securing its continuation.

[Roberta Rebold / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

COBB, LEE J. (**Leo Jacoby**; 1911–1976), U.S. actor. Born in New York City, Cobb studied at New York University. He then performed with the Group Theater, N.Y., during the 1930s, acting in *Waiting for Lefty, Golden Boy, The Gentle People*, and *Winged Victory*. His portrayal of Willy Loman in Arthur *Miller's Pulitzer Prize-winning play *Death of a Salesman* (1949) won him awards. Miller wrote the part specifically for him in the original stage play.

In 1951 Cobb was named by Larry Parks as having left-wing views and was called to testify before the House Un-American Activities Committee. For two years he refused to appear, during which time his passport was confiscated, he was followed and threatened, and his wife suffered a breakdown and was institutionalized as a result of the pressure. In 1953, worn down, out of money, unemployable, and with a family to support, he succumbed and named 20 people as former members of the Communist Party. After giving evidence, he was able to go back to work. In his 1987 book *Timebends – A Life*, Arthur Miller describes the situation in this way: "I could not help thinking of Lee Cobb, my first Willy Loman, as more a pathetic victim than a villain, a big blundering actor who simply wanted to act, had never put in for heroism, and was one of the best proofs I knew of the Committee's pointless brutality toward artists. Lee, as political as my foot, was simply one more dust speck swept up in the 1930s idealization of the Soviets, which the Depression's disillusionment had brought on all over the West."

Cobb appeared in many motion pictures, including *Ali Baba Goes to Town* (1937), *Golden Boy* (1939), *The Moon Is Down* (1943), *Anna and the King of Siam* (1946), *Johnny O'Clock* (1947), *Sirocco* (1951), *On The Waterfront* (Oscar nomination for Best Supporting Actor, 1954), *The Left Hand of God* (1955), *The Man in the Gray Flannel Suit* (1956), *12 Angry Men* (1957), *Three Faces of Eve* (1957), *The Brothers Karamazov* (Oscar nomination for Best Supporting Actor, 1958), *Exodus* (1960), *The Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse* (1962), *How the West Was Won* (1962), *Come Blow Your Horn* (1963), *Our Man Flint* (1966), *Coogan's Bluff* (1968), *The Liberation of L.B. Jones* (1970), *The Man Who Loved Cat Dancing* (1973), *The Exorcist* (1973), and *That Lucky Touch* (1975).

Television audiences knew him as Judge Henry Garth (1962–66) on the TV western series *The Virginian*. In 1966 he played Willy Loman again, this time in the TV version of *Death of a Salesman*, a role that earned him an Emmy nomination. In the short-lived series *The Young Lawyers* (1970–71), Cobb played the starring role of attorney David Barrett.

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[Jonathan Licht / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

COBURG, city in Bavaria, Germany. At the beginning of the 14th century mention is made of a "Jewish lane" in the city, closed by the "Jews' gate," and a village near Coburg is called Judenbach. The community suffered in the *Black Death massacres, 1348–49. By 1420 it consisted of only eight families which in 1423 received permission to establish a cemetery, later known as "Jews' hill." In 1447 the Jews were expelled from the city, and the synagogue and cemetery were confiscated. Jews again began to settle in Coburg during the second half of the 19th century. In the 1870s they were granted permission to lease permanently the Church of St. Nicholas for conversion into a synagogue. From 1931 an unofficial boycott was imposed against Jewish businesses. In 1932 the municipal council abrogated the lease of St. Nicholas Church, and a year later the synagogue was closed down (it still remains standing). On March 25, 1933, 40 Jews in Coburg were arrested and tortured. They were not released until the affair became internationally known. On November 9, 1938, all Jewish men were interned and Jewish homes, shops, and the school were destroyed. The community numbered 68 in 1869, 210 (1.3% of the total population) in 1880, 316 (1.3%) in 1925, and 233 (0.9%) in 1933. Around 150 managed to leave by 1942, either emigrating from Germany or moving to other German cities. The rest were deported to Riga, Izbica, and Theresienstadt in three transports between November 1941 and September 1942. The community was not reestablished after the war.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Germ Jud, 2 (1968), 150–1. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** H. Fromm, *Die Coburger Juden* (2001).

[Ze'ev Wilhem Falk]

COCA (**Cauca**), town in Castile, central Spain. The first documents regarding its Jewish community date from the 13th century. An episode in 1320 brought it into prominence. A Jewish woman had committed adultery with a Christian and then had their child baptized. The infante Juan Manual permitted his Jewish courtier Judah ibn Wakar to judge her according to Jewish law; he ordered her nose to be cut off, and R. *Asher b. Jehiel (*Responsa*, 18:13) endorsed the decision as providing a deterrent to immorality among the Jewish communities.

In 1474 the community paid 700 maravedis as its annual tax. Taxes for the war against Granada reached 16,300 maravedis in 1491. No details are known about the fate of the community in the expulsion of the Jews from Spain in the following year.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Baer, Spain, 1 (1962), 323; Baer, Urkunden, index; Suárez Fernández, Documentos, 67, 78.

[Haim Beinart]

°**COCCEIUS (Koch), JOHANNES** (1603–1669), Bible scholar and Orientalist. German by birth, he studied philology, theology, and philosophy at Bremen (1620) and from 1626 onwards Hebrew and Oriental languages in Franeker under the tutelage of Sixtinus Amama, one of the initiators of rabbinical studies in the Dutch Republic. Cocceius taught *philologia sacra* in Bremen (1630) and Hebrew in Franeker (1636; after 1643 also theology). From 1650 until his death in 1669 he held the theology chair at Leiden University. Before his academic studies he took private lessons in Hebrew with a Jew in Hamburg. Cocceius is also known to have had contacts with Rabbi Jacob *Abendana, who worked with his younger brother Isaac on the first translation of the Mishnah into European languages. Cocceius's writings include commentaries on all the books of the Bible, works on philology and dogmatics, including his famous *Summa doctrinae de foedere et testamento Dei* (1648), in which he presented the concept of covenant as a hermeneutical key for the interpretation of the Old and New Testaments. In opposition to the Orthodox Reformed, his followers formed a theological school known as "Cocceians." His inaugural lecture at Leiden (1650) concerned reasons for Jewish disbelief in Christianity and endorsed the traditional Christian expectation of the imminent conversion of the Jews. In another work entitled *Consideratio responsionis judaicae ad viginti tres quaestiones, et quaestionum repositarum* (Amsterdam, 1662) he discussed the responses of a Portuguese Jew to 23 questions posed by a Roman Catholic. On the initiative of Amama Cocceius had produced (1629) an edition of two tracts of the Mishnah – *Sanhedrin* and *Makkot* – together with extracts from the relevant *gemara*. Each separate mishnah is printed in Hebrew with a parallel Latin translation and notes. In the Hebrew text Cocceius used small circles to indicate those views in the Mishnah which are valid *halakhah*, for which he used the survey of the *Kaf Naḥat*. Cocceius's interest in Judaism as a living legal system was rather uncommon among Christian Hebraists of the 17th century. In the foreword he described the usefulness of rabbinical literature for a better knowledge of Hebrew and a good understanding of the Law of Moses. His main achievement was his Hebrew and Aramaic lexicon (Leiden, 1669). His collected works (*Opera Omnia*, Amsterdam, 1673–75) contain a biography written by his son, Johann Heinrich Cocceius.

ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY: W.J. van Asselt, *The Federal Theology of Johannes Cocceius, 1603–1669* (2001), incl. bibl.; P.T. van Rooden, *Theology, Biblical Scholarship and Rabbinical Studies in the Seventeenth Century* (1989), 119–24; J.C.H. Lebram, in: Th. H. Lunsingh Scheurleer and G.H.M. Posthumus Meyjes (eds.), *Leiden University in the Seventeenth Century: An Exchange of Learning* (1975), 21–63.

[Raphael Loewe / W.J. van Asselt (2nd ed.)]

COCHEM, town in Germany. Jews are first mentioned there in 1242. In 1287, following the *blood libel of Oberwesel, 17 Jews, including 10 children, were massacred in Cochem. In the 14th century the town came under the rule of the archbishops of *Trier, and Jews are frequently mentioned in documents concerning moneylending and property transactions. Cochem Jews were victims of the *Armleder massacres in 1337 and the *Black Death massacres in 1349. There were Jews living in Cochem in 1359; they were expelled in 1418. In the middle of the 16th century Jews are again mentioned in the town but they were expelled in 1589. There is information about Jews in Cochem from the late 18th and early 19th centuries. The community numbered 49 in 1834, 104 in 1894, and 49 in 1932. It came to an end during the Holocaust. The synagogue, built in 1861, was destroyed in 1945. The Jewish cemetery has been preserved.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Germ Jud, 2 (1968), 151–3. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** A. Scheindl (ed.), *Spuren der Vergangenheit* (1996).

CODIFICATION OF LAW. This article is arranged according to the following outline:

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The Concept and Its Prevalence in Other Legal Systems

The term codification, within its historical meaning, is the reduction to writing of a law previously only extant in oral form. In this sense the concept of codification does not differ substantially from legislation. In time, however, the concept of codification came to acquire a different meaning; namely, that whereas legislation serves to lay down a specific normative instruction – with the object either of innovating a legal norm where none had previously existed or of varying and amending an already existing legal norm (in the halakhic system this function is carried out by way of the **takkanah* or **gezerah*) – codification is concerned with circumscribing a whole legal system, or at least a branch of it. The background to codification and its motivation is the realization of the need to eliminate the shortcomings stemming from diverse and universal juridical and historical phenomena, such as the proliferation of legal provisions scattered in different literary sources, the awkward and heterogeneous style of legal directives, and the gradual accumulation of conflicting legal norms within a particular legal system. Furthermore, a codification constitutes the authoritative source for locating any law forming part of a particular legal branch, its directives having the effect of abrogating any other provision of the said branch of the law preceding the codification and inconsistent with it. The hope of the initiators of the great codifications (beginning from the middle of the 18th century, such as the Prussian and Napoleonic Codes) was that such codification would simplify the law and make it understandable and readily available to every citizen. This hope soon proved to be unfounded when it was realized that the interpretation and understanding of the legal profession were still indispensable.

Unlike the great codifying movements which originated and developed in continental Europe, the Anglo-Saxon systems of law have rejected the move to codification because of a difference in approach to the substantive and fundamental problem of providing for the continued development and creativity of the legal system. Whereas continental legal systems deferred to the principle that the continued development of the law, with its amendments and refinement, should be entrusted to the legislator, Anglo-Saxon law has looked upon the doctrine of precedent – i.e., decisions of the courts on actual problems arising in daily life – as the principal medium for the continued shaping of the law, a process in which the courts consequently play an honorable role. The problem of the proliferation and unwieldy nature of the material accumulating from statutory legislation is solved in Anglo-Saxon law by the devices of "Compilation" and "Revision." A Compilation, i.e., a collection of the texts of various statutes arranged according to subject matter, merely provides prima facie evidence of the original version of the statute, to which reference must be made for an authoritative statement of the enacted law. On the other hand, a Revision or Consolidation – which is also a collection of statutes arranged according to subject matter – is deliberately and authoritatively published by the relevant legislative powers, and therefore represents the binding version with regard to variations from the original wording of the statutes. Both a Compilation and a Revision are concerned exclusively with statutes and not with the provisions of Common Law. Only in isolated fields of English law, for example, do codifications exist which include all existing provisions – whether statutory or of Common Law – and which have the binding force of parliamentary enactment. In the United States partial codifications of this kind are more frequently encountered, but even there, except in isolated states, the greater part of the law is still enshrined in Common Law and in regular legislative enactments, whereas in continental Europe all the law is to be found in various codes embracing the separate branches.

In Jewish Law

In Jewish law the question of codification is bound up with the particular problems innate in its substance and history. The principle that a code abrogates any inconsistent rule of earlier date has never been tenable – nor even propagated – within the halakhic system. The determining factor of the *halakhah*, i.e., the basis of its binding force and authority, has been its continuity; and the validity of every rule or norm added to the body of the *halakhah* during the course of its development, through its legal sources (such as *Interpretation, *Takkanah, *Minhag, *Ma'aseh*, and **Sevarah*), rests on its stemming from the basic norm of the *halakhah*, i.e., the Written Law, and from the accumulation of *halakhot* throughout the generations. Not even Maimonides, who compiled the *Mishneh Torah*, the greatest and most comprehensive halakhic code of all, with the stated purpose that "a person shall not need to have recourse to any other work in the world concerning any of the laws of Israel … that a person shall first read the Written Law and then this work and learn therefrom all of the Oral Law and shall not require to read any other work" (Yad. introd.) – not even he sought to establish his work as the source of halakhic authority, nullifying all of the previously determined *halakhah*. Nor did he envisage introducing any change in the *halakhah* through his work, since he emphasized (in his introduction) the unbroken chain of transmission stretching back to Moses at Sinai and the validity of the laws of the Babylonian Talmud as being "incumbent on all Israel." He made his position clear in a letter to Phinehas b. Meshullam, *dayyan* of Alexandria: "Have I commanded or had in mind the burning of all books written before me on account of my own work?" (*Kovez Teshuvot ha-Rambam ve-Iggerotav*, ed. Leipzig (1859), pt. 1, 25a–27a, no. 140). He intended no more – and even this aim was to meet with vigorous opposition as a daring and revolutionary one – than that the law was henceforth to be ascertained and the *halakhah* to be decided only according to his codification, because of his conviction that his work included all the rules of the *halakhah* and any conflict between his work and the preceding and binding halakhic literature was inconceivable. Hence, it is clear that in view of the inseparable link between the *halakhah* and its sources, it cannot tolerate expression in the form of a Codex or a "Revision," but only that of a "Compilation." However, from the standpoint of the validity attached to such compilatory work and the possibility of deciding in terms of it, it has been regarded not merely as constituting presumptive evidence, but as carrying also the authority of a proper codex.

Despite the intolerance engendered by the very substance of the halakhic system, and the fact that Jewish law has evolved pragmatically by providing solutions to the problems of daily existence as they arise and not by way of the prior determination of rules of principle (see Rabbinical *Authority, *Mishpat Ivri), it has nevertheless been influenced by factors and incentives similar to those operating in other legal systems. In the context of the particular history of the Jewish people and the practical reality of the *halakhah*, these and other special factors at times rendered some form of codification of the body of halakhic rules imperative. Codification of the halakhic system confronted those who undertook the task with a search for suitable ways of overcoming the substantive problems involved, and in the process, throughout the long history of the *halakhah*, different literary genres evolved, until a form was arrived which could be reconciled with the halakhic system.

In the Mishnah

The first halakhic code to be compiled after the Written Law, which constitutes not only the basic norm of the entire halakhic system but also its first, and founding codification, was the *Mishnah. Compiled by *Judah ha-Nasi in about 200 C.E., it embraces within its six orders the whole framework of Jewish law (the *Sefer Gezerata*, known to have been in existence prior to the Mishnah, was a Sadducean code, apparently mainly a criminal one). Some scholars are of the opinion that Judah ha-Nasi merely sought to assemble in the Mishnah the accepted *halakhot* of his time and to arrange them according to their subject matter so that each law could readily and conveniently be ascertained, and that it was not his intention to decide the *halakhah* in the Mishnah. Prima facie support for this view is to be found in the fact that for the greater part the Mishnah does not give only one single halakhic ruling, clear and unequivocal, but instead cites different opinions on a particular ruling, without any explicit statement as to the decision on the matter. Notwithstanding this, most scholars are of the opinion – and this indeed appears to be the case – that Judah ha-Nasi's purpose was to compile a halakhic code in accordance with which the law was to be decided. This may be concluded from an examination of the transmitted texts, comparing the wording of *halakhot* in the Mishnah and the wording of the same *halakhot* in the *Tosefta and *beraitot; and in particular from the fact of Judah ha-Nasi's quotation, in an anonymous way *(stam)*, of the opinion in accordance with which he sought to decide the law (see Ḥul. 85a).

Further evidence that Judah ha-Nasi was engaged in a task of codifying in compiling the Mishnah may be adduced from the theory and history of the *halakhah*. Anonymity and uniformity were features of the ancient *halakhah*. Commencing from the time of the first pair of scholars, *Yose b. Joezer and *Yose b. Johanan, only one instance of a disputed halakhic rule is known (Ḥag. 2:2) and in all, until the time of the last pair, *Shammai and *Hillel, only four matters were the subject of disputed *halakhot* (TJ, Ḥag. 2:2, 77d). The reason for the almost complete uniformity of the *halakhah* until the beginning of the tannaitic period is that every problem was decided, in the final analysis, by the Sanhedrin – the supreme judicial and legislative body of the people – and a rule decided by a majority opinion simply became the law of the Sanhedrin as a body, leaving no room for mention to be made of the names of the scholars who supported either the majority or the minority opinion. From the start of the tannaitic period, the cases of dispute increased in all fields of the *halakhah*, and numerous differing opinions have come down with the names of the scholars who expressed them. This substantive change in the image of the *halakhah* was caused by the undermining of the Sanhedrin's powers of decision and its weakened authority. This was brought about by the influence of various external political factors in Ereẓ Israel in the half century preceding the destruction of the Temple and the operation of internal factors such as the intensification of the dispute between the *Pharisees and the *Sadducees, and between the scholars of Bet Shammai and Bet Hillel (see R. Yose, Tosef., Sanh. 7:1; Sanh. 88b; TJ, Sanh. 1:4, 19c). The destruction of the Temple, the disruption of the halakhic center deprived of its traditional location, and the migration of the scholars and their courts gave rise to an increase in halahkhic disputes in which no decision was reached.

At the beginning of the second century, following the consolidation of Jabneh as the new center of the law under the presidency of *Gamaliel II, a determined effort was made to restore uniformity to the *halakhah* (Tosef., Eduy. 1:1; Sif. Deut., 48; Shab. 138b). At that time it was determined that in general, in a dispute between Bet Shammai and Bet Hillel, the view of the latter was to prevail (TJ, Ber. 1:7, 3b). At the same time many traditions and laws, based on various "testimonies" (*eduyyot*), were assembled and arranged in the tractate *Eduyyot*. The flowering and development of the *halakhah* at the academies of *Akiva and *Ishmael, and particularly the numerous disputes later waged by the former's pupils, confronted the scholars of Judah ha-Nasi's generation with the need to reduce once more this abundant halakhic material to uniform law. Hence it may reasonably be assumed that Judah ha-Nasi's objective in compiling the Mishnah was the same as that of his grandfather, Gamaliel of Jabneh; namely, to avert the danger of proliferating dispute by undertaking the compilation of a code that would decide and determine the law. Another historical reason explaining the need for a code of Jewish law at that time was expressed thus: "the number of scholars is on the decrease, new troubles on the increase… a work should be written to be available to all, so that it can speedily be learned and not be forgotten" (Maim., Yad, introd.). It may be asked why Judah ha-Nasi chose such an indirect method in his determination of the *halakhah*; i.e., by stating the opinion with which he was in agreement in an anonymous manner, as opposed to the simpler method of stating only the opinion according to which he decided, to the complete exclusion of other opinions. It appears that he did so in order to preserve the element of continuity possessed by the *halakhah*, since deletion of the names of the scholars and their opinions would have severed the chain of transmission from scholar to scholar (see N. Krochmal, *Moreh Nevukhei ha-Zeman*; ch. 13). A thousand years later the fact that Maimonides chose the opposite path in his *Mishneh Torah* was one of the main reasons for the vigorous criticism with which his work was received.

FORMAT AND STYLE OF THE MISHNAH. The laws in the Mishnah are mostly formulated in a casuistic, rather than normative, manner, i.e., a particular legal rule is expressed in the form of a factual case and not by a simple statement of the legal principle without embodiment in a concrete example. Thus, for instance, the normative principle that a person – even when acting in his own domain – must guard against causing harm to his neighbor, is expressed by way of a long series of practical instances of prohibitions or injunctions: that a man must not dig a pit near his neighbor's property, or that he must remove his salt or lime from his neighbor's wall, etc. (BB 2:1ff.). This casuistic method is characteristic of the *halakhah* which developed and kept pace with everyday realities and in this manner was transmitted throughout the generations. Occasionally, Mishnayot are rendered in combined casuistic-normative manner (BB 1:6; 3:1; Git. 2:5–6) and there are some rare cases of a purely normative formulation (BK 1:2). This form, adopted for the first halakhic code compiled after the Written Law, put its imprint on all subsequent codifications and was retained even in Maimonides' *Mishneh Torah*. From the point of view of the possible development of the law, this method commends itself since it allows for a large measure of differentiation between one matter and another. An important quality of the Mishnah as a code is its style, which is a concise yet clear and lucid Hebrew, that served as the basis of Maimonides' style in the *Mishneh Torah* (see *Sefer ha-Mitzvot*, introd.) and is still a general and rewarding source of Hebrew style, particularly in legal usage.

The Talmud and Post-Talmudic Halakhic Literary Forms

The *Talmud (*Gemara*), which includes deliberations of the sages, halakhic commentaries of the early *tannaim* and *amoraim*, decisions, epistles, responsa, and decisory rules, has been accepted in the halakhic world as authentic and binding material constituting the starting point for the deliberation of any halakhic subject whatsoever. Yet, from the viewpoint of literary classification, it does not bear the character of a codex. The codificatory form reappears in halakhic literature in the post-talmudic period, in a branch known as the literature of the *posekim (i.e., codifiers or simply "the Codes") representing one of the three main literary forms in which the *halakhah* has been stated, commencing from the geonic period. Of the other two forms the first is represented by the commentaries and *novellae, which have as their objective the interpretation of the Mishnah, the two Talmuds, and the remaining halakhic literature, and innovation by way of comparison between the different sources and reconciliation of the emerging contradictions. The third form is represented in the literature of the *Responsa Prudentium (see also **Ma'aseh*), which is the Jewish "Common Law," a great storehouse of decisions given on concrete matters arising throughout the generations in all countries of the Jewish Diaspora. The literature of the Codes and that of the responsa had the common purpose of deciding the law; however, in the case of a responsum the decision is arrived at after deliberation of the specific case before the halakhic scholar, whereas the *posek*, apart from embracing the entire field of the *halakhah*, or at least a particular branch of it, arrives at his decision after an abstract consideration of the existing halakhic material pertaining to each particular subject. Hence the literature of the Codes corresponds in form to the codificatory literature found in other legal systems.

Variety of Literary Forms in the Codes

The problems of codifying the *halakhah* were responsible for the adoption of the different literary forms found in the Codes. These may be classified into three main categories: (1) "books of *halakhot*," i.e., books having the avowed purpose of collecting conclusions from the halakhic rules pertaining to either the whole or a particular branch of the *halakhah*, the conclusion being preceded in each case by a brief discussion and précis of the talmudic sources on which it is founded; (2) "books of *pesakim*" ("decisions"), having the purpose of stating the conclusions from the halakhic rules – in their entirety or in a particular branch of the law – without any preceding discussion of the underlying sources; and (3) a combination of the first two, which assumed different forms at different times. In addition to an intrinsic literary difference between categories (1) and (2), there is also, generally speaking, an extrinsic divergence stemming from this intrinsic difference. A "book of decisions" is arranged according to halakhic subject matter, even though the various rules pertaining to each subject are dispersed throughout the different literary sources, and this is the most convenient and helpful form for both *dayyan* and student; on the other hand the author of a "book of *halakhot*" – who preceded his conclusion with a discussion and quotation of sources – was compelled by logic to tie the arrangement of his work to that of the literary source in which the relevant halakhic discussion is to be found, i.e., generally the appropriate talmudic tractate.

In the Geonic Period

From the eighth century onward, i.e., the earliest period from which considerable geonic halakhic literature has come down, increasing activity in the field of halakhic codification becomes noticeable and, although they appear in different literary forms, the codes of this period may all be classified as belonging to the category of "books of *halakhot*."

The first book to be written after the closing of the Talmud was the *Sefer ha-She'iltot* of *Aḥa (i) of Shabḥa, Babylonia, in the first half of the eighth century. Mainly a collection of homiletic discussions (*derashot*) usually starting with a question (hence *she'iltot*) formulated in accordance with the type of exposition set in talmudic times by the leading scholars, this work nonetheless displays a clear decisory element. Soon after the work appeared, the author's statements were quoted for the purpose of deciding in accordance with them (see Assaf, Geonim, 155ff.), so that it may be classified as forming part of the literature of the Codes. It displays the unusual feature of being arranged according to neither subject matter nor the talmudic tractates, but according to the order of the weekly portions of the Pentateuch, as in the case of midrashic literature; the halakhic subject with which the *she'ilta* deals is often linked with the particular portion of the Pentateuch in which the subject is treated in narrative form; e.g., the laws of theft and robbery dealt with in *she'ilta* no. 4 relate to the weekly portion *Noaḥ* (with reference to Gen. 6:13), the laws of bailment in *she'ilta* no. 20 relate to the portion *Va-Yeẓe* (with reference to Jacob taking care of the sheep of Laban); and the laws of suretyship in *she'ilta* no. 33 relate to the portion *Mi-Keẓ* (with reference to Judah acting as the guarantor of Benjamin's welfare).

At about the same time, *Yehudai b. Naḥman Gaon wrote *Halakhot Pesukot*, the earliest classic example of the "books of *halakhot*," which was to exercise a decisive influence on the literature of the Codes. This work was arranged according to both subject matter – *hilkhot Eruvin, Halva'ah, Ketubbot*, etc. – and the talmudic tractates, the halakhic conclusion generally being preceded by a brief synopsis of the underlying talmudic sources. No laws were included that were not relevant at the time (*mitzvot she-einan nohagot ba-zeman ha-zeh*), such as precepts pertaining to the land of Israel (*mitzvot ha-teluyot ba-areẓ*) not observed in Babylonia, and the laws of *Kodashim* (Temple cult) and *Tohorot* (ritual purity). In so doing, Yehudai Gaon established a precedent followed by practically all subsequent *posekim*, who from then on confined themselves to the codification only of the *halakhah* in practice at the particular time. This work soon became known in all countries of the Diaspora and others compiled various abridgments of it, known as *Halakhot Ketu'ot*, or *Halakhot Keẓuvot,* etc., while a Hebrew translation is known as the *Hilkhot Re'u* (based on the first word in Exodus 16:29, with which the work commences). About a hundred years later there appeared the *Halakhot Gedolot*, the greatest halakhic work of the geonic period in scope and content. In the opinion of most scholars the author was Simeon Kayyara of Basra (Bassora), Babylonia. Here, too, the conclusions are preceded by a brief review of the sources, the arrangement following the order of the talmudic tractates.

In this period the scholars are known to have been concerned about various questions relating to the codification of Jewish law. Several factors operated to promote the codifying trend: from one source it appears that the *Halakhot Pesukot* was compiled because of the difficulty in finding a way through the proliferous material in the orders and tractates of the Talmud (*Seder Olam Zuta*, in Neubauer, Chronicles, 1 (1887), 178); elsewhere it is mentioned that Aḥa compiled the *Sefer ha-She'iltot* for the sake of his son, "in order that every Sabbath when the order is read, he shall be able to clarify for himself familiar *halakhot* from the Talmud" (Ha-Meiri, *Beit ha-Beḥirah to Avot*, introd.). Subsequently, both reasons were frequently mentioned as the background to many "books of *halakhot*" and "*pesakim.*" It seems that a historical factor in the internal life of the Jewish people was also a contributing factor. In the middle of the eighth century Karaism emerged in Babylonia. For approximately the next 200 years the *geonim*, commencing with Yehudai Gaon, waged a persistent and relentless struggle against the *Karaites who disavowed the rabbinic Law in terms of the statement attributed to *Anan: "Abandon the words of the Mishnah and Talmud and I shall make for you a Talmud of my own" (*Seder Ray Amram*, ed. Warsaw, 38a). In the course of this conflict the *geonim* and other halakhic scholars produced a proliferation of halakhic and philosophical works, and it appears that an important instrument toward crystallization of the traditional Jewish attitude, founded on the rules of the Oral Law, was the compilation of books which would elucidate and summarize the latter in convenient synoptic form.

On the other hand, the compilation of codes gave rise to the fear that any neglect in the study of the talmudic literature itself would tend to alienate the *halakhah* from its sources. In the middle of the ninth century Paltoi b. Abbaye Gaon was told: "The majority of the people incline after *Halakhot Ketu'ot*, saying: Why should we be occupied with the complexity of the Talmud?" Paltoi response was to condemn this attitude, stating that it would cause study of the Law to be forgotten and adding that "*Halakhot Ketu'ot* have been compiled not in order to be studied intensively, but rather so that they may be referred to by those who have studied the whole of the Talmud and experience doubt as to the proper interpretation of anything therein" (*Ḥemdah Genuzah*, no. 110; S. Assaf, *Teshuvot ha-Geonim Mi-Tokh ha-Genizah* (1928), 81). It is possible that such a negative attitude toward codification by such a prominent scholar was responsible for the fact that almost no other "books of *halakhot*" were written during the remainder of the geonic period. From then on halakhic creativity mainly found expression in the form of responsa and, commencing from the first half of the 10th century, in a new literary form: that of full and summarizing monographs, written mostly in the fields of civil and family law and the laws of evidence and procedure, and in terms of which the law was applied in the Jewish communities and in their courts (e.g., *Sefer ha-Ishut, Sefer ha-Pikkadon*, etc. of Saadiah *Gaon; *Sefer be-Dinei Kinyanim, Sefer ha-Arevut*, etc. of Samuel b. *Hophni Gaon; *Sefer Shevu'ot, Sefer ha-Mikkaḥ ve-ha-Mimkar*, of Hai *Gaon; See also *Beit ha-Beḥirah* to *Avot*, introd.).

The Rif (Alfasi)

The geonic period was one of growing literary activity in the field of commentaries and responsa. Many *takkanot* were also framed in various fields of the law. At the close of this period the need for codification of the *halakhah* once more came to the fore, prompted by the historical factor that Babylonia had ceased to be the dominant center of the Jewish Diaspora, new centers of Jewish life having emerged in North Africa and in Europe, by which it was gradually supplanted. The proliferation of centers of Jewish life created the familiar phenomenon of varying customs and rules in different halakhic fields, a phenomenon present also in geonic and earlier times, but one that became increasingly manifest with the widening dispersion of the Jewish people. The outcome was the compilation, in the middle of the 11th century, of one of the most important "books of *halakhot*" in Jewish law, namely the *Sefer ha-Halakhot* of Isaac b. Jacob ha-Kohen *Alfasi, known as the "Rif." In general form, this work is arranged along the lines of the *Halakhot Gedolot* although differing from it in several material respects. Like earlier "books of *halakhot*," it is arranged in the order of the talmudic tractates, and embraces only the laws in practice at the time (the relevant laws dispersed in the orders of *Kodashim* and *Tohorot*, and current at the time – such as *hilkhot Sefer Torah, mezuzah, tefillin, ẓiẓit*, etc. – were compiled by Alfasi in a separate work called *Halakhot Ketannot*). The brief talmudic discussion with which the author precedes each halakhic conclusion is far more extensive than in similar geonic works; in synoptic form the Rif outlines the talmudic problem and includes also aggadic statements of halakhic relevance (see Rif to BK 93a). Hence the work is also known as *Talmud Katan* (the small Talmud). Alfasi also undertook the great task of deciding many halakhic problems which had been the subject of dispute and he frequently quotes from the Jerusalem Talmud; in cases of dispute between the Jerusalem and Babylonian Talmuds on a particular matter, Alfasi decided according to the latter, following the rule of *Hilkheta ke-Vatrai* ("the law is according to the later scholars" – see Rabbinical *Authority), since the redaction of the Babylonian Talmud was the later of the two (*idem*, Er., concl.). Alfasi's work was accepted by later generations as decisive and binding (see Menahem b. Zerah, introduction to *Ẓeidah la-Derekh*), and it prevailed over "books of *halakhot*" written during the next 100 years (such as the *Halakhot Kelulot* of *Isaac ibn Ghayyat; the *Sefer ha-Ittim, Yiḥus She'ar Basar*, and *Sefer ha-Din* of *Judah ben Barzillai; the *Even ha-Ezer* of *Eliezer b. Nathan). Maimonides later noted that he differed from Alfasi in some ten cases only (Introduction to his commentary on the Mishnah; in his responsa collection, ed. by J. Blau, no. 251, the figure mentioned is 30). Five hundred years later Joseph *Caro described Alfasi as "one of the three pillars of halakhic decision *[ammudei hora'ah]* supporting the House of Israel," and in this way part of Alfasi's conclusions found their way into Caro's code, which has remained the authoritative codex of Jewish law until the present day.

The *Sefer ha-Halakhot* became the focal point of a prolific literature, partly in disagreement with it, partly in its defense, and partly in interpretation of its contents. This literature, which later accompanied the main Jewish law codifications, is termed *nosei kelim* ("arms-bearers"); the principal works are: Zerahiah ha-Levi *Gerondi's *Ma'or*; *Abraham b. David of Posquières' *Katuv Sham*; Naḥmanides' *Milḥemet ha-Shem and Ha-Zekhut*; and the commentaries of Nissim *Gerondi and Joseph *Ḥabiba (the latter called *Nimmukei Yosef*).

Maimonides' Method

In the 12th century Maimonides created a new literary form for the Codes, that of a "book of *pesakim*," of which his own work, the *Mishneh Torah*, was the peak. This new type of codifying appears to have asserted itself at the beginning of the 12th century, shortly after Alfasi's death, as is evidenced in a responsum of Joseph *Ibn Migash. Asked whether a *dayyan* – even when not sufficiently familiar with the methodology of the Talmud or understanding the source of a law in the Talmud itself – was entitled to adjudicate in accordance with a "book of *halakhot*" and whether a decision of this kind could properly be relied upon, Ibn Migash replied that such conduct was not only fit and proper but preferable to a decision based on examination of the Talmud only, from which error could result, since "in our times there is no person whose knowledge of the Talmud attains a level which is reliable enough for him to decide from it"; the danger of error would be averted if the *dayyan* found good support for his decision in the statements of a great halakhic scholar as expressed in a "book of *halakhot*" (Ri Migash, Resp. no. 114). According to this approach, therefore, a "book of *halakhot*" was not to be regarded simply as an aid, to be referred to when the solution was not to be found in the Talmud itself – as was the opinion of Paltoi Gaon – but rather as a work in its own right and one to which reference should be made in preference to the Talmud in order to ascertain the law. It may be surmised that this opinion by a scholar greatly admired by Maimonides (see Introduction to his commentary on the Mishnah) influenced the latter's decision to undertake the great and laborious task of creating a code of Jewish law, which alone would serve as the basis for deciding the *halakhah*.

In the introduction to both his *Sefer Mitzvot* and *Mishneh Torah*, and elsewhere, Maimonides clearly explained his motivation, and the object and method of compiling his *Mishneh Torah*. Factors such as the proliferation of halakhic material and the difficulty in ascertaining and understanding it "so that all the laws shall stand revealed to great and small" are known to have had a bearing on other halakhic codifications too, but Maimonides' great innovation lay in his objective and in the manner in which this objective was pursued. While his book never purported to be the source of authority of the *halakhah* – a status previously assigned only to the Written Law together with the Oral Law – it was nevertheless designed as the authoritative compilation in accordance with which the *halakhah* should be decided, since Maimonides was convinced that no contradiction between his book and earlier binding halakhic literature was conceivable. To attain his objective, Maimonides observed four guiding criteria in the preparation of his codification, criteria which are still observed in the compilation of a code:

(1) Location and concentration of all the material of Jewish law, from the Written Law until his time, and the scientific and systematic processing of this. This criterion, extensively discussed by Maimonides, was expressed in his unequivocal statement that anyone who referred to the Written Law and to his own book would know each and every detail of the *halakhah* and have no need for any other book. To this end Maimonides wrote a commentary on the Mishnah and the Jerusalem and Palestinian Talmuds, as well as his *Sefer Mitzvot*, before writing the *Mishneh Torah*, which he started in 1177 and worked on for ten years. In furtherance of this purpose he not only examined various versions of different *halakhot*, determining their exact wording (see Yad, Yom Tov, 2: 12; Ishut, 11:13; Malveh, etc., 15:2; etc.), but also included in his codification items of non-halakhic learning and scientific material necessary for the elucidation of the *halakhah* (see Yad, Kiddush ha-Ḥodesh, 17:24; 19: 16). In this work, he embraced the whole spectrum of the *halakhah* and included laws not in practice at the time as well as bodies of rules in Jewish philosophy, principles of faith and religious dogma, and ethical and moral guidance, sometimes blended with halakhic matters (see Yad, Megillah 3:1–3; 4:12–14).

(2) Subdivision and classification of the material according to the subject matter. On Maimonides' own admission this criterion was a most difficult one to fulfill and in certain chapters the laws were collected from "ten or more places." As a model for his work Maimonides took the Mishnah, which itself is far from strictly classified according to subject matter (e.g., in the tractate *Kiddushin* there are many laws of property and likewise in *Gittin* there are many laws of agency, and so on). Similar subdivisions in earlier halakhic works, including the monographs of the geonic period, had hardly exhausted all the relevant material. Maimonides divided his work into 14 books (for this reason it is also called *Ha-Yad ha-Ḥazakah* – i.e., the letters "י" and "ד" representing 14 – based on Deut. 34:12), each subdivided into several parts (called *halakhot* – construct form: *hilkhot*) totaling 83 in all; the parts were further subdivided into a total of 1,000 chapters (*perakim*) consisting of some 15,000 paragraphs (each called a "*halakhah*"). Maimonides' efforts enabled later scholars, such as the authors of *Turim* and the Shulḥan Arukh, to continue with the classification of halakhic material.

(3) Deciding upon and designation of a single halakhic rule, without reference to disputing opinions or designation of sources. If Maimonides achieved his first two aims with a rare talent for assembling and classifying the material, his third was accomplished with a masterly daring and willingness to depart from custom in keeping with a man of his stature. Until his time there had been no halakhic work prescribing the rules of Jewish law without mention of the names of those who handed them down, or their sources in talmudic literature. If, in principle, Maimonides recognized as axiomatic the fact of the continuity of the *halakhah*, he nevertheless did not consider it necessary that such continuity should be outwardly emphasized. He realized that the quoting of differing opinions and the designation of talmudic sources were likely to confuse and limit the usefulness of a code. Accordingly, he introduced a new form into the literature of the Codes, that of a "book of *pesakim*" which gives a single statement of a rule of law – unqualified, final, and with no designation of sources, except in the case of some 120 halakhic rules added by Maimonides himself and prefaced with remarks such as "it seems to me" and a further 50 rules in which he decided between the opinions of *geonim* and other *rishonim*.

(4) Style and formulation. Maimonides chose for his code the language of the Mishnah in preference to that of the Pentateuch which he considered too limited for the adequate expression of all the rules, and also in preference to that of the Talmud, which he considered insufficiently understood in his time (introduction to *Sefer ha-Mitzvot*). In fact this disclosure is eloquent testimony to Maimonides' modesty, for even though he took the style of the Mishnah as his basis, the overall stylistic structure of his work is nonetheless an original creation marked by two qualities: a clear and mellifluous Hebrew and a lucid legal formulation which is precise and can be read and understood without difficulty. The creation of a Hebrew legal style is one of the highlights of Maimonides' work, which has not been emulated until the present day. The various sources from which Maimonides assembled his halakhic material – the Mishnah, midrashic works, the two Talmuds, the Tosefta and the literature of the *geonim* and other *rishonim* – had all been written in different languages or different idioms. Maimonides molded this linguistic and stylistic medley into a harmonious and uniform style with no obtrusive reminders of its past. It has been the good fortune of the Hebrew language that in this regard he departed from his practice of writing in Arabic, thus bequeathing to the Hebrew language the precious asset of a legal style, which is still drawn upon at the present time. (His reply to a pupil's request that the *Mishneh Torah* be translated into Arabic was "it would lose all its appeal"; *Kovez̩ Teshuvot ha-Rambam ve-Iggerotav* pt. 2 (1859), 15b.)

Notwithstanding all his innovations in the codification of Jewish law, Maimonides left virtually unchanged the casuistic method of formulation that had been customary until his time, except that he rendered the casuistic exposition in a clear and concentrated manner and sometimes added also a normative principle (see, e.g., Yad, To'en, etc. 9:7–8). In doing so Maimonides was apparently influenced by three considerations: (1) he feared that the omission of the casuistic exposition and the statement of a normative legal principle in its place would fail to ensure inclusion of all the pertinent legal facts embraced by the rule, whereas his basic aim was to cover the entire existing body of the *halakhah*; (2) since outwardly he severed his book from talmudic law, Maimonides' adherence to the casuistic method enabled him to preserve an inherent connection between the two, as anyone reading the *Mishneh Torah* inevitably senses the spirit and atmosphere of talmudic literature; and (3) the casuistic method, being substantive to the development of Jewish law, dictated itself as the chosen method for codification, so as to facilitate development of the law by way of distinguishing between earlier legal precedents.

Reactions to Maimonides' Approach

As may have been anticipated, Maimonides' far-reaching innovation in the form of a code of Jewish law gave rise to acrimonious debate and strong criticism – centering mainly around his failure to mention the names of the scholars and their different opinions, or to give any indication of talmudic sources. Maimonides justified his omission of the scholars' names on the grounds that this was in answer to the Karaites whose complaint against the Oral Law was that "you rely on the statements of individuals"; therefore he had taken note of the chain of transmission in his introduction but simply stated the halakhic rule in the body of the work in order to make known that "the law was transmitted by way of the many to the many and not from a single individual to another individual" (Letter to R. Phinehas, *dayyan* of Alexandria, in *Kovez̤ Teshuvot* … pt. 1,250–270, no. 140). However, he did recognize the validity of one contention, and admitted that he should have indicated the source from which a particular law was taken, not in the codification itself but in a separate work (a task which he contemplated undertaking but was apparently unable to accomplish; *ibid.*). In the style of a great master, confident of the essential validity of his creation, Maimonides wrote: "In time to come, when the envy and stormy passions have subsided, all of Israel will rest content with it alone and will not seize on any other [halakhic work]" (*Iggerot ha-Rambam*, ed. by D.H. Baneth, no. 6). To some extent his prophecy was fulfilled and even in his lifetime the law was decided in accordance with his codification in most of the academies in Babylonia (*Teshuvot ha-Rambam*, ed. A. Freimann (1934), 69), Sicily Yemen (*Kovez̤ Teshuvot ha-Rambam ve-Iggerotav* (1859), pt. 2, 24ff.), and elsewhere; in a number of countries, particularly in the Oriental ones, special *takkanot* were enacted to establish that all matters were to be decided in accordance with this work (Ran, Resp. no. 62).

However, many other scholars strongly criticized Maimonides for these omissions, even though they admired and were awed by the greatness of his labors (see, e.g., *Hassagot Rabad*, Kelayim, 6:2). His sharpest critic in his own lifetime was the Provençal scholar Abraham b. David of Posquières (Rabad), who feared that the convenient use of Maimonides' work would inhibit study of the talmudic sources and deprive the *dayyan* of a choice between different opinions in making his decision (*ibid.*). Accordingly, when Maimonides' work reached him, he studied it in its entirety, writing strictures of exemplary brevity on a substantial proportion of its laws, often sharply worded so as to oblige the reader to refer to the talmudic sources in ascertaining the correctness of Maimonides' statements, so that the link between the law and its sources would be restored. Approximately 100 years later Maimonides' basic notion concerning the place of a "book of *pesakim*" in Jewish law was sharply criticized by the distinguished halakhist of Germany and Spain, *Asher b. Jehiel (the Rosh). Dealing with the decision of a *dayyan* based on a rule in the *Mishneh Torah*, Asher b. Jehiel determined that the *dayyan* had erred as a result of not properly understanding Maimonides' statements, as could be proved by examination of the talmudic source of the rule in question. He concluded that "all teachers err if they instruct from the statements of Maimonides without being sufficiently familiar with the *Gemara* so as to know where they were taken from … therefore no person should be relied upon to judge and instruct on the strength of his book without finding supporting evidence in the *Gemara*" (Rosh, Resp. 31:9). Asher's attitude was in keeping with his general view of the *dayyan's* freedom to decide and his authority to dissent from an instruction not originating from the Talmud itself, provided that this could be established in a clear and convincing manner (*Piskei ha-Rosh*, Sanh. 4:6 and see Rabbinical *Authority). In his opinion, any undefined codification that did not link a rule with its talmudic source served to deprive the *dayyan* of his decision-making authority and for this reason the halakhic system could not condone the existence of such a codification. As a result, it was once more stipulated that a "book of *halakhot*" possessed no independent standing but was to serve only as an aid to finding the law in talmudic literature itself. If Maimonides' original purpose was not accepted, his *Mishneh Torah* nevertheless exerted a significant influence on the future codification of Jewish law, not only because Maimonides was the "second pillar" on which Joseph Caro rested his Shulḥan Arukh, but because the latter even accepted the basic premise of Maimonides' method, although with a different approach and in a changed form.

"ARMS-BEARERS" (NOSEI KELIM). The bitter controversy which the *Mishneh Torah* evoked spurred the creation of a prolific literature and a large camp of "arms-bearers," whose central purpose was to uncover Maimonides' sources, and also to comment on, qualify, and defend him – the *hassagot* of Abraham b. David serving as their primary starting point. The best-known of these, appearing in virtually all the editions of Maimonides, are the commentaries *Migdal Oz* and *Maggid Mishneh* of Shem Tov b. Abraham *Ibn Gaon and *Vidal Yom Tov of Tolosa, respectively, both 14th-century Spanish scholars; the *Kesef Mishneh* of Joseph Caro, author of the Shulḥan Arukh, and the *Yekar Tiferet* of *David b. Solomon ibn Abi Zimra, leading Egyptian scholar of the 16th century; the *Leḥem Mishneh* of Abraham b. Moses de *Boton, a late 16th-century scholar of Salonika; and the *Mishneh le-Melekh* of Judah *Rosanes, a leading Turkish scholar at the beginning of the 18th century. Also noteworthy is a work called *Haggahot Maimuniyyot, apparently written by a pupil of *Meir b. Baruch of Rothenburg at the end of the 13th century, with the object of supplementing the laws in the *Mishneh Torah* with the rules of the German and French scholars. It would be difficult to find in all of halakhic literature another instance of a work that produced results so contrary to the avowed purpose of its author. Far from restoring to the *halakhah* its uniformity and anonymity, "without polemics or dissection … but in clear and accurate statements" (Yad, introd.), Maimonides' pursuit of that very aim became the reason for the compilation of hundreds of books on his work, all of them dissecting, complicating, and increasing halakhic problems, resulting in a lack of uniformity far greater than before.

Codification until the Compilation of the Arba'ah Turim

The polemic surrounding Maimonides' work resulted in the adoption of many literary forms for codification of the *halakhah*, all aimed at compressing and classifying the material in an assimilable manner while preserving at the same time the link with the talmudic sources. Many scholars adopted the familiar form of the "book of *halakhot*" arranged in the order of the talmudic tractates; most noteworthy are: *Sefer Avi ha-Ezri* and *Sefer Avi Asaf* by *Eliezer b. Joel ha-Levi (Ravyah), a late 12th-century German scholar; *Or Zaru'a* by *Isaac b. Moses of Vienna (Riaz), first half of the 13th century; and the *Mordekhai* of *Mordecai b. Hillel ha-Kohen, a late 13th-century German scholar. A work written at the beginning of the 14th century, in classic "book of *halakhot*" form, was Asher b. Jehiel's *Piskei ha-Rosh* (also known as *Sefer Asheri*). In pursuit of his fundamental approach toward the codification of Jewish law and the *dayyan's* freedom to decide, Asher compiled his work to resemble Alfasi's *Sefer ha-Halakhot* (it has been suggested that his work was compiled as an addendum to the latter), adopting both the outer arrangement following the order of the talmudic tractates, and the inner structure of a synoptic statement (though wider than Alfasi's) of the talmudic discussion, leading to determination of the halakhic rule. Asher, who at first was the leader of German Jewry after the death of his eminent teacher, Meir of Rothenburg, and later became one of the leading scholars of Spain, included the opinions of both schools in his work and decided between them. His work was acknowledged as a recognized and binding "book of *halakhot,*" its stated conclusions often being preferred to those in the *Mishneh Torah*. Asher was the "third pillar" on which Joseph Caro founded his Shulḥan Arukh 200 years later.

Another form of "book of *halakhot*" in this period was that arranged according to subject matter, of which a classic example is the *Sefer ha-Terumot* of Samuel b. Isaac *Sardi, a contemporary of Naḥmanides. His work is divided into 70 gates (*she'arim*) – each dealing with a particular subject – in turn subdivided into chapters (*inyanim* or *ḥalakim*) and paragraphs (*peratim*), a subdivision similar to that of the *Mishneh Torah*. From the point of view of its contents, this work is a "book of *halakhot*" proper and not a "book of *pesakim*," since in each case the conclusion is preceded by a discussion of the talmudic source, and different opinions are quoted and a decision taken. The entire work is devoted to the civil law (*dinei mamonot*), the first codification to deal exclusively with this field of Jewish law. Some writers adopted the form of a "book of *halakhot*" arranged according to the order of the *mitzvot*. Maimonides had written his *Sefer ha-Mitzvot* with the object of enumerating all the precepts so as to avoid omitting any of them later in the compilation of his code, but in this later period "books of *mitzvot*" were written with the object of deciding the law. In the mid-13th century the *Sefer Mitzvot Gadol* (known as the Se-Ma-G) was compiled by *Moses of Coucy, a French tosafist. It is divided into two parts, consisting of the negative and positive precepts, and each precept is accompanied by a quotation of the talmudic sources in which the rules of the precept are discussed as well as the opinions of other scholars, followed by the halakhic conclusion. When faced with differences of opinion between Maimonides and distinguished Franco-German scholars – such as *Rashi and Rabbenu *Tam – Moses of Coucy generally decided in accordance with the later scholars. One of the contributing factors to the compilation of this work appears to have been the decree of Pope Gregory IX (1242) banning the Talmud and its study, Moses' work being designed to serve as a means of study and decision until the ban was lifted. For some considerable time it remained one of the best known and most acknowledged halakhic textbooks. Some time later *Isaac b. Joseph of Corbeil wrote his *Ammudei ha-Golah*, known also as the *Sefer Mitzvot Katan* or Se-Ma-K. Here too the laws, accompanied by a very brief statement of their talmudic sources, are arranged in the order of the precepts, and the work is divided into seven parts corresponding to the seven days of the week, with the various precepts quoted in relation to particular days of the week on the strength of various hints and homilies (e.g., the laws of marriage on Wednesday since "a virgin marries on a Wednesday," (Ket. 1a); procedural laws on Thursday, since the *battei din* were in session on this day according to the *Takkanat Ezra*).

Other "books of *halakhot*" were arranged according to the individual criteria of their authors; for example, *Isaac b. Abba Mari, the 12th-century Provençal scholar, partly arranged his *Ittur Soferim* (also known as the *Sefer ha-Ittur*) according to the order of appearance of the letters in a certain passage. Zedekiah ben Abraham *Anav (13th century, Italy) composed the *Shibbolei Ha-Lekket* and the *Sefer Issur ve-Heter* in an order not too different from that later adopted by the Tur. A classic codification, in two parts, was compiled in the 14th century by another Provençal scholar, *Jeroham b. Meshullam. The first part, called *Mesharim*, is devoted exclusively to the civil law, including associated family law (maintenance, the *ketubbah*, etc.); the second part, *Adam ve-Ḥavvah*, deals with ritual law (*issur ve-hetter*) including that part of family law concerned with the non-pecuniary relationships between spouses, such as the laws of marriage and divorce; it is further divided into two parts, and arranged in the order of application of the various laws at separate stages in a man's lifetime – *Adam* covers from birth to marriage, and *Ḥavvah* from marriage to death. The whole codification is divided into parts called *netivot*, with further subdivision. In this period a new type of codification emerged which in the course of time played a decisive role in the codification of the *halakhah*, the *Torat ha-Bayit* of Solomon b. Abraham *Adret (Rashba), spiritual leader of Spanish Jewry in mid-13th century. This work comprises two separate books: the first, *Torat ha-Bayit ha-Arokh*, may properly be classified as a "book of *halakhot*" as the author deals with the talmudic sources and the different opinions of the *geonim* and *rishonim* in relation to each halakhic matter, reaching the halakhic conclusion after full discussion of the sources; however, the second, *Torat ha-Bayit ha-Kaẓar*, falls into the category of a "book of *pesakim*," since in each case the author merely states the halakhic conclusion which he reached in the first part of his work. In this manner Adret sought to overcome the major stumbling block to codification of the *halakhah*: in the one book he preserved a close link with all the halakhic sources, in the second – based on the discussion and sources in the former – he provided a classic codification presenting a single opinion only, final and decisive. The work as a whole is divided into seven *battim* ("houses") subdivided into *she'arim* ("gates"), and deals with only a part of the ritual law, such as the dietary laws. Adret apparently intended to prepare such a twofold codification to cover the entire field of *halakhah* but succeeded only in compiling one further book, *Avodat ha-Kodesh*, consisting of two *battim* and dealing with the festival laws. This may have been the reason why Adret's novel and original method failed to make any great impact on his contemporaries and it was only about 200 years later that its proper worth was recognized.

The System of the "Ba'al ha-Turim"

While most of the forms of codification so far discussed were able to sustain the link with halakhic sources, they failed to produce a work that was convenient to use, easily assimilable, and clearly decisive. Furthermore, in the 12th and 13th centuries a rich and extensive halakhic literature – over and above the halakhic manuals already described – was created in the main centers of Jewish life. In Germany, France, and other Western European countries there was the impressive literary output of the tosafists which, even if expressed mainly in the form of novellae, was obviously not to be overlooked by the *dayyan* when deciding the law. Numbered among the tosafists were some of the most distinguished scholars, such as Rabbenu Tam and Meir of Rothenburg (Ma-Ha-Ra-M), whose thousands of responsa constituted a decided law which was binding on the courts. Equally important was the halakhic literature, in the form of commentaries, novellae, and responsa, of the contemporaneous scholars of the Spanish school, such as Meir ha-Levi *Abulafia (Ra-Mah), Naḥmanides, and Solomon b. Abraham Adret. This flowering of halakhic literature not only made necessary the compilation of a suitable codification to assemble and classify the whole but was also responsible for growing differences of opinion and custom in the various Jewish centers: "and there remains no halakhic decision which is not subject to disputing opinions so that many will search in vain to find the word of the Lord" (introd. to *Tur*, YD; cf. Tosef. Eduy. 1:1 and see also compilation of the Mishnah, above). This phenomenon caused particular difficulty in the wide field of civil law (*Dinei Mamonot*) in relation to the plea of *Kim li*, a plea which had become particularly prevalent from the time of Meir of Rothenburg onward and one which tended to undermine the existence of proper and ordered judical authority. In terms of this plea, based on the principle that the onus of proof rests on the party seeking to recover from his neighbor (*ha-moẓi me-ḥavero alav ha-re'ayah*), the defendant was able to avail himself of the existence of disputing halakhic opinions to contend that the opinion which favored his position was the correct one, and that no *mamon* was to be recovered from his possession until the contrary had been proved (introd. to *Tur*, ḤM; see also introd. to *Yam shel Shelomo*, BK).

Against this background *Jacob b. Asher, third son of Asher b. Jehiel and *dayyan* in Toledo in the first half of the 14th century, compiled his code in the form of four *Turim* (lit. "rows" or "columns"). In his work he observed two criteria. First, he decided in accordance with the opinion of Alfasi, and, whenever this was disputed by Maimonides or other *posekim*, accepted the opinions of his father, as they are expressed in Asher b. Jehiel's responsa or in his decisions (introd. to Tur, ḤM). To this end he compiled an abridgment of the *Piskei ha-Rosh*, called *Sefer ha-Remazim* or *Simanei Asheri*. Jacob's acceptance of his father's decisions was based on the rule of *Hilkheta ke-Vatra'ei*, since Asher was the last *posek* to know of and decide between the opinions of the German and Spanish scholars. Second, with regard to form, Jacob – unlike Solomon b. Adret – produced his codification in a single work combining the qualities of a "book of *halakhot*" with those of a "book of *pesakim*." He states the essence of the individual rules briefly, without indicating the talmudic sources or the names of scholars (except at the beginning of a *Tur* or a particular group of rules), thus giving his work the quality of a "book of *pesakim*." A statement of each individual rule is followed by a brief quotation of the different opinions expressed on it by the post-talmudic scholars, the *geonim* or other *rishonim,* and on these the author makes his decision, sometimes explicitly and sometimes by implication (see introd. to Tur, OḤ, YD, and ḤM); in this way the work is also a "book of *halakhot*." In this manner Jacob b. Asher struck a balance by finding a format that was convenient and concise yet preserved the link with the halakhic sources.

STRUCTURE OF THE TURIM. Jacob b. Asher's codification, like Alfasi's but unlike that of Maimonides, includes only the laws in practice in his time and is divided into four parts (*turim*), each further subdivided into *halakhot* and *simanim* (the latter now further subdivided into *se'ifim* or subsections). The first *Tur, Tur Oraḥ Ḥayyim*, includes all the rules relating to man's day-to-day conduct, such as the laws of prayer, blessings, etc., as well as those relating to the Sabbath and festivals; the second, *Tur Yoreh De'ah,* deals with the dietary laws, laws of ritual purity, circumcision, visiting the sick, mourning, and the like, and also with laws at present treated as part of the "civil" law, such as the law of interest (in the *Mishneh Torah* dealt with as part of the law of lender and borrower); the third, *Tur Even ha-Ezer*, covers all matters of family law such as the laws of marriage and divorce and the pecuniary relationship between spouses; the last, the *Tur Ḥoshen Mishpat,* covers by far the greater part of civil law as well as certain portions of criminal law, beginning with the laws relating to composition of the courts and judicial authority, followed by the laws of evidence, the civil law (loans, partnership, property, etc.), and concluding with the laws of theft and robbery and tort. This arrangement of the material was an innovation, differing from that of the *Mishneh Torah*, where Maimonides was influenced by the order in which the material is treated in the Talmud. (Thus in the *Mishneh Torah* Maimonides first deals with the laws of tort in the 11th book and in his last book with the laws of composition of the courts, evidence, etc., in a similar manner to the order in the Talmud in which the laws of tort are opened with the tractate *Bava Kamma* and the laws of court composition, evidence, etc. are dealt with in the tractate *Sanhedrin*.) Similarly, the various halakhic subjects are subdivided into smaller and more clearly defined units than in Maimonides' code. Like Maimonides, however, Jacob b. Asher combines his introduction or conclusion to the various halakhic subjects with statements of an ethical and moral nature, especially at the beginning of each *Tur* or of particular parts of them. In these statements he deals at length with aggadic sayings, their authors, and talmudic sources (see, e.g., the introduction to OḤ and ḤM and to *hilkhot* Shabbat, OḤ 242). Although the *Mishneh Torah* crystallizes the subject matter of the *halakhah* into more self-contained and complete divisions and is written in a more attractive and lucid style, in the *Turim* Jacob b. Asher not only assembled and classified the entire *halakhah* of his time in a convenient and orderly form but was also successful in finding a form of codification suited to the special nature of the *halakhah*. Although some Oriental communities continued to regard the *Mishneh Torah* as the binding "book of *pesakim*," the communities of the West – particularly those of Germany, Italy, and Poland – decided in accordance with the *Turim*, which became the second Hebrew book to appear in print (in 1475).

At the same time and in the following generations several other "books of *halakhot*" and "*pesakim*" were compiled, mostly dealing with the subject matter of the *Tur Oraḥ Ḥayyim* and *Yoreh De'ah*. These include: the *Abudarham* of David b. Joseph *Abudarham, a 14th-century Spanish scholar; the *Agur* of Jacob b. Judah *Landau, a 15th-century Italian scholar; and the 14th-century German scholar Isaac b. Meir of Dueren's *Sha'arei Dura*, which deals only with the ritual laws and may be classified as a "book of *pesakim*," since the opinions of the *rishonim* are scantily quoted and talmudic sources not at all. Other similar works from this period deal with family law also, as in the *Orḥot Ḥayyim* of *Aaron b. Jacob ha-Kohen of Lunel, an early 14th-century French scholar, and the *Ẓeidah la-Derekh* of the contemporary Spanish scholar, Menahem b. Zerah. The only work which dealt with topics covered in the *Tur Ḥoshen Mishpat* was the *Aggudah*, compiled by the early 14th-century German scholar *Alexander Suslin ha-Kohen and consisting of decisions and novellae on all parts of the Talmud, arranged in the order of the latter. The above-mentioned works remained in use alongside Jacob b. Asher's *Turim*, which for some 200 years was the accepted and central "book of *pesakim*," and in due course formed a basis for the compilation of Joseph Caro's Shulḥan Arukh, the foremost codification of Jewish law.

"ARMS-BEARERS" TO THE TURIM. Works on the *Turim* were written in the 15th century by Spanish scholars (see Introd. *Beit Yosef* to Tur OḤ, mentioning the commentaries of Isaac *Aboab, Jacob *Ibn Ḥabib, etc.), but the classic "arms-bearers" of the *Turim* were composed in the 16th and early 17th centuries, most of them by German scholars. Two of the best known are the *Beit Yosef* and *Darkhei Moshe*. In the second half of the 16th century Joshua *Falk b. Alexander Katz of Poland compiled his *Beit Yisrael*, a work in three parts: the first, *Perishah*, is a commentary on the *Turim*; the second, *Derishah*, deals with the different opinions of other halakhic scholars; and the last, *Be'urim*, consists of glosses on *Darkhei Moshe*. The classic work on the *Turim* is the *Bayit Ḥadash* ("*Baḥ*"), a commentary by Joel b. Samuel *Sirkes, the 17th-century Polish scholar, in which the sources of the *Turim* are indicated, and differing opinions quoted in the *Turim, Beit Yosef*, and *Darkhei Moshe* discussed, and the law decided. In addition, Sirkes made a critical examination of the text of the *Turim*.

The Method of Joseph Caro

In the period from Jacob b. Asher until Joseph Caro a series of decisive historical events profoundly influenced Jewish life. The outbreak of the *Black Death (1348–50), followed by intensified persecution of German Jewry, and that of Spanish Jewry, commencing from the middle of the 14th century and ending with the expulsion from Spain in 1492, resulted in the mass migration of Jewish communities and the establishment of new centers. Thus Polish Jewry was built up from German migrants, while Spanish Jews settled mainly in Oriental countries, especially Turkey, Ereẓ Israel, Egypt, and North Africa. One such migrant was Joseph Caro, who was born in Spain in 1488 and settled at Safed in Ereẓ Israel where he became a member of the Great Rabbinical Court, the foremost halakhic tribunal of his time.

This process of uprooting and resettlement of whole Jewish communities brought many halakhic problems in its wake and many conflicts between established communities and new arrivals, with the result that "… the Law has come to consist of innumerable *torot*" (*Beit Yosef* to Tur OḤ, introd.) and "everyone builds a platform unto himself" (S. Luria, *Yam shel Shelomo* to BK, introd.). This state of affairs was accompanied by considerable creativity in the field of halakhic literature, particularly in the form of responsa, with which the *dayyan* could not easily keep abreast. At this time, too, the longing of the Jews to return to their ancient homeland, to restore their life "as in the days of yore," once more came to the fore. One of the ways in which this longing was expressed was Jacob *Berab's efforts to renew *ordination (*semikhah*; Caro was one of the first to be ordained by him), in order to restore supreme halakhic authority over the nation. A codification that would assemble, summarize, and reduce the *halakhah* therefore became necessary; the task was undertaken by Joseph Caro, who envisaged the compilation of a single work consisting of two parts, differing from each other in form and content but supplementing each other in their common purpose. Maimonides too hinted at this method when he planned to supplement his *Mishneh Torah* with a separate book on its sources, and Solomon b. Abraham Adret actually adopted this method (supra), but it was Caro who succeeded in bringing the method to fruition and converting it into the principal and appointed codificatory receptacle of the *halakhah*.

Of the two parts of his code, the *Beit Yosef* and the Shulḥan Arukh, the former takes precedence, not only chronologically but also in scope and content. Caro set two principal objectives for himself in *Beit Yosef*. He aimed at including all the halakhic material in use at the time, with the talmudic sources and the different opinions expressed in post-talmudic literature up to his day; here Caro linked himself to the *Turim*, avoiding the need to quote the halakhic material already stated there (*Beit Yosef* to Tur OḤ, introd.). Apart from talmudic literature itself, *Beit Yosef* includes material from the works of 32 of the most distinguished halakhic scholars, who are mentioned by name (*ibid.*), including a few "sayings from the *Zohar" (although he stresses that in cases of contradiction the Talmud is to be preferred to the Zohar; *Beit Yosef*, OḤ, 25). Caro's second objective was to decide the law, "since this is the purpose, that we shall have one Torah and uniform law" *(ibid.)*. For this purpose he chose an original method of calculating the rule: whenever Alfasi, Maimonides, and Asher b. Jehiel had dealt with a particular matter, the law was decided according to their majority opinion (except if a majority of halakhic scholars held a different opinion and there was a contrary custom); if a matter had been discussed by only two of these three and their opinions differed, five additional authorities were considered (Naḥmanides, Solomon b. Abraham Adret, Nissim Gerondi, Mordecai b. Hillel, and Moses b. Jacob of Coucy) and the law decided according to their majority opinion; if none of the first three had dealt with a matter, the law was decided according to the opinion of the majority of the "famous" scholars (*mefursamim, ibid.*). Caro admitted that the proper method of deciding the law would have been by a substantive examination of the correctness of each rule in terms of the talmudic sources, but added that this would have made the task of deciding between the great halakhic scholars extremely laborious and protracted, considering the large number of rules requiring decision (*ibid.*).

Caro realized that the *Beit Yosef* as it stood, in essence a "book of *halakhot*," would not answer the main requirements and that only a book embracing the *halakhah* in undefined and summarized form, in the manner of the *Mishneh Torah*, was capable of being "a regulation for the benefit of the world" (*tikkun ha-olam; Kesef Mishneh* on introd. to *Mishneh Torah*). He accordingly decided to compile an additional book, the Shulḥan Arukh (a name already appearing in Mekh., Mishpatim, 1), in which conclusions from his *Beit Yosef* were to be stated "briefly in clear language … so that every rule [that the *dayyan* shall be asked to deal with] shall be clear in practice" (introd. to Sh. Ar., ḤM). Caro's aim was that the Shulḥan Arukh should serve not only the *talmidei ḥakhamim*, but all of the people; that "the *talmidim ketannim* shall constantly have reference thereto" – as was the wish of earlier codifiers of the *halakhah*, just as it had been the codificatory objective in other legal systems (supra). He therefore divided the Shulḥan Arukh into 30 parts, one to be read each day so that the whole work could be covered every month (*ibid.*).

If the motivation and aims of Maimonides and Caro in codifying the *halakhah* were the same, their choice of method differed, since the former sought to obviate any subsequent need for a book other than his own in deciding the *halakhah*, whereas the latter realized that this was "a short and a long road, because no rule would ever be known according to its proper derivation" (*Beit Yosef*, introd. to OḤ – on the subject of summaries such as the *Semak, Aggur*, and *Kol Bo*). Therefore a brief, synoptic "book of *pesakim*" would be a useful supplement to a separate "book of *halakhot*" embracing the sources and different opinions. Thus it was that Maimonides regarded the *Mishneh Torah* as his main creation and his other halakhic works as preparatory and secondary to it, whereas Caro regarded the *Beit Yosef* as his primary creation; he devoted 20 years to compiling it and a further 12 to annotating it (see also introd. to his *Bedek ha-Bayit*), calling it his *Ḥibbur ha-Gadol* ("great work," introd. to Sh. Ar.). Compared with *Beit Yosef*, the Shulḥan Arukh was no more than a "collection from the flowery crown of this large and thick tree" (*ibid.*). Two books, separate yet supplementary – the one a "book of *halakhot*" in which the conclusion is tied to the sources, the other a "book of *pesakim*" containing the same conclusion, in most cases stated briefly and standing alone – were the final form adopted for codification of the *halakhah*.

Structure and Arrangement of the Shulḥan Arukh

Caro's use of the *Turim* as the basis for his work accounts for their similar subdivision and structure; the Shulḥan Arukh is also divided into four parts with the same titles as those of the four *turim*, in turn subdivided into some 120 *halakhot*, 1,700 *simanim* and 13,350 *se'ifim*. There are, however, a number of differences between the two codifications. Thus Jacob b. Asher's subdivision of large units into smaller ones is not followed in the Shulḥan Arukh, where the material is to some extent more concentrated, Caro in this sense having chosen a middle way between Maimonides and Jacob b. Asher (cf., e.g., the subdivision in the Tur and Sh. Ar., ḤM, 39–74 and 190–226; so too the four books of *Nezikim, Kinyan, Mishpatim*, and *Shofetim* are divided in the *Mishneh Torah* into 19 *halakhot* and the same material is divided in the Tur and Sh. Ar., ḤM, into 58 and 42 *halakhot,* respectively; on rare occasions the Sh. Ar. is subdivided to a greater extent: see, e.g., ḤM, 303–6 and 157–75).

Caro also provided each *siman* with a heading (see introd. to *Sma*, conclusion), at times shortening the names of *halakhot* when they were unduly long (cf. Tur and Sh. Ar., ḤM, 241–9 and 273–5) or adding to them when they were inadequate descriptions of their contents (*ibid.*, 272 and 388). At times Caro added an entire topic that does not appear in the *Turim* (*ibid.*, 427; cf. Maim Yad, Roẓe'aḥ, 11) and occasionally he deleted some *halakhot* (Sh. Ar. ḤM 247).

The Shulḥan Arukh omits not only the halakhic sources and the names of the scholars – as is the case in the *Mishneh Torah* – but also anything additional that is not essential to the rule itself, such as moral and ethical statements, scriptural authority, and substantiation of the rule. Hence Caro's work is far briefer than that of Jacob b. Asher or even of Maimonides (compare, e.g., Yad, Tefillah, 11:1–2, with Sh. Ar., OḤ, 150: 1–2; Yad, To'en 12:5 with Sh. Ar., ḤM 144:1; Tur, OḤ 1 with Sh. Ar. OḤ 1:1). In its uniform and integral creation as well as clarity and beauty of style, the *Mishneh Torah* has retained its position of supremacy; yet, from the standpoint of brevity and decisiveness the Shulḥan Arukh stands supreme, a factor undoubtedly contributing to its acceptance as the standard "book of *pesakim*" of the *halakhah*. The Mishnah, the first halakhic codification after the biblical law, was completed in Lower Galilee at the end of the second century; about 1350 years later, in 1563, the last authoritative codification was completed in Upper Galilee and once again "the Law went forth from Zion" to the whole Diaspora. In 1565 all four parts of the Shulḥan Arukh were printed for the first time in Venice, and Caro lived to see his work reprinted several times and disseminated among all the communities of Israel.

The Role of Moses *Isserles ("Rema") in Halakhic Codification

Moses Isserles was one of the leading scholars of Polish Jewry at the time Caro's code reached that country. His teacher Shalom *Shakhna was utterly opposed to the idea of codifying the *halakhah*, as he believed that the decision of the *dayyan* must be made on the strength of an individual study of the halakhic sources and that the very fact of the law's redaction sufficed to deprive him of his decisory discretion in any concrete case before him. This followed from the doctrine of *Hilkheta ke-Vatra'ei* (see Rabbinical *Authority) which would constrain the *dayyan* to consider himself bound by the decision contained in the code. Consequently, he would refrain from following other canons of decision, namely that the *dayyan* must act "only according to what he sees with his own eyes" and that he must decide "according to the present exigencies and the dictates of his own heart" (see the statements of Israel, son of Shalom Shakhna, quoted in Rema, Resp. no. 25; this had also been the attitude of Jacob *Pollak, teacher of Shalom Shakhna, *ibid.*). At first Isserles sought to compile his book, the *Darkhei Moshe*, to follow the *Turim* and merely to assemble all the halakhic material until his time in brief and synoptic form – including the different opinions but without deciding between them – for the sole purpose of making it easier for the *dayyan* to find the material (introd. to *Darkhei Moshe*). However, while he was writing his book, Caro's *Beit Yosef* reached him, and when he realized that Caro had already assembled all the halakhic material, his first reaction was not to continue with his own book. In the end he decided to complete it, for two main reasons: first, because Caro had not incorporated a substantial portion of halakhic literature, particularly the contribution of the Ashkenazi scholars; second, because he disputed Caro's main decisory canon, namely that Alfasi, Maimonides, and Asher b. Jehiel were the "pillars of halakhic decision," since it conflicted with the principle of *Hilkheta ke-Vatra'ei*, that the law was to be decided in accordance with the opinions of later distinguished scholars. Isserles accordingly changed the direction of his book to decide the law in accordance with this latter principle, noting specifically, moreover, that it would be permissible for the *dayyan* to differ even from this determination since "he must act only in accordance with what he sees with his own eyes" (*ibid.*; the *Darkhei Moshe* printed in the regular editions of the *Tur* and called *Darkhei Moshe Kaẓar* is apparently an abridgment of *Darkhei Moshe ha-Arokh*). Isserles pursued these objectives in his second codifying work, the *Torat Ḥattat*, embracing a substantial part of the ritual, mainly dietary laws, and compiled in the wake of the *Sha'arei Dura* (above). Later, when the Shulḥan Arukh also became available, Isserles decided to add his own glosses to it, which he "spread like a cloth" (i.e., *mappah*, by which name his glosses are known) on Caro's "prepared table" (the meaning of *shulḥan arukh*) of the *halakhah*.

In his glosses, representing the conclusions arrived at in his *Darkhei Moshe* (Rema, Resp. nos. 35 and 131), Isserles quoted the different Ashkenazi opinions and customs in order to decide between them according to the *Hilkheta ke-Vatra'ei* rule (*ibid.*, introduction), all in the brief and decisive style of the Shulḥan Arukh. If his glosses served to interrupt the element of uniform law imparted by the Shulḥan Arukh, this was nevertheless in keeping with Isserles' purpose: "that students shall not follow thereafter to drink from it without dispute," but that the *dayyan* should know of the existence of differing opinions, even if briefly stated, and decide according to the rule of *Hilkheta ke-Vatra'ei* and "what he sees with his own eyes" (*ibid.*). His glosses also make changes in the wording of the *meḥabber's* statements (i.e., "the author," as Caro is referred to in the Sh. Ar.; see, e.g., Sh. Ar., ḤM 121:9, Isserles and *Sma* 20); sometimes Caro's statements are explained (Isserles, Sh. Ar., ḤM 131:4 concl.) or contradictions between different decisions pointed out; at times a particular rule is added, so as to refine the structure of the main work (e.g., Sh. Ar., ḤM 182:1; cf. also the statements of Caro and Jacob b. Asher, mentioned above and Yad, *Sheluḥin*, etc., 1:1). Isserles' glosses rounded off the Shulḥan Arukh into a codification embracing all the nuances of the *halakhah* in use in the various Jewish centers. Whereas Abraham b. David's strictures on the *Mishneh Torah* resulted in a strong movement against Maimonides and the ultimate non-acceptance of his work as the codex of the *halakhah*, the glosses of Isserles – who called Caro "Light of Israel" and "*Rosh ha-Golah*" (introd. to *Darkhei Moshe*) and accepted the basic pattern of a "book of *pesakim*" alongside a "book of *halakhot*" – actually paved the way for the acceptance of the Shulḥan Arukh, in due course, as the authoritative and binding code of the masses of Israel.

Reactions to the Shulḥan Arukh

As was the case with earlier codifications, appreciation of the Shulḥan Arukh along with Isserles' glosses was mingled in the initial stages with a great deal of criticism, often severe, from the Oriental communities, as well as those of Germany and Poland (see, e.g., the criticism – later retracted – of Joseph ibn Lev of Turkey in *Shem ha-Gedolim* s.v. *Beit Yosef*; cf. the statements of Paltoi Gaon). Many halakhic scholars noted occasional contradictions between the *Beit Yosef* and Shulḥan Arukh; Jacob de Castro, Caro's younger contemporary, attributed these to the author's infirmity since the latter wrote the Shulḥan Arukh toward the end of his life (*Oholei Ya'akov*, 20), and accordingly wrote his own annotations, *Erekh Leḥem*. Samuel *Aboab, an Italian scholar of the mid-17th century, circulated the rumor that Caro had entrusted the compilation of the Shulḥan Arukh to his pupils (*Devar Shemu'el*, no. 251). Yom Tov *Ẓahalon, an early 17th-century scholar of Ereẓ Israel, ventured the sweeping opinion that the Shulḥan Arukh was compiled by Caro for "minors and ignoramuses (*Ammei ha-Areẓ*)" (Maharitaẓ, Resp. no. 67). These speculations contradicted Caro's own explicit statements on the subject (introd. to Sh. Ar.), except that he envisaged that pupils too should study his work, as was the hope of other codifiers (see also, in explanation of the above-mentioned contradictions, Azulai, *Shem ha-Gedolim,* s.v. *Shulḥan Arukh*; idem, *Maḥzik Berakhah*, YD 47:4; idem, *Birkei Yosef*, OḤ 188:12). Scholars of the Oriental communities were very hesitant to accept Caro's canon of deciding according to the majority opinion of Alfasi, Maimonides, and Asher b. Jehiel, since it conflicted with the *Hilkheta ke-Vatra'ei* rule (Reshakh, Resp. pt. 1 no. 134; *Birkei Yosef*, ḤM 25, 29). To some extent this difficulty was overcome by the aid of a tradition that 200 rabbis of Caro's generation had accepted his decisory canon (*Birkei Yosef, ibid.*), so that a majority of later scholars had in effect agreed to decide according to the "three pillars of halakhic decision." Despite these doubts, Caro's decisions and directives were accepted by the majority of Oriental scholars in his own lifetime (Ranaḥ, Resp. pt. 1, no. 109; *Yad Malakhi, Kelalei Sh. Ar.* 2).

In Poland and Germany criticism of the Shulḥan Arukh was far more severe and fundamental. The very concept of codifying the *halakhah* had already been rejected by the spiritual founders of Polish Jewry, Jacob Pollak and his pupil Shalom Shakhna, and this path was followed by the latter's pupils, *Judah Loeb b. Bezalel and his brother Ḥayyim. In Judah's opinion, once the already-decided law could be ascertained from a code without any mental effort, such effort would inevitably be channeled in the undesirable direction of *pilpul* ("hairsplitting") for its own sake, and proper study – in the order of Scripture, Mishnah, and Talmud – would become neglected (*Derekh Ḥayyim*, 6:6). Moreover, study and understanding of the law were prerequisites for deciding it; making decisions from a study of the talmudic and post-talmudic discussions – even if error were occasionally to result – was to be preferred to a "decision based on a single work without knowledge of the underlying reasoning, in a blind manner" (*ibid.*, and his *Netivot Olam, Netiv ha-Torah*, 15). In pursuing this approach, Judah Loeb b. Bezalel remarked that Maimonides and Jacob b. Asher had also intended no more than that the law should only be decided according to their codifications after the talmudic source of a rule was known to the *dayyan* (*ibid.*), a puzzling remark, particularly in light of Maimonides' own unequivocal statements (introd. to *Mishneh Torah*). Judah's brother Ḥayyim was opposed to the compilation of halakhic summaries, since "these lead to tardiness in studying the ancient works … progressively so the more they ease study" (introd. to *Vikku'aḥ Mayim Ḥayyim*, ed. Amsterdam (1711/12); moreover he fundamentally rejected the idea of reducing the *halakhah* to uniformity, the idea at the root of any codification, since "it may be believed that just as it is the nature of creation for the face of mankind to differ, so wisdom remains yet divided in its heart." Not only was it wrong to call lack of uniformity "a shortcoming rendering the Torah two *Torot*, Heaven forbid!"; on the contrary, "this is the way of the Torah, and these statements and those represent the words of the living God" ("*Ellu ve-Ellu Divrei Elohim Ḥayyim*"). Hence dispute was vital to the substance of the *halakhah* and offered increased possibilities for deciding the law according to the *dayyan's* own lights and existing circumstances (*ibid.*).

Other scholars of this generation took a less extreme attitude toward codifying in itself but criticized the method and form adopted by Caro and Isserles. Solomon Luria also raised his voice against the proliferation of halakhic dispute in his time, but vigorously opposed Caro's method of deciding the law – which he termed "compromise" – holding that a decision had to be made after examination of all opinions against the background of talmudic sources only, for "ever since the days of Ravina and Rav Ashi it has not been customary to decide according to one of the *geonim* or *aḥaronim*, but … according to the Talmud only and also – where a matter has been left undecided in the Talmud – according to the Jerusalem Talmud and Tosefta" (introd. to *Yam shel Shelomo*, BK; cf. Asher b. Jehiel's opinion, above). In this spirit he compiled his own "book of *halakhot*" *Yam shel Shelomo* (which he also began writing before Caro's works had reached him, altering it in light of the latter). In this work the talmudic sources and different opinions of the halakhic scholars are quoted alongside each rule, arranged in the order of the talmudic tractates. Although originally covering 16 tractates (according to his pupil, Eleazar Altschul in *Yam shel Shelomo* to BK, ed. Prague, 1622/3), only a part, covering seven tractates, is extant, in which his decisions on the law are given at the conclusion of the discussions.

A different approach was taken by Mordecai b. Abraham *Jaffe – younger contemporary of Solomon Luria and Isserles –

in his book *Levush Malkhut* (a title derived from Esth. 8:15). He too protested vigorously against the exaggerated *pilpul* marking study of the Torah in his time, but, unlike Judah Loeb b. Bezalel, he sought to restore the study method which had as its objective the ascertainment of the halakhic truth through the medium and study of a "book of *halakhot*." He regarded *Beit Yosef* as unsuitable for this purpose because of its lengthy deliberations, and when the Shulḥan Arukh with Isserles' glosses reached him he considered it equally unsuitable, because the statements were unduly brief and decisive. He therefore sought to compile a work that would "strike a balance between the two extremes … expanding when explanation is called for and abridging when proper" (introd. to his *Levush*). In addition to its instructional purpose, he intended his work to serve as a code (*ibid.*), containing in one and the same book the final conclusion without the talmudic discussions, but substantiated in each case in a brief and convenient manner. He divided his work into eight parts (actually ten) called *Levushim* (such as *Levush ha-Tekhelet, ha-Ḥur, Ir-Shushan*, etc. all derived from Esth. 8:15), and in the first five "tailored" (as he described it himself in his introduction) the entire body of the *halakhah* practiced in his time; the remaining *Levushim* were devoted to biblical exegesis, philosophy, etc.

In Mordecai Jaffe's generation and in the succeeding one protest increased against deciding the *halakhah* according to the Shulḥan Arukh. Thus Samuel Eliezer *Edels, the early 17th-century Polish scholar, considered that those who laid down the *halakhah* without having studied the talmudic sources were deserving of censure (in his *Ḥiddushei Halakhot ve-Aggadot*, Sot. 22a), and in order to promote general study of the Talmud, he wrote a classic supercommentary on the Talmud, Rashi's commentary, and the *tosafot*. *Meir b. Gedaliah (the Ma-Ha-Ra-M of Lublin), who also wrote a supercommentary on the Talmud and its commentaries, noted that he would base no decision of his own on the Shulḥan Arukh and the *Levushim*, "which are like head-notes and unclear and many are led astray by their statements to wrongly permit what is prohibited or exempt from liability" (his Responsum no. 135). He recognized Caro's stature and sometimes even relied on his rulings (e.g., Resp. no. 118), but sought to prevent the Shulḥan Arukh or any other similar work from constituting an authoritative codex of the *halakhah*. The contemporary scholar Yom Tov Lipmann *Heller, author of the *Tosafot Yom Tov* on the Mishnah, also criticized the codifying efforts of Maimonides and Jacob b. Asher as well as Caro and Isserles. Like his teacher, Judah Loeb b. Bezalel, Heller too was satisfied that in any event none of them had envisaged that the law should be decided in accordance with his own work except "after having already labored to find and know the problems in the *Gemara*" (introd. to *Ma'adanei Yom Tov* and *Divrei Ḥamudot* on *Piskei ha-Rosh*). Even when this condition was satisfied, a proper codification should adopt the method of Alfasi and Asher b. Jehiel who precede the halakhic conclusion with the relevant talmudic discussion (*ibid.*). Since Heller regarded Asher b. Jehiel's *Piskei ha-Rosh* as the halakhic code, he wrote his commentaries (*Ma'adanei Yom Tov* and *Divrei Ḥamudot*) to explain this work and resolve the problems emerging from it, and he also corrected errors and added rules elaborated since Asher's time, even differing occasionally from Asher's decisions (*ibid.* introd.).

Acceptance of the Shulḥan Arukh as the Authoritative Halakhic Code

This attitude toward Caro's and Isserles' codification was apparently shared by most of the succeeding generation of scholars and for some time it seemed that their combined creation, like all similar earlier works, would fall short of providing an overall solution to the problem of an acceptable code. In the end, however, two factors were instrumental in bringing about the desired result. The first was the contribution of Joshua b. Alexander Ha-Kohen *Falk, pupil of both Solomon Luria and Isserles. In the form it adopted, he found no fault with the *Beit Yosef* (although he criticized it for other reasons), but he took a different view with regard to the Shulḥan Arukh and Isserles' glosses. In his opinion Caro and Isserles had only intended the law to be decided according to the Shulḥan Arukh when the talmudic sources were known from a study of the *Tur* and *Beit Yosef* (cf. the views of Judah Loeb b. Bezalel and of Heller, above). He added that in his time "people decide according to the Shulḥan Arukh [only] and render themselves a disservice … since they do not properly understand the substance of the statements" (in his introd. to *Beit Yisrael* and *Sma*). In order that Caro's original purpose should be fulfilled, Falk wrote (in addition to his commentaries on the *Turim* and *Beit Yosef*) a commentary on the Shulḥan Arukh itself, intended not only to explain the latter but also to constitute an integral part of it: "without this commentary it shall be forbidden to decide the law according thereto" (i.e., to the Sh. Ar.; *ibid.*). In this way, he believed, the Shulḥan Arukh – with its brief and decisive rules – would become the "book of *pesakim*," but decision in accordance with it would be permissible only after study of the corresponding comment alongside each paragraph, so that possible error resulting from misunderstanding of the main work would be eliminated. Falk found experience to have shown that Caro's method of compiling two separate types of books to supplement each other did not suffice to link a synoptic and determinative statement of the *halakhah* with its sources, and therefore this link had to be established in the "book of *pesakim*" itself – not, however, by fusing the substantiation into the final conclusion, but by separately adducing the former alongside the latter (*ibid.* and in this connection see also his remarks concerning Jaffe's *Levushim*). His commentary, *Sefer Me'irat Einayim* (known as the "*Sma*"), quotes the sources of each law and the different opinions expressed as well as new rules and resolved problems. It is confined to the part on *Ḥoshen Mishpat*, "which is an occupation of Torah and to which all turn their eyes to decide in accordance therewith" (*ibid*, interesting evidence of the practice in Jewish civil law), the author apparently having been unable to complete his intended commentary on all parts of the Shulḥan Arukh (*ibid.*).

Joel Sirkes (author of *Bayit Ḥadash*, a commentary on the *Turim*), who was opposed to deciding the law from the Shulḥan Arukh for very similar reasons (Baḥ, Resp. Yeshanot no. 80; also Bah, Resp. Ḥadashot no. 42), apparently sought to follow in the footsteps of Falk. In addition to commenting on the *Turim* and the *Beit Yosef*, he began a commentary on the Shulḥan Arukh (Baḥ to ḤM, introd.), presumably with the same object in mind as Falk. The *Sma* rounded off the final form of the halakhic code that had been prepared by Caro and Isserles. The brevity and finality of a "book of *pesakim*" ensured convenient use and easy reference; the extended scope of a "book of *halakhot*," with commentary alongside the former within the same book, provided the link between the *halakhah* and its sources. Distinguished scholars of the post-*Sma* generation were soon to adorn all parts of the Shulḥan Arukh with their commentaries. The following became its classic and acknowledged "arms-bearers," in whose terms the directives of the Shulḥan Arukh have been rendered authoritative and binding: the *Turei Zahav* or "Taz" of *David b. Samuel ha-Levi (on all four parts, but mainly on OḤ and YD); the *Siftei Kohen* or "*Shakh*" of *Shabbetai b. Meir ha-Kohen (on YD and ḤM); the *Ḥelkat Meḥokek* of Moses *Lima; the *Beit Shemu'el* of *Samuel b. Uri Shraga Phoebus (both on EH); and Abraham Abele *Gombiner's *Magen Avraham* (on OḤ).

It is more than likely that this eventual resolution of the problem of codifying would have been further delayed but for the fateful historical events overtaking the Jewish world at this time. The generation of the "arms-bearing" commentators on the Shulḥan Arukh saw Jewish life in central Europe disrupted once more, this time by the upheavals of the mid-17th century, when the *Chmielnicki massacres of 1648 resulted in the liquidation of many Jewish communities and halakhic centers. Once more such disruption stimulated the trend to codification, but this time there was a code complete and ready, waiting only for endorsement by the leading scholars of the generation. Thus Menahem Mendel *Krochmal, the distinguished 17th-century German scholar, stated that "upon publication of the *Beit Yosef* and Shulḥan Arukh followed by Isserles' glosses, and the dispersal of these among all Israel … we have nothing but their statements" (*Ẓemaḥ Ẓedek* no. 9). In the course of time it was further emphasized that, with the addition of its above-mentioned commentaries, the Shulḥan Arukh had become the authoritative and binding halakhic code (*Pitḥei Teshuvah*, YD 242:8).

After the Shulḥan Arukh

A study of the codificatory trend in Jewish law reveals the interesting historical phenomenon of a recurring revival of activity at regular intervals of 100–200 years: in the eighth and ninth centuries the geonic "books of *Halakhot*"; in the 11th century Alfasi's *Sefer ha-Halakhot*; in the 12th century Maimonides' *Mishneh Torah*; in the 14th century Jacob b. Asher's *Turim;* and finally, Caro's Shulḥan Arukh with Isserles' glosses in the 16th century. This historical pattern has stood interrupted since then and for some four centuries there has been no further recognized and authoritative code that embraces the entire field of the *halakhah*. The reason for this is bound up with the coming of emancipation at the end of the 18th century, an event that fundamentally changed the face of Jewish society. One of its consequences was the abrogation of Jewish organizational and, gradually, judicial *autonomy, leading to the division of Jewish society into traditional and non-traditional elements. All this weakened the authority of the *halakhah* and deprived it of much of its dynamism, just as it reduced the need for any additional "book of *pesakim*." As the fields of halakhic interest and influence narrowed, so the scope of halakhic works from the middle of the 18th century onward became more and more limited to matters of actual daily life – in the same way as the overwhelming majority of earlier "books of *halakhot*" and "*pesakim*" had dealt only with the laws customary at the time of their compilation. Thus works such as the *Shulḥan Arukh* of *Shneur Zalman of Lyady (1747–1812, the founder of Ḥabad Ḥasidism), the *Ḥayyei Adam* and *Ḥokhmat Adam* of Abraham *Danzig (1748–1820), and the well-known *Kiẓẓur Shulḥan Arukh* of Solomon *Ganzfried (1804–86) are confined in effect to matters discussed in *Oraḥ Ḥayyim, Yoreh De'ah*, and part of *Even ha-Ezer* (in the Sh. Ar.) and virtually do not deal at all with matters in the *Ḥoshen Mishpat*, the latter continuing to be a subject of academic study only. (A notable exception is the *Arukh ha-Shulḥan* compiled by Jehiel Michael *Epstein (d. 1908) on all four parts of the Shulḥan Arukh; additional portions of this work have been published under the title *Arukh ha-Shulḥan he-Atid*, dealing with matters not discussed in the Shulḥan Arukh, such as the laws of *Pe'ah, Terumah, Sanhedrin, Melakhim*, etc.) None of these works, however, has been able to disturb the status of the Shulḥan Arukh as the authoritative "book of *pesakim*" in Jewish law, not even with reference to the matters actually dealt with in them, and they may be described as merely forming part of the great commentative literature surrounding the Shulḥan Arukh.

Of course, apart from the above-mentioned works of the post-Shulḥan Arukh period, the literature of the *halakhah* has been further increased by a rich contribution of supplementary "arms-bearers" to the Shulḥan Arukh: commentaries, novellae, and responsa as well as *takkanot* and customs; all of which the present-day *dayyan* must take into consideration when deciding the law – subject still to the overriding authority of the Shulḥan Arukh with its acknowledged commentaries. With the return of the Jewish people to their homeland, all the past factors and imperatives of codification have reasserted themselves – perhaps with greater vigor. To the usual array of factors necessitating elucidation of the law – halakhic dispute, profusion of material (particularly since compilation of the Shulḥan Arukh), and the more recent phenomenon of a religiously divided Jewry – must now be added a large variety of questions arising from the social, economic, and technological realities of the present time.

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[Menachem Elon]

°**CODREANU, CORNELIU ZELEA** (1899–1938), founder and leader (“*Capitanul*”) of the antisemitic *Iron Guard in Romania. Codreanu began his political activities in Jassy in 1919 as an anti-Jewish and “anti-Marxist” student leader. In the years 1923–25 he was secretary of *Cuza’s party and head of Cuza’s antisemitic student movement. An active terrorist, he assassinated the Jassy chief of police who resisted an antisemitic students’ campaign (1925). As head of the “Legion of Archangel Michael,” which he founded in 1927, he incited the student movement to a pogrom in which the synagogues in Oradea-Mare were burned and Torah scrolls desecrated. The Legion, known as the Iron Guard from 1930, was shaped by Codreanu into a rabidly antisemitic paramilitary organization. He also demanded a Christian-nationalist, totalitarian system. In 1938 he was arrested by order of King Carol, who feared his influence after his party achieved 16% of the vote in the 1937 elections. He was sentenced to ten years’ forced labor, but was shot in November. During the Iron Guard rule in Romania, he was the object of the Guard’s mystic veneration. He was the author of *Eiserne Garde* (1939).

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[Bela Adalbert Vago]

COELE-SYRIA, the official Seleucid designation for those portions of Palestine and southern Syria captured by Antiochus III from the Ptolemies (c. 200 B.C.E.). Under Ptolemaic rule these territories were known officially as “Syria and Phoenicia,” but this title was apparently unacceptable to the Seleucids, who felt it necessary to differentiate between greater Syria, which had been theirs throughout the third century, and those new portions of Syria conquered by Antiochus. Although the name “Coele-Syria” assumed official significance only from the second century B.C.E., it first appears in sources dating back to the early fourth century (Ctesias (Diodorus 2:3, 2) and “Pseudo-Scytax” where its precise geographical implication is uncertain). The author of the apocryphal Esdras substitutes the phrase “Coele-Syria” for the Aramaic expression *avar nahara* (across the river) which appears in the parallel passages in the biblical Ezra. The term is defined by Herodotus (3:91) as the fifth satrapy of the Persian Kingdom, and would thus refer to all the lands between the Euphrates and the Mediterranean, from Cilicia to Egypt. Ptolemy Lagus referred to southern Syria as “Coele-Syria” as a means to claiming the rule of the whole of Syria. The geographical meaning of the term “Coele-Syria” changed during the last century B.C.E.; Strabo took it to mean the land between Lebanon and Antilebanon, while Josephus understood it as referring to some unclearly defined area east of the River Jordan.

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[Isaiah Gafni]

COEN, ACHILLE (1844–1921), Italian historian. Coen was professor of history at the Accademia Scientifico-Litteraria, Milan (1879), and the University of Florence (1887–1911). He is renowned as the teacher of a great number of noted Italian historians. His research included political and economic history. His publications include *L’Abdicazione di Diocleziano* (1877); *Di una leggenda relativa alla nascita e alla gioventù di Costantino Magno* (1882); *La persecuzione neroniana dei cristiani* (1901); and *Le risorse economiche della Tripolitania nell’ antichità* (1915).

COEN, GIUSEPPE (1811–1856), Italian painter and pioneer art photographer, born in Ferrara. Orphaned at an early age, Coen chose to make art his profession, and became a landscape and architectural painter in the manner of Canaletto. In 1850 he moved from Ferrara to Venice, where he practiced the new art of photography, winning a silver medal for his views of Venice at the Paris Exhibition of 1855.

COÈN, GRAZIADIO VITA ANANIA (1751–1834), Italian rabbi, scholar, and author. Born in Reggio Emilia, he studied under the greatest Italian rabbis of his day. Coèn taught and served as rabbi in several communities until 1825 when he became rabbi of Florence, a post he held until his death. He wrote extensively, and his work included poetry, linguistic and biblical studies, and textbooks. His two books on the Hebrew poetry of his time, *Zemirot Yisrael* (“Songs of Israel,” Leghorn, 1793) and *Ru’aḥ Ḥadashah* (“A New Spirit,” Reggio, 1822) were among the first works written on this subject. His other books include *Bamot Ba’al* (“Highplaces [altars] of Ba’al,” Reggio, 1809) on idolatry in the Bible, and *Safah Aḥat* (“One Language,” Reggio, 1822), a study of the biblical sources of mishnaic Hebrew.

[Getzel Kressel]

COEN, JOEL (1954–) and **ETHAN** (1957–), U.S. filmmakers. The Coen brothers were born in Minneapolis, Minn., to college professors Edward (economics) and Rena (art history). Raised in a middle-class Jewish household, their uneventful childhood was spent watching old comedies and noir thrillers on TV and recreating films like *The Naked Prey* and *Advice and Consent* with a Super-8 camera. Joel first attended college at Simon's Rock in Massachusetts and then studied film at New York University. Ethan went on to Princeton, where he studied philosophy and wrote his thesis on Wittgenstein. Joel took on editing small-budget films after college, which included work with director Sam Raimi, providing Coen with real-world production experience. Ethan followed his brother to New York in 1979 and took a job with Macy's as a statistical typist. The brothers spent a good deal of time together and began collaborating on screenplays. When the Coens decided to make their first film together, Joel's experience watching filmmakers lose creative control over their own projects inspired the brothers to finance their first film, *Blood Simple* (1984), themselves. In 1981, Joel went back to Minnesota and was able to raise $750,000 by selling limited partnerships to friends and family, and a year later they filmed the thriller in Austin, Texas. To reduce high costs normally associated with filmmaking, every scene and angle was mapped out with storyboards, a practice they continue to use as a team to ensure tight budgets, effective directing, and creative control. In 1984, Circle Releasing agreed to distribute *Blood Simple*, which took the Grand Jury Prize at the 1985 United States Film Festival. However, critics were split on the project and every Coen brothers film since. *Blood Simple* was followed by the madcap comedy *Raising Arizona* (1987), which set off a distribution bidding war among the major studios; the gamble on the brothers paid off for Twentieth Century Fox, and the Coens won over a mainstream audience. *Raising Arizona* was followed by the gangster tale *Miller's Crossing* (1990); the 1930s Hollywood drama *Barton Fink* (1991), which took the Palme d'Or for best picture, best director, and best actor at the Cannes Film Festival; and the Frank Capra–like comedy *The Hudsucker Proxy* (1994). In 1996, the same year *Fargo* was released, Joel married the brothers' sometime leading lady Frances McDormand on April 1. *Fargo* won best feature, best director for Joel, best actor for William H. Macy, best actress for McDormand, and best screenplay for Joel and Ethan at the 1997 Independent Spirit Awards; McDormand also won best actress at the 1997 Academy Awards for her *Fargo* role. The Coens followed with the noir comedy *The Big Lebowski* (1998), the Odyssey-based Depression-era period piece *O Brother, Where Art Thou?* (2000), *The Man Who Wasn't There* (2001), *Intolerable Cruelty* (2003), and a remake of the comedy *The Ladykillers* (2004). In 1998, Ethan released a book of semi-autobiographical short stories titled *Gates of Eden*, followed by *The Drunken Driver Has the Right of Way: Poems* (2001).

[Adam Wills (2nd ed.)]

COFFEE, RUDOLPH ISAAC (1878–1955), U.S. rabbi and chaplain. Coffee was born in Oakland, California, and received his B.A. from Columbia University in 1900 and his Ph.D. from the University of Pittsburgh in 1908. He was ordained at the Conservative movement's Jewish Theological Seminary in 1904, but later affiliated with the Reform Central Conference of American Rabbis (c. 1910). He spent one year as superintendent of New York's Hebrew Orphan Asylum and then became rabbi of Tree of Life Congregation, a Conservative synagogue in Pittsburgh (1906–15). In 1915, he was appointed director of the Social Service Department of B'nai B'rith in Washington, D.C. After serving as rabbi of Temple Judea in Chicago (1917–20) and the Collingwood Avenue Temple in Toledo, Ohio (1920–21), he returned to his native Oakland to become rabbi of Temple Sinai (1921–34). Upon retiring from his career as a pulpit rabbi, he served as secretary of the San Francisco Conference of Christians and Jews (1934–39), president of the Temple of Religion at the Golden Gate International Exhibition (1939–40), and vice president of the Interfaith Committee for Aid to the Democracies (1941–42). He was a member of the editorial staff of *The Sentinel* in Chicago (1918–23) and the editor of *The Jewish Times* in San Francisco (1922–24).

It was as a chaplain that Coffee made his pioneering contributions to Jewish communal life. Beginning in 1921, he began visiting the San Quentin and Folsom State Prisons on a monthly basis, at his own expense. In 1925, he was appointed chaplain of the California Assembly, becoming the first Jew to be chaplain of any American legislative body. Subsequently, he became the first rabbi elected president of the National Chaplains Association (later, the American Correctional Chaplains Association). He also served as president (1923–42) and then honorary president of the Jewish Committee for Personal Service in State Institutions (1942 until his death). Concurrently, he was a member of the State Board of Charities and Corrections (1924–31). In 1934, in his capacity as president of the JCPS, Coffee was tapped to be the first Jewish chaplain of the new federal penitentiary established on Alcatraz Island. In 1942, he was finally officially appointed chaplain at San Quentin and Folsom; he served the Jewish inmates of all three penal institutions until his death. In 1946, he was named Jewish chaplain of the San Francisco Fire Department. Coffee's writings include *Hebrew Cosmology* (1908) and *Israel's Contributions to America* (1910).

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[Bezalel Gordon (2nd ed.)]

COFFIN. The only biblical reference to a coffin is to the one in which the embalmed body of Joseph was kept (Gen. 50:26), which the Talmud described as being made of metal (Sot. 13a). However, in the Midrash, R. Levi interprets the biblical phrase that Adam and Eve hid themselves in the wood of the garden to mean that their descendants would be placed within coffins of wood (Gen. R. 19:8). The custom of using wooden coffins is recorded in the Talmud (Sanh. 98a–b; TJ, Kil. 9:3, 32b). The Mishnah quotes the rule that the coffins of those who were placed under *ḥerem by a *bet din* were stoned as a sign of disgrace (cf. Eduy. 5:6; Sh. Ar., YD 334:3). As the Persians regularly desecrated graves by feeding their horses from coffins, R. *Yose b. Kisma asked for his coffin to be buried deep in the ground (Sanh. 98a–b). Similarly, a law was passed expressly forbidding the use of objects taken from graves and even coffins no longer in use were to be destroyed (YD 363:5). General usage in talmudic times indicates that the body was borne to the cemetery on a *mittah* ("bier") and coffins were used only to transport corpses to distant places (MK 25a; Ket. 111a; TJ, Kil. 9:4, 32b). Dead babies aged up to 30 days were carried to the cemetery by hand, aged one month to one year in a sarcophagus *(geloskamah)*, and those older than one year on a bier (cf. Sh. Ar., YD 353:5). Maimonides rules that bodies should be buried in a wooden coffin (Yad, 4:4). In the Middle Ages there was no general rule as to whether burial should be in a coffin. In Spain the coffin was not in vogue. Among French Jews, the coffin was made from the table that had witnessed the hospitality and generosity of the deceased. This was also the custom in Eastern Europe where rabbis were buried in coffins made from the desks at which they had studied. In the 16th century the kabbalistic notion prevailed that it was meritorious for the dead to be buried in direct contact with the earth in fulfillment of the biblical verse "for dust thou art and unto dust shalt thou return" (Gen. 3:19; cf. Naḥmanides, quoted by Joseph Caro, in *Beit Yosef* to Tur YD 362). Interment without a coffin thus became the rule strictly adhered to by Orthodox Jews. Where municipal law required the use of coffins, their bottoms were made either of loose boards, or holes were drilled into them to bring the body into contact with the earth, based in part upon *Judah ha-Nasi's will: "Let holes be drilled in my coffin" (TJ, Kil. 9:4, 32b). An exception was made for kohanim and firstborn sons who were buried in coffins without holes into which earth from the Holy Land was placed. Whereas Orthodox Jews of the West now comply with the laws of their country of residence by using coffins, they generally make them plain and cheap in order to comply with the edict of R. *Gamaliel (Ket. 8b). In U.S. cemeteries, however, many employ elaborate wooden or metal caskets, and sometimes a concrete casing (vault) is used to surround the casket in the grave. In Israel the body is carried to the grave on a litter and buried without a coffin, except in the case of soldiers who are buried in simple wooden coffins, which is also the custom in most of the kibbutzim.

See: *Burial; *Cemetery.

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Ornamental entrance gates to the Israel President's Residence, 1971, by Bezalel Schatz (1912–1978), Israeli sculptor. The gates contain themes of the *menorah*, the Hebrew letter *shin*, a tree, and praying hands. Iron. *Photo: David Harris.*

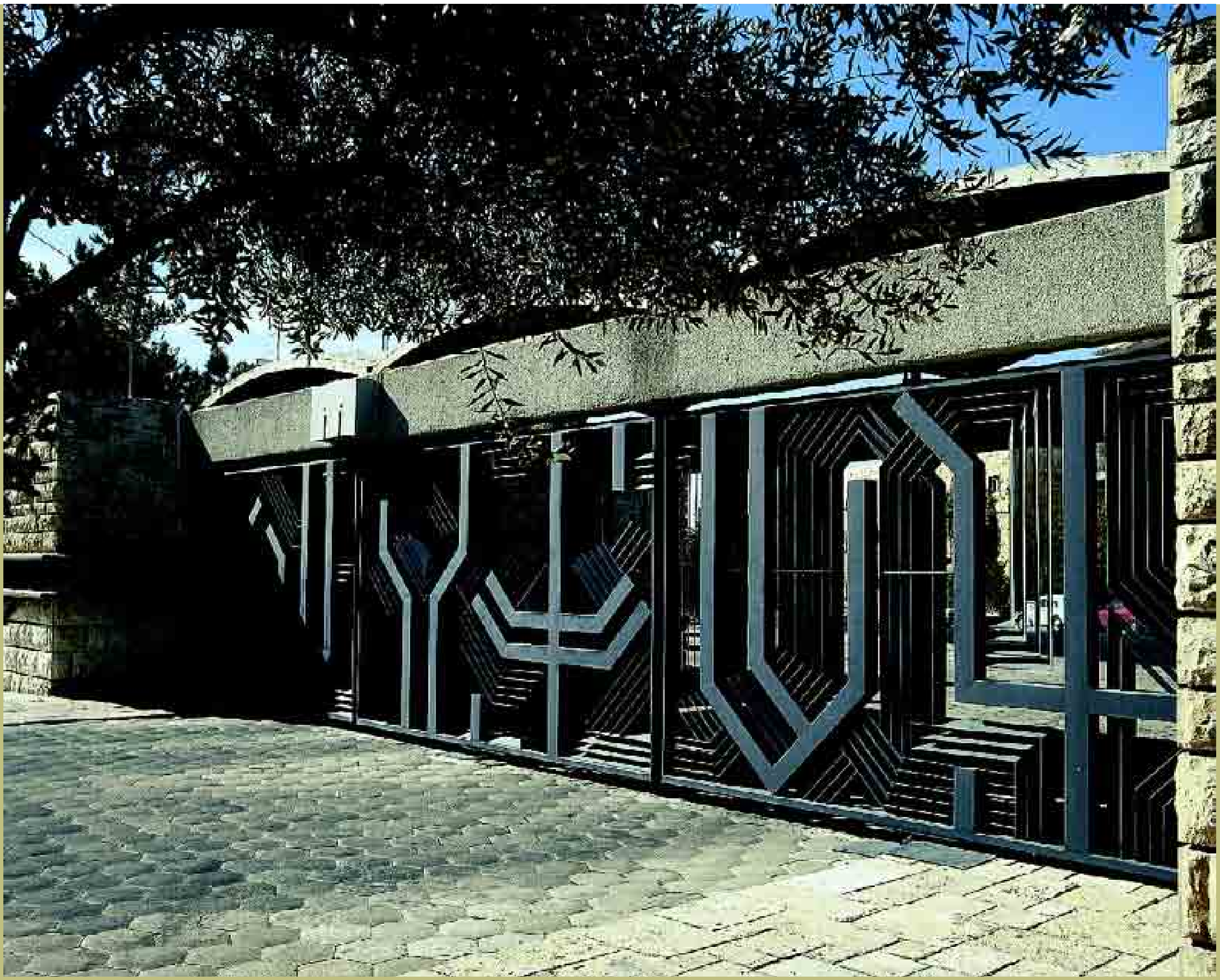

Throughout the twentieth century there has been some debate as to what makes a work of art "Jewish." Does the art have to contain Jewish themes and images, or is the fact that the artist is Jewish enough to call it Jewish art? Jewish art that fits either definition is presented here to show its diversity, including a sampler of calligraphic work that was created during the latter part of the twentieth century, when there was a renewed interest in the applications of Hebrew calligraphy.

art and calligraphy

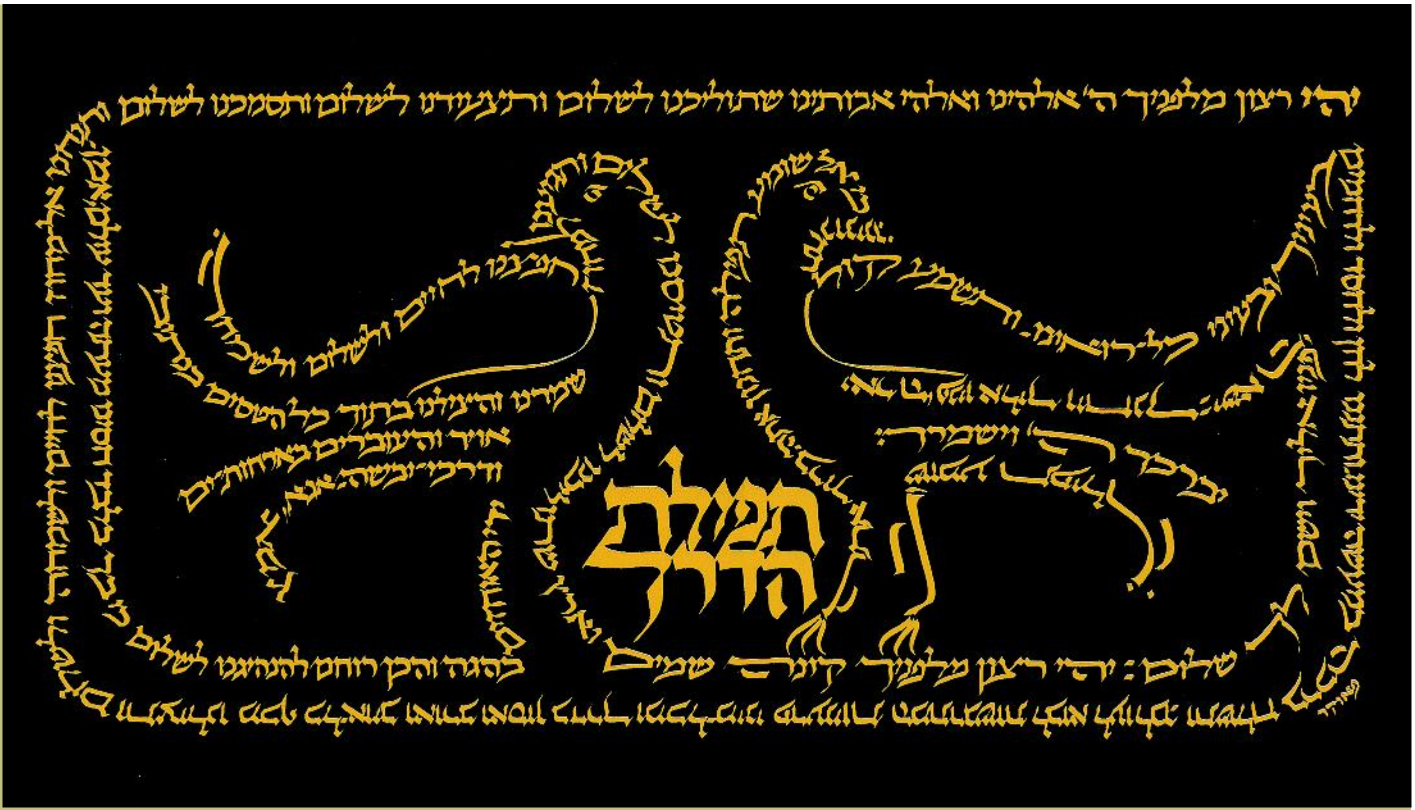
יהי רצון מלפניך ה' אלהינו ואלהי אבותינו שתוליכנו לשלום ותצעידנו לשלום ותסמכנו לשלום
תפילת הדרך

ABOVE:
***Traveler's Prayer*, 1969, by Fred Pauker, using his internationally acclaimed letter design.**
© Mrs. Evelyn Pauker.

RIGHT:
***Sailor with Guitar*, 1914, by Jacques Lipchitz (1891–1973), born in Lithuania, active in France. Bronze, 31 x 11 5/8 x 8 1/2 in.**
© Philadelphia Museum of Art/Corbis.

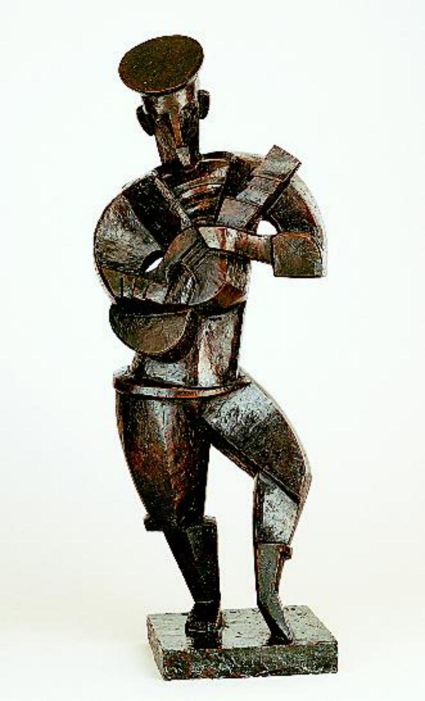

(opposite page):
***Portrait of Jeanne Hebuterne, Seated*, 1918, by Amadeo Modigliani (1884–1920), born in Italy, active in France. Oil on canvas.** *Gift of Stella Fishbach to the American Friends of the Israel Museum. Collection, The Israel Museum, Jerusalem. Photo © The Israel Museum, by Yoram Lehmann.*

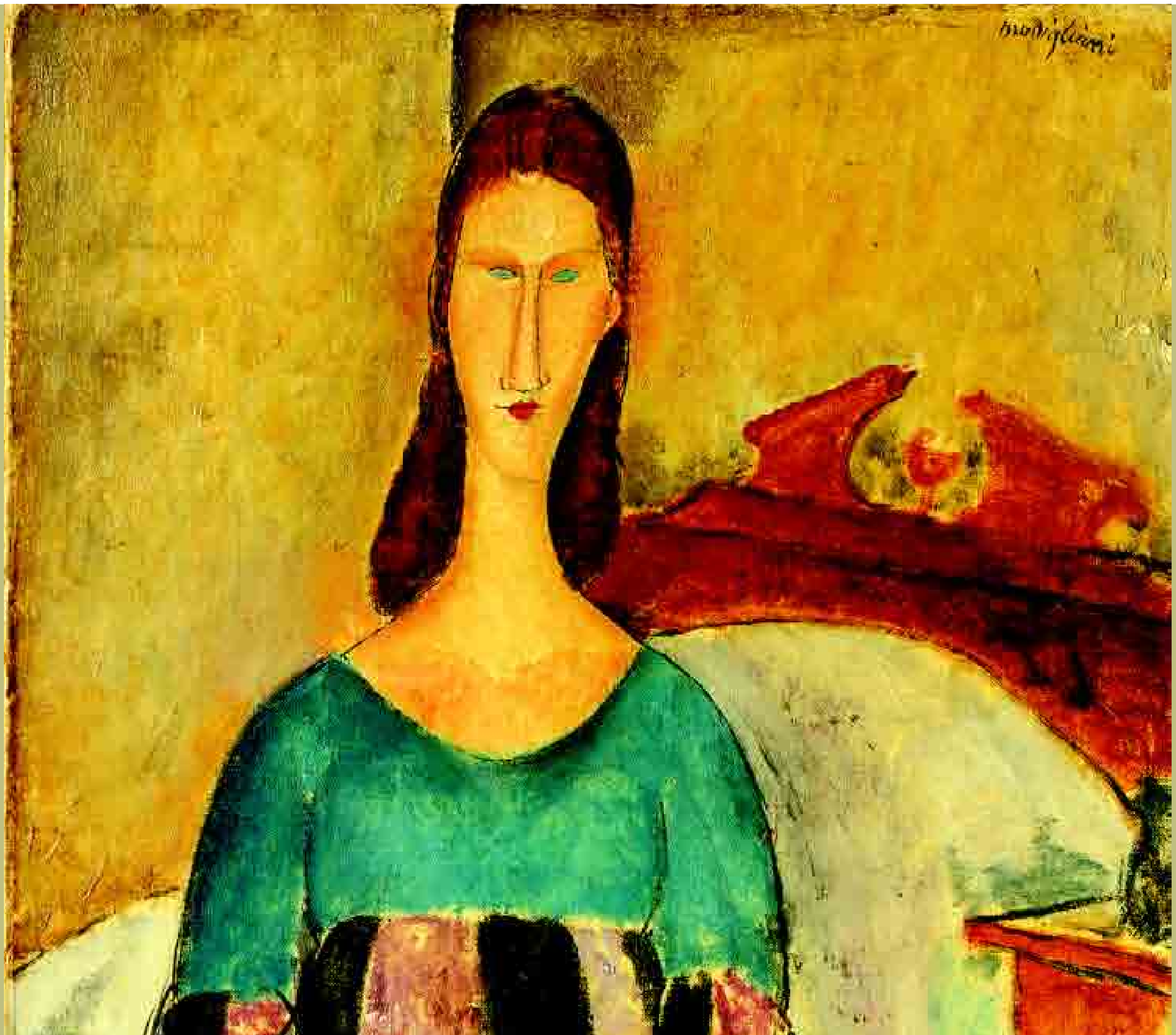
modigliani

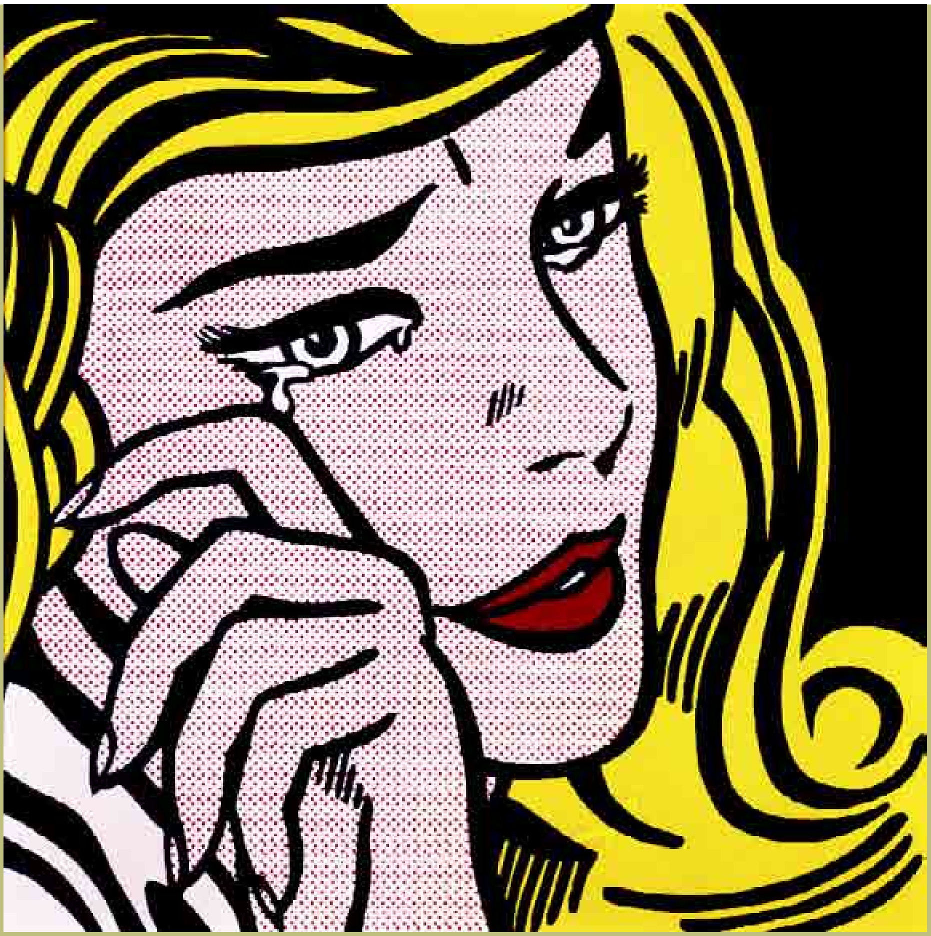

LEFT:
***Crying Girl*, 1964, by Roy Lichtenstein (1923–1997), American pop artist. Enamel on steel.** *© Estate of Roy Lichtenstein.*

BELOW:
***We Don't Need Another Hero*, 1987, by Barbara Kruger (1945–), American photographer. Photographic silkscreen.** *Photograph by Zindman/Fremont. Courtesy Mary Boone Gallery, New York.*

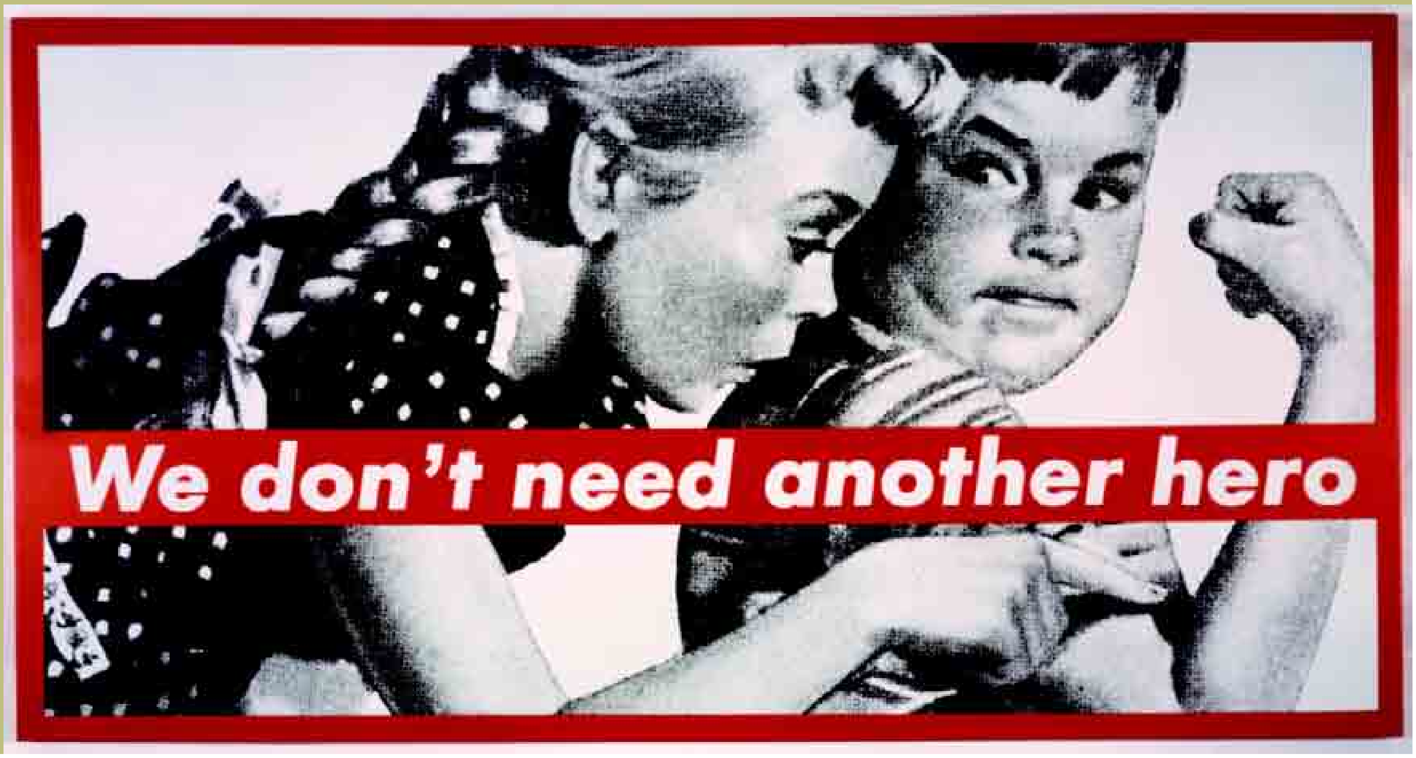
We don't need another hero

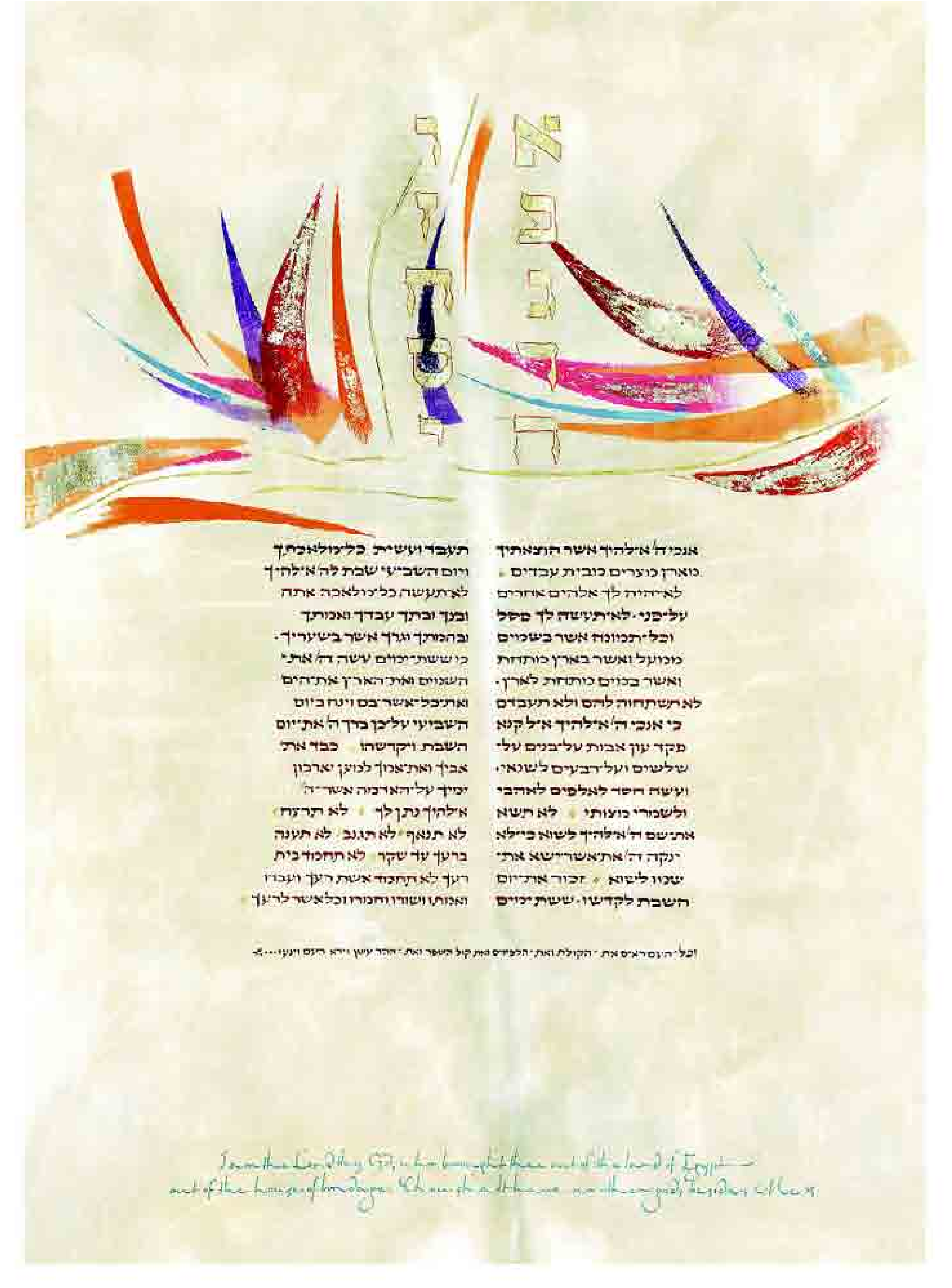
I am the Lord thy God, who have brought thee out of the land of Egypt —
out of the house of bondage. Thou shalt have no other gods before me.

The Ten Commandments in mixed media gilded with 23.5 gold leaf on fine artist paper, 90 x 120 cm, by Malla Carl.

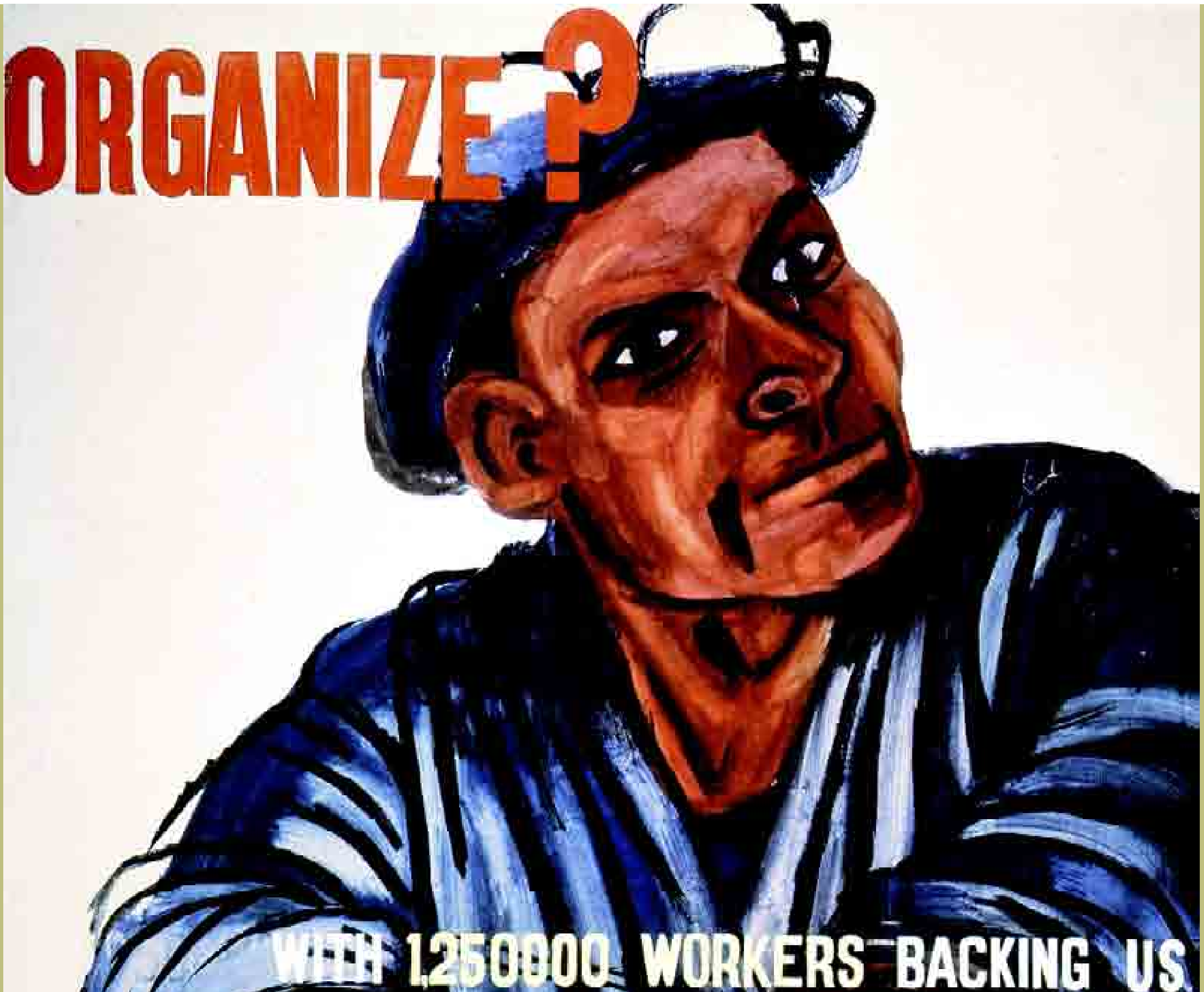
ORGANIZE?
WITH 1,250000 WORKERS BACKING US
OF COURSE WE WILL
ORGANIZE

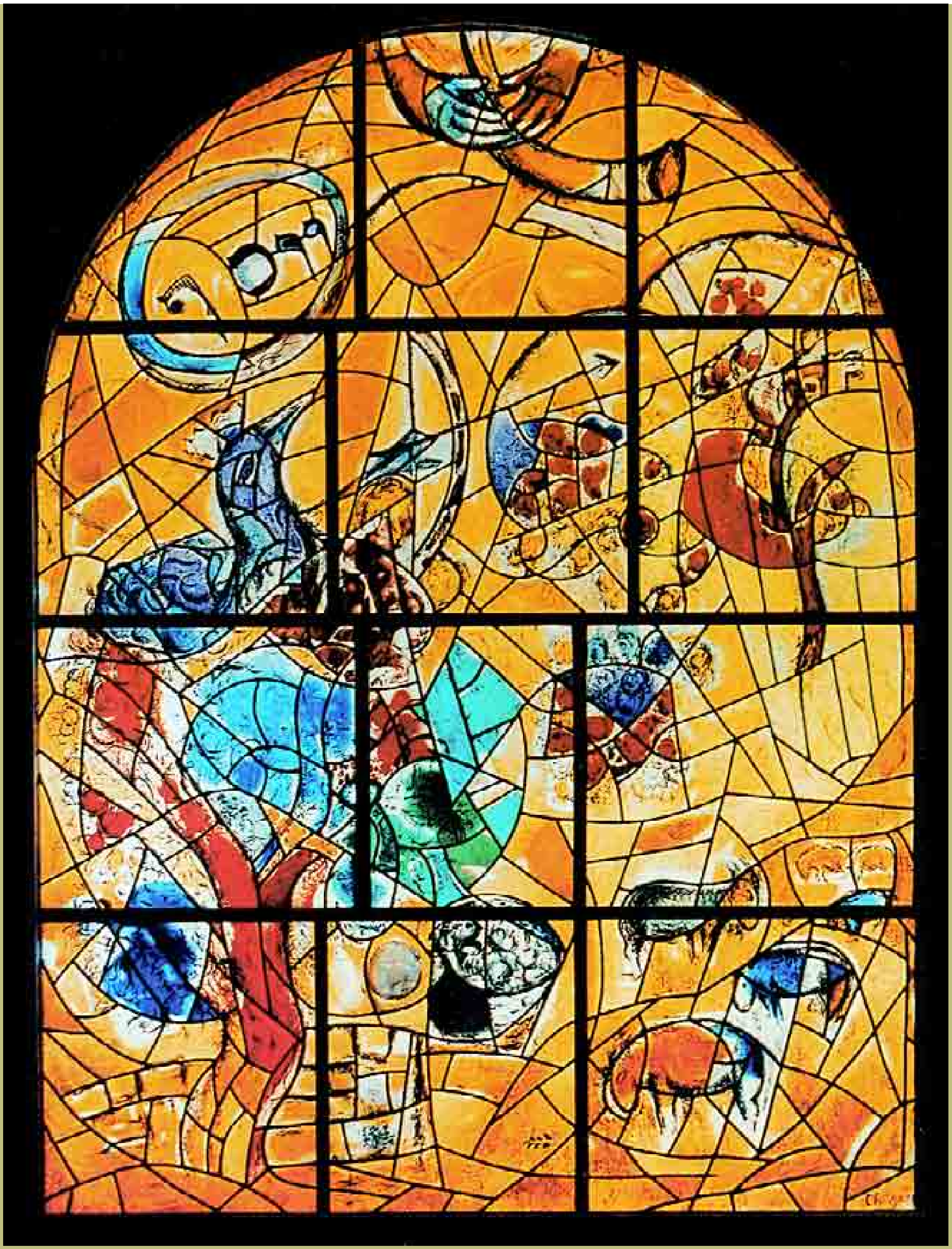

(opposite page): ***Organize? With 1,250,000 Workers Backing Us, Of Course We Will Organize***, late 1930s, by Ben Shahn (1898–1969), American painter and photographer, born in Lithuania. Oil on canvas. *The Granger Collection.*

ABOVE: ***The Tribe of Joseph***, 1960, by Marc Chagall (1887–1985), born in Russia, active in France. This is one of the Twelve Tribes of Israel stained glass windows in the Abbell Synagogue at the Hadassah University Medical Center in Jerusalem. *© ADAGP, Paris 2006.*

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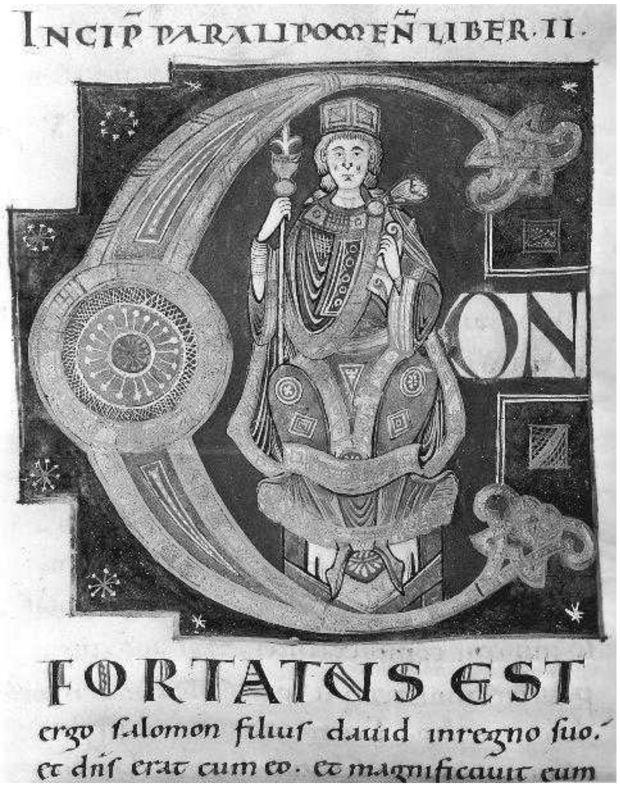
INCIP PARALIPOMEN LIBER II.
CON
FORTATUS EST
ergo salomon filius david inregno suo.
et dns erat cum eo. et magnificauit eum

Initial "C" at the opening of II Chronicles in the Bible of Saint Martial of Limoges, *France, 12th century, depicting Solomon enthroned, Paris, Biblithèque Nationale, Ms. Lat. 8, Vol. II, fol. 102.*

Coh–Cz

COHEN, Italian family of majolica makers, active in Pesaro and Ancona from 1614 to 1673. The following names are known: ISAAC (Pesaro, 1613–14), JACOB (Ancona, 1654), and ISAAC (II; Ancona, 1673–77). Together with the *Azulai family, the Cohen family produced most of the majolica *seder* dishes that were made in Renaissance Italy. In the case of dishes made by Jacob Cohen, the manufacturer's mark is a crown to denote priesthood, instead of the usual Star of David.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: C. Roth, in: *Eretz Israel*, 7 (1964), 106–11.

[David Maisel]

COHEN, prominent U.S. family in the 18th–19th centuries, mostly in Baltimore. JACOB I. (1744–1823) was the first of the family to go from Oberdorf, Germany, to the U.S. (1773). He served in the Revolutionary Army, and in 1780 settled in Richmond. A successful banker and merchant, he was much honored by the citizens of his city. Like other leading Jews of that period, Jacob I. Cohen was active in Masonic affairs. He was also active in Jewish affairs and was a founder of the first Richmond synagogue, Beth Shalom. The last 17 years of his life were spent in Philadelphia. He was the pillar of the city's Mikveh Israel Congregation and served as its president during 1810–11. In his will he provided that upon his death his black slaves were to be freed and each one given $25.00. The progenitor of the Baltimore branch of the family was Jacob's brother, ISRAEL I. (1751–1803), who arrived in the U.S. from Germany around 1784. He too settled in Richmond, where he became a leading citizen and was very active in Jewish affairs. In 1808 his widow Judith (Salomon) moved with her seven children to Baltimore, where Israel's descendants became prominent as financiers, scientists, physicians, and public servants.

JACOB I. (1789–1869) eldest of Israel's sons, started out in the lottery business in Baltimore and branched out into banking, establishing J.I. Cohen, Jr. and Bros. The bank had a considerable reputation, with a branch in Philadelphia. It was also a fiscal agent of the Rothschilds. In addition to banking, Jacob I. Cohen's other enterprises included a directorship of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad and the presidency of the Baltimore-Philadelphia Railroad. Although U.S.-born, Cohen was active in the affairs of the German Society of Maryland. He held a *minyan* for services in his palatial home. He is best remembered for his participation with Solomon *Etting in the protracted struggle for Jewish equality in Maryland. In a memorial presented by him to the legislature he stressed that Jews were not asking for privileges, but rights, and that "to disqualify any class of citizen is for the people to disqualify themselves." After the passing of the so-called "Jew Bill," Cohen was elected a councilman of the city (1826), later serving as president of the city council during 1845–51. He never joined any Baltimore synagogue, but did participate in the organization of a short-lived Sephardi congregation (1856–58). MENDES I. (1796–1879), brother of Jacob I., was born in Richmond and spent a few years in the banking business. He then traveled abroad during 1829–35, visiting practically every country in Europe and the Near East, including Palestine. He was a prolific writer and his letters and diaries are a rich source of information about Jewish life in the countries he visited. Cohen was the first American to explore the Nile, and presented his important collection of Egyptian relics to Johns Hopkins University. Cohen also served in the Maryland State Assembly during 1847–48. BENJAMIN I. (c. 1798–1845) and DAVID I. (1800–1847), brothers of Jacob and Mendes, were noted bankers who helped establish the Baltimore Stock Exchange in 1837. As Orthodox Jews, they neither attended meetings on the board of the Stock Exchange nor transacted business on the Sabbath. Benjamin was an officer of the German Society. He served in the Maryland militia and was active in passing the Maryland "Jew Bill." JOSHUA I. (1801–1870), another brother, was born in Richmond, and became a physician and one of the early American otologists. A recognized authority in this field, he was elected president of the Medical and Chirurgical Faculty of the University of Maryland, where he was also professor of mineralogy and geology. Cohen's valuable Judaica collection, cataloged by Cyrus Adler (1887), is housed in Dropsie College. Like his elder brother Jacob, Joshua was actively engaged in securing Jewish rights in Maryland. Even after passage of the "Jew Bill", discriminatory laws remained on the books. The doctor attended the state constitutional conventions of 1851, 1864, and 1867 and struggled with limited success for equal rights. Cohen was active in Jewish communal affairs, and like his brothers was Orthodox but never joined any local synagogue. His voluminous correspondence in Isaac Leeser's *Occident* in Philadelphia contributes much on the history of the Baltimore Jewish community.

MENDES (1831–1915) son of David. Mendes was born in Baltimore. An accomplished engineer, he was president of a number of railroad companies, and served as president of the American Society of Civil Engineers. Cohen was interested in many communal affairs, especially the Maryland Historical Society, of which he was secretary (1875–1904) and president (1904–14). He purchased rare collections of documents for the society and bequeathed it $5,000. A founder of the American Jewish Historical Society, Cohen was a member of its executive council. He contributed to Jewish causes in Baltimore.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Rosenbloom, Biog Dict, s.v.; Baroway, in: *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 18 (1923), 355–75; 19 (1924), 54–77; H.T. Ezekiel and G. Lichtenstein, *History of the Jews of Richmond* (1917), 352; H. Simonhoff, *Jewish Notables in America 1776–1865* (1956), 394; S.R. Kagan, *Jewish Contributions to Medicine in America* (1934), 26–27; DAB; Adler, in: AJHSP, 25 (1917), 145–7.

[Isaac M. Fein]

COHEN, family distinguished in Anglo-Jewish life for almost two centuries. LEVI BARENT COHEN (1747–1808) went to England from Amersfoort (Holland) in the third quarter of the 18th century. He was presiding warden of the Great Synagogue, London, and the first president of the Jews' Hospital. One daughter, Hannah, married Nathan Meyer *Rothschild and another, Judith, Sir Moses *Montefiore; a granddaughter married Sir David *Salomons and a great-granddaughter Samuel Montagu, the first Lord *Swaythling. His male descendants included AARON *COHEN, who was appointed a queen's counsel, and LIONEL LOUIS COHEN (1832–87). The latter succeeded his father, LOUIS COHEN (1799–1882), as head of the family firm of foreign bankers and brokers, and subsequently became a manager of the Stock Exchange. He was an authority on Indian railways and Turkish finance. A political Conservative, he was elected to parliament in 1885 and during his short but brilliant political career served on royal commissions on the trade depression, on gold and silver, and on endowed schools. In communal affairs, he became honorary secretary of the Jewish Board of Guardians (now Jewish Welfare Board) on its foundation and its president in 1878. He was followed in this office by his brother SIR BENJAMIN LOUIS COHEN (1844–1909), his son SIR LEONARD LIONEL COHEN (1858–1938), his niece HANNAH FLORETTA COHEN (1875–1946), and his grandson Lord Lionel Leonard *Cohen. He played a leading part in the founding of the United Synagogue in 1870. In 1881 he initiated the movement to help oppressed Russian Jewry, which led to the first relief fund being established in England on their behalf. His descendants include Sir Andrew Benjamin *Cohen (1909–1968), colonial governor and civil servant, and RUTH *COHEN (1906–1991), principal of Newnham College, Cambridge. The WALEY-COHEN family are descendants of his brother NATHANIEL (see Cohen, Sir Robert *Waley).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: JHSET, 16 (1952), 11–25 (address by Lord Justice Cohen); V.D. Lipman, *Century of Social Service*, 1889–1959 (1959); C. Roth, *History of the Great Synagogue* (1950), index; P.H. Emden, *Jews of Britain* (1943). **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** C. Bermant, *The Cousinhood* (1961), 175–98, index; Michael Jolles, *Directory of Distinguished Jews, 1830–1930* (2002), index; ODNB online for Sir Andrew Cohen, Sir Benjamin Cohen, Louis Cohen, and Ruth Cohen.

[Vivian David Lipman]

COHEN, family of Liverpool (England) merchants and public servants. LOUIS SAMUEL COHEN (1846–1922) was born in Sydney (Australia), and went to England in 1859. In 1864 he joined a relative, David Lewis, who owned a clothing store, becoming head of the business on the death of David Lewis in 1885 and developing it into Lewis', Ltd., one of the largest department chain stores in the north of England. A generous supporter of local charities, he was prominent in local synagogue life and Jewish institutions. He became a member of the Liverpool city council in 1895 and served as lord mayor in 1899–1900. His eldest son, HAROLD LEOPOLD (1873–1936), succeeded his father as chairman of Lewis'. Among his benefactions was a gift

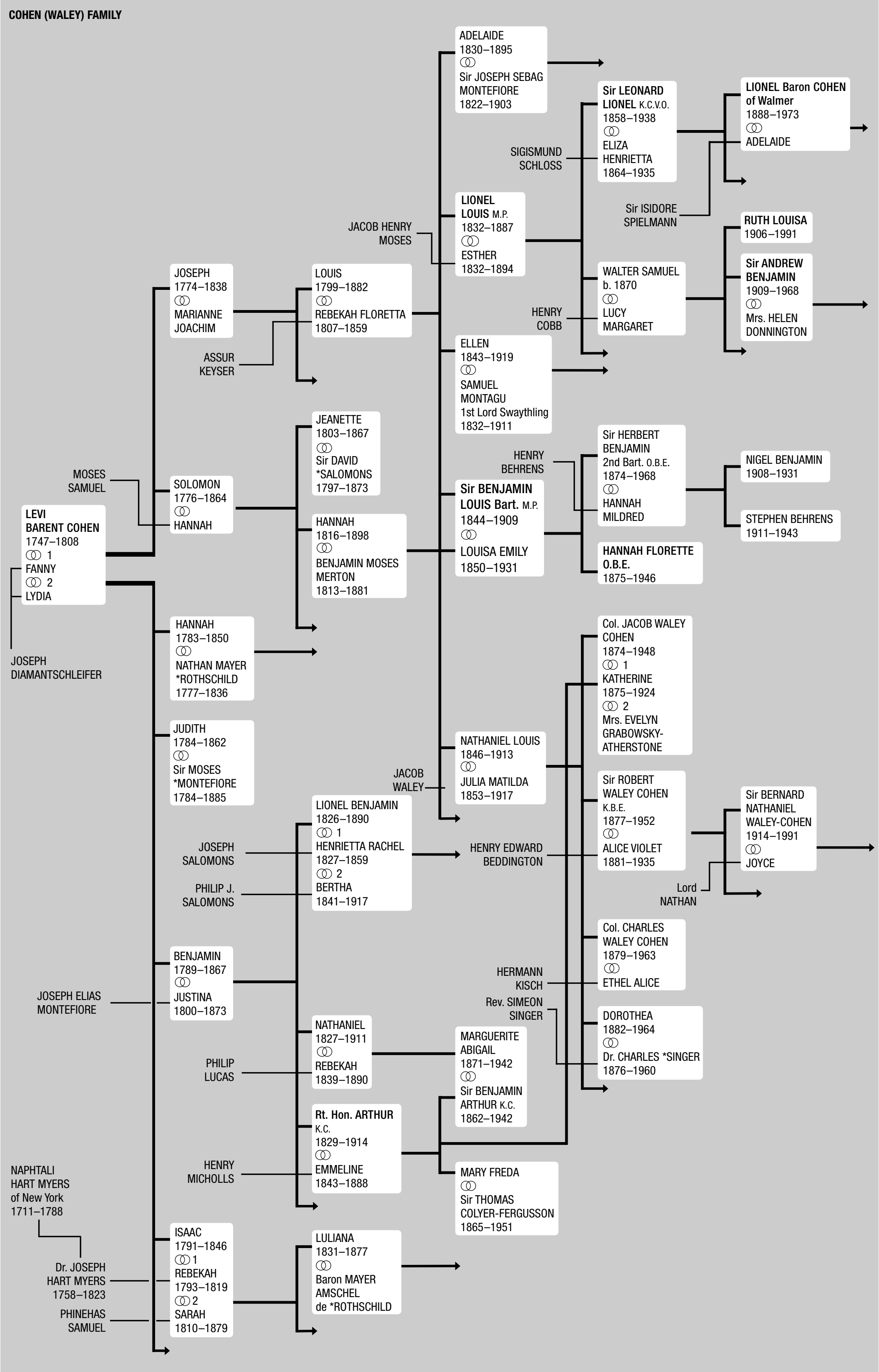

COHEN (WALEY) FAMILY

LEVI BARENT COHEN 1747–1808 ⚭ 1 FANNY ⚭ 2 LYDIA
JOSEPH DIAMANTSCHLEIFER
MOSES SAMUEL
JOSEPH 1774–1838 ⚭ MARIANNE JOACHIM
SOLOMON 1776–1864 ⚭ HANNAH
HANNAH 1783–1850 ⚭ NATHAN MAYER *ROTHSCHILD 1777–1836
JUDITH 1784–1862 ⚭ Sir MOSES *MONTEFIORE 1784–1885
BENJAMIN 1789–1867 ⚭ JUSTINA 1800–1873
JOSEPH ELIAS MONTEFIORE
ISAAC 1791–1846 ⚭ 1 REBEKAH 1793–1819 ⚭ 2 SARAH 1810–1879
NAPHTALI HART MYERS of New York 1711–1788
Dr. JOSEPH HART MYERS 1758–1823
PHINEHAS SAMUEL
ASSUR KEYSER
LOUIS 1799–1882 ⚭ REBEKAH FLORETTA 1807–1859
JEANETTE 1803–1867 ⚭ Sir DAVID *SALOMONS 1797–1873
HANNAH 1816–1898 ⚭ BENJAMIN MOSES MERTON 1813–1881
JOSEPH SALOMONS
PHILIP J. SALOMONS
LIONEL BENJAMIN 1826–1890 ⚭ 1 HENRIETTA RACHEL 1827–1859 ⚭ 2 BERTHA 1841–1917
PHILIP LUCAS
NATHANIEL 1827–1911 ⚭ REBEKAH 1839–1890
HENRY MICHOLLS
Rt. Hon. ARTHUR K.C. 1829–1914 ⚭ EMMELINE 1843–1888
LULIANA 1831–1877 ⚭ Baron MAYER AMSCHEL de *ROTHSCHILD
JACOB HENRY MOSES
ADELAIDE 1830–1895 ⚭ Sir JOSEPH SEBAG MONTEFIORE 1822–1903
LIONEL LOUIS M.P. 1832–1887 ⚭ ESTHER 1832–1894
ELLEN 1843–1919 ⚭ SAMUEL MONTAGU 1st Lord Swaythling 1832–1911
Sir BENJAMIN LOUIS Bart. M.P. 1844–1909 ⚭ LOUISA EMILY 1850–1931
JACOB WALEY
NATHANIEL LOUIS 1846–1913 ⚭ JULIA MATILDA 1853–1917
HENRY EDWARD BEDDINGTON
MARGUERITE ABIGAIL 1871–1942 ⚭ Sir BENJAMIN ARTHUR K.C. 1862–1942
MARY FREDA ⚭ Sir THOMAS COLYER-FERGUSSON 1865–1951
SIGISMUND SCHLOSS
Sir LEONARD LIONEL K.C.V.O. 1858–1938 ⚭ ELIZA HENRIETTA 1864–1935
HENRY COBB
WALTER SAMUEL b. 1870 ⚭ LUCY MARGARET
HENRY BEHRENS
Sir HERBERT BENJAMIN 2nd Bart. O.B.E. 1874–1968 ⚭ HANNAH MILDRED
HANNAH FLORETTE O.B.E. 1875–1946
Col. JACOB WALEY COHEN 1874–1948 ⚭ 1 KATHERINE 1875–1924 ⚭ 2 Mrs. EVELYN GRABOWSKY-ATHERSTONE
Sir ROBERT WALEY COHEN K.B.E. 1877–1952 ⚭ ALICE VIOLET 1881–1935
HERMANN KISCH
Col. CHARLES WALEY COHEN 1879–1963 ⚭ ETHEL ALICE
Rev. SIMEON SINGER
DOROTHEA 1882–1964 ⚭ Dr. CHARLES *SINGER 1876–1960
LIONEL Baron COHEN of Walmer 1888–1973 ⚭ ADELAIDE
Sir ISIDORE SPIELMANN
RUTH LOUISA 1906–1991
Sir ANDREW BENJAMIN 1909–1968 ⚭ Mrs. HELEN DONNINGTON
NIGEL BENJAMIN 1908–1931
STEPHEN BEHRENS 1911–1943
Sir BERNARD NATHANIEL WALEY-COHEN 1914–1991 ⚭ JOYCE
Lord NATHAN

of £100,000 for the building of Liverpool University Library. Another son, REX D. COHEN (1876–1928), remained in the family business and left over £1.6 million upon his death. Louis Samuel's eighth child, SIR JACK BRUNEL COHEN (1886–1956), lost both legs in World War I. From 1918 to 1931 he was a member of parliament representing Liverpool and for many years was national treasurer of the British Legion. SIR REX ARTHUR LOUIS COHEN (d. 1988), grandson of Louis Samuel (1906–1988), was chairman of Lewis' from 1958 to 1965, when the business passed from family control. For several years he was president of the Liverpool Jewish Welfare Board.

[Sefton D. Temkin]

COHEN, ABRAHAM (1887–1957), Anglo-Jewish clergyman, scholar, and communal leader. Cohen, who was born in Reading and grew up in the East End of London, was educated at London and Cambridge Universities. He became a minister in Manchester in 1909 and in 1913 minister to the Birmingham Hebrew Congregation, where he remained for 36 years. Cohen was active in the World Jewish Congress and in the Zionist movement. He was the first minister to preside over the *Board of Deputies of British Jews (from 1949 to 1955), which he greatly strengthened by a combination of firmness and diplomacy. Cohen edited the Soncino Books of the Bible, himself translating the Psalms, and participated in the Soncino translation of the Talmud and Midrash. His writings include *Everyman's Talmud* (1949^2), *An Anglo-Jewish Scrap-Book* (1968^2), and *Teachings of Maimonides* (1927). Cohen assisted Chief Rabbi Joseph *Hertz with his *Pentateuch Commentary*, the first English commentary written by Jews. His *Everyman's Talmud* was republished as a paperback in 1995.

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[Vivian David Lipman]

COHEN, ALBERT (1895–1981), French novelist whose four outstanding novels, written over a period of four decades, form one of the most outspoken series in modern Jewish literature. Cohen, who was born in Corfu, was educated in France, then studied law in Geneva, where he became active in various international organizations and pursued a sporadic literary career. His first published work was a volume of poems, *Paroles juives* (1921), whose tone, by turns violent, opulent, tender, and lyrical, foreshadowed that of his later writing. In 1925, with the encouragement of Chaim *Weizmann, Cohen founded a short-lived periodical, *La Revue juive*. He later became the Zionist Organization's delegate to the League of Nations. During the Nazi occupation Cohen fled to London, where he became the Jewish Agency's special representative to the Allied governments in exile. After the defeat of the Nazis, he worked at the UN headquarters of the International Refugee Organization.

The most important themes in Cohen's writings are the problem of personal integrity in a world of untruth, the eternal message of Israel to humankind, and the place of the Jew in the modern world. These themes recur in various forms in the four novels: *Solal* (1930: Eng. tr. *Solal of the Solals*, 1933); *Mangeclous* (1938; *Nailcruncher*, 1940); *Belle du Seigneur* (1968), which won the Grand Prix de l'Académie française, and *Les Valeureux* (1969). In *Solal*, the eponymous hero escapes from his native Greek island of Cephalonia and narrow Jewish environment into the glittering gentile world, where he is eventually destroyed by his own success and by a fatal passion for a non-Jewess. After a terrible struggle, Solal returns to his own oppressed people, "the poetic people of genius," and finds redemption. *Mangeclous*, a Rabelaisian extravaganza, has as its setting a semi-mythical Jewish Orient peopled by grotesque but innocent and lovable inhabitants. Under the burlesque absurdity, a profound Jewish wisdom is often brought to the fore. In *Belle du Seigneur,* which returns to the *Solal* story, the hero has achieved his ultimate ambition as an undersecretary at the League of Nations, but is haunted by the impending Nazi destruction of the Jews. Aware of his own helplessness and of the nations' indifference, Solal seeks escape in an impossible romantic adventure, but the lovers fall victim to a self-destructive passion from which only death can release them. *Les Valeureux*, a burlesque sequel to the epic begun in *Mangeclous*, tells about the five jolly cousins from Cephalonia, nicknamed the "Valorous Ones." This last novel contrasts the Jewish love of life and truth to the falsity and hypocrisy of the outside world. Other works by Cohen are the one-act play *Ezéchiel* (1956), produced at the Comédie Française in 1933, and the autobiographical *Le livre de ma mère* (1954), dedicated to the author's mother, who died in occupied France, and to the simple grandeur of maternal love.

Cohen, like his hero, can best be described as extreme – extreme in his love for his people, extreme in his satire (particularly concerning international organizations), extreme in his condemnation of sexual passion. Cohen's work is original, varied, and rich, containing humor, tragedy, drama, lyricism, satire, tenderness, violence, and anger.

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[Denise R. Goitein]

COHEN, ALEXANDER H. (1920–2000), U.S. producer. Cohen began investing in the theater at the age of 21, and became known on Broadway as the "millionaire boy angel." He scored his first success with *Angel Street* in 1941. Subsequently, he staged more than 30 productions in New York and London. His Nine O'Clock Theater for intimate review opened in 1959 with *At the Drop of a Hat*, and presented such diverse performers as John Gielgud, Yves Montand, and the Karmon Israel Dancers. In 1962 he imported *Beyond the Fringe* from England, directing it himself. His production of *Hamlet*, starring Richard Burton and directed by Gielgud, won widespread critical acclaim.

His many Broadway productions included *Of V We Sing* (1942), *King Lear* (1951), *An Evening with Mike Nichols and Elaine May* (1960–61), *The School for Scandal* (1963), *Baker Street* (1965), *The Homecoming* (1967), *Black Comedy/White Lies* (1967), *6 Rms Riv Vu* (1972–73), *Good Evening* (1973–74), *Words & Music* (1974), *Comedians* (1976–77), *I Remember Mama* (1979), *A Day In Hollywood / A Night in the Ukraine* (1980–81), and *Waiting in the Wings* (1999–2000).

In 1967 Cohen won a Tony for Best Play for *The Homecoming*. That year, he conceived and originated the national Tony Awards telecast, an annual special TV presentation in which the American Theater Wing presents awards to the best plays and musicals of the season. After a long stint of producing the show (1967–86), Cohen was pressured to step down as presenter of the awards when he publicly made a disparaging remark about a particular theater critic and implied that he spoke not only for himself but for the American Theater Wing as well.

A compilation of 17 musical numbers from several editions of the Tony Awards shows Cohen produced is captured on *Broadway's Lost Treasures* (2003), a 110-minute DVD. In 1973 Cohen was honored with the Theater World Special Award for "his contribution to cultivating theater audiences by extending Broadway, not only nationally but internationally, with his exemplary television productions."

[Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

COHEN, ALFRED MORTON (1859–1949), U.S. lawyer, politician, and Jewish civic leader. Cohen was born in Cincinnati, Ohio. He graduated from the University of Cincinnati Law School (1880), in the same class as his lifelong friend, William Howard Taft. At the age of 25, Cohen served the first of several terms on Cincinnati's city council and in 1896 he was elected to the state senate, where he served two terms. Cohen was a staunch advocate of equal rights for blacks and was active in the Urban League. In 1876, when he was only 17, Cohen organized a local chapter of the Young Men's Hebrew Association, and in 1890 he helped to create a national Y.M.H.A. organization, whose presidency he held for several years. A member of B'nai B'rith for over 60 years, he was president of his Cincinnati lodge (1906) and served as international president of the order from 1925 to 1938. In 1933 he helped found the Joint Consultative Council, a body composed of B'nai B'rith, the American Jewish Committee, and the American Jewish Congress, whose purpose was to achieve Jewish unity in the struggle against Nazism. That same year he represented B'nai B'rith at the World Conference of Jews held in London on the subject of German Jewry. In 1936 B'nai B'rith funded the creation of a colony in Palestine named Moledet B'nai B'rith, in tribute to Cohen.

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[Robert Shostek]

COHEN, SIR ANDREW (1909–1968), British colonial administrator, brother of Ruth Louisa *Cohen. Cohen began his career in the Inland Revenue Department of the British government and a year later was transferred to the Colonial Office. During World War II he organized the food supply to Malta. In 1947 Cohen became undersecretary of state at the Colonial Office. In this post he did much to prepare the African colonies for independence at a time when it was not generally believed that independence for Africa was imminent. From 1952 to 1957 he was governor of Uganda and introduced widespread political and economic reforms, although he encountered much trouble when he deported the Kabaka of Buganda in 1953. He was the British representative on the United Nations Trusteeship Council from 1957 to 1961, and in 1961 was appointed secretary of the newly created Ministry of Overseas Development. This ministry was set up to deal with the problem of relations with newly independent states in the post-colonial period. Cohen wrote *British Policy in Changing Africa* (1959).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *New York Times* (June 19, 1968), 47; *The Times* (London, June 19, 1968). **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** ODNB online.

COHEN, ARMOND E. (1909–), U.S. Conservative rabbi. Cohen was born in Canton, Ohio, and ordained at the Jewish Theological Seminary in 1934. He spent his entire career as rabbi of the Cleveland Jewish Center (renamed Park Synagogue in 1951), which, under his stewardship, grew to some 2,000 families. A proponent of interdenominational cooperation, Cohen was active in both civic and Jewish communal affairs. He was also a staunch Zionist, serving as president of the Ohio chapter of the Zionist Organization of America and later honorary president of the entire organization. He was an advocate of pastoral psychology and lectured in the Department of Religio-Psychiatry of the Jewish Theological Seminary (1969–74), as well as at the American Foundation of Religion and Health (1965–75), which he also served as a member of its Board of Directors. As chairman of the Rabbinical Assembly's Committee on Marriage and the Family (1958–60), he lobbied successfully for marriage counseling to be provided under the auspices of the Rabbinical Assembly and the Seminary. He was also a member of the Seminary's Board of Overseers and of the Executive Council of the Rabbinical Assembly (1950–58). In 1945, he published *All God's Children: A Jew Speaks*, a collection of open letters on Jewish-Christian relations and Jewish tradition that had previously appeared anonymously in his synagogue's bulletin.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: P.S. Nadell, *Conservative Judaism in America: A Biographical Dictionary and Sourcebook* (1988).

[Bezalel Gordon (2nd ed.)]

COHEN, ARTHUR (1829–1914), English lawyer. Born in London, a grandson of Levi Barent Cohen, Cohen was admitted to Magdalene College, Cambridge, after his uncle Moses *Montefiore had persuaded the prince consort to sponsor his candidacy. He became president of the Cambridge Union and was Fifth Wrangler in 1853 but was able to take his degree only in 1858, after the passage of the Cambridge University Reform Act. In that year he became the first practicing Jew to graduate from Cambridge. Admitted to the bar in 1857, he built up a substantial practice and in 1872 he was named junior counsel in the critical Alabama arbitration between Great Britain and the United States. In 1874, Cohen was made a queen's counsel and sat in Parliament as a Liberal from 1880 to 1887. In his later years he received many honors, becoming a member of the Privy Council (a rare distinction for one who held no governmental position) and being elected chairman of the Bar Council. From 1893 until 1914 he was standing counsel to the India Office.

Cohen was active in Jewish affairs and from 1880 to 1895 was president of the Board of Deputies of British Jews in succession to Moses *Montefiore.

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[Moshe Rosetti]

COHEN, ARTHUR (1864–1940), German economist and statistician. Cohen was born in Munich. After studying law and economics he joined the Bavarian public finance administration. In 1906 he turned to teaching and research at the Technical University in Munich, working at the same time at the Munich Chamber of Commerce. With the advent of the Nazis in 1933 he was dismissed from his posts, but continued to live and work privately in Munich until his death. Cohen's professional interests ranged from economic history, monetary theory, and finance to agricultural and labor economics as well as to Jewish topics. He published several monographs on the history of the Jews in Munich.

[Joachim O. Ronall]

COHEN, ARTHUR A. (1928–1987), U.S. novelist, publisher, art historian, and theologian. Born in New York, Cohen received his B.A. (1946) and M.A. (1949) from the University of Chicago and then continued with studies in medieval Jewish philosophy at the Jewish Theological Seminary. He founded, with Cecil Hemley, Noonday Press in 1951; in 1956 he began Meridian Books. From 1960 to 1974, when he founded Ex Libris Publishing Company, he worked as an editor. He wrote essays, works of non-fiction on Jewish subjects, and novels.

His *The Natural and the Supernatural Jew* (1962) sets the most insistent theme of his theological writings. Since Enlightenment, he avers, Jewish thought and imagination have with ever-increasing measure focused on the "natural" Jew enmeshed in immediate social and political concerns. Cohen fears that this understandable attention to the interests of the natural Jew, abetted by secular attitudes and biases of the modern period, has led to the neglect of the "supernatural" Jew, the Jew of the covenant conscious of his transcendent responsibilities. Accordingly, the urgent task of contemporary Jewish religious thought is to develop a strategy to reintegrate the natural and the supernatural Jew, otherwise the prospect looms that although the supernatural Jew may survive, Judaism will perish. Because of the experience of the modern, secular world, however, the supernatural vocation of the Jew could no longer be naively affirmed. To be spiritually and intellectually engaging, Cohen holds, the presuppositions of classical Jewish belief must be first "theologically reconstructed." Cohen's conception of this endeavor is inspired largely by the German Jewish thinker Franz *Rosenzweig whose uncompromising affirmation of theistic belief – grounded in the experiential categories of creation, revelation, and redemption – was supplemented by an equally unyielding adherence to rigorous philosophical reflection and honesty. For Cohen, the task of theological reconstruction is rendered all the more urgent by the Holocaust, which in disclosing "the *tremendum* of evil," has so radically challenged the presuppositions of Jewish belief that to avoid this task is to relegate Judaism to blind faith and atavistic sentiment. Clearly, as Cohen argues in *The Tremendum. A Theological Interpretation of the Holocaust* (1981), the retreat to an unthinking, platitudinous posture endangers the recovery of Judaism as a supernatural vocation. These themes are echoed in Cohen's novels, among them *The Carpenter Years* (1967), *In the Days of Simon Stern* (1973), *A Hero in His Time* (1976), *Acts of Theft* (1980), and *An Admirable Woman* (1983). He coedited, with Paul Mendes-Flohr, *Contemporary Jewish Religious Thought* (1987).

[Paul Mendes-Flohr (2nd ed.)]

COHEN, BARRY (1935–), Australian politician. Born in Griffith, New South Wales, Barry Cohen was an Australian Labor Party member of the House of Representatives for the seat of Robertson in New South Wales from 1969 to 1990. During much of this time he was the only Jewish member of the Australian parliament. He held ministerial office in Bob Hawke's Labor government from 1983 to 1987 as minister for home affairs and the environment and then as minister for the arts, heritage, and the environment.

[William D. Rubinstein (2nd ed.)]

COHEN, BENJAMIN (1726–1800), Dutch financier and tobacco merchant. Taking over his father's tobacco company, he made it into one of the most prosperous and influential firms in Holland. Cohen conducted large-scale financial operations first in Amersfoort and from 1786 in Amsterdam. He owned tobacco plantations in Holland and exported to the Baltic area; in 1788 his firm contracted to import 40,000 carats of diamonds annually from Brazil. It was then probably the only Jewish firm in Amsterdam to issue loans, and in 1793 and 1796 made two loans to the Prussian government of five and three million guilders. Via his sister Cohen was related to the *Goldsmids in London, who opened their bank for new issues in this period. He acted as financial adviser to Prince William V of Orange, who was his guest in Amersfoort in 1787 during the Patriotic Revolt. A patron of Jewish letters, he sponsored the publication of Hebrew mathematical and philosophical works, such as works by Naftali Herz Ulman. As a *parnas* of the Ashkenazi community in Amsterdam, he was one of the leading Jews and at the same time a deeply committed member of the Orangist faction in Dutch politics.

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[Frederik Jacob Hirsch / Bart Wallet (2nd ed.)]

COHEN, BENJAMIN VICTOR (1894–1983), U.S. lawyer and presidential adviser. Cohen was born in Muncie, Indiana. He was admitted to the Illinois Bar in 1916. Cohen served as secretary to Judge Julian W. *Mack in New York until 1917, then as attorney to the U.S. Shipping Board. During 1919–21 he was counsel to the U.S. Zionists negotiating the Palestine Mandate terms at the London and Paris Peace Conferences. Returning to New York, he practiced law, specializing in corporate reorganization and legal counseling to lawyers. As Harvard protégés of Felix *Frankfurter, Cohen and Thomas G. Corcoran became members of an inner circle of advisers to President Franklin D. *Roosevelt from 1933. They provided ideas, facts, and statistics for many New Deal programs and drafted such important legislation as the Securities Act (1933), the Securities Exchange Act (1934), the Public Utility Holding Company Act (1935), and the Fair Labor Standards ("Wages and Hours") Act (1938). Cohen, who skillfully drafted the legislation, and Corcoran, who managed it through Congress, were both bitterly attacked and highly praised for the roles they played. Cohen's offices in government included associate general counsel to the Public Works Administration (1933–34) in charge of railroad loans; general counsel to the National Power Policy Commission (1934–41); and special assistant to the U.S. attorney general in public utility holding company litigation. In 1941 he was appointed adviser to the U.S. ambassador to Great Britain. Cohen was director of the Office of Economic Stabilization (1942–43); general counsel, Office of War Mobilization (1943–45); counselor, U.S. Department of State (1945–47); legal adviser, International Monetary Conference, Bretton Woods, N.Y. (1944); and member of the U.S. delegation to the Dumbarton Oaks Conference, Washington, D.C. (1944), and to the peace conferences held after World War II in Berlin, London, Moscow, and Paris. He is reputed to have helped write the United Nations Charter, and served the U.S. delegation to the UN at several General Assemblies. In 1961 Cohen delivered the Oliver Wendell Holmes Lectures at Harvard Law School, published as *United Nations: Constitutional Developments, Growth, and Possibilities* (1961). A friend of President Lyndon Johnson, Cohen studied the problem of oil reserves during his administration.

[Julius J. Marcke]

COHEN, BERNARD (1933–), British painter; brother of the painter Harold *Cohen. Bernard was born in London. While visiting the U.S., he was profoundly impressed by Abstract Expressionism. He was included in the Venice Biennale of 1966 and a retrospective at the Tate Gallery, London, in 1973 established him as a leading contemporary British artist. Bernard Cohen is essentially a romantic painter and his quasi-mystical manner has more in common with postwar American painting (especially the work of Jewish artists such as *Rothko and Newman) than his English contemporaries. His later work sought a new purity and spirituality. The Tate Gallery in London held 48 of his works in 2004.

[Charles Samuel Spencer]

COHEN, BOAZ (1899–1968), U.S. rabbinic scholar. Cohen was born in Bridgeport, Connecticut, and in 1924 was ordained by the Jewish Theological Seminary, where he began teaching the following year and remained for the rest of his career. He was awarded a Ph.D. from Columbia University. He was secretary of the Committee on Jewish Law of the Rabbinical Assembly of America, 1933–45, and chairman, 1945–48. He wrote thousands of opinions responding to every facet of Jewish life in America as he considered the request of rabbis and the needs of their congregants, including adoption and conversion. His judgment was restrained. Halakhah could not solve every problem and its processes must be respected and its authority protected. He led a committee to study the issue of the **agunah*, but out of respect for the unity of the Jewish people would not permit unilateral action by the Conservative Rabbinate. He was a leading expert on Jewish divorce law, and at a time when denominational lines were less rigid than they are in the early 21st century, the divorce documents that he supervised were recognized and respected by Rabbi Joseph *Soloveitchik and the Rabbinical Council of America despite the fact that Cohen was on the faculty of the Jewish Theological Seminary.

A man of gentle disposition and immense erudition, his knowledge was far-ranging, including Greek and Roman, Canon, Islamic, and American law and Assyrian and Babylonian literature. Cohen was one of the first American-born and American-educated scholars to make significant contributions to the scientific study of rabbinic literature. His *Kunteres ha-Teshuvot* (1930), an annotated bibliography of the rabbinic responsa of the Middle Ages, was one of the first attempts to classify and describe the responsa literature and has remained a standard reference work. He published bibliographies of his father-in-law Israel Friedlaender (1936), Louis Ginzberg (1945), and Alexander Marx (1950^2). In addition, he prepared the voluminous index to Ginzberg's *The Legends of the Jews* (1938). Cohen's main scholarly activity was in the field of comparative law, his principal works being *Law and Tradition in Judaism* (1959) and *Jewish and Roman Law* (2 vols., 1960). His work reveals a mastery of the relevant literature and ancient languages.

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[Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

COHEN, CHAPMAN (1868–1954) English philosopher. Born in Leicester, Cohen became involved in the free thought movement in England as a result of the work of Charles Bradlaugh and G.W. Foote. He began writing on religious topics in the 1890s. He attacked religious beliefs and the activities of religious organizations. In 1915 he became the editor of the *Freethinker* and president of the National Secular Society. Cohen was an advocate of materialism, and lectured against and debated religious thinkers. He opposed the English laws against blasphemy. Cohen wrote many books and pamphlets including *Determinism or Free Will?* (1912), *Religion and Sex: Studies in the Pathology of Religious Development* (1919), *Theism or Atheism* (1921), *A Grammar of Freethought* (1921), *The Other Side of Death* (1922), *Materialism Re-Stated* (1927), and *Essays in Freethinking* (1923–39). In 1940 he published a work about himself, *Almost an Autobiography: The Confessions of a Freethinker*.

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[Richard H. Popkin]

COHEN, DAVID (1883–1967), Dutch historian and prominent Jewish and Zionist leader. Cohen, who was born at Deventer, east Holland, was professor of ancient history at the universities of Leiden and Amsterdam from 1924 to 1953 (except for the years of Nazi occupation). His involvement in Jewish affairs started in 1903; while a student he established an organization to assist Jewish refugees from Eastern Europe who passed Deventer by train, and afterwards he became involved in a variety of local, national, and international organizations for Jewish refugees and migrants. In the 1920s, while living in The Hague, he headed the committee for the poor of the local Jewish community. A Zionist from his youth, he was for many years one of the leaders of Dutch Zionism, establishing branches and youth organizations, writing in its publications, and representing it abroad. In 1933, immediately after the ascendance of the Nazis to power in Germany, Cohen co-founded and led – with Abraham *Asscher – the Comité voor Bijzondere Joodse Belangen (Committee for Special Jewish Affairs) to combat Nazi antisemitism and policies and to help refugees from Germany; for this purpose a special Subcommittee for Jewish Refugees, headed by Cohen, was established, and became one of the most powerful organizations in Dutch Jewry of the 1930s. In this position he was instrumental in having Alfred Wiener with his documentation on Nazism and antisemitism move from Germany to Amsterdam (1933). From 1933 to 1939 he was chairman of the Jewish Central Information Office, under the auspices of which Wiener constantly enlarged his collection; in 1939 Wiener once again moved, now to London, where the collection finally settled and became known as the *Wiener Library. The Refugee Committee continued its activities also after the German invasion in May 1940. In December 1940 Cohen joined the Jewish Coordination Committee, an initiative to organize Dutch Jewry vis-à-vis the Germans. From February 12, 1941, to September 1943 Cohen acted as cochairman (with Abraham Asscher) and dominating personality of the *Joodsche Raad voor Amsterdam*, the Amsterdam Jewish Council, appointed by the German occupation authorities (see *Amsterdam), which gradually expanded its authority over all Jews in the Netherlands. In this position he conducted the controversial policies of the Council, which were characterized by servility towards the German authorities. He was finally arrested on the eve of Rosh ha-Shanah (September 1943) and sent as a "prominent Jew" to Theresienstadt, where he stayed from 1943 to 1945. In 1947 he was arrested on charges of collaboration with the Germans, but was soon released. However, a Jewish "honorary" court excluded him from participation in all Jewish functions. In 1955 Cohen published reminiscences, *Zwervend en Dolend*, dealing with his work for Jewish refugees in the 1930s; a second, planned volume, intended to explain his policies in the 1940s, was never published. However, a part of it was published in 2000 in a biography of Cohen. His and his colleague Abraham Asscher's behavior and policies have been a major theme of Dutch and general historiography as well as of popular discussion of the fate of the Dutch Jews, of whom about 75% perished during the Holocaust, and of the Jewish Councils in general.

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and I. Schöffer (eds.), *The History of the Jews in the Netherlands* (1992).

[Shaul Esh / Dan Michman (2nd ed.)]

COHEN, DAVID (known as "*Ha-Nazir,*" the Nazirite; 1887–1972), rabbi, talmudist, philosopher, and kabbalist. Cohen was born in Maisiogala, near Vilna, the scion of a distinguished rabbinic family. In his youth he studied in the yeshivot of the Ḥafeẓ Ḥayyim (*Israel Meir ha-Kohen) in Radun, Volozhin, and Slobodka. Even then his restless and inquiring mind led him to extend his studies beyond the traditional subjects taught in the yeshivot. Thus he turned to the *Ḥorev* of Samson Raphael *Hirsch and the early writings of Rabbi A.I. *Kook. He also studied Russian to prepare himself for entrance to the university. During the Russian Revolution of 1905 he was twice arrested but was not detained. His spiritual unrest and the desire to widen his intellectual horizon led him to enroll in the Academy for Jewish Studies established by Baron David Guenzburg, where one of his close fellow students was Zalman Rubashov (Shazar), later president of Israel. From there he proceeded to Germany to study at the University of Freiburg. At the outbreak of World War I he was interned as an enemy alien, but was released and made his way to Switzerland, studying philosophy, classical literature, and Roman law at Basel University. He was for a time chairman of the Jewish Students' Society there and delivered lectures on Jewish philosophy. It was then that he took upon himself a life-long Nazirite vow, which involves complete abstention from cutting one's hair and partaking of any products of the vine. But his asceticism went much further. It included an extreme vegetarianism, which encompassed not only food but any garment made of leather, and a self-imposed silence every Rosh Ḥodesh eve (Yom Kippur Katan) and from Rosh Ḥodesh Elul to the morrow of Yom Kippur. In addition, he refused to speak anything but Hebrew. However, he was not a recluse, and did not hesitate to express his views on important topical problems.

The turning point in his life came with his meeting with Rabbi Kook, who was then in St. Galen in Switzerland (1915). "My life then stood in the balance," he noted. "I listened to him and was turned into a new man … I had found a master." He decided to abandon his secular studies and devote himself entirely to Jewish thought. In 1922 he received an invitation from Rabbi Kook, who had returned to Ereẓ Israel, to become a tutor in the yeshivah which he had established, and helped to draw up the curriculum which was also to include history, philosophy, ethics, Hebrew grammar, and Bible. He was appointed lecturer in Talmud, ethics, and philosophy. The two used to meet daily and Rabbi Kook entrusted him with the editing of his philosophical works, to which, along with disseminating Kook's ideas, he dedicated his life, hardly publishing any of his own works, although he left over 30 works in manuscript. The principal exception was the *Kol Nevu'ah*, of which the first volume appeared shortly before his death. It is the fruit of his life's work and is in two parts, "The Foundations of Jewish Religious Philosophy" and "The Foundations of Inner Wisdom." The work is based on the premise that there is an original Jewish philosophy and a spiritual Jewish system of logic which is not intuitive-speculative but spiritual-acoustic: "Sound and light are the two angels of thought which accompany man everywhere" but "hearing is greater than seeing." The prophetic power is the beginning of Jewish wisdom, and he was convinced that the renewal of Jewish life in Israel would produce a new generation to which would even be vouchsafed the return of the spirit of prophecy.

A passionate adherent of the doctrine of Rabbi Kook that the Return to Zion and its various stages, of which the establishment of the State of Israel was the latest, was itself only a stage in the fulfillment of the Divine Promise which would bring about the Complete Redemption and the Messianic Age, he did not hesitate to reprove those rabbis who did not accept this belief. He saw in Moses Ḥayyim *Luzzatto the harbinger of this redemption, pointing out that the three significant movements, Ḥasidism, Musar, and Haskalah, had each made certain of Luzzatto's works their classics, and he claimed that both Rabbi Kook and he himself followed his doctrines.

Cohen's only son, Rabbi Shear-Yashuv Cohen, was Ashkenazi chief rabbi of Haifa, and his only daughter the wife of Israeli Chief Rabbi Shlomo Goren.

In 1977 there was published a three-volume *Festschrift* in his honor entitled *Nezir Eḥav.*

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Tidhar, 1 (1955), 2082–84; *Ha-Ẓofeh* (Sept. 6, 1972); H. Lifshitz, in: *Sinai* 438/9 (1972); A. Ẓoref, *Havveiha-Rav Kook* (1947), 122–5.

[Chaim Lifschitz]

COHEN, ELI (1924–1965), Israel intelligence officer, executed by the Syrian government. He was born in Alexandria, Egypt, and educated at a Jewish primary school and a French high school. In 1949 Cohen and all other Jewish students were expelled from Farouk University. His activities in local Zionist organizations, in which he had been involved from childhood, led to several investigations on the part of the Egyptian authorities. During the Sinai Campaign (October 1956) he was arrested and detained until January 1957, and upon his release was expelled from Egypt. He settled in Israel in February 1957, thereafter serving with the Israel intelligence service. In January 1965 he was arrested in Damascus as an Israel secret agent. His public trial before a military tribunal attracted worldwide publicity. The prosecution contended that he had established close ties with various departments and high-placed officials in the Syrian government. Cohen was convicted on a charge of espionage and sentenced to death. Requests that he be represented at his trial by a foreign or even local lawyer were refused. Despite strenuous efforts to persuade the Syrian government to commute the death sentence, including the intervention of Pope Paul VI and the heads of the French, Belgian, and Canadian governments, Cohen was publicly hanged in the Damascus city square. Streets, squares, and parks in

Israel were named in his honor, but repeated requests to Syria to release the body for burial in Israel have been refused.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Y. Ben-Porat and U. Dan, *The Spy from Israel* (1969); E. Ben Hanan, *Eli Cohen, Our Man in Damascus* (1967); Bar-Zohar, in: *Midstream*, 14, no. 9 (1968), 35–53.

COHEN, ELISHEVA (1911–), Israel art designer. Born in Frankfurt-on-Main, Cohen immigrated to Israel in 1933. She was curator of the Israel Museum and specialized in arranging three–dimensional art exhibitions in which she was considered a pioneer in Israel. In 1977 she was awarded the Israel Prize for art and sculpture.

COHEN, ELIZABETH D.A. MAGNUS (1820–1921), pioneering woman physician in the southern United States. Cohen was born and educated in New York City. Married to Dr. Aaron Cohen and mother of five children, Magnus decided to study medicine at the age of 33, following the death of her young son. She enrolled in the recently created Women's Medical College of Pennsylvania in Philadelphia, from which she graduated in 1857. She then joined her husband in New Orleans, becoming the first woman to practice medicine in Louisiana. She helped combat yellow fever epidemics in 1857 and 1858, but thereafter treated mostly women and children in her private medical practice. For two decades she was listed in the New Orleans City Directory as a midwife and then as a "doctress," but in 1876 she finally achieved recognition as Mrs. Elizabeth Cohen, physician. She retired in 1887, following the deaths of her husband and children, and lived for the rest of her very long life in the Touro Infirmary, later known as the Julius Weis Home for the Aged, where she continued to serve as a volunteer. Elizabeth Cohen was an ardent supporter of women's rights and women's suffrage; only after her death at the age of 101 did the first woman receive a medical degree in New Orleans, from Tulane University.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: P.E. Hyman and D.D. Moore (eds.), *Jewish Women in America*, 1 (1997), 243–44; *New Orleans Times-Picayune* (Feb. 22, 1920); J. Duffy (ed.), *The Rudolph Matas History of Medicine in Louisiana*, 2 (1962); *Encyclopedia Louisiana* (1998).

[Harriet Pass Friedenreich (2nd ed.)]

COHEN, ELLIOT ETTELSON (1899–1959), U.S. journalist. Born in Des Moines, Iowa, Cohen was managing editor of *The Menorah Journal* from 1925 to 1931 and headed a group of writers who gave the journal its vitality and integrity. In 1945, he became editor of the newly founded magazine **Commentary*, which was designed to be larger in scope than the previous organ of the American Jewish Committee, *The Jewish Contemporary Record*. Established as a liberal anti-Communist journal, *Commentary* had Cohen as its editor and driving force from its inception until his death. As his successor Norman *Podhoretz stated, "Everyone knows that Elliot Cohen created *Commentary* and edited it for fourteen years, but I doubt that anyone except the people who in one capacity or another were close to the actual workings of the magazine ever appreciated the extent to which *Commentary* was Elliot Cohen." Cohen wrote *Commentary on the American Scene: Portraits of Jewish Life in America* (1953).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: L. Trilling, "On the Death of a Friend," in: *Commentary*, 29 (Feb. 1960); *Jewish Belief: A Symposium Compiled by the Editors of Commentary Magazine* (1966).

[Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

COHEN, EMIL WILHELM (1842–1905), Danish mineralogist and geologist. Born in Aakjaer, Denmark, and a convert to Lutheranism, Cohen began his career as an assistant at the Heidelberg University and in 1878 was appointed professor of petrography at the University of Strasbourg. In 1885 he became professor of mineralogy at the University of Greifswald. In 1886 he explored the gold and diamond fields of the Transvaal, South Africa, and made several geographical explorations in various countries of South America. In the Franco-Prussian War he served as a noncombatant with the Germans, although he was a Danish subject. A nickel compound, Cohenite, is named for him. Among his works are *Sammlung von Mikrophotographien* (1881, 1899^3), on the microscopic structure and chemical composition of rocks and stones, and *Meteoritenkunde* (1894–1903), a study of the structure of meteorites.

COHEN, ERNST JULIUS (1869–1944), Dutch physical chemist. His father, Jacques Cohen, also a chemist, went to Holland from Germany and founded the Netherlands Coal Tar Distillery. Ernst Julius was born in Amsterdam, and became the leading disciple of van't Hoff. From 1902 he was professor of inorganic and general chemistry at Utrecht. He explained the previously mysterious phenomenon of "tin disease" and pursued research on the polymorphism and physical metamorphosis of numerous solid substances, notably iodides. Cohen established the historical committee of the Dutch Chemical Society and its historical library, and the Dutch Society for the History of Medicine, Natural Sciences, and Mathematics. He was the first president of the Dutch Chemical Society, chairman of the Dutch Committee on Coinage, and president of the International Union of Pure and Applied Chemistry. Among his many books are *Piezochemie kondensierter Systeme* (1919), in collaboration with W. Schut, *Physico-Chemical Metamorphosis and Some Problems in Piezochemistry* (1926), and textbooks for medical students and on physical chemistry and inorganic chemistry.

In 1941 his property was seized by the Germans. Two years later he was arrested and sent to a concentration camp, but released after an appeal by the Dutch Chemical Society. Early in 1944, he was advised to flee the country, but he refused. He was arrested, and transported to the gas chambers of Auschwitz.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Donnan, in: *Journal of the Chemical Society* (1947), 1700.

[Samuel Aaron Miller]

COHEN, FANNIA (1885–1962), U.S. labor movement activist. Cohen was born in Kletsk, Russia, and immigrated to the United States with her brother in 1904. After working briefly with new immigrants on Ellis Island as the representative of the American Jewish Women's Committee, Cohen began studies for entrance to a college of pharmacy before deciding to take a job at a garment factory and work in the labor movement. In 1909, Cohen was elected to the executive board of her local union; she served as its chair from 1913 to 1914. In 1914, while president of the Kimono, Wrappers and Housedress Workers Union in New York City, Cohen was among early graduates of the Training School for Women Organizers, a year-long curriculum of academic and field work. In August 1915, she led workers in the first successful strike of Chicago's dress and white goods; later that year she was the first woman elected as vice president of the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union. She went on to become one of the foremost leaders of the ILGWU Education Department, where she was a staunch proponent of Unity Centers, places for women workers to learn and socialize. In 1921, Cohen helped establish Brookwood Labor College, the first residential college for workers in the United States; in 1923, she began working with Pioneer Youth of America, which sponsored summer camps for worker's children. Cohen spent the rest of her career creating additional educational programs, opportunities, and events for workers despite declining funding and opposition from others in the labor movement. In the course of debates about organizing women workers, Cohen became isolated from radical feminists and ultimately lost much of her power base in the union. In 1925, Cohen was not re-elected to the ILGWU General Executive Board and over the next few years, to the outrage of many, the new director, Mark Starr, restricted Cohen's work almost completely. Cohen continued as a relatively powerless executive secretary until she was forced into retirement in August 1962; she died four months later of a stroke.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: H.B. Long and C. Lawry, "Fannia Mary Cohn: An Educational Leader In Labor and Workers' Education, Her Life and Times." Research sponsored by University of Oklahoma: www-distance.syr.edu/long.html. **WEBSITE:** Jewish Virtual Library: www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/jsource/biography/fcohn.html

[Marla Brettschneider (2nd ed.)]

COHEN, FRANCIS LYON (1862–1934), British rabbi and writer on Jewish liturgical music. Born in Aldershot, England, and trained at Jews' College, London, Cohen became a recognized expert on Jewish liturgy. He was preacher at South Hackney, London (1883–85), in Dublin (1885–86), and at the Borough New Synagogue, London (1886–1904), and chaplain in the British army. Ordained a rabbi in 1905, he became chief minister of the Sydney Great Synagogue in the same year and was senior Jewish chaplain to the Australian army (1914–34). In Australia, Cohen became one of the leading anti-Zionists of the Jewish community, opposing "political Zionism" as anti-British. Using the pseudonym "Asaph Klesmer" as well as his own name, Cohen wrote articles for the commemorative volume of the Anglo-Jewish Historical Exhibition (1887) and the Jewish Historical Society of England (1894), and was music editor of *The Jewish Encyclopedia* (1901–06). He edited collections of Jewish music, including *A Handbook of Synagogue Music for Congregational Singing* (with B.L. Mosely, 1889) and *The Voice of Prayer and Praise* (with D.M. Davis, 1899, 1914^2). His arrangements of old melodies were published in *Lyra Anglo-Judaica* (pt. 1, 1891). Cohen married the daughter of a cantor, Marcus *Hast, and one of his nieces was the pianist Harriet *Cohen.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: JC (April 8, 1904), 18; (May 4, 1934), 10; Sendrey, Music, index. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** R. Apple, "Francis Lyon Cohen: The Passionate Patriot," in: *Australian Jewish Historical Society Transactions,* 12, Pt. 4 (1995), 663–747, being a comprehensive biography; *Dictionary of Australian Biography*; H.L. Rubinstein, Australia I, index.

[Dora Leah Sowden]

COHEN, GERSON D. (1924–1991), Jewish historian and leader of Conservative Judaism. Educated at Camp Massad, where he cultivated a life-long commitment to Hebraism and Zionism, at the *Jewish Theological Seminary of America (JTS), and at Columbia University, Cohen specialized in the study of Jewish history and historiography. After the death of Alexander *Marx, Cohen served as librarian at JTS, also teaching Jewish history and Talmud there. He left in 1967 to succeed his academic mentor, the historian Salo W. *Baron, as director of the Center for Israel and Jewish Studies at Columbia University. After the Vietnam-era student riots at Columbia, Cohen returned to JTS as the Jacob Schiff Professor of Jewish History and inaugurated the school's Ph.D. program in Jewish history.

Cohen's scholarly work transplanted and updated the *Wissenschaft des Judentums model of research in the light of 20th-century Conservative Judaism. In his publications, he combined meticulous textual study, epitomized by his critical edition of Abraham ibn Daud's *Sefer Ha-Qaballah*, with an inter-textual focus. Cohen's scholarly essays, no less than his programmatic ones, encompassed the many permutations of rabbinic culture, both classical and medieval. He highlighted the leadership roles of Jewish intellectuals in their societies, especially in medieval Spain, but also in ancient and modern Jewish centers. Cohen's scholarly and administrative insights coincided in his thesis that Jewish continuity has always depended on the creative tension of maintaining the centrality of Jewish religion to Jewish history, on the one hand, and openness to influences from the broader cultural context, on the other. Among his books are *Studies in the Variety of Rabbinic Cultures* (1994) *and Jewish History and Destiny* (1997).

In 1971, Cohen and Bernard *Mandelbaum jointly succeeded Louis *Finkelstein as leaders of JTS. The division of the presidency and the chancellorship roles did not last for long. Within a year, Mandelbaum having resigned, Cohen became the chancellor of JTS, leading and transforming the institution until his retirement in 1986.

Cohen's leadership of JTS featured five emphases, in part continuations of the work of Finkelstein, but in large measure representing new departures: (1) The continued development of JTS as a center for Judaic Studies, and in particular, the physical reconstruction of its world-class library devastated by a fire in the mid-1960s. (2) The continued cultivation of JTS as a force for inter-religious dialogue. While maintaining his predecessor's initiative, the Institute for Religious and Social Studies, Cohen focused on inter-faith academic collaboration, fostering arrangements for student cross-registration and scholarly interchange with the Union Theological Seminary, a leading liberal Protestant divinity school in New York. (3) The administrative restructuring of JTS and the development of an independent graduate school of Jewish Studies. In 1974, Cohen replaced the existing JTS graduate program, the Institute for Advanced Studies in the Humanities, with a non-sectarian graduate school encompassing all non-theological graduate training. Under Cohen's aegis, the JTS graduate school became the largest institution of its kind in the Diaspora, training many of the scholars filling the expanding number of Judaic Studies chairs in North American Universities in the late twentieth century. (4) The active engagement of JTS as a resource for the development of Conservative (later, Masorti) Judaism in Israel. Cohen championed the twin concepts that JTS could offer a unique contribution to Jewish life in Israel and that, to serve the movement worldwide, Conservative rabbis needed extensive first-hand experience in Israel. Cohen raised the profile of JTS in Israel, expanding the school's Jerusalem campus, Neve Schechter, creating Midreshet Yerushalayim, a Conservative *yeshivah* program there, regularizing Israel residency requirements for JTS rabbinical students and, in 1984, opening an autonomous Israeli Conservative rabbinical school, the *Beit Hamidrash Lelimudei Hayahadut.* (5) Most consequentially for American Judaism, the active reorientation of JTS to a stance of closer involvement in the development of the Conservative movement. The leading issue that precipitated this change of course was the debate over the ordination of women as Conservative rabbis. Although initially opposed to that change, in 1977, Cohen consented to a *Rabbinical Assembly resolution that JTS conduct a movement-wide study of the issue, and in the course of that process, he became an ardent proponent of women's ordination. While characterizing the proposed reform as fully within the parameters of Conservative Judaism, Cohen also argued that JTS risked forfeiting its position as "fountainhead" of the denomination if it failed to ordain women, seeing that the Rabbinical Assembly was moving closer to admitting women candidates ordained privately or at other rabbinical seminaries. Although unsuccessful in his first attempt to persuade the JTS faculty to approve the proposed reform, in 1979, four years later, when movement pressure for women's ordination had mounted and the composition of the JTS faculty had changed, Cohen succeeded in changing school policy in this regard.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: J. Wertheimer (ed.), *Tradition Renewed*, 2 vols. (1998).

[Michael Panetz (2nd ed.)]

COHEN, GEULAH (1929–), Israeli politician, member of the Eighth to Twelfth Knessets. Cohen was born in Tel Aviv. Her father immigrated to Eretz Israel from Yemen and her mother was born in Eretz Israel to a family that had arrived there in the 19th century from North Africa. As a youth, she became a member of *Betar and joined the *Irgun Tzeva'i Le'ummi in 1942. In 1943 she joined the *Loḥamei Ḥerut Israel (Leḥi), becoming its radio broadcaster. Because of her involvement in Leḥi she was obliged to leave her studies at the Levinsky teachers' seminary, was detained by the British, and was sentenced to 19 years in prison. She escaped from the prison hospital in Bethlehem, and continued to broadcast.

Cohen received an M.A. from the Hebrew University of Jerusalem in philosophy and Bible studies. In 1948–60 she was a member of the editorial board of *Sulam*, a political monthly published by Israel *Eldad. Later she wrote a social-political column in *Ma'ariv,* and was a member of its editorial board in 1961–73. After the Six-Day War Cohen was involved in the campaign for Soviet Jewry, and in 1972 joined the *Ḥerut movement. Under the auspices of the movement Cohen founded the Midrashah Le'ummit educational institution in the spirit of Leḥi. She was elected to the Eighth Knesset in 1973 on the *Likud list. In the course of the Ninth Knesset, following the political upset of 1977, Cohen became chairperson of the Knesset Immigration and Absorption Committee. Following publication of Prime Minister Menaḥem *Begin's peace proposals, she established an internal opposition within the Likud, but finally left the Ḥerut movement in 1979, and together with MK Moshe *Shamir established the Teḥiyyah-Banai parliamentary group.

In October 1979 she established the Teḥiyyah Party, which was based on cooperation among three main groups: defectors from the Ḥerut movement, the Movement for Greater Israel, and *Gush Emunim. The new party objected to Israel's withdrawal from any territories in Ereẓ Israel.

In December 1980 Cohen proposed Basic Law: Jerusalem the Capital of Israel, and a year later the law extending Israeli law and administration to the Golan Heights. She failed to get a law passed that would extend Israeli law and administration to Judea, Samaria, and the Gaza Strip. In 1986, following the *Vanunu affair, Cohen called for the purge of left-wingers from the secret services. In the course of the Twelfth Knesset she was active in efforts to obtain the release of Jonathan *Pollard, found guilty in the United States of spying for Israel.

In the government established by Yitzḥak *Shamir in June 1990, Cohen was appointed minister of science and technology, and was active in connection with the absorption of immigrants from Ethiopia. In November 1991, following the Madrid Conference, she left the government together with her party. Following the failure of Teḥiyyah to pass the qualifying threshold in the elections to the Thirteenth Knesset in 1992, she returned to the Likud but failed in her efforts to get elected to its list for the Fourteenth Knesset. She wrote the autobiographical *Sipurha shel Loḥemet* ("Story of a Warrior," 1962), *Ha-Tapuz she-Ba'ar ve-Hetzit Levavot* ("The Orange That Burned and Lit Up Hearts," 1979), and *Mifgash Histori* ("An Historic Meeting," 1986). In 2003 she received the Israel Prize for her special contribution to Israeli society. Her only son, Tzaḥi Hanegbi, was a member of the Knesset for the Likud from the Twelfth Knesset and a member of several governments.

[Susan Hattis Rolef (2nd ed.)]

COHEN, GUSTAVE (1879–1958), Belgian historian of medieval French literature and theater. Cohen studied at Brussels, Liège, and Lyons, and received his doctorate from the Sorbonne. He taught at Leipzig (1906–09), was professor of French language and literature at Amsterdam (1912–19), and in 1932 was appointed professor of the history of medieval French literature at the Sorbonne. After the fall of France in 1940, Cohen fled to the United States. In 1941 he was appointed visiting professor at Yale, and in the following year he became dean of the Faculty of Letters of the Ecole Libre des Hautes Etudes which he had founded in New York. After the liberation of France in 1944, Cohen resumed his chair at the Sorbonne. Among the many honors bestowed on him was that of laureate of the Académie Française (1921) and laureate of the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres. Cohen's most important works are the *Histoire de la mise en scène dans le théâtre religieux du moyen-âge* (1906) and *La comédie latine en France au XIIe siècle* (1931). He founded and led a group called the "Théophiliens," which presented medieval plays. Cohen was decorated for military service in World War I. He was a convert to Catholicism.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, 75 (1960), Supplement p. 132; *Mélanges … Gustave Cohen* (1950), 13.

[Howard L. Adelson]

COHEN, HAROLD (1928–), British painter. Harold Cohen was born in London and studied and later taught at the Slade School of Art. He represented Britain at the 1966 Venice Biennale with his brother Bernard *Cohen (1933–), with whom he shared a distinctive style, as both were influenced by traditional European expressionism and later American abstract expressionism. He designed the Ark curtains for the synagogue of Jews' College, London. In later years he lived in America and was involved, with considerable international publicity, in using computers to simulate human drawing. Bernard Cohen was also born in London and educated at the Slade School. From 1988 he was Slade Professor of Fine Art at London University and also director of the Slade School. A highly regarded abstract expressionist, he frequently exhibited in Britain and America.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Friedmann, in: *Arts Magazine* (Feb. 1965), 34–40; Russell, in: *Art News* (Summer 1965), 48–49; Thompson, in: *Studio International* (June 1966), 233–45. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** P. McCorduck, *Aaron's Code: Meta-Art, Artificial Intelligence, and the Work of Harold Cohen* (1991).

[Charles Samuel Spencer / William D. Rubinstein (2nd ed.)]

COHEN, HARRIET (1901–1967), British pianist. She made her debut at Queen's Hall, London, in 1914. By the age of 20 she had established her reputation as a virtuoso whose keyboard style combined elegance with spontaneity. Her interpretations of Bach were distinguished by clarity, precision, and vitality. Edward Elgar, Ralph Vaughan Williams, Arnold Bax, and William Walton all wrote compositions for her. In 1934 she took part in a London concert to aid refugee scientists at which *Einstein accompanied her on the violin. Shortly before World War II, when she visited Palestine to play with the Palestine Symphony Orchestra, she presented a collection of music manuscript autographs to the Jewish National and University Library. In Britain, she was active in supporting Jewish, and especially Israel, causes. In 1954 she was granted the freedom of the City of London. An injury to her right wrist in 1948 almost ended her concert career. It was two years before she appeared in public again, playing a concerto for the left hand written for her by Sir Arnold Bax. Failing eyesight compelled her to retire in 1960. Her writings include *Music's Handmaid* (1936) and memoirs, *A Bundle of Time* (1968).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *New York Times* (Nov. 14, 1967); JC (Nov. 17, 1967).

COHEN, HARRY (1885–1969), U.S. surgeon, inventor, and author. Cohen was born in Austria and taken to the U.S. as a baby. In the course of a 60-year medical career in New York, Cohen was a medical inspector for the New York Department of Health (1912–13), and a surgeon at several institutions. He invented the clamp tourniquet (1934), the ligature guide (1936), and a surgical forceps for intravesical use (1930). Cohen, who was extremely active in Jewish affairs, was coeditor of *Jews in the World of Science* (1956), and chief editor of *American Jews: Their Lives and Achievements* (1958). His other publications include: *Simon Bolivar and the Conquest and Liberation of South America* (1955); *The Religion of Benjamin Franklin* (1957); and numerous medical monographs.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *New York Times* (Jan. 31, 1969); S.R. Kagan, *Jewish Medicine* (1952), 462–3.

COHEN, HENRY (1863–1952), U.S. Reform rabbi and humanitarian. Cohen was born in London. He studied for the rabbinate at Jews' College, interrupting his studies during 1881–83 to work in South Africa as an interpreter of native dialects. He occupied pulpits in Kingston, Jamaica (1884–85), and Woodville, Mississippi (1885–88), then was rabbi of the Reform Congregation B'nai Israel of Galveston, Texas. An important shipping and commercial center with an affluent Jewish community, Galveston was the site of a hurricane in 1900 that took the lives of over 3,500 people. Cohen achieved national prominence for his heroic relief efforts after the disaster. In 1907 Cohen was drawn into the "*Galveston plan," which undertook to divert a part of the stream of East European Jewish immigration from the overcrowded slums of the Eastern sea board to the interior of the country, where there was a shortage of labor. Galveston was selected as port of entry, and over 10,000 Jews were served by the Jewish Immigrants' Information Bureau under Rabbi Cohen during 1907–14. Throughout his Galveston ministry, Cohen carried on a vigorous campaign against inhumane conditions in the Texas penal system and against public indifference to released prisoners. He was a pioneer in the rehabilitation of former convicts. Cohen was appointed a member of the Texas Prison Board by the governor (1927) and later chairman of the advisory committee of the Southwestern Probation and Parole Conference (1936). He was deeply involved in many other humanitarian activities.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: A. Cohen et al., *Man Who Stayed in Texas* (1941); A. Dreyfus (ed.), *Henry Cohen, Messenger of the Lord* (1963).

[A. Stanley Dreyfus]

COHEN, HENRY, BARON (1900–1977), British physician. Cohen, who was born in Birkenhead, became one of Britain's leading medical administrators and was involved in the establishment of the country's National Health Service. He was professor of medicine at Liverpool University from 1934 to 1965, and his contributions to the practice of medicine, particularly in the field of diagnosis, gained him an international reputation. His innumerable appointments to medical and allied bodies included the presidency of the British Medical Association, the General Medical Council, the Royal Society of Health, and the Royal Society of Medicine. He was made a baron in 1956. In 1973 Lord Cohen resigned as president of the General Medical Council, a position which he had held since 1961, on account of ill health. He was made a Companion of Honor in the 1974 New Year's Honors List for services to medicine. In 1970 he was appointed chancellor of Hull University. Lord Cohen was active in the affairs of the Liverpool Jewish community; he was on the council of the Anglo-Jewish Association and a governor of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. His published lectures include *New Pathways in Medicine* (1935), *Nature, Method, and Purpose of Diagnosis* (1943), *Evolution of Modern Medicine* (1958), and *Sherrington: Physiologist, Philosopher, and Poet* (1958). He also contributed many papers on biological, neurological, and other medical subjects.

COHEN, HERMANN (1842–1918), German Jewish philosopher. Born in Cowsig, the son of a cantor, Cohen studied at the Jewish Theological Seminary at Breslau, but gave up his initial plans to become a rabbi. He turned to philosophy, studying first at the University of Breslau and then at the University of Berlin. He received his doctorate at the University of Halle in 1865. In 1873 he was invited by F.A. Lange, the well-known author of *The History of Materialism*, to become a *privatdozent* (lecturer) in philosophy at the University of Marburg. Appointed full professor after only three years, Cohen taught in Marburg until 1912. He spent the last years of his life in Berlin, where he taught at the Hochschule fuer die Wissenschaft des Judentums.

Interpretation of Kant and the Marburg System

Cohen's early works were devoted to a critical evaluation of idealism as embodied in the thought of Plato and, particularly, of Kant. "Die platonische Ideenlehre" (1886; see: *Schriften zur Philosophie und Zeitgeschichte*, 1928) was followed by *Kants Theorie der Erfahrung* (1871), *Kants Begruendung der Ethik* (1877), *Von Kants Einfluss auf die deutsche Kultur* (1883), and *Kants Begruendung der Aesthetik* (1889). These critical works brought Cohen to a new interpretation of Kant's philosophy, which came to be known as the Marburg School of neo-Kantianism. This approach found its expression in his three systematic works: *Logik der reinen Erkenntnis* (1902), *Die Ethik des reinen Willens* (1904), and *Die Aesthetik des reinen Gefuehls* (1912). These works reflect Cohen's attempt to renew Kantian philosophy and place it again at the center of the philosophic discourse, despite the prevailing Hegelian philosophy.

The starting point of Cohen's philosophic system, like that of Kant's, is the existence of scientific knowledge expressed mathematically. Like Kant, Cohen believed that the task of the philosopher is to unfold the logical conditions underlying this type of knowledge. However, Cohen criticized Kant for according sensation a special role in the establishment of scientific knowledge. While Kant had maintained that the sense content of our knowledge is a "datum," which, once given, is organized and synthesized by thought, Cohen puts forth the extreme idealistic thesis that thought produces everything out of itself. According to his "principle of origin" (*Ursprungsprinzip*) objects are constructs of thought. Thus he opposed Kant's notion of the "thing-in-itself" (*Ding an sich*), according to which there lies behind the object that we know an object which can never be known as it really is. For Kant, the action of reason is confined to the creation of associations between sensations, which are given. For Cohen, sensation merely describes the problem posed to thought.

Describing the method of science, Cohen holds that the scientist posits certain basic principles which help him to determine the facts, but as his research progresses he is required to revise these underlying principles and to conceive new hypotheses, which, in turn, lead to the discovery of new facts. In accordance with this view, our knowledge of reality at any given time is determined by the particular stage of this process, and since this process has no end, a person can never have a final knowledge of reality.

Considering ethics, Cohen held that human freedom is the basis of ethics, and constructed a parallel system to that of natural science, ruled by causality. Human dignity is central to Cohen's ethical thought. A proponent of humanistic socialism, he regarded a nation's treatment of its working classes as an index of its level of morality. While he called Marx "God's historical messenger," he rejected historical materialism as well as the atheistic trends prevalent in the workers' movement. He viewed religion, represented by the Biblical prophetic call for justice, as a revolutionary step towards systematic ethics. Cohen accordingly perceived Judaism, based on this prophetic vocation, which manifested itself in radical notions like that of the Sabbath, as a cornerstone of moral culture.

Defense of Judaism

A short time after his appointment as professor at Marburg, Cohen was obliged to declare publicly his attitude to "the Jewish question." When the historian Treitschke attacked the German Jews in his *Ein Wort ueber unser Judentum* (1879), defining Judaism as the "national religion of an alien race," Cohen countered with his *Ein Bekenntnis zur Judenfrage* (1880), in which he professed the total integration of German Jewry into the German society "without any double loyalty," yet demanding at the same time that the Jews take their religion seriously. In 1888, Cohen was called upon to testify in a lawsuit against an antisemitic teacher who had clamed that according to the Talmud, Jews are permitted to rob and deceive gentiles. Cohen published his testimony in a pamphlet called "Die Naechstenliebe im Talmud" (Love of the Neighbor in the Talmud, 1888), in which he set out to harmonize two apparently contradictory notions that are the basic of Judaism: the idea of the election of Israel, and the idea of the messianic unity of mankind. The connecting link is provided by the concept of God as the protector of the alien. The vocation of Israel begins with the fact of its chosenness, but since God is conceived from the outset as one who loves the stranger, Israel's chosenness is directed primarily at the unity of mankind.

Throughout his Marburg period Cohen viewed religion as merely a popular, nonconceptual form of ethics and believed that its aim is to be realized within ethics. Nevertheless, the idea of God played a much more central role in his ethics than in Kant's theory. Ethics provides mankind with an eternal ideal, whereas nature knows no eternity. It is here that Cohen introduces his postulate of God. This formulation of the postulate of God reflects Cohen's strong emphasis on ethics as the will to realize the ethical demand and make it part of reality, rather than the Kantian emphasis on the ethical as "practical reason."

Change in Attitude toward Religion

Cohen's move from Marburg to Berlin at the age of seventy was more than a change of place; it reflected an attempt to deepen his preoccupation with Jewish philosophy and life, and to focus on religious philosophy in general and Jewish thought in particular. This shift was manifested, among other things, in his journey to meet Polish Jewry in 1914 in order to assist in the foundation of an independent institute of higher learning for Jews who found it difficult to be admitted to universities, and his contact with the life of the Jewish masses in Vilna and Warsaw. From 1912 till his death he was primarily a Jewish philosopher and educator.

Although he had already dealt with religion in his previous books, it was only now that Cohen started to realize his old idea of dealing systematically with the role and content of religion. In 1915 he published *Der Bergriff der Religion im System der Philosophie* ("The Concept of Religion within the System of Philosophy," second edition, Zurich, 1996). In contrast with his earlier understanding of religion, Cohen now sought to determine the role and conceptual content of religion, and to define its place within the rational universe of philosophy. Religion is no longer a nonconceptual popular ethics, but rather a teaching that borders metaphysics, ethics, aesthetics and psychology. Furthermore, religion can be scientifically understood only through an analysis of these boundaries, although no solely rational approach has the capacity of exhausting its quality and content. Nevertheless, Cohen makes clear that religion can maintain this unique independent content only through its strong attachment to ethics.

At the heart of religion and of its relationship to ethics is the concept of the individual, which ethics as a philosophical system must ignore, and at the same time desperately needs. Ethics is based on the notion of duty that the individual has, his or her moral decisions and responsibility. At the same time, ethics, as it was being thus understood in the Kantian and neo-Kantian tradition, must "overcome" the individual. A deed is moral only when it is the right deed for every human being in the given situation. Neither the doer of the moral deed nor the person towards whom it is being aimed can be really seen as individuals, only as particular manifestations or examples of universal humanity. Only monotheistic religion, focusing on the correlation between the one God and the individual, can allow us to focus on the concept of the individual, and thus provide ethics with grounding and stability.

It is apparent that Cohen was not fully satisfied with his 1915 formulation of religion and reason. A very short time after releasing this book he started to work on his last book, *Religion der Vernunft aus den Quellen des Judentums*, which was published posthumously in 1919 (2nd edition, 1928; English: *Religion of Reason Out of the Sources of Judaism*, New York, 1972; also in Hebrew and other languages). Three main new focuses were emphasized in this title. First, when in the former book Cohen spoke about "religion" in general, meaning monotheism, now he clearly wishes to focus on Judaism and its sources as the *Urquelle*, ground-sources, of religion of reason. Second, the universe in which he places that religion is no longer "philosophy" but "reason" (*Vernunft*), a concept that should include not merely philosophy but also the unique teachings of religion in general, and Judaism in particular. The last emphasis is that religion can be analyzed and investigated only through a hermeneutical effort to understand its literary sources. These sources of Judaism – initially, the Hebrew Bible, but also rabbinic literature as well as medieval Jewish philosophy – bear a unique body of knowledge and reason. Analyzing religion's boundaries with ethics and aesthetics, and to a lesser extent with history and psychology, can be useful, but religion can be genuinely comprehended only from within, from its sources. These three elements, especially the last one, deeply manifest Cohen's life-long attachment to Maimonides, an attachment that was balanced only by his parallel attachment to Kant.

Cohen's new approach to the essence of religion can be fully traced in his notion of religious love. In his early works, Cohen viewed love as a mere affection, used by religion in a way that is legitimate, but proves that religion is of no scientific, rational nature. His *Religion of Reasons* reflects a fundamental change in his approach. The book's first chapter deals with the monotheistic concept of God, and emphasizes that in the religion of reason, the qualitative uniqueness of God (*die Einzigkeit Gottes*) as the only true Being is more essential than the quantitative oneness of God (*Die Einheit Gottes*). In chapter 2, Cohen, (clearly, if implicitly, reflecting the influence of Friedrich Schleiermacher) asks how one can depict the monotheistic person. Cognition cannot suffice, for cognition always has many objects; it is only love that can determine the monotheistic focus of human life. Here, love is no longer an affection but rather a course of life and an act of reason.

Love as an approach that represents the religion of reason, is directed foremost to our fellow humans. Ethics deals only with the person that I find besides me, the *Nebenmensch*. It defines my duties to that individual without relating to her or his individuality. Religion teaches me to relate to that person as the one who is with me, my *Mitmensch*, as an individual, whose uniqueness, her or his being here-and-now, are the source of my love and responsibility to him or her. Through the *Mitmensch* one also learns to perceive oneself as an individual. The other's individuality is manifested in his or her suffering, whereas the self's individuality is manifested in his or her sinfulness. In both cases, individuality is marked by incompleteness.

Nevertheless, sin cannot and should not rule life, nor should it define the "I." Cohen, following the teachings of the prophets Ezekiel and to a lesser extent Jeremiah, places repentance and atonement at the heart of religion. Every individual can free himself or herself from sin, can recreate himself anew. Repentance is thus the ground for the correlation between God and the human, and for human freedom and responsibility. Repentance (as a human act) and forgiveness (the divine reply to this act, that expresses God's goodness) depict the essential core of religion, and the ground of ethics provided by Jewish monotheism.

The concept of correlation is a key concept in Cohen's philosophy. It appeared already in his early books, referring to a logical reciprocal relationship between concepts that are developed from each other according to the "principle of origin." In *Der Begriff der Religion* the concept was used for the first time to describe the mutual relationships between God and the human, clearly referring to both as theoretical concepts rather than personalities. In *Religion der Vernunft*, correlation plays a major role, and refers to the dynamic relationships, to the *Mitmensch* and also to the divine-human reciprocal relationship. Cohen's readers developed different understandings of the meaning of these relationships. Some scholars follow Franz Rosenzweig's reading that correlation refers here to the biblical notion of covenant, arguing that in *Religion der Vernunft*, Cohen's God is no longer mere idea but rather personality. Others stick to Cohen's usage of the concept in his early philosophy, depicting *Religion der Vernunft* as a direct continuum of Cohen's early philosophy rather than a breakthrough from his idealism.

Cohen emphasizes that Judaism is not the sole manifestation of the religion of reason, though his approach to Christianity, the only other religion being referred to in the book, is quite polemical. As a unique form of monotheism, carrying the quality of an *Urquelle*, the existence of Judaism, and hence of the Jewish people, is of universal significance. Cohen clearly views the Jews as a people rather than merely a community of faith, yet draws from this view no Zionist conclusion. To the contrary, he sharply opposed Zionism, viewing it as a betrayal of Judaism's messianic universalistic horizons, and advocated the continued existence of the Jewish people as a national minority ("nationality") within the various nation-states ("nations"). This anti-Zionist approach was expressed in his article "Religion und Zionismus" (1916; *Juedische Schriften*, 2 (1924), 319–27).

The religious significance of Jewish existence was one of the bases for Cohen's devotion to Jewish religious law. Using Kantian terminology and criteria, he argues sharply against Kant's notion of autonomy and the philosopher's negation of Jewish law. Cohen interprets "*mitzvah*" to mean both "law" and "duty." The law originates in God, the sense of duty in man. The law is at the same time duty; duty at the same time law. God issued commandments to man, and man of his own free will takes upon himself the "yoke of the commandments." With the "yoke of the commandments," one simultaneously accepts the "yoke of the kingdom of God." Thus, the law leads to the messianic ideal.

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[Samuel Hugo Bergman / Yehoyada Amir (2nd ed.)]

COHEN, HIRSH (1860–1950), Canadian rabbi. Cohen was born in Budwicz, Russian Poland, and was educated at the Volozhin Yeshivah. He obtained his *semikhah* from R. Jacob David *Willowski (Ridbaz). He immigrated to Montreal, Canada, in 1889 or 1890. After a short period in Chicago, during which he qualified as a *shoḥet*, he returned to Montreal as a *shoḥet*, teacher, and preacher. He became superintendent of

Montreal's Talmud Torah in 1901 and began functioning as a rabbi. Supported by his older brother, Lazarus Cohen, a prominent communal leader, and by Hirsch *Wolofsky, publisher of Montreal's Yiddish daily, *Keneder Adler*, Cohen began a protracted struggle to become preeminent in Montreal's immigrant Orthodox rabbinate in the area of the supervision of *kashrut*, facing such rivals as Rabbis Simon Glazer and Yudel *Rosenberg. His efforts culminated in 1922 with the founding of the Jewish Community Council of Montreal (*Va'ad ha-Ir*). He became head of the Council's rabbinical body (*Va'ad ha-Rabbanim*), and thus widely recognized as Montreal's chief rabbi. He struggled to maintain the integrity of the Council and its monopoly over *kashrut* supervision in Montreal in the face of numerous challenges. He was active in Jewish communal issues, in particular those related to Jewish education and Zionism. He was well known as a public speaker in Yiddish and often published his speeches in the *Keneder Adler*. He retained the title of chief rabbi to his death, though he was not active in his last years due to illness.

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[Ira Robinson (2nd ed.)]

COHEN, H. RODGIN (1944–), U.S. lawyer. Born in Charleston, W. Va., Cohen graduated from Harvard University in 1965 and Harvard Law School three years later. He also earned a law degree from the University of Charleston in 1998. After two years in the Army, Cohen joined the old-line law firm Sullivan & Cromwell in 1970 and was assigned to the firm's banking practice. For more than 30 years, Cohen was a sought-after counselor to chief executives of the industry's largest institutions, including the Bank of New York, First Union, and Societé Générale, advising on 10 of the 15 largest bank mergers in the 1990s. As part of a team in late 1980, Cohen represented several banks in the exchange of billions of dollars worth of frozen Iranian assets for American hostages held in Iran. He was involved in the consolidation wave, including the mergers of Chemical and Chase Manhattan, Wells Fargo and Norwest, and First Union and Corestates. He became chairman of Sullivan & Cromwell in 1999. The firm had more than 525 lawyers and its clients included Disney, Goldman Sachs, and Microsoft, making it one of the most profitable law firms in the United States.

[Stewart Kampel (2nd ed.)]

COHEN, I. BERNARD (1914–2003), U.S. historian of science. Cohen was born in Far Rockaway, New York. He was an expert on Benjamin Franklin and Sir Isaac Newton. Most of his professional life was spent at Harvard University, where in 1937 he received his B.Sc. in mathematics, subsequently becoming the first American to receive a Ph.D. in the history of science (1947). He transformed Harvard's undergraduate and postgraduate program on the history of science into a department and in 1977 became Victor S. Thomas Professor of the History of Science. After retiring in 1984, Cohen continued to teach at Harvard, Brandeis University, and Boston College. The fruits of his polymath skills included *Science and the Founding Fathers* (1995), which deals with the contribution of scientific thought to the authors of the American Constitution, and the first English translation of Newton's *Principia Mathematica* (with Koyre and Whitman) since 1729 (1999). He served as president of the most influential national and international organizations concerned with the history of science and was accorded the discipline's most prestigious honors.

[Michael Denman (2nd ed.)]

COHEN, ISAAC KADMI (1892–1944), French Zionist writer and lawyer. Born in Lodz, Poland, and educated at the Herzliah gymnasium, Tel Aviv, Kadmi Cohen later settled in Paris, where he became a lawyer. A man of the French left, he was a Zionist of the extreme right, surpassing the Revisionists in his *Etat d'Israël* (1930), which called for a Jewish empire stretching from the Nile to Iraq. While interned at Compiègne in 1941–42, he organized the Massadah Zionist club to counteract the prevalent assimilationism of other imprisoned French-Jewish intellectuals. Believing a Nazi victory to be inevitable, he concluded that the Germans might agree to a mass evacuation of European Jews to Ereẓ Israel and reputedly sent a memorandum to Hitler recommending this "solution." He was finally deported to the Gleiwitz concentration camp and is thought to have died in Auschwitz.

Kadmi Cohen's son by his marriage to a French Catholic was the writer JEAN-FRANÇOIS STEINER (1938–). Distressed by the terrible death of a father whom he had never known and haunted by the conflicts of his own identity, Steiner spent a year in Israel at the age of 17 in search of an answer to his dilemma. This eventually took the form of a book, *Treblinka* (1966; Eng. ed., 1967), a dry and unemotional mixture of fact and fiction based on the documents he had studied at *Yad Vashem and interviews with concentration camp survivors. Although it contained gripping descriptions of Jewish resistance to the Nazi genocide program, *Treblinka's* rejection of the Diaspora – an unconscious echo of Kadmi Cohen's views – and its underlying assumptions met with wide protest. Steiner advanced his own theory of Jewish "complicity" in the "final solution," based on his idea of the sanctity of life in Jewish tradition. The book aroused controversy and survivors whose names had been used published *La vérité sur Treblinka* (1967), in which documented facts were printed in opposition to Steiner's theory. In 1967 Steiner married the granddaughter of Field Marshal Walter von Brauchitsch, the commander in chief of Hitler's army.

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COHEN, ISRAEL (1879–1961), writer and Zionist. Born in Manchester, the son of a tailor, and educated at Jewish schools, Manchester Grammar School, and London University, Cohen was active in the Zionist movement from the mid-1890s. In

1910 he became the English-language secretary of the Zionist Central Office in Cologne, which later moved to Berlin. During World War I (until 1916) he was interned in a prison camp in Germany. In 1918 Cohen rejoined the secretariat of the World Zionist Organization, and was professionally active in the Zionist movement for the rest of his career. Touring Poland and Hungary to investigate the condition of Jews after the war, he reported on the current pogroms and discrimination. On behalf of the Zionist Organization he visited the Jewish communities of Egypt, Australia, China, Manchuria, Japan, Java, India, and of other countries. From 1922 he was secretary of the Zionist Organization in London and edited the reports of the Zionist Executive to several Zionist Congresses. One of the early Zionist journalists and writers in Great Britain, Cohen published articles in Jewish, Zionist, and other English-language journals. His books include *Jewish Life in Modern Times* (1914), *The Zionist Movement* (1945), *Contemporary Jewry* (1950), *A Short History of Zionism* (1951), *Travels in Jewry* (1953), and *Theodor Herzl: Founder of Political Zionism* (1959). He also published pamphlets on Jewish affairs, Zionism, and antisemitism. In 1956 he published an autobiography, *A Jewish Pilgrimage.*

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[Josef Fraenkel]

COHEN, ISRAEL (1905–1986), Hebrew literary critic and editor. Cohen spent his childhood in Galicia and Czechoslovakia and later studied in Buczacz and Lemberg. Active in Zionist youth movements, he immigrated to Palestine in 1925, and was a leading member of Ha-Po'el ha-Ẓa'ir and later Mapai. In 1934 he was appointed to the editorial board of the weekly **Ha-Po'el ha-Ẓa'ir* and was its editor from 1948 until it ceased publication in 1970. Active in the writers' association, he edited many of its publications, including the monthly *Moznayim*. Cohen wrote extensively on literature. His books include: *Ha'arakhot u-Vavu'ot* (1938) and *Gesharim* (1955), essays on the labor movement. In 1962 four volumes of his selected works appeared: *Sha'ar ha-Soferim, Sha'ar ha-Havḥanot, Sha'ar ha-Te'amim*, and *Ishim min ha-Mikra*. He also published several compilations of epigrams, including studies of parallel Hebrew, German, and English sayings (1954, 1960). Cohen's articles are excellent examples of eclectic analysis. His essays, written in an outstanding Hebrew style, generally describe and define the literary scene and the works or their authors. On his 75th birthday, Nurit Govrin edited *Sefer ha-Yovel* (1980). Cohen's correspondence with *Agnon and with David *Ben-Gurion, *Ḥilufei Mikhtavim*, appeared in 1985.

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[Getzel Kressel]

COHEN, JACK JOSEPH (1919–), Reconstructionist rabbi and educator. Cohen was born in Brooklyn, New York, earned his B.A. from Brooklyn College in 1940, and received his M.H.L. and ordination from the Conservative movement's *Jewish Theological Seminary in 1943. He studied at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem even before the creation of the State of Israel and received his Ph.D. in education from Columbia University's Teachers College in 1958. He was awarded honorary D.D. degrees from both the Jewish Theological Seminary (1968) and the Reconstructionist Rabbinical College, which simultaneously bestowed on him its Keter Torah Award (2000).

After serving as educational director of the Park Synagogue in Cleveland, Ohio (1943–45), Cohen was named director of the Jewish Reconstructionist Foundation, where, for the next 10 years he oversaw the activities and institutions of the growing movement. In the cause of promoting Reconstructionist Judaism, he published educational material (such as *Zionism Explained*, *The Theology of the Jewish Prayer Book,* and a study guide for Milton *Steinberg's *A Partisan Guide to the Jewish Problem*); created *havurot*; lectured widely throughout the United States; and was associate editor of the *Reconstructionist* magazine. But his efforts to convince the Reconstructionist laity to support the opening of an office in Israel, to establish a camping program, to develop a training program for teachers, and a variety of other activities were ultimately frustrated. During his tenure, the Federation of Reconstructionist Congregations was formed. In 1953, he became educational director of the Society for the Advancement of Judaism, the Reconstructionist congregation founded in New York City 30 years earlier by Mordecai *Kaplan. In 1954, Cohen was also named rabbi of the SAJ, where he is credited with a number of educational innovations, including setting up experimental schools and establishing a year-long program of study for bat- and bat mitzvah students and their parents.

Although clearly identified with Reconstructionism, Cohen remained associated with the Conservative movement. He was a lecturer at the Jewish Theological Seminary (1955–61) and chairman of the United Synagogue Commission on Jewish Education (1960–61). In 1961, Cohen moved to Israel and assumed the directorship of the B'nai B'rith Hillel Foundation at the Hebrew University, serving until 1984. He maneuvered skillfully to permit expressions of religious pluralism while resisting Reform and Conservative attempts to import denominational divisions into Israel. He also worked to improve Arab-Jewish relations on campus and widened the scope of Hillel. In 1970, Cohen joined the faculty of Jerusalem's David Yellin College of Education (1970–83), on whose board he also served. He also taught students of the Reconstructionist Rabbinical College who were studying in Israel (1970–2002).

In 1962, Cohen was instrumental in founding the egalitarian Congregation Mevakshei Derekh, widely considered the first Reconstructionist synagogue in Israel. He served as the first chairman of Mevakshei Derekh for several decades and, although he never took the official title of rabbi, has always been acknowledged as its de facto spiritual leader. In

1984, the congregation was able to move into its own permanent building.

Cohen wrote numerous articles for Anglo-Jewish and Hebrew journals, as well as many chapters in scholarly compilations. He also wrote eight books, including several on philosophy and education. These include *The Creative Audience* (with Rebecca Imber, 1954), *The Case for Religious Naturalism* (1958), *Jewish Education in a Democratic Society* (1964), *The Reunion of Isaac and Ishmael* (1989), *Morim Lizman Navokh* (Hebrew, 1993; English version: *Guides for an Age of Confusion: Studies in the Thinking of Avraham Y. Kook and Mordecai M. Kaplan*, 1999), *Major Philosophers of Jewish Prayer in the 20th Century* (2000), *Judaism as an Evolving Civilization* (with Yosef Begun, in Russian, 2001). Cohen also served on the editorial board of the *Reconstructionist*.

In Israel, Cohen became a member of the Ministry of Education's Committee on Culture and Leisure Time and chairman of the Israel Interfaith Association, which brings together Jews, Christians and Muslims for dialogue.

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[Bezalel Gordon (2nd ed.)]

COHEN, JACOB RAPHAEL (1738?–1811), U.S. *ḥazzan*. Cohen was born in North Africa. He served as *ḥazzan* in England before being sent to Montreal's Congregation Shearith Israel in 1778. Bound again for England, Cohen was detained in New York, and became minister of Congregation Shearith Israel there (1782–85). Later he replaced *ḥazzan* *Seixas in Philadelphia's Congregation Mikveh Israel, remaining in that office until his death. Cohen was frequently called upon to fulfill all ritual functions. He kept a meticulous record of marriages, circumcisions, deaths, and memorial prayers, an important source of data for Jewish history in Montreal, New York, and Philadelphia. He was assisted by his son, Abraham Hyam Cohen (d. 1841), who succeeded him.

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[Malcolm H. Stern]

COHEN, JACOB XENAB (1889–1955), U.S. Reform rabbi. Cohen was born in New York City and began studying for the rabbinate only after starting a career as a civil engineer. He received his rabbinic ordination and M.H.L. degree at the Jewish Institute for Religion in 1929 and was appointed associate rabbi and executive secretary of the Free Synagogue in New York that same year. He also served as executive secretary of its philanthropic institute, the Free Synagogue Social Service Inc., and bursar of the Jewish Institute for Religion. In 1939, he became president of the New York Board of Jewish Ministers (renamed the New York Board of Rabbis in 1946) and was credited with revitalizing the organization and its various missions. He was the first to recognize the importance of public relations for the Jewish community, of cooperation with other religious and philanthropic bodies, and of the special impact of radio for educating the general public about Judaism. During his chairmanship, the Board was recognized to be on a par with the Catholic Diocese and the Protestant City Mission Society for the designation of chaplains, and Cohen was appointed the first Jewish member of the Mayor's Committee on Chaplaincy. In 1948, as chairman of the New York Board of Rabbis' Chaplaincy Committee, Cohen inaugurated, with the Psychiatric Department of Mount Sinai Hospital, a Chaplaincy Institute for the scientific training of chaplains serving in city, state, and federal institutions. An activist, Cohen was a member of the Governing Council of the American Jewish Congress, and chairman of its National Commission on Economic Problems; his widely circulated reports – *Jews, Jobs and Discrimination, Helping to End Economic Discrimination,* and *Towards Fair Play for Jewish Workers*, among many others – called attention to the issue of antisemitism in the workplace. At the same time, he spoke out about discrimination against other minorities as well. He also investigated the problem of restrictive quotas against Jewish applicants to U.S. medical and dental schools for the AJ Congress Special Committee on Discrimination in Medical Schools. He traveled widely throughout the world, interviewing government leaders in North America, Latin America, and Europe, warning about the rise of Nazism and documenting antisemitic outbreaks for the World Jewish Congress. Cohen also chronicled *Jewish Life in South America,* publishing a book under this title in 1941. He is the subject of a biography, *Engineer of the Soul*, written by his wife, Sadie Alta Cohen (1961).

[Bezalel Gordon (2nd ed.)]

COHEN, SIR JOHN EDWARD (**Jack**; 1898–1979), British businessman and philanthropist. Born Jacob Edward Kohen in the City of London, Cohen worked in his father's ladies' tailoring shop in the East End, before joining the Royal Flying Corps in World War I. After the war he used his army bonus of $150 to open a food stall in a London market. By World War II he had built up a company of over 100 grocery stores in London and in Great Britain. After the war he built a chain of more than 500 supermarkets, groceries, and discount houses. He incorporated these into Tesco Stores (Holdings) Limited and associated companies and was chairman of its board. By the 1960s Tesco was one of the best known of High Street retail chains, and Sir Jack Cohen was virtually a household name as a prominent entrepreneur. In 1967 Cohen opened the first Tesco Superstore, vastly larger than previous branches. He was an active worker for the Joint Palestine Appeal. He established the Shirene Home apartments for elderly people at Herzliyyah, Israel. Cohen was knighted in 1969 and retired in 1970.

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COHEN, JOHN MICHAEL (1903–1988), English critic and translator. A businessman turned writer, Cohen published many Penguin Classics that bear the stamp of mature reflection and wide reading. His works include translations of Cervantes' *Don Quixote* (1950), Rabelais' *Gargantua and Pantagruel* (1955), and *Montaigne's Essays* (1958); *History of Western Literature* (1956); *The Penguin Dictionary of Quotations* (1960); *Latin American Writing Today* (1967); and a series of comic verse anthologies.

COHEN, JOHN SANFORD (1870–1935), publisher, U.S. senator. Cohen of was the scion of an old American family. His father, Phillip Lawrence Cohen (1845–1882), who had surrendered with Lee at Appomattox, was descended from Portuguese Jews who had settled in Savannah, Georgia, in the early 18th century. His mother, Ellen Gobert (Wright) Cohen, was the daughter of Major General Ambrose Ransom Wright, "a distinguished commander in the Confederate army and a lieutenant-governor of Georgia," and Mary Hubbell Savage, "a descendant of Thomas Savage (1594–1627), who came from England and settled in Virginia in 1607."

Cohen received a private education at various prep schools in Virginia and Maryland. After a year at the United States Naval Academy in Annapolis, Maryland, he returned to Augusta, where he served a two-year apprenticeship on the *Augusta Chronicle*, one of the South's oldest and most respected newspapers and long owned by Cohen's maternal grandparents. At 18, he went to Mexico as secretary to Captain William G. Raoul, the builder of the Mexican National Railroad. In 1889, he moved to New York, becoming a reporter on Joseph *Pulitzer's *New York World*. The following year, Cohen returned to Georgia, where he went to work for the *Atlanta Journal*, a connection he would maintain for the rest of his life.

During President Grover Cleveland's second administration (1893–97), Cohen became Washington correspondent for the *Journal* and private secretary to Interior Secretary Hoke Smith. On the outbreak of the Spanish-American War in 1898, he sailed to Cuba with the American fleet as a correspondent for the *Journal*. When the call went out for volunteers, he returned to Georgia and was commissioned as a first lieutenant in the Third Georgia United States Volunteer Infantry. Promoted to major, he went with the army of occupation to Cuba. After the war, Cohen became the *Atlanta Journal*'s managing editor; eventually he was named the paper's president. Under his guidance, the *Journal* became the first newspaper in the South (and the second in the nation) to establish a radio station – WSB, the "Voice of the South," which went on the air from the roof of the Journal Building in March 1922. A visionary, Cohen directed his paper to use wire-service photos as early as 1930.

"The Major," as he was known, was elected Democratic national committeeman for Georgia in 1924. He was reelected to that post in 1928 and 1932. In April 1932, Georgia's senior Senator, William J. Harris, unexpectedly died. Cohen was appointed to replace him until a special election could be held. Cohen, who had been named vice chair of the Democratic National Committee, decided not to run for the remaining four years of his Senate term. He decided that it would be better to put all his political energies into campaigning for Franklin D. Roosevelt. A patron of art, music, and education, Cohen was instrumental in reestablishing the Lee School of Journalism at Washington and Lee University in Virginia.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: K.F. Stone, *The Congressional Minyan: The Jews of Capitol Hill* (2000) 61–62; J. Mellichamp, *Senators From Georgia* (1976).

[Kurt Stone (2nd ed.)]

COHEN, JOSEPH (1817–1899), French publicist and lawyer. Born in Marseilles, he practiced law in Aix-en-Provence, and was delegated by the French government to study the condition of Algerian Jewry. In 1845 he was appointed head of the Algerian *consistory. He returned to Paris in 1848, thereafter devoting his time to journalism. He edited (1860–62) the first Jewish weekly in France, *La Vérité israélite*, contributed to the monthly *Archives israélites*, and was editor of *Le Pays* (1853), *La France* (1860–68), and *La Presse* (1871). His works include *Les Déicides* (1861), a critical investigation into the life of Jesus and the Gospels, and *Les Pharisiens* (2 vols., 1877). Cohen represented the Algerian Jews at the Central Consistory from 1868.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Rosenstock, in: JSOS, 18 (1956), 41–42, 48–49, 51–52.

COHEN, JOSEPH ISAAC (1896–1981), Sephardi congregational rabbi and communal leader in Havana and Atlanta and active Zionist. Born in Istanbul, Cohen was educated at an Alliance Israélite Universelle school, the prestigious Galata Saray gymnasium, and studied law at the university. In the Turkish army, he rose to the rank of captain in intelligence and served from 1915 to 1918 in the Dardanelles, Syria, and Ereẓ Israel. He was taken prisoner by the British in Beersheba. After the war, he remained in Ereẓ Israel, working for the Jewish Agency and the Jewish National Fund; he then immigrated to Cuba in 1920. He set up a Jewish day school, Colegio Herzel, and served as its headmaster, and as an active Zionist, he was cofounder of the Zionist Organization and the Jewish National Fund in Cuba. He served as an active spokesman for the Jewish community in its dealings with the Cuban authorities. In 1930, after being ordained privately by local rabbis in Cuba, he became head of the Sephardi congregation *Shevet Ahim Union Hebrea* in Havana.

Cohen subsequently served the Atlanta Sephardi Congregation Or Veshalom of Rhodian and Turkish Jews from 1934 until his death in 1981. In 1935, he reorganized the Talmud Torah, added a Sunday religious school for pre-kindergarten until 10th grade, and hired accredited teachers for both.

He encouraged his Sephardi congregants to become active and integrate into the general Jewish community and

Federation philanthropic activities. He placed emphasis on giving to charity locally for orphans, Jewish welfare needs, and causes in Israel and elsewhere abroad, i.e., through the Jewish National Fund, and the return of *Marranos to Judaism in Oporto, Portugal.

For his efforts, he received the Bringer of Light award from the Jewish National Fund of America, and in 1969 he was elected president of the newly formed Atlanta Rabbinical Association.

Upon retirement in 1969, he was elected rabbi emeritus of his congregation and continued serving the congregation and community until his death. He was succeeded by Rabbi S. Robert Ishay, a native of Morocco, who had served previously in Manchester and Rhodesia.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: S. Beton (ed.), *Sephardim & a History of Congregation Or VeShalom* (1981), 108–110; J. Papo, *Sephardim in Twentieth Century America, In Search of Unity* (1987), 281–83.

[Yitzchak Kerem (2nd ed.)]

COHEN, JUDAH (c. 1700), community leader of Algiers and diplomat serving the ruler of Tunisia, Murād Bey. In 1699 Cohen was authorized by the bey and his council to negotiate a peace treaty and trade agreement with the Dutch government. This assignment involved regular contacts with Tripoli, Tunisia, Algeria, and the Netherlands. A number of Jews helped him to carry out the negotiations, but they were conducted in a careless manner and lasted six years, 1702–08, instead of the sixteen months originally stipulated. Cohen made use of his high position to benefit the Jews.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Hirschberg, Afrikah, 2 (1965), 124–6.

COHEN, JULIUS BEREND (1859–1935), British organic chemist. Born in Manchester. Cohen taught there until 1891, when he joined the Yorkshire College, Leeds, faculty. When this became University of Leeds (1904), he was appointed its first professor of organic chemistry. He is known for three textbooks: *Chemistry* (1902); *Organic Chemistry for Advanced Students* (1907); and *Class Book of Organic Chemistry* (1917). He was a Fellow of the Royal Society.

COHEN, LEONARD (1934–), Montreal-born poet, novelist, and songwriter whose work was uniquely influential through the late 1960s and early 1970s. Cohen's background differentiated him from the Jewish writers of Montreal, who had grown up before him on the hardscrabble streets of the downtown. His family were pillars of the community, ensconced in a grand Westmount home near the hilly Murray Hill Park, which he turns into an iconic landscape in his fiction.

Although Cohen's poetic career was nurtured by the rich literary life of Jewish Montreal, and the burgeoning modernist movement centered around a few older poets and teachers, his broader impact as a writer came with his ability to enter the international scene through his songwriting. There are thus two Cohens – one a contributor to an established line of poetic inheritance, intimately linked to his birthplace; the other a pop troubadour whose songs speak to audiences in Poland, Finland, and New York as directly as they do to Canadians.

In the early 1960s this division was not so easily felt, as poems that appeared in his early books were reworked into successful songs. His first album, *Songs of Leonard Cohen*, appeared in the same year that his *Selected Poems* was published. The particular style and tone of his poetry were well suited to the blend of folk, country, and blues that informed such records as *Songs from a Room* (1969). In the early 1970s Cohen began to express a diffidence with his poetic gifts and distanced himself from his audience in the darkly ironic poems collected in *The Energy of Slaves* (1972). This persona of the divided poet returns in his collection *Death of a Lady's Man* (1978). In it, the left-hand page presents a poem, which is then critiqued on the facing page. Around the same time, Cohen released *Death of a Ladies' Man*. This project distanced Cohen from the constituency of listeners who had fallen for songs like "Suzanne" and "Bird on the Wire." Cohen's movement through poetry, novels, and on to popular songwriting suggested a restless and multitalented artist who is both drawn to and repelled by fame.

Much of Cohen's work is informed by his Jewishness, although often in shadowy and ambiguous ways. *Let Us Compare Mythologies* (1956), *The Spice-Box of Earth* (1961), and *Flowers for Hitler* (1964) revealed a voice informed by subtle humor, Judaic imagery, and pop cultural savvy. His first novel, *The Favourite Game*, is a lyrical portrait of a charmed Westmount adolescence, not unlike Cohen's own. Among his best albums is *New Skin for the Old Ceremony*, which reworks Jewish liturgical imagery (especially that of Yom Kippur) in powerfully strange and simple folk-blues anthems. Even *Beautiful Losers* (1966), Cohen's final novel, is underwritten by the predicament of what his narrator provocatively calls the "New Jew," inheritor of a tradition transformed into some grotesque yet compelling version of its once more coherent self. But the novel reaches beyond Cohen's established themes and lyrical tones for a more all-encompassing portrait of Canadian identity in a nascent multicultural era. The combination of cultural influence in the novel is representative of Montreal's mixed heritage, as French, English, Mohawk, and Jewish settlements on the banks of the St. Lawrence are explored. The book in which Cohen places the greatest emphasis on Jewish language and imagery is his last published collection of new poetry, *Book of Mercy* (1984). In short psalm-like sections, the poet returns to the familiar subject matter of private and poetic pain, yet he does so in language that repeatedly echoes traditional Jewish prayer: "Blessed are you who has given each man a shield of loneliness so that he cannot forget you."

Leonard Cohen's oeuvre stands at the end of a line of inheritance beginning with the earliest Yiddish writers who settled in Montreal, followed by A.M. Klein and Irving Layton, both of whom influenced Cohen in his youthful work. Readers have had to accept a relative silence from Cohen since the mid-1980s, when song and his growing position as a cultural icon took precedence over literary output.

[Norman Ravvin (2nd ed.)]

COHEN, LEVI-ABRAHAM (1844–1888), Moroccan journalist. Cohen was born in Mogador and lived in Tangiers. Here he founded *Le Réveil du Maroc* and also acted as correspondent not only for Jewish papers but also for the Agence Havas and the London *Times*, for which he wrote articles on the unfortunate situation of the Jewish and Muslim masses. Supported by such personalities as Sir Moses *Montefiore, Cohen acquired a considerable influence in the political and diplomatic circles of Morocco.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: JC (Nov. 16, 1888); Miège, Maroc, 3 (1962), 280, 319, 338; 4 (1963), 49, 325, 352.

[David Corcos]

COHEN, LIONEL LEONARD, BARON (1888–1973), English judge and jurist. Born in London, he was admitted to the bar in 1913, made a king's counsel in 1929, a judge of the Chancery Division of the High Court in 1943, and Lord Justice of Appeal and a privy councillor in 1946. In 1951 he was named a peer as Baron of Walmer and sat in the House of Lords as a "Lord of Appeal in Ordinary" until 1960. He was chairman of the Company Law Amendment Committee (1943–45) and acquired renown as the author of the Companies Act of 1948, which became a model for company legislation in many countries. Notable among his public offices were his chairmanship of the Royal Commission on Awards to Inventors (1946–56) and of the Council on Prices, Productivity, and Incomes (1957–59) which was known as the Cohen Committee. Cohen followed his family tradition of general and Jewish public service. He was an active president of the Jewish Board of Guardians and also president of the Jewish Historical Society of England and of the Union of Liberal and Progressive Synagogues. He was vice president of the Board of Deputies.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: P. Emden, *Jews of Britain* (1943), 177. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** ODNB online.

[Israel Finestein]

COHEN, LYON (1868–1937), Canadian businessman, Jewish community leader. Cohen was the most eminent Montreal Jew of his time. He was born in Poland and immigrated to Montreal with his family in 1871. A successful businessman, Cohen began as a coal merchant and dredging contractor. He added a brass foundry and a major Montreal men's clothing manufacturing company to his business holdings. He eventually became head of the Montreal Men's Clothing Manufacturers' Association and led this organization during the bitter labor strikes of 1916 and 1917, finally agreeing to union demands for better working conditions.

Cohen was also associated with virtually all the major causes in the Jewish community's development. In 1897, Cohen, with Samuel Jacobs, founded Canada's first Jewish newspaper, *The Jewish Times*. The paper provided the Jewish community with a window on the rest of the Jewish world, a forum for debate, and a tool for educating new immigrants. He joined the drive to obtain equal rights for Jews in Quebec elementary schools, headed the Baron de Hirsch Institute, and spearheaded efforts to create the Federation of Jewish Charities. He presided over the Canadian Jewish Congress and committees to aid World War I sufferers in Eastern Europe. Cohen was active in the *Jewish Colonization Association, the Jewish Immigrant Aid Society, the Montreal Y.M.H.A., and other welfare efforts; he served for many years as president of Sha'ar Hashamayim synagogue.

[Gerald Tulchinsky (2nd ed.)]

COHEN, MARCEL (**Samuel Raphael**; 1884–1974), French linguist and philologist. Born in Paris, he studied at the Paris School of Oriental Languages from where he went on a study mission to Algeria. The results of this mission were summarized in his book, *Le parler arabe des Juifs d'Alger* (1912). In 1910 he was sent by the French Ministry of Education to Abyssinia where he collected material for his scientific research on linguistics and ethnography. Upon his return to Paris, the following year, he was appointed lecturer in Amharic at the School of Oriental Languages. After serving for four years as a soldier in World War I, Cohen became director of Ethiopian studies at the school. In 1924 he published his *Le système verbal sémitique et l'expression du temps* and in 1936 *Traité de langue amharique*. In these works he substantiated the proofs for *Benfey's thesis that all Semitic idioms and all branches of the Semitic-Hamitic language are of the same parentage. During World War II, he participated in the underground anti-Nazi resistance movement. After resuming his academic activities in 1945, Cohen published another important work in the field of Semitic linguistics, *Essai comparatif sur le vocabulaire et la phonétique du chamito-sémitique* (1947), and founded the research center for comparative Semitics, Egyptian, etc., called GLECS (*Group linguistique d'études du chamito-sémitique*). During this latter phase of his academic career he concentrated his research on the evolution of the French language and its social and cultural functions. In 1955 Cohen's friends published a jubilee volume to mark his completion of 50 years of academic activity. This book, *Cinquante années de recherches linguistiques* (1955), contained a list of all his books, essays, and articles.

COHEN, MARY MATILDA (1854–1911), journalist, belletrist, educationist, communal worker, and proto-feminist. Cohen was born into an intellectually distinguished upper middle-class Philadelphia family. Never marrying and financially independent, Cohen devoted her energies to a variety of religious, cultural, and communal causes in Philadelphia. She was a capable and enthusiastic organizer, serving as superintendent of the large Hebrew Sunday School started by Rebecca Gratz, acting as the first corresponding secretary of the Jewish Publication Society, sitting on synagogue committees and philanthropic society boards, and joining numerous literary and cultural organizations. Cohen was at ease among the American Orthodox elite that associated with Mikveh Israel and was accepted within Philadelphia's progressive intelligentsia. She was a prolific writer, contributing to both the Jewish and general press under her own name as well as the pseudonym "Coralie." Cohen's literary output ranged from biography, social commentary, and essays on Jewish themes to short stories and poetry. The concerns that Cohen expressed in her writing reflected those of her intellectual and social milieu. She sought to advance the acceptance of acculturated Jews within American society by authoring articles that satirized prevailing prejudicial norms and criticized creeping racial antisemitism. She also sought to counter gender inequality within the Jewish community and wider society. Cohen was an advocate of universal education and argued for open access for women to professional training. She also pushed for improved religious education for Jewish girls, a greater role for women in the Jewish public sphere, and the ordination of female rabbis.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: D. Ashton, in: *American Jewish History*, 83, 2 (1995), 153–76; H. Morais, *The Jews of Philadelphia* (1894), 316–17; *American Jewish Yearbook*, 7 (1905), 48–49.

[Adam Mendelsohn (2nd ed.)]

COHEN, MATT (1942–1999), Canadian writer. Cohen was born in Ottawa and then moved with his parents to Kingston, Ontario. Later, he moved to Toronto and took advantage of a rich cultural moment, when the few square blocks around Spadina and College were becoming one of Canada's most exciting cultural and artistic centers. Despite frequent travels abroad, Toronto remained his most intimate personal landscape.

Cohen's most sustained attention to Jewish themes appeared in a trio of novels published in mid-career. Their themes were disparate: *The Spanish Doctor* (1984) explored the experience of Spanish *Marranos, while *Nadine* (1986) and *Emotional Arithmetic* (1990) focused on postwar Jewish identity, including the Holocaust. In the posthumously published *Typing: A Life in 26 Keys* (2000), Cohen expressed frustration with the Canadian reception of these books, suggesting that it was his foray into books with overtly Jewish themes that guaranteed them a chilly reception at home. The response of the Canadian literary establishment was abrupt and largely dismissive.

Cohen's was not a career in any way circumscribed by Jewish upbringing, Jewish values, or Jewish literary influences. He swam in the waters of the late-1960s counterculture without completely committing himself to its idealism; he took part in the explosion of small press publishing in Toronto; and he guided the Canadian Writers' Union. He is best known for a set of works dubbed his Salem novels, set in the countryside around Kingston, Ontario. He received acclaim for his final two novels, *Last Seen* (1996) and *Elizabeth and After* (1999). Other literary achievements include numerous excellent short stories, poetry, translations from French to English, and popular children's books, which he wrote under the pseudonym Teddy Jam. *Typing* takes the reader by surprise, with its recollection of the impact on Cohen of his immigrant grandparents and with its portrait of the particular struggle of one Jewish writer to find footing for himself in Canadian literature.

[Norman Ravvin (2nd ed.)]

COHEN, MAXWELL (1910–1998), Canadian legal scholar and teacher, public servant, international jurist. Cohen grew up in a secular middle-class family in Winnipeg's North End, and received his B.A. (1930) and LL.B. (1934) from the University of Manitoba, and LL.M. (1936) from Northwestern University with a thesis on Habeas Corpus. In 1937–38 he was research fellow at Harvard Law School studying anti-trust law. This led to a position as counsel for the Combines Investigation Commission (1938–40) and with the Department of Munitions and Supply (1940–41). Following a year freelancing for the *Christian Science Monitor* and several Canadian journals, he joined the Canadian army, reaching the rank of major, and in 1945–46 was head of Economics and Political Science at the Khaki University for Canadian soldiers in England. Drawn to education, he joined McGill University Law School in 1946 where he became an innovative legal educator. As dean of the Law School (1964–69), he introduced the National Programme combining training in common and civil law, subsequently McGill Law School's most distinctive characteristic. An acknowledged expert in international, constitutional and labor law, in 1951 he was named special assistant to the director general of the UN Technical Assistance Program and in 1959–60 a member of the Canadian delegation to the UN. He was frequently called upon to chair public inquiries.

Wartime revelations of Nazi atrocities and the birth of Israel awakened a sense of Jewish identity, and Cohen became very active in Montreal and national Jewish life, particularly through the Canadian Zionist Federation and Canadian Jewish Congress. As an English-speaking federalist in Quebec, he joined the Liberal Party and served as adviser on foreign and constitutional policies and relations with Israel in the 1950s. In 1965 he hoped to run for election in the heavily Jewish Montreal federal riding of Mount Royal but withdrew his candidacy in favor of Pierre Elliott Trudeau. He went on to head a Special Committee on Hate Propaganda in 1965–66 and the Royal Commission on Labour Legislation in Newfoundland in 1969–72 and was special counsel on constitutional law for the Government of New Brunswick (1967–70), president of the Quebec Advisory Council on the Administration of Justice (1972–74), and chair of the Federal Advisory Committee on the Law of the Sea (1971–74). From 1974 to 1979 he chaired the Canadian section of the International Joint Commission examining Canada-U.S. boundary waters. Leaving McGill as emeritus professor in 1978, he became professor of law and scholar in residence at the University of Ottawa (1980–89) and adjunct professor at Carleton University. From 1981 to 1985 he represented Canada as ad hoc judge at the International Court of Justice, the Hague. A prolific writer throughout his career, the range and significance of his interests are apparent from the chapters he wrote in a 1993 Festschrift: international law, human rights, dispute settlement, public law, legal history, and the theory and practice of legal education. He received honors from the Canadian Bar Association, the Canadian Council of International Law, the Council of Christians and Jews, the Manitoba Bar Association, and Columbia University, and was awarded eight honorary doctorates and the Order of Canada (1976).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: W. Kaplan and D. McRae (eds.), *Law, Policy, and International Justice: Essays in Honour of Maxwell Cohen* (1993).

[James Walker (2nd ed.)]

COHEN, MORRIS (1911–), U.S. metallurgist. Born in Chelsea, Mass., Cohen received his doctorate from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology in 1936. He then joined the staff at MIT as an assistant professor, becoming an associate professor in 1941. He became professor of physical metallurgy in 1946 and professor of materials science and engineering in 1962. In 1975 he was nominated as Institute Professor at MIT and in 1982 Institute Professor Emeritus. During World War II he was associate director of the Manhattan Project investigating atomic fission. Among his many awards he received the National Medal of Science and Presidential Award in 1977. He wrote *Heat Treatment of High Speed Steel* (1946) and *Titanium in Steel* (1949). Cohen's major works were published from 1962 to 1983 in the fields of phase transformations, metallography, heat treatment of metals, diffusion in the solid state, thermodynamics of metal systems, mechanical behavior, tool steels, age-hardening of metals, and dimensional stability. In 1994 he published *Societal Issues in Materials Science and Technology*, followed in 1995 by *Societal Implications of Microalloying Steels*.

[Gali Rotstein (2nd ed.)]

COHEN, MORRIS ABRAHAM (1887–1970), military adviser. Cohen was born in London and sent by his father to Canada at the age of 16. There he made a living as a ranchhand, peddler, gambler, and real estate speculator, ultimately drifting to Edmonton, Alberta, where he became a ward boss in the Chinese quarter of the city. He lobbied successfully in 1913 in the provincial legislature for the repeal of the head tax clause in the Chinese Immigration Act, an action that earned him the gratitude of the local Chinese population.

In 1908 Cohen had become friendly with Sun Yat-sen, the Chinese nationalist leader then in exile. Cohen joined Sun Yat-sen in China as an aide in 1922, and later was also adviser to his successor, Chiang Kai-shek. Cohen helped organize the Kuomintang Army, which awarded him the rank of general, and from 1926 to 1928 functioned in all but name as the Nationalist war minister. He took part in military campaigns against both Communist rebels and the Japanese, and carried out several secret missions to Europe to purchase arms and organize support for the Nationalist forces. He was probably known as Two-Gun Cohen. In 1941 he was taken prisoner by the Japanese after their capture of Hong Kong and two years later he was repatriated to Canada. After 1949 Cohen visited China several times in an attempt to reconcile the split Chinese factions. He subsequently settled in Manchester, England.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: C. Drage, *The Life and Times of General Two-Gun Cohen* (1954).

COHEN, MORRIS RAPHAEL (1880–1947), U.S. naturalist philosopher. Born in Minsk, Belorussia, Cohen went to New York at the age of 12. He studied at City College, and later with the Scottish philosopher Thomas Davidson. At Harvard University, where Cohen earned his doctorate, he studied under William James and Josiah Royce. Cohen, known as an outstanding teacher, was appointed professor of philosophy at City College in New York in 1912 and continued teaching there until 1938. From 1938 to 1941 he was professor of philosophy at the University of Chicago. He was president of the American Philosophical Association in 1928. In the later years of Cohen's life, as a result of the rise of Nazism, he began to champion Jewish interests. In 1933 he founded the Conference on Jewish Relations, an organization that assumed responsibility for scientific research on Jewish problems. He relates the details of this organization's activity in his autobiography, *A Dreamer's Journey* (1949), which also is valuable for its commentary on the Jews of Cohen's generation. An early interest in the plight of the working class – his parents had actively participated in the Jewish workers' movement in New York – eventually led Cohen to the study of legal philosophy. Reacting to the conservatism of American judges, who at that time tended to support anti-labor legislation, Cohen attacked the 18th-century concepts of natural law upon which this conservatism rested. He analyzed legislation strictly according to empirical criteria and his results were clearly socialistic; the sum of his work in this field is found in *Law and the Social Order* (1933). Cohen's naturalistic viewpoint and involvement with scientific methods as exemplified in his work in legal philosophy had been worked out earlier in his first, and perhaps most important, work, *Reason and Nature: An Essay on the Meaning of Scientific Method* (1931). *An Introduction to Logic and Scientific Method* (1934), written together with the American philosopher Ernest *Nagel, became a standard textbook in American universities and in the armed forces. *A Preface to Logic* (1945) is about the foundations of logic and its relation to the sciences. Cohen's interests also include ethics and the philosophy of history. In his work *The Meaning of Human History* (1947) he develops the theory that human history is expressed by a cyclical process of fruition and degeneration, not by a lineal progression. The optimistic note in this otherwise discouraging view is that

Truth, despite its continuous repression and opposition, succeeds in reasserting itself from time to time. Similar views are expressed in his collection of essays *The Faith of a Liberal* (1946). In 1939 Cohen founded the organ for Jewish social research, *Jewish Social Studies*. He was also one of the editors of the *Journal of the History of Ideas*. *Reflections of a Wandering Jew*, a collection of short essays on Judaism, was published posthumously in 1950.

[Samuel Hugo Bergman]

His son, FELIX (1907–1953), was a legal philosopher. Born in New York, he was a solicitor in the U.S. Department of the Interior, 1933–48. He wrote *Ethical Systems and Legal Ideals* (1933), *Handbook of Federal Indian Law* (1941), and *Readings in Jurisprudence and Legal Philosophy*, which he edited with M.R. Cohen (1951). After his death, a collection of Cohen's articles was published as *The Legal Conscience* (1960), edited by L.K. Cohen and with a foreword by Felix *Frankfurter. The divisions of this work show the range of Cohen's interests: Logic, Law and Ethics, the Indian's Quest for Justice, and the Philosophy of American Democracy. Like his father, Cohen was a legal realist, who insisted that law cannot escape dealing with ethics.

[Richard H. Popkin]

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COHEN, MORTIMER JOSEPH (1894–1972), U.S. rabbi and author. Cohen, who was born in New York City and educated in public schools in Charleston, South Carolina, and New York, earned his B.S. at the City College of New York (1915) and was ordained at the Jewish Theological Seminary in 1919. He served as rabbi of Congregation Beth Shalom in Philadelphia. While serving as rabbi, he attended Dropsie College and earned his Ph.D. (1935). His thesis on *Jacob Emden: A Man of Controversy* was published in 1937 and described in its historical, psychological, and sociological contexts the feud between *Emden and Jonathan *Eibeschuetz.

Jews who had left older Orthodox and Conservative congregations formed Beth Shalom with 25 families, which under Cohen soon established itself as a Conservative congregation, putting up its first building in 1922. Established in the heart of Philadelphia's Jewish neighborhood in the aftermath of World War I, it boldly moved out of the city after World War II when Cohen persuaded his congregation to follow the Jewish population into the nearby suburbs. At first, it only built an educational and synagogue center in Elkins Park and services were conducted in the city and in the suburbs. As Jews moved to the suburbs in the 1950s, the suburban branch brought with it a new membership that sought to find full religious services locally. Cohen then hit upon an innovative idea and the congregation commissioned Frank Lloyd Wright, a preeminent American non-Jewish architect, to design its new sanctuary. Working closely with Cohen, whom he credited as co-designer, Wright designed an exterior that represented Mount Sinai and an impressive interior. The American Institute of Architecture recognized the distinguished quality of the design, adding greater visibility to the synagogue and prestige to the newly arrived Jews who commissioned such a brilliant building. A model of the synagogue is shown at *Beth Hatefutsoth, the Museum of the Diaspora, in Tel Aviv.

As a writer, Cohen was editor of *Pathways Through the Bible* (1946), a popular condensation of the Bible for the general reader, which went through numerous editions and was translated into Spanish and Portuguese. He was one of the founders, and editor for six years, of the Jewish Welfare Board's *In Jewish Bookland* and *The Jewish Book Annual*. He was president of the Jewish Book Council and of the Philadelphia Board of Rabbis. A man of many talents, he also composed four oratorios with the congregation's musical director Gedaliah Rabinowitz and wrote a number of plays. He also wrote on the design of the synagogue in *Beth Shalom Synagogue: A Description and Interpretation* (1959). His wife, Helen Kalikman Cohen, co-authored with P.T. Davis the story of his collaborative work with Wright in *Together They Built a Mountain* (1974).

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[Jack Reimer / Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

COHEN, NAOMI WIENER (1927–), scholar of American Jewish history. Cohen was born in New York City and educated at Hunter College and the Jewish Theological Seminary of America, receiving her Ph.D. in history from Columbia University in 1955. She taught for 30 years at Hunter College and the Graduate Center of the City of New York and also served as adjunct distinguished service professor at the Jewish Theological Seminary. In 1948, she married Gerson D. *Cohen, a historian who later became chancellor of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America. Following her retirement in 1996, Cohen moved to Israel.

Cohen focused her research on various aspects of American Jewish history. One special area of interest was the German Jewish community in the United States; scholarly works in this area includes *A Dual Heritage: The Public Career of Oscar S. Straus* (1969), *Not Free to Desist: The American Jewish Committee, 1906–1966* (1972), *Encounter with Emancipation: The German Jews in the United States*, 1830–1914 (1984), and *Jacob H. Schiff: A Study in American Jewish Leadership* (1999). Cohen addressed the distinctiveness of American Zionism in three books, including *American Jews and the Zionist Idea* (1975) and *The Americanization of Zionism, 1897–1948* (2003).

Cohen also made an important contribution with her work on the complex interaction between American Jews and

Christians and on the separation of church and state in the United States. Articles on the legal arguments made by American Jews in defense of equal rights and religious freedom, as well as on their positions on religion in the public schools, appeared in the 1970s and 1980s, followed in *Essential Papers on Jewish Christian Relations in the United States: Imagery and Reality* (1990), an edited volume on Jewish-Christian relations in the United States. *Jews in Christian America: The Pursuit of Religious Equality* (1992), which details American Jews' efforts simultaneously to secure equality in American life and to protect their distinctive identity as non-Christians in a Christian country, is considered a landmark work on the separation of church and state.

Cohen received numerous awards for her work, including the American Jewish Committee's Akiba Award for Scholarship and Teaching; the Jewish Cultural Achievement Award in History; the National Federation for Jewish Culture Award in Historical Studies; and two National Jewish Book Awards for Jewish history.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: T. Kaplan, "Cohen, Naomi W.," in: P.E. Hyman and D. Dash Moore (eds.), *Jewish Women in America: An Historical Encyclopedia*, 1 (1997), 246–47.

[Jennifer Sartori (2nd ed.)]

COHEN, NATALIE (1912–), leading tennis player in the Southern United States and certified official of men's and women's tennis matches. Born in Atlanta, Georgia, the daughter of Dewald A. and Meta Leinkauf Cohen, she began playing competitive tennis at age eight and continued tournament play until age 81, earning the sobriquet, "Atlanta's First Lady of Tennis." At the University of California, Berkeley, where she earned a B.A. in political science, Cohen was president of the Women's Athletic Association in 1934. Cohen won numerous titles in Atlanta, Georgia, and Southern Tennis Association championships. In 1954, at age 42, she won the Georgia state singles title and the Atlanta city and state doubles titles. She competed in doubles in the 1955 National Clay Court Tennis Championship in Atlanta, reaching the quarterfinal round.

Cohen officiated for over 50 years as a United States Tennis Association stadium umpire and referee. Overcoming entrenched gender boundaries, Cohen became the first woman to serve as a chair umpire for a men's National Collegiate Athletic Association championship, and she was the first Southern woman to serve as a chair umpire at the Forest Hills Tennis Championships, the annual U.S. tennis championship. During her career she was chair of umpires for the Southern and Georgia Tennis Associations. Cohen received the Marlborough Award from *World Tennis* (founded by Gladys *Heldman) in 1962 and was selected Umpire of the Year by both the Southern and Georgia Tennis Associations. She was inducted in the Southern Tennis Hall of Fame and the Georgia Sports Hall of Fame for her distinguished career in tennis.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: G. Asher, "How She Played the Game," in: *Georgia Trend*, 19 (Jan. 2004), 114; J. Cook (ed.), "Cohen, Natalie," in *Who's Who in Tennis* (1983), 145; B.H. Weiner, "Cohen, Natalie," in: P.E. Hyman and D. Dash Moore (eds.), *Jewish Women in America: An Historical Encyclopedia*, 1 (1997), 247–48.

[Linda J. Borish (2nd ed.)]

COHEN, NATHAN (1923–1971), Canadian critic and journalist. Cohen was born in Sydney, Nova Scotia, and graduated in English from Mt. Allison University. Attracted to the left, Cohen entered journalism as a reporter for the labor press in Cape Breton. Moving to Toronto, he wrote for a number of newspapers and journals including the English-language pages of the leftist *Vokhnblat* and *Canadian Jewish Weekly*. By the late 1940s, Cohen's interests shifted from political journalism to arts review, particularly theater criticism. Increasingly respected for his uncompromising pursuit of artistic excellence, he became Canada's foremost arts and theater critic, eventually gaining an international reputation for the quality of his comments. Regarded by many as irascible and iconoclastic, his theater reviews and criticism were seldom shy about what lay behind the theater's facade.

No elitist when it came to the arts, Cohen's voice became familiar across Canada as a broadcast critic for CBC and for ten years as radio and television moderator of *Fighting Words*, a freewheeling program of social and political debate. With a well-earned reputation as broadcaster and print journalist who helped chart the course of Canadian theater, in 1959 Cohen became drama critic and entertainment editor for the Toronto *Star*, the largest circulation newspaper in Canada, an association he maintained until his death. Cohen was also a fluent Yiddishist who was known in Jewish circles for his translations of Yiddish poetry and prose.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: W.E. Edmonstone, *Nathan Cohen: The Making of a Critic* (1977).

[Harold Troper (2nd ed.)]

COHEN, NATHAN EDWARD (1909–2001), U.S. social work educator. Born in Derry, New Hampshire, Cohen took his doctorate at Harvard. He worked as executive director of the Roxbury Y.M.H.A., Boston, with the Jewish Community Welfare Fund in Springfield, Massachusetts, and as the director of various divisions of the National Jewish Welfare Board.

He became a professor at Columbia University's New York School of Social Work in 1954 and served as associate dean from 1955 to 1958. He co-founded the National Council on Social Work Education, helping to shape curricula across the country. He was then appointed dean of the School of Applied Social Sciences at Western Reserve University, Cleveland, of which he became vice president in 1963. In 1958, as a professor at Western (now part of Case Western Reserve), Cohen led a group of students to Selma, Alabama, to march with Martin Luther King, Jr.

In 1964 he was appointed professor of social welfare at the University of California at Los Angeles. Cohen formed a team of researchers to investigate the social causes underlying the Watts riot of 1965, writing "The Los Angeles Riot Study." He served as dean of UCLA's School of Social Welfare from 1964 to 1979. Cohen stressed that professional social work must contribute to changes in society by leadership and action and that social services are an enduring function of the social economy. Cohen was chairman of the National Conference of Social Welfare and was the co-founder and president of the National Association of Social Workers. At Berkeley, he and his wife, Sylvia, founded the Association for Lifelong Learning. Practicing what he preached, Cohen continued to lead current events discussions until 2000 at age 90.

His writings include *Social Work in the American Tradition* (1958); *The Citizen Volunteer*, which he edited (1960); *Social Work and Social Problems* (1964); and *The Los Angeles Riots: A Socio-Psychological Study* (1970) as well as many articles in professional journals and collections such as *Social Work* and *The Social Welfare Forum*. At UCLA a foundation for the Nathan E. Cohen Doctoral Student Award in Social Welfare has been established.

[Jacob Neusner / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

COHEN, PAUL JOSEPH (1934–), U.S. mathematician. Born in New Jersey, Cohen was a student at Brooklyn College from 1950 to 1953 and he received his M.Sc. in 1954 and his Ph.D in 1958 from the University of Chicago. From 1959 to 1961 he was a fellow at the Institute for Advanced Study at Princeton and in 1961 he was appointed to the faculty at Stanford University. In 1964 became a professor of mathematics at Stanford University. At the same time Cohen received the Bocher Memorial Prize from the American Mathematical Society, and in 1966 Cohen was awarded the Fields Medal for his fundamental work on the foundations of set theory. Cohen used a technique called "forcing" to prove the independence in set theory of the axiom of choice and of the generalized continuum hypothesis. Cohen's main interests were set theory, harmonic analysis, and partial differential equations. He wrote *Set Theory and the Continuum Hypothesis* (1966).

[Bracha Rager (2nd ed.)]

COHEN, SIR PHILIP (1945–), British biochemist. Cohen was born in Edgware, Middlesex, and earned his B.Sc. (1966) and Ph.D., under the supervision of Michael Rosemeyer (1969), in biochemistry from University College, London. After a postdoctoral fellowship with Edmond Fischer at the University of Washington, Seattle (1969–1971), he joined the staff of the University of Dundee, where he progressed to full professor (1981) and Royal Society Research Professor (from 1984). He also became director of the Medical Research Council Protein Phosphorylation Unit and the University's School of Life Sciences. Cohen's research centered on kinases, large families of enzymes which attach phosphate to proteins, and protein phosphatases, enzymes which have the opposite effect. He made pioneering contributions to elucidating these systems, which provide signals regulating normal cell behavior and which are perturbed in many diseases, including cancer and rheumatoid arthritis. In particular, his group identified the enzymes which control the conversion of blood glucose to tissue glycogen and have major implications for understanding diabetes. These discoveries are being applied to the design of novel drugs for treating diseases such as diabetes and cancer. His publications are currently the world's second most cited in biology and biochemistry. His many honors include election to the Royal Society of London (1984), knighthood (1998), and the Bristol-Myers Squibb Award (2002). In 2005 he became president of the British Biochemical Society. His leadership had a major influence in transforming a depressed area of Scotland into a center of scientific and biotechnological excellence. He also delivered many major lectures to Israeli academic institutions.

[Michael Denman (2nd ed.)

COHEN, PHILIP MELVIN (1808–1879), pharmacist and civic leader in Charleston, South Carolina. Cohen, born in Charleston, was the son of Philip Cohen, lieutenant in the War of 1812. During the Second Seminole War Cohen served as surgeon to a detachment of troops in Charleston Harbor (1836). In 1838 he became city apothecary. He was a member of the city board of health (1843–49), and its chairman (1850–54). Cohen was a director of the Bank of the State of South Carolina (1849–55). He was one of the citizens who served as honorary guard at the funeral of John C. Calhoun in 1850.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: A. Elzas, *Jews of South Carolina* (1905), 189.

[Thomas J. Tobias]

COHEN, PHILIP PACY (1908–1993), U.S. biochemist. Cohen was born in Derry, New Hampshire. He studied science at Tufts University, Boston, and received his Ph.D. in physiological chemistry in 1937 and M.D. in 1938 from the University of Wisconsin. His main interests were transamination reactions, nitrogen metabolism, and urea synthesis, including developmental aspects of these processes, on which he became a world authority. After graduating, he worked with Hans Krebs in Sheffield, England, and at Yale University before returning to the University of Wisconsin in 1941. He became a full professor in 1947 and Harold Bradley Professor of Physiological Chemistry in 1968. His administrative skills were also highly regarded. He was elected to the National Academy of Sciences and was a member of many key scientific committees in the U.S. and abroad responsible for research and education. He had strong research and organizational links with Mexico and many South American and Asian countries.

[Michael Denman (2nd ed.)]

COHEN, ROBERT (1889–1939), French historian of ancient Greece. He served in the French Army in World War I, was seriously wounded, and was decorated for bravery. Cohen taught at the Lycée Henri IV in Paris. He collaborated with his former teacher, Gustave Glotz, and Pierre Roussel on the four volumes of the *Histoire générale* dealing with Greece (*Histoire grecque*, 1926–38). Other works include *La Grèce et l'hellénisation du monde antique* (1934) and *Athènes, une démocratie de sa naissance à sa mort* (1936). Cohen's work is distinguished by an appreciation of the importance of ancillary disciplines and exhaustive bibliographies to historical studies.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Dictionnaire de Biographie Française*, 9 (1961), s.v.; *Revue des études grecques*, 52 (1939), 25.

[Irwin L. Merker]

COHEN, SIR ROBERT WALEY (1877–1952), British industrialist and Jewish communal leader. He was the son of Nathaniel Cohen, who pioneered labor exchanges and university appointment boards in Britain, and of Julia, daughter of Jacob Waley. In 1901 he joined the staff of Shell Company under the future Viscount *Bearsted and represented the company in the negotiations which led to its amalgamation with the Royal Dutch Petroleum Company. For many years he was, in effect, second in command of "The Group." During World War I Waley Cohen played a vital part in ensuring the supply of fuel oil to the Allies and was knighted for his services in 1920.

He rose to high office in the Anglo-Jewish community and was in turn treasurer, vice president, and president of the *United Synagogue. His concept of the overriding role of the lay leadership brought him into constant conflict with the chief rabbi, J.H. *Hertz, who believed that the traditional authority of the rabbinate must be paramount. The conflict was exacerbated by the incompatibility of two dominant personalities. Waley Cohen was largely responsible for establishing in 1919 the Jewish War Memorial (later Jewish Memorial Council) for improving religious and educational conditions in the Anglo-Jewish community. In 1942 he was one of the founders of the Council of Christians and Jews. In spite of some collaboration with Chaim *Weizmann in the 1920s, he remained basically opposed to political Zionism, though he contributed to the economic development of Palestine as chairman of the Economic Board for Palestine and of the Palestine Corporation. It was he who selected the site for the Haifa oil refinery. His son SIR BERNARD WALEY-COHEN (1914–1991) was lord mayor of London 1960–61, when he was named a baronet. He was a vice president of the United Synagogue.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: R. Henriques, *Sir Robert Waley Cohen* (1966). **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** ODNB online.

[Vivian David Lipman]

COHEN, ROSE GOLLUP (1880–1925?), U.S. author and memoirist, was born in Belarus, the eldest child of Abraham (Avrom) Gollup, a tailor, and his wife, Annie (maiden name unknown). Rose immigrated with an aunt to New York City in 1892, joining her father, who had arrived in 1890. The rest of the family followed a year later. Cohen's 1918 autobiography, *Out of the Shadow* (rep. 1995), offers a rich account of her childhood in Russia, immigration to the United States, and life in New York City's Lower East Side, including a detailed view of sweatshop garment work. She recounts union organizing in her shop, her attendance at a mass union meeting, and joining a union, probably the United Hebrew Trades. She also describes a brief stint as a domestic servant, her rejection of an arranged marriage, and increasing health problems. During one illness, Lillian *Wald, the noted settlement worker, visited Cohen's home and sent her to uptown Presbyterian Hospital where she met wealthy non-Jews who sponsored summer outings for immigrant children. Cohen worked successive summers at a Connecticut retreat, and, like other immigrants found herself torn between Old World traditions and broader American culture. Wald also referred Rose Gollup to a cooperative shirtwaist shop under the direction of Leonora O'Reilly, later a board member of the National Women's Trade Union League. When O'Reilly began teaching at the Manhattan Trade School for Girls in 1902, she recruited Rose Gollup as her assistant.

Little is known about Cohen's later life. She married Joseph Cohen and stopped working upon the birth of her daughter, Evelyn. She continued her education after marriage, attending classes at Breadwinners' College at the Educational Alliance, the Rand School, and University Extension at Columbia University. In addition to her enthusiastically received autobiography, which also appeared in French and Russian translations, Cohen wrote eight short pieces published in New York and Philadelphia magazines between 1918 and 1922. A short story, "Natalka's Portion," was reprinted six times, appearing in the prestigious *Best Short Stories of 1922*. In 1923 and 1924 Cohen attended the MacDowell Colony in Peterborough, New Hampshire, where she met the American impressionist painter Lilla Cabot Perry and the poet Edwin Arlington Robinson. An untimely death, perhaps a suicide, cut short her promising literary career. Her autobiography survives as her legacy, a moving account of a cultural journey shared with many other Jewish immigrant women at the turn of the 19th century.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: T. Dublin, Introduction to *Out of the Shadow* (1995); L. O'Reilly, "Rahel and 'Out of the Shadow,'" in: *Life and Labor* (May 1919), 103–5; A. Yezierska, "Wild Winter Love," in: *Century Magazine* 113 (Feb. 1927): 485–91.

[Thomas Dublin (2nd ed.)]

COHEN, RUTH LOUISA (1906–1991), British economist, specializing in the field of agricultural economics. The granddaughter of Louis Lionel *Cohen, she was educated at Newnham College, Cambridge, and was a teaching fellow at Stanford and Cornell universities in the U.S. from 1930 to 1932. Upon her return to England, she became a research officer of the Agricultural Economics Research Institute at Oxford (1933–39). She returned to Newnham College in 1939 and served as its principal from 1954 until 1972. She was chairman of the Committee on Provincial Agricultural Economics in 1957. In addition to numerous articles, her writings include *History of Milk Prices* (1936) and *Economics of Agriculture* (1939).

ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY: ODNB online.

[Joachim O. Ronall]

COHEN, SAMUEL HERBERT (1918–1969), Australian labor politician. Born in Bankstown, New South Wales, of Russian Jewish parents, Cohen practiced law in Melbourne, becoming a queen's counsel in 1961. He was a member of the Victoria Central Executive and of the Australian Labor Party's foreign affairs and defense committee. Cohen was elected to the Senate in 1961 (the first Jew elected to the Australian Senate) and became deputy leader of the labor opposition party there in 1967. He was Labor spokesman on education, and was responsible for the party's state aid program in the 1969 elections. From his youth he was involved in Jewish community affairs, particularly in combating antisemitism, and was a patron of Montefiore homes and welfare projects. A leftist and an early opponent of the Vietnam War, in 1962 Cohen became involved in a fierce controversy within the Melbourne Jewish community when he failed to support an opposition measure condemning Soviet antisemitism, arguing that Soviet Jews enjoyed equal rights. Cohen's stance sparked considerable outrage in sections of the Jewish community. Despite this incident, Cohen was much respected and his early death at only 51 was widely regretted.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Australian Jewish News* (Oct. 10, 1969), 3. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** P. Mendes, "The Senator Sam Cohen Affair: Soviet Anti-Semitism, the ALP, and the 1961 Federal Election," in: *Labor History*, 57 (2000), 179–97; idem., "Samuel Herbert Cohen," in: *Biographical Dictionary of the Australian Senate*, vol. 3 (2006); W.D. Rubinstein, Australia II, index.

COHEN, SASHA (**Alexandra Pauline**; 1984–), U.S. Olympic figure skater. Cohen was born in Westwood, California, and named after Alexandra Rajefrejk, the favorite ballerina of her mother, a native of the Ukraine. Cohen began skating at age seven after first starting with gymnastics at age five and progressing to level five of the sport's 10 levels. She decided to take skating seriously at age 10, working first with coach Yvonne Nicks and then with Yvonne's husband, John Nicks. Cohen placed second at the U.S. Junior Championships in 1999, and shocked the skating world by placing first in the short program at the U.S. Senior Championships in 2000, and second overall to World Champion Michelle Kwan. A back injury limited Cohen to only two competitions in the 2000–1 season, but she bounced back to place second at the U.S. Championships in 2002, again behind Kwan. This landed her a spot on the U.S. Olympic team for the games in Salt Lake City, where Cohen sat next to President George W. Bush at the opening ceremonies and made national news when she asked him to talk on her cell phone to her mother. Cohen then finished fourth behind Sarah Hughes, Russian Irina Slutskaya, and Kwan, in a controversial competition that some felt should have included Cohen among the medal winners. Cohen then competed in her first World Championships, where she placed fourth. She won her first major international title at the 2003 Grand Prix Final, and placed fourth overall at the 2003 World Championships. A supreme stylist, she won silver medals at the 2004 Grand Prix Final and, despite coaching changes made directly beforehand, at the 2004 and 2005 World Championships. She placed second after Kwan at the U.S. Championships in January 2005, her otherwise flawless performance marred when she fell on a triple lutz jump and put her hand down on a triple loop. Cohen won a silver medal at the 2006 Winter Olympics. Her autobiography, *Sasha Cohen: Fire on Ice,* was published in 2005.

[Elli Wohlgelernter (2nd ed.)]

COHEN, SAUL BERNARD (1925–), U.S. geographer and educator. Cohen, the son of a Hebrew teacher, was born in Malden, Mass., and studied at Harvard University, where he obtained his doctorate in 1955. He taught at Boston University from 1952 to 1964, and in 1965 became the director and a professor of the Graduate School of Geography at Clark University in Worcester, Mass. In 1967 he became the dean. He served as president of Queens College of the City University of New York (1978–85), and then for ten years as professor of geography at Hunter College, also of CUNY. Among his many appointments was that of coordinator and co-chairman of the United States–Israel Geographic Research symposium held in Jerusalem in 1969. A member of the American Geographical Society, Cohen specialized in the economic and political geography of the Middle East. He was a visiting professor at the U.S. Naval War College and the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, and served as consultant on geography to the National Science Foundation. His fieldwork took him to Israel, Puerto Rico, Sweden, and Venezuela.

Cohen served on numerous government committees devoted to educational improvement. From his arrival in New York in 1978, he was involved in various city and state policy committees. He was elected to the New York State Board of Regents in 1993 and chaired the Elementary, Middle, and Secondary Committee when it established new academic standards for the schools (1995–98). He chaired the Regents Committee on Higher Education and led the effort to reform teacher education.

Cohen received awards from the Association of American Geographers (1965 and 1979). In 1990 and 1992 his work was recognized as Best Content Article by *The Journal of Geography*. In 1994 the National Geographical Society named him Distinguished Geography Educator, and in 1998 he received the Rowman and Littlefield's Author Laureate Award.

In 2004 Cohen received an honorary doctorate from the University of Haifa. Acknowledged for having laid the foundations for the field of political geography, he was praised for "his wide-ranging and in-depth scientific contribution to the study of political geography; his educational and public activity to advance the teaching of geography; his societal involvement and dedication to the Jewish community in the United States; and his support of academe in Israel."

He was editor of *The Oxford World Atlas* (1973), served as geographic consultant for the fifth edition of *The Columbia Encyclopedia* (1993), and was editor of *The Columbia Gazetteer of the World* (1998). Among his publications are *Geography and Politics in a World Divided* (1963, 1964, 1973); *American Geography – Problems and Prospects* (1968); *Jerusalem – Bridging the Four Walls* (1977); *Jerusalem Undivided* (1980); *The Geopolitics of Israel's Border Question* (1986); and *Geopolitics of the World System* (2002).

[Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

COHEN, SELMA JEANNE (1920–), U.S. dance historian. Cohen taught at New York City's High School of Performing Arts and later at the Connecticut College School of Dance. She wrote on dance for the *New York Times* and the *Saturday Review* and edited *The Modern Dance – Seven Statements of Belief* (1966). She was co-founder with A.J. Pischl of *Dance Perspectives* magazine (1959) as a series of monographs; she continued as sole editor from 1965 until 1976 and was the editor of the Dance Department of the *Encyclopaedia Judaica*. She was the founding editor of the International *Encyclopedia of Dance* published in 1998, which crowned her initiatives on behalf of dance scholarship.

[Amnon Shiloah (2nd ed.)]

COHEN, SEYMOUR J. (1922–2001), U.S. Conservative rabbi. Cohen was born in New York City, ordained at the Jewish Theological Seminary in 1946, and earned a Ph.D. in economics from the University of Pittsburgh in 1953. He studied at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem in pre-Israel Palestine and worked with Holocaust survivors in Italy and France (1946–47). Cohen served as rabbi of the Patchogue Jewish Community Center in Patchogue, New York (1947–51) and B'nai Israel, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania (1951–61), before taking the pulpit at the formerly Reconstructionist Anshe Emet Synagogue in Chicago in 1961, a post he held for 29 years before being appointed rabbi emeritus. Cohen joined with other neighborhood clergy and resisted the temptation to flee the city and was instrumental in the congregation's remaining in Chicago and thus in stabilizing the renewal of the neighborhood. Although considered a scholar-rabbi and compelling orator, Cohen was also a gifted pastor who devoted much time and considerable energy to serving the needs of his congregants and others.

Cohen rose to the highest positions of leadership in several major American Jewish organizations. While serving as chairman of the American Jewish Conference on Soviet Jewry, he led the first Eternal Light Vigil for Soviet Jews in Washington D.C. (1965). As president of the Synagogue Council of America (1965–67), he worked to further Jewish-Christian relations and was founding co-chairman of the Interreligious Committee Against Poverty. As president of the Rabbinical Assembly (1980–82), he introduced a number of services benefiting working rabbis.

Also known as a scholar, Cohen edited and translated the Hebrew classics *Orchot Tzadikkim: The Ways of the Righteous* (1969, 1982^2); *Sefer Hayashar: The Book of the Righteous* (1973), and *Iggeret Ha-Kodesh: The Holy Letter* (1976). He published two collections of sermons, *A Time to Speak* (1968) and *Form, Fire and Ashes* (1978), and wrote the book *Affirming Life* (1986). He was also the co-author (with Byron L. Sherwin) of *How to Be a Jew: Ethical Teachings of Judaism* (1982). In 1991, Abraham J. Karp, Louis Jacobs, and Chaim Zalman Dimitrovsky edited a *Festschrift* in his honor: *Threescore and Ten: Essays in Honor of Rabbi Seymour J. Cohen on the Occasion of His Seventieth Birthday*.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: P.S. Nadell, *Conservative Judaism in America: A Biographical Dictionary and Sourcebook* (1988).

[Bezalel Gordon (2nd ed.)]

COHEN, SEYMOUR STANLEY (1917–), U.S. biochemist. Cohen was born in Brooklyn, New York, and received a B.Sc. degree at CCNY in 1936 and a Ph.D. at Columbia University College of Physicians and Surgeons in 1941. He was a National Research Council Fellow in plant virology with Wendell Stanley at the Rockefeller Institute and then explored the properties of the typhus vaccine for the Army during World War II. In 1945 and 1946 he began his biochemical studies of bacteriophage multiplication in the Department of Pediatrics of the University of Pennsylvania. Following research with André Lwoff at the Pasteur Institute in Paris in 1947 and 1948, and research and teaching at the University of Pennsylvania, he was appointed American Cancer Society (ACS) Research Professor of Biochemistry in 1957, and chairman of the Department of Therapeutic Research in 1963. After initiating studies on nucleoside analogues and on polyamines, he continued work on these subjects from 1971 to 1976 as ACS Professor of Microbiology at the University of Colorado Medical School, and from 1976 to 1985 as Distinguished Professor of Pharmacology at the State University of New York at Stony Brook. In 1985 he retired to Woods Hole, Massachusetts. His studies on plant and bacterial viruses led to discoveries on the structure, composition, and metabolism of viral nucleic acids. He was the codiscoverer of a new phage pyrimidine and its biosynthesis, thereby describing a new set of viral functions, which were presented in his 1968 book *Virus-Induced Enzymes*. This phenomenon has become significant in viral reproduction generally and a key to the treatment of human viral diseases such as AIDS, herpes infections, and influenza. Cohen's studies with polyamines resulted in two books, *An Introduction to the Polyamines*, presented at the Collège de France in 1970, and *A Guide to the Polyamines* (1998). Cohen was elected to the American National Academy of Sciences in 1967. In later years he took a working interest in the history of early American science.

[Sharon Zrachya (2nd ed.)]

COHEN, SHALOM BEN JACOB (1772–1845), Hebrew writer, poet, and editor. Born in Mezhirech, Poland, he studied German and read the new Hebrew literature, particularly *Ha-Me'assef. His first book, *Mishlei Agur* (1799), was a collection of Hebrew fables in rhyme, with German translation, aimed at teaching Jewish children simple and clear Hebrew. Cohen went to Berlin in 1789 and taught in the Ḥinnukh Ne'arim school and in private homes. After the publication of several works he renewed the publication of *Ha-Me'assef* and served as its editor (1809–11). In 1813 Cohen left Germany, spent a short period in Amsterdam, and moved to London where he tried unsuccessfully to establish a Jewish school. In London, in 1815, he printed his catechism, *Shorshei Emunah* (with an English translation by Joshua van Oven), in which he stressed the divinity of the Written and Oral Law and its immutability. From London, Cohen moved to Hamburg (1816 or 1817), where he spent three controversy-laden years. In a posthumously published poem he attacked the hypocrisy of the "reformists" for their lack of religious belief and national feelings and considered the establishment of the Reform temple in Hamburg an act of blasphemy. However, he refrained from public intervention on this controversy. In 1820 Cohen was invited by Anton Schmid to serve as head proofreader in the Hebrew section of his printing press in Vienna where he remained for 16 years. In 1821 Cohen established the annual *Bikkurei ha-Ittim, three issues of which appeared under his editorship. In 1834 he published his poetic work, *Nir David*, a description of the life of King David, one of the first romantic works in Hebrew literature. In 1836 Cohen returned to Hamburg, where he lived until his death. His last extensive work was *Kore ha-Dorot*, a history of the Jewish people (1838). His other works include: *Matta'ei Kedem al Admat Ẓafon* (1807), poetry; *Amal ve-Tirẓah* (1812), an allegorical and utopian drama, a sequel to M.Ḥ. Luzzatto's *La-Yesharim Tehillah*; and *Ketav Yosher* (1820), a literary miscellany.

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[Gedalyah Elkoshi]

COHEN, SHAYE J.D. (1949–), leading historian of Jews and Judaism in the world of late antiquity. Cohen received his B.A. from Yeshiva College (1970), rabbinic ordination from the Jewish Theological Seminary (1974), and his Ph.D. from Columbia University (1975). He taught at the Jewish Theological Seminary (1974–91), where he also served as dean of the Graduate School, and at Brown University (1991–2001), where he served as Ungerleider Professor of Judaic Studies and director of the program in Judaic studies. From 2001 he served as Littauer Professor of Hebrew Literature and Philosophy at Harvard University.

Cohen is the author or editor of nine books, including *From the Maccabees to the Mishnah* (1987), which is widely used as a textbook in colleges and adult education courses, and *The Beginnings of Jewishness* (1999), and dozens of articles.

The focus of Cohen's research is the boundary between Jews and gentiles and between Judaism and its surrounding cultures. What makes a Jew a Jew, and what makes a non-Jew a non-Jew? Can a non-Jew become a Jew, and, if so, how, and can a Jew become a non-Jew, and, if so, how? How does the Jewish boundary between Jew and non-Jew compare with the Jewish boundary between male Jew and female Jew? Building on sources in Hebrew, Aramaic, Greek, and Latin, Cohen argues for the fluidity of identity markers in the ancient world. He also insists that the Jewish reaction to Hellenism in antiquity and to Christianity from ancient to modern times consisted of both resistance and accommodation, and both stances had a far-reaching influence on the history of Judaism.

[Jay Harris (2nd ed.)]

COHEN, SHLOMO (1947–), Israeli attorney. Born in Tel Aviv, Cohen received LL.B. (1971) and LL.M. (1973) degrees from Tel Aviv University Law School and LL.N and J.S.D. degrees from New York University School of Law (1976 and 1978). He is the founder of Dr. Shlomo Cohen & Co., a law firm specializing in intellectual property and served as adjunct professor (intellectual property) at New York University School of Law (1976–95), the Hebrew University School of Law (1980–92), and the Tel Aviv University School of Law (from 1988). He has written extensively in the field of intellectual property and chaired the Justice Ministry Committee to revise the Registered Design Act. He also served on the Justice Ministry Committee to revise the Patents and Copyright Acts and founded the Israeli Chapter of the International Licensing Executives Society (LES) and served as its president from 1994. He was a member of the Israeli Civil Rights Association, serving on its board for two terms, and was a founding member of Betselem, the human rights watch organization. Cohen was a member of the Israeli Bar Association from 1971. As its president (from 1999), he initiated a pro bono program and an annual evaluation survey by lawyers of judges and other programs. He was also a member of the Israeli Forum (an organization dealing with Israeli-Diaspora relations), serving on its board in 1988 to 1992.

[Leon Fine (2nd ed.)]

COHEN, SIMON (**Sam;** 1890–1977). South-West African businessman who was known as the "uncrowned king of South-West Africa" by reason of his extensive commercial and financial interests. Born in Russia and educated in London, he went to South Africa as a child with his father. In 1906 he went to Swakopmund, in South-West Africa (then a German colony), to run his father's store. After the South African occupation of the territory he settled, in 1916, in the capital, Windhoek, where he built up a large business organization, comprising commercial, industrial, agricultural, mining, transport, and fishing concerns, which spread to South

Africa, Rhodesia, and other neighboring countries. His energy and enterprise played a pioneering role in furthering the economic development of South-West Africa, a mandated territory under South African control. Cohen was an honorary life president of the Windhoek Hebrew Congregation.

[Louis Hotz]

COHEN, STANLEY (1922–), U.S. biochemist and Nobel Prize laureate. Cohen was born in Brooklyn, New York. After studying at Brooklyn College (B.A., 1943) and Oberlin College (M.A., 1945), he received his Ph.D. in biochemistry from the University of Michigan in 1948. From then until 1952 he worked at the University of Colorado. Cohen then proceeded to Washington University in St. Louis in 1952 where he was a fellow of the American Cancer Society. There he worked with Dr. Rita *Levi-Montalcini and they isolated the protein which is recognized as the nerve growth factor (NGF). In 1959 Cohen moved to Vanderbilt University as an assistant professor of biochemistry, where he discovered epidermal growth factor (EGF), which oversees cell development in the skin. In 1986 he shared the Nobel Prize with Levi-Montalcini for physiology and medicine for having "opened new fields of widespread importance to basic science with these discoveries."

Cohen remained at Washington University until 1967 when he became a professor of biochemistry at Vanderbilt University. He was an American Cancer Society research professor in 1976 and in 1986 a distinguished professor. He was a member of the National Academy of Science. He and Dr. Levi-Montalcini were also the co-recipients of the 1986 Lasker Award.

ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY: Le Prix Nobel.

COHEN, STANLEY N. (1935–), U.S. geneticist. Cohen was born in Perth Amboy, New Jersey. He graduated from Rutgers University with a degree in biology and as an M.D. from the Pennsylvania School of Medicine (1960). After research training at the National Institutes of Health, Bethesda, he joined the faculty of Stanford University (1968), where his appointments included chairman of the Department of Genetics and then professor of genetics and medicine and director of the S.N. Cohen Laboratory. His early research dealt with the ability of plasmids to alter the properties of the bacteria they colonize, a subject of fundamental importance to the development of antibiotic resistance. His pioneering research interests involved isolating, cloning, and propagating mammalian genes in other species, including bacteria (also known as recombinant technology). This work laid the foundation for biotechnological techniques enabling the production of large quantities of pure proteins for diagnostic and medicinal purposes. His many honors include the Lasker Award (1980), the Wolf Prize (1981), the Albany Medical Center Prize (2004), election to the U.S. National Academy of Sciences and National Medals in both Science and Technology.

[Michael Denman (2nd ed.)]

COHEN, WILBUR JOSEPH (1913–1987), U.S. social welfare authority. Born in Milwaukee, the son of Jewish immigrants, Cohen left his home in the early 1930s to attend the University of Wisconsin. He served with the U.S. Committee on Economic Security in 1934-35 and participated in the drafting of the Social Security Act. From 1936 to 1956 he was employed in the Social Security Administration and helped secure the adoption of measures that would provide for shared financing by the federal government and the states in programs for the aged, dependent children, the totally disabled, and the blind. Cohen was responsible for the passage by Congress in 1946 of legislation enabling the federal government to offer financial aid in hospital construction. He aided Jewish organizations in their support of social security and welfare legislation. In 1952–53 he advised the Israeli government when the state undertook the establishment of its own social security program.

For five years (1956–61) he was professor of public welfare at the University of Michigan, during which time he served as consultant to the U.S. Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare and to the White House Conference on Aging. He returned to government service in 1961 when President John F. Kennedy appointed him assistant secretary of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. During the Johnson administration he was named undersecretary of Health, Education, and Welfare and saw the enactment of Medicare and Medicaid programs, which he had recommended three decades earlier. In 1968, he assumed the post of secretary of the department (1968–69). He initiated extensive changes in the department and reorganized its public health division. As a part of the reorganization, the National Institute of Health, the National Institute of Mental Health, and the National Library of Medicine were brought into a new agency called the Health Services and Mental Health Administration. In 1969, when President Johnson left office, Cohen assumed the position of dean of the University of Michigan's School of Education.

As one of the key players in the creation and expansion of the American welfare state, Cohen was dubbed by President Kennedy as "Mr. Social Security"; President Johnson praised him as the "planner, architect, builder, and repairman on every major piece of social legislation" [since 1935]; and the *New York Times* described him as "one of the country's foremost technicians in public welfare."

Cohen wrote extensively on the field of welfare. Papers he presented before the National Conference of Social Welfare appear in *The Social Welfare Forum* (1954, 1957, 1961). Among his books and articles are *Readings in Social Security* (with W. Haber, 1949); *Retirement Policies in Social Security* (1957); *Social Security: Programs, Problems and Policies* (with W. Haber, 1960); and "The Problem of Financing Social Services" in J.E. Russell's (ed.), *National Policies for Education, Health and Social Services* (1961). He was one of four contributors to *Income and Welfare in the United States* (1962). He wrote *Toward Freedom from Want* (with S.A. Levitan and R.J. Lampman, 1968), *Social Security: Universal or Selective?* (with

M. Friedman, 1972), *Demographic Dynamics in America* (with C.F. Westoff, 1977), and *The American Economy in Transition* (1980). He also edited *The New Deal Fifty Years After: A Historical Assessment* (1984).

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[Joseph Neipris / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

COHEN, WILLIAM S. (1940–), U.S. congressman, senator, secretary of defense, author. One of three children of a Russian-Jewish immigrant father and an Irish-Protestant mother, Cohen was born in Bangor, Maine, in 1940. As a youngster he came to an understanding with his father, Reuben Cohen, who ran a small local bakery: he would play basketball at the local YMCA one Saturday morning a month, and attend Sabbath services at the local synagogue the other three.

Cohen remembers that during these early years in Bangor, he had "the worst of two worlds." As a Jew, the local bigots reviled him; as the child of mixed marriage, he was not fully accepted by the close-knit Bangor Jewish community. Cohen was told, shortly before his 13th birthday, that he could not become *bar mitzvah* without first submitting to a *hatafat dam berit* (symbolic circumcision) and his mother's completing conversion. Neither event took place; Cohen never became *bar mitzvah*. The trauma of his religiously bifurcated childhood led the adult Bill Cohen to affiliate with the Unitarian Universalist Church.

In 1958, Cohen entered Bowdoin College, where he excelled both in his major, Latin, and on the basketball court, where he was named to both the All-State and the New England Hall of Fame teams. Following his graduation in 1962, he entered Boston University Law School to study for his LL.B., which he received *cum laude* in 1965. While a student at BU, he was a member of the law review and served on its editorial board. His first year out of law school, he was employed as assistant editor-in-chief of the *Journal of the American Trial Lawyers Association*.

In 1971, he was elected mayor of Bangor.

In 1972, Cohen decided to run for the United States House of Representatives. Cohen came to national attention during his first term when, as a member of the House Judiciary Committee, he "resisted political pressure by voting to recommend the impeachment of President Richard Nixon for complicity in the Watergate cover-up." Crossing party lines, Cohen cast what turned out to be the deciding vote on a Democratic motion that informed President Nixon of his failure to comply with the committee's subpoena for White House documents and tapes. Cohen's mostly Republican constituency saw his impeachment vote as a matter of conscience; he was reelected in 1976 and again 1978, this time with 77 percent of the popular vote.

In 1978, Cohen was elected to the first of three terms in the United States Senate. During his 18 years in the upper chamber, Cohen became an acknowledged expert on military affairs. From his seat on the Armed Services Committee, Cohen led the fight for a stronger, more efficiently financed American military. In 1980, Cohen ran into trouble with the American Jewish political establishments when he cast a "reluctant vote" in favor President Reagan's proposed sale of five Airborne Warning and Control System (AWACS) surveillance planes to Saudi Arabia. Heretofore a committed Zionist, his last-minute vote in favor of AWACS was seen as a betrayal of the Jewish community which, in this instance, chose to see him as being "one of the family." During his years in the Senate, Cohen became well known for both his political moderation and independence of thought. As chair of the Senate Committee on Aging, Cohen played a pivotal role in the health care reform debates of the 1990s. As a committed environmentalist, he became the only Republican endorsed by the League of Conservation Voters.

In December 1996, President Bill Clinton, seeking to fulfill his wish for a bipartisan cabinet, nominated Cohen to become the nation's 20th secretary of defense. Easily confirmed by his former colleagues in the Senate, Cohen served as defense secretary throughout the remainder of the Clinton years (1997–2000).

Throughout his more than 30 years in public life, Cohen published nearly a dozen books. Among these are two volumes of poems (*Of Sons and Seasons* and *A Baker's Nickel*), three novels (*The Double Man, Murder in the Senate*, and *One-Eyed Kings*) and several works concerning government policy.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: K.F. Stone, *The Congressional Minyan: The Jews of Capitol Hill* (2000), 63–64.

[Kurt Stone (2nd ed.)]

COHEN, WILLIAM WOLFE (1874–1940), U.S. stockbroker, congressman. Cohen was born in New York City in 1874. His father, like his mother a German Jew, was a prosperous shoe manufacturer. Following a public school education, William entered his father's business; on his 21st birthday, his father made him a partner. In 1903, a year after his marriage, William left his father's shoe manufacturing concern and went into business for himself, forming the stock brokerage firm of William W. Cohen & Co., in which he was active for the rest of his life. Cohen prospered as a stockbroker, even purchasing a seat on the New York Stock Exchange. Greatly respected by his fellow brokers, Cohen became a director of the New York Cotton Exchange and the Chicago Board of Trade and a member of the Commodity and New York Curb exchanges. Always interested in diversification, Cohen eventually bought up a copper-mining company in the American west. In the early 1920s, he decided to sell his seat on the New York Stock Exchange, netting a nearly $100,000 profit. By age 50, he was set for life.

Always active in Democratic political circles, Cohen served as chairman of the Tammany Hall Finance Committee for more than a decade. In 1926, he ran for the 17th Congressional District seat being vacated by Congressman Ogden L. Mills. Cohen served a single term (1927–29), subsequently declining to run for reelection and returning to New York.

Aside from his many business ventures, Cohen was a lifelong supporter of the New York City Fire Department, who honored him by making him an honorary deputy fire chief. Active in Jewish communal organizations, Cohen served as president of the Jewish Council of Greater New York and the New York branch of the American Jewish Congress. He was also a member of the Reform Temple Emanuel and president of the American Committee for the Settlement of Jews in Birobidzhan, a remote Soviet region near Siberia.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: K.F. Stone *The Congressional Minyan: The Jews of Capitol Hill* (2000), 65.

[Kurt Stone (2nd ed.)]

COHEN, YARDENA (1910–), dancer, choreographer, teacher. Cohen was one of the pioneers of Israeli dance and in the vanguard of modern dance in pre-State Israel. She was born in Haifa, a sixth-generation Israeli. In 1929, she went to Vienna and studied at the Academy for the Arts and, after two years, left for Dresden and studied with Gert Palucca. In 1933, she returned to Haifa and began teaching.

The solo compositions Cohen produced were dramatic portraits of biblical women: *Eve in the Garden of Eden*, *Lot's Wife*, *Hannah in Shiloh*, *The Sorcerer's*, *Jephtah's Daughter*, and *Hagar* are but a few. Contrary to Central European Expressionism in dance (*Ausdruckstanz*) practiced by other dance pioneers who had recently arrived from Europe, Cohen's dance was rooted in the soil of the Land of Israel. Accompanying her on the drums were Oriental Jewish musicians. In 1937, Cohen was awarded first prize in a national dance competition in Tel Aviv.

Cohen was a forerunner in organizing the holiday pageants that took place in agricultural settlements (*kibbutzim*) where the members wanted to relive and celebrate the ancient holidays as in former times, albeit with a modern approach. The pageants took place outside and people of all ages participated. There was a medley of dancing, singing, and instrumental performances as well as readings from special texts. The "*Bikkurim*" Festival (First Fruits) (1943) and Vineyard Festival (1944) at kibbutz Ein ha-Shofet were famous, as was the pageant dedicated to the biblical story of Jael and Sisera that took place at kibbutz Sha'ar-ha-Amakim (1945), located at the spot where the narrative took place, and the "*Mayim Mayim*" (Water, Water) Festival (1947) at kibbutz Ginnegar, celebrating the installation of running water at the settlement. Some of the dances created for these pageants became folk dances.

Cohen was also a leader in the new field of dance therapy, which she called "convalescent dance." She wrote two books: *With Drum and Dance* (1963) and *The Drum and the Sea*. (1976). She continued to teach in Haifa well into her nineties.

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[Ruth Eshel (2nd ed.)]

COHEN, YIGAL RAHAMIM (1940–), Israeli plant pathologist. Cohen was born in Jerusalem and received his Ph.D. in agriculture from the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Rehovot (1969). He joined Bar-Ilan University as a lecturer in plant pathology (1969) and was a full professor from 1980. His research discoveries concern the epidemiology of plant diseases, genetic resistance to disease and their prevention by immunization, genetic selection, and pesticides and other agents. His work has important practical implications, including collaboration with seed-producing companies, and has led to the development of tomato and potato strains genetically resistant to the potentially devastating infection by the fungus *Phytophthora infestans* and muskmelon lines resistant to other fungi. He was also the first to show that certain amino acids and polyunsaturated fatty acids induce resistance against late blight. His contributions were recognized internationally and in 2004 he was among the world's 250 most cited researchers. His honors include the Israel Prize for agriculture (1999). At Bar-Ilan University he served as dean of the Faculty of Natural Sciences (1977–80), member of the Senate, and member of the Board of Trustees. He was also president of the Israel Phytopathological Society.

[Michael Denman (2nd ed.)]

COHEN GAN, PINCHAS (1942–), Israeli artist. Cohen Gan was born in Meknes, Morocco, and immigrated to Israel in 1949. In 1970 he graduated from the Bezalel Art School. He studied at the Central School of Art at London in 1971 and then joined Bezalel as a teacher. In 1973 he received his M.A. degree in sociology and history of art from the Hebrew University of Jerusalem and in 1977 an M.A. in art from Columbia University. From 1990 he was an associate professor in Bezalel. In 1968 he was severely injured by a terrorist car bomb.

Cohen Gan is considered an avant-garde artist and was a major voice in bringing back the figure and subject matter to a modern art under the influence of Pop Art and minimalism. His art reflects deep political and social concerns. It directly confronts man's condition while challenging and commenting on his fellow artists. His work is influenced by his childhood memories as an immigrant. He exhibited in many museums and art galleries the world over, among them the Israel Museum, Tel Aviv Museum, galleries in New York, and the Los Angeles Museum. He represented Israel at the Documenta in Kassel, Germany, the Sao Paulo Biennale, and the Biennale of Venice. In 1991 he published *And These Are the Names* with 100 drawings representing 100 lost Jewish communities destroyed by the Nazis in Europe and North Africa. He also participated in a traveling exhibition to Israel's provincial settlements aimed at attracting their population to art. He won an America-Israel Cultural Foundation grant in 1978, the Isaac Stern Creativity Prize, Sandberg Prize of the Israel Museum (1979), Minister of Education Prize (1991), Eugene Kolb Prize for Israeli Graphics (1991), and Acquisition Prize of Tel Aviv Museum (1991).

[Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

COHEN GELLERSTEIN, BENJAMIN (1896–1964), Chilean diplomat. Born in Concepción, he graduated as a lawyer specializing in international law from the University of Georgetown in Washington. In 1923 he served as secretary of the Chilean delegation to the fifth Panamerican Conference. Later he served for five years as head of the Diplomatic Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. In 1939 he was named ambassador to Bolivia. After his retirement he was appointed subsecretary in charge of information at the United Nations.

[Moshe Nes El (2nd ed.)]

COHEN MELAMED, NISSAN (1906–1983), authority on music and liturgical melody of Oriental Jews. Born in Shiraz, Persia, he came to Ereẓ Israel with his parents at the age of two, and as a child, became an expert in the cantillation of Oriental Jews. He studied music at the Jerusalem Conservatory of Music and did research on cantillation under Prof. Solomon *Rosowsky. In 1927 he was appointed by Chief Rabbi *Ouziel as cantor of the Sephardi Great Synagogue "Ohel Moed" in Tel Aviv and director of the Pirḥei Kehunah College for Sephardi *ḥazzanut*. From 1956 to 1962 he served as *ḥazzan* and school principal in Mexico City and as head of the Koresh Jewish School in Teheran. On his return to Israel he joined the faculty of Jewish Music of Bar-Ilan University. In 1980 the Israel Academy of Music in Tel Aviv released a recording of cantorial liturgies, cantillation of the Torah, *haftarot*, and the five *megillot*, sung by Nissan Cohen Melamed as arranged by Yehezkel Braun.

[Akiva Zimmerman (2nd ed.)]

COHEN-TANNOUDJI, CLAUDE (1933–), French physicist. Cohen-Tannoudji completed his Ph.D. in 1962 at the Ecole Normale Supérieure in Paris. He was then professor at the University of Paris in 1964–73, and from 1973 professor of Atomic and Molecular Physics at the Collège de France in Paris. He is a member of the French Académie des Sciences and a foreign associate of numerous other academies of science.

He has written about 200 theoretical and experimental papers dealing with various problems of atomic physics and quantum optics: optical pumping and light shifts, dressed atom approach for understanding the behavior of atoms in intense RF or optical fields, quantum interference effects, resonance fluorescence, photon correlations, physical interpretation of radiative corrections, radiative forces, laser cooling and trapping, Bose-Einstein condensation.

He is the recipient of many awards, including the Harvey Prize in science and technology, the Quantum Electronics Prize of the European Physical Society, and the Gold Medal of the Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique. He published the two-volume *Quantum Mechanics* (1977), written with Bernard Diu and Franck Laloë; *Photons and Atoms* (1989), an introduction to quantum electrodynamics, with Jacques Dupont-Roc and Gilbert Grynberg; and *Atom-Photon Interactions* (1992), also with Jacques Dupont-Roc and Gilbert Grynberg. He in addition published a collection of selected papers under the title *Atoms in Electromagnetic Fields* (1994) and *Lévy Statistics and Laser Cooling – How Rare Events Bring Atoms to Rest* (2001), written with Alain Aspect, François Bardou, and Jean-Philippe Bouchaud.

[Bracha Rager (2nd ed.)]

COHN, Swiss family. ARTHUR COHN (1862–1926) served as the rabbi of Basle from 1885 until his death. He was a graduate of the Orthodox Rabbinical Seminary of Berlin and the leader of Orthodox Jewry in Switzerland. In 1907 helped to found the Central Association for Observant Jewry in Switzerland. His call to Orthodox Jewry during the Tenth Zionist Congress in 1911 to establish an independent organization to deal with religious issues contributed to the founding of *Agudat Israel in 1912. Some of his essays and sermons were published posthumously in *Von Israels Lehre und Leben* (1927). His son MARCUS (Mordecai) COHN (1890–1953), jurist and Zionist leader, in the sphere of Jewish law wrote *Die Stellvertretung im juedischen Recht* (1920) on agency and *Juedisches Waisenrecht* (1921) on orphans. He was also active in communal affairs and the Swiss Zionist movement. He represented the Mizrachi party at several Zionist Congresses and from 1931 to 1936 was president of the Swiss Zionist Federation, establishing the Palestine office in Switzerland in 1933. In 1935 he became a member of the court of the Zionist Congress. He was a member of the executive of the Federation of Jewish Communities in Switzerland from 1938 until 1950, when he settled in Israel. During the last three years of his life, Cohn served as assistant attorney-general to the Israeli government.

His son ARTHUR (1928–) is a Hollywood film producer whose six Oscars is a record. His films sometimes have Jewish themes, as in *The Garden of the Finzi-Continis* (1970), based on a story by Giorgio Bassani. Cohn maintains his ties to the Swiss Jewish community, contributing to the Jewish Swiss weekly *Tachles* of Zurich.

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[Uri Kaufmann (2nd ed.)]

COHN, ALBERT (1814–1877), French scholar and philanthropist. Cohn, who studied philosophy and Oriental languages at Vienna University, was fluent in Arabic, Hebrew, German, and Italian. In 1836 he settled in Paris, where he became closely associated with James de *Rothschild, and was put in charge of his philanthropic works. In this capacity he traveled frequently to Morocco, Algeria, and Turkey, where he was instrumental in improving the condition of the Jewish communities, and to Palestine, where he promoted the establishment of Jewish hospitals and schools in Jaffa and Jerusalem. From 1860 to 1876, Cohn taught at the rabbinical seminary in Paris. He was also a member of the central committee of the *Alliance Isráelite Universelle. Cohn wrote various scholarly and religious works, including his partly autobiographical "Lettres Juives" (in *L'Univers Israélite*, 20, 1864/65).

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COHN, BERTHOLD (1870–1930), German astronomer, mathematician, and historian. Cohn, who was born in Ravicz (now Poland), studied in Basle, Breslau, and Strasbourg. He was appointed astronomer at Strasbourg Observatory. Some of his astronomical publications addressed Gaussian mathematical methods; the theory of logarithms; tables on the beginning of twilight; the first visibility of the moon; determinations of the orbits of three comets; and the comparison of various star catalogues (1912). His first historical paper dealt with the structure of the Jewish calendar (in the *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenlaendischen Gesellschaft*, 59 (1905), 622–4). In "Die Anfangsepoche des juedischen Kalenders," Cohn suggested that the total solar eclipse of June 6, 346 C.E. (4106), fixed the time of the original new moon (of the creation period) as the point for back-dating the Jewish calendar (*Sitzungsberichte der Koeniglich-Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, no. 10 (1914), 350–54).

[Arthur Beer]

COHN, CILLA CYPORA (née **Rabinowitz**; 1910–2005), Danish Holocaust author. Cilla Cohn was born into an Orthodox family in Austria and immigrated with her family to Denmark during World War I. She studied history and literature at the University of Copenhagen. In the *Aktion of* October 1943, Cohn was arrested together with her family, and sent to Theresienstadt, where she remained until she was liberated through the intercession of Sweden's Count Bernadotte in 1945. Her experiences of this period form the basis for her novel, *En Jodiskfamilies saga* ("The Saga of a Jewish Family," 1960), which gained considerable general popularity and is used as textbook in high schools throughout Scandinavia. In the novel Cohn discusses the general historical basis for antisemitism, at the same time taking the reader on a veritable tour of Jewish history, folklore, and customs. Her novel *Sven-Adam's Kibbutz* (1973) also uses the Holocaust as the focal point, this time for a discussion of past history, and the birth and growing pains of the State of Israel. In addition to her participation in the public debate and espousal of Jewish causes through radio appearances and many articles in various Danish publications, Cohn was consistently active in the Danish Jewish community. She was one of the founders of WIZO in Denmark and secretary of its first board, and served as a member of the Governing Board of the Federation of Zionist Organizations in Denmark. From 1975 she served as Chairman of the Association of Danish Former Inmates of Theresienstadt.

[Robert Rovinsky]

COHN, EDWIN JOSEPH (1892–1953), U.S. biochemist. Born in New York, Cohn became professor of biological chemistry at Harvard and head of the department in 1938. Cohn's fields of research were the chemistry of the liver, plasma, and other tissue proteins. He discovered a method of fractioning blood plasma, and the varied subjects of his papers included aminoacids, peptides, the separation of gamma globulin, liver extract, thrombin, fibrinogen, and isohemagglutinin. Cohn wrote *Proteins, Amino Acids, and Peptides as Ions and Dipolar Ions* (1943) and *Research in the Medical Sciences – the March of Medicine* (1946). Cohn received awards and decorations from many governments and the Medal of Merit from the U.S. government in 1948.

[Samuel Aaron Miller]

COHN, ELKAN (1820–1889), U.S. Reform rabbi. Cohn was born in Kosten, province of Posen, then in the Kingdom of Prussia. He was an orphan whose grandparents sent him to Braunschweig to be tutored in Talmud by the traditional Rabbi Isaac Eger. But there Cohn also fell under the influence of historian Levi *Herzfeld, one of the earliest Jewish practitioners of the critical method and later a prime mover in the German Reform movement. Cohn spent the decade of the 1840s in Berlin, where he earned a doctorate in classics at the university, and, studying under Leopold *Zunz among others, his rabbinical degree. He chafed under the authoritarian rule of the Hohenzollern king and supported the revolution of 1848.

In 1850 Cohn was appointed rabbi of Brandenburg. Four years later he immigrated to America and succeeded Isaac Mayer *Wise as rabbi of Congregation Anshe Emeth in Albany, New York. Cohn took part in the Cleveland Rabbinical Conference of 1855 and was elected vice president. In 1860, accepting the challenges of a frontier pulpit, he became the rabbi of Congregation Emanu-El of San Francisco, where he remained almost three decades until his death. Like his friend Thomas Starr King, the famed Unitarian minister who arrived in San Francisco the same year, Cohn preached ethical universalism, presided over the building of a magnificent house of worship, and helped "save California for the Union" during the Civil War. After Lincoln's assassination, Cohn was one of 38 distinguished citizens of the West who served as pallbearers in a large procession of mourners in San Francisco. The tribute that he delivered in his synagogue to the fallen president was a passionate oration by a man otherwise not known as a gifted speaker or powerful writer.

Congregation Emanu-El, comprised largely of Bavarians, followed the German Orthodox ritual, but Cohn, in the face of opposition from within and without the synagogue, initiated Reform practices. His introduction of a new prayer book led to the secession of 55 families in 1864 who formed their own congregation, Ohabai Shalome, which for many decades continued to adhere to the Minhag Ashkenaz that Cohn had compromised. In the summer of 1877, shortly after Isaac Mayer Wise's eventful visit to San Francisco, Emanu-El joined the fledgling Union of American Hebrew Congregations, the first synagogue in the American West to do so. Toward the end of Cohn's tenure, he inaugurated radical reforms such as banning skullcaps, moving Friday evening services to Sunday morning, and replacing the *shofar* on High Holidays with a cornet or trombone. Although Sunday morning services lasted only a year, the Classical Reform orientation of the synagogue was firmly established and would become even more pronounced during the rabbinate of Cohn's protégé, Jacob *Voorsanger (1889–1908).

Cohn's greatest achievement was the erection in 1866 of the imposing Sutter Street Temple, modeled after the Gothic cathedrals of medieval England. With its two tapered towers, each topped with a bronze-plated dome, it was a prominent feature of the San Francisco skyline until its destruction in the earthquake and fire of 1906. The grand temple reflected the strength and style Elkan Cohn had brought to Reform Judaism in Northern California.

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[Fred S. Rosenbaum (2nd ed.)]

COHN, EMIL MOSES (pen name **Emil Bernhard**; 1881–1948), German rabbi, writer, and active Zionist. Cohn, who was born in Berlin, was the son of the pro-Herzl Zionist Bernhard Cohn. He received both a Jewish and Zionist education at home. As a student, he organized a Zionist student group together with J.L. *Magnes, A. *Biram, and others. In 1906 he was appointed *prediger* (preacher and teacher of religion) by the Jewish community in Berlin, but was forced to resign in 1907 because of his Zionist views. The resignation caused a scandal and gave rise to much polemical literature (cf. his own statement in *Mein Kampf ums Recht*). After serving as rabbi in Kiel (1908–12), in Essen (1912–14) and in Bonn (1914–26), he returned to Berlin, where he served as rabbi in Grunewald. After several arrests by the Nazis, he emigrated to the Netherlands, then in 1939 to the U.S., where he lived until his death. Cohn published plays (mostly under the pseudonym Emil Bernhard), some of which were performed in Germany and abroad. One of them, *Brief des Uriah* (1909, printed in 1919), was performed by the *Habimah theater. He also wrote poetry, ideological essays on Judaism and Zionism, a book entitled *David Wolfsohn, Herzls Nachfolger* (1939; Eng. tr. 1944), and a translation of Judah Halevi's *Diwan* into German (1920). In the field of Zionism he was one of the editors of *Zionistisches ABC Buch* (1908) and published his Zionist and Jewish credo called *Judentum, ein Aufruf der Zeit* (1923, 1934^2). He also published *Juedischer Kinderkalender* (1928, then *Juedischer Jugendkalender* 1929–31 and 1934).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Tramer, in: BLBI, 8 (1965), 326–45 (including bibliography). **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** M. Zimmermann, in: YLBI 27 (1982), 129–53; R. Heuer (ed.), *Lexikon deutsch-juedischer Autoren*, 5 (1997), 208–25.

[Getzel Kressel / Marcus Pyka (2nd ed.)]

COHN, FERDINAND JULIUS (1828–1898), German botanist and pioneer bacteriologist. Cohn was born in Breslau, the eldest son of Isaac Cohn, who held the post of Austro-Hungarian consul. He joined the faculty of the University of Breslau in 1851 as a lecturer in botany and in 1872 was appointed professor, the first Jew in Prussia to be granted that rank. Cohn long advocated the establishment of botanical gardens for the rigorous study of functional botany and in 1888 founded the Institute of Plant Physiology. He is generally credited with pioneering the investigation of heat production in plants and encouraging a generation of students to pursue careers in other phases of plant physiology. Cohn's most significant work, however, involved his seminal contribution to the nascent science of bacteriology. He was the first to classify bacteria as plants rather than protozoa, and in 1872 initiated a systematic classification of bacteria based upon their morphological as well as their physiological characteristics. He devised methodological tools which not only afforded a means for assessing biochemical characteristics of bacteria but which also led to the isolation of pure cultures. As the author of the first monograph on bacteria, *Untersuchungen ueber die Entwicklungsgeschichte der mikroskopischen Algen und Pilze* (1854), he directed the attention of both medical men and biologists to the research and clinical opportunities associated with microbiology at the Botanic Institute in Breslau. He founded and for a long time edited the *Beitraege zur Biologie der Pflanzen*. Cohn was awarded the Linnaeus Gold Medal. On his 70th birthday he was made an honorary citizen of Breslau and after his death a monument was erected to his memory.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: P. Cohn, *Ferdinand Cohn: Blaetter der Erinnerung* (1901).

[George H. Fried]

COHN, FRITZ (1866–1922), German astronomer. Cohn was born in Koenigsberg, and was appointed professor at the university there in 1905. In 1909 he became director of the leading center for astronomical calculations and professor at the University of Berlin. Cohn, who did outstanding work in the field of celestial mechanics, dealt with the determination of the orbits of planets, asteroids, comets, double stars, and satellites, in his researches. He also investigated the values of the astronomical constants, the theory of errors, transit observations, fundamental star catalogs, and the orbital identification of minor planets. Cohn wrote *Neue Methoden der Bahnbestimmung* (1918), on celestial mechanics, and edited ten volumes of the *Astronomischer Jahresbericht* (1910–20), the basic bibliographical work in astronomy.

[Arthur Beer]

COHN, GEORG (**Arye**; 1887–1956), Danish international law expert and diplomat. Born in Frankfurt-on-Main into an old Danish-Jewish family, Cohn came to Copenhagen as a child. After law studies at the University of Copenhagen, he joined the Danish Foreign Ministry in 1913, remaining there for 43 years. In 1918 Cohn was appointed head of the ministry's new department of international law; from 1921 he held the position of advisor in international law and in 1946 received the title of minister.

During World War I Cohn was instrumental in maintaining Denmark's neutrality and in arranging help for wounded prisoners of war. For these efforts he received a knighthood of the Dannebrog Order and the Danish Red Cross Award. At the League of Nations in Geneva, where he was a delegate in 1920, 1925, and 1929, Cohn was concerned with problems of neutrality for the smaller states. From that point forward, he was preoccupied with the prevention of war and the need to define a new concept of active neutrality. This is reflected in his *Neutralité et Société des Nations* (1924) and *Kriegsverhuetung und Schuldfrage* (Frankfurt, 1931) and further developed in the seminal *Neo-Neutralitet* (1937; revised as *Neo-Neutrality,* 1939). The last two works earned him doctoral degrees at the Universities of Frankfurt and Copenhagen, respectively.

From 1929 Cohn was a member of the Permanent Court of Arbitration at The Hague. He negotiated the resolution of the age-old dispute over the Oresund Straits separating Denmark and Sweden (1931). In 1932–33 he successfully presented Denmark's case at the Permanent Court of International Justice at The Hague, in the sovereignty dispute with Norway over Eastern Greenland. A part of N.E. Greenland bears his name. In 1936 Cohn was elected a member of the International Diplomatic Academy in Paris. He lectured at the Academy of International Law at The Hague in 1939.

In October 1943 Cohn fled with his family to Sweden, joining the Danish Embassy in Stockholm. Returning to Denmark in 1945, he was a delegate to the United Nations General Assembly at Lake Success (1946). In 1948 he headed the international committee which dealt with states' rights over the continental shelf. As head of Denmark's delegation to the International Red Cross conference in Geneva (1949), he strongly supported the recognition of Israel's *Magen David Adom.

An observant Jew and a founder of the *Machzikei Hadat* synagogue in Copenhagen (1910), he later received rabbinical ordination. With his brother Naphtali, a lawyer at the High Court of Denmark, he purchased the original S.R. Hirsch synagogue in Frankfurt (1924) to keep it in Jewish hands. He was among those consulted by David *Ben-Gurion on issues of religion and state. He visited Israel in 1950.

He was the recipient of numerous international awards. He edited and published with his brother the monthly law journal *Juridisk Tidsskrift* (1915–30). His legal and philosophical writings include *Platons Gorgias* (1911), *Etik og Soziologi* (1913), *Kan Krig forhindres?* ("Can War Be Prevented?" 1945), *Existentialisme og Retsvidenskab* ("Existentialism and the Science of Law," 1952).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: P. Fischer and N. Svenningsen, *Den Danske Udenrigstjeneste, Vol. II, 1919–1970* (1970); E.C.Roi, *Ḥatzrot Kopenhagen* (2003).

[Emilie Roi (2nd ed.)]

COHN, GUSTAV (1840–1919), German economist. Cohn, who was born in Marienwerder, taught at the Riga Polytechnic from 1869 to 1872 and, after a few years in England, went to Switzerland in 1875 to become professor at the Zurich Institute of Technology. In 1885 he was called to the University of Goettingen, Germany, where he remained for the rest of his life. Cohn was not only a theoretician. Besides writing textbooks and studies of classical economic doctrines, he made important contributions to transportation and public finance. His investigations of the British railroad system in which he strongly advocated railroad amalgamation and public ownership became the basis of subsequent treatises on railroad theory. Together with Adolf Wagner (1835–1917), he was a leading representative of German Kathedersozialismus ("armchair socialism") during the second half of the 19th century. His publications include *Untersuchungen ueber die englische Eisenbahnpolitik* (1874–75), *Finanzlage der Schweiz* (1877), *System der Nationaloekonomie* (3 vols., 1885–98), and *Volkswirtschaftliche Aufsaetze und Nationalekonomische Studien* (1886).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Wininger, Biog, 1 (1925).

[Joachim O. Ronall]

COHN, HAIM (**Hermann**; 1911–2002), Israel jurist. Cohn was born in Luebeck, Germany, and settled in Palestine in 1930. He studied at Merkaz ha-Rav yeshivah in Jerusalem, then gained a law degree in Germany in 1933. Cohn practiced law in Palestine, joining the Legal Council of the Jewish authorities in Palestine in 1947. From 1948 to 1950 Cohn was state attorney and in 1950–52 and 1953–60 he served as attorney general, contributing to the founding of the Israel legal and judicial system during the formative years of statehood. In 1952–53 he was minister of justice and in 1960 he was appointed a justice of the Israel Supreme Court. On March 5, 1980, Cohn was appointed deputy president of the Israel Supreme Court; he retired in 1981. He then became president of the Association for Civil Rights in Israel and of the International Center for Peace in the Middle East. From 1975 he was member of the International Commission of Jurists in Geneva and president of the International Association of Jewish Lawyers. His decisions were characterized by a liberal approach to problems connected with *halakhah.* During 1957–59 and 1965–67 Cohn served on the UN Commission on Human Rights. He also served as a law professor at the Hebrew and

Tel Aviv universities. He published *Foreign Laws of Marriage and Divorce* (1937); *Glaube und Glaubensfreiheit* (1967); *Mishpato shel Yeshu ha-Noẓeri* (1968; *The Trial and Death of Jesus*, 1972), dealing with the trial of Jesus in the light of contemporary Roman and Jewish law; and *Human Rights in Jewish Law* (1984). In 1980 he was awarded the Israel Prize for law. During his last years he devoted himself to issues of human rights. The Haim Cohn Institute for Legal Protection of Human Rights gives free legal assistance to people in need. Cohn was editor of the department of Criminal Law and Procedure in the *Encyclopaedia Judaica* (first edition).

[Benjamin Jaffe]

COHN, HARRY (1891–1956), movie pioneer; president and executive producer of Columbia Pictures Corporation. Born in New York, he entered show business as a piano player in nickelodeons, moved to music publishing, and then became an exhibitor of road show films. Later he was an associate producer at Universal Films. In 1919 he and his brother Jack, together with Joe Brandt, organized the CBC Film Sales Corporation, producing and distributing the *Hallroom Boys* comedies. This company was reorganized as Columbia Pictures in 1924. He acquired the Brandt holdings in 1932 and became president of the company the same year. Among the directors who worked for him were Frank Capra, Rouben Mamoulian, and Fred Zinnemann.

[Jo Ranson]

COHN, JONAS (1869–1947), German philosopher and educator. Cohn was a distinguished teacher of aesthetics, who based his conclusions on actual aesthetic experience. Born in Goerlitz, he studied philosophy under Wundt, Fischer, Paulsen, Barth, and Kuelpe at the Universities of Leipzig, Heidelberg, and Berlin. In 1901 he was appointed professor of philosophy at Freiburg im Breisgau. In March 1939 Cohn fled to England, returning to Germany after World War II. A noted neo-Kantian, Cohn developed a perceptive-critical idealism which went beyond Kant's synthesis of rationalism and empiricism and was centered between the Marburg (see Hermann *Cohen) and the South German neo-Kantian schools of thought. Cohn's most valuable contribution was in the study of aesthetics. Among his important works are his *Wertwissenschaft* (1932) and *Wirklichkeit als Aufgabe* (1955).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: J. Cohn, in: R. Schmidt (ed.), *Philosophie der Gegenwart in Selbstdarstellungen*, 2 (1923), 61–81; Earl of Listowel, *A Critical History of Modern Aesthetics* (1933), passim; J. Cohn, *Wirklichkeit als Aufgabe* (1955), appendix by J. von Kempski. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** J. Cohn, *Jonas Cohn* (*Die Philosophie der Gegenwart in Selbstdarstellung*, vol. 11 (1923)); I. Idalovichi, "Die Unendlichkeit als philosophisches und religiöses Problem im Denken des Neukantianismus unter besonderer Beruecksichtigung von Jonas Cohn," in: *Theologische Zeitschrift* 46:3 (1990), 245–65; M. Heitmann, *Jonas Cohn – Das Problem der unedndlichen Aufgabe in Wissenschaft und Religion* (1999).

[Shnayer Z. Leiman]

COHN, LASSAR (later **Lassar-Cohn**; 1858–1922), German chemist, born in Hamburg. Cohn became professor of chemistry at University of Koenigsberg and was the head of the Jewish community there. His *Die Chemie im taeglichen Leben* (1896; *Chemistry in Daily Life*, 1896) ran to seven editions and was translated into several languages, including Hebrew. His other works included *Arbeitsmethoden fuer organisch-chemische Laboratorien* (1891), and *Moderne Chemie* (1891).

COHN, LEOPOLD (1856–1915), classical and Hellenistic scholar. Cohn was born in Zempelburg, West Prussia, and taught at Breslau University, from 1892 as professor. From 1902 he was also librarian of the university's library, and for some time he lectured at the Breslau Theological Seminary as well. Apart from studies in Greek literature, grammar, and lexicography, Cohn wrote on Judeo-Hellenistic philosophy. Together with P. Wendland he prepared an authoritative edition of *Philo's writings *Philonis Alexandrini Opera quae Supersunt* (7 vols., 1896–1915), of which he was responsible for volumes 1 (1896), 4 (1902), 5 (1906), and 6 (1915), and for the introduction. Cohn was associated with a German translation of Philo (*Die Werke Philos von Alexandria*), editing the first three volumes (1909–19) and translating most of the fourth.

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[Joseph Elijah Heller]

COHN, LINDA (1959–), U.S. sportscaster; anchorwoman for ESPN's signature SportsCenter news and information program. Raised on Long Island, Cohn played goalie for the boy's ice hockey team as a senior at Newfield (N.Y.) high school and on the women's ice hockey team at SUNY-Oswego college, from where she graduated in 1981. She began her career in Patchogue, N.Y., as a news anchor and sports reporter for WALK-AM/FM. She worked at radio stations WGBB-AM, WCBS-FM, and WCBS News Radio 88; as sports/news anchor and reporter for WLIG-TV on Long Island, N.Y.; and as anchor, news director, and chief correspondent for Long Island News Tonight. Cohn became the first full-time female sports anchor on a national radio network (ABC) in 1987. She was a sports anchor for WABC TalkRadio, hosted a call-in show and provided sports updates at WFAN radio in New York, was sports reporter for both SportsChannel America and News 12 on Long Island, and then moved to Seattle, where she was weekend sports anchor/reporter at KIRO-TV. Cohn joined ESPN as an anchor/reporter on SportCenter in July 1992 and has hosted ESPN's Baseball Tonight, National Hockey Night, ESPN2's NHL 2Night and RPM 2Night, and SportsCenter's NBA All-Star Game coverage. She has provided weekly "Extra Point" commentaries on ESPN Radio since 1998.

[Elli Wohlgelernter (2nd ed.)]

COHN, MESHULLAM ZALMAN BEN SOLOMON (1739–1811), rabbi and halakhic authority. Cohn was born in Rawicz (Posen region) and was orphaned at the age of four. He studied in the yeshivot of Posen and Zuelz, and in Altona, under Jonathan *Eybeschuetz who ordained him. He served as rabbi in Rawicz, Krotoszyn, Kempen, Zuelz, and finally in 1789 in Fuerth, where he remained until the end of his life. Cohn was one of the signatories of the indictment against the *Frankists in Offenbach in 1800. Questions were addressed to him from Germany, Poland, Hungary, and Bohemia, and his responsa reflect his acumen and great erudition, particularly in the area of matrimonial law and in cases dealing with *agunot*. He vigorously opposed all attempts to tamper with traditional customs. His published works are *Bigdei Kehunnah* (Fuerth, 1807), responsa; *Mishan ha-Mayim (ibid.*, 1811), an aggadic commentary on the Pentateuch; and *Naḥalat Avot* ("The Inheritance of Parents," *ibid.*, 1818), moral exhortations to his children and pupils. He wrote this last work at the age of 70 and explained its title as implying that when children walk in the way of the Lord, they bring a boon upon their parents, who, in consequence, inherit the world to come.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: A. Walden, *Shem ha-Gedolim he-Ḥadash*, 2 (1864), 6a, no. 48; Neubuerger, in: MGWJ, 22 (1873), 192; Back, *ibid.*, 26 (1877), 239; Loewenstein, in: *Blaetter fuer juedische Geschichte und Literatur*, 3 (1902), 44–46; idem, in: JJLG, 6 (1908), 203–7, 219, 225, 229–30; J. Rabin, *Die Juden in Zuelz* (1926), 32.

[Josef Horovitz]

COHN, MILDRED (1913–), U.S. physical and biochemist. Cohn was born in New York City and earned a B.A. from Hunter College and Ph.D. in physical chemistry from Columbia University. Her life-long interests were metabolism and enzyme mechanisms, and she was a pioneer in applying stable isotopic techniques and electron spin and nuclear magnetic resonance to in vivo metabolic studies. Her work greatly influenced other areas of research, including the development of anti-cancer agents. She worked at George Washington University (1937–38), Cornell University Medical School (1938–46), Washington University Medical School at St. Louis (1946–58), and the University of Pennsylvania in Philadelphia (1960–82), where she became professor of biophysics and physical biochemistry in 1961 and then Benjamin Rush Professor Emerita of Physiological Chemistry. Her many honors include election to the National Academy of Sciences (1971) and the National Medal of Science (1982). She succeeded in her field despite discrimination against women early in her career and worked all her life to upgrade the status of women in science.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Chemical and Engineering News* (Feb. 4, 1963), 92.

[Michael Denman (2nd ed.)]

COHN, MORRIS MANDEL (1898–1975), U.S. public health engineer. Cohn was born in Schenectady, New York, where he was successively sanitary chemist, sanitary engineer, director of environmental sanitation, and city manager. He lectured on public health at Albany Medical College, Union University, University of California, Georgia Institute of Technology, and was professor at City College, New York. He acted as consultant to the U.S. Atomic Energy Commission, New York State Legislature and U.S. Public Health Service, and was editorial director of *Wastes Engineering* and *Water Works Engineering*. Cohn was a consultant to several Israel institutions.

COHN, NORMAN (1915–), British historian. Educated at Oxford, Norman Cohn was a lecturer and later professor at Sussex University. He is best known for his work *Warrant for Genocide: The Myth of the Jewish World Conspiracy and the Protocols of the Elders of Zion* (1981), which presents a comprehensive history and account of the notorious antisemitic forgery. Cohn has also written on aspects of European history, in works like *Pursuit of the Millennium: Revolutionary Messianism in Medieval and Reformation Europe* (1957) and *Europe's Inner Demons* (1975).

[William D. Rubinstein (2nd ed.)]

COHN, OSCAR (1869–1936), German socialist politician. A lawyer in Berlin, he was a socialist member of the Reichstag from 1912 to 1918 and from 1921 to 1924. After the Russian Revolution of October 1917, he became legal adviser to the Soviet embassy in Berlin. He acted as counsel for the defense in the trials following the naval mutiny of 1917 and the general strike of January 1918. Cohn was often legal consultant in Jewish affairs and was active in various Jewish charity organizations. In the German Reichstag he combated the postwar campaign against the *Ostjuden*. In 1920 he went to Poland as a member of the commission set up by the International Socialist Conference to investigate the situation of the Polish Jews, and contributed to the report on their findings: *La situation des Juifs en Pologne. Rapport de la Commission d'Etude désignée par la Conférence Socialiste Internationale de Lucerne* (by Oscar Cohn, Pierre Renaudel, G.F. Schaper, and Thomas Shaw, 1920). In 1925 he was elected as representative of the *Po'alei Zion Party to the assembly of deputies of the Jewish communities of Berlin. He died in Geneva, and his remains were interred, according to his will, in kibbutz Deganyah.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: E. Hamburger, *Juden im oeffentlichen Leben Deutschlands* (1968), 503–8. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** M. Brenner, in: *Terumah*, 3 (1987), 101–27; L. Heid, *Oscar Cohn* (Ger., 2002).

COHN, TOBIAS BEN MOSES (1652–1729), physician and Hebrew author. Tobias' father was a rabbi in Metz who died when Tobias was 9 years old. He was then sent to his relatives in Cracow, where he got a traditional Jewish education. Later he went to Frankfurt on the Oder to study medicine. He even got a scholarship from the elector of Brandenburg. He studied at the University of Padua and then went to Turkey where he served as a court physician until the age of 62, when he went to Jerusalem in order to concentrate on the study of Torah.

His main work *Ma'aseh Tuviyyah* (Venice, 1707) is an encyclopedia dealing with theology, astronomy, cosmography, geography, botany, with medicine taking up about half of the entire work. He describes the system of Copernicus but rejects it on religious grounds. On the other hand, he enthusiastically supports the Harvey system of blood circulation. At the request of friends from Poland, he deals at length with the disease then common in Poland, *plica polonica*. He stresses the chemical aspect of stomach diseases, in contrast to the then still prevalent system of Galen.

Although Tobias Cohn adhered to the old system of medicine, he was fully conscious of new trends, especially in surgery and in chemistry. He applied exact measurements in his scientific work, especially in thermometry. One of Cohn's innovations was the comparison of the human body to a house. The head was the roof, the eyes the windows, and the mouth, the doorway; the chest was the upper storey, the intestines were the middle storey, the lungs were water tanks and the legs, foundations. His remedies were laxatives, emetics, cupping glasses, and bleeding, but he demolished many superstitions and criticized the anti-Jewish professors of Frankfurt on the Oder as well as Jews who were devoted to Kabbalah and blindly believed in miracles. His theories relating to infant care and pediatrics were advanced for his age.

Ma'aseh Tuviyyah was printed in 5 different editions and is the only Hebrew work on medicine which was profusely illustrated. The work is also rich in historical references, e.g., on Shabbetai Ẓevi, and has considerable significance in the history of science.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: D.A. Friedman, *Tuviyyah ha-Rofe* (1940); A. Levinson, *Tuviyyah ha-Rofe ve-Sifro Ma'aseh Tuviyyah* (1924); E. Carmoly, *Histoire des médecins juifs* (1844), 248ff.

[David Margalith]

COHN-BENDIT, DANIEL (1945–), student leader and politician in Germany and France. Born to German-Jewish emigrants in Montauban (France), Cohn-Bendit grew up in Paris. As a young lawyer in Weimar Germany, his father, Erich, had made a name for himself defending left-wing activists and fled to France already in 1933. He returned to Germany in the early 1950s and began working as a restitution lawyer in Frankfurt, with his wife, Herta, and younger son, Daniel, following him there in 1958. After the early death of his parents and his graduation from high school (the well-known Odenwaldschule boarding school), he went on to university studies in Paris, where he became one of the leaders of the student protest movement of 1967/68 at the University of Nanterre. He founded the group "22nd March" and received the nickname "Danny le rouge" (Danny the Red). He distanced himself from Western capitalism as well as from Soviet-style communism. When he left France for a brief visit to Germany in May 1968, he was refused permission to return. On May 22, 4,000 French students marched through the streets of Paris under the slogan "We are all German Jews." He continued to study sociology in Frankfurt and remained active in the radical left student movement as founder (in 1976) and editor of the "*Sponti*" ("anarchist") journal *Pflasterstrand*. Only in December 1978 was he allowed to return to France. From the mid-1980s, he was active in the politics of the Green Party in Frankfurt, where, together with Joschka Fischer he dominated the so-called "realistic" faction against the "fundamentalists" and ran for the office of mayor in 1987. In 1989, he was appointed official for multicultural affairs of the City of Frankfurt and remained in this position for eight years. From 1994 he was a member of the European Parliament, elected both in Germany and France.

Cohn-Bendit does not identify himself as a Jew religiously but emphasizes that he identifies himself as a Jew as long as antisemitism exists. He keeps a distance from Israel, but in contrast to many of his contemporaries from the 1968 student protest he did not develop an explicit anti-Zionism. During the 1985 protests of the Jewish community against the staging of the allegedly antisemitic play by Rainer Werner Fassbinder, *Die Stadt, der Muell und der Tod*, he maintained a mediatory position between those for and against performance. In 1993 he filmed a documentary about the Frankfurt Jewish community.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: L. Lemire, *Cohn-Bendit* (Fr., 1998); S. Stamer, *Cohn-Bendit* (Ger., 2001).

[Michael Brenner (2nd ed.)]

COHNHEIM, JULIUS (1839–1884), German pathologist and pioneer in experimental histology. Cohnheim, who was born in Pomerania, held professorships in pathology at the universities of Kiel, Breslau, and Leipzig. Cohnheim discovered how to freeze fresh pathological objects for examination and how to trace nerve endings in muscles by using silver salt impregnation. His studies on inflammation and suppuration revolutionized pathology. He demonstrated that the main feature of inflammation is the passage of leukocytes through the capillary walls and that in this way pus is formed out of the blood. His work on the pathology of the circulatory system and on the etiology of embolism resulted in innovations in the treatment of circulatory diseases. He inoculated tuberculous material into the eye of a rabbit and thus demonstrated that tuberculosis is a contagious disease. A monument in Cohnheim's memory was erected in Leipzig.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: S.R. Kagan, *Jewish Medicine* (1952), 223–4.

[Suessmann Muntner]

COHN-REISS, EPHRAIM (1863–1943), Ereẓ Israel educator. In 1888 he was appointed principal of the Laemel School in his native Jerusalem. From 1904 to 1917, as the representative of the *Hilfsverein der deutschen Juden, he contributed greatly to the foundation and expansion of the network of modern Jewish education in Ereẓ Israel by planning and establishing the Hilfsverein's schools and kindergartens. He became a controversial figure during the language conflict (1913–14) when he supported the Hilfsverein's insistence on German as the language of instruction for technical subjects. Gradually his opposition to Zionism as a whole became so violent that during World War I he sent letters to the Hilfsverein in Berlin, through the German diplomatic service, denouncing the Zionists. In 1917 he went to Berlin, and did not return to Jerusalem, as the "German" Hilfsverein schools had been closed by the British Army authorities. He moved to France in 1938 and died there. In 1933 he published his memoirs, entitled *Mi-Zikhronot Ish Yerushalayim*.

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[Moshe Rinott]

COHN-SHERBOK, DAN (1945–), British professor of Judaism, author, and rabbi. Born and educated in the United States and at Cambridge University, Dan Cohn-Sherbok has held academic posts at the University of Kent and, since 1997, at the University of Wales-Lampeter in Wales, where he is professor of Judaism. An ordained Reform rabbi, Cohn-Sherbok is a truly prolific author, with more than 50 books to his credit on all aspects of Judaism and Jewish history. Among the more notable are *The Blackwell Dictionary of Judaica* (1992), *The Crucified Jew: Twenty Centuries of Christian Anti-Semitism* (1992), and *Judaism: History, Belief, and Practice* (2003). He is also the author of an amusing autobiography, *Not a Job for a Nice Jewish Boy* (1993).

[William D. Rubinstein (2nd ed.)]

COHN-WIENER, ERNST (1882–1941), German art historian. Cohn-Wiener was born in Tilsit. After studying the history of art, archaeology, and philosophy, Cohn-Wiener worked as an art historian at the *Juedische Volkshochschule* and the Humboldt Academy in Berlin. Initially a specialist in German gothic sculpture, his principal fields of interest became Islamic and Jewish art as well as study of the Near and Far East, which he visited during a research expeditions in Russia, Asia Minor, Turkestan, and China (1924–5). His chief works are *Die Juedische Kunst* (1929) and *Turan* (1930). In 1933 he emigrated to Great Britain and in 1934 to India, where he was appointed as manager of the museums and art school in Baroda. There he modernized institutions like the Gallery of Baroda and established new departments for Islamic art and Indian miniatures at the University of Bombay. His wife, Lenni, an archaeologist, assisted him. In 1939 he settled in the United States and taught at the American Institute for Iranian Art and Archaeology until his death in New York 1941. Cohn-Wiener's works on Jewish and Islamic art were seminal, but remained isolated for a long time.

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[Sonja Beyer 2nd ed.]

COHON, GEORGE A. (1937–), U.S. entrepreneur and philanthropist. Cohon was born in Chicago, Illinois, and graduated from Northwestern University Law School. After serving in the American military, he was practicing law when he met Ray Kroc, the founder of McDonald's. Kroc offered Cohon the McDonald's franchise for Eastern Canada. In 1967 Cohon moved his young family to Toronto and began opening restaurants in Canada. In 1971 Cohon sold his rights back to McDonald's in return for company stock, becoming the second largest shareholder in McDonald's after Kroc himself. While Cohon stayed at the helm of McDonald's Canada, in 1976 he began negotiating the opening of McDonald's restaurants in the Soviet Union. His efforts culminated with the first Moscow McDonald's in 1990. In addition to introducing fast food marketing, mechanization, and management techniques to the Soviet Union, McDonald's demand for quality ingredients led to the introduction of innovative agricultural and food-processing methods to the Soviet Union. McDonald's, for example, spent over five times more building a huge food-processing plant than it did on the restaurant itself. During his prolonged period of negotiations with Soviet officials, Cohon came to know Soviet power brokers at the highest level. He quietly used these connections to advocate on behalf of Soviet Jews. Cohon was honored with the Order of Friendship from Russian President Boris Yeltsin. His philanthropic endeavors, including his work as patron for the chain of Ronald McDonald Houses which provide accommodations for families whose children are receiving medical treatment, have earned Cohon the Order of Ontario, Honorary Doctorate (Haifa), the Canadian Council of Christians and Jews Human Relations Award, Israel's Prime Minister's Medal, and an appointment as Officer of the Order of Canada.

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[Paula Draper (2nd ed.)]

COHON, SAMUEL SOLOMON (1888–1959), U.S. Reform rabbi and theologian. Cohon was born in Minsk, Belorussia. He received a traditional yeshivah education before his family immigrated to the United States in 1904. He received his B.A. from the University of Cincinnati (1911) and was ordained at Hebrew Union College in Cincinnati in 1912. Subsequently, he served as rabbi in Springfield, Ohio (1912–13), and in Chicago at Zion Temple (1913–18) and then at Temple Mizpah (1918–23), which he organized. In 1923 he returned to Hebrew Union College as professor of theology. He was active in the affairs of the *Central Conference of American Rabbis. Cohon took a more favorable attitude toward traditional Jewish observances, the Hebrew language, and the idea of Jewish peoplehood than did the earlier generation of American Reform rabbis; his viewpoint is reflected in the statement of position called the "Columbus Platform," of which he was the principal draftsman and which was adopted by the Central Conference in 1937 and essentially overthrew the earlier Pittsburgh Platform of Reform Judaism. As a theologian, he built on the Reform writings of Abraham *Geiger and Kaufmann *Kohler, but parted company with them when they departed from the historical development of Judaism. Cohon participated in editing the *Union Haggadah* (1923) and the *Rabbi's Manual* (1928). He wrote *What We Jews Believe* (1931) and a number of papers in the yearbooks of the Central Conference and in the Hebrew Union College Annual. He was a significant participant in the revision of the *Union Prayer Book* and served on the Committee that revised the *Union Home Prayer Book*. He was editor of the department of theology for the *Universal Jewish Encyclopedia* (1939). In 1956 Cohon retired from HUC in Cincinnati and became a fellow at the Hebrew Union College-Jewish–Institute of Religion, Los Angeles Campus, and later chairman of its graduate department. His library collection, now housed at Hebrew Union College, is one of the finest collections of Jewish theology and philosophy on the West Coast. His *Jewish Theology: A Historical and Systematic Interpretation of Judaism and Its Foundations* was published posthumously in 1971.

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[Sefton D. Temkin]

COIMBRA, city in central Portugal; a major center of Jewish population until the forced conversions of 1497. The Jews of Coimbra suffered frequent attacks, the most serious occurring in 1395 under the leadership of a church prior and several priests. Coimbra was the center of considerable Marrano Judaizing in the 1530s and 1540s, and a century later Antonio *Homem, professor of canon law at the University of Coimbra, led a conventicle of distinguished Marrano Judaizers. Many Marranos in addition to Homem attended the University of Coimbra, among them the distinguished dramatist and martyr, Antonio José da *Silva (d. 1739), while others such as Antonio Fernando Mendes (d. 1734), later a convert to Judaism in England, were on its faculty. Many of the New Christians arrested as Judaizers in Ferrara in 1581 were refugees from the Coimbra region. Three of them, including Joseph Saralvo, who boasted of returning 800 Marranos to Judaism, were put to death in Rome two years later. Coimbra was also the seat of an inquisitional tribunal, one of the four operating in Portuguese territory, besides Lisbon, Évora, and Goa. The tribunal in Coimbra, which tried many distinguished Conversos, disposed of more than 11,000 cases between 1541 and 1820. The trials sometimes lasted for months or even years, during which the accused were held in prison. The accused came in great numbers from Bragança, Braga, Porto, Viseu, Aveiro, Guarda, and Coimbra. Considering the claim that the accusations were mostly motivated by the wish to confiscate the property of the accused, it is noteworthy that the most frequent professions and crafts were, in descending order, shoemakers, merchants, priests, farmers, tanners, and weavers. From the sermons preached at the auto-da-fé we learn that mothers and grandmothers were held responsible for maintaining Jewish practices and beliefs among the Conversos. Thus, during the first century of its existence, more women than men were tried by the Inquisition of Coimbra. The hardest hit were those who lived in distant and mountainous areas. As late as June 17, 1718, over 60 secret Jews appeared at an auto-da-fé there, some for a fifth or sixth time. Two were burned at the stake and the rest penanced, among them Dr. Francisco de Mesquita of Bragança and Jacob de *Castro Sarmento.

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[Martin A. Cohen / Yom Tov Assis (2nd ed.)]

COINS AND CURRENCY.

Jewish and Non-Jewish Coins in Ancient Palestine

THE PRE-MONETARY PERIOD. Means of payment are mentioned in the Bible on various occasions; the relevant passages in their chronological order reflect the development of these means from stage to stage. When compared with the material extant from contemporary cultures of the region, these passages show that the underlying concepts were region-wide in the Near East. The earliest form of trade was barter. Certain commodities became generally accepted means of payment such as cattle and hides. This is reflected in Genesis 21:28–30: "Abraham set seven ewe lambs of the flock by themselves" (in connection with the settlement with Abimelech in Beersheba) and Genesis 13:2, "Abraham was very rich in cattle, in silver and in gold." This last quotation, however, reflects the fact that Abraham lived in the period of transition from the use of cattle to the use of weighed quantities of metal, which is the next stage in the development of the means of payment – a fact which is well illustrated when he weighs four hundred shekels of silver as payment for the cave of Machpelah in Hebron (Gen. 23:15–16). Onkelos renders 100 kesitah, paid by Jacob for a field in Shechem (Gen. 33:19), by 100 lambs (*hufrin*). Cattle as a means of payment is reflected in many usages, such as the Latin *pecunia* (derived from *pecus*, sheep), the Greek *polyboutes* ("rich in oxen," a rich man), and the cattle-shaped weights depicted on Egyptian tomb wall-paintings found in excavations. The shekel was a unit of weight of 8.4 grams in the time of Abraham, based on the Babylonian *šiqlu*, which was divided into 24 gerah (Babyl. *giru*); 60

Babylonian shekels were one minah and 60 minah one kikkar (Babyl. *biltu*).

The shape of the metal ingots varied. Egyptian tomb wall-paintings depict them as shaped like bracelets or oxhides. In Genesis 24:22 Eleazar "took a golden ring of half a shekel [*beka*] weight, and two bracelets for her hands of ten shekels weight of gold." When Joshua conquered Jericho, Achan took booty against orders, among other things 200 shekels of silver and a "golden wedge" of 50 shekels weight (Josh. 7:21). Such a "golden wedge" was discovered during the excavations of Gezer. In the pre-monarchy period the word *kesef* ("silver") was frequently used instead of shekel (Judg. 9:4; and II Sam. 18:11; et al.). During the period of the kingdoms of Israel and especially of Judah, payments are mentioned in the Bible in the shekel weight, the unit used to weigh the metal bars which were in those days the main means of payment. Jeremiah bought a plot of land and weighed his payment (silver) on scales (Jer. 32:9). Subdivisions of the shekel were the beka or half-shekel (Gen. 24:22; Ex. 38:26) and the gerah, then a 20th of the shekel (Ex. 30:13). The shekel, in turn, was a 50th part of the maneh, and the maneh was a 60th part of the kikkar, which thus was equal to 3,000 shekels. The maneh and the kikkar, however, were only units of account and remained so during the Second Temple period when the shekel became a coin denomination. Gold, silver, and bronze ingots were discovered during excavations conducted in Ereẓ Israel and so were scales and weights of the shekel unit and its multiples and fractions.

INTRODUCTION OF COINS IN ANCIENT PALESTINE. The earliest known coins originate in Lydia in northwest Anatolia in the late seventh century B.C.E. (i.e., before the destruction of the First Temple). No coins of that period have yet been discovered in Ereẓ Israel. The earliest coins found on Palestinian soil are from the second half of the sixth century and the first half of the fifth century B.C.E. They are Greek coins from Athens, Thasos, and Macedon, brought apparently to the country by Greek merchants. In the late fifth and first half of the fourth centuries Palestine was under Persian rule and Phoenician coins, especially those from Sidon and Tyre, circulated in the northern part of the country and the coastal strip down to south of Jaffa. At the same time there was an abundance of small coins of the obol and hemi-obol denomination, struck in the Gaza area in a great variety of types, which are also artistically interesting. During that period the Athenian coinage, bearing the head of Pallas Athene and the owl, her holy bird, were the hard currency of the eastern Mediterranean. The owl type coin was so widely imitated on a local level that the local money had the same value as the Athenian coins.

THE COINS OF JUDEA IN THE LATE FIFTH AND FIRST PART OF THE FOURTH CENTURY B.C.E. Alongside the above-mentioned issues, imitations of the Athenian coinage were also issued in Judea. These silver coins are rather rare, but at least six coin types are known with the inscription *Yehud* (Aramaic: Judea). Some follow the "head/owl" type, while others show a falcon, a fleur-de-lis, a Janus head, a god seated on a winged chariot, and a bird of an unidentified kind. It cannot be determined whether the Jewish high priest or the local Persian governor was the issuing authority. On one coin, however, the Hebrew name Hezekiah (Yeḥezkiyyah) can be deciphered and could be related to the high priest mentioned by Josephus (Apion, 1:187–9). The largest denomination of this type which has been discovered is the drachm, but the bulk is composed of oboloi and hemi-oboloi.

THE HELLENISTIC PERIOD. During the third century B.C.E. Palestine was ruled by the Ptolemies and their currency not only circulated there but was struck in local mints at such coastal towns as Acre (then already called Ptolemais), Jaffa, Ashkelon, and Gaza. This changed after the battle of Panias in 198 B.C.E., when the Ptolemies were replaced by the victorious Seleucids. The latter used the local mints of Acre, Ashkelon, and Gaza for the production of their own currency, besides the many mints they had in other parts of their kingdom. Their coins circulated in Palestine at least until the first coins were issued by the Hasmonean rulers. The Ptolemies issued gold, silver, and bronze coins, some of the latter of heavy weight in place of the small silver. Their silver standard was lighter than that of the Seleucids, which still leaned on the Attic standard.

The Jewish Coinage

THE HASMONEAN COINAGE (135–37 B.C.E.). The consecutive history of ancient Jewish coinage begins after the establishment of the independent Hasmonean dynasty in the 2nd century B.C.E. The bulk of Hasmonean coins were of the small bronze denomination, namely the perutah or dilepton. In accordance with the Second Commandment no likeness of living beings, men or animals, are found on them. Most of the emblems, for example the cornucopia – single or double – the wreath surrounding the legend, the anchor, the flower, the star, and the helmet, were copied from emblems found on the late issues of the Seleucid coinage. All Hasmonean coins bear Hebrew legends, but those of Alexander *Yannai and Mattathias *Antigonus also have legends in Greek. The Hebrew legend, written in the old Hebrew script, almost always appears in the formula, "X the high priest and the **ḥever* of the Jews" (*ḥever* probably means the assembly of the elders of the state). The Hasmonean rulers are thus styled on most coins as high priests. The only exception is Alexander Yannai who eventually also styled himself king on some of his Hebrew legends. On the Greek legends the Hasmonean rulers styled themselves throughout as "king." With one exception all Hasmonean coins are undated, which presents scholars with difficulties in arranging them chronologically, especially as different rulers went by the same names. In spite of earlier opinions, *Simeon, the first independent Hasmonean ruler (142–135), never issued any coins. According to I Maccabees 15:2–9, Antiochus VII granted Simeon the right to issue coinage, but it has been proved that this grant was withdrawn before Simeon could make use of it. The series of *Shenat Arba* (the "Year Four") formerly assigned to him were actually issued during the Jewish War (66–70 C.E.). It has been suggested that Simeon's son John *Hyrcanus I (135–104 B.C.E.) did not start issuing coins immediately on succeeding his father, but only considerably later, probably in 110 B.C.E. This suggestion is based on the fact that cities in Phoenicia and in Palestine received the right to coin their own money from the declining Seleucid kingdom: Tyre in 126 B.C.E., Sidon in 110 B.C.E., and Ashkelon in 104 B.C.E. John Hyrcanus' coins are the main pattern for the whole series of Hasmonean coins. The obverse depicts a wreath surrounding the legend, "Johanan [Yehoḥanan] the high priest and the *ḥever* of the Jews," while the reverse depicts a double cornucopia with a pomegranate. All his coins are of the perutah denomination. The coins of his successor, *Aristobulus I (104–103 B.C.E.), are in brass with the same denomination and type, but the name was replaced by Judah (Yehudah). At the beginning of his reign Alexander Yannai (103–76 B.C.E.) issued coins of the same type as his predecessors, changing the name to Jonathan (Yehonatan). Later, he issued another series of coins (in Hebrew and Greek) on which he styled himself king. Their emblems are star, anchor, both sometimes surrounded by a circle, and flower. A lepton or half-perutah with a palm branch, and a flower also belong to this "king" series. One type of this series, the star/anchor surrounded by a circle, is very frequent. This is the only coin type in the whole series of Jewish coins which bears an Aramaic legend written in square Hebrew letters and which has been dated. The Hebrew as well as the Greek date 25, which is the 25th year of reign of Alexander Yannai (78 B.C.E.), were recently discerned. As in the Greek legends and this Aramaic one as well, his name is given as "Alexandros." Alexander Yannai also apparently issued lead coins which belong to his "king" series. It is believed that in his final issues he reverted to the early Hasmonean coin type, styling himself again as high priest but altering his Hebrew name from Yehonatan to Yonatan probably in order to avoid the formula of the tetragrammaton. The bulk of the coins of John Hyrcanus II (67, 63–40 B.C.E.) are in the same shape as those of John Hyrcanus I. There are, however, varieties which are peculiar to his issues. Greek letters, single or as monograms, eventually appear on his coins. An A is to be found on the obverse and sometimes on the reverse; other letters are Δ, Λ or Π. These letters probably refer to the magistrates who were responsible for the mint. A change in the traditional legend, namely "Johanan [Yehoḥanan] the high priest head of the *ḥever* of the Jews," may indicate the privileges bestowed upon Hyrcanus II by Julius Caesar who confirmed him as high priest (Jos. Wars 1:194). Besides the regular coin type, Hyrcanus II also issued lepta or half perutot of the same type as did his father Alexander Yannai, bearing the palm-branch/flower. One larger trilepton shows a helmet and a double cornucopia. On all his coins he styled himself high priest.

During the short reign of the last Hasmonean ruler, Antigonus Mattathias (40–37 B.C.E.), a fundamental change occurred in the coin issue of the Hasmoneans. His Hebrew name Mattityahu (Mattathias) is only given on his perutah denomination. The pomegranate between the double cornucopia is replaced by an ear of barley. He issued two larger denominations which can be compared with the Seleucid chalcous and dichalcous. Antigonus was the only Jewish ruler who depicted the holy vessels of the Temple of Jerusalem on his coins, i.e., the table of shewbread and the seven-branched candelabrum. In his Hebrew legends he styles himself high priest and in his Greek legends "king." His Hebrew name is known to us only from his coins.

THE COINAGE OF THE HERODIAN DYNASTY (37 B.C.E.–C. 95 C.E.). The coins of Herod the Great (37–4 B.C.E.), all of bronze as those of his successors, can be divided into two groups: those which are dated and those which are not. The dated coins all bear the same date, the year three. As Herod no doubt reckoned his reign from his appointment as king of Judea by the Romans in 40 B.C.E. and not from his actual accession three years later, the "year three" is equal to 37 B.C.E. All legends on his coins are in Greek and no Hebrew legends appear on the coins of the Herodian dynasty. The legends render his name and title, Βασιλέως Ἡρώδου. The emblems on his coins are the tripod, thymiaterion, caduceus, pomegranate, shield, helmet, aphlaston, palm branch, anchor, double and single cornucopia, eagle, and galley. It may be concluded from this selection of symbols that Herod the Great did not wish to offend the religious feelings of his subjects. The denominations of his coins were the chalcous and hemi-chalcous (rare), the trilepton, and frequently the dilepton or perutah.

The coins of Herod Archelaus (4 B.C.–6 C.E.) are undated and bear mainly maritime emblems, such as the galley, prow, and anchor. Other types are the double cornucopia, the helmet, bunch of grapes, and wreath surrounding the legend. His main denomination was the perutah, but he also issued a trilepton. Herod Antipas (tetrarch of Galilee 4 B.C.E.–C. 39 C.E.) began to issue coins only after he founded and settled his new capital Tiberias. All his coins are dated. The earliest date is from the 24th year of his reign (19/20 C.E.). On his coins he is called Herod, but they can easily be distinguished as they bear his title "tetrarch." The emblems on his coins are all of flora such as the reed, the palm branch, a bunch of dates, and a palm tree. Though the emblems are the same on all denominations, three denominations can be distinguished. The obverses show a wreath that surrounds the legend "Tiberias"; only the series of the last year refers to Gaius Caligula. As the territory of the tetrarch Herod Philip I (4 B.C.E.–34 C.E.) was predominantly non-Jewish, he allowed himself to strike coins with a representation of the ruling Roman emperor and the pagan temple erected by his father in his capital Panias. His coins are dated from the year 5 to the year 37 of his reign, though not all dates occur. Three denominations can be observed, though their units cannot be distinguished.

The most common coin struck by King Herod Agrippa I (37–44 C.E.), grandson of Herod the Great, was a perutah of the year 6 of his reign (42/3 C.E.), depicting an umbrella-shaped royal canopy and three ears of barley. This coin was obviously struck for Judea. For the other districts of his kingdom he issued coins that would have offended Jewish religious feelings as they carried his own portrait or that of the Roman emperor and even gods or human beings in the Greco-Roman style of the period. On one very rare coin two clasped hands are shown; the legend seems to refer to an alliance between the Jewish people and the Roman senate. All Agrippa's coins are dated, and in his non-Jewish series two different groups of two denominations each can be discerned belonging to the reigns of Caligula and Claudius respectively. Herod of Chalcis (41–48 C.E.), brother of Agrippa I, regularly put his portrait on his coins, calling himself "friend of the emperor." Some of his extremely rare coins bear the date "year 3," others are undated; a system of three denominations can be observed in this coinage too.

From the time of the son of Herod of Chalcis, Aristobulus of Chalcis (57–92 C.E.), only a few rare specimens have been preserved. They bear his portrait and sometimes also that of his wife *Salome. His coins can be identified by their legends which mention him and his wife Salome as king and queen.

Because of his long reign, the series of coins assigned to Herod Agrippa II (c. 50–93 C.E.) is the largest and most varied among the coin series of the Herodians. Two types bear his likeness, and others issued in the year 5 of Agrippa with the name of Nero have a legend surrounded by a wreath. There are two coins which have a double date (the years 6 and 11) and which belong to the two different eras used on his coins. These double dated coins bear "inoffensive" symbols such as double cornucopias and a hand grasping various fruits. All his coins, like those of his father Agrippa I, are of bronze and dated, making it easy to arrange them in chronological order. There are however some difficulties. The first is the parallel issue of coins in the name of Vespasian and in the name of his sons Titus and Domitian. It has been accepted that all his Greek coins belong to an era starting in the year 56 C.E. The Latin series issued in the name of Domitian belongs to an era starting in 61 C.E. The bulk of his coins were struck during the reign of the Flavian emperors, with Tyche, the goddess of destiny, and the goddess of victory as emblems. A unique specimen, with the victory inscription on a shield hanging on a palm-tree, refers to the Roman victory in the Jewish War (66–70 C.E.). Agrippa thus put himself into the Roman camp against his own people. His coinage, as described above, shows the most far-reaching deviation from Jewish tradition among the ancient coinage issued by Jewish rulers.

THE COINAGE OF THE JEWISH WAR (66–70 C.E.). By the time the Jewish War broke out, the Tyrian mint had ceased to issue silver shekels but shekels were needed by every Jewish adult male for the payment of the annual Temple tax of a half-shekel (Ex. 30:11ff.; II Kings 12:5ff.). This reason and the resolve of the Jewish authorities to demonstrate their sovereignty over their own country led to the decision to strike the well-known "thick" shekels and half- and quarter-shekels dated from the first to the fifth year of the era of the war. These are the first silver coins Jews struck in antiquity. They are of an extraordinarily good quality, artistically as well as technically. The emblems are as simple as they are beautiful: a chalice with pearl rim and three pomegranates. The legends which are, of course, only in Hebrew and written in the old Hebrew script, read, *Yerushalayim ha-Kedoshah* ("Jerusalem the Holy") and *Shekel Yisrael* ("Shekel of Israel") with the abbreviated dates: ש׳א׳, ש׳ב׳, ש׳ג׳, ש׳ד׳, ש׳ה׳ (*shin alef, shin bet* for *sh*[*enat*], *a*[*lef*], "year one," *sh*[*enat*] *b*[*et*], "year two," etc.). Small bronze coins of the perutah denomination were struck during the second and third year of the war, and three larger denominations were issued during the fourth year, two of which indicate the denomination as *revi'a* ("quarter") and *ḥaẓi* ("half"). The emblems of the bronze coins are the vine leaf, the amphora, the *lulav*, the *etrog*, the palm tree, the fruit baskets, and the chalice.

THE COINAGE OF THE BAR KOKHBA WAR (132–135 C.E.). During this war the last Jewish coin series in antiquity was issued. Bar Kokhba became the head of the Jewish community, and the bulk of the coins issued bear the name Simeon and eventually his title "prince of Israel." However, other coins exist from that period which bear the name of one "Eleazar the Priest" or simply that of "Jerusalem" as the minting authority. The coins were issued over a period of a little more than three years (i.e., during the entire war). The coins of the first two years are dated, but the formula of the era changed from "Year one of the redemption of Israel" to "Year two of the freedom of Israel." During the third year and until the end of the war, the coins issued were undated and bear the war slogan "For the freedom of Jerusalem." These coin types, too, are as numerous as they are beautiful, and artistically rank first in the series of Jewish coins. During this war as well coins were issued in silver and in bronze. What makes this series exceptional from all other coin series in antiquity is the extraordinary fact that the whole issue was overstruck on coins then current in Palestine, such as on the Roman provincial tetradrachms (mainly from Antiochia) and on the Roman denarii or provincial drachms, as well as on local bronze city coins mainly from Ashkelon and Gaza. Bar Kokhba possibly obtained the gentile coins needed for overstriking by means of a public loan for the national war effort.

There are two silver denominations, the tetradrachm or sela and the denarius or zuz. The Temple front and a *lulav* and *etrog* appear on the tetradrachms, while a rather large number of emblems occur on the denarii, such as a wreath surrounding the legend, a bunch of grapes, a juglet, a lyre, a *kithara*, a pair of trumpets, and a palm branch. These emblems are used in many die combinations, thereby creating a large number of coin types. The bronze coinage can be divided into four denominations, a system taken over from the city coinage then current in Palestine and which was reused for the Bar Kokhba issues. On the large denomination, which was issued during the first and second year only, a wreath surrounding the legend and an amphora are depicted. On medium bronze 'א, which is the commonest denomination, a palm tree and a vine leaf are shown. On medium bronze a wreath surrounding a palm branch and a lyre or a *kithara* appears. The small bronze denomination shows a palm tree and a bunch of grapes. In general, the Bar Kokhba coinage is based on the tradition of the coinage of the Jewish War, 66–70. The amphora, vine leaf, and palm tree occur on the coins of that period, and the similarity of the legends is all the more striking, with the name of Zion replaced by the name Israel during the Bar Kokhba War.

Non-Jewish Coins During the Roman Rule

THE ROMAN PROCURATORS (6–37 AND 44–66 C.E.). After the banishment of Herod Archelaus in 6 C.E., his territory (Judea and Samaria) came under direct Roman rule administered by a procurator of equestrian rank. Some of these procurators issued coins of the perutah denomination as follows: coin types with a palm tree and an ear of barley; coin types with a wreath surrounding legend, a double cornucopia, olive spray, three lilies, a vine leaf or leaves, *kantharos*, amphora, and a palm branch; coin types with three ears of barley, *simpulum*, *lituus*, and a wreath surrounding the date of issue; and coin types with a wreath surrounding legend, two crossed spears, a palm tree, and a palm branch. It is believed that these coins were issued at *Caesarea Maritima, the administrative center of the Romans in Palestine. All coins bear the regal years of the respective Roman emperors and can therefore be arranged in chronological order without difficulty.

JUDEA CAPTA COINS AND LATER ISSUES OF THE ROMAN ADMINISTRATION. After the destruction of the Second Temple in 70 C.E., Palestine became a separate administrative unit called *provincia Judaea*. The Flavian emperors appointed a *legatus pro praetore* as head of the local administration and he was also the commander of the military forces stationed in the province. During the reigns of Vespasian (69–79 C.E.) and Titus (79–81 C.E.) the coins issued refer in their types and legends to the Roman victory; the legends are the Greek equivalent to the well-known legend *Judaea Capta*. Under Domitian (81–96 C.E.) four series of coins were issued, which do not refer to the victory over the Jews, but to Domitian's victories in Germany and Britain. All but the last two coin types of Domitian are undated and their chronological order was conjectural until recently.

THE PALESTINIAN CITY COINS. The following cities in Palestine proper struck coins in antiquity: *Aelia Capitolina (Roman Jerusalem), Anthedon, Antipatris, Ashkelon, Caesarea Maritima, Diospolis, Eleutheropolis, Gaza, Joppa (Jaffa), Neapolis (Shechem), Nicopolis-Emmaus, Nysa-Scythopolis, Raphia, Sepphoris-Diocaesarea, and Tiberias. Other cities beyond the border of ancient Palestine struck coins as well, such as Dora and Ptolemais (then part of Phoenicia), and the following cities in Transjordan: Abila, Dium, Gadara, Gerasa, Hippos, Kanatha, Kapitolias, Panias, Pella, Petra, Philadelphia, and Rabbath-Moab. Older cities which struck coins were Ashkelon, whose era began in 104/3 B.C.E., and Gaza, whose era began in 61/60 B.C.E. The era beginning between 64 and 60 B.C.E., which was adopted by many of the above cities, refers to Gabinius' invasion of the Hasmonean kingdom under Pompey, when many cities became independent, especially the so-called *Decapolis in the northeast. The coin types are numerous. City coins issued under Roman rule customarily had the head of the emperor on the obverse while the reverse bore images referring to the city, such as temples built there, the gods worshiped by their inhabitants, and military garrisons stationed in them. The legends frequently indicated the status of the city within the Roman empire, such as *colonia*, autonomous, etc. The archaeological finds suggest that the circulation of these coins was not restricted to the city by which they were issued, but was countrywide. In some cases (Ashkelon, Gaza, Neapolis, Sepphoris, and Tiberias) the money systems consisted of three or more denominations. Their equivalency with the Roman coin system cannot be ascertained. All these coins are of bronze. The only city in Palestine that issued an autonomous silver coinage was Ashkelon (between 51 and 30 B.C.E.) – coins bearing portraits of Ptolemy XIV, Ptolemy XV, and Cleopatra VII. The city coinage came to an end in about 260 C.E. when it became known that the value of the metal was greater than their nominal value. It was then replaced by debased Roman imperial coins.

[Arie Kindler]

Coins in Talmudic Literature

The currency system most commonly found in tannaitic literature is a syncretic one, based on the Greek drachm-obol – 6 obols = 1 drachm – but otherwise following the Roman monetary system both in terminology and metrological structure. Its standard was linked to that of the Tyrian tetradrachm (sela). In tabular form it appears as follows (above the talmudic terms are the Roman ones from which they derive.

Bronze				Silver		
	Quadrans	Semis	As	Dupondius	Denarius	
Perutah	Kardionts or Kuntrun(k)	Musmis	Issar	Pundion	Ma'ah	Dinar
192	96	48	24	12	6	1
32	16	8	4	2	1	
16	8	4	2	1		
8	4	2	1			
4	2	1				
2	1					

There were also two (silver) tarapiks (quinarii) to the dinar, 24 or 25 dinars to the gold dinar (aureus), and 100 dinars to a maneh (theoretical unit of Babylonian origin).

The Talmud (Kid. 12a) also records what is apparently an earlier system, of uncertain origin.

Bronze			Silver		
Perutah	Shamin	Niz or Hanez	Darosa or Hadris	Ma'ah	Dinar
144	72	36	18	6	1
24	12	6	3	1	
8	4	2	1		
4	2	1			
2	1				

However, by the second century C.E. these systems were already of the nature of archaic literary heritages (from Hasmonean times, most probably), so that, for example, no ma'ot were actually in circulation. Coins in daily use were denarii and sela'im from imperial mints (Antioch, etc.), while "small change" copper coinage was minted locally in a number of cities (see above). These city coinages had their own metrological systems, still insufficiently understood, and a number of strange talmudic monetary terms, quoted much later than the coins were actually used, may be related in some way to these local systems; e.g., the trisit (tressis) of Tiberias and Sepphoris (Tosef., Ma'as. Sh. 4:13, 94), termissis (Roman as, denarius?), asper, riv'a (Roman sestertius, ¼ denarius?), tib'a (didrachm), and ragia (tridrachm, or cistophoric tetradrachm). The only silver coins minted in Palestine during this period were "revolt coins" of the Jewish War (66–70) and the Bar Kokhba War (132–135). In the Talmud those of the first war are called "Jerusalem coins," after their legend "Jerusalem the Holy," and those of the second "Kosiba coins" (Tosef., Ma'as Sh. 1:6).

The third century was one of inflation throughout the Roman Empire, so much so that by the 270s the denarius, instead of being 1/25 aureus was 1/1000 (See TJ, Ket. 11:2, 34b). The effects of this inflation were to force the closure of all local (copper-producing) mints, and by the time of Diocletian (284–309) to usher in a completely new monetary system, based on a gold standard, unlike the earlier silver-based one. A number of new terms appear in talmudic literature from the late third century onward, corresponding to units of the new system; e.g., lumma (nummus, Av. Zar. 35b), leken (leukon, meaning white, whitish silver-washed follis?; TJ, Ma'as. Sh. 4:1, 54d, etc.), follsa, follarin (follis), argaron (argurion, siliqua?; TJ, Pe'ah 8:7, 21a). Throughout the fourth century, which was one of continued economic instability, these units were subject to constant depreciation and revaluation. Even gold solidi, which had superseded the aurei, were at times viewed with mistrust because of their adulteration and pure bullion was preferred to gold coin (cf. Cod. Theod. 12:6, 13).

In Babylonia during the Sassanid period (from the early third century onward), the standard silver unit was the Sassanid drachm, called in the Talmud zuz (from Akkadian *zuzu* – "to cut," but according to Jastrow "glittering"), while smaller copper coins of varying sizes were called peshitte.

HALAKHAH. According to talmudic law, "coin" cannot effect a transfer of property; only "produce" (*pere*) can. All "coin" can do is cause an obligation to complete a contract. Hence there is much discussion on what [coins] constitute "coin" and what "produce," or in modern terminology the relative "fiduciariness" of the elements of a trimetallic monetary system (BM 44a–b, etc.). There is also some discussion as to when coins cease to be legal tender (BM 4:5; BK 97a–b, etc.).

In Post-Talmudic Literature

There are two main contexts in which monetary terms appear in post-talmudic literature, halakhic and lexicographic-metrological (partly related to halakhic), and there are also incidental references.

HALAKHIC. There were constant attempts to translate monetary *shi'urim* ("halakhic measures"), such as the five sela'im of "the redemption of the *firstborn," the perutah of the *marriage act, and the 200 zuz of the *ketubbah* in terms of contemporary coinage. Already in the Talmud (Bek. 50a) there is a geonic gloss which gives the Islamic equivalent of the five sela'im as "20 mitkalei [gold dinars], which are 28½ dirham [silver coins] and ½ danka." Though this reckoning is repeated in various early sources, subsequent commentators give a number of different calculations in terms of their own respective time and country (e.g., Persia, *Halakhot Gedolot*; Egypt, Maimonides; Aragon, Naḥmanides; etc.).

LEXICOGRAPHIC-METROLOGICAL. In several lexicographic works biblical and talmudic monetary terms are explained, for example, Jonah ibn Janaḥ's *Sefer ha-Shorashim*, Nathan b. Jehiel's *Arukh*, David Kimḥi's *Mikhlol*, etc. There are also a number of halakhic-metrological studies in which biblical and talmudic coins are discussed in current terms, as in the work of Joseph b. Judah ibn Aknin (12th–13th century) and Estori ha-Parḥi (*Kaftor va-Feraḥ* (c. 1322), ch. 16), which confusingly cites Arabic, Provençal, and French coins, right up to H.J. Sheftel's *Erekh Millim* (1906), a very rich dictionary of halakhic metrology.

INCIDENTAL REFERENCES. There are innumerable incidental references to coins in the responsa literature, for example to Islamic coins in *Teshuvot ha-Ge'onim* (ed. by A. Harkavy (1887), nos. 386, 424, 489, et al.); Spanish, in Solomon b. Abraham *Adret (responsa 2:113); Portuguese, in *David b. Solomon ibn Abi Zimra (responsa 2:651), etc. In some cases local monetary terms are translated literally into Hebrew, thus florins (*peraḥim*); gulden (*zehuvim*); albi or whitten (*levanim*); doblas (*kefulot*). Coins of pure silver are variously called *tabor*, *naki*, *ẓaruf*, *mezukkak*, or *zakuk*. Often a local term is equated with a talmudic one, at times with confusing results. Thus, for example, a pashut or pashit may stand for esterlin, sol, denier, dinaro, pfennig, etc.

[Daniel Sperber]

Currency of Palestine

EREẒ ISRAEL UNDER OTTOMAN RULE. Both Turkish and European coins circulated in Ereẓ Israel during Ottoman rule. Tokens issued by various communities, such as the Jews and the German Templers, and by some business firms, were also in circulation. The reasons for this variety of currency were lack of trust in Turkish coinage, shortage of coins, disparities in the value of Turkish coins of high denomination in different parts of the country, and the capitulations which granted special rights to some European powers and resulted in French gold napoleons and Egyptian coins being brought into circulation alongside Turkish coins. Egypt, though nominally under Turkish rule, enjoyed coinage rights from the middle of the 19th century, and its currency also circulated in Ereẓ Israel.

[Yitzhak Julius Taub]

PALESTINE UNDER THE BRITISH MANDATE 1917–48. On the British occupation of Palestine, the Egyptian pound was made legal tender in the territory. It was replaced in 1927 by the Palestine pound (œ-P), administered by the Palestine Currency Board in London. The Palestine pound was divided into 1,000 mils, and all subsidiary coins issued for Palestine were denominated in mils. A one-pound gold coin, equal to the British sovereign, was authorized but never issued. The first coins of Palestine were placed in circulation on Nov. 1, 1927. Their denominations were 1 and 2 mils in bronze, 5, 10, and 20 mils in cupro-nickel, and 50 and 100 mils in silver. The designs, prepared by the Mandatory government, were intended to be as politically innocuous as possible, the only feature besides the inscriptions being an olive branch or wreath of olive leaves. The inscriptions were trilingual, giving the name of the country, Palestine, and the value, in English, Hebrew, and Arabic. As a concession to the Jewish community, the initials, א״י ("Ereẓ Israel") appeared in brackets following the name Palestine. Perhaps in order to stress the colonial nature of the coinage, the 5, 10, and 20 mils coins were holed in the center.

The design of the Palestine coins remained unchanged, with the exception of the date, throughout the period of the Mandate. The only changes introduced from 1942 to 1944 were the minting of the 5, 10, and 20 mils in bronze due to wartime shortage of nickel, and a slight change in the composition of the 1 and 2 mils (from 1942 to 1945) in order to save tin, which was scarce. Coins were not minted annually, but according to local requirements as reported by the Mandatory government to the Currency Board. They were all minted at the Royal Mint, London. The last coins to be minted were those of 1947, but the entire issue bearing this date was melted down before leaving the Mint, except for two sets, one in the British Museum and the other in the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford. The entire series of coins actually in circulation numbers 59. Some of these exist in proof state as well. The Palestine Currency Board also issued bank notes (see Table).

[Dov Genachowski]

Denomination	Obverse design	Reverse design	Main color
500 Mils	Rachel's Tomb	David's Tower	lilac
1 Pound	Dome of the Rock	David's Tower	green
5 Pounds	Tower of Ramleh	David's Tower	red
10 Pounds	Tower of Ramleh	David's Tower	blue
50 Pounds	Tower of Ramleh	David's Tower	purple
100 Pounds	Tower of Ramleh	David's Tower	green

In the Concentration Camps and Ghettos

In the concentration camps, which had been established in Germany as soon as the Nazis came to power in 1933, the possession of currency, German or foreign, by the inmates was strictly prohibited. Amounts which they were allowed to receive every month from their relatives had to be exchanged for *Lagergeld* ("camp money"), a kind of scrip issued in denominations of 10 and 50 pfennig and 1 and 2 RM. Such camp money was in use in Oranienburg, Dachau, and Buchenwald. A substantial part, however, of the prisoners' monthly transfers was confiscated by the camp administration under the heading of "deduction for damage to camp inventory," and was channeled into the special accounts maintained by the SS.

GHETTO CURRENCY (PAPER). In several of the ghettos established by the Nazis, the Jewish administration was ordered by the SS to set up special banking and postal departments. The purpose was to deprive the Jews of all the money in their possession by forcing them to convert it into bank notes of a nonexistent currency. In the Lodz (Litzmannstadt) ghetto, established on April 30, 1940, all contact with the outside "Aryan" world was prohibited on pain of death. As early as June 1940, special 50 Pfennig notes were issued by the *Judenrat*, on orders of the ghetto commandant, in order to enable the ghetto inmates to purchase postcards bearing a postage stamp. The notes were overprinted in black with smaller denominations – 5, 10, and 20 Pfennig – which could be cut out for separate use. In July of the same year six more notes were issued, in denominations of 1, 2, 5, 10, 20, and 50 marks. This series, like the first, was printed by the German authorities outside the ghetto. The notes, called *Quittungen* ("receipts"), showed the respective denominations on one side, and the serial number, the Star of David, and the signature of the *Aeltester der Juden in Litzmannstadt* on the other; the denomination was repeated and, in addition, there was a *menorah* and a statement threatening severe punishment for any forgery of these notes. In April 1942, 10-Pfennig scrips totaling 2,000 marks were in circulation in the Lodz ghetto in order to meet the demands on its postal department. Additional series of 10 Pfennig notes were issued in the course of the year.

GHETTO COINS. The first coins specially minted for use in the ghetto, made out of an aluminum-magnesium alloy and issued in the denomination of 10 Pfennig, were put into circulation on Dec. 8, 1942. They were withdrawn after a few days because they lacked the inscription *Quittung ueber …* (“receipt for …”) and were replaced by a newly minted coin bearing the missing inscription. In 1943 more coins were minted in denominations of 5, 10, and 20 marks. On one side the coins showed the respective denomination, and on the reverse the Star of David, the word “ghetto,” and the year of issue.

THERESIENSTADT “BANK NOTES”. In the Theresienstadt ghetto the *Aeltestenrat* was ordered by the SS commandant to establish a ghetto bank at the end of 1942. In the spring of 1943 on the eve of a visit by a Red Cross commission, a hasty effort was made to prepare the ghetto for the visitors: shops were opened, in which items confiscated from new arrivals were put on sale; a “cafe” and “concert hall” for the “entertainment” of the starving prisoners were established; the only thing missing in the show was money. Thereupon the “technical department” of the ghetto was ordered to design bank notes on the spot, which were printed in a rush by the Prague National Bank in denominations of 1, 2, 5, 10, 20, 50, and 100 Kronen. The “money” was deposited in the ghetto “bank.” Desider *Friedmann, a prominent Austrian Zionist, was appointed bank manager and was forced to report to the commission on the ghetto currency, the bank reserves, and the progress of the “savings accounts.” This tragi-comedy reached its climax when the prisoners had to form a long queue in order to deposit their “money.” Soon after the commission’s visit, the bank and the ghetto currency became the subject of a Nazi propaganda film. Once again “banking transactions” were performed and filmed. Part of the film was discovered after the war; it shows emaciated old people waiting outside the bank in the old Theresienstadt town hall, with ghetto currency and savings books in their hands. Soon after, the “actors” in the film were sent to the Auschwitz death camp. Several series of Theresienstadt ghetto banknotes have been preserved. They vary in color and show Moses with the Ten Commandments, a Star of David, and the inscription *Quittung ueber… Kronen* on one side, and *Quittung*, a Star of David, the date of issue (Jan. 1, 1943), the signature of the *Aeltester der Juden*, Jacob *Edelstein, and the serial number on the reverse.

FORGING FOREIGN CURRENCY AT SACHSENHAUSEN. A different story altogether was the “production” (i.e., forging) of foreign bank notes by Jewish prisoners in the Sachsenhausen concentration camp for use by the Nazis. This was known as “Aktion Bernhard,” after the officer in charge, *Sturmbannfuehrer* Bernhard Krueger, and began in 1942. Experts in graphic art and printing among Jewish prisoners were sent to Sachsenhausen. They were kept in a separate block, surrounded by barbed wire and isolated from the rest of the camp. A total of 130 prisoners was engaged in the work; the monthly output of sterling notes alone was as high as £400,000 but gold rubles, dollars, and foreign stamps were also forged. Shortly before the end of the war, a similar project was organized at the Mauthausen concentration camp.

[B. Mordechai Ansbacher]

The State of Israel

On the establishment of the State of Israel, the Palestine pound and its subsidiary coins continued to be legal tender until Sept. 15, 1948, when the Palestine pound was replaced by the new Israel pound (I £, in Hebrew *lirah* (לִירָה) abbreviated ל״י). The Palestine coins continued in circulation until 1949, disappearing, however, even before their demonetization when the Iœ was devalued against the pound sterling.

LEGAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE ARRANGEMENTS IN ISRAEL. While the issue of banknotes was carried out for the State from 1948 until 1954 by the Issue Department of Bank Leumi le-Israel (before 1950 the Anglo-Palestine Bank Ltd.), the issue of coins during the same period, that is until the establishment of the Bank of Israel, was the responsibility of the government, exercised by the accountant-general in the Ministry of Finance. This responsibility was transferred to the Bank of Israel under the Bank of Israel Law, 5714 – 1954. A treasury note for I£4.1 million was issued to the bank on its opening day, Dec. 1, 1954, to cover the liability arising from coins in circulation on that date. This note was redeemed in 1965.

The Bank of Israel continued, between 1954 and 1959, to issue mainly the same coins issued previously by the Treasury. The first series of Bank of Israel trade coins was issued in 1960, while the first Bank of Israel commemorative coin was issued in 1958. The issue of coins is handled in the Bank of Israel by the Currency Issue Unit, charged with planning and producing the currency, while its placement in circulation comes under the Issue Department of the Bank. Coin designs are chosen by tender among qualified artists, or in some cases by open tender, by the Advisory Committee appointed for this purpose, which submits its recommendations to the governor of the bank. In order for the coins to become legal tender, the approval of the minister of finance and publication of the particulars of the coin in *Reshumot*, the official gazette, are required.

THE 25 MILS OF 5708–9. Following independence in 1948 the shortage of coins in Israel became acute. Firms, municipalities, and bus companies started illegally issuing coin-tokens, out of sheer necessity. As a result, in August of that year the Treasury decided to mint the first Israel coins. The first coin minted, denominated 25 mils (the term perutah replaced mil only later), was made of aluminum, carrying the design of a bunch of grapes taken from a coin of the Bar Kokhba War. It was at first minted by a private factory in Jerusalem, and later by one in Tel Aviv. It was not a successful coin and was placed in circulation only because of the pressure of demand. It established, however, the principle of design governing Israel trade coins – all designs are taken from ancient Jewish coins, those of the Jewish War (66–70) and of the Bar Kokhba War (132–135), and all are dated according to the Jewish year. The 25 mils coins are the only ones that were actually demonetized in Israel following the establishment of the perutah as the subdivision of the Israel pound.

THE PERUTAH SERIES. The perutah series, commencing in 1949 and ending in 1960, comprised eight denominations: 1, 5, 10, 25, 50, 100, 250, and 500 perutot. Various changes occurred during the period as regards the 10 perutot coin (minted in bronze and aluminum, four types in all), and the 100 perutot (two sizes) – there are several varieties, as distinct from types, in each coin of the series. The 250 perutot was minted in cupro-nickel for general use and in silver for sale to numismatists. The 500 perutot was minted in silver only, for numismatists' use, and was never in actual circulation. In all, the series includes 25 types for the eight denominations and numerous varieties. Until 1954 all perutah coins were minted for the Israel government by two private mints in Britain: the ICI Mint and The Mint, Birmingham. In 1954 the Israel Mint was established in Tel Aviv, as a division of the government printer, and gradually took over the minting of Israel's coins.

THE AGORAH SERIES. The law amending the Currency Order of 5719 – 1959 abolished the division of the I£ into 1,000 perutot and introduced instead its division into 100 agorot. Following this enactment, the Bank of Israel began in 1960 to issue the new series, denominated in agorot. Four denominations were introduced in 1960: 1 agorah made of aluminum, and 5, 10, and 25 agorot of cupro-nickel-aluminum. In 1963 the series was completed by the addition of half-pound and one pound coins in cupro-nickel. The one pound coin introduced that year proved unpopular owing to its similarity to the half-pound coin and its design was changed in 1967, this being the only change in the series. Complete sets of all six denominations were issued for each year since 1963 with the exception of 1964. By the end of 1968 the series comprised 47 coins. For some of these there are several varieties. Coins of the agora series were minted by the Israel Mint, the Royal Dutch Mint at Utrecht, and the Swiss National Mint, at Berne. The Israel Mint was moved from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem in 1966, and all 1967 trade coins were minted in Jerusalem, this being the first year in which no foreign mint took part in the minting of these coins.

COMMEMORATIVE COINS. The first commemorative coin of Israel was issued by the Bank of Israel in 1958 to mark Israel's tenth anniversary. It proved to be a success, and established the series of Israel's commemoratives as one of the most popular in the world. The basic series of commemoratives is the Independence Day coin, of which the 1958 coin was the first. These were issued until 1967 in the denomination of I£5 and from 1968 in the denomination of I£10, in silver. Two other series of commemorative coins were started but discontinued after a period: half-pound "half-shekel" series issued for Purim, of which two coins were issued in cupro-nickel, and one pound Ḥanukkah series, six coins also in cupro-nickel. Special (*hors-de-série*) commemorative coins were issued on several occasions: a 20-pound gold coin to mark the centenary of the birth of Theodor Herzl; 50- and 100-pound coins in gold to mark the tenth anniversary of the death of Chaim Weizmann; a 50-pound coin in gold to mark the tenth anniversary of the Bank of Israel; a 10-pound coin in silver and a 100-pound coin in gold to commemorate the victory in the Six-Day War; and a 100-pound coin in gold to mark Israel's 20th anniversary and the reunification of Jerusalem. Most of the commemorative coins were issued in both proof and uncirculated conditions. In all they were minted by four mints – the Utrecht and Berne mints already referred to, the Italian State Mint at Rome, and a private mint in Jerusalem. Under an amendment to the Bank of Israel Law, passed in 1968, the government granted the distribution rights of Israel's commemorative coins to the Government of Israel Coin and Medals Corporation. Its profits, deriving from the surcharge on the face value of coins and from the sale of state medals, are devoted to the maintenance and reconstruction of historical sites in Israel.

BANK NOTES. Until the Bank of Israel was established in 1954 there were two series of bank notes issued by the Bank Leumi. The first series bore the former name of this financial institute, Anglo-Palestine Bank Ltd., and was printed in denominations of 500 mils, 1, 5, 10, and 50 P£. A second series was printed in denominations of 500 perutah, 1, 5, 10, and 50 I£ under the new name of the bank, Bank Leumi Le-Israel. The Bank of Israel has issued two series of bank notes – the first in denominations of 500 perutah, 1, 5, 10, and 50 I£ and the second in denominations of one-half, 1, 5, 10, 50, and 100 I£. In 1969 the government of Israel voted to change the name of the standard currency from that of the Israel (pound) lira to the shekel.

[Dov Genachowski]

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°**COLBERT, JEAN BAPTISTE** (1619–1683), comptroller-general of finances under Louis XIV of France. Contrary to the prevailing attitude of his day, Colbert was in favor of the presence of the Jews. He believed them advantageous to the economy because of their trade, their manufactured products, and their capital investments. Therefore, he protected the *New Christians of *Bordeaux and Marseilles in the face of pressure from Catholic circles. He was also anxious that the Jews should remain in the French colonies – though at the same time restricting the public manifestations of their religious life – for the sake of their investments and the impetus they gave to agriculture.

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[Bernhard Blumenkranz]

COLCHESTER, country town of Essex, England. In the Middle Ages the town harbored a Jewish community, which ranked ninth in importance among the English Jewries in the *Northampton Donum of 1194. On the organization of the *Exchequer of the Jews, Colchester became the seat of an **archa* for the registration of Jewish transactions. The Ashmolean Museum holds a mid-13th century bowl engraved in Hebrew probably owned by Joseph of Colchester. In 1277 a number of local Jews and Christians were involved together in a breach of the Forest Laws. On the expulsion of the Jews from England in 1290, nine houses owned by the Jews on Stockwell Street, as well as the synagogue, escheated to the crown. A short-lived Jewish community was established at the close of the 18th century. A congregation was established in 1957, and 27 Jews were living there in 1967. In 2004 the Jewish population numbered approximately 100.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Roth, England, index; Roth, in: AJA, 3 (1957), 22–25; J. Jacobs, *Jews of Angevin England* (1893), passim; J. Jacobs, *Jewish Ideals* (1896), 225ff.,; Neubauer, in: REJ, 5 (1882), 246ff. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** JYB 2004; D. Stephenson, in: *Essex Arcaeol. & Hist. Jnl.* 16 (1983–84), 48–52; *VCH Essex*, 9 (1994), 27–28; M.M. Archibald and B.J. Crook, *English Medieval Coin Hoards* I, BM Occasional Paper 87 (2001), 67–142; H.G. Richardson, *English Jewry Under the Angevin Kings* (1960), index.

[Cecil Roth / Joe Hillaby (2nd ed.)]

COLE, KENNETH (1954–), U.S. footwear and clothing designer, entrepreneur, civic activist. Cole, president and chief executive officer of Kenneth Cole Productions, not only founded an international footwear and clothing business, but through his company's advertising, managed to raise social awareness of such issues as AIDS, homelessness, gun safety, and women's rights. Many of his ads carry the message: "To be aware is more important than what you wear." Born Kenneth Cohen, he was raised on Long Island and began working part time while still a teenager. He was a stock boy at a local shoe store and sold peanuts at two of New York City's most notable sports arenas, Shea Stadium and Madison Square Garden. After earning a B.A. from Emory University, Atlanta, Cole joined El Greco, his family's footwear business. Under the leadership of his father, Charles, the Brooklyn-based company produced the highly successful Candies shoes for women in the 1970s. In 1983, Cole left El Greco and launched Kenneth Cole Productions. It grew into a publicly owned corporation with more than 50 retail stores in the U.S.; distribution in Europe, Asia, and Latin America; licensees covering more than two dozen product categories for men and women; and more than a billion dollars in retail sales. Cole ran his first "awareness" ad in 1986. It depicted nine top models posing with children. The copy read: "For the future of our children … support the American Foundation for AIDS Research [Amfar]. We do." In keeping with the non-commercial aspect of the ad, the models were barefoot. Cole, a director of Amfar since 1987, is also its vice chairman and director of creative services. His company also supports HELP USA, a major provider of housing, jobs, and services for the homeless. He is married to Maria Cuomo, the daughter of former New York governor Mario Cuomo. Cole, who has received numerous awards for his innovative advertising, was named humanitarian of the year by Divine Design (1996), the Council of Fashion Designers of America (1997), and the National Father's Day Committee (2002). He wrote about his company and its ad campaigns in *Footnotes* (2003).

[Mort Sheinman (2nd ed.)]

COLEMAN, CY (1929–2004), U.S. composer, pianist. Born in the Bronx, N.Y., Coleman (Seymour Kaufman) was a child prodigy, giving a recital at Steinway Hall at the age of six and Carnegie Hall by nine. At 17 he was playing Manhattan supper clubs. While a student at the New York College of Music in 1948, Coleman turned away from classical music and formed a trio. He began to attract attention with songs recorded by Frank Sinatra, including "Try to Change Me Now," and "Witchcraft" and "The Best Is Yet to Come," the latter two written with Carolyn Leigh. The songs established Coleman's reputation as a master of the swiveling sexy come-on, a critic for *The New York Times* wrote. The partnership produced several hits and two Broadway musicals, *Wildcat*, which starred Lucille Ball, in 1960, and *Little Me*, a vehicle for Sid *Caesar in 1962.

In 1964 Coleman met Dorothy *Fields, a successful songwriter earlier in her career who was revitalized by working with the much younger Coleman. Their first project became the Broadway smash musical *Sweet Charity* in 1966 with songs like "Big Spender." They worked on two other shows, an aborted project about Eleanor Roosevelt and *Seesaw*, which reached Broadway in 1973. Fields died the following year. Coleman continued to write for the stage and produced the scores for the following shows: *I Love My Wife*, with lyrics by Michael Stewart, in 1977; *On the Twentieth Century*, with lyrics by Betty *Comden and Adolph *Green, 1978; *Barnum*, with Michael Stewart, 1980; *City of Angels*, with lyrics by David Zippel, 1989; *Will Rogers Follies*, Comden and Green, 1991 (which won a Grammy award); and *The Life*, with lyrics by Ira Gasman, 1997.

Other hits that became standards in the American songbook include "Hey, Look Me Over," "Real Live Girl," "Here's to Us," "Why Try to Change Me Now?", and "The Riviera."

[Stewart Kampel (2nd ed.)]

COLEMAN, EDWARD DAVIDSON (1891–1939), writer and bibliographer. A native of Suwalki, Poland, Coleman emigrated to the United States at a young age and studied at Harvard University. In 1931 he became the librarian of the American Jewish Historical Society and later its secretary and assistant to the president. He helped organize the Herzl Zion Club, the first Hebrew Zionist youth organization in the United States. Coleman's main scholarly interest was the Jew in English literature and American Jewish bibliography. Among his main works are *The Bible in English Drama* (1931), and *Plays of Jewish Interest on the American Stage, 1752–1821* (1934). He prepared the second volume to A.S.W. Rosenbach's *American Jewish Bibliography*, which, like most of his literary estate, has remained unpublished. Coleman's private library is now part of the Jewish National and University Library in Jerusalem.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Rivkind, in: AJHSP, 37 (1947), 458–60.

°**COLENSO, JOHN WILLIAM** (1814–1883), English Bible scholar, Anglican bishop of Natal (South Africa). In 1853 Colenso was appointed bishop of Natal, where he learned Zulu, for which he compiled a grammar and dictionary; he also translated parts of the Bible and the New Testament into Zulu. Prompted by questions put to him by Zulus, his mind turned to difficulties and inconsistencies in the Pentateuch. He wrote *The Pentateuch and Book of Joshua Critically Examined* (7 parts, 1862–79), in which he denied the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch; Deuteronomy, he asserted, was written by Jeremiah. Such views caused much scandal and controversy; he was repudiated by his church but continued to minister to his followers. For a long time he was a solitary English representative of Higher biblical criticism. The popular *Speaker's Commentary* on the Bible was issued mainly to combat Colenso's views. In the English-Jewish community his views also caused a stir, and Chief Rabbi Hermann *Adler and A. *Benish joined his critics.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: G.W. Cox, *The Life of John William Colenso* (1888), 2 vols.; EB, 6 (1947), 1; *Encyclopedia Americana*, 7 (1955), 224.

COLLATIO LEGUM MOSAICARUM ET ROMANARUM (or **Lex Dei**), one of the rare examples of a systematic comparison of two different legislations, the Jewish and the Roman. It was probably compiled in Rome, between the years 294 and 313 C.E. At one time the author was thought to have been a Christian; however, Volterra's view that the author was a Jew who wanted to prove the priority and superiority of the teachings of Moses (*Scitote, iurisconsulti, quia Moyses prius hoc statuit*, Coll. 7:1) appears to be preferable and is accepted by Levy. The *Collatio* contains 16 chapters dealing particularly with penal law; the first extract in every chapter is the biblical one, normally preceded by the phrase *Moyses dicit* ("Moses says") or *Moyses Dei sacerdos haec dicit* ("Moses, the priest of God, says the following"), followed by the paragraphs from the Roman jurists and the imperial constitutions. The biblical extracts (taken exclusively from Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, and Deuteronomy) are carefully translated into Latin, probably by the same author, who used the text of the Septuagint and Latin translations before Jerome, frequently comparing the Hebrew text and also bearing in mind at times the traditional Jewish interpretation. The author often alters the text in order to make it more comprehensible juridically, or to make it agree with Roman precepts. Cassuto assumed that the translation of the biblical texts contained in the *Collatio* might be a reflection of "the tradition of the Italian Jews" who needed a Latin translation of the Bible for use in their synagogues and schools (*Annuario di Studi Ebraici*, 1 (1934), 105). The work, preserved in three manuscripts, was discovered in the 16th century and first published by P. Pithou (Basel, 1574). Among the principal editions should be mentioned those by Bluhme (Bonnae, 1833), by Mommsen (Berlin, 1890), by Girard (4th ed., Paris, 1913), by Hyamson (Oxford, 1913), and by Baviera (2nd ed., Florence, 1940).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: E. Volterra, in: *Memorie della Reale Academia Nationale dei Lincei*, series 6, vol. 3, fasc. 1 (1930), contains earlier literature; E. Levy, in: *Zeitschrift der Savigny Stiftung fuer Rechtsgeschichte* (*romanistische Abteilung*), 50 (1930), 698ff.; G. Scherillo, in: *Archivio Giuridoco F. Serafini*, 104 (1930), 255ff.; idem, in: *Novissimo Digesto Italiano*, 3 (1959), 446–8; N. Smits, *Mosaicarum et Romanarum Legum Collatio* (Dutch, 1934); Schulz, in: *Studia et Documenta Historiae et Iuris*, 2 (1936), 20–43 (Ger.); idem, in: *Symbolae Van Oven* (1946), 313–32 (Ger.) A.M. Rabello, in: *Scritti sull' Ebraismo in Memoria di G. Bedarida* (1966), 177–86; idem, in: RMI, 33 (1967), 339–49, with the most recent literature.

[Alfredo Mordechai Rabello]

COLLEGIO RABBINICO ITALIANO, Italian rabbinical college, the first modern institution of its kind, inaugurated in 1829 at Padua under the name Istituto Convitto Rabbinico through the efforts of I.S. Reggio and under the direction of L. Della Torre and S.D. Luzzatto. Among its alumni were L. Cantoni, S. Gentilomo, A. Lattes, E. Lolli, F. Luzzatto, A. Mainster, and M. Mortara. After Luzzatto and Della Torre's deaths, the institute underwent a series of crises and closed in 1871. It was reopened in Rome under its above name in 1887 and was directed by M.M. Ehrenreich. In 1899, after a period of suspended activity, it was moved to Florence under the direction of S.H. Margulies, with H.P. Chajes and I. Elbogen among its teachers; under them the college flourished. Among its alumni were E.S. Artom, U. Cassuto, D. Disegni, A. Pacifici, and D. Prato, who all exerted a marked influence on Italian Judaism. After the death of Margulies in 1922 the college, whether in Florence or in Rome, was never the same again. Back in Rome in 1934 and directed by the rabbi of the Rome community, R.A. Sacerdote, the collegio had U. Cassuto, I. Kahn, and D. Lattes among its teachers. After being closed during the later stages of the Fascist regime, the college was reopened in 1955. It published the *Rivista Israelitica* from 1904 until 1915, and the *Annuario di Studi Ebraici*, at intervals 1935–1969.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: A. Toaff, in: *Scritti in onore di D. Lattes* (1938), 184–95; G. Castelbolognesi, in: RMI, 5 (1930/31), 314–22; S. Alatri, *Per la inaugurazione del Collegio Rabbinico Italiano* (1887); R. Prato, *Brevi cenni sul collegio Rabbinico Italiano* (1900); N. Pavoncello, *Il Collegio Rabbinico Italiano* (1961).

[Alfredo Mordechai Rabello]

COLLINS, LOTTIE (1865–1910), British actress and music hall singer. Collins' family name was originally Kalisch. Her father, William Alfred Collins, was a wood turner and music hall entertainer. Lottie Collins gained fame in London in 1891 with the song, "Ta-ra-ra-boom-de-ay," originally a boating song from the lower Mississippi. She accompanied it with a swift, high-kicking dance and made it her main act for years. Her daughter, JOSE COLLINS (Cooney; 1887–1958), also became famous in musical comedy, especially in *The Maid of the Mountains* (1917) which ran for three years. She used the title for her memoirs (1932). They were relatives of the architect HYMAN HENRY COLLINS (c. 1832–1905), one of the few Jewish architects in Victorian Britain. Hyman Collins built several London theaters, including the Strand Music Hall, and worked extensively on housing projects for the poor. He was also a major synagogue architect, building at least five synagogues in London and several others in provincial cities. The well-known Hollywood stars JOAN COLLINS (1933–) and her sister JACKIE COLLINS (1939–), also a best-selling author, are members of this family.

ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY: ODNB.

COLM, GERHARD (1897–1968), U.S. economist. Colm, who was born in Hanover, served in World War I as an officer in the German Army and was decorated. In 1922 he began his professional career as a government statistician and became deputy director of the Institute for World Economy in Kiel. In 1933, with the advent of Hitler, he emigrated to the United States, and was professor of economics at the New School for Social Research in New York, 1933–39, and an adviser to the Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Budget, and the Council of Economic Advisers. In 1952 he joined the National Planning Association, and was frequently called upon as consultant to the government. His publications include: *Economic Theory of Public Finance* (1927); *Economic Consequences of Recent American Tax Policy* (with Fritz Lehmann, 1938); *Essays in Public Finance and Fiscal Policy* (1955) contains a list of his writings; *The Economy of the American People* (1958); and *Integration of National Planning and Budgeting* (1968).

[Joachim O. Ronall]

COLMAR, capital of Haut-Rhin department, E. France, in Germany until 1681. Jews probably settled in Colmar toward the middle of the 13th century; they are mentioned as living there in a document from 1278. In 1279, the synagogue was destroyed by fire but it is not known whether through foul play or an accident. The Colmar community became the refuge of the Jews from *Rouffach in 1293, and from Mutzig and other localities in 1330 and 1337–38 during the *Armleder persecutions. The first community owned a synagogue, a *mikveh*, a "dance hall," and a cemetery. The Jewish quarter was situated between the western rampart, the present Rue Chauffour, and the Rue Berthe Molly (formerly the Rue des Juifs). In 1348, at the time of the *Black Death persecutions, all the Jews of Colmar were condemned to death and at the beginning of 1349 were burnt at the stake, at the place which is still called "Judenloch." From 1385, Jews were again admitted into Colmar, and town officials allowed them to establish a cemetery. The community was said to include at least 29 adults (or possibly heads of families) in 1392. Their number decreased from the second half of the 15th century, however, until in 1468 there were said to be only two families. In 1510, the emperor authorized the town to expel its remaining Jews, though the expulsion was not carried out until 1512. Nevertheless, Jews from Colmar who had settled in the surrounding localities continued their commercial relations with the burghers of the town. From 1530 they were forbidden to lend to the burghers except against movable pledges. In 1534 they lost the right to trade within Colmar, and in 1541 were forbidden to enter its bounds even when markets and fairs were held. It was as a result of this decision that *Joseph (Joselmann) b. Gershon of Rosheim brought an action against the town which went on for several years, the result of which is unknown. The Jews of Alsace maintained commercial relations with the burghers of Colmar throughout the 16th century, however, as evident from the numerous court cases recorded in that period (*Archives Communales de Colmar*, esp. pp. 33 and 39ff.). In 1547, about sixty Marranos from the Low Countries were arrested in Colmar. They were only liberated after having taken the oath that their destination was a Christian country, and not Turkey.

The attitude of the burghers toward the Jews remained unchanged, even after Colmar was formally annexed to France in 1681. From the 18th century, a few Jews were authorized to live in eating houses and inns in the town in order to prepare ritual food for Jews visiting Colmar to trade. As late as 1754, the Jew Mirtzel Lévi of the neighboring city of Wittelsheim was martyrized after an iniquitous trial. After the outbreak of the French Revolution in 1789, Jews were again allowed to settle in Colmar. In 1808 it became the seat of a *Consistory, with 25 dependent communities. In 1823 Colmar also became the seat of the chief rabbinate of Alsace (Haut-Rhin). The Jewish population numbered approximately 1,200 in 1929.

[Bernhard Blumenkranz / David Weinberg (2nd ed.)]

Holocaust and Postwar Periods

The Jews in Colmar shared the fate of the other Jews in Alsace and Moselle in World War II. They were expelled from their homes, and their synagogue, which was built in 1843, was completely ransacked. After the war the survivors rebuilt the

Jewish community, restored the synagogue, and set up new institutions, including a community center. In 1969 there were over 1,000 Jews in Colmar.

[Georges Levitte]

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Lévy, in: Communauté israélite de Colmar, *La Maison de la Communauté* (1961); Mossmann, in: *Revue de l'Est* (1866), 105 ff., 238 ff.; Loeb, in: *Annuaire de la Société des Etudes Juives*, 1 (1881), 123 ff.; Krakauer, in: REJ, 19 (1889), 282 ff.; Ginsburger, *ibid.*, 83 (1927), 52–58; Z. Szajkowski, *Franco-Judaica* (1962), index; Germ Jud, 2 (1968), 415–20.

COLOGNA (De), ABRAHAM VITA (1754–1832), Italian rabbi. Cologna, then serving in *Mantua, was a delegate to the *Assembly of Jewish Notables convened by Napoleon in 1806. In 1807 he was appointed vice president *(ḥakham)* of the French *Sanhedrin and in the following year one of the three *Grand Rabbins* of the central *Consistory, of which he was president from 1812 to 1826. In 1827 Cologna became rabbi of Trieste. He published a collection of sermons and apologetic writings, besides many occasional poems.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Roth, Italy, 441, 443; Graetz, Gesch, 11 (1900), 258, 260 ff., 270, 281.

[Attilio Milano]

COLOGNE (Ger. **Köln**), city in Germany. Founded in 50 C.E. as the Roman Colonia Agrippinensis, seat of the provincial and military administration, it is likely to have attracted a Jewish population at an early date. A Jewish cemetery, assumed to have existed from Roman times, is attested there from the 11th century. It was in use to the end of the 17th century and came to light in the 1930s. Two edicts of Constantine (Cod. Theod. 16:8, 3–4) of 321 and 331 respectively imposed the onerous *Curia* duties on the Jews of Cologne and exempted the officials of their community from the obligations incumbent on the lower class of citizens. No further information on Jews in Cologne is available until the 11th century.

In 1012 (or 1040) a synagogue was erected which, though destroyed, was three times rebuilt on the same site, until, after the expulsion of 1424, it was turned into a chapel, though it served various purposes in the course of time. Allied bombing during World War II laid bare the foundations of the ancient building where unique examples of a *genizah* cellar under the *bimah* and a cistern (in the forecourt?) have been discovered. During the 12th century rabbinical opinion was divided over the religious propriety of its stained glass windows depicting lions and serpents. A chronicler of the first half of the 12th century describes the Cologne community at the end of the 11th century as "a distinguished city… from where life, livelihood, and settled law issued for all our brethren scattered far and wide" (Solomon b. Samson in *Sefer Gezerot Ashkenaz ve-Ẓarefat*, ed. by A.M. Habermann (1945), 43). The central importance of the Cologne fair and the community there for Jewry throughout the Rhine valley is further attested by the description of the *synods held in the city: "all the communities came to Cologne to the fairs three times a year and deliberated at its synagogue" (*ibid.*, 47). The First Crusade of 1096 brought death and destruction to Cologne Jewry. Though the archbishop tried to protect the Jews of the diocese, many were massacred; the Jewish quarter and synagogue were sacked and burned down. The number of those killed indicates a community of approximately 1,000. The martyrs included Moses Kohen Ẓedek, rabbi and cantor, originating from France and respected for his scholarship and piety, as well as other scholars. One of the martyrs had come from Italy, another was a proselyte. A few saved their lives by accepting baptism, but were subsequently permitted by imperial decree to return to Judaism. However, a group of converts remained, who, themselves or their descendants, attained positions of importance in the Church and civil administration.

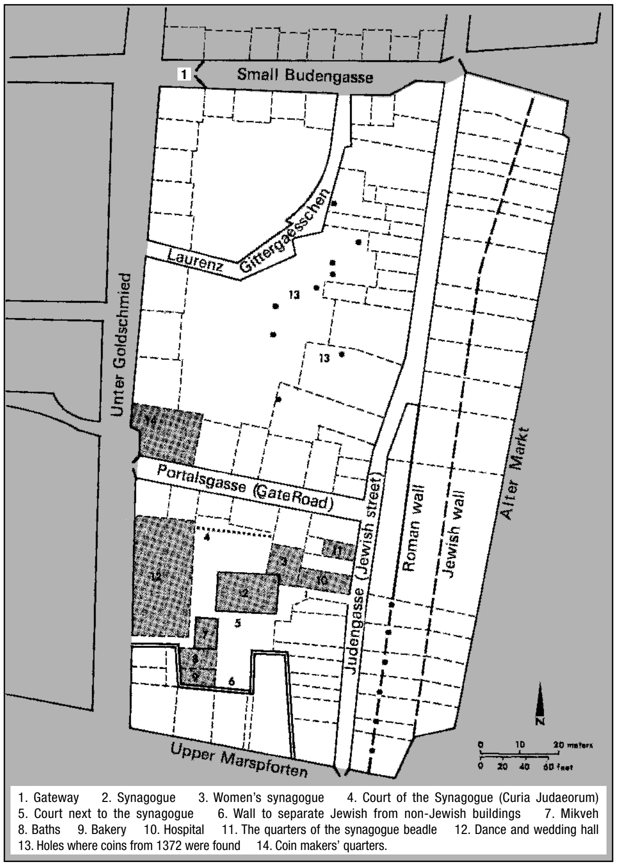
Small Budengasse
Laurenz
Gittergässchen
Unter Goldschmied
Portalsgasse (GateRoad)
Judengasse (Jewish street)
Roman wall
Jewish wall
Alter Markt
Upper Marspforten
N
0 10 20 meters
0 20 40 60 feet
1
4
5
6
13
1. Gateway 2. Synagogue 3. Women's synagogue 4. Court of the Synagogue (Curia Judaeorum) 5. Court next to the synagogue 6. Wall to separate Jewish from non-Jewish buildings 7. Mikveh 8. Baths 9. Bakery 10. Hospital 11. The quarters of the synagogue beadle 12. Dance and wedding hall 13. Holes where coins from 1372 were found 14. Coin makers' quarters.

Medieval Jewish quarter in Cologne. Zvi Asaria, Die Juden in Koeln, *1959.*

The community was afterward reconstructed. When a new city wall was built in 1106, the Jews were assigned their own gate (*Porta Judaeorum*) for the defense of the city. In the Cologne land register (*Schreinsbuch*), from 1135, the extent to which Jews owned property there is revealed: from 30 houses at the beginning of the period, to 48 in 1170, 50 in 1235, 60 in 1300, 70 in 1325, and 73 in 1349. Many also lived in leased or rented houses. The land register also yields information on the provenance of the Jews of Cologne, mentioning over 20 places in the Rhineland and beyond (such as Frankfurt, Wuerzburg, Arnhem in Holland, and even England). The Second Crusade of 1146–7 left Cologne Jewry more or less unharmed, due mainly to Archbishop Arnold, who put the fortress of Wolkenburg at their disposal as a refuge. The imperial Jewish tax as well as the jurisdiction over Jews for serious criminal offenses were in the hands of the archbishops. From 1252 onward they issued periodical letters of protection or privileges to the Jewish community, by which the Jews were assured of protection of life and limb, freedom of commerce and worship, freedom from forcible conversion, and the right to untaxed burial for any Jew in the Jewish cemetery. The rabbinical courts had exclusive jurisdiction over cases involving Jews. For these "privileges" they had to pay heavily in the form of taxes or lump sums. The 1266 privilege, granted by Archbishop Engelbert II, was engraved on stone and can still be seen in the wall of the cathedral. During the 14th century power in the city passed from the archbishop to the patrician city fathers who had defeated him in the battle of Worringen (1288); subsequently the latter were asked to endorse the archepiscopal privileges granted to the Jews, and in 1321 the city itself issued them a letter of protection valid for ten years. It is an indication of the growing insecurity of Jewish life in Cologne that this sort of charter had to be frequently reissued. The cost of the letter of protection to the Jewish community was the considerable sum of 1,600 marks in 1321, rising to 1,800 in 1331. From 1341 acquisition of property by Jews required the consent of the city council, which also intervened in internal disputes.

Disaster overtook Cologne Jewry during the Black *Death. The plague had reached the city in the summer of 1349; the mob stormed the Jewish quarter on St. Bartholomew's Night (Aug. 23–24), letters of protection notwithstanding. Part of the community had assembled in the synagogue; they themselves set fire to it and perished in its flames. The rest were murdered. Among the martyrs were the last three "Jews' bishops" of Cologne (see below) and a number of distinguished rabbis. The archbishop, the municipality, and the count of Juelich now laid claim to the derelict Jewish property. When the "protectors" had at last settled their quarrel, the property was sold and the proceeds used for church and city buildings.

In 1372 Jews were readmitted to Cologne, once more under a privilege from the archbishop renewed in 1384 and every ten years until 1414. The city council also granted a privilege similar to earlier ones, stipulating that no claims could be raised arising out of property owned prior to 1349. Interest rates were limited to 36 1/2% per annum. A new spirit of discrimination was shown in the special dress regulations introduced for Jews and the prohibition on employing Christian nurses, contained in documents of 1384. The golden penny (*goldene Pfennig*) poll tax, imposed on German Jewry in 1342, is recorded as being collected in Cologne in 1391. The post-1372 community was small, never comprising more than 31 taxpaying households and 200 persons. All the more burdensome was the enormous tax which this small group had to pay, though it must have included some fairly rich people. However, the days of the community were numbered. The city refused, after prolonged pleadings before the archbishop, emperor, and pope, to renew the residential privilege which expired in October 1424. This brought the history of medieval Jewry in Cologne to a close.

Communal Structure

Cologne Jewry, like other ethnic and economic groups, formed a corporation with its own council (of 12?) and leader, referred to as the *Judenbischoff* (**Episcopus Judaeorum*; seven holders of this office are known by name between 1135 and 1417), apart from its religious and judicial organization with rabbis, *dayyanim*, readers, *shoḥatim*, beadles, etc. The office of "bishop" and rabbi were not identical, though occasionally united. The Jewish quarter, its synagogue (with a separate building for women), and the cemetery have been mentioned above. Other communal property included a *mikveh* (in addition to a public bath), a dance and wedding hall (*Spielhaus*), a bakehouse, a "hospital" for wayfarers, and accommodation for officials. The synagogue court (*curia Judaeorum*) served for public assemblies, wedding ceremonies, and perhaps for the rabbinical court. A wall separated the Jewish quarter to the south from the adjoining area, while a gate led into it from the east. The *mikveh* was discovered and partly restored during the 1956–57 excavations. The Jews of Cologne were mainly merchants, and later moneylenders. The Cologne fairs, to which traders from near and far brought both raw materials and finished goods, were one of Europe's most important mercantile events. Jewish visitors came from as far as the Ukraine. Transactions at this fair form the subject of an opinion by *Gershom b. Judah (10th–11th century; *Ma'aseh ha-Ge'onim*, ed. by A. Epstein (1909), 70; Rashi's *Pardes*, ed. by H.L. Ehrenreich (1924), 73). Powerful financiers who established themselves in the banking business in the 13th and 14th centuries were largely a law unto themselves, as shown by their repeated conflicts with the community, but their wealth and ostentation often proved their undoing. Many pursued more modest trades and occupations. Some physicians are mentioned toward the end of the 14th century. Among a long line of notable Cologne rabbis (*rabbanei Kolonya*) were *Eliezer b. Joel ha-Levi of Bonn ("Ravyah"), and *Asher b. Jehiel ("ha-Rosh") who was active in Cologne before his emigration to Spain in 1303. *Alexander Suslin ha-Kohen of Frankfurt (martyred in Erfurt, 1349) lived for some time in Cologne. To the kabbalistic school belonged *Abraham b. Alexander of Cologne. The Cologne community early established its own liturgical rite, partly based on Palestinian custom. Maimonides' *Mishneh Torah* was copied in four volumes of vellum in 1295–6 by Nathan b. Simeon of Cologne. This manuscript, now at Budapest, is one of the finest examples of Ashkenazi calligraphy and miniature painting of the period.

From 1424 to the end of the 18th century Jews were rigorously excluded from residence in Cologne. Even those few admitted for business were not permitted to stay overnight, not excepting Jewish physicians who were frequently called in by the local population from nearby towns such as *Bonn and *Deutz. In the 16th century Cologne became the center of the *Pfefferkorn-*Reuchlin controversy. The University of Cologne (founded 1388) had a chair of Hebrew from 1484.

Printing

The Pfefferkorn-Reuchlin controversy led to the publication of many books and pamphlets, some containing Hebrew letters printed from woodcuts, such as Pfefferkorn's *Judenveindt* and *Osternbuch* (1509). In 1518 a polyglot psalter (in four languages) was edited by Johann Potkin, and printed by Jacob Soter and again in 1539 by Johann *Boeschenstein. In 1553 Soter printed the books of Obadiah and Jonah with a rhymed Latin translation by the apostate Johann Isaac ha-Levi and in 1555 Jacob *Anatoli's *Ru'aḥ Ḥen* with a Latin translation also by ha-Levi. In 1563, in partnership with P. Horst, he printed the book of Malachi, with translations. The Cologne imprint of a Bible of 1603 by J. Lucius (of Helmstedt) is doubtful, and it may have to be assigned to Hamburg. A Passover *Haggadah* with German translation and music by the Cologne cantor Judah, father of the composer Jacques *Offenbach, was published in 1838 by Clouth and Company.

Modern Period

The annexation of the Rhineland by revolutionary France in 1794 brought Jewish residents again to Cologne from 1798. A new congregation, formed by 17 households, was established in 1801. Solomon *Oppenheim represented it on the *Assembly of Jewish Notables convoked by Napoleon in 1806, and its rabbi, S.B. Rapaport, on the French *Sanhedrin of 1807. Under the decree of 1808, the Cologne congregation was administered first by the *Krefeld and (from 1817) by the Bonn *Consistory.

Residential permits were required even after the Rhineland had been incorporated into Prussia in 1815; 33 were granted in 1817, and 134 in 1845, when the community numbered approximately 1,000. Among the lay leaders of this period was David Hess, father of Moses *Hess. It was not until 1861, however, the year of the opening of a new synagogue magnificently endowed by the banker Abraham von Oppenheim, that the Cologne congregation achieved the status of a public corporation under the Prussian community law of 1847. Civic equality was finally obtained in 1856. Cologne Jewry numbered 4,523 in 1880, 9,745 in 1900, and approximately 20,000 (2 1/2% of the total population) in 1933. It had four synagogues and several *battei midrash*, two elementary schools and a secondary school, apart from religious schools, a hospital, an orphanage, a children's home, a home for apprentices, and many ancillary societies and institutions. Among rabbis who officiated in Cologne before World War II were the scholars Isidor *Scheftelowitz and Adolf *Kober. From 1867 an independent Orthodox congregation (*Adass Jeshurun) was active; a Jewish teacher's training college was closely associated with it. When David *Wolffsohn, a resident of Cologne, succeeded Theodor Herzl as president of the Zionist Organization in 1904, its offices were transferred to Cologne where they remained until 1911. Max *Bodenheimer was another leading Zionist in Cologne.

[Alexander Carlebach]

After the Nazis came to power in 1933, Jews (and other political opponents) were tortured and even murdered. The turning-point in the life of Cologne Jewry was April 1, 1933, the "Boycott Sabbath." The boycott affected not only shops and businesses but doctors, lawyers, and other professionals as well. Lawyers were driven through the street on garbage trucks. The subsequent dismissal of Jews from the civil service on April 7 affected physicians, teachers, and professors as well. It was a two-way boycott, many Christian shops refusing to serve Jews and it continued in some quarters as the city ceased purchasing from Jewish merchants. On May 10, 1933, "Jewish" books were burned on the University plaza. The Jewish community reacted to all this by carefully worded protests and declarations of loyalty to Germany, but also by assisting emigration, by increased welfare efforts, and by organizing professional retraining courses and trade schools. Discrimination, including the closure of playgrounds and athletic facilities, intensified. By 1935 Jews were barred from public baths. Jews responded by emigrating, leaving Cologne if possible, but there was also movement in the other direction as Jews from the small towns and villages of the Rhineland sought refuge in Cologne. The community organized its own cultural life through the local "Kulturbund," the second largest in Germany after Berlin's. As elsewhere, religious life revived, and Jewish schools could hardly accommodate the number of pupils seeking admission. By the end of 1936 2,535 people required communal assistance. In March 1938 the two Cologne congregations were deprived of their status of public law corporations. The November 9–11, 1938, pogroms known as *Kristallnacht led to the destruction by fire or vandalism of all synagogues. Jewish shops and offices were plundered and great numbers of Jews thrown into prison or concentration camps. More than 400 Jews were arrested and sent to Dachau. Emigration intensified. Over 100 children were sent to Great Britain on the *Kindertransport*. In total, more than 40% of the Jewish population emigrated before September 1939. In May 1939 the Jewish population was 8,406 with another 2,360 *Mischlinge*, persons of mixed Jewish ancestry. When war came in September 1939, the remainder of Cologne Jewry became subject to an all-night curfew, their special food rations were far below that of the general population, they were officially forbidden to use public transport and, when allied bombing began, to use public air raid shelters. Jews had to move out of houses owned by non-Jews; later they were restricted to certain parts of the town, and finally to Jewish-owned houses or institutions, and living conditions grew steadily more desperate. Toward the end of 1941 Jews were interned at a camp in the suburb of Muengersdorf with exemptions for those working in the armament industry and hospitalized patients. Jewish hospital patients were moved into the camp on May 31, 1942, with seriously ill patients temporarily housed in the Adass Jeshurun school building.

The first deportation was that of Polish Jews in October 1938. On October 21, 1941, some Cologne Jews were deported to Lodz. Later deportations were to Theresienstadt, Lodz, Riga, Lublin, and Auschwitz. Many died or were murdered before the end of the journey. Of special note was the deportation to Minsk on July 20, 1942, of Jewish children and some of their teachers. The last to be deported in 1943 were Jewish communal workers. After that deportation the only Jews remaining were those in mixed marriages and their children, many of whom were deported in the fall of 1944. Approximately 40–50 Jews survived in hiding.

[Alexander Carlebach / Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

A new community came into being after 1945, consisting of the few survivors, displaced persons, and a trickle of returnees (600 in 1946), and in 1967 numbered 1,321. The Roonstrasse synagogue was rebuilt in 1959. Rabbis active in Cologne in the postwar period were Zvi Asaria and E. Schereschewski. The *Monumenta Judaica* exhibition, reflecting 2,000 years of Jewish history and culture in the Rhineland, was shown in 1963–64. Besides a youth center the community maintained a Jewish home for the aged. The Jewish community numbered 1,358 in 1989 and 4,650 in 2003.

[Alexander Carlebach]

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COLOMBIA, South American republic; population 43,800,000 (2003); Jewish population estimated at approximately 3,400.

History

Jewish settlement in the country dates back to the arrival of the *Crypto-Jews during the Colonial Period. The first to reach the area came with the Spanish conquerors during the 16th century. From the beginning of the 17th century, in the wake of the establishment of the Inquisition in Cartagena, the dangers increased for those who practiced Judaism in secret. The Inquisition authorities also specialized in persecuting Jews captured in their ships off Spanish-held coasts, mainly in the Caribbean Sea. Merchandise was confiscated, and if the captives were *New Christians reconverted to Judaism, they were tried, and in many cases executed. It is said, however, that a secret synagogue functioned in Cartagena at the beginning of the 17th century in the house of Blas de Paz Pinto.

The church was traditionally very powerful in Colombia, even after the country achieved independence, and its status was one of the main issues of political struggle. Until 1853 Roman Catholicism was the only religion permitted. Between 1861 and 1886 the influence of the liberals brought about freedom of religion and the restriction of the church's power, but from then until 1936 Roman Catholicism was the national religion protected by the state. The constitution of 1886, reformed in 1936 and 1945, guarantees freedom of religion as long as its practice is "not contrary to Christian morals or to the laws."

It was only at the end of the 18th and the beginning of the 19th century, however, that the first Jews openly began to settle in Colombia. (See the map "Jews in Colombia.") They came from the Antilles islands of Jamaica and Curaçao and by the middle of the century had settled in Barranquilla, Santa Marta, Ríohacha, and Cartagena, as well as in other port cities. In 1844 a cemetery was established in Santa Maria. In 1853 the Jews of Barranquilla were granted a plot of ground by the government to be set aside as a cemetery; in 1874 the Jews, together with the Protestants and the Catholics, set up a new communal cemetery divided into sections. On March 6, 1874, the Caribbean Jews in Barranquilla organized themselves as the "Colombian Jewish Community." Barranquilla developed into the main Colombian port, and the important Jewish houses of the Senior, Solas, Alvarez Correa, Rorg Mendes, Cortizos, and Curiel families were founded. The originator of transport on the Magdalena River, the main artery between Bogotá and the

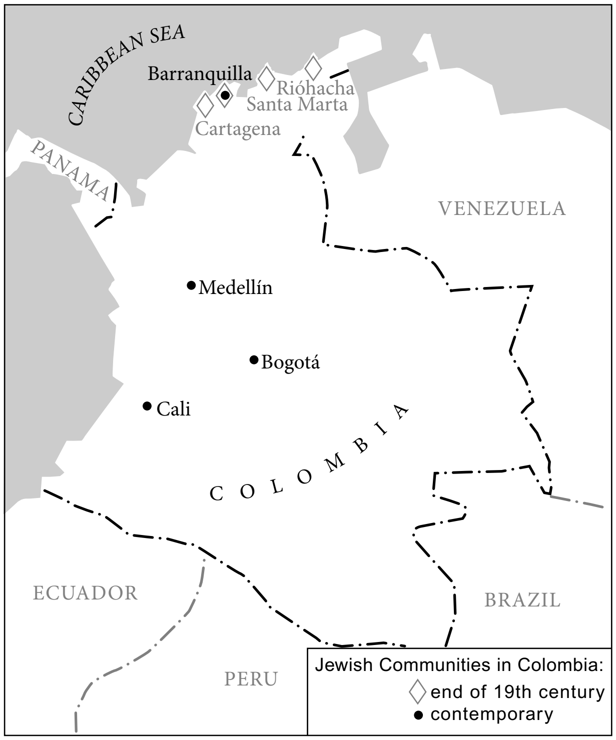

Map of Colombia showing 19th-century and contemporary Jewish settlement.

sea, was David Lopez Penha. The major banks were managed by Moises de Sola, and the "Company of Water Resources" was headed by Augustin Senior, in whose home the Jewish prayer services were conducted. In 1919 Colombian air transport was established by Ernesto Cortissoz.

Smaller Jewish communities existed on the Caribbean coast, Riohacha and Santa Marta. Among their members were the generals Efrain and Abraham Juliao.

In the cultural field, in the 19th century the Barranquilla Jew Abraham Zacarias Lopez Penha became one of the main Colombian poets. Raised in the valley of the Cauca was one of the most famous Latin American writers, Jorge Ricardo Isaacs (1837–1895), author of the classic novel *Maria,* who was of Jewish origin, stemming from a family that came from Jamaica. The descendants of those settlers from the Caribbean have almost completely assimilated into the local population.

The contemporary Jewish community was established at the beginning of the 20th century. Sephardi Jews from Greece and Turkey and Jews from Syria came during the post-World War I period and constituted the first group of practicing Jews in the country. They engaged in commerce in manufactured articles and founded two silk factories in Barranquilla. At about the same time, Jewish immigrants began to arrive from Eastern Europe, mainly from Poland, as well as from Palestine. At first they engaged in peddling and then gradually entered manufacturing and business, considering Colombia only a temporary haven. The rise of Nazism in Germany changed the transient character of the community and also brought the last major wave of Jewish immigrants, who came from Germany and Central Europe. Of the 3,595 Jews who arrived between 1933 and 1942, 2,347 were German. According to official population statistics, in 1935 there were 2,045 Jews in Colombia. Of those, 1,100 were in Bogotá, 400 in Cali, 150 in Medellín and Barranquilla, and the rest in other places. (See the map "Jews in Colombia.") Two years later the number was estimated at over 3,000, and by 1943 the Jewish population reached 6,625. In 1934 active anti-immigration propaganda was instigated by the Chambers of Commerce. The press voiced its unanimous opposition to aliens, and in October 1938 the government passed new laws directed especially against Jews. In 1939 immigration ceased completely, and between 1945 and 1950 only 350 Jews entered the country.

Most of the immigrants entered the fields of minor industry and crafts and have played an important role in the economic and industrial development of the country. Attempts at agricultural settlement failed for the most part; of the 200 settlers in 1938 and 1939, only 46 were left by the end of 1942. The chief causes for this failure were the difficult and unknown climatic and agricultural conditions and especially the low standard of living of the farmers in Colombia. On the other hand, Jews played a prominent role in business.

Contemporary Period

Until World War II Colombian Jewry was rather loosely organized. The responsibility for this lay to a great extent with the authorities, who in 1940 still refused to approve the establishment of a central organization of the Jews of Bogotá and Cali, claiming that such a body would prevent the community's assimilation. The Holocaust, however, spurred communal organization, and today the Jewish community is united under the umbrella organization Confederación de Asociaciones Judías de Colombia, which is based in Bogotá. The Jewish community of Bogotá (946 Jewish families in 2005) includes three main groups: the Ashkenazim, the Sephardim, and the Germans. Each has its own communal institutions: the Centro Israelita de Bogotá (founded 1928), the Comunidad Hebrea Sefaradí (reorganized 1943), and the Asociación Israelita Montefiore. In addition, other cultural and Zionist organizations such as *B'nai B'rith, *WIZO, *General Zionists and *Maccabi serve the community. The Colombo Hebrew School in Bogotá educated about 280 students from kindergarten through high school, and religious life centers around the four synagogues in the city: two Ashkenazi, one Sephardi, and one German.

The Jewish communities in the other principal cities were also well organized. A total of 344 Jewish families lived in Cali in 2005. All the organizations within the city, as well as those in the small towns in the region, have united to form the Unión Federal Hebrea, which offers religious and social services. The community has two synagogues, one Ashkenazi and one Sephardi, and a school, the Colegio Jorge Isaacs, with 120 students (2005). It also sponsors a summer camp for children, the only one of its kind in the country. In Barranquilla, which is the third largest Jewish community in the country, 203 Jewish families were counted in 2005, of whom approximately half were East Europeans, one-third Sephardim, and the rest Germans. Economically, the Jews are in a favorable position, but they are not involved in general public life. Their organizations include the Club Unión, a social organization which encompassed the community as a whole; religious institutions maintained individually by each sector; general organizations such as B'nai B'rith, etc.; and an umbrella organization that includes all the organizations. The day school has a student enrollment of 300; the number of mixed marriages is small.

The cultural life of the Jewish community in Colombia is not exceptionally active. A good part of the social life centers on institutions of entertainment and leisure. At the same time, great affinity was evinced for the Zionist Movement, whose Colombia branch was founded in 1927, and for the State of Israel. Between 1962 and 1964, 146 Colombian Jews migrated to Israel, and there were 62 youths from Colombia among the volunteers who went to Israel after the *Six-Day War (1967). Jewish participation in political life in Colombia is minimal. There are no Jewish members of parliament or Jewish statesmen. The relations between the Jews and the Roman Catholic Church are cordial and were strengthened during Pope Paul VI's visit to the country in 1969, when a delegation of leaders of the Jewish community was received by him. Throughout the years, a variety of Jewish publications have appeared in the country. By 1970 only two remained, both in Bogotá: *Menora*, established in 1950, had a Zionist-Revisionist orientation, stressed political problems, and presented community news; *Ideal*, Zionist and nonpartisan, published cultural and general news, both local and international.

Colombia did not vote for the partition of Palestine in 1947, nor did it recognize the State of Israel immediately upon its establishment. Later, however, it maintained an embassy in Jerusalem and Israel has established an embassy in Bogotá. Cordial relations exist between the two countries. A large number of Colombians participated in technical courses offered in Israel and even established an organization called Shalom.

The very unstable security situation initiated a wave of Jewish emigration from Colombia. The number of Colombian Jews in Israel has reached almost 2,000, with others settling in the United States and Spain or in other Latin American countries. In Bogotá Jewish activity has dwindled and the Jewish day school has fewer and fewer Jewish children. The number of members in the Jewish communities in Cali, Medellín, and Barranquilla are in steady decline.

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[Moshe Nes El / Mordechai Arbell (2nd ed.)]

COLOMBO, SAMUEL (1868–1923), Italian rabbi and scholar. Born in Pitigliano, Colombo completed his rabbinical studies at Leghorn under Israel Costa and Elia Benamozegh and graduated from the University of Pisa. From 1900 he served as rabbi and head of the rabbinical seminary in Leghorn. In 1912 he was accused before an Italian court of having applied Jewish law by refusing to conduct the wedding of a *mamzer* (see RMI, 29 (1963), 207ff.), but he won his case. Colombo was president of the Italian Rabbinical Federation and a keen Zionist. Among his published writings are *Babel und Bibel* (1904) against Delitzsch, *Il pensiero religioso di G. Mazzini* (1905), *La coscienza di un popolo* (1923), *Una questione di Divorzio secondo il Diritto Ebraico* (1895), and *Sepoltura o Cremazione*? (1908); *Vivere per un' Idea* (1958), *L'Idea dell'Ebraismo* (1958), *Verso Sion* (1920).

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[Alfredo Mordechai Rabello]

COLOMBO, YOSEPH (1897–1975), Italian educator. Colombo was born in Leghorn, the son of Samuel *Colombo; he studied philosophy and pedagogy at the University of Pisa and taught history and philosophy in high schools. He was one of the founders of the Hebrew High School of Milan and its head from 1938 to 1945, when governmental schools were closed to Jews. He taught Hebrew language and literature at the University of Milan and began editing *Rassegna Mensile di Israel* in 1965. Colombo contributed to Italian encyclopedias as well as to Italian-Jewish periodicals and Festschriften. Among his published works are *Problema della Scuola Ebraica in Italia* (1925); *Concezioni ebraiche e teorie moderne* (1926); an Italian translation of and commentary to Avot (last reprinted, 1996), the prefaces to E. *Benamozegh's selected writings, *Scritti Scelti* (1955), and his work on the immortality of the soul in the Pentateuch (1969).

[Alfredo Mordechai Rabello]

COLON, JOSEPH BEN SOLOMON (c. 1420–1480), Italian halakhist, surnamed Trabotto, also known as **Maharik**. Colon was raised in Savoyard, capital of Chambéry, where his family had migrated after the expulsion of the Jews from France (1394). Colon's primary teacher was his father, an eminent talmudist in his own right, though he mentions having studied under other scholars in Chambéry. In his early thirties he migrated to the Piedmont, where he maintained himself through a combination of teaching children and older students and occasional loan-banking. In the late 1450s he headed a yeshivah in Savigliano. Subsequently, we find him in Mestre (before 1467), Bologna, and Mantua (apparently from 1467). According to a report in Ibn Yaḥya's *Shalshelet ha-Kabbalah*, in Mantua he and *Judah b. Jehiel Messer Leon became involved in a dispute, as a result of which they were both banished by the authorities. Colon afterward moved to Pavia, where he continued to teach and write responsa until his death. From an early age, scholars from Germany, Turkey, and Italy sought his decisions on Jewish law. After his death his responsa were collected and have since been frequently reprinted and published (Venice, 1519 etc.). His decisions had massive influence upon all subsequent legal development. His influence is particularly notable in the Ashkenazi orbit, as reflected in Moses Isserles' glosses on the Shulḥan Arukh. Colon was the central pillar of later Italian *halakhah*, and there is scarcely an Italian rabbi of the 16th, 17th, and 18th century who does not quote him.

Colon's responsa are distinguished by his encyclopedic knowledge and methodical analysis of sources. He attempted to identify the basic principles underlying his sources and to elucidate the conceptual framework within which he rendered his rulings. His legal method also resembled the mode of analysis known as *pilpul*. Established custom played a unique place in his thinking and he defined its authority. In this context, he served as the defender of a uniquely French school of Ashkenazi law and lore. The *Mishneh Torah* of *Maimonides enjoyed a preeminent place in his writings. His extensive comments thereupon, scattered throughout his responsa and lecture notes, helped to set the agenda for later scholars. Colon's responsa are marked by tremendous deference to authorities of the past. Hesitating to decide between them, he resorted to methods of legal determination which removed or minimized this necessity (e.g., *Halakhah ke-Batra'i*). Possessed a strong sense of justice, he spoke out courageously against decisions that were widely accepted at that time, but that he deemed unjust. He also displayed great independence *vis- `a-vis* his contemporaries. Firmly, though respectfully, he reproved Israel *Bruna for overstepping the bounds of his authority. When a blood libel was made against some Jews of Regensburg, and the neighboring communities refused to be taxed for their ransom (although agreeing to make voluntary payments), Colon decided that it was their duty, to pay the tax. Colon's zeal for halakhic truth and integrity led him into a dispute with Moses b. Elijah *Capsali of Turkey. Having been wrongly informed that the latter had made grievous errors in decisions concerning marital law, Colon wrote to the leaders of the Constantinople community, threatening to place Capsali under a ban if he did not cancel his decisions and do public penance. This unprecedented attack on the rights of the community aroused a furor in Constantinople. Capsali answered the attack vehemently. Soon many of the leading rabbis of the day were embroiled in the dispute, which ended when Colon learned that he had been the victim of intrigue. With this discovery, Colon's remorse was as swift and thorough as had been his rebuke, and he did all within his power to make amends to the victim of his unjust attack, to the degree of sending his son Perez to travel to Constantinople and beg forgiveness of Capsali. In addition to his previously published responsa, new material under the title *She'elot u-Teshuvot u-Fiskei ha-Maharik ha-Ḥadashim* has been edited by E.D. Pines (1984^{2}). Colon was the author of a commentary on the *Sefer Mitzvot Gadol* of *Moses b. Jacob of Coucy, part of which was published in Munkacs (1899). A fuller edition was also published by E.D. Pines under the title, *Hiddushe u-Ferushe Mahatrik* (1984). His *Seder ha-Get* appeared in Judah Minz's *She'elot u-Teshuvot* (Venice, 1553). Other material has been published in various journals, while a significant amount remains in manuscript.

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[Abraham Hirsch Rabinowitz / Jeffrey R. Woolf (2nd ed.)]

COLONNE, JULES EDOUARD (**Judah**; 1838–1910), French violinist and conductor. Born in Bordeaux, he learned to play several instruments there. In 1855 he went to Paris and in 1857 entered the Paris Conservatory, where he won first prize for harmony and for violin. He became the leading violinist of the Paris Opéra and in the Lamoureux Quartet. In 1873 he founded the Organisation du Concert National, which became the Concerts du Châtelet, and finally the Concerts Colonne, which under his conductorship played an important role in fostering the performances of works by contemporary French and foreign composers; it was on performances of the works of Berlioz that his success was based. He was also the conductor of the official ten concerts at the Trocadero during the Paris Exposition Universelle of 1878, and appeared as visiting conductor in Europe and New York. In 1892 he joined the Paris Opera as artistic adviser and conductor.

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[Amnon Shiloah (2nd ed.)]

COLOPHON, inscription at the end of a manuscript, of a book or part of a book written by the copyist, in which he records details of his work. Colophons were not added to every manuscript, and many of them have been lost because usually the last (and first) pages of the book were damaged. The colophon contains a number of details for the study of the text, for history in general, for the history of culture, and for paleography. It is generally written in the first person and tends to include the following details: the name of the copyist, the title of the work, the date of the completion of the copying, the place where it was copied, the name of the person for whom the work was copied or whether the scribe copied it for himself, and good wishes for the owner and for the copyist. Not all these details are included in every colophon, and their order is not always the same. Some colophons are very extensive. Others are brief, containing only the date of completion.

Names and Formulas of Blessings

The names mentioned in colophons usually include that of the father and at times also the family name. In Yemenite and Karaite manuscripts, several generations and even very lengthy genealogies are listed. The names are accompanied by colorful expressions of blessings for the living and the dead, which almost always take the form of *abbreviations. Some of these formulae are common to various cultural regions of the Middle Ages, while others are characteristic only of the land of origin. For example, the formula of blessing for the living, יי״א (= יִרְאֶה זֶרַע יַאֲרִיךְ יָמִים אָמֵן), “May he see his seed prolong his days” – based upon Isa. 53: 10 – and ישר״ו (= יִחְיֶה שָׁנִים רַבּוֹת וְטוֹבוֹת, “May he live many and pleasant years,” or יַעֲמֹד וְיִחְיֶה שָׁנִים רַבּוֹת, “May he exist and live many years”), is characteristic of Italy, probably only from the middle of the 14th century. The formula of blessing for the dead, רי״ת (= רוּחַ ה׳ תְּנִיחֶנּוּ, “May the Spirit of the Lord cause him to rest” – Isa. 63:14), is characteristic of Oriental countries. The copyist often bestows flowery honorific titles on his customer. In later Yemenite manuscripts, it became customary for the copyist to precede his name by expressions of humility.

Places of Origin and Dates

The copyists were accustomed to note, in addition to the place of the copying, their own or the owner's places of origin, thus providing interesting historical information. Details of this category are especially found in manuscripts written in Italy. For example, an Oxford manuscript (Bodleian Library, Ms. Opp. Add. 302, fol. 37), was copied in Ancona in 1402, by a copyist from Perpignan for someone from Rome then living in קסא. The date was given according to the eras customary among Jews. In Italy, from the 15th century onward, a mixed date consisting of the Jewish year and the Roman month came to be employed. In Hebrew manuscripts written by apostates, the Christian year is also to be found. In many manuscripts, especially from the 15th century onward, the year is given in the *gematria* form of a word or words from a biblical verse. In many colophons, the day of the week and of the month is also given, thus making it possible – with the help of chronological tables – to verify the dates. In some manuscripts, the dates in the colophons were forged by changing the letters or by erasing and re-writing the date with the aim of antedating the manuscript. In others, whole colophons, which do not belong to the copyist, have been added, but these can be identified by the difference of handwriting. It appears that only in about one-third of the medieval manuscripts which have colophons is the place of copying mentioned. This is most often omitted in manuscripts written in Germany. It is sometimes difficult to identify the name of the place, because of the Hebrew spelling of the special Hebrew appellation of localities during the Middle Ages.

Felicitations

The final part of the colophon, the concluding felicitations, is often the longest. In manuscripts written for a specified person, it contains good wishes and blessings addressed to the future owner, and in many cases there are some for the copyist particularly when the manuscript is written for himself. Most express the wish that the owner or the copyist, his children, and his descendants would be allowed to study the book. Appropriate biblical verses were also added, the most popular being Joshua 1:8, as in one of the oldest European manuscripts (Prophets, Codex Reuchlin 3 of the Badische Landsbibliothek, Karlsruhe): “This Book of the Prophets, the Targum and the Text, was completed by Zerah b. Judah, the most humble of scribes, in the year 4866 of the Creation [1105/6] and in the year 1038 of the Destruction of the Temple, may it be speedily rebuilt in our days; may we be granted to study them [the Prophets] and to teach [them] without affliction or misfortune. May the verse be fulfilled in him: ‘This book of the law shall not depart out of thy mouth, but thou shalt meditate therein day and night, that thou mayest observe to do according to all that is written therein; for then thou shalt make thy ways prosperous, and then thou shalt have good success.’”

Concluding Formulas

Next to the colophon, the copyists usually wrote further concluding formulas containing praises to the Creator or a blessing for the copyist. Various formulas are known, some written out in full and others in abbreviated form, either before or after the colophon. Some formulas of this category are, for example: בד״ח לב״א (= ברוך דיהב חילה לעבדיה בר אמתיה, “Blessed be the All Mercifull Who hath given strength to His servant the son of His maidservant”), בנל״כ ואע״י (= בָּרוּךְ נוֹתֵן לַיָּעֵף כֹּחַ וּלְאֵין אוֹנִים עָצְמָה יַרְבֶּה, “Blessed be He Who giveth strength to the faint and to him that hath no might increaseth power” (Isa. 40:29)); בילא״ו (= בָּרוּךְ ה׳ לְעוֹלָם אָמֵן וְאָמֵן, “Blessed be the Lord forever, Amen”); יֶשַׁע יִקְרָב (“May salvation come soon”); ברוך רחמנא דלצלן מריש ועד כאן (“Blessed be the All Merciful Who helped us from the beginning till now”); תַּם וְנִשְׁלַם שֶׁבַח [תְּהִלָּה] לְבוֹרֵא עוֹלָם (“[It is] finished and completed, praise [or “glory”] unto the Creator of the world”); ת״ל (= תּוֹדָה לָאֵל, “Thanks unto the Lord”); חָזָק הַכּוֹתֵב וְאַמִּיץ הַקּוֹרֵא (“Strengthen the writer and give courage to the reader”); כְּבוֹדְךָ ה׳ (“Thy glory, O Lord!”); and many others. One of the most famous formulas is חֲזַק וְנִתְחַזֵּק, הַסּוֹפֵר יֻזָּק לֹא הַיּוֹם וְלֹא לְעוֹלָם עַד אֲשֶׁר יַעֲלֶה חֲמוֹר בְּסֻלָּם אֲשֶׁר יַעֲקֹב אָבִינוּ חָלַם (“Be strong and let us be strengthened, may the writer not come to any harm, neither today, nor ever after, until the ass ascends the ladder, of which Jacob our father dreamt”), which is found first in Ashkenazi manuscripts but which may have its origin in anti-Muslim polemics (cf. A. Altmann, in *Studies in Mysticism and Religion presented to G. Scholem* (1967), 1–33). Copyists usually inserted their names in this formula as well.

The Oldest Colophon

The most ancient colophon known is at the end of a manuscript of prophetical books of the Bible, found in the Karaite Synagogue of Cairo. It was written by Moses b. Asher in Tiberias in the year 827 after the destruction of the Temple (895/6 C.E.). This lengthy colophon contains all the details and rhetorics which are likely to appear in a colophon. In Ashkenazi manuscripts, the tendency is to write the colophon in very large letters. According to *Sefer Ḥasidim* (ed. Wistinetzki-Freimann, (1924), no. 700), it is forbidden to write the colophon in the actual manuscript of the biblical text. Colophons were also written in the form of poems, especially during the late Middle Ages, with the name of the copyist or the owner in acrostics. At times one can find in the colophon other valuable details, such as the time taken by the copyist (*Maḥzor Worms*, Jerusalem National Library, Ms. Heb. 4° 781) in the colophon of the year 1272 (it was copied in 44 weeks); the salary of the copyist; his adventures and biography; echoes of historical events and valuable information for the criticism of the text, the condition and quality of the original from which the copy was made, working conditions. Occasionally the copyist apologizes for mistakes made. The information as to whether the manuscript was copied by a professional copyist or not is naturally of importance for the criticism of the text. Besides the colophons of copyists, those of masoretes and punctuators in biblical and liturgic manuscripts are also found. In case the copyist also wrote the masorah and punctuated the manuscript, he usually pointed this out explicitly, as in a Jerusalem manuscript (Heb. 8° 2238): "I, Isaac ben Abraham ha-Levi, have written, punctuated, and added the masorah, with the aid of the Almighty, in the year 1418 of the Seleucid era [1106/7 C.E.]." The colophons of masoretes are sometimes hidden in letter decorations of the masorah. On rare occasions, the proofreader wrote the colophon. Those who completed the missing parts of manuscripts sometimes added their own colophons.

[Malachi Beit-Arie]

In Printed Books

When books were first printed, the colophon was used by the printer to convey information about himself and his assistants and about the date of the beginning and/or finishing of printing, as was the practice of manuscript copyists. It often contained apologies for mistakes or self-praise for their absence and sometimes, paeans in honor of the new and wonderful art of printing. One also finds in colophons the name of the ruler under whose protection the production took place, thanks to financial backers of the venture, the number of copies printed, and so on. The Jewish printer also used the colophon to give thanks to God for permitting him to accomplish his holy task and to pray that he might be enabled to continue his work and witness the restoration of the Temple. Warnings to respect the printers' copyright for a stated number of years, with references to the sanctions of rabbinic law, such as excommunication, were also inserted in the colophon. These appeared later in the approbations (see *Haskamot*). The formulas were much the same as those used in manuscripts. For the date the Jewish era was normally used, the year being given in general by complicated chronograms, which lead to much confusion in determining the exact dates.

The colophon in printed books is a source not only of bibliography but of the history of printing and Jewish genealogy in general, e.g., the colophon of Judah Halevi's *Kuzari* (Fano, 1506), which provides important data on the Yaḥya family. Colophons varied in size: in Rashi's commentary on the Pentateuch published by Soncino (Rimini, c. 1525) the colophon occupies a whole page. The length and shape was influenced by the space available, the idea being that, as in the Scroll of the Law (Sof. 1:12), no blank space must be left at the end. In works appearing in several volumes one occasionally finds a different colophon at the end of each volume, e.g., Meshullam Cusi's *Turim* (Pieve di Sacco, 1475 and after). Colophons were sometimes rhymed verse with an acrostic giving the name of the printer or even the proofreader.

The type used for the colophon was sometimes larger than that in the text, e.g., the Augsburg *Turim* (1540) or Ẓahalon's *Yesha Elohim* (Venice, 1595). Sometimes the colophon was printed in the shape of funnel, diamond, goblet, pyramid, or, very often, an inverted cone, the lines tapering off to a short line or a word. At a later stage the more elaborate title pages and approbations made the use of colophons superfluous.

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COLORADO, U.S. state. Colorado was still an untamed wilderness when the discovery of gold near Pike's Peak in 1858 brought the area to the nation's attention. By the spring of 1859, fortune seekers began to arrive in droves. During the "big excitement," as the year of the gold discovery was called, at least 12 Jews of German descent migrated to Colorado to join the hunt for freedom, new opportunities, and wealth. Few Jews were miners, but most established small businesses in new towns and mining camps throughout Colorado. The first Rosh Hashanah service was held in Denver in 1859, and as men married and children were born, the fledgling Jewish community began to stabilize. Colorado Jews soon established a burial society, and in 1872 B'nai B'rith was founded in *Denver followed by the incorporation of Congregation Emanuel in 1874. Smaller Jewish communities were established in towns around the state such as Leadville, Cripple Creek, Central City, Colorado Springs, Trinidad, Ft. Collins, and Boulder, and synagogues were formed in each of these towns.

Jews became a vital component in the economic, social, and political development of Colorado. Fred Salomon opened the first general mercantile company in Colorado in 1859, David May located the first store of what was to become the May Company chain in Irwin, Colorado, in the 1870s, and in 1910 Jesse Shwayder and his brothers opened a small luggage factory that became one of the largest producers of luggage in America – the Samsonite Corporation. Wolfe Londoner, Denver's Jewish mayor, took office in 1889 and Simon *Guggenheim, part of the illustrious family whose fortune was rooted in mining activity in Leadville, Colorado, served as Colorado's only Jewish senator from 1906 to 1912.

By the turn of the century, Colorado had also become a mecca for health-seekers, primarily victims of tuberculo-

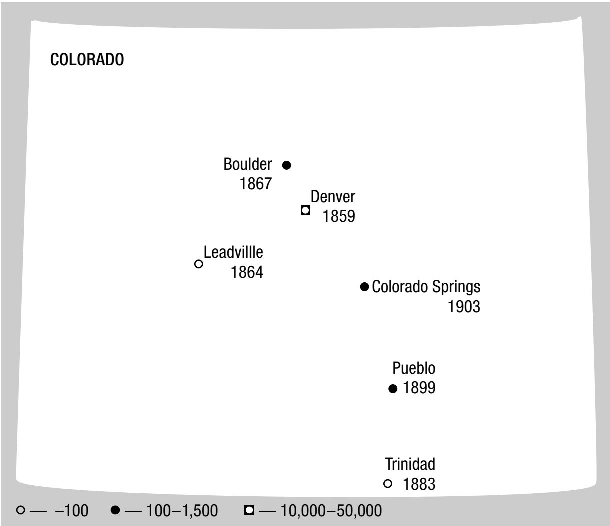

Total Jewish population of Colorado	**65,000**
% of Jews in general population of Colorado	**1.70**
% of Colorado Jews in Jewish population of U.S.	**1.10**

Jewish communities in Colorado and dates of establishment. Population figures for 2001.

sis, and was nicknamed the World's Sanitorium. The Jewish community was the first to step forward with aid for consumptives. Frances Wisebart *Jacobs, known as "Colorado's Mother of Charities," spearheaded a movement that resulted in the founding of National Jewish Hospital for Consumptives, largely by German Reform Jews, which opened in 1899. A large percentage of the health-seekers were East European Jews, who flocked to Colorado after 1900 and significantly augmented the state's Jewish population and established Denver's west side Orthodox Jewish community. In 1904, a second Jewish sanitorium, the Jewish Consumptives' Relief Society, was founded by East European Jews who wished to provide a more traditional Jewish setting for its patients. Both hospitals gave their services free of charge, served patients from throughout the United States, and were formally nonsectarian, although the vast majority of patients at both sanatoria were Jewish.

From the first, most of Colorado's Jews resided in its capital, the "Queen City" of Denver, although active Jewish congregations still exist in Boulder, Colorado Springs, Pueblo, Ft. Collins, Greeley, and Grand Junction, and newer small congregations have been established in the resort towns of Aspen, Vail, Steamboat Springs, Breckenridge, and Durango. While metro Denver hosts nearly 25 congregations, Boulder now claims five synagogues as well as a growing Jewish day school. Chabad is active in most Colorado communities. A small group of Jews was active in Aspen from its beginnings as a mining town. Hyman Avenue, one of the central thoroughfares in Aspen, is named in honor of Jewish pioneer David Hyman, an early investor. Because of their beautiful mountain locations, both Aspen and the much newer ski town of Vail have been popular sites for many national Jewish conferences and meetings.

A wide array of Jewish religious, cultural, and educational institutions abound. Denver hosts several day schools. Hillel Academy, the oldest of the day schools, was organized in 1953 as an Orthodox elementary school; Herzl Day School is described as a community Jewish day school; the Denver Academy of Torah is a Modern Orthodox elementary school. On the high school level, Yeshiva Toras Chaim is an Orthodox yeshivah high school for young men with a talmudic college-level religious studies program as well, and Beth Jacob High School serves young Jewish women. The Rocky Mountain Hebrew Academy (RMHA) is a co-ed private Jewish day school for secondary school students. In the late 1990s, Herzl and RMHA combined forces to open the new Denver Campus for Jewish Education. The Central Agency for Jewish Education serves as a coordinating agency for a number of Jewish educational programs in the area, and the Center for Judaic Studies at the University of Denver provides a variety of courses in Jewish studies for college students as well as housing the Rocky Mountain Jewish Historical Society and Beck Archives, and the Holocaust Awareness Institute. The Hillel Council of Colorado sponsors Hillel branches for Jewish students at the University of Colorado at Boulder, CU – Denver, Colorado State University, and the University of Denver.

Today, Colorado also hosts many charitable and social service organizations, some with a long history such as the Allied Jewish Federation of Colorado, B'nai B'rith, Hadassah, the National Council of Jewish Women, the American Jewish Committee, The Anti-Defamation League, the Jewish Family Service, and Shalom Park, an award-winning continuum retirement complex and nursing home. The last formal population survey conducted in 1998 estimated the Jewish population of the state as approximately 63,000, and in 2004, informal estimates placed the Denver-Boulder population alone at between 65,000 and 70,000.

[Jeanne E. Abrams (2nd ed.)]

COLORNI, VITTORE (1912–), Italian jurist. Born in Mantua, he lectured on the history of Italian law at the University of Ferrara, where he was appointed professor in 1956. Colorni was much esteemed as a pioneer in the study of the legal situation of the Jews in Italy from the Roman period to medieval times. In his major work, *Legge ebraica e leggi locali* (1945), Colorni examined the special status of the Jews and how far Jewish private law was recognized in Italy, tracing the history of rabbinical courts in the medieval Italian states. Colorni also wrote many articles on Mantuan Jewish history, on the names and history of ancient Jewish families, and on subjects of general interest, including "Teologi cristiani dell' Ottocento, precursori del Sionismo" (RMI, 21 (1955), 170–85) and the books, *Gli ebrei nel sistema del diritto comune fino alla* *prima emancipazione* (1956) and *L'uso del greco nella liturgia del giudaismo ellenistico* (1964).

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[Alfredo Mordechai Rabello / Alfredo Rabello (2nd ed.)]

COLUMBUS, capital of Ohio, U.S. The Jewish population of Columbus and the rest of Franklin County was estimated at 22,000 out of a total of 1,080,000 (roughly 2% of the total population) in 2001. Chosen for its central location, Columbus was founded in 1812 to serve as the state capital and was incorporated as a city in 1834. By 1840, the first Jewish families, the Nusbaums and the Gundersheimers, settled in the city. They had emigrated from the village of Mittelsinn in the northwest corner of Bavaria (Lower Franconia), and they earned their living in Columbus as peddlers and merchants. They were soon joined by a few other families from Mittelsinn and elsewhere in Germany. In 1851 the first congregation, B'nai Jeshurun, was organized. Orthodox services were held in a variety of locations and were led by educated laymen such as Simon Lazarus, who volunteered to serve as the new congregation's first religious leader. The following year, the city's first Jewish cemetery was established. By 1868, religious tensions led to a split in the small community, and 19 families organized a Reform congregation, B'nai Israel (now Temple Israel). Those supporting Reform included all of the surviving founders of B'nai Jeshurun, men who were now prosperous and well-established Columbus merchants. Within two years, B'nai Israel hired the city's first full-time ordained rabbi and dedicated the city's first synagogue building. Soon thereafter, B'nai Jeshurun folded and its members joined B'nai Israel. The growth of the congregation to over 100 families required a larger synagogue, which was completed in 1904 among the grand homes of the city's Olde Towne East neighborhood.

The arrival of Jews from Eastern Europe beginning in the 1880s brought greater diversity to religious life. In 1889, Agudas Achim was incorporated as an Orthodox congregation, formalizing a *minyan* that had been meeting for several years. Other Orthodox congregations developed to represent a particular ethnic group or style of worship. Those familiar with the Polish-Sephardi ritual (instead of the Ashkenazi ritual in place at Agudas Achim) organized Beth Jacob congregation in 1897. Hungarian immigrants formed Tifereth Israel in 1901. In 1913, another group desiring to use the Polish-Sephardi ritual created Ahavas Sholom. These congregations initially lacked the wealth and resources of Temple Israel. Their services took place in locations in the impoverished neighborhood where most East European Jews lived, immediately south and east of downtown. Agudas Achim dedicated its first synagogue building in 1896, moving to a larger structure in 1907. In 1908, the congregation hired its first ordained rabbi. Beth Jacob laid the cornerstone for its first synagogue in 1909. Tifereth Israel established its first permanent house of worship in 1915, while a converted stable next door to Agudas Achim served as home to Ahavas Sholom. Tifereth Israel joined the Conservative movement in 1922 and built a synagogue in 1927 in Olde Towne East. The structure, with additions and renovations in subsequent years, remains Tifereth Israel's home. It is the oldest synagogue building in continuous use in Columbus.

After World War II, most Jews moved farther east into the prosperous suburban enclave of Bexley and the surrounding Columbus neighborhoods of Berwick and Eastmoor. This area is still home to the greatest concentration of Jewish institutions: the Leo Yassenoff Jewish Center, Wexner Heritage Village (a care and housing facility for the elderly), Jewish Family Services, the Columbus Community Kollel, as well as synagogues Agudas Achim, Ahavas Sholom, and Beth Jacob. The Orthodox congregation Torat Emet was established in Bexley in 2001. Agudas Achim joined the Conservative movement in 2004. Although the East Side remained the heart of the Columbus Jewish community, in the early 21st century a majority of Jewish households lived in the suburban and fast-growing northern section of Franklin County. Temple Israel moved to the Far East Side of Columbus in 1959, and two more recent Reform congregations are located in northern Franklin County suburbs. Beth Tikvah, founded in 1961, is in Worthington. Temple Beth Shalom, founded in 1977, is in New Albany. Most of the Jews living in the northern suburbs, however, were unaffiliated and did not actively participate in Jewish communal organizations.

In the early 21st century, Columbus natives represented only a minority of the Jewish community. Most Jews had moved to the area, with steady population growth accelerating in the decades after World War II. Between 1975 and 2001, the Jewish population of Franklin County grew by an estimated 60 percent and included the resettlement of more than 1,400 Jews from the former Soviet Union. This rapid influx made the dynamics of the Columbus Jewish community more akin to those of quickly growing Southern and Western U.S. cities than to other Ohio communities. In fact, at the beginning of the 21st century, the Columbus Jewish community was on the verge of overtaking Cincinnati as the second-largest in the state after Cleveland. New Jewish institutions were emerging. A second Jewish newspaper, *The New Standard*, began publication in 2003, in competition with *The Ohio Jewish Chronicle*, which started in 1922. The Columbus Jewish Day School, an egalitarian elementary school modeled on the Heschel School in New York, opened in 1998 as an alternative to Columbus Torah Academy, an Orthodox K-12 day school in operation since 1958.

In the early years of the community, many Jews in Columbus earned their living in retail activities. Simon Lazarus' descendants developed his clothing store into a major department-store chain in the Midwest which continued to bear the Lazarus name until 2005, when the stores were merged into Macy's. In the early 21st century, retail and real-estate development continued as important businesses for Columbus Jews, though many members of the community were involved in professions such as law and medicine. As a center of government, insurance, and education, Columbus provided employment opportunities for the highly educated Jewish community. In particular, Ohio State University has attracted many Jewish faculty and students (it was estimated that more than 3,500 Jewish students were attending Ohio State in 2005), and the university has a well-respected Jewish studies program, employing distinguished Jewish scholars such as Marvin Fox. The campus area is host to student centers from both the Hillel and Chabad organizations.

The Jewish community has enjoyed friendly relations with its non-Jewish neighbors. Antisemitism was restricted primarily to social organizations and was far more prevalent at the beginning of the 20th century than at the beginning of the 21st. Jews have taken prominent roles in local government in both the Republican and Democratic parties, most notably U.S. Congressman Robert N. Shamansky (Democrat, 1981–83), Columbus City Council members Melville D. Frank (Republican, 1930–37) and Maurice D. Portman (Democrat, 1966–96), Franklin County Treasurer Philip Goldslager (Democrat, 1967–73), and state representative and senator David Goodman (Republican, from 1998). For decades, Jews have regularly served as judges in elected and administrative courts in Franklin County. The community has gained international prominence through the Jewish philanthropy of Samuel M. *Melton (1900–1993), Leslie H. Wexner (1937–), and members of the Schottenstein family. Notable achievers who grew up in Columbus include cancer researcher Dr. Judah Folkman (1933–), author and columnist Bob Greene (1947–), and cabaret performer Michael Feinstein (1956–).

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[Michael Meckler (2nd ed.)]

COLUMBUS, CHRISTOPHER (1451–1500), discoverer of America, thought by some to have been of Marrano extraction. He was himself mysterious when speaking of his origin, apparently having something in his background which he wished to conceal. However, he boasted cryptically about his connection with King David and had a penchant for Jewish and Marrano society. Spanish scholars have attempted to explain the fact that this great hero of Spanish history was almost certainly born in Genoa, Italy, by the assumption that his parents were Jewish or ex-Jewish refugees from Spain. In fact, the name Colon (or Colombo) was not uncommon among Italian Jews of the late medieval period. A document recently discovered suggests that Columbus was of Majorcan origin, and almost certainly belonged to a Marrano family: but the authenticity of the document still remains to be proved. On the other hand, Columbus' mysterious signature, which he adjured his son always to use, is susceptible to a Hebraic interpretation, which is no more improbable than the many other solutions that have been proposed. It is remarkable moreover that Columbus began his account of his voyage with a reference to the expulsion of the Jews from Spain; that in one document he refers to the Second Temple in Jerusalem by the Hebraic term "Second House"; that he dates its destruction as being in the year 68, in accordance with the Jewish tradition; and that he seems to have deliberately postponed the day of his sailing until August 3, while all was ready for the purpose on the previous day, which was the unpropitious fast day of the Ninth of Av commemorating the destruction of the Temple. The mystery regarding Columbus' origins is largely the outcome of his own mendacity: and as a result it is equally impossible to exclude or to confirm the hypothesis that he was descended from a Jewish or ex-Jewish family.

The fact that he ultimately received the patronage of the Spanish sovereigns for his expedition was in large measure due to the enthusiasm and help of a group of New Christians around the Aragonese court, notably Luis de *Santangel and Gabriel *Sanchez as well as to some extent Isaac *Abrabanel. It was in fact to Santangel and Sanchez that Columbus wrote the famous account of his success on his return, which was immediately published and circulated throughout Europe in two recensions – one addressed to the former, the other to the latter. On his journeys, the explorer used the nautical instruments perfected by Jews such as Joseph *Vecinho, and the nautical tables drawn up by Abraham *Zacuto. It was formerly stated that several of the crew on his first voyage were of Jewish birth, but this was true in fact of only one of them – the interpreter Luis de *Torres, who had been baptized immediately before the expedition set sail.

[Cecil Roth]

The motivations behind Columbus' travels were varied. Alongside Franciscan-Joachimite traditions of the coming Third Age, Columbus had been interested for many years in biblical prophecies. He had collected them long before his first journey and later on as well, after his discoveries had verified his expectations. These prophecies are collected in his *Libro de las profecías*, where he uses well-known Catholic medieval authors. The chiliastic plans included not only the liberation of Jerusalem but the establishment of the Temple. The gold brought from the New World was supposed to serve for the coming crusade.

Unlike his entirely negative attitude to the Muslims, Columbus saw the Jews and Jewish tradition in a more positive light, as part of the religious quest of humanity.

The discoveries of Columbus were echoed in Jewish sources; a collection of correspondence from 16th century Italy (Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurentiana, Ms. Plut. 88.12 p. 13v) refers to the return of the second expedition (1496). A Hebrew translation of a book describing the discoveries in the New World was made in Voltaggio (near Genoa) in 1557, refering specifically to "the new world found by Columbus."

[Roni Weinstein (2nd ed.)]

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COMA (Koma), HERZ, *dayyan* and leader of the Vienna community at the time of the 1670 expulsion. He was one of the signatories of the letter sent by the community to Manuel Texeira asking him to petition Queen Christina of Sweden to intervene. In another effort he and Leo *Winkler offered the emperor *Leopold I 100,000 florins if he would allow 1,000 Jews to stay in Vienna. After the death of Hirschel *Meyer (c. 1673–75), Coma became the leader of the Viennese Jews who had settled in *Mikulov (Nikolsburg). Acting through the archduchess of Innsbruck, he again endeavored to obtain the return of the Jews to Austria.

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COMAY, MICHAEL SAUL (1908–1987), Israeli diplomat. Born in Cape Town, Comay studied and practiced law in South Africa. He served in the South African Army from 1940 to 1945, reaching the rank of major. From 1946 to 1948 Comay represented the South African Zionist Federation in the political department of the *Jewish Agency, Jerusalem. From 1948 he held several positions in the Ministry for Foreign Affairs and from 1953 to 1957 was Israeli ambassador to Canada. In 1960 Comay was appointed Israel's permanent representative to the UN. He was named political adviser to the minister for foreign affairs in 1967 and was appointed Israeli ambassador to Britain in 1970. Comay's term of office as Israeli ambassador to Great Britain ended in 1973, when he reached the age of retirement.

[Benjamin Jaffe]

COMDEN, BETTY (Elizabeth Cohen; 1919–), U.S. theatrical writer. Born in Brooklyn, New York, Comden studied drama at New York University and graduated with a B.Sc. While a student, she acted with the Washington Square Players. She was a member of "The Revuers," a satirical nightclub act that included, among others, Adolph *Green (1914–2002). Comden went on to write the Broadway scores for *Wonderful Town* (1953), *Peter Pan* (1954), and *Do Re Mi* (1960). She was also the co-librettist for *On the Town* (1944), *Billion Dollar Baby* (1945), *Two on the Aisle* (1951), *Bells Are Ringing* (1956), *Say, Darling* (1958), *Subways Are for Sleeping* (1961), *Fade Out – Fade In* (1964), and *Hallelujah, Baby* (1967).

Joining ASCAP in 1945, she teamed up with Adolph Green as her chief lyrics, libretto, and screenplay collaborator; her main musical collaborators were Leonard *Bernstein, Jule *Styne, Morton Gould, and Andre *Previn. The team of Comden and Green became the longest-running creative partnership in theater history. They wrote the book for the Broadway play *Applause* (1970) as well as the book and lyrics for *On the Twentieth Century* (1978) and *A Doll's Life* (1982). In 1991, they wrote the lyrics for the Broadway musical *The Will Rogers Follies*. As performers, they appeared in *On the Town*, and later did an evening at the Golden Theater, entitled *A Party with Betty Comden and Adolph Green*, composed of material from their own shows and movies, and from their act, "The Revuers."

Their many film musicals include *Singin' in the Rain*; *The Band Wagon*; *On the Town*; *Bells Are Ringing*; *It's Always Fair Weather*; *Good News*; and *The Barkleys of Broadway*. Much to the credit of Comden and Green, *Singin' in the Rain* has been named one of the ten best American films ever made and, by a vote of international film critics, was chosen as number three of the ten best films of all time.

Comden's string of longstanding popular songs includes "New York, New York," "Lonely Town," "The Party's Over," "Just in Time," "Ohio," "A Little Bit in Love," "The French Lesson," "Long before I Knew You," "Never-Neverland," "Make Someone Happy," and "I'm Just Taking My Time."

Comden and Green were members of the Council of the Dramatists' Guild, were inducted into the Theater Hall of Fame and the Songwriters Hall of Fame, and received the Mayor of New York's Certificate of Excellence.

In 1953, they won the Writers Guild of America's Screen Award for *Singin' in the Rain* for Best Written American Musical and, in 1961, the same award for *Bells Are Ringing*. In 1991, they were the recipients of the Kennedy Center Honors Lifetime Achievement Award. In 2001, they received the Writers Guild of America's Laurel Award for Screen Writing Achievement. And in 2002, the Dramatists' Guild presented the duo with its third Lifetime Achievement Award in Theatrical Writing (the previous recipients included Arthur Miller and Edward Albee).

Comden received the Theatre World Award (1945), the Woman of the Year Award from the Alumni Association of New York University, and the Kaufmann Center's Creative Arts Award (2003).

As for Comden's own work, *Wonderful Town* won a Tony Award for Best Musical (1953). *A Party* received an Obie Award when it was first performed (1958). *Hallelujah, Baby* won two Tonys – Best Musical, and Best Composer and Lyricist (1968). *Applause* won the Tony in 1970 for Best Musical. In 1978, *On the Twentieth Century* won Tonys for Best Original Score and Best Book of a Musical. And in 1991, *The Will Rogers Follies* won a Tony for Best Original Score, and the cast recording won the Grammy Award for Best Musical Show album. In 1995, Comden published her autobiography, entitled *Off Stage*.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: A.M. Robinson, *Betty Comden and Adolph Green: A Bio-Biography* (1993).

[Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

COMISSIONA, SERGIU (1928–), Israeli and American conductor of Romanian birth. Comissiona studied violin and conducting at the Bucharest Conservatory, making his conducting debut at the age of 17. After an early career as a violinist, he was appointed music director of the Romanian State Opera in Bucharest (1955–59). He immigrated to Israel in 1959, where he was music director of the Haifa SO (1959–66) and founder-conductor of the Ramat Gan Chamber Orchestra (1960–67). In 1963 he appeared in North America as conductor of the Israel Chamber Orchestra. A familiar figure in more than 25 countries, Comissiona led virtually all of the world's major symphony orchestras in performances acclaimed for their interpretative fire and musical and orchestral discipline. As music director, he transformed the Baltimore SO into a truly professional ensemble (1969–84) and brought the Vancouver SO back to musical health (1991–2000). He frequently conducted opera, chiefly at Covent Garden and the New York City Opera. In the early 2000s he held several important musical posts, among them as principal guest conductor of the Jerusalem SO and the Georges Enescu Bucharest Philharmonic. As conductor laureate of the Asian Youth Orchestra, he led the ensemble on its tour in the Far East (2004). Comissiona has a clear preference for Romantic and Impressionist repertory. Among his recordings are works by Saint-Saëns, Ravel, Britten, Blomdahl, and Wirén. He received honors and awards from the Romanian and French governments as well as from Johns Hopkins University and the Peabody Conservatory. Comissiona and his wife became American citizens on July 4, 1976.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Grove online; Baker's Biographical Dictionary (1997); "Comissiona's 'Vitamins of Happiness," in: *Opera News*, 52 (July 1987) 26–27.

[Naama Ramot (2nd ed.)]

COMITÉ DES DELEGATIONS JUIVES (**Committee of Jewish Delegations**), body established at the end of World War I, at the initiative of the Zionist Organization, to alert the Paris peace conference to the grave situation of the Jews in various European countries and to obtain international guarantees for safeguarding their rights (see *Versailles, Treaty of). Apart from the French and British delegations – who refused to join the Committee on account of its "nationalist" demands – the Committee included all the Jewish delegations sent to Paris to bring the Jewish demands before the peace conference. Among them were the representatives of the Jewish National Assemblies, Councils, and Committees formed in most East and Southeast European Jewish communities after the war – the Jewish minorities whose fate was at stake. Other delegations represented the American and Canadian Jewish Congresses, the Constituent Assembly of Ereẓ Israel Jews, the World Zionist Organization, the American Jewish Committee, and B'nai B'rith, among others. Since most of these delegations had been elected on a democratic basis, the Committee could describe itself as representing 12 million Jews.

The memorandum of the Committee, dated May 10, 1919, but officially submitted on June 10, 1919, called upon the peace conference to include in the treaties with the new states, and those whose territory was to be considerably enlarged, specific provisions guaranteeing individual rights to the members of the minorities living in these countries, and collective national rights to each minority as a group (see *minority rights). The memorandum called, among other things, for the right of all inhabitants to protection of life, liberty, and property and of freedom of religion; the right of all citizens to enjoy equal civil, religious, national, and political rights; the right of the national minorities to use their own language in their public activities and to be recognized as distinct and autonomous organizations having the right to establish, manage, and control schools and religious, educational, charitable, and social institutions; to receive a proportionate part of the state and municipal budgets for these institutions; to tax their members; and have proportional representation in state, municipal, and elective bodies. These provisions were to be embodied in the fundamental laws of the country and recognized as obligations of international concern, subject to the supervision of the *League of Nations; furthermore, every state which was a party to the treaties, and every minority affected by their violation, was to have the right of appeal to the League or to any Tribunal that might be established by the League. The memorandum was drafted in general terms, referring to all minorities in the newly created or enlarged states, and was not restricted to Jewish minorities only. It had a profound effect upon the minority treaties as they were eventually adopted. Not all of the Committee demands were accepted; thus, the term "national minority" was replaced by the more cautious phrase "ethnic, linguistic, and religious minority"; nor were the minorities recognized as autonomous bodies, as the Committee had proposed, though they did grant them certain rights relating to language and culture, which – by their very nature – were group and not individual rights.

In another memorandum, the Committee demanded of the peace conference to hold the countries concerned responsible for the pogroms that might have taken place within their boundaries since the outbreak of the war, or might take place subsequently, and to pay compensation to the victims. A third memorandum supported the historic rights of the Jewish people to Ereẓ Israel and called for the creation of political, administrative, and economic conditions that would ensure the establishment of the Jewish National Home.

The Committee was not disbanded after the Peace Conference, and it remained in existence up to 1936, when the *World Jewish Congress succeeded it. Throughout this period the Committee was active in safeguarding the rights granted to Jews in the minority treaties, in combating antisemitism, and in promoting the participation of Jews as Jews in the work of international nongovernmental organizations. In the early postwar years the Committee concentrated on the struggle against the wave of anti-Jewish pogroms in Eastern Europe, especially the Ukraine. It also intervened to protect the right to nationality or to reasonable conditions for its acquisition by naturalization in several East and Central European countries, against the expulsion of Jewish war refugees, and against the *numerus clausus at the universities in such countries as Poland and Romania. The Committee was instrumental in the establishment of the World Jewish Aid Conference (1920), which was concerned with the economic rehabilitation of Jews in different countries. The Committee was also very active in assisting the defense of Shalom Schwarzbard, who in 1927 shot and killed *Petlyura to avenge the murder of Ukrainian Jews.

In 1933 the Committee took energetic steps following the rise of Hitler when the first Nazi anti-Jewish discriminatory legislation was introduced. Since Germany was not among the states on which the peace conference had imposed the system of international protection of minorities, there was no legal basis for bringing up before the League of Nations the question of the position of the Jews in the whole of Germany. The Committee therefore had to rely on the limited framework of the German-Polish Convention of 1922, under which Germany undertook, for a transitional period of 15 years, to guarantee the rights of all the minorities in Upper Silesia in line with the provisions of the minority treaties. On May 17, 1933, two petitions were submitted to the League of Nations: one signed by the Committee and other Jewish institutions and organizations, and the second by Franz Bernheim, a store clerk in Upper Silesia who had been dismissed under the new anti-Jewish legislation (see *Bernheim Petition). Despite all the efforts made by the Nazi representatives to prevent discussion of the affair, and even have it removed from the agenda, the Committee succeeded in having the petition publicly debated at the League. All the speakers denounced the persecution of the Jews in Germany and energetically condemned curtailment of Jewish rights.

This was the first time after Hitler's accession to power that his regime was censured from the platform of the League of Nations. Nazi Germany was forced to honor the rights of the Jews in Upper Silesia until 1937, the expiration date of the German-Polish agreement. In October 1933, as a result of the Committee's efforts, the League of Nations Assembly held a searching debate on the oppression of the Jews in Nazi Germany and decided on the appointment of a High Commissioner for Refugees (Jewish and others) from Germany; the Committee took an active part in the work of the Commissioner through its membership on the Advisory Council set up to assist him. Owing to the efforts of the Committee and other Jewish organizations, the Jews of the Saar Territory were allowed to leave the territory and take their belongings with them within one year from its return to Germany resulting from the plebiscite held in 1935.

The Committee was headed, successively, by Julian *Mack, Louis *Marshall, and Nahum *Sokolow. Its secretary-general was Leo *Motzkin, from 1924 also acting president; upon the latter's death, in 1933, Nahum *Goldmann was elected president and, in 1935, Stephen S. *Wise. During its period of existence, the Committee published a wide range of books, pamphlets, and bulletins on the Jewish problem in various languages.

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[Nathan Feinberg]

COMMAGENE, small kingdom on the upper Euphrates, between Cilicia and Armenia (modern southeastern Turkey). In 17 C.E. Commagene became a Roman province. However, the monarchy was restored by Claudius (41) and Antiochus IV Epiphanes reigned there until 72, when the land was reannexed to Syria by Vespasian. Several marital ties existed between the rulers of Commagene and the Herods of Judea. Tigranes, great-grandson of Herod the Great, married his son Alexander to Jotape, daughter of King Antiochus of Commagene. Drusilla, daughter of Agrippa I, was to marry Epiphanes, the son of Antiochus, but this agreement was canceled when Epiphanes refused to convert to Judaism. Antiochus of Commagene was among the kings entertained by Agrippa I at Tiberias, a gathering that aroused the suspicions of Marsus, Roman governor of Syria. During the Jewish rebellion of 66–70 C.E., contingents from Commagene were among those which fought for Rome.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Jos., Wars, 2:500; 3:68; 5:461; 7:219–25; Jos., Ant., 18:53, 140; 19:276, 338, 355; 20:139; Klausner, Bayit Sheni, 4 (1950^{2}), 292.

[Isaiah Gafni]

COMMANDMENTS, THE 613 (Heb. תַּרְיַ״ג מִצְוֹת, *taryag mitzvot*). The total number of biblical commandments (precepts and prohibitions) is given in rabbinic tradition as 613. R. Simlai, a Palestinian teacher, states: "613 commandments were revealed to Moses at Sinai, 365 being prohibitions equal in number to the solar days, and 248 being mandates corresponding in number to the limbs of the human body" (Mak. 23b). (See the table "613 Commandments.") The number 613 usually known by the Hebrew mnemonic, תַּרְיַ״ג (Ta-RYa-G – ת = 400, ר = 200, י = 10, ג = 3), is found as early as tannaitic times in the sayings of Simeon b. Eleazar (Mekh. Yitro, Ba-Ḥodesh, 5, only in ed. by I.H. Weiss (1865), 74 [75a]), Simeon b. Azzai (Sif. Deut 76 where the 365 prohibitions are mentioned), and Eleazar b. Yose the Galilean (Mid. Hag. to Gen. 15:1) and is apparently based upon an ancient tradition (see Tanh. B.,

A list of the commandments as enumerated by Maimonides. The subheadings do not appear in *Sefer ha-Mitzvot* but are added here as a guide to the general reader. It should be noted that the biblical sources are given according to the rabbinic interpretation, which is sometimes not the obvious meaning of the verse cited.

MANDATORY COMMANDMENTS		
	God	
1. Ex. 20:2 3. Deut. 6:5 4. Deut. 6:13 6. Deut. 10:20 7. Deut. 10:20 9. Lev. 22:32	The Jew is required to [1]believe that God exists and to [2]acknowledge His unity; to [3]love, [4]fear, and [5]serve Him. He is also commanded to [6]cleave to Him (by associating with and imitating the wise) and to [7]swear only by His name. One must [8]imitate God and [9]sanctify His name.	2. Deut. 6:4 5. Ex. 23:25; Deut. 11:13 (Deut. 6:13 and also 13:5) 8. Deut. 28:9
	Torah	
10. Deut. 6:7 11. Deut. 6:7 12. Deut. 6:8 13. Deut. 6:8 16. Deut. 31:12 17. Deut. 17:18 18. Deut. 31:19	The Jew must [10]recite the Shema each morning and evening and [11]study the Torah and teach it to others. He should bind tefillin on his [12]head and [13]his arm. He should make [14]ẓiẓit for his garments and [15]fix a mezuzah on the door. The people are to be [16] assembled every seventh year to hear the Torah read and [17]the king must write a special copy of the Torah for himself. [18]Every Jew should have a Torah scroll. One should [19]praise God after eating.	14. Num. 15:38 15. Deut. 6:9 19. Deut. 8:10.
	Temple and the Priests	
20. Ex. 25:8 22. Num. 18:4 24. Ex. 30:19 25. Ex. 27:21 26. Num. 6:23 30. Lev. 6:3 31. Num. 5:2 33. Ex. 28:2 34. Num. 7:9 35. Ex. 30:31	The Jews should [20]build a Temple and [21]respect it. It must be [22]guarded at all times and the [23]Levites should perform their special duties in it. Before entering the Temple or participating in its service, the priests [24]must wash their hands and feet; they must also [25]light the candelabrum daily. The priests are required to [26]bless Israel and to [27]set the shewbread and frankincense before the Ark. Twice daily they must [28]burn the incense on the golden altar. Fire shall be kept burning on the altar [29]continually and the ashes should be [30]removed daily. Ritually unclean persons must be [31]kept out of the Temple. Israel [32]should honor its priests, who must be [33]dressed in special priestly raiment. The priests should [34]carry the Ark on their shoulders, and the holy anointing oil [35]must be prepared according to its special formula. The priestly families should officiate in [36]rotation. In honor of certain dead close relatives, the priests should [37]make themselves ritually unclean. The high priest may marry [38]only a virgin.	21. Lev. 19:30 23. Num. 18:23 27. Ex. 25:30 28. Ex. 30:7 29. Lev. 6:6 32. Lev. 21:8 36. Deut. 18:6–8 37. Lev. 21:2–3 38. Lev. 21:13
	Sacrifices	
39. Num. 28:3 43. Lev. 23:36 44. Lev. 23:10 46. Lev. 23:17 47. Num. 29:1–2 49. Lev. 16 50. Num. 29:13 51. Num. 29:36	The [39]tamid sacrifice must be offered twice daily and the [40]high priest must also offer a meal-offering twice daily. An additional sacrifice (musaf) should be offered [41]every Sabbath, [42]on the first of every month, and [43]on each of the seven days of Passover. On the second day of Passover [44]a meal offering of the first barley must also be brought. On Shavuot a [45]musaf must be offered and [46]two loaves of bread as a wave offering. The additional sacrifice must also be made on [47]Rosh Ha-Shanah and [48]on the Day of Atonement when the [49]Avodah must also be performed. On every day of the festival of [50]Sukkot a musaf must be brought as well as on the [51]eighth day thereof. Every male Jew should make a [52]pilgrimage to the Temple three times	40. Lev. 6:13 41. Num. 28:9 42. Num. 28:11 45. Num. 28:26–27 48. Num. 29:7–8 52. Ex. 23:14

53. Ex. 34:23	a year and [53]appear there during the three pilgrim Festivals. One should	
Deut. 16:16	[54]rejoice on the Festivals.	54. Deut. 16:14
55. Ex. 12:6	On the 14th of Nisan one should [55]slaughter the paschal lamb and [56]eat	
56. Ex. 12:8	of its roasted flesh on the night of the 15th. Those who were ritually	
57. Num. 9:11	impure in Nisan should slaughter the paschal lamb on [57]the 14th of	
	Iyyar and eat it with [58]maẓẓah and bitter herbs.	
59. Num. 10:10;	Trumpets should be [59]sounded when the festive sacrifices are brought	58. Num. 9:11;
Num. 10:9.	and also in times of tribulation.	Ex. 12:8
60. Lev. 22:27	Cattle to be sacrificed must be [60]at least eight days old and [61]without	61. Lev. 22:21
62. Lev. 2:13	blemish. All offerings must be [62]salted. It is a mitzvah to perform the	
64. Lev. 6:18	ritual of [63]the burnt offering, [64]the sin offering, [65]the guilt offering, [66]the	63. Lev. 1:2
66. Lev. 3:1	peace offering, and [67]the meal offering.	65. Lev. 7:1
68. Lev. 4:13	Should the Sanhedrin err in a decision, its members [68]must bring a sin	67. Lev. 2:1; 6:7
	offering which offering must also be brought [69]by a person who has	
69. Lev. 4:27	unwittingly transgressed a karet prohibition (i.e., one which, if done	
	deliberately, would incur karet). When in doubt as to whether one has	
70. Lev. 5:17–18	transgressed such a prohibition, a [70]"suspensive" guilt offering must	
	be brought.	
71. Lev. 5:15, 21–25;	For [71]stealing or swearing falsely and for other sins of a like nature, a	
19:20–21	guilt offering must be brought. In special circumstances the sin offering	
	[72]can be according to one's means.	72. Lev. 5:1–11
73. Num. 5:6–7	One must [73]confess one's sins before God and repent for them.	
74. Lev. 15:13–15	A [74]man or [75]a woman who has a seminal issue must bring a sacrifice;	75. Lev. 15:28–29
76. Lev. 12:6	a woman must also bring a sacrifice [76]after childbirth. A leper must	
	[77]bring a sacrifice after he has been cleansed.	77. Lev. 14:10
78. Lev. 27:32	One must [78]tithe one's cattle. The [79]firstborn of clean (i.e., permitted)	79. Ex. 13:2
	cattle are holy and must be sacrificed. The firstborn of man must be	
80. Ex. 22:28;	[80]redeemed. The firstborn of the ass must be [81]redeemed; if not, [82]its	81. Ex. 34:20
Num. 18:15	neck has to be broken.	82. Ex. 13:13
83. Deut. 12:5–5	Animals set aside as offerings [83]must be brought to Jerusalem without	
84. Deut. 12:14	delay and [84]may be sacrificed only in the Temple. Offerings from	
85. Deut. 12:26	outside the land of Israel [85]may also be brought to the Temple.	
86. Deut. 12:15	Sanctified animals [86]which have become blemished must be redeemed.	
87. Lev. 27:33	A beast exchanged for an offering [87]is also holy.	
89. Ex. 29:33	The priests should eat [88]the remainder of the meal offering and [89]the	88. Lev. 6:9
	flesh of sin and guilt offerings; but consecrated flesh which has	
91. Lev. 7:17	become [90]ritually unclean or [91]which was not eaten within its appointed	90. Lev. 7:19
	time must be burned.	
	Vows	
92. Num. 6:5	A Nazirite must [92]let his hair grow during the period of his separation.	
93. Num. 6:18	When that period is over, he must [93]shave his head and bring his	
	sacrifice.	
94. Deut. 23:24	A man must [94]honor his vows and his oaths which a judge can [95]annul	95. Num. 30:3.
	only in accordance with the law.	
	Ritual Purity	
96. Lev. 11:8, and 24	Anyone who touches [96]a carcass or [97]one of the eight species of reptiles	97. Lev. 11:29–31
98. Lev. 11:34	becomes ritually unclean; food becomes unclean by [98]coming into	
	contact with a ritually unclean object. Menstruous women [99]and those	99. Lev. 15:19
100. Lev. 12:2	[100]bedridden after childbirth are ritually impure. A [101]leper, [102]a leprous	102. Lev. 13:51
101. Lev. 13:3	garment, and [103]a leprous house are all ritually unclean. A man having	103. Lev. 14:44

105. Lev. 15:16	[104]a running issue is unclean, as is [105]semen. A woman suffering from	104. Lev. 15:2
106. Lev. 15:19	[106]running issue is also impure. A [107]human corpse is ritually unclean.	
107. Num. 19:14	The purification water (mei niddah) purifies [108]the unclean, but it makes	108. Num. 19:13, 21
109. Lev. 15:16	the clean ritually impure. It is a mitzvah to become ritually clean [109]by	
110. Lev. 14:2	ritual immersion. To become cleansed of leprosy, one [110]must follow	
	the specified procedure and also [111]shave off all of one's hair. Until	111. Lev. 14:9
	cleansed, the leper [112]must be bareheaded with clothing in disarray	112. Lev. 13:45
	so as to be easily distinguishable.	
113. Num. 19:2–9	The ashes of [113]the red heifer are to be used in the process of ritual	
	purification.	
	Donations to the Temple	
114. Lev. 27:2–8	If a person [114]undertakes to give his own value to the Temple, he must	
116. Lev. 27:14	do so. Should a man declare [115]an unclean beast, [116]a house, or [117]a	115. Lev. 27:11–12
	field as a donation to the Temple, he must give their value in money	117. Lev. 27:16, 22–23
	as fixed by the priest. If one unwittingly derives benefit from Temple	
118. Lev. 5:16	property, [118]full restitution plus a fifth must be made.	
119. Lev. 19:24	The fruit of [119]the fourth year's growth of trees is holy and may be eaten	
	only in Jerusalem. When you reap your fields, you must leave [120]the	120. Lev. 19:9
121. Lev. 19:9	corners, [121]the gleanings, [122]the forgotten sheaves, [123]the misformed	122. Deut. 24:19
124. Lev. 19:10	bunches of grapes, and [124]the gleanings of the grapes for the poor.	123. Lev. 19:10
125. Ex. 23:19	The first fruits must be [125]separated and brought to the Temple and	
	you must also [126]separate the great heave offering (terumah) and	126. Deut. 18:4
127. Lev. 27:30;	give it to the priests. You must give [127]one tithe of your produce to	
Num. 18:24	the Levites and separate [128]a second tithe which is to be eaten only	128. Deut. 14:22
	in Jerusalem. The Levites [129]must give a tenth of their tithe to the	129. Num. 18:26
	priests.	
	In the third and sixth years of the seven-year cycle, you should	
130. Deut. 14:28	[130]separate a tithe for the poor instead of the second tithe. A declaration	
131. Deut. 26:13	[131]must be recited when separating the various tithes and [132]when	132. Deut. 26:5
	bringing the first fruits to the Temple.	
133. Num. 15:20	The first portion of the [133]dough must be given to the priest.	
	The Sabbatical Year	
134. Ex. 23:11	In the seventh year (shemittah) everything that grows is [134]ownerless	
135. Ex. 34:21	and available to all; the fields [135]must lie fallow and you may not till	
136. Lev. 25:10	the ground. You must [136]sanctify the Jubilee year (50th) and on the	
	Day of Atonement in that year [137]you must sound the shofar and set	137. Lev. 25:9
	all Hebrew slaves free. In the Jubilee year all land is to be [138]returned	138. Lev. 25:24
139. Lev. 25:29–30	to its ancestral owners and, generally, in a walled city [139]the seller has	
	the right to buy back a house within a year of its sale.	
	Starting from entry into the land of Israel, the years of the Jubilee must	
140. Lev. 25:8.	be [140]counted and announced yearly and septennially.	
141. Deut. 15:3	In the seventh year [141]all debts are annulled but [142]one may exact a	142. Deut. 15:3
	debt owed by a foreigner.	
	Concerning Animals for Consumption	
	When you slaughter an animal, you must [143]give the priest his share	143. Deut. 18:3
	as you must also give him [144]the first of the fleece. When a man	144. Deut. 18:4
145. Lev. 27:21, 28	makes a ḥerem (a special vow), you must [145]distinguish between that	
	which belongs to the Temple (i.e., when God's name was mentioned	
	in the vow) and between that which goes to the priests. To be fit for	
146. Deut. 12:21	consumption, beast and fowl must be [146]slaughtered according to the	

	law, and if they are not of a domesticated species, [147]their blood must	147. Lev. 17:13.
	be covered with earth after slaughter.	
148. Deut. 22:7	Set the parent bird [148]free when taking the nest. Examine [149]beast,	149. Lev. 11:2
150. Deut. 14:11	[150]fowl, [151]locusts, and [152]fish to determine whether they are permitted	151. Lev. 11:21
	for consumption.	152. Lev. 11:9
	Festivals	
153. Ex. 12:2	The Sanhedrin should [153]sanctify the first day of every month and	
Deut. 16:1	reckon the years and the seasons. You must [154]rest on the Sabbath day	154. Ex. 23:12
	and [155]declare it holy at its onset and termination. On the 14th of Nisan	155. Ex. 20:8
156. Ex. 12:15	[156]remove all leaven from your ownership and on the night of the 15th	
157. Ex. 13:8	[157]relate the story of the exodus from Egypt; on that night [158]you must	158. Ex. 12:18
159. Ex. 12:16	also eat maẓẓah. On the [159]first and [160]seventh days of Passover you	160. Ex. 12:16
	must rest. Starting from the day of the first sheaf (16th of Nisan), you	
161. Lev. 23:35	shall [161]count 49 days. You must rest on [162]Shavuot and on [163]Rosh Ha-	163. Lev. 23:24
162. Lev. 23	Shanah; on the Day of Atonement you must [164]fast and [165]rest. You must	165. Lev. 16:29, 31
164. Lev. 16:29	also rest on [166]the first and [167]the eighth day of Sukkot during which	167. Lev. 23:36
166. Lev. 23:35	festival you shall [168]dwell in booths and [169]take the four species. On	168. Lev. 23:42
169. Lev. 23:40	Rosh Ha-Shanah [170]you are to hear the sound of the shofar.	170. Num. 29:1
	Community	
171. Ex. 30:12–13	Every male should [171]give half a shekel to the Temple annually. You	
172. Deut. 18:15	must [172]obey a prophet and [173]appoint a king. You must also [174]obey	173. Deut. 17:15
175. Ex. 23:2	the Sanhedrin; in the case of division, [175]yield to the majority. Judges	174. Deut. 17:11
176. Deut. 16:18	and officials shall be [176]appointed in every town and they shall judge	
	the people [177]impartially.	177. Lev. 19:15
	Whoever is aware of evidence [178]must come to court to testify.	178. Lev. 5:1
	Witnesses shall be [179]examined thoroughly and, if found to be false,	179. Deut. 13:15
180. Deut. 19:19	[180]shall have done to them what they intended to do to the accused.	
	When a person is found murdered and the murderer is unknown, the	
181. Deut. 21:4	ritual of [181]decapitating the heifer must be performed.	
	Six cities of refuge should be [182]established. The Levites, who have	182. Deut. 19:3
183. Num. 35:2	no ancestral share in the land, shall [183]be given cities to live in. You	
	must [184]build a fence around your roof and remove potential hazards	184. Deut. 22:8
	from your home.	
	Idolatry	
	Idolatry and its appurtenances [185]must be destroyed, and a city which	185. Deut. 12:2; 7:5
186. Deut. 13:17	has become perverted must be [186]treated according to the law. You are	
187. Deut. 20:17	commanded to [187]destroy the seven Canaanite nations, and [188]to blot out	188. Deut. 25:19
	the memory of Amalek, and [189]to remember what they did to Israel.	189. Deut. 25:17
	War	
	The regulations for wars other than those commanded in the Torah	
190. Deut. 20:11–12	[190]are to be observed and a priest should be [191]appointed for special	
191. Deut. 20:2	duties in times of war. The military camp must be [192]kept in a sanitary	192. Deut. 23:14–15
193. Deut. 23:14	condition. To this end, every soldier must be [193]equipped with the	
	necessary implements.	
	Social	
194. Lev. 5:23	Stolen property must be [194]restored to its owner. Give [195]charity to the	195. Deut. 15:8;
196. Deut. 15:14	poor. When a Hebrew slave goes free, the owner must [196]give him gifts.	Lev. 25:35–36
197. Ex. 22:24	Lend to [197]the poor without interest; to the foreigner you may [198]lend at	198. Deut. 23:21

	interest. Restore [199]a pledge to its owner if he needs it. Pay the worker	199. Deut. 24:13;
200. Deut. 24:15	his wages [200]on time; [201]permit him to eat of the produce with which	Ex. 22:25
201. Deut. 23:25–26	he is working. You must [202]help unload an animal when necessary, and	202. Ex. 23:5
203. Deut. 22:4	also [203]help load man or beast. Lost property [204]must be restored to its	204. Deut. 22:1;
205. Lev. 19:17	owner. You are required [205]to reprove the sinner but you must [206]love	Ex. 23:4
206. Lev. 19:18	your fellow as yourself. You are commanded [207]to love the proselyte.	207. Deut. 10:19
208. Lev. 19:36	Your weights and measures [208]must be accurate.	
	Family	
209. Lev. 19:32	Respect the [209]wise; [210]honor and [211]fear your parents.	210. Ex. 20:12
212. Gen. 1:28	You should [212]perpetuate the human race by marrying [213]according	211. Lev. 19:3
213. Deut. 24:1	to the law. A bridegroom is to [214]rejoice with his bride for one year.	
214. Deut. 24:5	Male children must [215]be circumcised. Should a man die childless, his	
215. Gen. 17:10;	brother must either [216]marry his widow or [217]release her (halizah). He	216. Deut. 25:5
Lev. 12:3	who violates a virgin must [218]marry her and may never divorce her.	
217. Deut. 25:9	If a man unjustly accuses his wife of premarital promiscuity, [219]he	
218. Deut. 22:29	shall be flogged, and may never divorce her. The seducer [220]must be	
219. Deut. 22:18–19	punished according to the law. The female captive must be [221]treated	221. Deut. 21:11
220. Ex. 22:15–23	in accordance with her special regulations. Divorce can be executed	
222. Deut. 24:1	[222]only by means of a written document. A woman suspected of	
	adultery [223]has to submit to the required test.	223. Num. 5:15–2.7
	Judicial	
224. Deut. 25:2	When required by the law, [224]you must administer the punishment	
	of flogging and you must [225]exile the unwitting homicide. Capital	225. Num. 35:25
226. Ex. 21:20	punishment shall be by [226]the sword, [227]strangulation, [228]fire, or	228. Lev. 20:14
227. Ex. 21:16	[229]stoning, as specified. In some cases the body of the executed [230]shall	229. Deut. 22:24
230. Deut. 21:22	be hanged, but it [231]must be brought to burial the same day.	231. Deut. 21:23
	Slaves	
232. Ex. 21:2	Hebrew slaves [232]must be treated according to the special laws	
	for them. The master should [233]marry his Hebrew maidservant or	233. Ex. 21:8
234. Ex. 21:8	[234]redeem her. The alien slave [235]must be treated according to the	
235. Lev. 25:46	regulations applying to him.	
	Torts	
	The applicable law must be administered in the case of injury caused	
236. Ex. 21:18	by [236]a person, [237]an animal, or [238]a pit. Thieves [239]must be punished.	238. Ex. 21:33–34
237. Ex. 21:28	You must render judgment in cases of [240]trespass by cattle, [241]arson,	239. Ex. 21:37–22:3
240. Ex. 22:4	[242]embezzlement by an unpaid guardian and in claims against [243]a paid	241. Ex. 22:5
242. Ex. 22:6–8	guardian, a hirer, or [244]a borrower. Judgment must also be rendered	244. Ex. 22:13
243. Ex. 22:9–12	in disputes arising out of [245]sales, [248]inheritance, and [246]other matters	248. Num. 27:8
245. Lev. 25:14	generally. You are required to [247]rescue the persecuted even if it means	247. Deut. 25:12
246. Ex. 22:8	killing his oppressor.	
PROHIBITIONS		
	Idolatry and Related Practices	
1. Ex. 20:3	It is [1]forbidden to believe in the existence of any but the One God.	
2. Ex. 20:4	You may not make images [2]for yourself or [3]for others to worship or for	3. Lev. 19:4
4. Ex. 20:20	[4]any other purpose. You must not worship anything but God either	

5. Ex. 20:5	in [5]the manner prescribed for His worship or [6]in its own manner of	6. Ex. 20:5
	worship.	
7. Lev. 18:21	Do not [7]sacrifice children to Molech.	
8. Lev. 19:31	You may not [8]practice necromancy or [9]resort to “familiar spirits”;	9. Lev. 19:31
10. Lev. 19:4	neither should you take idolatry or its mythology [10]seriously.	
11. Deut. 16:22	It is forbidden to construct a [11]pillar or [12]dais even for the worship of	12. Lev. 20:1
13. Deut. 16:21	God or to [13]plant trees in the Temple.	
14. Ex. 23:13	You may not [14]swear by idols or instigate an idolator to do so, nor may	
15. Ex. 23:13	you encourage or persuade any [15]non-Jew or [16]Jew to worship idols.	16. Deut. 13:12
17. Deut. 13:9	You must not [17]listen to or love anyone who disseminates idolatry nor	
18. Deut. 13:9	[18]should you withhold yourself from hating him. Do not [19]pity such a	19. Deut. 13:9
	person. If somebody tries to convert you to idolatry, [20]do not defend	20. Deut. 13:9
21. Deut. 13:9	him or [21]conceal the fact.	
22. Deut. 7:25	It is forbidden to [22]derive any benefit from the ornaments of idols. You	
	may not [23]rebuild that which has been destroyed as a punishment for	23. Deut. 13:17
24. Deut. 13:18	idolatry nor may you [24]have any benefit from its wealth. Do not [25]use	25. Deut. 7:26
	anything connected with idols or idolatry.	
26. Deut. 18:20	It is forbidden [26]to prophesy in the name of idols or prophesy [27]falsely	
27. Deut. 18:20	in the name of God. Do not [28]listen to the one who prophesies for idols	28. Deut. 13:3, 4;
29. Deut. 18:22	and do not [29]fear the false prophet or hinder his execution.	Deut. 13:4
30. Lev. 20:23	You must not [30]imitate the ways of idolators or practice their customs;	
33. Deut. 18:10–11	[31]divination, [32]soothsaying, [33]enchanting, [34]sorcery, [35]charming,	31. Lev. 19:26; Deut. 18:10
34. Deut. 18:10–11	[36]consulting ghosts or [37]familiar spirits, and [38]necromancy are	32. Deut. 18:10
35. Deut. 18:10–11	forbidden. Women must not [39]wear male clothing nor men [40]that of	36. Deut. 18:10–11
37. Deut. 18:10–11	women. Do not [41]tattoo yourself in the manner of the idolators.	38. Deut. 18:10–11
40. Deut. 22:5	You may not wear [42]garments made of both wool and linen nor may	39. Deut. 22:5
42. Deut. 22:11	you shave (with a razor) the sides of [43]your head or [44]your beard. Do	41. Lev. 19:28
45. Deut. 16:1;	not [45]lacerate yourself over your dead.	43. Lev. 19:27
Deut. 14:1; 45.		44. Lev. 19:27
also Lev. 19:28		
	Prohibitions Resulting from Historical Events	
46. Deut. 17:16	It is forbidden to return to Egypt to [46]dwell there permanently or to	
47. Num. 15:39	[47]indulge in impure thoughts or sights. You may not [48]make a pact	48. Ex. 23:32; Deut. 7:2
49. Deut. 20:16	with the seven Canaanite nations or [49]save the life of any member of	
50. Deut. 7:2	them. Do not [50]show mercy to idolators, [51]permit them to dwell in the	51. Ex. 23:33
52. Deut. 7:3	land of Israel, or [52]intermarry with them. A Jewess may not [53]marry	53. Deut. 23:4
	an Ammonite or Moabite even if he converts to Judaism but should	
	not refuse (for reasons of genealogy alone) [54]a descendant of Esau or	54. Deut. 23:8
55. Deut. 23:8	[55]an Egyptian who are proselytes. It is prohibited to [56]make peace with	56. Deut. 23:7
	the Ammonite or Moabite nations.	
57. Deut. 20:19	The [57]destruction of fruit trees even in times of war is forbidden as is	
58. Deut. 7:21	wanton waste at any time. Do not [58]fear the enemy and do not [59]forget	59. Deut. 25:19
	the evil done by Amalek.	
	Blasphemy	
60. Lev. 24:16;	You must not [60]blaspheme the Holy Name, [61]break an oath made by	61. Lev. 19:12
rather Ex. 22:27	It, [62]take It in vain or [63]profane It. Do not [64]try the Lord God. You may	63. Lev. 22:32
62. Ex. 20:7	not [65]erase God’s name from the holy texts or destroy institutions	
64. Deut. 6:16	devoted to His worship. Do not [66]allow the body of of one hanged to	66. Deut. 21:23
65. Deut. 12:4	remain so overnight.	

	Temple	
67. Num. 18:5	Be not [67]lax in guarding the Temple.	
68. Lev. 16:2	The high priest must not enter the Temple [68]indiscriminately; a priest	
69. Lev. 21:23	with a physical blemish may not [69]enter there at all or [70]serve in the	70. Lev. 21:17
	sanctuary, and even if the blemish is of a temporary nature, he may	
71. Lev. 21:18	not [71]participate in the service there until it has passed.	
	The Levites and the priests must not [72]interchange in their functions.	72. Num. 18:3
	Intoxicated persons may not [73]enter the sanctuary or teach the Law. It	73. Lev. 10:9–11
74. Num. 18:4	is forbidden for [74]non-priests, [75]unclean priests, or [76]priests who have	75. Lev. 22:2
	performed the necessary ablution but are still within the time limit of	76. Lev. 21:6
	their uncleanness to serve in the Temple. No unclean person may enter	
77. Num. 5:3	[77]the Temple or [78]the Temple Mount.	78. Deut. 23:11
	The altar must not be made of [79]hewn stones nor may the ascent to	79. Ex. 20:25
80. Ex. 20:26	it be by [80]steps. The fire on it may not be [81]extinguished nor may any	81. Lev. 6:6
	other but the specified incense be [82]burned on the golden altar. You	82. Ex. 30:9
83. Ex. 30:32	may not [83]manufacture oil with the same ingredients and in the same	
84. Ex. 30:32	proportions as the anointing oil which itself [84]may not be misused.	
85. Ex. 30:37	Neither may you [85]compound incense with the same ingredients	
	and in the same proportions as that burned on the altar. You must	
86. Ex. 25:15	not [86]remove the staves from the Ark, [87]remove the breastplate from	87. Ex. 28:28
88. Ex. 28:32	the ephod, or [88]make any incision in the upper garment of the high	
	priest.	
	Sacrifices	
89. Deut. 12:13	It is forbidden to [89]offer sacrifices or [90]slaughter consecrated animals	90. Lev. 17:3–4
91. Lev. 22:20	outside the Temple. You may not [91]sanctify, [92]slaughter, [93]sprinkle	92. Lev. 22:22
94. Lev. 22:22	the blood of, or [94]burn the inner parts of a blemished animal even if	93. Lev. 22:24
95. Deut. 17:1	the blemish is [95]of a temporary nature and even if it is [96]offered by	96. Lev. 22:25
97. Lev. 22:21	Gentiles. It is forbidden to [97]inflict a blemish on an animal consecrated	
	for sacrifice.	
98. Lev. 2:11	Leaven or honey may not [98]be offered on the altar, neither may	
99. Lev. 2:13	[99]anything unsalted. An animal received as the hire of a harlot or as	
100. Deut. 23:19	the price of a dog [100]may not be offered.	
101. Lev. 22:28	Do not [101]kill an animal and its young on the same day.	
102. Lev. 5:11	It is forbidden to use [102]olive oil or [103]frankincense in the sin offering or	103. Lev. 5:11
104. Num. 5:15	[104,105]in the jealousy offering (sotah). You may not [106]substitute sacrifices	105. Num. 5:15
107. Lev. 27:26	even [107]from one category to the other. You may not [108]redeem the	106. Lev. 27:10
108. Num. 18:17	firstborn of permitted animals.	
109. Lev. 27:33	It is forbidden to [109]sell the tithe of the herd or [110]sell or [111]redeem a	110. Lev. 27:28
111. Lev. 27:28	field consecrated by the herem vow.	
112. Lev. 5:8	When you slaughter a bird for a sin offering, you may not [112]split its	
	head.	
113. Deut. 15:19	It is forbidden to [113]work with or [114]to shear a consecrated animal. You	114. Deut. 15:19
115. Ex. 34:25	must not slaughter the paschal lamb [115]while there is still leaven about;	
116. Ex. 23:10	nor may you leave overnight [116]those parts that are to be offered up	
117. Ex. 12:10	or [117]to be eaten.	
118. Deut. 16:4	You may not leave any part of the festive offering [118]until the third	
120. Lev. 22:30	day or any part of [119]the second paschal lamb or [120]the thanksgiving	119. Num. 9:13
	offering until the morning.	
121. Ex. 12:46	It is forbidden to break a bone of [121]the first or [122]the second paschal	122. Num. 9:12
	lamb or [123]to carry their flesh out of the house where it is being eaten.	123. Ex. 12:46
124. Lev. 6:10	You must not [124]allow the remains of the meal offering to become	

125. Ex. 12:9	leaven. It is also forbidden to eat the paschal lamb [125]raw or sodden	
126. Ex. 12:45	or to allow [126]an alien resident, [127]an uncircumcised person, or an	127. Ex. 12:48
	[128]apostate to eat of it.	128. Ex. 12:43
	A ritually unclean person [129]must not eat of holy things nor may	129. Lev. 12:4
130. Lev. 7:19	[130]holy things which have become unclean be eaten. Sacrificial meat	
131. Lev. 19:6–8	[131]which is left after the time-limit or [132]which was slaughtered with	132. Lev. 7:18
	wrong intentions must not be eaten. The heave offering must not be	
133. Lev. 22:10	eaten by [133]a non-priest, [134]a priest's sojourner or hired worker, [135]an	134. Lev. 22:10
136. Lev. 22:4	uncircumcised person, or [136]an unclean priest. The daughter of a priest	135. Lev. 22:10
137. Lev. 22:12	who is married to a non-priest may not [137]eat of holy things.	
	The meal offering of the priest [138]must not be eaten, neither may	138. Lev. 6:16
139. Lev. 6:23	[139]the flesh of the sin offerings sacrificed within the sanctuary or	
140. Deut. 14:3	[140]consecrated animals which have become blemished.	
141. Deut. 12:17	You may not eat the second tithe of [141]corn, [142]wine, or [143]oil or	142. Deut. 12:17
143. Deut. 12:17	[144]unblemished firstlings outside Jerusalem. The priests may not eat	144. Deut. 12:17
	the [145]sin-offerings or the trespass-offerings outside the Temple courts	145. Deut. 12:17
146. Deut. 12:17	or [146]the flesh of the burnt-offering at all. The lighter sacrifices [147]may	
147. Deut. 12:17	not be eaten before the blood has been sprinkled. A non-priest may	
	not [148]eat of the holiest sacrifices and a priest [149]may not eat the first	148. Deut. 12:17
	fruits outside the Temple courts.	149. Ex. 29:33
150. Deut. 26:14	One may not eat [150]the second tithe while in a state of impurity or [151]in	151. Deut. 26:14
152. Deut. 26:14	mourning; its redemption money [152]may not be used for anything other	
	than food and drink.	
153. Lev. 22:15	You must not [153]eat untithed produce or [154]change the order of	154. Ex. 22:28
	separating the various tithes.	
155. Deut. 23:22	Do not [155]delay payment of offerings – either freewill or obligatory –	
	and do not [156]come to the Temple on the pilgrim festivals without an	156. Ex. 23:15
	offering.	
157. Num. 30:3	Do not [157]break your word.	
	Priests	
158. Lev. 21:7	A priest may not marry [158]a harlot, [159]a woman who has been profaned	159. Lev. 21:7
160. Lev. 21:7	from the priesthood, or [160]a divorcee; the high priest must not [161]marry	161. Lev. 21:14
162. Lev. 21:15	a widow or [162]take one as a concubine. Priests may not enter the	
163. Lev. 10:6	sanctuary with [163]overgrown hair of the head or [164]with torn clothing;	164. Lev. 10:6
	they must not [165]leave the courtyard during the Temple service. An	165. Lev. 10:7
166. Lev. 21:1	ordinary priest may not render himself [166]ritually impure except for	
	those relatives specified, and the high priest should not become impure	
167. Lev. 21:11	[167]for anybody in [168]any way.	168. Lev. 21:11
	The tribe of Levi shall have no part in [169]the division of the land of Israel	169. Deut. 18:1
170. Deut. 18:1	or [170]in the spoils of war.	
171. Deut. 14:1	It is forbidden [171]to make oneself bald as a sign of mourning for one's	
	dead.	
	Dietary Laws	
172. Deut. 14:7	A Jew may not eat [172]unclean cattle, [173]unclean fish, [174]unclean fowl,	173. Lev. 11:11
174. Lev. 11:13	[175]creeping things that fly, [176]creatures that creep on the ground,	175. Deut. 14:19
176. Lev. 11:41	[177]reptiles, [178]worms found in fruit or produce, or [179]any detestable	177. Lev. 11:44
178. Lev. 11:42	creature.	179. Lev. 11:43
	An animal that has died naturally [180]is forbidden for consumption,	180. Deut. 14:21
181. Ex. 23:19	as is [181]a torn or mauled animal. One must not eat [182]any limb taken	182. Deut. 12.23
183. Gen. 32:33	from a living animal. Also prohibited is [183]the sinew of the thigh (gid	
184. Lev. 7:26	ha-nasheh), as are [184]blood and [185]certain types of fat (helev). It is	185. Lev. 7:23

186. Ex. 23:19	forbidden [186]to cook meat together with milk or [187]eat of such a mixture.	187. Ex. 34:26
188. Ex. 21:28	It is also forbidden to eat [188]of an ox condemned to stoning (even if it	
	has been properly slaughtered).	
189. Lev. 23:14	One may not eat [189]bread made of new corn or the new corn itself,	
190. Lev. 23:14	either [190]roasted or [191]green, before the omer offering has been brought	191. Lev. 23:14
192. Lev. 19:23	on the 16th of Nisan. You may not eat [192]orlah or [193]the growth of mixed	193. Deut. 22:9
194. Deut. 32:38	planting in the vineyard (see Mixed Species). Any use of [194]wine	
195. Lev. 19:26;	libations to idols is prohibited, as are [195]gluttony and drunkenness.	
Deut. 21:20	One may not eat anything on [196]the Day of Atonement. During Passover	196. Lev. 23:29
197. Ex. 13:3	it is forbidden to eat [197]leaven (hamez) or [198]anything containing an	198. Ex. 13:20
199. Deut. 16:3	admixture of such. This is also forbidden [199]after the middle of the 14th	
	of Nisan (the day before Passover). During Passover no leaven may be	
200. Ex. 13:7	[200]seen or [201]found in your possession.	201. Ex. 12:19
	Nazirites	
202. Num. 6:3	A Nazirite may not drink [202]wine or any beverage made from grapes;	
203. Num. 6:3	he may not eat [203]fresh grapes, [204]dried grapes, [205]grape seeds, or	204. Num. 6:3
206. Num. 6:4	[206]grape peel. He may not render himself [207]ritually impure for his	205. Num. 6:4
208. Lev. 21:11	dead nor may he [208]enter a tent in which there is a corpse. He must	207. Num. 6:7
209. Num. 6:5	not [209]shave his hair.	
	Agriculture	
210. Lev. 23:22	It is forbidden [210]to reap the whole of a field without leaving the corners	
211. Lev. 19:9	for the poor; it is also forbidden to [211]gather up the ears of corn that	
	fall during reaping or to harvest [212]the misformed clusters of grapes,	212. Lev. 19:10
213. Lev. 19:10	or [213]the grapes that fall or to [214]return to take a forgotten sheaf.	214. Deut. 24:19
215. Lev. 19:19	You must not [215]sow different species of seed together or [216]corn in	216. Deut. 22:9
217. Lev. 19:19	a vineyard; it is also forbidden to [217]crossbreed different species of	
	animals or [218]work with two different species yoked together. You must	218. Deut. 22:10
219. Deut. 25:4	not [219]muzzle an animal working in a field to prevent it from eating.	
220. Lev. 25:4	It is forbidden to [220]till the earth, [221]to prune trees, [222]to reap (in the	221. Lev. 25:4
222. Lev. 25:5	usual manner) produce or [223]fruit which has grown without cultivation	223. Lev. 25:5
	in the seventh year (shemittah). One may also not [224]till the earth or	224. Lev. 25:11
	prune trees in the Jubilee year, when it is also forbidden to harvest	
225. Lev. 25:11	(in the usual manner) [225]produce or [226]fruit that has grown without	226. Lev. 25:11
	cultivation.	
227. Lev. 25:23	One may not [227]sell one's landed inheritance in the land of Israel	
228. Lev. 25:33	permanently or [228]change the lands of the Levites or [229]leave the	229. Deut. 12:19
	Levites without support.	
	Loans, Business, and the Treatment of Slaves	
230. Deut. 15:2	It is forbidden to [230]demand repayment of a loan after the seventh	
231. Deut. 15:9	year; you may not, however, [231]refuse to lend to the poor because	
232. Deut. 15:7	that year is approaching. Do not [232]deny charity to the poor or [233]send	233. Deut. 15:13
	a Hebrew slave away empty-handed when he finishes his period of	
	service. Do not [234]dun your debtor when you know that he cannot pay.	234. Ex. 22:24
235. Lev. 25:37	It is forbidden to [235]lend to or [236]borrow from another Jew at interest or	236. Deut. 23:20
237. Ex. 22:24	[237]participate in an agreement involving interest either as a guarantor,	
	witness, or writer of the contract.	
238. Lev. 19:13	Do not [238]delay payment of wages.	
239. Deut. 24:10	You may not [239]take a pledge from a debtor by violence, [240]keep a poor	240. Deut. 24:12
241. Deut. 24:17	man's pledge when he needs it, [241]take any pledge from a widow or	
242. Deut. 24:6	[242]from any debtor if he earns his living with it.	

243. Ex. 20:13	Kidnapping [243]a Jew is forbidden.	
244. Lev. 19:11 246. Deut. 19:14	Do not [244]steal or [245]rob by violence. Do not [246]remove a landmarker or [247]defraud.	245. Lev. 19:13 247. Lev. 19:13
248. Lev. 19:11	It is forbidden [248]to deny receipt of a loan or a deposit or [249]to swear falsely regarding another man's property.	249. Lev. 19:11
250. Lev. 25:14 252. Ex. 22:20	You must not [250]deceive anybody in business. You may not [251]mislead a man even verbally. It is forbidden to harm the stranger among you [252]verbally or [253]do him injury in trade.	251. Lev. 25:17 253. Ex. 22:20
254. Deut. 23:16	You may not [254]return or [255]otherwise take advantage of a slave who has fled to the land of Israel from his master, even if his master is a Jew.	255. Deut. 23:17
256. Ex. 22:21 258. Lev. 25:42 260. Lev. 25:53 262. Ex. 21:10 263. Deut. 21:14	Do not [256]afflict the widow or the orphan. You may not [257]misuse or [258]sell a Hebrew slave; do not [259]treat him cruelly or [260]allow a heathen to mistreat him. You must not [261]sell your Hebrew maidservant or, if you marry her, [262]withhold food, clothing, and conjugal rights from her. You must not [263]sell a female captive or [264]treat her as a slave.	257. Lev. 25:39 259. Lev. 25:43 261. Ex. 21:8 264. Deut. 21:14
265. Ex. 20:17 266. Deut. 5:18	Do not [265]covet another man's possesions even if you are willing to pay for them. Even [266]the desire alone is forbidden.	
267. Deut. 23:26	A worker must not [267]cut down standing corn during his work or [268]take more fruit than he can eat.	268. Deut. 23:25
269. Deut. 22:3 270. Ex. 23:5	One must not [269]turn away from a lost article which is to be returned to its owner nor may you [270]refuse to help a man or an animal which is collapsing under its burden.	
271. Lev. 19:35	It is forbidden to [271]defraud with weights and measures or even [272] to possess inaccurate weights.	272. Deut. 25:13
	Justice	
273. Lev. 19:15 275. Lev. 19:15 278. Ex. 23:6 279. Deut. 19:13	A judge must not [273]perpetrate injustice, [274]accept bribes, or be [275]partial or [276]afraid. He may [277]not favor the poor or [278]discriminate against the wicked; he should not [279]pity the condemned or [280]pervert the judgment of strangers or orphans.	274. Ex. 23:8 276. Deut. 1:17 277. Lev. 19:15, rather Ex. 23:3 280. Deut. 24:17
281. Ex. 23:1	It is forbidden to [281]hear one litigant without the other being present.	
282. Ex. 23:2	A capital case cannot be decided by [282]a majority of one.	
283. Ex. 23:2 284. Deut. 1:17	A judge should not [283]accept a colleague's opinion unless he is convinced of its correctness; it is forbidden to [284]appoint as a judge someone who is ignorant of the law.	
285. Ex. 20:16 288. Deut. 19:15	Do not [285]give false testimony or accept [286]testimony from a wicked person or from [287]relatives of a person involved in the case. It is forbidden to pronounce judgment [288]on the basis of the testimony of one witness.	286. Ex. 23:1 287. Deut. 24:16
289. Ex. 20:13	Do not [289]murder.	
	You must not convict on [290]circumstantial evidence alone.	290. Ex. 23:7
291. Num. 35:30	A witness [291]must not sit as a judge in capital cases.	
292. Num. 35:12	You must not [292]execute anybody without due proper trial and conviction.	
293. Deut. 25:12	Do not [293] pity or spare the pursuer.	
	Punishment is not to be inflicted for [294]an act committed under duress.	294. Deut. 22:26
295. Num. 35:31	Do not accept ransom [295]for a murderer or [296]a manslayer.	296. Num. 35:32
297. Lev. 19:16 298. Deut. 22:8	Do not [297]hesitate to save another person from danger and do not [298]leave a stumbling block in the way or [299]mislead another person by giving wrong advice.	299. Lev. 19:14
300. Deut. 25:2–3	It is forbidden [300]to administer more than the assigned number of lashes to the guilty.	
301. Lev. 19:16	Do not [301]tell tales or [302]bear hatred in your heart. It is forbidden to	302. Lev. 19:17

303. Lev. 19:17	[303]shame a Jew, [304]to bear a grudge, or [305]to take revenge. Do not	304. Lev. 19:18
305. Lev. 19:18	[306]take the dam when you take the young birds.	306. Deut. 22:6
307. Lev. 13:33	It is forbidden to [307]shave a leprous scalp or [308]remove other signs of	308. Deut. 24:8
	that affliction. It is forbidden [309]to cultivate a valley in which a slain	309. Deut. 21:4
	body was found and in which subsequently the ritual of breaking the	
	heifer's neck (eglah arufah) was performed.	
310. Ex. 22:17	Do not [310]suffer a witch to live.	
311. Deut. 24:5	Do not [311]force a bridegroom to perform military service during the first	
312. Deut. 17:11	year of his marriage. It is forbidden to [312]rebel against the transmitters	
313. Deut. 13:1	of the tradition or to [313]add or [314]detract from the precepts of the law.	314. Deut. 13:1
315. Ex. 22:27	Do not curse [315]a judge, [316]a ruler, or [317]any Jew.	316. Ex. 22:27
318. Ex. 21:17	Do not [318]curse or [319]strike a parent.	317. Lev. 19:14
319. Ex. 21:15	It is forbidden to [320]work on the Sabbath or [321]walk further than the	321. Ex. 16:29
320. Ex. 20:10	permitted limits (eruv). You may not [322]inflict punishment on the	322. Ex. 35:3
	Sabbath.	
323. Ex. 12:16	It is forbidden to work on [323]the first or [324]the seventh day of Passover,	324. Ex. 12:16
325. Lev. 23:21	on [325]Shavuot, on [326]Rosh Ha-Shanah, on the [327]first and [328]eighth	326. Lev. 23:25
327. Lev. 23:35	(*Shemini Azeret) days of Sukkot, and [329]on the Day of Atonement.	329. Lev. 23:28
328. Lev. 23:36		
	Incest and Other Forbidden Relationships	
	It is forbidden to enter into an incestuous relationship with one's	
330. Lev. 18:7	[330]mother, [331]step-mother, [332]sister, [333]half-sister, [334]son's daughter,	333. Lev. 18:11
331. Lev. 18:8	[335]daughter's daughter, [336]daughter, [337]any woman and her daughter,	334. Lev. 18:10
332. Lev. 18:9	[338]any woman and her son's daughter, [339]any woman and her daughter's	335. Lev. 18:10
336. Lev. 18:10	daughter, [340]father's sister, [341]mother's sister, [342]paternal uncle's wife,	337. Lev. 18:17
338. Lev. 18:17	[343]daughter-in-law, [344]brother's wife, and [345]wife's sister.	339. Lev. 18:17
341. Lev. 18:13	It is also forbidden to [346]have sexual relations with a menstruous	340. Lev. 18:12
343. Lev. 18:15	woman (see Niddah).	342. Lev. 18:14
344. Lev. 18:16	Do not [347]commit adultery.	345. Lev. 18:18
347. Lev. 18:20	It is forbidden for [348]a man or [349]a woman to have sexual intercourse	346. Lev. 18:19
	with an animal.	348. Lev. 18:23
350. Lev. 18:22	Homosexuality [350]is forbidden, particularly with [351]one's father or	349. Lev. 18:23
351. Lev. 18:7	[352]uncle.	352. Lev. 18:14
353. Lev. 18:6	It is forbidden to have [353]intimate physical contact (even without	
	actual intercourse) with any of the women with whom intercourse	
	is forbidden.	
354. Deut. 23:3	A mamzer may not [354]marry a Jewess.	
355. Deut. 23:18	Harlotry [355]is forbidden.	
	A divorcee may not be [356]remarried to her first husband if, in the	356. Deut. 24:4
	meanwhile, she had married another.	
	A childless widow may not [357]marry anybody other than her late	357. Deut. 25:5
	husband's brother (see Levirate Marriage).	
358. Deut. 22:29	A man may not [358]divorce a wife whom he married after having raped	
	her or [359]after having slandered her.	359. Deut. 22:19
360. Deut. 23:2	A eunuch may not [360]marry a Jewess.	
361. Lev. 22:24	Castration [361]is forbidden.	
	The Monarchy	
362. Deut. 17:15	You may not [362]elect as king anybody who is not of the seed of Israel.	
363. Deut. 17:16	The king must not accumulate an excessive number of [363]horses,	
364. Deut. 17:17	[364]wives, or [365]wealth.	365. Deut. 17:17

[Raphael Posner]

Deut. 17; Ex. R. 33:7; Num. R. 13:15–16; 18:21; Yev. 47b) which crystallized in the school of R. *Akiva (see A.H. Rabinowitz, *Taryag*, 38–39). Doubt as to the validity of this tradition in the eyes of the sages of the Talmud has been expressed by *Naḥmanides, Abraham *Ibn Ezra, Simeon b. Zemaḥ *Duran, Schechter, and others, but the majority of scholars, including Naḥmanides and Duran, conclude that the tradition does in fact reflect the opinion of the rabbis of the Talmud. Works enumerating the commandments are numerous (see Jellinek, *Kunteres Taryag*, 1878), but the majority of the lists conform to one of four methods of enumeration: (1) The earliest lists, those of the anonymous *azharot, are divided simply into two lists of positive and prohibitive precepts, with little attention being paid to the internal classification, e.g., *Attah Hinḥalta, Azharat Reshit, Emet Yehegeh Ḥikki.* (2) The threefold division into positive commandments, prohibitions, and *parashiyyot*, first found in the list prefacing the *Halakhot Gedolot of R. Simeon Kayyara and subsequently in almost every enumeration of geonic times. (The basis for this division is to be found in Mid. Ps. 119:1 and indirectly in PR 22:111.) The section called *parashiyyot* lists precepts involving the public body but not the individual, e.g., setting aside cities for the levites, erecting the sanctuary. (3) Classification of the precepts under the tenfold headings of the *Decalogue. This method of classifying the precepts is at least as old as *Philo (Decal.), is mentioned in the Midrash several times (e.g., Num. R. 13:15/16), and is followed by *Saadiah Gaon, Isaac *Abrabanel, Ma'amar Haskel, and many others. (4) Independent logical classification of the two lists of positive and prohibitive precepts. This is the method of Maimonides and his school. There are in addition many literary curiosities in this field. Elijah Ettinger attempted to show that the 613 precepts are contained in the four verses of Moses' prayer (Deut. 3:23–6). *Shirah le-Ḥayyim* (Warsaw, 1817) attempts to insert the 613 precepts into the 613 letters of the song of *Ha'azinu* (Deut. 32:1–43). David Vital's *Keter Torah* construes a 613-line poem, each line defining one *mitzvah* and commencing with the letters of the Decalogue as they appear in the text. A *Taryag* enumeration amounts in principle to a codification of the major elements of biblical law – the 613 headings under which all the details of Torah legislation may be classified. Extracting and identifying these headings from the complex body of biblical law is the central problem of the vast literature which has grown up around *Taryag* enumerations. In this literature the term *mitzvah* is used in the limited sense of a mandate or prohibition which fulfills the conditions necessary for inclusion among the member *mitzvot* of *Taryag*. Since early tradition gives no precise criteria, the problem is immense and no logical system hitherto proposed is free from criticism. Although preceded by the logical systems of Saadiah Gaon and Ḥefeẓ b. Yaẓli'aḥ, and subsequently criticized by Naḥmanides, the principal method of enumerating the *mitzvot* is that defined by *Maimonides in his *Sefer ha-Mitzvot*. Maimonides introduces the work with a lengthy treatise in which he lays down 14 guiding principles governing the inclusion or exclusion of a *mitzvah* in a *Taryag* enumeration. This treatise formed the basis for subsequent literature on the subject, and the divergence of different *Taryag* lists, both preceding and succeeding Maimonides, is due to differences of opinion over these principles. *Taryag* lists are by no means confined to halakhic treatment. They range over the fields of ethics (Aaron of Barcelona, and Isaiah Hurwitz, among others) homiletics (Aḥai Gaon), philosophy (*Moreh Nevukhim*), and mysticism (David b. Solomon ibn Abi Zimra). An entire (though incomplete) section of the Zohar, the "*Ra'aya Meheimna*" ("Faithful Shepherd"), is devoted to enumerating *Taryag* and offers a mystical interpretation of the precepts. Taryag lists also entered the liturgy, during geonic times, in the form of *azharot*, which form an integral part of the festival prayer book.

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[Abraham Hirsch Rabinowitz]

COMMANDMENTS, REASONS FOR (Heb. טַעֲמֵי הַמִּצְווֹת, *Ta'amei ha-Mitzvot*). The search for "reasons" for the commandments of the Torah springs from a tendency to transcend mere obedience to them by investing them with some intrinsic meaning. The Pentateuch itself offers reasons for some commandments (e.g., Ex. 22:26; 23:9; Deut. 11:19; 17:16–17; 23:4–5) and emphasizes the "wisdom" of the Law (Deut. 4:6–8). It also differentiates between *mishpatim* ("ordinances") and *ḥukkim* ("statutes") without, however, offering any clear principle of division. Classical rabbinic literature contains a more formal discussion of the problem. The *mishpatim* are said to represent laws that would have been valid even without having been "written" in the Torah, such as the prohibitions against robbery, idolatry, incest, and murder, while the *ḥukkim*, such as the prohibition of swine's flesh and the wearing of garments made of both wool and flax are "decrees" of God. It is to the latter class that "the evil inclination" and the gentiles object (Sifra, Lev. 18:4, par. 140). From the second century onward Christian attacks on "the Law" provoked many Jewish replies stressing the importance of the *mitzvot*: the commandments were given for the sole purpose of purifying man (Gen. R. 41:1 – for parallels see Theodor Albeck, ed. (1965), 424–5); they strengthen man's holiness (Mekh. 89a); they enable Israel to acquire merit (Mak. 3:16). R. Simeon b. Yoḥai is known to have favored the exposition of the reasons of Scripture (*doresh ta'amei di-kera*), but he did not go beyond offering exegetical observations (Kid. 68b, et al.). The *ta'amei ha-Torah* ("reasons of the commandments") are not revealed and should not be revealed (Pes. 119a; cf. Sanh. 21b); the "yoke of the commandments" is to be cherished without probing its reasons. No detailed rationalization of the commandments is to be found in the rabbinic sources.

[Alexander Altmann]

Although the rabbis do not present a systematic exposition of the "reasons for the commandments," and notwithstanding their presumed aversion to such "reasons," they frequently suggest the religious significance or ethical justification for the commands and their details. Thus, the "four species" held on the Sukkot festival are understood as symbolizing God or, alternatively, as different components of the Jewish people which, when held together, form an organic unity (Lev. R. 30, 9; 30, 12). Such explanations need not be symbolic: a married couple is commanded to keep apart during the woman's menstrual period so that "she returns to him as fresh as a bride on her wedding day" (Nid. 31b). This explanation – and many others – is introduced with the phrase, "Why did the Torah command?," a phrase betraying no discomfort with the enterprise of finding reasons for the commands. Frequently, it is the details of commandments that are subject to didactic moralizing: the ear of the Hebrew slave – and no other organ – is bored so as to signify the extension of his servitude (Ex. 21:6) because his ear "heard at Sinai 'the children of Israel are My servants,' yet he went and threw off the yoke of Heaven and took a human master for himself" (Tosef. BK 7, 5), a comment with an an obvious political moral as well.

[Gerald Y. Blidstein (2nd ed.)]

Hellenistic Literature

The need for a rational explanation of the Mosaic law was expressed for the first time in the Hellenistic period; it was motivated by a desire to present the Jewish religion to the pagan world as a legal system designed to produce a people of the highest virtue. The *Letter of Aristeas* describes the dietary laws and other commandments, e.g., those concerning sacrifices, wearing of *ẓiẓit,* the *mezuzah*, and *tefillin*, as divinely ordained means for awakening holy thoughts and forming character (cf. 142–4, 147, 150ff., 169). In IV Maccabees (5:23–24) divine law is identified with reason and held to be the chief aid to a virtuous life (cf. 1:15–17, 30ff.; 5:7, 25–26).

PHILO. Philo offered the first systematic exposition of the reasons for the commandments in several of his works. He presented the law of Moses as the ideal law envisaged by the philosophers, that is, the law that leads men to live according to virtue (H.A. Wolfson, *Philo*, 2 (1947), 200ff.). The laws of Moses are divided into positive and negative laws and into those relating to man and those relating to God, and they are all subsumed under the *Decalogue. Aside from these classifications, the laws of Moses also fall into the following four categories: (1) beliefs; (2) virtuous emotions; (3) actions symbolizing beliefs; and (4) actions symbolizing virtues. However, under the influence of Judaism this fourfold classification of philosophic virtues is expanded to include such religious virtues as faith, piety, prayer, and repentance. Unlike the natural law, the Mosaic law is revealed by God; nevertheless, it is in accord with human nature. Every law in it has a rational purpose (*ibid*., 305–6). In the explanation of some laws, particularly those involving the sacrifices and festivals, Philo used the allegorical method. Elsewhere he tried to present the Mosaic legislation as a form of government that combines the best features of the three types of rule described as good by Plato and Aristotle, namely, monarchy, aristocracy, and democracy (382ff.).

Medieval Philosophy

SAADIAH GAON. *Saadiah Gaon was the first Jewish thinker to divide the commandments into those obligatory because they are required by reason (Ar. *ʿaqliyyāt*, Heb. *sikhliyyot*) and those given through revelation (Ar. *samʿiyyāt*, Heb. *shimiyyot*). In making this distinction he followed the parallel teachings of the Mu'tazilite *Kalām but also added a Platonic account. According to the Mu'tazilite exposition, the rational laws are divided into three kinds: gratitude, reverence, and social conduct; and from these three categories he derived many special laws. In his Platonic exposition he showed the rational character of certain laws by pointing out the damaging effects of the acts prohibited: theft and robbery, for example, undermine the economic basis of society, and untruthfulness destroys the harmony of the soul. Discussing the revelational laws, Saadiah holds that while they are primarily an expression of God's will, they have some rational aspects or "usefulness," although he repeatedly reminds himself that God's wisdom is superior to man's. For example, the holy seasons enable man to pursue spiritual matters and human fellowship; the priesthood guides and helps people in time of stress; and dietary laws combat animal worship (*Book of Beliefs and Opinions*, 3:5, 1–3).

KARAITES. While the Rabbanites eventually went on to formulate other "reasons of the commandments," the Mu'tazilite approach, exemplified by Saadiah, remained in force among the *Karaites throughout the medieval period. Joseph al-*Baṣīr and *Jeshua b. Judah emphasized the validity of the moral law prior to revelation. *Aaron b. Elijah differentiated between *mitzvot sikhliyyot* ("rational laws") and *mitzvot toriyyot* ("Toraitic laws"; *Eẓ Ḥayyīm*, ed. F. Delitzsch (1841) chap. 102). Elijah *Bashyazi (b. c. 1420) spoke of the rational ordinances as those precepts "established and planted in man's heart" and known prior to revelation (see L. Nemoy, *Karaite Anthology* (1952), 241ff.).

BAHYA IBN PAQUDA. Baḥya combined Saadiah's division of the commandments with another classification also derived from Mu'tazalite sources, that of "duties of the members [of the body]" (Ar. *farā'iḍ al-jawāriḥ*, Heb. *ḥovot ha-evarim*) and "duties of the hearts" (Ar. *farā'iḍ al-qulūb*, Heb. *ḥovot ha-levavot*). The "duties of the members" are of two kinds: duties obligatory by virtue of reason and duties neither enjoined nor rejected by reason, e.g., the prohibition of eating milk and meat together. The "duties of the hearts," on the other hand, are of an intellectual and attitudinal kind, such as belief in God, trust in Him, and fear and love of Him (*Ḥovot ha-Levavot*, Introduction). Baḥya emphasized "duties of the hearts" (3:3) and asserted that it is only on account of the weakness of the intellect that the revelational commandments are necessary. Unlike Saadiah, however, he does not try to explain the revelational laws in terms of usefulness for specific ends; they are simply expressions of piety and, thereby, effective aids to the attainment of the perfect life of attachment to God.

JOSEPH IBN ẒADDIK. Joseph ibn *Ẓaddik stressed gratitude as the most fundamental duty to God, who out of love created the world and gave it His commandments. Accepting the distinction between rational and revelational commandments, Ibn Ẓaddik held that even the latter have a "subtle meaning" (*sod dak, inyan dak*). The observance of the Sabbath, for example, teaches the createdness of the world and points to the bliss of the world-to-come (*Sefer ha-Olam ha-Katan*, S. Horovitz, ed. (1903), 59–64).

JUDAH HALEVI. Judah Halevi's classifications of the commandments were under three headings: (1) rational laws (*sikhliyyot*), also termed psychic laws (*nafshiyyot*), such as those having to do with belief in God, justice, and gratitude (*Kuzari*, 2:48; 3:11); (2) governmental laws (*minhagiyyot*), which are concerned with the functioning and well-being of society (*ibid.*); and (3) revelational laws (*shimiyyot*), or divine laws (*elohiyyot*) whose main function is to elevate the Jew to communion with God and whose highest manifestation is prophecy. God alone is capable of determining the revelational laws, which in themselves are neither demanded nor rejected by reason (1:98; 2:23; 3:53). For Halevi the revelational laws are supreme and the rational and governmental laws are only a "preamble" (2:48).

ABRAHAM IBN EZRA. Abraham *Ibn Ezra dealt with the subject of the commandments in his commentaries on the Torah and in his small treatise *Yesod Mora*. He distinguished between laws which are implanted in the human heart prior to revelation (*pikkudim*) and laws which prescribe symbolic acts reminding us of such matters as creation, e.g., observance of the Sabbath, and the exodus from Egypt, e.g., the observance of Passover (*Yesod Mora*, ch. 5; Commentary to Gen. 26:5; Short Commentary to Ex. 15:26). In addition he speaks of "obscure commandments" (*mitzvot ne'elamot*), which have no clear-cut reason. Certain of these commandments he tried to explain as prohibitions of acts contrary to nature, e.g., seething a kid in its mother's milk, and others, as serving utilitarian purposes, e.g., the separation of the leper as a sanitary measure (Lev. 13:45–46) and the dietary laws in order to prevent injurious influences to body and soul (Comm. to Lev. 19:23; 11:43). Astrological motifs are employed in the interpretation of the sanctuary and its parts, the garments of the high priest, and the sacrifices.

ABRAHAM IBN DAUD. Abraham *Ibn Daud, who initiated the Aristotelian trend in medieval Jewish philosophy, abandoned the Kalām terms "rational" and "revelational" and replaced them with "generally known" (Ar. *mashhūrāt*, a translation of the Greek *endoxa*; Heb. *mefursamot*) and "traditional" (Ar. *maqbūlāt*, Heb. *mekubbalot*). This change of terminology reflects the Aristotelian view that good and evil are not a matter of demonstrative knowledge but of opinion (*Topics*, 1:1; cf. Maimonides, *Millot ha-Higgayon*, ch. 8; Guide 1:2). Ibn Daud assumed that the "generally known" laws, i.e., the laws of social conduct, are identical in all religions and, therefore, that the formation of states composed of different religious communities is possible, no matter how opposed their religions may be (*Sefer ha-Emunah ha-Ramah*, ed. S. Weil (1852), 5:2, 75).

MAIMONIDES. Maimonides, like Ibn Daud, discarded as illegitimate the distinction between "rational" and "revelational" laws. In his view, all laws set forth in the Torah have a "cause" (Ar. *ʿilla*, Heb. *illah*), that is, a "useful purpose" (Ar. *ghāya mufida*, Heb. *takhlit mo'ilah*), and follow from God's wisdom, not from an arbitrary act of His will. In some cases, such as the prohibitions against killing and stealing, their utility is clear, while in others, such as the prohibitions against sowing with diverse seeds, it is not. Maimonides identified the former commandments with the laws known as *mishpatim* ("ordinances") and the latter, with those known as *ḥukkim* ("statutes"). Although general laws, e.g., the institution of sacrifices, have a reason, particular laws, e.g., the number of animals for a particular sacrifice, do not (Guide, 3:26, 31). There are two overall purposes of the Torah: the welfare of the soul, in which man finds his ultimate perfection in this world and the next, and the welfare of the body, which is a means to the welfare of the soul. For the welfare of the soul the law promotes correct opinions, and for the welfare of the body it sets down norms for the guidance of society and the individual. To promote opinions, the law fosters two kinds of beliefs: absolutely true beliefs, such as the existence and unity of God, and beliefs necessary for the well-being of the state, such as God's anger in punishing evildoers (Guide, 3:27–28, 31–32).

Introducing a new method of interpretation of Jewish law, Maimonides regarded many *ḥukkim* of the Torah as directed toward the abolition of the idolatrous practices of the ancient pagans, as described in a tenth-century book by Ibn Waḥshiyya, known as the *Nabatean Agriculture*. He even maintained that it is the first intention of the law to put an end to idolatry (Guide, 3:29). Another method that Maimonides used to explain certain laws is described by the term "gracious ruse" (Ar. *talaṭṭuf*; Heb. *ormah*), which is borrowed from the Greek philosopher *Alexander of Aphrodisias (c. 200; see S. Pines' introduction to his translation of the Guide, lxxiiff.). Thus, for example, God graciously tolerated the customary mode of worship through animal sacrifice, but transferred it from idols to His own name and through this "ruse" effaced idolatry (3:32). However, in marked contrast to the utilitarian treatments of the commandments in Maimonides' *Guide of the Perplexed* is the deeply religious approach of his *Mishneh Torah*. The *ḥukkim*, including the sacrifices, appear in the latter work as important vehicles of the spiritual life (cf. Yad, Me'ilah, end; Temurah, end; Mikva'ot, end).

*Levi b. Gershom also set forth explanations of the commandments in terms of their utility; his commentary on the Torah largely follows Maimonides' *Guide* in this respect.

HASDAI CRESCAS AND JOSEPH ALBO. The approach of Ḥasdai *Crescas is of an entirely different nature. Crescas rejected the notion, implicit in the views of his predecessors, e.g., Maimonides, that the Torah had to adapt itself to the low level of religion prevalent at the time of its revelation, an assumption which tended to render part of the commandments obsolete. He was also the first to introduce theological instead of moral or metaphysical concepts for the interpretation of the commandments. In this context it is important to recall that Crescas was concerned with refuting Christian theological notions and the charge of the apostate *Abner of Burgos that Judaism had succumbed to philosophy. In his polemic with Christianity Crescas accepted the notion of original sin (*Or Adonai*, 2:2, 6), but argued that all *mitzvot* are means of redemption from the "poison" injected into Eve by the serpent. Unlike the Aristotelians who saw intellectual perfection as the final goal of the Torah, Crescas maintained that its ultimate purpose is to instill the love of God in man (*ibid*., 2:6, 2).

Crescas' pupil Joseph *Albo continued his master's polemics against Christian attacks on the Mosaic law, arguing that it is more perfect than any other law and that the Gospels are really no law at all. Distinguishing three kinds of laws, Albo held that natural law (*ha-dat ha-tivit*) contains those rules that are indispensable for the merest association of men; that conventional law (*ha-dat ha-nimusit*) promotes virtues according to human opinion, or the "generally known" (*ha-mefursam*); and that divine law (*ha-dat ha-Elohit*) guides man to true happiness, which is the bliss of the soul and eternal life (*Sefer ha-Ikkarim* 1:7, and passim; see I. Husik, in HUCA, 2 (1925), 381ff.; R. Lerner, in *Ancients and Moderns*, ed. J. Cropsey, 1964).

A similar treatment is found in the work of Albo's predecessor, Simon b. Zemaḥ *Duran, *Keshet u-Magen* (12b). On the other hand, Shem Tov *Ibn Shem Tov in his work *Kevod Elohim* (1556) completely discarded the philosophical approach. He considered it wrong even to investigate reasons for the commandments, since the divine in principle cannot be explained by natural reasons (21b ff.). Only in a secondary sense can the commandments be called "rational"; primarily they are "decrees" based on the will of God, who must be presumed to have a purpose, but whose purpose we cannot know. This attitude became increasingly popular in the last phase of medieval Jewish philosophy and persisted until the dawn of the modern age.

Modern Jewish Thought

Modern Jewish thought, marked by a deep crisis of traditional beliefs and halakhic authority, has dealt with the subject of reasons for divine commandments on various levels.

MOSES MENDELSSOHN. Moses *Mendelssohn distinguished three layers within the body of Jewish teachings: (1) religion par excellence, consisting of eternal truths that all enlightened men hold in common; (2) historical truths concerning the origin of the Jewish nation, which faith accepts on authority; and (3) laws, precepts, commandments, and rules of life revealed by God through words and Scripture as well as oral tradition (*Jerusalem* (1783), 113–5). Revealed legislation prescribes only actions, not faith nor the acceptance of eternal truths. The actions prescribed by the revealed law are the "ceremonies," and the specific element of Judaism, therefore, is the ceremonial laws.

In opposition to *Spinoza, who considered the Mosaic legislation a state law designed only to promote the temporal happiness of the Jewish nation, Mendelssohn contended that Mosaic law transcends state law, because of its twofold goal: actions leading to temporal happiness and meditation on eternal and historical truths leading to eternal happiness (*ibid*., 116). Every ceremony has a specific meaning and a precise relation to the speculative aspect of religion and morality (*ibid*., 95). Since the Mosaic law is more than a state law, those of its parts which apply to the individual remain valid even after the destruction of the Jewish state and should be steadfastly observed (*ibid*., 127–9). Moreover, it retains its important function as a bond between Jews everywhere, which is essential as long as polytheism, anthropomorphism, and religious usurpation continue to rule the earth (letter to Herz Homberg, in *Gesammelte Schriften*, 5 (1844), 669). Mendelssohn's polemics against Spinoza were taken up again in the late 19th–early 20th century by Hermann *Cohen (cf. his *Juedische Schriften*, ed. B. Strauss, 3 (1924), 290–372).

NINETEENTH-CENTURY PHILOSOPHERS. Isaac Noah *Mannheimer and Michael *Sachs wrote against the alarming neglect of observance of the ceremonial law in the period of Emancipation. They reemphasized the significance of ceremonial law in terms borrowed partly from Mendelssohn and partly from Kant's vindication of the *cultus* as a means of furthering morality. Of great moment was Leopold *Zunz's forthright stand on behalf of the rite of circumcision, which occasioned his study of the ceremonial law as a whole (*Gutachten ueber die Beschneidung*, in Zunz, Schr, 2 (1876), 190–203). Abraham *Geiger recognized only the validity of those ceremonies which proved capable of promoting religious and moral feelings (*Nachgelassene Schriften*, ed. L. Geiger, 1 (1875), 254ff., 324–5, 486–8). Under the influence of the German philologist Friedrich Cruezer and *Hegel, theologians began to view the rituals prescribed in the Torah, especially the sacrificial cult, as merely symbolic expressions of ideas (see for example, D. Einhorn, *Das Prinzip des Mosaismus*, 1854). Defending an orthodox position, Samson Raphael *Hirsch evolved a system of symbolism based chiefly on ethical values in order to give fresh meaning to the totality of *halakhah* (*Nineteen Letters*, sections *Edoth* and *Horeb*; see *Horeb*, trans. by I. Grunfeld, 1 (1962), 108).

TWENTIETH-CENTURY PHILOSOPHERS. In the 20th century Leo *Baeck spoke of two fundamental religious experiences, that of mystery (*Geheimnis*) and that of commandment (*Gebot*), which in Judaism are intertwined in a perfect unity

(*Essays*, trans. by W. Kaufmann (1958), 171, 173). For Franz *Rosenzweig there is a difference between commandment and law. God is not a lawgiver – He commands, and each act of *mitzvah* accomplishes the task of "unifying" Him, an assertion that Rosenzweig formulated in terms of kabbalistic doctrine (*Der Stern der Erloesung*, 3rd ed. (1954), 2:114ff.; 3:187–94).

[Alexander Altmann]

In Kabbalah

In Kabbalah the reasons for the commandments are integrated in the general system in relation to two basic principles: a symbolic view according to which everything in this world and all human acts, especially religious acts, are a reflection of divine processes and particularly those of the divine emanation; and the notion of reciprocal influence between the upper and lower worlds, which are not separated from each other but affect each other in all matters. Thus it appears that the commandments both reflect a mystical reality and the relations between heavenly forces, and also themselves influence this heavenly reality. On the one hand, a person who fulfills a commandment integrates himself into the divine system and into the harmony of the divine processes and thus confirms the order of the true universe as it should be. On the other hand, the actual performance of a commandment radiates backwards, strengthening the supernal system. Therefore there is a natural connection between the symbolic and the magical significance of every act; i.e., a direct connection between all planes of existence and the action of each plane on the others. While the symbolic evaluation gave rise to no particular doubts or vacillations and was also in tune with other religious and philosophical views in Judaism, the magical perception of reciprocal influence was bound to create problems. A major difficulty was how to define that divine world upon which the fulfilling of commandments acts. Because the kabbalists saw that world as the world of divine emanation (*Aẓilut*) which is divine, unique, and united by the ten *Sefirot* and by the other manifestations of the divine creative power, the question arose as to how anyone could presume to speak of the influence of human action on the divine world itself. The kabbalists found themselves in a dilemma on this issue: they believed in the existence of such a magical-theosophical link between God and man – a link which is the soul of religious activity – yet they shrank from an explicit and unequivocal formulation of this relationship, justifying it by weak explanations designed to soften the magical interpretation and make it seem as if it were only allegorical.

At first only a few commandments were kabbalistically interpreted in terms of the activity of certain *sefirot*. Thus the Sefer ha-*Bahir interprets the commandments involving acts (*mitzvot ma'asiyyot*) such as *tefillin, ẓiẓit*, the *lulav* of Sukkot and *terumah* ("tithe-offering") as indications of the last *Sefirah* and its relations with the other *Sefirot*, especially of *Binah* and *Tiferet* (here called *Emet*) and the *Yesod*. The early kabbalists in Spain also interpreted according to these principles only those commandments that have no rational explanations (*ḥukkim*, or, according to theological terminology, *mitzvot shimiyyot*), e.g., sacrifices and worship in the Temple in general, and the major prayers. Moral and rational commandments were not yet included. *Ezra b. Solomon of Gerona, in his commentary on the Song of Songs, was the first to explain the reasons for these commandments in a kabbalistic framework. He was succeeded by his colleagues, Jacob b. Sheshet *Gerondi and *Naḥmanides. From the late 13th century on, the reasons for the commandments became more widely discussed in the Kabbalah. Even those commandments whose principles seem manifest to reason, such as love of God, fear of God, and *yiḥud* ("the unity of God"), were interpreted in terms of man's relation to the world of the divine *Sefirot*. The reasons behind the commandments on the Sabbath, festivals, sacrifices, prayers, and many others are discussed in the main part of the *Zohar, according to the general rule that spiritual awakening on earth causes a divine awakening. The author of the Zohar saw in many commandments the act which symbolizes the union of the *Sefirah* of *Malkhut* with the *Sefirah* of *Yesod* or *Tiferet*. The details of the commandments were explained as reflecting the processes of the supernal emanation, and a man who fulfills the commandment integrates within the process of *shefa* ("emanation"), strengthening the divine life which pulsates in every creature.

Fulfilling the commandments also strengthens divine harmony in the universe; the *yiḥud* is not merely a declaration of faith in the One God but also an increase in the oneness of the living God through man's acts in the world and man's intention (*kavvanah*) during the performance of such activity. The disunited world becomes reunited by the performance of commandments. *Moses ben Shem Tov de Leon's *Sefer ha-Rimmon* (written in 1287), which deals solely with the reasons for the commandments, included interpretations of over 100 positive and negative commandments. In the same era two anonymous kabbalists also composed comprehensive and detailed works (one of which was attributed to Isaac ibn Farḥi of Salonika 250 years later), on the reasons behind the commandments; these have survived in manuscript. Around 1300 the *Ra'aya Meheimna*, a later layer of the Zohar which was highly influential, offered a lengthy exposition according to which all 613 commandments may be interpreted mystically. Two classic works on this subject were written in the 14th century: Menahem *Recanati's *Ta'amei ha-Mitzvot* (Constantinople, 1544, complete ed. London, 1963), and Sefer ha-*Kanah (Cracow, 1894) by an anonymous Spanish kabbalist who interpreted most of the commandments in detail and argued radically that the only correct interpretation of the statutes of the Oral Law, and not only those of the Torah (Written Law), is through Kabbalah. In Safed in 1556 *David b. Solomon ibn Abi Zimra wrote *Meẓudat David* (Zolkiew, 1862) summarizing previous literature.

With the development of Lurianic Kabbalah the commandments were interpreted according to its special theses; i.e., the doctrine of *tikkun* ("restitution") and the divine *parẓufim* ("countenances"). Many comprehensive works were devoted to this subject, beginning with Ḥayyim *Vital's *Sha'ar ha-Mitzvot* (Jerusalem, 1872). Noteworthy are *Mekor Ḥayyim, Tur Bareket*, and *Tur Piteda* (Amsterdam, Leghorn, 1654–55) on the reasons for the laws in the Shulḥan Arukh by Ḥayyim ha-Kohen of Aleppo, Vital's disciple; *Ez Ḥayyim* by Judah ibn Ḥanin of Morocco (late 17th century; published in part, Leghorn, 1793); *Devar ha-Melekh* (Leghorn, 1805) by *Abraham b. Israel of Brody; and *Yalkut Yizḥak* (Warsaw, 1895–1900) by Isaac Zaler, an important anthology on the reasons for the commandments. Special works are devoted to the *mitzvah* of circumcision: e.g., *Yesod Yizḥak* (Zolkiew, 1810) by Jacob Isaac ha-Levi and *Zekher David* (Leghorn, 1837) by David Zacuto; and to the *mitzvah of sheḥitah, Pirkei ha-Nezar* (Lublin, 1880) by Eliezer Shoḥat of Zhitomir.

[Gershom Scholem]

Kabbalistic "reasons for the commandments" are integrated into the overall scholarly argument regarding the relationship of kabbalistic thought to its rabbinic forebear. As with other topics in the field, G. *Scholem finds the kabbalistic perspective at odds with the rabbinic view, which "cut ritual off from its mythic substratum … rejected all cosmic implications." But M. *Idel writes of rabbinic theurgy that "long before the emergence of Kabbalistic theosophy, Jews envisioned their ritual as a God-maintaining activity … as universe-maintaining as well."

[Gerald Y. Blidstein (2nd ed.)]

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COMMENTARY, magazine founded by the *American Jewish Committee (AJC) in 1945 as a monthly journal of "significant thought and opinion, Jewish affairs and contemporary issues." While its policies were consistent with the parent organization, especially in its early years, over time it won its editorial freedom, a situation rare in organizational life.

Eliot T. Cohen, an experienced journalist in the Jewish, communal, field was named its first editor. For a community rapidly undergoing assimilation in the postwar years, both the AJC and Cohen sought to establish ties between its intellectual class, often alienated from ancestral ties, and its emerging middle class. Cohen assembled an outstanding group of editors including Clement Greenberg, Robert Warshow, Nathan *Glazer, and Irving Kristol and invited the finest minds, both gentile and Jewish, to contribute to the publication. In a few years, *Commentary* moved to the forefront of journals of opinion not only as the major publication in Jewish life but as a critical force in the broader community as well.

Commentary was among the first publications on the liberal-left to recognize that the Soviet Union with its army sitting astride Western Europe following the war and U.S. withdrawal of troops from Europe posed a threat to the West. Under Cohen, the magazine took a leadership role in mobilizing public opinion to the threat during the early stages of the Cold War, a posture it held firmly to until the collapse of the Soviet Union.

Commentary's scope, however, was wider. It became involved deeply in the literary and cultural scene. Under Cohen and subsequent editors, it introduced to a wider public such writers as Saul *Bellow, Joseph *Heller, Bernard *Malamud, Philip *Roth, Cynthia *Ozick, and the Yiddish into English work of Isaac Bashevis *Singer.

In 1960, after a brief hiatus following Cohen's death, he was succeeded by Norman *Podhoretz, a young literary critic. Initially, Podhoretz moved the magazine to the left, publishing a number of the New Left writers of the period including Edgar Friedenberg and Christopher Lasch. His sojourn on the left, however, was brief. Before long, *Commentary* began to strike out at New Age Thought and activities, including student campus disruptions. The magazine continued and expanded its criticism of the Soviet Union. By the late 1960s and early 1970s, *Commentary* came to be known increasingly as the voice of neo-conservatism, a characterization leveled at it by its critics, but which the magazine took as a badge of honor. During and following the Six-Day and Yom Kippur wars, Podhoretz came increasingly also to focus on Israel's safety and security.

Commentary's influence reached its height during the Ford and Reagan administrations. Podhoretz's book, *The Present Danger*, became the bible of efforts to move beyond detente with the Soviet Union supported by previous Democratic and Republican administrations to efforts to bring down the Soviet Union through a rapid defense build-up and challenging Soviet imperial designs in every part of the world. Following articles that appeared in *Commentary*, a number of neo-cons, including Jeane Kirkpatrick, who wrote on authoritarian and totalitarian government, arguing incorrectly as it turned out that totalitarian governments cannot make the transition to democracy, and Daniel Patrick Moynihan, entered the Ford and Reagan administrations. Both Kirkpatrick and Moynihan served as ambassadors at the United Nations.

With Podhoretz's retirement in 1995, his long-time associate Neal Kozodoy took over the reins of the publication. His main task has been to lead the magazine into the post-Cold War era following the collapse of the Soviet Union. He has continued to emphasize, however, many of the magazine's older themes, such as criticism of left-wing influences on the campus, in the media, and in American politics. In the period following 9/11, *Commentary* became one of the most forceful defenders of the Bush Doctrine calling for the use by the nation, with or without international support, of the preemptive strike in the battle against international terrorism, a move that was implemented by the administration in Iraq.

A new generation of younger, neo-conservative intellectuals and writers emerged, including Charles Krauthammer, William Kristol, and Robert Kagan and government officials Paul *Wolfowitz and Eliot *Abrams, whom historian John Ehrman has characterized as "*Commentary*'s Children," who continued to promote many of the ideas brought forward by *Commentary*.

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[Murray Friedman (2nd ed.)]

COMMUNISM, the international revolutionary Marxist movement that evolved under *Lenin's leadership from the Bolshevik faction (created in 1903 in the Russian Social Democratic Party) to become the ruling party of Russia after the October Revolution in 1917 and created the Communist International (Comintern) in 1919. The Communist movement and ideology played an important part in Jewish life, particularly in the 1920s, 1930s, and during and after World War II. Violent polemics raged between Jewish Communists and Zionists in all countries until the disenchantment with the anti-Jewish policies of *Stalin in his last years and, after his death, with the antisemitic quality of the treatment of Jews and Jewish life in the U.S.S.R., as well as the increasingly violent anti-Israel stand of Moscow in the Arab-Israel conflict.

Individual Jews played an important role in the early stages of Bolshevism and the Soviet regime. These Jews were mostly confirmed assimilationists who adopted their party's concept of the total disappearance of Jewish identity under advanced capitalism and socialism. They thus opposed the existence of separate Jewish workers' movements, particularly the *Bund and Socialist Zionism. The great attraction of communism among Russian, and later also Western, Jewry emerged only with the establishment of the Soviet regime in Russia. The mere fact that during the civil war in Russia following the October 1917 Revolution the counterrevolutionary forces were violently antisemitic, shedding Jewish blood in pogroms on an unprecedented scale, drove the bulk of Russian Jewish youth into the ranks of the Bolshevik regime. During Lenin's rule, the NEP ("new economic policy"), and the years preceding Stalin's personal dictatorship and the great purges of the 1930s, a dichotomy of Jewish life evolved in the Soviet Union and was greatly attractive to both assimilationist and secular Yiddish-oriented Jews outside Russia. On the one hand, Russian Jews enjoyed the opportunities of immense geographical and social mobility, leaving behind the townlets of the *Pale of Settlement and occupying many responsible positions in all branches of the party and state machinery at the central and local seats of power. On the other, a secular educational and cultural network in Yiddish and an economic and administrative framework of Jewish life, including agricultural settlement and Jewish local and regional "Soviets," were officially established and fostered, culminating in the mid-1930s in the creation of the Jewish Autonomous Region in the Far East (*Birobidzhan). Many Jews the world over therefore regarded the Soviet concept of the solution to the "Jewish question" as an intrinsic positive approach with the main options open for various Jewish trends – assimilation or preservation of Jewish (secular) identity and even Jewish territorialism and embryonic Jewish statehood.

During this period the position of world Jewry markedly deteriorated because of the severe economic and political crises in Palestine and the growing trend of oppressive antisemitism in the rest of Eastern Europe, Nazi and fascist influence in Central and Western Europe, and the economic crisis in the United States. Communism and support of the Soviet Union thus seemed to many Jews to be the only alternative, and Communist trends became widespread in virtually all Jewish communities. In some countries Jews became the leading element in the legal and illegal Communist parties and in some cases were even instructed by the Communist International to change their Jewish-sounding names and pose as non-Jews, in order not to confirm right-wing propaganda that presented Communism as an alien, Jewish conspiracy (e.g., the Polish slogan against "*Żydo-Komuna*" and the Nazi reiteration against "Jewish Bolshevism," etc.). Initially, the Stalin-*Trotsky controversy did not affect the attraction of Communism to Jews, though a number of intellectual Jewish Communists tended more toward Trotsky's consistent internationalism than to Stalin's concept of building "Socialism in one country" and subjecting the interests of the international working class to the changing tactical interests of the Soviet Union. The facts about the gradual liquidation of the Yiddish cultural and educational network and the stifling of the Birobidzhan experiment in the late 1930s did not immediately reach the Jewish public outside the Soviet Union. In addition, only a minority of Jewish Communists condemned the Comintern-directed policy at the end of the 1930s that branded any form of non-Communist Socialism as "social fascism" and the main enemy of the revolution, while simultaneously seeking cooperation with German Nazism. Even the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact of August 1939 was a shock to only a minority of Jewish Communists (except confirmed oppositionists, mainly of the Trotskyite "Fourth International"). When World War II broke out in 1939, most Jewish Communists defended the Soviet anti-Western-flavored neutrality. But from June 1941, when Nazi Germany attacked the Soviet Union and the Communists in occupied Europe excelled in anti-Nazi resistance, and particularly after the war, when the Soviet Union actively supported the establishment of a Jewish state in Palestine, Jewish Communists the world over achieved the highest degree of inner contentment and intellectual harmony in the whole history of the Communist movement.

The relatively abrupt disenchantment began in the late 1940s and the beginning of the 1950s, when Soviet policy toward the State of Israel gradually reversed from support to hostility and the anti-*Cosmopolitan campaign, the *Slanský Trials in Czechoslovakia, and the *Doctors' Plot in Moscow revealed the antisemitic character of the Soviet regime in Stalin's last years. The disclosures, in 1956–57, of the brutal liquidation of all Jewish institutions and the judicial murder of most Yiddish writers and artists in the "black years" (1948–53), the growing Soviet-Arab cooperation against Israel, and the anti-Jewish policy of the Khrushchev and post-Khrushchev period, which culminated in the violent "anti-Zionist" and anti-Israel campaign after the *Six-Day War and the Leningrad Trial of 1970, rendered Jewish disenchantment with Soviet-style Communism almost complete. The *New Left groups that emerged in the later 1960s and enjoyed heavy support from Jewish youth, particularly in the U.S., France, and Germany, were not Soviet-oriented.

[Binyamin Eliav]

Bolshevik Theory (1903–1917)

The Bolshevik attitude to basic questions concerning the Jews was formulated in as early as 1903, with the emergence of the Bolshevik faction during the Second Congress of the Russian Social Democratic Party in Brussels and London. The Bolshevik faction (which in 1912–13 became the Bolshevik Party) contained a number of Jews who were active mainly in the field of organization and propaganda (rather than in theory and ideology, as was the case with the Jewish Mensheviks). They included such people as Maxim *Litvinov (Wallach), M. Liadov (Mandelshtam), Grigori Shklovsky, A. Soltz, S. Gusev (Drabkin), Grigori *Zinoviev (Radomyslsky), Lev *Kamenev (Rosenfeld), Rozaliya *Zemliachka (Zalkind), Helena Rozmirovich, Yemeli *Yaroslavsky (Gubelman), Serafima Gopner, G. Sokolnikov, I. Piatnitsky, Jacob *Sverdlov, M. Vladimirov, P. Zalutsky, A. Lozovsky, Y. Yaklovlev (Epstein), Lazar *Kaganovich, D. Shvartsman, and Simon *Dimanstein. Their number grew rapidly between the Russian revolutions of February and October 1917, when various groups and individuals joined the Bolsheviks; prominent among the new adherents were *Trotsky, M. Uritsky, M. Volodarsky, J. Steklov, Adolf Joffe, David Riazanov (Goldendach), Yuri *Larin, and Karl *Radek (Sobelsohn). Most of the Jews active in Bolshevik ranks before 1917 were assimilationist intellectuals. Few Jewish workers in Russia belonged to the Bolsheviks, and propaganda material designed to recruit Jewish members was restricted to a single Yiddish pamphlet, a short report on the Third (Bolshevik) Congress of the Russian Social Democratic Party (April–May 1905), which contained a special introduction by Lenin addressed "To the Jewish Workers."

It was, indeed, Lenin, the ideological, political, and organizational leader of Bolshevism, who also determined the party's policy toward the Jews. In the period 1900–06, Lenin expressed himself on three Jewish topics: antisemitism, Jewish nationalism versus assimilation, and the relationship between the Bund and the Social Democratic Party. From its very beginnings, Russian Marxism under the leadership of Plekhanov had rejected both the anti-Jewish tendencies in Russian populism and the evasive attitude of the Second International toward the struggle against antisemitism (Brussels Congress, 1891). On the subject of antisemitism, Lenin's attitude was at all times consistent; not only did he take a definitive stand against it, but, unlike Plekhanov, he was free of any personal prejudice against Jews and would never indulge in any anti-Jewish remarks, in public or in private. This held true in spite of the many bitter arguments he had with Jewish opponents in the revolutionary movement. Although generally relying on Marx on questions of fundamental importance, Lenin did not resort to Marx's famous essay "On the Jewish Question" when dealing with Jewish affairs, because of its anti-Jewish implications. He rejected outright any suggestion that the Bolsheviks should ignore anti-Jewish policy and propaganda in czarist Russia, let alone make use of its popular appeal. Lenin regarded the czarist anti-Jewish hate campaign as a diversionary maneuver, an integral part of the demagogic campaign against "the aliens" conducted by henchmen of the czarist regime. He believed that the Jewish worker suffered no less than the Russian under capitalism and the czarist government (*Iskra*, No. 1, December 1900). Later (1905) he went even further, pointing out that Jewish workers suffered from a special form of discrimination by being deprived of even elementary civil rights. Antisemitism was designed to serve the social interests of the ruling classes, although there were also workers who had been incited. As antisemitism was clearly against the interests of the revolution, the fight against it was an integral part of the struggle against czarism and had to be conducted with "proletarian solidarity and a scientific ideology." Lenin regarded the pogroms of 1905–06 as part of the campaign against the revolution and called for the creation of a militia and for armed self-defense as the only means of combating the rioters. He also waged a special press campaign against the pogrom in Bialystok. Nevertheless, Lenin lacked a proper appreciation of the intensity of the Russian antisemitic tradition, the complexity of the factors underlying it, and the special role that it played in the political and social life of the country.

The Bolshevik attitude toward the collective identity of the Jews and their future was theoretically part of their general views on the national question. Lenin did not consider nationalism a constructive and stable social factor. His approach to it was conditional and pragmatic, subordinate to the interests of the class struggle. At the beginning of 1903 he voiced the opinion that the Social Democratic Party was not required to provide positive solutions to national problems, such as the granting of independence, federation, or autonomy, except in a few special cases, and that it should confine itself to combating discrimination and russification of the non-Russian nationalities. The vague formula contained in the platform of the Social Democratic Party on the "right of nations to self-determination" was regarded as a mere slogan, designed to facilitate the organizational and political consolidation of the workers in the common fight against czarism and capitalism, irrespective of their national origin. Furthermore, this "right to self-determination" applied to nationalities having a territorial basis and did not refer to the Jews.

Lenin knew little of the history, culture, and life of the Jews. His view on the Jewish problem was of a casual nature and was not derived from any study or analysis of his own; this was one of the reasons for the shifts in his attitude within a single year. In February 1903 (in the article "Does the Jewish Proletariat Need an Independent Political Party?") he spoke of a Jewish "national culture," a view predicated upon the recognition of the Jews as a national entity, and said that it could not be foretold whether or not the Jews of Russia would assimilate. But in as early as October of that year (in the article "The Position of the Bund in the Party") he voiced categorical opposition to the view that the Jews are a nation and expressed the conviction that their assimilation is a desirable and necessary development. He based himself on a truncated quotation from the writings of Karl Kautsky, the Marxist theoretician, accepting the view that the Jews lack the two characteristics of a nationality: a common territory and a common language (presuming that Yiddish was not a language). The decisive motive behind Lenin's view, however, was the overriding role of the party in his conception of the political struggle and his determination to base the party on absolute organizational centralism. The Bund's demand for a federative structure of the party, in which the Bund would be "the sole representative" of the Jewish proletariat, was regarded by Lenin as counter to his revolutionary strategy. Even so, he did not regard this difference with the Bund as closed to compromise. In 1905–06, when the emphasis in the internal struggle raging in the Russian Social Democratic Party passed from matters of organization to tactical questions and the Bund's stand on certain important points proved to be close to that of the Bolsheviks, Lenin did not hesitate to do everything possible to facilitate the return of the Jewish organization to the party fold (the Bund left the Social Democratic Party in 1903). That the Bund had put even greater stress upon its demand for Jewish cultural autonomy at its sixth convention proved to be no deterrent.

Several leading members of a short-lived non-Leninist group of Bolsheviks, which came into existence in 1908, developed their own approach to Jewish questions. Thus, A. Lunacharsky, in dealing with religion, found that the Bible, and particularly the Prophets, contained revolutionary elements and that there was a link between the Old Testament and the new "Religion of Labor," the latter being, in his opinion, an essential part of socialism. The existence of the Jewish people and the contribution it had made to humanity were of vital importance (*Religiya i Sotsiyalizm*, pt. 1, 1908). Maxim *Gorky, in his condemnation of antisemitism, did not confine himself to its economic, social, and legal aspects, and his struggle against it was not motivated by mere utilitarian political considerations. His positive remarks on Zionism, first made in 1902, were reprinted in 1906, at a time when he had already joined the ranks of the Bolsheviks. He acknowledged the contribution of Jewish ethics and regarded "the creative power of the Jewish people" as a force that would be of help in establishing "the Law of Socialism" among mankind. These individual stands on the Jews taken by Lunacharsky and Gorky had a direct bearing on the attitude they were to adopt on Jewish questions, especially on Jewish culture, at a later stage, when the Bolsheviks had already come to power in Russia.

After the 1905 revolution, when there were nationalist stirrings in Russia, Lenin came to appreciate the importance of the national question and its possible use in the struggle against the czarist regime. In addition to the slogan of "the right of nations to self-determination, including separation," he also recognized the need to make concrete and positive proposals on the solution of national questions, based mainly on the concept of territorial autonomy. Lenin was ready to advocate the creation of autonomous districts based on a homogeneous national (i.e., ethnic and linguistic) composition, even on a minute scale. Such districts, he assumed, would seek to establish contacts of various kinds with members of the same nationality in other parts of Russia, or even in other parts of the world ("Critical Notes on the National Question," 1913). The pogroms and the *Beilis blood libel led Lenin to conclude that "in recent years the persecution of Jews has reached unprecedented proportions" and that "no other nation in Russia suffers as much oppression and persecution as does the Jewish nationality."

In a bill on equal rights for nationalities that Lenin drafted for presentation to the Duma by the Bolshevik faction (1914), special emphasis was put on the lack of rights suffered by the Jews. He was not, however, consistent in the terms he employed with reference to the Jews; he frequently spoke of the Jewish "nationality" or "nation" (as for example in the above-mentioned bill) and nearly always in the context of the national question in Russia. In general, he held that "the process of national assimilation as furthered by capitalism is to be regarded as a great historical advance" and that "the proletariat also welcomes the assimilation of nations," except "when this is based on force or on special privileges." "Each nation consists of two nations," and there are "two national cultures" in each national culture, including that of the Jews. He acknowledged the presence of "universal progressive qualities" in Jewish culture, such as that of "internationalism" and "the capacity to absorb the stream of contemporary progressive ideas" (the latter quality manifesting itself in the high percentage of Jews found in democratic and proletarian movements). In view of his general attitude on the Jewish question, the "progressive qualities" that he perceived in Jewish culture were of the kind that implied the impending assimilation of that culture to "international culture." He did, however, admit that equality of national rights included the right to demand "the hiring of special teachers, at government expense, to teach the Jewish language, Jewish history, etc." The debate on Jewish nationalism, linked with the question of "national cultural autonomy" as demanded by the Bund, increasingly became a part of the internal party struggle. Lenin held fast to the idea that national cultural autonomy would result in weakening the workers' movement by dividing it according to the nationality of its members.

Similar views were also expressed by Stalin. In an essay published in 1913 under the title "The National Question and Social Democracy" (later known under the title "Marxism and the National Question"), which had Lenin's approval and was devoted in large part to the Jews, Stalin gave a dogmatic definition of the concept of nationhood: "A nation is a historically constituted, stable community of people, formed on the basis of a common language, territory, economic life, and psychological make-up, manifested in a common culture." If even a single one of these characteristics is missing, there is no "nation." On the basis of this definition, Stalin contended that the Jewish communities living in the various countries did not constitute one nation. Although every one of them might be described as possessing a common "national character," they were to be regarded as "tribes" or "ethnic entities." When the Pale of Settlement was abolished, the Jews of Russia would assimilate. There was no farming class among them and they existed only as a minority in various areas where the majority population belonged to a different nation. They are therefore to be classified as "national minorities," serving the nations among which they live as industrialists, merchants, and professionals, and were bound to assimilate into these nations. It followed that the Bund's program of "national autonomy" referred to a "nation whose future is denied and whose existence has still to be proven."

Stalin, of course, also opposed Zionism. Unlike Lenin, he did not even have any modest positive proposals to make on the solution of national and cultural problems concerning the Jews. In accordance with the Bolshevik approach, he did, however, agree that the Marxist stand on national questions was not absolute, but rather "dialectic," and depended on the specific circumstances of time and place. Another prominent Bolshevik, S. Shaumian, who generally opposed any positive suggestions about the national question, did in fact concede (in 1914) that under certain conditions it might be possible to accept "national cultural autonomy." Only one leading Bolshevik, Helena Rozmirovich, is known to have favored such a solution at this stage in the history of the Bolshevik Party.

Soviet Practice (1917–1939)

After the October Revolution, the Jewish problem in Russia ceased to be a theoretical issue in interparty strife, and the Bolshevik government and party had to assume responsibility for the specific problems affecting the existence and development of the Jewish community. During the Revolution Jews played a prominent part in the party organs. The Politburo elected on Oct. 23, 1917, had four Jews among its seven members. The Military Revolutionary Committee, appointed to prepare the coup, was headed by Trotsky and had two Jews among its five members. In the early years of the Soviet regime, Jews were in many leading positions in the government and party machinery, although, as a rule, their number did not exceed the percentage of Jews in the urban population. (The number of Jewish members of the All-Russian Communist Party was 5.2% in 1922, 4.33% in 1927, and 3.8% in 1930; the corresponding figures in the Ukraine and Belorussia in 1927 were 12.1% and 23%, respectively.) The legal emancipation of the Jews, which had already been proclaimed in the February Revolution, seemed in Soviet practice to be implemented to an extent unprecedented in any other country. Their unrestricted admission to the universities and to all categories of employment served both the interests of the Soviet regime and the needs and aspirations of the Jews. The centrifugal nationalist tendencies among the peoples of the western border republics, which endangered Soviet centralism, inspired the regime to utilize compact, Jewish masses in these areas as a counterweight, which would swing the balance in the centralist regime's favor. The cultural russification of the Jews played a significant role in this respect. In 1922, as much as two-thirds of the Jewish membership of the Communist Party in the Ukraine was Russian-speaking. The Soviet regime also derived a propaganda benefit from the legal and political equality of Soviet Jews, in contrast to the neighboring states, such as Poland and Romania, which followed an antisemitic policy in practice and sometimes also in law. In both these countries a large Jewish population was concentrated in the border regions (Western Belorussia, Western Ukraine, and Bessarabia) that the Soviet Union considered as being only temporarily detached from its territory.

Antisemitism was branded as being counterrevolutionary in nature, and persons participating in pogroms or instigating them were outlawed (by a special decree issued by the Council of Commissars in July 1918, signed and personally amended by Lenin to sharpen its tone). A statement against antisemitism made by Lenin in March 1919 was one of the rare occasions on which his voice was put on a phonograph record, to be used in a mass campaign against the counterrevolutionary incitement against the Jews. The regime made every effort to denounce the pogroms and punish the persons taking part in them, even when they were Red Army personnel. When the civil war came to an end, a law was passed against "incitement to hatred and hostility of a national or religious nature," which, in effect, also applied to antisemitism, including the use of the pejorative epithet *Zhid*.

The theoretical approach to the Jewish question adopted by prerevolutionary Bolshevism was found to be unsuited to the new situation. The denial of the collective right of the Jews to nationhood, the forecast of the desirable and unavoidable assimilation, and the negation of a Jewish "national culture" and the use of Yiddish as a national Jewish language no longer formed a part of Soviet dogma. Although not all of these formulas were officially abolished or reinterpreted, the entire propaganda network was based on a variety of views that were often the very opposite of Lenin's and Stalin's utterances in prerevolutionary days. The list of nationalities, i.e., ethnic groups, in the Soviet Union included the Jews among the "national minorities" that had no defined territory of their own and that the czarist regime had sought to destroy by any means, not excluding the instigation of pogroms. It followed that the assurance of their right to "free national development" by the "very nature" of the Soviet regime was not enough and that it behooved the party to help "the toiling masses of these ethnic groups" utilize in full "their inherent right to free development" (Tenth Congress of the All-Russian Communist Party, 1921, speech by Stalin, Resolutions). Shortly after the Revolution Jewish affairs were officially included in the jurisdiction of the Commissariat for Nationalities; in addition, Jewish councils ("soviets") were appointed on a local, subdistrict, and district level. This trend found its clearest expression during the early stages of the Birobidzhan experiment (1928–34), when the head of the Soviet state, Mikhail Kalinin, declared that "the Jewish people were facing a great task – that of preserving their nationhood." Thus the prerevolutionary forecast of assimilation as the solution to the Jewish problem, even under advanced capitalism, was now replaced by a national and territorial solution under the new conditions created by the "dictatorship of the proletariat." Disregarding Stalin's findings in 1913 that there were no links between the Jewish communities living in various countries, the Soviet leaders now clearly took into account the influence of the Jews on the Revolution, not only in Russia itself but in other countries as well. Lenin also stressed the significance of abolishing completely the anti-Jewish discrimination practiced by the former regime (see Dimanstein, *Lenin on the Jewish Problem in Russia*, 1924), and this may well have been one of the motives for the project of establishing the nucleus of a Jewish republic (Kalinin at the second national conference of OZET). Although the party did not abandon its theoretical opposition to granting "national cultural autonomy" to ethnic groups lacking a territorial basis, the Jews were in fact permitted to develop a "national culture" of their own (in Yiddish) under the slogan of "a culture that was socialist in content and national in form." Assimilationism ceased to be an obligatory ideal for the foreseeable future. Stalin declared that "Lenin had good reason for saying that national differences will remain for a long time, even after the victory of the dictatorship of the proletariat on an international scale" (Collected Works, vol. 13, p. 7). The belief that Yiddish secular culture in the Soviet Union had a bright future became widespread the world over and attracted to the Soviet Union such non-Communist Jewish authors as David *Bergelson, Leib *Kvitko, David *Hofstein, Moshe *Kulbak, Peretz *Markish, Der *Nister, Max *Erik, Meir *Wiener, and Nakhum *Shtif during the 1920s. Jewish culture in the Soviet Union in this period recorded significant achievements in literature, linguistics, literary history, and some branches of historiography and demography.

This development of Yiddish culture and Jewish autonomy was partly influenced by the considerable influx of former members of Jewish workers' parties (the Bund, the "Fareynikte," *Po'alei Zion, etc.) into the ranks of the Communist Party, especially in the years 1918–21. Many of them tried at first to form Jewish Communist units, as, e.g., the "Kombund" or the "Komfarband," but had soon to conform to the centralist territorial organization of the party and disband all Jewish formations inside the Communist Party. They also had to abjure demonstratively their previous "nationalistic" errors and adopt the official ideology. Nevertheless, these former members of Jewish parties placed their stamp upon the party activities directed toward the Jews, especially through the *Yevsektsiya (which was shunned by the old Jewish Bolsheviks, except Dimanstein). They attempted to continue the tradition of the prerevolutionary Jewish labor parties, basing their activities on various slogans and programs that conformed to the general party policy toward the Jews, such as "productivization," the development of Yiddish culture, Soviet-Jewish territorialism, etc.

At an earlier stage, the Kombund had even had hopes of establishing Jewish organs that would enjoy a large measure of autonomy, based upon the existence of densely settled Jewish masses with a common language and a common way of life. Such endeavors were abandoned as early as 1920, when the Yevsektsiya became a simple propaganda organ of the party with the task of attracting the unorganized Jewish proletariat to the new regime. In accordance with the official line, which demanded that the Russian majority combat its own "chauvinism" and the minority nationalities overcome the "bourgeois nationalism" in their own sphere, the Yevsektsiya found its raison d'être by struggling against the "Jewish class enemy," i.e., Jewish religion, Zionism, and the use of Hebrew, and against any link with traditional Jewish culture. The last vestiges of technically legal Jewish labor groups outside the ruling party, as, e.g., the Communist Jewish Labor Party-Po'alei Zion and the legal *He-Ḥalutz, were officially closed down in 1928. The former was candidly told by the GPU (secret police): "You are disbanded, for we no longer have any need for your party." Two years later, in 1930, the Yevsektsiya itself was dissolved. The end of the Yevsektsiya, however, did not mean an immediate cessation of Yiddish cultural activities. Only in the second half of the 1930s did official policy toward the Jews undergo what was at first a gradual change and later developed into a radical departure from previous policy evolving into forced assimilation.

In the early 1930s, popular antisemitism in the Soviet Union seemed to be on the decline. This trend was used to justify omission of the subject in literature or the press. It was claimed that the "victory of Socialism" made any resurgence of antisemitism impossible. Later, during the Stalinist purges in the late 1930s, most Jewish cultural institutions, including all Yiddish schools, were closed down, and in the course of the far-reaching changes in government and party personnel, a tendency of restricting the number of Jewish cadres made itself felt. The geographic and social changes that had taken place among the Jews, their absorption into the economy of the country, and their growing assimilation to the Russian language and culture provided additional reasons for the gradual abandonment of developing Jewish culture and Jewish institutions and for a return to the original concept of total Jewish assimilation. This time, however, the authorities would force it upon the Jews (though they seemed to disregard the fact that the obligatory registration of the Jewish "nationality" on internal documents, particularly after the reintroduction of the old "passport system" in 1932, made total assimilation even formally impossible). The conscious disregard of any manifestation of popular antisemitism inside the Soviet Union now assumed a different meaning.

Only in the short period of Stalin's anti-Nazi stance from 1934, in the "Popular Front" era, did official Soviet opposition to antisemitism again assume international significance. While Nazi propaganda identified Jews with "Bolsheviks," the Soviet government stressed its opposition to antisemitism "anywhere in the world," expressed "fraternal feelings to the Jewish people" in recognition of its contribution to international socialism, and mentioned Karl Marx's Jewish origin (an item dropped from the 1952 edition of the Soviet Encyclopedia) and the part played by the Jews in building up the Soviet Union (Molotov, 1936). At this time also, a statement made by Stalin in 1931 to a correspondent of the Jewish Telegraphic Agency that "antisemitism, as an extreme form of racial chauvinism, is the most dangerous vestige of cannibalism" was even made public in the Soviet Union itself. But in the period of Soviet-German rapprochement (1939–41), the Nazi persecution and murder of Jews in the occupied territories of Europe was hardly mentioned in the Soviet press. Even after the outbreak of war between Germany and the Soviet Union (June 22, 1941), the authorities made no efforts to combat manifestations of popular antisemitism on Soviet territory, which were a frequent occurrence both in the rear and among the partisan units.

An exceptional phenomenon during the war was the establishment of the Jewish *Anti-Fascist Committee in Moscow (created to solicit support for the Soviet war effort among Western Jewry), whose existence reinforced feelings of solidarity between Soviet and world Jewry. Another exception was the change in Soviet policy toward Jewish endeavors in Palestine; there were signs of it already in 1945 and it culminated in 1947, when it strongly supported the establishment of a Jewish state. Andrei Gromyko's statement at the UN Special Assembly (May 1947) even stressed the historic connection between the Jewish people and Palestine.

Stalin's own infection with antisemitism, however (as witnessed by his daughter, Svetlana Aliluyeva, in her books *Twenty Letters to a Friend* and *Only One Year*), tallied with his new policy of encouraging Russian nationalism, which had traditionally been anti-Jewish. This trend came into the open in the "black years" (1948–53) with the campaign against "Cosmopolitans," the murder of Solomon *Mikhoels and other Jewish intellectuals, and the destruction of the last Jewish cultural institutions. The pro-Jewish turn in Soviet policy on Palestine did not have any effect upon the internal anti-Jewish campaign. From the end of 1948 the latter was relentlessly pursued and spread to other Communist countries as well, notably to Czechoslovakia. It reached its climax in the Slánský Trials in Prague and the Doctors' Plot in Moscow.

After Stalin's death (1953) the enforced cultural assimilation of Soviet Jews, as well as their individual discrimination in the universities and certain professions, continued. Events such as the singling out of Jews for "economic trials" and the publication of antisemitic literature in the 1960s, as, e.g., *Judaism Without Embellishment* by Trofim Kichko (1963), reconfirmed the anti-Jewish line of Stalin's last years in a somewhat attenuated and disguised form. The necessity to disguise this line, especially under pressure of world opinion, including Communist and pro-Soviet circles (see below), elicited some minor concessions, such as the publication of a Yiddish journal (*Sovetish Heymland), a few Yiddish books, and a temporary lull in the propaganda against the Jewish religion (at the end of the 1950s).

A worsening of the situation resulted from the Soviet Union's complete reversal of its policy toward Israel that began in the 1950s with the supply of large consignments of modern arms to the Arab states and continued to be manifest in the sinister role played by the Soviet Union in the sequence of events leading to the Six-Day War and the arrival of Soviet military personnel in Egypt. Soviet antisemitism presented itself from then on as "anti-Zionism."

The World Communist Movement

The Comintern, established in Moscow in the year 1919 and officially dissolved in 1943, had to deal with Jewish problems throughout the period of its existence. In theory, the Comintern recognized neither a "world Jewish people" nor the existence of a world Jewish problem; it conceded that such a problem may exist in certain countries, in which case it remained the responsibility of the local section of the Comintern. Antisemitism was officially regarded by the Comintern as a counterrevolutionary phenomenon, emanating from the dissolution of the petite bourgeoisie and providing a breeding ground for fascism. Its principal danger was that it diverted the attention of the proletariat from the class struggle, and it would disappear as a matter of course as soon as socialism triumphed over fascism and capitalism. There was hardly any mention of antisemitism at the Comintern congresses, the plenary sessions of its Executive Committee, and in its press.

From the very beginning, however, the Comintern was forced to deal with the issue of its relations with the Jewish workers' movement, which was itself a kind of miniature international. The Po'alei Zion had its World Union, and the Bund, although lacking a world organization of its own, wielded great influence among Jewish workers' organizations in Europe and America. The Jewish workers' movement in prerevolutionary Russia had also exerted ideological influence upon Jewish workers in other countries, and even upon Jewish groups that did not belong to the working class. Moreover, the Jewish workers' movement had intricate ties with general workers' organizations and with the international workers' movement, and it had in its ranks many experienced revolutionaries. But the rigid principles of organizational structure made any organized Jewish participation in the Comintern impossible. Efforts made by Communist-oriented groups of the Bund (the Kombund) to join the Comintern as an organization ended in failure, as did similar attempts made by the Polish Bund. The left wing of Po'alei Zion, which, unlike the Bund, had not been involved in the prerevolutionary struggle between Mensheviks and Bolsheviks, made even more determined efforts to be accepted by the Comintern; but in 1920, after prolonged negotiations, the Comintern rejected a proposal to create a Jewish section within the Comintern that would consist of all Communist bodies active among the Jewish proletariat (the Yevsektsiya, Kombund, and the Communist Po'alei Zion). Another proposal, made after the second congress of the Comintern, which provided for the World Union of Po'alei Zion to be accepted as a member of the Comintern while its branches would be permitted to form Jewish sections of the respective Communist parties and would retain a degree of autonomy in matters affecting the specific needs of the Jewish masses, was also rejected. The Comintern was ready to concede the creation of Jewish sections of local Communist parties, but was not prepared to accept the continued existence of a Jewish world union. In 1921 the executive council of the Comintern announced the formation of a bureau of Jewish affairs to direct Comintern propaganda among Jewish workers all over the world; however, nothing further was ever heard about the realization of this plan.

Another major Jewish issue confronting the Comintern was that of its attitude toward Zionism and the Jewish settlement in Palestine. The second congress of the Comintern (1920) denounced Zionism, which "by its claim to a Jewish state in Palestine, where Jewish workers form only a small minority, actually delivers the Arab workers to Britain for exploitation." The executive committee (August 1921) further elaborated upon this denunciation of Zionism by branding the idea of concentrating the Jewish masses in Palestine as "utopist and reformist," an idea "that leads directly to counterrevolutionary results, aiming as it does at settlement in Palestine, which eventually will only serve to strengthen British imperialism there." Throughout its existence, the Comintern adhered to this stand, instructing its Palestine section, as well as all Jewish Communists in other countries, accordingly. In the mid-1920s, however, the Communist Trade Union International (the "Profintern") made an unsuccessful attempt to establish ties with the Left Po'alei Zion in Palestine.

Though the Comintern did not arrive at an official definition of Jewish group identity, its general approach was expressed in the early 1930s in a widely distributed book written by a Jew, Otto Heller, *Der Untergang des Judentums* (1931). Its thesis was that West European Jewry was doomed to disappear as a result of its emancipation, the decline of religion, mixed marriages, and assimilation, and the loss of the special social functions that it had previously fulfilled in European society. A similar process was taking place in the western hemisphere countries to which many Jews had emigrated. In Eastern Europe, on the other hand, the Jews had retained certain national characteristics, and their ultimate fate was still in the balance. In the Soviet Union, they were recognized as a nationality; whether they would utilize the opportunity offered them by the Socialist regime to preserve their national existence and even advance from the status of nationality to that of a nation, with its own territory, was completely dependent on their desire to do so. Even in the Soviet Union, however, at least partial assimilation was an irresistible trend.

During the 1930s, until June 1941, the Communist parties everywhere, including Palestine, adhered strictly to the Soviet line – from its anti-Nazi stand during the Popular Front period to its denunciation of the Western powers and their "imperialist" war against Nazi Germany during the Soviet-German rapprochement (1939–41). The mental strain involved in Soviet-Nazi friendship and cooperation, particularly for Jewish Communists, vanished with the German attack on the Soviet Union and the latter's anti-Nazi alliance with the Western democracies.

IN POLAND. Communism among the Jews in Poland was of particular importance. During the early 1930s in the area inhabited by ethnic Poles (i.e., excluding the areas populated by Ukrainians and Belorussians), Jews accounted for 22 to 26% of the membership of the Communist Party. In the Comintern, the Polish Communist Party occupied a special place, being the oldest member party and providing a large share of its functionaries. Its special role was also related to Poland's geographical situation between the Soviet Union and Germany – the latter at that time being the major strategic objective of the Comintern's activities.

The Polish Communist Party (KPP) was founded at the end of 1918 by the merger of the Social Democratic Party of Poland and Lithuania (SDKPiL) and the Polish Socialist Party (PPS)-Left. Each of the two components had its own tradition of dealing with Jewish affairs. There was a large number of Jews in the leadership of the SDKPiL (among them Rosa *Luxemburg), but the party advocated full assimilation for Jews and even failed to take a strong stand against antisemitism. This attitude did not change during the first few years of the Polish republic; in spite of pogroms, antisemitic campaigns, and a special resolution adopted by it, the party remained rather indifferent to antisemitism, so much so that Comintern leaders, such as Radek and Zinoviev, found it necessary to draw the KPP's attention to this state of affairs. At its second congress (1923), 30% of the delegates were Jews, but of these, two-thirds described themselves as "Poles of Jewish descent." In the period 1919–22, groups (such as Kombund) and individuals who had previously belonged to Jewish workers' parties joined the KPP and took up important posts in it; some of them left their imprint upon the party's activities among the Jews. They included former Po'alei Zion members, such as S. Amsterdam-Henrikowsky, Gershon Dua-Bogen, S. Zakhariash, and A. Lewartowsky; ex-members of the "Fareynikte," such as Jacob Gordin and P. Bokshorn (later also Gutman-Zelikowicz); and from the Bund, A. Minc and A. Plug. Eventually the struggle against antisemitism came to play an important role in the activities of the KPP. It did not follow the SDKPiL tradition, and called even for national rights for the Jewish minority, equal opportunities for cultural development, equal rights for Yiddish in the administration and the courts, and the establishment of secular Yiddish-language schools. The party's activities among the Jews were in the hands of special "sections," "bureaus," or "groups," the autonomy of which remained a controversial issue throughout their existence. The staff of these Jewish "sections" participated in the incessant internal struggle that marked the KPP; when the party line so demanded, these Jewish functionaries fought bitterly against the Bund, the Zionist movement, and He-Ḥalutz. A considerable number of Yiddish periodicals, ostensibly non-Communist, were in reality published by the illegal KPP, and for a while, during the 1930s, even a daily (*Der Fraynd*). A large group of Jewish writers and cultural personalities was affiliated with the KPP or linked with its periodicals. In the period 1935–37, the party made strenuous efforts to induce various political groups (among them its political rivals) to join in a common struggle against fascism and antisemitism.

[Moshe Mishkinsky]

IN THE UNITED STATES. In the United States, the Bolshevik Revolution led to factional disputes within the two main left-wing parties in existence in 1917, the Socialist Party and the Socialist Labor Party, which had significant Jewish memberships, and also within the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW). Some of the more moderate Jewish socialist and labor leaders, such as A. Lessin, A. *Cahan, J.B. *Salutzky, B.Z. *Hoffman-Zivion, and H. Rogoff, temporarily sided with the Bolsheviks after the October Revolution, in part because the alternative to Bolshevism was the violently antisemitic "white" counterrevolution, but soon adopted a firm anti-Communist stand. Other Jewish socialists threw their lot in permanently with the Communists. As a result of the first split in the Jewish Socialist Federation, a Jewish Federation of the Communist Party was founded under the leadership of A. Bittelman (October 1919). In 1921 the Jewish Socialist Federation seceded from the Socialist Party and a Jewish federation of the Communist-sponsored "Workers' Party" came into being (1922). In the same year a Yiddish Communist newspaper, **Freiheit*, made its appearance, edited by M. *Olgin and S. Epstein, two former members of the Bund. Certain socialist leaders who were steeped in Jewish culture, such as M. *Vinchevsky and K. *Marmor, also lent their support to Communism, largely because of their belief in the prospects of a national Yiddish culture developing in the Soviet Union. There was also considerable Communist influence in trade unions with large Jewish memberships. Many of the Yiddish schools founded by the *Workmen's Circle were transferred to Communist sponsorship, and in 1929 Jewish Communists founded the International Workers' Order. It is estimated that in the 1920s as much as 15% of the American Communist Party's membership was Jewish, and the percentage of Jews among the Party leadership was undoubtedly higher. Unemployed or economically marginal Jews, especially in such professions as teaching and social work, and in the fur industry and some sectors of the garment trade, were powerfully attracted by Communist ideals and the widely propagandized achievements of Soviet Russia. Jewish membership fell off slightly as a result of Communist support of the Palestinian Arabs against Jews in the riots of 1929. During the Depression, Communist influence was again on the rise and could claim many sympathizers and "fellow travelers" among the American Jewish academic youth and intelligentsia. A further rise came in the mid-1930s, when the Nazis came to power in Germany and the Soviet Union adopted the Popular Front policy. It was at this time that the Yiddisher Kultur Farband (YIKUF) was founded by Communists in the United States. In the late 1930s the Moscow trials and the acceptance by the American Communist Party of the Soviet-Nazi rapprochement (1939–41) resulted again in a sharp drop in Communist influence among American Jews, which was only partly reversed by the events of World War II. Postwar revelations of Stalinist atrocities and systematic Soviet antisemitism permanently put an end to Communism as a serious force in American Jewish life. Fears that the trial and execution of the Communists Julius and Ethel Rosenberg for espionage would tempt the anti-Communist right in the United States to adopt a platform of antisemitism proved unfounded. The list of Jews who played a prominent role in the leadership and factional infighting of the American Communist Party from its inception is a long one and includes such figures as Israel *Amter, Max *Bedacht, Benjamin *Gitlow, Jay *Lovestone, Jacob *Stachel, William Weinstone, and Alexander Trachtenberg. Many American Jewish authors and intellectuals, some of whom later publicly recanted, were active in editing Communist publications and spreading party propaganda in the 1920s, 1930s, and even later, among them Michael *Gold, Howard *Fast, and Bertram *Wolfe.

After World War II

Although the newly established Communist regimes of Eastern Europe after World War II followed the Soviet line on the Jewish question and the policy toward Israel, there existed some fundamental differences. Most of them permitted the Jews to establish countrywide frameworks for religious and cultural activities, primarily in Yiddish (see *Poland, *Romania, *Hungary, *Czechoslovakia, and *Bulgaria). But, as a rule, the recognition of the Jews as a national minority was not based upon their obligatory individual registration as members of the Jewish "nationality" on identity documents (as in the Soviet Union), and Jews were able to describe themselves either as Jews or as belonging to the respective majority people; in theory, at least, they had the option of national assimilation. Jewish cultural institutions, whose Soviet counterparts had been liquidated in Stalin's time, continued to function, as, e.g., Yiddish theaters (in Poland and Romania), the Jewish Historical Institute in Warsaw, and a similar institute in Budapest. At one period or other, most of these countries permitted large numbers of Jews to migrate to Israel, in spite of the different Soviet policy in this respect.

Communist parties outside the Soviet bloc, including their Jewish sections and Jewish press, reflected the policy of the Soviet Union toward the Jews. In the last years of Stalin's rule, when every trace of Jewish culture and Jewish institutions had been obliterated in the Soviet Union, they tried to obscure the truth of the situation and even defended the Soviet Union against attacks by Jewish leaders and organizations against the anti-Jewish policy of 1952–53. A radical change occurred after the 20th congress of the Soviet Communist Party in February 1956, when Stalin's crimes were for the first time revealed in the Soviet Union, although the anti-Jewish element in these crimes continued to be ignored and suppressed. The first shock came with the publication (in the New York Jewish *Forward*) of news of the judicial murder of 26 outstanding Soviet Jewish writers and poets on Aug. 12, 1952. A great stir was caused in the entire Jewish world by an editorial that appeared in the Warsaw Communist newspaper, *Folkshtime*, in April 1956 headlined "Our Sorrow and Our Comfort." The article contained a detailed report of the process by which Jewish culture in the Soviet Union, its bearers, and institutions, had been liquidated, a process that had commenced in the 1930s and had reached its tragic culmination in the last years of Stalin's life. The article expressed the hope that this process would be reversed and Jewish culture and cultural institutions would enter a period of revival.

A storm of indignation swept the Communist movement in the West, especially among Jewish Communists. In Canada, the veteran Communist leader J.B. Salsberg published a series of articles in the Communist press that contained a report on the meetings of a delegation of the Canadian Communist Party, headed by him, with Khrushchev in Moscow in 1957 at which the Soviet leader's antisemitic inclinations had been clearly indicated. Salsberg seceded from the Communist Party, and many Jews and non-Jews followed his example. In Britain, another veteran Jewish Communist, Hyman *Levy, published a pamphlet entitled *Jews and the National Question* (1958), in which he denounced Soviet policy toward the Jews after an extensive visit to the Soviet Union and talks with Soviet leaders. He was promptly expelled from the party. In the United States, Howard Fast left the Communist Party under similar circumstances, stressing the Jewish aspect of his decision in *The Naked God* (1957); so did several members of the editorial staff of the *Daily Worker* (which thereupon turned into a weekly). In Latin America, sizable groups of Jews left the party and embarked upon the publication of their own organs (called, e.g., *Mir Viln Lebn*, "We Want to Live") expressing their opposition to Soviet policy of forced assimilation of Jews and destruction of Jewish culture and institutions; eventually, most of them joined Zionist Socialist parties. In non-Jewish Communist publications, such as *L'Unità* in Italy, and theoretical Communist journals in Britain, Australia, and other countries, the Soviet Union also received severe criticism of its discriminatory policy toward the Jews. In 1963, when Kichko's antisemitic book was published in Kiev, almost the entire Communist press in the West joined in a sharp protest, and the central committee of the Soviet Communist Party found itself obliged to disassociate itself publicly from the book.

Far-reaching changes also took place after the Six-Day War (1967), when the Soviet Union launched a worldwide campaign against "international Zionism" marked by violently antisemitic overtones. The Communist Party in Israel (see below) split into a pro-Israel and pro-Arab faction (Maki and Rakaḥ, respectively); a similar split, which in most cases did not, however, extend to organizational separation but confined itself to differences of political attitude, also occurred in several Communist parties elsewhere. In New York, the *Morning Freiheit* adopted a stand akin to that of Maki (which considered that in the Six-Day War Israel defended its freedom and existence), while *The Daily World* followed the anti-Israel line. In France, *L'Humanité* took a sharp anti-Israel stand, and reasserted the old Communist call to the Jews to assimilate to their host nations (editorial published on March 26, 1970), while the *Naye Prese*, the Communist Yiddish daily in Paris, was much more moderate in its attitude toward Israel and continued to affirm the Jewish right to an independent national culture. The "Jewish crisis" in the international Communist camp was further exacerbated by the events that took place in Czechoslovakia in 1968, and even more by the stringent antisemitic policy in Poland from March 1968, which was accompanied by what amounted to the expulsion of veteran Jewish Communists from the country. Adherence to the Communist Party and the affirmation of a positive Judaism of any kind had become mutually exclusive. With the collapse of Communism in Eastern Europe in the early 1990s, Jewish affiliation virtually ended, as only diehards remained associated with the small political groupings that clung to the old ideology under altered names.

[Moshe Mishkinsky]

IN EREẒ ISRAEL. A Communist group first appeared in Palestine during 1919, within the extreme left Mifleget Po'alim Soẓialistim (MPS), "Socialist Workers' Party," but it soon disintegrated. Under the British Mandate the Communist Party was outlawed. In 1921 the Palestine Communist Party was organized illegally, by a combination of extreme left splinter groups, and affiliated with the Comintern in 1924. Its entire history was a series of internal splits and secessions, as well as conflicts with Zionism and the British authorities. Its course was always clouded by alternating Jewish-Arab cooperation and friction within the Party.

From 1924 onward, on Comintern orders, efforts were made to "Arabize" the Party, the argument being that the country would always remain Arab, since Zionism was at best utopian, and at worst a servant to British imperialism. Jewish leaders were ousted, but attempts made to recruit Arabs proved largely unsuccessful; the richer Arabs were averse to Communism, while others, if at all politically minded, favored Arab nationalism. Although sympathy with the Russian October Revolution was widespread in the Palestine labor movement, during the 1920s only a splinter group of the *Gedud ha-Avodah broke with Zionism and eventually migrated to the Soviet Union. From 1936 to 1939 the Party openly supported the Arab revolt, including the anti-Jewish terrorism. Still, in 1939 the Party was quite isolated from the Arabs, while its support of the Ribbentrop-Molotov agreement jolted the remaining Jewish members. From 1939 it operated in separate Jewish and Arab groups.

Further splits occurred over the Soviet Union's support of a Jewish state in 1948, when some of the Arab members of the party were against the Soviet Union's vote for partition. After the establishment of the State of Israel, the Party reunited under the name of "Maki" (Miflagah Komunistit Yisre'elit- "Israel Communist Party"). It operated legally, but, as an anti-Zionist party in a Zionist state, its influence was negligible. Its following among Jews rose in the 1950s, when mass immigration caused economic hardship and when a leftist splinter group of *Mapam, led by Moshe *Sneh, joined Maki; but it dwindled again with the prosperity of the 1960s. Although the party always looked for support among Israel's Arabs, it intensified its appeals to the Arabs in this period. In each election to the Knesset, Maki received greater support, proportionally, from Arabs than from Jews, e.g., in 1961 about half of Maki's 42,111 votes came from Israel Arabs, who then constituted only a ninth of the population. Some of the Arabs voted Communist in response to Soviet support of Arab nationalism, while, for precisely the same reason, many Jews refrained from supporting the Party. Tensions on this point were the main cause of the rift in Maki, generally on Jewish-Arab lines, which occurred in the summer of 1965. The Arab-led faction formed the New Communist List (Reshimah Komunistit Ḥadashah, or Rakaḥ), with a more extreme anti-government attitude and complete obedience to Moscow.

At first the Soviet Union tended to endorse Maki and Rakaḥ, but after the 1967 Six-Day War it recognized Rakaḥ only. After the split Maki took a line increasingly independent of Moscow in all matters pertaining to Israel-Arab relations, reflecting the fundamental Jewish nationalism of its membership. This became more pronounced after the Six-Day War, when Maki openly criticized Moscow's anti-Israel attitude and largely endorsed Israel government acts and policy. At its conference in 1968 Maki adopted a program which included not only pro-Israel plans but also, for the first time, a recognition that every Jew, even in a Socialist country, should be allowed to choose among assimilation, Jewish cultural life, or migration to Israel. Some Communist parties abroad, mainly in the West, but also that of Romania, continued to maintain "fraternal" relations with Maki, in spite of Moscow's denunciations of Maki's "chauvinism."

Although membership statistics were not publicized, the party would appear to have had close to 5,000 members in the 1950s and about 3,000 in the early 1960s. In 1961, according to the report of Maki's congress, 74.3% were Jews and 25.7% Arabs; 83.8% had joined after 1948 and 27% after 1957, an indication of the rapid turnover among the rank and file. The leadership, which had changed often in pre-state days, remained fairly constant from 1948 until the 1965 rift. In the late 1960s the Jewish leaders of Maki were Shemuel Mikunis and Moshe *Sneh, while Meir Wilner and the Arabs Tawfiq Toubi and Emil Habibi headed Rakaḥ. All five were Knesset members at one time or another.

The party always stressed continuous, often strident, propaganda. Many joined the V (Victory) League after June 1941, and later, the various friendship societies with the Soviet Union, several of which were front organizations. The Party's written propaganda increased before elections, and it maintained a continuous flow of newspapers and periodicals in Hebrew (*Kol ha-Am* ("Voice of the People")), Arabic, French, Polish, Romanian, Hungarian, Bulgarian, and Yiddish. After the 1965 split, both Communist parties continued publishing in Hebrew and Arabic, with Maki publishing in other languages, to reach new Jewish immigrants. After winning just one seat in the 1969 Knesset elections, Maki was transformed into Moked under Meir *Pa'il in the early 1970s and effectively vanished from the political map. Rakaḥ changed its name to Ḥadash (Ḥazit Demokratit le-Shalom u-le-Shivyon, "Democratic Front for Peace and Equality") before the 1977 Knesset elections, joined now by Jewish leftists, and was able to maintain a Knesset faction of 3–5 members into the 21st century as a nationalist Arab party, despite the disintegration of the Communist Bloc.

[Jacob M. Landau]

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COMMUNITY, the designation of Jewish social units, used for the Hebrew terms *edah, kehillah*, and *kahal*. Ideally the community denoted the "Holy Community" (*Kehillah Kedoshah*), the nucleus of Jewish local cohesion and leadership in towns and smaller settlements. Particularly after the loss of independence, as the Jews became predominantly town dwellers, the community became more developed and central to Jewish society and history. From the Middle Ages on the community was a "Jewish city," parallel to and within the Christian and Muslim ones.

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ANTIQUITY

While the central and centralistic institutions of *kingship, *patriarchs, *prophets, *Temple, *tribe, and academies predominated – each in its time and its own way – there is only occasional mention of local leadership among the Jews. However, in *Shechem it was apparently the *Ba'alei Shekhem* who ruled the town, determining its enemies and friends (Judg. 9, passim). King *Ahab had to turn to "the elders and nobles, which are of his town, who sit with Naboth" (I Kings 21:8) and they passed judgment on Naboth (*ibid.* 11–13). It would seem that this local leadership, which combined preeminence in the town with noble family descent, was a central element in the life of the exiles in *Babylon. For more on community structure in the Bible see *Congregation (Assembly). The Book of *Judith tells of local self-government in the town of Bethulia in the days of Persian influence. The town was led by three men (*ibid.* 26) who had judicial power and the right to lead the defense of the city.

Later, under the Ptolemaic and Seleucid rule and influence, Hellenistic institutions began to shape local social life. In the Second Temple period the *Sanhedrin had the function of municipal council of the holy city, Jerusalem, as well as its more central functions in national life. From its foundation *Tiberias was a city with a decisive Jewish majority, structured and organized on the model of the Greek *polis*, with a city council and popular assemblies which sometimes met in the synagogue. At the head of the executive branch stood the archon and supervision of economic life was in the hands of the *agoranomos*. In the Hellenistic-Roman Diaspora the element of *autonomy granted by the non-Jewish sovereigns became a basic constitutive element in the life of the Jewish community, remaining central to it throughout centuries of Jewish history. In *Alexandria, Egypt, there existed a large Jewish community, which did not however embrace all the Jews living within the city; the synagogue became a center of communal leadership and at the same time a focal point for the emergence of a separate synagogue-community, existing alongside similar synagogue-communities within the same city.

By Ptolemaic times the Jews in Alexandria were already organized as a *politeuma* (πολίτευμα), one of a number of such administrative (non-Jewish) units in the city. At the head of the Alexandria community at first were the elders. In the beginning of Roman rule, the leadership of the Alexandria community was in the hands of an ethnarch; later, in the days of Augustus, the main leadership passed to the council of elders (*gerousia*), which had scores of members. The Berenice (*Benghazi) community in Cyrenaica had nine archons at the head of its *politeuma*. The Rome community seems to have been divided up, and organized in and around the synagogues. In Rome, as in other communities of the empire, there were titles like *pater synagogae, archisynagogus*, even *mater* or *pateressa synagogae*, and to a great degree such titles had become formal, hereditary, and empty. An imperial order to the *Cologne community of 321 is addressed "to the priests [*hierei*], to the heads of the synagogues [*archisynagogi*], to the fathers of synagogues [*patres synagogarum*]," thus showing that even in a distant community a wide variety of titles, some of a priestly nature, existed side by side.

Synagogue inscriptions and tombstones attest the importance attached to synagogue-community leadership. Up to the fifth century the patriarchs supervised and instructed this network of communities in the Roman Empire through sages (*apostoloi*). The epistles of *Paul are in a sense evidence of the strength and cohesion of synagogue-community life and discipline. The nascent organization of the underground Christian Church was modeled to a considerable degree on this Jewish community life and organization. Fast-day ceremonies show clear signs of local organization and sense of identity. Sectarian organizational life, like that of the *Essenes or the *Qumran group, reveals the tendency to create a closed community structure and life on principles very similar to those of the holy synagogue-community.

Some methods of communal organization – based on autonomy, the synagogue as the local center, and the synagogue as a separate communal unit within the locality – and some of the titles (in particular the Hebrew ones like *Tuvei ha-Ir*) were carried over into medieval and modern times.

[Haim Hillel Ben-Sasson]

MIDDLE AGES

Organized local communities functioning in Babylonia were highly centralized under the control of the *geonim* and exilarchs from approximately the eighth to the eleventh centuries. However, there are many indications that local autonomy was stronger and more active than these centralist institutions. The breakup in centralized authority and the growth of new patterns formed under conditions created by the emerging cities and states, in Christian Europe in particular, brought the local community more and more into the foreground. External and internal factors provided the dynamic force leading to self-perpetuation; among the former were collective responsibility for taxes (royal or seignorial) and ecclesiastical privileges, and the corporate organization of society in general. The inner cohesive forces were equally potent, if not more so. First there were the ancient traditions of Jewish group life as expressed in a variety of institutions; most powerful of these was the *halakhah*, the firm rule of religious law. Of paramount importance was the sovereign right of each *kehillah* to adopt its own fundamental communal law as formulated in **takkanot*. The *kehillah* retained its links with the Jews in the Diaspora as a whole through its adherence to tradition and law and shared messianic hope. Probably economic concerns of Jewish artisans and merchants constituted powerful common interests, yet the predominant binding forces were religious and cultural.

Character and Structures

Up to the expulsion from Spain (1492) the pattern of only one community board, or *kahal*, prevailed. It was only in the period of resettlement after the expulsion from Spain and in the modern period that the pattern of a community centered on its own particular synagogue reemerged strongly in many areas and splintered the original community. From the beginning of the 12th century, Western European civic tendencies began to penetrate the life and thought of the adjacent Jewish communities, which attempted to close their doors to newcomers (see **ḥerem ha-yishuv*). Membership in a community was acquired by birth or granted by formal admission. In extreme cases failure to submit to communal discipline could lead to expulsion. These tendencies clashed with the feeling of Jewish solidarity and belief that charity should extend beyond the city walls. As in the gentile city, in the Jewish community too there was a patrician tendency to limit election rights and – through various election clauses – to make the ruling circle a closed and self-perpetuating one. Membership of this ruling class depended on riches, learning, and patrician descent, in most cases a combination of all three. This oligarchic system was much more pronounced in the communities of Christian Spain until the expulsion, than in those of northern France or Germany. From time to time pronounced popular dissatisfaction led to reforms in election and tax-assessment methods and community institutions and structures. Different types of voting procedure were employed at meetings and there were rarely secret and fair elections. Some officers, such as judges and charity wardens, were chosen by direct ballot, but the indirect ballot, whereby some half dozen unrelated electors (*borerim*) were drawn by lot, was most popular. They constituted the electoral college which proceeded to select the major officers.

In a very small community a single officer managed affairs. The larger communities had many more elders, who went by a large variety of titles in the vernacular or in Hebrew, such as chiefs (*rashim*), aldermen (**parnasim*), best men (*tovim*), trustees (*ne'emanim*), supervisors (**gabba'im*), and many others. Special officers acted as tax assessors (*shamma'im*), tax collectors (*gabba'ei ha-mas*), morality boards (**berurei averah*), diplomatic spokesmen (**shtadlanim*), supervisors of the synagogue, of communal schools, charities, weights and measures, and a host of others. The chief officers were sometimes "elder of the month" (*parnas ha-ḥodesh*) in rotation. In Germany, Moravia, and western Hungary this *parnas ha-ḥodesh* was subject to the control of an executive committee; in Poland and Lithuania he later had full authority to act on his own. The community board was called *kahal*. The *shtadlan*, who represented an individual community, a region, or an entire country, was found in the larger cities. He was responsible for interceding with the authorities in defense of Jewish rights and in the alleviation of abuses. He had to know the language of the country and feel at ease with king, bishop, and courtier. As the representative of a subject people in an age when ideas of freedom and equality were hardly understood, he did not fight for Jewish rights: he pleaded for them, or gained his point through bribery. He was either a wealthy Jew who acted for his people out of a sense of civic duty, or he was an official who was paid handsomely for his exacting labors.

The designation of *rabbi (*rav*) of the community appears fairly early in Western Europe. By the 12th century it was frequently used, although not then very clearly defined. Many rabbis subsisted on irregular incomes. For a long time learned laymen administered justice in some countries; judges had to be elected. After a long period of uncertainty, the authority of the rabbi gradually became established. Large communities had rabbis who specialized as judges in civil (**dayyan*) or ritual (*moreh hora'ah*) matters, heads of academies, or preachers (*maggid). Other paid communal officials were the cantor (*ḥazzan), sexton (*shammash), ritual slaughterer (*shoḥet), *scribe (sofer), or recording secretary, who entered minutes in the *pinkas (community register or minute-book). Some of these communal workers possessed executive authority alongside the elected elders. Thus a shammash might be empowered to take punitive action against a recalcitrant inhabitant without first consulting the elder of the month. In some communities he was even charged with watching for infractions of the ordinances.

Functions and Duties

The community offered religious, educational, judicial, financial, and social welfare services to its members. It thus made possible a self-determined life for segregated Jewry. The cemetery and the synagogue were the primary institutions in each community. A single dead Jew required hallowed ground and for that reason graveyards were often the first property to be acquired. Ten adult Jews could meet in any private dwelling for public worship, but they soon needed a permanent prayer house. No membership fees were paid; the synagogue largely depended on income from the sale of *mitzvot*, the main one being the honor of being called to the reading from the Torah. Every sizable community had several houses of prayer, whether communal, associational, or private, which served as pivots and centers of communal life (see *Synagogue and cf. **Bitul ha-Tamid*); these maintained and supervised the abattoir for ritual slaughter, a ritual bath (**mikveh*), the supply of kosher foods, and the sale of citrons (*etrogim*).

Though teaching children and adult study were the responsibility of the individual Jew, supervision over schools and the provision of education for the poor were assumed by the community or an association. Special imposts were levied for educational purposes. The number of students per teacher, the quality of instruction, and competition among teachers were regulated. Schoolhouses were built, mainly for poor children and for higher learning. Synagogues and schools were supplied with libraries of sacred books. The adult study groups and the general pervasive character of educational endeavors maintained the Jews as the People of the Book.

Local communities were accorded extensive jurisdiction and discretion. The principle of **ḥerem bet din*, the right of each community to final jurisdiction and its security against appeals to outside authorities, was established in northern France from the 12th century. However, appeals to outstanding rabbinic luminaries outside the community were not entirely ruled out. At first knowledgeable elders ruled in disputes; soon ritual, civil, and criminal law became the province of properly trained rabbinic judges, and court proceedings were speedy and efficient. Excommunication – religious, social, and economic ostracism – was widely applied. Capital punishment was inflicted on *informers in Spain and in Poland. In some countries execution was left to state authorities. Other penalties included expulsion, the pillory, flogging, imprisonment, and fines. The community was the fiscal agent of the ruler and the bearer of collective responsibility for the collection of taxes from the Jews. It had to treat with the ruler on the type and amount of taxes, distribute the burden among its members according to its own principles, and to collect the sum. Thus it imposed direct and indirect taxes, import and export duties, tolls, and taxes in lieu of military service or forced labor. The prevailing method of tax collection was assessment by elected officials. Tax exemptions were sometimes granted by the state to influential individuals and some scholars and community officials also enjoyed tax immunity. The fiscal system worked tolerably well in the Middle Ages when communal controls were effective, but broke down with emancipation of the individual in the modern period.

The Jewish community regulated the socioeconomic life of its members. The principle of **ḥazakah* had wide applications in such areas as rent control, the acquired right of an artisan or a merchant to retain his customer (**ma'arūfiyya*), or the right of settlement. Lavish dress and sumptuous festivities were strictly regulated, a rule more often observed only in the breach. Polygamy was combated by communal action until it was eradicated in Christian lands and sexual morality was stringently regulated: there were ordinances against mixed dancing, gambling, and improper family life. Communal and individual charity provided for the impecunious; food, money, clothing, and shelter were dispensed. Itinerant beggars were kept on the move from one community to another. The sick were comforted by visitation, care, and medicines. Some towns maintained a **hekdesh*, a hospital for the ailing poor which only too often, as usual at the time, was unsanitary. Orphans and widows were provided for. "Redemption of *captives," the ransoming of victims of imprisonment, captives of war or of pirates, was ranked first among charities. Special chests for relief in Ereẓ Israel (**ḥalukkah*) were maintained.

[Isaac Levitats]

Individual Centers

THE MUSLIM CALIPHATE IN THE EAST. By unanimous Jewish testimony the first caliphs were sympathetic toward the representatives of the supreme institutions of the Babylonian Jewish community. Following the stabilization of Arab rule in the mid-eighth century, which did not interfere with the internal affairs of non-Muslims, a state of peaceful coexistence developed between the Muslim authorities and the leaders of the autonomous institutions of the non-Muslims, so that the Jews were able to reconstitute a system of self-government. The head of the "secular" autonomous administration was the *exilarch, an office originating in Parthian times and continuing under the Sassanids. The exilarch was of Davidic stock, and the office was hereditary. After a period of instability, *Bustanai b. Ḥaninai was recognized as exilarch during the rule of Omar I (634–44) and transmitted the office to his sons. The hereditary and elected representatives of Babylonian Jewry were charged with the administration of all taxes levied on Jews, with the representation of Jewry before the Muslim rulers, with autonomous judicial functions, the enactment of communal regulations, and the supervision of the yeshivot, etc. The traveler *Benjamin of Tudela, who visited Baghdad in about 1162, gives an eyewitness account of the honor and splendor surrounding the exilarch Daniel b. Ḥisdai (1150–74) at the caliph's court. He was received in official audience by the caliph every Thursday, when all Muslims and Jews had to stand before him; he sat beside the caliph while all the Muslim dignitaries remained on their feet. Another Jewish traveler, *Pethahiah of Regensburg, reports that the heads of the Jewish community in Mosul punished offenders even if the other party to the case was a Muslim (there was a Jewish prison in the city). Pethahiah also notes that the Jews did not pay taxes directly to the caliph, but paid one gold dinar per annum to the exilarch. When the Mongol khan Hulagu conquered Baghdad (1258), he harmed neither the Jewish community nor the exilarch, Samuel b. David. Jewish leaders of the House of David continued to reside in Baghdad until the days of Tamerlane (1401). During the decline of the Abbasid caliphate, when control was passing to the Seljuks (c. 1030), minor governments sprang up in Mosul, Damascus, and Aleppo; settling in these cities, scions of the families of the Babylonian exilarch obtained important positions which were confirmed by the governments. So dear to the people was the memory of the Davidic kingdom that the descendants of David were received everywhere with great honor: they were given the title **nasi*, and their dynastic origin placed them automatically at the head of the community as its recognized representatives. This fragmentation of the exilarchate into different territorial units began in the 11th century. The *nesi'im* collected tithes, poll tax, and other imposts, appointed communal officials and judges, and sat in judgment themselves. In contrast to their silence about other religious communities generally, and the Jews in particular, Arab sources frequently mention the exilarch. Alongside the "secular" autonomous administration was the "spiritual" administration, the **geonim*, heads of the two famous academies of Sura and Pumbedita, who also were empowered to appoint *dayyanim* in their respective districts and to supervise the administration of justice. Each of the two Babylonian academies had a *bet din gadol* ("high court") attached to it, headed by a president (*av*) who acted as deputy to the *gaon* and sometimes succeeded him after his death. Litigants from other countries could, by mutual consent, bring their cases before the *geonim* for an opinion. Moreover, by means of the responsa, the *geonim* exerted great influence over the organization, procedure, and uniformity of jurisdiction of the law courts. Characteristic of the management of the Jewish community in the medieval Muslim East (Babylon and its dependencies) was the bipolarity in the division of functions and powers between essentially central secular and essentially central religious and academic authorities; this generally persisted until the beginning of the 11th century. Afterward it was not an infrequent occurrence that the secular head (exilarch) was called upon to lead the academy and the great *bet din* attached to it as well; but on occasion the *gaon* also assumed the functions of the exilarch.

THE MUSLIM COUNTRIES IN THE WEST (EGYPT AND THE MAGHREB). More is known about the forms of organization of Egyptian and North African communities, which were different from those in the East. For political reasons the Fatimid caliphs in Egypt did not want the Jewish communities in their domains, which extended as far as present-day Morocco, to be subject to Jewish authorities outside their realm. Like the Umayyad rulers of Spain and part of Morocco, they therefore encouraged the severance of local Jewry from dependence on the Babylonian center. The several extant versions of letters of appointment of *negidim* in Egypt show that the **nagid*'s functions were partly similar to those of the exilarch in Babylonia in later times: he represented all the Jews and was their religious guide and judge; he drew up deeds of marriage and divorce and saw to it that prayers were said while facing Jerusalem, in contrast to Samaritan custom; and he was responsible for the implementation of the special measures applying to the **dhimmis* (non-Muslims given protected status). Among the best-known *negidim* were the descendants of Maimonides – five generations in all – who were the government appointed secular leaders of Jewry in Egypt and its dependencies, and, at the same time, spiritual leaders consulted on all matters of religion and law. The Egyptian *negidim* were also in charge of the fairly large Karaite and Samaritan communities. Palestinian and Syrian Jewry was headed by a local *nagid*, subordinate to the *nagid* in Cairo, whose deputy he was and without whose permission he could not be appointed. Apart from the *nagid*, two other functionaries represented the community: the minister (*ḥazzan*) and the prayer leader (*sheli'aḥ ẓibbur*). The office of *nagid* existed in Egypt until the Turkish conquest in 1517. A special situation prevailed in Egypt under Ottoman rule, when the *nagid* was appointed and sent to Cairo by the government authorities in Constantinople. In the middle of the 16th century, after 30 years of Ottoman rule, the rabbi of the Egyptian community excommunicated the *nagid* for having slighted him; the *nagid* complained to the Muslim governor, which shows that he was not empowered to anathematize him, but the dispute ended with the expulsion of the *nagid* from Egypt. Sambari, the 17th-century Egyptian chronicler, concludes: "From that day onward, he [the Muslim ruler] made it a law in Israel that no Jew who came from Konstantina [Constantinople] should be called *nagid*, but that he should be called *chelebi*; and this has been the law for Israel to this day" (Sambari, in Neubauer, Chronicles, vol. 1, pp. 116–7). Later sources indicate that the titles *chelebi*, *bazirgyan*, and *muʿallim*, still in use in early 19th-century Constantinople, were given to a prominent Jew who performed the function of official intercessor by virtue of his position in the financial and economic administration of the Egyptian rulers. Jewish dragomans in seaport towns similarly had influence with the authorities and used it for the benefit of their coreligionists.

LATER DEVELOPMENTS IN NORTH AFRICA. From the 16th century onward, regulations, chronicles of Fez and responsa written by the rabbinical authorities of Morocco mention the *nagid*, Jewry's official representative and spokesman at the court of the ruler. The *nagid* was probably chosen by the ruler, by agreement with the Jews, from among the persons who had dealings with the court. The office was frequently hereditary. Beside the *nagid* in Fez (or sometimes in Marrakesh, the original capital of the Saʿdi's), there was a *nagid* in Meknès during the reign of Maulay Ismāʿīl, who rebuilt the city and made it his capital. Other *negidim* resided at Sefrou and Salè. Sefrou was chosen as the seat of the *nagid* because it was close to Fez, where activities were frequently suspended because of the many disturbances which occurred there. The *nagid* in Salè (Rabat) was probably Jewry's representative to the independent sheikhs and pirates in control there. Presumably there were *negidim* in other cities as well. In addition to the *nagid*, there were usually seven notables (*tuvei ha-ir*) concerned with the manifold needs of the community. Regulations required the consent of the rabbinical courts and the entire community. Although the influence of the refugees expelled from Spain is usually evident, there were certain changes resulting from political conditions and from the need to establish a system which was also acceptable to the veteran Jewish residents.

The autocratic status of the dey of Algeria affected the position of the **muqaddim*, the Jewish representative at his court. In Spain, before the expulsion, this title was borne by a member of the community's leadership, and it seems that in Algeria, too, there were at first several *muqaddimūn* who looked after the affairs of the community; they are mentioned in a *sharīʿa* document of the early 18th century in connection with the purchase of land for a cemetery. In 1735 a change was introduced in the leadership of the community, and from then onward increasing reference is made to the *muqaddim* as the community's sole representative before the dey. Henceforth, the position became a monopoly of two or three families: *Bouchara, *Busnach and *Bacri (who were related), and the famous *Duran family. Their activities at the dey's court were internationally noted, especially from the early 19th century onward. After the conquest of Algeria by the French in 1830, one of the military administration's principal measures with respect to the Jews was the curtailment of the powers of their communal courts. This was done systematically by several decrees, issued between 1830 and 1842, which gradually restricted their jurisdiction in matrimonial matters to the holding of merely symbolic ceremonies and the offering of advice and written opinions; most matters were transferred to the jurisdiction of the French civil courts. The French policy makers were assisted in their efforts by the influence, encouragement, and cooperation of the leaders of Jewish religious institutions in France and French-Jewish citizens who settled in Algeria. Throughout the French era, until they regained full independence in 1962, Algerian Muslims jealously guarded their position as an autonomous community, not subject to French law in matters of personal status. The fate of the *muqaddim*, described by Christian writers as "king of the Jews," was similar to that of the rabbinical courts. On Nov. 16, 1830, Jacob Bacri was appointed *muqqadim* and empowered to supervise all Jews in town, execute judgments, and collect taxes. In the following year he was given three advisers, and after him Aaron Mu'atti was appointed head of the Jews. However, after five years the title of the *muqaddim* was changed to deputy mayor for Jewish affairs; he became a French official, drawing a salary from the government.

The head of Tunisian Jewry, known as the *qa'id*, was in a very strong position, since as tax collector and toll gatherer – and, in the capital Tunis, treasurer as well – he played an important part in the bey's administration. H.J.D. Azulai, in his *Maʿagal Tov* (1921–34), gives some idea of the wealth, prestige, and autocratic ways of the *qāʾid* Joshua Tanūjī. Some of the other *qāʾids* he mentions belong to the class which ruled supreme in both religious and wordly affairs of the community. The dependence of the office of the *qāʾid* on the bey sometimes resulted in its becoming hereditary. Mutually independent sources attest that the powers of the *qāʾid* as head of the community were very broad and that all matters of religious leadership, in addition to the management of communal property, were decided by him. These powers were not appreciably curtailed until the second half of the 19th century. From personal observation D. Cazès (*Essai sur l'histoire des Israélites de Tunisie*, 1888) states that the *qāʾid* represented the government authorities vis-à-vis the Jews, and that he proposed to the authorities, or himself appointed, the *dayyanim*, the seven notables, the men in charge of certain departments, the notaries, and the scribes. His signature appears first on official documents, even before that of the chief rabbi. Nothing was done in the community without his consent because he had a veto on all decisions of the *dayyanim*, the seven notables, and the leaders of the community. Every document, whether public or private, had to bear his signature or the notification that it had been drawn up with consent. The *qāʾid* was also in charge of the administration of justice among the Jews, on whom he might impose fines, whipping, and imprisonment. The city authorities were obliged to lend him their assistance, and the chief of police had to carry out his judgments. A decree of 1876 concerning the organization of the Tunis Relief and Charity Fund (the official designation of the body in Tunisia which carried out the functions of the community in the spheres of religious services and social welfare) prescribed that it should be headed by the *qāʾid* and that the chief rabbis should be subordinate to him. After long negotiations between subjects of the bey and persons under consular protection – on the distribution of the income of the abattoir among the needy – it was agreed that the committee dealing with the distribution should be headed by the *qāʾid*. A decree of the bey confirmed the agreement, of which one copy was delivered to the *qāʾid* and another to the French consul. Decrees issued by the bey up to 1898 concerning various communal matters still reflect the status and powers of the *qāʾid* as they evolved during the course of many generations. Only after the death of R. Elie Borgel in 1898 did a fundamental change occur in the powers of the head of the community. A decree of 1899 concerning the organization of the Tunis Relief and Charity

Fund mentions (in article 4) a president elected annually by the members of the board.

It may be assumed that, as in all the other eastern countries, the community of Tripoli (North Africa) was headed by a *sheikh* (an elder or chief), whose functions resembled those of the *qāʾid* in Tunisia. Nevertheless, it is not known if the *sheikh* performed the same functions – financial agent and treasurer – at the court of the pasha in Tripoli as the *qāʾid* in Tunisia or the *muqaddim* in Algeria. The only source of information is that supplied by a late chronicler on the basis of ancient material. According to him, the names of the leaders of the Jews, "both the new ones and the old ones," were not mentioned with the names of the *dayyanim* in the prayer for the dead on the eve of the Day of Atonement because they were not scholars. "Only a rich man, who was not a scholar, was elected to be the intermediary between the Jews and the government, and on his order the *bet din* would inflict the punishment of whipping on evildoers. He would, moreover, send to prison those who refused to accept his judgment or failed to pay their share of the poll tax." In another instance he notes: "The *sheikh* collects the money of the poll tax from the Jews for transmission to the government treasury. He receives no remuneration for this labor except that he is exempt from poll tax. Nevertheless, people go to enormous expense in order to obtain that office because they are ambitious, for the *sheikh* imposes and releases from imprisonment; he also has a fixed place among the governors in the council chamber where he is consulted like the other notables, and in most cases his advice is taken." The creation of the post of *ḥakham bashi* in the second half of the 19th century no doubt impaired the powers of the *sheikh* and lowered the latter's prestige with the authorities. From then onward the *ḥakham bashi* was recognized as the intermediary between local Jewry and the provincial governor and his assistants.

The duties of the recognized leaders of the community in the Maghreb, especially those of the *qāʾid* and *muqaddim*, were not easy. There is reliable evidence that these leaders included men of high moral caliber, anxious to be of service to their brethren. As regards those accused of abusing their position, it should be remembered that all communal leaders in these countries – especially in Algeria – were agents of the local rulers, in whose name and for whose benefit they engaged in a variety of dealings, sometimes dubious. All were the first target of the anger of the ruler or of incited mobs who held them responsible for every injustice in connection with taxes and toll duties, farming of government monopolies (*iltizam*), and various transactions with foreign states at the expense of the populations; particularly shocking was the fate of the *muqaddimūn* of the Busnach-Bacri family in the early 19th century (see *Bacri; *Busnach). Moreover, their position in relation to their coreligionists was not an easy one. They were responsible for the collection of the poll tax, whether it was imposed on each individual separately or whether an aggregate amount was fixed for the community, leaving it to the latter's representatives to apportion it among its members. They also had to ensure the payment of every fine or special charge the ruler saw fit to collect from the Jews. To protect themselves against serious personal loss, they made the community promise in writing to bear those disbursements. It was, of course, an unpleasant duty to have to impose internal taxes to finance the requirements of the community, although the necessary means of enforcement were available. The commonest tax of this kind was the *gabella*, an excise duty on meat, wine, etc. In Tripolitania this name was given to an internal tax (at the rate of 2–3 per mil) on imported goods. This latter impost, known also as *khābā*, served to maintain children of destitute parents at religious schools.

The wide jurisdiction of the secular authority was an outstanding feature of the Maghreb. The secular functionary appointed the *dayyanim*, or if they were elected by the people confirmed their election (incidentally, the people's right to elect *dayyanim* was limited, since according to hallowed tradition religious offices were hereditary and were limited to a few families). The *nagid* in Morocco and the holders of similar positions in the other Maghreb countries were responsible for conducting the community's relationships with the outside world.

THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE. Very little is known about the religious and secular administration of the *Mustaʿrab Jewish population in the East. Ottoman rule was extended over the Near East and Europe in the 15th and the 16th centuries. According to Sambari, Sultan Muhammad the Conqueror (1451–81) assigned three seats on his imperial divan (council) to official religious functionaries: the mufti, the patriarch, and the rabbi. The aged rabbi Moses *Capsali was appointed head of the Jews for certain purposes. Sambari continues: "And Sultan Muhammad imposed taxes on the whole country in the manner of kings: *kharāj*, *ʿawarīd*, and *rab aqchesi*. And all the Jewish communities were assessed for tax by the said rabbi, and it was collected by him and delivered to the treasury. And the sultan loved all the Jews" (Neubauer, Chronicles, vol. 1, 138). The *rab aqchesi* tax ("the rabbi's asper"), i.e., the tax of one "white" (*lavan*, silver coin) for the right to have a rabbi, contains an indirect recognition of the autonomous nature of Jewish organization. Its imposition is confirmed by Turkish archival sources.

Conforte, a contemporary of Sambari, also states that Moses Capsali was appointed rabbi and chief of the *dayyanim* of Constantinople: "He was rabbi of the *Romaniots, who were resident in the city in the time of the Greeks, and exercised jurisdiction over all Jews of the city by the sultan's command. And the *ḥakhamim* of the city in his generation were all submissive to him because of fear of the authorities and they had no power to speak to him about any matter or any decision he gave that did not commend itself to them" (*Kore ha-Dorot*, ed. Cassel, 28b). The common assertion in historical works and encyclopedias, that Capsali was appointed *ḥakham bashi*, resulted from a combination of these two reports. The title *ḥakham bashi* is not mentioned in any form in the Hebrew or Turkish sources of that period, and it is nowhere stated that Capsali was given jurisdiction over all Jews in the Ottoman Empire and appointed chief of all *dayyanim* and *ḥakhamim*. Thus, Sambari and Conforte cannot be quoted as evidence for the early establishment of the office of a *ḥakham bashi* for the whole empire. The silence cannot be accidental, for the same situation is reflected in the sources dealing with Elijah *Mizraḥi, who succeeded Moses Capsali after his death. Sambari exaggerates when he speaks of the three seats reserved on the imperial divan for the representatives of the three religions. In point of fact, even the *shaikh al-Islam* ("grand mufti of the empire"), who was equal in rank to the grand vizier, was not a member of the divan. Nevertheless, it seems that the Orthodox patriarch was given the honorary rank of "pasha with the rank of vizier," and it may be assumed that Capsali was granted similar status; at any rate, Sambari, drawing on the analogy of the Christian representative, believed this. Sambari's statement that Capsali was the recognized head of the then small Jewish community and was responsible to the authorities for its affairs and especially for the payment of taxes appears to be a true reflection of events.

After the capture of Constantinople (1453), Muhammad the Conqueror granted recognition to the *millet (the religious communal organizations of non-Muslims in his state) and conferred broad powers on its religious leaders. This does not contradict the assumption that a Jewish communal organization was already in existence for some time in the areas occupied by the Turks in the 14th and early 15th century. Capsali's wide and exclusive powers as chief of the *dayyanim* met with opposition from the Ashkenazi and Italian rabbis in Constaninople, who requested the intervention of a noted rabbi in Italy in the matter of a judgment which they believed erroneous. (This took place considerably earlier than the expulsion from Spain.) According to the sources and his own testimony, Capsali's successor, Elijah Mizraḥi (d. 1526), had jurisdiction "over the whole city of Kostantina" for more than 40 years.

The settlement in Greater Constantinople of *ḥakhamim* expelled from Spain – who were unwilling to accept Mizraḥi's authority – led to tension between Romaniots and Sephardim, who also did not recognize the manner of authorizing rabbis which was practiced in Constantinople. Since the Spanish *ḥakhamim* refused to recognize the leading Romaniot rabbi's claim to be the chief *dayyan* of Constantinople, the position lapsed after Mizraḥi's death.

The Jewish settlements in the cities and towns of the Muslim Middle East were far from being united communities. In accordance with old traditions, every new wave of settlers continued its separate life in its own *kahal*. In North Africa the newcomers from Majorca and Catalonia (1391), Spain and Portugal (1492–97), and Leghorn (17th–18th centuries) had their own synagogues and charitable institutions (see *Gorni, Tuansa, *Maghrebi). In the East the situation was even more complicated. Besides the Mustaʿrabs, Maghrebis, Romaniots, Italians, and Ashkenazim, there were numerous separate congregations in the large cities of the Ottoman Empire, e.g., in Safed (1555–56) 12 congregations and in Istanbul (16th century) almost 40. In Salonika the situation was yet more complex: some congregations formed by groups who came from the same city or country were divided into sections and factions – majority and minority – which quarreled, seceded, built new congregations, and so on. Every congregation, small or large, had its own rabbi, synagogue, charity funds, and burial society; each had an independent status, was a "town" in and of itself and no rabbi or lay leader was permitted to interfere with the prerogatives of another. Although unity was achieved when a common danger faced the whole community, or funds had to be raised to redeem captives, maintain the Jews in Ereẓ Israel, etc., the rivalries between the congregations weakened the community. The situation lasted for centuries, continuing after the introduction of reforms in the organization of the millet in the 19th century, and surviving into the mid-20th century. After a prolonged delay caused by friction within the community, the draft of the "organizational regulations of the rabbinate" (*ḥakham-khāne nīzām nāmesi*) was submitted (1864) to the Ottoman authorities in Constantinople. The confirmation took place in May 1865. The regulations fall into five sections: (1) the status of the *ḥakham bashi* as the head of Jewry in the empire; his qualifications and election (clauses 1–4); (2) his powers and his replacement in the event of resignation or removal from office (clauses 5–15); (3) The general committee (*majlis ʿumūmi*), its election, and powers. It consisted of 80 members, presided over by the permanent deputy of the *ḥakham bashi*. Sixty secular members were elected by the inhabitants of Constantinople according to city districts, and they, in turn, elected 20 rabbinical members. These 80 members elected the seven rabbis who formed the spiritual committee (*majlis rūḥānī*) and the nine members of the secular committee (*majlis jismānī*). The elections required the approval of the Sublime Porte. At the time of the election of the *ḥakham bashi* for the empire, the general committee was temporarily reinforced by 40 members summoned from eight districts, where each officiated as provincial *ḥakham bashi* (from Adrianople, Brusa, Izmir (Smyrna), Salonika, Baghdad, Cairo, Alexandria, and Jerusalem; clauses 16–19). It should be noted that clause 16 failed to prescribe the committee's term of office; only in 1910 was it fixed at ten years. (4) The powers of the spiritual committee: the seven rabbis were to concern themselves with religious and other matters referred to them by the *ḥakham bashi*; the committee was not to prevent the publication of books or the spread of science and art unless it was prejudicial to the government, the community, or religion; it must supervise the activities of the city-district rabbis (*mara de-atra*) who acted under its instructions; it was headed by a president, who was also the head of the rabbinical court; he had two deputies (clauses 20–38). (5) The powers of the secular committee as regards the management of communal affairs and the carrying into effect of government orders: it apportioned the communal impost and ensured the integrity of the property of orphans and endowments (clauses 39–48). The regulations remained in force for the duration of the Ottoman Empire; under the republic they lapsed, without being officially replaced.

[Haïm Z'ew Hirschberg]

WESTERN EUROPE. At the same time the communities of the north – France, Germany, England, and northern Italy, which had been under Christian rule and out of touch with Muslim-ruled Babylonia – became the focus of experiment in community living. Lacking the solid basis of long experience, they had to build from the foundation up. Great debates ensued among the handful of renowned scholars who valiantly strove to find precedents in talmudic law for solving communal problems. As they found little to go by in the Talmud, considerable activity ensued. Most influential were the *synods of scholars and leading laymen convoked mainly in Cologne on days when the fairs were held. The influential scholars were *Gershom b. Judah, *Meshullam b. Kalonymus, Joseph b. Samuel *Bonfils (*Tov-Elem*), and *Rashi and his followers. It was understood that the final decision on their *takkanot* would rest with the local community. Justice, too, was localized by the *ḥerem bet din*. Finally, the principle was accepted that the elders were empowered to enforce communal decisions. The legality of a majority forcing its will upon a minority elicited much debate. Jacob b. Meir *Tam disagreed with it (c. 1150). The right to vote was granted only to *meliores* (*mehugganim*, "respected persons").

More specifically, the scholars in France and Germany tended to vest considerable powers in the local community and to define the rights of the individual. In religious matters the authority of the community remained undisputed. To prevent breaches of Jewish law its authority extended beyond its borders to the neighboring communities. An individual had the right of appealing to a higher court in private cases, or of suing his own community. In general, however, the community remained independent of outside interference. Each community was conceived as the Jewish people in miniature, having sovereign rights, no longer dependent on Palestinian ordination or exilarchic-geonic appointment. *Meir b. Baruch of Rothenburg, the 13th-century talmudic scholar in Germany, further elaborated the principles of community government in an intricate array of judgments. A majority could enact regulations on religious or public matters, in pursuit of their primary aim of strengthening the authority of the community over the individual.

The autonomous Jewish community in Europe developed during the period of the growth of towns. However, when burghers succeeded in obtaining for themselves supremacy as members of a *cummunitas*, of a *coniuratio* of autonomous rule, they swore an annual oath of allegiance within the community. The Jews, however, did not follow this practice since each of them was assumed to be bound by the covenant at Sinai to follow God's law and community regulations.

While the Central European communities were rather small in the 13th to 15th centuries and needed only the guidance of one scholar or of a few leaders, in the following three centuries they expanded considerably, thereby requiring a more complex structure of public institutions. Social stratification within the community based on wealth and learning also became more differentiated.

SPAIN AND RESETTLEMENT COUNTRIES. Until the persecutions of 1391 the struggle between the higher and lower social echelons was pronounced; frequent changes of leadership resulted, but in spite of this one family might rule in one locality for a century or more. Strife developed over methods of allocating taxes, the elite preferring the officers of the *kahal* to act as assessors, and the masses opting for each taxpayer's declaring his income. Sporadically contending factions had to resort to the king or governmental authorities to resolve their conflict. In general, the Spanish *kahal* was engaged in the broad function of regulating the social, economic, intellectual, and religious life of local communities.

Until the expulsion from Spain there was only one *kahal* in a community, but a new phenomenon developed in the countries of resettlement. In Holland, France, and England the Spanish refugees formed a separate congregation of Sephardi Jews if there was already an Ashkenazi community in existence, and centered their communal affairs on it.

[Isaac Levitats]

EASTERN EUROPE. The communities of Poland-Lithuania followed a way of life and experienced problems which were a kind of amalgam of Ashkenazi and Sephardi patterns (see *Councils of the Lands). Medieval forms of Jewish community organization persisted far into modern times in those countries where emancipation was delayed. In Russia the autonomous institutions of the *kahal* remained vigorous despite a tyrannical absolutist government which sought to harness it in the service of its oppressive designs. In addition to the usual burdens of collecting taxes, the *kahal* was charged with providing recruits for military service. Internally the age-old traditions of self-government retained their vitality into the 20th century. Even after the *kahal* was officially abolished by the government, the associations carried on the time-honored services. While it lasted, the *kahal* followed the procedures inherited from earlier ages, with the system of indirect elections from among the taxpayers continuing the oligarchical rule of the medieval community. The control of religious behavior and of the economic and social life of the individual by the *kahal* was powerful: the judiciary was firmly in Jewish hands and resort to non-Jewish courts was rare indeed. Many of these traditions survived up to the Revolution of 1917.

MODERN VARIATIONS

Introduction

By the middle of the 18th century signs of decline and disintegration of the autonomous Jewish community became evident. The central agencies gradually dissolved. In Germany the Jewish communities were increasingly controlled by the state (see *Landesjudenschaften*). The *kahal* in Russia was officially abolished in 1844. Internally there was economic ruin, oligarchic mismanagement, class struggle, rationalist enlightenment, and judicial independence of the individual. The communities had amassed stupendous debts by deficit financing which kept transferring fiscal burdens to coming generations. Wealthy Jews gained exemption from taxes by special state privileges; the central and regional boards shifted assessments onto provincial communities without affording them due representation; tax burdens became unbearable. The small urban unit with its intimate knowledge of everyone's finances was gradually replaced by the anonymity of the larger city. The imposition of heavy responsibilities on lay leaders by governments and the inherent social structure fostered oligarchic oppression. Emergent social consciousness sharpened the class struggle of the poor and the guilds. Individualistic tendencies militated against the social control of the *kahal*. The Haskalah movement in Central and Eastern Europe became religiously iconoclastic and anti-traditional, launching its most venomous onslaught on "the forces of darkness" in control of the *kahal* and on its despotic rule. The increasing complexity of business relations after the Industrial Revolution did away with the simpler transactions of the pre-capitalist era when Jewish civil law was adequate for judges to make decisions based on talmudic law. The old ban against gentile courts was increasingly disregarded; the Jewish civil judiciary shrank. Finally, the force of religious values, which underpinned medieval social control, gave way to secularist and humanist attitudes.

These factors must be viewed in the light of the emergence of the united modern state in central and southern Europe on the one hand, and the economic and political decline of Poland (which ceased to exist as an independent state in 1795) and the Ottoman Empire on the other. The French Revolution dissolved the estates and the corporations; in their stead the state dealt directly with the individual citizen in matters of taxes and other civic responsibilities. Count *Clermont-Tonnerre, a liberal deputy and friend of the Jews, stated in 1789 in the French National Assembly: "To the Jews as a nation we owe nothing; to the Jews as human beings we give everything." All this implied the dissolution of all communal, corporate, self-governing institutions, to be replaced by an emancipated, equal citizenry. Individualism was further stimulated by early capitalism. Competition in new methods of production and distribution, private initiative, and the end of the guild system and of economic regimentation dissolved the social control of self-governing groups. The individual Jew was catapulted into gentile society, where his own institutions were of little avail. Enlightened absolutism in German-speaking areas further dissolved the corporative structures. In some countries, rabbis and religious functionaries became state officials. The ghetto community, as one of the autonomous corporate bodies, fell under the heavy blows of state control. The process of disintegration of the *kehillah* was long and tortuous; its demise was nevertheless inevitable under modern conditions.

Western Europe

In modern times, until World War II, Western Europe followed the consistorial (see *Consistory) pattern established by Napoleon in France and her conquered territories. In Paris there were Orthodox, Liberal, and Sephardi congregations. The East European Jews had their own Federation of Societies. In the Netherlands, the consistory of 1808 was replaced in 1814 by the former Ashkenazi and Sephardi organizations. In 1817 a Central Commission on Jewish Affairs was established, consisting of seven members, to work with local rabbis and elders, but it was abolished in 1848 by the new constitution which offered churches state subventions. In 1870 a new central commission was formed for ten districts, each with its independent rabbi and government subsidies. In 1917 their rights were narrowed. In Belgium the consistorial system existed from the days of Napoleon and was renewed in 1835 when membership in the community was made compulsory. In 1873 the state offered subsidies to Jewish communities. Membership was made voluntary in 1892. In 1933 a Council of Jewish Organizations was established to coordinate nationally both religious and secular institutions.

Under French occupation during the Napoleonic wars Italy introduced the consistorial system. When the old order was reestablished, it varied in the several states. In united Italy central regulation ensued. The law of 1857 applying to Piedmont and later extended to most of the country provided for community membership in the place of domicile, unless otherwise declared. The community's religious and educational activities were tax-supported. In 1911 the Jewish communities were united in the Consorzio fra le Comunità Israelitiche Italiane. Under Fascist rule, by a law of 1931, membership was made compulsory, and the central union was guided by a consultative committee of three rabbis.

The 24 Jewish communities of Switzerland organized in 1904 the Union of Swiss Jewish Communities to regulate their external and internal affairs. In Great Britain there were several national synagogue bodies. One body, largely based on synagogue representation, served as the official voice of British Jews in external matters – the *Board of Deputies of British Jews founded in 1760. The Ashkenazi congregations clustered around the *United Synagogue headed by the chief rabbi. Other congregations were affiliated with the Federation of Synagogues, the Union of Orthodox Hebrew Congregations, and Liberal, Reform, and Spanish-Portuguese congregations. There was also a Jewish Board of Guardians and welfare. In the British Commonwealth, Canada has a central representative agency, the *Canadian Jewish Congress. South Africa, too, has a Board of Deputies and a Board of Jewish Education. Australia has an Executive Council of Australian Jewry as well as State Boards of Deputies.

Central Europe

The Jewish communities of Central Europe, especially in Germany, were highly organized and enjoyed much power. Each settlement had only one community organization to which each Jewish inhabitant belonged and paid internal taxes. The government recognized this organization by law, and in some cases helped subsidize its activities. Unions or federations of local units were formed for entire territories. The legal status of the Jewish community in Prussia was defined by a law of 1750 which made affiliation and taxation compulsory and under state control. In 1876 resignation from the community was permitted without renunciation of the Jewish faith. The Weimar constitution of 1919 relaxed government control, thus offering full autonomy to the community. Election procedures were made democratic, giving the franchise to women and providing for proportional representation. In 1921 a territorial union of communities (Preussischer Landesverband juedischer Gemeinden) was granted public legal status. Its function was to further religious life, to help financially weak communities, and to act as liaison with the government. Bavaria, Saxony, and Wuerttemberg also formed such unions. In Baden, where they were governed by a supreme council, the Jews had the power to tax members for religious needs.

In Austria, which did not have a uniform law until 1890, the situation varied. In Galicia the rabbis contested the right of laymen to control community life. Bohemia boasted a central representation of Jews, the Landesjudenschaft, while in Moravia 52 autonomous communities had their separate municipal administration and police. In the German-speaking provinces of Austria proper, mainly Vienna, Jews were empowered in 1792 to collect *Buechelgeld* for religious purposes. The law of 1890, which regulated the life of all the communities in the empire and remained in force in the republic after World War I, provided for compulsory membership and taxation, and one *kahal* in each locality to control all Jewish public activities.

In Hungary the medieval form of organization of the community was left undisturbed by *Joseph II's decree of 1783 regulating Jewish life. Until 1871 there was a struggle between Liberal and Orthodox leaders for control of the community, finally resolved by government approval of a threefold division of independent community unions consisting of Liberal, Orthodox, and "status quo," that is, those who were not involved in the struggle. Czechoslovak Jewry formed a supreme Council of the Federations of Jewish Communities in Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia, which were later governed by the Austrian law of 1890. In the eastern provinces Slovakia had both *Neolog and Orthodox communities, but Carpathian Ruthenia was entirely Orthodox. In 1920 a state-recognized Organization of Orthodox Jewish Communities was established.

Eastern Europe

In Eastern Europe the old forms of community government were the most tenacious. As in most of Europe they persisted despite adverse government legislation. After World War I the concept of *minority rights was briefly favored and a number of countries helped maintain Jewish schools. Secularization of Jewish life produced a variety of political parties, each seeking to gain a decisive voice in communal affairs. Despite oppressive government legislation in Russia, Jewish community life retained its vigor into the 20th century. When the *kahal* was abolished (1844), the government handed over Jewish affairs to the police and the municipalities; yet the Jewish communities were still saddled with the two most burdensome responsibilities – state tax collecting and army recruiting (see *Cantonists). In 1835, government-appointed rabbis, who did not have to be ordained, were introduced to take charge of registration and other official requirements. In 1917 democratic Jewish communities were established by the provisional government. When the Bolsheviks seized power they put an end to Jewish community organization and formed a "Jewish commissariat," only to dissolve it in 1923. The *Yevsektsiya, the Jewish section of the Communist Party, was formed in 1918 and lasted until 1930. It helped suppress all traditional Jewish institutions and sought to develop a Yiddish press and Yiddish-speaking schools. In the meantime a committee (the Yidgezkom), supported by the *American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee, coordinated the vast relief activities of a number of previously existing social welfare organizations. In the short-lived, quasi-independent Ukraine wide autonomy was projected in 1917 with a minister of Jewish affairs and a national council. Bolshevik occupation put an end to these efforts.

Congress Poland (see *Poland) abolished the *kahal* in 1822, replacing it by a synagogue board (*Dozer boznicy*) consisting of a rabbi, his assistant, and three elders, whose task was limited to religion and to social welfare. After World War I the German patterns of community government were established in large parts of the new Polish state. Taxes were levied, and religious and other needs were provided for. In the sphere of social welfare the Joint Distribution Committee played an important role. Jewry became divided into factions – Orthodox, Zionist, *Po'alei Zion, *Bund, and others – each vying for a share of community control.

In the Baltic countries, the Lithuanian republic established in 1918 a Ministry of Jewish Affairs and a National Council to take charge of religion, education, social welfare, and other autonomous Jewish affairs. In 1924 these national agencies were dissolved. Autonomy granted in Latvia in 1919 extended only to Hebrew and Yiddish schools, often subsidized from municipal taxes, with a Jewish department in the Ministry of Education. In Estonia the National Cultural Autonomy Act of 1925 was the most liberal. Jewish schools received subsidies from state and municipal treasuries.

The Balkan countries exhibited a variety of attitudes to Jewish group existence. Some extended wide autonomy, especially under the provisions for minority rights; others curtailed it. Under the *ḥakham bashi*, until the abolition of the caliphate and the separation of church and state, Turkish Jewry had considerable autonomy and standing in the imperial court. In 1923 Turkey refused to honor the minority rights promised in the Treaty of Lausanne and Jewish autonomy was restricted to purely religious matters. In Greece Jews were permitted to levy compulsory taxation and were granted government subsidies. The presence in some areas of local courts backed by the authorities and of central democratically elected bodies was another outstanding feature.

Romania had largely voluntary associations until 1928, when Jews were required to belong to the local community, except for the Sephardim in Moldavia and Walachia and the Orthodox in Transylvania. The government contributed toward Jewish institutions. The chief rabbi represented the Jews in the senate. In Yugoslavia conditions differed according to regions. Croatian and Slavonian communities dealt with religious and charitable affairs. In Zagreb an executive committee of 36 controlled the synagogues and other institutions. In Serbia, Macedonia, and Bosnia there were chief rabbis and religious-educational activities. In 1929 a law united the communities of Yugoslavia and offered subventions. Control was in the hands of a council. The chief rabbi of Belgrade was accorded the same rank as a bishop and had a seat in the senate. Wider autonomy was enjoyed by Bulgarian Jewry. Even before 1920, when national minority rights were granted to them, the Jews could impose taxes; their chief rabbi was paid his salary by the state. Thereafter each community was governed by a council; the larger communities had religious courts whose decisions were executed by the authorities. Centrally they were governed by a legislative congress and an executive, democratically elected Consistoire Central.

[Isaac Levitats]

Developments in North Africa from the 19th Century

In Tunisia, owing to the influence of Algeria to the west, changes were introduced in the powers and structure of Jewish religious courts even before the country became a French protectorate. The bey, Muhammad al-Ṣādiq, who organized civil courts for all his subjects, restricted the authority of the rabbinical courts to matters of personal status. In 1898 he ordered the composition and jurisdiction of the Jewish religious court in Tunis to be reorganized. The new composition of the court was as follows: the chief rabbi of Tunisia, honorary president; one rabbi, presiding judge; two *dayyanim*; two deputy *dayyanim*; and one clerk. The sessions of the court were held in public under the chairmanship of the presiding judge, with two *dayyanim* or deputy *dayyanim* as assessors. The jurisdiction of the court was extended over the whole country, and it was possible to bring any matter, from anywhere, directly before it or to appeal to it against a judgment given by a *dayyan* in a provincial town. On the other hand, the court was denied the right to deal with matters concerning the personal status of Algerian Jews, since these were French nationals, or concerning persons under the protection of a foreign state. The salaries of the rabbi, of all the *dayyanim* belonging to the court, and of the clerk were paid from the bey's treasury. The chief rabbi of Tunisia was at first given wide powers over communal organization and religious life. According to the decrees of the bey concerning the organization of the committees of the Caisses de Secours et de Bienfaisance Israélite – the official designation of the Jewish communities in Tunisia – in several provincial towns, the chief rabbi proposed the members of some of them and submitted their financial reports to the prime minister. Elsewhere this right was reserved to the *contrôleur civil*, i.e., the district governor. The chief rabbi granted *kabbalot* (certificates of competency) to ritual slaughterers and licenses of communal notaries. These powers extended over the entire country, except for the towns where they were vested expressly in the local rabbi. The chief rabbi presided over the rabbinical council attached to the chief rabbinate and the examining board for notaries. The rabbinical council set up under a beylical decree of 1922 consisted of six members appointed by the prime minister, on the recommendation of the chief rabbi, for a period of one year (the appointment was renewable). The council was to advise on all religious matters concerning Tunisian Jewry. Its meetings were attended by a government representative, who acted as an observer.

A law promulgated by the president of the Tunisian republic, Ḥabib Bourguiba, in July 1958 dissolved the community council of Tunis. On the same day the Department of Justice summoned eight Jewish notables in order to appoint them as a "Provisional Committee for the Management of the Jewish Religion." The main task of the committee was to prepare elections for the leadership of the religious society, which was to take the place of the Tunis community council. The law provided that "religious societies" of a district should be managed by an administrative council elected by all Jews of either sex of that district who were Tunisian nationals and were above 21 years of age. Every administrative council was to consist of five to 15 members, depending on the size of the society. Each district was to have not more than one religious society, and there might be one society for several districts. The provisional committee, replacing the Caisse de Secours et de Bienfaisance Israélite in the Sfax district, was appointed by the district governor in November, and the one for Gabès in December 1958.

A different development took place in the Jewish community of Algeria, which from 1830 was a part of France. A decisive role was played by the Jews of French nationality who began to stream into the country after the occupation. As mentioned, they did not content themselves with the restriction of the powers of the rabbinical courts and the abolition of the office of *muqaddim*, but wished to organize the community on the model of the consistory, the political and religious body of French Jewry established by Napoleon I and based on the principle of the priority of obligations toward the state. In 1845 the regulations for the organization of the Algerian consistory were published; their functions were defined as (1) to ensure the orderly conduct of communal affairs; (2) to supervise the school attendance of the children; (3) to encourage Jews to engage in useful crafts; and (4) to supervise endowments and charitable funds. After the regulations came into force, consistories were established in Algiers and Oran in 1847 and in Constantine in 1848. A decree issued in 1867 imposed the authority of the Consistoire Central, the supreme religious body of French Jewry, on the three Algerian consistories. From that time on, and especially after the promulgation of the Crémieux Decree conferring French citizenship on the Jews of the three northern departments of Algeria (Algiers, Oran, and Constantine) in 1870, the status and organization of the Jews inhabiting these areas resembled more and more those of the Jews in France. The *Crémieux Decree did not apply to the military region in the south; consequently, the Jewish communities in Mzab and several other oases retained their traditional structure and organization. This split had an influence on the religious life of Algerian Jewry, which developed along two different paths.

Morocco retained its sovereignty until 1912. The events of World War I slowed down France's military efforts to gain control of the interior and of the south of the country (where the occupation and the subjection of the free tribes were completed only in the mid-1930s). Nevertheless, the French administration drafted two decrees (*ḍahīr*) which were published in May 1918 – in the name of the Moroccan ruler and with the signature of the French high commissioner. One of them dealt with the organization of the Jewish communal courts and the other with the organization of the Jewish communities. At first seven rabbinical courts (*tribunaux*) of first instance, each consisting of three *dayyanim*, were set up in Casablanca, Fez, Mogador, Meknès, Marrakesh, Oujda, and Tangiers. In 1953 a court of this nature began to function also in Rabat. Simultaneously, a High Court of Appeal was established in Rabat with a bench of three: the chief rabbi as president and two judges. The dispersal of the Jewish population over a wide area necessitated the appointment of *rabbins-délégués* for provincial towns where no courts existed. Their powers were less than those of the full-scale courts. During the 1960s, when the Jewish population of Morocco dwindled to one-fifth of its previous size (about 50,000), many communities disappeared completely and numerous posts of *rabbins-délégués* ceased to exist, as did – in 1965 – the High Court of Appeal.

The second decree issued in May 1918 dealt with the organization and powers of Jewish community committees in Moroccan towns. These committees were to consist of the president of the rabbinical court, the *rabbin-délégué*, and notables who were chosen by the grand vizier from a list submitted by the communities and whose number varied according to the size of the Jewish population; in 1945 this choice of notables was replaced, in theory, by the election by secret ballot of candidates from among whom the authorities were to select the members of the committees. The term of office of the members was four years. The functions of the committees were to maintain religious services, to assist the needy, and to administer endowments. A decree promulgated in 1945 established a council of Jewish communities, which had to coordinate the activities of the communities. It consisted of the heads of the various communities and met once a year in Rabat under the chairmanship of a representative of the Directorate of Sherifian Affairs. These meetings dealt with matters of budget, housing, education, and hygiene. The question of permanent representation of the communities was also mooted. In the early 1950s a permanent bureau was set up under a secretary-general. The bureau was to guide the community committees in preparing budgets, operating services, and providing education in *talmud torah* institutions and evening classes. Most of the revenue of the communities came from charges on ritual slaughtering and the sale of *maẓẓot*, as well as from the management of public endowments, which were not many, since most endowments were family ones. The council sent six delegates to the Moroccan (natives) Committee of the Council of Government. It published a four-page monthly under the title *La Voix des Communautés*. Upon the reinstatement of Sultan Muhammad V in 1958 and the rise to power of the nationalist Istiqlāl party, the composition of the community committees was changed by appointing persons acceptable to the ruling group. With this change in policy they lost what little independence and initiative they had possessed and became tools of the government.

[Haïm Z'ew Hirschberg]

United States

U.S. Jewry, with its frequent waves of immigration from a large variety of countries, has launched many and ambitious forms of community organization. Until late in the 19th century these remained for the most part purely local in character. Wherever they settled in sufficient numbers the original Sephardi immigrants to the United States formed burial societies, benevolent and charitable associations, hospitals, synagogues and Hebrew schools, rabbinical courts, etc., all patterned originally on similar institutions in the Old World. The German immigration of the mid-19th century created a parallel series of institutions, as did the large Eastern European immigration of the years 1880–1920. In addition the immigrants from Eastern Europe originated the **Landsmannshaften*, organizations which consisted of members hailing from the same town or region and which offered sick and burial insurance, free loans, poor relief, a place to pray, and perhaps, above all, conviviality and a sense of belonging in the New World. Thus, at the end of the 19th century the American Jewish community was largely composed of a proliferation of local synagogues and organizations, frequently formed along lines of national origin and often duplicating each other's efforts with little or no coordination between them. On a local level the first attempts at centralization began to appear late in the 19th century and continued with increasing scope into the 20th. The first city-wide Jewish welfare federation in America was established in Boston in 1895; the first municipal bureau of Jewish education, in 1910. An attempt under J.L. *Magnes to establish a *kehillah* in New York lasted for about a decade before breaking up. Local YMHAS and YWHAS developed into Jewish community centers offering a wide range of educational, social, and recreational activities in many American cities. In 1970 such local Jewish federations, community councils, and welfare funds, whose function it was to coordinate Jewish communal life and regulate the disbursement of funds to it, existed in one form or another in 300 cities in 43 states in which were concentrated at least 95% of the Jewish population of the United States. The center of local community life for the average Jewishly active individual, however, continued to be the synagogue. Far from serving exclusively or perhaps even primarily as a place of worship, the synagogue, especially in suburban areas, provided such varied services as Jewish education for children and adults, men's clubs, sisterhoods, youth and sport groups, social service, and catering private social affairs. Organization on a nation-wide level in American Jewish life originated with the German immigration of the mid-19th century. In the course of the 20th century such a consolidation has created an overall hierarchical structure of organization embracing practically every area of American Jewish life. Among the most prominent of such national organizations are the Jewish Community Centers Association (the national coordinating body of community centers, 1917), United Jewish Communities of North America (created out of the Council of Jewish Federation and Welfare Funds (1932), the United Jewish Appeal (1939), both of which went out of existence), and the American Association for Jewish Education (1939). By the second half of the 20th century few local Jewish organizations were not affiliated directly with one or another such national group, a fact that undoubtedly owed much to the general American aptitude for centralized and efficient organization. At the political level the organization of American Jewry remained relatively unstructured, a reflection of the traditional reluctance, if not inability, of the American Jewish community to identify itself as a distinct political bloc. On the whole, those Jewish organizations that have assumed political functions did so originally to defend specifically Jewish rights and interests against discrimination and prejudice both in the United States and abroad. The first organization of this type was the *Board of Delegates of American Israelites (1859–78). It was followed by the American Jewish Committee (1906), which was controlled by a wealthy elite of German Jews. In reaction to it the more representative and militant American Jewish Congress was first established in 1918 and refounded in 1930. Other such national organizations to be formed were the Zionist Organization of America (1897) and many other Zionist bodies, the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith (1913), and the *Jewish Labor Committee (1934). Conflicting outlooks and ideologies have for the most part restricted these groups' common action, but the national and local agencies concerned with Jewish public affairs and public policy established the National Community Relations Advisory Council (later the National Jewish Community Relations Advisory Council, now the Jewish Council for Public Affairs (1944)). Another body, the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations, established in 1954, serves as a roof organization for 51 national Jewish bodies. The mandate of the Presidents' Conference is to act as a spokesman to the Administration, on behalf of the American Jewish Community, on matters related to Israel. The Conference has issued joint declarations and has lobbied nationally for Jewish interests both at home and abroad, especially in connection with Israel. Since the 1950s many national Jewish bodies have adopted positions on a broad range of issues, of concern to the larger polity, on the public-affairs agenda.

Latin America

The transplantation of Jews with East and Central European backgrounds to Latin America, primarily in the 20th century gave rise to a replica of the European *kehillah* that did not enjoy the same official status but was tacitly recognized by Jews and non-Jews alike as the organized Jewish community. These communities had a distinct public character but were not directly recognized in public law. In the last analysis, they had relied entirely on the voluntary attachment of their members. In sum, they functioned in an environment that provided neither the cultural nor the legal framework for a European-model *kehillah*. Characteristically, the Ashkenazi communities among them, as opposed to the Sephardi communities, emphasized the secular rather than the religious side of Jewish life. Founded in the main by men who considered themselves secularists (regardless of the level of their personal religious observance), they were developed in the mold of secular Diaspora nationalism, a powerful ideology at the time of their creation. However, since the 1960s there has been a new trend, and even the Ashkenazim tend more to emphasize the religious basis of their organization.

The Latin American communities have been relatively successful in their attempt to maintain European patterns primarily because the great social and cultural gap between the Jews and their neighbors in those countries with a large population of Indian origin aided in giving the Jews a self-image as a special and distinct, indeed superior, group, which in turn helped keep them apart in a corporate way as well as individually. This fact has important implications for the character of their community organization. In the first place, while the communities themselves were all founded in the modern era, they are located in essentially homogeneous societies whose social structures originated before the beginning of that period. Moreover, they were founded by people coming for the most part from still-modernizing societies of a different kind in Europe. As a result, assimilation into the host society was far more difficult than in other countries of migration, while, at the same time, the Jewish founders were able to build their institutions upon a far stronger sense of communal self-government than that which prevailed among more emancipated Jews. The community-wide "roof" organizations they have created have thus been able to attract and keep virtually every Jewish organization and affiliated Jew within their structures on a formally voluntary basis, while gaining informal governmental recognition as the "address" of the Jewish community.

The same phenomena also contributed to the dominant pattern of organizing the Jewish immigrants according to their countries of origin. Just as the Jewish immigrants did not assimilate into their host societies, so, too, they did not assimilate among one another, following a pattern not uncommon in pre-Emancipation Jewish history by which Jews who settled in new lands frequently attempted to preserve the special cultural nuances of the lands of their birth. In the course of time, these communities loosely confederated with one another to deal with common problems that emerged in their relations with their environment, i.e., essentially those of immigration, antisemitism, and Israel. At the same time, each country-of-origin community retained substantial, if not complete, autonomy in internal matters and control over its own institutions.

In three of the large Latin American countries (including Argentina and Brazil, the largest), the indigenous federal structures of the countries themselves influenced the Jews to create countrywide confederations based on territorial divisions (officially uniting state or provincial communities which are, in fact, local communities concentrated in the state or provincial capitals). In the other 21, the local federation of the city containing the overwhelming majority of the Jewish population became the countrywide unit, usually with the designation "council of communities." The community councils of the six Central American countries (total Jewish population 5,650) have organized the Federation of Central American Jewish Communities to pool resources and provide common services.

With the revival of open Jewish settlement on the Iberian Peninsula, Jewish communities similar to the "council of communities" took shape in both Spain and Portugal, for many of the same reasons. Similarly, the small Jewish community of Monaco found that same pattern most suitable.

None of the tacitly recognized communal structures has been in existence for more than two generations, and the communities themselves originated no more than three or possibly four generations ago. Most of the smaller ones were in the 1970s entering their second generation, since they were created by the refugees of the 1930s and 1940s. Indeed, all gained substantially as a result of Nazism and the Jews' need to leave Europe before, during, and after World War II. Consequently, many, if not most, were still in the process of developing an appropriate and accepted community constitution.

The great postwar adjustment that has faced the Latin American communities centers on the emergence of a native-born majority in their ranks. This new generation has far less attachment to the "old country" way of life with its ideologies and country-of-origin communities making the whole community structure less relevant to them. Moreover, they are already beginning to assimilate into their own countries of birth, or at least into the local radical movements, in familiar Jewish ways. For them, the *deportivo*, or community recreational center, often seems the most relevant form of Jewish association. On the other hand, the host countries, whose aim is the cultural assimilation of all minorities into a common mold, are not particularly receptive to the perpetuation of communities built on a Diaspora nationalist ideology. At the same time, they are committed, at least theoretically, to guaranteeing full freedom of religion for all legitimate groups, thereby pushing Jews toward at least a formal religious identification in order to maintain their communal identity while conforming to local mores. Both developments are encouraging a trend toward a kind of associational Jewishness in place of the organic pattern of the founding generation. It is not surprising, then, that the organizational structure that at first reflected and then came to reinforce the interests of the founding generation is becoming increasingly obsolete, creating a constitutional crisis of first magnitude in the ranks of organized Latin American Jewry. To the degree that a territorially based communal structure has emerged, with its accompanying substructure of association activities whose participants are drawn in for reasons of interest rather than simply descent, this constitutional crisis is being overcome.

The tacitly recognized community structures of Latin American Jewry have become important forms of Jewish communal organization in modern times, with around 400,000 Jews living within their framework at the outset of the 21st century. Their decline during the last 30 years was provoked by occasional waves of out migration due to economic and political crises, low fertility, and out marriages. They are all located in very unstable environments, which do not necessarily encourage pluralism, although there are signs of greater tolerance in this respect. Consequently, Latin American Jewries are also more closely tied to the State of Israel as a surrogate homeland (*madre patria* is the Spanish term they use) than any others. Their attempt to create a unified communal structure on a voluntary basis under such conditions bears close examination.

COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION SINCE WORLD WAR II

Introduction

Jewish communal organization has undergone many changes since the inception of the Israelite polity somewhere in the Sinai Desert, but none has been more decisive than those which have affected it in the past four centuries, and none more significant than those of the period since the end of World War II. The inauguration of the modern era in the 17th century initiated a process of decorporatization of Jewish communal life that gained momentum in the following two centuries. Jewish corporate autonomy, a feature of Diaspora existence in one form or another since the Babylonian exile, never even took hold in the New World, whose Jewish communities were all established in the modern era. Developments after World War I weakened that kind of autonomy in Europe, where it had been on the wane for two centuries. Only in the Muslim countries did the old forms persist, until the nationalist revolutions of the post–World War II period eliminated them.

The process of decorporatization – perhaps denationalization is a better term – brought with it efforts to redefine Jewish life in Protestant religious terms in Western Europe and North America and in socialist secular ones in Eastern Europe and, somewhat later, in Latin America. In Europe,

Table 1. Total Jewish Population and Its Distribution by Continent (in thousands)

Year	1840		1900		1939		2003	
Continent	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%
Europe (incl. Russia)	3,950	87.8	8,900	80.9	9,500	56.8	1,551	12.0
Asia	300	6.7	510	4.6	1,030	6.2	5,138	39.7
Africa	198	4.4	375	3.4	625	3.7	84	0.6
North and South America	50	1.1	1,200	10.9	5,540	33.1	6,071	46.9
Oceania	2	1	15	0.2	33	0.2	107	0.8
Total	4,500	100	11,000	100	16,728	100	12,950	100

the process was promoted both from within the Jewish community and without by Jews seeking wider economic and social opportunities as individuals and by newly nationalistic regimes seeking to establish the state as the primary force in the life of all residents within its boundaries. In the Americas, it came automatically as individual Jews found themselves with the same status and opportunities as other migrants to the New World.

Out of decorporatization came new forms of Jewish communal organization on the countrywide and local levels: (1) the consistory of post-revolutionary France (which spread to the other countries within the French sphere of influence in Europe), an attempt to create a Jewish "church" structure parallel to that of the French Protestant Church; (2) the 19th-century Central European *kehillah*, essentially a ritual and social agency chartered and regulated by the secular government as a means of registering all Jews and binding them to some "religious" grouping; (3) the united congregational pattern of England and her overseas colonies and dominions, whereby Jews voluntarily organized synagogues which then banded together to create a board to represent Jewish interests to the host country; (4) the radically individualistic organizational pattern of the United States, whereby individual Jews banded together locally (and sometimes nationally) to create whatever kind of Jewish association they wished without any kind of supralocal umbrella organization even for external representation; and, early in the 20th century, (5) separate communal associations based on the *Landsmannshaft* principle, which became the basis for voluntary affiliation of the Jewish immigrants to Latin America. The common denominator of all these different forms was their limited scope and increasingly voluntary character.

While these organizational changes were taking shape, a two-pronged demographic shift of great importance began. In the first place, the live birth and survival rate among Jews rose rapidly, causing the number of Jews in the world to soar. In the second, the Jews began to migrate at an accelerating rate to the lands on the Western world's great frontier: the Western Hemisphere and southern Africa and Australia in particular, but also, in smaller numbers, to east Asia, initiating a shift in the balance of Jewish settlement in the world. Finally, the modern era saw Jewish resettlement of the Land of Israel. The first to go to the land as founders of entirely new settlements began to arrive in the 17th century and continued regularly thereafter, pioneering new communities of a traditional character within the framework of the Ottoman Empire's millet system. They were followed, in due course, by the Zionist pioneers who created new forms of communal life, beginning in the late 19th century as part of the last stage of the modern transformation of the Jewish people.

World War II marked the culmination of all the trends and tendencies of the modern era and the end of the era itself for all of mankind. For the Jewish people, the Holocaust and the establishment of the State of Israel were the pair of decisive events that marked the crossing of the watershed into the "postmodern" world. In the process, the entire basis of the Jewish polity was radically changed; the locus of Jewish life shifted and virtually every organized Jewish community was reconstituted in some significant way.

The Jewish world that greeted the new State was no longer an expanding one which was gaining population even in the face of "normal" attrition through intermarriage and assimilation. Quite to the contrary, it was a decimated one (even worse – for decimated implies the loss of one in ten; the Jews lost one in three) whose very physical survival had been in grave jeopardy and whose rate of loss from defections came close to equaling its birthrate. Moreover, the traditional strongholds of Jewish communal life in Europe (which were

Table 2. World Jewish Communities by Population, 2003

Country	Jewish Population (thousands)	Percent of Total Jewish Population
1. United States	5,300,000	40.9
2. Israel	5,094,000	39.3
3. France	498,000	3.8
4. Canada	370,500	2.9
5. United Kingdom	300,000	2.3
6. Russia	252,000	1.9
7. Argentina	187,000	1.4
8. Germany	108,000	0.8
9. Australia	100,000	0.8
10. Brazil	97,000	0.7
11. Ukraine	95,000	0.7
12. South Africa	75,000	0.6
13. Hungary	50,000	0.4
14. Mexico	40,000	0.3
15. Belgium	40,000	0.2
Total	12,606,500	97.0

Table 3. Geographic Arrangement of Countries Showing Type of Community Organization in Early Postwar Period
Numbers refer to Jewish populations in 1968

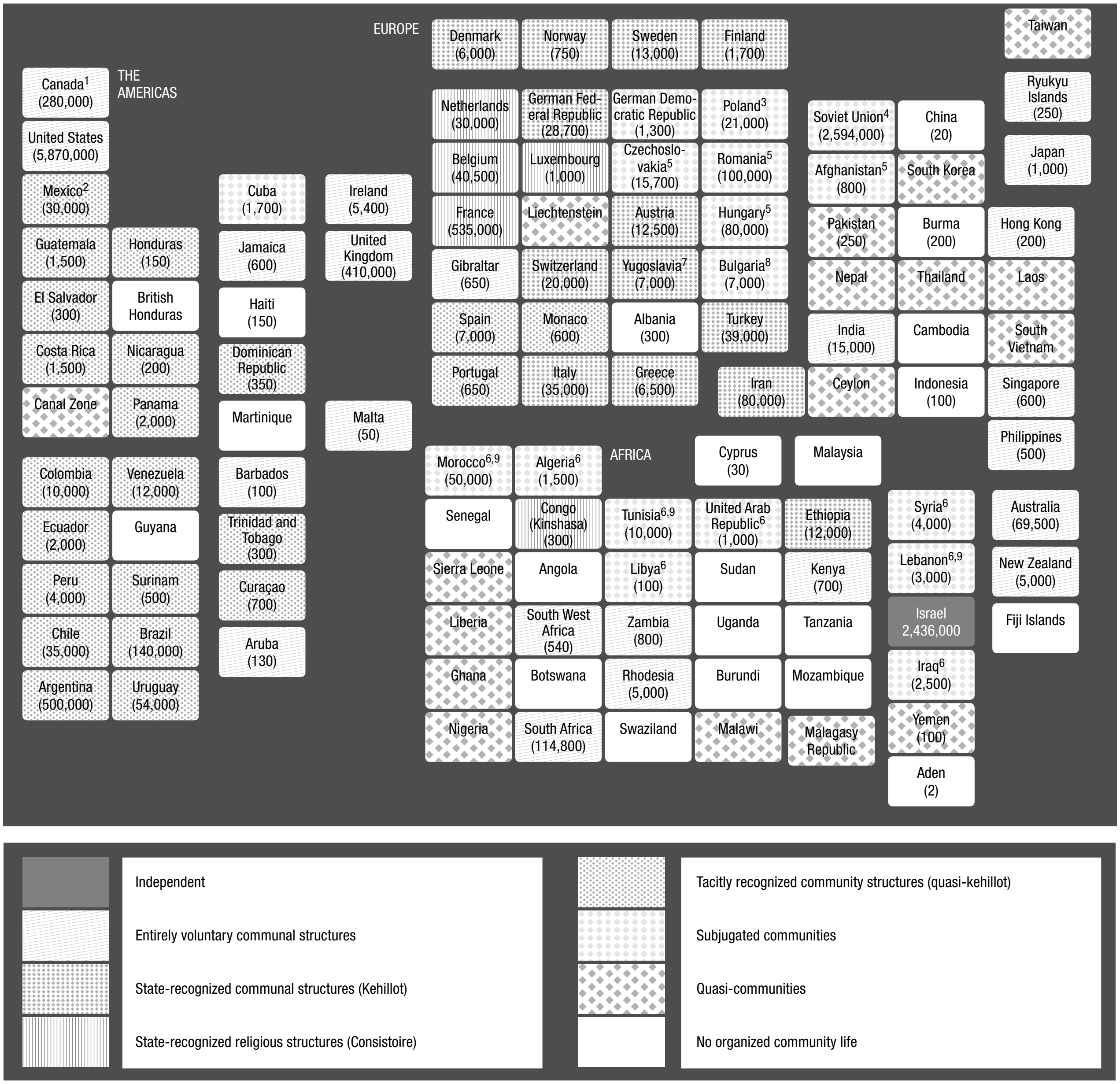
EUROPE
Denmark (6,000)
Norway (750)
Sweden (13,000)
Finland (1,700)
Taiwan
Canada¹ (280,000)
THE AMERICAS
Ryukyu Islands (250)
Netherlands (30,000)
German Federal Republic (28,700)
German Democratic Republic (1,300)
Poland³ (21,000)
Soviet Union⁴ (2,594,000)
China (20)
Japan (1,000)
United States (5,870,000)
Belgium (40,500)
Luxembourg (1,000)
Czechoslovakia⁵ (15,700)
Romania⁵ (100,000)
Afghanistan⁵ (800)
South Korea
Mexico² (30,000)
Cuba (1,700)
Ireland (5,400)
France (535,000)
Liechtenstein
Austria (12,500)
Hungary⁵ (80,000)
Pakistan (250)
Burma (200)
Hong Kong (200)
Guatemala (1,500)
Honduras (150)
Jamaica (600)
United Kingdom (410,000)
Gibraltar (650)
Switzerland (20,000)
Yugoslavia⁷ (7,000)
Bulgaria⁸ (7,000)
Nepal
Thailand
Laos
El Salvador (300)
British Honduras
Haiti (150)
Spain (7,000)
Monaco (600)
Albania (300)
Turkey (39,000)
India (15,000)
Cambodia
South Vietnam
Costa Rica (1,500)
Nicaragua (200)
Dominican Republic (350)
Portugal (650)
Italy (35,000)
Greece (6,500)
Iran (80,000)
Ceylon
Indonesia (100)
Singapore (600)
Canal Zone
Panama (2,000)
Martinique
Malta (50)
Philippines (500)
Morocco⁶,⁹ (50,000)
Algeria⁶ (1,500)
AFRICA
Cyprus (30)
Malaysia
Colombia (10,000)
Venezuela (12,000)
Barbados (100)
Senegal
Congo (Kinshasa) (300)
Tunisia⁶,⁹ (10,000)
United Arab Republic⁶ (1,000)
Ethiopia (12,000)
Syria⁶ (4,000)
Australia (69,500)
Ecuador (2,000)
Guyana
Trinidad and Tobago (300)
Sierra Leone
Angola
Libya⁶ (100)
Sudan
Kenya (700)
Lebanon⁶,⁹ (3,000)
New Zealand (5,000)
Peru (4,000)
Surinam (500)
Curaçao (700)
Liberia
South West Africa (540)
Zambia (800)
Uganda
Tanzania
Israel 2,436,000
Fiji Islands
Chile (35,000)
Brazil (140,000)
Aruba (130)
Ghana
Botswana
Rhodesia (5,000)
Burundi
Mozambique
Iraq⁶ (2,500)
Argentina (500,000)
Uruguay (54,000)
Nigeria
South Africa (114,800)
Swaziland
Malawi
Malagasy Republic
Yemen (100)
Aden (2)
Independent
Entirely voluntary communal structures
State-recognized communal structures (Kehillot)
State-recognized religious structures (Consistoire)
Tacitly recognized community structures (quasi-kehillot)
Subjugated communities
Quasi-communities
No organized community life

1. The Canadian Jewish Congress should be viewed as a Board of Deputies with a North American name.
2. Though Mexico is included among the neo-kehillah communities of Latin America, its lack of any overall structure uniting its region-of-origin communities in even the strictly formal sense really placed it somewhere between the common Latin American model and the pattern of the United States.
3. Poland was rapidly becoming a remnant community.
4. There was no organized Jewish life in the Soviet Union, except for services in a few synagogues.
5. The extent to which the Jewish communities of Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and Romania were actually subjugated varied from time to time but the basic fact of their total dependence upon the decisions of the Communist leadership placed them in this category. All were officially organized as modern keillot.
6. All those communities were formally traditional kehillot.
7. Though in part subject to the condition of the modern subjugated communities, Yugoslavian Jewry essentially perpetuated the kehillah pattern with formal government recognition.
8. Officially, Bulgarian Jewry was organized in a consistoire.
9. Lebanon, Morocco, and Tunisia did not officially restrict Jewish community life but in fact the communities were closely regulated.

Table 4. Early Postwar Changes in Continental Jewish Communities

Country	
Albania	Disappeared as an organized community after the Communist takeover.
Austria	Reconstructed and reconstituted with a substantially different population consisting, in the main, of World War II refugees concentrated in Vienna.
Belgium	Reconstructed and reconstituted as a consequence of a significant influx of Eastern European refugees. Brussels and Antwerp are the two major communities.
Bulgaria	Limited reconstruction after extensive emigration to the newly established State of Israel.
Czechoslovakia	Partially reconstructed and reconstituted under the Communist regime. Emigration increased after 1968.
Denmark	Reconstruction along pre-war lines with the return of the pre-war Jewish population.
Finland	Reconstituted and somewhat enlarged by the addition of a refugee population.
France	Reconstructed and reconstituted with a substantially new population from Eastern Europe immediately after World War II and subsequently further reconstituted in the wake of the North African influx of the early 1960s. Jewish population formerly concentrated in Paris and a few other major cities is now spread throughout the country to an extent unequaled since the Middle Ages.
Germany (Federal Republic)	Reconstructed and reconstituted with substantially different population including Eastern European refugees and "repatriates."
Gibraltar	No significant constitutional change or population shift.
Greece	Partially reconstructed and reconstituted around remnant population after World War II. Center of Jewish life moved from Salonika to Athens.
Hungary	Underwent partial reconstruction and limited reconstitution under the Communist regime. Flight of refugees in 1956 reduced the Jewish population somewhat but the community remains one of the largest and strongest in Eastern Europe.
Italy	Partially reconstructed after formal restoration of pre-war constitution. Jewish life divided between Rome and northern Italian communities.
Liechtenstein	Jewish community slowly disappeared through emigration.
Luxemburg	Reconstructed and reconstituted with little change in scope of communal activity.
Malta	No significant change; some population decline.
Monaco	Primarily a refugee community organized during and after World War II.
Netherlands	Partially reconstructed and reconstituted with remnant population as a far weaker community than before the war. Ashkenazi community is numerically dominant.
Norway	Reconstructed with addition of some refugees.
Poland	Extremely limited reconstruction under Communists with successive emigrations of surviving Jews culminating in the virtual expulsion of those born Jewish who had faithfully served the new regime.
Portugal	Reconstituted to include remnants of wartime refugees but essentially the same small well-integrated community.
Romania	Largest Jewish community in Eastern Europe outside the Soviet Union; underwent limited reconstitution under Communist regime after substantial emigration to Israel. Community organized on strictly religious lines.
Spain	Gained formal status as community by stages between 1931 and 1968 when it was officially recognized as a legal religious body. Wartime refugee settlers founded communal institutions in Madrid, Barcelona and Malaga.
Sweden	Reconstituted with addition of a substantial number of refugees and following the abolition of state-required community membership.
Switzerland	Reconstituted to include the few wartime refugees allowed to settle permanently.
Soviet Union	Virtually disappeared as an organized community, after World War II in the wake of the Stalin repression (1948–1952).
Yugoslavia	Reconstructed and reconstituted as a strictly ethnic community under Communist regime after substantial emigration to Israel.

also areas with a high Jewish reproduction rate) were those that had been wiped out. At the end of the 1940s, the centers of Jewish life had shifted to a decisive extent away from Europe to Israel and North America. Continental Europe as a whole ranked behind Latin America, North Africa, and Great Britain as a force in Jewish life. Its Jews were almost entirely dependent upon financial and technical assistance from the United States and Israel. Except for those in the Muslim countries (that were soon to virtually disappear), all of the major functioning Jewish communities had acquired sufficient proportions to become significant factors on the Jewish scene only within the previous two generations. Many of the shapers of those communities were still alive and in many cases still the active communal leaders. The Jewish world had been thrown back to a pioneering stage, willy-nilly.

The organization of Jewish communal life reflected these shifts and their consequences wherever Jews were found. Thus in the late 1940s and 1950s reconstruction and reconstitution of existing communities and the founding of new ones was the order of the day throughout the Jewish world. The Jewish communities of Continental Europe all underwent periods of reconstruction or reconstitution in response to wartime losses, changes in the formal status of religious communities in their host countries, migration to Israel, and the introduction of new regimes. Table 4: Early Postwar Changes in Continental Jewish Communities summarizes these changes in the early postwar period. The most significant changes since that time occurred in Eastern Europe after the collapse of Communism. Despite large-scale emigration to Israel and the West, Jewish community life was revived in countries where it had formerly been repressed, and nowhere more impressively than in the former Soviet Union, where the Federation of Jewish Communities (founded in 1998) operates as an umbrella organization for its constituent communities, supporting an extensive network of synagogues, community centers, and day schools.

The Jewish communities in the Moslem countries were transformed in response to the convergence of two factors: the creation of Israel and the anticolonial revolutions in Asia and Africa. The greater portion of the Jewish population in those countries was transferred to Israel, and organized Jewish life virtually came to an end in all of them except Morocco. The changes in their situation are summarized in Table 5: Postwar Changes in Jewish Communities in Moslem Countries.

The English-speaking Jewries (and, to a somewhat lesser extent, those of Latin America) were faced with the more complex task of adapting their organizational structures to three new purposes: to assume responsibilities passed to them as a result of the destruction of European Jewry, to play a major role in assisting Israel, and to accommodate internal changes in communities still becoming acculturated. Their responses are summarized in Table 6: Postwar Changes in Major English-Speaking Jewish Communities and Table 7: Postwar Changes in Latin American and Caribbean Jewish Communities.

Many of the smaller Jewish communities in Asia and Africa were actually founded or received organized form in this period, while others, consisting in the main of transient merchants or refugees, were abandoned, as shown in Table 7: Postwar Developments in Asian and African Jewish Communities. Finally, all but a handful of the Jewish communities in the contemporary world have had to adjust to the new realities of voluntary choice, which, on one hand, gave Jews greater freedom than ever before to identify as Jews or not and, on the other, encouraged a wide variety of options for Jewish identification within each community.

Table 5. Postwar Changes in Jewish Communities in Moslem Countries

Country	
Aden	Entire community emigrated before Aden received its independence.
Afghanistan	Majority of the Jews emigrated leaving a small oppressed community behind.
Algeria	Virtually all the Jews fled the country in wake of the French evacuation, moving to France and Israel during the 1960s and essentially ending Jewish communal life.
Egypt	Successive oppressions and migrations to Israel after 1948 virtually ended the community's existence.
Iran	Community was reduced in size by emigration to Israel but continues to function as in the past with minor adjustment.
Iraq	Mass migration to Israel in the early 1950s reduced the community to a tiny oppressed minority which lived under severe government restrictions until the U.S. invasion of Iraq (2003).
Lebanon	With the help of a fairly sympathetic government, the community weathered the Arab-Israel conflicts but in 2005 was at the end of the process of self-liquidation through emigration, mostly to Latin America and Europe.
Libya	Migration to Israel accelerated after each Arab-Israel crisis and after the 1967 war the community finally ceased to exist as an entity. Very few Jews remain there.
Morocco	The community's slow decline through emigration to France and Israel after 1948 accelerated after Morocco received independence and picked up momentum after 1967 and 1979 wars.
Pakistan	Most of the small community emigrated, leaving a very small group to carry on minimal communal life in some cities.
Syria	Oppression after 1948 led to migration of a majority to Israel and Lebanon; government pressure increased against the remnant after the 1967 war. Practically all Jews emigrated, leaving no organized community life.
Tunisia	Despite official attempts to convince the Jews to stay, most migrated to Israel in successive waves after Tunisia's independence.
Turkey	Almost half of the 100,000 Jewish population left for Israel after 1948. The remainder were effectively reconstituted as a religious community with limited powers and under governmental supervision. Most of the Jews (nearly 20,000) live in Istanbul and a minority in Izmir (about 1,500) – the only two regularly organized communities.
Yemen	All but a tiny handful left for Israel immediately after the establishment of the state. The few remaining Jews mostly emigrated during the 1960s.

Community Structure in a Voluntaristic Environment

Whatever the form of community organization, the primary fact of Jewish communal life today is its voluntary character. While there are some differences from country to country in the degree of actual freedom to be Jewish or not, the virtual disappearance of the remaining legal and even social and cultural barriers to individual free choice in all but a handful of countries has made free association the dominant characteristic of Jewish life in the "postmodern" era. Consequently, the

Table 6. Postwar Changes in Major English-Speaking Jewish Communities

Country	
Australia	The postwar influx of refugees substantially enhanced Jewish life and necessitated changes in its communal structure, both locally and countrywide, to encompass the widened scope of Jewish activity and the more intensely "Jewish" Jews. These have continued into the 21st century, giving Australian Jewry comparatively favorable intermarriage statistics and continuing strong support for Zionism. Unlike the United States, a majority of Australia's Jews probably belonged to Orthodox synagogues.
Canada	Pressures of "Americanization," suburbanization and the general homogenization of Canadian society led to a weakening of traditional Canadian communal structure and the introduction of American-style "religious pluralism." But, characterized by a relatively strong sense of Diaspora identity, the Canadian Jewish community continued to grow, in large part through immigration. The community's center of gravity also continued to shift toward Toronto, now home to almost half of all Canadian Jews in the early 21st century. As in the United States, all of the denominations of Judaism are well represented in Canada, with the Orthodox stream very strong.
Ireland	Little significant constitutional change even though a native-born generation came to the fore. Some immigration from the former Soviet Union and elsewhere improved a declining situation.
New Zealand	Prior to about 1980, the continued emigration of the younger generation decreased the Jewish population and weakened the community structure. Subsequently, significant numbers arrived from the former Soviet Union and South Africa but emigration and assimilation continued.
Rhodesia (Zimbabwe)	The concentration of Jews from other countries of black Africa increased the size and importance of the Rhodesian community while the separation of Zambia and the Rhodesian secession increased its self-contained character. But with civil war and black independence the Jewish community began to shrink, leaving just a few Jews in the early 21st century.
South Africa	Changes in the regime and the rise of a native-born generation within the community shifted the emphasis of the communal institutions and the dominant mode of Jewish identification, weakening what had become the traditional structure. In the post-Apartheid era the tendency has been toward greater coordination and unity within the community.
United Kingdom	The rise to power of the last wave of immigrants and a native-born generation challenged the communal status quo from both left and right, weakening traditional institutions and strengthening new ones that reflected the community's greater diversity. The number of Jews in Britain has probably declined since its peak in the 1950s, with especially sharp declines in cities outside of London. On the other hand, in many respects Jewish consciousness has increased among Anglo-Jewry.
United States	The destruction of European Jewry transferred world Jewish leadership decisively to the American Jewish community. This plus the rise of a new generation and the disappearance of immigrant ideologies led to significant organizational changes to meet demands while also enabling American Jewry to become more rooted in the "religious pluralism" of the general society. Subsequently the traditional institutions, other than the synagogue became less significant as Jewishness tended more to find subjective expression.

first task of each Jewish community is to learn to deal with the particular local manifestation of this freedom. This task is a major factor in determining the direction of the reconstitution of Jewish life in this generation. The new voluntarism extends itself into the internal life of the Jewish community as well, generating pluralism even in previously free but relatively homogeneous or monolithic community structures. This pluralism is exacerbated by the breakdown of the traditional reasons for being Jewish and the rise of new incentives for Jewish association. At the same time, the possibilities for organizing a pluralistic Jewish community have also been enhanced by these new incentives and the "postmodern" breakdown of the rigid ideologies that divided Jews in the latter third of the modern era. Certainly the creation of the State of Israel has given the Jewish people a new and compelling focus that enhances the Jewish attachments of virtually all Jews. The state's crucial role as a generator of Jewish ties, regardless of other differences, was decisively demonstrated at the time of the *Six-Day War (1967).

Pluralism organized into more or less permanent structural arrangements leads to federalism, and federalism has been the traditional way in which the Jewish people has maintained its unity in the face of the pressures of diversity. This is one tradition that is not being abandoned today. The previous sections have suggested the wide variety of federal arrangements that presently exist in the organized Jewish communities of the world. In each case, the Jewish community adapts itself to the environment of the host country so that its own structure reflects local conditions while facilitating (as far as possible) the achievement of the main purposes of corporate Jewish life. In virtually every case, the structure that emerges from the adaptation is based on federal principles and uses federal forms. The pluralistic federalism of the voluntaristic community substantially eliminates the neat pattern of communal organization usually displayed as the model by those who concern themselves with rationalizing Jewish community life. Though smaller communities in different cultural settings are not likely to conform completely, more and more the seemingly anarchistic American pattern is revealed as the paradigm of their development, if not the vision of their future. Certainly the model of a hierarchic organizational structure does not offer an accurate picture of the distribution of powers and responsibilities in any Jewish community today. Even in the more formally structured communities of Central Europe and Latin America, the institution that appears to be at the top of the pyramid is really dependent upon and often manipulated by the institutions and organizations that would be placed farther down on the structure. The local community that "should" be on the bottom is, in fact, often the real center of power. For communities like the United States, even the modified model is useless. Nor is there a central governing agent in most communities that serves as the point at which authority, responsibility, and power converge. Even in the communities ostensibly dominated by a consistory, the erstwhile central body has been shunted aside to become just another specialized institution in an oligopoly of such institutions.

The structure of contemporary Jewish communities is best understood as a multidimensional matrix (or mosaic) that takes the form of a communications network; a set of interacting institutions which, while preserving their own structural integrity and roles, are informed by shared patterns of culture, activated by a shared system of organizations, and governed by shared leadership cadres. The character of the matrix and its communications network varies from community to community, with particularly sharp variations separating the six basic types. In some cases, the network is connected through a common center, which serves as the major (but rarely, if ever, the exclusive) channel for communication. In others, the network forms a matrix without any real center, with the lines of communication crisscrossing in all directions. In all cases, the boundaries of the community are revealed only when the pattern of the network is uncovered. The pattern itself is perceptible only when both of its components are revealed, namely its institutions and organizations with their respective roles and the way in which communications are passed between them.

The pattern itself is inevitably a dynamic one; that is to say, there is rarely a fixed division of authority and influence but, rather, one that varies from time to time and usually from issue to issue, with different elements in the matrix taking on different "loads" at different times and relative to different issues. Since the community is a voluntary one, persuasion rather than compulsion, influence rather than power are the only tools available for making and executing policies. This also works to strengthen its character as a communications network since the character, quality, and relevance of what is communicated and the way in which it is communicated frequently determine the extent of the authority and influence of the parties on the communication.

Table 7. Postwar Changes in Latin American and Caribbean Jewish Communities

1. Communities entrenching, adjusting, and moving toward greater internal unity:

Argentina
Brazil
Chile
Costa Rica
El Salvador
Guatemala
Mexico
Panama
Uruguay
Venezuela

2. Communities of emigration and decline:

Bolivia
Columbia
Cuba
Dominican Republic
Ecuador
Haiti
Honduras
Nicaragua
Paraguay
Surinam

3. Communities undergoing "Americanization" through expansion of American business and leisure interests in the Caribbean:

Barbados
Curacao
Jamaica
Trinidad and Tobago

[Daniel J. Elazar]

Community and Polity

The discussion in the foregoing pages has been more or less restricted to the matrix of institutions and organizations that form a community on the countrywide plane. The Jewish polity as a whole, however, functions on several planes. The federal connections between local and countrywide communities and between Jewish communities around the world have also undergone important changes since World War II, and the feedback has begun to have a significant effect on the countrywide and local communities involved.

Before the modern era, although there were no formal organizations that functioned on a worldwide basis to unite the various Jewish communities, the common allegiance to halakhic Judaism and reliance upon traditional Jewish law gave the Jewish people the constitutional unity it needed. During the modern era, this unity was shattered, and nothing comparable developed to replace it. By the end of the 19th century, all that there was in the way of an organized worldwide Jewish polity was an informal alliance and organizations of Jewish "aristocrats" in the Western world who had taken it upon themselves to try and defend Jewish interests and protect the rights of individual Jews, so as to aid in their emancipation. These inadequate arrangements effectively perished in World War I, when the world which encouraged that mode of community action came to an end.

Meanwhile, tentative steps in the direction of a reorganization more appropriate to the 20th century were beginning to be made. The World Zionist Organization and its member organizations, the *American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee, the B'nai B'rith, and later the *World Jewish Congress

Table 8. Postwar Developments in Asian and African Jewish Communities

1. Communities founded or given new form:

Hong Kong
India
Japan
Philippines
Ryukyu Islands
Taiwan
Thailand

2. Communities abandoned or substantially reduced in size:

Angola
Burma
China
Congo Republic
Cyprus
Indonesia
Kenya
Malaysia
Singapore
Uganda
Zambia

began to offer more routinized and less elitist means of tying Jews together on a worldwide basis. All together, they began to create an infrastructure for a new Jewish confederation in the making.

After World War II, the structure of the Jewish confederation underwent further adaptation. This strengthening of the organizational aspects of the worldwide Jewish polity was partly a consequence of the changes taking place in its constituent communities. The other crucial factor is the State of Israel. The trend has been clear: the concentration in Israel of the major decision-making organs of the Jewish confederation and the organizations that serve it and the routing of their decision-making procedures through Jerusalem, even as the structures, centered in Israel, have at the beginning of the new century been experiencing considerable strain. This trend has become particularly noticeable since the Six-Day War, after which the Israel government began to take very explicit steps to reorganize and strengthen the institutions and organizations of world Jewry by tying them closer to the state. Israel's greater ability, as an independent state, to deal with political matters and its great stake in strengthening the worldwide Jewish confederation has led it to assume this role. Two major events – the Six-Day War in 1967 and the beginnings of the Soviet Jewry movement in 1963 – signaled that the American Jewish communal agenda would be more particularistic than it had been. Israel became the focal point of Jewish identification, the one Jewish phenomenon whose crucial importance is accepted by virtually all Jews and that has the ability to mobilize widespread public efforts in what is, after all, still a voluntary polity. Perhaps paradoxically, at the very moment that free individual choice in the matter of Jewish attachment has reached heights never previously attained, there has been a rediscovery of the Jewish polity, i.e., of the special political character of the Jewish community. In the first decade of the 21st century, however, new patterns in the American Jewish community – and especially in the consciousness of a younger cadre of Jews – had emerged. There was a diminution of the idea of a collective "community" as the meaning of Jewishness was increasingly defined in subjective individual constructs. American Jews found less meaning in formal Jewish organizations (except the local synagogue), political activity, philanthropic endeavors, and attachment to the state of Israel. The traditional institutions of community became less significant than they were to earlier generations of Jews in America. Because they feel that their identity as Jews is immutable, American Jews increasingly do not need the normative communal behaviors of the past in order to express their identity. This changing approach to "community" will have significant implications for the future of Jewish communal organizational structures, for communal fundraising, and for a range of communal involvements.

[Daniel J. Elazar / J. Chanes (2nd ed.)]

See also Communal *Amenities; *Autonomy; Judicial *Autonomy; Autonomous Jewish *Finances; Territorial *Federations of Communities; *Foundations (Community Federations); *Consistory; *Councils of the Lands; *AMIA; *DAIA; *Kultus Gemeinde; *Millet; *Landesjudenschaften; *Jewish Quarter; *Chief Rabbi; *Ḥakahm Bashi*; *Muqaddim*; *Takkanot*; *Shtadlan*; *Pinkas*; *Exilarch; *Ḥerem*; *Ḥerem ha-Yishuv*; *Ḥerem Bet Din*; *Minority Rights; *Synagogue. For communal organizations in the various countries, see entries for the respective countries.

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COMMUNITY TOKENS, internal Jewish currency. The special conditions under which Jews lived in the Diaspora before Emancipation and in Ereẓ Israel especially up to World War I led to a kind of community similar to a miniature state. To preserve the character of the community, whose members did not enjoy the privileges of other citizens, Jews were obliged to create and provide for their own institutions, such as synagogues, rabbinic courts, schools, hospitals, homes for the aged, soup kitchens for the poor, etc. All these institutions were administered by the community and financed by its members through ordinary and extraordinary contributions. In order to cope with these tasks, the communal leaders at times resorted to issuing tokens of their own, with an internal value only and not generally acceptable outside the community. To not raise the suspicion of the authorities, they were often cast in a style that distinguished them from legal tender. Many communities issued tokens in metal or paper, and much information about them has been lost. Whenever a new kind of token is discovered, a fresh investigation has to be carried out.

Diaspora

Perhaps the oldest Jewish metal tokens are those issued by the community of Rome in the ghetto period. These were given to the *shoḥet* for the slaughter of a small chicken (1½ baiocchi) and a large one (3 baiocchi) and the proceeds went to the *talmud torah* fund. The Sephardi immigrants in *Constantinople had their own community centers and synagogues. They issued 5 para brass tokens on which the origin of the community is mentioned, such as Araico (Sarajevo), Shirigis (Saragossa), and Cordoba. The community of Beirut issued a brass charity token for the sick (*Bikkur Ḥolim*) in 1904. During World War I and in the first years after, many communities in Russia and Poland issued paper tokens. In the Austro-Hungarian Empire at least two metal tokens were issued: one in the Austrian community of *Mattersdorf with the initials I.G.M. (*Israelitische Gemeinde Mattersdorf*) and an equivalent abbreviation in Hebrew; and the other issued by the Hungarian community of *Satoraljaujhely in German and Hungarian (*Cultussteuer der israelitischen Gemeinde S.A. Ujhely*). In the 1830s the Jewish merchants of Belgrade obtained from Prince Milosh recognition of their custom of minting their own small change. Private issues were not uncommon; various Jewish enterprises issued their own tokens. Julius *Popper, owner of the gold mines in Tierra del Fuego, issued in El Paramo two gold coins of 1 and 5 grams respectively in his name: "Popper-Tierra del Fuego." The numismatic dealer Henry Seligmann, of Hannover, Germany, in 1921 issued porcelain tokens in the denominations of 25 and 50 Pfennig. Various Jewish enterprises in the United States, especially restaurants, circulated their own tokens.

Ereẓ Israel

Under Turkish rule in the 19th and 20th centuries, the communities in Ereẓ Israel issued a considerable number of tokens. A brass *Ẓedakah* token was issued in Jerusalem by the *Torat Ḥayyim* yeshivah, which also put out a small stamp-shaped paper token of ½ para and different kinds of paper currency in denominations of 1, 5, and 10 gold Napoleons. Other communities in Jerusalem, such as the various *kolelim*, also issued their own paper currency, as did Hebron yeshivah (in Jerusalem) during the British Mandate. There were other brass tokens, such as a square one bearing the legend שְׂכַר שְׁחִיטָה דַקָּה ("fee for the slaughter of a sheep or goat"), a rectangular one inscribed צְדָקָה תַּצִּיל מִמָּוֶת ("charity saves from death"), a round one with the legend קרש ("grush" = *piaster* = 40 para), and another round one with the abbreviation צל״ע (צְדָקָה לַעֲנִיִּים, "charity for the poor"). Turkish copper coins were also issued, countermarked with the same abbreviation. In the 1880s the colony of Zikhron Ya'akov and the agricultural school of Mikveh Israel issued brass tokens of 1, ½, and ¼ (presumably piaster), which, however, were declared illegal by the Turkish authorities. Another more primitive brass token was issued by the colony of Reḥovot, which also issued paper tokens inscribed in Hebrew and French in denominations of ½, 1, 3, 6, 13, and 26 piasters. The colony of Petaḥ Tikvah issued zinc tokens of 1 and 2 (undefined denominations), and in the early 1920s also issued paper tokens in denominations of ¼, 1, and 10 Egyptian piasters, then the legal currency in Palestine. In 1916 the city of Tel Aviv put into circulation paper tokens of 2/10, ¼, ½, and 1 beshlik and 1 franc as an emergency measure. However, this was prohibited by the Turks and had to be withdrawn. To overcome the lack of currency from 1914 to 1916, the Anglo-Palestine Co., the forerunner of the Anglo-Palestine Bank and today's Bank Leumi, issued checks in denominations of 5, 10, 20, 50 and 100 francs which were accepted by the *yishuv* as legal tender. In the early 1950s, during another shortage of small change, the Tel Aviv municipality issued paper tokens in denominations of 50 and 100 perutah respectively. The ½ mil of *kofer ha-yishuv* was a brass token that served as a self-imposed security tax during the British Mandate (from 1939) to meet the requirements of the Haganah. Paper tokens were issued by various bus companies in aid of the Magen David Adom. During the British Mandate there were private issues of small paper, mainly by restaurants.

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[Alvin Kass]

COMO, city in Lombardy, northern Italy. In 1400 the Christian residents of Como requested the duke of Milan to segregate its few Jewish inhabitants. The Jews living in Como during the 15th century were mainly engaged in moneylending. They suffered considerably from the animosity aroused in the Christian populace by the preaching of the friars, but the duke did not yield to demands for their expulsion. However, in 1597 the Spanish government expelled the Jews from the duchy and the community in Como ceased to exist.

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[Umberto (Moses David) Cassuto]

COMPASSION, norm governing the relationship between human beings and also regulating their behavior toward animals.

In the Bible

The biblical noun *raḥamim* and the verb *raḥam, riḥam*, frequently used to denote this behavior, are derived from the same root as is the noun *reḥem* ("womb"), hence some scholars have proposed that its original meaning was "brotherhood," "brotherly feeling" of those born from the same womb. Other terms, including *ḥesed* ("lovingkindness"), are also used, though in many instances this notion is not expressed explicitly and must be understood through the description of certain forms of conduct. For the writers of the Bible, the concept indicated an essential relation between God and Israel, rooted in the covenant: "He being full of compassion, forgives iniquity and does not destroy" (Ps. 78:38; see Ex. 33:19; Deut. 8:18; Isa. 9:16, etc.). It was made manifest by the preservation of Israel from destruction at the hands of its enemies and by divine intervention on its behalf: "In Your love You lead the people You redeemed" (Ex. 15:13; see Deut. 30:3; I Kings 8:23, etc.).

The human response to the disclosure of divine compassion is to be found in man's behavior toward his fellows: "Learn to do well; seek justice; relieve the oppressed; judge the fatherless; plead for the widow" (Isa. 1:17; see Micah 6:8; Jer. 21:12). "He that is gracious unto the poor, lends unto the Lord" (Prov. 19:17). "You shall not mistreat any widow or orphan" (Ex. 22:21). Nor is the stranger excluded from this obligation: "You shall not wrong a stranger or oppress him" (*ibid.* 22:20). Animals, too, are recognized as the objects of such solicitude: "When you see the ass of your enemy prostrate under its load and would refrain from raising it, you must nevertheless raise it with him" (Ex. 23:5; see Deut. 22:4). "You shall not muzzle an ox while it is threshing" (Deut. 25:4).

In Rabbinic Literature

Rabbinic Judaism enlarged and deepened the biblical concept, recognizing it as an indispensable characteristic of the Jew (Yev. 79a): "Whoever is merciful to his fellowmen is certainly of the children of Abraham" (Beẓah 32b). The Jews were popularly called *raḥamanim benei raḥamanim* – "compassionate scions of compassionate forbears." The rabbis conceived of the practice of compassion as an *imitatio dei*, for the ways of God in which man was commanded to walk (Deut. 8:6) were those set out in Exodus 34:6–7: "The Lord! The Lord! a God compassionate and gracious, slow to anger, rich in steadfast kindness, extending kindness to the thousandth generation, forgiving iniquity, transgression, and sin." These verses were understood to sum up and explain the divine attribute of compassion, and to set the norm for human conduct: "Just as God is called compassionate and gracious, so you must be compassionate and gracious, giving gifts freely" (Sif. Deut. 49). Maimonides declared that arrogant, cruel, misanthropic, and unloving persons were to be suspected of not being true Jews (Yad, Issurei Bi'ah, 19:17). The clear tendency of the Bible requiring compassion in dealing with animals was summarized in the talmudic phrase, "[relieving] the suffering of an animal is a biblical law" (*ẓa'ar ba'alei ḥayyim de-oraita*, BM 32b). According to a Midrash (Ex. R. 2:3) both Moses and David were chosen to lead Israel because of their kindness to animals. The ḥasidic teacher R. *Moses Leib of Sasov epitomized the concept in his statement, "to know the needs of men and to bear the burden of their sorrow – that is the true love of man."

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[Lou H. Silberman]

COMPOUNDING OFFENSES. The injunction: "Ye shall take no ransom for the life of a murderer.… And ye shall accept no ransom for him that is fled to his *city of refuge" (Num. 35:31–32), was interpreted as an exception to the general rule that for all other offenses you may accept a "ransom' (*kofer*), except only for the offense of homicide (BK 83b; Rashbam to Num. 35:31). It seems that the capital offense of adultery was compounded in this way (Prov. 6:35). The rule that even the worst examples of personal injury (such as blinding or mutilating) were not to be punished by way of talion (as prescribed in the Bible, Ex. 21:24–25; Lev. 24:19–20), but were to be compensated for by the payment of damages, was based on the principle that as offenses short of homicide they were compoundable by money (BK 83b, 84a). The fact that the "ransom" was in these cases translated into "damages" (cf. Maim. Yad, Ḥovel u-Mazzik 1:3), caused some confusion and overlapping between civil and criminal law in this field. By the payment of damages the offender is relieved from criminal responsibility (see *Assault), the damages operating as "expiation money" (cf. Ex. 30:12, 15, and 16) in lieu of the otherwise expiating punishment. In the same way the owner of the ox that is a habitual gorer, who, though forewarned, fails to guard it so that it kills a man or a woman is liable to "be put to death," but may "redeem his life" by paying such ransom as "is laid upon him" (Ex. 21:29–30). The dispute between the *tannaim* as to whether the ransom is to be assessed according to the value of the killed man or of the owner of the ox (Mekh. Mishpatim 10; BK 40a), as well as the parallel dispute as to whether the ransom is in the nature of damages (*mamon*) or of expiation (BK 40a), reflect the underlying difference between purely civil and additionally criminal remedies. This distinction is not affected by the talmudic interpretation of the liability of the ox-owner to be put to death, as this relates only to the law of heaven (*bi-ydei shamayim*), the theory of expiation by payment of the ransom applying to *divine punishment as well (Sanh. 15b; Maim. Yad, Nizkei Mamon 10:4).

It is because the ransom underwent this transformation into damages that the injunction not to accept a ransom in cases of homicide was interpreted as addressed to the court (*ibid.*, Roẓe'aḥ 1:4). In fact, it was not only the court but more particularly such interested persons as *blood-avengers that were enjoined from compounding homicides – as was pointed out by later authorities (e.g., *Minḥat Ḥinnukh* 412). However it appears that such compounding had already been practiced by judges in biblical times and led to accusations of corruption (cf. Amos 5:12; and contrast I Sam. 12:3) – perhaps not so much because the judges corruptly enriched themselves (see *Bribery), but because of the inequality thereby created between rich offenders, who could afford to ransom themselves, and indigent offenders who could not (cf. Prov. 13:8; cf. Job 36:18). The elimination of this inequality in cases of homicide may have made it appear even more reprehensible in other cases, at least from the point of view of judicial ethics. In later periods courts allowed offenders to compound offenses for which previous courts had imposed severe punishments (such as flogging) by making payments to the injured person or to the poor (cf. e.g., Resp. Maharyu 146; *Eitan ha–Ezraḥi 7; Yam shel Shelomo* BK 8:49; Resp. Maharshal 28).

[Haim Hermann Cohn]

In the State of Israel

The Israel Supreme Court dealt with the matter of "ransom" or punishments in the case of Sheffer (CA 506/88, *Sheffer v. State of Israel*, 48(1) PD 87). The Court (Justice Elon) discussed the question of whether a terminally ill patient was entitled to request that he not be given any life-extending treatment. The Court cited in this context the biblical verse (Gen. 1:27): "In His image did God make man," which is the "analytical and philosophical basis of Jewish law's unique approach to the supreme value of the sanctity of human life" (*Sheffer*, 117). "The prayer of the Jew to the Almighty in the Days of Awe acknowledges not only that 'the soul is yours, and the body is your work,' but also that 'the soul is yours and the body is yours,' for man is created in the image of God, in the image of the world's Creator. This approach also serves as the rationale for a legal ruling. Thus, Numbers 35:31 – 'Do not accept ransom for a murderer' – is explained by Maimonides in his *Mishneh Torah* (*Roẓe'aḥ u-Shemirat ha-Nefesh* 23:4) as follows: 'The Court is warned not to accept ransom money from a murderer, even if he gives all the money in the world and even if the blood avenger is willing to acquit him [for it] – since the life of the person who was killed is not the property of the blood relative but rather that of the Almighty, as it is stated: 'Do not accept ransom for a murderer.' And there is nothing that the Torah deals with more seriously than with murder, as it is stated: 'Do not defile the land, etc., since the blood will defile the land' (Num. 35: 33)." These words have become the source of disputes among halakhic authorities with regard to the fundamental question of whether medical treatment can be forced on a patient against his wishes (*ibid*., 118–19).

[Menachem Elon (2nd ed.)]

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COMPROMISE (Heb. פְּשָׁרָה, *pesharah*; apparently derived from the term *pesher,* "solution," Eccles. 8:1), deciding a civil law dispute (*dinei mamonot*) by the court or an arbitral body, through the exercise of their discretion and not according to the laws governing the dispute. In Jewish law, compromise is allied to *arbitration both with regard to the way it evolved and in some of its rules and trends (the two are treated contiguously in the Tur and Shulḥan Arukh ḤM 12 and 13).

Pesharah and Biẓẓu'a

In talmudic sources the term *biẓẓu'a* is synonymous with and equivalent to the term *pesharah*. (In Scripture *biẓẓu'a* was used to mean divide or cut (Amos 9:1), and to execute or carry out (Zech. 4:9)). Gulak makes the interesting conjecture – based partly on the fact that several talmudic sources indicate that *pesharah* and *biẓẓu'a* were two distinct matters – that there was a difference of principle between the two. *Pesharah* was carried out by the court itself and in the opinion of all the scholars, was something permitted, and even desirable, for restoring peace between the litigants. On the other hand the court before which the matter was brought in the case of *biẓẓu'a* would refer investigation to other persons – knowledgeable and expert in the field of that particular matter – for its disposal by way of a compromise between the parties. Referral of a matter by the court in this way was customary in ancient law and when the Romans abrogated Jewish judicial autonomy after the Bar Kokhba War (132–135 C.E.), some scholars refrained from adjudicating according to strict law, preferring a compromise between the parties to be effected by others who were knowledgeable in the matter (TJ, Sanh. 1:1, 18b; Mekh. Yitro, 2; see also *Mishpat Ivri). Consequently there were scholars who came to regard *biẓẓu'a* as forbidden, since they looked with disfavor on the fact that the court evaded making its own decision in the matter. (Gulak stresses that a prohibition against compromising is always expressed in terms of *biẓẓu'a* and not *pesharah*, since the latter, effected by the *dayyan* himself, is a *mitzvah*.) In the course of time the difference between *pesharah* and *biẓẓu'a* came to be forgotten, as in both cases the object was to compromise between the parties and the rules laid down for the one came equally to govern the other. In this article the principles of compromise are treated in a like manner; i.e., the terms are regarded as applying to the same concept, as is the case in halakhic literature.

Desirability of Compromise

Three different opinions on the subject of compromise are found in the Talmud, all originating from the middle of the second century when the weakening of Jewish judicial autonomy encouraged a movement toward finding a replacement by way of arbitration and compromise. Joshua b. Korḥah based his opinion that "*biẓẓu'a* is a *mitzvah*" on the scriptural injunction: "Execute the judgment of truth and peace in your gates" (Zech. 8:16), commenting that justice which involved both peace and charity was to be found in *biẓẓu'a* (Sif. Deut. 17; Tosef., Sanh. 1:2–3; Sanh. 6b; TJ, Sanh. 1:1, 18b). A contrary opinion was expressed by R. Eliezer, the son of Yose the Galilean, who stated that "*biẓẓu'a* is forbidden and the *boẓe'a* ["arbitrator"] an offender… but let the law cut through the mountain, as it is written 'For the judgment is God's'" (Deut. 1:17; Tosef., Sanh. 1:2; Sanh. 6b). The third opinion, that of Simeon b. Menasya, was that compromise was neither a *mitzvah* nor prohibited, but simply permissible (Sanh. 6b). The *halakhah* was decided to the effect that it is a *mitzvah* to ascertain from the litigants beforehand whether they want their dispute resolved according to law or by compromise and that their decision must be abided by; moreover, "it is praiseworthy if a court always effects a compromise" (Maim. Yad, Sanhedrin 22:4; Tur and Sh. Ar., ḤM 12:2). It remains a *mitzvah* for the court to effect a compromise even after it has heard the pleas of the parties and knows in whose favor the suit is weighted, but once its decision has been given the court may no longer effect a compromise and "let the law cut through the mountain" (Tosef., Sanh. 1:2–3; Sanh. 6b; TJ, Sanh. 1:1, 18b; Yad, Sanhedrin 22:4; Tur and Sh. Ar., ḤM 12:2).

In the geonic period it was determined that even after judgment had been given a compromise could still be effected, at the hands of someone other than a judge and elsewhere than at the place where the court was situated (L. Ginzberg, *Ginzei Schechter,* 2 (1929), 126; Sh. Ar., ḤM 12:2). Similarly, it is permissible for the court to compromise between the parties, even after giving judgment if either of them is liable in law to take an oath, in order that the need for this be obviated by virtue of the compromise (Sh. Ar., ḤM 12:2). Since the equitable oath (*shevu'at hesset*) is imposed on one of the parties in practically all legal suits, great efforts were made to induce the parties to a compromise and thus avoid the gravity of the oath (see also Sh. Ar., ḤM 12:17). Compromise was permitted to the court even if this involved some waiver of the rights of orphans "so as to shelter them from disputes" (Sh. Ar., ḤM 12:3).

The scholars extended the discussion on the merits and demerits of compromise in monetary disputes between man and his fellow to the precepts governing man's relationship with God and man's conduct in general. Thus the statement of Eliezer b. Jacob – that a man who steals wheat and then, when making bread with it, says the blessing on separating the *ḥallah, is actually blaspheming God (quoted in connection with the meaning of the word *boẓe'a*; Sanh. 6b) – was explained by Simeon Kayyara (ninth century) as an example of a defective compromise: "since he compromised with the precepts of God, acting as if robbery were permitted but that he was in duty bound to separate the *ḥallah*; this is a *mitzvah* performed as the result of a transgression, something God hates" (*Halakhot Gedolot*, ed. Warsaw, 19a). Judah's compromise in rescuing Joseph from the pit and selling him to the Ishmaelites (Gen. 37:26–28) has been interpreted as unworthy conduct: "since he should have said 'Let us return him to our father'" (Rashi to Sanh. 6b), and as worthy conduct: since this compromise was imperative in the circumstances (*Ḥiddushei Halakhot ve-Aggadot*, Sanh. 6b).

Nature of Compromise

Compromise is comparable to a judicial decision and must therefore be made after weighty deliberation. Thus, "compromise too requires an application of the mind to the decision" (*hekhre'a ha-da'at*; TJ, Sanh. 1:1); "the *dayyan* must take as much care with compromise as with a legal decision" (*Lehem Rav* 87); "just as the law should not be perverted, so it is warned that a compromise should not lean more to the one than the other" (Sh. Ar., ḤM 12:2). Some scholars interpreted the injunction, "Justice, justice shalt thou follow" (Deut. 16:20) as meaning, "Justice, once for the law and once for compromise" (Sanh. 32b and Rashi ad loc.). Other scholars interpreted the verse, "In righteousness shalt thou judge thy neighbor" (Lev. 19:15) as referring to a judgment based on the law, and Deuteronomy 16:20 as relating entirely to compromise, since in compromise there is a two-fold need for justice as the arbitrator cannot have recourse to the governing law and therefore has to exercise great care and discretion "to see who of them is telling the truth and who deserves to be treated with greater severity" (*Yad Ramah* and *Beit ha-Beḥirah*, Sanh. 32b).

The Making of a Compromise and Its Validity

Compromise is generally effected by a court of three, but the parties may consent to two judges or even a single one. The court is not authorized to compromise between the parties unless they have previously consented to the court's taking this course rather than judging in accordance with the applicable law. In special cases, when the court is satisfied that there is no means of evaluating a matter on the strength of the evidence, it may give "a judgment in the nature of a compromise … and decide as it may deem fit according to its own estimate." This is so since the court is forbidden to let a dispute pass out of its hands without having given a decision on it, as "this will increase conflict and the imposition of peace in the world is the duty of the court" (Rosh, Resp. 107:6; Sh. Ar., ḤM 12:5). Unlike a judgment of the court or of arbitrators – which is given by majority decision – compromise must be unanimously arrived at by all the judges (Sh. Ar., ḤM 12:18). The parties may retract from the compromise – even if they had previously authorized the court to adopt this course – as long as a *kinyan* (see Modes of *Acquisition) has not been performed by them and provided that they did not undertake in writing to abide by the compromise. However, once execution of the compromise decision has been begun (Sanh. 6a; Sh. Ar. ḤM 12:7), the parties may no longer withdraw.

[Menachem Elon]

The Right and the Good

In Deuteronomy 6:17–18, we read: "You shall diligently keep the commandments of the Lord and his testimonies which he has commanded you. And you shall do that which is right and good in the sight of the Lord, that it may be well with you, and so you may go and possess the good land that the Lord swore to your fathers." Commenting on this verse in his Torah Commentary, Naḥmanides writes: "This is a matter of great consequence. Given that it is impossible for the Torah to explicitly enumerate all the ways in which people relate to their neighbors and fellow men and to cover all the numerous types of business and transactions and all the things necessary for the proper ordering of society and government, it first mentioned a great many such things … and then stated generally that in all matters one should do that which is right and good. This is the basis for compromise, for going beyond the letter of the law, regarding that which was set forth in connection with giving a preemptive right to owners of adjoining land."

Compromise and Justice

In the later halakhic literature (*aḥaronim*), and more recently in rulings by Israeli rabbinical courts, compromise is used extensively to supplement substantive law, where the court is unable to provide a just solution to the matter confronting it. R. Abraham Ḥayyim Schorr (Poland, 17th century), in discussing the term "to place a compromise" (*Torat Ḥayyim* on

Sanh. 32a), states that, where the circumstances relating to the litigants are identical, and it is impossible to decide whose right should prevail, the court is *obligated* to propose ("place") a compromise, and even *compel* its acceptance by the parties. This conclusion is based on the use of the terminology, "*to place* a compromise," as distinct from "*making* a compromise." The term "to place" indicates that, having proposed a compromise which was subsequently rejected by the parties, the judge is permitted to cast ("to place") a lot as a means of determining which party will receive the right in dispute, and which party will be indemnified for his loss.

The rabbinical courts have recently issued a number of rulings based on compromise. Even in cases where there was no basis under substantive law to obligate the litigant to pay money, although there was an obligation according to "the law of Heaven." An example of this is a case in which the damage was consequential. In *Gerama and Garme the rabbinical court does not make a financial award under the *law of damages*, but rather in accordance with the law of *compromise.* The institution of compromise has been put to similar use in cases involving an act committed in breach of a negative precept, but which did not give rise to a financial obligation, such as deception in the payment of a day-worker. Additional examples are cases in which there are no grounds for imposing a financial obligation under strict law, either because in monetary matters we do not follow the majority opinion, or because the litigant invokes the *kim lei* claim (i.e., the litigant's reliance on a certain rabbinical opinion in a matter disputed among halakhic authorities, as a means of preventing a monetary ruling against him). In such cases, where the law itself offers no remedy, the rabbinical court may have recourse to compromise as a means of doing justice (see, e.g., *PDR*, Kiryat Arba-Hebron, vol A, p. 205, and index there; V. Goldberg, "*Shivḥei Pesharah*," *Mishpetei Ereẓ*, 2002)

Method of Effecting a Compromise

The Rabbinical Court of Appeal, relying on the view of *Leḥem Rav,* overturned a ruling of the Regional Rabbinical Court, which had given a compromise ruling without having properly heard the claims of one of the litigants. The Court of Appeal stated that: "From the determination and ruling of *Leḥem Rav* we learn that failure to listen to a litigant's claims infringes the principle of doing justice, and that the rabbinical judge's duty to hear the parties' claims is a precondition for his ability to rule in accordance with the law, as may be inferred from the aforementioned words of the *Tur.* The rabbinical judge added that even a ruling by way of compromise is only valid if prior thereto the rabbinical judge heard the litigants' claims" (A. Sherman in File 734/59, *Judgments*, vol. 188; given in 1999).

In another ruling, the Jerusalem Rabbinical Court of Appeals nullified a compromise ruling of the Regional Court when it became clear to them that the compromise ruling had been issued as a substitute for adjudication, without either of the litigants having given their advance consent. As such, it should be regarded as *no more than a compromise proposal* (Yosef Kapach, 328/43, given 1984, published in *Mishpetei Ereẓ* collection, 2002.)

In Israeli Supreme Court Case Law

The conception and status of compromise in Jewish Law were the basis of a number of Supreme Court rulings in recent years.

In *Sobol v. Goldman* (CA 807/77, 33 (1) PD 789), an appeal was filed in the Supreme Court against a District Court judgment, the question adjudicated being the validity of a rabbinic court judgment given by way of compromise, when the Law directs it to rule "according to the religious law." The Supreme Court's judgment (per Justice Elon) included a detailed exposition of the status of compromise in Jewish Law. The court discussed the conflicting opinions on the status of compromise in adjudication during the talmudic period (see above: "Desirability of Compromise"), and the approach that was ultimately accepted in Jewish Law in the Codes and by earlier and later authorities (*rishonim* and *aḥaronim*) regarding the positive role of compromise ruling in the world of *halakhah* and its integration as a substantive element in Jewish Law. Justice Elon added that:

> In Jewish Law the institution of compromise, its nature and its procedure, comprised many purely legal aspects. Hence it was determined that compromise cannot be the product of an arbitrary decision, but requires serious deliberation: "Compromise, too, requires careful thought" (TJ Sanh. 1:1). An entire chapter in the *Tur* and *Shulḥan Arukh* is devoted to the laws of compromise (ḤM 12), consisting of 19 sections of detailed explanation of how a compromise is effected, under what circumstances it is binding, etc. These rules establish compromise as an institution of a clearly legal character …. The conclusion of a compromise by the rabbinical court is neither in conflict with, nor beyond the boundaries of, the religious legal system in which it operates, but is in fact an integral part of it … distinguished by the clear legal principles and rules of procedure applicable to it (*ibid.*, 799, 802).

The Supreme Court was confronted with a similar question in the *Gabbai* case (HC 2222/99 *Gabbai v. Rabbinical Court of Appeals*, 54 (5) 401). In a petition submitted to the High Court of Justice, a woman contested the decision of the Rabbinical Appeals Court to affirm the regional rabbinical court's ruling on the division of property between herself and her husband in the wake of their divorce. She claimed that the ruling contradicted the "joint assets rule." The Rabbinical Court of Appeals held that the regional rabbinical court had decided between the disputants by way of an imposed compromise where there was no possibility of deciding the facts.

Justice Proccaccia elucidated the essence of compromise in Jewish Law, comparing it with compromise in the civil law. Relying on Justice Elon's ruling in the *Sobol* case (see above), she determined that compromise was an intrinsic part of the system of religious law. She further quoted statements made by E. Shochetman as to its importance, which derives from "the supreme importance conferred by Jewish Tradition to the value of making peace between man and his fellow" (p.

420 of judgment). Justice Proccaccia pointed out that, unlike civil law, Jewish law also validates a compromise concluded without the parties' agreement – even though such is generally based on the parties' consent – when there is no evidence that can tilt the law one way or another, or when the admissibility of evidence is impugned. Justice Proccaccia cites the ruling of Asheri (*Teshuvot* 107:6):

> When the judge is confronted by a matter which he is unable to resolve, it is forbidden for him to withdraw from adjudication leaving the parties to fight one another, as it states: "Execute the judgment of truth and peace (in your gates)," for justice brings peace to the world, and the judge was therefore permitted to adjudicate and to decide as he wishes, even without supporting reasons and evidence, all in order to bring peace to the world …

and the ruling of the *Shulḥan Arukh:*

> The judge must be permitted to give judgment by way of compromise in cases where the matter cannot be clarified, and he is not allowed to give a partial, incomplete judgment. (*ibid.*, 421–22).

Justice Yitzhak Englard, too, agreed that the rabbinical court is empowered to impose a compromise. He further added that a compromise should only be forced on the parties when there is a substantial doubt arising from evidence submitted by the parties, precluding judicial resolution of factual questions. (See also R. Ḥayyim David Halevi, "The Compromise Ruling Where There Is an Obligation to Take an Oath" (*Teḥumin*, 12 (5751 – 1991) 330: "There may be different levels of non-clarification. The *Rosh* apparently did not intend to rule that wherever the *Bet Din* is in doubt it should give a compromise ruling, for there would be no end to it, and there is always the possibility that one of the litigants is lying. His rule would therefore appear to be applicable only in those cases in which the evidential picture and the pleadings of the litigants create a real doubt among the *dayanim*. (*ibid.*, 429).)

The dispute between the judges only related to the issue of whether the circumstances were such as to compel the rabbinical court to rule in accordance with the joint property rules (see *Husband and Wife; *Dowry).

Another matter that came before the Supreme Court (CA 61/84 *Biazi v. Levi,* PD 42 (1) 446) concerned two parties to a dispute who concluded an agreement whereby the results of a polygraph test would be considered as conclusive evidence in the determination of facts in dispute between them. This agreement received the force of a judgment. After the results were received, the party whose factual account was confuted by the test results filed an appeal in which he contested the binding nature of their agreement.

The minority view (Justice Bach) allowed the appeal, whereas the majority view (Justices Goldberg and Elon) dismissed it. The judgment regarded the agreement between the parties as a compromise agreement, relying upon the sources of Jewish Law referred to above, and additional sources. It further emphasized (Justice Elon) that:

> Many reasons have been given for the preference of compromise over strict law. As stated, compromise engenders peace between the parties, a basic goal of doing justice. A particularly apposite expression of this idea appears in the following halakhic midrash (*Mekhilta de-Rabbi Ishmael*, *Masekhta de-Amalek*, §2). Commenting on the verse in Exodus 18:15, 'When they have a dispute, it comes before me, and I decide between one person and his friend,' it states: "'And I decide between one person' – this refers to a judicial proceeding where there is no compromise. 'And his friend' – this is a judicial proceeding which involves compromise; both parties depart from one another as friends." Moreover, compromise obviates the feeling of the losing party that justice was not done and the truth abandoned. "Compromise is agreed to and chosen by the parties, which is not the case when the decision is in accordance with substantive law. The person found liable in such a case [against whom judgment is given – ME] does not waive his complaints against his adversary, even though the latter won in court (R. Samuel Edels, *Ḥiddushei Maharsha*, 17th century Poland; on *Sanh.* 6b, *s.v. ohev shalom*).

Further on, the ruling extols another benefit of compromise, which in the view of Jewish Law makes it preferable to ruling by law. Compromise ensures rapid judgment and resolution of the dispute, thereby preventing postponement of judgment that may be the result of ruling according to strict law. In support of this consideration, the judgment cites the following statement by Maimonides, in his *Introduction to the Commentary on the Mishnah*:

> He [the judge] must attempt in all cases to have the parties compromise. If he can consistently avoid deciding a case, by always effecting a compromise between the two rivals – how good and how pleasant that is; but if he is unable to do so, he must apply strict law. Neither should he be hasty [impatient and hurrying – ME], but should give the rival litigants a long time and allow each of the rival litigants to plead his case all day long – even if they are garrulous and speak nonsense …"

Maimonides' guideline is that the judge must do his best to achieve a compromise, and only if he fails to affect a compromise between the parties should he rule by strict law. In that eventuality the examination of the facts and the hearing of the parties may be a protracted process, because the judge is duty-bound to allow the parties to exhaust all of their procedural options.

It is noteworthy that the same judgment also cites U.S. Supreme Court rulings praising compromise as an efficient and commendable means of resolving disputes, in the spirit of the aforementioned sources of Jewish Law (*Holman Mfg. Completion Works. v. Dapin 193 NW 986* (1923) pp. 988; *Sanders v. Roselawn Memorial Gardens, Inc. 159 SE 2d 784* (1968), pp. 795). Further on in the judgment, Justice Elon characterizes the positive approach to the compromise agreement concluded between the parties as "what has long been regarded as appropriate legal policy … and which today may well be one of the lifelines enabling the conduct of adjudication and rulings in accordance therewith, which is the ultimate purpose of the rule of law" (*ibid.*, 480–81)

Another example of the influence and application of Jewish Law in the Israeli legal system is provided by CA 287/88 *Manof v. Saleima*, 44 (3) PD 758. This judgment concerns an application filed by a party to disqualify the judge in the previous instance, in view of the following compromise proposal which the judge made to the litigants at the outset of proceedings: "In view of the above, the Court suggests that if the background explanation provided by plaintiff's attorney is correct (and its veracity may be reasonably presumed, in view of the letters), then the defendant ought to indemnify the plaintiff for all such expenses and damages as he may specifically demonstrate to the defendant's attorney, and they will compromise on a sum to be determined by the Court …" The judge rejected the application, claiming that she had not intended to establish that the background explanation provided by plaintiff's attorney was in fact correct. Rather, she had described the proceedings and pleadings that had been raised so far and which would continue to unfold in the course of the litigation. The Supreme Court ruled (per Justice Elon) that under these circumstances there were no grounds for impugning the judge's objectivity. He further added that the judge's proposal to bring the parties to a compromise was "correct, commendable, and blessed," and that "every court that effects a compromise is deserving of praise" (MT, *Sanhedrin*, 22:4), because "it brings about peace between a man and his fellow" (*Mekhilta*, *Tractate De-Amalek*, *Yitro*, §2), and it constitutes appropriate legal policy."

The *Hoffman* ruling (HC 699/89 *Anat Hoffman v. Jerusalem Municipal Council*, 48 (1) PD 678) exemplifies the use of the same principles of Jewish Law, affirming the judicial recourse to compromise – but in this case the dispute was not between individuals, but between an individual and the sovereign authorities. The ruling concerned a petition filed by the representatives of the non-Orthodox streams of Judaism against the Jerusalem Municipality. They objected to the decision not to approve their candidacy in the elections to the Religious Council. The Supreme Court judgment invalidated the municipality's decision, and in the beginning of its judgment the Court (Justice Elon) described its efforts at persuading the parties to compromise:

> After hearing the argumentations we made a compromise proposal to the parties. Our efforts were to no avail and the file was adjourned for a number of memorandum sittings, in an additional effort to induce the parties to compromise. We felt at the time, and still feel, that the dispute before us should be resolved consensually. And what makes this case so special? Because in their pleadings before us both parties presented extensive argumentation regarding the existence of divergent streams in matters related to world-views, each according to his own path and world-view. But that was not the question confronting us, and there was neither place nor need to discuss it or anything connected therewith in order to resolve the specific dispute before us, as we shall presently explain. It was regarding circumstances of this kind that our Sages stated (*Sanh.* 6b) "Settlement by compromise is a meritorious act, for it is written, (Zech. 8:16) 'Execute the judgment of truth and peace in your gates.'" http://www.come-and-hear.com/sanhedrin/sanhedrin_6.html – Folio 6b ref. 10 Despite our efforts, we were unsuccessful, and for this I am truly sorry (*ibid.*, p. 684 of judgment).

The Law in the State of Israel

In 1992 Israeli Law was amended (The Courts Law (Consolidated Version) 5744 – 1984), by the addition of provisions which established the position of the compromise as an integral part of the judicial procedure:

> **79A Compromise**
> (a) A court adjudicating a civil matter may, with the consent of the litigants, rule on the matter before it, wholly or in part, by way of compromise.
> (b) Nothing in the provisions of sub-section (a) shall derogate from the authority of the court to propose a compromise settlement to the litigants, or to give effect, upon the litigants' application, to a compromise settlement concluded between them.
> **79B Arbitration**
> (a) A court adjudicating a civil matter may, with the consent of the litigants, submit the matter before it, wholly or partially, to arbitration; and the court is also permitted, with their consent, to define the conditions of the arbitration. […]
> **79C Mediation**
> (a) In this section "mediation" – a procedure in which the mediator meets the litigants in order to bring them to an agreement for the resolution of the dispute, without him having any powers of resolution […]
> (b) The court is permitted, with the litigants' consent, to submit the action to mediation.
> […]
> (g) Where the litigants conclude a mediation settlement, the mediator will give notice thereof to the court, and the court is permitted to grant the force of a judgment to their settlement.

The impact of Jewish Law and the Supreme Court rulings cited above are clearly discernible in the provisions of the new law. The law permits the court to suggest compromise settlements to the parties; it enables them to reach an agreement whereby the judge will not adjudicate in accordance with the substantive law, but rather by way of compromise, and his decision is binding. The law also allows the court to refer the parties to alternative proceedings outside the court: mediation, in which an attempt is made to bring the parties to a consensual settlement; and arbitration, in which a ruling is given, but not necessarily in accordance with the substantive law (see *Arbitration). The explanatory notes accompanying the draft law (HH 5751, p. 319), emphasize the efficiency of the compromise mechanism: "It is proposed to confer upon compromise frameworks – mediation and arbitration – formal standing in the principal legislation, the intention being to enable the litigants to choose additional paths for the resolution of their dispute. This establishes possibilities for speeding up the resolution of the dispute, on the one hand, and easing the burden imposed by the litigation itself, on the other."

[Menachem Elon (2nd ed.)]

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COMPUTER SCIENCE. The term Computer Science encompasses three different types of research areas: computability, efficiency, and methodology.

General Introduction

Computability deals with the question of what is "mechanically" computable. The most natural way to describe a "problem" is as a numerical function, i.e., as an operation that gets numbers as input and produces numbers as output. A crucial observation is that there is an inherent property in functions that makes them "computable in an organized fashion," e.g., by a series of rules. Most numerical functions do not have this property and the field of computability is concerned with the functions that do. In order to rigorously define "organized fashion" one needs to define formal models of computation. The conclusion of decades of different models that were developed in the beginning of the 20th century was the "Church-Turing Thesis." This thesis states that all reasonable models of computation are equivalent. Thus the property of being "computable" is considered to be inherent to the function and not dependent on an external computing machine.

Once it is established that a function is computable, it is important to find out whether it is efficient. Efficiency is also inherent in the function, rather than the machine computing it. A faster machine will only be able to compute a function faster by a constant multiple. However, a function that is not efficiently computable will cease to be realistically computable when presented with larger inputs, even on a fast machine. Consider, as an example, the sorting problem. Given a list of n numbers, we would like to sort them in ascending order. The naive way of doing it is to choose the smallest number and move it to the front. Then choose the next smaller and move it to the front, and continue until all numbers are sorted. This scheme takes in the order of n^2 operations. Thus, sorting 1,000 numbers will require roughly 1,000,000 operations. Suppose we have two machines, one of which is 10 times faster than the other. Suppose also that someone came up with a scheme that sorts n numbers in time n, rather than n^2. The slow machine would sort the 1,000 numbers using 1,000 operations using the faster scheme. The fast machine would use 1,000,000 operations using the first scheme, but being 10 times faster than the other machine, it would do it in the time the slow machine would be able to do 100,000 operations. Nevertheless, the slow machine wins by a factor of 100.

We conclude that the computation scheme, and not the machine, is the main contributor to the efficiency of computing a function. This computation scheme is called an "algorithm" in computer science, and the efficiency of the algorithm is called its "complexity."

The fields of Computational Complexity and Design and Analysis of Algorithms are the two main fields of computer science dealing with the efficiency of programs. Computational complexity can be likened to the study of the "forest" of functions, and the different traits causing different classes of complexity. Algorithm design and analysis is the study of methods that can lead to efficient algorithms for specific problems.

The final part of the science of computing is the methodology part. In view of the above discussion one can study computability and efficiency even in a world without computers and electricity. Nevertheless, the existence of computing machines creates many new problems. A machine that computes functions must deal with numerous peripheral devices and multiple functions being computed at the same time. The best ways of organizing these tasks are studied in the research area called operating systems. People who want to write down the code for very large and complex algorithms, need ways that would make it easy to write in the most error-free ways, easy to test, and easy to maintain and understand. These topics are researched in the areas of programming languages and software engineering. Dealing with huge data sets requires ways to index, search, and retrieve data efficiently. These methods are studied in the research areas of databases and information retrieval. The field of Natural Language Processing aims at the goal of having computers understand our speech. The desire to have systems that see and react, e.g., for self-driving cars, necessitates the area of computer vision and image processing. The proliferation of computers requires that they communicate, which leads to the areas of networks and communications. Robotics and Artificial Intelligence allows machines to be able to autonomously perform a range of tasks. All above research areas are concerned with methods that enable easier, better, and more efficient use of computing machines.

Computer Science in Jewish Sources

It is clear that one will not find too many hints of the methodology part of computer science in Jewish sources, since that branch of computer science evolved around the computer. Artificial life or robotics seems to be hinted at by the golem concept. The Talmud (Sanh. 65b) mentions that *Rava created a man and sent it to Rav *Zeira. There are additional midrashic and later references to the power of creating "artificial life" by use of the Holy Name. The relationship between these passages and Artificial Intelligence is only superficial. The point made in these passages seems to be the creative power of holiness, rather than the potential of the physical sciences.

A pervasive method in web technologies and digital libraries is the hypertext method. This method has been very successfully used in Jewish literature. The traditional page format in the Vilna Shas, for example, is a pure use of hypertext. The main text is centered in large letters, the main commentators are arranged around it in smaller letters, and links to appropriate passages in the Bible and in the main *posekim* are suitably incorporated. The printings of many other Jewish texts are in a similar format (e.g., Rambam, Shulḥan Arukh). These Jewish texts represent the most extensive use of windows and hypertext technology prior to the end of the 20th century. Some research papers in computer science were motivated by the hypertext in Jewish texts.

Computability and efficiency, especially the algorithmic part, do not require a machine, therefore it is not surprising that such topics are considered in the ancient world as well as in Jewish sources. Algorithms have a natural place in mathematics. For example, the sieve of Eratosthenes is a method for automatically finding prime numbers.

Such algorithms abound in the Judaic literature. Most of these algorithms deal with the methods of arriving at the *halakhah*. The *baraita* of Rabbi *Ishmael (Sifra 1:1) gives the 13 rules by which the Torah is interpreted. Even after the codification of the Mishnah, the problems of deciding *halakhah* were not solved, since the Mishnah leaves many issues in a state of dispute (*maḥeloket*). The Talmud, although far from settling the disputes in the Mishnah, does offer numerous rules to settling mishnaic disputes. Examples are "*yaḥid verabbim – halakhah ke-rabbim*" (in a dispute between one and many the *halakhah* follows the many), "*halakhah ke-veit Hillel*" (the *halakhah* is according to the House of Hillel), "*halakhah ke-Rav Akiva me-ḥaverav*" (the *halakhah* follows Rabbi Akiva's view when he is opposed by his colleagues). Nevertheless, in numerous places, the Talmud and its commentators have declared that *halakhah* is not to be deduced from the Mishnah (TJ, Hag. 1:8; Rashi, Sanh. 100:2, "Rava Amar Ipkha") The Rif goes further and says that *halakhah* cannot be deduced from the Talmud either (Er. 11:2). Rabbi Ovadiah *Yosef (*Yabi'a Omer*, introduction) states that it is not in our power to derive the law from the Talmud without consulting the **rishonim* and **aḥaronim*. These opinions discourage the *posek* from applying the rules as an algorithm.

A research project in Machon Lev gathered the given rules and meta-rules of deciding *halakhah* in the Mishnah and constructed a rule-based system to compare decisions deduced strictly by the algorithm with the *halakhot* as decided by the Shulḥan Arukh, or the Rambam when the Halakhah did not appear in the *Shulḥan Arukh*. The system was run and tested on Mishnayot in the tractates *Yoma*, *Ta'anit*, and *Ḥagigah*. The system achieved 90.3% success,

Jewish Contribution to Computer Science

The study of computability began in the early 20th century, before the advent of computers. Among the leading scientists who studied models of computation was the Jewish mathematician Emil Leon Post (1897–1954), who was born in Poland and educated in New York. He invented the model of computation named after him, the Post Machine, and proved results similar to those of Gödel, Church, and Turing. Post was the inventor of recursive function theory – the formal theory dealing with computability.

Most undecidability results (functions that are inherently not computable) are proved by a technique called diagonalization. In this technique values are placed in an infinite two-dimensional matrix and then a perturbation of its diagonal is proven not to be a row in this infinite matrix, leading to a contradiction. This method was first studied by Georg Ferdinand Ludwig Philipp Cantor (1845–1918), born to a Jewish Danish father, who converted to Protestantism, and a Danish Catholic mother. Cantor was the first to introduce Hebrew to modern mathematics. He used the letter א to denote infinite continuous sets, such as the total number of numerical functions, and אo to denote countable infinite sets, such as the number of computable functions. He also proved that אo is strictly less than א.

For a rigorous study of an algorithm's complexity, one needs a carefully defined model. The model on which most algorithmic analysis is calculated is the sequential von Neumann model. Johann von *Neumann (1903–1957) was born into a Jewish Hungarian family. He spent most of his adult life in the U.S. and was one of the original six mathematics professors at the Princeton Institute for Advanced Study. He was one of the leading mathematicians of the 20th century. His ideas on logic design were used in the development of the first computers and he pioneered game theory, fault tolerance in systems, and cellular automata.

Recently, newer models of computation have been sought. These models do not enhance the power of computation but it is hoped that they can achieve greater efficiency. For example, one of the most famous currently open problems in computer science and mathematics is the P=? NP problem. The question is whether non-determinism adds computation power. The computation in the von Neumann model is deterministic, i.e., there is a unique instruction that follows every program instruction. In non-deterministic computation the next instruction is "guessed" following certain rules. One of the scientists who introduced non-determinism is Michael Rabin (1931–) of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. Intuitively, non-determinism should allow us to compute problems faster, using the power of the "guesses." However, it is still an open question whether there exist problems that can be computed efficiently non-deterministically yet cannot be computed efficiently deterministically. Specific efficient non-deterministic problems have a unique trait that if they can be computed efficiently deterministically, then all efficient non-deterministic problems can be efficiently computed deterministically. These problems are called NP-complete problems. The major theorem in the study of NP-completeness proves that deciding whether a logical formula can be satisfied is NP-complete. This theorem was proven independently by Steve Cook and Leonid Levin (1948–), a Jewish Russian computer scientist who emigrated to the U.S. in 1978. The theory of NP-completeness took off when Richard Karp (1935–), an

American computer scientist, published the first set of NP-complete problems.

New models of computation were suggested, which, possibly, compute efficiently problems that are inefficient in the von Neumann model. Some notable examples are Quantum Computation, pioneered in the 1980s by Paul Benioff, Richard *Feynman, and David Deutsch. The quantum model assumes that bits behave in a quantum fashion. An alternate model, basing computing on DNA, has been introduced by the American scientist Leonard Adelman (1945–).

One may mention another fundamental concept in complexity, that of Kolmogorov complexity. Kolmogorov complexity is the minimum size necessary to encode a function. It is named after Kolmogorov, who wrote a paper on it in 1965. Nevertheless, a year earlier, the Jewish mathematician Ray Solomonoff (1926–), published two papers on what is termed Solomonff induction and algorithmic probability, that independently tackle many of the same concepts.

Jewish contributions in the area of algorithms is also quite prominent. Some fundamental algorithmic methods were invented by Jewish scientists. Examples are linear programming and dynamic programming. Linear programming problems are optimization problems where one needs to optimize a linear function, i.e., a function that describes a line, subject to constraints that are also linear functions. This field of optimization is important since many problems in operations research, such as multi-commodity flow problems and scheduling problems, can be defined as linear programs. Linear programming was discovered by the Soviet mathematician and Nobel laureate in economics Leonid Vitaliyevich *Kantorovich (1912–1986). One of the most widely used algorithms for solving linear programs is the SIMPLEX method, developed by the American mathematicians George B. Dantzig (1914–2005).

Dynamic programming is a method of solving a large problem incrementally, by first solving it for small instances and subsequently constructing solutions for larger and larger instances based on previously computed solutions to the smaller cases. It is the core of many important algorithms in all areas of Computer Science. Dynamic Programming was invented by the American mathematician Richard Bellman (1920–1984).

Jewish contribution abounds in the methodology part of computer science as well. Artificial Intelligence is the science and engineering of making intelligent machines, especially intelligent computer programs, where the term "intelligent" is left as an intuitive notion. The field tries to make programs behave more as "intelligent" entities than programmed functions. among its most notable founders are the American scientist Marvin Minsky (1927–), Nobel laureate in economics Herbert *Simon (1916–2001), whose father was Jewish, and Boston scientist John McCarthy (1927–), who had a Jewish mother.

The field of cryptography deals with the ability to encrypt information. This is especially critical for information that gets transmitted publicly, as over the Internet, and is what makes electronic commerce possible. Public-key cryptography was co-invented by American computer scientist Martin Hellman (1945–). He was one of the co-authors of the Diffie-Hellman algorithm for secure key distribution over non-secure channels. The most widely used public-key algorithm today is the RSA algorithm, named after MIT scientist Ronald Rivest, Adi Shamir (1952–) of the Weizmann Institute, and Leonard Adleman (1945–).

The A.M. Turing Award is given annually by the Association for Computing Machinery to a person selected for lasting and major contributions made to the computing community. The Turing Award is often recognized as the "Nobel Prize of computing." It is sponsored by Intel Corporation and currently is accompanied by a prize of $100,000. Almost a third of the Turing Award winners to date are of Jewish descent. These are Alan Perlis (1966), Marvin Minsky (1969), John McCarthy (1971), Herbert Simon (1975), Michael Rabin (1976), Richard Karp (1985), William Kahan (1989), Edward Feigenbaum (1994), Manuel Blum (1995), Amir Pnueli (1996), Adi Shamir (2002), Leonard Adleman (2002), and Robert Kahn (2004).

It should be noted that three of the above 14 names are Israelis in Israeli universities. Indeed Israel is an international power in computer science. Israeli research is at the cutting edge of the scientific research. Five of the top 100 most cited computer scientists in the world are Israelis. Israeli universities are ranked at the top of international lists of leading computer science department.

Computer applications are not in the scope of this article, but we will mention in passing that many ubiquitous applications, such as the BASIC programming language, spreadsheets, the automated electronically switched telephone network, spread spectrum communications, the Internet, Google, and more, were co-invented by Jews.

Computer Science as an Aid to Judaism

The proliferation of electronic databases has not skipped the Jewish world. There are currently over a dozen different Jewish databases on the market, both as text and as scanned images. In addition there are numerous Internet sites on Jewish topics ranging from providing candle lighting times all over the globe to hospitality information in different communities. The first Jewish database was the Bar-Ilan Responsa Project.

The project was conceived in 1963 by Weizmann Institute scientist Aviezri Fraenkel and later migrated to Bar-Ilan University. Fraenkel was the project's director from 1963 to 1974, succeeded by Ya'akov Choueka, who headed the project from 1974 to 1986. The idea was to create an electronic library of the responsa with a search engine to enable easy access to information. The project required research and solutions in areas such as information retrieval, data compression, Hebrew computational linguistics, and Human-Computer Interaction. It led to many graduate theses and publications in computer science and for many years was at the cutting edge of technology. In its beginnings the database resided on an IBM mainframe. From 1979, it also became usable in a time-sharing mode from terminals on the Bar-Ilan campus, in Israel, and abroad. During Uri Schild's tenure as project director, it was decided to compress the database to a single compact disk. This made the system accessible to every home, scholar, rabbi, and *dayyan*. Because of the care the Project takes in seeking error-free text, it is unique in the fact that it is indeed a tool for *pesikat halakhah*, and used by many *posekim* today.

An emotionally charged and controversial current phenomenon is the Torah codes, or *Bible codes. This issue has involved Jews and Christians, scholars, scientists, and laymen, and has even produced best-selling books such as *The Bible Code* by Michael Drosnin.

Underlying the codes is the traditional Jewish idea that there are several layers to the Torah, and that the *remez* is a valid form of learning Torah. Rabbi *Jacob ben Asher's *Baal ha-Turim* commentary to the Torah is perhaps the most famous early concerted use of this form of learning. The modern code methods involve Equidistant Letters Sequences (ELS) and the idea is to find names, dates, and "prophecies" encoded as ELS's in the Torah. The first scientific claim to the statistical validity of the codes appeared in a 1988 paper by the mathematician Eliyahu Rips. It was followed by the 1994 paper by Doron Witztum, Eliyahu Rips, and Yoav Rosenberg and generated a very emotional response. Without taking a stand in the controversy, it is important to note that this entire line of research and school of thought is almost impossible without computers.

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[Amir Amihood (2nd ed.)]

COMTAT VENAISSIN, former papal territory in S.E. France, corresponding approximately to the present department of Vaucluse. Ceded in 1274 to the Holy See, to whom it belonged until the reunion with France in 1791, it became a distinct territory along with the town of *Avignon (though the later remained independent in local administration). Apart from Avignon, Jews do not seem to have settled in the Comtat earlier than the 12th century. The major Jewish communities, known as the "four holy communities," were those of Avignon, *Carpentras, *Cavaillon, and *L'Isle-sur-la-Sorgue. There were, however, smaller communities of a more ephemeral nature in Caromb, Entraigues-sur-la-Sorgue, Malaucène, Monteux, Mormoiron, Mornas, Pernes-les-Fontaines, and Vaison-la-Romaine. The Comtat became a haven of refuge for the Jews of the two provinces of Languedoc and Provence after various expulsions – in 1306, 1322, and 1394, and later around 1500. The Jews of the Comtat spoke a *Judeo-Provençal dialect, which they also employed in some semi-liturgic poetry, and had their own synagogue rite, now fallen into disuse (see *Liturgy). The reconstituted communities of the region, e.g., at Carpentras, were formed in the mid-20th century, mainly by Jews of North African origin.

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[Bernhard Blumenkranz]

COMTINO, MORDECAI BEN ELIEZER (1420–d. before 1487), Bible commentator, philosopher, philologist, astronomer, and mathematician. Born in Constantinople, Comtino studied religion and philosophy under Ḥanokh Saporta, a distinguished Catalonian scholar. Comtino was one of the leaders of the Hebrew cultural movement that flowered in Constantinople. He considered the dissemination of general knowledge his major task. Of those who thought that learning should be confined to the Talmud, he said: "The Talmud will be of no use to them and they will not comprehend it unless they study all sciences… including exact expression, which is logic and helps us to understand the meaning of the words of the Talmud." Like most enlightened Jewish scholars of his age, he was an admirer of Maimonides and Abraham ibn Ezra; he regarded the latter as an ideal man, and wrote commentaries to most of his works. However, he did not hesitate to criticize Ibn Ezra's opinions, and to those who regarded such criticism as an insult to the "greatest of the commentators," his reply was that even a man of Ibn Ezra's caliber is capable of error. Comtino followed in the footsteps of his teacher Saporta in seeking to spread religious and secular knowledge among both the Rabbanite and Karaite Jews; he did not regard the latter as outcasts or enemies. In this he influenced the attitude of R. Elijah *Mizraḥi, one of his most eminent students (see Mizraḥi's responsa, no. 57). The Karaite sages in Turkey, such as Elijah *Bashyazi and Caleb *Afendopolo, were also among his pupils. In the 1450s, when the plague broke out in Constantinople, Comtino fled to Adrianople and remained there for a while, teaching such disciples as the Ashkenazi rabbi Isaac Ẓarfati. He had a reputation as a sage and astrologer also among non-Jews, who sometimes consulted him.

Comtino wrote many books and treatises in Hebrew on mathematics and astronomy, the manuscripts of which are to be found in the Leningrad, Parma, Paris, London, and Cambridge libraries. They include *Sefer ha-Ḥeshbon ve-ha-Middot*, on arithmetic and geometry; *Perush Luḥot Paras* ("Interpretation of the Persian Tables"), essays on the construction of astronomical instruments; *Tikkun Keli ha-Ẓefiḥah*, on the construction of the sundial; a commentary on Euclid; *Sefer ha-Tekhunah* ("The Book of Astronomy"); *Ma'amar al Likkui ha-*

Levanah…, on "lunar and solar eclipse as seen in nature, based on philosophy and the natural sciences"; a commentary on Maimonides' work on logic, *Millot ha-Higgayon*; a commentary on Abraham ibn Ezra's *Yesod Mora*; a commentary on Ibn Ezra's *Sefer ha-Shem* ("Book on the Divine Names"); a commentary on Ibn Ezra's *Sefer ha-Eḥad* ("Book of the Unity"); a commentary on Aristotles' *Metaphysics; Iggeret Senapir ve-Kaskeset*, on clean and unclean fish; and *Keter Torah*, or *Kelil Yofi*, a commentary on the Pentateuch, in which Comtino reveals himself as a scholar of wide erudition, a liberal thinker, and an unbiased critic. R. Shabbetai b. Malkiel wrote a criticism of the last-mentioned work, to which Comtino wrote a reply (*Teshuvot al Hassagot R. Shabbetai Kohen*). Two of his *piyyutim* were published by Solomon b. Mazal Tov in *Shirim u-Zemirot ve-Tishbaḥot* (Constantinople, 1545–48, 127, 220), and were adopted in the Karaite prayer book.

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[Ephraim Kupfer]

CONAT, ABRAHAM BEN SOLOMON (15th century), Italian physician and one of the earliest printers of Hebrew books. Conat was probably of Ashkenazi origin. He lived in Mantua, where he may have been active as early as 1475. In 1476 he printed Jacob b. Asher's Tur *Oraḥ Ḥayyim* and began to print *Yoreh De'ah* as well; however, this was completed in Ferrara by *Abraham b. Ḥayyim of Pesaro, which suggests that Conat died about 1477. Other works printed by him (all apparently in Mantua, 1475–77) are *Sefer Eldad ha-Dani*; Jedaiah Bedersi's *Beḥinat Olam*; Mordecai Finzi's *Luḥot*, astronomical tables; Judah Messer Leon's *Nofet Ẓufim*; Levi b. Gershom's Pentateuch commentary; and *Sefer Josippon*, the pseudo-Josephus. Conat's work is particularly beautiful, and his type has been imitated in modern luxury editions. Abraham's wife, ESTELLINA CONAT, was equally active in the printing of these books and is the first woman who is named as an editor in a printing house. *Beḥinat Olam* was both arranged and printed by Estellina Conat. She is called the *kotevet* and in a colophon at the back of the book, she wrote: "I, Estellina Conat, the wife of my lord, my husband, the honored Master Abraham Conat … wrote this pamphlet, *Beḥinat Olam*, with the help of the youth Jacob Levi of Provence, of Tarascon, may he live, Amen." In the early days of printing, no Hebrew word yet existed for the process and Abraham Conat explained that his books were "written with many pens, without the aid of a miracle."

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[Umberto (Moses David) Cassuto / Emily Taitz (2nd ed.)]

CONCIO, JOSEPH BEN GERSON (d. c. 1628), Italian poet, scholar, and printer. Originating from *Asti in Piedmont, Concio established a Hebrew printing press in nearby *Chieri, where he began printing mostly his own small books which were generally in verse, in 1626. These included: *Ateret Ẓevi*, together with *Ẓefirat Tifarah* (1626) broad-sheets; *Besamim Rosh* (1627), Purim songs; *Ot le-Tovah* (1627), talmudic maxims and some poems; *Arba'ah Rashim* (1628), rhymed Midrash explanations; and *Solet le-Minḥah* (1628), devotional prayers. In Asti itself Concio printed in Italian *Cinque enimmi* (1627) and *Conto di Jehudit* (1628), the apocryphal Judith story. His son Abraham, piously continued to publish his father's writings: *Divrei Ester* (1628), allegorical commentary on Esther; *Ma'gal Tov* (1628), talmudic maxims in verse; *Mareh Ḥayyim* (1629); *Mekom Binah* (1630), commentary on Job from 28:12 onward; and *Ḥelek le-Shivah* (1632), poem for Lag ba-Omer. The only book by another author known to have been printed by the Concio family at Chieri is Isaac Lattes' *Perush Ma'amar she-be-Midrash Rabbah* (1628/9).

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CONCUBINE, marital companion of inferior status to a wife.

In the Bible

The term in Hebrew is *pilegesh*, the equivalent of Greek *pallakis* (παλλακίς) and Latin *pellex*. Among the Assyrians the concubine (*esirtu*) gained the rank of wife only after the veiling ceremony conducted by her spouse, if he so chose to elevate her (Assyrian Code A, 41). The legal formalities, if any, are not described in the Bible. A concubine did not always reside in her husband's home (Judg. 8:31), but such was not the general rule (Judg. 19–20). Her spouse was called the son-in-law (*ḥatan*) of her father, who was the father-in-law (*ḥoten*). Therefore, the concubinage relationship could partake of many aspects of regular marriage. Two famous concubines are mentioned in the Bible. Rizpah the daughter of Aiah the concubine of Saul (II Sam. 3:7) whose moving display of maternal love so moved David that he had her children buried in the family sepulcher (21:8–14) and the concubine of Gibeah whose rape and murder brought about the death of 25,000 members of the tribe of Benjamin and the ban against members of the other tribes intermarrying with them (Judg. 19–21).

Royal concubines were standard among the kings of Israel and Judah, just as in any ancient Near Eastern kingdom (Song 6:8–9). They were clearly distinguished from the wives (II Sam. 5:13; I Kings 11:13; II Chron. 11:21). To lie with a monarch's concubine was tantamount to usurpation of the throne (II Sam. 3:7; 16:21–22). For this reason Abner took Rizpah (II Sam. 3:7). The same concept stands behind Ahitophel's advice to Absalom, to "go into his father's concubines" (16:21), and Adonijah's request for Abishag the Shunamite was clearly associated with this custom (I Kings 2:21–24). The harem was usually in the charge of a eunuch (Esth. 2:14; cf. II Kings 9:32). The role of the concubine as the mother of venerable ethnic groups is not overlooked in the genealogies. Their descendants are usually classed as secondary or subsidiary tribes (Gen. 22:24; 36:12), especially the Abrahamic groups (Gen. 25:6; I Chron. 1:32). Within Israel, some of the clans were also the offspring of concubines (I Chron. 2:46; 7:14). In one instance, the term concubine is applied to a handmaiden (*shifḥah* and *a'mah*) who had borne children to her mistress' husband (Gen. 35:22). Such a relationship was usually established because the legal wife was barren (Gen. 16). Ancient marriage arrangements often stipulated that if the wife was barren, she must provide a handmaiden for her husband (cf. Code of Hammurapi, paragraphs 144–5 and the adoption contract from Nuzi in Pritchard, Texts, 220). Naming the handmaiden given to the bride by her father in such cases was evidently related to this practice (Pritchard, loc. cit.; Gen. 29:24, 29). If the wife later bore children of her own, they took precedence in the inheritance over those of the handmaiden (Gen. 21:12; cf. Code of Hammurapi, 170), although the latter did receive a share (usually on condition that their father had granted them legal recognition; Code of Hammurapi, 171). Israelite law provided safeguards for the rights of Hebrew girls sold as handmaidens who were to be wed to their purchaser or to his son (Ex. 21:7–11). If the handmaiden bore children for her mistress and then sought to place herself on an equal footing, she normally could not be sold, although she could be reduced to the status of a slave again (Code of Hammurapi, 146; cf. Gen. 21:12–14, where the slave-concubine and her child are both expelled, but only on the advice of a divine oracle.).

[Anson Rainey]

In the Talmudic Period and the Middle Ages

There is no evidence of actual concubinage in the Talmud, nor is there any evidence of it in practice during the Middle Ages. In the responsa of *Asher b. Jehiel (no. 32:1) there is a reference to a concubine, but it seems to be merely the case of a man cohabiting with a woman without going through a marriage ceremony with her, and not to a formal concubine. In the Middle Ages concubinage was formally forbidden by the rabbis as immoral, only one authority, Jacob *Emden (responsum no. 15) expressing the opinion that it should be permitted.

[Louis Isaac Rabinowitz]

In Jewish Law

A concubine may be defined by Jewish laws as a woman dedicating herself to a particular man, with whom she cohabits without *kiddushin (see *Marriage) or *ketubbah. "What is the difference between wives and concubines? R. Judah said in the name of Rav: Wives have *ketubbah* and *kiddushin*, concubines have neither" (Sanh. 21a; Maim. Yad, Melakhim 4:4; Leḥem Mishneh and Radbaz, ad loc.). Not all the scholars adopt this reading, however, and Rashi, for instance, comments: "wives with *kiddushin* and *ketubbah*, concubines with *kiddushin* but without *ketubbah*" (Comm. to Gen. 25:6; see also Comm. Hagra, EH 26, n. 7). This latter reading is apparently that of the Jerusalem Talmud too (TJ, Ket. 5:2, 29d and Hagra, *ibid.*; but see *Mareh ha-Panim* thereto). The majority of the *posekim accept the former reading as the correct one (Radbaz to Yad, Melakhim 4:4; *Kesef Mishneh* and *Leḥem Mishneh*, as against the *Maggid Mishneh*, to Yad, Ishut, 1;4; Radbaz, Resp., vol. 4, no. 225; vol. 7, no. 33; Naḥmanides, commentary to Gen. 19:8; 25:6; Ralbag to Judg. 19:1; Rashba, Resp., vol. 4, no. 314). Hence a concubine is to be distinguished both, on the one hand from a married woman, i.e., by *ḥuppah* ("marriage ceremony"), *kiddushin*, and *ketubbah*, and on the other from a woman who does not dedicate herself to one particular man exclusively, but who prostitutes herself; i.e., the harlot (*Hassagot Rabad* to Ishut 1:4 and see also Rema to EH 26:1).

The Prohibition against Concubinage

There are divided opinions in the codes on the question of whether the taking of a concubine is prohibited or permitted. Some of the *posekim* are of the opinion that neither pentateuchal nor rabbinical law forbids it, if the woman observes the rules concerning the *mikveh* so that the man should not cohabit with her during her period of menstruation (Rema in the name of Rabad, EH 26:1). Others are of the opinion that although it is not legally prohibited, one should refrain from taking a concubine, and they caution against her, "lest knowledge of the permissibility encourage licentiousness and sexual relations with her at a time when she is sexually unclean" (*Sefer Teshuvot ha-Rashba ha-Meyuḥasot le-ha-Ramban*, no. 284). The majority of the *posekim*, however, are of the opinion that it is forbidden to take a concubine, although they differ as to the substantive nature of the prohibition. Some are of the opinion that taking a concubine is a transgression of a prohibition of the pentateuchal law, based on the negative command: "There shall be no harlot of the daughters of Israel" (Deut. 23:18), to be punished with lashes (Rema to EH 26:1 in the name of Maimonides; Rosh, and Tur), while others expressed the opinion that the prohibition stems from a positive command of the pentateuchal law, the Torah saying, "when a man takes a wife" (Deut. 24:1) – i.e., he should take her by way of *kiddushin*. According to another view, the prohibition is rabbinical law only. (On the different views and their reasons, see *Oẓar ha-Posekim*, EH 26:3–8.) All the foregoing applies only to a woman who is unmarried; a married woman is by pentateuchal law at all times prohibited to have sexual relations with any man but her husband (*issur eshet ish*; see Prohibited *Marriages; *Bigamy; *Marriage).

Since more recent times it is unanimously accepted that the taking of a concubine is prohibited: "At the present time a woman is permitted to no man except through *kiddushin, ḥuppah, sheva berakhot*, and *ketubbah*" (Radbaz, Resp., vol. 4, no. 225; vol. 7, no. 33). This applies even more in the case of a married man, in the same way as he is prohibited from taking an additional wife (see *Bigamy), both for the protection of his wife and because his taking a concubine – since he is aware that he must not take an additional wife – can only be for the purpose of prostituting, and this is forbidden in the opinion of all the *posekim* (Rashba, Resp., vol. 4, no. 314; *Oẓar ha-Posekim*, EH 1, n. 4; 26, n. 5).

Personal Status and Pecuniary Rights of a Concubine

Inasmuch as a concubine does not acquire the personal status of a wife (*eshet ish*: Tur EH 26; Sh. Ar., EH 26:1), she has no *ketubbah*; therefore, in accordance with the rule providing that the "terms and conditions of the *ketubbah [tena'ei ketubbah]* follow the [prescribed] *ketubbah*" (Ket. 54b; Rashi *ibid.* s.v. *tena'ei ketubbah*) she does not acquire any of the wife's pecuniary rights – especially she is not entitled to maintenance – as all those rights stem from the *ketubbah*. Nor does living with a man as his concubine create a kinship as an impediment to marriage between herself and any of the man's relatives, or between the man and her relatives, as would be the case if she would be considered to be his wife (Rosh, Resp. no. 32:1; *Oẓar ha-Posekim*, EH 26, n. 3). For the same reason there is no need in principle for her to obtain a *get* (see *Divorce) in order to be permitted to marry any other man (*Oẓar ha-Posekim*, loc. cit.; *Sefer ha-Tashbeẓ* 3:47). However in the opinion of some of the *posekim*, for the sake of appearances, in view of the parties having lived together, the matter should be approached stringently and the woman should not be permitted to marry another man without obtaining a prior "*get* out of stringency" (*get me ḥumrah*) from the man with whom she has lived; but whenever the latter's refusal to grant her the *get* is likely to entail the risk of her becoming an *agunah, she may certainly be permitted to marry without getting such *get* (*Oẓar ha-Posekim*, EH 26, n. 3). Moreover, since the prohibition against concubinage is intended solely against the concubine's connection with her spouse, this fact alone and as such does not impair the personal status of children born of the union, nor their rights of inheritance according to law (Rashba, Resp. vol. 4, no. 314).

Legal Position in the State of Israel

Since the question of concubinage touches on the issue of the requirements necessary for conferring on a woman the status of a wife, the question is a matter of "marriage" – within the meaning of the Rabbinical Courts Jurisdiction (Marriage and Divorce) Law, no. 64 of 5713/1953 – and therefore in the case of Jews who are citizens of the State of Israel, governed by Jewish law (sec. 1). However, legislation enacted for the first time after the creation of the state has given recognition to the concept of the "common law wife," i.e. a woman living together with a man to whom she is not married, but is so regarded (erroneously) by the public (*yedu'ah ba-ẓibbur keishto*) and in some laws the same applies, vice versa, to such a "husband" – granting her certain rights, mainly with regard to pension and tenant's protection. According to decisions of the courts, such a woman is entitled to the said rights even if she is lawfully married to another man (CA 284/61, in PD, 16 (1962), 102–12). As to the actual definition of the term "a woman known to the public as his wife" and the modes of proving the necessary facts, widely differing opinions have been expressed in decisions of the courts. It is generally accepted, however, that the said legislation does not entail any change in the personal status of the woman, whose position is to some extent similar to that of a concubine.

[Ben-Zion (Benno) Schereschewsky]

Decisions of the Israel Supreme Court

The distinctions in Jewish Law regarding the status of a woman who lives with a man to whom she is not married formed the basis of the Supreme Court's ruling in the case of *Agbara v. Agbara* (CA 4946/94, 49(2) PD 508). The case concerned a divorced couple, whose divorce agreement stipulated that "the husband's obligation to pay the entire sum of maintenance … will apply until each of the children has reached 21 years of age or until the wife remarries, if she remarries, whichever the later" (p. 510 of judgment). Following the husband's remarriage and subsequent separation from his second wife – without a *get*, due to the second wife's refusal to accept it – the original couple resumed living together as "common law spouses." Eighteen years later the husband left the home. The woman claimed that the original divorce agreement was still in force, as she had not yet married, and the man was therefore liable for maintenance payments. The husband claimed that his obligation under the agreement lapsed at the point that the wife had received a secure financial framework, and that the agreement was void by implication because their actions, upon returning to live together, attested to its annulment

The Supreme Court (Justice Zvi Tal) ruled that, in accordance with Jewish Law, the agreement was no longer valid because the condition regarding the woman's remarriage had been fulfilled, and the woman was considered as both betrothed and married to the man.

> Regarding an ordinary couple who are common law spouses, there are many opinions as to whether or not the woman requires a *get*, and it also depends on the circumstances of the case. There are those who at the very least require her to receive a *get le-ḥumra* (a writ of divorce to cover possible halakhic uncertainty as to her status), based on the presumption that "a man does not intend his sexual relations to be promiscuous" and the evidentiary presumption – *anan sahadi* – that there was marital intention. On the other hand, there are those who make the application of this presumption conditional upon whether the life style of the couple in question validates its application in their particular case. Furthermore, if they could have married officially, and refrained from doing so, this is deemed as a declaration on their part that they are not interested in marrying, and hence the presumption does not apply to them.
>
> But irrespective of what the situation is regarding an ordinary couple, it differs with respect to spouses who were married, divorced, and then resumed living together. Regarding such a couple the *Mishnah* states (Git. 9:10):
>
> "If a man has divorced his wife and then stays with her overnight in an inn, Bet Shammai say that she does not require

> from him a second *get*, but Bet Hillel say that she does require a second *get* from him …."
>
> The halakhah was decided according to Bet Hillel, and codified accordingly (Maim., Yad, *Gerushin* 10.17; Sh. Ar., EH 149:1):
>
> "Now, if this is the rule regarding one night in an inn, then *a fortiori*, it would apply to cohabitation for almost 20 years, during which time the couple were regarded as husband and wife; hence, she requires a *get* from him if she wishes to remarry. For if on the basis of one night together in an inn the woman is considered as "definitely betrothed" (the terminology of *Shulḥan Arukh*), and betrothal alone does not obligate the man to support her, then it is clear that cohabitation for close to 20 years would be deemed a marriage, creating an obligation of support. Indeed, the essence of *huppah* – which confers the status of marriage upon a betrothed woman – is their shared domicile in one house as man and wife. The fact that the couple did not remarry by way of a proper marriage ceremony with *ḥuppah and kiddushin* is not indicative of their intention not to marry, for the husband was still officially married to his second wife. It seems clear that, under the circumstances, the respondent should be considered a married woman who requires a *get* from the appellant, and as such he is obligated to support her by dint of his personal status – albeit not by force of the agreement. Regarding the divorce agreement, the condition stipulated for the termination of the agreement – "until she marries" – should be regarded as having been fulfilled, and therefore the obligation to pay support pursuant to the divorce agreement is vitiated. (*ibid.*, pp. 513–14)."

The question which the Supreme Court was required to decide in the framework of the appeal was limited to the issue of the validity of the agreement. Regarding this question, the Court's conclusion was that the agreement is invalid, inasmuch as the couple was considered as still married. Therefore, the woman can demand support from the man on the basis of her status as his married wife, but she can only do so in the framework of a separate proceeding.

It is noteworthy that Justice Tal emphasizes that the ruling does not constitute a decision on the validity of the marriage, an issue residing within the exclusive jurisdiction of the rabbinical court. The Supreme Court's decision relates solely to a secondary question, required for the clarification of the main question: the financial question of the validity of the agreement – for which the Supreme Court has jurisdiction.

[Menachem Elon (2nd ed.)]

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°CONDER, CLAUDE REGNIER (1848–1910), British army officer in charge of the Survey of Western Palestine on behalf of the Palestine Exploration Fund. He worked first with C.F. Tyrwhitt-Drake from 1872–78. During this first survey Conder was attacked and seriously wounded at Safed in 1875. In 1881 he returned to Palestine for the Fund when he worked with H.H. Kitchener (later Lord Kitchener), and discovered Kadesh and also began a survey of Transjordan, discovering many megaliths. He was the coauthor (with H.H. Kitchener) of the *Memoirs* (vol. 1, pts. 1–3 of *Survey of Western Palestine*, 1881–83). Conder also wrote *Tent-Work in Palestine* (1878); *Heth and Moab* (1883); *Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem* (1897); and edited (with C. Wilson) *Palestine Pilgrim's Texts*. His later years included service in Egypt (1884–85), Bechuanaland (1895), and Ireland.

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[Michael Avi-Yonah]

CONDITIONS (Heb. תְּנָאִים, *tena'im*).

Definition

Conditions is an ambiguous word inasmuch as it refers not only to the external factors upon which the existence of an agreement is made to depend but also to the actual terms of the contract itself. Thus, one speaks of *tena'ei ha-ketubbah*, which really means the terms of the *ketubbah*. Similar ambiguities exist in English law (see G.C. Cheshire and C.H.S. Fifoot, *The Law of Contract* (1960^5), 118ff.). In Jewish law, there is a further contingency: *tenai* consists not only of the stipulations of the contracting parties but also refers to legislative provisions, as evident in the expression *tenai bet-din* (see *Takkanot). As to conditions proper, i.e., stipulations (qualifications or limitations) attaching to a principal agreement, the basic concept in Jewish law seems to be very much the same as that in other systems of law. For example, distinctions between conditions precedent and conditions subsequent, differentiations between affirmative and negative conditions, between authoritative, casual, and mutual conditions or between expressed and implied conditions, and much more are found in all legal systems, although in Jewish law they may not be so clear-cut terminologically.

A vital characteristic of conditions in Jewish law is the provision referred to as *tenai benei Gad u-venei Re'uven*, based on Numbers 32. This was the occasion when Moses allocated land to the tribes of Gad and Reuben (and to half the tribe of Manasseh) on the east side of the Jordan River on the condition that they crossed the Jordan and assisted the other tribes in the conquest of the Holy Land. The Mishnah notes (Kid. 3:4) that when Moses made this stipulation he used a *tenai kaful* ("double condition"), expressing himself, i.e., both in the affirmative and the negative: if they fulfill the condition, they shall be entitled to the allocation; if they do not, they shall not. Significance is here attached to the fact that the affirmative precedes the negative (*hen kodem le-lav*). Moreover, it is required that the conditions be stipulated prior to the actual transactions – which means, according to some authorities, that, as a matter of formality, conditions should be referred to before mentioning the main transaction (*tenai kodem le-ma'aseh*). A fourth requirement, usually listed in the context, is that the condition must be *davar she-efshar lekayyemo*, i.e., something objectively capable or possible of fulfillment (Maim. Yad, Ishut, 6:1–13; Sh. Ar., EH 38:1–4).

It is remarkable that the codes just referred to cite these rules in the context of matrimonial law, but it is the express opinion of Maimonides (*ibid.*, 6:14) that they apply equally to other provinces of the law, e.g., to *sale and *gift, and he persists in his ruling, despite the fact that later *Geonim* (to whom he explicitly refers) would have the formal requirements of *tenai kaful* and *hen kodem le-lav* apply to *kiddushin* (see *Marriage) and *gittin* (see *Divorce) only, and not to matters covered by laws of *mamon*. Maimonides aptly argues that the biblical "precedent," from which the present law is derived, concerned *mamon* ("acquisition of property"), and it would therefore be illogical to consider it as applicable only to matrimony rather than to matters of *mamon*. Nevertheless, in light of the glosses and commentaries to Maimonides (Maim. Yad, Ishut 6:14, and Zekhiah u-Mattanah 3:8), there is good authority for restricting the said requirements to *kiddushin* and *gittin*; and there is logic, too, in freeing everyday transactions from unreasonable formal requirements, since the predominant factor should be the will of the parties – and if they want a certain condition to be fulfilled, it should stand even if formalities like *tenai kaful* have not been observed (Rabad ad loc). Moreover, *custom, which is a powerful agent in *Dinei Mamonot*, may have regarded such a requirement in the field of commercial transactions as obsolete (Haggahot Maimoniyyot to Ishut 6:14). Yet, even if the *halakhah* were to be decided as suggested by Maimonides, there still exist various means of evading the problems arising out of the formalistic requirements of *tenai kaful* and *hen kodem le-lav*. Maimonides himself notes (Ishut 6:17) that if the word *me-akhshav* ("from now") was used in the stipulation, which would seem to turn a suspensive condition into a resolutive one, the requirement of *tenai kaful* may be ignored. Equally, the use of the words *al menat* ("provided that"), as distinct from the simple *im* ("if"), has the same effect as *me-akhshav* (Sh. Ar., EH 38:3). Furthermore, if the condition is contained in a written document, the date of the document could have the effect of *me-akhshav* (Git. 77a).

Already in the Middle Ages, when most of the transactions among Jews were in chattel, there seems to have been a tendency to consider the *tenai benei Gad u-venei Re'uven*, if applicable at all, as being restricted to the transfer of landed property (as was the case, in fact, in the original "deal" with the tribes of Gad and Reuben); pure obligations (*in personam*), not involving the transfer of property, would then certainly be exempt from those rules (see Gulak, Yesodei, 1 (1922), 80). It may be mentioned in this context that some "reservations" (*shi'ur*) do not fall under the term "condition." For example, if one sells his house, but reserves the right to a certain part of it, this is not construed as the vendor having said that he would sell the house "on condition that…"; therefore the requirement of *tenai kaful*, etc., does not apply (Sh. Ar., ḤM 212:3).

The requirement that the conditions should be capable of fulfillment, which is the most reasonable requirement and applies regardless of the form of the stipulation, needs some elaboration. The consequence of stipulating an impossible condition is that the principal transaction remains valid, despite the "nonfulfillment" of the condition (Maim. Yad, Ishut 6:7). By contrast, in Roman law the whole transaction would be voided by the defect of the condition (for a further discussion of this point, see Gulak, loc. cit., 81). It should be said at once that this is not the case of a person being prevented from fulfilling a condition by reason of *force majeure* (see *Ones), but with conditions stipulating something which according to all human experience is a priori impossible. The example usually given in the sources is "if you climb to the sky." Moreover, only physical and not moral or legal impossibility is visualized in this context. For example, if one promises to give his horse to another on the condition that the prospective recipient commits a sin, the condition would stand, and if he committed the sin, he would have the horse; if not, he would not (Maim. Yad, Ishut 6:8; EH 38:4). For a discussion of the problems of *jus dispositivum jus cogens*, and illegal contract, see *Contract.

Implied Conditions

A final category, widely discussed, is that of implied conditions. The classic case is that of a man who sold his possessions because he intended to immigrate to the Holy Land, but made no mention of his intentions during the negotiations. His plans having been foiled, he then wanted to renege on the transaction, arguing that he only sold his possessions on the condition that his plans would be realized. The ruling here is that such mental reservations have no effect ("words which are in the heart are not words," Kid. 49b–50a). This does not mean that only explicit conditions are valid; in fact, it is sufficient if in the circumstances, the dependency of the transaction on certain events was clearly apparent. For example, if a person, in contemplation of death, donated all his property, it is assumed that he did so on the premise that his death was imminent (especially if the donation was made during a particular illness). Accordingly, if he survived, the donation is ineffective (BB 9:6; see also *Wills). On the general question as to whether and to what extent the parties are bound by the transaction before the condition is fulfilled (Maim. Yad, Ishut 6:15–16; Sh. Ar., EH 38:6–7), it should be noted that, here again, conditions introduced by the simple *im* would lack forcefulness, which can be remedied by the addition of *me-akhshav* or by using the formula of *al menat*, a differentiation discussed above in connection with *tenai kaful* (see also *Asmakhta). Special problems of conditions attaching to specific transactions are further discussed in the respective articles on *Betrothal, *Sale, *Wills, etc.

[Arnost Zvi Ehrman]

The Law in the State of Israel

Sections 27–29 of the Contracts Law (General Part), 5773 – 1973, contain the various rules governing conditions in contracts: a suspensory condition (in which the contract only becomes valid upon the fulfillment of the condition), as opposed to a resolutory condition (the fulfillment of the condition terminates the validity of the contract); the possibility granted to a party to rely on the performance or the non-performance of such conditions; a contract whose fulfillment is conditional upon the agreement of a third party or the receipt of a license; and the date on which the contract is canceled when the condition is not fulfilled.

Decisions of the Israel Supreme Court

In a further hearing in the case of *Ben Shachar v. Yosef Machlev* (DN 22/73, 28(2) PD 89), the question adjudicated by the Court was whether, after a decision had been rendered by a court giving effect to an agreement between two parties regarding the payment schedule for a debt, it was possible to extend the dates that had been fixed for the payments, in the event that the debtor was unable to pay due to *duress. In the case at hand, the debtor was unable to pay because he had become completely paralyzed and the Court granted his son's request to extend the payment deadlines that had been fixed, and rejected the creditor's petition to evict him from his home. The Court held that it had inherent power to change the decision rendered pursuant to the agreement in order to do justice in such cases.

In addition to this holding, Justice Haim Cohn ruled that even without such power, the agreement between the parties must be read as containing an *implied condition* to the effect that "if the debtor does not discharge his obligations in the time prescribed therefore, due to illness or other circumstances beyond his control, the Court is vested with the authority to extend the time limit for his performance of those obligations (*ibid.,* p. 100). Justice Cohn invoked sources from Jewish Law in support of this ruling, stating that "the justice that we are obligated and try to do will be more secure and institutionalized when it is based on our legal tradition and the wisdom of our ancestors, of blessed memory" (*ibid.,* p. 98):

> We found a kind of *implied condition* of the sort that forms the basis of the Mishnaic rule exempting one who makes a vow from fulfilling his vow if, on the date set,… he was prevented from doing so due to circumstances beyond his control ("duress"). The Mishnah defines "vows affected by duress" as vows whose timely performance was thwarted because the one who made the vow "became ill, or his son became ill, or the river prevented him" (Ned. 3:3). Rabbi Obadiah of Bertinoro explains that "from the outset the one who made the vow had no intention to fulfill it if he were to be prevented from doing so; this proves that "words of the heart, even if unexpressed, are words." In other words, even if the one who took the vow did not make an express statement, but only thought it to himself, and generally speaking thoughts are not words, we must read into his explicit vow the condition that was not expressly stated therein, because it was in his mind, i.e., that should circumstances beyond his control prevent him from carrying it out, the vow will not obligate him. This is what the Talmud teaches: "though we [normally] rule words of the heart, even if unexpressed, are words, it is different when it is made under duress" (Ned. 28a).

Further on in his comments, Justice Cohn cites the rule stipulating that, in the case where a plaintiff presented the court with writs attesting to his rights (in other words, submitted them for execution), and prior to the completion of the process he had to return home, and therefore declared to the court and the litigant that in the event of his not returning within thirty days his rights would be annulled, and thereafter, due to circumstances beyond his control, he was unable to return, *his rights are not annulled* (Maim., Yad, *Hil. Sanhedrin* 6:10; *Tur,* and *Shulḥan Arukh,* ḤM 21.1*;* based on Ned. 27a). Regarding this case, as well, Justice Cohen suggests that the reason for this ruling is the same—namely, that the creditor's words are construed as containing an *implied condition* exempting him in the event of circumstances beyond his control (*ibid.*, pp. 98–99).

Another case in which the Supreme Court dealt with the application of an "implied condition" was that of *Behem v. the Rabbinical High Court of Appeals* (HC 609/92, 47(3) PD 288). In that case, the Court was requested to invalidate the decision of the Rabbinical High Court of Appeals regarding the apartment of a couple that had divorced due to the wife's infidelity. The rabbinical court ruled that the husband should become the sole owner of the apartment, because when the husband gave his wife half of the apartment he did so under the condition that she would be faithful to him. Even though such a condition had never been explicitly stated or written, the rabbinical court concluded that there had been an *implied condition,* based on the expectations of the parties (this, in addition to its decision that the husband was no longer bound by his compromise offer to give the wife 30% of the value of the apartment, as she had rejected that offer). The petitioner's argument was that this decision contravenes the principles of civil law applicable in the State of Israel under the Women's Equal Rights Law, 5711 – 1951, and concerning the possibility of retracting a gift pursuant to the Gift Law, 5728 – 1968; in addition, he argued that the decision violates the provisions of Basic Law: Human Dignity and Freedom.

The Court (Justice Elon) ruled that, as it had been established that the apartment was purchased with the respondent's money and the issue concerned the legal act of a gift between spouses, the only question confronting the Court was the question of "the interpretation of this legal act according to the expectations and intentions of the parties," and it does not bear upon the wife's equal rights or basic rights (ruling, *ibid.*, p. 294). The Court further held that, as the rabbinical court is vested with the jurisdiction to decide in the case, it must rule according to Jewish Law. In view of both of these rulings, the Court rejected the petition and held that the rabbinical court had ruled in accordance with the law and that, according to Jewish Law, this gift must be viewed as a conditional gift, "subject to the understanding that if she leaves him, he would not be regarded has having given it to her" (*ibid.*).

Justice Elon showed further that, even pursuant to the civil Gift Law, a gift may be given conditionally, and that the existence of such a condition may be deduced on the basis of the parties' intentions, as reflected by the circumstances. In a number of cases the Supreme Court held that, regarding a gift to a spouse, the circumstances may on occasion indicate that a gift was given conditionally. Hence, from the moment the judicial instance interprets the contract as a conditional contract, that condition becomes part of the gift contract; it is thus clear that the rabbinical court was required to interpret the contract as containing a condition, in accordance with Jewish Law.

The Supreme Court further pointed out that [in another case] the rabbinical court had ruled that a spousal gift is given on the condition "that they will not divorce," even where the situation was the opposite – that is, where the wife gave half of her apartment to the husband, and he had to return his share of the apartment to the wife.

It bears mention that the rabbinical court views itself as bound by civil law regarding the wife's equal rights, provided that the issue concerned monetary matters and not questions of *issur ve-heter* (i.e., ritual laws of prohibited and permitted actions). This was the position taken in *Nagar v. Nagar* (BDM 1/81, 38(1) PD 365), by Rabbi Yosef Kappaḥ, a judge in the Rabbinical High Court of Appeals and one of the important halakhic scholars of recent years. (The late Rabbi Kappaḥ was a member of the Supreme Court panel that ruled in the case, pursuant to a special procedure provided by the law when a ruling is required on whether the rabbinical or civil court has jurisdiction.) Rabbi Kappaḥ stated as follows:

> The legislator's directive [to equate a woman and a man regarding any legal act, pursuant to the Women's Equal Rights Law, 5711 – 1951 – ME] was apparently given under the assumption that monetary matters do not occasion an infringement of religious law inasmuch as a legislative directive [in the civil law] has the same halakhic status as [the establishment of] a "financial condition," which is not considered as making a condition against what is written in the Torah. As such, it must be presumed that the legislator did not intend to infringe any matter that did not fall within the ambit of a financial condition (*ibid.*, p. 412).

[Menachem Elon (2nd ed.)]

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[Arnost Zvi Ehrman]

CONE, U.S. commercial and philanthropic family. HERMAN CONE (1828–97), the father of 13 children, emigrated from Bavaria to the U.S. in 1845 and ultimately established a successful wholesale grocery business in Baltimore. His two eldest sons, MOSES HERMAN (1857–1908) and CAESAR (1859–1917), began their careers as salesmen. During their travels through the South the two brothers were struck by the unstandardized goods and disorganized marketing methods of Southern cotton mills. In 1891 they founded the Cone Export and Commission Company, with a main office in New York, which served both as a banker and distributor for the Southern textile industry. The company helped the industry both to standardize and variegate its products and to free itself of its costly dependence on Northern finishers and distributors. During the financial panic of 1893 it saved many mills from bankruptcy. Moses and Caesar Cone established a mill of their own in Asheville, North Carolina (1892), and soon after founded three more mills in Greensboro, North Carolina. Within a few years they had joined the world's leading producers of flannels and denims and controlled 3% of the entire cotton industry of the South. Both Cone brothers became active in community affairs in Greensboro. They helped found schools and a YMCA, and Moses left a large part of his estate for the construction of a hospital named after him. Caesar was vice president of the American Cotton Manufacturers Association and held important local and state philanthropic positions. After his death ownership of the Cone mills passed to his son HERMAN. CLARIBEL (1864–1929), sister of Caesar and Moses Cone, studied medicine at Johns Hopkins University and was later professor of pathology at Women's Medical College in Baltimore. Together with her sister ETTA, she built up a large collection of French impressionist and post-impressionist painting, which is now housed in the Cone Wing of the Baltimore Museum of Art.

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[Harry Golden]

CONEGLIANO (Heb. קוניאן, *Conian*, as pronounced in the local dialect), small town in Venetia, northern Italy. Jewish moneylenders settled there before 1398. Attempts made by the municipality to expel the Jews in 1511, 1518, 1560, and 1567 were opposed by the Venetian authorities. Moneylending was prohibited to Jews in Conegliano between 1538 and 1541, and finally in 1548. A talmudic academy flourished there in the first decades of the 17th century under the direction of R. Nathan Ottolengo. Following restrictions on Jewish residence, construction of a ghetto began in 1637; it was moved to a different site in 1675. The number of Jewish residents in 1752 reached 58 people, including moneylenders, traders, owners of a silk factory and stores. In 1866 Marco Grassini was elected mayor of the town. By 1866 the Jews numbered 30, and subsequently almost all of them moved elsewhere. The community of Conegliano died out completely from the 1930s and in 1931 passed under the jurisdiction of the Jewish Community of Venice. The beautiful synagogue, built in 1701 but incorporating earlier elements, was transferred to Jerusalem in 1948 and reconstructed in the Italian Synagogue in 1952.

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[Attilio Milano]

CONEGLIANO, Italian family, many prominent members of which were physicians; the name comes from the small Italian town of *Conegliano. Some members of the family called themselves Conian, according to the pronunciation in the local dialect. ABRAHAM JOEL CONEGLIANO (17th–18th centuries), mathematician, lived in Ceneda and Verona. He wrote a reply to the polemical book by L.M. Benetelli, *Le saette di Gionata* ("The Arrows of Jonathan," Venice, 1703), to which the latter replied in *I dardi Rabbinici infranti* ("The Broken Rabbinical Arrows," Venice, 1705). ISRAEL CONEGLIANO (c. 1650–c. 1717), of Padua, was a physician and politician. In 1675 he settled in Constantinople where he was consulted by the sultan and the grand vizier. In 1682 he was appointed physician to the embassy of Venice, but when Venice joined the Holy League against the Ottoman Empire, Israel had to limit himself to his private medical practice. He succeeded, however, in keeping the senate of Venice informed of political happenings in Constantinople through his elder brother SOLOMON (see below). Between 1687 and 1690 he was again in Venice and then returned to Constantinople, where he made the arrangements under which the protection of Venetians who had remained in the Ottoman Empire was assumed by Holland, instead of France. Israel had to leave for Venice after the expulsion of all Venetians from the Ottoman Empire in 1694. He was able to continue supplying useful reports to Venice through a third brother JUDAH who had remained in Constantinople. In 1698 Israel attended the Congress of Karlowitz, at which peace was negotiated between the European powers and the Ottoman Empire; the following year, as physician and secretary to the Venetian envoy Carlo Ruzzini he took a direct part in the delimitation of the borders between Venice and the Ottoman Empire. He was honored by the Venetian senate and, with his brothers Solomon and Judah, was given Venetian citizenship and exempted from wearing the Jewish badge. SOLOMON (1642–1719), born in Padua, practiced as a physician in Venice. He acted as intermediary in the exchange of correspondence between his brother Israel and the senate of Venice. He organized preparatory courses for young students, mainly Jews, who attended the medical university of Padua. He wrote the preface to the book *Ma'aseh Tuviyyah* (1709), by Tobias b. Moses *Cohn who was his student. Another member of the family was EMANUEL CONEGLIANO (1749–1833) who assumed the name LORENZO DA PONTE. A man of letters, he lived in New York and was a well-known author of libretti for Mozart's operas. CARLO ANGELO CONEGLIANO (1868–1901) of Modena was an economist and professor of financial sciences at the University of Modena. He founded the Italian Zionist review *Lidea sionnista* (1901–10).

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[Attilio Milano / Federica Francesconi (2nd ed.)]

CONFERENCE OF PRESIDENTS OF MAJOR AMERICAN JEWISH ORGANIZATIONS (Presidents Conference). The Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations was organized in 1955 out of a growing awareness that unified action by major American Jewish organizations was essential to help strengthen American support for the state of Israel, which equated with strengthening peace and stability in the Middle East. Of all American Jewish organizations, the Presidents Conference has the highest visibility in the American media, a stature not unchallenged by other Jewish organizations such as the ADL and which is also challenged in Washington, where AIPAC is viewed as the powerful and successful key to American support for Israel. It meets on a regular basis for the purpose of receiving briefings from Israeli and American government officials, the contents of which are useful for the leadership and constituents of member organizations; and offers a number of substantive programs. The Presidents Conference carries the message of the government of Israel and the American Jewish community to the administration in Washington on Israel-related issues and on international matters, and vice versa. It is *the* address for foreign leaders who want to address American Jewish leadership and is often employed as a forum for improving relationship with the American Jewish community, which is often perceived as essential to improving relationship with the American government by foreign leaders.

There were multiple factors at work in the genesis of the Presidents Conference. The Israeli government was eager to have a table at which it could present its concerns and discuss them with the American Jewish community; the U.S. State Department, under Secretary John Foster Dulles, was not happy with the idea of many Jewish organizations coming to it with messages from the Jewish community, and was therefore receptive to the idea of a single instrumentality with which it would relate, and which would represent the multiplicity of Jewish agencies. Additionally, Nahum *Goldmann, who was also president of the *World Jewish Congress (which had no real base in the United States other than the *American Jewish Congress, which did not really serve as a vehicle for the WJC), wanted more of a voice on the American scene. Goldmann wanted a body that could coordinate and regulate the contacts of Zionist leaders with the State Department and handle political discussions surrounding Israel with American leaders. Goldmann played a key role, together with Philip *Klutznick, at that time the president of B'nai B'rith, in the creation of the Presidents Conference.

Other factors that were instrumental in the creation of the Conference of Presidents included the facts that Israel-related issues were not, at the time, priorities on the agenda of the National Community Relations Advisory Council (NCRAC, later NJCRAC), and that there was no community-relations vehicle that embraced the Zionist organizations, which were not members of the NCRAC.

The essential question – who speaks for the Jews of America? – was not answered fully by the creation of the Conference of Presidents; but the Conference was perceived by the Administration as the authorized voice of the Jewish community on Israel.

As early as 1951 a small group of American Jewish leaders, at the urging of Israeli official Abba *Eban, in a communication to Nahum Goldmann, began meeting with key Israeli officials for briefings and consultations. In 1955 a number of major organizations called a national conference in Washington on American-Israel relations. Thereafter the leaders and staff members of these organizations began to confer on a regular basis. An organizational structure developed and the Conference of Presidents was formally established in 1959. The 15 founding member organizations included eight Zionist groups, plus a number of "defense," religious, and fundraising agencies. The mandate of the Presidents Conference, as originally defined, is to act as a spokesman (not a policy-making body) on behalf of the American Jewish community to the American Administration on Israel. (The mandate was expanded in the mid-1960s to include other international issues as well.)

Originally the Conference was more of a "Presidents' Club" than a "conference," reflecting the views of Philip Klutznick, the powerful lay head of B'nai B'rith (the largest Jewish membership organization at that time), who was against a formal centralized, binding organization; he wanted an informal structure, "a forum for presidents to debate … matters pertaining to Israel." Before too long, however, the body became a formal Conference, with by-laws and procedures. In 1966, the Conference became a body of constituent *organizations*, rather than of presidents of organizations. During the same year it also decided to establish and maintain ongoing contacts with world Jewish bodies to facilitate the exchange of information, opinions, and ideas.

As of 2005, the Conference membership consisted of 51 national Jewish organizations – Zionist, "defense," and community-relations, social-service, religious, and fundraising – whose members collectively represent the overwhelming majority of the Jewish community of the United States. The Conference of Presidents seeks to develop consensus for collective action on issues of national and international Jewish concern. It endeavors to enhance the work of its member organizations to strengthen U.S.-Israel understanding, to assist Israel and to assure the physical safety and rights of Jews and Jewish communities overseas.

For the most part the Presidents Conference is not responsible for the deliberative process of shaping strategy on public-policy issues facing Israel. This process is a function of the range of the community relations and "defense" agencies, religious bodies, and Zionist organizations. The Conference's primary role, that of a spokesperson, is to present to the Administration the public face of the American Jewish community and of Israel.

The Conference also serves as the representative body to which officials of the Executive and Legislative branches of the American government, Israeli leaders, and foreign heads of state turn in dealing with issues of mutual concern. Leaders of Jewish communities in other lands and a wide variety of prominent personalities also appear before the Conference.

Conventional wisdom has it that the Presidents Conference languished until the Six-Day War. In fact, the conference was launched at a time during which the Eastern Bloc began shipping heavy arms to Egypt, and arms sales became an issue for the first time. Activity of *fedayeen* across Israel's borders was also of increasing concern for the Jewish community and was on the Conference's agenda. The 1956 Sinai Campaign, and the need to respond to the threat of sanctions from the White House, was the first critical issue facing the Presidents Conference. The Conference, together with the NCRAC (NJCRAC), convened regional conferences around the country during those years. Over the years, the Presidents Conference has remained a significant vehicle for the Israeli government to communicate, through the American Jewish community speaking with one voice, with the Administration.

The Conference's activities and accomplishments have focused on building a broad-based educational program in support of the principle that a militarily strong, politically secure, and economically sound Israel is in the best interest of the United States and of world peace. During the period of the Six-Day War the Conference convened a mass rally in support of Israel opposite the White House. In the wake of the Yom Kippur War, the Conference worked vigorously in support of the United States resupplying Israel. With the new *Likud government in Israel in 1977 – overturning three decades of familiar *Mapai/Labor rule – the Conference President, Rabbi Alexander *Schindler, who was informed by a politically liberal philosophy, was nonetheless able to establish a cordial relationship – personally and professionally – with Prime Minister Menaḥem *Begin, and was an instrument in the process of gaining public acceptance in the Jewish community of the new government. Following Egyptian president Anwar Sadat's 1977 visit to Jerusalem, the Conference undertook numerous activities to keep up the peace momentum – including acceptance of the first invitation to an American Jewish organization to meet in Egypt with President Sadat and other top Egyptian leaders. Throughout the 1980s the Conference opposed the sale of sophisticated arms to Arab countries at war with Israel. It worked to guarantee the rights of Jews in the former Soviet Union to emigrate and practice their religious faith and cultural heritage, and it continues to monitor the resurgence of antisemitism in the former Soviet Union and parts of Europe. The Conference also had a role in the rescue of Ethiopian, Syrian, and Yemenite Jews and other endangered Jewish communities.

The Conference worked for the rescinding of the UN resolution equating Zionism with racism, which was reversed in 1991, as well as in countering the Arab economic boycott of Israel. The Conference was a leader in the successful effort to secure $10 billion in loan guarantees for Israel in 1992 over the opposition of President George H.W. Bush, who portrayed himself as overwhelmed by the activism of Jewish groups on the issue – a manifest display, suggested Bush, of the power of the Jewish "lobby." Since the 1993 signing of the Oslo Accords, the Conference has undertaken a significant program of activities in regard to the Middle East process. As there were deep internal divisions within the organized Jewish community regarding Oslo, which was indeed a revolution, the Presidents Conference was slow to act. Dovish critics faulted the Israeli Labor government for bypassing the Presidents Conference as it did not require its enthusiastic support. The American Jewish community overwhelming supported Oslo, with the noted exception of the Orthodox community.

Other priority issues before the Conference from the mid-1990s into the 21st century are terrorism in the United States and abroad, the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, Islamic fundamentalism, support for foreign aid, promoting tourism to and trade with Israel, strengthening the bond between American Jews and Israel, and global antisemitism.

On the "Who-is-a-Jew?" question – a successive iteration of issues that has generated divisions in the American Jewish polity – the Presidents Conference over the years studiously avoided any involvement in the issue; indeed, the Conference avoided discussion of the issue within its deliberative process. This issue was particularly sensitive for Orthodox groups in the Conference, who viewed "Who is a Jew?" as an effort by the non-Orthodox/secular camp in Israel to chip away at the hegemony of the Chief Rabbinate in "personal-status" and other matters. The view of the Conference of Presidents leadership was that, as an organization that promoted Jewish unity, having on the agenda an issue that caused painful divisions would compromise that mission.

In the 21st century the salient issues for the Conference – international terrorism, global antisemitism, the Palestinian dilemma and the peace process in Israel, Jewish communities outside the United States and Israel – have been increasingly addressed via programmatic initiatives, which had not been the case in earlier years. In the late 1980s and early 1990s some "defense" agencies felt that the Conference was moving too aggressively in functional areas rather than limiting its activities to spokesmanship and coordination. Withal, the core function of the Conference has remained one of articulating a consensus position of its member organizations. When the organization is riven with strife it cannot achieve a consensus and results can be quite embarrassing. Such was the case with regard to the response to the assassination of Israel Prime Minister Yitzhak *Rabin by a religious Israeli opposed to the peace process, and with the Oslo accords. Condemnation of the assassination was fine but no consensus could be achieved on supporting the policies of the elected government of Israel. Similarly, in 2005 there was a great reluctance, because of internal political differences and the pull of right-wing and religious-nationalist organizations, to support the withdrawal from Gaza, and the support of the Presidents Conference was lukewarm at best.

Among the programs of the Presidents Conference in 2005 were the Daily Alert, a news summary on the Middle East; Israel Campus Beat, a weekly e-mail for the university community on Israel-related issues; Secure Community Alert Network (SCAN), an integrated rapid-response system for emergency communications; and Justice for Jews from Arab Countries, a refugee advocacy arm.

In 2005 the budget of the Presidents Conference was $2 million. The chairman of the Conference of Presidents is chosen on a rotational basis, with a two-year term of office the norm. In order to be eligible for the chairmanship, an individual must have been president of his or her organization within the past three years. In 2005 James S. Tisch was the chairman of the Conference of Presidents. Chairmen have been widely regarded as *the* spokespersons for American Jews during their tenure in office. Several were particularly effective; others relied upon staff to lead. Malcolm Hoenlein has served as executive vice chairman since 1986. Hoenlein, who had been executive of the New York Jewish Community Relations Council, is considered one of the more canny, aggressive, and creative American Jewish professional leaders. He was preceded by Yehuda Hellman, a career professional, who served from 1959 to 1986. The staff is small, and the membership base is organizational and not individual. There has therefore been considerable leeway for a single able professional leader, such as Hoenlein, to shape the organization

The following is a list of the member organizations of the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations in 2005:

America Israel Friendship League
American Friends of Likud
American Gathering/Federation of Jewish Holocaust Survivors
American Israel Public Affairs Committee
American Jewish Committee
American Jewish Congress
American ORT, Inc.
American Sephardi Federation
American Zionist Movement
Americans for Peace Now

- Amit
- Anti-Defamation League
- Association of Reform Zionists of America/World Union North America
- B'nai B'rith
- Bnai Zion
- Central Conference of American Rabbis
- Committee for Accuracy in Middle East Reporting in America
- Development Corporation for Israel
- Emunah of America
- Friends of Israel Defense Forces
- Hadassah, Women's Zionist Organization of America
- Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society
- Jewish Community Centers Association
- Jewish Council for Public Affairs
- Jewish Institute for National Security Affairs
- Jewish National Fund
- Jewish Reconstructionist Federation
- Jewish War Veterans of the U.S.A.
- Jewish Women International
- Joint Distribution Committee
- Labor Zionist Alliance
- Mercaz USA, Zionist Organization of the Conservative Movement
- Na'amat USA
- National Committee for Labor Israel
- NCSJ: Advocates on Behalf of Jews in Russia, Ukraine, the Baltic States & Eurasia
- National Council of Jewish Women
- National Council of Young Israel
- Rabbinical Assembly
- Rabbinical Council of America
- Religious Zionists of America
- Union of American Hebrew Congregations
- Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations of America
- United Jewish Communities
- United Synagogue of Conservative Judaism
- WIZO
- Women of Reform Judaism
- Women's American ORT
- Women's League for Conservative Judaism
- Workmen's Circle / Jewish Labor Committee
- World Zionist Executive, U.S.A.
- Zionist Organization of America

Significantly enough, the Simon Wiesenthal Center, a defense, research, and advocacy organization with membership and regional operations, does not appear on the list; and for many years the American Jewish Committee did not join the President's Conference, but retained observer status. The American Jewish Committee traditionally viewed itself as a non-Zionist organization whose priorities were centered on the domestic American agenda. In 1991, with international affairs holding primacy of place on AJC's agenda, the agency joined the Conference.

Several organizations, most recently Meretz U.S.A., have been rejected for membership. Reasons offered for rejection identify membership, budget, and regionalization criteria. But critics suspect a political agenda.

[Jerome Chanes (2nd ed.)]

CONFERENCE ON JEWISH MATERIAL CLAIMS AGAINST GERMANY, umbrella organization established in New York in 1951 by 23 national and international Jewish organizations representing Diaspora Jewish life in the West. Its aims were to obtain funds for the relief, rehabilitation, and resettlement of Jewish victims of Nazi persecution, and the rebuilding of Jewish communal life; and to obtain indemnification for injuries inflicted upon victims of Nazi persecution and restitution for properties confiscated by the Nazis.

The suggestion to call the Conference was made by the Government of Israel, which in 1951 said it was entitled to claim reparations from Germany, because it was responsible for the absorption and rehabilitation of the survivors of the Holocaust. The Conference was convened by Dr. Nahum *Goldmann, chairman of the Jewish Agency; he was elected its president. West German Chancellor Konrad *Adenauer issued an invitation to negotiate in a speech on the eve of Rosh ha-Shanah 1951, when he said "unspeakable crimes were perpetrated in the name of the German people, which impose upon them the obligation to make moral and material amends."

The idea of negotiations with West Germany was strongly opposed by various Jewish circles. There were riots in the Knesset before the Israeli government narrowly agreed in January 1952 to negotiate with West Germany. Opponents argued that the wrong caused to the Jewish people by Nazi Germany was of such a nature and magnitude that it was irreparable. They also maintained that to exchange this wrong for some "blood money" was morally and historically repugnant and likely to lead gradually to a "forgive and forget" policy. The partisans for negotiations did not dispute the basic assumption of the irreparability of the wrong but emphasized the differences between material claims and moral-historical claims, the latter to remain unaffected by the former.

The government of Israel and the Conference opened formal negotiations with the German Federal Republic in March 1952 at The Hague. On September 10, 1952, an agreement signed in Luxembourg between the West German government and the Conference was embodied in two protocols. The first protocol called for the enactment of German legislation to provide compensation and restitution to Holocaust survivors. Three German Federal Indemnification Laws (known as Bundesentschädigungsgesetze, BEG) were passed between 1953 and 1965. These laws, which established the legal framework for compensation for "victims of National Socialist persecution," mandated payments for victims in the West for personal and professional injuries. The Federal Restitution Law (Bundesrueckerstattungsgesetz, BRUEG-EG) enacted in

1957 was designed to compensate Nazi victims for loss of personal valuables, bank accounts, and other movable properties confiscated by Nazi authorities. In 1964, as a result of Conference pressure, the German parliament enacted amendments to the BRUEG which enlarged the volume of compensation payments and expanded the scope of eligibility. By 2000, under the terms of the first protocol, West Germany had paid more than DM 100 billion in compensation to individual victims of Nazi persecution. The German term for the measures is *Wiedergutmachung,* which is not used by the Jewish community because the term means "to make whole."

Under the second protocol, the German government agreed to provide the Conference with DM 450 million, over a decade, for the relief, rehabilitation, and resettlement of Jewish victims of Nazi persecution. This payment was in recognition of uncompensated Jewish losses. Of the early allocations, 76% was applied to relief, rehabilitation, and resettlement of Nazi victims, 20% to cultural and educational reconstruction, and approximately 4% to administration, including costs of the Israel Purchasing Mission in Germany (see *Restitution and Indemnification). These projects included educational institutions, community and youth centers, synagogues and other religious institutions, homes for the aged, children's homes and kindergartens, summer camps, and medical institutions. Of 750,000 Jewish victims of Nazi persecution living in European countries other than the Soviet Union, 225,000 became beneficiaries of aid for relief, rehabilitation, and resettlement, often through Conference financing of programs, primarily of the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee. Conference allocations to the *United HIAS Service assisted the migration of 49,000 Jews from European countries.

The Conference helped finance the United Restitution Organization, which provided hundreds of thousands of Nazi victims with legal aid in connection with their restitution and indemnification claims. Conference allocations for cultural and educational programs totaled $19,450,000. Four major institutions for the commemoration and documentation of the Holocaust were the principal beneficiaries of the Conference: the *Yad Vashem Authority, Jerusalem; the combined projects of the *YIVO Institute, New York, and Yad Vashem; the *Centre de Documentation Juive Contemporaire and the Memorial to the Unknown Jewish Martyr, Paris; and the *Wiener Library, London.

The Conference was the first organization to establish a special program recognizing the Jewish community's moral obligation to assist *Hassidei Umot ha-Olam*, the *Righteous Among the Nations, who at considerable personal risk had saved Jews and who later were in need of financial assistance.

Conference allocations from the second protocol ended in 1964. In 1965 the Conference established the Memorial Foundation for Jewish Culture to serve as a living memorial to the Jews who perished in the Holocaust. The Foundation activities began with a capital of $10,432,000 allocated by the Conference.

The Conference continued to negotiate with Germany for compensation for individual victims after the three indemnification laws had been enacted. It believed there were serious deficiencies in West Germany's indemnification laws, which originally were limited to certain Nazi victims who were in the West by October 1953. Scores of thousands of victims were subsequently able to flee from Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. In 1980 the Conference reached an agreement with West Germany for the creation of the Hardship Fund, which provided one-time payments to victims, primarily from Eastern Europe, who arrived in the West after the BEG deadline. More than 250,000 victims received payments from the Hardship Fund in its first two decades.

East Germany never compensated Nazi victims. It argued that it was an anti-fascist state, and it did not consider itself a successor to Hitler's Germany. When the United States established diplomatic relations with the German Democratic Republic, the Conference initiated efforts to obtain compensation and restitution from East Germany. An agreement was not reached until after German reunification, when Holocaust survivors in the West who had received minimal or no previous compensation became eligible for annuities from Germany. A separate fund for Jewish victims in Central and Eastern Europe was established in 1998.

In its first decade, the Conference reached agreements with individual German companies – IG Farben, Siemens, Krupp, AEG, Telefunken, and Rheinmetall – to provide compensation for Jews who had been slave laborers during the Nazi era. In 2000 the Conference represented Jewish victims in a multilateral agreement with the German government and industry in which DM 10 billion was provided as compensation for slave and forced labor. Since 1952 the Conference has concluded some 25 agreements with European governments and industry.

The unified German government also designated the Conference as a "Successor Organization," which gave it title to unclaimed and heirless individual Jewish properties and the properties of dissolved Jewish communities and organizations in the former East Germany. About 80% of the funds generated by the Successor Organization were used for projects that provided social welfare services to survivors; 20% was used to finance research, documentation, and education about the Holocaust. From 1995 through 2000, the Conference allocated more than $400 million from the proceeds of heirless Jewish properties in the former East Germany to projects that aid survivors. About 60% of these funds were used in Israel, while some 25% were for projects in the former Soviet Union.

The Conference leadership and membership remained stable over a half-century. Goldmann remained president until his death in 1982; he was succeeded by Rabbi Israel Miller, who served until shortly before his death in 2002. The executive functions were subsequently divided between the president and chairman, Rabbi Israel Singer and Julius Berman, respectively. The first director of the Conference was Saul Kagan, who served until his retirement in 1998. He was succeeded by Gideon Taylor.

Survivors organizations – the *American Gathering / Federation of Jewish Holocaust Survivors and the Centre of Organizations of Holocaust Survivors in Israel – joined the Conference in 1989. Jewish organizations from Central and Eastern Europe were not specifically admitted to the Conference, although in 2000 the board was expanded. It included one "pan-European representative" and bolstered Israel's membership with "four eminent Israeli personalities."

The Conference was sui generis in Jewish life. The founding principle – that direct compensation be paid to individual surviving victims of atrocities – was unprecedented in 1951. It was also unprecedented that a voluntary consortium of Jewish organizations would be recognized as a legitimate negotiating partner with a sovereign state, West Germany. The Conference's member organizations reflected broad religious and ideological points of view that often were antagonistic and yet collaborated to pursue assistance that ultimately benefited more than a half-million victims of the Nazis.

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[Marilyn Henry (2nd ed.)]

CONFERENCE ON JEWISH SOCIAL STUDIES, U.S. organization. The idea of the Conference originated in April 1933 with Morris Raphael *Cohen and S.W. *Baron. Its objective was to create an association of scholars to assemble reliable data about the "position of the Jew in the modern world," for the benefit of both Jewish and general scholarship, as well as the public at large. It was felt that such dependable research would help in the struggle against the rapidly spreading Nazi world propaganda with its fabricated evidence and other falsehoods. Beyond the immediate issue, however, loomed the widely felt need in the Jewish community itself to possess fuller and more precise information about the Jewish population, its economic stratification, and other socially and historically relevant aspects of Jewish life. After initial conversations the Conference (until 1955 called "The Conference on Jewish Relations") was launched at a meeting in 1936, presided over by Albert Einstein, addressed by M.R. Cohen, Harold Laski, and S.W. Baron, and concluded with an appeal for funds by Henry Morgenthau, Sr. From its inception, the Conference sponsored a number of research projects and publications, among them the quarterly *Jewish Social Studies*, published regularly from January 1939. An index to the first 25 volumes was published in 1967. There have also been several organizational offshoots of the Conference, including the Jewish Occupational Council, and particularly Jewish Cultural Reconstruction, Inc., which was in charge of salvaging and redistributing throughout the world much of the Jewish cultural property (manuscripts, books, artistic and ritual objects) looted by the Nazis from communities and individuals in the occupied countries.

[Salo W. Baron]

CONFERENCES. Intercommunal consultation started early in the history of Diaspora Jewry. The dispersion on the one hand and an intense feeling of solidarity on the other combined to make the holding of conferences of Jewish leaders and representatives an acutely felt need and hence a relatively frequent occurrence.

In the Middle Ages

It is often difficult to differentiate between intercommunal conferences and predominantly rabbinical synods. A responsum of *Gershom b. Judah (c. 965–1028) relates that "the communities which were gathered there [at a certain commerical center] … framed ordinances under oath" relating to certain matters (ed. by S. Eidelberg, no. 67, p. 155). The early 12th-century chronicler of the massacres of 1096 during the First Crusade describes how in the 11th century "all the communities used to come to Cologne thrice yearly for the fairs" and that "as the heads of the communities would start to speak" at their meeting at the Cologne synagogue, the head of the host community would lead and dominate the deliberations (*Sefer Gezerot Ashkenaz ve-Ẓarefat*, ed. by A.M. Habermann (1945), 47).

In Spain few conferences are recorded. Each cluster of Aragonese communities organized as a *collecta* for tax purposes transacted its business through regular consultation. On occasion, the king assembled delegates from Aragon, Catalonia, Valencia, and other provinces to reapportion a total tax. A large assembly met in Barcelona in 1354 under the impact of the *Black Death massacres to elect an executive committee for the purpose of conducting the common affairs of the Aragonese communities and to deliberate other matters. In 1432 Don Abraham *Benveniste convoked the trustees and scholars of Castile in the city of Valladolid, aiming to restore, through detailed *takkanot*, the social and cultural life of Castilian Jewry to the high level it had attained before the catastrophe of the persecutions of 1391.

A conference held in *Mainz around 1307 sought to raise funds to settle Jewish refugees from France in Germany. Just as in England a "Jewish parliament" was called by the king in 1241 in Worcester for no other reason than to extort money, so the German emperors convoked four meetings of delegates from many communities between 1431 and 1471 for the sole purpose of collecting tax. A number of Jewish gatherings were held during the 16th century (1513, 1530, 1562, 1582, and 1603) which attempted to deal with social, legal, and moral problems in Germany (see also *Synods).

In Italian-speaking areas the first known Jewish gathering was held in 1238 on the island of Crete. On the peninsula the earliest recorded conference seems to have taken place in Rimini in 1399 to apportion taxes among the communities. Jewish delegates from the Papal States, Tuscany, Padua, and Ferrara met in Bologna in 1416, electing at the conference a vigilance committee which met two years later at Forlì. In addition to deliberations on a serious defense problem, the meeting adopted a set of *takkanot* partly dealing with sumptuary laws. The group seems to have met again in Perugia in 1423 and once again in 1428. Rabbinical assemblies in Tivoli and Ravenna sought revocation of a hostile bull issued by Pope *Eugenius IV in 1442. In Sicily all the communities met in 1447 and resolved to remove the chief judge. Royal privileges were confirmed at the request of an assembly four years later. In 1459 further privileges were obtained; yet another conference in 1466 was granted permission to establish a central Jewish college. In 1469 and again in 1488 meetings were held by order of the viceroy to allocate taxes. A year later the viceroy again convened in Palermo a meeting of one or two delegates from each community to request funds for a substantial contribution to the king for the expedition against Granada. A similar convention in 1492 sent envoys to Spain to plead for revocation of the expulsion order. Failing that, they proceeded to help plan an orderly exodus. These Sicilian "parliaments" had their own elected permanent officers, with a treasurer empowered to pay the expenses of the delegates. The northern and central Italian communities also sought amicable agreements on tax quotas at loosely organized conferences. The *Councils of the Lands in Poland-Lithuania represent a successful combination of intercommunal conference and synod.

In Bohemia, the Jewish council leadership of Prague and its chief rabbi spread their hegemony over the entire province. Around 1659 the provincial communities established a separate council of ten elders who joined the Prague community in assessing taxes (see *Landesjudenschaften). Though the earliest extant records of a session of the council of *Moravia date from 1653, the council must have operated much earlier. Along with the chief rabbi, the council regulated Jewish communal life in the area. The *Landesjudenschaften* of Germany often held their own conferences, frequently to ensure efficient taxation and general obedience to state regulations (see also *Cleves). The *Consistory introduced in Napoleonic France can be viewed as a continuation of this type of conference.

Modern Times

In the era of individualization, assimilation, emancipation, and greater use of communication, conferences and congresses – regional, national, and international – became increasingly feasible and acceptable as units of organization and a means of working for Jewish causes and interests. The general tendency in Europe and America to act through conventions and gatherings facilitated this development. Thus in modern times a diversified and variegated Jewish society found the conference most suitable for expression of its involvement with or hesitations about Jewish identity, solidarity, and self-help. Relief work, Zionism, the Jewish socialist as well as the Orthodox movement, utilize the manifold forms of conference as vehicles for unification, activity, and continuity. The form of synod remained reserved for rabbinical gatherings, in particular those in search of an authority on which to base reform and change.

The numerous organizations participating in representative conferences include the *Board of Delegates of American Israelites (established 1859), the *Alliance Israélite Universelle in France (1860), the *American Jewish Committee (1906), the *American (1918) and *World (1936) Jewish Congress, the U.S. *Jewish Labor Committee (1933), and *COJO – Conference of Jewish Organizations. In England the *Board of Deputies of British Jews has a committee on foreign affairs. Especially active after World War I was the Conjoint Foreign Committee formed by this organization and the *Anglo-Jewish Association (1871). In its time the *Hilfsverein der Deutschen Juden (1901) was especially active in defense and relief. So was the Israelitische *Allianz of Vienna. As examples of the tremendous communal energy involved in bringing together divergent groups for international action, the evolution of the American Jewish Congress and the struggle for *minority rights are briefly outlined here.

Years before World War I, proposals for a democratic representative assembly of American Jewry were made. The first practical step was taken at an extraordinary conference of American Zionists held in New York on Aug. 30, 1914, which resolved to organize a convention to consider world Jewish problems that might result from the war. Negotiations were begun with the American Jewish Committee, which offered to cooperate. After a number of meetings by sympathetic groups, a Jewish Congress Organization Committee was formed in 1915. After many conferences and with the support of Zionist groups, the first meeting of the American Jewish Congress took place from December 15 to 18. The two major items on the agenda were Palestine and minority rights, then the focus of attention of every major Jewish group throughout the world.

Most active were the various parties in existence during and after World War I. Demands for national rights for minorities were made by groups in many countries. A Russian Jewish Congress held a preliminary conference in Petrograd (Leningrad) in July 1917. Elections were held the following winter, but the unsettled conditions caused the organization to be dissolved. In its place a Jewish National Council was formed in 1918. In the Ukraine a Jewish National Council was formed on Oct. 1, 1917. In Kiev a Ukrainian Jewish Provisional National Assembly met in November 1918. A national council of Jewish national parties of German Austria was formed in Vienna in 1918. Representatives of Hungarian communities met at Temesvar on Dec. 15, 1918. In the same month a preliminary conference of Polish Jewish communal and city councils, meeting in Warsaw, decided to convene a congress in March 1919. A council commenced operation in Lithuania early that year. In Poznan a council was formed on Nov. 11, 1918. The *Canadian Jewish Congress, like all the abovementioned, adopted a strongly national resolution at its convention in March 1919. In Paris the Jewish delegations sent from various countries to the Peace Conference were unified after many meetings on March 25, 1919.

Fund raising and relief organizations sought to alleviate the suffering caused by Russian pogroms, the two world wars, the Nazi Holocaust, and the rebuilding of a national homeland. A host of other welfare, religious, civic, and educational organizations came into being. Foremost among the fund-raising agencies was the *United Jewish Appeal (1939) which in the United States combined the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (1914), the United Israel Appeal, and the New York Association for New Americans.

Another field of unprecedented conference activity is the Zionist movement, with its many factions and groups. After the First Zionist Congress in Basle in 1897 and the biennial congresses which followed several annual meetings, the movement proliferated into a complex array of organizations. There were differences along ideological lines, i.e., secularism versus religion, socialism of many varieties versus capitalism; many non-Zionist or anti-Zionist leanings emerged. Most countries have continued supporting branches of international or Israel-based agencies.

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[Isaac Levitats]

CONFESSION. Along with admissions of fact from which any criminal responsibility may be inferred, confessions are not admissible as evidence in criminal or quasi-criminal proceedings, for "no man may call himself a wrongdoer" (Sanh. 9b). This rule against self-incrimination developed from the rule that a wrongdoer is incompetent as a *witness, being presumed to be unjust and untruthful (cf. Ex. 23:1). Since some people might admit to misconduct in order to disqualify themselves from testifying, to cure this mischief the rule was laid down that no man can be heard to say of himself that he is so guilty as to be an incompetent witness (Sanh. 25a; BK 72b). The rule was originally derived from the principle that no man is competent to testify in his own favor (Ket. 27a) – his confession being intended to confer the benefit of not being required to testify.

The rule against self-incrimination dates only from talmudic times. Several instances of confessions are recorded in the Bible (e.g., Josh. 7:19–20; II Sam. 1:16; cf. I Sam. 14:43), but these are dismissed by talmudic scholars either as confessions after trial and conviction, made for the sole purpose of expiating the sin before God (Sanh. 43b), or as exceptions to the general rule (*hora'at Sha'ah*; cf. Maim. comm. to the Mishnah, Sanh. 6:2; Ralbag to II Sam. 1:14). As all instances recorded in the Bible related to proceedings before kings or rulers, it may be that they did not consider themselves bound to observe regular court procedures (cf. Maim. Yad, Melakhim 3:10). Confessions are inadmissible not only in capital cases, but also in cases involving only *flogging, *fines (Rashi to Yev. 25b), or quasi-punishments (*ibid.*; cf. Resp.Rosh 11:5). Opinions are divided on whether a *ḥerem and public admonitions could be administered on the strength of a confession only.

Varying reasons were given for the rule against self-incrimination: the earliest and commonest is that the biblical requirement of the evidence of at least two witnesses for the condemnation of any man (Deut. 17:6; 19:15) implicitly excludes any other mode of proof (Tosef., Sanh. 11:1, 5). Maimonides adds that melancholy and depressed persons must be prevented from confessing to crimes which they have not committed so as to be put to death (Yad, Sanhedrin 18:6). Another theory was based on the prophet's words that all souls are God's (Ezek. 18:4), hence no man may be allowed to forfeit his life (as distinguished from his property) by his own admission, his life not being his own to dispose of but God's (David b. Solomon ibn Abi Zimra); still another scholar held that if confessions were accorded any probative value at all, courts might be inclined to overrate them, as King David did (II Sam. 1:16), and be guilty of a dereliction of their own fact-finding task (Joseph ibn Migash). A 19th-century jurist (Mordechai Epstein) pointed out that the real difference between civil admissions and criminal confessions was that by an admission an obligation was created which had only to be enforced by the court, whereas in a criminal conviction it is the court which creates the accused's liability to punishment. While it is nowhere expressed, the reason for the exclusion of confessions may well have been the desire to prevent their being elicited by torture or other violent means: it is a fact that – unlike most contemporaneous law books – neither Bible nor Talmud provide for any interrogation of the accused as part of the criminal trial, so that there was no room for attempts to extort confessions.

[Haim Hermann Cohn]

In the State of Israel

The question of reliance upon self-incriminating confessions has often arisen in the courts. In Cr.A. 614, 5561/80 *Al Bahiri v. State of Israel* 37 (3) PD 169, Justice M. Elon reviewed Jewish law on this question, stating that "Jewish law originally maintained that a defendant's self-incriminating confession was absolutely inadmissible, pursuant to the rule that 'since a person is related to himself, no one may incriminate himself [lit. 'a person cannot make himself out to be a wrongdoer]' (Yev. 25b). The confession of a crime was absolutely inadmissible, whether the accused confessed outside or in court, and even if there was corroboration. One could not be convicted unless there was sufficient evidence and testimony to the commission of the crime. During the course of time, with the changing needs of the times and of society, various changes were made towards easing the methods of proof in criminal law. Certain witnesses were deemed qualified who had previously been legally disqualified; and circumstantial evidence was held sufficient if it was strong and substantial. Within the framework of these major changes, it also became possible to convict a defendant on the basis of his confession (Resp. Rashba IV, 311), but the qualification was established that a defendant's confession alone was not sufficient unless, in addition, there had to be 'some measure of corroboration' to support the veracity of the confession: In such a case, it is the practice to accept the defendant's confession even in a capital case where there is no clear proof, in order that what he says, '*together with some measure of corroboration*, may clarify what occurred' (Resp. Ribash, 234)." The reluctance to rely upon self-incriminating confessions was due to the concern expressed by Maimonides that such a defendant may be subject to "inner pressure" to blame himself for a crime that someone else has committed: "Perhaps he is among the melancholy and depressed who wish to die [and] who thrust swords into their bellies or throw themselves down from the rooftops. Perhaps such a person will come and confess to a crime that he did not commit, in order that he may be killed" (Maim. Yad, Sanhedrin 18:6). In this case, one of the issues decided was that a failure to testify in court cannot be considered the "something in addition" which, added to the extrajudicial confession, suffices for conviction, the reason being that the very "inner pressure" that renders a confession unreliable without corroboration, may well be the basis for the defendant's unwillingness to testify in court. Moreover, in keeping with Jewish legal principles as they developed over time, the court suggested that the law be amended and that the "something in addition" required only in regard to extrajudicial confessions be also required in regard to confessions made in court. Justice Elon added that the danger of convicting an innocent man on the basis of his confession is very worrisome, and in this regard the principle was stated, "it is better and more desirable that a thousand guilty persons go free than that a single innocent person be put to death" (Maim. *Sefer ha Mitzvot*, Neg. Commandment, 290). In an earlier case that reviews Jewish law's stringent evidentiary requirements and mentions the above principle of Maimonides (Cr.A. 641, 622, 543/79 *Nagar et al. v. State of Israel*, 35 (1) PD 35 113), the question arose as to whether a conviction for murder could be based upon circumstantial evidence alone or upon an extrajudicial confession, supplemented by "something in addition." Here Justice Elon outlined the Jewish legal sources as they developed over time relating to circumstantial evidence, the admissibility of testimony of relations and of self-incriminating confessions, and showed, based on the responsa of Rashba (IV, 311) and Ribash (251, 234), that self-incriminating confessions, though inadmissible alone, could be admissible if supplemented by "something in addition." In a case at first instance in the Beersheba District Court (Cr.F. 76/93 *State of Israel v. Suleiman El Abid*), Judge N. Hendel, in a minority opinion, examined the sources of Jewish law relating to circumstantial evidence and the inadmissibility of self-incriminating confessions, linking this question, following U.S. Judge Douglas' statement that the Fifth Amendment (against self-incrimination) "is part of our respect for the dignity of man," with Israel's Basic Law: Human Dignity and Freedom, which is intended "to anchor in a basic law the values of the State of Israel as a Jewish and democratic state." Upon this foundation, the court discussed the admissibility of confessions in keeping with Jewish values, extensively examining the sources of Jewish law (Maim. Yad, Sanhedrin 18:6; Resp. Ribash, 233; Resp. Rashba III, 399; Radbaz on Sanh. 18, and R. Simeon Shkop on Ket. 18b, 5) that provide different reasons for the inadmissibility of self-incriminating confessions. The Ribash, in view of Jewish law's reservations as to ascetic behavior and its opposition to self-inflicted harm, questions the motive of one who wishes to confess; stating that it need be closely examined in case it is due to a self-destructive urge (cf. Maim. Yad, Sanhedrin 18:6) or a misplaced wish to placate the conscience. The Radbaz states that such a confession is ineffective as "his soul does not belong to him but rather to the Holy One, blessed be He" (see Ez. 18:4); thus a confession in regard to what is not his is of no effect. R. Shkop's reason for the inadmissibility of confessions is the danger that too great a weight would be ascribed to them since they seem to constitute strong evidence, with the result that the court would be dazzled and not reach a balanced judgment. However, over time in certain Jewish communities, the pressure of circumstances necessitated that confessions be admitted within the framework measures of exigency (Resp. Rashba III, 399) with the qualification that "something in addition" must supplement them (Resp. Ribash, 233). Finding the case exclusively based upon the defendant's confession, Justice Elon suggested adopting Jewish law's careful approach and in the absence of clear corroborative evidence ruled that El-Abid be acquitted. The difficulty of the case is apparent in its development: initially El-Abid was convicted (by majority) for murder and rape; on appeal to the Supreme Court, only the rape conviction remained (by majority), while in a further hearing, only the murder conviction was upheld (by majority). In another case (Cr.A. 168, 115/82 *Moadi v. State of Israel*, 38 (1) PD 197), Justice Elon held (257–65) that the rationale behind the requirement that a confession must be "voluntary" is solely to ensure the reliability and truth of the confession and that a judgment rendered in disregard of this would be contrary to the judge's duty to render a judgment that is "true to its very truth" (*din emet le-amito*) (Shab. 10a; Er. 54b; Meg. 15b; Sanh. 7a, 1 11b).

[Menachem Elon (2nd ed.)]

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CONFESSION OF SINS (Heb. וִדּוּי, *viddui*).

Biblical Literature

In the Bible, the confession of sin committed either individually or collectively is an essential prerequisite for expiation and atonement. Such confession is often followed by divine pardon. Thus the Lord mitigates His rebuke of Cain when the latter admits his sin (Gen. 4:13). David, censured by the prophet Nathan, confesses his iniquity in connection with Uriah and Bath-Sheba and is forgiven by God. David's confession and God's mercy are the subject of Psalms 32, 41, 51, and 69 in which God's righteousness is extolled. Other instances of individuals confessing their sins are Judah publicly acknowledging his inadvertent transgression with Tamar (Gen. 38:26; Sot. 7b); Achan, who had stolen from the forbidden spoils of Jericho, at the exhortation of Joshua avowing his sin (Josh. 7:19–21); and Saul asking forgiveness for having contravened God's commandment and permitted the people to retain Amalekite booty (I Sam. 15:24–25). Examples of biblical confessions for the nation, made by the leaders of the people, are Moses after the worship of the golden calf (Ex. 32:31), the high priest's confession on the Day of *Atonement (Lev. 16:6, 11, 21), and Ezra's (9:6, 7, 15) and Nehemiah's (1:6, 7; 9:2, 33–35).

The various sin and guilt offerings prescribed by the sacrificial ritual had to be preceded by confession. The sacrifice was brought to the altar by the offender who confessed his transgressions while placing both hands upon the head of the sacrificial animal (Lev. 1:4; Maim. Yad, Ma'aseh ha-Korbanot 3:6, 14–15). No formula for the exact wording of these confessions is given in the Bible; the Mishnah, however, records the confession of the high priest on the Day of Atonement: "O God, I have committed iniquity, transgressed, and sinned before Thee, I and my house. O God, forgive the iniquities and transgressions and sins which I have committed and transgressed and sinned before Thee, I and my house, as it is written in the Law of Thy servant Moses, 'For on this day shall atonement be made for you, to cleanse you; from all your sins shall ye be clean before the Lord'" (Lev. 16:30; Yoma 3:8).

Rabbinic Literature and Synagogue Ritual

Maimonides, basing his views on biblical and rabbinic traditions, ruled that it is a positive injunction to confess one's sins before seeking atonement: "Whether it is a positive or negative commandment which the individual has disobeyed, either willingly or inadvertently, it is a positive precept for him to confess the sin when desirous of repenting…" (Maim. Yad, Teshuvah 1:1). Confession of sin became an integral part of the synagogue ritual. It is especially characteristic of the Day of Atonement where the supplication for forgiveness of sin forms the focal point of the service. Although, according to the Talmud, the simple statement "Truly, we have sinned" (Yoma 87b) is sufficient for confession, elaborate formulas have gradually evolved, the earliest dating back to the third century C.E. One such formula composed for the eve of the Day of Atonement reads, "I confess all the evil I have done before Thee; I stood in the way of evil; and as for all (the evil) I have done, I shall no more do the like; may it be Thy will, O Lord my God, that Thou shouldst pardon me for all my iniquities, and forgive me for all my transgressions, and grant me atonement for all my sins" (Lev. R. 3:3); while another states: "My God, before I was formed, I was of no worth, and now that I have been formed, it is as if I had not been formed. I am dust in my life, how much more in my death. Behold I am before Thee like a vessel full of shame and reproach. May it be Thy will that I sin no more, and what I have sinned wipe away in Thy mercy, but not through suffering" (Yoma 87b).

Ashamnu ("We have incurred guilt"), a confession of sin listing sins in alphabetical order known as *Viddui Katan* ("Small Confession"), and **Al Ḥet* ("For the sin which we have committed before Thee"), known as *Viddui Gadol* ("Great Confession"), are first mentioned in geonic liturgy. To the sins enumerated, additions have gradually been made to include all possible transgressions, since the repentant individual may have forgotten some of the sins which he is required to mention explicitly. Confessions, being formulated as communal prayers, are thus recited in the first person plural, "We have sinned, transgressed, and rebelled," and a worshiper may confess all the sins stated even when certain that he did not commit some of them (Isserles to Sh. Ar., OḤ 607:2). These confessional prayers are not only recited on the Day of Atonement, they also form part of the **Seliḥot* services during the weeks preceding the Day of Atonement. Under the influence of the Kabbalah, *Ashamnu* was introduced into the daily service; in the Sephardi-Oriental, the Italian, and the Yemenite rites it is recited on Mondays and Thursdays only, and in the ḥasidic rite daily. The former custom is observed in most Israeli synagogues. Conservative and Reform rites have retained the confession-of-sins prayers, particularly as part of the High Holidays services.

Individual Confessions

Confession of sins also extends beyond the synagogal sphere and can be said by individuals during silent prayer and on diverse occasions. Confession, whether collective or individual, is always made directly to God and never through an intermediary, but some 16th-century kabbalist ascetics confessed sins to each other. The most important occasion for individual confession is on the deathbed. The Talmud advises that a person who is seriously ill should be exhorted to confess his sins (Shab. 32a), and a criminal about to be executed is also urged to confess. If he is unable to compose his own confession, he is prompted to say, "May my death be an expiation for all my sins" (Sanh. 6:2), and when he is too weak to recite the confession, it should be read to him (Shab. 32a). While no special form of deathbed confession existed in ancient times, a formula has become customary (see *Death). The dying person, if he is still conscious and has the strength to do so, recites the Day of Atonement confession in the singular. A brief confession, formulated in the 13th century but which is of much earlier origin, is also recited (Hertz, Prayer, 1064). It is also customary for a bridegroom to recite the Day of Atonement confession at the afternoon service before his wedding, with the wedding day being considered a sort of judgment day for the bride and groom.

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CONFINO, MICHAEL (1926–), Israeli historian. Confino's research work encompasses social, economic, and intellectual history, with emphasis on comparative history, agrarian problems, collective psychology of social groups, the structure of societies under the Old Regime, the revolutionary movements, and the evolution of the Jewish community in Bulgaria. He was born in Sofia, Bulgaria, and immigrated to Israel in 1948. From 1951 until 1953 he was *aliyah* emissary in North Africa and in 1960 in the U.S.S.R. He studied at the University of Sofia, the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, and the Sorbonne. In 1959 he joined the Faculty of Humanities of the Hebrew University and was the founder and the first chairman of the Department of Russian Studies from 1964 until 1969. In 1970 he joined Tel Aviv University and founded the Russian and East European Research Center and was its first director between 1970 and 1977. From 1980 until 1995 he held the Samuel Rubin Chair of Russian and East European History and Civilization. He was visiting professor at many universities in the United States, France, and Italy. During his academic years, Confino was president of the Israel Association for Slavic Studies, a member of the executive committee of the International Association for Slavic and East European Studies, vice chairman of the executive board and member of the scientific committee of the Yitzhak Rabin Center for Israel studies, president of the Scientific Council, and member of the Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities. He was also involved in the Documents of Soviet History series (1995–2004). Confino wrote numerous books and scholarly articles, including *Domaines et Seineurs en Russie à la Fin du XVIIIe Siècle* (1963), *Daughter of a Revolutionary: Natalie Herzen and the Bakunin-Nechaev Circle* (1974), *Il Catechismo del Rivoluzionario* (1986), *From Saint-Petersburg to Leningrad: Essays in Russian History* (in Hebrew, 1993), and *The Power of Words and the Frailty of Reason: Propaganda, Incitement and Freedom of Speech* (Heb., 2002). In 1993 he was awarded the Israel Prize in history and in 2003 he was awarded the EMET Prize for art, science, and culture.

[Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

CONFISCATION, EXPROPRIATION, FORFEITURE. Confiscation is mentioned once in the Bible as a quasi-criminal sanction against disobedience to lawful orders (Ezra 10:8). Relying on this precedent, the rule was enunciated that courts are empowered to expropriate (*hefker bet din*; Git. 36b, Yev. 89b); and the power of the courts to impose pecuniary penalties – apart from fines, the amounts of which are already prescribed (e.g., Ex. 21:32; Deut. 22: 19, 29) – is derived from this general power of expropriation (MK 16a). This power was regarded as necessary, as the authority given to Ezra and his courts to impose pecuniary punishments (Ezra 7:26 – rendered in the AV as punishment of "confiscation of goods") is presumed to have derived from Persian and not from Jewish law. Thus, even legally prescribed penalties were already increased by talmudic courts in severe cases, e.g., for recidivists (BK 96b); and in post-talmudic times ample use was made of this expropriatory power in the judicial campaign against lawlessness and violence (Maim. Yad, Sanhedrin 24:6; ḤM 2). A talmudic source seems to indicate that semi-confiscatory powers for punitive purposes could also be vested in non-judicial authorities, e.g., a Temple inspector who found a guard asleep on duty was authorized to burn his clothing (Mid. 1:2), an authority said to be derived from the expropriatory powers of the courts (*Piskei ha-Rosh, ibid.*). In later times it was held by some scholars that the townsfolk (*benei ha-ir*) or the seven notables (*shivah tuvei ha-ir*), exercising both legislative and quasi-judicial functions in the prevention of and fight against crime, were by virtue of this expropriatory power also customarily authorized to impose pecuniary sanctions (*Rema* ḤM 2).

Judicial expropriations were not, however, confined to criminal or quasi-criminal sanctions. They were also used for public utility purposes on the authority of Joshua and the elders of his time who redistributed the land among the tribes and families (Josh. 19:51). Such redistribution presupposed not only the power to divest an owner of some of his property, but also the power to vest that property in someone else – while punitive confiscations need not, according to some scholars, result in the confiscated property being vested in anybody else (*Shitah Mekubbeẓet* BK 100a). But while punitive confiscation presupposes some guilt or blameworthiness on the part of the owner (Tos. to Yev. 90a), public utility expropriations could also lawfully deprive innocent persons of their property (Resp. Akiva Eger 105). In the perspective of legal history, the most important use made of the expropriatory powers of the court was quasi-legislative. This use is best illustrated by some examples: thus, the legal rule that a lost chattel is to be returned to the claimant although he cannot formally prove his ownership, provided he satisfies the finder as to his bona fides by means of tokens (distinctive marks, *simanim*), was explained as an expropriation by the court of any rights in the chattel in favor of the claimant (BM 27b and Rashi *ibid.*). Also, a disposition by a son of his father's property before the latter's death, in payment of his father's debts or other responsibilities, was validated as an authorized disposition of money expropriated by the court for these purposes (BM 16a). Dispositions by infants of property in their hands were – if they were to their benefit – validated as authorized dispositions of expropriated property vested in the court, where the infants were legally incapable of disposing of their own property (Git. 59a and Tos. to Git. 40b s.v. וכתב). Hillel's famous law reform, the Prosbul, which made all debts recoverable notwithstanding their remission under biblical law (Deut. 15:2), was later sought to be explained and justified by the expropriatory powers of the court (Git. 36–37). In all these (and many similar) cases, the expropriatory powers of the court were invoked in theory only, by way of legal fiction, and mostly ex post facto: the rules were not established by their actual exercise by any given court but were explained and justified by the mere existence of those powers, which, had they actually been exercised in any particular case calling for the application of the rules, could have brought about the desired result (see also *takkanot).

These powers were also used to do justice in particular and individual cases: for instance, by purporting to expropriate an amount of money from a defendant and vesting it in a plaintiff, the court exercised a jurisdiction based on law, even where there was no law under which the plaintiff could have claimed that money (cf. Maim. Yad, Sanhedrin 24:6). Or, marriages lawfully contracted which could not (but should) otherwise be dissolved – as, e.g., the marriage of a girl abducted from under her canopy (see *Abduction) – were invalidated by retroactively expropriating from the bridegroom the money (the ring) with which he had married the bride (Yev. 110a, cf. Yev. 90b). Similarly, it was sought to validate the will of a wife, if she bequeathed her estate to a third party, by retroactively expropriating the husband's right to inherit from his wife (Resp. Asheri 55:10). A judgment already enforced, though founded on an error, was upheld because of the special circumstances of that case, on the strength of the expropriatory powers of the court (*Tummim* 25; *Milḥamot* Yev. 37b). The same consideration may have led the court to leave a widow in undisturbed possession of her husband's estate, which she had unlawfully but in good faith appropriated to herself (TJ, Ket. 9:3, 33a and Kid. 1:3, 159d).

Finally, there are expropriatory powers vested in the king (or other head of the state; cf. Ezek. 45:8 and 46:18). According to biblical law, these powers appear to have been unlimited (cf. Eccles. 2:4 and 8; I Sam. 8:14), whereas under talmudic law they were limited to the king's military and road-building requirements, although the king alone decided what these requirements were (Sanh. 2:4). The story that Ahab could not buy Naboth's vineyard without the owner's consent and had to have recourse to unlawful means to attain it (I Kings 21) is explained by some scholars to the effect that since he could not purchase the land, as was his desire, in view of the refusal of Naboth to sell, he exercised his legal right of confiscation (*Haggahot Maimoniyyot* to Melakhim 4:6). Nevertheless, the claim of the king to the vineyard after Naboth's death could not be based on the royal right to forfeiture of lands and goods of persons executed by royal decree, because Naboth was executed by judicial process and as such his lawful heirs inherited (Sanh. 48b). The claim of Ahab is therefore made to depend on the fact that as a nephew of Naboth, he was in fact such an heir (Tosef., Sanh. 4:6). The law was eventually codified to the effect that the king was not allowed to confiscate money or goods (and, *a fortiori*, lands) without paying compensation for them, and if he did confiscate without this, it was sheer plunder (Maim. Yad, Melakhim 3:8); for everything that he expropriated he had to pay fair compensation (*ibid.*, 4:3, 6).

In modern legal terminology, "confiscation" and "forfeiture" usually indicate expropriations without compensation (such as smuggled goods), while the term "expropriation" is normally reserved for acquisitions for public purposes against payment of compensation.

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[Haim Hermann Cohn]

CONFLICT OF LAWS (also called Private International Law) is a branch of the law dealing with the adjudication of a matter which involves some foreign element, for instance, the fact that one of the parties is a foreign citizen, or that the matter at issue arose, wholly or in part, in another country – as in the case of a contract signed in one country and breached in another – and the like. Where there is a conflict of laws, two main questions arise: does the forum in question have jurisdiction to deal with the matter; if it has jurisdiction, what law shall be chosen to apply to the matter? The choice of laws available to the forum include the following main possibilities: (1) The personal law (*lex personalis*) by which the plaintiff or defendant is governed; the personal law may be determined either by the law of the party's place of domicile (*lex domicilii*) or by his national law (*lex ligeantiae*); (2) the law of the place where obligation was established, for instance, the place where the contract was concluded (*lex actus; lex loci contractus*); (3) the law of the place where the legal act is to be carried out, for instance, the fulfillment of a contract (*lex loci solutionis*); (4) the law of the place of situation of the property forming the subject matter of the dispute (*lex situs*); (5) the law of the place of situation of the forum seized of the dispute (*lex fori*). (See A.V. Dicey and J.H.C. Morris, 1967/8.)

This entry is arranged according to the following outline:

- **In Jewish Law**
- **Multiplicity of Legal Rules**
  - CONCERNING THE LAWS OF MARRIAGE
  - CONCERNING THE LAWS OF DIVORCE
  - CONCERNING LABOR LAW
  - CONCERNING THE LAWS OF PARTNERSHIP, LAND TENANCY (*ARISUT*), ETC.
- **Conflict of a Factual-Legal Nature**
  - CONCERNING BONDS OF INDEBTEDNESS
  - CONCERNING THE *KETUBBAH*
- **Jewish and Non-Jewish Parties to the Same Suit**
  - **Conflict of Laws: Principles Where the Foreign Law Is Applicable**
    - DISTINGUISHING BETWEEN MATERIAL AND PROCEDURAL LAW
    - *LEX DOMICILII* AS OPPOSED TO *LEX SITUS*

In Jewish Law

The subject of the conflict of laws is not a defined branch of Jewish law. This is attributable to a substantive quality of Jewish law, namely that it is a personal law purporting to apply to each and every Jew, wherever he may be – even if outside the territorial bounds of Jewish sovereignty or autonomy. For this reason the mere fact that a contract is concluded in one country but is to be fulfilled in another is of no consequence in Jewish law. Moreover, Jewish law – for the substantially greater part of its history – has functioned as a legal system generally enjoying Jewish judicial autonomy but not Jewish political sovereignty (see *Mishpat Ivri); the result has been that in suits before the Jewish courts both parties have usually been Jews, with little occasion for questions of conflict of laws to arise in relation to the personalities of the litigants (although there are isolated *halakhot* in this regard; see below).

Nevertheless, the fundamental problems that arise in the field of the conflict of laws occur also in Jewish law, in which they derive from two material phenomena of this legal system. One is the multiplicity of diverse customs in regard to the same subject, a fact expressed in the doctrine, "all is in accordance with the custom of the country" (*ha-kol lefi minhag ha-medinah*; see below). This multiplicity was already in evidence in talmudic times and became increasingly pronounced from the 10th century onward, when in the different centers of Jewish life hegemony was no longer exercised by a single center over the whole Diaspora, thus leading to the enactment of numerous local ordinances (see *Takkanot*, especially *Takkanot ha-Kahal*), to the spread of new *customs, and to much local decision (see Mishpat Ivri). The natural outcome of this phenomenon was the problem of choosing between the different laws, for instance, when the matter at issue arose partly in one place and partly in another, not between Jewish law and other law, but between diverse customs and *takkanot* within the Jewish legal system. The second phenomenon which brought about the problem of conflict of laws in Jewish law has been the contact between Jewish law and secular law; from this contact there evolved the doctrine of *dina de-malkhuta dina ("the law of the land is law"), and pursuant to it the creation of a number of rules pertaining to the field of the conflict of laws.

Multiplicity of Legal Rules

The existence of varying rules deriving from different customs and *takkanot* on a particular legal subject is to be found in various fields of the law. Wherever this reality exists and the various stages of a legal obligation have to be fulfilled in different places where varying rules are practiced in regard to such obligation, the question arises whether to apply to the obligation, the law that is customary at the place and time of its establishment, or that which is customary at the place and time of its fulfillment, or any other law.

CONCERNING THE LAWS OF MARRIAGE. Even in ancient times varying local customs had evolved and were practiced concerning the pecuniary relations between spouses. In regard to the amount of *dowry, R. Simeon b. Gamaliel adopted the rule of "all in accordance with the custom of the country" (Ket. 6:4), and the *halakhah*, with reference to both the *ketubbah* and the dowry, was determined as follows: "a marriage without condition is transacted in accordance with the custom of the country; also the wife who has agreed to contribute (i.e., a dowry to her husband) must do so in accordance with the custom of the country, and when she comes to recover her *ketubbah* she recovers what is contained therein in accordance with the custom of the country; in all these and similar matters the custom of the country is an important principle and must be followed, but such custom must be widespread throughout the country" (Yad, Ishut 23:12; Sh. Ar., EH 66:11). Thus there were different customs concerning a widow's right to lodging and *maintenance from the estate; the custom in Jerusalem and Galilee was to make the continuation of this right a matter of the widow's choice, and only if she preferred to claim her *ketubbah* would her right to maintenance and lodging become forfeited; in Judea the custom was to leave the choice with the deceased's heirs, and if they offered to pay the widow's *ketubbah*, she would forfeit the right to maintenance and lodging (Ket. 4:12); the people of Babylonia and environs followed the custom of the Judeans, and those of Nehardea and environs followed the custom of the Jerusalemites and Galileans (Ket. 54a).

This diversity of custom created problems relating to the conflict of laws. In the case of a woman of Maḥoza (in Babylonia) who was married to a man from the area of Nehardea, it was decided that she was governed by the law as customary in Nehardea, i.e., that the deceased's heirs could not deprive her of her rights by paying her *ketubbah* as mentioned (Ket. 54a). In a case in the 13th century, husband and wife were from separate towns and married in a third town; in each of the three places different customs prevailed concerning the financial obligations between spouses. Since the latter had not themselves defined these in the *ketubbah*, Solomon b. Abraham Adret decided that the custom to be followed in their case was that of the place of celebration of the marriage, if that was where they intended to live, otherwise the custom of the place where they intended to live; if they had not decided on the place of residence, the custom at the place where the husband was resident was to be followed, since in law the husband determines the place of residence (Tosef., Ket. 13:2; Ket. 110a–b) – "for he marries in accordance with the conditions at his own place of residence, whereto he takes her" (Resp. Rashba, vol. 1, no. 662 and cf. vol. 3, no. 433). The same conclusion was reached by other scholars on the basis of the talmudic rule concerning the woman of Maḥoza who married a man from Nehardea (Nov.Ritba, Ket. 54a; see also *Beit Yosef* EH 66, toward the concl.; Resp. Maharashdam, ḤM no. 327) and thus the *halakhah* was decided – "if a person married a woman from a certain place with the intention that she live with him at his place, the custom of his place is to be followed" (*Rema* to EH 66:12). In a 17th century decision it was determined that since the amount of the *ketubbah* was 500 gold coins in Lithuania and 400 gold coins in Poland, "the custom of the place of marriage is not followed but only that of the place of domicile" (*Ḥelkat Meḥokek* 66, n. 46 and *Beit Shemu'el* 66, n. 27); moreover, the customary law of their chosen *domicile was held to be applicable to the parties even if they had agreed that they would settle there two or three years after their marriage (*ibid.*, 66, n. 46), and opinions were divided on the question whether to follow the custom of the place of marriage or that of the place of intended domicile in the event that the husband died before their having settled in the latter place (*ibid.; Beit Shemu'el*, 66, n. 27).

Some scholars held the opinion that the customary law of the place of celebration of the marriage governs the financial obligations between spouses: "a matter must be dealt with only according to [the law of] the place where the *ketubbah* was written, the husband having only undertaken liability therefore in accordance with the law of such place" (Resp. Ribash, no. 105). It was similarly decided in regard to differing customs deriving from the different communal *takkanot* relating to heritage of the dowry on the wife's death: "in all places local custom is followed, and even if they did not stipulate at the time of marriage, they are considered to have done so, for everyone who marries does so in accordance with the custom; even if he went to a place where the custom of the communities is not practiced, the law of the place where he married her is followed" (*Rema* to EH 118:19, based on Resp. Ribash, no. 105). Clearly, if the parties expressly stipulated that the custom of the husband's place of residence be followed, their position would be governed accordingly (see *Ḥelkat Meḥokek* to EH 118:19 and *Beit Shemu'el*, 118 n. 26, in which manner the apparent contradiction between Isserles' statements, here and in EH 66:12, is reconciled).

A dispute waged between prominent 16th-century scholars centered around the claim of Hannah Gracia Mendes – one of the *anusim (Marranos) from Portugal who had reached Turkey, where they openly reembraced Judaism – for half of her husband's estate, in accordance with the custom in Portugal, the place of celebration of the marriage. The dispute concerned the validity of an undertaking made at the time of marriage which was not celebrated in accordance with Jewish law; otherwise, however, all agreed that she was entitled to succeed in her claim in accordance with the law in practice in Portugal even if this was not the law in Turkey where the hearing took place (*Avkat Rokhel*, nos. 80–81; Resp. Maharashdam, ḤM no. 327; Resp. Maharibal 2:23; see also Civil Appeal 100/49, in *Pesakim shel Beit ha-Mishpat ha-Elyon*, 6 (1951/52), 140ff.). In Israel the rabbinical court has accepted the opinion of the scholars who held that the law of the place of celebration of the marriage must be applied – even if on the basis of *halakhah* the marriage is invalid. In the case of a Jewish couple who had emigrated from Russia, having been married in Russia in a *civil marriage ceremony only, in 1942, and were seeking a divorce before the above court, it decided that their common property should be divided in accordance with the law in practice in Russia in 1942 regarding the division of property between separated spouses (PDR 5:124ff.; see M. Elon, *Ḥakikah Datit* (1968), 169–72).

Some of the scholars dealing with the Mendes matter (see above) determined, as a matter of principle, that all contracts and acquisitions of property (*kinyanim*; see *Contract and *Acquisition), made among the Marranos themselves, in accordance with the general law of their land, were to have legal validity, even after the Marranos' open return to Judaism. One of the reasons advanced for this far-reaching determination was the fact of the Marranos' interest, for the sake of proper order in business matters, in ensuring that all their commercial and economic transactions have full legal validity – "and this is as a fixed custom among them, overriding the *halakhah*" (Mabit, in *Avkat Rokhel*, no. 80; see also **Minhag*). Of particular interest is a reason advanced by Samuel de Modena, paralleling one of the general principles in the field of the conflict of laws: "for if it were otherwise, none of the *anusim* who came from there [from Portugal and Spain to Turkey] would be able to live; if the transactions they had with each other there in accordance with local custom but not according to the law of the Torah, were now reopened; this is plainly inconceivable; as regards everything that was done there, we must say: what is done is done, from now on a new reckoning" (Resp. Maharashdam, ḤM no. 327).

CONCERNING THE LAWS OF *DIVORCE. An illustration of the conflict of laws in the above field, arising in Spain in the 13th century in regard to a *takkanah* prohibiting the divorce of a wife against her will, is to be found in the responsa collection of Solomon b. Adret (vol. 4, no. 186). At that time this *takkanah* was not followed everywhere in Spain, and the question arose whether a wife could be divorced against her will in the event that the *takkanah* was in force at the place of celebration of their marriage but not at the place to which they later moved – where the divorce proceedings were taking place – Solomon b. Adret replied: "for anyone marrying at a place where a wife cannot be divorced except with her consent is so bound, and he marries her in the knowledge that he cannot divorce her except with her consent … and even if he takes her away from the place of their marriage … to another place, he may not divorce her except in accordance with the custom of the place of their marriage."

CONCERNING *LABOR LAW. In this field, too, there evolved different local customs, and the rule, "all in accordance with the custom of the country," (BM 7:1) was applied with particular reliance on the principle that "custom overrides the *halakhah*" (TJ, BM 7:1; see also *Minhag). This diversity naturally led to cases of conflicting laws. The Mishnah records that there were places where it was customary for laborers to go to work early in the morning and return late in the evening, while in other places they did not set out so early or return so late (BM 7:1). In the Jerusalem Talmud it is stated that it was not customary for the people of Tiberias to start early and finish late, but this was the case with the people of Beth-Maon; it was stipulated that residents of Tiberias hired as laborers in Beth-Maon must act in accordance with the custom in Beth-Maon and laborers from Beth-Maon hired in Tiberias must act in accordance with the custom in Tiberias – i.e., that the determining law is the law of the place of fulfillment of the obligation; nevertheless, if an employer from Tiberias should hire in Beth-Maon laborers to work in Tiberias, they must start early and finish late according to the custom in Beth-Maon because the fact that the employer does not hire laborers in Tiberias, but comes specially to Beth-Maon for this purpose, proves his intention to find laborers who will start early and finish late, and it is as if he expressly agreed to such effect (TJ, BM 7:1).

CONCERNING THE LAWS OF PARTNERSHIP, LAND TENANCY (ARISUT), ETC. Instances of differing and conflicting customs are mentioned also in fields of the civil law such as partnership (BB 1:1, 2), lease, and land tenancy in return for a share of the crop (*arisut*; BM 9:1), etc. (see *Lease and Hire). In these cases too it was laid down that the custom of the place where the obligation is established must be followed (Resp. Rashba, vol. 1, no. 662). Of interest is the conflict of laws principle laid down in a responsum of Simeon b. Ẓemaḥ Duran, 14th-century scholar of North Africa, in relation to a business partnership (*Tashbeẓ* 2:226). A dispute between one partner and the others concerning distribution of the partnership profits was brought before "a certain merchant who adjudicated between them," i.e., a lay judge adjudicating in accordance with the trade custom and not Jewish law. In an appeal before Duran against this decision, Duran held that the merchant's judgment did not conform with that required to be given in accordance with Jewish law; the contention of the partners who succeeded in the first instance, that the matter was originally brought before a merchant-judge in accordance with the local trade custom and that his decision was binding on the parties, was answered by Duran to this effect: the custom in question, although followed in the locality where the partners then found themselves, was not in existence at the place where the partnership was established, hence the local custom of the former place, i.e., the place of operation of the partnership, was not to be applied to their case, but the matter had to be dealt with in accordance with the custom at the place of establishment of the partnership.

Confict of a Factual-Legal Nature

A conflict of laws, in the wider sense of the term, may arise not only when there are in operation divergent legal methods at the various stages of an obligation, but also when there exists, at these various stages, a divergence of legal facts.

CONCERNING BONDS OF INDEBTEDNESS. When a bond specifies a particular currency which is in circulation in two countries, but its value is greater in one country than in the other, the rule is that the amount stated is payable in accordance with the value of the currency in the country where the bond was drawn up and not its value in the country where the bond is presented for payment: "When a person seeks to recover payment of a bond from his neighbor, then, if it is recorded as having been written in Babylonia – he recovers in Babylonian currency; if in Ereẓ Israel, he recovers in the currency of Ereẓ Israel; if there is no qualification in the bond, then, if he seeks to recover in Babylonia – he recovers in Babylonian currency, and if he seeks to recover in Ereẓ Israel – he recovers in the currency of Ereẓ Israel" (Tosef., Ket. 13 (12):3 and BB 11:3; according to the version in Ket. 110b; Yad, Malveh 17:9; Sh. Ar., ḤM 42:14). The *posekim* were divided based on the reasoning for the second part of the above rule; some of them expressed the opinion that the bond is recovered according to the currency value at the place where the bond is presented for payment, because it is presumed that the bond was drawn up at the place where it is presented for payment; but if the presumption is rebutted, by proof that the bond was drawn up elsewhere, it will be payable according to the currency value at the latter place (Yad and Sh. Ar., loc. cit.; *Sefer ha-Terumot* 54:1); other *posekim* explained the rule on the basis that in the circumstances in question, the parties intentionally omit any mention in the bond of the place where it is drawn up in order that the amount be payable according to the currency value at the place where the bond shall be presented for payment, and, according to this explanation, the currency value will always be as determined at the place of presentation of the bond for payment (Ran to Alfasi, end of Ketubbot; pupils of R. Jonah, in *Shitah Mekubbeẓet*, Ket. 110b; Nov. Ritba Ket. 110b; see also *Kesef Mishneh* Malveh 17:9; *Rema* ḤM 42:14 and *Siftei Kohen* thereto, n. 34).

CONCERNING THE KETUBBAH. A similar problem was discussed in relation to payment of the amount specified in the *ketubbah*, in a case where the parties had married in Ereẓ Israel and were being divorced in Cappadocia (a country in Asia Minor which was famous for its coin mint – see S. Lieberman, *Tosefta ki-Feshutta*, 6 (1967), 389), and the same currency was in circulation in both countries, although at different values (Ket. 13:11; see also Tosef., Ket. 110b and BB 11:3). The scholars who differed from R. Simeon b. Gamaliel were of the opinion that the *ketubbah* and a bond of indebtedness were subject to different rules (Ket. 13:11). In regard to the substance of the difference, the opinions stated in the Jerusalem Talmud differ from those in the Babylonian Talmud. According to the former, the value of the currency was higher in Ereẓ Israel than in Cappadocia, and in respect of the *ketubbah* – a right of the wife flowing from the Torah, according to these scholars – the scholars were always careful to see that it was received by the wife according to the higher value, i.e., according to the value in Ereẓ Israel, even if the marriage took place in Cappadocia (TJ, Ket. 13:11). In the Babylonian Talmud it is held that the currency value was lower in Ereẓ Israel than in Cappadocia, and as far as concerned the *ketubbah* – in the opinion of these scholars a right given the wife by rabbinic enactment and not law (see *Oral Law and Written Law (*Torah)) – it was more leniently regarded by the scholars than any other bond of indebtedness, and therefore it was held to be payable in accordance with the currency in Ereẓ Israel, i.e., according to the lower value, even if the marriage took place in Cappadocia (Ket. 110b). R. Simeon's opinion, according to both Talmuds, was that the *ketubbah* was subject to the same law as any other bond of indebtedness (according to the Babylonian Talmud because in his view the *ketubbah* was an obligation of biblical law; according to the Jerusalem Talmud because it was an obligation of rabbinical law), and it was always necessary to pay according to the currency value at the place of establishment of the obligation, i.e., the place where the marriage took place.

It may be noted that the same problem was discussed in principle in relation to other halakhic matters. Thus it was established that a person transporting – other than in Jerusalem – second tithe fruits from a cheaper to a more expensive area, or vice versa, had to redeem the fruits according to their value at the place of redemption and not as valued at the place from which they were brought (Ma'as. Sh. 4:1; see also Ned. 8:4 in TB and TJ; see also *Domicile). For the validity of documents drawn up in non-Jewish courts, see *Shetar.

Jewish and Non-Jewish Parties to the Same Suit

According to a *baraita* of the talmudic law, if in a suit between a Jew and a gentile, before a Jewish court, there exists the possibility of favoring the Jew either according to the general law or according to the Jewish law, then this should be done by the court (BK 113a; cf. Sif. Deut. 16; Yad, Melakhim 10:12). This *halakhah* is quoted in the Talmud in the context of heavy and arbitrary tax quotas imposed on the Jews (see *Taxation); it is also to be understood as a reciprocal measure, i.e., as a reaction to the unequal treatment afforded Jews in the gentile courts (in like manner to the *halakhah* in BK 4:3, see BK 38a – "because they did not take upon themselves the seven *Noachide laws"; see also Albeck and other commentators to the Mishnah and *Gemara*, loc. cit.). Thus in the 13th century it was laid down that "at any rate this [the foregoing] was not said in regard to those who follow a defined religious faith; if they come before us to be adjudged, their way shall not be barred in the slightest manner, but the law shall cleave the mountain, whether in his favor or against him" (i.e., whether in favor of the Jewish or gentile party – *Beit ha-Beḥirah* BK 38a; and this is also the interpretation given in other similar cases: *Beit ha-Beḥirah* BK 37b–38a and Av. Zar., 3a, 6b, 22a, 26a). This talmudic *halakhah* is still quoted in Maimonides' *Mishneh Torah* but in the later Codes, such as the *Arba'ah Turim* and the Shulḥan Arukh it is not mentioned at all. The very discussion of this *halakhah* ceased to be of any practical significance since the non-Jewish party was not subject to the jurisdiction of the Jewish courts and acted in accordance with the general law (in many places the central government would appoint a special judge to deal with suits between Jews and non-Jews; see, e.g., Baer, Spain, 1 (1961), 51, 83, 87, 115, 131, 310; 2 (1966), 66; *Beit Yisrael be-Polin*, ed. by I. Heilprin, 1 (1948), 58f.).

From various talmudic *halakhot* it may be deduced that in a legal transaction involving both a Jewish and a non-Jewish party, the latter acted in accordance with the foreign law – a fact that was calculated, in certain cases, to influence the manner in which the issue was decided. Thus the following problem is discussed in the Talmud: the debtor dies leaving *orphans; thereupon the surety pays the creditor before notifying the orphans of the fact of payment and then seeks to recoup this payment from the orphans (see *Suretyship). The surety's haste in paying the debt without prior approach to the orphans arouses suspicion of a conspiracy, i.e., the possibility that the debtor had paid the debt before he died in order to avoid a claim against the orphans, and that the surety and creditor conspired to recover the debt a second time, from the orphans, so as to share the money (BB 174b). In the course of the talmudic discussion the opinion is expressed that the above-mentioned suspicion only arises in the event that the creditor is a Jew, for the reason that in Jewish law the creditor must first have recourse to the debtor – hence the debtor's fear that the creditor might have recourse to the orphans and his decision to forestall this possibility by paying the debt; however, in the case of a non-Jewish creditor, there would be no reason to suspect that the debtor paid the debt during his lifetime, since according to Persian law, to which the creditor was subject, the latter might have direct recourse to the surety, and the debtor would know that the creditor was going to do so and not have recourse to the orphans (BB 174b; the contrary opinion expressed here also takes cognizance of the fact that in Persian law the creditor may claim directly from the surety). Hence it was decided, in Spain in the 14th century, that when the law applicable to the non-Jewish creditor is identical to Jewish law, the case of the latter will be no different from that of a Jewish creditor (*Maggid Mishneh* Malveh 26:6). Also recorded is the case of a non-Jew who hypothecated his courtyard to a Jew, which he then sold to a Jew (see BM 73b; Yad, Malveh 7:6; Sh. Ar., YD 172:5).

Conflict of Laws; Principles Where the Foreign Law Is Applicable

From application of the doctrine of *dina de-malkhuta dina*, rules are often derived (see above) which may serve as guiding principles in the field of the conflict of laws, of which the following two examples may be noted.

DISTINGUISHING BETWEEN MATERIAL AND PROCEDURAL LAW. Elijah b. Ḥayyim, head of the Constantinople rabbis at the end of the 16th century, determined that even in the case where Jewish law is subject, by virtue of the doctrine of *dina de-malkhuta dina*, to the foreign law, it is subject only to the material and not the procedural part of such law; hence the laws of evidence are always to be applied in accordance with Jewish law – i.e., the *lex fori*, which is the intrinsic law absorbing the foreign law. The case under discussion (Resp. Ranaḥ no. 58) concerned the question of *imprisonment for debt. Elijah b. Ḥayyim held that even on the assumption that the doctrine of *dina de malkhuta dina* was applicable (according to the accepted view, this could not have been the case since the question of personal freedom is a matter of the ritual law (*issur ve-hetter*) to which the doctrine is not applicable), only the material provision of the law of the land was to be applied, i.e., the provision that a defaulting debtor was to be imprisoned if he had the means to pay, but not otherwise; however, the mode of inquiry into, and proof of, the debtor's financial position had to accord with Jewish law. Hence Elijah b. Ḥayyim concluded that in a case where it was not satisfactorily proved, in accordance with the foreign law, that the debtor lacked the means of paying this debt, but according to the rules of evidence in Jewish law, there was adequate proof of the debtor's lack of means to make payment, then the debtor was to be treated as such and could not be imprisoned (see M. Elon, *Ḥerut ha-Perat* (1964), 164 n. 200).

LEX DOMICILII AS OPPOSED TO *LEX SITUS*. The validity of a *will executed by a Marrano Jew in Majorca was the subject of a dispute between two 14th-century halakhic scholars, Isaac b. Sheshet Perfet and Simeon b. Ẓemaḥ Duran (Resp. Ribash nos. 46–52; *Tashbeẓ* 1:58–61). The testator bequeathed his estate to his daughters on condition that the estate pass to his wife on their death. When the daughters died, the civil court decided that the estate was to pass to the testator's widow in accordance with the will, and called on all persons holding estate assets to restore such to the widow. The heirs of the daughters challenged the will on the ground that in Jewish law, in such circumstances, the estate belonged to the natural heirs of the deceased beneficiary ("Inheritance has no interruption" – BB 129b; Sh. Ar., ḤM 248:1) and called for restoration of the estate assets to themselves. Bar Sheshet held it to be correct that the heirs of the daughters would succeed to the estate if the will "had been executed amongst Jews at a place where they judged according to Jewish law"; however, he added, "the testator was living in Majorca presumably as a gentile and the wife claiming under the will, as well as those claiming to inherit by virtue of kinship are also presumed to be living there as gentiles, and even as Jews they have been required to be adjudged in accordance with the law of the gentiles; for this has always been their practice of their own will; how then shall one of the parties go to a far place to be adjudged in accordance with Jewish law? Let them come before their own judge in Majorca, namely the bailus (*gizbar*), and whoever shall succeed and be held by the bailus to be entitled to the testator's property shall be the heir." Thus Bar Sheshet regarded the *lex domicilii* as the law which was intended by the testator to apply to the will and all concerned therewith, so that none of the possible heirs, or beneficiaries under the will, were entitled to demand that the validity of the will be judged according to any other law.

Duran took a different approach, determining at the outset that Jewish law continued to apply to all the parties, even though they had been Marranos (for the opinions of Mabit and Maharashdam in the matter of Gracia Mendes see above). He added, however, that even if the doctrine of *dina de-malkhuta dina* was applicable to the case, the fact remained that "the rulers of the land are concerned only with the property in such land"; and in regard to property outside of Majorca (i.e., North Africa in this case) "on the contrary, we must say that the same law is not to be applied on account of this very doctrine in order that the government of the land in which the property in issue is situated shall not be particular – when there are in such land those who have a claim of right – about the fact that the latter lose their right because of the opposing law of another land." In his opinion therefore the *lex situs*, the law of the place of situation of the property, was the proper law applicable to assets in a foreign country, and not the law of the place of domicile of the testator and beneficiaries, and since at the place of situation of the property there were those who claimed it in accordance with Jewish law, this law, being the *lex situs*, as well as the *lex fori*, was to be applied (see also *Public Authority; as for the interpretation of privilege granted by the central government to the Jewish community, see Resp. Ribash no. 228).

Further to our comments above (under "Concerning the Laws of Marriage") there is a noteworthy decision of the Israel Supreme Court, the *Miller* case, given in accordance with Jewish Law on the subject of conflict of laws (*Miller v. Miller* – CA 100/49, 5(3) PD 1305).

The *Miller* case involved an appeal against a District Court decision requiring the estate of the deceased husband to pay a fixed monthly amount to the respondent throughout the period of her widowhood. The deceased was British and his wife had also acquired British citizenship on the basis of her marriage to him. The deceased was a Jew, who had closed his business in England and immigrated to the Land of Israel (pre-State), where he remained, without leaving, for 13 years. These and other facts led the District Court to the conclusion that the Land of Israel was his permanent place of residence and that, accordingly, given that his personal law was Jewish law, the applicable law was therefore the law applying to Jews in the Land of Israel, namely, Jewish Law, which requires the estate to pay maintenance to the wife even if the husband provided otherwise in his will. In this case, the deceased was wealthy, and the wife was hence awarded a sizable monthly payment.

Counsel for the estate argued, inter alia, that even under the assumption that the decedent's place of residence was the Land of Israel, in view of the fact that the deceased was a British subject, the domestic court must put itself in the place of the British court and determine what the latter would have ruled in such a case: i.e., would British law have transferred jurisdiction in this matter to the place of residence. Because English Law does not recognize a cause of action in this case, the English court would not have transferred the matter for the adjudication of an Israeli court.

Justice Y. Olshan rejected this argument, citing an English decision in the matter of *De Nicols v. Curlier,* in which the facts were similar to those of the case under discussion. In that case, two French citizens married in France and moved to England, where the husband died; the House of Lords held that the French law regarding joint ownership of property was applicable, despite the fact that the English law did not recognize such rights for the widow. Regarding this issue, Supreme Court Justice Prof. S. Assaf cited the above-mentioned case of Gracia Mendes, which is astonishingly similar to those of the *De Nicols* case, as follows:

> By the way, it should be noted that a case very similar to the *De Nicols* case … is found in our Responsa literature from the middle sixteenth century, namely, the famous case involving Hannah Gracia Mendes and her younger brother-in-law. The case was brought before the halakhic scholars of the time in Turkey and in Israel, and the most important responsa are those of Rabbi Samuel of Medina (*Maharashdam*), the leading rabbi of Saloniki … and that of Rabbi Moses Mitrani, the Rabbi of Safed (*Hamabit*).

Justice Assaf also presented in detail the contents of the above-mentioned responsa, ending with the above-mentioned responsum of the Rashba, to the effect that the wedding should be performed in accordance with the law of the place in which it is performed

ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY: M. Elon, *Ha-Mishpat ha-Ivri* (1988), 1:10, 58ff., 70f., 189f., 556f., 600, 711, 760; 2:1088, 1238f.; 3:1485ff.; idem., *Jewish Law* (1994), 1:9f., 64f., 78f., 212f.; 2:677, 743, 878; 3:1311, 1482f, 1766f.; idem., *Ma'amad ha-Ishah* (2005), 290f.; M. Elon and B. Lifshitz, *Mafte'aḥ ha-She'elot ve-ha-Teshuvot shel Ḥakhmei Sefarad u-Ẓefon Afrikah*, 1 (1986), 48; B. Lifshitz and E. Shochetman, *Mafte'aḥ ha- She'elot ve-ha-Teshuvot shel Ḥakhmei Ashkenaz, Ẓarefat ve-Italyah* (1997), 33.

[Menachem Elon (2nd ed.)]

CONFLICT OF OPINION (Heb. מַחֲלֹקֶת, *maḥaloket*; Aram. *pelugta*; Palestinian Aram. *taflugta*).

General

Rarely did a view in the Talmud go unchallenged, since every talmudic scholar was entitled to his own opinion, even if it conflicted with that of his greatest contemporaries (BK 43b). Consequently the Talmud is replete with undecided controversies. However, this was not always so. For the Jerusalem Talmud (Ḥag. 2:2, 77d; cf. Sanh. 88b; et al.) states that: At first there was no *maḥaloket* in Israel, except over the issue of ordination (**semikhah*). Then Shammai and Hillel arose (see *Bet Hillel and Bet Shammai) and they differed on four issues (cf. Tos. to Ḥag. 16a). When, however, the disciples of Shammai and Hillel grew numerous, and did not wait upon their masters sufficiently, *maḥaloket* became rife in Israel. They divided into two schools, the one declaring (something) ritually impure, while the other declared (it) pure and it (i.e., unanimity of opinion) will not return to its place until the Son of David come (cf. Eduy. 8:7). Thus from the early first century C.E. on, undecided controversies became more common, often represented by opposing schools, e.g., Hillel and Shammai, Rav and Samuel, Abbaye and Rava, etc. Occasionally, a later controversy was attributed to "pre-*maḥaloket*" personalities, even to King Saul and David (Sanh. 19b; see Urbach in bibl. and p. 54 n. 49).

The rabbis appreciated the value of positive controversy, expressing it thus: Only a *maḥaloket* which is for the sake of heaven (*le-shem shamayim*), such as those of Hillel and Shammai, will in the end be of lasting worth; one which is not for the sake of heaven, such as that of *Korah and his company, will not in the end be of lasting worth (Avot 5:17).

Rules of Controversy

Though everyone was entitled to argue his own views, there are certain rules determining which kinds of dissenting opinions are permitted. Thus a *tanna* (a sage of the mishnaic period) cannot express a view that runs counter to a biblical passage. Similarly, an *amora* cannot contradict a Mishnah or accepted *baraita*, unless he cites another tannaitic source to support his contention. However, the early *amoraim* Rav and Johanan had the right to contest mishnaic opinions (Er. 50b).

Rules of Decision

Scattered throughout the Talmud are rules on how to decide practically between differing opinions. The following are general rules: In all cases the view of the majority overrules that of the minority (Ber. 9a; et al.). If one Mishnah recorded a controversy of two *tannaim*, and a later one in the same order recorded one of those opinions anonymously (*setam*), then the opinion of the latter Mishnah is to be followed (Yev. 42b). In matters of mourning the lenient ruling is to be preferred (MK 18a); likewise in rabbinic institutions (Beẓah 3b).

Particular rules (tannaitic and amoraic) are recorded on how to decide in the case of a tannaitic controversy. Thus, with certain exceptions, Hillel's rulings are accepted in preference to those of Shammai (Er. 13b). Eliezer b. Jacob's Mishnah is *kav ve-naki* ("small in compass, but trustworthy," Yev. 49b). As Eliezer b. Hyrcanus was a *shammuti* (either "under a ban," or "a Shammaite") his views were not usually followed (Shab. 130b). Decisions of Simeon b. Gamaliel, except for three cases (Git. 38a), and likewise those of R. Judah ha-Nasi (BB 124b; cf. Pes. 27a) are always followed. Akiva and Yose b. Ḥalafta are followed rather than their opponents (Er. 46b, 51a), and Meir is followed in his *gezerot* ("decrees," Ket. 57a), but not in matters involving reasoning, as his reasoning was too subtle (Er. 13b). In a *maḥaloket* between Judah b. Ilai and either Meir or Simeon, Judah is followed, but in all laws of the Sabbath Simeon is followed (Shab. 157a). Nathan's rulings are always binding (BK 53a).

The following rules apply with regard to amoraic controversies: In civil law Rav's views overrule those of Samuel; in religious law, the reverse is the case (Bek. 49b; et al.). Similarly with R. Naḥman and R. Sheshet (Ket. 13a; cf. BK 96b; Sanh. 5a; et al.). In all controversies between Rav and Johanan, except three, Johanan is followed (Beẓah 4a). Likewise Johanan's views overrule those of Resh Lakish, in all but three cases (Yev. 36a). Rabbah's opinion prevails over that of R. Joseph in all but three cases (Git. 74b), and Rava's opinion over that of Abbaye in all but six cases (BM 22b). Perhaps the most important rule to be formulated in post-talmudic times was that of *halakhah ke-vatra'ei*, that is: wherever two *amoraim* are in conflict, and nowhere is it stated which opinion is to be followed, that of the later *amora* takes precedence (see e.g., B.M.Lewin (ed.), *Iggeret R. Sherira Ga'on* (1921), 38). There are many more such rules, but they do not apply where the Talmud expressly states the *halakhah* (Er. 46b). A considerable literature discussing these rules has grown up since the geonic period, such as *Seder Tanna'im ve-Amora'im* (1839) and *Mavo la-Talmud* of Samuel Hophni, attributed to Samuel ha-Nagid (Constantinople, 1510).

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[Daniel Sperber]

CONFORTE, DAVID (1617 or 1618–c. 1690), rabbi and literary historian. Conforte was born in Salonika into a well-known Sephardi family of rabbis and scholars. He studied rabbinics and Hebrew grammar with the leading rabbis of his time and Kabbalah with teachers in Jerusalem and Salonika. Conforte left Greece for Jerusalem in 1644, stopping for about a year in Cairo, where he studied in the *bet midrash* of Abraham Skandari, and for some time in Gaza with Moses b. Israel Najara. He stayed in Jerusalem for two years, returned to Salonika in 1648, and in 1652 once more to Jerusalem where he founded his own *bet midrash*. In 1671 Conforte was rabbi in Cairo, where Mordecai b. Judah ha-Levi was chief rabbi; the latter mentioned him several times in his responsa *Darkhei No'am* (1697–98). Conforte's major work was *Kore ha-Dorot*. The manuscript was published in Venice in 1746 by David Ashkenazi without mentioning the author's name, and it is uncertain whether the author or the publisher gave the work its title. A new edition with a biographical introduction, notes, and registers was published by David Cassel (1846, repr. 1945 and photo reprint 1969). *Kore ha-Dorot* is a chronicle of authors and works from post-talmudic times until the author's own. For the material up to 1492, he leaned heavily on his medieval predecessors' works: Abraham *Ibn Daud's *Sefer ha-Kabbalah*, Abraham *Zacuto's *Sefer Yuḥasin*, and Gedaliah *Ibn Yaḥya's *Shalshelet ha-Kabbalah*. He supplemented the information in these works with material taken partly from manuscripts that have since been lost. Conforte was the first to prepare an alphabetical list of scholars of the Tosafist period; it was supplemented in 1845 by L. Zunz in his *Zur Geschichte und Literatur* (pp. 30–60) with the help of Jehiel Heilprin's *Seder ha-Dorot* (1769). Though subsequent research findings supersede some of Conforte's information, his work remains important for the biography and times of Jewish authors and leaders. *Kore ha-Dorot* is especially important for its information about Sephardi scholars who lived in Mediterranean countries in the 16th and 17th centuries. The author knew many of them personally or received reliable information about them from descendants. He also diligently extracted names of scholars from the responsa of his time. Conforte's information on Ashkenazi scholars, however, is sketchy and sometimes wrong.

A volume of Conforte's responsa is lost, but a single responsum is preserved in the manuscript responsa collection of his contemporary Moses Judah *Abbas. Gabriel Conforte, mentioned in the same collection and in Aaron Alfandari's *Yad Aharon*, may have been his son.

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[Moshe Nahum Zobel]

CONGREGATION (Assembly). A variety of terms are employed in the Bible for "the people of Israel" in its social, military, and sacral capacity. The most common are: "Israel," "the people" (*ha-ʿam*), "the assembly" (*ha-qahal*), "the congregation" (*ha-ʿedah*), "the children of Israel" (*benei Yisrael*), and "the men of Israel" (*'ish Yisrael*). These terms denote not the total population but the institutionalized body of Israel, that is, a given group acting on its behalf. This may be deduced from the fact that the expressions mentioned sometimes alternate with "the elders of Israel" or "the elders of the people." For example, according to Exodus 12:3, Moses is commanded to address "the congregation of Israel" (*ʿadat Yisrael*) in connection with the Passover sacrifice, while in the following passage (12:21ff.) describing Moses' address, it is the "elders of Israel" (*zikenei Yisrael*) who are addressed (see Mekh., Pisḥa 3:11; cf. also Ex. 19:7 with 19:8; 17:5–6 with Num. 20:7; II Sam. 17:4 with 17:14). The terms discussed are used synonymously and often occur together without any possibility of distinguishing between them. In Judges 20–21, when all the tribes unite following the crime of the Gibeathites, the acting body of the Israelites is named: "the assembly," "the congregation," "the children of Israel," "the people," "the assembly of the people of God," "the men of Israel," and "the elders of the congregation." Similar expressions occur in the narrative concerning the division of the kingdom (I Kings 12): "the assembly of Israel," "all Israel," "children of Israel," "all the people," and "the congregation."

This ambiguous use of terms in connection with social institutions is characteristic of the entire area of Mesopotamia and Syria-Palestine, and is particularly conspicuous in documents from the second half of the second millennium B.C.E. The representative institutions of the cities of Syria-Palestine at the period of Israel's penetration into the area are designated by "town [*ālu*] of N," "the men [*amēlu*] of N," "the sons [*mārú*] of N," and "the assembly" or "council" (*mwʿd*). Furthermore, the interchange of "the elders" with "the congregation," which appears in the Bible, also occurs in these documents, where "the elders" (*šibūtu*) seem to be identified with "the town" (*ālu*), or the two may overlap (cf., e.g., el-Amarna Letter no. 100). As in the Bible, so also here the author may use different designations for the same representative body in the same document. A similar type of flexibility exists in the tribal-patriarchal vocabulary. The terms "clan" (*mishpaḥah*), "family" (*bet 'av*), and "tribe" (*shevet*) are interchangeable (Num. 17:17; Josh. 22:14; Judg. 13:2; 17:7; 18:19) and may even enter the semantic range of "people" and "nation" (Gen. 12:3; Jer. 33:24; Amos 3:1). However, in documents of the ancient Near East, as well as in the Bible, each of the various terms for the social institutions also has a more precise, literal meaning, but the exact interpretation of the term is always dependent on the context. For example, when the subject is a large crowd, the term *qahal* is more suitable than the others; when the author refers to a small group of representatives, as in Leviticus 4:13, he uses "the elders of the congregation," and in a clearly military context the term *ʾish Yisrael* is employed. The same applies to the tribal-patriarchal vocabulary. Although the terms for family, clan, and tribe overlap, the literal sense of each was strictly preserved when it was necessary to distinguish between the various units in the tribal hierarchy (Josh. 7:14–18; I Sam. 10:19–21). The choice of terminology was also dictated (if the documentary hypothesis is accepted), by the different scribal traditions. In the three major strands of the Pentateuch, the source JE (Jahwist-Elohist) mostly employs "the elders of Israel," the Priestly Code *ʿedah*, and Deuteronomy *qahal*.

Qahal and ʿEdah: Etymology and Semantics
Although *ʿedah* and *qahal* seem to be synonymous, they actually have different nuances: *qahal* (perhaps related to *kol (qol*, "voice"); cf. the usage of *qrʾ, ṣʿq, shmʿ* for "summon") is used in a more general sense and refers to a multitude of nations (Gen. 28:3; 35:11; 48:4), to hordes (Num. 22:4; Jer. 50:9; cf. Ezek. passim) and to masses (e.g., I Kings 8:65; Ps. 22:26). *ʿEdah* (from *yʿd*, "set a time [or place] for a meeting") has a more specific sense and a sacred connotation. *Qahal* appears in all strata of biblical literature and applies to all periods of Israelite history. *ʿEdah* mainly occurs in a sacerdotal context and is restricted to the pre-monarchic period. Its last occurrence in the historical literature is in I Kings 12:20, in connection with the division of the kingdom. Together with *ʿedah*, the term *iʾsh Yisrael* went out of use, as did the patriarchal terms "the heads of the tribes" (*rashei ha-maṭṭot*) and "the heads of the contingents of Israel" (*rashe ʾalfei Yisrael*). This fact, together with the absence of *ʿedah* in the books of Chronicles and Ezra-Nehemiah, militates against the view (e.g., of Wellhausen and Rost) that this term was coined in the post-Exilic community. When referring to Israel, *qahal* encompasses the entire population: men, women, strangers, etc. (Jer. 44:15; cf. Deut. 31:12), while *ʿedah* denotes the indigenous, mostly arms-bearing population (cf. Judg. 20:2). The laws which apply to the *ʿedah* do not apply to strangers; when the legislator wants to impose the law on the resident and the stranger alike, he makes *qahal* subject to the law (Num. 15:15).

ʿEdah: Character and Functions
In its classical sense the *ʿedah* is the assembly of the arms-bearing male population (cf. the *guruš* in the Sumerian cities and *ṣābē nagbātī* in the Hittite kingdom), and hence its military character. It connotes (especially in the Book of Numbers) a military camp moving to its goal, the Promised Land, and consisting of 12 tribes, each tribe having its place of encampment, standard, and ensigns (Num. 2:2). The center of the camp is the "Tent of Meeting" (*ʾohel moʿed*) containing the Holy Ark, which guides the people on its way. To set the divisions in motion, signals are given by priests blowing two silver trumpets (Num. 10:1–8). The conscription of the *ʿedah* is done by a census (Num. 1); the enrolled are men from the age of 20 years and upward, who are able to bear arms (cf. Judg. 20:2). A census is also carried out in connection with the casting of lots for the division of the land (Num. 26), and sometimes involves the collection of money for the building of the tabernacle (Ex. 30:11–16). The description of the congregation and the tabernacle is very schematic and utopian, with the result that the picture as a whole appears anachronistic. However, it should not be regarded as pure fiction. The organization of the tribes has prototypes in the tribal-patriarchal society of the nomadic West Semitic tribes, as reflected in the documents from *Mari, the area that seems to have been the cradle of the Patriarchs. Like the tribes of ancient Israel, those of Mari were organized on the basis of clans and households (cf. *betʾav* with *bīt abi* and *abu bīti*) and were ruled by elders (*šibūtu*) and chieftains (*sugagu*). Their military units were based on gentilic principles, and like the tribes of Israel, they lived in tents and encampments (*nawûm*). The census played an important role there and occurs in the context of conscription and division of the land as in ancient Israel. A portable sanctuary is used by the Bedouin in their nomadic way of life, and there is no justification for the denial of the existence of the tabernacle during the wanderings of the tribes in the desert. The reality of the tribal life of the Israelites is reflected in the story of the Danites' search for land for their settlement. Like "the children of Israel" in the desert, the Danites lived in a camp (cf. 600 armed men, Judg. 18:11, with the 600 *ʾelef* men in Ex. 12:37), and on their march acquired divinatory objects and a priest. Also like the "children of Israel," they sent men to spy out the land that they planned to conquer. In light of the last analogy, too sharp a line should not be drawn between the *ʿedah* of the period of the wanderings and that of the judges. Since classical stories concerning the *ʿedah* refer to the time of the wanderings in the desert, which involved preparations for the conquest, its military character prevails. However, the *ʿedah*, as the ruling body of the nation, also functioned in a judicial, political, and sacral capacity. In this respect it was not different from the so-called primitive democracies in ancient Mesopotamia and Homeric Greece. The *ʿedah* was convened in the following cases: (1) Breach of covenant with God, i.e., violations of the basic religious principles of the congregation, such as blasphemy (Lev. 24:14ff.; cf. I Kings 21:9ff.), desecration of the Sabbath (Num. 15:33ff.), violation of the taboo (*ḥerem*, Josh. 7), major cultic deviation (Josh. 22:9ff.), and grave immoral behavior (Judg. 19–21). (Cf. also Deut. 13:10–11; 17:5, in connection with pagan worship, and Ezek. 16:40; 23:46, in connection with fornication, although the last examples do not refer to the tribal assembly, but rather to the city assembly; see below.) In all these cases, the assembly acts in its judicial as well as its executive power; (2) Holy gatherings and religious ceremonies, such as Passover sacrifice (Ex. 12:47; Num. 9:2), covenantal gatherings (Lev. 19; cf. Deut. 4:10; Ex. 24:3–8, Deut. 31:12), and holy days and sacred occasions (e.g., Ex. 23:17; Lev. 23:4ff.); (3) Political affairs: concluding treaties with foreign nations (Josh. 9:15–21), appointing a leader or a king (Num. 27:2; I Sam. 8:4; 10:17; 11:14; 12:1; I Kings 1:39; 12:1, 20; cf. II Kings 11:17), and proclaiming war (Josh. 22:9ff.; Judg. 20:1ff.; cf. I Kings 20:7ff.

"the elders of the land"); (4) Tribal-patriarchal affairs: inheritance and division of the land (Num. 27:1–11; Josh. 18:1–10; cf. Micah 2:5); and (5) National crisis or natural calamity (Ex. 16:2–3; Num. 14:1–10; 17:6–7; 20:2; 25:6).

The parallel democratic institutions in ancient Mesopotamia (*puḫrum*), the old Hittite Kingdom (*pankuš*) and ancient Greece (βονλή) were convened for similar reasons, and like the ʿ*edah* in Israel, the democratic institutions there decreased in importance as the kingdom became more stable. With respect to religious crimes, the ʿ*edah* has more affinities with Hittite and Greek institutions. The assemblies in Greece and among the Hittites were summoned in cases of violation of major religious laws, stealing of sancta, etc. In Greece transgressors of the last type were put under the ban (κατάρατος, "accursed"), as were transgressors in ancient Israel (Deut. 27:11–26). The ban involved excommunication either through execution or exile, punishments which seem to correspond in some way to "cutting off from the congregation" (Ex. 12:19) or from the assembly (Num. 19:20) in the Bible. The classical ʿ*edah* convened at "the entrance of the Tent of Meeting" (*petaḥ ʾohel moʿed*). The word *moʿed* ("meeting") refers to the meeting of God with Moses and the congregation (e.g., Ex. 25:22; 29:43–44; 30:36), but it also has the sense of assembly (Num. 16:2) and is so attested to in Phoenicia (Byblos; "The Journey of Wen Amon") and in Ugaritic literature (*pḫr mʿd*, in reference to the divine assembly). It is therefore possible that in one of the stages of its development, the *ohel moʿed* also carried the meaning of "the tent of the assembly." As already indicated, the power of the ʿ*edah* decreased with the growth of the monarchy. However, a revival of the concept ʿ*edah* occurs in the Dead Sea sectarian scroll of the "War of the Children of Light against the Children of Darkness." This sectarian community at the end of the Second Temple period saw itself as the true and ideal Israel living in the desert, and patterned itself after the congregation of the Exodus generation. Although the specific connotation of the ʿ*edah* as the tribal assembly was gradually lost, the concept ʿ*edah* continued to be employed in the sense of the local court or tribunal (cf. the Akkadian *puḫrum* in the cities of Babylonia; see, e.g., Code of Hammurapi, 5:202). Thus in Proverbs 5:14, *qahal* and ʿ*edah* are the public places of judgment; the same meaning is ascribed to the expressions "to stand up in the congregation" (*qum ba-*ʿ*edah*) in the documents from Elephantine and "I stand up in the assembly [*qamti ba-qahal*] and cry" in Job 30:28. It would seem that some of the features of the later city assembly were projected by the priestly author upon the ancient tribal assembly, and similarly, characteristics of the city influenced the description of the camp of the Israelite tribes. For example, according to the law of the cities of refuge in Numbers 35, the ʿ*edah* established the right of the slayer to refuge (35:12, 24–25), whereas in the parallel law in Deuteronomy 19, it is the elders of the city who act in this case (19:12). Therefore, the ʿ*edah* in the priestly account (according to the documentary hypothesis) is apparently none other than the judicial body of the city where the homicide occurred. By the same token, when the priestly legislator prescribes that those afflicted with severe skin disease shall live outside the camp (Lev. 13:45–46; cf. Num. 5:1–4), he apparently alludes to the Israelite city, which kept those afflicted outside its walls (II Kings 7:3ff.). The *ohel moʿed* in the priestly literature, according to Kaufmann, reflects the local sanctuary of the later Israelite city.

See also *Dead Sea Sect; *Manual of Discipline; *War Scroll.

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[Moshe Weinfeld]

CONGRESS FOR JEWISH CULTURE, organization devoted to the promotion of secular Jewish culture and the recognition of Yiddish as an indispensable means of Jewish creative expression. Founded in New York in September 1948 at a world conference convoked by American Yiddish cultural agencies and Jewish labor organizations, and participated in by delegates from similar organizations in other lands, the Congress for Jewish Culture set for itself the following basic objectives: to preserve the continuity of Jewish cultural creativity; to foster Jewish education through Yiddish and Yiddish-Hebrew schools; to assist in the publication of literary and scholarly works in Yiddish; and to protect the cultural freedom of the Jews wherever their right to maintain and develop their own culture is threatened. The work of the congress since inception has been in line with these objectives. The congress is a loose confederation of organizations bearing the same names in different parts of the world. Among the publications that appeared from its main center in New York are a number of volumes of Yiddish poetry and fiction by writers who perished during the Nazi Holocaust or were executed in the Soviet Union; a lexicon of Yiddish literature and press; a two-volume encyclopedia of Jewish education; and a series of books containing selected works of leading Yiddish writers. It has granted a number of awards for outstanding literary accomplishments. Through its department of education, the Congress seeks to coordinate the activities of the various types of Jewish secular schools. Closely allied with the Congress, although operating independently, are the Yiddish monthly **Zukunft* and CYCO (Central Yiddish Culture Organization). The affiliates of the Congress outside the United States, while cooperating in the activities of the main center, conduct programs of their own. Most prominent is the Congress of Jewish Culture in Argentina, which brought out a Yiddish translation of Dubnow's history of the Jewish people and the complete history of Jewish literature by I. Zinberg. The congress has its own house in Buenos Aires. Some of the activities of the Congress were financially supported in the past by the *Conference on Jewish Material Claims against Germany. When funds were no longer available from that source, the congress was forced to curtail activities.

[Charles Bezalel Sherman]

CONNECTICUT, one of the six New England states located in the N.E. section of the United States. The earliest reference to a Jew in Connecticut is found in connection with an entry on November 9, 1659, in the General Court in *Hartford, of one named "David the Jew" who was arrested for peddling. Shortly thereafter, in 1661, reference is made to Jews living in Hartford in the house of one John Marsh, and the extension of permission to continue to live in "ye Town for sea[v]en months."

Little or nothing is known of the first Jewish settlers and settlements in Connecticut prior to the latter part of the 18th century and the beginning of the 19th century. Jews were settled in *New Haven as early as 1759 where a family named Pinto – the brothers Jacob, Solomon, and Abraham – were living in that year. Ezra *Stiles, president of Yale College at the time, referred to these Pinto brothers as "men who renounced Judaism and all religion"; but he also refers to a new Jewish family (unnamed), who settled in New Haven in 1771 and describes them as the "first real Jews… that settled in New Haven." He says that there were about eight or ten members in this new family and reports a Sabbath service held "by themselves" as being probably "the first Jewish worship in New Haven." Despite the seeming apostasy of the Pinto brothers, they were active patriots of the community. Jacob Pinto was reported a member of an important New Haven committee of patriots in 1775. Solomon served in the U.S. Army until he retired in 1783. Solomon was one of the original members of the Society of the Cincinnati in Connecticut, which was a short-lived group of aristocratic veteran officers of the Revolutionary War. Another brother, Abraham, also served.

There is very meager information about organized Jewish communities in Connecticut prior to the 19th century. Part of that may be due to the fact that no Jewish congregations were permitted to incorporate prior to 1843, when the Statutes were amended by the addition of the following: "Jews who may desire to unite and form religious societies may have the same rights, powers, and privileges as are given to Christians of every denomination by the laws of the State" (Revised Statutes of Connecticut, 1849, Title III, Section 149). There is no doubt, however, that groups of Jews lived in the state who would assemble for worship even without statutory permission. The first Jewish congregations on record are the Beth Israel of Hartford and Mishkan Israel of New Haven. Beth Israel in Hartford was organized in 1843, but there is reason to believe that they held services as early as 1839. Mishkan Israel, in New Haven, assembled for worship as early as December 1840. By reason of population movement to the suburbs, The Congregation Beth Israel of Hartford (its corporate name) was located in the late 1960s in the town of West Hartford, and Mishkan Israel Congregation was located in the town of Hamden.

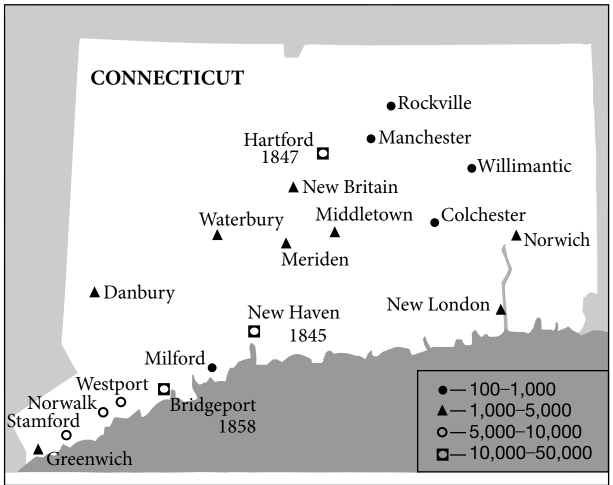

Total Jewish population of Connecticut	125,000
% of Jews in general population of Connecticut	3.2
% of Connecticut Jews in Jewish population of U.S.	1.8

Jewish communities in Connecticut and dates of establishment. Population figures for 2001.

The Jewish population of Connecticut grew with the influx of Jews from overseas. Thus, it is estimated that in 1877 there were 1,492 Jews in Connecticut; in 1905, 8,500; in 1917, 66,862; in 1927, 91,538; and in 1937, 94,080. In 1969 it was estimated that the Jewish population of Connecticut was approximately 105,000. In the beginning of the 21st century, there were more than 125,000 Jews residing in the state. Out of 50 states in the U.S., Connecticut was ranked 10th highest for Jewish population.

The largest growth was in the Southern part of Connecticut, considered suburbs of New York City, mostly around the Westport and Greenwich areas. It is axiomatic that the closer to New York Connecticut residents live, the more they see themselves as part of the New York community though they affiliate locally with congregations, institutions, and organizations.

According to the Jewish Federation of the Western Communities of Connecticut, the most recent growth trend has been an increase of Jewish population in the western part of Connecticut, around Litchfield Co. The increase is better than 10%. The town of Waterbury, in western Connecticut, saw especially large growth in the Orthodox community after Yeshiva Gedolah opened its doors in 2000. In five years, membership grew to include 75 families and 175 students. Students come from all over the U.S. and the world. Yeshiva Gedolah anticipated membership growth of well over 30% in 2006. National grocery chains in the area responded by stocking kosher items for their new clientele.

The largest Jewish population in Connecticut was in Greater Hartford with 34,000 Jews. In the early 1900s, Hartford saw an influx of Jewish immigrants from Eastern Europe and at one point during the 20th century Hartford had at least 13 synagogues in the city. After World War II, Jews moved from Hartford to the suburbs and subsequently no synagogues remained in downtown Hartford. The second largest Jewish community is in Greater New Haven.

In the past, business was the major source of Jewish livelihood. Jews then moved into the professions as lawyers, doctors, and academics, and into real estate, mostly commercial. Two major real estate developers are both Holocaust survivors, David Chase and Simon Konover, with statewide and national developments.

Community Life

Connecticut had nine Jewish Federations and JFACT, Jewish Federation Association of Connecticut, a statewide government affairs office. The ADL and AJC both had statewide offices in Connecticut. The *Jewish Ledger* was a statewide Jewish newspaper. Around the state there were also 130 synagogues, six Jewish community centers (four big ones and two smaller ones in Sherman and Litchfield), three Jewish nursing homes, eight Jewish Family Service Offices, 13 Jewish day schools, and the Hebrew High School of New England. Connecticut saw a growth in Jewish day school enrollment throughout the state.

Jewish community centers were housed in splendid facilities, and the federations for the collection of philanthropic contributions were active. Mt. Sinai Hospital of Hartford was the only Jewish hospital in the state. B'nai B'rith was also active.

Connecticut Jews have played a distinguished role in the economic, social, political, and cultural life of the state. Herman P. *Koppelmann of Hartford (1933–38, 1941–43) and William M. Citron (1935–38) of Middletown served in the U.S. House of Representatives. Abraham A. *Ribicoff, who represented Connecticut in the House of Representatives (1945–52), was a member of the U.S. Senate (1962–1981), and governor of Connecticut (1955–61). Many Jews in the course of the years have served in the state legislature and on all levels of the judiciary. M. Joseph Blumenfeld of West Hartford was a Federal Court judge. Justices Samuel Melitz of Bridgeport and Abraham S. Bordon and Louis Shapiro of West Hartford served on the Supreme Court of Connecticut. Some men served as mayors of their communities, as U.S. referees in bankruptcy, and as Federal attorneys. In 2005, 14% of CT's State senators were Jewish (5 out of 36); they were Judith G. Freedman, Jonathan A. Harris, Edith G. Prague, Gayle S. Slossberg, and Andrea L. Stillman. Sam Gejdenson represented the greater New London area in Congress from 1981 to 2000. Born in 1948 in an American displaced persons camp in Eschwege, Germany, Gejdenson was the first child of Holocaust survivors elected to the U.S. House of Representatives. The most famous Connecticut political leader is Senator Joseph I. *Lieberman, who was first elected to the United States Senate in 1988, making him the first and only Orthodox Jew elected a senator. In 1994 he made Connecticut history by winning 67% of the vote, the largest ever in a Connecticut Senate race. In 2000, Lieberman was elected to a third term. He is perhaps best known as the Democratic candidate for vice president in 2000 and as the first Jew nominated for the position on a major party ticket. His career now spans more than three decades.

[Abraham J. Feldman / Robert Fishman (2nd ed.)]

°CONON I, one of the authors mentioned by Josephus (Apion 1:216) in the list of Greek writers who wrote in detail about the Jews. Some identify him with a writer of that name mentioned in Servius' commentary to Virgil (*Servius ad Aeneidem* 7:738), but this is doubtful. Still more doubtful is the identification of Conon with Conon II.

°CONON II (late first century B.C.E. and early first century C.E.), a mythographer, contemporary of King Archelaus of Cappadocia. Fragments of Conon's work have been preserved in the library of Photius. Among his tales is one linking the myth of Perseus' rescue of Andromeda with the town of Jaffa. This connection is in fact very old, and it can be traced to as early as the fourth century B.C.E. (in pseudo-Scylax).

CONRAD, VICTOR (1876–1962), Austrian meteorologist. Born in Vienna, Conrad studied under Josef Pernter, who offered him a post on the staff of the University of Vienna in the department of meteorology and magnetism. Conrad set up a section for the observation of electricity in the air. His results led the way to the discovery of cosmic rays several years later. In 1910, he was appointed head of the department of cosmic physics at the University of Czernowitz in Bukovina and worked there until the outbreak of World War I. With the cessation of hostilities in 1918, he returned to the University of Vienna and joined the Institute of Meteorology. Here he set up a seismographic station for the observation of earthquakes and other geophysical problems. From 1920 to 1938, he occupied himself to a large extent with bioclimatic questions. In 1926, Conrad was appointed editor of the geophysical quarterly *Gerlands Beitraege zur Geophysik*, which he edited until 1938. In the 39 volumes which appeared under his editorship, much important material on various problems in the field of geophysics was published. He also published two journals that dealt with physical-cosmic subjects and problems of applied geophysics. When the famous meteorologist Wladimir Koppen, who had settled in Austria after his retirement from the Meteorological Institute in Russia, began to publish his extensive *Handbuch der Klimatologie*, Conrad wrote the chapter on climatic elements and their dependence on terrestrial influences, which ran into a volume of over 500 pages. In 1938, when the Nazis annexed Austria, Conrad escaped to the United States in utter poverty. He lectured at the University of Pennsylvania from 1939 to 1940 and then went to Boston. There he was awarded a scholarship by Harvard University, where he remained until his death. During his years in the United States he published two works: *Fundamentals of Physical Climatology* (1942), and, together with Professor L.W. Pollak (of Dublin, Ireland), *Methods in Climatology* (1944, second edition 1950).

[Dov Ashbel]

CONRIED, HEINRICH (**Cohn**; 1848–1909), impresario. Born in Austria, he reached the United States in 1878 after a career in Germany, and directed various theaters. As manager of the Metropolitan Opera (1903–08), he achieved spectacular successes by engaging such celebrities as Caruso, Chaliapin, and Scotti, and producing operas new to the American public. He presented the first production of Wagner's *Parsifal* in the U.S. in 1903, overcoming the objections of the Wagner family, and in 1907 produced Richard Strauss's *Salome*, which aroused protests on moral grounds. He returned to Europe in 1908.

CONSERVATION.

Introduction

In consequence of the establishment in Israel of a Ministry for the Environment it is appropriate to take stock of the deep concern for the environment and its conservation which, from its earliest documents onwards, infuses Jewish tradition.

It is not our task here to analyze in detail the great ecological problems of our time or the ways in which they have recently manifested themselves in Israel, let alone to enumerate and describe the bodies, such as the Council for a Beautiful Israel, which are addressing them, or to list the contributions made by individual Jews, for instance scientists and economists, to the modern ecological movement. Rather, we seek to underpin Jewish involvement in conservation worldwide by drawing together the traditional source and highlighting their relevance to the contemporary scene.

We draw on a range of genres of traditional Jewish thought – the most distinctive is *halakhah*, or law, but history, myth, poetry, philosophy, and other forms of expression are also significant. And we must also be mindful that Judaism did not stop in the first century; it is a living religion constantly developing in response to changing social realities and intellectual perceptions. At the present time, it is passing through one of its most creative phases.

WHICH PROBLEMS ARE ADDRESSED? There is a worry prevalent today that people are destroying the environment on which living things depend for their existence. Many species are endangered as a result of human activity, the planetary climate may already have been destabilized, the protective ozone layer has been damaged, forests have been destroyed, species threatened or made extinct, and pollution in forms such as acid rain and other forms of water contamination is widespread.

Much of this destruction arises from the level of economic activity demanded by a rapidly increasing world population which is locally raising its living standards faster than ecologically sustainable levels of production.

In addition, there is a permanent worry that stockpiles of highly destructive weapons might actually be used and that the use of even a small part of the available arsenal would cause irreversible damage to the planetary environment, perhaps rendering impossible the survival of *homo sapiens sapiens* and many other species.

HOW IS RELIGION RELEVANT? It is not at first sight clear what these problems have to do with religious beliefs. After all, the only belief necessary to motivate a constructive response to them is a belief in the desirability of human survival, wedded to the perception that human survival depends on the whole interlinking system of nature. The belief is not peculiar to religions but part of the innate self-preservation mechanism of humankind; the perception of the interdependence of natural things arises not from religion but from careful scientific investigation.

Moreover, the discovery of which procedures would effectively solve the problems of conservation is a technical, not a religious one. If scientists are able to offer alternative procedures of the same or different efficiency the religious may feel that the ethical or spiritual values they espouse should determine the choice. But few choices depend on value judgments alone, and no judgment is helpful which is not based on the best available scientific information.

These considerations will be borne in mind as we examine the relevance of traditional Jewish sources to our theme.

Attitudes to Creation

GOODNESS OF THE PHYSICAL WORLD. "God saw that it was good" is the refrain of the first creation story of Genesis (chapter 1:1 to 2:4), which includes the physical creation of humankind, male and female. The created world is thus testimony to God's goodness and greatness (see Psalms 8, 104, 148).

The second "creation" story (Genesis 2:5 to 3:24) accounts for the psychological makeup of humankind. There is no devil, only a "wily serpent," and the excuse of being misled by the serpent does not exempt Adam and Eve from personal responsibility for what they have done. Bad gets into the world through the free exercise of choice by people, not in the process of creation, certainly not through fallen angels, devils, or any other external projection of human guilt; such creatures are notably absent from the catalogue of creation in Genesis 1.

Post-biblical Judaism did not adopt the concept of "the devil." In the Middle Ages, however, the dualism of body and spirit prevailed, and with it a tendency to denigrate "this world" and "material things." The Ereẓ Israel kabbalist Isaac Luria (1534–1572) taught that God initiated the process of creation by "withdrawing" himself from the infinite space He occupied; this theory stresses the "inferiority" and distance from

God of material creation, but compensates by drawing attention to the divine element concealed in all things. The modern Jewish theologian who wishes to emphasize the inherent goodness of God's creation has not only the resources of the Hebrew Scriptures on which to draw but a continuous tradition based on them.

Anthropocentrism. Certain theologians, such as Matthew Fox, are greatly exercised to replace traditional anthropocentric, fall/redemption, hence guilt-laden theologies with a "creation spirituality" of "original blessing." They invoke spirits, demons and earth goddesses, and do not rest satisfied until they have appropriated scripture itself to their purposes.

Perhaps they redress an imbalance in Catholic theology. But by what arbitrary whim do they confer authority on earth-centered Genesis 1–2:4 and deny it to people-centered Genesis 2:5–3:24? And by what further willfulness do they ignore the culmination of Genesis 1–2:4 itself in the creation of humankind in the image of God, at the apex of creation?

Do they not acknowledge that the Hebrew scriptures are a polemic against idolatry, and that the most significant feature of Genesis 1:2–4 is its denial, by omission, of the very existence of sprites, hobgoblins, demons, gods, demigods, earth-spirits, and all those motley beings that everyone else in the ancient world sought to manipulate to their advantages? There is only one power, and that is God, who is *above* nature (transcendent).

The Bible encompasses three realms: of God, of humankind, of nature. It does not confuse them. There is "original blessing" indeed – "God saw all that he had made, and it was very good" (Genesis 1:31) – but this includes people, maintains hierarchy, excludes "earth spirits," and remains subject to succeeding chapters of Genesis as well as the rest of scripture.

BIODIVERSITY. I recall sitting in the synagogue as a child and listening to the reading of Genesis. I was puzzled by the Hebrew word *le-minehu* ("according to its kind") which followed the names of most of the created items and was apparently superfluous. Obviously, if God created fruit with seeds, the seeds were "according to its kind"!

As time went on I became more puzzled. Scripture seemed obsessive about "kinds" (species). There were careful lists and definitions of which species of creature might or might not be eaten (Leviticus 11 and Deuteronomy 14). Wool and linen were not to be mixed in a garment (Leviticus 19:19; Deuteronomy 22:11), ox and ass were not to plow together (Deuteronomy 22:10), fields (Leviticus 19:19) and vineyards (Deuteronomy 22:9) were not to be sown with mixed seeds or animals cross-bred (Leviticus 19:19) and, following the rabbinic interpretation of a thrice repeated biblical phrase (Exodus 23:19, 34:26; Deuteronomy 14:21), meat and milk were not to be cooked or eaten together.

The story of Noah's Ark manifests anxiety that all species should be conserved, irrespective of their usefulness to humankind – Noah is instructed to take into his Ark viable (according to the thought of the time) populations of both "clean" and "unclean" animals.

The biblical preoccupation with species and with keeping them distinct can now be read as a way of declaring the "rightness" of God's pattern for creation and of calling on humankind not only not to interfere with it, but to cherish biodiversity by conserving species.

Scripture does not of course take account of the evolution of species, with its postulates of (a) the alteration of species over time and (b) the extinction (long before the evolution of humans) of most species which have so far appeared on earth.

Yet at the very least these Hebrew texts assign unique value to each species as it now is within the context of the present order of creation; this is sufficient to give a religious dimension, within Judaism, to the call to conserve species.

Perek Shirah. *Perek Shirah* (the "Chapter of Song," as found in large *Siddurim* (Prayer Books), particularly those of Jacob Emden and Seligmann Baer) affords a remarkable demonstration of the traditional Jewish attitude to nature and its species. The provenance of this "song" is unknown, though in its earliest form it may well have emanated from mystical circles such as those of the *heikhalot* mystics of the fourth or fifth centuries. Though occasionally attacked for heterodoxy, it is clearly rabbinic not only in its theology but even in the detail of its vocabulary and allusions.

More significant than its origin is its actual use in private devotion. It has been associated with the "Songs of Unity" composed by the German pietists of the 12th century who undoubtedly stimulated its popularity.

As the work is printed today it is divided into five or six sections, corresponding to the physical creation (this includes heaven and hell, Leviathan and other sea creatures), plants and trees, creeping things, birds, and land animals (in some versions the latter section is subdivided). Each section consists of from 10 to 25 biblical verses, each interpreted as the song or saying of some part of creation or of some individual creature. The cock, in the fourth section, is given seven voices and its function in the poem is to link the earthly song, in which all nature praises God, with the heavenly song.

We shall see in the section on hierarchy in creation that the Spanish Jewish philosopher Joseph *Albo draws on *Perek Shirah* to express the relationship between the human and the animal; yet *Perek Shirah* itself draws all creation, even the inanimate, even heaven and hell themselves, into the relationship, expressing a fullness which derives only from the rich diversity of things, and which readily translates into the modern concept of biodiversity.

STEWARDSHIP OR DOMINATION. There has been discussion among Christian theologians as to whether the opening chapters of Genesis call on humans to act as stewards, guardians of creation, or to dominate and exploit the created world. There is little debate on this point among Jewish theologians to whom it has always been obvious that when Genesis states that Adam was placed in the garden "to till it and to care for it" (2:15), it means just what it says. As Rabbi A.I. *Kook put it:

> No rational person can doubt that the Torah, when it commands people to "rule over the fishes of the sea and the birds of the sky and all living things that move on the earth" does not have in mind a cruel ruler who exploits his people and servants for his own will and desires – God forbid that such a detestable law of slavery [be attributed to God] who "is good to all and his tender care rests upon all his creatures" (Psalms 145:9) and "the world is built on tender mercy" (Psalm 89:3).

So perverse is it to understand "and rule over it" (Genesis 1:28) – let alone Psalm 8 – as meaning "exploit and destroy" (is that what people think of their rulers?) that many Christians take such interpretations as a deliberate attempt to besmirch Christianity and not a few Jews have read the discussions as an attempt to "blame the Jews" for yet another disaster in Christendom.

Hierarchy in Creation

"God created humans in His image … male and female he created them" (Genesis 1:27). In some sense, humankind is superior to animals, animals to plants, plants to the inanimate. There is a hierarchy in created things.

The hierarchical model has two practical consequences. The first is that of responsibility of the higher for the lower, traditionally expressed as "rule," latterly as "stewardship." The second is that, in a competitive situation, the higher has priority over the lower. Humans have priority over dogs so that, for instance, it is wrong for a man to risk his life to save that of a dog though right, in many circumstances, for him to risk his life to save that of another human. Contemporary dilemmas arising from this are described in the section on animal versus human life.

The Jewish philosopher Joseph Albo (in *Sefer ha-Ikkarim*, book 3, ch. 1) places humans at the top of the earthly hierarchy and discerns in this the possibility for humans to receive God's Revelation. This is just a medieval way of saying what we have remarked. God's Revelation, *pace* Albo and Jewish tradition, is the Torah, from which we learn our responsibilities to each other and to the rest of creation.

According to Albo, just as clothes are an integral part of the animal, but external to people, who have to make clothes for themselves, so are specific ethical impulses integral to the behavior of particular animals, and we should learn from their behavior. "Who teaches us from the beasts of the earth, and imparts wisdom to us through the birds of the sky" (Job 35:11) – as the Talmud put it (TB Eruvim 100b): "R. Johanan said, If these things were not commanded in the Torah, we could learn modesty from the cat, the ant would preach against robbery, and the dove against incest." The superiority of humans lies in their unique combination of freedom to choose and the intelligence to judge, without which the divine Revelation would have no application. Being in this sense "higher" than other creatures, humans must be humble towards all. Albo, in citing these passages and commending the reading of *Perek Shirah*, articulates the attitude of humble stewardship towards Creation which characterizes rabbinic Judaism.

A Divergence Between East and West?. With regard to the hierarchical model there appears to be a radical difference of approach between Jews, Christians, and Muslims on the one hand and Hindus and Buddhists on the other.

The difference may be more apparent than real. Consider the following:

> I recall that in the year 5665 [1904/5] I visited Jaffa in the Holy Land, and went to pay my respects to its Chief Rabbi [Rav Kook]. He received me warmly… and after the afternoon prayer I accompanied him as he went out into the fields, as was his wont, to concentrate his thoughts. As we were walking I plucked some flower or plant; he trembled and quietly told me that he always took great care not to pluck, unless it were for some benefit, anything that could grow, for there was no plant below that did not have its guardian [Heb. *mazzal*] above. Everything that grew said something, every stone whispered some secret, all creation sang… (Aryeh Levine, *Laḥai Roi* (Heb., 1961), 15, 16).

Rav Kook, drawing on a range of classical Jewish sources from Psalm 148 to Lurianic mysticism, and without doubt accepting the hierarchical view of creation, nevertheless acknowledges the divine significance of all things – the immanence of God. Conversely, although Buddhists and Hindus teach respect for all life they do not conclude from this that, for instance, the life of two ants takes precedence over the life of one human being; in practice, they adopt some form of hierarchical principle.

CONCERN FOR ANIMALS. Kindness to animals is a motivating factor for general concern with the environment, rather than itself an element in conservation.

Kindness to animals features prominently in the Jewish tradition. The Ten Commandments include domestic animals in the Sabbath rest, and the "seven *Noachide laws" are even more explicit. Pious tales and folklore exemplify this attitude, as in the Talmudic anecdote of Rabbi Judah the Patriarch's contrition over having sent a calf to the slaughter (TB BM 85a and *Genesis Rabbah* 33).

Causing Pain or Distress to Animals. In rabbinic law this concern condenses into the concept of *ẓa'ar ba'alei ḥayyim* ("distress to living creatures"; see Cruelty to *Animals). An illuminating instance of halakhic concern for animal welfare is the rule attributed to the third-century Babylonian Rabbi that one should feed one's cattle before breaking bread oneself (TB Ber. 40a); even the Sabbath laws are relaxed somewhat to enable rescue of injured animals or milking of cows to ease their distress. Recently, concern has been expressed about intensive animal husbandry including battery chicken production.

Meat Eating. The Torah does not enjoin vegetarianism, though Adam and Eve were vegetarian (Gen. 1:29). Restrictions on meat eating perhaps indicate reservations. Albo (*Sefer ha-Ikkarim* 3:15) wrote that the first people were forbidden to eat meat because of the cruelty involved in killing animals.

Isaac *Abrabanel (1437–1508) endorsed this ("Commentary on Isaiah" (Heb., ch. 11 on the verse "The wolf shall lie down with the lamb."), and also taught (that when the Messiah comes we would return to the ideal, vegetarian state ("Commentary on Genesis" (Heb., ch. 2). The popular trend to vegetarianism has won many Jewish adherents though little official backing from religious leaders.

Hunting. On February 23, 1716, Duke Christian of Sachsen Weissenfels celebrated his 53rd birthday by a great hunting party. History would have passed by the Duke as well as the occasion had not J.S. Bach honored them with his "Hunting Cantata." The text by Salomo Franck, secretary of the upper consistory at Weimar, is a grand celebration of nature and its priest, Duke Christian, with no sense that hunting sounds a discordant note, and the cantata includes one of Bach's most expressive arias, *Schafe können sicher weiden* ("Sheep may safely graze").

Conditions of Jewish life in the past millennium or so have rarely afforded Jewish notables the opportunity to celebrate their birthdays by hunting parties. But it has happened from time to time and led rabbis to voice their censure.

N. Rakover sums up the halakhic objections to "sport" hunting under eight heads: (1) It is destructive/wasteful (see section on cutting down fruit trees). (2) It causes distress to animals (section on causing pain and distress to animals). (3) It actively produces non-*kasher* carcasses. (4) It leads to trading non-*kasher* commodities. (5) The hunter exposes himself to danger unnecessarily. (6) It wastes time. (7) The hunt is a "seat of the scornful" (Ps. 1:1). (8) "Thou shalt not conform to their institutions" (Lev. 18:3).

From this we see that although Jewish religious tradition despises hunting for sport, this is on ethical and ritual grounds rather than in the interest of conservation.[28]

The Land and the People – A Paradigm

Judaism, both in biblical times and subsequently, has emphasized the inter-relationship of the Jewish people and its land, and the idea that the prosperity of the land depends on the people's obedience to God's covenant. For instance:

> If you pay heed to the commandments which I give you this day, and love the Lord your God and serve him with all your heart and soul, then I will send rain for your land in season…. and you will gather your corn and new wine and oil, and I will provide pasture…. you shall eat your fill. Take good care not to be led astray in your hearts nor to turn aside and serve other gods…. or the Lord will become angry with you; he will shut up the skies and there will be no rain, your ground will not yield its harvest, and you will soon vanish from the rich land which the Lord is giving you (Deut. 11:13–17).

Two steps are necessary to apply this link between morality and prosperity to the contemporary situation: 1. The chosen land and people must be understood as the prototype of (a) all actual individual geographical nations (including, of course, Israel) in their relationships with land and of (b) humanity as a whole in its relationship with the planet as a whole. 2. There must be satisfactory clarification of the meaning of "obedience to God" as the human side of the covenant to ensure that "the land will be blessed." The Bible certainly has in mind justice and moral rectitude, but in spelling out "the commandments of God" it includes specific prescriptions which directly regulate care of the land and celebration of its produce.

To sum up – the Bible stresses the intimate relationship between people and land. The prosperity of land depends on (a) the social justice and moral integrity of the people on it and (b) a caring, even loving, attitude to land with effective regulation of its use. Conservation demands the extrapolation of these principles from ancient or idealized Israel to the contemporary global situation; this calls for education in social values together with scientific investigation of the effects of our activities on nature.

SABBATICAL YEAR AND JUBILEE.

> When you enter the land which I give you, the land shall keep sabbaths to the Lord. For six years you may sow your fields and for six years prune your vineyards but in the seventh year the land shall keep a sabbath of sacred rest, a sabbath to the Lord. You shall not sow your field nor prune your vineyard … (Lev. 25:2–4)

The analogy between the sabbath (literally, "rest day") of the land and that of people communicates the idea that land must "rest" to be refreshed and regain its productive vigor. In contemporary terms, land resources must be conserved through the avoidance of overuse.

The Bible pointedly links this to social justice. Just as land must not be exploited so slaves must go free after six years of bondage or in the Jubilee (50th) year, and the sabbatical year (in Hebrew *shemittah* – "release") cancels private debts, thus preventing exploitation of the individual.

The consequence of disobedience is destruction of the land, which God so cares for that he will heal it in the absence of its unfaithful inhabitants:

> If in spite of this you do not listen to me and still defy me … I will make your cities desolate and destroy your sanctuaries … your land shall be desolate and your cities heaps of rubble. Then, all the time that it lies desolate, while you are in exile in the land of your enemies, your land shall enjoy its sabbaths to the full (Lev. 26:27–35).

If in Israel today there is only a handful of agricultural collectives which observe the "sabbath of land" in its biblical and rabbinic sense, the biblical text had undoubtedly influenced the country's scientists and agronomists to question the intensive agriculture favored in the early years of the State and to give high priority to conservation of land resources.

CUTTING DOWN FRUIT TREES.

> When you are at war, and lay siege to a city…. do not destroy its trees by taking the axe to them, for they provide you with food (Deut. 20:19).

In its biblical context this is a counsel of prudence rather than a principle of conservation; the Israelites are enjoined to use only "non-productive," that is, non fruit-bearing trees, for their siege works.

In rabbinic teaching, however, the verse has become the *locus classicus* for conserving all that has been created, so that the very phrase *bal tashḥit* (lit. "not to destroy") is inculcated into small children to teach them not to destroy or waste even those things they do not need. In an account of the commandments specially written for his son, Rabbi Aaron Ha-Levi of Barcelona (c. 1300) sums up the purpose of this one as follows:

> This is meant to ingrain in us the love of that which is good and beneficial and to cleave to it; by this means good will imbue our souls and we will keep far from everything evil or destructive. This is the way of the devout and those of good deeds – they love peace, rejoice in that which benefits people and brings them to Torah; they never destroy even a grain of mustard, and are upset at any destruction they see. If only they can save anything from being spoilt they spare no effort to do so (*Sefer Ha-Ḥinnukh*, Mitzvah 529).

LIMITATION OF GRAZING RIGHTS. The Mishnah rules: "One may not raise small cattle [i.e., sheep, goats, etc.] in the Land of Israel, but one may do so in Syria or in the uninhabited parts of the Land of Israel (BK 7:7). The history of this law has been researched, and there is evidence of similar restrictions from as early as the third century B.C.E.

The Mishnah itself does not itself provide a rationale for the law. Later rabbis suggest: (a) that its primary purpose is to prevent the "robbery" of crops by roaming animals, and (b) that its objective is to encourage settlement in the Land. This latter reason is based on the premise that the raising of sheep and goats is inimical to the cultivation of crops and reflects the ancient rivalry between nomad and farmer; at the same time it poses the question considered by modern ecologists of whether animal husbandry is an efficient way of producing food. (The rabbis of the Talmud, however, did not envisage vegetarianism and did not ban the raising of large cattle in the Land. They assumed that meat would be eaten but tried to ensure that its production would not interfere with agriculture).

AGRICULTURAL FESTIVALS. The concept of "promised land" is an assertion that the consummation of social and national life depends on harmony with the land.

The biblical pilgrim-festivals all celebrate the Land and its crops, though they are also given historical and spiritual meanings. Through the joyful collective experience of these festivals the people learned to cherish the Land and their relationship, through God's commandments, with it; the sense of joy was heightened through fulfillment of the divine commandments to share the bounty of the land with "the Levite, the stranger, the orphan, and the widow" (a frequent expression, for instance, Deuteronomy 16:11).

Specific Environmental Laws

Several aspects of environmental pollution are dealt with in traditional *halakhah*. Although the classical sources were composed in situations very different from those of the present the law has been, and is, in a continuous state of development, and in any case the basic principles are clearly relevant to contemporary situations.

WASTE DISPOSAL. Arising from Deuteronomy 23:13,14 *halakhah* insists that refuse be removed "outside the camp," that is, collected in a location where it will not reduce the quality of life. The Talmud and Codes extend this concept to the general prohibition of dumping refuse or garbage where it may interfere with the environment or with crops.

It would be anachronistic to seek in the earlier sources the concept of waste disposal as threatening the total balance of nature or the climate. However, if the rabbis forbade the growing of kitchen gardens and orchards around Jerusalem on the grounds that the manuring would degrade the local environment (BK 82b), one need have no doubt that they would have been deeply concerned at the large-scale environmental degradation caused by traditional mining operations, the burning of fossil fuels, and the like.

Smell (see also the following section) is regarded in *halakhah* as a particular nuisance, hence there are rules regarding the siting not only of lavatories but also of odoriferous commercial operations such as tanneries (TB BB ch. 2; codified, with subsequent developments, in Shulḥan Arukh ḤM, ch. 145). Certainly, rabbinic law accords priority to environmental over purely commercial considerations.

ATMOSPHERIC POLLUTION AND SMOKE. Like smell, atmospheric pollution and smoke are placed by the rabbis within the category of indirect damage, since their effects are produced at a distance. They are nevertheless unequivocally forbidden.

The Mishnah (BB2) bans the siting of a threshing floor within 50 cubits of a residential area, since the flying particles set in motion by the threshing process would diminish the quality of the air.

Likewise, the second-century rabbi Nathan ruled that a furnace might not be sited within 50 cubits of a residential area because of the effect of its smoke on the atmosphere (BB 1:7); the 50-cubit limit was subsequently extended by the *geonim* to whatever the distance from which smoke might cause eye irritation or general annoyance (S. Assaf (ed.), *Geonic Responsa*, (5689/1929), p. 32).

The Hazards Prevention Law, passed by the Israeli Knesset on March 23, 1961, contains the following provisions:

> #3 No person shall create a strong or unreasonable smell, of whatever origin, if it disturbs or is likely to disturb a person nearby or passerby.
> #4a No person shall create strong or unreasonable pollution of the air, of whatever origin, if it disturbs or is likely to disturb a person nearby or passerby.

The subjectivity of "reasonable" in this context is apparent. Meir Sichel, in a study on the ecological problems that arise from the use of energy resources for power stations to manufacture electricity, and from various types of industrial and domestic consumption such as cooking, heating, and lighting, has drawn on the resources of traditional Jewish law in an attempt to define more precisely what should be regarded as "reasonable." Citing rabbinic responsa over an 800-year period he concludes that *halakhah* is even more insistent on individual rights than the civil law (of Israel), and that *halakhah* does not recognize "prior rights" of a defendant who claims that he had established a right to produce the annoyance or pollutant before the plaintiff appeared on the scene (M. Sichel, "Air Pollution – Smoke and Odour Damage," in: *Jewish Law Annual*, 5 (1985), 25–43).

In an exercise such as Sichel's there is no difficulty in applying traditional law to the contemporary context with regard to priority of rights, and also in clarifying the relationship between public and private rights. However, it is less clear that one can achieve a satisfactory definition of "reasonable," since ideas of what is acceptable vary not only from person to person but in accordance with changing scientific understanding of the nature of the damage caused by smells and smoke, including the "invisible" hazards of germs and radiation unknown to earlier generations.

WATER POLLUTION. Several laws were instituted by the rabbis to safeguard the freedom from pollution, as well as the fair distribution, of water. A typical early source says:

> If one is digging out caves for the public he may wash his hands, face, and feet; but if his feet are dirty with mud or excrement it is forbidden. [If he is digging] a well or a ditch [for drinking water], then [whether his feet are clean or dirty] he may not wash them (Tosef. BM 11:31 (ed. Zuckermandel).

Pregnant with possibilities for application to contemporary life is the principle that one may claim damages or obtain an appropriate injunction to remove the nuisance where the purity of one's water supply is endangered by a neighbor's drainage or similar works. It is significant that the *geonim* here also rejected the Talmudic distance limit in favor of a broad interpretation of the law to cover damage irrespective of distance (cited in Sh. Ar., ḤM 155:21).

Noise. Rabbinic law on noise pollution offers a fascinating instance of balance of priorities. The Mishnah lays down that in a residential area neighbors have the right to object to the opening of a shop or similar enterprise on the grounds that the noise would disturb their tranquility. It is permitted, however, to open a school for Torah notwithstanding the noise of children, for education has priority. Later authorities discuss the limit of noise which has to be tolerated in the interest of education (Rashi on TB BB 21a), and whether other forms of religious activity might have similar priority to the opening of a school (Sh. Ar., ḤM 156:3).

BEAUTY. Much could be said of the rabbinic appreciation of beauty in general. Here we concern ourselves only with legislation explicitly intended to enhance the environment, which is rooted in the biblical law of the Levitical cities:

> Tell the Israelites to set aside towns in their patrimony as homes for the Levites, and give them also the common land surrounding the towns. They shall live in the towns, and keep their beasts, their herds, and all their livestock on the common land. The land of the towns which you give the Levites shall extend from the center of the town outwards for a thousand cubits in each direction. Starting from the town the eastern boundary shall measure two thousand cubits, the southern two thousand, the western two thousand, and the northern two thousand, with the town in the center. They shall have this as the common land adjoining their towns. (Lev. 35:2–5)

As this passage is understood by the rabbis, there was to be a double surround to each town, first a "green belt" of a thousand cubits, then a two-thousand-cubit-wide belt for "fields and vineyards." While some maintained that the thousand-cubit band was for pasture, Rashi (on TB Sota 22b) explains that it was not for use, but "for the beauty of the town, to give it space" – a concept reflected in Maimonides' interpretation of the Talmudic rules on the distancing of trees from residences (see Maimonides, Yad., Shekhenim, ch. 10).

The rabbis debate whether this form of "town planning" ought to be extended to non-Levitical towns, at least in the land of Israel, designated by Jeremiah (3:19) and Ezekiel (20:6,15), the beautiful land."

The rabbinic appreciation of beauty in nature is highlighted in the blessing they set to be recited when one sees "the first blossoms in Spring":

> You are blessed, Lord our God and ruler of the universe, who have omitted nothing from your world, but created within it good creatures and good and beautiful trees in which people may take delight [in the name of Judah bar Ezekiel (third-century Palestinian) in TB Ber. 43b; a whole chapter of Sh. Ar., OḤ 226, is devoted to it.).

Sample Ethical Problems Relating to Conservation

ANIMAL VERSUS HUMAN LIFE. Judaism consistently values human life more than animal life. One should not risk one's life to save an animal; for instance, if one is driving a car and a dog runs into the road it would be wrong to swerve, endangering one's own or someone else's life, to save the dog.

But is it right to take a human life, e.g., that of a poacher, to save not an individual animal but an endangered species? I can find nothing in Jewish sources to support killing poachers in any circumstances other than those in which they directly threaten human life. If it be argued that the extinction of a species would threaten human life because it would upset the balance of nature, it is still unlikely that Jewish law would countenance homicide to avoid an indirect and uncertain threat of this nature.

Even if homicide were justified in such circumstances, how many human lives is a single species worth? How far down the evolutionary scale would such a principle be applied? After all, the argument about upsetting the balance of nature applies equally with microscopic species as with large cuddly looking vertebrates like the panda, and with plants as much as with animals.

Judaism, true to the hierarchical principle of creation (see above), consistently values human life more than that of other living things, but at the same time stresses the special responsibility of human beings to "work on and look after" the created order (Genesis 2:15 – see section-Stewardship or Domination).

PROCREATION VERSUS POPULATION CONTROL. The question of birth control (including abortion) in Judaism is complex, but there is universal agreement that at least some forms of birth control are permissible where a potential mother's life is in danger and that abortion is not only permissible but mandatory up to full term to save the mother's life. Significant is the value system which insists that, even though contraception may be morally questionable, it is preferable to abstinence where life danger would be involved through normal sexual relations within a marriage.

What happens where economic considerations rather than life danger come into play? Here we must distinguish between (a) personal economic difficulties and (b) circumstances of "famine in the world," where economic hardship is general.

On the whole, *halakhah* places the basic duty of procreation above personal economic hardship. But what about general economic hardship, which can arise (a) through local or temporary famine and (b) through the upward pressure of population on finite world resources?

The former situation was in the mind of the third-century Palestinian sage Resh Lakish when he ruled: "It is forbidden for a man to engage in sexual intercourse in years of famine" (TB. Ta'an. 11a). Although the ruling of Resh Lakish was adopted by the codes (Sh. Ar., OḤ 240:12 and 574:4), its application was restricted to those who already have children, and the decision between abstinence and contraception is less clear here than where there is a direct hazard to life.

Upward pressure of population on world resources is a concept unknown to the classical sources of the Jewish religion and not indeed clearly understood by anyone before Malthus. As Feldman remarks:

> It must be repeated here that the "population explosion" has nothing to do with the Responsa, and vice versa. The Rabbis were issuing their analyses and their replies to a specific couple with a specific query. These couples were never in a situation where they might aggravate a world problem; on the contrary, the Jewish community was very often in a position of seeking to replenish its depleted ranks after pogrom or exile…. (*Marital Relations, Birth Control and Abortion in Jewish Law* (1974), 304)

Feldman goes on to say "It would be just as reckless to overbreed as to refrain from procreation." As the duty of procreation is expressed in Genesis in the words "be fruitful and multiply and fill the earth" it is not unreasonable to suggest that "fill" be taken as "reach the maximum population sustainable at an acceptable standard of living but do not exceed it." In like manner the rabbis (TB Yev. 62a) utilize Isaiah's phrase "God made the earth … no empty void, but made it for a place to dwell in" (45:18) to define the minimum requirement for procreation – a requirement, namely one son and one daughter, which does not increase population.

Of course, there is room for local variation amongst populations. Although as a general rule governments nowadays should discourage population growth there are instances of thinly populated areas or of small ethnic groups whose survival is threatened where some population growth might be acceptable even from the global perspective.

NUCLEAR, FOSSIL FUEL, SOLAR ENERGY. Can religious sources offer guidance on the choice between nuclear and fossil, and other energy sources?

They can have very little to say and – especially in view of the extravagant views expressed by some religious leaders – it is important to understand why their potential contribution to current debate is so small.

The choice among energy sources rests on the following parameters: (1) cost effectiveness; (2) environmental damage caused by production; (3) operational hazards; (4) clean disposal of waste products; (5) long-term environmental sustainability.

Cost effectiveness cannot be established without weighing the other factors. There is no point, however, at which religious consideration apply in establishing whether a particular combination of nuclear reactor plus safety plus storage of waste and so on will cost more or less than alternative "packages" for energy production.

It is equally clear that religious considerations have no part to play in assessing environmental damage caused by production, operational hazards, whether waste products can be cleanly disposed of, or what is the long-term environmental sustainability of a method of energy production. These are all technical matters, demanding painstaking research and hard evidence, and they have nothing to do with theology.

It is a matter of sadness and regret that extreme environmentalists are so prone to stirring up the emotions of the faithful for or against some project, such as nuclear energy, which really ought to be assessed on objective grounds. Much of the hurt arises from the way the extremists "demonize" those of whom they disapprove, and in the name of love generate hatred against people who seek to bring benefit to humanity.

GLOBAL WARMING. A very similar analysis could be made of the problems relating to global warming. The fact is that in mid-1990 no one knew the extent, if any, to which global temperatures have risen as a result of the rise in atmospheric carbon dioxide, and no one knew what would be the overall effects of the projected doubling of atmospheric carbon dioxide by the middle of the next century. Some consequences, indeed, may be beneficial, such as greater productivity of plants in an atmosphere with more carbon dioxide. Unfortunately, neither the techniques of mathematical modeling used to make the projections, nor the base of global observations at 500-kilometer intervals, can yield firm results. (See the summary provided by Robert M. White, "The Great Climate Debate," in: *Scientific American*, July 1990.)

So how can a government decide whether to spend hundreds of billions of dollars on reducing atmospheric carbon dioxide, and vast sums in aiding third world countries to avoid developing along "greenhouse" lines, when the draconian measures required greatly limit personal freedom and much of the expenditure might be better diverted to building hospitals, improving education and the like?

Essential steps, including better research, must be initiated, but it would be a lack of wisdom to rush into the most extreme measures demanded. It is clear that the decisions must be rooted in prudence, not in theology. Theology tends to absolutize and call for radical solutions where we have only relative and uncertain evidence, or conversely to commend us to faith in God when we ought to be taking initiatives ourselves.

DIRECTED EVOLUTION. After writing about the progress from physical evolution through biological evolution to cultural evolution, Edward Rubinstein states:

> Henceforth, life no longer evolves solely through chance mutation. Humankind has begun to modify evolution, to bring about nonrandom, deliberate changes in DNA that alter living assemblies and create assemblies that did not exist before.

The messengers of directed evolution are human beings. Their messages, expressed in the language and methods of molecular biology, genetics and medicine and in moral precepts, express their awareness of human imperfections and reflect the values and aspirations of their species. (E. Rubinstein, "Stages of Evolution and their Messengers," in: *Scientific American* (June 1989), p. 104.)

These words indicate the area where religions, Judaism included, are most in need of adjusting themselves to contemporary reality – the area in which modern knowledge sets us most apart from those who formed our religious traditions. Religion as we know it has come into being only since the Neolithic Revolution, and thus presupposes some technology, some mastery of nature. But it has also assumed that the broad situation of humanity is static, and this is now seen to be an illusion.

All at once there is the prospect, alarming to some yet challenging to others, that we can set the direction of future development for all creatures in our world. The Ethics Committees of our hospitals and medical schools are forced to take decisions; although the religious take part – and Judaism has a distinctive contribution to make to medical ethics – it has yet to be shown that traditional sources can be brought to bear other than in the vaguest way ("we uphold the sanctity of life") on the problems raised even by currently available genetic engineering.

Will religions, as so often in the past, obstruct the development of science? They need not. Jewish religious have ranged from Isaac Abrabanel, who opposed in principle the development of technology (see his commentary on Genesis 2), to *Abraham bar *Ḥiyya, who in the 12th century played a major role in the transmission of Greco-Arab science to the west. If Judaism (or any other religion) is to contribute towards conservation it will need to be in the spirit of Abraham bar Ḥiyya, through support for good science, rather than through idealization of the "simple life" in the spirit of Seneca and Abrabanel.

Conclusion – Religion and Conservation

Judaism, along with other religions, has resources which can be used to encourage people in the proper management of Planet Earth. We will now review the interaction of religion with conservation with special reference to the source cited.

1. We saw in the section on goodness of the physical world how Judaism interprets the created world, with its balanced biodiverse ecology, as a "testimony to God," with humankind at the pinnacle holding special responsibility for its maintenance and preservation. Certainly, this attitude is more conducive to an interest in conservation than would be emphasis on the centrality of the "next world," on the spirit versus the body, or on the "inferior" or "illusionary" nature of the material world.

2. One of the priorities of conservation at the present time is to control population so as not to exceed resources. Although Judaism stresses the duty of procreation we learned in the section on procreation versus population control that it offers the prospect of constructive approach to population planning, including some role for both contraception and abortion.

3. We have noted several specific areas in which Judaism has developed laws or policies significant for conservation. Prime among them (see the section: The Land and The People – a paradigm) were the laws regulating the relationship between people and land, for which the "chosen people" in the "promised land" is the model. Care of animals (section: Concern for Animals), waste disposal, atmospheric and water pollution, noise, and beauty of the environment were also treated in the classical sources. It would be neither possible nor fully adequate to take legislation straight from these sources; but it is certainly possible to work in continuity with them, bearing in mind the radically new awareness of the need for conserving the world and its resources as a whole.

4. Religions, Judaism included, discourage the pursuit of personal wealth. While in some instances this may be beneficial to the environment – if people want fewer cars and fewer books there will be fewer harmful emissions and fewer forests will be chopped down – there are also many ways in which poverty harms the environment – for instance, less research

and development means that such technology as remains (presumably for hospitals and other welfare matters) will be less efficient and the problems of environmental pollution less effectively addressed. Only rich societies can afford clean disposal of wastes.

5. Some religions remain strongly committed to evangelistic or conversionist aims which inhibit cooperation with people of other religions. Judaism is not currently in an actively missionary phase; some would say that it is unduly introspective, and needs to proclaim its values in a more universal context. All religions, however, must desist from ideological conflicts and espouse dialogue; conservation cannot be effective without global cooperation.

6. Mere information can motivate, as when someone who perceives a lion ready to pounce reacts swiftly. If ecological disaster were as clearly perceived as a crouching lion ideological motivation would be unnecessary. It is better that religions support conservation than oppose it, but the world would be safer if people would act on the basis of rational collective self-preservation rather than on the basis of confused and uncontrollable ideologies.

7. Several times, particularly in discussing energy sources and global warming, we had to stress the need to distinguish between technological and value judgments. Whether or not nuclear reactors should be built must depend on a careful, dispassionate assessment of their hazards; shrill condemnation of the "hubris of modern technology" merely hinders judgment, though it is right and proper that religious values be considered when an informed choice is made. Of course, the same need for objective assessment before value judgments are made applies to all other major conservation questions, such as how to reverse deforestation, control the greenhouse effect, restore the ozone layer.

8. Towards the end of the section on directed evolution we noted a characteristic religious ambivalence towards science. In the interest of conservation it is essential that the "pro-science" attitude of Abraham bar Ḥiyya, Maimonides, and others be encouraged. The extreme attitude of "simple life" proponents must be resisted. For a start, the present world population could not be supported if we were to revert to the simple life. Moreover, who would wish to do without sanitation, communications, electric light, books, travel, medical services and all those other benefits of "complex" civilization?

Finally, let us note that Judaism, like other religions, has a vital role to play in eradicating those evils and promoting those values in society without which no conservation policies can be effective. The single greatest social evil is official corruption, frequently rife in precisely those countries where conservation measures must be carried out. Next in line is drug addiction with its associated trade. But political animosities, such as those in the midst of which Israel finds itself, and which siphon off the world's resources into arms and destruction, surely head the list of human activities inimical to conservation. Religions must combat these evils and at the same time work intelligently for peace, not only between nations but among religions themselves.

For the Jewish contribution to the environmental sciences, see *Environmental Sciences. See also *Conservation.

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[Normon Solomon]

CONSERVATIVE JUDAISM (also known as **Masorti Judaism**), one of the three principal modern Jewish religious denominations, emerging, along with Reform and Orthodoxy, in the 19th-century era of emancipation.

After the denial of emancipation to Central European Jewry by the Congress of Vienna (1815), Jews found themselves frustrated in their desire to participate in the intellectual and political transformations of the day. *Reform Judaism arose as an attempt to reformulate Judaism, no longer as a comprehensive way of life and national identity, but as a western-style religion, so as to accommodate the desire of Jews to acculturate into their host societies while resisting total assimilation or conversion to Christianity. Radical and moderate wings of Reform emerged as its leaders debated the extent of changes from Jewish tradition. Zechariah *Frankel, chief rabbi of Dresden, Germany, a proponent of moderate Reform, broke with his more radical colleagues at the Rabbinical Conference of Frankfurt (1845), over the issue of retaining Hebrew as the language of prayer. Frankel called for "positive-historical Judaism." This formula connotes, first, a predisposition to accept much of the "positive," ceremonial substance of Jewish practice while allowing for moderate changes, and second, an attitude of respect for the historical nature of Judaism. The loyalties of generations of Jews to a particular practice, no less than a proof-text from an authoritative religious source, could sanctify that usage.

In 1854, Frankel concretized his conservative yet flexible approach to Judaism in a rabbinical school that he headed, the *Juedisch-Theologisches Seminar (Jewish Theological Seminary) of Breslau. Until destroyed by the Nazis in 1938, this rabbinical school trained the institutional leaders and served as a scholarly center for "Historical Judaism" in Central Europe.

In the United States

The principal development of Conservative Judaism took place in the United States. As in Germany, Conservative Judaism in the U.S. began with the creation of a school rather than of a congregational union. Developments within American

Reform Judaism strained the alliance of moderates and radicals. In a moment of high symbolism, the 1883 banquet celebrating the rabbinic ordination of *Hebrew Union College's first graduates featured a variety of nonkosher foods and became known as "the treifa banquet." In the ensuing, contentious atmosphere, the Radical Reform wing of the movement passed its 1885 Pittsburgh Platform, dismissing biblical and rabbinic rituals regulating diet and dress as anachronisms. In response, moderate rabbis and scholars, principally Sabato *Morais, Henry Pereira *Mendes, Alexander *Kohut, and Cyrus *Adler, called for the establishment of a new rabbinical seminary, more hospitable to traditional Judaism. By January 1887, the Jewish Theological Seminary Association opened in New York City, with the mandate to preserve "the knowledge and practice of historical Judaism."

Leaders of the new seminary did not seek to create a denomination; on the contrary, they hoped their school would become the unifying institution of all opponents of Reform. In addition to the moderate reformers of Sephardi or West European background, the Seminary's founders looked to secure the loyalty of the burgeoning East European Jewish population of New York. In this hope they were disappointed. Despite participating in the 1898 creation of the *Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations, Seminary leaders were not able to create a congregational base comparable to what the Hebrew Union College enjoyed in its *Union of American Hebrew Congregations. Without significant congregational support, the Jewish Theological Seminary Association endured precarious finances during its first 15 years and was compelled to reorganize in 1902, but not before graduating 14 rabbis and three *ḥazzanim*, including Joseph H. *Hertz, who became chief rabbi of the British Empire, and Mordecai M. *Kaplan, preeminent theologian and founder of *Reconstructionist Judaism.

THE SCHECHTER YEARS. Although, prior to its 1902 reorganization, the Seminary had not successfully engaged traditionalist Russian Jewish immigrants, a group of prominent Reform lay leaders envisioned that the school could yet serve to Americanize that group, and thus simultaneously preserve the Jewishness of the new arrivals and reduce the social tension occasioned by their "un-American" ways. After the death of Morais in 1897, Adler mobilized Jacob *Schiff, a supporter of the school since 1888, and his colleagues, including Louis *Marshall, to set the school on a firmer financial basis and thus produce the leadership for the successful acculturation of the children of the new immigrants. Specifically, they raised the funds to engage Solomon *Schechter as the president of the faculty of the new organization, the *Jewish Theological Seminary of America (JTS). Educated in a traditional fashion as well as in modern, rabbinical seminaries, a first-rank rabbinic scholar with a gift for popularization, an orator equally at home in Jewish sources and in the classics of English rhetoric, Schechter personally exemplified the envisioned cultural type. Under his leadership, JTS was to fulfill its mission among American Jewry by producing religiously observant and intellectually open-minded rabbis.

For his part, Schechter held to the dream of Morais, to unify the non-Reform elements of the American Jewish community. In 1913, Schechter created the *United Synagogue of America, hoping that it would encompass congregations across the traditionalist and moderate ideological spectrum. But he was no more successful in this regard than Morais, because American Jewish Orthodoxy was gaining self-definition at that same time, promoting its own Rabbi Isaac Elchanan Theological Seminary (see *Yeshiva University).

Schechter did succeed, nonetheless, in making JTS the "fountainhead" of what would become a full-fledged denomination, Conservative Judaism. He engaged a faculty of leading scholars, including Louis *Ginzberg, Alexander *Marx, Israel *Friedlaender, and Israel *Davidson and oversaw the creation of the preeminent Judaica library in America. He transformed JTS into a graduate-level program. "Schechter's Seminary," as it was widely known, graduated an increasing number of Jewish communal leaders, at first rabbis, then also teachers, after the 1909 organization of its Teachers' Institute under the leadership of Mordecai Kaplan.

THE ADLER YEARS. After Schechter's death in 1915, his successor at JTS, Cyrus Adler, systematized the school's administrative procedures and presided over the construction of its new campus – including the Jewish Museum – which opened in 1930. Adler maintained the school's ideological posture and social program, to Americanize traditional Judaism. Adler also succeeded Schechter at the United Synagogue, and focused its efforts on obtaining congregational placements for JTS graduates. The JTS rabbinic alumni, first organized in 1901 and renamed the *Rabbinical Assembly in 1918, collaborated with him in this endeavor. Adler's tenure was one of building the infrastructure of Conservative Judaism, while discouraging partisan ideological pronouncements that might weaken its centrist coalition.

Nonetheless, the growing movement did have ideological "right" and "left" wings. Adler himself and Louis Ginzberg, representing the traditionalist point of view, controlled the direction and official pronouncements of the movement. Ginzberg founded and chaired the United Synagogue's Committee on the Interpretation of Jewish Law (191–27) which evolved into the Committee on Jewish Law of the Rabbinical Assembly (1927–) which was led until 1948 by traditionalists such as Louis *Epstein, Boaz *Cohen, and Michael *Higger.

Mordecai Kaplan was the leader of the movement's left wing. Kaplan's "Reconstructionist" definition of Judaism as an evolving religious civilization and his call to transform the modern synagogue into a comprehensive spiritual, intellectual, and cultural Jewish center resonated even among Conservative rabbis who took issue with his rejection of supernaturalism in formulating Jewish theology. During the 1930s, Kaplan's philosophical and liturgical publications spurred controversy among JTS faculty and in the broader movement, but the JTS administrative response, to assign Kaplan to teaching homiletics rather than Talmud, only increased his influence among generations of emerging professionals.

THE FINKELSTEIN YEARS. Conservative Judaism enjoyed its greatest period of growth during the two decades following World War II. Across the East, Midwest, and Sunbelt regions of the country, returning veterans and their growing families moved to the newly expanding suburbs, creating numerous houses of worship. Between 1945 and 1964, the United Synagogue grew from 190 to 778 member congregations. For the children of East European immigrants, the Conservative synagogue represented an acceptable balance of tradition and change.

As the movement expanded rapidly and faced the new conditions of Jewish life in suburbia, the tension between school and denomination also increased. Under the leadership of Louis *Finkelstein (1940–72), JTS aspired to influence American society at large, both Jewish and Gentile, without identifying the school's prime task as the support of its denomination; rather, it saw the Conservative movement as its own support network. Regarding himself as a "bridge-builder," Finkelstein created ecumenical institutes and expanded into radio and television programming, while further developing the school as an academic research center.

Rabbinical Assembly leaders such as Milton *Steinberg and Solomon *Goldman, critical of this focus, urged JTS to do more to build up the institutions of the movement. The Rabbinical Assembly took the lead in publishing a series of prayer books for use in Conservative congregations, more traditional than the Reconstructionist editions yet enriched with modern supplemental readings and, in selected passages, unorthodox in wording. The widespread adoption of Morris Silverman's *Sabbath and Festival Prayer Book* contributed to the nationwide scope of Conservative Judaism.

THE COMMITTEE ON JEWISH LAW AND STANDARDS. The Rabbinical Assembly's Committee on Jewish Law became the Committee on Jewish Law and Standards (CJLS) in 1948. This reorganization was a revolt against Boaz *Cohen and the traditionalists. As a result, the majority ruled in 1950 that it is permissible to ride to the synagogue on the Sabbath while a minority opinion forbade this practice. In the early 1950s, the CJLS was going to take unilateral action in order to solve the problem of **agunot* (chained women) whose husbands gave them a civil divorce but would not give them a *get* (religious divorce). Since Finkelstein did not want the CJLS to adopt a radical solution, he got Saul *Lieberman – the preeminent Talmudist at JTS – and the JTS faculty involved. Lieberman wrote the "Lieberman Ketubah" in 1954 which empowered a new Joint Bet Din of the Rabbinical Assembly and JTS – and by implication the secular courts – to force recalcitrant husbands to give their wives a *get*. The "Lieberman Ketubah" did not achieve the desired effect, but it did lead to greater cooperation between JTS and the Rabbinical Assembly.

SOCIAL AND EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS. The movement provided religious and social programming for adult women and men at the synagogue level in Sisterhoods and Men's Clubs, organized nationally in the Women's League for Conservative Judaism (1918–) and the Federation of Jewish Men's Clubs (1929–).

During the post-war years of growth, Conservative Judaism developed educational and social institutions for youth. Kaplan and JTS created the Leadership Training Fellowship (LTF) in 1946 in order to prepare young men and women to study at JTS. One year later, Midwest Jewish leaders opened an educational summer camp, Ramah, and JTS became the camp's sponsor by 1948. The Ramah camp movement expanded, with numerous camps in North America, South America, Israel, and the Ukraine. It provided Hebrew and Jewish educational grounding for tens of thousands of youngsters, who became the nucleus of the lay and rabbinic leadership of the movement in the late 20th century. In 1951, the United Synagogue created United Synagogue Youth, which brought tens of thousands of young people closer to Judaism through its chapters, *kinnusim*, camps, Israel and European pilgrimages, and USY-on-Wheels.

In the formal educational setting, departing from a reliance on Sunday schools and afternoon Hebrew schools, Conservative educators such as Simon *Greenberg began to promote day schools. In 1951, Robert *Gordis opened a day school at his synagogue, Beth El of Rockaway Park, New York, and in 1965, a network of such schools formed the Solomon Schechter Day School Association. Day schools and supplemental schools currently coexist, with increasing numbers of Conservative families opting to give their children the more intensive schooling, especially in the primary grades.

UNIVERSITY OF JUDAISM. The national scope of Conservative Judaism after World War II contributed to the decentralization of denominational authority. In 1947, as America's West Coast was developing into a center of Jewish life, Mordecai Kaplan and Simon *Greenberg of JTS opened the *University of Judaism in Los Angeles, California. Under the leadership of David *Lieber, and later of Robert *Wexler, the school charted a course distinct from JTS, focused on Jewish liberal arts learning rather than professional training and on a very large adult education program. In 1996, the University of Judaism asserted its independence from JTS, by opening up its own Ziegler School of Rabbinic Studies.

THE SIXTIES. Conservative Judaism entered a more challenging era after 1965. The end of the postwar "baby boom" and the decay of urban and inner suburban neighborhoods hurt synagogue membership, and the number of United Synagogue member congregations dropped from its peak of 832 in 1971. Assimilation, including intermarriage, became more prevalent, and the social upheavals of the 1960s exacerbated the decline of the movement's appeal to young adults. Followers of Kaplan's Reconstructionist Judaism left the Conservative movement and opened their own rabbinical school in Philadelphia in 1968.

As a consequence of assimilation, the movement experienced a wide disparity between the high level of commitment to religious practice on the part of its rabbinic leadership and the lower degree observed by the majority of its laity. Moreover, the movement's minority of highly observant laity began to migrate to a revitalized American Jewish Orthodoxy. The resurgence of Orthodoxy, increasingly evident by 1970, both impressed and dismayed Conservative observers. Denominational leaders debated their response to the new conditions, traditionalists urging a reemphasis of commitment to *halakhah*, and liberals calling for outreach to the disaffected by means of bolder departures from tradition.

THE WOMEN'S ISSUE. The main subject of this debate in the 1970s-1980s was the role of women within the Conservative synagogue, an issue raised by the growth of feminism as an American social concern. In 1972, a small group of feminists named "Ezrat Nashim" came to the Rabbinical Assembly convention, demanding a greater role for women in the synagogue. In 1974, the CJLS voted in a near-tie to count women in the *minyan* (prayer quorum). From 1977 to 1983 the Rabbinical Assembly and the JTS faculty debated the ordination of women by JTS under its new Chancellor, Gerson *Cohen. After an initial defeat in 1979, women were admitted in 1983 after the death of Saul Lieberman and the defection of leading Talmud professors such as David *Weiss Halivni, Ch.Z. *Dimitrovsky, and Jose Faur. As a result, some Conservative rabbis set up the Union for Traditional Conservative Judaism in 1979 which later split from the movement as the *Union for Traditional Judaism (UTJ). It now has its own rabbinical association, law committee, and rabbinical school.

Amy *Eilberg was ordained by JTS as the first Conservative woman rabbi in 1985. Cohen's successor, Ismar *Schorsch, completed this process by admitting women to the Cantorial School in 1987. By 2004, 120 of the more than 1,500 members of the Rabbinical Assembly were women. A 2004 survey showed that women rabbis served in many rabbinic capacities, but had not yet achieved equality as congregational rabbis or in terms of compensation.

In recent years, the CJLS has debated the topic of women as witnesses. In any case, the attitude to women in Jewish law signaled a sea-change in the Conservative movement. It reflected the emergence of American-born, Conservative-movement educated faculty members as well as a greater degree of engagement between JTS and the denomination.

IDEOLOGY. The debate over gender roles within Conservative Judaism spurred both a self-definition and a reaffirmation of boundaries that the denomination had for so long avoided. In 1988, the various agencies of the movement jointly issued *Emet ve-Emunah: Statement of Principles of Conservative Judaism*. However, since it was written by a committee of 25 people from various aims and wings of the movement, many felt that it attempted to be all things to all people. Beginning in the 1970s, Conservative rabbis such as Seymour Siegel, Elliot Dorff, Joel *Roth, and David *Golinkin published a series of books and articles in which they explained and crystallized the Conservative approach or approaches to Jewish law. In 1995, Ismar Schorsch published "The Sacred Cluster" in which he enumerated seven core values of Conservative Judaism: God, Torah, *Talmud Torah*, *Halakhah*, the Land and State of Israel, *Klal Yisrael* (the collective Jewish People), and Hebrew. Interestingly enough, many of those same values were stressed by Louis Finkelstein in an address to the Rabbinical Assembly in 1927. Thus, despite many changes, the Conservative movement has maintained many of the same core values throughout its history.

COMMITTEES ON JEWISH LAW. Beginning in 1917, the Committee on the Interpretation of Jewish Law – which became the Committee on Jewish Law, which became the CJLS – became a meeting ground and a debating ground for the movement. The committee grew from five members to 15 members to 25 members and, as time went on, an attempt was made to appoint rabbis from the right, left, and center, and from the Rabbinical Assembly, JTS, and the United Synagogue. For many years, the CJLS issued majority and minority opinions. In more recent years, a *teshuvah* or responsum only became a valid opinion if it was supported by six members of the CJLS. Beginning in 1948, the CJLS and the RA developed the option of issuing Standards of Rabbinic Practice which are binding upon all members of the RA if approved by a two-thirds vote at the annual convention. To date, four standards have been adopted. A Conservative rabbi may not: participate in an intermarriage in any way; perform a wedding if the woman was divorced without a *get*; perform a conversion without circumcision and immersion; accept patrilineal descent.

PUBLICATION OF RESPONSA. From 1917 to 1975, *halakhic* authorities such as Louis Ginzberg, Boaz *Cohen, Michael Higger, and Isaac *Klein wrote hundreds of responsa both within the framework of the law committees and individually, but most of their responsa were never published. This changed drastically beginning in the 1970s as individual rabbis such as Isaac Klein, David Novak, and David Golinkin published their responsa along with the previously unknown responsa of Louis Ginzberg and six volumes of CJLS responsa.

THE VA'AD HALAKHAH. In 1985, the Rabbinical Assembly of Israel founded the *Va'ad Halakhah* chaired by Theodore *Friedman and later by David Golinkin. It dealt with halakhic questions from Israel and Europe in Hebrew, following procedures similar to the CJLS. It has published six volumes of responsa thus far, dealing with Israeli issues such as the Sabbatical year, entering the Temple Mount, and army service for women and *yeshivah* students, along with general halakhic issues such as conversion, medical ethics, and women in Judaism.

The Rabbinical Assembly's 1986 reaffirmation of the matrilineal principle of Jewish identity as a Standard of Rabbinic Practice, and the CJLS's retention of traditional strictures against homosexuality in 1992, served as counterweights to the liberalization represented by egalitarianism. In sum, they asserted in practice a Conservative denominational identity, over and against Reform and Reconstructionism, on the one hand, and Orthodoxy, on the other. The movement's attitude towards homosexuality has remained under debate to the present, but the growing equality of women in Judaism has become, in the main, an accepted part of the definition of Conservative Judaism.

LITURGY. Since the 1970s, the Conservative movement has published a series of new liturgical publications and a new *Humash*. Creative prayer booklets of the late 1960s–early 1970s were followed by Jules Harlow's *Mahzor* (1972) and *Siddur Sim Shalom* (1985). Leonard Cahan and Avram Reisner edited the new *Sim Shalom* in two volumes (1998–2002), followed by Reuven Hammer's *Or Hadash* commentary in 2003. The Masorti Movement in Israel published *Siddur Va'ani Tefilati* in 1998, while the Schechter Institute and the Rabbinical Assembly published *Megillot Hashoah* (*The* Shoah *Scroll*), a new liturgy for *Yom Hashoah* (2003). These publications reflect a growing sensitivity to spirituality, participatory prayer, gender awareness, and the level of knowledge of the average congregant.

Humash Etz Hayyim was published by the Conservative movement in 2001 in order to replace the outdated Hertz *Humash* of 1936. Edited by some of the leading rabbis and scholars of the Conservative movement, it aims to convey a synopsis of modern, critical scholarship along with the best of traditional *midrash.*

THE COHEN AND SCHORSCH YEARS. The Cohen years at JTS (1972–86) were marked by the transition from European-born to American-born faculty. This transition was epitomized by the struggle over the ordination of women described above. Cohen also built and dedicated the new library in 1983. The Schorsch era (1986–) has seen the expansion of JTS to over 700 students, thanks in large part to the founding of the William Davidson School of Education in 1996, which trains educators for day schools and afternoon schools. Schorsch expanded the endowment of JTS while rebuilding and expanding the campus. He steered a centrist course between the left and right wings of the movement. He was an avid supporter of expanding the roles of women in Judaism, while opposing the ordination of avowed homosexuals and gay commitment ceremonies.

EDUCATIONAL AND INSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENTS IN NORTH AMERICA 1970–2005. Beginning in the 1970s, Conservative Jews began to found *Havurot* (small fellowship groups) as a result of the counterculture and as a reaction to large, impersonal synagogue centers. This began with *Havurat Shalom* in Boston, but soon led to *Havurot* within existing Conservative synagogues. At the same time, large synagogues began to open alternative services for specific groups such as egalitarian services, family services, learners' *minyanim*, and singles' services.

Since many Conservative Jews did not know how to perform basic Jewish rituals, Ron Wolfson of the University of Judaism developed the Art of Jewish Living Series which teaches adults how to make Shabbat, run a seder, celebrate Hannukah, and mourn for relatives.

In 1963, Noah Golinkin developed the Hebrew Literacy Campaign which taught adults how to read the prayer book in 12 weeks. Adopted by the Federation of Jewish Men's Clubs in 1978, he wrote *Shalom Aleichem* (1978) followed by *Ein Keloheinu* (1981) in order to implement to Campaign. In 1986, Golinkin published *While Standing on One Foot*, which teaches adults how to read Hebrew in one-day Hebrew Reading Marathons. To date, over 200,000 Conservative and Reform Jews have learned how to read the prayerbook using these two methods.

All of these programs acknowledge that third- and fourth-generation American Jews did not receive a thorough Jewish education and must be taught basic Judaism using entirely new, user-friendly methods.

Since 1990, with the intermarriage rate among American Jews hovering at 50%, Conservative Judaism has witnessed an erosion at its periphery, resulting in lower numbers overall. In 2000, there were slightly over one million self-identified Conservative Jews, representing only 26% of American Jewry. The percentage of Conservative Jewish families affiliating with a synagogue also dropped to 33%. Mirroring similar developments in other sectors of American Judaism, the movement has simultaneously enjoyed an intensification at its core, with members of Conservative synagogues reflecting a more substantive Jewish education and demonstrating a more positive degree of identification with their denominational choice than in the previous generation. Whether assimilatory or revival trends will predominate is the critical question facing American Conservative Judaism in the 21st century.

While Conservative Judaism is most extensive in North America, in recent decades, it has expanded worldwide: in Israel, Latin America, and to a smaller degree in Europe and elsewhere.

The Masorti Movement in Israel

Unlike Reform and Orthodoxy, each of which has had non-Zionist and anti-Zionist wings, Conservative Judaism has been warm to the Zionist enterprise throughout the 20th century. The intensification of Zionist consciousness after the Six-Day War of 1967 spurred the growth of a wider presence of Conservative Judaism in Israel. While Solomon Schechter himself had been warm to Zionism, his successors, prior to Gerson Cohen, had not attempted to commit JTS to the renewal of Jewish life in Ereẓ Israel beyond the opening of an Academic Center in Jerusalem in 1963. A handful of Conservative rabbis had made *aliyah* and founded congregations in the early 1960s, but more Conservative rabbis and educators arrived after 1967. In 1979, they created a denominational umbrella organization, the *Masorti* ("Traditional") Movement, which has been led over the years by rabbis Moshe Tutnauer, Michael Graetz, Philip Spectre, and Ehud Bandel. This movement led the Conservative movement as a whole to become part of the World Zionist Organization as *Mercaz Olami* in 1987. Masorti has supported existing congregations and founded new ones, launched a youth movement, *Noam* (*No'ar Masorti*) and the Ramah Noam Summer Camp. By 2005, the movement had grown to approximately 50 *kehillot* (congregations) and *ḥavurot*.

Masorti Judaism continues to face political obstacles to recognition. Israeli government coalitions typically include Orthodox political parties, and under Israeli law, Orthodoxy enjoys a monopoly as the established form of Judaism. Masorti rabbis are generally not recognized by the state to perform Jewish marriages and divorces. The government has refused to register as Jews children converted by Masorti rabbis, and on four occasions, 1970 through 1997, the Knesset has entertained campaigns to change Israel's *Law of Return so as to discredit conversions conducted by Conservative and other non-Orthodox rabbis. In the wake of the last of these, the government empowered the Ne'eman Commission to explore methods of involving both Orthodox and non-Orthodox (Masorti and Reform) rabbis in conversions. Though the Israeli Chief Rabbinate rejected the commission's recommendations, the Knesset approved them and the Institute of Jewish Studies was established by the Israeli government and the Jewish Agency. It is run by Orthodox, Conservative, and Reform Jews, but the graduates are converted by an Orthodox Bet Din. Even so, the Masorti Movement continues to marry and convert people and to demand that these marriages and conversions be recognized by the State of Israel.

Masorti leaders seek to engage Israeli society beyond the movement's network of congregations. The Rabbinical Assembly of Israel's Va'ad Halakhah (Law Committee) deals with halakhic questions as described above. The movement operates special programs for *olim* (immigrants), especially those from Latin America. The Masorti Movement has also achieved symbolic recognition by being granted the use of the Robinson's Arch section of the Western Wall of the Temple Mount for worship services.

THE SCHECHTER INSTITUTE OF JEWISH STUDIES. The Seminary of Judaic Studies, later renamed the Schechter Institute of Jewish Studies, was founded in 1984 by JTS and the Masorti Movement for the purpose of training Masorti rabbis. Led over the years by Reuven Hammer, Lee Levine, Benjamin Siegel, Alice Shalvi, and David Golinkin, it slowly became the largest Conservative organization in Israel. It currently includes the Schechter Rabbinical Seminary for Israelis, which also hosts the one-year rabbinical school programs of JTS, the University of Judaism, and the Seminaro Rabbinico; the Schechter Institute of Jewish Studies, which is a graduate school for over 450 Israeli educators; the TALI Education Fund, which provides enriched Jewish Studies to over 22,000 Israeli children at over 120 TALI public schools and kindergartens; and Midreshet Yerushalayim, which provides Jewish education to thousands of new immigrants from the FSU and to Jews throughout the Ukraine and Hungary.

In Latin America

Conservative Judaism has established a major presence in Latin America. The pioneer rabbi in that region was Marshall *Meyer, a JTS graduate, who founded the *Seminario Rabbinico Latinoamericano* in 1962. Meyer later returned to New York, but the movement grew; 44 Conservative rabbis were serving in Latin America by 1999. In many Latin American countries, Conservative Judaism is the dominant stream. *Seminario* graduates have contributed to the development of the region's synagogue life, sponsoring the translation of the liturgy into Spanish and Portuguese, and fostering a modern spirit in worship, preaching, and life-cycle celebrations. *Seminario* alumni also serve in schools, summer camps, Hebrew sports clubs, and cultural centers, adding a religious component to institutions that had earlier been Jewish in a purely ethnic sense. Through the influence of the *Seminario*, Conservative Judaism has helped guide Latin American Jewry from an era of immigrant-created Jewish institutions to one in which native-born Jews express their distinctive religious identity.

In England

As in Latin America, a single rabbinic pioneer, Louis *Jacobs, was instrumental in founding Conservative Judaism in England. Denied appointment to a London synagogue by the English chief rabbi in 1963 on account of his unorthodox theological writings, Jacobs and his followers left the (Orthodox, English) *United Synagogue and opened the New London Synagogue. Members of that synagogue founded two kindred congregations closer to their northwest London homes, and in 1985, the three communities entered a formal partnership, the Assembly of Masorti Synagogues. Masorti in the United Kingdom describes its approach as "tolerant, non-fundamentalist, traditional." By 2000, the English Masorti membership had grown to 3,000 adults, led by young rabbis such as Jonathan Wittenberg and Chaim Weiner. Masorti U.K. comprised a youth movement, an organization for college students and young adults, and 11 congregations, one of which also sponsored a *ḥavurah*.

In France

Conservative/Masorti development in France began later than in the United Kingdom, despite the larger size of French Jewry. The first Masorti congregation, Adat Shalom in Paris, opened in 1988; a second congregation, in Nice, over a decade later. They are led by rabbis Rivon Krygier and Yeshaya Delsace. French Masorti Judaism faces the challenge of transplanting a movement into a new cultural milieu and engaging a largely Sephardi population.

Masorti Olami

Masorti Olami (The World Council of Synagogues) is the umbrella organization for all Conservative congregations outside of Israel and North America. In addition to England, France, and South America, there is a long-established community in Sweden. Other Conservative/Masorti congregations have recently opened in a number of other European countries, including Spain, Germany, Australia, and the Czech Republic. Rabbinic leadership in European Masorti institutions comes from the Schechter Rabbinical Seminary in Jerusalem. Worldwide, Conservative/Masorti Judaism is achieving a higher degree of coordination, as it confronts the weakening of Jewish identity due to assimilation and, at the start of the 21st century, a rise in worldwide *antisemitism.

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[David Golinkin and Michael Panitz (2nd ed.)]

CONSERVATIVE PARTY, GERMAN (**Deutsche Konservative Partei**), party formed in 1848 for defending the economical and political interests of the Prussian Junkers. In 1866 the Free Conservative Party split off, which led to its reorganization in 1876. The newspaper *Kreuzzeitung* published the party's views for many years. The Conservatives, who stood for the old feudal ideal in Prussian society in opposition to the liberal, democratic, and social political theorists, affirmed their belief in the romantic vision of a state based on the virtues of monarchy, hierarchy, and, above all, military might. They also made "positive Christianity" basic to their platform. At first a loosely knit organization which had enormous influence at court, the Conservative Party did not adopt an antisemitic program until 1892. After Bismarck's retirement, however, the party constituted the opposition and the anti-parliamentarian groups within the Conservatives, particularly the *Kreuzzeitung* group with Adolf *Stoecker and Wilhelm von Hammerstein, joined hands to eliminate "Jewish influence." On the eve of the 1893 elections, the party called its first public conference at Berlin's Tivoli Hall (December 1892) and moved to demagogic antisemitism. The first paragraph of the new Tivoli party program stated: "We combat the obtrusive and debilitating Jewish influence on our popular life… We demand a Christian authority for the Christian people and Christian teachers for Christian pupils." Thus, at Tivoli, antisemitism moved up the social ladder and became respectable. It also proved to be a powerful attractor of votes, as the elections resulted in a joint victory for the Conservative and antisemitic parties, the antisemitic candidates winning 262,000 votes (2.9% of the total), and 16 seats in the German parliament. During World War I they worked against political and social reform, which led to their dissolution at the end of the war after the breakdown of the German state in November 1918.

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[Bjoern Siegel (2nd ed.)]

CONSIGLI(O), AVTALYON (**Ottavio**) **BEN SOLOMON** (c. 1540–1616), rabbi and financier of Rovigo, northern Italy. Consiglio studied under Samuel Judah Katzenellenbogen at Padua. To demonstrate his profound respect for his teacher, he commissioned an artist to paint his portrait and this was hung prominently in his *bet ha-midrash*. Like his teacher, Consiglio opposed *_pilpul_ in talmudic studies. Consiglio caused a heated controversy by disqualifying a _mikveh_ in the house of his brother Jekuthiel, with whom he also had a financial dispute. The Italian rabbinate was divided on the matter. The rabbinate of Venice, headed by Hezekiah Finzi of Ferrara, strongly defended the halakhic fitness of the ritual bath in question. The matter became a _cause célèbre_, and several collections of responsa on the subject were published between 1606 and 1617, e.g., _Mashbit Nilḥamot_ (Venice, 1606), _Mikveh Yisrael_ (_ibid._, 1607), and _Palgei Mayyim_ (_ibid._, 1608).

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CONSISTORY (**Consistoire**), official organization of the Jewish congregations in France established in 1808. The term was borrowed from Protestant usage by the Napoleonic administration to designate the committees of rabbis and laymen responsible for the administration of the Jewish congregations at the regional and national levels. By extension, the word applies to the whole organization subject to the authority of the "consistory."

Origins

The French Revolution abolished the existing internal structure of the Jewish communities. The adherence of a Jew to his communal organization then became voluntary, and created problems for the Jewish leadership, mainly concerning communal budget. In consequence, the reforms introduced by *Napoleon I were welcomed by some of the Jewish leaders in the hope that they would confer on Judaism a legal status similar to that given to the Catholic Church by the Concordat of 1801 and to the Protestants by the "organic articles" of 1802. The emperor himself was anxious to have an instrument at his disposal through which he could effectively supervise the Jewish community and at the same time integrate the Jews as individuals within French society. The statute establishing a Jewish religious organization was drafted at the *Assembly of Jewish Notables by the commissioners appointed by Napoleon in conjunction with the nine Jewish delegates. It was finally ratified by the Assembly on Dec. 9 and 10, 1806, although not without some opposition, and promulgated by imperial decree on March 17, 1808.

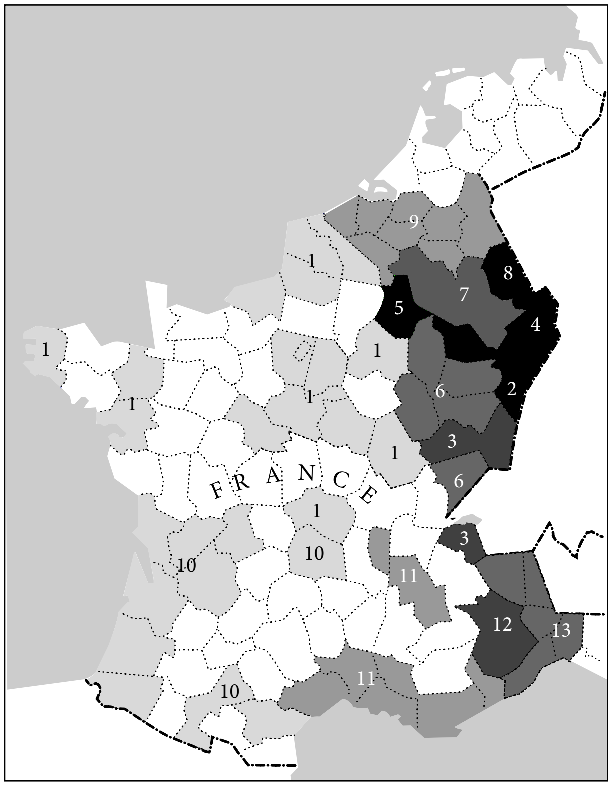

The Consistories of France according to the Napoleonic decree of 1808 (composition according to departments, darker shadings indicate greater density of Jewish population).

1. _PARIS: (Allier, Côte d'Or, Finistère, Ille-et-Vilaine, Loiret, Loiret-Cher, Loire-Inférieure, Marne, Nord, Pas-de-Calais, Seine, Seine Inférieure, Seine-et-Marne, Seine-et-Oise, Somme, Yonne)._
2. _STRASBOURG: (Bas-Rhin)._
3. _WINTZENHEIM: (Léman, Haut-Rhin, Haute-Saône)._
4. _MAINZ: (Mont-Tonnerre)._
5. _METZ: (Moselle Ardennes)._
6. _NANCY: (Doubs, Haute-Marne, Meurthe, Meuse, Vosges)._
7. _TREVES: (Forêts, Sambe-et-Meuse, Sarre)._
8. _COBLENZ: (Rhin-et-Moselle)._
9. _KREFELD: (Dyle, Escaut, Jemmapes, Lys, Meuse-Inférieure, Deux-Nèthes, Ourthe, Roër)._
10. _BORDEAUX: (Aude, Charente, Charente- Inférieure, Dordogne, Haute-Garonne, Gironde, Landes, Puy-de-Dôme, Basses-Pyrénées, Haute-Vienne)._
11. _MARSEILLES: (Alpes-Maritimes, Gard, Hérault, Isère, Rhôna, Bouches-du-Rhône, Var, Vaucluse)._
12. _TURIN: (Pô, Stura)._
13. _CASAL: (Génes, Doire, Marengo, Montenotte, Sésia)._

The decree provided that a central consistory was to be set up in Paris to head a group of regional consistories, which in their turn would control the local communities. A subsequent decree was issued on Dec. 13, 1808, establishing the location and jurisdiction of 13 regional consistories, to include also the Rhineland and northern Italy, then part of the French Empire. For every department with a Jewish population of at least 2,000 a consistory was established. Departments having less than this number might be combined with others. In the case of Paris the consistory controlled 16 departments. The central consistory comprised three _grands-rabbins_ and two laymen, appointed by co-option, and the regional consistories one _grand rabbin_ and three laymen. They were elected by 25 "notables" of the area who were designated by the members and confirmed in office by the local prefects. All nominations were subject to the approval of the government. Each head of a Jewish family was obliged to pay dues to the consistories. The budget was intended to cover the expenses of the Jewish religion in the narrow sense, i.e., the salaries of the rabbis and the maintenance of synagogues and their appurtenances. Welfare and educational activities were not included in the regular budget. The function of the consistories, according to the decree of 1808, was "to ensure that no assembly for prayers should be formed without express authorization, to encourage the Jews in the exercise of useful professions and refer to the authorities those who do not have an acknowledged means of livelihood, and to inform the authorities each year of the number of Jewish conscripts in the area." All those who wished to remain Jews had to register with the consistory. The duty of the rabbis was "to teach religions and the doctrines included in the decisions of the Great *Sanhedrin, to call for … obedience to the laws, especially … those related to the defense of the fatherland … and in particular, every year, at the time of conscription, to induce the Jews to consider their military service as a sacred duty" in the performance of which they were exempted from any religious observances with which it could not be reconciled. The Jewish leaders generally accepted these regulations, which restored authority to the Jewish communities and also – an innovation in Western and Central Europe – gave them a centralized organization on the national scale. The consistories appointed a "commissioner" for each congregation whose absolute and often petty-minded authority replaced the traditional authority of the *parnasim* and who often clashed with the rabbis. Later, however, the system was dropped and thus the old communal organization continued to exist.

The decree of December 1808 established regional consistories in Paris, Strasbourg, Wintzenheim, Metz, Nancy, Bordeaux, Marseilles, Mainz, Treves, Coblenz, Krefeld, Turin, and Casal. In 1810 the annexation of central Italy brought the temporary addition of three new consistories, and in 1812 the annexation of Holland and a further portion of Germany added seven additional consistories. After the fall of Napoleon the communities of Belgium, Luxembourg, and Westphalia retained the consistorial system. New consistories were created in Saint-Esprit (Bayonne) in 1846 and in Lyons in 1857. The central consistory of Algiers and the regional consistories of Oran and Constantine were founded in 1845. They were linked to the metropolitan organization as three consistories of equal status in 1867. In 1872, after the annexation of Alsace-Lorraine to Germany and the consequent influx of Alsatian refugees, new consistories were founded in Lille and Vesoul.

Serious financial difficulties had endangered the existence of the consistories from the outset. As many of the members failed to pay their dues, in 1816 it was agreed that the state treasury would assume their collection in return for a percentage of the income. In 1831 King Louis-Philippe agreed to include the expenses of the Jewish religion, in particular the salaries of the rabbis and religious officials, in the national budget. An order of 1844 introduced important organizational changes. The central consistory was to be composed of a *grand rabbin* (the chief rabbi of France) and a representative of each of the regional consistories, while the regional consistories were to consist of a *grand rabbin* and five laymen. The right of veto in religious matters was granted to the rabbis. The system of election to the consistories was also drastically revised. Although the principle of "notability" of the electors was retained, the number of "notables" was augmented in accordance with the new principles of suffrage introduced in the French electoral system. The electoral college was first enlarged in 1844. In 1848, following considerable agitation, especially by the Orthodox members for the institution of general suffrage in consistorial elections, every male Jew aged over 25 was declared "notable" with the right to vote. During the Second Empire the central consistory again succeeded in limiting the popular vote, especially in the election of rabbis. In 1871 a government decree once more ordered democratic elections, only to be rescinded the following year as regards the election of rabbis. The provision of rabbinical training became one of the chief tasks of the central consistory. The rabbinical seminary of Metz, founded in 1829, was originally simply a modernized yeshivah. Later, however, the introduction of some reforms in synagogue ritual (1856), as well as the transfer of the rabbinical seminary to Paris, marked a more radical transformation.

In France the consistory remained the official French Jewish representative organization until the separation of church and state in 1905. Afterward, it was voluntarily retained, a new name, the Union des Associations Culturelles de France et d'Algérie, was given, to which the term "Consistory" is still applied. The three departments of Alsace-Lorraine, which retained their French institutions at the time of the German annexation in 1871 and did not renounce them either in 1918 or in 1944–45, still have a consistory despite the law of separation. Following the trend set by Napoleon and embodied in the motto of the Central Consistory "Religion and the Fatherland," a number of consistorial leaders endeavored to promote Jewish assimilation and preserve only the religious differences, which also became blurred with time. Others, notably in Alsace-Lorraine, used the consistorial organization as a force for maintaining cohesion and tradition within Jewish society.

Prior to World War I there was an influx of a large number of Jewish immigrants from Eastern Europe who formed their separate organizations. In 1935, 63 French and nine Algerian communities formally belonged to the Consistoire Central, the majority of Jews displaying little interest in communal affairs. After the German occupation of Paris in 1940 the central consistory was active in the free zone of France, continuously protesting against the anti-Jewish restrictions. However, its financial resources were soon depleted, since it could no longer rely upon the support of the wealthier Jews. Despite these odds, the central consistory aided various underground bodies of both native- and foreign-born Jews. By 1965 practically the entire Algerian Jewish community had settled in France, yet the central consistory still retained the former name which included both France and Algeria, their task restricted to the custody of remaining Jewish property. In June 1968, during the student uprising, some 60 Jewish youths seized the offices of the Paris consistory in protest against the alleged domination of French Jewry by "archaic and anti-democratic institutions" and calling for "a new community based on effective participation." The Consistoire Central continued to represent mainly Orthodox congregations in the 21st century, comprising less than 15% of France's Jews.

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[Moshe Catane / Isaac Levitats]

CONSOLO, FEDERICO (1841–1906), violinist and composer. Born in Ancona, Italy, Consolo studied violin with Vieuxtemps and composition with Fétis and Liszt, but was forced to give up his career as a violin virtuoso in 1884 after a nerve injury. He then devoted himself to composition and musical research. His most important publication was his *Sefer Shirei Yisrael – Libro dei Canti d'Israele* (1892), an anthology of synagogue chants documenting the musical tradition of the Sephardi Jews of Italy. On the title page he called himself not only by his Italian name but also "Yehiel Nahmany Sefardi."

CONSTANCE (Ger. **Konstanz**), city in Germany. The first mention of Jews is in a royal tax list of 1241; the tax paid indicates that they had settled there some decades earlier. A responsum on divorce, written in Constance and published in R. *Meir b. Baruch of Rothenburg's responsa, has been erroneously ascribed to him. King Henry VII pawned the Jewish taxes to a nobleman in 1311, and Louis the Bavarian followed suit in 1330. King Wenceslaus (after 1393), Rupert (1401–02), and Sigismund (1413) transferred half the Jewish taxes to the city. In 1414 Sigismund assigned two Constance Jews to collect a levy for the Hussite War from Upper Swabian Jewry. Records of 1328, 1375, and 1425–29 show that Jews owned orchards, gardens, and vineyards in Constance. Moneylending by Jews to clerics, villagers, townspeople, and nobles is mentioned in 1293, 1300, 1346–48, and 1420–39; to the city in the 1370s; and a minor sum to the king in 1306. The city's usury law of 1383 referred to small scale moneylending by Jews. The records of the municipal court (1423–28) show that there were also Jewish traders, tailors, and metalworkers living in Constance. Twenty-seven Jews accused of *Host desecration were murdered in 1326. During the *Black Death (1349) 350 Jews were burned to death. Following a *blood libel in *Ravensburg, the Jews were imprisoned in 1429 and after a second one in the area in 1443; they were released each time after ransom was paid. From around 1375 until 1460 the Jews enjoyed burghers' rights. By 1424 there was a synagogue in the Ramungshof. The Jews lived in several streets. During the Council of Constance, in 1417, a delegation of German Jewry met Pope *Martin V who, in 1418, granted favorable privileges, confirmed by King Sigismund. A first expulsion order, in 1432, was not generally enforced, but it became final in 1533. Afterward Jews could only enter the town temporarily, though they continued to live in neighboring villages. In 1847 a group of Jews settled in Constance. After the *Baden emancipation law of 1862 a community was founded in 1863–66. The synagogue, consecrated in 1883, was burned down in November 1938. In 1910 the community numbered 574 persons (2.7% of the total) but declined to 537 in 1925 and 443 in 1933. In October 1940 the 110 Jews still remaining in Constance were deported to the internment camp in *Gurs (Southern France), and from there the majority were transported to *Auschwitz in 1942. Some 160 Jews liberated from displaced persons' camps lived in Constance between 1945 and 1948, most of whom subsequently emigrated. By 1968 fewer than 30 Jews lived in Constance; they were affiliated to the Jewish community of *Freiburg im Breisgau. An independent Jewish community was founded in Constance in 1988. It had 102 members in 1989, and as a result of the emigration of Jews from the former Soviet Union, their number increased to 502 in 2003.

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[Toni Oelsner]

CONSTANTA (in Greek and Roman antiquity **Tomis**, until 1878 *Kustendje*, Rom. **Constanța**), Black Sea port in S.E. Romania; within the Ottoman Empire until 1878. There was a small Jewish settlement in Tomis in the third century C.E. The Ashkenazi community of Constanta was founded in 1828. After a while a Sephardi community was established. The Jewish population increased with the development of the town. A Jewish cemetery was opened in 1854. In 1878, after northern Dobruja passed to Romania, Romanian nationality was automatically granted to the Jews in the region, including Constanta. As former Turkish subjects, they found themselves in a more favorable situation than the other Jews of Romania, the overwhelming majority of whom were deprived of rights. The Romanian authorities, however, attempted to expel individual Jews from Constanta. There were 957 Jews living in Constanta in 1899 (6.5% of the total population), most of whom were occupied in commerce and some in crafts, with two schools for boys, an Ashkenazi and a Sephardi one. In 1930 the Jewish population numbered 1,821 (3.1%) in the city and 1,981 in the province. In the fall of 1940, a German military representative was placed in the city and entry of Jews to the port was forbidden. After the outbreak of war against the U.S.S.R. (June 22, 1941) all the Jews were arrested and sent to the Cobadin camp. Men and women were also sent to forced labor. In November 1941 the Jews returned to Constanta, but to a special district. In 1942 there were 1,532 Jews in Constanta. In 1947, after the war, there were 2,400 Jews in the city, some of them refugees from *Bukovina. Until 1951 Constanta was a port of departure Jews emigrating to Israel, with the community consequently diminishing to 586 in 1956. There were 60 Jewish families in Constanta in 1969, with a synagogue and a rabbi. In 2004, 128 Jews lived there.

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[Theodor Lavi / Lucian-Zeev Herscovici (2nd ed.)]

CONSTANTINE (ancient **Cirta**), Algerian town. Constantine was named after Emperor Constantine in 313. Latin inscriptions give evidence of a Jewish colony there; its surroundings seem to have been inhabited by Judaized Berbers. The Arab conquest brought little change to Constantine. The Jews maintained their identity; their "elder" (*zaken*) led his followers to war like an Arab or Berber *sheikh*. According to the 15th-century rabbis of Algeria, Constantine was one of the most important Jewish communities in Muslim countries. Local scholars in the 15th century included Maimun Najjār, author of *Kunteres Minhagot*; Joseph b. Minir, called Ḥasid, whose tomb is venerated by Jews and Muslims to the present day and whose works, now lost, were quoted by Joseph *Caro; Joseph b. David; Isaac Kagig (also Kaçiç and Casès); and Samuel Atrani; in the 16th century, the poet Joseph Zimron and Moses Allouche; and in the 18th century, Masʿud Zerbib, author of *Zeraʿ Emet* (Leghorn, 1715). In the 18th century the community built its quarter. In 1818 the Turks from Algiers attacked Constantine; they pillaged, massacred, and carried off 17 young Jewish girls whom they brought to their commander. The girls were subsequently released. There were then 5,000 Jews in Constantine. After its capture by the French in 1837, many Jews left the city, and two years later the community numbered only 3,436. By 1934 the community grew to 12,000. In that same year on August 3–5, the Muslim population, provoked by the propaganda of the French antisemites, assaulted them. Twenty-five were killed and dozens wounded. When the Jewish resistance was organized, the massacres stopped; but French forces had not intervened, despite the appeals of Muslim leaders. The Vichy government severely persecuted this community in 1940 despite its large number of heroes in the two world wars.

[David Corcos]

Traditional Jewish education prevailed in Constantine for hundreds of years. In 1849 the Consistory of Constantine was instituted coordinating Jewish community life. The 1870 *Crémieux decree that granted French citizenship to Algerian Jews further accelerated the incorporation of Jews into the French school system, placing the *talmud torah* under strict supervision. The *Alliance Israélite Universelle, which strove to combine French modernity with Jewish tradition, started operating educational institutions in Constantine in 1902. The influence of French culture led to a gradual decline in the use of the local Judeo-Arabic dialect in favor of French. An intensive effort to preserve traditional Jewish culture and the Judeo-Arabic language was conducted by Rabbi Joseph Renassia (1879–1962), who wrote and translated over a hundred volumes in Judeo-Arabic.

[Ofra Tirosh-Becker (2nd ed.)]

During the Algerian FLN (Front de libération nationale) terrorist attacks in the late 1950s grenades were often thrown into the Jewish quarter. In 1962, when Algeria received its independence, there was a massive exodus of the Jewish community, which then numbered 15,000–20,000 – mostly to France and Israel. The local *talmud torah* with its 800 students closed down in July of that year. The synagogues were turned into the general headquarters of the FLN. By the end of the 1960s only a few Jewish families remained in Constantine.

[Robert Attal]

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°CONSTANTINE VII PORPHYROGENITUS, Byzantine emperor, 913–959. He was known for his learning, as evidenced by his great treatises on ceremonial, administrative, and army organization. According to some scholars, in response to a letter of protest addressed to Constantine's wife Helena by *Ḥisdai ibn Shaprut, he stopped the persecutions and forced conversions of Jews initiated in the empire by his co-emperor, *Romanus I Lecapenus. He also ceased attempts to force Christianity on the *Khazars. During his reign the condition of the Jews generally improved, earning him praises in the Hebrew apocalypse, "Vision of *Daniel."

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[Andrew Sharf]

CONSTANTINER, JAIME (1918–2002), leader of the Jewish community of Mexico and generous promoter of Jewish education in Mexico and in Israel. Born in Butrimonys (Butrimanz), Lithuania, Constantiner studied in the *gymna-*

sium in Kovno (Kaunas). Owing to economic difficulties in 1928 his father immigrated to Mexico, where Constantiner and his mother joined him in 1934. Ten years after his settlement in Mexico City he graduated in surgery at the faculty of medicine of the Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México (UNAM). After completing his postgraduate studies in the United States, he was appointed professor at the UNAM and taught there until 1979.

During the 1940s Constantiner commenced his activities in the Jewish community as a physician in the field of welfare as well as in education, supporting the Hebrew Tarbut school. As the chairman of its *patronato,* he promoted special enrichment programs together with the Hebrew University of Jerusalem and the introduction of many new science and Hebrew courses in the Tarbut school.

He supported the activities of many Israeli and Mexican institutions: Tel Aviv University, the Tel Aviv Museum, the Philharmonic Orchestra of UNAM, San Carlos Museum, the Technion of Haifa as well as several special projects in the Hebrew University of Jerusalem and in the city of Jerusalem. He also supported special programs for Jewish studies in Mexico. He was awarded numerous prizes by Tel Aviv University, the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, and the city of Jerusalem.

[Efraim Zadoff (2nd ed.)]

CONSTANTINI, HUMBERTO (1924–1987), Argentinian author, poet, and playwright of Sephardi-Italian heritage. From his beginning in the 1950s, his works were deeply involved with the social and political situation of his country. His identification with leftist groups led him to choose exile when a military dictatorship seized power in 1976. In Mexico, where he lived in 1976–83, he wrote his most important novels: *De dioses, hombrecitos y policías* (1979; *Gods, the Little Guys and the Police*, 1984) and *La larga noche de Francisco Sanctis* (1984;*The Long Night of Francisco Sanctis*, 1985). Both deal with the practical and moral plight of people persecuted by state terrorism, in a combination of realistic themes with an expressionist, poetic, and even grotesque style. His collections of short stories (*Un señor alto, rubio, de bigotes*, 1963; *Una vieja historia de caminantes*, 1967; *Háblenme de Funes*, 1970) include some Jewish stories in Sephardi and ancient Jerusalem settings. Jewish history and identity also appear in his collection of poetry *Cuestiones con la vida* (1986). His unfinished novel *Rapsodia de Raquel Liberman* deals with the Jewish prostitution trade in Argentina in the 1920s. Costantini's plays and dramatic monologues were published in *¡Chau Pericles! Teatro completo* (1986). His works have been translated into English, French, Hebrew, German, and Russian.

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[Florinda Goldberg (2nd ed.)]

CONSTANTINOPLE (Byzantium; Heb. קושטנטיני, קושטנטינא, קושטאנדינא, קושטא), former capital of the *Byzantine and *Ottoman empires; now *Istanbul, Turkey. Under the Byzantine empire Jews were settled in various areas of Constantinople. In the fourth and fifth centuries they lived in the Chalkoprateia (copper market), where there was a synagogue as early as 318 (converted into a church in 422). From the 10th century to about 1060 they lived on the south shore of the Golden Horn. In the late 11th century they were transferred by the authorities to the suburb of Galata-Pera, the affluence of which was noted by *Benjamin of Tudela in the mid-12th century. In 1203 the Jewish quarter burned down.

There were Jewish workers in copper, finishers of woven material, dyers, silk weavers, and makers of silk garments. In the 11th and 12th centuries Jews were compelled to serve as executioners. Jewish physicians served various emperors despite church opposition to consulting them. Benjamin of Tudela also reports on the presence of Jewish tanners in the city and the complaints of wealthy Jews about the animosity among gentiles caused by the tanners.

Throughout the Byzantine period the Jews in Constantinople had close contacts with Christians. In the sixth and early seventh centuries Jews were active in the political factions of the *circus parties. In 641 Jews took part in a riot, during which the church of Hagia Sophia was broken into. Under *Leo III in 721–22, Jews were forced either to leave the city or to accept baptism. But this ruling apparently did not bring the community to an end. In about 874 *Shephatiah b. Amittai of Oria, Italy, according to a legendary report in the Aḥima'az Chronicle, went to Constantinople to plead with the emperor *Basil I to end the persecutions of Jews in Italy. Other prominent Jewish visitors to the city included a *Khazar in the 10th century, Benjamin of Tudela in the mid-12th century, and the poet Judah *Alḥarizi in the 13th century. Jews were among those banished from the city because they supported the princesses Zoe and Theodora against the emperor Michael V in 1042. Many were killed in a riot against Venetian and other Western merchants during the reign of Alexius II (1180–83). In 1204 the Latin Crusaders captured Constantinople and established the capital of the Latin Empire (1204–61) in Galata. The conflict of the great Christian powers awoke messianic expectations among the Jews of the city during the First Crusade.

In the Byzantine period the Jewish community was administered by a council of elders and by *archipherecites (heads of the academies). Benjamin of Tudela reports that five wealthy rabbis led the community. There were also religious officials, *didaskaloi* (teachers). The council of elders dealt with administrative, fiscal, and cultural-religious matters, and relations with Christians.

A Karaite community existed in Pera from the 11th century on and Constantinople became an important center of Karaite learning which attracted members of the sect from elsewhere. Celebrated leading Karaite scholars of Constantinople included *Tobias b. Moses ha-Avel (11th century) and Judah b. Elijah *Hadassi (mid-12th century).

From 1275 to 1453 the Venetian and Genoese Jews lived in Constantinople under the legal jurisdiction of their respective governments. From 1280 to 1325 the Venetian Jews lived together with the Byzantine Jews, but from 1325 to 1453 they lived in the Venetian quarter on the Golden Horn. The Genoese Jews lived in the Genoese quarter of Galata from 1275 to 1453. The Jewish quarter of Constantinople existed from about 1280 to 1453 in Vlanga, on the southern coast of the Golden Horn on the Sea of Marmara. During this period (from 1280) the Jews were involved in the tanning trade. The quarter was burned by the Turks in 1453. The fall of Constantinople appeared to Jews to herald the Redemption: the Targum for Lamentations 4:21 was held to prophesy the downfall of the "guilty city"; some predicted that redemption would occur in the same year, 1453.

For later history, see *Istanbul.

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[Andrew Sharf]

CONSTRUCTION. Jewish activity in this industry was restricted in the Diaspora and was narrowed down to the construction and repair of synagogues and houses for the community. Apparently Jews worked in the building crafts, such as carpentry, masonry, and bricklaying, throughout the Middle Ages and early modern times. The trade was organized on traditional lines, with established terms and conditions such as provisions for the meals of the masters. Where moneylending became the main Jewish occupation, the number of Jewish artisans in the building trade declined along with those in other crafts. In Christian countries Jews were excluded from guild membership, but were still occasionally found in building occupations. In countries where Jewish artisans were more common, as in Spain, Portugal, and Italy, this representation was correspondingly larger. It can thus not be generally assumed that all houses, or even synagogues, in the Jewish communities were built by Jewish contractors and workers. On the other hand the scanty mention of this profession in the sources is no conclusive evidence of its complete decline. Such mention is of great geographical variety. An account of building operations carried out in 1040 at the synagogue of the Ereẓ Israel community in Fostat (Old Cairo), Egypt, describes a Jewish master mason with his helpers, a carpenter and his "boy," and their working conditions. Jewish masons, layers of floor tiles, workers in clay, stucco workers, and their "boys," as well as their working terms, in Egypt are mentioned in Jewish sources. In Hebron, it is recorded that the whole community took part in pulling down a synagogue and erecting a new one. In the summer of 1045 seven masons in succession worked on a building. The 13th-century *Sefer Ḥasidim* castigates a Jewish householder, whose house was built by Jewish and Christian workmen, for not releasing his Jewish employees on Sabbath eve (Wistinetzky ed., no. 1499, p. 361). A contemporary Czech chronicle mentions a Jew, Podivi, who built the town of Podivin. In 1451 a Jew who won acclaim for building the royal palace in Palermo was made a master of the local Jewish carpenters' guild.

However, it was in Eastern Europe, from the 19th century on, that significant numbers of Jews first engaged in building. Visitors to backward Romania in the mid-19th century noted that the building trades, carpentry, masonry, plumbing, etc., were all exclusively represented by Jews, who built synagogues as well. Whereas no Jews engaged in the building profession in Poland before the 18th century, there were, in Congress Poland, excluding Warsaw, in 1856, 1,973 Jewish masons, 2,591 glaziers, 1,259 plumbers, and 1,289 locksmiths. In the eastern regions Jews were even more numerous in these trades, particularly for work on high buildings, steeples, and roofs, where Christian workmen were reluctant to go. Synagogues, which from the 18th century had often been embellished and decorated by wandering Jewish artisans, were now also built by them. With the rise of the *Court Jews, and the increasing numbers of Jewish army purveyors and bankers, numerous large-scale construction projects – palaces, fortresses, roads, and railroads – were organized and financed by Jews. In Poland in 1931, 23,745 Jews were engaged in the building and construction industry, about 10% of the total number, which approximated the proportion of Jews in the general population. Of these, 4,585 were glaziers (80% of the total in this occupation) and 8,034 house painters and decorators (30%); 17.7.% of independent employers in these trades were Jews, representing a much lower proportion than in others, such as clothing, textiles, and foodstuffs. Within the Russian *Pale of Settlement the proportion of Jews in the industry was even higher: 28.5% in Vitebsk government (province) in 1897, and 30.4% in Mogilev government (province), although these were employed mainly on repairs and building maintenance. This trend was manifested in countries to which these Jews immigrated. Thus, in Germany, the proportion was high, the majority being glaziers, painters, and decorators in small family firms. The Haberland family (Solomon Georg (1861–1933) and Kurt), a prominent exception, built parts of Berlin before World War I, and rebuilt cities in East Prussia after the war. Julius Berger founded the internationally known firm bearing his name which constructed tunnels and bridges.

The Jewish mass emigration from Eastern Europe coincided with the New York building boom around the beginning of the 20th century, and large numbers of Jews entered the trade. Harry *Fischel encouraged Jews to enter the building trades by enabling the keeping of the Sabbath and offering half-pay for those who did not work on that day. Many left the trade again, however, either because of a chance to better themselves or because of discrimination. The unions, in particular, in effect barred Jews from the better-paid types of construction work and forced them to become house painters, plumbers, or decorators, and to concentrate on repairs and remodeling. In 1890 there were nearly 900 Jewish house painters and carpenters on the Lower East Side, and associations of Jewish immigrants in these trades were to be found in many U.S. cities. As a result of the general upward mobility of the American Jewish population, however, few young Jews entered these occupations by mid-20th century. Similarly, in the East End of London, many Jews from Eastern Europe took up these trades around the beginning of the 20th century. Although many Jews in Britain were prominent in the development of housing schemes after World War II, they were mainly occupied in acquiring sites and developing new housing estates and modern blocks of offices. The actual construction was carried out by non-Jewish firms, but there was one large construction company, one of the foremost of its kind, "Bovis" founded by Sir Samuel *Joseph. Their managerial and financial abilities and experience also led Jews in the 20th century to enter the mass-construction industry in America through real estate brokerage, and Jews were especially prominent in the New York, Chicago, and Miami building booms of the 1920s. In New York City, the major part of the Bronx and the Borough Park and Bensonhurst neighborhoods of Brooklyn were built by Jewish contractors. Louis J. *Horowitz became president and general manager of the Thompson-Starrett Construction Company, builder of many skyscrapers in New York and other cities. Real-estate investors and developers who played a prominent role in reshaping the face of 20th-century America's cities and their environs include William *Zeckendorf, Benjamin *Swig, Percy and Harold *Uris, William *Levitt, and Samuel *Lefrak. The latter two in particular, the first in the suburbs and the latter in the central city, pioneered new approaches to mass-scale, low-cost housing that have permanently altered the American urban landscape. Builders of office space in major cities were involved in significant projects that also shaped the city skylines. And other major builders made their marks in other parts of the country, including Eli Brod on the West Coast, who built vast housing projects.

In the 19th and 20th centuries Jews developed real estate on an increasing scale. The large number of Jews who took up engineering and architecture had a place in the planning and supervision of construction projects (see *architecture, *engineering, etc.). In Ereẓ Israel building became an important Jewish enterprise. The building concern *Solel Boneh developed into a big construction and industrial combine. It and *Rassco built agricultural villages and housing estates designed for middle class settlement. Both these firms as well as a number of private ones have built roads, bridges, and public buildings in Asian and African countries.

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[Henry Wasserman]

CONSUMER PROTECTION. Consumer protection is a new area of law; hence, the term does not appear in classical sources of Jewish law. The meaning of the concept is implied in the term itself: our generation is one of abundance, with great demands, numerous consumers, and extensive consumption. The consumers are not organized; each one consumes for himself and his household. On the other hand, there are large producers and distributors: manufacturers, monopolies, chain stores, merchants, suppliers, and agents of various kinds who are familiar with the markets and dictate its terms, including, inter alia, the consumer culture itself. Consequently, the consumer requires legal protection, as he does not always receive fair value for his money, both in terms of price and quality of goods.

This question is not confined to the sphere of commerce, but arises in the context of services as well. Contemporary society regards services as a commodity, and the service provided is not always commensurate with the price received for it.

But the term *consumer protection* is not only a matter of the relationship between consumer and supplier, or consumer and service provider, in terms of the contract between them and its execution. *Consumer protection* must be considered as part of the overall economic system. Does the economic system protect or even benefit the consumer? This question extends beyond the scope of our discussion, and we will only touch upon it briefly.

Although, as mentioned, the term *consumer protection* does not appear in our sources, Jewish law does deal with these problems. Some of the laws in the field relate to the overall economic system and the maintenance of fair trade, while others are designed to protect various weak parties, including the consumer. Most of the laws mentioned below also appear in the context of other entries, such as *Ona'ah (overreaching or misrepresentation), *Hafka'at She'arim (profiteering), and *Mistake; hence, we will treat those topics more briefly, referring the reader to the aforementioned entries for fuller discussion.

The Economic System

There are two major contemporary economic systems, albeit on a practical level each one includes elements of the other.

The first system, capitalism, advocates a free, competitive market, functioning according to the principles of supply and demand, without governmental involvement. The second, socialism-communism, espouses governmental involvement in the market economy, through the setting and supervising of prices, distribution and direction of the means of production, even to the extent of nationalization.

Each system has its advantages and drawbacks. The former system, practiced in the West, and most notably in the

United States, is attractive and alluring, but does not ensure wealth and happiness to all; there are many indigent people in need of welfare services. The latter system, in its extreme form, collapsed in the U.S.S.R. A number of reasons contributed to its collapse, among them the indomitable human spirit, man's yearning for freedom, including freedom of initiative, business, and property rights.

Jewish law takes the middle road. It accommodates initiative and competition, but in a limited fashion, thereby assuring the possibility of acquiring wealth, but without excessively impinging upon the poor and weak. This approach is manifested in a series of different laws. Given the casuistic nature of Jewish law, which deals with the particular and the concrete, inductive reasoning is necessary in order to infer general principles from the particular cases.

We will briefly mention a few pertinent laws in this field.

Interest-Bearing Loans

One who gives a loan fulfills a positive commandment (Ex. 22:24; and Rashi loc. cit.). Loans are also a vital element in economic development. One person has capital, while another has initiative and productive abilities, but requires capital by way of a loan in order to realize these potentials. Thus far, the loan serves the borrower's interest: if he is poor, it provides him with his immediate needs; if he has initiative, it provides him with the means for setting up a factory or business. However, the loan is also in the interest of the loaner. In addition to the kindness involved, he hopes to profit from the interest to be accrued. The risk involved is that the benefit attained by the borrower will instead become a source of damage, as the borrower who does not succeed in his business will need to pay back the principal and interest without any economic justification,. which the lender receives unconditionally, at no personal risk. The lender thus becomes enriched at the borrower's expense, while the latter becomes impoverished. Biblical law intervenes and forbids the taking of interest, thereby preventing the widening of the gap between the two. Biblical law thus protects the interest of the borrower, who is also a consumer. Other laws promote freedom and initiative, on the one hand, and concern for the poor and weak, on the other. These include the sabbatical and jubilee laws, and in particular the cancellation of debts in the sabbatical year, various forms of charity, limits on commercial competition and against unjustified withholding of wages, the right of the worker to terminate his service before the completion of work, and others.

Hafka'at She'arim (Profiteering)

A number of laws are intended expressly for the consumer's protection. They are intended to ensure fair prices within the framework of a free market, where there is an accepted, standard market price. Whoever deviates from the market price without the other's knowledge transgresses the prohibition on deceit, as explained below. Jewish Law also intervenes in the setting of prices. In a free market, there is a danger that manufacturers and merchants will employ artificial means to influence prices. Jewish Law therefore prohibits profiteering. The Talmud (Meg. 17b) states that the blessing in the *Shemoneh Esreh* prayer for the year's produce was instituted by the sages against "profiteers," on the basis of the verse, "Break the arm of the wicked," which Rashi explains there as referring to "those who overprice produce and inflate prices." In other words, they artificially hike up prices in order to profit at the expense of the poor. For example: merchants who hoard their wares in order to market them at exorbitant prices when there is a shortage. There are also merchants who market their wares through agents, thereby increasing the price paid by the consumer (BB 90b). The Talmud further states (ibid., 90a): "A merchant should not make a profit of more than one sixth." However, these laws only refer to those goods which are considered essential or "life supporting," and the authorities dispute whether this category includes all foodstuffs or only some of them (see *Maggid Mishneh* and *Kesef Mishneh* on Maimonides, Yad, *Hilkhot Mekhirah* 14:2; *Me'irat Einayim* on ḤM 231:36). Regarding all other goods, the market is free and "he can charge as much as he likes" (Maimonides, ibid.).

Another category of articles subjected to regulation includes items required for the fulfillment of positive commandments, such as shofar, lulav, tefillin, matzah, etc. With respect to this category the sages adopted supply-promoting measures that lead to price reductions: inter alia, by issuing lenient halakhic rulings (see Mish., Ker. 1:7 concerning the post-natal mother's sacrifice, and Suk. 34b regarding pruned myrtles on Sukkot). For details of the laws on this subject, see *Hafka'at She'arim (Profiteering).

The Services Market

In addition to protecting consumers of commodities Jewish Law also protects consumers of services from paying in excess of the value of the services rendered. Here, too, the tendency is to provide the consumer with the opportunity to receive essential services at reasonable prices. The policy of ensuring cheap prices for religious commodities also applied to religious services.

The Talmud (Ned. 37a) interprets the verse: "'God commanded me at that time to teach you … just as I [teach you] free, so shall you [teach others] for free." In other words, there is a positive obligation to teach Torah gratis. Similarly, the Mishnah states (Bek. 4:6) that payment is not to be accepted by persons fulfilling a positive commandment, such as a judge, witness, or one who prepares the waters of ritual purification (*mei ḥatat*) or sprinkles them on the ritually impure. The Talmud distinguishes, however, between wages paid for the actual performance of a commandment, and those paid for various preparatory labors involved in its performance. It is thus permitted to accept wages for transporting the ashes of the red heifer or for filling up the water used in that ritual. Similarly, the Mishnah states that one who, in order to perform a commandment, is compelled to take time off from work, may accept compensation for time lost. Thus, in the case of a judge adjudicating a legal dispute (even where there was no prior agreement to that effect), we estimate what proportion of a person's wages he would be prepared to forgo (in accordance with the wage level and the difficulty of his work) in order to fulfill a commandment rather than working (see Sh. Ar., ḤM 9:5). This method enables those who spread Torah, such as rabbis, judges, teachers, as well as doctors, to receive payment for their work. According to another view, it is permitted to take payment when paid by the community rather than by individuals (see Tos. citing R. Tam, Ket. 105a).

The level of the judge's wage is "enough for his livelihood" (Ket., ibid.). The Talmud does not consider the possibility that he might demand more than this. Maimonides adds: "Their livelihood: for them, their wives, their children, and the members of their households" (Maim., Yad, *Shekalim* 4:7).

Regarding the fulfillment of commandments by the consumer, such as one who requires the services of a scribe to write a Torah scroll, tefillin, or mezuzah for him, mention should be made of the appeal made by the *Tiferet Yisrael*, based on the Mishnah (Bek., ibid.) "… that it is not fitting to burden people [monetarily] too much in matters of Torah and mitzvot," i.e. special care is required not to financially burden people with respect to items they need to purchase for the performance of commandments.

Wage Rates in Private Sector

In general, wages in the free market are fixed according to supply and demand. Nevertheless, in two situations Jewish Law does intervene:

(a) Determination of fees by service providers. A professional association can determine a price for services provided by its members to the public. The danger is that the price may be excessively high, without economic justification. Jewish Law responded to this situation by requiring the approval of "an important person" to protect the consumers' interests (BB 9a; and Sh. Ar, ḤM 231:28).

(b) Where a private person charges more than the accepted price for his services. In certain cases, the consumer pays a higher price due to his ignorance of the accepted price (see the discussion of overreaching, below). On other occasions, he is aware of the accepted price but may be forced to pay an exorbitant price. This issue is discussed in Yevamot 106a:

> If he [an escapee] was fleeing from prison and reached a ferry and he said [to the ferryman]: "Take a dinar [which is an inflated price] and take me across," he [the ferryman] is entitled only to his [normal] wage.

The Talmud explains that the person who undertook to pay can say to the ferryman: "I was fooling with you [and did not intend to pay the inflated price]" (see Maim. Yad, *Hilkhot Gezelah ve-Avedah* 12:7; Sh. Ar., ḤM 264:7). However, the exemption is dependent on the fulfillment of two conditions: first, that the service provider inflated the price due to the customer's distress; second, that the service provider had other work at that time, which he lost because of the client.

Accordingly, the *Shulḥan Arukh* (ḤM 264:7) rules: "In addition, someone fleeing from prison … he [the service provider] receives only his [normal] wage, and if he [the service provider] was a hunter and he [the client] said to him: 'Stop hunting and help me across,' he must pay him whatever they agreed upon, and this applies to other similar cases." The Rema adds: "Some authorities contend that the ruling that he [the service provider] is only entitled to his [normal] wage applies exclusively to instances in which it is not customary to pay a high price, but where a high price is the norm – for instance, with swearing by demons (to find a lost article) or for medical treatment – he must pay him whatever they agreed upon."

Ona'ah (Overreaching)

This is another rule that protects the consumer, although the original intention was to protect both sides: the seller and the buyer. The Torah states (Lev. 25:14): "When you sell an item to your friend, or buy from your friend, do not defraud each other." The sages derived the law of overreaching from this verse. That is, if it transpires that the price of the transaction deviated from the accepted price by one-sixth of its value or more, the aggrieved party has the option of imposing a sanction upon the offender, irrespective of whether he acted intentionally or accidentally (see Sh. Ar., ḤM 227; and *Ona'ah).

Nowadays, due to the aforementioned market conditions, it is usually the consumer who is the overreached party, and the laws of *ona'ah* are intended to protect him from exaggerated prices.

Mistaken Transactions

We have thus far focused on issues of pricing, but at times the problem relates to the nature or identification of the transaction. In this context, Jewish Law protects the consumer in a variety of fields.

MISTAKEN IDENTITY: In some cases the contract may be legally executed, but at the time of performance a discrepancy emerges between what was agreed upon and the concrete situation. In this context, the Mishnah states (BB 5:6): "He sold him … olive wood and it turned out to be sycamore … both are entitled to cancel the deal." This is a case in which both parties make a mistake.

A MISTAKE IN THE OBJECT OF THE TRANSACTION: Sometimes the object of the transaction is transferred as required, but the consumer claims that there is a mistake related to the object of the transaction. We may distinguish between two different situations:

A. A Mistake relating to Quantity:

> Sometimes the seller permits himself a small deviation in terms of measure, weight, or quantity from a large number of customers, to "compensate himself" for his small profit margin. Therefore, the Torah warns (Lev. 19:35): "Do not defraud, in measurements, in weights, or in measuring; fair scales …" The in judgment sages' exegesis of this verse indicates the extremity of the measures taken in order to prevent the offense: first,

> extreme accuracy is required: the Talmud (BM 61b; BB 89b) interprets the verse as follows: "'In measurements' [of an] area of land – he must not sell to one during the summer and to another during the winter." This is because the rope used for measuring length is not the same length in the summer as in the winter. 'In weight' he should not dip the weights in salt. [Tosafot, in the name of Rabenu Tam, explained that this is because "salt lightens the weights").] 'In measure' [teaches] that one must not cause [the liquid] to foam. This means that it is forbidden for the seller to pour the wine from a height into the client's measuring vessel, because it foams … and appears full" (see Rashbam on BB, ibid.).

The passage clearly proves that the margin of accuracy required is 1⁄63 of a *log*, and the *Shulḥan Arukh* (ḤM 231:6) rules: "Even if [the measure] is very small, so that the foam is not worth one penny." Secondly, there are restrictions that extend beyond the strict scope of the prohibition: Not only is defrauding forbidden, but there is an a priori obligation to ensure the accuracy of the scales. Therefore: "Weights must not be made of tin, lead, or other types of metal, because they wear" (BB, ibid.). Moreover, based on the verse "you shall not have in your pocket …" the rabbis deduced that it is forbidden to possess an inaccurate measure in your house, so that it does not become an inadvertent stumbling block (Sh. Ar., ibid., 3). The court is responsible for taking precautions, by appointing inspectors charged with ensuring the accuracy of weights and measures (ibid., 2). Thirdly, in case of doubt, the seller must err in favor of the customer. This is derived from the verse (Deut. 25:15) "A full and righteous stone [weight] …" According to rabbinic exegesis: "Be righteous from yourself and give to him" (Sh. Ar., ibid., 14)

What remedy does the consumer have when he receives less than the agreed quantity of goods?

The Talmud (Kid. 42b) rules that the transacted object is returned. The authorities disagreed over the meaning of this ruling. Some hold that the transaction is annulled (Tos., BB 104a). Some distinguish between real estate and chattel: only with real estate must the defrauder supplement the amount or reduce the price as appropriate (Rashbam, BB, ibid.). Others distinguish between situations in which he can make up the lack, as with a shortfall in the weight or amount of a given product, and others which cannot be corrected, such as a house which is smaller than the agreed-upon size, in which case the transaction is annulled (see Naḥmanides on BB 103b; Sh. Ar., Ḥ.M. 232:1; *Me'irat Einayim* 4 and the novellae of the Gaon of Vilna, *ad loc.*). According to some authorities, if the transaction was made on the understanding that it is complete, but turns out to be deficient, the transaction is annulled. If, however, a sale of 100 eggs is agreed upon and it turns out that some are missing, the lack must be made up (Rabad's glosses on Maim., *Hilkhot Mekhirah* 15:2). According to another view, the transaction is always upheld, and the seller must make up the amount or, if this is not possible, reduce the price (Rashba, BB 103b).

B. A MISTAKE RELATING TO QUALITY.

The Mishna (BB 5:6) states: "If he sold him good wheat and it turned out to be bad, the purchaser may renege." Here, there is no remedy of supplementing the transaction, the only remedy is the annulment. Maimonides gives the following explanation (*Mekhirah* 15:2):

> We do not calculate the loss of value due to the fault … If the fault reduces its value by an *issar* [a negligible amount] he returns the vessel, and the seller cannot say to the buyer, "Take an *issar* in compensation for the loss of value" because the buyer can say to him, "I want a perfect item."

But not every change in the attributes or quality of goods annuls a transaction. Some changes are small, in which case the remedy lies in compensation or repair. Thus, for example, the *Shulḥan Arukh* rules in accordance with R. Asher regarding someone who sells a house in a different city, where it transpires that before the sale was complete Gentiles destroyed the windows and doors. In such a case, the transaction is not annulled. This is considered a "passing fault" that can be repaired. Therefore: "He [the seller] reduces the payment so that the buyer can restore the house to its previous state" (Sh. Ar., ḤM 232:5). There is also the case of a fault that is extraneous to the transaction and which can be remedied. For instance, if it transpires that a canal runs by the house, or another party has a right of passage through the house, the seller must remove this "obstacle," and the transaction is not annulled (Rema, ibid.).

What are the criteria for determining a mistaken transaction?

The more the customer details his original demands, the greater his opportunity to claim a mistaken transaction in the case of disagreement over the interpretation of the contract. A prior condition can serve to illuminate the parties' intentions (see Sh. Ar, ḤM 214:1). But regarding an actual fault, no prior stipulation is required: "It is assumed that any buyer wants a perfect article with no faults." In this context, a fault includes: "anything that the local residents agree is a fault, such as annuls a transaction of this kind" (Maim. Yad, *Hilkhot Mekhirah* 15:5; Sh. Ar., ḤM 2:6).

It follows that the local custom establishes the limits for a claim of mistaken transaction. The designated use of the item also influences the result of the consumer's claim. If a customer purchases a slave with a hidden blemish which does not prevent him from carrying out his work, such as a wart, he cannot claim this as a blemish, because the slave is intended for work and for no other purpose (Sh. Ar., ibid., 10). But if the item can serve several purposes, and the buyer failed to stipulate the purpose of his purchase, then even if the majority of consumers purchase it for the purpose he claims "we do not follow the majority in monetary matters." Hence, if someone purchases an ox, and it turns out to be a goring ox suitable for slaughter only and not for plowing, he cannot annul the transaction on the grounds of mistaken purchase (Sh. Ar., ibid., 23).

In some instances, the claim of mistaken purchase is contingent on the behavior of the purchaser: (a) If he knew in advance that the concrete reality did not conform with the terms of the agreement, the claim of nonconformity is not accepted, unless he made a condition to that effect (Rema, Ḥ.M. 220:10; Gra, ibid.); (b) If the purchaser used the item after seeing the fault he is considered "as if he has waived [his claim], and it is not annulled" (Sh. Ar., ibid., 3). Some hold that it is the purchaser's responsibility to check the item so that he can later claim that it is unsuitable (see *Maggid Mishneh* on Maim., *Hilkhot Mekhirah* 5:3). Others, however, limit this obligation to specific circumstances (see *Netivot ha-Mishpat* on Ḥ.M. 232:1; *Pitḥei Teshuvah* ad loc.).

The seller, for his part, can protect himself from the claim of mistaken transaction if he makes an appropriate condition in advance to the effect that the buyer waives his right to annul the transaction in that particular instance (see Sh. Ar., ḤM 232:7–9).

Commercial Advertising

The principal requirement of the seller relates to his presentation of the goods. He must be careful not to mislead the buyer. Not only is lying forbidden: concealing relevant information and misleading the buyer are similarly prohibited. Thus Maimonides rules (Yad, *Hilkhot Mekhirah* 18:1): "It is forbidden to defraud people in business or to mislead them. This applies equally to Gentiles and Jews. If he is aware of a fault in his merchandise, he must inform the buyer."

There are various kinds of actions that amount to misleading, but for our purposes we shall quote Maimonides (*De'ot* 2:6):

> It is forbidden to sell a Gentile the meat of a carcass instead of ritually slaughtered meat, or a shoe made from [the skin of] a carcass rather than one made from [the skin of] a slaughtered animal … rather [you should have] truth in speech, an honest spirit, and a heart which is pure of all deceit and wrongdoing.

Even if there is no difference between the price of slaughtered meat and the price of a carcass, the Gentile is grateful to him for selling him what he assumes to be slaughtered meat, which is considered of a higher quality.

At times the law depends on the behavior of the seller. Hence the ruling:

> It is forbidden to apply color [or apply makeup] to a person (i.e., a Canaanite slave), or an animal, or to vessels; for example, to dye the beard of a slave about to be sold to make him look young; or to give an animal bran water to drink, which causes it to swell and its hair to stand on end, so that it looks fat … (Sh. Ar., ḤM 228:9).

This does not mean that all advertising is forbidden. Improving the external appearance of merchandise without concealing faults is permitted. The Mishnah (Ar. 6:5) states: "… although they ruled that a slave sold with clothes is worth more, so that if you buy him a cloak worth 30 dinars, it increases his value by a maneh [i.e., 100 dinars]." Rashi explains that this is so "… because good clothing enhances them and adds to their value."

In his gloss on the Mishnah, *Tiferet Yisrael* adds that coloring the merchandise with intent to deceive is forbidden, but "… to wash and anoint him [the slave] to encourage the buyers to purchase him is permitted."

In certain instances, the seller's presentation of the product can be interpreted in different ways, and if the purchaser fails to verify the true significance, he has only himself to blame. The Talmud (Hul. 94b) gives the example of an announcement for the sale of meat to Gentiles. Here it is the responsibility of the gentiles to conclude that the meat is *terefah* (not ritually slaughtered in accordance with Jewish Law).

In principle, advertising directed at the emotions and imagination is permissible. The Mishnah therefore rules (BM 4:12):

> R. Judah said: a shopkeeper must not distribute parched corn or nuts to children, because he thereby accustoms them to come to him; the sages permit it. Nor may he reduce the price; but the sages say, he is to be remembered for good.

The ruling is in accordance with the sages' view. This demonstrates that free competition is more important than the possibility of deceiving people. However, it is still necessary to beware of overly seductive advertising, which obscures relevant information. The same Mishnah states: "One must not sift pounded beans: This is the view of Abba Saul. but the sages permit it." The sages ruling was accepted as the binding rule. In other words, the assumption is that the buyer will not be deceived into overrating the importance of the removal of the debris. However, the Mishnah continues:

> … but they agree that he may not remove the debris from the face of the dish only, because this amounts to creating a deceptive appearance. (This ruling was codified in the *Shulḥan Arukh*, ḤM 228:17.)

The *Tosafot YomTov* accurately point out that the phrase "creating a deceptive appearance" (literally "stealing the eye") implies that, even if the seller informs the buyer that he only sifted the top layer, he may nevertheless be deceived by the sight of clean merchandise, and receive the wrong impression.

An additional concern pertinent to the kind of commercial advertising common today is the use of immodest pictures and signs, etc. Similarly, one must beware of applying subliminal pressure to buy unnecessary merchandise, even to the extent of turning consumption itself into a value. This contravenes the words of Naḥmanides on the verse "You shall be holy …" (Lev. 19:2), where he states: "… that we should remove ourselves from luxuriousness."

The Legal Position in Israel

There are a number of laws relating to fair trade and the required agreement between a contract and its execution. We shall mention a few of these: the Standards Law, 5713 – 1953; the Sales Law, 5728 – 1968; the Contracts (General Part) Law, 5733 – 1973; the Standard Contracts Law, 5724 – 1964; the Contracts (Remedy for Breach of Contract) Law 5731 – 1971.

However, of special significance for our purposes is the Consumer Protection Law, 5741/1981. In the introduction to the explanatory note of the bill (Haẓa'ot Ḥok, 5780 p. 301), it was emphasized that "the proposal is deeply rooted in Jewish law, which provides extensive protection for the consumer within the framework of the laws of deception and fraud." In addition to some of the sources cited above, the words of the *amora* R. Levi are quoted: "The punishment for [false] measures is more rigorous than that for [marrying] forbidden relatives" (BB 88b).

The words of the Tosefta (BK 7:2) are also quoted: "There are seven types of thieves. Foremost among them – he who deceives people." The principles of Jewish Law pertaining to the topic are also quoted, as detailed above.

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[Itamar Warhaftig (2nd ed.)]

CONTEMPT OF COURT. According to the Talmud, cursing a judge is a scriptural prohibition. The verse "You shall not revile God" (Ex. 22:27) is interpreted as referring to human judges (Mekh. *ibid.*; Sanh. 66a; Maim. Yad, Sanhedrin 26:1) as is a preceding verse "… the case of both parties shall come before God: he whom God declares guilty shall pay double to the other" (*ibid.*, 22:8). In both these verses the word *Elohim* is used and was taken to mean "judges." Cursing any person is an offense punishable with *flogging (see *Slander), cursing a judge, by virtue of the extra prohibition, is punished by a double flogging (Maim. (*ibid.*, 26:2). As in every offense punishable with flogging, so in contempt of court the offender must have been warned beforehand; however, insulting a judge or the court may be punished with anathema (see **Ḥerem*) or with admonitory lashes (*makkat mardut*), even though spontaneous and not punishable by law (Maim. *ibid.*, 26:5). The court may, however, at its discretion, condone such an unpremeditated insult and abstain from taking action on it, whereas a premeditated curse must be punished according to law and no apology can be accepted (Maim. *ibid.* 26:6).

It appears that in talmudic times the administrative, and not the judicial, officers of the court were the main target of contempt of court – demonstrated both in words and violence – and detailed rules were worked out to facilitate the perilous tasks of court messengers assigned to serve summonses and to execute judgments (BK 112b–113a; Maim. *ibid.*, 25:5–11; ḤM 11). The standard punishment for contempt of court messengers is anathema (*niddui*), after three prior warnings (*ibid.*); but admonitory lashes were also administered not only for insulting process-servers (Kid. 12b, 70b), but especially for failure to pay judgment debts (Ket. 86a–b). The source for the authority to proclaim anathema was taken to be Deborah's curse on those who did not come to the help of the Lord (Judg. 5:23). One scholar, invoking the wide authority given to Ezra by the Persian king for the punishment of offenders (Ezra 7:26), went so far as to authorize the infliction of imprisonment, shackling, and confiscation of goods (MK 16a), but in practice no such severe measures appear ever to have been adopted. No witnesses were required to prove such contempt: the complaint of the court official was accepted as conclusive – and expressly excluded from the applicability of the rules against slander (*ibid.*, and Maim., and ḤM *ibid.*).

In post-talmudic times, obedience to the courts had to be enforced by more rigorous means: both admonitory lashes (cf., e.g., Resp.Rosh 8:2 and 11:4) and imprisonment (cf., e.g., *Rema* and ḤM 97:15; Resp. Ribash 484) were widely used against persons who willfully persisted in disobeying the court. However, such extreme sanctions were resorted to only where previous public admonitions (cf., e.g., Resp. Maharam Minz 38, 39, 101), the exclusion from religious and civic honors, the disqualification from suing and testifying, and similar measures (including the anathema) had been of no avail (S. Assaf, *Battei Din…* (1924), 118 and passim). It has been maintained that all these sanctions were not punitive in nature but solely designed to execute the judgment of the court or make the adjudged debtor pay his debt (Elon) – a modern distinction which in most cases is rather academic. The talmudic formula, "he shall be beaten until his soul departs" (Ket. 86b et al.), has an unmistakably punitive undertone: compelling the debtor to pay coincides with punishing him for his contempt.

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[Haim Hermann Cohn]

CONTRACT (Heb. חוֹזֶה, *ḥozeh*), in general law theory a legally binding agreement between two or more parties, in terms of which one party undertakes for the benefit of the other to perform or refrain from a certain act. As such, contract is the main source of the law of *obligations. The scriptural term closest to this meaning is the word *berit* ("covenant"), although it occurs mainly in the sense of a *covenant of love between man and his neighbor (I Sam. 18:3), or a perpetual covenant between the Almighty and man or the people of Israel (Gen. 9:9; 15:18; Ex. 31:16), as well as a covenant of peace between nations (Gen. 21:32; Judg. 2:2; II Sam. 5:4; Ezek. 30:5; Hos. 12:2). The word *ḥozeh* also occurs in Scripture, but not in any strict legal sense: e.g., "… with the nether-world are we at agreement" (Isa. 28:15). In the post-scriptural period no concrete legal significance was assigned to either of these terms, nor was there any embracing parallel term for contract in talmudic times (the word *kiẓa(h)* (Tosef. Ket. 4:7, et al.) is not a generic term for contract but represents a particular transaction only). In the rabbinical period (see *Mishpat Ivri), the term *hitkasherut* came into general use – a term rightly considered by Gulak to be a translation of the Latin *contractus* (from *contrahere*, "mutual binding together"), and one that aptly expresses the concept of contract. The term *ḥozeh* was used by I.S. Zuri (*Mishpat ha-Talmud*, 5 (1921), 1) as the equivalent of contract and this has come into general use in Hebrew legal parlance in the State of Israel.

The absence in Jewish law of a generic term for a concept paralleling that of contract in Roman law is apparently attributable to its preference for a concrete rather than abstract terminology (see *Codification of Law). The Jewish law principles of contract are to be gathered from the various laws of *sale, *lease, *gift, *loan, *suretyship, etc. and from the additional special laws accruing in the course of time.

Creation of Contractual Ties

In ancient Jewish law it was possible for contractual ties to be created in various symbolic ways, such as by "removing and handing over the shoe" (Ruth 4:7; see also TJ, Kid. 1:5, 60c) and by handshake (*teki'at kaf*, Prov. 6:1; 11:15; 17:18; 22:26; Job 17:3; see also Ezra 10: 19). The view of obligations as being of a concrete (*ḥefzi*) nature by giving the creditor a *lien over the debtor's assets (see Obligations, Law of) resulted in the fact that the modes of creating contractual obligations came to be the same as those for the creation of ownership rights in property (see Modes of *Acquisition). While Jewish law bases the conclusion of a contract on the *gemirut ha-da'at* (i.e., final intention or making up of the mind) of the parties to be bound, such intention may only be inferred from a formal and recognized *kinyan* ("mode of acquisition") executed by one of the parties. Hence, contrary to Roman law which allows for a contract to be concluded by the mere oral assent of the parties, Jewish law does not generally confer legal recognition on an obligation created merely orally (BM 94a; cf. Kid. 1:6; for exceptions to this rule, see below). Accordingly, the breach of a merely oral agreement involves "a breach of faith," carrying only moral sanction (BM 49a, opinion of R. Johanan, and Codes); and the obligation is not legally complete, even where the purchaser has paid the price but failed to observe the mode of acquisition proper to the transaction, and the sanction, if he should retract, is a "religious" one only: "He who punished the generation of the Flood and of the Dispersion will exact payment from one who does not stand by his word" (BM 4:2 and Codes). The reason for the existence of a religious or moral sanction in these circumstances is the underlying religio-moral duty of fulfilling a promise, i.e., an oral undertaking made without the execution of a formal *kinyan* (Ket. 86a; see also BM 9:7 and Pes. 91a).

Consideration

Jewish law attaches a great deal of importance to the existence of consideration in the creation of contractual ties, and in this respect shows an interesting similarity to English law (see Gulak, Yesodei, 2 (1922), 40ff.). This requirement finds expression mainly in the fact that the contract is only concluded upon the actual passing of the consideration, such as the borrower's receipt of the loan money, or the performance of an act representing the receipt of the subject matter of the transaction by the purchaser, donee, hirer, or borrower. Even with regard to the creation of a bailment, which gives the bailee no right in the property itself or its fruits, it was laid down that an act of *meshikhah* (lit. "pulling," see Modes of *Acquisition) of the subject matter established the obligation (BM 99a; see **shomerim*). Similarly, a contract of *partnership for profit-making purposes is concluded when each of the partners performs an act of receiving part of the subject matter of the partnership belonging to the other partners – whether in money or chattels (Ket. 10:4) – the rule being: "partners acquire one from the other a common interest in the partnership capital in the same manners that the purchaser acquires [from the seller]" (Maim. Yad, Sheluḥin, 4:1). In the same way, a contract for the hire of a laborer is concluded upon the laborer commencing his work, the work being the contractual consideration (Tosef. BM, 7:1; BM 76b). None of the obligations normally deriving from any of the above-mentioned transactions, such as payment of the price by the purchaser and the seller's responsibility for the subject matter, or payment of the bailment money by the bailor and the obligation of the bailee to take care of the bailment, etc., will be legally binding on any of the parties, except upon their execution of the act of *kinyan* offering some exchange of consideration.

A number of contractual obligations were originally capable of being established merely orally – these cases being explained on the basis of a "spiritual" consideration. Thus, in the case of a *dowry it was decided that the mutual promises of the parties achieved legal validity upon mere oral agreement ("matters concerning which *kinyan* is effected by a mere verbal arrangement," Ket. 102b); "owing to the pleasure in forming of a mutual family tie, they finally make up their minds to allow one another the full rights of *kinyan*." The distribution among the partners of partnership assets by lottery, even though effected orally only, was held to be legally binding for a similar reason (BB 106b). Similarly, the oral establishment of a suretyship obligation was justified because, "on account of the pleasure of being trusted [by the creditor, or court appointing him] he finally makes up his mind to undertake the obligation" (BB 173b, 176b).

The requirement of consideration for the creation of an obligation served to complicate the modes of formation of contractual ties, just as the need for real modes of acquisition complicated the manner of gaining a proprietary right. Beginning with the amoraic period, mention is made of "acquisition by the kerchief" (*kinyan sudar*) as a method both for the acquisition of a proprietary right and for the establishment of an obligation. This mode required that the promisee give the promisor some object belonging to him in return for which, as it were, the latter undertook the obligation; this procedure involved the handing over of a fictitious consideration – as the value of the object bore no relationship to the measure of the obligation and on completion of the formalities the object was returned to the promisee. Because it was convenient and easily executed, this procedure came to be widely followed from amoraic times onward as the mode of creation of different obligations (see BM 94a; BB 3a; etc.). In order to create mutual obligations between the parties, a *kinyan* would be effected by each in respect of his own undertaking.

Obligation by Admission (Hoda'ah) and by Deed

*Admission offered a further means for the creation of an obligation without consideration. Originally admission was an aspect of the procedural law: i.e., a man's admission that he was indebted to another or that a specified object of his belonged to another was enough to establish liability without any further proof, in terms of the rule that "the admission of a litigant is as the evidence of a hundred witnesses" (Kid. 65b). Accordingly, admission created no new obligation but merely confirmed an already existing one. Out of the procedural form of admission, Jewish law developed an admission of a substantive nature capable of creating a new obligation, so that the mere admission of liability for an obligation established its existence without further investigation, even if it was known not to have existed previously (Ket. 101b). In the opinion of most commentators, obligation stemming from admission may be created orally (before witnesses) without any need for a formal *kinyan* even if it is known by both parties and the witnesses that there was not any debt in existence (Maim. Yad, Mekhirah, 11:15; Sh. Ar., ḤM 40:1). The scholars found a basis for the existence of a unilateral obligation in a suretyship undertaking (see Ket. 101b; Yad and Sh. Ar., loc. cit.; and Siftei Kohen, ḤM 40:1, n.7). Admission, like a formal *kinyan*, served not only to establish an obligation but was also a method of alienation (*hakna'ah*) of property (BB 149a); in both events it was required that an oral formula be adopted, making clear the fact of an admission (*keẓot ha-ḥoshen*, ḤM 40:1). A written undertaking was also recognized by the majority of the commentators as a means of creating an obligation without consideration (Ket. 101b; BB 175b; Yad, Mekhirah 11:15; Sh. Ar., ḤM 40:1).

Obligations in Respect of Something Not Yet in Existence (Davar She-Lo Ba La-Olam)

The tenet of Jewish law that a person cannot transfer title of something not yet in existence or not in his possession (*Sheeino bi-reshuto*; see Modes of *Acquisition), severely inhibited the development of trade. This problem was already referred to in tannaitic times in the statement: "one who declares, 'whatever I shall inherit from my father is sold to you, whatever my trap shall ensnare is sold to you,' has said nothing" (Tosef., Ned. 6:7); if however he says: "'whatever I shall inherit from my father to-day, whatever my trap shall ensnare to-day,' his statements are binding" (*ibid.*). Although in both cases the subject matter of the transaction is not yet in existence, the rule in the latter case resulted from a rabbinical enactment aimed at providing the promisor with money for the burial of his dying father, or for his own sustenance on that day (BM 16a–b). Similarly, it may be inferred from the plain meaning of the statement: "whoever sells products to his neighbor believing them to be in his possession, and it is then found that they are not, the other [party] does not have to lose his right" (Tosef. BM 4:1) that the seller is still legally obliged to deliver products to the purchaser, as undertaken (see also TJ, Ter. 6:3, 44b, statement of Abbahu). However, this *halakhah* was interpreted by the Babylonian *amoraim* as referring to the tradition of the moral sanction, "He who punished…" (BM 4:2) and not to a legal obligation (BM 63b; see also S. Lieberman, *Tosefot Rishonim*, 2 (1938), 111–2 on the wording of the Tosefta statement and attitude of the *rishonim* to it; cf. also BB 69b and Rashbam, ad loc.).

In the amoraic period an exception had already been stipulated to this general rule – something not yet in existence could be charged in a creditor's favor, even though no one could alienate it or transfer title to it; and the debtor could charge in favor of a creditor property which the former might acquire in the future (BB 157a; see *Lien). Out of this proposition there developed, in relation to something not yet in existence, a basic and substantive distinction between proprietary right and a right of obligation. Thus Solomon b. Abraham Adret (Rashba) made clear that a person who undertakes to give his neighbor all that he might earn in the following 30 days and charges all his property (whether existing or to be acquired in the future) to the latter is legally obliged to fulfill his undertaking, since this is not a case of transferring title of something not yet in existence, such as the fruit of the palm-tree, but a personal undertaking to give whatever the palm-tree shall produce during a specified period in the future; and "so far as obligations are concerned… the question of something that is not yet in existence is of no moment… because of the responsibility of the person himself" (Resp., vol. 3, no. 65; Rashba found a basis for the distinction in a man's undertaking to provide maintenance for a certain period which is valid even if he lacks the means for it at the time of the undertaking: Ket. 101b). The *halakhah* was also decided to the effect that the rule concerning something not yet in existence applied to a disposition couched in the language of sale or gift. If, however, it was couched in the language of obligation (e.g., "be witness that I oblige myself to *peloni* ["so-and-so"] for such-and-such"), the obligation in question would be effective and binding (Tur. and Sh. Ar., ḤM 60:6), because "the obligation rests on his person and he is in existence" (Sma, ḤM 60:6, n. 18).

Substantive Change in the Nature of Contractual Obligation in Jewish Law

The distinction described above was a convenient way in which the contractual obligation could be used to meet the requirements of a developing commercial life. Although it had its roots in talmudic *halakhah* (Rashba, loc. cit. and see also *Sefer ha-Terumot*, no. 64:2), the distinction was apparently accepted as an explicit legal principle only from the 13th century onward (Maimonides, for instance, does not mention it at all). Until its acceptance, the main emphasis in regard to an obligation was placed on the real nature of the right of lien over the debtor's property, but recognition of the validity of an undertaking, even one relating to something not yet in existence, strengthened the personal aspect of the obligation, for it was founded on the actual existence of the debtor's person.

This concept was developed further during the same period. A corollary of the "real-right" aspect of an obligation had been the legal conclusion that an undertaking could not be legally created unless the promisor owned property at that time, which would become charged in favor of the promisee. The statements of the *amoraim* concerning the extension of the lien to include assets which would be acquired subsequent to creation of the debt meant that the lien would take in such assets in addition to those owned by the promisor at the time the debt was created. Arising from this, the tosafists discussed the validity of the then current practice of a bridegroom's written undertaking in favor of his bride, "for a hundred pounds even though he does not have a penny," and they confirmed this practice for the reason that, "the subjection of his person established the debt forthwith" (R. Elijah, Tos. to Ket. 54b; Rosh, *ibid.*). The result was to shift the emphasis in a contractual obligation to the personal aspect of the undertaking – "even for something he is not liable for and even if he has no assets, since he binds and holds responsible his own person" (*Beit Yosef*, ḤM 60, no. 15). This doctrine was even more explicitly enunciated by Moses *Sofer in the 18th century (*Ḥatam Sofer,* nov. Ket. 54b). In this manner the contractual obligation underwent a substantial change, from being essentially real in nature to being essentially personal, with the property aspect subordinate to the personal.

The emphasis on the personal aspect brought in its train a series of additional halakhic rulings concerning contractual obligations. Thus, some of the *posekim* expressed the opinion that a person could validly give an undertaking in favor of someone not yet in existence – even though he was unable to transfer title in this manner – and hence it was decided, for example, that a stipulation in favor of a person yet unborn was binding "since the stipulator is at any rate in existence" (*Yad Malakhi, Kelalei ha-Dinim*, no. 127). Similarly, despite the rule that a person could not transfer title to an intangible thing, such as a right of usufruct or of occupation of a dwelling (Sh. Ar., ḤM 212:1 ff.), some *posekim* expressed the view that a person could validly give an undertaking of this nature (Resp. *Naḥal Yizḥak*, 60:3). The majority of the *posekim* were of the opinion that a person could validly give an undertaking in regard to an unspecified amount, such as maintenance, to extend even for a period of unspecified duration (Resp. Rashba, pt. 2, no. 89; *Hassagot Rabad* Mekhirah 11:16; Sh. Ar., ḤM 60:2; 207:21) and in the opinion of several *posekim* an undertaking could be given either to commit or to refrain from committing a certain act (Resp. Maharashdam, ḤM, no. 370; Resp. Maharsham, pt. 2, no. 18).

Developments in the Formation of Contractual Ties by Way of Custom

As has already been stated, it has been a general principle of Jewish law that mere oral assent is not sufficient to constitute the *gemirat ha-da'at* of the parties, which is a fundamental requirement for the validity of any transaction involving a proprietary right or contractual obligation and is complete only when expressed in one of the recognized modes of acquisition or accompanied by the existence of some "spiritual" consideration, except for certain exceptions laid down in talmudic law (as in the case where the parties are husband and wife or parent and child, BK 102b and Nov. Rashba, ad loc.; also in other special cases, Bekh. 18b and Tos.; see also *Ḥazon Ish*, BK no. 21:5).

By means of the legal source of custom (**minhag*), Jewish law came to recognize a way of creating orally a legally valid transaction. According to talmudic law, the existence of a trading custom whereby a transaction was concluded by affixing a mark (*sitomta*) on a barrel of wine was sufficient to render the sale legally complete, despite the absence of a *meshikhah* – the recognized mode of acquiring movable property (BM 74a). This rule was justified on the grounds that "custom abrogates the law in all matter of *mamon*" (i.e., monetary matters or the civil law; see *minhag) and therefore "acquisition is made in all manners customary among the merchants" (Rashba, nov. BM, 74a). In the course of the time it was decided, in line with the above principle, that a transaction concluded by way of a handshake or the payment of earnest money (*demei kadimah*, Piskei Rosh BM 74a) or the delivery of the key to the place of storage of the goods, enjoyed full legal validity if based on a local mercantile custom (Sh. Ar., ḤM 201). From the 13th century on the question was discussed whether a transaction concluded merely orally on the strength of local custom could be afforded full legal validity. *Asher b. Jehiel was of the opinion (Resp. 12:3) that an analogy could be made with the law of *sitomta* only so far as a custom provided for the performance of some act, like those mentioned above; but mere words alone could not suffice to conclude a transaction. In his opinion a custom of this nature could not override the basic attitude of Jewish law in requiring active formal expression of the *gemirat ha-da'at* of the parties, and custom could only vary the essential nature of the formal act. An opposing opinion was expressed by *Meir b. Baruch of Rothenburg (and R. Jehiel, quoted in *Mordekhai*, Shab., sec. 472–3) to the effect that the very existence of a custom to conclude a transaction orally justified the assumption that complete *gemirat ha-da'at* could also result from the use of words alone. This view was accepted in most of the Codes and confirmed, inter alia, in relation to an undertaking to perform a *mitzvah* (e.g., at a circumcision ceremony: Resp. Radbaz, pt. 1, no. 278) and to formation of a partnership, it having been decided that, despite the need for a formal *kinyan*, if there was a custom of establishing partnership by oral agreement, such agreement was sufficient, since "custom is a major factor in civil law" (*ibid.*, no. 380). This view was also accepted by the later *posekim* (see *Kesef ha-Kodashim* 210:1), and in terms of this full validity was afforded to public sales (*Mishpat u-Ẓedakah be-Ya'akov*, no. 33), to sales on the exchange (Resp. Maharsham, pt. 3 no. 18), and to similar transactions decreed by custom to be capable of being created in mere oral form.

Freedom of Stipulation

According to ancient *halakhah*, a condition stipulated by the parties that was contrary to the recognized provisions of the law was invalid: "any condition contrary to what is written in the Torah is void" (BM 7:11) – even in matters of civil law. For this reason a condition that the firstborn (see *Birthright) should not inherit a double portion or that a son should not inherit together with his brother was void (BB 126b and see *Succession; the explanation given for a distinction in regard to matters of succession does not accord with the plain meaning of the Mishnah). This was still the view of Simeon b. Gamaliel (Ket. 9:1) and R. Meir (Ket. 56a) around the middle of the second century. At this time R. Judah expressed the view that only in matters of ritual law (*dinei issura*; see *Mishpat Ivri) was it forbidden to contract out of the Pentateuchal law, such as a condition exempting a wife from the need to undergo a *levirate marriage on her husband's death. In matters of *mamon*, however, such as a wife's right to maintenance, a condition would be valid: "this is the rule: any condition contrary to what is written in the Torah is valid if relating to a matter of *mamon*; if relating to a matter other than *mamon*, it is void" (Tosef. Kid. 3:7–8, Ket. 56a). This view was also followed by the scholars who stated that the husband's right of succession could properly be varied by contract (Ket. 9:1) and that a bailee could stipulate for a different measure of liability than that provided for in the Torah (BM 7:10).

The *amoraim* developed the view that regarded matters of ritual law as being in the nature of *jus cogens* and therefore not subject to contrary stipulation; unlike matters of civil law, which were regarded as being in the nature of *jus dispositivum* (Ket. 83b–84a; BM 51a–b; TJ, Ket. 9:1, 32d; BB 8:5). The law was decided accordingly in the Codes (Yad, Ishut, 12:7–9; Shemittah, 9:10; Mekhirah, 13:3–4; Sh. Ar., EH 38:5, ḤM 67:9, 227:21). Hence the rule in Jewish law is that in matters falling within the purview of the civil law, the Torah itself prescribed no obligatory rules and therefore "a party may make a waiver [i.e., contract out] since the Torah does not require him to give an undertaking save of his own free will" (Nov. Ramban, BB 126b). A necessary requirement is that the condition be worded in the proper form; e.g., "on condition that *you* shall have no [complaint of] overreaching [*ona'ah*] against *me*" and not, "on condition that there shall not be any overreaching in the deal" (Mak. 3b, Rashi and Tos. *ibid.*, and Codes.)

Matters excluded, as a matter of principle, from being the subject of a stipulation include an agreement to submit to bodily injury or the curtailment of personal liberty. Hence an agreement to cut off another party's hand or put out his eye, even though they might be causing him pain, is void (BK 8:7 and TJ, BK 8:11, 6c; but cf. Tosef. BK 9:32). This applied even in the case of an ordinary beating – concerning which the opinion was expressed that as it did not amount to serious bodily harm no compensation was payable in respect of it (BK 93a; Resp. Ribash, no. 484 and see below Illegal Contracts). Similarly, a condition that the creditor shall have the right to imprison the debtor on his failure to repay the debt is invalid, since the imprisonment of an indigent debtor for non-payment is an infringement of his personal liberty (see *Imprisonment for Debt). In this connection, the scholars disputed the validity of an agreement between husband and wife not to cohabit with one another: the opinion in the Jerusalem Talmud was in favor of it being upheld as valid (BM 7:10, 11c), and this was followed by some of the *rishonim* (see *Oẓar ha-Ge'onim*, 8 (1938), 167 (first pagination) and commentary of Rabbenu Hananel, *ibid.*, 45); other *rishonim*, however (Rashi to Ket. 56a) and the *posekim* (Yad, Ishut, 6:9–10; Sh. Ar., EH 38:5; 69:6) held such a condition to be invalid since it was a *tenai she-ba-guf* (i.e., a condition involving bodily suffering).

The scholars further restricted the freedom of stipulation in matters where they saw the need for enforcement and preservation. Thus it was decided that a stipulation between husband and wife that she should forego her *ketubbah* is void (Ket. 57b and Sh. Ar., EH 69:6). Similarly, a stipulation of the parties that they shall submit to the jurisdiction of a gentile court even in monetary matters was held to be invalid, as it was regarded as tending to undermine Jewish judicial institutions (see Tur, *Beit Yosef*, and Sh. Ar., ḤM 26). The scholars also expressed different opinions on freedom of stipulation in certain fields of the law such as *suretyship and *succession (Yad, Nahalot 6:1; cf. the sources of Maimonides' statements, which are contradictory to the plain meaning of the talmudic statements, in Meiri to BB 126b). A stipulation contrary to good public order and morals is also void. On this ground Ḥayyim Jair *Bacharach decided that an agreement between local clothiers to refrain from suing each other on a complaint of unfair competition, trespass, etc., was void, since this could only lead to increased strife and disturbance of the public order (*Ḥavvat Ya'ir*, no. 163).

Illegal Contracts

Different systems reflect a varying approach to the question of illegal contracts, such as one involving the commission of a criminal offense or one made for an illegal purpose. Some European legal systems hold such contracts to be null and void *ab initio*, whereas English law does not void them initially but prescribes that the courts shall not enforce them or grant the parties any relief, all in terms of the two Roman Law maxims: *ex turpi causa non oritur actio* and *in pari delicto melior est pars possidentis*.

Jewish law reveals a materially different approach. Although fulfillment of a contract is not prescribed if this should involve the actual commission of an offense or transgression, the fact that it has been committed does not deprive the contract of its legal validity or preclude the court from granting relief in terms of it. Thus, in a transaction concerning lending at interest, prohibited by the Pentateuchal law to both lender and borrower (BM 61a and Codes; see *Usury), the lender cannot claim payment of the interest according to the agreement, since this involves the perpetration of the transgression itself, but the borrower may claim a refund of interest already paid by him, despite his transgression. Similarly, if the borrower has given the lender some object as a payment in lieu of interest money, the former may only claim the return of the amount of the interest but not the object itself, since "the transaction is binding and cannot be voided because it is in contravention of a prohibition" (BM 65a–b, Rashi and *Piskei ha-Rosh, ibid.*). In the opinion of R. Meir, the effect of a bond of indebtedness that includes interest is to fine the lender by precluding him not only from recovering the interest but also the principal (BM 72a); the *halakhah*, however, was decided according to the view of the other scholars, namely that the lender could recover the principal but not the interest (Yad, Malveh 4:6) except if in the bond an aggregate amount appears from which the separate amounts of principal and interest cannot be established (Sh. Ar., ḤM 52:1). The law was similarly decided with regard to any transaction prohibited in part; namely that the transaction is valid except that the illegal part must be severed from it (Sh. Ar., ḤM 208:1 and Rema thereto).

This basic approach was also followed in Maimonides' ruling that: "if a person sells or gives on the Sabbath, and certainly on festivals, even though he should be flogged, his act is effective" (Yad, Mekhira 30:7); so too with regard to an obligation contracted on the Sabbath: "if anyone performs a *kinyan* on the Sabbath, the *kinyan* is valid and the writing and handing over take place after the Sabbath" (Yad *ibid.*; Sh. Ar., ḤM 195:11; 235:28). This was held to be the case even with regard to a *kinyan* involving the desecration of the Sabbath according to Pentateuchal law (BK 70b).

This approach of Jewish law to the question of a contract involving a transgression illustrates its capacity to distinguish between the "legal" and the "religious" aspects of the *halakhah*, notwithstanding their common source and it is precisely because of the material link between law and morals that Jewish law deprives the transgressor of those additional "benefits" which result from the invalidation of the civil aspects of the contract. For the same reason the court will not grant relief to a party whenever enforcement of a transaction will, in the prevailing social circumstances, amount to an encouragement of criminal conduct. Thus the court will not order the refund of money paid for the procurement of false testimony, if the witness should fail to testify falsely (*Shevut Ya'akov*, vol. 1, no. 145; see also *Pitḥei Teshuvah*, ḤM 32:2, n. 1). A similar decision was given by the Great Rabbinical Court in a matter involving the contravention of the currency regulations in Ereẓ Israel (OPD, 63).

Stipulations in Favor of a Third Party

Unlike some legal systems, Jewish law shows no hesitation in recognizing the validity of a stipulation in favor of a person who is not party to the contract, provided that it confers a benefit and does not impose an obligation on him. In tannaitic times this rule was expressed in the doctrine that: "a benefit may be conferred on a person in his absence, but an obligation cannot be imposed on him in his absence" (Git. 1:6; BM 12a; etc.). The phrase "in his absence" (*she-lo be-fanav*) has been interpreted in the sense of *she-lo mi-da'ato* (i.e., without his knowledge or consent, Rashi to BM 12a). When the stipulation comes to the knowledge of the third party, he has the option either to accept it – in which case he may demand fulfillment by the promisor – or to reject it, since "a person cannot be compelled to accept a gift" (Yad, Zekhiah, 4:2 and *Maggid Mishneh*; Tur and Sh. Ar., ḤM 243:1–2; 190:4 in *Keẓot ha-Ḥoshen* 2). See also Law of *Agency.

Specific Performance

Each party to a contract must fulfill his obligations under the contract, from which he is exempt only in the event of *ones* ("inevitable accident or duress") and the court will generally oblige the parties to render specific performance of their contractual obligations. Hence, the sale of an object to someone other than the party to whom the vendor had previously undertaken, in a valid contract, to sell the same object at a determined price, will be set aside and the object given to the party with whom the undertaking was originally made (Av. Zar. 72a and Codes; *Torat Emet*, no. 133). If, however, the vendor has worded his undertaking thus: "If I sell, I shall sell to you at such and such a price," and later sells the same object to someone else at a higher price, the sale to the latter will be valid, since the vendor made his prior undertaking conditional on his desire to sell, and "he did not desire to sell, but sold only because of the increment given by the other, placing him in the position of one who sold under duress" (Yad, Mekhirah, 8:7; Resp. Maharik, no. 20).

In the opinion of some of the *posekim*, specific performance is not ordered unless the claimant is in possession of the object which the vendor undertook to sell to him (Rashba and author of the *Ittur,* quoted in *Maggid Mishneh* to Yad, Mekhirah 8:7). However, the majority opinion in the Codes is that specific performance is granted even if the claimant is not in possession of the subject matter of the contract (see Tur, ḤM 206 and *Baḥ* thereto, no. 1). The opinion was also expressed that both Rashba and the author of the *Ittur* were in favor of compelling specific performance, even if the subject matter of the undertaking was not in the claimant's possession, in the case of an undertaking worded in the terms: "I bind myself to sell the object to you" (Resp. *Torat Emet*, no. 133). Specific performance is not dependent on the prior payment of the purchase price and the contract must be executed even if the parties have entrusted other persons, or the court, with the determination of the purchase price (Av. Zar. 72a and Codes, *ibid.*).

Specific performance is not granted on contracts for personal service, such as a contract of employment, since compelling a person to work against his will involves an infringement of his personal liberty and a form of disguised slavery (BM 10a). This is even more so because of the general attitude of Jewish law that any engagement of a laborer, even of his own free will, is a form of restraint on personal liberty; thus the laborer has special rights for his protection (BM 10a; 77a; see also *Labor Law). Specific performance will be ordered, however, in the case of a contract of employment relating to a public service, if a breach of this would be harmful to the public. Thus, on the eve of a festival, if no other is available, a public bath-attendant, barber, or baker "may be restrained until he finds someone to replace him" (Tosef., BM 11:27; see also Resp. Maharam of Rothenburg, ed. Prague, no. 1016). Specific performance is accordingly recognized as a function of the law itself and not as a matter of equity, as in English law – from which Jewish law also differs in several other important respects on this subject.

Compensation and Penalty for Breach of Contract

Breach of contract renders the party in breach liable for the resulting damage, which, in talmudic times, generally included only compensation for the damage directly suffered by the other party and not for the loss of profit which, but for the breach, he would have earned. Since post-talmudic times, however, the tendency has been to extend liability in certain circumstances to cover also the loss of anticipated profits. Liability of this kind – i.e., consequential damages – is based on a category of damage known as *garmi* (see **Gerama*), or stems from an implied condition imputing an agreement between the parties to be liable to each other for the loss of profits in the event of either of them breaking the contract (see e.g., the statements of R. Jeroham, quoted in Tur, ḤM 176; *Beit Yosef, ibid.*, no. 21; ḤM 176:14). In order to bolster the effectiveness of contractual obligations, the practice was adopted from tannaitic times of specifying in the contract a fixed amount to be payable on breach of the contract by one of the parties (see e.g. Ned. 27b; BB 10:5). The question arose, however, whether such an undertaking was not to be regarded as defective on the grounds of **asmakhta* (an undertaking to forfeit an asset upon nonfulfillment of a condition). Since the founding basis of a contract in Jewish law is the *gemirat ha-da'at* of the parties to be bound, the scholars debated the validity of the additional undertaking to pay a fixed amount by way of a penalty, which they regarded as having been given solely on the strength of a "confident reliance" by the promisor on his ability to fulfill the principal contractual obligation, without his contemplating the possibility of having to fulfill the penalty obligation (BB 168a). The question was decided to the effect that in certain circumstances such an undertaking would be void for reasons of *asmakhta*, primarily if it appeared that the amount stipulated was exaggerated and beyond any reasonable estimate of the damage suffered by the other party and this would imply the lack of any serious intention by the promisor (BM 104b and Codes.)

The development of commercial life spurred on the search for a way of overcoming the invalidating effect of *asmakhta* on contractual stipulations. In talmudic times it had been decided that an undertaking effected by way of a formal *kinyan* before a court of standing excluded it from the operation of the law of *asmakhta* since in this manner the undertaking made with a complete *gemirat ha-da'at* would be clear (Ned. 27b and Codes). In the post-talmudic period the process of avoiding the invalidating effect of *asmakhta* on a penalty-undertaking was furthered by the enactment of a *takkanah* by the scholars of Spain. Thus the parties might undertake to pay each other, unconditionally, an amount specified in advance, each agreeing in advance to release the other from this undertaking in the event of the fulfillment of the principal obligation under the contract. Since, in terms of the *takkanah*, the undertaking to pay the amount fixed in advance is an unconditional one, it is valid and unaffected by the effect of *asmakhta* (Yad, Mekhirah 11:18; Tur and Sh. Ar., ḤM 207:16). Another way that was found to avoid the effect of *asmakhta* was by strengthening the penalty-undertaking with a vow, oath, or ban (Sh. Ar., ḤM 207:19). It was also decided that the law of *asmakhta* did not apply to certain obligations, such as an undertaking to pay a penalty for breach of a marriage promise (*betrothal) or for breach of contract by a teacher without his finding a replacement, these being valid undertakings.

In the State of Israel

In Israel the law of contract is based on various different sources – Ottoman and Mandatory law, as well as legislation after the foundation of the state. English Common Law and Equity represents an important source of the law of contract in Israel in all cases where the existing law provides no answer to the problems that arise (i.e., *lacunae*; cf. 46, Palestine Order in Council, 1922–1947). Various directions in the law of contract have been included in a number of laws of the Knesset, among them Contracts (Remedies for Breach of Contract), 1970; Hire and Loan Law, 1971; Contracts (General Part) Law, 1973; Contract for Services Law, 1974; and Insurance Contract Law, 1981.

[Menachem Elon]

A proposition has recently been put forth (see Bibliography, B. Lifshitz) that during the mishnaic and talmudic periods, and up to and including Maimonides, there was no recognition by Jewish Law of the binding nature of a promise. Contractual obligations, as currently understood, were not accorded legal effect. This indeed was the subject of a dispute between R. Yose and R. Judah, which the Talmud explains as being based on the question whether **asmakhta* is binding. (BM, 61a, BB 168a). The term *asmakhta* signifies reliance or support. The Hebrew equivalent of this Aramaic term is *devarim* (BM 47a–48a, BB 3a). Until the time of Maimonides (Mishneh Torah, Mekhirah, ch.11), the explanation for denying legal effect to promises was the subject of dispute: Was it due to the absence of a deliberate and final intention to be bound (*semikhut da'at*) or some other reason. Those who sought to make promises binding in particular instances adopted the first explanation, as did Maimonides, thus resulting in giving legal effect to a promise when there was a full intent to be bound.

In any case, according to the basic view of R. Judah as elucidated by the *geonim*, a transaction can be made binding only by giving it a contemporaneous effect, or assigning it a property character, or establishing a particular status for the obligor, such as borrower, bailee, debtor, employee, guarantor, etc, which would produce the result of a binding obligation. But there was no way to enforce a promise to perform an act in the future, simply as a promise, such as a promise to marry.

According to this approach, the creation of such a status is expressed in the formula, "He has concluded to bind his person" (*gamar – 'meshabed nafshei,* BB 173, etc.). In this way, the promise is comparable to an act of acquisition – *kinyan* – which attaches to the obligation and takes effect contemporaneously. "From the present time" thus becomes a key phrase in making a promise binding. It should be pointed out in this connection that establishing an obligation under Jewish Law is thus a unilateral act and not a bilateral undertaking, as in modern contract law.

Illegal Contracts

The Jewish Law on illegal contracts was elucidated and applied in the case of *Jacobs v. Kartoz*, 9 PD 401 (1955) in an opinion by Justice Silberg of the Israeli Supreme Court.

The plaintiff was a landlord who sued to evict a tenant on the ground that the lease of the apartment violated an important government regulation governing the amount of rent to be paid. Justice Silberg concluded that under the principles of Jewish Law, the claim of the landlord should be rejected.

This result is reached even though the tenant is essentially arguing that an illegal contract should be upheld. Jewish Law however distinguishes between the prohibition involved and the legal consequences of the transaction; the transaction is valid as long as it can be carried out in a permissible manner. For example, a sale effected in violation of a prohibition of the price to be paid is nevertheless valid, and the permitted price is to be paid.

As stated by Justice Silberg:

> Jewish Law deals very carefully with one who violates the law. Undoubtedly, the reason for this is the desire to avoid the unjust results which clearly follow from a rule that uniformly fails to recognize the legal validity of an illegal contract… The concept that the court should not "dirty its hands" by dealing with such claims has not been widely accepted in the philosophy of Judaism.

Howard v. Miarah., 35 (2) PD 505 (1980) involved a contract for the sale of land. At the request of the seller, the price stated was lower than the actual price, with the difference paid in cash. Upon discovering that part of the land had been expropriated by the municipality prior to the signing of the contract, the buyer requested a reduction in the price. When this was refused, the buyer stopped payments. The seller, claiming a material breach, rescinded the contract. The buyer thereupon sued for restitution of all sums paid.

The defendant seller argued that a transaction in which the true price is hidden is an illegal contract and the court should not hear a claim based on such a contract, both parties being *in pari delicto.* Justice Elon, however, found that under Jewish Law, the plaintiff buyer was entitled to restitution of the money paid.

The applicable principles of Jewish Law are that an illegal contract is generally valid as a matter of civil law; the parties should be held to their contractual obligations to the fullest extent permitted, and a wrongdoer should not be rewarded.

Comparing English Law to Jewish Law, Justice Elon stated:

> Under the English rule, the court does not dirty its hands by dealing with such a [n illegal] contract, and prefers to let the loss resulting from non-performance lie where it falls. This rule has caused great injustice … Under Jewish Law, an illegal contract is generally not invalid as a matter of civil law, and each party to the contract is entitled to pursue his remedies, so long as this does not result in the performance of the illegal act itself.

A decision by the Rabbinical Court of Appeals illustrates the view of Jewish Law that when it appears in a particular situation that giving effect to a transaction would serve to encourage the commission of an illegal act, the court should not lend its assistance to the enforcement of the contract.

In the case of *A v. B* (Warhaftig, *Ossef Piskei Din*, p.63, 1945) A sued B for a sum of money, alleging that A was entitled to the money as a result of the purchase of foreign currency, which B bought on A's behalf. At that time, trading in foreign currency was prohibited. The court held that since the claim was based on a transaction that violated a fundamental law of the state, the court should not entertain the action.

The Principle of Good Faith (Tom Lev)

Roth v. Yeshufeh (Construction) Ltd, 33 (1) PD (1979) was an action for damages for breach of contract. The claim was based on the failure of the defendant to transfer an apartment within the time period fixed in the contract. The apartment had been transferred to the plaintiff six months late.

The defense to the claim was based on a clause in the contract that provided that the purchaser's acceptance of possession shall serve as conclusive and final proof of the fulfillment of the seller's obligations under the contract. On the basis of this clause, the lower court rejected the claim.

On appeal to the Supreme Court, the decision was reversed and the case was remanded to the lower court.

The majority opinion was greatly influenced by the principles of Jewish Law. Israeli contract law provides that "a contractual obligation shall be performed and a right arising out of a contract shall be exercised in good faith" (*tom lev*). The opinion of Justice Elon examined the meaning of the term "good faith" (*tom lev*) in the light of the principles of Jewish Law.

In his opinion he explained:

> When we set out to interpret fundamental conceptual terms contained in the laws of the State of Israel, such as "good faith," which have a universal character, and which reflect legal and value judgments in every civilized legal system, we must examine the meaning of those terms primarily in the light of the principles of Jewish Law and the Jewish heritage. A universal principle such as this [good faith] manifests itself in the various legal systems of our own day, but its roots are embedded in the fundamental values which are humanity's heritage from ancient legal systems … And if this is so with respect to the legal systems of other nations, it certainly applies to the laws of the State of Israel, whose fundamental principles are rooted primarily in its ancient heritage …
>
> The very term "good faith" (*tom lev*) is an original Hebrew term… For this reason, when interpreting this term we are obliged to refer, first and foremost, to Jewish Law, which serves as the main source for understanding its content and meaning.

Among the Jewish Law sources cited were the following:

1. Mekhilta (Be-Shallah, Tractate De-Va-Yassah, sec. 1 Horowitz-Rabin ed., p.158): "If one is honest in his business dealings … it is accounted to him as though he had fulfilled the entire Torah."

2. Shabbat 31a: "Rava said, When a man is brought in [before the Heavenly Court] for judgment, they ask him: 'Were you honest in your business dealings.'"

3. Deuteronomy 6:18: "Do what is right and good."

4. Nahmanides, Commentary on Leviticus, 19:2: One who obeys only the technical and formal sense of the law is a "scoundrel within the bounds of the Torah (*naval bi-reshut ha-Torah*)." The Torah states, "Do what is right and good" to establish an affirmative commandment to behave with uprightness and fairness.

The lower court was directed to determine whether the defendant acted in good faith, and if not, whether the conduct was sufficiently egregious to have legal consequences.

In the case of *Laserson v. Shikkun Ovedim Ltd.* 38 (2) PD 237 (1984) Justice Elon established that there are limits to the application of the principle of "good faith."

The issue in the case was whether the defendant was obligated to install a generator in the building it had constructed, which was necessary to operate the elevator in an emergency. The contract required the building of a chamber for a generator but it did not mention the generator itself. The question arose whether the obligation to perform the contract in good faith meant that the generator also had to be supplied.

In his opinion, Justice Elon pointed to the inherent problem in applying the principle of "good faith" – the tension between stability and flexibility in business transactions, and between predictability and uncertainty in the law. Thus in applying the command "Do what is right and good" great caution is required.

The conclusion reached was that for "proper and reasonable legal policy" the "good faith" principle should not be used to create new legal obligations which the parties did not contemplate and did not include in their contract. The principle should govern only the fulfillment of the obligations that were agreed upon.

In applying the command "do what is right and good" Jewish Law established some duties as legal obligations, and other duties as ethical precepts.

The rationale for refraining from categorizing all duties the performance of which may be considered to be "right and good" as legal obligations is given in the opinion as follows:

> The legal system cannot exist with the instability that would result from imposing unexpressed obligations never even contemplated by the parties … One may discern in the Jewish legal system, in which morals and law combine in a unique pattern of decision making … the utmost care that the principle of good faith should not extend the limits of legal enforceability further than is desirable and practical …
>
> If it were otherwise, then a person would not – and could not – know what will be the end of the contract that he signed, and what new obligations are likely to be created in its framework, unbeknownst to him. The result would be that even a person of good faith would never know what obligations he undertook and how far they extended.

In this case, the lower court should determine whether in view of all of the circumstances, the contract could be interpreted as itself containing an implied agreement that the defendant should install the generator.

In regard to the basic principle of "good faith" in Jewish Law, the opinion quotes the characterization of "good faith" given by Professor R. Powell, who refers to the Hebrew terminology (Powell, *Good Faith in Contracts*, 9, *Current Legal Problems*, 16 (1956), 37–38):

> In the Hebrew language there is a simple phrase which satisfies that requirement. It is *derekh ereẓ*. It means "way of the land" but is also means "good manners."

INTERPRETATION OF DOCUMENTS. Various rules of Jewish Law govern the interpretation of contracts and other legal instruments. For example: The later part of a contract controls situations in which there is an inconsistency between an earlier and a later clause, which cannot be reconciled. It is presumed that the earlier statement was reconsidered and the later clause states the final intention.

Another rule is that if there is a doubt as to the meaning of a clause in a contract, the doubt will be resolved in favor the obligor. For an obligee to succeed, his claim must be free from doubt. However, this rule is applied only when the result will not destroy the essential validity of the instrument.

This rule was applied in the case of *Alperovitz v. Mizrahi*, 34 (4) PD 129 (1980), which involved an agreement for the purchase of an apartment. A memorandum of purchase fixed the price. It was accompanied by an initial payment and was to be followed by five additional payments. Possession was to be transferred at the time of the final payment.

The purchaser's contention that the memorandum implied that a detailed contract was to be executed was accepted by the court. The question that remained was when the further contract was to be made. Clearly this would not be at the end of all of the payments. But prior to which of the payments did the parties intend that the contract be executed?

The rule that doubtful questions are to be decided in favor of the obligor supported the conclusion that the contract was to be executed before any of the additional payments. Additionally, there was no logical basis for choosing the time of any one of the payments over the others.

The opinion by Justice Elon cited a responsum of R. Asher b. Jehiel (Resp. Asheri #68:14; beginning of the 14th century). A obligated himself to pay a sum of money to B "after Passover." The question was: which Passover does this refer to – the next succeeding Passover or the last Passover in the history of the world? There was no logical basis for choosing any Passover in between. In this instance, R. Asher b. Jehiel did not apply the rule that ambiguities should be resolved in favor of the obligor, because to do so would completely nullify the agreement.

The twelfth of the thirteen canons of (biblical) interpretation of R. Ishmael is that "an ambiguous word or passage is explained from its context or from a subsequent expression." This principle was the basis for the decision in *Katan v. Municipality of Holon*, 32 (1) PD 494, 1978.

The municipality sent out an invitation to a group of contractors to bid for a job. The invitation stated: "To validate the bid, the contractor shall provide a bank guarantee… for a period of sixteen months." An unsuccessful bidder claimed that the successful bidder did not provide the guarantee at the time it submitted its bid. The latter argued that the guarantee was not required to be submitted until the contract was awarded.

The court, in an opinion by Justice Elon, cited R. Ishmael's canon of interpretation, and held that in view of the context of the document and the surrounding circumstances, the successful bidder was correct. The duration of the work was set as sixteen months from the time of acceptance. The sixteen months of the bank guarantee was meant to cover the time during which the work was to be performed. The guarantee was thus to be submitted when the contract was awarded, not when the bid was submitted.

In addition, the submission of a guarantee is necessary to assure a degree of seriousness on the part of the bidder. In this case, the invitation to bid was not sent to the public as a whole, but to a limited number of contractors. It was therefore not necessary to assure the seriousness of their bids by requiring a guarantee at the time of the submission of the bids.

[Bernard Auerbach (2nd ed.)]

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CONTRACTORS. Persons contracted for army supply and building, mainly road construction. While the initial possession of financial and commercial expertise and substantial resources was a necessary prerequisite for engaging in this occupation, it provided a successful means of enrichment and also opened the way to a certain measure of social acceptance and political influence from which as members of a hated group Jews were otherwise excluded. In Christian Spain Jews were prominent as military suppliers to kings. A noted example was Judah de la *Cavalleria, who supplied arms to the king of Aragon in 1276 for his wars against the Muslims in Valencia. The *Ravaya brothers supplied arms to King Pedro III of Aragon (1276–85) in his wars against the rebel nobility of Catalonia. The wealthy Muça de *Portella also supplied arms to Pedro III of Aragon. Isaac *Abrabanel was military supplier to Ferdinand and Isabella from 1489 to 1492, while Abraham *Senior was the chief supplier of military equipment to the Spanish troops who fought in Granada. Jews also played a prominent role in the production of military equipment, metal casting, and armaments manufacture. There is evidence of Jewish arms manufacture in Spain, and in 1495 large numbers of Jewish arms manufacturers entered Portugal after the king had promised them special rights, such as payment of only half the sum for entry imposed on Jewish immigrants from Spain. Portuguese chroniclers, among them Damião da Goes, recount that some members of the king's council opposed the expulsion of the Jews from Portugal on the ground that the Jews possessed many secret methods of armaments manufacture which should not be allowed to pass into the hands of the Turkish infidels. The Jewish chronicler Elijah *Capsali describes the exiles from Spain as having introduced firearms to the Ottoman Empire and army, this being one of the reasons why they were well received by the sultans. Among the experts on cannon and gunpowder manufacture in the 16th century were Jews who had immigrated to Ottoman territory after the Spanish expulsion.

Probably Jews served as military suppliers during this period in Central Europe also; there is no lack of evidence for their participation in the arms trade: a decision of the Bruenn (Brno) tribunal permitted the Jews of Uherske Hradiste to trade in arms. A number of Jewish military suppliers operated in Germany in the 16th century. Isaac Meyer was permitted to reside in Halberstadt in 1537 in order to supply the monastery with weapons. *Joseph (Joselmann) b. Gershon of Rosheim in 1548 was granted a writ of protection by the emperor which also specified his activities as a military supplier.

Portuguese Jews in Amsterdam in the 17th and 18th centuries were active as military suppliers to the armies of Holland, Morocco, and England. The internal wars in Morocco during the 17th century enabled many Dutch Jews, who acted as military suppliers to all sides involved in the conflict, to enter the arms trade. Amsterdam was the place of residence of Solomon Michael David, military supplier of Hanover in the second half of the 18th century.

The *Court Jews were regarded by their rulers as capable of supplying the whole range of military equipment: horses, food, uniforms, and weapons. Jewish commerce in Germany and Austria consequently prospered. Although the Court Jews themselves constituted only a minute proportion of the Jewish population, they required a widespread network of subcontractors, petty merchants, etc., who were also Jewish, in order to fulfill their functions as major contractor-suppliers, especially in wartime. Large-scale provisioning was achieved through contacts with Jewish dealers in agricultural products from Eastern Europe. Antisemites contended that in Germany at this time "all the military suppliers were Jews, and all the Jews were military suppliers." Samuel Julius was military supplier to Frederick Augustus, elector of Saxony. The *Model family were court suppliers and military contractors to the duchy of Ansbach during the 17th and 18th centuries. Joseph Suess *Oppenheimer acted as military supplier first to the landgrave Ernest Augustus of Hesse-Darmstadt, and then to Charles Alexander, duke of Wuerttemberg. The *Gomperz family of Cleves acted as military contractors and commercial agents to six Prussian rulers, notably Elias Gomperz, who founded his firm in Emmerich in the second half of the 17th century. His contemporary Israel Aaron, who had close commercial ties with Pomerania, Mecklenburg, Amsterdam, and Hamburg, also acted as military supplier to Prussia. The *Wertheimer, Mayer, and Herschel families, as well as others who were permitted to settle in Vienna during the rule of Emperor Leopold, also acted as military contractors.

The ability of the absolutist rulers to maintain organized and well-regulated armies under their control and command may be attributed to a considerable degree to both the acumen of the Jewish contractors and their connections with fellow Jews. The part played by Jews in supplying the armies of England in the 17th and 18th centuries was no less decisive. Abraham Israel (Antonio Fernandez) *Carvajal was the most important military contractor during the rule of Cromwell, and one of the five London merchants to sign a contract to supply the army with wheat in 1649. William of Orange was enabled to sail to England in 1688 by an interest-free loan of two million crowns made to him by Francisco Lopez Suasso of the Hague, while another Jew, Francisco de Cordova, was in charge of military supplies for the campaign in partnership with Isaac Pereira. Solomon de *Medina, military supplier to the Duke of Marlborough's troops, was granted a title in 1700 for his services to William III. In Ireland the firm of *Machado and Pereira provisioned the Duke of Schomberg's armies. During the War of the Spanish Succession, Robert Harley was accused of ruining the economy of England in order to enrich Jewish military suppliers. Joseph Cortissos, formerly a resident of Amsterdam, was in charge of military supplies during Peterborough's campaigns against the Spanish.

Jews can be found among French military suppliers as early as the 16th century. A number of Jewish families were permitted to settle in Metz in 1567 by Marshal de Vieilleville on the condition that they undertook to supply his troops, but their activities were limited to small-scale local operations. The part played by some of the wealthiest French Jews in military supplies reached considerable proportions during the reign of Louis XIV. Jacob Worms was chief military contractor to Louis XIV, and in the latter half of the 18th century Herz *Cerfberr rose to prominence in this field. When in 1776 it was decided to end the system of private contracting for military supplies, an exception was made in the case of Cerfberr, who remained the supplier for the army in Alsace-Lorraine. In 1785 he divided the management of his business enterprises, allocating his banking activities to his sons and sons-in-law, while concentrating his own efforts on military supplies. Moses Belin, military supplier in Metz, and Moses Eliezer Liefmann *Calmer of Hanover, military supplier from 1769, were among many other Jews prominent in this field in France. Most important was the wealthy Abraham *Gradis, who acted as military supplier to the French army in Canada and did much for French troops there, especially during the Seven Years' War. From 1748 to 1779 he organized, with the assistance of Raphael Mendes, Benjamin Gradis, and other Jewish shipowners, the embarkation of French warships from Europe to Canada.

Jews played a prominent part in supplying weapons and provisions to the English army in the colonies. Mathias Bush supplied the Pennsylvanian troops in the war against the French. The *Franks family, with branches in London and New York, acted as contractors to the English army in the American colonies. David Franks continued to serve the English crown even after 1775, supplying provisions and uniforms to English prisoners of war. Among other Jews, the Sheftall family of Georgia were suppliers to the American army as well.

In Russia in the 19th century contracting for construction of army buildings – fortifications and barracks – and for provisions was frequently combined with contracting for the construction of state-built roads and *railroads. The modern Jewish "white collar" worker first emerged in the network of offices as clerks or works supervisors of these contractors. Such a worker is Faby, the hero of J.L. *Gordon's poem *Koẓo shel Yod*, which in an indirect way chronicles the impact of railroad building on the various strata of Jewish society in the *Pale of Settlement in the second half of the 19th century. Several Jewish entrepreneurs rose in this way from the poverty of the Pale to opulence, such as Judah Opatow. After their initial success many of these contractors – better known under the Russian designation "Podryachiki" – combined contracting with banking, as for instance the houses of *Kronenberg and *Poliakoff.

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[Joseph Kaplan]

CONVERSOS, designation used in Christian Spain and Portugal for Moorish or Jewish converts to Christianity. It was sometimes applied also to their descendants. Unlike the epithets *Marranos, *alboraycos, or *tornadizos*, the term Conversos has no derogatory implications.

COOK, SAMUEL (1907–1998), U.S. Reform rabbi. Cook was born in Philadelphia, ordained at Hebrew Union College in 1934, and received an honorary D.D. from HUC-JIR in 1959. He was director of the B'nai B'rith Hillel Foundation and a member of the faculty at the University of Alabama (1934–36) before assuming positions at congregations in Philadelphia and Altoona, Pennsylvania. After serving as U.S. Army chaplain in the Pacific (1943–46), Cook became director of the youth department at the Union of American Hebrew Congregations. In this capacity, he officially founded the National Federation of Temple Youth (NFTY), an organization he had conceived in 1941 in Pennsylvania, where he had formed and combined Reform youth groups of neighboring cities. His innovation had laid the cornerstone of the Middle Atlantic Federation of Temple Youth and marked the beginning of the regional structure system for NFTY (later renamed the *North American Federation of Temple Youth). Cook spearheaded the building of a summer camp system that grew to number 12 camps across the United States and Canada. He introduced experiential travel programs for teenagers to Israel, cementing a Reform commitment to Zionism for generations. Cook also instituted international exchange programs and social action projects. He chose a motto from the prophet Joel for the movement: "Your old shall dream dreams and your youth shall see visions" (3:1). In 1967, Cook was named executive director of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations Department of College Education, a position he held concurrently with the NFTY directorship until his retirement in 1973. In 1999, in recognition of his contributions the Reform movement established the Rabbi Samuel Cook Award for Outstanding Achievement in Youth Work, which is presented by the Central Conference of American Rabbis annually.

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[Bezalel Gordon (2nd ed.)]

°**COOK, STANLEY ARTHUR** (1873–1949), English Semitic scholar and historian of religion. Cook taught religion, Hebrew, and Aramaic at Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge, and was regius professor of Hebrew at Cambridge from 1932 to 1938. He served on the editorial staff of *The Cambridge Ancient History* and *The Encyclopaedia Britannica*, and was editor of the *Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly* (1902–32).

Cook's main contribution was his archaeological, philological, and comparative religion studies. In a series of articles that appeared in 1903 he discussed the then oldest Hebrew biblical manuscript written in square Hebrew, the *Nash Papyrus. His *A Glossary of the Aramaic Inscriptions* (1898) was a study of Semitic epigraphy and Hebrew philology. The importance of historical methodology and archaeological research in the treatment of religious data was emphasized in his Schweich lectures of 1925, which were published as *The Religion of Ancient Palestine in the Light of Archaeology*… (1930). The fruit of his erudition was contained in copious notes to the third edition of W. Robertson *Smith's *Lectures on the Religion of the Semites* which Cook annotated in 1927. His views of the Bible and its religion as a whole were summed up in *The Old Testament: A Reinterpretation* (1936), a historical and anthropological assessment of the Israelite religion. He wrote important works on the study of religious methodology (1914), and he analyzed in the light of comparative religion the prophetic ideal of ethical monotheism (1932). He compared the laws of the Pentateuch with the Code of Hammurapi (1903), edited the Book of I Esdras in R.H. Charles' *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament* (1913), and wrote an introduction to the Bible (1945).

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[Zev Garber]

COOKBOOKS, JEWISH. These compendia of instructions and recipes for the preparation of Jewish cuisine and/or guidelines for the Jewish cook constitute the single largest genre of literature created almost entirely by and for Jewish women.

Prior to 1900

By the first half of the 19th-century, a few Jewish manuscript cookbooks appear in Yiddish (Bohemia, Moravia, or neighboring areas); German ones appear in greater numbers throughout the century; and by the 1890s, there are Osmanli ones from Salonika. The first known published volume is J. Stolz's *Kochbuch der Israeliten, oder prakt. Unweisung, wie man nach dem juedischen Religionsgruenden alle Gattungen der feinsten Speisen kauscher bereitet* (Carlsruhe, 1815). During the 19th century, over a dozen Jewish cookbooks were published in German, more than in any other language. The most successful, *Kochbuch fuer Israelitische Frauen: Enthaltend die verschiedensten Koch- und Backarten, mit einer vollständigen Speisekarte so wie einer genauen Anweisung zur Einrichtung und Fuehrung einer religioes-juedischen Haushaltung* (Berlin, 1856) by Rebekka Wolf (née Heinemann), went through 14 editions. In print for almost 80 years, it was translated into Dutch (1881) and Polish (1904), and influenced the first known cookbook published in Yiddish, Ozer Bloshsteyn's *Kokhbuch far yudishe [sic] froyen* (Vilna, 1896; New York, 1898). These kosher cookbooks, which emphasized fine cuisine and gracious living, were part of a larger adaptation of mainstream bourgeois domestic values within an acculturating modern Orthodox community.

The first published English cookbook, *The Jewish Manual, or Practical Information in Jewish and Modern Cookery: With a Collection of Valuable Recipes & Hints Relating to the Toilette* (London, 1846), by "A Lady," aimed to refine the kosher table, but with an English and Western Sephardi emphasis. The anonymous author was recently identified as Judith Lady *Montefiore, who dedicated some of her philanthropic energies to educating Jewish girls for domestic service by establishing cookery classes at a Jewish orphanage and school. This book appeared in a single edition, although parts of it were reprinted, without attribution, in 1864 and 1867 in Australia. By the last decade of the 19th century, kosher gourmet cookbooks also appeared in Dutch, Hungarian, Russian, and Italian, and the German volumes were becoming larger and more elaborately bound. The grandest, Marie Elsasser's *Ausfuehrliches Kochbuch fuer die einfache und feine juedische Kueche unter Beruecksichtigung aller rituellen Vorschriften in 3759 Rezepten* (Frankfurt, 1901), was over 900 pages. The custom of giving cookbooks to brides accounts in part for the lavishness of such volumes.

American Cookbooks

The first known Jewish cookbook published in the United States is the *Jewish Cookery Book: On Principles of Economy, Adapted for Jewish Housekeepers, with the Addition of Many Useful Medicinal Recipes, and Other Valuable Information, Relative to Housekeeping and Domestic Management* (Philadelphia, 1876) by Mrs. Esther Levy. This volume brought a scrupulously kosher, yet elegant Anglo-Jewish cuisine to Philadelphia's well-to-do Jews.

Much more popular than *Jewish Cookery Book*, which appeared in only one edition, was the decidedly non-kosher, *"Aunt Babette's" Cook Book, Foreign and Domestic Receipts for the Household, A Valuable Collection of Receipts and Hints for the Housewife, Many of Which are not to be Found Elsewhere* (1889). *"Aunt Babette's" Cook Book* went through several editions in its first year, and stayed in print until the beginning of World War I. "Aunt Babette," the pseudonym for Mrs. Bertha F. Kramer, instructed her Reform Jewish readers in the niceties of the "Pink Tea" and in a non-halakhic approach to Jewish diet. "Aunt Babette" was by no means indifferent to *kashrut*. She declared, for example, that "NOTHING is '*Trefa*' that is healthy and clean," thus giving precedence to hygiene over ritual purity. At the same time not everything that is *treyf* made it into her cookbook. Shellfish, bacon, and rump roasts did, but lard did not. Ideology and hygienic purity aside, certain non-kosher foods were rejected on aesthetic grounds, a remnant of the internalization of religious taboo.

Many late 19th and early 20th century English cookbooks were intended to prepare Jewish girls, especially immigrants, for domestic service in kosher households. Marie Kauders' cookbook (Prague, 1891) and cooking school-trained cooks for Jewish restaurants and wedding catering. *The "Settlement" Cookbook* (Milwaukee, 1901), by Lizzie Black Kander, a German Jew, was written to prepare East European Jewish women for household employment and to raise money for the Settlement house where the classes were held. This remarkable volume has sold more than 2,000,000 copies and proceeds are still directed to charitable causes. Like *"Aunt Babette's" Cookbook* and the many German Jewish fundraiser cookbooks that appeared in the United States during this period, *The "Settlement" Cookbook* was a "*treyf* cookbook" and included recipes not only for Passover dishes, but also for oysters.

The first Yiddish cookbook published in the United States, apart from the 1898 New York edition of Bloshteyn's *Kokhbuch far yudishe [sic] froyen*, is Hinde Amkhanittski's *Lehr-bukh vi azoy tsu kokhen un baken* (1901), which was reprinted a few years later. The Yiddish cookbooks that followed, well into the 1930s, tried to Americanize Jewish eating habits, consistent with current nutritional ideas and an Anglo-American diet. Some promoted vegetarianism; Yiddish vegetarian cookbooks appeared in Europe as early as 1907 (Drohobitsh) and as late as 1938 (Vilna). Food companies used cookbooks, often bilingual in Yiddish and English, to market their products. Manischewitz's cookbooks, for example, showed how to use *mazẓah* as an ingredient in everything from strawberry shortcake to tamales all year round.

By the end of World War I, with the mass immigration of Jews from Eastern Europe, the market for American Jewish cookbooks had changed. In response, Bloch Publishing replaced *"Aunt Babette's" Cook Book* with the strictly kosher *The International Jewish Cook Book: 1600 Recipes According to the Jewish Dietary Laws with the Rules for Kashering: The Favorite Recipes of America, Austria, Germany, Russia, France, Poland, Roumania, Etc., Etc.* by Florence Kreisler Greenbaum, an instructor in cooking and domestic science. Greenbaum made nutritional science palatable in Jewish terms. This cookbook and its successors, including Mildred Grosberg Bellin's many revised and enlarged editions, endured well into the 1980s.

Europe Between the Wars

While home economists were trying to reform the immigrant diet, Suzanne Roukhomovsky, a literary figure, waxed nostalgic for what she called "la cuisine maternelle" in *Gastronomie juive: cuisine et patisserie de Russie, d'Alsace, de Roumanie et d'Orient* (Paris, 1929). A year later a pirated translation of this book, with a few significant changes, appeared in Yiddish as

Di yidishe kukh in ale lender: poyln, rusland, rumenyen, daytshland, elsas, maroko, tunis, amerike, a.a.v. Dos beste un praktishe bukh far yidishe virtins (Warsaw, 1930). While Roukhomovsky's 36-page introduction offered a literary pastoral on traditional Jewish life, B. Shafran's "A word to our Jewish wives," in *Di yidishe kukh* advises Polonized Jewish women not to turn the health of their families over to servants but to pursue the culinary arts themselves.

During the interwar years, the *Juedischer Frauenbund (1904–38) offered home economics courses and published cookbooks, consistent with their emphasis on religious observance, Jewish national consciousness, and careers for women that were extensions of their traditional domestic roles. As M. Kaplan has noted, the Frauenbund's goal was to prepare unemployed East European Jewish women to work as domestics, supply middle-class families with qualified servants, create a pool of administrators and food specialists for public institutions, and make women better managers of their own homes. Their strictly kosher cookbooks included not only modern recipes, but also suggestions for children, invalids, and vegetarians, menus for institutional kitchens, recipes from "great-grandmother's kitchen," and "national dishes," as well as recipes from organizations in Palestine, many of them for eggplant. By 1935, after the Nazis enacted laws against kosher slaughtering, the Frauenbund published a cookbook to address difficulties in buying kosher meat which went through four editions in one year.

Palestine and Israel

Erna Meyer, a pioneer in kitchen ergonomics, brought her ideas from Germany to Mandate Palestine, where she published *Wie kocht man in Erez Israel?* (Tel Aviv, 1936) in German, Hebrew, and English, followed by a slim cookbook (Tel Aviv, 1940) dedicated to recipes and menus for cooking in a time of crisis. Meyer's cookbook was intended for the urban, urbane, and largely Central European cook in Mandate Palestine, who needed to learn to use a primus stove and local produce while maintaining high culinary standards and a Central European culinary repertoire. *Wie kocht man in Erez Israel?* was one in a series of *WIZO cookbooks that appeared in separate German and Hebrew editions as late as 1954.

Lillian Cornfeld wrote about Israeli cusine in *Complete Hebrew Cook Book* and *Ani Mevashelet.* Her *Israeli Cookery* (Westport, Connecticut, 1962) is organized by region, devotes several chapters to *sabra* foods and includes recipes from Israeli hotels and restaurants. In her preface, Cornfeld, who immigrated in the 1920s from Canada to Mandate Palestine, supervised domestic science for WIZO and worked as a food columnist and nutritional advisor, noted several challenges to the emergence of national cuisine in Israel. These include the diverse population, simplicity as a practical necessity (and ideological principle), and the absence of professional chefs. Her cookbook addressed the "urgent incentive to create an Israeli cuisine," by collecting recipes from national and international organizations that were actively trying to create a national meal pattern, as well as from kibbutzim. Molly Bar-David, a food columnist and culinary advisor for El Al, wrote *The Israeli Cookbook: What's Cooking in Israel's Melting Pot* (1964), based on recipes she collected on the airline's routes and in interviews with immigrants in Israel.

Since the 1980s, numerous Israeli cookbooks, many lavishly produced, have appeared. Individual volumes are dedicated to salads, soups, desserts, cakes, or breads, or to a particular fruit or vegetable. Each community's traditional cuisine (Yemenite, Kurdish, Moroccan) is celebrated, popular international cookbooks are translated, and special diets are the focus of their own cookbooks. In contrast with the austere *yishuv* outlook and Central European emphasis of earlier cookbooks, these new volumes are part of Israel's increasingly sophisticated and international culinary culture. Some of the cookbooks are also nostalgic, whether for foods associated with the *yishuv* and early years of the state or for the traditional cuisines of the country's many immigrant groups. Most recently, *The Arab-Israeli* Cookbook (London, 2004), a play and a cookbook based on the research of Robin Soans, Tim Roseman, and Rima Brihi in Israel, Gaza, and the West Bank, explores the everyday reality of conflict through the stories and recipes of those they met.

Fundraiser Cookbooks

This most prolific genre of Jewish cookbooks originates in Jewish women's voluntary associations, ranging from local efforts to support a hospital or Jewish school, to international organizations (*National Council of Jewish Women, *Hadassah, *ORT, WIZO) with local chapters. Spanning more than a century, such cookbooks have been published in locales ranging from New Zealand, Zimbabwe, India, and Panama to Turkey. While some are handwritten, others are professionally produced; some are illustrated with naïve drawings while others have full color plates. The earliest known example is *The Fair Cookbook* (Denver, 1888), published for a charity fair in support of the local synagogue, Temple Emanuel. Most often these cookbooks were created by women who were not professional cookbook writers. Some authors, like Suzie Fishbein, author of *Kosher by Design* (Brooklyn, 2003), a popular kosher gourmet cookbook published by ArtScroll, got their start working on a fundraiser volume.

The Home as Sanctuary

Starting in the 1920s, some cookbooks published by women's organizations, including *The Center Table* (Sisterhood Temple Mishkan, Boston, 1922) and *A Treasure for My Daughter: A Reference Book of Jewish Festivals with Menus and Recipes* (Ethel Epstein Ein Chapter of Hadassah, Montreal, 1950), presented cookbooks as a vehicle for transmitting Jewish religious observance from mother to daughter. *The Jewish Home Beautiful* (National Women's League of the United Synagogue of America, New York, 1941) provided recipes and a pageant script organized around aesthetically arranged holiday tables that was performed at synagogues and churches as well as in the Temple of Religion at the 1940 New York World's

Fair. According to the foreword to the third edition (1945), this book was used by Jewish service men and women during World War II.

New Trends

In the second half of the 20th century, Jewish cookbooks appeared in large numbers and variety, including comprehensive volumes by Florence Greenberg, Evelyn Rose, and Claudia Roden in the United Kingdom, and Joan Nathan and Gil Marks in the United States. Many recent volumes engage cuisine as heritage, including *Cookbook of the Jews of Greece* (1986) by N. Stavroulakis, *Bene-Israel Cook-book* (Bombay, 1986), *Recipes from the Jewish Kitchens of Curaçao* (Netherlands Antilles, 1982), Sephardi cookbooks in English, French, Hebrew, Spanish, and Turkish, and a cookbook devoted to the Marranos, *A Drizzle of Honey* (New York, 1999), by D.M. Gitlitz and L.K. Davidson.

Autobiographical cookbooks include Mimi Sheraton's *From My Mother's Kitchen: Recipes and Reminiscences* (1979) and Colette Rossant's *Memories of a Lost Egypt: A Memoir with Recipes* (1999). The most poignant examples of "memory cookbooks" are those created by women who, while starving to death in Nazi concentration camps, tried to appease their hunger by recalling recipes for delicious dishes they once cooked. They include *Ravensbrueck 1945: Fantasy Cooking behind Barbed Wire*, recipes collected by Edith Peer (Sydney, 1986), and *In Memory's Kitchen: A Legacy from the Women of Terezín* (Northvale, N.J., 1986), a translation of the recipe collection that Mina Paechter, who died in Terezín (Theresienstadt), entrusted to a friend with instructions that it reach her daughter, which it did, miraculously, around 1970. *Miriam's Kitchen* (1998), a memoir by Elizabeth Ehrlich, mixes recipes from the author's mother-in-law, a Holocaust survivor, with a story of personal reinvention.

Communities without a history of publishing cookbooks, particularly ḥasidim and *ḥaredim*, have now joined the fray. *The Spice and Spirit of Kosher-Jewish Cooking* (Brooklyn, 1977; revised edition, 1990) prepares the Lubavitcher *ba'alat teshuvah* to create a Jewish home, while *The Balebuste's Choice: Kosher Cookbook* (Brooklyn, 1999), published by Pupa ḥasidic women, raises money for *ẓedakah*. *Fun der mames kokh* (Jerusalem, 2003) by Sh. Zisl, in memory of her pious mother, appeared in Yiddish. *Out of Our Kitchen Closets: San Francisco Gay Jewish Cooking*, published by Congregation Sha'ar Zahav, communicates their "recipe for success" (San Francisco, 1987).

With the advent of new technologies, future Jewish "cookbooks" might take the form of online databases, such as the Yahoo group *jewish-food*, or Centropa's online recipe archive of the culinary culture of Central European Jews. Some contemporary blogs record an individual's daily culinary musings, including recipes, a practice reminiscent of writing recipes down in personal notebooks, the earliest form of Jewish cookbook.

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[Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (2nd ed.)]

°COOKE, GEORGE ALBERT (1865–1939), English Bible scholar and Semitist. He taught at Oxford and was canon of Christ Church (1914–36). Cooke is remembered principally for *A Text-book of North Semitic Inscriptions* (1903), a pioneering effort to collate and interpret Hebrew, Moabite, Phoenician, Punic, Nabatean, Palmyrene, and Old Aramaic Semitic inscriptions. His commentaries for the "Cambridge Bible for Schools and Colleges" (Joshua, Judges, and Ruth, 1913) underscored the importance of philology in textual criticism. In his important commentary on the Book of Ezekiel (ICC, 1936, 1951), he argued that the book was written by one and the same hand with very little editorial expansion. Among his lesser-known works are an exposition on the Song of Deborah (1892), a study of the problem of revelation (1911), and a critical second edition of E.A. Edgehill's Book of Amos (1914).

[Zev Garber]

COOKING AND BAKING. In biblical times cooking or baking was generally done in the courtyard or kitchen, either in a hearth or an oven. In seasons of intensive labor in the field people encamped in the fields (Gen. 37:17), while in other seasons they returned to their homes. Accordingly, these conditions led to the development of cooking utensils for both the permanent kitchen and for the open field.

Cooking

As a rule, cooking utensils were made of earthenware (Lev. 6:21). Special attention was given to the preparation of these utensils, which had to be able to withstand heat. The clay was mixed with coarse solid matter, such as pebbles, shells, or sherds, in order to reduce the porosity of the utensil and to prevent its cracking under heat. Metal cookingware was rare in the biblical period. However, *sir* (סִיר) means specifically a copper pot (cf. Ezek. 24:11). Cooking vessels were of simple practical forms, usually without decoration. The bases of the vessels were rounded and wide to bring as much surface as possible into contact with the fire and to allow the heat to be distributed equally over the entire surface. As vessels were not placed on the ground or on a flat surface, the bases did not have to be flat. Instead, they were placed on stones, on a stand, or on any noncombustible object which held the utensils over the flame. Excavations in Palestine have revealed various methods of supporting cooking vessels. The simplest was a small pit in the ground with an opening at the side, which permitted feeding and fanning of the fire. A more sophisticated method was a low mound of rocks arranged in the shape of a horseshoe. The fire was fed through the opening and the utensil was placed on the rim. On the floors of rooms and kitchens at many sites small pits have been found which were coated with clay seared by the fire which continuously burned inside them. Each of these pits also contains an opening through which the flame could be reached. Beginning with the Early Bronze Age well-made portable stands of baked clay appear in the shape of a thick, high horseshoe with a flat base enabling it to stand on a flat surface. On the rim were at least three protrusions for supporting the cooking-pot. In later periods, beginning with the Middle Bronze Age, stands of cylindrical shape with openings for feeding and fanning the fire were widespread. These stands were designed to protect the fire from wind and to concentrate the heat under the base of the vessel. From the Early Bronze Age onward, handleless vessels with the width of the base greater than the height appear. These pots stood on stands while cooking, as well as during the meal, when the cooked food was scooped out with another vessel and served. In the Israelite period (Iron Age) various types of cooking vessels were common, some without handles, some with two handles, and some with more than two handles. In addition, smaller cooking vessels with only one handle were widely used. Apparently, vessels without handles were placed in the permanent pits or on fixed stands, where they could remain standing while the food was ladled into bowls for eating. Vessels with two or more handles were used in a slightly different manner: by means of a rope tied to the handles, they were hung from a tripod, with the fire beneath them. These vessels were perhaps used during the seasons of outdoor labor. The smaller one-handled vessels served for both cooking and pouring, the cooked food being poured into the eating vessels after its removal from the fire. Possibly, these vessels were used for thinner foodstuffs in contrast to the larger cooking vessels. While fruits and certain vegetables were eaten fresh, lentils and legumes, such as kidney beans, broad beans, and chick-peas, were made fit for eating by cooking them in water (as were eggs) and mixing them with other vegetables and seasonings, such as onions and garlic. This preparation was known by the general name *nezid* ("stew"; II Kings 4:38). Meat was a scarce commodity. Most frequently used was mutton, goat meat, or fowl, but sometimes veal or other types of meat were prepared. Meat prepared in various ways was served principally at special festive meals in which the entire family or tribe took part. One way to prepare meat was to boil it in water with seasonings. Softened by boiling, meat could easily be separated from the bones. Other methods of preparation were roasting on the open flame, baking in the oven, or frying in oil. It is not known whether meat was salted or smoked, but it is possible that these procedures were practiced.

Baking

While cooking hearths were open, baking ovens (Heb. *tannur*) were usually closed. The Hebrew word אפה, "to bake," and its derivatives specifically refer to the baking of bread (Gen. 19:3; Lev. 26:26; Isa. 44:15) and cakes (Ex. 12:39, I Kings 17:12–13), including the baking of the bread of display (Lev. 24:5) and baked offerings (2:4ff.). Baking, like cooking, was from the earliest periods an integral part of the everyday household chores. Only in later periods was baking somewhat industrialized and done by experts, or in national bakeries. The simplest method of baking involved placing the dough on glowing coals which baked it from below, while coals were spread also on top of the dough to bake it from above (Isa. 44:19). In a second method a bowl was placed upside down over the fire and when it was sufficiently heated, the prepared dough was placed on it for baking. Excavations of Middle Bronze Age settlements have revealed specially designed baking trays which are perforated in order to preserve the utensil for a long time and prevent the bread from sticking to it. The baking oven was a more sophisticated piece of equipment. Ovens made of clay or built of brick or stone have been found in various shapes – cylindrical, hive-shaped, semicircular and square.

Dough was stuck to the inner wall of the oven, while a fire heated the oven from the outside, thus baking the bottom of the bread; a fire inside the oven baked the top of the bread. A more perfected oven had two levels; the fire was kindled in the lower level, while the dough was placed on the floor of the upper level. Ovens operated in this manner served the needs of industrialized baking. As portrayed in ancient Egyptian paintings, an oven of this type was operated by two people; one fanned the flame and the other inserted and removed the bread. The oven had three openings: one for feeding the fire, the second for inserting and removing the bread, and the third for fanning the flame and letting out the smoke in the oven. The oven was heated with dried dung, with wood that had been gathered or chopped from trees and then dried, or with charcoal.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Dalman, Arbeit, 4 (1935), 1ff.; pls. 17–19, 26, 27; C. Singer, et al. (eds.), *A History of Technology*, 1 (1954), 270–3; O. Tufnell et al., *Lachish*, 2 (1940), 39, pl. 54A; 338; G. Loud, *Megiddo*, 2 (1948), 60, fig. 132:3; R. Amiran, *Ha-Keramikah ha-Kedumah shel Ereẓ-Yisrael* (1963), 91, pl. 84.

[Ze'ev Yeivin]

COOPER, ALEXANDER (c. 1609–1660), English miniaturist; a convert to Judaism. Cooper was born in London, the brother of the better-known Samuel Cooper, the outstanding English miniaturist of his day. Alexander also worked in this medium. His sitters included members of the royal family and nobility. From 1647 he was at work in Sweden, where he was known as Abraham Alexander Cooper "the Jew." He apparently converted to Judaism shortly before this time, possibly in Amsterdam. There is no reason to believe that his brother Samuel had any connection with Judaism.

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COOPER (Kuper), EMIL ALBERTOVICH (1877–1960), conductor. He studied violin with Hellmesberger in Vienna and composition with Taneyev in Moscow. After 1898 he conducted opera at Kiev, Moscow, and St. Petersburg, and between 1909 and 1914 conducted the Diaghilev troupe at its appearance in London and in the first Paris performance of Mussorgsky's *Khovanshchina* (1911). After the Russian Revolution he was director of the Petrograd Philharmonic Orchestra and the Mariinsky Opera Theater and taught at the Petrograd Conservatory. In 1924 he left Russia, and worked mainly in the United States, conducting at the Chicago Civic Opera (1929) and at the Metropolitan Opera in New York (1944–50).

COOPER, JACKIE (John Cooper Jr.; 1921–), U.S. actor. Cooper was born in Los Angeles. His father abandoned the family when he was two years old and his mother, Mabel, a stage pianist, then married Charles J. Bigelow, a studio production manager. With the help of his uncle, *Boys Town* director Norman Taurog, Cooper's entry into Hollywood was almost guaranteed. Between 1929 and 1931, he appeared in 15 Hal Roach *Our Gang* shorts and was cast in the title role of Tuarog's film *Skippy* (1931), which earned him an Academy Award best actor nomination (until 2004, the only actor below the age of 18 so honored). Cooper went on to star in *The Champ* (1931), *Treasure Island* (1934), *Tough Guy* (1935), *Streets of New York* (1939), and *Ziegfeld Girl* (1941). In 1943, he joined the Navy and rose to the rank of captain. After World War II, he moved to television as an actor, producer, and director. He directed episodes of *The Rockford Files*, *Kojak*, and *Quincy*, and received Emmys for an episode of *M*A*S*H* (1973) and the pilot of *The White Shadow* (1978). Before his retirement Cooper appeared as Perry White in the *Superman* series (1978–87) starring the late Christopher Reeve.

[Adam Wills (2nd ed.)]

COOPER, LEON N. (1930–), U.S. physicist and Nobel laureate. Cooper was born in New York City, where he got his B.A. (1951), M.A. (1953), and Ph.D. (1954) from Columbia University. After appointments at the Institute of Advanced Study (1954–55), the University of Illinois (1955–57), and Ohio State University (1957–58), he joined Brown University, where he became professor, and (from 1974) Thomas J. Watson Sr. Professor of Science and (from 1973) director of Brown University's Institute for Brain and Neural Systems. Cooper's earlier research was in theoretical physics. He was awarded the Nobel Prize in physics (1972) jointly with John Bardeen and Robert Schrieffer for providing a theoretical basis in quantum terms for the behavior of electrons whereby they "pair up" during superconductivity, the state in which electrical resistance reduces to zero at very low temperatures. Subsequently he led an interdisciplinary organization concerned with understanding learning and memory through theoretical models and experiment. While he remained interested in basic problems such as the limits of the laws of physics in understanding the universe, he also concentrated on the application of theoretical systems to drug development, electronics, and communications, including major involvement in industrial organizations with the same objectives. His many honors include the Comstock Prize of the U.S. National Academy of Sciences (1968).

[Michael Denman (2nd ed.)]

COOPERATIVES. The Jewish cooperative movement began toward the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th century. Its development was part of the general spread of cooperatives throughout the world at that time, and was spurred additionally by the rising socialist and nationalist trends. The specific position of the Jewish artisan, often hemmed in by a hostile society and government, and having traditions as well as actual need of mutual help, led the Jewish cooperative movement from its beginning to lean heavily on artisan producer cooperatives and free-loan cooperatives (*gemilut ḥesed* associations). The main center of the Jewish cooperative movement before World War I was Russia, but it also began to develop in Galicia, Austria, and Bukovina, as well as countries outside Europe, especially Argentina (for Israel, see below Cooperative Movement in Israel).

Between the two World Wars the Jewish cooperative movement developed rapidly in Poland, Romania, and the Baltic countries, Soviet Russia (in the 1920s), other countries in Eastern and Western Europe, and Latin America. It became then an important instrument of Jewish defense against discrimination and efforts to oust Jews from their economic positions. Much financial help was extended to the movement by the *American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee. The Holocaust put an end to the Jewish cooperative movement in Europe, although in several countries, Poland, for example, efforts were made to revive it after the war. The movement continued to develop in South America, especially Argentina.

Russia

The growth of the Jewish cooperative movement in Russia was comparatively rapid, especially in the form of credit cooperatives, owing to the difficult credit terms that burdened the small Jewish trader and artisan (with compound interest as high as 30% or 40%). While in 1900 the number of Jewish credit cooperatives in Russia did not exceed 20, in 1914 there were 678, with a total membership of approximately 400,000, of which 36.0% were small merchants and shopkeepers; 32.6% craftsmen; 7.8% middlemen or agents; 7.4% farmers; 3.1% laborers; and 13.1% in miscellaneous occupations; the overwhelming majority of members came from the middle classes. With the members' families, about 1.5 million persons were served by Jewish cooperatives, approximately one-third of the total Jewish population in Russia. In addition to granting credit, the cooperative societies often engaged in ancillary activities, such as the provision of tools and instruments to artisans on long-term credit, the provision of storage facilities, as well as mutual insurance in case of death. Out of this latter service special insurance societies developed, which in 1912 numbered 95, with a membership of 52,000.

World War I and the subsequent civil war and pogroms in Russia resulted in the destruction of the Jewish cooperative movement there. However, when in 1922 the Soviet government introduced its New Economic Policy (NEP) a renewal took place. In 1929 the *Jewish Colonization Association (ICA) supported 208 cooperatives in the Soviet Union, with a total membership of 67,351. During this period the character of the Jewish cooperatives changed. Only wage earners were allowed to join. In 1929, 93.5% of the membership of the 400 Jewish cooperatives in existence were artisans, about half of the total number then in Russia. The societies' main activity was no longer the supply of credit, but of raw materials, a major problem at that time. Nevertheless, from 1930, Soviet legislation as well as the economic development during the following decade led to the gradual liquidation of the Jewish cooperative movement in the U.S.S.R.

Poland

Efforts made soon after World War I resulted in the establishment in independent Poland of 445 cooperative societies by 1925 and 774 by 1929, mainly saving and loan societies. Attempts to establish producer and consumer cooperatives mostly failed. This fast growth was interrupted during the 1930s partly as a result of the general economic crisis and partly because of anti-Jewish discrimination (see anti-Jewish *boycott).

Of 775 cooperative societies in Poland in 1938, 734 were loan and credit societies; 27 producer cooperatives; 9 agricultural cooperatives; 2 consumer cooperatives; and 3 miscellaneous. The total membership in 1937 was 143,608, serving some 600,000 persons (one-fifth of Polish Jewry).

Other European Countries

A comparatively strong Jewish cooperative movement existed in Romania between the two World Wars. In 1931 there were 88 Jewish cooperative societies having a membership of 67,000, with 30,000 living in Bessarabia, where even before World War I a ramified Jewish cooperative movement already existed. During the 1930s a sharp decline set in, mainly as a result of an economic crisis and antisemitic sentiments. By 1937 the total membership dropped to 52,000. In Czechoslovakia after World War I, a series of Jewish cooperative societies was established, which had a total membership of 7,136 in 1924, rising to 17,772 in 1937. In Bulgaria the first Jewish cooperative (Geulah) was established in 1921; by 1940 there were 23 Jewish cooperatives, of which 20 were credit cooperatives.

The Jewish cooperative movement in the Baltic countries, especially in Lithuania, was highly developed during the period between the two World Wars. In 1937 there were 85 Jewish cooperative banks, with a membership of 15,728. Low-interest loans were available especially to Jewish farmers and artisans. A central bank was established which serviced this cooperative network. Its credit policy aimed at enhancement of productivity. A special agricultural information center was established. In the late 1920s a Jewish cooperative movement began to develop also in Central and Western Europe. In 1928 there were in Germany a cooperative people's bank, Ivriah, which served especially emigrants from Poland and Russia, and a Jewish cooperative society for trade and commerce, founded largely by Berlin Jewish artisans. In the early 1930s efforts were made to establish Jewish cooperative societies in other German towns. At the same time, two cooperatives were established in Paris to assist Jewish migrants from Eastern Europe. Several Jewish cooperatives were also established in London, England.

Argentina

In Argentina the Jewish cooperative movement attained broad diversification.

AGRICULTURAL COOPERATIVES. These cooperatives developed in the Jewish agricultural settlements of Argentina from 1907, and dealt mainly with crop marketing (especially grain), as well as supply purchasing for farmers. Their activity in the sphere of credit was of secondary importance. These cooperatives declined in number as a result of the constant decrease of the Jewish agricultural population in Argentina.

COOPERATIVE BANKS. During the early 1960s there were some 40 Jewish cooperative banks in Argentina. Of special importance was the Jewish People's Bank in Buenos Aires, established in 1921. It developed rapidly, and by 1953 the number of shareholders reached 14,885. Another cooperative institution of this kind was the Mercantile Bank founded in 1917.

PEDDLER STORAGE COOPERATIVES. An original attempt was made to provide a convenient base and supply center for the Jewish peddler in Argentina. Storage depots were opened in various cities. The peddler could obtain his wares on credit with easy payment terms. Thus he could take samples to houses of far-flung customers, come with their orders to the depot, and supply the demand. He could also direct his clients straight to the cooperative stores in the city where they could make their wholesale purchases on the basis of the samples and recommendations of the peddler. There are also other Jewish cooperatives in Argentina, such as manufacturer societies (for manufacturers of wood products, fur products, knitted products, etc.) mainly for purchase of raw materials from a primary source. The total number of Jewish cooperatives exceeded 100 in the early 1960s. However, economic decline of the cooperatives set in after the bankruptcy of many of them at the beginning of 1970s.

United States

Jews have been particularly active in the general cooperative movements of the United States. During the first decade of the 20th century, the activity of the New York Cooperative League, whose members were mostly Jewish, stimulated consumer cooperatives throughout the United States. The League controlled a number of cooperative millinery stores and a hat factory. It developed a wide information activity, which had great influence among cooperative movements in the United

States which were largely Jewish, or had Jewish leadership, included the Growers Marketing Cooperative (serving Jewish farmers in the New York area), producer cooperatives, and housing cooperatives.

[Shaul Zarhi]

In Postwar Poland

One of the most important tasks that the Lublin Jewish Committee (see *Poland) took upon itself immediately after the defeat of the Nazis was to find productive employment for the Jewish survivors. As soon as the Central Committee of Polish Jews was established in Warsaw, economic subcommittees were appointed for each of the larger Jewish communities. They acted as a labor bureau; established a series of cooperatives, several trade schools, agricultural farms; and provided assistance to all those who decided to rebuild their workshops on an individual basis. According to the report of these subcommittees (August 1946), 27 cooperatives, with a membership of 753, were established during the first year of their activity. When the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (JDC) resumed its activities in Poland (July 1945), many of these cooperatives received assistance in the form of equipment, and *ORT provided facilities for retraining the Jewish survivors in the skills that were necessary under the new conditions. The coordinating body, known as Solidarity, provided raw materials and marketed the finished products. By the end of 1947 there were 200 cooperative societies with a membership of 6,000, according to the chairman of the Jewish Cooperative Association. The societies' membership grew to more than 9,000 in the following year and reached its peak of 15,500 members in 1949. During the period of Stalinization many of the Jewish economic achievements, which were made possible by the help of the JDC and ORT, were practically liquidated under the pretext of "unification" with the general Polish cooperative movement. With Wladislaw Gomulka's accession to power in 1956 and with the influx of some 40,000 Jews from the Soviet Union, the activities of the JDC and ORT were temporarily resumed and some of the Jewish cooperative societies, especially in Silesia and *Lodz, were revived. In their new form, the Jewish cooperatives maintained a certain liaison with their Polish counterparts. About 20% of their profits were earmarked for cultural and social work. In 1967–68, during the renewed anti-Jewish campaign in Poland, the Jewish cooperatives were once again "unified" with their Polish counterparts.

[David Sfard]

Cooperative Movement in Israel

BACKGROUND. The circumstances surrounding the birth of the cooperative movement in Ereẓ Israel were different from those in other countries, where the purpose of such movements was to combat the negative aspects of the capitalist system that resulted from the industrial revolution. Two factors in particular should be mentioned: Jewish settlement in Ereẓ Israel was a national movement. It was not modeled on colonization movements initiated by individuals (as in the United States, Australia, etc.), but was based upon a united effort of manpower concentrated into original forms of cooperation. Under the conditions prevailing in Ereẓ Israel, cooperation was the only way of facilitating mass settlement. Second, the ideological foundation of the cooperative movement in Ereẓ Israel differed from its European or American counterpart. It did not have its roots in socialism, anarchism, or any other political theory dedicated to ousting a repugnant and unjust order; rather, it was forced upon the Jewish settlers by extremely harsh conditions in the country that could not be overcome without the cooperative factor.

To these factors must be added the rapid development of the economy of Ereẓ Israel, in which cooperative enterprises and organizations played a particularly active and dynamic role (see *Israel, Economic Development), and enabled the cooperative movement to gain important advantages in various branches of the economy. Cooperative bodies were also able to record substantial achievements in the realm of technological progress and the modernization of production methods, as well as in vocational guidance and training of its members. These achievements were particularly important in the consolidation and progress of agricultural settlement. Furthermore, the cooperative movement received a special impetus from the inadequate growth rate of production and employment, which failed to keep up with the growing rate of immigration. A large number of immigrants, as well as some older settlers, could not be absorbed by the private sector and quite frequently solved their problem by joining cooperative establishments. It follows, therefore, that in addition to pursuing the aim held in common by cooperative movements around the world (i.e., improvement of the conditions of life for large numbers of people), the cooperative movement in Ereẓ Israel played an important role in the development of the economy, the advancement of agricultural settlement, and the absorption of immigrants, which has resulted in its present strength in the economic and social life of Israel.

BEGINNINGS OF THE COOPERATIVE MOVEMENT. The beginnings of cooperative organization were discernible in the economy of Ereẓ Israel as early as the second half of the 19th century. During that period, cooperative groups were instrumental in building new residential quarters, especially in Jerusalem, and the first signs of cooperative organization also appeared in the Jewish villages. However, it was not until the beginning of the 20th century that cooperation in its modern sense began to develop. At that time, the cooperative movement in the Jewish community displayed two distinctive branches: a "workers' sector," linked to the labor movement; and a "private sector," composed of agricultural smallholders and middle-class groups in the towns. The branch linked to the labor movement showed a substantial development in the period of the Second Aliyah (1904–14). Special organizational efforts were made in four fields: consumers' societies, contracting, agricultural settlement, and industrial cooperatives in the towns. The first efforts at cooperative consumption were the establishment of workers' kitchens, clubs, laundries, etc.; but these did not endure. The first consumers' cooperative, founded in Reḥovot in 1906, was also unable to survive. Other consumers' cooperatives were established in 1911 (in Jaffa) and 1915 (in Petaḥ Tikvah). During this period, small groups of workers, such as the stone-cutters' groups in Jerusalem, the Ḥaderah commune, etc., banded together to lead a completely cooperative life in the field of consumption. The single most important event in the history of cooperative consumption in Ereẓ Israel was the founding of the national consumers' cooperative, *Hamashbir, in 1916.

The first groups of organized contractors also appeared during this period, accepting projects and carrying them out on a cooperative basis. Numerous groups of this kind, usually of a temporary nature, established themselves in moshavot to undertake work in the orange groves and vineyards. In 1914 the contracting group "Aḥavah" ("brotherhood"), consisting of about 100 workers, was founded in Petaḥ Tikvah. Some workers' groups were also established in the towns, and others undertook projects on the farms that were then being established by the Zionist Organization. One of the latter groups, known as the "The Collective," undertook the cultivation of the training farm at Sejera in 1908 for the period of one year without a manager representing outside interests to direct it. The success of this enterprise received wide acclaim. A similar experiment was undertaken by the farm at *Kinneret in 1908, and the cooperative settlement *Deganyah, which became the first kibbutz in Ereẓ Israel, was founded there in 1909. On the eve of World War I, 14 kibbutz-type settlements existed, all based on complete collectivism.

Finally, this period also witnessed the beginnings of urban production cooperatives linked to the labor movement, such as the cooperative printing press Aḥdut (1910) and a cooperative shoe factory in Jaffa (1912). The development of "private" cooperatives actually preceded the cooperative labor movement. The first impetus toward the establishment and consolidation of private cooperatives arose from the needs and problems of the agricultural sector in the moshavot. The first such cooperative was apparently the Pardess cooperative society for the marketing of citrus, founded in Petaḥ Tikvah in 1900 by a small group of orange growers. Two years later, two more citrus-marketing societies were established in the moshavot. In 1906 the Association of Wine Growers of *Rishon le-Zion and *Zikhron Ya'akov was founded, taking over the vineyards originally established by Baron Edmond de *Rothschild. Other cooperative societies established in the moshavot before the war dealt with the marketing of milk and almonds, the development of irrigation, land amelioration, etc. From 1905 onward a network of cooperative credit societies began to develop in the moshavot and the towns, most of which had no connection with the labor movement. By 1914, 45 such societies were in existence, with a total membership of 1,833. Most of these societies were too weak to overcome the difficulties caused by the war and had to dissolve.

1918–1939. As a result of the intensive demographic and economic development in Palestine during the interwar period, the cooperative movement and its relative importance to the economy greatly expanded. This development was especially true of the labor-linked cooperative movement, whose growth was facilitated by the unification of the labor movement and establishment of the *Histadrut (General Federation of Labor). In the early years of the Mandatory regime, the cooperative movement concentrated mainly on two spheres of activity: agriculture and public works. The network of cooperative agricultural settlements grew in number and form: in addition to the constant increase of kibbutzim, moshevei ovedim ("workers' settlements") came into being, combining the principle of family holdings with marked cooperative tendencies such as mutual help and cooperative purchasing and marketing. The first moshav ovedim, *Nahalal, was founded in 1921. In 1926, a special cooperative organization, *Tnuva, was established to serve as the marketing instrument of the cooperative settlements. Public works, another important sphere of activity in the 1920s, were being carried out on a large scale. Some of the projects were contracted to groups of Jewish workers that functioned on a cooperative basis. In 1921, the Histadrut established an office for public works and building projects in order to centralize the work of these contracting groups. In 1924 this organization became the contracting firm *Solel Boneh, which operated in its initial phase as a cooperative organization.

From the middle of the 1920s, with the accelerated urbanization and industrialization, the cooperative movement began to branch out into new areas. Cooperation in production and services developed at a rapid pace, and a number of industrial enterprises, as well as transport and other service agencies, were formed. The number of workers in the cooperative enterprises dealing with production and services grew from 800 in 1926 to 2,796 in 1936 and 4,625 in 1946–47. The year 1925 also marked the first developments in a network of savings and loan institutions under the auspices of the Histadrut. Against the background of settlement in the towns and increased building activities, cooperative building societies that engaged in the founding of workers' residential quarters also appeared. A wide network of consumers' cooperatives was established, especially from 1930 onward. Simultaneously Hamashbir was reorganized into a cooperative company for centralized wholesale supply; in World War II, it also embarked upon large-scale industrial production. "Private" cooperatives also showed a considerable growth. In the moshavot, the cooperatives for the marketing of agricultural produce were strengthened and diversified, particularly as regards citrus and other kinds of fruit, and wine. The rapid growth of the Pardess cooperative was characteristic of this development: at its start, in 1903–4, it exported a total of 22,500 cases, whereas in 1938–39 its exports of citrus amounted to 3,300,000 cases. A new network of private credit institutions also arose in the 1920s in the towns and the moshavot; most of them were associated with the Merkaz supervisory union. The number of members of the credit institutions affiliated with Merkaz grew from 17,200 in 1930 to 58,706 in 1946.

1948–1970. Following the establishment of the State of Israel and the ensuing general growth of the population and the economy, the cooperative movement also grew remarkably. The existence of a relatively large cooperative sector became an outstanding characteristic of the economy and social fabric of the country, particularly in the field of agriculture. The population of the cooperative villages, which numbered 84,400 in 1948, rose to approximately 208,000 by the end of 1966. Cooperative villages continued to form the great majority of the rural population of the country (app. 80% in 1966); they retained their hegemony in agriculture, and their share in industrial production also rose (from 3% of the gross national industrial product in 1951 to 8% in 1965). Internal shifts, however, took place within the sector of cooperative settlement: the kibbutzim, which represented 64% of the total population of cooperative villages in 1948, represented 40% of the population at the end of 1966, while the percentage living in moshavim rose proportionately. The number of consumers' cooperatives also increased: in 1948 they served 140,000 persons, but by 1966 the figure had risen to 750,000, about a third of the total population. Similar growth was also recorded in other branches of cooperative enterprise.

Nevertheless, the general trend of the cooperative movement in this period was not toward further growth. Some branches of cooperation, especially industrial and credit cooperatives, ran into difficulties and were unable to compete with the private sector of the economy. The number of industrial cooperatives decreased from 287 in 1950 to 102 in 1966, and the number of their employees from 5,042 to 2,997; the number of credit cooperatives also declined, from 94 in 1955 to 17 in 1967 (as a result of the merger of Histadrut-affiliated cooperatives with Bank Hapoalim – the Workers' Bank – and the dissolution of most of the "private" credit cooperatives). This trend appeared to be the outcome of the growing process of concentration and the rise of large industrial and banking concerns. Housing cooperatives also began to lose their importance. Although the cooperative movement was still able to maintain its importance in the rural sector, it ran into great difficulties in urban areas. It also faced increasing social problems after the establishment of the state, particularly the employment of hired labor, which violated the movement's principles. This question also had economic implications stemming from the scarcity of manpower in the cooperative villages, which was caused by the slow growth of their population and the seasonal aspects of agriculture. Hired labor was also a pressing problem for the great transport cooperatives *Egged and Dan.

STRUCTURE OF THE COOPERATIVE MOVEMENT AND ITS PLACE IN THE ECONOMY. The scope of the cooperative movement and its activities in this period are reflected in the following data on the various cooperatives at the end of 1967:

After the establishment of the state, a new network of Arab cooperatives came into being. Whereas during the Mandatory period the Arab cooperatives concentrated on credit and marketing, they now engaged in irrigation and water supply (64 societies), general agriculture (10), production and services (20), and housing (16). It is estimated that approximately 30% of the population, i.e., some 800,000 people, were members of cooperatives.

From the functional aspect, cooperative societies in Israel can be divided into three kinds: (1) consumer cooperatives, which are not the source of their members' livelihood, but provide them with certain benefits – this group includes the consumers' societies, credit societies, housing cooperatives, etc.; (2) productive cooperatives, such as agricultural and industrial cooperatives; (3) "integral" cooperatives, which combine production and consumption. In Israel this group includes the kibbutzim, moshavim shittufiyyim, and the moshevei ovedim in their original form. The predominance of productive and "integral" cooperatives is characteristic of the cooperative movement in Israel, while the consumer cooperatives played a lesser role than in other advanced countries.

COOPERATIVE AGRICULTURAL VILLAGES. Cooperative agricultural villages exist in three forms – kibbutzim, moshavim, and moshavim shitufiyyim. In 1966 there were 228 kibbutzim in existence, comprising a population of 82,000. Most of the kibbutzim belonged to one of the following settlement movements: Iḥud ha-Kibbutzim ve-ha-Kevuẓot, Ha-Kibbutz ha-Arẓi, ha-Kibbutz ha-Me'uḥad, and Ha-Po'el ha-Mizrachi (see *Kibbutz movement). There were 365 moshavim including 22 moshavim shitufiyyim, with a total population of 126,000; most of them belonged to the *Moshav Movement or to the moshav union of Ha-Po'el ha-Mizrachi. The cooperative settlement movement established a diversified network of institutions and organizations designed to aid it in its economic and social activities that includes the central settlement organs, which engage in organization and policy making and have a distinct ideological trend; the regional councils in the areas settled by cooperative villages, which carry out municipal and economic activities within these areas; regional purchasing organizations, which serve to improve the flow of supplies and reduce their costs; financial institutions and various funds, which finance the operations of the cooperative villages; and trade organizations, which deal with specific problems of the various branches of agriculture. Apart from the agricultural settlements and their organizations, there were about 375 agricultural societies engaged in various aspects of agriculture – marketing, supplies, irrigation, mechanization, processing, etc. The central marketing organizations – Tnuva, Tenne, and Pardess Syndicate – played an important role in the economy of the country.

During the past three decades, the agricultural cooperatives have undergone profound changes. While in the 1960s and 1970s they enjoyed great prosperity, the inflationary 1980s brought on a severe crisis. Many of the kibbutzim failed to manage themselves efficiently and were faced with such nationwide processes as strong pressure for privatization, the decline in the power of the Histadrut, and the general economic crisis with its ruinous interest rates in a sector that lived by credit. The economic crisis was accompanied by social problems, such as an exodus of the young generation, who chose to live their adult lives elsewhere. The net result was a shift, starting in the 1990s, from collective living to a more privatized way of life, including paid salaries and the development of nonmember housing. This process was still unfolding in the first decade of the 21st century.

The moshavim also faced a severe economic crisis as a result of the general economic situation in the 1980s, accompanied by a cutback in subsidies for agriculture products and the opening of the market to the import of fruits and vegetables from abroad. Many moshav residents liquidated their farms and turned to tourism (letting out rooms) or rented their land to commercial enterprises, as well as seeking employment outside the moshav. Some of the moshavim shitufiyyim dissolved the collective structure and distributed common property among their members. Moshavim became attractive options for city dwellers seeking to live in the country without the onus of operating farms, and as a consequence moshav real estate prices soared.

In 2001 there were 268 kibbutzim in Israel with a population of 115,800, representing 1.7% of the general population; 409 moshavim with 163,300 inhabitants (3%); and 43 moshavim shitufiyyim with 13,100 inhabitants (0.2%). Of the central marketing organizations, only Tnuva survived, operating as a large-scale food corporation.

CONSUMER SOCIETIES. At the beginning of 1967 there were 219 consumer societies in operation, with a combined total turnover of IL 173,000,000. They were spread over 55 cities, development towns, and moshavot. During the 1960s they underwent a far-reaching reorganization: the total number of societies was reduced (due to the low turnover of some) and a comparatively large number of supermarkets and self-service stores were established. At the end of 1966 there were 40 supermarkets and approximately 130 self-service stores operated by consumer societies. Hamashbir Hamerkazi served as the central wholesale supplier both to the consumer societies and to the entire labor-controlled sector of the economy. It was also the largest commercial firm in the country, supplying the needs of a third of the population. In the 1990s, as the Histadrut sold off its assets, it passed into private hands.

THE PRODUCTIVE AND SERVICE COOPERATIVES. The productive and service cooperatives included a number of industrial concerns and service cooperatives that played a central role in the economy, particularly in the field of transport. Ha-Mashbir ha-Merkazi le-Ta'asiyyah was founded in 1963 in order to facilitate the development of consumer-goods industries linked to the labor sector of the economy; in 1966, the total sales of the factories owned wholly or in part by this company amounted to IL 103,000,000. They included the Shemen edible-oil factory, flour mills, metal, paper and food processing factories, etc. The service cooperatives and factories in this group belonged to a central body organized for this purpose, the Merkaz ha-Kooperaẓyah. Most of the industrial cooperatives were to be found in the food processing industry (35), metal and electrical industry (16), wood (15), and printing and paper (12). Over the years the majority of these factories were sold to private investors, and Ha-Mashbir ha-Merkazi le-Ta'asiyyah ceased to exist.

The cooperative transport companies play the leading role among the service cooperatives. *Egged runs the interurban bus lines in the country, operating 2,200 buses and employing 6,600 persons at the beginning of 1968. It also had a fleet of 200 tourist buses, 42 local offices, 8 subsidiary companies, and 20 modern garages. The second large transport cooperative is Dan, which serves the largest urban concentration in the country, with a population of 900,000 (including the cities of Tel Aviv, Ramat Gan, Petaḥ Tikvah, Bat Yam, Ḥolon, etc.). The company operated 795 buses on 80 urban lines with a combined length of 1,375 miles, transporting about a million passengers a day (at the end of 1967). In addition to the passenger transport companies, there were 24 cooperative freight forwarding companies operating all over the country and employing some 1,500 workers at the beginning of 1967. In 2004 Egged employed 6,309 workers, of whom 2,452 were Egged members. It owned 3,332 buses and operated on 1,308 bus routes. In all, it made 44,957 daily runs on these routes, serving about a million people over 810,000 km of roads. Dan employed about 2,400 workers in 2004, among whom 830 were members. The company served about 640,000 passengers a day. Most of the cooperative societies were linked to the labor movement. They could also be grouped as follows: institutional cooperatives, which included Hamashbir Hamerkazi, Tnuva, mutual aid credit cooperatives and others; and the cooperative economy, which included the cooperative agricultural settlements of various kinds (kibbutzim, moshavim, and moshavim shittufiyyim), as well as the productive and service cooperatives. Also included were the cooperative enterprises linked directly or indirectly to the cooperative settlements. Table: Cooperatives shows the extent of the activities of the two groups.

In its heyday the labor-affiliated cooperative sector occupied a relatively important place in the economy of Israel. In 1966 it employed 64% of the workers in the entire labor sector and about 15% of the total number of persons employed in the economy of the country. The percentage was higher in certain branches especially agriculture, where, as has been stated, labor-affiliated cooperatives were predominant. In transport, for example, the cooperatives employed 21% of the total; in commerce, banking, and finance, they employed 8–9% of the total; and in industry, 7% (especially industry based on the cooperative settlements).

[Leon Aryeh Szeskin / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

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COPÉ, JEAN-FRANÇOIS (1964–), French politician. Born in the Paris suburb of Boulogne-Billancourt, Copé studied civil government at the École Nationale d'Administration (ENA), France's most prominent school for civil servants. He wrote several reference books about local finances and was elected mayor of Meaux in 1995; from 1998 he held elective positions in the local government of the Ile-de-France region and he was a representative for the Seine-et-Marne subdivision in the national parliament from 1995 to 1997. This experience of local government led him to publish in 1999 a book describing the everyday life of a mayor and reflecting on the problems of civil service. Actively committed to the center-right RPR Party, in which he was given the position of deputy general secretary, he acted from 2002 to 2004 as the spokesperson for the French government before beginning a ministerial career: home secretary in 2004; deputy minister for state budget and budgetary reform from 2004 to 2005.

[Dror Franck Sullaper (2nd ed.)]

COPELAND, LILLIAN (1904–1964), track and field athlete, Olympic gold and silver medalist, member of the U.S. Track & Field Hall of Fame. One of the greatest field competitors in women's track and field history, Copeland was born in New York City to Polish immigrants. Copeland's father died when she was young, and after her mother married Abraham Copeland, the family moved to Los Angeles. Copeland excelled in all throwing events, especially in the shot put, winning the AAU championships in that event five times (1925–28, 1931) and setting the shot-put record in 1928 at 40' 4.25" (12.30 m.). Copeland also won the AAU discus throw title in 1926 with a 101′ 1″ (30.81 m.) world record, and again in 1927, and the javelin throw title in 1926 and 1931, breaking the world record in the javelin three times in 1926 and 1927. After setting a world discus record of 115′ 8.5″ at the U.S. Olympic trials in 1928, Copeland won the discus silver medal at the Olympic Games, the first Olympics to include women's track and field events (though not yet the shot put and javelin throw). Copeland also helped set a world record in the 440-yard relay at the 1928 time trials. Copeland then attended the University of Southern California Law School and semi-retired from competition, but she came back for the 1932 Olympics, where she won gold in the discus on her last throw of the day with a world record toss of 133' 2" (40.58 m.). She competed in the 1935 Maccabiah Games, winning the gold medal in discus, shot put, and javelin. Though planning to defend her discus gold medal at the 1936 Olympics in Berlin, Copeland joined the movement to boycott Hitler's Games.

[Elli Wohlgelernter (2nd ed.)]

COPENHAGEN (Dan. **København**), capital of *Denmark. The first Jewish congregation in Copenhagen was founded in 1684 when two Ashkenazi Jews, the court jeweler Israel David and his partner Meyer Goldschmidt, both of Hamburg, were permitted "to conduct morning and evening prayers in their homes on condition that these devotional exercises took place behind closed doors and without any sermon." In 1687 Abraham Salomon of Rausnitz in Moravia was appointed the first rabbi in Copenhagen. The first Jewish cemetery in Møllegade, established in 1693, is the oldest cemetery in northern Europe. Religious services – in some cases according to the Sephardi tradition – were held in private homes until 1766 when a synagogue with 320 seats was built in Laederstraede. This first synagogue was destroyed by the great fire of 1795, and services were thereafter held in 15 private homes. In 1827 the Liberal Party deemed it a matter of necessity to procure a rabbi with an academic education, and Abraham Alexander *Wolff, at the time *Landesrabbiner* in Upper Hessen, was appointed. A new synagogue in Krystalgade was built in 1833, on the initiative of Rabbi Wolff. A few strictly Orthodox members of the community were dissatisfied with some innovations introduced into the ritual in the new synagogue in Krystalgade, and a chapel was established in a private home in Laederstraede, where services in accordance with the traditional Polish rite were held from 1845 to 1955. After the consecration of the Krystalgade synagogue, the former Sephardi prayer rooms in Copenhagen were abandoned. There is no Reform synagogue in Copenhagen. The congregation *Mahzike Hadas*, established in 1910, and since 1914 affiliated with *Agudat Israel, maintains a synagogue in Ole Suhrsgade on a private basis.

The community is governed by a council of 20 delegates elected by approximately 1,800 dues payers; by a board of seven directors elected by the council; and by a board of seven trustees. The first old-age home, Meyers Minde, next to the synagogue, was erected in 1825 and rebuilt in 1925 and 1966. Three other old-age homes were erected in 1902, and a new old-age home and infirmary on the outskirts of Copenhagen were dedicated in 1961 in the presence of Queen Ingrid of Denmark. All Jewish welfare work in Copenhagen was carried out under the jurisdiction of the Jewish community until 1932, when Jews became subject to the same general social welfare legislation as all other Danish citizens. The Jewish community in Copenhagen, however, still has philanthropic institutions of long standing and applies the income from legacies to supplementary relief, medical aid, recreation, scholarships, dowries for needy brides, and assistance to Jewish transients. The all-day schools for boys and girls, founded respectively in 1805 and 1810, were united into one coeducational school, Carolineskolen, with 140 pupils after World War II. At the end of the 20th century its student body numbered close to 200 pupils. A Lubavitcher yeshivah founded in 1958 closed down, but 1997 saw the arrival of the first *Ḥabad representative in Copenhagen. In June 2004 the Danish Jewish Museum was inaugurated by the Queen of Denmark. The opening display showcased not only the exhibits but also Daniel Libeskind's architecture; it presented a far-ranging story of Jewish life in Denmark, emphasizing coexistence and identity over four centuries.

During World War I, the *World Zionist Organization established a central office in Copenhagen, and on Oct. 25, 1918, issued the Copenhagen program. This program contained the claims of the Jewish people which were to be presented to the Paris Peace Conference. A museum of ceremonial art objects was established in 1902. The Bibliotheca Judaica Simonseniana, part of the Royal Library in Copenhagen, is one of the great Jewish libraries of Europe. It comprises the library of Chief Rabbi David *Simonsen, the collection of the Danish maecenas Simon Aaron *Eybeschutz, and the library purchased from Lazarus *Goldschmidt. Rafael *Edelmann became its chief librarian in 1938.

For Copenhagen from the Holocaust onward, see *Denmark.

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[Julius Margolinsky]

COPISAROW, MAURICE (1889–1959), British chemist. Copisarow was born in Manchester. In World War I his research for the Ministry of Munitions was responsible for ending a succession of disastrous explosions in TNT factories. He also discovered methods of converting dangerous waste materials into dyestuffs and other useful products. Copisarow's continuous experimentation with TNT and phosgene, however, soon resulted in blindness, and he was forced to confine himself to theoretical work. This was both original and fruitful: he propounded a general theory of allotrophy and established new relationships between inorganic and living forms. In World War II Copisarow helped to meet Britain's food problems by his work in connection with grassland improvement, the reclamation of the brackenland, and fruit and vegetable preservation. After the war, he investigated enzyme and virus activity, and the biochemistry of influenza and of cancer.

[Samuel Aaron Miller]

COPLAND, AARON (1900–1990), U.S. composer. Copland was born in Brooklyn, studied with Rubin *Goldmark in New York, and with Nadia Boulanger in Paris. Returning to the U.S. in 1924, he became active as a composer, teacher, and conductor.

In his early years Copland attracted the attention of Serge *Koussevitzky, then conductor of the Boston Symphony Orchestra, who became an ardent champion of his music. His *Piano Concerto*, which he played with Koussevitzky in 1927, shocked the staid Boston audience by its aggressive jazz idiom. But Copland's talent soon won for him universal acceptance. At Koussevitzky's invitation, he joined the faculty of the Berkshire Music Center in Tanglewood, and for 25 years was the head of its composition department (1940–65). He traveled extensively in Europe, visited Russia in 1960, toured Latin America, and was guest conductor in Israel several times. Copland stopped composing abruptly and completely in 1970, but remained active as a conductor and lecturer until the mid–1980s. There were performances throughout the world to mark his seventieth, seventy-fifth, eightieth, and eighty-fifth birthdays, and New York City honored him with a "Wall-to-Wall" Copland Day tribute. He published several books: *What to Listen for in Music* (1939); *Our New Music* (1941); *Music and Imagination*, a collection of lectures delivered at Harvard University (1952); and *Copland on Music* (1960). In 1964 he received the Medal of Freedom from the U.S. government. Many of his works, such as the ballet *Billy the Kid* (1938), *Lincoln Portrait* for speaker and orchestra (1942), and the ballets *Rodeo* (1942) and *Appalachian Spring* (1944) were based on distinctly American themes. *El Salón México* (1937) for orchestra made use of authentic Mexican dance tunes, united in the form of a rhapsody; *Danzón Cubano* for two pianos (1942), a similar stylization of Cuban rhythms, was also arranged for orchestra.

Copland wrote much chamber music, notably: *Vitebsk* for piano, violin, and cello, based on a popular Jewish theme (1929), *Concerto* for clarinet, strings, harp, and piano (1950), *Piano Quartet* (1950) and *Nonet* for strings (1960). His piano works include *Variations* (1930); *Sonata* (1941); *Fantasy* (1957). In 1962, for the opening concert of Lincoln Center in New York, Copland wrote his first work explicitly composed in the 12-tone technique, entitled *Connotations*. He also wrote music for the play *Quiet City* and several film scores.

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[Nicolas Slonimsky]

°**COPONIUS**, first procurator of Judea, from 6 to 9 C.E. Of equestrian rank, he was sent to Judea by Augustus after the banishment of *Archelaus. He was accompanied by the Syrian governor, Quirinus, who was sent to take charge of Archelaus' property and to take a census in order to determine taxation. This census was customary in every land which became a Roman province, but the Jews, incited by *Zadok the Pharisee and *Judah the Galilean, regarded it as a sign of servitude and protested against it. Josephus mentions Judah as the founder of a new sect which has been identified variously with the *Zealots and the *Sicarii. As a result of the intervention of *Joezer b. Boethus, the high priest, the people were pacified and the census taken. During Coponius' period of office some Samaritans penetrated into the Temple and scattered human bones through its chambers, which led to an intensification of the vigil at the Temple (Eduy. 8:5; Tosef. Eduy. 3:3). No specific complaints were raised against Coponius as was the case with his successors, and he is believed to have maintained a satisfactory relationship with the Jews. One of the gateways to the Temple Mount, "the door of Coponius," was apparently named after him (Mid. 1:3).

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[Lea Roth]

COPPERFIELD, DAVID (1956–). U.S. magician. As David Seth Kotkin, the son of Russian-Jewish immigrants (his father owned a small clothing store), Copperfield grew up in Metuchen, N.J. His grandfather taught him card tricks as a boy. Before his bar mitzvah he was performing magic at local community centers. He became the youngest person to be admitted to the Society of American Magicians. As a teenager, he said, he taught courses in magic at New York University. A week into his first year at Fordham University, he won the lead in the Chicago production of the musical *Magic Man*, and it launched his career. Under the name David Copperfield, suggested by a friend, he sang, danced, acted, and created all the magic in the show, which became a long-running production. His role led to his own television series, *The Magic of* ABC. CBS then signed him for a series of specials, *The Magic of David Copperfield*, and with each new special he introduced a new feat, always performing before a live audience. In one of his most famous tricks, in 1983, he seemingly made the Statue of Liberty vanish. He also walked through the Great Wall of China and escaped from the prison at Alcatraz, a trick no real prisoner ever managed to perform. Over 20 years his television specials were said to have reached more than three billion people. His face is on a postage stamp in four countries. His abilities as a businessman, as well as illusionist, paid off: he became one of the highest paid entertainers in the world. Copperfield, who was cited by the Library of Congress in 2000 as a living legend, started Project Magic, a program to help hospitalized people with physical and developmental disabilities.

[Stewart Kampel (2nd ed.)]

COPPER SCROLL, designation popularly given to the document at *Qumran officially listed as 3Q15. It was found in March 1952 in Cave 3, about two kilometers north of Qumran, in a much deteriorated condition. The use of the term "scroll" is perhaps incorrect, in so far as it was not intended to be frequently opened, read, and then rolled up like the rest of the Dead Sea scrolls. One suggestion is that it should be designated as a "rolled-up copper plaque."

Discovery and Unrolling

The document seems originally to have been a plaque of soft copper-base metal, about 8 × 0.9 ft. (2.46 m. × 28 cm.), made from three pieces riveted end to end. A hasty or clumsy attempt had been made to roll the plaque up, but the second row of rivets ceased to hold while this was being done, and the piece that remained was rolled up separately. The two scrolls were found embedded in the floor of Cave 3 in 1952. The writing, which had been punched out with about ten punching blows to a letter, was on the inside of the scrolls. From an examination of the lettering visible from the outside K.G. Kuhn concluded in 1953 that the document contained an inventory of the Qumran community's treasures and the places where they were hidden when its headquarters were abandoned. The metal was so utterly corroded and brittle that unrolling the scrolls or applying heat to reverse the process of decomposition was out of the question. The only means of exposing the inscribed surfaces was to cut the scrolls into strips, and even this was a precarious exercise in view of their condition. This was successfully achieved under the direction of H.W. Baker, then professor of mechanical engineering in the College of Science and Technology, Manchester, England. A spindle was put through the scrolls; they were coated with adhesive, warmed to 40°–50°C, and cut into 23 strips with a tiny high-speed circular saw. Each strip was photographed as it was cut, and dust and débris were removed from the remaining part stage by stage, by vacuum suction and a dental brush. When the strips were laid side by side with their inner surfaces exposed, the inscription could be read. It consisted of about 3,000 letters, and so carefully and skillfully had the operation been carried out that not more than five percent of the text was destroyed, while of the rest only about two percent was illegible. The language was colloquial mishnaic Hebrew; the writing was of the period 25–75 C.E., as suggested by various scholars, notably by Frank Moore Cross.

Contents and Significance

The first announcement of the contents of the document was made in 1956. It was said to contain an inventory of 64 hoards of treasure which had been deposited in various places, chiefly in the Buqeiʿa (Vale of *Achor) and its neighborhood and in the Jerusalem region. K.G. Kuhn's inferences from the limited amount of text visible in reverse in 1952 were vindicated. Three samples of the inventory were published in this first release: "In the cistern which is below the rampart, on the east side, in a place hollowed out of rock: 600 bars of silver" (item 11); "Close by, below the southern corner of the portico at Zadok's tomb, and underneath the pilaster in the exedras, a vessel of incense in pine wood and a vessel of incense in cassia wood" (item 53); "In the pit nearby toward the north, near the graves, in a hole opening to the north, there is a copy of this book, with explanations, measurements and all details" (item 64). A French translation of the whole text was published by J.T. Milik in 1959; a transcription of the text with English translation and notes was published by J.M. Allegro in 1960, while the official edition of text, translation, introduction, and notes by J.T. Milik, with photographic plates, appeared in 1962. One contribution of value made by this document concerns the topography of the areas where the treasures are said to have been deposited. For example, the name of the pool of Bethesda (mentioned in John 5:2) has been the subject of much debate because of the variant readings of the manuscripts; now it can be said definitely to be Bet-ʾeshda, "the place of outpouring," because this form (in the dual, Bet-ʾeshdatain) is mentioned under item 57 as the place where a cache of precious wood and resin was deposited. Some of the places mentioned are known either by geographical identification or by literary reference elsewhere (or both); others remain unknown. The references to sites around the Temple area are of particular interest. It is surprising to find one hiding place as far away as Mount Gerizim; there, "under the entrance to the upper pit," lot 61 was stored ("a chest with its contents and 60 talents of silver"). Josephus mentions the pretender in Pilate's time who promised to show the Samaritans the sacred vessels which Moses had hidden there (Ant., 18:85), but it may be that a hill in the vicinity of Jericho is meant (there is some patristic evidence for such a location).

A special problem is posed by the huge amounts of some of the caches; the gold and silver as listed would yield a grand total of about 200 tons or 200,000 kg. If the reference is to a collection of legends of buried treasure, there is nothing surprising in such a fantastic total; if the inventory is intended to be factual, it would have to be concluded that the amounts in some cases are in code for more realistic figures. Such use of a code is the less improbable because there are various cryptic signs and Greek letters in the document which appear to be intended to convey some meaning to those in the know. If the inventory is indeed intended to be factual, it may be asked if it lists the treasure seized from the Temple and elsewhere by the defenders of Jerusalem in the closing phases of the First Revolt to be used as sinews of war against Rome. The inclusion of incense, precious kinds of wood, tithe-jars, and so forth, along with the gold and silver suggests that some of the treasure may have come from the Temple. The use of such a durable material as copper for the inscription points to a factual inventory rather than to a collection of legends. But these and other questions raised by the inscription call for further examination. The fact that it was found in Qumran Cave 3 does not necessarily mean that it belonged to the Essenes or lists their property. Among other possibilities it may be considered that the Qumran headquarters were commandeered by Zealots or their Idumean allies as a useful strong point against the Romans, and that it was they who drew up the document and, at the approach of danger, rolled it up hastily and left it in a convenient hiding place. Its association with the Qumran scrolls on skin or papyrus need be no more than geographical.

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[Frederick Fyvie Bruce / Shimon Gibson (2nd ed.)]

COPPER SERPENT, THE (AV, RV, "brazen serpent") (Heb. נְחַשׁ נְחֹשֶׁת; *neḥash neḥoshet*), a symbol set upon a standard by Moses at the Divine command (Num. 21:6–10). The instructions from the Lord followed a plague of "*seraph-serpents" sent against the people of Israel in the course of their wanderings through the desert. The purpose of the image was therapeutic; anyone bitten by a serpent could be healed by looking at it (cf. LXX, I Sam. 5:6 with MT, I Sam. 6:5). Since the peril was identified with the demonic power within the serpent, the copper image mounted on a staff constituted a counter-equivalent power which was an effective prophylaxis. Although the Pentateuch account regards the copper serpent as legitimate, King *Hezekiah broke it to pieces (II Kings 18:4) in the course of his reforms. It had come to be looked upon as idolatrous, on a par with the *bamot* ("High Places") and Asherah-groves, because the people had accepted it as a fetish, offering incense to it (the form *kitter* (*qiṭṭer*) instead of *hiktir* (*hiqṭir*) has a pejorative connotation). It is unclear from the end of II Kings 18:4 whether it was Hezekiah or the people who named the image Nehushtan. Some scholars regard the chapters in Numbers as an etiological account serving to justify the original adoption of this pre-Israelite cult-figure by the Jerusalemite priesthood, and as an attempt to emphasize the independent healing power of the Lord. The origin of the name Nehushtan is uncertain. Some regard it as having been formed from *neḥoshet* + the affirmative *-an*, and meaning "a copper object." Others note the play on words involving *naḥash* ("snake"), *neḥoshet* ("copper"), and perhaps also the verb *niḥesh* ("to practice divination"). It may be, however, that the *-an* suffix represents the Semitic dual ending.

Parallels from Other Cultures

Entwined serpents with wings indicating the equilibrium of the forces of life and death have been traced as far back as late third millennium Mesopotamia, in the design of the sacrificial cup of King Gudea of Lagash. Rituals designed to avert an evil power or concerning healing which involve serpents and images of them are known from Egypt and Mesopotamia. In addition, the serpent as a life-healing symbol was a common feature in the Canaanite fertility cult. It was associated with the mother-goddess Asherah on pendant reliefs and on incense altars. A small bronze serpent was found at pre-Israelite Gezer, and a bronze plaque with a woman flanked by two serpents was unearthed in Late Bronze Age Hazor. Finally, primitive religions frequently give examples of the conjunction of opposites, of serpents as symbols of sex and death or of death and rebirth. This concept was borrowed by the Greeks and served as the prototype of the caduceus, the staff with a handle of two intertwined serpents.

The Greek physician-god Asklepios, too, was associated with snakes.

[Michael Fishbane]

In the Aggadah

The Mishnah explains that the copper serpent was in itself ineffective as a healing agent. It merely signified that if the children of Israel would raise their eyes upward and subordinate their hearts to the will of the heavenly Father, they would be healed (RH 3:8). It also brought healing to those who had been bitten by other animals. In the case of the latter however, a casual glance sufficed for the cure, whereas in the former case they were healed only after a prolonged, insistent gaze (TJ, RH 59a). The appellation Nehushtan given to the serpent when it was destroyed by Hezekiah was regarded as a plural form, indicating that sacrifice to it involved the loss both of the present and future life (Yal., Num. 764, p. 524). The rabbis endorsed the action of Hezekiah in destroying this venerable relic, since it had become an object of idolatrous worship (Ber. 10b; Pes. 56a).

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COPPERSMITH, SAM (1955–), attorney and U.S. congressman. Coppersmith, was born in Johnstown, Pennsylvania, and educated in the local public schools, attending religious school from kindergarten through confirmation at the end of the tenth grade. He had his bar mitzvah at Johnstown's Conservative synagogue.

Coppersmith attended Harvard University, where he graduated *magna cum laude* in 1976. He earned a *Juris Doctor* at Yale in 1982 and then moved to Phoenix, Arizona, where he clerked in the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals and eventually entered private practice. From the outset, Coppersmith became heavily involved in local civic and political affairs. In 1992, prodded by the local Democratic elite, Coppersmith declared for Arizona's First Congressional District seat against incumbent Republican Jay Rhodes. In Phoenix the first Congressional District seat had been occupied by a Rhodes – Jay and father John – for more than 40 years. Running as a "new-generation Democrat" (pro-choice and business-oriented), Coppersmith coasted to an easy victory in the Democratic primary and then scored an upset victory in the November general election.

Coppersmith took seats on the Public Works Committee and Science, Space and Technology Committee. During his one term in the House (1993–94), he kept a unique campaign promise: he turned down a congressional pay raise. He also gained attention with his leadership of an effort to eliminate the "Advanced Liquid Metal Reactor Program," an effort that brought praise from experts concerned about America's plutonium policy. Although largely unnoticed at the time, Coppersmith was also the first member of Congress to wire his office up to the Internet. In 1994 he gave up his House seat in order to run for the United States Senate; he lost that race and returned to Arizona for good.

After leaving Congress, Coppersmith practiced business and real estate law in Phoenix and wrote a weekly opinion column for the *Tribune* newspaper chain. In 1996, during his tenure as chair of the Arizona Democratic Party, Bill Clinton and Al Gore became the first Democrats to win Arizona since Harry S. Truman in 1948. In late 2004 he traveled several times to the Ukraine to serve on a panel of international observers monitoring the former Soviet republic's contentious presidential elections.

Coppersmith's wife, Beth Schermer, who practiced law with him, specialized in legal issues involving health care. One of Coppersmith's sisters, Dr. Susan N. Coppersmith, became a professor of physics at the University of Chicago. Their father, Louis Coppersmith, served 12 years (1969–81) in the Pennsylvania State Senate, where he chaired the Public Health and Welfare Committee and was known as the "Conscience of the Senate."

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[Kurt Stone (2nd ed.)]

CORAL. The ancients regarded coral as wood, because of its tree-like appearance. Only at the beginning of the 18th century was it discovered to belong to the animal kingdom and to consist of the skeletons of marine polyps. Stone corals, found mainly in southern waters including the Red Sea and the Bay of Eilat, are the skeletons of the six-armed polyps (Hexacorallia), and are distinguished by their variety of shapes and their beautiful colors. To another group belong the eight-armed corals (Octocorallia), which include the Red Coral (*Corallium rubrum*). Found in the vicinity of Sicily and along North African shores, the red skeleton of the coral colony, which is extremely hard, is used for making ornaments. Red coral is probably to be identified with the biblical *peninim*, the color of which is red (Lam. 4:7). The identification of *peninim* as "pearl" is apparently wrong. The Talmud (RH 23a) tells of Arameans who brought up coral (Aramaic: *kesita*) from the bed of the sea. In Maimonides (Yad, Kelim 13:6) and in modern Hebrew the word *almog* is used to designate coral, but the identification is mistaken (see *Algum). Red coral was an important article in the commerce of Jews, especially those of Leghorn in the 17th–18th centuries.

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[Jehuda Feliks]

CORALNIK, ABRAHAM (1883–1937), Yiddish essayist and literary critic. Coralnik, who was born in the Ukrainian town of Uman, studied at the universities of Kiev, Florence, Berlin, Bonn, and Vienna. He mastered a dozen languages in the course of his travels. His main interest was philosophy. Coralnik's interest in Zionism led to his appointment as editor of the Viennese Zionist organ, *Die Welt*, in 1904. He also edited periodicals in Agram (now Zagreb, Croatian Republic) and Czernowitz, and served as correspondent for German and Russian newspapers in Rome, Berlin, and Copenhagen. In 1915 he joined the staff of the newly founded Yiddish daily *Der Tog*, for which he continued to work until his death, with a single interruption in 1917–20, when his enthusiasm for the Russian Revolution led him to edit Russian journals in Leningrad, Moscow, and Kiev. Although Coralnik was at first more at ease in Russian and German than in Yiddish, he gradually developed a lucid literary Yiddish. He claimed that civilization included far more irrational entities than rational ones and sought to explore the irrational core of artistic creation and national consciousness. In 1928 his essays were collected in five volumes, and three more volumes were published posthumously. In May 1933, he founded the American League for the Defense of Jewish Rights in response to the rise of Nazism, and with Samuel *Untermeyer organized the World Jewish Economic Conference in Amsterdam in an effort to coordinate an international anti-Nazi boycott, which met with little success.

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[Sol Liptzin / Sarah Ponichtera (2nd ed.)]

CORBEIL, capital of the department of Essonne, France. Jews lived there from at least the second half of the 12th century. They were expelled in 1180 with the other Jews in the kingdom of France, but are again mentioned in Corbeil from at least 1203. They owned a synagogue (*escholle*) whose building was preserved until the 14th–15th centuries. The *Rue des Juifs*, the ancient *Judearia*, still exists. The Jews were again expelled from Corbeil in 1306 with the other Jews in the kingdom, and returned in 1315. The community ceased to exist in 1321. Corbeil was an important center of Jewish learning in the Middle Ages. Its scholars included the tosafist Judah of Corbeil, *Jacob of Corbeil "the Saint," Samson of Corbeil, *Isaac b. Joseph, and *Perez b. Elijah. At the beginning of the German occupation of France in World War II (1941), 13 Jewish families were registered in Corbeil, but there was no Jewish community there after the war.

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[Bernhard Blumenkranz]

CORCOS, family originally from Corcos in the province of Valladolid, Castile. The scholar ABRAHAM CORCOS (c. 1275) lived in Castile; his son, SOLOMON CORCOS (d. after 1331), a disciple of Judah b. Asher, wrote a commentary on the astronomical work *Yesod Olam* of Isaac *Israeli in Avila. The wealthy financier JUDAH BEN ABRAHAM CORCOS (d. after 1493) of Zamora settled in Portugal in 1492. After 1492 members of the family were established in Italy and in Fez.

ABRAHAM, ḤAYYIM, YOSE AND JOSHUA CORCOS were among the leaders of the "Spanish Exiles" in Morocco. JOSHUA (d. after 1552) vigorously defended the "Castillanos" in the question of ritual slaughter traditions. A rabbinical authority, he was one of the promoters and signatories of the *takkanot* which determined the social and religious organization of the "Exiles of Castile" in Morocco. Renowned for his erudition and his piety, MOSES BEN ABRAHAM CORCOS (d. c. 1575) of Fez was appointed *dayyan* in Tunis, where his tomb is still the object of pilgrimage. One of the rabbinical authorities of Fez, JOSEPH CORCOS (d. c. 1710) had many disciples, several of whom achieved fame. JOSEPH BEN JOSHUA CORCOS (d. after 1800) lived in Gibraltar for some time and there he wrote his *Shiʿur Komah* (Leghorn, 1809; Jerusalem, 1934) which was regularly read in Morocco on Sabbath afternoons. He also wrote a homiletic work *Yosef Ḥen* (Leghorn, 1825). ABRAHAM BEN MOSES CORCOS (d. c. 1778), a talmudist, left several works of which only some decisions and a partially published work of responsa entitled *Ginnat Veradim* are extant. JOSEPH CORCOS known also as Maharik (Morenu ha-Rav R. Joseph Corcos; d. after 1575) was a Spanish-born talmudist. He traveled to Egypt, where he was head of a yeshivah, and finally settled in Ereẓ Israel, He wrote a commentary on the *Yad ha-Ḥazakah* of *Maimonides; several extracts have been published on Sefer Zeraʿim. His brother (?) ISAAC CORCOS (d. before 1540), first was rabbi in Egypt and later appointed *dayyan* in Jerusalem, where he was succeeded by his son Solomon. MAIMON BEN ISAAC CORCOS (d. 1799), one of the founders of the community of Mogador and an influential merchant, was one of the pillars of British politics in Morocco. SOLOMON BEN ABRAHAM CORCOS (d. 1854) was banker and adviser to the sultan. He was accredited as consular agent of Great Britain from 1822. His sons JACOB (d. 1878) and ABRAHAM (d. 1883), were entrusted with important missions by three successive sultans. In 1862 Abraham was appointed U.S. consul in Mogador. His influence at the palace of the sultan enabled him to considerably facilitate the mission of Sir Moses *Montefiore whom he received in Morocco. MEYER BEN ABRAHAM CORCOS (d. 1929) was appointed U.S. consul in 1884. He wrote *Ben Me'ir* (2 vols. 1912 and 1925) on the laws of the Sabbath and Passover. STELLA CORCOS (1857–1948) was born in New York and married MOSES CORCOS (d. 1903). She settled in Mogador, where she founded a free Jewish school which taught in English. She contested the growing influence of the Protestant missions over poverty-stricken Jews. She was the representative of the *Anglo-Jewish Association. ḤAYYIM BEN

JACOB (d. 1923), philanthropist and scholar, supported many yeshivot in Morocco. MONTEFIORE CORCOS (d. 1958), a pilot in World War I was a wing-commander in the Royal Air Force during World War II. JOSHUA BEN ḤAYYIM CORCOS (d. 1929), banker of the sultans and their advisers, played an important political role from 1885 to 1912. FERNAND CORCOS (1875–1956), advocate and active Zionist, defended the rights of the Jews of Morocco, Algeria, and Tunisia. He wrote *Le Sionisme au Travail* (2 vols., 1923 and 1925), as well as 15 volumes of international studies.

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CORCOS, DAVID (1917–1975), historian of Moroccan Jewry. Scion of the prominent Spanish-Moroccan *Corcos family of merchants and diplomats, Corcos grew up as part of the elite of Mogador and Moroccan Jewry. Educated at the French High School and Higher Institute for Economy in Casablanca, he moved to Agadir as a young man and opened an import-export company and wholesale outlet that supplied southern Morocco and the Souss region with sugar, tea, and grain. He was a large-scale exporter to Europe of carob, almonds, wool, tea, sugar, and especially grain.

He immigrated to Israel in 1959 with a rare library of 1,500 books on North African and Moroccan Jewry as well as hundreds of manuscripts passed down from generation to generation that belonged to his great-grandfather. He lectured on Moroccan Jewish history on Kol Israel radio, published many scholarly articles on Moroccan Jewry in the *Jewish Quarterly Review*, *Zion*, and *Sefunot*, and in 1976 published *Studies in the History of the Jews in Morocco*. Corcos was the editor for the Maghreb of the first edition of the *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, writing over 250 entries on Moroccan, Algerian, and Tunisian Jewry. He also contributed to the *Enẓiklopediyah Ivrit*.

[Yitzchak Kerem (2nd ed.)]

CORCOS, HEZEKIAH MANOAH ḤAYYIM (Tranquillo Vita) THE YOUNGER (1660–1730), rabbi, physician, and preacher. Corcos was a member of the Rome branch of the *Corcos family which settled there after the expulsion of the Jews from Spain, becoming eminent for their rabbinical scholarship and financial acumen. His grandfather, of the same name (1590–1650), was among the foremost Italian rabbis of his day. In 1692 Corcos was elected to the Council of Sixty, the governing body of the Rome community, and was appointed rabbi and secretary of the community in 1702, after which he devoted even greater energy to communal affairs. In 1697 he appeared before the Congregation of the Holy Office to refute the anti-Jewish calumnies spread by the apostate Paolo Sebastiano Medici. Corcos' plea to Pope Innocent XII to authorize the reduction of the onerous rents paid in the ghetto was successful (1698). He also obtained some modification of the censorship of Hebrew books (1728), and secured the withdrawal of a *blood libel in Viterbo (1705).

Besides representing the interests of the Rome community, he attended to its daily needs within the confines of the ghetto, caring for the needy sick, superintending the local yeshivah, and encouraging secular instruction as well as delivering sermons. His firm and dignified demeanor was appreciated in the Vatican and generally in Rome. Corcos was perhaps the most illustrious personality of the Rome ghetto during its three centuries of segregation.

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[Attilio Milano]

CORCOS, STELLA (1858–1948), educator. Stella Corcos was the daughter of an Algerian Jewish tobacco merchant, Avraham Duran, and Rivka Montefiore (1831–1929) of the famous London *Montefiore family. Stella married Moses Corcos, one of Mogador's wealthiest merchants, in England, and settled in Mogador in 1884.

In Mogador, with the assistance of the Agudat Aḥim philanthropic association of England headed by Claude Montefiore, she founded in 1885 an English-speaking school called "Kavod ve-Ometz" for lower class Jewish girls in order that they might escape the clutches of missionaries. The school attracted attention in the region and was visited by numerous diplomats and foreign dignitaries. The school outnumbered the local Alliance Israélite Universelle school in female students and thrived until 1915, when it closed. Through the influence of the school, English filtered into the Mogador Jewish community. Stella also introduced Jewish theater in the school and played a pioneering role in the introduction of Jewish theater in Morocco.

After her husband died in 1907, she was left alone with six children; among them her daughters Florence and Winnie, who were teachers in the school, and her sons Jacob and Mas'ud, the latter a London merchant. She used her influence with the Sultan of Morocco to better the living conditions of the Jews of the Mellah (Ghetto) of Mogador. On one occasion, she met with the Sultan in Marrakesh, riding to the meeting by horse. She maintained the school during periods of economic crisis, drought, epidemics, and even after the onset of French protectorate rule in 1912.

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[Yitzchak Kerem (2nd ed.)]

CORCOS, VITTORIO (1859–1933). Italian portrait painter. Born in Livorno, Corcos studied with the Leghorn painter Giuseppe Baldini and from 1875 at the Art Academy in Florence. In 1877 he won a silver medal for his painting *Figura, copia dal vero*. The following year he won a scholarship for young painters. In 1880 his painting *Arabo in preghiera*, was bought by no less a personage than the King of Italy, Umberto I. In that same year Corcos left Italy for Paris, where he lived intermittently until 1886. He worked mostly for the art dealer Goupil. He presented paintings at the Salon, such as *A la brasserie* in 1881, *l'anniversaire* in 1882, and in 1885 a portrait. In 1886 he was back in Florence, where he took part in the First National Art Exhibition. He married, outside his faith, the widow Emma Rotigliano, née Ciabatti. His best-known portraits are those of the composer Pietro Mascagni (1891), the Italian poet Giosue' Carducci (1892), the German Kaiser Wilhelm II and his wife Augusta Victoria (1904), and Margherita of Savoy, Queen of Italy (1922). His last years were saddened by the death of his only son, Massimiliano, in 1916 at the front during World War I. Corcos is also remembered for his portrait paintings of beautiful women.

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CÓRDOBA (**Cordova,** also **Corduba**), city in Andalusia, southern Spain. According to some sources, the Jews were entrusted with the city's defense immediately after the Muslim conquest in 711. The first references to Jewish settlement in Córdoba date from 840, in a polemical exchange between the Jewish proselyte *Bodo-Eleazar and Paul Alvarus. When Córdoba became capital of the Umayyad caliphate in Spain, it also became a center of a diversified and brilliant Jewish culture. This was due in great measure to *Ḥisdai ibn Shaprut, physician and diplomat in the service of the caliph ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III (912–961). Ibn Shaprut attracted the galaxy of philosophers, poets, and scholars, who made Córdoba a brilliant Jewish intellectual center. At this period, R. *Moses b. Ḥanokh, brought to Córdoba according to legend as a captive, was responsible for the revival of talmudic studies in Spain. A bitter dispute arose in the academy after his death when the succession of his son *Ḥanokh b. Moses was unsuccessfully disputed by his pupil Joseph *Ibn Abitur, upheld by the influential courtier Jacob *Ibn Jau.

During the 11th century, Córdoba declined as a result of the Berber conquest. After the revival of the community in the second quarter of the 11th century, Isaac b. Baruch *Albalia was the foremost rabbinical scholar in Córdoba. Scholars in the 12th century included Joseph b. Jacob *Ibn Sahl, a pupil of Isaac ibn Ghayyat, who was appointed *dayyan* of the community in 1113, remaining in office until his death in 1123. The noted poet and halakhic authority Joseph ibn *Ẓaddik served as *dayyan* from 1138 to 1149. At the beginning of the 12th century, messianic expectations were stimulated by the appearance of an Andalusian pseudo-messiah Ibn Arieh: excitement ran high until the communal leadership stopped the movement. Córdoba was the birthplace of Maimonides, born in 1135, who left the city as a result of the invasion of the *Almohades, when the Jews of Andalusia were compelled to adopt Islam and the community was destroyed.

The Jewish quarter during the Muslim period was situated near the *alcazar* ("fortress") southwest of the city; it continued in existence after the Christian reconquest and some parts may be seen today. A second quarter apparently existed in the northern part of the city, near the "Jewish gate" (*Bāb al-Yahud* – later the Talavera or León gate) which was standing until 1903. Shortly after the Christian reconquest in 1235–36 the ecclesiastical authorities in Córdoba were complaining that the new synagogue under construction was too high, and in 1250 Pope Innocent IV instructed the bishop of Córdoba to take steps against what he termed a "scandal" against Christianity. A synagogue still standing is that constructed by Isaac Moheb b. Ephraim in 1315 in the *mudejar* style. An adjacent room was probably used for teaching and the small assembly hall served for the *bet din*. The walls of the synagogue and women's gallery are embellished with quotations from the Psalms. The synagogue was declared a national monument in 1885. The Jews of Córdoba had helped to restore the economy of the city after the reconquest by Ferdinand III of Castile. Judah *Abrabanel served as a crown official there. Shortly afterward, however, anti-Jewish restrictions were introduced as elsewhere in Castile at this time. In 1254 Alfonso X ruled that Jews should pay tithes to the ecclesiastical authorities for real estate that had passed into their hands. The community in Córdoba at this period, although smaller than that of *Toledo, was evidently still important. Córdoba Jewry engaged in a wide range of crafts, specializing in the manufacture and marketing of textiles. An extraordinary measure passed by the communal board at the end of the 13th century provided that *dayyanim* were to be appointed for a period of one year only. In 1320–21 severe measures were taken by Judah *Ibn Waqar to tighten communal discipline and punish blasphemers (Resp. Rosh, 18:8). The annual tax paid by the community in 1294 amounted to about 38,000 maravedis, though the church claimed also a special annual payment of 30 denarii: this impost obviously had symbolic significance.

During the persecutions of 1391 anti-Jewish riots broke out in Córdoba in which most of the community was massacred. The annual tax of the reduced community in Córdoba in the 15th century was raised to about 1,200 maravedis in 1474 and amounted to 1,000 maravedis in 1482. A special levy of 18 gold castellanos was imposed on the communities of Córdoba and *Palma as their contribution to the war against Granada in 1485. From Córdoba, which was their headquarters during the war, Ferdinand and Isabella issued a series of anti-Jewish measures at the end of 1478. In 1483 the Jews were ordered to leave Andalusia, and except for a brief revival in 1485 the Jewish community in Córdoba ceased to exist. The Conversos living in Córdoba during the 15th century were fiercely persecuted; particularly violent attacks in 1473–74 made many flee to Sierra. The Conversos of Córdoba won a reputation for their attachment to Judaism, and a statement before a rabbinical court anywhere that a Converso had been educated or had studied in Córdoba was deemed sufficient evidence for him to be recognized as a Jew. The tribunal of the Inquisition established in Córdoba in 1482 comprised a large area in Andalusia within its jurisdiction, including Granada between 1492 and 1526. Many Conversos were martyred in the city in the 1480s. The inquisitor for Córdoba from 1499 until 1509, Diego Rodríguez Lucero, won a reputation for cruelty. The Inquisition in Córdoba remained active until the 18th century. Abraham Athias, father of the printer J. *Athias, was martyred there in 1665.

The 800th anniversary of the birth of Maimonides was officially commemorated in Córdoba in 1935, and in 1964 a Maimonides week was held. A statue was erected to his memory and a square in the former Jewish quarter was renamed Plaza Tiberias to perpetuate the connection of his birthplace with the city in Ereẓ Israel where he was buried.

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[Haim Beinart]

CÓRDOBA

(1) Province in Argentina, area 64,894 sq. mi. (168,075 sq. km.); population 1,759,997 (1960). In 1943 Jews were living in 98 out of the 422 communities in the province. Their total number at that time was 7,675 persons. In 1964 there were organized communities affiliated with Va'ad ha-Kehillot (see *Argentina) only in seven cities and towns. The 1960 census indicated the overall Jewish population (above five years of age) in the province to be 8,639 persons, 7,409 of whom lived in the city of Córdoba. Each year large summer camps for the Jewish youth of Argentina are organized in Córdoba. There are also Jewish hotels in many villages. In Unquillo, the Liga Israelita Argentina Contra la Tubeculosis, originally in Buenos Aires, established in 1937 a large sanatorium which was transformed in 1956 into a summer resort for underprivileged children.

(2) Capital of the above province and third largest city in Argentina. Located in the center of the country, Córdoba had in 1960 a population of 589,153. The first Jewish families arrived in Córdoba at the beginning of the 20th century from the Jewish agricultural settlements in *Entre Ríos province. At the same time, the first Sephardi groups arrived from Lebanon, Syria, and Egypt. A census conducted by Jewish Colonization Association (ICA) in 1909 found about 600 Jews in Córdoba, the majority being Ashkenazim and the minority Sephardim. The same year two Ashkenazi *minyanim* and one Sephardi *minyan* were organized for the High Holy Days. A short time later the Ashkenazi community established two *kehillot* which united in 1915 to form the Centro Unión Israelita (Ashkenazi), under the presidency of Jaime Blank. The Sephardi community began to organize in 1917, when they founded the Sociedad Israelita Siria for Jews originating from Arab-speaking countries. In 1923 the Comunidad Israelita de Córdoba was established for Turkish and Greek Jews, and in the same year, with funds contributed by the Niño family, the first Sephardi synagogue was built. Each congregation has its own cemetery. In 1953 the Círculo Sefaradí was established as a social center for all Sephardi congregations of Córdoba. One of the main concerns of the community leaders has been the establishment of Jewish schools. The first Ashkenazi school, according to the annals of the Centro Unión Israelita, dates from 1917. The Sephardi community founded a school shortly after its communal organization began. A report dating from 1943 showed the city to have five supplementary Jewish schools (which gave instruction in Jewish subjects after regular school hours) whose total student enrollment was about 200. From 1944 the Centro Unión Israelita made efforts to improve school attendance by amalgamating the five schools and establishing a central day school. Their efforts finally succeeded in 1950 when the General San Martín school was officially recognized by the educational authorities of Córdoba. The establishment in 1957 of the Asociación Hebraica, which developed a club with sports facilities, has increased the social cohesiveness of the different communities. All Jewish community organizations belong to the local chapter of the *DAIA which, together with the Jewish National Fund, Keren Hayesod, and the youth movements, is housed in the large Centro Unión Israelita building. Originally employed in minor commerce (peddling, lottery tickets, cloth selling) the Jewish community has advanced to employment in the professions and heavy industry.

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[Joseph Hodara]

CÓRDOBA, ALONSO FERNANDEZ DE (late 15th century), Spanish silversmith, engraver, and typecutter, probably of a Marrano family. Córdoba worked from 1473 in Valencia but after leaving there was condemned to death *in absentia*, possibly on a charge of heresy. He then entered into a contract at Murcia with the Jewish silversmith Solomon Zalmati and the notary Dr. Gabriel Luis Arinyo for the production of the works of Bishop Jaime Perez. The partners were apparently also responsible for the publication of the Saragossan Catholic prayer book, *Manuale Caesaraugustanum* (Hijár, 1486). In this work, there is a beautiful border designed by Córdoba. This is also found in the Hebrew Pentateuch printed by Eliezer Alantansi in conjunction with Zalmati at about the same time. It has been suggested that Córdoba cut the incidental decorations and perhaps the Hebrew type used in the Hijár press.

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[Cecil Roth]

CORDOVERO, GEDALIAH BEN MOSES (1562–1625), rabbi and kabbalist; son of Moses *Cordovero, he was born in Safed and after the death of his father, when Gedaliah was eight years of age, he studied under Solomon *Sagis. Before 1584 he was in Italy where he engaged in the book trade. While in Venice he published, with the assistance of Moses *Basola (see *Basilea family) and *Menahem Azariah of Fano, various kabbalistic works of the Safed scholars, including his father's *Perush Seder Avodat Yom ha-Kippurim* and *Or Ne'erav*. It seems that Gedaliah was also active in Italy as a preacher, expounding the imminent redemption; together with Israel *Sarug he was in Modena where they urged the adoption of the Safed customs of rising early to mourn for the destruction of the Temple and to pray for the redemption. Gedaliah went to Jerusalem after 1590 and was appointed chief rabbi of Jerusalem by the authorities, holding the title *Sheikh al-Yahūd* ("Chief of the Jews") until his death. In 1607 a quarrel broke out between him and the Jerusalem scholar, Menahem di *Lonzano, who had assisted him to obtain his high office. As a result of this quarrel, Lonzano was compelled to leave Ereẓ Israel. However after a short time he returned and peace was restored between them. Gedaliah was in Italy from 1609 to 1611 as an emissary of Jerusalem. In 1625 the disturbances during the tenure of office of Ibn Faruk, governor of Jerusalem, imposed a severe strain on Gedaliah in his capacity as chief rabbi and he died while the riots were at their height.

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[Abraham David]

CORDOVERO, MOSES BEN JACOB (1522–1570), the outstanding kabbalist in Safed before Isaac *Luria. His birthplace is unknown, but his name testifies to the family's Spanish origins. He was a disciple of Joseph *Caro and of Solomon *Alkabeẓ, and a teacher of Isaac Luria. His first large systematic work is *Pardes Rimmonim*, which Cordovero completed by the age of 27. Ten years later he finished his second systematic book, the *Elimah Rabbati*, and also wrote a lengthy commentary on all the parts of the *Zohar which has been preserved in manuscript in Modena.

The doctrine of Cordovero is a summary and a development of the different trends in Kabbalah up to his time, and his whole work is a major attempt to synthesize and to construct a speculative kabbalistic system. This is done especially in his theology, which is based on the Zohar, and in particular on *Tikkunei Zohar* and *Ra'aya Meheimna*. Since Cordovero considered these texts to be by one and the same author, he felt constrained to harmonize their different and at times even opposing conceptions. Cordovero follows *Tikkunei Zohar* in his conception of God as a transcendent being: God is the First Cause, a Necessary Being, essentially different from any other being. In this concept of God, Cordovero is obviously drawing upon the sources of medieval philosophy (especially Maimonides). In accordance with the philosophers, Cordovero maintains that no positive attribute can apply to the transcendent God. In his opinion, the philosophers had attained an important achievement in purifying the concept of God of its anthropomorphisms. Yet, Cordovero stresses that the essential difference between Kabbalah and philosophy lies in the solution of the problem of the bridge between God and the world. This bridging is made possible by the structure of the *Sefirot* ("Emanations") which emanate from God.

In this way Cordovero tries to unify the concept of God as a transcendent Being with the personal concept. Thus, the central problem of his theology is the relation between *Ein-Sof (the transcendent God) and the question of the nature of the *Sefirot*: are they God's substance or only *kelim* ("instruments" or "vessels")? Cordovero's answer to this question is something of a compromise between the Zohar and *Tikkunei Zohar* – the *Sefirot* are substance and *kelim* at the same time. They are beings emanated outward from God, but His substance is immanent in them. Cordovero describes the *Sefirot* as instruments or tools with which God performs His various activities in the world, and as the vessels containing the Divine substance, which permeates them and gives them life, as the soul gives life to the body. By means of this attitude Cordovero wants to preserve, on the one hand, the concept of the simple and immutable God, and on the other hand to maintain God's providence in the world. Although this providence is sometimes described as a substantial immanence of God through all the worlds, Cordovero has reservations about it. In *Pardes Rimmonim*, a distinction exists between the transcendent God, who undergoes no process, and the light emanated from Him, spreading through the *Sefirot*. This emanated expansion is not of a necessary existence, but is activated by God's spontaneous will. This makes for the involvement of the will in every Divine act – the active God is the God united in His will.

It is quite understandable, therefore, why God's will has such a decisive place in Cordovero's system. Here again, the same question arises: what is the relation between God and His will? Cordovero's answer is dialectic in its character. By itself, the will is an emanation, but it originates from God in a succession of wills which approach God's substance asymptotically.

The process of emanation of the *Sefirot* is described by Cordovero as dialectical. In order to be revealed, God has to conceal Himself. This concealment is in itself the coming into being of the *Sefirot*. Only the *Sefirot* reveal God, and that is why "revealing is the cause of concealment and concealment is the cause of revealing." The process of emanation itself takes place through a constant dynamics of inner aspects inside the *Sefirot*. These aspects form a reflective process inside each *Sefirah*, which reflects itself in its different qualities; these aspects also have a function in the process of emanation, in being the inner grades which derive, each from the other, according to the principle of causation. Only this inner process, which is but a hypostasis of the reflective aspects, enables the emanation of the *Sefirot*, each from the other, as well. These inner processes are of special importance regarding the first *Sefirah* – the will. After the series of wills, which are the aspects of the "*Keter*" ("crown") in the "*Keter*," there appear in "*Ḥokhmah*" ("Wisdom") in the "*Keter*" aspects which express the potential thought of all the not yet actualized Being. Cordovero calls these thoughts: "The kings of Edom who died before the reign of a king in Israel." This idea appears in the Zohar, but Cordovero reverses its meaning. In the Zohar this is a mythological description of the forces of stern judgment (*din*) that were conceived in the Divine Thought, and because of their extreme severity, were abolished and died, whereas according to Cordovero these thoughts were abolished because they did not contain enough judgment (*din*). Cordovero conceives of judgment (*din*) as a necessary condition for the survival of any existence. What is too near to the abundance of God's infinite compassion cannot exist, and therefore the highest thoughts were abolished, so that the *Sefirot* could be formed only when emanation reached the *Sefirah* of *Binah* ("Intelligence"), which already contains judgment (*din*).

The whole world of emanation is built and consolidated by a double process, that of *or yashar* ("direct light") – the emanation downward, and *or ḥozer* ("reflected light") – the reflection of the same process upward. This reflected movement is also the origin of *din*.

The transition from the world of emanation to the lower world is continuous. Thus the problem of creation *ex nihilo* does not exist in relation to our world, but pertains only to the transition from the divine "Nothingness" (*Ayin*) to the first Being – the uppermost aspects of the first *Sefirah*. In spite of Cordovero's attempts to obliterate this transition, his stand is theistic: the first *Sefirah* is outside God's substance. This prohibits any pantheistic interpretation of Cordovero's system. The immanence of the Divine substance in the *Sefirot* and in all worlds is likewise clothed always in the first vessel, even though Cordovero hints several times at a mystical experience in which the immanence of God Himself in the world is revealed. In this esoteric meaning, Cordovero's system may, perhaps, be defined as pantheistic.

In addition to his two principal systematic books, *Pardes Rimmonim* (Cracow, 1592) and *Elimah Rabbati* (Lvov, 1881), the following parts of his commentary to the Zohar were published separately: the introduction to the commentary on the *Idras* in the Zohar, *Shi'ur Komah* (Warsaw, 1883); and an introduction to the Zohar "Song of Songs," *Derishot be-Inyanei Malakhim* (Jerusalem, 1945). Publication of the complete commentary has been begun in Jerusalem. Two volumes of the commentary had appeared by 1968.

Other published works are *Or Ne'erav* (Venice, 1587); *Sefer Gerushin* (Venice, c. 1602); *Tefillah le-Moshe* (Przemysl, 1892); *Zivḥei Shelamim* (Lublin, 1613), *Perush Seder Avodat Yom ha-Kippurim* (Venice, 1587); *Tomer Devorah* (Venice, 1589; tr. L. Jacobs, *Palmtree of Deborah*, 1960). In this work Cordovero laid the foundations for kabbalistic ethical literature, which proliferated in the 16th–18th centuries. In its short chapters he instructed every Jew in the right way to follow in order to come close and identify spiritually with each of the ten *Sefirot*. This short treatise influenced many later kabbalistic moralists in Safed and Eastern Europe. There are two existing abridgments of *Pardes Rimmonim: Pelaḥ ha-Rimmon* (Venice, 1600) by Menahem Azariah of *Fano, and *Asis Rimmonim* (Venice, 1601) by Samuel Gallico.

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[Joseph Ben-Shlomo]

CORFU, Greek island, the second largest of the Ionian group. The town of the same name is the largest on the island. *Benjamin of Tudela, in c. 1160, found only one Jew in Corfu. The number of Jews increased during the 13th and 14th centuries with the arrival of newcomers from the mainland. The Jews on the island were subject to violent attacks and persecution; they were forced to row on the galleys, to provide lodging for soldiers, were summoned to the law courts on Sabbaths and festivals, and as elsewhere in the Byzantine orbit had to act as public executioners. From time to time the authorities were forced to publish defense orders to protect them from the hostility of the general population. When Corfu surrendered to Venice (1386), the deputation of six persons sent to arrange the terms included the Jew David Semo. A decree of 1387 reaffirmed the previous rights of Jews under Byzantine rule, but in 1406 they were forbidden to acquire land and were ordered to wear a distinguishing *badge. Jewish women had to wear yellow veils. In 1408 they were forbidden to own land worth 2,000 ducats, later increased to over 4,000 ducats. The Venetian authorities frequently imposed heavy taxes on the Jewish community in order to finance the wars against the Turks. On the other hand, the Jews sometimes gave voluntary contributions and assisted in the fortification of the walls. The Jews lived at first in two streets between the Old Town and the fortress. When this area was included in the new fortifications, the two Jewish areas were eliminated and the Jews were scattered for a while throughout the city, but in 1622 they were confined to a ghetto. Despite these restrictions, the Venetian authorities were more liberal toward the Jews of Corfu than they were toward the Jews of Venice itself.

During the 16th century there were two congregations in Corfu, that of the *Romaniots who preserved the ancient Byzantine rite (known as *Minhag Korfu*), and that of the Italians. In the course of time the Italian community was enlarged by Jews from Apulia, Spanish exiles, Portuguese Marranos, and Ashkenazim, who ultimately adopted the Sephardi rite. The eminent Sephardi Spanish courtier and religious scholar Don Isaac *Abravanel stayed in Corfu for a short time in 1594, finished his commentary on Deuteronomy, was depressed at the state of the spiritual deterioration of Spanish Jewish exiles, and continued to Naples to reunite with his wife and other close family members. Relations between the two communities did not always run smoothly. The Romaniot community enjoyed special privileges and objected to the right of permanent residence being granted to the Italians. Between 1662 and 1664 all Jews in Corfu received equal status. Each of the communities had two "overseers" (*syndikoi*), two *kashrut* supervisors, and two *parnasim*. In 1563 the traveler Elijah of Pesaro reported that the Italians constituted the majority of the Jewish colony in Corfu. They imposed their language on all the Jews of the island, most of whom spoke the Apulian dialect interlaced with Greek words.

In 1522 there were about 200 Jewish householders; in 1558, about 400; and in 1663, 500. The Jews of Corfu engaged in dyeing, leather tanning, moneylending, trading, and the brokerage of goods between Venice and the Levant. The Jewish merchants of Corfu were granted privileges not granted to those of Venice itself. A New Testament in Judeo-Spanish was printed in Corfu in 1829, no doubt for missionary purposes. Hebrew printing by Jews began in 1853 and continued until 1896. Of 14 items published, 13 were by Joseph Nahamuli, who also supplied a Greek translation to some of the liturgical items. From 1861 to 1863, he published the Greek/Italian bilingual *Chronica Israelitika*. When in 1716 the Turks besieged Corfu, the Jews distinguished themselves in the defense of the island. The loyalty of the Jews of Corfu to the Venetian government lasted until Venetian rule ended in 1797. Under French rule of Corfu (1797–99 and 1806–15) Jews had equal rights with other citizens, and the community's rabbi enjoyed the same privileges as the religious heads of the other communities. Their condition deteriorated under British rule (1815–64); they were excluded from public office and disenfranchised, and Jewish lawyers were forbidden to plead in court. Judah *Bibas, known for his support of the ideal of the return to Zion and of the Haskalah movement, was rabbi of Corfu from 1831. He defended the regional *etrog* growers in Aya, Parga, and Rapeza in light of insinuations of non-kosher grafting by East European *etrog* importer Rabbi Eleazar Ziskind Mintz of Brody in the work *Pri Etz Hadar* (Lemberg, 1846). Rabbi Ephraim Zalman Margulies (1760–1828) of Galicia had previously defended the Corfu *etrogim*. From the late 1840s and in the 1850s, a small group of Corfiote Jewish cotton merchants settled in Manchester, attracted by its commercial and industrial growth, and were among the founders of the Cheetham Hill Road Sha'are Tefilla Spanish and Portuguese synagogue in 1873. The eminent Rabbi Israel Moses *Hazzan of Izmir succeeded Bibas and served from 1853 to 1857 before moving to Alexandria, Egypt. In 1855 the Jewish community comprised 4,000 persons and was visited by the philanthropist Sir Moses *Montefiore of England. In 1863, the Jewish community numbered 6,000, 9.23% of the local population. The local population maintained their old prejudice, and when equal rights were restored to the Jews upon the island's annexation to the kingdom of Greece in 1864, riots broke out, causing a large exodus of Jews to Greece and Italy. Despite, local Greek-Orthodox hostility toward the local Jews, the latter had significant political weight in the city of Corfu. Numerous Jews who worked as lawyers and notaries enjoyed a high public profile. Councilman and international olive oil merchant Eliias da Mordo was appointed as deputy mayor, and in 1870 he was elected mayor. In 1891, when the Jewish population of 5,000 still lived in their own quarter, a *blood libel caused a storm on the island and throughout Greece and brought in its train large-scale emigration. The ensuing riots lasted three weeks and some 22 Jews died. Foreign ships were sent to the island to quell the disturbances in light of the apathetic attitude of the Greek authorities. From then on the Jewish community waned; many Jews emigrated to Trieste and Alexandria, Egypt. The local Alliance Israélite Universelle representative, the philologist Lazaros Belleli, represented the Jewish community at the subsequent trial, which ended in a mockery in light of the acquittal of the perpetrators. Belleli did not find his place in academia in Greece and eventually migrated to London, where he became a professor of linguistics. The French novelist Albert *Cohen grew up in Corfu in the early 1890s and depicted the picturesque Jews of the island in many of his works. In 1897, the journalist and Jewish community leader Moïse *Caimis started the Zionist organization Mevasser Zion and from 1899 to 1901 edited the Zionist organ *Israelite Chronographos*. Under the influence of the Russian Hebrew teacher Bezalel Davidson, who passed through the island in 1906, the Zionist society Mekkitz Nirdamim was formed. In 1913, Haim S. Mizrahi formed the Zionist organization Tikvat Zion and in 1924 a new group, called Theodor Herzl, was formed and it eventually affiliated with the Zionist Revisionist movement. In World War I, the community suffered another blood libel with rioting mobs, but there were no casualties and the authorities assisted in the quelling of the disturbances. In 1923 about 3,000 Jews lived on the island, most of them small tradesmen who struggled to earn a livelihood. There were four synagogues in the town of Corfu all now following the Sephardi rite: the Greek synagogue, the Apulian, the Apulian-Spanish, and the Apulian *minyan*. In 1932, after Rabbi Judah Nehama failed to persuade members of the Italian Hevra to accept leadership positions in the Jewish community administration, since they refused to accept the authority of the Greek Hevra, the Supreme Court in Athens ruled that each Hevra would remain separate from the communal organization. On the eve of World War II the community numbered 2,000. During the occupation by the Italians (1941–43) there was relative quiet. The Germans occupied the island on September 27, 1943. On June 14, 1944, 1,800 Jews were deported to Auschwitz. By 1948, the number of Jews in Corfu was reduced to 170, in 1968 to 92. In the early 21st century fewer than 50 Jews remained, and only one of the four synagogues.

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[Simon Marcus / Yitzchak Kerem (2nd ed.)]

CORI, GERTY THERESA (née **Radnitz**; 1896–1957), Nobel laureate in medicine and physiology. Cori was born in Prague, where she graduated in medicine from the German University in 1920. That year she married her fellow student and lifelong scientific collaborator, Carl Cori, and converted to Catholicism from Judaism. The Coris joined the staff of the New York State Institute for the Study of Malignant Disease in Buffalo, New York (1922–31), before moving to Washington University, St. Louis, in 1931 where she was professor of biochemistry from 1947 until her death. The Coris became U.S. citizens in 1928. They were awarded the Nobel Prize in 1947 (shared with Bernardo Houssay) for their work on carbohydrate metabolism in which they discovered how glucose is stored as glycogen in the liver and muscles, and broken down to glucose as an energy source (a process termed the Cori cycle). They also described the effects of insulin and other hormones on glucose metabolism. The Coris' honors included election to the U.S. National Academy of Sciences.

[Michael Denman (2nd ed.)]

CORIANDER, plant called *gad* in the Bible and *kusbar* in the Mishnah and the Targum Pseudo-Jonathan. The *manna is described as being "like coriander seed, white" (Ex. 16:31), and "like coriander seed, and in color it was like bdellium" (Num. 11:7). Rashi stresses that the comparison is "in respect of the roundness" and not of the color of coriander, which is not white. It is the *Coriandrum sativum*, an annual plant of the Umbelliferae family; it has white flowers arranged in umbels and globular beige or brown fruit, and its leaves and fruit are used as a spice. It grows wild in the Judean mountains but not in Galilee, which explains the statement of the Talmud that the inhabitants used to mock the Galileans for setting such high store upon coriander (*kusbar*), saying: "*Kusbar, kusbarta*, who classed you among the spices?" (TJ, Dem. 1:1, 21d). Since its seed has a pungent taste, it was used for adulterating pepper (Tosef., BB 5:6). The eating of coriander was regarded as ensuring "fleshy children" (Ket. 61a).

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[Jehuda Feliks]

CORIAT, family of scholars originating in Marrakesh. The first known member was ISAAC (1) CORIAT (1580), *dayyan* of the community, kabbalist, and the author of works of which only fragments, published in the writings of his descendants, have survived. SOLOMON edited the *Azharot of Isaac b. Reuben *al-Bargeloni (Leghorn, 1650). The pious and learned ABRAHAM (1) settled in Tetuán, where his son JUDAH (1; d. 1788) was *dayyan*. Those of his works which survived the sack of the city in 1790 were published in a collection under the titles *Tofaḥ Saviv*, a selection of his father's religious decisions, and *Nofekh Sappir* (Pisa, 1812). His son ISAAC (2; d. Jerusalem, 1805) was the author of *Ma'aseh Rokem* (Pisa, 1806), containing (1) novellae on *Kiddushin* by Asher b. Jehiel (ha-Rosh), entitled *Simḥah La-Ẓaddik*; (2) his own commentary on *Kiddushin*, entitled *Paḥad Yiẓhak*; (3) his commentary on *Bava Meẓi'a*, entitled *Ma'aseh Nissim*. Judah's second son ABRAHAM (2; d. 1806) was *dayyan* at Tetuán, Mogador, Gibraltar, and Leghorn. His work *Zekhut Avot* (Pisa, 1812) contains information on the Jews of Morocco and Leghorn. Abraham's son JUDAH (2; d. 1787 in Tetuán) wrote *Ma'or ve-Shemesh* (Leghorn, 1838), a collection of extracts of various kabbalistic works, including some of the novellae written by his maternal grandfather, Judah (Abenatar) *Attar, rabbi of Fez. ABRAHAM (3), son of Judah (2), was *av bet din* in Mogador, where his poems and liturgical songs were destroyed during the bombardment of the city in 1844. He also wrote sermons and responsa, published under the title *Berit Avot* (1848). The son of Abraham (3), ISAAC (3; d. 1905), merchant, philanthropist, and scholar, wrote *Naḥalat Avot* (1899) on various religious questions and on the practices and customs of the Mogador community. NISSIM, son of Isaac (3), represented Holland at the court of the sultan at Marrakesh at the beginning of the 20th century. SAMUEL CORIAT (d. 1853) was farmer-general of revenues and government treasurer in Tetuán. He played an important role in the economic life of Morocco from 1818 as purveyor to the sultan. His nephew ISAAC (d. 1890) settled in Mogador in 1862 on the instructions of the government, and he became one of the five merchants of the sultan. Isaac distinguished himself during the Spanish-Moroccan war of 1859–60 by his devotion to public welfare.

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[David Corcos]

CORINTH, Greek city. The earliest evidence of Jews in Corinth is contained in Agrippa I's letter to Caligula (Philo, *De Legatione ad Caium*, 281). The apostle Paul spent one and a half years in Corinth, preaching in the synagogue on Sabbaths (cf. the two Epistles to the Corinthians), and through his influence Crispus and his family were baptized. The Jews were embittered by Paul's activities; they brought him before Gallio, procurator of Achea, who, refusing to judge in a religious matter, said they would have to resolve their differences themselves (Acts 18:2ff.). Corinthian Jewry apparently belonged to the lower classes. Aquila and Priscilla, with whom Paul dwelt, were weavers, and he worked with them for his bread. These Jews went to Corinth from Rome when Claudius expelled the Jews from the city. There were no direct links between the Jews of Corinth and Ereẓ Israel, but

Corinthian products were known in the Holy Land. Josephus (Wars, 5:201) mentions the Corinthian copper that coated one of the Temple gates, the Gate of Nicanor (whose special copper is also noted in talmudic sources, Tosef., Yoma 2:4; Yoma 38a), and he similarly mentions the Corinthian candelabra in Agrippa II's house (Life, 68). Vespasian, after his victory in Galilee, sent 6,000 captive youths to Nero to dig at the Isthmus of Corinth (Wars, 3: 540). Conceivably, some of them might have escaped and found haven in the nearby settlements including Corinth.

[Lea Roth]

When the Visigoths invaded Corinth in 395 the Jews moved to the neighboring island of Aegina. Jews suffered persecution by the Byzantine emperors during the 9th and 10th centuries. Roger II, the Norman king of Sicily, brought Jewish dyers from Corinth to Sicily in 1147, thereby founding the Sicilian silk industry. The 12th-century traveler Benjamin of Tudela found 300 Jews there; they were silk-weavers. The Corinth community existed during the 13th and 14th centuries, but it seems to have disappeared in later years. In 1923 the Jewish community of Corinth again consisted of 400 persons, but ended during World War II.

[Simon Marcus]

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CORNEA, PAUL (**Cohn**; 1924–), Romanian literary historian and theoretician. After a short period in politics as a young Communist intellectual, Cornea devoted himself to an academic career and became one of the most important historians of Romanian literature and a specialist in comparative literature of international reputation. He wrote such important studies of Romanian romanticism as *Originile romantismului românesc* ("The Origin of Romanian Romanticism," 1972) and *Oamenii începutului de drum* ("The Men at the Beginning of the Road," 1974) as well as theoretical studies such as *Introducere în teoria lecturii* ("Introduction to the Theory of Reading," 1988).

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[Leon Volovici (2nd ed.)]

°**CORNILL, CARL HEINRICH** (1854–1920), German Protestant Bible critic. Cornill taught at Marburg (1877–86), Koenigsberg (1888–98), Breslau (1898–1910), and Halle (1910–20). In 1880 Cornill published his first important work *Jeremiah und seine Zeit*, which became the basis of his commentary on the book of Jeremiah published in 1905. He also wrote a commentary on Ezekiel (1886). His account of Israel's prophets (*Der israelitische Prophetismus*, 1894, 1920^{13}; *The Prophets of Israel*, 1895) and history of Israel (*Geschichte des Volkes Israel…*, 1898; *History of the People of Israel*, 1898) were pioneering works in their day. Cornill is remembered principally for his *Einleitung in das Alte Testament* (1895, 1905^{5}; *Introduction to the Canonical Books of the Old Testament*, 1907), the first important critical introduction to the Bible based on the literary and historical approach of the J. *Wellhausen and K.H. *Graf school of biblical criticism.

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[Zev Garber]

CORO, colonial city of Venezuela whose streets still preserve the characteristics of the epoch. It is the capital of the Falcón State, with a population of 244,341 inhabitants (2004). The city was recognized by UNESCO as a Cultural Patrimony of Humanity in 1993. It is considered the cradle of the Venezuelan Jewish community.

Even though the government of Nueva Granada bestowed upon the members of the *Nación Hebrea* the right to settle in the country in 1819, granting them their religious freedom, it was not until the years 1823–24 that the first Jews from Curaçao started to strike roots in Coro. David Hoheb and Joseph Curiel were soon followed by the families Senior, Henríquez, Capriles, Dovale, Maduro, López Fonseca, De-Lima, Correa, Castro, Da Costa, and others. All of them were of Sephardi origin and maintained intensive commercial ties with Curaçao and the West Indies.

The almost immediate economic success of this group aroused the envy and jealousy of the inhabitants of Coro, causing a wave of anti-Jewish outbursts in 1831 and a spree of riots, looting, and destruction of businesses and homes in 1855. Terrified, 168 Jews fled to Curaçao and made a claim against Venezuela demanding indemnity and the punishment of the guilty. Following an arrangement, they returned to Coro in 1859 and continued their activities in import-export and finances, achieving a high level of economic success and participation in the public and political life of the city, which helped bring about important changes in the region. Gradually the Jews became prominent in science, public health, journalism, finances, politics, and culture. Most of these Jews were Freemasons and Liberals. David *Curiel was among the founders of the first Masonic lodge in Coro.

By the end of the 19th century, however, the absence of a spiritual leader, intermarriage, the loss of liturgical elements and of the Hebrew language, and the assimilation of symbols of Catholic religiosity contributed to the erosion of group's identity. As a testimony to this prosperous community there remains in Coro a small room, restored in 1997, where Jewish worship was celebrated from the middle of the 19th century, and the cemetery that was founded in 1830 and is still in use. It was restored twice, in 1945 and 1970, and contains 175 graves. The first belongs to Haná Curiel, an eight-year-old girl who died in 1832, and the last to Sara Celinda López Fonseca, buried in April 2000. The cemetery, with its Angels' Corner, manifests unequivocally a process of cultural transference. Due to its exceptional characteristics, the municipal and regional authorities granted it the status of Cultural Patrimony in 2003, and in 2004 it was declared a Historic Monument of the Falcón State.

In homage to Elías David Curiel (1871–1924), one of the greatest *falconian* poets, the Elías David Curiel Biennial of Literature has been celebrated since 1998. Alberto Henríquez (1919–1990) collected in his residence valuable paintings and artistic objects which he bequeathed to the Miranda University and which are exhibited in the museum and gallery that bear his name. The Fundación del Patrimonio Cultural Hebreo Falconiano preserves the Sephardi cultural heritage and maintains the Salomón Levi Maduro Vaz Library. Of this first community established in Venezuela, the brothers Herman and Thelma Henríquez were the only two Jews living in Coro in 2004.

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[Jacob Carciente (2nd ed.)]

CORONEL, NAḤMAN NATHAN (1810–1890), talmudic scholar, author, and bibliographer. Coronel was born in Amsterdam where he studied at the Etz Haim yeshivah. At the age of 20 he immigrated to Ereẓ Israel and settled first in Jerusalem and later in Safed, where he suffered from the looting of 1834, the earthquake of 1837, and the Druze revolt. He thereupon returned to Jerusalem, where he became active in communal affairs. He was one of the few to support the establishment of the Laemel School, the first modern school in Jerusalem, as well as of the Battei Maḥaseh founded in 1859 to enable Jews from abroad to spend their last years in Jerusalem. He served also as an emissary of Jerusalem in Europe. Coronel became interested in acquiring manuscripts and gained world-wide renown as a bibliographer. While in Vienna in 1872, he exchanged manuscripts with the emperor Francis Joseph, from whom he received a decoration. He sold many manuscripts to various libraries and published others, among them: *Beit Natan*, comprising variant readings of *Berakhot* (Vienna, 1854); *Ḥamishah Kunteresim (ibid.*, 1864); *Seder Rav Amram Ga'on* (Warsaw, 1865; repr. 1956); *Teshuvot ha-Ge'onim* (Vienna, 1871); *Piskei Ḥallah* by Solomon b. Abraham *Adret (Jerusalem, 1876); and *Alfasi Zuta*, on *Berakhot*, by Menahem Azariah da *Fano (*ibid.*, 1885). His own works comprise *Zekher Natan*, a compilation of religious laws for travelers (Vienna, 1872) and *Ḥakor Davar* on the law of *ḥallah* outside *Ereẓ Israel* (Vienna, 1871).

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[Itzhak Alfassi]

CORONEL CHACON, SIR AUGUSTIN (c. 1600–1665), Marrano merchant. Born in Portugal, Coronel settled first in Bordeaux (1630–33), then in Rouen, and finally in London, where he acted as financial agent for the exiled Charles II. He was known on the Royal Exchange as the "little Jue," though it is doubtful whether he was circumcised or became a member of the later Jewish community. After the Restoration he acted as a Portuguese agent and is said to have first proposed the marriage of Charles II and Catherine of Braganza, for which he was knighted, having by now severed his Jewish connections. Subsequently he became bankrupt and was expelled from the Exchange. After a term of imprisonment he left England. His place of death is unknown. His widow was supported by the London Jewish community.

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[Cecil Roth]

CORREA, ISABEL (Rebecca) DE (c. 1650), Dutch Sephardi poetess. Born in Portugal, she lived in Flanders and later in Amsterdam. She was the second wife of Nicolas (Daniel Judah) de *Oliver y Fullana, the Majorcan author and cartographer, who reverted to Judaism. The poet *Barrios described her as being "as celebrated for her beauty as for her wit." Isabel Correa is remembered as the translator of Guarini's *Pastor Fido* (1694) into Spanish, an enterprise that apart from its literary value is a mirror of feminine writing.

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[Kenneth R. Scholberg / Harm den Boer (2nd ed.)]

CORSICA, Mediterranean island. Corsica is the only major Mediterranean island without a Jewish settlement either in ancient or in medieval times. "King" Theodore, the German adventurer who temporarily established his rule in Corsica in 1736, invited Jews and Protestants to settle under his protection, and among the accusations made against him was that he was addicted to magic and the Kabbalah and had induced Jews and Greeks to settle in his kingdom. When in 1757–68 General Paoli set up an independent Corsican regime, he attempted to encourage the settlement of Jews from Leghorn by promising them naturalization and autonomy. At the end of the 19th century a few families settled in Bastia and established a small community that maintained a stable population of up to 150 through the second half of the 20th century.

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[Cecil Roth]

CORUNNA (Sp. **La Coruña, Coruniya**), Atlantic seaport in N.W. Spain. Fragments of tombstones found in Corunna show that Jews lived there in the 11th and 12th centuries. A street called Sinagoga is still to be found in Corunna. The Jewish community evidently began to expand in the 15th century along with other centers in northern Castile as Jews moved there from the south. The Jews of Corunna engaged in maritime trade with Castilian and Aragonese ports. In 1451 the community contributed 300 gold pieces toward ransoming a Jew of Murcia who had been taken captive. A tax of 1,800 maravedis was collected from the community in Corunna and others in the vicinity in 1474 by Jacob Aben Nuñez. One of the most beautiful illuminated Hebrew manuscripts in existence, the so-called Kennicott Bible in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, was completed in Corunna, for Isaac, son of Don Solomon de Braga, in 1486. The Corunna community apparently flourished until the expulsion of the Jews from Spain in 1492.

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[Haim Beinart]

CORVÉE, forced labor imposed by a conqueror on the conquered, or by a government on the citizens under its jurisdiction. Corvée labor is one of the most obvious features of the centralism in ancient Near Eastern states; it manifests itself in vast building projects requiring the labor of large forces of manpower over lengthy periods. The type of labor differed from place to place and from period to period. Various terms indicative of this function are also to be found in the context of landownership, occupations, conditions of tenancy, etc. Women as well as men could be drafted for forced labor, and even animals were requisitioned for some purposes. On the other hand, certain individuals, members of certain crafts, and various social strata and settlements might be exempted from the corvée, as a personal or collective privilege.

The diversity in the forms, terminology, and origins of the corvée is likewise reflected in the biblical text. Three separate terms are used, but they are sometimes juxtaposed, a sign that the original distinctions have become blurred (see Ex. 1:11–12): (1) *mas oved* (Gen. 49:10; Josh 16:10, etc.; "compulsory labor"), and sometimes *mas* alone (e.g., I Kings 4:6; 5:27). This expression is derived from Canaanite *massu*, "corvée worker," attested at *El-Amarna and *Alalakh. A Hebrew seal dating from the seventh century B.C.E. reads "belonging to Pelaiah who is in charge of the *mas*." (2) *sevel* (= Akk. *sablum*), a term found in the Mari documents (18th century B.C.E.). Its particularized meaning is a labor unit for emergency use. It appears three times in the Bible, I Kings 11:28; Psalms 81:7; and Nehemiah 4:11. Cognate nouns from the same stem are also found in scripture: *sivlot* ("burdens": Ex. 1:11; 2:11; 5:4–5; 6:6–7); *sabbal* ("burden-bearer": I Kings 5:29; II Chron. 2:1, 17; 34:13); *subbolo* ("his burden": Isa. 9:3; 10:27; 14:25). (3) *perekh*, sometimes said to be a term, Mesopotamian by origin, for forced labor; but its general meaning in the Bible seems to be "harshness" or "ruthlessness" (Ex. 1:11–12; Lev. 25:43, 46; Ezek. 34:4). The children of Israel became familiar with corvée labor (Ex. 1:11, et al.) in the course of their wanderings, inasmuch as the slavery in Egypt was a prolonged period of compulsory labor. During the Israelite conquest corvée labor was one of the indications of the nature of relations between the Canaanite population. According to the biblical account, sometimes the Israelites were tributaries of the Canaanites and sometimes the position was reversed (Gen. 49:15; Judg. 1:33, et al.). There are those who think that by compelling the Gibeonites to become "hewers of wood and drawers of water" (Josh. 9:21) Joshua was in fact imposing on them corvée labor. Corvée labor became a permanent institution only in the period of the monarchy. According to II Samuel 20:24, the minister who was "over the levy" was one of the highest officials in David's regime. It seems that he was a foreigner, attached to the royal staff for his expertise. The same official served Solomon and Rehoboam (I Kings 4:6; 12:18; II Chron. 10:18). Possibly, at first, only foreign elements in the country were obliged to submit to corvée labor (I Kings 9:20–22; II Chron. 8:7–9); only later was Solomon forced to demand compulsory labor from the population to carry out the vast building projects he had undertaken. Some scholars have supposed that *mas oved* was the term applied when foreign manpower was used and that *sevel* was indicative of an Israelite labor force. Yet such a distinction is not sufficiently evident, even if the corvée imposed by Solomon upon the tribes of the House of Joseph was called *sevel* (I Kings 11:28). Mendelsohn suggested that *mas* (or *sevel*) was the corvée exacted for short periods from freemen. According to his view, the term *mas oved* means "state slavery." The Bible states that Solomon sent thirty thousand men to hew cedars in Lebanon for the building of the Temple, in monthly shifts of ten thousand (I Kings 5:26–28). Similarly, he had at his disposal some seventy thousand "corvée workers" and eighty thousand "hewers in the mountains" (I Kings 5:29ff.). There is a hint of the continuation of the corvée tradition in the reign of Asa (I Kings 15:22). Asa built Geba Benjamin with stones taken by his subjects from Ramah: "Then King Asa made a proclamation unto all Judah; none was exempted…." (i.e., none could refuse the corvée). According to II Chronicles 34:13, King Josiah repaired the Temple with the labor of *sabbalim* ("corvée workers"). There was also corvée labor during the period of the return to Zion. The wall around Jerusalem was built by corvée laborers (Neh. 4:11).

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[Hanoch Reviv]

CORWIN, NORMAN LEWIS (1910–), U.S. radio and film writer, director, and producer. Corwin, who was born in Boston, first achieved prominence in the 1930s with dramatic scripts for CBS radio. His highly experimental programs in the series "Columbia Workshop" and "Columbia Presents

Corwin", many of them proclaiming the menace of Fascism, blazed a trail in radio script writing. His style gave his work a literary distinction new to radio, while his production technique had a vast influence on broadcasting both in the United States and in Great Britain. Some of his scripts were collected in *Thirteen by Corwin* (1942) and *More by Corwin* (1944). His most famous radio play was *On a Note of Triumph* (1945), written to celebrate the Allied victory in World War II. In 1949 he joined the United Nations as chief of special projects in radio and later went to Hollywood to write film scripts. He wrote and directed the Broadway productions of *The Rivalry* (1959), a documentary drama based on the Lincoln-Douglas debates over slavery and national unity, and *The World of Carl Sandburg* (1961), a dramatic mélange of the poems and sayings of the American poet.

[Jo Ranson]

COSAŞU, RADU (**Oscar Rohrlich**; 1930–), Romanian writer and journalist. Cosaşu drew attention with his novels *A înţelege sau nu* ("To Understand or Not," 1965), surveying Romanian society from the bourgeoisie to the Communists immediately after the Nazi defeat, and *Maimuţele personale* ("Private Monkeys," 1968), which deals with illusion and reality. From the early 1980s, he was recognized as one of the Romania's most important novelists. One of his most favorite themes is the decline of Communist and utopian illusions, especially among Jewish families, as in *Meseria de nuvelist* ("Novelist by Profession," 1980) and *Supravieţuirile* ("Surviving," 3 vols., 2002–5). The milieu of Romanian Jews who settled in Israel is described with a sympathetic irony in *Mătuşile din Tel Aviv* ("The Aunts from Tel Aviv," 1993).

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[Leon Volovici (2nd ed.)]

COSELL, HOWARD (**Howard William Cohen**; 1920–1995) U.S. sportscaster, commentator for ABC's "Monday Night Football" from 1970 to 1983; one of the most outspoken, colorful, and controversial national sports reporters and personalities in American broadcasting history. Cosell was born in Winston-Salem, North Carolina. His father had arrived in the United States from Lodz as a child and his mother was born in Worcester, Massachusetts, the daughter of a rabbi. After serving as an army major in World War II and a lawyer in New York City, Cosell joined ABC as a radio sports reporter in 1956 and first gained national attention in 1959 with his commentaries on world heavyweight fights, and then for his work on ABC's *Wide World of Sports*. But it was Cosell's relationship and interviews with the heavyweight champion Cassius Clay in the 1960s that thrust the sportscaster to the center of racial controversy in the United States. Cosell was the first person to use publicly the champion's black Muslim name Muhammad Ali, and in 1967 he vigorously defended him against charges of draft evasion. Cosell's meteoric rise as a sports journalist paralleled the equally meteoric career of Ali, as Cosell was the broadcast commentator for every one of Ali's fights in the 1960s and 1970s. But in the emotion-charged era of the Vietnam War and civil rights agitation, the relationship between the provocative black from Kentucky and the equally forthright Jewish lawyer from New York evoked a storm of protest and expressions of antisemitism, with many demanding that Cosell be fired. "I've been more vilified than [mass murderer] Charles Manson or Richard Nixon," he said.

In 1970, Cosell was hired to launch an innovative venture in television, the broadcasting of football in prime time, and the overwhelming success establishing "Monday Night Football" as an American tradition was attributed in large part to Cosell. Considered candid, opinionated, often insightful but also annoyingly verbose, his provocative style redefined sports play-by-play and "color" commentary. Cosell's shrill speaking style, incessant preaching, overbearing manner, and abrasive personality were irritants to many – "I tell it like it is" was his famous pronouncement – but they made him, according to one poll, both the most liked and most hated TV reporter in the country.

Cosell hosted his own show, *Saturday Night Live with Howard Cosell*, in the fall of 1975, but it was canceled after three months. He provided color commentary on ABC's "Monday Night Baseball" beginning in 1976 and hosted numerous other sports commentary shows on both television and radio, including *Speaking of Sports*, *Speaking of Everything*, and *Sportsbeat*. Cosell grew disenchanted with boxing and quit the sport after a brutal, one-sided fight between Larry Holmes and Randall Cobb in 1982, and he left "Monday Night Football" before the start of the 1984 season, claiming that the NFL had "become a stagnant bore." Cosell retired from ABC in 1985, and the following year he became a sports columnist for the *New York Daily News*.

Cosell was elected to the American Sportscasters Hall of Fame in 1993 and the National Sportscasters and Sportswriters Hall of Fame in 1993. In a July 2000 ranking of sportscasters of the 20th century by the American Sportscasters Association, Cosell finished second, followed by Mel *Allen.

The product of a non-religious family – his brother was bar mitzvahed though not Cosell, and his father would go to synagogue on holidays – Cosell never involved himself in the life of the Jewish community. That all changed after he covered the 1972 Olympics, with the kidnapping of Israeli athletes from Building 31 in the Olympic Village and their subsequent murder at the airport in Munich, West Germany. "I'll tell you when you know you're Jewish," he said in an interview, "you know you're Jewish when you're lying on the slope of a hill 30 feet from Building 31 and Dachau's [22] miles away.... When you undergo the experience that I underwent in Munich, you realize that no matter how you live, no matter what your feelings are about any formalized religion, in this world if you're born of Jewish parents you're Jewish. I married a gentile girl, my two daughters were not raised in the Jewish faith, but I'm Jewish." Cosell became a patron of the American Friends of the Hebrew University, which built the Howard Cosell Center for Physical Education in Jerusalem.

Cosell, who appeared as himself in Woody Allen's movies *Bananas, Sleeper*, and *Broadway Danny Rose*, is the author of *Cosell* (1973), *Like It Is* (1974), *I Never Played the Game* (1985), *What's Wrong with Sports* (1991), and *Cosell on Sports: An Unexpurgated Look at American Sports in the Age of Big Money, Easy Drugs, and Fast Sex* (1991). "In my field, not in conceit but in fact, I am historic," he said in 1981. "I changed the nature of my profession totally, completely. I brought it a whole new look. I brought it education, I brought it literacy, I brought it questing, I brought it journalism, and there's not going to be another like me – because of the corruption of my industry it won't be allowed. Circumstances were right for me and I was a freak. It's not going to happen again."

[Elli Wohlgelernter (2nd ed.)]

COSENZA, town in Calabria, southern Italy. Jews were apparently living in Cosenza in 1093 or even earlier. It is reported that in 1311 pledges belonging to the Jewish moneylenders there were stolen. Repeated attempts were made in the 15th century by the bishops of Cosenza to tax Jewish assets. An important source of revenue was the fair of Maddalena di Cosenza, which also attracted foreign Jews journeying to Calabria. The presence of Jews at the fair of Cosenza is mentioned in the ordinances of King Ferrante I in 1465. In 1473 the Jews of Rossano complained that the Jews of Cosenza had fixed the tax rate for the other communities of the Duchy of Crotone, and in 1487 the Jews of Cosenza loaned money to the royal treasury. In 1495 almost all the Jews in Cosenza, then part of the kingdom of Naples, were forced to accept baptism. In 1540–41 the few remaining were expelled with the rest of the Jews from the kingdom. During World War II, in 1940, 1,500 Jews whom the Fascist authorities had declared aliens were sent to a detention camp at Ferramonti near Cosenza.

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[Attilio Milano / Nadia Zeldes (2nd ed.)]

COSER, LEWIS A. (Ludwig Cohen; 1913–2003), U.S. sociologist. Born in Berlin, Coser left Germany in 1933 and went to France. In 1941 he immigrated to the United States, where during the war he worked for American government agencies. He taught at the University of Chicago (1948–50) and in 1951 was appointed professor at Brandeis University, where he founded the sociology department, and in 1968 at the State University of New York at Stony Brook, New York. Along with Irving *Howe and others, he founded the socialist magazine *Dissent* and was its co-editor for many years. Coser served as president of the Society for the Study of Social Problems (1967–68), the American Sociological Association (1975), and the Eastern Sociological Society (1983). He retired to Cambridge, Massachusetts, in 1987, where he was professor emeritus, first at Boston College and then at Boston University.

Coser was a leading proponent of conflict theory, as contrasted to equilibrium theory. Although he prided himself on separating his political and sociological thinking, he was critical of modern American sociology's abandonment of social criticism.

His best-known work is *The Functions of Social Conflict* (1956), which was listed in a 1997 *Contemporary Sociology* review as one of the best-selling sociology books of the century. Among Coser's other publications in political sociology and sociological theory are *The American Communist Party: A Critical History, 1919–1957*, with I. Howe and J. Jacobson (1957); *Sociological Theory*, with Bernard Rosenberg (1967^2); *Sociology through Literature* (1963); a symposium on Simmel (1965); *Continuities in the Study of Social Conflict* (1967); *Men of Ideas: A Sociologist's View* (1970); *Masters of Sociological Thought* (1977); *The New Conservatives: A Critique from the Left* (with I. Howe, 1977); *The Pleasures of Sociology* (1980); *Books: The Culture and Commerce of Publishing* (1982); *Refugee Scholars in America: Their Impact and Their Experiences* (1984); and *A Handful of Thistles: Collected Papers in Moral Conviction* (1988).

[Pearl J. Lieff / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

COSER, ROSE LAUB (1916–1994), U.S. sociologist. Born in Berlin but educated in Antwerp, Rose Laub immigrated to New York with her parents in 1939. Three years later, she married Lewis A. *Coser (1913–2003), a fellow refugee from Nazi Europe, who, like Rose, was a committed socialist and also became an eminent sociologist. Both Cosers received their Ph.D. in sociology from Columbia University, Lewis in 1954 and Rose in 1957. Like many women in academia at that time, Rose Coser followed a much more difficult career path than her husband, working for many years as a research associate first at Columbia and then the University of Chicago and later in the psychiatry department of Harvard Medical School. She also held positions as an instructor and then assistant professor at Wellesley College (1951–59) and as associate professor at Northeastern University (1965–68). In 1968, Rose and Lewis Coser both became professors at the State University of New York at Stony Brook, where they remained until their retirement in 1987. Rose Coser published extensively and made many important contributions to the fields of medical sociology, sociology of the family, and gender roles. Her major works include *Life in the Ward* (1962), *The Family: Its Structure and Functions* (1964 and 1974), *Life Cycle and Achievement in America* (1972), *Training in Ambiguity: Learning Through Doing in a Mental Hospital* (1979), *Access to Power: Cross-National Studies of Women and Elites* (1981), *In Defense of Modernity: Complexity of Social Roles and Individual Autonomy* (1991), and *Women of Courage: Jewish and Italian Immigrant Women in New York* (1999, published posthumously). An ardent feminist and vocal supporter of affirmative action and social justice, Coser was a founder and frequent contributor to the journal *Dissent* and served on numerous editorial boards. She was also actively involved in professional associations, serving as president of the Society for the Study of Social Problems (1973–74) and the Eastern Sociological Society (1984), as well as vice president of the American Sociological Association (1985–86). Her papers are found at the John J. Burns Library at Boston College.

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[Harriet Pass Freidenreich (2nd ed.)]

COSMETICS.

In Ancient Times

Cosmetics, for the care and adornment of the body, were widely used by both men and women in the ancient Near East. The use of cosmetics was widespread among the poor as well as the wealthy classes; in the same way that they used to wash the body, so they used to take care of it with substances that softened the skin and they would anoint (from the root *swkh*) the body with oils and ointments (eg., Ezek. 16:9), as is shown by the discovery of a great deal of pertinent archaeological material, dating from the third millennium B.C.E. Since the expensive cosmetic materials were used in small quantities, special containers were produced for them, and many bottles and small flasks made of porphyry, stone, bone, ivory, and glass have been found. Commonly discovered also are flat slate slabs with depressions in the center, which were used for grinding and mixing ingredients; small mortars, usually made of stone; and long thin metal, wood, bone, or ivory spatulas used for mixing or applying the cosmetics. Good examples of these implements, often lovely and in many diverse styles, were found in Gezer, Tel Beit Mirsim, Megiddo, and Hazor.

In the ancient Near East the use of cosmetics by men was mainly restricted to the rubbing of oil into the body and the spreading of the oil over the hair of the head and the beard (Ps. 133:2), but occasionally a facial cream or lotion was used to protect the skin against the heat of the sun. Women used preparations to beautify the hair, to color eyelids, face, and lips, to anoint exposed skin and the whole body (Esth. 2:12), and to care for the nails. Cosmetics were also used medically and were sometimes connected with cultic worship and witchcraft. They were made by expert craftsmen who imported the raw ingredients, especially from Arabia and India, and adapted them for local use. The very common creams for treating the skin, particularly important in the hot climate of the east, were compounded of oils and fragrances. Sometimes the oil in these creams was extracted from olives, almonds, gourds, sesame, or other trees and plants, but animal and fish fats, which were less expensive, were more widely used. There may even have been a certain amount of wine or alcohol added to these fats to thin them and make them evaporate. Other thick base materials for cosmetics were wood ash, beeswax, and mixed oils and fats. The fragrant ingredients were usually of vegetable origin: plant leaves, fruits, buds, stalks, roots, seeds, and flowers, especially cinnamon, jasmine, rose, mint, and balsam. The fragrant components were produced by squeezing the raw materials, by cooking and afterward compressing them, or by distillation. Several early Egyptian drawings show the ingredients being placed in strong cloth sacks which could be compressed by shrinking or twisting.

Women commonly put color around their eyes (Isa. 3:16; Jer. 4:30). In addition to beautification, this seems to have had some medicinal value, for covering the sensitive skin of the lids with color prevented dryness and consequent skin diseases. For the description of eye-painting the following terms are used: *kaḥal* (Akk. *guḥlu*), e.g., "painted your eyes and decked yourself with ornament" (Ezek. 23:40); *pukh* (II Kings 9:30, Jer. 4:30). Egyptian women colored the upper lid black, the lower one green, and painted the space between the upper lid and the eyebrow grey or blue. Mesopotamian women favored yellows and reds. These colors were usually mineral-based: black often being made from lead sulfate, greens and blues from colored stones (I Chron. 29:2) or from antimony stone (Heb. *pukh*), a precious blue stone which was ground and was used along with a mixture of oil base for the application of paint on the eyes, greens from copper oxide and reds from iron oxide. Such materials were generally powdered and mixed into a preservative oil base, possibly in combination with some fragrance. They were applied either with the fingers or with a stylized spatula. Red ocher or *henna may have been used on the face, and henna was also used for dyeing the hair, which was held in place with beeswax. Lips were colored with a cream made from oil combined with red ocher, and nails were painted with pigments mixed in ash or beeswax. Cosmetic colors were also produced from burned woods, ivories, and bitumen, mixed with strong fragrant compounds to eliminate their unpleasant odors.

[Ze'ev Yeivin]

A wealth of archaeological material has been found bearing testimony to the importance of beauty treatment in Roman and Byzantine Palestine. In every archaeological museum numerous tools and receptacles used to contain and apply make-up are to be found, such as metal and bone eyebrow pencils, containers for powders and creams in the form of small cylindrical pyxes, spoons and spatulae for applying make-up, small perfume bottles, mirrors (sometimes in pairs that fitted into one another, enabling one to see the back of one's head), tweezers, pins, brooches (fibulae), etc.

[Daniel Sperber (2nd ed.)]

In the Talmud

The talmudic attitude toward the use of cosmetics is basically favorable, but it is combined with warnings against its utilization for immoral purposes. This applies to ointments, perfumes, paint, and powder. Olive oil was widely used as an ointment base. It was also used as a depilatory, when mixed with such substances as myrrh, flour, and chalk. The best-known ointment was the precious *balsam which was a highly praised product of the Jericho plain (Shab. 26a). Wanton women used to put it into their shoes together with myrrh, so that its scent would arouse passion in young men (Shab. 62b). This rare and costly commodity was subject to cheap imitations. There is a difference of opinion whether the biblical *ẓori* is to be identified with balsam (Ker. 6a) or whether it is a different substance (see Rashi and Naḥmanides to Ex. 30:34). However, its main use was medicinal rather than cosmetic. Besides these ointments, *rose oil, spikenard, foliatium, *laudanum, henna, most of which are already mentioned in the Bible, and others, were also utilized. Perfumes (*besamim*) were obtained in part by an admixture of dry aromatic substances to those already mentioned. The substances were both grown in Israel and imported from as far as Arabia and even India (See *Incense and Perfume). These perfumes were also utilized to sweeten the air in the home after meals (Ber. 6:6; Shab. 18a); or at weddings (Tosef. Shab. 7:16); and to perfume clothing (Ber. 53a). In the Talmud mention is made of such dyes as rouge (*sarak*), purple-violet (*pikas*, φύκες; cf. the term *pirkus*), white for the face, hair and finger- and toenails, and blue-black (*Kaḥal*) for the eyes. It was a wife's duty to beautify herself so as to appear pleasing to her husband (Tosef. Ned. 7:1, cf. MK 1:7 *ibid.*, 9b; Shab. 64b), and an enactment is attributed to Ezra that perfume peddlers should be allowed to circulate freely for this purpose (BK 82ab). The use of cosmetics during mourning (MK 20b; Ket. 4b) was forbidden. Prostitutes, of course, made a special art of painting themselves (Shab. 34a; TJ *ibid.* 8:3, 11b). For a scholar it was considered unbecoming to appear perfumed in public (Ber. 43b). An interpretation of Deut. 22:5 forbade men depilatories (Shab. 94b; Naz. 59a), which was understandable in a pagan world rife with pederasty. Against halitosis (which was a reason for divorce, Ket. 75a), women chewed peppercorns, ginger, cinnamon, and gum (Shab. 65a).

Talmudic literature contains a wealth of information on the manufacture and the marketing of cosmetic preparations. The *Avtinas family, who made the sacred incense for the Temple, took special care in its production and refused to share this art since it feared that unworthy persons would utilize its secrets for profane purposes (Yoma 38a). The Talmud also related that the women of Bet Avtinas never perfumed themselves lest people suspect that they were using sacred incense. The substances first had to be boiled in oil or seethed in water. After a time was allowed for absorption, they were poured into sealed containers, small tubes or boxes, with those for the more valuable substances made of alabaster (cf. Gen. R. 39:2). The perfume dealers had their shops in the market – Street of the Perfumers – where to this day there exists in the Old City of Jerusalem an ancient street still called by this name (*Shuk ha-Besamim*). Often such shops could be found in the "Market [street] of the Prostitutes," where the demand for perfumes was great (Ex. R. 43:7). The moral reputation of this trade was therefore not high, though it was considered indispensable and preferable to that of the tanner, who had to work with evil odors (Kid. 82a). The Mishnah decreed that a husband must give his wife ten dinars for her cosmetic needs. Rabban Gamaliel, however, said that the amount depended upon local customs (Ket. 66b). The Talmud states that Miriam, the daughter of Nakdimon b. Gorion, who lived at the time of the destruction of the Second Temple, used cosmetics to such an extravagant extent that the sages permitted her an allowance of 400 golden coins for her "perfume basket" (*Kuppah shel besamim*). The hair, both of men and women, was the subject of special care. In addition to its cosmetic aspect, there was also the hygienic consideration of keeping it free of vermin. It therefore was washed, anointed, combed, and sometimes dyed. It was cut (and thinned) regularly, and the higher the person was on the social scale the more frequently he went to the barber (Sanh. 22b). Hair was worn long, and arranged in various styles; even the special style of the high priest found ostentatious imitators (Ned. 51a). The stories of Joseph and Absalom gave the rabbis occasion to comment on the moral dangers of vanity in hairstyle (Gen. R. 84:7; Sot. 1:8). It was a religious custom to have one's hair cut before the Sabbath and festivals (cf. Shab. 1:2; MK 14a). A mourner (and someone put under the minor ban) was forbidden to cut his hair and beard for at least 30 days (MK 14aff.). Certain hairstyles, like the *belorit*, probably a kind of pigtail hanging down from the crown of the head while the rest of the hair was shorn short, and the one called *komei* (κόμη), a kind of tonsure, were forbidden to Jews "as *Amorite [pagan] custom" (Tos. Shab. 6:1), but a dispensation was made for the patriarchal family on account of its official contacts with the Roman authorities (TJ Shab. 6:1, 7d, Av. Zar. 2:2, 41a).

Beards received the same care as hair and were occasionally dyed (BM 60b; Naz. 39a). On the other hand, what was considered beautiful for men was deemed the opposite for women (TJ Ket. 7:9, 31c). Women, while not cutting their hair, would apply much care to it by arranging it skillfully in plaits and "building" it up, sometimes with the help of wigs (*pe'ah nokhrit*), using bands and nets, and adding *jewelry as well. So elaborate were these creations that it was forbidden to undo a woman's hairdo on the Sabbath because it involved transgressing the prohibitions of "building" and "demolishing" (Shab. 94b–95a). (For the requirement that married women cover their hair, see *Covering of Head.) Brides would wear their hair long on their wedding day (Ket. 2:10), as a sign of their virginity. Talmudic and midrashic sources contain much information about barbers and hairdressers, their lowly standing, and their implements and accessories. They also traded in perfumes and practiced manicure and pedicure, apart from carrying out certain medical functions such as bloodletting.

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COSMOLOGY. Cosmological theories describe the physical structure of the universe. For cosmology in the Bible, see *Creation.

In the Talmud

According to R. Simeon b. Yoḥai, the earth and the heavens are like "a pot with a cover." This "cover" is the *raki'a*, the firmament. "The darkness of the firmament is that of a journey of 50 years. While the sun in the sky passes this journey of 50 years, a man can walk four miles." The distance between the firmament and the earth is the equivalent of a journey of 500 years (TJ, Ber. 1:1, 2c). The firmament is composed of water and the stars of fire, but they dwell harmoniously together (TJ, RH 2:5,58a). The heavens (*shamayim*) are an admixture of fire and water (*esh* and *mayim*) or made wholly of water (*Sham mayim*; Ḥag. 12a). Indeed, "the Holy One, blessed be He, took all the waters of the sea and with half He made the firmament and the other half the ocean. The firmament is like a pool, and above it is an arch" (Gen. R. 4:4 and 5). The earth is of the same thickness as the firmament (Gen. R. 4:5). Once every 1,656 years the firmament shakes on its foundations (Gen. R. 38:6).

There is however more than one firmament; according to R. Judah, there are two, according to Resh Lakish, seven (Ḥag. 12b). The sun and the moon are situated in the second firmament (Gen. R. 6:6). The above-quoted view of R. Simeon b. Yoḥai would imply that the world is wholly enclosed by the firmament. R. Joshua was also originally of the same opinion, that the world was "like a tent" enclosed on all sides, but later he came round to the view of R. Eliezer that it is like an *exedra*, closed on three sides only, but open on the north side, and it is from this opening that the north wind comes (BB 25b).

Originally the sun and the moon were both of the same size but God, realizing that "two kings cannot wear one crown," diminished the size of the moon. Thus what were originally "the two great luminaries" became "the greater luminary" and "the lesser luminary" of Genesis 1:16 (Ḥul. 60b). Eclipses of the sun are a sign of God's anger or displeasure (Suk. 29a). Beneath the earth is the abyss (*tehom*). There is a cavity which descends from the Holy of Holies to the abyss.

[Louis Isaac Rabinowitz]

In Medieval Jewish Philosophy

In medieval philosophy there were four types of cosmological theories: the Aristotelian-Ptolemaic, the neoplatonic, the Kalām theory, and the theory of the infinite universe.

ARISTOTELIAN-PTOLEMAIC. The medieval version of the Aristotelian-Ptolemaic cosmology asserts that the universe is a finite sphere whose center is the earth, around which nine other concentric spheres – the moon, the sun, the various planets, the stars, and the diurnal sphere – rotate. These spheres form a compact whole in which there are no gaps, or an inner vacuum, and around which there is nothing. The earth and the heavenly spheres differ in their composition. The latter are made up of a single element, ether, whose homogenous nature is free from change other than locomotion. The earth is composed of four elements, earth, water, air, and fire, whose continual transmutations make terrestrial substances subject to generation and corruption. Each of these moving spheres has a "soul," or internal moving force, which is set in motion by corresponding incorporeal substances, the Separate Intelligences. (According to some, "soul" and "intellect" are different aspects of the incorporeal substance.) According to *Maimonides, these incorporeal substances are identical with the angels (Maimonides, *Guide of the Perplexed*, 2:6). The ultimate source of motion is God, the Prime Mover, who "moves" the universe insofar as He is the most perfect substance, and therefore the object of love of all other substances (Aristotle, *Metaphysics*, 7:7; Maimonides, *Guide* 1:72; 2:1).

NEOPLATONIC. Medieval neoplatonic cosmology employs several Aristotelian notions but tries to overcome the terrestrial-celestial dichotomy inherent in the Aristotelian theory. Indeed, in some neoplatonic philosophies there is a decidedly pantheistic or monistic tendency (cf. the Christian philosopher Scotus Erigena). Solomon Ibn *Gabirol is the most neoplatonic of the medieval Jewish philosophers. In attempting to demonstrate the essential unity of the universe he applied the Aristotelian form-matter framework to every part of the universe except God and the Divine Will. The result of this extension is that every level of being that emanates from God (see *Emanation) exhibits a common universal matter and universal form. Each level of being, however, is further characterized by a specific material nature and a particular formal structure. In this way both homogeneity and diversity are accounted for. Typical of monistic cosmologies, Gabirol's system tends to be static: the emanation of the lower stages of being from God is described in non-temporal terms. The origin of the universe, as well as motion, is explained by Ibn Gabirol as the effect of God's will, which seems to serve as the mediating link between God and the universe.

KALĀM. The *Kalām cosmology employs the model of a universe consisting of atoms in a vacuum. These indivisible particles combine, separate, and recombine, forming the universe by these movements. The Kalām version of atomism differs from its Greek antecedents in that it rejects any notion of an infinite magnitude (Maimonides, *Guide*, 1:73). Atomism had virtually no impact upon the mainstream of Jewish philosophy, although a number of Karaite philosophers accepted its doctrines (see *Atomism). Abu al-Barākāt *Ḥibat Allah of Baghdad was a profound atomist but he had no influence upon Jewish thought, probably because of his conversion to Islam in his late years. Indeed, the most important Jewish representative of the Kalām, *Saadiah Gaon, was not an atomist.

INFINITE UNIVERSE – CRESCAS. One aspect of classical atomism, however, is found in the cosmology of Ḥasdai *Crescas. His philosophy constitutes a vigorous critique of Aristotle's physics and cosmology. Crescas reverts to the atomistic hypothesis of an infinite vacuum in which our universe, and perhaps others, are located. (The possibility of a plurality of universes is also found in rabbinic literature, but is rejected by Maimonides and other medieval Aristotelians; cf. Gen. R. 3; Maimonides, *Guide*, 2:30). Although Crescas does not explicitly introduce atoms into his physics, his theory of matter exhibits atomistic aspects. For example, unlike Aristotle, Crescas sees matter as requiring no external principle for its motion: bodies have a natural tendency to move. Consequently, Crescas eliminates the artificial system of intelligences as causes of motion. Finally, he rules out the distinction between the composition of the earth and the heavens in favor of the notion of a common matter characteristic of all bodies celestial and terrestrial. In several important respects Crescas' cosmology anticipates some ideas of Galileo and Newton.

[Seymour Feldman]

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"**COSMOPOLITANS**," derogatory term applied in 1949 to Jewish intellectuals in the Soviet Union, at the peak of Russian chauvinism and its struggle against Western influence in Soviet culture and science. The change to a Soviet policy directed against the Jewish people and the State of Israel had in fact begun several months earlier (November 1948) with the arrest of Yiddish writers, the closing of the periodical *Einikeyt* and the *Emes* press, and the increasing attacks on Zionism. The campaign against the "cosmopolitans," however, marked the first public attack on Soviet Jews as Jews, and is thus considered as initiating what Soviet Jews call "the Black Years," which lasted until Stalin's death in March 1953.

The campaign against "cosmopolitans" who have no homeland was initiated in articles in the central organs of the Communist Party, in *Pravda* (January 28, 1949) and *Kultura i Zhizn* (January 30, 1949). Thereafter, over a period of two months, other Soviet newspapers and periodicals, led by *Literaturnaya Gazeta* (February 12, 16, 19, 20, and March 9, 1949) published severe attacks against "cosmopolitans" with Jewish names, in the fields of art and literature (Altman, Gurevitch, Levin, Danin, and others), out of all proportion to their real importance in their respective fields. The writers of anti-"cosmopolitans" articles then began to reveal the real names of Jews using pen names, such as Yakovlev (Holzmann), Melnikov (Melman), and Zhdanov (Lifshitz), in an attempt to show that Jews were concealing their identity behind Russian names. The "cosmopolitans" were accused of hatred of the Russian people ("Altman hates anything Russian, anything Soviet") and of insulting the Russian man; of representing the Russians and Ukrainians as turning their backs on the Jews when the Germans were leading them to their death (cf. Golovanivski in his poem "Abraham"); of supporting Zionism; of insulting the memory of great Russian writers by saying that they were influenced by such "cosmopolitans" or chauvinist-reactionary writers as Heine or Bialik (cf. Isbakh in his book "Years of Life"). The wave of attacks subsided in April–May 1949, probably as a result of violent reactions in the West. Anti-Jewish policy did not cease, however, and began to take even more extreme forms in succeeding years. The term "cosmopolitans" was also applied to Jewish intellectuals in other Communist countries at later nonconformist periods.

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[Benjamin Pinkus]

COSTA (**Mendes da Costa**), Anglo-Jewish Sephardi family, prominent in the 17th and 18th centuries. The founder was ALVARO (JACOB) DA COSTA (d. 1680), born a Marrano in Portugal, who escaped via Rouen to London. He was one of the prominent Anglo-Jewish personalities of the Restoration period, though he did not formally enter the community. He helped to finance Charles II during his exile. ANTHONY (MOSES; c. 1667–1747), his grandson, one of the wealthiest London merchants of his day, is (incorrectly) said to have been a director of the Bank of England. In 1727 he successfully brought an action against the Russia Company, which had refused him membership because of his religion. The company procured from Parliament a modification of its charter so as to reserve for itself the right of refusal. In 1729 he was one of the three Jewish subcommissioners appointed for the colonization of Georgia and in 1736 he was elected a member of the Royal Society. Catherine da *Costa (1679–1756), Anthony's wife, daughter of Dr. Fernando *Mendes and named after Catherine of Braganza, was a competent painter and JOHN (Abraham) was one of the three London merchants who in 1710 provided £300,000 for the provisioning of the English army in Flanders.

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[Cecil Roth]

COSTA, CATHERINE DA (1679–1756), English miniature painter, daughter of Dr. Fernando Mendez, physician to Charles II. Catherine da Costa was the earliest known English Jewish artist and the first Jewish woman artist whose work has survived. A pupil of the famous drawing-master and mezzotint engraver Bernard Lens, she painted portrait miniatures of her family and of other members of the Jewish community. Among her works are portraits of her father in full 18th-century dress (1721) and of her ten-year-old son, Abraham da Costa (1714). She was married to Anthony Moses da Costa (1667/9–1747), a prosperous Sephardi merchant.

ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY: ODNB online.

COSTA, EMANUEL MENDES DA (1717–1791), English scientist. Da Costa, who trained as a notary, became one of the eminent English scientists of his time. He was an omnivorous collector, wrote numerous papers on philosophical and scientific subjects, and belonged to several English and foreign learned societies, including the Royal Society and the Society of Antiquaries. His life was a continual struggle against adverse circumstances. In 1745–55 he was imprisoned for debt. In 1763 he was made clerk and librarian to the Royal Society, but was dismissed in 1767 for dishonesty. Subsequently, he was again imprisoned for debt in the King's Bench Prison, where much of the remainder of his life was passed. His remarkable collection of books, manuscripts, engravings, and specimens was seized and sold to pay his debts. Although his second wife was a Christian, he remained a member of the Jewish community. A large body of his correspondence with fellow savants is preserved in the British Museum (Add. Mss. 28534–44). His more important publications are *Elements of Conchology* (London, 1776), *Historia Naturalis Testaceorum Britanniae, or, the British Conchology* (1778), and an English edition of Cronstedt's *Essay Towards a System of Mineralogy* (London, 1770).

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[Cecil Roth]

COSTA, ISAÄC DA (1798–1860), Dutch poet and writer. The precocious offspring of a distinguished Sephardi family in Amsterdam, Isaäc da Costa was brought up in the moderately Enlightened milieu that characterized the Portuguese Jewish elite of the early 19th century. In these circles much emphasis was put on the assimilation of Jews into Dutch society, and consequently Da Costa (at the early age of 13) became a member of Concordia Crescimus, a Jewish literary society. It testifies to his intellectual talents as well as to the incipient emancipation of Dutch Jewry in this period that, having obtained a higher education at the Amsterdam Atheneum, he went on to study law at the university of Leiden (1816–18). In the meantime, private tuition was provided by the Hebraist Moses *Lemans. It was Lemans who in 1813 first introduced Da Costa to the counterrevolutionary poet and philo-Judaist Willem Bilderdijk (1756–1831). In Leiden, where he attended Bilderdijk's idiosyncratic private lectures on history, Da Costa began to stress his identity as a Jew, albeit one of aristocratic ancestry. In the 1820s he expressly defended the (apparently common) belief that the Sephardim were superior by descent to the Ashkenazim. Moreover, since the Portuguese Jews had migrated to the Iberian Peninsula before the building of the Second Temple, they could not be reckoned as descendants of the Jews who had crucified Jesus. Perceiving the Enlightenment as a threat to his Jewishness, Da Costa's religious quest paradoxically resulted in his acceptance of a form of orthodox Calvinism in 1822. He shared Bilderdijk's strong interest in kabbalism and a chiliasm that focused on the second coming of Jesus Christ and the "national" conversion of the Jews. Thus, to him and to his wife, Hanna Belmonte (1800–1867), whom he had married in 1821, conversion to Christianity was both an alternative path to integration into Dutch society and a means of securing their identity as Jews. Da Costa soon became a prominent spokesman for the orthodox party within the *Hervormde Kerk* (Reformed Church). His *Bezwaren tegen de geest der eeuw* ("Grievances against the Spirit of the Times," 1823), in which he castigated contemporary Dutch society for what he regarded as its shallow liberalism, established his reputation as a disruptive controversialist. In the 1830s and 1840s, however, Da Costa concentrated on leading religious gatherings, editing periodicals, and giving private lectures on religious and historical topics. Although he had already achieved renown for his poetry, he began to be accepted as a Dutch poet of standing only after about 1840. His acclaim as a man of literature led to greater activity in public life. He developed an interest in the liberal constitution he had once rejected and labored for social and ecclesiastical reform. Da Costa always remained profoundly interested in the Jews. His *Israël en de Volken* (1848; translated as *Israel and the Gentiles*, 1850) is a history of the Jewish people from the biblical period to the middle of the 19th century, written from a Christian point of view. Many of Da Costa's poems have biblical themes. Of importance also are his studies of aristocratic Jewish families. Originally published in *Navorscher* (1857–59), they were reissued in English translation as *Noble Families among the Sephardic Jews* (1936).

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[Joris van Eijnatten (2nd ed.)]

COSTA, SIR MICHAEL (born **Michele Andrea Agniello Costa**; 1808–1884), conductor and composer. Born in Naples to a family of Spanish descent, Costa studied at the Collegio Reale, Naples, and produced his first two operas for the Conservatory theater: *Il delitto punito* (1826) and *Il sospetto funesto* (1827). In 1829, he was sent by Zingarelli to the Birmingham Festival to conduct one of that composer's works (by force of circumstance he had to sing the solo tenor part instead). Subsequently he became *répétiteur* at the King's Theatre in London, which later became Her Majesty's Theatre (1830), and he was its director and conductor from 1833 to 1846, during which time he was responsible for achieving a new state of excellence in the theater orchestra and ensemble. He was thereafter conductor of the Philharmonic Society (1846) and music director of the newly formed Royal Italian Opera, Covent Garden (1847–69), which attracted several of the outstanding singers of the age – Grisi, Mario, later Lablache – from Her Majesty's Theatre.

Costa was knighted in 1869 and became the leading festival conductor in Britain, making important annual appearances at the Festivals of Birmingham, Leeds, and Bradford, among others, at which he conducted the first performances of his oratorios *Eli* (1855) and *Naaman* (1864). In 1871, he again took on the leadership if Her Majesty's Theatre, where he remained until 1879. Costa's other works include the operas *Il Carcere d'Ildegonda* (1828; for the Teatro Nuovo, Naples), *Malvina* (1829; for the Teatro San Carlo, Naples), *Malek Adhel* (1839; for the Théatre des Italiens, Paris), and *Don Carlos* (1846; for Her Majesty's); together with symphonies and much vocal music. His reputation as an opera conductor in the middle years of the last century was virtually without equal.

[Max Loppert]

COSTA, URIEL DA (**Acosta**, alias **Adam Romes**; 1583/4–1640), philosopher and free thinker. He was born as Gabriel da Costa in Oporto, Portugal, into a New Christian or Converso family, his father being a devout Catholic. After studying Canon Law at Coimbra, he became a treasurer of the collegiate church, a lucrative and prestigious position. He took minor orders and received the tonsure. In his autobiography (see below), Da Costa claimed that examining the Bible brought him back to Judaism. Then, he said, he converted his family to the version of Judaism he had worked out from the Bible. In 1614 they fled to Amsterdam to avoid persecution by the Inquisition and to practice their religion freely. Shortly afterwards, Uriel and part of the family settled in Hamburg. Very soon after his arrival at Hamburg he addressed a polemical broadside to the leaders of the Sephardi congregation of Venice, in which he criticized rabbinic Judaism as incompatible with the Torah. The Venetian rabbi Leon *Modena rebutted Uriel's theses and advised the leader of the Hamburg congregations to excommunicate him. In spite of his excommunication at Hamburg in 1618, Da Costa did not leave the city before 1623. A year later Da Costa finished his *Examen dos Tradiçoens Phariseas Conferidas con a Ley Escrita* (1624), for which he was excommunicated, arrested, and fined, and the book was burned (at least three copies must have survived, however). Even before he finished his work on the subject, an answer had appeared by Samuel da Silva, *Tratado da Immortalidade da Alma* (1623). After his banishment, Da Costa lived for four years in Utrecht. When his mother died in 1628, Da Costa returned to Amsterdam, where he sought reconciliation with the Jewish community, though he had not altered his opinions. He felt the need to belong to the group and said that he would "become an ape among apes." Having rejoined the synagogue, he soon began doubting whether there was Divine sanction for the Mosaic Law, and whether religions were more than human inventions. He was led to deism or some kind of natural religion, denying any value to institutional religion. He gave up Jewish practices, and tried to prevent two Christians from converting to Judaism. This led to his second excommunication, after which he continued to live for seven years in Amsterdam. In 1640, he rejoined the Jewish community, submitted to a public recantation of his views, received 39 lashes, and prostrated himself so that the entire congregation could tread over him. He was so shocked by what was required of him that he wrote a few pages of his autobiography, *Exemplar Humanae Vitae* (published in Limborch's *Amica collatio*… 1687, repr. 1847), and then, according to the Hamburg Lutheran clergyman Johann Mueler, committed suicide.

Da Costa became a hero of the fight against religious intolerance, and a precursor of modern Bible criticism and naturalistic thought. He has been seen as a precursor and inspirer of *Spinoza. Practically all that is known about Da Costa comes from his autobiography (Eng. tr. in L. Schwarz, *Memories of my People* (1963), 84–94). On the basis of Portuguese Inquisition archives, it has recently been proposed that Da Costa's original version of Judaism was not that of the Bible, but rather an odd kind of Marrano Judaism, that some of his mother's family practiced, and that it was only in Amsterdam that he worked out his biblical religion and his deism. Da Costa became, for the Enlightenment and the Romantic Age, a symbol of the freethinker opposing religious orthodoxy. Though his doctrines are hardly known, he has had an important influence through the story of his life on anti-religious thinkers, and has been seen as a martyr to Orthodox Jewish intolerance and as a possible source of Spinoza's views.

[Richard H. Popkin / Harm den Boer (2nd ed.)]

In the Arts

Treatment of Uriel da Costa by writers, artists, and composers has generally tended to idealize him as a victim of obscurantism. The inspiring effect of a supposed link to the Spinoza case is obvious. The German dramatist Karl Ferdinand *Gutzkow, a "Young German" ally of Heine, wrote two works on the theme: the novella *Der Sadduzaeer von Amsterdam* (1834), and the five-act tragedy *Uriel Acosta* (1847). Gutzkow's heroic interpretation of the Sephardi philosopher, the first of significance in literature, inspired later works, including G. Schoenstein's brief parody in his *Humoristisch-jocoser Witz-und Lach-Almanach* (1851); a Hebrew version of the drama by S. Rubin (1856); and a Yiddish adaptation for the New York stage, with musical accompaniment, by Abraham *Goldfaden, produced in the late 19th century. Even as late as 1995 Gutzkow's depiction of Da Costa inspired the absurdist play by the Polish poet and playwright Lidia Amejko (1955–), *Męka Pańska w butelce* (The Lord's Passion in a Bottle; also produced in English and Italian). "Uriel da Costa" was one of H.M. Bien's *Oriental Legends and Other Poems* (1883), while *Uriel Acosta* (1900) was the title of a novel by the Yiddish writer John Paley. The most important 20th-century work on the subject was Israel *Zangwill's sketch in *Dreamers of the Ghetto* (1898), another idealized portrait. Later treatments of the theme were the U.S. writer Charles *Reznikoff's play *Uriel Acosta* (1921) and Yoḥanan *Twersky's biographical work of the same name in Hebrew (3 vols., 1934–45). Josef *Kastein devoted one of his literary-historical monographs to him (*Uriel da Costa, oder Die Tragoedie der Gesinnung*, 1932) and the American literary critic and poet Stanley Burnshaw (1906–) wrote an unpublished verse play entitled *Uriel da Costa* that he later made into Book I of *The Refusers* (1981).

In art there is a highly imaginative painting by Samuel *Hirszenberg depicting Uriel da Costa with the infant Benedict Spinoza. The Dutch Jewish artist Meijer Jacob Isaac de *Haan (1852–1895) is reported to have painted in 1888 the dramatic scene of his excommunication in antiquarian style.

All the musical works on the theme were inspired by Gutzkow's play, including *Uriel Acosta*, an opera by the Russian composer Valentina Serova and by general consent her most successful work, which had its première in Moscow in 1885. Subsequent compositions all took the form of stage music for Gutzkow's drama, especially for the Hebrew version by the *Habimah* company. Jacob *Weinberg's score (1921) has remained unpublished, but that by Karol *Rathaus for *Habimah's* Berlin production of 1930 has achieved a degree of permanence in the musical repertoire; later he reworked it into an independent piece in four movements.

[Bathja Bayer]

BIBLIOGRAPHY: C. Gebhardt (ed.), *Die Schriften des Uriel Da Costa* (1922), includes almost all known material by or about Da Costa; Révah, in: RHR, 161 (1962), 45–76 (new material); C. Michaëlis de Vasconcellos, *Uriel da Costa: notas relativas a sua vida e as suas obras* (1921), includes bibliography; A. de Magalhães Basto, *Alguins documentos inéditos sôbre Uriel da Costa* (1930). **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** S. Dorsey (transl.), *Uriel Acosta – A Tragedy by Karl Gutzkow*; see *Denow's Review*, vol. 6 (1869).

COSTA ATHIAS, SOLOMON DA (1690–1769), founder of the Hebrew collection in the British Museum. Da Costa Athias, who is also often referred to simply as Solomon da Costa, went from Amsterdam to London as a young man, amassed a considerable fortune as a broker, and became well known for his liberal views in Christian as well as Jewish society. Some Shabbatean works which he copied are still extant. He presented the newly opened British Museum in 1759 with its original Hebrew collection of 179 printed volumes and three manuscripts which had been collected and specially bound for Charles II.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Hyamson, in: *Gaster Jubilee Volume* (1936), 260–6. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** Katz, England, 371–72.

[Cecil Roth]

°COSTA DE MATTOS, VICENTE DA (16th century), antisemitic Portuguese writer. His book *Breve discurso contra a heretica perfidia do Iudaismo* ("A Brief Discourse Against the Treacherous Heresy of Judaism," Lisbon, 1622, 1634^2), in 27 chapters, was intended to justify the Inquisition's burning of Judaizing *Marranos. In 1625, a second part appeared, *Honras Christãas* ("Christian Virtues"). The work is a collection of libels and invective against Judaism; the Jews are described as "the pestilence of the world" and charged with homosexuality, ritual murder, etc.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Kayserling, Bibl, 115; idem, *Geschichte der Juden in Portugal* (1867), 293; Mendes dos Remedios, *Os Judeus em Portugal*, 1 (1895), 398–402.

COSTA RICA, republic in Central America; general population 3,956,507 (2004), Jewish population 2,500.

History

Costa Rica was sparsely inhabited by Indians and in colonial times was considered unattractive to immigrants. Its inhabitants were mostly industrious farmers from Northern Spain who cultivated small landholdings, and their descendants are thus characteristically more European than any in any other Latin American country. There is no evidence of the presence of *Crypto-Jews in Costa Rica, and the myth of the Jewish ancestry of the Costa Ricans is not substantiated by historical evidence. In the 18th century Jews from Jamaica were involved in the illegal trade of cocoa with Cartago, but Jewish settlement in Costa Rica started only in the middle of the 19th century, with a few Portuguese Jewish families, such as Maduro, Robles, Piza, Sasso, and Chumaceiro. Originally from Curaçao and St. Thomas, these Sephardi Jews arrived in Costa Rica from Panama, which remained their religious center. Most of them settled in the capital San José, and a few in Cartago, Puntarenas, and Puerto Limón. Being affluent merchants they integrated into the local bourgeoisie, acquiring social and political prominence. A high rate of intermarriage resulted in assimilation, but a few still maintain the memory of their Jewish origin.

Following WWI and the imposition of restrictions on immigration to the U.S., a small number of Jews from Turkey arrived in Costa Rica. They were followed by Jews from Eastern Europe, particularly from Poland, who became the dominant Jewish group. Immigration until 1930 was relatively free, but Costa Rica was an unkown destination. From 1931 the government required a deposit from immigrants, but relatives of former immigrants were generally exempt. In all, 556 Jews entered Costa Rica between 1930 and 1936, the largest group coming from the Polish town of Zelechow. The Polish Jews engaged in petty trade, many of them as peddlers who provided cheap merchandise on credit to the lower classes, introducing to Costa Rica the idea of installment buying. Competition and rivalry with the local merchants, many of whom belonged to other groups of immigrants, such as the Spaniards, Lebanese, Italians, and Germans, provoked a wave of antisemitism. President Ricardo Jiménez was accused by his rivals of tolerating illegal immigration of *polacos* (Polish Jews). His successor, León Cortés (1936–40), restricted Jewish immigration, and his administration was considered to represent the high point of antisemitism in Costa Rica. Nevertheless, 159 Polish Jews were admitted during his term.

During the Holocaust period Costa Rica did not become a haven for refugees. In 1937, when the Refugee Economic Corporation acquired land around the area of Guanacaste for the purpose of settling Jewish refugees from Central Europe, a court ruling decreed that the purchase of land by a foreign company for settlement purposes was illegal. Jewish immigration to Costa Rica was interrupted between 1940 and 1945, and was partially resumed in the postwar period with the arrival of refugees from Poland, probably relatives of older residents, whose number was estimated at between 165 and 250. Jewish economic security was also imperiled in 1941 in the wake of the official nationalization of all foreign-held commercial establishments, but the legislation was not enforced. Again in 1944, an abortive attempt was made to prohibit peddling, which would have been a blow to the economic position of many Jews.

Following WWII the Jews became pawns of political struggles. During the presidency of Picado Michalsky (1944–48), the government party, led by Calderón Guardia, denounced Fascism and manifested solidarity with the Jewish cause. Its Communist image, however, was used against the Jewish community by antisemitic members of the opposition, particularly by Otilio Ulate, whose election to the presidency (February 8, 1948) was not accepted by the former administration. During the civil war of 1948 Jewish houses were sacked by revolutionary forces. Two emissaries of the Jewish community, Salomón Shifter and David Sikora, approached the leader of the armed revolt, José Figueres Ferrer, and obtained his promise to respect individual liberties.

Antisemitism in Costa Rica was directed explicitly against the Polish Jews. Oubursts of anti-Jewish feeling intensified with the appointment of Ulate as president, culminating in a wave of virulent antisemitism motivated by business competition (1951–52). The Junta Patriótica Costarricense agitated for a law restricting commercial activities to native Costa Ricans, attacking Jewish homes and institutions in San José. The situation began to improve with the presidency of José Figueres (1954–58), who publicly affirmed the principle of equal rights for all Costa Rican citizens.

Communal Organization

The early Sephardi immigrants worshipped in private homes on High Holidays, but permanent communal institutions were founded by the Jews from Poland. Around 1930 they purchased a plot for a Jewish cemetery and established a *Chevra Kadisha* and two years later they established a synagogue. The communal organization, Centro Israelita Sionista, was officially founded in 1934 serving both as a religious and a Zionist center. Costa Rican Jews were not very observant, and for several years they lacked rabbinical leadership. The strongest leader of the community was David Sikora (until his death in 1968), and religious functions were filled by Herman Reifer. With time, new institutions were formed as part of the Centro Israelita Sionista – *WIZO, *B'nai B'rith, Sociedad de Damas Israelitas de Beneficencia, several Zionist and youth groups, and a social and sports club. The community maintained ties with other Jewish communities in Central America through the Federación de Comunidades de América Central.

Jewish education in a complementary framework started in 1934 on the initiative of teachers, who saw to a Jewish religious and Hebrew education. During the 1950s the school system was modernized by Heszel Klepfish, who also introduced the study of Yiddish. In 1960 the Centro Israelita opened the Jaim Weizmann day school, starting with a kindergarten and first grade. Each year a new class was opened, and in 1970 it had a full program of primary and secondary grades with 300 students. Practically all the Jewish children in San José at primary level attend the Jewish school, and the number of students remained stable at around 300. Many young Jews completed their studies in Mexican or American universities, though of late most university students preferred to complete their studies in Costa Rica.

Religious life in Costa Rica centered around the Shaare Zion Congregation, the main Orthodox synagogue in San José. The Reform Congregation B'nei Israel was founded in 1984, building its own synagogue in 1989. In addition, there was a Chabad House in San José.

Relations with Israel

Costa Rica voted in favor of the partition of Palestine and was among the first nations to recognize the State of Israel in 1948. Diplomatic relations between the two countries were friendly, based on mutual values of freedom, tolerance, and democracy, Costa Rica being the only country (apart from El Salvador) that resisted international pressure and did not remove its embassy from Jerusalem.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: EJC, 3 (1948), 180–1. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** M. Arbell, *The Jewish Nation of the Caribbean* (2002); J. Schifter Sikora, L. Gudmundson, and M. Solera Castro, *El Judío en Costa Rica* (1979); B. Baruch, *Judíos Costarricenses* (2000); L. Gudmundson, "Costa Rican Jewry," in: J.L. Elkin and G.W. Merkx (eds.), *Jewish*

Presence in Latin America (1987); D. Elazar, "The Jewish Community of Costa Rica," at: www.jcpa.org.

[Moshe Nes El / Margalit Bejarano (2nd ed.)]

°COSTOBAR, prominent Idumean of the first century B.C.E. (his ancestors served as priests of the Idumean god, Koz). At the time of Herod's capture of Jerusalem in 37 B.C.E., Costobar was given the task of blocking the city's exits to prevent the escape of all those opposing the new king. Convinced of his loyalty, Herod subsequently appointed him governor of Idumea and Gaza. Salome, Herod's sister, was given to Costobar in marriage, after her first husband's execution. Costobar seems to have plotted against the king. For twelve years he gave shelter to the sons of Baba, archenemies of Herod, and as governor of Idumea offered to support Queen Cleopatra of Egypt in her attempt to obtain control of territory. According to Josephus, he was pardoned by Herod after the plot was discovered, although he was eventually divorced by Salome, who revealed the full extent of her husband's treachery. As a result, Costobar, together with the sons of Baba, were seized and put to death (c. 25 B.C.E.).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Jos., Ant., 15:253–66; A. Schalit, *Hordos ha-Melekh* (1964^3), 82–84.

[Isaiah Gafni]

COTA DE MAGUAQUE, RODRIGO DE (fl. 1470), Spanish Converso poet. He was related to Diego Arias de Avila, the chief paymaster of Castile. Probably in the 1480s, Cota de Maguaque, incensed at not being invited to an Arias family wedding, wrote an *Epitalamio* ("Epithalamium") satirizing the groom. This contains many allusions to Jewish customs of the period. Cota de Maguaque was not content merely to convert. He felt or feigned hatred toward his former coreligionists, and sided with the "Old Christians" in their persecution of the Conversos. This animosity inspired the bitter satire directed against him by Antón de *Montoro. Cota de Maguaque was long credited, erroneously, with the authorship of many important 15th-century Spanish poems. There is no doubt, however, about his composition of the *Diálogo entre el amor y un viejo*, the deep humanity of which is in marked contrast to the superficiality and artificiality of the poetry of the period.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: A. Cortina, in: *Revista de la Biblioteca, Archivo y Museo*, 6 (1929), 151–65; Cotarelo y Mori, *Boletín de la Real Academia Española*, 13 (1926), 11–17; Baer, Spain, 2 (1966), 300–1, 311–2.

[Kenneth R. Scholberg]

COTLER, IRWIN (1940–) Canadian professor of Law, human rights activist, Jewish communal leader, and politician. Cotler was born in Montreal. He studied law at McGill University and did graduate work at Yale University. Returning to Canada, Cotler accepted an appointment at Osgood Law School in Toronto and, at the same time, became a special assistant to John Turner, federal minister of justice. In 1973 Colter moved to McGill Law School to teach international and human rights law.

Active in Canadian and Jewish affairs, he was counsel to the Deschenes Commission of Inquiry in the matter of bringing Nazi war criminals in Canada to justice, a member of the International Commission of Inquiry into the Fate and Whereabouts of Raoul Wallenberg, and the Canadian Human Rights Tribunal Active in Canadian Jewish life. In the early 1980s Cotler served as president of the Canadian Jewish Congress. A Zionist and advocate of Middle East rapprochement, Cotler helped found Canadian Professors for Peace in the Middle East and long worked to promote a dialogue between Israelis and Palestinians. As a passionate champion of human rights, Cotler served as legal council to many prisoners of conscience including Andrei Sakharov, Nelson Mandela, Jacob *Timmerman, and Natan *Sharansky. In 2003 Cotler helped win acquittal for Egyptian democracy advocate Saad Ibrahim, imprisoned by Egyptian authorities.

Asked to become a candidate for the federal Liberal Party, in 1999 Colter easily won election in the heavily Jewish Montreal riding of Mount Royal and was twice reelected. Passed over for cabinet office by former prime minister Jean Chretien, Coster was appointed in 2003 by newly installed prime minster Paul Martin as justice minister and attorney-general of Canada. Among his first and more controversial tasks, Cotler had to deal with the thorny issues of legalization of gay marriage, the decriminalization of marijuana, and the monitoring of the federal government's application of its anti-terrorism legislation.

Cotler's wife, Ariela, was no stranger to the political world, having worked in the office of Israeli Prime Minister Menaḥem *Begin.

[Harold Troper (2nd ed.)]

COTTBUS, city in Germany. Jews are first recorded in Cottbus in 1448. They were expelled in 1510 and not allowed to enter the city until 1712 and 1739, when Jewish wool merchants from Poland were permitted to stay temporarily for business purposes. From the middle of the 18th century a few individual Jews were allowed to settle permanently and to open businesses, but a community was not formed until 1858. It grew from around 40 in the first half of the 19th century to 128 in 1871 and 460 in 1895. The first rabbi was Marcus Dienstfertig (1872–95), followed by Solomon Posner (1895–1935). The synagogue was erected in 1902, and in 1933 the community had two charitable institutions, two cemeteries, and five cultural societies. In 1930 a training farm was established near Cottbus, under the auspices of the Reichsbund Juedischer Frontsoldaten. In 1933 there were around 450 Jews in Cottbus. From May 1933 the Jews were prohibited from taking part in the annual fair in Cottbus, and in June all Jewish employees were ousted from the trade unions and deprived of their jobs. The majority of the Jews emigrated from Cottbus after 1933, and by May 1939 only 142 were left. Most were deported in 1942. In 1943 Polish Jews were brought to a forced labor camp at Cottbus. The community was not reinstituted after the war.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: S. Posner, *Geschichte der Juden in Cottbus…* (1908); FJW, 64; Yad Vashem Archives, Arolson index. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** J. Rueckert, in: I. Dieckmann (ed.), *Wegweiser durch das juedische Brandenburg* (1995), 5–82; S. Krestin (ed.), *Die juedischen Friedhoefe in Cottbus* (2004).

[Chasia Turtel]

COTTON, plant mentioned under the name *karpas* (derived from the Sanskrit *karpasa*) in the Book of Esther (1:6) in the description of the magnificent ornamentation of Ahasuerus' palace. In the Mishnah cotton is called *ẓemer gefen* ("vine wool") as its leaves resemble those of the vine (*gefen*). Mentioned several times in rabbinic literature, it was apparently an important crop. This is attested by the Greek scholar Pausanias, who in the second century C.E. wrote (5:5) that "the only Greek country that raises cotton is Elea. There it is delicate, like the cotton that grows in Judea, but less yellow." *Kutnah*, the modern Hebrew term for cotton, is derived, as is "cotton" itself, from the Arabic. In talmudic Hebrew and in Aramaic, however, its meaning is "flax" (cf. Shab. 110b). It is evident from the Mishnah (Kil. 7:2) that the cotton grown in Ereẓ Israel was a perennial, probably the species *Gossypium arboreum*. The annual or biannual species, *Gossypium herbaceum*, of Indian origin, began to be cultivated at a later date. Varieties of American cotton, though introduced to Israel only in the late 1950s, are grown extensively, and constitute one of Israel's major crops.

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[Jehuda Feliks]

COTTON, JACK (1903–1964), British businessman. Born in Birmingham, Cotton became an estate agent in that city in the 1920s, and, after World War II, emerged as probably the best-known figure in the world of English property development. Realizing the enormous demand that peace would bring for homes and offices, he secured financing for major projects by giving a share in the development of properties to big companies which owned the land, especially banks and insurance firms. Cotton's City Centre Properties developed the Bull Ring area in central Birmingham and many areas of central London as well as the Pan Am Building adjacent to Grand Central Station in New York. A loyal Jew and Zionist, Cotton was vice president of the largest Birmingham Orthodox synagogue and donated three chairs to Israeli universities; he also funded the building of the Cotton Terraces at London Zoo.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: O. Marriott, *The Property Boom* (1967); ODNB online; DBB, I, 796–99.

[William D. Rubinstein (2nd ed.)]

°COUDENHOVE-KALERGI, HEINRICH VON (1859–1906), Austrian diplomat, philosopher, and author. He professed to having been an antisemite in his youth, but during a sojourn in Turkey and Japan became interested in Oriental religions and consequently in the Jewish legacy. Among 26 languages he knew Hebrew, which he acquired from the rabbi of Pobezovice (Ronsperg). Jewish scholars, among them Armand Aharon *Kaminka, were frequently guests at his castle. A practicing Roman Catholic, he used to leave mass demonstratively on Good Friday at the prayer for "perfidious Jews." In 1901 he published *Das Wesen des Anti-semitismus* (Eng. ed. 1935, *Anti-semitism throughout the Ages*), one of the most successful non-literary anti-antisemitic works of the 20th century. In this book he expressed the view that the Jews had always been a minority, first as monotheists in a polytheistic world, and later as non-Christians in a Christian world. He denied the validity of race and regarded the antisemitic movement in his day as a result of envy, semi-education, and intolerance. At present its root lay in the fanaticism instilled in the child when taught that the Jews had crucified Christ. Coudenhove welcomed Zionism but thought that Palestine was unsuitable for its aims. He suggested progressive assimilation for Western Jews and the founding of a Jewish state for East European Jews. An unsatisfactory solution of the Jewish question would endanger the future of Western civilization. His Judaic library and manuscripts were deposited in the synagogue of Pobezovice and destroyed with it by the Nazis in 1938. His son, RICHARD NICHOLAS (1894–1972), was the founder of the Pan-European movement after World War I. He re-edited his father's book with a preface of his own (1923), and in 1937 published *Judenhass*, in which he states that antisemitism in the 1920s had developed mainly as a weapon against Marxism and was an outcome of the pauperization of Central Europe. Zionism had turned the Jews from a despised caste into a hated nation. Basically the Jewish question was only one of the minority problems. It would find its solution when "nation" became a cultural definition rather than one of blood (see *Autonomism; S. *Dubnow). In 1937 he suggested Jewish colonization of Rhodesia, assuming that Great Britain might be interested in easing her position in Palestine in this way. His first wife, the Viennese actress Ida Roland (1884–1951), was of Jewish origin.

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[Meir Lamed]

COUNCIL OF FOUR LANDS, central institution of Jewish self-government in Poland functioning from approximately the middle of the 16th century until 1764, and representing the Jewish communities associated in their respective provinces ("Lands"), principally four in number. See *Council of the Lands.

COUNCIL OF JEWISH FEDERATIONS AND WELFARE FUNDS, association of U.S. Jewish community organizations. The Council was first organized in 1932 by Jewish Federations in 15 cities, absorbing the work of two predecessor organizations: the Bureau of Jewish Social Research and the National

Appeals Information Service. The Bureau of Jewish Social Research was founded in 1919 as a merger of the Bureau of Jewish Philanthropic Research, the Field Bureau of the National Conference of Jewish Social Service, and the Bureau of Information and Statistics of the American Jewish Committee. It conducted local studies of Jewish communities and special studies affecting Jewish Federations and the service areas of their affiliates. It also compiled statistics for various fields of local Jewish service. The National Appeals Information Service was organized in 1927 by 41 Jewish Federations.

The Bureau of Jewish Social Research acted as its agent in the preparation of reports on the programs and finances of national and overseas agencies. With the organization of the Council of Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds, the functions previously performed were extended to include community planning for local Jewish services and mutual aid to Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds in conducting local fund-raising campaigns.

The Council of Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds published annual reports on developments in specific fields (*Yearbook of Jewish Social Services*, 1930–67; and *Jewish Communal Services – Programs and Finances*, 1955–68), budget digests dealing with individual national and overseas agencies, and reports dealing with budgeting, campaigning, public welfare, public relations, and business management services. When the Council of Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds was organized in 1932, there were less than 70 Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds which were raising under $10 million a year. By 1995 Jewish Federations affiliated with the Council operated in 190 headquarter-cities, serving thousands of communities, and raised about $800 million in annual campaigns. About 95% of the Jewish population of the U.S. resided in federated communities. In addition, a special effort from 1967 for the Israel Emergency Fund, which was organized in the week preceding the Six-Day War, raised hundreds of millions of dollars through associated Jewish Federations. The idea of a second line to the annual campaign was used again in the Yom Kippur War and with the resettlement of Soviet Jews and Ethiopians and Argentinian Jews. Federations are the principal sources of financial support for the *United Jewish Appeal, *United Hias Service, *National Jewish Welfare Board, and community relations agencies (outside New York City). They also provide substantial financial support to about 50 other national and overseas agencies. In addition, each local Federation supports local welfare services (family, child care, aged care, refugee care), Jewish hospitals, centers, camps, youth services, Jewish education, and local community relations. Federations were allocating less than 30% of their funds for national and overseas agencies in 1932. By 1995 overseas agencies (mainly the UJA) were receiving 38.7%; national agencies were receiving 1%; and local agencies and Federation administration were receiving 55%. The remaining 5% is due to shrinkage. This was exclusive of about $20 million provided by nonsectarian United Funds and Community Chests for the support of local Jewish services. In response to pressures from local Federations that felt that there was not enough accountability to them regarding how funds were spent overseas, complaints of a redundancy of services and bureaucracies, and with the expectation of increased efficiency and actual dollar savings as well as increased fundraising capacity, the Council was merged with the United Jewish Appeal and United Israel Appeal in 1999 to form the United Jewish Communities. One proviso stemmed the tide of decreasing contribution to Israel and overseas needs by creating a floor beneath which the overseas contributions of the Federated Communities would not fall for a specific period of time.

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[Samuel P. Goldberg / Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

COUNCIL OF JEWS FROM GERMANY, organization representing the German-speaking Jewish émigrés of the Nazi period from Central Europe. Originally known as the Council for the Protection of the Rights and Interests of Jews from Germany, the Council was established in 1945 by the American Federation of Jews from Central Europe, the Association of Jewish Refugees in Great Britain, Irgun Olej Merkas Europa (formerly Hitachduth Olej Germania w'Austria) in Tel Aviv, and also joined by some refugee organizations from Belgium and France, by Centra, and the Union of Jewish Communities in Latin America in Montevideo. The Council cooperated with leading Jewish organizations dealing with restitution and compensation from Germany and Austria, and was a founding member of the Conference on Jewish Material Claims Against Germany. It has established and supports social welfare agencies and looks after the various interests of German-speaking victims of the Nazi era living outside Germany and Austria, especially in the care of aging refugees, and maintains a link with the cultural past of German-speaking Jews through publications and conferences and the support of cultural institutions. The Council initiated the establishment of the United Restitution Organization (*URO) in March 1947 and in 1954 founded the *Leo Baeck Institute, Rabbi Leo Baeck serving as the first president of the Council. The goals of the Council are to act as the organizational framework for German-speaking Jews worldwide, and to commemorate and preserve the achievements of their heritage for future generations.

[Shalom Adler-Rudel / Saul Kagan (2nd ed.)]

COUNCILS OF THE LANDS, the central institutions of Jewish self-government in Poland and Lithuania from the middle of the 16th century until 1764. The bodies in question were the Council of the Four Lands (Heb. וַעַד אַרְבַּע אֲרָצוֹת) or council of the lands (Heb. וַעַד הָאֲרָצוֹת), the controlling body for the Jewish provinces ("Lands") of Poland, while the Council of the Land of Lithuania (Heb. וַעַד מְדִינַת לִיטָא or וַעַד הַמְּדִינָה) was the similar organization for the Lithuanian grand duchy, which was associated with the Polish crown. The two bodies were similar in structure and function. They were not constituted in either case as perpetual organizations, but were theoretically to the end ad hoc assemblies representing the permanent administrative entities, the local communities associated in their respective provinces or "Lands." The councils represent the highest form of Jewish autonomy within a regional or national framework attained by European Jewry, both in terms of territorial extent or of duration (see *Autonomy; *Poland).

Before the councils were established, the Polish government had made attempts to set up a centralized Jewish leadership. This official appointment was unpopular with the Jews. The beginnings of regional council leadership were seen in *Great Poland in about 1519. The Council of the Lands of the Polish Crown originated from the rabbinical court at the fairs held in *Lublin. It acquired the status of a central *bet din* because of its activity during the meetings of merchants and heads of the communities and because famous rabbis participated in its deliberations.

After 1533 documents refer to assemblies acting in the name of all the Jews of Lithuania. From the 1560s the tax administration of Lithuanian Jewry was centralized. In 1567 two delegates dealt with taxation matters "in the name of all Jewish communities in … the duchy of Lithuania." Ordinances originating before 1569 issued from "the elected from all Lithuania" acting on behalf "of all the communities of Lithuania whose authority is vested in us." They enjoined the holding of assemblies every three years and the election of "nine heads of the Lands and three rabbis."

Even at the zenith of the activities of the councils, the autonomy of the individual community, which had its own dependent boroughs (*sevivot*), was undiminished. The older, firmly established communities were known in Poland as *kehillot rashiyyot* ("principal communities"), and in Lithuania as *kehillot rashei bet din* ("communities of heads of the courts"), the only constituents of this council. Later, growing communities contended for the status of "principal community." Among those which succeeded after strenuous effort were *Tykocin, in Poland, and *Vilna and *Slutsk in Lithuania.

The provincial council of the *galil* ("circuit") closely resembled the Polish regional Sejmik. The relationship of the provincial council to the Council of the Lands was paralleled by that of the Sejmik to the Sejm or national diet. The Council of the Lands of the Polish Crown comprised two distinct bodies: the assembly of the *rashei ha-medinot*, elders of the provinces, and the assembly of the *dayyanei ha-araẓot* ("the judges of the Lands" or "*bet din* of the Four Lands"), composed of the rabbis representing the principal communities and provinces. The *bet din* was competent to adjudge disputes among the constituents of the council, or between the council and its constituents. The two bodies frequently functioned in conjunction. These two sections of the council also cooperated frequently in Lithuania.

Constituents

The constituents of the council were, first, the principal communities, acting either as a recognized part of the delegation for "their province" or as an independent delegation, and, second, the provinces. The accepted designation of "Council of the Four Lands" generally denoted its principal constituents: the provinces of Great Poland (principal community: *Poznan) and Little (*Lesser) Poland (principal community: *Cracow); "the Lvov Land"; and the province of Volhynia. Reference is occasionally made to Three Lands, Five Lands, or even more. In 1717 the council comprised 18 entities, nine communities which acted in their own name and nine provinces. "The Council of the Land of Lithuania" had in 1623 three "communities of the heads of the courts": *Brest-Litovsk, *Grodno, and *Pinsk, each heading a wide area. However, even in Lithuania representatives of smaller communities were occasionally present at sessions of the council, with the right to petition on tax matters and other questions. In the regular sessions of the Council of the Lands between 20 and 30 delegates participated, in plenary sessions between 50 and 70. For the Lithuanian council a standing composition of 15 delegates was established in 1700 comprising the two heads and *av bet din* of each principal community (five at this date). The officials of the council included: (1) The "*parnas* of the House of Israel for the Four Lands," head of the council in both internal and external matters, who presided at the assemblies. He was elected from among the "heads of the Lands," not from the rabbinical delegates. (2) Second in the hierarchy was the "*ne'eman* ("trustee") of the House of Israel for the Four Lands," i.e., the treasurer and chief secretary. The position was salaried and open to rabbinical candidates. (3) The *shtadlan*, who received a high salary and was obliged to be on hand at court or at the place of the assembly of the royal Sejm to represent Jewish interests before the government. (4) There was also a *kotev* ("clerk") to the council, later joined by other clerks. (5) The function of the *shamma'im*, or assessors, was also important. The leadership of the Council of the Land of Lithuania was for a long time assumed by the *av bet din* of Brest-Litovsk. The other offices were generally similar to those of the Council of the Lands.

Both councils maintained an official minute book, a **pinkas*, which invested the record of resolutions and budgets with legal authority. Of the original *pinkas* of the Council of the Lands only a few remnants are extant (published by I. Halpern, 1945). The first detailed ordinance recorded there dates from 1580. The *pinkas* of the Council of the Land of Lithuania from 1623 until its end in 1764 is extant (ed. S. Dubnow, 1925).

The Congresses of the Councils

The Council of the Four Lands met twice yearly at the fairs of Lublin and Yarosłav. During the 18th century the meetings

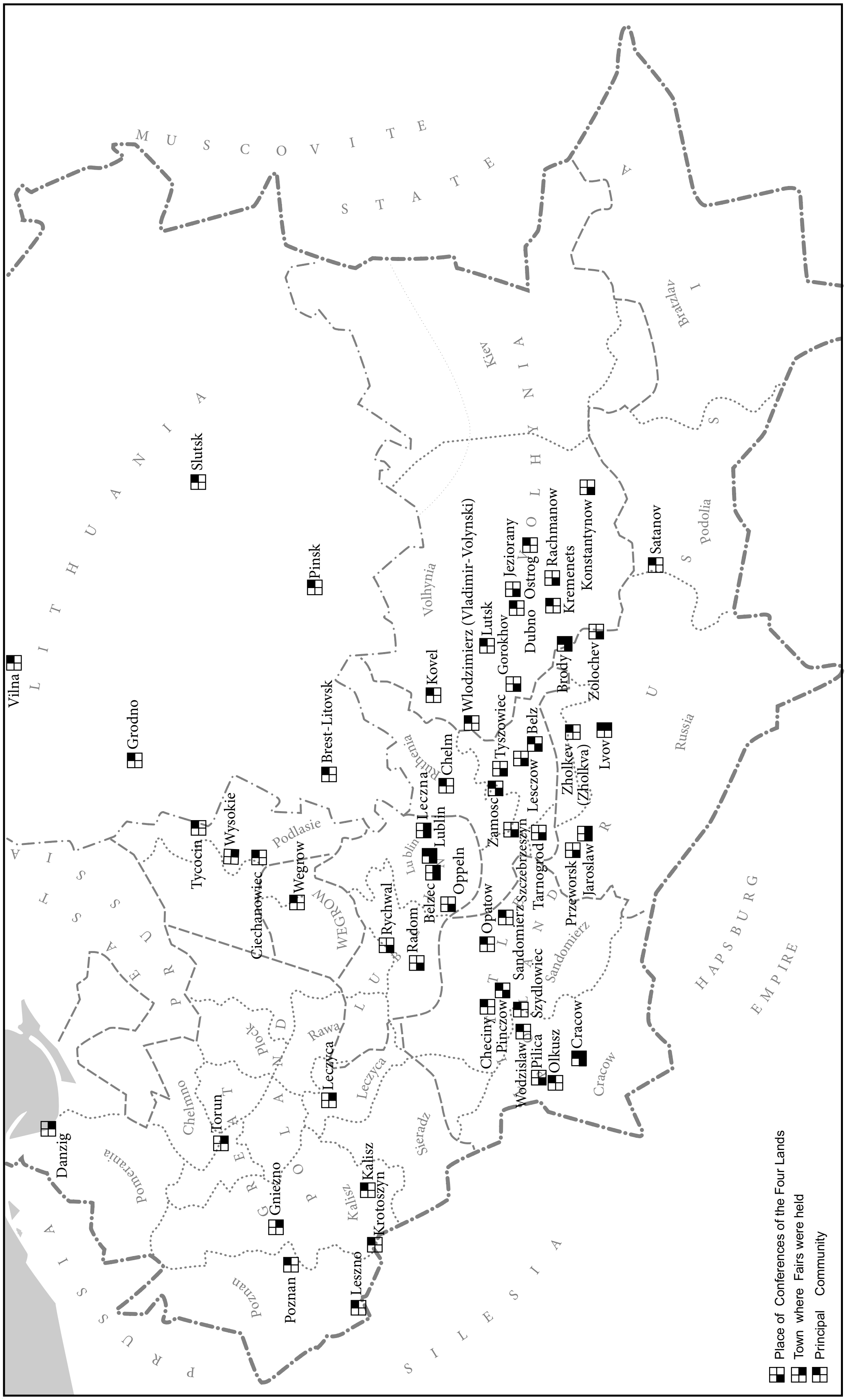
MUSCOVITE STATE
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SILESIA
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GREAT POLAND
LITTLE POLAND
Lublin
Ruthenia
Podlasie
Wegrow
Kiev
Bratzlav
Volhynia
Podolia
Russia
Sandomierz
Cracow
Sieradz
Leczyca
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Vilna
Grodno
Slutsk
Pinsk
Brest-Litovsk
Kovel
Wlodzimierz (Vladimir-Volynski)
Lutsk
Gorokhov
Jeziorany
Dubno
Ostrog
Rachmanow
Kremenets
Konstantynow
Satanov
Brody
Zolochev
Lvov
Zholkev (Zhólkva)
Belz
Lesczow
Tyszowiec
Chelm
Zamosc
Leczna
Lublin
Szczebrzeszyn
Tarnogrod
Jaroslaw
Przeworsk
Belzec
Oppeln
Opatow
Sandomierz
Radom
Rychwal
Szydlowiec
Checiny
Pinczow
Wodzislaw
Pilica
Olkusz
Cracow
Tycocin
Wysokie
Ciechanowiec
Wegrow
Leczyca
Torun
Danzig
Gniezno
Kalisz
Krotoszyn
Poznan
Leszno
Place of Conferences of the Four Lands
Town where Fairs were held
Principal Community

Main Jewish communities in Poland and Lithuania under the jurisdiction of the autonomous Jewish organization of the Council of Four Lands and the Council of Lithuania. After I. Halperin, Pinkas Vaʿad Arba Araẓot *(1945).*

were less regular. The venue and time of meeting of the Lithuanian council were determined as circumstances required. Between 1623 and 1764 the Lithuanian council held 37 meetings in different places; of these 15 were held in its first 30 years of existence.

The principal communities in the Council of the Lands elected their delegates under varying systems and at different intervals. The proportion of electors among the householders in the community varied with its size and the number of its dependent boroughs. The residents of the boroughs, comprising about one-quarter, or even one-third of Polish Jewry, did not have the right of election. It has been estimated that in the latter period of the council's existence approximately 1,000 householders in only 35 communities participated in the elections, i.e., about 1% of the total 92,000 adult Jewish householders. In Lithuania the percentage of electors toward the end of the council's existence for all its five principal communities was 11.3% of the total of adult householders; for Vilna 7%; for Grodno 10%; and for Pinsk 20%. In relation to the total Jewish population of Lithuania the percentage of electors was only 0.7%.

Implementation of Decisions

In 1697 responsibility for implementation of the council's decisions rested with the "heads of the Lands, who, within their borders, will ensure that all ordinances shall be implemented." In 1666–67 the heads of the Cracow community ceased to attend meetings of the council. The council was forced to resort to persuasion and threats in order to bring them back. The Lithuanian council in 1628 decided that "all the ordinances from the beginning of the *pinkas* until its end are entrusted to the care of the heads of the Lands of each community." The means of enforcement and persuasion was excommunication (**ḥerem*), which was decreed at the fairs, and by announcements in the synagogues (in Yiddish, with an admixture of Hebrew words). R. Joel *Sirkes sharply condemned imposition of the *ḥerem* by the council and recommended a general prohibition on all such decrees to be replaced by a code of sanctions, including fines, expulsion, and handing over the accused to the non-Jewish authorities. He even suggested the establishment of a central supervisory administration under the council. The heads of the communities ignored his recommendations.

In 1596 the Council of the Lands constituted itself as the supreme court for hearing appeals and sentencing serious offenders. The Lithuanian council defined its jurisdiction and authority in 1626. Each congress would henceforward introduce ordinances on its own initiative without being bound by the proceedings of earlier congresses. Unanimous agreement to the introduction of new ordinances was demanded because of the federal nature of the council.

Relations between the Council of the Lands and the Council of the Land of Lithuania were occasionally strained. The Lithuanian council was dependent on the Council of the Lands for representation before the central government, while the Council of the Lands expected Lithuania to share in its "burdens," including gifts to magnates and the sovereign, which the heads of the Lithuanian communities often thought excessive. The two bodies also disagreed over the jurisdiction of the border communities and their boroughs, and over rights of commerce.

Competence

The competence of the council lay principally in relations with the Crown and central governmental institutions, in the representation of general Jewish interests, and in formulating legislation for the communities.

The government of Poland-Lithuania was aware of the existence of the councils as independent administrative bodies and accorded them tacit recognition. Formally, the councils were only bodies administering the collection of the Jewish tax from the generality of the Jewry of the kingdom. The councils conducted negotiations, often complicated, with the authorities on the amount of the taxation to be levied. A noteworthy achievement of the Polish council was that after 1717 the amount of taxes paid by the Jews was not increased despite depreciation of the currency. This was one of the main causes of the abolition of the council by the government.

The councils divided the total of taxes due into "sympla," units of payment of equal amount. It then directed a certain community or province to pay annually a certain number of "sympla." The council based assessment and collection on tax lists and estimates. In principle, taxes were allocated according to the means of the individual. The difficulties of raising the taxes forced the councils to try different methods. The social tension entailed by tax collection increased as the debts incurred by the councils and individual communities accumulated. Especially large amounts were expended on maintaining the Jewish representation before the government, defraying the cost of bribes, and physical protection necessitating swift and unobtrusive action. Such demands gradually swallowed the greater part of the budget at the councils' disposal. They were forced to raise loans at high interest rates to meet their obligations.

At the same time the communities themselves developed a new system of taxation, the **korobka*, or basket tax. This was first a commodity tax, mainly levied on *sheḥitah* and afterward extended to business transactions. In 1700 the Lithuanian council was forced to take over the basket tax. In the 18th century growing insolvency compelled the council to increase its demands while, on the other hand, the communities showed increasing independence. In 1721 it became known that a number of communities and provinces in Lithuania had united "to reject the assessment of the poll tax" which the previous council had imposed. The council issued a *ḥerem* against them. In fact, the dissidents had gone so far as to complain to the Lithuanian fiscal tribunal about the "oppressive practices" employed by the council in levying taxes. The principal communities tended to shift the burden from themselves onto the shoulders of the smaller communities and new settlements. The revolt of the latter against the council's "acts of oppression" and the aspersion on the fairness of its apportionment expressed the accumulated bitterness of opposition to the councils. The individual community became more determined to retain the revenues under its jurisdiction. The administration of tax collection may be seen as the criterion of the councils' ability to fulfill their functions.

The councils considered themselves empowered to direct the manifold social, ethical, and legal aspects of Jewish life, and to frame ordinances regulating the affairs of the communities and the conduct of its leaders. They regarded themselves as the guardians of Jewish autonomy. The councils seldom attempted to meddle in affairs between the community and its members; they tended to uphold the authority of the leaders of the communities and the federal character of the council organization. In Lithuania the principal communities sometimes intervened between the individual member and his community. A plaintiff first had to lodge a deposit. The councils arbitrated in disputes between communities or Lands. The majority of such cases were laid before the *dayyanim* of the "Land."

Structure of Leadership

The oligarchic character of the community leadership was reflected in the councils, especially in that of Lithuania. In 1628 the Lithuanian council instructed its three constituents to ensure that "no communal administrative board shall … divulge the deliberations and confidences of the board; and shall refrain from involving individual members of the community with matters concerning the board; and shall impose severe punishment in such cases." Heads of the communities were warned against attempting to rally their own factions in opposition to their colleagues.

The council supported the leaders of the community in countering attempts at rebellion or the organization of internal opposition against the community boards. In 1623 they reaffirmed the former *ḥerem* prohibiting such actions. Severe measures were to be taken against those suspected of these attempts. Any independent organization was prohibited: a plaintiff was instructed to appear before the community board "alone, or with one other, but not more."

The councils were vehement in their censures of the "common people," the "rabble in the streets and markets" who "make light of the acts of the town optimates." It was "the duty of the leaders of every community to deter these offenders with the severest sentences, reaching even to the gates of death." This was in reaction to the continual opposition which arose because the great majority of householders in the large towns, and all Jewish residents of the boroughs, were deprived of any influence or share in the leadership. The council repeatedly issued ordinances to enforce more severe sentences for "sedition" and "scorn." Concomitantly, the problem reflected the revolt of the ascendant against the old-established communities, and in the course of time it reflected the attitude of communities where lower social classes had attained leadership. In 1650 the ordinance against intrigues was extended to "communities, settlements, and boroughs" intriguing against the principal Lithuanian communities, members of the council. In 1687 "sedition" among the communities was also denounced. Opposition to the councils intensified and became more broadly based toward the end of their existence. Artisans apparently formed a major opposition group as in 1761 the council of Lithuania felt constrained to forbid expressly their participation in the main activities and institutions of the more important communities.

Economic Guidance

The councils undertook to provide guidance in the economic sphere, in particular on occupational problems originating in the 16th and 17th centuries from the leasing and management of farm estates and related branches. Consequently their legislative activity extended to both the socioeconomic aspects and the related socioreligious problems. In regard to the first, the council instituted the *ḥezkat orenda* (חֶזְקַת אוֹרֶנְדָא), its sanction of preemptive leaseholding (see **ḥazakah*); the Jewish lessee of a farm property or related enterprise from a Polish noble for a term of three years was henceforward upheld in possession against Jewish competitors for the lease, which might even devolve on his heirs. Similarly, it became possible to acquire preemption on houses rented from non-Jews and to establish a right after three years' undisturbed possession of market shops. As long as economic and social factors encouraged Jewish development, and the councils retained their influence, such regulations generally worked efficiently and prevented Jews from undercutting one another in dealings with the Polish nobility.

The councils also tried to ensure that Jewish religious precepts were strictly observed on rented properties – that Jews observed the Sabbath, refrained from employing Christian serfs on the Sabbath, from raising pigs, or gelding animals. The councils forbade isolated families to settle in the villages. In 1607, in an endeavor to reconcile economic realities with Jewish religious precepts, the council designated the rabbinical authorities to evolve a detailed code of ordinances regulating the permissibility of charging interest (see *Moneylending).

On one socioeconomic question the two councils adopted divergent approaches. The Council of the Lands prohibited Jewish contracting of customs duties, salt mining, and the like, since the Polish nobility themselves coveted such revenues and in pressing their own claims Jewish merchants could harm the whole community. This prohibition, however, was never obeyed to the letter, even within the limits of the Lands Council's jurisdiction, while the province of Great Poland evidently felt otherwise. The Lithuanian council several times expressed its opinion that the Jewish community would benefit if the customs revenues were in Jewish hands; the council promised its support to a group of Jewish contractors and accepted money from them. Nevertheless, the Lithuanian council agreed that it could be dangerous to contract for the mint and related operations.

Both councils applied strict safeguards to Jewish credit operations to inspire faith in Jewish business integrity. Special forms of credit instruments (*mamranot*) were authorized for the use of Jewish merchants. Numerous regulations dealt with the problems of absconding bankrupts, minors, or irresponsible persons who frivolously embarked on trade or contracted debts.

The Lithuanian council issued numerous **takkanot* against newcomers to protect the rights of community residence and membership (*ḥezkat *yishuv*), domicile in the towns (*ḥezkat ironut*), and business operations (see **ḥazakah*) within the communities. A similar trend is also discernible in ordinances introduced by the Council of the Lands. The foundations of Jewish solidarity became seriously undermined in the wake of the *Chmielnicki massacres (1648), when fugitives were deprived of rights in their places of asylum.

The councils maintained an effectual system of representation before the government and *self-defense to prevent the withholding of Jewish rights or to seek their renewal. They also tried to ensure that the murderer or assailant of a Jew should be brought to trial; similarly, they defrayed the cost for defense against anti-Jewish libels. On the other hand, the Lithuanian council warned, "Whosoever out of the violence of his heart shall go to provoke or assault a non-Jew … shall not be helped by a single penny, even if as a result he should be executed." The councils actively rebutted *blood libels and charges of desecration of the *host. Toward the end of their existence, they sent a representative to Rome to obtain papal declarations against the blood libel and undertook their publication.

Torah Study

Study had a prominent place in the councils' concerns. They attended to the supply of teachers and the fundamentals of Torah education. Similarly, by giving their approval to the publication of books, the rabbis participating in the council could exercise control over publications intended for the Jewish public. Great care was devoted to the *yeshivot. In 1652 the Lithuanian council ruled that "every congregation having a rabbi shall maintain a yeshivah for adults and youths according to their capacity, as formerly laid down: all existent agreements with the rabbi to diminish the numbers of the yeshivah shall be null and void." This instruction was endorsed in later assemblies. Scholars were exempted from paying tax. Yet the attitude toward scholars fluctuated, pointing to a certain tension; there were also changes in the definition of "scholar."

Social Problems

Social problems dealt with by the councils included assisting poor girls to marry and regulating matchmaking. Communities were directed to care for the fugitives driven from the west in the Thirty Years' War, and from the east of Poland-Lithuania after the Chmielnicki massacres. A nascent class-consciousness broke through sometimes in the ordinances relating to charitable matters: the poor bride was to be provided for – after doing service in a Jewish home. Jews were instructed to preserve modesty in dress and feasting so as to prevent dangerous excess of show. The councils arranged for the collection and dispatch of "money for Ereẓ Israel," and notables who went there were given assistance.

The authority of the councils was also recognized to some extent in Jewish communities outside Poland and Lithuania. The councils were consulted in the *Eybeschuetz-*Emden controversy, while the old established community of Frankfurt sought the advice of the Council of the Four Lands.

The councils' assemblies were brought to an end by a resolution of the Polish Sejm in 1764, which established a different system for collecting the Jewish poll tax. The resolution concluded: "Whereas the comprehensive Jewish poll tax, established by statute in 1717, is abrogated … henceforward there shall be no assemblies, apportionments or other kinds of injunctions, levies or compulsions relating to the Jews as customary hitherto … from Jan. 2, 1765 … we abolish them in perpetuity." The councils did not convene again. A committee authorized by the Sejm met in Warsaw for two years to wind up the commitments of the Council of the Four Lands. A similar committee was appointed for the Lithuanian council. The provincial councils continued to convene ad hoc, but no longer functioned regularly.

The Jews of Poland and Lithuania saw the councils as an expression and symbol of social majesty and political power. After the Chmielnicki massacres Nathan Nata *Hannover depicted them as "the pillar of justice in the Land of Poland, as in the days before the destruction of the Temple in Jerusalem"; "the *parnasim* of the Four Lands were like the Sanhedrin of the Chamber of Hewn Stone (see *Temple) and they had authority to dispense justice to all Israel in the kingdom of Poland, to safeguard the law, to frame ordinances, and to inflict punishment as they saw fit." Idealization though it was, this still reflected the Jewish attitude. When the councils were terminated in 1764, a burning shame was felt that their "captains, the heads of the Lands, have been dispossessed of their mite of greatness, and even this small honor has been taken from Israel." In later generations the councils served as a paradigmatic ideal, and were invested with exemplary qualities, especially by the advocates of Jewish *Autonomism, Simon *Dubnow and his followers, at the end of the 19th and in the 20th centuries. Exponents of this ideology represented the councils as the pilot institution for national organizations of central Jewish autonomy in the Diaspora.

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[Haim Hillel Ben-Sasson]

COURANT, RICHARD (1888–1972), German mathematician. Born in Silesia, Courant studied at the universities of Breslau, Zurich, and Goettingen. He remained at Goettingen as an instructor in mathematics until the outbreak of World War I, when he served in the German army. He taught at Muenster from 1919 to 1920 and then returned to Goettingen as professor of mathematics and director of the mathematics institute. Driven from his chair by the Nazi regime in 1933, Courant taught for a year at Cambridge, England. In 1936 he settled in the United States, becoming professor and head of the department of mathematics at New York University, where he remained until his retirement in 1958. In collaboration with David Hilbert, he developed methods of applying the theories of quantum mechanics to the problems of physics, which are credited with later paving the way for the practical use of electronic computers.

During World War II Courant organized a team of scientific scholars who worked on military projects. After the war he established an institute for mathematics and mechanics at New York University, which developed into one of the largest establishments of its kind in the Western world. In 1958 it was renamed the Courant Institute of Mathematical Sciences, and New York University established a Richard Courant Lectureship in his honor. On the occasion of its inauguration, Niels Bohr observed that "every physicist is in his debt for the vast insight he has given us into mathematical methods for comprehending nature and the physical world." On the occasion of his 60th birthday, a volume of *Studies and Essays* was tendered to him. Courant wrote many scholarly books and papers.

[Sefton D. Temkin]

COURLAND (Ger. **Kurland**), region of West and South Latvia, between the Baltic Sea and Western Dvina River. Throughout the centuries control of this region frequently changed hands and the attitude toward Jewish settlement there varied accordingly. During the 12th century, the local tribes were subdued by the Livonian Knights whose statutes prohibited the presence of Jews within their territories. Jewish tombstones of the 14th century confirm that there were exceptions in the case of individual Jews. The Order could not withstand its external enemies and was liquated in 1561. Under the suzerainty of Poland, Courland became a duchy. The act of surrender of the Order to Poland stipulated that "it is forbidden for the Jews of Livonia to engage in commerce or to lease the collection of taxes"; yet it was impossible to close to them the southern border between Courland and Poland-Lithuania where Jews had settled from the 13th century.

Duchy of Courland

Internal political partition resulted in a varied attitude toward Jewish settlement within the duchy. The region of Piltene, owned by the head of the Church of Courland, was regarded as the bishop's private property. The promise of gain induced him to authorize wealthy Jews to settle there. Because of its geographical position, Jewish merchants also arrived in the region by sea, from Prussia. In 1559 the bishop sold the region to the king of Denmark, who transferred it to his brother, Duke Magnus von Holstein. Piltene thus became a kind of enclave within the duchy of Courland – a situation which resulted in disputes, including military clashes with Poland. In 1585 the region was sold to Poland and two provinces were formed from the area: the province of Piltene with a Jewish population under the jurisdiction of Poland, and the other parts of Courland, where the prohibition of 1561 remained in force. The Jews in the province of Piltene were permitted to found organized communities and engaged in commerce and crafts. Following an alliance between the duke of Courland and the province, the status of the Jews deteriorated, and in 1717 an annual tax of two talers per person was imposed; it was doubled in 1719. Between 1727 and 1738, expulsion decrees were issued, but they were only partially applied. In 1750 the Polish Sejm decided to authorize Jewish residence in the province in exchange for a payment of 1,000 albertustalers. Its collection was entrusted to Jewish tax farmers. In 1783 the tax was fixed at 400 talers and the Sejm published an order on the "maintenance of the civic and economic rights of the Jews" since they paid the taxes levied on them. In 1795 when the province, together with Courland, became part of Russia, the Jews were authorized to register themselves in the merchant guilds and participate in the municipal elections, although without elective rights. In 1817 they were granted the same rights as the other Jews in Courland.

In the parts of Courland outside the province of Piltene, the number of Jews increased during the 17th century. They were regarded as "foreigners" and subjected to open hostility, especially on the part of the merchants and craftsmen, who considered them rivals. The attitude of the nobility was more tolerant: Jews acted as intermediaries in the sale of the agricultural produce of the estates of the landowners, and imported goods which were not locally manufactured; the sums collected from them to authorize their residence, or from fines, enriched the treasuries of the nobility. In times of emergency, even the duke did not refrain from leasing the collection of customs and interest to the Jews – an act which aroused the opposition of the Landtag, the legislative council of the duchy, on which sat delegates of the Church, the nobility, and the towns. In 1713 an expulsion order was issued and Jews who remained despite the order were compelled to pay one taler a day both for themselves and for those who did not pay. In 1719 Jewish residence was authorized in exchange for an annual payment of 400 talers. The payments were not made as agreed, and by 1727 the arrears amounted to 2,000 talers. The collection of these arrears was often a subject of discussion at meetings of the Landtags. Jewish assessors were appointed to collect the tax. In 1730 the residence of Jewish craftsmen and persons engaged in commerce was authorized. This did not prevent the publication of expulsion orders in subsequent years. The situation especially deteriorated in 1760, when the expulsion was brutally carried out. During the last years of the duchy's existence, the question of granting rights to the Jews was a subject of controversial polemics.

Within Czarist Russia (1795–1917)

In 1795, after the third partition of Poland, Courland passed to Russia. The number of Jewish males in Courland numbered 4,581 in 1797. When the Senate in St. Petersburg requested information on the number of Jews, their occupations, and the existing laws with respect to them from the governor of the province, the governor, influenced by the German inhabitants, sent a negative report. The "foreigners" had been living in the region illegally for several centuries; their economic situation was degenerate, and it was doubtful whether they could be transformed into useful citizens. The Senate was not convinced by his conclusions and issued instructions that regulations similar to those applicable in other parts of the country be prepared. In 1799 a law was ratified according to which the Jews of Courland became citizens with the right to reside in the province, to establish communities, and to engage in commerce and crafts. Courland was not included within the *Pale of Settlement in 1804, and the law of 1799 was therefore interpreted as applying only to those Jews who had lived in Courland at the time of its publication and to their descendants. By 1850 the number of Jews had increased to 22,734. Their material situation was unfavorable, and 2,530 persons immigrated to the agricultural colonies of southern Russia in 1840.

With the Russian economic recovery in the second half of the 19th century, the condition of the Jews in Courland improved. Their share in the import and export trade, and in commerce and industry, increased, and many Jews from neighboring areas settled there illegally; under the instructions issued in 1893, they were authorized to remain. The Jewish population of Courland numbered 51,072 (7.6% of the total population) in 1897, and approximately 68,000 on the eve of World War I. Several communities, notably those of Libava (*Liepaja), Mitava (*Jelgava), and Vindava (*Ventspils), were prosperous. Links with nearby Lithuania had some influence on Jewish life in Courland. A number of noted rabbis officiated in communities there; prominent rabbis of *Bauska included Mordecai *Eliasberg and Abraham Isaac *Kook.

In conformity with agreements with the other minorities, Courland sent a Jewish deputy to all the *Dumas which sat during the czarist period. The defeats suffered by the Russian Army during World War I aroused unfounded suspicions that the Jews were involved in treason. This resulted in the expulsion of the Jews from western Courland in May 1915. The number of those expelled to the provinces of the Russian interior reached 40,000. In 1918 Latvia, which included Courland, was proclaimed an independent republic. Some of the refugees and expellees returned, and in 1925 – when the highest Jewish population is recorded in Latvia – the number of Jews in Courland amounted to 22,548, still a decrease of 65% compared with the pre-war figure. For the history of the Jews in Courland from 1918, see *Latvia.

The prolonged duration of Jewish settlement in the same provincial locality, strict observance of Jewish tradition without profound comprehension of its relevance, and German Romantic cultural influences combined to create a specific type of "Courland Jew" who spoke a "Courland Yiddish" vernacular with more German elements.

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[Mendel Bobe]

COURNOS, JOHN (1881–1966), U.S. novelist. Born in Kiev, Cournos was raised in Philidelphia, where he experienced economic hardship. His earliest work of fiction was a trilogy based on his own life: *The Mask* (1919), *The Wall* (1921), and *Babel* (1922). His difficult years were described in his *Autobiography* (1922). Cournos converted to Christianity and in *Open Letter to Jews and Christians* (1938; Brittish edition, *Hear Oh Israel*, 1938) he appealed to other Jews to follow his example.

COURT JEWS (**Court contractors and suppliers**). Medieval princes used the commercial and financial services of individual Jews. However, as an institution, the Court Jew is a feature of the absolutist state, especially in Central Europe, from the end of the 16th century onward. Trying as far as possible to extend his power over the whole of his territory, the ruler set up a centralized administration as part of his court, which at the same time became the power center, presenting a lavish display of luxury. Economically, a Jew could be of great service to such a ruler. In Poland many landed estates were administered by Jews (see *Arenda) and a large part of the trade in agricultural products was in their hands (see *Agriculture). This, combined with the emergence of early Jewish capitalist commercial activity by Sephardim in the *Netherlands, with their connections with Levantine trade through Jews in the Ottoman Empire, made the Jew in Central Europe particularly suited to be an agent for provisioning armies with grain, timber, and cattle, as well as a supplier of diamonds and other goods for conspicuous consumption. As tax-collecting and enlargement of the scope of taxation often lagged considerably behind the growing expenditure of court, army, and bureaucracy, this type of regime developed an almost chronic financial deficit. Here the Jews with their organizational skill and their far-reaching connections could help, through the frequent supply of commercial credit or ready cash, as also through the supply of foodstuffs, cloth, and weapons for the army, the most important instrument of the prince's power. The institution of the Court Jew did not emerge suddenly but developed gradually during the 16th and 17th centuries. Early Court Jews like Michel *Jud and the mintmaster *Lippold were exceptions. Another phase is represented by Jews who were entrepreneurs of the mints during the "*Kipperzeit*" (a period of economic instability at the beginning of the Thirty Years' War, 1618–48, characterized by galloping inflation). The best known of this period, Jacob *Bassevi von Treuenberg of Prague (1570–1634), was the outstanding minting entrepreneur. Several Jews in the Hamburg region maintained close contacts with the courts of the neighborhood, such as Samuel Herscheider with the court of the archbishop of Bremen, Nathan Spanier with the count of Bueckeburg, and Alvaro Dinis with King Christian IV of Denmark. In the Thirty Years' War Jews were employed as army provisioners and spies by both the Swedish and imperial forces. It was only during the second half of the 17th century, with the further evolution of the mercantilist policy and baroque culture of the absolute state, that the Court Jew became a kind of requisite of the princes' court, a member of the group of officials through whom the state or territory was governed. Court Jews were then found in most of the principalities of the Holy Roman Empire, and in some of the adjoining states, such as Poland and Denmark. In some places they lived near the court, and in others the court made use of their services in one of the great commercial centers like Frankfurt or Hamburg. They were given a great variety of titles: *Hofjude, Hoffaktor, Hofprovediteur, Hoflieferant, Hofagent, Kabinettfactor, Proviantlieferant, Kommerzienrat, Kommerziendirektor*, and the higher appellations of *Oberhoffaktor, Obermilizfaktor*, or *Generalprovediteur*; many had titles from several princes. Their rights were similarly various; the chief privileges included a limited official standing, sometimes combined with a salary, direct access to the prince, exemption from the jurisdiction of the rabbinical courts (and submission to the jurisdiction of the royal court – *Hofgericht*), and freedom to travel and settle anywhere in the empire. Their highly varied activities included finance, commerce, and diplomacy, but they were responsible especially for providing the prince and his court with merchandise and money, supplying metal for the mint, provisioning the army, undertaking commercial and diplomatic missions, and investigating proposals for the promotion of trade and industry, e.g., tobacco.

Industrious and often restless, the Court Jews showed a strong drive toward success, both in business and social status, with the allied urge "to assimilate as completely as possible to his environment in speech, dress, and manners" (S. Stern, *Court Jew* (1950), 11). A decidedly dynastic attitude led them to prefer marriages with the families of other Court Jews and to attempt to secure their positions for their descendants, both contributing factors to the tendency of their families to form a particular group within Jewry. The personal relationship between the prince and the Court Jew was based not only on common interests but also on the isolation in which both lived: the prince in his omnipotence and inaccessibility and the Court Jew because of his descent and religion. Thanks to his privileged position, the Court Jew was often able to act as *shtadlan for the Jewish groups; frequently, he was the head of the community and could procure the right to establish new settlements and prepare the way for emancipation. On the other hand, his often adventurous and risky career, necessarily involved with the court intrigues, could end abruptly on the death of the prince, with the gravest consequences for the Court Jew's property, and even life.

Protestant and Catholic princes alike opened their courts to Jews. Among the earliest were Frederick William, elector of Brandenburg from 1540, and Christoph Bernhard von Galen, who was elected prince-bishop of Muenster in 1650. The latter, partly influenced by tolerant motives, was at the same time eager to include the Jews in his mercantilist-expansionist policy: in the 1650s he employed the services of the *Gomperz family on the lower Rhine; Nini Levi was made *Judenbefehlshaber* in 1651, and later Abraham Isaac became Court Jew. In the bishopric of Minden Behrend *Levi gained access to the court. From 1655 Israel Aaron was an army factor in Prussia; he was permitted to live in Berlin in 1663 and two years later became a salaried servant of the court. His widow Esther Schulhoff married Jost *Liebmann, who then succeeded to Israel Aaron's position and supplied the court with jewels. At the same time Simon Model, whose brother-in-law Bonaventura Sachs was influential at the court of Saxony, was Court Jew to the margrave of Ansbach, and Leffmann *Behrends served the court of Hanover; the latter's contribution was instrumental in the elevation of Hanover to an electorate, and he also made substantial loans to the Hapsburgs and other dynasties. Other Court Jews were his cousin Behrend *Lehmann at Halberstadt, who also gave financial assistane to Elector Frederick Augustus II of Saxony, and Aaron Beer at Frankfurt. Behrend Lehmann and his cousin both helped Frederick Augustus of Saxony to gain the throne of Poland, where he also employed Jewish factors. Samuel *Oppenheimer and Samson *Wertheimer made their careers at the imperial court in Vienna, where later they were followed by members of the *Arnstein, *Eskeles, and Pereira families. Emperor Charles VI favored employing Jews in his court; Prince Eugene of Savoy, commander of the Austrian army, depended heavily on Jewish army purveyors. During these decisive years, when Austria rose to the status of a great power through her wars with the Turks, Jewish loans probably accounted for one-third of the annual revenue. The Karlskirche in Vienna was financed by Jewish loans, as was Schoenbrunn Palace built by Maria Theresa. Five generations of the Gomperz family served at the Hohenzollern courts; later, members of the *Ephraim, Isaak, and Itzig families were mint masters. Also influential were Marx Assur, who received the title of *Hoffaktor* in Saxony and Sweden, and Behrend Lehmann's brother-in-law Jonas Meyer, who took up residence in Dresden, where Lehmann's son Lehmann Behrend also lived. The Saxon court probably used the services of the largest number of Jews; around 1707 it had connections with about 20 Jewish jewelers. At the court of Brunswick the David family, especially Alexander David, became firmly established.

As in the south, the greater number of Court Jews came from Frankfurt, so in the north, Hamburg (with Altona and Wandsbek) became a similar center. Various members of both the Sephardi and Ashkenazi communities were in the service of the Danish court, beginning with Alvaro Dinis (Samuel Jachia) at Glueckstadt; later, members of the de Lima and de Casseres families served as factors and financial or diplomatic agents. Gabriel Gomez (Samuel de Casseres) was made *Generalfaktor und Hofprovisor* by Christian IV, retaining his position on the succession of Frederick III and later being appointed *Finanzkommissarius* as well. Diego Teixeira de Sampaio (Abraham Senior) and his son Manuel (Isaac Ḥayyim) served Queen Christiana of Sweden as financial agents and resident ministers. In the service of the crown of Portugal abroad, notwithstanding their religious status, similar positions were held by Duarte Nuñes da Costa (Jacob *Curiel), his son Manuel, and his brother Jeronimo (the latter of Amsterdam), while Manuel Bocarro (Jacob *Rosales) was in the service of Spain, and Daniel and Joshua *Abensur in that of Poland. However, they were employed in diplomatic or consular, rather than financial, functions. From 1683 Jacob Mussafia, a mint master, was Court Jew of Duke Christian Albert of Schleswig-Holstein-Gottorp and later of Duke Frederick IV and his prime minister Wedderkop; he was followed by his son Joseph, who was involved in a famous law suit following the fall of Wedderkop. Other outstanding families of Court Jews in Hamburg were the Fuersts and the Goldschmidts: Samuel Fuerst served Bernhard and Johann Asolf, dukes of Schleswig-Holstein-Sonderburg; Jeremiah Fuerst became Court Jew of Duke Christian Louis of Mecklenburg in 1679 and of Sachsen-Lauenburg; Israel Fuerst served the court of Holstein-Gottorp. Bendix Goldschmidt and the Hindrichsen family were financial associates of the Fuersts; remaining in Hamburg, Goldschmidt became an agent of Goertz and later served the Danish court as a *Kammeragent*, while the Hinrichsen family took up residence in Mecklenburg-Schwerin. Ruben Hinrichsen became the salaried *Hofagent* of Duke Leopold II; Moses Josephs (Moses Wessely) of Glueckstadt was in the service of Peter I of Russia, and at the same time had dealings with the Danish court. All the petty German courts had their Court Jews: there was Moses Benjamin Wulff, Saul Samuel, and Moses Heyman at Weissenfels; Berend Wulff and Assur Marx at Sachsen-Merseburg and Sachsen-Zeitz; Samson von Baiersdorf at Bayreuth; the Van Geldern family at Duesseldorf; Simon Baruch at Kurkoeln; and the Heine family at Bueckeburg. Noah Samuel Isaac of Sulzbach, who helped finance the marriage of the Wittelsbach prince-elector Charles Albert to Princess Maria Amalia of Austria in 1722, was at the same time a banker of the elector of Cologne and of the Teutonic Order.

Joseph Suess *Oppenheimer, court factor of Duke Charles Alexander of Wuerttemberg, had dealings with many other rulers, including the elector of Cologne, the landgraf of Hesse, and the elector of the Palatinate, but it was in Wuerttemberg where his financial influence reached its peak. At the same time, he saw possibilities of political action which would transform the duchy into a modern absolutist state based on mercantilist principles. He failed, however, and was executed in 1738. By then the zenith of the Court Jew had already passed. Although Jews served the German courts as mint entrepreneurs well into the first half of the 19th century, in general, the French Revolution and the Napoleonic Wars, which gave rise to wide-ranging changes in patterns of finance, commerce, and international trade, put an end to the epoch of the Court Jews.

In all their varied activities, the Court Jews played a remarkable part in the development of international credit facilities especially in the Central European states and to some degree in northern Europe also, from the mid-17th to late-18th centuries. Generally, they were agents who arranged transfers of credit rather than possessors of vast capital in their own right; through their far-reaching commercial relationships and their organizing skill, they were able to provide funds more swiftly than most Christian bankers. Because of their specialization in the money business, they were able to furnish the silver for the mints more easily and could better act as army purveyors, once more because of their ability to organize and their network of family relationships. With their entrepreneurial spirit, they contributed in part to the process of industrialization within the frame of mercantilist policies. There is no doubt that they were instrumental in the growth of the modern absolute state, and at the end of the era there emerged a group of several important Jewish private bankers (see *Banking and *Bankers) who exemplify the transition to modern methods of economy and government, primarily the Rothschilds, the Goldschmidts, the Oppenheimers, and the Seligmanns. However, it should not be forgotten that the courts had their Christian bankers, entrepreneurs, and army agents, too, who also played a part in this development.

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[Hermann Kellenbenz]

COUTINHO (also **Cotinio**, **Cothino**, **Cotinsio**, **Cutinho**, etc.), Portuguese *Marrano family, branches of which settled in Amsterdam, Hamburg, Brazil, and Jamaica in the 17th and 18th centuries. Notable among the Amsterdam branch were MOSES BEN ABRAHAM MENDES COUTINHO who in 1696 bought the printing house of David de *CastroTartas, which he owned until 1711. Among the works he printed was an edition of the Torah with the Targum Onkelos and Rashi's commentary, in 5,000 copies; SEBASTIAN COUTINHO (17th century) was one of the largest importers of sugar from Portugal and England in the 17th century; FRANCISCO DE SOUSA COUTINHO was representative of the king of Portugal in Holland and took part in an embassy sent by the king to the Scandinavian countries in 1641. The Amsterdam Jewish journal *Neiuwsblad voor Israëliten* was published by the firm S.M. Coutinho Jr. between 1884 and 1894.

GONSALVO LOPES COUTINHO (17th century) was among the first Portuguese Jewish settlers in *Glueckstadt near Hamburg, where he established a sugar refinery, an oil mill, and a soap factory. The brothers Abendana of Hamburg were sons of Manoel Pereira Coutinho of Lisbon, five of whose daughters were nuns in a convent in that city. The family HENRIQUEZ CUTINHO was among 12 Jewish families who settled in Curaçao 16 years after the Dutch conquest in 1634. LOURENÇA COUTINHO, the mother of the poet Antonio José da *Silva, was arrested by the Inquisition in Rio de Janeiro in 1713 as a Judaizer and taken to Lisbon. She was again arrested in 1737, and subsequently died in prison.

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COVENANT, a general obligation concerning two parties. It was confirmed either by an oath (Gen. 21:22ff.; 26:26ff.; Deut. 29:9ff.; Josh. 9:15–20; II Kings 11:4; Ezek. 16:8; 17:33ff.), by a solemn meal (Gen. 26:30; 31:54; Ex. 24:11; II Sam. 2:20), by sacrifices (Ex. 24:4ff.; Ps. 50:5), or by some other dramatic act such as dividing of an animal and the passing of the parties between the portions (Gen. 15:9ff.; Jer. 34:18ff.). The etymology of the Hebrew word *berit* is uncertain. Most probably it was used in the sense of binding (cf. Akkadian *birītu*, "fetter"), since the terms for covenant in Akkadian (*riksu*) and in Hittite (*išḫiul*) also signify binding. Hebrew has two additional terms for covenant, *ʿedut* (cf. the parallel terms *luḥot ha-ʿedut* and *luḥot ha-berit*) and *ʾalah*. These also have their counterparts in the cognate languages: *ʿdy[ʾ]* in old Aramaic (Sefire) and *adê* in Akkadian on the one hand, and *lʾt* in Phoenician, *māmītu* in Akkadian, and *lingai* in Hittite on the other. *ʾAlah* and the corresponding terms in Akkadian and Hittite connote an oath which actually underlies the covenantal deed. The terms *berit* and *ʾalah* often occur together (Gen. 26:28; Deut. 29:11, 13, 20; Ezek. 16:59; 17:18), rendering the idea of a binding oath, as does the Akkadian hendiadys *adê māmīt* or *adê u māmīte*. For concluding a covenant the Bible uses the expression "cut (*karat*) a covenant." The same idiom is used in Aramaic treaties in connection with *ʿdyʾ* (cf. *gzrʿdyʾ* in the Sefire treaties) and in a Phoenician document in connection with *lʾt* (cf. the incantation from Arslan Tash). It is quite possible that this idiom derives from the ceremony accompanying the covenant, viz., cutting an animal. The expressions *hekim* (*heqim*) *berit* and *natan berit* should not be considered synonyms of *karat berit*, used by different sources. The first term means "to fulfill a covenant (already made)"; the second signifies "the voluntary granting of special privileges."

Covenants are established between individuals (Gen. 21:22ff.; 31:44ff.; I Sam. 18:3; 23:18), between states or their representatives (II Sam. 3:13, 21; I Kings 5:26; 15:19; 20:34), between kings and their subjects (II Sam. 5:3; II Kings 11:4, 17), and also between husband and wife (Ezek. 16:8; Mal. 2:14; Prov. 2:17). The term is used figuratively in a covenant between men and animals (Job. 5:23; 40:28; cf. Hos. 2:20) and also a covenant with death (Isa. 28:15, 18). The covenant does not always constitute a mutual agreement; sometimes it represents a relationship in which a more powerful party makes a pact with an inferior one freely and out of good will. In this case the superior party takes the inferior under his protection, on condition that the latter remain loyal to him. The covenant of the Israelites with the *Gibeonites (Josh. 9) and the covenant requested by the people of Jabesh-Gilead (I Sam. 11:1–2) from the king of *Ammon belong to this category. That the covenant of the Israelites with the *Canaanite population was of a similar nature is shown in Deuteronomy 7:1–2: "When the Lord your God brings you to the land… and delivers them [the Canaanites] to you and you defeat them, you must doom them to destruction: do not cut a covenant with them [*loʿ tikhrot lahem berit*] and do not be gracious to them." J. Begrich (see bibl.) observed that this type of covenant is distinguished by the form "to cut a covenant to somebody," *karat berit le* –, in contrast with the other type of covenant which is phrased as "to cut a covenant with somebody," *karat berit ʿim*. Another type of covenant is that established through the mediation of a third party, especially when a covenant with the Deity is involved. Thus Moses (Ex. 24) and Joshua (Josh. 24) mediate the covenant between God and Israel. The priest *Jehoiada fulfills the same function (II Kings 11:17), when he serves as a mediator in a double covenant: that between God and king plus people on the one hand and between the king and the people on the other (apparently because the king was still a minor). Another example of this kind is mentioned in Hosea 2:20 where God is to establish a covenant between the people and the beasts of the earth, etc.

Sometimes the covenant is accompanied by an external sign or token to remind the parties of their obligations (cf. Gen. 21:30; 31:44–45; 52; Josh. 24:27, etc.). The "sign of the covenant," *ʾot berit*, is especially characteristic of the Priestly source of the Pentateuch. The *Sabbath, the *rainbow, and *circumcision are the "signs" of the three great covenants established by God at the three critical stages of the history of mankind: the *Creation (Gen. 1:1–2:3; cf. Ex. 31:16–17), the renewal of mankind after the *Flood (Gen. 9:1–17), and the beginning of the Hebrew nation. Circumcision came to be regarded in Jewish tradition as the most distinctive sign of the covenant, and is known as *berit milah* – "the covenant of circumcision."

The Covenant between God and Israel

The covenant par excellence in the Bible is that between God and Israel. Until recently this has been considered a relatively late idea (cf. J. Wellhausen). But S. Mowinckel (*Le Décalogue*, 1927), adopting the form-critical approach and *Sitz im Leben* method of investigation, concluded that it reflected an annual celebration involving a theophany and proclamation of the law. His arguments were based mainly on Psalms 50:5 ff. and Psalms 81, where theophany is combined with covenant-making and decalogue formulas (cf. Ps. 50:7, 18–19; 81:10–11). He was followed by A. Alt (see bibl.) who argued that the so-called apodictic law had been recited at the Feast of Tabernacles at the beginning of the year of release (cf. Deut. 31:10–13) and that this periodical convocation was a solemn undertaking by the congregation which is reflected in the Sinai covenant. G. von Rad (see bibl.) inquiring into the significance of the peculiar structure of Deuteronomy – history (ch. 1–11), laws (12:1–26:15), mutual obligations (26:16–19), and blessings and curses (ch. 27–29) – suggested that this structure, and similarly that of the Sinai covenant – history (Ex. 19:4–6), law (20:1–23:19), promises and threats (3:20–23), conclusion of the covenant (24:1–11) – reflects the procedure of a covenant ceremony. This opened with a recital of history, proceeded with the proclamation of the law – accompanied by a sworn obligation –and ended with blessings and curses. Since according to Deuteronomy 27 (cf. Josh. 8:30–35) the blessings and curses had to be recited between Mounts Gerizim and Ebal, von Rad identified Shechem as the scene of the periodic covenant renewal in ancient Israel.

Although no real evidence for a covenant festival has been discovered so far, the observation made by von Rad that the literary structure of Deuteronomy and Exodus 19–24 reflects a covenantal procedure has been confirmed by subsequent investigations. It has become clear that the covenant form, as presented in these texts and especially in Deuteronomy, was in use for centuries in the ancient Near East. G. Mendenhall in 1954 found that the Hittite treaty has a structure identical with that of the biblical covenant. The basic common elements are: titular descriptions; historical introduction, which served as a motivation for the vassal's loyalty; stipulation of the treaty; a list of divine witnesses; blessings and curses; and recital of the treaty and deposit of its tablets. The Sinai covenant described in Exodus 19–24 has indeed a similar structure, although it is not completely identical. Thus, the divine address in chapter 19 opens with a historical introduction stressing the grace of God toward the people and its election (19:4–6), followed by the law (23:20–33), and finally the ratification of the covenant by means of a cultic ceremony and the recital of the covenant document (24:3–8).

Admittedly the analogy is not complete, since what is found in Exodus 19–24 is not a treaty, as in the Hittite documents, but rather a narrative about the conclusion of a covenant. Nevertheless, it is clear that the narrative is organized and arranged in line with the treaty pattern, which emerges in a much clearer fashion in Deuteronomy. This book, which is considered by its author as one organic literary creation (cf. the expression *Sefer ha-Torah ha-zeh*, "this Book of Teaching") and represents the covenant of the plains of Moab, follows the classical pattern of treaties in the Ancient Near East. Unlike the Sinai covenant in Exodus, which has no list of blessings and curses, Deuteronomy (like the treaties and especially those of the first millennium B.C.E.) has an elaborate series of blessings and curses and likewise provides for witnesses to the covenant, "heaven and earth" (4:26; 30:19), which are missing altogether in the first four books of the Pentateuch. Deuteronomy also makes explicit references to the deposit of the tablets of the covenant and the book of the Law in the divine Ark (10:1–5; 31:25–26). The Ark was considered in ancient Israel as the footstool of the Deity (the cherubim constituting the throne), and it was indeed at the feet of the gods that the treaty documents had to be kept according to Hittite legal tradition. As in the Hittite treaties, Deuteronomy commands the periodical recital of the Law before the public (31:9–13) and prescribes that the treaty be read before the king or by him (17:18–19).

The historical prologue in Deuteronomy (1–11) recalls to a great extent the historical prologue in Hittite state treaties. In this section the Hittite suzerain recounts the development of the relationship between him and the vassal, specifying, for example, the commitments and the promises of the overlord to the vassal's ancestors. This theme is echoed in Deuteronomy's recurring references to the promise made to the Patriarchs (4:37–38; 7:8; 9:5). The prologue also dwells on the insubordination of the vassal's ancestors and its consequences, a feature expressed in the historical introduction of Deuteronomy which deals fully with the rebelliousness of the generation of the desert. The Hittite historical prologue frequently refers to the land given to the vassal by the suzerain and its boundaries, a theme fully elaborated in Deuteronomy (3:8 ff.). In a fashion similar to the Hittite sovereign, who urges the vassal to take possession of the given land, "See I gave you the Zippašla mountain land, occupy it" (Madduwataš, in: *Mitteilungen der vorderasiatisch-aegyptischen Gesellschaft* (= MVAG), 32 (1927), 17, 19, 46), God says in Deuteronomy: "I have placed the land at your disposal, go take possession of it" (1:8, 21). In this context the Hittite king warns the vassal not to trespass beyond the set boundaries. Thus for example, Muršiliš II says to Manapa-Dattaš: "Behold I have given you the Seḫa-river-land… but unto Mašḫuiluwaš I have given the land Mira… whereas unto Targašnalliš I have given the land Ḫapalla" (MVAG, 30 (1926), no. 3:3; MVAG, 34 (1930), no. 4:10–11). The historical prologue similarly states: "See, I place the land at your disposal" (1:21), "I have given the hill country of Seir as a possession to Esau" (2:5), "I have given Ar as a possession to the descendants of Lot" (2:9), "I have given [the land of the Ammonites] as a possession to the descendants of Lot" (2:19). The purpose of these reminders is to justify the command forbidding the trespass of the fixed borders of these nations.

Analogies have been drawn mostly from Hittite treaties as these have been preserved in fairly large numbers and in relatively good condition. However, the few treaties known from the first millennium B.C.E., i.e., the Aramaic treaty from Sefire, the treaty of Ashur-Nirâri V with Mati'el of Bīt-Agushi, and the treaty of Esarhaddon with his eastern vassals, do not differ in principle from those of the Hittites, and it seems in fact that there was a continuity in the treaty pattern for approximately 800 years. This might explain the fact that in a late book, according to the documentary hypothesis, like Deuteronomic elements are preserved which also occur in the Hittite treaties from the 14th–13th centuries B.C.E. In spite of this continuity, careful analysis reveals certain significant differences between the treaties of the second millennium and those of the first. This applies to the political treaties in the ancient Near East as well as to the theological covenants in Israel. While the Hittite treaties and similarly the Sinai covenant have a very short list of curses, those of the first millennium and the covenant in Deuteronomy have long lists. Furthermore, Deuteronomy has preserved in chapter 28 a series of curses which has an exact parallel in the Neo-Assyrian treaty Esarhaddon made with his eastern vassals regarding the coronation of his son Ashurbanipal (concluded in 672 B.C.E.). An investigation of these curses has shown that their origin is to be sought in Assyria, since their order can be explained by the hierarchy of the Assyrian pantheon while the order in Deuteronomy has no satisfactory explanation (see M. Weinfeld, *Biblica*, see bibl.). It has been supposed that a series of Assyrian treaty curses was incorporated into the section of curses in Deuteronomy, thereby making it clear that the pledge of loyalty to the Assyrian emperor had been henceforward replaced by the pledge to YHWH, a transfer which is to be understood against the background of *Josiah's liberation from Assyrian dominion. The shift of fealty, as it were, from one suzerain to another may also explain the striking similarity between the laws of sedition in Deuteronomy 13 and the warnings against sedition in the treaties of the first millennium B.C.E. and particularly in those of Esarhaddon with his vassals; compare also the Aramaic treaty of Sefire. Like the vassal treaties of Esarhaddon, Deuteronomy 13 warns against a prophet inciting rebellion and against any member of the family conspiring to break faith with the overlord. In the Aramaic treaty from Sefire there is a clause concerning a rebellious city which, like Deuteronomy 13, commands its destruction by the sword. In both sources the wording is almost identical: והן קריה הא נכה תכוה בחרב, "and if it is a city, you must strike it with a sword" in the Sefire treaty, and הכה תכה את ישבי העיר ההיא לפי חרב, "you must strike the inhabitants of this city with the sword" in Deuteronomy 13:16. Furthermore, the exhortations to keep faith with God in Deuteronomy are very close in form and style to the exhortations in the political treaties. As has been shown by W.L. Moran, the concept of "love of God" in Deuteronomy actually expresses loyalty, and it is in this sense that "love" occurs in the political documents of the Ancient Near East. The Book of Deuteronomy abounds in terms originating in the diplomatic vocabulary of the ancient Near East. Such expressions as: "to follow with the whole heart and with the whole soul," "to hearken to the voice of," "to be perfect with," "to go after," "to serve," "to fear (to revere)," "to put the words in one's heart," "not to turn right or left," etc. are found in diplomatic letters and state treaties of the second and first millennia B.C.E. and are especially prominent in the vassal treaties of Esarhaddon, which are contemporaneous with Deuteronomy. The scene of the concluding of the Josian covenant in II Kings 23:1–3 and the scene of the concluding of the covenant in Deuteronomy 29:9–14 are presented in a manner which is very close to the descriptions of the treaty ceremonies in Neo-Assyrian documents. The section stipulating the perpetual validity of the covenant occurs twice, both in the Esarhaddon treaty and in the Deuteronomy covenant, before the conditions and after them. The end of chapter 29 in Deuteronomy reads: "And the generations to come… and the foreigners… will ask 'Why did the Lord do thus to this land?…' and they will be told: 'Because they forsook the covenant of the Lord'" (21–24). The theme of self-condemnation (Deut. 29:21–24) is also encountered in the Neo-Assyrian texts in connection with a breach of a treaty. Thus the annals of Ashurbanipal state: "The people of Arabia asked one another saying: 'Why is it that such evil has befallen Arabia?' and they answered: 'Because we did not observe the valid covenant sworn to the god of Ashur'" (Rassam Cylinder, 9:68–72).

The difference between the Deuteronomy covenant, which reflects the treaty pattern of the first millennium B.C.E., and the earlier covenants reflecting the pattern of the second millennium will be appreciated if the covenant ceremonies in Genesis and Exodus are compared with that of Deuteronomy. The patriarchal covenants, secular and religious alike (Gen. 15:9ff.; 21:22ff.; 26:26ff.; 31:44ff.), and the Sinai covenant (Ex. 24:1–11) are validated by sacrifices and holy meals, similar to the covenants of the third and second millennia B.C.E. In the Deuteronomy covenant, on the other hand, as in the contemporary Assyrian and Aramaic treaty documents, it is the oath which validates the covenant and no mention is made of a sacrifice or meal (cf. especially Deut. 29:9ff.).

The Covenant with Abraham and David

Aside from the covenant between God and Israel described in Exodus and Deuteronomy, two covenants of a different type are found in the Bible. These are the covenant with *Abraham (Gen. 15, 17) and the covenant with *David (II Sam. 7; cf. Ps. 89), which are concerned respectively with the gift of the land and the gift of kingship and dynasty. In contradistinction to the Mosaic covenants, which are of an obligatory type, the Abrahamic-Davidic covenants belong to the promissory type. God swears to Abraham to give the land to his descendants and similarly promises to David to establish his dynasty without imposing any obligations on them. Although their loyalty to God is presupposed, it is not made a condition for God's keeping His promise. On the contrary, the Davidic promise as formulated in the vision of Nathan (II Sam. 7) contains a clause in which the unconditional nature of the gift is explicitly stated (II Sam. 7:13–15). By the same token, the covenant with the Patriarchs is considered as valid forever (*ʿad ʿolam*). Even when Israel sins and is to be severely punished, God intervenes to help because He "will not break his covenant" (Lev. 26:43).

In the same way as the obligatory covenant in Israel is modeled on the suzerain-vassal type of treaty so the promissory covenant is modeled on the royal grant. The royal grants in the Ancient Near East as well as the covenants with Abraham and David are gifts bestowed upon individuals who distinguished themselves in loyal service to their masters. Abraham is promised the land because he obeyed God and followed His mandate (Gen. 26:5; cf. 22:16–18), and similarly David is rewarded with dynastic posterity because he served God with truth, righteousness, and loyalty (I Kings 3:6; 9:4; 11:4, 6; 14:8; 15:3). The terminology employed in this context is very close to that used in the Assyrian grants. Thus the grant of Ashurbanipal to his servant reads: "Balta… whose heart is whole to his master, stood before me with truthfulness, walked in perfection in my palace…. and kept the charge of my kingship… I considered his good relations with me and established [therefore] his gi[f]t." Identical formulations are to be found in connection with the promises to Abraham and David. With regard to Abraham it is said that "he kept my charge" (Gen. 26:5), "walked before God" (24:40; 48:15), and is expected "to be perfect" (17:1). David's loyalty to God is couched in phrases which are even closer to the Assyrian grant terminology: "he walked before the Lord in truth, loyalty, and uprightness of heart" (I Kings 3:6), "followed the Lord with all his heart" (I Kings 14:8), etc. Land and "house" (i.e., dynasty), the subjects of the Abrahamic and Davidic covenants, are the most prominent gifts of the suzerain in the Hittite and Syro-Palestine examples; like the Hittite grants, the grant of land to Abraham and "house" to David are unconditional. Thus, the Hittite king says to his vassal: "After you, your son and grandson will possess it, nobody will take it away from them; if one of your descendants sins, the king will prosecute him… but nobody will take away either his house or his land in order to give it to a descendant of somebody else." The promises to Abraham and David, which were originally unconditional, were understood as conditional only at a later stage of Israelite history. The exile of northern Israel appeared to refute the claim to eternity of the Abrahamic covenant, and therefore it was stressed that the covenant is eternal only if the donee keeps faith with the donor. A similar interpretation is given to the Davidic covenant in the Books of Kings (I Kings 2:4; 8:25; 9:4–5).

Covenant Theology

Long before the parallel between the Israelite covenant and the Ancient Near Eastern treaty had been brought to light, W. Eichrodt recognized the importance of the covenant idea in the religion of Israel, seeing in the Sinai covenant a point of departure for understanding Israel's religion. Eichrodt explains that basic phenomena like the kingship of God, revelation, the liberation from myth, the personal attitude to God, etc. are to be explained against the background of the covenant. The discovery of the treaty pattern in the Ancient Near East strengthened this hypothesis, new developments in covenant research throwing light on the idea of the kingship of God. It now becomes clear that God as King of Israel is not an idea born during the period of the monarchy, as scholars used to think, but, on the contrary, is one of the most genuine and most ancient doctrines of Israel. In the period of the judges the tribes resisted kingship because of the prevailing belief that God was the real King of Israel and that the proclamation of an earthly king would constitute a betrayal. This is clearly expressed in Gideon's reply to the people's offer of kingship (Judg. 8:22–23), but is even more salient in Samuel's denunciation of the request for a king (I Sam. 8:6–7; 10:18ff.; 12:17). Earthly kingship in Israel was finally accepted, but this was the outcome of a compromise: David's kingship was conceived as granted to him by the Great Suzerain (II Sam. 7, see above). The king and the people alike were thus considered as vassals of God, the real Overlord (I Sam. 12:14, 24–25; II Kings 11:17).

It seems that this suzerain-vassal outlook has its roots in the political actuality of the period of the judges. As is well known, Syria-Palestine of the second half of the second millennium B.C.E. was dominated by two great political powers, the Egyptian and the Hittite empires, in turn. Either the king of Egypt or the king of the Hittites was overlord of the petty kingdoms in the area. The lands and the kingdoms of the latter were conceived as feudal grants bestowed on them by the great suzerain, in exchange for the obligation of loyalty to the master. Israel's concept of its relationship with God had a similar basis. The Israelites believed that they owed their land and royal dynasty to their suzerain, God. Furthermore, as the relationship between the suzerain and the vassal has to be based on a written document, i.e., a treaty, so the relationship between God and Israel had to be expressed in written form. It is not surprising, therefore, that the tablets of the covenant played so important a role in the religion of Israel. As already noted, the tablets had to be deposited in the sanctuary at the feet of the deity, a procedure known from the Hittite treaties. Moreover, it appears that, as in the judicial sphere, the written document expresses the validity of the given relationship. When the covenant is no longer in force the document must be destroyed. Thus the worship of the golden calf, which signifies the breaking of the covenant, is followed by the breaking of the tablets by Moses, the mediator of the covenant (Ex. 32). Indeed, the term for canceling a contract in Babylonian legal literature is "to break the tablet" (*tuppam ḫepū*). Following the judicial pattern, the renewal of the relationship must be effected by writing new tablets, which explains why new ones had to be written after the sin of the golden calf, and why the ritual decalogue was repeated in Exodus 34:17–26 (cf. Ex. 23:10–19). Renewal of a covenant with a vassal – after a break in the relationship – – by means of writing new tablets is an attested fact in Hittite political life.

The Covenant in Prophecy

This new examination of the covenant elucidates basic phenomena in Israel's prophetic literature. The admonitory speeches of the prophets are often formulated in the style of a lawsuit (Isa. 1:2ff.; Jer. 2:4ff; Hos. 4:1ff.; Micah 6:1ff.). God sues the people of Israel in the presence of witnesses such as heaven and earth, and mountains (Isa. 1:2; Micah 6:1–2), witnesses which also appear in the Ancient Near Eastern treaties and in the Deuteronomy covenant. International strife in the Ancient Near East provides parallels to prophetic denunciations; for example, before going out to battle with the Babylonian king Kaštiliaš, the Assyrian king accuses the latter of betrayal and violation of the treaty between them, and as proof he reads the treaty in a loud voice before the god Šamaš. In a similar way the prophetic lawsuit represents God's accusation of Israel before He proceeds to destroy the people for violating the covenant. This is clearly expressed in Amos 4:6–11, where a series of punishments, similar to those enumerated in Leviticus 26, is proclaimed, in the nature of a warning, before the final judgment or encounter (cf. Amos 4:12: "Be ready to meet your God, O Israel"). The warnings in Israelite prophecy are reminiscent of the curses in the Ancient Near Eastern treaties. Thus the calamities predicted in the prose sermons of Jeremiah are paralleled in contemporary treaty literature. The most prominent curses are (1) corpses devoured by the birds of heaven and the beasts of the earth; (2) cessation of joyful sounds; (3) exile; (4) desolation of the land and its becoming a habitation for animals; (5) dishonoring of the dead; (6) children being eaten by their parents; (7) the drinking of poisonous water and the eating of wormwood; and (8) cessation of the sound of the millstones and the light of the oven (or the candle). The treaty curses aim to portray the calamities that will befall the vassal as a consequence of his violation of the treaty. This is usually expressed through literary similes and also by a dramatic enactment of the punishment which will be visited on the transgressor. Both devices were in fact employed by the prophets. In the prophetic literature also the similes are drawn from various spheres of life, as for example Amos 2:3; 3:12; 5:19; 9:9. The dramatization of the punishment is also very close in form and content to the dramatic enactment in the treaties; compare, for example, the Sefire treaty, "As this calf is cleft so may Matiʾel and his nobles be cleft," which is reminiscent of Jeremiah 20:2–4; 34:18 – "I will make the men who have transgressed my covenant… [like] the calf which they cut in two and passed between its parts."

The Origin of the Covenant

The idea of a covenant between a deity and a people is unknown from other religions and cultures. It seems that the covenantal idea was a special feature of the religion of Israel, the only one to demand exclusive loyalty and preclude the possibility of dual or multiple loyalties; so the stipulation in political treaties demanding exclusive fealty to one king corresponds strikingly with the religious belief in one single, exclusive deity.

The prophets, especially *Hosea, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel, expressed this idea of exclusive loyalty by speaking of the relationship between God and Israel as one of husband and wife, which in itself is also considered covenantal (cf. above and especially Ezek. 16:8). Although the idea of marital love between God and Israel is not mentioned explicitly in the Pentateuch, it seems to be present in a latent form. Following other gods is threatened by the statement: "For I the Lord your God am a jealous God" (Ex. 20:5; Deut. 5:9; cf. Ex. 34:14; Josh. 24:19). The root (קנא, *qnʾ*, "jealous") is in fact used in Numbers 5:14 in the technical sense of a husband who is jealous of his wife. Similarly the verb used in the Pentateuch for disloyalty is *zanah ʾaḥarei*, "to whore after." Furthermore, the formula expressing the covenantal relationship between God and Israel, "you will be my people and I will be your God" (Lev. 26:12; Deut. 29:12, etc.), is a legal formula taken from the sphere of marriage, as attested in various legal documents from the Ancient Near East (cf. Hos. 2:4). The relationship of the vassal to his suzerain or of the wife to her husband leaves no place for double loyalty, and they are therefore perfect metaphors for loyalty in a monotheistic religion.

The concept of the kingship of God in Israel also seems to have contributed to the conception of Israel as the vassal of God. It is true that the idea of the kingship of God was prevalent throughout the Ancient Near East; nevertheless, there is an important difference between the Israelite notion of divine kingship and the corresponding belief of other nations. Israel adopted the idea long before establishing the human institution of kingship. Consequently, for hundreds of years the only kingship recognized and institutionalized in Israel was the kingship of God. During the period of the judges YHWH was actually the King of Israel (cf. Judg. 8:23; 1 Sam. 8:7; 10:19) and was not, as in other religions of the Ancient Near East, the image of the earthly king.

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[Moshe Weinfeld]

COVETOUSNESS, condemned and prohibited in the tenth commandment of the Decalogue (Ex. 20:14; Deut. 5:18), and throughout the Bible and Jewish ethical literature, particularly in the Book of Proverbs (e.g., 3:31, 14:30, etc.). Since envy may be defined as a state of mind which wishes to change existing relations, there is an inherent relationship between the condemnation of covetousness and the maintenance of established social and economic conditions. Greed is regarded as the root of all social injustice (see Micah 2:1 ff.; Hab. 2:9, etc.). The talmudic rabbis and medieval thinkers as well as modern scholars argue, for example, that the tenth commandment summarizes all the previous ones (Pes. 107a ff.; Meg. 6; Naḥmanides' commentary on Ex. 20:14, etc.), because it is envy which leads to all the other sins. Avot 4:2 states that desire causes covetousness, which leads to robbery and tyranny (see also *ibid.*, 2:11, 28; Mekh. to Ex. 20:14; BM 107, etc.). In the 20th century, too, Hermann *Cohen repeated that greed causes envy which, in turn, causes hate, that leads to war (*Religion der Vernunft aus den Quellen des Judentums* (1929), 522). Since there is no limit to the objects of greed, envy is never sated, but is rather self-aggravating (Prov. 27:20; Eccles. 5:9; Eccles. R. 1:34; Ibn Ezra's commentary on Ex. 20:14, etc.), which explains the ethical warning that covetousness leads to the self-destruction of the one prey to it (Prov. 28:22; Sanh. 106; Sot. 9a). The cure for limitless greed lies in contentment and humbleness (Avot 4:1: "Who is rich? He who delights in his share"). Jewish tradition acknowledges, however, that the final abolition of envy will occur only with the advent of the messianic, i.e., the totally just society (see M.Ḥ. Luzzatto, *Mesillat Yesharim*, ch. 11, based on Isa. 11:13).

[Steven S. Schwarzschild]

COVILHÃ, city in central Portugal. A Jewish community existed there from the middle of the 12th century until 1496–97. A rabbi, called *ouvidor,* appointed by the **Arraby Mor* for the province of Beira Alta, resided in Covilhã. After 1497 Covilhã became an important Crypto-Jewish center. In 1543 a large *auto-da-fé was held in Covilhã with many judaizers sentenced to the stake. A number of the Crypto-Jewish families of Covilhã, such as the Mendes, De *Castro, Sousa, *Pinto, *Seixas, and *Mesquita families, emigrated from Portugal to other Western European countries, the Netherlands and England, where they returned to Judaism. The governor of Brazil in 1549 was Tomé de Sousa. The ambassador of Portugal in London in 1643 was Antonio de Sousa. Another important Crypto-Jewish family from Covilhã was that of Silvas. Some of the Silvas today live as Jews. During the civil wars in Portugal from 1806 to 1830, the Crypto-Jews of Covilhã were persecuted by the clergy, which suspected them, with good reason, of supporting the liberal side. It was stated that a Jewish community was established there at that time with its own rabbi. Due to the activities of A.C. de *Barros Basto and S. *Schwarz, many New Christians openly returned to Judaism under the republican government in the 1920s. The third community to be established in the country was in Covilhã (July 1929), where there were reported to be 6,000 Crypto-Jews. According to Slouschz, about a third of the city's population was of New Christian origin. Many of them still lived in what used to be the Jewish quarter before the forced conversions of 1497. A synagogue was established there named Sha'arei Kabbalah ("The Gates of Tradition"). With the establishment of the dictatorship in 1932 Jewish missionary activity among the descendants of crypto-Jews decreased in Covilhã as elsewhere in Portugal.

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COVO, family originating from Covo near Milan, which produced many rabbis who flourished mainly at Salonika. Among the most important are the following: (1) JUDAH (d. 1636), rabbi of Salonika. For the privilege of residing in Salonika the leaders of that community had undertaken to pay the Turkish authorities a special annual tax. Owing to the difficulty of finding the sum in cash, the authorities had agreed to accept in lieu clothes manufactured by Jewish craftsmen. Year by year a delegation of leaders of the community brought quantities of clothes to Constantinople where they were publicly sold and the proceeds made over to the authorities. In 1636 R. Judah headed the delegation. Because the clothes brought that year were regarded by government officials as inadequate in quantity and in value, R. Judah was summarily put to death and the other members of the delegation imprisoned and cruelly punished (Rosanes. Togarmah, 3 (1937/38), 396–8). (2) ELIJAH (d. 1689), rabbi and *rosh yeshivah* at Salonika. He was the author of *Aderet Eliyahu*, responsa and halakhic decisions. Together with those of Joshua Handali, they were published under the title *Shenei ha-Me'orot ha-Gedolim* (Constantinople, 1739). (3) JOSEPH BEN SHEMAIAH (d. 1727), chief rabbi of Salonika. He wrote a letter in support of the Shabbatean Nehemiah *Ḥayon, and was the author of *Givot Olam* (Salonika, 1784), responsa and homilies. (4) JOSEPH HEZEKIAH BEN ISAAC (d. 1762), rabbi at Salonika. Toward the end of his life he immigrated to Ereẓ Israel. He was the author of *Ben Porat Yosef* (Salonika, 1797) on the Shulḥan Arukh. On several occasions he traveled abroad on missions for Jerusalem. He was the father of (7), but is identified by some as father of (6). (5) RAPHAEL ḤAYYIM ABRAHAM (d. 1792), chief rabbi of Salonika from 1772. He wrote *Ḥayyei Abraham* (Salonika, n. d.), consisting of responsa on Jacob b. Asher's *Tur.* (6) ISAAC BEN HEZEKIAH JOSEPH called BEKHOR (d. 1807), *dayyan*. From Salonika he went to Jerusalem where he studied Talmud under Samuel Meyuḥas, the author of *Peri ha-Adamah*. He later became a member of Yom Tov Algazi's *bet din*. His signature appears on halakhic rulings, and on the *takkanot* of Jerusalem. (7) ISAAC BEN JOSEPH HEZEKIAH, called MORENU (1770–1854). In 1805 he went to Turkey as an emissary of Jerusalem. In his old age he returned to Ereẓ Israel and in 1848 was appointed *hakham bashi* in Jerusalem. In 1854, at the age of 83, he set out as an emissary of Jerusalem to Egypt and died in Alexandria. On an earlier mission he visited Germany. His writings have remained in manuscript. A brochure by him, entitled *Degel Maḥaneh* on the *Maḥaneh Efrayim* of Ephraim Navon, was published in the *Ateret Zahav* (vol. 2, Jerusalem, 1898) of Isaac Badhav. (8) RAPHAEL ASHER (1799–1875), chief rabbi and *rosh yeshivah* at Salonika. He was the author of responsa *Sha'ar Aḥer* (2 pts., 1877–79). (9) JACOB JOSEPH (d. 1899), rabbinic scholar and *dayyan* at Salonika. (10) JUDAH (d. 1907), chief rabbi of Salonika. He worked for the development of Jewish settlement in Ereẓ Israel and was the author of *Yehudah Ya'aleh*. (11) JACOB HANANIAH (1825–1907), chief rabbi of Salonika, where he established a yeshivah called Bet Yosef and a *talmud torah*. He was greatly respected by the Turkish authorities by whom he was decorated several times.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Frumkin-Rivlin, 3 (1929), 39f., 126, 185, 274, 278f.; supplement, 90; M.D. Gaon, *Yehudei ha-Mizraḥ be-Ereẓ Yisrael*, 2 (1938), 615–7, 748; Ya'ari, Sheluḥei, index.

COWEN, SIR FREDERIC HYMEN (1852–1935), conductor and composer. Born in Jamaica, Cowen was taken to London as a child, and performed his own piano concerto there at the age of 13. He conducted the London Philharmonic Society, Halle Orchestra of Manchester, and many other orchestras. His works include four operas, four cantatas (including *The Veil*, 1910), six symphonies, orchestral and chamber works, songs, and marches. He published an autobiography, *My Art and My Friends* (1913); a humoristic glossary of musical terms, *Music as She is Wrote* (1915); and biographies of several composers. He was knighted in 1911.

COWEN, JOSEPH (1868–1932), a founder and leader of the Zionist movement in Great Britain. Born in Davenport, Cowen was initially indifferent to Jewish affairs. Persuaded to attend the First *Zionist Congress by his relative, Israel *Zangwill, he thereafter devoted himself to the Zionist movement, becoming *Herzl's chief associate in all matters concerning Great Britain and the Jewish community there. He was the moving spirit behind the foundation of the British Zionist Federation in 1899, and served several times as its president. Cowen accompanied Herzl during his audience with the Turkish sultan (1902), and Herzl made him a major character in his novel *Altneuland*, called Joe-Joseph Levy. He became director of the *Jewish Colonial Trust upon its foundation and held the post until his death. During World War I, Cowen was one of the few Zionist leaders to support Vladimir *Jabotinsky in his efforts to create a *Jewish Legion and was *Weizmann's right-hand man during the preparatory political work leading to the *Balfour Declaration. He was also a member of the *Zionist Commission to Palestine in 1918, treasurer of the Zionist Organization, a member of the Zionist Executive in 1921–22, and head of *Keren Hayesod in Great Britain. He should not be confused with his non-Jewish namesake Joseph Cowen (1829–1900), a prominent radical member of Parliament.

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[Getzel Kressel]

COWEN, PHILIP (1853–1943), U.S. publisher and author. Cowen was born in New York City, the son of German immigrants. He entered the printing business in 1878, and the following year, in cooperation with a group of distinguished New York Jews, founded the Anglo-Jewish weekly **The American Hebrew*. As its editor and publisher for 27 years, Cowen participated actively in the major issues and campaigns arising during the era of Jewish mass immigration. He was instrumental in publishing the works of such figures as Oscar S. *Straus, Max J. *Kohler, Henry Pereira *Mendes, Emma *Lazarus, Mary *Antin, and Alexander *Kohut. From 1905 to 1927 Cowen served as an official of the U.S. Immigration Service at Ellis Island and in 1906 went to Russia on a special mission to report on the causes of immigration from Eastern Europe, with emphasis on Jewish problems. His book *Memories of an American Jew* was published in 1932.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *New York Times* (April 21, 1943).

[Morton Rosenstock]

COWEN, ZELMAN (1919–), Australian jurist and authority on constitutional law. Cowen, who was born in Melbourne, joined the Royal Australian Navy in 1941. After the war he was an adviser on constitutional problems to the British and U.S. military governments in Germany. From 1947 to 1950 he was a tutor at Oriel College, Oxford. In 1951 Cowen was appointed professor of public law at the University of Melbourne and was also dean of the faculty. In 1967 he became vice chancellor of the University of New England in New South Wales. Cowen's books on public law include *Australia and the United States: Some Legal Comparisons* (1954), *Federal Jurisdiction in Australia* (1959), and *The British Commonwealth of Nations in a Changing World: Law, Politics and Prospects* (1965). He also wrote a biography of Sir Isaac *Isaacs (1967) and numerous articles on constitutional problems. Cowen was president of the Adult Education Association of Australia. He was active in Jewish communal life. In 1970 he became the vice chancellor of the University of Brisbane. Cowen received a knighthood in 1976, and in November 1977 was appointed governor-general of Australia, the second Jew – Sir Isaac *Isaacs was the first – to occupy this position. Cowen took up this post at a critical time. In 1975 the previous governor-general, Sir John Kerr, had controversially dismissed the elected government of Gough Whitlam, although it continued to enjoy a majority in the Australian House of Representatives. The post of governor-general was thus under the spotlight. There is wide agreement that Cowen, who served as governor-general until 1982, did much to restore the post. Cowen subsequently lived in England for some years, where he was provost of Oriel College, Oxford from 1982 to 1990, and chairman of the British Press Council, before returning to Melbourne. He has received no fewer than 20 honorary degrees from universities around the world.

ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY: W.D. Rubinstein, Australia II, 298–99.

[Isidor Solomon / William D. Rubinstein (2nd ed.)]

°**COWLEY, SIR ARTHUR ERNEST** (1861–1931), English Orientalist and bibliographer. Cowley's main interest from his school days was Hebrew and Jewish studies, but at Oxford he studied classics and his Semitic scholarship was largely self-taught. He became A. *Neubauer's assistant in the *Bodleian Library in 1896, succeeded him in 1899, and from 1919 was himself the Bodleian's librarian. Cowley's achievements in Jewish scholarship are paleographical, bibliographical, and interpretative. He published (at first with Neubauer) recovered Hebrew portions of Ecclesiasticus (1897, 1901), and (at first with A.H. Sayce) the Assouan (*Elephantine) Jewish-Aramaic papyri (1906, 1923). He completed vol. 2 of Neubauer's catalog of Bodleian Hebrew manuscripts and produced a concise catalog of its Hebrew printed books (1929, reduced from Steinschneider's catalog). Besides the papyri, Cowley edited – as his main work – *The Samaritan Liturgy* (2 vols., 1909). He taught rabbinics for the university, and a lectureship at Oxford in post-biblical Hebrew commemorates his name.

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[Raphael Loewe]

COZBI (Heb. כָּזְבִּי, Akkadian *Kuzābatum*, "voluptuous, well developed"), the daughter of Zur, who was one of the tribal leaders in Midian (Num. 25:15). When the Israelites committed harlotry with the Midianite women in the desert of Moab, *Phinehas son of Eleazar killed Cozbi together with her consort *Zimri son of Salu, a Simeonite chieftain. As a result of Phinehas' act, the plague which had afflicted the people was checked (*ibid.* 25:6–15).

COZEBA (Heb. כֹּזֵבָא). (1) Locality in Judah mentioned in I Chronicles 4:22. Some scholars identify it with Khirbat al-Dilba, 15 mi. (c. 24 km.) north of Hebron near ʿArrūb. Its name has been preserved in the neighboring Kirbat Kuwayziba. (2) Name of a dry river bed, now called Wadi al-Qilt. It is mentioned in the Dead Sea *Copper Scroll as one of the places where treasures were hidden. Many monasteries and hermitages were established there in Byzantine times, from the fifth century onward (Cyrillus Scythopolitanus, *Vita Sabae*, 44; John Moschus, PG, vol. 87, pt. 3, p. 2869). The Theotokós ("Mother of God") Chouzibiótissa, a Greek monastery, dedicated to St. George, still stands at the Deir (Dayr) al-Qilt.

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[Michael Avi-Yonah]

CRACOW (Pol. **Kraków**; Heb. קראקא, קרקא, קראקוב), city in S. Poland (within the historic region *Lesser Poland (Malopolska); in Western *Galicia under Austria). Cracow was the residence of the leading Polish princes during the 12th century, and later became the capital of Poland (until 1609). It was for many centuries the home of one of the most important European Jewish communities. It acquired the status of a city on the German model in 1257, and its situation on the Vistula river and the commercial route to Prague attracted an influx of immigrants from Germany, with whom the first Jews arrived. In 1335 King *Casimir the Great founded the rival city of Kazimierz near the southern extremity of Cracow (enclosed by a wall in 1422) and Jews settled there soon after its establishment. By the beginning of the 14th century (see below) they had an organized community, headed until the close of the century by an elected (or appointed) *Episcopus Judaeorum*; the first mentioned as such, in 1369, was a prominent financier, Samuel (Smoyl). A "Jewish Street" (*Platea Judaeorum*; now St. Anna street) in Cracow is mentioned in 1304. A synagogue, bath house, *mikveh*, and cemetery are first recorded in the 1350s; and a "Gate of the Jews" (*Valvae Judaeorum*) is mentioned in a deed of sale of 1366 as one of the gates of the city. From 1312, there is evidence that Jews acquired houses and building plots not only in their own quarter but also in neighboring parts of the city. The economic success and consolidation of the Jews in the city awakened among the townspeople an active hatred, already traditional among the burghers of German origin who were unused to Jewish commercial competition; the ownership of real estate by Jews was resented. The first protest against Jewish activities was submitted in 1369. In 1392 the municipal council requested that Jews should be allowed to sell their houses only to Christians.

15th Century

The struggle with the citizenry intensified during the 15th century (during 1408–70, 18 Jewish houses were sold to Christians), especially during the reign of Ladislas II Jagello (see also Zbigniew *Oleśnicki, Jan *Dlugosz). The assignment in 1400 of a building in a "Jewish street" to the university not only added to the overcrowding of the Jewish quarter, but for generations was a constant source of friction and danger to the Jews who were frequently attacked by students. A banker (*kampsor*), who was forced to provide loans to the students on interest not exceeding 25%, had to be appointed from among the Jews. In addition, the students extorted special payments from the Jews known as *kozubalec*. Mob outbreaks against the community and *blood libels also occurred (1407, 1423). In the 15th century Cracow Jews developed commercial ties with Breslau, Danzig, Lwow (Lvov, Lemberg), and Constantinople. The visit of the Franciscan preacher Johanes (Jan) *Capistrano to Cracow in 1454 led to severe anti-Jewish riots in which many Jews were killed and extensive damage was caused to property. In 1464 there were renewed disturbances. The heavy fines and financial sureties imposed by King Casimir IV Jagiello on the municipal council did not diminish the antagonism toward the Jews. In 1469 the community leaders had to sign an agreement to evacuate the street on which the university was located and to transfer their buildings to the university in exchange for a plot of land near the synagogue in Spiglarska Street (now St. Stefan Square). When a fire broke out in the city in 1477, the Jewish community was attacked. In 1485, its leaders – Moses *Fishel, Jacob b. Alexander, and Mordecai b. Jacob – were compelled to accept the dictates of the municipal council and signed "of their own free will and without coercion" an agreement to the effect that Jews would not compete in most branches of commerce and would only trade in pledges whose term of redemption had lapsed; this business was to be carried on only in their own houses, with the exception of Tuesdays, Thursdays, and market days, when they would be permitted to display the pledges publicly. Poor Jews and Jewesses were permitted to sell shawls, hats, and collars of their own manufacture. The Cracow Jews did not intend to abandon commerce, and a continuous struggle developed between the community and the burghers, in which both sides turned to the royal court for intervention. A fire which spread from a street inhabited by Jews to the Christian quarters in June 1494 led to riots against which the Jews took up arms in self-defense. The king ordered the arrest of the communal leaders, who were later set free largely through the intercession of the courtier and celebrated humanist Filippo Buonaccorsi (Callimaco Esperiente). The townspeople continued to insist on the expulsion of the Jews from the city. In 1495, the king expelled the Jews from the capital and they moved into adjacent Kazimierz.

Amalgamation with Kazimierz

The Cracow community amalgamated with that of Kazimierz, and, as customary after local expulsions, continued to visit Cracow from "their town" of Kazimierz and maintained a regular and often flourishing commerce there. For over four centuries, until the grant of emancipation in 1868, the Jews of Kazimierz continued the struggle, generally achieving some success, for rights to trade and work in Cracow. The Kazimierz community was already well established when it merged with that of Cracow. At the end of the 14th century construction was begun of a magnificent synagogue in Gothic style, completed about 1407, known as the Alte Schul. It is the oldest medieval synagogue still preserved in Poland. In the 1480s a Jewish bathhouse, a Jewish marketplace (*Circulus Judaeorum*), and a cemetery are mentioned in Kazimierz, all situated on the Breite Gass ("Broad Street"). From the 15th century on, the community was led by four elected "elders," who in 1454 were already empowered to judge lawsuits between Jews. On Feb. 27, 1494, the "elders" (*seniores*) Mark Simeon of Sącz, Joseph Kopelman, Moses Fishel, and Ulryk Samuel signed an agreement with the Christian butchers' guild (ratified by the *judex Judaeorum* Jan Goraj) which limited the number of Jewish butchers to four; they were forbidden to employ any assistants, either Jewish or Christian, or to sell meat to Christians, except wholesale.

Little is known about Jewish learning in Cracow-Kazimierz until the end of the 15th century (although the scholar Yom Tov Lipmann *Muelhausen had reputedly stayed there earlier in that century), when Jacob Pollak settled in Kazimierz and founded the first yeshivah from which talmudic learning spread throughout Poland. Several physicians lived there, including Moses of Przemysl, mentioned in 1465, who was also one of the community elders; Isachko, who practiced in Kazimierz after the expulsion from Cracow; Bocian, founder of the distinguished *Popper family; and Isaac of Spain (d. 1510) who served as court physician.

16th Century

At the beginning of the 16th century many Jews from Bohemia-Moravia settled in Kazimierz, but their desire to retain their separate cohesion and style of life was opposed by the Polish Jews, led by the *Fishel family. In the overcrowded conditions of the Jewish town tension between the two groups led to bitter conflict. After the resignation of Jacob Pollak from the Cracow-Kazimierz rabbinate the Polish congregation elected Asher Lemel, a friend of the Fishel family, while the Bohemian Jews elected another rabbi. In 1509 the king imposed financial sureties on both parties to compel them to maintain the peace. In 1519 he recognized the two congregations as autonomous communities, each electing its own rabbi, two elders, and a mediator to collaborate in the administration of the Jewish town. After the deaths of the two rival rabbis, this duality disappeared and the rabbinate was transferred to Moses Fishel of the Polish section. In addition to those from Bohemia-Moravia a large number of immigrants arrived in Kazimierz in the 16th century from Germany, Italy, Spain, and Portugal. These included wealthy men and physicians, some of whom acquired special personal privileges from the king of Poland exempting them from their financial obligations as members of the Jewish community. It was only in 1563, after numerous appeals from the communal leaders, that the king undertook to cease this practice.

Intensification of the overcrowding resulted in 1553 in official agreement to a small extension of the Jewish town and permission for the erection of a second synagogue. In 1564 a privilege was granted preventing non-Jews from acquiring residential or business premises in the Jewish town. By the 1570s, the Jewish population of Kazimierz numbered 2,060, and further extension of the Jewish quarter became urgent. In 1583 an agreement between the community and the municipality of Kazimierz on the expansion of the Jewish area was ratified by the king. The Jews undertook to erect the Bochnia Gate in the city walls and to liquidate the arrears in tax payments to the municipal treasury.

17th Century

In 1608 the king ratified an agreement with the municipality on the sale of an additional number of building sites and houses to Jews in return for an annual payment of 250 zlotys by the community to the municipality. The attempt of the community to retain control over the new acquisitions of real estate failed because of opposition from both Jews and Christians, and Jews were permitted to acquire real estate individually. By 1635, 67 houses, mainly occupied by wealthy persons (Isaac *Jekeles, Wolf *Popper, among others), had been erected in the section recently joined to the Jewish town. Throughout this period, the fierce struggle for Jewish commercial rights continued, in particular when Jewish traders had "invaded" the Christian sectors. In 1609 the community reached an agreement which in practice enabled the Jews to trade freely in Kazimierz and nearby Stradom, to rent shops and warehouses in the Christian city, and to engage in the fur and tailoring crafts for supply of their own requirements. They were prohibited from innkeeping and trade in fodder. Jewish economic activity within the limits of Cracow proper was dependent on bribery and the search for patrons among government and church circles or within the municipal council. While Christian property owners of Cracow were interested in Jewish trade in the town because they could lease warehouses and shops to Jews at exorbitant prices, the small tradesmen and craftsmen regarded the Jews as dangerous rivals. In 1576 the king had recognized the Jewish trade existing in the town through granting his protection to the practice. The struggle continued with varying success for both sides. The campaign against Jewish trade in Cracow was expressed in the polemic literature of the period in an anti-Jewish pamphlet by Sebastian *Miczyński. However, despite the influence of this tract and anti-Jewish outbreaks, Jewish trade in Cracow developed further in the 17th century, and was recognized de facto by royal decisions.

The 16th and first half of the 17th century was also a period of considerable cultural achievement in the Cracow-Kazimierz community. By 1644 the community had seven main synagogues, among them the Alte Schul and the Rema Synagogue (called after Moses *Isserles), erected in part by private persons and in one case with contributions from the goldsmiths' guild. From the second half of the 16th century a number of yeshivot were founded in Kazimierz whose fame made Cracow a most important center of Jewish learning. Among principals of the yeshivot during the second half of the 16th century were Moses Isserles, Mordecai b. Jacob of Cieplice, Joseph b. Gershon Katz, Nathan Nata Shapiro, Joshua b. Joseph Katz, Isaac b. David ha-Kohen Shapira, *Meir Gedaliah of Lublin, and Joel *Sirkes. About the middle of the 17th century Yom Tov Lippman *Heller was rabbi there. In 1666 the Shabbatean movement deeply stirred Cracow Jewry. The reformation movement among the Cracow burghers gave rise to charges of Judaizing, both true and unfounded, against its own radical wing. An earlier martyr of such accusations was Catherine *Weigel. The religious ferment and strife among the Christians made a strong impression on the Cracow Jews.

Communal Organization

By the end of the 16th century the patrician class had gained an oligarchic control of the communal administration mainly due to the exclusive system of elections. A statute for the community was formulated through various enactments, known after its main corpus as "the ordinances of (5) 355" (i.e. the year 1595; cf. M. *Balaban, "*Die Krakauer Judengemeinde-Ordnung von 1595 und ihre Nachtraege*," in JJLG, 10 (1913), 296–360; 11 (1916), 88–114). The community was headed by four *rashim* ("heads"), five *tovim* ("*boni vires*" or "notables"), and 14 *kahal* ("community council") members, a total of 23 leaders, i.e., the number constituting a "minor Sanhedrin." The duties of actual administration and supervision were assumed in rotation; every month one of the *rashim* publicly took an oath to fulfill his duties as *parnas ha-ḥodesh* ("leader for the month") conscientiously. Defined competencies and functions were assigned to other institutions of the community leadership. The community had numerous functionaries, some honorary and some paid, most of whom worked in committees and were allocated specific tasks, such as tax assessment, supervision of charity, and public market order. The persistent oligarchic trend inherent in the 1595 ordinances is shown in their regulation of judicial procedure which reveals a hierarchical system of three law courts, whose competence was graded according to the sums involved in the case, and payment was made to the two lower ones by both sides. These arrangements differ from strict halakhic conceptions of judicial practice.

Cracow-Kazimierz was one of the principal communities in the *Councils of the Lands; it headed the province (*galil*) of Lesser Poland. Taxes to the state were paid through and in conjunction with the Councils of the Lands (see also *Poland-*Lithuania). Provision for the regulation of internal taxation for providing defense against local persecution, for upkeep of officials, official functions, and charity is made in the 1595 ordinances and others (see B.D. Weinryb, "Texts and Studies in the Communal History of Polish Jewry," in PAAJR, 19 (1950), 77–98).

In the 1630s large numbers of Jews fled from Germany to Cracow during the Thirty Years' War. In addition, many others from Ukraine and Podolia sought refuge in Cracow in 1648–49 from the *Chmielnicki massacres.

The second half of the 17th century was a troubled period for the Cracow community. It suffered during the Swedish invasion, and in 1655, when Kazimierz was captured, many Jews fled. The Poles commanded by Stefan *Czarniecki looted Jewish shops and property, causing damage estimated at 700,000 zlotys. Much harm was also done to Jewish property during the two-year Swedish occupation. With the restoration of Polish rule, a monetary contribution was imposed on the Jewish community, who were accused of collaborating with the Swedes. The Jews of Cracow first had to pay large sums to the Polish army commanders, and, in the fall of 1657, 60,000 zlotys to the king; they were also charged 300 zlotys a week toward maintenance of the fortress garrison and the municipal guard, and were fined 10,000 zlotys following an accusation that they had handed over sacred objects from the cathedral to the Swedes. The Kazimierz Jews were excluded from Cracow under various pretexts.

During this period, attacks on Jewish houses by the students and the local population became increasingly frequent, while the royal authorities were powerless to take action against them. There were a number of blood libels. In 1663 Mattathias *Calahora was martyred at the stake. In 1664, the anti-Jewish outbreaks reached a new climax and intervention by the king and the fines imposed on the municipal council proved unavailing. In 1677 about 1,000 Jews in Kazimierz died of plague and the Jewish quarter was abandoned by most of its inhabitants. The stricken community could not pay its taxes; by 1679 the arrears of the poll-tax payments amounted to 50,000 zlotys and the king had to grant the Cracow community a moratorium on its taxes and other debts. The community began to reorganize in 1680 and reopened its yeshivah, but in 1682 anti-Jewish rioting by the populace and students again broke out accompanied by murder and looting, and army units had to be called in. The king punished the rioters severely and imposed heavy fines on the university, and the Jews were granted a further moratorium on their debts to the state treasury and individuals. The Cracow citizenry renewed its demands that Jews should be prohibited from practicing trade and crafts on the basis of the 1485 agreement (see above). Jews were prevented from entering Cracow on Sundays and Christian festivals. The most outstanding of the community's rabbis in the second half of the 17th century was Aaron Samuel *Koidanover.

18th Century

The history of the community in the 18th century was marked by fluctuations in the struggle of the Cracow citizenry to close the city, trade, and crafts to the Kazimierz Jews. In general, the Jews were able to withstand this pressure, with the support of the magnates and the king, since it was in their interest to have Jews acting as suppliers and financiers in Cracow itself. Anti-Jewish restrictions imposed by the city were mainly ineffectual and reflect the penetration of Jews into an increasing number of branches of trade and crafts, such as the trade in furs and hides, wax, soap, salt, tobacco, and haberdashery. Jews also traded in silver and gold, worked as goldsmiths, and engaged in large-scale import and export business, finance, and the lease and management of estates of the gentry (see *arenda). However the economic rise of the merchant and financier circles of the community was accompanied by increasing impoverishment among the majority of Kazimierz Jewry. These factors, combined with the growth of the artisan element, sharpened social tensions within the oligarchically led community. The expenses incurred in the struggle with the Cracow citizenry for providing defense against libels and for the constantly increasing requirements of charity forced the community to take loans and it thus became indebted to wealthy Christians and the Church. In 1719 the community owed a total of approximately 600,000 zlotys, of which about 350,000 was owed to churches and monasteries and the remainder to Polish noblemen and merchants. With the decline in status of the Kazimierz community its influence among the communities of the province also began to wane, and at the beginning of the 18th century these became largely independent of the mother community. In 1761 the Senate of Poland ratified a decree enforcing the prohibitions against Jewish commerce in Cracow. An attempt made by the municipality to confiscate the contents of the Jewish shops in the city was stopped by the authorities. During the troubled period between 1768 and 1772 the Jews in Kazimierz suffered at the hands of both the Polish and Russian armies. Many members of the community were arrested. One of its leaders, Gutman Rakowski, was tortured to death by the Poles. The Kazimierz community numbered 3,500 in 1775, and owned 212 houses; their property was valued at about 1,100,000 zlotys.

After the Polish Partitions

In 1772–76 Kazimierz passed to *Austria, while Cracow remained within Poland. The Austrian authorities demanded that Jews should be permitted to cross to Cracow, but the municipality tried to prevent them. In 1776 Kazimierz was returned to Poland, but the Senate prohibited Jewish commerce in Cracow and imposed a heavy sum on the Kazimierz community. Tension within the community continued under the new rule, and factions were formed among the oligarchy (see also *Jekeles family). Most of the Jews left Cracow and transferred their affairs to Kazimierz. The 92 Jews who remained were engaged in banking or moneylending, or owned inns. They occupied 38 houses. At the end of 1776 the king ratified an agreement between the community and the Kazimierz municipality extending Jewish commercial rights there. The Cracow municipal leaders then offered certain concessions to Jewish merchants in the city to prevent the complete transfer of Jewish business to Kazimierz. By the end of the 1770s, the 350 Jewish merchants and shopkeepers established in their new center at Kazimierz included 45 bankers and moneylenders, 52 textile merchants, 17 chandlers, 18 innkeepers, and several tailors, bakers, and furriers. In 1788 an explosives factory was established by a Jew in the vicinity of Cracow, and in 1790 a tannery. Many wealthy Jews left Cracow for Warsaw and other towns during this period.

During the 1780s the influence of *Ḥasidism began to penetrate to Cracow. This first circle of supporters of the movement in the city was established by Kalman *Epstein. In 1785 a *ḥerem* ("ban") was imposed on the Cracow Ḥasidim. Ḥasidism gained many adherents among the poorer classes of Jews in Kazimierz. Special houses of prayer were organized by the Ḥasidim, and the *Mitnaggedim* imposed a second *ḥerem* on them in 1797.

In 1795 Cracow and its environs were annexed by Austria, and in 1799 the Austrian authorities ordered the removal of all Jewish businesses from Cracow proper. Subsequently the communal leadership and nomenclature changed under the Germanizing influence and with the spread of *Enlightenment. The Austrian government attempted to introduce the specific taxes imposed on Jews within its territories, as well as the special systems of restriction and supervision of the number of Jewish families and marriages. The authority of the five *Vorstehers*, as the communal leaders were henceforth termed, was restricted to the synagogue, charities, and responsibility for the collection of taxes and the conscription of the quota of army recruits demanded from the Jewish quarter of Kazimierz. From 1800 both electoral and elective rights were determined by payment of the *candle tax, a new impost which constituted a heavy burden on the poorer sector in particular. This system required the payment of tax on at least seven candles a week in order to acquire the passive vote, and on eight candles to be eligible for election. Eligibility for the office of rabbi or *Vorsteher* required payment on ten candles a week.

This system did not change the social structure of the communal leadership. At the elections of 1807 there were only about 40 votes. In 1801 the income of the community from both direct and indirect taxes (e.g., on milk and butter) amounted to 55,000 zlotys and balanced its expenses. In 1806 it remained with a deficit of almost 30,000 zlotys, the income from direct taxation amounting to 8,000 zlotys. The community's deficit and debts rose with its increasing needs and the mounting rate of interest, and it was forced to increase the indirect taxes imposed on basic commodities.

In 1809 Cracow was incorporated into the grand duchy of Warsaw. Although certain of the regulations and restrictions imposed by the Austrian authorities were abrogated, others were introduced in their place. On Aug. 26, 1813, flood from the river caused extensive damage to the Jewish quarter of Kazimierz.

Cracow Republic

At the Congress of *Vienna the Cracow Republic (1815–1846) was established. The new state immediately issued regulations governing the position of the Jews there. They were permitted to reside in the Jewish part of Kazimierz and in some streets of the Christian sector. Only "cultured" Jews, entitled to civic rights, were permitted to acquire houses on the main street of the Christian sector. Outside Kazimierz only those Jews who qualified by a certain defined degree of education, who were assimilated in their dress, and who owned more than 5,000 zlotys were permitted to reside. (Only 196 out of a total of 13,000 Jewish residents qualified for this alleviation in 1848.) In addition, the community organization was abolished and replaced by a Committee for Jewish Affairs headed by a Christian chairman, a rabbi elected for three years and required to have a fluent knowledge of the Polish or German languages and to have gained a matriculation certificate, and two delegates elected by the highest category of taxpayers only. After some time, two deputy delegates were also included in the committee. The annual budget of the committee required the ratification of the republic's Senate. Collection of taxes from the Jewish inhabitants was placed under state administration. The books of the committee were kept in Polish. Among the 297 Jewish merchants and craftsmen in Kazimierz in 1811 there were 97 shopkeepers, 47 innkeepers and restaurateurs, about 20 market stallholders, 14 grain merchants, 12 textile and haberdashery merchants, 5 spice merchants, 5 hatters, 3 owners of timber depots, 3 goldsmiths, 3 barbers, 2 furriers, and one surgeon. 10,820 Jews were living in Cracow in 1833 (28% of the total population), 2,373 paid approximately 40,000 zlotys a year in taxes (income tax and business taxes), while of the 27,000 Christian inhabitants 2,296 paid approximately 25,000 zlotys a year in taxes. An elementary Jewish school was opened in 1830 and a number of commercial and vocational classes for boys and girls were added in 1837. In 1836/37, 146 boys and 239 girls were enrolled in this institution. Because of the lack of Jewish teachers, general subjects were taught by Christians. From 1832 the rabbi of Cracow, Dov Berush *Meisels, was the main influence in the community despite some opposition led by Saul Raphael Landau, who was elected rabbi by the Ḥasidim. In 1844 the Republic introduced a complicated system of its own for supervision of Jewish marriages, mainly to ensure that any additional Jewish families to the permitted number should be those with ample means; they were also to have a recognized non-Jewish education, and at least – in the case of poorer Jews – to discard their specific Jewish dress, and have reached the age of 30. In 1844 the first *Reform synagogue (Temple) was opened in Cracow. Some Jews were involved in the fighting in 1846 that preceded the liquidation of the Cracow Republic and its reversion to Austria.

Under Austria

The Austrians imposed a contribution of 55,000 guilders on the community and a tax on meat. The status of the Jews did not change basically, and their economic position became critical. The Jews of Vienna raised 6,000 guilders for distribution among 1,800 needy Jewish families in Kazimierz. During the 1848 revolution 12 Jews were elected to the municipal council of Greater Cracow, and the secretary of the community, Maurycy Krzepicki, was coopted to the municipal council. The Cracow Jews expressed their dissatisfaction with the communal system by demanding that the Jewish Committee should open its meetings to the public, and stormed the community building. They also demanded abolition of the kosher meat tax and the removal of its lessee, proposing instead taxation of poultry, which was mainly consumed by the wealthy, as well as reduction in the salaries of religious officials, abolition of all privileges of the oligarchy, and transfer of the hospital from the control of the *ḥevra kaddisha* to the Committee. In the 1848 elections to the parliament of Austria, Meisels was returned as deputy for Cracow. During the revolutionary ferment of 1848 the "Society for the Spiritual and Material Liberation of the Jews," an association with emancipatory and Polish-assimilationist aims, led by M. Krzepicki and A.J.

Warschauer, played a prominent role. The right of Jews to own real estate in the Christian sections of Cracow-Kazimierz was again restricted in 1853. When Meisels left Cracow for Warsaw, the struggle for the Cracow rabbinate ended in the election of the ultra-Orthodox Simeon Schreiber *Sofer, who later came into sharp conflict with the Reform-assimilationist group led by Joseph Ettinger and the rabbi of the Reform synagogue, Simon Dankovich. During the early 1860s the upper circles of Cracow Jewry inclined increasingly toward Polish assimilation. Many of them actively sympathized with the Polish rising of 1863–64.

The Period of National Awakening

After the grant of emancipation in 1867/68 to the Jews of Cracow, which carried with it the unrestricted right of settlement in Cracow itself, the community institutions were abolished and a Jewish Religious Council established in which the assimilationist *maskilim* and intelligentsia replaced the oligarchic leadership. In 1870, Simon Samuelsohn became chairman of the council. In 1869 there were 25 Jewish students (13% of the total) studying at the law faculty of the university, 14 (7%) at the faculty of medicine, and 10 at the technical college. During the early 1870s, about 200 Jewish pupils attended secondary schools and teachers' training colleges in Cracow. The first secular Hebrew public library in Cracow was founded in 1876. The first Hebrew school in the town, headed by the *av bet din* Ḥayyim Aryeh Horowitz, was established by the Shoḥarei Tov ve-Tushiyyah Society in 1874. A branch of the Alliance Israélite *Universelle was established at Cracow in 1867. In 1876 a talmud torah was founded and remained open until 1881. Later a school for the teaching of crafts was established by the Baron de Hirsch *Fund, as well as a vocational school financed by Arnold Rapoport, a member of the Austrian parliament.

Toward the close of the 19th century, the Jewish educational system of Cracow included *ḥadarim* and yeshivot (see also *Mahzike Hadas), as well as elementary and secondary schools with Polish and German as the languages of instruction. While Ḥasidic influence remained strong among the mass of Jews, with the influences of emancipation, *Haskalah, and assimilation many Jews became prominent in the Polish-German cultural and social life of Austrian Cracow, among them the professor of philology Leon Sternbach, the painter Maurycy Gottlieb, the jurist Joseph Rosenblatt, and the physicians Philip Eisenberg and Isidor Jurowich, who became director of the Jewish hospital in Cracow (see also *Aguddat Aḥim). Several Jews made fortunes in financial and industrial enterprises, notably Maurycy Datner, who became president of the Chamber of Commerce and Industry of the city. The Jewish population numbered 25,670 in 1900 (28% of the total), and 32,321 in 1910 (21%). (See Table: Jewish Population in Cracow 1900–2004.) A considerable number earned their livelihood in the grocery, haberdashery, leather, textiles, and clothing businesses. In addition to owning shops or stalls, many were occupied in hawking and the purchase of pig bristle and horsehair in the surrounding villages for industry. The wealthier Jewish merchants, a minority, owned wine and textile warehouses and were mainly engaged in the export of timber, feathers, and eggs. Among the artisans, most numerous were tailors, glaziers, and carpenters. There were 52 Jewish physicians in Cracow (out of the total of 248) and 47 Jewish lawyers (out of 110) in 1900.

Jewish Population in Cracow 1900–2004

Year	Jewish Population	Total Population	%
1900	25,670	91,310	28
1910	32,321	143,000	21
1921	45,229	164,000	27
1931	56,800	219,286	26
1938	60,000	237,532	25
1948	5,900	299,565	2
1955	4,000[1]		
1968	700[1]		
2004	150[1]	760,000	

[1] Approximation.

*Antisemitism grew in Cracow at the close of the 19th century, amid the national rivalries in the city and demands that Jews should identify themselves with the Polish or German elements. At the same time the Jewish national revival began to penetrate to Cracow. The first *Ḥibbat Zion society, Rosh Pinnah, was established during the 1880s under the leadership of Simeon Sofer and Aaron Markus. During this period, the concepts of Hebrew revival were propagated; from 1892 the Sefat Emet Society and the Ḥevrah Ivrit le-Tarbut ("Hebrew Society for Culture"), headed by Israel Krasucki, the publisher of the periodical *Ha-Maggid he-Ḥadash* (published in Cracow), Jacob Samuel Fox, and later by the journalist Simeon Menahem Lazar, editor of *Ha-Miẓpeh*, was active there. From 1897 political Zionism won supporters, amoung whom Osias *Thon and Julius Schenweter were prominent, and an academic national society, Shaḥar, was founded. In 1906, the Jewish Nationalist Group was founded in Cracow. The organ of the Po'alei Zion, *Der Yidisher Arbeter,* was published in Yiddish in Cracow between 1905 and 1914. In 1900 the Group of Independents fighting for civic equality and the rights of the Jewish population was established, headed by Ignaz Landau and Adolf *Gross. The Committee of the Delegates of the Zionist Organizations of Western Galicia was established in Cracow under the leadership of Joseph Margolioth in 1905. During this period Cracow became an important center of Jewish cultural activity, with the historians Ḥayyim Nathan *Dembitzer and Feivel Hirsch *Wettstein, scholars such as Shlomo Rubin, the Hebrew author David Rotblum, and the popular Yiddish poet Mordecai *Gebirtig, who became celebrated in connection with the Holocaust.

After World War I

The rise of Polish nationalism and the movements connected with the upheavals of World War I, widespread unemployment, the return of armed soldiers and deserters, and famine throughout the city and vicinity, combined to intensify antisemitism. In 1918 the community was threatened with an outbreak of pogroms. The Endeks (*Endecja) elements attempted to direct the discontent of the Polish masses against the Jews. The Jewish youth in Cracow organized *self-defense, led by Jacob Billik and Y. Alster, and were joined by Jewish soldiers who had returned from the front. The entry of the troops of the antisemitic Polish General *Haller into Cracow set off a wave of riots which were warded off by the Jewish self-defense groups, who at the end of 1918 and the beginning of 1919 had a number of clashes with the rioters.

The Jewish population of Cracow numbered 45,229 in 1921, and according to the 1931 census, 56,800 (25.9% of the total), of whom 31% were occupied in industry and crafts (compared with 30% among non-Jews), 46% in commerce and insurance (non-Jews: 11%), 7% in communications (non-Jews: 8%), 2.5% in education and culture (non-Jews: 4%), approximately 1% in domestic employment (non-Jews: approximately 8%), and 13% in other professions (non-Jews: approximately 36%). Between the two world wars Cracow became an important center of Jewish political and social life in Poland. The Polish-language Zionist daily **Nowy Dziennik*, which had considerable public influence, was published there. Zionist movements were active. General Zionism, led by Osias Thon, who served for many years as rabbi of the liberal congregation, and by I. *Schwarzbart, had a strong following. The Bundist monthly *Walka* was published in Cracow between 1924 and 1927. In this period, as in former years, the mass of poorer Jews were concentrated in Kazimierz. Educational institutions included an elementary and a Hebrew secondary school in Cracow – during the school year 1937–38, 1,332 pupils were enrolled in these two institutions – a Hebrew *ḥeder,* the Taḥkemoni secondary school, a Jewish commercial school (opened in 1933), and the Orthodox women's teachers seminary for the Beit Yaakov girls schools in Poland. The president of the community between the two world wars was Raphael Landau. Antisemitism increased in Cracow from the early 1930s, especially among the Polish youth and the extremist (Fascist) Polish nationalist organizations, who made frequent attacks on Jewish shops and stalls, as well as on Jewish students at the university and technical high school.

[Arthur Cygielman]

Hebrew Printing in Cracow

Hebrew printing was first introduced in Cracow in 1534 by the brothers Samuel, Asher, and Eliakim Halicz, who had learned the craft with Gershom Kohen in Prague, whose style their productions betray. They printed the first edition of Isaac of Dueren's *Sha'arei Dura* – in Rashi type and with a beautifully decorated title page – in 1534, the year in which they received a license from King Sigismund I of Poland. A few other works followed, until in 1537 the three brothers converted to Christianity, which did not prevent them from continuing to print Hebrew books (a *mahzor* and the first two parts of the *Tur*), but their products were boycotted by the Jewish community. Eventually the king forced the Jewish communities of Cracow, Poznan, and Lvov to buy the Halicz's entire stock. Great success was attained by the Hebrew press set up in 1569 by Isaac b. Aaron of Prostitz (Prossnitz), who was trained in Italy and received a 50 years' license from Sigismund II Augustus. He acquired his equipment from the Venetian printers Cavalli and Grypho and also brought with him from Italy the scholarly proofreader Samuel Boehm. In the next 60 years Isaac and his successors (sons and nephews) produced some 200 books, of which 73 were in Yiddish. The Babylonian Talmud was printed twice (1602–08; 1616–20); a fine edition of the Jerusalem Talmud in 1609; Alfasi's *Halakhot* together with *Mordekhai* in 1598; and several editions of the Shulḥan Arukh with Isserles' annotations. Among kabbalistic literature was a Zohar (1603), and some of Moses Cordovero's writings. Other works included a Pentateuch and *haftarot* with the classical commentaries (1587), *Yalkut Shimoni* (1596), and *Ein Ya'akov* (1587, 1614, 1619). In his title-page decoration Isaac copied the Italian style. His printer's mark was first a hart, but from 1590 fishes. For the next four decades (1630–70), prominent Hebrew printers in Cracow were Menahem Nahum Meisels, his daughter Czerna, and his son-in-law Judah Meisels, a grandson of Moses Isserles. Menahem Nahum took over Isaac b. Aaron's equipment which he enlarged and improved, but he returned to the Prague style of printing, with Judah ha-Kohen of Prague as his manager. There was no Hebrew press active in Cracow in the 18th century. Between 1802 and 1822 Naphtali Herz Shapiro and his son Aaron Solomon issued such works as the *Midrash Tankhuma* (1803) and *Midrash Rabbah* (1805). Some "modernist" literature was also printed by Shapiro's son. Karl Budweiser printed various books between 1867 and 1874, before moving on to Lemberg (Lvov). Joseph Fisher, at first in partnership with B. Weindling, printed a good deal of Haskalah literature from 1878 until 1914, including a number of Hebrew periodicals such as *Ha-Tor, Ha-Zeman*, and *Ha-Maggid*. S.N. Deitscher and son were active as Hebrew printers from 1890 to 1940 and A. Lenkowitch from 1897.

Holocaust Period

There were 56,000 Jews living in Cracow on the eve of World War II. Persecution began soon after the German occupation (Sept. 6, 1939). On Sept. 17, 1939, Marek Bieberstein and Wilhelm Goldblatt became chairmen of the Jewish community and tried to restore community activities. The first *Aktion* took place on Dec. 5 and 6, 1939, when the Eighth District, inhabited mainly by Jews, was cordoned off, and searches and mass confiscations were carried out. The Germans burned down the Jewish Community Council building and several synagogues. That month the Germans appointed a *Judenrat, consisting of 24 members, including 11 of the former *kehillah* council and headed by Artur Rosenzweig. In April 1940, the German authorities issued an order for most of the Jews to evacuate the city within four months. Some 35,000 left, while about 15,000 Jews received special permission to remain. Another group was forced to leave in February 1941. About the same time, Cracow's two rabbis (Kornitzer and Rappaport) were murdered by the Nazis. On March 21, 1941, the ghetto was erected and close to 20,000 Jews, including 6,000 from neighboring communities, were crowded in. The physical extermination began in June 1942 when 5,000 victims were deported to the *Belzec death camp in three successive "selections." Several hundred were put to death in the ghetto itself. Among the deportees were Artur Rosenzweig and the 60-year-old poet Mordecai Gebirtig. The 70-year-old painter Abraham Neumann was shot in the street. In the next *Aktion* (Oct. 28, 1942) 7,000 Jews were shipped to Belzec, while the patients at the Jewish hospital, the old-age home inmates, and the 300 children at the orphanage were murdered on the spot. After new refugees arrived the ghetto population was now about 10,000, some of whom were in the work camp cordoned off from the rest of the ghetto by barbed wire. Final liquidation came in the middle of March 1943, when the inhabitants in the work camp were transferred to the nearby *Plaszow labor camp, and anyone found hiding was shot. The majority of the Jews in the other section were either killed on the spot or dispatched to *Auschwitz.

Resistance

The Cracow Jews began organizing resistance activities at the end of 1940. Their initially passive resistance soon turned into two organizations for armed resistance and sabotage: Bnei Akiva, consisting of Zionist youth and headed by Laban Leibowitz, Szymon (Shimon) Draenger and Adolf (Dolek) Liebeskind, which published a clandestine weekly in Polish; and a Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir group organized by leftist leaders H. Bauminger and Benjamin Halbrajch. The Bnei Akiva group established a base for military operations at a nearby village in the vicinity of the famous salt mines of Bochnia. Soon afterward both groups merged into the countrywide ŻOB ("Jewish Fighting Organization"). On Dec. 22, 1942, they attacked a group of German officers at Cracow's "Cyganeria Club," killing a dozen. This attack took on great significance. Several sabotage acts followed, including the derailment of trains. The Cracow ŻOB maintained contact with Jewish partisan groups in the Kielce district and with the *Warsaw Ghetto ŻOB leaders, one of whom, Yitzhaak Cukierman, was active in the Cracow ghetto for a period. When the Cracow ŻOB dissolved due to the final liquidation of Cracow Jewry, some of its members continued their activity at the Plaszow labor camp.

[Danuta Dombrowska / Stefan Krakowski]

Contemporary Period

By the end of World War II, only a few Jews who had been in hiding were saved. Only by the end of 1945 and in 1946 did Jews return to Cracow from Russia, where they had found refuge during the war years. The Jewish quarter of Kazimierz, however, was not reestablished by the Jews after the war because 3,000 among them sought residence elsewhere in the town, fearing the outbreak of a pogrom. The last Jew left Kazimierz in 1968. The new Jewish community used four of the ancient synagogues for their religious services. The oldest synagogue, "Hoyche Schul," was transformed into a Jewish museum. The old cemetery was renewed and reformed as a result of contributions from American and Canadian Jews. After the exodus of 1967–69, 700 Jews, mainly elderly ones, remained in the city. A few hundred were still present in the 1990s and just 150 or so in 2004.. A memorial book on Cracow Jewry, *Sefer Kraka Ir va-Em be-Yisrael*, was published in 1959.

[Arthur Cygielman]

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CRAFTS.

In the Bible

Genesis 4:2, 17, 20–22 describes Cain and four of his descendants as the first to engage in crafts. Cain worked the land, Enoch engaged in building, Jubal, in music, Jabal (like Abel) was a shepherd, and Tubal-Cain worked with metals (i.e., copper and iron).

This division apparently reflects the social development of the ancient world from around the fifth or fourth millennium B.C.E. This period saw the beginning of the development of agriculture and the increase and diversification of the types of crafts connected with it. During this period, there was increased knowledge of each individual occupation, and many types of work were undertaken by experts who handed down their professional know-how from father to son as a family tradition or as a closed tribal tradition. For example, in the 12th century B.C.E., the Philistines held the monopoly in the processing of iron and the sharpening of iron implements (I Sam. 13:19–22).

The first known crafts were directly connected with the production and preparation of food. Other crafts that were also connected with agricultural production were the tanning of *leather and the manufacture of clothing. Examples of textiles preserved since the Bar Kokhba period were found in the *Judean Desert Caves. Evidence of weaving and dyeing are the loom weights and dye vats discovered in excavation. This group of crafts also included braiding, which consisted of the production of ropes and mats, and other similar industries. The development of agriculture and allied crafts also gave rise to the development of tools, such as the manufacture of plows, digging implements, vehicles of transportation, leather implements, and so on (see *Agriculture; *Carts and Chariots).

Another group of crafts are the various artistic crafts: the making of jewelry and of fine vessels of wood, stone, and ivory inlaying; the production of hammered metal objects; embroidery; and so on. There are biblical references to the work of the potter and many examples have been found in excavations (see *Pottery). This group of crafts developed with the building of palaces and temples:

> And I have filled him [Bezalel son of Uri] with the spirit of God, in wisdom, and in understanding, and in knowledge, and in all manner of workmanship. To devise skillful works, to work in gold, and in silver, and in brass. And in cutting of stones, to set them, and in carving of timber, to work in all manner of workmanship (Ex. 31:2ff.).

Artisans of various types were numbered among the slaves of the kings of Egypt, Mesopotamia, and other permanent settlements. The Bible does not mention craftsmen of this type, apart from *Bezalel, who worked on the construction of the Tabernacle, and the people of Tyre, who participated in the construction of the Temple in Jerusalem (I Kings 5:15–25). Gold and silver were used for vessels etc. to be used in the temples or palaces, for jewelry, figurines, sewing implements, pins and clasps, etc. These metals were processed by means of casting or hammering, and separate parts were joined together by means of welding and coating. Other products, especially jewelry and tiny vessels of precious metals, were formed from different shapes, such as squares, circles, and rectangles, which were welded together in various patterns, or joined together on a chain (II Chron. 3:16). Another artistic craft consisted of inlaying fine vessels and jewelry with precious and semiprecious stones as a decoration or for finishing other items. The biblical term *millu'at* apparently refers to this technique of inlaying (e.g., Ex. 28:17). Metal frames inlaid with precious stones have been found, dating to the second millennium B.C.E. Inlaid furniture and tablets dating to the third millennium B.C.E. have also been found, as well as another example of metal inlaid with stones from the second millennium B.C.E. and others. The Bible describes the stones of the breastplate (Ex. 28:15ff.) as being inlaid within their frames. Inlaying ivory ornaments into wooden furniture, walls, and other fine objects was also prevalent during the second millennium B.C.E. In general the Bible conveys the picture of the development by the Jewish people in Ereẓ Israel of manifold skills in the arts and crafts which they later carried with them throughout the Diaspora.

[Ze'ev Yeivin]

Post-Biblical and Talmudic Period

There is little information about crafts in the period between the return from the Babylonian captivity in 538 B.C.E. and the talmudic era. Carpenters and masons are explicitly mentioned in Ezra 3:7 as being among those who returned from the Babylonian exile, and they must have been active in the building of the Temple. Among those who took part in the building of the wall of Jerusalem under the guidance of Nehemiah are mentioned the *ẓorefim* ("refiners and workers in gold and silver"; Neh. 3:8 and 31), the perfumers (3:8), and the builders, who, in addition to the stonework, "set up the doors, the bolts, and the bars" of the various gates. Little is known of the life of the Jewish people in Judea during the period after Nehemiah until the establishment of Seleucid rule in 198 B.C.E. Discoveries at Tell al-Naṣba indicate that the manufacture of pottery was carried on by entire villages during this period. Aristeas described Jerusalem as "a city rich in crafts" (*Aristeas to Philocrates*, ed. M. Hadas, p. 147). Ben Sira (Ecclus. 38:27–32) describes in some detail the work of the various craftsmen of his time, wood carvers, signet engravers ("whose art is to make every variety of design; he is careful to make the likeness true"), metalsmiths, and potters, and concludes, "All these are deft with their hands, and each is wise in his handiwork; without them a city cannot be inhabited, and wherever they dwell they hunger not."

Arts and crafts were greatly fostered by the Hasmonean kings, as a result of the extensive building operations which they undertook. Simeon built the port of Jaffa to attract seaborne commerce, and the increased maritime trade also promoted the development of crafts. The description of the mausoleum which he erected for his parents and brothers in Modi'in (I Macc. 13:25) makes it certain that skilled craftsmen of every kind were employed in its erection and embellishment. The huge building projects undertaken by Herod, both in Jerusalem and Caesarea, but above all the rebuilding of the Temple, so vividly described by Josephus (Ant., 15:380ff.), called for skilled workers in many spheres – masons, carpenters, metalworkers, weavers and embroiderers, goldsmiths and silversmiths. Jews were employed for the building of the Temple as is specifically mentioned. Priests were trained as masons and carpenters for the edifice itself – as Josephus states, "Into none of these did King Herod enter, for he was forbidden, because he was not a priest. However, he took care of the cloisters and outer enclosures" (15:419–20). Excavations in Jerusalem have revealed the sarcophagus of "Simeon, the builder of the Sanctuary."

There were some families of craftsmen who were experts in skills required for the Temple service itself. The *Bet Garmu specialized in the preparation of the *shewbread and the house of Avtinas prepared the incense. These families actually monopolized their position. When they demanded higher wages, the Temple administration dismissed them and summoned shewbread and incense makers from Alexandria to take their place. The experiment failed because of the inefficiency of the new craftsmen, and the houses of Garmu and Avtinas were reinstalled. They only resumed work after receiving double their previous salary (Yoma 3:11, 38). That Jews engaged in the building of pagan edifices is specifically mentioned in the Mishnah with regard to the problems of conscience and *halakhah* for the Jewish workers. The sages ruled that "none may help them to build a basilica, scaffold, stadium, or judges' tribunal; but one may help them to build public baths or bathhouses, yet when they reach the cupola in which the idol is placed, it is forbidden to help them to build it" (Av. Zar. 1:7).

In ancient Jerusalem, before the city fell in 70 C.E., specified streets, markets, and districts were inhabited by artisans of the same trade. Bakers, cheese-makers, blacksmiths, goldsmiths, leatherworkers, dyers, weavers, fullers, potters, and other craftsmen were concentrated in their own quarters. The different trades seem to have had synagogues of their own. When passing through the city or a nearby village, the artisan was recognized by the distinctive badge he wore: the tailor had a needle stuck in the front of his dress; the worker in wool showed a woolen thread; the dyer carried different colored threads from which patrons could select the desired shade; the carpenter displayed a ruler; the leatherworker was recognized by the apron he wore; and the weaver carried a small distaff behind his ear and the scribe, a pen. Eleazar b. Azariah said of this practice of wearing badges: "There is something grand about artisanship; every artisan boasts of his trade, grandly carrying his badge in the street" (ARN^2 21, 45); and the rabbis stated that he who does not teach his son a craft, teaches him brigandage (Kid. 29a). The rabbis classified leather dressing among the coarser trades, but quilting or stitching in furrows was considered a clean and easy craft (Kid. 82a–b). The tanners of Palestine, like those of ancient Greece, practiced their trade outside the cities because of the unpleasant odor. Gold and silversmiths produced articles for the household as well as ornaments. An ornament produced for women was a "golden Jerusalem," which contained the picture or the engraving of Jerusalem (Shab. 59a). The institution of apprenticeship was frequently mentioned in rabbinic literature. The master was called *rav* and the apprentice, *talmid* or *shulyah*. The term of apprenticeship was agreed upon between the master and the parents of the boy. The son of an artisan generally followed the trade of his father, and orphans were instructed by members of the guild of their late fathers.

An impressive description is given by the rabbis of the massive basilica synagogue in Alexandria. The worshipers did not occupy their seats at random, but goldsmiths, silversmiths, blacksmiths, metalworkers, and weavers all sat together in groups so that when a poor man entered the place he recognized the members of his craft and on applying to that quarter obtained a livelihood for himself and for the members of his family (Suk. 51). The guild of Jewish weavers in Alexandria was registered according to Roman law as a corporation (J. Juster, *Les Juifs dans l'empire romain*, vol. 2, 306), and the Jewish coppersmiths of Alexandria were renowned. According to the Talmud the coppersmiths were employed to repair the bronze utensils in the Temple and were commissioned to make doors of Corinthian bronze for the Temple which "shone like gold" (Yoma 38a). The craftsmen of Jerusalem used to come out in groups to welcome the pilgrims bringing their first fruits to the Temple (Bik. 3:3). Both the Jerusalem and the Babylonian Talmuds have many references to craftsmen of every kind in Ereẓ Israel after the destruction of the Temple and an echo of their prosperity to which Ben Sira refers in the third century B.C.E. is heard in the proverb, "though a famine lasts seven years it does not pass through the gate of the artisan" (Sanh. 29a).

The textiles of Beth-Shean, referred to in the Talmud (TJ, Kid. 2:5) were famed for their quality and praised by Roman writers; Sepphoris had a synagogue of the weavers. Dyeing was a particular Jewish occupation; to the statement of a fourth century work, *Totius Orbis Descriptio*, that purple silk was manufactured in Sarafand, Caesarea, Shechem, and Lydda, the Talmud (Sot. 46b) adds a village, Luz, in Galilee, where the famous purple dye was made. As mentioned, whole villages engaged in pottery making, and Tiberias was a center for glass. Many beautiful mosaic pavements have been uncovered in Israel; that of the sixth-century synagogue in Bet Alfa is inscribed with the names of the craftsmen *Marianos and his son Ḥanina. In Babylon also, Jews worked in a multitude of crafts, including weaving, dyeing, tapestry making, leather work, metalwork, and wicker work (BB 22a; cf. Pauly-Wissowa s.v. *Babylonia*). Pumbedita was a center for the weaving of linen (Git. 27a; BM 18b). Josephus (Wars, 5:212) describes in detail a "truly wonderful" Babylonian-made curtain (*parokhet*) in front of the Holy of Holies in the Temple. The frequent references in the Babylonian Talmud to *rashei ommanot* ("heads of crafts") suggests that the craftsmen were organized in guilds, and in fact there are references to guilds of basketmakers and to weavers (Sot. 48a). Perfumers, carpenters, and art metalworkers were apprenticed (Krauss, Tal Arch, vol. 2, 255–6). Glassblowing seems to have been an occupation among Jews not only in Ereẓ Israel, but also in Egypt and Rome. Although a reference in the Talmud (Men. 28b) to Alexandrian goblets does not mention that they were of Jewish manufacture, names of Jewish glassblowers have been found in Oxyrhynchus and Thebes, and Roman glasswork of the third and fourth centuries decorated with typical Jewish symbols, the ark, the *menorah*, the Temple, and the *sukkah*, strongly suggest Jewish craftsmen in glass (*Classical Review*, 51 no. 4 (1937), 144–6).

From the Middle Ages to the End of the 18th Century

The Jewish occupational structure was gradually eroded with the destruction of the ancient Jewish social pattern and with the change in social attitudes through the relentless pressure from the Christian church, from the fourth century on. With the burgeoning of city life in the lands of Islam and the gradual exclusion from and relinquishment by Jews of agriculture under both Muslim and Christian rule, a process which had been accomplished more or less by the eighth century, crafts became almost the only economic sphere where Jews still worked with their hands. The respect paid to crafts in the period immediately preceding this profound change in Jewish life waned in the atmosphere of the medieval cities, where the merchant and trade had a more honored status.

Two entirely different patterns in the practice of crafts and their place in Jewish life and society are discernible throughout the Middle Ages. One characterizes the communities in countries around the Mediterranean, including in the south those in the continents of Asia and Africa, and in the north extending more or less to an imaginary demarcation line from the Pyrenees to the northern end of the Balkans. The other, in the Christian countries of Europe, was more or less north of the Pyrenees-Balkans line.

SOUTH OF THE PYRENEES-BALKANS. In the ancient places of Jewish settlement, crafts continued a major occupation of a large part of the Jewish population. The Karaite Benjamin b. Moses al-*Nahāwendī described in the ninth century those who "come to another's house, do his work and make what he needs for him for pay – like the tailor and the launderer, the worker in iron, in copper, tin, and lead, the dyer and the weaver as well as every other artisan" (in his *Massat Binyamin* [1834], 4b). There was thus a wide range of itinerant Jewish craftsmen in Persia and its vicinity. In the same century a hostile Muslim denigrated the Jews because among them are found "only dyers, tanners, bloodletters, butchers, and cobblers." This limitation in Jewish society must have been a figment of his imagination, but in any case he must have found many Jews in these occupations in Egypt and its surroundings in his time. The responsa of the *geonim* contain ample evidence of Jewish crafts and craftsmen throughout the Muslim Empire in the 10th and 11th centuries.

In the 11th and 12th centuries extensive Jewish activity in crafts is attested. S.D. Goitein has shown (*A Mediterranean Society*, 1 (1967), 362–7) how widespread and ramified were partnerships in crafts. He stated (p. 87) that these partnerships "range in date between 1016 and 1240…. Concerned are gold and silversmithing and other metal work…, dyeing (purple… indigo… silk),… the manufacture of glass vessels,… weaving,… silk work,… the making of wine,… and cheese, sugar factories,… and a pharmacy." The amounts of money and quantities of materials involved in these partnerships and in other craft enterprises (*ibid.*, 80–89) indicate a wide range in scale of the work. Sometimes the equipment of such a workshop is mentioned:

> An inventory of the workshop of a silk-weaver, dated 1157, contained 32 items… He possessed four looms, three combs connected with silk-weaving, three cylinders of wood on which the woven materials were rolled, two irons, one for the pressing of robes and another for the pressing of fabrics worn as turbans, wickerwork baskets full of warps, various quantities of bleached and other linen (which was woven together with silk), a small pot with weaver's reeds, copper threads covered with silver, and other items not preserved. The instruments taken away from a silk-weaver in Dahshū (the village famous for its pyramids) counted 26 items, of which nine were different from those just mentioned (*ibid.*, 86).

Most workshops were smaller, like the one whose "weaving tools" were sold for 12 dirhem only (J. Blau (ed.), *Teshuvot ha-Rambam* (1961), 85–86, no. 52).

*Benjamin of Tudela began to find Jewish craftsmen on his travels only on reaching Greece. At Thebes he found "about two thousand Jews. They are the good masters for preparing silk and purple clothes in the land of the Greeks, and among them are great sages in Mishnah and Talmud" (M.N. Adler (ed.), *Itinerary of Benjamin of Tudela* (1907), 12, Heb. section). He also found the Jews of Salonika, numbering about 500, among them scholars, "and they busy themselves in silk work" (*ibid.*, 13). At Constantinople he was told that Jews are hated mainly "on account of the tanners, who work in hides, because they throw out their dirty water into the streets at their doorsteps and they befoul the Jewish quarter. Therefore the Greeks hate the Jews, the good ones as well as the bad ones" (*ibid.*, 16). Benjamin's information not only expressed the usual superiority of merchants toward craftsmen in a medieval city, but also gave evidence of differing attitudes – an inimical one, toward "base" professions, like tannery, and a more friendly one, toward "better" professions like silk manufacture and dyeing, among Jews.

Throughout the later Middle Ages and up to modern times the same structure of Jewish society persisted in Islamic countries, in which a broad layer of various Jewish craftsmen was a distinct feature. Several crafts – like silk work and dyeing, in some countries also silver and gold work (e.g., in Yemen) – were considered a Jewish specialty.

Not only Sicily under Norman and Hohenstaufen rule relied on Jews for silk work and dyeing, but in Italy there were many Jewish craftsmen, in particular in the south. It would seem that Thomas Aquinas was referring to them in his letter *Ad ducissam Brabantiae* (March 7, 1274), advising Christian rulers that "they would do better to compel the Jews to work for their living as is done in parts of Italy" (*ut Judaeos laborare compellerent ad proprium victum lucrandum, sicut in partibus Italiae faciunt*). The same situation was found about 200 years later, by Obadiah of *Bertinoro. Writing in 1488, he describes the community of Palermo, which "contains about 850 Jewish families…. They are poverty-stricken artisans, such as coppersmiths and ironsmiths, porters and peasants… despised by the Christians because they are all tattered and dirty… They are compelled to go into the service of the king whenever any new labor project arises; they have to drag ships to the shore, to construct dykes, and so on. They are also employed in administering corporal punishment and in carrying out the sentence of death" (ed. A. Yaari, in *Iggerot Ereẓ Yisrael* (1943), 104). He found a similar situation at Messina, where he counted "about four hundred Jewish family heads… better off than those of Palermo, all of them craftsmen, though a few are merchants" (*ibid.*, 108). As in the 12th century, so in the 15th century, the Jewish onlooker from the north expresses shock at and a sense of superiority toward this artisan Jewish society.

CHRISTIAN SPAIN. In the kingdoms of Christian Spain, craftsmen made up a large and important sector in Jewish occupations and society. The family name Escapat, Scapat, derives originally from an Aramaic term for a shoemaker. In many communities artisans were the majority or formed at least half of the income earners. In Segovia, in the late 14th century, out of 55 Jewish earners, "23 were artisans – weavers, shoemakers, tailors, furriers, blacksmiths, saddlers, potters, and dyers" (Baer, Spain, 1 (1961), 198). "There was a street known as Shoemakers' Lane in the *judería* of Toledo in the 14th century" (*ibid.*, 197). "Conspicuous in Aragon are Jewish bookbinders, scientists who devise scientific instruments, and gold- and silversmiths" (*ibid.*, 426). Baer assumes that in the 14th century "at least half of the Jews of Barcelona… were artisans: weavers, dyers, tailors, shoemakers, engravers, blacksmiths, silversmiths (including some highly esteemed craftsmen who made Christian religious objects), bookbinders (who bound the registers of the royal chancery), workers in coral, and porters" (*ibid.*, 2 (1966), 37). The same holds more or less true for Saragossa (*ibid.*, 55–56). The anti-Jewish laws of 1412 stated that "Jewish artisans (blacksmiths, tailors, shoemakers, etc.) might not serve Christian customers" (*ibid.*, 168).

There is every reason to assume that the main outlines of Jewish society in the kingdoms of Christian Spain were a continuation of its structure in the kingdoms of Muslim Spain. The importance of artisans was evident in Jewish social and even cultural life there. The artisans were the mainstay of the opposition led by the mystic trend to the rule of the rationalist patrician stratum in Spanish communities. Artisan *guilds were behind many of the demands for democratization of community leadership and for equal distribution of taxes in communities like Saragossa and Barcelona in the 13th and 14th centuries. Shocked by the catastrophe of the persecutions of 1391, the moralist Solomon ibn Laḥmish *Alami demanded in 1415 of the Spanish Jew: "Teach yourself a craft, to earn your living by your work… for it is to the honor of men to live off their work and toil, not as the proud ones thought in their foolishness" (*lggeret Musar*, ed. A.M. Habermann (1946), 29).

The artisans had always been the most faithful element in Spanish Jewry. During the mass conversions of 1391–1415, many devout artisans remained steadfast" (Baer, Spain, 2 (1966), 354). No wonder that King Alfonso v stated in 1417 that community leadership had passed to "the artisans and the little people" and Solomon *Bonafed complained about this time that in Spanish Jewry "the tailors render judgment, and the saddlers sit in courts (quoted by Baer, *ibid.*, 248).

The workshop of the Jewish artisan in Spain was not always a small one. Mention is made of workshops (*operatoria*) on a large scale for the manufacture of clothes in Saragossa and Huesca (Baer, Spain, 1 (1961), 425). About the beginning of the 14th century there came before *Asher b. Jehiel (the *Rosh*) the case of a dyer or saddler "who has an annual expense in the form of gifts to the judges and officials, to keep them from trumping up charges against him – the usual contribution that craftsmen are required to make out of their handiwork" (quoted by Baer, *ibid.*, 201). At the other end of artisan society there would be the case of that "worthless scamp among the artisans [who] will marry a woman here today and then become enamored of another and go and marry her elsewhere and return brazenly to his home town" (responsum quoted by Beer, *ibid.*, 424).

After the expulsion from Spain the exiled artisans merged into the artisan class of the communities in North Africa and the Ottoman Empire. It would seem that many other exiles took up crafts in their new straitened circumstances; some would even see it as a moral obligation, as formulated by men like Solomon ibn Laḥmish Alami (see above). The Safed community in its days of glory in the 16th century was based on a broad stratum of craftsmen practicing on a large and small scale. Stories about Isaac b. Solomon Ashkenazi *Luria (Ari) tell much about the social relationships and place of artisans in this holy community. One of the exiles who went to Jerusalem advised his correspondents: "Let anyone who wants to, come. For they can live out their lives earning through crafts. These are the worthwhile crafts here – gold- and silversmithery, tailoring, carpentry, shoemaking, weaving and smithery… I who know no craft except for my learning derive my needs from Torah study" (A. Yaari (ed.), *Iggerot Ereẓ Yisrael* (1943), 181).

NORTH OF THE PYRENEES-BALKANS (INCLUDING NORTHERN AND CENTRAL ITALY). Crafts played a very small role as a Jewish occupation, from the inception of Jewish settlement in this part of Europe. Around the beginning of the 11th century mention is made of a Jew in northern France who owned a furnace and made his living by working it with Christian hired men and letting it out for baking to other people (S. Eidelberg (ed.), *Teshuvot Rabbenu Gershom* (1956), 61–63, no. 8).

Neither the documents of privileges granted to Jews in these countries up to the 15th century nor their own writings reveal much concern with crafts or the presence of craftsmen. Certainly the Christian guilds prevented the growth of a Jewish artisan class in the cities of Western and Central Europe up to the 15th century. Since moneylending brought various articles in pawn into Jewish houses, to be able to return them undamaged or to sell them profitably the Jew had to learn to repair them and keep them in good condition. Hence a part-time, unspecialized kind of "pottering" artisanship always existed in those countries and times where Jews were engaged in moneylending. Jews attempted to maintain their own butchers for the sake of *kashrut*, although Christian butchers' guilds always tried, often with success, to thwart this aim. It is reasonable to assume that there were always at least part-time tailors among Jews everywhere, to avoid using the forbidden admixture of wool and flax (*sha'atnez*).

From these beginnings there developed from the 15th century a resumption of crafts among communities in Southern and Central Europe (Bohemia, Moravia, and Austria) and especially in Poland-Lithuania.

Rabbinical responsa tell of women – widows or spinsters – who worked in shawl-making and thread-making for gentile customers. Jewish craftsmen are mentioned in Poland in 1460. In 1485 the municipal council of Cracow permitted "poor Jewesses to sell every day shawls and scarves made by their own hands and craft." Jews increasingly penetrated crafts in the towns of Poland in the 16th century as the constant complaints of guilds and municipal councils abundantly show. The same development is reflected even more strongly in the various royal decisions and agreements between municipalities and Jews, or Christian guilds and their Jewish counterparts, all of which combine to give a picture of consistent, even if much hampered, penetration of Jews into various crafts.

In the grand duchy of Lithuania, the Jews of Grodno already had permission in 1389 in their charter of privileges "to exercise different crafts." In time, crafts became a well-developed sector of the Jewish economic structure. When needy, displaced refugee children from Germany arrived in Lithuania in the wake of the destruction of the Thirty Years' War, the Council of Lithuania (see *Councils of the Lands) gave the compassionate instruction: "It has been resolved and decided to accept 57 boys into our country to be under our protection, to divide them among the communities to feed them, to clothe and shoe them. Boys to whom God has granted wisdom that their study will be successful shall be induced to study Torah at school; boys whose abilities are not sufficient for the study of the Torah shall be induced to take service or to learn the work of some craft" (S. Dubnow (ed.), *Pinkas ha-Medinah* (1925), 73, no. 351). This indicates both that there was opportunity for learning a craft, and the disregard in which it was held by the leaders of Jewish society. Accordingly crafts are associated with intellectual incapability; it would be a sin, it seems, to send an able boy to be apprenticed to an artisan. The council also dealt with supervision of Jewish tailors to ensure that they should not transgress Jewish law in their work (*ibid.*, 178, no. 728). The increase in craftsmen is reflected in the hostile decision of the Council of Lithuania in 1761 forbidding craftsmen in all large communities from taking part in the assemblies of the community (*ibid.*, 268, no. 983). Indeed, in the bitter divisions in the Vilna community in the second half of the 18th century craftsmen played an important role in the opposition groups and activities.

Despite a general disparagement of crafts, *printing was considered an honorable profession. The Cracow community is found in 1595 trying to defend the printers of Cracow and Lublin against competition from Italian printers (M. Balaban, in jjlg, 11 (1916), 93, no. 79).

In the rapidly developing southeast of Poland a Jewish craftsman named Kalman, mentioned as a proficient tanner and furrier (*in arte pellificiaria bene versatus*) in *Przemysl, was important enough to be granted a special privilege by King Stephan Báthory in 1578 (M. Schorr, *Żydzi w Przemyślu* (1903), 88–89, no. 12). In the same town – which was certainly not exceptional in economic structure – the king defended in 1638 "the Jewish craftsmen who do their work for Jews only" against restrictions by the municipal authorities (*ibid.*, 143, no. 71). The Jews, however, penetrated the Christian market there. In 1645 the same king ratified an agreement between the municipal authorities and the Jews, paragraphs 5–14 of which show Jewish craftsmen as serious competitors to the Christian craftsmen in the branches of tanning, furriery, tailoring, barbering, goldsmithery, painting, cobbling, saddlery, baking, candle-making, hat-making, and sword-making; some of their products were intended by the Jewish craftsmen for the Jewish market only – or so their Christian competitors demanded. Some were entered on the Christian market with the reluctant agreement of the guilds (*ibid.*, 150–1, no. 74). By the end of the 17th century the citizens of Przemysl prepared a complaint which generalized that "every Jew is either a merchant or a craftsman." They state that the Jews had "totally ruined the goldsmiths', the tailors', the butchers', and the bakers' guilds." The method of competition used by the Jews is described. They employ mobility and initiative. "They [i.e., the Jews] have totally eradicated the barber-bloodletters' guild for there are several Jewish barbers who go with their physicians to the manor houses to the patients there letting blood, putting on suctions cups (*bańki*); the same they do in town. There were not a few Christian soap-makers; now there remains only one, and at that, very poor. But there are several Jews who make soap, carrying it down river and selling it in town too" (*ibid.*, 206–8, no. 129). In this town, as in others, Jewish guilds developed, and from the last quarter of the 17th century various ordinances and regulations are extant of the Przemysl Jewish tailors' guild – which called itself grandiloquently "the holy society of the dressers of the naked ones" (חברא קדישא דמלבישי ערומים) – showing relations between masters and apprentices, and between masters and hired workers, and demonstrating the strict supervision by the community and rabbi over the observance of *sha'atnez* laws by the tailors (*ibid.*, 259–74, nos. v–xxiii).

The situation in the west of Poland-Lithuania, i.e., Great Poland, is seen clearly in various ordinances of the Poznan community. In 1535 a council of community elders – usually very conservative and patrician in its attitude – admonished the Jews in their jurisdiction

> To remember for their good the clothes makers of Śwerzeniec community, a reminder of help and mercy, to look upon some among them with care and particular supervision – for we have seen that crafts are diminishing daily and many of our people have deserted craftsmanship, hence it is fitting to strengthen

> the hands of the artisans, not to let them fall, for this is a great benefit and an important rule for the entire society (D. Avron (ed.), *Pinkas ha-Kesherim shel Kehillat Poznan* (1966), 55–66, no. 273).

The same council devised in 1747 a set of model ordinances for guilds in the community and for regulating their relations with other community institutions (*ibid.*, 398–403).

By the end of the 18th century the Poznan community had a well-developed artisan class. In 1797 there were in the town 923 Jewish and 676 Christian tailors; 22 Jewish goldsmiths and 19 Christian; 51 Jewish hatters, 24 Christian; 52 Jewish buttonmakers, 6 Christian; 238 Jewish ironsmiths, 6 Christian; 51 Jewish bakers, 607 Christian. In total there were 1,592 Jewish craftsmen, about one-third of the 4,921 craftsmen in Poznan in this year.

In Bohemia-Moravia also, as well as in southern Germany, Jews increasingly engaged in crafts. A community like that of Prague had long-standing and well-developed Jewish guilds by this period based on a ramified craft structure and professional life and organization.

Some circles of these craftsmen developed a specific ethos and pride in their own calling. As early as the 17th century there were tailors in Poland-Lithuania who asked to be buried with the boards of their tailoring tables, being certain of the honesty and righteousness of their life's work.

Modern Times

In the aspirations for emancipation of the Jews and spread of Enlightenment – and as a corollary of the program for "productivization" of the Jews – occupation in crafts became an issue of the ideological and political strivings for change and betterment in legal status and social standing. Christian W. von *Dohm regarded the encouragement to enter crafts as part of his proposals for "betterment of the Jews." Emperor *Joseph II included encouragement of crafts among Jews in his legislation for them.

Yet, the practical changes in crafts did not eventuate from this ideology or legal enactments, but from the actual economic and social situation among the masses of Jews in Poland-Lithuania and later on in the Pale of Settlement in czarist Russia. In the 18th century many Jewish craftsmen in the private towns of the Polish nobility began to bring their products to fairs and market days in the main royal towns. The general tendency, in which craftsmen were now working for the open market instead of producing to order, encouraged this development. The Jewish craftsman – being outside the guild structure – was unattached and ready to prepare stock and sell it in free competition. He thus became anathema to the Christian craftsmen and the guilds.

In the early 19th century Jews in the impoverished and overcrowded *shtetl* in the Pale of Settlement tended either to continue in the old crafts – mainly tailoring, textiles, and cobbling – or to enter new professions where not much training or outlay on equipment was needed, such as leather work, and carting. Many of those craftsmen peddled their work in villages around the townlets. Through the 19th century a specific Jewish crafts structure developed in Eastern Europe, as reflected in Table 1 for the end of the century.

This situation made for hardship and competition among Jewish crafts in the Pale of Settlement. It also gave rise to a specific way of life, and even folklore among the masses of Jewish workers. By the end of the 19th century, Eastern Europe had a strong element of class-conscious Jewish craftsmen who through their poverty and hardship formed an embryonic Jewish proletariat. Much of the force of the Jewish revolutionary movement and sentiment, the bitterness and impulsion to social activity, came from this stratum of Jewish society. The writings of *Shalom Aleichem and other writers of this generation immortalize the spirit of "*amkho, sher un eyzen*" ("our folk of the scissors and flatiron").

In the same period of the 19th and early 20th centuries, Jewish crafts in the old centers, for instance Prague and in Bavaria, disintegrated under the impact of flourishing capitalism and the crossing over of Jews in Central and Western Europe to the more profitable and "respectable" professions of the middle class. Emancipation in these countries brought about not productivization but practically the end of Jewish participation in crafts.

Jewish emigration in the second half of the 19th century, and in a large measure up to the 1930s, was predicated on and characterized by this craftsmen element.

Among the Jewish immigrants to the United States before World War I, over one-third were craftsmen, mostly tailors, whereas among non-Jews only 20% of the immigrants had a

Table 1. Crafts Structure in the Pale of Settlement, 1898

Crafts	Masters	Hired Workers	Apprentices	Total
Garment	108,527 (43.3%)	80,402 (32%)	61,923 (24.7%)	250,852
Food	43,665 (75.5%)	9,675 (16.7%)	4,547 (7.8%)	57,887
Woodwork	25,653 (51.7%)	14,119 (28.5%)	9,816 (19.8%)	49,588
Metalwork	25,499 (52.1%)	12,892 (26.4%)	10,530 (21.5%)	48,921
Construction	19,791 (62.7%)	7,094 (22.4%)	4,705 (14.9%)	31,590
Textiles	10,589 (57.4%)	4,582 (24.9%)	3,257 (17.7%)	18,428
Leather	6,123 (50.9%)	3,953 (32.8%)	1,964 (16.3%)	12,040
Paper and Print	5,998 (51.3%)	3,343 (28.6%)	2,354 (20.1%)	11,695
Chemicals	2,764 (76.4%)	594 (16.4%)	259 (7.2%)	3,617
Other Crafts	10,787 (65.9%)	3,874 (23.7%)	1,707 (10.4%)	16,368
Total	259,396 (51.8%)	140,528 (28%)	101,062 (20.2%)	500,986 (100%)

skilled profession. Of 106,236 Jewish immigrants to the United States in 1903–04 there were 16,426 tailors, 4,078 carpenters, 2,763 cobblers, 1,970 glaziers and painters, 1,400 butchers, 1,173 bakers, and 14,830 in miscellaneous crafts. (See Table 2: Jewish Craftsmen in New York, 1890). In Paris in 1910 Jewish immigrants from Eastern Europe included 16,060 craftsmen of whom 11,460 (71.4%) were in garment manufacture – 7,000 tailors, 2,000 hatters, 1,900 furriers, 1,200 cobblers – 2,700 (16.8%) iron workers, 1,000 (6.2%) wood-workers, 600 (3.7%) leather workers, and 300 (1.9%) in other crafts. The same structure held good for Eastern European Jewish immigrants in England as well as other countries.

Table 2. Jewish Craftsmen in New York, 1890

Tailors (General)	**Tailors (Women's Coats)**	**Tailors (Wholesale)**	**Cigarette Manufacturers**
9,595	2,084	1,043	976
Haberdashers	**Painters**	**Carpenters**	**Tinsmiths**
715	458	443	417
Butchers	**Gold + Silver Smiths**	**Bakers**	**Glaziers**
413	287	270	148
Typesetters	**Machinists**	**Shoemakers**	**Musicians**
145	143	83	67

Thus the sweatshop of New York, London, and other centers of Jewish immigration and the preponderance of Jews in tailoring and ready-made clothes businesses in countries of large immigration from Eastern Europe derived from the structure of the Jewish crafts world which had taken shape during the 19th and early 20th centuries in Eastern Europe.

This situation underwent many changes, mostly destructive, between the two world wars. In Soviet Russia the general trend against the practice of the independent craftsman and the industrialization of the country diminished the role of crafts among Jews. In the countries built on the ruins of the empires of czarist Russia and Austria-Hungary – like Poland, or Lithuania – the old enmity of the Christian craftsmen rapidly reasserted itself in modern guise. Jews were pushed out or barred from crafts either explicitly or more frequently by seemingly innocuous demands by the trade unions or authorities. Entry to the trade, for instance, was made conditional upon proper apprenticeship with proper masters (and Christian masters only were usually recognized as such); stringent demands for modern equipment and modern conditions of work were usually formulated in a way that hampered the Jewish craftsman in particular. The response of Jewish crafts to this challenge was pioneered by *cooperatives and loan banks; a stimulus was given to schooling and the establishment of educational systems; vocational training was provided by the *ORT organization.

In modern Ereẓ Israel the pioneering spirit of exaltation of work did not noticeably turn in the direction of crafts. Enthusiasm was mainly reserved for agricultural work and manual labor.

By the end of World War II, a large segment of Jewish craftsmen had disappeared as a result of the Holocaust. The specific technical requirements and social structure of the State of Israel and its growing prosperity, with the predominance of the middle-class, liberal and administrative professions governing the structure and ethos of Jewish economy and society in the countries of the West (Western Europe, the United States, Great Britain and the Commonwealth, South Africa, South America), have created a situation where in many places Jewish occupation in crafts is at a vanishing point, and in others they play an increasingly minor role. The large

Table 3. Professional Structure of Jewish and non-Jewish Population between the Two World Wars (approx.)

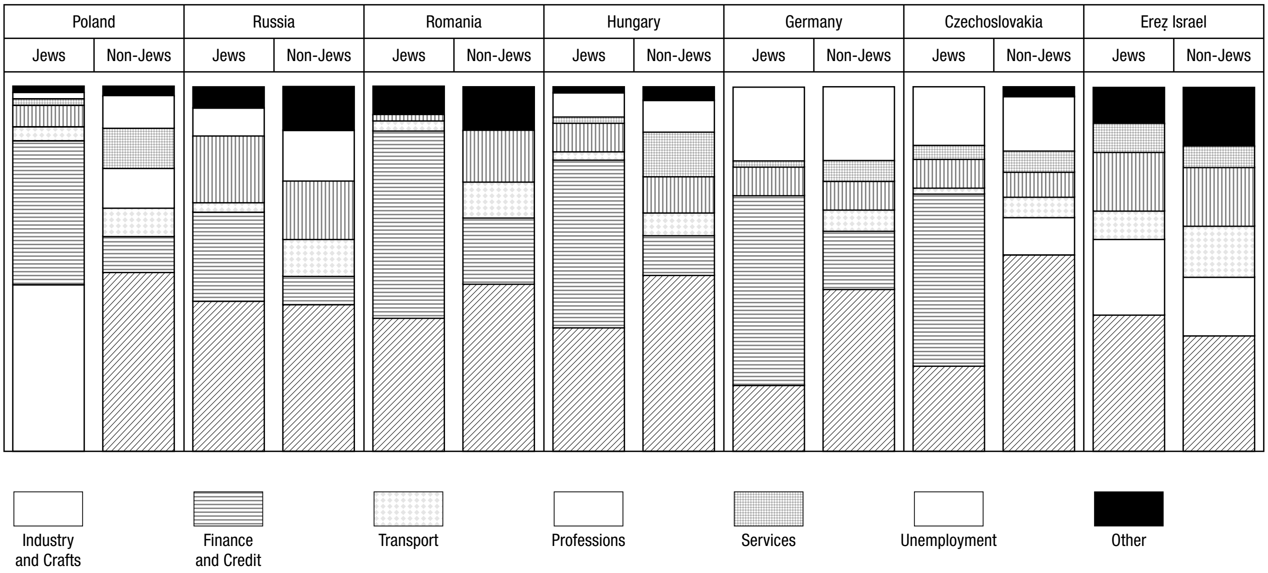

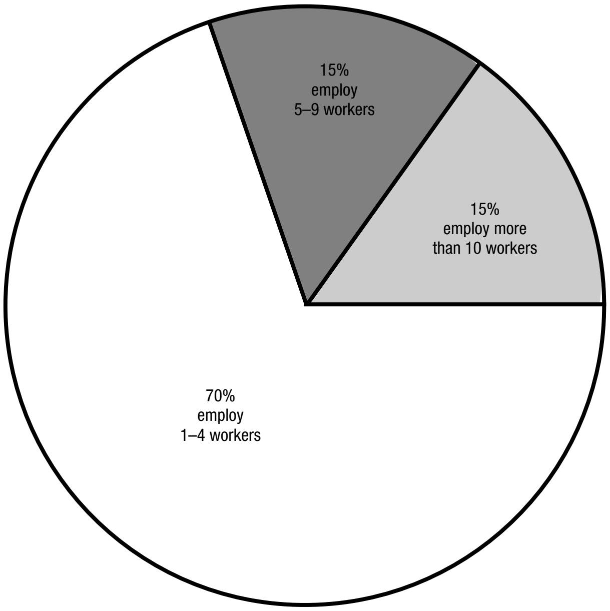

Figure 1. Share of small- and medium-scale enterprises in crafts and industry in Israel, 1968 (includes artisans' workshops – 24,500 workers)

concentrations of Jewish tailors and tailoring in New York, London, and elsewhere have almost disappeared in the lower echelons of the craft in particular.

A 1957 survey conducted by the U.S. Bureau of the Census found that 9% of employed male Jews were working in crafts. A similar breakdown in Canada put the percentage at 14%.

On the other hand, the large scale immigration of Jews from Near Eastern countries to Israel and the entry of survivors of the Holocaust to Israel and some western countries brought a certain temporary revival of Jewish crafts there as shown by Table 4. Craftsmen among Immigrants to Israel.

An indication of ORT activity in assisting young Jews to train for modern and sophisticated crafts in the postwar period is shown by Table 5. Crafts Specialization among Graduates of ORT. In keeping with this trend, from the late 1960s ORT schools began moving toward comprehensive education, academic as well as vocational, with an emphasis on technological occupations.

It now seems that despite efforts at modernization and the near disappearance of many of the old inimical forces, Jewish occupation in crafts and the role of craftsmen as an important factor in Jewish society are disappearing, as in other societies, through the influence of modern industrial techniques and organization.

CONCLUSIONS. Throughout the medieval and modern periods crafts played an uneven role and were differently evaluated in the various Jewish centers. The greatest continuity in position and constancy of attitudes toward crafts is found in the countries of the Middle East up to the end of the 19th century. Crafts and craftsmen weighed most importantly in the social and economic structure of the Jewries of Christian Spain (to the end of the 15th century) and those of Eastern Europe in the late Middle Ages and modern period. For a relatively brief interval they played a dynamic role in the new urban centers of Jewish immigration in the West.

Whereas in the Near East and Spain crafts were accorded – even if sometimes grudgingly – a positive evaluation and craftsmen had a certain recognized influence in Jewish

Table 4. Craftsmen among Immigrants to Israel (1950–1968)

	Clothing	Paper, Printing and Bookbinding	Wood	Leather	Food, Drink and Tobacco	Metal	Fine Mechanics	Machinery and Motor Vehicles	Electronics	Total Number of Craftsmen	Total Number of Immigrants
1950	7,139	422	1,632	2,394	1,587	1,009	1,408	1,071	702	17,364	169,405
1951	4,875	324	1,477	2,217	1,365	665	1,397	687	398	13,405	173,901
1952	791	66	327	407	145	155	141	225	113	2,370	23,375
1953	311	38	103	150	54	63	80	158	61	1,018	10,347
1954	664	63	261	404	88	117	124	203	92	2,016	17,471
1955	1,870	141	746	1,148	219	229	275	407	180	5,215	36,303
1956	2,594	209	931	1,236	308	427	358	565	350	6,978	54,925
1957	3,265	314	828	1,235	615	1,025	507	828	719	9,336	69,733
1958	805	66	242	275	223	191	189	286	179	2,456	25,919
1959	1,013	88	313	284	214	277	193	274	202	2,858	22,987
1960	973	90	315	215	187	283	182	326	222	2,793	23,487
1961	2,047	229	604	668	358	152	479	844	483	5,864	46,571
1962	2,366	244	643	1,171	375	154	443	747	380	6,523	59,473
1963	2,063	208	672	1,147	394	165	419	735	445	6,248	62,086
1964	2,731	243	738	822	515	235	385	1,053	664	7,386	52,193
1965	1,318	152	297	304	252	96	204	616	354	3,593	28,501
1966	435	47	132	178	97	41	81	270	155	1,436	13,451
1967	472	61	125	106	87	35	102	214	119	1,321	12,237
1968	573	85	162	137	76	35	126	291	190	1,675	18,087

society, in the centers of Ashkenazi Jewry, even in Eastern Europe, they had to wait until the late 19th century and for modern revolutionary tendencies to attain some positive evaluation and social standing. It would seem that both the slighting of crafts in modern Zionist thought, even if this is subconscious, and the ephemeral character of their prosperity in the West, are not solely to be ascribed to the advent of modern techniques and industrialization but also to the legacy of this long-standing negative Ashkenazi attitude.

Table 5. Crafts Specialization among Graduates of ORT (1950–1970)

Trade	Male	Female	Total	%
Metal and Mechanics	42,344	299	42,643	24.8
Electricity and Radio	28,404	347	28,751	16.7
Carpentry	5,973	8	5,981	3.5
Agriculture and Agro-mechanics, Telephones	1,629	290	1,919	1.1
Needle Trades	9,324	35,548	44,872	26.1
Leather Work	1,746	2,005	3,751	2.0
Textile	1,344	3,306	4,650	2.7
Industrial Arts, Drawing, Printing	6,671	2,285	8,956	5.2
Building, Plumbing	2,638	75	2,713	1.6
Chemistry Laboratory Assistants, Beauty Culture, Secretarial, Languages	11,785	15,996	27,781	16.2
Total	111,858	60,159	172,017	100.0

[Haim Hillel Ben-Sasson]

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CRAIOVA, city in S. Romania. Sephardi Jews were living there from the first half of the 17th century. In 1790 they founded a *ḥevra kaddisha*, a Romanian landowner having granted them land for a cemetery. Ashkenazi Jews settled in Craiova in the mid-19th century, though their community was not officially founded until 1913. They owned two synagogues, the first built in 1842 and the other in 1880. Craiova was a center of Judeo-Spanish culture. In 1865 the Ashkenazi community established a boys' school which functioned until 1948. The Sephardi community maintained a separate school until 1887, when both schools were joined. There were 82 Jewish families in Craiova in 1831; 490 persons in 1860; 2, 891 in 1891; and 2,274 in 1930 (3.6% of the total population). In the Holocaust period, beginning in 1940, many Jews of Craiova were pauperized. Eighteen hundred Jews from northern Moldavia were forcibly transferred to Craiova.

After the war, the Jewish population was augmented by the influx of refugees from northern Bukovina, who chose not to return to their former homes under Soviet rule. A few years later the majority settled in Israel. In 1969, some 75 Jewish families lived in Craiova; they had a synagogue. In 2004, 89 Jews lived there. An Institute of Jewish Studies was established at the University of Craiova in 1998.

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[Theodor Lavi / Lucian-Zeev Herscovici (2nd ed.)]

CRANE (Heb. עָגוּר, *agur*), the bird *Grus grus* (*Megalornis grus*), which passes over Israel twice a year, in autumn on its migration to Africa, and in spring on its return to Europe. At these times large flocks of cranes in arrowhead formation can be seen in the skies of Israel. Their name, based on Hebrew and Aramaic (*kurkeyah*), probably derives onomatopoetically from their cry. Hezekiah, king of Judah, says in his illness he cried out like a crane (Isa. 38:14), while Jeremiah (8:7) refers to the crane's precise knowledge of the times of its migrations. The gray crane is the tallest bird in Israel (55 in.; 140 cm.). It feeds on insects, worms, and water-plants, and resembles the stork, except that it is gray-colored and has a black neck.

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[Jehuda Feliks]

CRANGANORE, leading port and commercial center in ancient and medieval India, associated with the ancient port of Miziris, north of *Cochin. Medieval travelers (including *Benjamin of Tudela) refer to it as Shingli, Shinkali or Ginjalek. In the historical tradition of the Malabar Jews, Cranganore is regarded as their original home and chief dwelling place. Jewish immigrants reputedly established their first foothold on the Malabar coast, and from there branched out into neighboring places and villages. According to tradition, the leader of the Jewish settlement in Cranganore, Joseph Rabban, was accorded by the Hindu emperor a charter and privileges engraved on copper plates still in the hands of Cochin Jews. The suggested date of these inscriptions ranges from the 4th to the 11th centuries C.E. The Jews of Cranganore enjoyed cultural and religious autonomy under their leader, called *mudaliar,* appointed by the rajah. Their number may have given rise to the widely circulated notion that the Jews had an independent kingdom in Cranganore. Given the fact that Muziris was an important port, it is possible to suppose that the Jews of the town were engaged in trade. Another argument in support of this view is that when in 1341 the harbor of Cranganore became silted up and the town lost its significance as a port, the Jews moved to Cochin. The conquest of Cranganore by the Portuguese in 1523 led to the complete destruction of the Jewish community. As a result there was another wave of emigration to other places in Malabar, from which the city of Cochin benefited in particular. The memory of the Jewish settlement in Cranganore/Shingli has survived until today. Until recently there was a tradition of placing a handful of earth from Cranganore in the coffin of a deceased Cochin Jew. The Shingli form of pronunciation is a specific feature of the liturgy of the Cochin synagogue.

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[W.J.F. / Yulia Egorova (2nd ed.)]

CRANKO, JOHN (1927–1973), ballet choreographer and director. Cranko's father, Herbert, a lawyer in South Africa, was Jewish; his mother, Grace Hinds, was not. Cranko was born in Rustenburg, South Africa, and studied dancing in Johannesburg and Cape Town, where he joined the University of Cape Town Ballet (1942). His first creative work was a version of Stravinsky's *Soldier's Tale* (1942). Moving to London in 1946, he entered the Sadler's Wells Ballet school and company, directed by Ninette de Valois. Soon he was creating ballets, the first of which was *Tritsch-Tratsch* (1946). After his great success with *Pineapple Poll* (1951), he became resident choreographer of the Sadler's Wells Ballet (which later merged with the Royal Ballet). Subsequently, he did a series of works for the Royal Ballet Company, including *Bonne Bouche* (1952), *The Lady and the Fool* (1954), and his first full-length ballet *The Prince of the Pagodas* (1957).

Meanwhile, Cranko had also choreographed works for the New York City Ballet (*The Witch*, 1950), the Paris Opera Ballet (*La Belle Hélene*, 1955), the Ballet Rambert (*Variations on a Theme*, 1954), and La Scala, Milan. He also wrote a revue, *Cranks* (1955), which had a successful run in London. In 1960, he was invited to produce *The Prince of the Pagodas* in Stuttgart, following which he was appointed ballet director there, and created a company that ranked among the foremost in the world. The Stuttgart Ballet, which staged only Cranko's works, appeared at the Edinburgh Festival (1963) and made tours in America, Europe, and the Soviet Union.

Cranko first visited Israel with the Stuttgart Ballet in 1970. The programs included Romeo *and Juliet* and several shorter pieces. His second visit was in 1971 to create *Song of My People – Forest People – Sea* (set to Hebrew poems) for the Batsheva company, and lastly in 1972 to revise the ballet.

Cranko's choreography did not escape criticism. He was inclined to allow his inventiveness to crowd his work and to let his theatrical sense become too prominent. In his later works, however, and especially the short ones, he learned to prune his ideas. Although his *Romeo and Juliet* had enchanting moments, his most successful long ballets were *The Taming of the Shrew* (applauded for 20 minutes in Moscow) and *Onegin*. His greatest achievement was as the creator of the Stuttgart Ballet, which served to raise the standard of continental ballet. He died in an airplane crash when returning from the United States with the company.

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[Dora Leah Sowden]

°**CRASSUS, MARCUS LICINIUS** (d. 54 B.C.E.), prominent Roman toward the end of the republican period. Crassus served as consul together with Pompey in 70 B.C.E. He was consul again in 55, and was appointed proconsul of Syria for five years in order to wage war against the Parthians. The war began in 54 B.C.E., and continued until the following year, when Crassus was defeated and killed by the Parthians. Crassus was the first Roman to seize the funds of the Temple, to the amount of 2,000 talents of gold, despite the golden ingot offered him by Eleazar, the priest in charge of the curtains of the sanctuary.

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[Menahem Stern]

CREATION AND COSMOGONY IN THE BIBLE. The Hebrew Bible commences with a majestic cosmological account of the genesis of the universe. According to Genesis 1:1–2:4a (the P account according to the documentary hypothesis), God created the world in six days and rested on the seventh day. The verb *br*ʾ used in the very first sentence of the creation story does not imply, as most traditional commentators believed, *creatio ex nihilo*, a concept that first appears in II Maccabees 7:28, but denotes, as it does throughout the Bible, a divine activity that is effortlessly effected. The opening sentence in the story – many commentators think (but see Cassuto, *Genesis*, 1, pp. 19–20) – begins with a temporal clause, "When God began to create the heaven and the earth" (Gen. 1:1), continues with a circumstantial clause telling of the existence of the darkness and void (1:2), and then in two main clauses (1:3) relates the first act by which God, by divine fiat, created cosmic order out of primeval chaos: "God said, 'Let there be light,' and there was light." The six days of creation fall into a symmetrical pattern of three days each, in which the creation of light and of day and night on the first day, of the sky on the second, and of dry land, seas, and vegetation on the third are complemented by the creation of the luminaries on the fourth day, living creatures in the sea and sky on the fifth, and land animals and man on the sixth. The refrain "And God saw that it was good; and there was evening and there was morning" usually follows the completion of each day's activity. The final act of creation, man, is preceded by a solemn declaration of purpose announced in the heavenly council, "Let us make a man in our image, after our likeness" (1:26). Man is then blessed by God, "Be fertile and increase, fill the earth and master it," and entrusted with sovereignty over the "fish of the sea, the birds of the sky, and all the living things that creep on earth" (1:28). God, having found that all He had made was very good, ceased from further acts of creation and blessed and sanctified the seventh day (2:2). Another story of creation, Genesis 2:4b–24 (the J account according to the documentary hypothesis), describes a much more anthropocentric version of the origin of life on earth: with the ground watered at first only by a subterranean flow; the first man formed from the earth of the ground and animated by a breath blown into his nose, the first woman created from a rib of the man; and the two placed in the *Garden of Eden.

The main differences between the two accounts, whose sources reflect different epic traditions, are (1) the names of the deity: Genesis 1, *ʾElohim*; Genesis 2, YHWH; (2) in the first account the creation of plants (1:11ff., third day) precedes the creation of man (1:26, sixth day), but in the second before man there was no shrub in the field and the grains had not yet sprouted (2:5–7), trees being created only after the creation of man (2:8–9); (3) in Genesis 1:20–21, 24–25 animals were created before man, but in Genesis 2:19, after man; (4) the creation of man is repeated in the second account, but whereas in Genesis 1:27 male and female were created together, the woman was fashioned from a rib of the man in 2:21ff. The second account does not mention the creation of day and night, seas, luminaries, marine life, but commences immediately with the forming of man from the dust of the earth.

Conception of God

Though the style of the first account is much more hymnlike and sublime than the second, it does not reflect, as is usually assumed, a completely abstract, transcendental conception of God. First of all, though creation by divine fiat is found in connection with light (1:3), firmament (1:6), gathering together of the waters into one place and the appearance of dry land (1:9), vegetation (1:11), luminaries (1:14), marine life and fowl (1:20), animal life (1:24), there are also references to the actual making or creating of the firmament (1:7, *wa-yʿaas*), luminaries (1:16, *wa-yʿaas*), sea monsters, fish, and fowl (1:21, *wa-yivraʾ*), land animals (1:25, *wa-yʿaas*), and most important, the pinnacle of creation, man (1:26ff. *nʿaaseh, wa-yivraʾ*). Moreover, creation by divine fiat is not an abstraction first conceived by the author of the P account, but is found in earlier Egyptian (Pritchard, Texts, 5) and Babylonian cosmogonies. Second, that man was created in the image and likeness of the divine beings (Gen. 1:26) is interpreted by many modern exegetes in a physical sense, although the expressions must have lost their original corporeal sense in the biblical context (see Cassuto, *Genesis*, 1, p. 56). (For the image of the deity, cf. Ex. 24:10; 33:20–23; Isa. 6:1; Ezek. 1:26.) The terminology employed here has Near Eastern prototypes: In Egyptian literature, specifically in a cosmogonic context, man is described as being the image of his creator god (Wildberger; Pritchard, Texts, 417); in Mesopotamian literature the king is sometimes called the "image" (Akk. *ṣalmu*, Heb. *ẓelem*) or "likeness" (Akk. *muššulu*, Heb. *demut*) of his deity (for the views of Horst, Loewenstamm, and Wildberger, see bibliography). In Israel a "democratization" (Horst) took place in that not only the king but all of mankind is conceived as being created in the divine image. If this idea originally goes back to royal ideology, it would further explain man's unique task on earth. Just as the divine likeness of the king in Mesopotamia empowers him to be the sovereign of his people, so mankind is entrusted "to rule the fish of the sea, the birds of the sky, and all the living things that creep on earth" (Gen. 1:28). Finally, the plural verb *naʿaseh* ("let us make") and plural nouns *be-ẓalmenu* ("in our image") and *ki-demutenu* ("after our likeness"; Gen. 1:26) may refer to the divine council with which God consults before the important step of creating man; though other feasible explanations have been advanced (see commentaries). (For other references to the divine council, see Gen. 3:22; 11:7; I Kings 22:19ff.; Isa. 6:2 ff.; Job 1–2; Dan. 7:10; for the deity's taking counsel before creating man, see *Enuma Elish* 6:4, in Pritchard, Texts, 68.)

Mesopotamian Prototypes

The two versions of the creation story have often been compared to Mesopotamian prototypes. The translation given above in Genesis 1:1ff. and 2:4bff., "when … then," is analogous to the introductory style of Mesopotamian epics. Tracing a theme to the creation of the universe is a feature also found in as trivial a work as the "Incantation to a Toothache" (Pritchard, Texts, 100–1), and in as major a composition as the Sumerian King List (*ibid.*, 265–6), "history" commences with the dynasties before the Flood.

ENUMA ELISH. For specific cosmogonic details the most important piece of Mesopotamian literature is the Babylonian epic story of creation, *Enuma Elish* (*ibid.*, 60–72). Here, as in Genesis, the priority of water is taken for granted, i.e., the primeval chaos consisted of a watery abyss. The name for this watery abyss, part of which is personified by the goddess Tiamat, is the etymological equivalent of the Hebrew *tehom* (Gen. 1:2), a proper name that always appears in the Bible without the definite article. (It should be noted, however, that whereas "Tiamat" is the name of a primal generative force, *tehom* is merely a poetic term for a lifeless mass of water.) In both Genesis (1:6–7) and *Enuma Elish* (4:137–40) the creation of heaven and earth resulted from the separation of the waters by a firmament. The existence of day and night precedes the creation of the luminous bodies (Gen. 1:5, 8, 13, and 14ff.; *Enuma Elish* 1:38). The function of the luminaries is to yield light and regulate time (Gen. 1:14; *Enuma Elish* 5:12–13). Man is the final act of creation – in *Enuma Elish*, too, before his creation the gods are said to take counsel (*Enuma Elish* 6:4) – and following the creation of man there ensues divine rest. There is, furthermore, an identical sequence of events: creation of firmament, dry land, luminaries, man, and divine rest. Thus, it appears that at least the so-called P account echoes this earlier Mesopotamian story of creation.

Another reflection of very ancient traditions is found in Genesis 1:21. Since the entire story of creation refers only to general categories of plant and animal life, not to any individual species, the specific mention of "the great sea monsters" alongside, and even before, "all the living creatures of every kind that move about, which the waters brought forth in swarms" is striking. It is most likely part of the biblical polemic against the polytheistic version of a primeval struggle between the creator god and a marine monster which was the personification of chaos (see below). In Genesis this story has been submerged and only appears in the demythologized reference to the sea monsters as being themselves created by God, not as rival gods.

The second creation story, too, has Near Eastern prototypes: The creation of man from the dust of the earth (Gen. 2:7) is analogous to the creation of man from clay, a motif often found in Mesopotamian literature, e.g., the Gilgamesh Epic; the Hebrew name of the underground flow, *ʾed*, that watered the Garden of Eden, is related to either a cognate Akkadian word *edu* or to the Sumerian word ÍD, "river"; and the creation of woman from a rib may reflect a Sumerian motif (see Kramer).

Differences between Genesis and Enuma Elish

Nevertheless, the differences between the biblical and the Mesopotamian accounts are much more striking than their similarities; each of them embodies the world outlook of their respective civilizations. In Genesis there is a total rejection of all mythology. The overriding conception of a single, omnipotent, creator predominates. Cosmogony is not linked to theogony. The preexistence of God is assumed – it is not linked to the genesis of the universe. There is no suggestion of any primordial battle or internecine war which eventually led to the creation of the universe. The one God is above the whole of nature, which He Himself created by His own absolute will. The primeval water, earth, sky, and luminaries are not pictured as deities or as parts of disembodied deities, but are all parts of the manifold works of the Creator. Man, in turn, is not conceived of as an afterthought, as in *Enuma Elish*, but rather as the pinnacle of creation. Man is appointed ruler of the animal and vegetable kingdoms; he is not merely the menial of the gods (*Enuma Elish*). The story in Genesis, moreover, is nonpolitical: Unlike *Enuma Elish*, which is a monument to Marduk and to Babylon and its temple, Genesis makes no allusion to Israel, Jerusalem, or the Temple. Furthermore, the biblical story is non-cultic: unlike *Enuma Elish*, which was read on the fourth day of the Babylonian New Year festival, it plays no ritual role whatsoever in the religion of Israel.

EGYPTIAN ANALOGUES. In addition to Mesopotamian substrata, there are several Egyptian analogues to the biblical stories of creation, e.g., the existence of primeval water and its division; the breathing of life into the nostrils of man; man's being formed in the image of the creator god; the creation of plants, animals, fowl, and fish; and the light of day (see "Instruction for Meri-Ka-Re," Pritchard, Texts, 417; Junker, Hermann in bibl.).

OTHER BIBLICAL TRADITIONS. Outside Genesis there are a number of allusions to the vanquishing by YHWH of a great sea monster and his minions, with some traces of a belief that this was connected to the creation of the world. In the biblical version of this combat, known from Mesopotamia (Marduk-Tiamat) and Ugarit (Baal-Yamm), the forces of the watery chaos, called Yam, Nahar, Leviathan, Rahab, or Tannin, are either destroyed or put under restraint by God (cf. Isa. 27:1; 51:9–10; Jer. 5:22; Hab. 3:8; Ps. 74:13–14; 89:10–11; 104:6–9; Prov. 8:27–29; Job 7:12; 9:13; 26:10–13; 38:8–11). Recently it has been suggested (see Jacobsen) that this epic account, whose source was thought to be in Mesopotamia, may actually have originated in the West (though where in particular is not clear), and subsequently influenced both biblical and Mesopotamian literature. It is noteworthy, however, that the stories of Genesis meticulously avoid the use of such legendary material, even eschewing metaphorical figures of speech based on this mythological conflict.

Another poetic version of creation is reflected in Proverbs 8:1–31, where Wisdom relates that she attended God during the creation.

Weinfeld has drawn attention to the fact that four mythological motifs of Genesis 1 – the existence of primordial material (1:2); God's working and His rest; the council of God (1:26); and the creation of man in God's image (1:26–27) – are repudiated in the cosmogonic doxologies of Second Isaiah.

[Shalom M. Paul]

RABBINIC VIEW OF CREATION

"*Maʿaseh Bereshit,*" "Act of Creation," was regarded in the Talmudic period, particularly the tannaitic, as belonging to esoteric lore, and the Mishnah (Ḥag. 2:1) states that it was "not to be expounded before two people." The Jerusalem Talmud, however (Ḥag. 2:1, 77c), explains that this was the view of R. Akiva, whereas R. Ishmael permitted it to be expounded. In point of fact, the interpretation of the first verse of Genesis, which is the basis of talmudic cosmogony, is the subject of a discussion between those two rabbis (Gen. R. 1:14), from which it is clear that R. Akiva was concerned with refuting gnostic views that God alone did not create the world, and the discussion of cosmogony during the tannaitic period seems to be concentrated on refuting gnostic and other heretical views which maintained either the eternity of matter or that God was not the sole creator. This emerges clearly from another passage: "A philosopher said to Rabban Gamaliel that God found good materials which He used in the creation of the world, '*Tohu, Bohu*, darkness, water, wind, and the deep' to which Gamaliel vigorously replied 'Woe to that man! The term creation is explicitly used of them'" (*ibid.* 1:9). This reply refutes both the existence of primordial matter and the view that God was not the sole creator.

There is a difference of opinion between Bet Shammai and Bet Hillel on two aspects of creation. The former maintained that the heavens were created first, and then the earth, while Bet Hillel maintained the opposite (*ibid.* 1:15). The former maintained that the intention ("thought") of creation was at night and the act by day, while Bet Hillel maintained that "both intention and act took place by day" (*ibid.* 12:14). On both of these statements, however, R. Simeon b. Yoḥai uses the identical words: "I am astonished! How could the fathers of the world differ" on this point. In the first case "both were created together like a pot and its cover," and in the other, "the intention was both by day and by night while the fulfillment was with the waning of the sun." It seems from this statement that by the time of Simeon b. Yoḥai, a disciple of R. Akiva, the need, so to speak, to disregard the prohibition against cosmogonical speculations was limited to the acceptance of one standard doctrine, the simultaneous and sole creation of heaven and earth, the "intention" being more important than the act, to which the Mishnah adds the avoidance of all metaphysical speculation: "What is above, what is below, what was before and what was after." The preeminence of the intention over the act is affirmed by the many passages, based on such verses as "By the word of the Lord were the heavens made" (Ps. 33:6), which emphasize that creation needed no action but merely the will of God ("not by labor, but merely by word," Gen. R. 3:2). The best-known expression of this belief is: "With ten words was the world created" (Avot 5:1). Especially vigorous was the rabbis' refutation of the gnostic idea that the world was created by angels. The angels were created by God (Gen. R. 1:3, 3:8) and it is specifically stated that "all agree that nothing was created on the first day, that no one should say that Michael stretched out [the firmament] in the south and Gabriel in the north, and the Holy One, blessed be He, made its measurements in the center" (the reading in Tanh. B., Gen. 1:12 is "that the sectarians should not say"). The angels were variously created on the second, or fifth days (Gen. R. 1:4). To this should be added the theory, which Philo attributes to the Stoics, that the present world was created after a number of previous experimental worlds were created, only to be destroyed (*ibid.* 3:7). R. Abbahu, for example, maintained that there were successive creations (Gen. R. 3:9; Eccles. R. 3:11, Mid. Ps. 34).

The world was created either in Nisan or Tishri (RH 11a). Special attention was paid to the problem of the creation of light, in view of the fact that the sun was not created until the fourth day. The anonymous sages opine that the luminaries were created on the first day, but they were not "suspended" until the fourth, while R. Jacob as well as R. Eleazar are of the opinion that the light created on the first day was a special light with which "one could see from one end of the world to the other," but it was hidden away and reserved for the righteous in the time to come because of the future corruption of the world in the days of the flood and the Tower of Babel (Ḥag. 12a). Only in the amoraic period does one find a distinct and strongly mythological element enter into rabbinic cosmology. Such statements as that of Judah in the name of Rav, "When the Holy One, blessed be He, desired to create the world, He said to the angel of the sea 'open thy mouth and swallow all the waters of the world,' to which he replied, 'Lord of the Universe, it is enough that I remain with my own.' Whereupon he struck him with his foot and killed him" (BB 74b), to which there are different variants in amoraic times (cf. PR 20:95), have no parallel in the tannaitic periods.

E.E. Urbach (see bibl.) sums up his comprehensive study of rabbinic cosmogony as follows:

"During the amoraic period the area of discussion was extended, and ideas which were previously regarded as esoteric penetrated into public discourses and into the teachings of the schools. There was a direct controversy against sectarian and other non-acceptable cosmogonies, but this polemic was not without influence and results. Ideas which prevailed in the hellenistic world found their place in the world of the rabbis. It seems that not a little of rabbinic exegesis on this subject are fragments of these cosmogonical and cosmological speculations. There are also notices of famous Babylonian *amoraim* of the fourth century who combined their cosmogonical speculations with theurgic and magic activity, but we do not know whether these esoteric doctrines attained a literary form."

He points out that it was only in the later kabbalistic literature such as the Sefer *Yeẓirah and the *baraita* of *Ma'aseh Bereshit* that a system was evolved (see *Kabbalah).

[Louis Isaac Rabinowitz]

Bible Commentators

Various attempts were made to explain the difficulties in the story of creation. Two general statements may be made: (1) the narrative was not generally taken literally as an act of creation in six days, and (2) the rabbis were fully aware of the difficulties which modern biblical criticism attempts to solve with the documentary theory, such as the different names of God and the double or treble parallel accounts, but they answered them on the basis of the unity of the account of Creation.

Although the fact of creation remains a prime article of faith, there is no uniform or binding belief as to how the world was created. Rashi interprets the first verse of the Bible as meaning that "when in the beginning the Lord created Heaven and Earth" and is not a chronology of creation. Similarly the differences in the names of God were fully recognized but it was explained that *Elohim* means God in His attribute of justice, the Tetragrammaton God in His attribute of mercy (Philo says the reverse), and the different nomenclatures and their combination teach that God first attempted to base the world on justice, but found that impossible; He then attempted to base it on mercy alone, but with similar results; and thereupon created it on the principle of justice tempered by mercy. Cassuto accepted the theory that the different names depict different attributes of God. Another explanation of the different accounts of Creation is the principle that at times the Bible states a generalization and later gives its details. Accordingly, the story of the creation of Adam in Genesis 1:27 relating that Adam and Eve were created together is a general description whose details are listed in 2:21ff., where it is related that the woman was formed from Adam's rib (Yal., Gen. 16).

Similarly, the brief description of the creation of animals in Genesis 1:24–26 is expanded in 2:19–20, and chapter 2 commences immediately with the creation of man from the dust of the earth in order to expand the narrative of the Garden of Eden. The contradiction between the statement in Genesis 1 that the plants were created on the third day and that of Genesis 2:5 that there were no shrubs in the field when Adam was created is answered in various ways. Rashi, in accordance with R. Assi (Yal., Gen. 8), explains that their creation took place on the third day but their growth began on the sixth. Naḥmanides makes the first apply to "plants of the earth," i.e., wild plants, while the second reference is to "plants of the field," i.e., cultivated plants which depended on man's activity. Malbim is the first of the modern traditional commentators to accept the view, later adopted by Cassuto and other scholars, that the biblical narrative is a conscious attempt to refute known mythological accounts of creation (see his commentary on Gen. 6:4).

CREATION IN PHILOSOPHY

Ever since the initial confrontation of the Jewish religion with Greek philosophy, Jewish philosophers have attempted to harmonize the biblical account of creation with philosophical theories that lend themselves to harmonization, and defend it against those theories that are incompatible with it.

Philo Judaeus

*Philo, for example, based his theory of creation on Plato's doctrine of creation in the *Timaeus*, but removed certain ambiguities, thus making Plato's theory compatible with the scriptural doctrine of creation (see H.A. Wolfson, *Philo*, 1 (1948), 180–380, passim.). Philo accepted Plato's conception of an eternal God who brought the world into existence, but he could not accept the Platonic theory that God created the world out of eternal preexistent matter. He solved the difficulty by stating that God created both the preexistent matter out of nothing, and the world out of the preexistent matter. The link between God and the created world is, according to Philo, the *logos. Beginning its existence as part of the essence of God, the logos was given by God an existence of its own. As this separate, incorporeal existence the logos contains within itself, and is the mind of, the intelligible world and the ideas which constitute the intelligible world. While both Plato and Philo described the creation of the world as an act which God "willed," they had differing notions of what is meant by the "will" of God. To Plato, God's "will" meant the necessary expression of God's nature, which led him to assume that God created the world by force of necessity, and that the world thus created could not have been any different. Philo, however, following the scriptural conception of God as an all-powerful free agent, interpreted God's "will" in creating the world to mean that the very act of creation was by God's free choice, as was the type of world created. This meant, according to Philo, that had God so willed, He could have either not created the world or created another kind of world.

Medieval Philosophy

In the subsequent development of Jewish philosophy the most pressing challenge came from the defenders of the Aristotelian-neoplatonic doctrine of the eternity of the universe, and most medieval Jewish philosophers had to come to grips with this claim. Since there were various philosophical frameworks within which medieval thinkers operated, it is possible to delineate several different philosophical accounts of biblical cosmogony in medieval Jewish philosophy: (1) Saadiah's version of the Kalām; (2) neoplatonic emanationism; (3) the "agnostic" approach of Maimonides; (4) the "Platonism" of Levi b. Gershom; and (5) the unique theory of Ḥasdai Crescas.

SAADIAH. The first systematic treatment of creation is to be found in *Saadiah Gaon. Employing the arguments of the *Kalām, Saadiah attempted to prove that the universe is created in time, that its Creator is other than it, and that it is created *ex nihilo*. In behalf of the first thesis Saadiah marshals four arguments in his *Book of Beliefs and Opinions*. According to the first argument, it is claimed that since Aristotle admits that the universe is finite in size, he cannot then say that it moves for infinite time, i.e., that it is eternal; for a finite body cannot have infinite power. The second proof is a variant of the argument from design: the combination and order of the parts of the universe imply the existence of a creator. The third argument purports to demonstrate creation on the grounds that the existence of accidental, i.e., contingent, properties in the universe implies that the universe itself is also contingent and hence not eternal. Finally, the thesis of eternity implies that past time is infinite. But if this were so, then since an infinite magnitude cannot be completed, past time would never reach the present, which is absurd. Saadiah's arguments for creation *ex nihilo* are designed to show that the assumption of an eternal primordial matter out of which the universe is allegedly created leads to various absurdities. For example, why should we expect that an eternal matter should be amenable to divine creative activity? (Saadiah, *Book of Beliefs and Opinions* 1:1–2).

NEOPLATONISM. The next major philosophical influence was *neoplatonism, of which Isaac *Israeli and Solomon Ibn *Gabirol were notable examples. Since neoplatonism exhibits a monistic tendency, it is not surprising that neoplatonists attempt to close the gap between God and the world. This tendency does not, however, easily accommodate itself to the biblical stress upon the hiatus between God and nature. Thus, in Jewish neoplatonism the problem of creation is especially vexing. Whereas the pagan neoplatonists, such as Plotinus, insist upon the eternal and necessary *emanation of the universe from God, Jewish neoplatonists were dogmatically constrained to find some place for creation *ex nihilo*. In Isaac Israeli there is a fundamental distinction between two primitive stages in the origin of the universe. In the first stage God's free creative power is manifested; whereas in subsequent phases nature and its forms necessarily emanate from the first products of God's power, primary matter and form.

In this manner Israeli adjusted the neoplatonic doctrine of emanation to the biblical conception of creation. Ibn Gabirol's version of neoplatonism exhibits this tension in a more exaggerated form. In his religious poem *Keter Malkhut* (*The Kingly Crown*, trans. by B. Lewis, 1961), he naturally stresses the doctrine of creation *ex nihilo*; in his philosophical work *Mekor Ḥayyim* ("The Fountain of Life"), he wavers between these two views, but tries to give primary emphasis to the voluntary origin of the universe. It would seem that modern scholars are more aware than Ibn Gabirol of this problem, but they have differed in their interpretations. In general, neoplatonic philosophies tend to be static and emphasize the timelessness of the emanation of the world from its ultimate source. Ibn Gabirol's venture into neoplatonic metaphysics is not free from this characteristic.

MAIMONIDES. Maimonides does not find the proofs of the Kalām convincing, chiefly because they rest upon certain physical and metaphysical assumptions that he rejects (Guide, 1:73–74). Moreover, he rejects the neoplatonic accounts of creation (Guide, 2:21). On the other hand, he argues that neither Aristotle nor his Muslim followers have succeeded in demonstrating the eternity of the universe. Hence, the issue cannot be decided on philosophical grounds alone. For Maimonides, however, it must be decided, since to adopt the eternity hypothesis is to give up belief in miracles; for the eternity hypothesis is tantamount to the claim that the universe and its laws necessarily emanate from God. The belief in miracles implies, however, that God can freely interrupt the course of nature. Thus the question of creation is especially perplexing: it must be decided, but philosophy cannot resolve it (Guide, 2:15, 21, 25). At this point Maimonides appeals to revelation as the ultimate arbitrator. In spite of this "agnostic" argument, Maimonides does present certain philosophical arguments in behalf of the creation thesis. These arguments are not decisive, he admits, but they do tip the balance in favor of the Bible. In general, these arguments attempt to show that Aristotle's theory of eternity cannot explain the existence of anomalous facts about the universe, in particular certain irregular features of the heavenly bodies. Consider, for example, the irregular motion of the planets or the difference in color exhibited by various stars. Given Aristotle's hypothesis that the universe is eternal, and that every natural phenomenon is explicable in terms of necessary law, it is difficult, as Aristotle himself admits, to account for these irregular facts; for why should one star give off bluish illumination and another reddish (Guide, 2:22, 24). However, if it is assumed that the universe has been freely created by God, all these irregular features of the heavens can be attributed to God's free will. Thus, although a decisive proof in behalf of the creation thesis is not available, the latter hypothesis can explain the phenomena more easily than the thesis of eternity, and hence can be accepted on philosophical grounds as well as for religious reasons. With respect to the question whether creation occurred *ex nihilo,* Maimonides claims that this issue is not crucial for religious faith. From the textual point of view the Bible states unequivocally that the universe is created; it is not so unambiguous on the details of creation. Nor does it matter on purely theological grounds, since even the Platonic theory of creation from primordial matter is compatible with divine freedom and the existence of miracles. Since the Platonic theory has not been proven, and the Jewish tradition has generally interpreted Genesis as implying creation *ex nihilo*, Maimonides follows tradition. However, it should be noted, he would be prepared to reinterpret Scripture if a proof of Plato's theory were forthcoming (Guide 2:25).

LEVI BEN GERSHOM. Maimonides' doubts about the provability of creation were dispelled by his two great successors, *Levi b. Gershom and Ḥasdai Crescas. Both of these philosophers attempt to prove creation, although they do so in different ways. According to Levi b. Gershom, Aristotelian physics implies creation, even if it is the case that Aristotle did not recognize it. For Aristotle's system is teleological: it ascribes ends and purposes to nature (Aristotle, *Physics*, 2). A teleological conception of nature, however, implies a creator who fashions the universe according to specified ends (Levi b. Gershom, *Milḥamot Adonai*, 6:1, 7). Moreover, Aristotle's laws of dynamics are falsified if the eternity hypothesis is accepted. For example, according to Aristotle, the velocity of a planet is a function of the number of rotations it makes around the earth in a given period of time; but if past time is infinite, the number of rotations for every planet in past time is the same – an infinite number of rotations. Consequently, the velocities of each planet would be identical; but this is false (*ibid.*, 6:1, 11). Unlike Maimonides, however, Levi b. Gershom maintains that God created the universe from an eternal formless matter (cf. Plato, *Timaeus*, 49ff.). Were creation *ex nihilo* adopted there would be no way to explain how God, who is incorporeal, could create a physical universe. Moreover, the theory of creation *ex nihilo* implies that prior to creation there was a vacuum, i.e., empty space. According to Levi b. Gershom, however, the notion of a vacuum has been proven to be absurd. He believes that the doctrine of an eternal formless matter is taught by the Torah and is, therefore, compatible with Jewish dogma (*ibid.,* 6:2, 1; Abraham Ibn Ezra also suggests the Platonic theory in his commentary on Genesis).

HASDAI CRESCAS. Crescas' doctrine of creation exhibits a different use of the term "creation" and displays an ambivalence on the issue of the eternity or temporal beginning of the universe. Whereas Maimonides and Levi b. Gershom construe "creation" as implying temporal beginning, Crescas understands this concept as meaning causal dependency. Accordingly, the universe is created insofar as it is causally dependent upon God, a thesis that Aristotle himself accepts. Creation so construed is a temporally neutral concept, such that the question of eternity is not decided by a proof that the universe is created. Indeed, for Crescas, "creation" means creation *ex nihilo* (cf. Thomas Aquinas, Summa Theologica, 1, question 44, a. 1–2; question 46, a. 1–2. There might have been some influence of Thomas' ideas upon Crescas). Insofar as the entire universe depends upon God, who is the only absolutely necessary being, everything is created *ex nihilo,* including matter, regardless of whether it is eternal or not. With respect to the question of eternity Crescas rejects all the arguments of Maimonides and Levi b. Gershom in favor of the temporal beginning of the universe. Indeed, he maintains that the teleological characteristics of the universe, which to the latter philosophers are evidence for temporal beginning, can be explained on the hypothesis of the eternity of the universe so long as we conceive of the universe as manifesting intelligence and perfection. This line of argument, then, would seem to suggest that Crescas believed in the eternity of the universe. Yet he claims that the traditional biblical view is that the universe had a temporal beginning. Perhaps the solution to this apparent inconsistency is to be found in his sympathy for the doctrine of eternal re-creation of many universes, a view that is found in rabbinic literature (see above). This doctrine preserves Crescas' predilection for the eternity thesis insofar as it postulates infinite time and is consistent with the traditional doctrine that our universe had a temporal beginning. Crescas actually relegates this problem to a secondary position: it is not, as it was for Maimonides, a doctrine whose denial undermines Judaism. What is crucial for Crescas is the belief that everything depends upon God, which for him means creation *ex nihilo* (Crescas, or Adonai 3:1, 4–5).

[Seymour Feldman]

IN MODERN THOUGHT

Baruch Spinoza's monistic system denies all medieval notions of creation, declaring God and Nature to be one substance (*Deus sive Natura*). The denial of creation serves as the basis of Spinoza's negations of most of traditional Jewish (and Christian) notions, like free will, providence, commandments, etc, and hence gives creation a significance that had a decisive impact on modern Jewish thought. In many of the 19th and 20th century Jewish philosophies, creation was treated as a theoretical concept, describing the nature of the world and its relationships to God, rather than a cosmogonist concept. According to Salomon Ludwig *Steinheim, the perception of nature as creation ex-nihilo is the substantial teaching of revelation, the decisive difference between true religion and idolatry, and the ground for human free will as well as that of God. In Hermann *Cohen's *Religion of Reason out of the Sources of Judaism* (*Religion der Vernunft aus den Quellen des Judentums*, 1919, ch. 3) creation is understood as the correlative logical relationship between God, the only *Sein* (Being), and the world, the eternal *Werden* (becoming). Using his *Ursprungsprinzip* (the concept of primary source) on the one hand, and the Maimonidean notion of negative Divine attributes on the other hand, Cohen refers to this concept as pointing not only to the unbridgeable gap between God and the world, but also as establishing the common context that combines them. In a similar way, revelation (see *ibid*., ch. 4), namely the creation of reason, depicts the basic correlative relationships between the human (*Mensch*) and God. Franz *Rosenzweig depicted creation as the first of three relational theological events, alongside with revelation and redemption. Creation, like revelation and redemption, is at the heart of faith, namely the mutual context of Judaism and Christianity. Philosophy, as Rosenzweig maintained in the first part of *The Star of Redemption* (*Der Stern der Erloesung,* 1921), can perceive God, world, and *Mensch* only as isolated elements, and as theoretical concepts that have no common context. Nevertheless human experience, based on the very notion of revelation, depicts each of those three as relating to the two others, and as being revealed through the encounter with them. For the world, creation is the present status all the things, all the worldly phenomena, as "existence" and as creatures that are subject to Divine providence; for God creation is an absolute past. The only Divine attribute that Rosenzweig accepts is "Creator." Creation of *Mensch* in the image of God, the peak of the biblical narrative of Genesis, points to the strong connection between creation and revelation, between the consciousness of God's providence and that of His love (see *ibid*., part II, 1–2). In Mordecai *Kaplan's reconstruction of Judaism, the value-concept of creation is "revaluated," and means that the "conception of creative urge" and self-revival reveal God within human life and endow life with Divine significance. The myth of creation intends to confront and deny pessimism and fatalism, without ignoring suffering and evil, and endorses human responsibility and progress (see *The Meaning of God in Modern Jewish Religion*, 1937, ch. 1).

[Yehoyada Amir (2nd ed.)]

IN THE ARTS

The biblical account of Creation formed the basis of episodes in various medieval mystery plays, including the 15th-century French *Mistère du Viel Testament* and the English Chester and York cycles. In England, too, there were the lesser-known Cornish mysteries, *Origo Mundi* and *Gwreans an bys* ("Creation of the World," ms. dated 1611, in the Bodleian Library, Oxford). Of the literary interpretations of the Creation story, the epic *Semaine* (1578) by the French Protestant *Du Bartas is one of the most celebrated and the most ambitious. In translation it had a great influence on later writers, particularly in England. Du Bartas' fellow Huguenot, the militant Agrippa d'Aubigné (1552–1630), also wrote his epic *La Création* on this theme, combining a kind of dictionary of Calvinist theology with a handbook of 17th-century scientific knowledge. Anders Arrebo (1587–1637), called the "father of Danish poetry," freely adapted the Du Bartas poem as *Hexaemeron* (1661).

In art, the Creation story is usually represented as a sequence, not so much following the biblical account as presenting pictorial combinations and condensations of the Six Days. Some early examples of this cyclic treatment are to be found in two manuscripts: the fifth-century Vienna Genesis and the seventh-century Ashburnham Pentateuch (Paris). Throughout the Middle Ages, the theme continued to inspire works of major historical and artistic significance, notably the bronze door of San Zeno at Verona, the mosaics of Monreale in Sicily, and the frescoes of Saint-Savin (12th century); the mosaics of San Marco in Venice, sculpture at Chartres, Laon and Salisbury, and stained glass windows in the Sainte-Chapelle in Paris (13th century); sculpture in the cathedral of Orvieto and the Florence Campanile (14th century); Ghiberti's doors in the Florence Baptistery (15th century); and Michelangelo's frescoes on the ceiling of the Sistine Chapel and the Vatican Loggia frescoes after designs by Raphael (16th century). An outstanding Jewish treatment of the Creation theme is the 14th-century Spanish *Sarajevo *Haggadah*, where the six days of creation are depicted with strength and boldness.

Musical compositions inspired by the Creation include various 18th-century settings of the "Morning Hymn" from *Paradise Lost* by John Milton, none of them of lasting importance. Milton was the inspiration behind Klopstock's *Morgengesang am Schoepfungsfeste*, which was set to music several times, mainly as a cantata. These included one by Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach (1784). An English libretto by an otherwise unknown Mr. Lidley (or Linley), written shortly before Handel's death in 1759, was intended to have been offered to him. The libretto was accepted by Haydn when he visited England in 1797, and his setting of the libretto as translated and revised by Gottfried van Swieten was privately performed in Vienna in April 1798. The worldwide popularity of Haydn's *Creation* began with its first public performance there in the following year. Some later works on the creation theme are a Norwegian one, J. Haarklou's *Skapelsen* (1891; first performed 1924); *The Creation* (1924) by Louis *Gruenberg; a ballet by Darius *Milhaud, *La création du monde* (1923), scored for 17 solo instruments in a jazz idiom and inspired not by the Bible, but by African creation myths; *In the Beginning – The Seven Days of Creation* (1947) by Aaron *Copland; and the oratorio *Genesis* (1958) by Franz *Reizenstein.

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CRÉHANGE, ALEXANDRE (1791–1872), French author and communal leader. Créhange, who was strictly Orthodox in religious matters, was politically a republican and an advocate of universal suffrage. At the outbreak of the 1848 Revolution, Créhange and his Orthodox friends organized the Jewish Club Démocratique des Fidèles, with its own periodical, *La Vérité*. The club successfully demanded the reorganization of the Jewish *Consistories through democratic elections. Créhange was the oldest of the ten founders of the *Alliance Israélite Universelle and secretary of the Paris Consistory. He published several religious works, including an illustrated edition of the Psalms (1858). He edited two periodicals: *La paix, revue religieuse, morale et littéraire* (1846) and *Annuaire parisien du culte israélite* (1851–71). He also adapted the *Ẓe'enah u-Re'nah into French under the title *La Semaine israélite* (2 vols., 1846).

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CREIZENACH, MICHAEL (1789–1842), German mathematician, educator, and proponent of Reform. In his native Mainz, Creizenach received a traditional Jewish education as well as training in mathematics and philosophy. He founded a Jewish boys' school in Mainz and conducted it according to the principles of Reform Judaism. When the school closed, he continued his studies at Giessen University. Creizenach was appointed teacher and preacher at the Philanthropin high school in Frankfurt in 1825. During his tenure there he exercised a decisive influence toward the adoption of Reform. The Reform services he led attracted many worshipers, and an annual confirmation of boys was held at the school. The young rabbis, impressed when they went to preach there, spread the school's influence throughout Germany and beyond. Creizenach's publications cover a wide area of interest. He wrote a mathematical textbook for use in schools and participated in the editing of the periodical *Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift fuer juedische Theologie* with Abraham Geiger (vol. 1 in 1835), *Israelitische Annalen* with J.M. Jost (1839–41), and the Hebrew periodical *Zion* (1840–42), also with J.M. Jost. He also published a periodical, *Geist der pharisaeischen Lehre*, of which only six issues appeared (1823–24). He edited Abraham ibn Ezra's *Yesod Mora* with a Latin and German translation (1840). Creizenach's most important work of Jewish interest was *Schulchan Aruch oder Enzyklopaedishe Darstellung des Mosaischen Gesetzes*… (4 vols., 1833–40). In this work he tried to prove that talmudic Judaism was a reform of biblical Judaism and, thus, that the Reform Judaism of his own time was a legitimate approach to Judaism.

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[Getzel Kressel]

CREMATION. Disposal of the dead body by burning is not a Jewish custom and inhumation is considered by traditional Jews to be obligatory and a religious commandment. The passage in Deuteronomy (21:23) "his body shall not remain all night upon the tree, but thou shalt surely bury him the same day" has been advanced as a scriptural proof, as well as other biblical sayings such as "for dust thou art, and unto dust shalt thou return" (Gen. 3:19). Cremation, however, was not unknown to the early Hebrews, and "burning" was one of the four death penalties imposed by the biblical code for a number of offenses (Lev. 20:14; 21:9). The ancient rabbis, however, found the execution of this death sentence so abhorrent that they refused to interpret the injunction literally (Sanh. 7:2 and TJ, Sanh. 7:2, 24b). In biblical times, cremation was clearly considered to be a humiliation inflicted on criminals (Josh. 7:15, 25; Isa. 30:33) and the practice as such was reprobated, even when it involved the burning of the remains of an Edomite king (Amos 2:1). I Samuel (31:11–12) seems to refer to the cremation of the remains of King Saul and his sons by the men of Jabesh-Gilead; but this is an isolated incident and the literal reading of the verse has been challenged by Driver who reads *sarap* ("anointed with spices") for *saraf* ("burnt"; ZAW, 66 (1954), 314–15; also Koehler-Baumgartner, supplement, 175). I Chronicles (10:12) merely records that "the bodies were buried." According to the Roman historian Tacitus, the Jews "bury rather than burn their dead" (Hist. 5:5). The Mishnah (Av. Zar. 1:3) considers the burning of a corpse to be an idolatrous practice, and the Talmud (Sanh. 46b) deduced that burial is a positive commandment prescribed in Deuteronomy (21:23). This is the ruling followed by Maimonides (*Sefer ha-Mitzvot*, 231, 536, positive command), and by the *Shulḥan Arukh* (YD 362). Tykoczinsky (*Gesher ha-Ḥayyim*, 2 (1947)) quotes the rabbinic idea that cremation is a denial of the belief in bodily resurrection and an affront to the dignity of the human body. On the other hand, some authorities permitted calcium to be spread over bodies already in the grave in order to stimulate decomposition (Responsa Rashba, pt. 1, no. 369; Isserles to Sh. Ar., YD 363:2). Others even suggested that interment was but a custom, supporting their statement with a passage from *Midrash va-Yosha* (Jellinek, *Beit ha-Midrash*, 1 (19382), 37) in which Isaac begs his father at the sacrifice to be cremated completely. It was also suggested that as long as the body is brought into contact with the earth as soon as possible (in conformity with the injunction *Teikhef le-mitah kevurah*; "immediate burial after death"), it does not matter how the corpse is disposed of.

Modern European Orthodox authorities have insisted that burial is the proper method of disposal of a corpse, a view taken by the Italian chief rabbinate (see *Vessillo Israelitico*, 23 (1875), 12) and, in 1895, by the rabbi of Wuerttemberg (REJ, 32 (1896), 276). Chief Rabbi Marcus Nathan *Adler of Britain, though opposed to cremation, permitted the ashes of a person who had been cremated to be interred in a Jewish cemetery in 1887. The decision was sustained by his successor, Herman *Adler (1891), who quoted the authority of Rabbi Isaac Elhanan Spector. It was also the attitude of Chief Rabbi Zadoc *Kahn of France. American Reform rabbis, in accordance with a decision made at the Central Conference of American Rabbis in 1892, are permitted to officiate at cremation ceremonies. Reform rabbis of Europe also often officiate at cremations. A regulation of the United Synagogue of London Burial Society states that "if the ashes can be encoffined, then interment may take place at a cemetery of the United Synagogue, and the Burial Service shall be conducted there at the time of the interment." Ultra-Orthodox communities, however, do not permit the ashes of cremated persons to be buried in their cemeteries.

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[Harry Rabinowicz]

CRÉMIEU, village E. of Lyons, France. Remains of the medieval gate leading to the Rue Juiverie could still be seen in the middle of the 19th century: the cemetery was near the Porte de Quirieu. The community apparently suffered during the *Black Death (1348–49): a Jew called Abraham "l'Espagnol" was imprisoned in Crémieu in 1349 and later brought to trial. A member of the community named Croissant contributed 500 francs of the total of 610 levied on the community in 1388.

From 1441, the Jews began to move away; in 1449, to induce them to return, the Dauphin Louis appreciably reduced taxes, but failed to attract them back. From the 16th century onward many Jews with the name Crémieu or Crémieux, Carmi, etc., resided in the area, especially in Carpentras, Avignon, and northern Italy.

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[Bernhard Blumenkranz]

CRÉMIEUX, BENJAMIN (1888–1944), French author and literary historian. Born in Narbonne, Crémieux was descended from an old Jewish family originating in the Midi. While serving in the French Army during World War I, he was wounded three times. After the war he became an authority on Italian literature and translated Luigi Pirandello into French. Crémieux was secretary-general of the French Institute in Florence and secretary of the French PEN Club. His best known works were *Le vingtième siècle* (1924), essays on contemporary writers, and *Inventaires; inquiétude et reconstruction* (1931), an essay on post-World War I writing. In his only novel, *Le premier de la classe* (1921), Crémieux tells the story of young Blum, the son of a Jewish tailor, who maintains his ancestral allegiances. After the French collapse in 1940, Crémieux joined the French underground and became a leader of the *Maquis*. He was captured and executed by a Nazi firing squad.

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[Arnold Mandel]

CRÉMIEUX, ISAAC ADOLPHE (1796–1880), French lawyer and statesman. He was born in Nîmes of an old Comtat family which had adopted the revolutionary cause. He was among the first Jewish pupils to be admitted to the Lycée Impérial in Paris. He later studied at the University of Aix-en-Provence and was admitted to the bar at Nîmes in 1817. As a Jewish lawyer, Crémieux was required to take the humiliating *oath *more judaico* in court but he refused and won his case. He subsequently supported many liberal causes. In 1827 he won two cases brought against Jews who had refused to take the oath *more judaico*, and this finally led to its abolition. Crémieux thus acquired a reputation as a defender of Jewish rights. In 1828 he became a member of the College of Notables of the Marseilles Consistory. In 1830 he settled in Paris, where he became a member of the Central Consistory. He became vice president of the Central Consistory in 1834. In 1840, the *Damascus Affair and the consequent revival of antisemitism in Europe aroused intense emotion in all the Jewish communities of Europe. Crémieux accompanied Moses *Montefiore on a delegation to the East and secured the release of the Jews imprisoned in Damascus. Their success was the first step toward the new feeling of self-confidence in West European Jewry, based on the renewed sense of solidarity among Jews in different countries.

In 1842 Crémieux entered the Chamber of Deputies and became one of the main leaders of the opposition. On behalf of the Central Consistory he helped to draft the law of May 25, 1844, which was to regulate the life of French Jewry until 1848 and after 1905. Crémieux became president of the Central Consistory in 1843 but had to retire in 1845 when it became known that he had allowed his wife to have their children baptized. He took an important part in the 1848 revolution and until June 1848 was minister of justice in the provisional government. As such he was instrumental in promoting, among other things, the abolition of the death penalty for political offenses and of slavery in the colonies. Although he had supported the election of Louis Napoleon to the presidency of the republic, Crémieux opposed the latter's coup d'état. On Dec. 2, 1851, he was consequently arrested and remained for some time in prison. He returned to parliament in 1869 as one of the members for Paris. Again a leader of the opposition, he became minister of justice after the fall of the Second Empire. During his enforced retirement from public affairs, Crémieux concentrated on Jewish affairs. In 1864 he was elected president of the Alliance Israélite Universelle, and lent all the weight of his authority and political experience to many of the steps taken by the Alliance to help oppressed Jewish minorities. From 1866, Crémieux was active on behalf of Moroccan, Romanian, and Russian Jewry. In 1866 he traveled to St. Petersburg and intervened successfully in behalf of the Jews accused in the *Saratov blood libel.

After his return to the government Crémieux did not forget the problems encountered by Algerian Jewry. At that time French policy aimed at the complete assimilation of the Algerians, a process in which the Jews were also included. As minister of justice he signed the decree afterward known as the Décret Crémieux (1870) by which the Jews of Algeria received French citizenship en bloc. Defeated in the 1870 elections, he became deputy for Algiers in 1872 and sat on the left with the Union Républicaine. He was elected a life senator by the National Assembly in 1875. Despite old age, he continued to take an active part in the work of the Alliance as president. His interest in the Jewish communities of North Africa and the Orient was unfailing.

With his strong Jewish sense, Crémieux was the archetype of the extreme assimilated Jew who demonstrated that it was possible to combine a sense of Jewish pride with deep involvement in the affairs of his country.

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[Simon R. Schwarzfuchs]

CREMIN, LAWRENCE ARTHUR (1925–1990), U.S. educator and authority on the progressive school system. A native of New York, Cremin received his Ph.D. from Columbia University in 1949 and began to teach at the university's Teachers' College. In 1957 he was appointed a full professor. In 1958 he became chairman of the department of philosophy and social sciences. In 1961 he became the Frederick A.P. Barnard Professor of Education as well as a member of Columbia's history department. He was president of the History of Education Society in 1959 and the National Society of College Teachers of Education, and then became vice president of the National Academy of Education. He directed the Teachers College's Institute of Philosophy and Politics of Education from 1965 until 1974, when he became the college's seventh president (1974–84). In that capacity, he established new centers, created new professorships, and raised funds while at the same time building on the college's existing strengths. He retired from the presidency in 1984 to return to teaching and research. In 1985, while remaining on the Columbia and Teachers College faculties, he became president of the Spencer Foundation, a Chicago-based educational research organization.

During his four decades at Teachers College, Cremin helped broaden the study of American educational history by promoting a more comprehensive approach: he examined the other agencies and institutions that educated children, integrated the study of education with other historical fields, and compared educational methods across international boundaries. He also played a leading role in many professional, governmental, and philanthropic organizations, including the U.S. Office of Education's Curriculum Improvement Panel, and the Carnegie Commission on the Education of Educators.

Cremin wrote *The Transformation of the School; Progressivism in American Education, 1876–1957* (1961), a history of the progressive education movement in the United States, for which he was awarded the Bancroft Prize in American History in 1962. His major work was a three-volume comparative history of education in the United States entitled *American Education*. The second volume, covering the period from 1783 to 1876, won the Pulitzer Prize for history in 1981. His other major works include *The American Common School: An Historic Conception* (1951), *A History of Education in American Culture* (with R.F. Butts, 1955), *Public Schools in Our Democracy* (with M.L. Borrowman, 1956), *The Republic and the School: Horace Mann on the Education of Free Men* (1957), *The Genius of American Education* (1965), *Isaac Leon Kandel (1881–1865): A Biographical Memoir* (1966), *Public Education* (1976), *Traditions of American Education* (1979), and *Popular Education and Its Discontents* (1990).

[Abraham J. Tannenbaum / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

CREMONA, city in Lombardy, N. Italy. Jews are first mentioned in Cremona in 1278 as loan bankers. The Jews were given protection by the Visconti dukes of Milan, who in 1387 granted the right of residence in Cremona. The Jews of Cremona did not confine themselves to banking but also engaged in commerce and farming, becoming the largest Jewish community in Lombardy. In about 1466 the commune requested that no more Jews be admitted into Cremona. Under the Sforza dukes, and after during the Venetian domination (1499–1509) and also during the French occupation, in 1509 and again later, the commune asked that the Jews should be excluded, but the requests were not met. In addition, the Jews suffered from the antisemitic preachings of the friars until Pope Paul III (1534–49) intervened to moderate their attacks. A few years previously (1525) the duchy of Milan (to which Cremona belonged) had passed to the iron rule of Spain. The *bull issued by Pope *Julius III in 1553 ordering that all copies of the Talmud should be burned was at first opposed by the governor of Milan. Cremona was then a center of Jewish scholarship. R. Joseph *Ottolenghi (d. 1570) gave special luster to the local talmudic academy and from 1556 printing of Hebrew works began. In 1557 the Inquisition urged the authorities of Cremona to enforce the bull of 1553. Although at first unsuccessful, the efforts of the Holy Office bore fruit in 1559. Following a dispute between the apostate Vittorio Eliano (in which he supported the equivocal Joshua de' Cantori) and Joseph Ottolenghi, the Inquisition seized 12,000 Talmudic codex and 10,000 Hebrew books and consigned them to the flames. In the same year, the archbishop of Milan, Carlo *Borromeo, enforced some of the anti-Jewish restrictions recently renewed by the Vatican, prohibiting Jews from lending money and compelling them to wear the Jewish *badge. In 1590, there were 456 Jews living in Cremona and most of them were moneylenders, traders of second-hand and dealers of new textiles. In 1591 Philip II, king of Spain, ordered all the Jews to leave the duchy of Milan. Several stays of the order were granted until 1597. In 1629 only the family Soave resided in Cremona as loan bankers and traders. Attempts to induce Jews to return to Cremona in 1619, 1626, and 1633 failed. Parts of the communal archives are preserved in the Montefiore Collection in London (Ms. 94).

Hebrew Printing

During the second half of 15th century were copied out some siddurim and commentaries. In 1550 Meir da Padova copied out some Torah scrolls for Joseph *Ottolenghi. The Christian Vincenzo Conti printed about 40 Hebrew books in Cremona between 1556 and 1567, the best known being the *Zohar* in 1559. The first production was Isaac b. Joseph of Corbeil's *Ammudei Golah* for which Conti had as his associates Samuel Boehm and Zanvil Pescarol. From 1558 until 1567 Conti continued to print Hebrew books whose contents had been sanctioned by the Inquisition. Until 1559 Conti used almost exclusively "Rashi" (cursive) type, as in his first edition of *Ẓiyyoni* by Menahem b. Meir, of which the Inquisition destroyed 1,000 copies. From then onward he used square type, as in the *Zohar* and the second edition of *Ẓiyyoni*. In Cremona Conti finished the Ashkenazi *Maḥzor* begun in *Sabioneta in 1557, while books printed there for Conti by Zifroni in 1567 (*Pirkei de-Rabbi Eliezer, Halikhot Olam, Ẓeidah la-Derekh*, and an Ashkenazi *siddur*) are continuations of Cremona work. Conti used a variety of title page decorations: in 1556, faun and nymph with the coat of arms of Cremona; 1557–67, the typical Cremona tailpiece inscribed SPQR; 1565–66, portals with turkey cocks; and, for folios, portals with *Akedah illustration. In 1576 another Christian printer, Cristoforo Draconi, printed (with the help of Solomon Bueno) Eliezer Ashkenazi's *Yosef Lekaḥ*.

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CRESCAS (**Cresques**; Heb. קרשקש), personal or family name common among the Jews of southern France and Catalonia. It apparently comes from the Latin verb *crescere* ("to grow, increase"); compare the name Dieutecresse ("may God increase") common among the Jews of N. France and pre-Expulsion English Jewry, which is probably a French form of Joseph (["may God] increase," Gen. 30:24). Bearers of the family name include Ḥasdai *Crescas. It was also used as a personal name, e.g., by Crescas Solomon, a signatory of the communal regulations adopted for Aragonese Jewry in 1354; Magister Crescas Elijah, physician to Pedro IV of Aragon; and the astrologer *Cresques de Vivers and the Majorcan Jewish cartographer Cresques Abraham, mistakenly known as Abraham Cresques.

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CRESCAS, ASHER (**Bonan**) **BEN ABRAHAM** (first half of 15th century), author of religious and philosophical commentaries. Crescas lived in Provence. Before 1438 he wrote a commentary on Maimonides' *Guide of the Perplexed*, first printed with the Sabbioneta edition of 1553. In his commentary he quotes Shem Tov Ibn *Falaquera's *Moreh ha-Moreh*, a treatise by *Jedaiah ha-Penini (perhaps his *Midbar Kedemot* to the 25 propositions of Maimonides), Joseph *Caspi, *Levi b. Gershom, and *Alḥarizi's translation of the *Guide*. Crescas also wrote *Avvat Nefesh*, a supercommentary on Abraham *Ibn Ezra's commentary on the Pentateuch, extant in numerous manuscripts. Steinschneider identifies Crescas with Asher b. Abraham, the author of several liturgical writings still in manuscript in Cod. Paris 706.

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[Moshe Nahum Zobel]

CRESCAS (or **Cresques**), **ḤASDAI BEN JUDAH** (c. 1340–winter 1410–11), Catalonian rabbi, philosopher, and statesman. Crescas was born into an old Barcelonan family of rabbis and merchants. He studied Talmud and philosophy there under Rabbi *Nissim b. Reuben Gerondi (c. 1310–1376) and together with Nissim's other outstanding disciple, Rabbi *Isaac b. Sheshet (1326–1408). In the 1360s, he served as one of the *ne'emanim* or "secretaries" of the Jewish community. By the 1370s, he was recognized as an authority on talmudic law, was requested by King Peter IV of Aragon to adjudicate certain cases concerning Jews, and received legal queries from Jews throughout the Kingdom of Aragon and abroad. He wrote poetry, and in 1370 participated in a competition between the Hebrew poets of Barcelona and those of Gerona. With the accession in 1387 of King John I and Queen Violante, he became a familiar of the royal household. In 1389 he moved to Saragossa, seat of the main royal court, and served there as rabbi. In 1390 he was empowered by the throne as judge of all the Jews of the Kingdom of Aragon. During the anti-Jewish riots of 1391, he worked together with the king and queen to protect the Jewish communities of the kingdom, but with only partial success: hundreds of Jewish communities in Valencia, Majorca, and Catalonia were destroyed, thousands of Jews killed, and more than 100,000 were converted to Christianity; but the Jewish communities in Aragon and Roussillon were saved. Despite Crescas' efforts to have his family protected, his only son was murdered in Barcelona. Crescas prepared a Hebrew chronicle of the massacres addressed to the Jews of Avignon, dated October 19, 1391 (trans. in Fritz Kobler, *Letters of the Jews through the Ages*, London 1952, pp. 272–75). The chronicle was presumably intended to provide information for Jewish intercessors meeting with the Avignonese pope. Its terse Hebrew bears theological allusions: the desolated centers of Jewish piety and learning become Jerusalem; and Crescas' son, "my only son, a bridegroom, a lamb without blemish," becomes Isaac. In the wake of 1391, Crescas, supported by the king and queen, devoted himself to the reconstruction of the devastated Jewish communities of the Kingdom of Aragon. He also secured passage for thousands of **Conversos* on ships sailing for places outside Christendom, like North Africa or the Land of Israel, where they could legally return to Judaism. He made efforts to reform the system of communal representation in Saragossa, and in 1396 framed regulations (no longer extant) for the community, which strengthened the powers of its administrators. Certain modifications were introduced to them in 1399 by Queen Violante, who extended the responsibility of the administrators and allowed the lower classes a greater share in the representation. Crescas helped to effect similar regulations in other communities. His influence was not confined to Aragon. Before 1391 he and Isaac b. Sheshet were approached for advice with regard to the succession of the chief rabbinate of France. Later his opinion was solicited by Joseph *Orabuena, chief rabbi of Navarre. In 1401 Crescas spent several weeks in Pamplona, perhaps to discuss with King Charles III the resettlement of Jews there. A document from Olite, the royal residence in Navarre, acknowledges the receipt of 40 florins from the king, and bears Crescas' signature in Hebrew and Spanish. After the martyrdom of his son, he received royal permission in 1393 to take a second wife, his first being no longer able to have children; and she bore him one son and three daughters. He died in Saragossa.

[*Encyclopaedia Judaica* (Germany) / Warren Zev Harvey (2nd ed.)]

Works

Crescas had limited time for writing, and what he did write was motivated by his commitment to salvage Judaism in Spain. As part of a campaign to combat the prodigious Christianizing literature aimed at Jews and Conversos he wrote his *Refutation of the Christian Principles* (1397–98) in Catalan (trans. D. Lasker, Albany, 1992). This work has survived only in Joseph ben Shem Tov's Hebrew translation entitled *Bittul Ikkarei ha-Noẓerim* (1451, 1860, 1904, 1990; trans. D. Lasker, Albany, 1992). He also composed at least one other Catalan work combating Christianity which is now lost, and he influenced Profiat *Duran to write his *Kelimmat ha-Goyim* ("Disgrace of the Gentiles"), another work criticizing Christianity. The *Refutation* is a non-rhetorical logical critique of ten principles of Christianity: original sin, redemption, the Trinity, the incarnation, the virgin birth, transubstantiation, baptism, the messiahship of Jesus, the New Testament, and demonology. Even his philosophic treatise *Or Adonai* ("Light of the Lord"), an anti-Aristotelian classic, written in Hebrew and completed in 1410 (Ferrara, 1555; Vienna, 1859–60; Johannesburg, 1861; Jerusalem, 1990), was conceived as a polemic. In this work Crescas attacked Aristotelianism because Aristotelian arguments had been used by Jewish intellectuals to justify their desertion of Judaism. Also extant is a philosophic and halakhic Sermon on the Passover (*Derashat ha-Pesah* or *Ma'amar Or le-Arba'ah 'Asar*, ed. A. Ravitzky, Jerusalem 1988), which contains a discussion of miracles, faith, and choice. Among Crescas' students were: Joseph Ḥabib, Joseph *Albo, *Zerahiah b. Isaac ha-Levi, Mattathias ha-Yiẓhari, Moses ibn *Abbas, and *Astruc ha-Levi. The last five scholars were delegates to the disputation of *Tortosa.

Or Adonai

Crescas had planned to write a comprehensive work *Ner Elohim* ("Lamp of God") which was to have been a reaction to the teachings of *Maimonides. He envisaged that the work would be composed of a philosophic-dogmatic part, *Or Adonai*, and a halakhic one, *Ner Mitzvah*; however, the latter section was never written. *Or Adonai* was directed against the *Guide of the Perplexed*, the main work of Jewish Aristotelianism. Crescas praised the immensity of Maimonides' learning, and acknowledged the desirability of his intent, but in justification of his critique he cited the rabbinic dictum, "… wherever the divine name is being profaned no respect is to be shown to one's master" (Er. 63a). *Ner Mitzvah* was to have superseded Maimonides' *Mishneh Torah* as a concise systematization of *halakhah*. The work was to have included Crescas' own novellae, and was to have incorporated logical and methodological features lacking in Maimonides' work, namely: alternate halakhic opinions, references to sources, and principles which would permit the application of commandments, general in their nature, to particular cases. Since this halakhic compendium was never written, Crescas is remembered as a philosopher, not a halakhist.

The disengagement of philosophy and belief from *halakhah*, symbolized by the projected two parts of his work, was crucial to Crescas. For example, Maimonides, combining the two, had interpreted the opening words of the Decalogue, "I am the Lord" (Ex. 20:2; Deut. 5:6), as constituting a positive commandment to believe in (or know) the existence of God. Crescas, by contrast, argued in the preface to his *Or Adonai* that it is absurd to speak of a divine commandment to believe in the existence of God, since such a belief cannot be a commandment itself, but must be a presupposition for any commandment. Before one can speak of a divine commandment one must already be convinced of the existence of a divine commander, God. Furthermore, in Crescas' psychology belief is involuntary; and one can only be reasonably commanded to do what one has the power to choose to do. Once again, therefore, belief in the existence of God is a presupposition of all the commandments, but it itself is not a commandment; it is pre-halakhic.

Or Adonai is divided into four books which analyze (1) the presuppositions or roots (*shorashim*) of Torah, (2) the fundaments (*pinnot*) of Torah, (3) other obligatory beliefs of Torah, and (4) some non-obligatory speculations. Following Maimonides, Crescas counts as roots God's existence, unity, and incorporeality. His analysis is tripartite: (1) a thorough presentation of the alleged Aristotelian roots of Torah, i.e., demonstrations of the 25 supposedly indubitable physical and metaphysical propositions that Maimonides had declared necessary premises of proofs of God's existence, unity, and incorporeality; and explanations of these proofs (cf. *Guide*, 2, Introduction); (2) a disproof of Aristotelianism, i.e., logical refutations of most of the propositions and all of the proofs; and (3) a new investigation of the roots. Crescas' critique of Aristotelianism was historically momentous; in arguing for the liberation of Torah, he was arguing also for the liberation of science. Crescas refutes the Aristotelian arguments against the existence of a vacuum and suggests that a medium is not a necessary condition of either motion or weight. It is not true that each element possesses an inner tendency toward its alleged natural place: rather, "all movable bodies have a certain amount of weight differing only quantitatively" and "those bodies which move upward do so only by reason of the pressure exerted upon them by bodies heavier in weight." Refutation of the impossibility of a vacuum enables Crescas to argue against the impossibility of infinite incorporeal and corporeal magnitudes and in the process to overthrow Aristotle's definition of place. In Aristotle's theory, according to which the universe is finite, "place" was defined as the adjacent surface of the containing body (*Physics* 4:4); this definition, observes Crescas, involves absurdities, e.g., the outermost celestial sphere has no essential place and the place of the part is sometimes not a part of the place of the whole. In Crescas' conception, space is infinitely extended; it is a vacuum, except where occupied by matter. Thus, space is the place of all matter, and the "place" of a thing is defined as "the interval between the limits of that which surrounds." To the Aristotelian argument that, according to such a definition, places themselves would have an infinite number of movable places, he replies that space is one and its dimensions immovable. Crescas notes that with the refutation of the impossibility of an infinite magnitude, the impossibility of a plurality of worlds is also refuted: there is now place for them. The objection that elements of the world would spill into another is quickly invalidated, even on Aristotelian terms, for each world could have its own proper places for its elements. Crescas does not explicitly posit the existence of an infinite number of worlds, but it is inferable; he does argue for an infinite number of coexisting magnitudes, and in two theological discussions he refers to *aggadah* about God's travels in (Crescas interprets "providence for") 18,000 worlds (Av. Zar. 3b). He rejects the Aristotelian view that the existence of an infinite number of causes and effects is impossible. In categorically affirming actual infinity, he contends that its denial by Aristotle was based on the fallacious assumption that the infinite is analogous to the finite. However, he argues, while finite magnitudes have boundaries and shape, the infinite by definition has no boundaries and is shapeless; while a finite number can actually be numbered, an infinite number possesses only the capacity of being numbered; while finite whole numbers can be subdivided exhaustively into even and odd, infinite numbers are not to be described by either evenness or oddness. On the other hand, regarding measurability, it is true that the predicates "greater than," "smaller than," and "equal to" are inapplicable to infinite numbers, but they are applicable to the numbers themselves. He rejects the Aristotelian view that the celestial spheres are rational, that is that they possess intelligence, and that their motion is voluntary; he argues that motion of terrestrial as well as celestial elements is natural rather than rational. Having dismissed Aristotle's theory of absolute lightness and weight, and having interpreted motion as a function of weight, he conjectures that the circular motion of the celestial spheres is due to their weightlessness. He rejects Aristotle's identification of form with actuality and matter with potentiality, and proposes that the substratum is "corporeal form." He rejects Aristotle's definition of time as an accident of motion; in his view, time exists only in the soul and is "the measure of the duration of motion or of rest between two instants." The critique of the Aristotelian propositions was also the critique of the premises of Maimonides' proofs of the existence, unity, and incorporeality of God; and the proofs fall with the propositions. Crescas does, however, recognize one short proof of the existence of God: regardless of whether causes and effects in the world are finite or infinite, there must be one cause of all of them as a whole. For were there nothing but effects, these effects in themselves would have only possible existence. Hence, in order to bring them into actual being, they need a cause, and this cause is God. He does not accept philosophic proofs for either of the other two roots: God's unity is known only from Torah, "Hear O Israel: the Lord our God, the Lord is one" (Deut. 6:4); His incorporeality is a corollary of His unity. Crescas concludes his dissertation on the roots by remarking that while philosophy cannot establish them, it does agree with them; the argument from design (see *God) suggested the existence of a Governor to Abraham, but only God's light dispelled Abraham's doubt (cf. Gen. R. 39:1).

Fundaments

Torah, in Crescas' conception, is "the product of a voluntary action from the Commander, Who is the initiator of the action to the commanded, who is the receiver of the action." Fundaments are concepts that follow necessarily (i.e., analytically) from his conception of Torah. They include the following:

1. God's knowledge of existents, for God could not have commanded the Torah without knowing what he commanded. Crescas argues that God as Creator knows a priori all existents across all time.

2. Providence, for God's voluntary giving of the Torah was itself providential. According to Crescas, God provides for individuals not, as Maimonides taught, in accordance with their intellectual excellence, but on the merit of their love.

3. God's power, for were He powerless, He could not have given the Torah. Crescas argues that He Who created all by virtue of His will is infinitely powerful, neither restricted by nor dependent on nature.

4. Communication between Commander and commanded, i.e., prophecy, for the Torah is the product of such communication. Prophecy, maintains Crescas, is the culmination not of philosophy, as Maimonides taught, but of love for God.

5. Man's power of choice, for the concept of commandment presupposes the commanded's ability to choose to obey. Yet Crescas accepts the philosophic position of determinism, maintaining that two hypothetical individuals with identical backgrounds would in the same situation choose identically. He accepts, also, the theological position of determinism, that God foreknows all, and he affirms R. Akiva's antinomy: "All is foreseen, but choice is given" (Avot 3:19). Man, he concludes, has a will, composed of appetite and imagination, though this will is determined by external causes, among them the commandments. Because of this will man is able to choose, and, furthermore, he is responsible for his choice, which, in turn,

becomes a cause, determining his reward or punishment. However, a man is not responsible for his beliefs, for belief, in Crescas' analysis, is independent of the will; thus, at Sinai the Israelites, coerced as if God had threatened to crush them with the mountain (cf. Av. Zar. 2b), were not rewarded for believing, but for the voluntary joy attendant on their belief.

6. The purposefulness of Torah, just as objects produced by men have a purpose, so, the Torah, produced by the Prime Intellect (God) must have purpose. It is the purpose of the Torah to effect in the one to whom it is addressed love for man, correct opinions, and physical felicity, which are all subsumed under one final goal – spiritual felicity, the infinite love for God. But even for God, the Commander, the Torah has a purpose, namely to bestow His infinite love upon His creatures.

Against both Platonism and Aristotelianism, Crescas argues that God's love for man is stronger than man's love for God, for God's infinite essence is the source of both loves. Man's love for God results in *devekut* ("conjunction" or "communion") with God; for among spiritual beings, as well as among physical objects, love and concord are the causes of perfection and unity. Love, the purpose of Torah, is the purpose also of man, and, further, of all that is. Maimonides had discredited the question of ultimate purpose, asserting that one could ask the purpose of every proposed purpose. Crescas replies that there is no infinite regress, because, ultimately, goodness is its own purpose, and it follows necessarily from God's essential and infinite goodness that He should boundlessly create good and joyfully will that His creatures attain the ultimate good, *devekut*.

Other Dogmas

Of the non-fundamental obligatory beliefs, Crescas distinguishes those independent of specific commandments, which include creation, survival of the soul, reward and punishment, resurrection, immutability of the Torah, the distinction between Moses and the other prophets, the efficacy of the Urim and the Thummim, and the Messiah, from those dependent on specific commandments, which include the efficacy of prayer and of the priestly benediction, God's readiness to accept the penitent, and the spiritual value of the High Holidays and the festivals. These beliefs differ only epistemologically from the fundaments: they are a posteriori, while the fundaments are a priori. One could logically conceive of the Torah without the nonfundamental beliefs but not without the fundamental ones. Yet, since the nonfundamental beliefs are affirmed by the Torah, their denial makes one a heretic. Crescas rejects Maimonides' contraposition of eternity and creation. For Crescas, whether or not the world is eternal is inconsequential; what is crucial is that the world is created *ex nihilo* by the absolute will of God, and that only the existence of God is necessary. Creation need not be in time: God is "creating each day, continuously, the work of the beginning" (liturgy). In his discussion of eternity, as in that of determinism, Crescas accepted a theory considered fatal to religion, and, instead of arguing against it, opted to establish its dogmatic inconsequence, and to show how it could be incorporated into an orthodox theology. In his discussion of the soul, Crescas rejects the Aristotelian theory that only the acquired intellect survives death. He argues that the soul is a simple and incorruptible substance, whose essence is not the intellect but something sublime and inscrutable. Crescas' teaching concerning the Messiah states that he will be greater than Moses and even the angels. Crescas recognizes only the Diaspora of 586 B.C.E.; the period of the Second Temple, being under foreign hegemony, did not constitute a redemption for him.

CONCEPT OF GOD. "The Place" (*ha-Makom*), a talmudic appellation for God, strikes Crescas as a remarkable metaphor: as the dimensions of space permeate the entire universe, so does the glory of God. Crescas, differing from Maimonides, speaks of positive attributes of God (e.g., eternity, knowledge, and power), maintaining that terms predicated of God are not employed absolutely equivocally, but amphibolously. Their generic meaning is the same when they are applied to God as when they are applied to created beings; yet, the attributes of created beings are finite, and thus incomparable with the infinite attributes of God. Attributes are infinite also in number; yet all are mental modifications of the attribute of goodness. Crescas considers both the Averroistic and the Avicennian identifications of God's existence with His essence as tautological. For Crescas existence, whether that of God or created beings, is simply extramental non-absence; it is essential to (i.e., a necessary condition of) essence, which, by definition, has extramental reality. Similarly, the attribute of unity, which is simply nonplurality, is essential not only to God, but to every existent substance. All divine attributes are essential in the way that existence, unity, animality, and rationality are essential to man. For Crescas, God is not the *intellectus-intelligens-intelligibile*, and, as is suggested in the astounding conclusion of *Or Adonai*, He even might not be unconditionally inscrutable. He is Goodness, and His happiness is in His infinite creation of good and in His infinite love for His creatures.

Influence in and Criticism of *Or Adonai*

Or Adonai was written within the tradition of the Jewish Aristotelianism it sought to refute; it is a continuation of the discussions in Maimonides' *Guide* and *Levi b. Gershom's *Milḥamot Adonai* ("Wars of the Lord"). Crescas makes significant reference to, among other Aristotelians, *Moses b. Joshua of Narbonne. Among Jewish non-Aristotelians, he refers sympathetically to *Judah Halevi and *Naḥmanides, recommends *Jonah b. Abraham Gerondi's treatise on repentance, and cites his teacher R. Nissim Gerondi, the spirit of whose philosophy pervades his religious thought. Of the medieval Islamic philosophers, whom it is assumed he knew only through Hebrew translations, Crescas is particularly concerned with *Averroes, the radical Aristotelian, whose physics and theology he attacks vigorously. He also discusses views of *al-Farābī, *Avicenna, al-*Ghazālī, *Avempace, and *al-Tabrīzī. Crescas' arguments show affinity to the revolutionary physics then being developed at Paris by students of Jean Buridan, especially Nicole Oresme. At times he seems influenced by Thomism, Scotism, and Ockhamist nominalism. However, since he did not write *Or Adonai* for a Latin audience and did not cite Latin schoolmen, the nature of his relationships to these movements is speculative. Aspects of Crescas' discussion of the will seem based on the work of *Abner of Burgos, a Jewish convert to Christianity.

Although *Or Adonai* was written for philosophers, not mystics, it is clear that Crescas was influenced by the Kabbalah, especially by the 13th-century Aragonese masters. He cites *Sefer Yeẓirah* and *Sefer ha-Bahir* and often interprets Scripture and Midrash kabbalistically. He emphasizes infinity (although he avoids the kabbalistic term *Ein-Sof*), love, and *devekut*; and he dismisses as preposterous the Maimonidean notion that the esoteric studies of *ma'aseh bereshit* and *ma'aseh merkavah* are physics and metaphysics. Aristotelians, such as *Shem Tov ben Joseph ibn Shem Tov, who rejected Crescas' arguments as "figments of the imagination" of a "perverse fool," were convinced that he could not understand Aristotle. Even Isaac *Abrabanel, who respected Crescas for his piety, considered his philosophic views often unintelligible or simpleminded. On the other hand, Joseph *Jabez praised "Rabbi Ḥasdai, who surpassed in intellect all the philosophers of his time, even the philosophers of Christendom and Islam, and how much more so the philosophers of Israel." Giovanni *Pico della Mirandola, quoting Crescas extensively, injected his critique of Aristotelian physics into the Latin literature, which later nurtured Galileo. The *Dialogues of Love* of Leone Ebreo (Judah *Abrabanel) might be seen as a poetic adaption of Crescas' metaphysics. Giordano Bruno (1548–1600), the Christian Italian philosopher, seems to have borrowed arguments from him. *Spinoza's theories of extension, freedom and necessity, and love are marked by his close study of *Or Adonai*.

[Warren Zev Harvey (2nd ed.)]

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CRESQUES, ABRAHAM (d. 1387), Majorcan cartographer, son of Abraham Vidal and Astrugona. Contrary to what has been assumed in research, his name was Cresques Abraham and not Abraham Cresques. The latter is the name of his father. Hence his son Judah (son of) Cresques. In the Catalan-speaking lands and in Provence it was customary for Jews to bear two names, the second being the father's name. Cresques' grandfather Vidal Cresques was a leader of the community in Majorca. Cresques prepared maps and compasses for Pedro IV of Aragon and his son John, who conferred on him the title *magister mapamundorum et buxolarum*. His map of the world was sent by the infante as a gift to Charles VI of France in 1381. Both Cresques and his son Judah (see below) were granted royal protection in 1381 and exempted from wearing the Jewish badge. Pedro IV granted him revenues and the right to appoint the ritual slaughterers and inspectors in his community. The celebrated Catalan atlas, now in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, is thought to be the work of Cresques. JUDAH CRESQUES (b. c. 1360) was also a cartographer. After his father's death he continued to make maps for John I and Martin of Aragon. He continued to reside in the *call* of Majorca, where he inherited a house from his father. During the anti-Jewish outbreaks in Spain in 1391, Judah became converted to Christianity, changing his name to Jaime Ribes. In 1394 he settled in Barcelona. From 1399 he is referred to in documents as *magister cartarum navegandi*. He is identical with the famous cartographer Mestre Jacome de Mallorca, employed in Portugal by Henry the Navigator during the 1420s.

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CRESQUES DE VIVERS (d. 1391), Spanish astrologer. Cresques, who apparently came from Vivers in southern France, was invited in 1384 by John, the heir apparent to the throne of Aragon, to serve him as astrologer. Cresques arrived in Aragon in 1386. When John became king in the following year he assigned Cresques an annual income of 500 Barcelona sólidos to be defrayed by the Jewish community of Perpignan. In 1389 he granted Cresques and his household royal protection, and also appointed him tax administrator (*procurador y gestor general*) of the Jewish communities in Aragon. Cresques was killed during the anti-Jewish outbreaks in 1391. After his death, his wife and sons became converted to Christianity, and in 1392 the king ordered the community of Perpignan to continue to pay them the income formerly received by Cresques.

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CRESSON, WARDER (1798–1860), U.S. religious zealot, convert to Judaism, and visionary Zionist. Cresson, born into an old Philadelphia Quaker family, became successively a Shaker, a Mormon, a Millerite, and a Campbellite, while earning a living as a farmer outside Philadelphia. After associating with Isaac *Leeser for several years, Cresson determined in 1844 to visit the Holy Land. He received an honorary appointment as American consul at Jerusalem, but a protest by Samuel D. Ingham, a former secretary of treasury, who believed that Cresson had been "laboring under an aberration of the mind for many years," and that "his mania is of the religious species," resulted in the appointment being withdrawn. By then, however, Cresson had left for Palestine, and for a time believed that he was representing the American government. Four years of residence in Jerusalem persuaded him that he could find spiritual truth in Judaism; despite the discouragement of the chief rabbi of Jerusalem and of the *bet din*, he was circumcised and converted in 1848. Returning to Philadelphia to settle his affairs, Cresson was declared insane by a jury at the instigation of his wife and son, who felt that his conversion was an indication of mental imbalance. He appealed the decision and received a new trial, and in 1851 was found by the jury to be sane. They ruled that Judaism was a legitimate religion and that Cresson was not insane in converting. The Philadelphia Public Ledger commented that the case "settled forever … the principle that a man's religious opinions never can be made a test of his sanity." While in Philadelphia, he lived as an observant Jew and prayed at Mikveh Israel. Before returning to Palestine in 1852 as Michael Boaz, Israel ben-Abraham, he published a polemical volume entitled *Key of David, David the True Messiah* (1851). Back in Jerusalem, Cresson undertook propaganda campaigns against Christian missionary groups and on behalf of agricultural colonization of Jews in Palestine. He remained in contact with Leeser, who published many of his communications in his journal *The Occident*. Cresson lived in Jerusalem as a Sephardi and married a Sephardi wife, Rachel Moledano.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Friedewald, in: *Jewish Comment* (Baltimore), 12 (Nov. 30, 1900), 1–2; Karp, in: American Jewish Historical Society, *Early History of Zionism in America* (1958), 1–20. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY**: H. Obenzinger, *American Palestine: Melville, Twain and the Holy Land Mania* (1999).

[Bertram Wallace Korn / Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

CRETE (**Candia**), the fourth largest island, 160 mi. (248 km.) long, in the Mediterranean Sea and the largest Greek island, lying 60 mi. (96 km) from the Peloponnesus. Crete is apparently identical with the biblical *Caphtor, the original home of the *Philistines (Deut. 2:23; Jer. 47:4; Amos 9:7), who themselves, or certain groups of them, are referred to in the Bible as Cherethites (Ezek. 25:16; Zeph. 2:5; this is also the obvious meaning of I Sam. 30:14, cf. 30:16). David's bodyguard, which the Bible describes as Cherethites and Pelethites (II Sam. 8:18; 15:18; 20:7, 23 (Kere); I Kings 1:38, 44; I Chron. 18:17), was probably composed of Philistines ("Peleti" being a derivation of "Pelishti" analogous to "Kereti") and Cretans who had either recently emigrated from Crete or were already settled in the land of the Philistines but were still named after their place of origin. The Septuagint also translates Cheretim as Κρῆτας (Ezek. 25:16; Zeph. 2:5); the verb כְרִית in Zephaniah 2:6 is translated as Κρήτη; in Ezekiel 30:5 פוּט is also given as Κρῆτες.

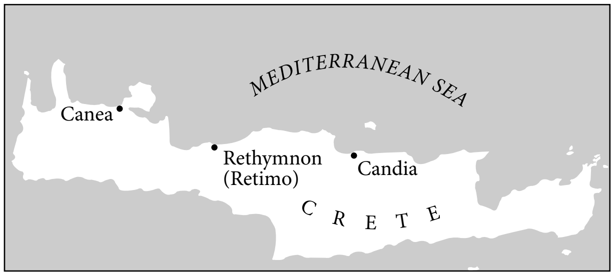

Major medieval Jewish communities in Crete.

The earliest evidence of a Jewish community in Crete is to be found in a circular letter in support of the Jews, sent by the Roman Senate (142 B.C.E.) to various countries at the request of Simeon the Hasmonean. As this was also forwarded to the Cretan city of Gortyna (I Macc. 15:23), it can be assumed that there was a Jewish community in existence there. There is no doubt about the existence of Jewish settlements in Crete after its conquest by the Romans in 68–67 B.C.E. The false Alexander, who after Herod's death claimed to be his son, found ardent supporters and financial help among the Cretan Jews. *Philo of Alexandria mentions Crete among the countries with a large Jewish population (*Legatione ad Gaium*, 282). According to the New Testament (Acts 2:11) there were Cretan Jews living in Jerusalem. Josephus married, in Rome, a woman belonging to a prominent Cretan Jewish family (Jos., Life, 427). After the partition of the Roman Empire in 395, the island remained part of the Eastern Empire. Under the Byzantine emperor Theodosius II (408–50) the Jews of Crete, among others, were severely oppressed. Possibly in consequence of this in 440 they placed their faith in a pseudo-messiah, who claimed to be Moses sent from heaven to lead the Jews of Crete dry shod through the sea back to the Promised Land. Of those who did not drown after jumping from the cliff, most converted to Christianity. The Saracens, who invaded Crete in 823, founded a fortified city surrounded by a *khandak* ("ditch"), from which the city's present name Candia is derived. In 961 the Byzantines succeeded in reconquering Crete. The situation of the Jews under the Arabs and Byzantines is only vaguely known. In general the Muslim rulers gained the sympathy of the native population, while under the Eastern Empire their position, while not enviable, was probably no worse than elsewhere under Christian Byzantine rule. In the wake of the Fourth Crusade (1204) the island was sold to Venice and became known as Candia. In the period of Venetian rule (1204–1669), a fusion of various Jewish communities took place. The *Romaniots formed the upper class. Their Greek vernacular even penetrated the synagogue services. Jews settled on the island from both east and west throughout this period, and contacts with Jewish centers were maintained. In 1228 R. Baruch b. Isaac, on his way to Palestine, found a small Jewish community in Candia, which shocked him because of the laxity in observance of Jewish traditions.

A series of ordinances (*Takkanot Kandyah*; see bibliography) were then established against the abuses. In 1481 *Meshullam of Volterra found 600 Jewish families and four synagogues in Candia. The Jewish community of that city accorded a warm welcome to the exiles from Spain in 1492.

Nevertheless, even during the period of their prosperity, Cretan Jews did not number more than 1,160; they lived mainly in the harbor towns of Candia, Canea, and *Rethymnon (Retimo). The Jews formed a middle class between the Greek population and the feudal nobility, but they were nevertheless treated as *vilani* ("serfs") and depended on the favors of Venetian officials. From 1350 they were forced to reside in a specified quarter (*Ciudecca*), and not only to wear the Jewish *badge on their clothing but also to affix it to their houses. On Epiphany they had to donate a ducat a head to the church for the lighting of candles. There were also protests that the Jews had concentrated the major part of the commerce in their hands. When the Greek population rioted in 1364, the Jews of Castel Nuovo were massacred by the rebels. About a century later, in 1449–50, the Jews were accused of showing contempt for Christianity by crucifying the paschal lamb, an original departure from the *blood libel theme. Two years later, in 1452, an accusation was brought by a nun that the Jews had desecrated the *Host. Nine notables of the Jewish community of Candia were arrested, and tried in Venice, but were set free after two years' imprisonment.

In general the central government attempted to safeguard the Jews and these in turn proved their loyalty. A distasteful burden of the Jewish community was to supply an executioner. During the war with Turkey in 1538 a rumor that the Jews were hiding Turks in their quarter led to an attack by the Greek population. A massacre was averted by the intervention of Venetian troops and the day came to be celebrated as the "Purim of Candia." In 1568 the Greek patriarch in Constantinople dispatched a letter to the Christians of Candia taking them to task for their cruel treatment of Jews. However, when the fanatic Giacomo Foscarini ruled the island (1574–77), harsh anti-Jewish measures were undertaken to isolate the Jews of the island or compel them to convert. The Jewish community was heavily taxed and became the victim of extortions to finance the war against the Turks. Even so, the situation of the Jews was relatively secure. With some exceptions, they were Venetian subjects with the status of citizens. Only a limited number of them, however, were admitted to the wholesale commerce. Nevertheless they dominated the export trade of the island. They traded in sugar, wax, ironware, hides, female finery, indigo, and wine, while a certain group was engaged in moneylending and banking. These aroused considerable hostility, especially among the Greeks on the island. In 1416 Jews were restricted in the purchase of fields out of fear that all the land would come into their possession. In 1423 the Venetian senate forbade all Jews who were Venetian subjects to purchase land. Those who were already in possession of properties were required to transfer them to other owners within two years. Jews were also restricted in the renting of property. In 1433 they were forbidden to act as brokers. However, the majority of the Jewish population in Crete were artisans, such as tailors, shoemakers, bakers, silkweavers, and dyers. Some were lawyers, physicians, and book copyists. The *takkanot* of Candia (from the 13th century and the end of the 16th century) reveal that the Jews of the island had the right of self-government, especially in religious matters. At the head of the community stood the *condostablo* and after him the *ḥashbanim* ("accountants"). The *condostablo*, who was elected by the notables of the community and its wealthier members, represented the community externally, and was responsible for the efficient organization of communal affairs. He chose the *ḥashbanim*, who were responsible for financial affairs. The appointment of both the *condostablo* and the *ḥashbanim* required the approval of the government. In the city of Candia there were four synagogues: "The Great," "Kohanim," "Ashkenazim," and "The High."

The community produced many talmudic scholars and rabbis, especially of the Delmedigo and Capsali families. Among the famous scholars of Crete were the historian Elijah b. Elkanah Caspali, the philosophers Joseph Solomon *Delmedigo, *Elijah b. Eliezer, *Shemariah b. Elijah Ikriti, and Elijah Cretenses *Delmedigo, and the rabbi and poet Michael b. Shabbetai *Balbo. The Turkish period (1669–1898) marked a decline in the cultural life of the Jewish communities. In 1873 a blood libel was raised against the Jews and the French consul intervened effectively on their behalf. In 1875, local Jew Abba Delmedigo was elected to the Cretan Ottoman parliament. Abraham Evlagon served as chief rabbi from 1876 to 1934. When Crete became autonomous in 1897, it had a Jewish population of 1,150, with 200 families residing in Canea, 20 in Candia, and five in Rethymnon. In 1900 Canea had 726 Jews, speaking Greek. Crete became part of Greece after the Balkan wars of 1912–13.

Prior to World War II the community had dwindled to about 400. When the Nazis occupied Greece in 1941 many Jews fled to Crete. When Crete fell it came under direct Nazi administration. On May 20, 1944, the Jews of Canea were arrested and taken to Iraklion (Candia). On June 9, 1944, they were forced to board the *Danae* together with 400 Greek hostages and 800 Italian prisoners of war. The ship was then taken out to sea, identified by the British RAF (Royal Air Force) as a German boat without being aware of its human cargo, and bombed. After being abandoned by its German crew it sank with all on board. Only seven Jews survived the Holocaust.

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[Simon Marcus]

CRIME.

INTRODUCTION

Jews in the Diaspora have generally been less involved in crime than the populations among which they lived. Their closely knit communities, cohesive family life, high educational standards, moderation in the consumption of alcohol, their solidarity, consciousness of mutual responsibility, and readiness for mutual help are regarded as the main causes for the generally low crime rates among Jews.

There are only a few countries where official crime statistics were recorded and published separately for Jews and non-Jews in certain periods. The limited data available – ranging from Czarist Russia prior to World War I to modern Canada – point to certain unmistakable trends. In the first place, crime rates were lowest where Jews were discriminated against and increased after Emancipation. Second, crimes committed by Jewish offenders were generally different in character in countries of discrimination and persecution from those committed by members of the dominant population groups. The more the Jews became emancipated and were enabled to participate in social, economic, and cultural life, the more the crimes committed by them became similar to those of the majority population.

In Czarist Russia, a country notorious for its discrimination against the Jewish minority, the conviction rate for Jews in 1907 was only about 67.5% of that for the dominant population group, while in Poland, another country where the overwhelming majority of the Jews lived in poverty and oppression, the ratio in 1937 was 63.9%. In Central Europe, Germany, Austria, and Hungary, the extent of criminality among Jews was somewhat higher. In Hungary, where the Jews were enjoying an ever-growing share in economic, social, and cultural life, the yearly average between 1909 and 1913 was 76.5%. Among German Jewry, from 1882 to 1910, when it had achieved formal emancipation and became the wealthiest and best educated Jewish community of the period, the crime rate rose from 76% to 91.7% of that for non-Jews. In Austria, in 1898, the ratio was 90%. Jacob *Lestschinsky notes that in 1918 the conviction rate for Austrian Jews was about 50% higher than for the poorer and less acculturated Jewish community of Galicia. Crime statistics for Nazi Germany in the mid-1930s seem to show that there is an inverse correlation between participation of Jews in crime and in the life of the country where they reside. However, after deducting the very high conviction rates of Jews for "racial pollution," passport exchange and industrial offenses – all results of discriminatory Nazi legislation – Jewish conviction rates for all other offenses combined were only about 30% those for non-Jews. In the Netherlands, where Jews enjoyed genuine emancipation and equality for centuries, the crime rate for Jews, which was only 67.7% in 1902, was about equal to that of the general population in 1931–33.

With the exception of Canada, no separate criminal statistics are available for most of the democratic countries, where Jews are fully emancipated. The United States' census does not register crimes committed by Jews. The only relevant data available for the United States are some prison statistics; but there the participation of Jews in crime appears to be even lower than elsewhere, as the more dangerous criminals are sent to prison, while Jews generally commit offenses of less severity. In the ten-year period 1920–29, 6,846 Jews, on the average, were imprisoned annually in the United States – 1.74% of the total of 394,080 convicted offenders. As Jews constituted 3.5% of the population at the time, their share in the more serious offenses, which were punished with imprisonment, was therefore about 50% of the general ratio. Imprisonment figures for New York and Los Angeles confirm these findings. In the early years of the 20th century, Jews represented 17–18% of the population of New York City; the percentage of Jewish prisoners was 9.2% in 1902, 9.4% in 1903, and 14.7% in 1904. In 1947, Jews made up 4.7% of the prison population in New York State, about a quarter of their share in the population. In Los Angeles, while the Jewish share in the population rose from 5.8% in 1933 to 11.9% in 1947, their share in 15 out of 18 offense groups – including murder, burglary, robbery, assault, and sex crimes – ranged from 2.8% to 3.9%. The situation has been similar in Canada. The Jewish population in the province of Quebec, where the great majority of Canadian Jews live, is 2.5% of the total, while their share in the penitentiary population during the last three decades has been never more than 1%.

In Tunisia the share of the Jews in the prison population was 60% of their share in the total population in 1939, and only 21% in 1965. (According to André Chouraqui, the situation was similar in Algeria and Morocco.) The data about the United States and Tunisia show that two Jewish populations – one wealthy, emancipated, well acculturated, and living in an affluent society, and the other generally poor, culturally segregated, and living in a backward country in conditions of oppression and discrimination – are both equally underrepresented among the prison population of their countries and commit proportionally fewer serious crimes. Not less significant is the fact that when anti-Jewish persecution and discrimination increased in Tunisia following the establishment of the State of Israel, crime among Jews declined still further. This seems to support the assumption that criminality among Jews increases with the measure of their emancipation.

Soon after the establishment of the State of Israel, it came as a surprise that Jews committed serious offenses, including murder, rape, and burglary, in their own country. It seems that the full freedom had also resulted in crime to an extent and of a character not known before in modern Jewish history. This seems to suggest that normalization of life in general also results in a "normalization" of the extent of deviant behavior.

However, given the continuing rise of crime in Israel (see below), and particularly violent crime, in the post-Six Day War period, it may be suggested that the erosion of two particular psychological barriers has also been a decisive factor, namely, the Zionist ethos and, especially among Eastern Jews, the values of the traditional Jewish home.

IN THE DIASPORA

Offenses Against the Person

In all countries of the Diaspora, Jews committed proportionately far fewer offenses against the person than did non-Jews; their share in homicide was the smallest of all. This phenomenon was generally explained by the higher educational level of the Jews and their very moderate consumption of alcohol. In Europe before World War II, the share of Jews in cases of physical assault increased proceeding from east to west. In Russia, in 1907, Jewish convictions for aggressive crimes were about 25% of the corresponding rates for non-Jews, while in Poland in 1937 the proportion was about 55%. On the other hand, of the overall figure in Germany, taking the average for 1899–1902, Jewish participation in offenses against the person was 71.4% and in the Netherlands about 70% from 1931 to 1933. Arthur Ruppin showed that the figures for the city of Amsterdam alone were even higher, and he ascribes this to the existence of a sizeable Jewish working class employed in industries owned mainly by Jews. Thus it seems that where Jews had achieved the highest measure of emancipation and equality, Jewish laborers behaved more like other working-class people.

Statistics show that on the North American continent, in the United States and Canada, convictions for assault among Jews are very low. This was explained by the fact that a generation or two after immigration, Jews had moved up to the middle class, where such aggressive behavior is less common. The same, however, applies to Jews in North Africa, who were very rarely imprisoned for physical assault, despite the fact that the great majority were impoverished and uneducated. Oppression and discrimination obviously cause Jews to contain their aggressive urges. This seems to confirm views expressed by Gustav Aschaffenburg and others that the position of the Jews as a closely knit minority group served as a crime-preventing agency, since potential offenders were constantly aware of the danger that deviant behavior by an individual could pose for the group as a whole.

Offenses Against Morality

Jews were generally less involved in aggressive offenses against morality than non-Jews: least in Eastern Europe, somewhat more in Germany, and more again in the Netherlands. United States prison statistics and Canadian offender statistics also point to the very low rates for sex offenses among Jews. Prison statistics in Tunisia, however, show that in 1955, when Jews were only 1.7% of the general population, Jewish women represented 2% of the "*filles en cartes*," or prostitutes. This is an indication of the fact that where Jewish offenders belong to the poverty class, they tend to commit offenses characteristic of such populations. In some countries, however, convictions for nonaggressive offenses against morality, such as brothel-keeping, were proportionally more numerous among Jews than among non-Jews. In the previously Austrian part of Poland, the ratio was 228% during 1924–25 and in Germany during 1899–1902 it was 127%. In the latter years, conviction rates among German Jews for "diffusion of immoral writings" were 260% of those of non-Jews. All this seems to indicate that Jews in the Diaspora were more represented in commercial offenses against morality than non-Jews. Experts explain this by the fact that Jews lived mainly in urban centers and engaged in commerce.

Offenses Against Property

The participation of Jews in the common crimes against property in the Diaspora was generally still lower than their share in offenses against the person. It was lowest in Poland, where in 1937 conviction rates for Jews were only 20% of those for non-Jews (though it is possible that thefts committed by Jews within the closely knit Jewish communities were not always reported to the hated Polish police), while in Germany, from 1882 to 1916, the ratio ranged from 30% to 40%. In the Netherlands the rates were again the highest – 97.6% of those for non-Jews in the years 1931 to 1933. In the United States and Canada Jewish participation in common crimes against property was always very low. In Los Angeles, for example, it was only about one-third of the proportion of Jews in the general population during the period 1933–1947, while in Canada (1936–37) convictions of Jews were only about two-thirds, proportionally, of the general figure. In North Africa, the participation of Jews in property offenses was much lower than that of non-Jews. Contrary to the situation in Europe and America, however, theft and drunkenness were the offenses most often committed by Jews in North Africa. Chouraqui observes that they constituted almost all the offenses with which Tunisian, Moroccan, and Algerian Jews were charged in 1948.

Fraud

False pretenses, forgery, and fraud are offenses in which Jews in the Diaspora were often overrepresented. In Russia in 1907, conviction rates for "commercial swindlers" were 143%, while in Poland in 1937 rates for fraud were 137%, and for forgery 143% of those for non-Jews, while in Germany the ratio ranged during the years 1882 to 1916 from 183% to 217%. In the Netherlands, the average for 1901–09 was 160%, rising in the period 1931–33 to 249%. In Canada the adjusted conviction rates for fraud, comparing the urban populations only, are 160%. The higher conviction rates for "commercial" offenses are generally ascribed to the much higher proportion of Diaspora Jews than the non-Jewish population in commerce and in urban areas. In Germany, for example, there were proportionately about five times as many Jews as non-Jews, and in Poland about 20 times as many, in commerce. In Poland, between 1924 and 1937, fraud and forgery represented about 21% of all offenses committed by Jews. In Germany between 1882 and 1901 these offenses were about 13%, and in the Netherlands from 1931 to

1933 only about 5%, of all offenses committed by Jews. Thus, proceeding from east to west – from conditions of discrimination in Poland to those of emancipation in Germany and still further west to the Netherlands – the proportion of fraudulent behavior in all offenses decreased and crime among the Jews became more similar to that of the majority populations.

Offenses Against Public Order and State Security

In offenses against public order, the participation of Diaspora Jews is generally different from that of the non-Jews. In countries where Jews were discriminated against, their share is greater, while in countries of emancipation it is proportionally smaller. Thus, the conviction rates of Jews for these offenses seem to be a reflection of their treatment by governments and dominant populations. In Russia in 1907, when Jews were 4% of the population, they accounted for 17.1% of offenses against the security of the state and public order, including the circumvention of discriminatory anti-Jewish laws – over four times their due share. In Poland (1924 to 1937) such offenses represented 43.6% of all the violations committed by Jews. In Germany (1899 to 1902), on the other hand, they were only 25%, and in the Netherlands (1931 to 1933) only 6.2%, of all offenses committed by Jews. (The very low figure for the Netherlands is somewhat distorted because the available statistics include only the more serious offenses against the state, in which Jews were rarely represented.)

IN PALESTINE (BEFORE 1948)

From the First Aliyah (1882) to the establishment of the State of Israel in 1948, crime figures in the *yishuv* were extremely low for all types of offenses. As it was only during the last years of its existence that the mandatory government of Palestine published separate statistics for the different communities, figures for 1940, 1943, and 1945 give some indication of the incidence of criminality among Jews in Palestine. (See Table 1: Conviction Rates in Palestine shows the crime rates for Jews and non-Jews in Palestine.) The table shows that in 1940 conviction rates of Jews were only 51.4%; in 1943, 29.4%; and in 1945, 25.7% of those among non-Jews. The very low criminality rates obviously reflect the largely idealistic and pioneering character of the *yishuv*.

The general decrease in crime among Jews and the coincident increase among non-Jews should also be seen against the background of World War II. Most young Jews served in the army or the *Haganah, which reduced the number of potential offenders in the Jewish civilian population. Non-Jews generally did not join the forces, but many of them worked in military camps as laborers, often far from the social control of their families and communities.

Table 1. Conviction Rates Per Thousand of the Population for Jews and non-Jews in Palestine, 1940, 1943, 1945

Year	Jews	non-Jews	Ratio Jews: non-Jews
1940	7.1	13.8	1:1.9
1943	5.0	17.0	1:3.4
1945	5.5	21.3	1:3.9

IN THE STATE OF ISRAEL

The First Decades

The entire structure of crime among Jews changed rapidly with the evolution of the new society in the State of Israel. Practically no feature that had been regarded as characteristic of criminality among Jews in the Diaspora appeared in Israel's criminal statistics. The common offenses against the person – such as assault, physical injury, and homicide – and against property – such as theft and burglary – which in the Diaspora were less frequently committed by Jews, account for the overwhelming majority of convictions of Jews in Israel. It seems that crime became, as E. Durkheim expressed it, one of the normal expressions of life in society. This normalization is also reflected in the fact that fraud and forgery, which had constituted in Poland about 21%, in Germany about 13%, and

Table 2. Jewish Adult Offenders in Israel, 1951–1965

Offenses		1951	1952	Average 1956–65
All Offenses	Total	6,222	9,600	–
	Rate per 1,000	7.456	10.655	10.129
	Percentage	(100%)	(100%)	(100%)
Against Public Order	Total	568	1,084	–
	Rate per 1,000	0.685	1.203	2.870
	Percentage	(9.2%)	(11.2%)	(28.4%)
Against the Person	Total	1,434	2,124	–
	Rate per 1,000	1.717	2.356	2.894
	Percentage	(23.1%)	(22.2%)	(28.5%)
Against Morality	Total	138	142	–
	Rate per 1,000	0.165	0.158	0.267
	Percentage	(2.2%)	(1.5%)	(2.6%)
Against Property	Total	2,898	4,284	–
	Rate per 1,000	3.470	4.755	3.144
	Percentage	(46.5%)	(44.7%)	(31.6%)
Fraud and Forgery	Total	120	154	–
	Rate per 1,000	0.143	0.171	0.312
	Percentage	(1.9%)	(1.6)	(3.1%)
Economic Offenses	Total	814	1,464	–
	Rate per 1,000	0.974	1.625	0.226
	Percentage	(13.1%)	(15.2%)	(2.1%)
Administrative and Fiscal Offenses	Total	250	348	–
	Rate per 1,000	0.299	0.386	0.414
	Percentage	(4.0%)	(3.6%)	(3.9%)

in the Netherlands about 5% of all Jewish crime, made up only 3.1% in Israel (the average for the years 1956–65).

Another feature of crime in Israel is the fact that after an initial rise of about 30% – from 7.5 to 10.6 per thousand of the total population during the first years of mass immigration (1948 to 1952) – the crime rates for the Jewish population did not rise for over a decade. The average crime rate for Jewish adults from 1956 to 1965 was 10.1 per thousand. In spite of the upheavals and tensions accompanying Israel's birth, including the mass immigration of diverse ethnic groups, crime in Israel is relatively moderate in extent and characterized by the absence of brutal and ruthless offenses.

The changed physiognomy of crime in Israel, as shown in Table 2: Jewish Adult Offenders, is probably a consequence of the radical change in the occupational structure of the Jews.

A study of specific offenses committed by Jews and non-Jews in Israel will illustrate this further. (Figures given are conviction rates per thousand of the adult population concerned.)

Offenses Against the Person

The rates for all offenses against the person were on the average 2.9 among Jews and 8.8 among Arabs. The rates for homicide, rarely committed by Jews in the Diaspora, remained relatively moderate among Jews in Israel: 0.4 on the average for the years 1951 to 1965. Of the homicides, 34% were due to matrimonial and other emotional conflicts, 25% resulted from quarrels between neighbors and business partners, 14% were committed in the course of robbery and 8% during quarrels among criminals, 3% were connected with "family honor" in traditional Oriental families; 15% were committed for various other motives. Aggressive offenses involving bodily harm were 7.0% of all offenses against the person in 1964 and only 5.7% in 1965, which confirms the impression that crime among Jews in Israel is still less violent and brutal than in many other countries. Offenses against the Dangerous Drug Laws were rare: about 0.1 per thousand Jews and 0.2 for Arabs. There were 133 cases among Jews in 1964 and 135 in 1965. In most cases the offenders were immigrants from North Africa, Asia, and the Levant who acquired the drug habit in their countries of origin but did not pass them on to the next generation in Israel. Among the emerging class of habitual offenders in Israel, however, there were some who used drugs, trafficked in them, or induced others to become addicted in order to exploit them.

Offenses Against Morality

Offenses against morality were never characteristic of Jews in the Diaspora, and in Israel the conviction rates are also low – e.g., 0.29 for Jews and 0.45 for Arabs in 1964, a typical year. There were very few serious and brutal sex crimes, only 2.6% of all offenses against morality during the years 1956 to 1965. There were only eight convictions of rape or attempted rape in 1963, nine in 1964, and six in 1965. Most of the offenses against morality consisted of "indecent behavior," generally against minors. Cases of brothel-keeping and soliciting were also relatively few: 41 in 1963, 67 in 1964, and 59 in 1965.

Offenses Against Property

The common offenses against property are the most widespread. The rates were 3.13 among Jews on the average for the ten years 1956 to 1965 and 8.77 among Arabs, taking the average for five alternate years from 1956 to 1964. Theft from the person, which in some European countries was sometimes described as a "typically Jewish" offense, is rare in Israel and growing rarer: there were 44 convictions in 1951, and only 37 in 1965, when the Jewish population was almost twice as great. On the other hand, a class of habitual burglars is clearly emerging: there were 379 convictions in 1963, 468 in 1964, and 501 in 1965. Robbery, which entails direct contact with the victim, physical attack, and a threat to his life, is, however, comparatively rare: there were 7 cases in 1963, 9 in 1964, and only 3 in 1965. It seems that even the habitual criminal in Israel shies away from this aggressive form of offense against property.

Offenses Against Public Order and the Authority of the State

Offenses against public order and the authority of the state represent somewhat more than a quarter of all offenses committed by Jews and just over half among Arabs. This greater representation of Arabs is partly due to the political situation, Arabs being often convicted for illegal border crossings and other offenses connected with the emergency regulations. Violent disturbances of the peace in Israel make up more than half the total of offenses against public order – a very different situation from that in the Diaspora, where Jews are not generally involved in such behavior. Many of these violations have been aggressive acts committed against public servants, mainly due to the tensions arising out of mass immigration and absorption problems. All the other offenses in this main category are much less frequent in Israel than in the Diaspora. Evasion of military service is very rare. Corruption and abuse of office do not constitute a serious problem, but the public is deeply disturbed at the thought that they are committed at all, even if only occasionally. An average of 24.2 individuals per year were convicted for such offenses during the ten-year period from 1956 to 1965, and they have been on the decline in recent years: there were 33 cases in 1962, but only 19 in 1963, 18 in 1964, and 15 in 1965.

Share of Different Immigrant Groups

Statistics indicate considerable differences between the crime rates for those born in North Africa, Asia, and Europe, respectively. (See Table 3: Jewish Adult Offenders). The conviction rates for the various ethnic groups show that these dif-

Table 3. Jewish Adult Offenders in Israel, 1959 and 1965, by Place of Birth (per thousand of population group concerned)

Year	Israel	Asia	Africa	Europe and America
1959	10.185	13.580	22.607	4.812
1965	11.088	12.595	22.601	4.272

ferences have been fairly consistent during the first years of the State of Israel.

S.N. Eisenstadt, in his study, *The Absorption of Immigrants* (1954), has pointed to some of the factors which may explain the differences in deviant behavior between European and Oriental Jews in Israel. The European immigrants, particularly in the earlier years, were inspired by the ideal of Jewish labor – the desire to engage in basic productive occupations in agriculture, industry, and public works – which implies a readiness for occupational change and a striving to create a new society based on social justice. The Orientals, on the other hand, hoped "to be able to follow more fully and securely their own way of life" (pp. 93–94) after their immigration. Thus they were not consciously prepared for radical changes in their economic and occupational way of life.

This situation was aggravated by the fact that the Oriental Jewish communities were composed mostly of a small wealthy and educated class and great masses of the poor and uneducated. The latter, due to lack of education and training, were unable immediately to make good use of the opportunities offered by Israel's expanding society and economy. Some of them resented the pioneering, vitally necessary work they were offered in distant development areas in afforestation, agriculture, road construction and the like, leaving such areas and moving into slum areas in the urban centers. Thus problems and situations of frustration and tension were created, resulting, in many cases, in crime. But there were great differences in the crime rates among the Oriental Jews themselves, which seem to have been caused mainly by the conditions under which they were absorbed and integrated and the measure in which their expectations and aspirations were fulfilled in daily life.

ASIAN IMMIGRANTS. Crime rates for newcomers from Asian countries are much lower than those for the North African countries, but they are also very similar to each other, in spite of the fact that the immigrants come from extremely different social and cultural conditions. This is particularly noticeable in the case of those from Iraq and the Yemen, respectively. Among the immigrants from Iraq, there is a substantial class of well-educated, wealthy leaders, some of whom had taken an active part in the political, economic, and cultural life in the country of their origin and often even occupied official positions of importance. The Yemenite Jews, on the other hand, had lived, with few exceptions, in a culturally backward country in conditions similar to serfdom. They were regarded as the property of the Imam; they had no political or civil rights and no modern education. These extreme differences, however, seemed to have no influence whatsoever on the crime rates for the two communities in Israel: among the Yemenites 11.5 per thousand in 1956–57 and 10.9 in 1958–60, and among the Iraqis 11.5 and 11.3 respectively.

The common factor seems to be that during the long period of their Diaspora life both communities remained deeply immersed in the lifestream of the Jewish people. Both studied and observed the religious traditions, always felt part of the Jewish people, and after the establishment of the state returned to Israel practically in their entirety (121,512 Iraqis and 45,159 Yemenites) during the very short period between May 1948 and the end of 1951. The fact that they moved to Israel as intact and cohesive communities, with their religious and political leaders, rich and poor, young and old, gave them a sense of mutual responsibility, security and pride, which sustained them through the inevitable difficulties and strains of the initial period.

Though the Iraqis found no substantial community of common origin on their arrival, and there were no officials from Iraq to receive the masses who were transplanted within a couple of years, this highly developed community, with all its trusted leaders and rabbis, intellectuals, wealthy men, doctors, bankers, nurses, and social workers enabled the sick and the dependent to turn for advice, guidance, and support in their own language to their own countrymen, who had soon found positions in hospitals and clinics, labor exchanges, housing and settlement offices, social welfare bureaus, and other agencies concerned with the absorption of immigrants. These conditions substantially helped to lessen absorption problems among the Iraqi immigrants and thus kept crime in this group down to reasonable proportions.

Yemenite Jews had settled in Ereẓ Israel in substantial numbers (about 18,000) in the Ottoman and Mandatory periods, before the entire community of 45,000 was transferred to Israel immediately after its establishment. Although these early immigrants were unable to take up positions of influence in the newly emerging Jewish society, they had certain characteristics and skills which paved the way for smooth integration and speedy absorption after the state had been established. Most of the Yemenite Jews had been artisans and craftsmen, and some had worked on the land. As early as in the 1880s they had made a name for themselves as highly skilled, reliable, and competent workers. Their industry, cleanliness, modesty, and reliability soon made them a respected and welcome element in the pioneering laboring class. There was no need for occupational change; they were easily absorbed into the new social and economic system.

The Yemenites enjoy life in Israel as the fulfillment of their hopes and prayers and feel that they fully belong to its society. These favorable circumstances are obviously the main reason for the low crime rate among them. The similarity of the rates for the Iraqis, many of them wealthy and well educated, and the Yemenites, who came from conditions of backwardness and poverty, seems to indicate that traditional values and, in particular, the cohesiveness and solidarity of the community go a long way to explain the comparatively low crime rates among Jews everywhere. The same principle, from the opposite end, is illustrated by the North African immigrants.

NORTH AFRICAN IMMIGRANTS. Many Jews in the North African French protectorates had taken advantage of the promise of emancipation, equality, and full opportunities for participation in economic and social life offered to them by the French rulers. French became the language of every aspiring Jew and French culture was absorbed by the successful. They acquired the status of French citizens and ceased to cultivate their ethnic and religious autonomy. The younger generations of the better-educated Moroccan, Tunisian, and Algerian Jewish families thus became more and more estranged from Jewry and their own traditions. They took pride in being considered French, which they interpreted as being European. This led to severe disappointment, frustration, and tension when they came to Israel, where they were considered "Oriental" and were confronted with a society formed and led by European Jews with a background different from their own. Moreover, when the time had come for the exodus of the Jews from the North African countries – after they achieved independence and particularly with the establishment of the State of Israel – their political, intellectual, and economic leaders, with isolated exceptions, moved not to Israel but to France. The poor, the helpless, and the uneducated were left to their fate. Many of them had also lost contact with Jewish traditions, but they had been unable to acquire or share in French modern values. Hence many of them had become alienated from their own people and thus lost the moral and material support of group solidarity.

A mere thousand Jews went to Palestine from Morocco between 1919 and 1937; even in the early years of independence, 1948–51, when life in Morocco had become precarious for them, only about 45,000 immigrants came to Israel. The majority of Moroccan immigrants, about 88,000, left between 1955 and 1957, when Morocco had become independent and the Jews were threatened by mob violence. As the immigrants from North Africa consisted almost entirely of the less-educated and unskilled masses, they were unable, at first, to provide recruits for even the lower levels of Israel's political and social leadership. This fact was apparently the basic cause of the overrepresentation of North African Jews in crime in Israel. When 133,000 Moroccan Jews arrived in two waves, in 1948–51 and 1955–57, they found practically no members of their community to receive them and there were not enough educated people among them to be trained in a reasonable time to represent them in the administration and public services. This situation improved greatly with the evolvement of a local leadership in the development areas, particularly with the rapid acculturation of the young through army service and compulsory education, but the newly created slum population in the urban areas, as well as the disintegrating paternalistic structure and authority of the large families, still served as hotbeds of rebellious, antisocial attitudes, which often expressed themselves in crime (see below).

Juvenile Delinquency Before and Since the Establishment of the State

Although no reliable statistics are available on the subject, it is generally assumed that there was little juvenile delinquency among Diaspora Jews. In Mandatory Palestine as well, juvenile delinquency was probably very low, though no detailed statistics were published. During the years 1932–43, when the total Jewish population grew from about 175,000 to about 500,000, the number of juvenile offenders increased from 191 per year (average for 1932–37) to 322.5 per year (average for 1938–43). Among non-Jews the situation appears to have been similar during 1932–37, when differences in the demographic data and development are taken into consideration. During the period 1938–43, however, Arab juvenile delinquency increased by almost 100%, while the Arab population grew by less than 30%. As in the case of adult crime, this growth may be explained by the impact of the war and the opportunities for crime in and around military camps.

In the State of Israel, however, the incidence of juvenile delinquency among Jews started to increase. In 1951, the conviction rates for boys aged 9–16 and girls aged 9–18 were 4.5 per thousand of these age groups, while juvenile delinquency accounted for 12.1% of all crimes committed in Israel. Conviction rates for juveniles grew steadily to 9.8 per thousand in 1965, and juvenile delinquency now represented 23.8% of the crime total.

Of 4,453 young Jewish offenders in 1965, 430 were born in Europe or to European parents in Israel. The conviction rates were 7.4 per thousand for juvenile offenders born in Israel, 11.9 for the Asian-born, 23.0 for those born in North Africa and 3.6 for those born in Europe or America. One of the reasons for these developments has been the transition from one way of life to another. The Oriental family went through a severe crisis after immigration. The authority and functions of the family, and particularly those of the previously authoritative father, were substantially reduced or even shattered, while the young people did not yet feel the security that comes from integration into the new society. Many remained without a compelling system of values or effective social control and lived in a cultural and social vacuum. Most have cast off the yoke of religion and traditions without simultaneously achieving the educational and cultural standards of their peers of European origin. This created painful feelings of frustration and tension, which found expression in these comparatively high crime rates.

Juvenile delinquency among Jews in Israel consisted almost exclusively of offenses against property. Criminality figures for young Arab offenders were about twice those for Jews, and the forms of delinquency were also different. In 1961, for instance, only 46.7% of young Arab offenders committed offenses against property, as against 85.7% for Jewish juveniles. The other crimes were mainly offenses against the person, including acts of aggression resulting in physical injury. Trespassing on agricultural lands and illegal border crossing were also frequent. Arab juvenile delinquency is thus due partly to the traditional behavior patterns characteristic of rural societies in the Middle East and partly to tensions and conflicts arising out of the political situation in the region.

Crime Among Females

Authors always stressed the fact that crime among Jewish females in the Diaspora was very rare; some even claimed that the comparatively low general crime rates for Jews were due to the fact that crime was practically unknown among Jewish women. In Israel there has been only a slight increase in their share in crime, from 8.5% of crimes committed by Jews in 1951 to 13.8% in 1965. Crime rates for Jewish females were 1.3 per thousand in 1951 and 2.9 in 1965. Like the males, Jewish women were mainly convicted for offenses against public order and lawful authority, against the person and against property, the figures for these three types of offense being almost identical. Female juveniles committed mainly property offenses. Offenses against morality were rare: in 1961, a census year, 10 adult females and two juveniles were convicted of such offenses. The largest number of Jewish female offenders committed to prisons since the establishment of the state were sentenced for common theft, followed by disturbances of public order and common assault, including assaults on police officers. These facts also seem to reflect absorption problems in immigrant families, which express their dissatisfaction in aggressive behavior, mostly in governmental or other institutions dealing with public welfare and public health problems. Crime rates for non-Jewish females are somewhat lower than for Jewish ones due to the traditional patterns of the Arab village, where women are generally confined to the home. Offenses committed by non-Jewish females are mostly acts of assault and breach of the peace in public places, often in village feuds between clans. Offenses against morality are very rare among Arab women.

[Zvi Hermon]

After the Six-Day War

An extraordinary rise in crime in Israel was reported in 1966. During that year, the crime rate rose 13.5%, a jump not recorded by the Israel police at any other time during the decade. Two phenomena stand out in particular: growth in the number of robberies; breaking into box offices, booking offices, business firms, and private dwellings; various types of fraud; embezzlement; passing bad checks; and a rise in the crime rate among juveniles, whose share in the general crime rate reached 32.2% in that year.

The year 1966 was the climax of an economic recession, and the rise in offenses against property was possibly a consequence of the depressed condition of the economy. The rise in juvenile crime reflected the prevailing situation in the free world, though gangs of youngsters engaged in organized criminal acts, as found in other developed countries, had not been found in Israel, except small groups, organized ad hoc, for minor crime against property.

The year 1967 was one of war in Israel with the accompanying prewar and postwar periods. It is therefore possible to expect a large rise in crime, if one proceeds from the assumption that war naturally brings with it the collapse of restraints, a withdrawal from lawfulness and order, and a sense of permissiveness toward basic drives and impulses. The actual picture is therefore surprising, for in that year there was a 2.2% decline in crime. This is the only decline in the annual crime rate of the state since its establishment. It is possible that the reason for this decline is inherent in the mobilization – and thus removal from their regular activities – of the entire corpus of manpower, including the criminals; it is also probable that the general sense of danger, and the consciousness of national unity and civil cooperation, were also reasons for the drop.

Immediately afterward, in 1968, the situation returned to normal and there was another rise in the crime rate, this time of 10.6%. A study of the data proves that this percentage is approximately the average for the previous years, with slight fluctuations in both directions; but in comparison with the decline of the previous year, this was a sharp rise. It appears that the main factor behind the rise was the amnesty (albeit selective) declared after the war (July 1967), which set free a large number of criminals from prisons. More important than the widened scope of crime is that, beginning in 1968, the nature of the crimes committed became more serious. Violent crimes, involving the use of firearms and dangerous drugs, grew during that year. It appears that the rise in violent crimes (and not only those involving firearms) is more a reflection of the prevailing situation in most parts of the world, than a consequence of the war. The 1960s, which are sometimes described in other countries as the "Decade of Violence," left their mark on Israel as well. In reference to the use of arms, it is clear that many weapons, much more than in the past, were found in 1968–70 in the hands of citizens to protect their legitimate businesses (legally) and of hundreds of soldiers home on leave. Under such circumstances weapons found their way into the hands of unauthorized persons who used them to commit crimes. These conditions however, are a result of the prolonged emergency situation and only indirectly a result of the war itself.

The disturbing turn in events in the area of drugs after the Six-Day War is also merely an indirect result of the conflict. Many visitors who went to the country after the war – "volunteers" to work on kibbutzim and foreign students – brought with them drug habits and influenced some people of their age group. Another factor, which is also an indirect result of the war, is the fact that the usual routes for smuggling hashish were disrupted between the large supplier – Lebanon – and the large consumer – Egypt – by way of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan. As a result, many suppliers in the West Bank and East Jerusalem were left with large supplies of hashish and no marketing possibilities. This led to a drop in the prices of illegal drugs in Israel and the country therefore became a source at low prices for acquiring and smuggling hashish, which is more expensive than marijuana. The price in Israel fluctuated between $150–300 per kilogram whereas in the United States and Canada prices ran between $2,000–3,000 per kilogram.

Since the 1970s Israeli crime rates have been constantly rising, with the steepest rise in violent crime. Of the 243,719 crimes reported in Israel in 1985, 263 were cases of murder or attempted murder and 9,994 were cases of assault. By 1994 the figures had jumped to 4,629 and 18,368, respectively. In the same period sex crimes rose from 2,133 to 2,825. Drug offenses rose from 4,367 to 11,584.

The following decade showed a continuing rise in most crime categories, with murder, sex crimes, spouse and child abuse, and drug crimes increasing. Though not the highest in the Western world, Israeli crime rates were comparable to those in Germany and Austria. While in 1996, 454,622 files were opened, in 2004 the number grew to 517,238, among which 55% were offenses against property. The number of immigrants committing crimes rose from 11,287 in 1996 to 27,747 in 2004, reflecting problems of adjustment among Russian and Ethiopian immigrants. In 2004, the Arab share in Israeli crime was 36.8%, a further reflection of social and economic malaise. A relatively new phenomenon in Israel is what has been recognized as organized crime, involving such familiar agents as local crime families, a Russian Mafia, and foreign hit men and dealing in everything from money laundering to the white slave trade (the importation of women from the former Soviet Union). Of the 173 arrests for the latter offense in 2001–4, 80% were among Russian immigrants. There was also a steep rise in juvenile delinquency. Statistics for the 1990–2002 period show an increase in every category. While in 1990, 20,552 police files were opened for juveniles, by 2002 the number had jumped to 32,067. The nature of juvenile crime had also changed. While until 1965, 80% of juvenile crimes were against property, in 1999 the rate was only 45% as violent crime and drug abuse climbed commensurately. The growth of violence among teenagers, and even younger children – murder, rape, and assault, including violence in schools and disco clubs – has become a common occurrence in Israel, with a jump from 3,508 police files in 1990 to 14,696 in 2002.

[Yaacov Nash /Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

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CRIMEA (Rus. **Krym** or **Krim**) (Heb. קְרִים), peninsula of South European Russia, on the Black Sea; from 1954 until 1991 an oblast of Ukrainian S.S.R. and from 1992 a republic of Ukraine.

Late Antiquity and Early Middle Ages

Jews first settled in the southeastern area and a Jewish Hellenistic community existed there by the end of the first century C.E. (based on inscriptions). *Jerome (d. 420; on Zech. 10:11, Obad. 20) heard from Jews that the Jewish settlers by the Bosporus were descended from families exiled by the Assyrians and Babylonians, and from deported warriors of *Bar Kokhba; the Bosporus was called by the Jews "Sepharad." In ancient and medieval times southeastern Crimea was linked to the Taman Peninsula, across the Kerch Strait. In the seventh to tenth centuries the *Khazar conquerors maintained their regional center there, from which they ruled much of the Crimea and confronted the Byzantine coastal base of Cherson, near the present Sevastopol. The Arab geographers Idrīsī and Abu al-fidā' call the Khazar city merely Khazariyya (Khazaria); it was located on the site of the town Sennaya (formerly Phanagoria), adjacent to the Jewish settlement mentioned by the Byzantine historian Theophanes, and is probably identical to the port Samkush (Samkerch) "of the Jews," referred to by the Arabic geographer Ibn al-Faqīh. Tombstones of Jews and Khazar proselytes have Jewish Hellenistic ornamentation. Similar Jewish tombstones have been found in Kerch and Partenit (Parthenita), near Yalta. The Byzantine chronicler Cedrinus relates that in 1016 a Byzantine Russian-assisted fleet subdued the region of Khazaria ruled by Georgios Tzoulos. The Russians were henceforth represented by a prince at Tmutorokan (Taman), while the Byzantines overlooked most of the Crimea from Cherson. The Khazars served as the prince's military auxiliaries in an inner Russian conflict in 1023, and in 1079 intervened with Byzantium in the competition for the princely office; this led to their massacre in 1083. From the 9th to 15th centuries the terms "Gazaria" (as the territory) and "Gazari" (as the population) were understood in Western Europe as the Taman peninsula and the adjacent changeable Crimean area. Gazaria is, according to Poliak, the "Kazariyya" mentioned by the 12th-century Jewish travelers *Benjamin of Tudela (in connection with the sea trade with Constantinople and Alexandria), and *Pethahiah of Regensburg (the Kuban delta). Isaac *Abrabanel commenting on Genesis 10:3 equates the "Qasari" in "Ashkenaz" with Gazaria, "below" (south of) the Azov Sea. In the 16th to 17th centuries "Gazaria" and "Crimea" were synonymous. This late usage led the Russian historian N.M. Karamzin (1816) to regard the Crimea as the ultimate domain of the Khazar kings, lost in 1016. After C.M.Y. Fraehn (1822) had dated the downfall of the Caspian Khazars to 969, the period 969–1016 was left for the duration of the mythical Crimean kingdom, considered from that point forward as Jewish. The early draft of H. *Graetz's "History of the Jews" (1860) included the history of the kingdom, written according to the manuscript discoveries claimed by the Karaite collector A. *Firkovich. After these claims had been attacked, the story was partly, but mechanically, deleted: in the late version

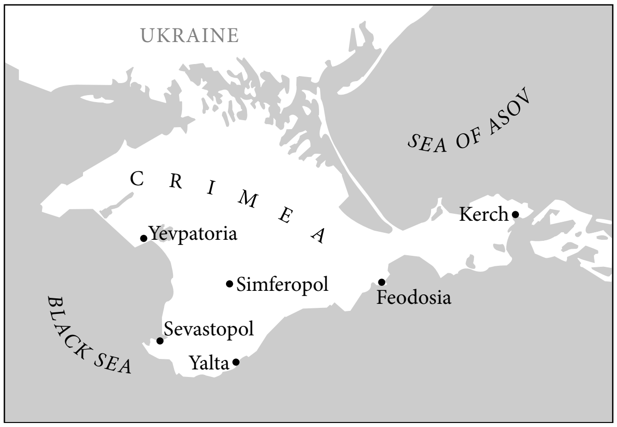

Major Jewish communities in Crimea, 1970.

the Crimean kingdom has a beginning but no end (Eng. ed., 3 (1949), 222ff.). Graetz's original coherent description continued to influence Jewish historians, notably S. *Dubnow (*History of the Jews in Russia and Poland*, 1 (1916), 28ff.). Firkovich also is the source of the idea that the Crimea was the cultural center which influenced the conversion of the Khazar royalty to Judaism, and that the Crimean Karaites were descended from ancient Israelite settlers and Khazar converts. The rival Karaite historian M. Sultanski (d. 1862) regarded the Crimean Karaites as purely medieval Jewish immigrants from various parts, while later Karaite authors held that they were basically Khazars-Turks. The Rabbanite *Krimchaks (i.e., "Crimeans") were also sometimes considered basically Khazars. All these views are founded on the late meaning of "Gazaria." Foreign Karaites (contrary to Rabbanites) in Khazar times never claimed that the Khazars had converted to Judaism and sometimes displayed intense hatred toward them (even expecting them to fight the Messiah in Ereẓ Israel): the sect was then seeking to uphold the Palestinian descent of the Jews and Judaism. In late antiquity and the early medieval period, Crimean Jewish tradition and records indicate that Jewish settlement existed in the following units.

THE CHERSONESE. The Chersonese (Cherson) Jews were living there at least in the 9th to 11th centuries. Excavations have shown that the locality never recuperated from a devastation in the late 10th century by the Russians (988?), and was ultimately destroyed at the end of the 14th (by Tamerlane's raiders, 1395–96?). The Hebrew letter attributed to the Khazar King Joseph (long version) lists among his tributaries in the 950s localities from Samkerch to "Gruzin" (Cherson?), including Kerch and "Bartenit." The Hebrew "Cambridge Document" claims that under him "Shurshun" was made tributary by a counteroffensive against Byzantium after the Byzantine-instigated Russian raid on Samkerch.

"GOTHIA". This is the medieval name for the rugged mountains north of Cherson, so-called after a Teutonic tribe which had remained there following the great migrations. The city of Partenit was the coastal mart of Gothia; a Jewish tombstone inscription there mentioned "Her(i)f(r)idil [a Teutonic name] ha-kohen [priest]." Around 787 the Khazars placed their garrison in Doros, the capital of Gothia; the *Life* of Bishop John tells of the unsuccessful revolt he instigated. Doros is assumed (despite temporary doubts of archaeologists in 1928–38) to be the "eagle's nest" later called Mangup (first in Joseph's Letter, as his tributary). In Ottoman-Tatar times (1475–1783) it increasingly became an all-Jewish (mostly Karaite) town.

CHUFUT-KALE. More to the north, a similar fortress town, known under the Tatars as Qirqyer (Qirqer), became referred to more frequently as *Chufut-Kale ("the Jews' Fortress," Heb. *Sela ha-Yehudim*). Excavations of 1946–61 showed that it existed on the site from the 10th or 11th century; a Christian cemetery (late 5th to early 9th centuries) attests to the corresponding beginnings of the enormous Jewish cemetery. Here, also, it was under Tatar rule that the town definitely became all Jewish (mostly Karaite); it later had a Hebrew printing press (1734).

Tatar Times

The conquest of Eastern Europe by the Tatars (Mongols) in 1236–40 made the Crimea the foremost link for the trans-Asian caravans with the Mediterranean and Western trade. The Crimean Tatar center was Solkhat or Qyrym (from which the name "the Crimea" derives); now Stary Krym, inland near the port of Kaffa (now Feodosiya), the city was made by the Genoese the center of their activities in Gazaria and on the Black Sea. The contact of the Crimean Jews with the outside world grew. The Jew "Khoza Kokos" was Muscovy's representative there in 1472–75. According to a Russian tradition, Jews from Crimea were among the instigators of the movement of *Judaizers in 15th-century Muscovy. There was a Jewish revival in Taman, by then ethnically Circassian and ruled by the Genoese Guizolfis (1419–82), who were considered Jews in modern Jewish historiography and Christians in Russian. In Muscovite documents the last ruler is called a "Jew" and "Hebrew" as well as "Italian" and "Circassian"; if so-called after the environment, this significantly emphasizes the Jewish resurgence. However the Tatar decline commenced early. The Karaites of Poland (western Ukraine) and Lithuania later considered that they had been deported from Solkhat by Lithuanian raiders under Witold (Vitort), 1392–1430. The Genoese extended their possessions from Kaffa, and their relatively mild attitude toward other communities (including the Jews) maintained prosperity in the area despite the shrinking geographical extent of trade. From around 1420 the Tatar realm of inner Crimea developed into a split kingdom. After the Ottomans conquered the Genoese possessions in 1475, they made the inland Tatars vassals, used them for raiding Muscovy and Poland-Lithuania, and protected them from reprisals by a vast belt of scorched earth (depopulated steppe). This led to a sharp economic decline and massive emigration. The remaining population was basically Tatar, which was then a Muslim Turkish-speaking blend under leadership of Mongol descent. The remaining Krimchaks and Karaites shared their tongue and many customs, though the two communities differed somewhat in these respects both from each other as well as from the Tatars. Their divergent existence is certain from Tatar times only. The Mongol influence, which made the Karaite anthropological type distinct, must be attributed to conversions, but of the early Tatar conquerors; a point unknown to former scholars who disputed the matter. Conversions to Judaism even took place at the home of Genghis Khan. Only this can explain the transfer of strategic strongholds to Jews (mainly Karaites), and the establishment by the Crimean Tatar kings of the unfortified valley suburb of the "Jews' Fortress" as the new capital Baghche-Saray (Bakhchisarai, 1454). It officially became a distinct town only in the 17th century.

Czarist Rule (1783–1917)

During the Russian conquest of the Crimea from the Turks the Jewish communities suffered severely. Many Jews left for Ottoman territory. In 1783, when the Crimea was annexed by Russia, there were 469 Jewish families (Rabbanite and Karaite) living in the peninsula. Tatar raids into the Ukraine and neighboring districts of Poland-Lithuania in the 16th centuries, in particular during the Tatar alliance with *Chmielnicki in 1648, brought into Tatar hands many Jewish captives, who were usually ransomed by Jews. After the Russian annexation of the Crimea it was included in the *Pale of Settlement (1791), although the major centers of development were later excluded, among them the military port of Sevastopol (1829–59, later admitting wealthier Jews), and the resort of Yalta (1893). Jewish settlers from Russia soon outnumbered the small local communities (Krimchaks, Karaites). There were 2,837 Jews living in the Crimea in 1847. The Karaites' successful struggle for exemption from the anti-Jewish czarist legislation (1863), and the abandonment of the common fortress towns (now ruins) because of the economic revival in the lowlands, definitely estranged the Karaite society from the rest of Jewry. From 1867 to 1900 Ḥayyim Hezekiah *Medini officiated as chief rabbi of Crimean Jewry and did much to raise the level of the spiritual and cultural life of the community. Among the few scholars of Crimean Jewry notable were Abraham *Kirimi, author of *Sefat Emet*, a commentary on the Torah, in the 14th century, and David *Lekhno, author of *Mishkan David*, in the 18th century. In the 19th century the archaeological discoveries of the Karaite scholar A. Firkovich, part of which were found to be forgeries, caused a sensation among scholars. There were 28,703 Jews living in the Crimea in 1897 (5.1% of the total population) and 5,400 Karaites. The Krimchak Jews numbered 3,300. The large communities were in *Simferopol (8,951 persons); *Kerch (4,774); Sevastopol (3,910); *Karasubazar (Belogorsk; 3,144, nearly all Krimchaks); *Feodosiya (3,109); and Yevpatoriya (Eupatoria).

[Abraham N. Poliak]

Soviet Rule

There were 39,921 Jews living in the Crimea in 1926 (6.1% of the total population), of whom 17,364 lived in Simferopol (19.6%); 5,204 in Sevastopol; 3,248 in Feodosiya (11.3%); 3,067 in Kerch; and 2,409 in Yevpatoriya (10.6%). In 1939 there were 47,387 Jews (8.1% of the total population), of whom 22,791 (15%) lived in Simferopol; 5,988 (5.5%) in Sevastopol; 5,573 (5.3%) in Kerch; 4,249 (9%) in Yevpatoria; 2,922 (6.5%) in Feodosia; 2,060 (6.3%) in Yalta; and 1,397 (7.1%) in Dzhankoi. In the early 1920s a movement for Jewish agricultural settlement in the Crimea began, pioneered by members of *He-Ḥaluẓ, who established the *hakhsharah* groups of Tel Ḥai (1922), Mishmar (1924), and Ma'yan (1925) in the Dzhankoi area. They were followed by numerous other Jewish groups. In 1924 the Soviet government initiated a large-scale settlement project to be implemented through *Komzet with aid from the *American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee. A number of Soviet Jewish leaders who were concerned with this project, such as M.(Y.) *Larin and A. Bragin, regarded it as the nucleus for establishing a Jewish Soviet Socialist Republic in the Crimea. However, by the beginning of the 1930s, when it became clear that the unoccupied land available in the Crimea was not adequate for large-scale settlement, the movement concentrated mainly on promoting settlement in *Birobidzhan. The state allocated 342,000 hectares of land for Jewish settlement in the Crimea, on which 5,150 families had settled by 1931, including a commune, named Voya Nova, established by a group of the *Gedud ha-Avodah, who had returned from Palestine. Many of the settlers left the colonies when collectivization was introduced in the early 1930s and with increasing industrialization in the Soviet Union. Some of the settlements were organized in two Jewish national districts: Freidorf (in 1930) and Larindorf (1935). By 1938 there were 86 Jewish kolkhozes in the Crimea cultivating an area of 158,850 hectares with 20,000 inhabitants (one-third of the total number of Jews in the Crimea). With the German occupation in 1941 the Jewish settlement and colonies in the Crimea were annihilated. The Nazis organized the systematic liquidation of the Ashkenazi Jews and Krimchaks, but did not include the Karaites, who were recognized by the Germans as Jews by faith but not by race. According to a provisional report from the beginning of 1942, 20,149 Jews from western Crimea alone had already been "liquidated." On April 16, 1942, the Crimea was declared *Judenrein*.

After the war Jewish settlement in the Crimea was renewed. Efforts were made to resettle Jews as farmers, but these were quickly abandomed. In 1959, the Jewish population numbered 26,374 (2.2% of the total population), according to the official census, of whom 11,200 lived in Simferopol (6%) and 3,100 in Sevastopol. In 1970 the Jewish population of the Crimea was concentrated in Simferopol, with an estimated Jewish population of 15,000; Sevastopol, where there was one small synagogue in the Jewish cemetery; Yevpatoria, with an estimated Jewish population of 8,000–10,000; and in smaller communities, e.g., Kerch, Yalta, and Feodosia. (See the map "Jews in the Crimea.") Crimea was involved in the affair of the Jewish *Anti-Fascist Committee, which led to the execution of its members. In the 1990s many Jews immigrated to Israel and the West.

[Yehuda Slutsky]

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CRIMEAN AFFAIR. Name used to refer to the closed antisemitic trial of the Jewish *Anti-Fascist Committee (JAC) held in Moscow from May to July 1952. One of the pretexts may have been a memorandum presented in the summer of 1944 by members of the Committee to the Soviet leadership containing a proposal to create a Jewish Soviet republic in the *Crimea (the Tatar population of which was exiled by Stalin by May 1944) on the territory of the former German republic of the Volga. Noting the successes of the Jewish national regions in the Crimea and in the Kerson region, the authors of the memorandum based their proposal on the lack of a geographical base of a significant part of the Jewish population of the Soviet Union and on the need to grant the Jews equality in governmental-legal terms with the other nationalities of the Soviet Union. They also expressed the hope that "the Jewish masses of all countries, in particular the United States would give substantial aid" to building up such a republic. Despite the rumors that some members of the Politburo of the Central Committee (Lazar *Kaganovich and Vyacheslav Molotov) were favorably disposed toward the idea of the "Crimean Plan," it was rejected in 1944.

The proposals of the memorandum contained nothing radically new. Projects for establishing a Jewish republic in the southern Ukraine or in the Crimea had been suggested earlier. For example, in 1923 the social leader A. Bragin had proposed that one be established on the Black Sea coast from Bessarabia to Abkhaz with its capital in Odessa, while Yuri *Larin supported, in opposition to the Birobidzhan plan, a Jewish autonomous area in the southern Crimean and Azov region centered in Kerch.

Another formal basis for initiating the case was false testimony, obtained by torture from the researchers I. Goldshtein and G. Grinberg, about the "anti-Soviet, nationalistic, and espionage activity" of the JAC secretary I. *Fefer, of the head of the Sovinformbyuro S. Lozovski, and of other members of the JAC.

After the murder by KGB agents of Solomon *Mikhoels, the chairman of the JAC, in January 1948, the arrest of JAC member David *Hofshtein in September 1948, the dissolution of the committee, and the closing of the newspaper *Eynikeit in November 1948, the liquidation of the "Emes" Publishing House in December 1948, and other centers of Jewish culture, almost all writers and artistic, social, and cultural figures with ties to Jewish life and institutions were arrested (as "bourgeois nationalists" and spies) in late 1948–early 1949. Among those arrested were D. *Bergelson, *Der Nister, B. Zuskin, L. *Kvitko, P. *Markish, I. Nisinov, I. Fefer, B. Shimeliovich (chief physician of the important Botkin Hospital in Moscow), L. *Stern, and I. Watenberg, Ch. Watenberg–Ostrovskaya, E. Teumin, and, subsequently, L. Talmi – employees of the JAC. In 1949 arrests were made of a number of Jews who were top officials in the Soviet Information Bureau (Sovinformbyuro), including Solomon Lozovski, M. *Borodin, and Yuzetovich. Since formally the Sovinformbyuro organizationally and Lozovski personally were responsible for the activity of the JAC, both groups were arrested and several years later, artificially linked in the Crimean case. Some of those arrested (Borodin, Der Nister, Nusinov, et al.) died under investigation, while another (S. Bregman, assistant minister of Goskontrol of the RSFSR) died before the trial began. At a secret trial the defendants were accused of espionage, anti-Soviet activity, and plotting the secession of the Crimea from the Soviet Union and establishing there a bourgeois Zionist republic which was supposed to become a base for American imperialism. All of the accused pleaded not guilty from the beginning with the exception of Fefer, who later retracted his testimony against others and his own admission of guilt. On July 18 the Military Board of the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R. sentenced all the defendants to be shot (with the exception of Lina Stern, who was sentenced to five years internal exile). On August 12, 1952, the following were executed: Luzovski, Yuzefivich, Fefer, Shimeliovich, Kvito, Markish, Bergelson, Hofshtein, Zushkin, Talmi, the Watenburgs, and Teumin.

A number of additional trials involving other Jewish cultural figures and employees of the JAC were soon thereafter linked to the charges in the Crimean Affair. The Crimean Affair was the culminating act in the total liquidation of Jewish cultural and social life in the Soviet Union. It was followed by the accusations of "cosmopolitanism," which resulted in the dismissal of thousands of Jews in senior positions in almost all walks of Soviet life. It also served as a prelude to the antisemitic Doctor's Plot (1952–53). All those condemned in the Crimean Affair were "rehabilitated" in 1955. On December 29, 1988, a Politburo commission officially declared all of the accused to have been innocent and the whole affair to have been fabricated. After the dawnfall of the Soviet regime in the 1990s, all the details of the trial was published.

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[Mark Kipnis / *The Shorter Jewish Encyclopaedia in Russian*]

CRIMINOLOGY. Traditional Jewish criminal law based the treatment of the offender on the idea of the freedom of will and on the principle that the severity of the punishment should fit the nature of the violation. Until modern times no consideration was given to the personality of the offender or any biological, psychological or socio-economic factors in crime causation and correction.

The Anthropological-Biological School

The first to stress the hereditary or biological aspect of crime causation was Cesare *Lombroso, a founder of the positivist school of criminology, who maintained that the true criminal was born as such and could be recognized in his physical features. Among later criminologists, Sheldon and Eleanor Touroff *Glueck, in their *Unraveling Juvenile Delinquency* (1950), made use of three basic somatic (body) types and showed their relationship to delinquency, but in a subsequent study, *Physique and Delinquency* (1956), they concluded that bodily structure was no longer to be considered the most important etiological factor in criminality. They emphasized, however, that the biological aspect of criminal causation was still "a promising focus of attention."

Psychiatric-Psychological School

The psychological and psychiatric approach to an understanding of crime causation was based on the teachings of Sigmund *Freud. Although Lombroso and Freud agreed on the biological origin of antisocial impulses, they differed fundamentally on the importance of environmental influences. Freud, in contrast to Lombroso, emphasized the prime importance of infancy and early childhood in the formation of character. Freud also stressed the possibility of altering the personality through psychoanalysis. Gregory Zilboorg (1890–1959) underlined the irrationality of antisocial behavior and asserted that mere punishment, which does not take this into account, served no useful purpose ("Psychoanalysis and Criminology," *Encyclopedia of Criminology* (1949), 398–405). Psychoanalytical interpretation became important for the development of progressive methods in correction. Morris *Ginsberg defended psychoanalysis against the claim that this method tended to free the criminal from his responsibility for his misdeed, pointing out that the object of psychoanalytical treatment was to help the patient face realities and become a responsible person. Herman *Mannheim, in his *Comparative Criminology* (2 vols., 1965), warned against the great dangers which the traditional penal methods held for society. In his view the character and measure of the punishments meted out by criminal courts everywhere tended to create in the offender feelings of unjust treatment and that this led to recidivism. An important concept of Freudian theory which helped to explain criminal behavior was the psychoanalytical theory of symbolism, according to which every object, action, or person could have an unconscious symbolic value. The application of symbolism to political murder is of particular interest. Wilhelm *Stekel, one of the earlier followers of Freud, maintained that a political attentat was a "displacement of a small personal conflict into the life of nations – perhaps Booth was beaten by a drunken father – so Lincoln died." Alfred *Adler, one of Freud's disciples, who later founded his own school of individual psychology, contributed to criminological thinking by the formation of the widely known and accepted concepts of the "inferiority complex" and the "masculine protest," which, under certain conditions, could become criminogenic factors.

The Sociological School

The sociological approach to criminology emphasized the fact that most behavior, including criminal behavior, was culturally patterned, and that crime had to be defined as a result of the relationships and interactions between a given society and its individual or corporate members. The best known and most influential proponent of the opinion that the class structure is the main determinant of social pathology, including criminality, was Karl *Marx. He saw in the class struggle the main cause of criminality and, therefore, predicted that in a future classless society there would be no crime. Hermann Mannheim, in his *Comparative Criminology*, 2 (1965), 499, stated that "by far the most important, comprehensive and influential of the class-oriented theories of crime and delinquency were those based upon the concepts of the criminal subculture and anomie."

The introduction of these two basic sociological concepts into criminological thinking was one of the great achievements of Emil *Durkheim. Robert K. Merton (1910–2003), who developed and classified the ideas of Durkheim on anomie, pointed out in his writings the criminogenic forces, i.e., the anomie situation in a society which preached the democratic idea of equal opportunities for everybody but by failing to give these opportunities to all was responsible for the creation of tension and crime. An outstanding contribution to the description and explanation of the phenomenon of a criminal subculture was made by Albert K. Cohen (1918–) who, in his *Delinquent Boys* (1955), described the overwhelming weight of class differences in crime causation. In a middle class society with its middle class ethics, standards, and values, the working class youth, brought up in a different value system, would, according to Cohen, be led inevitably into conflict and confusion and – part of it – into crime. The theories of anomie and criminal subcultures are, however, not generally accepted by contemporary criminologists. Herbert A. Bloch (1904–) repeatedly expressed the opinion that the tensions which always existed between the young and the old generations were still today far more important as an explanation of the phenomenon of juvenile and gang delinquency. Bloch and Gilbert Geis (1925–), in their *Man, Crime and Society* (1962), criticized the Durkheim-Merton theory of anomie and criminal subculture, and disagreed sharply with the view that there were hardly any lawful opportunities for upward mobility among lower class male adolescents.

The pertinent question which still occupies criminologists remains the problem of "differential response." Why do certain individuals living in a generally healthy environment become delinquent, while others, who are exposed to antisocial influences, do not? Daniel Glaser (1918–) formulated the theory of "differential identification." In his "Criminality Theories and Behavioral Images" (*American Journal of Sociology* (March 1956), 433–44) he expressed the opinion that an individual would act criminally when he identified himself with real or imaginary persons, in whose view his criminal behavior appeared to be acceptable. Thus the offender may identify with criminals presented in fiction, movies, television, or in the newspapers. Simon Dinitz (1926–), together with Walter C. Reckless (1899–1988), in *Critical Issues in the Study of Crime* (1968), approached this basic problem of differential response by asking the reverse question: "Why do some non-delinquent boys succeed in remaining within the law while living in high delinquency areas?" Their answer was that the insulation against a delinquent life consists in the self-image of the boy who experienced himself as being good. Jackson Toby (1925–), in his "Differential Impact of Family Disorganization" (*American Sociological Review* (Oct. 1957), 505–12), showed that the higher rate of broken homes among female delinquents was evidence that well-integrated families protected children against the antisocial influences exerted by neighborhood and peer gangs. The consideration of the problem of "differential response" led some sociologically orientated criminologists to the conclusion that it is impossible to explain crime exclusively in sociological terms. Sheldon and Eleanor Glueck, who spent decades in their search for the causes of delinquency, believed in multiple causation. In one of their later studies, *Family Environment and Delinquency* (1962), they provided many illustrations of the complex ways in which psychological, sociological, and biological factors might combine in one individual to produce delinquency.

Study of Criminology in the U.S.

After World War I, when crime began to become a major problem in the United States, and the study of criminology took its place in the universities, Frank Tannenbaum (1893–1969) and Nathaniel F. Cantor (1898–1957) wrote two of the first textbooks on criminology: *Crime and the Community* (1938) and *Crime and Society, an Introduction to Criminology* (1939). Later authors were Herbert A. Bloch and Gilbert Geis, *Man, Crime and Society* (1962); Richard R. Korn (together with W. McCorkle), *Criminology and Penology* (1959), gave a well balanced description of the different factors in crime causation, as did Ben Karpman (1886–1962) in *Case Studies in the Psychopathology of Crime* (1947^2). Other significant contributions to criminology were made by Leonard Savitz, who, in his "Delinquency and Migration" (in *The Sociology of Crime and Delinquency*, ed. by M.E. Wolfgang, et al., 1962, pp. 199–205), emphasized the criminogenic effect of black migration within the United States, and Stephen Schafter, in his *Restitution to Victims of Crime* (1960) and *The Victim and His Criminal* (1968), opened the way for the development of a new chapter – victimology – in the framework of modern criminology.

Other criminologists gave new insight into problems of penology and prison reform, among them, Joseph *Eaton in his *Stone Walls Not a Prison Make* (1962) and Sol Rubin in his *Crime and Juvenile Delinquency* (1970^3). The latter book criticized the very long prison sentences meted out in the United States and the way in which many of the prisons in that country were run. The role of the community in preventing crime was stressed by Solomon *Kobrin (1910–1996) in his research on the "Chicago Area Project, a 25-Year Assessment" (*Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* (March 1959), 19–29).

The first significant work to determine systematically what psychodynamic theory could contribute to the development of more effective correctional methods was done by the New York State Department of Corrections in the late 1960s. It was carried out at the Diagnostic and Treatment Center of the Dannemora State Hospital at Clinton Prison, New York, under the direction of Ludwig Fink, a psychiatrist. He established a therapeutic community of 100 persistent offenders, subdivided into two units of 50, who received intensive psychotherapeutic treatment – in groups of ten – and in community meetings and psychodrama sessions.

British Contribution to Criminology

Much progress was made in Britain by Jewish criminologists. The great centers of criminological and penological study were all established by scholars who had emigrated from Europe. Hermann Mannheim established the first chair in criminology in the United Kingdom at the London School of Economics and was one of the founders of the Institute for the Scientific Study and Treatment of Delinquency in London. Mannheim and other outstanding psychoanalysts, including Anna *Freud, the daughter of Sigmund Freud, made notable contributions to the study of crime. Max *Gruenhut (1893–1964) was the first to be appointed to a chair in criminology at Oxford University.

Criminology in Ereẓ Israel

Criminological study in Mandatory Palestine and later in Israel grew out of the experience of those engaged in correctional research. Menachem Amir of the Hebrew University's Institute of Criminology published a bibliography in English and Hebrew containing an impressive list of Israel writers on criminology and the titles of their contributions during recent decades. Juvenile delinquency and its treatment under the mandate and in Israel is described in detail by E. Millo in *Child and Youth Welfare in Israel* (1960). The prison system in Israel's early years in the light of the Israel humanitarian ethos is analyzed fully by J.W. Eaton in the monograph *Prisons in Israel* (1964). He notes the existence of Massiyahu camp for more trusted inmates – a minimum custody facility. Between 1970 and 1988 nine volumes of *Israel Studies in Criminology* were published. A later publication was *Crime and Criminal Justice in Israel: Assessing the Knowledge Base Toward the Twenty-First Century* (1998), edited by Robert R. Friedmann.

The dominant approach to the understanding and treatment of the offender was psychological, psychiatric and especially psychoanalytical. Research was centered in the Hebrew University Institute of Criminology, the director of which was Israel *Drapkin, and at the Institute of Criminology and Criminal Law at Tel Aviv University, headed by Shlomo Shoham (1929–). Personality and psychopathic disorders in various origin-groups in Israel and crimes of violence in relation to the period of immigration is discussed by Louis Miller in *Social Psychiatry and Epidemiology of Mental Ill Health in Israel* (1967). In the first years of the State, strenuous efforts were made in the correctional field, including probation, after-care, and prison services, to set up and develop mental hygiene teams, consisting of psychiatrists, psychologists, and social caseworkers, who cooperated in the diagnostic and treatment process of offenders.

[Zvi Hermon]

CRIMSON WORM, biblical *tola'at shani* (Heb. תּוֹלַעַת שָׁנִי), which yields a dye, called in the Bible *shani*, *tola*, *karmil*, and in rabbinic literature *zehorit*, which was extracted from the body of the "crimson worm" (*carmine*), the *Kermes biblicus*. A brilliant, beautiful, and fast red dye, it was used for dyeing the curtains of the Tabernacle (Ex. 26:1) and the garments of the high priests (*ibid.*, 39:2); in the purification rites of a leper (Lev. 14:4–6) and of a house affected by leprosy (*ibid.*, 51–52); and it was added to the ashes of the red heifer (Num. 19:6). Crimson-dyed clothes were costly (Lam. 4:5). The Tyrians were experts in the art of crimson dyeing (II Chron. 2:6). Neither the Bible nor rabbinic literature describes the insect from which the crimson dye was extracted. The Tosefta (Men. 9:16) merely states that the best kind of crimson comes from "a mountain worm." Its color is "neither red nor yellow … it is crimson" (PdRK 98). According to Josephus, crimson symbolizes fire (Ant., 3:183; Wars, 5:213). The "crimson worm" is the "shield louse" which generally lives on a species of oak *Quercus coccifera*. In Israel, where this tree does not grow, the shield louse is found on the branches of the oak *Quercus ithaburensis*. There are two species of the insect, *Kermes nahalali* and *Kermes greeni*. In the early spring, when the females filled with red eggs and became pea-shaped, the red dye was squeezed out of them. The use of crimson dye was widespread in Ereẓ Israel until the cactus from Mexico was introduced at the end of the 17th century. The coccus, which lives on this plant, yields a red dye in larger quantities. Up to the end of the 19th century crimson dye was still used, but with the invention of synthetic dyes, it became obsolete.

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[Jehuda Feliks]

°**CRINAGORAS OF CARYSTUS** (fl. 240 B.C.E.), elegaic poet, author of an epigram (*Palatine Anthology*, 7:645) which speaks of the philosopher Philostratus reposing under a monument on the banks of the Nile visible as far as Judea (the reading "Judea" is probable but not certain).

°**CRISPIN, GILBERT** (**Gislebertus**; c. 1046–1117), abbot of Westminster (England). A disciple of *Anselm of Canterbury, Crispin dedicated to him the record of a religious discussion which he had at Westminster with a Jew from Mainz with whom he had business connections. The discussion probably took place before 1096. The name of the Jew is not mentioned. Crispin commends his profound knowledge of both Jewish and Christian literature. The discussion recorded is greatly superior to others of this kind extant, in the courtesy and high intellectual standard it displays. In no other instance is so much space given to the Jewish arguments, which are often embarrassing to Crispin. The Jewish interlocutor refers to passages in the New Testament and reproaches Christians with abandoning observance of the Law. He also objects to the cult of the saints and pictorial representations of God. If the Christians refer to Isaiah and claim to find there the announcement of the coming of the Messiah, they must also agree that he has not arrived yet because the messianic era as described by the prophet (Isa. 2:4) has in no way been inaugurated. In his letter to Anselm, Crispin claims that, despite these objections, a Jew who was present at the discussion asked to be baptized. Crispin's record was rewritten during the 12th century, but in a rancorous tone and diluting the force of the Jewish arguments.

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[Bernhard Blumenkranz]

CROCODILE (Heb. תַּנִּין or תַּנִּים), the largest surviving reptile, with a length of as much as 23 feet (7 m.) or more. The *tannim* or *tannin* of the Bible refers to the Nile crocodile (*Crocodylus niloticus*) and also to gigantic mythological animals said to have rebelled at the time of the creation against their Creator and hence to have been punished with extinction (Isa. 51:9; Ps. 74:13–14; Job 7:12); similar myths are found also in Ugaritic epics. The reference may be to prehistoric reptiles, remains of whose bones have been uncovered in various places in the Middle East region and which may have stirred the imagination of the ancients and formed the basis of these legends. Footprints of a prehistoric reptile have been discovered at Bet Zayit in the vicinity of Jerusalem. *Tannim* also refers to another gigantic, non-reptilian animal, the whale (cf. Lam. 4:3), usually called *leviathan, which word, however, also denotes a crocodile, as in Job 40:25–41:26, where the description, although poetical and mythical, applies to a crocodile. Thus, it is stated there that the leviathan has a tongue, a nose, enormous teeth, and shining eyes. Its head and neck are covered with protective scales impenetrable to spears. It is fearless and attacks every other animal. Mention is also made there of a bird that plays with it and of the covenant between them: this may refer to the crocodile plover (*Pluvianus aegyptius*) which pecks at the throat and teeth of the crocodile. This reptile was sacred to the Egyptians; hundreds of embalmed crocodiles have been found in cemeteries specially set aside for them. Plutarch relates that the Egyptians ascribed to them powers of prescience in that the female lays its eggs on the high water mark of the Nile. As it was a sacred animal, the Egyptians protected it, and it multiplied undisturbed in the country's waters. The sign performed by Aaron with his rod which became a *tannin* – a crocodile – (Ex. 7:9–10) may have been intended as a protest against its sanctity. Ezekiel calls Pharaoh king of Egypt "the great *tannim* that lieth in the midst of his rivers" (Ezek. 29:3; cf. Isa. 27:1), while Jeremiah (51:34) likens the king of Babylonia to a crocodile that preys on human beings. No longer found in the Nile, the crocodile is at present indigenous only in Central Africa. At the end of the 19th century crocodiles were still found in Ereẓ Israel, and a river in the Sharon is called Naḥal ha-Tanninim.

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[Jehuda Feliks]

CROHMĂLNICEANU, OVID S. (**Moïse Cahn**; 1921–2000), Romanian literary critic. An authority on Marxist aesthetics, Crohmălniceanu was, during the 1950s and the 1960s, an authoritative literary critic and editor of important literary periodicals, preaching the ideology of socialist realism. Afterwards he successfully passed beyond this phase and gained prestige as an excellent analyst of modern and contemporary Romanian literature. He published a three-volume synthesis of Romanian literature between the two world wars (*Literatura română între cele două războaie mondiale*,1967–75), based on his courses as professor of Romanian literature at the Bucharest University. Another book, *Literatura română și expresionismul* (1971), is an original exploration of the expressionist traces in 20th-century Romanian literature. From 1992 he lived in Berlin. A book published after his death deals with the contribution of many Jewish writers and artists (e.g., Tristan *Tzara, Marcel *Janco, Benjamin *Fondane, Ilarie *Voronca, Sașa *Pană) to the Romanian avant garde movement (*Evreii în mișcarea de avangardă românească*, 2001).

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[Leon Volovici (2nd ed.)]

CROHN, BURRILL BERNARD (1884–1983), U.S. physician. Crohn was born in New York City and graduated as an M.D. from Columbia University College of Physicians and Surgeons (1906). He was gastro-enterologist and head of the department of gastro-enterology at New York's Mount Sinai Hospital. There he described the chronic inflammatory diseases of the ileum (terminal small intestine) termed regional ileitis (1932) or Crohn's disease and of the colon (1938) termed granulomatous colitis and also named after him. These remain major medical problems. Crohn was prominent in Jewish charitable causes.

[Michael Denman (2nd ed.)]

CROISSET, FRANCIS DE, pen name of Frantz Wiener (1877–1937), playwright. Born in Brussels, Croisset made his reputation in Paris, where he wrote many plays of the "boulevard" type, notably *Qui trop embrasse* (1899); *Chérubin* (1901), which was set to music by Jules Massenet; *Le paon* (1904); and *Le coeur dispose* (1912). He also wrote some plays in collaboration with R. de Flers; *Nos marionettes* (1928; *Our Puppet Show*, 1929); essays on the drama; a novel, *La Dame de Malacca* (1935; *Lady in Malacca*, 1936); and travel books such as *Le dragon blessé* (1936; *The Wounded Dragon*, 1937) on the Far East.

CROIX, LA, French Catholic daily newspaper, founded in 1883 by Father Bailly and sponsored by the Assumptionist Fathers. The newspaper was a success from its start and acquired considerable popular influence. Its daily circulation rose to 11,000 in 1889, 140,000 in 1890, and 180,000 in 1893 – more than double that of *Le Figaro*. By 1894 there also were 104 provincial supplements, and 2,000,000 copies of various *La Croix* publications were printed weekly. Always anti-democratic, *La Croix* also became violently antisemitic. In 1886 *La Croix* was the first newspaper to praise *La France Juive* and its author E. *Drumont. By 1890 it had become as vociferous as Drumont's *Libre Parole* in its daily attacks against Jew's, Protestants, and Masons, and after Alfred *Dreyfus' arrest in 1894 it became even more intemperate. Following the partially successful appeal of Dreyfus (1899) and the dissolution of the Assumptionist congregation (1900), *La Croix* withdrew from the political scene and returned to essentially religious tasks. *La Croix* continued to be published in Limoges during the German occupation in World War II although its provincial supplements disappeared. Now an evening newspaper published in Paris, *La Croix*, which remains the principal organ of the French Catholic press, avoids antisemitism.

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CROLL, DAVID ARNOLD (1900–1991), Canadian lawyer and politician. Born in Mogilev, Belorussia, Croll was taken to Windsor, Ontario, at the age of three. He practiced law in Windsor from 1925 to 1930 when he was elected mayor of the city. In this office, he earned a reputation for helping the unemployed and homeless; he also successfully led the drive for the amalgamation of several municipalities into one city. In 1934 Croll entered the Ontario Legislature as Liberal member for Walkerville and was appointed to hold three cabinet portfolios in the Mitchell Hepburn government: minister of labor, public welfare, and municipal affairs. He resigned from the cabinet in April 1937 in protest against the Hepburn government's refusal to recognize the Oshawa automobile workers union, then on strike against General Motors. He was quoted as saying, "I'd rather walk with the strikers than ride with Mitch Hepburn." Immediately after the outbreak of World War II, Croll volunteered with the Essex Scots regiment of the Canadian Army and, while serving in Europe, rose to the rank of lieutenant colonel. Also while in the military, he wrote a handbook on despatch riding. In 1945 he was elected to the Canadian House of Commons for the Toronto riding of Spadina, then at the heart of Toronto's downtown, Yiddish-speaking Jewish community. In 1955 Croll became the first Jews ever appointed to the Senate of Canada. He served on the Canadian delegation to the United Nations at the time of the Suez crisis in 1956. A familiar figure in Canadian Jewish life, Croll was an enthusiastic supporter of the State of Israel, the Histradrut, and the Israel labor movement.

[Ben Kayfetz / Gerald Tulchinsky (2nd ed.)]

°**CROMWELL, OLIVER**, Lord Protector of *England, 1653–58. Cromwell was largely responsible for the readmission of the Jews to England. His puritan views, based largely upon the Old Testament, and his tolerant nature predisposed him to regard the Jews with favor; he was also quick to realize the material advantages of readmitting them. It was to Cromwell that *Manasseh Ben Israel presented his "Humble Addresses," petitions concerning the return of the Jews to England, and he was responsible for convening the Whitehall Conference in December 1655. When it became apparent that readmission would only be recommended under the most unfavorable conditions, Cromwell dissolved the conference after its fourth meeting. It was expected that he would issue a favorable reply to Manasseh Ben Israel on his own authority. However, in view of public opinion, Cromwell preferred to adopt an informal arrangement. The London Marrano community had to be satisfied with a favorable reply to a modest petition in which they merely requested authorization for the establishment of a cemetery and continuance of their freedom of worship. Cromwell's personal sympathies were manifested in the pension of £100 granted to Manasseh Ben Israel. His favorable attitude toward the Jews was so marked that, according to his enemies, Jews regarded him as their Messiah.

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[Cecil Roth]

CRONBACH, ABRAHAM (1882–1965), U.S. Reform rabbi, author, and teacher. Cronbach was born in Indianapolis, Indiana. He was ordained in 1906 at Hebrew Union College. He served at congregations in South Bend, Indiana (1906–15), and was assistant rabbi of the Free Synagogue, New York, under Rabbi Stephen S. *Wise (1915–17), and at Akron, Ohio (1917–19). He was also Jewish institutional chaplain of Chicago (1919–22). During these years Cronbach developed a passion for social justice, an unshakable belief in pacifism, and a "mutualistic" philosophy embodying ethical relativity and a concept of God as supreme ideal rather than source of power. As professor of Jewish Social Studies at Hebrew Union College from 1922 to 1950, Cronbach influenced a generation of rabbis in the struggle for social justice and peace.

Cronbach, an individualist, befriended the murderer Nathan *Leopold, was rabbi to the convicted American spies for the Soviet Union Julius and Ethel Rosenberg, and supported the anti-Zionist American Council for Judaism. As such he was under constant criticism by opponents. Although he was a Hebrew scholar, he was anti-Hebraist, opposing the use of Hebrew in American Jewish religious life.

Among his many writings are *Jewish Peace Book for Home and School* (1932), on the heritage of Judaism's pursuit of peace; *Judaism for Today* (1954), his philosophy in simple and popular terms; *Realities of Religion* (1957), his philosophy of radical empiricism; *Stories Made of Bible Stories* (1961), biblical stories rewritten to conform to his philosophy of pacifism and brotherhood; *Reform Movements in Judaism* (1963); and "Autobiography" (AJA, 2 (1959), 3–81).

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[Robert A. Seigel]

CRONENBERG, DAVID (1943–), Canadian filmmaker. Cronenberg was born in Toronto, Ontario. He showed an early interest in science, particularly the study of insects, and a skill for writing science fiction and fantasy short stories. He began experimental filmmaking while attending the University of Toronto, where he graduated at the top of his class with a degree in literature. He produced low-budget, psychologically intense horror films in the 1970s and mass entertainment horror/science fiction genre films in the 1980s. The release of *Dead Ringers* (1988) and *The Naked Lunch* (1991) increased Cronenberg's stature and gained him international recognition and awards. In 1999 he was chosen to chair the prestigious Cannes Film Festival jury. Cronenberg's themes explore society's collective unconscious and the boundaries of human physiology, sexuality, and psychology. Among film experts, he is considered a true auteur. His films defy easy classification; they shock, repel, provoke, and fascinate in equal measure. Throughout his career, Cronenberg wrote, directed, and produced many of his films. He also worked as an editor and cinematographer as well as acting in his own and other directors' films. He is among the very few directors who remained in Canada to make films yet achieved a solid international reputation. His films received numerous Canadian Genies as well as awards from the New York Film Critics Circle, the Cannes Film Festival, and the Toronto International Film Festival. In 1997 Cronenberg became an Officer of the Order of Arts and Letters in France. Additional films he directed are *Shivers* (1975), *Rabid* (1977), *The Brood* (1979), *Scanners* (1981), *Videodrome* (1983), *The Dead Zone* (1983), *The Fly* (1986), *M. Butterfly* (1993), *Crash* (1996), *eXistenZ* (1999), and *Spider* (2002).

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[Paula Draper (2nd ed.)]

CROOL, JOSEPH (1760–1829), British scholar and writer; of Hungarian birth. Of wide if eccentric learning, he was rabbi at Manchester and Nottingham, where he published *The Importance and Necessity of a More General Knowledge of the Hebrew Language* (1805). He later taught Hebrew to members of Cambridge University. His *Restoration of Israel* (1812) resulted in controversy between him and the Anglican cleric Thomas Scott, who issued an elaborate answer (London, 1814). Crool was opposed to Jewish emancipation, fearing that it would lead to assimilation and on this subject wrote *The Last Generation* (Cambridge, 1829) and *The Fifth Empire, delivered in a discourse by Thirty-Six Men…* (London, 1829), and remained a loyal Orthodox Jew. His anti-emancipation writings were widely cited by Christian opponents of Jewish emancipation in Britain.

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[Cecil Roth]

°**CROWFOOT, JOHN WINTER** (1873–1959), British Orientalist. Educated at Marlborough and Oxford, Crowfoot served as director of the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem from 1927 to 1935 and as chairman of the Palestine Exploration Fund from 1945 to 1950. He excavated in the Tyropoeon Valley, Jerusalem, (1927–29), Jerash in Transjordan (1928–30), and Samaria-Sebaste (1931–33, 1935). Crowfoot was the author of *Churches at Jerash* (1931), *Churches at Bosra and Samaria-Sebaste* (1937), *Samaria-Sebaste* (3 vols., 1938–57), and *Early Churches in Palestine* (1941).

His wife, GRACE MARY CROWFOOT (1878–1958), was a specialist in the archaeology of pottery, glass, textiles, basketry, and mats. She contributed to the *Oxford History of Technology* (ed. by C. Singer, 5 vols., 1954–58) and also wrote about the linen wrappings of the Dead Sea Scrolls. She was the joint author (with Louise Baldensperger) of *From Cedar to Hyssop* (1935), a study of the folklore of Palestinian plants. Their daughter, Dorothy Crowfoot Hodgkin (1910–1994), was awarded the Nobel Prize in chemistry in 1964.

ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY: ODNB online.

[Michael Avi-Yonah]

CROWN, HENRY (**Henry Krinsky**; 1896–1990), U.S. business executive. Crown was born and raised in Chicago, the son of Latvian immigrants. He left school at the age of 15 and went to work. After he was fired from his $4 a week job as a shipping clerk for dispatching a load of sand instead of gravel, he and his brothers, Sol and Irving, founded a materials supply firm. Through hard work and sound business practices, they steadily built up their company. Crown became the treasurer (1916), then the president (1921), and then chairman of the board (1941) of the multimillion-dollar Material Service Corporation in Chicago, which had become the largest materials firm in the world. During World War II Crown served as a colonel in the Corps of Engineers. The Crowns' corporation operated its own quarries, mines, lime and cement plants, and gravel and sand pits. Its fleet of tugboats traveled across Chicago's waterways, and the company's army of cement trucks churned through the streets on a daily basis. In 1959 the company merged into the General Dynamics Corporation, of which Crown served as director. He was also a director of several large firms, including Chicago Rock Island & Pacific Railroad, Hilton Hotels International, and was president and owner of the Empire State Building.

He diversified his business interests to include defense contracting, railroads, mining, farming, recreation, and trucking. With his disciplined risk-taking and financial acumen, he maximized on these investments to create Henry Crown and Company, one of the leading private investment groups in the U.S.

Crown served as director of the Chicago Jewish Welfare Fund and was a member of the Horatio Alger Association of Distinguished Americans.

The Crown family owned and managed operating companies and real estate investments. It also maintained significant investments in a broad range of publicly traded corporations, with extensive board of directors representation that includes General Dynamics, Hilton Hotels, Bank One, The Maytag Corporation, Alltel, and Sara Lee.

The Crown family established a worldwide reputation for philanthropy, donating funds to support academic and research programs. Some of the places and projects that bear Henry Crown's legacy include Henry Crown Field House on the University of Chicago campus; the Henry Crown Sports Pavilion /Norris Aquatic Center at Northwestern University; the Henry Crown Space Center Museum of Science and Industry in Chicago; the Aspen Institute's Henry Crown Fellowship Program, which seeks to develop the next generation of corporate and civic-minded leaders; the Henry Crown Symphony Hall and the Rebecca Crown Auditorium at the Jerusalem Theater; and the Henry Crown Institute of Business Research in Israel, under the auspices of Tel Aviv University's Faculty of Management, which aims to support research pertaining to business administration and management, with an emphasis on Israeli economy and society.

[Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

CROWNS, DECORATIVE HEADDRESSES, AND WREATHS.

In the Bible

A crown is an ornate headdress which serves as a symbol of monarchy, high office, or some other position which marks its wearer as a distinguished person. Three different terms are used for such a headdress in the Bible: *nezer, ʿaṭarah* and *keter.* The first, *nezer* (from *nzr*), is also used to describe someone who is "God's chosen" by virtue of self-abnegation or complete devotion to worship (see *Nazirite). In biblical poetry the term is used to emphasize the dignity and independence of Israel. The loss of this *nezer* can symbolize the destruction of national and religious sovereignty, "Cut off your hair (Heb. *nizrekh*), and cast it away," (Jer. 7:29). The second term, *ʿaṭarah* (the root *ʿtr* means "to encircle"), is not used exclusively to indicate social position. Thus, in the phrase, "Beautiful crowns upon their heads" (Ezek. 23:42), it merely indicates an elaborate headdress. In other contexts, however, it is synonymous with the royal crown, e.g., "He took the crown of their king from his head" (II Sam. 12:30). The term also applies to the crown worn by a queen (Jer. 13:18), nobles (Esth. 8:15), and the bridegroom at his wedding (Song 3:11), and is often used in the Bible as a metaphor for anything conferring honor or authority, such as grandchildren (Prov. 17:6), or wisdom (Prov. 14:24). In Ezekiel 21:31 *ʿaṭarah* appears as part of the priestly headgear. *ʿAṭarot* were apparently made of precious materials – gold, silver, expensive cloths, and skins – as indicated in Zechariah 6:11, "Take from them silver and gold, and make crowns…." In biblical poetry, *ʿaṭarah* represents personal pride, "A good wife is a crown to her husband" (Prov. 12:4); and like the term *nezer* it also symbolizes national glory, "You shall also be a crown of beauty in the hand of the Lord…" (Isa. 62:3). The third term, *keter* (from *ktr*, "to encircle"), appears only in the Book of Esther where it clearly denotes royalty, "He set the royal crown on her head and made her queen…" (Esth. 2:17).

Excavations in Ereẓ Israel have yielded some decorative headdresses mainly of the *ʿaṭarah* type. Such a headdress of the Israelite period, made of gold, and probably originally attached to a strip of cloth meant to be bound around the head, was found in Tell Jemmeh (Yurza of the Egyptian sources?; W.M.G. Petrie, *Gerar* (1928), pl. 1:1). A gold band used as *ʿaṭarah* was also found in Gaza (Petrie et al., *Ancient Gaza*, 4 (1934), pl. 14). An ivory palette on which is carved a woman wearing a decorative headdress, possibly of Assyrian origin and dating from the Israelite period, was found in Megiddo (G. Loud, *The Megiddo Ivories* (1939), pl.4).

[Ze'ev Yeivin]

In Post-Biblical Literature

The technical distinction between crowns and wreaths – the former designating a symbol of royalty and of majesty, made of gold, and the latter signifying a circlet of leaves and twigs worn as a festive symbol – is often confused in talmudic literature, the two terms being used, sometimes indiscriminately, as synonymous. Thus the Talmud makes the Mishnah (Avot 4:5), "make not of them [the words of the Torah] a wreath [*ʿaṭarah*] to magnify thyself therewith," to refer to "him who makes [worldly] use of the crown [*keter*] of the Torah" (Ned. 62a).

By transference the crown was made the symbol of dignity in other cases, and R. Simeon states, "there are three crowns, the crown of Torah, the crown of priesthood, and the royal crown, but the crown of a good name excels them all" (Avot 4:13; cf. the elaborate treatment of this passage in arn2 4, 3b).

The *aggadah* places a crown on the head of the Almighty, the "Supreme King of Kings." The archangel Sandalfon stands behind the divine chariot and wreathes a crown for his Maker, and pronouncing the divine name over it, places it on His head (Ḥag. 13b). The Midrash states that despite the fact that prayers take place at different times in different synagogues, when they are finished "the angel appointed over prayers takes all the prayers uttered in all the synagogues and makes of them a wreath which he places on the head of the Holy One, blessed be He" (Ex. R. 21:4). Although the word in that passage is *ʿaṭarah*, it is the basis of the *Kedushah* in the *Musaf* prayers of Sabbaths and festivals, according to the Sephardi ritual: "The hosts of angels above, together with Thy people Israel assembled below, make Thee a crown, O Lord our God." That wreath or crown the Holy One is destined to place on the head of the Messiah (*ibid.*, 8:1). The phrase *keter Torah* ("crown of the Torah") is also used for the ornament placed as an embellishment on top of the scroll of the law (see *Ceremonial Art, Torah Ornaments). The phrase *keter Torah* was particularly apposite because the numerical value of *keter* – כתר – is 620, which represents the 613 biblical commandments and the seven Noaḥide laws which constitute the primary message of the Torah. On this basis David Vital published his Keter Torah listing these commandments in Constantinople, 1536 (D. Sperber, *Minhagei Yisrael* 2, Jerusalem 1991, pp. 112–13).

The wreath belongs to a lower category of distinction than the crown, though like the crown, it has its place in otherworldly as in worldly matters. "In the world to come there is neither eating nor drinking but the righteous sit with wreaths on their heads" (Ber. 17a). Wreaths were worn on all joyous occasions. In the Apocrypha they are mentioned as being made of rosebuds (Wisd. 2:8) and of olives (Judith 15:13). In Temple times it was the universal custom for both brides and bridegrooms to don them, but according to the Mishnah the custom, with regard to bridegrooms, was abolished after the destruction of the Temple ("during the war of Vespasian") as a sumptuary measure or sign of mourning (Sot. 9:14). In the Talmud (Sot. 49b) Rav states that the prohibition applied only to a wreath made of "salt and brimstone," which Rashi explains as a crown made of a block of salt upon which figures were traced in brimstone. A wreath of roses or myrtle, however, was permitted. His colleague, R. Samuel, forbade the latter but permitted wreaths of reeds and rushes, while R. Levi forbade those. After the "war of Quietus" the prohibition was extended to brides, whose wreath was "a golden city" (Sot. 49a), probably a golden crown with a design of Jerusalem (cf. Shab. 59a). According to Shabbat 7d this was a three-layered gold crown (not wreath) (Abramson, *Leshonenu*, 29 (1965), pp. 75–76; cf. D. Sperber, *Leshonenu*, 40 (1976), p. 168), which R. Akiva was credited with having given to his wife. Nevertheless, at least in Babylonia the custom continued for brides to wear them. Mar, son of R. Ashi, explained to Ravina, who queried the correctness of his making a garland for his daughter, that the prohibition applied to bridegrooms (Git. 7a). The flowers used for making crowns and garlands were called in Greek στεφανþματα (Hesychius), and this term in medieval times was used for nuptials (אישטיפנומטא, responsum of Isaiah of

Trani, no. 39, Bari XIII cent.), indicating that the custom of garlanding the bride continued to be in use.

In the Mishnah (Ket. 2:1) it is stated that if a married woman could prove that on her wedding day she "went out with a *hinnumah*," it was accepted as evidence that she was a virgin. According to one opinion in the Talmud (Ket. 17b) the *hinnumah* is a myrtle wreath, and according to another a veil, but a suggestion has been made that it means "dyed with henna" (Bonfil).

Not only human beings were garlanded with wreaths. At the procession of the first fruits both horns of the sacrificial ox were garlanded with a wreath of olive leaves, and a garland consisting of either the seven species, according to R. Akiva or, according to R. Simeon b. Nanos, other species, was placed around the fruits themselves (Bik. 3:3 and 9). Wreaths of corn, which were used to adorn idols (cf. Acts 14:13), were forbidden for use by Jews (Av. Zar. 4:2).

[Louis Isaac Rabinowitz / S. David Sperling (2nd ed.)]

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CRUCIFIXION, mode of execution by fastening the condemned to two crossed beams. Being the form of death to which *Jesus of Nazareth was sentenced by the Roman governor Pontius Pilate between 27 and 36 C.E., crucifixion subsequently acquired momentous historical, theological, and legal significance, providing subject matter for research and discussion until the present day. Its origins cannot be traced with precision; it is thought to have preceded hanging, of which there is early evidence (see *Capital Punishment). Hanging may have been introduced as a more humane and lenient mode of execution than crucifixion; at any rate hanging superseded crucifixion in most countries of Europe, after crucifixion had been abolished by the Roman emperor Constantine in the fourth century because of its Christian symbolism. In non-Christian, especially Far Eastern countries, it was practiced until early in the 19th century. Beheading was also practiced by the Romans (e.g., the beheading of John the Baptist), and it was apparently a more dignified procedure of execution because of the swiftness of the death experience as opposed to the prolonged suffering that crucified individuals endured. Stoning was the preferred method of execution practiced by Jews in the first century and earlier (Lev. 20:2, 27; 24:16; Num. 15:35; Deut. 21:21).

There are reports of crucifixions from Assyrian, Egyptian, Persian, Greek, Punic, and Roman sources. It has been said to have first been imported into ancient Israel by the Persians (cf. Ezra 6:11), but there is no report of a single instance of a crucifixion under the powers conferred on Ezra. If the hangings reported in the book of Esther (7:10, etc.) were crucifixions, they were carried out in Persia, where crucifixions seem to have been customary. Crucifixion was the standard Roman mode of execution for non-Roman criminals and enemies of the state, and hence was practiced on a large scale in Judea under the Roman occupation. The extent of such crucifixions is demonstrated by the legal rules which had to be elaborated to meet contingencies. As the exact time of death was not ascertainable, the fact that a man was seen hanging on a cross was not sufficient evidence of his death (Yev. 16:3). It might be otherwise when wild beasts or birds had already attacked him at vital parts of the body (Yev. 120b). The reason given for the rule that the crucified cannot be considered dead is that a rich matron may still come along and redeem him (TJ, Yev. 16:3,15c), an indication of the length of time often passing before death ensued, and of the amenability of Roman officers to bribes to save the lives of executed convicts. A man hanging on the cross may order a bill of divorce to be written for his wife. Even if his body has become weak, his mind is presumed to have remained sound (Tosef., Git. 7:1; Git. 70b). On such a bill of divorce being handed to the wife, she may remarry without evidence of death being required. As the blood from a dead body is impure, the question arose as to when the blood of the crucified becomes impure (Oho. 3:5). There is one benefit apparently derived from crucifixions; the nail of a cross is considered by some to have healing effects in cases of swellings or stings, and may therefore be carried around even on a Sabbath (Shab. 6:10; Shab. 67a; TJ, Shab. 6:9, 8c). Similarly, Romans used nails from crosses on which people had been crucified for healing epileptics (Pliny, *Natural History*, 28:36).

Josephus reports many incidents of crucifixion: Antiochus IV crucified Jews in Jerusalem who would not relinquish their faith (Ant., 12:256). Two thousand rebels were crucified by Quintilius Varus (Ant., 17:295). Tiberius Julius Alexander ordered two rebels, sons of *Judah the Galilean, to be crucified (Ant., 20:102). Seven years later (about 52 C.E.) there was another wholesale crucifixion of zealots at the hand of Quadratus (Wars, 2:241); Felix crucified not only zealots and rebels, but also citizens suspected of collaborating with them (Wars, 2:253). Florus had Jewish judges tortured and crucified before his eyes (Wars, 2:306–8). When Jerusalem was besieged, Titus ordered all Jewish prisoners of war to be crucified on the walls of the city and there were as many as 500 crucifixions a day (Wars, 5:449–51). Bassus erected a huge cross on the city wall for the execution of Eleazar, a young Jewish commander, whereupon the Jews surrendered to the Romans to spare Eleazar's life (Wars, 7:201–2). Josephus also reports crucifixions at the hands of the Jewish king Alexander Jannaeus, adding that this act of cruelty was an imitation of gentile usage. While he and his concubines were carousing, he ordered 800 Pharisees to be crucified and their wives and children killed before their eyes (Ant., 13:380–1), an atrocity said to be alluded to in the Qumran commentary on the Book of Nahum (4QpNah

2:13) with the postscript: "such a thing has never before been done in Israel, for the Scripture [Deut. 21:23] designates a man hung up alive as a reproach unto God." The hanging of people on trees (i.e., on wooden crosses) is also referred to in the Temple Scroll (11Q Temple 64.6–13). Some account of the laws and customs of crucifixion is contained in most books on the trial and death of Jesus. This crucifixion could only have taken place after the execution of John the Baptist in 28 C.E. and before the High Priest *Caiaphas had been removed from his position in 36 C.E. Hence, the latest possible date for the final Passover attended by Jesus in Jerusalem must have been in the spring of 36 C.E. The accepted view is that the death of Jesus took place late in the 20s or early in the 30s of the first century. It seems reasonable, therefore, that the crucifixion took place in the year 30 C.E. when Jesus was 36 years of age, and only two years after the beheading of John.

Archaeological evidence of crucifixion in Jerusalem emerged in 1968 during the excavation of a burial cave from the first century C.E. at Givat ha-Mivtar in Jerusalem. In one of the stone burial boxes (ossuaries) were the skeletal remains of a male named Jehohanan, whose right heel bone (*calcaneum*) had been pierced by an iron nail (length 11.5 cm). The anthropological study of these remains suggests that the arms of this individual were tied to the horizontal bars of the cross and that only his feet were nailed.

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[Haim Hermann Cohn / Shimon Gibson (2nd ed.)]

CRUMB, ROBERT (1943–), U.S. cartoonist. Born in Philadelphia, Crumb began his art career by drawing greeting cards in Cleveland. He soon began to work with Harvey *Kurtzman, creator of *Mad* magazine, on his post-*Mad* humor magazine, *Help!* When that magazine folded, Crumb moved in 1967 to San Francisco, where he drew comics for underground newspapers. In 1968, with his first wife, Dana, Crumb hawked copies of the first issue of *Zap Comix* from a baby carriage in the hippie Haight-Ashbury neighborhood. Crumb's comics mixed a nostalgia for comics' rich history with a psychedelic exuberance. Crumb became known as the godfather of underground comics when he created the characters Mr. Natural and Fritz the Cat and introduced the catchphrase "Keep on truckin'," which struck a note in the collective hip unconscious. Images of the characters and their odd mode of ambulating were made into merchandise, mostly without permission.

Crumb, who is credited with single-handedly creating the underground comic-book industry, acknowledged having taken LSD and other drugs in the 1960s and 1970s when he produced what he says is his best known work: the "Keep on truckin'" graphic, which continues to be seen on mud flaps; his cover for the album *Cheap Thrills* by Big Brother and the Holding Company (featuring Janis Joplin); and Fritz the Cat, who became the star of a full-length animated cartoon made by Ralph *Bakshi. Crumb hated the film.

In 1971, Crumb married Aline Kominsky (1949–). Kominsky-Crumb became known for her very personal comics, which look at life as a humiliating, dehumanizing experience. Her work generally focuses on the plight of a naïve heroine who believes in romance and in the infinite possibility of the world to be a perfect place. The Crumbs moved to Sauve, a small village in the south of France, in 1990. The film *Crumb*, a dark portrait of the cartoonist and his family, directed by Terry Zwigoff, won the top prize for documentaries at the 1995 Sundance Film Festival.

[Stewart Kampel (2nd ed.)]

CRUSADES, military expeditions of the European Christians in the 11th, 12th, and 13th centuries to conquer Ereẓ Israel from the Muslims or to repel their counterattacks. The explicit cause was the reports received from Jerusalem concerning the maltreatment of Christian pilgrims and the manner in which their access to the Holy Places was obstructed. In many of these reports, the malevolence of the Jews was also stressed, so that from the beginning the ground was prepared for including the Jews in the freshly stimulated animosity against the unbelievers: indeed, at the period of the analogous expeditions of French knights to assist the Spanish Christians against the Moors (c. 1065), the Jews of *Narbonne and elsewhere had been attacked notwithstanding the admonitions of Pope *Alexander II. It was originally intended that the crusaders should concern themselves solely with the success of their expedition overseas, without intervening in the affairs of the Christian countries of Europe. However, precisely because the crusaders ignored this stipulation, the Crusade was partially deflected from its initial course, with tragic consequences for the Jews of Europe.

The First Crusade

The Crusade was preached by Pope Urban II at Clermont-Ferrand (subsequently referred to as Har Afel, "the mount of gloom," by Jewish chroniclers of the Crusades) on Nov. 27, 1095, at the close of a council which had convened there. Those who obeyed the call affixed crosses to their outer garments, thus the name *croisés, crociati*, or crusaders. The Jews termed them *to'im* ("[misguided] wanderers"). At the outset, nothing in the proclamation of Urban II seemed to threaten the Jews, but it would appear that the Jews in France sensed danger, since they sent emissaries to the Rhine communities to warn them of the possible threat. The first group of crusaders gathered in France on their way to Germany. They may already have attacked some Jewish communities on their way, possibly in *Rouen, and more certainly in *Lorraine. It was already clear that the crusaders, or at least some of them, were gathering in the Rhine valley in order to follow the traditional route to the Orient along the Rhine and Danube rivers. The community of *Mainz was more troubled about the French communities and thought that those in the Rhineland had no reason for concern on their own account. However, their sense of security was soon to be brutally shaken shortly after the first muster of the crusaders and before the Jewish communities of Germany could take whatever precautions were open to them. The sight of the wealthy Rhenish communities acted as an incentive to the crusaders, who decided to punish "the murderers of Christ" wherever they passed, before their encounter with their official enemies, the Muslims. Soon it was rumored that Godfrey of Bouillon himself had vowed that he would not set out for the Crusade until he had avenged the crucifixion by spilling the blood of the Jews, declaring that he could not tolerate that even one man calling himself a Jew should continue to live.

The first bands of crusaders arrived outside *Cologne on April 12, 1096. For a month they left the Jews in peace, perhaps because the Jews of France had given Peter the Hermit a letter asking the Jewish communities he passed through on his journey to supply him and his followers with all the food they required, in exchange for Peter's undertaking to use his influence in their favor. However, the swelling throng of crusaders, which surpassed all expectations, and the religious frenzy preceding the departure of the army rapidly induced a change of mood which rendered the influence of Peter the Hermit ineffectual. Aware of the inherent danger in the situation, the leaders of the Mainz community hastily dispatched a delegation to Emperor Henry IV, who wrote immediately to the princes, bishops, and counts of the empire to forbid them to harm the Jews. Godfrey himself replied that he had never had any such intention. For their greater security, the communities of Cologne and Mainz each presented him with a gift of 500 pieces of silver, and he promised to leave them in peace, which he did.

Meanwhile, the Crusade had evolved into a ponderous machine made up of various elements: the greater nobility, the lesser nobles such as Count Emicho of Leiningen, and the people. It was the last element which proved particularly receptive to the anti-Jewish slogans spreading rapidly among its ranks and it was less amenable to discipline. Although the bishops and prominent nobles were generally opposed to such ideas, they had no wish to see Christians fight Christians over the Jews. Frequently their assistance to the attacked Jews was passive at the most. It was in the region where the crusaders assembled that violence broke out, in the weeks between Passover and Shavuot. The rioting continued until Tammuz (June–July). On the eighth of Iyyar (May 3, 1096), the crusaders surrounded the synagogue of *Speyer; unable to break into it, they attacked any Jews they could find outside the synagogue, killing eleven of them. One of the victims, a woman, preferring death to conversion, the only choice left open by the crusaders, inaugurated the tradition of freely accepted martyrdom. **Kiddush ha-Shem*, martyrdom for the glory of God, thus became the exemplary answer of Jews threatened in their life and faith by the crusaders. On the 23rd of Iyyar (May 18, 1096) *Worms suffered a similar fate. The crusaders first massacred the Jews who had remained in their houses, then, eight days later, those who had sought an illusory refuge in the bishop's castle. The victims numbered about 800; only a few accepted conversion and survived, the great majority choosing to be killed or suicide rather than apostasy. Hearing of the massacre, the Jews of Mainz asked for the bishop's protection, paying him 400 pieces of silver to this end. When the crusaders, led by Emicho, arrived outside the town on the third of Sivan (May 27, 1096), the burghers hastened to open the gates. The Jews took up arms under the leadership of Kalonymus b. Meshullam. Weakened through fasting, for they had hoped to avert the disaster through exemplary piety, the Jews had to retreat to the bishop's castle; however the latter could do nothing for them, as he himself had to flee before the combined assault of crusaders and burghers. After a brief struggle, a wholesale massacre ensued. More than 1,000 Jews met their deaths, either at the enemy's hands or their own. Those who managed to escape were overtaken; almost no one survived. A comparable disaster occurred in Cologne, where the community was attacked on the sixth of Sivan (May 30, 1096). The bishop dispersed the town's Jews in order to hide them in nearby localities: at Neuss, Wevelinghofen, Eller, Xanten, Mehr, Kerpen, Geldern, and Ellen. The crusaders located them and a bloodbath followed. At *Trier the bishop could not protect his Jews, as he himself had to go into hiding, and he consequently advised them to become Christians. The great majority refused, preferring suicide. At *Regensburg, all the Jews were dragged to the Danube where they were flung into the water and forced to accept baptism. At *Metz, *Prague, and throughout *Bohemia, one massacre followed another. These came to an end when Emicho's crusaders were decisively halted and crushed by the Hungarians, who, incensed by their excesses when they poured through the country, had risen against them. Seeing in this the hand of God, the Jews promptly set about reconstructing their ruined communities. There had been more than 5,000 victims.

The Jews who had been baptized under duress generally continued to practice Judaism in secret. As early as 1097, Emperor Henry IV allowed them openly to return to their former faith, an action which was strongly condemned by the antipope Clement III. Henry also ordered in May 1098 an inquiry into the manner of disposal of the property of massacred Jews in Mainz thus provoking the displeasure of the local bishop. In about 1100, Jews returned to Mainz, but their position was not yet quite secure, and the Jews of the upper town could scarcely communicate with those in the lower. In 1103, Henry IV and the imperial lords finally proclaimed a truce which, among other things, guaranteed the peace of the Jews.

THE CRUSADERS IN EREẒ ISRAEL. Meanwhile, the crusaders had reached *Jerusalem (June 7, 1099), and the siege had begun. The city was captured on July 15, with Godfrey entering it through the Jewish quarter, where inhabitants defended themselves alongside their Muslim neighbors, finally seeking refuge in the synagogues, which were set on fire by the attackers. A terrible massacre ensued; the survivors were sold as slaves, some being later redeemed by Jewish communities in Italy. The Jewish community of Jerusalem came to an end and was not reconstituted for many years, but the Jewish centers in Galilee went unscathed. However, the great community of *Ramleh dispersed, as did that of *Jaffa, so that overall the Jewish community in the Holy Land was greatly diminished.

The Second Crusade

On the loss of Edessa by the crusaders (1144) the West became troubled over the fate of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, and a new Crusade to save it was preached by Pope Eugene III. The popes attempted to encourage the crusaders at the Jews' expense. Innocent III in 1198 ordered that no interest should be chargeable during the absence of crusaders on debts they incurred to the Jews and that anything already received should be returned. Since the return of a crusader was problematical, this restriction when it was observed implied at best the immobility of Jewish capital over prolonged periods, at worst the possibility of total confiscation (which was to become more widespread with the extension from the 13th century of the term "Crusade" to any campaign in any part of the world in which the popes might be politically interested). Naturally, this caused great difficulties to their Jewish creditors. In one way or another, as soon as the Second Crusade was announced, the clouds began to gather once more over the Jews of Europe. As early as the summer of 1146, a Cistercian monk, Radulph, while preaching the Crusade, violently attacked the Jewish communities of the Rhineland, exhorting the crusaders to avenge themselves on "those who had crucified Jesus" before setting out to fight the Muslims. The spiritual leader of the Crusade, *Bernard of Clairvaux, pointed out the theological error in his arguments, strictly forbidding any excess against the Jews, who were to be neither killed nor expelled. Although the anti-Jewish riots had begun before his intervention, he succeeded in preventing them from spreading so that, in the final count, they were far less extensive than those in the First Crusade. The persecution began in Elul (August–September). A few isolated Jews were put to death. At Cologne, the Jews bought the protection of the bishop and managed to find refuge in the fortress of Walkenburg. The bishop even went as far as having the leader of a mob blinded for killing a number of Jews. There were few victims at Worms and at Mainz, but more than 20 at *Wuerzburg. Scores of Jews sought refuge in the castles and the mountains. In Bohemia, about 150 lost their lives, and victims were equally numerous in *Halle and *Carinthia. As in the First Crusade, the community of France suffered less than the Rhineland communities. Jacob b. Meir *Tam was set upon a group of crusaders, who stabbed him in five places in memory of the wounds suffered by Jesus, but he succeeded in escaping with the help of a knight with whom he was acquainted. In England, the Jews were left in peace. Everywhere, Jews who had been converted by force were allowed to return to Judaism undisturbed. By the next summer, order had been restored, and the Jewish communities had everywhere recovered.

In the Holy Land, the Second Crusade had concluded with the conquest of *Ashkelon by the crusaders. *Benjamin of Tudela and *Pethahiah of Regensburg, who visited the crusading kingdom around 1160 and 1180 respectively, found well-established Jewish communities in *Ashkelon, *Ramleh, *Caesarea, *Tiberias, *Acre, among other localities, with scattered individuals living elsewhere: it seems that the Jewish settlement of Jerusalem was restricted to a handful of individuals, though a few years later Judah *Alḥarizi (1216) found a prosperous community there. The *Samaritans seem to have remained undisturbed in *Nablus as well as Ashkelon and Caesarea. It would therefore appear that the warriors of the Second Crusade left the Jewish communities relatively undisturbed.

Meanwhile the Latin Kingdom had begun to crumble under the blows of its enemies. When Jerusalem fell to Saladin in 1187, the Jews of Europe suffered the consequences of this defeat. It had already become habitual to harass the Jews whenever a Crusade was in the offing. In 1182, Emperor Frederick I took the Jews of the empire under his protection, receiving, as was customary, substantial payment for his pains. As soon as the news of the fall of Jerusalem reached Europe, he forbade all anti-Jewish sermons and renewed his promise of protection. At the beginning of 1188, a tragedy was narrowly averted in Mainz. Drawing a lesson from past experience, the Jews of Mainz, Speyer, *Strasbourg, Worms, Wuerzburg, and elsewhere left their towns to seek refuge in the nearby fortified castles. The few Jews who remained at Mainz owed their lives to the Diet which had convened there; and in the course of the proceedings the emperor and his son forbade on direst penalties any interference with the Jews, threatening death to anyone who killed a Jew. These warnings were echoed by the bishops, who threatened excommunication for those who persecuted Jews. All this had cost the Jews of the empire huge sums, and, more than ever before, they became dependent on the favors and the passing whims of their masters.

The Third Crusade and After

In *England, the Third Crusade had the most savage repercussions. England had taken little interest and no part in the first two Crusades, but her zeal was none the less intense when Richard the Lion-hearted decided to take part in person in the third. In January the first abuses struck the port of *Lynn, where the bulk of the Jewish community was massacred. The same occurred in *Norwich and *Stamford. At *Lincoln, the Jews were saved through the intervention of royal agents. The worst outrage took place in *York, where a number of local nobles, in heavy debt to the Jews, seized the opportunity to rid themselves of their burden. When attacked, the Jews took refuge in the Castle Keep, which the guard had opened for them; those who remained in the town were slaughtered. On their refusal to allow access to the keep, the Jews were besieged. On March 16, on the eve of Passover, the rabbi, *Yom Tov b. Isaac of Joigny, realizing that all hope was lost, asked his brethren to choose suicide rather than submit to baptism. First setting fire to their possessions, one after the other killed himself. More than 150 died in this way, and the few survivors were murdered by the mob, who also destroyed the register of debts to the Jews. In *Bury St. Edmunds 57 Jews were put to death. As the king was out of the country, where he neither could nor cared to intervene too vigorously, the perpetrators of the massacres also left England for the Crusade. There is little doubt that the Jews in England lost faith in the prospect of their continued survival in the West. The emigration in 1211 of 300 rabbis from Western Europe to the Holy Land may be connected with this general disillusionment. As the enthusiasm of the masses waned, the Jews in Western Europe were little troubled during the 13th-century Crusades. However, it appears that there was a massacre in central France around 1236 during the preparations for a Crusade; in fact, Pope *Gregory IX accused the crusaders of having slaughtered over 2,500 Jews.

Yet, at the very moment when the great wave of Crusades was ebbing, the Jewish community in France suffered most acutely from a popular Crusade, that of the *Pastoureaux (1320). Forty thousand of these "shepherds," aged on an average around 16 and without any clearly designated leader, marched through France from north to south. Although Pope *John XXII excommunicated all who set forth on this unauthorized march, this did not hinder the new crusaders from hurling themselves at the Jews in the manner of their predecessors. Their savagery was especially marked south of the River Loire, where they destroyed some 120 communities. Hoping to be protected there by the authorities, numbers of isolated Jews and small communities took refuge in the larger towns. Five hundred who had sought safety in the town of *Verdun sur-Garonne found death there. At *Toulouse there were 115 victims. In the *Comtat Venaissin, a direct papal dependency, there were many cases of forced conversion; the subsequent attempt to return to Judaism provoked the prompt intervention of the Inquisition. Meanwhile, the very abuses of the Pastoureaux aroused a violent reaction on the part of the Christian authorities: the governor of *Carcassonne even had some of the ringleaders executed. Those who had crossed the Pyrenees into Spain were routed by James II of Aragon and forced to disperse. Nevertheless, this uprising had struck a savage blow at the Jewish communities in the Midi and northern Spain.

The long era of the Crusades undoubtedly marked a turning point in the history of the Jews in medieval Western Europe. The Church herself was forced to reexamine and define her position of the problem posed by the large-scale persecution of the Jews. Clearly the situation of the Jews prior to the Crusades was not always free from danger: the animosity of the Christians toward the Jews was nothing new and the Crusades did not lead to any reappraisal of Christian doctrine. However, it was probably in the wake of the First Crusade that Pope *Calixtus II (1119–24) promulgated the bull *Sicut Judaeis*, which was renewed after the Second and Third Crusades and on at least five other occasions between 1199 and 1250. It stipulated that although no new privileges should be granted to the Jews, they should not be deprived of a single one of the rights secured to them. Christians should take special care not to endanger the lives of Jews, not to baptize them by force, and not to desecrate their cemeteries. Naturally papal protection was not extended to Jews who plotted against the Christian faith. It was sufficient for the Church to protect them from the excesses of the crusaders, especially since the latter, from the moment they took up the standard of the cross, were themselves placed under the jurisdiction of the Church. The Jews therefore requested the popes to intervene on their behalf: thus *Innocent III ordered the French bishops to take particular care that the crusaders did not harm the Jews. As mentioned, Gregory IX later (1236) accused the crusaders of conspiring to murder the Jews: such a crime committed in the name of sanctity could not be allowed to go unpunished. However, it would appear that these directives were in vain, although it is difficult to assess with any precision the measures relating to the Jews.

The Significance of the Crusades

In the memory of the Jews, the Crusades became the symbol of the opposition between Christianity and Judaism, and the tension aroused by the persecutions was far more severe than that which had existed since the origins of Christianity. The debate ceased to be a theological one, to the extent that this had ever been the case. The Christians saw the Jews as the implacable enemies of their faith and in this climate the *blood libel became widespread. From the 12th century comes the first expression of the idea of a Jewish plot against the Christian world: it was alleged that the Jews had to sacrifice one Christian each year, and held an annual council to decide the site of the sacrifice and the name of the victim. At *Blois in 1171, all members of the Jewish community were burned at the stake following such an accusation, and from the 13th century similar charges were raised in Germany.

The Jewish community found a source of inspiration in the memory of the martyrs. There being no hope of immediate vengeance, the massacre of the innocents was glorified and compared to the sacrifice of Isaac. The suicide of the martyrs was seen as a collective act for the sanctification of the Divine Name. Rather than a bitter memory of cruel affliction, it became an example of true piety and submission to the will of God. For the succeeding generations the martyrs were an object of admiration and even of envy, for they had been the generation whom God had put to the test and they had proved themselves worthy. A man of true faith could achieve no more than to be their equal. It therefore became important for the Jews to cherish the memory of their sacrifice, to retell it, and to be inspired by it. A number of *piyyutim* on the subject were incorporated in the liturgy, especially for the Ninth of *Av. It became customary in Western communities which had been closest to the massacres to recite the prayer of the martyrs, *Av ha-Raḥamim*, on the Sabbath before Shavuot and especially to remember their sacrifice in the fast of the Ninth of Av, which had fallen during the time of the massacres. The period of the counting of the **omer* acquired an especially sorrowful significance.

It was probably this era that gave rise to the custom, originating in Mainz, of reciting in public the deeds of the martyrs on the anniversary of their sacrifice, and recording their names and dates in a **Memorbuch*, which was kept in the synagogue. The most widely known martyrs and the most severely affected communities and regions figured in the *Memorbuecher* of all communities and not only locally. The martyrs became a symbol for the whole people, not just for their own communities; more than simply an object of pride, they became a common ideal in which the whole Jewish community, despite all its humiliations, could find inspiration. Their martyrdom was transformed into victory, for they had defied torture, finding in their faith the necessary strength for preferring death to apostasy. They had chosen death rather than conversion, even though the latter need probably have been only temporary. In their martyrdom lay the very justification of the sufferings of the Jewish people. Spiritual power proved the strongest force of all and the martyrs were seen as a demonstration of the absolute truth of Judaism.

Yet in fact the massacres attendant on the Crusades were far from being the worst persecutions which befell the Jews. The communities destroyed in the Rhine valley were quickly reestablished: Worms, Speyer, Mainz, Cologne, and Treves rapidly regained their former importance. The Jewish community in the kingdom of France proper, or at least in the north, hardly suffered throughout the course of the era. Italy and Spain were almost untouched. In England the royal authorities speedily put an end to local disorders. There is nothing to suggest that during this period the Jews in Western Europe lost their sense of security in the localities where they were living: no great exodus took place in 1096 or in 1146. The majority of those converted by force, at least until the Crusade of the Pastoureaux, were able easily to return to Judaism. It would seem that the actual number of Jews in Western Europe increased in this era and several communities became larger and more populous. For Jewish scholarship the 12th century was one of the most glorious in the West: it was the age of the Tosafists, renowned throughout France and Germany. Personal relationships between Jews and Christians apparently changed little; it was only at the beginning of the 13th century that they took a new turn. It would appear that the Crusades themselves did not play a decisive role in the evolution of the condition of the Jews in Europe. Placed in a larger context, they are only an element in the whole, though a far from negligible one.

At all events, the Crusades revealed the physical danger in which the Jewish communities stood and the impotence of their ecclesiastical protectors to defend them. On the outbreak of an actual attack, they pushed the Jews into the arms of the only powers capable of protecting them: duke, king, or emperor, and these secular protectors considered that they had a duty to protect the Jews only to the extent that they derived some benefit from them. The Crusades also encouraged the Jews to move to the fortified cities, where they would be less vulnerable in the event of an attack. The reactions on Jewish economic life were in their way disastrous. The former unique position of the Jews as intermediaries between East and West was undermined; henceforth, it was commonplace for western merchants to travel backward and forward between the two worlds, while at the same time the stimulation of religious fanaticism made the path of the Jewish merchant more dangerous. Hence it was the Crusades which marked the end of the heyday – at one time quasi-monopoly – of the international Jewish merchant. At the same time, they gave a stimulus *ipso facto* to the economic degradation of the Jew and his transformation, so far as Western Europe was concerned, into the recognized moneylender of the Christian world (see *moneylending). Partly this was due to the imperative necessity of finding a new outlet for their capital; partly to the increased demands on the part of the crusaders for ready cash to equip themselves and to carry with them on their travels. From now on therefore the Jewish moneylender became the typical Jewish figure of the Western European scene.

The Crusades and their attendant degradation were firmly imprinted on the historic consciousness of the Jews. This period became singled out in the popular mind as the start of and explanation for the misfortunes of the Jews, although in fact the excesses were only symptomatic of a process which had already been set in motion earlier. The Crusades marked in various ways a turning point in the history of the Western world, and this was reflected also in Jewish history. Indeed, it is from this point only that the history of the Jews in the Rhineland and Central Europe may be said to acquire continuity: whereas before the general picture has had to be constructed from scattered fragments and documents, henceforth the record is more or less sustained and complete. As in the case to some extent with general historiography, it is only at this period, with the remarkably graphic and moving records of the Rhineland massacres in 1096, that consistent Jewish *historiography, or at least chronography, begins to be preserved, even though there are fragmentary records written earlier. The history that now unfolded was predominantly a tragic one. Whereas in European Jewish history before this date episodes of violence and persecution are occasionally known, there now began a period of intermittently recurring massacre and persecution which colored European Jewish experience for centuries to come. The heightened religiosity of the age resulted in the sharpening of the system of anti-Jewish discrimination and of Jewish humiliation, culminating in the legislation of the Fourth *Lateran Council of 1215. The chronicles of *Solomon b. Samson, *Eliezer b. Nathan of Mainz, *Ephraim b. Jacob of Bonn, *Eleazar b. Judah of Worms, and many other whose names are not known, described the events of the Crusades, the scenes of the massacres, and the martyrs. They are also to be regarded as basic sources from which statistical accounts of the Crusades must start. Through capturing these events they magnified their significance, but thereby furnished an ideal of conduct which was constantly recalled to mind whenever severe persecutions befell the Jews.

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[Simon R. Schwarzfuchs]

CRYPTO-JEWS, persons who while secretly remaining faithful to Judaism practiced another religion which they or their ancestors were forced to accept. Groups of Crypto-Jews came into existence after the forced conversions under the *Visigoths in Spain (7th century) and the *Almohads in North Africa and Spain (12th century). Other such groups were the *neofiti* in southern Italy from the end of the 13th to the 16th century, the *Conversos or *Marranos (Heb. **anusim*) in Spain after the persecutions of 1391 and the expulsion of 1492, as well as in Portugal after 1497. In Majorca these Jewish converts were known as the *Chuetas. A group coerced to adopt Islam were the *Jadīd al-Islām in *Meshed, Persia, in the 19th century. A different type of Crypto-Jew were the members of the *Doenmeh sect in Turkey and Salonika.

CRYSTAL, BILLY (1947–), U.S. actor. Born in New York, Crystal studied film and television direction under Martin Scorsese at New York University. He became known to television viewers as Jodie Dallas, the young homosexual in *Soap*, the satiric take-off on the soap opera genre (1977). In fact, Crystal made history by playing television's first openly gay character.

As a stand-up comedian on the comedy circuit, Crystal became famous for his Fernando Lamas and Sammy Davis Jr. impersonations. In 1984 he joined the cast of *Saturday Night Live*. Although he spent only one year with the show, he was one of the most popular members of the cast and was nominated for an Emmy for Best Individual Performance.

Crystal graduated to feature film work and built up a steady following with roles in *This Is Spinal Tap* (1984), *Running Scared* (1986), *The Princess Bride* (1987), *Throw Momma from the Train* (1987), and *Memories of Me* (1988), which Crystal co-scripted and co-produced with Alan *King. Crystal then catapulted to star status in the hugely popular *When Harry Met Sally* (1989), and he followed this with the equally successful *City Slickers* (1990). His next film was *Mr. Saturday Night* (1992), which he also directed. Subsequent films included *City Slickers II*, which he wrote (1994); *Forget Paris,* which he wrote and directed (1995); *Father's Day* (1997); *Deconstructing Harry* (1997); *My Giant* (1998); *Analyze This* (1999); *America's Sweethearts,* which he wrote (2001); and *Analyze That* (2002).

Crystal was the host of the annual Academy Award presentations in Hollywood from 1990 to 1993 as well as in 1997, 1998, 2000, and 2004. Widely acclaimed for his writing and performing talents, Crystal has won five Emmys and five American Comedy Awards, among many other honors and nominations. Crystal wrote *Absolutely Mahvelous* (with Dick Schaap, 1986), and the children's book *I Already Know I Love You* (2004).

[Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

CSERGŐ, HUGO (1877–1944), Hungarian author and journalist. Csergő, who headed the Budapest social welfare department, was also a prominent Jewish community official. His works include *Versek* ("Poems," 1904) and the drama, *Az első hajnal* ("The First Dawn," 1923), but he is best remembered as editor of the anthology, *Száz év magyar zsidó kőltői* ("Hungarian Jewish Poets of the Last Century," 1943). He died following deportation.

CSERMELY, GYULA (1869–1939), Hungarian author. Csermely abandoned his law practice to write novels, plays, and short stories. Many of these have Jewish settings and deal with the conflict of the generations and the damaging effects of assimilation. They include *Ami két Miatyánk között van* ("Between Two 'Lord's Prayers,'" 1925), *Juda ben Tábbaj kulcsa* ("The Key of Judah ben Tabbai," 1927), and *Szent védekezés* ("Holy Defense," 1938).

CSUPO, GABOR (1952–), U.S. cartoon animator; founders/co-chair with Arlene Klasky, of Klasky Csupo. Csupo, born in Budapest, Hungary, learned animation at Pannonia Studio. He escaped Communist Hungary in 1975 and made his way to Stockholm, where he met Arlene Klasky. A graduate of California Institute of the Arts, Klasky worked as a designer for record labels such as A&M Records, served as a magazine and advertising art director, and then moved to special effects and graphics for film. The couple relocated to Los Angeles and formed Klasky Csupo, Inc. in 1982. In 1988, James L. Brooks awarded the company the job of animating *The Simpsons* for Fox's *The Tracey Ulman Show*. Klasky Csupo, Inc. subsequently created such animated shows as *Rugrats* (1991), a cartoon told from a child's point of view, *Duckman* (1994), *The Wild Thornberrys* (1998), and *As Told by Ginger* (2000). *Rugrats* features Passover and Hanukkah episodes and its Jewish main character, Tommy Pickles, is based on Klasky's experiences with his sons Brandon and Jarrett. Feature films included *The Rugrats Movie* (1998), *Rugrats in Paris* (2000), *The Wild Thornberrys Movie* (2002), and the crossover film *Rugrats Go Wild!* (2003).

[Adam Wills (2nd ed.)]

CTESIPHON, in ancient times a city on the west bank of the Tigris, opposite the Hellenistic city of Seleucia, 25 mi. (40 km.) S.E. of modern Baghdad. Though greatly influenced by its Hellenistic origins Ctesiphon was basically a Persian city. A large Jewish community resided there and the town also served as a commercial center for the Jews of the surrounding area. When the Jews of Seleucia were persecuted about 41 B.C.E., they were able to take refuge in Ctesiphon (Jos., Ant., 18:374ff.) and when the city was taken by Carus in 283 C.E., it was found to have a large Jewish community (T. Noeldeke (tr. and ed.), *Geschichte der Perser und Araber… des Tabari* (1879), 49, n. 1). The Talmud (Yoma 10a) identifies Ctesiphon with the biblical Resen and the Targum Pseudo-Jonathan equates the city with Calneh (Gen. 10:10, 12). The *amoraim* *Ḥiyya b. Abba and Rabba b. Ḥiyya resided in Ctesiphon, both being termed "Ketosefa'ah" ("resident of Ctesiphon," Beẓah 38b; Yev. 104a; BB 93b). For commercial and legal purposes Ctesiphon was considered as a part of Bet-Ardeshir which controlled the other bank of the Tigris. This is illustrated by the fact that the inhabitants of Bet-Ardeshir were authorized to certify the signatures on bills of divorce from Ctesiphon, but not vice versa. For purpose of **eruv teḥumin* the two cities were considered one, and carrying between them was permitted (Eruv. 57b). The Arab conquest of Ctesiphon (637 C.E.) ended the city's growth, and the founding of Baghdad (762) brought about its total ruin.

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[Abraham Schalit]

CUBA, archipelago of islands consisting of Cuba, Isla de Pinos, and 1,600 smaller islands; population (2004) 11,300,000; Jewish population (2004) approximately 1,200.

The Colonial Period

Columbus discovered Cuba during his first voyage (1492). His interpreter, Luis de *Torres, was the first converted Jew to set foot in America. He was sent to explore the island and discovered the tobacco leaves smoked by the indigenous people. After the occupation of Cuba by Spain (1508–11), converted Jewish women were forcibly sent there as wives for the settlers. In 1518 the immigration of *New Christians to the Indies was banned, but the local authorities disregarded the new laws, since many of the colonists abandoned the Caribbeans for the rich empires in *Mexico and *Peru. Cuba became a marginal colony in the Spanish empire, growing cattle, tobacco, and sugar, and living on contraband trade. *Havana, however, was chosen as the assembly point of the treasure caravans on their way back to Spain, becoming a cosmopolitan port with merchants from different countries and different faiths. The local officials were more interested in their personal profits than in the economic interests of the Spanish crown, and overlooked the entrance of heretics. It is believed that Jews were present among the buccaneers that raided the island as well as among the merchants who traded with it. Groups of Jews fleeing from Dutch Brazil following the Portuguese reconquest (1654) settled in Cuba, concealing their religious identity.

Cuban historians mention the presence of converted Jews among the early producers of sugar as well as among Spanish officials, but there is little evidence for the existence of *Crypto-Jews, since there was no tribunal of the *Inquisition in Cuba. During the 16th century Cuba belonged to the jurisdiction of New Spain (Mexico), but in 1610 was transferred to that of the newly erected Inquisition in Cartagena (*Colombia). At least 15 judaizers from Havana were sent to Cartagena for trial during the 17th and 18th centuries, the first being Francisco Gómez de León, whose death sentence in 1613 was commuted to life imprisonment. With time, however, the Crypto-Jews were totally assimilated into the Catholic population, leaving only sporadic memories of Jewish ancestry among the oligarchic families.

The admission of Jews to Cuba was officially prohibited until the fall of the Spanish empire (1898). Nevertheless, a few Jews from the Caribbeans, especially *Curaçao, settled in the island during the 19th century, concealing their Judaism. A few Jews were involved in Cuba's struggle for independence, such as Louis Schlesinger, a Hungarian Jew who participated in the military expedition of Narciso López (1851). According to Jewish sources (which are not accepted by Cuban historians), General Carlos Roloff, one of the heroes of the Ten Years War (1868–78), was a Polish Jew. José Martí, the greatest leader of the Cuban people, had a friendly attitude towards the Jews, which was manifested in his writings. His Revolutionary Cuban Party (1892) received contributions from the Jews in Key West (Florida). Joseph Steinberg was decorated as captain of the Cuban Army of Liberation and was among the first Jews who settled in Cuba after the Spanish-American War (1898).

The Republican Period (1902–1958)

THE LEGAL STATUS. The legal basis for Jewish existence was established under the U.S. Military Occupation (1898–1902), which granted freedom of religion and implemented the American immigration laws. The Cuban population was generally indifferent to religious questions and tended to identify the Church hierarchy with Spanish colonialism. The first constitution of the Republic (1902) introduced the principles of religious freedom and separation of church and state. Cuba maintained an open door immigration policy until the revolution of 1933, which adopted discriminatory legislation against aliens. The revolutionary government of Grau San Martín (1933) passed a law that at least 50% of the workers in each establishment must be Cuban natives and new jobs were to be given only to Cubans. The Law of Nationalization of Labor was included in the 1940 constitution and was the basis for Cuba's immigration policy during the Holocaust. Since only persons who could prove their financial independence were granted immigration visas, the admission of refugees was made possible only within the margins of the law, as tourists or passengers in transition. In April 1942 President Fulgencio Batista prohibited further immigration from Nazi-occupied countries, but granted the refugees who were already in Cuba the right of legal residence until the end of the war. By the end of World War II almost all the Jews who remained to live in Cuba had been naturalized, enjoying legal equality with the rest of the Cuban population.

FORMATION AND INSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT. *American Jews.* The first Jewish immigrants arrived in Cuba from the United States during the military occupation (1899–1902) and following the foundation of the Cuban Republic (1902). At that time American firms were deeply involved in the development of the sugar industry and in exporting consumer products to Cuba. A small group, of about 100 Jewish families, formed part of the large colony of American businessmen that was established in Cuba. In 1906 they founded the first Jewish organization – the United Hebrew Congregation (UHC) – with the objective of acquiring land for a Jewish cemetery. Among the founders were Maurice Schechter (a nephew of Solomon *Schechter), John Zoller and Louis Djurick (who were born in Romania), and Manuel Hadida (from Algiers). The UHC organized services for the High Holidays, and in the 1920s established a Reform synagogue. In 1917 the women founded the charitable Ezra Society, whose leading philanthropist was Jeanette Schechter. The American Jewish community, estimated in 1925 at around 300 persons, was mostly affluent, and charity was directed to less privileged groups, especially among the Jewish immigrants from Eastern Europe. In 1927 the American Jewish women founded the Menorah Sisterhood as an auxiliary of the UHC, which was responsible for religious life and conducted a Sunday School.

Sephardi Jews. The *Sephardim, most of whom came from European Turkey, were the second Jewish group. Their immigration started prior to World War I and continued throughout the 1920s. Attracted by the Spanish language, which resembled their native *Ladino, they worked as itinerant peddlers selling their goods throughout the island, following the expansion of the sugar industry. In 1914 the Sephardi Jews established a community organization called Unión Hebrea Shevet Aḥim, with the objective of supplying all their religious and social needs. Among the founders were Moise Bensignor, Víctor Atún, and Samuel Amon. The Sephardim used the Jewish cemetery owned by the UHC, until they were able to purchase their own cemetery in 1942. Apart from that, there was little contact between these Jewish groups, who came from different backgrounds and belonged to different social strata. In 1918 Shevet Aḥim formed two auxiliaries: Bikkur Ḥolim, which cared for the sick and was responsible for burials, and the women's charity – La Buena Voluntad. Rabbi Guershon Maya, who immigrated from Silivri (Turkey), acted as the spiritual leader of the Sephardim (1923–52).

Sephardi immigration increased after World War I, as a result of the disintegration of the Ottoman Empire. The newcomers were assisted by Shevet Aḥim, as well as by informal Sephardi networks of social help, especially in the rural areas. During the 1920s several Sephardi communities were established in the provincial towns with local cemeteries and synagogues: Camagüey and Holguin (1921); Santiago de Cuba, Ciego de Avila, Camajuani, and Manzanillo (1924); Banes (1926); Matanzas (1928); Santa Clara, Colon, and Guantánamo (1929); and Artemisa (1930). In 1924 it was estimated that the Sephardim numbered 4,000 persons – 1,500 of them in Havana.

Ashkenazi Jews. The aftermath of World War I brought over to Cuba the third – and largest – Jewish group. Immigration from Eastern Europe began in 1920–21 as a result of restrictive U.S. immigration policy. Deluded by travel agents with the promise that subsequent voyage to the land of their dreams would be easy, immigrants viewed Cuba as a transit point on their way to the United States. Most of the immigrants who arrived between 1920 and 1923 had left Cuba by 1925. But as a result of the stiffening of U.S. immigration laws in 1924, thousands of immigrants found themselves compelled to stay in Cuba. It is estimated that between 1921 and 1930, 17,700 Jews from Eastern Europe entered Cuba, but only 50% remained on the island. The arrival of the destitute immigrants coincided with the collapse of sugar prices that shattered the Cuban economy. UHC and the Ezra Society did their utmost to supply food and shelter to their hungry and helpless Ashkenazi brethren, but in view of the growing influx of refugees, they called on Jewish welfare organizations in the United States to intervene on their behalf. From the end of 1921 *HIAS maintained its representative in Havana, and in 1922–23 the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (JDC) added its support. Their intention was to alleviate the difficult conditions in Havana, but also to prevent further immigration, since they did not consider Cuba as a desirable destination or transit station. The Quota Act of 1924, however, convinced the American Jewish welfare agencies that passage from Cuba to the United States was ultimately blocked, and they decided to develop a program that would facilitate Jewish settlement in Cuba and prevent illegal entry into the United States. In 1925 HIAS, in conjunction with the National Council of Jewish Women, established the Jewish Committee for Cuba. Later this body, whose center was in New York, was joined by the Emergency Refugee Committee. The Jewish Community for Cuba (JCC) assisted individual Jews to establish themselves in small business, particularly in workshops for shoes and garments. In addition, it was active in shaping local organizations, with the objective of creating a self-supporting community.

The JCC decided to turn the Centro Israelita – an organization that was founded by the immigrants in 1925 – into the central organ of the Jewish community. Led by David *Blis, Fiodor Valbe, Ben Dizik, and others, the Centro Israelita centralized a diversified range of actvities: aside from welfare assistance to immigrants, a clinic, a library, an evening language school, a student center, and a drama club. The Centro Israelita assisted in the establishment of other institutions, such as the religious Adath Israel organization (1925), the Unión Sionista (1924), and the Froyen Fareyn (1925). In the late 1920s, however, the JCC suspended its support, curtailing the activities of the Centro Israelita and causing the decentralization of the Ashkenazi sector. The Centro Israelita continued to represent the Jewish community vis-à-vis the authorities in matters of immigration, but it failed in its endeavor to become the Ashkenazi *Kehillah* – an objective that was achieved in the 1950s by the Patronato.

The religious services in the Ashkenazi sector were provided by Adath Israel, founded in 1925 by a group of Orthodox Jews who established a small synagogue in Old Havana. A rival synagogue – Knesset Israel – was established on the same street with Rabbi Zvi Kaplan as its spiritual leader (1929–39). Rabbi David Rafalín served in Adath Israel, until his immigration to Mexico (1932), where he became the spiritual leader of Nidjei Israel. Adath Israel, however, remained the central religious organization of the East European sector, with a Talmud Torah and a Chevra Kadisha.

The two major welfare institutions of the Ashkenazi sector were the Froyen Fareyn and the Anti-Tuberculosis and Mentally Ill Committee. Their functions reflect the difficult conditions of the immigrants, who suffered from diseases caused by poverty and difficulties of adaptation. The Women's Association established the Meidl Hey – a shelter for young women who arrived in Cuba alone and needed protection. Later it was converted into the Kinder Heym, where orphans or poor children of working mothers found asylum. In 1937, when poverty was less acute, the women founded the Ley Kasse – a loan fund that assisted small businessmen who needed credit.

ECONOMIC ADAPTATION AND CUBAN POLITICS. The Jewish upper class in Cuba was classified as American since most of its members were U.S. citizens who belonged to the UHC. Enjoying the tight economic relations between Cuba and the United States, they imported consumer goods, worked as high officials in American sugar companies and banks, or owned fashionable stores in the center of Havana. They resided in the fancy neighborhoods of Vedado and Miramar and adopted the way of life of the local American colony.

There were cases of rich Jews who did not belong to the Jewish community, married Catholic women, and assimilated into the Cuban bourgeoisie. One of them was Frank Steinhardt (1864–1938), who was born in Munich (Germany), immigrated to the United States, enlisted in the army, and was a sergeant during the war in Cuba. He became a successful businessman, served as U.S. consul general (1902–07), and became the owner of the Electric Railway Company in Havana.

A few of the early Sephardi immigrants were successful businessmen, like the fruit dealer Alejandro Rossich (Gabriel Cohen) from Macedonia. The majority, however, started as poor peddlers distributing consumer goods to the lower strata of the population, particularly in the provincial towns and around the sugar centers, where retail trade was scarce. Those who succeeded opened their own stores and supplied merchandise on credit to other peddlers. Though maintaining good relations with their Cuban neighbors, the Sephardim did not engage in Cuban politics. An exceptional case is that of Roberto Namer, born in Aleppo and resident of Holguin, who was appointed Cuban consul in Palestine in 1935.

Many of the Ashkenazi immigrants arrived from small shtetls in Poland, destitute, unskilled and with poor education, after having suffered the consequences of World War I. They crowded together in Old Havana in cheap hotels near the red light district of the port. According to the survey of Harry Viteles (1925), which served as the basis for the activities of the JCC, a few hundred Jews were engaged as day laborers in the construction of railroads, in the sugar centers, or on the docks. Most of them, however, were unable to cope with the physical hardships or to compete with the local cheap laborers.

Many of the early immigrants became peddlers, especially of cheap ware such as haberdashery and eskimo pie (ice-cream bars), or catered to tourists as street photographers and souvenir vendors. Among the Ashkenazim peddling was perceived as a temporary job, while waiting for an American visa, and most street vendors remained in Havana where competition was great. The retail trade in Cuba was dominated by the Spaniards, who saw the Jews as unfair rivals. Due to their influence the municipal authorities of Havana imposed heavy taxes on peddling permits and increased their control of illegal trade. In 1925 it was estimated that there were 500 East European peddlers in Havana and 300 in the interior. By 1933 there were only 150 in Havana. In addition to external pressure, the decision to remain in Cuba motivated peddlers to open a permanent business.

The economic crises that hit Cuba from 1920 on increased the demand for cheap local production that would compete with the expensive merchandise imported under the protection of the Reciprocity Treaty with the United States. Using their experience as shoemakers and tailors, East European immigrants started to produce shoes, underwear, and men's suits, especially for the lower classes. With the help of the JCC they acquired sewing machines and other working tools, opening workshops in the commercial center of Old Havana, where they employed other Jews. Morris Lewis, the director of the JCC, estimated in 1927 that there were between 1,500 and 2,000 Jewish workers in the sweatshops of Old Havana, working for low wages in the same difficult conditions that had existed in New York 25 years before.

The conflicting interests of the small entrepreneurs and their workers had an impact on political developments among the Ashkenazi Jews, especially in respect to the evolution of the Communists. The Jewish Communists established the Sección Hebrea in 1924, but with the foundation of the Cuban Communist Party (August 1925) gave up their separate organization. Three out of the ten founders of the party were Jews: Yoshke Grimberg, Avraham Simchovich (Fabio *Grobart), and Felix Gurvich. In 1926 they founded the Kultur Fareyn in order to attract Jewish workers to their banner. The rich cultural program, which included anti-religious parties on the eve of the Day of Atonement, became very popular in the Jewish neighborhood. The small, militant Communist group that led the Kultur Fareyn opened a cooperative restaurant that served as a secret meeting place for the party's activists. The Cuban CP was persecuted brutally by the government of Gerardo Machado (1924–33), especially from 1928, when the regime turned into a dictatorship. One of the first Communist victims was Noske Yalomb, a young Jewish worker from White Russia, whose body was found in Havana Bay. Four other Jews were murdered by the police between 1930 and 1933. Many others were expelled from Cuba as undesirable aliens, including the two Communist leaders Yoshke Grimberg and Chone Chazan. Grobart, who under the name of Simchovich was one of the founders of the party, returned secretly to Cuba after his expulsion, to become the liaison between the Komintern and the Cuban CP. In 1931 the Kultur Fareyn was closed by the authorities and its members were tried for revolutionary activity. In 1934 the organization was revived as the Yidishe Gezelshaft far Kunst un Kultur, but its cultural activities did not achieve their former popularity due to the decline of the Jewish working class after the 1933 revolution.

The 1933 revolution was based on a nationalist ideology directed against the domination of aliens in the domestic economy, combined with a struggle against the dictatorship and the corruption of the governing classes. The tremendous unemployment and the deplorable economic situation gave rise to an atmosphere of xenophobia. The slogan of President Grau San Martín was "Cuba for the Cubans." His decree that at least 50% of all workers should be native Cubans and that new jobs would be open only to Cubans became the symbol of the revolution. The political upheavals of 1933–34 were followed by the collapse of the revolutionary government and the intervention of the army, headed by Fulgencio Batista y Záldivar, who became the chief of staff and the strongman of Cuba (1934–40). Batista started to gain power through the repression of opposition. Among the victims of that period was Haim Grinstein, a member of the underground Joven Cuba group, who was sentenced to death by a court martial (1935). A few Jewish labor activists were imprisoned or went into exile. Moises Raigor (1914–36), son of the Yiddish printer Avraham Raigorodski, was a member of a cell of young Jewish Communists and became a leader in the Left Wing Students' Organization. After his release from imprisonment he joined the International Brigades and was killed in the Spanish Civil War.

In 1937 Batista started to build his image as a democratic leader by supporting the Spanish Republic and legalizing the CP. At the same time he adopted the banner of the Cuban revolutionary movement – the Law of Nationalization of Labor. This law restricted the rights of aliens to be wage earners, but encouraged them to engage in free enterprise that would create new jobs for Cubans. The discrimination against the Jews accelerated the process of deproletarization, since workers who were pushed out of the working class became self-employed or founded cooperatives with other associates. By 1944 there were only between 200 and 300 Jewish workers in Havana.

ANTISEMITISM AND THE REFUGEE PROBLEM. Until 1933 antisemitism was a marginal phenomenon in Cuba. The impact of the Catholic Church, and hence of religious antisemitism, was limited to the upper classes, who inherited Spanish colonial values. For the majority of the population, the *judíos* were diabolical mythical creatures who belonged to the realm of superstition, not to be associated with the immigrants from Eastern Europe whom they classified as *polacos* (Poles). Under Machado Jewish Communists were persecuted, but the Jewish community was not considered responsible for their acts. During the revolutionary period, apart from a few sporadic manifestations of anti-Jewish feeling, the Jews suffered the consequences of political agitation and anarchy together with the rest of the population.

The emergence of antisemitism was connected to the crisis of the Spanish minority after the 1933 revolution as well as with the rise of Nazi Germany. The Spaniards had enjoyed a privileged position in Cuba, and saw themselves displaced by the Jews from their traditional dominance in trade and light industry. Their classification as aliens by the revolutionary government gave rise to a wave of attacks against the Jews based on religious anti-Jewish arguments as well as on concepts of modern antisemitism. At the same time, Nazi Germany inundated Cuba with antisemitic propaganda, finding fertile ground among upper-class Spaniards who were influenced by right-wing elements in their homeland. During the Spanish Civil War the lower-class immigrants from Spain sided with the Republic together with the majority of the Cuban population, which identified the nationalist forces with their oppressors during the colonial era. The upper-class Spaniards, however, identified with Franco, establishing a Cuban branch of the Spanish Falange. Their leader was José Ignacio Rivero, editor of the influential newspaper *Diario de la Marina*, which became the most important organ in diffusing antisemitic propaganda from Nazi sources. The fierce anti-Jewish attacks had an impact on the problem of the Jewish refugees.

The refugees from Europe, who managed to slip in despite severe immigration laws and whose overall number in the years 1933–44 was estimated at about 10,000–12,000 (about 50% from Germany and Austria and the remainder from Poland and other countries), left Cuba, for the most part, after a few years. According to an estimate, in 1949, only 15% of them remained there. After World War II Jews did not reach Cuba in large numbers. The first refugees came from the United States in 1937 for a short stay, in order to obtain American immigration visas. They were aided by the JDC, which for this purpose founded the Joint Relief Committee in Havana. The number of refugees who came directly from Europe reached considerable proportions following the annexation of Austria (March 1938) and especially after *Kristallnacht* (November 1938). At that time the German quota for the U.S. consulate in Havana was cut drastically, and refugees were forced to remain in Cuba. Refugees had obtained entry permits using loopholes in Cuba's immigration laws, in semi-official arrangements based on graft. The sale of entry permits to the Jewish refugees was complicated by internal political conflicts between President Federico Laredo Bru and the military circle around Chief of Staff Batista, which reached its peak in the famous incident of the *Saint Louis*. The voyage of the Hapag Company's luxury liner *Saint Louis* was engineered by the German Ministry of Propaganda as proof that Jews were permitted to leave the Reich, but that democratic countries refused to admit them. A sustained anti-Jewish campaign was organized and financed by local and foreign Nazi elements in collusion with the German embassy. The Government of Laredo Bru invalidated the entry permits held by most refugees before the ship sailed from Hamburg, and it interpreted the arrival of the German ship as a violation of its laws. Disagreements between the president and Batista complicated the situation, but the direct victims of internal and international conflicts were the 936 Jewish refugees who, upon reaching Cuba on May 27, 1939, aboard the *Saint Louis*, were barred from entry and forced to return to Europe, in spite of the efforts of the JDC to reach an agreement. Four countries in Europe consented to admit the refugees to prevent their return to Germany – France, Belgium, Holland, and England. Unfortunately, only the fourth group was saved. Following the invasion of Western Europe many of the passengers who found refuge in France, Belgium, and Holland were deported to extermination camps, and the story of the *Saint Louis* became a symbol of the fate of the refugees.

The administration of Laredo Bru closed the gates of Cuba on the eve of World War II, but they were reopened when Batista was elected president (1940). Between 5,000 and 6,000 refugees were able to enter Cuba from October 1940 until April 1942. Many of them had fled from Western Europe after the German invasion. Like their predecessors, they were not allowed to work, and they depended on the assistance of the JDC or became self-employed in small industry or trade. The most important contribution of the refugees to the Cuban economy was the establishment of diamond workshops by immigrants from Antwerp (Belgium) that prospered during the war years and provided employment to Cuban workers as well as to the local Jews. In 1943 it was estimated that at least 1,200 workers and 100 proprietors worked in the diamond industry.

In December 1941 Cuba declared war against the Axis and in April 1942 President Batista prohibited further entry of passengers from Nazi-occupied countries, but at the same time granted the refugees permission to remain in Cuba until the end of the war. The passengers of two ships, *São Tomé* and *Guiné,* were refused landing, but the diplomatic representatives of England and other Allied countries pressed President Batista to avoid a repeat of the *Saint Louis* incident, and the 450 refugees remained detained in the immigrant camp of Tiscornia for eight months, before they were released.

The refugees from Germany and Austria founded the Asociación Democrática de Refugiados Hebreos (1941) and the Belgians established the Asociación de Refugiados Hebreos (1942). Since German spies entered Cuba disguised as Jewish refugees, these organizations fulfilled an essential function in identifying their members as authentic Jews who as victims of Nazism defended the Allied cause.

Political threats and antisemitic attacks were correlated with the attempts of the Jewish community to establish a central organization. At first, the Jewish community did not present a united front. Moderate factions, e.g., Americans and heads of the Centro Israelita, feared that large-scale Jewish action might be interpreted as disrupting public affairs and might thus evoke police repression. Nevertheless, a certain amount of community cooperation was obtained during the 1930s through the following institutions: The Federación Israelita de Cuba (1932); Comité Intersocial (1932–35), collaborating with the Comisión Jurídica (1933–34); among its functions was the liberation of Jews imprisoned during the political disturbances; Jewish Committee of Cuba (1935–36), in which Sephardim, Ashkenazim, and Americans collaborated. The Jewish Chamber of Commerce assumed the defense against antisemitism and represented the community on official occasions (between 1936–39). Only during the *Saint Louis* incident, when the antisemitic propaganda threatened their existence, did Cuban Jews finally reach accord. The Comité Central was organized in 1939, comprising all sectors of the community, and was recognized as its representative organ by the Cuban authorities. It joined forces with anti-Fascist bodies and supported the Allies in World War II. Antisemitism, however, started to decline shortly after the foundation of the Comité Central, since the German agents who instigated the anti-Jewish campaign left the island. After the outbreak of World War II propaganda of totalitarian countries was prohibited by law. The anti-Jewish activities practically disappeared by the time of the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor. On December 9, 1942, when news on the extermination of the Jews in Europe reached Cuba, the Senate approved a resolution condemning the persecution of the "Hebrew race" by the German government.

After World War II there were rare manifestations of social discrimination against Jews, but on the whole antisemitism did not strike roots in the Cuban population.

EDUCATION AND CULTURE. The Jewish day schools in Havana were part of a large network of private schools that served different ethnic groups as well as the middle and upper classes. The only complementary Jewish school was the Sunday School of the UHC, which provided religious education for the American children who studied in prestigious private schools.

The first Jewish day school in Havana, Teodoro Herzl, was founded by the Sephardi community Shevet Aḥim in 1924. The leading force behind it was Ezra Behar, who expressed his educational principles in *Fundamentos de la moral hebrea* (1930). The school's orientation was a combination of religious tradition with a Zionist spirit.

The largest Jewish day school was founded by the Centro Israelita under the auspices of the JCC in 1927. At that time, the policy of the school was to help Jewish children in their process of integration. Parents discovered that acculturation could lead to assimilation, and they showed a growing concern about the content of the Jewish heritage transmitted in the school. Until 1939 the Yiddish school was part of the Centro Israelita, but a series of organizational and financial crises resulted in its reconstitution as the Autonomous School affiliated with the Centro Israelita (Oitonome Shul Beim Yiddishn Zenter). The director of the Autonomous School, Eliahu Eliovich, was considered a Bundist, but the school aimed to serve the entire Ashkenazi sector and to preserve its apolitical character by compromising among the conflicting political views. Emphasis was placed on the study of Yiddish and Jewish history, with a secular interpretation of the Jewish tradition. After World War II, and especially after the establishment of the State of Israel, the school became openly Zionist. In the 1950s the Centro Israelita ceased to exist, but the Autonomous School opened a high school (1954) and remained the central Jewish school.

A private Jewish school was founded in 1935 by Joseph Abrami, a Hebrew teacher who withdrew from the school of the Centro Israelita in protest against the domination of Yiddish. Abrami, a declared Zionist, opened the Yavneh Hebrew school, which operated until 1945. In 1940 left-wing elements, led by the Communist group, opened the Sholem Aleichem Shule – a Yiddish school for the working class. It was closed in 1949 together with other Communist organizations. The religious sector reopened a Jewish school following the fusion of Adath Israel and Knesset Israel in 1948. Rabbi Meir Rosenbaum, appointed spiritual leader of the new organization, Achdut Israel, founded the Orthodox school Taḥkemoni, which combined modern and religious education. Among the central figures in Jewish education was Ida Glazer de Castiel, a graduate of Havana University, founder of the Modern Jewish School (1944), who published several articles in the Jewish press with the objective of modernizing the Jewish school system. David Pérez, a teacher in the Sephardi school, left his imprint on Jewish education with the *preparatoria* – training courses for admission to high school that encouraged children, particularly in the Sephardi sector, to continue their studies.

The first Jewish university students founded the *Circulo de Estudiantes Hebreos* in 1928 with the aim of creating a bridge between the Jewish and Cuban cultures. The students published the first Jewish periodical in Spanish, *El Estudiante Hebreo* (1929–31), but all their activities were suspended when Machado closed the University of Havana. This periodical, however, is one of the few sources that records the ideological development of the Sephardi sector.

While the American and Sephardi communities conducted their social and cultural life inside their closed circles, the East European Jews left considerable written records on their cultural activities. In the 1920s immigrants showed a strong inclination toward the theater, literary evenings, and "literary trials." In 1927 the first Jewish book was published in Cuba – the poetry of N.D. Korman, *Oyf Indzler Erd*. A year later the poet Eliezer Aronowski (1904–85) published the book *Kubaner Lieder*. Aronowski became the most prolific Yiddish poet in Cuba, accompanying in his writings all the historical events in Cuban Jewish life. His last book, *Kuba*, was published in 1983, shortly after his emigration from the island. Aronowski and I.A. Pinis devoted poems not only to Jewish subjects, but also to the heroes of Cuban history. Avraham I. Dubelman wrote short novels describing the life of the immigrants. His first anthology, *Oyf Kubaner Erd*, appeared in 1935. Other prose writers were Pinchas Berniker, Avraham Weinstein, I.B. Mankelkern, and Osher Schuchinski. Among the few books written in Spanish was the poetry of Sonia Winer, *Compañeras*.

A considerable part of this literary work was published in the Jewish press. The *Havaner Lebn Almanaque* of 1943 lists the titles of 59 journals and periodicals that were published in Cuba – 11 in Spanish (four of the Sephardi community), four in German (by refugees), and 44 in Yiddish. Among the more important periodicals were *Oyfgang* (1927–30), organ of the Centro Israelita in its heyday; *Dos Idishe Vort* (1933–35), edited by David Utiansky with a pro-Communist orientation; and *Kubaner Yiddisher Vort* (1942–50), the organ of the Jewish Communists. The central newspaper of the Yiddish-speaking Cuban Jews was the *Havaner Leben-Vida Habanera* (1932–63), edited by Sender *Kaplan, whose content was pro-Zionist and dedicated to general and Jewish news. After World War II the number of publications in Spanish increased and they were directed also to the non-Jewish population. Abraham Marcus Matterín (the librarian of the Patronato between 1953 and 1983) edited a number of periodicals, including *Israelia, Hebraica,* and *Reflejos.* Marco Pitchon, president of B'nai B'rith (founded in 1943), was editor of its organ, *Fragmentos*.

THE ZIONIST MOVEMENT AND RELATIONS WITH ISRAEL. The founder of the Zionist Movement in Cuba was David *Blis who was nicknamed "The Grandfather of the Jewish Community." He settled in Cuba in 1913 and cooperated with Shevet Aḥim in its early Zionist activities, particularly after the *Balfour Declaration. Blis presented a memorandum on the Jewish question to prominent politicians, and thanks to his endeavors the Cuban Senate approved, on April 30, 1919, a resolution in favor of a Jewish National Home in Palestine.

In 1924 a group of East European immigrants founded the Unión Sionista de Cuba. Due to the small number of Zionists and to the constant outgoing migration, the founders decided to unite all Zionists in one organization, regardless of ideological divisions. In comparison with the lively cultural activities of the leftist circles, the beginnings of the Zionist organization were quite poor. Dr. Ariel Ben-Zion, the first emissary of *Keren Hayesod, who arrived in Cuba in 1926, had little confidence in the East European immigrants, and organized a new Zionist committee composed of a few wealthy Jews, mostly from the American sector. Ben Zion also ignored the Zionist leadership of Shevet Aḥim and founded a Cuban branch of a Zionist-Sephardi network that he formed in Latin America called Benei Kedem. This policy proved shortsighted, as both organizations vanished shortly after his departure, leaving those devoted to Zionist ideals without proper communication with the central Zionist offices in Jerusalem.

At first, the Unión Sionista was assisted by the JCC, but after a schism with the Centro Israelita it was reorganized with the cooperation of Shevet Aḥim. The president of the Unión Sionista, Avraham Kamioner (1928–34), came from Poland, but most of the board members were Sephardim. The secretary, José Cohen (Joseph Isaac *Cohen), was a rabbi from Istanbul who immigrated to Cuba from Jerusalem and served as a Hebrew teacher in the Teodoro Herzel school. Cohen conducted the correspondence of the Unión Sionista in Hebrew and published ideological articles in the local Jewish press. In 1934 he left Cuba to serve as rabbi of the Or Veshalom Congregation in Atlanta, Georgia. During its "Sephardi period" the Unión Sionista organized protests against the massacres of 1929 in Eretz Israel and against the immigration policy of the British government. It conducted small campaigns on behalf of the *Jewish National Fund and organized cultural events in Spanish. The East European Jews, however, rejected the religiously oriented Zionism of the Sephardim and the use of Spanish in their functions. New Zionist leaders from Lithuania and Poland founded the *He-Ḥalutz (1932) and *Ha-Shomer ha-Tzair (1933) youth movements with the object of reconstructing the ideological frameworks brought over from their communities of origin. The predominance of Yiddish removed the Sephardim from the common organization, and they founded their own Zionist frameworks, including the Maccabi youth movement (1934).

During the period of the Holocaust, Zionist activities in Cuba, as in other American lands, focused on campaigns on behalf of the Jews who found refuge in Eretz Israel. The tragic situation in their communities of origin, followed by destruction and extermination, increased the readiness of the Jews to contribute generously to the national campaigns, even if they did not adhere ideologically to the Zionist movement. Economic progress, particularly during the war years, increased their ability to give. The Communist group and the Zionists competed for the leadership of the Jewish community. Following the treaty between Hitler and Stalin, the Communists were expelled from the Centro Israelita and founded their own organization – Folks Tzenter. After the invasion of Russia by Nazi Germany, the Communists regained their influence, organizing campaigns on behalf of the Red Army and representing the Jewish community in Cuban anti-Nazi organizations. The Zionist movement, however, increased its influence and became the dominant factor in the Jewish community. The veteran activists, such as Chaim Shiniuk, Raphael Zilber, and Israel Luski, acted under the instructions of the Zionist emissaries sent by the World Zionist Organization. One of the most influential among them was Iosef Tchornitzky from Mexico, who organized the Keren Hayesod campaigns of 1942 and 1943. The local Zionists were also inspired by the refugees from Belgium who found temporary shelter in Cuba during the war. Many of the refugees from Belgium had been born in Poland, and they brought with them their former political and religious beliefs. The Orthodox established their own synagogue, Machazikei Torah, with Rabbi Samuel Alter as their spiritual leader. They organized a small school and a youth movement, Pirchei Agudath Isroel, which operated throughout the war. The Asociación de Refugiados Hebreos of the Belgian Jews opened a Zionist section and a youth movement, Banativ, but they were also accepted as leaders by the veteran Zionists, who admired their higher knowledge as well as their economic success in the diamond industry.

A turning point in the history of Cuban Zionism was the visit of Nathan Bistritski (see Nathan *Agmon), the emissary of the Jewish National Fund to Latin America, who reached Cuba in 1943. Bistritski focused his efforts on the ideological education of all the Jewish sectors, and at the same time established diplomatic contacts among Cuban intellectuals and politicians in order to create favorable public opinion for the foundation of a Jewish State in Palestine after the war. The Comité Cubano Pro Palestina Hebrea (CCPPH) was the first among similar organizations in other Latin American countries, and it was supported by prominent figures, including members of the cabinet, the Congress, and the Senate, from the liberal center to the Communist left. The secretary of the CCPPH was the director of the Office of War Propaganda, Ofelia Domínguez y Navarro, a Communist lawyer who remained a faithful defender of the Zionist cause under Castro's regime. One of the most ardent supporters of the CCPPH was Senator Eduardo Chibás, who passed a resolution that was approved unanimously by the Cuban Senate on October 29, 1945, that "it would view with satisfaction that Palestine, the historical homeland of the Hebrews, be constituted as soon as possible as a Hebrew independent and democratic state."

The solidarity of influential sectors, however, did not alter the decision of President Grau San Martín (1944–48) to oppose the United Nations Resolution on the Partition of Palestine of November 29, 1947, making Cuba the only Latin American state to oppose partition. Grau's decision rested on political considerations, including his bitter conflict with

Senator Chibás. When his successor, Carlos Prío Socarrás, ascended to the presidency, Cuba recognized the State of Israel and in 1951 Sender *Kaplan, editor of the periodical *Havaner Leben,* was named honorary consul, a role that he fulfilled until 1960. Raphael Zilber, one of the oldest Zionist leaders in Cuba, immigrated to Israel and became Cuba's commercial representative. Diplomatic relations between the two countries were established in 1954, with the ambassador in Mexico acting as Israel's representative. Only after the Castro revolution were the consulates converted into legations, and Israel was able to send a resident ambassador to Havana.

Towards the foundation of the State of Israel the Cuban Jewish community experienced an ideological transformation that resulted in the predominance of the Zionist movement. According to Sender Kaplan, the "Zionization" of the community was achieved through the women who founded WIZO in 1942. Organizing different committees of American, Sephardi, Ashkenazi, and refugee Jews, the women became a central factor in the education of the Jewish family. The decline of the Cuban CP during the Cold War had an impact on the Jewish Communists, and many of their longtime sympathizers changed their beliefs and embraced the Zionist cause. In 1947 two groups of Cuban Jews, almost all of them Sephardim, volunteered to fight in the War of Liberation, assisted by *Betar, which was founded in Cuba in 1940. The first group arrived onboard the *Altalena*, and two of its members – Daniel Levy and David Mitrani – were killed. Following the establishment of the State of Israel, the Sephardim founded the Consejo Pro Israel as the Zionist organ of Shevet Aḥim.

Throughout the 1950s participation in Zionist activities became the common denominator of all the Jewish sectors, which followed with zeal the development of the State of Israel. Zionist sources calculated in 1952 that the overall number of Jews in Cuba was 12,000, 7,200 of them Ashkenazim. About 75% were concentrated in Havana, and the rest were dispersed in Santiago de Cuba, Camagüey, Santa Clara, and other towns throughout the island. Only a limited number of Cuban Jews immigrated to Israel following its independence. Most of them were members of Ha-Shomer ha-Tzair who settled in the kibbutzim of Ga'ash (1949) and Devir (1954).

PROSPERITY UNDER BATISTA. The military dictatorship of Fulgencio Batista (1952–58) was a period of political upheaval and violent political repression, but for the small Jewish community it represented the peak of its achievements. Most Jews were integrated economically into the Cuban bourgeoisie and were able to raise their standard of living. The once poor immigrants residing in Old Havana moved into better residential areas, such as Santos Suarez and Vedado, or into the elegant Miramar. The Sephardim were concentrated in the provincial capitals and later moved to Havana, where economic prospects were better and where their children could find a Jewish spouse. Progress was less noticeable among the Sephardim, with a considerable number still engaged in peddling on the eve of the Castro revolution.

A growing number of the immigrants' children – Ashkenazim and Sephardim – studied at the University of Havana and turned to the liberal professions. A group of young intellectuals founded the Agrupación Cultural Hebreo-Cubana to increase understanding between Cubans and Jews. The 1940s and 1950s were a period of great political fermentation among university students, which turned into an open war against the regime of Batista. Jewish students, however, tended to avoid political participation, their integration into Cuban society being in its early stage. Only a small number of Jews took an active part in the Students' Revolutionary Directory or in Castro's 26 of July Movement. Most of them were active in Jewish organizations, such as the Ha-Shomer ha-Tzair and Ha-No'ar ha-Tziyyoni youth movements, or in the social clubs of the different communities.

Unaware of the coming revolution, the Jewish population felt confident of its future in Cuba, and its institutions moved from their rented premises into newly constructed buildings that reflected the prosperity of their members. The Orthodox sector, headed by Rabbi Meir Rosenbaum, tried to create a Kehillah – a united communal organization of the Ashkenazi sector that would rest on a religious base. After a series of conflicts a group of rich businessmen that included Herman Heisler, Leib Hiller, Isaac Gurwitz, and Julio Karity took the initiative and contributed the necessary funds for the construction of the Patronato – a beautiful modern building in Vedado, with the main Ashkenazi synagogue and spacious grounds for social and cultural functions. The Patronato – the House of the Jewish Community – was to become the representative organ of Cuban Jews and the center of all their activities.

The Orthodox Jews of Old Havana built a modern building for Adath Israel, with a large synagogue and a *mikveh*. The Unión Sionista had an old building not far from Old Havana and could not compete with the social services offered by the Patronato. The Sephardim followed the example of the Ashkenazi sector in building a luxurious synagogue in Vedado, but the new Sephardi Center was inaugurated when Castro was already in power. The American community, which celebrated its 50th anniversary in 1956, initiated a building project that never materialized. The American Jews were among the first to leave Cuba after the revolution, returning to the United States, which they considered their homeland.

The Revolutionary Period

THE IMPACT OF CASTRO'S REVOLUTION. The victory of the revolution on January 1, 1959, was welcomed by the Jewish community, which shared the euphoria of the Cuban population, believing that Fidel Castro would put an end to corruption and injustice. The new regime was not prejudiced against the Jews, and the political careers of those who were involved in the downfall of Batista were not hindered by their Jewish origin. The engineer Enrique Oltuski, who coordinated the revolutionary forces in the province of Las Villas, was appointed minister of communications (1959), becoming the first

Jewish member of the cabinet in the history of Cuban Jewry. In spite of ups and downs in his political career, Oltuski served in different governments, until recently as deputy minister of fisheries. Other Jews who were rewarded for their revolutionary actions were Máximo Berman, an activist of the 26 of July Movement, who became minister of commerce. Martin Klein and Victor Sarfati, who were both rebel revolutionaries, attained the rank of captain and colonel in the Armed Forces. The most prominent Jew was Fabio Grobart, the veteran Communist who remained a central figure in the Communist hierarchy. The revolutionary regime treated its Jewish subjects with equity and neither during the revolution nor after its success were any antisemitic attitudes adopted. But, by effecting profound changes in the social, political, and economic structure of the country, the revolution practically destroyed the economic stability of the majority of Cuban Jews.

Nationalization of private business by force, economic privations, and Fidel Castro's open identification with Marxist-Leninist ideology were among the causes of the large-scale emigration of upper- and middle-class Cubans as well as of the Jews.

Out of a Jewish population of about 12,000 before the revolution, in 1965 there remained about 2,500 Jews and in 1970 only about 1,500. In 1989 there were only 892 persons listed as recipients of products for Passover – 635 of them were Jews and 258 were their non-Jewish relatives; 82% of the Jews listed lived in Havana and the rest in provincial towns. The exodus of Cuban Jews, like that of their non-Jewish counterparts, was directed mainly towards *Miami, though many were relocated by HIAS in other cities in the United States or settled in other Latin American countries, like Puerto Rico, Venezuela, and Mexico. The Cuban government treated these emigrants as enemies of the revolution and their property was confiscated. The Jews who decided to make **aliyah* were treated with more respect, as fellow idealists. The Jewish Agency was able to charter from the Cuban Air Company three airplanes, bringing to Israel 420 *olim* (1961–62). The exodus started in 1960 with the wealthy merchants and industrialists, whose business activities were stopped by the INRA (National Institute of Agrarian Reform), but it included also the lay and religious leadership. A second wave of emigration, mostly of lower-middle-class Jews, was caused by the nationalization of small businesses in 1968.

The Jews who chose to remain in Cuba because they adhered to the revolutionary ideology preferred to stay aloof from the Jewish community, fearing that it would taint their reputations by identifying them as practitioners of religion. A relatively large number of these Jews turned to academic studies and integrated into the state economy in the liberal professions, a few attaining national fame for their remarkable achievements in science, music, literature, cinematography, and art. Among those who stayed were all the veteran Communists, whose merits were recognized by the new regime, but their attempts to represent the Jewish community were rejected by its members, who continued to identify with the Zionist movement. The new president of the community was Moisés Baldás (1961–81), born in Poland where he studied at a Tarbut school and was fluent in Hebrew. He had immigrated to Cuba in 1927 and become a successful businessman, but following the revolution he decided to dedicate himself to the declining community, presiding over the Patronato and the Unión Sionista and acting as the representative of the Jewish Agency. His functions included the protection of the Jewish community vis-à-vis the government as well as the provision of the spiritual and material necessities of those who remained affiliated with it. A large proportion of these Jews were elderly or handicapped, and they depended on the Jewish community for their sustenance. As individuals, these Jews lived in the margins of the revolutionary society, but the religious freedom of the Jewish community as an institution was protected and respected by Castro's government.

The Jewish institutions throughout Cuba were not dissolved by the government, and their existence depended on the activity of their members and not decrees from above. The five synagogues of Havana continued to function throughout the 1960s and 1970s. Temple Beth Israel of the American Jews was sold to the government around 1980 for lack of membership, and its property – including the Jewish cemetery – was transferred to Adath Israel. The three modern buildings of Adath Israel, the Patronato, and the Centro Sefaradi were permitted to rent out the unused parts of their spacious buildings to Cuban cultural organizations, so that rent received indirectly from the government covered the current expenses of the Jewish institutions. The synagogue of Shevet Aḥim in Old Havana was used until the late 1990s and was closed due to the deterioration of the building.

The Cuban government respected the Jewish dietary laws, and permitted Adath Israel not only to have their *shoḥet* use the government slaughterhouse, but also to operate the only private business – the kosher butcher shop where Jews were allowed to receive their meat rations. The Jewish community was permitted to receive packages of *matzot* and other products for Passover from abroad that were sent annually, from 1961, by the Canadian Jewish Congress. For the distribution of these products, which became the major form of identification with the Jewish community, Moisés Baldás organized the Comisión Coordinadora – a committee with representatives of the five synagogues that served as a central organization for Cuban Jewry.

The nationalization of education, in 1961, brought about the closure of all private schools, but Jews were granted special permission to impart Jewish education within the government system. The Autonomous School of the Centro Israelita was converted into a public school named after Albert Einstein, and in addition to the regular curriculum provided daily classes in Hebrew, Yiddish, and Jewish history. The government supplied transportation for Jewish children living in other parts of the city. This arrangement lasted until 1975, when it was suddenly stopped by government order. A small Sunday school was set up in the Patronato, where Baldás taught Hebrew and Jewish culture until his immigration to Israel in 1981.

The Unión Sionista continued to exist, and its members were able to carry on various cultural and educational activities within the limits of the revolutionary regime. Cuba was among the sponsors of the United Nations Assembly Resolution equating Zionism with racism (1975). It took, however, three years before the government realized that a Zionist organization was still functioning in Cuba. In 1978 the Unión Sionista was closed by government order and its building was confiscated and handed over to the PLO.

THE REVIVAL OF THE 1990S. The fall of the Soviet Union and the Communist Bloc in Eastern Europe caused a severe crisis in Cuba and shattered its economic base. Castro's government was forced to make ideological concessions to survive, including greater religious freedom and an influx of tourists and foreign investors. In 1990, when Castro declared the emergency policy of "the Special Period," the Jewish population had already been assimilated, and it shared with the rest of the Cuban people the economic difficulties as well as the crisis of values. The small community consisted of around 800 members and the intermarriage rate was over 90%. The Jewish presence was felt only in the Havana synagogues, where elderly people participated in the daily services of Adath Israel or the Sabbath prayers in the Patronato and Centro Sefaradi, to receive the modest meals offered after services.

From 1981 the community had been led by José Miller Ferdman, a dental surgeon born in Cuba who in the 1950s was secretary of the Agrupación Cultural Hebreo Cubana – an organization of Jewish intellectuals who tried to bridge between their Cuban and Jewish identities. Miller was one of the few Jews who remained faithful to Judaism while identifying with the revolutionary regime and achieving prominence in his professional field. Miller served as president of the Patronato from 1981 and is the representative of the Jewish community vis-à-vis the authorities. Adela Dworin, the main official of the Patronato, is one of the few Cuban Jews with a Yiddish background and Jewish education. She served as the librarian and secretary of the Patronato and was appointed vice president in view of increasing activities following the Jewish revival of the 1990s.

The revival of the community was engendered by the critical situation in Cuba but was made possible by spiritual and material assistance from abroad. From the mid-1980s Jewish tourists, particularly from Latin America, started to visit Cuba, and their donations became an important source of support to the declining community. A small Sunday school was reorganized in the Patronato in 1985, with Moisés Asis and Dr. Alberto Mechulam as volunteer teachers. They were assisted by the religious emissaries of *Ḥabad, who later focused their activities around Adath Israel, which became identified with the Orthodox movement. A small group of young Jews, born in mixed families and raised under the revolution, started to search for their roots in the Jewish community and to organize spontaneously, seeking spiritual guidance.

The growing need of the new generation to rediscover its Jewishness was met by the JDC, which started to assist the Jews of Cuba through its branch in Buenos Aires, providing religious and social leaders. The most influential among them was Rabbi Shmuel Szteinhendler, a graduate of the Seminario Rabinico of the Conservative movement in Buenos Aires, who served as rabbi in Guadalajara (Mexico). Throughout the revolutionary period the Jewish community of Cuba depended on the occasional visits of religious Jews to conduct services or perform religious ceremonies. During the 1980s the community had no *mohel*, and children grew up without circumcisions and bar mitzvahs. Rabbi Szteinhendler visited Cuba several times and in addition to his performance of Jewish rituals he trained local Jews to conduct their own services. He prepared persons who identified as Jews but were not halakhically Jewish to reaffirm their religion through conversion and religious marriage. About 150 males were circumcised before they were converted by a Bet Din of three rabbis that visited Cuba for this purpose, using the *mikveh* of Adath Israel. Szteinhendler also assisted in the revival of Judaism in the provincial towns, which had remained isolated from Jewish life since the revolution. Renovated communal institutions were established in Cienfuegos (1993), Guantánamo (1994), Santiago de Cuba (1995), Santa Clara (1995), Sancti Spiritus (1996), Manzanillo (1997), and Camagüey (1998).

The Jewish renaissance was accompanied by a trickle of *aliyah*, which increased considerably after 1994 following the quota imposed by U.S. President Clinton on immigration from Cuba. The main reasons for emigration were the difficult economic situation in Cuba, and many Jews did not hide their desire to use Israel as a stepping stone on their way to Miami. Lack of official relations between Cuba and Israel resulted in a secret arrangement between Cuba and the Jewish Agency, code-named Operation Cigar. In 1999 it became known that around 600 *olim* had reached Israel, but publicity did not hinder the *aliyah*, which continued on a small scale. The community today is a center of great activity, particularly of the younger generation, as well as a focus of interest and philanthropy for Jews in the Western Hemisphere.

[Margalit Bejarano (2nd ed.)]

Cuba-Israel Relations

Following Fidel Castro's revolution in 1959, and before Castro declared his intentions of introducing into Cuba a Socialist system based on the Soviet one, there was a period of fairly intense activity, which, inter alia, found expression in a series of trade agreements signed in 1959, 1960, and 1962. During Batista's administration Israel and Cuba were represented by their honorary consuls and by non-resident ambassadors. Diplomatic relations were strengthened under Castro, with the nomination of Dr. Jonathan Prato as the first resident ambassador in Havana (1961). Castro's sympathetic attitude towards Israel was partly due to his personal relations with Ricardo Subirana y Lobo (Richard *Wolf), a German Jew who had immigrated to Cuba prior to World War I and was appointed Cuba's ambassador to Israel (1961) in recognition of his generous support of the revolutionary struggle. Subirana y Lobo sent at his own expense agricultural and technical experts from kibbutzim to Cuba and used his personal contacts with Castro to protect the interests of Israel as well as those of Cuban Jews. Following the severance of diplomatic relations between the two countries (1973), he settled permanently in Israel and founded the Wolf Foundation.

The growing similarity of outlook on foreign policy between the Cuban government and the Soviet Union led to Cuban support of the Arab position. Cuba – alienated from its neighbors in the Western Hemisphere and suspended from participation in the Organization of American States – came to seek support, increasingly, among the countries of the so-called Third World, among which Egypt and Algeria played a prominent role. With the establishment in Havana of the Secretariat of the Tri-Continental Organization, which adopted the cause of the anti-Israel Palestine Liberation Movement (*PLO), Havana became increasingly active in spreading its doctrine. The press and radio of Cuba reflected this tendency, particularly after the Six-Day War (1967), in a one-sided editorial policy and selection of information. However, in spite of the heavy pressure brought to bear upon it, the Cuban government refused to break diplomatic relations with Israel and maintained its policy of recognizing Israel, and on various occasions manifested its support for Arab-Israel negotiations as a preferable means of resolving the Middle East conflict. At the United Nations, however, the Cuban government was consistent in supporting the Arab viewpoint against Israel from the mid-1960s and relations between the two countries continued to deteriorate.

In September 1973, during the Conference of Non-Aligned Nations in Algiers, Castro announced his decision to sever diplomatic relations with Israel. The attacks against Israel in the Cuban media became unrestrained, and Cuba endorsed a militant anti-Israeli and pro-Palestinian position in all the international arenas. In 1975 Castro's government co-sponsored United Nations Resolution 3379 declaring Zionism a form of racism. Propaganda against Israel and against Zionism has since been virulent, but the Cuban government was cautious not to slide into antisemitism or deny the legitimate existence of the State of Israel. The Cuban media made a clear distinction between anti-Zionism and antisemitism, and the Jewish community has never been attacked or discriminated against in spite of the hostile attitude towards Israel. Likewise, Cuba's permanent condemnation of Israel and its defense of the Palestinians were directed against the Israeli government and its policy, not against the people or the existence of the state. A Friendship League including members of the Israel Communist Party has been active since the 1960s.

The end of the Cold War did not alter Cuba's pro-Palestinian position, nor its anti-Israel pronouncements in all international forums. The official hostility towards Israel is nurtured by its close relations with the United States, manifested by its consistent voting in the United Nations in support of the American embargo. Quietly, however, there were signs of change in the economic and cultural spheres as well as a softening line in politics conditioned by prospects of peace in the Middle East. Private Israeli firms invested in Cuba's post-Soviet economy, and there were signs of rapprochement of non-political entities, such as academic and artistic institutions.

[Netanel Lorch / Margalit Bejarano (2nd ed.)]

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CUBAN, MARK (1958–), U.S. businessman, owner of the Dallas Mavericks basketball team. Cuban was born in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, his paternal grandparents having come to America from Dnepropetrovsk, Ukraine, and his maternal grandparents from near the Austrian/Russian/Polish border. Cuban began exhibiting acumen for business as a 12-year-old, when he sold garbage bags door-to-door. Attending business school at Indiana University, he put himself through school by giving disco dancing lessons and starting a chain letter that helped cover one semester's tuition. In 1983 Cuban co-founded MicroSolutions, a leading National Systems Integrator, later selling it to CompuServe, and then, in 1995, co-founded Broadcast.com, a leading provider of multimedia and streaming on the Internet, selling it to Yahoo! in July 1999.

Now a billionaire, Cuban purchased the Dallas Mavericks for $283 million on January 14, 2000, and immediately changed the face of the organization by becoming the first owner in team sports to encourage fan interaction through e-mail on his personal computer. His outspoken personality also got him into trouble with the National Basketball Association, which levied heavy fines for his criticism of officials and the league itself, totaling more than one million dollars. But Cuban's whatever-it-takes attitude and commitment to winning resulted in the team's finishing his first season, 2000–2001, with a 53–29 record and the team's first playoff appearance in 11 years. In 2001–2002, the team finished with a franchise-best record of 57–25 and an NBA-best road record of 27–14, advancing to the playoffs for the second consecutive year. In his third season the team went 60–22, and 52–30 in 2003–2004. "I spend every day thinking about the Mavericks," Cuban said. "That includes time dreaming about the Mavs while sleeping."

[Elli Wohlgelernter (2nd ed.)]

CUCUMBER. Three species of "cucumber" are mentioned in the Bible and in rabbinic literature: *kishu'im, pakku'ot,* and the *yerokat* (or *yerikat*) *ha-ḥamor.*

(1) *Kishu'im*: only the plural form occurs in the Bible, but the singular, *kishut*, occurs in rabbinic literature. The reference is to the chate cucumber (*Cucumis melo*, var. *chate*) which appears frequently in images from ancient Egypt. It was an important crop and a favorite food there, which explains the yearning of the Children of Israel for them during their sojourn in the wilderness (Num. 11:5). Botantically this "cucumber" belongs to the genus *Melon*, which is called *melafefon* in rabbinic literature (Mishnah, Kil. 1:2, regards the *melafefon* as belonging to the same species and modern Hebrew erroneously uses *melafefon* for the cucumber). In the mishnaic period the cucumber was an important crop, but its nutritious value was a matter of dispute. It was said that the large species "are as injurious to the body as a sword," while the small species "open the bowels" (Ber. 57b). A summer plant, it could be grown in the winter under special conditions. Thus it was stated of Judah ha-Nasi and the emperor Antoninus that their table never lacked cucumbers even in winter (*ibid.*). *Kishu'im* in modern Hebrew is applied to squash, which was introduced from America and was not known to the ancients.

(2) The *pakku'at sadeh* (bitter cucumber, colocynth, *Citrullus colocynthis*) is mentioned in the story of Elisha's disciple who, in time of famine, found a *gefen-sadeh* ("field vine") from which he gathered *pakku'ot*. He cooked porridge from it, which was poisonous, but Elisha provided an antidote by adding flour (II Kings 4:39–41). From the seeds of this plant the oil of the *pakku'ot* mentioned in the Mishnah (Shab. 2:2) is obtained. The bitter cucumber, a perennial plant of the family Cucurbitaceae, is widespread in the arid regions of Ereẓ Israel. It is of the same genus as the watermelon, being similar in leaf and fruit. Apparently edible, it in fact contains poisonous substances. The oil extracted from it has medicinal properties. In the coastal region south of Gaza, it is sometimes gathered for its seeds. The leaves of the bitter cucumber have an attractive shape and they appear as an artistic form in the ornamentation of ancient buildings. Some identify them with the *mikla'at peka'im* (AV, "carved knops") of the Temple of Solomon and the molten sea (I Kings 6:18; 7:24).

(3) *Yerokat ha-ḥamor* is mentioned in the Mishnah (Oho. 8:1) as a plant with crowded and hard leaves which serve as a screen against ritual defilement. The reference is to the *Ecbalium elaterium*. Its fruit resembles a small cucumber. When ripe, the slightest touch causes the fruit to burst open, squirting its juice a long distance. The mishnaic name is usually read as *yerokat ḥamor* ("the ass's vegetable"). In one manuscript, the reading is *yerikat ha-ḥamor* ("the ass's spittle") perhaps because the squirting of the juices resembled the spitting of an ass. The plant grows abundantly in Ereẓ Israel, mainly in refuse dumps.

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[Jehuda Feliks]

°CUDWORTH, RALPH (1617–1688), English Platonist. Cudworth was professor of Hebrew at Cambridge from 1645. His commentary on Daniel survives in manuscript form (British Museum, Ms. Add. 4986–87), and he is known to have been interested in the translation of the Mishnah into Latin by Isaac *Abendana (Cambridge Univ., Ms. Mm. 1. 4–9); his publications, however, were theological and philosophical. In a sermon preached before the House of Commons in 1647 Cudworth advocated toleration, and he was a member of the Whitehall Conference of 1655 concerning the readmission of Jews to England. He eulogized Cromwell and his son in Hebrew, as well as Charles II on his return by contributing a congratulatory volume called *Academiae Cantabrigiensis* Σῶοτρα (1660). The auction catalog of his library (February 2, 1690/91) was printed, and contains a list of his Hebrew books among many others.

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[Raphael Loewe]

CUENCA, city in Castile, Spain. Shortly after its reconquest in 1177, Cuenca was granted a *fuero* ("charter") which served as the model for other Castilian towns. This permitted Jews to settle freely and trade without restriction, but debarred them from certain offices and forbade sexual relations with Christian women, on pain of burning. Chapter XXIX in its entirety and seven scattered laws out of 983 laws of the *Fuero de Cuenca* deal with Jews. The *Fuero* establishes, in theory but not in practice, equality before the law for Christians, Jews, and Muslims. Toward the end of the 13th century the community of Cuenca numbered between 50 and 100 families, paying an average annual tax of 70,872 maravedis. The Jewish quarter was located near the cathedral. The Jews made loans to the city in 1318 and in 1326 at a high rate of interest. In 1355 there was an outbreak of anti-Jewish rioting in Cuenca led by the Christian and Muslim supporters of Queen Blanca. During the anti-Jewish riots of 1391, the leading citizens of Cuenca joined the populace in an attack on the Jewish quarter, which was completely destroyed. The community partly recovered during the 15th century. There was now also a considerable body of Conversos. A tribunal of the Inquisition began its activities in the district of Cuenca in 1489; the number of those sentenced reached into thousands. After the issue of the decree of expulsion of the Jews from Spain in March 1492, the Jews of Cuenca and Huete are said to have rioted, claiming that they had four years to leave Spain and threatening to take revenge on the Conversos. Some of the exiles from Cuenca in the Ottoman Empire adopted the name of the city as a family name. The Inquisition continued to operate in Cuenca throughout the 16th and 17th centuries. The last serious series of trials took place in the years 1718–25 when hundreds of Crypto-Jews or descendants of Conversos were cruelly persecuted and prosecuted by the local tribunal. This campaign was part of a general inquisitorial move under Philip v. The reason for this campaign in the region of Cuenca may have been the socioeconomic position of the Conversos. The confiscations contributed much to the finances of the Inquisition in Cuenca.

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[Haim Beinart / Yom Tov Assis (2nd ed.)]

CUENQUE (Cuenca?), ABRAHAM BEN LEVI (b. 1648), kabbalistic author and Shabbatean. He was born in Hebron, where he joined the Shabbatean movement, remaining among its followers even after *Shabbetai Ẓevi's conversion to Islam. In 1683 he went as special envoy to Europe, crossed Italy, France, Poland, and Germany and returned in 1693. At the request of a friend in Frankfurt, Cuenque wrote in 1689 his memoirs of Shabbetai Ẓevi, whom he had met in Hebron. The work constitutes "an almost idolatrous biography and a kind of Shabbatean gospel" (Graetz). Large sections of it are included in Jacob *Emden's *Torat ha-Kena'ot* (Amsterdam, 1752) under the title *Tofes Shelishi* (or *Nosaḥ Shelishi*). Cuenque also wrote a description of his travels (which has remained unpublished). He is also the author of the following works: (1) *Avak Soferim* (3 pts., Amsterdam, 1704), commentaries on the Bible and sermons; (2) *Minḥat Kena'ot* (Ms.), about envy, also containing a dialogue entitled *Vikku'aḥ al ha-Kinah u-Se'ifeha*; (3) *Avak Derakhim* (Ms.), a collection of sermons delivered on his travels. He died in Hebron.

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[Joseph Elijah Heller]

CUKIERMAN, ROGER (1936–), French banker, businessman, and community leader. Holding a doctorate in economy from Paris University, as well as a degree in law, Cukierman had a successful business and banking career in France and Israel, and headed the France-Israel Chamber of Commerce. Active in Jewish communal life and community leadership (vice president of the Alliance Israélite Universelle), he was eventually elected twice (in 2001 and 2004) to the presidency of the CRIF despite strong and sometimes controversial views on antisemitism and the future of the French Jewish community, which he does not fear to express frankly. His efforts helped promote awareness in political circles about the rise of a new antisemitism in France.

[Dror Franck Sullaper (2nd ed.)]

CUKOR, GEORGE (1899–1983), U.S. movie director. Born in New York City, Cukor began his theater career as an assistant stage manager and later directed several troupes (1921–29). His directorial work, included adaptations from novels and plays (including *Dinner at Eight*, 1933), and he directed many well-known actresses, including Katherine Hepburn, in *A Bill of Divorcement* (1932), *Little Women* (1933), *Philadelphia Story* (1940), and *Holiday* (1938); Greta Garbo, in *Camille* (1937); Ingrid Bergman, in *Gaslight* (1944); Judy Holliday, in *Born Yesterday* (1950) and *It Should Happen to You* (1954); Judy Garland, in *A Star Is Born* (1954); Marilyn Monroe, in *Let's Make Love* (1960); Audrey Hepburn, in *My Fair Lady* (1964); Anouk Aimée, in *Justine* (1969); Maggie Smith, in *Travels With My Aunt* (1973), Elizabeth Taylor and Ava Gardner, in *The Blue Bird* (1976); and Jacqueline Bisset and Candice Bergen, in *Rich and Famous* (1981).

[Jonathan Licht]

CULI, JACOB (c. 1685–1732), rabbi, editor, and initiator of an important series of *Ladino Bible commentaries known as *Me-Am Lo'ez. Born either in Jerusalem or Safed, Culi was descended on both sides from illustrious rabbinical families. His father was the son of a Cretan rabbi of Spanish origin and his mother the daughter of R. Moses ibn *Ḥabib. Culi left Safed for Constantinople in order to publish his grandfather's writings. He completed his studies under R. Judah *Rosanes (d. 1727), the chief rabbi of Constantinople, who appointed him *dayyan* as well as teacher of the community. After the death of Rosanes, Culi, who had by now published his grandfather's *Shammot ba-Areẓ* (Constantinople, 1727) and *Ezrat Nashim* (*ibid.*, 1731), the latter with two of his own responsa, was entrusted with the publication of the late chief rabbi's works. Adding introductions and notes he edited *Parashat Derakhim* (*ibid.*, 1728) and *Mishneh la-Melekh* (*ibid.*, 1731).

As the author of the *Me-Am Lo'ez* on Genesis and a portion of Exodus, Culi was one of the founding fathers of Judeo-Spanish (i.e., Ladino) literature. In this work, which he began in 1730 and in which he hoped to cover the entire Bible, Culi sought to provide the Ladino-speaking layman with translations of appropriate traditional texts. The result was an elaborate encyclopedic commentary on the Bible in the Ladino language. It dealt with all aspects of Jewish life, and cited a host of important rabbinic sources.

The success of Culi's *Me-Am Lo'ez* among the Jews of Turkey and the Balkans was unparalleled and the whole series was republished many times. Culi left, in addition to the printed commentaries on Genesis and Exodus (as far as the portion *Terumah; ibid.*, 1730–33), unpublished manuscripts of his work on other biblical books. The publication of the *Me-Am Lo'ez* continued after his death perhaps in part on the basis of his manuscript material. There were at least six editions of Genesis and eight of Exodus. New editions in Hebrew and Ladino were being prepared and published in the 1960s (see **Me-am Lo'ez*).

The subsequent increase of translations from Hebrew into Ladino testifies to the great success of Culi's works and to the demand which they created. His halakhic work, *Simanim li-Oraita*, was never published.

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CULLMAN (**Kullman**), family of U.S. business executives.

JOSEPH F. CULLMAN 3rd (1912–2004) was the longtime head of the giant tobacco company Philip Morris who, in the face of serious concern about smoking, built the company into one of the largest corporations in America and the maker of the best-selling product in the world. He was born into the business in New York, where his great-grandfather, FERDINAND KULLMAN, a cigar maker from Germany, settled in 1848. His son, the first JOSEPH CULLMAN, became a dealer in Ohio leaf. His son, eventually called JOE JUNIOR in the trade, led the General Cigar Company, which produced brands like White Owl, Van Dyck and Robert Burns; at one time he owned 1,800 acres of tobacco fields in Connecticut. Joe Junior had one daughter and four sons; the eldest came to be known as Joe Third.

After graduation from Yale, Joe Third spent a short time working as a clerk in a Schulte Cigar store in New York and then was sent to Havana to work at the H. Upmann cigar factory. During World War II, he spent three years as a gunnery officer aboard a cruiser that fought its way up the Coral Sea to Guadalcanal. When he returned to civilian life, he took over the management of a small company, Benson & Hedges, that his father had purchased in 1941. That company served the carriage trade with monogrammed gold-tipped and hand-rolled cigarettes. It also produced a luxury cigarette called Parliament, with a recessed mouthpiece and a cotton filter. The cigarette producer Philip Morris had no filters and other companies, perhaps with an eye on health concerns, were introducing filter-tipped cigarettes. In 1954 Philip Morris turned over stock valued at $22.4 million to Joe Junior for his interest in Benson & Hedges. In addition to the two brands, Parliament and Benson & Hedges, Philip Morris acquired Joe Third as a vice president. The next year he was named executive vice president and at the end of 1957 he became president and chief executive. He held both titles until 1967, when he was named chairman and chief executive, staying in that capacity until 1978.

From 1964 to 1969, cigarette sales for Philip Morris increased by 63 percent. One major reason was a shift in advertising. When Joe Third took over Philip Morris, the company and its flagship cigarette were represented by a short man in a hotel bellhop's uniform shouting "Call for Philip Morris," as if he were paging someone. As the company worked on a filter cigarette to challenge the industry leader, Winston, Cullman presided over the quest for the right mixture of tobacco, the appropriate filter, a new flip-top box, and the right image that would attract smokers to Marlboro, a new cigarette to be marketed under an old brand name that had once been aimed at women. The Chicago-based advertising agency Leo Burnett created a campaign involving rugged Western cowboys, inviting smokers to "come where the flavor is … come to Marlboro Country." In his memoir, Cullman said: "What was needed was a full-flavored filter brand that had a virile image." By 1983 Marlboro had become the best-selling product in the world.

Cullman had set the stage for the company's diversification in 1969, when Philip Morris acquired Miller Brewing, and then General Foods, Kraft and Nabisco Holdings, whose brands included Maxwell House coffee, Oreo cookies and Oscar Meyer sausages. Under his direction, Philip Morris rose from last in sales among the six major American producers to first in 1983, surpassing Reynolds Tobacco, the industry leader for 25 years. Philip Morris earned so much cash that it was driven to use its huge profits to acquire food giants like Kraft General Foods, Miller Beer, and Jacques Suchard and became the largest consumer products company in the world. It sold the most popular cigarette in the world (Marlboro) and the second most popular beer in America. But as the company grew, the basic product, cigarettes, was coming under increasing attack as perilous to health. As the evidence accumulated, Cullman led the company and the industry's effort to counteract those claims. He testified before Congressional committees, he deflected and delayed calls to curb cigarette smoking and advertising by scientists, public health specialists, legislators, lung-damaged plaintiffs, and personal injury lawyers. He led the unsuccessful effort against those seeking to put warnings on cigarette advertising and messages on cigarette packs. And he wrote countless letters to editors, arguing that smoking was a matter of personal choice. Cullman smoked for many years but eventually tapered off and quit.

Cullman involved Philip Morris, an $80 billion company in 2004, renamed the Altria Group, in countless philanthropies, especially in sports and the arts. He was a leader in creating the women's professional tennis tour, the Virginia Slims circuit, sponsored by one of his brands. The company gave millions each year to groups like the Dance Theater of Harlem, the Brooklyn Academy of Music, the Guggenheim and Metropolitan art museums and the Whitney Museum of American Art. An active conservationist, he was a former trustee of the New York State Nature and Historical Preserve Trust of the American Museum of Natural History and served on the national board of the Smithsonian Institution. He was also a member of the board of the World Wildlife Fund and director of the American Folk Art Museum.

One of his favorite philanthropic projects was the Gomez Mill House in Newburgh, N.Y. It is believed to be the oldest extant house in the United States built by a Jewish owner (1714). Cullman said he was a descendant of Louis Moses Gomez, who fled the Spanish Inquisition and built the house as a fortress where he traded with the Indians. A second floor was added during the period of the Revolutionary War. Gomez's descendants also include Supreme Court Justice Benjamin *Cardozo and Emma *Lazarus, the poet.

Cullman's second wife was JOAN PALEY CULLMAN, whose grandfathers were Nathan *Straus Sr. and Dr. Bernard *Sachs, a discoverer of Tay-Sachs disease, the hereditary neurological disorder. She became a Tony Award-winning producer of Broadway plays and vice chair of Linclon Center.

Joe Third's brother LEWIS B. CULLMAN (1919–) and his wife, DOROTHY (1923–), were philanthropists. In 1963, Lewis Cullman originated the idea of the leveraged buyout, acquiring the Orkin Exterminating Company, and continued to amass a fortune with this now-common business practice. He is the founder and former chairman of Cullman Ventures, which includes the jewel in his crown, the At-a-Glance Group, a manufacturer of 90 percent of the diaries and appointment books in the United States. He sold the company to Mead in 1999 so he could devote his energies to philanthropy in the arts, science and education. His philanthropies include many of the great institutions of New York City, including Lincoln Center for the Performing Arts, the Museum of Modern Art and Central Park. Dorothy is a television producer with an interest in aiding writers and artists, reading and human rights. They pledged more than $80 million, mostly to civic and cultural institutions in New York City, including the Metropolitan Museum of Art, the New York Public Library, the American Museum of Natural History and the New York Botanical Garden.

Another brother, EDGAR M. CULLMAN SR. (1918–) was chairman of the Culbro Corporation, manufacturers of premium cigars like Garcia y Vega and Macanudo brands. In 1961, Edgar bought a controlling stake in the General Cigar Company, which had been listed on the New York Stock Exchange since 1906. In 1976, General Cigar changed its name to Culbro, an echo of the family firm name. His son EDGAR JR. (1946–) became president and designated chairman of Culbro.

HOWARD S. CULLMAN (1891–1972), brother of Joseph F. Cullman, Jr., became president of the family firm. In 1927 he was appointed to the Port of New York Authority by Governor Alfred E. Smith. He became vice chairman in 1934 and chairman a few years later, serving until 1955. In 1929, Howard, a Yale graduate, and his brother formed Tobacco and Allied Stocks to invest and trade in securities in the tobacco industry. It was the first investment trust in the field. In 1931 he was appointed by Governor Franklin D. Roosevelt as chairman of a state committee to investigate problems connected with workmen's compensation. He served as a director of major corporations, and was a commissioner-general of the 1958 Brussels World's Fair. He also held prominent positions in Jewish communal affairs, serving with ORT and the Jewish Social Service Association. With his wife, MARGUERITE W. CULLMAN (1905–1999), he invested in such Broadway shows as *Life With Father*, *Oklahoma!*, *Carousel*, *Brigadoon*, *South Pacific*, *Annie Get Your Gun*, *Fiddler on the Roof*, *Teahouse of the August Moon*, *Death of a Salesman*, and *A Streetcar Named Desire*.

[Stewart Kampel (2nd ed.)]

CULT. The Israelite cult was a system of ritual acts by which the Israelites, individually and collectively, actualized their particular relationship to the God of Israel. In the pre-Exilic period (before 587–586 B.C.E.) this activity took the form of sacrificial offerings of various types. *Prayer as later known existed as a mode of religious expression, but it had not yet attained the status of an independently sufficient means for fulfilling religious obligations or for attaining ritual objectives. After the destruction of the First Temple the greater part of Jewry was dispersed. Since the Temple in Jerusalem was inaccessible to them on a regular basis, substitute ritual forms had to be acknowledged as sufficient, and prayer began to come into its own. It did not fully replace sacrifice until the destruction of the Second Temple in 70 C.E. After the return from exile and the rebuilding of the Temple, the Jewish communities inside and outside Israel continued to maintain their relationship to the Temple, and considered its cult indispensable to their religious and national life. Most information on the early Israelite cult comes from the Bible. Talmudic and other sources report on later practice in the Second Temple, which undoubtedly bore certain resemblances to the earlier cult. Archaeological excavations have unearthed many installations and vessels intended for cultic use, but it is generally difficult to identify them precisely with those described in the Bible. Uncertainty about the exact dates of the priestly codes of the Pentateuch complicates the problem of ascertaining the exact character of the Israelite cult, since it is from these codes that most information derives. Whatever may be suggested concerning the historicity of the "tabernacle" cult presented in these sources, there can be little doubt that it mirrors the cult of the First Temple in a significant way. The prophet Ezekiel lived at the end of the First Temple period; and in Ezekiel (40ff.) procedures are attested which closely resemble those in Exodus, Leviticus, and Numbers in much of their detail. The cult may be discussed with respect to diverse elements of Israelite culture. The concern here is to present the praxis of the cult, i.e., the principal types of sacrificial offerings and the manner of their disposition, which involved, in turn, certain vessels and tools.

Sacrifices of Animals and Fowl

The priestly codes prescribe sacrifices of large and small cattle, as well as pigeons and turtledoves (Lev. 1–7). Male animals predominate as sacrificial victims, no doubt because only a fraction of the males needed to be preserved for the reproduction of the herd. Why females are nevertheless prescribed for certain offerings is less obvious. The codes differentiate between pure and impure animals (Lev. 11; Deut. 14). An overall requirement is that sacrificial animals be free from physical defects (Lev. 22:20–25), although an animal with certain minor defects could be designated for "freewill offerings" (Lev. 22:23;

see *Blemish). In the case of the paschal sacrifice it is stipulated that the intended victims be observed for four days prior to the festival (Ex. 12:3, 6), a procedure which talmudic sages correctly understood to be for the purpose of discovering possible blemishes (Mekh. Bo, 5). The Bible says nothing of such procedures elsewhere, although they were undoubtedly necessary and widespread in the ancient Near East. Talmudic sources speak extensively of examination for defects, especially in the orders *Kodashim* and *Tohorot* of the Mishnah. The selection of sacrificial animals was also governed by consideration of age and, in certain instances, of the previous use of the animal. The requirement of physical perfection extended to the priesthood, and priests with certain physical defects could not officiate in the cult (Lev. 21:21–23; Deut. 15:21; 17:1). Once the animal was declared fit, it was designated a sacrificial animal and assigned as a certain type of offering for a particular time or occasion (cf. Lev. 16:9–10). This assignment normally involved "the laying [from the Heb. verb סמך, *samakh*] of hands" by the officiating priest on the head of the animal (Lev. 1:4; 3:2, 8, 13; et al.). Perhaps this act was accompanied by a declaration which has been lost. The method of slaughtering sacrificial animals was usually described by the verb *shaḥaṭ* (Ex. 12:6; Lev. 1:5), and in the case of fowl by *malak (malaq*; "to break the neck"; Lev. 1:15; 5:8). *Shaḥaṭ* involved the use of a knife or similar sharp instrument that would slit the gullet as well as the jugular vein, resulting in the rapid emission of most of the animal's blood. The Bible never describes the tool employed for this purpose, and the only clue is the term *maʾkhelet* used in connection with Abraham's intended sacrifice of Isaac and elsewhere, but which is nowhere described (Gen. 22:6, 19; Judg. 19:29; Prov. 30:14; cf. the verb *nataḥ* ("to cut into sections") in Lev. 1:6; I Sam. 11:7; I Kings 18:23). This method of slaughtering was associated with the prohibition against eating *blood (Lev. 17:10–11). The blood of the sacrificial victim was caught in bowls (Heb. *mizrak; mizraq*) for further use in the performance of the sacrifice. In expiatory offerings some of the blood was dabbed or sprinkled on the horns of the incense altar, and in some cases on the *parokhet* ("curtain"), on the *kapporet* ("the lid [of the ark]") and elsewhere, as part of ritual procedure, usually designated by the verb *kipper* ("to perform an act of ritual expiation"; Lev. 4:6–7; 17–18; 16:14, 18–19; et al.), although the corresponding noun *kippurim* also occurs (Ex. 29:36; 30:10, 16; Lev. 23:27–28; 25:9; Num. 5:8; 29:11; see also **Kipper*). In all animal sacrifices most of the blood was poured or dashed against the side of the altar of burnt offerings so that it ran down to the ground (Lev. 1:5; 4:7). In the execution and disposition of sacrifices three principal parties were involved: the donors, the priests, and the deity. The various methods of disposition reflected the relative weight of these parties. There were two major categories of animal sacrifices: the *ʿolah* ("ascending offering") and the *zevaḥ* ("slain offering"). The *ʿolah* was burned to ashes in the altar fire, while most of the meat of the *zevaḥ* was cooked in vessels, and only certain portions, those assigned directly to the deity, were placed on the altar. According to Leviticus 1:9ff., the *ʿolah* was holocaust, i.e., an offering entirely consumed by the altar fire. This is also the sense of the term *kalil* (Lev. 6:15–16; Deut. 33:10; I Sam. 7:9; Ps. 51:21, and cf. Deut. 13:17; Judg. 20:40), although the exact relationship of these two terms is problematic. Some have suggested that *kalil* is an older term, which was later replaced by the term *ʿolah*. The two principal types of expiatory offering, *ḥaṭṭat* and *ʾasham*, although classified with the *ʿolah* in certain respects (Lev. 6:18), represented a distinct type of sacrifice since in some cases most of the meat of the *ḥaṭṭat* was assigned to the priests (Lev. 6:22; 7:6; Num. 18:9–10; Hos. 4:8). This was true of expiatory offerings brought by individuals, and according to rabbinic law also of the *ḥaṭṭat* of new moons and festivals (Num. 28:15; et al.), whereas certain communal offerings of these types were disposed of in different ways (Lev. 4–5; 16:27–28). The exact procedures are not entirely clear. If any blood of the sacrificial victim had been brought into the tent of assembly, all but the suet and the kidneys of the animal had to be burned separately outside of the altar area, since the animal had become a source of impurity (Lev. 4:12, 20; 6:23; 8:17, 32; 16:27). Problems remain in classifying the expiatory offerings of the Israelite cult, and it is likely that in the course of time the practices were altered. The dynamics underlying the *ʿolah* and all offerings of which any parts were burned on the altar was that the deity breathed in the smoke of the offering and in that way was considered to have consumed the sacrifice (Gen. 8:21; Lev. 26:31; Deut. 4:28; 33:10; I Sam. 26:19; Amos 5:21). This notion is conveyed in the term *iʾsheh reʿaḥ niḥoʿaḥ* ("a fired offering of pleasing aroma"), which is often used to describe sacrifices (Ex. 29:18; Lev. 3:16; 8:21, 28; et al.). The odor of the burning meat was believed to be pleasing to the Lord (Lev. 1:9; et al.). In cultic terms, the parts of the animal most desired by the deity were the fatty portions (*ḥelev*) which covered the inwards of the animal (Lev. 3:3; et al.). Such fatty portions were forbidden for human consumption on somewhat the same basis as the prohibition of blood, since the fat belonged to the deity (Ex. 29:13; Lev. 3:16–17; 4:8, 31; 7:23–25; I Sam. 2:15–16; Ezek. 44:7, 15). From non-cultic sources it appears that the consideration of the fatty portions as choice was pervasive in the Israelite cult (Deut. 32:38; cf. Gen. 4:4; Isa. 1:11, 43:24). In addition to separate offerings containing incense, certain aromatic substances were probably cast into the altar fire, a widespread custom in antiquity. For the purpose of burning offered meat, a wood fire was maintained on the altar (Lev. 1:7, 12), and later sources mention a special appointment for supplying this material (Neh. 10:35; 13:31). The *zevaḥ* was conceived as a sacred meal of which the worshipers and the deity partook in common fellowship. In time, the officiating priesthood appropriated some of what originally had been eaten by the donors of the *zevaḥ*, i.e., the right shank and the breast (Lev. 7:31–34; cf. Num. 18:18). Perhaps a further stage in this development, affording even more to the priests, is to be seen in the Punic cult at Carthage, as known from inscriptions of the fourth–third centuries B.C.E. The fatty portions of the *zevaḥ* were consumed by the altar fire (Lev. 4:31; 6:5;

Deut. 32:38). The rest was boiled in pots. This is known from early biblical sources independent of the priestly codes (cf. Judg. 6:19), and from the prohibition against this manner of cooking the paschal *zevaḥ* in favor of broiling, a primitive practice (Ex. 12:9). This method was apparently abolished in Deuteronomy 16:7, where the regular technique of boiling (Heb. *bashal*) is prescribed. Other sources also speak of boiling the meat of the *zevaḥ* (Ex. 29:31; Ezek. 46:20, 24; II Chron. 35:13). That meat was regularly boiled is also presupposed by the prohibition against boiling a kid in the milk of its dam (Ex. 23:19; 34:26; Deut. 14:21). Those invited to partake of the *zevaḥ* were termed *keru'im* (*qeru'im*; "those called"; I Sam. 9:13, 22; cf. Zeph. 1:7). The flesh of certain offerings could be eaten only by those in a state of ritual purity (Lev. 7:19–20; 22:3) in a sacred place (Ex. 29:31; Lev. 6:19; 7:6; 10:13; 24:9; et al.). The Mishnah (Zev. 5–6:1) limits the latter requirement to sacrifices with the status of *kodshei kodashim* (*qodshei qodashim*). In certain cases there was also a time limit for eating sacrificial flesh, and what was not consumed by that time had to be destroyed (Lev. 7:18; 19:7). The burnt offering with its blood rites is an historical problem, since outside the sphere of Syria and Palestine it was rarely used until late antiquity. The Ugaritic texts show that it figured in the Ugaritic cult as early as the 14th century B.C.E. In Ugaritic ritual texts *šlmm* (Heb. *shelamim*), the most prominent type of *zevaḥ*, is paired with *šrp* (Heb. *saraf*), the burnt offering. Burnt offerings are also mentioned in Ugaritic epics. In Mesopotamia fire was used extensively in magical rites, which were often connected with the cult, but it was not employed for sacrifices until late Babylonian times.

Grain Offerings

Sacrificial offerings of grain prepared in various ways were widespread in the ancient Near East. In the biblical cult the most prominent form of grain offering was the *minḥah*, a general term. It was prepared from wheat or barley, normally ground into fine flour, and either baked in an oven, fried in pans, or deep fried (Lev. 2:4–7). Oil and frankincense were mixed with the dough or poured over the cakes. In contrast to other ancient Near Eastern cults, no honey was used (Lev. 2:11). As a rule the *minḥah* was made of unleavened dough *(maẓẓah)* rather than of leavened dough *(ḥameẓ)*, and the cakes were salted (Lev. 2:11, 13). The priest pinched off a fistful of the dough and placed it on the altar fire as an *ʾazkarah*. The meaning of this term is uncertain, but it probably conveys the notion that the deity was to be "reminded" by the ascending smoke of the burning cake. Two sizes of cakes, traditional in the ancient Near East, were prepared as *minḥah: ḥallot maẓẓot* ("loaves of unleavened dough") and *rekikei (reqiqei) maẓẓot* ("thin cakes of unleavened dough"; Lev. 2:4). The *minḥah* often accompanied animal offerings. However, other grain offerings were presented alone. These included the two loaves of the Pentecost (Lev. 23:17), the loaves of thanksgiving (Lev. 7:13), and the grain offering of first fruits (Num. 15:17–21). No part of these offerings was placed on the altar and for this reason they could be made of leavened dough. The rule was that no leaven could be placed on the altar (Ex. 23:18; 34:25; Deut. 16:3), but the converse was not consistently applied. This notion was somewhat related to the laws of Passover forbidding the eating of leaven (Ex. 12:15; 13:3, 7). The priestly codes specify that after the *ʾazkarah* was detached, the remaining cakes were to be eaten in a sacred place. In certain cases only the priest actually officiating at the rite could partake of the *minḥah* (Lev. 7:9–10). The *minḥah* offered on behalf of a priest was designated *kalil*, meaning that it was to be entirely burned on the altar (Lev. 6:15–16). As the Israelite cult became more standardized, procedures were probably instituted which afforded larger portions of the *minḥah* to the priests, a process also observed with respect to other types of offerings. The "bread of display" (*leḥem ha-panim*) represented another type of grain offering (Ex. 25:30; 35:13; 39:36; Lev. 24:5–9; Num. 4:7; I Sam. 21:7; I Kings 7:48; II Chron. 4:19). Twelve loaves were arranged in two rows on a table especially installed in the tent of assembly (*ʾohel moʿed*) outside the *parokhet* (Ex. 40:22–23). The loaves were removed each week to be eaten in a sacred place by the priests. A smoke offering of pure frankincense was offered in connection with these loaves in place of the *ʾazkarah* that usually accompanied the *minḥah*, since no part of these loaves was placed on the altar. The antiquity of the practice is attested by a story from the early career of David (I Sam. 21:7) involving the "bread of display" and by its inclusion in the Solomonic temple project (I Kings 7:48). The "bread of display" actually represents a distinct orientation to sacrifice paralleled by the offering of first fruits prescribed in Deuteronomy 26:10. Normally, the Israelite cult operated on the principle that the deity consumed sacrificial materials after they had been converted into smoke on the altar, by breathing in the smoke of the offering (see above). In the case of the "bread of display" and the first fruits the operative principle was the viewing of the offering by the deity, and his seeing it constituted either his acceptance or his actual consumption of it. The offering, therefore, was placed before him. The story of the theophany of Gideon (Judg. 6:19–21) seems to be a shift from the one principle to the other. Gideon first placed his offering before the angel, a divine manifestation, and was then told to make it a burnt offering instead. The method of sacrifice known as *tenufah*, usually rendered "wave offering," appears only in the priestly writings of the Pentateuch and though extended to mean "levy, tax" (Ex. 35:22; 38:24), its original sense derives from the act of "waving." *Tenufah* is associated with the common Near Eastern practice of showing the offering to the deity. Upon this method was imposed the more particularly Israelite practice of burning offerings on the altar instead of merely placing them there. *Tenufah* was utilized for animal as well as grain offerings, but in the case of animal sacrifices, and even of some grain offerings, the waving was only a preliminary to offering up the material on the altar fire, or to boiling part of the meat in pots (cf., eg., Ex. 29:24, 26; Lev. 7:30; 8:27, 29; 9:21; 10:15; Num. 6:20; et al.). Only in some fruit and grain offerings was showing the offering to the deity, in and of itself, a sufficient mode of sacrifice (Lev. 23:11–14, 15, 20). This corresponds with the presentation of the "bread of display." After the deity had had the opportunity to view the offering, it was removed from Him, and assigned to the priests.

Other Types of Sacrifices

LIBATIONS (*nesekh*). Libations normally accompanied other sacrifices (Lev. 23:37; Num. 28:14, 31; 29:6, 11). The priestly codes speak of wine as the material most frequently used in libations. Beer was widely used in the ancient Near East for cultic purposes, and while an interpretation of *shekhar* as beer in Numbers 28:7 is tempting, it means simply "intoxicant, liquor" and no doubt "wine" (Heb. יַיִן *yayin*) is to be restored near the beginning of the verse, as attested by some ancient versions (it was omitted due to הַהִין, *ha-hin; ibid.*; cf. Num. 28:14 and Ex. 29:40). According to the priestly codes, oil was used only for unction and purification, as an ingredient in grain offerings, and for kindling lights, but there are indications that it may have also been used for separate libations (Micah 6:7; Ezek. 16:18–19). The libation was poured from vessels termed *kasvah* (*qaswah*; Ex. 25:29; 37:16; Num. 4:7; I Chron. 28:17) and *menakkiyyah* (*menaqqiyyah*; Ex. 25:29). There is evidence for a water libation (II Sam. 23:16 = I Chron. 11:18), and talmudic sources speak of it as an ancient practice (Shek. 6:3; Suk. 4:1, 9; Zev. 6:2, Mid. 2:6).

INCENSE OFFERINGS (*ketoret, qeṭoret*). As distinct from the other uses of incense, there was a special offering on the "altar of incense," which stood in the tent of assembly. This offering was made by the high priest (Ex. 30:1–10). The altar was of gold and had four horns at the corners. Incense altars have been found in archaeological excavations, and the four-horned altar from Megiddo is of special interest. The high priest kindled incense as part of the *tamid* or daily sacrifice (Ex. 30:8). Its purpose was to delight the deity with a pleasant aroma. A special blend of incense, designated solely for this purpose, was employed (Ex. 30:34–38). The antiquity of these priestly regulations is not known, and in this respect a distinction should be made between the use of censers (*kaf*; Num. 7:14) and stationary incense altars.

[Baruch A. Levine]

FIRST FRUITS (*bikkurim*), see *First Fruits.

THE REGULAR PUBLIC OFFERINGS. The Torah prescribes a burnt offering of a yearling lamb twice daily – in the morning and evening of every day. Each lamb was to be accompanied by a *minḥah* of a tenth of an ephah of *solet* (semolina, the hard particles within wheat grain) and a *nesekh* of a quarter of a *hin* of wine (Ex. 29:38–42; Num. 28:3–8). This is called the *ʿolat tamid* ("regular or constant burnt offering"; Ex. 29:32; Num. 28:3, 10; et al.), and simply the *tamid* in Daniel 8:11–13; 12:11, and post-biblical literature. Additional offerings (*musafim* in rabbinic terminology) for Sabbaths, new moons, and annual festivals are listed in Numbers 28–29. There are further requirements in Leviticus 17 and 23. Numbers 10:10 prescribes that sacrifices be accompanied by trumpet blasts "on your seasons and new moons," but the Torah is otherwise silent about cultic music, in contrast to some of the hymns and thanksgiving songs in Psalms and especially to many of the superscriptions to Psalms (see *Psalms; *Chronicles).

[Harold Louis Ginsberg]

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CULT PLACES, ISRAELITE, places at which sacrifices were offered to the God of Israel. Many such places are mentioned in the Bible, and modern archaeological excavations have added to the list. The definition of sacred space in the ancient Near East has seen much debate. The traditional view is that cult was characterized by permanence of location: sites noted for their sacredness, principally towns and their environs, continued to retain this attribute despite shifts in population and consequent changes in the dominant religion of the area. The Bible employs specific terms to refer to different types of cult places, although usage is not always consistent. Four general types can be identified by the terminology: *Bet* YHWH ("the house [*Temple] of YHWH"); *Mikdash* ("*sanctuary"); **Bamah* ("high place," raised cultic installation); and *Mizbeʾaḥ* ("*altar"). In archaeological contexts structures defined as temples or shrines are more easily identifiable, with the addition of objects considered "cultic," such as figurines, statuary, standing stones (*maẓẓebot*), and altars.

Bet YHWH

Synonyms are *heikhal* YHWH (e.g., I Sam. 1:9; 3:3; II Kings 18:16; Jer. 7:4) and *bet ha-Elohim* (e.g., Judg. 18:31). Apart from several unspecified references, this term is applied exclusively to two places, *Shiloh and *Jerusalem (e.g., I Sam, 1:7; I Kings 3:1). The cult place established by David to house the *Ark after it was brought to Jerusalem was also designated as a *bet* YHWH (II Sam. 12:20). Since Shiloh and Jerusalem represent two successive stages in Israelite religion, it seems that use of this term and its synonyms implied the belief that the God of Israel had only one "residence" at any given time. This notion is expressed in Psalms 78:60ff.: "He [God] abandoned the tabernacle of Shiloh … He elected … Mount Zion which he prefers … and He made His sanctuary [*mikdash*] enduring as heaven, as the earth which He established forever."

Like the terms containing the element "house," the designation *mikdash* was also conceived of as designating a divine residence; and as in the passage first quoted, the Jerusalem Temple (and perhaps, on occasion, even Shiloh; see below) was also termed "sanctuary." All the Israelite sanctuaries so designated were founded long before the belief in a single divine residence became official doctrine in the late monarchy. Several of these sanctuaries coexisted with the Jerusalem Temple, serving specialized functions that were not in direct competition with the Temple's unique status. Scholars believe that Shiloh was either the principal sacred center in the period of the Judges, or, alternatively, following Noth, that it was one of a series of central shrines in pre-monarchic Israel, e.g., Shechem, Bethel, Gilgal, and Shiloh. The recent excavations at the site by Finkelstein suggest that Iron Age I Shiloh was not an ordinary village with a cult place but served as a religious *temenos*. The peak of Shiloh's prosperity was in the first half of the 11th century B.C.E. After Shiloh had been destroyed in the Iron Age I there is no evidence that it was subsequently used by Israelites for cultic purposes. Thus the belief in a single chosen residence for the God of Israel gained momentum in ancient Israel, ultimately producing a movement toward the elimination of all cult places other than the Jerusalem Temple. This could only take place after the fall of the Northern Kingdom where Beth-El, and perhaps other sites, enjoyed a particular status not accorded to any of the provincial sanctuaries in Judah. Beth-El was established as an avowed rival of Jerusalem after the death of Solomon, and, in general, political considerations produced a different cultic atmosphere in the Northern Kingdom.

While information on the Jerusalem Temple is available from biblical descriptions, little is known about the temple at Shiloh. Why Shiloh was chosen as an early Israelite cultic center is not clear. The selection of Jerusalem and most other important sites follows known patterns, but there is no evidence that the early Israelites were attracted to Shiloh by virtue of its prior religious, demographic, administrative, or strategic significance. Recent excavations, however, do indicate there were earlier cultic practices at the site during the Middle and Late Bronze Ages. Shiloh is located in the Ephraimite territory, several kilometers east of the ancient main road to Shechem (Judg. 21:19). It is reasonable to assume that it was selected as a cultic center for the Israelite tribes primarily because of its imposing position, and because it was fairly central in the early area of habitation. The ancient site is surrounded by lofty hills, and encircled on three sides by verdant valleys. The top of the site gives the impression of great height, but at the same time draws the eye to the hills rising above the cult place. Some have even compared the topography of Shiloh to that of Jerusalem.

Mikdash

The Jerusalem Temple was frequently termed *mikdash* and also *bet ha-mikdash*. The cultic installation at Beth-El was termed *mikdash melekh* ("a royal sanctuary") by *Amaziah, one of its chief priests during the reign of Jeroboam II in the eighth century B.C.E. (Amos 7:13). According to Joshua 24:26 a stele was erected "under the terebinth at the sanctuary [*mikdash*] of YHWH" after a convocation of the tribes at Shechem (24:1). If this is accurate, then there was a sanctuary in Shechem during the early Israelite period. However, the passage is problematic, and the Septuagint of Joshua 24:1 has Shiloh instead of Shechem. There is, consequently, no conclusive evidence for the existence of an Israelite sanctuary in Shechem at that time.

The site of Beth-El was partially excavated by W.F. Albright and further by J.L. Kelso. Massive remains were uncovered. Ancient Beth-El (now Beitin) is situated 3,965 ft. (880 meters) above sea level, about 10½ mi. (17 km.) north of Jerusalem on a site commanding major crossroads. The archaeological remains indicate the preeminence of Beth-El in pre-Israelite times and throughout almost the whole Israelite period. Among the finds was a cylinder seal with the images of a god and goddess and the name of the goddess Ashtoreth written in hieroglyphics showing that Beth-El was undoubtedly an important Canaanite cultic site later appropriated by the Israelites for their own use. Biblical sources contain ample evidence of the importance of Beth-El as a cult place in Israelite times. The tribes convened there during the period of the Judges (Judg. 20:18, 26; 21:2), and it was one of the principal cult places at which the prophet Samuel officiated (I Sam. 7:16). After the death of Solomon and the division of the kingdom, the heterodox Jeroboam established Beth-El, along with Dan, as a cultic center of the Northern Kingdom. His reasons for doing so related not only to its age-old importance as a cult place but to its location near the southern border of his kingdom, close to Jerusalem. Genesis 28 gives the origin of the sacred nature of Beth-El by associating it with the site of Jacob's dream (Gen. 35:13). Abraham also erected an altar near Beth-El (Gen. 12:18; 13:3–4). Perhaps no other cult place, with the exception of Jerusalem, achieved a comparable place in biblical tradition. The biblical account actually describes the sanctuary erected at Beth-El by Jeroboam as a *bet bamot* ("a temple of outdoor shrines"; I Kings 12:31–32), which suggests that Jeroboam enclosed a previously constructed *bamah* which had served as an open-air cult place. Perhaps the sanctuary of Beth-El mentioned in Amos 7:13 dates from this period.

In II Kings 23:15–16 it is recorded that Josiah destroyed the "altar" and the *bamah* at Beth-El. The passage speaks of the *bet bamot* as a frequent phenomenon in cities of the Northern Kingdom, but does not specify which ones. The *bamah* was the prime target of Josiah's reformist movement, and it is likely that the terminology of this passage is imprecise. There can be little doubt that a *mikdash*, and not just a *bamah*, stood at Beth-El at this period, and that it was destroyed by Josiah soon after 622 B.C.E. (The implications of Josiah's activities will be discussed below under the heading of *bamah*.)

No other specific cult place is designated *mikdash* in the Bible, except the desert *tabernacle, which represents a different sort of cultic phenomenon. Assuming that there must have been many sanctuaries in ancient Israel, scholars have employed various criteria in assigning the status of *mikdash* to other well-known cult places. Such criteria include the elaborate nature of the cultic ceremonies performed there and the undertaking of pilgrimages to the site. It is possible, of course, but far from certain, that at one time or another a *mikdash* used by Israelites stood at such places as Gilgal (exact location uncertain) and Mizpah, where the tribes convened in the early Israelite period, and at other places as well. It would appear that there was a sanctuary at *Nob, the city of priests, in the days of Saul (I Sam. 21:1–10).

Excavations undertaken by Y. Aharoni from 1962 to 1967 at *Arad, a Negev town in the vicinity of Beersheba, have uncovered the remains of a building that would qualify as a *mikdash* by virtue of its structure and contents, and in the light of what is known about the role of Arad during the period of the First Temple. The sanctuary building measured approximately 50 × 40 ft. (15 × 12 meters), and contained a niche with at least one *maẓẓevah* or cultic stele, a sacrificial altar, and other cultic appurtenances. It is likely that this building was in cultic use from the tenth to the late seventh or early sixth century B.C.E. The presence of levitical personnel at Arad is attested in the personal names which occur on the large numbers of ostraca found on the site. These brief communications and archival records reveal that Arad was in close communication with Jerusalem and leave no doubt that it was a legitimate cult place. Its location indicates that it was a border installation with combined cultic and administrative functions, two institutions which often go together.

The Arad excavations are of primary importance for an understanding of the ancient Israelite cult. The existence of a sanctuary near the southern border of Judah suggests that certain religious duties had to be fulfilled on departure from the land of the God of Israel. Perhaps the accounts of votive activity by the patriarch Jacob while on his flight to Syria (Gen. 28) and on his trek to Egypt (Gen. 46:1) reflect an early feature of Israelite religion, which rendered border sanctuaries necessary.

Since 1966 excavations have been conducted by A. Biran at *Dan, the site of Jeroboam's second cultic center, situated in upper Galilee. Although conclusive evidence of a sanctuary at Dan is still unavailable, there can be little doubt of its existence in ancient times. Judges 17–18 preserves a tradition about the establishment of the Israelite cult there. Indeed, a cultic temenos was unearthed by the spring at the northern flank of the site, and *maẓẓebot* were uncovered in a stone-paved piazza within the Iron Age gate.

Bamah

The term *bamah* is ambiguous. The Hebrew word (like Ugaritic *bmt*) means "back" or "shoulder." In many languages anatomical terms were transferred to architectural and topographic contexts, and in that process *bamah* ("back") acquired two related cultic connotations: (1) topographically – a high place, a cultic installation situated on a high elevation, such as a mountain top; and (2) architecturally – a raised platform, or the like.

The proverbial characterization of improper worship reflects these two aspects of the *bamah*: "Atop every high mountain [lofty hill] and under every verdant tree" (e.g., Deut. 12:2; I Kings 14:23; Jer. 3:6). The reference is undoubtedly to the **asherah* or cult pole, which was normally part of the *bamah* complex.

A well preserved pre-Israelite *bamah* dating from the early Bronze Age stands in the temple precincts at *Megiddo. It is a large circular platform of stones, with stairs leading up to it. It is likely that the altar stood on top of the *bamah* at Megiddo, since large quantities of bones and potsherds were found in the earth deposits immediately above. Elsewhere the altar may have stood in front of the *bamah*, which was kept for cultic stelae, statuaries, etc. There are biblical descriptions of cultic activity at the *bamah* that provide some details of its structure. Thus, Samuel ascended the *bamah* at *Ramah to bless the slain offering and subsequently to partake of it (I Sam. 9:13–14, 19). When the sacred meal was over, he and those "called" to the celebration descended from the *bamah* and reentered the city (9:25). The descent from the *bamah* is also recorded at Gibeah (I Sam. 10:5, 10, 13). The text even mentions a *lishkah* ("chamber") where the assembled company sat down to the meal. If all of this activity actually occurred at the *bamah*, then it was a very large and complex installation. In any event, the place of the sacrifice itself was probably an open-air installation not intended to serve as a residence for the deity, as in the case of the *mikdash*, but rather as a site that the deity would visit when invoked. The same was true of the altar. The *bamah* could, of course, be raised to the status of a residence for the deity, which is what the term *bet bamot* connotes. The Moabite *Mesha stele, in speaking of that king's cultic enterprises, uses both terms, *bamah* and *bet bamot* (Moabite *bmt* and *bt bmt*), perhaps interchangeably.

The account of Samuel at Ramah also states that the *bamah* was located outside the city. During the 1969 excavations at *Ashdod under M. Dothan a Middle Bronze installation of probable cultic function was unearthed outside the city wall, but it has not yet been fully interpreted. In 1966 the expedition under Kathleen Kenyon in the Ophel area of ancient Jerusalem discovered a cult installation with two stelae (stone monoliths) above which stood an altar. The installation was almost immediately outside the contemporary city wall. This site dates from the seventh century B.C.E., and was apparently a pagan site, one of those condemned by the writer of the Books of Kings (II Kings 23:4; cf. Jer. 31:39). The Bible also speaks of *bamotha-she῾arim* ("the high places of the gates"; II Kings 23:8; cf. Ezek. 8:3).

Primarily on the basis of the *bamot* outside the city walls, Y. Kaufmann concluded that the Israelites did not convert pre-existing idolatrous cult places for their monotheistic needs, but withdrew to outside the city, or to other nearby sites, and there constructed new installations. Also citing the evidence pertaining to altars located outside the towns and in the open country, he thus minimized the extent of continuity between pre-Israelite and Israelite cultic activity. A verification of such a reconstruction of early Israelite religious practice would require greater knowledge of the history of particular sites.

Historically, the main problem with respect to the Israelite *bamah* is to determine when and to what extent it was considered a legitimate cult place by strict monotheistic standards. The "great *bamah*" at Gibeon (I Kings 3:4; cf. 9:2) was certainly legitimate when Solomon offered sacrifices and experienced a theophany there soon before construction of the Jerusalem Temple, notwithstanding the fact that the Ark had long before been brought to Jerusalem and was housed there (*ibid.*, 3:15). The redaction of the Books of Kings regards the *bamot* as illegitimate from the time of Solomon onward (I Kings 3:3; 15:14; 22:43–44; II Kings 12:4; 14:4; 15:4, 35), but these references are couched in the language of a later ideology. It is reasonable to assume that the Israelite *bamah* (as differentiated from the avowedly idolatrous one) came into official disrepute late in the monarchic era, at about the time of the Assyrian conquest of the Northern Kingdom, roughly the last quarter of the eighth century B.C.E. Ahaz came under Assyrian influence in cultic matters (II Kings 16–17), and his successor *Hezekiah actually took measures to eliminate the *bamah* as a legitimate Israelite cult place (*ibid.*, 18–19). There can be little doubt that Hezekiah's measures were aimed at bringing northern Israelites to Jerusalem, and at ridding the Israelite cult of foreign influences. Any success he might have achieved was temporary, because of the long period of Assyrian influence under King Manasseh, and it was not until *Josiah ascended the throne of Judah and Ashurbanipal, king of Assyria, died that the attempt to eliminate the *bamah*, which had become a focal point for cultic pollution, could be resumed in earnest. About the year 622 B.C.E. Josiah carried out a reformation which has correctly been considered a turning point in Israelite religion. He dismissed the priests who had officiated at the *bamot*, proceeded to destroy and render unfit for use the *bamot* in Jerusalem and its environs, and in the cities of Judah, and was especially concerned to destroy the cultic center at Beth-El, which had undoubtedly kept many worshipers from Jerusalem (II Kings 22–23).

It is interesting that Deuteronomy, which gives doctrinal expression to the illegitimacy of worship at local cult places, never uses the term *bamah* but rather *makom* ("place"; e.g., Deut. 12:3), a generic term for a cultic installation (cf. Ex. 20:21), known outside the Bible primarily in Phoenician inscriptions. There has been considerable speculation about the origin of the *bamah*-type cult place. W.F. Albright considers it to be primarily a funeral installation (cf. Isa. 53:9, and Abraham ibn Ezra's commentary), which later took on other functions. Indeed, Josiah destroyed a cemetery near the cult place of Beth-El, "there in the mountain" (II Kings 23:16–17). It is still impossible to be certain of this interpretation, however, and most of the evidence in support of it comes from Greek and other external contexts.

Mizbe'ah

The term *mizbe'aḥ* may be discussed either as a cultic appurtenance, considering its design and uses, or as the identifying feature of a cult place. It is the latter sense that will be examined here. Every cult place obviously included an altar. The problem is to ascertain whether the cult place designated as *mizbe'aḥ* was of restricted proportions and did not include a more elaborate installation such as a *bamah* or *mikdash*, or whether it did, in which case the designation *mizbe'aḥ* was imprecise. In ancient Israel a man might construct an altar at a site where he had experienced a divine revelation. Thus, Abraham set up an altar near Shechem "to the Lord who had appeared to him" (Gen. 12:7). Isaac built an altar at Beersheba after a theophany (26:25), and Jacob is commanded to go to Beth-El and to construct an altar, "to the God who appeared to you when you were fleeing from your brother Esau" (35:1). The dynamic relationship between theophany and altar-building underlies Jacob's earlier activities at Beth-El (Gen. 28), except that more was involved than simply an altar. The same dynamics applied to *Gideon at Ophrah (Judg. 6:12, 24) and to the parents of Samson at Zoreah (*ibid.*, 13:3, 19–20). Probably the most understandable circumstances for altar-building were the individual needs of worshipers for a place to offer sacrifice in proximity to their homes. Thus, Samuel constructed an altar in Ramah, where he lived (I Sam. 7:17), as did Abraham when he lived between Beth-El and Ai (Gen. 13:4), and when he pitched his tents near Hebron (Gen. 13:18), and Jacob when he purchased a plot of land in the area of Shechem (33:19–20).

Collectively, the Israelites constructed an altar when they were required to offer sacrifices at Mount Sinai, where no cultic installation stood (Ex. 24:4). Altars might be built in celebration of victory (Ex. 17:15; I Sam. 14:35), and abandoned altars could be restored as by Elijah somewhere on the Carmel range (I Kings 18). Most of this evidence indicates that altars were often built for particular purposes at cult places already noted for their importance. Of course many altars could be constructed at any one town, not necessarily in the same area. Yet it is significant that Samuel built his altar at Ramah where there was a large *bamah* installation, and the Bible clearly tells of Jacob building an altar at Beth-El, the very site where he had previously contributed to the establishment of a temple. Similarly, Isaac's altar at Beersheba was not the first "Israelite" cultic installation at that site, for Abraham had invoked God there (Gen. 21:33), and such an invocation (Heb. *kara be-shem* YHWH) is often associated with altar-building and evidently involved the offering of sacrifices. In some instances it can be assumed that the previous altar on a particular site might have fallen into disuse or been destroyed, but this cannot be said of all cases on record.

Building an altar could constitute the first step in establishing a site as an Israelite cult place. Thus, Gideon is commanded to destroy the altar of Baal and erect an altar to YHWH on the same site (Judg. 6:25–26). It seems clear that the Israelites did not use pagan altars, but they did tend to gravitate to localities considered sacred by the idolatrous peoples of the area. Scholars have tended to confuse these two aspects of the early history of Israelite religion, the sacredness of places and the fitness of cultic installations and appurtenances. Normally a locality was believed to be sacred in perpetuity, but the cultic installations of non-monotheistic peoples constituted an abomination. Deuteronomy (12:12) lays down the harshest legislation concerning the destruction of all of the *mekomot* ("places") where idolatry was practiced. Most of the information from biblical sources on the subject of altar-building suggests that it was a feature of the earlier periods of Israelite settlement in Canaan. This is certainly the impression that Genesis aims at and it is also implicit in Joshua, Judges, Samuel, and Kings.

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[Baruch A. Levine / Shimon Gibson (2nd ed.)]

°CUMANUS VENTIDIUS, Roman procurator of Judea from 48 to 52 C.E. He held office at a time of increasing unrest. The *Zealots, who were already active in the time of his predecessor *Tiberius Julius Alexander, extended their activities during his period of office. The tension which accompanied his appointment is to some extent attributable to his own corruption and readiness to accept bribes. This came to light in the quarrel between the Jews and Samaritans, when he failed to punish the latter for the murder of a pilgrim from Galilee to Jerusalem. In revenge the Jews, led by the Zealots *Eleazar son of Dinai and *Alexander, set fire to Samaritan villages and killed the inhabitants. According to the report in Josephus' *Antiquities*, Cumanus was in the pay of the Samaritans; in his *Jewish Wars* Josephus gives a different account. The disturbance was reported to Quadratus, the governor of Syria, by the Samaritans. After hearing both sides Quadratus executed a number of Jews and Samaritans and ordered Cumanus and the tribune Celer to report to the emperor in Rome. Cumanus was banished, after the emperor had been influenced by both his wife Agrippina and the young king *Agrippa II, and the tribune was sent to the Jews in Jerusalem for capital punishment. Two other riots were caused, one by the indecent behavior of a Roman soldier at the Passover festival and the other when a Roman soldier set fire to a Torah scroll in the course of a punitive mission to the villages near Beth-Horon, where Jews had robbed an imperial officer. Cumanus' period of office was marked by a deteriorating relationship between Jews and Romans.

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[Lea Roth]

°CUMBERLAND, RICHARD (1732–1811), English playwright and novelist who tried to reverse the image of the Jew created by Shakespeare in *The Merchant of Venice*. Educated at Cambridge, Cumberland began writing plays around 1759. His first stage Jew was Naphtali in *The Fashionable Lover* (1772). This was an unflattering portrait, but by the time he wrote *The Jew* (1794), his attitude had changed completely. In the person of Sheva, Cumberland brought a new kind of Jew to the English stage. Sheva, like Shylock, is a usurer, hustled and insulted by the gentlemen of the town as "the meerest muckworm in the city of London." But by the end of the play the audience is made to realize that not one of the unflattering epithets really applies to him, and he is acclaimed as "the widow's friend, the orphan's father, the poor man's protector, the universal philanthropist." In spite of touches of melodrama and sentimentality, *The Jew* did well on the stage and had an influence on the more serious drama of the period. It has been translated into Hebrew and Yiddish. Cumberland produced a collection of essays, *The Observer* (1785), in which he introduced the saintly original of Sheva, Abraham Abrahams. He also wrote an unsuccessful comic opera entitled *The Jew of Mogadore* (1808). Cumberland's philo-Semitism paved the way for other favorable depictions of Jews in English literary works.

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[Harold Harel Fisch]

CUMIN (Heb. כַּמּוֹן, *kammon*; Isa. 28:25, 27), the spice *Cuminum cyminum*. In mishnaic times cumin grew extensively in Ereẓ Israel and was even exported (Dem. 1:1), the local variety being superior to that of Cyprus (TJ, Dem. 2:1, 22b). It was used as a spice for eating with bread, and it was popular though it was regarded as a luxury and was excluded from the commodities which it was forbidden to hoard in years of famine (BB 90b). Since cumin was effective in stemming the flow of blood, it was used to stem bleeding caused by circumcision (Shab. 19:2) and the menstrual flow (Shab. 110b). Today cumin is occasionally grown as a condiment in Ereẓ Israel. It scatters its seeds and thus grows wild in a number of places.

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[Jehuda Feliks]

°CUNAEUS (Van der Cun), PETRUS (1586–1638), Dutch humanist legal scholar and poet. Cunaeus was appointed professor of Latin (1612), politics (1613), and law (1615) at Leiden University. From 1601 he had studied Hebrew under Ambrosius Regemorter at Leiden. Later he went to Franeker, where he learned Aramaic and read rabbinic texts with Johann *Drusius. His main work, *De Republica Hebraeorum libri tres* (Leiden 1617, with translations into English (1653), Dutch (1700), and French (1705)), was a comparative discussion of the political and theological institutions of the ancient Hebrews. Continuing similar studies by Carlo Sigonio and Cornelius Betram, Cunaeus forged political theory, historical research, and biblical studies into an integrated methodology. Taking *Josephus as his point of departure, he tried to show the superiority of the Israelite theocracy to the Greek and Roman polity. His exposition was one of the first to systematically rely on talmudic and medieval Jewish sources.

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[Irene E. Zwiep (2nd)]

CUNEO, city in northern Italy. The oldest Jewish community in the territory of the House of Savoy emerged in Savigliano, not far from Cuneo, at the beginning of the 15th century. It is estimated that by the middle of the 16th century, about 400 Jews lived under the dukes of Savoy. A turning point came in 1570, when Pope Pius V expelled the Jews from Avignon, where a flourishing community, called the "Pope's Jews," had long existed in proximity to the pontifical court. Emanuele Filiberto welcomed many refugees to the region of Cuneo, perhaps with the objective of filling the demographic gap that had developed in preceding decades following persecutions of the Protestants. A period of uninterrupted stability began in a large area between Cuneo and Monferrato; local administrations profited by the financial support of small but flourishing Jewish communities. Migrations from Provence continued for several decades. In 1630 the Jews of Cuneo were permitted to participate in artisan crafts and trade without the burden of taxes higher than those levied on non-Jews. The situation became much more critical in the 18th century as a result of the rigid attitude of Vittorio Amedeo II and his son Carlo Emanuele III. This was the period of the severe application of the Regie costituzioni (1723), forced conversions, and the imposition of the ghetto, an institution that arrived two centuries later than in the rest of the peninsula. The ghetto in present-day Mondovì, for example, dates from September 1724. Surviving documents reveal oppressive schemes in other cities under Savoyard authority, including attempts to organize anti-Jewish manifestations and conflicts during Carnival. By the end of the 18th century, the Jews had been progressively isolated, removed from any contact with the surrounding society. This condition continued in the following century right up to the Albertine Statuto (1848), the document that decreed the emancipation of religious minorities (Jews and Valdesians). The census of Napoleon I indicates that 215 Jews resided in Cuneo in 1806, a number that increased to 301 by 1816. These statistics indicate a community that in the 19th century witnessed the birth of several important representatives of Italian Jewish culture, including Lelio Della Torre. A significant transformation occurred at the beginning of the 20th century, following the industrialization of the Italian state created in 1861 and the consequent urbanization that attracted a considerable portion of the Jewish community to Turin. The census of Mussolini in 1938 established for Cuneo the figure of 182 Jews, but included Jews residing in Saluzzo, Mondovì, Fossano, Busca, Moretta, and Cherasco. The Jewish community lost its juridical autonomy after 1945 and is today part of the Jewish community of Turin.

Holocaust Period

Eight kilometers from Cuneo, at the point of confluence of the valley of the Gesso and the valley of the Stura, the two principal valleys of the Maritime Alps in Italy, the Germans established a concentration camp in the commune of Borgo San Dalmazzo a few days after their occupation of the area on September 12, 1943. They selected an old military barracks a few meters from the railroad station on the Nice-Cuneo line. In the 19th century the building had housed a spinning mill. Nothing remains today of the construction that hosted 349 "foreign" Jews, refugees from Central and Eastern Europe arrested by the Germans in the Province of Cuneo on or after September 18. They were from a group of about 1,000 Jewish refugees in enforced residence in St. Martin Vesubie, France, who had followed Italian soldiers retreating from formerly Italian-occupied France after the Italian armistice with the Allies was announced on September 8. They had struggled across the Alps through the passes of the Finestre, at 2,575 meters above sea level, and Ciriegia, at 2,551 meters, expecting to find the Allies in the Cuneo area rather than the Germans.

Also in the camp at Borgo San Dalmazzo in the autumn of 1943 were some Italian Jews arrested in Cuneo, but they were freed before a circular from Minister of the Interior Buffarini Guidi demanding their arrests went into effect. The "first camp" of Borgo San Dalmazzo functioned until November 21, 1943, when the 349 "foreigners" were taken from the barracks to the station where a freight train awaited them. Passing through Cuneo, Savona, and Nice, they were transferred to Drancy, outside Paris. The majority continued on to Auschwitz in convoy 64 on December 12, 1943. Only 10 are known to have survived. Most of the others from the original group survived, however, by hiding in the surrounding mountains or by moving south to Florence or Rome. They were aided by hundreds of local Italians in a rescue effort often coordinated by Don Raimondo Viale (1907–1987), who after the war was recognized as a Righteous Among the Nations.

The camp at Borgo San Dalmazzo was reopened a few days after the departure of the Jewish refugees, so that one speaks of a "second camp" between December 4, 1943, and February 15, 1944. The reopening was ordered by the police in Cuneo on December 9 in response to a decree on December 2. This time all Jews were eligible for arrest, without distinction. Most affected were the weak, the elderly, those living alone, all those who had not been able to hide. Jews from Cuneo who had escaped deportation from the "first camp" had gone into hiding, usually in the mountains. Those of Mondovì were warned in time. The fate of the Jews of Saluzzo, where Jews taking refuge from Turin were added to the few regular residents of the area, was different and more tragic. A total of 26 Jews from Saluzzo were deported, mostly women, registered in a list dated January 31, 1944. Phonogram number 01083 of the local police, dated February 15, 1944, ordered their transfer to Fossoli, from where they were ultimately deported to Auschwitz. Then on April 25, 1945, the day Cuneo was liberated, the Germans seized six "foreign" Jews from the local prison and shot them under the arches of the bridge leading into the city.

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[Alberto Cavaglion (2nd ed.)]

CUOMOTINI (Turk. **Gumuldjina**), city in northeastern Greece in the region of Thrace. Jewish settlement is known from the early 16th century when, according to a population census, the Jewish community numbered 100 people or 25 head of household. The first settlers came from Edirne and later Salonika, and a Jewish community, primarily Sephardi, existed until the Bulgarians deported the Jews of the city in World War II.

When *Nathan of Gaza, the key follower of the false messiah *Shabbetai Ẓevi, fled from Edirne and Ipsula, he found refuge in Cuomotini with Shabbateans. He was driven out of the city by opponents who placed a *ḥerem* against him.

A synagogue, immediately outside of the city walls, existed from the 18th century.

In 1786, the Jews were victims of an attack by a Turkish army rebel and his small force who revolted, attacked the walled city, locked themselves in, and forced the Jews who lived within the walls to collaborate with them and shoot at the army. They had to feed the captives and break the Sabbath. The Ḥakham Jacob saved the community by bribery and the Jewish women cared for the wounded insurgents. The Jews escaped prosecution from the authorities also by bribery, and the 22nd of Elul became a day of commemoration on which they did not work. An unfinished hymn was composed by Rabbi Daniel de Avila.

In the 1860s the Carasso, Abravanel, Nahmias, and Molho families of Salonika settled in Cuomotini. In the 1880s, the Jews lived within the walls and the gates were locked at night. According to legend, in 1888–89 the Jews did not live in the city but came daily as traders from Drama and elsewhere and were only permitted to live inside the walls after the sick wife of a Turkish official could not find a Jewish merchant who sold natural medicines, on condition that they would reside in the city permanently. Seventy houses in the Turkish Quarter were allocated to them and they were given permission to build a synagogue inside the walls.

In 1907 the Jewish community numbered 200 families. By the early 20th century, there were four philanthropic associations as well as a *ḥevra kaddisha* and a *bikkur ḥolim*. Since Jews were not admitted to Greek-Orthodox schools, a Jewish school was founded in 1889, but it closed down shortly afterward owing to financial difficulties. A boys school was established in 1899 and a separate girls school was also set up. A coeducational school was founded in 1910, which received assistance from the Alliance Israélite Universelle. In 1912 it had 246 students.

The community was under Bulgarian rule from 1912 until 1922. A branch of the Bulgarian Association for Hebrew Language and Culture was established in the city.

When Turkey ceded Thrace and Cuomotini became Greek, the Jews had to designate three buildings to house refugees. In 1928, the community numbered 1,159 people. New organizations included the cultural Cercle Israelite, the women's volunteer Rofeh Holim, and the Zionist Aḥdut and B'nai Israel. In 1934, Meir Dasa sat on the local municipal council.

In November 1940, after the commencement of the Albanian campaign, the government sequestered the Jewish school. In April 1941, the Bulgarians annexed Thrace. In early 1942, Jewish youth were seized for forced labor. The Bulgarians ran a harsh and violent occupation. While some 28 escaped, most of the Jews were arrested on March 4, 1943, and transported in 20 open train cars to the notorious Dupnitsa transit camp, and then dispatched from Lom by boat via the Danube. The Jews from Cuomotini and Kavala on the *Karageorge* were shot by the Bulgarians and the Germans; while three other boats, of which one held Cuomotini Jews, arrived in Vienna and from there the Thracian Jews were sent to Treblinka; where they were gassed upon arrival. The Bulgarians confiscated all of the Jewish properties and possessions.

Only 18 Jews returned to the city, left with nothing. Most did not stay, leaving for Athens, the United States, or Israel. The synagogue, which had been used as a stable during the war, was returned, but served as a storage facility until 1980. In the early 1990s the roof collapsed and the municipality tore down the structure in 1994.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Y. Kerem, "The Jewish Community of Cuomotini. A Unique Case of Communal Organization and Philanthropic Consciousness," in: *Proceedings of the XIIth Congress of CIEPO, Archiv Orientalni, Supplementa VIII* (1998), 189–96; B. Rivlin, "Cuomotini," in: *Pinkas Kehillot Yavan* (1999), 339–47.

[Yitzchak Kerem (2nd ed.)]

CUPBEARER, a high ranking royal official primarily in charge of serving wine to the king. Since he was close to the person of the king, who feared intrigue and the possibility of poisoned food, the cupbearer was required to be a man of irreproachable loyalty capable of winning the king's complete confidence.

Genesis 40:1 mentions Pharaoh's cupbearer (Heb. *mashkeh, mashqeh*), who, in the next verse, is called the chief cupbearer (Heb. *sar ha-mashqim*). Indicative of the importance of the position is the fact that it was the cupbearer whom Joseph asked to intercede with Pharaoh in order to bring about his release from prison (Gen. 40:14). In I Kings 10:5 and II Chronicles 9:4, it is possible that the word *mashkav* (*mashqaw*) refers to Solomon's cupbearers who were among the king's many possessions which amazed the Queen of Sheba so much that "there was no more spirit in her." The word may, however, refer to Solomon's "drinking service," i.e., decanters and cups. Nehemiah's words, "For I was cupbearer to the king" (Neh. 1:11b), attests to a cupbearer at court as late as the Persian period.

An Aramaic inscription of the ninth century B.C.E. consisting of the word *lšqy'* ("belonging to the cupbearer"), has been found on a large stone jar at Ein Gev. It is assumed that *lšqy'* is the honorific title of a dignitary or royal official at the court of Ben-Hadad II or Hazael. The word was probably an imitation of such Assyrian titles as *šāqû*, or *rab-šāqê*, which denote an important official at the royal court. The title *rab-šāqê* appears in the Bible as *Rab-Shakeh, Sennacherib's chief cupbearer (II Kings 18:17ff.; Isa. 36:2ff.). That such a title could be honorary and also connected with practical duties is apparent from the context of II Kings 18:17–19 and Isaiah 36:2 where the Assyrian *rab-šāqê* challenges Hezekiah king of Israel. Assyrian palace reliefs indicate the importance of the cupbearer in relation to the king's other servants. Representations in pictorial art and literary sources show that cupbearers also existed at the courts of the various kings of Canaan.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: B. Mazar et al., in: IEJ, 14 (1964), 27–28.

CURAÇAO, an island near the northern coast of Venezuela, South America, under the Dutch Crown part of the Netherland Antilles. Sighted by the Conquistador Alonso de Ojeda in 1498, it was captured from the Spanish by the Dutch in 1634. The Dutch West India Company was interested in populating the island, and among others to attract Jews from Dutch Brazil and to stem the flow of experienced Jewish planters from Brazil to Barbados. The first organized group of Jews was headed by Joao de Yllan (1651), and a second group by David Nassi (1652). The Jews were given an area called the "Jewish Quarter," several miles from the fortress which today is Willemstadt, capital of the island. Their efforts to plant sugar cane and other tropical products were not successful on this arid island. In 1659, however, a grant was given to another group of Jews from Brazil to settle in Curaçao, led by Isaac da Costa. He received the right of free exercise of religion, the right to protection, and permission to build a synagogue. Contrary to the situation prevailing in other Dutch possessions, the Jews had to adjust to some restrictions. They were treated as foreigners and were not even allowed to be inside the fortress after nine o'clock in the evening. Upon his nomination as governor of Curaçao, Peter Stuyvesant tried his utmost to limit the Jews' rights. All this could not prevent the Jews from transforming Curaçao into the main commercial center of the entire area. The proximity of Venezuela and Colombia facilitated the promotion of so-called illicit trade with the Spanish colonies. Owing to the shortage of Spanish vessels, Jews of Curaçao dealt through the conversos in these countries for their import and export.

The community "Mikve Israel" was founded in 1659 and the Jewish cemetery consecrated that same year. The first synagogue was dedicated in 1674 and coincided with the arrival of the first Haham (rabbi), Joshiau Pardo of Salonika. The present-day synagogue was established in 1732.

Curaçao became the center of Jewish life in the Caribbean and was called "Mother of the Caribbean Jewish communities." The establishment of the yeshivah Etz Haim ve-Ohel Yahakov (1674) gave spiritual guidance of the Jewish communities in the area. Bodies of Jews who died in places with no Jewish cemetery (mainly those under Spanish colonial rule), such as Cuba, Puerto Rico, and Santo Domingo, were transported to Curaçao for burial. The *mohalim* (circumcisers) of Curaçao attended to persons who arrived from Europe or other parts of the Americas with the aim of reconverting to Judaism. Among those who came from Spain and Portugal were a Dominican friar, a Franciscan father, and a Catholic priest. This continued until 1821.

The Jewish population continued to grow. Jews came from Amsterdam and Bayonne, exiles arrived from Pomeroon (Guiana) and Martinique, and conversos from Spain and Portugal. By 1729, the Jewish population exceeded 2,000, about one-half the total white population of the island. The small island was overpopulated and this led to Jewish immigration to other areas. Curaçao, however, remained their center.

In 1693, a party of 70 Curaçao Jews joined the Jews from Barbados in Newport, Rhode Island. That same year a group of Leghorn Jews left Curaçao to found the enclave at Tucacas, on the Venezuelan coast. The enclave, with its community and synagogue, existed until 1720, when captured by Spanish forces.

Curaçao Jews settled on the Dutch islands of Sint Maarten (Saint Martin) and Aruba; in the towns of Coro, Barcelona, Barquisimiento, Valencia, Caroa, and Puerto de Caballo in Venezuela; Carabobo, Rio Hacha, and Santa Marta in Colombia; in St. Thomas and St. Croix of the Virgin Islands; in Cap Haitien in Haiti; and in the Dominican Republic, Costa Rica, Panama, Cuba, New York, New Orleans, and Mexico City. In each location they still remained attached to Curaçao which, in turn, attended to their spiritual needs.

The commmunal importance of Curaçao has diminished today, and with it its Jewish population. Reform Judaism came to Curaçao in 1863, causing a rift and dividing Curaçao into two communities. The Reform "Temple Emmanuel" was dedicated in 1867. The dispute led to many Jews distancing themselves from the community. The conflict continued for almost 100 years, harming Jewish life. To resolve the situation, in 1964, the two communities merged to form "The United Netherlands Portuguese Congregation Mikve Israel – Emmanuel," which adopted Reconstructionism and decided "to include Sephardi rites so long as these do not conflict with Reconstructionist principles." In 1969, the Ashkenazi community "Shaarei Tzedek" was founded and an Ashkenazi synagogue built.

As of 2000, some 300 Jews lived in Curaçao, with the Ashkenazim being the majority.

Israel is represented in the Netherlands Antilles by the ambassador in Caracas and an honorary consul in Willemstadt.

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[Mordechai Arbell (2nd ed.)]

CURIEL, Marrano family, active in Jewish life in Amsterdam and Hamburg under the name of Nuñez da Costa. The origin of the name is Curiel del Duero in Castile. Jews whose origin was from this village bore the name after they had left it. A certain David Curiel from Avila, who decided to leave Castile in 1492, probably settled in Coimbra, with which the Curiel family became identified. It seems that in Coimbra the family descended from Abigail Curiel, alias Guiomar da Costa, after the forced conversion of 1497. Abigail was kept as a mistress for several years by Jeronimo de Saldanha, a nobleman with some Jewish ancestry, who was the father of a son raised in Coimbra as a Jew or Crypto-Jew. Hence the claim of the Curiel family to Portuguese nobility. Part of the family moved to Lisbon, some escaped from Portugal and reverted to Judaism, others moved to the New World. Several members of the family were tried by the Inquisition in Coimbra. These trials reveal much about the Jewish practices maintained by the family. Several members of the family lived in Covilhã. The departure of the Curiel family from Portugal was the result of indiscreet correspondence between the Jewish branch of the family living in Italy and the Portuguese New Christian branch. JACOB CURIEL, alias Duarte Nuñez da Costa (1587–1665), born a Marrano in Lisbon, moved via Pisa and Florence to Amsterdam and later to Hamburg. Having made himself useful to members of the royal house of Portugal in Hamburg, he was made Portuguese diplomatic representative. His elder son, MOSES (Jerónimo Nuñez da Costa; died 1697), was Portuguese agent in Amsterdam, where he was prominent in the Sephardi community and represented his coreligionists in cases before the Dutch authorities. Jacob's younger son, SOLOMON (Manoel Nuñez da Costa), succeeded his father in Hamburg. The family held diplomatic positions in both cities until the late 18th century.

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[Kenneth R. Scholberg / Yom Tov Assis (2nd ed.)]

CURIEL, ISRAEL BEN MEIR DI (d. 1577), sage of Safed. Neither the place nor the date of his birth is known. Similarly, there is no precise idea as to the date of his arrival in Safed. Di Curiel studied under R. Joseph Fasi in Adrianople, and presumably he held a rabbinic office in one of the congregations there. He evidently spent some time in Istanbul as well. In Safed, Di Curiel studied under Jacob *Berab and was one of the latter's ordainees. Together with Joseph *Caro and Moses *Trani, Di Curiel sat in the Safed *bet din*. Among his disciples was R. Bezalel *Ashkenazi. He was one of the outstanding preachers of his time . A corpus of Di Curiel's homilies was published by S. Regev in addition to his *Or Ẓaddikim* (Salonica 1799), which was mistakenly attibuted to R. Joseph *Caro. The poet R. Israel *Najara was his grandson.

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[Abraham David]

CURRICK, MAX COHEN (1877–1947), U.S. Reform rabbi. Currick was born in Boston and ordained at Hebrew Union College in 1898. After serving as rabbi of United Hebrew Congregation of Fort Smith, Arkansas, he became rabbi of Congregation Anshe Hesed in Erie, Pennsylvania, a position he held from 1901 until his death in 1947. A journalist as well, Currick was editor of the *Erie Dispatch* (1910–12) and chairman of the board of editors of *Liberal Judaism*, the house organ of the *Union of American Hebrew Congregations. In 1927, he became chairman of the *Central Conference of American Rabbis Committee on International Peace and was active in assisting victims of Nazism. Currick rose to many leadership roles in the CCAR and co-sponsored a tough (although not adopted by the rabbinic organization) resolution vehemently condemning "immorality" in Hollywood films. He was elected vice president of the CCAR in 1935 and served as president of the organization during the time of Hitler's rise to international power (1937–39), calling for greater cooperation among American Jewry to meet rising antisemitism at home and abroad. Contrary to the views of some other American Jewish leaders, however, Currick was of the opinion that no new umbrella organization needed to be formed to confront this challenge; rather, he felt, the *Synagogue Council of America, with its bedrock foundation in the houses of worship of the three streams of Judaism, should be given a broader mandate to speak out and act on issues facing American Jewry. In addition to his CCAR roles, Currick served on the Boards of Governors of Hebrew Union College and of the B'nai B'rith Home for Children.

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[Bezalel Gordon (2nd ed.)]

CURRIE, EDWINA (1946–), British politician. Edwina Currie (née Cohen) was born and educated in Liverpool and then at Oxford and the London School of Economics. The daughter of Orthodox Jews, she served in Birmingham local politics and then as a Conservative member of Parliament from 1983 to 1997. Under Margaret Thatcher, she enjoyed a high profile career as under-secretary of state for health from 1986 to 1988, initiating many public and media campaigns on health matters. In December 1988 she was forced to resign from the government because of a safety scare when she unwisely declared that most of Britain's eggs were infected with salmonella. She then became a writer, producing such thrillers as *The Ambassador* (1999). Edwina Currie hit the national headlines in 2002 when she published her *Diaries, 1987–92*, which revealed that in the mid-1980s she had had a four-year affair with John Major (Britain's prime minister from 1990 to 1997) before he was a major political figure. Currie was defeated at the 1997 general election and has since become a well-known radio and television presenter. Major and Currie reportedly spent much of their time together discussing the Jews.

[William D. Rubinstein (2nd ed.)]

CURTIS, JAMIE LEE (1958–), U.S. actor. Daughter of Jewish actor Tony *Curtis (Bernie Schwartz) and Janet Leigh, Curtis spent her high school years at the Choate School in Connecticut. After graduation, she attended the University of the Pacific in California for one term before dropping out. Universal signed Curtis to a seven-year contract in 1977 that got her bit parts on television shows like *Operation Petticoat*, *Quincy*, and *Columbo*. She made her big-screen debut in John Carpenter's *Halloween* (1978), and became known as the "queen of scream" with such follow-up horror films as *The Fog* (1980), *Prom Night* (1980), *Terror Train* (1981), and *Halloween II* (1981). After portraying the lead in the TV film *Death of a Centerfold: The Dorothy Stratten Story*, Curtis followed with comedy roles in the films *Trading Places* (1983) and *A Fish Called Wanda* (1988). She married actor-director Christopher Guest in 1984, with whom she has a daughter, Annie, and a son, Thomas, both adopted. In 1989–92, she starred opposite Richard Lewis in the sitcom *Anything But Love*, winning a 1990 Golden Globe for best actress in a television comedy. A memorable performance in the film *True Lies* (1994) opposite Arnold Schwarznegger won her another Golden Globe (1995), the same year that she appeared in the screen version of Wendy *Wasserstein's *The Heidi Chronicles* (1995). She reprised her role as Laurie Strode in *Halloween H2o* (1998). Curtis had a major hit with the Disney remake of *Freaky Friday* (2003) and continued her family-friendly roles with *Christmas with the Kranks* (2004). Curtis is also a successful children's book author, publishing *When I Was Little* (1995); *Tell Me Again about the Night I Was Born* (1996); *Today I Feel Silly* (1998); *Where Do Balloons Go?* (2000); *I'm Gonna Like Me* (2002); and *It's Hard to Be Five* (2004).

[Adam Wills (2nd ed.)]

CURTIS, TONY (**Bernard Schwartz**; 1925–), U.S. actor. Born in New York, the son of a Hungarian tailor, Curtis began his career on the stage in a settlement house in the Bronx. He then went from summer stock companies to off-Broadway shows, and finally to Hollywood. His first major dramatic role was in *Trapeze* (1956), followed by *Sweet Smell of Success* (1957). Adeptly handling both dramatic and comedy roles, Curtis starred in many films, including *Houdini* (1953), *The Defiant Ones* (1958), *The Vikings* (1958), *Some Like It Hot* (1959), *Operation Petticoat* (1959), *Spartacus* (1960), *The Rat Race* (1960), *Who Was That Lady?* (1960), *The Great Impostor* (1961), *The Outsider* (1962), *Taras Bulba* (1962), *Forty Pounds of Trouble* (1962), *Captain Newman, M.D.* (1963), *Goodbye, Charlie* (1964), *Sex and the Single Girl* (1964), *The Great Race* (1965), *Boeing, Boeing* (1966), *Don't Make Waves* (1967), *The Boston Strangler* (1968), *Lepke* (1975), *The Last Tycoon* (1976), *Casanova & Co.* (1977), *Little Miss Marker* (1980), *The Mirror Crack'd* (1980), *Insignificance* (1985), *Center of the Web* (1991), *The Mummy Lives* (1993), *Hardball* (1997), *Alien X Factor* (1997), *Stargames* (1998), and *Love Is a Survivor* (2004). Among his many television appearances, Curtis starred as Danny Wilde opposite Roger Moore in the adventure series *The Persuaders* (1971–72).

Adept at artwork as well, Curtis has been painting and drawing for more than 30 years. His works are on exhibit at art galleries and other venues around the world. Actress Jamie Lee *Curtis is the daughter of Curtis and his first wife, Janet Leigh. In 1993 Curtis wrote *Tony Curtis: The Autobiography* (with B. Paris).

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[Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

CURTIZ, MICHAEL (1888–1962), Hungarian director. Born Mihály Kertész in Budapest, Hungary, to carpenter Ignatz and opera singer Aranka. Curtiz grew up poor and made his acting debut in 1897 in an opera his mother had been cast in. He graduated from Markoszy University in 1906 and went to work for a traveling circus as a performer. He joined the Budapest Royal Academy of Theater and Art in 1910 and studied there for two years. After the academy, Curtiz became involved in the country's growing film industry and is said to have directed the country's first feature film, *Today and Tomorrow* (1912). In 1915, Curtiz married actress Lucy Doraine (nee Ilonka Kovács Perényi), who starred in many of his films from 1912 to 1919. Curtiz, who had served in the Austrian army during World War I, signed a contract with Sascha Studios in Vienna and relocated to Austria from Hungary in 1919 after the Communists nationalized the country's film industry. In 1923, he directed the acclaimed S*odom and Gomorrah* and divorced his wife. In 1924 he directed the film *Die Sklavenkönigin*, released in the United States under the title *Moon of Israel*. The film inspired Jack Warner to extend an invitation to Curtiz to come and direct for the studio. His first films for Warner Bros. in 1926 were silent, but he gradually moved over to talkies between 1927 and 1929. Curtiz married screenwriter Bess Meredyth in 1929. In the late 1930s, he made several romantic adventures starring Errol Flynn, including *Captain Blood* (1935) and *The Adventures of Robin Hood* (1938). By 1937, Curtiz had become an American citizen, but was renowned for never having mastered the English language. Yet he directed some of the most iconic American films, such as the 1942 musical *Yankee Doodle Dandy* and what is considered the greatest American film, *Casablanca* (1942), the only film to earn him an Oscar for best director. He continued to work at a hectic pace, turning out 23 more films for Warner Bros., including the Oscar-winning *Mildred Pierce* (1945), *Life with Father* (1947), and *Jim Thorpe, All-American* (1951), but left in 1954, filming the popular *White Christmas* for Paramount that year. As the studios declined, so too did his career, but he continued to direct a wide variety of films, including Elvis Presley in *King Creole* (1958) and finishing the John Wayne film *The Comancheros* (1961) a few months before his death in Los Angeles.

[Adam Wills (2nd ed.)]

°**CUSA, NICHOLAS OF** (1401–1464), German theologian and philosopher. Nicholas was born in Cusa (Kues), Germany. He became a cardinal in 1448. At the ecclesiastical synod of Bamberg convened by him in his capacity of papal legate in 1451 Cusa had condoned the regulation obliging Jews to wear a distinctive *badge. His historical importance derives from his writings, in which he set forth an intensely spiritual interpretation of belief. For this task he developed philosophical concepts which enabled his work to serve as a link between the Middle Ages and early modern times. The conquest of Constantinople by the Turks in 1453 and the atrocities engendered by their fanaticism motivated him to write *De pace fidei* (1453; ed. by R. Klibansky and H. Bascour, 1956). His aim was to trace the common ground between different creeds and thus eliminate religious conflicts. In the work Nicholas portrays wise men of many nations representing a wide range of creeds and sects gathered in heaven to listen to esoteric teaching. According to it, the doctrinal essence of Christianity is defined as a cosmogonic process determining the relation of God and man, an interpretation that was intended as a basis of belief for all religions, even paganism. Nicholas knew very well that the Jews' explicit refusal to recognize the messianic character of Jesus, whose appearance on earth was the pivot of his metaphysical history, was an obstacle to the achievement of such harmony. But in the debate the Jewish speaker agrees that an understanding of the Trinity as the process of creation avoids ascribing the objectionable attribute of plurality to God (ch. 9). Further, Peter sets forth the argument that the real belief of the Jews transcends their own understanding: "They prefer death to any violation of the Law; but this attitude presupposes a belief in immortality, even though such blessing is not promised in the Torah for the mere fulfilling of the Law" (ch. 15). Nicholas' teaching was influenced by a tradition going back to the German Dominican theologian and mystic Meister *Eckhart (c. 1260–1327), whose writings introduced him to Maimonides. Nicholas' famous book *De docta ignorantia* (1440; tr. by G. Heron as *Of Learned Ignorance*, 1954) contains passages from Maimonides' *Dux neutrorum* (*Guide of the Perplexed)*, presented as the authority for the treatise's statements concerning the right approach to the understanding of the Divine Being (1:16; 26). They are identical with the corresponding quotations summarized in Eckhart's Exodus commentary. But in contrast to Eckhart, Nicholas names a Rabbi Solomon as the author of the texts. Possibly, at the time he did not wish to reveal his link with the daring 14th-century Dominican. About 1450 he made a search for a complete text of the *Dux neutrorum* and, having found it in a Dutch monastery, ordered a copy for the pope.

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[Hans Liebeschutz]

CUSH (**Kush**). (1) Cush was the name of an ancient kingdom in N.E. Africa. The portion of the Nile Valley between the First and Sixth Cataracts was called Cush by the pharaonic Egyptians, though western nations preferred the Greek appellation Nubia. One of the earliest mentions of the name

Cush is found on an inscription of the early Middle Kingdom (c. 1970 B.C.E.). During the second millennium B.C.E. Cush was absorbed into the Egyptian empire, first as far as the Second Cataract under the Middle Kingdom rulers and then as far as the Sixth by the New Kingdom pharaohs. When the New Kingdom disintegrated (c. 1050 B.C.E.), Cush, which had been thoroughly Egyptianized, gained its independence under a line of native kings. It was probably the Cushite king Shabako (c. 707–696) who encouraged *Hezekiah of Judah to resist the Assyrians under Sennacherib and sent the relief army that the Assyrians crushed at the battle of Eletekh in 701 B.C.E., since Taharka (*Tirhakah), mentioned in II Kings 19:9 and Isaiah 37:9, had not yet come to the throne. In fact, the biblical account is believed by some scholars to be a conflation of two campaigns. After the Assyrian conquest of Egypt in 666 B.C.E., Taharka's successor Tanwentamani at first succeeded in freeing Upper Egypt as far as Memphis from the Assyrians in about 663–662 B.C.E., but he was driven out by the avenging armies of Ashurbanipal. The ancient capital of Thebes was so savagely plundered that 50 years later it served the prophet Nahum as an example for the forthcoming destruction of Nineveh (Nah. 3:8, 10). From this time on, Cush ceased to intervene in the affairs of Egypt.

(2) According to the Bible, Cush was the son of Ham (Gen. 2:13; 10:6–8; Ezek. 38:5; I Chron. 1:8–10) and the eponym of the N.E. African people. In several verses the name refers to other peoples; the distinction is not clear in every single case (Num. 12:1; II Chron. 14:8; 21:16). In the Septuagint the name appears in two forms: in those verses in which it designates the son of Ham it appears in the form Χους while in other cases it is Αιθιοπια, i.e., Ethiopia. Most modern translations follow the Septuagint. The whole of East Africa was called Cush by the Greeks, and in modern times "*Cushi*" is a Hebrew term for a black person.

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[Alan Richard Schulman]

CUSHAN-RISHATHAIM (Heb. כּוּשַׁן רִשְׁעָתַיִם), the first oppressor of Israel in the period of the Judges (Judg. 3:8–10). Israel was subject to Cushan-Rishathaim, the king of Aram-Naharaim, for eight years, before being rescued by the first "judge," *Othniel son of Kenaz. The second element, Rishathaim ("double wickedness"), is presumably not the original name, but serves as a pejorative which rhymes with Naharaim. The combination Aram-Naharaim is not a genuine one for the period of the Judges, since at that time the Arameans were not yet an important ethnic element in Mesopotamia. In the view of some scholars, the story lacks historical basis and is the invention of an author who wished to produce a judge from Judah, and raise the total number of judges to twelve. Those who see a historical basis to the story have proposed various identifications for Cushan-Rishathaim: (1) Cushan is to be sought among one of the Kassite rulers in Babylonia (17th–12th centuries; cf. Gen. 10:8). Josephus identifies Cushan with an Assyrian king. Others identify him with one of the Mitannian or Hittite kings. (2) Cushan is an Egyptian ruler from *Cush in Africa (Nubia; cf. Gen. 10:6; Isa. 11:11, et al.). (3) The head of the tribe of Cush, which led a nomadic existence along the southern border of Palestine. Such Cushite nomads are mentioned in the Egyptian Execration Texts of the first quarter of the second millennium B.C.E. and in the Bible (Num. 12:1; Hab. 3:7; II Chron. 14:8; 21:16). (4) Aram (Heb. ארם) is a corruption of Edom (Heb. אדום) and Naharaim is a later addition. Thus, Cushan is an Edomite king who subjugated the tribe of Judah whose territory was adjacent to Edom. (5) Cushan is from central or northern Syria, and is to be identified with a North Syrian ruler or with *irsw*, a Hurrian (from the area of Syria-Palestine) who seized power in Egypt during the anarchic period at the end of the 19th dynasty (c. 1200 B.C.E.). In his campaign from the north to Egypt, he also subjugated the Israelites. Othniel's rescue of the Israelites is to be understood against the background of the expulsion of the foreign invaders from Egypt by the pharaoh Sethnakhte, the founder of the 20th dynasty.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: E. Taeubler, in: HUCA, 20 (1947), 137–42; A. Malamat, in: JNES, 13 (1954), 231–42; S. Yeivin, in: *Atiqot*, 3 (1961), 176–80.

[Bustanay Oded]

CUTH, CUTHAH (Heb. כּוּת, II Kings 17:30; כּוּתָה; II Kings 17:24), a Sumero-Akkadian and Babylonian holy and cult city; the present-day Tell Ibrāhīm, 31¼ mi. (50 km.) N.E. of Babylon, 12½ mi. (20 km.) W. of Jemdet Nasr (see *Mesopotamia). The Sumerian (or pre-Sumerian) name for Cuthah is Gudua, and the Akkadian (from which the biblical name was derived) is Kutû(m). In the Bible (II Kings 17:24, 30) Cuthah figures as one of the cities from which the king of Assyria brought colonists to the province of Samaria. The Talmud (BB 91a) and Josephus (Ant., 9:279) speak of it as a locality still known in their time. The former identifies it with the Ur of the Chaldeans, which was Abraham's original home according to Genesis (11:31; 15:7). Perhaps the modern name of the site of Cuthah, Tell Ibrāhīm, reflects this tradition. The city of Cuthah is known in cuneiform sources chiefly as the cult center of the god Nergal; his central shrine, É-MES-LAM, stood in Cuthah (cf. e.g., Laws of Hammurapi, Preamble, line 71), and the Cuthean colonists in the province of Samaria established this cult there (II Kings 17:30). Cuthah is mentioned in various hymns and cultic poems. One historical poem, formerly known as the "Legend of the King of Cuthah," is now called the "Legend of Naram-Sin" because its subject is King Naram-Sîn of *Akkad (see O.B. Gurney, *Anatolian Studies*, 5 (1955), p. 93ff.). Although Cuthah was also considered a holy city by the Assyrian kings, it was damaged and destroyed by Sargon II and Sennacherib, due to the active participation of its old and new inhabitants in the wars of independence and revolts. According to the first edition of Sennacherib's annals of his first campaign (lines 23ff.) he took the city because it served as a center of Babylonian resistance to Assyria, and Ashurbanipal had to chastise it for the same reason. (Rassam Cylinder, 3:130 (in: D.D. Luckenbill, *The Annals of Sennacherib* (1924), 61); meanwhile Cuthah served as a minor astronomical-astrological observations station.) Either one or both of these episodes may be connected with the transplanting of Cutheans to the territory of the former rump kingdom of Ephraim reported in the already cited biblical passages (II Kings 17:24, 30; cf. Ezra 4:1–2, 10). In rabbinic sources "Cuthean" (Heb. כּוּתִי) is the fixed term of "*Samaritan."

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Luckenbill, Records, index; A. Parrot, *Archéologie mésopotamienne* (1946), 93; D.O. Edzard, *Die zweite Zwischenzeit Babyloniens* (1957); A.L. Oppenheim, in: *Centaurus*, 14 (1969/70), 97–135.

[Pinhas Artzi]

CUTLER, BRUCE (1948–). U.S. criminal lawyer. Born in Brooklyn, N.Y., to a detective turned lawyer, Cutler graduated from Hamilton College and Brooklyn Law School, with honors, in 1974. He was supervising senior trial attorney with the Homicide Bureau of the Brooklyn District Attorney from 1974 to 1981, when he joined the private practice of Barry Slotnick, one of New York's premier criminal lawyers. In March 1985, he became the defense lawyer for John Gotti, who headed a notorious crime family by virtue of a murderous coup and flaunted his power during a flamboyant reign as a Mafia boss. Cutler provided a tenacious and highly publicized defense of Gotti against a government determined to bring Gotti to his knees. A ubiquitous presence at Gotti's side in and out of the courtroom, Cutler became almost as infamous as his client. And, as Gotti became a lightning rod for prosecutors seeking glory, reputation, or promotion, Cutler became a lightning rod for controversy. The government said Cutler may have gotten too close, and they set out to see that Cutler and Gotti paid the price. Cutler successfully defended Gotti in an assault case, a federal racketeering trial, and in a case in which he was accused of shooting a union official. But in a federal murder and racketeering trial in 1991 and 1992, with Cutler and an associate defending Gotti, the winning streak ran out. Prosecutors contended that both lawyers were house counsel for a crime family and thus became potential witnesses in the case against Gotti. They were removed at the government's behest. Cutler, the appeals court said, had "entangled himself to an extraordinary degree in the activities of the Gambino crime family." Gotti was later convicted and sentenced to life without parole. He died in 2002. A judge had warned Cutler not to talk to the media during the proceedings but Cutler did. In 1993 he was convicted of contempt for violating the court order. He was sentenced to 90 days of house arrest, ordered to perform 600 hours of community service, and fined $5,000. He was also suspended from practicing law for six months in 1995 and 1996. Eventually, Cutler returned to private practice. He wrote *Closing Argument* (2003) about his law career.

[Stewart Kampel (2nd ed.)]

CUTLER, HARRY (1875–1920), U.S. industrialist, public official, and communal leader. Born in Russia, Cutler went to the U.S. at the age of eight. He became a successful jewelry manufacturer in Providence, Rhode Island. From 1908 to 1911 he served with distinction as a state assemblyman in Rhode Island. Cutler was a colonel in the National Guard and an aide to General John J. Pershing during the Mexican border campaign in 1916. During World War I, he helped found the *National Jewish Welfare Board to serve the needs of Jewish servicemen and was chairman of its executive committee. Cutler was one of nine delegates sent by the American Jewish Congress to Paris in 1919 to represent Jewish interests at the Versailles Conference. His other communal activities were manifold, including membership in the executive committees of the American Jewish Committee, Zionist Organization of America, and American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee, as well as vice chairman of the American Jewish Congress and vice president of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *New York Times* (Aug. 20, 1920).

[Morton Rosenstock]

°CUZA, ALEXANDER C. (1857–1946), Romanian nationalist and antisemitic leader. Cuza taught political economy at Jassy University (1900). From 1890, he combined law teaching with a political career devoted to the propagation of racial antisemitism and xenophobia. In 1895, he founded the Alliance antisémitique universelle in Bucharest, with N. Iorga and J. de Biez. In 1910, together with Iorga, he formed the proto-fascist National Democratic Party (NDP), based on the "National Christian" idea. The main points of the party's program were the elimination of the Jews from professional life, the prohibition against Jews settling in the villages, and their removal from the army. Between the two world wars, Cuza was the principal promoter of "*numerus clausus" and of racialism in academic circles and students' organizations, particularly at Jassy University, which became a focal point of antisemitism in Romania. In 1923, Cuza created out of the NDP the National Christian Defense League, a fascist formation which later gave birth to *Codreanu's *Iron Guard formed in 1930. In 1925 he was among the organizers of a secret European antisemitic conference which convened in Budapest. On Hitler's rise to power in Germany, the German Nazi Party supported Cuza's party, which united with O. Goga's agrarian national party in 1935 and became the National Christian Party (Partidul național-Creștin). In December 1937 Cuza helped Goga to set up a government which paved the way for Ion *Antonescu's dictatorship. Among Cuza's works are *Naționalitatea în artaˇ* ("Nationality in Art," 1908); *Scaderea Proporației Creștine și înmulțirea Jidanilor* ("Decrease of the Christian Population and Increase of the Jews," 1910); *Jidanii în Raˇsboiu* ("The Jews in the War," 1919); *Numerus Clausus* (1923).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Politics and Political Parties in Rumania* (1936), 432–5; P. Pavel, *Why Rumania Failed* (1944), index.

C.V.-ZEITUNG (*Central-Verein-Zeitung*), weekly newspaper published in Berlin between 1922 and 1938 to replace the former monthly *Im Deutschen Reich* (founded 1895) as the official organ of the *Central-Verein deutscher Staatsbuerger juedischen Glaubens (CV). One of its subtitles was **Allgemeine Zeitung des Judentums* in reference to the venerable German-Jewish newspaper founded under this name by Ludwig *Philippson in 1837 and which ceased to appear in 1922. The *CV-Zeitung*'s chief editor between 1922 and 1933 was the director of the CV, Ludwig *Hollaender, followed up to the end by Alfred Hirschberg. The gradual deletion of the paper's subtitles reflects the hostile attitude of the Nazi regime to the "assimilationist" CV and its newspaper: as early as August 1933 the subheading *Organ des Centralvereins deutscher Staatsbuerger juedischen Glaubens* disappeared from the masthead. From April 1935 on the boldface line *Zeitung fuer Deutschtum und Judentum* had had to be omitted by government order, leaving A*llgemeine Zeitung des Judentums* as the sole subtitle. The *CV Zeitung* was the most widely read Jewish newspaper in Germany, reaching a circulation of 73,000 in 1926. It ceased publication, like almost all Jewish papers, after the pogroms of November 1938.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: A. Barkai, *"Wehr dich!" Der Centralverein deutscher Staatsbuerger juedischen Glaubens (CV)* (2002).

[Avraham Barkai (2nd ed.)]

CYNICS AND CYNICISM, Greek philosophy glorifying the unspoiled primitive life that left its imprint upon many ages and cultures. The Cynics used a fable-like witty anecdote, the *chria*, which immortalized the extreme actions and caustic *bon mots* of their favorite sages (often nonhistorical). They were followed in this by *Philo, *tannaim*, and *amoraim*, and some Church Fathers. Philo repeats many *chriae* and portrays the Jewish festivals and Moses' life in a cynicizing manner. It has recently been argued by Fischel that in the rabbinic stories of *Hillel and, to a lesser degree, *Eliezer b. Hyrcanus, *Joshua, *Meir, and *Akiva, are found cynic *chriae* or composites of chriic materials including their original social values, such as endurance, poverty, lowly toil, strenuous effort, and total non-worry (all non-biblical). Cynical invective, bawdiness, and offensive humor, however, are somewhat toned down in the talmudic stories or reinterpreted through *halakhah* and belief in a transcendental world. As in the Greco-Roman tradition these *exempla* were apparently used to increase the stature of a founder-sage.

Additional cynic-rhetorical favorites reworked in rabbinism include Heracles at the Crossroads (Eccl. R. on 1:14, etc.); the Laughing Democritus (Akiva) and the Weeping Heraclitus (Gamaliel, etc., Mak. 24a, etc.); the Forgetful Thales (Hillel, Pes. 66a, et al.); and anti-Alexander items (Tam. 31b, et al.). The cynical *thaumaston*, a *chria* on a visiting foreign sage (esp. the Scythian Anacharsis) who "marvels" (*thaumazei*) at the inner contradictions in the culture of his guests, may be the pattern for similar stories on Aesop, Jesus, and Hillel (TJ, Suk. 5:4, 55b; et al.).

The transition of cynic stances from the Greco-Roman scholar-bureaucracy to the Jewish-tannaitic one may have been facilitated by cynicism's superficial resemblance to biblical prophecy and by its critique of "paganism." Meir's reported disputations with the Cynic *Oenomaus of Gadara, although hardly genuine, may reflect some personal contacts, but then Oenomaus was a favorite target of Greco-Roman rhetoric. *Kinukos* (*kunikos*) as a destructive person occurs in the Jerusalem Talmud (Git. 7:1, 48c; et al.). Living under similar conditions the Cynics may have occasionally found rabbinic items congenial: Peregrinus Proteus' spectacular suicide at the Olympic Games of 167 C.E. resembles that of the Jewish high priest *Alcimus-Jakim according to the Midrash (Gen. R. 65:22).

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[Henry Albert Fischel]

CYON, ELIE DE (**Tsion, Ilya Faddeyevich**; 1842–1912), Russian physiologist. Cyon, who was born in Samara (now Kuibyshev), graduated from the University of Kiev and later studied in Berlin and France. In 1870 he became the first Jewish professor in Russia when he was appointed to the chair of physiology at the University of St. Petersburg. In 1872 he was appointed professor at the Medico-Surgical Academy in St. Petersburg and reformed the teaching of physiology by introducing the method of illustrative experiments. His work on reflexes won him international renown. As a result of political intrigues, Cyon was obliged to resign from the Academy in 1875. He thereafter gave up his scientific career and left Russia for Paris. Cyon published original work on the physiology of the nervous system and the heart, the mechanism of blood pressure, the application of electrotherapy, and a monograph on the inner ear. His treatise on new methods and techniques in physiological experiments served as a guide in many European medical centers. His publications include: *Methodik der physiologischen Experimente und Vivisektionen…* (1876); *Gesammelte physiologische Arbeiten…* (1888); *Dieu et Science: Essais de psychologie des sciences…* (1910).

[Suessmann Muntner]

CYPRESS, the tree *Cupressus sempervirens* of which two varieties are known, the horizontal *Cupressus sempervirens horizontalis* and the vertical *Cupressus sempervirens pyramidalis*. The former grows wild in the high mountains of Gilead and the slopes of Lebanon. Scholars differ as to the biblical name for the cypress. In modern Hebrew it is identified with *berosh*, but the identification appears to be erroneous since the biblical *berosh* has been identified with the *juniper. It is almost certain that both the gopher and *te'ashur* of the Bible are the cypress. (1) Gopher: It was from this wood that Noah was commanded to build the ark (Gen. 6:14). Of all the suggestions put forward to identify this tree, the cypress seems the most likely, and its Greek name κοπάρισος appears to be related to the Semitic gopher. The wood is proofed against rot and is suitable for the building of seaworthy craft. Ships in ancient times were constructed mainly of cypress. (2) *Te'ashur* (AV "*box tree") is mentioned by Isaiah among the trees that will blossom on the way of the redeemed in the wilderness (Isa 41:19), and will be employed in the construction of the Temple (*ibid.* 60:13). Ezekiel, describing the ships of the Tyrians, states that they were made of *bat-ashurim* from the isles of the Kittites (Ezek. 27:6). Both Rashi (basing himself on the Targum) and Kimḥi read it as one word preceded by a preposition *bite'ashurim* ("with cypress wood brought from the island of Cyprus"). The cypress grows on that island, and some are of the opinion that the name of this island is actually derived from it. *Te'ashur* is apparently derived from "*yashar*" ("upright") because of the erect nature of the *C.s. pyramydalis*. The horizontal species resembles the cedar, and it would appear that the references in rabbinical literature to cedars growing in Israel are to the horizontal cypress. The cypress is not indigenous to Israel but is grown as an ornamental tree and as a windbreak in orchards. It is also planted in pine forests. The picturesque mixture of pine and cypress can be found in the forest at Sha'ar ha-Gai and at Ein Karem near Jerusalem.

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[Jehuda Feliks]

CYPROS (first century C.E.), mother of *Herod. She was descended from a noble Nabatean family and married *Antipater, the Idumean, to whom she bore four sons, *Phasael, Herod, Joseph, *Pheroras, and a daughter, Salome. At the court of Herod, Cypros, supported by her daughter Salome, was in constant conflict with Herod's wife, *Mariamne the Hasmonean, and her mother Alexandra, who mocked at her descent. Cypros and Salome hence succeeded in inciting Herod against his wife. Before Herod left for Rhodes to meet *Augustus, he left the members of his family at Masada, but he sent Mariamne and her mother in the charge of two faithful servants to Alexandreion. The bitter domestic rivalry led directly to Herod's execution of Mariamne. A fortress near Jericho was named Cypros by Herod in honor of his mother (Josephus, Wars, 1:417; Ant., 16:143). The site is situated on the southern side of Wadi Qelt, opposite Nuseib 'Uweishira, 15 miles (22 km.) distant from Jerusalem. It was excavated by E. Netzer and E. Damati in 1974 revealing a sumptious palace with bathhouses (one with a large bathtub *in situ*) and reception rooms with painted walls.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Jos., Wars, 1:181, 407, 438; 2:484; idem, Ant., 14:121; 15:81, 184, 213, 220, 239; A. Schalit, *Hordos ha-Melekh* (1960), 76–77, 79. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** E. Netzer, *The Palaces of the Hasmoneans and Herod the Great* (1999).

[Lea Roth / Shimon Gibson (2nd ed.)]

CYPROS (first century C.E.), wife of Agrippa I, and daughter of Herod's brother Phasael and Salampsio. She bore her husband two sons, Drusus, who died in his childhood, and Agrippa, and three daughters, Berenice, Drusilla, and Mariamne. Cypros showed great loyalty to her husband whose reckless spending often caused him to get into debt. On one such occasion she prevented him from committing suicide. She then turned to his sister *Herodias, wife of Herod *Antipas, who secured a public appointment for Agrippa. He was however unable to hold it for long, and fell into debt again. Once more she came to her husband's rescue, persuading the alabarch *Alexander Lysimachus to grant a loan. Derenbourg considers that it was largely her influence which transformed Agrippa from a rather irresponsible and profligate young man into the king beloved of the rabbis.

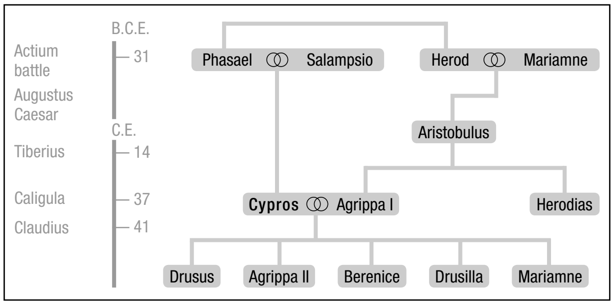

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Jos., Ant., 18:131ff., 148ff., 159ff.; Pes. 57–58; Sot. 7:8; Ket. 17a; Derenbourg, Hist, 209–10; Klausner, Bayit Sheni, 4 (1963), 288.

[Lea Roth]

CYPRUS, an island in the eastern Mediterranean, opposite the coast of northern Syria; c. 40 mi. south of Turkey and c. 65 mi. west of Syria.

Ancient Period

According to many scholars, the name Alashiya (Elishah, אֱלִישָׁה Gen. 10:4; I Chron. 1:7; Ezek. 27:7) refers to the island of Cyprus or a part of it. Alashiya is described in sources of the second millennium B.C.E. (Mari, Amarna, Ugarit, and Egyptian documents) as a place from which copper was exported – parenthetically it should be noted that Greek sources also bear witness to the fact that Cyprus was a source of copper for the Mediterranean countries (see *Metals). A stele of *Sargon II has been unearthed at Citium in Cyprus (*Kitti* in Phoenician, *Kittim in Isa. 23:1, and Ezek. 27:6). Sargon and Esarhaddon mention ten kings of the land of *Iadnāna* (or *ā'ā*) who paid them tribute. The names and residences of these kings indicate that the Cypriot population was not Semitic, and a relationship with indigenous peoples of Anatolia has been suggested. The Cypriot native language and the so-called Cypro-Minoan script or Cypro-Mycenean script from the Bronze Age remain undeciphered. The majority of the inscriptions in the so-called Cypriot syllabic script – which seems to have been

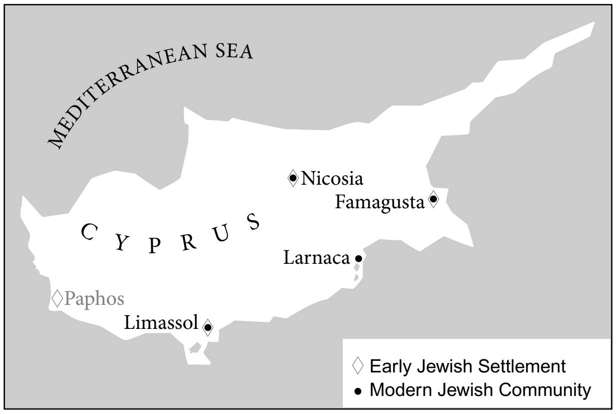

Major Jewish communities on Cyprus in medieval and modern times.

employed from about the sixth to the first centuries B.C.E. – is couched in Greek, and a few are in an undeciphered language.

[Bustanay Oded]

Like Ereẓ Israel, Cyprus came under Ptolemaic rule at the beginning of the third century B.C.E., at which period a Jewish settlement on the island apparently began to develop on a large scale. Actual evidence of such settlement, however, dates from the middle of the second century B.C.E., Cyprus being among the places to which the Romans sent letters in 142 B.C.E. requesting that the rights of the Jews there be safeguarded (I Macc. 15:23). In the days of John Hyrcanus the Jewish settlement in the island flourished (Jos., Ant., 13:284). Apart from the literary evidence that Jews lived in Cyprus in this period, Hasmonean coins have been discovered on the island. In 58 B.C.E. the island was annexed to the Roman province of Cilicia. During the Roman period there were contacts between Ereẓ Israel and Cyprus: Herod received from Augustus a portion of the revenue from the copper mines there and was entrusted with the management of some of them (*ibid.*, 15:128). It is possible that Jews were employed at the mines in an administrative capacity, or that they were sent to work there as a punishment for criminal offenses. After the death of Herod, his granddaughter Alexandra married an aristocratic Cyprus Jew, Timius of Cyprus (*ibid.*, 18:131). The existence of a large Jewish settlement in Cyprus is attested by a letter of *Agrippa I to the emperor Caligula in which he states that Jerusalem is the capital not of Judea alone, but of all Jews, including those in Cyprus (Philo, *Legatio ad Gaium*, 282). The Acts of the Apostles (4:36; 13:4–6; 15:39) also bear witness to a large Jewish population on the island. The apostles Paul, Barnabas of Cyprus, and John preached in the synagogues at Salamis and other places. The Jews were not favorably disposed to the spread of Christianity, and a certain Bar Joshua (Barjesus) attempted to obstruct the apostles' efforts to exert their influence on the Roman governor (Acts 13:6–8).

There is some evidence, though sparse, of Cyprus Jews in Ereẓ Israel: a Jew of Cyprus helped to persuade Drusilla, the daughter of Agrippa, to marry the procurator Felix (52–60 C.E.; Jos., Ant., 20:142); a certain Mnason of Cyprus lived at Caesarea (Acts 21:16); and there was apparently something of a community of Cyprus Jews in Jerusalem (*ibid.*, 11:19). Products of Cyprus were imported into Ereẓ Israel (TJ, Dem. 2:1, 22b, "cumin from Cyprus"; TJ, Yoma 4:5, 41d, "wine of Cyprus"; Jos., Ant., 20:51, "dried figs imported from Cyprus by Queen Helena of Adiabene during a famine"). Under Trajan, probably in 116/7 C.E., the Jews of Cyprus, led by *Artemion, together with those of Cyrene, Egypt, and Mesopotamia revolted (Dio Cassius 68:32; Jerome, *Chronica*, 196; et al.). The causes of the revolt in Cyprus are not entirely clear, but it was apparently due in part to the friction between Jews and non-Jews and not necessarily to their relations with the Roman administration. The Jews of Cyprus are reported to have killed 240,000 people and to have destroyed the city of Salamis. Jewish losses are not mentioned. After the revolt had been suppressed by Lusius and other generals sent by Trajan, Jews were strictly forbidden to set foot on the island, but this prohibition was not apparently in force for long. The belief held by some (on the basis of an inscription on a pillar) that Jews had already returned to the island in the second century is borne out by Jewish sources that mention R. *Akiva's visit to Ẓifirin (TJ, Av. Zar. 2:4; 41b; 113a; et al. – if Neubauer's identification of Ẓifirin as a place in Cyprus is to be preferred to that of Alon, who locates it in Cilicia). Another inscription, dating probably from the fourth century, refers to the renovation of a synagogue, apparently in the third century (Frey, Corpus, 2 (197), 735). In addition, a third century Jewish candelabrum with designs of a *lulav* and *etrog* have been found there. Jews, then, had resettled in the island by that time.

[Lea Roth]

Medieval Period

In the early seventh century there was a large community in Famagusta. The 12th-century traveler *Benjamin of Tudela mentions the existence of Rabbanite and Karaite Jews and a Jewish sect that apparently celebrated Sabbath on Sunday instead of Saturday. Under the Lusignan kings (1192–1489), Cyprus had the largest Jewish settlement in the islands off Greece. It included communities in Nicosia, Famagusta, Paphos, and Limassol. (See Map: Cyprus). Jews were discriminated against in law; however, attempts by the church to forbid Christians from visiting Jewish physicians were unsuccessful. Archbishop Giovanni del Conte (1319–1332) introduced the distinguishing yellow *badge for Jews. King Peter I (1359–1369) attracted Egyptian Jewish traders to Cyprus by promising equal treatment to Jews and non-Jews. The Genoese (1373–1463) plundered Jewish property in Famagusta and Nicosia. During the 16th century 2,000 Jews are said to have lived in Famagusta. One of the island's governors during Venetian rule (1489–1571) ordered the punishment of Jews who did not pay due respect to a religious procession. In 1495 a pupil of R. Obadiah of *Bertinoro mentioned the existence of many Jews who were artisans and traders in Cyprus. In 1552 R. Moses *Basola found 12 householders, originally from Sicily, in Famagusta. An attempt in 1568 to foment a rebellion on the island in favor of the Turks was attributed to the statesman Joseph *Nasi, who in 1563–64 set on foot an intrigue to offer the crown of Cyprus to the Duke of Savoy. Thanks to the efforts of Solomon *Ashkenazi a peace treaty was signed, in 1573, between Venice and Turkey which had conquered the island in 1561.

The sultans tried to settle Jews from Safed on the island in order to counterbalance the Christian element in the population, but subsequently the Jewish settlement on the island was insignificant.

Modern Period

In 1878, the English statesman Benjamin *Disraeli succeeded in having Cyprus placed under British administration. The few Jews who lived in Cyprus under British rule were mainly silversmiths and peddlers. Between 1883 and 1897 there were attempts to settle Jews from Romania elsewhere on the island. In 1900, the economist Davis *Trietsch made an attempt to settle Jews there after Herzl had failed in negotiations over Ereẓ Israel with the Turks. In 1902 and 1903 Herzl discussed with *Chamberlain a plan to settle Jews in Cyprus, but without success. Between 1933 and 1939 Cyprus was a sanctuary for 500 Jewish refugees from Germany. In 1941 the British began to evacuate the island, mainly women and children, for fear of a German invasion, and its Jews were also evacuated. After World War II, when the stream of "illegal" immigration to Palestine of the survivors in Europe assumed mass proportions, the British government forcibly transferred many thousands of them to deportation ships and sent them to detention camps in Cyprus. Their total number, from 1946 until 1948, was about 51,500. In the camps they were assisted by *sheliḥim* (emissaries) of the *Jewish Agency and the *Haganah to organize health and education services as well as some military training. With the establishment of the State of Israel they were released and quickly absorbed in the mainstream of mass immigration which began to arrive in the country (see *"Illegal" Immigration). In 1951 the Jewish population numbered only 165 persons who lived in Nicosia, Larnaca, Limassol, and Famagusta. They engaged in citrus growing, trade, industry, and farming; a few were mine owners. By 1970 there were only 25 Jews on the island and there was virtually no communal life. A cemetery was maintained at Margo and second one at Larnaca was no longer used.

The community began to revive in the early 21st century as the Jewish population grew to around 1,500 (300 families), mostly consisting of Israelis working in the burgeoning information and telecom industries there, as well as Jews from South Africa and the former Soviet Union. A community center was inaugurated in Larnaca in 2005 under the auspices of Chabad, with the island's only synagogue. Israeli-born Aryeh Ze'ev Raskin, who originally arrived as a Chabad emissary to stimulate the revival, became the community's rabbi. Sunday school classes were also inaugurated.

Relations with Israel

After the establishment of the State of Israel an Israel Consulate was opened in Nicosia. When Cyprus reached independence, in 1960, diplomatic relations were established on ambassadorial level, Israel being represented by a resident ambassador, Cyprus by a non-resident one. In its relations with Israel the government of Cyprus assumed a complex and sometimes contradictory attitude. While at the United Nations its representatives mostly sided with the Arab states against Israel, mainly under Egyptian pressure and under the influence of the Greek government (see *Greece), it simultaneously fostered mass-tourism from Israel to Cyprus, which reached around 60,000 Israelis a year by the beginning of the 21st century, and non-governmental ties (e.g., between labor movements, trade unions, agricultural organizations, etc.). Trade relations developed satisfactorily. There was also some technical cooperation between the two states. At the same time, from the 1980s on, Cyprus modified its pro-Arab stance and political relations with Israel began to warm.

[Simon Marcus]

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CYRENE, ancient capital of Cyrenaica, on the northern coast of Africa. In 321 B.C.E. Cyrene came under Ptolemaic rule, remaining part of the Egyptian empire until 96 B.C.E. when it fell to the Romans. Josephus (Apion, 2:44) relates that Jews were sent by Ptolemy I Soter (304–282 B.C.E.) to "Cyrene and the other cities of Libya" to strengthen that king's hold upon the area. Strabo, in a passage quoted by Josephus (Ant., 14:115), describes the four classes of citizens in Cyrene in the year 85 B.C.E. "The first consisted of citizens, the second of farmers, the third of resident aliens (μέτοικοι), and the fourth of Jews." The Jews of Cyrene seem to have been at odds with the local Greek population as is shown by various Roman decrees supporting the rights of Cyrenean Jewry (I Macc. 15:23). Though under the Ptolemies Jewish civic equality (ἰσονομία) had been guaranteed, the Jews of Cyrene were persecuted by the local population and prevented from sending their donations to the Temple at Jerusalem. Only when Augustus and Marcus Agrippa intervened in 14 B.C.E. were these rights fully restored (Ant., 16:160ff.). The Jewish community in Cyrene maintained close ties with those in Palestine. A detailed history of the Hasmonean uprising was chronicled by *Jason of Cyrene (II Macc. 2:23), and in the first century C.E. numerous Jews of Cyrene resided in Jerusalem (Matt. 27:32; Mark 15:21; Luke 23:26; Acts 2:10; 6:9). This fact sheds light on the attempt made by some *sicarii under the leadership of a certain Jonathan to incite the Jews of Cyrene to rebellion after the fall of Jerusalem. This attempt would have been highly unrealistic had there been no intermediaries between Jerusalem and Cyrene. Though Jonathan made headway with the lower classes of the population, the leader of the Jewish community immediately reported his actions to the Roman governor, Catullus, who promptly put down the insurrection (Jos., Wars, 7:43 ff.; Life, 424f.).

Far more serious was the Jewish uprising during the last years of Trajan (115–7), which spread across North Africa. The Jews of Cyrene, under their "king" called Lukuas or Andraeas, played a leading role in these bitter revolts, referred to by Greek authors as "the Jewish war" (ὁ ουδαικός πόλεμος). Various Greek and Latin inscriptions describe the destruction caused by the "Jewish tumult," which, although finally suppressed by the Roman legions, nevertheless left Cyrene in ruins (Eusebius, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, 2; Dio Cassius 68, 32).

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[Isaiah Gafni]

CYRUS (Heb. כֹּרֶשׁ; old Persian: **Kūruš**), king of Persia (reigned, 559–529 B.C.E.). At first, Cyrus II's dominion consisted of Anshan, southwest of the Iranian plateau, of which he was the legitimate king, being a descendant of the Achaemenian dynasty that had already reigned there for several generations. A number of differing accounts of his birth, youth, and ascent to the throne have come down from ancient writers (Herodotus and others), but they apparently belong mainly to the realm of legend. Extant inscriptions from his time, chiefly from Babylon, provide reliable sources of information about him (see Pritchard, Texts, 305–16). Cyrus' first important act was to conspire against Astyages, king of Media, toward which end he entered into an alliance with Nabonidus, king of Babylon. The army of Astyages betrayed him, and Cyrus seized control of the Median kingdom in 550 B.C.E. This conquest brought him into conflict with Lydia in Asia Minor, a kingdom that wished to profit from the fall of Media. In 546 Cyrus defeated Croesus and conquered his kingdom of Lydia. The conquest of Asia Minor was completed when Persia seized control of the many Greek cities on the coast. Apart from these wars with neighboring empires, he campaigned against various tribes, chiefly on the northern and eastern borders of his kingdom. In a battle with one of these tribes – the Massagetae – he was killed. His conquests had created the most extensive empire yet known.

Cyrus holds a special place in the history of Israel. He is mentioned in the prophecies of Deutero-Isaiah, in the Book of Ezra (and at the end of II Chronicles), and in the Book of Daniel (1:21; 6:29; 10:1). In these passages he appears both as one destined to save Israel and to fulfill for it a certain mission on behalf of the God of Israel (Deutero-Isaiah), and as one whose edict and command served as a foundation for the return to Zion and the erection of the destroyed temple (Ezra). Apparently the successes of Cyrus, particularly the preparations and steps that indicated that a struggle between him and Babylon was pending, were in part responsible for rousing Deutero-Isaiah to utter his prophecies on the imminent redemption of Israel and the impending destruction of Babylon. The hopes of the prophet are clearly expressed in chapter 45:1–13: God turns "to His anointed, to Cyrus," whom He helped in the past and will further help in the continuation of his activities ("I will go before you, and level the mountains; I will break in pieces the doors of bronze, and cut asunder the bars of iron"). Cyrus is to rebuild Jerusalem and restore the exilic community. While he does not yet know the God of Israel ("… I call you by your name, I surname you, though you do not know Me"), he may eventually do so, due to the great assistance he will receive from Him. Delivered before the event, this prophecy reveals the feelings and hopes of the prophet who awaits the conquest of Babylon and its punishment (cf. Isa. 46:1–2; 47). The prophecy in 44:28 apparently refers to Cyrus' edict and was certainly uttered after the event. Cyrus is mentioned in other places though not explicitly by name (e.g., 41:2, 25; 46:11). Nevertheless, the place occupied by Cyrus in Deutero-Isaiah should not be exaggerated. Although he occasioned many of the prophecies of Deutero-Isaiah, and his appearance was of great importance to the prophet, it is the people of Israel and its God that stand at the center of the prophecy. Cyrus is merely an instrument for the realization of the redemption of Israel through the will of its God. He is understandably a sympathetic figure, for he is a redeemer and not a "rod of anger," but it should not be assumed from his designation "anointed" and "shepherd" that he had an eschatological role or any function after the redemption of Israel (such as being their ruler in place of the House of David, etc.). It is doubtful if Cyrus was influenced in his congenial relationship with the Jews by the prophecies of Deutero-Isaiah concerning him, or by the part taken by the Jews of Babylon in the war between him and Nabonidus. An explanation of the relations between Cyrus and the Jews rests upon an understanding of his general policy, particularly in Babylon itself. This policy was based upon benevolence toward the conquered, support and sympathy for their gods, and a correction of the injustices done to them by the previous ruler Nabonidus, or in the case of the Jews of Babylon, by Nebuchadnezzar. In conformity with this policy, he restored the Babylonian gods to their temples, reconstructed temples that had been neglected in the time of his predecessor, and even returned exiles to their homes (see the Cylinder Inscription of Cyrus, Pritchard, Texts, 315–6). His policy toward the Jews was similar to that toward the Babylonians. These principles find expression in the Hebrew edict issued to the Jews of Babylonia (538 B.C.E.), which appears in Ezra 1:2–4 (see also II Chron. 36:23). There Cyrus attributes his decision to erect the temple to a command of God, just as he attributed his actions in Babylon to an order of Marduk. An additional document of his concerning the erection of the Temple is more administrative in nature and deals with the architectural and financial details of building (Ezra 6:3–5); this document is even written in Aramaic, the adminstrative language. As a result of the permission given by Cyrus, some of the Babylonian exiles returned to Judah, and with their return a new chapter in the history of Israel began – the period of the Second Temple.

[Uriel Rappaport]

In the Aggadah

Contradictory opinions are held about Cyrus, the Palestinian rabbis giving a rather favorable account of him while the Babylonians censure him. He was descended from Japheth who was thus rewarded for his commendable behavior toward Noah when drunk (PR 35). He was chosen by God together with Darius as the instrument of His vengeance against Babylon. Influenced by Daniel's prophecy to Belshazzar (Dan. 5:28) Darius and Cyrus slew him and vowed that they would permit the Jews to return to the Land of Israel with the Temple vessels (Song R. 3:4). His name is regarded as an anagram of the word *kasher* ("worthy"; RH 3b). He pledged to contribute to the Temple service and discovered the treasures that Nebuchadnezzar had hidden (Est. R. 2:1). He wept at the destruction of the Temple and as a reward the Medes received the domination of the world and he was thus vouchsafed to sit on the throne of Solomon (SER 20). Although he granted the Jews permission to rebuild the Temple he permitted the use of wood only, so that it would be easily destroyed should they rebel against him (RH 3b–4a). Moreover when he noticed that the Babylonian cities became desolate because of the emigration of the Jews he forbade them to leave the country (Song R. 5:5).

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°CZACKI, TADEUSZ (1765–1813), Polish historian, economist, and statesman. He is known for his book on the Jews and Karaites, *Rozprawa o Żydach i Karaitach* (Vilna, 1807), the first comprehensive historical survey of Polish Jewry. In general, Czacki's work maintains a fairly high standard of scholarship. For Polish history he makes use of archival material. He also occasionally utilized Hebrew sources in translation. For some generations his book served as the major textbook on the history of Polish Jewry. Between 1786 and 1792 Czacki held an important position in the Polish Treasury, then responsible for supervision of the affairs of the Jewish communities in the country. The last chapter of Czacki's work is based on personal experience; in addition to general data on the current Jewish position, he includes a detailed project for the amelioration of the status of the Jews, which had been drafted, as it subsequently transpired, by Czacki himself or with his active participation.

After the 1795 partition, this project was apparently brought to the notice of the imperial committee which drafted the statute of 1804 for Russian Jewry (see *Russia). In 1807 Czacki himself joined the committee, which recommended postponement of the article in the statute prescribing expulsion of the Jews from the villages. Czacki was appointed school inspector for the governments of Volhynia and Podolia in 1803, and in the course of his duties made contact with Jewish bodies. He also planned, inter alia, a Jewish teachers' seminary in conjunction with the high school which he established in *Kremenets. He was unable, however, to implement this project.

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[Israel Halpern]

°CZARNIECKI, STEFAN (1599–1665), Polish army commander and leader of popular resistance to the Swedes in the wars with Charles X of Sweden (1655–60). In the fighting against the Protestant Swedes, Czarniecki's units, fired by Catholic fervor, attacked the Jews in many places through which they passed. They devastated synagogues and massacred important communities in Greater and Lesser Poland. A number of Jews perished as martyrs for their faith. These persecutions accelerated Jewish emigration from Poland westward. While a hero to the Poles, Jewish sources refer to Czarniecki as the *ẓorer* (enemy), *rasha* (cruel evildoer), or *talyan* (hangman) of Poland.

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°CZARTORYSKI, PRINCE ADAM JERZY (1770–1861), Polish statesman and patriot. After the third partition of Poland (1795), Czartoryski went to St. Petersburg and entered the Russian government service, becoming assistant to the minister for foreign affairs during the reign of *Alexander I, with whom he was on friendly terms. Appointed a member of the Jewish committees of 1802, 1806, and 1807, Czartoryski advocated a policy of Jewish assimilation which, while disguised by liberal utterances, was in its effects on the Jewish masses to all practical purposes anti-Jewish. When in 1813 a Jewish printer from Vilna requested permission to publish a Yiddish newspaper, Czartoryski – who was responsible for education in the region – refused on the ground that the Jews should use the language of the surrounding population to bring them close to their Christian neighbors, and eventually adopt Christianity. After Russia established the Kingdom of Poland in 1815, Czartoryski was appointed to deal with problems concerning the peasants and Jews there. He was then ready to support Jewish emancipation only after the Jews had undergone a long process of assimilation and achieved "better morals." In Paris, however, where he took refuge after the Polish insurrection of 1830–31, and became leader of the Polish émigrés, he was persuaded by the Polish writer and statesman Jan Czynski that the help of the middle classes and the Jews should be enlisted in the cause of Poland's liberation. Czartoryski then took a more positive stand on Jewish emancipation, and in a speech delivered on November 29, 1844, urged that the Jews should be given the same rights claimed by the other inhabitants of Poland. Czartoryski encouraged the Hebrew writer Mendel *Lefin (Satanover), a pioneer of Haskalah, who stayed on Czartoryski's estate and taught his children. At Czartoryski's suggestion he wrote a pamphlet in French calling for improvement of the situation of Polish Jewry.

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CZECH, LUDWIG (1870–1942), leader of the German Social-Democratic Party in Czechoslovakia. Born in Lemberg, Czech was the son of a minor railroad official from Moravia. While studying law in Vienna, he came under the influence of Victor *Adler and joined the Austrian Social Democratic Party. He practiced law in Bruenn and was an active figure in politics, editing the party organ *Volksfreund* from 1897 to 1901. Czech campaigned for universal suffrage and improvement in workers' conditions. In 1901 he obtained the support of Thomas G. *Masaryk, in organizing a textile workers' strike and demanded a reduction of the working day to ten hours. Following the independence of Czechoslovakia, Ludwig Czech became vice chairman (1919) and later chairman (1921) of the German Social Democratic Party in Czechoslovakia. He led the activist wing of the party which stood for collaboration with the republic. In 1929 he was made minister of social welfare. In this capacity he issued food vouchers known as "Czechkarten" to unemployed workers, no longer entitled to regular relief, during the depression of the early 1930s. Czech became minister of works in 1934. He continued in office until shortly after the German *Anschluss* with Austria in 1938 when he resigned from both his ministerial and party posts. He was deported, already ill, to *Theresienstadt in March 1942.

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[Meir Lamed]

CZECH MEMORIAL SCROLLS, THE. The 1,564 sacred Scrolls which came to Westminster Synagogue on February 7, 1964, had been gathered together in Prague, from the desolated synagogues of Bohemia and Moravia, by the Nazi official in charge of the Czech "Protectorate." Much more synagogue booty, books, pictures, embroidered vestments, and ceremonial objects of silver and gold were similarly collected by the Nazis, and many of these articles are now in the State Jewish Museum in Prague. The Scrolls themselves lay piled in the disused Michle Synagogue for more than 20 years. It is believed that they were originally gathered for permanent exhibition as relics of a defunct culture.

At the end of the war the surviving remnant of the Prague Jewish community lacked the resources to maintain the museum, and it came under the control of the Czech state authorities. It was maintained conscientiously as a memorial to the vanished communities, but the *Sifrei Torah* (Scrolls of the Law) proved an embarrassment; they could not be effectively displayed as museum exhibits, and it was realized that they would eventually deteriorate if they remained rolled up and unused.

In 1963, a prominent British art dealer, who enjoyed the confidence of Artia, the Czech government agency responsible for cultural property, was able to arrange for the scrolls to be acquired by Ralph Yablon, a London businessman and philanthropist, on the understanding that they would be entrusted to a responsible noncommercial body; the honorary officers of Westminster Synagogue, an independent London congregation, accepted Yablon's invitation to undertake this responsibility. After a preliminary examination in Prague by Chimen Abramsky (later professor of Hebrew and Jewish Studies at the University of London), the scrolls were carefully packed and shipped to London.

On February 7, 1964, 1,564 *Sifrei Torah* – a consignment which must have been unprecedented in Jewish history – arrived at Westminster Synagogue. There they were housed in numbered cradles in specially constructed racks, while the work of inspection and classification was undertaken. Each scroll was expertly examined and a record made of the condition of the parchment, the state of the calligraphy, and (so far as these could be ascertained) the age and place of origin of the scroll. Many of the labels attached more than 20 years before had survived and provided valuable information; and in some cases despairing messages were concealed in the scrolls. On the basis of this painstaking study, the scrolls were classified into grades, ranging from those without serious defect and thus readily usable, to those beyond satisfactory repair and therefore suitable only for commemorative use. Between these were the middle grades, comprising many scrolls which could be made usable by repair, or had some parts which it was possible to restore. The task of inspection and classification was directed by Rabbi Harold Reinhart, the minister of Westminster Synagogue, who gave devoted attention to every aspect of the project until his death in 1969. A committee had been formed to take responsibility for the scrolls, and the formidable task of administering the work of repair and distribution was undertaken by Ruth Shaffer, daughter of the Yiddish novelist and dramatist Sholem Asch.

The completion of the preliminary study and classification was marked, in June 1965, by a solemn assembly at Westminster Synagogue; this was attended by representatives of all sections of the Jewish community and by ministers and scholars of other faiths. The memorial prayers were read by then Chief Rabbi Sir Israel Brodie and a message of good wishes was received from the president of the Prague Jewish community.

In the ensuing years visitors from many parts of the world have come to Westminster Synagogue to see the scrolls and often to witness the work of restoration in progress. Jews and non-Jews alike, including parties from schools and other institutions, have been deeply moved by the human tragedy implicit in what they have seen and by the scope and importance of the project.

The arrival of the scrolls in London had been widely reported, and requests for scrolls soon reached the committee from many parts of the world; the process of allocation and distribution, which started soon after classification had been completed, has continued without interruption up to the present time. In the allocation of scrolls, priority was given from the outset to congregations needing a *Sefer Torah* for use in services, but many scrolls that could not be made acceptable for this purpose have been distributed to synagogues, educational institutions, and other bodies wishing to have a memorial to the communities destroyed in the Holocaust. The scrolls are handed to recipients on "permanent loan," and congregations are invited to make a contribution to the cost of repair and distribution. Each scroll bears a brass identification tablet and is accompanied by a certificate recording its origin.

In many cases, allocations have been made to synagogues which include among their members some who have personal or family links with the communities from which the scrolls originated. Information about the origin of the scrolls and their new locations is now being systematically recorded with the aid of a computer system.

The work of restoration, with all its traditional techniques and discipline, has been progress for more than 20 years, achieving as much repair as possible – although few scrolls have been restored to full synagogue use. It was undertaken initially by the scribes who examined the scrolls, but since 1967 one highly skilled *sofer* (scribe) has devoted himself almost without interruption to the task. It is foreseen, however, that when all possible restoration is completed, a residue of scrolls and fragments of scrolls will remain, together with binders and other appurtenances. These will form the basis of a permanent exhibition at Westminster Synagogue, devoted to the history of the project and to the memory of the Czech communities. Since 1980, the constitution and activities of the Memorial Scrolls Committee have been governed by a Trust deed.

Czech memorial scrolls are now in use in many parts of the world. The United States, as might be expected, has been the main recipient; but many requests from Israel have been met, as have others from virtually every country in which Jewish communities flourish freely. In addition, scrolls appropriate as memorials are to be found at Yad Vashem, at Westminster Abbey, in the Royal Library at Windsor Castle, and in many other places where they serve, in Harold Reinhart's words, "to live, to commemorate, to inspire a saddened but not hopeless world, and to glorify the holy Name."

[Leo Bernard]

CZECHOSLOVAKIA, republic in Central Europe. Founded in 1918, it united within its political framework the Jewries of the "historic countries" (*Bohemia, *Moravia, and part of *Silesia), connected with the *Hapsburg Empire from 1526 and under its direct control from 1620, and of *Slovakia and Carpatho-Russia (see *Sub-Carpathian Ruthenia), both an integral part of *Hungary, from the tenth century. As of January 1, 1993, Czechoslovakia ceased to exist as a separate entity and its territory became two independent nations, the *Czech Republic and Slovakia. The Jewish communities of the various regions hence differed substantially in their demographic, economic, and cultural aspects, with influences of assimilation to the Czech and German cultures prevailing in the west, and the Hungarian in conjunction with the traditional Orthodox Jewish way of life in the east.

Demographic Structure

In the western part of Czechoslovakia Jewish life was mainly regulated by Austrian legislation (of 1890) and in the eastern areas by Hungarian (of 1870). The communal leadership was initially predominantly assimilationist-oriented to German, Hungarian, or Czech culture. Czechoslovakian Jewry was distributed as shown in Table: Czechoslovakian Jewry.

By 1930, over 80% of the Jews of Bohemia and Moravia-Silesia lived in towns with over 5,000 inhabitants (60% of these in towns with over 50,000 inhabitants, i.e., *Prague, *Brno (Bruenn)). Between 1918 and 1938 the number of Jews in the small towns decreased by 20% to 50%, while the Jewish population of Prague, Brno, *Ostrava, and several industrial centers in the Sudeten area increased. In 1930, the proportion of children up to the age of 14 was 13.04% among Bohemian Jews and 14.25% among Moravian-Silesian Jews, compared with 22.63% and 26.13% respectively among the general population. The occupational structure of the Jewish population was similar to that for the rest of West European Jewry.

Table 1. Distribution of Czechoslovakian Jewry

	1921 Absolute no.	% of Total pop.	1930 Absolute no.	% of Total pop.	% of Czech Jewry
Bohemia	79,777	1.19	76,301	1.07	21.4
Moravia	37,989	1.09	41,250	1.16	11.5
Silesia	7,317	1.09			
Slovakia	135,918	4.53	136,737	4.11	38.4
Carpatho-Russia	93,341	15.39	102,542	14.14	28.7
Total	354,342	2.6	356,830	2.42	100.0 %

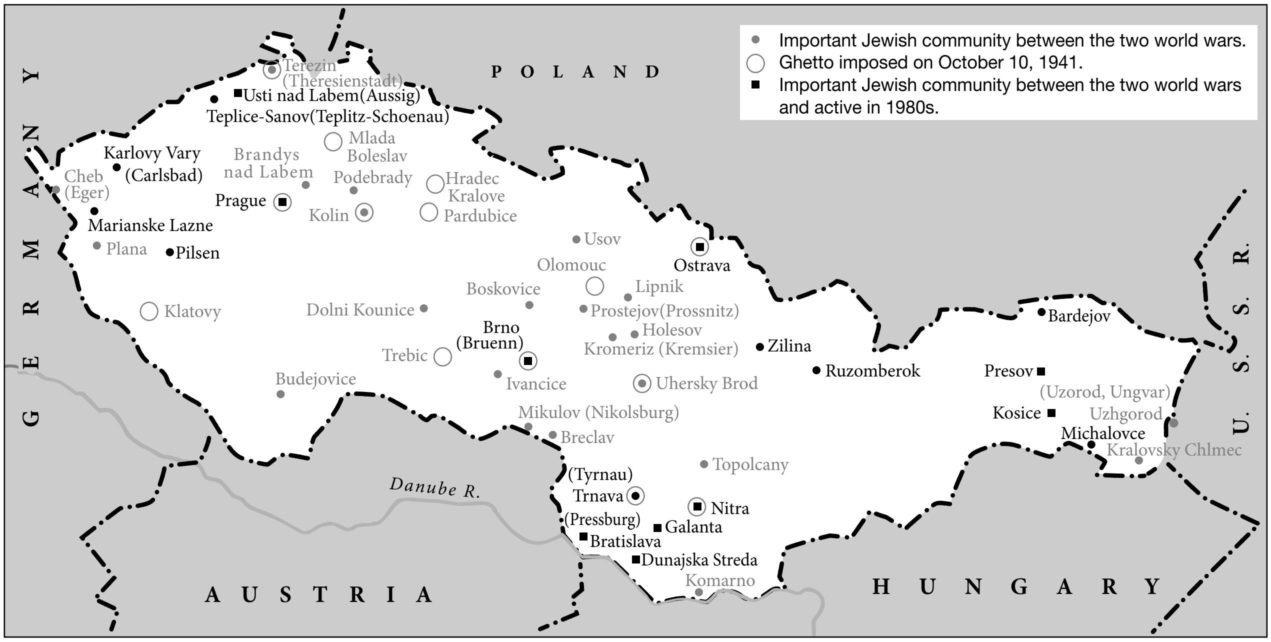
● Important Jewish community between the two world wars.
○ Ghetto imposed on October 10, 1941.
■ Important Jewish community between the two world wars and active in 1980s.
POLAND
GERMANY
U.S.S.R.
AUSTRIA
HUNGARY
Danube R.
Terezin (Theresienstadt)
Usti nad Labem(Aussig)
Teplice-Sanov(Teplitz-Schoenau)
Mlada Boleslav
Karlovy Vary (Carlsbad)
Brandys nad Labem
Podebrady
Hradec Kralove
Cheb (Eger)
Prague
Kolin
Pardubice
Marianske Lazne
Plana
Pilsen
Usov
Ostrava
Olomouc
Boskovice
Lipnik
Klatovy
Dolni Kounice
Prostejov(Prossnitz)
Holesov
Brno (Bruenn)
Kromeriz (Kremsier)
Zilina
Bardejov
Trebic
Ruzomberok
Presov
Budejovice
Ivancice
Uhersky Brod
(Uzorod, Ungvar)
Kosice
Uzhgorod
Mikulov (Nikolsburg)
Michalovce
Breclav
Kralovsky Chlmec
Topolcany
(Tyrnau) Trnava
Nitra
(Pressburg) Bratislava
Galanta
Dunajska Streda
Komarno

Major Jewish communities in Czechoslovakia from World War I to the 1980s (including involuntary settlement-ghettos as of October 1941).

During the century before World War I the number of Jews in Carpatho-Russia had increased almost fivefold because of the influx from Galicia, Romania, and Russia. In 1930, 65% were living in villages, constituting the highest proportion of rural dwellers among European Jewry. The communities in western Slovakia were closer to the way of life of the Moravian communities whose members had originally founded them. *Bratislava (Pressburg) had an individual character and was closely related to *Burgenland Jewry.

Communal Structure

The initiative to organize Czech Jewry within the new state came from Zionists. Ludwig *Singer had already suggested in November 1917 that the communities should be reorganized to provide a framework both for religious activities and toward achieving Jewish national and cultural *autonomy. On the initiative of Rudolph Kohn of the Prague *Po'alei Zion, the Jewish National Council (Národní rada Židovská) was established on Oct. 23, 1918, headed by Ludwig Singer, with the writer Max Brod and Karl Fischel as his deputies. On Oct. 28, at the proclamation of the republic, the council declared Jewish loyalty to the provisional government and put forward its principal claims: recognition of and the right to declare Jewish nationality, full civic and legal rights, democratization of the Jewish communities and expansion of their competences, establishment of a central supreme representation of the communities, cultural autonomy in Jewish education, promotion and use of Hebrew, and contact with the "center in Palestine." By November the federations of the communities of Moravia and Silesia had accepted the council's authority. On Jan. 4, 1919, a Prague conference of adherents to Jewish nationality adopted a program to convert the communities, as the "living cells of Jewish society," into the bearers of Jewish autonomy, but the program was not realized; nor could a unified communal organization be created. The conference decided to found the *Židovská Strana (Jewish party) as its instrument for electoral activities. Many communities reorganized themselves on democratic lines, granting franchise to women and to Jews from Eastern Europe who had settled there. Besides the demands urged on the authorities, as contained in the National Jewish Council's proclamation, the council also made demands on Jewish society itself, calling for a modern social policy to replace old-style philanthropy, establishment of Jewish secular schools, and provision of facilities for religious worship according to the wishes of the members of the community. The council dispatched a delegation to the peace conference in Versailles (Singer, Samuel Hugo *Bergmann, and Norbert Adler), which became part of the Jewish delegation there. Though Zionist influence predominated in the council, non-Zionists such as Alois Hilf and Salomon Hugo Lieben collaborated. The Czech assimilationist movement (see *Čechů-židů, *Svaz) and the extremist orthodox group contested the council's right to represent the whole of Czechoslovakian Jewry. The state under President Thomas Garrigue *Masaryk agreed to the council's basic claims, and the 1920 constitution expressly recognized Jewish nationality, corresponding to the conceptions of the *minority rights granted to all minorities in Czechoslovakia.

Political Affiliation

The 354,342 Jews by religion (Israelites) enumerated in 1921, and 356,830 in 1930, declared their nationality as shown in Table 2:

Adherents of the Jewish religion in 1930 represented 2.4% of the total population, and Jews by nationality 1.3%

of the total. While in general mother tongue served as the criterion for nationality, Jews could declare Jewish nationality irrespective of it: 156 persons who were not Jewish by religion declared their nationality to be Jewish in 1921, and 317 in 1930. After 1918 five regional federations of communities existed in Bohemia-Moravia; in 1926 they established the Nejvyšší rada židovských náboženských obcí (Supreme Council of the Jewish Religious Communities). It was first headed by the Czech-Jewish leader Augustin Stein and then by Joseph *Popper. The chief rabbi of Prague (then Ḥayyim Heinrich *Brody) was an ex officio member. In Slovakia and Carpatho-Russia, as in Hungary, three trends of community affiliation existed. The orthodox communities of Slovakia had an autonomous organization (confirmed in 1920) which from 1923 also included those of Carpatho-Russia. Its statute limited the franchise to dues payers. The *neologist and *status-quo-ante communities amalgamated into the Jeshurun federation in 1928. There was no supreme communal organization or chief rabbinate. From 1926 the salary of rabbis was augmented by the Kongrua, a government fund for the upkeep of religious life.

The Jewish party succeeded in achieving representation on a number of municipal councils. However, as it did not attain the minimum quota required for the parliamentary elections in any single electoral district, it succeeded in returning two representatives only in 1929, as a result of an agreement with the Polish minority (Ludwig Singer, succeeded after his death in 1931 by Angelo *Goldstein, and Julius Reisz) and in 1935, after an arrangement with the Czechoslovak Social Democrats (Goldstein and Ḥayyim *Kugel). The party was opposed by Czech, Slovak, German, and Hungarian assimilationists, as well as by the extreme Orthodox, who gave their votes to the strongest Czech party, the Agrarians. Jews, however, also attained leading positions in other political parties: Alfred Meissner and Lev Winter in the Czechoslovak Social Democrats, Ludwig *Czech and Siegfried Taub in the German, and Gabor Streiner in the Hungarian, Bruno Kafka in the Deutsche Arbeits-und Wirtschaftsgemeinschaft, and Rudolf Slánský and Viktor Stern in the Communist party. Jews were also active in political journalism. There were several Jewish weeklies, the Zionist *Židovské zprávy, *Selbstwehr*, and *Medinah Ivrith* in Prague, Max *Hickl's *Juedische Volksstimme* in Brno, the *Juedische Volkszeitung* in Bratislava, and the *Juedische Stimme* in Mukačevo

Table 2. Declared Nationality of Jews in Czechoslovakia

Nationality	1921 (%)	1930 (%)
Jewish	53.62	57.20
Czechoslovak	21.84	24.52
German	14.26	12.28
Hungarian	8.45	4.71
Others	1.83	1.29
	100.00%	100.00%

Education

In Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia Jewish children attended general schools on all levels: Prague and Ostrava both had a Jewish elementary school, while the only Jewish secondary school was in Brno. In most towns of Slovakia there were Jewish elementary schools where the language of instruction was Hungarian, most adopting the Slovak language subsequently. In Carpatho-Russia, Jewish education was substantially based on the traditional *ḥeder* and yeshivah. Government records of 1931 listed five yeshivot as institutions of higher education, in Bratislava, *Komarno, *Prešov, *Košice, and *Mukačevo; but there were others, as in *Galanta, *Dunajska Streda, and *Huncovce. A network of Hebrew schools developed; the first school was opened in Torun, and then, supported by the *Tarbut organization, expanded to nine elementary schools and two secondary, in Mukačevo (1925) and *Uzhgorod (1934). In 1934 the Supreme Council of the Jewish Religious Communities established a course for cantors and teachers of religion. A large number of Jewish children in Carpatho-Russia attended the Czech schools established for the children of civil servants and police officers. Many Jews attended universities and technical colleges, which also attracted numbers of students from countries where there was a *numerus clausus*. A number of Jews were appointed to professorships in Prague at the Czech and the German universities.

Economic Life

Jews played an important role in the economy and were among the pioneers of its development, notably in the textile, foodstuffs, and wood and paper industries. (It was estimated that 30%–40% of the total capital invested in Czechoslovakian industry in the 1930s was Jewish-owned.) The firm of *Petschek and Weimann was instrumental in the development of mining in north Bohemia, and Jewish enterprise was prominent in the steel industry and mining of the Ostrava area (see Wilhelm *Guttmann), insurance, and private banking. Jews were also instrumental in the Slovak wood industry. Later the concentration of capital in the national banks, agrarian reform, the development of agricultural and consumers' cooperatives, and the preference given to enterprises set up by veterans of the Czechoslovakian army tended to limit the extent and importance of Jewish economic activity, and the number of Jews in industry and commerce declined. The slump of 1929–30 affected many Jewish businessmen. After this crisis many Jews emigrated from Slovakia and Carpatho-Russia to the West; on the other hand, after 1918 Czechoslovakia received several thousand refugees from Eastern Europe, most of them in transit. They were supported through the Židovská ústředna socialní péče (Juedische Fuersorge-Zentrale), founded in 1921. After the Nazi advent to power in Germany in 1933, several thousand Jewish refugees, of whom 4,000 held Czechoslovakian citizenship, entered Czechoslovakia. A special committee was founded for their support. A particular problem was the provision of legal aid for the many Jewish stateless persons, who were permanently in danger of losing their permits of domicile and work. Prominent in social welfare work in the 1930s were Joseph Popper, and the *WIZO leaders Marie Schmolka, Hanna Steiner, and Gisi *Fleischmann.

Cultural Sphere

Jews contributed to all spheres of cultural activity, whether Czech, German, or Hungarian oriented. Many were outstanding authors in the Czech language (see *Czechoslovak literature). Gifted German-language authors were Adolf Donath, Friedrich Adler, and Hugo *Salus of the elder generation, and Franz *Kafka, Max *Brod, Franz *Werfel, Ludwig Winder, F.C. Weisskopf, and Egon Erwin *Kisch, among others (see *German Literature). Authors who wrote in German did not necessarily consider themselves German nationals, and some, like Max Brod, were active Zionists. Many Jews were intermediaries between the cultures, such as Otakar *Fischer in translating from German to Czech, and Kamil *Hoffmann, Max Brod, and Pavel Eisner in presenting Czech culture to the German-reading public. Jews prominent in music included the composer Jaromir *Weinberger and on the Czech stage the actors Hugo *Haas and Jiři Voskovec. Jewish journalists were on the staff of many newspapers, excepting those of the extreme right, and in all languages. Jews were active in all types of sports, within Jewish organizations as well as clubs of the other nationalities, notably the swimmers and water-ball teams of the Hagibor association in Prague and Bar Kochba in Bratislava. The refusal of the Jewish champions to represent Czechoslovakia at the Berlin Olympic Games in 1936 was a subject of heated public discussion. Jewish youth was organized in the numerous Zionist youth and student organizations, as well as in many organizations of the other nationalities.

Antisemitism

Antisemitism among all the nationalities of the republic was of old standing. At the time of the establishment of the republic in 1918 there were antisemitic riots in Prague and *Holešov (Moravia). In Slovakia, serious antisemitic violence continued until summer 1919. Among the Czech elements it was less noticeable, mainly because of the personal example of Thomas Masaryk and Eduard Beneš, and the democratic political philosophy as expounded by them, the author Karel Čapek, and other leaders of public opinion, including the head of the Czechoslovak Church Hromádka, and the writers Milena Jesenská, Emanuel Rada, and Pavla Moudrá. However, right-wing groups such as the Národni sjednoceni (National Union, founded by Jíří Stribrný in 1927), the Česká obec fašistická (Czech Fascist Community), headed by the former general of the Czech army Radola Gajda, and the Vlajka (Flag) group explicitly supported antisemitism in their platforms. Andrej Hlinka's Slovenská Ľudová strana (Slovak People's Party) adopted an increasingly aggressive antisemitic policy. The Sudeten, where most of the Germans lived, was already a stronghold of racial antisemitism under the Hapsburg monarchy, and antisemitism grew even more violent, influenced by the rise of Nazism in Germany, the advent of Hitler to power, and the founding of Konrad Henlein's Sudetendeutsche Partei (1935). Antisemitism in Czechoslovakia was strongly associated with the general conflicts among the nationalities there: the Czechs would not forgive the adherence of many Jews to German language and culture and their support of the German liberal parties, and regarded them as a Germanizing factor. In Slovakia and Carpatho-Russia they were considered the bearers of Magyarization, and later, supporters of the Czech establishment. All groups alleged that the Jews were supporters of Communism, while the Communists claimed that they supported reaction. After Hitler's rise to power, his growing support for German extreme nationalist demands, and the enmity he manifested to the Czechoslovak establishment, the Jews drew increasingly closer to the state, which all Jewish groups supported in its stand against Nazism. Post-World War I Czechoslovakia, which was relatively progressive and stable, was a congenial milieu for Czechoslovakian Jewry. Hence, most of them failed to see the dangers threatening them even inside the country. However, the subdued popular antisemitism was soon to be rekindled. At the beginning of 1938 antisemitism gained in strength when in Romania the Goga government came to power and Jewish refugees tried to enter Czechoslovakia. Ferdinand Peroutka, the editor of a respected liberal weekly, published a series of articles in which he called for restriction of Jewish rights. A project for a rabbinical seminary, connected with the Prague Czech University, which was to begin functioning in 1938, was not realized. The problem of Jewish refugees became even more acute with the Nazi *Anschluss* with Austria, when many Jewish refugees, a large number holding Czechoslovakian passports, entered the country. Manifestations of antisemitism in Slovakia and the Sudeten area increased. At the time of the Munich conference (Sept. 29, 1938) the Jews from the Sudetenland (more than 20,000), which was handed over to Germany, fled to the remaining territory of the state. Parts of Slovakia and Carpatho-Russia, with a Jewish population of about 80,000, were ceded to Hungary by decree of Hitler and Mussolini as "arbiters" on Nov. 2, 1938. Antisemitism gained virulence in the truncated "Second Republic" mainly in Slovakia. The Second Republic did not last long. On March 14, 1939, Slovakia declared its independence and became a vassal of Nazi Germany; the next day the remaining parts of Bohemia and Moravia were occupied by the Germans and transformed into a German "Protectorate," while Hungary occupied Carpatho-Russia.

[Chaim Yahil]

Emigration and Exile (1938–45)

The emigration and escape of Jews from Czechoslovakia started immediately after the Munich conference (Sept. 29, 1938) and increased considerably after the German occupation (March 15, 1939). Half a million pounds sterling, part of a grant made by the British government to the Czechoslovak government, were earmarked for the financing of the emigration of 2,500 Jews to Palestine. In addition, about 12,000 Jews left with "illegal" transports for Palestine. Many others emigrated to the United States and South America or escaped to neighboring Poland, from where a number succeeded in reaching Great Britain, France, and other countries. He-Ḥalutz and Youth Aliyah transferred hundreds of children and youth to England, Denmark, and the Netherlands for agricultural training. The Anglican Church and missionary institutions succeeded in removing children. When after the outbreak of World War II the Czechoslovak National Council in London, later recognized as the government-in-exile and an ally, called upon army reservists in allied and neutral countries to enlist, many Jews responded. Even in Palestine, where many Jews from Czechoslovakia had already put themselves at the disposal of the Yishuv's war effort, about 2,000 Czech and Slovak Jews enlisted in Czechoslovak army units within the Allied Middle East Forces, where Jews constituted the great majority in these units. After the recognition of Czechoslovakia by the Soviet Union in 1941, a Czechoslovak division was established in the U.S.S.R. Up to 70% of the members of some of its units were Jews, many of them from Carpatho-Russia. The high percentage of Jews in these units created some tension and antisemitic reactions. The Czechoslovak government-in-exile in London, with Eduard Beneš as president and Jan *Masaryk as foreign minister, maintained good relations with Jewish organizations and supported the Zionist cause. In the State Council, Arnošt Frischer represented the Židovská *strana (Jewish party). Other Jews on the Council were Julius Friedmann, Julius Fuerth, and Gustav Kleinberg. Imrich Rosenberg represented Slovakian Jewry.

[Meir Lamed]

Holocaust Period

SLOVAKIA. According to the 1930 census, 135,918 Jews (4.5% of the total population) lived in Slovakia. The plight of Slovak Jewry actually began with the establishment of autonomous Slovakia (Oct. 6, 1938), when the one-party authoritarian system of the clerical Slovak People's Party of Hlinka (HSL's – Hlinkova Slovenská L'udová Strana) came to power. On March 14, 1939, Hitler made an independent state by causing the breakup of Czechoslovakia. A few days later Slovak leaders and the German Foreign Minister, von *Ribbentrop, signed the Treaty of Protection (Schutzvertrag), thus making Slovakia in effect a satellite of Germany. In the first months of Slovakia's "independence" anti-Jewish restrictions were sporadically introduced; however, fundamental changes in anti-Jewish policy occurred only after the Salzburg Conference (July 28, 1940), attended by Hitler, the Slovak leaders (Father Josef *Tiso, Vojtech Bela *Tuka, Saňo Mach) and the leader of the local German minority, the so-called Karpaten-Deutsche, Franz Karmasin. At this conference the Slovaks agreed to set up a national-socialist regime in their country.

At the end of August 1940, Dieter *Wisliceny, *Eichmann's emissary, arrived in Slovakia to act as "adviser for Jewish affairs," and with him came a score of advisers to assist the Slovak ministries. The Slovaks set up two institutes with the objective of "solving the Jewish problem": ÚHÚ – Ústredný Hospodárský Úrad (Central Office for Economy) whose task was to oust the Jews from economic and social life and "aryanize" Jewish property; the second was ÚŽ – Ústredňa Židov (Center of Jews). The ÚŽ, the Slovak equivalent of the Judenrat, was headed by the *starosta* ("Jewish Elder"), Heinrich Schwartz, chairman of the Orthodox-Jewish community. When Schwartz was arrested for non-cooperation, a more obedient *starosta*, Árpád Sebestyén, a former school director, was appointed by the authorities in April 1941. The Zionist leader Oskar Neumann replaced Sebestyén in fall 1943. The "aryanization" process was carried out by the ÚHÚ within one year: 10,025 Jewish enterprises and businesses were liquidated and 2,223 transferred to "Aryan" ownership. In order to solve the problem of employment of Jews, who were removed from economic life, the Slovak authorities ordered the erection of a number of labor centers and three large labor camps: Sered, Vyhne, and Nováky. In the fall of 1941, in an effort to clear the capital of Jews, a special ministerial order issued by Mach removed a greater part of the Bratislava Jews; some were sent to the labor camps and others to the towns of Trnava, Nitra, and to the region of Šariš-Zemplín in eastern Slovakia, where the majority of Slovak Jewry lived. Concurrently, during a visit to Hitler's headquarters, Tuka requested the assistance of the Reich in the removal of the Jews from Slovakia. News of the terrible fate of Jews in German hands filtered into Slovakia after fall 1941. At the beginning of February 1942, the German Foreign Ministry formally requested the Slovak government to furnish 20,000 "strong and able-bodied Jews." It was decided that the first transports would be composed of young men and women aged 16–35. However, on the suggestion of the Slovaks that in the "spirit of Christianity" families should not be separated, Eichmann gave his consent to deport families together. The Slovaks had to pay 500 Reichmarks "as charges for vocational training" for every deported Jew, receiving in return a guarantee that the Jews would not come back to Slovakia and that no further claims would be laid to their property. The organization of transports was performed by the Ministry of Interior, Department 14, headed by Gejza Kionka and afterward by Anton *Vašek, in collaboration with the Hlinka Guard and the Freiwillige Schutzstaffel (Voluntary Defense Squad of local Germans). The Jewish leadership, alarmed by rumors of the impending deportations, launched two appeals in the name of the Jewish communities (March 5, 1942) and in the name of the rabbis of Slovakia (March 6, 1942) warning the authorities that "the deportations mean physical extermination." On March 14, 1942, the Vatican sent a note of protest, and a few days later an oral warning was communicated on the direct instruction of Pope Pius XII by Slovakia's ambassador to Rome, Karol Sidor.

Between March 26 and October 20, 1942, about 60,000 Jews were deported as agreed with Berlin to *Auschwitz and to the *Lublin area, where they were killed. By the end of April the earliest evidence on the fate of deportees was received in Bratislava, when the first escapees from General Gouvernment of Poland arrived. Their eyewitness accounts were immediately forwarded to Jewish organizations in the free world. Thousands of Jews found refuge in neighboring Hungary (in 1944 some of them returned to Slovakia when the Hungarian Jewish community was in peril). Others sought protection through conversion to Christianity. From the end of July to the middle of September the transports were suspended for various technical reasons and perhaps also due to intercessions, mainly from religious circles.

During the interim, the underground "Working Group" (Pracovná Skupina; see also *Europa Plan) arose on the initiative of Rabbi Michael Dov *Weissmandel within the framework of ÚŽ with the objective of saving the remaining Jews of Slovakia. Led by Gisi Fleischmann, the Group was composed of Zionists, assimilated Jews, and rabbis. The Jewish underground succeeded in temporarily diverting the peril of deportation in the spring of 1943 as a result of negotiations with friendly Slovak ministers and bribes to Slovak leaders. Another achievement in 1943 was the rescue of fugitives from the ghettos of Poland, who were smuggled through Slovakia to Hungary with the help of the He-Ḥalutz underground. By that time about 25,000 Jews were left in Slovakia, some of them "submerged," so that only part of them were officially registered, mostly "economically vital" Jews who were granted "certificates of exemption." About 3–4,000 persons were engaged in productive work in the Slovak labor camps, and others lived on false "Aryan" papers or in hiding. On April 21, 1944, the first two escapees from Auschwitz reached Slovakia after a miraculous flight. Their account of the annihilation process was sent on to the head of the Orthodox Jewish community in Budapest, Rabbi Von Freudiger, to alert the world and forwarded through Switzerland to Jewish organizations in the free world with an appeal by Rabbi Weissmandel demanding the immediate bombing of the murder installations in Auschwitz. The Allies rejected the appeal.

In August 1944, an anti-Fascist uprising took place in Slovakia, and subsequently the German army invaded the country. Over 1,500 Jewish men and women enlisted in the Czechoslovak armed forces resisting the Germans. Among the enlisted Jews, a regular Jewish unit of about 250 fighters, under Jewish command and the name "Camp Novaky Unit," was active. Two hundred and sixty-nine Jewish fighters fell in the resistance.

Four parachutists from Ereẓ Israel reached Slovakia to extend help to the Jewish remnants and to organize resistance. However, the Jews had enlisted long before the arrival of the parachutists. Their cell included a woman, Ḥavivah *Reik ("Ada Robinson"). Three of the four, including Reik, were caught by the Germans, and subsequently executed. The *Einsatzgruppen* killed thousands of Jews during the Slovak revolt, and after its suppression (Oct. 28, 1944), about 13,500 of the remaining Jews of Slovakia were deported to concentration camps (including Auschwitz, *Sachsenhausen, and *Theresienstadt), under the pretext of reprisal for their participation in the revolt (October 1944–March 1945). On the eve of the liberation (April 30, 1945), there remained about 4,000–5,000 Jews in Slovakia hiding in the forests or with non-Jews or living clandestinely with "Aryan" papers. The losses of Slovak Jewry amount to over 100,000. In the part of Slovakia annexed by the Hungarian kingdom, there were about 45,000 Jews. Their fate was the same as the rest of Hungarian Jewry. In spring 1944, after the German occupation of Hungary, the Jews were deported to Auschwitz and most of them perished there. Some of those who eluded the deportations participated in the Slovak National Uprising. Only about 25,000 persons of the prewar community survived the Holocaust and the majority of them left Slovakia after the war, most of them for Israel.

[Livia Rothkirchen / Yeshayahu Jelinek (2nd ed.)]

PROTECTORATE OF BOHEMIA-MORAVIA. According to the 1930 census, Czechoslovakia had a Jewish population of 356,830 out of total of 14,000,000. Of these, 117,551 lived in Bohemia and Moravia and 102,542 in Carpatho-Russia. At the time of the Munich Agreement (September, 1938), the arrival of Jewish refugees from Germany and Austria increased the Jewish population in Bohemia and Moravia to approximately 122,000. In October 1938, when the German-speaking Bohemian-Moravian border areas were occupied by the Nazis, approximately 25,000 Jews fled their homes there to the unoccupied part of Czechoslovakia. On the basis of the Vienna arbitration decision of Nov. 2, 1938, the predominantly Hungarian parts of Slovakia and Carpatho-Russia were ceded to Hungary; these areas were inhabited by approximately 80,000 Jews. The remaining regions of Slovakia and Carpatho-Russia were granted autonomous status in the now federated Czecho-Slovakia. German pressure and a growing local anti-Jewish movement brought about increasing discrimination against Jews and persecution. In March 1939, when Slovakia seceded from the Republic, and the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia was established, the fate of the Jews in each of the two separate parts began to run its own course. In the Protectorate, the first synagogue, in Vsetin, was burned down on the day of the German occupation (March 15, 1939). At that time 118,310 persons in the Protectorate were designated as Jews according to the Nuremberg Laws; only 86,715, however, were members of the local Jewish communities. In the initial stage, the "Final Solution of the Jewish problem" proceeded, in part, on the basis of decrees issued by the Protectorate regime; in the course of time, Bohemia and Moravia came to be regarded more and more as part of the Reich, and the fate of the Jews in the two provinces was decided on directly by the *RSHA (Reich Security Main Office) in Berlin. The immediate consequences were the plunder of Jewish property, pogroms, and the burning of synagogues. Many Jews who were active in the general resistance movement were caught while a few Jews survived as "illegals." On July 27, 1939, Adolf Eichmann, the RSHA representative, established a branch of the Zentralstelle fuer juedische Auswanderung (Central Office for Jewish Emigration) in Prague. The Jews were forced to register for emigration, and divested of most of their property by a compulsory "Jewish emigration tax." Jewish books and periodicals were banned and the *Juedisches Nachrichtenblatt* was published in their place, controlled by the Zentralstelle. Jews were excluded from economic, cultural, and political life, and denied civil rights; an estimated 12,000,000,000 Kčs (about $343,000,000) in Jewish property were confiscated and, finally, an order issued on Sept. 1, 1941, forcing Jews to wear the yellow badge, resulted in their complete isolation. The Jewish communities reacted to the planned elimination of the Jews by stepping up their activities in Jewish and general education of the youth, giving foreign language instruction; retraining; and providing medical care, consulting agencies, and social welfare. These activities, which prevented the outbreak of panic and the community's dissolution, were later continued at the *Theresienstadt concentration camp. Efforts were made to promote legal and illegal Jewish emigration and, by the time emigration was totally banned (October 1941), 26,629 persons had succeeded in escaping from the country. In October 1939, the first group, comprising 1,291 Jewish men from Ostrava, was deported for the "settlement area of Nisko on the San." The Germans decided on the establishment of the Theresienstadt Ghetto on Oct. 10, 1941, in a secret meeting at the Prague Castle, chaired by Reich Protector Reinhard *Heydrich. The minutes of the meeting contain the following passage: "From this transit camp [Theresienstadt] the Jews, after a substantial reduction in their numbers, are to be deported to the East…." The Jewish communities were ordered to concentrate all the Jews living in their respective areas into a number of cities – Prague, Budweis (Budějovice), Kolín, Klatovy, Pardubice, Hradec Králové, Mladá Boleslav, Třebíč, Brno, Olomouc, Ostrava, and Uherský Brod. In October and November 1941, 6,000 Jews from Prague and Brno were deported directly to *Lodz and *Minsk. In the period Nov. 24, 1941–March 16, 1945, 73,614 Jews were dispatched to Theresienstadt in 121 transports. In this period also, 621 Jews were sent to Theresienstadt from towns in the Sudeten areas ceded to Germany. One of the leaders of Czechoslovak Jewry, Jacob *Edelstein, was appointed the "elder" of Theresienstadt. From Jan. 9, 1942, to Oct. 28, 1944, 60,399 Czech Jews were deported onward from Theresienstadt to the extermination camps in the East – Auschwitz, *Majdanek, Minsk, *Riga, *Sobibor, *Treblinka, and *Zamosc. Only 3,227 of the Jews deported from Theresienstadt survived the war. Following the assassination of Heydrich on Feb. 19, 1942, a "penal transport" of 1,000 Jews was deported from Prague to Poland, none of whom survived.

Jews joined the Czech resistance, both the pro-Western and the Communist wings. The sorely oppressed Czech population did not demonstrate exceptional courage in assisting the persecuted Jews. In the last period before liberation of the country, Jewish *Mischlinge* ("mixed" Jews considered Jewish under German law) were gathered to be shipped to extermination camps. Most of them survived.

In 1945, 10,090 Jews registered with the Jewish communities as returning deportees, out of a total of 80,614 who had been deported; 6,392 had died in Theresienstadt, 64,172 had been murdered in the extermination camps, and of the Jews who had not been deported, 5,201 had either been executed, committed suicide, or died a natural death. On the day of the restoration of national sovereignty in Prague, May 5, 1945, there were 2,803 Jews alive in Bohemia and Moravia, who had not been deported, most of them partners of mixed marriages.

[Erich Kulka]

Postwar Jewry

DEMOGRAPHY. Various estimates of the number of Jews living in Czechoslovakia in 1945 have been given, as postwar statistics do not classify the population according to religion. Many of the surviving Jews in Sub-Carpathian Ruthenia decided to leave in the brief period between its annexation to the Soviet Union (June 29, 1945) and the closing of its frontiers (September 30, 1945). They succeeded in fleeing to Bohemia, while only a few hundred moved to Slovakia. Most of the newcomers registered with the Jewish communities only later. In 1948, 19,123 Jews were registered with the communities in Bohemia and Moravia. The number of Jews in Slovakia in 1947 was estimated at about 24,500. This brings to 44,000 the number of Jews living in the whole of Czechoslovakia in early 1948, when the Communists came to power. However, this figure has to be augmented to include those who were in no way affiliated with organized Jewish communities, but in the past were classed as Jews by German authorities and registered after World War II as victims of racial persecution. In this category there were 5,292 persons living in Bohemia and Moravia in 1948. In Slovakia their number is not known; on the other hand, about 5,500 Slovak Jews, in an effort to save their lives, agreed to *pro forma* baptism during the war. It can therefore be estimated that out of the 356,830 Jews living in Czechoslovakia (including Sub-Carpathian Ruthenia) in 1939, less than a sixth remained in the country in 1948. The Communist coup of February 1948, and the establishment of the State of Israel in May of that year, led to a mass migration of Jews from Czechoslovakia. Between 1948 and 1950, 18,879 Jews went from Czechoslovakia to Israel, while more than 7,000 emigrated to other countries. When emigration was barred by the Communist authorities, in 1950, the number of Jews still remaining had dropped to some 18,000, while some 5,500 of them were still registered for migration to Israel. There were sporadic instances of Jewish emigration after 1954 but only from 1965 were 2,000–3,000 Jews allowed to leave Czechoslovakia. After the Soviet invasion in August 1968, 3,400 Jews left the country, according to a spokesman of the American Joint Distribution Committee in Vienna. It may therefore be assumed that at the end of 1968 there were less than 12,000 Jews left in Czechoslovakia. In June 1968, Rudolf Iltis of the Council of Jewish Communities in Bohemia and Moravia gave their average age as 60, while in the 15–20 age group there were only 1,000 Jews left. He also added that "with the exception of a few communities in Slovakia, the demographic situation of Czechoslovak Jewry does not necessitate religious instruction, because there are not enough children of school age."

ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE. The renewed Council of Jewish Communities in Bohemia and Moravia held its first conference after World War II, under the chairmanship of Ernst Frischer, in September 1945. Delegates of 43 communities participated. In Slovakia a similar body, the Central Union of the Jewish Communities in Slovakia, was created at the end of 1945, presided over by Armin *Frieder. With the creation of the Union, the Orthodox and the Neolog-Status Quo organizations, separate before the war, were united. Both Frischer and Frieder were Zionists. In 1947 the two organizations set up a coordinating committee. At a Council conference in November 1963 representatives from only 16 communities took part and in 1968 the editor of the Council's publications listed only seven active communities in Bohemia and Moravia (Prague, Brno, Ostrava, Plzeň, Karlovy Vary, Ústí nad Labem, and Teplice-Sanov). Ten communities in Slovakia were listed as active (Bratislava, Košice, Prešov, Nitra, Michalovce, Žilina, Galanta, Trnava, Dunajská Streda, and Ružomberok). A small number of Jews were also living in some other places where, however, Jewish life had no organizational framework. The strongest communities in June 1968 were Prague, with 3,500 members (more than 4,000 in 1945), Bratislava, with 2,000 (8,000 in 1947), and Košice with 1,800 (4,000 in 1947). Religious life was practically limited to the High Holidays. On the Sabbath few places had a *minyan*. One of the main problems was the lack of rabbis. Religious education was nonexistent. The budget of the pauperized communities was covered entirely by State subsidies. The State Bakery in Zlaté Moravce supplied *maẓẓot* from 1965. There were four Jewish old-age homes, in Bratislava, Marianské Lázně, Brno, and Poděbrady; only in the first two was kosher food prepared. Of the 800 Jewish cemeteries only those were being kept in good order where a community was still in existence. A few, like the old cemetery of Prague, had become museums. The same applied to some old synagogues. In the years preceding the Communist coup of 1948, there were still signs of Jewish political life and of contacts with Jewish bodies abroad. In Slovakia, for instance, an Organization of Victims of Racial Persecution was created under the chairmanship of Vojtech Winterstein, a leading Zionist. The Central Union of Jewish Communities in Slovakia was affiliated to the World Jewish Congress from 1946, while the Council of Jewish Communities in Bohemia and Moravia joined the WJC only at the beginning of 1948. There were organized Zionist activities, and the American Joint Distribution Committee was permitted to undertake social work among the Jews of Czechoslovakia. All this was stopped when the Communists came to power in February 1948. After the Communist coup, Action Committees composed partially of Jewish Communists took over the leadership of the Jewish communities and eliminated noncommunists from their positions. At the beginning of 1949 the Zionists still succeeded in holding a conference at Pieštany; but by the end of 1949 the ties with the World Jewish Congress were broken, and at the beginning of 1950 the "Joint" was ordered to stop all activities and its workers were expelled. The Jewish Agency closed its Prague office voluntarily the same year, after all Jewish migration from Czechoslovakia had been stopped. The organ of the Council, *Věstnik židovských náboženských obcí*, and a quarterly in German, *Informationsbulletin*, became party mouthpieces, following the official line, including the hostile attitude to Israel. Some changes for the better could be discerned after 1964. In that year the *ḥevra kaddisha* of Prague was permitted to celebrate its 400th anniversary. The small Jewish Museum in Prague was enlarged during World War II by the Germans and later was taken over by the Ministry of Culture and officially reorganized. (In 1963 it was visited by 327,000 people.) In 1966 a more liberal-minded leadership, led by František Fuchs, succeeded the dogmatic Communist group in the Council of Jewish Communities, headed until then by František Ehrmann. The Prague community created a special Committee for Youth which, for the first time in a quarter of a century, organized lectures and seminars on Jewish themes, attended regularly by dozens of Jewish students. A delegation of the Council was received by the minister of culture and submitted a detailed plan for the celebrations of the millennium of Prague Jewry and the 700th anniversary of the Altneuschul, which were to have taken place in August 1968. Contacts with Jewish communities and organizations outside Czechoslovakia were renewed. In January 1967, the presidents of the Council and of the Central Union attended a World Jewish Conference in Paris and, on their invitation, Naḥum *Goldmann visited Czechoslovakia in the spring of that year. At the time, a series of stamps depicting Jewish subjects was issued. The stamps were taken out of circulation at the time of the *Six-Day War in June 1967, when Czechoslovakia, like other countries of the Soviet bloc, broke off diplomatic relations with Israel, but were reissued after the liberal community leadership of Alexander Dubček came into power in January 1968.

JEWS IN CZECHOSLOVAK PUBLIC LIFE. Thousands of Jews fought in the Czechoslovak armies formed both in the West and in the Soviet Union during World War II and many worked in various capacities in Beneš's government-in-exile. Many of those who returned after the war continued their work in the newly formed administration. The percentage of Jewish intellectuals among the Communists was also high, and after the Communist coup of February 1948, many of them were entrusted with responsible tasks in the government machinery. Thus, in 1948 there were three Jewish deputy ministers of foreign affairs, of defense, interior, foreign trade and finance. The Party's secretary general, Rudolf Slánský, was a Jew, and Jews played an important role in the party apparatus. This led to an increase of the antisemitism which was latent especially in Slovakia. Already in 1945, a delegation of the Council of Jewish Communities led by Ernst Frischer complained to President Beneš about anti-Jewish excesses in the Slovak towns of Prešov, Bardějov, and Topolčany. In 1945, in the village of Kolbasov in eastern Slovakia, a band of Ukrainian Bendera nationalists, together with local citizens, attacked Jews who had just returned from concentration camps, raped the women, and murdered all 14. The same year two Jews were killed in Žilina, and in 1946 and 1948 there were anti-Jewish riots in Bratislava. In Slovakia, from 1949, Benjamin Eichler generally headed the Central Association of Jewish Religious Congregations. After the emigration of his children in 1969, he was forced to resign and left the country in the wake of his children. The new leadership in Slovakia was composed of men already active in the Association. They did not act independently, until being replaced after the "Velvet Revolution" of 1989. Several congregations in Slovakia continued to carry on religious activities also after 1949, and even examined the possibility of setting up a yeshivah in Košice. Antisemitism knew no party barriers, and Communists were no more immune to it than others. As soon as the anti-Jewish line became official policy in the Soviet Union (see *Antisemitism: the Soviet Bloc), Communists in Czechoslovakia followed suit. The *Slánský Trial of 1952 had a clearly anti-Jewish character: 11 of 14 accused were Jews, and eight Jews among them were executed. In subsequent trials hundreds of Jews were sentenced to long-term imprisonment, hundreds were sent to hard labor without trial, and hundreds were dismissed from their posts. Jews became in fact, if not in law, second-class citizens. De-Stalinization was slower in Czechoslovakia than elsewhere. In April 1956, Prime Minister Široký admitted that "certain manifestations of antisemitism had been wrongly introduced in the Slánský trial," but in December 1957 the minister of justice still informed foreign correspondents that no revision of the trial was necessary; a special commission had checked the sentences and found them justified. Some Jewish prisoners were gradually released and some even rehabilitated, but in 1956 there were still about 300 Jews in jails, and their number increased in 1957, after the *Sinai Campaign, when many Jews, including 27 community leaders, were arrested as "Western spies" or on charges of "Zionist activities." It was only at the beginning of the 1960s that the way was reopened for Jewish participation in Czechoslovak public life. Not many Jews returned to the State administration or to politically important positions, though there were a few exceptions, such as František Kriegel (d. 1979), who became chairman of the National Front, and Ota Šik, the chief economic planner. The contribution of Jewish university professors, scientists, writers, musicians, theater and film artists, journalists, radio and television commentators to Czechoslovak cultural life again became considerable. A Jew, Eduard *Goldstuecker, vice rector of Prague University, was elected president of the Czech Writers Union, while the work of Jewish writers and journalists received a new impetus and became even more important after January 1968, when liberal reformers led by Dubček put an end to censorship and other fetters on spiritual freedom. This period was, however, short-lived. The Soviet invasion of August 1968 put an end to it, and a new wave of antisemitism, fed by Soviet, Polish, and East German propaganda, made further Jewish participation in public life impossible. Kriegel, the only member of the Czechoslovak delegation who refused to sign the Moscow "agreement" legalizing Soviet invasion, was, at Moscow's insistence, dropped from the Politburo and dismissed from all functions. Goldstuecker, who for a few days in August was also a member of the Politburo, and Ota Šik, deputy prime minister after the fall of Novotný, sought safety abroad. So did some 3,400 other Jews, many of them intellectuals. Antisemitism became an issue in the struggle between the liberal Communists and the pro-Moscow faction.

Czechoslovakia and Israel

Czechoslovakia was among the first countries in the world to recognize the State of Israel, though it was already ruled by Gottwald's Communist regime after the February 1948 coup. Moreover, during its *War of Independence, Israel enjoyed active and effective Czechoslovak assistance, including the supply of military equipment. The two countries exchanged diplomatic representatives. These initially promising relations rapidly deteriorated, however, when Moscow reversed her attitude to Israel. This process culminated in the expulsion of the Israel minister from Prague, Aryeh *Kubovy in December 1952. After the Slánský trial diplomatic missions of the two countries remained headed on both sides by a chargé d'affaires only, and all Israel efforts to bring about a political dialogue were frustrated by Prague. Limited trade relations continued until 1956, but after the Sinai Campaign even these were broken off, although Israel's trade with other Soviet bloc countries in the period between 1956 and 1967 showed a remarkable increase. In June 1967, Czechoslovakia, together with the rest of the Warsaw Pact countries (excluding Romania), broke off relations with Israel. The one-sided attitude adopted by Czechoslovakia in the Arab-Israel conflict, and Israel's rapid victory against an overwhelming Arab majority, caused second thoughts first among the Czech and Slovak intelligentsia and then among the whole people, and ultimately became a factor in the growing opposition to the Novotný regime. With Novotný's fall in January 1968 there was hope for an improvement in the relations between Prague and Jerusalem. Writers, students, even some political figures, openly advocated a resumption of diplomatic relations. The request found expression in the press, on television, in public debates with members of the government, and finally in a collection of signatures organized by students in the streets of Prague. New hopes also arose among the remnants of Czechoslovak Jewry. On April 7, 1968, the Council of Jewish Communities in Bohemia and Moravia adopted a resolution, unprecedented in Communist countries, expressing not only their approval of the new liberalization but also their protest against the "vehement anti-Israel campaign" of the previous Novotný regime, which was based on "unobjective, one-sided reporting, often explicable only as intentionally anti-Jewish." The resolution stated: "We cannot agree and never will agree, to the liquidation of the State of Israel and to the murder of its inhabitants. In that country, the cradle of our religion, victims of persecution found a haven. Our brothers and sisters live there, those who together with us spent years in concentration camps, who together with us arose to take up the fight against Nazism." In conclusion the resolution requested that the government condemn the antisemitic pronouncements in the political trials of the 1950s and rehabilitate Jews wronged during that period by judicial or administrative decisions; place victims of racial persecution on the same level as those of political persecution in all welfare legislation; not impede contact between the Jews of Czechoslovakia and Jewish bodies abroad; not to obstruct the religious education of Jewish youth with administrative difficulties. A similar declaration, issued on the same day by the Central Union of Jewish Communities in Slovakia, contained an additional request: "It is a minimal human postulate, that everyone asking to be reunited with his family should be allowed to do so, wherever his family may be living." A few months later, with the Soviet invasion of August 21, 1968, these hopes were shattered.

[Avigdor Dagan]

Toward Renewal

The International Council of Jews from Czechoslovakia in 1978 published its first report on Post-War Jewry in Czechoslovakia. It revealed a steady decline in the number of Jews, estimated to be 15,000, half the number registered in the census of 1950. The number of localities in which Jews resided had also fallen from 193 in 1968 to 174.

The largest number of registered congregants was in Prague, which, however, showed only 644 at the end of 1977, compared with 934 in 1968. Other centers showed similar decline: Brno 237 (from 295), Ostrava 122 (from 154) and Bratislava 88 (from 314).

There were no rabbis and only 8 communities still maintained a nominal existence in Bohemia and Moravia: Prague, Brno, Usti nad Labem, Olomouc, Ostrava, Levice, Pizen, Pribram; while in Slovakia there existed the six communities of Bratislava, Kosice, Presov, Galanta, Nove Zamky, Nitra.

The Council of Jewish communities of Bohemia and Moravia continued to function. Its chairman, engineer Frantisek Fuchs, who was appointed in 1966, was compelled to resign in August 1974, following attacks on him in the Czech press on the grounds that he had refused to sign a condemnation of the State of Israel during the Six-Day War. However, it seems that the real reason for the forced resignation was the fact that his son had left Czechoslovakia for the West. In March 1975 he was succeeded by Dr. Bedrich Bass, who died in 1979.

The Council of Jewish Communities in Bohemia and Moravia and the Central Union of Jewish Communities in Slovakia continued to publish the quarterly *Vestnik Zidovskych nabozenskych obci*, as well as the German language quarterly *Informationsbulletin*. The famous Pinkas Synagogue was closed because the rise in the level of sewage water surrounding it covered the monumental slabs bearing the names of 78,000 Czech Jews who perished in the Holocaust. The synagogue itself was in danger of total collapse.

Antisemitic propaganda, in the guise of anti-Zionism, still continued and came prominently to the fore in the struggle of the regime against the "Charter 77 Movement," whose manifesto – it was alleged – was drawn up "under order of the general staffs of anti-Communism and Zionism." But the antisemitism of the Czech Press was not restricted to the struggle against the protest movement; it was evident in purely ideological discussions, and its political hostility towards Israel continued. Commercial ties, however, which were severed in 1953, were re-established, and in 1976 Israeli exports to Czechoslovakia amounted to $4.767 million, while imports from Czechoslovakia were only $541,000. The respective figures for 1977 were $3.8 million and $600,000. In 1981 there was virtually no trade between the two countries.

The situation of Czechoslovakia's 6,000–10,000 Jews changed dramatically following the "Velvet Revolution" of November 1989, which ousted the country's hard-line Communist leaders. Restoration of religious freedom was one of the top priorities of the new, freely elected government headed by former dissident playwright Vaclav Havel.

Under communism, the regime tightly controlled religious observance and maintained a shrill anti-Zionist policy. Participation in Jewish religious, cultural, or educational activities was either discouraged or banned, and community leaders were appointed by the regime.

In some respects, the rigidity began to be eased somewhat in the 1980s. A major event was the traveling "Precious Legacy" exhibit put together by the State Jewish Museum in Prague, which introduced Czech Jewish culture to foreign audiences. In the late 1980s, some younger members of the Prague Jewish community formulated a letter openly criticizing the community leadership. Just one week before the "Velvet Revolution," World Jewish Congress President Edgar Bronfman paid his first official visit to Prague.

Havel's new government in February 1990 reestablished diplomatic relations with lsrael, which had been broken after the Six-Day War in 1967, and in April 1990, Havel became the first leader from former Communist Eastern Europe to visit Israel – he took a planeload of Czechoslovak Jews with him. The trip coincided with the opening of "Where Cultures Meet," a major exhibit on the Jews of Czechoslovakia at Beth Hatefutsoth, the Museum of the Jewish Diaspora, in Tel Aviv. The exhibit was later presented in Prague and elsewhere in Czechoslovakia.

Jewish spiritual and cultural life began to blossom in the three major communities: Prague in the Czech Republic and Bratislava and Kosice in Slovakia, each of which has about 1,000 registered members. Community administrations were reorganized to rid them of their Communist-appointed leaders. In December 1989 the well-respected Desider Galsky became president of the Jews in the Czech Republic, and was highly active in restoring numerous contacts between Czech Jews and international Jewish organizations before his death in a car accident 11 months later.

New Jewish organizations, societies, clubs, publications, and study groups ranging from the B'nai B'rith lodge to a Franz Kafka Society sprang up in the three main communities, and legislation was passed that will enable Jewish communities to regain property that had been confiscated by the communists. Numerous new books on Jewish topics were published, ranging from local Jewish guidebooks to fiction by local Jewish writers to examinations of the Holocaust in Czechoslovakia. In 1991 a museum dedicated to Franz Kafka, whose works had been suppressed under the communists, was opened in Prague focusing on Kafka's Jewish identity. In the same year, a memorial museum dedicated to the Jewish Ghetto concentration camp was inaugurated at Terezin (Theresienstadt) north of Prague, and in the summer of 1992 work began to restore the Holocaust memorial in Prague's 500-year-old Pinkas synagogue – a list of every one of the more than 77,000 Bohemian and Moravian Jews who were killed by the Nazis, hand-painted on the walls of the sanctuary. Memorials commemorating Jewish Holocaust victims were erected for the first time in many provincial towns, too.

Prague became a symbol city for the rebirth of freedom. As such, it was chosen as the site of a key meeting between Roman Catholic leaders and the International Council for Interreligious Consultations (IJCIC) in September 1990, in which the Catholic leaders condemned antisemitism as a sin. The meeting issued a landmark joint statement that called for concrete measures to foster interreligious dialogue and spelled out recommendations for combating the upsurge of antisemitism in Central and Eastern Europe. In the spring of 1992, Prague hosted a major symposium on antisemitism in Eastern Europe.

One casualty of these changes was Prague-based Rabbi Daniel Mayer, the only rabbi in Czechoslovakia, who was forced to resign his post in June 1990 after he admitted he had served as a government informant for a decade under the communist regime.

In September 1992, Karol Sidon, a former dissident playwright who had been forced to leave Prague because of his views, became the new rabbi in Prague, and Australian Lazar Kleinman took up the post of rabbi in Kosice, in eastern Slovakia. Both new rabbis expressed the hope they could revive Jewish life and religious practice in the two communities. Kleinmann was later forced to resign his post because of activities which, inter alia, played into the hands of Slovak nationalists. The Jews faced many problems. Most community members were elderly. Young people, many of them just discovering or rediscovering their Jewish roots, knew little about Judaism. In the Czech Republic especially, where Jews traditionally were highly assimilated and intermarriage was common, many of the younger people who considered themselves Jews were not Jews according to *halakhah*.

Soon after the "Velvet Revolution" a number of antisemitic incidents were recorded in Slovakia, including the desecration of cemeteries, attacks in the Slovak nationalist press, and antisemitic slurs against Fedor Gal, the leader of the Slovak People Against Violence political movement, who was born in the Terezin ghetto concentration camp.

In addition, at one point there was a movement in Slovakia to rehabilitate Father Josef Tiso, the leader of the wartime clerico-fascist Independent Slovakia, which was allied with the Nazis. Nationalistic and antisemitic organizations celebrated a revival. This revival was accompanied by a wave of anti-Jewish publications, including the "Protocols of the Elders of Zion." However, the community increased its public and religious activities and renewed ties with Jewish organizations abroad.

[Ruth E. Gruber]

For subsequent events, see *Czech Republic and Slovakia.

Slovak Historiography

Slovakian Jewry was until 1918 an integral part of Magyar Jewry. Therefore, historians never paid particular attention to "Oberland Jewry" (i.e., the Jewry of Upper Hungary, as it was known), although it must have been clear that an ethnic-religious minority living within an alien population would develop special traits akin to the majority. Neither the Magyar masters nor Jews living within the Magyar nation would be willing to admit that the Jews of Upper Hungary were special and had a different life-path from the dominant Jews of Hungary.

Already during the 19th century there were Jewish figures and publicists in Upper Hungary who recognized the particularism of the Slovak nation and protested against its oppression. In several cases, this recognition was instrumental in attempts to close Jewish-Slovak ranks. This was not easy, however, given the Magyar insistence on the Magyarization of Upper Hungarian Jewry. Neither was the hostility of leading Slovak nationalists helpful.

Only the creation of the Czechoslovak Republic, and the introduction of the Slovak language into Jewish schools, spurred the development of an independent Slovakian Jewry. It was then that the Jews become cognizant of their independent tradition and existence.

The Bratislava Zionist Samuel Bettelheim was among the first to recognize the existence of an independent Jewish history in Upper Hungary, today Slovakia. He founded a historical journal, *Judaica*, and encouraged original historical research. Bratislava's archivist and librarian Ovidius Faust, not a Jew, joined hands with Bettelheim to promote Slovak-Jewish historiography. Faust compiled the first work telling the story of Bratislava's Jewry. The work of Jewish historiography was terminated with creation of the Slovak state in 1939. The publisher Hugo Gold also cherished the idea of recording the Jewish past in Slovakia. The manuscript he is said to have prepared has disappeared.

The trauma of the Holocaust created a desire to commemorate the tragic events. Immediately after the end of the war Friedrich Steiner started to gather historical evidence, which he eventually transferred to Yad Vashem in Jerusalem.

The daily press published the first descriptions of the horror. However, the Communist authorities, who singled out the Jews for hostile treatment, prevented any extensive and systematic analysis of the Holocaust. Therefore, it was Jews born in Czechoslovakia and living in Israel who were moved to look into the past of their community. Livia Rothkirchen, a native of Carpatho-Russia, published the pioneering *Destruction of Slovak Jewry, a Documentary History* in 1961. Graduates of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Yeshayahu A. Jelinek, Gila Fatran, Akiba Nir, and Yehoshua Robert Buechler, all survivors of the Holocaust, also described those bitter days. Thus Israel witnessed the foundation of modern Slovak-Jewish historiography. After the fall of Communism in Czechoslovakia, local historians followed in the footsteps of the Israelis. Ivan Kanenec wrote a dissertation on the Holocaust of Slovakian Jewry, but was not permitted to publish it. It only saw print in 1991 (*Po stopách tragedie*, "In the Footsteps of Tragedy"). Eduard Nižniansky commenced a systematic study of the first years of Jewish persecution in Slovakia. Katarina Hradská and Peter Salmer also devoted attention to the recent post. In Slovak academia the Holocaust is a subject of instruction and study. After escaping to Switzerland a graduate of Bratislava's university, Ladislav Lipscher, published *Die Juden im Slowakischen Staat 1939–1945* (1980). It is worth mentioning that most of this historical writing is devoted to Slovakian Jewry deals with the years 1938–45. Little has been published on its earlier history.

The most significant work on Czechoslovak (and naturally Slovak) Jewry is the American *Jews of Czechoslovakia* in three volumes (see Bibliography). It was prepared by the leading historians of Czech and Slovak Jewries living outside their native country. The most recent work on Slovakian Jewry is Yad Vashem's *Pinkas Kehillot Slovakia* (in the Encyclopedia of Jewish Communities series), edited by Yehoshua Robert Buechler and Gila Fatran (2004). Similar work has been published in Slovakia by Eugen Bárkány and Ludovit Dojč, *Židovské náboženské obce na Slovensku* ("The Jewish Religious Communities in Slovakia"). An older book of similar content is Lanyi Menyhert and Propperné Békefi Hermin's *Szlovenszkoi Zsidó Hitközsegek Törtente* ("The Story of the Slovak Jewish Communities). Dozens of books devoted to individual communities have been published in Israel, Slovakia, and overseas

The director of the Jewish Museum of Prague, Pavol Meštan, publishes the yearly *Acta Judaica Slovaca*, devoted to Jewish history in Slovakia. Meštan has published several books on the life of the Jewish community in Slovakia since the Velvet Revolution. Works on Slovak Jewry have thus become a frequent occurrence in Israel, the Slovak and Czech republics, Germany, the United States, England, Canada, Hungary, and Austria.

[Yeshayahu Jelinek (2nd ed.)

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CZECHOSLOVAK LITERATURE. By force of historic circumstances, Jews in the Czech lands – Bohemia and Moravia – before World War I tended on the whole to identify themselves with the culture of the ruling Austrians, while Jews in Slovakia mostly absorbed Hungarian culture. Most of the internationally famous Jewish writers of Prague – Franz *Kafka, Franz *Werfel, Max *Brod, Egon Erwin *Kisch – to cite just a few examples – wrote in German. Jewish writers nevertheless also played an important part in Czech literature. It is true that a gap of 400 years separates the colorful 15th-century convert Pavel *Žídek from Siegfried *Kapper, the first modern Jewish author of significance to write in the Czech language. It must be remembered, however, that for three centuries the Czechs and Slovaks had been deprived of their national independence and that not until the 19th century was there a real revival of Czech nationalism and a consequent renaissance of Czech literature.

Long before the Czechs regained political independence Jewish writers were active in Czech cultural life, and in the period between the two World Wars the Jewish contribution to Czech literature was out of all proportion to the small minority of Jews in the country's population as a whole. It was during this period also that Jews first began writing in the Slovak language. The Jewish writers who succeeded in escaping from Nazi-occupied Czechoslovakia contributed to Czech literature while they were in exile, and those who returned after the end of World War II went on to play an important part in the cultural life of the country.

There is a marked difference in the treatment of Jewish themes in Czech and Slovak literature before and after World War II. Before the war, gentile writers were almost invariably biased and antisemitic, and anyone who created an authentic Jewish character nearly always proved to be of Jewish stock himself. One result of the Holocaust was the large number of openly pro-Jewish literary works produced by non-Jewish Czech and Slovak writers. In many cases this went hand-in-hand with expressions of sympathy for the State of Israel.

Biblical Influences

The proportion of writers attracted in one way or another by the Jew's fate, his behavior, and his place in the life of the nation was much greater in Czech literature than in the literature of most other countries. Surprisingly few biblical themes, however, were used by Czech authors, and these occur mainly in the works of Jewish writers. With the exception of Karel Čapek's play *Adam stvořitel* (1927; "*Adam the Creator,*" 1929), Stanislav Lom's drama about Moses, *Vůdce* (1916; "*The Leader,*" 1917), and some poems by Svatopluk Čech, J.S. Machar, and G.R. Opočenský, hardly a single work inspired by the Old Testament can be found in the writings of Czech non-Jews. Practically all the significant imaginative literature based on the Bible has come from the pens of two leading writers of mixed origin – Jaroslav *Vrchlický and Julius *Zeyer. J. Vrchlický, the most prolific Czech poet, wrote more than 100 poems on Jewish themes, at least half of them biblical, including the dramatic epic *Bar Kochba* (1897). Zeyer published a biblical drama, *Sulamit* (1883), a short story about Joseph in Egypt entitled *Asenat* (1895), and poems about Moses and about Solomon and the Queen of Sheba.

The Figure of the Jews and Jewish Themes

Several factors lend a distinctive character to the treatment of Jewish themes by Czech authors. One is that modern Czech literature developed at a time when the Czechs themselves did not have a state of their own. Hence, the many allusions to the homeless Jew longing for a country of his own, whose tragedy symbolized the Czech longing for statehood. An instance of this is the romantic, Byronesque poem *Cikáni* ("Gypsies," 1835) by the greatest of the early 19th-century Czech poets, Karel Hynek Mácha (1810–1836).

Another phenomenon is the extraordinary number of writers who concerned themselves with the question of whether or not a Jew could also be a loyal Czech. The first to discuss this problem publicly was Václav Bolemír Nebeský (1818–1882), who made Czech-Jewish assimilation the theme of several of his short stories. His view, expressed in a number of essays, was that Jews who had long been settled in the Czech lands should be regarded as Czechs of the Jewish faith and that they could be just as good patriots as Czechs of any other religion. Nebeský's thesis was repudiated by the great poet, journalist, and patriot Karel Havlíček-Borovský (1821–1856), who held that the Jews belonged not merely to a different religion but that their Semitic bond was much stronger than the one that bound them to the land of their birth. Nevertheless, Havlíček-Borovský was a supporter of Jewish emancipation and repeatedly explained to his readers that the Jews were not to be blamed for their shortcomings. This did not prevent him from writing a number of epigrams in which he accused them of crimes for which, on his own showing, they could scarcely be held responsible. Josef Jiří Kolár (1812–1896) posed the question of assimilation in dramatic form in his popular historical play, *Pražský žid* ("The Jew of Prague"), which remained in the repertoire of Czech theaters for more than 50 years after its première in 1871. The central character in this play about the historic battle on the White Mountain in 1620 is a dignified Jew who is at the same time a Czech patriot.

Literary Antisemitism

On the other hand, the contribution made to this discussion by Jan Neruda (1834–1891), possibly the best Czech poet of the 19th century, could hardly be called constructive. Although he was greatly influenced by some of the German-Jewish poets, especially Heinrich *Heine, and although he was originally inclined to be sympathetic toward the Jews, Neruda became an active antisemite. In 1869 he published a pamphlet entitled *Pro strach židovský* ("The Jewish Danger"), in which he excused his prejudice on the grounds that the Jews generally sided with the Germans and were intent on world domination. Far from emancipating the Jews, he said, what the Czechs needed was to emancipate themselves from Jewish control. Similar ideas are to be found in a number of Neruda's articles and epigrams, and this author of some of the most beautiful love poetry in all Czech literature even went so far as to express his regret when in 1881 the antisemitic riots in Berlin came to an end.

The case of another great 19th-century poet, Svatopluk Čech (1846–1908), is more complicated. When he dealt with historical figures – as in the collection of verse, *Sny palestýnské* ("Palestine Dreams," 1872), in his first long poem, *Adamité* ("The Adamites," 1873), and in several of the poems in *Modlitby k Neznámému* ("Prayers to the Unknown," 1896) – he was full of respect and sympathy. As soon as he turned to the contemporary scene, however, Čech's Jew invariably became a repulsive usurer, exploiter, or villain, whose only object was to enrich himself at the expense of his Slav hosts. Examples of such figures can be found in his novels *Jabloň* ("The Appletree," 1878), *Kandidát nesmrtelnosti* ("Candidate for Immortality," 1879), and *Člověk se zlatníkem v tobolce* ("The Man with a Gold Coin in his Purse," 1883). A few other Czech writers, notably A.E. Mužík, Bohdan Kaminský, and F.X. Svoboda, showed a more kindly attitude toward their Jewish characters, but none of them was of major literary importance.

It is another peculiarity of Czech literature that its expression of antisemitism was at least in part motivated by nationalist considerations. The fact that Jews in the Czech lands were traditionally closer to German than to Czech culture laid them open to the charge that they supported Austrian oppression of the Czechs. This is probably the first instance in literature of antisemitism being based on nationalism, whether from honest conviction or merely as an excuse for prejudice. Sometimes the two types of antisemitism – the social and the nationalist – appear together. For example, Viktor Dyk (1877–1931) wrote a poem about two Jews, the wealthy Kohn and the poor Bloch. As long as Kohn is rich, he speaks German; but when he loses all his money he begins to speak Czech, as the poor Bloch always did.

For the leading Czech social poet, Petr Bezruč (pseudonym of Vladimír Vašek, 1867–1958), the Jew was also the national as well as the social enemy. In his famous *Slezské písně* ("Silesian Songs," 1909), hatred of the Germans is repeatedly coupled with hatred of the Jews, whom he charged with committing every crime in the calendar in their dealings with the poor. Bezruč was probably the most bitter and most programmatic antisemite among the leading Czech poets, but he was certainly not the only one. The great symbolist Antonín Sova (1864–1928) wrote at least two openly antisemitic poems and the mystic poet Otakar Březina (1868–1929), who is generally regarded as the greatest of all Czech poets, made no secret in his published correspondence of his hatred of the Jews.

As far as the drama is concerned, the Jewish characters in the plays of Ladislav Stroupežnický (1850–1892), Jaroslav Hilbert (1871–1936), and F.F. Šamberk (1839–1904) are all either unpleasant or ridiculous. The rustic novel might be said to have an antisemitic tradition, originated by a Catholic priest, František Pravda (1817–1904), whose short stories are full of Jewish swindlers and opportunists battening on the Czech people. His example was followed by far more significant authors such as Alois Mrštík (1861–1925), who drew a whole series of unsympathetic Jewish portraits in his classic novel, *Rok na vsi* ("Year in a Village," 1904). Alois' brother, Vilém Mrštík (1863–1912), gave vent to anti-Jewish feelings of an even cruder sort in his short stories. It would almost seem that no Czech novel about village life could be complete without its Jewish villain, and he is to be found in such classics as *Naši* ("Our People") by Josef Holeček (1853–1929) and *Jan Cimbura* by Jindřich Š. Baar (1869–1925). Even Thomas Masaryk's close friend Ivan Herben (1857–1936) introduced a Jewish villain as a matter of course in his *Do třetího a čtvrtého pokolení* ("To the Third and Fourth Generation"). One of the most virulent antisemites in the annals of Czech literature was Rudolf Medek (1890–1940), a former general who wrote popular novels about World War I. The anti-Jewish tirades in his *Ohnivý drak* ("The Fiery Dragon," 1921) were unmatched by any other Czech author.

Hardly any figure recurs in Czech prose as often as that of the wicked Jew. The villain in the novel *Sup* ("Vulture," 1920) by Emil Vachek (1889–1964) is the old familiar stereotype; but Vachek at least appeared to realize that the Jew's faults might be attributable to his Diaspora environment. Even such important progressive social novelists as Antal Stašek (1843–1931) and Anna Maria Tilschová (1873–1957) were not above depicting negative Jewish characters in their novels.

Although he was attracted by the Jew, the Czech writer in general had too little knowledge of Jewish life and character to draw him as anything but a caricature. The few Czech writers with a wider outlook, such as Jaroslav Hašek (1883–1923) and the brothers Karel Čapek (1890–1938) and Josef Čapek (1887–1945), created Jewish characters without attempting to discuss problems affecting the Jews.

Objective Treatment

There were Czech authors, nevertheless, who created sympathetic Jewish characters. Among them must be included Alois Jirásek (1851–1928), Karel Klostermann (1848–1923), Karel Matěj Čapek-Chod (1860–1927), Gabriela Preissová (1862–1946), Josef Svatopluk Machar (1864–1942), Marie Majerová (1882–1958), Eduard Bass (1888–1946), and Benjamin Klička (1897–1943). On the whole, however, if the works of Jewish or partly Jewish authors are excluded, objective treatment was quite exceptional in Czech literature before 1945.

In Slovak literature, too, as in the realistic village novels of Martin Kukučín (1860–1928) and Jozef Gregor Tajovský (1874–1940), the Jew was most often depicted as the innkeeper and usurer who exploits the poor Slovak peasant and serves the Hungarian overlord. This generally hostile treatment of the Jews in Slovak literature virtually ceased in the democratic period between the two World Wars, but even then no Slovak author of distinction portrayed a sympathetic Jewish character. The omission was only remedied during World War II, when a leading Slovak writer, Janko Jesenský (1874–1945), in his short story *Strach* ("Fear"), and the then young author Margita Figuli (1909–1995) in her four-volume novel *Babylon*, expressed their horror at anti-Jewish persecution and their pity for the victims. Both works, of course, had to wait for publication until the war was over.

[Avigdor Dagan]

After World War II, in the years 1956–69, some Czech non-Jewish writers published stories and novels with Jewish themes and characters and wrote about Jews in a very positive way. Jan Otčenášek (1924–1979) in his short story "Romeo, Julie a tma" ("Romeo, Juliet and the Darkness," 1958) depicted a tragic love story between a Czech boy and a Jewish girl (made into a movie by the Jewish director Jiří *Weiss). Hana Bělohradská (1929–) later made her debut with the short story "Bez krásy bez límce" ("Without Beauty Without Collar," 1962) about a Jewish physician waiting for a summons to a concentration camp, which was made into a movie *…a pátý jezdec je strach* (" …and the Fifth Rider is Fear") by Zdeněk Brynych. Ladislav Fuks (1923–1994) published his novels and stories with Jewish topics between 1963 and 1969: *Pan Theodor Mundstock* ("Mr. Theodor Mundstock," 1963), *Mí černovlasí bratři* ("My Black-haired Brothers," 1964), *Variace pro temnou strunu* ("Variations for a Dark String," 1966), *Spalovač mrtvol* ("The Burner of Corpses," 1967), and *Cesta do zaslíbené země a jiné povídky* ("The Way to the Promised Land and Other Stories," 1969). Josef Škvorecký (1924-), who in 1958 published his best novel, *Zbabělci* ("The Cowards"), which shocked the governing Communist Party establishment, published his works with Jewish themes also in those years: a short story "Legenda Emöke" ("The Legend Named Emöke," 1963), a series of stories called *Sedmiramenný svícen* ("The Menorah," 1964), and *Babylónský příběh a jiné povídky* ("A Tale of Babylon and Other Stories," 1967). Last but not least the Slovak author Ladislav Mňačko (1919–1994), well known for his antifascist and anti-Stalinist novels and stories and who openly criticized official anti-Israeli Czechoslovak government policy in 1967, published the book *Die Aggressoren* ("Agressors," 1968) and left Czechoslovakia for Israel and later for Austria. He also started to publish stories, some of them with Jewish topics, in the 1960s, such as "Jizvy zůstaly" ("Scars Left," 1966).

The Jewish Contribution to Czech and Slovak Literature

A long list of Czech Jewish writers appears already in the second half of the 19th century including Siegfried *Kapper and publicists and authors connected with the Czech-Jewish assimilation movement. Linked to its ideas is Vojtěch *Rakous, a writer who described the life of Jews in the country in a masterly fashion. The following generation included František *Gellner, an anarchist poet, one of the first victims of World War I, Otokar *Fischer, Pavel *Eisner, and many others whose critical, literary, and public activities developed freely during the two decades of Masaryk's First Republic (1918–38). Some of them, Fischer, Eisner, Otto Pick, and Rudolf Fuchs, became famous as translators and mediators between the Czech and German cultures. Jewish writers, journalists, and editors also played an important role in the press of the First Republic, promulgating Masaryk's and Beneš' so-called "Castle" policy in the public at large. Jan and Jaroslav *Stránský, Gustav *Winter, Alfred *Fuchs, Josef Kodíček, František *Langer, Richard *Weiner, Karel *Poláček and others held decisive positions in many publishing houses (for example Orbis) and newspapers such as *Národní osvobození, České slovo, Prager Tagblatt, Prager Presse, Tribuna, Lidové noviny*, and *Přítomnost*, or regularly contributed to them. The only prominent Jewish journalist and editor who opposed the "Castle" policy was Lev Borský (in 1944 he perished in a concentration camp). There was an informal "Castle" institution called *Pátečníci* ("Friday visitors") which met regularly in the years 1924–37 in the presence of Tomáš G. *Masaryk and Edvard *Beneš. A quarter of them were Jews such as Julius *Firt, Otokar Fischer, Alfred Fuchs, Camil Hoffmann, Josef Kodíček, František Langer, Arne Laurin, and Karel Poláček. Poláček, in his stories and novels, portrayed the life of people in a district town before and during World War I. Fischer and Weiner laid foundations for Czech Jewish poets who were to follow, such as František *Gottlieb and Avigdor *Dagan, who were then succeeded by Ivo Fleischmann (1921–1997), Hanuš *Bonn, and Jiří *Orten.

[Milos Pojar (2nd ed.)]

The Jewish contribution to Slovak literature was less important than to Czech literature. The only Jewish author of any significance was Gejza Vámoš (1901–1956), a gifted writer of psychological short stories, the best of which were collected in *Editino očko a iné novely* ("Edith's Eye and Other Stories," 1925). His novel *Odlomená haluz* ("The Severed Branch," 1934), about Slovak-Jewish symbiosis, was at once a protest against antisemitism and an equally vehement criticism of the bigotry, exclusiveness, and materialism of the Jewish community in which he was raised. The few remaining Jewish writers in Slovakia before 1939 were of lesser importance, but both their number and their significance increased considerably after World War II. At least some of them deserve mention. Emil *Knieža, Juraj *Spitzer, and Ladislav *Grosman won distinction with their books on Jewish suffering during the Nazi occupation, Hela Volanská (1912–1996) and Leopold Lahola (1918–1998) were held in a labor camp in Nováky during World War II; Volanská was persecuted after 1968, Lahola went to Israel and died when he returned to Czechoslovakia in the late 1960s. Scriptwriter and writer of non-fiction literature Ján Ladislav Kalina (1913–1981) died in exile in Munich, Germany.

Another notable Jewish contribution to Czech and Slovak letters has been in the field of literary criticism. Those prominent in this sphere include Josef Kodíček (1892–1954), formerly the director of one of Prague's leading theaters, Pavel *Fraenkl (1904–1985), who settled in Norway, and Eduard *Goldstuecker. Jews, furthermore, played an important part in popularizing the works of Czech authors abroad and in translating the great foreign classics into Czech, thus enriching the literary life of Czechoslovakia. Max *Brod, Pavel Eisner, Paul Selver (a Londoner who translated Čapek and Hašek into English), Gustav *Winter, Otto Pick, Willy *Haas, Rudolf Fuchs, Emil and Erik Saudek, Bedřich Adler, Edmund Gruen, Arnošt Mandler, Jan Urzidil, and, not least, Otokar *Fischer, who was both a poet of the first rank and an important drama critic – the list is a long one, and yet these are only a few of the many gifted Jews who helped to spread a knowledge of Czechoslovak culture throughout the civilized world.

[Avigdor Dagan / Milos Pojar (2nd ed.)]

World War II brought immense losses to the ranks of Czech Jewish writers, authors, and journalists. Some perished in the Holocaust: Alfred Fuchs, Karel Poláček, Hanuš Bonn, Camil Hoffmann (from a German Jewish family); Jiří Orten was killed in 1941; many went into exile: František Langer, Pavel *Tigrid, Josef Kodíček, Julius Firt, Arne Laurin, the prominent novelist Egon *Hostovský, Viktor Fischl (later Avigdor Dagan), František Gottlieb, Eduard *Goldstuecker and Jiří Langer, who died in 1943 in Palestine. Some who returned to Czechoslovakia after World War II, went into exile again after the Communists came into power in 1948 (Tigrid, Firt, Hostovský, Fischl). Nevertheless, many Czech Jewish authors made important contributions to Czech literature after World War II, for example Norbert *Frýd, Josef *Bor, Arnošt *Lustig, František *Kafka, František R. *Kraus, Ruth *Bondy, Ivan *Klíma, who all survived the Holocaust. Some managed to escape Nazi persecution: Jiří *Weil, Ota *Pavel, Pavel Eisner, Zeno *Dostál.

The Thaw

The 20th Congress of the Soviet Communist Party and political events in Poland and Hungary in 1956 opened the gates for a more liberal period in Czechoslovakia in the field of culture, which lasted until the Soviet occupation in 1968. The Second Congress of the Union of Czechoslovak writers and its critical course, articles which appeared in *Literární noviny*, and works of young Czech and Slovak writers published in 1955–59 in the literary monthly *Květen* made it possible to start publishing "Jewish themes" again. In particular, another literary monthly, *Plamen* (1959–69), gave space to Czech and Slovak writers, publicists, translators, journalists, etc., both Jewish and non-Jewish, to publish their own stories, critical pieces, and translations pertaining to Czech-Jewish literature, the Holocaust, Jewish humor and extracts from the works of Jewish writers (Julian *Tuwim, Lion *Feuchtwanger, Isaac *Babel, Ilja *Erenburg, Franz *Kafka), philosophers, sociologists, psychoanalysts, etc. (Ernst *Fischer, Erich *Fromm, Lucien *Goldmann, Sigmund *Freud, and others). Similarly, a new bimonthly, *Světová literatura* (from 1956) started publishing works of world literature, especially those of American and Western writers, including Jews. In 1958, Pavel Eisner's translation of Kafka's *Proces* ("The Trial") appeared on the book market, followed by translations of Lion Feuchtwanger, Alberto *Moravia, Isaac Babel, Herman *Broch, and many others. In the growing liberal atmosphere of the late 1950s and 1960s (with many setbacks for new trends) Jewish writers also profited. In the beginning, they either published (from 1945) in *Věstník židovské náboženské obce v Praze* ("Gazette of the Jewish Religious Community in Prague"; from 1968 *Věstník židovských náboženských obcí v Československu*, "Gazette of Jewish Religious Communities in Czechoslovakia"), from 1991 in *Roš chodeš* or from 1954 in *Židovská ročenka* ("Jewish Yearbook") or in *Judaica Bohemiae*. Slowly, they started to publish their books, too. Ludvík *Aškenazy, F.R. *Kraus, Norbert Frýd, J.R. Pick and Jiří Weil, who could publish even in the 1940s and 1950s, were joined in the 1960s by Arnošt Lustig, Ivan *Klíma, Josef *Bor, František Kafka, František Langer, Ota Pavel, František Gottlieb, Ladislav *Grosman, Gabriel *Laub, and Efraim K. *Sidon. In these years works of deceased authors also appeared – František Gellner, Ivan *Olbracht (a staunch supporter of the Communist regime), Jiří Orten (already in 1958), Karel Poláček, and Richard Weiner. In 1963 and 1965 two international literary conferences were held in Liblice near Prague, co-organized by Eduard *Goldstuecker and others, on Franz Kafka and on Prague German literature, attended, for instance, by Anna *Seghers, Ernst *Fischer, Roger Garaudy, etc., followed by an edition of *Franz Kafka aus Prager Sicht* (1966) and *Weltfreunde. Konferenz ueber die Prager deutsche Literatur* (1967). Kafka and his work ceased to be taboo in Czechoslovakia (until 1968). In 1964 Max Brod visited Prague after 25 years. In 1963–1964 an open dialogue between Marxists and Christians came into being at the Faculty of Philosophy in Prague. It ran until 1968 and brought to Prague, among others Erich Fromm, Theodor *Adorno, Roger Garaudy. Allen *Ginsberg, J.P. Sartre, and Simone de Beauvoir. J.A. Jevtuschenko, Edward Albee, and John Steinbeck visited Prague, too. Eichmann's trial in Israel in 1961–62 and trials of German war criminals from Auschwitz in 1965 in Frankfurt were described in detail by Ladislav Mňačko and Erich *Kulka who took part in these trials, which attracted wide attention in the Czech public, including Jewish themes in general. The official Czechoslovak policy toward Israel in 1967 and after the Six-Day War brought on open criticism of Ladislav Mňačko and of some Czech writers at the Fourth Congress of the Czechoslovak writers. Three of them (Ludvík Vaculík, Milan Kundera, and Ivan Klíma) lost their membership in the Communist Party. "The Prague Spring" in 1968 lasted a mere eight months. A special board of the Czechoslovak Writers' Union discussed persecution cases of 168 authors discriminated against after 1948. Josefa Slánská (1967), Eugen Löbl, (1968), Artur London (1969), and Heda Margoliová-Kovályová (1973, from exile) published their testimonies about the *Slánský trial. Eduard Goldstuecker was elected president of the Czechoslovak Writers' Union. Censorship was abolished, books of exiled authors (for instance Egon Hostovský) were allowed to be published. Czech and Slovak writers took an active part in the process of the so-called "democratization" of the whole society. The mass media became free and the weekly edition of *Literární listy* (issued by the Czechoslovak Writers' Union) reached 300,000 copies. "The Prague Spring" was crushed by Soviet tanks in August and a process of liquidation of all the freedoms which had been achieved started and culture was not an exception. This period of "normalization" lasted 20 years with all its disastrous consequences also for Jews. An official state and party antisemitism (under the guise of anti-Zionism) emerged. The Czechoslovak Writers' Union was decimated, split into the Czech and Slovak unions, and a majority of important writers stayed outside. The ban on publication hit those who did not approve of the occupation of the country. Dozens of writers, publicists, journalists, editors, etc., went into exile, among them Ludvík Aškenazy, Ladislav Grosman, Eduard Goldstuecker, Gabriel Laub, Arnošt Lustig, Erich Kulka, and later Karol E. Sidon. Czech literature split into three sections: an official one, an underground (*samizdat*), and an exile literature published either in Czech exile publishing houses and smuggled back into Czechoslovakia or in translations in foreign languages. Some Czech Jewish authors stayed in the country and published abroad or in *samizdat* (Ivan Klíma, or Milan *Uhde); some of them (Arnošt *Goldflam, Zeno *Dostál, or Ota Pavel) were allowed to publish at home as long as they did not emphasize their Jewishness or write about Jewish themes. From the old Jewish authors rather occasionally Orten, Poláček, Gellner or Bor appeared.

The return of freedom to Czechoslovakia after 1989 physically brought back some Czech Jewish authors from exile (Goldstücker, Lustig, Sidon). In the 1990s Czech Jewish writers started to be published again. This trend continued into the 2000s.

[Milos Pojar (2nd ed.)]

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CZECH REPUBLIC AND SLOVAKIA. (For earlier history of these regions, see *Czechoslovakia.) Czechoslovakia split peacefully into the Czech Republic and Slovakia on January 1, 1993. Israel established formal diplomatic relations with both new countries.

Czech Republic

Jewish life in the Czech Republic continued the process of revival that began after the fall of Communism in 1989. As the only rabbi in the country, Prague Rabbi and Czech Chief Rabbi Karol Sidon, who took up his post in late 1992, was a major catalyst in this. About 3,000 Jews in the Czech Republic, including 1,300 in Prague, identified with the community in the early 21st century.

There were numerous classes, conferences, cultural and social events. An old age home was opened in Prague in late 1993, and a Jewish kindergarten opened in 1994. The ritual orientation of the community was strictly Orthodox. This alienated some people, particularly younger people, products of mixed marriages, who felt a Jewish identity but were not Jewish according to *halakhah*. A number of them gravitated to an alternative Ḥavurah group, Bet Simcha, that functioned outside the mainstream of the official Jewish community and made a point of appealing to people who were not halakhically Jewish but wanted to take part in Jewish activities. In 1994 another "liberal" Jewish group, Bet Praha, was formed, mainly appealing to the hundreds of American, English, and Canadian Jews in the city. At the High Holidays in 1994, Reform services, conducted by a visiting rabbi, were held in Prague's High Synagogue.

A new segment of Czech Jewry were Jews from Carpatho-Russia, who in the years 1946–48 opted to settle in Bohemia and Moravia rather then remain citizens of the Soviet Ukraine. They chose to settle in the big cities, like Prague and Brno, and in the region formerly called "Sudeten," where the old German community was expelled to the German Federal and Democratic Republics. Remnants of Carpatho-Russia Jewry could also be found in Karlovy Vary (Karlsbad), Liberec, Usti nad Labem, and Teplice-Sanov. The Carpatho-Russian Jews comprised the pious element of Czech Jewry.

The former pious Moravian Jews were all but annihilated. Traditional Orthodox communities of the Silesia-Teschen region and the Orthodox of southern Moravia almost disappeared. The ancient synagogue and cemetery of Mikulov is a tourist attraction but does not represent Jewish communal life.

A large part of Prague's Orthodox Jews were also immigrants, newcomers from Slovakia and Carpatho-Russia. Therefore the recurring tension between Orthodox Jews and self-identified Jews sometimes also reflected the differences between the remnants of old-time Czech Jewry and the immigrants. Thus issues of faith, the generation gap, and intellectual differences upset the communal life of the Prague congregation. The center of Bohemian-Moravian communal life was nevertheless concentrated in Prague, which offered regular educational-intellectual and social activities and preserves a modicum of religious life.

The memory of Czech Jewry is preserved in the Pinkas synagogue, on whose walls the names of all Bohemain-Moravian Jews have been inscribed. The Jewish Museum of Prague, and naturally the Altneuschul and the adjacent ancient cemetery, preserve the memory of Czech Jewry. Memorials were erected in numerous towns and municipalities also care for surviving synagogues and cemeteries, but by and large it can be said that, except for Prague and Brno, intensive Jewish life, for all practical purposes, has ceased to exist in the Czech Republic.

The Czech Republic had very good relations with the State of Israel. Economic ties are close. Restitution of Jewish property remained an issue. A number of properties that had been owned by the Jewish community in 1938 were returned to the community. The most notable was the Prague Jewish Museum, including its priceless collection of Judaica and half-dozen synagogue and other buildings in which the collections were displayed, all of which was returned to the community in October 1994.

There was continuing concern at incidents involving right-wing and skinhead groups who primarily attacked gypsies but also shouted antisemitic slogans.

[Ruth E. Gruber / Yeshayahu Jelinek (2nd ed.)]

Slovak Republic (Slovakia)

While the exact number of Jews living in Slovakia is hard to establish, the estimate is that some 5,000 lived in the country in the early 21st century. Most of them lived in the capital, Bratislava, with the second largest Jewish community in Kosice in Eastern Slovakia.

In addition to these two congregations, nine more were active, serving all the Jews living in the towns of the vicinity. These nine were Galanta, Nove Zamky, Dunajska Streda, Komarno, Nitra, Zilina, Banska Bystrica, Presov, and Michalovce. The tendency was toward decline as the Jewish population abandoned the countryside or died out.

The British-born Lubavitcher rabbi, Baruch Myers, arrived in Bratislava in May 1993 as the city's first rabbi since the departure of Rabbi Elias Katz in 1968. He launched education and youth programs and for the first time, a huge Hanukkah menorah was in public in Bratislava in a ceremony attended by President Michal Kovac and the Israeli ambassador.

After the "Velvet Revolution" (1989), Jewish communal, religious, social, and political life received a big boost. Among the principal actors in this revolution in Bratislava were several Jews, in particular Fedor Gal, who was the leading figure in the organization called "Public Against Violence" (Verejnost Proti Nasiliu, VPN). He and other Jews were later squeezed out of political life.

The representative institution of Slovakian Jewry was the Central Association of Jewish Religious Communities in the Slovak Republic, with its seat in Bratislava. It represented local Jewry in all matters affecting its life, including activities for restoration and restitution of Jewish communal and private property, representing Jews in Slovak elected and communal bodies, organizing religious and social activity, and maintaining relations with Jewish organizations abroad, including the Israel Association of Jews from Czechoslovakia. Among its important political tasks was the struggle against frequently occurring antisemitism. Antisemitism made itself felt in the desecration of surviving Jewish cemeteries and synagogues, attempts at rehabilitation the Slovak state, the first satellite of the Third Reich, and its president Father Dr. Jozef. Also, and attacks on Jews in the media. Rabbi Myers was attacked in Bratislava on September 5, 1993, by skinheads. A survey in April 1993 showed that a large percentage of the population had negative feeling about the Jews, and this state of affairs has not changed. It also provides fertile ground for anti-Israeli Arab propaganda. Anti-Jewish publications, including "The Protocols of the Elders of Zion," are regularly published. In 1990 the Slovak Parliament made a public apology to the Jews and in October 1993 a landmark law aimed at partial restitution of property claims by churches and religious communities, including the Jews. The Jewish community listed over 300 properties, including over three dozen synagogues, buildings, and schools. In 2003 another law provided for the partial return of "Aryanized" or confiscated Jewish property.

In 2002, Slovakian authorities reached an agreement with the Association of Jewish Religious Communities on partial indemnification of Slovakian Jews who lost their property during the Holocaust. Slovakia has good relations with Israel, and Israeli figures like the president and the speaker of Parliament have visited Slovakia, as have the Slovak president and the prime minister visited Israel.

Among the important Jewish institutions in Slovakia mention should be made of the Jewish Museum, which is part of the Slovak National Museum, as well as the Holocaust Documentation Center and a variety of cultural enterprises, including the frequent publication of books of Jewish content by Jewish authors and the Ezra foundation for social and humanitarian activities. Within Comenius University an Institute for Jewish Studies is active.

Slovakia proclaimed September 9, the date of publication in 1941 of the so-called "Jewish Codex," based on the Nuremberg laws, as the National Day of Holocaust commemoration. A memorial was erected on the mass grave in Kremnicka, a memorial exhibit was constructed in Auschwitz, and in Sobibor. In Poland, where most of Slovakian Jews perished, a plaque was put up. The state supported all these undertakings financially and morally.

The Association cares for Jewish cemeteries and synagogues, including the construction of a mausoleum over the graves of famous Bratislava rabbis in the ancient cemetery, such as Moses Schreiber-Sofer (Ḥatam Sofer).

[Yeshayahu Jelinek (2nd ed.)]

CZENSTOCHOWSKI, WALTER (1924–1997), Zionist activist and leader in Venezuela. Born in Vienna in a Zionist and Yiddishist home, Czenstochowski immigrated to Palestine (Eretz Israel) with his mother in 1935 and studied in the agricultural school of Ben Shemen. He joined the *Palmach*, and when the IDF was established, he continued his military service in its air force. In 1953 he moved to Venezuela, where his father had found refuge. From that time on he participated in local Jewish public life and in political activity on behalf of the World Zionist Organization. At various times he presided over the Zionist Federation of Venezuela and the northern section of the Latin American Zionist Confederation. Czenstochowski was active in many Jewish Venezuelan organizations. He was president of the Confederación de Asociaciones Israelitas de Venezuela – CAIV (the central political organization of the Jewish community) and was a member of the Executive Committee of the World Zionist Organization as the representative of Latin America.

[Efraim Zadoff (2nd ed.)]

CZERNIAK, MOSHE (1910–1984), Israel chess master. Czerniak was born in Warsaw and in 1934 settled in Palestine. Three times champion of Israel, he was active in promoting the game in the country. He represented Israel in international tournaments and in the chess Olympics. He contributed articles in Spanish, Polish, Russian and Hebrew to many periodicals, including his chess column in *Haaretz*, and the Argentinian chess reviews *Estrategia* and *Revista Metropolitana* which he edited between 1942 and 1949. He was also editor of *64 Squares* (1956–59). His books include *El final* (1941);

Botwinnik's Best Games (1946^2); *Sefer ha-Shaḥmat* (1963); and *Toledot ha-Shaḥmat* (1963).

[Gerald Abrahams]

CZERNIAKOW, ADAM (1880–1942), president of the *Warsaw Jewish Community Council from shortly after the outbreak of World War II and first head of the Warsaw *Judenrat. Czerniakow was born in 1880 in Warsaw to an assimilated Jewish family. He was trained as an engineer at Warsaw's Polytechnic Institute and studied industrial engineering in Dresden. His Polish was native, his German fluent, and his Yiddish more halting, which later hampered his communication with less assimilated, more traditional Yiddish-speaking ghetto inhabitants and their confidence in him. Czerniakow acquired considerable experience as a communal leader and was known especially as the organizer of the Jewish artisans, who constituted some 40% of all Polish Jewry. In 1927–34 he was an elected a member of the Warsaw Municipal Council, and ran unsuccessfully for the Polish Sejm. Before the outbreak of World War II he was a member of the Executive Council of the Warsaw Jewish community and served as its vice chairman. Several members of the Council, including its chairman, Maurycy Mayzel, fled Warsaw when the Germans invaded. Czerniakow had several such opportunities and rejected them all. It was a matter of responsibility, of basic integrity, for Czerniakow that leaders not abandon their people and save themselves.

On Sept. 23, 1939, the mayor of besieged Warsaw appointed Czerniakow to head the Jewish Community Council; his appointment was confirmed by the German authorities on October 3, 1939, when the 24-member Jewish Council (*Judenrat*) was constituted on *Heydrich's orders. Throughout this period Czerniakow kept a secret diary, notebooks containing 1,009 pages, which is an indispensable day-by-day account of his work and depicts conditions in the Warsaw Ghetto and throughout Poland.Under Czerniakow, the *Judenrat* evolved into a multi-layered municipality with a series of departments, including a Jewish police force to which he appointed Joseph Szerynski, who had converted to Christianity, as commander. It was a bad choice, made worse by the lack of trust between the ghetto inhabitants and the commander. He struggled in vain to serve two masters: the Germans, who viewed the Council as an instrument of their policies; and the Jews, whose ever-increasing needs they unsuccessfully tried to meet. Thus, his situation was compromised from the very beginning. Czerniakow was acutely aware of the precariousness of the *Judenrat*'s position. Twenty-four cyanide pills were in the drawer of his desk, one for each member of the Council. He reported to different German and Polish agencies who were in charge of ghetto operations, beginning with the leaders of Einsatzgruppe IV during the opening days of the war and then the city administration until the fall of 1940, followed by the German district administration's resettlement division as the ghetto was formed in the fall and winter of 1940–41. Much of Czerniakow's diary – especially on the buildup to the deportation – was written during the period in which he reported to the Komissar for the Jewish District Hans Heinz Auerswald. In the final days of the ghetto the SS Resettlement staff, under the leadership of Hermann Hofle, predominated. He could never be sure exactly who was his "boss": the ghetto commissar, the SS, the police, the governor of the district, the Transferstelle, or the Polish municipality.

His daily dilemma was overwhelming: how to run a municipal government that could provide adequate food and shelter, heat, medicine, religious services, education, and work to a starving population; how to care for the young and sustain the elderly; how to make life bearable in the ghettoes. The resources at this disposal were meager; his authority derived from the Germans. Funds were scarce and production, though increasing through the initiative of ghetto residents, was always inadequate to sustain the ghetto. To accomplish his task, he worked virtually all day, every day. He was preoccupied with the immediate. Seldom did he look at the larger picture or even think of the fate of his son Jas who lived in Lvov and from whom he had not heard from since the German invasion. Unlike other ghetto leaders such as Mordecai Chaim *Rumkowski of Lodz, whom he criticized, Czerniakow was not full of himself. He did not perceive himself as a grand strategist, but he tried his best. He did not deceive himself regarding his abilities or his achievements. His diary depicts his few successes and his many failures. Czerniakow, who remained at his post for nearly three years, was beset by constant budgetary difficulties and often faced contradictory demands from various offices within the Nazi bureaucracy and constant complaints from desperate individuals and competing groups within the ghetto.

As chairman of the *Judenrat*, he was charged by the Nazi authorities with effecting the community's fatal transition into a ghetto. He vigorously fought against the idea of ghettoization and the proposed boundaries of the ghetto, and so accumulated a vast documented correspondence with the Nazis. His direct exchanges with the Nazi authorities were usually held at a junior level, with lieutenants and sergeants. The chairman comported himself with dignity and honor. Nor was his position within the Jewish community a simple one. It was Czerniakow's difficult task to conciliate conflicting interests of various groups in the captive heterogeneous ghetto population. He personally did not escape Nazi brutality. He bore his situation with a certain stoicism. He often included criticism of German policy against the Jews in his memorandums and reports but they like his diary were self-censored. There were clear limits to what he could say or what he could write in private should his notebooks be discovered. He stubbornly fought for the inclusion of certain formerly Jewish streets within the ghetto limits in order to relieve the dangerous overcrowding, and also maintained open and clandestine contacts with leaders of the Polish population. He was in the words of Raul Hilberg and Satnislaw Staron, who edited the English-language version of his diary, "overwhelmingly ordinary, a non-villain, non-hero, non-exploiter, no saint and not a leader."

He encouraged secret educational and cultural activities, including technical and medical training, helped obtain food, raw materials, and tools for the artisans within the ghetto, and cared for the labor commandos outside and for their families left within, even though this required ingenious schemes of smuggling and outwitting, usually only temporarily, the Nazi authorities.

Almost until the end, Czerniakow refused to believe that the Germans were bent not on exploitation of the Jews but on their murder. He was preoccupied with the endless problems beleaguering the more than 400,000 Jews who lived in a position of increasing squalor and hunger, disease and malnutrition. He rejected the rumors and hints about the impending deportations and liquidation of the ghetto and used his influence to encourage the besieged community to be calm and continue to work and endure until the emergency would pass.

When he was asked by the Germans to sign children's deportation orders, he frantically ran to various Nazi offices in the hope that these orders might not have been issued by competent authorities and could be countermanded, but despite reassurances to the contrary from Auerswald, he realized the futility of the situation, and committed suicide by swallowing the poison which he always carried in his pocket. His final entry in the diary was: "I am powerless, my heart trembles in sorrow and compassion. I can no longer bear all this."

Even in death Czerniakow was a controversial figure. Those close to him saw his suicide as an act of personal courage that expressed his integrity and sense of public responsibility. Ghetto diarist Chaim Kaplan said: "Some people earn eternity in a single hour." Those active in the ghetto's militant underground were less charitable. Emanuel *Ringelblum, the chronicler of the Warsaw ghetto, wrote: "Suicide of Czerniakow – too late, a sign of weakness – should have called for resistance – a weak man." No doubt, he saw that his strategy of negotiations and of hoping to alleviate the plight of the Jews and to prolong their survival beyond a German defeat would not work. In the end, he chose to share the fate of his community, to die by his own hand rather than be killed by the Germans. The order for deportation appeared without his signature. On the day of his death, he completed the ninth of his notebooks. The diary has been published in Hebrew and Polish as well as English (*The Warsaw Ghetto Diary of Adam Czerniakow* [1979] and *Yomano shel Adam Czerniakow* [1968]). One notebook is missing covering the dates of December 14, 1940–April 22, 1941. The diary was probably intended to serve as source material for a book to be published after the end of the German occupation.

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[Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

CZERNOWITZ YIDDISH LANGUAGE CONFERENCE, first international, interparty conference to deal with the role of Yiddish in Jewish life. It was held from August 30 to September 4, 1908. The idea of such a conference was first broached by Nathan *Birnbaum, and the original call was sent out by an organizing committee in New York consisting of Birnbaum, dramatists Jacob *Gordin and David *Pinski, the publisher A.M. Evalenko, and the philosopher Chaim *Zhitlowsky. The 70 delegates who went to Czernowitz (Chernovtsy), the principal Yiddish-speaking center of Bukovina, included representatives of all shades of Jewish opinion, from Zionist Hebraists to militant Bundists, and such diverse personalities as I.L. *Peretz, Abraham *Reisen, Sholem *Asch, H.D. *Nomberg, Noah *Prylucki, Matthias *Mieses, Mordecai *Spector, Gershom *Bader, and Esther (Lifshitz). The two leading Yiddish authors, S.Y. *Abramovitsh (Mendele Mokher Seforim) and *Shalom Aleichem, prevented by illness from attending the conference, endorsed its aims. The agenda included problems of orthography, grammar, literature, theater, press, translation of the Bible into Yiddish, and, above all, recognition of Yiddish as a national language of the Jewish people. Controversy raged between delegates who espoused Hebrew as the only Jewish national language and who looked upon Yiddish as a *galut* ("Diaspora") language to be discarded, and delegates who regarded Yiddish as the living Jewish language and Hebrew as the language solely of the past and of prayer. After long debates, a compromise resolution was adopted proclaiming Yiddish as a national language and asking for its political, cultural, and social equality with other languages. By using the expression "a national language" rather than "the national language," the conference wished to leave participants free to take any stand on Hebrew that accorded with their personal convictions. The conference aroused much discussion in the Jewish press. *Aḥad Ha-Am called it a Purim spectacle. Hillel *Zeitlin, Reuben *Brainin, and Morris *Rosenfeld ridiculed it, while S. *Niger and *Ba'al-Makhshoves defended it as an historic achievement. After the conference, Peretz, Asch, Reisen, and Nomberg undertook a tour of Jewish communities of Galicia and Bukovina to intensify interest in Yiddish language, literature, and culture. The conference heightened the prestige of Yiddish. It stimulated literary creativity, research, and publication in Yiddish, and laid the ideological basis for the later founding of *YIVO.

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[Sol Liptzin]

CZESTOCHOWA (Pol. **Częstochowa**), city in Poland, approximately 125 miles (205 km.) S.W. of Warsaw; the shrine of the Jasna Góra Madonna in Czestochowa was celebrated as a center of Catholic pilgrimage. Seventy-five Jewish residents are recorded in Czestochowa in 1765 and 495 in 1808, when an organized community was established. Although Jewish residence was prohibited in certain districts, the Jewish population in Czestochowa grew from 1,141 in 1827 (18.5% of the total) to 2,976 in 1858 (34.5%), and in 1862, with the abolition of the Jewish quarter, to 3,360 (37.3%). By 1900 it numbered 11,764 out of a total population of 39,863 (29.5%), in 1921, 22,663 and in 1939, 28,486. From the early 19th century, Jews played an important role in the development of industry and commerce in Czestochowa, and a number of Jewish social, educational and charitable institutions were established.

[William Glicksman]

Holocaust Period

The German army entered the city on Sept. 3, 1939. The next day, later called "Bloody Monday," a pogrom was organized in which a few hundred Jews were murdered. On September 16, a *Judenrat was established, chaired by Leon Kopinski. On December 25, a second pogrom took place and the Great Synagogue was set on fire. In August 1940 about 1,000 young men between the ages of 18–25 were sent to the forced labor camp in Cieszanow (Lublin Province), where almost none survived. Thousands more were sent to forced labor locally and the Judenrat managed to arrange licenses for 2,000 Jewish artisans as well as providing a wide range of community services, including the inoculation of 17,000 Jews against typhus under the auspices of the *TOZ organization. When a greater number of Jews from other parts of western Poland came to Czestochowa in 1940–41, the city's Jewish population grew by several thousands. On April 9, 1941, a ghetto was established. When it was sealed off (Aug. 23) the population suffered severe overcrowding, hunger, and epidemics. On Sept. 23, 1942 (the day after the Day of Atonement), the first of six large-scale *Aktionen* began. By October 5, about 39,000 people had been deported to *Treblinka and exterminated, while about 2,000 were executed on the spot. The ghetto, by now largely diminished and within new borders (now called the "small ghetto") had about 6,500 people, of whom about 1,000 were "illegal."

Resistance

Various Jewish underground organizations arose during the first months of German occupation, first engaging in sabotage and mutual aid activities. In December 1942, a unified Jewish Fighting Organization (ZOB) was set up. It had about 300 fighters and established contact with the *Warsaw Ghetto Fighting Organization. On Jan. 4, 1943, a group of fighters under Mendel Fiszlewicz offered the first armed resistance. Twenty-five fighters fell, while 300 nonfighting men were deported to Radomsko. The next day the Nazis shot 250 children and old people who had been living in the ghetto "illegally." On March 20, 1943, 127 of the city's Jewish intelligentsia were executed. The Jewish Fighting Organization tried to organize guerilla units in the nearby forests. Two large groups were dispatched to the forests of Zloty Potok and Koniecpol, but before they could begin partisan activities, they were murdered by Polish terrorists of the National Armed Forces (Narodowe Siły Zbrojne). A few smaller groups succeeded in contacting the Polish left-wing People's Guard and they conducted guerilla activities in its ranks. On June 26, 1943, the Germans began liquidating the "small ghetto." The Jewish Fighting Organization offered armed resistance, but they could not cope with the situation. About 1,000 people were deported and the ghetto was closed down. The remaining 4,000 Jews were transferred to two slave labor camps organized at the city's HASAG factories. On July 20, 1943, about 500 prisoners from these camps were executed at the Jewish cemetery. In 1944 the HASAG slave labor camps were enlarged, when a few thousand Jewish prisoners from *Płaszów concentration camp, Lodz Ghetto, and the slave labor camp of Skarzysko-Kamienna were moved there. Before leaving the city on Jan. 17, 1945, the Germans managed to deport almost 6,000 prisoners from the HASAG camps to the concentration camps of *Buchenwald, Gross-Rosen and *Ravensbrueck in Germany. The 5,200 prisoners who succeeded in hiding were saved by the Soviet army. The Jewish survivors tried to rebuild their community. In June 1946, 2,167 Jews lived in Czestochowa. Some kibbutzim to prepare Jewish youth for settlement in Palestine were active until 1948, a Jewish school existed until March 1946, and a Jewish Religious Society was active. After 1948 only the official communist Jewish Social-Cultural Society continued to function until the antisemitic campaign in 1968. Jews left Czestochowa and settled mainly in Israel in 1949 and 1957. After 1968 almost all those who remained left Poland. Organizations of Czestochowa Jews are active in Israel, the United States, Canada, Argentina, and France.

[Stefan Krakowski]

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CZOBEL, BÉLA (1883–1976), Hungarian painter. Czobel, who was born in Budapest, went to Paris in 1903 and associated with the "fauve" painters. When his works were exhibited in Hungary, he was acclaimed as a leader of "the Eight," a group of artists who were introducing fauvism into that country. During World War I he lived in Holland and after the war moved to Berlin. He then returned to Paris, which became his base. Domestic subjects such as flowers, gardens, interiors and still lifes were among his favorites. His characteristic mood is still and meditative. Czobel's early works were influenced by Van Gogh and Cézanne and executed in flat patterns with strong outlines. His mature works are characterized by warmth and richness of color and *sfumato* effects which blur the outlines and permit the separate parts of a painting to merge.

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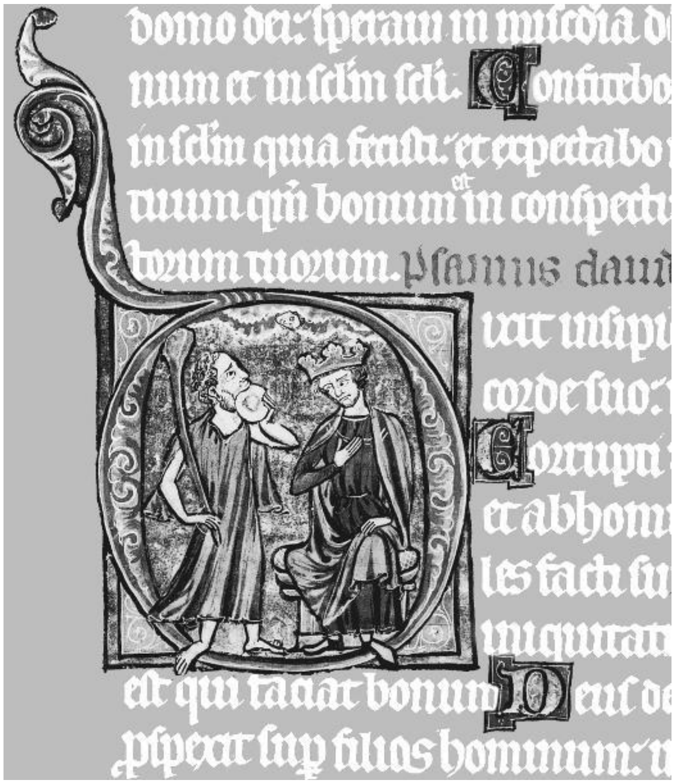

Initial letter "D" for "Dixit," the first word of Psalm 53, from the Angoulème Psalter, *France, 13th century. The illustration shows King David and a fool who, in accordance with medieval iconography, is represented holding a club and eating cheese, Besançon, Bibliothèque Municipale, Ms. 140, fol. 62 v.*

DA–DOZ

DABBŪRIYYA (Ar. دبُّرَيَّة), Muslim-Arab village in central Israel, west of Mount Tabor. A serpentine road leads from the village to the top of Tabor. First mentioned under its present name by a 13th century Arab geographer, the village has been identified with the biblical Daberath, while legend associates the village's name with the prophetess *Deborah. Remnants of a fortress and church with a mosaic floor, as well as rock-hewn tombs and cisterns, have been found there. In 1961 Dabbūriyya received municipal status. In 1968 it had 2,590 inhabitants, mainly engaged in farming, increasing to 7,690 in 2002. The village's area is 2.8 sq. mi. (7.3 sq. km.).

[Efraim Orni / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

DABROWA GORNICZA (Pol. **Dabrowa Górnicza**), industrial town in Katowice province, S. Poland. Jews settled in Dabrowa Gornicza in the middle of the 19th century. They mainly engaged in small trade and metal crafts. There were 4,304 Jews living in Dabrowa Gornicza according to the 1921 census (11% of the total population).

[Arthur Cygielman]

Holocaust Period

The German army entered the town on Sept. 3, 1939. In the fall of 1940 several hundred young Jewish men were deported to slave labor camps in Germany. Several hundred more were deported in the course of 1941. At the end of that year a ghetto was established. On May 5, 1942, the first deportation took place in which 630 Jews were taken to Auschwitz and exterminated. In the second deportation, conducted on August 12, 1942, another few hundred Jews were sent to their death in Auschwitz. On June 26, 1943, the ghetto in Dabrowa Gornicza was liquidated and all its inmates were transferred to the ghetto in Srodula (a suburb of Sosnowiec), the only ghetto still existing in Upper Silesia. It too was liquidated and all its inhabitants, including the Jews from Dabrowa Gornicza, deported to Auschwitz and killed. After the war the Jewish community in Dabrowa Gornicza was not reestablished.

[Stefan Krakowski]

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DACHAU, town near Munich, Bavaria, where the nearby concentration camp was established on March 10, 1933. It was the first of the *SS-organized concentration camps and became the model and training ground for all other camps when they were taken over by the SS in April 1933. The Dachau camp was established within 40 days of Hitler's ascent to power; it operated

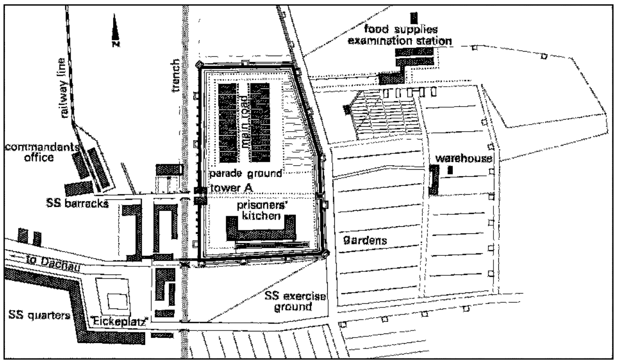

Plan of Dachau concentration camp. From A.J. Grand, Turm A ohne Neuigkeit, *Vienna, 1946.*

until the day before he died, less than ten days before the end of the war, when it was captured by the Americans on April 29, 1945. During World War II, approximately 150 branches of the main camp established in southern Germany and Austria were also called "Dachau." The main camp consisted of 32 huts in two rows, surrounded by an electrified fence, in which there was a gate surmounted by the slogan *Arbeit macht frei* ("Labor Liberates"). The camp's first commandant was Theodor Eicke, who planned and organized the brutal Dachau regime. He later went on to become inspector general for all camps. It was at Dachau that permission was first given to the guards to shoot a prisoner approaching the barbed-wire fence, and this practice was encouraged by granting leave to guards who hit their target. Dachau produced commandants for other camps, including Rudolph *Hoess.

From the first, Dachau was used to incarcerate "enemies of the regime," trade unionists, and political opponents. The Nazis used Dachau as an execution site for the SA Storm Troopers caught in the 1934 purge. Later gypsies, German – and after 1938 Austrian – male homosexuals, and Jehovah's Witnesses were imprisoned there. As the Germans invaded countries, Dachau continued to serve a political function as political opponents were imprisoned there. The Jews who first came to Dachau were incarcerated for their opposition to the regime, not because they were Jewish. In fact, Jews were a distinct minority of the prisoners at Dachau though their percentage in the general population varied with the general conditions of Jews under the Third Reich. After the *Anschluss* (annexation) in March 1938, thousands of Austrian Jews were sent to Dachau. Eleven thousand were sent there from Germany and Austria in the wake of **Kristallnacht* but nearly all of them were released if they could leave the country. No Jews were released, however, after the outbreak of World War II. Late in the war, the Jewish population again increased when Dachau received Jews on the death marches. The exact number of those who passed through Dachau is unknown. In the main camp 160,000 prisoners were registered on the files and about 90,000 in the camp's branches; but, during the last several days of the camp's existence, many transports of prisoners arrived which were not registered in the file. Some inmates remained in Dachau or one of its branches; others were sent further in "death transports"; most were murdered or died from starvation. Of the more than 200,000 prisoners at Dachau, at least 32,000 died of starvation and disease, many after the typhus epidemic that broke out during the extreme overcrowding in the winter of 1945.

It was at Dachau that German doctors and scientists first experimented on prisoners. Sigmund Rasher conducted experiments on decompression, high altitude, and freezing, ostensibly to find a way to help German fliers. Of the 200 inmates whom Rasher experimented upon, 4 in 10 died. Dr. Claus Schilling conducted malaria experimentation. Many died as a result of these pseudo-scientific experiments, and those who survived were often maimed for life. Dachau claimed many victims of want and starvation. From time to time there was also a "selection" in which the weak and crippled were sent to the gas chambers in other camps. Gas chambers were built in Dachau in 1942 but were never used. The exact number of people killed in Dachau is not known.

Dachau was used as a transit center. Mentally retarded and physically infirm Germans – whose Aryan status was never questioned – were incarcerated there and sent from there to Hartheim castle, where they were gassed as part of the "euthanasia operation." Jews were deported from Dachau to the death camps in German-occupied Poland, where they were subsequently gassed after "the Final Solution" became operational in 1942. In the waning hours of the camp, seven thousand Jews were forcibly evacuated from the camp in a planned death march. They were overtaken by American troops.

Prisoners were used for labor; at first the arrangement was local, but it was later consolidated by SS industries. The SS was paid for the laborers by German industries, particularly the armament industry. The prisoners were not paid.

As American troops approached Dachau on April 29, 1945, they found 30 coal cars filled with bodies, all in an advanced state of decomposition. The doors had been locked, and they were left to die. When Dachau was occupied by the American army, one of the uses made of the camp was for the concentration of German prisoners of war and war criminals, who were to be tried in the town of Dachau. The Americans tried 40 of the concentration camp officials; 36 were sentenced to death. Of the other war criminals, 260 were sentenced to death, and 498 to imprisonment. The camp was later a transit camp for refugees and foreign citizens freed from concentration camps. Part of the camp is preserved as a memorial.

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[Nachman Blumental / Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

DA COSTA, ISAAC (1721–1783), merchant and shipping agent of colonial Charleston, South Carolina. Da Costa was born in London, scion of an eminent Anglo-Jewish family of Spanish-Portuguese origin. He received religious training from Isaac *Nieto, haham of the Sephardi congregation of London. Da Costa immigrated to Charleston in the late 1740s. He helped found Congregation Beth Elohim in 1749, serving as *ḥazzan* for some years. In 1764 he deeded a plot of land to the congregation for use as a communal cemetery, which exists today as Coming Street Cemetery, the oldest Jewish burial ground in the South. Da Costa is the earliest recorded Jewish Mason in South Carolina. He was in partnership with Thomas Farr, Jr., for about five years from 1758, handling exports of rice, indigo, lumber, and pitch, and imports and coastal shipments of European and Indian goods, rum, spermaceti, and slaves. An ardent partisan of the patriot cause, Da Costa was banished and his property seized by the British when Charleston fell in 1780. He took refuge with his family in Philadelphia, where, in 1782, he helped establish Congregation Mikveh Israel. Returning after the Revolution, he died in Charleston.

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[Thomas J. Tobias]

DA COSTA, JOSEPH MENDES (1863–1939), father of modern Dutch sculpture. He was born in Amsterdam, where his father kept a stonecutting workshop, a circumstance which affected his choice of career. At the start of his career he produced a series of earthenware figures of great charm, including many on Jewish subjects, which reflected the long period he had spent in Amsterdam's Jewish quarter. He also made figures of animals, such as his *Melancholy Apes*, for which he became well known. He received an honorary degree of doctor of biology from Groningen University for this work. After 1905 Da Costa was frequently commissioned to provide sculptures for public buildings. For these he developed a highly stylized idiom. From 1907 to 1911 he sculpted portraits of famous personages, including Van Gogh, Jan Steen, and Spinoza. After 1917 he completed many important works, such as the monument to the Boer general De Wet, the bronze group "*De Liefde*" ("Love"), and the monument to President Steyn of the Orange River Republic called "*De Raadsman*" ("The Counselor"). He also sculpted a number of biblical subjects, among them *The Sacrifice of Abraham*, *Job and His Friends*, *Jeremiah*, and *David*. Da Costa's strong, robust style generally achieves expressiveness rather than outward beauty of form.

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DAFNAH (Heb. דַּפְנָה), kibbutz in the Ḥuleh Valley, N. Israel, affiliated with Ha-Kibbutz ha-Me'uḥad, founded in 1939 as a "*tower and stockade" village and as the first of a complex of settlements called the "Ussishkin fortresses" (named after M. *Ussishkin). The first settlers were pioneers from Lithuania and Poland, later joined by immigrants from various countries. In 1968 the kibbutz had 540 inhabitants. In the mid-1990s Dafnah's population was approximately 639, dropping to 553 in 2002. Its economy was based on intensive farming (field crops, avocado and apple orchards, citrus groves, fishery, and dairy cattle) and plastic goods and confection factories. The kibbutz had guest rooms and a park with recreational activities. Near the kibbutz is the Ḥurshat Tal park. The kibbutz is called after the Greek name of a villa suburb of Panaeas (Caesarea Philippi, *Bāniyās) lying 3 3/4 mi. (6 km.) further east; its name means "laurel tree."

WEBSITE: www.dafna.org.il.

[Efraim Orni / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

DAGAN, AVIGDOR (formerly **Viktor Fischl**; 1912–2006), Israeli diplomat and Czech writer. Born in Hradec Králové, Bohemia, he edited the Zionist weekly *Židovské zprávy* ("Jewish News"), and became secretary of the Jewish Party (*Židovská strana*) in the Czechoslovak parliament. His verse collections, notably *Jaro* ("Spring," 1933), *Kniha nocí* ("The Book of Nights," 1936), and *Hebrejské melodie* ("Hebrew Melodies," 1936), showed the influence of Otokar *Fischer. He also translated works about the history of Zionism and the poems of Franz *Werfel, Antoni *Slonimski, and a short poem by Franz *Kafka, "Praha." After the Nazi invasion in 1939, he escaped to London, where he served the Czechoslovak government-in-exile and became a close collaborator of Jan *Masaryk. His *Hovory s Janem Masarykem* ("Conversations with Jan Masaryk," 1952), published in Tel Aviv, was modeled on Karel Čapek's "Conversations with Thomas Masaryk" (1928–35) and was one of the first books reprinted in Czechoslovakia during the short-lived liberal era of 1967–68. Arriving in Israel in 1948, he joined the Israeli diplomatic service in 1950, serving as envoy to Yugoslavia and as ambassador to Poland, Norway, and Austria until his retirement in 1977. He was the *Encyclopaedia Judaica* departmental editor for Czechoslovak literature.

Dvorní šašci ("Court Clowns," 1990) was a novel about the suffering of Jews during the Holocaust. *Jeruzalémské povídky* ("Jerusalem Stories," 1991) evoked the atmosphere of post-1967 Jerusalem. Other novels included *Všichni moji strýčkové* ("All my Uncles," 1995); the autobiographical *Hrací hodiny* ("Musical Clock," 1996); *Loučení s Jeruzalémem* ("Farewell to Jerusalem," 1997); *Maškary v Benátkách* ("Masques in Venice," 1997); and *Žlutý dům* ("The Yellow House," 2003). All is prose works are written in a very poetic, clear style, in a beautiful Czech and full of warmth and optimism. A collection of poems, *Krása šedin* ("The Beauty of Grey Hair"), appeared in 1992. His translation of a number of books of the Old Testament from Hebrew into Czech was issued in 2002 under the title *Poezie Starého zákona* ("Poetry of the Old Testament"). Dagan's essays are collected in *Setkání* ("Encounters," 1994), bringing together portraits of Czech and other writers and politicians. He was awarded the T.G. Masaryk Order of Czechoslovakia in 1991 and of the Czech Republic in 1996, the Gratias Agit Prize in 2002, and the Jaroslav Seifert Prize in 2004.

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[Milos Pojar (2nd ed.)]

DAGON (Heb. דָּגוֹן, Akk. **Dagān**), the Syrian and Canaanite god of seed, vegetation, and crops. Dagon first appears as an important and widely worshiped deity – but not as a god of crops – in documents of the dynasty of *Akkad (23rd century B.C.E.), which indicate that his cult was well established in the middle and upper regions of the Euphrates around the Balikh and Khabur rivers. This region was also called "the lands of Dagon," as Dagon was recognized there as the "god-king of the land." Temples of Dagon have been located in *Mari and Terqa, the chief cities of this region. There are a number of personal names from this region compounded with the name of Dagon.

During the period of the third dynasty of Ur (21st–20th centuries B.C.E.), the cult of Dagon was introduced into Sumer, perhaps by West Semites. It is significant that the chief "cattle-park" (or, better, "state bank") of the third dynasty of Ur, which was situated near Nippur and where thousands of animals were collected and distributed for various official uses, was called *Ṣilluš Dagan* ("in-the shelter-of-Dagon"; modern Drehem); on the evidence presented by personal names of various West Semites (*Amorites and Akkadians) active in *Ṣilluš Dagan*, it is possible that this economic center was originally established by them. Dagon's popularity among West Semites may also be reflected in the fact that his cult reached its height during the Isin dynasty, one of the successors of the third dynasty of Ur in the early Old-Babylonian period (19th century B.C.E.), of West Semitic origin. It is also significant that his cult was important in the time of *Hammurapi (First Babylonian Dynasty; Hammurapi calls Dagon *"baniya"* (my creator)). However, northern Mesopotamia remained his chief center. It is clear from the Mari documents of the 18th century that Dagon's cult flourished there, since lay and cultic ecstatic prophets from Terza (c. 43 mi. (70 km.) northwest of Mari) delivered the god's words, which they heard in dreams and other ecstatic circumstances, to the king of Mari.

The *Ugaritic documents (15th–14th centuries B.C.E.) are the first to shed light on the Dagon cult among the West Semites living in Syria. There and in Canaan, the etymology of his name alludes to his origins as a god of grain: Ugaritic *dgn*, Hebrew *dagan* ("grain"). On the other hand this term, as the Hebrew vocalization shows, was separated from the name of the deity. In the Ugaritic epics, one of Baal's epithets is "Son of Dagon," and there was an important temple in Ugarit dedicated to Dagon. Perhaps he was sometimes held by the Canaanites to be identical with Il, "the father of the gods." Philo of Byblos (first century C.E.), who described the Phoenician religion according to ancient sources, identifies Dagon with Chronos, the father of Greek gods.

A number of personal names in the *Alalakh and Ugarit texts are compounded with the element Dagon. The earliest personal name from central Syria is Dagan-takala (El-Amarna Letters, nos. 317–318), which, contrary to earlier suppositions, does not belong to southern Palestine but to central Syria. All the same, proof of the Dagon cult in Canaan and the coastal regions is found in the name of the two settlements of Beth-Dagon, which are mentioned in the Bible (Josh. 15:14; 19:27), one on the eastern border of the tribe of Asher, and the second in the territory of Judah. A third *"Bit Da-gan-na"* (Dagan) is mentioned by *Sennacherib as one of the conquests in his third campaign (against the west (701 B.C.E.), including Judah), together with *Jaffa (see D.D. Luckenbill, *The Annals of Sennacherib* (1924), p. 31, 69).

According to biblical evidence, the Philistines accepted Dagon as their god and set up temples to him in Gaza (Judg. 16:23) and Ashdod (I Sam. 5:1–7). The one in Ashdod was destroyed by the Hasmonean Jonathan (I Macc. 10:83–84). In Beth-Shean there is evidence of a Philistine presence in at least the 12th century B.C.E., mainly in the form of anthropoid clay sarcophagi (see *Philistines). These Philistine mercenaries, very possibly brought to Beth-Shean by Ramses III after his victory over them, established their rule there after the collapse of Egyptian sovereignty in Canaan. They apparently found a sanctuary of Dagon in the city (on the sanctuaries see *Beth-Shean). The cult of Dagon – and among others that of *Ashtoreth – was possibly established by the Canaanite inhabitants. It is to be noted that according to an El-Amarna letter (no. 289, lines 19–20), people from Ginti (i.e., Gath-Carmel, modern Gath in the Sharon) served as a local garrison in Beth-Shean. These soldiers possibly had a part in the transplanting of the cult of Dagon to this city, but it is also possible that it came directly from central Mesopotamia or Syria (cf. *Marduk). After the battle at Mt. Gilboa, the Philistines exposed the body of *Saul at the temple of Dagon, and his weapons at the sanctuary of Ashtaroth (see I Sam. 31:10, 12; I Chron. 10:10).

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[Pinhas Artzi]

DAGON (Fishko), BARUKH (Asher David; c. 1885–1957), Hebrew short-story writer. He adopted the pseudonym of Barukh while active in the Russian underground. Dagon, who was born in the province of Pinsk, went to Warsaw at the end of the 19th century. He worked as a teacher there as well as in Lodz and other towns. In 1920 he immigrated to Palestine and taught in various settlements. His first stories were published in 1928 in *Davar* and dealt, as did most of his later writings, with the animal world. He published four books: *Nefesh Ḥayyah* (1943); *Ta'alumot ha-Ḥai* (1948); *Kanaf el Kanaf* (1956); and his autobiography *Gilgulei Ḥayyim* (1948).

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[Getzel Kressel]

DAHAN (**Adhan**, **Bendahan**), patronymic of several families originating in the Sahara regions of Morocco. The kabbalist SAADIAH DAHAN (c. 1630) wielded much influence in the region of Oued Ghéris. His son SOLOMON DAHAN (c. 1650) was a rabbi and a physician, and his grandson MASʿŪD DAHAN (c. 1680) was the *dayyan* of Tāfīlālet. The son of the latter, SOLOMON ADHAN (d. c. 1735), at first lived in Tetuán. He then left for Gibraltar and later for Amsterdam in 1720 to collect funds to redeem his family and synagogue, which had fallen into the hands of the nomad Arabs in the region of Tāfīlālet. He translated the work *Zekher Rav* of Solomon Sasportas from Hebrew to Spanish under the title *Memória de los 613 Preceptos* (Amsterdam, 1727), and wrote *Bi-Ne'ot Deshe* (Amsterdam, 1735), a book on ethics which has been frequently reprinted.

JACOB BENDAHAN (c. 1700) of Meknès wrote liturgical poems. His elder son MAIMON BENDAHAN (1756) was *dayyan* in Tetuán and his second son MOSES BENDAHAN (d. 1737) was *av bet din* in Meknès. Both brothers left many halakhic decisions, some of which were published in various Moroccan rabbinical works. *Piyyutim* by Moses are included in the *maḥzorim* of North Africa. JOSEPH BENDAHAN (d. c. 1820), *dayyan* in Tetuán, was the author of five works (commentaries, homilies, responsa, and *piyyutim*), one of which, entitled *Shufreih di-Yosef*, was published in Alexandria (1897) by his grandson JOSEPH NISSIM BENDAHAN, who added one of his own works, *Divrei Yosef*, to it. Joseph Nissim also wrote *Ma'aseh Bereshit* (Djerba, 1925).

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[David Corcos]

DAHLBERG, EDWARD (1900–1977), U.S. novelist and critic. Born in Boston, Dahlberg was the illegitimate son of a Kansas City barber and had a miserable childhood, being committed first to a Catholic, and later to a Jewish, orphanage, remaining in the latter from the age of 12 until he was 17. For the next two years he led a vagabond existence, supporting himself by work in a wide range of occupations, from truck driver and cattle drover to dishwasher and clerk. He then studied at Berkeley (California) and Columbia universities, became a teacher, and moved to Europe, where he first began writing in 1926. Dahlberg's early experiences inspired the semi-autobiographical novels *Bottom Dogs* (1929) and *From Flushing to Calvary* (1932). *Those who Perish* (1934) dealt with the impact of Nazism, the rise of which he had seen in Germany, on a small American-Jewish community. With his later works – mainly "prophetic" criticism – the writer gained a considerable reputation as spokesman for the avant-garde, although he soon abandoned his political commitment to Communism. Dahlberg's other books include *Do These Bones Live* (1941); *Sing O Barren* (1947); *Flea of Sodom* (1950), an attack on modern civilization; *The Sorrows of Priapus* (1957), a study of three world cultures (illustrated by Ben *Shahn); *Truth Is More Sacred* (1961), correspondence with the English writer, Sir Herbert Read; and *The Carnal Myth* (1968). Dahlberg was considered an outstanding prose stylist and later taught at universities in the U.S., receiving various literary awards. His autobiography, *Because I Was Flesh*, appeared in 1963, and his letters, *Epitaphs of Our Times*, in 1967. Steven Moore edited *Samuel Beckett's Wake and Other Uncollected Prose* (1989), an anthology of Dahlberg's uncollected writings.

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[Milton Henry Hindus]

DAIA (abbr. for Sp. **Delegación de Asociaciones Israelitas Argentinas**), umbrella organization and officially recognized representative body of Argentinian Jewry. Established in 1933 as a committee against the persecution of Jews in Germany, the organization became the Comité contra el Racismo y el Anti-semitismo in December 1934, and assumed its present name in 1935. The organization expanded from a confederation of 28 institutions from all Jewish ethnic groups, all of them in *Buenos Aires, to an institution comprising 130 organizations – congregational, political, economic, cultural, and welfare – throughout *Argentina. DAIA's principal objectives, to fight antisemitism and to represent the Jewish community vis-à-vis the world, have remained the same since its founding, and the organization's role in these two areas has been recognized by the government as well as by most Jews. From its inception, DAIA's policies supported Zionism and its leaders were Zionists. The Communists and their sympathizers refused to be a part of this framework and, except for the period 1946–53, they ran their own separate communal organization. In 1936 DAIA participated in the establishment of the *World Jewish Congress and since then has served as its representative in Latin America for many years. In 1964 the Latin American Jewish Congress was established at the initiative of the then president of DAIA, Itzhak Goldenberg.

Despite Argentina's political instability, DAIA has succeeded in its tasks and continued to survive, in great measure, because of its avoidance of any sort of political identification with any party involved in Argentina's domestic politics. At one point, during the period of the first presidency of General Juan Peron (1946–55), the Organización Israelita Argentina

(OIA), which was politically identified with the Peronist party, tried to use its influence to set itself up as the sole representative of Argentinean Jewry. Another competing organization, with much greater support than the OIA, was the Jewish Communists, who, as mentioned, had been totally disconnected from central community institutions since 1953. After DAIA's decision on Dec. 21, 1952, to denounce the *Slánský trials in Prague and to demand that all members endorse this position, the Communists and pro-Communists federated in IKUF refused to lend their voice to this condemnation, seceded, and remained detached from the organized Jewish community. From time to time the IKUF published condemnations of various actions of the State of Israel, supported Palestinian positions, and organized its own rallies in memory of the victims of the Holocaust in many cities in the country.

DAIA was the focus of later disputes within the Jewish community. In 1976–83, under the military dictatorship, the government systematically organized the "disappearance" of its opponents and thousands of people were kidnapped, tortured, and murdered. It is estimated that the number of Jews affected by these actions far exceeds their percentage in the general population. Nevertheless, the victims and their families, and some observers analyzing the events of this period, argue that DAIA did not speak out strongly enough on behalf of the regime's Jewish victims.

During the years of the Holocaust, DAIA fought against antisemitism in Argentina, emphasizing the loyalty of the Jews to the country and their contribution to its life. It participated in broad alliances with liberal and left-wing groups which fought antisemitism and racism in general, and especially against Nazi organizations. The DAIA also organized protection against attacks, both verbal and physical, by various antisemitic elements. In many stages of its existence DAIA leadership assumed a militant stand, e.g., on June 28, 1962, when a nationwide strike by Jewish commercial enterprises was declared to protest the government's inaction against spreading antisemitic violence.

Like similar organizations in other countries, DAIA has been active in protesting the injustice suffered by Jews in the Soviet Union and in Arab countries and in exerting influence in such Jewish matters as the reparations payments from Germany and Austria. Although DAIA is a member of the executive board of the *Jewish Colonization Association, and has participated in the *Conference on Jewish Material Claims, the Memorial Foundation of Jewish Culture, and the World Conference of Jewish Organizations, its main objectives are still fighting antisemitism, creating favorable public opinion toward Jews, and gaining the support of government officials.

In order to make its operation more effective, DAIA established local and regional branches throughout Argentina. The branches report local events to the leadership in Buenos Aires, and receive assistance when local action is insufficient.

The federative character of DAIA has been questioned in the recent years. Some political sectors in the community argue that the elections to its Board should be universal and not restricted to the electors in its General Assembly, in which each institution has one vote. They claim that it is not just for an institution with thousands of members to have no more influence than a small institution. Others wish to maintain the equal representation of all sectors in the community, regardless of their number.

DAIA has taken a strong public position regarding the prevention and punishment of discrimination. DAIA supported the Antidiscrimination Law prepared by the jurist Prof. Bernardo Beiderman and approved by the Congress in 1988. Since the establishment in 1997 in the Ministry of Justice of Argentina's National Institute Against Discrimination and Racism (INADI), DAIA has been a member of its advisory council.

To achieve its objectives more efficiently, DAIA has conducted sociological investigations and public opinion surveys, independently or together with other institutions like the American Jewish Committee. DAIA also issues information bulletins which have appeared sporadically since the organization's inception and are now distributed via the Internet. In an effort to reach intellectuals, it has since 1967 published more than 20 volumes of *Indice*, a compilation of essays and research articles devoted to the social sciences.

[Leon Perez / Efraim Zadoff (2nd ed.)]

DAICHES, rabbinical family, originating in Lithuania, settled in Britain. LOEB HIRSH ARYEH ẒEVI B. DAVID (d. 1891), *dayyan* and *rosh yeshivah* in Kovno, wrote a commentary on the New Year prayers, *Zivḥei Teru'ah* (1867). His son, ISRAEL ḤAYYIM (1850–1937), born in Darshunishek, Lithuania, studied at Lithuanian yeshivot and, after a short time as rabbi in a Lithuanian community, became rabbi in Leeds, England. Daiches founded the Union of Orthodox Rabbis of England. Often lenient in his opinions, Daiches tried to adapt to modern technological advances, and occasionally was subjected to strong criticism (see his *Mikveh Yisrael*, 1912). His published work mainly concerned the Jerusalem Talmud, on which he wrote annotations; the responsa of Isaac b. Sheshet (Ribash; 1879); *Ma'arḥot Yisrael*, on *Oraḥ le-Ḥayyim* by Ḥayyim Segal of Ratzki (1879); and notes added to Last's edition of *Magen Avot* by Menahem ha-Meiri (1909, 1958). Daiches also published responsa (1870) and sermons (*Imrei Yosher,* 1887), and *Derashot Maharyaḥ* (with autobiography, 1930). He edited a rabbinic journal, *Beit Va'ad la-Ḥakhamim*, during 1902–04.

His son SAMUEL (1878–1949) was a rabbinic and Oriental scholar. Born in Vilna, Samuel studied with his father and at the Berlin Rabbinical Seminary. After serving as rabbi at Sunderland, England, Daiches became lecturer in Bible, Talmud, and Midrash at Jews' College, London, in 1908. He also took an active part in the work of B'nai B'rith, the Anglo-Jewish Association, the British Board of Deputies, the Jewish Agency, and Jewish relief organizations. In his earlier days Daiches published works on Babylonian antiquity and its influence on Judaism, including *Altbabylonische Rechtsur-*

kunden (1903), *Talmudische und Midraschische Parallelen zum babylonischen Schoeffungsepos* (1903), *Babylonia and Hebrew Literature* (1904), *Balaam – A Babylonian Baru* (1909), *Jews in Babylonia in the Times of Ezra and Nehemiah According to Babylonian Inscriptions* (1910), and *Babylonian Oil Magic* (1913). His other studies include *Studies in Psalms* (1930), *Study of the Talmud in Spain* (1921), and *Divorce in Jewish Law* (1926). Daiches contributed to learned German and English journals and to the Hebrew *Ha-Shiloʾaḥ*. A semi-jubilee volume, *Ye Are My Witnesses*, was published in his honor in 1936. His *Essays and Addresses*, a memorial volume, appeared in 1955.

SALIS (1880–1945), another son of Israel Ḥayyim, was also a rabbi and author. Like his brother, he was born in Vilna and received his rabbinic education from his father and at the Berlin Rabbinical Seminary. After serving as rabbi at Hull and Sunderland, England, he went to Edinburgh (1918), where he became the spiritual leader and spokesman of Scottish Jewry. He too was active in B'nai B'rith and the Zionist movement. He published a volume of selected essays, *Aspects of Judaism* (1928), and was one of the translators of the Soncino Talmud. David *Daiches (1912–), writer and critic, was his son.

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DAICHES, DAVID (1912–2005), English scholar and literary critic. A son of Rabbi Salis Daiches (1880–1945), he was born in Sunderland, and spent most of his youth in Edinburgh. After teaching at Chicago, Cornell, and Cambridge universities he was appointed professor of English and dean of the School of English and American Studies at the University of Sussex on its foundation in 1961. His works include *Robert Burns* (1952), *Poetry and the Modern World* (1940), and *Critical Approaches to Literature* (1956). He also published *Literary Essays, More Literary Essays*, and *The Novel and the Modern World* (all 1969), studies of Joseph Conrad, James Joyce, D.H. Lawrence, and Virginia Woolf. In his autobiography *Two Worlds: An Edinburgh Jewish Childhood* (1956), Daiches records his own rebellion against Orthodox Judaism, represented for him by his father, whom he deeply admired. Daiches maintained an interest in Hebraic matters in his scholarly writings, notably in his study *The King James Version of the English Bible* (1941). Daiches also produced another volume of autobiography, *Promised Lands: A Portrait of My Father* (1997).

ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY: ODNB online for Salis Daiches.

[Murray Roston]

DAINOW, ẒEVI HIRSCH BEN ZE'EV WOLF (1832–1877), Russian preacher known as "the Maggid of Slutsk" after his native town Slutsk, in the district of Minsk. Dainow was regarded in his time as "the preacher of the Haskalah." He preached in favor of a combination of Torah with Haskalah and in popular Yiddish rebuked his compatriots for their estrangement from manual labor and stressed the need for reform in education, advocating that the *ḥeder* be abolished and Jewish children study in government schools. Dainow was widely known for his personal integrity; he was fearless in his preaching, favoring no one, not even the *maskilim*, though he regarded himself as close to them. This attitude and his criticism of the leaders of the old school roused against him widespread opposition, particularly in religious circles, and in many places the doors of the synagogue were closed to him. In his articles in the periodicals *Ha-Maggid* and *Ha-Mattif*, Dainow described the troubles and persecutions that were his lot. For a time Dainow was active throughout Russia on behalf of "The Society for the Promotion of Culture Among Jews of Russia." The Haskalah writers, including J.L. *Gordon, supported him and corresponded with him. The unremitting hostility of his opponents compelled him to leave Russia, and in 1874 he moved to London where he continued – as advised by J.L. Gordon – his role as preacher to the communities of Russian and Polish immigrants until his death. In London he was at first harassed by Chief Rabbi N.M. *Adler, but later was reconciled with him as the chief rabbi became convinced of his integrity. Dainow also founded a Hebrew school in London. One of his sermons, entitled *Kevod Melekh* in honor of Czar Alexander II, was published in 1869; he left other works in manuscript.

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[Yehoshua Horowitz]

DALESKI, HILLEL (1926–), scholar of English literature. Daleski was born in South Africa. In 1944 he joined the South African army and fought in Italy. In 1947 he graduated in English and history from Witwatersrand University in South Africa. In 1948 he volunteered for *MAHAL and fought in Israel's War of Independence. In 1952 he received his M.A. in English from Witwatersrand University and settled Israel with his wife and infant daughter. In 1963 he received his Ph.D. from the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, teaching there from 1954 and becoming a professor in 1976. He also served as provost of the School for Overseas Students in 1973–76 and was twice head of the English department, in 1968–70 and 1984–85. In 1985 he was president of the International Dickens Society. He was also professor in the English departments of Tel Aviv and Ben-Gurion universities and consultant in the establishment of the English department in Haifa University. Daleski became a member of the Israeli Academy of Sciences and Humanities in 1993 and an honorary member of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences in 1999. He published numerous essays and eight books dealing with D.H. Lawrence, Charles Dickens, Joseph Conrad, Thomas Hardy, and others. In 2000 he was awarded the Israel Prize for literature studies.

[Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

DALET (Heb. ד; דָּלֶת), the fourth letter of the Hebrew alphabet; its numerical value is 4. It is assumed that the earliest form of the *dalet* – as it appears in the Proto-Sinaitic inscriptions – was a pictograph of a fish (Heb. *dag*) ⊳<>. This developed in the South-Arabic script into 𐩵, and the early Phoenician *dalet* became a triangle ◁, which survived in the *delta* of the Greek alphabet: Δ. In the later Phoenician script the left angle was curved and the right stroke developed a downward tail 𐤃. The ancient Hebrew *dalet* also has an upper stroke drawn leftward 𐤃 and thus in Samaritan too: ࠃ.

While the Phoenician cursive tends to open the circular head at its lower part 𐤃, the Aramaic script opens the top of this letter 𐡃. This developed into the Jewish ד. As the *dalet* resembles the *resh,* it happens that both letters were written in the same way. Thus, in Syriac only diacritic marks distinguish between them. The Arabic د is an offshoot of the Aramaic *dalet*, which developed through the Nabatean cursive.

The modern cursive Hebrew dalet is a result of emphasizing the right upper angle, in order to distinguish it from the resh, and it developed as follows: ד → ד → ד → ד. See *Alphabet, Hebrew.

[Joseph Naveh]

DĀLIYAT AL-KARMIL, Druze village in Israel, on Mt. Carmel, 8 mi. (13 km.) south of Haifa. The village has existed at least since the early Middle Ages, but most of the present inhabitants' ancestors, hailing from the Lebanon, seem to have settled there under the rule of the Druze governor Fakhr al-Dīn in the 17th century. From 1882 to 1887, Lawrence *Oliphant lived there together with his secretary, Naphtali Herz *Imber. After 1948 Dāliyat al-Karmil progressed rapidly, receiving municipal council status in 1951 and attaining a population of 5,200 in 1968. Its economy was based on hill agriculture and local handicrafts, with many of the inhabitants employed as skilled laborers in Haifa or elsewhere. At the end of 2002 the population of Dāliyat al-Karmil was 13,300, with the village's jurisdiction extending over an area of 3.5 sq. mi. (9 sq. km.). In 2003 it was united with *Usafiyya as the city of Karmil.

[Efraim Orni / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

DALIYYAH (Heb. דָּלִיָּה), kibbutz in Israel, in the Manasseh Hills of N.W. Samaria; affiliated with Kibbutz Arẓi ha-Shomer ha-Ẓair, founded as a "*tower and stockade" settlement on May 2, 1939, by pioneers from Romania and Germany. It constituted part of the "settlement bridge" between the two principal Jewish regions of the time – the Sharon Plain and the Jezreel Valley. In 1968 Daliyyah numbered 610 inhabitants; in 2002, 739. Its economy was based on intensive farming (field crops, orchards) and two industrial enterprises: "Arad" for the production of water meters and fine mechanical instruments, and "Zohar" for soaps and detergents. Dance festivals were held every few years at the kibbutz's open-air amphitheater, a tradition that ceased to exist. The name ("vine tendril" in Hebrew) was taken from Dāliyat al-Rūḥa, a former Arab village in the vicinity.

[Efraim Orni / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

DALLAS, a financial and industrial center in North Texas and the second largest city in the state. First settled in 1844, the city had an estimated population of 1,188,580 in 1997, including a Jewish population of approximately 50,000. New figures released in 2003 estimate the total population for the 16-county North Texas region, which includes Dallas, to be almost six million.

The earliest Jewish settlement began in 1870 with the arrival of about 15 families. The first Jews were mainly retail merchants and several of them, among whom the Sanger and Kahn families were outstanding, played a vital role in the commercial development of the city. The first organized Jewish institution dates to 1872, when the Hebrew Benevolent Association was created; although it was primarily a charitable institution, it sponsored the first High Holiday services. A Jewish cemetery was dedicated the same year, and in 1873 a local B'nai B'rith chapter was formed.

Temple Emanu-El was Dallas' first congregation, founded in 1874 and allied with the Reform movement; it had a membership of 2,800 families in 2005. A second congregation, Shearith Israel, established as an Orthodox synagogue in 1884, became Conservative, and had 1,480 families. Another Orthodox congregation, Tiferet Israel, was founded in 1890 and had 325 families. Nearly 1,050 families belonged to the Reform Temple Shalom, which was organized in 1965. Dallas had 20 congregations – four Conservative, eight Reform, seven Orthodox, and one traditional. The Rabbinical Advisory Council founded in 1944 (now the Rabbinic Association of Greater Dallas) represents these synagogues.

There were seven Jewish day and high schools ranging from Orthodox to Reform, with a total attendance of more than 1,200 children. Thanks to a community-wide Capital Campaign which raised more than $55 million for the construction and renovation of ten agency facilities, many of these schools enjoyed new or refurbished buildings. Among them was a new state-of-the-art building for Solomon Schechter Academy and a new 8.5-acre campus for Akiba and Yavneh Academies which was slated to encompass Judaica and artwork by noted Jewish artist David Moss.

The Jewish Welfare Federation, now called the Jewish Federation of Greater Dallas, was organized in 1911 as a centralized agency for all Dallas Jewish social welfare services and fundraising for local, national, and overseas needs. It sponsors a Jewish Community Relations Council, composed of representatives of all major Jewish organizations, and a Leadership Development Group, founded in 1952. The Federation had a Jewish education department which provided teacher workshops, adult education initiatives, and programs such as Teen

Tour and Gift of Israel which enable students to travel to the Promised Land.

The Federation is a member of the United Way of Metropolitan Dallas, United Jewish Communities, the National Jewish Community Relations Advisory Council, and the Jewish Education Service of North America. Its Annual Campaign supported a network of more than 43 human and social service programs for Jews locally, nationally, in Israel, and overseas. The 2004 Annual Campaign raised an unprecedented $9.5 million for humanitarian needs.

There were three constituent agencies supported by the Federation: Jewish Family Service (JFS), the Legacy Senior Communities, Inc., and the Jewish Community Center of Dallas (the J). Jewish Family Service offered counseling, financial assistance, and job placement to both families and individuals. In 2004, 2,176 adults and children received food from the JFS food pantry. JFS relocated to new facilities in 2002 thanks to funds raised through the aforementioned Capital Campaign. The Legacy Senior Communities, Inc. is the parent company of Golden Acres-Dallas Home for Jewish Aged and the planned Legacy at Willow Bend. Golden Acres, opened in 1953, offers care and treatment for the elderly; it has adjacent apartment units for independent living and manages ECHAD, housing for low-income elderly. The Legacy at Willow Bend was planned as an up-and-coming premiere retirement community immersed in Jewish tradition and focused on independent living and an active lifestyle. The Julius Schepps Community Center, now the Jewish Community Center of Dallas, served more than 7,000 members. The J provided services which helped promote healthy individual and family living. Services included an early childhood program, programs for children and teens, an extensive physical education service, athletic leagues, a series of single adult activities, adult education classes, senior activities, cultural arts programs, and summer day camps. Funds from the Capital Campaign helped the J build a new natatorium and fitness center, which were completed in time for the Maccabi Games held in Dallas in summer of 2005. In addition to its three constituent agencies, the Federation also supported 11 local beneficiary agencies which provided a wide variety of humanitarian services.

By the 1970s, the old social and economic distinctions between the German-Jewish settlers who first came to Dallas and the later immigrants from Eastern Europe had largely been erased, and descendants of both groups participated on an equal basis in communal life and leadership. Also, the overall picture changed from the days when Jews were primarily merchants. Members of the Jewish community were engaged in a wide variety of business enterprises, including garment manufacturing, paper and air-conditioning companies, and finance. There were also a large number of Jewish professionals, including lawyers, doctors, engineers, technology professionals, and business consultants.

Jewish community relations had their stormy days in the 1920s, when the Ku Klux Klan was highly active. Even though relations improved, as late as the early 1980s there were still several social clubs that maintained an exclusionary policy toward Jews. In business and communal activities, however, the Jewish community has long been integrated into the Dallas community at large.

For more than 30 years, Southern Methodist University and Temple Emanu-El have sponsored the Community Course, which makes art, music, drama, and lecture programs available to the entire city. The Bridwell Library of the Perkins School of Theology houses two large collections of Judaica, the Sadie and David Lefkowitz Collection and the Levi A. Olan Collection. In Dallas' civic, cultural, and political life, too, Jews play a significant role. There have been Jewish presidents of the symphony orchestra, the chamber of commerce, and the Dallas Opera. In 1970 Stanley *Marcus, who was active in all of these, was a leader of the powerful Citizens' Council; Carl Flaxman was director of the Health, Education, and Welfare Office, which serves the entire southwest; and Julius Schepps was especially active in the Fair Park Association, which controls the famous Cotton Bowl (the New Year's Day football game). Dallas has also had three Jewish mayors: Adlene Harrison (1976), Annette Strauss (1987–91), and Laura Miller (elected 2002). Jewish city councilpersons in 2005 included Lois Finkelman and Mitchell Rasansky.

[Levi A. Olan / Jef Tngley (2nd ed.)]

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°DALMAN, GUSTAF HERMANN (until 1886 **G.A. Marx**; 1855–1941), German Protestant theologian, philologist, and Palestinologist. In his youth Dalman was closely associated with the Missionary Church Brotherhood ("Bruedergemeine") at Herrnhut and spent his last days with them. An important contact for him was Franz *Delitzsch, who recommended him in 1887 to the Institutum Judaicum in Leipzig, where Dalman taught for 15 years, from 1895 as assistant professor. He was the first director of the German Evangelical Institute for Antiquity in Jerusalem from 1902 to 1917 where he contributed a number of important papers and subsequently served as professor and head of the Institute of Palestinology in Greifswald (later the Gustav-Dalman-Institut). Dalman was a prolific writer in many fields including (1) Theology: *Der leidende und sterbende Messias* (1888); *Jesaja 53* (1914^2); *Worte Jesu* (1930^2); (2) Studies of Palestinian Aramaic (in which he included the Aramaic of Targum Onkelos): *Grammatik des juedisch-palaestinischen Aramaeisch* (1905^5, repr. 1989); *Aramaeische Dialektproben* (1927^2); *Aramaeisch-neuhebraeisches Woerterbuch* (1922^2, repr. 1967); (3) Historical geography and topography of Ereẓ Israel: *Petra* (1901); *Neue Petraforschungen* (1912); *Orte und Wege Jesu* (1924^2, repr. 1967; *Sacred Sites and Ways*, 1935), a study which also treats the talmudic sources on the sites where Jesus lived and taught; *Hundert Fliegerbilder aus Palaestina* (1925); *Jerusalem und sein Gelaende* (1930, repr. 1972), a comprehensive study of the Holy City, its terrain, names of sites, antiquities, topographic identifications, and descriptions of the contemporary Jerusalem community; (4) Palestinian folklore: *Palaestinensischer Diwan* (1901), a collection of Arabic folksongs from Palestine, Transjordan, and Syria; *Arbeit und Sitte in Palaestina* (7 vols., 1928–42; repr. 1964), dealing with all aspects of the Arab economy of Palestine, its terminology, and customs with continual references to the Bible and Talmud. From 1905 until 1926 Dalman was editor of the *Palaestinajahrbuch*. Dalman's autobiography was published in 1928. He had a profound knowledge of Jewish sources, especially the Mishnah and Talmud. Although he was (with Delitzsch) one of the few Christian theologians of the time who fought ardently against antisemitism, his position was always a missionary Christian one, convinced by the superiority of Christianity. His writings on post-biblical Judaism were especially marked by traditional anti-Judaic clichés, the Jewish denominations and intellectual trends in contemporary Germany seen only as developments leading to final conversion to Christianity.

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[Irene Garbell / Marcus Pyka (2nd ed.)]

DALTON (Heb. דַּלְתּוֹן), moshav in central Upper Galilee, 4 mi. (7 km.) N. of Safed. During most of the Middle Ages, Dalton had a considerable Jewish population and it was believed that the tomb of R. *Yose ha-Gelili was located there. In the Crusader period, *Benjamin of Tudela noted a Jewish community at Dalton. The site has remnants of a synagogue of the talmudic period and numerous ancient rock tombs and prehistoric dolmens in its vicinity. The area of the Muslim-Arab village (Dallāta), abandoned in the 1948 War of Independence, was settled in 1950 by a Ha-Kibbutz ha-Dati group which had previously maintained the settlement of *Biriyyah. In 1953 settlers from Tripolitania set up a moshav affiliated to the Ha-Po'el ha-Mizrachi Moshavim Association. Dalton's economy was largely based on hill farming. In 1968 it had 610 inhabitants. In 2002 its population was 688. Dalton became known for its boutique winery (named after the moshav), producing about 700,000 bottles a year from nearby vineyards.

[Efraim Orni / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

DALVEN, RACHEL (1905–1992), translator from Greek to English and historian of the Jews of Ioannina, Greece, where she lived from the age of five until early adulthood and which was the community of origin of her family. She translated the Greek poet Constantine Cavafy (*Complete Poems of Cavafy*, 1961) into English when he was unknown. She also translated her cousin Yosef Eliyia, the noted Greek Jewish poet from Ioannina. Her translations were first included in her anthology *Modern Greek Poetry* (1949, 1971). In 1977, she published her translation of the poet Yannis Ritsos, *The Fourth Dimension*.

Dalven received her Ph.D. from New York University and taught drama and English literature at Ladycliff College in Highland Falls, New York. She edited the academic journal *The Sephardic Scholar* at Yeshiva University and devoted over six decades of her life to the research of the Jews of Ioannina, Greece, the largest remaining Romaniote Judeo-Greek community of the 20th century. In 1990 she published *The Jews of Ioannina* with Cadmus Press of Philadelphia. She wrote numerous articles on the traditions, culture, and history of Ioanniote Jewry. She also wrote a biography of Anna Comnena and numerous plays, including *Our Kind of People* on Greek-Jewish immigrants in the United States. In 1973 she was the recipient of the Gold Key Award of the Columbia Scholastic Press Association of the Graduate School of Journalism of Columbia University.

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[Yitzchak Kerem (2nd ed.)]

DAMA, SON OF NETINA, according to the aggadah (TY Peah 1:1, 15c, Kidd. 1:7, 61b), a gentile council president (Gr. *patēr boulēs*) who lived in Ashkalon sometime in the first century C.E. According to R. Joḥanan, when R. *Eliezer was asked about the extent of the obligation to honor one's parents, he pointed to Dama as a perfect example of filial piety. The outline of the story as told in the Jerusalem Talmud is as follows: It happened once that one of the precious stones fell out of the High Priest's breastplate, and was lost. Seeking a replacement, the sages were referred to a certain Dama ben Netina who purportedly had the exact jewel they required in his possession. They offered him one hundred dinar, and Dama accepted their offer. When he went to fetch the jewel he discovered that he could not access it without waking his father. So he returned and informed his clients that he could not provide them with the item they sought. Assuming that he was trying to renegotiate the price, they increased their offer until they reached a sum of 1000 dinar. When his father finally woke up he brought them the jewel, and they were still willing to pay him their final offer of 1000 dinar. Dama, however, was only willing to accept their initial offer of one hundred, saying: "What? Do you think that I would sell the honor of my fathers for mere coins? I refuse to derive any tangible benefit from the honor of my fathers!" The Jerusalem Talmud goes on to ask what heavenly reward Dama received for such meritorious behavior. The answer given was that on that very night a pure red heifer – essential, according to Num. 19, for attaining ritual purity – was born to Dama's cow, and so the Jews purchased this extremely rare item from him for a small fortune.

In the past, Jewish historians have assumed that talmudic stories like these reflect accurate and reliable descriptions of events that occurred in the Land of Israel in the last decades before the destruction of the Second Temple. As a result some Jewish historians have sought to derive from this story, and from the parallel version in the Bavli (Kidd. 31a), important historical information concerning both the actions of the Sanhedrin (Büchler), and the forms of local Roman government (Krauss) during that period. Recent research has shown that these stories are often highly sophisticated literary works, reflecting multiple levels of editorial revision. Critical study of this story has shown that the literary and historical foundation of the tale lies in what might seem at first sight to be a secondary issue: the red heifer which was born to Dama's cow as a reward for his meritorious behavior.

In the earliest level of tannaitic literature (*Sifre Zuta*, Num. 19:2, p. 300) we find a dispute between R. Eliezer and his companions, in which R. Eliezer maintained that it is forbidden to purchase a red heifer from a gentile. His companions, who held that it is permissible, brought a legal precedent in order to support their position: "There was a case in which they bought a [red] heifer from the Arabs, and they called it *damat damat*, and it would run back and forth." In the parallel version in the Tosefta (Para 2:1, p. 631) the case is described somewhat differently: "There was a case in which they bought a [red heifer] from the Gentiles in Sidon, and it was called *doma*." Neither of these two versions informs us as to R. Eliezer's response, if any, to the legal precedent brought by his opponents, and which apparently refutes his position and permits the purchase of a red heifer from a gentile.

In the Jerusalem Talmud's version of the story cited above, a number of additional changes have been introduced into the narrative. First the story has moved from Sidon to Ashkelon. Second the name *doma* has ceased to be the name of the heifer, and has become *Dama*, the name of the heifer's gentile owner. Third, and most importantly, the dramatic focus of the story has shifted. It is no longer concerned with the halakhic issue of whether or not it is permissible to purchase a red heifer from a gentile. The central issue has moved to the moral and religious plane. The storyteller in the Jerusalem Talmud wants to know through what extraordinary act of righteousness did this gentile in Ashkelon merit the almost miraculous birth of a pure red heifer from his cow in the first place. In answering this question, he has told a tale of a man whose behavior reflected universal moral values – behavior recognized and rewarded by God because of its inherent worth, not because it was explicitly commanded, and with no regard to the religious affiliation of the man himself.

This basic story line was embellished and expanded in the Jerusalem Talmud, and further refined and elaborated in the Babylonian Talmud. It was told how his mother once humiliated him in public, striking him with her shoe while he was sitting in session as the head of the city council. Out of respect for his mother, he suffered the humiliation in silence, and even bent down to pick up the shoe which had fallen from her hand to return it to her (cf. Deut. R. 1:15). The Jerusalem Talmud goes on to say that Dama would never sit upon any stone that his father had sat upon, and that even after his father's death he would continue to treat the stone as an object of reverence. The Babylonian Talmud further develops the theme of this gentile's righteousness, stating that he limited the amount he was willing to take for the red heifer born into his flock to the sum that he had given up in the previous transaction over the jewel for the priestly breastplate, "although I know that you are prepared to pay all the money in the world for it" (Av. Zar. 23b).

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[Stephen G. Wald (2nd ed.)]

DAMAGES.

Assessment

In Jewish law, once the tortfeasor's liability for the damage has been established and he is ordered to compensate for the loss, the measure of damages requires determination. This is done by assessing the market price of the damaged object prior to and subsequent to sustained damage (see BK 84b on injury suffered by an animal or person); the difference is the amount which the tortfeasor has to pay (BK 11a). In this way, the party who has suffered damage is enabled to purchase on the market an object such as was his before it was damaged, which damage is thereby annulled. If the damaged object is not sold separately on the market but as part of a larger unit only, the difference between the assessed market price of the unit – i.e., undamaged and with the damaged part – is the measure of compensation. Thus, for example, the owner of an animal which has consumed a row of unripe fruit in another's field, does not pay according to the value of the fruit eaten by his animal – as no one buys unripe fruit, which is valueless. Instead – it being customary for merchants to buy a large field of yet unripened fruit – the market price of the fruit in a large field is assessed, with and without the row in question respectively, and the difference is the measure of damages. Another opinion maintains that the measure is the difference between the respective market values of the land itself when sold with and without the row of fruit (see *Yam shel Shelomo* BK 6:18). The sages of the Talmud are divided on the question of the size of the field to be taken as the standard for valuing the damaged row, i.e., whether it should be 60 times the size of the row, or larger (BK 58b, 59b). Similarly, if injury is caused to the embryo of an animal, the measure of damages is the difference between the market values of the animal, pregnant and otherwise respectively, but the embryo itself is not assessed, for it is valueless – nor is it assessed as if it were already born (*Shitah Mekubbeẓet* BK 47a, s.v. *amar rava*).

In terms of this assessment, the tortfeasor does not compensate the injured party for any future loss of profits which result from the injury (Tos. to BK 34a, s.v. *shilmale*), nor for the loss of any benefits which could have been derived from the use of the damaged object, except insofar as such may already be accounted for in reducing the market price of the damaged object, at the time the damage was sustained. This rule is consistent with the principle that the tortfeasor is liable only for such damage as he ought to have foreseen at the time of his wrongful conduct, but not for any other or more extensive damage (see *Torts). The reason for this is that any loss of profits not reflected in the market price is a loss which is not foreseeable, and one which people accordingly do not make allowance for in the price they are prepared to pay on the market. For this reason too the tortfeasor does not compensate for any damage which the injured party could have avoided after suffering injury, since the former could not have foreseen that the latter would not do so. (Tos. to BK 10b, s.v. *lo*; BK 85b, on the failure to observe medical instructions in a case of personal injury.)

Where a person could not have foreseen that his conduct would cause damage, he is in the position of an "*anus*" (i.e., the consequences are caused by a mischance) and is absolved from liability (see *Torts); however if he benefits from the damage caused to another, as in the case where his animal eats vegetables left by another on a public road so that he does not have to feed it, he is liable to the injured party to the extent of the benefit derived (BK 20a:55b).

Assessment of Damages for Personal Injuries

A person who willfully, or by gross negligence (*karov la-mezid*), inflicts bodily harm (*ḥabbalah*) on another, must pay compensation to the latter, not only for the *nezek* ("loss," "damage") but also under four additional headings: *ẓa'ar* ("pain and suffering"), *rippui* ("medical expenses"), *shevet* ("loss of earnings"), and *boshet* ("humiliation"; detailed in ḤM 420). *Nezek* is assessed as in the case of damage to property, i.e., by comparing the injured party to a slave and estimating the respective prices he would fetch if sold as such on the market before and after the injury, the difference being the measure of compensation. This estimate takes account of the difference between the remuneration that could be earned for the heavy work he would have done if healthy and that which he shall earn for the work he can do having a disability (compare Abbaye's words "*shevet gedolah*," BK 86a; and R. Isaac in TJ, BK 8:3, 6b). *Ẓa'ar* is assessed by estimating what a person, like the injured, would be prepared to pay to avoid the pain resulting from the injury as by way of narcotics or a drug; *rippui* is an estimate of the medical expenses to be incurred by the injured in order to be cured; *shevet* is the estimated loss of remuneration which the injured could have earned during the period of his illness; *boshet* is assessed according to the social position of both parties (BK 8:1). Because of the difficulty in measuring *boshet* in monetary terms, the sages at various times determined fixed measures for various acts of *boshet*, thus, e.g., 200 *zuz* for a slap on the face, 400 *zuz* for pulling a man's hair or spitting on him – the *tannaim* already being in dispute as to whether these measures were for the rich or for the poor (BK 8:6). Where the injured party suffers damage under one or some of the five headings only, the injuring party compensates him accordingly: thus if the injured party suffers *boshet* or *rippui* only, the latter compensates him under these headings alone.

Compensation for damage under the above four headings, excluding *nezek*, is payable only in the case of bodily harm inflicted willfully, or by gross negligence, caused by the wrongdoer's person (Rashi to BK end of 26a). There is no liability for *boshet* in the absence of an intention to harm or shame (BK 8:1). The interpretation of the commentators is that there is liability for *nezek* even when resulting from mischance (*ones*), and no liability under the other four headings except when resulting from negligent or willful conduct. But it may also be argued that there is liability for *nezek* in the case of negligence only, while a man is not liable under the other four headings unless the conduct is willful, or grossly negligent. It would seem that the reason for confining liability under the aforesaid four headings to the case where an injury is willfully inflicted by one person on the body of another (and not by a person on an animal or by an animal on a person), whereas for *nezek* there is liability in all the above cases, stems from the principle that the tortfeasor's liability for compensation is confined to such damage only as he could have foreseen at the time of causing the injury. Hence, inasmuch as damage under the said four categories of compensation varies from one injured party to another, the tortfeasor cannot be required to have foreseen the measures of each relevant to the particular injured party except when he has willfully inflicted a bodily injury by his own hand, because in such case, having seen the injured party to whom he was about to cause harm, he should have known the measure of *ẓa'ar*, rippui, shevet, and *boshet* peculiar to this particular injured person. Insofar as the said four categories of damage accompany every case of *ḥabbalah* and thus their scope should therefore be foreseen by the tortfeasor, they are apparently already included in the assessment of the *nezek*. Moreover, even where compensation is payable under all five headings specifically, payment is made to the extent of the foreseeable measure of each only and in no larger measure. Thus if an assessment of compensation for an injury has been made, this amount of damages only is payable, even if the health of the injured party should thereafter deteriorate unexpectedly (BK 91a).

Already in the talmudic period – in Babylonia, and certainly in other countries – many judges would not give judgment for damages under one or more of these five categories. Some would not award compensation for *boshet*, or even *nezek*; it was not necessary as a deterrent because damage of this type was not common, and the judges outside Ereẓ Israel, not being ordained by the rabbis of Ereẓ Israel, did not feel themselves qualified to deal with such matters (BK 84b). Also in the post-talmudic period damages were not awarded under one or more of these categories according to law (Sh. Ar., ḤM 1:2), but rather the tortfeasor would be placed under a ban or punished in some other manner until he effected a reconciliation with the injured party and reached agreement with him on an equitable compensation (*Piskei ha-Rosh* BK 8:3).

Payment of damages may be made in money or in chattels having a monetary value and sold on the market; land, to serve as a means of payment, must be "of the best" (*ibid.* BK 7a). The damages are looked upon as a debt due to the injured party, in the same way as a loan or any other debt. However there are traces in the Talmud of a view that payment of damages is a penalty serving to punish the wrongdoer for his conduct and is not merely compensation (Albeck, *Hashlamot ve-Tosafot* to his edition of the Mishnah BK 1:3). Some sages hold the opinion that payment of "half-damages" in the case of *shor tam* (ox that has not gored before – see *Avot Nezikin) is a fine (BK 15a), and therefore payment of "half-damages" was not sanctioned in Babylonia and in other countries as from the talmudic period (BK 15b).

The law of the State of Israel determines that the damages due to the injured party are the amount required to restore him, subjectively speaking, to the position in which he would have been but for suffering the injury. The measure of damages varies therefore not only according to the damage actually incurred, but also in accordance with the individual circumstances of the injured party.

[Shalom Albeck]

A Fixed Sum for Damages

PAYMENT. As noted above, for certain types of damage the Sages assessed and determined payment of a fixed sum.

The Jerusalem District Court adjudicated a case concerning a man who publicly hit another man in the face with his fist (CA [Jer] 507/00 *Silberg u Sha'ir*, 2 PSM (5760) 289). The parties requested that the Court adjudicate their case in accordance with Jewish Law. The assailant argued that payment in this kind of case fell into the category of a fine so that in accordance with Maimonides' ruling, he should only have to pay the fixed sum determined by the halakhah: "Many blows involve humiliation and some pain, but no irreparable bodily injury. The Sages previously assigned fixed sums for such blows… and all of them constitute fines. The fixed sum paid covers pain [*ẓa'ar*], embarrassment [*boshet*], medical expenses [*rpipui*] and lost work time [*shevet*]…" (Maim. Yad, Hovel u-Mazik 3.8)

The Court (Judge Y. Adiel) rejected the assailant's argument, relying on Bet Yosef (at Tur, ḤM 420.34;), who rules that Maimonides' comments only refer to a case in which the blow lacks the force required to cause severe bodily injury. Only then does the fixed sum replace individual compensation under each of the main headings of damage. In the case of a stronger blow, one liable to cause severe physical injury, even Maimonides would concur that compensation must be made for each of the relevant headings of damage, based upon a separate assessment for each heading.

In the case at hand, the Court determined that the blow was capable of causing severe bodily harm; hence, the payment of a fixed sum was not applicable. Even so, in the absence of any irreversible injury, compensation was only awarded under the four heads of damage. (Maim., ibid., 2.2; Sh. Ar., ḤM 420.5).

Damages – Li-Fenim mi-Shurat ha-Din (Beyond the Letter of the Law)

There are cases in Jewish law in which the strict law does not allow the court to impose payment on the assailant, yet the assailant is still liable under "the Law of Heaven" – that is, morally culpable. The authorities ruled that the practical import of such liability is that the Court must inform the guilty party that, while it cannot impose monetary payment on him, he is still morally obligated to discharge his liability and pay the plaintiff (R. Shlomo Luria, *Yam Shel Shlomo*, BK 6.6). Other authorities even ruled that he is disqualified as a witness until he pays, because he is in possession of stolen money (Me'iri, on BK 56a).

On occasion, the contemporary rabbinical courts obligate the assailant to pay part of the damages by choosing the path of compromise (see *Compromise). For example, when damage occurs by way of *gerama* (damage resulting indirectly from the assailant's action. See *Gerama and Garme). In such cases, the courts do not obligate the assailant to pay in the framework of damages, but instead rule that he must pay under the law of compromise. The rabbinical court ensures the execution of justice by resorting to the institution of compromise when the strict law does not provide a remedy (see, e.g., the rulings of the Kiryat Arba Regional Court, vol. I, page 205, and the index there; Rabbi Z.N. Goldberg, "*Shivḥei ha-Pesharah*," in: *Mishpetei Areẓ* (2002).

As noted, another means of achieving the same goal is by the principle of *li-fenim mi-shurat ha-din* ("being more generous than the law requires"). This issue was adjudicated in the Israeli civil court. In the Kitan ruling (CA 350/77 *Kitan v.* Weiss, PD 33(2) 785), the Israeli Supreme Court reversed a lower court's award of compensation for damages in a claim submitted by the relatives of a man murdered by a worker in a factory. The worker killed the man with a gun given him by the factory for work purposes. The respondents argued that, due to the worker's problematic mental state, the factory should have foreseen that his possession of a weapon was fraught with danger. Hence, they argued, the factory should be required to compensate the victim's family. The appeal was rejected due to "lack of the required causal connection between the appellant's (i.e. the factory's) negligence, and the killing of the deceased (page 808 of the ruling).

In terms of strict law all three presiding judges (Justices Shamgar, Witkon, and Elon) concurred with this conclusion. In his ruling, Judge Elon added that it would be appropriate for the factory to go beyond the strict law and compensate the relatives of the deceased:

> For Judaism has a tradition, and there is a fundamental principle of Jewish Law, that along with strict liability, there is an additional obligation to act beyond the dictates of strict law (*li-fenim mi-shurat ha-din*). It is of particular significance here that this obligation found its chief expressions in the field of torts in a case relating to a problem identical to the one at hand. (*ibid.*, 809).

Judge Elon states further:

> In the development of the principle of "going beyond the letter of the law" in Jewish law, many halakhic authorities took the position that in certain circumstances this approach is mandatory. This is attested to by Rabbi Joel Sirkes, one of the leading

> Sages in Poland at the end of the 16th and the first half of the 17th century, in his commentary Bayit Hadash (Baḥ) on the Tur: "It is customary in every Jewish court to compel the wealthy to pay where proper and appropriate, even where the letter of the law goes against it" (Baḥ on Tur, ḤM 12.4; see Menachem Elon, *Jewish Law,* 1:155f.).

This approach is anchored in the broader worldview of Jewish law, that finds expression, inter alia, in the well-known principle that "the giving of charity may be compelled" (TB, Ket. 49b), although this principle too is only exercised under certain conditions and circumstances. As is known, this rule constitutes the basis for the duty to provide maintenance for children and relatives under certain circumstances, even when this duty does not exist under strict law (see *Jewish Law*, 1:116f).

In the Israeli legal system, no person is compelled to act more generously than the law requires; such action is left to the [personal] initiative and will of the litigant. Yet under certain circumstances, it seems appropriate for the expression of such a wish to originate with the judge sitting on the dais-and here, too, the tradition of Jewish law provides a firm basis for this approach. In this context, Justice Elon wrote elsewhere that:

> The halakhic system clearly distinguishes between normative rulings, accompanied by judicially enforceable sanctions, and rulings lacking such sanction. Yet the source and background common to legal rulings and to moral imperatives have brought about the following substantive phenomenon within the world of *halakhah*: The legal system itself; in its role as such, occasionally makes reference to a moral imperative unaccompanied by coercion on the part of the court. Hence, even when there is no legal recourse to coercion, this does not absolve the Court of its judicial responsibility in the particular case. A rabbinical authority in his responsa, and Jewish courts in their rulings, should all include the moral imperative – to the extent that it exists – as part of their response or ruling on the matter under discussion. (*Jewish Law*, I. 145f.; cf ibid., 619–620).
>
> Personally, I would hope that the appellant, whose position is supported by strict law, will act more generously, and compensate the respondents, just as he originally proposed. This will fulfill what the wisest of all men taught us: "So follow the way of the good and keep to the paths of the just" (Prov. 2:20), this being the source for the principle of going beyond the letter of the law (*Jewish Law,* I:809–10).

President Shamgar demurs from the aforementioned approach of Judge Elon "that seeks to elevate payment of compensation *li-fenim mi-shurat ha-din* to the status of a settled general principal of the law of torts," due to "the absence of clear standards"; [the danger of] "filing frivolous appeals"; and other reasons (*ibid.*, 805). This was also the position of Justice Witkon, who felt that granting compensation beyond the letter of the law should be left to the discretion of the person who would have to pay it. He explains, "I would not recommend blurring the boundaries between liability and non-liability" (*ibid.*, 807).

Further on in his judgment, Judge Elon added, in explaining his position:

> I believe that it is fitting, as I emphasized, that in certain circumstances the court should make such a request. As to the effect of that request, I completely agree with the following statement of my distinguished colleague, Justice Witkon, for whom I have the utmost respect: "I too will be happy if the respondents receive some measure of compensation, but the matter is entirely in the discretion of the appellant, and I would not propose to obscure the boundary between liability and non-liability."
>
> What are the particular circumstances in the matter before us? The District Court found the appellant liable, by law, to compensate the respondents. The appellant believed – and, it turned out, correctly – that by law he was not liable to compensate the respondents; but in consideration of the circumstances of the case he offered,to pay a certain sum *lifnim mi-shurat ha-din.* The majority of this Court held that, in fact, the appellant's negligence was proved, but that the causal connection between this negligence and the death of the respondents' relative was not proved; we therefore absolved the appellant, under the law, from liability to compensate the respondents. Why should we now refrain from expressing our wish that the appellant, who started to perform the *mitzvah* [lit. "commandment," and in colloquial usage "good deed"] of *li-fenim mi-shurat ha-din* continue and complete what he began
>
> These are the specific circumstances of the matter before us, and the Court should consider whether it is proper under the special circumstances of each case coming before it to express such a request. It need not be pointed out that appellants who think they can submit frivolous appeals will soon discover that not only will there be no suggestion by us that respondents do more than the law requires of them, but such appellants will also incur appropriate costs for conducting vexatious litigation against the respondents and for wasting the Court's time.
>
> I do not share the apprehension that it would engender confusion in the law were we to express our view and make the parties aware that in certain circumstances one should act more generously than the law requires. Courts regularly make decisions based on considerations of justice, equity, good faith, public welfare, equal protection, and locus *standi* in matters on which property and life itself depend. They are not deterred by fear that these standards are vague or, Heaven forbid, that on occasion they may reach an unfair result. It should therefore be presumed that the Courts will find their way in this matter where law and morality intersect and will be capable of soundly weighing up, in light of the circumstances of each case, whether to request – and it would be only a request – that the injured party be compensated *li-ferim mi-shurat ha-din.*
>
> If we are apprehensive about the danger of combining morality with law, we should be equally concerned with the manner in which the law itself is applied. My colleague points out that, in the case before us, the injury occurred in 1965 and the final judgment was given in 1979. How does the judgment look to the parties and to us when it is given – and to our sorrow this is not a rare occurrence – after the passage of two full sabbatical cycles [fourteen years], and we see [the injustice] yet are powerless to afford any remedy? Perhaps when parties recognize the value of acting *lifnim mi-shurat ha-din* in appropriate circumstances, there will even be a decrease in the innumerable legal actions for strictly legal relief, which are not always necessary, and thus the heavy burden on the courts may possibly be reduced somewhat (*ibid. 811*),

The gist of the aforementioned ruling was quoted again in a ruling rendered some time later (CA 842/79 *Ness and Others u Golda and Others*, PD 36(1) 204, by President Moshe Landau and Justices Menachem Elon and Dou Levin), per the comments of Justice Elon (220–221):

> There is a rule in Jewish law that when someone injures another person, and due to a lack of the required causal connection between the tortfeasor's negligence and the act itself; he is legally exempt from damage payments, under certain circumstances he will still be obligated to pay in order to "meet his Heavenly obligation" (see, for example, TB, BK 55b). It is therefore appropriate for the court to inform the litigants accordingly [i.e., of their obligation to meet their heavenly obligation] (see Ra'avan, BK 55b).
>
> This compensation for damage, whether total or partial, is likewise anchored in the great principle of *li-fenim mi-shurat ha-din.* The Sages, in fact, based that principle on a homily of the wisest of all men: 'That thou mayest walk in the way of good men, and keep the paths of the righteous' (Prov., 2:20)." (See TB. BM 83a; see *Kitan v. Weiss;* see *Ha-Mishpat ha-Ivri, ibid.*). As mentioned above, Golda's conduct provided no grounds to prevent their receiving the apartment back, for it had never left their ownership. It certainly provided no grounds to make them incur payment for the damage suffered by Davidman. Yet without a doubt, their own conduct as well played no small part, as detailed above, in making Davidman buy the apartment from Nes under his mistaken belief in good faith that Nes was the true owner. Under such circumstances, it would be appropriate for Golda to provide some compensation to Davidman for the damage caused him- his payment of £740,000 to Nes for the apartment. Ibis could be fulfilled by their returning to Davidman the entire sum that they had received from Nes for the apartment, which was now returned to them, including a sum of £50,000 lawfully owed them by Nes for having breached the contract with them. Under this strict law, C'Tolda is not bound by any such obligation. Rather, it is a request of them to act *li-fenim mi-shurat ha-din*. By such means they could "walk in the way of good men, and keep the paths of the righteous."

It would seem appropriate for this topic to emerge anew with the enactment of the Basic Laws of 1992, whose declared purpose is "to entrench within a Basic Law the values of the State of Israel as a Jewish and Democratic State." According to these laws, a prominent role is accorded to Jewish law within the values of the State of Israel as a Jewish State. A central issue in the process of combining Jewish and democratic values is the relationship between law and morality. According to these Basic Laws, Jewish values and the emphasis placed on them, precede the democratic values.

Under the law and in terms of propriety, in circumstances such as these, the Court should stress these values and incorporate them in its ruling, namely the duty stemming from these values to go beyond the letter of the law, and to compensate the victim for damages done to him.

For a detailed discussion of this, see the entry: *Law and Morality.

The Law in the State of Israel

The Civil Wrongs Ordinance (New Version) 1968 regulates the payment of compensation for damages. Section 76 provides that a victim is paid compensation "only in respect of such damage as would naturally arise in the usual course of events, and which directly arose from the defendant's civil wrong." This condition bears a certain resemblance to the position of Jewish law to the extent that it exempts the tortfeasor for indirectly caused damage (see *Gerama and Garme). On the other hand, the scope of liability in tort under section 76 is far broader than under Jewish law. Moreover, section 76 provides that awarding compensation is dependent upon the plaintiff specifying the damage he sustained.

Damages caused by traffic accidents are adjudicated under a special law – the Road Accident Victims (Compensation) Law, 5735 – 1975.

All of those laws will be interpreted in accordance with, and in light of, the values of the State of Israel as a Jewish and Democratic state, as elaborated in our discussion above.

[Menachem Elon (2nd ed.)]

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DAMANHŪR, name of several Egyptian cities in the Middle Ages. One Damanhūr is referred to by Maimonides in his responsa as a major community in Egypt at his time. He together with other *dayyanim* decreed that anybody could marry or divorce a woman in Damanhūr without the permission of Rabbi Halfon (Bar Ula), the *dayyan* of Damanhūr. It would appear that the reference is to the present Damanhūr, which is the principal city of the Buḥayra province. This Jewish community remained in existence until modern times. In the 19th century the community was subordinated to the Jewish court of law in Alexandria. In 1901 the rabbis of Cairo visited Damanhūr and declared there the new Qisushin regulation. In the 19th century there were no Jewish local institutions, probably because the majority of the Jewish population lived in the city only for a short time. In 1897 the community numbered 228 members, but in 1917 there were only 56. The decrease is probably accounted for by migration to nearby Alexandria. In spite of their small numbers, the Jews had many enemies in this city, and blood libels were brought against them in 1877 and 1882. The tomb of the kabbalist Jacob Abu Ḥasirah in Damanhūr was revered by the Jews of Egypt, and pilgrimages were made to it on festivals.

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[Eliyahu Ashtor / Leah Bornstein-Makovetsky (2nd ed.)]

DAMARI, SHOSHANA (1922–2006), Israeli singer. Damari was born in the town of Damar, in Yemen, and moved to Palestine with her family at the age of two. She showed musical promise from an early age, accompanying her mother's singing at family and social gatherings on percussion. When she was 13 she joined the Shulamit school of drama in Tel Aviv and starred in her first concert in Tel Aviv three years later. In 1943 she was among the founding members of the Li La Lo theater company, and, one year later, appeared in the theater's debut production, "The Barber of Tel Aviv." Damari's principle contribution to the show was her rendition of "*Laylah ba-Gilboa*" ("A Night on Mount Gilboa") and, although the song was not a hit, Damari's soft Yemenite-inflected tones and richly textured voice stood out from the efforts of her European-born co-performers.

Damari came to national prominence following her performance in the theater company's second show, *Ra'ayon beli La Lo*, in which she sang "*Kalani'ot*" ("Anemones"), which was a huge hit and became Damari's signature song. The music for "*Kalani'ot*" was composed by Moshe *Wilensky, who, despite being born in Poland and a graduate of the Warsaw Academy of Music, incorporated Yemenite motifs in the song and in other material he wrote for Damari in subsequent years. Damari and Wilensky maintained their creative and fruitful partnership into the 1950s, when Wilensky began presenting a radio program called *Pizmon va-Zemer* ("Chorus and Song"). Every show included a song Wilensky wrote specially for Damari and was performed by her. These included such hits as "*Ha-Ro'ah ha-Ketanah min ha-Gai*" ("The Little Shepherdess from The Valley") and "*Le-Or ha-Zikhronot*" ("For the Memories").

In the mid-1950s Damari enjoyed a brief movie career, appearing in some of Israel's first movies, such as *Hill 24 Doesn't Answer* and *Be-Ein Moledet* ("Without a Homeland"), which told the story of the Damari family's move from Yemen to Palestine in the 1920s.

In the late 1940s Damari embarked on the first of many successful tours abroad. In 1947 she appeared at the famed Village Vanguard music club in New York and later performed in Canada and Cuba. In the 1960s and 1970s she appeared at many of the world's most prestigious music venues, including New York's Carnegie Hall and Lincoln Center. Despite being closely identified with her Yemenite roots, and classic Israeli songs, Damari also performed in other languages, including Spanish and even Yiddish.

In 1987 Damari's career was revived when she joined forces with crooner Boaz Sharabi, whose family also emigrated from Yemen, and the following year she received the country's ultimate accolade when she was awarded the Israel Prize. Damari subsequently appeared and recorded with Israel's other senior diva, Yaffa *Yarkoni, and with singer-songwriter Matti *Caspi. In 2005, the 83-year-old Damari surprised many by contributing two songs to young ethno-rock star Idan Reichel's second album *Mi-Ma'amakim* ("From the Deep").

Throughout her long career Damari set the standard for generations of young performers, both for her stage presence and her unparalleled vocal delivery.

[Barry Davis (2nd ed.)]

°DAMASCIUS (sixth century C.E.), the last head of the neoplatonist school. In his *Vita Isidori* he states that Theosebius, disciple of Hierocles, exorcised a demon from his master's wife by invoking the rays of the sun and the God of the Hebrews. He also tells in the same book that in the fifth century Marinus, successor of Proclus as chief of the neoplatonic school, was originally from Neapolis, modern Nablus (in the immediate vicinity of Shechem) a city built at the foot of Mount Gerizim, where there was a temple of Zeus Hypsistos which had been consecrated by Abraham, ancestor of the Hebrews. Marinus, he continues, was originally a Samaritan who later repudiated the doctrines of this sect (which he accused of having deviated from the faith of Abraham) and embraced Hellenism.

DAMASCUS, capital of Syria; in olden times a caravan center at an oasis in Southern Syria, on the principal crossroads between Mesopotamia-Syria and Palestine-Transjordan.

In the Bible

The name appears as דַּמֶּשֶׂק *Dammesek* (but once as דּוּמֵּשֶׂק *Dummesek*, II Kings 16:10) and דַּרְמֶשֶׂק *Darmesek*, as in Chronicles (e.g., II Chron. 16:2) and also in the Dead Sea Scrolls and rabbinic sources. The meaning of the name is obscure; derivations from Semitic sources have been suggested but the etymology of the name remains uncertain. In Assyrian documents of the first millennium B.C.E. *Dimašqi* is interchangeable with the peculiar epithet *ša imérišu*, the city or land "of his donkey," though the epithet most probably refers to the country only. The Egyptian Execration Texts and the *Mari documents (18th century B.C.E.) refer to the Damascus region as the "Land of Apum," ruled by West Semitic princes. Damascus is mentioned by name for the first time in the geographical lists of Thutmosis III (15th century B.C.E.). In the El-Amarna letters (14th century B.C.E.) Damascus is mentioned several times, once explicitly, as being in the "Land of Upe" (i.e., Apu[m]); at this time its rulers bore Indo-Aryan names. The patriarchal narratives twice mention Damascus in passing (Gen. 14:15; 15:2), and the biblical account includes it within the Land of Canaan (Num. 34). Though this region lay within the Egyptian dominion until Egypt's decline in the 12th century, the Hittites sporadically penetrated and held it.

The desert oasis of Damascus became an important center for the *Arameans shortly after their appearance in Syria toward the end of the second millennium. David, in his campaigns against the Aramean confederation, conquered the city and posted Israelite governors there (II Sam. 8:5–6). Damascus cast off the Israelite yoke during Solomon's reign and became the capital of the kingdom of *Aram Damascus, remaining so until its destruction by the Assyrians in 732 B.C.E. It reached its height in the ninth century as an important political, economic, and cultural center. Even so, Damascus was forced to grant Israelite merchants special rights in the city, as indicated by the Aramean king Ben-Hadad's submission to Ahab: "… you may establish bazaars for yourself in Damascus, as my father did in Samaria" (I Kings 20:34).

The city of Damascus was repeatedly attacked by Assyria, as the latter gained power. In 841 B.C.E. and again in 838 B.C.E., Shalmaneser III besieged it, destroying the vineyards and orchards surrounding the city; later Adad-Nirari III twice (or even three times) spared the city only after being paid a heavy tribute; in 773 B.C.E. Shalmaneser IV also campaigned against Damascus, weakening it sufficiently to allow Jeroboam II, king of Israel, to impose his suzerainty over it; and in 732 B.C.E. the final blow was delivered by Tiglath-Pileser III. Reduced to the status of the capital of an Assyrian province, Damascus was still mentioned in Assyrian sources in 727, 720, and 694 B.C.E. and even as late as the reign of Ashurbanipal (668–627 B.C.E.). In the Persian period, Damascus was an important administrative center, and may have been the capital of the satrapy of Trans-Euphrates (cuneiform, *ebir nāri*; Aram. *avar nahara* [Ezra:4:10, etc.]; Heb. *ever ha-nahar* [Ezra 8:36; Neh. 2:7, 9]). The geographical position of Damascus, dominating the major trade routes, led to an economic prosperity in the biblical period, as did the fertility of the desert oasis, as reflected in the Bible (II Kings 5:12; Ezek. 27:18, where its trade in wine and wool is specified). Damascus was a cultic center for the god Hadad (cf. *Ben-Hadad, the name typical of the Damascene kings), apparently worshiped locally under the name Rimmon (cf. "the house of Rimmon," II Kings 5:18). The ancient city of Damascus has not yet been uncovered. One of the few chance finds from the biblical period is a ninth-century B.C.E. basalt orthostat depicting a cherub/sphinx in Phoenician style, which had been built into a substructural wall of the Umayyad mosque. The latter building apparently stands on the site of the ancient temple of Hadad-Ramman (cf. II Kgs. 5:18). In addition, Damascus is mentioned in an Aramaic stele, fragments of which were uncovered at *Dan in northern Israel.

From the time of Alexander the Great's invasion of the Near East in 333 B.C.E., Damascus served as a Macedonian colony, later becoming the capital of Coele-Syria and Phoenicia (from 111 B.C.E.), and then eventually becoming incorporated into the Roman Empire. Very little archaeological data is known about the pre-Classical city of Damascus, except for a few chance finds. The general plan of the present Old City may have been modeled on the general plan of the Hellenistic city, as some scholars have proposed (including Sauvaget), but there is no certainty about this. Roman remains include the architectural remains and inscriptions of the Damascene Temple of Jupiter, and a very distinctive street running east-west, which may very well be the same as the "Street called Straight" mentioned in Acts 9:11. A church dedicated to John the Baptist, which may have housed his relic head, existed in the city in the Byzantine period. Most of the ancient buildings visible today in the city are Islamic, including the impressive Great Mosque built by Caliph al-Walid in 705–15.

[Abraham Malamat / Shimon Gibson (2nd ed.)]

Second Temple Period

With the advent of Alexander the Great in the east, Persian rule in Damascus was replaced by Macedonian, and later by that of Alexander's successors, the Diadochi, Seleucids, and Ptolemaids who alternately ruled over Damascus until its conquest by Pompey in 64 B.C.E. The city is mentioned several times in the Hasmonean era in connection with the conquests of Jonathan (I Macc. 11:62), who appointed his brother Simeon commander-in-chief at the Ladder of Tyre and after his conquest of Gaza in the south returned to Damascus. The army of Demetrius came to Kedesh in Galilee to thwart him but was defeated. Subsequently (*ibid.* 12:24–32) there is mention of another battle with the army of Demetrius in the land of Hamath, when Jonathan again was victorious and returned to Damascus. According to some scholars the sect known from the Covenant of *Damascus settled in the town or in its proximity after the capture of Damascus in the time of Pompey. "The land of Damascus" is mentioned several times in the book together with Damascus itself as the sect's place of residence. It may be assumed that this thickly populated commercial city situated at a major crossroads attracted Jews from various places.

Salome Alexandra attempted to extend her rule over Damascus which was threatened by Ptolemy of Chalcis but was unsuccessful (Jos., Ant., 13:418). In Damascus Pompey met with the emissaries of Hyrcanus and Aristobulus, the Hasmonean brothers who were contending for the throne, and from there he went in pursuit of Aristobulus (*ibid.*, 14:34f.). Damascus is also mentioned as Herod's place of refuge when, with the help of the high priest Hyrcanus, he fled Jerusalem when the members of the Sanhedrin were about to sentence him to death for having the Galilean rebels executed (*ibid.*, 14:177f.). In the course of time a large and important Jewish community was established in Damascus. The Jews of Damascus in the first century C.E. are mentioned in Acts 9 and 11

Corinthians 11:32. In Acts, Paul states that he requested letters from the high priest in Jerusalem addressed to the synagogues of Damascus asking that they hand over to him the adherents of the new sect in order to bring them to Jerusalem. On the eve of the Roman war the Jews of Damascus were murdered by the gentile inhabitants (Jos., Wars, 2:559–561; Life, 27).

In talmudic literature Damascus is mentioned only in the economic sphere; it is called "the gateway of the Garden of Eden" (Er. 19a), reference being made to its fertile land and produce: Damascene plums, wine of Senir, etc. The quality of the waters of the rivers of Damascus and their validity for ritual ablutions are also discussed (TJ, Beẓah 3:2, 62a; Parah 8:10, "Keramyon" and "Puga"). Apparently Judah ha-Nasi had possessions to the west and south of Damascus, and on his journeys to them he visited that city as well as the Jewish communities in the vicinity (Sanh. 5b), many of which are mentioned (Ḥovah, Kokheva, Kefar Avraham, Kefar Karinos, Rom, Beth-Anath, Aratris, Ifarkoris, Sakhuta, etc.). It may be assumed that on their way from Ereẓ Israel to Babylon scholars passed through these places, but there were no institutes of learning there or in the city of Damascus, and it may be inferred that the Jews of Damascus engaged in agriculture as well as in commerce and became well known in this respect.

Roman rule in Ereẓ Israel and Syria commenced in 64 B.C.E. and continued under the Eastern (Byzantine) Roman Empire until the first half of the seventh century. During these 300 years, the Roman and Persian empires were engaged in a struggle in the region, which changed hands several times. In 613, Damascus was again captured by the Persians. They retained it only for a short time. The despotic and often religiously fanatical Byzantine administration alienated the inhabitants, even the Christians, and they certainly did not succeed in gaining sympathizers among the Jews and Samaritans. As a result all the cities submitted to the Persian armies without any opposition.

From the descriptions of the Armenian historian Bishop Sebeos (seventh century) and the book of the monk Astrategius of Mar-Saba, among others, it is learned that the Jews collaborated with the Persian conquerors against the Christians. From Damascus the Persians proceeded to conquer Ereẓ Israel, coming there together with their Jewish supporters (according to Sophronius). It may be assumed that the alliance of the Jews with the Persians was motivated by the hope for a tolerant attitude and, perhaps, even of gaining autonomy for the Jewish communities of Syria and Ereẓ Israel, as had been attained by the large Jewish community of Babylonia. The alliance of the Jews of Damascus with the Persians and their participation in the punitive actions against the Christians are evidence of their difficult situation under Byzantine rule. Although the Christian population also suffered under Byzantine rule, the mention of the Jews' participation in the campaign of suppression against the Christians, and particularly those from Tyre, testifies to fierce rivalry, and perhaps also to additional privileges granted the Christians by the Byzantine emperors so as to oust the Jews of Damascus from their position.

[Abraham Lebanon]

Under Muslim Rule

According to one tradition, the Jews were mentioned in the terms of the capitulation in 635, according to which the city was handed over to the Arabs. It is certain that the conquerors granted the Jews the southeastern quarter of the city, where they had previously dwelt. By comparison with the oppression that they suffered under Byzantine rule, there was a definite improvement in their situation. During the reigns of the caliphs of the Umayyad dynasty (661–750), the Jews, as well as the Christians, enjoyed tolerant treatment. However, with the ascent to power of the Abbasid dynasty (750–1258), they suffered from decrees against them along with an increase in the taxes levied upon them. Even so, they could observe their religious rituals openly and the ties with the academies of Palestine and Babylonia were renewed. The Damascus community was affected by events which influenced the Jewish population of the Orient. Furthermore, the sectarian movements in Babylonia found sympathizers in Damascus. According to the Karaite author *Al-Kirkisānī, there were still in his days (first half of tenth century) some remnants of the ʿIsāwiyya sect (founded by Abū ʿĪsā al-Iṣfahānī) in Damascus. At the same time, the great Muslim caliphate began to disintegrate and Iraq, which was the center of its empire, suffered from the wars between various groups and military factions. These events also marked the beginning of an important emigration of Iraqi Jews towards other countries. Damascus, like other cities in Syria and Egypt, became the home of many Iraqi Jews who established their own synagogues in the city. One of the pages in the records of the Damascus *bet din* for the year 933 contains four betrothal documents of Iraqi Jews in three consecutive weeks.

After the conquest of Damascus by the *Fatimids in 969, a period of prosperity began for the Jewish community. The Fatimids were noted for their tolerant attitude towards non-Muslims and they appointed Jews and Christians to high positions. At the end of the tenth century, Manasseh ibn Ibrahim al-Qazzāz held the position of head of the financial administration of Fatimid Syria, and used all the means within his power to further the welfare of his coreligionists. The Jews of Damascus at that time were in close contact with the Jews of Cairo and the Palestinian academies. In Damascus there were distinguished scholars such as Samuel b. Hoshana (III) of the Palestinian academy, who was a hymnologist and probably also *av bet din*. As a result of its close ties with the Palestinian academies, the community of Damascus was dragged into disputes in Palestine. It was especially involved in the controversy between the *gaon* Solomon b. Judah and his opponent Nathan b. Abraham. In the **Genizah* there are a few documents about the immigrants from Damascus to Egypt during Fatimid rule.

With the conquest of the greater part of Palestine by the Crusaders, the Palestinian academy was transferred to

*Hadrach, near Damascus, and later to Damascus itself. The first head of the academy in Hadrach was Solomon b. Elijah, who held this position during the early 12th century. The academy was then headed by *Abraham b. Mazhir and his son Ezra. The 12th-century traveler Benjamin of Tudela, who visited Damascus in about 1173, relates that there were 3,000 Jews in the city. On the other hand, his contemporary Pethahiah of Regensburg, the German traveler, maintains that there were 10,000 Jews in Damascus. These numbers seem to be exaggerated and it is unlikely that the Damascus community consisted of more than 2,000 Rabbanite Jews and about 600 Karaites. Besides craftsmen and small tradesmen, there were also physicians and intellectuals who composed Hebrew poetry. The poet Judah *Al-Ḥarizi, who visited Damascus in 1217, mentions the exilarch R. Josiah b. Yishai (Jesse) and the physicians Moses b. Ṣadaga and Isaac b. Baruch as residents of the city.

Saladin, who conquered Damascus in 1174, and his descendants, the sultans of the *Ayyubid dynasty, were indeed fervent Muslims, but even so they treated the members of other religions with tolerance. They also befriended intellectuals and employed the services of physicians. In general, the Ayyubid rule (12th–13th century) brought prosperity for the whole city. Trade relations with the European countries were strengthened as a result of the establishment of colonies of Genoese and Venetian merchants in the coastal towns of the Latin principalities. It seems that the first nesiʾim, descendants of the Exilarch who settled in Damascus, were Solomon and his son Yoshiyahu in the first half of the 12th century; and in the 1180s and 1190s Judah, the son of Yoshiyahu. At the beginning of the 13th century came his relative Yoshiyahu ben Ishai. These leaders received money from the public treasury and gave the community a sense of importance but did not have any official position in the city. They traveled often to Syrian communities, Ereẓ Israel, and Egypt and received money from the local communities. Yoshiyahu was mentioned by Alḥarizi who wrote about the leadership of the community in the last decade of the 12th century and at the beginning of the 13th century, including the great nagid Obadiah and Judah Abu Alrada. The title nagid of Damascus was later given to Hillel ben Moses. In the Cairo *Genizah one finds the appointment order given in 1193 by the *Mamluk Sultan al-Malik al-Fasl ʿAlī, the eldest son of Saladin, to Obadiah. He appointed him as the head of all the Jews, Rabbanite, Karaite, and Samaritan, in Damascus and all the communities in the area of Syria.

After the Mamluks defeated the *Mongols at the battle of ʿAyn Jālūt in 1260, Syria came under the domination of the Mamluk sultans of Cairo. These sultans, influenced by fanatical theologians, agreed to issue decrees against non-Muslims. In Damascus, where many Muslim theological colleges had been founded since the reign of Saladin, the theologians had considerable influence, which they used to implant religious hatred within the general population. As a result, during the Mamluk period there was much oppression and many decrees against non-Muslims, even more than in the other cities under Mamluk rule. In 1321 the Muslims destroyed a synagogue, in 1354 there was a general persecution of non-Muslims, and in 1365 there were searches for stores of wine, as many Muslims bought wine from the Jews in spite of the Koranic prohibition of alcohol. The authorities also renewed the requirements compelling Jewish women to wear one black and one red shoe, and compelling the men to blow on a whistle when entering the public bathhouses. Periodically, the Muslims brought accusations against the Jews and forced some of them to convert to Islam. In 1392 the Jews of Damascus were accused of having set fire to the central mosque. One Jew was then burnt alive, the community leaders were tortured, and a synagogue was converted into a mosque. However, after a lapse of two years, this synagogue was returned to the Jews. In 1286 the exilarch *Jesse (Yishai) b. Hezekiah excommunicated the kabbalists of Acre, who had criticized the works of *Maimonides. There is no further mention of these exilarchs during later generations; however, a deputy of the Egyptian *nagid* had his seat in Damascus. During the whole of this period, the Jews of Damascus maintained contacts with the Palestinian population and they were accustomed to make pilgrimages to Jerusalem, as *Naḥmanides and *Estori ha-Parḥi testify.

The short occupation of Damascus by Tamerlane in 1401, the ransom which the conqueror levied upon the city, and the looting in which he engaged brought great suffering to all in the city, and the community was slow in recuperating from this calamity. However, during the second half of the 15th century, the Jews of Damascus enjoyed a period of economic prosperity. There were wealthy merchants among them and cultural activities flourished at the same time. According to the reports of Jewish travelers who came from European countries toward the end of the 15th century, there were between 400 and 500 Jewish families in Damascus at that time, besides a small *Karaite community and a community of *Samaritans. In 1435 the Italian rabbi Elijah La Massa, who settled in Jerusalem, was answering halakhic questions for Damascus Jewry. Rabbi Joseph of Montagna visited Damascus in 1481 and found an organized community including many scholars. He had the impression that no poor Jews lived in the city. A student of Rabbi Obadiah of Bertinoro visited Damascus in 1495 and was the guest of the president of the community, Moses Makran. He mentioned that the Jewish population numbered 500 families, most of them merchants, workers, and moneylenders.

During the early 16th century, the Spanish refugees of 1492 began to arrive in Damascus. This immigration increased after 1516, when Syria became a part of the *Ottoman Empire. R. Moses *Basola found 500 refugee families in the city in 1521, as well as special synagogues belonging to the Jews of Spanish, Sicilian, and Iraqi origin. There were at first some conflicts between the Spanish and Iraqi Jews. The Spanish Jews formed a separate community with independent institutions, such as a separate cemetery. The Sicilians also acted in the same fashion. The split of the Damascus community into these three groups lasted a long time, and each congregation had its own

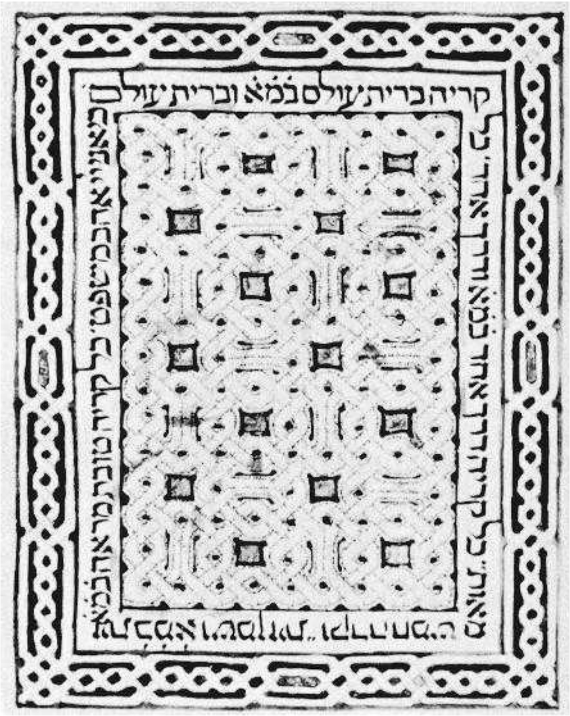

Carpet page from the Damascus Keter *Bible, Burgos, Spain, 1260. This was for many years in the possession of the Damascus Synagogue of Ḥushbasba Al'anabi. Jerusalem* J.N.U.L., *Ms. Heb. 4°790.*

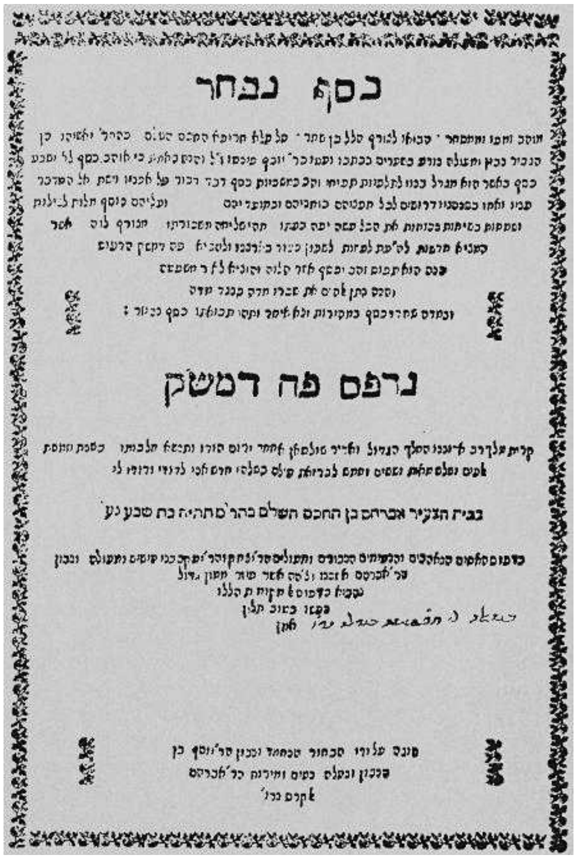

כסף נבחר

נדפס פה דמשק

Title page of the first edition of Kesef Nivḥar, *a book of sermons by the Damascus talmudist and kabbalist, Josiah b. Joseph Pinto, 1605.*

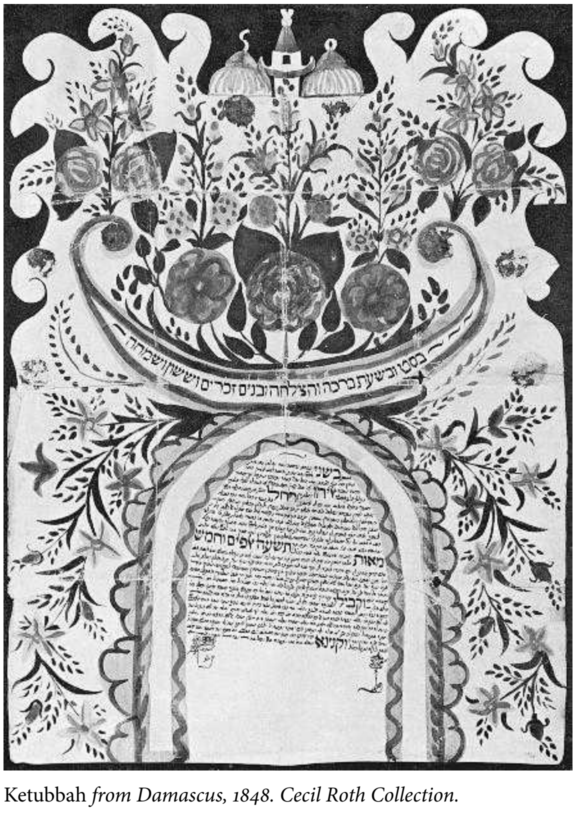

Ketubbah *from Damascus, 1848. Cecil Roth Collection.*

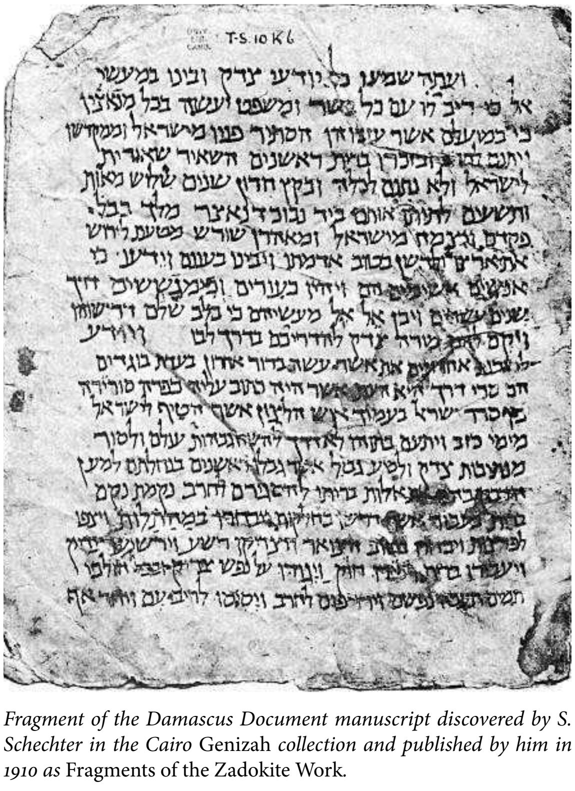

Fragment of the Damascus Document manuscript discovered by S. Schechter in the Cairo Genizah *collection and published by him in 1910 as* Fragments of the Zadokite Work.

rabbi, as well as a special *bet din*. However, in time these divisions were repaired. The influence of the Spanish Jews, among whom there were a number of scholars, increased as a result of their high cultural level. Furthermore, when the descendants of the original Spanish Jews ceased using Spanish, a major division between them and the rest of the community was removed. The Turkish authorities usually treated the Jews fairly. Some exceptions occurred, such as the destruction of the Iraqi Jews' synagogue in 1570 by a Turkish commissioner. However, even in this case the community was indemnified after a short while. The Jews of Damascus traded with other parts of the Ottoman Empire and maintained close ties with the rabbis of *Jerusalem and *Safed. Scholars from Jerusalem and Safed were appointed to rabbinical positions in Damascus and some of the rabbis of Damascus immigrated to Palestine in their old age. As a result of these contacts the study of the Kabbalah spread among the Jews of Damascus. In 1591 R. Moses *Alshekh from Safed visited Damascus as an emissary, returning a second time and serving as a dayyan in 1593. That year he returned to Safed and died soon after. R. Ḥayyim b. Joseph *Vital went to Damascus and lived there. A local rabbi in Damascus, Jacob Abulafia, was Vital's rival. R. Samuel b. Ḥayyim *Vital continued to propagate the teachings of his father in Damascus. In 1604 Safed was destroyed by the Druze and many of its Jews fled to Damascus. The influence of the kabbalists then became even more important. Two of the refugees, Isaac and Jacob, the sons of the Safed printer Abraham Ashkenazi, set up a Hebrew printing press in Damascus. In 1605 they printed *Kesef Nivḥar* ("Choice Silver"), the work of R. Josiah *Pinto, the rabbi of the Sephardi Jews in Damascus. R. Josiah Pinto wrote a series of works which reflected his kabbalistic outlook. At that time, there were also scholars and intellectuals in Damascus who wrote secular poems in Hebrew. The poet Israel *Najara settled in Damascus in 1579. In 1621 Rabbi Isaiah Halevi Horowitz (Ha-Shelah) passed through the city on his way to Ereẓ Israel and refused to serve as the local rabbi. Shabbetai *Ẓevi received some support from the Jews of Damascus. When his disciple Nathan of Gaza came to Damascus, many Jews in the city indicated that they still believed in the pseudo-messiah, despite the fact that he had already converted to Islam.

The wealthy merchants in Damascus in the middle of the 19th century (comprising around 24 merchant houses) were the richest class in the city and managed most of the local business of the *vilayet* of Damascus. There were also moneylenders who were the bankers of the city. The richest families were Levi-Stambouli, Angel, Lisbona, Farhi, Harari, Tovi, and Hason, philanthropists who helped the community.

The traveler *Benjamin II, who visited Damascus in 1848, estimated that the city had a Jewish population of 4,000, while the Austrian poet Dr. L.A. Frankl estimated that in about 1857 the population was 5,000. He mentioned the wealthiest Jew in Damascus, Raphael Stambouli, who was the host of Baron Alfonso de Rothschild in that year. He described the grandiose life of the community's elite, and noted the contempt of the Christian inhabitants for the Jews.

Frankl wrote in 1857 that the Karaite community in Damascus had been dissolved 50 years earlier. The Jewish community had eight synagogues, including "Frangi," which was the largest synagogue, founded by the Spanish settlers in Damascus; "Menesh," in which R. Hayim Vital had prayed; "Raki," in which the Farhi family had prayed (it was constructed in the middle of the 19th century); "Del Pasha"; "Halab"; "Midrash"; and "Dashabar" outside the city. Jews from Ereẓ Israel and Syria came to pray there. The great rabbi of Damascus in the second half of the 19th century was Rabbi Isaac Abulafia (died in Tiberias in 1910). Famous rabbis in the city were Nethanel Moses Chaboba, who was appointed head of the *bet din* in Damascus until his departure to Jerusalem in 1904 where he died the same year, Aaron Jacob, Solomon Sukari, and Meir Mashen. *The ḥakham bashi* in Damascus at this time was Rabbi Jacob Peretz. The massacre of Christians by Muslims and Druze in 1860 was followed by Christian accusations that the Jews had taken part in the violence and had bought their looted possessions. Many Jews were imprisoned as a result of these accusations, but later they were freed. The basic condition of the community did not change as a result of these events. However, after 1870 the economic situation deteriorated. This was due to the opening of the Suez Canal, which limited the international trade of Damascus, and the bankruptcy of the Ottoman Empire in 1875. Furthermore, local industries were ruined by the importation of manufactured goods from Europe. Economic decline was followed by a moral and cultural decline. At the turn of the century some Jewish girls became notoriously known as "singers," and the rabbis attempted to end this shame. In 1888 there was only one *talmud torah* in Damascus with 450 students, and in 1895 it was transferred to the Alliance Israélite Universelle. This organization had opened a school in Damascus in 1864, but it was closed after five years and reopened only in 1880. A school for girls was inaugurated by this organization in 1883. In 1910, 768 students were enrolled in these schools. In 1911 the Alliance Israélite Universelle withdrew its support from the schools. An 1883 report noted that 25% of the Jewish population was very poor, 50% was poor, 25% belonged to the middle class, and only one percent of community members were wealthy. Most of the Jewish inhabitants were simple workers. In 1895 there was a split in the community regarding the chief rabbinate. One group wished to dismiss the *ḥakham bashi* Rabbi Isaac Abulafia. Rabbi Solomon Eliezer Alafandari was appointed, but his 13 years in the city were marked by dissension. In 1909 he immigrated to Ereẓ Israel (and died in Jerusalem in 1930). In the second half of the 19th century there were about 20 Ashkenazi families from Europe which had assimilated into the older population of the community. In the 18th century Jews from Persia, Bukhara, India, and Iraq had settled in Damascus. In 1822 many Jews from Aleppo settled there after the earthquake in that city. It appears that the Jewish population in the city grew from 3,000 to 5,000. Many Jews from Hamah also immigrated to Damascus between 1832 and 1840. After 1860, Jews from Hasbiya settled there. At the end of the 19th century, many Jews from Damascus immigrated to Ereẓ Israel.

Emigration from Damascus up to 1870 was minimal, with most of the immigrants leaving for Egypt. But in the last two decades of the 19th century immigration was stepped up and in the first two decades of the 20th century it became a flood. Most of the emigrants were young people who settled in North and South America, where they hoped to improve their economic situation. According to the Ottoman census of the year 1882, there were 3,177 Jewish men and 3,088 Jewish women in Damascus at the time. The first regular elections for the Va'ad Gashmi were scheduled in Damascus for the end of the 19th century. From c. 1840 to the end of the century there had been a Va'ad Ruḥani with authority in religious affairs. During the second half of the 19th century, many local Jews abandoned Jewish tradition.

Throughout the Ottoman period Damascus had the second largest community in Syria after *Aleppo. In 1870 there was some incitement by the Christian inhabitants and the British consul, Richard Barton, against the Jews of Damascus, and the latter appealed to Sir Moses *Montefiore, Francis Goldschdmidt, Rabbi Adler of London, and Charles Netter to get the consul dismissed. He was ordered by his government to return to England in 1871. During World War I the city suffered a severe economic crisis. Eliyahu Sasson reported in 1921 that only 5% of community members were wealthy, most of them merchants, 25% were workers, and almost 70% were needy. The Protestant mission was active within the community but had only limited success.

The community was unsuccessful in its efforts at maintaining a Hebrew school. There was no increase in the population of the community due to the continuing emigration of Jews from Damascus to Beirut and to both North and South America. In 1900 Damascus had 10,000 Jews. In the first decade of the 20th century 1,500 young Jews emigrated from Damascus.

In 1930 the headmaster of the Alliance Israélite Universelle estimated the Jewish population at not more than 8,000 and noted the Zionist influence on Jewish society there. In 1926 the number was the same, and in 1943 there were only 6,000 Jews in the city. The Zionists founded two Hebrew schools in Damascus, in which a majority of the pupils came from the poorer strata of the community, but in 1925 these schools were closed. In the Jewish quarter many young Jews spoke French, which helped many of them who emigrated. A number of rabbis lived and were active in Damascus at the end of the 19th century and in the first half of the 20th century. Rabbi Jacob Hacohen Trab (d. 1923), who was born in Damascus, was appointed rabbi of Beirut in 1900. Rabbi Judah Ḥayyim Maslaton was the son of the community rabbi, Ezra Hacohen Trab Maslaton. He was born in Damascus in 1872 and immigrated after World War I to Egypt (d. 1946). Rabbi Joseph Judah Dana (died in Haifa in 1973) was a student of Rabbi Isaac Abulafia and served for many years as rabbi of Damascus. He immigrated c. 1948 to Israel. In Damascus social differences were marked, and the wealthy Jews lived on a very high standard. These had a Western orientation and many of them were Francos who had *capitulation rights. Among them were the Lisbona family, which enjoyed Austrian protection, and Jacob Levi Stambouli, who had British protection. The Jewish press in Europe emphasized the poverty of the Jewish majority. The *talmidei ḥakhamim* of Damascus were exempt from community taxes, but in 1875 the government ordered them to pay property taxes. In 1918 there were 15,000–17,000 Jews in Damascus. Only two families, Laniado and Totah, were wealthy, 300 families belonged to the middle class, and 600 families were needy. In 1919 most Jewish children were enrolled in Hebrew institutions headed by Abraham Elmaliah and Joseph Joel Rivlin. But in November 1919 the Jews of Damascus began to break off contact with the Committee of Deputies and the Zionist movement. The president of the community was Moses David Totah. In 1919 an orphanage was established and the Joint began to help the community. In 1924 there were 1,359 students in the Alliance Israélite Universelle institutions. There were also Jewish students from rich families who studied in Christian schools. In 1911 the new *ḥakham bashi* in Damascus, Rabbi Jacob Danon, invited his son-in-law, Abraham Elmaliah, to the city. Elmaliah changed the *talmud torah* to a Hebrew national school and invited teachers from Ereẓ Israel. Until 1917 it had 300 students and 200 more children in the kindergarten classes. In 1924, 150 poor Jewish students studied in Protestant Mission schools. In 1925 the Jewish quarter was sacked during the Druze rebellion against the French Mandate; some Jews were murdered and dozens were injured, while many buildings and shops were plundered.

The world economic crisis of the 1930s hurt also the Jews of Damascus. A large number were not employed and many immigrated to Ereẓ Israel and other countries. In 1936 they were accused of Zionism and Jews fled from Damascus. Zionist activity continued, however. In 1942 Tuviyyah Arazi described the dire economic circumstances of many of the children and youngsters there. Most of the children aged 10–12 worked and received no education. In that year the headmaster of the Alliance Israélite Universelle school was murdered.

[Alexander Astor / Leah Bornstein-Makovetsky (2nd ed.)]

Since 1948

The Jews of Damascus experienced fear and discrimination after the Israeli War of Independence. In July–August 1948 the Jewish quarter was bombed and dozens of Jews were killed and injured. Of the approximately 5,000 Jews in Damascus in 1948, and 3,500 in 1958, there remained only between 1,000 and 1,500 in 1968. Most Jews left for Lebanon immediately after the outbreak of the War of Independence, settling in Beirut; others went to Israel, Europe, and America. The vacant houses in the Jewish quarter were occupied by Palestinian Arab refugees whose presence caused constant tension and clashes with the remaining Jews. Many Jews fled from the city and secretly left for Israel and Lebanon. According to a report of the World Jewish Congress in 1954, the Jewish quarter in Damascus was full of Arab refugees. The head of the community committee was the banker Sabri Laniado, but the committee did not have any contact with the local authorities in Damascus. Only Jews who had special licenses could leave the city. Others were seized and imprisoned. The Jews were supported by the Beirut community and by the Joint Distribution Committee as well as by grants from Syrian Jews in other countries, such as Mexico, Argentina, the United States, and some in Eastern Europe. Most of the money was transferred to the authorities as bribes. Only a little of it reached the needy. Many Jews abandoned their property. In the Jewish talmud torah there were just 170 children with the funds for the school coming from the U.S. The Jews were persecuted by the authorities and frequently arrested, especially during the trial of the Israeli intelligence officer Eli *Cohen (1965) and during the Six-Day War (1967). The Muslim population also attacked Jews and planted a bomb in the synagogue in August 1949. The Jewish community suffered serious financial difficulties, most of its members being artisans or unemployed and living on the charity of the community council. A few Jews worked as clerks in the Banque de Commerce (which used to be the Zilkhah Bank), or in a Jewish-owned clothing factory. The number of conversions to Islam of Jewish girls marrying Muslims increased after the Jewish mass emigration. In 1968 the community's affairs were governed by a council of seven to nine members, whose main function was to support the needy with funds from Syrian Jews in America. Nissim Nedebo was rabbi of the community. The Alliance Israélite Universelle continued to run a school in Damascus, which had 420 pupils in 1965. Forty boys and girls attended government schools, and in 1965 there were eight Jewish students at Damascus University.

In an undercover operation in late 1994, 1,262 Syrian Jews were brought to Israel. The spiritual leader of the Syrian Jewish community from 1976 to 1994, Rabbi Abraham Hamra, was among those who left Syria and went to New York (and later Israel). Syria had granted exit visas on the condition that the Jews did not go to Israel. The decision to finally free the Jews came about largely as a result of pressure from the United States following the 1991 Madrid Peace Conference.

Many Jews worked as coppersmiths in Damascus. These artisans developed a style and technique of their own, creating masterpieces of metalwork in the course of the 20th century. With the immigration of the last artisans to Israel in 1992, this era came to an end in Damascus.

[Hayyim J. Cohen / Leah Bornstein-Makovetsky (2nd ed.)]

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DAMASCUS, BOOK OF COVENANT OF (the **Zadokite Documents** or the **Damascus Document**; abbr. CD for Cairo Damascus), work presenting the views of the sect which is said to have left the Land of Judah and emigrated to the Land of Damascus. The work first became known through the discovery by Solomon *Schechter in 1896 of two fragmentary manuscripts of it (conventionally called *A* and *B*) in the *genizah* of a Karaite synagogue in Cairo. Schechter dated *A* to the 10th century C.E. and *B* to the 11th or 12th. They represent two different recensions of the work, to judge by the relatively small portions which overlap. When the Qumran texts were discovered in 1947 and the following years, an affinity between some of them and the Damascus Document was speedily recognized, and it soon became evident that the sect referred to in the

Damascus Document must be identified with the Qumran community. This conclusion was confirmed with the discovery of fragments of the Damascus Document in the Qumran caves – fragments of seven manuscripts in Cave 4 and further fragments in Cave 6 (6QD).

The book is written in biblical Hebrew, free from Aramaisms. The style is marked throughout by linguistic usages from the Bible; it contains also later idioms most of which are known from the Mishnah. It includes homilies in the spirit of the ancient Midrashim and material paralleled in such apocryphal and pseudepigraphic writings as the Book of Jubilees and the Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs.

The Admonition

The first part of the work, named "The Admonition" by C. Rabin, comprises moral instruction, exhortation, and warning addressed to members of the sect, together with polemic against its opponents; it serves as a kind of introduction to the second part, called "The Laws" by Rabin (see bibliography). Even in the Qumran manuscripts, these two parts are not treated as separate compositions but belong together as one work. The lack of continuity in several places in both parts suggests that the work as it now is known is an abridgment of a longer work, over and above the fact that the abridgment itself has survived in a fragmentary form.

The first part contains some details about the history of the sect as understood by the author. At the end of 390 years (cf. Ezek. 4:5) after the destruction of the First Temple there sprouted forth from "Israel and Aaron" a "planted root," the beginning of the sect. Twenty years later there arose the *Teacher of Righteousness (CD 1:11; in 20:14 he is called *moreh ha-yaḥid*, "the unique teacher" or "the teacher of the One" – or, if *ha-yaḥad* is read – "the teacher of the community"). He organized those who accepted and kept his teaching in a "new covenant." At the same time arose "the man of mockery" or "preacher of falsehood" who misled Israel; in consequence, many of those who had entered the covenanted community left it and were accordingly "delivered to the avenging sword of the covenant." "At the end of the destruction of the land," when the influence of the backsliders and adversaries of the sect became stronger, those who remained true to the covenant went out of the holy city and "escaped to the land of the north." The leader of those who "turned back [from impiety] in Israel and went out of the land of Judah to sojourn in the land of Damascus" was "the lawgiver who expounds the Torah," who enacted laws by which "those who entered into the new covenant in the land of Damascus" might regulate their lives "until the teacher of righteousness arises at the end of days." But there were also betrayers of the covenant who returned, together with the "people of mockery," and those and others like them are threatened with severe punishment.

The "people of mockery" are those who "build up an insecure wall and daub it with white plaster" (cf. Ezek. 13:10); by these the author seems to indicate the Pharisees who made a fence to the Torah (Ar. 1:2). These, he says, walked in the stubbornness of their heart (cf. Deut. 29:18; Jer. 3:17, etc.), followed the preacher of falsehood, and were caught in "fornication" – a term used by the author (and by those like-minded) of those who married two wives simultaneously or who married their nieces. To have two wives at once is, for the author, a breach of the ordinance of creation. The example of David cannot be pleaded as a defense, because in his day the Torah was inaccessible; it had been sealed and hidden in the Ark "until Zadok arose," i.e., Zadok the priest whose sons are "the chosen of Israel, men of renown." As for marrying the daughter of one's brother or sister, this is not explicitly forbidden in the Torah (for which reason it was permitted by the Pharisees), but in the circle to which the author belonged it was evidently regarded as forbidden by analogy with the prohibition of marriage between aunt and nephew (cf. Lev. 18:12–14). In addition to committing fornication in these two respects, the "people of mockery" are charged with failing to keep the laws of uncleanness as specified in the Torah; they profane the Temple and "speak abominations against the ordinances of God's covenant, saying that they are not right." Because the Temple was rendered unclean by them, those who had entered into the covenant undertook not to approach the Temple or bring sacrifices to it; that would be "kindling God's altar in vain" and they would do better to shut the Temple door altogether, in accordance with Malachi 1:10.

The Laws

The second part of the work deals with the laws of the sect and its social arrangements. These laws comprise regulations for judgment, the Sabbath, the altar, the synagogue and the city of the Temple, the attitude to worshipers of idols, forbidden foods, and uncleanness. Several of these regulations correspond to the accepted law, but others are in opposition to it and correspond rather to the laws accepted by the Samaritans and the Karaites, and all of them are inclined to be severe. The social arrangements that were fixed by the leaders of the sect put its members under a severe discipline. The members of the sect in all their "camps" are divided into four classes: priests, Levites, Israelites, and proselytes. Their names must be recorded in a book. At the head of each "camp" stands a priest who understands the "book of the *Hagu*" (a book of laws, apparently some composition of the character of the Manual of *Discipline, which seems to be older than the Damascus Document). Next to the priest stands the "inspector (*mevakker*) of the camp" whose responsibility it is to act as guide and educator of those in the camp. A distinction seems to be drawn between those who live in camps as members of a separated community and those "living in camps after the order of the earth" – which may denote associate members or sympathizers with the sect who pursued normal family life in the cities of Israel.

The Sect

Before the discovery and study of the Qumran community, many conjectures were expressed about the identity and date of the sect of the Damascus Document. Even when it has been set in a wider context, many such questions remain undecided. The internal testimony of the work indicates that the sect existed at a time when the Temple still stood. A particularly knotty problem is presented by the reference to Damascus: is this to be understood literally (as was usually taken for granted when the Damascus Document was the only one of its kind extant) or as a "prophetic name" (cf. Amos 5:27) for the wilderness of Judah to which they had withdrawn? (For the latter view see Y. North, in PEFQ, 87 (1955), 34ff.; F.M. Cross, *The Ancient Library of Qumran* (1958), 59f.). Murphy-O'Connor suggested alternatively that it might actually refer to Babylon.

If Damascus is taken literally, it appears that when the sect fled there, some of its adversaries and enemies went there too, and instigated a number of its members to betray and forsake it. From this it may be argued that at that time Jerusalem and Damascus were controlled by separate (if not indeed opposing) governments, so that it was possible for refugees from Judah to find asylum in or near Damascus: this situation corresponds only to the time of the Hasmoneans. (It is relevant to note that the oldest manuscript fragment of the Damascus Document from Qumran has been dated by some scholars on paleographical grounds to the pre-Roman period; cf. Cross, op. cit., 59, n. 46). The flight of both members of the sect and their adversaries from Judah to Damascus under the Hasmonean regime is best related to the reign of Alexander *Yannai, to the time when his enemies (as is known from Josephus and from the Talmud) fled from the Land of Israel after his decisive victory in the long civil war. Yannai would have hated the people of the sect because they opposed the Hasmonean assumption of the high priesthood, which in their view belonged exclusively to the descendants of Zadok; and it is possible that they also participated in the war of the Pharisees against Yannai. On this basis it is possible to suggest the following time-sequence in the history of the sect: The growth of the sect ("the root") began during the reign of John *Hyrcanus I (135–114 B.C.E.), when the opposition of the Pharisees to the Hasmonean kings' exercise of the high-priestly function became manifest. Twenty years (half a generation) later arose the "Teacher" who organized the sect in a covenant, and after his death, which occurred during Yannai's reign (103–76 B.C.E.), the people of the sect fled (at the end of the civil war) to the land of Damascus. During the peace which followed under *Salome Alexandra, the "people of mockery" returned to Jerusalem as did several of the people of the sect. In that case the Damascus Document would have been written originally after Salome's death (67 B.C.E.), during the war between her sons Hyrcanus II and Aristobulus II, when Pompey was preparing to march on Jerusalem (63 B.C.E.); his invasion may be hinted at by the author in the words "He is the head of the kings of Yavan, who is coming to wreak vengeance upon them." (Pompey was by this time the master of all the rulers in the Hellenistic states, which had fallen under the dominion of Rome.)

So much can be inferred from the Damascus Document taken by itself. How far this reconstruction can be correlated with the evidence of the other Qumran texts is a subject for continuing study. Certainly the basic ideas, as well as the language and style of the Damascus fragments, correspond from every point of view with those of the Qumran scrolls. Such leading personalities as the Teacher of Righteousness and the Man of Mockery are as prominent in some of the Qumran texts as they are in the Damascus Document. One possibility to be considered is that the Damascus sect was a special branch of the Qumran *yaḥad* whose history differed somewhat from that of the *yaḥad* as a whole; another is that the Damascus Document reflects a later development of the Qumran community than that represented by the Manual of Discipline.

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[Michael E. Stone / Frederick Fyvie Bruce]

DAMASCUS AFFAIR, a notorious *blood libel in 1840 in which Christian antisemitism and popular Muslim anti-Jewish feelings came to a head and were aggravated by the political struggle of the European powers for influence in the Middle East. Syria was then ruled by Muhammad Ali of Egypt, who had rebelled against Turkey. France supported Muhammad Ali, while the other powers, especially Austria and Great Britain, were interested in preserving Turkish power and in preventing the extention of French influence.

On February 5, 1840, the Capuchin friar Thomas, an Italian who had long resided in Damascus, disappeared together with his Muslim servant Ibrahim ʿAmāra. The monk had been involved in shady business, and the two men were probably murdered by tradesmen with whom Thomas had quarreled. Nonetheless, the Capuchins immediately circulated the news that the Jews had murdered both men in order to use their blood for Passover. As Catholics in Syria were officially under French protection, the investigation should have been conducted, according to local law, by the French consul. But the latter, Ratti-Menton, allied himself with the accusers, and supervised the investigation jointly with the governor-general Sherif Padia; it was conducted in the most barbarous fashion. A barber, Solomon Negrin, was arbitrarily arrested and tortured until a "confession" was extorted from him, according to which the monk had been killed in the house of David Harari by seven Jews. The men whom he named were subsequently arrested; two of them died under torture, one of them converted to Islam in order to be spared, and the others were made to "confess." A Muslim servant in the service of David Harari related under duress that Ibrahim ʿAmāra was killed in the house of Meir Farḥi, in the presence of the latter and other Jewish notables. Most of those mentioned were arrested, but one of them, Isaac Levi Picciotto, was an Austrian citizen and thus under the protection of the Austrian consul; this eventually led to the intervention of Austria, England, and the United States in the affair. When some bones were found in a sewer in the Jewish quarter, the accusers proclaimed that they were those of Thomas, and buried them accordingly. An inscription on the tombstone stated that it was the grave of a saint tortured by the Jews. Then more bones were found, alleged to be those of Ibrahim ʿAmāra. But a well-known physician in Damascus, Dr. Lograso, refused to certify that they were human bones, and requested that they be sent to a European university for examination. This, however, met with the opposition of the French consul. The authorities then announced that, on the strength of the confessions of the accused and the remains found of the victims, the guilt of the Jews in the double murder was proved beyond doubt. They also seized 63 Jewish children so as to extort the hiding place of the victims' blood from their mothers.

The news of the atrocities in Damascus aroused the concern of the Jewish world. The first Jewish attempt to intervene in the tragic situation came from Alexandria in the form of a petition addressed to Muhammad Ali, as a result of the initiative of Israel *Bak, the Jerusalem printer. At the same time, the Austrian consul general in Egypt, A. Laurin, received a report from the Austrian consul in Damascus and also petitioned Muhammad Ali to stop the torture methods used by the investigators. Muhammad Ali agreed, and instructions were accordingly issued to Damascus by express courier. As a result, the use of torture came to an end on April 25, 1840. However, the accusation itself was not rescinded and the investigation against the Jews continued. Laurin tried to influence the consul general of France in Egypt to restrain Ratti-Menton, who was his subordinate, but he was unsuccessful. He then acted in a manner contrary to diplomatic practice by sending the report he had received from Damascus to James de Rothschild, the honorary Austrian consul in Paris. He also requested Rothschild to intervene with the French government. This did not bring any result. In order to alert public opinion in France and in the civilized world, James de Rothschild, without the authorization of Chancellor Metternich in Vienna, published the report in the press. In Vienna, his brother Solomon Rothschild approached Metternich on the issue. The latter reprimanded Laurin, but nevertheless consented to his activity, as it caused embarrassment to the representatives of France in Egypt and Syria. Laurin was then joined by the British consul general in Egypt, as well as by other European consuls, who supported him in his dispute with the French. As a result of his efforts, an order was sent to Damascus on May 3, 1840, requesting protection for the Jews from the violence of Muslim and Christian mobs.

In the meantime, Western Jewry had been shocked by what had happened, and vigorous protests were voiced. Western European Jews and, especially, the Jews of France and Britain, saw signs of a return to the darkness of the Middle Ages. The events also alarmed assimilated Jews, as was evident from their reactions, even of such Jews as the young *Lasalle, who had completely broken away from Judaism. Enlightened non-Jews also protested against the accusation through the press and mass meetings. A Jewish delegation, whose members included Moses *Montefiore, his secretary Louis *Loewe, Adolphe *Crémieux, and Solomon *Munk, left for Egypt and was received by Muhammad Ali. The delegation requested that the investigation should be abandoned by the Damascus authorities and transferred to *Alexandria for judicial clarification or that the case be considered by European judges. This request was not granted as war was imminent between Egypt and Turkey. Both Muhammad Ali and the French wished to prevent an investigation into the events in Damascus. The Jews, whose first concern was the release of their coreligionists, decided to accept the simple liberation of the prisoners without any judicial declaration of innocence. In the end it was, however, explicitly stated that their liberation was an act of justice and not merely a favor granted by the ruler. The liberation order was issued on August 28, 1840, and those prisoners who were still alive in Damascus were saved.

Montefiore and his delegation left Egypt for Constantinople, where they appealed to the sultan for the publication of a *firman* which would proclaim blood libels fallacious and prohibit the trial of Jews on the basis of such accusations. Nevertheless, the Catholics of Damascus continued to tell tourists, for many years, about the saint who had been tortured and murdered by the Jews, and how the Jews had been saved from the gallows by the intrigues of Jewish notables from abroad. The Damascus Affair also aroused Jewish awareness of the need for intercommunal cooperation, finally resulting in the establishment of the Alliance Israélite *Universelle.

[Abraham J. Brawer]

Broader Repercussions

What caused extraordinary anxiety among the Jews of the West in 1840 was not only the danger facing their co-religionists in the Middle East but also, and probably even more, the fact that the accusation of ritual murder in Damascus was initially accepted as proven fact by almost the entire press in the constitutional states of Continental Europe. Typical was a report appearing in innumerable newspapers in April declaring that "Today the truth is known: of the nine accused [Jews] … seven are united in admitting everything … the body [of Father Thomas] was suspended head down; one [of the Jews] held a tub to collect the blood while two others applied pressure to facilitate the flow. Then, once the source of blood had dried up, all of them, maddened, threw themselves on the corpse, cutting it to bits."

In Britain, such reports were treated with greater skepticism, but there the country's leading newspaper, *The Times*, persistently advanced the thesis that given the prima facie case against their religion, the onus of disproving the ritual murder charge fell squarely on the Jews. *The Times*, like the influential German *Leipziger Allgemeine Zeitung*, now extensively reproduced the arguments frequently elaborated upon in Christian polemics since the 13th century that passages in the Talmud prescribed the sacrifice of Gentiles. Thus, an editorial article in *The Times* in June 1840 could declare the affair to be "one of the most important cases ever submitted to the notice of the civilized world … Admitting for the moment [the accusation to be true] … then the Jewish religion must at once disappear from the face of the earth … We shall await the issue as the whole of Europe and the civilized world will do with intense interest."

Adding still further to the sense of embattlement and shock that now overtook large segments of European Jewry was the situation that had developed in France by the summer of 1840. Not only was the charge of ritual murder emanating from the French diplomatic delegation in Damascus persistently and vociferously supported by the entire ultramontane Catholic press led by the influential daily *l'Univers* but, making matters much worse, the French premier, Adolphe Thiers, likewise gave his – albeit more guarded – backing to the consul in Syria, the Comte de Ratti-Menton. (Replying in June to critics in the Chamber of Deputies he declared, for example, that "you protest in the name of the Jews and I protest in the name of a Frenchman who until now has carried out his duties with honor and loyalty.") It was in the wake of the debate in the French parliament that the representative bodies of Jewry in France and Britain, the Consistoire Central and the Board of Deputies, took the difficult decision to dispatch the high-level delegation led by Adolphe Crémieux and Moses Montefiore to the Middle East. It had become all too clear, stated one prominent member of the Anglo-Jewish community, that at stake was "whether the flame of persecution … lighted up in the East … be so fed with bigotry that it shall increase … and go forth like some monster, destroying and to destroy, until the very name of Jew should be heard only with horror and disgust and their persons shall sink under cruelty, oppression and contempt … It is not merely … for humanity [and] our oppressed brethren that we are called upon to act; it is our own battle we fight."

Jewish historiography (as typically in the above entry) tended to downplay severely the extent of the verbal battering unleashed against the Jews in Europe during the course of 1840, and likewise generally ignored the fact that two radically opposed versions of the Damascus Affair were passed down to posterity and to a large extent have continued to follow their own separate courses until today. In the Jewish narrative the crisis for the most part culminated in a "happy ending," with the release of the surviving prisoners in Damascus; the issue of the firman by the Sultan in Constantinople repudiating the ritual murder myth; and the triumphant return home of Montefiore and Crémieux. However, from very early on, an alternative Judeophobic version of the affair was put into circulation. In 1846 a two-volume book was published in Paris, written by Achille Laurent (almost certainly a pseudonym), *Relation historique des affaires de Syrie depuis 1840 jusqu'en 1842*, which contained the complete protocols of the interrogation undertaken by the local and French authorities in Damascus during their investigation of the (alleged) murder of Father Thomas and Ibrahim ʿAmara, as well as a large collection of documents marshaled to reinforce the thesis that the ritual murder is prescribed by Judaism (or at least practiced traditionally by some Jewish sects). The entire collection clearly emanated from the coterie which had manned the French consulate in 1840, and thus could be seen as something close to an official publication. Containing as they did a series of confessions describing in great detail how and why the Jews of Damascus had committed the murders – but omitting all mention of the extensive use of torture – the protocols once in the public domain acted over time as an effective counterweight to the version of the affair preserved in Jewish historiography and collective memory.

In the coming years and decades, the protocols were published in various editions in German, Italian, Arabic, and Russian. The idea that the ritual murder case had been conclusively proved in Damascus and the prisoners only released for political reasons or because of bribery now became a key theme repeated at length in an extensive series of antisemitic journals and books, ranging from the Jesuit *Civiltà Cattolica* to *Der Stuermer*, and from Gougenot des Mousseaux's *Le juif, le judaïsme et la judaïsation des peuples chrétiens* to August Rohling's *Talmudjude* and to Henri Desportes' *Le mystère du sang chez les juifs de tous les temps*. In 1986 Mustafa Talas, the Syrian minister of defense, issued yet another edition of the protocols together with numerous documents related to the case. The idea that the ritual charge had been authenticated conclusively in Damascus in 1840 is repeated from time to time in Arabic-language media and by diplomats representing various Arab states. The tomb (allegedly) housing Father Thomas' remains still stands in the Franciscan Terra Sancta church in Damascus and carries the statement that he was "murdered by the Jews on February 5, 1840."

[Jonathan Frankel (2nd ed.)]

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°D'AMATO, ALFONSE M. (1937–), U.S. politician. Born in Brooklyn, New York, and raised on Long Island, he got his start in politics in rough-and-tumble Nassau County. D'Amato was a United States senator from 1981 until 1999 after defeating New York icon, incumbent Senator Jacob *Javits. D'Amato was popular with his more generally liberal Jewish constituents as well as other New Yorkers. Like most New York senators, D'Amato was an ardent supporter of Israel. He was well known for serving the needs of his constituents. Among the many constituents he served with dedication and determination were Holocaust survivors and their heirs in their battle to recover dormant accounts in Swiss banks. In 1996, Senator D'Amato chaired a hearing on the Swiss bank controversy before the U.S. Senate Banking Committee. He was the first to testify before the House on the necessity of investigating what happened to billions of dollars in Swiss banks from funds deposited by Jews or Jewish property looted by Nazis in the World War II era. D'Amato's work, along with that of the World Jewish Congress, forced Switzerland to face its past, its myth of wartime neutrality, and its postwar actions and to take the beginning steps towards a measure of justice in the fight for Holocaust restitution.

[Beth Cohen (2nd ed.)]

DAMAVAND, town situated at the foot of Mount Damavand, E. of Teheran, Iran. An old cemetery and ruins of a synagogue in Damavand attest to the existence of a Jewish settlement there. In the 17th century the Jews of Damavand are mentioned by the Judeo-Persian chronicler *Babai ibn Luṭf among the 18 Jewish communities which were searched for kabbalistic writings and became victims of the then current wave of forced conversion. The Shabbatean agitation in Persia is connected with one Samuel b. Aaron Damavandi. The 1871 famine which swept over Persia severely affected the Jews of Damavand, but the Jewish traveler, E. *Neumark, found some Jews still living in Damavand in about 1883–85.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: I. Ben-Zvi, *Meḥkarim u-Mekorot* (1966), index.

[Walter Joseph Fischel]

DAMESHEK, WILLIAM (1900–1969), U.S. hematologist. Dameshek, who was born in Voronezh, Russia, graduated from Harvard Medical School in 1923 and became instructor in medicine there. In 1941 he became professor of medicine at Tufts College Medical School in Boston. Dameshek was appointed professor of medicine at the Mount Sinai School of Medicine and attending hematologist to the Mount Sinai Hospital, both in New York City, in 1966. He received several awards for his contributions in the field of hematology. Dameshek was founder and chief editor of *Blood*, the journal of hematology. Dameshek authored or coauthored many articles, monographs, and books. His principal studies were on agranulocytosis, acquired hemolytic anemia, hypersplenism, and Mediterranean anemia. His books include *The Hemorrhagic Disorders* (1955), *Leukemia* (1958), *Hemolytic Syndromes* (1949), and *Leukopenia and Agranulocytosis* (1944). He was president of the American Society of Hematology (1964) and the International Society of Hematology (1954–56).

[Suessmann Muntner]

°**DAMIAN, PETER** (**Petrus Damiani**; c. 1007–1072), theologian, canonized by the church. On the request of a correspondent named Honestus, probably a monk, Damian wrote an anti-Jewish polemic in two parts: *Antilogus contra Iudaeos* and *Dialogus inter Iudaerum requirentem et Christianum e contrario respondentem*. At first Damian had hesitated to undertake the work, for he said it would be useless, as the Jews had already almost completely disappeared from the world; he finally decided to write it lest the inexperience of Christians in religious discussion both strengthen the audacity of unbelievers and give rise to doubts in the hearts of the faithful. However, because of his lack of any real contact with Jews and ignorance of the actual subjects of the Judeo-Christian debate, Damian's work is artificial; at the end he admits that he has little hope of its proving effective with the Jews.

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[Bernhard Blumenkranz]

DAMIETTA (Ar. **Dumyāt**; in the Bible: Jer. 47:4 – isle of Caphtor; and Isa. 30:4 – Hanes), city in Egypt, about eight miles from the Mediterranean Sea. In medieval times, Damietta was an important commercial town, through which goods were transferred from Europe to the Orient. Hence it had a relatively important Jewish community which is mentioned frequently in *Genizah* documents. During the tenth century emigrants from Iraq settled there.

The 11th and 12th centuries were a period of prosperity for the community. It had a regular *bet din* and supported the academy of Ereẓ Israel and other causes. At the beginning of the 11th century the Palestinian *gaon* Josiah addressed a letter to the *av bet din* Amran, the *dayyanim* Eleazar and Amram, and the other elders of the community requesting the continued support of the Damietta community for the Palestinian academy. Nathan ben Abraham, who wished to be the Palestinian *gaon*, wrote a letter from Damietta before traveling to Ereẓ Israel. Many *Genizah* documents deal with Jewish merchants who did business with Damietta in the middle of the 11th century. A mid-12th-century document recording the sums collected in various communities for a drive sponsored by the **nagid* Samuel b. Hananiah indicates that the Damietta community was of medium size. David, the son of the Palestinian *gaon* *Daniel ben Azariah, took control of the Damietta community in the second half of the 11th century. *Benjamin of Tudela reported in the 12th century that the city's population included 200 Jews. In the 12th century, when Damietta was a flourishing commercial town of international importance, Jews from Christian countries frequently visited the city.

The *Mamluks destroyed the city in the middle of the 13th century, and the mouth of the Nile was blocked to prevent attacks by European fleets. Despite the city's decline a small community of Jews continued to live there. Al-Sadīd al-Dumyāṭī (i.e., "of Damietta") was physician to the sultan al-Malik al-Nāṣir Muḥammad in the first half of the 14th century. Jews were living in the city in the 15th century and a flourishing community existed there in the first half of the 16th century. David *Reuveni was a guest in the home of a Damietta Jew in 1523, and *David b. Solomon ibn Abi Zimra mentions that Jews of Damietta were engaged in international trade in the 16th century. An Ottoman order from 1577 mentions a Jew named Shemuel who was head of the money house in the city and also served as a *multazim* (leaseholder) and the tax collector in the ports of *Alexandria and Damietta. In the 16th century only one *melamed* served in the community. Rabbi Ḥayyim *Capusi (d. 1631) lived for a time in Damietta. In 1670 the vice consul of Venice in Damietta was a Jew. The community continued to flourish in the 17th century. Rabbi *Ḥiyya Rofe (d. 1618) mentions a Jew who bought grain in Egypt and sent it with his servant via Damietta to Acre. Rabbi Ḥayyim Abraham de Boton from Jerusalem was in Damietta in 1676. A Jewish court of law sat in Damietta in 1676 and dealt with an *agunah*. The court of law was dependent on the *bet din* of *Cairo. This *bet din* in Cairo boycotted a person who served as *ḥazzan*, *melamed*, and *shoḥet* in Damietta. The Jews resided in a special quarter. In 1668 the members of the *Hevra Kaddisha* in Damietta, *Rosetta, and Cairo searched for Jewish bodies in order to bury them. Until 1769 there were Jews who served as customs officers in Damietta. In 1833, 300–400 Jews lived in the city. Jacob *Saphir reported that during the 19th century very few Jews remained in Damietta; most of them went to Alexandria, which had become a great city again. In the census of 1897 there were only nine Jews in the city; in 1907, one; and in 1936, three.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: J. Saphir, *Even Sappir*, 1 (1866), 3, 8; Mann, Egypt, 2 (1922), index; Assaf, in: *Tarbiz*, 9 (1937/38), 208–9; Strauss, in: *Zion*, 7 (1941/42), 145ff.; Ashtor, Toledot, 1 (1944), 248–9; 2 (1951), 423; 3 (1970), index; idem, in: JJS, 19 (1968), 2ff.; Baneth, in: *Sefer ha-Yovel… A. Marx* (1950), 86–88; Goitein, in: *Sinai*, 33 (1953), 227; idem, in: *Tarbiz*, 24 (1954/55), 21ff., 134ff.; 25 (1955/56), 393ff. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** N. Golb, in: *Journal of Near Eastern Studies,* 24 (1965), 251–70; 33 (1974), 126; J.M. Landau, *Jews in Nineteenth-Century Egypt* (1969), index; S.D. Goitein, *Ha-Yishuv be-Ereẓ Yisra'el mi-Reshit ha-Islam u-vi-Tekufat ha-Ẓalbanim* (1980), 202, 256; idem, *A Mediterranean Society*, 6 vols., index; B.Z. Dinur, *Yisra'el ba-Golah,* 1, 279; 2, 194; 3, 76; 4, 52; J.M. Landau (ed.), *Toledot ha-Yehudim be- Miẓrayim ba-Tekufah ha-Ottomanit, 1517–1914* (1988), index; M. Littman, in: *Mi-Mizraḥ u-mi-Maʿarav,* 2 (1980), 53–66; M. Benayahu, in: *Yad le-Heiman, Kovetz Meḥkarim le-Zekher A.M. Habermann (*1984), 264–65; M. Ben-Sasson, *Yehudei Siẓilia, 825–1068* (1991), 381–87; E. Bareket, *Shafrir Miẓrayim* (1995), 18, 95.

[Eliyahu Ashtor / Leah Bornstein-Makovetsky (2nd ed.)]

DAMĪRA, city in Lower Egypt. A Jewish community existed there during the Middle Ages, which is mentioned in 11th- and 12th-century *Genizah* documents. It seems that *David b. Daniel first settled in this city when he arrived in Egypt. About 100 years later Maimonides addressed himself to the Jews of Damīra in a general letter to the communities of the Delta. The 12th-century traveler *Benjamin of Tudela stated that there were 700 Jews in this city; it was thus the third largest community in Egypt, after those of Cairo and Alexandria. However, the accuracy of this report is dubious because of the scarcity of documents concerning the city.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Worman, in: JQR, 18 (1905/06), 10; Mann, Egypt, 1 (1920), 187; 2 (1922), 290, 317; S. Schechter, *Saadyana* (1903), 80–104; JJS, 18 (1967), 41–42.

[Eliyahu Ashtor]

°DAMOCRITUS (possibly first century B.C.E.), Greek historian who, according to Suda, wrote a work "On the Jews," in which he claimed that the Jews worshiped a golden ass' head, and that every seven years they captured a foreigner whom they sacrificed to their god – the first occurrence in literature of the *blood libel. *Apion has a similar account. Since the Romans of that time prohibited human sacrifice, the inference made by Damocritus is that Judaism condoned superstition and misanthropy.

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[Shimon Gibson (2nd ed.)]

DAMPIERRE-DE-L'AUBE, locality in the Aube department, France, E. of Troyes. Situated a short distance from *Ramerupt, another medieval center of Jewish learning in *Champagne, Dampierre-de-l'Aube was the home of such eminent 12th- and 13th-century scholars as *Isaac b. Samuel the Elder (1120?–1185?), his son *Elhanan (martyred in 1184?), and *Isaac b. Abraham (d. c. 1209). The most important Jewish financier of Dampierre, Jacob, the son of Sanson Rufus, lent 450 livres to the Abbey of St. Loup in Troyes in 1220. Before 1224, the abbey also owed him two life annuities.

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[Bernhard Blumenkranz]

DAMROSCH, family of musicians. LEOPOLD DAMROSCH (1832–1885), born in Posen (Poznan), was a conductor and composer. He took a medical degree but devoted himself to music and the violin. As orchestral leader in Magdeburg and Weimar, and conductor in Breslau, he cooperated with Liszt, Hans von Buelow, and others, in championing the cause of contemporary composers. Settling in New York (1871), he founded the Oratorio Society (1873) and the New York Symphony Society (1878), and directed the first German opera season (1884–85) at the Metropolitan Opera House. Among his compositions were the choral works *Ruth and Naomi* (1875) and *Sulamith* (1882), and works for the violin. FRANK HEINO DAMROSCH (1859–1937), born in Breslau, son of Leopold, was organist and school music supervisor (in Denver and New York), chorusmaster at the Metropolitan (1885–91), and director of choral societies. WALTER JOHANNES DAMROSCH (1862–1950), born in Breslau, younger son of Leopold, took over his father's conducting posts at the Metropolitan Opera and Oratorio Society, and conducted the New York Symphony Society from 1885 to 1927. He also directed his own opera company (1894–99). Walter Damrosch played an important part in the development of American concert life and its rise to world standards. He toured the U.S. widely, invited Tchaikovsky to America (1891), and gave the first American performances of many important works, including Tchaikovsky's last two symphonies. From 1927 he was music adviser to the National Broadcasting Corporation and did much educational work on the radio. He appeared in two films, *The Star Maker* and *Carnegie Hall* (1947), and wrote an autobiography, *My Musical Life* (1923, 1930^2).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: L.P. and R.P. Stebbins, *Frank Damrosch* (Eng., 1945); W.J. Henderson, in: *Musical Quarterly*, 18 (1932), 1–8 (on Walter); E.T. Rice, *ibid.*, 25 (1939), 129–34 (on Frank); 28 (1942), 269–75 (on Leopold); Riemann-Gurlitt; Baker, Biog Dict; Grove, Dict.

[Dora Leah Sowden]

DAN (Heb. דָּן).

(1) Biblical city in the Ḥuleh Valley near the sources of the Jordan. It was originally called Laish and was dominated by the Phoenicians of Sidon (Judg. 18:7, 27ff.). Laish is mentioned in the Egyptian Execration Texts of the early 18th century B.C.E. and in the list of cities conquered by Thutmose III (c. 1469 B.C.E.). Leshem is a variant spelling of Laish (Josh. 19:47). When the tribe of *Dan, under pressure from the Amorites, left their original territory and moved northward, they captured the city of Laish in a surprise raid and renamed it Dan. At the same time a sanctuary was established there with *Micah's idol and descendants of Moses acting as priests (Josh. 19:47; Judg. 1:34; 18:2ff.). The sanctuary continued to function until Tiglath-Pileser III's conquest in 733 B.C.E. and his exile of the inhabitants to Assyria (II Kings 15:29, where Dan, however, is not explicitly mentioned). The Bible anachronistically calls the city Dan already in the account of Abraham's pursuit of the four kings (Gen. 14:14) and when Moses before his death was shown "all the land, even Gilead as far as Dan" (Deut. 34:1). From the time of the Judges onward, Dan was regarded as the extreme northern point of Ereẓ Israel with Beer-Sheba as the southern (Judg. 20:1, etc.). Jeroboam erected a temple and set up a golden calf at Dan, and a second one at Beth-El (I Kings 12:29ff.); these rivals to Jerusalem were vehemently criticized by the prophets (Amos 8:14). During the reign of his successor Baasa, the city was sacked by Ben-Hadad, king of Aram-Damascus (I Kings 15:20). Dan was the gateway for all northern invasions of Ereẓ Israel (Jer. 4:15; 8:16). In the Hellenistic period it was apparently called Antioch; it marked the northernmost point of Alexander Yannai's conquests (Jos., Ant., 13:394; Wars, 1:105). The city subsequently failed to recover and remained a village called Kefar Dan in the Talmud (TJ, Dem. 1:1, 22c). Dan is identified with Tell al-Qāḍī (now Tell Dan) on one of the main sources of the Jordan.

Excavations begun in 1966 and directed by Avraham Biran have confirmed the identification of the site, with the discovery of a bilingual dedicatory inscription in Greek and Aramaic "To the God who is in Dan." The site was apparently first settled during the Neolithic period in the fifth millennium B.C.E. Strong fortifications and building remains from the Early Bronze Age have been uncovered; its name at that time may very well have been Laish (cf. Judges 18:29, which equates Laish with Dan). The Middle Bronze Age II at Dan is represented by massive fortifications, with earthen ramparts and a remarkably well-preserved mud-brick triple-arched gateway. The site prospered throughout the Middle and Late Bronze Ages. Mycenaean imports, including a complete charioteer vase, and a large quantity of vessels and ivory objects were found in a specially built tomb dated to the 14th century B.C.E. The Early Iron Age is represented at the site by a change in the character of the settlement, with vessels and other artifacts suggesting that the population was mixed, some local with others from Cyprus, Phoenicia, and southern Israel and Jordan. From the latter part of the Iron Age are the remains of a cultic high place (cf. the setting up of a golden calf at Dan by Jeroboam I of Israel; I Kings 12:20). The ninth century B.C.E. is well represented at the site by fortifications, gates, and a stone-paved piazza with standing stones (*maẓẓevot*). Fragments of an important stele inscribed in Aramaic and mentioning the "king of Israel" and the "house of David" were discovered in this area (for the various interpretations and discussions, see Bibliography below). Additional remains from the Iron Age II, as well as from the Persian, Hellenistic, and Roman periods, have also been uncovered at the site.

[Michael Avi-Yonah / Shimon Gibson (2nd ed.)]

(2) Kibbutz in northern Israel in the Ḥuleh Valley near the spring of the Dan River. The kibbutz, affiliated with Kibbutz Arẓi ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir, was founded on May 4, 1939, one day after neighboring *Dafnah, as the second of the complex of settlements called the "Ussishkin fortress." Situated until 1967 directly on the Syrian border, Dan, together with Dafnah, had to repel enemy attacks in the early months of the War of Independence (1948). In the two subsequent decades it often came under Syrian artillery fire, particularly in the period preceding the Six-Day War. Its founders were pioneers from Romania, later joined by newcomers from various countries. The kibbutz economy was based on three industries: irrigation systems, polycarbonates, and PVC. Its farming was based mainly on fishery but also included field crops, orchards, and beehives. In the mid-1990s the population was approximately 560, dropping to 421 in 2002. Bet Ussishkin, a museum for vegetation, wildlife, antiquities, and settlement history of the region, is located there.

[Efraim Orni / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

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DAN (Heb. דָּן), the fifth son of Jacob and the firstborn of *Bilhah, Rachel's maid (Gen. 30:1–6).

The Name

The narrative attributes the origin of the name Dan to Rachel, who said: "God has vindicated me (*dananni*); indeed, He has heeded my plea and given me a son" (30:6). The name would thus be derived from the verb *dyn* ("to judge or vindicate"; cf. Gen. 49:16). Some scholars see in the name Dan the divine epithet *dayyan*, while others regard it as a divine name in itself. Most likely, however, the literal meaning intended by the biblical etymology is correct, and the name Dan should be regarded as a short form of Dan(ann)iel or the like.

The Tribe and Its Inheritance

Dan is listed first among the handmaid tribes in Jacob's blessing (Gen. 49:16–18), but second in the blessing of Moses (Deut. 33:22) and the Song of Deborah (Judg. 5:17). In tribal genealogies, only one clan is attached to Dan, Hushim (Gen. 46:23 or, by metathesis, Shuham, Num. 26:42). In the wilderness wanderings, the tribe encamped north of the Tabernacle together with Asher and Naphtali (Num. 2:25–29). It numbered 62,700 and 64,400 adult males respectively in the two censuses taken in this period (Num. 2:26; 26:43). The territorial inheritance of the tribe was decided by lot at Shiloh (Josh. 19:40–48). It is stated to have bordered the territory of Ephraim to the north, Benjamin to the east, and Judah to the south, and to have extended into the maritime plain. Seventeen settlements, most of which have been definitely identified, are included within the borders of Dan, but there is no unanimity as to whether the list reflects the Danite occupation before the migration northward, or a later period. Y. Kaufmann is convinced of the former, while A. Alt assigns the list of cities to the period of Josiah. Between these two extremes, B. Mazar steers a middle course by dating the list to the period of the United Kingdom. According to him, it reflects the historic and geographic development of the territory of Dan in the course of time. He divides the list of settlements into four groups or, more accurately, into four districts. The first includes Zorah, Eshtaol, and Ir-Shemesh (Beth Shemesh) in the southeast section of the coastal plain, and is the area of the initial settlement of the Danites. The second district includes Shaalabbin, Aijalon, Ithlah, and Elon in the Valley of Aijalon area. This constituted a mixed settlement, in which the struggle between the Israelites and the native population continued until the time of David. These two districts, including those cities which became Israelite, formed one administrative unit in the reign of David, and fell within the province of the second of Solomon's commissioners (I Kings 4:9). As to the two additional districts – Timnah, Ekron, Eltekeh, Gibbethon, and Baalath (i.e., the region of the Wadi Sorek and north of it), and Jehud, Bene-Berak, Gath-Rimmon, Me-Jarkon, and Rakkon, with its boundary close to Jaffa – they appear to have been annexed to the kingdom of Israel following the westward extension of its borders into Philistine territories. For these reasons, Mazar places the list of Joshua 19:40–48 in the period of Solomon.

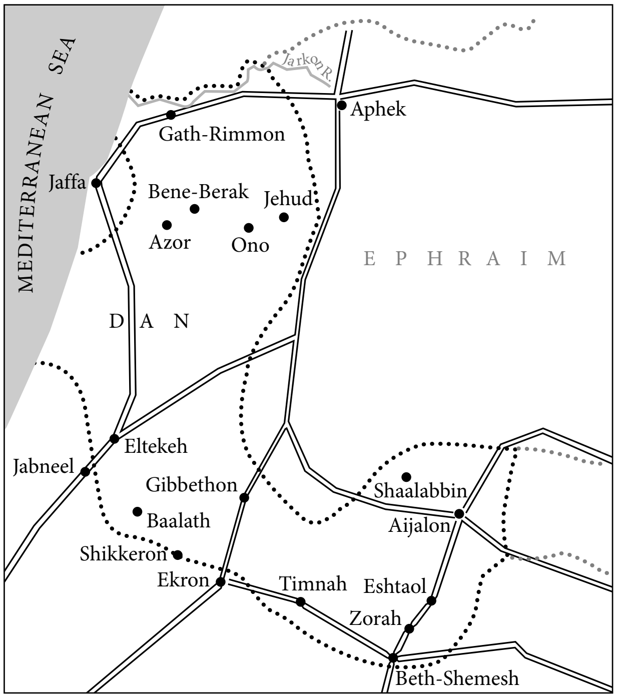

The allotted territory of the tribe of Dan. After Y. Aharoni, Lexicon Biblicum, *Dvir Co. Ltd, Tel Aviv.*

According to Y. Aharoni, the list of Danite cities represents the earliest stage of Solomon's second administrative district, while I Kings 4:9 reflects the reduction in the region made toward the end of his reign. Four levitical cities situated in the territory of Dan are among the cities listed in Joshua 19:40–48, i.e., Aijalon, Gibbethon, Eltekeh, and Gath-Rimmon (Josh. 21:23–24). If the levitical cities were administrative centers and store cities built by Solomon in which he settled the levites "for all the work of the Lord and for the service of the king" (I Chron. 26:30–32), then this would support Mazar's dating of the list of Danite cities to the days of Solomon.

The History of the Tribe

Dan was the only one of the handmaid tribes originally to settle among the tribes of Leah and Rachel. Its inheritance bordered on Ephraim, Benjamin, and Judah. It would seem that, at first, its territory was limited to the area between Zorah and Eshtaol. Here, however, they were under pressure from Amorites on the west (Judg. 1:34), and perhaps also from the house of Joseph on the east (1:35). There may even have been pressure from *Judah (15:11). At any rate, the tribe of Dan was forced to search for a new area of settlement (18:1). The story of this second attempt is related in detail in a unique narrative which may have wider significance (Judg. 18). The Danite experience possibly constitutes the paradigm for all movements and migrations of the tribes of Israel during the period of settlement. The operation began with the dispatch of scouts (cf. Num. 13) to gather information about a suitable location. Five "able men" were sent from Zorah and Eshtaol "to spy out the land and to explore it" (Judg. 18:2). The spies found Laish and its environs to be adequate to their needs because it was fertile country, rich and spacious (18:9–10). Its conquest would present no great military problems since the city was isolated due to its distance from the Sidonian metropolis (18:7, 10, 27–28). Three references in ancient Hebrew poetry reflect the history of the Danites during the period of the Judges and the beginning of the monarchy. These are the allusions to be found in Jacob's blessing (Gen. 49), the blessing of Moses (Deut. 33), and the Song of Deborah (Judg. 5), short poetic utterances in which, however, there is more that is obscure than is clear. Jacob's blessing appears to reflect the earliest period in the history of the Danites, describing a tribe which, on the one hand, is struggling for recognition, participation, and responsibility within the tribal confederacy (Gen. 49:16) and, on the other, is fighting for its survival against nomadic tribes or even the Amorites (49:17). In the Song of Deborah the tribe is berated for not having participated in the war against the Canaanites. With biting irony the question is asked, "… and Dan, why did he abide with the ships?" (Judg. 5:17). It is not clear from this verse exactly where Dan resided at the time of Deborah's war, whether in the south across from Jaffa on the coast before the migration northward (cf. Josh. 19:46), or already in the north following the migration. Scholarly opinion generally favors the presence of Dan already in the north at this time, since it appears in the Song of Deborah together with the northern tribe of Asher. In the blessing of Moses it is clear that the tribe is in its northern location, since it is described as "a lion's whelp that leaps forth from Bashan" (Deut. 33:22), and is also coupled with the northern Naphtali, its "brother" tribe (cf. Gen. 30:6–8). The *Samson narratives indirectly give information concerning the Danite families which remained in their southern inheritance during the period of the Judges (Judg. 13–16). Those families in Mahaneh-Dan between Zorah and Eshtaol (Judg. 13:25) were subjugated by the Philistines together with the tribes of the house of Joseph and Judah, though they suffered more than the others since they were the first to be affected by the Philistine eastward expansion. Samson's guerrilla activities led to a hardening of Philistine rule (15:9). At the same time, Samson's experiences show that despite the attempt to preserve the purity of the family, tribe, and nation by not intermixing with the nations of the land (14:3), social contact and even marital ties were established between the Danite clans and the Philistines. According to Y. Yadin, the biblical references prove that at a certain stage of Dan's settlement the tribe enjoyed the closest relations with the Sea Peoples, that Dan was an ancient tribe that extended over the entire east, and that during this early period it had no connection with the confederacy of the tribes of Israel. It gradually moved closer to the tribes of Israel until it was accepted into the amphictyony and became one of them. Its original area of settlement was along the coast near Jaffa, in the region between the settlements of the Philistines and those of the Tjeker mentioned in Egyptian records. In Yadin's view there is a close relationship between the tribe of Dan and the tribe of Danaoi whose members were clearly seafarers who had a propensity for the worship of the sun and whose heroes excelled in their talent for solving riddles. Factions of the tribe wandered as fighting troops, spread to different places, and founded cities which they named for the patriarchs of the tribe. These groups of the tribe of the Danaoi were particularly attracted to the east Mediterranean coast in general and the Jaffa area in particular. The similarities between their history and that of the tribe of Dan led Yadin to suggest the identification of the two. It is possible, however, to explain the parallels as resulting from contact and influence. Moreover, there does not appear to have been any contact between the Sea Peoples and the tribe of Dan before the migration of the latter to the north under Amorite pressure (Judg. 1:34). The information about Dan from the period of the monarchy until the destruction is negligible. It would seem that with the founding of the monarchy the Danite clans in the south were assimilated into the kingdoms of Judah and Israel and lost their distinctiveness. As for those in the north, they appear to have been concentrated around the city of Dan, the importance of which increased after the division of the kingdom. Jeroboam son of Nebat, the first king of Israel, established a central royal sanctuary in Dan, the northern end of his kingdom, and placed in it one of the two golden calves for the worship of the God of Israel, in an attempt to renew the ancient cultic centers and to revive the early traditions, in order to remove the members of the northern kingdom from contact with Jerusalem and its Temple (I Kings 12:28–30). The Danite clans of the north apparently intermingled with their neighbors, especially the tribe of Naphtali (cf. I Kings 7:13 with II Chron. 2:13) and even with the people of Tyre (*ibid.*). The territory of Dan in the north constituted the northern flank of the kingdom of Israel and it suffered in the struggles and wars between Israel and Aram and between Israel and Assyria. In the time of King Baasha of Israel, the cities of Dan (Ijon, Dan, and Abel-Beth-Maacah) were conquered by Ben-Hadad, king of Aram, who had been hired by King Asa of Judah (I Kings 15:16–20). In the time of Pekah, king of Israel, the territory of Dan together with that of Naphtali and the whole of Galilee was conquered by Tiglath-Pileser III (732 B.C.E.), and its inhabitants were exiled to Assyria (II Kings 15:29). In this region, he established the Assyrian province of Megiddo.

[Isaac Avishur]

In the *Aggadah*

When Bilhah called her first son Dan ("judge"), she also prayed that it would be given to Samson, his descendant, to judge his people, and that they would not fall into the hands of the Philistines (Targ. Yer., Gen. 30:6). Similarly Jacob's deathbed blessing to Dan centered principally around Samson, who would bring victory to his people unaided (Gen. R. 98:13). In the same blessing Jacob ranked Dan equally with Judah, in that Samson's father would be of the tribe of Dan and his mother of Judah (*ibid.*; cf. Num. R. 10:5; 13:9), the Messiah to be descended from Dan on his mother's side. Dan, more than all his brothers, desired to slay Joseph hoping thereby that Jacob's love for Joseph would be turned to him (Test. Patr., Dan 1:4–7). Dan's only son was called Hushim ("rushes") because his children were destined to be as numerous as rushes (BB 143). Dan was one of Jacob's five weak sons (Rashi on BK 92a but see Gen. R. 95:4 for the opposite view). His descendants were all idol worshipers (PdRK 27b).

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DAN (Gurvich), FYODOR ILYICH (1871–1947), Russian Socialist and journalist. Born in St. Petersburg, Dan was a physician by profession. He joined the Socialist movement and in 1898 was banished to Siberia for three years. At the conference of the Social Democratic Workers party in 1902 he represented the underground newspaper *Iskra*, of which Lenin was one of the editors. In the following year he was rearrested and again sent to Siberia. This time he escaped abroad and joined the Menshevik wing of the party, in which he became a prominent figure. He returned to Russia in 1905, but in 1908 he was again forced to leave the country as a political exile. When he returned to Russia in 1912, he became editor of the newspaper *Rabochaya Gazeta*. In World War I, Dan served for a short time as an army doctor but in spite of his war service he was again sent to Siberia.

The February Revolution of 1917 set Dan free. He played an important role as a member of the presidium of the Petrograd Soviet and on the executive of the All-Russian Soviet, and opened the Second Congress in 1918. But unlike the Bolsheviks, he favored the continuation of the war, and opposed their policies. He was arrested in 1922 and after a year in prison was compelled to leave the Soviet Union. In 1923 he was a Menshevik delegate at the founding of the Labor and Socialist International (in Hamburg). He was one of the editors of *Sotsialisticheski vestnik* first in Berlin and then in Paris; and after the death of his brother-in-law Julius *Martov, in 1923, he became the leading figure in the Russian Social-Democratic movement in exile. In 1940 he settled in New York.

Dan wrote the essay "Die Sozialdemokratie Russlands nach dem Jahre 1908" in Martov's *Geschichte der russischen Sozialdemokratie* (1926). His own book, *Proiskhozhdenie bolshevizma* ("The Source of Bolshevism," New York, 1946), appeared shortly before his death. In the years 1941–47 he published the magazine *Novyi Put.* He was opposed to Zionism, but as early as 1904 published an article in *Iskra* denouncing antisemitism and supporting Jewish self-defense. In his last years he sympathized with the idea of a Jewish state.

DAN, JOSEPH (1935–), scholar and educator in Jewish Studies and Thought. Born in Bratislava, Czechoslovakia, he was taken to Palestine when he was three. His family settled in Jerusalem and Dan studied at the Hebrew University where he received a Ph.D. for his thesis on "The Theological Basis of the Ethical Thought of Ashkenazi Ḥasidism."

He began teaching at the Hebrew University in 1958, initially in the Department of Hebrew Literature and later in the Department of Jewish Thought where he was appointed professor of Kabbalah in 1978.

One of the most prominent researchers in the area of Jewish mysticism, Dan's research combined a historical, philological, and literary approach. The areas he concentrated on included the beginnings of the Kabbalah, the *Heikhalot* literature, the Ashkenazi Ḥasidic movement, and ethics and Ḥasidism.

In the teaching of Jewish Thought, he developed academic projects of wide public dimensions. He was the editor of *Jerusalem Studies in Jewish Thought* and wrote the Open University course "The Theology and Ethics of the Ashkenazi Ḥasidic Movement," bridging the gap between the purely academic sphere and the broader public.

He was a member of the editorial board of the quarterly *Tarbiz* from 1981 to 1986 and was director of the Jewish National and University Library 1984–1985.

He was responsible for writing and editing the catalogue of the 12,000-volume Scholem library which houses most of the books ever published in the area of Jewish mysticism. Dan published nearly 200 studies in various scholarly journals and articles in various encyclopedias including the *Encyclopaedia*

Judaica for which he was departmental editor for medieval Hebrew prose.

His books include *Ethical and Homiletical Literature* (Heb.; 1975), *The Ḥasidic Story* (Heb.; 1975), *The Teachings of Ḥasidism* (1983), and *Gershom Scholem and the Mystical Dimension in Jewish History* (1987). In 1998 and 1999 he published his four-volume *Jewish Mysticism*, a historical and comparative study.

In recognition of his great contribution to his field he was awarded the Israel Prize in 1997.

[Elaine Hoter]

DAN, LESLIE L. (1929–), Canadian entrepreneur and philanthropist. Dan was born in Budapest, Hungary. He survived the Holocaust as a teenager with the aid of false identity papers. Still a teenager when he arrived in Canada in 1947, Dan worked as a lumberjack and waiter to put himself though the University of Toronto, where he earned a B.Sc. in pharmacy in 1954 and an M.B.A. in 1959. He began an over-the-counter drug distribution company in 1960 and in 1965 created Novopharm. When he sold it to Israel's Teva Pharmaceuticals in 2000, the company was a world leader in pharmaceutical research and manufacture. While Dan remained on the Board of Teva he went on to develop and become chair of Viventia, which specializes in the discovery and development of products for the treatment of cancer.

A widely respected businessman, Dan also turned his expertise and personal fortune to battling disease worldwide. In 1985 he founded the Canadian Medicine Aid Programme (CAN-MAP) which provides millions of dollars of medicines and other aid to the sick in the developing world. He was a donor to Yad Vashem, and his generous support of the University of Toronto is evident in the Leslie Dan Faculty of Pharmacy and the Leslie L. Dan Pharmacy Building, which was completed in 2005. Toronto's Aish HaTorah's Dan Family Building is named in his honor, and he received honorary doctorates from several universities. He was also active on the boards of several Toronto hospitals and supported a wide range of health-oriented initiatives at Canadian universities. In 1996 Dan was awarded the Order of Ontario and made a Member of the Order of Canada.

[Paula Draper (2nd ed.)]

DAN, SERGIU (originally **I. Rossman**; 1903–1976), Romanian novelist and journalist. Born in Piatra-Neamt, Moldavia, Dan began his literary career by publishing original poems at the age of 19. He later wrote for such leading Romanian periodicals as *Contemporanul, Vremea*, and *Viata Româneasca*, and for *Bilete de Papagal*, a satirical magazine edited by the poet Tudor Arghezi. Dan was also for a time the political editor of the newspaper *Dreptatea*. His career in fiction began in 1929 when, in collaboration with Rumulus Dianu, he wrote *Viața minumată a lui Anton Pann* ("The Wonderful Life of Anton Pan"). His own first novel, *Dragoste și moarte în provincie* ("Love and Death in the Provinces," 1931) won him a major Romanian literary prize. After this came two studies of middle-class life, *Arsenic* (1934) and *Surorile Veniamin* ("The Veniamin Sisters," 1935). In 1945 Dan published a novel, *Unde începe noaptea* ("When the Night Begins"), dealing with the fate of a Jewish family during the Hitler era and containing moving descriptions of life in the concentration camps. This was followed by *Roza și ceilalți* ("Rosa and the Others," 1947), an account of Jewish life in the provinces during the grim years of Fascist persecution. Both postwar novels are noteworthy for their penetrating psychological insight. During the next decade Dan published translations from French writers including Voltaire, Anatole France, and Aragon. Two later novels, *Taina Stolnicesei* (1958) and *Tase cel mare* ("Tase the Great," 1964), were of only minor literary significance.

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[Abraham Feller]

°**DANBY, HERBERT** (1889–1953), English Hebraist. Danby went to Jerusalem in 1919, first as a librarian and later as a canon of the Anglican Cathedral of St. George, remaining there until he was appointed professor of Hebrew at Oxford in 1936. Although Danby devoted his efforts mainly to the translation of tannaitic legal codes and that of Maimonides, he was also a pioneer among Christian Hebraists in taking modern Hebrew seriously as both an academic and a literary medium, and in developing an assessment of Judaism that was not merely positive but also possessed of insight. Thus, in 1939 he published (with M.H. *Segal) an English and (modern) Hebrew dictionary. Danby's reputation rests on his English translation of *The Mishnah* (1933), which is considered a standard reference work. He also contributed books 9 ("Offerings") and 10 ("Cleanness") to the Yale English translation of Maimonides' *Mishneh Torah* (1950, 1954). He translated J. Klausner's *Jesus of Nazareth* (1925) and *History of Modern Hebrew Literature* (1932) as well as Ḥ.N. Bialik's *Biblical Legends* (1938). His first work had been a translation of the Mishnah and Tosefta of the tractate *Sanhedrin* (1919), and in 1927 he published *The Jew and Christianity*.

[Raphael Loewe]

DANBY, MICHAEL (1955–), Australian politician. Danby was born and educated in Melbourne, the son of a German Jew who fled to Australia after *Kristallnacht.* He worked for many years for the *Australia-Israel Review,* a Melbourne-based fortnightly magazine of which he was editor from 1986 to 1993, before entering the Australia parliament as the Labor member for Melbourne Ports, a heavily Jewish seat, in 1998, the only Jew in Australia's House of Representatives. He often defended Israel against critics of its policies, many from the left wing of his own party. From 2001 he served as an Opposition whip.

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[William D. Rubinstein (2nd ed.)]

DANCE.

In Ancient Israel

In the Bible, Mishnah, and Talmud, dance is referred to in various contexts as an important ritualized activity and as an expression of joy. None of these references, however, contain descriptions of how the dancers actually moved. Dancing is mentioned in connection with celebrations of military victories and in rituals such as the golden calf dance and the bringing of the Ark of the Covenant to Jerusalem.

The Bible contains many Hebrew verb roots employed to describe dancing activity, four of which were used in the description of the popular but religious event of the bringing of the Ark, which inspired King David and his subjects to dance before God. David not only danced in the ordinary sense of the word *saḥek* (שׂחק) but also rotated with all his might, *karker* (כרכר); and jumped, *pazez* (פזז) (II Sam. 6:5, 14, 16); a slightly different version appears in I Chronicles 15:29, mentioning that he skipped, *rakad* (רקד). The other verb roots used for describing dance are *daleg* (דלג), leap or jump; *kafotz* (קפץ), jump with both feet; *savav* (סבב), go around; *pase'aḥ* (פסח), skip; *ẓala'* (צלע), limp; *ḥagag* (חגג), dance in circle.

It is noteworthy that in addition to the textual descriptions we have some tangible evidence. This includes newly discovered iconographic features found in *Megiddo, *Lachish, the Negev, and other sites. For example, a number of cylinder seals from the second millennium B.C.E. show lines of dancers standing with their hands on one another's shoulders (*Near Eastern Archeology,* 66:3 (2003)). Figures on a late Bronze Age cylinder seal from Lachish have been interpreted as participants in a ritual or battle dance similar to the Arab folk "debka" still in use in our days. A. Mazar adds that "this posture is typical of seals showing dancers from various sites in Israel" (*ibid.*). T. Ilan in his study "Dance and Gender" (see Bibliography) describes dance represented in ancient iconography as an activity in which the two genders have specific defined roles.

VICTORY DANCES. Dancing to the accompaniment of drums is associated with the celebrations of military victories and welcoming home heroes who have routed an enemy. The women's role was to receive and extol the fighters. After the triumphant crossing of the Red Sea, "Miriam, the prophetess, the sister of Aaron, took a timbrel in her hand; and all the women went out after her with timbrels and with dances" (Ex. 15:20, 21). On his triumphant return from battle to Mizpah, Jephthah was greeted by his daughter with timbrels and dancing (Judg. 11:34). When David and Saul returned from the battle with the Philistines, "the women came out of all the cities of Israel, singing and dancing, to meet King Saul, with timbrels, with joy, and with rattles" (I Sam. 18:6). There is a detailed description of a victory parade, where Judith leads the women in the dance, to the accompaniment of a special thanksgiving song: "And all the women of Israel hurried to see her, and they praised her and made a dance for her… And she went out in the dance before all the people, leading all the women" (Judith 15:12, 13).

ECSTATIC DANCES. The most telling biblical evidence of the power of music inspiring ecstasy and prophetic vision is connected with King Saul. A passage from Samuel tells that Saul goes to the hill of God where he meets a group prophesizing while in motion, accompanied by several instruments. The text adds: "And the spirit of the Lord will come mightily upon thee, and thou shalt prophecy with them, and shalt be turned into another man" (I Sam. 10:5–6). There is no mention of dancing, which typically accompanies ecstatic practices, but the movement that is an inherent part of the situation described may well allude to its ritual nature.

David's dance before the Ark was an example of the religious ecstatic dance performed by men. The Psalms exhorted people to "praise God's name in the dance" – "praise Him with timbrels and dance" (Ps. 149:3; 150:4).

FOLK DANCES. Detailed descriptions have been handed down to us from the period of the Mishnah, from which we learn that there was folk dancing at religious celebrations. During the festival of Tabernacles, there was a daily procession around the altar in the Temple following the sacrifices. The celebrations reached a climax in the dances of the water-drawing festival: "Whoever has not witnessed the joy of the festival of the water-drawing has seen no joy in life. Pious men and men of affairs danced with torches in their hands, singing songs of joy and of praise, and the Levites made music with lyre and harp and cymbals and trumpets and countless other instruments" (Suk. 5:1b). During this celebration, R. Simeon b. Gamliel juggled eight lighted torches, and when he prostrated himself he dug his two thumbs into the ground, bent, kissed the ground, leaped up, and stood on his feet (Suk. 5:3a).

The Book of Judges (21:21), in describing the annual feast in Shiloh tells of the bride-choosing ceremonies. The story of the capture of brides by the surviving men of the tribe of Benjamin indicates that choosing brides during the vineyard dances was a recognized practice in Israel. Others believe it was the celebration of the vines on the Fifteenth of Av. According to the Mishnah, R. Simeon b. Gamaliel declared, "There were no holidays for Israel like the fifteenth of Av and the Day of Atonement, on which the daughters of Jerusalem went out in white dresses which were borrowed so that no one need be ashamed if she had none. And the daughters of Jerusalem went forth and danced in a circle in the vineyards. And what spake they? 'Youth, lift up thine eyes and behold her whom thou wouldst choose'" (Ta'an. 4:8).

In the Song of Songs (7:1), one finds the rather obscure mention of "the dance of the two companies," which seems to have been taken from a traditional wedding dance, and may imply two groups of dancers, a type of dancing that can still be seen at Bedouin festivities in the Middle East. In Talmudic literature (Ket. 17a) the bridal procession was regarded with great deference and was given priority on public thoroughfares requiring even a funeral procession to make way. Dancing in honor of the bride at a wedding was considered an act of religious devotion. Rabbis and scholars performed it joyously, each in his own manner. R. Judah b. Ilai would take a myrtle twig and dance before the bride singing. R. Samuel b. Isaac, even when he was old, would juggle three myrtle twigs as he sang and danced. R. Aḥa danced with the bride on his shoulder (*ibid.*).

In the Diaspora

During the dispersion, the dancing associated with the normal activities of a nation in its own country ceased. The rabbinical authorities often forbade dancing in public. The many discussions in the rabbinical literature and responsa about dancing include opinions ranging from lukewarm compromise to outright hostility. At weddings and bridal feasts and for the Sabbath and particularly on Purim and Simḥat Torah and Lag ba-Omer dancing continued while taking on new forms.

In European Jewry of the Middle Ages, dancing for pleasure was an end in itself. In the medieval ghettos of France, Germany, and Poland, where living quarters were crowded, almost every Jewish community had a wedding-house or *Tanzhaus* for festive occasions. Here the *Tanzfuehrer* (dance leader or caller) was aided by hired musicians. New humorous dances came into use, some of them reflecting the surrounding cultures. Among them were the *Maien Tanz*, *Umgehender Tanz*, *Spring Tanz*, *Judentanz*, *Adam Harischon Tanz*, *DoktorFoist [Faust] Tanz*, and *Fisch Tanz*. In Spain the children played with miniature wooden horses called *kurraj.* These toys resembled the pirate's wooden battle horses that were favorites among the adults.

During the Renaissance, Jews danced for recreation and entertainment. David Reuveni describes the dancing in the home of Jehiel Nissim of Pisa in 1524. They also danced in public as in the procession in Palermo celebrating the marriage of King Ferdinand of Castille and Isabella of Aragon in 1469. In Jewish homes in Italy the Hebrew teacher taught Bible and Talmud, music, and dancing. That Jews engaged extensively in the profession of teaching in that period is emphasized by the recurring laws closing schools of dance and music conducted by Jews, such as the edicts of 1443 in Venice, and 1466 in Parma. There were Jewish dancing teachers in Renaissance Italy, the most distinguished dance master of the time being *Guglielmo de Pesaro, author of a treatise on dance dated 1463. In the 16th century, another Jew, Jacchino *Massarano, won fame as a dance master and teacher in Rome.

Oriental Jewry's Dances

There are many communities, such as the Moroccans, Georgians, Libyans, and Ethiopians, in which spontaneous group folk dancing is important, yet the Jews of Yemen and Kurdistan Jewry are among the most prominent traditional cultures attributing dynamic importance to dance in the daily and festive life of the community.

Dance among the Jews born in Yemen comprises stylistic diversity characteristic of urban and rural settlements as well as including women and men. Dancing usually takes place during ceremonies and celebrations. Fundamentally, the men's dances are composed of steps and figures executed in a very small area. The dominant line is vertical – with agile, springy bending of the knees. The very expressive hands are used for an infinite variety of gestures. One or two singers, rhythm instruments, or hand clapping always accompany the dance but no melodic instruments were used. The women's dances are less variegated and more restrained. They are accompanied by the singing of the dancers themselves, or that of two female musicians who beat the rhythm respectively on copper plate and drum.

The dances of Jews from Kurdistan are distinguished from those of all other Jewish communities in that the men and women dance together. The dances are accompanied by songs and two instruments: the *zurna*, a nasal-sounding wind instrument similar to the oboe, and the *dola*, a large double-headed drum that is beaten on both sides, with one thick and one thin stick. Most Kurdish dances are based on open or closed circles, with couples or soloists taking turns in the center where they improvise figures and steps. Some of the men brandish short swords as they dance and the women wave colorful kerchiefs.

Ḥasidic Dances

With the rise of *Ḥasidism in Eastern Europe in the 18th century, dance assumed great importance for the Jewish masses. *Israel b. Eliezer Ba'al Shem Tov, the founder of Ḥasidism, used dance to attain religious enthusiasm (*hitlahavut*) and devoted adherence to the Almighty (*devekut*). He taught his followers that "the dances of the Jew before his Creator are prayers," and quoted the Psalmist, "All my bones shall say: 'Lord, who is like unto Thee?'" (Ps. 35:10). Ḥasidic dance assumed the form of the circle, symbolic of the ḥasidic philosophy that "every one is equal, each one being a link in the chain, the circle having no front or rear, no beginning or ending." The Ḥasidim would start their dancing in slow tempo, and as the music became faster they held arms upward and leapt in the air in an effort to reach spiritual ecstasy. The accompanying melodies were composed to brief texts from either the Bible or the Talmud. *Naḥman of Bratzlav, great-grandson of the Ba'al Shem Tov, believed that to dance in prayer was a sacred command, and he composed a prayer which he recited before dancing. He and other ḥasidic rabbis called for dancing on all festive occasions and even on the solemn days of the Ninth of Av, Rosh Ha-Shanah, and the Day of Atonement. During the celebrations on Simḥat Torah, the usual processions with the scrolls reached a climax in the rabbi's own dance. Wrapped in a prayer shawl, with a scroll held high in his hands, the rabbi danced with spiritual ecstasy as the Ḥasidim sang and clapped hands in a circle around him. The Ḥasidim danced on Friday nights around the rabbi's banquet table, and at twilight on Saturday they danced with mystic fervor. Ḥasidic dancing has influenced the celebrations at Jewish festivals generally, and has served as the basis and inspiration of choreography on Jewish themes in ballet.

HILLULA DANCES. The Aramaic word *hillula* implies a joyous celebration. Certain Orthodox Jewish sects use the term to describe the annual ritual of visiting the grave of a *ẓaddik* or ḥasid on the actual or reputed day of his death. Among those whose sanctification has been recognized by the entire nation is certainly *Simeon Bar Yoḥai. Lag ba-Omer, the traditional anniversary of his death, has long been commemorated in song and dance by pilgrims gathered at his tomb at Meron, near Safed. Naḥman of Bratzlav ordered his disciples to observe the anniversary of his death by studying a chapter of the Mishnah and dancing at his grave. The Bratzlav Ḥasidim fulfilled his wish for generations at the cemetery in Uman in the Ukraine. In Alkush, in the mountains of Kurdistan (northern Iraq), *Benjamin II, a 19th-century explorer, discovered an unusual form of celebration of Shavuot at the tomb of the prophet Nahum. Pilgrims joined in the reading of the Book of Nahum and circled the shrine singing while women came dancing around the catafalque. The next morning, the men went to the summit of a nearby hill, symbolizing Mount Sinai, read from the Torah, and then descended in warlike procession, clashing weapons and simulating the great combat heralding the coming of the Messiah. The women met the men with dancing and singing to the accompaniment of tambourines.

Life Cycle Dances

BIRTH AND CIRCUMCISION. A person's lifetime, from birth to death, is filled with a succession of special occasions, many of which are celebrated in song and dance. The first is birth. In many Eastern communities, the mother and newborn son were the center of special events. According to popular belief the demons – headed by *Lilith – are jealous of those blessed with a son who would soon fulfill the *mitzvah* of the circumcision; they are increasingly dangerous as the circumcision approaches. In Morocco, Jews would perform the *taḥdid* ceremony. The term is apparently derived from the word *ḥadid*, which means iron, so named in reference to the sword used the night before the circumcision to banish the evil spirits. The sword is brandished in all corners of the house and around the beds of the mother and child, while a selection of biblical verses and appropriate psalms are chanted. In Persia, the father would engage professional dancers for the night before the ceremony. Among the Sephardi Jews of North Africa, the Tray of Elijah, used in the circumcision rite, would be carried in procession with song and dance and lighted candles, from its last place of use to the home of the newborn. In Syria and Lebanon, on arrival of the tray, seven guests would be called on to dance with the tray in turn. In Kurdistan, the Chair of Elijah would be brought in procession from the synagogue and the guests would circle it with dances. In Aden, the guests would take turns to dance with the Chair of Elijah as if dancing with the prophet Elijah himself.

WEDDING. Of all family events, the wedding and its colorful attendant ceremonies probably is the most important in the life of the individual and the community. Dancing in honor of the bride gave rise to the *Mitzvah* dances. A 16th-century source published in Venice described the *Mitzvah* dance as a form of group dance in which the men danced with the bridegroom, and the women with the bride (*Sefer Minhagim*, Venice, 1590). This conformed to the prevalent practice and the restrictions against mixed dancing in Jewish communities. Later publications describe a modified *Mitzvah* dance. Men took turns to dance with the bride after wrapping something around the hand as a symbol of separation (J.M. Epstein, *Derekh ha-Yashar,* Frankfurt, 1704). By the beginning of the 19th century it became the practice for men to dance with the bride while separated by a handkerchief held at opposite ends. In the pattern of the *Mitzvah* dance, the bride was usually seated in the middle of a circle of chosen guests while the *badḥan* ("jester"), serving as master of ceremonies, called each guest by name to step forward and dance with the bride. First honors went to the parents of the couple and to the bridegroom; then scholars and important members of the community took turns. Each would extend to the bride the tip of a handkerchief or receive one from her, then circle with her once or twice to the accompaniment of music from the orchestra. During the wedding festivities, which lasted seven days, guests and neighbors took part in the dancing and even the beggars of the town had the right to dance with the bride. Other dances performed at weddings in East European communities were *Koilich Tanz*, a dance of salutation to the bride and bridegroom performed by a woman holding a twisted white loaf and some salt to wish them abundance; *Klapper Tanz*, a dance with much handclapping; *Redl, Frailachs, Karahod, Hopke*, vigorous circle dances done by men; *Besem Tanz*, a man dancing with a broom used as horse or musket; *Flash* [Bottle] *Tanz*, dance with a bottle on the head; *Bobes Tanz* for the grandmothers; *Mechutanem Tanz* for the relatives of both families; *Broyges Tanz*, a man and a woman portraying quarrel and reconciliation; *Sher, Sherele, Quadrille*, dances based on square and longways dances performed with partners; *Lancelot, Kutzatsky, Bulgar, Pas d'Espagne, Vingerka, Waltz*, forms of popular Russian, Polish, and Romanian dances. At ḥasidic weddings, an old practice was often revived of dancing in peasant costumes, animal skins, or even Cossack uniforms. Groups of young girls would also dance toward the seated bride from three directions singing *Keitzad merakkedim lifnei ha-kallah* ("How we dance before the bride"). The young men, meanwhile, would dance around the bridegroom.

Groups of professional women musicians called *tañaderas* (drummers) in the Balkan Sephardi communities, *mughnniyat* in Yemen, *mutribat* in Kurdistan (poet-singers), and *daqqaqat* (drummers) in Iraq, conducted the ceremonies and sang to the accompaniment of drums, amusing the women and making them dance. In Morocco, a small ensemble of male instrumentalists and a singer accompany the spontaneous dancing of women relatives and guests, performing individually gestures which call to mind the belly dance: the head tilted sideways and a kerchief in each hand. In Yemen, it was considered an honor for the women guests to dance with the *mazhera*, a bowl containing the henna dye with which the bride's hands were painted.

[Dvora Lapson / Amnon Shiloah (2nd ed.)]

Contemporary Period

Already at the early decades of the 20th century, when interest in ballet began to spread throughout the West, Jewish dancers once more made their mark. The Diaghilev Company, during its two decades in Western Europe (1909–29), had notable Jewish dancers (apart from its famous designer Leon *Bakst). The first to attract attention was Ida *Rubinstein, though she was known more for her beauty than for her skill as a dancer. More important were two women whose careers only began with Diaghilev. The first was Alicia *Markova, who became an internationally recognized ballerina. The second was Marie *Rambert, who founded one of the first classical companies in England. David *Lichine first made his name in Ida Rubinstein's company. The great Anna Pavlova (1881–1951) once confided to her American impresario, Sol *Hurok, that her father was Jewish but asked him not to reveal it before her death (see S. Hurok, *Impresario*, 1946). In Soviet Russia, Jews found opportunities that had been denied them in Czarist times. Outstanding among them was Asaf *Messerer, leading dancer and later teacher of the Bolshoi Ballet, and his sister Shulamith. His niece, Maya *Plisetskaya, became the company's prima ballerina. In America, Jewish teachers like Louis Chalif and Sandor Gluck trained performers for the classical ballet companies that formed in the U.S. in the 1930s and 1940s. Ballet Theater numbered three important women dancers of Jewish descent – Annabella Lyon, Melissa *Hayden, and Nora *Kaye, all notable not only for technical mastery but for the intensity of their dramatic portrayals. In the 1960s Bruce Marks became a leading dramatic male dancer with the company. Jewish choreographers also came to the fore at Ballet Theater. Both Michael *Kidd and Herbert *Ross, best known for their work in Broadway musical comedies, began their careers with Ballet Theater. Also from the ranks of this company came Jerome *Robbins, generally credited with winning attention for American dance in the wider world. Of major importance to American ballet was the work of Lincoln *Kirstein, founder of the New York City Ballet. The Jewish modern dancer has generally made more use of his Jewish heritage than his classical counterpart. Because the modern dance is based on the expression of individual emotion, rather than on the discipline that molds the individual to an established form (like the ballet), there emerged a search for identity through the exploration of ethnic background. Sophie *Maslow created *The Village I Knew*, depicting the life of Jews in Czarist Russia. Pearl Lang utilized her Jewish source in *Song of Deborah* and in *Legend*, based on An-Ski's *Dybbuk*; Helen *Tamiris portrayed with nostalgia the landmarks of Jewish family life in *Memoir*. Another Jewish choreographer, Anna *Sokolow, showed concern with the alienation of the individual in contemporary society. Her *Dreams* was an indictment of Nazi Germany. These Jewish choreographers made strong statements about their people and the plight of all humanity in their troubled times.

[Selma Jeanne Cohen]

Artistic Dance in Modern Israel

The pioneers of artistic dance in Ereẓ Israel in the early 20th century had to create dance "from scratch." *Ausdruckstanz* was the style that took root in a society based on socialist values. This dance style, standing for simplicity and freedom from tradition and opting for personal expression and social involvement, spoke to the heart of this generation of pioneers.

In 1920 Agadati presented a modern dance recital in Neveh Tzedek on the outskirts of Tel Aviv. Wishing to combine Middle Eastern and Western motifs, he turned to ḥasidic and Yemenite dances. Two years after Agadati's recital, Margalit Ornstein, who had immigrated to Ereẓ Israel from Vienna, established the first dance studio in Tel Aviv teaching Dalcroze Eurhythmics and Isadora Duncan's style. Rina *Nikova immigrated in 1924 from St. Petersburg and became ballerina in the Ereẓ Israeli Opera, founded that year by the conductor Mordechai Golinkin. She danced on a floor covered with Oriental rugs, usually accompanied by one man and three women who constituted the corps de ballet. In 1933, she founded the Yemenite Company, where young Yemenite girls performed dances on biblical themes. The company successfully toured Europe between 1936 and 1939.

The early 1930s saw the rise of the second generation of dancers. Among them were the twins Yehudit and Shoshana Ornstein, Deborah *Bertonoff, Dania Levin, and Yardena *Cohen.

Among the immigrants arriving in Ereẓ Israel following the Nazis' rise to power in 1933 were Tille Roessler, who had been a principal teacher at Gret Palucca's school in Dresden, and the dancers Else *Dublon, Paula Padani, and Katia Michaeli, who had danced in Mary Wigman's company. In 1935, at the peak of her artistic success as a notable dancer and creator in the *Ausdruckstanz* style in Central Europe, Gertrud *Kraus decided to immigrate to Ereẓ Israel. She gave many recitals and founded the Peoples' Dance Opera Company, which operated from 1941 to 1947. It was the first modern dance group in the world associated with an opera house.

By the end of the 1940s the third generation of dancers started performing. Prominent dancers included Naomi Aleskovsky, Rachel Nadav, Hilde Kesten, and Hassia *Levi-Agron, who later founded the faculty of dance at the Jerusalem Academy of Music and Dance.

As opposed to *Ausdruckstanz* which was favored among the settler community, classic ballet was rejected as representing bourgeois art. Despite this, Valentina Archipova-Grossman from Latvia founded in 1936 a classic ballet studio in Haifa, giving a start to many teachers. In 1938 Mia *Arbatova, a former ballerina at the Riga Opera, founded her ballet studio in Tel Aviv, in which many choreographers and artists studied.

During World War II, all cultural links to Europe were severed and the dance artists in the *yishuv* entered a period of cultural isolation extending up to Israel's War of Independence and the end of the austerity period of the early 1950s. Thus Israel, in absorbing the Jews as a safe haven from the Nazis, ironically became one of the only countries on the globe where *Ausdruckstanz* became not only acceptable but also dominant.

Side by side with universal issues concerning man and society, the newcomers created dances inspired by the landscape of the country and biblical themes, aiming to express the link between Modern and Ancient Israel. In the newly created State of Israel, many artistic endeavors were supported by the state, but not artistic dance, which was still viewed as elitist, while folk dances were considered acceptably socialist.

In the first half of the 1950s foreign dance groups began to tour Israel. American immigrants such as Ruth Harris, Rina Shaham, and Rena Gluck had brought awareness of American modern dance. Martha Graham's historic visit, by courtesy of the Baroness Bethsabee de Rothschild, struck waves and stimulated Israeli dancers to sign up for studies at her school in New York. At the same time, there was a rapid process of rejecting *Ausdruckstanz*.

At this critical juncture, Sara *Levi-Tannai founded in 1949 Inbal Dance Theater, an artistic Yemenite traditional-culture-inspired dance group. In the 1950s Noah Eshkol had invented the *Eshkol/Wachman Dance Notation. In 1971 Amos Hetz founded "Movements," a group that utilized the Dance Notation as a means of exploring new possibilities in movement.

All attempts to establish a permanent non-funded professional modern dance group had failed. (This was the case with the Israeli Ballet Theater founded by Kraus and the Lyric Theater founded by Anna *Sokolow.) In 1964, however, Bethsabee de Rothschild founded the *Batsheva Dance Company and during the 1970s several dance companies were established, such as *Bat-Dor by Rothschild (1967), the Israeli Ballet by Berta *Yampolsky and Hillel Markman (1968), the Kibbutz Contemporary Dance Company with its artistic director Yehudit Arnon (1969), and Kol Demamah by Moshe Efrati (1978), originally employing both deaf and hearing dancers.

Between 1964 and 1976, all professional dance activities in Israel took place in professional companies. This improved Israeli dancers' technical and teaching standards and their tours placed Israeli dance on the global map. Batsheva and Bat-Dor, the leading companies, competed for important choreographers from around the world and did not readily open their doors to Israeli choreographers; local creativity diminished.

In the mid-1970s, modern dance in Israel began to show signs of weariness. The dramatic, thematic approach as well as the movement idiom and artistic concept became repetitive. At that time, several young female choreographers who had studied abroad brought with them American post-modern influences. Post-modern dance gave the legitimacy to revolt against the canons of modern American dance as performed by the major dance companies in Israel. The first fringe generation included Ruth Ziv-Ayal, Ruth Eshel, Ronit Land, Heda Oren, Dorit Shimron, and Rina Schenfeld.

In 1981 Pina Bausch came to Israel with the Wuppertal Dance Theater for the first time, and the local dance community became familiar with the *Tanztheater* style. For about five years before that visit, experimental dance works had been created in Israel, some of them in the movement-theater style, and Bausch's visit reinforced this tendency, providing local creators with more tools. The creative upsurge following Bausch's visit to Israel was immediate. The following year, Nava Zuckerman founded the Temu-Na Theater and Oshra Elkayam founded her Movement Theater. In the 1980s fringe dance in Israel was enriched by more dancers and creators, including Mirali Sharon (who was among the few choreographers who created for Batsheva and Bat-Dor), Sally-Anne Friedland, Tami Ben-Ami, Yaron Margolin, Nir Ben-Gal, Liat Dror, Amir Kolben, and the Ramleh Dance Company in 1983 (later the Tamar Jerusalem Company).

Flamenco is very popular and there are several prominent dancers such as Silvia Doran, Neta Sheazaf, and Michal Natan. A manifestation of the relation between ethnic and artistic dance is the University of Haifa's Eskesta Dance Theater, which studies Ethiopian dance and creates artistic dance inspired by folklore. The yearly Karmiel Dance Festival in Galilee, established in 1988 and directed by Yonatan Karmon, draws thousands of people who come to dance folk dances for three days and nights. The festival program includes hall performances as well as mass dances in public parks and in the streets; folk dance, ethnic dance, and artistic dance are all combined.

In the past decade, a large group of young experienced Israeli creators and dancers have worked in established big companies and in marginal fringe frameworks. Among the most notable creators and companies are Ohad *Naharin (Batsheva Dance Company), Rami *Be'er (Kibbutz Contemporary Dance Company), Nir Ben-Gal and Liat Dror (The Group), Noa Wertheim and Adi Sha'al (Vertigo Dance Company), Anat Danieli Dance Company, Amir Kolben (Kombina Company), Ido Tadmor Dance Company, Tamar Borer, Yossi Yungman, Emanuel Gat, Noah Dar Dance Company – Holon, Muza Dance Company, Inbal Pinto Dance Company, Barak Marshal Dance, and Yasmeen Godder. The Inbal Dance Theater and the Israeli Ballet are still active. In 1998 Valery Panov established the Ashdod Ballet, where all the dancers are immigrants from the Former Soviet Union.

Increasing fringe activity brought about the establishment of the Shades in Dance project (1984), in which works by young fringe artists were exposed on a professional stage, and in 1990 the first of the Curtain Up events, premieres of works by known fringe creators, took place. In 1989 the Susan Dellal Center was founded, managed by Yair Vardi, and it became the main home of Israeli dance.

[Ruth Eshel (2nd ed.)]

Contemporary American Dance

Modern dance reflected American social conventions at the beginning of the 20th century complete with quotas restricting Jewish participation; this was true of Ruth St. Denis and Ted Shawn's Denishawn Co. and schools. Their main dancers, Martha *Graham, Doris Humphrey, and Charles Weidman, broke with Denishawn over their discriminatory policies. Apparently Isadora Duncan was not so exclusive for she and her staff trained Julia Levien, Mignon Garlin, Ruth Fletcher, and Hortense Kooluris. The Denishawn star, Martha Graham, became a favorite teacher at the heart of the Jewish world in New York's Lower East Side at the Neighborhood Playhouse. Built by Irene and Alice Lewisohn as both a philanthropic and artistic endeavor, the dance classes there offered an entree into modern American culture for the children of immigrants. Jewish teachers at the Neighborhood Playhouse included Blanche Talmud and Senia Gluck-Sendor. Students included leftist Edith Segal, and Helen Tamiris, who later directed the Federal Dance Project of the WPA with her husband/partner Daniel Nagrin, and their dances often dealt with brotherhood and emancipation. Tamiris's company included many Jewish dancers such Mura Dehn, Sue Ramos, and Pauline Bubrick Tish before Tamiris went on to choreograph for Broadway. Edith Segal, on the other hand, used her dances such as "The Belt Goes Red" and "Black and White" as vehicles for social protest at rallies. Other radical leftist dancers, of whom many trained by the German emigrée Hanya Holm, include Miriam Blecher, Lily Mehlman, Edna Ocko, and Muriel Mannings, who created the New Dance Group (both a school and center for performance). Hadassah Spira, born in Jerusalem, came to New York in 1938, created several solos including "Shuvi Nafshi" and headed the Ethnic Dance Dept. of the New Dance Group. In Hanya Holm's dance company, Eve Gentry was the most prominent Jewish dancer.

Of the mainstream modern dance companies, Graham's included the most remarkable number of Jewish dancers. Most notably among them were Anna *Sokolow, Lillian Shapero, and Sophie *Maslow. Among other Jewish Graham dancers were Bertram Ross, Robert Cohan, Stuart Hodes, Linda Margolis Hodes (who later moved to Israel to oversee Graham works in the Batsheva Dance Co), and Pearl *Lang. The drive to assimilate into American culture thrust some into glorifying American folk (such as Maslow's "Dust Bowl Ballads") though many maintained Jewish concerns for social justice and especially rights for workers' and Afro-Americans. Opposition to fascism was seen in dance concerts to support Spanish democracy during in the Spanish Civil War. Even Ruthanna *Boris from American Ballet Theater joined forces with modern dancers for this cause. So, too, did *Habimah-trained Benjamin *Zemach, who worked in both New York and Los Angeles. Bella Lewitzsky did not use Jewish material in her choreography or classes nor did Gloria Newman. Anna *Halprin (a.k.a. Ann), long an experimentalist with dance improvisation, community, and healing, was driven by social concerns. Her work for her 80th birthday in 2000, "Memories from my Closet, Grandfather Dance," has Jewish references and *klezmer* music. After World War II, both Pearl Lang and Sokolow did solos using Jewish male prayer symbols such as *tefillin.*

The Nazi regime destroyed all forms of dance by the mid-1930s: professional theater dance, dance in Yiddish theater, and dance in the folk and religious life of the Jewish communities of Europe. Stars such as Ruth Abrahamowitsch Sorel (trained by the German expressionist dancer Mary Wigman) performed at the Berlin State Opera house. Margarete Wallmann, who directed Wigman's Berlin school and that of the Vienna State Opera, fled Europe. So did Gertrud *Kraus, who immigrated to Palestine in 1935. Performers from Kraus's Viennese Company who escaped and reached America during World War II included Fred *Berk, Katya Delakova, and Claudia Vall, who taught dance in Hollywood after a brief touring stint with Berk. After partnership performing with Katya Delakova and their Jewish Dance Guild, Berk established the Jewish Dance Division at the 92nd St. Y., whose emphasis was on Jews living a pluralistic life in the U.S. Joyce Mollow, a modern dancer, was also concerned with Jewish themes; a yearly lectureship at Queens College on Jewish dance was established in her memory. Hans Wierner or Jan Veen, another dancer from Kraus's Co., had settled in Boston and taught at the New England Conservatory of Music. Truda Kashmann, also trained by Wigman, escaped Germany and directed a studio in Connecticut and trained Alwin Nikolais, a gentile talent who made an important home for dance in the Lower East Side. His lead dancers Murray Louis and Phyllis Lamhat became teachers and company directors in their own right. Pola Nirenska who was expelled from the Wigman Company in 1933 with the other Jewish performers, returned to her native Poland, escaped to London, and then the U.S., where she devoted herself to choreographing and teaching. Judith Berg, another Polish dancer trained by Wigman, was known in Warsaw for her dances on Jewish themes. She choreographed and danced the role of death in the Polish film of *The Dybbuk*. She escaped to the Soviet Union and with her partner Felix Fibich toured the provinces with a Yiddish revue. She reached the U.S. in 1950 where she continued to choreograph and perform in New York's Yiddish theater.

Elsie Salomons, who had danced in Kurt Joos's German Co., reached Canada, where she trained her niece Judith Marcuse who became an established performer and choreographer in Canada.

Eliot Feld, trained in ballet, performed in Jerome *Robbins' *West Side Story*, and later created "Tzaddik" for his contemporary Feld Ballet, though he is not known for dances on Jewish themes. His mentor, the prolific genius choreographer Robbins, and his collaborators, including Leonard *Bernstein, first considered portraying Jews and Catholics in conflict for Robbins' remake of the Romeo and Juliet tragedy, *West Side Story*. However, they changed their minds and shied away from religious conflict in favor of ethnic gangs. In 1964, Robbins directed and choreographed *Fiddler on the Roof* an enormous Broadway hit, which ran for almost eight years. On another occasion he turned to a Jewish theme creating "The Dybbuk Variations" for the New York City Ballet (1974); Sophie Maslow also choreographed her own "Dybbuk" as did Pearl Lang. Other choreographers have also been drawn to this spiritual story, including Bejart, whose company performed it in Israel. The Pilobolus Company, which specializes in group choreography, occasionally touched on a Jewish theme, especially when commissioned by the National Foundation for Jewish Culture, which sponsored their company piece called "Davenin." An offshoot of Pilobolus was Momix with Daniel Ezralow, which has choreographed for Batsheva.

Arnie Zane (1948–1988) collaborated with African-American Bill T. Jones and Zane occasionally used Jewish references in his work. Meredith Monk uses her own original music as well as choreography to encompass Jewish experience such as her epic to immigration, *Ellis Island*, or her ode to loss in World War II called *Quarry: An Opera* and *Book of Days* about the Middle Ages and Jewish life then and now. Liz Lerman has had a multi-generational, multi-racial dance company, the Liz Lerman Dance Exchange, since 1976 and often draws on Jewish themes for her dances including *The Hallelujah Project* and "Shehehianu." Like Monk, she was a MacArthur Prize recipient, a mark of American achievement, and in 2005 Lerman was commissioned by Harvard Law School to do a dance project on the Nuremberg Trials and genocide. Margalit *Oved, Ze'eva Cohen (both Israeli-American choreographer/dancers) with Risa Jaraslow, Ruth Goodman, Beth Corning, and Heidi Latsky are some who bring their Jewish experiences into their works.

David Gordon, David Dorfman, Danial Shapiro, and Stuart Pimsler use vestiges of burlesque and vaudeville in their humorous look at themselves as Jewish men through their own choreography, using autobiography and their Jewish families as a base for their choreography.

[Judith Brin Ingber (2nd ed.)]

Russian and European Dance

At the beginning of the 20th century, not a few Jews in Russia occupied a prominent place in classical ballet; yet, many of them did not reveal their Jewish origin. Sol *Hurok, the impresario of the great and most famous Diva Ana Pavlova (1881–1931), reports in his *Memories* that she told him she was the illegitimate daughter of the known Jewish banker Lazar Polakov, allowing him to disclose her origin only after her death.

The outstanding classical dancer, choreographer, and teacher Asaf *Messerer (1903–1992) belonged to a great artistic family. He was a legendary premier dancer with the Bolshoi Ballet Theater, where he performed the major roles in the most famous classical ballets. He also distinguished himself as a great choreographer and teacher, and staged ballets in Belgium. Hungary, and Poland, and he wrote two books on ballet technique.

His sister Sulamith Messerer (1908–) was a prima ballerina with the Bolshoi, where she danced leading roles in the 1930s and 1940s, often partnered by her brother Asaf. She moved to London in 1980 and was a ballet guest teacher with leading companies. Her niece, daughter of the cinema actress Rakhail (Raisa), is the legendary ballerina Maya *Plisteskaya (1925–), one of the most famous names in the history of ballet. She danced in many capitals and served as guest director at the Rome opera ballet (1984–86) and with Spanish National ballet (1987–90). She visited Israel several times.

In his autobiography *Dance – Imagination – Time*, Asaf Messerer refers to several Jewish dancers who began their career together with him, including Miriam Reisen, Lubov Bank, Raisa Stein, Feina Leisner, and others; they are all included in the *Russian Encyclopedia of Dance*.

A prominent and greatly gifted dancer was Michael Gabovitch (1905–1965), who danced leading roles with the Bolshoi, having for many years as a dance partner Galina Ulanova (1910–). In the years 1954–58 Gabovitch was the director of the Moscow choreographic school, and he is the author of books and articles on dance. His son, also called Michael, danced as soloist with the Bolshoi.

The star Alla Schelest (1919–1999) was for 25 years a tenured soloist with the St. Petersburg's Maryinsky Theater and the most appreciated dancer of the famous Jewish choreographer Leonid Yacobson (1904–1973).

The ballerina Nina Timofeyeva (1935–) made her debut with the Kirov-Maryinsky Theater in 1953 when she was 18 years old. In 1956 she became the leading soloist with the Bolshoi and was distinguished by her brilliant technique; she also made her mark in modern ballet. In 1991, she and her dancer daughter immigrated to Israel she and pursued her career in Jerusalem, first at the Rubin Academy and later, along with her daughter, she founded her own ballet company and school.

The famous Russian-born dancer Valery *Panov, who was a star with Kirov-Maryinsky in Moscow immigrated with his wife, dancer Galina, to Israel in 1974. After dancing in several Israeli venues, Valery became art director of the opera ballet in Bonn (1992–97) and also worked in South Africa. At the end of the 1990s he returned to Israel and founded his own ballet company and school in the town of Ashdod.

Another famous Russian dancer who immigrated to Israel was Alexander Lifchitz. He was a soloist with Kirov-Maryinsky Theater (1954–74), where he successfully distinguished himself with brilliant performances of character dances. After his immigration to Israel he directed a ballet school in Jerusalem until his premature death in 1998.

The prevailing antisemitism in Soviet Russia imprinted foremost the major theaters, which refused to enroll many excellent Jewish dancers; those who were lucky enough to be admitted preferred to conceal their Jewish origin; one finds among them such Jewish names as Violetta Bobet, Alexander Klein, Ella Fein, and others. Other dancers moved to cities like Novosibirsk, Kiev, and Riga, where they found recognition and favor as leading dancers

The choreographer and ballet director Boris Eifman (1946–) belongs to the generation of Soviet ballet masters who tried at the end of the 1960s and beginning of the 1970s to change traditional Russian ballet and make it more contemporary. Eifman, a spiritual disciple of Leonid Yacobson, endowed with a creative style of his own, is considered an important force in contemporary Russian culture as the director of his own dance theater.

Among the scholars and critics of Soviet dance, the Jews occupied important place. Akim Wolinsky (born Haim ben Lev Flakser in 1861) became famous among the most influential thinkers and writers on Russian ballet art. He was the author of several books and articles on all major personalities in dance. In 1921, he founded and directed a Russian dance school in Petersburg, where many of the prominent Soviet dancers studied. Another remarkable writer and critic is Vadim Gaievski, author of books on such celebrated artists as Petipa, Balanchine, Ulanova, Plisteskaya, and others.

After World War I and the Russian Revolution, many Russian dancers and choreographers settled in Central and Western Europe and where they enjoyed intense activity as dancers and choreographers. The most prominent were those associated with Diaghilev's *Ballets Russes*. The most famous among them is Ida *Rubinstein (1885–1960), who was the star of this prestigious company in the years 1909–11 and 1920. Rubinstein also founded and directed a company of her own (Paris, 1911–13) and then a second one with Bronislava Nijinska as choreographer (Paris, 1928–29, 1931, 1934).

Another outstanding artist is David Lishem (born David Lichtenstein in 1910). Although he left Russia at an early age he absorbed the Russian ballet tradition via L. Yegorva and Bronislava Nijinski, with whom he studied. He made his debut as a soloist with Ida Rubinstein's company and had as stage partner Ana Pavlova; he excelled in character dances. He immigrated in 1940 to the U.S. and danced there with the Ballet Theater.

Mentioned should be also made of the legendary Lituanian Sonia *Gaskel, who studied in Russia and Paris and founded the famous National Dutch company in Holland.

In her book *The Blue Maiden Dancer*, Nina Tichonova describes admirably the Parisian and Berlin's ballet in the period between the two world wars, mentioning the leading Russian names, which include not a few Jews. She also refers to the extraordinary phenomenon of the Russian Romantic Ballet Theater in Berlin, whose founders were Anatoli and his son Andre Shaikovitch, who also wrote books on ballet in French and German.

[Yossi Tavor (2nd ed.)]

The dancer, teacher, choreographer, and ballet director Marie (Cyvia Rambam) Rambert (1888–1982) was born in Poland and came to Paris in 1906 where she studied free dance with Raymond Duncan and later eurhythmics with Jacques Dalcrose in Geneva. In 1913, she was dancer and teacher of eurhythmics with Diaghilev's *Ballets Russes* and the musical adviser of dancer and choreographer Vaslav Nijinski when he created Stravisky's *Sacre du Printemps*. In 1912, she settled in London, where she pioneered classical ballet and was founder and director of the Rambert Ballet School (1920) and the Ballet Rambert (1935). Among her honors are the Queen Elizabeth Coronation Award (1956); Chevalier, Légion d'honneur (France, 1957), and Golf medal of the Order of Merit (Poland, 1979).

Another outstanding ballerina is the British-born Alicia (Alice Lilian Marks) *Markova (1910–2004), who danced at the Ballet Rambert. At the age of 15 she joined Diaghilev's *Ballets Russes*. Markova created many major roles in the ballets of Balanchine and in the 1950s was the prima ballerina of the London Festival Ballet. She was made a "Dame" (female equivalent of knighthood) by order of Queen Elizabeth.

The South African dancer, choreographer, and ballet director John *Cranko (1927–1973) came to London in 1945 and joined the Sadler Royal Ballet. This master of various styles of ballet was the artistic director of the Stuttgart Ballet and chief choreographer of the Bavarian State Opera in Munich.

The French dancer and choreographer Jean *Babilée (Gutmann), born in 1923, showed astonishing technique and natural grace as a child. He was the star of Roland Petit's *Les Ballets des Champs Elisées* (1945–50) and in 1955 earned the gold star for best dancer at the International Festival Dance in Paris.

[Amnon Shiloah (2nd ed.)]

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DANGERFIELD, RODNEY (1921–2004), U.S. comedian. Born Jacob Cohen in Long Island, N.Y., Dangerfield was best known for his catchphrase, "I don't get no respect," and his self-deprecating routines which featured him sweating and fidgeting with his necktie. Dangerfield first started writing jokes at 15 and was performing at amateur nights by 17. In 1941, when he was not working as a singing waiter, he was performing as a stand-up comedian in nightclubs under the name Jack Roy. He married singer Joyce Indig in 1950 and one year later decided to quit the comedy circuit to get a steady job selling aluminum siding in New Jersey. "I dropped out of show business, but nobody noticed," he remarked. After the couple divorced in 1961, Dangerfield went back to stand-up, working a day job in an office and performing in clubs at night. Dangerfield eventually auditioned for television host Ed Sullivan, who immediately signed him to his program. He made 16 appearances on Sullivan's variety show and more than 60 appearances on *The Tonight Show* with Johnny Carson. He opened the comedy club Dangerfield's in Manhattan in 1969, and spent more than 20 years as a Las Vegas headliner. The 1970s found Dangerfield releasing books, *I Couldn't Stand My Wife's Cooking So I Opened a Restaurant* (1972) and *I Don't Get No Respect* (1973), and a variety of comedy albums. In 1978, he was selected as commencement speaker for Harvard University. His screen debut came with *The Projectionist* (1971), but it was his role as real estate developer Al Czervik in *Caddyshack* (1980) that launched his film career and which he followed with such features as *Easy Money* (1983), *Back to School* (1986), *Rover Dangerfield* (1991), *Ladybugs* (1992), *Natural Born Killers* (1994), *Meet Wally Sparks* (1997), and the Adam Sandler film *Little Nicky* (2000). Dangerfield won a Grammy Award in 1981 for his comedy album *No Respect*, a lifetime achievement award during the American Comedy Awards in 1994, and Comedy Central's first Comedy Idol award in 2003. In 2004, he released an album of love songs, *Romeo Rodney*, and published his autobiography, *It's Not Easy Bein' Me*. He died in Los Angeles from heart surgery complications.

[Adam Wills (2nd ed.)]

DANGLOW, JACOB (1880–1962), Australian rabbi. Born in England, Danglow was trained at Jews' College, London. In 1905 he became minister of St. Kilda Hebrew Congregation, Victoria, where he officiated for 52 years. Danglow served as chaplain of the Australian forces in France in World War I and later as senior Jewish chaplain in Australia. He was active in many communal institutions, especially the Montefiore Home for Aged Jews and the Jewish Young People's Association, and represented the community in many civic affairs, especially the hospital fund. Staunchly opposed to "political Zionism" prior to the establishment of the State of Israel, after Israeli independence Danglow became a champion of the Jewish state and visited it in 1956. Danglow was widely regarded as the most important Jewish religious leader in Australia, and presided at the state funeral of Australia's great Jewish general, Sir John Monash, in 1931, when one-third of Melbourne's population lined the streets of the funeral procession. John S. Levi's *Rabbi Jacob Danglow: 'The Uncrowned Monarch' of Australia's Jews* (1995) is a comprehensive biography.

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[Israel Porush / William D. Rubinstein (2nd ed.)]

DANGOOR, EZRA SASSON BEN REUBEN (1848–1930), Iraqi rabbi. Dangoor studied in Baghdad and was a pupil of Abdallah *Somekh. Although he devoted much of his time to religious activity, he obtained his livelihood from business. From 1880 to 1886 he was in charge of documents issued by the Baghdad *bet din*. In 1894 he was appointed rabbi of Rangoon, Burma, but ill health compelled him to return a year later to Baghdad, where he was appointed chief of the *shoḥatim*. During 1923 to 1928 he served as chief rabbi of Baghdad but resigned office in consequence of communal disputes. Many books were published under his editorship in the Hebrew press he established in Baghdad in 1904, including festival prayer books according to the Baghdad rite; *Seder ha-ʿIbbur,* calendars for the years 5665–5683 (in other presses until 5691); *Birkhot Shamayim* (1905), on the blessings for precepts and for pleasures; *Sefer ha-Shirim* (1906), containing poems by different authors. There remain in manuscript in the Sassoon collection responsa, a history of Baghdad from the years 1793 to 1928, homilies, commentaries on biblical books, laws, customs, poems, and **piyyutim*. After his death, his children published a memorial volume (1931).

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[Abraham David]

DANIEL (Heb. דָּנִאֵל,דָּנִיֵּאל, "God has judged, or vindicated").

(1) An evidently pre-Mosaic saint (Ezek. 14:14, 20) and sage (28:3) and, as such, of a type conceivable in any land (14:3ff.) and assumed by Ezekiel to have been heard of by the pagan prince of Tyre (28:1–3). The publication of the Ugaritic epic of Aqhat in 1936 showed the probability that the Phoenicians had a tradition about a man Daniel who was famed for both piety and wisdom. Aqhat's father, *Dnil*, is a devout worshiper of the gods and has their ear (especially that of Baal); he is also one who, either as an elder or king, "judges the case of the fatherless, adjudicates the cause of the widow." As Cassuto pointed out, this requires not only goodness but also wisdom (cf. I Kings 3:5ff.). It is perhaps no accident that in the great majority of Ezekiel manuscripts the name of this Daniel is written without *yod* (cf. the Ugaritic *dnil*, whereas the name of all the other biblical Daniels is written דניאל). It may be assumed that in the tradition known to Ezekiel this Daniel figured as a monotheist.

(2) The name of David's second son according to I Chronicles 3:1 (according to II Sam. 3:3, Chileab).

(3) The hero of the Book of Daniel; see the Book of *Daniel.

(4) A priest of post-Exilic times (Ezra 8:2; Neh. 10:7).

[Harold Louis Ginsberg]

In the Aggadah

Daniel (no. 3 above) was a scion of the House of David. He and his three companions, Hananiah, Mishael, and Azariah, were eunuchs at the royal palace and were thus able to exonerate themselves of the charges of immorality brought against them (Sanh. 93b; PdRE 52). Although the *Mekhilta de-R. Ishmael* (Pisḥa, 1) and Josephus (Ant., 10:266ff.) count Daniel among the prophets as do Christian sources (e.g., Matt. 24:15), the Talmud denies that he was a prophet. However, he was possessed of such great wisdom that he outweighed all wise men of the world (Yoma 77a). He was an expert in the interpretation of dreams and *Nebuchadnezzar trusted him at once (Tanḥ. B., Gen. 191). Despite the many dangers and difficulties at the royal court, Daniel conducted himself with the utmost piety. He refused to partake of wine or oil of the gentiles (Av. Zar. 36a). He was prepared to sacrifice his life rather than omit reciting the statutory prayers thrice daily, and he was cast into the lion's den as a punishment when the nobles surprised him reciting the *Minḥah* prayer. The mouth of the den was sealed with a huge stone which had rolled from Palestine to Babylon. Upon this stone sat an angel in the shape of a lion to protect Daniel against harassment by his enemies. When the following morning the king went to see Daniel's fate, he found him reciting the *Shema* (Mid. Ps. to 66). On another occasion Nebuchadnezzar tried to induce Daniel to worship an idol into whose mouth he placed the diadem (*ẓiẓ*) of the high priest bearing God's ineffable name, as a result of which the idol uttered the words "I am thy Lord." Daniel, however, did not yield. He conjured the idol not to desecrate God's name, whereupon the *ẓiẓ* passed to Daniel's mouth and the idol crumbled to pieces (Song. R. 7:9).

God revealed to Daniel the destiny of Israel and the date of the Last Judgment, which was not even revealed to Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi (Dan. 10:7). Daniel, however, forgot the *keẓ* ("end") revealed to him (Gen. R. 98:2). Despite the fact that Daniel is lauded for his virtues of piety and charity (ARN^1 4, 11), it is also stated that he was not rescued from the lion's den because of his own merits but through the merits of Abraham (Ber. 7b). Moreover, some regard him as a sinner who was punished because he gave good counsel to Nebuchadnezzar (BB 4a). Daniel is variously identified with the eunuch Hathach (Esth. 4:5, 6; Meg. 15a; BB 4a), Memucan (Esth. 1:16; Targ. Sheni), or Sheshbazzar (PR 6:23, *et al.*). According to *Josippon it was owing to Daniel's merit that Darius issued the orders that Jews should return to Palestine and rebuild the Temple (ch. 24). Daniel asked the king to appoint *Zerubbabel in his place. Opinions differ as to whether Daniel accompanied the returned exiles to Palestine. Some state that he returned after the proclamation of *Cyrus (Song. R. 5:5) while later sources (e.g., Josippon 9d–10a) state that he retired to *Shushan where he lived a pious life until his death and was buried there. The Talmud mentions "a synagogue of Daniel" situated three miles from the city of Barnish (Er. 21a).

In Islam

Muslim legend is acquainted with both biblical Daniels; the wise man mentioned in Ezekiel 14:14 and 28:3, and the hero of the Book of Daniel. Among the commentators of the Koran, some interpret the verses of Sura 85:4–5, "The fellows of the pit were slain," and "The fire with its kindling," as referring to Daniel (Dāniyāl) and his colleagues in the fiery furnace; nevertheless, this is only one of the many explanations to these obscure verses.

[Haïm Z'ew Hirschberg]

In the Arts

The hero of the Book of Daniel early attracted the attention of writers. One of the first examples of Anglo-Saxon poetry is a seventh-century paraphrase of the Book of Daniel, and he also appears later in the English miracle play, *Ordo Prophetarum*. In the 17th century the German tragicomedy *Der siegende Hofmann Daniel* (1671) dealt with the theme. After the English writer Hannah More, whose *Sacred Dramas* (1782) included a play about Daniel, literary treatments of the story became rare. Two 20th-century reinterpretations were *Daniel* (1907) by the Polish dramatist Stanislaw Wyspiański, and "*The Daniel Jazz*" (1920), the title poem in a collection by the U.S. writer Vachel Lindsay which imitates the dramatic sermons characteristic of the Afro-American churches.

In art, Daniel was a far more familiar figure, both because of the dramatic, visual quality of the biblical episodes in which he figures and because of his adaptability to Christian typology. Daniel in the lion's den was thought to prefigure Jesus in his sepulcher and was also seen as representing the saved soul, or man under God's protection. Daniel is usually portrayed as a young, beardless, and often naked youth, sometimes wearing the Phrygian bonnet. He is seen flanked by his lions, and occasionally accompanied by the ram of his apocalyptic vision. He is often associated with other figures from the Book of Daniel (and its apocryphal addition) in a narrative cycle: giving judgment in the case of *Susannah and the Elders; preceded in the ordeal by the Three Hebrews; and twice cast into the den of lions, under both Darius and Cyrus. The cycle of Nebuchadnezzar's dreams interpreted by Daniel shows the prophet more by implication than by presence, as does the apocalyptic cycle. A vast number of works of art depict the Daniel narrative in full, in part, or in isolated episodes. Daniel appears on fourth-century sarcophagi, fifth and sixth-century church doors, woven cloths, and belt-buckles in Spain, Germany, and Italy. In the seventh century, he is seen in the *Cosmas Indicopleustès* (Vatican Library) and, from the ninth century onward, on capitals and portals throughout the Romanesque world. Examples in miniature painting are to be found in the 11th-century Apocalypse of Saint-Sever (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale) and Spanish Beatus manuscripts, and later in 14th- and 15th-century Bibles. After the 13th century the theme was less popular. There is a Tintoretto Daniel in the Scuola di San Rocco, Venice, and Rubens painted Daniel and the lions (1618). Bernini's sculptures of Daniel and Habakkuk (1656) are to be seen in the Chigi chapel in S. Maria del Popolo, Rome. Delacroix painted Daniel and the lions in 1849. The Nebuchadnezzar dream cycle is illustrated by Guido Reni's 17th-century painting in Santa Maria Maggiore, Rome, and the apocalyptic cycle is referred to by Rembrandt in his "Vision of Daniel" (1650, Berlin). Some other portrayals are Michelangelo's fresco in the Sistine Chapel of the Vatican, and an 18th-century statue by Aleijadinho (Francisco Antônio Lisbôa) at Congonhas do Campo, Brazil. The subject of the Three Hebrews in the fiery furnace occurs in frescoes in Roman catacombs of the third and fourth centuries C.E. In the Middle Ages this theme is found in sculpture, mosaics, and manuscripts as well as frescoes. The three men were taken to represent the elect protected from all perils, including the flames of Hell. In early representations they are often nude, despite the fact that the Bible states that they were thrown into the flames fully clothed. They are also often depicted as children, their hands raised in an attitude of prayer.

In Music

The dramatic episodes of the "Daniel cycle," including and often combining the canonical and apocryphal parts, have always been favored by composers. While the music of the 12th-century Daniel play by Hilary of Poitiers has not survived, the contemporary *Ludus Danielis* from Beauvais Abbey is completely "scored" in the manuscript (British Museum, Ms. Egerton 2615, fols. 95r–108r) with a combination of composed songs and traditional church melodies. This has become known through a recording directed by Noah *Greenberg. Notable settings of the Daniel cycle are Caldara's opera and Hasse's oratorio (both presented at the Viennese court in 1731); Darius *Milhaud's *Les Miracles de la foi* (1951), a cantata for tenor, chorus, and orchestra based on passages from the Book of Daniel; and Benjamin Britten's modern "parable for church performance," *The Burning Fiery Furnace* (1966), with text by William Plomer. Vachel Lindsay's "*The Daniel Jazz*" was set to music in the jazz idiom by Louis *Gruenberg, for tenor and eight instruments (1923); and by Herbert Chappell (1963), for unison voices and piano. The Song of the Three Children (*Canticum trium Puerorum*, Vulg. Dan. 3:52–90), included in the Catholic liturgy, has inspired many fine musical settings. There is a notable setting by Josquin des Prés (15th century); a polychoral structure by Heinrich Schuetz and Michael Praetorius (17th century); and Karlheinz Stockhausen's *Gesang der drei Juenglinge* (1956) which dissolves and reconstitutes the human utterance by electronic manipulation. On the popular level is *Shadrack, Meshack, Abednego*, a composed spiritual by Robert MacGinney (often thought to be authentic), which was made famous by the jazz trumpeter and singer Louis Armstrong.

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DANIEL, BOOK OF, a book of the third division of the Hebrew Bible, the Hagiographa, named for a man Daniel whose fortunes and predictions are the subject of the book.

DIVISIONS AND CONTENTS

When the Book of Daniel is examined for content and literary character, it falls naturally into two roughly equal parts which may be designated Daniel A and Daniel B. Daniel A (chs. 1–6) comprises six stories, told in the third person, about the trials and triumphs of Daniel and his three companions; while Daniel B (chs. 7–12) consists of four accounts, cast in the first person, of as many apocalyptic revelations received by Daniel.

Summary of Daniel A (Dan. chs. 1–6)

CHAPTER 1. Nebuchadnezzar, the king of Babylon, took back with him from Judah several boys of good family, handsome looks, and promising intellect, and charged his grand vizier with the task, to be completed in three years, of rearing and educating them "in booklore and in the Chaldean tongue" (1:4) in order to qualify them for the king's service. Four of these boys, Daniel, Hananiah, Mishael, and Azariah – renamed Belteshazzar, Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed-Nego by the vizier – were so pious and so ingenious as to make an arrangement with the lower official to whom the vizier had assigned them whereby they exchanged with him the excellent rations they received from the king for raw vegetables. Finding, after a ten-day trial, that the four lads looked even healthier than the others, the official continued the arrangement indefinitely. At the end of their period of training, the king found them superior not only to their fellow students but to all the magicians and enchanters of his realm.

CHAPTER 2. Daniel came to the king's notice even before the three years were over. The king had had a dream which greatly perturbed him. He burned with eagerness to know what it meant, but reasoned that he could be sure that an interpretation was correct only if the interpreter was able to narrate the dream itself without being told it. Since none of his masters of occult lore was able to do this, the king ordered his captain of the guard to execute all the savants of Babylon. The officer proceeded to do so, and since Daniel and his companions came under the definition of savants, they were also to be put to death. On asking the captain of the guard for the reason and receiving his answer, Daniel persuaded him to discontinue the slaughter for a few hours and promised that at the end of that time he would come up with the answer to the king's questions. Then he and his companions prayed, and the solution was revealed to Daniel in a dream. Brought before the king, Daniel narrated the king's dream and interpreted it to mean that Nebuchadnezzar's domination of the whole world would be followed by the successive world ascendancies of three other monarchies, after which God would set up a fifth monarchy that would destroy the four previous monarchies and would endure forever. On hearing this, Nebuchadnezzar was so filled with admiration for Daniel and his God that he appointed Daniel both supreme administrator of the whole province of Babylon and supreme prefect over all the savants of Babylon; but at Daniel's request the supreme administrative office was divided among his three companions, while he retained only the advisory one (2:49).

CHAPTER 3:1–30. As high-ranking administrators, the three companions were affected by the decree which Nebuchadnezzar issued to all the top functionaries (3:2–3) to bow down to the image which he set up, but they ignored it. Certain Chaldeans thereupon denounced them to the king. They were doubtless functionaries, subordinate – and naturally jealous – colleagues of the Jewish administrators-in-chief. Nebuchadnezzar ordered Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed-Nego thrown into a blazing furnace; but not even their clothes were singed, and again he expressed his admiration for the God of the Jews and even further exalted the three Jewish top officials.

CHAPTERS 3:31–5:30. As for Daniel the sage, he interpreted a second dream of Nebuchadnezzar, the one that portended the king's seven years' lycanthropy, and a portent of a different nature – the famous writing on the wall – concerning Nebuchadnezzar's successor Belshazzar, who had not been aware of Daniel's extraordinary gifts until informed by the queen mother. Belshazzar thereupon bestowed upon Daniel, not an academic or advisory office, but the exalted administrative one of triumvir.

CHAPTER 6. Daniel remained a triumvir (though with a different title) under Belshazzar's successor Darius the Mede, and so distinguished himself in this capacity that the king placed him in sole charge of the empire. Then it was Daniel's turn to become the butt of professional jealousy. His rivals, taking advantage of Daniel's uncompromising piety, maneuvered the king into a position in which he was compelled, to his dismay, to order Daniel thrown into a lion pit. (The plotters persuaded the king to promulgate a decree forbidding anyone to address a petition to any being but the king for 30 days: a Jewish misunderstanding of the Babylonian superstition that food offerings – and hence the accompanying prayers – offered to one's personal god in the month of Tevet were unlucky. Surely a Jew's conscience need not deter him, in such circumstances, from abstaining for 30 days from all prayer, let alone ostentatious prayer; but the plotters knew that Daniel would under no circumstances dispense with praying on his knees three times daily at open windows – not in a New York penthouse but less than ten feet above the ground.) After expressing to Daniel the hope that the God he served so faithfully will save him, the king departs for a supperless evening and a sleepless night in his palace. At the crack of dawn, he hurries back to the edge of the pit and calls in a broken voice, "O Daniel, servant of the living God, has the God whom you constantly worship been able to save you from the lions?" And what is his joy to hear Daniel's voice and be reassured! He promptly orders Daniel pulled up and his accusers cast down, and these the beasts give short shrift. Darius issues a decree that Daniel's God must be treated with awe and reverence throughout his realm, and Daniel continues to serve with distinction as vizier to Darius the Mede and to Cyrus the Persian.

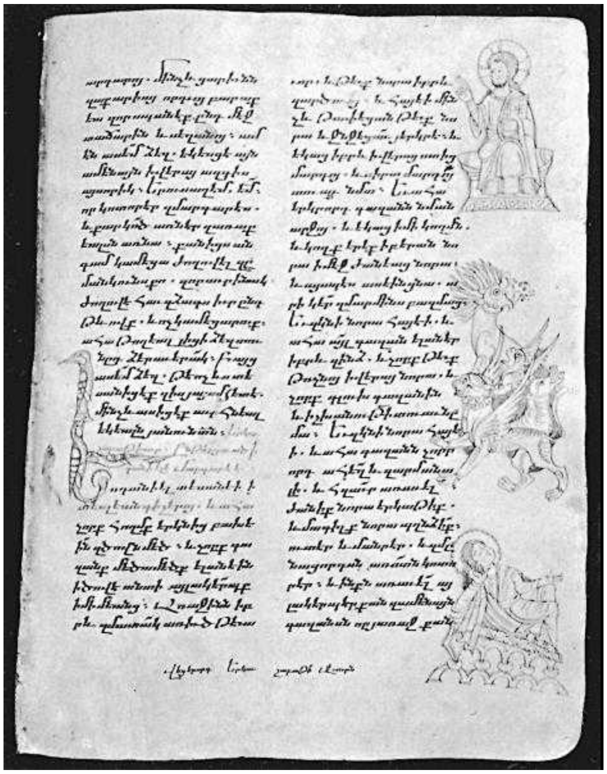

Illustrations from a missal, south Armenia, 1331, showing Daniel sleeping. Jerusalem, Library of the Armenian Patriarchate, Ms. 95, fol. 142r.

Summary of Daniel B (Dan. chs. 7–12)

CHAPTER 7. The story of Daniel here reverts to the Chaldean period, the first year of King Belshazzar. The experience of Daniel related in this chapter has nothing to do with his character and career as a savant who interprets dreams and portents for kings or as a minister of state who is the victim of his rivals' intrigues. Instead, Daniel's role is that of an apocalyptist. Here, Daniel himself has a disturbing dream, and while the fact is stated in 7:1 in the third person, it is also stated there that Daniel himself wrote an account of the dream, and 7:2ff. (apart from the introductory phrase at the beginning of verse 2) is simply the text of Daniel's first person narrative.

(The next two revelations, chapters 8 and 9, are narrated by Daniel in the first person without a third person introduction.) Daniel's dream in 7:1, like those of Nebuchadnezzar in chapters 2 and 4, is symbolic, but Daniel is as much at a loss to interpret the symbols as Nebuchadnezzar was to interpret those in his dreams; in the dream itself, however, Daniel asks an angel to enlighten him, and the angel obliges. In doing so, the angel sketches a succession of four transient monarchies and a fifth enduring one, similar to that which the sage Daniel sketched in his interpretation of Nebuchadnezzar's dream in chapter 2. In chapter 7, however, there is the additional feature of judgment and retribution: the beast which represents the first kingdom is annihilated ("taken from the earth") at the end of its period of ascendancy (verse 4, apart from the last two clauses, which are out of place – see below); the fourth, which is of a particularly oppressive character (7, 23) is annihilated at the conclusion of a solemn judgment by the divine tribunal (9–11); but the middle two are suffered to live on even after their loss of dominion (12). It is also made clear here that the fifth, world-wide, and everlasting, empire will be ruled by a people of "saints of the Most High," i.e., the Jews.

CHAPTER 8. Daniel relates that in the third year of the reign of Belshazzar he had a vision (rather than a dream). Again the features are symbolic, and their symbolism is explained to Daniel by an angel. Again the explanation involves a succession of monarchies, and this time they are identified by name: symbolized by a ram with two tall horns that sprout successively, the later one taller than the first, are the two Iranian monarchies, the Median and the Persian respectively. Symbolized by a he-goat with first one great horn which is broken and then four great horns that sprout in its stead, are respectively the united Greek world-kingdom (i.e., that of Alexander the Great) and its successor kingdoms; and symbolized by a smaller horn which branches off from one of the four successor horns is a particular king of one of the successor kingdoms (i.e., the Seleucid king Antiochus IV Epiphanes). This branch horn is represented as performing certain antics culminating in the banishing of the *tamid* ("the constant," i.e., the daily burnt offerings) from the "stand" (i.e., altar) of "the Commander of the Host [of Heaven]" (i.e., God) and the setting up of an "offense" on that stand (11–12).

CHAPTER 9. The apocalypse, dated in the first year of Darius the Mede, is neither a symbolic dream nor a symbolic vision. The angel Gabriel visits Daniel and communicates a "word" to him (9:21–24). As it happens, the designation *angelus interpres* would not be a misnomer if applied to Gabriel in this case, for if he does not interpret symbols, he does interpret Scripture. The occasion of his coming is Daniel's prayer for enlightenment on the meaning of Jeremiah's prediction (Jer. 25:11–12; 29:10) that "the ruins of Jerusalem" (Dan. 9:2) would endure 70 years. The interpretation is as follows: a period of 70 weeks of years was decreed for the expiation of the national guilt. At the end of the seventh week, an "anointed prince" (probably a high priest) will function again; at the end of another 62 weeks, an "anointed one" will be cut off. The remaining week will be one of religious persecution, and for the duration of its second half, sacrifice and oblation will be abolished and "an abomination of desolation" (called "offense" in 8:12) will occupy their "stand" (reading *kannam* for *kenaf* in 9:27).

CHAPTERS 10–12. As in chapter 7, Daniel is introduced briefly in the third person and then proceeds in the first person. The date of this apocalypse is given as the third year of the reign of King Cyrus of Persia, and like chapter 9 it consists entirely of a "word" (10:1 – three times) communicated to Daniel by an angel. It is vouchsafed him in response to prayer, but to judge by the content of the "word," the prayer was not for an exposition of scripture but simply for information on what was going to happen from the present (i.e., the third year of Cyrus) to the redemption of Israel, though occasionally, to be sure, the phrasing indicates that some old prophetic verse is being expounded. The angel then informs Daniel (11:2bff.) that Cyrus will be followed by three more Persian kings, but that after that the ascendancy will pass on to the Greeks. There will first be one mighty Greek king (obviously Alexander the Great), but his empire will split into a separate kingdom for each of the four points of the compass. First the king of the southern succession state (Ptolemy I) will be the most powerful, but then one of his officers, the king of the north (Seleucus I), will become stronger than he. There follows (verses 6–30) a remarkably accurate account of the wars and marriages between the dynasty of the north (the Seleucids) and that of the south (the Lagids) down to the Seleucid Antiochus IV and the joint Lagid kings Ptolemy VI and VII, with the Roman intervention which compelled Antiochus to withdraw from Egypt in the year 168 B.C.E., clearly hinted at at the beginning of verse 30. Then, Antiochus' measures against Judaism from the years 168 to 166 or 165 are described from verse 31 through verse 39 inclusive. The rest of the book is concerned with what is expected to happen after that.

DATES OF COMPOSITION AND CHARACTERISTICS OF THE PARTS

Traditional View

Both the rabbis of the Talmudic Age and the Christian Church Fathers accepted the book's own statements that the four apocalypses of Daniel B were written by a man named Daniel in the last years of the Babylonian Age and in the first ones of the Persian Age, i.e., approximately in the decade 545–535 B.C.E., and they did not question the historicity of any part of Daniel A.

Critical View

GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS. If prediction of events in detail of the far future is theoretically possible, it is, on the other hand, unexampled in the Torah and the Prophets, and events so far in the future would be of no discoverable relevance to the lives of his audience or readers. This is what struck the neoplationist pagan philosopher Porphyry (3rd century C.E.). His pertinent work has been lost, but the Latin Church Father

*Jerome (early 5th century C.E.) cites him occasionally in his commentary on Daniel, and at the beginning of his introduction to that commentary he quotes him as follows: "[The Book of Daniel] was composed by someone who lived in Judea in the reign of Antiochus who was surnamed Epiphanes, and he did not predict coming events but narrated past ones. Consequently, what he relates down to Antiochus embodies true history; but if he added any surmises about the future, he just invented them, for he did not know the future." Strange to say, Porphyry (according to Jerome) did not realize that the campaign described in Daniel 11:40 was an "added surmise," but asserted that Antiochus undertook a third campaign in Egypt, which is contrary to fact. Equally significant is the inaccuracy of the book's knowledge of pre-Hellenistic history. After Cyrus there reigned over the Persian Empire not a mere three kings (11:2) but ten (1 Cambyses, 2 Xerxeses, 3 Dariuses, 3 Artaxerxeses and 1 Arses). There never was a Darius the Mede (6:1; 9:1; 11:1), and Belshazzar (5:1, 2, 30; 7:1) never was king. Though Belshazzar deputized for his father King Nabonidus during the latter's prolonged absence from Babylon, documents continued to be dated there by regnal years of Nabonidus, and Belshazzar was never designated otherwise than as "the king's son." The most charitable view of the inaccuracy in Daniel 1:1, 2 is that "third year" is a mistake for "third month" and "Jehoiakim" for "Jehoiachin" (cf. II Kings 24:8ff.). However, Porphyry erred in ascribing all of the book to a person who lived in Judea in the reign of Antiochus IV (176/5–163 B.C.E.). Daniel B was indeed composed by such a person, or rather by four such persons (see infra). Daniel A, on the other hand, is unquestionably earlier, as was recognized by an impressive array of scholars in the first half of the 20th century (as a brief statement of the case, J.A. Montgomery, pp. 89–90 (see bibl.), is admirable). Since no anti-Epiphanian propaganda is discernible in Daniel chapters two or four, let alone in the story about King Darius in chapter six, it must be concluded that Daniel A chs. 1–6 (all summarized above) antedates Epiphanes' reign. A more precise dating of Daniel A is obtained through certain later additions to chapter two, viz. 2:42–43 and the expression "and the toes" in verse 41. These additions do not only add in the middle of the dream's original interpretation (vv. 36–45) a feature absent from the preceding narration of the dream (vv. 31–35), but they correct the original interpretation of the dream in which they occur. For first, the narration in 33b states merely that the feet of the image which Nebuchadnezzar saw in his dream were partly of iron and partly of clay. Secondly, according to the original interpretation of this in verse 41, verse 33b is explained to mean that the fourth kingdom will (ultimately) be a divided kingdom, but that something of the character of iron will permeate all its parts, since the two substances are combined in both feet. This is especially clear if we omit "and the toes" (which is missing in the versions anyway): "And as you saw the feet (and toes) partly of potter's clay and partly of iron, it shall be a divided kingdom; but some of the firmness of iron shall be in it, just as you saw iron mixed with the miry clay." However, verses 42–43, on the other hand, interpret a feature which is not found in the original narration. They assert that in the dream some of the toes were entirely of iron and some entirely of clay; this signifying that, in contradiction to verse 41, one part of the divided kingdom will be firm (throughout) and the other will be fragile (throughout). The feature on which verse 41 based its view, namely, that in the feet the iron and the earthenware are combined, is – so verses 42–43 assert – to be interpreted otherwise: it signifies that the two dynasties will attempt to fuse "by means of human seed," i.e., by biological union. However, the combination was not to endure, just as iron does not mix with earthenware. Such an avowed correction of an immediately preceding interpretation can only be an interpolation, and it can only have been occasioned by a dramatic upset of the balance of power. As it happens, such an upset of the balance of power, linked to an unsuccessful attempt by two dynasties to interbreed, is known from history. In the year 252 B.C.E. Antiochus II put aside his wife (she was also his sister) Laodice and espoused Berenice, daughter of Ptolemy II, and thus was born a son in whose veins coursed the blood of both dynasties. However, Antiochus became reconciled with Laodice. His sudden death was believed to have been caused by poisoning that Laodice ordered, and the subsequent murder of Berenice's child certainly was ordered by her. In the end she disposed of Berenice as well, thereby putting an end to the very attempt at "fusion." In the year 246, however, Berenice's brother Ptolemy III avenged her by invading the Seleucid Empire, reaching Bactria; although he permanently annexed only some islands and other coastal areas, as a result of his blows Asia Minor and the enormous satrapy of Media revolted and were not reconquered by the house of Seleucus for a quarter of a century. The interpolation in chapter two must therefore date from 246 or shortly after. Of course, the main text is earlier than the interpolation. It can be dated with considerable probability at around 304 B.C.E. In this respect, verses 44–45 are particularly significant. "(44) And in the days of those [i.e., the aforementioned four] kingdoms, the God of Heaven will raise up a kingdom which shall never be destroyed, and whose sovereignty shall never be left to another people. It [i.e., the fifth kingdom] shall pulverize and annihilate all those kingdoms but shall itself endure for evermore (45) inasmuch as you saw a stone rolling from the mountain unpropelled by hands and pulverizing the earthenware, the iron, the copper, the silver, and the gold…." It is the author of Daniel chapter two who first reasoned, from the fact that all the five substances in the dream endured until the impact of the stone, that none of the first three world-dominating monarchies would be destroyed by its successor but that all three would endure, though no longer dominant, until the fifth one appeared and destroyed both them and the fourth. The interpolation (as interpreted here) along with other indications identifies the fourth kingdom as the Greek; verses 37–38 identify the first as the Babylonian or Chaldean; and in the light of verse 30 and 6:1, 29 (cf. 8:1; 9:1; 10:1; 11:3, 5, 20–21), the two middle ones can only be the Median and the Persian. The question therefore arises, when did a post-imperial Babylonian monarchy, a post-imperial Median monarchy, and a post-imperial Persian monarchy exist side by side with a single but divided Greek imperial monarchy? The answer is that they existed together after Seleucus had returned to his satrapy of Babylon in 312 and had begun to call himself king (at first, only vis-à-vis his Oriental subjects, and in 305 or 304, vis-à-vis Hellenes as well), but only while he was still confined to southern Mesopotamia, and while Ptolemy, Antigonus, and others, though fighting each other, were fighting a civil war within a theoretically united realm, that is, before 301. By the latter date Seleucus, in getting rid of Antigonus in alliance with Ptolemy, had expanded into Syria; Seleucus and Ptolemy had more or less agreed on their common border; and Ptolemy and all the other successors had also donned crowns and proclaimed themselves kings. Within this period while Seleucus was only king of Babylonia, the territories representing the residual Median and Persian monarchies were Atropatene – which Strabo also calls Atropatian Media – and Persis respectively. These persisted as semiautonomous kingdoms, or principalities, not only throughout the Hellenistic period but well into the Roman. Chapter 2 may have been integrated into the collection which we have denominated Daniel A (at which time the initial and final verses were added to it) either before or after the interpolation verses 42–43, so that the collection Daniel A may be dated roughly in "the middle decades of the third century B.C.E."

THE FOUR AUTHORS OF DANIEL B. Daniel B is in its entirety a product of the reign of Antiochus IV, but it is not all from a single hand. It is the work of four apocalyptists, who have been designated as Apoc I, Apoc II, Apoc III, and Apoc IV. Apoc I comprises all of chapter 7 minus the verses and clauses which speak of an eleventh horn and an eleventh king (namely 8, 11a [minus בֵּאדַיִן plus חָזֵה הֲוֵית עַד דִּי], 11b, 20 [from וְאָחֳרִי on], 22, 24b–25). This apocalypse represents an updating of the dream and interpretation in chapter 2. For it, the fourth kingdom is not (as in ch. 2) the Greek kingdom (it is too far removed from the time when there was a single Greek kingdom either in fact or in theory), but the Seleucid kingdom. For it says of the fourth kingdom (24a), "And the ten horns – ten kings will arise from that kingdom." The Seleucids regarded themselves as the legitimate successors of Alexander the Great, and Berosus, a subject of Antiochus I, notes that the latter is the third king after Alexander. For him to be the third, one of the joint kings who was recognized by the generals after Alexander's death – his half brother Philip and his posthumous son Alexander – must be disregarded; probably it was Philip, who died some years before Seleucus returned to Babylon, unlike Alexander, who lived to about that date, so that Seleucus could be regarded as his successor. The first ten kings of Asia, were then, according to the Seleucid canon: (1) Alexander I; (2) Alexander II; (3) Seleucus I; (4) Antiochus I; (5) Antiochus II; (6) Seleucus II; (7) Seleucus III; (8) Antiochus III; (9) Seleucus IV; and (10) Antiochus IV. There is now available a Seleucid king list from Babylonia, which apparently counts no king at all from Alexander's death to the accession of Alexander II in 317 (see Pritchard, Texts^3, 567). The essential message of Apoc I is therefore this: The days of the wicked Seleucid kingdom are numbered; its present sovereign shall be its last. Yet Apoc I does not enlarge upon the wickedness of this particular king or hint at what his wickedness consisted of. This would hardly be conceivable after the paganization of the Temple and the outlawing of Judaism, which threatened it with early extinction. It would be conceivable, however, at any time from the beginning of Antiochus IV's reign, when he began to sell the high priesthood to the highest bidder and to encourage Hellenization, through the year 169 when he plundered the Temple down to the year 168 when he crushed a Jewish rebellion and abolished the temple state of Jerusalem, and established a pagan polis on the Akra and gave it control of the Temple. In fact its *terminus ante quem* is the paganization of the Temple and the proscription of Judaism at the very end of the year 167. After the latter developments, on the other hand, the absence of a specific allusion to them would be incomprehensible. That is why the author of the secondary matter (see above) in the chapter – who probably did not know the Seleucid king list – could not imagine that Antiochus IV was included among the ten kings of the original text and so added an eleventh. It is the author of Apoc IV who made all these additions (except perhaps verses 21–22, which may be from a still later hand), which we therefore designate by the siglum I–4. (For further characteristics of Apoc I, see above, the first paragraph under the heading "Daniel B.") Apoc II comprises the original matter in chapter 8, the secondary verses being 13–14, 16, 18–19, 26a, 27b. Verses 18–19 are from the author of Apoc III and are designated by the siglum II–3; the remaining interpolations are by the author of Apoc IV and are designated by the siglum II–4. Apoc II was written after the appalling developments of December 167, which it clearly reflects and the end of whose author it predicts. It adopts the form of a vision instead of a dream because the Hebrew word for "vision" (*ḥazon*) is the one used in the sense of "prediction" in Habakkuk 2:3, and the author wishes to stress that his *ḥazon* is, like Habakkuk's, for a future date (8:17). To Habakkuk, this circumstance is offered as a reason for the divine command to write down the *ḥazon*; in Apoc II it is further stressed that the future date in question is distant, and this, i.e., the fact that the *ḥazon* has no message for Daniel's contemporaries, is the reason which is given to Daniel (8:26) for the angel's instruction to "conceal" (to be discovered and opened in due course). Apoc III is the original part of chapters 10–12. Within this Apoc IV has transposed the two half verses 10:21b and 10:21a, and added 11:1–2a, 12:5–9, and 11–12 (unless, as is probable, verse 12 is still later). It is Apoc III who is the first to dispense with symbolic dreams or visions and to substitute a simple narration of future history by an angel who draws from memory upon "that which is inscribed in the Book of Truth" (10:21). Apoc III, like Apoc II, utilizes Habakkuk 2:3, but he departs further from its original sense. What he stresses is that more *ḥazon* (by which he means scheduled events) has yet to elapse until the final redemption

(10:14; 11:27), and he has even inserted a remark to that effect in the work of Apoc II (8:19 with 8:18; cf. 10:9). But Apoc III is particularly noteworthy for identifying, on the one hand, the Assyria of Numbers 24:24 and of Isaiah's prophecies with the Seleucid Empire, and the impious Assyrian king of Isaiah with Antiochus IV Epiphanes; and, on the other hand, as follows: (a) the servant of Isaiah 52:13–53:12 with those who, during the Epiphanian persecution, instructed (it is thus that he interprets the *yaskil* of Isa. 52:13) the not willingly apostate but despairing masses in the meaning of the ancient prophecies, thereby encouraging them to resist, or "justifying" them; (b) "the many" of Isaiah 52 with those despairing masses in Daniel 11:33–34 (the last word is to be deleted as a variant of the similar one in verse 32) and 12:3; and (c) the willing Hellenizers with the wicked of Isaiah 66:24 (Dan. 11:32; 12:2; note the word דֵּרָאוֹן, which is confined to Isa. 66:24 and Dan. 12:2). Because Isaiah represents Assyria as the staff of the Lord's indignation and as destined to oppress Judah until the indignation has spent itself, Apoc III not only employs the same language about Antiochus (cf. notably 11:36b with Isa. 10:23, 25) but infers from Isaiah 26:19 ff. that the end of the indignation will be followed by a resurrection of some of the dead (Dan. 12:2) – the earliest formulation of a doctrine of resurrection. Since Apoc III knows nothing of Antiochus' departure for the East in the summer of 165 and expects instead a third expedition against Egypt, the summer of 165 is its *terminus ante quem*. Apoc IV, finally, is chapter 9. Its contribution (see above Daniel B) is the scheme of weeks of years, with the outlawing of Judaism falling in the middle of the last week. Apoc IV has interpolated this view into each of its three predecessors (7:26 ff.; 8:14; 12:7, 11[12]). In the course of his interpolation in Apoc I, the author of Apoc IV betrays the fact that he postdates the expedition, in the summer of 165, to the East, which added Artaxias of Armenia to the two kings of Egypt whom Antiochus had defeated in 169 and 168 (7:24 ff.). On the other hand, he does not know of the king's proclamation of amnesty in the winter of 164, still less of the rededication of the Temple in December 164 and of the king's death in the spring of 163; he therefore antedates these.

LITERARY GENRES AND MOTIFS

The genre to which Daniel B belongs is clearly apocalyptic. This type of literature arose in the Hellenistic period. The oldest parallel was pointed out by Eduard Meyer. It is a Demotic papyrus containing interpretations of obscure oracles. The author of these interpretations attributes them to the reign of the Pharaoh Tachos (360–359), to this king and to earlier ones who rebelled against the Persians. But he also alludes, in his interpretations, to persons and events from Tachos to his own time, which is the end of the third century B.C.E., and promises that the Greeks will be driven out of Egypt by a prince who will reign at Heracleopolis – a prediction which did not come true. The genre of Daniel A, on the other hand, is the courtier tale. There is in the Bible the story of the courtier Joseph, who was both an inspired interpreter of dreams and an admirable administrator: Daniel is the former in chapters 2 and 4 and the closely related interpreter of portents in chapter 5, and he is the latter in chapter 6. His three companions are also government officials in chapter 3. With the wise heathen courtier *Ahikar and the Jewish courtier *Mordecai, these Jewish ones have in common the trait of being plotted against by rivals who, however, are hoist with their own petard. Chapter 2 contains, so to speak, an apocalypse within a courtier tale, and the former is interesting for its utilization of borrowed motifs. The motif of four empires followed by a fifth is of Iranian origin. In the Iranian version, first the Assyrian kings ruled the world, then the Median, then the Persian, then the Greek (i.e., the Seleucid kings), but this fourth monarchy was destined to be supplanted by a fifth. No doubt the Iranians expected the fifth to be again a Persian kingdom, but the tradition reached Rome before 171 B.C.E. in a form which interprets Rome as the fifth empire. Daniel 2 merely says that the fifth kingdom will be set up by God, but no doubt it expects the Jewish people to occupy a position of honor in it. In addition, Daniel 2 substitutes Babylon or Chaldea for Assyria, which results in bad history, since the Median empire did not follow the Chaldean but coexisted with it, and, in fact, came to an end a decade before the other. The series gold, copper, silver, iron originally (as early as Hesiod, 8th century B.C.E.) symbolized the four ages of a progressively deteriorating world. The four monarchies which these metals symbolize in chapter 2, on the other hand, do not constitute a consistently descending series – the second is inferior to the first, but after that it is a rising series. Other probable and possible borrowed motifs are pointed out in recent commentaries.

THE LANGUAGE PROBLEM

In the book as it is now known, 1:1–2:4a and chapters 8–12 are Hebrew, the rest *Aramaic. Originally, it was entirely Aramaic. The popular story book Daniel A was composed in Aramaic because by the third century B.C.E. it was the language of the majority of Jews; and Daniel B, being a continuation of Daniel A, was written in the same language. That the Hebrew portions have a strong Aramaic tinge would not suffice by itself to prove that it was translated from Aramaic, but the occurrence of passages which can only be understood as translations of misread Aramaic does constitute such proof. A simple example is 12:8: "I heard but I did not understand, so I said: 'My Lord, what is the אַחֲרִית of all these things?'" The Hebrew word means "end," but "end" is pointless here. What Daniel wanted was the explanation of what he had heard. A glance at 5:12 suggests that behind אַחֲרִית is an Aramaic אַחֲוָיַת, "the explanation of," which had become corrupted to אַחֲרִית, or which the translator misread as אַחֲרִית (for further examples, see Ginsberg, in JBL, 68 (1949), 402–7).

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[Harold Louis Ginsberg]

DANIEL, BOOKS OF (**Apocryphal**), additions to the biblical Book of Daniel. Among the fragments found at *Qumran were three manuscripts (4QpsDan A, B, C) containing works pertaining to the Danielic literature. Two of these (A and B) are copies of the same composition, while the third may represent a different one. The texts are very fragmentary, but the work dealt, at least, with the Flood, the Exodus, sin and the first exile, the first of the four kingdoms (cf. Dan. 2:7, etc.), the Greek period, and the eschatological age. Another Dead Sea text associated with the Danielic literature is the *Prayer of Nabonidus* which presents a tradition close to, but in some respects earlier than, that found in the canonical Daniel.

A Daniel apocryphon is mentioned in early Christian lists, and extant Christian Daniel books include various forms of the work called in Armenian *The Seventh Vision of Daniel*. This is an apocalypse particularly noted for its description of the Antichrist. Texts are known in Armenian, Greek, Coptic, and Slavonic. The Greek and Armenian forms differ from one another in many respects, but their common source is quite apparent. The Slavonic represents the same text form as the Greek. A Persian work called *The History of Daniel* also contains similar materials, and further Daniel books also exist.

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[Michael E. Stone]

DANIEL, DAN (**Margowitz**; 1890–1981), U.S. sportswriter, considered the dean of baseball writers in a career that spanned over 60 years. Born in New York City to immigrant parents, Daniel started his career in 1909 at the *New York Herald*, a year before graduating from the City College of New York. He came from a long line of doctors, and was even enrolled at Columbia's College of Physicians and Surgeons for a short time, but left to pursue a fulltime career as a sportswriter, when in 1911 he was offered $35 a week to work at the *New York Press* by sports editor Nat *Fleischer. It was there that Daniel became one of the first journalists to use a typewriter at a New York newspaper office.

When he was refused a byline early in his profession because of his Jewish surname, Daniel changed it to "By Daniel," using it in his long career at the *New York World-Telegram* and its successor, the *World-Telegram and Sun*, where he worked until the newspaper folded in 1966. He also wrote a column, "Daniel's Dope," and for 20 years conducted the well-known question and answer column "Ask Daniel" in the paper's sports section.

Daniels was by far America's most prolific baseball writer, best known for his 32 years of writing for the *Sporting News*, the Bible of baseball publications for the first half of the 20th century. Using the byline "By Dan Daniel" and "By Daniel M. Daniel," he contributed some 5,000 words a week by his estimate to that publication, having "more words published in the *Sporting News* than any other man," according to the newspaper's publisher.

Daniel was recognized as an authority on the history of the New York Yankees, having covered the club from the pre-Babe Ruth era through the days of Mickey Mantle. He was the first to recognize Lou Gehrig's consecutive games streak and was the official scorer for some 21 games during the 56-game hitting streak of Joe DiMaggio in 1941. Though there was criticism about Daniel's questionable role as the scorer in extending DiMaggio's streak in games 30 and 31, Daniel maintained, "There wasn't a hit he wasn't entitled to. I never favored him one iota and made him get his hits as I saw them."

Daniel was chairman of the Baseball Writers' Association of America, a member of baseball's rules committee, and served for many years on the Hall of Fame Committee on Baseball Veterans. In 1972, Daniel was recipient of the Baseball Writers' Association of America's J.G. Taylor Spink Award, the Baseball Hall of Fame's highest honor for sportswriters.

The versatile Daniel also covered football and was chairman of the Football Writers' Association. In addition, he wrote about boxing, serving as chairman of the Boxing Writers' Association, and was co-founder with Fleischer of *The Ring* magazine. Daniel was the author of *Babe Ruth: The Idol of the American Boy* (1930) and *The Mike Jacobs Story* (1950).

[Elli Wohlgelernter (2nd ed.)]

DANIEL, JEAN (1920–), French writer and journalist. Born in Blida (Algeria), Daniel grew up in Algeria where he completed graduate studies at the Algiers College of Humanities, going to Paris for postgraduate studies. After World War II, he was briefly attached to the Prime Minister's Office, and then turned to journalism. For ten years he was on the editorial board of the influential French weekly *L'Express*, leaving it in 1964 to launch a new paper, *Le Nouvel Observateur*, which took a radical stand on the burning issue at the time, the war in Algeria. Outspoken on civil rights and minorities, while being often the first with the news, the *Nouvel Observateur* was considered the leading magazine in France in the 1980s and was widely read abroad. Daniel was chairman of the board from 1978. Speaking for the moderate left, he often appeared on television and radio panels. He wrote several books, among them *L'Erreur* (1953); *Journal d'un journaliste* (1959); the autobiographical *Le Temps qui reste* (1973); *Le Refuge et la source* (1977); and *L'Ere des ruptures* (1979). His 2003 book *La Prison juive: humeurs et méditations d'un témoin* (*The Jewish Prison: A Rebellious Meditation on the State of Judaism*, 2005) is equally critical of Palestinian suicide bombers and Israeli settlers, faulting the Israeli government for the continuing occupation and not doing enough to create a viable Palestinian state. His collected writings on the Middle East were published in *La Guerre et la Paix: Israël-Palestine, Chroniques 1956–2003*.

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[Gideon Kouts]

DANIEL (**Donyel**), **M.** (pseudonym of **Mark** or **Mordechai Meyerovich**; 1900–1940), Soviet Yiddish fiction writer and dramatist; father of the Soviet-Russian writer Yuli *Daniel. Born in Latvia of poor parents, he became a laborer and later a tutor, after receiving a traditional Jewish education. During World War I Daniel was displaced to the Urals, which provided material for his first published work, a novella, *In a Tsayt Aza* ("In Such a Time," 1924). In 1921 Daniel moved to Moscow where he completed his education at the Yiddish department at the Second Moscow State University. His early stories, which are his best work, suggest the influence of Boris Pilnyak. Prominent among the civil war themes of the stories in *Oyfn Shvel* ("At the Threshold," 1928) is that of the role of the artist in the revolution. Daniel is best known for his novel *Yulis* (1930), whence the name of his son, and its dramatized version *Fir Teg* ("Four Days"), a "heroic tragedy" which played for over three years in the Yiddish state theaters of the Soviet Union. *Fir Teg* is a romantic treatment of the defeat and death of Yulis Shimeliovitsh and other Bolshevik leaders of the Vilna Workers' Council; they committed suicide while surrounded by Polish legionnaires who seized Vilna in 1919. Though the Bolsheviks are idealized, some Soviet critics were not pleased, claiming that revolution admits no tragedy, only heroism. Daniel died in Yalta of a protracted illness.

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[Leonard Prager]

DANIEL, MENAHEM SALIH (1846–1940), leader of the Baghdad community. Daniel's family, which was of Georgian origin, had left him large estates, mostly in the vicinity of the town of Hilla, Iraq. In 1876 he was elected to the Ottoman parliament, and in 1924 to the Iraqi parliament. In 1925 he was appointed representative of the Iraqi Jews in the senate, a post he retained until the early 1930s when he was succeeded by his son Ezra. His great influence in the Baghdad community was due to his great wealth, his close ties with the authorities, and especially his philanthropy. Both he and his son were opposed to Zionist activity in Iraq, fearing that it would incense the Arabs.

His son EZRA MENAHEM DANIEL (d. 1952) was a member of the Iraqi senate from the time he succeeded his father until his death. In the senate, he defended Iraqi Jews with great courage. In 1946 he refused to testify before the Anglo-American Commission of Inquiry (investigating the situation of the Jews in Palestine), despite the attempt of the Iraqi government to force him to do so.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: A. Ben-Jacob, *Yehudei Bavel* (1965), index (includes bibl. in English, Hebrew, and Arabic).

[Haim J. Cohen]

DANIEL, VISION OF, Hebrew apocalypse written in the Byzantine Empire. Scholars differ over its date: some place the work in the 13th century, after the Latin conquest of Constantinople (1204), while others maintain that it was written in the late tenth century. The "Vision" opens with the appearance of the angel Gabriel to the prophet Daniel, continues with historical narrative, and concludes with an apocalyptic vision. The main interest of the work is historiographic: it traces the policies of Byzantine emperors toward the Jews from Michael III to *Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus (ninth to mid-tenth centuries), supporting the assertion of *Megillat Aḥima'aẓ* (see *Ahimaaz b. Paltiel) that *Basil I attempted to convert the Jews, that his son Leo *VI rescinded the decree, and that Romanus I Lecapenus renewed the attempt, which finally was abandoned by Constantine VII. However, it also makes the unfounded allegations that Michael III persecuted the Jews, that Basil I began by rehabilitating the persecuted, and that Romanus "troubled them by expulsion but not through destruction." It may be that the writer of the "Vision" was influenced by the historiography of Constantine VII which exaggerated the virtues of his own Macedonian dynasty (founded by Basil I) and magnified the vices of the previous one, which ended with Basil's murder of Michael III. The writer's generally positive attitude toward the state indicates a marked improvement in the position of Jews in the Byzantine Empire which is further supported by the apocalyptic section of the work. Instead of the usual prophecy foretelling the annihilation of the Christian and Islamic kingdoms, the "Vision" concludes by postulating a final struggle between Rome and Constantinople from which Constantinople will emerge victorious and the Messiah will judge the nations of the world there.

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[Andrew Sharf]

DANIEL, YULI MARKOVICH (1925–1988), Soviet-Russian author, son of the Soviet Yiddish writer M. *Daniel. Although no original works by the younger Daniel had ever been published in the U.S.S.R., where he was known exclusively as a translator, mainly from Yiddish, and from Caucasian and Slavic languages, he acquired an international reputation as the author of a number of books smuggled out of the Soviet Union and published in the West in the early

1960s, under the pseudonym Nikolai Arzhak. These include the short novel *Govorit Moskva* ("This Is Moscow Speaking") and three short stories, *Ruki* ("Hands"), *Chelovek iz Minapa* ("The Man from Minap"), and *Iskupleniye* ("Atonement"). *This Is Moscow Speaking and Other Stories* appeared in an English translation in 1962. *This is Moscow Speaking*, a fanciful work describing a Soviet "public murder day" when citizens are free to kill one another, is the only work of his that treats a "Jewish" theme; a central character immediately ventures the guess that the "day" has been proclaimed to legalize anti-Jewish pogroms. Antisemitic motifs were prominent at the trial in February 1966 of Daniel and his friend and fellow "illegal" writer, Andrei Sinyavsky (who wrote under the pseudonym Abram Tertz). In spite of frail health resulting from wounds received while serving in the Red Army during World War II, Daniel was sentenced to five years' forced labor. The prosecutor and the authors of numerous articles published in the Soviet press before, during, and after the trial accused Daniel and Sinyavsky of slandering Soviet society by insinuating that it was not free of antisemitism. Andrei Sinyavsky, a non-Jew, had in fact devoted much attention to the problem of anti-Jewish prejudice in the U.S.S.R. Protests by leading Soviet intellectuals and strong international pressures failed to bring about the release of the two writers and Daniel's wife, Larissa Daniel-Bogoraz, herself received a prison sentence in the fall of 1968 for having participated in a street demonstration opposing the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia. Daniel continued to speak out even in prison camp, where he protested at the harsh conditions. He continued to write poems in prison which were published in the West. He was released from jail in 1970, lived in Moscow, and worked as a translator of literature under the pseudonym Yu. Prtrov.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: L. Labedz and M. Hayward (eds.), *On Trial; the Case of Sinyavsky (Tertz) and Daniel (Arzhak)* (1967).

[Maurice Friedberg]

DANIEL BEN AZARIAH (11th century), Palestinian *gaon*, 1051–62. Daniel was a descendant of one of the branches of the family of the *exilarch in Babylonia that had been banished. He succeeded Solomon b. Judah as *gaon* of Palestine on the latter's death in 1051, thus supplanting the sons of the *gaon* Solomon Ha-Kohen (b. Jehoseph). In a letter of that time he is called "*nasi* and *gaon* of Tiberias," even though the seat of the Palestinian academy was in Jerusalem. As a scion of the house of David, he was honored also in Egypt. The synagogue of the Palestinian community in Fostat (Old Cairo) was named in honor of him "Synagogue of our Lord Daniel, the Light of Israel, the Great Prince and Head of the Academy of the Majesty of Jacob." The *gaon* corresponded with R. Jehoseph, *nagid*, son of Samuel ha-Nagid of Spain, and bestowed titles of honor upon him; the latter was undoubtedly one of the supporters of the academy in Jerusalem. His son *David b. Daniel did not succeed him at his death because of his extreme youth, but in later years he was involved in a dispute over the succession to the gaonate.

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[Tovia Preschel]

DANIEL BEN ELEAZAR BEN NETHANEL ḤIBBAT ALLAH, Babylonian *gaon*, late 12th–early 13th century. A book by the Arab historian Ibn al-Saʿī (1197–1275) contains the official letter of appointment dated 1208/9 given to Daniel by Caliph al-Naṣr bi-Dīn Allah. In it the caliph stated that he had learned that the *gaon* was "revered and praised by the members of his faith and has the qualities required for his office, and conducts himself with complete honesty, without flaw." It may be assumed that he took office approximately at the time of his official appointment; some scholars, however, identify him with Gaon Daniel b. R. Eleazar he-Ḥasid, whose letters of the period 1201–08 are extant, in which case he became *gaon* long before his official appointment by the caliph. It seems that Daniel died before 1220, as in approximately that year Judah *Al-Ḥarizi found Isaac b. Israel ibn al-Shuwayk holding the office of *gaon* in Baghdad. *Isaac b. Moses' *Or Zaru'a* and Zedekiah b. Abraham *Anav's *Shibbolei ha-Leket* quote a "R. Daniel Gaon" whom some scholars have identified with Daniel b. Eleazar.

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[Tovia Preschel]

DANIEL BEN ḤASDAI (d. 1175), *exilarch of Baghdad. Daniel inherited the office from his father, Ḥasdai b. David b. Hezekiah, and was already serving in this capacity before 1520, as is proved by a letter in which he confirms the appointment of *Nethanel b. Moses ha-Levi as head of "the great *bet din* in all the provinces of the land of Egypt." This letter, which was written in 1161, demonstrates his influence even in Egypt and contains many autobiographical details. He complains about his poverty, due to the political situation, and about the dissensions in his community. Later, however, it seems that his economic situation improved. The 12th-century traveler Benjamin of Tudela, who visited Baghdad a few years later, admiringly describes Daniel's personality and authority, his learning in Bible and Talmud, and his lavish hospitality. R. Abraham Ibn Ezra was also impressed by his personality. Since he had no son, after his death the leaders of the Baghdad Jewish community split into two camps over the choice of his successor (see *David b. Zakkai II).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: S. Poznański, *Babylonische Geonim* (1914), 117–9; Mann, Texts, 1 (1931), 228–36; idem, in: *Sefer Zikkaron … S. Poznański* (1927), 23–24; Assaf, in: *Tarbiz*, 1:3 (1930), 66–77; 3 (1931/32), 343–4. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** M. Gil, *Be-Malkhut Ishmaʿel bi-Tekufat ha-Geonim*, 1 (1997), 433–6.

[Tovia Preschel / Avraham David (2nd ed.)]

DANIEL BEN JEHIEL OF ROME (d. before 1101), rabbinical scholar, elder brother of *Nathan b. Jehiel. On the death of their father, in approximately 1070, he and Nathan became heads of the Rome yeshivah. Daniel wrote responsa, and many of the explanations of words in his brother's lexicon *Arukh* are quoted in his name. He also compiled a commentary on the Mishnah order of *Zera'im*. Zunz ascribes to him the authorship of the *piyyut* for the Sabbath of Ḥanukkah, beginning *Ahallel El be-Minnim ve-Ugav*, a poetical version of the Scroll of Antiochus.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Rapoport, in: *Bikkurei ha-Ittim*, 10 (1829), 7, 19–20; Zunz, Lit Poesie, 163–4.

DANIEL BEN MOSES AL-QŪMISĪ (ninth-tenth centuries), Karaite scholar and leader of the *Avelei Zion ("Mourners of Zion"). He was born in Damghan, in the province of Qumis, northern Persia. Little is known about Daniel's life. He was evidently the first eminent Karaite author to settle in Jerusalem, where he died. Independent in theological outlook, Daniel even belittled the founder of Karaism, *Anan b. David, and dissented from certain of his halakhic principles, justifying himself by the maxim "those who come later will find the truth." Daniel also consistently maintained this principle in regard to himself. According to the Karaite scholar *Kirkisānī, "he would accept any conclusion arrived at by reasoning … and would acknowledge changes whenever they occurred in regard to opinions he had expressed in his writings…." In matters of law, Daniel was more rigorous than his fellow Karaites. On the other hand, he is said to have exempted males aged under 20 from the duty to observe all the biblical ordinances, and admitted the testimony of Muslims in matters connected with the determination of the Jewish calendar.

Daniel occupied himself to a considerable extent in biblical exegesis. While refraining from exhortation, he supplies brief comments intended to explain the simple meaning of the biblical text in a rationalistic manner. He interprets, for instance, the concept "angels" as natural forces, such as fire and water, sent as divine emissaries, and consequently negates the existence of angels. Daniel's commentaries on the Bible served him as a means of propagating his view on Karaism and asceticism. His most complete extant work, *Pitron Sheneim-Asar* (ed. by I. Markon, 1948, 1957), a commentary on the Minor Prophets, contains bitter criticism of the rabbinate and of the degeneration of the Jewish people through pursuit of worldly occupations and pleasures. Daniel blamed the prolongation of the Exile on the neglect of the divine truths – i.e., the Bible – due to the negative influence of the *Rabbanite "shepherds of the Diaspora." He especially condemned the arrogance of the rabbis and their officials, and their economic exploitation of the people. According to Daniel, the Torah was at first in the possession of a restricted group, "the priests and levites, together with the king." However, after the destruction of the First Temple it was handed over to the entire Jewish people in order that each individual should bear responsibility for his actions. Daniel became the leader and spokesman of the Avelei Zion; he was probably the author of their official program. He enjoined perpetual public mourning for the destruction of the Temple and constant supplication for redemption, all to be practiced while living in Jerusalem. He proposed the collection of funds from Karaites abroad to enable chosen members of the sect to live in Jerusalem and represent the community as mourners. "And if you do not come, because you yearn for your merchandise, send five people from each city supplied with means of subsistence, that we may form one association to appeal to God constantly from the mountains of Jerusalem."

Al-Qūmisī's homiletical commentaries (*derashot*) have been published (*Zion*, 3 (1929), 26–42), and of his brief commentary on the Bible, the part on the Minor Prophets has appeared, though its attribution to Daniel has been questioned (Marwick, in JBB, 5 (1961), 42ff.).

DAVID (ABU SULEIMAN) AL-QŪMISĪ (died c. 945), a Karaite scholar, was apparently his son. According to the Arabic scholar al-Masʿudī, David lived in Jerusalem and translated the Bible into Arabic, with explanations. He is mentioned by *Japheth b. Ali in his commentary (to Lev. 23:p 5), as well as in an anonymous Arabic commentary on Leviticus (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Heb. d. 44).

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DANIEL BEN PERAḤYAH HA-KOHEN (d. 1575), head of yeshivah and author. His family, which originated in Rome, claimed descent from *Josephus. From Rome his father moved to Salonika where, until his death in 1548, he was head of the yeshivah of the Italian community, being succeeded in that position by Daniel, who also served as a *dayyan*. In addition to his talmudic learning, Daniel studied philosophy, mathematics, medicine, and astronomy. A fire that broke out at Salonika in 1545 destroyed all his books, as well as most of his writings, of which only his commentary on *She'erit Yosef* by Joseph b. Shem Tov Ḥai on intercalation has been published (Salonika, 1568). To this work he appended material by himself on a variety of subjects, and also a work on intercalation by Abraham *Zacuto with his own commentary. With the rabbis of Salonika he was a signatory in 1573 to the ban against the physician Daud, the opponent of Don Joseph *Nasi. He was an intimate friend of Moses *Almosnino. On his death he was eulogized by the poet Saadiah *Longo. He had no sons and was succeeded by his brother Samuel.

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[Abraham David]

DANIEL BEN SAADIAH HA-BAVLI (known as **Daniel ibn al-Amshata**; fl. c. 1200), Babylonian talmudist. Daniel was head of the "third yeshivah" in Baghdad when *Benjamin of Tudela was there c. 1170. In 1193 he was appointed "*segan ha-yeshivah*" ("vice president of the academy"), under *Zechariah b. Berachel. Some time later, after the death of his teacher *Samuel b. Ali ha-Levi (1193–94), he moved to Damascus. There he served as a preacher, his sermons making a profound impression. Judah *Al-Ḥarizi, who heard him there in 1220, praised him (*Taḥkemoni*, 46). Like Samuel b. Ali ha-Levi, he waged a bitter campaign against Maimonides' philosophical views. Forty-seven of his criticisms of *Mishneh Torah* and 13 of *Sefer ha-Mitzvot*, which he sent to Maimonides' son Abraham from Damascus in 1213, were published, together with Abraham's answers, in *Birkat Avraham* (1859), and with the Arabic original in *Ma'aseh Nissim* (1867). Much of his criticism of Maimonides' *Sefer ha-Mitzvot* is included in Naḥmanides' criticism of the same book. Daniel also wrote a commentary on Ecclesiastes, in which he again violently criticized Maimonides' views, though not mentioning him by name. When Abraham was urged by several rabbis to excommunicate Daniel, he refused to do so, both because of Daniel's distinction and because of his own lack of objectivity in the matter. The Maimonists finally prevailed upon the exilarch *David b. Samuel of Mosul to place Daniel under the ban. Eventually Daniel recanted his views.

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[Abraham David]

DANIEL BEN SAMUEL IBN ABĪ RABĪʿ (**Ha-Kohen** (13th century)), Babylonian *gaon*. He was appointed in 1247 in succession to R. Isaac b. Israel (Abu al-Fath or Isḥaq ibn al-Shuwayk), by Abd al-Raḥman ibn al-Lamkhani, the Baghdad *qadi*. There was opposition to Daniel, especially by R. Eli b. Zechariah, who succeeded in persuading the vizier that the office of *gaon* was rightfully his and who was, in fact, appointed *gaon* in Daniel's place in 1250. *Eleazar b. Jacob ha-Bavli, the poet, praises Daniel in one of his poems. His son *Samuel also became *gaon*.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: S. Poznański, *Babylonische Geonim im nachgaonaeischen Zeitalter* (1914), 46–49, 68–70, 74f.; Mann, Texts, 1 (1931), 225–7; Fischel, in: MGWJ, 79 (1935), 310–5; Fischel, Islam, 131f; A. Ben-Jacob, *Yehudei Bavel* (1965), 33.

[Abraham David]

DANIEL ḤAYYATA ("the tailor"), Palestinian *amora*. He is quoted only a few times in midrashic literature. Thus he interprets Genesis 26:14 as teaching that a man who buys slaves should work together with them to spur them on to greater efficiency (Gen. R. 64:7). He is best known for a striking Midrash in which he interprets Ecclesiastes 4:1, "But I returned and considered all the oppressions that are done under the sun," as referring to *mamzerim* ("children of forbidden unions") who are oppressed "by the Great Sanhedrin" – though in accordance with the laws of the Torah – for the sins of their parents and who will be recompensed in the world to come (Lev. R. 32:8; Eccl. R. 4:1, 1). No biographical details are known of him, but, like the other rabbis mentioned in these midrashim, he was probably of the third or fourth century C.E.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Bacher, Pal Amor, 3 (1899), 761; Hyman, Toledot, 334.

°**DANIEL-ROPS, HENRI** (pseudonym of **Jean Charles Henri Petiot**; 1901–1965), French historian and writer. A history schoolteacher by profession, Daniel-Rops was a prolific writer whose literary career extended over a period of 40 years. Among his more famous works are *Histoire sainte* or *Le peuple de la Bible* (1943; *Sacred History of Israel and the Ancient World*, 1949) and *Jesus en son temps* (1945; *Jesus in His Time*, 1955), and the 14-volume *Histoire de l'Eglise du Christ* (1948; *History of Church of Christ*, 1957–). These works, characterized by apologetics for the Catholic view of history, contain traditional anti-Jewish prejudices. On the other hand, Daniel-Rops acknowledged the bond of the Jewish people to the Holy Land and he expressed his admiration for the Zionist movement.

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[Willehad Paul Eckert]

DANIELS, ALFRED (1924–1975), British painter. Daniels was born in the East End of London, and studied commercial art before World War II. While studying at the Royal College of Art, London, he was commissioned to execute a series of murals. Influenced by the American Jewish painter Ben *Shahn, Daniels always displayed a deep concern for ordinary people in everyday activity. He executed a number of paintings of East End Jewish life and combined in his work a concern for urban realism and a sense of stylization. Characteristic of his work was an exhibition devoted to buildings in London undergoing demolition, including the former Bayswater Synagogue. His work has much in common with such English painters as Stanley Spencer and Lowry, notably in the sympathetic humor with which he depicts everyday life. He was both a gifted draftsman and an active photographer, basing his compositions on these two forms of research. He exhibited regularly in London and abroad and received numerous commissions for murals and book illustrations. For some years he taught at the Hornsey College of Art, London. Daniels is represented in major collections throughout the world, including the Tel Aviv Museum.

[Charles Samuel Spencer]

DANIN (Suchowolsky), YEḤEZKEL (1867–1945), Ereẓ Israel pioneer. Danin was born in Bialystok, and settled in Ereẓ Israel in 1886, working first as a laborer in Rishon le-Zion, later in Jaffa where he started industrial plants that were among the first in the country. Danin was a member of *Benei Moshe and served as its representative in Jaffa in 1893. He was a founding member of *B'nai B'rith in Jaffa, and of the public library there (1890). His main interest was in promoting Hebrew education, and he helped found the first kindergarten in Jaffa. In 1903 Danin participated in the first conference of the *yishuv* in Zikhron Ya'akov (see *Israel, Historical Survey, 1880–1948). In 1906 he joined the Aḥuzat Bayit group which founded Tel Aviv in 1909. Danin was son-in-law of Yehoshua *Yellin. One of his sons, Ezra (1903–1984), was special adviser on Arab and Middle Eastern affairs to the Israel foreign minister for many years.

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[Benjamin Jaffe]

DANKNER, AMNON (1946–), Israeli journalist and author. Born in Jerusalem, Dankner graduated in law from the Hebrew University. After a period as spokesman for the Ministry of Education, he entered journalism, becoming successively a columnist on *Davar*, *Ḥadashot*, and *Haaretz*, the last from which he was fired after writing a controversial column called "I have no Sister," which represented Sephardim in an unflattering light. He subsequently joined *Maariv* as a columnist, becoming editor in 2002. Formerly left-wing in outlook, Dankner moved towards the center and right, and once editor of *Maariv* he made corruption at the governmental and judicial levels a *cause célèbre* of the newspaper. He also wrote a number of novels, humorous works, screenplays, and nonfiction works. Most controversial was his biography of bohemian journalist and author Dahn *Ben-Amotz in 1992, alleging that Ben-Amotz had led a promiscuous life, including engaging in sex with minors, in which other well-known Israeli cultural figures had had a part. For the latter allegations he was sued for libel and apologized. He was also a permanent panel member of a popular television talkshow, "*Po-Politika,*" in the latter 1990s.

[Yoel Cohen (2nd ed.)]

DANON, ABRAHAM (1857–1925), scholar and writer. Danon studied at the Gheron yeshivah in Adrianople, his native city. His scholarly bent was nurtured by the Orientalist Joseph Halévy and Danon taught himself French, English, and German. He was one of the founders of Ḥevrat Shomerei Tushiyyah ("Society of the Friends of Wisdom"; also called Dorshei Haskalah, "Seekers of Enlightenment") in his city. In 1891 he headed the rabbinical seminary, which he had founded. During World War I he left Turkey for Paris, where he taught Hebrew at the Ecole Normale Orientale of the *Alliance Israélite Universelle and also engaged in research.

Danon edited the historical journal *Yosef ha-Da'at* (*El Progresso*), which was published in 1888 in Adrianople in Hebrew and Ladino, with the object of collating and publishing documentation relating to Oriental Jewry. He published in the *Revue des Etudes Juives, Journal Asiatique, Revue Hispanique*, etc., a number of scientific articles on the history, customs, sects, and literature of the Jews in Turkey, and translated poems and scholarly works into Hebrew. He also composed original poems. His works include *Maskil Leidan* (the latter word being the initials of his name), and *Toledot Benei Avraham*, a translation and adaptation of the *Histoire des Israélites* by Théodore Reinach, to which he added excerpts from the works of Jewish historians.

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[Simon Marcus]

°DANTE ALIGHIERI (1265–1321), Italy's greatest poet. Dante's *Divina Commedia* (c. 1307–21), generally regarded as the outstanding literary work of the Middle Ages, is in three parts: the *Inferno*, the *Purgatorio*, and the *Paradiso*. From biographical or autobiographical sources it cannot be proved for certain that Dante was in close touch with Jews or was personally acquainted with them. Jews are mentioned in his *Divina Commedia* mainly as a result of the theological problem posed by their historical role and survival. Such references are purely literary: the term *judei* or *giudei* designates "the Jews," a people whose religion differs from Christianity; while *ebrei* denotes "the Hebrews," the people of the Bible. Dante knew no Hebrew and the isolated Hebrew terms which appear in the *Commedia* – *Hallelujah, Hosanna, Sabaoth, El*, and *Jah* – are derived from Christian liturgy or from the scholastic texts of the poet's day. The *Commedia* contains no insulting or pejorative references to Jews. Although antisemites have given a disparaging interpretation to the couplet: "Be like men and not like foolish sheep, So that the Jew who dwells among you will not mock you" (*Paradiso*, 5:80–81), the Jews of Dante's time considered these lines an expression of praise and esteem. In the course of his famous journey through Hell, Dante encounters no Jews among the heretics, usurers, and counterfeiters whose sinful ranks Jews during the Middle Ages were commonly alleged to swell.

In the 19th century, scholars were convinced that Dante was on terms of friendship with the Hebrew poet *Immanuel of Rome. The latter and one of Dante's friends, Bosone da Gubbio, marked Dante's death by exchanging sonnets; and the death of Immanuel gave rise to another exchange of sonnets between Bosone and the poet Cino da Pistoia, in which Dante and Immanuel are mentioned together. Twentieth-century scholars, headed by M.D. (Umberto) Cassuto, showed that there is no basis for the alleged friendship between the two poets, but have proved Immanuel's dependence upon Dante's works. Important points of contact have also been discovered between Dante's conceptions and the views of R. *Hillel b. Samuel of Verona; hypotheses have been formulated on the resemblance of the notion of Hebrew as the perfect or original language in the *Commedia* and in the works of the kabbalist Abraham *Abulafia, and in general on the common neoplatonic element in Dante's theoretical and poetical works and in Kabbalah. Moreover, the *Questio de aqua et terra* probably written by Dante has a precedent in the discussion between Moses Ibn *Tibbon and Jacob ben Sheshet *Gerondi on the same subject a century before. Another parallel to Dante's outlook on the world may be found in the writings and translations of Immanuel's cousin, Judah b. Moses *Romano, who, within a few years of Dante's death, made a *Judeo-Italian version of some philosophical passages from the *Purgatorio* and the *Paradiso*, adding his own Hebrew commentary. Italian Jews quickly realized the lyrical and ideological value of the *Commedia* and an early edition was issued by a Jewish printer at Naples in 1477. Like Petrarch, Dante was widely quoted by Italian rabbis of the Renaissance in their sermons, and even by one or two Jewish scholars in their learned commentaries. The first actual imitation was that of Immanuel of Rome. His *Maḥberet ha-Tofet ve-ha-Eden* is the 28th and final section of his *Maḥberot* (Brescia, 1491). Here Immanuel also describes a journey to the next world, in which he is guided by Daniel, a friend or teacher who, in the opinion of some scholars, is Dante himself. A slight echo of the allegorical vision dealing with the soul's spiritual delight in the afterlife occurs in the *Maḥberet ha-Tene*, a rhymed prose work by R. *Ahitub b. Isaac of Palermo. Another important work openly inspired by the *Commedia* was *Mikdash Me'at* (written c. 1416), written by R. Moses b. Isaac *Rieti, in terza rima. This poetical meter was used for some decades by Hebrew Italian poets. By the 17th century Dante's influence on Jewish writers had weakened, and there is only a doubtful connection between the *Commedia* and Moses *Zacuto's verse-play *Tofteh Arukh* (Venice, 1715).

To mark the 600th anniversary of Dante's death, Samuel David *Luzzatto composed a Hebrew sonnet that became famous in scholarly circles throughout Europe. Many attempts have been made to translate the *Divina Commedia* into Hebrew. A translation of the first part by S. Formiggini was published in 1869; S. Sabbadini's Hebrew version of the other two parts remains in manuscript. Other partial translations were made into a more poetic and comprehensible Hebrew by Lelio della Torre (1871), V. Castiglioni (1912), E. Schreiber (1924), and V. *Jabotinsky (*Inferno*, chaps. 1, 3, 5, 33, in *Ha-Tekufah*, 19 (1923), 163–92). Immanuel *Olsvanger produced the first complete Hebrew translation of the *Commedia* (1943, 1953, 1956). Olsvanger also translated Dante's *Vita Nuova* (1957) while his *De monarchia* was translated into Hebrew by H. Merḥaviah (1961).

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[Joseph Baruch Sermoneta / Alessandro Guetta (2nd ed.)]

DANTO, LOUIS (1929–), *ḥazzan*. Danto was born in Suwalki, Poland, and sang in synagogue choirs there as a child, appearing with the *ḥazzanim* Steinberg and Berman. He spent WWII in Russia and studied voice development and cello at the Minsk conservatory. He also studied at music conservatories in Lodz, Poland, and in Italy, where his teachers included Beniamino Gigli and Tito Schipa. Danto specialized in bel canto and as such his voice is known for its rare beauty, purity, and breathtaking emotional expressivity. He immigrated to the United States and studied *ḥazzanut* under Leo Loeb and Herman Zalitz. After serving with a number of congregations in the United States, he became *ḥazzan* of the Toronto, Canada synagogue Beth Emeth–Bais Yehudah. He gave concerts of classical music and *ḥazzanut* throughout the United States and in Europe, South Africa, and Israel. Danto visited the Soviet Union and sang in the Great Synagogue of Moscow. In 1998, Danto received an honorary doctorate in music from the Jewish Theological Seminary in New York City. He has made 21 recordings of *ḥazzanut*, Yiddish songs, and classical vocal pieces. Numerous contemporary composers have written for and dedicated their works to Louis Danto. In addition, he is a researcher and a champion of rare and unusual repertoire. Most of his current recordings are available though Cadenza Records.

[Akiva Zimmerman / Raymond Goldstein (2nd ed.)]

°DANZ (Danzius), JOHANN ANDREAS (1654–1727), German Protestant theologian and Hebraist, born in Sundhausen, near Gotha. Danz was professor of Oriental languages and theology at the University of Jena from 1685 onward. One of the foremost Christian Hebraists of his time, Danz tried to present Hebrew grammar systematically but was only partially successful, since many of the constructions were artificial. His first work, *Kelippei Egozim* ("Nutshells"): *Nucifrangibulum Sanctam Scripturae Veteris Testamenti Linguam Ebraeam Enucleans* (Jena, 1686), is divided into two parts. The first part (later also published separately, under the title *Medakdek, sive Literator Ebraeo-Chaldaeus*, Jena, 1696) deals with the etymology of the Hebrew language. Here Danz developed his *Systema Trium Morarum* (the three-beat-syllable method), and he also explains Hebrew vocalization. In the second part of the book (later also published as a separate work, *Turgeman,* *sive Interpres Ebraeo-Chaldaeus*, Jena, 1694, and several editions) he is concerned with Hebrew syntax.

Aditus Syriae Reclusus (1689 and several republications) deals with difficult passages in Syriac. He also published *Spicilegium* (Jena, 1689); *Segulta de-Rabbanan, sive Rabbinismus Enucleatus* (Jena, 1699, and several editions); *Compendium Grammaticae Ebraicae-Chaldaicae* (Jena, 1699, and several editions), a Hebrew-Aramaic grammar, later translated into German by Georg David Kypke (Breslau, 1757); and *Sinceritas Scripturae Veteris Testamenti Praevalente keri Vacillans…* (Jena, 1713; annotations, *ibid.*, 1717), a book in defense of the masoretic text (*ketiv*).

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DANZIG (Danziger), ABRAHAM BEN JEHIEL MICHAL (1748–1820), codifier. Born in Danzig, he studied in Prague at the yeshivot of Joseph Liebermann and Ezekiel *Landau. True to his family tradition, he refused to derive any material gain from his studies and earned his livelihood as a merchant. Although required at times to travel long distances to trade fairs in Germany, he continued to learn with great devotion. From 1794 to 1812 he served as *dayyan* in Vilna, in an honorary capacity; only in his old age, after losing his possessions, was he obliged to accept remuneration for his services. Danzig wrote a number of halakhic works, but his fame rests upon two publications: (1) *Ḥayyei Adam* ("Man's Life"), covering all the laws of the Shulḥan Arukh dealing with daily conduct, based on the *Oraḥ Ḥayyim* sections, with an addendum called *Nishmat Adam*, in which he justified his decisions which were not in accordance with the accepted view (Vilna, 1810); and (2) *Ḥokhmat Adam* ("Man's Wisdom"), covering all the laws of the Shulḥan Arukh dealing with the dietary regulations, etc., contained in the *Yoreh De'ah* section, with an addendum called *Binat Adam*, which included discussions on various relevant halakhic subjects and responsa (Vilna, 1812). Both works were initially intended for youthful students and for educated laymen not fully versed in rabbinic literature who, in attempting to determine Jewish law, found themselves unable to grapple with the intricacies of the Shulḥan Arukh and with its maze of conflicting opinions. In these works, Danzig shows himself possessed of considerable pedagogical talent. He arranges the laws methodically, defines his terms lucidly and precisely, presents the various views and their sources, and renders his own decisions and his reasons for them – all in clear, simple language. The pleasant tenor of his writing, which is suffused with unquestioning faith and true piety, contributed largely toward the acceptance of his works.

Ḥayyei Adam appeared in almost a hundred editions. Groups called "Ḥevrot Ḥayyei Adam" were formed in several communities for the regular study of the code. Danzig's merits as a codifier were recognized also by renowned rabbis and codifiers, who gave due consideration to his decisions. His books include much of historical interest with regard to the daily life of Lithuanian Jewry in his generation.

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[Simon S. Schlesinger]

DANZIGER, ITZHAK (1916–1977), Israeli sculptor. Danziger was born in Berlin to Felix Danziger and Malka Rozenblit. His father worked as a surgeon in Hamburg and was active in the Zionist movement. In 1923 the family settled in Jerusalem. As a child Danziger studied at schools in Tel Aviv, Haifa, Berlin, and England. He studied sculpture at the Slade School of Fine Art, University of London. During these years he concentrated on the study of ancient cultures: Asia, Egypt, Africa, and India, especially by copying sculptures in the British Museum. In 1938 Danziger returned to Tel Aviv, where he set up a studio in his father's hospital. His studio became a meeting place and a workshop for young artists. Over the years Danziger spent time both in Israel and abroad. He created sculptures and memorials and designed gardens and environments. In 1968 he was awarded the Israel Prize.

His best-known sculpture is *Nimrod* (1938–39), placed in the Israel Museum in Jerusalem. This sculpture may be seen as constituting a manifesto and indeed it became identified with the Canaanite movement although Danziger himself was never an official member of this movement. The source of this figure was the Bible: "Like Nimrod a mighty hunter before the Lord" (Gen: 10:9). The meaning of the name in Hebrew is "rebellion," so Nimrod represents rebellion against the Lord. His figure is an antithesis of the typical image of a Jewish scholar. It symbolized the search for an alternative image, a new representation of an Israeli figure. The style of the sculpture was influenced by Mesopotamian reliefs and the choice of Nubian sandstone created the connection to local space as well as to biblical time. In the sketch for this sculpture Danziger designed the figure as a muscular giant but the sculpture itself became, after obsessive work, completely different. Gazing up, it represented an ancient idol.

Danziger was the inspiration for the second generation of Israeli artists and was considered a central figure in Israeli sculpture. He organized ecological acts, in an attempt to revitalize nature. These acts expressed the artist's perception that he was the creator of a new order of nature in a place that had been damaged by man and by time (*Rehabilitation of the Nesher Quarry*, 1971). The gardens scattered across Israel captured Danziger's heart. His actions in these gardens expressed the connection with the local place and with its inhabitants and resulted in giving Israeli art a social aspect (*The Bustan at Al Kababir Village*, Carmel)

Danziger was killed on July 11, 1977, in a road accident on his way to Jerusalem.

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[Ronit Steinberg (2nd ed.)]

DA-OZ, RAM (1929–), Israeli composer. Born in Berlin, he immigrated to Ereẓ Israel in 1934 and studied piano and oboe in Haifa. He lost his eyesight while fighting in the War of Independence (1948). After the war, he studied theory and composition privately with Hajos for three years, and graduated from the Tel Aviv Academy of Music in 1953. His early compositions show tendencies toward chromatic modulations and the influence of Prokofiev and Bartok. From the 1970s, Da-Oz employed traditional styles in combination with "free tonality." Among his works for piano are *Capriccio* (1960); *Aspects, Prologue, Variations and Epilogue*; *Changing Phantoms* for orchestra (1967); *Illuminations* for violin solo; three madrigals (1967); *Rhapsody on a Yemenite Jewish Melody* for orchestra (1971); *Jubilee Chants* for choir and orchestra (1984); *I Loved a Shepherdess: Fantasy on Sephardic Melodies* for violin and piano (1991); and *Two-Part Inventions* (1995). He also composed several Israeli folk songs.

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[Uri (Erich) Toeplitz and Yohanan Boehm /
Gila Flam and Israela Stein (2nd ed.)]

DA PONTE, LORENZO (1749–1838), poet and librettist, best remembered for his work with Mozart. Born Emanuele Conegliano, Da Ponte was given the family name of his sponsor, the bishop of Ceneda, upon the family's baptism in 1763. He was educated for the priesthood and ordained, taught briefly, and embarked upon a writer's career. Banished from Venice after a period of dissipation and a scandal, he reached Vienna in 1783 and was appointed librettist to the Imperial Opera. His first meeting with Mozart apparently came about through the Jewish banker and patron of the arts, Raimund von *Wetzlar. Da Ponte's libretti for Mozart were *Lo sposo deluso* (1783, unfinished); the oratorio *Davidde penitente* (1785, of uncertain authorship; see *David, In Music); several concert arias; and the three great operas *Le nozze di Figaro* (1784), *Don Giovanni* (1787), and *Cosí fan tutte* (1789). *Don Giovanni*, although based on previous stage works, certainly owes a spiritual debt to Da Ponte's friendship with Casanova, whom he had known in Venice. In 1790 the emperor Joseph II died and Da Ponte, who had enjoyed his favor, was obliged to leave Vienna. In Trieste he abandoned his lightly borne clerical status by marrying Nancy (Anne Celestine) Grahl, the daughter of a German-English merchant. The ceremony was said to have been held "according to the Jewish rite," but the reports are ambiguous. After further wanderings and a stay in London, where he was a librettist at Drury Lane Theater, Da Ponte and his family went to the United States in 1805. He ultimately settled in New York, engaged unsuccessfully in various commercial ventures, and for some time taught Italian at Columbia College. He earned a place in American operatic history by persuading M. Garcia's visiting troupe to give the first American performance of *Don Giovanni* in 1825. He also raised money for building the Italian Opera House in New York in 1833. His autobiography, *Storia compendiosa della vita di Lorenzo da Ponte* (New York, 1807), was republished several times in a revised edition.

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[Bathja Bayer]

DARABANI, small town in N.E. Romania. Jews from Galicia settled there in 1836. After them Jews from Russia also settled there. The location of Darabani on the commercial route connecting Bukovina and Moldavia attracted further Jewish settlement. However in 1875 and 1877 the owner of the land sued the Jews, and violence broke out. Anti-Jewish riots again occurred in 1907. There were 600 Jews living in Darabani in 1838; 638 (38% of the total population) in 1859; 2,472 in 1899; 2,387 (36.8%) in 1910; and 1,917 (17.8%) in 1930. The majority were merchants or artisans. Many of them were *ḥasidim* of the *admor* of Stefanesti. Between the two world wars the economic life of the town deteriorated because of the changes in borders and commercial routes. From the onset of communal life there was friction in the community. The Russian Jews established a separate synagogue in the 1840s; between the two world wars there was dissension in the community between artisans and merchants. In 1935–40, eight synagogues and five *ḥadarim* operated in Darabani. Among the rabbis was Nahum Shemaryahu Schechter (1908–30), author of some volumes of *derashot* and on Hebrew and Jewish names. He later immigrated to Israel and died in Jerusalem in 1976. The Hebrew and Romanian poet Shimon Haran (died in Jerusalem 2004) and the Yiddish and Romanian poet Sami Weinstein-Boiangiu (A. Ebion) were born in Darabani. A Zionist organization was established in Darabani in the 1930s. A branch of the Jewish party (Partidul Evreiesc, a political organization with a Zionist national trend) was active there and had representatives on the municipal council. Apart from the *ḥadarim* the community maintained its own school (1937).

[Yehouda Marton / Lucian-Zeev Herscovici (2nd ed.)]

Holocaust Period

In 1941 there were 1,854 Jews in Darabani. They were victimized by acts of terror as early as June 1940. On the pretext that the Jews were pro-Soviet and secretly preparing to greet the Soviet Army, Romanian army detachments and police daily attacked them in the streets, searched their houses, and arrested them. In June 1941, a few days before war against the Soviet Union broke out, all Jews were ordered to leave the town within half an hour and were allowed to take only their basic belongings with them. After the evacuation, their houses were plundered. The deportees had to walk to the railroad station, a distance of 22 mi. (35 km.) and were transported by freight car to *Dorohoi; the men were sent on to the concentration camp at Târgu-Jiu and the women and children to the small town of Turnu-Severin in western Romania. On Nov. 7, 1941, they were sent together with the men from Târgu-Jiu to *Transnistria, crossing the border in sealed freight cars and proceeding on foot to their destination, where most of them perished. At the end of 1943, a few of the survivors returned to Dorohoi and went from there to Darabani, where they were still subject to persecution. They were not permitted to engage in business, to walk in the streets, or buy food before 10 A.M., and Romanian inhabitants were forbidden to have any contact with them. After World War II survivors, joined by refugees from northern Bukovina, reorganized community life. In 1947, 990 Jews lived in Darabani, with five functioning synagogues in 1950, but their numbers diminished owing to emigration. Some ten Jewish families remained in the town by 1970 and maintained the synagogue. No Jews lived in Darabani in 1992. An association of Jews from Darabani is active in Israel, in the framework of the Association of Jewish Israelis from the former county of Dorohoi.

[Theodor Lavi / Lucian-Zeev Herscovici (2nd ed.)]

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DARʿĪ, MOSES BEN ABRAHAM (late 12th–early 13th century), Karaite poet. The assertion that Darʿī was writing poetry as early as 843 is based on a forged date in the *Firkovich manuscript. The similarity between his poems and those of the Spanish school from Ibn Gabirol to Abraham Ibn Ezra can only be explained by his dependence upon them; Darʿī, then, must have lived after Abraham Ibn Ezra. According to A. Neubauer, he lived at the end of the 13th century, because in his poems he prays for the deliverance of Jerusalem from the Muslims and the Christians, which points to a time when both sides were desperately contending for the city. The exact period of his life depends upon the correct identification of the poet's friends mentioned in his divan (a collection of poetry); it can, however, be stated that he must have been active about the year 1200. It is known that his parents had emigrated from Spain to Darʿa (in Morocco), which accounts for the family name "Darʿī." He himself was born in Alexandria, where he spent his youth. Steinschneider and Davidson assume that he was originally a Rabbanite and only later became a Karaite. In any case, his poems contain both violent outbursts against "the people of the distorted Mishnah" and tolerant utterances. He wrote his divan in Egypt; he is also known to have stayed in Damascus and to have undertaken a journey to Jerusalem. By profession he was a physician, as is evident from numerous acrostics in his poems. Two of Darʿī's sons died during his lifetime. His poems have been preserved in a manuscript divan that originated in Jerusalem (Firkovich Collection, Leningrad). It consists of two parts: *Firdaws Azhār al-Qaṣāʿid wa al-Ashʿār* ("Flower Garden of Qasidas and Songs"); and a "Supplement" (*Al-Mulḥaq li Dīwānihi al-Asbaq*), containing – both together – a collection of 544 poems. Another manuscript of the divan with 561 poems became known in 1837 (see Geiger, in: WZJT, 3 (1837), 443, no. 9–10). More recent copies of the divan (of the 19th–20th centuries) have been preserved in a manuscript acquired by I. Davidson as well as in the Asiatic Museum of Leningrad. Moreover, various religious poems of Darʿī are preserved in manuscripts of song collections of Egypt and Damascus. Pinsker published more than 100 poems from the Firkovich manuscript in *Likkutei Kadmoniyyot* (1860), and also individual poems in the journal *Kokhevei Yiẓḥak* (26 (1861), 22ff; 27 (1862), 24–27; 28 (1862), 20–24); one poem was published by A. Neubauer (*Melekhet ha-Shir* (1865), 64). Davidson intended to publish the entire divan but only the first part appeared in *Horeb*, 3 (1936), 28–42. Both parts of the divan contain almost every poetical genre cultivated by the Spanish-Hebrew poets. To the secular poems belong epistles to friends, epithalamia, elegies, enigmas, epigrams, love lyrics, satires, etc. The religious poems are frequently arranged according to the sequence of the Sabbath reading of the Torah. Most of the poems are written in Hebrew and approximately ten are written in Arabic. Darʿī signs most of the Hebrew poems "*Moshe Rofe Kara'i, Ḥazak.*" A special group comprises poems in both languages. A so-called *maqāma* (an address, sermon, or story, told in public and written in assonant prose), named the *Maqāma of Alexandria* (*Maḥberet No-Amon Miẓrayim*, ed. 1927 by I. Davidson), has been attributed to Darʿī without any substantial reason. In general, Darʿī's technical dexterity surpassed his poetical gifts. While the language and structure of his poems are in the best tradition of the Spanish school, the contents often betray a lack of individuality.

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[Jefim (Hayyim) Schirmann]

DARIUS (Heb. and Aram. (from the Elephantine papyri) דריוש; in the Elephantine papyri also דריוהוש, דריהוש; old Persian *darayavahus*), name of three Persian kings of the Achaemenid royal family.

DARIUS I (522–486 B.C.E.), a descendant of a collateral line of the Achaemenid royal family, followed Cambyses, son of Cyrus, on the throne of Persia after a period of political turmoil. He defeated Gaumata, who claimed to be Bardiya, brother of Cambyses, and rebels elsewhere in the empire. Darius gave his account of the struggle in the trilingual Behistun inscription (Old Persian, Elamite, and Babylonian; a fragmentary Aramaic version was found at Elephantine). This inscription, as well as that on his tomb at Naqsh-i Rustam, affords an insight into Persian religious beliefs of that period. Darius extended the empire to include Lybia, Thracia, Sogdiana, and India as its borders. His attempt to conquer Greece ended in defeat at Marathon in 490. He organized the empire into satrapies and set up a network of roads and a postal system. He also reformed the laws of the provinces and consolidated internal administration and taxation. According to Ezra 6:12 Darius forbade further obstruction to the rebuilding of the Temple in Jerusalem and supplied its needs: the Temple was completed in the second year of his reign (Haggai 1:15).

DARIUS II NOTHUS (442–404 B.C.E.), son of Artaxerxes I, was essentially a weak king whose rule over the western part of the empire was often lax. During his reign there was turmoil in Media, Lydia, Syria, and Egypt. Many of the Elephantine papyri are dated by his regnal years. During his fifth year the papyrus ordering the Jews of Elephantine to observe the Passover was issued in his name (Pritchard, Texts, 491), and it was in his 14th year (410 B.C.E.) that the Elephantine temple was destroyed. The reference to Darius the Persian in Nehemiah 12:22 is in all likelihood to Darius II and permits the dating of the list of priests given there.

DARIUS III CODOMANUS (336–330 B.C.E.), the last Achaemenian king, was defeated by Alexander the Great at Issus (333) and at Gaugamela (331), an event mentioned in I Maccabees 1:1. He was murdered by the satrap of Bactria.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: P.J. Junge, *Dareios I* (Ger., 1944); Olmstead, Hist, index; R.G. Kent, *Old Persian* (1953), 107–63, 189; B. Porten, *Archives from Elephantine* (1968), index.

[Jonas C. Greenfield]

DARIUS THE MEDE, Persian king. According to the Bible in Daniel 6:1 (cf. 11:1) Darius the Mede succeeded Belshazzar as king of Babylon. The reference is historically impossible and has caused much confusion. A possible explanation may be found in the recapture of Babylon in 520 B.C.E. by *Darius I and the loose use of the term Mede for Persian by the Greeks and Mineans. A more recent explanation is based on the Achaemenian Persian doctrine of three world monarchies of which Persia was the third. The Chaldeans were assumed to be the founders of the first great empire; they were followed by the Medes and finally by the Persians. The Jews substituted the Chaldeans for the Assyrians and the Persians. Darius, who conquered Babylon, was regarded by the Judean writer as Darius the Mede, successor to the Chaldean, Belshazzar, and as the predecessor of Cyrus the Persian.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: H.H. Rowley, *Darius the Mede and the Four World Empires in the Book of Daniel* (1935); H.L. Ginsberg, *Studies in Daniel* (1948), 5, 63–64, 69.

[Jonas C. Greenfield]

DARMESTETER, ARSÈNE (1846–1888), French philologist and authority in Romance languages. Darmesteter, who was born at Château-Salins (Lorraine), was appointed lecturer in Romance languages at the Ecole des Hautes Etudes in Paris in 1872. In 1877 he was appointed lecturer in French language and literature at the Sorbonne. He collaborated with Adolphe Hatzfeld in one of the most important modern dictionaries of the French language. He also taught at the Ecole Rabbinique, co-founded the Société des Etudes Juives, and the *Revue des Etudes Juives (1879), to which he contributed several articles.

Darmesteter's first contribution to Jewish scholarship was his *Le Talmud*, written in 1866 and published in *Reliques Scientifiques* (1890). He soon concentrated on the French words used by medieval Bible and Talmud commentators, *Rashi in particular. His *Glosses et Glossaires hebreux-français du moyen-âge* (in *Romania*, 1, 1872), was the first attempt to compile a dictionary of 11th-century French, based on these commentators. His most important work in this field is the dictionary of Rashi's **la'azim* in the Bible (*Les gloses françaises de Rashi dans la Bible*, 1909), and in his Talmud commentary *Les gloses françaises dans les commentaires talmudiques de Rashi* (1929). This was edited by D.S. *Blondheim, who published on his own a second volume of the work (1937). Darmesteter published the so-called *Deux élégies du Vatican*, commemorating the 13 Jewish martyrs of Troyes (1288), with a commentary (in *Romania*, 3, 1874). In 1890 his brother James published a three-part collection of Arsène's writings (*Reliques Scientifiques*), consisting of his general Jewish studies, his Judeo-French ones, and a memoir and bibliography.

His brother JAMES DARMESTETER (1849–1894), an Orientalist, was born at Château-Salins. He studied Oriental languages in Paris specializing in Indo-Iranian studies, and became professor at the Collège de France in 1886. Apart from many publications in this field, such as the translation of the *Zend-Avesta* (the sacred Books of the Zoroastrian religion) into French (1842) and English (1880), he published material on the relationship between Zoroastrianism and Judaism and a series of essays *Les Prophètes d'Israel* (1892), which was his credo. Darmesteter also prepared French editions of Shakespeare and Byron and wrote essays on English literature (1883).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Annuaire de l'Ecole pratique des Hautes Etudes* (1895), 17–40 (with James' bibliography); G. Paris, *Penseurs et Poètes* (1896), 1–6; A. France, in: *Vie Litteraire*, 4 (1888); A. Spire, *Quelques Juifs et demi-Juifs* (1913), 199–272.

DARMON (Garmon, Jarmon, Jarmona), North African family. JACOB B. ISAAC DARMON (1460) was *dayyan* of Mahdia (Tunisia) and one of the main correspondents of Ẓemaḥ b. Solomon *Duran. MORDECAI DARMON was a leading 17th-century merchant in Tunis, where the kabbalist MOSES DARMON (d. 1741) was *dayyan* of the Leghorn community. NEHORAI DARMON (1682–1760), talmudist, poet, and disciple of Isaac Lombroso, succeeded him. His literary works were destroyed when the Jewish and Christian houses were plundered by Algerian soldiers (1752). What had been saved was published under the title *Yeter ha-Baz* (Leghorn, 1787). MORDECAI DARMON, a wealthy scholar, was treasurer and adviser to the beys of Algeria before 1772. In 1783 he was sent on a diplomatic mission to Constantinople and later established the new Oran community for which he built a synagogue. He wrote *Ma'amar Mordekhai* (Leghorn, 1781), a collection of homiletic explanations on biblical and talmudic passages. His sons-in-law, the *dayyan* Masʿud and Judah Darmon, wrote many poems. The latter also wrote an important work on the *halakhah* entitled *Gur Aryeh* (Leghorn, 1851). The poet JOSEPH DARMON was coauthor with Solomon Zarka of Tunis of *Rinnah vi-Yshu'ah* (2 parts, 1856–57). The merchant ISAAC DARMON settled with his sons in Morocco. JACQUES DARMON represented England in Casablanca and VICTOR (Ḥayyim) DARMON was Spain's representative in Mazagan. As a result of a false testimony brought by the governor of the town, he was summarily executed (January 1844). The affair had wide repercussions in Europe and was one of the causes of the 1859–1860 Spanish-Moroccan war. DAVID DARMON (1885–?), musicologist and lawyer in Tunis, wrote several works and essays among which are *Le Réalisme dans la Musique* (1906) and *La Situation des Cultes en Tunisie* (1932^{2}) which contains much information on Tunisian Judaism.

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[David Corcos]

DARMON, AMRAM (1815–1878), French soldier. Darmon was born in Algiers and was a scion of the distinguished *Darmon family. He enthusiastically welcomed the French conquest of Algeria in 1830, and in 1834 joined the French army, enrolling in the spahis, and participated in all the subsequent campaigns. As a result of his knowledge of Arabic and French and of the country as a whole, he was appointed interpreter, serving in this capacity in the various campaigns, and in 1852 was given the official appointment of Interpreter, First Class. In December of that year he was named Chevalier of the Legion of Honor. From 1853 to 1868 he was head of the Arab Bureau in Mascara, where he died. Darmon took advantage of the decree of 1866 granting Algerian Jews the right of individual naturalization, four years before the Crémieux decree of 1870 which granted them automatic French citizenship.

DARMON, PIERRE (1934–), tennis player. Born in Tunis, Darmon was a top-ranked tennis player in France from 1956 through the 1970s, including No. 1 from 1956 to 1964, except in 1958, and was ranked in the top ten worldwide by various tennis publications in 1958, 1963, and 1964. In 1963 he lost in the singles finals at the French Open and reached the semifinals there in 1964 and the quarterfinals in 1958, 1962, and 1967. At Wimbledon, he reached the finals in doubles in 1963 and the quarterfinal in 1958. Darmon was also a singles semifinalist at the Italian Championships in 1957, and a singles quarterfinalist at the 1965 Australian Championships. Darmon won the French Championship nine times between 1956 and 1969, and represented France in 68 matches in Davis Cup competitions from 1956 to 1967, holding France's record for most total wins with 47 and most singles victories with 44. In 2002, he was named recipient of the Davis Cup Award of Excellence from the International Tennis Hall of Fame and the International Tennis Federation. Darmon was the director of the European Tennis Bureau of the Association of Tennis Professionals (ATP) in 1973, a member of the ATP Board of Directors from 1974 to 1979, and a member of the Men's International Professional Tennis Council from 1974 to 1979. He also served as tournament director of the French Open at Roland Garros from 1969 through 1978.

[Elli Wohlgelernter (2nd ed.)]

DARMSTADT, city in Hesse, Germany. Jews were mentioned there from the 16th century. They were subjected to the severe restriction of the *Judenordnung* enacted for the whole of *Hesse Jewry in 1585 and reimposed in 1629. In the 16th and 17th centuries Darmstadt Jews were compelled to attend Christian missionary sermons, like the other Hesse communities. They were granted permission to assemble for prayers only in 1695. A synagogue was erected in 1737, and the cemetery was established in 1709. The community numbered 200 persons in 1771. Its *Memorbuch* encompasses the years 1711 to 1863. The community flourished after the grant of civil rights to Jews.

About 2,000 Jews lived in Darmstadt in 1913, and 3,000 in 1933, many of them immigrants from Eastern Europe. A new synagogue was built in 1876. However, the local Orthodox members seceded and in 1906 founded an independent community and synagogue, which totaled approximately 110 families in 1925. The Orientalist Julius Landsberger served as rabbi of Darmstadt at the end of the 19th century. The last noted rabbi of the Reform community of the city was the scholar Bruno *Italiener. The poet Karl *Wolfskehl, the literary historian Friedrich *Gundolf, and the architect Alfred *Messel were all born in Darmstadt. Emigration after Hitler's rise to power reduced the community to fewer than 700 by August 1938. On Nov. 10, 1938, both the main synagogue, with its 30 Torah scrolls, and the Orthodox one were burned down. The remaining Jews were deported starting in December 1940. There were 70 Jews living in the city and 30 in the district in 1967. A new synagogue was inaugurated in 1988, when there were 116 community members. Due to the immigration of Jews from the former Soviet Union, their number rose to 670 in 2003.

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H.W. Sabais (ed.), *Vom Geist einer Stadt…* (1956); FJW (1932–33), 378–9. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** E.G. Franz, *Juden als Darmstaedter Buerger* (1984); B. Szklanowski, *Bet ha-Ḥayyim. Der juedische Friedhof in Darmstadt* (1988); R. Dreesen, *Darmstadt als Deportationsort* (2004).

[Edmund Meir / Stefan Rohrbacher (2nd ed.)]

DARMSTADT, JOSEPH (d. c. 1820), early settler of Richmond, Va. Darmstadt arrived in the United States as a sutler with the Hessian troops and was captured by Continental forces. Sent as a prisoner to Charlottesville, Virginia, he renounced his foreign allegiance, presumably recognizing the assets of a democratic government. Darmstadt settled in Richmond no later than 1786. He became a successful merchant because his knowledge of the language and customs of the large German colony in the mountains west of Richmond drew the people to trade in the capital city. A popular figure, he was elected to the exclusive Amicable Society in 1789. Darmstadt was active in Masonry and was the second Jewish Mason in Virginia. He was founder of Beth Shalome Congregation.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: H.T. Ezekiel and G. Lichtenstein, *History of the Jews of Richmond from 1769 to 1917* (1917); Rosenbloom, Biog Dict, 31.

[Simon Vega]

DAROCA, city in Saragossa province, N.E. Spain. During the period of Muslim rule the Jewish quarter of Daroca was situated on the slope of Mt. San Jorge at the eastern approach to the valley, with the Jewish cemetery nearby. After the reconquest of Daroca by Alfonso I of Aragon in 1122 Jews were granted the same rights as the Christian and Muslim residents in a *fuero* ("municipal charter"), endorsed by Count Ramon Berenguer IV in 1142. The Daroca community flourished during the 13th century. In 1210 the Jews of Daroca were exempted by Pedro II from paying certain tolls, notably those levied on entry to and exit from Moorish territory. An injunction was issued by James II in 1312 to stay the sale of property of Jews in Daroca under arrest for debt. The arrest of Jews on the Sabbath and Jewish holidays was also prohibited. Accusations were rife in 1321 that the Jews had poisoned the wells. Regulations concerning the institution and observance of the Jewish *oath in Daroca were introduced by Alfonso IV in 1330; the deponent was required to take the oath at the entrance to the synagogue, holding the Torah scroll, in the presence of three Christian witnesses only.

During the outbreaks of 1391 peasants in the neighborhood joined in the attacks on the Jews in Daroca and tried to force them to accept baptism. Although the king extended his protection to the community, only 27 taxpaying Jewish families remained in Daroca by 1398. The massacres of 1391 brought disaster to the Jews of Daroca. The Church increased its pressure on the survivors. The recovery was slow, but never complete. At the beginning of the 15th century the community of Daroca, like many others in the Crown of Aragon, was under great pressure from Christian society. The town physician at that time was Salamon Alconstantin. Joseph *Albo served as rabbi in Daroca and represented it at the disputation of *Tortosa in 1413–14, when the Jewish community was again attacked by the townspeople. By June 1414 many of the rabbinic figures of the Aragonese communities gave in and converted. Joseph Albo was one of the very few who had the courage and strength to withstand the Christians' pressure and remain Jewish. After the disputation, about 110 of the most eminent and affluent members of the Daroca Jewish community adopted Christianity. Under pressure of the Church many who belonged to the upper class, the *mano mayor,* converted. On Aug. 20, 1414, the apostates were exempted from communal fiscal liabilities by Ferdinand I. Subsequently the townsfolk of Daroca threatened to expel the remaining Jews unless they adopted Christianity; the municipal authorities seized a number of Jewish debtors on the pretext that they had been trying to abscond. The bailiff then proceeded to arrest all the Jews en masse. A number of the Jews let themselves down from the city walls by rope at night and made their escape. Of the 40 Jewish families, some 160 to 180 people, who had been living in Daroca, only nine or ten persons then remained, all in prison. Their names are known thanks to a trial initiated in January 1426. Following the mass conversion in Daroca and the flight of many Jews, a large part of the communal property and ritual objects were longer of any use. Some of the objects were put on sale. Some Jews of Daroca settled on baronial lands, such as Epila and Montalbán, or in villages in the surroundings of Daroca, Cariñena, Luco, and Anento. Some time after April 1414, the community or *aljama* ceased to exist as a juridical body. Joseph Albo left for Soria, in Castile. It seems that the majority of those who retained there Judaism came from the lower class of craftsmen.

The state of affairs evidently improved, however, and as result of Jewish immigration to the town, in 1458 the limits of the Jewish quarter were defined by John II in order to prevent Jews living alongside Christians. The Jewish community was living side by side with the Conversos, who were already showing signs of reverting to Judaism. In 1484 Ferdinand II issued a directive permitting Jews to be summoned to give evidence before the *Inquisition in cases where Conversos were accused of Judaizing. Jewish property in Daroca was looted after the issue of the edict of expulsion of the Jews from Spain in March 1492. By August the synagogue and hospital had been sold along with other Jewish communal property.

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[Haim Beinart / Yom Tov Assis (2nd ed.)]

DAROFF, SAMUEL H. (1900–1967), Philadelphia clothing manufacturer; Jewish and civic leader. Daroff joined his father's clothing business, which grew into a nationally known firm. Daroff began his philanthropic career at the age of 27 in the Masonic Golden Slipper Club, and then gradually became known for his willingness to give time, money, and energy to good causes. He was campaign chairman of Philadelphia's Allied Jewish Appeal from 1945 to 1948. His period of communal leadership (1935–65) coincided with the coming of age and responsibility of the children of East European Jews, whom he represented in the succession to authority. One of his favorite organizations was the Philadelphia Jewish Armed Services Committee of the USO-JWB, to which he gave intense support long after interest in military and veterans' work had waned; another was the local branch of the American Jewish Congress. He was the second president of Philadelphia's Albert Einstein Medical Center (1953–57), which named its southern division for him, after his death. Daroff was active on the boards of a large number of national and international agencies and institutions. In Philadelphia he was interested in the work of the United Fund, Police Athletic League (which named one of its centers for him after his death), Hero Scholarship Fund, and Associated Hospital Service. Hundreds of honors were awarded to him, frequently in connection with fundraising efforts. Philadelphia honored him with the presidency of the Board of City Trusts, and in the state he was appointed chairman of the governor's Industrial Race Relations Committee and member of the Pennsylvania Fair Employment Practices Committee. While his personal inclinations were toward a traditional form of Judaism, Daroff was a member and supporter of many congregations – Orthodox, Conservative, and Reform.

[Bertram Wallace Korn]

°DARQUIER DE PELLEPOIX, LOUIS (1897–1980), French fascist and antisemite. Darquier, who served with distinction in World War I, became active in fascist organizations. In 1935 he was elected municipal councilor in Paris on a "national and anti-Jewish" platform. He was head of the Rassemblement Antijuif de France and published the fascist *La France Enchaînée*. On May 6, 1942, Pierre *Laval appointed him head of the General Commissariat of Jewish Affairs. He held this office until the end of February 1944, and collaborated closely with the Nazi occupation in the persecution of the Jewish population of France, which involved putting Jews "outside the law," spoliation of their property, and deportations. Upon the liberation of France, he escaped to Spain. He was convicted for high treason and condemned to death *in absentia* by the Haute Cour of France in 1946.

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[Yehuda Reshef]

DARSHAN (Heb. דַּרְשָׁן), a professional or qualified expounder of Scripture. Originally a *darshan* expounded both halakhically and aggadically on all Scripture. *Ben Zoma, called "the last of the *darshanim*" (Sot. 9:15), is mentioned in one passage as a halakhic *darshan* (Ber. 1:5) and in another, where, with his colleague *Ben Azzai, he is referred to as a *darshan*, the exposition is mystical (Gen. R. 5:4). As the term *Midrash, which was originally applied both to *Midrash Halakhah* and *Midrash Aggadah*, came to refer to the latter only, so the term *darshan* came to be applied specifically to the homiletical interpreter of the Torah. The verse in Ecclesiastes (7:5) "It is better to hear the rebuke of the wise" is thus applied to *darshanim* in contrast to "the song of fools" referring to the **meturgemanim* who "raise their voice in song to make themselves heard by the people" (Eccl. R. ad loc.). Eleazar b. Simeon was eulogized as a "reader of Scripture, a Mishnah teacher, a *paytan*, and a *darshan*" (Lev. R. 30:1). In the Middle Ages, the word came to be applied to the professional preacher or the person who was an expert in preaching. In some of the larger Eastern European communities, a person was appointed to be the official preacher of the community, in contrast to the rabbi and the *dayyan* who occupied themselves with *halakhah*. Both the official and the itinerant preacher were usually given the title of **maggid*.

DARVAS, LILI (1906–1974), European and U.S. actress. Born in Budapest, Lili Darvas began her career in 1922 as Shakespeare's Juliet. She married the Hungarian playwright Ferenc *Molnar in 1922, and joined Max Reinhardt's company from 1926 to 1938. Immigrating to the U.S. in 1938, she played in Ferdinand Bruckner's *Criminals*. Her first English-speaking role was in *Soldier's Wife* in 1944. Subsequently, she appeared frequently on stage, screen, and television. She visited Budapest in 1965–66 to play the mother in *Olympia*, a drama that had originally been written for her by her husband.

DARWĪSH, SHALOM (1913–), Iraqi author. A lawyer by profession, Darwīsh was secretary of the Baghdad Jewish communal council (1931–44). His first volume of Arabic short stories dealt with the life of Iraq's masses and was followed by a second collection, *Baʿd al-Nās* ("One of the People," 1948). He immigrated to Israel in 1951 and settled in Haifa.

[Shmuel Moreh]

DASH, SAMUEL (1925–2004), U.S. attorney. Dash was born in Camden, New Jersey, his parents having emigrated from the Soviet Union. After graduating from Harvard Law School with a J.D. degree *cum laude*, he taught law at Northwestern University. Admitted to practice law in Illinois (1950) and Pennsylvania (1952), he was trial attorney in the U.S. Department of Justice (1951–52), and from 1952 to 1956 served in the district attorney's office in Philadelphia, rising from assistant district attorney to first assistant district attorney and ultimately to district attorney. Dash then entered private practice, specializing in criminal trial work. In 1965 he joined the law faculty of Georgetown University, Washington, D.C., and served as professor of law and director of the Institute of Criminal Law and Procedure at the Georgetown University Law Center.

As director of the Pennsylvania Bar Association Endowment Study of Wiretapping and Eavesdropping, in 1956–58 he developed material for his book *The Eavesdroppers* (1959; with R.E. Knowlton and R.F. Schwartz), a study that covers wiretapping practices, laws, devices, and techniques by law enforcement officers, and the wiretapping practices of big business, labor, and politics. The study helped change wiretapping law in America. Subsequently Dash's book *The Intruders: Unreasonable Searches and Seizures from King John to John Ashcroft* (2004) criticized the U.S. government's expanded search, seizure, and wiretapping powers following the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks. Dash also published on *Readings in Criminal Justice* (with Bowman and Pye, 1968).

Dash served, among many other public offices, as director of the International League for the Rights of Man, which has consultative status with the United Nations, as chair of the American Bar Association's Criminal Justice Section, and as president of the National Association of Defense Lawyers in Criminal Cases. In 1973 Dash was appointed chief counsel to the U.S. Senate Committee investigating the Watergate scandal. His book *Chief Counsel: Inside the Ervin Committee – The Untold Story of Watergate* was published in 1976. Dash served in a number of other major inquiries as well. He made headlines while serving as ethics adviser to independent counsel Kenneth Starr during the Whitewater Investigation (1994–1998). He resigned in protest when Starr testified before the House Judiciary Committee to advocate for the impeachment of President Clinton. Dash, who had helped write the independent counsel law, felt that Starr's testimony exceeded his capacity as objective investigator.

As a member of the board of directors for the International League of Human Rights, Dash served on human rights missions to Northern Ireland (to investigate the 1972 Bloody Sunday incident), the Soviet Union, and Chile. In 1985 he was the first American the South African government allowed to visit Nelson Mandela in prison, and he took part in the mediation efforts that ultimately led to Mandela's release.

[Jacob Haberman / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

DASHEWSKI, PINḤAS (1879–1934), Russian Zionist activist. Dashewski came from an assimilated family in Korostyshev, Ukraine; his father was an army doctor. He joined a Zionist Socialist student circle in Kiev in 1902. After the *Kishinev pogrom Dashewski assaulted and wounded the chief instigator, P. *Krushevan, in St. Petersburg on June 4 (17), 1903. He was sentenced to five years' hard labor but was released in 1906. The incident, trial, and Dashewski's appearance in court acted as a protest against the regime, and a call for Jewish *self-defense. In 1910 Dashewski visited Ereẓ Israel. During the *Beilis case he took part in a delegation of Russian Jews to the U.S. Dashewski, who was a chemical engineer, worked in the Caucasus and Siberia. He remained a Zionist after the 1917 Revolution and was eventually arrested and died in prison.

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[Moshe Mishkinsky]

DA SILVA (Silverblatt), HOWARD (1909–1986), U.S. actor. Born in Cleveland, Da Silva at first worked as a stage actor. After learning the craft he worked at the Civic Repertory Theater in New York until 1934 and later, he played in many theatrical productions and Broadway musicals including *Alice in Wonderland, Waiting for Lefty, The World of Shalom Aleichem, Oklahoma*, and *Fiorello*. He also directed plays and wrote the Broadway comedy *The Zulu and the Zayde*. Da Silva appeared in numerous films from 1936 including *Abe Lincoln in Illinois, Nine Lives Are Not Enough, Lost Weekend, They Live by Night, David and Lisa, Topkapi, Nevada Smith, 1776* (as Benjamin Franklin), *The Great Gatsby, The Private Files of J. Edgar Hoover, Mommie Dearest*, and *Garbo Talks*.

[Jonathan Licht (2nd ed.)]

DASSAULT (originally **Bloch**), **DARIUS PAUL** (1882–1969), French army officer, born in Paris. Dassault graduated from the Ecole Polytechnique in 1903 and joined the army, serving in artillery units and at the general headquarters of the French army in the Near East during World War I. Between 1919 and 1933 he held posts in military schools including the Centre des Hautes Etudes Militaires and in 1933 was appointed head of the technical bureau of the French artillery. On the outbreak of World War II, Dassault was put in command of the Fifth Army Corps and following the French surrender in June 1940 he joined the Resistance. When France was liberated in 1944, he was raised to the rank of *général d'armée*, the highest rank in the French army, and appointed governor of Paris. From 1945 until he retired in 1948, Dassault was general inspector of artillery. His brother was Marcel *Dassault, owner of the aircraft factory of that name.

[Mordechai Kaplan]

DASSAULT, MARCEL (1892–1986), French aeronautical engineer and industrialist. Dassault was born Marcel Bloch in Paris, the son of a physician. He was one of the first graduates in aeronautical engineering (1914). In World War I he invented an improved propeller for the Spad fighter. In 1930 he founded the aircraft company Societé des Avions Marcel Bloch, where he designed a series of civil and military aircraft including the Bloch 152, the only French fighter aircraft potentially capable of opposing the Luftwaffe. The firm was nationalized in 1936 but he remained director. He was deported to Buchenwald in 1944, where he remained until the end of the war after his refusal to collaborate with the Germans on aircraft design. After the war he changed his name to Dassault, after his brother Paul's code name in the resistance "d'assault" (derived from the French phrase "char d'assault" for tank). In 1946 he founded the Societé des Avions Marcel Dassault. In 1967 Dassault's company merged with Breguet. The new company became the dominant supplier of French military aircraft. Dassault designed the Ouragan, and the Mystère and Mirage series of jet fighters. These aircraft made a prominent contribution to Israel's military campaigns. The Ouragan was used in the 1956 Sinai campaign and the Mystère IV in the 1967 Six-Day War.

An upgraded version of the Super Mystère B2 was employed in the 1973 Yom Kippur War. He also designed military transport aircraft and the Falcon series of private business jets. Subsequently the company greatly expanded and diversified its business interests in Dassault's later years and under the direction of his son and heir, Serge. Marcel Dassault served as a deputy in the French National Assembly (1951–55) and as a senator (1957–58). He was again elected a deputy in 1958.

[Michael Denman (2nd ed.)]

DASSIN, JULES (1911–), U.S. film director. Born in Middletown, Connecticut, Dassin attended high school in the Bronx, New York, and drama school in Europe. He started his career as an actor in the Yiddish Theatre in New York at age 25. In Hollywood, he worked his way up to a directorial position in MGM's short subjects unit, where he handled an inspired 20-minute adaptation of Edgar Alan Poe's *The Tell-Tale Heart* (1941). He then graduated to directing feature films for MGM, such as *Nazi Agent* (1942), *Reunion in France* (1942), and *The Canterville Ghost* (1944). He wrote radio plays, and directed film noir gangster movies such as *Brute Force* (1947) and *The Naked City* (1948) for Universal Studios. During the McCarthy period in the 1950s, Dassin started making films abroad. The last film he directed for a major American studio was 20th Century Fox's *Night and the City* (1950), which was shot in London. He moved to France, where he co-authored, directed, and acted in *Rififi* (1954), which is regarded as one of the most influential crime caper movies. During this period he directed the films *He Who Must Die* (1957), *La Loi* (1959), both of which he wrote, and the comedy thriller *Topkapi* (1964), which he also produced. Living in Greece, he became famous with the film *Never on Sunday* (1960), a humorous study of Greek seaport life, which he wrote and directed. In it, he played opposite Melina Mercouri, whom he later married. In 1967 he directed a documentary entitled *Survival* (screenplay by Irwin *Shaw) on the Six-Day Israel-Arab War. Dassin also wrote, produced, and directed *Phaedra* (1962), *10:30 P.M. Summer* (1966), *Up Tight* (1968), and *Promise at Dawn* (1970). He wrote and directed *A Dream of Passion* (1978) and directed *The Rehearsal* (1974) and *Circle of Two* (1980). As an actor, he appeared in *Phaedra*, *Promise at Dawn*, and *The Rehearsal*.

Although he was permitted back into the U.S. studio system in the mid-1960s, Dassin chose to remain in Europe. His son, JOE DASSIN (1938–1980), was one of France's most popular singers, with hits such as "L'eté indien" and "Aux Champs-Elysées."

ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY: M. Mercouri, *I Was Born Greek* (1971).

[Linda Gutstein / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

DATHAN AND ABIRAM (Heb. דָתָן, cf. Akk. *datnu*, "strong"; and Heb. אֲבִירָם, "my [or 'the'] father is exalted"), sons of Eliab of the tribe of Reuben, leaders of a revolt against the leadership of Moses (Num. 16; 26:9–11). According to these sources, they joined the rebellion of *Korah during the desert wanderings. Defying Moses' summons, they accused him of having brought the Israelites out of the fertile land of Egypt in order to let them die in the wilderness (16:12–14). Moses then went to the tents of Dathan and Abiram and persuaded the rest of the community to dissociate themselves from them. Thereafter, the earth opened and swallowed the rebels, their families, and property (16:25–33). Modern scholars generally regard this narrative as resulting from an editorial interweaving of originally distinct accounts of two separate rebellions against the authority of Moses. It is noted that verses 12–15 and 25ff. form a continuous, self-contained literary unit and that the former contains no mention of Korah, who is likewise omitted from the references in Deuteronomy 11:6 and Psalms 106:17. The event described served as a warning to Israel and as an example of divine justice (*ibid.*). Ben Sira (45:18), too, mentions it. However, no further details are given about the two rebels, and the narrative is clearly fragmentary. It is not unlikely that the rebellion was connected with the series of events that led to the tribe of Reuben's loss of its earlier position of preeminence.

[Nahum M. Sarna]

In the *Aggadah*

Dathan and Abiram are regarded as the prototype of inveterate fomenters of trouble. Their names are interpreted allegorically, Dathan denoting his violation of God's law, and Abiram his refusal to repent (Sanh. 109b). They were wholly wicked "from beginning to end" (Meg. 11a). They are identified with the two quarreling Israelites (Ex. R. 1:30) and it was they who caused Moses' flight from Egypt by denouncing him to Pharaoh for killing the Egyptian taskmaster, and revealing that he was not the son of Pharaoh's daughter (Yal., Ex. 167). They incited the people to return to Egypt (Ex. R. 1:29) both at the Red Sea and when the spies returned from Canaan (Mid. Ps. 106:5). They transgressed the commandment concerning the manna by keeping it overnight (Ex. R. 1:30). Dathan and Abiram became ringleaders of the rebellion under the influence of Korah, as a result of the camp of their tribe being next to that of Korah, and on this the rabbis base the statement "Woe to the wicked, woe to his neighbor" (Num. R. 18:5). When Moses humbly went to them in person in order to dissuade them from their evil designs, they were impertinent and insulting to him (MK 16a). In their statement to Moses, "we will not come up," they unconsciously prophesied their end, as they did not go up, but down to hell (Num. R. 18:10).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: J. Liver, in: *Scripta Hierosolymitana*, 8 (1961), 189–217, incl. bibl.; M.J. Perath, in: *Nederlands Theologisch Tijdschrift*, 16 (1961–62), 47–48; R. Gradwohl, in: ZAW, 75 (1963), 288–96; EM, 1 (1965), 33, incl. bibl.; 2 (1965), 773–4, incl. bibl.; Ginzberg, Legends, index.

DATO, MORDECAI BEN JUDAH (1525–1591/1601), Italian kabbalist. He annotated *Asis Rimmonim* by Elisha *Gallico (Venice, 1601). Dato's many writings are extant in numerous manuscripts. Two manuscripts of his *piyyutim*, collected in the work *Shemen Arev*, are found in the British Museum (645, 646), but they are not completely identical. The work published by A.W. Greenup (1910) contains the *piyyutim* of manuscript no. 645. Other manuscripts containing some of his *piyyutim* are found in: Moscow (Guenzburg 249), Cincinnati (230), Budapest (Kauffmann 414), London (Or. 10130 and 10471 = Mss. Gaster 318 and 251; and Ms. Adler 1825). The tract *Zimrat Yah* is found in Rome (Ms. Casenatense 116), and was copied by Dato's son, who transcribed his father's poems and their commentaries. Although the son claims to have written these commentaries on the basis of what he had heard from his father, there is practically no difference in the wording of these commentaries and those that were written by his father, except for a very small number of additions. This would explain the manner in which *Iggeret Levanon* was written. A work containing an entirely different kind of poem is *Sodot ha-Nekuddot* (Ms. Mantua 162, 4). Some of his *piyyutim* were included in *Ashmoret ha-Boker* (Venice, 1720/21; Leghorn, 1796), by *Aaron Berechiah of Modena.

His works include commentaries on biblical passages and sermons (Brit. Mus., Add. Ms. 27050, mainly in Italian; Ms. Add. 27007, also contains an index to the *Zohar); *Ma'amar Mordekhai*, a commentary on Esther (Ms. Add. 27097); a commentary on Habakkuk (Ms. Parma 1424); commentary on the Psalms (Moscow, Ms. Guenzburg 239) which is incomplete and is probably identical with *Shemen Sason*, which is mentioned in his other writings; a commentary on the *haftarot*, *Shemen ha-Mishḥah* (Ms. Parma 29); *Migdal David*, treating the Redemption (Bodleian Library, Ms. Opp. Add. 40 153); *Iggerot*, letters on Kabbalah to Ezra (perhaps Azariah da *Fano, Ms. Parma 130/5), and letters on halakhic matters to scholars in Italy (Moscow, Ms. Guenzburg, 129); *Iggeret Levanon*, containing memoirs of his visit to Safed written by his son but formulated by Dato himself; these were published by I. Tishby (*Sefunot*, 7 (1963), 137–66); *Processo* (Moscow, Ms. Guenzburg 159), on a lawsuit which he and his brother brought against the brothers Bordola.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: C. Roth, in: REJ, 80 (1925), 69–75; D. Tamar, in: *Sefunot*, 2 (1958), 66–70.

[Efraim Gottlieb]

DAUBE, DAVID (1909–1999), jurist and biblical scholar. Daube was born in Freiburg, Baden, and studied at the University of Goettingen and Cambridge and Oxford universities. From 1938–51 he was lecturer in law at Cambridge University, professor of jurisprudence at Aberdeen University, 1951–55, and Regius Professor of Civil Law at Oxford from 1955. From 1970 he was professor at the University of California at Berkeley. Daube was considered one of the world's leading authorities on Roman law, and he made important contributions to the understanding of the history of biblical and talmudic law. His published works included *Studies in Biblical Law* (1947), which compares Roman and Hebrew law; *New Testament and Rabbinic Judaism* (1956), which sheds light on many incidents and sayings in the New Testament with information from rabbinic and sectarian Jewish sources; *Sin, Ignorance and Forgiveness in the Bible* (1960), an examination of the plea of ignorance of the law as a defense; *Exodus Pattern in the Bible* (1963), analysis of the legal themes and terms used in the story of Exodus and other biblical tales of a similar pattern; *The Sudden in the Scriptures* (1964), which lists the terms for the sudden and the unexpected in both the Old and New Testaments with further elucidations drawn from rabbinic usage; *Collaboration with Tyranny in Rabbinic Law* (1965); and *Roman Law* (1969).

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°DAUDET, LÉON (1867–1942), French writer and reactionary politician, codirector of L'*Action Française. He was born in Paris, the eldest son of Alphonse Daudet, and inherited his father's talent as a writer if not his moral sensitivity. A bigoted Catholic and anti-Republican from the start, Daudet was influenced by Charles *Maurras' neo-Royalist doctrines and associated with Edouard *Drumont, writing for the violently antisemitic *La Libre Parole*. He was elected to the Chamber of Deputies on an extreme right-wing policy (1919–24) and in 1940 supported the Vichy regime, welcoming its discriminatory policy toward the Jews. Daudet was probably the leading French pamphleteer of his day. He wrote around 100 books and innumerable articles, sometimes signed Rivarol, in which he frequently gave vent to his hatred of Republicans, Dreyfusards, Freemasons, or whoever else did not fit into his narrow and intolerant definition of a true French citizen. On the Jews he was especially virulent, as in his *La France en alarme* (1904), *L'avant-guerre…* (1913), and *Au temps de Judas* (1933). For Daudet, Jews were "goats with human faces, trafficking in gold and dung" whom he threatened with "the vengeance they deserve." Like Maurice *Barrès and Charles Maurras, Daudet subscribed to Drumont's contention that all Jews were potential traitors and the main source of political, social, and financial trouble in France.

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DAUGAVPILS (until 1893 **Duenaburg**; Heb. **דינאבורג**; until 1920 **Dvinsk**), city in the Soviet Republic of Latvia, on the banks of the Western Dvina (Daugava) River, in 1940–91; within independent Latvia between 1920 and 1940 and from 1991. A Jewish community was organized in 1750–60. There were about 750 Jewish artisans in the town in 1805 (compared with 393 non-Jewish artisans). The Jewish population was 1,559 in 1815, growing to 2,918 in 1847. The town developed extensively from the 1860s, with the growth of the grain, flax, and timber trade, and after becoming a railroad junction. Its factories included the Zaks match factory, which employed 600–800 (mostly Jewish girls), sawmills, distilleries, tanneries, and three button factories which employed 600 workers, most of them Jews, at the beginning of the 20th century. In 1898 there were 4,862 Jewish artisans, including 2,193 masters, 1,760 journeymen, and 909 apprentices. Many Jews were employed in building the garrison complex and in services connected with it, railroad workshops, and the garment industry which was a source of livelihood for several thousands of Jews. Jews played a prominent part in the city's commerce and industry. Dvinsk became a center of activities of the Jewish workers' movements, principally the *Bund and *Po'alei Zion. A strong *self-defense organization was formed by the workers in 1903 which succeeded in deterring pogroms. In demonstrations during the 1905 revolution 30 people were killed or wounded, mostly Jews. Dvinsk was known as a center of Torah learning, and had a number of yeshivot. Two of Jewry's most prominent rabbis officiated there, Meir Simḥah *ha-Kohen, rabbi of the *Mitnaggedim* (1887–1926), and Joseph *Rozin, rabbi of the Ḥasidim (1889–1936). The community numbered 32,400 in 1897 (46% of the total population) and 56,000 (43%) in 1913. During World War I the city was severely damaged and was abandoned by most of its inhabitants. There were 11,838 Jews living in Daugavpils in 1921 (40.8% of the total population) and 11,106 (about 25%) in 1935. Noah *Meisel, who became a member of the Latvian parliament, headed the Bund. The Zionist movement, which had adherents in Dvinsk at the end of the 19th century and sent a delegate to the First Zionist Congress, grew considerably in the 1920s and 1930s, principally in the *Ẓe'irei Zion movement. A large section of youth was connected with Zionist youth organizations and *He-Ḥalutz, which maintained a farm for *hakhsharah*. Most Jewish children (over 2,000 at the beginning of the 1930s) attended the six Jewish schools of which five gave instruction in Hebrew or Yiddish. There were also a municipal Hebrew secondary school with several hundred pupils, a vocational training school maintained by *ORT, and a local Jewish sports organization. Communal institutions included a hospital, pharmacy, old-age home, orphanage, library, and three peoples' banks. Under the Soviets in 1940–41, all Jewish parties, organizations, and institutions were closed. Many activists and well-to-do Jews were exiled to Siberia. Instruction at Jewish schools was only allowed in the Yiddish language teaching a Soviet curriculum. When the Germans occupied Daugavpils on June 26, 1941, the Nazis, with the collaboration of the non-Jewish inhabitants, organized a pogrom on the Jews of the city. The synagogues were burned down or requisitioned by the army. During the first week of July 1,150 Jews were murdered. At the end of July a ghetto was set up at the abandoned cavalry barracks and 14,000–16,000 Jews from the city and the surrounding area were concentrated there. The first victims were the old and the sick, followed by thousands of refugees. On August 8–9, in two *Aktionen*, thousands of nonessential workers with their families and 400 orphans were murdered. By August 21, 9,012 Jews were dead. On November 7–9, 3,000–5,000 Jews were executed, including about 1,000 children. Five hundred Jews were killed on May 17, 1942, leaving alive a few hundred artisans. They were sent to the Riga ghetto in October 1943 and later confined in the Kaiserwald camp, where the Soviet army found 20 Jews on liberation day.

A community was reconstituted after the war. In the 1960s a small Jewish amateur drama group was in operation. In 1970 there were about 2,000 Jews in Daugavpils and one synagogue was still functioning. By the turn of the 21st century their number had dropped to around 400 after emigration.

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[Yehuda Slutsky / Shmuel Spector (2nd ed.)]

DAUPHINÉ, region and former province of S.E. France covering the present departments of Isère, Hautes-Alpes, and a small part of Drôme. The presence of Jews on its territory is confirmed from at least the beginning of the ninth century when they were to be found in *Vienne and its vicinity. Subsequently, and especially from the beginning of the 14th century, Jews are mentioned in at least 35 localities, including Briançon, *Crémieu, *Grenoble, Nyons, Serres, *Valence, Veynes, and Vizille. As a result of a *blood libel in Valréas in 1247 ten Jews were martyred there; in several other places Jews were imprisoned and their belongings were confiscated. However, when the Jews were expelled from France in 1306, the exiles were welcomed in Dauphiné, as were the Jews who arrived from the *Comtat-Venaissin in 1322. In 1348, the Jews were accused in several localities of Dauphiné of having spread the *Black Death.

In 1349, Dauphiné's existence as an independent state came to an end. In exchange for a considerable payment, the dauphin Humbert II ceded Dauphiné to the king of France, the eldest son of the king of France henceforth assuming the title of "dauphin." The undertaking to respect "the institutions and the customs of the country" was equally honored with regard to the Jews. Though they were now in the Kingdom of France, their residence in Dauphiné was not contested. In 1355 and 1404, it was explicitly stated that the Jews of newly-incorporated regions would continue to enjoy their former liberties and exemptions. However from 1355 the privileges which were granted to the Jews of Dauphiné were only valid for a limited period, even though they were renewable. These privileges specified in particular their freedom of residence, right to acquire houses, freedom of trade, and moneylending. Heavy financial burdens and the complaints against Jewish moneylending made many Jews leave Dauphiné, especially after 1390. The dauphin unsuccessfully attempted to restrain Jewish emigration by granting important fiscal advantages to the Jews who settled in the area, such as in the town of Crémieu in 1449. Yet, without any general expulsion decree ever having been applied and solely as a result of fiscal pressure and local vexations, Dauphiné appears to have had no Jews at the beginning of the 16th century after the continued emigration. At the beginning of the 18th century, some Jews, mainly from Comtat-Venaissin, attempted to settle in localities of Dauphiné, especially Grenoble. They were expelled by a decision of the Dauphiné parliament of Nov. 15, 1717. After the French Revolution Dauphiné ceased to exist as a separate administrative unit.

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[Bernhard Blumenkranz]

DAUS, AVRAHAM (1902–1974), Israeli composer. Born in Berlin, he immigrated to Ereẓ Israel in 1936. Until 1940 he lived in Tel Aviv, and his overture to the *Sea-Gate Cantata*, performed by the then Palestine Orchestra, was one of the first local works performed by the "Philharmonic." From 1940 to 1964 Daus was a member of kibbutz Ḥefẓi-Bah, working as music teacher, composer, and choir conductor, but he eventually returned to Tel Aviv. Daus remained essentially European in style. When he returned to writing in dodecaphonic technique, his music lost none of its expressive character, as in *The Twelfth Sonnet* for cello solo. Daus's works include *Sea-Gate Cantata* (1937); *Variations on a Yemenite Theme for Flute and Piano* (1937); *String Quartet* (1953); *Concerto for Violin* (1957); *Four Dialogues for Violin and Cello* (1964); *The Twelfth Sonnet*, for cello solo (1967); *Four Improvisations while Reading the Song of Songs,* for guitar solo; and numerous songs and choral pieces.

[Uri (Erich) Toeplitz and Yohanan Boehm]

DAVAR (Heb. דָּבָר), Hebrew daily newspaper of the *Histadrut ha-Ovedim. First published in Tel Aviv in 1925 under the editorship of B. *Katzenelson, *Davar* was the first daily of the entire Israel Labor Movement (although other periodicals by various Labor parties had appeared since 1907). As an organ for workers, the paper concerned itself with all the problems of the *yishuv*, Zionism, international Socialism, world politics, and the relations of the Histadrut with the Jewish and general Labor movement, devoting much space as well to Labor movement activities in the villages and the cities. In all public disputes in Israel and within the Histadrut itself, *Davar* officially took the stand of the Histadrut majority. Among its main contributors were B. Katzenelson, Z. Rubashov (later Z. *Shazar, the third president of the State of Israel), Moshe *Beilinson, David Zakay (d. 1978), Eliezer *Steinman (from 1935), and, for many years, N. *Alterman, with his column in verse "*Tur ha-Shevi'i*." After Katzenelson's death (1944), *Davar* had the following editors in chief: Zalman Shazar (who had actually fulfilled this function even previously), Haim *Shurer (from 1952), Yehudah Gotthelf (from 1966) and Ḥannah Zemer (from 1970).

Davar published many different supplements. These included a weekly English supplement, *Davar: Palestine Labour Weekly*, edited by Moshe Shertok (later *Sharett), 1929–31, and a German supplement, *Davar* (1931), at the beginning of the *aliyah* from Germany, under the editorship of Moshe Calvary. In 1931 publication of a children's supplement also began; it appeared in its later format as the weekly *Davar li-Yladim*. Others included *Ha-Meshek ha-Shittufi* (since 1932), on economic affairs; *Devar ha-Po'elet* (its editor from 1934–1966, Rachel Katzenelson-Shazar); evening newspapers, which appeared at various periods; and vocalized supplements (1935 and after). Vocalized columns within the body of the paper gave rise to *Hegeh* (1940–47), a vocalized Hebrew daily, the first of its kind in Ereẓ Israel. Its language was generally simple, translations being supplied for any difficult words. It was revived under the name *Omer* in 1951. In 1946 *Devar ha-Shavu'a*, an illustrated supplement, began appearing. In 1984 *Davar* began to publish the satirical newspaper *Davar Aḥer*, which gained much popularity. *Davar* also maintained the publishing house Am Oved, which, from its founding in 1927 until 1970, published nearly 200 books in all fields. In addition, from 1943 to 1956 *Davar* published an annual which dealt with literary and social problems and also included information on the events of the previous year.

The newspaper's downward slide began in the 1980s. With the loss of power of both the Labor Party and the Histadrut, many readers lost interest in *Davar* and the newspaper faced a severe financial crisis. In 1995 the newspaper appeared in a new format under the title *Davar Rishon*, with Ron Ben-Ishai as editor in chief, but ceased publication in 1996.

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[Getzel Kressel / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

DAVENPORT, MARCIA (1903–1996), U.S. novelist. Born in New York City, Marcia Davenport was the daughter of the lyric soprano Alma *Gluck. She herself became a music critic and joined the staff of *The New Yorker* magazine (1928–31), later working also for *Fortune* magazine. One of her marriages was to Russell Davenport, who became managing editor of *Fortune*. In 1930 she went to Prague in search of material on Mozart, whose biography she published as her first book in 1932. This was followed by two works that established her as a leading novelist: *Of Lena Geyer* (1936), the story of an opera singer, and *Valley of Decision* (1942), about life in the Pittsburgh steel mills, a bestseller that was made into a motion picture.

After the Nazi occupation of Czechoslovakia, Marcia Davenport became a close friend of the refugee Czech statesman, Jan Masaryk, and was active on behalf of the Czechoslovak cause during World War II. In 1945, at the invitation of President Beneš, she settled in Prague and remained there with Masaryk until the Communists seized power in 1948. She thereupon went to London, where she and Masaryk planned to be married as soon as he could join her but only a few days later he was found dead in mysterious circumstances. Returning to the U.S., Marcia Davenport resumed her literary career, and published *My Brother's Keeper* (1954) and *The Constant Image* (1960). Her autobiography, *Too Strong for Fantasy*, appeared in 1967.

[Milton Henry Hindus]

DA VERONA, GUIDO (1881–1939), Italian novelist. Da Verona sought to disguise his origin by changing his "Jewish" surname, Verona, to the more aristocratic Da Verona. His novels met with great success in the years which preceded and immediately followed World War I: he sold more than two million copies of his novels, thus becoming the harbinger of the new phenomenon of mass literature in Italy. Influenced by Gabriele d'Annunzio, Da Verona copied his prose style and dandyish ways; his stories are based on erotic themes, pervaded with an aestheticism in which he endeavored to create environments which were aristocratic, morbid, or exotic; hedonism and contempt for bourgeois morals satisfied the tastes of a large public whom he wished to please.

His best-known novels include *Colei che non si deve amare* (1911); *La vita comincia domani* (1912; *Life begins Tomorrow*, 1923); *Mimì Bluette, fiore del mio giardino* (1916; *Mimi Bluette*, 1929), his best book; *Sciogli le treccie, Maria Maddalena* (1920); and *Mata Hari …* (1927). In 1930 he published a parody of Alessandro Manzoni's masterpiece *I promessi sposi* (*The Betrothed*), in which one can recognize an implicit, but clear, satire of the Fascist régime. Progressively abandoned by his readers, victim of the anti-Jewish campaign of the late 1930s, he committed suicide.

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[Giorgio Romano / Alessandro Guetta (2nd ed.)]

DAVIČO, HAJIM S. (1854–1918), Serbian author and diplomat. Born into a patriotic Belgrade family, Davičo held consular posts in Munich, Salonika, and Trieste, but is mainly remembered as the pioneer of Jewish secular literature in Serbia. His two short story collections, *Perla* (1891) and *Sa Jalije* ("From Jalija," 1898), describe life among the Belgrade Sephardim and tensions between radicalism and Jewish tradition. He also engaged in business, acting as a supplier to Prince Milosh, and was a leading member of the Sephardi community. His signature appears on various petitions that Belgrade Jews addressed from time to time to the Serbian authorities.

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DAVIČO, LUJO (1908–1942), Yugoslav dancer and ballet teacher. Davičo was born in Belgrade (Serbia) of a large Sephardi family and studied ballet using Jacques Dalcroze's method in Geneva. In the 1930s he worked in Belgrade as a teacher and creator of dance performances following Dalcroze's method. He choreographed ballets accompanied by rhythm movements alone. Among his choreographies are **Kharaj* (meaning Muslim land tax), *Dalcroze March*, and *League of Nation*. His choreography also used folklore elements. As a freedom fighter opposing the Nazi-Italian occupation of Yugoslavia in 1941, he escaped to Montenegro and was killed participating in an attack on a group of Italian officers. A Belgrade ballet school was named after him. The Serbian National Ballet is named for him.

[Amnon Shiloah (2nd ed.)]

DAVIČO, OSCAR (1909–1989), Yugoslav poet and novelist. Born in Šabac, Serbia, Davičo was a high-school teacher but in 1932 was sentenced to five years' imprisonment for Communist activities. During World War II, he fought with the Yugoslav partisans against the Nazis. Before the war Davičo had been prominent in Belgrade as a surrealist writer and two of his early works were collections of verse, *Anatomija* (1930) and *Pesme* (1938). Davičo's postwar verse collections, notable for their nonconformism, their fantasy, and their erudite metaphors, include *Hana* (1951), *Čovekov čovek* ("A Man's Man," 1953), and *Trg eM* ("Square M," 1968). Although Davičo's rare references to his Jewish origin were made with a certain pride, his works displayed an increasingly anti-Zionist and anti-Israel bias. With *Pesma* (1952; *The Poem*, 1959), he published the first of a series of novels about the Nazi occupation, his own prison experiences, and his country's era of reconstruction. The later ones were *Beton i svici* ("Concrete and Glowworms," 1956), *Ćutnje* ("Silences," 1963), *Gladi* ("Hunger," 1963), *Tajne* ("Secrets," 1964), and *Begstva* ("Escapes," 1966). His novel *Gospodar zaborava* ("Master of Forgetfulness") appeared in 1980. Three of his novels were awarded Yugoslavia's highest literary prize. Davičo translated Thomas *Mann's novel *Buddenbrooks* into Serbo-Croat, and some of his own works have been translated into English and other languages. He was one of the editors of the literary periodical *Delo*. He also wrote a number of poems and other lyric compositions.

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[Zdenko Lowenthal]

DAVID (Heb. דָּוִד), youngest son of Jesse of the Ephrathite family that lived in Beth-Lehem in Judah (I Sam. 16:1; 20:27–28; I Chron. 2:13–15; cf. Micah 5:1).

In the Bible

SOURCES. I Samuel 16–II Kings 2 is our main source for David, supplemented by I Chronicles. Other texts name him, but in the main to emblematize either the dynasty in Jerusalem or a salvific ideal. He appears in superscriptions to many Psalms, on occasion (as Ps. 34:1) with historical references; but it is unclear whether this phenomenon originated as a historical or as a dramatic or musical notation.

Some scholars maintain that, like King Arthur, David is a late invention. But two stelae (Tel Dan, Mesha) indicate that by 830 or so Judah was identified as "the House of David." These stelae confirm that David was an earlier state-builder, and, according to ninth-century usage, the founder of its ruling dynasty. This ninth-century evidence explains his significance in the eighth and later centuries as an icon of Judah and as the progenitor of a line of kings whom YHWH adopted at accession (Isa. 9:5; cf. Ps. 2:6–7; 89:27–28). David's place in the dynastic liturgy long antedates the Exile.

Our sources in Samuel may be divided into three or more categories. In II Samuel, we have literature that is nearly contemporary with David himself, probably produced mainly in the court of Solomon. Some of this material is continuous with materials in I Samuel. Thus, it is certain that the materials admitting David's affiliation with Achish of Gath in I Samuel and the doublets – narratives with parallel narratives in another source about the same event evincing slight variation – pertaining thereto continue into II Samuel and issue ultimately into Solomon's ability to extract fugitives from Achish's Gath in I Kings 2:39–44. Thus, at a minimum, I Samuel 25–28:2; 29–30, belong to the same general source as does 2 Samuel. Conversely, I Samuel 23:19–24:23; 28:3–25; 31 all belong to another, parallel narrative.

I Samuel 8–15 represents itself as an account of the introduction of Saul's monarchy, while chaps. 16–31 concerns David's "rise" in interaction with Saul, of the tribe of Benjamin. This text consists of two parallel sources now in combination. A representative division yields narrative sources as follows:

> A. I Sam. 9:1–10:13; 13:1–14:52; 17:12–31,41, 48b, 50, 55–58; 18:1–6a,10–11,17–19, 30; 20:1b–24:23; 28:3–25; 31.
>
> B. II Sam. 8; 10:17–27; 11–12; 15–16; 17:1–11, 32–40, 42–48a, 49, 51–54; 18:6b–9, 12–16, 20–29; 19; 25–27; 28:1–2; 29–30; II Sam. 1ff.

Both sources contain legendary material, including one version of the account of David's slaying Goliath, which II Samuel 21:19 identifies as the victim of Elhanan (Ben-Dodo, the Bethlehemite; cf. I Chr. 20:5; Josephus, Ant. 7:302). Further legendary material shared by the sources is the etiology of the phrase, "Is Saul, too, among the prophets?" in 10:11, 19:24. This was originally a proverb, "Is it asked, too, among the prophets?" denoting problematic questions.

It is the material in the B source that seems to continue directly into II Samuel. Further, the B source concedes, while the A source denies, that David worked as a subordinate of the Philistines. Thus, whether or not the account of David's youth in this source is as early as the material in II Samuel, it seems to originate earlier than the A source in I Samuel. Arguably, both sources are composite, such that some material in each is early, other material later. All the same, the compilation of the A source postdates the compilation of the B source in this context.

Both sources cover David's youth. A's narrative focuses on Saul (chaps. 13–14; 28; 31). B's narrative shifts from Saul to David in I Samuel 16, and David remains its focus. B has been understood as an anti-monarchic source stemming from a very late period. It presents the monarchy, however, as an institution adopted by humans, and tolerated by YHWH, This view programmed later Israelite views of the monarchy (see Hos. 13:10; Deut. 17:14–15; Judg. 8:22–23). The A source, conversely, treats kingship as lowered from heaven. But, as it centers on Saul, and ends with his death at the Philistines' hands, its date, often thought to be early, is not clear. This source treats Saul's monarchy as an abortion, before the establishment of David's dynasty.

II Samuel, like the B source, evinces a date roughly contemporary with the events it reports. Foremost, it rebuts charges that David joined the Philistines in Saul's last battle, and incited the assassinations of Abner, Ishbaal, Absalom, Amasa, and all but one of Saul's descendants, not to mention Uriah the Hittite; these are figures whose political relevance, and, no doubt, memory had expired by the time of the Solomonic schism. Also, II Samuel makes very modest literal claims about David's conquests (see below, achievements), while later sources (Deuteronomy, Joshua, Chronicles, Josephus, and even II Kings 14:25) make much more grandiose claims. And, poetry preserved in II Samuel, such as David's laments over Saul and Abner, and his "last words," is unquestionably antique. The syntax of complex sentences in II Samuel is not, typically, that of later biblical prose. And the order of Israel's borders and components is different than in any later, standard, source. We may add that the settlement patterns, especially of the Negev and Philistia, reflected in the B source (I Sam. 27–30) and in II Samuel reflect realities of the 10th century, but not of subsequent eras. To take a particular example, I Samuel 27:6 claims that Ziklag remained subordinate to the kings of Judah. As Ziklag lay in the hinterland of Gath, it could not have belonged to kings of Judah after the eighth century B.C.E., and was probably not even settled in the ninth–eighth centuries. Finally, II Samuel starts a continuous reportage that ends at the end of II Kings in which reports of external contact are consistently corroborated and never falsified.

In II Samuel we learn of the death of Saul, David's accession in Judah and civil war with Ishbaal (I Chr. 8:33; 9:39, versus Ishboshet in Samuel – while most commentators believe the original name to have been altered in Samuel to avoid a reference to "Baal," a title rather than a name, that was used of YHWH in Israel, it is possible, despite the absence of the divine name from attested Israelite and Judahite epigraphs, that Samuel's version of the name is correct, and that it represents the Israelite equivalent of Egyptian *sbst*, "son of Bast," not to say "bastard"). David is then elected king of Israel; he conquers Jerusalem, and brings the ark there from the Gibeonite center, Kiryath-Jearim. YHWH then promises him an eternal dynasty. There follow accounts of foreign conquests, the Ammonite war and David's affair with Bath-Sheba, the Absalom revolt and its aftermath. Interspersed are details about David's offspring, officials, and army. A report about a census and the acquisition of the ground for the temple closes II Samuel.

I Chronicles 10–21 omits much from I Samuel 31–II Samuel 24. I Chronicles 22–29 reinterprets Solomon's designation as David's heir, stressing the planning of the temple and its liturgy. Chronicles does not speak of internal tensions, from Saul's time to the end of the Absalom revolt. It contains independent information about officials, but the text is usually derivative or projects later information into the past. However, Chronicles is important as a textual witness for reconstructing early readings in Samuel.

For David's sake, Samuel and Kings claim, YHWH forbears from destroying Judah (not Israel) because of a covenantal relationship. Kings also compares Judah's kings with and sometimes to David. Various prophets – Amos, Hosea, Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel – refer to David as the emblem of the dynasty that will rule Israel in time. After the exile, so does Zechariah (chaps. 12–13). Ezra and Nehemiah, like Chronicles, remember David as a cult founder (for example, Ezra 3:10; 8:20; Neh. 12:24–46). Proverbs and Ecclesiastes cite David as an ancestor of their authors. Ruth presents itself as a story about David's ancestors and furnishes a genealogy to prove this. And, Song of Songs 4:4 mentions one of David's public works (similarly, in a way, II Kings 11:10, against which cf. II Kings 14:26–27; 10:16–17; II Sam. 8:7).

Finally, David appears in the superscriptions of numerous psalms, usually in an indeterminate setting. Several superscriptions stipulate particular conditions (as Ps. 52:2, 54:2) and in some cases psalms incorporate aspects of David's career or status (as 78, 89, 122, 132, 144). No reference is plainly early; Psalms 89, 132 address dynastic promises. Amos, however (6:5), already in the mid-eighth century, portrays David as a poet-courtier. Is the superscription "to David" musical, then, or dedicatory? Probably it has something to do with the king's role in the cult.

In the Tel Dan stela and probably the Mesha Stone, "the house of David" refers to the state administered in Jerusalem – Judah. The audience, learning that Israel "revolted against the house of David," thus (I Kings 12:19) probably took it to mean "revolted against (the state of) Judah." This is the only event in connection with which Kings mentions "the house of David"; the phrase is common, however, in Isaiah (7:2, 13; 22:22; cf. 9:6, 16:5, also 11:1–10) and in the post-exilic era.

NAME AND GENEALOGY. *Name.* At one time, scholars misidentified a cognate of David's name in Akkadian, and took it to mean, "leader". The root is *dwd*, usually "(paternal) uncle" or "beloved." However, no text contracts the diphthong. It is always spelled *dwd* or even *dwyd* (the *y* representing a vowel of the /i/-class), never *dd* (as "uncle" is sometimes written). The possibility of its meaning "beloved" as a bi-form of the root *ydd*, the root of Solomon's prophetically assigned name, Jedidiah, therefore remains. It is unlikely that there is any relation to the term for uncle.

Several other names are related to this one: *d*(*w*)*dw* (*Dodo*, Judg. 10:1; II Sam 23:9,24; I Chr. 11:12, 26; 27:4) and *Dodaw*(*y*)*ahu* (II Chr. 20:37), in which the diphthong is, however, contracted. Mesha, the late ninth century king of Moab, claims to have taken as booty the *‘r’l dwdh*, the "Ariel" of (Ataroth's) *dwd*. He may also report removing the *‘*[*r’*]*ly yhwh*, two or more such objects dedicated to YHWH, from Nebo. The meaning of "Ariel" is unknown. It may be a sort of hero or statue or icon of a cult founder (for Moabites, II Sam 23:20 = I Chr. 11:22; also Isa. 29:1, 2, 7, as an epithet of Jerusalem). It also appears as a name (Gen. 46:16; Num. 26:17) and an altar (Ezek. 43:15–16).

Dwd in the Mesha stela is not proprietary to Judah. The inscription attests the fortification of Atarot and Nebo by Omri and Ahab, whose dynasty lent Israel its own dynastic name ("the house of Omri"). Nevertheless, the *dwd* of Ataroth was a significant item, as singular as YHWH. Since "paternal uncle" is rare as an element in Israelite names, David's name should be understood on Mesha's model. It probably is a divine epithet or hypostasis.

Antecedents. David's father is Jesse. The Hebrew, *y_š_y* (I Chr. 2:13 ‘_š(y) is a hypocoristicon for a name name, like Ishbaal, "the Lord is (here)." The patronym is authentic: in direct discourse, David is called "the son of Jesse" only to derogate his claim to royalty. Of these contexts, one is Sheba's call to revolt (II Sam 20:1); the same cry recurs in I Kings 12:16, at the Solomonic schism: "We have no stake in David, nor legacy in the son of Jesse." It is first an outcry against David, but then against his dynasty (Sheba) and grandson (the Israelites at Shechem in I Kings 12). The antagonistic invocation of Jesse's name is evidence of David's paternity, as is the more positive reference to Jesse in Isaiah 11:1, 10. Finally, an archaic poem, David's Testament, describes him as "David son of Jesse" (II Sam 23:1), in terms comparable to the introduction of Balaam in oracular verse in Numbers and in the Deir Alla plaster inscriptions. Chronicles also refers to "David son of Jesse" in order to punctuate the narrative (I Chr. 10:14, 29:26; in poetry, I Chr. 12:18). However, the preservation of a patronymic suggest that David's father had an originally negative reputation of his own, or, minimally, had no proper claim to royal status. This inference dovetails with other information, concerning David's rise.

Later materials – the end of Ruth and I Chronicles 2:3–17 – trace David's ancestry back to the eponym Judah. The age of this tradition, which supplies the place of authentic royal ancestry, is probably reasonably old. It is difficult to imagine that the story of Judah's posterity in J (Gen. 38) is divorced from a concern to trace David's ancestry. Even more clearly, P, in the late seventh century, names David's ancestor, Nahshon, as a chief of Judah and husband of Aaron's sister (Ex. 6:23; Num 1:7). Some even argue that the story of David taking his parents to Moab for safekeeping (I Sam. 22:4) reflects the connection to Moab narrated in Ruth: the reverse is more likely: the admittedly peculiar reference in Samuel – which is of a piece with its account of David's relations with peripheral ethnicities – inspired the tale of Ruth.

Every tradition (Ruth; I Sam. 16, 17:15, 58, 20:6, 28) places David's family in Bethlehem. II Samuel 2:32 refers, unselfconsciously, to the ancestral tomb of Asahel, Joab's brother, there. Around 700 B.C.E., Micah 5:1 shares the tradition. Bethlehem, despite Rachel's tomb being associated with it (Gen. 35:19, 47:8; Jer. 41), was a backwater. David's affiliation with the village is thus secure.

YOUTH. I Samuel introduces David as designee to be the next king. He moves to Saul's court, and betroths one of Saul's daughters (Merab or Michal, depending on the source). In one version, David comes to Saul's court as a musician; in the other he arrives to fight Goliath, whom he dupes by promising close combat while using his sling at a distance. II Samuel 3 continues with a story of Michal's later delivery to David from her children and former husband, and her subsequent sequestration and childlessness.

During David's service to Saul, a ditty occasions Saul's anger: "Saul has slain his thousands, and David his myriads." At the time, David is Jonathan's armor-bearer. His later preservation of Jonathan's son, when allowing the extermination of Saul's offspring, attests this early relationship. Thus, Samuel makes David Saul's ally and a killer of Philistines. The aim of the earliest versions was to deny that he acted as a subordinate to the king of Gath, and that he remained a Philistine ally throughout his reign. David's protection of Jonathan's son Mephiboshet may therefore have been calculated policy, such that the special relationship with Jonathan may have been derived secondarily by an author of one of the two literary sources of II Samuel. It is uncertain whether David served Saul. No notice relating his men's deeds (II Sam 21:15–22, 23:6ff.) suggests that he did.

David *was* the vassal of Achish of Gath. One source claims that Achish rejected him (I Sam. 21:11–16). Another source admits that David worked for Achish but blunts the point of the embarrassment by alibiing David for the battle in which Saul perished. He *was* in the employ of the Philistine king of Gath, though driven there by Saul's rage, he *was* present, he *was* Achish's bodyguard, but was detailed to the rear; other Philistine kings dismissed him as a possible traitor; true, he was away from home, during the battle, but was chasing raiders around the south; and, he killed the messenger of Saul's death, who claimed to have killed him (I Sam. 27; 29–30; II Sam. 1).

David reigns seven years in Hebron (II Sam 2:2–4). Ishbaal reigns only two as Saul's successor. There was, however, no interregnum between Saul and Ishbaal (so II Sam 2:5–9: Abner crowns Ishbaal). Probably, David won northern constituencies after taking Jerusalem after Ishbaal's death. This explains why his alleged conflict with Philistia arises over Jerusalem. In Hebron, David's kingship was marginal, as the site's archaeology and the scant settlement of 11th century Judah suggest: he was a Philistine vassal. He was in name the same throughout his reign. But his taking of Jerusalem could be portrayed as the occasion of Israelite declarations of allegiance to him (II Sam. 5:1–3), and thus as his declaration of independence from Gath.

HISTORICAL RELATIONS WITH SAUL'S HOUSE. Reportedly on Saul's death, David penetrated into the hills of Judah (I Sam 30:1–2), establishing himself at Hebron. His expansion must reflect service to Achish, as the hills, previously, were virtually empty. From a base in Hebron, on the spine of the hills leading to Benjamin, David waged continued war with Ishbaal, Saul's son, and with Ishbaal's chief-of-staff, Abner (II Sam. 2–4). At the end of their conflict, Abner and 20 retainers brought Ishbaal's sister, Michal, to Hebron to be David's wife. (I Samuel claims she had been taken from David unjustly.) At the wedding banquet, David's general, Joab, ambushed Abner, and probably his escort. II Samuel 3 claims that Abner meant to betray Ishbaal, to hand David kingship over Israel. But here, as in the other cases in which Joab kills for David (Uriah, Absalom, Amasa), Joab suffers no penalty. Likewise, Samuel alleges that Michal was betrothed to David (I Sam 19:11–24) before being wed to Palti, an Israelite husband from whom Ishbaal delivered her to David. This narrative strategy transforms her delivery into the settlement of a contractual claim, and thus denies that it was the price of a peacemaking marriage alliance. Later, David sequestered Michal: he refused real alliance with Saul's house and limited the numbers of descendants of Saul. He also kept possession of Abner's corpse.

After Abner's murder, two "Gibeonites," from the town of Beeroth, brought Ishbaal's head to David, who thereafter maintained custody of it. David proclaimed his innocence in the matter and executed the assassins (II Sam. 4). The killers had good reason to expect a heartier reception; David had good reason for silencing them. Contemporaries must have accused him of ordering Abner's and Ishbaal's deaths.

Before Absalom's revolt, David sought an oracle about the cause of a famine. Conveniently, YHWH attributed it to Saul's war on the Gibeonites, which violated an earlier treaty (of which no one, one expects, had heard). David extradited Saul's surviving sons and grandsons for execution. Only after this did he return Saul's and Jonathan's corpses to the family tomb (II Sam. 21:1–14). His policy regarding Saulides was to export the living and import the dead.

David exempted only Saul's lame grandson, Jonathan's son. Mephiboshet (Meribbaal in I Chr. 8:34, 9:40) dwelled at the court, while a steward, Ziba, administered Saul's lands (II Sam. 4:4; 9). After the Absalom revolt, David awarded half the estate to Ziba (16:1–4, 19:25–31). The only other relation to survive the purge was Shimei, who accused David of murdering the entire family (II Sam. 16:5–10). Solomon later executed Shimei.

A final "Saulide" was David's son – if he was David's rather than Saul's – by Ahinoam of Jezreel, probably one of Saul's wives (below). Absalom assassinates Amnon, David's firstborn. Absalom's punishment is reasonably traditional, conforming to the pattern of expulsion for murder that is reflected in the punishments of Cain and Moses: three years in exile, and two after repatriation under house arrest. Still, this murder of Amnon removes the last vestige of Saul's dynasty, in the form of a wife's son, from the succession. The coincidence seems less coincidental when the narrative reports that David's nephew suggested the rape that Absalom avenged to Amnon (II Sam. 13:1–5).

David exterminated or permitted the extermination of Saul and his descendants. His hostages (Michal and Mephiboshet), and stories of his youth at Saul's court, friendship with Jonathan, and betrothal to Saul's daughters alibi him for the assassinations of Abner and Ishbaal and the executions of Saul's other descendants. All these presentations serve to insulate David against accusations that must have stemmed from his contemporaries. Any other explanation violates the nature of Near Eastern literary history, and will be too clever by half.

RISE TO KINGSHIP. David first became king in the town of Ziklag, as an appointee of Achish (probably Achaios, or "Achaean") of Gath. After Saul's death, since he is alibied regarding residence in Ziklag for that event, he seems to have claimed sovereignty over Judah from Hebron. Judah at the time was sparsely settled, especially outside the Shephelah. Pastoralists were probably traversing the Negev from Philistia to North Arabia at the time. Judah does not appear in any clearly premonarchic Israelite tradition (especially Judg. 5:13–18). No such defined geographical entity existed before David occupied Hebron. Benjamin, "the son of the south," was then the name for Israel's southlands, Judah included.

Even in Hebron, David continued to contain Israelites from reaching or threatening the Philistine plain in the Shephelah, particularly at Gath. He may have helped to project a threat against Ekron. He also engaged in marital diplomacy. His first wife, Ahinoam, was from Jezreel in the Jezreel Valley (the southern Jezreel was unoccupied). The Bible's only other Ahinoam was Jonathan's mother: David took her from Saul. Abigail, David's second wife, was probably David's sister. Her first husband, Nabal, was a man of parts in Judah (I Sam.

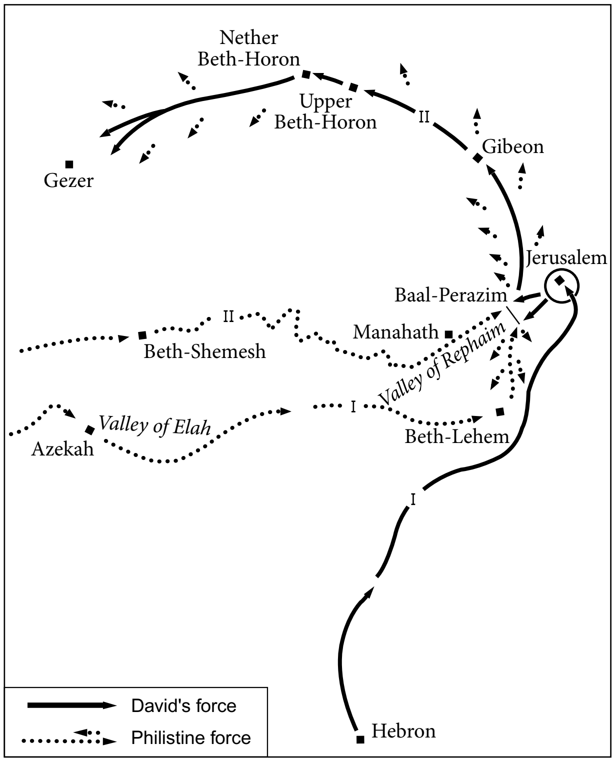
Nether Beth-Horon
Upper Beth-Horon
II
Gibeon
Gezer
Jerusalem
Baal-Perazim
II
Manahath
Beth-Shemesh
Valley of Rephaim
Valley of Elah
I
Azekah
Beth-Lehem
I
Hebron
David's force
Philistine force

Map 1. David's conquest of Jerusalem and his wars against the Philistines. From Macmillan Bible Atlas, *Carta, Jerusalem, 1968.*

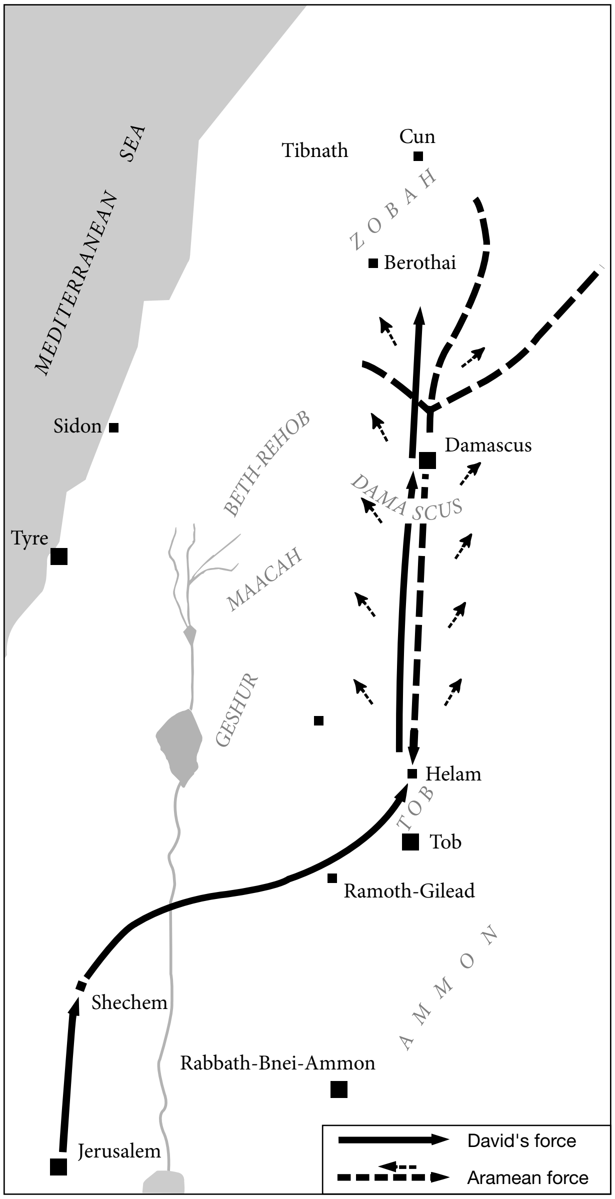
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
Tibnath
Cun
ZOBAH
Berothai
Sidon
BETH-REHOB
Damascus
DAMASCUS
Tyre
MAACAH
GESHUR
Helam
TOB
Tob
Ramoth-Gilead
AMMON
Shechem
Rabbath-Bnei-Ammon
Jerusalem
David's force
Aramean force

Map 2. David's conquest of Aram-Zobah and Aram-Damascus. From Macmillan Bible Atlas, *Carta, Jerusalem, 1968.*

25; cf. II Sam. 17:25; I Kings 2:32; I Chr. 2:17). Marriages with Ahinoam and one of Saul's daughters (Michal/Merab) staked a claim on Saul's kingdom. Marriage with Abigail established a claim on Judah. A marital alliance with the king of Geshur (in the Golan) then surrounded Israel. David added appeals to Transjordan to defect from Ishbaal (II Sam. 2:5–7), made an early alliance with the Ammonites, and, late in his reign, made an alliance with Tyre. Combining the peripheral powers with alliances in Philistia, another border region, David engulfed the northern tribes. He enlisted Gibeonites north of Jerusalem and other mercenary elements, including "Gittites," some of whom stemmed from Kiryath-Jearim, a Gibeonite town. His coalition was directed almost exclusively against the denizens of Israel's heartland.

According to II Samuel 2, David asked Gileadites (elements in Transjordan) to recognize him as king. In Samuel the collaborators represent the whole of Israel. But the course of David's subjection of the north is far from perspicuous, and may have resulted in real control only after the Absalom result. That the coercion was an element of the process is clear from II Samuel's defense of Solomon's succession, and from Absalom's rebellion against David, including the tribes of Israel, and Jeroboam's successful revolt against Rehoboam's succession. David was, in the end, a Middle Eastern politician, and can only have ruled by division and terror.

ADMINISTRATION AND ACHIEVEMENTS. II Samuel identified David's officials by place of origin (Ittay the Gittite, for example, is probably Ittay son of Ribay from Kiryath-Jearim) or by ethnic or clan affiliations (Uriah the Hittite, among others). On the same model, I Samuel supplies a list of Saul's officers. I Kings 4 provides an even fuller list of Solomon's officials, mainly provincial administrators. Yet nothing comparable appears later in Kings, again distinguishing writing about the United Monarchy from that about its successor regimes. The reports about the course of bureaucratization attest the development of the state. Later titulature, attested in Kings and in epigraphs, indicates a far more extensive administrative apparatus.

Foreigners serving David as mercenaries, his collusion with Gibeonite aliens in exterminating Saul's house (and his enfranchisement of them in the army and the cult), and the patterns of his diplomacy, threatened Israel. I–II Samuel insist on his popular election. Still, only David's campaign for reelection after the Absalom revolt indicates a historical, not just literary, dependence on some measure of popular support. Notably, after the Absalom revolt, Joab undoes the compromise reflected in the appointment of Amasa, Absalom's commander-in-chief, to be David's chief of staff. The parallel to Abner's death will not have been lost on contemporary northerners.

The most diagnostic element of any narrative history is its omissions. Samuel is no exception. David introduced a new icon, the ark, into a new capital (II Samuel 6–7). He did not build a temple, and did not organize a centralized state. He undertook no public works. Nor did he conquer any lowland fortresses. These silences speak legions about the nature of his bandit state.

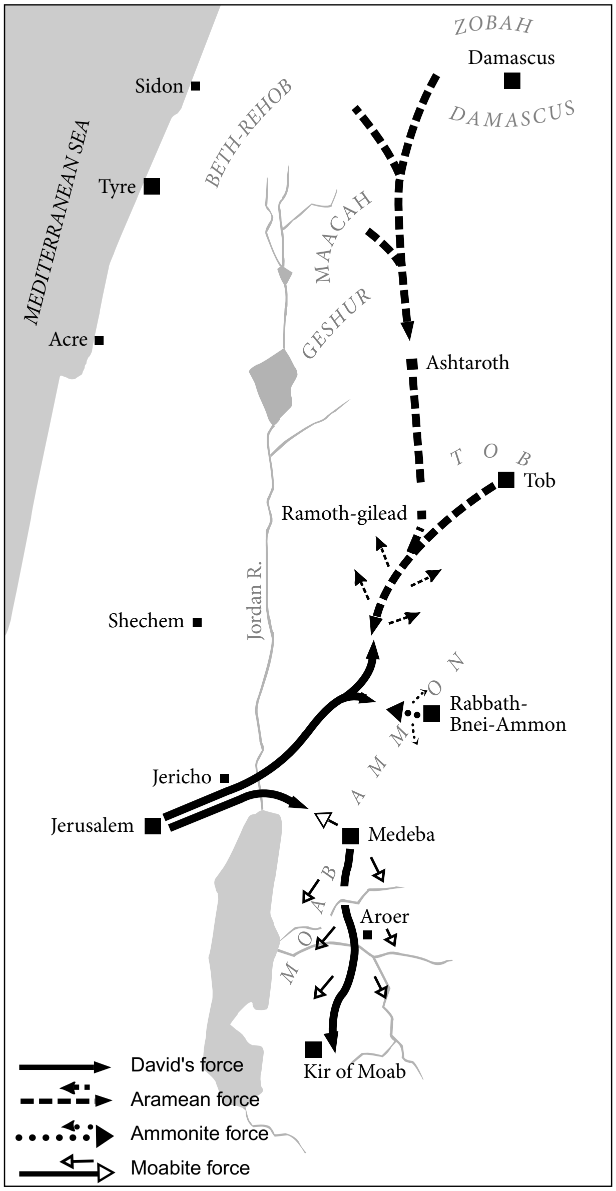

Map 3. David's wars against Moab, Aram and Ammon. From Macmillan Bible Atlas, *Carta, Jerusalem, 1968.*

David has left the imprint as a state-builder and conqueror on Western consciousness. Still, Samuel, the earliest source about his activity, alleges little in the way of conquest. He fails to expand to Gezer, or in Philistia proper: until Solomon's day, Gezer was "Canaanite." As king, David encounters Philistines only in the vicinity of Jerusalem. He subjects Aram-Zobah, but probably on the field in Transjordan (II Sam. 10) rather than campaigning to the north. He attacks some elements of population in Ammon, Moab, and Edom. But nothing suggests a campaign north of Dan. The northernmost activity in which David's troops are said to engage takes place at Abel Bet-Maacah. And in Transjordan his only clear achievement, by proxy, is the taking of Ammon's capital, sometime before the Absalom revolt. He garrisons some territory belonging to Damascus, not the city itself. He kills some Moabites. Only in the case of Edom is he said to have taken the whole territory – probably corresponding with the 50 or so caravan stations erected in the Negev in the 10th century.

The only instance in which a real policy history can be reconstructed is that of Ammon. David allied with its king, Nahash, an enemy of Saul's. When Nahash died, David took the capital, installing Hanun, a son of Nahash, as the latter's successor. Later, during Absalom's revolt, along with Gileadite allies, Hanun abetted David against the tribal militias of Israel and Judah. It is no coincidence, then, that Hanun's daughter became the mother of Solomon's successor, no fewer than two years before David's death. Ammon was in thrall to David, but was indispensable to his domestic authority.

Israel's expansion into the lowlands – which Solomon possessed, as texts and archaeological evidence attest – and into Transjordan should, at least in theory, have created a sense of "nationalism." Reality, however, differs from theory, and the narrative of the process of expansion covers the reality up. The mercenary base of the early monarchy kept countryside lineages in fear of losing autonomy. This fear undoubtedly fed Absalom's revolt, directed not against the dynasty, at least among the small population of Judah and that of Benjamin and southern Ephraim, but against David personally. It was a war concerning the succession.

Absalom's revolt was a war of Israel, and much of Judah, and probably parts of Philistia and Canaan, on David. Naturally, the narrative does not mention external enemies or allies – the Ammonites and Gileadites appear only to provision David in need, and the Gittites appear only in the form of David's mercenary army, not as outside supporters. Thus, the narrative does not represent the episode as involving anyone but Judah and Israel – a highly improbable scenario, but one useful for internal dissemination. II Samuel portrays the revolt as divine vengeance for the cuckolding and murder of Uriah the Hittite. This implies the rebels were on the side of the angels, so to speak. And, Absalom's daughter became Solomon's heir Rehoboam's first wife, clearly in a strategy of national reconciliation. Our text also insists that David actively campaigned for and earned reelection as king after the revolt (II Samuel 19), winning partly because he promised to replace his hatchet man, Joab, as national commander with the rebel general, Amasa. The text then blames Amasa's assassination, which follows immediately, on Joab, when Sheba son of Bichri revolts – a rebel without an army whose head is unceremoniously hurled over the wall of Abel BetMaacah, probably just then incorporated into the boundaries of David's Israel. With David's professional army dominant, the humiliating campaign for reelection and the appointment of Amasa suggest the importance of claiming popular support.

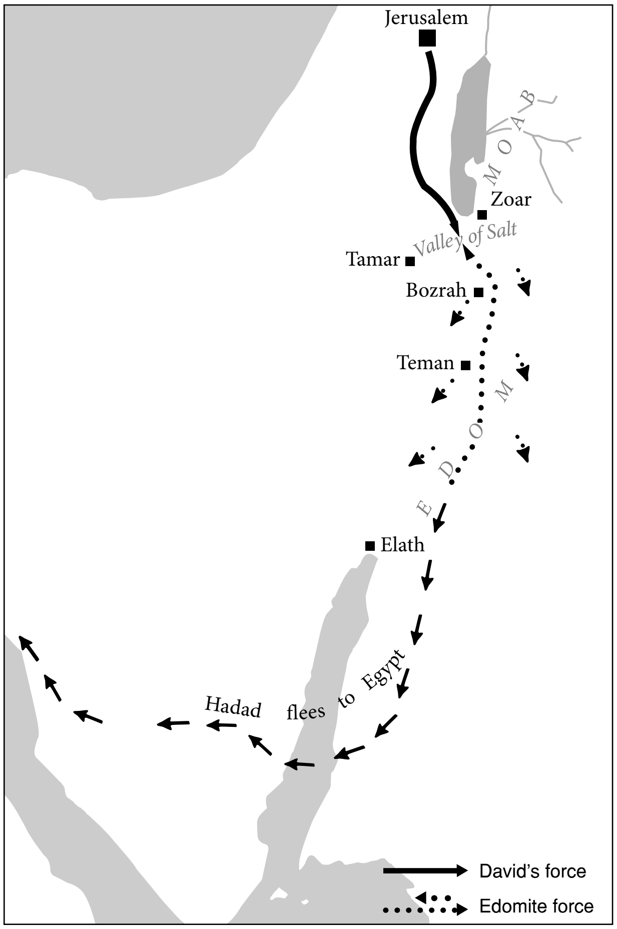

Map 4. David's conquest of Edom. From Macmillan Bible Atlas*, Carta, Jerusalem, 1968.*

David's religious policies are obscure. He adopted the ark from the Gibeonite city of Kiryath-Jearim as a state symbol. He also created two state priesthoods – one, from Judah, claiming descent from Aaron, and another from Shiloh, probably claiming descent from Moses. He naturally permitted countryside priests to continue as they had in the pre-monarchic period. While later temple liturgy (as Psalm 89) and the historiography (II Samuel 7) claim that YHWH endorsed eternal Davidic dynasty, alternative views (as Psalm 132) were fashioned in Judah to explain Israel's secession on Solomon's death.

One Davidic achievement was the establishment of control of movement in the Negev. Arabian caravan traffic to the coast assumed an immense importance at the end of the Late Bronze Age, and thereafter. The spices (including what we would call drugs, for the spice trade was in great measure the drug trade), crossed the Sinai and Negev at Egypt's expense, until Shishak's raid, five years after Solomon's death. Later, Necho, Josiah, and even Nabonidus would contest its direction.

David created a nation, Judah. His dynasty endured for almost 500 years. He also inevitably initiated a rift between popular and elite sovereignty, despite adhering, like Augustus in Rome, to the forms of popular election. Both before and after the Absalom revolt, according to the apology in II Samuel, David insisted on election by the people, or by the people's representatives. In appearance, David deferred to an Israelite mode of hinterland living that broke the traditional link between city-state monarchies and temple building, such that the shrine was not a permanent structure in the royal capital. In introducing the ark – which Saul had not embraced, and which had previously been tended by Gibeonites, against whom Saul actually waged campaigns – into the capital, David subverted this apparent deference, creating a state shrine. And yet, David's Jerusalem was not a proper city-state – it was more of a bolt hole. It was, in fact, not even a city, as its archaeological markers are all at least in large part absent.

Indeed, more than anything, what marks David's reign politically is an ongoing linkage with and reliance on foreigners, especially Gittites and Gibeonites, and a steady aversion to public works. II Samuel attributes almost no public building to him. Nor have archaeologists uncovered remains, with the possible exception of the "stepped stone structure" in Jerusalem, that could reasonably be attributed to him. It is true that Stratum VB at Megiddo is often attributed to his reign; however, it contains no clear monumental structure, and may well either antedate his conquest of Israel or reflect a very late period of his sovereignty.

In sum, David was never a builder, never an acolyte of monumental construction. His limited kingdom did not permit him to think of himself in these terms. It was left to his successor – perhaps the son of a mercenary named Uriah – to undertake the organization of states inside Israel and to impose heavy, or usual, taxation on them, so as to undertake construction in the countryside and in the capital. Only from Solomon's time do we have reports and archaeological reflexes of monumental construction.

SUCCESSION. David played the succession close to his vest. Of his sons, the third, Absalom, killed the eldest, Amnon, and was in turn killed by Joab in his, Absalom's, revolt. The second son, by Abigail, is never mentioned after his birth. The fourth, Adonijah, was widely expected to succeed.

The succession contest recapitulated the tensions of Absalom's revolt. Popular expectation focused (hopefully?) on Adonijah and Joab's support suggests that he was David's designee. Party to the Pretender was the Elide priest, Abiathar. Thus, traditional forces, in the court and at large, stood behind Adonijah's candidacy.

Solomon's succession, sympathetically presented, remains a coup. Behind Solomon stand: Zadok, the Judahite priest; Benaiah, the mercenary captain; and, the mercenaries of the capital, such as the Gittites. Solomon's administration, with its emphasis on public works and the exactions they required, colors the contrast with David. Yet conciliatory maneuvers early in Solomon's reign – Rehoboam's marriage to Absalom's daughter, the writing of II Samuel to exculpate David from political murders and Israel's population from treason because YHWH encouraged the revolt, and even the construction of the temple with its implications of tax relief for the laborers as a form of tax remission, all suggest that the transition was gradual. Solomon began by pursuing his father's course; only when a threat materialized from Egypt, in his 24th year, did the impulse to modernization assume urgency. For this reason, public works, for example at Megiddo, were not completed before the destruction of the Solomonic layer there. What is more, the Solomonic layers may in many cases have represented facades, at Hazor, Megiddo, and Gezer, in the first instance.

REASONS FOR DAVID'S PLACE IN TRADITION. David became the template for the future identification of Judah's king as the messiah, YHWH's "anointed": he was the adopted son of YHWH, a notion that derives from the temple royal ideology during the centuries leading up to the Babylonian exile. As a dynastic founder, David personified YHWH's reign over Judah, and, by extension, Israel. Later reinterpretation of the conception of David *redivivus* – adumbrated in the comparison of Judah's kings to him in the books of Kings and Psalms – and of the enthronement metaphor of his divine sonship led to their ratification as a future hope in a period without Davidic kings (the Restoration). In addition, the image of David as cult founder, full-blown in the presentation of I Chronicles, derives from the assignment to his reign of the dynastic charter, usually associated with temple building, and from the superscriptions to the Psalms.

While Israel's golden age is usually associated with Solomon, the Davidic figure, far more swashbuckling and more tragically human, naturally attracted the attention and the affection of later readers. The glory of David is thus in his commemoration, and in the reverberation of his image through the ages. The idea of a Messiah based on David, the idea of a David in the Psalms, the idea of a David as the progenitor of David – all these things are based on the reception in Judah of the literature, and particularly the historiography, about this king. Thus the literary presentation, starting with Samuel and continuing through Chronicles and into rabbinic literature, created an image that had enduring power throughout the ages.

[Baruch Halpern (2nd ed.)]

In the *Aggadah*

David's image in the *aggadah* is many-faceted. The unique status of his monarchy – in contrast to that of the other kings of Israel – is frequently emphasized: "The sovereignty of David shall never lapse" (Yal., Num. 771). The Midrash even declares that God "looks forward to David's being king until the end of the generations" (Gen. R. 88:7), and that "whoever contends against the sovereignty of the house of David deserves to be bitten by a snake" (Sanh. 110a). In this emphasis there is an echo of the dispute which, in its time, divided Judaism after the establishment of the dynasty of the Hasmoneans, who were not of Davidic descent (see *David, Dynasty of).

PHARISAIC SUPPORT OF DAVID'S DYNASTY. The Pharisees did not deny that, according to the *halakhah*, kings who were not of the house of David could be appointed (Hor. 13a; et al.); but they made a clear distinction between them by stressing that the dynasty of the House of David was eternal, and by placing limits upon the authority of the other kings: only kings of the House of David could judge and be judged themselves, and not kings of Israel (Sanh. 19a); kings of the House of David were anointed, but not kings of Israel (Hor. 11b); and even when kings of Israel were anointed (when the succession was in dispute), oil of balsam was to be used and not the prescribed anointing oil. It was also ruled: "In the Temple court, the kings of the House of David alone are permitted to sit" (Sot. 41b).

OPPONENTS OF THE DAVIDIC DYNASTY. On the other hand there were extremists who were opposed to the Davidic dynasty. Echoes of it are heard in the talmudic discussion (Yev. 76b–77a) dealing with the permission of Ammonite and Moabite women to intermarry with Jews: "Doeg the Edomite said to Abner, the son of Ner, 'Instead of inquiring whether he [David] is worthy to be king or not, inquire whether he is permitted to enter the assembly of Jews at all.' Why? 'Because he is descended from Ruth the Moabitess!' Abner said to him, 'We have been taught that only an Ammonite [is forbidden], but not an Ammonitess, a Moabite, but not a Moabitess'" (see: *Ammonites and Moabites in the *halakhah*). According to Aptowitzer, this passage alludes to the efforts of the Sadducees in the Sanhedrin of Hyrcanus to disqualify the House of David from reigning, an effort which they were compelled to abandon by use of force on the part of the Pharisees and their supporters outside the Sanhedrin. In Aptowitzer's opinion, the reference by Josephus (Wars, 1:54ff.) to a revolt in the days of Hyrcanus is to this incident. In this connection the Midrash states (Ruth R. 8:1): "David said before the Holy One, 'How long will they agitate against me, saying, Is he not of tainted descent? Is he not descended from Ruth the Moabitess?'" In order to impress the importance of the House of David upon the consciousness of the people, the rabbis laid down that, "Whoever does not mention the kingdom of the House of David in the blessing 'Who buildest Jerusalem' in the Grace after Meals, has not fulfilled his obligation" (Ber. 48b). In the **Amidah* prayer, too, they included a prayer for the restoration of the kingdom of the House of David.

DAVID'S PHYSICAL STRENGTH. Already as a youth David displayed extraordinary physical strength, one day slaying four lions and three bears (Mid. Sam. 20:5). With only one throw of his javelin he could kill 800 men (MK 16b). It was only as a simple shepherd, however, that he confronted Goliath. The five stones came to him of their own accord. They represented God, Aaron, and the three patriarchs (Mid. Sam. 21:1). One stone alone, which was guided by an angel, sufficed to kill Goliath (Mid. Ps. to 144). David waged 18 battles – five for his own benefit and 13 on behalf of Israel (Lev. R. 1:4), always attributing his victory to God (Mid. Ps. to 144). When he went to war, David made himself hard as steel (MK 16b).

DAVID AS A POET. The rabbis speak in superlatives of David's poetic genius. "While still dwelling in his mother's womb, he recited a poem … he contemplated the day of death and recited a poem" (Ber. 10a). The biblical account of David's playing the harp before Saul is enlarged in the *aggadah*: "a harp was suspended above his bed … as soon as midnight arrived, a north wind came and blew upon it and it played of itself" (Ber. 3b). The Talmud discusses the question of whether the psalms are to be regarded as entirely David's work or as a collection of compositions by various poets, including David, who edited them. R. Meir's view is: "All the praises stated in the Book of Psalms were uttered by David" (Pes. 117a). The statement (BB 14b) that "David wrote the Book of Psalms, including in it the work of 10 elders" is understood in the light of the Midrash (Eccl. R. 7:19 no. 4): "Although 10 men composed the Book of Psalms, it is named after none of them but after David." The rabbis perceived something of a contradiction between David's preoccupation with poetry and his involvement with Torah, saying, "This is what David meant: 'Midnight never found me asleep.' Until midnight he studied the Torah; thereafter he recited songs and praises" (Ber. 3b).

DAVID AS A SCHOLAR. David was exalted by the rabbis as a halakhic authority and a Torah scholar, his diligence being such that the Angel of Death was powerless over him because "his mouth did not cease from learning," the study of Torah protecting one from death. It was only when by a ruse the Angel of Death interrupted his study that he was able to claim him (TJ, Shab. 30). David's wish was: "May it be Thy will that words of Torah be repeated in my name in this world" (Yev. 96b). His great diligence is also reflected in the statement, "David said, 'Lord of the Universe! Every day I would think of going to a certain place or to a certain dwelling, but my feet would bring me to synagogues and to places of study'" (Lev. R. 35:1); and, "David said: 'The Holy One, blessed by He, has made a covenant with me that I shall master Scripture, Mishnah, Midrash, *halakhot*, and *aggadot*'" (Yal., II Sam. 165). David appears also as a halakhic authority and *av bet din* (Ber. 4a), and the decree forbidding a man to be alone with an unmarried woman is attributed to his *bet din* (Sanh. 21b; et al.). "Every one who went out in the wars of the house of David wrote a bill of divorce for his wife, so that she could remarry, should he fail to return and her status be uncertain" (Shab. 56a). He composed many prayers and it was he who set the number of priestly divisions at 24 (Ta'an. 27a).

THE BATH-SHEBA EPISODE. The rabbis are frequently openly critical of David. With reference to the episode of Bath-Sheba, however, the general tendency is to exonerate him from all blame, both in respect to the law itself since he decreed that "every one who goes out to war shall write a bill of divorce to his wife" (Shab. 56a), and Bath-Sheba was thus a divorcee; and because of his wholehearted remorse after the deed: "David said before the Holy One, blessed be He, 'Lord of the universe! Forgive me for that sin.' 'It is forgiven you,' He replied. 'Give me a sign during my lifetime,' he entreated. 'During your lifetime I shall not make it known,' He answered, 'But I shall make it known during the life of your son Solomon'" (Shab. 30a). Some go even further, saying: "Whoever says David sinned is mistaken … he contemplated the act, but did not go through with it" (Shab. 56a).

RABBINIC CRITICISM OF DAVID. The rabbis enumerated other failings of David. In the opinion of the rabbis, it was David's overweening self-confidence which led him to beg God to put him to the test with Bath-Sheba so that he could prove himself comparable in that respect to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob (Sanh. 107a). They maintained that his tongue was not free from taint. David, in his entreaty to Saul, says, "If it be the Lord that hath stirred thee up against me, let Him accept an offering" (I Sam. 26:19). The rabbis consider this an unbecoming allusion to God, and, in their opinion, David came to grief because of it in the matter of the census: "The Holy One said to David, 'You call me one who stirs up; I shall cause you to stumble over a thing which even schoolchildren know, that which is written, And when thou takest the sum of the children of Israel, according to their number, they shall give every man a ransom for his soul'" (Ber. 62b). Nor was he innocent of slander. He believed in Ziba's calumniation of his master Mephibosheth, that he intended treachery against David (Yoma 22b). He rejoiced at Saul's downfall: "The Holy One said to David, 'David, you sing a song at Saul's downfall? Were you Saul and he David, I would have destroyed many Davids before him'" (MK 16b). He employed inappropriate language in reference to Torah, referring to its words as "songs" (Sot. 35a), and he is responsible for the wrong path taken by his children. "Because David did not rebuke or chastise his son Absalom, he fell into evil ways and sought to slay his father … David treated Adonijah similarly, neither rebuking nor punishing him, and therefore he became depraved, as it is written, 'His father had not grieved him'" (Ex. R. 1:1).

[Israel Moses Ta-Shma]

TOMB OF DAVID. According to the Bible, David was buried in the "city of David" presumably in the southeast of the present Siloam area (I Kings 2:10). Traditionally the later kings of the Davidic dynasty were also buried there and the Bible refers to the "sepulchers of the sons of David" (II Chron. 32:33), whose site was still known in the time of Nehemiah (Neh. 3:16). The tombs were in Jerusalem, but were never touched (Tos. B.B. 1:11). According to Josephus Herod broke into David's tomb to rob it, but when he tried to go into the inner chamber tongues of fire shot out (Jos., Ant., 16:7:1). The site is also mentioned in the New Testament (Acts 2:29). The tomb of David was probably destroyed at the time of the Bar Kokhba revolt (135 C.E.), and afterward the exact location of the site was forgotten. However, various sites were suggested by popular traditions over the ages and the one which became generally accepted was the place now called Mt. Zion. This tradition is about 1,000 years old, first being recorded in Crusader times, and was accepted in Jewish, Muslim, and Christian traditions. Benjamin of Tudela (c. 1173) reports a story about the miraculous discovery of David's tomb on Mt. Zion during the repairing of a church on the site. The site was in the hands of Muslims and Christians at various periods and came under Jewish control after the Israel War of Independence in 1948. It became a special center for Jewish pilgrims in the period from 1948 to 1967 because the most revered Jewish site, the Western Wall, was not accessible to Jews and David's Tomb was the closest point to the Old City of Jerusalem. Oriental Jews especially made pilgrimages to the site on all three festivals and particularly on Shavuot, the traditional date of David's death.

In the Liturgy

David figures in the liturgy both as the "sweet singer of Israel" and as the founder of the dynasty which according to Jewish tradition is eternal and is therefore destined to be restored. The concluding blessing to the extended *Pesukei de-Zimra* which are recited on Sabbaths and festivals – consisting as they do, both in the Ashkenazi and Sephardi rites, almost exclusively of psalms – states that it is the duty of all creatures to praise and extol God "even beyond the words of song and adoration of David the son of Jesse, Thine appointed servant." A similar reference is made in the *Kedusha* to the Sabbath morning *Amidah*. Much more prominent is the hope of the restoration of the Davidic dynasty, and, of course, it has messianic undertones. The subject of the 15th blessing of the *Amidah*, it is also implied in two passages of the *Grace after Meals. "Have mercy upon … the kingdom of the House of David Thine anointed" and "showeth lovingkindness to His anointed, to David and his seed for evermore." (The addition to the Grace for the Intermediate Days of Sukkot also prays for God to "raise up the fallen tabernacle (*sukkah*) of David" (Amos 9:11)).

The most intriguing mention, however, is in the third of the four blessings which follow the reading of the *haftarah*: "Gladden us, O Lord our God … with the kingdom of the House of David Thine anointed. Soon may he come and rejoice our hearts. Suffer not a stranger to sit upon his throne, nor let others any longer inherit his glory; for by Thy Holy Name Thou didst swear unto him that his light should not be quenched for ever. Blessed art Thou, O Lord, the Shield of David." The text of these blessings (with variations) is given in *Soferim* (13:13); that this blessing ends with "the Shield of David" is already mentioned in the Talmud (Pes. 117b). Various suggestions have been put forward to explain the connection between the prayer and the *haftarah*. It is bound up with the unsolved question as to the date and the circumstances of the introduction of the prophetic reading. Rabbi J.L. *Maimon (Fishman) puts forward the suggestion that it may have been a polemic against the Samaritans who denied both the sanctity of Jerusalem and the rights of the House of David (*Ha-Ẓiyyonut ha-Datit ve-Hitpatteḥutah* (1937), 68–69). If the view of *Abudarham, that the *haftarah* was instituted during the persecutions of *Antiochus Epiphanes as a substitute for the proscribed reading of the Pentateuch, can be accepted, it might equally have been a kind of protest against the royal aspirations of the *Hasmoneans, who were not of royal stock. A curious reference to David occurs in the liturgy of the Blessing of the New *Moon (*Kiddush Levanah*). It includes the phrase "David, King of Israel is alive and existing." The inclusion of this phrase is undoubtedly connected with an incident related in the Talmud (RH 25a) to the effect that R. Judah ha-Nasi sent R. Ḥiyya to sanctify the moon in a place called Ein Tov and send him the news that this had been done in these words. Moses *Isserles however states that the reason is "that his kingdom is compared to the moon (cf. Ps. 89:38) and like it will be renewed" (OḤ 426:2).

[Louis Isaac Rabinowitz]

In Kabbalah

The kabbalists saw in David the man who symbolized in the "quality of Kingdom" (*middat ha-Malkhut*), the tenth and last of the *Sefirot*. In Sefer ha-*Bahir, it is stated that this quality was offered to each of the three patriarchs, but they asked that they be given their own particular qualities and it was then given to David. David's name is the regular attribute of the *Sefirah Malkhut* which found its expression in his leadership. As a counterpart to the biblical King David, God has "another David" (*David aḥra*) who is in charge of all the inhabitants of the upper world, and he is the *Shekhinah* (Zohar, 3:84a). Together with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, David constitutes the "fourth leg of the *Merkabah"; or of the throne, in an extension of the midrashic saying: "It is the patriarchs who are the Merkabah" (Gen. R. 47:7). The symbolism of the "kingdom" as a *Sefirah* which has no light of its own but which receives its light from the other nine *Sefirot* above it, like the moon from the sun, has a basis in midrashic legends. There it is said that David was meant to live only a few hours, but Adam foresaw this and gave David 70 years of the thousand years which were allotted to him (Zohar). His constant study of the Torah, so that "his mouth never ceased reciting the Torah," is explained in *Sefer ha-Bahir* as his being a symbol for the attribute of "Oral Law," which is also the tenth *Sefirah*. In *Sefer ha-Peli'ah* the story of David, Uriah, and Bath-Sheba is explained as a symbolic repetition of the sin of Adam, performed in order to rectify that sin; i.e., the killing of Uriah, who symbolizes the primordial serpent, rectifies the sin, since King David is the reincarnation of the first man (the name Adam being interpreted as the initials of the names Adam, David, *Messiah). Evil and the *kelippah* (lit. "husk") also find their rectification (*tikkun*) in David in another way. David was ruddy, like the wicked Esau, but while the redness of Esau was "without any mixture of goodness and beauty," David's redness was rectified by his being "ruddy and withal of beautiful eyes"; for Esau inherited the sword and the shedding of blood, but David inherited the attribute of kingship "to act with mercy and charity and to kill according to the law" (Joseph *Gikatilla, *Sha'arei Orah*). His descent from Ruth the Moabitess is also repeatedly commented upon in the esoteric manner: David, the first Messiah, like the last Messiah, had of neccessity to descend from a mixture with the *sitra aḥra* ("other side," i.e., evil) so that he should be able to overcome the evil power which is rooted in the *sitra aḥra*; for man can only overcome that which is within himself (Joseph *Caro, *Maggid Mesharim*). When the custom of a *melavveh malkah* meal, i.e., a fourth meal at the end of the Sabbath day, became widespread (under the influence of Lurianic Kabbalah) this meal was named "King David's meal."

[Gershom Scholem]

In Christianity

David's importance for Christianity derives from the fact that Jesus was considered the Messiah, son of David. In the Gospels (Mark 12:35–37; Matt. 22:41–45; Luke 20:41–44), Jesus himself does not claim to be a descendant of the House of David, nor do his contemporaries know of such a connection (John 7:41–42). The title "Son of David," bestowed upon Jesus by sufferers turning to him for help, merely denotes the Messiah, a title also bestowed upon Bar Kokhba by Rabbi *Akiva. By Paul's generation, however, Christians already believed that Jesus was descended from the House of David (II Tim. 2:8; Heb. 7:17). Consequently two distinct and very artificial genealogies of Jesus were traced (Matt. 1:1–7; Luke 3:23–38).

David, like other biblical figures, was considered by Christian authors as a "type" of Jesus, and they explained biblical stories about David as referring to him. For medieval authors, David is the supreme example of the poet. He was the patron of the poets' guild (Meistersinger). The Christians considered David a prophet as well; according to the well-known church hymn *Dies irae*, he prophesied the End of Days. As David was also the embodiment of valor to the Christians, he was regarded in medieval times as an exemplary knight. In addition he was considered an exemplary king; Charlemagne liked his courtiers to call him "the new David." The Armenian Bagratid dynasty traced their lineage to David and Bath-Sheba, as Ethiopian monarchs do to Solomon the son of David. The Church regarded David as the prototype of a king obeying its precepts, and his anointment by Samuel was the basis for that of kings and emperors by the Church during the Middle Ages.

[David Flusser]

In Islam

David (Ar. Dā'ūd, also Dāwūd) was a figure known to the poets of Arabia during the *jāhiliyya* (heathen period before Muhammad). In their poems David was considered the inventor of coats of mail; they also knew of his connection with the *zabūr* (Psalms). Occasionally, his son Suleiman (Solomon) is also mentioned as the inventor of coats of mail – various characteristics were attributed to both of them. Muhammad also says that Allah taught David how to make armor (Sura 21:80), as well as how to soften iron (Sura 34:10). Muhammad, as well, mentions that Allah gave the *zabūr* (see Islam in the *Bible) to David (Sura 17:57).

David's victory over Jālūt (*Goliath) is mentioned in Sura 2:252. David was considered Allah's substitute (*khalīfa*) on earth in judging men with justice (Sura 38:35–38). Once, two men came to him to judge in their dispute. One of them owned 99 sheep and the second, only one; in spite of this the wealthy man also sought the sheep of the poor man (this seems to be an allusion to the episode of Uriah and the parable told by Nathan the prophet (II Sam. 11–12)). On another occasion Muhammad mentions a righteous judgment pronounced by David and Solomon in the matter of a field in which strangers pastured their flocks (Sura 21:78). The maximum brevity with which this judgment is mentioned shows that the story itself was very well known. The Midrash (Ex. R. 2:3) cites the test experienced by David who led his sheep through the wilderness, only in order to keep them from robbing [private fields]. Among the tales about David there is one which is influenced by Christianity. In Sura 5:82 it is related that David and Isa (Jesus) cursed a number of the people of Israel because they did not observe the precepts of God. The mention of David together with Jesus seems to indicate that Muhammad received this tradition from Christians. In the post-Koranic literature an important place is devoted to the life of David, which also served as a model in the elaboration of the biography of Muhammad. The events connected with the scheming of Tālūt (Saul), the revolt of Absalom, and the latter's death are cited. In Muslim legends of a later date, mention is also made of David's ties with Jerusalem and his tomb on Mount Zion. In Judeo-Arabic poetry the Davidic kingdom-to-come is referred to.

[Haïm Z'ew Hirschberg]

In Modern Hebrew Literature

David has fired the imagination of many modern Hebrew writers who have depicted different aspects of his life in a variety of literary genres. Haskalah literature did not create a character of depth. Romantic themes, whether it be romantic love or a pastoral yearning, dominated these Haskalah works. Thus the dramatis personae in *Melukhat Sha'ul ha-Melekh ha-Rishon al Yeshurun* ("The Reign of Saul the First King of Israel," 1794), a play by Joseph Ha-Efrati, primarily represent ideas and as such would tend to be one-faceted; the genius of the author however was in creating flesh and blood characters. David symbolizes the romantic yearning to return to the simple life of the shepherd and the peasant. Idealization of the rustic and the rural life is also found in the work of Shalom b. Jacob Cohen, *Matta'ei Kedem al Admat Ẓafon* ("Oriental Plants in the Soil of the North," 1807), which contains several poems on different episodes in the life of David. In one poem Barzillai rejects David's proposal to live in Jerusalem and David, at the height of his power and glory, comes to the tragic realization that a quiet rural life is preferable to the splendor and intrigues of the court. *Nir David* ("The Light of David," 1834), a romantic poem in 20 cantos, is a faithful rendering of the biblical story but shows no insight into the character or the events. The romantic yearning of the generation also finds voice in J.L. Gordon's Davidic poems: David is a sentimental romantic hero in *Ahavat David u-Mikhal* ("The Love of David and Michal," 1857), a historical epic which centers on the love of David the shepherd, later king, and the daughter of Saul. The theme is undying love portrayed through Michal. As in Shalom b. Jacob Cohen's poems, Gordon's *David u-Varzillai* ("David and Barzillai," 1851–56) portrays an older king whose scepter weighs heavy in his hand. Gordon's beautiful idyllic pastoral tableaus poignantly offset a tired king who, mourning his rebellious son's death, futilely yearns for a simple life. The national ballads of Abba Constantine Shapiro, *Me-Ḥezyonot Bat Ammi* ("The Visions of My People," 1884) mark a turning point in the ideational emphasis of David. The slumbering David, the redeemer (following the popular legend of David in the cave), awaits to be awakened so that he might save his people. Redemption is also the motif in Ya'akov Cahan's symbolic play *David Melekh Yisrael* ("David King of Israel," 1919–30, 1937). The redemptive theme, expressed in a lyrical vein, continues into the literature of the renascence period, e.g., in the poetry of Ya'akov Cahan – *Kinnor shel David* ("The Harp of David"); and of Jacob Fichmann – *Evel David* ("The Mourning of David," 1932), *Yo'av* ("Joab," 1934), and *Tefillat Erev le-David* ("Evening Prayer of David," 1960). Fichman did not choose the heroic pinnacles of David's life for subjects but rather the more human and tender episodes. *Evel David* and *Yo'av* are complementary works. The former is based on the legend that after his affair with Bath-Sheba David suffered deep melancholy for 20 years during which time he was deserted by the poetic muse. The poem, permeated by a deeply religious mood, skillfully describes the king's longing for his former state of innocence and poetic inspiration. In *Yo'av*, an older and wiser David has found his lost inspiration. His heart is again able to turn to God and his longing for God is expressed in poetry and song. But the blare of trumpets toward which Joab draws David's ear disturbs the king's regained idyll; the king's deep emotional conflict dissolves in his succumbing once again to the sound of war. Ḥ.N. Bialik in *Va-Yehi ha-Yom* ("On That Day," 1965) in the section *"Mi-Aggadot Melekh David"* ("From the Tales of King David") and Ya'akov Cahan in *Mishlei ha-Kedumim mi-Ymei ha-Melakhim* ("Tales of Ancient Times from the Times of the Kings," 1943) adapted legends, culled from folk tradition, into poetry and prose.

The more recent works on David do not follow any specific trend but are individualistic interpretations. They often are a reflection of the author's views of the fate of the Jewish people with which David has always been linked and of which he is many times the aspiring symbol. Some contemporary writers have portrayed David as a man of base qualities, others have drawn him as a man of majestic stature. *Yemei David* ("The Life of David," 1929), by Ari ibn Zahav, is a historical novel dealing mainly with David's youth, while in *Sha'ul Melekh Yisrael* ("Saul, King of Israel," 1944), a historical play by Max Brod and Sh. Shalom, David is a man whose actions are guided by the iron hand of fate. The David of Zalman Shneur's *Luḥot Genuzim* ("The Hidden Tablets," 1951) is a sly plotter, a man of intrigues and insatiable appetites. Uri Ẓevi Greenberg's majestic vision of the destiny of the Jewish people and the Land of Israel casts David and his wars (*Hod Malkhut*

David – “The Majesty of the Reign of David”) as a mystical symbol of a glory to come; at the same time David is also the active symbol of an ideology culminating in the mystic symbol. Moshe Shamir’s *Kivsat ha-Rash* (“The Lamb of the Poor Man,” 1957), a historical novella on the life of David, centers mainly on Uriah, the Hittite, portrayed as a loyal subject who loves his king dearly. The underlying theme, explicitly stated in the epilogue by Uriah, is the poison of sin (symbolized by the poisoned arrow that killed Uriah) which seeps through the generations to come.

A number of plays in the 1960s have for theme Davidic episodes. The playwrights did not invest the characters with 20th century philosophy and social outlooks but stressed the use of language, thus illuminating a problem at the root of modern Israeli culture. Benjamin Galai’s *Sippur Uriyyah* (“The Story of Uriah,” 1967/8), a tragicomedy, simultaneously dramatizes the biblical tale and an apparently authentic Inca story on a similar theme with scenes alternating between the Incas and the Israelites. *Ha-Dov* (“The Bear”), later renamed and staged under the title *Mored ve-Melekh* (“The Rebel and the King,” 1968), by Yisrael Eliraz, concentrates on the Absalom/David episode with David drawn as a decadent and weak king. Ya’akov Shabtai in *Keter ba-Rosh* (“A Crown on the Head,” 1969) gave a comic interpretation to the biblical story. The plot, a series of intrigues, portrays in a comic-satirical vein the tension between David and his sons and the struggle between Solomon and Adonijah for the throne.

[Avie Goldberg]

In the Arts

LITERATURE. As king of Israel and psalmist, David has inspired innumerable poems and plays in many languages. Since David in Christian tradition was an ancestor of Jesus, he appeared as one of the so-called prophets in the medieval *Ordo Prophetarum*; and he also figured in the 15th-century French *Mistère du Viel Testament*. The motif gained wider popularity during the Renaissance, particularly in France, where David, with Homer and Virgil, was seen as one of the creators of the poetic art. Joachim Du Bellay (1522–1560) wrote *La Monomachie de Davidet de Goliath* (1560) and Guy *Le Fèvre de la Boderie constantly eulogized the psalmist in works such as *L’Encyclie des Secrets de l’Eternité* (1571) and *La Galliade* (1578) which include many verse paraphrases of psalms. La Boderie (in *La Galliade*, p. 112, citing the talmudic tractate *Bava Batra* 14b) also refers to the rabbinic tradition that David collected psalms composed from the time of Abraham onward. Two works by French Protestants were a dramatic trilogy by Loys Desmasures (c. 1515–1574?): *David Combattant; David Triomphant; David Fugitif* (1566), which alluded to the persecution and exile of the Huguenots; and Antoine de Montchrétien’s play *David* (1601). In England George Peele’s *The Love of King David and Fair Bathsabe* dealt more with Absalom than with the biblical romance.

Works of the 17th century include Abraham Cowley’s verse epic *Davideis* (1656), one of the outstanding treatments of the theme, and Christian Weise’s play *Vom verfolgten David* (1684). Literary interest in the figure of David was maintained in the 18th century, *Voltaire’s subversive and mocking prose tragedy *Saül* (1763) dealing mainly with the second king of Israel, being balanced by *Saul* (1782), a noble and pious tragedy by the Italian poet and playwright Vittorio Alfieri. There is splendid imagery in *A Song to David* (1763), a hymn of praise to the psalmist by the English poet Christopher Smart. Some later works on the David theme were Friedrich Gottlieb Klopstock’s German tragedy *David* (1722), a pious idyll; Friedrich Rueckert’s drama *Saul und David* (1843); *Heine’s poem “*Koenig David*” (in *Romanzero*, 1851); and the U.S. writer Joseph Holt Ingraham’s religious romance *The Throne of David* (1860) which ends with Absalom’s revolt. The story has retained its popularity in the 20th century, with works such as the U.S. poet Stephen Vincent Benét’s *King David* (1923), and plays by D.H. Lawrence (*David*, 1926) and J.M. Barrie (*The Boy David*, 1936). Jewish writers have been prominent among modern interpreters of the motif. Lion *Feuchtwanger used the story of David and Bath-Sheba as the basis for his play *Das Weib des Urias* (1907) and Richard *Beer-Hofmann wrote a dramatic trilogy including *Der junge David* (1933). Two other plays by 20th-century Jewish writers were Israël *Querido’s Dutch *Saul en David* (1914) and *Bathséba* (1940), a play by the Hungarian writer Károly *Pap.

On the whole, episodes of David’s life, involving minor biblical characters, are of fairly recent date. They include Arnold *Zweig’s three-act tragedy *Abigail und Nabal* (1913); *Abigail* (1916), a Yiddish play by David *Pinski; and *Abigail* (1924) by Grace Jewett Austin. An Oriental curiosity is *Abigail* (1923), a Marathi drama by Joseph *David of Bombay. Two works on related themes are “*Thamar y Amnón*,” a ballad concluding the *Romancero gitano* (1928) of the Spanish poet and dramatist Frederico Lorca (1899–1936); and *Abiṣag* (1963), a dramatic poem about the Shunammite maiden who comforted the aged David, written by the Romanian Jewish author Enric Fortuna. Another work on this theme is Dan Jacobson’s *Amnon and Tamar* (1970).

ART. David appears quite early in both Jewish and Christian art, where he has a major role, especially in illuminated manuscripts. As the traditional ancestor of Jesus, David is depicted from the sixth century C.E. in Byzantine manuscripts of the New Testament (Codex Rossanensis, Rossano Cathedral; Codex Synopensis, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Suppl. Gr. 1286). Seventh-century Syriac Bibles portray scenes from the life of David in the Psalms, Samuel, and Kings (e.g., Paris, cod. Syr. 341). David the musician with a lyre, David the shepherd, David the lion-killer, and David the chosen anointed by Samuel became common subjects in Middle Byzantine psalters (e.g., Paris Psalter, Gr. 139). Their iconography stems mainly from late Antique, early Christian, and early Jewish art. The anointing of David is thus generally similar to the presentation in the wall painting of the third-century synagogue in *Dura Europos. Byzantine representations influenced most

West European illumination, from the Carolingian period (the Utrecht Psalter) through the Romanesques to the Gothic (St. Louis Psalter, Paris, Lat. 10525) and the Renaissance (the Breviary of Ecole D'Este, Modena, Estense Library, Lat, 424, Ms. V.G. II). In Christian illumination, David was usually depicted as a main link in the representations of the Jesse tree. In Hebrew illuminated manuscripts, David is represented as wearing a crown and playing a lyre (e.g., Leipzig *Maḥzor*, Leipzig University manuscript v. 1102), and also as the founder of the royal House of David (e.g., Kennicott Bible, Bodleian Library, Ms. Ken. 1). In medieval art David frequently appears in media other than illuminated manuscripts. The wooden doors of S. Ambrosio of Milan (fourth century) present a narrative cycle, and scenes are represented in the ninth-century frescoes of S. Maria de Castel Seprio and many 12th-century portals, capitals, and windows at Moissac, Vézelay, Saint-Benoît sur Loire, Chartres, Bourges, and Amalfi.

[Bezalel Narkiss]

The young David triumphing over Goliath was a popular subject with the great sculptors of the Renaissance. The subject gave them an ideal opportunity to express the renewed pleasure which they found in the nude, a pleasure which they shared with the sculptors of classical antiquity to whom they turned for inspiration. Some examples are the sculptures of David by Donatello (1430–32, Florence, Bargello), Andrea del Verrocchio (1476, Florence, Bargello), and Michelangelo (1503, Florence, Accademia). Michelangelo's colossal marble statue has a vehement, heroic stance alien to its ancient prototypes. A baroque version of the subject was sculpted by Bernini (1623).

There are paintings of David and Goliath by Titian (1543–44) and Caravaggio (c. 1605–06, Borghese Rome Gallery), and David's triumphal return from the fight was depicted by Nicholas Poussin (1627, Madrid, Prado museum). A painting by *Rembrandt (1628) shows David presenting Saul with the head of Goliath. Another popular representation of the young David shows him playing the harp before Saul. The subject appears in medieval miniatures, and Rembrandt painted the subject twice, in 1630 and c. 1657 (The Hague, Mauritshuis). In the latter version, the angry monarch hides his face behind a curtain, moved to tears by the music. Josef *Israels also painted this subject in the 19th century. David as king and harpist has been painted by Rubens (1610–15, Frankfurt, Stadtmuseum), Rembrandt (1651, Mannheim), and Marc *Chagall (1951).

Of the episodes of David's middle career, the subject of Abigail pleading before David was especially popular in Italy and the Netherlands in the 17th century, and was painted by Rubens and by Simon Vouet (1590–1649). The bringing of the crown to David after Saul's death and his grief over the death of Saul were depicted by Jean Fiuquet, the 15th-century French artist, in a miniature illustrating the *Jewish Antiquities* of *Josephus (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. Fr. 247, fol 135v.). Standing in front of his massed army, David rends his garments. The story of David and Bath-Sheba has also inspired many artists. In medieval Christian iconography David symbolized Jesus, the coveted Bath-Sheba his bride (the Church undergoing purification by cleansing), and Uriah the Hittite symbolized the devil. In medieval representations of Bath-Sheba bathing, she is shown sometimes in the nude, sometimes half-dressed, and sometimes fully clothed, washing her feet in a tub. There are paintings of the subject by the Flemish artist Hans Memling (c. 1485, Stuttgart, Staatsgalerie), Lucas Cranach (1526, Berlin, Kaiser-Friedrichmuseum), Rubens (1635, Dresden), Rembrandt (1643, New York, Metropolitan, and 1654, Paris, Louvre), and Poussin (1633–34). In a later painting, Rembrandt shows the nude Bath-Sheba deep in thought with a note from King David in her hand.

MUSIC. In the Jewish and early Christian and Muslim traditions, King David is extolled as an ideal model of musical perfection. He is remembered as a poet and musician, or poet-musician who chanted the psalms he has composed for the Glory of God. Consequently, he has become known as "The sweet psalmist of Israel." The Kabbalah invokes his constant study of the Torah emphasizing the idea of rising at midnight to perform a nocturnal singing of psalms.

Interestingly, the great merit accorded to the nocturnal chanting of David's psalms is ardently extolled in the work *Ethicon* of the well-known scholar and archbishop of the Eastern Jacobite Church Bar Hebraeus (1226–1286). One also finds important references to the virtues assigned to the singing of psalms in writings of the Church's Fathers St. Basil, St. Chrysostom, Clement of Alexandria, and St. Jerome. In Islam, David, who is usually called the prophet Da'ud, is described in the Koran as having the most beautiful voice ever created by God. The development of this motif led to later interpretations associating David's beautiful voice with the powerful charm of his singing.

The different Davidic traditions reveal an interesting case of one ideal common model: David as poet-musician is represented as a symbol of divinely inspired music. Accordingly, this music embodies a kind of universal monistic religious spirituality, which enabled leaders of the three monotheistic religions to become inspired by it in order to support their respective dogmas by means of a special interpretation. Many prominent composers of the 17th and 18th centuries (notably A. Scarlatti, R. Keiser, A. Caldara, G. Ph. Telemann, and F. Veracini) wrote oratorios and operas on David. In the 19th century, the general decline of biblical oratorio and the politically suspect associations of the nationalistic themes inherent in the subject account for the relative paucity of music works about David. A certain renaissance occurred in the 20th century, although most of the works produced, not only by Jewish composers, were of transient interest. Two more important compositions are Arthur Honegger's *Le Roi David* and Darius *Milhaud's *David*. Honegger's anti-romantic "dramatic psalm," with minimal stage equipment and action, was written in 1921 to a text by René Morax. Milhaud's *David*, with French libretto by Armand *Lunel, was commissioned by the Koussevitzky Foundation for the 3,000th anniversary of the establishment of Jerusalem as David's capital in Jerusalem in 1954.

Descriptive compositions inspired by the figure of David include Menahem *Avidom's *David Symphony* (1947–48) and Paul Ben *Haim's *Sweet Psalmist of Israel* for orchestra (1956). David the dancer is depicted by *Castelnuovo-Tedesco in *Le danze del Re David* (piano solo, 1925). Schumann's *Davidsbuendlertaenze* (piano, op. 6, 1837) and the *March of the Davidsbuendler against the Philistines* (in *Carnival*, op. 9, piano, 1834–35) express his dislike of the musical philistinism around him. Zoltán Kodály's *Psalmus Hungaricus* (1923) for tenor, chorus, and orchestra is a poetic paraphrase of Psalm 55 combined with a 16th-century Hungarian poem. This work follows an old Hungarian biblical-historical tradition reflecting a contemporary political situation.

David was the patron of the Nuremberg Meistersinger and Hans Sachs's *Der klingende Ton* (1532) tells of Jonathan saving David from Saul's assassination attempt. Settings of David's lament over Saul and Jonathan include motets by Josquin des Prés, Pierre de la Rue, Clemens non Papa; an oratorio *David et Jonathas* (attributed to Carissimi); and Marc-Antoine Charpentier's stage music for Bretonneau's play in the 17th century. The oratorio *David's Lamentation over Saul and Jonathan* (1738) has been attributed to either John Christopher Smith or William Boyce. Johann Heinrich Rolle's oratorio *David and Jonathan*, based on Klopstock, was written in 1766. The fight between David and Goliath is commemorated in one of Johann Kuhnau's *Six Biblical Sonatas* (clavichord, 1700), while in the 20th century the theme is dealt with in Hanns *Eisler's *Goliath*, and Karel *Salmon's *David and Goliath* (1930). In folk music, an epic song with some dramatic action has been noted in the Kurdish Jewish tradition and in a Ladino ballad, "*Un pregón pregono el Rey*." The Afro-American spiritual "Li'l David play on your harp" has the David theme as its first verse and refrain. Some musical works about David, traditional or recently composed, have become Israeli folksongs. The best known of these is probably *David Melekh Yisrael Ḥai ve-Kayyam*.

The Bath-Sheba story occurs in the 18th-century oratorios (Georg Reutter, A. Caldera, Dittersdorf). Porpora's oratorio *Davide e Bersabea* (1734) was staged and written in London on the initiative of Handel's opponents. Mozart's cantata *Davidde penitente* (1785) was set to a libretto probably written by Lorenzo *Da Ponte and thus marks the start of their collaboration; the music (1782–83) is drawn largely from the Mass in C Minor (K. 427). On Abigail, the most noteworthy works are on oratorio by Francesco Durante (1736) and the oratoria *Nabal*, text by Morell, put together by J.C. Smith in 1764 with music taken from various Handel oratorios. Amnon and Tamar are the subject of a Ladino ballad, "*Un hijo tiene el Rey David*" (M.A. Attias, *Romancero Sefaradi* (1955), no. 75), and of an opera by Josef *Tal with text by Recha *Freier, which had its première in concert form in Jerusalem in 1960.

[Bathja Bayer / Amnon Shiloah (2nd ed.)]

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DAVID, early Canadian family. LAZARUS DAVID (1734–1776), born in Swansea, Wales, arrived in Canada about 1760 and helped found the Shearith Israel Congregation in Montreal. His eldest son DAVID DAVID (1764–1824), born in Montreal, was a founder and member of the original board of directors of the Bank of Montreal. SAMUEL DAVID (1766–1824), second son of Lazarus David, married Sarah Hart, daughter of Aaron *Hart of Trois Rivières in 1810. He fought with the

British forces in the War of 1812. His diary (unpublished) reflects the conditions of Trois Rivières in the colonial period. AARON HART DAVID (1812–1882) was born in Montreal, the son of Samuel David. He earned a medical degree at Edinburgh in 1835 and practiced medicine in Montreal, becoming dean of the faculty of medicine at the University of Bishops College, president of the Natural History Society of Montreal, and general secretary of the Canadian Medical Association; he held numerous other important medical and scientific positions. Aaron David took a leading part in Jewish life in Quebec province and served as army surgeon in the 1837 Rebellion and the 1866 Fenian Raids. These and other members of the David family were closely involved in the affairs of the Shearith Israel Congregation of Montreal and served actively in the armed forces.

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[Ben G. Kayfetz]

DAVID, DYNASTY OF. The genealogy of the House of *David as a royal dynasty and as a symbol of hope for future redemption has left its mark on Jewish history throughout the ages. One may distinguish six stages in its development: (a) its origin (until c. 1000 B.C.E.); (b) the reign of the House of David (until 587 B.C.E.); (c) the dynasty during the critical period of the Exile and the Return to Zion (until c. 400 B.C.E.); (d) its disappearance (about 100 C.E.); (e) the exilarchs and the *nesi'im* (until c. 900 C.E.); (f) the aftergrowths of the Davidic genealogy.

(a) From the account of Samuel's secret anointment of David (I Sam. 16), it appears that Jesse, David's father, was one of the elders of Bethlehem (cf. I Sam. 17:12). According to the genealogy at the end of the Book of Ruth (4:18ff.) and in I Chronicles 2:10ff., Jesse was a descendant of Boaz, who was a descendant of Nahshon the son of Amminadab, and chieftain (prince) of Judah, and thus a member of one of the most respected families in the tribe. In many passages David is called "the son of Jesse"; and in Isaiah 11:1 the remnant of the House of David is spoken of figuratively as "the stock of Jesse." In the Book of Ruth, the ancestry of David from the marriage of Boaz to Ruth the Moabite is especially emphasized and this matter undoubtedly is the climax of the story. It should not be assumed that the tradition of the genealogy of the House of David from Ruth is the result of the preaching against the divorce of foreign women during the time of Ezra, as scholars during the time of A. Geiger did. On the one hand, it is not correct to say that this story intends to emphasize the ancestry of David in the mixed families living in the country. The story of Ruth, which reflects life close to the beginning of the monarchy, is based on an historical tradition concerning the ancestry of the mother of the family of David (cf. I Sam. 22:3–4 on the mission of David's father and his mother to the king of Moab when David had fled from Saul). This story intends to stress that Ruth left her people and became a part of Israel and therefore God rewarded her and her son Obed was the father of Jesse, the father of David (Ruth 4:17).

Information about the pedigree of the Davidic dynasty appears in various biblical books – particularly in Samuel and Kings. But the comprehensive genealogical table of the House of David in biblical times appears in I Chronicles 2:10–17; 3:1–24. It consists of three separate parts: a) the genealogy of Jesse, a list of his children, and a list of the sons of David born in Hebron and Jerusalem (2:10–17; 3:1–9); b) a list of the kings of Judah, from Solomon to Josiah (3:10–14); c) the sons of Josiah and their descendants (3:15–24). The first section is only a partial parallel to the data found in the Former Prophets. Thus I Samuel 16:6ff. and 17:13–14 merely list David's three older brothers, with slightly different names; and the Book of Samuel states that Jesse had eight (not seven) sons (17:12; cf. 16:10–11). The list in Chronicles of David's sons born in Hebron parallels the list in II Samuel 3:2–5 with minor changes, but includes more names of sons born to David in Jerusalem than II Samuel 5:14–16 and diverges from it in other ways. Thus, the author of Chronicles did not copy his list from the Book of Samuel, but from another source which may have been common to both books. It is worth noting that it is only from the data in Chronicles that we learn that Joab and his brothers, the sons of Zeruiah, and Amasa, the son of Abigail, were sons of sisters of David.

(b) There is only minimal information about the House of David during its reign. In the Book of Kings there is only a list of the successive kings and the names of their mothers; similarly I Chronicles 3:10–14 contains only the names of the kings of Judah, from Solomon to Josiah. Chronicles records in addition the names of the sons of Rehoboam (II Chron. 11:18ff.) and the sons of Jehoshaphat (II Chron. 21:2ff.). The list of Solomon's governors mentions incidentally two of the married daughters of Solomon, Taphath and Basemath (I Kings 4:11, 15). In I Chronicles 3:15 the sons of Josiah are listed in a different chronological order from that in the Book of Kings, and the eldest, Johanan, is not known from other sources. It should be noted that the term "king's son" is an administrative title.

In Nathan's vision (II Sam. 7) the destiny of an eternal rule over Israel for the descendants of David is clearly expressed. This idea of the eternity of the royal House of David became more deeply rooted with the continuation of the dynasty's rule over Judah. In the course of time, the rule of the House of David became the symbol of God's love for His people. Even those prophets who sharply opposed the kings of their times saw in the future the destined leadership of a descendant of the House of David. A unique archaeological find made in 1993–94 at Tel Dan in northern Israel sheds light on the House of David. The find consists of fragments of a stele inscribed in Aramaic, mentioning a king of the House of David and a king of Israel (Jehoram?), and it is dated palaeographically and stratigraphically to the second half of the ninth century B.C.E. Much controversy has surrounded the interpretation of this find (see Bibliography below).

(c) The sources during the Exile and the return to Zion make very little mention of the House of David. The books of Ezra and Nehemiah do not even note that Zerubbabel was of the House of David, although in Haggai's prophecy he is depicted as the destined ruler of Israel (2:23). From the genealogical lists in I Chronicles 3, it emerges that Zerubbabel was a grandson of Jehoiachin. It is widely believed that Sheshbazzar, the chieftain (prince) of Judah at the beginning of the Return to Zion (Ezra 1:8), was also of the House of David, and that he is to be identified with Shenazzar son of Jehoiachin (Jeconiah; I Chron. 3:18).

The list in I Chronicles 3 enumerates the descendants of the House of David after the Return to Zion. According to the Septuagint, there are 11 generations after Zerubbabel, that is to say, counting 25 years to a generation, there is documentation of the existence of the House of David until the middle of the third century B.C.E. But according to the Hebrew text the number of generations is only five or six. The difficulty revolves around the generations between Zerubbabel and Hattush (third from the end of the list). If the latter is identical with the Hattush who is named in Ezra 8:2 as one of those who returned with Ezra from Babylon (457 B.C.E.), the genealogy ends two generations after Ezra's return, or at the beginning of the 4th century B.C.E. (It is unfortunately not possible to date with certainty the passage in Zech. 12:7–14.)

The rebuilding of the Temple under the leadership of Zerubbabel (520 B.C.E.) aroused hope, which finds expression in the prophecies of Haggai and Zechariah, for a renewal of the reign of the Davidic dynasty. Nonetheless, during the age of the Return to Zion, the House of David was in decline. The reasons for this are not known. It is possible that Zerubbabel was suspected of disloyalty and was therefore recalled to Babylon. It is clear, however, that he or his descendants did return to Babylon, for among those who came with Ezra was Hattush who is related to Zerubbabel. There is no information concerning the family's status in Babylon, nor why it (or part of it) returned to Judah with Ezra. After the beginning of the 4th century B.C.E. (the end of the list in I Chron. 3), the fate of the house of David is unknown.

The clash between the descendants of the House of David and the high priesthood over the leadership of Judah at the beginning of the Return to Zion ended with the victory of the priesthood. The weakened position of the Davidic dynasty also weakened the identification between them and the future fortunes of Israel. Even during the period of the Second Temple, Judaism did not relinquish the ideal of a redeemer from the House of David, but this now became an ideal for the distant future, and no longer exerted a decisive force in the formation of Jewish history.

(d) Information about the Davidic family after c. 400 B.C.E. is slight and fortuitous. Clermont-Ganneau and others have suggested that "Akabiah bar Elioenai" (a name incised on a tomb in the cemetery of Alexandrian mercenaries from the beginning of the Ptolomaic period) should be identified with Akkub ben Elioenai, a descendant of Zerubbabel (I Chron. 3:23–24). This identification is not possible for chronological reasons – at most, one may speculate whether the Akabiah of the inscription may have been a great-grandson of the Akkub in I Chronicles. In any event, the inscription indicates that this supposed descendant of David held a position of no particular importance. The Mishnah (Ta'an. 4, 5) lists the descendants of David among the families which used to offer the wood offering. It would appear that this Mishnah belongs to the Persian period, the time when Nehemiah established this sacrifice, for all the families mentioned are known from the books of Ezra and Nehemiah and are not mentioned thereafter. Until Roman rule, there is no primary source testimony about the descendants of David. One cannot attribute historical validity to the late work (apparently from the Middle Ages) attributed to Philo and known as *Breviarium Temporum* (in *Antiquities of Berosus Chaldaeus*), which contains a list of some of the descendants of Zerubbabel and claims that the Hasmonean dynasty was of the same Davidic line.

According to the New Testament, Jesus was of Davidic descent. Two of the Gospels, Matthew (1:1–7) and Luke (3:23–38), include a genealogy tracing him directly to David. The New Testament tells of afflicted people who address Jesus as "Son of David." These sources, which date from not later than the end of the 1st century C.E., reveal that a short time after the death of Jesus there was a current Christian tradition attributing Davidic descent to Jesus. However, no historical validity can be attributed to these New Testament genealogies which are mutually contradictory in their artificiality; they merely reflect the fact that at the end of the period of the Second Temple the belief in a *messiah from the House of David (a tradition whose roots are biblical) was strong in Israel, and that consequently those who believed that Jesus was the Messiah concluded that he must be descended from David. So, when R. *Akiva hailed *Bar Kokhba as the messiah, *Johanan b. Torta added, "Akiva, grass will grow upon your cheeks and still the son of David will not have come" (TJ Ta'an. 4:2, 17d). The evidence of Eusebius quoted in the name of Hegesippus about the persecutions of the descendants of the House of David by the Caesars Vespasian and Domitian refers to the family of Jesus; it is not to be regarded as independent testimony for the existence of descendants of David among the Jews of that period (*Historia Ecclesiastica*, 3:12, 19, 32.4).

A tradition from the period of the first *amoraim* (TJ Ta'an. 4:2; Gen. R. 98:8) tells of a genealogical table dating from the period before the destruction of the Temple which was found in Jerusalem, according to which Hillel and R. Ḥiyya the Great were related to the Davidic dynasty. But investigation of the account reveals that it includes names of sages from the 2nd and 3rd centuries C.E., and the midrashic character of some of the progress indicates that this is but one of many literary genealogical traditions which arose from the time of Judah ha-Nasi and concerned the relationship of the families of the *exilarchs in Babylonia and the *patriarchs in Palestine. There is no information concerning the House of David between the 4th century B.C.E. and the 2nd century C.E.

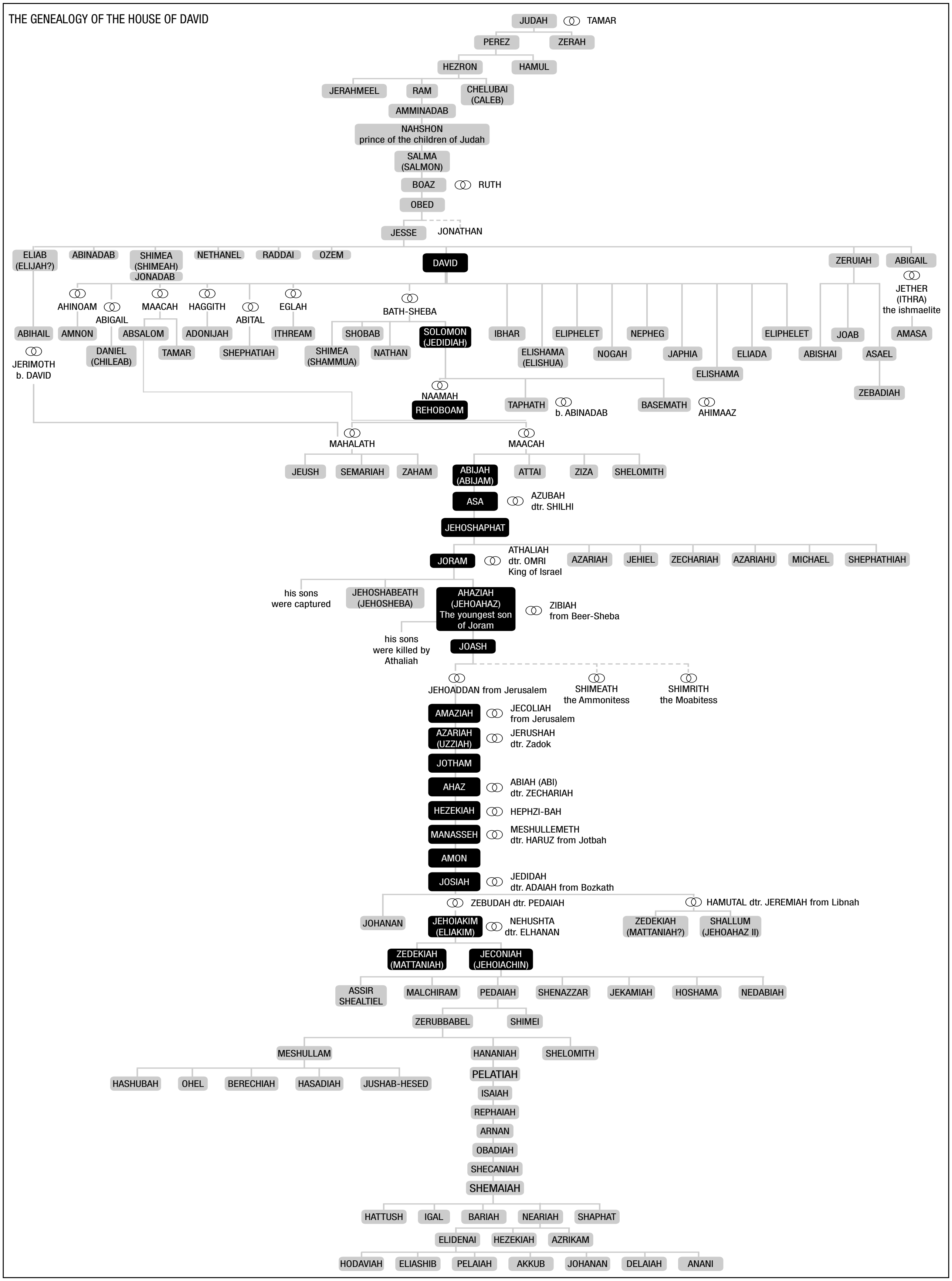
THE GENEALOGY OF THE HOUSE OF DAVID

JUDAH
TAMAR
PEREZ
ZERAH
HEZRON
HAMUL
JERAHMEEL
RAM
CHELUBAI (CALEB)
AMMINADAB
NAHSHON prince of the children of Judah
SALMA (SALMON)
BOAZ
RUTH
OBED
JESSE
JONATHAN
ELIAB (ELIJAH?)
ABINADAB
SHIMEA (SHIMEAH) JONADAB
NETHANEL
RADDAI
OZEM
DAVID
ZERUIAH
ABIGAIL
JETHER (ITHRA) the ishmaelite
AHINOAM
ABIGAIL
MAACAH
HAGGITH
ABITAL
EGLAH
BATH-SHEBA
ABIHAIL
AMNON
ABSALOM
ADONIJAH
ITHREAM
SHOBAB
SOLOMON (JEDIDIAH)
IBHAR
ELIPHELET
NEPHEG
ELIPHELET
JOAB
AMASA
JERIMOTH b. DAVID
DANIEL (CHILEAB)
TAMAR
SHEPHATIAH
SHIMEA (SHAMMUA)
NATHAN
ELISHAMA (ELISHUA)
NOGAH
JAPHIA
ELIADA
ABISHAI
ASAEL
ELISHAMA
ZEBADIAH
NAAMAH
REHOBOAM
TAPHATH
b. ABINADAB
BASEMATH
AHIMAAZ
MAHALATH
MAACAH
JEUSH
SEMARIAH
ZAHAM
ABIJAH (ABIJAM)
ATTAI
ZIZA
SHELOMITH
ASA
AZUBAH dtr. SHILHI
JEHOSHAPHAT
JORAM
ATHALIAH dtr. OMRI King of Israel
AZARIAH
JEHIEL
ZECHARIAH
AZARIAHU
MICHAEL
SHEPHATHIAH
his sons were captured
JEHOSHABEATH (JEHOSHEBA)
AHAZIAH (JEHOAHAZ) The youngest son of Joram
ZIBIAH from Beer-Sheba
his sons were killed by Athaliah
JOASH
JEHOADDAN from Jerusalem
SHIMEATH the Ammonitess
SHIMRITH the Moabitess
AMAZIAH
JECOLIAH from Jerusalem
AZARIAH (UZZIAH)
JERUSHAH dtr. Zadok
JOTHAM
AHAZ
ABIAH (ABI) dtr. ZECHARIAH
HEZEKIAH
HEPHZI-BAH
MANASSEH
MESHULLEMETH dtr. HARUZ from Jotbah
AMON
JOSIAH
JEDIDAH dtr. ADAIAH from Bozkath
ZEBUDAH dtr. PEDAIAH
HAMUTAL dtr. JEREMIAH from Libnah
JOHANAN
JEHOIAKIM (ELIAKIM)
NEHUSHTA dtr. ELHANAN
ZEDEKIAH (MATTANIAH?)
SHALLUM (JEHOAHAZ II)
ZEDEKIAH (MATTANIAH)
JECONIAH (JEHOIACHIN)
ASSIR SHEALTIEL
MALCHIRAM
PEDAIAH
SHENAZZAR
JEKAMIAH
HOSHAMA
NEDABIAH
ZERUBBABEL
SHIMEI
MESHULLAM
HANANIAH
SHELOMITH
HASHUBAH
OHEL
BERECHIAH
HASADIAH
JUSHAB-HESED
PELATIAH
ISAIAH
REPHAIAH
ARNAN
OBADIAH
SHECANIAH
SHEMAIAH
HATTUSH
IGAL
BARIAH
NEARIAH
SHAPHAT
ELIDENAI
HEZEKIAH
AZRIKAM
HODAVIAH
ELIASHIB
PELAIAH
AKKUB
JOHANAN
DELAIAH
ANANI

If descendants existed during this period, they played no role in the leadership of the people. The nation's disappointment after the excitement of Zerubbabel's days was critical, and expressions of hope for the renewal of the kingdom as well as promises of a future redeemer from the House of David appear only rarely in the sources following Zerubbabel's time. (The blessing found at the end of the Hebrew version of Ben Sira, "Praised be he who causes a horn to sprout for the House of David," is only a common liturgical formulation of the hope based on the biblical promises.) A weakening of the element of a king of the Davidic dynasty is observable in the eschatological and apocalyptic literature, such as the Book of Malachi and, later, Daniel and Enoch. In this literature, the figure of a superhuman redeemer appears, and replaces the figure of the future king of the House of David. This process of the Davidic expectation continued down to the days of the Hasmoneans.

With the decline of that dynasty, the hopes for "the end of days" and the messianic ferment, which had been the hallmarks of the sects during the Hasmonean period, became widespread. Roman oppression and the unhappiness that it caused evoked a religious ferment which was bound up with the revival of the messianic hopes for a redeemer from the House of David. Thus, the author of the Psalms of Solomon, which were written about the time of the capture of Jerusalem by Pompey (63 B.C.E.), is opposed to any ruler not of the House of David, and speaks evil of the Hasmoneans who had usurped the seat of David. There is no evidence that the writer of the Psalms of Solomon knew of the existence of descendants of David in his own period; Judaism then and to this day has assumed that the redeemer, when he appears, will prove his Davidic origin by his success. When Judea came under Roman rule, the messianic consciousness gained renewed impetus, though at this time no family in Ereẓ Israel had genealogical proof of descent from David.

(e) Testimonies to a relationship to the House of David in the period following the destruction of the Second Temple mainly involve the families of the exilarchs and *nesi'im*, particularly R. Judah ha-Nasi and his contemporary, the exilarch R. Huna, and are sparse, vague, and even contradictory (Ket. 62b; TJ, Kelim 89, 32b; TJ, Sot. 87, 22a; Hor. 11a–b; and their parallels). These relatively early documents do not contain even one genealogy. A genealogical list tracing the relationship of the exilarch family to Zerubbabel appears only at the beginning of the geonic period. Even the letter of R. Sherira Gaon, who was related to the family of the exilarch, contains no information about the exilarchs who preceded R. *Huna, the contemporary of Judah ha-Nasi.

The earliest attempt to reconstruct the relationship of the exilarchs to the Davidic kings was made in *Seder Olam Zuta*, a work attributed to the 5th century C.E. The writer connects Hezekiah, who lived after the destruction of the Second Temple, and was the grandfather or great-grandfather of R. Huna, to Jehoiachin by means of a confused version of the genealogy of descendants of Zerubbabel (I Chron. 3). It follows that this source also is able to trace the pedigree of the exilarchs for only two or three generations preceding R. Huna. *Seder Olam Zuta*, in turn, was used as the basis for later genealogies of the House of David, including the genealogical tables of the Karaites. The exilarchs are the principal links between the House of David and later times, and *Seder Olam Zuta* is the earliest attempt to reconstruct the chain backward.

The traditions concerning the relationship of Davidic descent from the family of the patriarchs are secondary to the traditions concerning the pedigree of the exilarchs. They probably originated in the desire of the Jews in Palestine (and perhaps of the patriarchs themselves) not to appear inferior to the exilarchs in terms of the origin and status of their leaders. From the beginning, the exilarchs had boasted of their descent from David, and on this pedigree they based the authority they assumed over the people (see TJ Sot. 87, 22a; Hor. 11a–b). There is no possibiltiy of deciding whether the genealogical tradition of the exilarchs is reliable despite the fact that they did not have a detailed genealogical tree, or whether the authority which they exerted preceded their adoption of a David pedigree. Conceivably, the rank of exilarch in Babylonia could date from a relatively early period and the exilarchs could be descended from Zerubbabel; however, it is difficult to reconcile the antiquity of the exilarchate in Babylon with the fact that nothing is heard about them until after the destruction of the Second Temple.

(f) On the aftergrowth of the Davidic genealogy, see *Genealogy.

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[Jacob Liver]

DAVID, ERNEST (1825–1886), French writer on music. David was born in Nancy and died in Paris. His works include an essay on Jewish music, *La Musique chez les Juifs* (1873). The first part deals with the instruments in the Bible, the second with the post-biblical music of the synagogue. With M. Lussy, he wrote *Histoire de la notation musicale depuis ses orgines*, including non-European systems of notation. This work was awarded a prize by the Institut de France and published in 1882. He also published biographies of Bach (1882), Handel (1884), Mendelssohn, and Schumann (1886).

[Amnon Shiloah (2nd ed.)]

DAVID, FERDINAND (1810–1873), German violinist. David, who was born in Hamburg, was a pupil of Spohr. He made his first concert tour at the age of 15, accompanied by his sister Louise, who, as Madame Dulcken, became a well-known pianist. In Berlin he was a close friend of Felix *Mendelssohn, and in 1836 was appointed leader of the Leipzig Gewandhaus Orchestra, which Mendelssohn conducted. From 1843 he was instructor of violin at the Leipzig Conservatory. David helped Mendelssohn with technical advice on his violin concerto, and gave its first performance at a Gewandhaus concert on March 13, 1845. David's main importance was as a teacher. Some of the greatest violinists of the second half of the 19th century, including Joachim and Wilhelm, were his pupils. His *Violinschule* ("System for the Violin") and his violin studies continue to be used, but his important anthology of violin masterpieces from the Baroque period to the 19th century has lost its value because his editing became outdated. The popularity of David's own compositions – which included symphonies and five violin concertos – did not outlive him.

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[Josef Tal]

DAVID, FILIP (1940–), Yugoslav author and stage producer. Born in Kragujevac, David studied in Belgrade, where he eventually produced plays for television. David often used Jewish themes and figures to present universal problems. He published two short story collections (1964, 1969); dramas such as *Balada o dobrim ljudima* ("A Ballad about Good Men," 1965); and plays for television, including *Balada o povratku* ("A Ballad of the Return," 1965), *Jednog dana, moj Jamele* ("One day, My Jamie," 1968), "Fountain in a Dark Forest" (1964), "Notes on What Is Real and What Is Abstract" (1969), "Prince of Fire" (1987), and "Pilgrims of Heaven and Earth" (1995).

DAVID, JEAN (1908–1993), Israeli painter. David was born in Bucharest and studied in France. In 1927 he studied art at the Beaux Art institution at Paris and in 1930 he took advanced studies at the Grande Chaumière Academy and André Lot Academy in Paris. In 1942 he escaped to Palestine on a small schooner. He served with the British Royal Navy from 1944 to 1947 and with the Israel Navy from 1949 to 1950. During the latter period he also served as adviser on industrial design to the Ministry of Commerce and Industry. In 1954 he was one of the founders of the Ein Hod artists' village in the north of Israel. He decorated walls in the Israel pavilion at the Brussels Exhibition of 1958 and at the Canadian Expo 1967. He represented Israel at various international exhibitions. His posters, especially those executed for the Government Tourist Office, earned him an international reputation as a graphic artist. David painted murals on the passenger ships of the Israel merchant marine. He also designed jewelry and enamels. Characteristic of David's painting is a lively sense of humor, a decorative use of color, an allusive use of ancient symbolism, and a deep feeling for the life of the sea derived from his experience as a sailor. In 1960 David received the Dizengoff Prize.

DAVID, JOSEPH (**Penker**; 1876–1948), Indian playwright and director; leading showman of Bombay, where he was born to a *Bene Israel family. He used the Urdu, Hindi, Gujarati, and Marathi languages with equal facility and was the author of more than 100 plays, among them tragedies and comedies based on religious and mythological themes. For 15 years he was the producer for the Parsi Imperial Theater Company and presented many plays which raised the standard of the Urdu-Hindi stage. In 1931 he wrote the screenplay of India's first full-length talking film, *Alam-Ara,* with a cast which included Elizer Kolet (also of the Bene Israel) in one of the leading roles.

DAVID, LARRY (1947–), U.S. comedian, producer, and comedy writer. Born in Brooklyn, N.Y., and a graduate of the University of Maryland in 1970, David served in the U.S. Army Reserve and spent more than a dozen years as a stand-up comedian and television comedy writer, with little success. Along the way he worked at several jobs, including an unsuccessful stint as a bra salesman, a subject he later reprised on television. In 1989 David teamed with another comedian, Jerry *Seinfeld, to create *The Seinfeld Chronicles*, a show famously "about nothing" that combined Seinfeld's relaxed, outer-directed humor with David's intense, inner-directed humor. Renamed *Seinfeld* and televised on the National Broadcasting Company network, the show, an outgrowth of the two comedians' conversations and personal experiences, became one of the most successful in television history. The weekly half-hour program ran successfully through the 1998 season with David exercising almost total creative control through the 1996 season, when he left, although he returned for the finale. The four key characters, Seinfeld, a comedian, George Costanza (portrayed by Jason *Alexander), the over-the-top Kramer, and Elaine

Benes (Julia *Louis-Dreyfus), a book editor, became fixtures in American homes. The bumbling Costanza character, David said, was modeled after himself. David appropriated the name of a neighbor, Kramer, who lived in his apartment building in New York, for the unpredictable Kramer figure.

David himself portrayed a number of characters on the program, including George Steinbrenner, principal owner of the New York Yankees, but he was never seen on screen. When the show was sold for syndication and reruns, David stood to earn more than $200 million.

In 2000, David created *Curb Your Enthusiasm*, an outrageous half-hour comedy series in which he starred with a number of his show-business friends. With largely improvised dialogue, the main character, Larry David, lives off the proceeds of *Seinfeld* while not doing much of anything about putting another show together. The plots were ludicrous and, because the program was televised on Home Box Office, a cable network, the language was crude and the story lines irritating, offensive, and satirically blunt. Few subjects, including the Holocaust, were out of bounds for comedy. One critic called David "the Philip Roth of situation comedy, unafraid to reveal just how devious, petty, annoying, argumentative, selfish, boorish and insensitive he can be." The show won many awards during its first four seasons.

[Stewart Kampel (2nd ed.)]

DAVID, MARTIN (1898–1986), legal historian and papyrologist. David was born in Poznan, then under German rule, but his family moved to Berlin during World War I. He was drawn to the study of cuneiform law and was appointed lecturer at Leipzig in 1930. On account of the Nazi persecution, David fled to Holland and became lecturer of Oriental legal history and papyrology at the University of Leiden in 1933. During World War II, David, together with his wife and three children, was imprisoned in the Westerbork and Theresienstadt concentration camps. After the liberation he became professor of comparative ancient legal history, director of the Leiden Institute of Papyrology, and member of the Royal Dutch Academy.

Among his major writings are *Die Adoption im altbabylonischen Recht* (1927); *Assyrische Rechtsurkunden* (1929; together with E. Ebeling); *Studien zur heredis institutio ex re certa…* (1930); *Vorm en wezen van de huwelijkssluiting naar de oud-oostersche rechtopvatting* (1934); *Der Rechtshistoriker und seine Aufgabe* (1937); *The Warren Papyri* (1941; together with van Groningen and van Oven); *Papyrological Primer* (1946, 1965^4; together with van Groningen); *Gai, Institutionum commentarii*, 4 (1954; together with H.L.W. Nelson); *Berichtigungsliste der griechischen Papyrusurkunden aus Aegypten* (together with van Groningen et al.), 1–3 (1922–58).

David wrote a number of articles on the relations between biblical and cuneiform laws, emphasizing the basic differences in the social structures in which these two systems developed, hence denying that the former were influenced by the latter.

[Ze'ev Wilhem Falk]

DAVID, SAMUEL (1836–1895), composer. David studied with *Halévy and obtained the Rome Prize for his cantata *Jephté* (1858). From 1872 until his death, he was musical director of the synagogues in Paris. Among his works are the operas *Absalon* and *I Macabei*, operettas, cantatas (*Le Génie de la terre*, 1859), symphonies, and synagogal works. For the synagogues of Paris, David published a collection of religious music entitled *Po'al ḥayey adam: musique religieuse ancienne et moderne en usage dans les Temples consistoriaux israélites de Paris* (1895).

DAVID BEN AARON IBN ḤASSIN (Hussein; c. 1730–c. 1790), liturgical poet, disciple and son-in-law of R. Mordecai *Berdugo. He lived at Meknès (Morocco) and his numerous *piyyutim* were popular among Moroccan and other Oriental Jews. Some of his compositions were published, with a foreword by Raphael Berdugo, under the title *Tehillah le-David* (Amsterdam, 1807; enlarged edition, Casablanca, 1931). In addition to *piyyutim*, the collection includes wedding and friendship poems, elegies, and a poetic description of the precepts of ritual slaughter, *Mekoman shel Zevaḥim*.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: J.M. Toledano, *Ner ha-Ma'arav* (1911), 168, 187, 190; Davidson, Oẓar, 4 (1933), 374–5. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** M. Sulam (ed.), *Yede Mosheh… be-Sofo Kuntres be-Shem Mekoman shel Zevaḥim shir … al Dinei Sheḥitah … she-Yasad David ben-Ḥasin …* (2001).

[Samuel Abba Horodezky]

DAVID BEN ABRAHAM HA-LAVAN (c. 1300), kabbalist who lived in France or Spain. His grandfather was rabbi in Coucy, France. David wrote *Masoret ha-Berit*, a kabbalistic-philosophic tract distinguished by its radical formulation of kabbalistic doctrines. His method of argumentation resembled that of the neoplatonic philosophers and his system was not far removed from pantheism. All things existed in the Creator's mind "in a spiritual actuality" and the difference between their state in the Creator's mind and their current state is only the fact that they have been materialized, i.e., "they took on a material form in time." All creation out of nothing is either creation out of the essence of the Glory of God or out of His word, and in any case out of the power of the first source of emanation; this *ayin* ("nothingness") is more real in its existence than any other reality. The process of emanation of all created beings by action of the Will, even the minerals, and their return to the origin of their existence in the divine Will, is called "the secret of the true transmigration."

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Mekiẓe Nirdamim, *Kobez al Jad*, 1 (n.s. 1936); G. Scholem, in: *Gaster Anniversary Volume* (1936), 503–8.

[Gershom Scholem]

DAVID BEN ABRAHAM MAIMUNI (1222–1300), **nagid* of Egyptian Jewry and grandson of *Maimonides. David was only 15 years old when his father *Abraham b. Moses b. Maimon died (1237) and in spite of his youth, he was appointed **nagid* a few months later. A few years afterward opposition arose against him, possibly because of his youth, and he was deposed. In 1252 he was restored to his position, received government recognition, and remained in office for several decades. David had an extensive knowledge in all branches of Jewish literature and it seems that he was also competent in medicine. He maintained a correspondence with the leading scholars of Spain, Syria, and Italy, and is the author of three known works, which are extant in manuscript. The largest of them is a collection of commentaries on the weekly portions of the Torah and *haftarot* in Arabic. The commentary on the first portion of Genesis was published in Arabic under the title *Midrash Rabbenu David ha-Nagid* (Alexandria, 1914) and in Hebrew translation under the title *Midrash David* (Jerusalem, 1947). The commentaries on the books of Genesis and Exodus were translated into Hebrew as *Midrash Rabbi David ha-Nagid* (Jerusalem, 1964–68).

*Jacob b. Hananel ha-Sakili translated some of the sermons and inserted them in his *Torat ha-Minḥah*. These commentaries became popular among Egyptian Jewry and during many generations were read in synagogues. Some scholars have expressed doubt as to whether David was really the author. Nothing, however, in these sermons refutes the tradition that he is their author apart from the fact that he makes no mention of Maimonides being his grandfather. The writer follows the ideas of Maimonides (and moreover also quotes the Zohar, being probably the earliest known author to do so). It can be assumed that these sermons were delivered by David and were later recorded by one or several members of his audience. On the other hand, they probably include additions of the transcribers. The second work attributed to David is a commentary on *Avot* which was published in Arabic (Alexandria, 1901 and Cairo, 1932) and translated into Hebrew by Ben-Zion Krynfiss (*Sefer Midrash David*, Jerusalem, 1944). A commentary on the apocalypse, *Nevu'at ha-Yeled asher Ḥazah Naḥman*… ("The Prophecy of the Child Naḥman"), is also attributed to him and is said to have been written for the rabbis of Barcelona. He also wrote homilies to the Book of Lamentations under the title *Midrash Eikhah* which were published by A.I. Katsh in *Sinai*, 65 (1969), 251–80. In his old age some enemies slandered him to the governor of Egypt and David was compelled to flee to Acre, then under Crusader rule. In 1285 the physician al-Muhadhab Abul-Hassan b. al-Muwafak was appointed *nagid* in place of David. Abraham *Zacuto relates that David issued a ban against his slanderers and that many of them died (*Sefer Yuḥasin ha-Shalem*, p. 219). After his arrival in Acre, David was involved in a violent controversy with the conservative kabbalists who wanted to forbid the study of Maimonides' writings. The leader of this faction was Solomon *Petit, who had come to Palestine from France. David requested that the community leaders of the Oriental countries intervene. In consequence, in 1286–88, R. *Jesse b. Hezekiah, the exilarch of Damascus, R. *David b. Daniel, the *nasi* of Mosul, and *Samuel ha-Kohen b. Daniel Abu al-Rabi'a, the *rosh yeshivah* of Baghdad, issued a ban against anyone who insulted the memory of Maimonides. R. Solomon b. Abraham *Adret, the rabbi of Barcelona, also intervened and finally settled the controversy. In the interim David's supporters in Egypt succeeded in changing the government's attitude toward him and in about 1290 he returned to Egypt and was reinstated as *nagid*. The poet Joseph b. Tanḥum ha-Yerushalmi wrote enthusiastic poems on the occasion of his return, but David, tired from his troubles, appointed his son Abraham to share his duties. In a document from 1291 they jointly signed as *negidim*. David died in Egypt and his remains were brought to Palestine and interred in Tiberias near the tomb of Maimonides.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Ashtor, Toledot, 1 (1944), 117–43; A.I. Katsh (ed.), *Midrash Rabbi David ha-Nagid* (1964), introd. to vol. on Genesis; idem, in: JQR, 48 (1957/58), 140–60; Goitein, in: *Tarbiz*, 34 (1964/65), 236–53; Hurwitz, in: *Sinai*, 59 (1966), 29–38.

[Eliyahu Ashtor]

DAVID BEN ARYEH LEIB OF LIDA (c. 1650–1696), rabbi and author; nephew of Moses b. Ẓevi Naphtali *Rivkes. He studied under *Joshua Hoeschel b. Jacob of Cracow, and in 1671 was called to the rabbinate in Lida. Subsequently he officiated as rabbi of Ostrog, Mainz (1677), and of the Ashkenazi community of Amsterdam (1681). There he was accused of Shabbatean leanings as well as of literary plagiarism in connection with his *Migdal David*, a commentary on the Book of Ruth (1680) which some ascribed to *Ḥayyim b. Abraham ha-Kohen. After being dismissed from his position, David returned to Poland, where he presented his case to the Council of the Four Lands and aired it in a pamphlet entitled *Be'er Esek* ("Well of Contention," 1684). The Polish rabbinate vindicated him and demanded his reinstatement. On his return to Amsterdam, however, his case was raised again, this time by the Sephardi rabbis, who subsequently likewise vindicated him. He returned to Poland shortly thereafter and died in Lvov. He was the author of numerous homiletic and kabbalistic works, including *Sod Adonai* (1680), on circumcision; *Shomer Shabbat* (1687), on the Shabbat; and *Ir Miklat* (1690), on the 613 commandments. A collection of 14 of his compositions was published under the title *Yad Kol Bo* in 1727. Another work on the Shulḥan Arukh *Oraḥ Ḥayyim* remains in manuscript. It is now clear that his first work, an ethical treatise, *Divrei David* (1671), was drawn from other sources, while the *Asarah Hillulim*, a commentary on Psalms (included in *Yad Kol Bo*), was incorrectly attributed to David by the publishers, having been taken from the commentary on Psalms by the Christian scholar, H.J. *Bashuysen. Much of the controversy which centered around David stemmed from his militancy and aggressiveness. Among his severest critics was Jacob *Emden.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Michael, Or, no. 700; Freimann, in: *Sefer ha-Yovel … N. Sokolow* (1904), 459–80.

[Jacob S. Levinger]

DAVID BEN BOAZ (also called **David ha-Nasi** or **Abu Saʿīd David ben Boaz**; 10th–11th centuries), Karaite scholar. According to Karaite tradition, David was a fifth generation removed from *Anan b. David b. Boaz. It is reported that his father died a martyr. One tradition relates that David and his brother Josiah took part in the polemic between *Saadiah Gaon and *David b. Zakkai (930–37). However another source places his activity half a century later. Possibly the reports are not contradictory, David living to a very old age. He was the head of the Karaites in Jerusalem, a position which he inherited from his father and grandfather and bequeathed to his son Solomon (who is known to have been living in 1016). His works, written in Arabic, include (1) a translation of the Pentateuch with a commentary of which only portions on Exodus, Leviticus, and Deuteronomy have been preserved (British Museum, Ms. Or. 2403, 2561, et al.; Ms. Leningrad); in this commentary David opposes certain opinions of Saadiah Gaon, but in a restrained manner; he also appends citations from the Talmud, explanatory notes to the biblical translations, and grammatical glosses; (2) a commentary on Ecclesiastes (British Museum, Ms. Or. 2552). A work on the tenets of faith (*Kitāb-al-Uṣūl*), no longer extant, has been attributed to David. His opinions and information about him are noted by many Karaite scholars. David is said to have been the first to reject the so-called catenary theory of forbidden marriages (*rikkub*) advocated by all his predecessors. He is thus the originator of the reform in this law which was effected by *Jeshua b. Judah in the 11th century.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: S. Pinsker, *Likkutei Kadmoniyyot*, 2 vols. (1860), index; S. Poznański, *Karaite Literary Opponents of Saadiah Gaon* (1908), 18–20; Mann, Egypt, index; Mann, Texts, index; L. Nemoy (ed.), *Karaite Anthology* (1952), 123, 231, 374; Z. Ankori, *Karaites in Byzantium* (1959), index.

[Yehoshua Horowitz]

DAVID BEN DANIEL (11th century), aspirant to Palestinian gaonate; son of the *gaon* *Daniel b. Azariah. In about 1078 David immigrated to Egypt, arriving there without any financial means. Maẓli'aḥ b. Japheth, a Damascus Jew living in Damira, supported him until he left for the Egyptian capital about a year later. In Cairo the community leaders, including the *nagid* Mevorakh, supported him, but the kindness was not appreciated. David's ambition to become exilarch of the Egyptian community led him to plot against Mevorakh. This resulted in the *nagid's* temporary deposition and expulsion from Cairo. David then became leader of the Egyptian Jews and also exerted authority over those communities of the coastal towns of Palestine and Syria that were still under the rule of the Fatimids. His request to be recognized as exilarch, as well as his struggle with the rabbis of the Palestinian yeshivah (transferred to Tyre in 1071), caused a great dispute. David attempted to succeed his father as *gaon* in Palestine, but his opponent Elijah b. Solomon ha-Kohen finally became *gaon*. All these disputes are described in the letters of both sides and preserved in the *Genizah (Megillat Evyatar (Abiathar))*. In 1094 David was deposed by his opponents. According to Mann, he wrote *piyyutim* (Mann, Egypt, 2 (1922), 224–5).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: S. Schechter (ed.), *Saadyana* (1903), 80–113; S. Poznański, *Babylonische Geonim* (1914), index; Mann, Egypt, 2 (1922), index; Mann, Texts, 2 (1935), index; idem, in: *Sefer Zikkaron … S.A. Poznański* (1927), 27–29.

[Tovia Preschel / Eliyahu Ashtor]

DAVID BEN DANIEL (fl. second half of the 13th century), exilarch in Mosul, Mesopotamia. David was descended from the exilarch Josiah b. Zakkai and a grandson of the exilarch *David b. Zakkai II. In 1288 David issued a threat of excommunication edict against R. Solomon b. Samuel (Petit), who came to Acre from France and revived the propaganda against Maimonides' works. David was supported by 11 rabbis, who accepted his authority and joined him in signing the edict.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Mann, in *Sefer Zikkaron … S. Poznański* (1927), 23–25, 32; S. Poznański, *Babylonische Geonim* (1914), 120–2.

[Tovia Preschel]

DAVID BEN ḤAYYIM OF CORFU (d. 1530), rabbi and halakhic authority, known sometimes as MaHaRDaKh (**M**orenu **HaR**av **D**avid ha-**K**ohen). David was born on the island of Corfu. He studied under Judah *Minz in Padua and was much influenced by the Ashkenazi method of study. He served in the rabbinate in communities in Greece (including Corfu and Patras), and was in halakhic correspondence with distinguished contemporaries, among them Elijah *Mizraḥi, Moses *Alashkar, Jacob ibn *Ḥabib, and Joseph *Taitaẓak. Among his disciples were his son-in-law, David Vital, and Samuel *Kalai. He spent the last year of his life in Adrianople, where he died. Most of his works were destroyed in a conflagration there. A few responsa were rescued and published in Constantinople in 1537 by his son, Ḥayyim; they show him to be an outstanding halakhist, with a definite tendency toward stringency. In his vehement dispute from 1520 to 1525 with *Benjamin Ze'ev of Arta with regard to permission given to an *agunah* to remarry, he took an extreme stand in opposition to the lenient attitude adopted by other rabbis (see Res. *Benjamin Ze'ev* (Venice, 1539), nos. 1–17, 239, 246–9). He also declared that those Marranos who could have fled from their persecutors and did not do so were to be regarded as apostates.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Conforte, Kore, 31–35; Graetz-Rabbinowitz, 6 (1898), 433–4; 7 (1899), 31, 36–37; H.J. Zimmels, *Die Marranen in der rabbinischen Literatur* (1932), 30–32; Rosanes, Togarmah, 1 (1930^2), 79–80.

[Abraham David]

DAVID BEN HEZEKIAH (d. before 1090), exilarch in Babylonia, son of the exilarch *Hezekiah b. David. David was in Jerusalem for a period during the gaonate of *Solomon b. Judah (1025–51). It seems that he wanted to be recognized as *nasi* in Ereẓ Israel, but did not succeed. Later, still during the lifetime of his father, he apparently visited Egypt. He then returned to Baghdad, and when his father died in 1058, succeeded him as exilarch. It is not known whether, like his father, he also acted as *rosh yeshivah* of Pumbedita. In 1090 his son Hezekiah is mentioned as exilarch. His grandson David b.

Hezekiah was also exilarch and was followed in the first half of the 12th century by his son Ḥasdai.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: S. Poznański, *Babylonische Geonim* (1914), 1–3; Mann, Egypt, 2 (1922), index; Mann, Texts, 1 (1931), 208; idem, in: *Sefer Zikkaron … S.A. Poznański* (1927), 22f.

[Abraham David]

DAVID BEN HUSSEIN (Ḥassūn, Ḥasan), ABU SULEIMAN (second half of the tenth century), Karaite scholar. He is known only from a citation in the *Sefer ha-Mitzvot* (written c. 1007) of *Levi b. Japheth (sometimes wrongly attributed to his father, Japheth b. Ali). According to this, David compiled a manual of Karaite liturgy, also comprising homiletical, exegetical, and polemical material, and including strictures on certain Rabbanite traditions concerning *shi'ur komah* ("the measure of the body" of God). Though Pinsker's hypothesis that David's father was *Ḥasan (or Hussein) b. Mashi'aḥ is possible, there is as yet no factual proof to support it.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: S. Pinsker, *Likkutei Kadmoniyyot*, 1 (1860), 170; 2 (1860), 88–89, 92, 106; Steinschneider, in: JQR, 10 (1897/98), 539.

[Leon Nemoy]

DAVID BEN JOSHUA (d. 1647), head and emissary of the *Karaite community in Jerusalem. Originally from Egypt, David settled in Jerusalem in the early 17th century, where he helped to consolidate the Karaite community, later becoming its *parnas*. The anti-Jewish measures instituted by the harsh ruler Ibn Faruk in 1625–26 also affected the Karaite community. David was sent to Karaite congregations in Turkey and Crimea and succeeded in obtaining substantial assistance from them. At the end of that summer the situation of the community in Jerusalem deteriorated when new taxes were imposed. To pay them David was forced to borrow money and was imprisoned by his Arab creditors. When he was released, he resumed his missions to the Karaite communities in Crimea, Lithuania, and Poland, bearing a letter of recommendation also from the Rabbanites of Jerusalem. This stated that if speedy aid was not forthcoming there, the Arab creditors would seize the Karaite quarter and the entire community. David reached Luck (Lutsk), where he died in the fall of 1647.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Mann, Texts, 2 (1935), index s.v. *David b. Yeshu'a*; Yaari, Sheluḥei, 172–4.

[Avraham Yaari]

DAVID BEN JOSHUA MAIMUNI (14th–15th centuries), **nagid* of Egyptian Jewry. David was the last of *Maimonides' descendants to occupy the position of *nagid*. He was a bibliophile who acquired a large library, and he encouraged the literary activity of others. It was under R. David's inspiration that R. Joseph Bonfils wrote his supercommentary *Ẓafenat Paʿne'aḥ* ("Revealer of Secrets") to the commentary of R. Abraham *Ibn Ezra on the Torah. R. David wrote an essay in Arabic on the weights and measures of the Bible. For reasons so far unknown R. David was compelled to leave for Syria in the 1370s, writing a farewell letter to the Egyptian communities, which is still extant. He lived in *Aleppo, Syria, in 1375 and 1379, and also probably for some time in *Damascus. During his absence from Egypt, the position of *nagid* was occupied by R. Amram, who is mentioned in 1377 and 1380. At the beginning of the 15th century, R. David returned to Egypt and resumed office as *nagid*, as is learned from a document of 1409.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Ashtor, Toledot, 1 (1944), 300–02; 2 (1951), 26–30; A.H. Freimann, in: *Minḥah li-Yhudah … [Zlotnick]* (1950), 175–8.

[Eliyahu Ashtor]

DAVID BEN JUDAH (d. before 837?), exilarch in Babylonia. There was a controversy between the academies of Pumbedita and Sura concerning the candidate for the exilarchate. The academy of Pumbedita supported David b. Judah, while the academy of Sura supported his brother Daniel, supposedly a Karaite sympathizer. David b. Judah was finally appointed exilarch. This controversy degraded the prestige of the exilarchate and resulted in the decree of Caliph Maʿmun (813–33) authorizing the formation of independent religious sects. This decree strengthened the position of the Karaites, among others. In 833 David appointed R. Isaac b. R. Hunai (Ḥanina) as *rosh yeshivah* of Pumbedita. In a letter of 834 he stated that the sanctification of the new moon and the intercalation of the calendar were within the authority of the rabbis in Palestine. David's son Judah is mentioned as exilarch in 857.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Mann, Egypt, 1 (1920), 53; 2 (1922), 41f.; Mann, Texts, 2 (1935), 130; Goode, in: JQR, 31 (1940/41), 158; Assaf, in: *Tarbiz*, 1:2 (1930), 66ff.; S. Assaf (ed.), *Sefer ha-Yishuv*, 2 (1944), 10, no. 6; Abramson, Merkazim, 11–14; Lazarus, in: MGWJ, 78 (1934), 279–88.

[Abraham David]

DAVID BEN JUDAH HE-ḤASID (early 14th century), Spanish kabbalist. He claimed to be the grandson of *Naḥmanides and a descendant of *Judah b. Samuel he-Ḥasid of Regensburg. David wrote several books which reflect the development of the different trends in Kabbalah after the publication of the *Zohar. Besides the teachings of Naḥmanides, these also included traditions that evolved from the sayings of the Castilian kabbalists, the Zohar, and the *Ḥasidei Ashkenaz. David was the author of the first extant commentary on one part of the Zohar, *Sefer ha-Gevul* (on *Idra Rabba*). He also wrote: *Marot ha-Ẓove'ot al ha-Torah* (preserved only in part), based on the Zohar, which he quotes in Hebrew translation, with the addition of numerous sayings from other sources; *Or Zaru'a*, a lengthy kabbalistic commentary on the order of the prayers; and treatises on the mysteries of the alphabet, on the Creation, and on *Merkabah mysticism. His works, extant only in several manuscripts, were quoted by many kabbalists even into the Safed period. *Sefer Livnat ha-Sappir* (1914), published under his name, was written in 1326 by R. Joseph Angelino, to judge from a comparison between it and David's works.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Scholem, in: KS, 4 (1928), 302–27; D.S. Sassoon, *Ohel Dawid* (1932), nos. 1001–10; A. Marmorstein, in: MGWJ, 71 (1927), 39–48.

[Gershom Scholem]

DAVID BEN LEVI OF NARBONNE (latter half of the 13th century), scholar in Provence. Little is known about his life and personality other than that his principal teacher was Samuel b. Solomon Sekili, also a noted Provençal scholar. His few published responsa (in A. Sofer (ed.), *Teshuvot Ḥakhmei Provence*, 1967), show his importance as an authority. His decisions influenced French scholars to alter their verdicts in accordance with his opinions. R. David is known through his *Ha-Mikhtam* (after *Mikhtam le-David*, Ps. 16:1), which exerted a strong influence on the development of subsequent halakhic literature. In his work, a commentary covering many tractates of the Talmud, he bases himself on Alfasi. Many of his decisions which were included in the commentary were later incorporated in the *Orḥot Ḥayyim* of *Aaron b. Jacob ha-Kohen of Lunel, who often quoted David, sometimes anonymously. It was through the *Orḥot Ḥayyim* and the *Kol Bo*, which is dependent on it, that David's work became known to Joseph *Caro and Moses *Isserles, who made considerable use of these two books. The *Sefer ha-Mikhtam* quotes extensively from scholars of France, Provence, and Spain but relies primarily upon Rashi, Alfasi, Maimonides, Abraham b. David, Zerahiah ha-Levi, and Meshullam b. Moses. David's commentaries to the following tractates have been published: *Berakhot* (Jerusalem, 1967); *Rosh Ha-Shanah* (*ibid*., 1963); *Megillah* (Lemberg, 1904); extracts on *Yoma* (in *Sam Ḥayyim*, Leghorn, 1801, which erroneously attributes them to Todros ha-Levi); *Sukkah, Mo'ed Katan, Pesaḥim*, and *Beẓah* (New York, 1959, simultaneously in two editions, A. Sofer and M. Blau, with the exception of *Beẓah* which is not included in Blau).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Buber, in: *Sefer ha-Mikhtam* (1904), introduction; Sofer, in: *Sefer ha-Mikhtam* to *Sukkah*… (1959), introduction.

[Israel Moses Ta-Shma]

DAVID BEN MANASSEH DARSHAN (16th century), preacher and author in Poland. He was a pupil of *Isaac b. Bezalel, Moses *Isserles, and Solomon *Luria. In 1555, David visited Italy, and traveled among the communities there. He subsequently returned to Cracow, where he gained his livelihood by various means, occupying, as a lowly preacher, a humble and solitary position in Jewish society. Among other functions, he answered queries on treating the sick and wrote amulets and letters. David left for posterity a complete system for preserving the methods of biblical exposition which he practiced himself. He also drew up a program of study for yeshivot and for revising their administration, which was revolutionary for his day. He proposed establishing an original type of *bet midrash* where he himself would be available to deal with the problems of all who turned to him in order to dispense with the usual preoccupation with authority and prestige customary in the yeshivah. He undertook to give daily instruction on a text agreed upon with his hearers to people who were not regular Torah students and to accept the unlettered masses. Study in this yeshivah would be centered around a library with over 400 volumes which David had collected and was ready to donate to the proposed *bet midrash*. Another innovation he proposed was the recording and collection of the discussions among the scholars. David's utopian plan did not materialize, but it gives an interesting picture of the organization of the yeshivah in his day and the circles which frequented it. His two published works are *Shir ha-Ma'alot le-David* (Cracow, 1571), which contains references to several of his unpublished works, and *Ketav Hitnaẓẓelut le-Darshanim* (Lublin, 1574).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: H.H. Ben-Sasson, *Hagut ve-Hanhagah* (1959), index.

[Natan Efrati]

DAVID BEN MESHULLAM OF SPEYER (12th century), liturgical poet. His father was apparently the scholar R. Meshullam who lived in Mainz in 1034. On Feb. 19, 1090, David was received in Speyer by Emperor Henry IV as representative of the Jewish community, together with Judah b. Kalonymus and Moses b. Jekuthiel. In a remarkable *seliḥah* for the eve of the Day of Atonement, beginning *Elohim al Domi le-Dami* ("God! Be not silent on my blood"), still in use in the German and Polish rituals although the original text has been mutilated by censorship, he describes the horrors of the First Crusade.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: H. Bresslau, in: ZGJD, 1 (1887), 156–7; Germ Jud, 1 (1934), 329, 336; H. Brody and S. Wiener, *Mivḥar ha-Shirah ha-Ivrit* (1922), 221–3; S. Bernfeld, *Sefer ha-Dema'ot*, 1 (1924), 199–202; A.M. Habermann, *Gezerot Ashkenaz* (1945), 69–71; Davidson, Oẓar, 1 (1924), 211, no. 4626.

[Jefim (Hayyim) Schirmann]

DAVID (Tevele) BEN NATHAN OF LISSA (d. 1792), Galician rabbi. Born in Brody, David served as rabbi of Horochow and, from 1774 until his death, of Lissa. He was in halakhic correspondence with Ezekiel *Landau and Akiva b. Moses *Eger. In the controversy over the *Cleves *Get* he supported Israel *Lipschuetz; his responsum on this subject appears in *Or Yisrael*. Another of his responsa is found in the **Penei Aryeh* (no. 30) of Aryeh Leib b. Ḥayyim *Breslau. In 1774 David gave his approbation to the *Yein Levanon* of N.H. *Wessely, but when he realized the true aim of the educational reformers he attacked Wessely's plan in a sermon, accusing him of a desire "to stifle young children in the bud and shut the portals of Torah and faith against them" (1782). Wessely countered in letter 4 of *Divrei Shalom ve-Emet* (Berlin, 1785). Though Hirschel b. Aryeh Loeb Levin agreed to David's request to use his influence with the Berlin community to forbid the publicizing of Wessely's writings, Moses *Mendelssohn and David *Friedlaender prevented him from carrying it out. *Nefesh David*, comprising short sermons on the weekly scriptural readings, was published posthumously by David's grandson, A.S. Amkraut, in 1878. The second part, entitled *Mikhtav le-David*, consists of learned discussion on the Talmud and Codes. ZECHARIAH MENDEL (d. 1809), one of his three sons, was appointed *dayyan* of Lissa and, after his father's death, rabbi of Inowroclaw.

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[Yehoshua Horowitz]

DAVID BEN SAADIAH (11th century), Spanish scholar. David b. Saadiah was the author of *Mishpetei Shevu'ot* written in Arabic. Though he was famous as a *dayyan* in his time, the disappearance of his book has caused him to be virtually forgotten. A quotation from it is preserved in *Shitah Mekubbeẓet* (on BM 104b), from which it may be inferred that he also wrote a critical commentary on the *Halakhot Gedolot*. If he is to be identified with the R. David mentioned in the responsa of Moses b. Ḥanokh (Assaf in *Madda'ei ha-Yahadut*, 2 (1927), no. 23), as is almost certain, he also wrote commentaries on the Talmud. A fragment of *Mishpetei Shevu'ot* in the original Arabic was published by I. Friedlander in the *Israel Lewy Festschrift* (1911) where, however, it is ascribed in error to *Saadiah Gaon. It appears that *Sha'arei Shevu'ot* is merely an edited translation of David b. Saadiah's work written by Isaac b. Reuben. *Sha'arei Shevu'ot* had a very large circulation and many incomplete editions of it are extant. *Sefer Shevu'ot be-Ḥaruzim*, published by Assaf (1933), is also patterned for the most part after the *Sha'arei Shevu'ot*.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Assaf, in: KS, 3 (1927), 295–7; idem, *Mi-Sifrut ha-Ge'onim* (1933), 12f.; Benedikt, in: KS, 25 (1948/49), 173; Abramson, in: *Talpioth*, 5 (1952), 773–80.

[Israel Moses Ta-Shma]

DAVID BEN SAMUEL (d. after 1201), exilarch in *Baghdad before 1195, although he is only mentioned as such from 1197. David succeeded his father, Samuel of Mosul, who held the position from 1175 to 1190. He secured his appointment only with some difficulty. The head of the Baghdad academy, *Samuel b. Ali, objected to the exilarchate and wished to abolish it. It was only as a result of the pressure of the Baghdad community that the position was maintained. Samuel b. Ali opposed the appointment of David b. Samuel as exilarch on the grounds that he was not sufficiently learned. It seems that *Maimonides was opposed to this view. It is doubtful whether R. David b. Samuel or R. David of Mosul excommunicated R. *Daniel b. Saadiah, the pupil of R. Samuel b. Ali, because he had violently criticized Maimonides' opinions a short while before 1235.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Mann, in: *Sefer Zikkaron li-Khevod S.A. Poznański* (1927), 23f.; Mann, Texts, 1 (1931), index; Assaf, in: *Tarbiz*, 1 (1930), 126–8; Abramson, in: *Perakim*, 1 (1967–68), 16.

[Abraham David]

DAVID BEN SAMUEL HA-LEVI (known as the **Taz** from the initial letters of his work, *Turei Zahav*; 1586–1667), rabbi and halakhic authority. Born in Vladimir-Volynski (Lodomeria), Ukraine, he studied under his eldest brother, Isaac ha-Levi, and married the daughter of Joel *Sirkes. After his marriage he remained for some time in the house of his father-in-law and studied in his yeshivah. He established his own *bet midrash* in Cracow. He regarded the premature death of his children there as a punishment for establishing his home on top of the synagogue. David was appointed rabbi of Putalicze near Rawa (Galicia) in about 1618, and for 20 years he served as rabbi of Posen. About 1641 he was appointed rabbi of Ostrog in Volhynia, where he maintained a yeshivah. During the Chmielnicki pogroms (1648–49) he escaped to the fortress of Ulick. In the *seliḥot* (published in *Yalkut Menaḥem* of Menahem Mendel Biber, 1903) which he composed for the 26th of Sivan, he describes the miraculous escape of the Jews who gathered there for protection. He then went to Lublin, and finally, like many Polish scholars, wandered westward. He was consulted on halakhic problems in all the Moravian communities to which he came. When calm was partially restored in Poland, he returned there, and in 1654 was appointed rabbi of Lemberg to the community "outside the city." He participated in the meetings of the Council of the Four Lands and his signature appears on many of the rulings and resolutions issued by that body. His two sons, Mordecai and Solomon, were killed in the pogroms against the Jews of Lvov which broke out on May 3, 1664. During his last days he sent his son Isaiah and stepson Aryeh Leib b. Samuel Ẓevi to investigate the claims of *Shabbetai Ẓevi. They came back full of enthusiasm, bringing a letter and gifts for their aged father, who appears to have accepted their opinion. David died in Lvov.

His most important work, *Turei Zahav (Taz)*, is in the main a commentary on the four parts of the Shulḥan Arukh: *Even ha-Ezer* (reissued in full in Zolkiew, 1754) and *Ḥoshen Mishpat* (to section 246, Hamburg, 1692; the whole published in Berlin, 1766). The work is not a running commentary, but discussions on the *Tur* of Jacob b. Asher and the Talmud and its commentators. *Taz* on *Oraḥ Ḥayyim* was published in the margin of the Shulḥan Arukh, together with the commentary of Abraham Abele Gumbiner, under the combined title *Meginnei Ereẓ* (Dyhernfurth, 1692), *Magen David* being David's work and *Magen Avraham*, Gumbiner's. *Magen David* is a running commentary, but has a closer relationship to the *Tur* than to the Shulḥan Arukh. Various authors have written notes and glosses on this section of the *Taz*, the best-known being *Peri Megadim*, of Joseph b. Meir *Teomim. The most important and authoritative of the sections, however, is the *Taz* on *Yoreh De'ah* (Lublin, 1646). The second edition was published in the margin of the Shulḥan Arukh together with the commentary of *Shabbetai b. Meir ha-Kohen, the whole being called *Ashlei ha-Ravrevei* (Wilhelmsdorf, 1677). In the commentary David gives reasons for the rulings of the Shulḥan Arukh and examines the sources. This section became popular in all yeshivot as soon as it appeared and was accepted as authoritative by halakhists. At the end of the book he appended *Daf Aḥaron*, containing criticism of *Siftei Kohen* on *Yoreh De'ah* by Shabbetai b. Meir ha-Kohen. Many supercommentaries were also written on this section of *Taz*, the most important again being *Peri Megadim*. David added two books containing corrections and supplements to the *Taz* (*Haggahot ve-Ḥiddushim*, Halle, 1710; *Zahav Mezukkak*, Dyhernfurth, 1725). He also wrote *Divrei David* (*ibid*., 1689), a supercommentary to that of *Rashi on the Pentateuch. The second edition of the *Taz* on *Even ha-Ezer* as well as a collection of responsa, which were available to scholars of the generation after his death, have not survived. David's works greatly influenced practical halakhic rulings during the succeeding generations. He is credited with halakhic contributions toward a synthesis of economic practice with the laws of the Torah. His rulings occasionally reflect a practical flexibility in the face of social and economic reality. The *Turei Zahav* synagogue in Lvov was named after him.

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[Shmuel Ashkenazi]

DAVID BEN SAUL (first half of 13th century), talmudic scholar who lived in Provence. David was a disciple of *Solomon b. Abraham of Montpellier and, together with him and *Jonah b. Abraham Gerondi, actively opposed Maimonides' philosophic writings. He is quoted in an anonymous commentary to *Bava Meẓia* in the responsa of Joseph b. David ibn Leb (3:60) and in those of Joseph di Trani (*Mahanit*, resp., vol. 2, YD 39).

[Joseph Elijah Heller]

DAVID BEN SHIMEON (1825–1879), Moroccan rabbi (known as "*Ẓuf Devash*"), founder of the Moroccan (Moghrabi) Jewish community of Israel. David b. Shimeon was born in Rabat, Morocco. In 1854 he left for Ereẓ Israel as part of the Moroccan immigration which had been growing continuously since the 1830s. These immigrants were mostly poor Jews who were motivated to leave by the deterioration of the position of the Jews in Morocco, the improvement of conditions in Ereẓ Israel, and messianic hopes. All attempts of the Moghrabis to establish themselves as a separate community, independent of the dominant Sephardi community, met with determined opposition on the part of the latter, who even leveled accusations at them before the Turkish and consular authorities, with the result that some of their leaders were imprisoned.

Aided by the Ashkenazim in Jerusalem, David finally succeeded in 1860 in establishing the separate Moghrabi community, arriving at an agreement with the Sephardim as to the allocation of the funds received by them from abroad. David applied himself vigorously to the needs of his community. He sent emissaries abroad on their behalf and built residential areas for them, including the suburb Maḥaneh Israel (1867), schools, and synagogues.

David b. Shimeon's works on *halakhah* and *aggadah* deal with the religious duty of settling in Ereẓ Israel. They include *Sha'ar he-Ḥaẓer* (1862) and *Sha'ar ha-Mifkad* (with additions by his son Raphael Aaron; 1908–9). His other works are no longer extant.

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[Jacob Barnai]

DAVID BEN SOLOMON (Abū al-Faḍl Dā'ūd ibn Abī al-Bayān Suleimān al-Isrā'īlī; 1161–after 1236), Karaite physician in Cairo. He was a pupil of and secretary to Ḥibat Allāh ibn Jumayʿ (or Jamīʿ), a Jewish convert to Islam, and personal physician to the sultan Saladin. David served as physician to the sultan al-Malik al-ʿAdil. He also served on the medical faculty of the Nāṣirī hospital in Cairo. Here he had among his students Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, the author of the classical history of Arab physicians, who speaks of him in the highest terms as an outstanding diagnostician and therapeutist. David wrote *Al-Dustūr al-Bīmāristānī fī al-Adwiya al-Murakkaba* (ed. by P. Sbath, Cairo, 1933), a formulary of compound medicines for hospital use, and *Risālat al-Mujarrabāt*, a tract on well-tested medicines. Prescriptions by David are frequently quoted in the standard pharmacopoeia (entitled *Minhāj al-Dukkān*) of the 13th-century Jewish apothecary Abū al-Minā al-Kūhīn al-ʿAṭṭār.

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[Leon Nemoy]

DAVID BEN SOLOMON IBN ABI (Avi, Ben Abi) ZIMRA (known as **RaDBaZ** = **R**abbi **D**avid **B**en Abi **Z**imra; 1479–1573), talmudic scholar, halakhic authority, and kabbalist. Abi Zimra was born in Spain into a wealthy family, but by the age of 13 he was in Safed (possibly going via Fez – see Sambari in Neubauer's Chronicles, vol. 1 (1887), 157). The most eminent of his teachers was Joseph Saragossi of Sicily who left Spain in 1492 and eventually settled in Safed. Abi Zimra moved to Jerusalem but shortly before 1513 immigrated to Egypt, apparently due to bad economic conditions in Palestine. He remained there for 40 years, first in Alexandria, then in Cairo where he joined the *bet din* of the *nagid*, Isaac Sholal. After the conquest of Egypt by the Turks (1517) and the decline of the office of the *nagid*, Abi Zimra became the official head of Egyptian Jewry. He was not only *dayyan* but also head of a yeshivah, trustee of the *hekdesh*, and administrator of charity collections. He held all of these offices in an honorary capacity, as he was financially independent. Apart from his inherited wealth Abi Zimra was apparently successful in business and as a moneylender to non-Jews (S. Assaf, *Mekorot u-Meḥkarim* (1946), 199–203). His library, containing rare manuscripts, was famous. His was an open house; R. Isaac *Akrish lived there for many years and was the tutor of his children and grandchildren. Abi Zimra exercised a great influence upon his contemporaries which can be seen from his success in settling a quarrel between the Mustaʿrabs (the indigenous Jewish community) and the Maghrabis (the community with origins in other parts of North Africa), and in issuing many ordinances beneficial to Egyptian Jewry. The most famous of them are the abolition of the dating of legal documents according to the Seleucid era (*minyan shetarot*), and its replacement by dating according to the era of Creation (see *Calendar); formation of a *ḥevra kaddisha* (burial society; previously the dead had to be buried secretly to avoid attacks from the non-Jews); and the prohibition of the employment of non-Jews as dancers and musicians at Jewish weddings. He also tried to reintroduce into the public liturgy the recital of the *Amidah* by both the congregation and the reader (from the time of Maimonides this had been said by the reader only).

His reputation extended beyond the boundaries of Egypt and legal and religious questions were sent to him from many communities. Abi Zimra often engaged in disputations with Muslim and Karaite scholars, and his initially lenient attitude to the *Karaites became more stringent. Shortly before 1553 he decided to return to Palestine. He settled first in Jerusalem where he was dissatisfied with the local governor as well as with some of the Jews, and moved to Safed, where he remained until his death. Although Abi Zimra praised Jewish scholars who were versed in natural sciences and spoke with warm appreciation of the contribution of Jewish philosophers in promoting Jewish belief, he discouraged his students from studying philosophy (Resp. published by Assaf in *Minḥah le-David* (1935), 228–33). His negative attitude toward philosophy is more firmly expressed in his later works (Resp. no. 1616, *Migdal David* (1883), introd. and 34b; *Meẓudat David* (1862), no. 446). When asked which system of articles of faith (*Ikkarei ha-Dat*) he approved, he replied that he opposed any system, since each commandment was of paramount importance (Resp. no. 344). In Abi Zimra's view, the *aggadah*, which he regarded as equal in holiness to other parts of the Oral Law, can bear two meanings, one literal (*nigleh*) and one esoteric (*nistar*). He strongly criticized the Bible commentaries of Abraham *Ibn Ezra and David *Kimḥi who referred to a certain *aggadah* as "irrational." He believed in demons (Resp. no. 848) but strongly opposed superstitious practices, particularly those which conflict with religious laws. In some respects Abi Zimra was very stringent in religious practice, but he was also very humane and objected to imposing new restrictions.

His methods were scientific. He examined texts critically, comparing the different versions and tracing them back to their original sources, investigating their authenticity, and emending them only when necessary and no other solution could be found. A treatise on the methodology of the Talmud (*Kelalei ha-Gemara*, printed in *Me-Harerei Nemerim*, Venice, 1599; separately Zolkiew, 1749) was attributed to Abi Zimra, but modern scholarship doubts he is the author of this work. Nevertheless, a good number of his responsa are devoted to methodological principles.

Although he was a kabbalist, he introduced Kabbalah in decisions only when not in contradiction with the Talmud, or where no definite decision is laid down in the Talmud. When Kabbalah conflicted with the Talmud preference was to be given to the latter. When a young man, Abi Zimra wrote a kabbalistic work on the letters of the Hebrew alphabet (*Magen David*, Amsterdam, 1713) and in later years he composed works dealing more generally with Kabbalah. In his kabbalistic system *gematriot* ("numerical value of letters") and the doctrine of metempsychosis played important roles, the latter being reflected even in his legal decisions (e.g., on *ḥaliẓah*). He was one of the most open defenders of the doctrine of cosmic cycles in creation (*Shemittot*).

Abi Zimra's most important work is his collection of responsa (*Teshuvot ha-Radbaz*, 1882) in seven parts (see Boaz Cohen, in: *Ha-Ẓofeh le-Ḥokhmat Yisrael*, 14 (Budapest, 1930), 115–94, 211–356). Other of his responsa appear in the works of his contemporaries. Various individual responsa have been published from manuscript. A. Marx published one full of interest addressed to the Jewish community of Cochin, India, on the status of the black Jews (REJ, 89 (1930), 293–304). Eight more from the same manuscript were published by H.J. Zimmels (*Sefer ha-Yovel… S. Krauss* (1936), 178–87) and S. Assaf published a responsum in *Minḥah le-David* (*Kovez Ma'amarim le-Yovel… D. Yellin* (1935), 228–33). Abi Zimra's halakhic opinions were widely quoted throughout the centuries. Even in modern times, his responsa continue to have an impact on a wide variety of issues, including medical questions. Even though Abi Zimra was not a doctor, his medical knowledge was quite formidable and accurate. He was very sensitive to patients' needs and feelings, looking for leniencies wherever he could. Abi Zimra's opinion is much quoted regarding another modern issue, namely the halakhic status of Ethiopian Jewry; he affirms their Jewishness.

Abi Zimra's novellae are quoted by his pupil Bezalel *Ashkenazi in his *Shitah Mekubbeẓet* and he himself refers to his novellae to tractate *Shabbat* (*Magen David*, Introd.). His other published works are *Yekar Tiferet* (Smyrna, 1757), a commentary on those portions of Maimonides' *Mishneh Torah* on which there is no *Maggid Mishneh* commentary, i.e., on the sections *Hafla'ah, Zera'im, Kedushah*, and *Shofetim*, which were published in the Romm (Vilna) editions of the *Mishneh Torah*, and on *Sheluḥin ve-Shuttafin*, and *Avadim* by S.B. Werner (Jerusalem, 1945); *Meẓudat David* (written 1556, Zolkiew, 1862), an explanation of the traditional 613 commandments, both rational and kabbalistic; *Migdal David* (written 1560, Lemberg, 1883), a kabbalistic commentary on the Song of Songs; and *Keter Malkhut*, a *piyyut* for the Day of Atonement, which has been frequently published and is included in the Heidenheim *Maḥzor*. The remainder are still in manuscript.

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[Hirsch Jacob Zimmels]

DAVID BEN ZAKKAI (I), exilarch in Iraq, 917–40. David became exilarch during a period of severe controversy, some five years after his uncle, *Ukva, had been removed from his position by the *rosh yeshivah* of Pumbedita, *Kohen Zedek, and his faction. David was appointed by the *rosh yeshivah* of Sura. The wealthy, who were influential in royal circles, were the principal opponents of the exilarchate. They probably wished to abolish the established leadership, which was based on lineage. David zealously watched over the dignity of his position and its income from distant provinces. Aided by government intervention, the exilarch collected a large sum of money from the Jews of Persia. *Nathan ha-Bavli's description of the installation ceremony of the exilarch and of his system of tax collection probably applies to David. In the early days of David's office the balance of authority in the autonomous Jewish leadership of Babylonia was disturbed by the decline of the yeshivah of Sura which was in danger of closing. Such a situation would have left Pumbedita, and the *gaon* at its head, as the only possible challenge to the authority of the exilarch. David showed initiative and a readiness to depart from traditional ways in order to save the ancient yeshivah and the double gaonate. He appointed *Saadiah ben Joseph as *gaon*, "who was not of the rabbinical body of the yeshivah, but from Egypt." David had become acquainted with him when, together, they had opposed the *gaon* *Ben Meir of Palestine over the issue of the independence of the Babylonian community in matters concerning the calendar. In this conflict Saadiah recognized David as a leader. It is related that David had been forewarned of Saadiah's irritable disposition, to which he replied: "My judgment and decision have already fallen in favor of him." The relations between David and Saadiah Gaon were satisfactory during the first two years following his appointment. Moreover, a document is extant in which the *gaon* lavishly praises the halakhic judgment of the exilarch. About 930, however, a dispute broke out between them. There are differing versions of the cause of the conflict, according to the two groups of supporters. It may be assumed that it was a struggle for the leadership between two resolute men, during a period of upheaval and tension among the ruling class of Babylonian Jewry. The consequences were grave: the wealthy supported Saadiah and appointed Josiah-Ḥasan, the brother of David, as exilarch. On the other hand, David appointed *Joseph b. Jacob as *gaon* of Sura. The struggle between the contending forces took the form of reciprocal accusations, bans, and counter-bans, and the case was even brought before the court of the caliph. David's party gained the upper hand; Josiah was expelled and Saadiah was removed from his position. David acted with excessive severity against his opponents. In the end the rivals reached a compromise (Purim, 937). David's life was a stormy one, but by the time of his death he had strengthened the authority of the exilarchate. His efforts had saved the yeshivah of Sura from extinction. Furthermore, his struggle for the prestige of his position and the maintenance of the traditional form of Jewish autonomous leadership prevented the rising wealthy class from seizing power.

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[Haim Hillel Ben-Sasson]

DAVID BEN ZAKKAI (II) (d. c. 1216), exilarch in *Mosul, Mesopotamia. David and his cousin Samuel, descendants of the exilarch Josiah b. Zakkai, were community leaders in Mosul. *Pethahiah of Regensburg, who visited Mosul about 1175, states that they owned fields and vineyards and collected taxes from the local Jews. In 1174 after the exilarch *Daniel b. Ḥasdai died leaving no sons, there was a disagreement among the communal leaders in Baghdad over the choice of his successor. Some favored David, while others supported Samuel. Apparently Samuel was appointed exilarch in Baghdad and David in Mosul. It was either he or his kinsman David, son and successor of Samuel, who about 1215 complied with a request from Joseph ibn *Aknin, the disciple of Maimonides, to excommunicate *Daniel ha-Bavli for his attacks on his master. He was still alive in 1216, when he was visited in Mosul by the poet Judah *Al-Ḥarizi, but the date of his death is unknown. He was succeeded as exilarch in Mosul by his son Daniel and afterward, by Daniel's son *David ben Daniel.

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[Tovia Preschel]

DAVID D'BETH HILLEL, (d. 1846), traveler and scholar, author of *Travels from Jerusalem through Arabia, Kurdistan, Part of Persia and India to Madras 1824–32* (Madras, 1832). D'Beth Hillel left his native Vilna at the beginning of the 19th century, settled with other pupils of the Gaon of Vilna in *Safed around 1815, and began his long journey to the East in 1824. He traveled through *Palestine, *Syria, and remote regions of *Kurdistan and *Persia. After spending a year in Baghdad and other communities in Mesopotamia, he sailed from Bushire to India, landing at Bombay in October 1828. He then journeyed to Cochin (*Kochi) where he remained four months, returned to Bombay for a two-year sojourn, and then traveled through the Bombay presidency until he reached Madras in 1831. While waiting there for passage to return to Palestine, he taught Hebrew to some English clergymen, including the Anglican archdeacon T. Robinson to whom he dedicated his *Travels*. He returned to *Jerusalem in 1838, revisited India in 1845, and died the next year in Calcutta.

D'Beth Hillel was the first Jewish traveler since *Benjamin of Tudela to leave so detailed an account of the various Jewish communities in the Orient and of other Oriental sects and religions. His information and observations on the geographical distribution, the socio-economic structure, and the languages and dialects of the Jews in Palestine, Kurdistan, Persia, and India made his *Travels* an invaluable source of information on the Oriental Diaspora in the early 19th century. The book, published in an edition of only 300 copies, is extremely rare and has been used by only a few scholars.

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[Walter Joseph Fischel]

DAVID-GORODOK (Pol. **Dawidgródek**; Heb. דוד קורודוק), town in Brest-Litovsk oblast, Belarus; until 1793 and from 1921 to 1939 within Poland. Jews are first known there from the middle of the 17th century. In 1667 David-Gorodok had an established community linked to that of *Pinsk. There were 408 Jews aged over one year living in David-Gorodok in 1766, and 386 in 1784. Main occupations were innkeeping, the sale of alcoholic liquor, trade in timber and forest produce, and cattle breeding. Jews were active in forest exploitation and the development of river navigation to the Ukraine and Baltic Sea which expanded in David-Gorodok in the 19th century, and the community increased. It numbered 1,572 in 1847, and 3,087 (40% of the total population) in 1897. In 1898, to offset the growing competition of the railroads, a number of Jewish carters there invested in a steamship. A further group founded a motorbus company in 1921. The majority in the community were **Mitnaggedim*. The local supporters of the *Bund (prominent among them A. *Litvak) and the Territorialist Socialist movement were active in the 1905 revolution and *self-defense against pogroms was organized in the community. The *Po'alei Zion party resumed activities in David-Gorodok in 1917. In the elections to the Russian Constituent Assembly in 1917, the local Zionist Organization received 740 votes and the Po'alei Zion 640 votes. The Jews in David-Gorodok suffered during the Revolution and the Polish-Soviet war (1917–1921). During Sukkot 1921 soldiers of the "White" General Bulak-Balakhovich who arrived with the Polish army were stationed there for several weeks, during which they went on a rampage of robbery, rape, and murder, receiving 100,000 rubles as ransom from the Jews. The Jewish population numbered 2,832 (28.1% of the total) in 1921. The *American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee provided considerable relief to the community. Jews owned sawmills, flour mills, and tanneries. They rented estates and lakes, and exported their products. Most of the retail trade was in Jewish hands. *He-Ḥalutz began activities in David-Gorodok in 1921, the *Mizrachi in 1925, and *Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir in 1927. A *Tarbut Hebrew elementary school was founded in 1924 (it numbered 400 pupils in 1934), and a Hebrew religious school, Yavneh, in 1927. The director of Tarbut, Abraham Olszanski, founded a group for Hebrew-speakers, Benei Yehudah, in 1931, which spread over Poland and became a movement. In 1928, when elections to the municipal councils were held in Poland under full democratic conditions, eight Jews were elected in David-Gorodok among the 24 members of the council.

[Arthur Cygielman]

Ḥasidism

There was a ḥasidic dynasty called after the township of the same name. The Ḥasidim of the Gorodok dynasty proper should be distinguished from the followers of *Menahem Mendel of Vitebsk, also sometimes called Ḥasidim of Gorodok (Yid. Horodok). The dynasty, whose followers came mainly from Polesia, was founded at the beginning of the 19th century by ZE'EV WOLFF GINSBURG (son of the ẓaddik Samuel of Kashivka (Volhynia)), the *av bet din* of David-Gorodok. He was followed by his son DAVID, his grandson ISRAEL JOSEPH HA-LEVI (d. c. 1899), the most influential member of the dynasty, and the latter's grandson ISAAC (d. 1908). The Ḥasidim of David-Gorodok were mostly artisans and simple people and their *ẓaddikim* behaved modestly. Their style of prayer was more sedate than that of most ḥasidim and they had special melodies. Isaac's descendants perished during the Holocaust.

[Wolf Zeev Rabinowitsch]

Holocaust Period

From Sept. 19, 1939, until July 5, 1941, the town was under Soviet rule and the Jewish population increased with the influx of refugees from German-occupied western Poland. The Soviet regime introduced drastic changes in economic, religious, and social life. Jewish community institutions were disbanded; the Hebrew *Tarbut school continued to function in Yiddish; private economic initiative was stifled; and artisans were organized into cooperatives. The Orthodox Jewish congregation made efforts to overcome difficulties imposed on their religious life. On the holidays, prayer services were held earlier in the morning so the men could appear at their places of work. In the summer of 1940 local Zionist and Revisionist leaders were arrested, followed in February 1941 by the arrest of over ten other community leaders. In April that year the young men were drafted into the Soviet army. When war broke out between Germany and the U.S.S.R. on June 22, 1941, Jewish groups attempted to flee to the Soviet interior. The Germans entered David-Gorodok on July 5, 1941. A local gentile delegation appeared before the Germans in Pinsk with a request to be allowed to attack the Jews. The Germans willingly acceded and issued orders for all Jewish males 14 years of age or older to appear in the square by the church. From there they were taken to the town of Hinowski where they had to dig the trenches in which they were murdered and buried. The Germans set up a ghetto for the surviving women and children. Sealed within, they suffered from disease and starvation. When the ghetto was liquidated in the summer of 1942, some of the inhabitants reached the partisans active in the vicinity. By the time Soviet forces reentered in 1944 no Jews were left alive in David-Gorodok. Later, very few survivors came back, mostly from the U.S.S.R. They all left David-Gorodok within a short time for the West and some of them settled in Israel.

[Aharon Weiss]

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DAVID IBN HAJJAR (12th century), Spanish talmudist and grammarian, and pupil of Isaac b. Jacob *Alfasi. Extracts from David's writings in Arabic on marriage contracts and divorce are cited in Hebrew translation in the collection of geonic responsa *Sha'arei Ẓedek* (1966, p. 33). Abraham *Ibn Ezra, in the introduction to his *Moznayim*, mentions David, the *dayyan*, in the list *ziknei leshon ha-kodesh* ("the sages of the Hebrew tongue"): "and R. David the *dayyan* ibn Hajjar, a Spaniard from Granada, also belongs to them, and decided to compose *Sefer ha-Melakhim*" – an Arabic work on Hebrew grammar. Ibn Hajjar is called Abu Suleiman ibn Muhagir by Moses *Ibn Ezra.

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DAVIDOFF, LEO MAX (1898–1975), U.S. neurosurgeon. Davidoff was born in Talsen, Latvia, and was taken to the United States in 1905. After his medical training he served as surgeon to the Byrd-Macmillan Arctic expedition of 1925. He headed the department of neurological surgery at the Jewish Hospital of Brooklyn (1937–45), the Montefiore Hospital (1945–49), and the Beth Israel Hospital (1949–54). From 1951 to 1956 he was neurosurgeon at the Mount Sinai Hospital and from 1954 to 1966 was director of neurological surgery at the Bronx Municipal Hospital Center. His academic appointments included the clinical professorship of neurological surgery at Columbia University's College of Physicians and Surgeons (1945–49) and the New York University College of Medicine (1949–54). In 1954 he began his association with the Albert Einstein College of Medicine of Yeshiva University, where he served as professor and chairman of the department of surgery (1954–58) and neurological surgery (1959–66). He was associate dean of the college from 1961 to 1966.

Davidoff was chairman of a number of medical training missions for the World Health Organization. He was a member of the medical advisory board of the *Hadassah organization and of the board of directors of the American Friends of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. He was president of the Society of Neurological Surgeons (1951) and the Harvey Cushing Society (1957).

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[Fred Rosner]

DAVID OF MAKOW (d. 1814), *maggid* and *dayyan* in Makow, born in Rovno. In his youth he was an adherent of the ḥasidic leader *Menahem Mendel of Vitebsk, but after the Ḥasidim were excommunicated by *Elijah b. Solomon Zalman, the Gaon of Vilna, in 1772, David of Makow became one of his followers and joined the *Mitnaggedim* (opponents of Ḥasidism). He warned against the danger which he saw in the teachings of Ḥasidism, considering the way of life of the Ḥasidim as a threat to normative Judaism, and was harshly critical of Ḥasidism, blaming the courts of *ẓaddikim* for the spread of religious and moral anarchy. He took to task important Ḥasidim, including *Israel b. Eliezer Ba'al Shem Tov. Two anti-ḥasidic works attributed to him (though some consider that they were written by his son, Ezekiel of Radzymin) are *Zemir Ariẓim* (Warsaw, 1798) and a well-known treatise which exists in three versions: *Shever Poshe'im* (Jerusalem, National Library, Ms. 8° 2405), *Zot Torat ha-Kena'ot* (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Mich. 45, fols. 106–79), and *Zimrat ha-Areẓ* (Ms. Leningrad, Asiatic Museum). David of Makow also wrote commentaries on the Bible and the Mishnah which were never published; the manuscripts were destroyed in a fire in Serock in 1893. Two letters and his will, which are still extant, are anti-ḥasidic in content. David of Makow is the most noted polemicist against Ḥasidism in the years 1772 to 1798. His style and tone express the bitterness existing between the two camps. Echoes of this criticism of Ḥasidism are to be found in *Haskalah literature, as in the writings of Joseph *Perl and Peter *Beer. David's sons were Ezekiel of Radzymin (d. 1814) and Raphael, the father of Shabbetai, who copied *Zot Torat ha-Kena'ot*. His daughter Rachel married Joshua of Makow, who also took part in the struggle against Ḥasidism.

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[Esther (Zweig) Liebes]

DAVID OF TALNA (**David b. Mordecai Twersky**; 1808–1882), *ẓaddik* living first at Vasilkov and afterward at Talna (Talnoye, Ukraine). He was the most celebrated of the eight sons of Menahem Nahum *Twersky, founder of the Chernobyl ḥasidic dynasty. Thousands of people came to his "court," which he maintained in luxurious style, even retaining a court jester. According to ḥasidic tradition his house contained a silver chair bearing the inscription in gold: *David Melekh Yisrael Ḥai ve-Kayyam* ("David, king of Israel, lives and is in existence"). This gave his opponents a means of denouncing him to the Russian authorities as a rebel against the government. He was thrown into prison and freed only after numerous appeals. In spite of his aristocratic way of life, he was a man of the people; his speech was flavored with popular proverbs so that it would be more readily understood by the common people. He was fond of music and brought to his court the most famous folk singers and musicians in the region. The Talna melodies became popular among both Ḥasidim and Jews in general. He wrote *Magen David* (1852), *Birkat David* (1862), and *Kehillat David* (1882).

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[Avraham Rubinstein]

DAVIDS, AARON ISSACHAR (Bernard) BEN NAḤMAN (1895–1945), chief rabbi of Rotterdam (Holland). Davids, a grandson of Joseph Hirsch *Duenner, was born in Amsterdam. In his youth Davids was very active in the Mizrachi movement and influenced young people in the spirit of Zionism. While studying at the rabbinical seminary and the university he was headmaster of the Amsterdam religious school. He was ordained rabbi in 1923 and immediately invited to serve as rabbi of Leeuwarden (Friesland). In 1927 he was appointed rabbi of Groningen and in 1930 chief rabbi of Rotterdam, a post he held until 1943. Despite the increase of Nazi persecutions in Holland, he refused to leave his community. In 1943, he was taken to a concentration camp in Holland, and sent to Bergen-Belsen where he died. In spite of his rigid Orthodoxy he maintained strong ties, and cooperated with, all Jewish circles in Holland.

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[Yehoshua Horowitz]

DAVIDSOHN, ISRAEL (1895–1979), U.S. pathologist. Born in Tarnopol, Austria, Davidsohn qualified in Europe before immigrating to the United States in 1923. He became pathologist and director of laboratories at Philadelphia's Mount Sinai Hospital (1926–30). He then moved to Mount Sinai Hospital, Chicago, where he was director of experimental pathology. He also taught at Rush Medical College (1934–41) and the University of Illinois College of Medicine (1941–47) and from 1947 to 1968 was professor and chairman of the pathology department at the University of Chicago Medical School. His main field of research was immunohematology.

DAVIDSOHN, ROBERT (1853–1937), historian of medieval Florence. Davidsohn engaged in business and journalism, being for a time coeditor of the liberal newspaper, the *Berliner Boersen-Courier*. He wrote an account of his early travels in *Vom Nordkap bis Tunis* (1884). When he was 33 he began to study history in earnest, and obtained a doctorate from Heidelberg in 1888. In the following year he settled in Florence and, inspired by the famous history of Rome in the Middle Ages written by his great friend, the German historian Gregorovius, decided to embark on similar study of his adopted city. The task took him over 30 years and his two most important works, *Forschungen zur Geschichte von Florenz* (4 vols., 1896–1908) and *Geschichte von Florenz* (4 vols., 1896–1927), established him as the leading authority on Florentine history. He was made an honorary citizen of the city, and an Italian translation of some of his works was published at public expense.

[Howard L. Adelson]

DAVIDSON, DAVID (1848–1933), U.S. Reform rabbi and educator. Davidson was born in Lauternburg, Germany, and immigrated to the United States in 1880 after having been educated at the University of Breslau and ordained in Europe. He served as rabbi of Congregation B'nai Jeshurun in Des Moines, Iowa, and Shearith Israel Congregation in Cincinnati, where he was invited by Isaac Mayer *Wise in 1885 to join the faculty of the recently established Union College (later renamed *Hebrew Union College). Davidson taught Talmud and exegesis at the Reform seminary from 1885 to 1892, when he was awarded a Doctor of Divinity degree by HUC and appointed rabbi of the Kahl-Montgomery Congregation in Montgomery, Alabama. In 1895, he was called to the prestigious Congregation Ahavath Chesed (later, Central Synagogue) in New York City, where he subsequently became the rabbi of Congregation Agudath Jeshurun.

Although recognized as a pioneer of Reform Judaism in America, Davidson also contributed significantly to the Conservative movement. In the early 1900s, he served as professor of rabbinics at the fledgling *Jewish Theological Seminary, without drawing a salary. There he befriended a number of students who were to make their own marks on American Jewish history, including Mordecai M. *Kaplan and Bernard C. *Ehrenreich as well as Stephen S. *Wise.

In 1901, Davidson left the active rabbinate in order to establish a private school – the Davidson Collegiate Institute, where he gave Morris Raphael Cohen his first teaching position – as well as a summer camp for boys in Pennsylvania. He was also a director of the Society for the Aid of Jewish Prisoners and lobbied for a Jewish Protectorate in Palestine. In 1931, he was elected an honorary member of the Central Conference of American Rabbis.

In addition to publishing sermons, plays, essays, and poems in both German and English, Davidson wrote several provocative works, including *Shall We Christianize the Constitution of the U.S.A.? Sabbath or Sunday?* (1889), and *The Moral Issue of the World War* (1915).

[Bezalel Gordon (2nd ed.)]

DAVIDSON, ISRAEL (1870–1939), scholar of medieval Hebrew literature. Davidson was born in Yonava, Lithuania; at a young age he became an orphan and went to live with his uncle in Grodno, Lithuania. In 1888, after a few years' study at Slobodka yeshivah, he immigrated to the United States. There he earned a living as a street vendor, then as a shop assistant and Hebrew teacher; at night he studied English and other subjects to meet college-entrance requirements. After completing his studies at Columbia University, he was director of the Hebrew Orphan Asylum and chaplain at the Sing Sing prison. In 1905 he began teaching Talmud at the Jewish Theological Seminary, New York, and in 1915 was appointed professor of medieval Hebrew literature.

Davidson's first major scholarly publication in English was *Parody in Jewish Literature* (1907, repr., 1967). Thereafter, he wrote and edited articles and books in both English and Hebrew. Among the most important works are his editions of Joseph *Ibn Zabara's *Sefer Sha'ashu'im* with an English introduction (1914; 1925^2 with Hebrew introduction); *Saadia's Polemic against Ḥīwī al-Balkhī* (1915); *Maḥzor Yannai* (1919), published from Greek palimpsests, Davidson recognizing *Yannai's *piyyut* in the superimposed writing; *Maḥberet mi-Shirei ha-Kodesh asher li-Shelomo ibn Gabirol* (1923), Ibn *Gabirol's sacred poetry with English translations by Israel Zangwill; *Ginzei Schechter* (vol. 3, 1928), poems and *piyyutim* from the Cairo *Genizah*; and *Sefer Milḥamot ha-Shem* (1934), the arguments of the Karaite *Salmon b. Yeroham against Saadiah Gaon. He was also responsible for preparing the critical edition of *piyyutim* for *Siddur R. Sa'adyah Ga'on* (with S. Assaf, 1941). His *Oẓar ha-Meshalim ve-ha-Pitgamim*, a treasury of medieval Jewish parables and maxims, on which Davidson had worked for many years, was published posthumously (1957).

Davidson's magnum opus is the *Oẓar ha-Shirah ve-ha-Piyyut* (*Thesaurus of Medieval Hebrew Poetry*, 4 vols. and supplement, 1925–38). In this gigantic work Davidson recorded in alphabetical order the initial words of more than 35,000 poems and prayers from post-biblical times to the beginning of the Haskalah period. Each entry contains information relating to the type and structure of the poem, its author, and all available information on its publication as well as the literature about it. An author index, containing over 2,800 names, and a subject index are included. In 1936 Davidson received the first Bialik Prize for this monumental work. Davidson's *Thesaurus* has remained an indispensable work of reference for scholars.

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[Abraham Meir Habermann]

DAVIDSON, JO (1883–1952), U.S. sculptor. Davidson was born in the ghetto of New York's Lower East Side to immigrant parents who had fled the Russian pogroms. Despite parental opposition, in his teens Davidson studied drawing in New York at the Educational Alliance's art school and at the Art Students' League. At 18 his parents sent him to New Haven to prepare for entrance to Yale Medical School. While in New Haven an admirer of Davidson's work showed the young man's drawings to the director of the art school. Impressed, the director allowed Davidson to take art classes at Yale free of charge. After accidentally walking into a sculpture room Davidson realized the direction his art was to take, and returned to New York to study sculpture. Further studies were undertaken in Paris, but he only remained at the École des Beaux-Arts for three weeks.

He received acclaim early on. Gertrude Vanderbilt Whitney, who later founded the Whitney Museum of American Art in New York, purchased a bust of a young girl in 1906. In 1909 Davidson had his first one-man show in New York, and in 1910 his 8-foot nude *La Terre* was exhibited and well received at the Salon d'Automne. Davidson soon began executing portrait busts of famous personalities, including military and political leaders. He sculpted presidents Woodrow Wilson (1916, bronze), Herbert Hoover (1921, bronze), Dwight D. Eisenhower (1948, bronze), and Franklin Delano Roosevelt (1933, bronze; 1951, stone). These works demonstrate Davidson's desire to provide a likeness of his sitter, and also to explore and distill the sitter's personality. His naturalistic approach combines with lively surface effects. Indeed, the vigorous and rapid modeling of clay remains apparent even after the sculpture has been cast in bronze.

Once established, Davidson traveled the world making bronze busts of figures as diverse as Gertrude Stein (1923), Charlie Chaplin (1925), Mahatma Gandhi (1931), Albert Einstein (c. 1937), and Helen Keller (1942 and 1945, half length). His nine-foot full-length bronze of the poet Walt Whitman is located at Bear Mountain State Park in New York (1936–39). Davidson visited Israel in 1951, at which time he made bronze likenesses of the country's major leaders, including Golda Meir (c. 1951), Chaim Weizmann (1951), and David Ben-Gurion (1951).

A large retrospective of Davidson's work was held in 1947, when 200 sculptures were displayed at the American Academy of Arts and Letters. Davidson's autobiography, *Between Sittings*, was published in 1951.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Jo Davidson: Portrait Sculpture* (1978); *Jo Davidson: American Sculptor, 1883–1952* (1983).

[Samantha Baskind (2nd ed.)]

DAVIDSON, LIONEL (1922–), English novelist. Davidson's thriller *The Night of Wenceslas* (1960) was followed by a romance, *The Rose of Tibet* (1962). Two visits to Israel inspired the story of an archaeologist's adventurous quest for "the true *menorah*," *A Long Way to Shiloh* (1966; published in the U.S. as *The Menorah Men*, 1966). *Making Good Again* (1968), a thriller set against the restitution process in Federal Germany, emphasized the ingrained Nazism of many "New Germans." Davidson settled in Israel in 1968. His *Kolmynsky Heights* (1994) was a bestseller.

DAVIDSON, MAX DAVID (1899–1977), U.S. Conservative rabbi. Davidson was born in Newark, New Jersey, and ordained at the *Jewish Theological Seminary in 1922, having received his B.A. degree from New York University in 1919. He spent his entire career as a pulpit rabbi in his native state of New Jersey, first in Asbury Park (Congregation Beth El, 1922–28) and then in Perth Amboy (Temple Beth Mordecai, 1929 until his death). Davidson rose to prominence as president both of the *Rabbinical Assembly (1950–52), after having served as treasurer and vice president of the organization during the previous three years, and the *Synagogue Council of America (1959–61), a body he had helped create. He also served as chairman of the *National Jewish Welfare Board's Division of Religious Activities, supervising chaplaincy affairs for the three major rabbinic groups in the U.S. armed services (1950–53); he had actively recruited Jewish chaplains during World War II, then spent the postwar years chairing the RA's Joint Placement Commission, in which capacity he secured congregational positions for demobilized military chaplains. As vice chairman of the RA's Membership Committee (1944–45), Davidson is credited with having streamlined the procedures for enrolling newly ordained Seminary graduates in the Rabbinical Assembly, leading to the expansion of the RA as the recognized professional association for Conservative rabbis. He subsequently chaired the Rabbinical Assembly's Ethics Committee and oversaw the adoption of the organization's Code of Professional Conduct. Even after his term as president, he continued to serve the RA as comptroller, archivist member of the Committee on Jewish Law and Standards, and chairman of the Joint Prayerbook Commission of the Rabbinical Assembly and the Synagogue Council of America. Throughout his many years in Rabbinical Assembly leadership roles, Davidson developed a reputation as a respected arbiter of disputes, a champion of freedom of conscience and diversity, and an outspoken critic of what he termed the "frightening" toll that congregational life had occasionally been shown to take on rabbinic colleagues.

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[Bezalel Gordon (2nd ed.)]

°**DAVIDSON, SAMUEL** (1806–1898), clergyman and Bible critic. Born in Northern Ireland, he was ordained as a Presbyterian minister in 1833 and was appointed the first professor of Bible criticism at the Royal College of Belfast (1835–41). After becoming a Congregationalist, he went to Lancashire Independent College, Manchester, in 1843, as professor of biblical criticism and Oriental languages. As a result of his visits to Germany, where he met and was influenced by J. Neander, H. *Hupfeld, and other leading Bible critics, Davidson translated Julius Fuerst's *Hebrew and Chaldee Lexicon of the Old Testament* (1867). However, he fell into disfavor with the college authorities because of his liberal views on the Bible. Despite this, he published *The Text of the Old Testament Considered* (1856, 1859^2), a commentary on the Bible (especially the Pentateuch) pioneering new theories of Higher Criticism. The book was attacked by the Lancashire College committee, mainly because it denied the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch. After much controversy, he resigned the following year and retired to teach in a Cheshire school. In 1862 he moved to London where he was appointed Scripture examiner in London University and also served on the Old Testament Revision Committee. Among his major works on the Bible are *The Hebrew Text of the Old Testament Revised* (1855), in which he examined the Hebrew text and ancient translation; *Introduction to the Old Testament* (3 vols., 1862–63); and *On a Fresh Revision of the Old Testament* (1873), originally written for *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, but published separately since, according to Davidson, the original had been "mutilated" by the editors. His autobiography and diary were published in 1899 by his daughter Anne S. Davidson.

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[Mervyn M. Lewis]

DAVIDSON, WILLIAM (1922–), U.S. industrialist, philanthropist, sportsman. Born in Detroit, Mich., Davidson received a bachelor's degree in business administration from the University of Michigan in 1947 and a Juris Doctor degree in law from Wayne State University in 1949. Guardian Industries, a small, family windshield company owned by a relative, was 23 years old when Davidson joined it in 1955 after service in World War II and a short law career. In 1957 Davidson became president of Guardian, which bought glass and converted it into safety glass for windshields, and over the years Davidson transformed it into a multibillion-dollar, multinational company with more than 60 facilities on five continents. It now makes auto glass, fiberglass insulation, glass panels for office buildings, and other products as well as distributing building materials to retail stores. Davidson took Guardian public in 1968 and bought it back for himself in 1985. In the early 2000s it had 19,000 employees in 20 countries.

In addition, Davidson became majority owner of the Detroit Pistons professional basketball team in 1974; he owns the Detroit Shock of the Women's National Basketball Association, two arena professional football teams, the Tampa Bay Lightning professional hockey team, the DTE Energy Music Theater, the Meadow Brook Music Festival, and the Palace of Auburn Hills, the city where Guardian is headquartered. His hockey and basketball team won world championships one after the other in 2004, a fabulous achievement for a sportsman.

A high school track star, Davidson is a member of the Michigan Sports Hall of Fame and the Jewish Sports Hall of Fame. He is a longtime benefactor of the Detroit Symphony Orchestra. In 1992 he gave $30 million to the University of Michigan to set up the William Davidson Institute, which is dedicated to helping nations in Eastern Europe develop free-market economies.

Davidson gave millions to finance archaeological excavations around Jerusalem. In 1994, he gave the Jewish Theological Seminary of America $15 million for a graduate school of Jewish education, the largest donation made to a single institution of Jewish education in the United States. Davidson earlier was chairman of the United Jewish Appeal for Detroit and past president of Congregation Shaaray Zedek in Southfield, Mich.

[Stewart Kampel (2nd ed.)]

D'AVIGDOR (later **d'Avigdor-Goldsmid**), family that settled in England about the middle of the nineteenth century and became united with the prominent Jewish family Goldsmid. Among its members were ELIM D'AVIGDOR (1841–1895), engineer and author. He was the eldest son of count Salomon Henri d'Avigdor (whom Napoleon III created duke of Acquaviva) and grandson of Isaac Samuel d'Avigdor, member of the Great Sanhedrin. His mother RACHEL (1816–1896), noted for her charitable activities, was the daughter of Isaac Lyon *Goldsmid. D'Avigdor worked as an engineer in various parts of the world on construction projects, including railways in Syria and Transylvania. He wrote hunting stories under the pseudonym "Wanderer" and was publisher of the *Examiner* and *Yachting Gazette*. D'Avigdor was active in the Ḥovevei Zion (see *Ḥibbat Zion). As a member of the executive of the *Anglo-Jewish Association, he was responsible for the transference to its control of the Evelina de Rothschild school in Jerusalem, previously controlled by the Rothschild family. His son, SIR OSMOND D'AVIGDOR GOLDSMID (1877–1940), added the name Goldsmid on inheriting the estates of his cousin Sir Julian *Goldsmid. He devoted his life to public service. He received recognition for these services in 1934 when the hereditary baronetcy of Isaac Lyon Goldsmid was revived and awarded to him. In 1912 he was high sheriff of the county of Kent. Within the Jewish community, he served as president of the Anglo-Jewish Association (1921–26), president of the British *Board of Deputies (1926–33), chairman of the Jewish Colonization Association, and treasurer of the Jewish Memorial Council. Although not a Zionist, he was for many years chairman of the council of the British section of the Jewish Agency. His elder son, SIR HENRY JOSEPH D'AVIGDOR-GOLDSMID (1909–1976), the 2nd baronet, was a Conservative member of parliament from 1955 and parliamentary private secretary to the minister of housing and local government (1955–56). He was president of the Jewish Colonization Association, and chairman of the Anglo-Israel Bank. Another son, Brigadier General SIR JAMES ARTHUR D'AVIGDOR-GOLDSMID (1912–1987) headed the British Territorial Army. He later became major general and was a Conservative member of Parliament from 1970 to 1974.

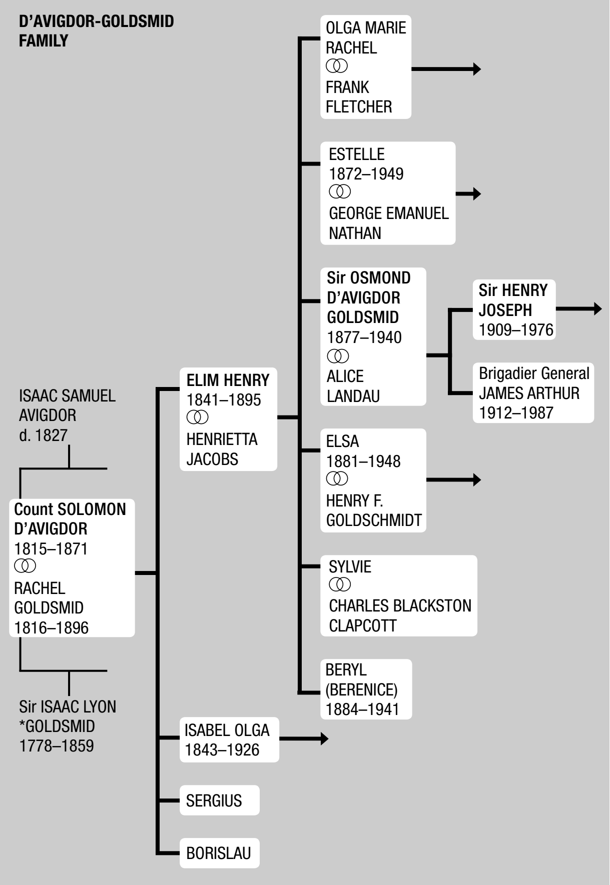
D'AVIGDOR-GOLDSMID FAMILY
ISAAC SAMUEL AVIGDOR d. 1827
Count SOLOMON D'AVIGDOR 1815–1871 ⚭ RACHEL GOLDSMID 1816–1896
Sir ISAAC LYON *GOLDSMID 1778–1859
ELIM HENRY 1841–1895 ⚭ HENRIETTA JACOBS
ISABEL OLGA 1843–1926
SERGIUS
BORISLAU
OLGA MARIE RACHEL ⚭ FRANK FLETCHER
ESTELLE 1872–1949 ⚭ GEORGE EMANUEL NATHAN
Sir OSMOND D'AVIGDOR GOLDSMID 1877–1940 ⚭ ALICE LANDAU
ELSA 1881–1948 ⚭ HENRY F. GOLDSCHMIDT
SYLVIE ⚭ CHARLES BLACKSTON CLAPCOTT
BERYL (BERENICE) 1884–1941
Sir HENRY JOSEPH 1909–1976
Brigadier General JAMES ARTHUR 1912–1987

BIBLIOGRAPHY: JC (Feb. 15, 1895 and April 15, 1940); *The Times* (April 15, 1940); P. Emden, *Jews of Britain* (1943), 148–9; 536–7; JHSET, 17 (1951–52), 10. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** C. Bermant, *The Cousinhood,* index; M. Jolles, *Biographical Directory of Prominent British Jews, 1830–1930* (2002), index; ODNB online.

[Vivian David Lipman]

DAVIN (David) DE CADEROUSSE (15th century), the first known Jew to attempt Hebrew *printing. While living in Avignon as a dyer, Davin de Caderousse met a Christian goldsmith from Prague named Procop Waldvogel. In 1446 the two entered into a notarial contract, Davin undertaking to teach the other the art of dyeing and Procop promising in return to provide him with the 27 letters of the Hebrew alphabet, cut in iron, and with the necessary instruments, in accordance with the "science and practise of writing," which he had been teaching him since 1444. The arrangement ultimately broke down, and no specimen of this earliest Hebrew printing press has survived.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: P. Requin, *Origines de l'imprimerie en France* (1891); C. Roth, *Jews in the Renaissance* (1959), 167–8.

[Cecil Roth]

DAVIS, ABEL (1878–1937), U.S. army officer. Born in Lithuania, Davis was taken to Chicago as a child and served in the Illinois National Guard during the Spanish-American War of 1898. He fought in France in World War I and won awards for gallantry in the battles before Amiens, St. Hilaire, and in the Argonne. He was later made a brigadier general in the Illinois National Guard. Davis was active in Jewish affairs as director of the Associated Jewish Charities and in 1921 was chairman of the American Jewish Relief Committee conference.

DAVIS, AL (1929–), principal owner and president of the Oakland Raiders football team, member of the Pro Football Hall of Fame. Born in Brockton, Massachusetts, Davis grew up in Brooklyn and graduated from Syracuse University in 1950, where he played football, basketball, and baseball. Davis was then named line coach at Adelphi College at age 21. He subsequently went into the U.S. Army, where he was assigned as head football coach at Ft. Belvoir, Virginia. Davis joined the staff of the NFL Baltimore Colts as a scout in 1954, and then served as line coach and chief recruiter at The Citadel in 1955–56. Afterwards he spent three years at the University of Southern California. Davis was then hired in 1960 by Sid *Gillman as an offensive coach for the Los Angeles Chargers in the newly formed American Football League.

In 1963, Davis was hired by the Oakland Raiders to be the team's head coach and general manager, after the team had only won three of their previous 28 games. Davis led the Raiders his first season to a 10–4–0 record, and was named AFL Coach of the Year by AP, UPI, *Sports Illustrated*, the *Sporting News*, and his fellow coaches. The nine-win turnaround from the previous season remains the greatest such accomplishment in pro football history. Davis coached three seasons for a 23–16–3 record, and was then named commissioner of the AFL in April 1966. Though Davis was acclaimed as an instrumental figure in the historic merger between the NFL and AFL, he was personally against it. Davis stepped down as commissioner two months later when Pete Rozelle was chosen to be commissioner of the new league, returning to the Raiders as general manager and principal owner.

Known for his dark glasses, slicked-back hair, Brooklyn accent, and ferocious competitiveness, Davis was regarded as a maverick owner. He moved the Raider franchise to Los Angeles in 1982 against the NFL's objections, winning the battle in Federal District Court, and then moved the team back to Oakland in 1995. Davis' Raiders played in five Super Bowls, winning in 1977, 1981, and 1984, with the team having the best record in pro sports from 1963 to 1991. It was a reflection of his often-quoted motto: "Just win, baby."

Davis was elected to the Pro Football Hall of Fame in 1992, the fourth Jew selected after Sid *Luckman, Sid *Gillman, and Ron *Mix, later joined by Marv *Levy and Benny *Friedman.

[Elli Wohlgelernter (2nd ed.)]

DAVIS, AL "BUMMY" (**Avraham Davidoff**; 1920–1945), U.S. welterweight boxer. Born in what was then the very Jewish Brownsville section of Brooklyn, Davis learned to fight on the neighborhood streets as a member of a teenage gang while plying his trade as a pushcart peddler. It was a neighborhood rife with members of the Jewish mafia known as "Murder, Inc.," including Abe "Kid Twist" Reles and "Pittsburgh Phil" Strauss, and Davis was the younger brother of both Willie Davidoff, a lieutenant to the famous mobster Louis "Lepke" *Buchalter, and Harry, who was also involved with the mob.

Davis was discovered by manager Johnny Attell while fighting as an amateur under the name Giovanni Pasconi. Called Vroomy, a derivative of Avraham, by his family, he was Boomy to his friends, a nickname that was finally changed to "Bummy" by Attell prior to Davis' first professional fight in May 1937. Known for his great left hook, Davis defeated his first 22 opponents, 16 by knockout including 10 in the first three rounds.

As the younger brother of two racketeers, Davis was tarred and feathered in the press as a mob-controlled lowlife, and found himself booed even by his home crowd for knocking out favorites such as Tony Canzoneri. Davis added to his legend in his most famous fight, against Fritzie Zivic on November 15, 1940. Zivic was infamous for his dirty tactics in the ring, and in the first round he repeatedly thumbed Davis in the eyes. When Zivic continued in the second round, Davis hit him below the belt at least ten times, refusing to stop. Davis was disqualified in the fight, fined $2,500, and suspended from the ring by New York State for life, but he was reinstated three years later. His final record was 66 wins (47 KOs), 10 losses, and 4 draws, and he was named No. 54 on *Ring* magazine's list of the 100 greatest punchers of all time.

Davis met a tragic end at the age of 25, when he was shot dead in Brownsville while breaking up a robbery at his former bar, called Dudy's. He is the subject of a biography, Ron Ross' somewhat fanciful *Bummy Davis vs. Murder, Inc.: The Rise and Fall of the Jewish Mafia and an Ill-Fated Prizefighter* (2003).

[Elli Wohlgelernter (2nd ed.)]

DAVIS, ALEXANDER BARNARD (1828–1913), Australian rabbi. Born in England, Davis served as headmaster of Westminster Jews' Free School, London, and minister of Kingston Congregation, Jamaica. From 1862 to 1904 he officiated as chief minister of the Great Synagogue in Sydney, and succeeded in reconciling opposing groups among the community. He founded the Sabbath School and the Sydney Jewish Education Board. Davis wrote several booklets on Jewish observance, the first of their kind to be published in Australia.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: JC (Sept. 16, 1898, Jan. 30 and Feb. 6, 1914). **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** I. Porush, *The House of Israel* (1977), index; H.L. Rubinstein, Australia, 1, index; *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, 4, 34.

[Israel Porush]

DAVIS, DAVID BRION (1927–), U.S. historian. The son of writer Claude Brion Davis and Martha Wirt Davis, David Davis was educated at Dartmouth College, Oxford University, and Harvard University, where he received his Ph.D. in 1956. He acquired a wide range of cultural and intellectual experiences before his first appointment at Cornell University, where he taught until 1978. Well into his academic career, and after years of serious thought, Davis chose to convert to Judaism.

Davis is a pioneer in the effort to understand slavery and abolition. *The Problem of Slavery in Western Culture* (1967) reflects his effort to probe slavery as a "problem" in enlightened cultures rather than simply as an evil and aberrant institution. His earliest monograph was *Homicide in American Fiction, 1798–1860* (1957).

At his retirement from Yale in 2001, he was founding director of the Gilder-Lehrman Institute for the Study of Slavery and Sterling Professor of American History. Davis has served as visiting professor at numerous universities, and has won the Pulitzer Prize, the National Book Award, and the Bancroft Prize. In 1987–88 he served as president of the Organization of American Historians.

Known as a superb lecturer and teacher, Davis supervised 60 dissertations while on the Yale faculty, and fostered the careers of dozens of leading American scholars whose work extends far beyond studies of slavery, to include almost every phase of American history. His professional and personal confession is contained in his book of essays *In the Image of God* (2001), where he builds his case as an intellectual historian and an explorer of the human spirit, identifying the seminal experiences in his life that shaped his character. The essay at the beginning of the collection conveys his sense of where his conversion to Judaism meets his passion for understanding slavery in the broad spiritual sense. The essay also tracks his seminal experience with racism during his service in Europe during World War II.

While never an apologist for the role some Jews may have played in the industry of slavery, Davis has argued against any notion of collective Jewish guilt, or any attempts to see Jewish participation in the slave trade as disproportionate to the population as a whole. In fact, Davis used this myth to highlight the significant contributions of Jews to American business, letters, entertainment, and science (*New York Review of Books*, Dec. 1994, and *New Republic*, Apr. 12, 1993).

Other books by Davis include *Problem of Slavery in the Age of Revolution, 1770–1823* (1975); *Slavery and Human Progress* (1984); *From Homicide to Slavery: Studies in American Culture* (1986); and *The Problem of Slavery in the Age of Emancipation* (2005)

[William Cutter (2nd ed.)]

DAVIS, SIR EDMUND (1861–1939), mining magnate and art collector. Edmund Davis was born in Melbourne, Australia, and educated in Paris, where he studied art. From 1879 until 1889 he lived in the Cape Colony, where he built up a fortune in guano, copper, and railroads. He became an associate of Cecil Rhodes, engaged in mining exploration in various parts of southern Africa for many years. After 1889 he lived chiefly in London, and became an important financier in developing the minerals, especially the copper fields, of Northern Rhodesia (now Zambia). Rhodes made Davis a director of the British South Africa Company. He was also chairman or director of many other companies. He accompanied Rhodes on his visit to Kaiser William II of Germany in 1898 for discussions on the Cape-Cairo cable. Davis collected early and modern paintings, and in 1915 presented a selection of pictures of the modern British school to the Luxembourg Museum, Paris. Another collection was given to the South African Art Gallery in Cape Town. Davis later settled in England, and became sheriff of Kent in 1930. He was knighted in 1937. He left large bequests to hospitals and established scholarships at London University.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: P. Emden, *Jews of Britain* (1943), 429, 434. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** ODNB online; DBB, 2, 24–28.

DAVIS, EDWARD ("Teddy the Jewboy," 1816–1841), Australian convict and one of a handful of Jewish bushrangers. Davis was born in England. In 1832, a London court convicted him of stealing a shopkeeper's till worth two shillings and five shillings worth of coins. His sentence was deportation to Australia for seven years. After a number of unsuccessful attempts at escape, as a result of which his sentence was increased by 48 months, he finally managed to escape in 1839 and organized a bushranger gang of ex-convicts like himself who, ranging on horseback over New South Wales, raided towns and settlements and robbed travelers on the desolate roads. Davis looked upon himself as a Robin Hood: he shared the spoils with the poor and would only countenance violence in self-defense. His downfall came in December 1840, when in the course of a raid on the township of Scone one of his gang, John Shea, killed a young shopkeeper. Shea, Davis, and four others were caught, convicted of murder, and sentenced to death. Davis' appeal was dismissed by the Executive Council and, accompanied by the *ḥazzan* of the Sydney synagogue, he went penitently to the gallows at the Old Sydney Gaol. A crowd of over a thousand gathered to see him hanged.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Australian Dictionary of Biography*; J.H.M. Abbott, *Newcastle Packets and the Hunter Valley* (1943); idem, *Castle Vane* (1920). **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** J.S. Levi and G.F.J. Bergman, *Australian Genesis: Jewish Convicts and Settlers, 1788–1860* (2002 edition), 242–59; H.L. Rubinstein, Australia, I, index.

[Morton Mayer Berman]

DAVIS, SIR ERNEST HYAM (1872–1962), New Zealand businessman and philanthropist. Davis was born in Nelson, the son of Moss Davis, an immigrant merchant, and developed his father's business, Hancock and Co., which controlled many of New Zealand's largest hotels. He was best known as one of the most important brewers in New Zealand, heading Captain Cook Brewery, the largest in the country, and was later prominent in founding the expanded New Zealand Breweries Ltd., as well as directing many other companies. Davis was one of the leaders of the anti-Prohibition movement in his country and, although a rich man, was a notable financial backer of the New Zealand Labour Party. He was mayor of Auckland from 1935 to 1941. During World War II he was chairman of the joint council of St. John and the Red Cross. His donations to Auckland included the Davis Marine Park, Davis Marine Lighthouse, and the Marion Davis Memorial Medical Library.

He also made large gifts to hospitals and other charities and to the Auckland Synagogue. Davis received a knighthood in 1937. At his death he was regarded as one of the towering figures in New Zealand's business life.

ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY: G.W.A. Bush, "Ernest Hyam Davis," in: *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography.*

[Alexander Astor / William D. Rubinstein (2nd ed.)]

DAVIS, HENRY DAVID (1839–1915), British architect. Born in London, Davis became one of the first Jews to practice architecture in Britain, often in partnership with Barrow Emanuel (1842–1904), the son of Emanuel Emanuel (d. 1888), the first Jewish mayor of Portsmouth and the brother of Lady *Magnus. Their firm built the Clarence Pier in Portsmouth and many buildings in London, especially near Finsbury Square and in the East End, often dwellings for poor immigrants. They also built the West London Reform Synagogue (1870) and other Jewish buildings.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: ODNB online.

[William D. Rubinstein (2nd ed.)]

DAVIS, MARVIN H. (1925–2004), U.S. oil and entertainment businessman. Born in Newark, N.J., to immigrant parents (his father was a dress manufacturer), Davis moved with his family to Colorado, where he and his father bought oil and gas leases at low prices throughout the Rocky Mountains and then did extensive drilling. After taking over the business, Davis earned the nickname Mr. Wildcatter because he would drill thousands of wells in unexplored areas in search of oil or natural gas. He was a pioneer of the oil deal known as the "third for a quarter," in which an oil prospector insulates himself from risk by selling one-quarter of a well for one-third of the price of the well. Essentially, Davis drilled his own wells with other people's money. He also became a major real estate developer in Denver, acquiring a huge shopping center and office complex.

In 1981, when energy markets were peaking in the United States, he sold most of his oil and natural gas holdings for $600 million to the Canadian company Hiram Walker-Consumers Home Ltd., and turned his attention to undervalued entertainment businesses in Hollywood and real estate in California. With Marc *Rich, the financier who became a fugitive and was later pardoned by President Bill Clinton, he bought 20th Century Fox for $725 million. When he sold the company four years later to Rupert Murdoch's News Corporation, newspaper and magazine articles estimated that Davis earned a profit of $325 million. Davis also owned the Pebble Beach Company, which he sold in 1990 at a profit of millions of dollars, the Aspen Skiing Company, and the fabled Beverly Hills Hotel. He made highly publicized but unsuccessful bids on companies such as Northwest Airlines, United Airlines, CBS, and Resorts International. In 2002 he led a group of investors who tried to buy the American entertainment business of Vivendi Universal with an unsolicited bid of $20 billion but was rebuffed. In 2004, Forbes magazine listed Davis as the 30th richest person in the United States, estimating his wealth at $5.8 billion.

[Stewart Kampel (2nd ed.)]

DAVIS, MORTIMER B. (1866–1928), Canadian industrialist and philanthropist. Davis was born in Montreal, the third of seven children in a well-established Jewish family. His father was a founder of Montreal's first Reform congregation, Temple Emanu-El. After finishing Montreal High School, Davis went into the family's cigar business. As a young man he experimented in tobacco production and negotiated with the Imperial Tobacco Company of England to establish a subsidiary in Canada. Davis became the company's director and was soon involved in a variety of other Montreal business activities. He also took keen interest in charity and relief activities. Davis helped finance the integration of East European immigrants in Montreal and was one of the founders of the Mount Sinai Sanatorium, the first Jewish-community-funded hospital in the city. During World War I, Davis helped finance a Jewish battalion to fight with the British and in 1917 was rewarded with a knighthood by King George V, the first Canadian Jew to be so honored. After the war Davis, while not a religious man, was active in supporting Jewish schools in Montreal and donated a new building for the Montreal YMHA, soon known as the Davis Y. Sir Mortimer Davis died in 1928 but, feeling that Montreal should have a major Jewish hospital, he bequeathed 75 percent of his estate to be invested and used to build such a hospital. The Sir Mortimer Davis Jewish General Hospital, founded in 1934, was the result. In 1898 Davis married Henrietta Meyer of San Francisco but their marriage ended in divorce. Lady Davis, a keen businesswoman, became wealthy in her own right and remained a leading philanthropist in the Montreal Jewish community, supporting causes in both Canada and Israel.

[Gerald Tulchinsky (2nd ed.)]

DAVIS, MOSHE (1916–1996), historian and educator. Born in Brooklyn, New York, Davis was ordained a rabbi at the Jewish Theological Seminary in 1942, and was the first American to receive a doctoral degree from the Hebrew University of Jerusalem (1945). During 1946–50 he was dean of the Seminary's Teachers' Institute, then provost of the Seminary. One of the founders of Camp Massad, Davis also established the Leaders Training Fellowship and the Camp Ramah movement of the Teachers' Institute. He was the first program editor of the Seminary's radio program *Eternal Light* and the television program *Frontiers of Faith*. In 1959 Davis was founder and subsequently chairman in Israel of the Committee on Manpower Opportunities. An authority on contemporary Jewish life, especially American Jewry, Davis taught American Jewish history at the Jewish Theological Seminary, co-directed the Seminary's American Jewish History Center, and taught American Jewish history and institutions at the Hebrew University (from 1965). Having immigrated to Israel in 1959, he became the founder and head of the university's Institute of

Contemporary Jewry, the first of its kind in the world. In that capacity, he supervised studies, publications, and conferences dealing with centers of world Jewry. Within the institute he also founded the America–Holy Land Project, which became an academic sub-specialty of both American and Jewish history. Davis was the Stephen S. Wise Professor Emeritus of American Jewish History and Institutions at the Hebrew University. In 1974 he founded the International Center for the Academic Teaching of Jewish Civilization, under the sponsorship of the president of Israel.

Among his many honors, Davis garnered the Rothberg Prize in Jewish Education of the Hebrew University; the Speaker of the Knesset Quality of Life Award; and an honorary Ph.D. from the Jewish Theological Seminary of America. His publications include *Jewish Religious Life and Institutions in America* (1950); *Yahadut Amerikah be-Hitpatteḥutah* (1951); *Emergence of Conservative Judaism* (1963); *Journeys of the Children of Israel: A Guide to the Study of the Bible* (with I. Levy, 1966); *Beit Yisrael be-Amerikah* ("From Dependence to Mutuality: The American Jewish Community and World Jewry," 1970); *I Am a Jew* (1978); *Teaching Jewish Civilization: A Global Approach to Higher Education* (1995); and *America and the Holy Land* (1995). He was a consulting editor for the first edition of the *Encyclopaedia Judaica* (1971).

[Gladys Rosen / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

DAVIS, NATALIE ZEMON (1928–), U.S. historian of early modern France, scholar of women, gender, and film studies, academic leader and lecturer. Davis was born in Detroit, Michigan, daughter of Julian and Helen Lamport Zemon, both American-born children of immigrants from Eastern Europe. She grew up in a non-Jewish neighborhood and attended a private high school with few other Jewish students. Davis has suggested that this experience of mediating between two worlds may have contributed to her scholarly interest in issues of multiple and uncertain identities, fiction and storytelling, and the interplay between margins and center. After receiving her B.A. from Smith College and her Ph.D. from the University of Michigan, Davis taught at Brown University, the University of Toronto, the University of California at Berkeley, and was the Henry Charles Lea Professor of History at Princeton University from 1981 until her retirement in 1996. She received numerous honors and awards and was a fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences and corresponding fellow of the British Academy. In 1987, she became the second woman to serve as president of the American Historical Association.

Davis expanded the boundaries of social history through her use of nontraditional archival sources and examinations of previously under-studied populations. She was a pioneer in cultural history and the incorporation of interdisciplinary approaches from anthropology and literature into historical scholarship. A prolific scholar, her books include *Society and Culture in Early Modern France* (1975); *The Return of Martin Guerre* (1983); *Fiction in the Archives: Pardon Tales and Their Tellers in Sixteenth-Century France* (1987); *The Gift in Sixteenth-Century France* (2000); and *Slaves on Screen: Film and Historical Vision* (2000). Davis also served as historical consultant for the successful film *Le Retour de Martin Guerre* (1982).

In the 1980s, Davis became increasingly interested in Jewish history. As in her investigations of women and gender, she wished to incorporate Jews into the broader historical narrative while demonstrating how doing so necessarily changes understandings of the past. Her insightful work on the autobiographical writings of Glikl bas Judah Leib in *Women on the Margins: Three Seventeenth Century Lives* (1995), as well as her collaboration on a volume devoted to the autobiography of Leon *Modena (*The Autobiography of a Seventeenth-Century Venetian Rabbi: Leon Modena's Life of Judah*, ed. Mark Cohen (1988)), brought together her interests in the Jewish experience and in narratives of self-fashioning.

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[Jennifer Sartori (2nd ed.)]

DAVIS, SAMMY JR. (1923–1990), U.S. singer, dancer, actor. Born in Harlem, New York, to performer Sammy Davis and dancer Elvira Sanchez, Sammy Davis, Jr. began his entertainment career at the age of three. He grew up on the road with his father, who belonged to the touring vaudeville group the Will Mastin Troupe, after his mother abandoned the family in 1928. As motion pictures increasingly killed demand for vaudeville acts, Davis and his father continued alongside Will Mastin in what inevitably become a trio. In 1943, he was drafted into the U.S. Army and sent to boot camp in Cheyenne, Wyoming, where he endured violent racism. He was eventually transferred to an entertainment division, which toured military bases around the United States. After his discharge from the service in 1945, Davis rejoined Mastin and his father, headlining with such acts as *Mel Torme, Mickey Rooney, and Frank Sinatra. On November 19, 1954, Davis was nearly killed in an automobile accident that took his left eye and shattered his face. As he recovered in a Los Angeles hospital, Davis began his conversion to Judaism. The publicity following his accident was intense and boosted Davis' career; even the controversy that followed his conversion had little impact. He performed in front of sold-out shows and released his first albums under the Decca label, *Starring Sammy Davis, Jr.* and *Just for Lovers*, in 1955. Davis' star climbed higher with the Broadway musical *Mr. Wonderful* (1956) and the film adaptation of George Gershwin's *Porgy and Bess* (1959). He married Loray White in 1958, but the couple divorced the following year. By 1960, Davis was a superstar. Frank Sinatra made him part of his "Rat Pack" along with Dean Martin, Joey Bishop, and others. He starred with fellow Rat Pack members in *Ocean's Eleven* (1960), *Sergeants 3* (1962), and *Salt and Pepper* (1968). His marriage to Swedish actress May Britt in 1960, who was Caucasian, made him a Ku Klux Klan target. In turn, Davis became a staunch supporter of the Black Power movement. B'nai B'rith named him man of the year in 1965, and he received Emmy nominations for *The Sammy Davis, Jr. Show* (1965) and *The Swinging World of Sammy Davis, Jr.* (1966). He divorced Britt in 1968 and in 1970 married Altovise Gore. Davis angered the political left in 1972 when he publicly supported Richard Nixon and performed in Vietnam. His Rat Pack drinking and drug abuse caught up with him in 1974, when Davis developed liver and kidney problems that required surgery and several months of rehabilitation. In the 1980s, Davis toured with Sinatra and Liza Minnelli. He made his final film appearance with Gregory Hines in *Tap* (1989), the same year doctors discovered his throat cancer, which would claim his life one year later.

[Adam Wills (2nd ed.)]

DAVIS, SUSAN A. (1944–), U.S. Democratic congresswoman representing California's 53rd Congressional District. Born in Cambridge, Massachusetts, Davis grew up in Richmond, California. Her father was a pediatrician; her husband is also a physician. She graduated from the University of California at Berkeley with a degree in sociology (1965). She then earned a master's degree in social work from the University of North Carolina (1968).

Between 1990 and 1994 she was the executive director of the Aaron Price Fellows Program, a program that teaches citizenship skills to multiethnic high school students, and then served on the City School Board in San Diego for nine years between 1983 and 1992, more than half of them as president or vice president. She was also active in the League of Women Voters of San Diego, eventually serving as its president.

She was elected to the California State Assembly in 1994. Her interests were in adolescence, and she championed legislation to protect medical privacy. Term-limited out, she was forced to run for another office and moved up when she was elected to the House of Representatives in 2000. Her Committee assignments in Congress reflected both her constituency and her interests. She served on the House Armed Services Committee – San Diego has major military installations – and the Education and the Workforce Committee. She focused on the issues of defense, education, environment, health care, and veterans' affairs. Defense and veterans' affairs are important concerns for the military families of San Diego, educational and health care were long-time interests of Davis.

Her primary area of concern in Congress reflected her local involvement as an educator. Like most Democrats she opposed the school voucher program but supported educational reform, most especially in areas that would improve teaching. She also endorsed increased evaluation programs for students and their teachers. In health care she supported the Patients Bill or Rights and Medicare. She was pro-choice.

[Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

DAVYDOV (Davidhof), KARL YULYEVICH (1838–1889), Russian cellist, composer, and teacher. Davydov, who was born in Goldingen, Courland, took a degree in mathematics at Moscow University in 1858, and then decided to pursue a musical career. In 1859, he became a professor at the Leipzig Conservatory and solo cellist at the Gewandhaus concerts. In 1862 Davydov returned to Russia as professor at the St. Petersburg Conservatory and joined the quartet of the Russian Music Society, with Leopold *Auer as his partner in recitals. He eventually succeeded Anton *Rubinstein as conductor of the St. Petersburg Conservatory orchestra and traveled extensively on concert tours abroad. Davydov's best known compositions are his cello works, which belong to the German romantic school. His main achievement was the establishment of the first cello school in Russia. The methods and advice given in his manual for cello students remain valid.

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[Michael Goldstein]

DAWIDOWICZ, LUCY (1915–1990), U.S. historian and writer. Born Lucy Schildbret in New York City, she pursued her love for Yiddish culture as a research fellow at the YIVO Institute for Jewish Research in Vilna, Poland in 1938. On the eve of World War II she returned to New York, where the YIVO Institute was reestablished, and served as assistant to the research director of YIVO from 1940 to 1946. At the end of the war, she returned to Europe on behalf of the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee to aid concentration camp survivors.

She returned to the United States in 1947, subsequently working as a research analyst and later research director for the American Jewish Committee. In 1969, she joined the faculty of Yeshiva University, serving as professor of Holocaust studies from 1970.

In 1967, she edited the anthology *The Golden Tradition: Jewish Life and Thought in Eastern Europe*, contributing an extensive and incisive introduction. *The War Against the Jews 1933–1945* (1975) contended that the Holocaust was not merely an antisemitic outburst but the final outcome of a ruthless totalitarian ideology whose central design was to eliminate the alien Jew.

In 1976, she edited *The Holocaust Reader*, which deals with Holocaust historiography. In *The Holocaust and the Historians* (1981), Dawidowicz attacked those who have attempted to deny the authenticity of the Holocaust.

[Susan Strul]

DAWIDSOHN, ḤAYYIM (1760–1854), merchant, community leader, and rabbi. Born in Pinczow, he was elected head of the *ḥevra kaddisha* in 1801. When the authorities dissolved the Warsaw *kehillah* in 1831 he was one of the three directors (*dozory*) appointed in its place. Himself a *Mitnagged* and Orthodox, Dawidsohn cooperated with the Ḥasidim and the assimilationists. With the incumbent rabbi of Warsaw, Solomon Zalman *Lipshitz, he opposed Jews joining the city guards during the insurrection of 1831, giving as a reason that they would have to shave. After the death of Lipshitz in 1839, Dawidsohn was elected rabbi of Warsaw despite his advanced years. He burned all his writings, mainly on *halakhah*, shortly before his death, considering that none of them was worthy of publication. His eldest son, Abraham Abele, was rabbi in Biala, and his second son, Naphtali, was a wealthy merchant.

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DAWIDSOHN, JOSEPH (1880–1947), physician and Zionist leader in Poland. Born in Warsaw, he was a great-grandson of Ḥayyim *Dawidsohn. In 1913 he and Stefan Mendelson founded the first Jewish newspaper in Polish, *Przegląd Codzienny* ("Daily Review"). Dawidsohn also published *Nasz Kurier* ("Our Courier") in 1917, and *Nasze Słowo* ("Our Word") in 1931. In 1908 Dawidsohn founded the Bri'ut ("Health") association to fight tuberculosis among Jews and was its chairman until 1932. He was a member of the Polish Senate from 1928 to 1931. A year later he left for Ereẓ Israel, where he worked with the Jewish Agency's Immigration Department as inspector of medical services. He was the author of *Gminy żydowskie* (1931), a work on Jewish communities in Poland.

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DAWISON (Davidsohn), BOGUMIL (1818–1872), German actor, who was regarded as one of the great actors of his day. Dawison was born in Warsaw, where he also began his career. In 1839 he began working at the theater in Lemberg (Lvov), Galicia. From 1847 he acted in Hamburg, Germany. In 1849 he was invited to the Burgtheater in Vienna, and in 1854 to the Hoftheater in Dresden. From 1864 he toured Europe and the U.S., where he arrived in 1866. His acting was dynamic and innovative, and his characterizations had great vitality. Dawison's triumphs were in the Shakespearean roles of Richard III, Shylock, Lear, and Othello; as Franz Moor in Schiller's *The Bandits*; as Mephistopheles in Goethe's *Faust*; and as Harpagon in Molière's *The Miser*.

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[Noam Zadoff (2nd ed.)]

DAYAN, family in Ereẓ Israel. SHEMUEL (1891–1968), pioneer of cooperative settlement in Ereẓ Israel. Dayan was born in Zhashkov, Ukraine, and joined the Zionist movement as a youth, settling in Ereẓ Israel in 1908. There he worked as a laborer in various agricultural settlements and was a founder of the kevuẓah *Deganyah Alef and later of Deganyah Bet. In 1921 he helped found the first *moshav ovedim, *Nahalal. A leader of the *Ha-Po'el ha-Ẓa'ir Party, and later of *Mapai, Dayan represented the moshav movement in *yishuv* institutions, in the Histadrut, and at Zionist Congresses. He was a leading member of the Histadrut Agricultural Center (Ha-Merkaz ha-Ḥakla'i) and a Mapai member in the First, Second, and Third Knessets. He published books and articles about Nahalal, Deganyah, and the moshav ovedim, including *Nahalal* (1936); *Moshav Ovedim* (1945); *Pioneers in Israel* (1961); and *Man and the Soil* (1965). His wife DEVORAH (née Zatolowsky; 1890–1956) was a leader of the women's labor movement and an editor of *Devar ha-Po'elet* (women workers' weekly). Her articles appearing in the labor press were collected in the books *Asapper* (1952) and *Be-Osher u-ve-Yagon* (1959; *Pioneer*, 1968). The elder son of Shemuel and Devorah was Moshe *Dayan (1915–1981), military commander and statesman. Their younger son ZOHAR (1926–1948) died in the Israeli War of Independence. A book of his poems and letters, *Be-Eragon: Shirim ve-Iggerot*, was published posthumously in 1950. Moshe's wife RUTH (née Schwartz; 1917–) was active in the development of home industries during the early years of Israel, and was head of the Crafts Department in the Ministry of Labor during 1953–54. She was founder and managing director of government-sponsored Maskit, which produces and markets Israeli handicrafts. His daughter Yael *Dayan (1939–) wrote the novels *New Face in the Mirror* (1959), *Envy the Frightened* (1961), *Dust* (1963), and *Death had Two Sons* (1965), as well as *Israel Journal, June 1967* (1967), and also served in the Knesset. His son Assaf (Assi) *Dayan (1945–) was a film actor and director.

[Abraham Aharoni]

DAYAN, ASSAF (Assi; 1945–), Israeli actor, director, and writer. The son of Moshe *Dayan, he was born in Nahalal. He starred in a number of classic Israeli films, including *Operation Thunderbolt* (1977), the story of the Entebbe rescue operation, and *Beyond the Walls* (1984), a prison drama about Israeli-Palestinian relations. He also appeared in Joseph *Cedar's popular *Campfire* (2004) and *Time of Favor* (*Ha-Hesder,* 2000). The left-leaning actor portrayed right-wing activists in both of Cedar's films. Early on in his film career, he was cast in John Huston's *A Walk with Love and Death* (1969), opposite Anjelica Huston, but from then on Dayan appeared mostly in Israeli films. The highlight of his directing career was *Life According to Agfa* (1992), a politically charged look at the regulars of a Tel Aviv pub. *Agfa* won the Israeli Academy of Film and Television's award for best picture and Dayan was voted best director. Dayan's writing and directing credits include *The Gospel According to God* (2004) and *Halfon Hill Doesn't Answer* (1975). He acted in more than 35 films, including *Open Heart* (2002), Amos *Gitai's *Zikhron Devarim* (1995), and *The Delta Force* (1986).

[Hannah Brown (2nd ed.)]

DAYAN, MOSHE (1915–1981), Israeli military commander and statesman, member of the Fourth to Tenth Knessets. The eldest son of Shemuel Dayan, who had been a member of the First Knesset, Dayan was born in kibbutz Deganya Alef, and raised in Nahalal. As a young man, he served as a watchman in Nahalal's fields, and later joined the Haganah. During the disturbances of 1936–39, he served with the special Jewish police force in the Jezreel Valley and Galilee. He was commander of a unit of the Haganah field squads in 1938, and participated in the operations of the special night squads commanded by Orde *Wingate. Dayan was arrested in 1939, in an illegal Haganah commanders' course, and was sentenced to ten years' imprisonment for possession of illegal firearms. Released in 1941, he joined an auxiliary force of the Haganah that cooperated with the British army in the conquest of the Lebanon from Vichy forces. In the course of this operation he was wounded, and lost his left eye. The eye patch Dayan started wearing from that time on, became his trademark. After joining the Palmaḥ, he helped British intelligence set up a broadcasting network, the purpose of which was clandestine operations behind enemy lines in the event that Palestine fell into German hands.

During the 1948–49 War of Independence, Dayan commanded the defense of Jewish settlements in the Jordan Valley. In the spring of 1948 he was named commander of a mechanized battalion that fought in Ramleh and Lydda, and helped halt the Egyptian forces on the Southern front. In August 1948 Dayan was appointed commander of the Jerusalem front and reached a local cease-fire agreement with the commander of the Arab Legion in the area. In this period Dayan was viewed as Mapai's answer to generals such as Yigal *Allon, who had emerged from *Mapam and *Aḥdut ha-Avodah. Dayan and Allon remained competitors, first in the military sphere and later in politics, for the rest of their lives.

In the spring of 1949 Dayan participated in the armistice agreement talks between Israel and Jordan at Rhodes.

In October 1949 he was appointed commander of the Southern Command, and in June 1952 commander of the Northern Command. In the same period he attended a senior officers' course in Great Britain. He was appointed chief of operations at General Headquarters in December 1952, and the following year was appointed as Israel's fourth chief of staff, a post he held until January 1958. As chief of staff, Dayan concentrated on improving the military capabilities of the IDF. With the intensification of *fedayeen* terrorist attacks in the course of 1955, Dayan organized a series of reprisal raids into Jordanian and Egyptian territory, to hit *fedayeen* bases there. He commanded the Israeli forces in the *Sinai Campaign, at the end of 1956, and emerged as a national hero. Dayan retired from active army service in 1958 and spent the following year attending courses at the universities of Tel Aviv and Jerusalem. In the fall of 1959 he was elected to the Fourth Knesset on the *Mapai list. In the government formed by David *Ben-Gurion after the election, Dayan was appointed minister of agriculture, a post he held until November 1964.

Dayan supported Ben-Gurion's position in the *Lavon Affair and resigned from Prime Minister Levi *Eshkol's government to join Ben-Gurion against this background. In July 1965 Dayan broke away with Ben-Gurion from Mapai, and was one of the founders of *Rafi and elected on its list to the Sixth Knesset. In August 1966 he made an independent study tour of war-torn Vietnam and wrote of his experience in a diary, which he published. Following public pressure, Dayan was appointed minister of defense on the eve of the outbreak of the *Six-Day War in June 1967, even though Prime Minister Eshkol, who had also served as minister of defense up to that point, had wanted to appoint Allon to the post. Dayan once again emerged from the war as a hero. After the war, as minister of defense, Dayan was responsible for administering the territories occupied by Israel. He devised a relatively liberal policy for the Palestinian population in the territories, following a policy of "open bridges" to Jordan, enabling the movement of both people and goods. Unlike Allon, who started to advocate a peace plan with Jordan based on territorial compromise and the establishment of a Jordanian-Palestinian state that would include most of the territories of the West Bank and Gaza Strip, Dayan preferred a functional solution that would create a Jordanian-Israeli condominium in the territories.

In the year after the Six-Day War Dayan actively supported the formation of the *Israel Labor Party by Mapai, Aḥdut ha-Avodah, and Rafi. Dayan was still minister of defense on the outbreak of the *Yom Kippur War of October 1973, and was widely blamed for the country's lack of preparedness. Even though the *Agranat Commission established to investigate the background to the outbreak of the war (or the *meḥdal*, as the failure was termed in Hebrew) did not criticize Dayan, and did not find anything wrong in his conduct, after Golda *Meir resigned as prime minister following the publication of the Committee's interim report, Yitzhak *Rabin, who formed a government in June 1974, did not include Dayan in it. Following the 1977 "political upheaval" (*mahapakh*) Dayan, elected to the Ninth Knesset on the Alignment list, decided to leave the Alignment and join the government formed by Menaḥem *Begin as foreign minister, remaining an independent MK in the Knesset until May 1981, when he formed the Telem parliamentary group. As foreign minister, Dayan played a major role in the peace talks with Egypt that led to the historic visit of Egyptian President Anwar *Sadat to Jerusalem in November 1977, to the signing of the Camp David Accords in September 1978, and to the signing of the Israeli-Egyptian Peace Treaty in March 1979. In October 1979 he resigned from the government in protest against the appointment of Joseph *Burg as head of the team to negotiate an autonomy plan for the Palestinians with the Egyptians. The new Telem Party that he formed towards the end of the Ninth Knesset advocated a continuation of the peace process on the basis of the Camp David Accords; continued Israeli military presence in areas vital for Israel's defense; opposition to any territorial compromise in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, on the one hand,

and the extension of Israeli sovereignty to them, on the other; self-administration for the Palestinians in the territories, on the one hand, and continued Jewish settlement on State lands and land legally purchased. Telem received only two mandates in the elections to the Tenth Knesset.

Dayan passed away in October 1981, four months after the election, and was buried in Nahalal. His daughter, Yael *Dayan, was a novelist and a member of the Thirteenth to Fifteenth Knessets.

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[Yehuda Slutsky / Susan Hattis Rolef (2nd ed.)]

DAYAN, YAEL (1939–), Israeli politician, writer, and peace activist, member of the Thirteenth to Fifteenth Knessets. Dayan was born in Nahalal. Her father was Moshe *Dayan and her grandfather Shemuel Dayan, a member of the First Knesset. Dayan first came to the public's notice in 1959, with the publication of her novel *New Face in the Mirror,* written in English and based on her army experiences. This was followed by *Envy the Frightened* (1961), *Dust* (1964), *A Soldier's Diary* (1967), *Death Had Two Sons* (1967), *Three Weeks in October* (1979), and *Avi, Bitoh* (*My Father, His Daughter,* 1986).

Dayan studied international relations at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, and life sciences at the Open University.

She was first elected to the Thirteenth Knesset in 1992 on the *Israel Labor Party list and served in the Knesset until the Fifteenth Knesset. She was twice chairperson of the Knesset Committee for the Advancement of the Status of Women, where she fought relentlessly against the phenomenon of violence against women and violence in the family. Throughout her membership in the Knesset she also fought openly for the removal of the stigma and inequality of homosexuals and lesbians.

In the Labor Party primaries preceding elections to the Sixteenth Knesset, she did not finish high and together with Yossi *Beilin decided to run on the Meretz list, where she was placed 12th and therefore was not among the six Meretz candidates who won seats. In October 2003 Dayan ran successfully in the elections to the Tel Aviv municipality, subsequently serving as deputy mayor and holding the Welfare portfolio.

From the late 1970s Dayan was active in various peace movements, including *Peace Now, Bat Shalom, the International Center for Peace, and the Council for Peace and Security. She also became active in organizations fighting for human rights in general and the rights of women, homosexuals, and lesbians, in particular. She participated in many meetings with Palestinians, including meetings with Palestinian women. She was among the supporters of the Geneva Document signed by Yossi *Beilin and Yaser Abed Rabbo on December 1, 2003.

[Susan Hattis Rolef (2nd ed.)]

DAY AND NIGHT. The profound psychological effect made on man by the regular change from day to night is a theme in the *aggadah*, epitomized in Adam's fear upon watching the first sunset (Av. Zar. 8a). In the Scriptures and in the *aggadah*, night has negative associations. It is a time of fear and danger, a symbol of death and of the return to chaos (cf. Ps. 91:5–6; Song 3:8). Day has positive connotations. The converse view, however, is also expressed. The day comprehends dangers of its own ("the destruction that wasteth at noonday," Ps. 91:6), whereas night is a time for rest and the renewal of strength. God appears to man at night (Gen. 15:12; Job 4:13); it is "an acceptable time" for prayers also and most appropriate for meditation (Ps. 77:7; cf. "The night was created only for study," Er. 65a).

In contrast to pagan mythology, where sunrise represents a daily contention between opposing forces, in Jewish monotheism, the day-and-night cycle is attributed to a single God who "forms the light, and creates darkness" (Isa. 45:7), "who changes the times," and "who removes the light from before the darkness and the darkness from before the light" (beginning of the evening prayer). The special religious significance attached to this periodicity can be observed in the Temple rites of regular morning and evening sacrifices and in the benedictions over the daily cycle in the morning and evening prayers (the benediction "Creator of the luminaries" in the morning prayer, and the benediction "Who brings the nights" in the evening prayer). Every morning, when darkness disappears before the light, the initial act of creation is renewed. In biblical cosmogony, the concept that at first there was "darkness on the face of the abyss" compares with a similar view on the origin of the universe of other early cultures. In contrast to Greek mythology, however, it is not the darkness, or the abyss, that "gave birth" to the light. The day was created by the order: "Let there be light." The halakhic postulate "the day goes after the night" is based on this antecedence of darkness to light and of night to day (Gen. 1:5). The 24-hour cycle starts at sunset; Sabbath and festivals begin in the evening, and terminate at the start of the following night (a number of specific day-only fasts, however, start at dawn; see *Fast Days). Certain concepts, dating probably from the pre-biblical period, reflect the belief that day is the basis of all that is good; these concepts have entered the Bible (e.g., Ps. 104:2; Dan. 2:22; Isa. 30:26) and the Apocrypha, and more especially gnostic and other writings with a dualistic tendency. Traces of the dualist theory are found in Jewish folklore and it may be assumed that the belief that Jewish redemption will come in an era when there is perpetual day derives from it. The concept was accepted, at least poetically and symbolically, both in the Bible (Zech. 14:7) and in the *aggadah* (Ḥag. 12a).

During the talmudic and subsequent periods, many superstitious beliefs relating to night took root in Jewish folklore. *Lilith, known in Assyrian and Babylonian mythologies as a flying demon (e.g., in the Epic of Gilgamesh), was the most feared of the evil night spirits and a fiend especially dangerous to women in confinement. Although there is no relation between her name and the Hebrew word *laylah* ("night") the phonetic similarity converted her into a night-demon threatening the lives of newborn babies, especially uncircumcised males; she is also a succubus that clings to men sleeping alone (Shab. 151b). To stave her and other diabolic creatures off, the rabbis forbade people to go out alone at night, especially on Wednesdays and Fridays (Pes. 112b). Charms, amulets, adjurations, and potions, as means of protection against "the terror by night" (Ps. 91:5), were widespread in many Jewish communities until quite recently.

The *halakhah* attaches great importance to the day-and-night cycle. Many *mitzvot* may only be performed during the day, e.g., circumcision, the sounding of the **shofar*, putting on the *tefillin* (phylacteries), *lulav* ("the taking of the palm-branch"), the laying of the hands on, and the slaughtering of, sacrifices, genuflective prayer, testimony and judgment, the construction of the Temple, and others.

The Bible does not clearly define day and night or their divisions, such as "evening, morning, and noonday" (Ps. 55:18), the watches of the night (Ex. 14:24; Judg. 7:19), midnight or half the night (Ex. 11:4; 12:29), and the notion of "hour" is not mentioned at all. The duration of a "halakhic" day is from dawn until the appearance of the stars, i.e., a full solar day; it is divided into secondary periods, according to three systems:

(a) Every day (and every night) is divided into 12 "variable" ("זמניות") hours, no matter what season it occurs in; the duration of the hour is therefore dependent on the yearly season (Sanh. 38b). Ultra-Orthodox Jews in Israel follow this system to the present day.

(b) The entire day (day and night) is taken as one unit and is divided into 24 standard and fixed hours of 60 minutes each, as in the commonly accepted time system. The division of day and night into fixed hours, with a specific duration, is mentioned for the first time in the literature of the *tannaim* (see, e.g., Mekh. SbY to 12:29: "He is seated on the sundial [a time device probably introduced into Ereẓ Israel during the Hellenistic period] and shows the hours with an accuracy that is within a hair's breadth"). The notion of an "hour" as an undefined and not standardized lapse of time has, however, been maintained in the Mishnah ("The early pietists waited an hour…"; Ber. 5:1). Though it was only theoretical, there was also more detailed division; an *onah* ("term") is 1/24 of an hour, an *et* ("period") is 1/24 of an *onah*, and a *rega* ("moment") is 1/24 of an *et* (Tosef., Ber. 1:3). In this classification the *rega* is approximately ¼ of a second. The rabbis, therefore, said that "a human being … does not know his *ittim* [plural of *et*], *rega'im* [plural of *rega*], and hours … but God … entered into it by a hair's breadth" (Gen. R. 10:9). A different, more precise calculation existed in Ereẓ Israel: "How much is a *rega* – 1/58,888 of an hour" (Ber. 7a). A wide literature, notably the *Baraita de-Shemuel*, deals with such time calculations within the framework of astrological research. Another division of the hour is into 1,080 parts; this is also very ancient and is based on the lunar month.

(c) The solar day (alone) is divided according to the changes in the brightness of the sunlight. In this system, the day is divided as follows: dawn, the appearance of the first morning twilight, is the starting point when all precepts to be fulfilled during the day become obligatory. *Halakhah*, however, prefers sunrise to dawn because the commencement of the day presents problems of definition; *haneẓ ha-ḥammah* ("first appearance of the sun") occurs after dawn and precedes *zeriḥah* by the period of time it takes to walk a *mil* ("mile"). At that time, the pious read the *Shema. Zeriḥah* – full sunrise – is the moment when the entire sun appears over the horizon. Sunset is the moment when the entire sun disappears below the horizon. Evening twilight is the light after sunset and it is doubtful whether this period may be called day or night, and diverse opinions have been given by the *tannaim* as to its exact nature and time (Shab. 34b). According to Maimonides (Yad, Shabbat 5:4), the evening twilight begins with sunset and lasts until the appearance of three medium-sized stars, and from then on it is night. R. Tam argues that evening twilight begins from the period it takes to walk three and a quarter *mil* after sunset to the appearance of the stars. Until then, it is still day. In the Shulḥan Arukh (OḤ 261), this second opinion is accepted as binding. According to a third opinion, held by some of the early commentators, night begins immediately with sunset and the evening twilight is a period prior to sunset, lasting the time it takes to walk three and a quarter *mil*.

The *halakhah* used systems (a) and (b), while (c), which is the most ancient and is based on the direct observation of the movement of the celestial bodies, is only of secondary importance. All the hours and time concepts associated with the precepts are "variable." According to Mordecai *Jaffe's *Levush* and *Elijah ben Solomon of Vilna, the hours of the day are calculated from *zeriḥah* to *sheki'ah* (sunset); the majority of opinions, however, maintain that the calculation is from dawn until the appearance of the stars. The Shulḥan Arukh decides in favor of the second opinion. In the same way as the day, the night is divided into "variable" hours (there are three watches in three parts of the night), but this division is devoid of any practical importance, except for "the middle of the night," which is the time for reading *Tikkun Ḥaẓot* (the midnight prayer). "To keep a man away from sin," the rabbis limited to midnight the time for performing a number of precepts which otherwise could have been fulfilled during the whole night (Ber. 1:1).

The "standard" hours (according to system b) are used in *halakhah* to set related periods of time, such as "six hours" between the eating of meat and milk, "one hour" for the salting of meat, and many others.

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[Israel Moses Ta-Shma]

DAY OF ATONEMENT (Heb. יוֹם הַכִּפּוּרִים, *Yom ha-Kippurim*), one of the "appointed seasons of the Lord, holy convocations," a day of fasting and atonement, occurring on the Tenth of Tishri. It is the climax of the "*Ten Days of Penitence" and the most important day in the liturgical year.

In the Bible

All manner of work is forbidden on the Day of Atonement, as it is on the Sabbath (being likewise called "a Sabbath of solemn rest"), and the soul is to be "afflicted" ("from the evening of the ninth day of the seventh month until the evening of the morrow"), the punishment for transgressing these commandments being destruction and extirpation (Lev. 16:29–31; 23:27–32; Num. 29:7). Special additional offerings were to be brought (Num. 29:8–11), and, apart from these, a ceremony peculiar to the day (see **Avodah*) was solemnized in the Temple (Lev. 16:1–34). The essence of the day and the reasons for the ceremony are expressed by the verse: "For on this day shall atonement be made for you, to cleanse you; from all your sins shall ye be clean before the Lord" (Lev. 16:30). In the Jubilee year the *shofar* is to be sounded on the Day of Atonement to indicate the setting free of slaves and the restoration of the fields to their ancestral owners (Lev. 25:9–10).

In the Second Temple Period

The ritual performed by the high priest in the Temple was the central feature of the Day of Atonement (see **Avodah*; *Sacrifice). When the high priest, representative of the people (Yoma 1:5), "entered where he entered and stood where he stood" (5:3), while all feared for his life (5:1), he himself was enveloped in awe, holiness, and mystery; while when he had come out, he resembled, in his majesty, "a bright star emerging from between clouds" (Ecclus. 50:6ff.). It is certain that during the time of the Second Temple the Day of Atonement was already considered the greatest of the festivals. It is related that none of Israel's festive days compared with the Fifteenth of Av and the Day of Atonement, on which days the daughters of Jerusalem would go forth, dressed in white, and dance in the vineyards – "And what did they say? – 'Young man! Raise your eyes and behold what you choose for yourself'" (Ta'an. 4:8; and see below). According to the calendar of the Book of Jubilees, accepted by the *Dead Sea Sect, the Day of Atonement usually occurred on a different date from that kept by the remainder of Israel; and it is told that "the wicked priest" persecuted the members of the sect and "appeared amongst them just at the fixed time of the season of the rest of the Day of Atonement, to destroy them and to lead them astray on their fast day of Sabbath of rest" (Pesher Hab. 11:4–8).

In the *Halakhah*

The Pentateuch does not explain what is to be understood by "afflicting the soul" on the Day of Atonement. However, other passages in the Scriptures speak explicitly of afflicting the soul by fasting (Ps. 35:13; Is. 58:3, 5, 10; but cf., however, Num. 30:14; and see Yoma 74b). According to the sages, there are five ways in which the duty of afflicting the soul applies: by prohibitions against eating and drinking, washing oneself (for pleasure), anointing the body, wearing shoes (of leather), and cohabitation (Yoma 8:1; Yad, Shevitat Asor 1:4; 3:9). The penalty of extirpation, however, applies only to eating, drinking, and working (Yoma 74a). The same kinds of work are forbidden on the Day of Atonement as are forbidden on the Sabbath (Meg. 1:5), and danger to life (*pikku'aḥ nefesh*) overrides all the prohibitions of the Day of Atonement just as it does those of the Sabbath. Children are exempted from all modes of affliction, except the wearing of shoes. However, both in the time of the Second Temple, as well as in the Middle Ages, there were those who insisted that children also observe the "laws of affliction" in opposition to the view of the sages that it is one's duty to feed them with one's own hands (Tosef., Kippurim 4 [5]:1–2; Sof. 18:7; *Sefer ha-Yashar* of R. Tam responsa, ed. F. Roschthal (1898), 51:2, 52:2). Only a few years before they reach the age at which they are obliged to fulfill commandments (13 years for a boy and 12 years for a girl) should one begin to accustom them gradually to keep these laws. According to the *Karaites, children, too, are to be afflicted (*Eshkol ha-Kofer* of Judah Hadasi (1836), no. 135). Since the Day of Atonement is regarded as a "festive day," one is bound to honor it by wearing clean clothes (Shab. 119a; see below).

According to the sages, the goat dispatched to *Azazel as part of the Temple ritual on the Day of Atonement atones for all transgressions (Shev. 1:6), whereas after the destruction of the Temple, the Day itself atones (Sifra, Aḥarei Mot 8:1). However most of the sages are of the opinion that even the atonement of the goat was only effective for him who repented, for the Day only atones when accompanied by repentance (Yoma 8:8–9; cf. Yad, Teshuvah 1:2–4). This is the source of the custom of asking forgiveness of one another on the eve of the Day of Atonement. The sages hold that the fate of every person, which has been left pending from *Rosh Ha-Shanah, is finally determined on the Day of Atonement (Tosef., RH 1:13; cf. Yad, Teshuvah 3:3), and hence one should repent during the Ten Days of Penitence, and particularly on the Day of Atonement (*ibid.*, 2:7). The Day of Atonement is the only one of the appointed seasons which has no second day in the Diaspora. This is because of the extreme difficulty of fasting for two successive days. However, there were those who were strict and fasted both days (TJ, RH 1:4; RH 21a; Isaac b. Moses of Vienna, *Or Zaru'a*, 2 (1862), no. 281). The laws of the Day of Atonement remained essentially the same during the Middle Ages as they were in the days of the Second Temple and in the mishnaic and talmudic periods. Additions and variations were limited to the domain of customs and prayers.

Prayers

No definite knowledge is available about the Day of Atonement prayers during the period of the Second Temple. The few defective remnants of the Day of Atonement prayers among the writings of the Dead Sea Sect (Barthélemy-Milik, 1 (1955), 152–4) do not suffice to give a clear picture of the scope and content of the sect's prayers on this day. According to Philo (Spec. 2:196), it was already customary in the time of the Second Temple to spend the whole day, from morning to evening, in prayer. The Day of Atonement is the only day of the year which has five **Amidah* prayers: Evening, Morning, *Musaf*, Afternoon, and *Ne'ilat She'arim* ("Closing of the Gates," shortened to **Ne'ilah*). During the time of the Second Temple prayers were also said five times a day on *Fast days and **Ma'amadot* (Ta'an. 4:1). This is perhaps the source of the Muslim custom of praying five times a day (but see L. Ginzberg, *Peirushim ve-Ḥiddushim ba-Yerushalmi*, 1 (1941), lxxii). The prayers for the Day of Atonement begin in the evening with **Kol Nidrei*. The subject of the distinctive middle blessing of the *Amidah* prayer of the Day of Atonement is God's pardoning, forgiving, and granting atonement for Israel's iniquities (see, e.g., Sof. 19:4). The prayers of the Day of Atonement and of the New Year have many common features, and at times some of the prayers peculiar to the New Year have passed into the prayers of the Day of Atonement.

Especially characteristic of the Day of Atonement prayers is the duty of *confession. Though statutory on "the eve of the Day of Atonement close to nightfall," confession is made both prior to the last meal before the fast ("lest he become confused while eating and drinking"), and after it ("lest some mishap occurred during the meal"), as well as at each of the Day of Atonement services, the individual saying it after the *Amidah* proper and the reader in the middle of it (Tosef., Kippurim 4:14). Confession is now said once in the afternoon prayer on the eve of the Day of Atonement and ten times during the Day itself. Forms of confession are already to be found among the *amoraim* (Yoma 87b; TJ, Yoma 8:9, 45c), some of which are currently in use. Versions written alphabetically have been preserved from the early Middle Ages. The short form of confession ("We have trespassed, we have dealt treacherously," etc.) would appear to have originated already in the days of the *amoraim*, whereas the long form of confession ("For the sin wherein we have sinned," etc.) dates from a somewhat later period. However, it was already found in *Yannai (see **Al Ḥet; *Ashamnu*).

In early times many *piyyutim*, especially *seliḥot* and *raḥamim* (entreating forgiveness and mercy), were added to the Day of Atonement prayers and acquired for themselves an important role as part of the "obligation of the day." The *piyyutim* of the **Avodah* ("Order of the Temple Service") occupy a central position in the prayers. Some added special psalms before the morning prayers. Although there are differences of opinion and custom with regard to the details of the *piyyutim* to be said on the Day of Atonement, some saying more and some less, the *piyyutim* and *seliḥot* have greatly endeared themselves to the public. However, there were also rabbis who were opposed to *piyyutim*, preferring in their stead "sermons on the laws of repentance, on religious topics, on wise opinions, and on true beliefs" (Menahem Ha-Meiri, in *Ḥibbur ha-Teshuvah*, ed. A. Sofer (1950), 532). The day concludes with the blowing of the *shofar*, a series of phrases in praise of God, and ends with "Next Year in Jerusalem."

The Reading of the Torah

In the morning service six people are called to the reading of the Torah (Meg. 4:2) from the portion *Aḥarei Mot* (Lev. 16; cf. Meg. 3:5), whose subject is the Day of Atonement. The **maftir* is the section in Numbers dealing with the additional sacrifices of the Day of Atonement (Num. 29:7–11; cf. Tosef., Meg. 4 [3]:7), and the *haftarah* is Isaiah 57, from verse 15 (or 14) until 58:14 (Meg. 31a), in which the prophet describes the ideal fast. During the afternoon service three men are called to the reading of the Torah of Leviticus 18, which deals with incest prohibitions (and which is a continuation of the morning reading of the Torah according to the ancient custom which still exists in Italy). The *haftarah* is the Book of Jonah and Micah 7:18–20, whose subject is ideal repentance and its effect, and God's forgiving mercy (Meg. 31a).

Customs

Many customs have their origin in the Middle Ages, especially among the Ashkenazi Jews. Thus it is customary to arrange the table for the eve of the Day of Atonement in the same manner as the Sabbath (*Sefer Ravyah*, ed. by V. Aptowitzer (1964^2), no. 528); to adorn the synagogue with beautiful drapery (Tur, OḤ 610); to wear white clothes, either in order to resemble the angels (*Sefer Ravyah*, no. 528) or because white is the color of shrouds and will thus inspire repentance by evoking death (Isserles to Sh. Ar., OḤ 610, 4). This last custom also passed into Italy and Provence, and it became a widespread custom to wear a white robe called *kittel*. Even a confirmed repentant is forbidden to wear sackcloth (*Sefer Ḥasidim*, ed. Freimann, 646). Very significant is the custom which originated in Germany in the days of the tosafists, and which became law, to light candles at home and recite a blessing over them. In addition to this candle and to that kindled (according to ancient custom) in order to prevent cohabitation, which is forbidden this day (Pes. 4:4), it has also become customary in some places to light a candle for the souls of the living (Abraham b. Nathan ha-Yarḥi, *Ha-Manhig* (1855), *Hilkhot Ẓom Kippur,* no. 71; cf. E.E. Urbach (ed.), *Arugat ha-Bosem* of Abraham b. Azriel, 3 (1962), 572, notes 35–36) and a candle for the souls of the dead (*Sefer ha-Minhagot* of Abraham b. Saul of Lunel in S. Asaf, *Sifran shel Rishonim* (1935), 152). It also became the custom "to mention the dead on the Day of Atonement and to donate charity in their memory" (Tanḥ., Ha'azinu 1, addendum). In northern France and Germany, after the reading of the Law, they used to publicly announce charitable donations "on behalf of the living and the dead: charity on behalf of the dead is not donated throughout Germany save on this Day" (*Maḥzor Vitry*, ed. S. Hurwitz (1923), 392). The custom of donating for charity was also adopted in Provence, Italy, and Spain, whereas the special prayer commemorating the dead was adopted only among the Ashkenazim and the Italians. Northern France is the place of the source of the custom of wearing a *tallit* also for the evening service, which is even put on while it is still day in order to be able to recite the blessing over it (Rashi, *Ha-Pardes*, ed. by Ehrenreich (1924), 234). In Germany it was fixed that in the evening, just at the beginning of the prayer, "absolution is granted from the ban against praying together with anyone guilty of transgressing any communal regulations" (*Sefer Ravyah*, no. 528). The formula "In the higher [i.e., celestial] assembly and in the lower assembly, with the consent of the Omnipresent and the consent of the congregation, we permit prayers being said together with transgressors" (Tur and Sh. Ar., OḤ 619) was adopted, with minor variations, throughout most of the Diaspora. It was customary, in the main, to recite the *She-Heḥeyanu* blessing in the synagogue on the night of the Day of Atonement before **Barekhu*. Some, however, said the blessing at home, or on the way to the synagogue, or even after the evening prayer. Women recite it when they kindle the festive candles. During the recital of the **Shema*, the words "Blessed be His glorious sovereign Name for ever and ever" are said aloud and not quietly as is usual (*Deuteronomy Rabbah*, ed. by S. Lieberman (1964^2), 69). In Germany the custom of saying the *Amidah* aloud was introduced, and from there comes also the custom that some remain standing during all the Day of Atonement prayers, and some even remain in the synagogue throughout the whole night, reciting psalms, hymns, and praises (*Sefer Ravyah*, 529). In many places, no break at all is made in the prayers during the course of the day, the *Minḥah* service following immediately after the *Musaf* service. Some places are most particular about the choice of a suitable reader, and some have had the custom of having two men stand one at each side of the reader during all the prayers. It is customary to smell spices, the enjoyment of pleasant odors not being forbidden.

The Eve of the Day of Atonement

A special importance was assigned to the day prior to the Day of Atonement, which was regarded already in the period of the Mishnah and Talmud not merely as a preparation for, but as an inseparable part of, the Day of Atonement. The statement, "Everyone who eats and drinks on the ninth [of Tishri] is considered by Scripture as having fasted on the ninth and tenth" (Ber. 8b) means that one should eat and drink well on the eve of the Day not merely to prepare for the fast but also to fulfill the command to rejoice in and to honor the festive day. From ancient times much meat, fowl, and fish was eaten on this day (see, e.g., Gen. R. 11:4), in which one spent less time in study and prayer. Little by little the eve of the Day of Atonement took on the character of a festival, some people desisting from doing any work then. It is customary to send gifts to the poor, and a duty to ask forgiveness from one another and to appease each other. During the geonic period, the custom of ritual immersion on the eve of the Day of Atonement after midday was introduced; this was usually performed before the *Minḥah* service, in any case before the final meal (*se'uddah mafseket*), but there were also other customs. Some said a blessing before the immersion. The opinion of most halakhic authorities, however, has been that a blessing should not be said. Even one who finds it difficult to immerse himself should endeavor to wash in hot water. It is also customary to trim the hair. In Germany and France it was customary after the *Minḥah* service to inflict 39 stripes, while the victim repeated the confession, and the one wielding the lash said "And He being full of compassion forgiveth iniquity" (*Ha-Orah* 1:95; et al.). This also became the custom among the Sephardim. Some visit the cemetery. In recent generations the custom originated in some places of blessing one's children before nightfall. (For customs from the geonic period which have an element of magic, see **Kapparot, *Kol Nidrei*.)

Termination of the Day of Atonement

The termination of the Day of Atonement was also assigned a special status, similar to that of the eve of the Day. During the geonic era the custom of blowing the *shofar* at the conclusion of the Day of Atonement was adopted, there being differences of opinion about the number of blasts, the time (whether at the end of *Ne'ilah* or after the evening service and *Havdalah*), and the reason for blowing. There are those who contend that the purpose of the blowing is to call attention to the festive and joyous character of the termination of the Day of Atonement; in northern France and Germany, the termination of the Day was considered a festival, it being a religious duty to rejoice and eat abundantly. There were also special table-hymns for the end of the Day (*Sefer Ravyah*, no. 530; *Or Zaru'a* 2, no. 281); and there was also the custom of greeting people with the blessing "May you be answered and your entreaty granted"; "May you be inscribed for life and merit many years" (*Orḥot Ḥayyim*; cf. Judah Halevi, *Divan*, ed. by H. Brody, 3 (1910), 305, in a *seliḥah* for *Ne'ilah*: "May you merit many years, be answered, and have your entreaty granted"). Some have the custom to begin building the booths for *Sukkot as soon as the Day of Atonement terminates (Isserles to Sh. Ar., OḤ 624:5).

The Meaning of the Day – The Day of Atonement in Philosophic, Aggadic, and Belletristic Literature

In the Pentateuch there is no reference to mourning practices on the Day of Atonement. On the other hand, the Book of Jubilees maintains that the Day of Atonement, the one day in the year when forgiveness is granted to all who repent fully (Jub. 5:17–18), was established on the day that Jacob heard of Joseph's death and mourned for him. For this reason one should always be sad on this day (Jub. 34:17–18), and atonement is made with a male goat as a reminder of the male goat which Joseph's brothers slaughtered and in whose blood they dipped his shirt. This conception of the Day of Atonement as a day of sadness is peculiar to the author of the Book of Jubilees and does not appear elsewhere in Judaism except among many Karaites who instituted mourning practices on the Day of Atonement.

*Philo was the first author to discuss profoundly the significance of the Day of Atonement. In his opinion it is the greatest of the festivals as in it, being both a festival and a time of repentance and purification, true joy is to be found. In contrast to many other people, Philo maintained that true joy is not to be found in overeating and overdrinking, feasting and reveling, and dancing and music, which in reality only stir up man's lowest desires and lusts. The Day of Atonement, on the contrary, is defined by abstinence and devotion to praying from morning to night. The purpose of the fast is to purify the heart of people who pray without being disturbed by corporal desires, and entreat their Maker's forgiveness for their past sins and His blessing for the future. Philo testifies that all, not only those devoted to piety, but even those who are not distinguished at all on other days by the fear of heaven, fear the sanctity of the Day and observe it, evildoers standing together with the good in the struggle to subdue the evil inclination (Philo, Spec. 1:186–8; 2:193–203; Mos. 2:23–24).

The sages too regarded the Day of Atonement as the supreme festival and the greatest day of the year (Gen. R. 2:3), hence its names: "The Great Day" (or, in abbreviation, "The Day"), and "The Great Fast" (Ta'an. 4:8; Tosef., Ḥul. 5 [6]:9; Sifra, Aḥarei Mot 8:9, but cf. Men. 11:9; Sof. 19:4). A day of unparalleled joy, both for God, who gave it to Israel with love (SER 1), and for the children of Israel themselves (SEZ 4), the whole purpose of the Day of Atonement is to atone for those who repent and confess their iniquity. Even one who was far from his home the rest of the year endeavored to return to his wife and family in order to spend the day and the meal of its eve together with them (Ket. 62b, 63a; Shab. 127b). According to the *aggadah*, the Day of Atonement is the day the second Tablets of the Law were given to Moses (SOR 6), and also the day of Abraham's circumcision (PdRE 29); there is also a tradition that it is the day of the **Akedah*, the Binding of Isaac. It was said that even if all the other festivals were to be abrogated, the Day of Atonement, on which the children of Israel resemble the angels, would remain (*ibid.* 46). Satan has no power to accuse the children of Israel on this Day (Lev. R. 21:4). The assembly of Israel, sullied by sins during the whole year, is cleansed on the Day of Atonement (Song R. 1:5) since it is a day of pardon and forgiveness, and atonement is promised even to the completely wicked who repent, for their Maker desires their repentance and greatly rejoices in it. The Day of Atonement is thus regarded not just as a duty but still more as a right; and side by side with the feeling of the great transcendent distance between the sinner and God there manifests itself in an emphatic fashion the conception of His immanent nearness to all His creatures ("Thou dost reach out Thy hand to transgressors; Thy right hand is extended to receive repentant sinners").

During the Middle Ages, the character of the Day of Atonement as a joyful and a festive day did not change, but emphasis was also put upon its character as a day of judgment and justice and as the hour of "signing the verdict." As did Philo and the sages, the medieval philosophers also describe the Day of Atonement as a day when the soul, freed from corporal fetters, attains the peak of its perfection in the service of God (Judah Halevi, *Kuzari*, 3:5; Maim., *Guide*, 3:43; Ha-Meiri, *Ḥibbur ha-Teshuvah*, 427–8, 430, 442; according to Ha-Meiri 439–40, eating on the eve of the Day, too, serves this purpose).

In all generations halakhic sages, thinkers, and moralists deprecated lengthy praying when achieved at the cost of understanding and devotion. At the same time, it is the prayer of the Day of Atonement which expresses the perfection and greatness of the Day. In recent generations the Day of Atonement has become the last concrete bond with Judaism for many Jews.

The honored place allotted to the Day of Atonement in the various branches of the belletristic literature and art also testifies to its leading position both among Jews and among Gentiles who write about Jews. In modern Hebrew literature the Day of Atonement appears as a symbol of Judaism, both when depicting rebellion against Judaism (as for instance in the case of Naḥman, the hero of *Le-An* by M.Z. *Feuerberg), and when depicting the yearning for it. In *Sheloshah she-Akhlu*, D. *Frischmann depicts against the background of the Day of Atonement the wealth of meaning exhibited by the perfect world of Judaism, even from the standpoint of humanity as a whole, in contrast to the ludicrous emptiness of the world of the superficial *maskilim*. In his tale *Neshamot Illemot: 4 Nissim al ha-Yam*, I.L. *Peretz depicts the Day of Atonement as the only symbol of the simple faith of Satyah, the plain common Jew living among Gentiles. However, in his story "*Niggun Ḥadash*," the Day of Atonement expresses the contradiction between the bright, heavenly ideal and the gloomy, human reality. A.Z. *Rabinovitz in *Ḥalom* brings up the significance of the Day of Atonement in the consciousness of refugees saved from the pogroms, immigrating to Ereẓ Israel, in such a way that even God, as it were, is required by them on this day to justify His conduct of the world. The Day of Atonement plays a most important part in the works of S.Y. *Agnon. Reflected against the ideal and profound nature of the perfect Day of Atonement of the past (*Ba-Derekh; Zikkaron ba-Sefer* – the introduction to *Yamim Nora'im, Days of Awe*, 1965), Agnon brings up its problematic significance in a world broken and shattered both without and within (*Ore'aḥ Natah Lalun; Im Kenisat ha-Yom; Eineinu ha-Ro'ot*). On the one hand, the power of the Day of Atonement is so great that even the dead share a part in it with the living (*Bi-Meẓulot*); that man clothes himself with a different soul (*Eẓel Ḥemdat*); and that even his sick body is healed by it (*Lefi ha-Ẓa'ar ha-Sakhar*). On the other hand, however, not everything depends upon the Day itself, for a man could forfeit the Day of Atonement without Torah and prayer – an irrecoverable and irreplaceable loss (*Pi-Shenayim; Tallit Aḥeret*).

[Moshe David Herr]

Day of Atonement as Annual Day of Purgation in Temple Times

The Day of Atonement was the annual "day of purgation." The key to the meaning of the purging is the realization that (1) the sacrifices are of one type, called *ḥattat* or "purification offering" (actually designated *ḥattat ha-kippurim* in Ex. 30:10 and Num. 29:11); and (2) the three *ḥattat* animals employed are offered on behalf of two different groups: the bull is for the priesthood (Lev. 16:6, 11) and the two goats are for the people (16:5, 15).

FIRST PURPOSE: PURGING THE TEMPLE. According to the Mishnah: "All the goats make atonement for the impurity of the Temple and its sancta…. For impurity that befalls the Temple and its sancta through wantonness, atonement is made by the goat whose blood is sprinkled within [the shrine, or Holy of Holies] and by the Day of Atonement; for all other transgressions specified in the Torah – minor or grave, wanton or inadvertent, conscious or unconscious, of commission or omission … the scapegoat makes atonement. The atonement is alike for Israelites, priests, or the anointed [high] priest … the blood of the bull makes atonement for the impurity of the Temple and its sancta" (Shevu. 1:4–7). Despite the expansion and reinterpretation of the ritual of the Day of Atonement during the Second Temple period, the Mishnah is a reliable guide to the interpretation of the biblical account of the ritual, because the function of the sacrifice never changed. This Mishnah shows that an objective of the slain *ḥattat* animals was to purge the sanctuary of its impurity, and that the function of the live *ḥattat* goat, the one that was dispatched to *Azazel, was to purge the people of their sins. This distinction is corroborated by the biblical text expressly declaring that the purpose of the slain bull and goat is "to purge the shrine of impurities [*mi-tumot*] and transgressions" (Lev. 16:16, cf. 16:19), and that of the scapegoat is to carry off all their "iniquities" (*avonot*) and "transgressions" (*pesha'im*; Lev. 16:21). The Hebrew word *pesha'im*, which appears twice in this context, is found nowhere else in the entire priestly code. It has been suggested that this word has been borrowed from the world of politics where the verb פשע (*pasha*) means "to rebel" (e.g., II Kings 3:7; 8:20), and its application to the ritual of the Day of Atonement would point to a further basic function of the prescribed *ḥattat* offerings, alluded to by the Mishnah: to purge the Temple and the people of their *pesha'im*, their rebellious sins.

THE PRIESTLY TEMPLE THEOLOGY. The purpose of the purification offerings of the Day of Atonement could then only be understood in conjunction with two complementary postulates: (1) Whoever brazenly rebels against God is not eligible for sacrificial expiation (Num. 15:30–31), but the Temple must be purged of his sins and impurities. Moreover, the purging is urgent since his sins, committed wantonly, possess the additional power not only of contaminating the outer altar but of breaching the sanctuary and penetrating to the very shrine (Holy of Holies). Thus, on the Day of Atonement the entire Temple complex must be purged. (2) The private purification offering (Lev. 4; see also *Sacrifices) is presented for the *shegagah*, the inadvertent sin (and for severe physical impurity stemming from natural causes; Lev. 12–15).

THE TEMPLE AND AZAZEL. A third implication of the above Mishnah is that the two categories of purification offering – the slain, whose blood purges the Tabernacle, and the live, which expiates the people's sins – are two inseparable parts of a unified ceremonial. That this unity is not an anachronistic retrojection of rabbinic Judaism but is a verifiable biblical reality is confirmed by the coexistence of the two categories within the same ritual in both an ancient-Near-East and in another biblical ritual, which will be described below.

Temple purifications dominate the cultic landscape of Israel's environment. The ancient pagans feared impurity because they imputed to it demonic power. Impurity was an unending threat to the gods themselves, and to their temples, as revealed by the images of the protector gods (the *šēdu* and *lamassu* in Mesopotamia and the lion-gargoyles in Egypt) set before the entrances of temples and palaces and, above all, by the elaborate purgation rituals to rid the buildings of demons and prevent their return (examples from Pritchard, Texts: *Egyptian*: pp. 6–7, 12–14, 327 no. 6; *Hittite*: pp. 346, 351–3; *Mesopotamian*: pp. 33–34 lines 381–2, pp. 334–8 lines 14–16, pp. 60–72 tablet 1 lines 61–64, tablet 4 lines 61–62, 91, tablet 7 lines 32–33). The antiquity and ubiquity of the Azazel rite are even more striking. However, it has apparently not been observed that the two rites usually go together. Since impurity was demonic its exorcism was not enough: its power had to be removed. This was accomplished in one of three ways: curse, destruction, or banishment. The last was often used; rather than the evil being annihilated by curse or fire, it was banished to its place of origin (e.g., netherworld, wilderness), or to some place where either its malefic powers could work in the interests of the sender (e.g., enemy territory), or where it could do no harm at all (e.g., mountains, wilderness). Thus the scapegoat was sent to the wilderness which was considered uninhabited except by the satyr-demon *Azazel. A parallel example of banishment is found in the famous New Year festival in Babylon (Pritchard, Texts, p. 333 lines 345–61).

In these cases there is an integral connection between the actual purging (by aspersions, smearing, and incense) and the transfer of the released impurity onto a decapitated ram and its banishment via the river (see also Deut. 21:1–9). Similar motifs, common to Babylonian and biblical purification texts (especially in Lev. 14), indicate that the purgation-expulsion nexus essential to pagan magic could have obtained early in Israel's cult as well, but with a different meaning.

SECOND PURPOSE: PURGING THE PEOPLE. Though the purgation and Azazel rites of Israel's Day of Atonement differed little from their Near Eastern analogues, their meaning underwent a revolution. As scholars have noted, the rites are discrete: the slain *ḥattat* animals suffice to purge the Tabernacle, but the live *ḥattat* carries off the sins of the people. The reasons are clear: Israel, the holy people (Lev. 11:44; 19:2; 20:26), needs the same purification as the holy place for "they shall not contaminate their camp in whose midst I dwell" (Num. 5:3b). Moreover, the monotheistic dynamic is at work here: since the world of demons is nonexistent for Israel the only source of rebellion against God is in the heart of man, and it is there that cathartic renewal must constantly take place.

The Azazel ritual stipulates that "Aaron shall lay both his hands upon the head of the live goat and confess over it all the iniquities and transgressions of the Israelites, whatever their sins, putting them on the head of the goat; and it shall be sent off to the wilderness…" (Lev. 16:21). Ordinarily, the hand-laying and confession must be performed by the offerer himself (see *Sacrifices), but the perpetrator of *pesha*, rebellious sin, is barred from the sanctuary according to the priestly rules, and must be represented by the high priest. The latter's officiation should not be regarded as inherently efficacious; the people, though excluded from the rites, must submit to fasting and other acts of self-denial (Lev. 16:29; 23:27–32; Num. 29:7). The verbal confession of the high priest must be matched by the remorse of the people. Thus, repentance purges man, as the *ḥattat*-blood does the sanctuary. Unless man makes the initial effort toward his self-regeneration, the rite of Azazel is of no avail. Nor can his purgation by repentance be a perfunctory exercise (Yoma 8:9; see also below).

This ethical achievement is, thus far, unparalled in the ancient world. True, the Babylonian New Year calls for ritual of humiliation for the king, followed by his prayer of confession, but in contrast with Israel's high priest who in his confession specifies all the failings of his people, the Babylonian king appears arrogant and self-righteous. It was only the Jew who could say that "God … has given to repentance the same honor as to innocence from sin" (Philo, Spec. 1:187).

Finally, atonement by sacrifice is only efficacious for sins against the Deity. This also holds true on the Day of Atonement. The Mishnah again has captured the ethical import: "For the sins between man and God, the Day of Atonement effects atonement, but for the sins between man and his fellow, the Day of Atonement will effect atonement only if he has appeased his fellow" (Yoma 8:9). That this spiritual principle is not an innovation of the rabbis but constitutes their legacy from biblical times is shown by its explicit presence in the *asham* offering, where restitution to man must precede sacrificial expiation from God (Lev. 5:20ff.).

THE EMERGENCE OF THE DAY. The Day of Atonement itself may not be as old as its individual ceremonial elements. For example, in distinction from all other festival prescriptions which give the date before the ritual (e.g., Lev. 23), here alone the date is not specified until the end (16:29) and the term "Day of Atonement" is lacking. It has been suggested that there is evidence that points to the evolution of an original rite for the purging of the sanctuary at an unspecified time one day a year (Lev. 16:34) into an annual day for the purging of the sanctuary and the atonement of individual Israelites (Lev. 16:29). An exact date for the named "Day of Atonement" appears in Lev. 23:27–28; 25:9.

Given the contentious nature of source analysis, scholars are not sure when the Day of Atonement came into being. Elements in the day's rituals have Hittite parallels that might point to great antiquity (COS I, 161–63). At the same time, given the general conservatism of ritual, late texts may preserve ancient elements while introducing new features, which, when identified, bring us closer to the actual time of composition. A formal indication that earlier material is being updated is the phrase *ḥukkat olam* (Lev. 16:31, 34; Knohl (1987), Sperling (1999)). Material evidence of lateness is indicated by the requirement of Aaron to wear breeches, or short trousers (*mikhnasayim*; Lev. 16:4). Trousers, mentioned only in the Priestly Code and Ezekiel, were an Iranian invention unlikely to have come to the attention of Jews before the sixth century (Sperling (1999)). Likewise indicative of lateness is the role of Aaron as priest. Although the original figure of Aaron is pre-exilic (e.g., Micah 6:4), scholars have long observed that Aaron is never identified as a priest in the prophetic literature of the pre-exilic period. Ezekiel, the priest-prophet of the exile, confers legitimacy only on the priestly line of Zadok (Ezek. 44:15–16), but knows nothing of Aaronide priests.

Yet another indication of the lateness of the Day of Atonement is its absence from the festival lists of Exodus 23, 34, and Deuteronomy 16.

The evidence from Ezra-Nehemiah is particularly significant because the book mentions Rosh Ha-Shanah and Sukkot but omits the Day of Atonement (Neh. 8–9). Inasmuch as the author of Ezra-Nehemiah was surely aware of much of the Priestly source, the Day of Atonement is most likely part of that source's latest stratum.

Thus, the Day of Atonement is later than the Exile.

[S. David Sperling (2nd ed.)]

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DAY OF THE LORD, a definite, though undetermined, point of time in the future, when God is expected to punish the wicked and justice will triumph. The term "Day of the Lord" serves as a key word in nine prophetic passages (Isa. 13:6–13; Joel 1:15; 2:1; 3:4; 4:14; Amos 5:18–20; Obad. 15; Zeph. 1:17–18; Mal. 3:23); in others it appears in some slightly varied form (see e.g., Isa. 2:12; Ezek. 30:3; Zech. 14:1–9). The prominent feature of these passages is a dramatic sense of doom, underlined by a few characteristic motifs, such as darkness and wailing. The usual message of these prophecies asserts that the Day of the Lord is near. From the polemic of Amos (5:18–20) against those who desire the Day of the Lord it is evident that the concept was well established by the time at which the so-called "writing" prophets started to function, and that an optimistic version was somewhat popular (presumably with patriotic overtones). Scholars have tried to utilize the term for their general theories on biblical *eschatology, or to find some hypothetical, non-prophetic origin of the concept. Thus according to Mowinckel and others, the Day of the Lord was originally a New Year festival; L. Černý suggests that it was a fateful, disastrous day; and von Rad presumes that in the early sacred wars of Israel, God was considered to reveal His will in battle, and therefore any battle was called a Day of the Lord. The last suggestion can find some support in Ezekiel 13:5, where a metaphorical battle, visualized as having taken place in the past, is referred to by the term Day of the Lord.

The main, though largely undiscussed, difficulty concerning the Day of the Lord is that of its significance. The passages do not convey a concept amenable to logical analysis, nor an eschatological doctrine. The warning is given that the Day of the Lord is near, but the more abstract idea involving history's drawing to a close is not indicated. The wicked will be punished, justice established, mankind confounded, and its destiny somehow definitely changed. However, none of this seems essential to the notion itself. Nor is the concept related to expectations of theophany. The prophets simply confront their listeners with the awful certainty of future Divine action. Thus in the expression "Day of the Lord" there is a rather vague but stark and powerful concept: God will indeed act – suddenly, decisively, and directly, in a single day, with vehemence and terror.

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[Jacob Licht]

DAYTON, city in S.W. Ohio. Dayton's Jewish population in the mid-1990s was estimated to be 5,500 and by 2005 some 5,000 in a total population of around 160,000, down from around 7,500 in 1970. Like many smaller cities in Ohio, Dayton has been losing its Jewish population as manufacturing and other job opportunities open up in the South and the West, elderly Jews leave for warmer climates, and young natives who go off to college do not return home.

The first Jews to settle in Dayton came from Germany in the 1840s. They founded the first synagogue, Bnai Jeshuran, in 1850. The synagogue joined in the formation of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations in 1873 and adopted the Reform ritual. The first B'nai B'rith chapter was established in 1864. Traditional Judaism began in the 1890s with the arrival of Jewish immigrants from Eastern Europe. They established two synagogues, Beit Abraham and Beit Jacob, based upon the traditions of their native Lithuania and Romania. They also established a Hebrew school and Zionist societies. Gradually many other benefit societies, women's organizations, and landsmanschaften developed. The first Federation of Jewish Charities was formed in 1910. In 1944 the various social welfare agencies of the Jewish community were coordinated into the Jewish Community Council, which became the local agency of the United Jewish Appeal and the central organization for the Jewish Home for the Aged, the Jewish Community Center, the Community Relations Council, and the Dayton Community Hebrew School. The marked differences between German and Eastern European Jews gradually faded and all segments of the community worked together, especially on behalf of Israel and overseas Jewry.

Members of the Dayton Jewish community have made important contributions to the cultural life of the general community. Paul Katz was the longtime director of the Dayton Philharmonic; Sidney Kusworm served as a member of President Truman's Civil Rights Commission, and as a national officer of B'nai B'rith; Robert Nathan served as an adviser to four American presidents; Miriam Rosenthal served as a planner for the University of Dayton. Temple Israel, which was an outgrowth of Bnai Jeshuran Synagogue, was at one time an outpost of classical Reform but in recent years it has moved toward Jewish tradition. A second Reform synagogue, Congregation Beth Or, was established in 1984 in Washington Township. Beth Abraham has affiliated with the Conservative movement. There were two Orthodox synagogues, Beth Jacob and a Young Israel Synagogue, which closed in the early 21st century; the latter had been attended mainly by scientists and professionals who had settled in the community. Chabad also serviced the community and there were several ḥavurot. There were several synagogues in nearby communities. In 1961 the Hillel Academy, a widely recognized progressive Jewish day school combining religious and secular studies, was established at the Conservative synagogue.

Among the community's amenities is the Jewish Community Complex. The Complex serves as the central location for the Jewish Federation of Greater Dayton and its departments: Covenant House resident care facility, the Jewish Community Relations Council, the Dayton Jewish Community Center, the Dayton Jewish Education Commission, the *Dayton Jewish Observer,* Jewish Family Services, United Jewish Campaign, Women's Division, and the Dayton Jewish Federation Foundation.

In 1992, the Federation opened the JCC on Far Hills Ave. In the fall of 2002, the Federation expanded its services, with the opening of the Center for Jewish Culture and Education in Centerville to meet the needs of the South Jewish community.

Through the efforts of the community's leaders, recent years have been marked by a renewed spirit of unity among Dayton's Jewish congregations. Collaborative holiday celebrations, shared education programs, Hillel Academy Jewish day school, B'Yachad supplementary high school for Jewish studies, and the new Melton Adult Mini School are part of its educational matrix.

[Jack Reimer / Larry Skolnick (2nd ed.)]

DAYYAN, Syrian family claiming descent from King David. The Dayyan family's origin can be traced to a branch of the house of Josiah Ḥasan ben Zakkai, brother of the exilarch David (?917–940). One of his descendants, SOLOMON BEN AZARIAH, settled in *Aleppo, and his family there occupied the position of *nasi*, the title of the House of David. The first to be known with the family name is MOSES BEN SAADIAH DAYYAN in the 16th century. His son, MORDECAI (b. 1541), was a member of the *bet din* of Samuel *Laniado. Even after many Spanish refugee scholars settled in Aleppo, the Dayyan family continued to be held in great esteem. Some of them held key positions in religious and communal life.

One of the most important members of the family in Aleppo was ISAIAH (d. 1830), *ḥakham*, scribe, and *mohel*. His son ABRAHAM (d. 1876) was a distinguished rabbi and the author of *Shir Ḥadash* (1841), a commentary on Psalms; *Zikkaron la-Nefesh* (1842), ethical writings; *Holekh Tammim u-Fo'el Ẓedek* (1850), sermons and responsa; *Ta'am* (1867), sermons; and *Yosef Avraham* (1863), responsa. He also wrote sermons and commentaries on *Ein Ya'akov* and the Zohar, which are extant in manuscript. His son MOSES (d. 1901) wrote *Yashir Moshe* (1879), a homiletic commentary on Song of Songs; in the introduction to this work he traced the Dayyan family lineage. ISAIAH BEN MORDECAI (d. 1903) was head of the *bet din* in Aleppo. In 1888 he founded a Jewish press, which was administered after his death by his sons SAUL, SOLOMON, and ISAAC, and later by his grandson JOSEPH BEN EZRA. AARON (d. 1893) was chief rabbi of the community of Urfa, Turkey, during the 1880s. He was also a merchant and acted as Persian consul. He wrote a book of sermons, *Beit Aharon* (unpublished).

[Abraham David]

The best-known member of the branch of the family which moved to Ereẓ Israel was ḤIYYA BEN JOSEPH DAYYAN (late 17th century), scholar and emissary. His grandfather had emigrated from Damascus to Jerusalem where Ḥiyya was born and educated. He later moved to Hebron. As emissary of that community he traveled to North Africa (1665, 1669) and Italy (1673). While in Mantua, he met Moses *Zacuto who recommended him to his pupil, *Benjamin b. Eliezer ha-Kohen of Reggio. Both wrote poems dedicated to him. In Italy he strongly opposed the Shabbatean movement. Ḥiyya also went to Turkey and Persia as emissary for Jerusalem (1680–96). In 1696, while returning from Persia, he was attacked by robbers near Baghdad who took from him, besides his money and clothes, also the manuscript of his book *Adderet Eliyahu*. However, he found another copy he had made in Aleppo, which he took with him on his last mission to Morocco. In the introduction there is a description of his travels and an autobiography. One of his pupils in Meknès was R. Ḥayyim b. Moses *Attar the Elder.

[Avraham Yaari]

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DAYYAN (Heb. דַּיָּן; pl. דַּיָּנִים, *dayyanim*), judge. In talmudic literature the word *dayyan* (from דִּין, judgment) completely replaces the biblical name for a judge, *shofet*. Although found twice in the Hebrew portion of the Bible (Ps. 68:6 where God is called "the *dayyan* of widows" and I Sam. 24:15), it is essentially an Aramaic word and is used consistently by the Targum for *shofet*. In the Aramaic Ezra 7:25 it is coupled with *shofetim*.

It was possibly this juxtaposition, suggesting a lower status to the *dayyan* as compared with the *shofet* (translated "magistrate" and "judge"), which determined the definition given to the term in the Middle Ages that has persisted to the present day. The term is confined to the members of the *bet din* other than the head of the *bet din*, who is accorded the title of *av bet din* or *rosh bet din*, whereas they are ordinary members of the court. Sometimes elders of the community or guild functionaries were given the title of *dayyan*. **Takkanot*, such as those of *Cracow of 1595 (JJLG, 10 (1912), 331–3), show that these communities maintained courts of *dayyanim* of various degrees of competence, in monetary suits according to the amount involved in the case. In modern times the *dayyan* was also referred to as *moreh ẓedek*, in particular in Eastern Europe. In some communities, like that of *Vilna, the rabbi did not serve on the *bet din* in the modern period, several *dayyanim* being appointed to this office. Only in England has the custom been adopted of according the title *dayyan*, which is regarded as higher than that of the ordinary rabbi, to members of the official religious law courts, particularly that of the chief rabbi.

In the State of Israel *shofet* is used for a judge in the civil courts and *dayyan* for the judge of the rabbinical courts.

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[Louis Isaac Rabinowitz and Isaac Levitats]

DAYYEINU (Heb. דַּיֵּנוּ; "it would have satisfied us"), the refrain of a song of thanksgiving in the Passover *Haggadah*. The *Dayyeinu* song, in all rites, starts with the words: "How many are the favors that God has conferred upon us" and proceeds to enumerate 15 (in some rites 16) stages of the redemption of the Jews from Egyptian bondage, including their miraculous survival in the Sinai wilderness, their receiving the laws of Sabbath and the entire Torah, and finally, their being led into Ereẓ Israel and building the Temple. The origin of this litany is uncertain, although some scholars date it back to the late Second Temple period. No mention of it is made in the Talmud or in the Midrash, although some scholars see an indirect reference to it in *Shabbat* 32b. It first appears in the *siddur* of *Saadiah Gaon (ninth century C.E.). While some scholars believe that *Dayyeinu* was inspired by *Sifrei Deuteronomy* (337, 339, etc.), others hold the dependence to be in the opposite direction. The term *"dayyeinu"* is used ironically in Hebrew and in Yiddish and means "That's enough," "I've had enough."

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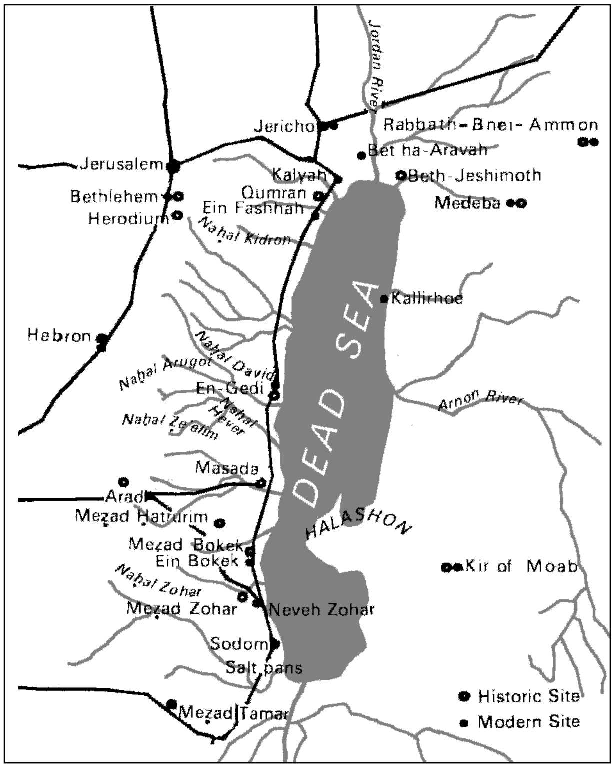

The Dead Sea and the surrounding areas.

DEAD SEA (Heb. יָם הַמֶּלַח, *Yam ha-Melaḥ*; "Salt Sea"), an inland lake in central Ereẓ Israel. It was created in the Upper Pleistocene Age by the drying up of the Rift Valley Sea (except for the southern end which probably dates to historical times). The measurements of the sea are not constant; its length is about 50 mi. (80 km.), maximum width about 11 mi. (18 km.), and total area about 363 sq. mi. (940 sq. km.). It lies about 1,305 ft. (398 m.) below the level of the Mediterranean and is thus the lowest point on earth (for further details see *Israel: Mineral Resources, Dead Sea Minerals). In the Bible it is usually called *Yam ha-Melaḥ* ("Salt Sea"; Gen. 14:3; Num. 34:3; Josh. 15:2, etc.). The "bay" (Heb. *lashon*, "tongue") of the Dead Sea mentioned in the last citation probably refers to the bays on the northern and southern ends of the sea and not to the Lisān (Halashon) Peninsula which juts out from about the middle of its eastern shore. Alternative biblical names for the sea are *Yam ha-Aravah* ("Sea of the Aravah"; Deut. 3:17; Josh. 3:16; 12:3) and "eastern sea," a term used by the inhabitants of the country west of the Dead Sea to distinguish it from the Mediterranean (Ezek. 47:18; Joel 2:20). In biblical times the western shore of the Dead Sea was included within the Egyptian province of Canaan while the eastern shore was largely uninhabited until the establishment of the kingdoms of Moab and Edom in the 13th century B.C.E. With the Israelite conquest of Canaan, the eastern shore was divided between the tribe of Reuben and the Moabites, north and south of the Arnon, and the western shore was occupied by Judah (the tribe and the kingdom) until 586 B.C.E. After the Babylonian Exile, the entire eastern shore passed into the possession of the Nabateans and the western shore was divided between Judea and Idumea. The Nabateans extracted bitumen from the sea (mentioned in Gen. 14:10) and sold it to Egypt where it was used in embalming mummies. In the Hellenistic period the Dead Sea began to attract the attention of Greek scientists because of its peculiar natural phenomena. It is mentioned by Aristotle in his *Meteorology* (2:3, 39) and also by Strabo (5:2, 42). The common Latin name for the sea, Lacus Asphaltitis (Lake of Asphalt), is first recorded in this period. The successors of Alexander the Great, Antigonus and Demetrius, attracted by the wealth which the Nabateans derived from the sea, tried to subject them, but failed (Diodorus, 19:95–96). Alexander Yannai, on the other hand, succeeded in his military campaigns in conquering the entire area around the Dead Sea and thus secured for his kingdom the income from its products. Navigation developed on the sea in Hellenistic and Roman times; Vespasian's ships pursued the Jews fleeing by way of the sea during the Jewish War (66–70/73). The physical properties of the sea were well known by this time and are mentioned by Pliny, Tacitus, and Solinus. Vespasian ordered a bound man to be thrown into the sea to determine whether he would sink. In the Talmud the Dead Sea was called *Yammah shel Sedom*, "the Sea of Sodom"; according to R. Dimmi, "no one ever drowns in the Sea of Sodom" (Shab. 108b). It was considered the juridical boundary of Ereẓ Israel (TJ, Shev. 6:1, 36c). Throwing an object into the sea was suggested as a means of disposing of a religiously or morally undesirable advantage which a person had received unintentionally (Av. Zar. 3:9; Av. Zar. 49b; Tosef., Dem. 6:13, etc.). The name Dead Sea first appears in Roman times in writings of Pausanias (*Periegesis* 5:7, 4–5) and Galen, who made the most thorough study of the sea and its properties (*De simplicium medicamentorum facultatibus* 4:20). Documents from the time of the Bar Kokhba War (132–135) found in Dead Sea caves indicate that En-Gedi was the main supply port for the Jewish army during the final phase of the war. In Byzantine times the Dead Sea attracted pilgrims; on the Madaba Map two ships are depicted navigating the sea, one sailing northward with a cargo of salt and the second southward with wheat. The Arabs called the sea Buḥayrat Sadūm wa-ʿAmūra (the Sea of Sodom and Gemorrah) or Baḥr Zuʾār (the Sea of Zoar). The modern Arabic name for the Dead Sea, Baḥr Lūṭ (the Sea of Lot), first appears in the account of the Persian traveler Nasir-i Khusrau in 1047. In Crusader times navigation again increased on the sea; Idrīsī in 1154 mentions small boats sailing on it. Heavy customs duties were levied on goods transported across the sea; the Hospitalers obtained an exemption from them in 1152 which was renewed in 1177. The Dead Sea made a strong impression on European pilgrims who called it "the Devil's Sea." The Arab historian and geographer Yāqūt (1225) refers to it as al-Buḥayra al-Muntina, "the Stinking Sea." It was generally believed that deadly vapors emitted from the water prevented all life in its vicinity but at no time was the land along its shores wholly uncultivated. The large oasis of Zoar to the south was famous for its palm groves. A detailed account of the produce of these groves and of the methods used in their irrigation and cultivation are given in legal documents found in the *Judean Desert caves (second century C.E.) The southern part of the sea – the shallowest – was possibly created by an earthquake which occurred in historical times. This section has generally been regarded as the site of the biblical cities of Sodom and Gomorrah; some scholars, however, locate them farther north. The southern part of the western shore, although barren, was studded with fortifications, such as the Roman forts at Meẓad Bokek and Meẓad Zohar, and above all the fortress of Masada. The fertile oasis of En-Gedi north of Masada produced balsam and many kinds of semitropical fruits. On the northwestern shore the Essenes established themselves at *Qumran (Meẓad Hasimin) and Ein Fashkha. On the eastern shore are, from north to south, the oasis of Bet ha-Jeshimot (Khirbat al-Suwayma); the warm springs of Kallirhoe; a fort at Qaṣr al-ʿAsal; and a road station at Beit Nimrin (Rujm al-Numayra) where the road from Kerak to Zoar descends into the valley. Until 1830 a ford was reported to have existed between the Lisān Peninsula and the opposite shore but this later disappeared.

[Michael Avi-Yonah]

In the 19th and 20th Centuries

In the 19th and 20th centuries, the Dead Sea attracted many explorers and scholars. In 1806–07, the German U.J. Seetzen toured its shores and took notes on its morphology and climate. In 1837, the Irishman C. Costigan descended in a boat from Lake Kinneret to the Dead Sea, where he was caught in a storm, thrown up on the Lisān Peninsula, and died of hunger and thirst before aid could be brought. Between 1838 and 1872, the scholars E. Robinson, F. de Saulcy, and B. Tristram conducted research mainly into the region's historical geography. In 1847 the British naval officer T. Molyneux toured the Dead Sea, also going by boat from Lake Kinneret; he fell ill and died a few days later in Beirut. In 1848, an expedition of the American navy led by W.F. Lynch toured the Dead Sea area. Lynch named the two capes of the Lisān Peninsula "Cape Costigan" and "Cape Molyneux"; his own name was in turn commemorated by the German geographer C. Ritter who named the narrows connecting the southern with the northern basin "Lynch Straits." Further travelers who explored the Dead Sea include the geologists L. Lartet (France), M. Blanckenhorn (Germany), E. Hull and G.S. Blake (Great Britain; the latter was murdered by Arabs on the Dead Sea shore in 1940).

On the initiative of M. *Novomeysky, the first potash and bromine works were built in 1930 at Rabbat Ashlag near Kallia in the northwest corner of the Dead Sea by the Palestine Potash Company. A supplementary plant was opened in 1937 at the southern end of the western shore, at the foot of Mount Sedom. Among the pioneers working at both places was a group composed of members of Ha-Kibbutz ha-Me'uḥad which called itself "Pelugat Yam ha-Melaḥ." A hotel was opened at Kallia in the 1930s. In 1939, the kibbutz *Bet ha-Aravah was established northeast of Rabbat Ashlag. In Israel's War of Independence, the Jewish workers of Rabbat Ashlag and Kallia and the settlers of Bet ha-Aravah found themselves completely cut off by the Transjordanian Arab Legion; during the night of May 19, 1948, they succeeded in evacuating the sites and sailing over the Dead Sea southward to reach the Sedom potash plant in whose defense they participated until the end of the war. In "Operation Lot" (October 1948) overland contact with Sedom was reestablished, and in March 1949 units of the Israeli Army moved along the Dead Sea shore north to the site of En-Gedi which had been allocated to the Jewish state in the 1947 UN partition plan. In 1955, the new Sedom potash plant of the Dead Sea Works began operating after the Beersheba-Sedom highway was completed. In 1995 a new plant for magnesium was established, a joint project of Israeli and German firms. Kibbutz En-Gedi was founded in 1953, and the motor road leading there from Sedom was built in 1956. The Dead Sea region was further integrated into Israel's communications network with the construction of the Arad-Sedom and Sedom-Eilat highways in 1964 and 1967 respectively. These not only aided production and marketing of the Dead Sea Works but also created conditions for the development of the tourism and recreation branch in the region. In the late 1960s a restaurant, hotel, picnic camps, and a museum of the Dead Sea Works were opened at Shefekh Zohar, two large hotels and bathing facilities at Ein Bokek making use of medicinal springs and thermal mud, a museum at the foot of Masada Rock, a nature reserve and nature study center at En-Gedi, youth hostels, etc. The occupation of the Judean Desert and the entire west coast of the Dead Sea by Israel in the Six-Day War made the region again easily accessible from Jerusalem.

According to measurements taken from 1818, the level of the Dead Sea waters rose, until 1898, by 36 ft. (11 m.), but since that time it has steadily fallen. Between 1930 and 1997, for example, the water level fell by 100 ft. (30 m.). One of the main reasons for the drop in the water level has been the use made of Jordan River water for agriculture and industry. Another reason is the water exploitation of Dead Sea industries, which have been drying out the sea in phosphate production. Up to 1977 the Dead Sea stretched over two basins, a large northern one and a smaller and shallower southern basin. In 1977, the water level was so low that a ribbon of dry land appeared between the two basins. The southern basin became a series of steaming pools, so that the present-day Dead Sea consists in effect of only the northern basin. Recently, as a result of the low water level, a new phenomenon, large suckholes, began to appear near the shore.

At the beginning of the 21st century 2,250 people were living in the area's kibbutzim, moshavim, and urban communities. The Shefekh Zohar and Ein Bokek area had about 1,550 hotel rooms and served as the center of the region's tourism. Tourist attractions were based on the sea itself, curative sites, and wildlife.

[Efraim Orni / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

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DEAD SEA SCROLLS, the popular designation given to collections of manuscript material found in 1947 and the following years in various caves west of the Dead Sea, notably at *Qumran, *Murabbaʿāt, Khirbat Mird, together with *En-Gedi and *Masada. This entry concentrates on those found in the Qumran region (by far the greatest in bulk and probably in importance); those found at En-Gedi, Masada, and Murabbaʿāt are treated under these respective headings. For the Bar Kokhba Letters found in the Judean Desert see *Bar Kokhba, and for the *tefillin* of the Dead Sea Scrolls see **Tefillin*.

The Qumran Discoveries

Discovered by chance in 1947, the first scrolls, of which there were seven, some almost complete, came into the hands of dealers in antiquities, who offered them to scholars. The first scholar to recognize their antiquity was E.L. *Sukenik, who succeeded in acquiring three of them (the second Isaiah Scroll (B), the *Thanksgiving Hymns, the *War Scroll) for the Hebrew University. Between 1948 and 1950 he published specimens of them, his *editio princeps* of these scrolls appearing posthumously in 1955. The four other scrolls had been bought from a Bethlehem dealer (known as Kando) by Mar Athanasius Samuel, the Metropolitan of the Syrian Christian community, who had at first taken them to the American School of Oriental Research, where their importance was also recognized, in the absence of the school's director, Millar Burrows, by John Trever and William Brownlee. During the Israel War of Independence of 1948, these were brought to the United States, where they were studied by a group of scholars led by M. Burrows (d. 1980), who in 1950–51 published three of them – the first Isaiah Scroll, the **Pesher* (Commentary) on Habakkuk, and the Manual of *Discipline. Subsequently the Israel government bought these four scrolls, and thus all seven came to their permanent abode in the Israel Museum's Shrine of the Book in Jerusalem. Only after it reached Jerusalem was it possible to open the one hitherto unpublished scroll among the seven, the Genesis Apocryphon, which was published in 1956 by N. *Avigad and Y. *Yadin. In the meantime, with the West Bank now under Jordanian administration, the scrolls cave had been sought and identified, and, under the Jordanian Department of Antiquities, its director G. Lankester Harding and R. de *Vaux of the Ecole Biblique (in the then Jordanian part of Jerusalem) excavated it along with some 40 other caves in the vicinity of Khirbat Qumran and Ein Fashkha. Two years later, excavations began at the nearby ruins of Qumran, continuing until 1956, during which time the connections between the caves and the ruins became evident. Eleven more caves were discovered, some by the archeologists and some by the Bedouin, which contained scrolls, many of them highly fragmented. Many of these caves were man-made and lay on the edge of the plateau on which the settlement itself stood. By 1958 most of the material taken by the Bedouin had been purchased for the scholars, some through dealers in antiquities and sometimes with the assistance of overseas institutions. In view of the large quantity of material from cave 4, an international committee (understandably but regrettably excluding Jews) was appointed, under de Vaux, to publish the newly acquired materials in possession. Due to difficulties in deciphering, lack of funding and a declining level of enthusiasm, progress was slow, though a concordance of the Cave 4 scrolls was in fact completed in the late 1950s and early 1960s, yet was not made available, and then only to a limited circle of scholars, until 1989. Some texts were partly published in provisional articles in scholarly journals, and then gradually began to appear in definitive editions, in the series *Discoveries in the Judaean Desert* (Oxford). The first three volumes (1955, 1960, 1962) included the fragments from Cave 1, the documents from Murabba'at and the contents of caves 2–3 and 5–10 respectively. The intriguing and controversial *Copper Scroll had been unrolled in Manchester in 1956 and published, unofficially, by Allegro in 1960 (it has since resided in Amman). The disagreement between Allegro and his colleagues on the editorial committee foreshadowed disagreements that would later dog Scrolls scholarship. Allegro believed in rapid publication, even in provisional form, but also held controversial views about the Scrolls' significance, which he eagerly popularized. As a result he was marginalized. His views (for example, that the Scrolls helped to unmask Christianity as a fraud) have subsequently been rejected, though they have not perished; but his criticisms of the publication policy and practice of the editorial team were largely vindicated. In 1966, Sanders published the Psalms scrolls from Cave 11 (DJD 4) and in 1968 the first official edition of texts from Cave 4 appeared (Allegro, with Andersen: DJD 5). In 1967, the majority of the scrolls and fragments, which were held in Jerusalem's Rockefeller Museum, became available to Israeli scholars, and Y. Yadin also obtained a further important document, the *Temple Scroll, which he published in 1977 (English 1983). In 1971 De Vaux died and was succeeded as chief editor by Pierre Benoit, also of the Ecole Biblique, while further DJD volumes of Cave 4 texts appeared very slowly (de Vaux [posthumously] and Milik in 1977 and Baillet in 1982). Meanwhile, those outside the editorial team were denied access to the contents of unpublished material. When Benoit resigned in 1984, the Israeli Department of Antiquities appointed John Strugnell, one of the members of the original editorial team, to oversee a more rapid publication, and several new members, including Jewish and Israeli scholars, were co-opted. But although some Harvard doctoral students published editions entrusted to their dissertation directors, wider access remained forbidden to others. Increasing protest over this situation was answered in a series of dramatic developments that began in 1990. Strugnell was replaced by Emanuel Tov as editor in chief, and in the following year a computer-generated reconstruction from the concordance of cave 4 texts (which Strugnell had released) was published, followed by an unauthorized facsimile edition of plates of all the scrolls and, finally, a decision by the Huntington Library in California, which owned a set of plates of the unpublished scrolls, to make them publicly available broke the embargo. Since then, the DJD series has been completed, and Tov was able to resign, with his job done, in 2002.

[Jacob Licht]

Description

The Qumran manuscripts were mostly written on parchment, some on papyrus. Most are in Hebrew, some in Aramaic, a handful in Greek. The Qumran caves are numbered serially, 1 to 11, in the order in which the manuscript treasure contained in them came to light. A manuscript is defined as a single scroll, usually represented by one or more fragments. A document may be represented by one or several manuscripts, and the manuscripts may contain different versions of that document. Hence the designation "Community Rule" cannot refer simply, as it once did, to the cave 1 manuscript. A more accurate method of designation is the cave number and location, such as 1QS (= Serekh [ha-Yaḥad]). However, there are several different manuscripts of this document from Cave 4, giving rise to the labels 4QS^{a}, 4QS^{b}, etc. But the preferred method of designation is by cave, location and a unique number. Some of these numbers have changed over time, so that different manuscripts of the same document may form a sequence. Hence the document popularly referred to as the Halakhic Letter is also known as 4QMMT, but is strictly a (hypothetical, in this case!) reconstruction from fragments of the six manuscripts 4Q394–99. In addition, manuscripts in Aramaic have "ar" added (6QApoc ar), and *pesharim* have a "p" inserted (1QpHab). Scrolls are written in columns, and the method of citation is by column and line (CD [= Cairo Damascus] is an exception, being represented by two codices, having pages). However, in the case of a fragment of a manuscript that cannot be fitted into its place in the original scroll, individual column numbers are assigned. Thus, a citation from 4QPseudo-Jubilees^{a}, or 4Q225, might read 4Q225 frag. 22, col. 3 line 6 – or, more simply, 4Q225 22 iii 16. As more fragments become assigned to manuscripts and documents, either the enumeration will change, or, more probably, anomalies will enter the system. Indeed, the reordering of fragments of the Cave 1 Hodayoth manuscript (1QH) has already resulted in changes to the column numbering given in Sukenik's original edition.

Six caves (3, 5, 7, 8, 9, and 10) were discovered by archaeologists; the other five (and these included the most important in respect of their contents) were discovered by Bedouin of the Taʿamira tribe. There is strong evidence to connect these caves closely with the neighboring ruin of Khirbat Qumran; a reasonable assumption is that their contents formed part of the library belonging to a community, or a movement, to which the inhabitants of Khirbat Qumran belonged (see *Qumran). The nearly 900 manuscripts are commonly thought to have been hidden during the war with Rome from 66 to 70 C.E.; but they may not have been deposited in all 11 caves on the same occasion, for, whereas those in Cave 1 were carefully placed in covered cylindrical jars, those in other caves, and especially in Cave 4, which contained the greatest quantity of manuscripts, appear to have been dumped in haste. News of their discovery aroused intense interest throughout the world and considerable controversy, especially with regard to their dating. But paleographical and radiocarbon indications, together with the few historical allusions in the texts, point clearly to the 2nd century B.C.E.–1st century C.E. as the time of their writing, with a few manuscripts (according to radiocarbon dating) as early as the 4th century B.C.E. These dates mostly fit well with the period of occupation of the Qumran site in the Hellenistic era, which began in about 100 B.C.E. and ended in 68 C.E. The manuscripts were written over a period of several generations; in several cases (including the Damascus Document, Community Rule, and War Scroll) different recensions of the same work have been found (even in the same cave), enabling some deductions to be made concerning their history, and thus possibly the history of the sect that produced them. The Qumran scrolls are generally classified in three categories: "sectarian" works (200+ manuscripts); "biblical" manuscripts (also 200+); and other Jewish writings, whether previously known or otherwise (400+).

An extensive list of Qumran scrolls with their publications in English or Hebrew (including scrolls not mentioned in this article) appears in the Index Volume of this Encyclopaedia, in the list of bibliographical abbreviations under the letter Q.

Language, Orthography, and Spelling

The Dead Sea scrolls are mostly written in Hebrew, with some in Aramaic (a few fragments of a Greek translation of the Bible have also been found). Aspects of the evolution of ancient Hebrew from classical to Mishnaic remain disputed, in particular the relationship between written and spoken forms, and the question of dialects. The Hebrew of the non-biblical scrolls is not uniform: the majority of texts may represent a Judean dialect of spoken Hebrew or possibly a literary (scribal) language; the Damascus Document exhibits a Hebrew closer to biblical, while the Copper Scroll (and to some extent the Halakhic Letter) is very similar to Mishnaic Hebrew. As to orthography generally, the writing is often plene, characteristic forms being לוא, כיא, אמתכה. Thus the plural form of נגע is נגוּעים (or נגיעים); instead of הוא and היא we find הואה and היאה; קצור (= קצר), יושר (= ישר), מולאת (= מלאות), אנושי (= אנשי). Whether this points to a system of pronunciation different from that transmitted in the Tiberian masorah is not clear. Indications of weakening of the gutturals, as for example הנשי (= אנשי) probably does: but in other manuscripts, and commonly in the biblical manuscripts, the writing is defective, as in the Masoretic text. It has been suggested by Tov that the plene manuscripts come from a Qumran scribal school, though it is also found in some biblical manuscripts. Generally the square Hebrew script is used, in the stage of its development a little prior to the final one (the present day printed type). Thus the ה is closed and has a cross beam protruding slightly to the left; the ד has no protrusion to the right; the ז is a simple, straight line, sometimes with a small head on the right. The great majority of scribes make no distinction between a ו and a י (both of which resemble the numeral 1), a few however writing the י not shorter but wider. Several phases of the script can be distinguished, the three major categories being "Archaic" (as in First Temple period inscriptions) "Hasmonean" (c. 150–50 B.C.E.), and "Herodian" (50 B.C.E.–70 C.E.). In some scrolls the Divine Names (the Tetragrammaton YHWH and at times also *El*) are written in the archaic script, this being a characteristic feature of the commentaries, as also of the scroll of the Book of Psalms. The style of handwriting is also divided into formal, cursive, mixed, semicursive, and rounded. Paleography is a useful guide to the dating of the manuscripts, but because of their varied provenance, it cannot be translated into very precise dates, as is sometimes attempted. Scripts cannot be assumed to have developed uniformly in every place. Indeed, the script of an individual scribe does not necessarily change over his lifetime to reflect the latest custom, and if a scribe learns to write from a single teacher rather then in a school, he can only be assumed to continue the script that he was taught.

The Materials Used

The scrolls are written on parchment prepared from the hair side of the skin, while **tefillin* have been found written on parchment prepared from the flesh side of the skin. The skins were washed, soaked, depilated and sometimes tanned, then softened by beating, and cut. The length of a scroll varied, the longest (the Temple Scroll) being almost 9m. Longer scrolls were created by stitching skins together. Papyrus was made by cross-layering strips of the reed at right angles, gluing them together, scrubbing with pumice and cutting. Usually the surface was ruled with lines and margins to aid the scribe. Pens were fashioned from reeds, and about five inkwells (of clay, one of bronze) have been identified as coming from Qumran. The ink is almost invariably carbon-based, but ink of metallic origin was used for one scroll (the Genesis Apocryphon), which is consequently in a poor state of preservation, the ink having eaten into the parchment. In some scrolls the writing has become illegible, but various forms of photography, as well as computer enhancement, have recovered considerable areas of text. When completed, the scroll was rolled, with the beginning of the text on the outside. A tab was attached (if this had not been done during manufacture) and the scroll was bound together with a strap. Several scrolls were wrapped in linen, remnants of which have been found, and were placed in jars, some of them then sealed. However, the majority of the Qumran manuscripts were probably placed on shelves or in boxes (there are signs of shelving in Cave 4). They are now in small fragments and only a fraction of their content is preserved. Whether this fragmentary state is due only to the ravages of time and rodents, or human action, whether deliberate or accidental, ancient or more recent, can probably never be known. The matching of fragments and thus the restoration of original manuscripts was originally achieved by recognition of common content and handwriting, but another technique for correctly locating fragments within a manuscript analyzes the shape of damaged areas and matches them with the pattern of damage as reconstructed for the rolled-up scroll.

The Scrolls and Khirbat Qumran

The connection between the scrolls and the settlement at nearby Qumran, initially overlooked by the scroll hunters, has been almost universally taken for granted since excavations started there. There is no absolute proof of a connection, since the scrolls do not clearly allude to the site and the site itself contained no scrolls; but the circumstantial evidence is very strong. Two inscribed ostraca found in 1996 were claimed to contain the word *yaḥad*, the name of the sect in the Community Rule, but this has since been challenged, and no direct relation between these and the scrolls is proven. Evidence for the production and composition of scrolls at Qumran remains slight but not negligible. The suggestion by de Vaux that the nearby site of Ein Fashkha contained a tannery is now generally rejected. His view that an upper floor room of the eastern block of the Qumran settlement, whose floor had collapsed, was a *scriptorium* is still supported, though his reconstruction of a plaster table and writing benches now seems fanciful. The inhabitants of Qumran probably lived in the nearby caves; these inhabited caves show no evidence of scroll use; but cave 8 contained a collection of leather tabs, of the kind attached to the outer end of a scroll for aid in opening. It is now generally agreed that most of the scrolls were not written at Qumran, but taken there; however, the proximity of several caves to the site implies that their deposit was known to the inhabitants if not carried out by them. Several proposals have nevertheless been made that Qumran was not the site of a religious community but something else: a palace, fortress or trading post. The numerous cisterns are not all for immersion but probably for drinking water; those that were *miqva'ot* do not necessarily attest to an exceptional level of concern with purity, as the scrolls exhibit, but certainly inhabitants following standard Jewish purification practice. In retrospect, it has emerged that the initial interpretation of the site by de Vaux can be questioned, especially concerning the earliest phase of sectarian occupation and a possible period of abandonment late in the first century B.C.E. But despite several alternative theories about the nature of the settlement, his overall assessment still has its defenders (for further details see *Qumran).

[Philip Davies (2nd ed.)]

A BRIEF HISTORY OF RESEARCH

Introduction

Initial interest in the Scrolls, in which Christian involvement far outweighed Jewish, mostly for political reasons, focused on the identification and history of the Qumran sect and its relationship to the New Testament and early Christianity. With only the contents of Cave 1 published, it seemed possible to reconstruct with some clarity where and why the sect had been formed and what its major doctrines and its organization were. After a fairly brief period of debate, a consensus quickly emerged that the Dead Sea sect had been the Essenes, as described (though not without some contradictory details) by Philo and Josephus as well as the elder Pliny who, unlike the other two authors, specifically located them near the Dead Sea. It was also agreed that, like the Pharisees and Sadducees, this sect had arisen in the Hasmonean period. The founder of the sect had been a "Teacher of Righteousness" who had, as the Habakkuk *pesher* in particular described, been persecuted by a "Wicked Priest" and forced to flee to Qumran, where he established a community with his followers. The identity of this "Wicked Priest," was disputed, but the major contenders were the Hasmoneans Jonathan and Simon. During the 1970s this consensus was initially consolidated, and some important new data emerged. From the historical point of view the identification of the Qumran sect with the Essenes was supported by the excavations by P. Bar-Adon at Ein-el-Ghuweir, south of Qumran, uncovering a settlement from the same period as Qumran, also with large buildings suitable for communal activities. (Y. Hirschfeld has more recently claimed to find the Essene settlement to which Pliny refers overlooking En-Gedi.) The cemetery adjacent to the site displays the same peculiar form of burial found in the Qumran *cemetery (or cemeteries), including skeletons of women and children. The ongoing analysis of the Qumran literary documents received new impetus with the initial publication of several major texts. The most important of these is undoubtedly the Temple Scroll, the longest scroll yet found. Its publication marked the beginning of several important changes: Israeli and Jewish interest in the scrolls increased as the scrolls were now almost all now under Israeli control in Jerusalem, while the text itself, edited and published rapidly and expertly by Yigael Yadin, illustrated the importance of *halakhah* in understanding the Dead Sea scrolls, taking a good deal of emphasis away from Christian origins. However, Yadin's conclusion that the scroll was a product of the *yaḥad* provoked strong disagreement and reinvigorated discussion of the relationship between that community and the wider movement described in the Damascus Document. This in turn led to revised theories about the origins of the Qumran community, more complex than the Cave 1 scrolls had suggested. In particular, it began to be recognized that the *yaḥad* itself arose from a wider movement with well-established roots. Because of this, the problem of speaking simply of the "Qumran community" or "the sect" or even of "sectarian writings" has been more keenly appreciated. The publication of the fragments of 1 Enoch by Milik proved that the work was indeed originally composed in Aramaic and also highlighted the Enochic character of much of the scrolls' content. The question of the origins of the sect was to be complicated further by the Halakhic Letter, whose contents were revealed (originally as a "Letter from the Teacher of Righteousness") and discussed long before its official publication in 1994. In fact the editing and publication of this document were at the center of a controversy: a draft text and translation that had been informally circulating were printed and published by Z.J. Kapera of Cracow, who, under some kind of threat, had to destroy the remaining copies. But the *Biblical Archaeology Review* had printed a page from this edition, and E. Qimron, one of the official editors, sued that journal's editor for breach of copyright. His claim to be, effectively, the "author" of the Qumran document by virtue of his reconstruction was upheld on appeal and has set an unfortunate precedent. The Halakhic Letter lists a number of disagreements between its author and the recipient, who is apparently a Jewish ruler (king, high priest or both?). It prompts the suggestion that the origins of the sectarian movement may lie in conflicts between differing priestly traditions, which were debated before the decision to segregate into a sectarian lifestyle. A comparison of the Qumran *halakhah* with rulings ascribed to *ẓeduqim* in the rabbinic literature has also prompted some scholars to suggest that the sect may have been Sadducee rather than Essene, though the claim is based on a restricted number of cases. The publication of multiple texts of the Damascus Document and Community Rule has shown, too, how their complicated recensional history must be taken into account in any reconstruction of the history of the communities they describe. With each new publication of texts, it also became more difficult to fit all the contents of the scrolls into neat doctrinal systems. In general, the confident consensus that reigned between the 1950s and early 1970s has given way to a number of competing theories, to which doubts about the nature of the site of Qumran itself have added further confusion. The availability of all the texts has, nevertheless, led to a resurgence of interest in the texts, with a growing number of younger scholars now reexamining the very broad range of questions that the scrolls are generating. Much more knowledge has been accumulated, but with it rather less overall understanding of the phenomenon of Qumran and a better appreciation of the religious climate from which both rabbinic Judaism and Christianity grew.

Contents and Character of the Qumran Scrolls

SECTARIAN WRITINGS. It would be rash to conclude that all the books in any communal or private library reflect the beliefs and practices of the community or individual to whom they belong. It is also sometimes difficult to distinguish sectarian writings from those that come from the particular milieu (represented by such works as Enoch and Jubilees) from which they emerged. The sectarian scrolls can be classified generically (or functionally) as "Rules," "Halakhic," "Exegetical," "Parabiblical" "Wisdom" and "Liturgical". "Sectarian" writings are identified as those that share a common ideology and vocabulary with three of the "Rules" that explicitly describe a sectarian community: the Community Rule (Manual of Discipline), the Damascus (or "Zadokite") Document and Rule of the Congregation (though it is perhaps a description of an idealized future Israel). These further texts comprise the Thanksgiving Psalms, the War Scroll (another "Rule"), the Temple Scroll, the Halakhic Letter, the *pesharim* (biblical commentaries), some other midrashic (the Florilegium, the Melchizedek fragments) and halakhic (Ordinances, Tohorot) compositions, and perhaps the Angelic Liturgy (Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice). The wisdom texts are an especially interesting category: they exhibit many of the terms and themes of biblical wisdom books, but their traditional virtues and rewards, the materialistic ethic and the empirical basis of knowledge have been imbued with an esoteric flavor: there are "secrets" and an eschatological reward. These texts are not necessarily strictly of sectarian origin (the book of Daniel exhibits similar features) but they do indicate movement towards what is the clearly sectarian ethic of other scrolls. In the case of liturgical works, it is sometimes difficult to determine whether the contents are strictly sectarian. They are in any case steeped in biblical language and ideas, especially from the Psalms. The case of the Thanksgiving Hymns (Hodayoth) seems clear, however, as these are imbued throughout with a consistent, dominant sectarian ideology, including dualistic language. The main themes are that mankind is evil, its flesh polluted, but the author has been elected by God, rescued from destruction, purged, endowed with wisdom and placed among the "holy ones" (angels). He has also founded a community and suffered persecution, elements that prompt many scholars to regard them – or some of them – as compositions of a spiritual leader, such as the Teacher of Righteousness, the persecuted hero of the *pesharim* who, according to the Damascus Document, founded, or more strictly, refounded the sect. It is highly likely that they were used in the sectarian liturgy and may have provided some of the biographical data used in the *pesharim*. The Pseudepigraphic Psalms, by contrast, contain some terminology characteristic of the sectarian writings, but no distinctive sectarian ideology is present. There is a high degree of dependence on, and quotation from, the biblical psalms; one manuscript (4Q236) even contains a highly variant version of Psalm 89. There are fragments of four manuscripts containing prayers for festivals, and three manuscripts of "Words of the Lights", apparently designed for each day of the week, and another manuscript containing morning and evening prayers (4Q503). It is a reasonable guess that the sectarians inherited a rich Jewish liturgical tradition of which we would otherwise be unaware, and in this respect the Qumran scrolls make an important contribution to our understanding of the evolution of Jewish worship. From Cave 11 comes a manuscript containing four psalms apparently designed for a healing liturgy (11QPsAp^{a}). Finally, a number of hymn fragments (4Q434–39) contain the phrase *barki nafshi*, "Bless, o my soul," one of which (4Q434a) displays similarities with rabbinic blessings after meals and so may have fulfilled this function. Given the importance of the communal meal in the *yaḥad*, this is a plausible suggestion. Finally, a controversial hymn (contained within 4Q448) asks for blessing on "King Jonathan and for all the congregation of your people Israel who are in the four corners of heaven." This Jonathan was identified by the text's editors as the Hasmonean Alexander Jannaues (Jannai) who ruled from 103–76 B.C.E. However, he is generally considered to have been a likely enemy of the sect. G. Vermes has therefore proposed the Hasmonen Jonathan, brother of Judas (ruled 160–142 B.C.E.), who, he argues, may have once been favored by them. Alternatively, the text could be seen as originating from outside the sect: in which case, why was it copied and kept by them?

The Damascus Document, which was already known from two mediaeval manuscripts found in the Cairo *Genizah* as well as several Qumran copies, describes the origin, history and beliefs, together with its *halakhah* and organization and its rules of life, of a sectarian movement that is clearly related to, but not identical with, that described in the Community Rule. The latter contains mostly the doctrines, organization and disciplinary rules of a sect calling itself the *yaḥad* ("Union"), but without any account of its origins or history. Both texts are composite, and the various copies betray a recensional history. (For more details, see **Yaḥad*; *Dead Sea Sect; Book of Covenant of *Damascus.) One common feature of the sectarian texts seems to be the 364-day calendar that is also presented in 1 Enoch and Jubilees; the Temple Scroll in particular is constructed on this basis, and texts known as the *Mishmarot* (priestly courses) show the services of the priestly orders regulated according to a six-year cycle, which harmonizes the 26 annual courses of this calendar with the 24 of the lunar calendar. Another common thread is (temporary) alienation from the Jerusalem temple as a result of disagreement over the calendar and *halakhah* with its governing priesthood. The Angelic Liturgy (*Serekh Shirot Olat ha-Shabbat*) illustrates not only how the *yaḥad* maintained the ethos of the temple cult despite its (temporary, as it believed) abandonment of the Jerusalem sanctuary, but also throws important light on the community's beliefs about angels and its own mystical tradition in addition to four manuscripts from Cave 4 and a further one that came to light during the excavations at Masada. The document describes a weekly sabbath liturgy, over 13 weeks, in the heavenly temple. This text has opened up a new dimension in Jewish literature and religion of not only late Second Temple times, but subsequent Jewish mystical and angelic traditions while the Melchizedek midrash from Cave 11 features an angelic high priest who leads the struggle against Belial and his associates, but also effects the redemption of Israel at the end of the final era of history on the Day of Atonement. This work shows how the Genesis figure was interpreted in some circles (similar, but not identical, to the treatment in the Epistle to the Hebrews) and also sheds light on later Jewish speculation about heavenly redeemer figures: Melchizedek was later to be identified with both *Michael and *Metatron as the highest angelic figure below God. A further characteristic of the scrolls as a whole is a belief in the angelic origin of sin, as described in the Enochic "Book of Watchers," as a result of which humans remain subject to evil angelic powers, which will be destroyed at the end of days. The Flood that was sent upon the earth as a divine response to the angelic descent seems to have functioned as a prototype of the punishment to come, and Noah is prominent as the prototype of the righteous person (his illustrious birth is described in the Genesis Apocryphon). This view of the origin of sin, the differences in calendrical and halakhic matters, and the consequent breach with the Temple cult (minimal participation by the community in the Damascus Document, complete rejection in the case of the *yaḥad*) seem to combine into a kind of Judaism that has been called "Enochic" or "apocalyptic," but in fact it probably reflects very closely the views of the Priestly source within the Torah. The solar calendar is reflected in the P material in the Flood story (thirty-day months), and in the notion, expressed in that story, of a corruption of the earth by bloodshed (rectified in the Noachic covenant), P's doctrine of sin as a universal contagion and not just disobedience of the Torah, and the inclusion of the fallen angel ʿAzazel in the Day of Atonement ritual (Lev. 16:21). If this observation is correct, the unresolved problem is to explain why this ideology came to be represented in a sectarian form in the second century B.C.E. The answer may lie in the intricacies of Hasmonean politics, but we cannot be certain. Yet it is evident that the ideology adopted by the writers of the scrolls is not a sudden reaction but the outcome of a longer process betraying differences within a Second Temple Judaism that was, before the discovery of the Scrolls, thought to be rather monolithic. Nevertheless, attempts to represent the so-called "apocalyptic" character of the Scrolls as in some way a forerunner of Christianity as against rabbinic Judaism have been frustrated by the prominence given in the scrolls to scrupulous observance of Torah, a high veneration of the temple, and an emphasis on a life of ritual purity.

Biblical Manuscripts

Most of these have survived only as fragments: all but two of the 24 books of the Jewish Scriptures are represented, the exceptions being Esther and Nehemiah (it cannot be said with certainty whether their absence is accidental or significant). The number of manuscripts of each books ranges from 36 (Psalms) to 1 (Chronicles). A few are written in the archaic Hebrew script. In addition, some Septuagint fragments have been identified: Cave 4 yielded fragments of two Septuagint manuscripts of Leviticus and one of Numbers; Cave 7, fragments of the Septuagint text of Exodus and of the Epistle of Jeremiah, a pseudepigraph commonly appended to the Book of Baruch. The most important Septuagint find made in the Dead Sea region comes not from Qumran but from the "Cave of Letters" in Naḥal Ḥever (see *Judean Desert Caves): It is a fragmentary copy of a Greek version of the Twelve Minor Prophets, identified as a new Greek revision, (now known as the Kaige or Proto-Theodotion revision), which apparently aimed at revising the LXX according to a Hebrew text close to the MT. Fragments of a Leviticus Targum were also found in Cave 4. A further contribution to the biblical material from Qumran is made by commentaries (see **Pesher*) and parabiblical compositions, or rewritings of the scriptural contents. Whereas the biblical texts from caves farther south which were occupied during the Bar Kokhba Revolt (132–5 C.E.) uniformly belong to the "proto-masoretic" type (the consonantal text to which the masorah was added from the sixth to the ninth centuries C.E.), those found in the Qumran caves reflect a variety of text-types (see below).

BIBLICAL TEXT AND CANON. As evidenced by the Minor Prophets scroll from Naḥal Ḥever (see above), between 70 C.E. and the Bar Kokhba Revolt, the biblical text appears to have been standardized during the first century C.E. But at Qumran there existed no uniformity of text. At first it had been concluded that the Hebrew biblical texts at Qumran fell into three types, corresponding to the forerunners of the Masoretic, Septuagint, and Samaritan texts, each originating from three regions: Babylonian, Egypt, and Palestine respectively. But the "local text" theory and the theory of "text types' have now been abandoned. Yet a more careful analysis shows that no such grouping is possible. There is too much variation even within the different textual types; for instance, the MT uses the short text for the Pentateuch but the longer one for the Later Prophets and Writings, while the LXX employs the longer text for the Pentateuch but a short one for Jeremiah. Again, MT and LXX Jeremiah are not so much different text types as variant editions. As for the Qumran manuscripts, the textual variations reflect much more a spectrum than a set of textual types, while the Psalms manuscripts display, like Jeremiah, a variant edition rather then a different text type. The problem was perhaps more acute as long as the scrolls were all thought to emanate from a small isolated community, but if, as now believed, they originated in different places, the variety is less surprising.

Whether there was a fixed canon is also disputed: While all but two books of the Masoretic canon (Esther and Nehemiah) are represented, the number of manuscripts of each book preserved (see above) may suggest that not all books were equally venerated. There are numerous manuscripts of Deuteronomy, Isaiah, and Psalms, but Chronicles and Ezra are extant in only one copy. The Halakhic Letter (C10) runs "… in the book (*sic*) of Moses, and the books of the Prophets and in David…," the last referring probably to a collection of Psalms. However, other works may have been regarded within the sect as of a similar status and authority, such as the Book of Jubilees (cited in the Damascus Document as "The Book of the Divisions of Times into their Jubilees and Weeks" (CD xvi:4) or the Enochic writings or even the Temple Scroll. The biblical manuscripts were usually copied in the regular square Hebrew script, except for the Holy Name being occasionally written in paleo-Hebrew characters. However, some biblical manuscripts were copied in this ancient script in their entirety, as for instance, Job and Leviticus (**4QpaleoJob**, **4QpaleoLev**).

PENTATEUCH. Of the biblical manuscripts 86 are books of the Pentateuch, 30 of which are copies of Deuteronomy. While the Genesis and Leviticus manuscripts exhibit a stable text and a single manuscript tradition, Exodus is represented in two editions, one close to the MT and LXX, the other similar to the Samaritan text (but without the two most distinctive Samaritan variants relating to the Gerizim altar (Exodus 20:17 and Deut. 12:5, etc.)). The case of Numbers is similar to Exodus, though the non-MT edition is not specifically Samaritan, but only shares some features. Deuteronomy, the best represented of the Pentateuch, exists in a wider range of texts, and, in addition, there are some manuscripts apparently consisting of excerpts, presumably for liturgical purposes. In a few cases a Qumran reading is clearly superior to the MT: thus, for example, **4QDtq** reads for Deuteronomy 32:8 *bny'l*, as does the LXX, instead of *bny ysr'l* of the MT.

FORMER PROPHETS. Joshua is represented by 2 (possibly 3) manuscripts, one of which (**4QJosh**^{a}) has some interesting differences from the MT: the altar-building in Josh. 8:30 (in MT) comes before ch. 5 – a sequence also followed by Josephus. Samuel likewise includes some variant passages, for example, in the Goliath story (1 Sam. 17–18). The most ancient manuscript, **4QSam**^{b}, is dated as the mid-third century B.C.E. and is related to the LXX of Samuel. The books of Judges and Kings have survived in small fragments only.

LATTER PROPHETS. The 21 manuscripts of Isaiah present a more complex picture than was initially drawn by the two cave 1 examples, where Isaiah A is reasonably close to the MT and Isaiah B even closer. But several manuscripts also support LXX readings. Both the MT and the shorter proto-LXX editions of Jeremiah are attested. Given its ideological influence on Qumran, Ezekiel is surprisingly poorly represented with three short manuscripts, on which little can be said, while the eight manuscripts of the Minor Prophets exhibit little diversity, though they do not betray the same conformity to the MT as the Naḥal Ḥever scroll.

WRITINGS. The 36 manuscripts of Psalm collections from Qumran make this the best represented of the scriptural books numerically. This is not surprising, given their influence on the other liturgical texts found in the caves. But none of the Psalms manuscripts' various sequences unambiguously supports the MT (and basically LXX) sequence. The best-preserved of the Psalms manuscripts from cave 11 (11QPs^{a}) includes nine psalms not found in the MT, including what is Psalm 151 in the Septuagint, and also includes a list of "David's compositions," which attribute to him 3,600 psalms, 364 other songs, plus 52 for Sabbath offerings and yet more for festivals. (Perhaps these refer also to the so-called "Apocryphal Psalm" collections also found at Qumran.) The other Cave 11 Psalm manuscripts probably support this alternative sequence. Job has only four manuscripts, but, curiously, one is written in the archaic script, **4QpaleoJob**. The eight Qumran fragments of Daniel do not include the apocryphal additions known from the LXX, and the points of transition from Hebrew to Aramaic and back are the same in the Qumran manuscripts as in the MT (Daniel 2:4 preserved in **1QDan**^{a} and 8:1 in **4QDan**^{a,b}).These manuscripts are, of course, likely to be fairly close in time to the autograph, probably composed in about 164 B.C.E.

PARABIBLICAL TEXTS. The quantity of Qumran texts that range between (but not including) biblical manuscripts and midrash is considerable, and the term "parabiblical" has been coined to denote them. They are excerpts, rewritings, paraphrases or compilations of biblical texts. To this category can be assigned *mezuzot* (8) and *tefillin* (30); these sometimes contain a text differing slightly from the MT. Another category is targums: a Targum to Job (Cave 11 with an additional fragment in Cave 4) and Leviticus, also from Cave 4 (it may be wondered why a community that read, and possibly spoke, Hebrew needed targums.) Both of these avoid the midrashic amplifications so common in other Targums. By contrast, the Genesis Apocryphon is reminiscent of the more expansionary targums, though it is not usually classified as such. The Cave 4 Testimonia is almost entirely biblical quotation (from Deuteronomy, Numbers and Joshua), apparently on the theme of leadership. The so-called "Genesis Commentary" (4Q252) is neither paraphrase nor commentary, but mixes both as it moves through the Genesis story, while the "Reworked Pentateuch" (four, maybe five manuscripts) combined topical juxtaposition with free composition. The Temple Scroll reorders biblical legislation (with some additions) into a more systematic form. A further text of this kind is a paraphrase of Joshua (4Q123), while the "New Jerusalem" text, difficult to fit easily into any of the categories, is perhaps best understood as a systematization of part of the contents of Ezekiel 40–48. While these are not biblical texts as such, they represent ways in which the biblical material was reorganized, sometimes to emphasize aspects of sectarian belief. The Book of Jubilees, also found in Hebrew at Qumran, is an excellent example. It is not believed to be sectarian, but it does emanate from the circles from which the sect emerged.

Other Jewish Writings

These may be divided (though the distinction is often accidental) between works previously known and those unknown. Among those known are a Greek portion of the Epistle of Jeremiah from Cave 7, fragments of Tobit from Cave 4 (three in Aramaic and one in Hebrew) and of Ecclesiasticus (the Wisdom of Ben Sira) from Cave 2 (in Hebrew). Fragments of this work were also found at Masada. The Book of Jubilees (ten Hebrew manuscripts from Caves 1, 2, and 4) and four of the five sections that make up 1 Enoch: The Parables or Similitudes are absent, but there is in addition an Enochic "Book of Giants" (eight Aramaic manuscripts from Cave 4). Both of these maintain the solar calendar that the sectarian writings also follow. Some of the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs – works extant in their entirety in a Greek recension exhibiting Christian influence – have also been identified: the Testament of Levi by some scraps from Cave 1 and fragments of three manuscripts from Cave 4 (all in Aramaic, with a text similar to that of fragments from the Cairo *Genizah*) and the Testament of Naphtali in Hebrew fragments from Cave 4. The Qumran text of both these Testaments is longer than the corresponding passages in the Greek recension.

The number of hitherto unknown works, attached to biblical figures, is impressive. They attest to a previously unsuspected richness and variety in Jewish literature during the Second Temple period. A group of writings is associated with the figure of Daniel: the Aramaic Prayer of Nabonidus (**4QprNab**) is assigned to the second century B.C.E. It relates events similar to Daniel 4, except that the central figure is that of Nabonidus (*nbny*) and the name Daniel does not occur. Another Aramaic work, a Daniel Apocryphon (**4QpsDanar**^{a,b,c}), recounts the history of Israel. A number of works are ascribed to patriarchal figures: An Aramaic work, the so-called Visions of Amram (**4QAmram**$^{a-e}$) tells about Amram's visions in which a figure called Milki-Resa' appears. In another Hebrew fragment (4Q280 2) the said Milki-Resa' is denounced as the head of the "Sons of Darkness." The name (unknown outside the Scrolls) is the opposite counterpart of Milki-Ṣedek, the eschatological judge who is the subject of another Hebrew work, the Midrash on *Melchizedek (**11QMelch**). Another Aramaic work, the Testament of Qahat (**4QTQahat**), is ascribed to Qahat the son of Levi. The Apocryphon of Joshua (previously known as the Psalms of Joshua) may represent a farewell speech ascribed to the hero, and it shares with the Testimonia Joshua's curse on the man who would rebuild Jericho.

The Copper Scroll

This most unusual document, found in Cave 3, consists of a single roll of almost pure copper, broken in antiquity into two parts, each of which was rolled before storage. Identified by K.G. Kuhn, even before opening, as a list of buried treasure, the rolls were brought to Manchester, England, by J. Allegro and sliced open. The identification of the contents was then confirmed, but despite Allegro's anxiety to publish it, the task was assigned to Milik and delayed. The delay may have been occasioned by fear of what sort of treasure hunt the disclosure of its contents might provoke, and Milik aired the view that the list was fictional. The general opinion today is that the treasure was real and must have belonged to the Temple. If so – and nothing suggests that its deposit was independent of the other scrolls – the presence of this document in a Qumran cave requires some explanation, and it supports the suggestion that at least some of the scrolls may have originally come from Jerusalem (the "chief of the [sectarian] camps" according to the Halakhic Letter).

[Philip Davies (2nd ed.)]

Khirbat Mird

Khirbat Mird is a ruined Christian monastery of the Byzantine period, on the site of the earlier fortress of Hyrcanion, north of Wadi al-Nār. Here, in July 1952, the Taʿāmira Bedouin discovered manuscript material of great interest but of considerably later date than the finds at Qumran and other sites near the western shore of the Dead Sea. It included papyrus fragments of private letters in Arabic from the seventh and eighth centuries C.E., a Syriac letter on papyrus written by a Christian monk, a fragment of Euripides' *Andromache* in Greek, and a number of Old and New Testament texts in Greek and Palestinian Syriac. The Greek texts included fragments of uncial codices of Wisdom, Mark, John, and Acts (fifth–eighth centuries C.E.); those in Palestinian Syriac included fragments of Joshua, Luke, John, Acts, and Colossians (many of these were palimpsests). All the Khirbat Mird manuscripts are of Christian origin.

[Frederick Fyvie Bruce]

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DEAD SEA SECT (also called **Qumran Sect** or **Qumran Community**). The name refers strictly to a Jewish community which lived in the Second Temple period and which adopted a strict and separatist way of life. It is so called because the main source of knowledge about it derives from the discovery of a settlement at Khirbat *Qumran, near the northwest shore of the Dead Sea, where it is believed to have lived, and where remnants, apparently of its library, were found in neighboring caves (see *Dead Sea Scrolls). The pottery and coins found there constitute the main external sources for establishing the date of the sect. From these, as well as from the fact that the library contains no work later than the Second Temple period, it appears that the settlement was inhabited (on the ruins of a much older settlement), from the beginning of the second century B.C.E. until its destruction by the Romans shortly after the fall of the Second Temple, around 70 C.E. The sect believed to have lived at Qumran called itself the *yaḥad* (or "Union"), and the Qumran scrolls describe its beliefs and organization. They also describe a related movement that lived in communities elsewhere. Although it has been suggested that these were offshoots of the Qumran community, the consensus is now that they represent a parent movement, from which the *yaḥad* split off, for reasons that are still debated. How much earlier that parent movement began is uncertain, though probably not more than a few decades. The occasional historical clues that the texts offer cannot be used with great confidence to describe the origins or growth of either the parent movement or the *yaḥad*, though it is possible to trace some outlines. In recent years, the suggestion has also been made that the scrolls are unconnected with the Qumran settlement, and that the site was not inhabited by a religious sect; but the circumstantial evidence linking the scrolls and the settlement is powerful if not conclusive. It has come to be realized, however, that many or even most of the scrolls were not, as once assumed, actually written at Qumran.

Its Views

The Qumran sect, like the broader Jewish movement from which it sprang, took a critical view of the established orthodoxy of its time, believing Israel to be under divine judgment, regarding itself as the true remnant of Israel and awaiting its imminent vindication at the "end of days." According to this worldview, the course of history and its epochs had been preordained by God. "… all the ages of God will come at the right time, as he established for them in the mysteries of his prudence" (Pesher Habakkuk 7:13–14). With its advent, evil would cease, the wicked would be destroyed, and the righteous would live under divine blessing. There is a strong predestinarian tone to many of the texts, which see the movement as an elect community, an "eternal [or righteous] planting," chosen and raised up by God. These views were carried to an extreme within the *yaḥad* (see also *Eschatology), which maintained that God had created mankind in two antagonistic camps of light and darkness, or truth and falsehood; each "lot" was under the dominion of an angelic figure: the "prince of light" and the "angel of darkness" (the latter also known as "Belial") respectively. Between these two, God had set "eternal enmity," which would cease only in the end of days with the destruction of the spirit of perversion and the purification of the righteous from its influence. Then the "children" of the "spirit of truth" would receive their reward. But although these "lots" are at first described as mutually exclusive, they are subsequently said to be apportioned differently among individuals: each person receives his portion, in accordance with which he is either righteous or wicked. Horoscope texts among the scrolls show that these proportions were also believed to correspond to physiological features. The dualistic teaching is contained in the *Manual of Discipline (or *Community Rule), from which the main evidence for the organization and doctrine of the *yaḥad* is drawn.

*In the Thanksgiving Psalms (Hodayoth) a different and more personal perspective is brought to the sect's anthropology. Here the emphasis is on the absolute iniquity and degradation of even one of the "elect of God." The author of these hymns describes humanity (including himself) as "a structure of dust shaped with water, his base is the guilt of sin, vile unseemliness, source of impurity, over which a spirit of degeneracy rules"; but God has chosen him, rescued his soul from the grave, purged his spirit from a great transgression, and granted him mercy that he might "take his place with the host of the holy ones" (the angels), given him a superior wisdom, and revealed to him "deep mysterious things." The basic feeling is one of the insignificance and lowliness of humanity, of its dependence on the loving-kindness of God, without which "the way of humanity is not established." Aversion from, and despair of, the human condition oscillate between sorrow at sin and joy at election.

According to the Community Rule, members of the *yaḥad* underwent a "covenant" (probably renewed annually) to observe the "law of Moses," but they also embraced the esoteric doctrines and practices of the sect concerning the maintenance of strict holiness and communion with angels, the latter expressed in the form of worship in the "heavenly Temple" alongside celestial beings (according to the contents of the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice). The parent movement, which is basically described in the Damascus (also known as "Zadokite") Document (see Covenant of *Damascus), also held to a predestinarian (though not dualistic) doctrine, constituted itself by a covenant and enforced strict obedience to the laws of Moses as it interpreted them, believing itself to be living in an age of divine wrath from which its strict adherence to God's will would earn it deliverance in the coming judgment. But it also seems to have lacked the mystical tendencies that the *yaḥad* exhibits.

Although it is commonly claimed that the community, and its parent, represented a reaction against the contemporary Hellenizing culture and, later, Roman political sovereignty, its writings are more concerned with the corruption of the Jerusalem priesthood and the abandonment by God of all Israelites outside its ranks. Hence relations between the *yaḥad* and the Temple were entirely cut off, though the parent movement maintained a minimum of participation in the Temple cult. Dealings with other Jews were also minimal in both cases, since these did not live as the law of God, according to the sect, required. The Halakhic Letter, which many regard as a key to the origins of the sectarian movement as a whole, specifies a number of differences between the Jewish religious leaders and the sect on mat-ters of purity. It is possible that these differences, which may go back to opposing priestly traditions, provide the immediate cause for the formation of the sectarian movement as a whole, whether through voluntary segregation or through expulsion by the religious authorities.

Though the sect and its parent movement lived under an intense eschatological expectation, it is unclear how exactly they envisaged the future. The Community Rule with its strong dualistic and predestinarian doctrine suggests that the "children of darkness" will be punished by fire and then annihilated by angels. However, it also hints at a process of divine purification of the "children of light." The War Scroll describes a 40-year battle, fought by a combination of angelic and human forces. In a mixture of dualistic and nationalistic perspectives, the war is both between "Israel" and the "nations" and between the forces of light and darkness, with the enemy including the "Kittim" (probably the Romans). This scenario seems to suggest a future restoration of Israel (including a restored Temple) and not merely of the sect, though the end of the document is missing. The "Rule of the Congregation" (1QSa) also seems to envisage a restored nation. But how a small, celibate and segregated group living in a condition of extreme purity would become the restored Israel is unclear. In the Rule of the Congregation the leadership of Israel is in the hands of two "messiahs," one priestly and one lay. In some other Qumran texts the lay messiah is referred to as the "Prince of the Congregation" and seems to be a Davidic figure. Both "messiahs" may possibly correspond to functions within the sect, or perhaps the parent movement. However, the Community Rule neither describes nor implies such figures, and other Qumran texts present other redeemer figures or even none: in the Melchizedek Fragments the "messianic" role is assumed by a heavenly high priest who will atone for the sins of Israel on the Day of Atonement at the end of days. There are also elsewhere echoes of the more prevalent apocalyptic concept of a revolution in the manifestations of nature itself, an earthquake and a flood of fire in the entire universe (Thanksgiving Psalms 3:26ff.). There is therefore no unanimity of views in the various writings of the sect about the nature of future redemption.

Modes of Life and Organization

The worldview of the sect formed the theoretical basis of its way of life, for from it proceeded the duty to be prepared for the coming of the end of days, which demanded a punctilious observance of the *mitzvot*, a separation from ordinary society, and maximum social cohesion. The members of the *yaḥad* (as described in the Community Rule) were to eat communally, bless communally, and take counsel communally. The *yaḥad* strictly observed the laws of ritual purity, regarded all non-members as ritually unclean, and insisted on a discipline which imposed on all members the obligation "that they show obedience of the lower to the higher." For this purpose members were listed according to their gradings. These were drawn up anew every year and laid down the order of their participation in ceremonies and assemblies. The leading places were, according to some copies of the Community Rule, reserved for "the priests the sons of Zadok." The "council of the community" (or "community of God" and other similar designations) may have constituted, perhaps at one phase of its history, an authoritative body within the sect, but in some places the term is apparently synonymous with the sect itself. However, in charge of instruction and of the daily conduct of affairs was the *maskil*. In the parent movement, as described in the Damascus Document, it was the *mebaqqer*, or "overseer" who took charge of discipline. The principal decisions in the *yaḥad* were made by the community of the members ("the many"). It was an exclusively celibate male community, forming a single social unit, and maintained entirely by the influx of new members (as in Pliny's account of the Essenes by the Dead Sea). When "volunteers" joined the community, they had to undergo a preliminary examination and then passed two successive stages of candidature, at the completion of each of which they ascended in the degree of purification. Only on the conclusion of their candidature were their possessions put into the communal pool. Offenses against internal discipline were punished in accordance with a disciplinary code (adapted from that of the parent movement), and sanctions included reduction of rations and temporary, or even permanent, exclusion from the "purity of the many," meaning they no longer belonged to the holy "body" that the sect constituted through its intensely communal life, and especially in sharing its meals. The organization described in the Damascus Document, on the other hand, contained both married and celibate settlements (called "camps"). The latter, at least, had a less monolithic social structure, being more like a "town" inhabited by households, allowing for private property, women, and children, as also for a child's reaching adolescence in the community. The organization as a whole was looser. There are no indications of whether these settlements were subject to any higher authority: Jerusalem, according to the Halakhic Letter, was a "chief camp," but perhaps only because of the city's sanctity. The *yaḥad* apparently followed the *halakhah* of its parent movement, i.e., it interpreted according to its own tradition the *mitzvot* accepted by the Jewish people as a whole, namely the "Law of Moses"; these are found in the Damascus Document, Halakhic Letter, and several other texts. Such *Halakhot* and halakhic Midrashim similar in character to those of rabbinic Judaism, but there seems to be some specific opposition in these to the teaching of the Pharisees (and thus, later, the rabbis). A major point of halakhic dispute is the sect's adoption of a calendar of 364 days (see *Calendar, Dead Sea Sect). How it was adjusted to a 365-day year we do not know, but it is probably both realistic and ancient (it can be detected within Genesis 6–9). This calendar is known from the Book of Jubilees and the Book of Enoch, and thus offers an important clue to the social and ideological background of the sect.

The Teacher of Righteousness

While the history of the *yaḥad* and its parent, and the development of their ideas, are unclear, some details are extant about the founder of the sect (or one of its first leaders), who was given the title *"teacher of righteousness," chiefly in the Damascus Document and the Habakkuk Pesher. Attempts to identify him with a known historical person remain debatable. The Damascus Document uses the title of a future, perhaps messianic figure, but also applies it to an individual who arose some time after the foundation of the movement itself. Apparently, he led a group of followers to form the *yaḥad*, while the remainder of the movement perhaps rejected him; his death is also noted. In the Pesher literature he is presented more as a founder figure who directly clashed with an opponent called the "wicked priest," who has been identified with a number of historical personages, all Hasmoneans, but who is completely absent from the Damascus Document. Some of the biographical details of the Teacher in the Pesharim reflect allusions in the Thanksgiving Hymns, which some scholars believe to have been written by the Teacher. But these details might simply have been borrowed from the Hymns by the authors of the Pesharim.

The Identification of the Sect with the Essenes

It is widely held that the wider parent movement, as well as the *yaḥad*, should be identified with the *Essenes described by *Josephus (War 1. 78–80; 2,119–161), *Philo (Quod omnis probus, 75–91) and the elder Pliny (Natural History 5.17, 4). While Pliny locates Essenes specifically near the Dead Sea, according to Josephus and Philo they lived throughout Judea. On the manner of initiation, attitudes to women and to the Temple there are strong similarities between Essenes and the larger sectarian movement, but opinion on the identification is not unanimous. In the light of a few halakhic parallels with details preserved in the Talmud, it has recently been suggested that the sect may have been related to the Sadducees. The identification with *Zealots, once proposed, is now largely rejected, though the sect probably sympathized with Jews who fought against Rome and may have joined them.

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DEAF-MUTE (Heb. חֵרֵשׁ, *ḥeresh*), always classed in the Talmud together with the minor and the imbecile as being irresponsible and of no independent will, from which stem all the restrictions and exemptions applying to him, both in law and the performance of *mitzvot*. They apply only to a deaf-mute, but not to one who is either deaf or dumb (Ter. 1:2). Nevertheless, it was realized that the mental capacity of the deaf-mute was superior to that of the imbecile, and a passage in the Talmud (Shab. 153a) grades the mental capacities of these three in the descending order of minor, deaf-

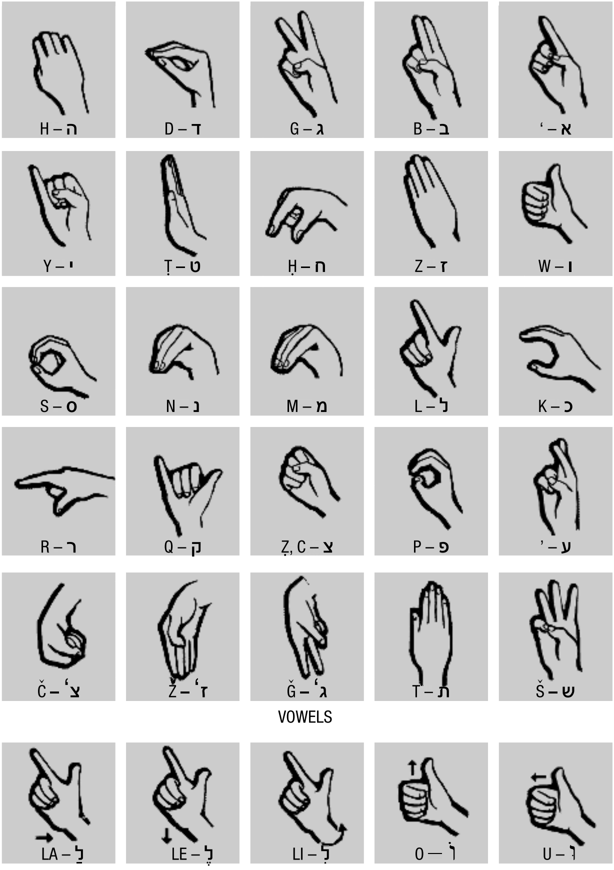

Hebrew manual alphabet of the deaf.

mute, and imbecile. In particular a definite relaxation was made in the case of the marriage and divorce of deaf-mutes, as regards marriage both to a normal person and to another deaf-mute (Yev. 14:1). In the discussion of the *Gemara* of the Babylonian Talmud on this Mishnah, it is laid down that he is of "feeble mind" or "partially normal and partially *non compos mentis*" (Yev. 113a and b). A marriage in which one of the parties is a *ḥeresh* is considered to be only of rabbinic validity, and the question of divorce is thus complicated. The details of the manner in which the marriage ceremony and the divorce take place are laid down in great detail, and have been the subject of a special work (*Melekhet Ḥeresh*, by Ezekiel Ḥefeẓ, 2 vols., 1874–85).

With the successful methods of modern treatment in overcoming the problem of communication with the deaf-mute, the tendency in the past and present centuries has been to remove the stigma of retardation from the deaf-mute in *halakhah* and to regard him as normal, in addition to the fact that once he has learned to speak he ceases to be the deaf-mute of the Talmud. It is now generally accepted that he may become bar mitzvah and be called up to the reading of the Torah. The subject has been dealt with in a halakhic brochure issued by the *bet din* of London, where all the relevant halakhic literature is quoted. (L. (A.L.) Grossnass, *Publications of the London Beth Din*, no. 10., 1963 (Heb.).)

Further Developments in the 1970s

The status of deaf-mutes, according to the *halakhah*, came to the fore in February 1977 when the district Bet Din of Tel Aviv, by a majority of 2 to 1, refused to accept a deaf-mute woman for conversion on the grounds that, according to the letter of the law, a deaf-mute is regarded as mentally retarded. An appeal had been lodged before the Supreme Bet Din against this decision. The Sephardi chief rabbi, Ovadiah Yosef, submitted a ruling in favor of deaf-mutes being counted in a *minyan*.

Another event was the first World Congress of Jewish Deaf held in Tel Aviv from July 1–31, 1977, under the auspices of the Association of the Deaf in Israel. The Ashkenazi chief rabbi of Israel, Rabbi Shlomo Goren, read a paper on "The Jewish Deaf and a New Approach to the *Halakhah*," in which he pointed out that the Jerusalem Talmud takes a more lenient view of the disabilities of the deaf according to the *halakhah* than does the Babylonian Talmud, and that this approach should be accepted.

A whole session at the Congress was devoted to papers on "The Religion and Jewish Tradition in the Life of the Jewish Deaf," which covered every aspect of the problem.

The amelioration in the status of the deaf-mute, according to the *halakhah*, depends upon the established fact that with technological advances in the teaching of deaf-mutes, their "lack of comprehension," which is the basis of their disabilities, can be overcome.

What may be termed the first breakthrough in the attitude previously adopted was given by Simhah Bunim Sofer (1842–1906) in his responsa *Shevet Sofer* (Even Ha-Ezer No. 21). He disagrees with the restrictive view given by his predecessors and adds: "Indeed I heard from my father, the author of the Responsa *Ketav Sofer* (Abraham Samuel Benjamin Wolf Sofer; 1815–1871), that after he paid a visit to an institution for deaf-mutes in Vienna, at the request of the authorities, and was thus enabled to see their tuition at first hand, he was so impressed by what he saw and the curriculum and behavior of the children, that he raised the question whether they should not be considered as truly normal and obliged to fulfill the commandments of the Torah. He told me that he instructed their teachers that they should be told to don phylacteries daily since 'their actions are evidence of their mental comprehension.'"

Chief Rabbi Ovadiah Yosef pointed out in his address to the congress, that both the former chief rabbis of Israel – Rabbi I. Herzog and Rabbi Ouziel – held similar views, and concluded that one can rely upon their decision.

Moreover, a distinction is made in *halakhah* between those who have only one of the two disabilities, deafness or dumbness – who are regarded as normal – on the one hand, and the totally deaf-mute, and the question as to whether the ability of the latter to converse in sign language can be regarded as removing their dumbness.

Nevertheless, some modern authorities maintain that there is a certain mental incapacity in deaf-mutes which prevents them from being regarded as being normal and the problem has been raised as to whether a deaf-mute widow may perform the duty of *ḥalizah despite the fact she is unable able to utter the formula (Deut. 25:7 and 9). The Israeli association has set up a halakhic committee to deal with the question.

In 1977 there appeared two volumes dealing with the deaf. The first, *A New Dictionary of Sign Language* in English by E. Cohen, L. Namir, and I.M. Schlesinger, professor of psychology at the Hebrew University, uses the Eshkol-Wachmann Movement Notation system and is intended for academics. The second, *A Dictionary of Sign Language for the Deaf in Israel* by L. Namir, I. Sella, M. Rimor, and I.M. Schlesinger, in Hebrew, is based upon the former work, is intended for field workers, and gives signs for some 1,200 Hebrew words.

In the U.S. there exist several congregations of deaf-mutes in which prayers are recited in sign language. There is every hope that these facts will be taken into consideration and the existing disabilities of deaf-mutes according to *halakhah* will be removed.

See: *Alphabet, Manual (Deaf); *Penal Law.

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[Louis Isaac Rabinowitz]

°**DEÁK, FERENCZ** (1803–1876), Hungarian lawyer and liberal nationalist politician; minister of justice in the revolutionary government of 1848. In 1839 Deák opposed a bill prohibiting Jews from acquiring certain classes of immovable property from the nobility. In 1867, when he was active in framing the constitution, he advocated legal emancipation for the Jews. After the schism in Hungarian Jewry between the Reform and Orthodox in 1869, Deák supported the latter in their demand for a separate organization, regarding it as a matter of freedom of conscience.

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DEATH.

In the Bible

The Hebrew word for death is *mavet* (*mawet*) (*Heb.* מָוֶת) from the root *mvt* (*mwt*). For the Canaanites, *Mwt* (Mot) was the god of the underworld. Details of the myth of Mot are found in *Ugaritic literature. Mot fought against *Baal, the god of rain and of fertility; he was victorious and forced Baal to descend to his kingdom in the depths of the earth. But Anath, sister of Baal, avenged her brother and killed Mot. In the end Baal and Mot both returned to life, but at different times. Most commentators interpret this myth as a symbol of the changing seasons: Baal dies at the end of the rainy season, while Mot returns to life; the contrary happens when the rains begin again. In the Bible there are traces of such a myth in the belief that death is a destructive force distinct from God (see *Demons and Demonology) with its own messengers (e.g., war, sickness, plagues, cf. Hos, 13:14; Ps. 91:5–7; Prov. 16:14). In Jeremiah 9:20 it is said, "For Death (*mawet*) has climbed in through our windows, has entered our fortresses, cutting off children from the streets, young men from the squares." *Mawet* in this verse (see also Isa. 5:14; Hab. 2:5) may be compared to the Mesopotamian demon Lamashtu, who usually attacks children and pregnant women by climbing over the walls and entering through the windows (cf. Paul in bibl., where the widely held opinion that links this passage with the Baal myth is criticized). In the Bible there are two reasons given for man's death: the first states that God made man from the dust of the earth, and to dust he must return (Gen. 2:7; 3:19; Job 10:9). Genesis 3:22–24 gives a second reason: that of sin. By his expulsion from paradise, man was deprived of access to the tree of life, and thus eternal life was lost to him. The sentence of death passed on man in Genesis 3:19, "By the sweat of your face shall you get bread to eat until you return to the ground. For from it you were taken. For dust you are, and to dust you shall return," is opposed to other biblical passages that speak of the dead who go down into the tomb and enter the region of the dead (Isa. 14:9–12; Ezek. 32:17–32; etc.). Many names are given to this region: **she'ol*, always feminine and without a definite article as is usual in proper nouns, is found in no other language; ʾereẓ ("earth," "underworld"; e.g., I Sam. 28:13; Jonah 2:7; Job 10:21–22), which has the same meaning in Akkadian and Ugaritic; *kever (qever*, "grave"; Ps. 88:12), whose Akkadian parallel, *qabru*, is the normal form of designating the world of the dead; *ʿafar* ("dust"; Isa. 26:6, 19; cf. Gen. 3:19); *bor* ("pit"; e.g., Isa. 14:15, 38:18; Prov. 28:17; cf. Akk. *bûru); shaḥat* ("pit"; Ps. 7:16; cf. Akk. *šuttu*); *ʾavadon* ("Abaddon"; e.g., Job 28:22); *naḥalei beliyyaʿal*, "the torrents of Belial" (II Sam. 22:5,6). This region is in the depths of the earth; it is therefore called "the nether parts of the earth" (Ezek. 31:14); "the depths of the pit" (Lam. 3:55); "the land of darkness" (Job 10:21). Note the common Akkadian expressions for the region of the dead: "house of darkness" and "country of no return." The dead all inhabit this country, even those who were not buried (Gen. 37:35; Isa. 14:19; Ezek. 32:17–32; The Epic of Gilgamesh xii: 153). The dead are also called "*Rephaim" – in Ugaritic as well – but the origin of the word is obscure (Prov. 21:16). After death there is no contact between the dead man and his god (Ps. 30:10; 88:6, 12–13). Besides the idea that all the dead share the same unhappy situation, there is the notion that their fate depends on the attention bestowed on them by the living: whether or not they are properly buried, whether or not food or drink is brought to them (but not in the Bible), and, especially, whether or not their names are remembered. In the Bible great importance is placed on *burial, especially in the family tomb (Gen. 47:29–30; 49:29; 50:25; II Sam. 21:12–14). On the other hand, not to be buried at all is a serious punishment (cf. I Kings 14:11; et al.; note the Assyro-Babylonian malediction, "May he not be buried in the earth and may his spirit never be reunited with his loved ones."). Among the unfortunate beings in the next world, Akkadian texts name "the man who has no one to recall his name" (cf. II Sam. 18:18) and "he to whom neither food nor drink is brought"; he is reduced to "drinking fetid waters and eating the food that is thrown out by the living" (cf. The Epic of Gilgamesh xii: 154). Care of the dead is also inspired by self-interest because they can affect the world of the living either for good or for evil and can even foretell the future (I Sam. 28:15–20). In the Babylonian confessions, the spirits of the dead are mentioned along with the gods: "I honored the gods and the spirits of the dead." In the Bible, they were called spirits (lit. "gods"; I Sam. 28:13). The reticence of the Torah on matters concerning the dead is easily understandable. There is nothing about honoring the dead; on the contrary, there are prohibitions about mourning certain persons, and it is forbidden to give them alms (Deut. 26:14) and to consult them. The sacrifices to the dead, forbidden by Deuteronomy 26:14, are linked by Psalm 106:28 to idolatry: "They joined themselves also unto Baal-Peor, and ate the sacrifices of the dead." The custom of bringing meals to the dead did not however disappear, and during the Second Temple period, at least in certain devout circles, it was considered a pious work: "Pour out thy bread on the tomb of the just and do not give it to sinners" (Tob. 4:7). Ben-Sira attacks this belief (Ecclus. 30:18). For the Egyptians, the dead plow, harvest, eat, and drink – in short, do all they did while they were alive (The Book of the Dead, 110). This pessimism about the fate of man expressed in biblical and Mesopotamian texts can be most clearly felt in the words with which Siduri tries to convince Gilgamesh that there is no point in seeking eternal life, for "when the gods created mankind, Death for mankind they set aside, Life in their own hands retaining"; and she goes on advising him to enjoy this world (cf. Pritchard, Texts, 90; see also the parallel passage in Eccles. 9:7–10). The two exceptions to the biblical belief that man descends into *she'ol* and remains there forever are Enoch (Gen. 5:24) and Elijah (II Kings 2:11; cf. the fate of the hero of the Mesopotamian flood story Ziusudra/Utnapishtim). Perhaps this belief is the origin of the psalmist's hope that he would not descend to *she'ol* (Ps. 49:16). In a Ugaritic epic Anat proposes to give Aqhat immortality, but the latter does not believe in it. Similarly in an Akkadian myth it is related how immortality escapes Adapa because he follows the evil counsel of his father, Enki-Ea, and refuses to eat the bread of life and drink the water of life. Enki-Ea had led him to believe that they were the bread and the water of death (cf. Pritchard, Texts, 101–2). An epithet of Marduk in Babylonian texts is *muballiṭ mîti*, "he who gives life to the dead"; but the meaning of the expression is rather "he who cures the sick" (cf. *Ludlul bêl nemêqi* 2:47; II Sam. 9:8; 16:9). In the *Servant of the Lord poems, his sufferings are described as a death. *Resurrection in the true sense of the word is only found in Daniel 12:2, but here too resurrection is a reward and meant only for the people of Israel, while in Isaiah 66:24 punishment of the wicked is eternal, but is not connected with their resurrection. In Ezekiel 37:1–14, the return of Exiles is described as a resurrection from the dead. On the other hand, one should compare this to Genesis 2:19, which states that the body descends to the earth (cf. Ps. 104:29; Job 34:14–15). Whether the spirit of man ultimately goes upward is questioned in the late Book of Ecclesiastes 3:20–21, but 12:7 affirms that "the spirit of man returns to God, who gave it."

In Talmud and Midrash

Though so complex a subject as death was inevitably not dealt with by the rabbis in an unequivocal way, their discussions on the subject incorporate a series of closely interconnected doctrines. Death itself, though imbued with mystery – contact with the corpse, for instance, meant defilement in the highest degree – was thought of as that moment of transformation from life in this world to that of the beyond. In terms of the mishnaic image, "This world is like a corridor before the world to come" (Avot 4:16), death is the passing of the portal separating the two worlds, giving access to a "world which is wholly good" (Kid. 39b).

At death the soul leaves the body with a cry that reverberates from one end of the world to the other (Yoma 20b), to pass into a state of existence, the exact nature of which was a matter of considerable dispute amongst the rabbis (cf. Shab. 152b–153a; Ber. 18b–19a; Maim. Yad, Teshuvah 8:2, and the critical remark by Abraham b. David of Posquières (Rabad); see also *Afterlife, *Body and Soul, *World to Come). Whatever the nature of the world beyond, it was generally accepted that there the dead reap the deserts of the acts they performed while alive, that they were free from Torah and the commandments (Shab. 30b), and that death served as an atoning process (Sif. Num 112). One confession formula before death, particularly prescribed for the criminal about to be executed, is "May my death be an atonement for all my sins" (Sanh. 6:2). The atoning value of death received greater emphasis after the destruction of the Temple, with the abolition of sacrificial atonement, so that complete forgiveness for more serious sins was dependent, despite repentance, the Day of Atonement, and suffering, on the final atoning value of death (cf. the discussion in Urbach, *Ḥazal*, 380–3).

Death and birth are viewed as parallel processes: just as man is born with a cry, tears, and a sigh, so he dies. He is born with his fist clenched as if to say "the whole world is mine," and he dies with open hands as if to say, "I have inherited nothing from this world" (Eccles. R. 5:14). The rabbis considered that there were 903 forms of death, the most severe way of dying being from asthma, or croup, which is compared to a thorn being torn out of a ball of wool, and the lightest is described as "the kiss of death," specially reserved for the righteous, which is like a hair being removed from milk (Ber. 8a; BB 17a; see *Death, Kiss of). The way in which a person dies, and the day on which he dies, were thought to be significant as good or bad omens for the deceased. Thus, for example, should he die amid laughter, or on the Sabbath eve, it is a good sign, whereas to die amid weeping, or at the close of the Sabbath, is a bad omen (Ket. 103b). To die from a disease of the bowels is considered a good sign (Er. 41b), no doubt because the suffering involved was thought to cleanse a person of his iniquities. Thus it was said that many of the righteous died from bowel illness (Shab. 118b), this being an opportunity for any sins they may have accumulated to be purged before their entrance into the next world (cf., however, what was said above about the "kiss of death"). One description of the death process relates that when the dying man sees the angel of death, who is covered all over with eyes and stands above his pillow with drawn sword, he opens his mouth in fright, whereupon the angel lets fall a drop of gall suspended on the end of his sword. Swallowing this, the person dies, and because of this drop, his corpse gives off a bad odor (Av. Zar. 20b). At the moment of death the righteous man is vouchsafed a vision of the *Shekhinah*, the Divine Presence (Num. R. 14:22; Zohar, *Midrash ha-Ne'elam*, Gen. 98a).

Concerning the very necessity of death there was some dispute amongst the rabbis. On the one hand there is the rather extreme view, which did not win general acceptance, that death was the wages of sin: "There is no death without sin" (Shab. 55a), and it is the inevitable fate of man only in that no man is sinless, "… there is not a righteous man upon earth, that … sinneth not" (Eccles. 7:20). Even Moses and Aaron died because they had sinned (Shab. 55b). The few exceptions, the really righteous such as Elijah, were thought not to have died (Lev. R. 27:4; Eccles. R. 3:15), or in other cases to have died only as a consequence of the machinations of the serpent in Eden, who caused Adam to sin and thus bring death to the world (Deut. R. 9:8; Shab. 55a; in the Talmud this view is ascribed to those who maintain that death is not dependent on sin, but the impact of the original passage is unclear; see Urbach, op. cit., 376–7). In this vein it is said that "charity delivers from death, not merely from an unnatural death but from death itself" (Shab. 156b), and that did not the truly righteous request their own death, they would not die (Mid. Shoḥer Tov, Ps. 116).

On the other hand an older view, stemming from the tannaitic period, stresses the inevitability of death, its naturalness as part of the very fabric of the world since creation. Thus when God had completed the creation of the world He saw that "it was very good" (Gen. 1:31), concerning which R. Meir remarked, 'it was very good,' that is death" (Gen. R. 9:5; see Maimonides' comment on this passage in *Guide*, 3:10). The idea behind R. Meir's enigmatic statement would seem to be that death is an integral part of the natural order, making way for new life and continued creation. The naturalness of death is also explicit in the saying that the angel of death was created on the first day of creation (Tanḥ., Va-Yeshev 4; see also BB 10a, where death is described as the strongest thing in the world). The Mishnah in *Avot* (4:22) stresses: "Those who are born will of necessity die … for perforce you were created … born … live, and perforce you will die." According to this view sin only hastens death, but does not cause it in the first place. Lack of sin therefore either enables a man to reach his predetermined span of years, thus saving him from an untimely demise, or helps him to live longer than his allotted span (Shab. 156b).

These arguments concerning the inevitability of death or its dependence on sin turn on several factors, among them possible interpretations of the account of Adam's sin in Genesis. According to one view Adam brought death into the world by disobeying God and eating the forbidden fruit. The Children of Israel had an opportunity of overcoming the power of death when they received the Torah at Sinai, but they lost this opportunity when they sinned with the golden calf (Mekh., Ba-Ḥodesh 9; Ex. R. 32:1; cf. also Num. R. 9:45). The way Adam's sin was interpreted amongst the *amoraim* may have been influenced by apologetic considerations, particularly the need to negate the Pauline doctrine of original sin as an inheritance from Adam to all mankind (Rom. 5:12). Perhaps the view that each man's sin causes his own death is influenced by the need to stress individual responsibility as opposed to the Christian position that in Adam we have all sinned (*ibid.*).

That both the wicked and the righteous die was explained as follows. The wicked perish so that they should cease angering God, while the righteous die so that they may have rest from their continual struggle against the evil inclination which has no power over them after death (Gen R. 9:5). As noted, the process of dying also may serve the righteous as a means of ridding themselves of their sins (see also Tosef., Yoma 5 [4]:6). Nevertheless, though mortality affects both wicked and righteous alike, the rabbis were sure that the whole quality of their respective lives, on this earth and in the hereafter, differed greatly. For the wicked are considered as if dead while still alive, and the righteous even in death are called "living" (Ber. 18a, b; Tanh., Berakhah 7).

Laws and Customs

Jewish tradition emphasizes respect for the dying and the dead, and deference for the last wishes of a dying man, of adherence to such last wishes: the final requests of Jacob (Gen. 49:29), and Joseph (Gen. 50:25), and the advice of David (I Kings 2:1–9) were all faithfully heeded and observed. The Talmud states that the oral testament of a *goses* (גּוֹסֵס – the term applied to a dying man) has the same legal force as written and witnessed instructions (Git. 13a; see also *Gift, *Wills). The permission to transgress the Sabbath in order to ease the discomfort of the dying, however slender their chances of recovery, is not affected by the talmudic dictum that "most *gosesim* die" (Git. 28a). A dying person should not be left alone, and it is a great *mitzvah* to be present at *yeẓi'at neshamah* ("departure of the soul"). A candle is usually lit in the presence of the *goses* to symbolize the flickering of the human soul. A sick person, nearing his end, should be encouraged to confess his sins before God. He is urged: "Confess your sins. Many confessed their sins and did not die, and many who did not confess died; and as a reward, should you confess, you will live." (D 338:1; see also Sanh. 6:2, and Shab. 32a). Should he not know a formula of confession, he should be told to say, "May my death be an atonement" (see Sanh. 6:2). This rite may be performed on a Sabbath and on holy days, but should not take place in front of women and children because it would cause them distress and thus trouble the sick person (Sh. Ar., YD 338:1). One brief confession reads: "I acknowledge unto Thee, O Lord my God, and God of my fathers, that both my cure and my death are in Thy hands. May it be Thy will to send me a perfect healing. Yet if my death be fully determined by Thee, I will in love accept it at Thy hand. O may my death be an atonement for all my sins, iniquities, and transgressions of which I have been guilty against Thee" (Sh. Ar., YD 338:2). The confession should end with the recital of "Hear, O Israel: the Lord is our God, the Lord is One" (Deut. 6:4). The formulas of confession recited on the Day of Atonement are also used (see *Al Ḥet, *Ashamnu, *Confession). Death is presumed to occur when breathing appears to have stopped and when the absences of the peripheral pulse, the heartbeat, and the corneal reflex have been ascertained. Those present recite the blessing *Barukh Dayyan ha-Emet* ("Blessed be the true Judge"; *Bayit Ḥadash*, Tur, OḤ 223; see also Ber. 59b). The body must then be left untouched for about eight minutes. During this period, a feather is laid across the lips; those present watch carefully for the slightest sign of movement. When death is finally established, the eyes and mouth are gently closed by the eldest son or the nearest relative. Jacob was assured that Joseph would perform this final filial service (Gen. 46:4). The arms and hands are extended alongside the body, and the lower jaw is closed and bound before rigor mortis sets in. The body is placed on the floor, feet toward the door, and is covered with a sheet. A lighted candle is placed close to the head of the body. In the house of the dead it is customary to turn all the mirrors to the wall, or to cover them. Water standing in the vicinity of the corpse is poured out (Sh. Ar., YD 339:5). The custom may have originated in superstition; but it may also be a method of announcing the death to avoid actually having to articulate the bad news. None of these services discharged for the dead, however, should be performed for a *goses* (*ibid.*, 339:1). A dead body should not be left alone. It must be guarded constantly, whether on weekdays or the Sabbath, until the funeral, and, in pious circles, the Book of Psalms is continually recited. Various reasons have been advanced to explain the custom of watching the dead, which is apparently very ancient. It may have originated in a desire to keep away evil spirits, or to protect the body from rodents and body snatchers. It became a mark of respect for the dead who must not be left either defenseless or unattended.

[Harry Rabinowicz]

ORIENTAL CUSTOMS. In Tunis and other communities, the custom prevailed of putting a loaf of bread or a nail on the corpse immediately after death took place. In Yemen the *mezuzah* was removed from the door, and sacred books removed from the room of a dying man who was in great pain. It was believed that their presence weakened the power of the Angel of Death and that their removal would bring a speedier end to the suffering. Sometimes the *shofar* was sounded. The deceased was dressed in his best clothes (if a woman, in her wedding dress) under the shrouds because "he is going to meet the Messiah." Rose water was sprinkled on him and fragrant leaves put in his clothes. In Salonika the deceased was put in a coffin and his sons formally asked his forgiveness and kissed his hand. If the deceased was a rabbi the whole community did so. The custom of professional women mourners was widespread. Lime was sometimes put on the body to hasten decomposition.

[Reuben Kashani]

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DEATH, KISS OF. Scripture records that "Aaron the priest ascended Mount Hor by the mouth of the Lord and died there" (Num. 33:38); and that "Moses the servant of the Lord died there in the land of Moab by the mouth of the Lord" (Deut. 34:5). The words "by the mouth of the Lord" were interpreted literally by the rabbis; they died there by the kiss of the Lord – which was given after Moses' soul absolutely refused to leave his body (Deut. R. 11:10) – and not through the agency of the Angel of Death, who was not granted dominion over them. Miriam and the three Patriarchs were said to have died in the same manner (BB 17a). Although only these six are named, sudden death after the age of 80 was also regarded as death through the kiss (MK 28a). Further, after his death R. *Naḥman b. Jacob appeared to Rabbah in a dream and told him that his death was as easy as drawing a hair out of milk; this is the way in which the kiss of death is described (*ibid.*). The description may be compared with that in the Koran (Sura 79:1) in the commentary of al-Bayḍāwī: "When a righteous person dies, the angel of death … makes the soul leave the body like a drop taken out of a bucket of water." The kiss is the easiest of the 903 kinds of death (the numerical value of תוצאות, *toẓa'ot*, in Ps. 68:21, "to God the Lord belong the issues [*toẓa'ot*] of death").

[Harry Freedman]

DEATH MARCHES, name given by prison inmates and retained by historians to the forced evacuations on foot of concentration and slave labor camps in the winter of 1944–45. With the onset of winter and Allied armies closing in on the Nazi concentration camps – the Soviets from the East and the British and Americans from the West – desperate SS officials attempted to evacuate the camps both to remove the eyewitnesses and to conceal the crimes that had been committed. Prisoners were moved westward in the dead of winter, forced to march toward the heartland of Germany, where their presence would be less incriminating. Daniel Goldhagen has called the death marches, "the ambulatory equivalent of the cattle car." Yet this time the prisoners were not being removed from Germany but moved back into Germany, perhaps to serve as labor, perhaps also to be used as fodder for a last stand.

On January 18, 1945, just days before the Red Army arrived at Auschwitz, 66,000 prisoners were marched to Wodzislaw, where they were put on freight trains to the Gross-Rosen, *Buchenwald, *Dachau, and *Mauthausen concentration camps. Almost one in four died en route. On January 20, 7,000 Jews, 6,000 of them women, were marched from Stutthof's satellite camps in the Danzig region. In the course of a 10-day march, 700 were murdered. Those who remained alive when the marchers reached the shores of the Baltic Sea were driven into the sea and shot. There were only 13 known survivors.

Death marches had been used before. In 1941, hundreds of thousands of Soviet prisoners of war had been herded along the highways of the Ukraine and Belorussia from one camp to another. They too were often walked to death. By 1942, with the pressures of a long war ahead of them, Soviet POWs were preserved as laborers. In 1942 Jews in Poland were marched from smaller ghettos to larger ones. Within a year many were deported by train to death camps. Elsewhere Romanians joined the Germans as Jews from Bessarabia and Bukovina were marched to Transnistria. Thousands died en route. On November 8, 1944, Adolf Eichmann initiated a death march of tens of thousands of Hungarian Jews from Budapest to the Austrian border. Impatient to deport Hungarian Jews, he could not wait for trains to arrive in Budapest. The march lasted a month. Those fortunate enough to survive were sent to Dachau and Mauthausen.

Characteristic of these death marches were that they occurred in the dead of winter, with few provisions for food or shelter and little opportunity to rest. Many died en route from starvation, cold, and exhaustion. For the Germans they were a means of moving a population from one place to another at a time of great scarcity and when entire systems were breaking down. They also were a way of literally walking the prisoners to death. Those who fell behind or who were too weak to continue were killed on the spot; their bodies were often left on the side of the road. Those fortunate enough to continue were shipped to concentration camps that were unable to handle them when they arrived; they had broken down from the sheer numbers of inmates and an infrastructure inadequate to the task. For the prisoners, the death marches were an unending marathon testing their endurance and will to live and pushing them beyond exhaustion. Most prisoners succumbed; the death rate was often more than 50 percent and sometimes only one in ten survived.

There were 59 different marches from Nazi concentration camps during the final winter of German domination, some covering hundreds of miles. Some had a specific destination; others were continued until liberation or death.

[Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

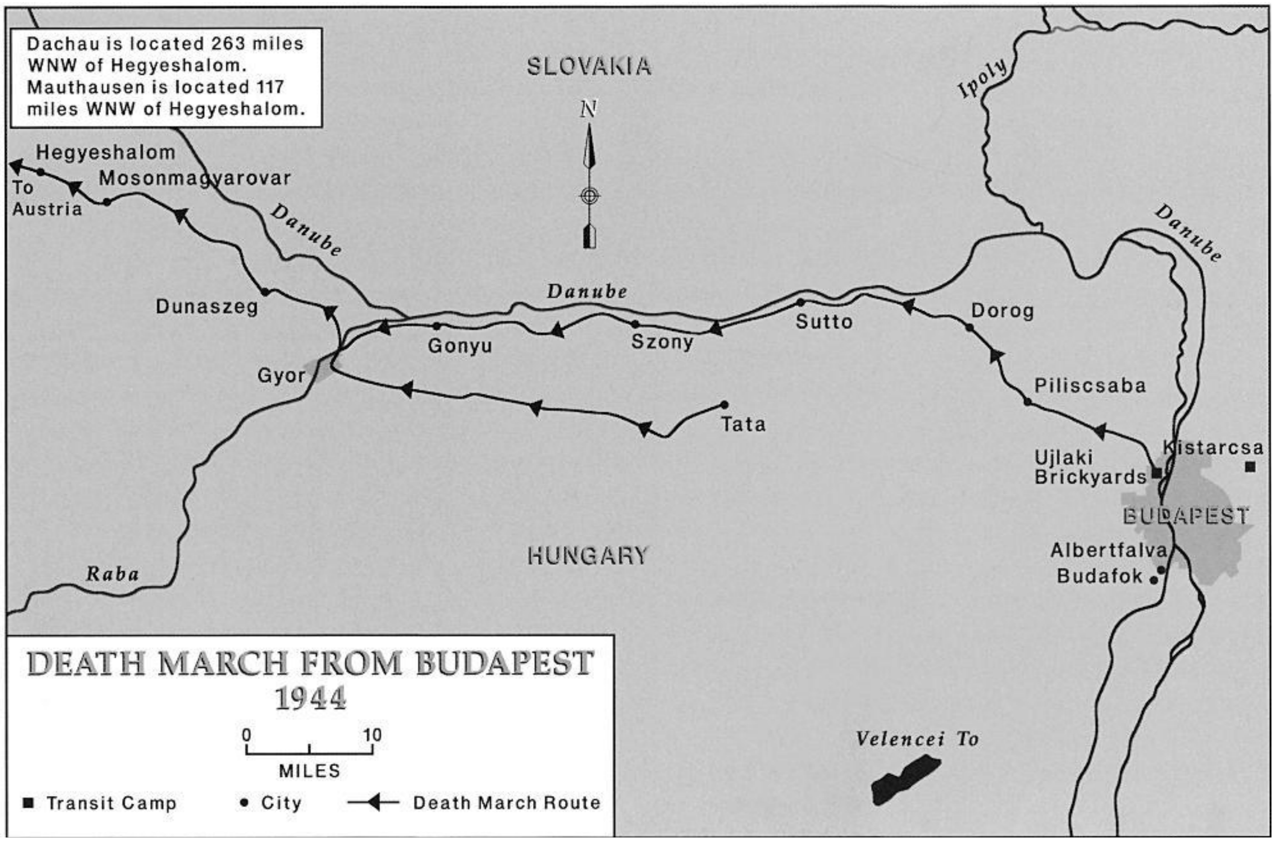
Dachau is located 263 miles WNW of Hegyeshalom. Mauthausen is located 117 miles WNW of Hegyeshalom.
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DEATH MARCH FROM BUDAPEST 1944
0
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MILES
■ Transit Camp
• City
Death March Route

We worked in a labor camp called Christianstadt near Auschwitz in an ammunition factory. In the beginning of February 1945, we were told the commandant wanted us to get all our things together and leave. We are going to walk. The Russians are behind us and we have to get away from them…. We had no idea where we were going. The commandant said, "How many there will be at the end is not my responsibility. I am just supposed to bring you." Some were shot on this walk. They couldn't walk anymore and some tried to run away and were shot and others got away.

We had civilian winter coats and we had a little square striped piece on the back of the coat. A square hole was made into the coat and it was sewn into the coat. But most of us had – for some reason – scissors and a needle and thread in the camp, so when we had a little free time, we put a piece of material from our coat underneath that hole and then sewed the striped piece back on. It just seemed like somebody had the idea and we all copied it.

As we marched my girlfriend and I were talking. There were so many women you couldn't keep track of who is missing. We made the plans at night if there was an opportunity the next day to run off, what our names would be and what we would say to people. So as we gathered again in rows of five, the two of us ran. Nobody saw us. We took our scissors and we cut off these pieces of striped material. We threw them in the brook and we sang songs. We got stopped by a policeman and he said, "Aren't you two girls from the Jewish group that went by?" and we made the attempt to look very surprised. How could he think that we would be two Jewish girls? After that we stayed with some people overnight. We told everybody that we were cousins, and we changed our names. So we went on our way and we joined a troop of German refugees and we went to the Sudetenland in Germany. Our German helped us and there we took jobs with some families.

From the testimony of Eva Gestl Burns,
Gratz College Holocaust Oral History Archive

Death march of Dachau prisoners, April 1945. Yad Vashem, Jerusalem.

DEBDOU, town in N.E. *Morocco in the region of Oujda near the Algerian border whose Jewish population was largely comprised of Sephardi Jews from Seville who arrived in Morocco in 1391 and, apparently, also in 1492 following their expulsion from Spain. The Jewish community was governed by several influential families who engaged in internecine conflicts and power struggles over communal leadership. The most noted families in the disputes were the Cohen-Scalis, the Murcianos, the Benhamous, the Bensusans, the Benaims, the Ha-Cohens, and the Moralis. Toward the mid-18th century the community was ravaged by a cholera epidemic resulting in several deaths and the relocation of 300 families to other parts of Morocco. Thus the community was reduced from 630 families to 330. Nevertheless the Jews made up some two-thirds of the total population.

In 1903 the Debdou community encountered hostility from Muslims in nearby Oujda and local villagers. They were thus exposed to physical danger while, at the same time, the economic decline that affected much of Morocco rendered many of them helpless. They turned to the Paris headquarters of the *Alliance Israélite Universelle (which did not open a school in their community) and asked for financial assistance to ride out the difficult times. The Alliance responded favorably and assisted Debdou's Jews partially to overcome their problems. The inauguration of the French Protectorate in 1912 eliminated their security problems and improved their economic prospects.

Though other Moroccan Jewish communities made up one-fourth to one-third of the entire population of other cities and towns – notably Sefrou and Tangier – Debdou was the only area in Morocco where Jews remained the majority of the population well into the first half of the 20th century. In fact, Debdou was unique in the sense that it was doubtlessly the only Jewish community in Muslim lands where Jews formed a majority. David Cohen-Scali served as the unofficial governor of Debdou between 1895 and 1910.

Until the mid-1950s Debdou remained a vital center of Maghrebi Jewish life. Its scribes were famous for producing Scrolls of the Law for many of the Jewish communities of northern Morocco and Algeria. Debdou had more than a dozen synagogues, which preserved the religious rituals and customs of Spain. Like other Moroccan communities Debdou's Jewry engaged in craftsmanship and included small-scale merchants, tailors, and weavers. Some, however, were shepherds. After World War II as many as 1,000 Jews still lived in Debdou. They were organized for *aliyah* by the Jewish Agency's Immigration Department emissaries in 1955–56 and settled in the moshavim of Israel's southern and northern peripheries.

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[Michael M. Laskier (2nd ed.)]

DE BENEDETTI, ALDO (1892–1970), Italian playwright. De Benedetti's light, sentimental comedies betray the influence of the French theater and of the Hungarian writers László Fodor and István Fekete. He made his reputation with the plays he wrote in the 1930s, including *La resa di Tittì* (1932), *Lohengrin* (1933), and *Due dozzine di rose scarlatte* ("Two Dozen Red Roses," 1936). The latter, his greatest success, became widely known outside Italy. Almost all of his plays deal with attempts to escape from a stifling reality, to seek refuge in a romantic life. De Benedetti also worked for the cinema as a scriptwriter and director. His most successful motion pictures were *Marco Visconti* (1922), *Garibaldi* (1926), *Gli uomini, che mascalzoni* (1932), and *Mio figlio professore* (1946), which was written in collaboration with Vittorio De Sica. Due to the antisemitic laws of 1938, De Benedetti had to stop writing plays; but he wrote the scripts of some successful movies, such as *Maddalena, zero in condotta* (1941). After World War II, he dealt with more serious matters in *Lo sbaglio di essere vivo* (1945), a play reminiscent of Pirandello. In 1970 he committed suicide.

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[Giorgio Romano / Alessandro Guetta (2nd ed.)]

DEBENEDETTI, GIACOMO (1901–1967), Italian critic and author. Born in Biella, Debenedetti studied mathematics at the University of Torino and afterwards received degrees in law and in literature. In 1920–30 he contributed to such important literary journals as *Il Baretti*, *Convegno, Solaria*, and *L'Italia letteraria*, and published his first book, a volume of stories, *Amedeo e altri racconti*, in 1926. In 1924 he gave a series of lectures on the prophets (*Profeti*, 1998), showing particular interest in the literary style of the Bible. He was also an important film critic, and from 1937 to 1943 he worked as a scriptwriter (anonymously from 1938 owing to the Fascist anti-Jewish laws). Debenedetti proved himself an outstanding critic in a number of essays in which he subjected the principal Italian writers of the 19th and 20th centuries, as well as historians of literature like Benedetto Croce, to penetrating analysis. Some of them were collected in *Saggi Critici* (1929; 1952^2). Analyzing the works of D'Annunzio and Pirandello in a second series of essays, *Saggi Critici* (1945; enlarged edition, 1955), Debenedetti proclaimed the need for committed, nonconformist critics to play an active part in politics. His literary criticism ended with a third volume of *Saggi Critici* (1959; 1963^2), which contains original judgments on three French writers, Gide, Proust, and Valéry. He also gave a series of lectures and wrote articles on the narrative structure of fiction (both in literature and cinema) in modern times (*Il personaggio uomo*, 1988). He taught Italian at the universities of Messina and Rome; his university courses were published posthumously (*La poesia italiana del Novecento*, 1974; *Il romanzo del novecento*, 1998), mainly by his wife. He was also an influential advisor for important publishing houses, and a translator (among others, of M. Proust, G. Eliot, K. Mansfield, J.-P. Sartre, H. Miller). Debenedetti fell victim to the Nazi persecution of the Jews when the Germans overran central and northern Italy late in World War II, and narrowly escaped deportation. He left two texts describing the Nazi persecution in Rome that are considered examples of engaged literature based on actual facts. In the first, *16 Ottobre 1943* (1945), he told the story of the roundup of the Jews of Rome and their deportation to the death camps. In the second, *Otto Ebrei* (1944; definitive edition, 1961), he described the notorious massacre in the Ardeatine Caves (see *Rome). In these works Debenedetti denounced not only the cruel and vile behavior of the German Nazis, but also the antifascist philosemitism of the postwar years, which continued to see the Jews as different from the rest of the Italians.

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[Joseph Baruch Sermoneta / Alessandro Guetta (2nd ed.)]

DEBIR (Heb. דְּבִיר).

(1) Canaanite royal city in the territory of Judah and originally inhabited by descendants of the Anakim ("giants?"; Josh. 12:13; 11:21). Debir is also called Kiriath-Sepher and Kiriath-Sannah (*ibid.* 15:15, 49). It was conquered by Joshua (*ibid.* 10:38–39; 12:13) but another biblical tradition attributes its capture to Othniel, son of Kenaz, Caleb's nephew (*ibid.* 15:15; Judg. 1:11–12). Debir is listed among the levitical cities (Josh. 21:15; I Chron. 6:43), which were apparently administrative centers under David. The Bible locates it in the southernmost district of the Judean hill country (Josh. 15:49). W.F. Albright's proposal to identify it with Tell Beit Mirsim, an important mound about 15 mi. (25 km.) southwest of Hebron, is usually accepted. Albright excavated the tell from 1926 to 1932, uncovering a series of strata dating from the late third millennium to the end of the monarchy. The city was strongly fortified in the Hyksos period and after a gap in occupation was resettled in the Late Bronze Age, suffering total destruction sometime in the latter part of the 13th century B.C.E. It was again occupied in the period of the Judges and provided with a casemate wall in the tenth century. Numerous dyeing plants for a textile industry were found in the city belonging to the period of the monarchy. The sequence of Bronze and Iron Age pottery found there still serves as the basis of the ceramic study of these periods. Some scholars reject Debir's identification with Tell Beit Mirsim arguing that this tell is actually located in the Shephelah ("lowland") whereas the Bible places Debir in the hill region of Judah, south of Hebron. K. Galling has suggested instead Khirbat Rābūḍ, about 8 mi. (13 km.) southwest of Hebron, an identification which appears probable following a survey by M. Kochavi which established that Khirbat Rābūḍ is a large tell of 60–70 dunams with prominent fortifications and remains dating mainly from the Late Bronze and Iron Ages (see also *Eglon).

(2) A locality on the northern boundary of Judah above the valley of Achor (Josh. 15:7). It is located near Ṭalʿat al-Damm between Jerusalem and Jericho. The ancient name may be preserved in Wadi al-Dabr.

(3) The king of the city of Eglon, south of Jerusalem, who was one of the five confederate kings in the Amorite coalition that attempted to halt Joshua's invasion (Josh. 10:3).

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[Michael Avi-Yonah]

DEBORAH (Heb. דְּבוֹרָה; "bee"), wife of Lappidoth; judge and prophet during the period of the *Judges. Deborah promoted the war of liberation from the oppression of *Jabin king of Canaan (Judg. ch. 4). She is cited as the primary author of the Song of Deborah (ch. 5). Unsuccessful efforts have been made to determine the exact time and place of Deborah's war within the general framework of the conquest of Canaan and the period of the Judges or to date the song by means of geography or the political situation reflected in it. Many scholars, however, place this period at about 1200–1125 B.C.E.

Deborah is unique among the Judges because she was a woman (cf. 5:7) and a prophet (4:4); according to the text, she is also the only one of the judges who actually judged (4:5). Although tribal affiliation is uncertain, her place of residence leads to the supposition that she was an Ephraimite (4:5) or that she may have come from Issachar (cf. 5:15). Both in the narration of the events and in the Song of Deborah, she appears as a national leader, as "judging Israel" (4:4), and as a "mother in Israel" (5:7). Her home and seat of justice was at the southern extremity of the hill-country of Ephraim, between *Beth-El and *Ramah under the "palm-tree of Deborah" (4:5), an unidentified site sacred to the people and possibly identified by popular tradition with Allon-Bacuth, the burial site of Deborah, Rebekah's nurse (Gen. 35:8). Some see in the image of Deborah the *kahin* (or *kahina*), known from the nomadic Arab tribes as a judge in a sanctified place, a magician and fortune-teller who aroused the warriors to battle with a song. The Bible tells nothing about Deborah's husband Lappidoth (Judg. 4:4).

The War of Deborah

This is the only war against the Canaanite oppression of the tribes of Israel described in the Book of Judges, and it may have been Israel's last campaign against the Canaanites. The relationship between this war against "Jabin king of Canaan, who reigned in Hazor" (Judg. 4:2) and the one against "Jabin king of Hazor" (Josh. 11:1 ff.) has not yet been clarified. The sources imply a gap of several generations between the battle described in Joshua, which led to the conquest of Galilee, and the war of Deborah (cf. Judg. 2:10; 3:30; 4:3; 5:6). The narrative gives the distinct impression that the latter took place after the destruction of *Hazor itself, a problem already seen by the Radak (David *Kimḥi). Joshua's conquests had left many Canaanite enclaves in the interior of the country, especially in the northern plains (Judg. 1–3). The Canaanites' equipment included iron chariots, which the Israelites did not yet possess (1:19; 4:3), and this advantage enabled the enemy to control passage through the valleys (cf. 1:34). These Canaanite settlements in the valleys of Jezreel and Beth-Shean formed a barrier between the mountain tribes in the center of the land and those in the Galilee. In the days of Deborah, Jabin's military headquarters was located at *Harosheth-Goiim (4:2). With a force of "nine hundred chariots of iron" headed by *Sisera, Jabin "sorely oppressed the Israelites for twenty years" (4:3).

It is surprising that the initiative to engage in a war of liberation should have come from Deborah, who lived at a distance, at the southern extremity of the Canaanite kingdom, and that she should have summoned *Barak son of Abinoam from Kedesh-Naphtali in the northern extremity, also a considerable distance from the Canaanite kingdom. Deborah appointed Barak military commander and accompanied him to Kedesh-Naphtali, where he enlisted "ten thousand men from the tribe of Naphtali and the tribe of Zebulun" (4:6). Barak climbed Mount Tabor with his army while Sisera's camp moved from Harosheth-Goiim to the Kishon valley. Despite the considerable distance between the camps, Deborah ordered Barak to exploit the flooding of the Wadi Kishon as quickly as possible (5:21) and to move down from Mount Tabor and storm Sisera's camps. The battle was joined in "Taanach, by the waters of Megiddo" (5:19), a Canaanite town located near one of the tributaries of the Kishon, some 15 mi. (25 km.) southwest of Mount Tabor. Sisera's chariots sank deep into the mire and were totally disabled, and the Israelite army put "Sisera's entire camp to the sword until not one of them remained" (4:16). Sisera himself fled to the tent of *Jael, wife of *Heber the Kenite, who lived in friendship with Jabin (4:17), and was treacherously killed by Jael (4:17–22; 5:24–27). The victory marked the permanent decline of the Canaanite kingdom and ushered in a period of 40 years of tranquillity for Israel (4:23–24; 5:31).

Both accounts of the war of Deborah – the narrative and the poetic – concur in the main, giving a fairly complete picture of events, despite some discrepancies in details. In both accounts it is clearly a war of national liberation, not of isolated tribes. Nevertheless, the narrative indicates that only the two northern tribes – Zebulun and Naphtali – participated, whereas the song cites the names of many tribes (and clans), some praised for their participation, others condemned for their abstention (5:14–18), with Zebulun and Naphtali being generously acclaimed (5:18). It is difficult to ascertain whether these discrepancies constitute contradictory accounts or differing points of view of the same event. According to the song, the war of Deborah was a war of volunteers (5:2, 9), and the victory was a woman's victory, whether attributed to Deborah, the initiator, or to Jael, the slayer of the Canaanite commander.

The Song of Deborah

The song (Judg. ch. 5) is a paean of victory attributed to both Deborah and Barak. Among the most difficult, and, according to Bible scholars, among the earliest of Hebrew heroic poems, it was apparently sung antiphonally (cf. 5:12). The presence of many feminine images supports the view that the author was a woman. It opens with an invitation to kings and princes to listen (5:3) and a prologue (5:4–5) describing the trembling of the mountains in the face of Yahweh's triumphant march out of Seir. Section two (5:6–8) describes the wretched state of the people prior to the war. The period preceding the victory is called "the days of Shamgar son of Anath" and "the days of Jael" (5:6). The judge *Shamgar is known from another source (3:31), but a woman judge named Jael is mentioned nowhere else. It is hardly likely that the name Jael, the murderer of Sisera, is intended. The postwar change becomes evident in verses 9–11, which praise the "chieftains of Israel," i.e., the national leaders whose patriotism had achieved the victory. Section four (5:12–18) applauds the leading warriors and the tribes and clans that took part in the hostilities and, conversely, mocks those who remained apathetic. Praiseworthy are Ephraim, Benjamin, Machir (Manasseh?), Zebulun, Issachar, and Naphtali; discredited (apparently) are Reuben, Gilead (Gad?), Dan, and Asher; Judah and Simeon are not mentioned. Section five (5:19–22) recounts in highly figurative language the battle at Taanach against the "kings of Canaan" and Sisera and the role of nature therein.

Joyous clamor is interrupted between sections five and six (5:23) by a curse upon the settlement of Meroz for its failure to take part in the war. This serves as a dramatic antithesis to the blessings for Jael, which opens the next section. Section six (5:24–30) combines two scenes: the first describes the death of Sisera at the hand of Jael, the wife of Heber the Kenite; the second portrays the mother of Sisera in the company of "her ladies," who try to calm her as she waits in anxiety for her son to return from the battle. The song ends (5:31) with an exultant cry for the destruction of God's enemies and the supremacy of those who love Him.

The poetic form of the Song of Deborah is characterized by parallelism and the repetition of a word, or a combination of words, in various lines of most of the verses. Also characteristic is the frequency of the tricolon, that is, the three line verse (e.g., 5:2, 3b). According to tradition, the Song of Deborah is written in a form called "blank over script and script over blank," that is, a line of three hemistiches followed by a line of two longer hemistiches, and so on (similar to the form of the Song of Moses, Ex. 15). There is, however, no established tradition on the division of the words into hemistiches in the Song of Deborah. There is great similarity between this song and Psalm 68, which appears to have been composed under the former's influence. Tradition has assigned the Song of Deborah to the *haftarah* of the weekly portion of *Be-Shallaḥ*, whose central section is Moses' Song by the Sea (Ex. 15), which, in turn, bears a direct relationship in spirit, style, and content to the Song of Deborah.

[Jacob Liver]

In the *Aggadah*

Deborah was one of the seven prophetesses of the Bible. She dispensed justice in the open air under a palm tree to avoid being alone with a man in her house (Meg. 14a). Her husband Lappidoth is identified with Barak (SER 10), his name deriving from the fact that he made candles for the sanctuary (*lappid* = "torch"). According to one view this was his only merit because he was an ignorant man (*ibid.*). The rabbis criticize Deborah for her unbecoming arrogance in sending for Barak rather than going to him (Meg. 14b). Because of this and because of her conceit in boasting, "I arose, a mother in Israel" (cf. Judg. 5:7), she was given the unflattering name of Deborah ("bee"). The prophetic spirit departed from her for a time while she was composing her song (Pes. 66b); nevertheless she and Hannah were the two women in the world who composed praises to God unequaled by those written by men (Zohar, Lev. 19b). Deborah's great wealth enabled her to dispense justice without remuneration (Targ., Judg. 4:5).

In the Arts

The story of Deborah and the associated episode of Jael and Sisera have given rise to very few literary works. The French poet and Bible scholar Guy *Le Fèvre de la Boderie played on the Hebrew meaning of the name of the prophetess both in his epic *La Galliade* (1578) and in his poetic paraphrase of the Song of Deborah: "Debora gente Abeille / Reveille et leve toy, / Reveille toy reveille / Chante un Hymne au grand Roy…" (*Hymnes Ecclésiastiques*, 1578). From the 18th century onward, most works on these themes were texts designed for oratorios such as the *Deborah* of Handel. More attention has been paid to the motifs in the visual arts and in music. There are illustrations in 13th- and 14th-century manuscripts; the Psalter of St. Louis (French, 13th century) contains an illumination which shows the prophetess going forth with Barak and his men to make war on Sisera. In Ulm cathedral, Germany, Deborah, sword in hand, figures in the row of prophetesses on the choir stall (15th century). She also appears occasionally in baroque paintings, such as the work by Herrera Barnuevo (1619–1671) in the San Andrès church, Madrid. Jael has lent herself to even more plastic treatment, because of the dramatic qualities of her character. Usually artists have dealt with the slaying of Sisera, in which Jael, resembling Judith in appearance, wields a hammer in place of a sword. In Christian iconography she represents the Virgin's triumph over the devil or the Church triumphant, but in the misogynist art of the Middle Ages, Jael, like Delilah, exemplifies feminine duplicity. She appears in carvings and in manuscripts, including the Psalter of St. Louis (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris) and the 14th-century Queen Mary Psalter (British Museum). There is also a fine drawing (c. 1430) after the Master of Flémalle (Brunswick Museum, Germany). During the Renaissance, Jael began to represent force and became a popular subject in Northern Europe. Some artistic treatments of this figure are a painting by the German artist Lucas Cranach, a wood-engraving by Albrecht Altdorfer, and an engraving by the Dutch artist Lucas van Leyden (all of the 16th century). Rembrandt made a pen drawing of Jael (1659), and there is a Gobelin tapestry illustrating the subject (Vienna Museum).

Deborah and Jael were popular with composers. About a dozen 17th- and early 18th-century oratorios on these themes are known, including some of historical interest, such as G. Fr. Rubini's *dialogo, Debora* (1656), which was the first demonstration of the reform of oratorio texts and structure proposed by its librettist, Spagna; and Porsile's *Sisara* (1719), Apostolo Zeno's first libretto. Handel's oratorio *Deborah*, with text by Samuel Humphreys (1739), is among the earliest works of his "oratorio period." Baldassare Galuppi's oratorio *Jahel* (Venice, 1747) featured an unusual item – an aria accompanied by two mandolins. Eighteenth-century compositions, mainly oratorios, were often performed in honor of politically active woman rulers, such as the empress Maria Theresa. Two successful later works were Josef Foerster's opera *Deborah* (1893; text after S. *Mosenthal) and Ildebrando Pizzetti's opera *Debora e Jaele* (composed 1915–21), first performed in Milan in 1922. Two settings of the verse "Thus may Thine Enemies Perish" from the Song of Deborah (Judg. 5:31) have been absorbed into the "corpus" of Israeli folksong: one by Uri Givon (with the textual variant "Thine Enemies, O Israel" instead of "O God") and another by Sara Levi-Tannai; both have also been made into folk dances. One of the Aramaic epic chants of the Jews of Kurdistan describes the story of Jael and Sisera (J.J. Rivlin, *Shirat Yehudei ha-Targum* (1959), 203–9).

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DEBORIN (Joffe), ABRAM MOISEYEVICH (1881–1963), Russian Marxist philosopher. Born into a poor family in Lithuania, Deborin found employment as a metalworker and got caught up in the revolutionary spirit of the time. In 1903 he sided with Lenin's Bolsheviks against the Menshevik faction. As a student in Switzerland he came under the influence of the founder of Russian Marxism, Georgi Plekhanov, and became a Menshevik. With the success of the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917, he quit the Mensheviks and turned again to Lenin, offering the regime his services as a philosopher. Lenin cautiously approved Deborin's appointment to the Sverdlov Communist University in 1921. By 1925 he controlled both the leading Soviet journal, *Pod znamenem marksizma* ("Under the Banner of Marxism"), and the philosophy section of the Institute of Red Professorship, the leading graduate school. In 1928 he joined the Communist Party, and became the most influential Soviet academic philosopher. However, in 1929 the second conference of Marxist-Leninist scholarly institutions adjudged Deborin's views "incorrect and un-Marxist." This, the first Soviet instance of the legislation of philosophic truth by party decree, came in the wake of a split – festering since 1924 – between the "mechanists," headed by L.I. Akselrod, who emphasized materialism, and what Stalin slightingly called the "Menshevizing idealists" headed by Deborin, who stressed Hegelian dialectics. In a sense, the Deborinists had been arguing for the integrity of dialectical materialism, and Deborin was condemned for failing to adjust from Leninism to Stalinism. After 1931 he played a modest role as philosophy member at Moscow's Academy of Science, which directed the work of some 260 Russian institutes. In 1937 many who were accused of "Menshevik idealism" were arrested and perished in camps and prisons. Deborin was spared this fate.

Deborin's earliest important work is *Vvedeniye v filosofiyu dialekticheskogo materializma* ("Introduction to the Philosophy of Dialectical Materialism," 1922). His later publications include the first volume of *Sotsialno-politicheskiye ucheniye novogo i noveyshego vremeni* ("Socio-political Doctrines of Modern Times," 1958; Sp. trans. *Las doctrinas político-sociales de la época moderna y contemporanea*, 1960), and a collection of articles, *Filosofiya i politika* (1961). In 1928, together with August Thalheimer, he published a volume for the 250th anniversary of *Spinoza's death, *Spinozas Stellung in der Vorgeschichte des dialektischen Materialismus*.

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DEBRECEN, city in E. Hungary; following the Reformation it was a bastion of Calvinism (known as "Calvinist Rome"). Jews began to settle there from the beginning of the 19th century but without the agreement of the city council; official permission was eventually received in 1840. There are records of an organized community from 1851; synagogues were built in 1851 and 1865; a third – a monumental construction – was erected in 1895–97; the building was destroyed by fire in 1948. In 1870 the Debrecen community declared itself a *status-quo community; in 1886 a separate Orthodox community was formed. The Orthodox synagogue, still in use in 1970, was built in 1893. A Jewish secondary school, established in 1921, existed until 1944. The Jewish population numbered 118 in 1848; 544 in 1856; 6,200 in 1900; 8,400 in 1910; 10,170 in 1920; and 12,000 in 1940. Under the Nazi regime, the young men were sent to forced labor camps. Of these several hundred were burnt to death in the Dorosics hospital. About 7,500 persons were deported up to June 26–28, 1944: some to Auschwitz, and the rest – because the railway lines had been destroyed by bombing – to Austria.

Those who returned formed the largest community in the area, consisting of 4,640 members in 1946. In 1970 there were 1,200 Jews with rabbis and two synagogues. The status-quo community used a synagogue built in 1909–10. A small community remained at the outset of the 21st century, mostly aged and unaffiliated with Jewish organizations.

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[Alexander Scheiber]

DEBRECENJI (Brunner), JOŽEF (1905–), Yugoslav author and editor. Born in Budapest, Debrecenji began his career on the editorial staff of several Hungarian newspapers and periodicals. He spent World War II in concentration camps, an experience that strongly influenced his postwar writings. From 1945 Debrecenji became a full-time writer in Belgrade, publishing poems, short stories, novels, and literary criticism. His outstanding work, *Hladni krematorijum* ("The Cold Crematorium," 1951), first appeared in Hungarian as *Hideg krematórium* (1950). Debrecenji's later works, studies of human destiny in troubled times, include the drama *Smena* ("The Shift," 1953), and collections of short stories such as *Neverovatno leto* ("The Incredible Summer," 1955) and *Ljudsko meso* ("Human Flesh," 1962) which first appeared in Hungarian.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Enciklopedija Jugoslavije* (1956), s.v.

[Zdenko Lowenthal]

DECALOGUE (The Ten Commandments). The statements of God quoted by Moses in Deuteronomy 5:6–18 are entitled "the ten words, or utterances" (Heb. עֲשֶׂרֶת הַדְּבָרִים *aseret ha-devarim*; LXX δέκα ῥήματα [Deut. 4:13], δέκα λόγοι [10:4]). The same title in Exodus 34:28 has traditionally been referred to the "original" version of these statements in Exodus 20:2–14 [17] but see below). Mishnaic Hebrew עֲשֶׂרֶת הַדִּבְּרוֹת *aseret ha-dibberot* reflects the specialized use of דִּבֵּר *dibber* (cf. Jer. 5:13) for divine speech.

Problems of the Literary Setting

Exodus 19:9 announces a dialogue between God and Moses (or an address by God to Moses) to be held at Sinai and overheard by the people, for the purpose of making them believe Moses "ever after." Verse 19 tells of such a dialogue – the contents of which are not specified – amid smoke, quaking, and the blare of a horn (some exegetes identify it with the colloquy of verses 20–24, others, with the Decalogue). Again, after Moses descends to the people (19:25), God speaks ("to Moses," LXX A) the entire Decalogue (20:1ff.). Frightened by the thunder, the smoke, and the blaring horn, the people fall back and plead with Moses to be their intermediary; Moses reassures the people that God wants only to train them in the fear of Him, then approaches the cloud enshrouding God (20:15–18 (18–21)).

Deuteronomy represents God summoning the people at Horeb (Sinai) to let them hear His voice in order to train them in the fear of Him (4:10). He speaks to them "face to face" out of the fire – but Moses was standing between the people and God "to declare YHWH's word to you, because you were afraid of the fire and would not ascend the mountain" (5:4–5). After hearing the Decalogue, the frightened people plead with Moses to be their intermediary (5:20ff.).

The attempts to reconcile these accounts internally and with each other are not convincing. The accounts apparently combine different versions of the event: (a) God spoke with Moses, and the people overheard; (b) He spoke with Moses and then Moses transmitted His words to the people; (c) God spoke to the people directly. The relation of the Decalogue to God's purpose in speaking with Moses in the Exodus account is obscure; why He speaks it to the people in Deuteronomy is only slightly less so. Common to all versions, however, is the affirmation that at Sinai-Horeb the entire people heard God's voice (Ex. 19:9, 22 (?); Deut. 4:10ff., 33, 36; 5:19ff.; 9:10; Neh. 9:13). Medieval theologians deduced from the combination of the Decalogue and the motif of the people hearing God's voice, particularly in Exodus 19:9 and Deuteronomy 5:21, that God's purpose in proclaiming the Decalogue was achieved when "henceforth the people believed that Moses held direct communication with God, that his words were not creations of his own mind" (Judah Halevi, *Sefer ha-Kuzari*, 1:87), and hence, that the laws he subsequently communicated originated with God (Maim., Yad, Yesodei ha-Torah, 8:1f.). This is a likely interpretation of the present form of the Decalogue narrative.

The Decalogue comprised the stipulations of the *covenant between God and Israel (Deut. 4:13). It was engraved on both sides of two stone "tablets of the covenant" (לוּחֹת־הַבְּרִית or לֻחֹת הָעֵדֻת [עֵדוּת, traditionally rendered "testimony," is to be connected with Akkadian *adū* and Old Aramaic עדיא, עד(י) "treaty"] by the finger of God; Moses ascended Mount Sinai and there he remained, fasting forty days before receiving the tablets (Ex. 24:12, 18; 32:15–16; Deut. 9:9ff.). Furious over the *golden calf Moses broke the first pair of tablets (Ex. 32:19; Deut. 9:17), after which he again ascended Sinai, remaining another forty days pleading on behalf of the people. After God forgave the people, Moses was ordered to provide a second pair of stones on which God wrote exactly what was written on the first pair (Ex. 32:30ff.; 34:1ff., 28; Deut. 9:18–20; 10:1–2, 10). God commanded that this pair be placed inside the *Ark of the Covenant, which was housed first in the tent sanctuary, later in the Tabernacle at Shiloh, and ultimately in the *Temple in Jerusalem (Ex. 25:16, 21; 40:20; Deut. 10:2–5; I Kings 8:9). The Ark was conceived as God's footstool (I Chron. 28:2), which is comparable (Tur-Sinai, Haran) to the custom attested in Egypt and Hatti of depositing copies of pacts under the feet of gods who had witnessed them.

The account of these events is complicated in Exodus by the intervening presence, in 34:10–26, of another set of covenant stipulations, which Moses is also commanded to write down (34:27). These concern (1) alliances with the idolatrous Canaanites; (2) molten gods; (3) the festival of unleavened bread; (4) firstlings; (5) the Sabbath; (6) the festival of weeks; (7) the ingathering festival; (8) sacrifice; (9) first fruits; and (10) cooking a kid in its mother's milk. They are presented as the terms of God's renewed covenant with Israel, and repeat the injunctions from 23:23ff. and 34:10–19 touching on the chief offenses involved in the golden calf episode (other molten gods; an invented festival). In 34:27 and 28 references to the two distinct series of covenant stipulations are juxtaposed.

Critics have called the stipulations of Exodus 34 the "cultic decalogue," as distinguished from the traditional – or the "ethical" – decalogue, and regard it as the more ancient. This relative dating rests in large measure on the supposition that the "ethical decalogue" reflects the teachings of the literary prophets. Yet nothing of the peculiar emphases of literary prophecy (e.g., concern for the rights of the weak) appears in the "ethical decalogue," while its own ethical injunctions are found not only in pre-prophetic Israelite literature, but in extra-biblical sources as well (see below).

The interrelation of these two series of covenant stipulations is obscure; no less obscure is the relation of the Decalogue of Exodus 20 to the following law corpus (20:19–23 (22–26); 21–23) – "all the words of YHWH and all the rules" that Moses relayed to the people and wrote down in the "book of the covenant" (24:3–4, 7). Thus several entities called covenant documents appear in the formidably complex section, Exodus 19–34. Criticism has been unable to assign these documents convincingly to one or another of the narrative strands that have been analyzed in the Pentateuch (the Decalogue is often assigned to the "Elohist"). It is as likely as not that the covenant documents were preexisting entities incorporated more or less whole into the narrative. The Deuteronomic version of the Decalogue shows changes under the influence of its context and there is reason to believe that all of the covenant documents underwent changes (mostly accretions) before attaining their present form. (See Table: Decalogue 1.)

Versions of the Decalogue

In addition to the two versions of the Decalogue found in the masoretic text of Exodus and Deuteronomy, the Samaritan Pentateuch preserves slightly differing Hebrew texts. Its major innovation consists in counting, as the tenth "word," the injunction to publish the Decalogue on Mount *Gerizim – the sacred mountain of the *Samaritans (the injunction combines Deut. 11:29a, 27:2b–3a, 4a [Samaritan version], 5–7, and 11:30). This dogmatic accretion to the text reflects the notion, first attested in the Hellenistic-Jewish literature (see below), that the Decalogue is an epitome of the Law, a capsule of its chief injunctions. A Hebrew version of the Exodus Decalogue appears in the *Nash papyrus (c. second century B.C.E.) – evidently used in the liturgy, to judge from the **Shema*ʿ reading that immediately follows (see below). Nash is closely related to the Septuagint of Exodus, and is likely to be a copy from the Hebrew that underlies the Septuagint manuscript. A fragment

DECALOGUE

<table>
<tr><th>EXODUS</th><th>DEUTERONOMY</th></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">I YHWH am your God who brought you out of the land of Egypt: You shall have no other gods beside Me. You shall not make for yourself a sculptured image or (> D[1]) any likeness of what is in the heavens above, or on the earth below, or in the waters under the earth. You shall not bow down to them or serve them. For I YHWH your God am a jealous God, visiting the iniquity of fathers upon children (and D[2]) upon the third and upon the fourth generations of those who hate me, but showing kindness to the thousandth generation of those who love me and observe my commandments.</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">You shall not utter the name of YHWH your God for a vain thing; for YHWH will not clear one who utters his name for a vain thing.</td></tr>
<tr><td>**Remember**[3] the sabbath day to hallow it. Six days you shall labor and do all your work, but[4] the seventh day is a sabbath of YHWH your God; you shall not do any work[5] you and your son and your daughter, your male and your female slave[6] and[7] your[-6] cattle, and the stranger who is in your settlements. **For in six days YHWH made heaven and earth**[8] **the sea and all that is in them, and He rested on the seventh day; therefore YHWH blessed the sabbath**[9] **day and hallowed it.**</td><td>**Observe** the sabbath day to hallow it, as **YHWH your God commanded you.** Six days you shall labor and do all your work, but[4] the seventh day is a sabbath of YHWH your God; you shall not do any work[5] you and[10] your son and[10] your daughter, **and**[11] your male and your female slave **and**[11] **your ox and your ass** and **all**[10] your cattle, and the stranger who is in your settlements, **so that your male and female slave may rest as you do. You must remember that you were a slave in the land of Egypt and YHWH your God brought you out of there with a mighty hand and an outstretched arm; therefore YHWH your God has commanded you to make**[12] **the sabbath day.**[13]</td></tr>
<tr><td>Honor your father and your mother[14] that you may long endure on the[15] land that YHWH your God is giving you.</td><td>Honor your father and your mother **as YHWH your God commanded you,** [16-]that you may long endure **and that you may fare well**[-16] on the land that YHWH your God is giving you.</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">[17-]You shall not murder.</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">(And D[2]) You shall not commit adultery.</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">(And D[2]) You shall not steal[-17d]</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">(And D[2]) You shall not bear false (שקר) E; (שוא) (D) witness against your fellow.</td></tr>
<tr><td>You shall not have designs on your fellow's **house (-hold)**.[18]</td><td>**And**[2] You shall not have designs on your fellow's **wife**[23]</td></tr>
<tr><td>**You shall not have designs**[19] **on your fellow's wife,**[20] or[21] his male or his female slave, or[21] his ox, or his ass[22] or all that is your fellow's.</td><td>**And**[2] **you shall not desire**[24] **your fellow's house,**[25 26] **his field** or[27] his male or[28] his female slave,[26] his ox, or[28] his ass,[29] or all that is your fellows.</td></tr>
</table>

Key to apparatus:
Dg = Greek Deut. (ed. Rahlfs)
Ds = Samaritan Deut. (ed. von Gall)
Eg = Greek Exod.
Es = Samaritan Exod.
N = Nash Papyrus
Q = 4Q Deut.m (see Bibl.)
+ = added matter in source(s) indicated
> = "is missing in"

[1] + or Q, Ds, Dg
[2] > Q, Ds, Dg
[3] Observe Es
[4] + on N, Q
[5] + on it (*bh*) N, (bw) Q, Eg, Dg
[6–6] your ox and your ass and all your N, Eg
[7] > Es
[8] + and Eg
[9] seventh N, Eg
[10] > Q
[11] > Q, Ds, Dg
[12] observe Q, Dg
[13] + and to hallow it Dg; to hallow it, for in six days YHWH made heaven and earth, the sea all that is in them, and He rested on the seventh day; therefore YHWH blessed the sabbath day to hallow it Q
[14] + that you may fare well and N, Eg
[15] + good Eg
[16–16] that you may fare well and that you may long endure Dg
[17–17] adultery, steal, murder Eg; adultery, murder, steal N, Dg (Philo)
[18] wife [N], Eg
[19] *ttm?wh* N
[20] house (or Eg) his field N, _Es, Eg
[21] > Es
[22] + or all his cattle Eg
[23] house(hold) Ds
[24] have designs on Q, Ds, Dg
[25] wife Ds
[26] + or Dg
[27] > Q, Ds
[28] > Q
[29] + or all his cattle Dg

containing the Deuteronomic Decalogue has been found in *Qumran Cave 4 (4Q Deutm; c. first century B.C.E.).

A translation of the received Hebrew text of the Decalogue follows, paragraphed according to Norzi's Minḥat Shai. Minor divergences of D(euteronomy) from E(xodus) are in parentheses; where major divergences occur, E's version of the "word" appears on the left, *D*'s on the right, with divergent matter in boldface. The divergences in early versions are in footnotes.

Divergences between the masoretic texts of *E* and *D* are wider than between each of them and their versions, or between the versional texts of *E* and *D*. This speaks for the priority of the masoretic text. The ground for the Sabbath in *E* is organically related to the opening command: reference to the Creation explains how the Sabbath is YHWH's, and why it is to be sanctified. Compared with it, *D*'s ground – to give rest to slaves and remember the Exodus (cf. Deut. 15:15; 16:12; 24:18, 22; cf. Ex. 23:12) – is tangential. Rhetorical expansions in Deuteronomy's style occur in *D*'s commands regarding the Sabbath and honoring parents (cf. 4:23; 20:17, and 5:26; 6:18; 12:25, etc.). The addition of ox and ass in its Sabbath command derives from the list in the last paragraph. A socioeconomic divergence appears in the last two paragraphs. *E* follows a general term (*bayit*; "household," as, e.g., in Gen. 18:19; 45:18; Deut. 25:9) with particulars in descending order, omitting real property. *D* includes real property, and so it puts wife first (as in *E*'s particulars) and pairs *bayit*, taken as "house," with "field." *D*'s divergences are thus of a piece with the rhetorical idiom of Deuteronomy, and reflect its post-settlement orientation.

The expansive and synthetic tendencies visible in *D* are carried even further in the versions, a climax being 4Q Deut. m's attachment of *E*'s Sabbath ground onto *D*'s (note 13). Ibn Ezra's remark on *D*'s divergence from *E* applies to the entire recorded transmission of the Decalogue: "Words are like bodies, their meaning, like the soul; hence the custom of the wise… not to be too concerned with changing the words so long as their meaning stays the same."

The Division Into Ten "Words"

The entire passage in which (and in which only) God speaks in the first person is one long paragraph. *Sifrei* Numbers (112) calls it all "the first utterance" (concerning idolatry), though common opinion divides it into two (*Ḥizzekuni*: "The first two 'words' were said in a single utterance"). To make up ten, each sentence of the ban on coveting is counted a paragraph, though the cantillation connects them (cf. *Minḥat Shai* and Ibn Ezra, both of whom deprecate numbering the "words" according to the paragraphing).

Two sets of cantillations appear in the first paragraph and with the first four brief "You shall not's": the so-called "upper" set, which treats the whole paragraph as one long verse and breaks the "You shall not's" into four short ones, and the so-called "lower" set, which breaks the paragraph into four verses and unites the "You shall not's" into a single verse. The upper cantillation represents the traditional manner in which Israel heard the ten "words" at Sinai, and is used for the public synagogal reading of the Decalogue (some say, only on the Feast of Shavuot); the lower normalizes the verse-lengths, and is used on all other occasions (e.g., private reading; *Minḥat Shai, Ḥizzekuni*).

For Philo (Decal. 53ff., 66ff.) and Josephus (Ant., 3:91–92) the first "word" says that God is one and alone to be worshiped (i.e., "I YHWH" plus "You shall not make etc."). The Samaritans start the count with "You shall have no other gods" – which runs to the end of the paragraph, and adds a new tenth "word" (see above). The Samaritan notion that "I YHWH" stands outside the count had medieval Jewish proponents (see Ibn Ezra's commentary). The commonly held count makes "I YHWH" the first word (enjoining belief in God), "You shall have no other gods" to the end of the paragraph, the second (banning idolatry). The natural construction of the first sentence, however, subordinates it to the second (cf. Judg. 6:8–10; Hos. 13:2–4; Ps. 81:8–10), entailing the following count and characterization of the "words":

1. On the ground that it is He who liberated them from Egypt, God demands that Israel recognize as god no other divine beings (cf. Naḥmanides).

2. No image of any creature may be made for worship – no distinction being made between a symbol of another god and one used in the cult of YHWH. Any cult image is *ipso facto* "another god," an object of YHWH's jealousy (cf. Ex. 20:20 (23); Deut. 4:15ff.; the golden calf is in YHWH's honor, Ex. 32:5). This demand for an aniconic cult does not prohibit objects of religious art which are not intended as objects of worship (e.g., *cherubim, trees, lions, cattle (I Kings 6:23ff., 29; 7:25, 29)). If, however, such an object became venerated, it was then banned (II Kings 18:4).

3. Using God's name for a vain thing has traditionally been understood to mean false oaths (cf. Ps. 24:4; Targ.); but evil prayer (cf. Ps. 16:4) or sorcery might be intended too. Frivolous oaths (Philo, Josephus) and, finally, any idle use of God's name (e.g., as in an unnecessary benediction (Ber. 33a)) came to be included. Another possibility (Staples, Sperling) is that the phrase should be translated as: "You shall not speak the name of YHWH to that which is false." In other words, do not identify a false god with YHWH. Given the previous prohibition of having no other gods, Israelites might have been tempted to identify other gods with YHWH. To identify a false god with Yahweh was to commit a crime so severe that Yahweh would not acquit he offender.

4. Observance of the Sabbath rest, according to *E*, respects God's consecration of the day at the end of Creation. *D*'s motive associates a purely ethical notion (cf. Ex. 23:12) with the general ground, expressed in the first "word," of Israel's duty to obey God's commands (cf. Deut. 6:21–24).

5. Honor is due to both father and mother (cf. Lev. 19:3; and Ex. 21:15, 17; Lev. 20:9; Deut. 21:18ff.; 27:16). Juxtaposition of this "word" to the preceding injunctions concerning God's honor was later explained by the parents' partnership

with God in creating offspring (Mekh. Sb-Y to 20:12, Naḥmanides; cf. Gen. 4:1).

6. "Murder" has traditionally rendered the Hebrew *raẓaḥ* here; for, though the verb covers non-culpable homicide as well (Num. 35:11, 27, 30; Deut. 4:42), to construe it as an absolute ban on killing would bring this "word" into conflict with the death penalty prescribed by the law for many offenses. The injunction affirms the sanctity of human life.

7. The verb *na'af* denotes sexual relations with a married woman by anyone but her husband (Lev. 20:10; Jer. 29:23; Ezek. 16:32). The inviolateness of a married woman is the basis of a patrilineal society.

8. Tradition understands *ganav* here to denote kidnapping, i.e., a theft liable to capital punishment – an offense of the same order as the two preceding (Mekh., Yitro, 8). But to make the legal penalty determinative in a document that ignores legal penalties throughout is unwarranted. Stealing at large is banned; the right of possession is affirmed.

9. The ban on false witness seeks to protect all transactions that require the honesty of the citizenry in the marketplace (Jer. 32:12) as well as the court.

10. Traditional legal exegesis understands *ḥamad* to involve action (Mekh., Yitro, 8, comparing Deut. 7:25; Mekh., SBY to 20:17: "one who exerts pressure to get something"; cf. Levi b. Gershom, who compares Ex. 34:24 ["no man will endeavor to take it from you"] and Micah 2:2, and concludes that "one does not violate this prohibition until he does something to obtain the object"). But (as Ibn Ezra to Deut. 5:16 observes) the verb may also be merely mental (e.g., Prov. 6:25), so that one wonders whether the actional interpretation does not arise out of misplaced legalism, i.e., the wish to define the prohibition in terms amenable to law enforcement. Since *D* expressly substitutes *hitavvah* (*hit'awwah*, "desire") for *ḥamad* in the second sentence, it clearly regarded the injunction as banning guilty desires.

Original Form and Date: Critical View

The divergent grounds of the Sabbath command in *E* and *D*, the disparity caused by the uneven presence of motive clauses and particulars, and the shift from first to third person with reference to God in the third "word" and thereafter (whence the rabbinic theory that only the first two were heard "from the mouth of God" (Mak. 24a); but such shifts are common (e.g., Ex. 23:13–25; 34:11–26)) have given rise to the theory that the "words" were originally all terse and only later received, unequally, additional clauses. A representative attempt to reconstruct the original form of the "words" (Stamm and Andrew in bibl.) follows:

> I am YHWH your God:
> You shall have no other gods besides me.
> You shall not make yourself a graven image.
> You shall not take the name of YHWH in vain.
> Remember the Sabbath day.
> Honor your father and your mother.
> You shall not kill.
> You shall not commit adultery.
> You shall not steal (a person, i.e. kidnap).
> You shall not bear false witness.
> You shall not covet.

Criteria for dating even this shortened form of the Decalogue are wanting. Monolatry, aniconism (cf. the empty cherub throne over the ark), and the sanctity of the divine name are coeval with the beginnings of biblical religion. The Sabbath as a sacred day of rest is found in the manna-story (Ex. 16 [*J*, 11th–10th cent.]). The ethical values of the Decalogue are common to other ancient Near Eastern civilizations. Comparisons with the Egyptian "Protestation of Guiltlessness" (a guide for the deceased during his final judgment after death) have often been made: "… I have not stolen … I have not been covetous … I have not robbed … I have not killed men … I have not told lies … I have not committed adultery, etc." (Pritchard, Texts, 35). While there is no proof of Mosaic origin, there is no ideational or substantive objection to the Decalogue's originating in Moses' time. Literary influence of supposedly later Deuteronomic and priestly material has been found in the motive clauses; but even this is questionable in the light of the possibility that the influence may have run the other way. Reminiscences of the Decalogue have been detected in Hosea 4:2; 12:10; 13:4 and Jeremiah 7:9.

Structure and Arrangement

A dual structure can be seen in the Decalogue: items one through four deal with man's relation to God; six through ten with man's relation to man; and the fifth, with relation to parents, forming a bridge between the two (Philo). The first five "words," having particularly Israelite orientation, are furnished with additional motive clauses; and they alone each contain a reference to "YHWH your God." The last five "words" have neither – being universal ethical requirements (PR 21:99).

While the biblical text gives no indication of how the "words" were distributed on the tablets, it is commonly assumed that they stood five over against five. An ingenious homily based on this assumption correlates the "words" opposite each other on the tablets thus: Murder is an injury to God whose image man is – apostasy is equivalent to marital infidelity – stealing will lead to a false oath (cf. Zech. 5:3–4, Prov. 30:9) – the Sabbath-breaker attests falsely that God did not create the world in six days and rest on the seventh – he who covets his fellow's wife will end by fathering a child who rejects his true parent and honors another (Mekh., Yitro, 8).

The "words" are ranged in a fairly clear descending order from matters divine to matters human, and within each group from higher to lower values. Duties to God come first: the obligation to worship Him alone precedes treating His name with reverence, and both precede the symbolic piety of Sabbath rest. Respect for parental authority naturally follows respect for God. The purely ethical injunctions are ranged in an obvious hierarchy: life, the family, right of possession, reliability of public statements. The last "word" – the ban on guilty attempts or desires – deals with what is both least culpable and most ethically sensitive; it acts as a safeguard against infringing on any of the other ethical injunctions.

Setting in Life

In later times, the Decalogue pericope (Ex. 19–20) was part of the liturgy of the Feast of Shavuot – by tradition, the anniversary of the Sinai theophany (Meg. 31a; Tosef., Meg. 4:5). This provides an analogy to the modern theory that in ancient Israel a festival of "covenant renewal" existed, whose liturgy included the solemn recitation of the Decalogue (Deut. 31:11). Support for the theory has been sought in formal similarities between the categorical (apodictic) idiom of the Decalogue and passages in Hittite vassal treaties which, among other things, require regular public reading of the document. The absence of any reference to such a festival in the biblical calendars militates against the theory. Moreover, when a commemorative function is attached to a festival, it is invariably related to some mighty or redemptive act of God on behalf of man (*Creation, *Exodus), but the Sinai theophany is not counted among these acts until very late biblical times (Neh. 9:13–14). The analogy of Deuteronomy 31:11 suggests, on the contrary, that in biblical times the public recitation of covenant stipulations would have been a secondary adjunct to one of the major festivals. Only later, when the "gift of the Torah" was appreciated as a boon (not only a solemn obligation (a glimmer of this is seen in Deut. 4:8)), did it become the fit subject of a major commemorative festival.

Jeremiah 35:6–7 shows that the rule of an order (here the Rechabites) might be formally quite similar to the Decalogue. Like the founding father Jonadab ben Rechab, God defined the conduct required for the well-being of his "holy people" largely through prohibitions. Among such clusters of admonitions (cf. especially Lev. 19, "which contains the entire Decalogue" [Lev. R. 24:51] the Decalogue stands out for its generality and suggestiveness, and its balance of essential religious and ethical injunctions. Not much is known of the mode of transmission of the Decalogue and its setting in life before it was incorporated into the narratives of the Torah. The Decalogue came to be regarded as a summary of biblical law. Philo worked out the classes of law generated from each "word": the third "word," for example, covers all the rules of oaths; the fourth, all the sacred seasons and festivals; the fifth, all duties toward masters, elders, and rulers; the sixth, all sexual morality; the seventh, all bodily injury; the eighth, laws of debt, partnership, and robbery. This notion eventuated hymns for the Feast of Shavuot called *Azharot* ("Instructions"), in which the entire canon of 613 commandments was artfully distributed under the heads of each of the ten "words" (*Siddur R. Sa'adyah Ga'on*, ed. I. Davidson et al. (1941), 191–216; I. Elbogen, *Gottesdienst* (1924), 217–8).

The Nash papyrus reflects liturgical recitation of the Decalogue which was practiced in Egypt down to late times (J. Mann, in HUCA, 2 (1925), 283). **Tefillin* from Second Temple times found in the Qumran caves contain the Decalogue (see bibl.); and evidence that this practice was maintained among Babylonian Jews is found in Jerome (to Ezek. 24:15 [17]; see Habermann in bibl.).

[Moshe Greenberg]

In Rabbinical Literature

The problem of the two versions of the Decalogue did not constitute any difficulty for the rabbis. They maintained that "Remember" (Ex. 20:8) and "Observe" (Deut. 5:12), as well as all the other variations between the two versions, were uttered simultaneously, "something which transcends the capacity of the human mouth to utter and of the human ear to hear" (Shevu. 20b; RH 27a). The omission of "that it may go well with thee" (Deut. 5:16) from the Fifth Commandment in the first version was because the initial tablets were destined to be broken (BK 55a). Different opinions are expressed with regard to the number of commandments inscribed on each tablet. The prevailing opinion was that they were equally divided; the first five (relating to the duties of man to God) on one tablet and the next five (relating to the duties of man to man) on the second. Others held that each tablet contained the entire Decalogue. One interpretation of "they were written on both their sides; on the one side and on the other were they written" (Ex. 32:15) gives rise to the view that the entire Decalogue was written on both sides of the tablets (Song R. 5:14, no. 1). The Talmud, however (Shab. 104a), explains it to mean that the letters were incised right through the stone, which resulted in the comment that the *mem* and *samekh* which were in the tablets stood there by a miracle since they were completely closed letters and normally should have fallen out (Shab. 104a). As, however, the Jerusalem Talmud points out this applies only to the *ketav Ashuri* (the Assyrian script) whereas, if the Torah was written in the ancient Hebrew script, this would apply to the *ayin* (TJ, Meg. 1:11, 71c).

The first two commandments, which were stated in the first person, were heard directly from God by the people. The remaining commandments were transmitted by Moses (Mak. 24a). Every single Israelite felt as if God was announcing the commandments directly to him (Tanḥ. B. Ex., 79).

In the Liturgy

The Decalogue was originally included in the daily Temple service (Tam. 5:1). Outside the Temple, the people also wanted to include it in the daily service, but they were forbidden to do so in order to refute the contention of heretical sects (*minim*) that only the Ten Commandments were divinely given (Ber. 12a). The aggadic statement that all the 613 commandments were written on the tablets in the space between the Ten Commandments was probably also intended to dispel this view (Song R. 5:14, no. 2). As a result, the Decalogue does not form part of the statutory daily liturgy. The only emphasis given to it is that the congregation rises when it is read as part of the regular weekly portions (twice a year in the portions *Yitro* and *Va-Etḥannan*) and on the festival of Shavuot.

In some Oriental communities (e.g., in Libya), it was customary to read the Ten Commandments on Shavuot together with the Arabic translation. In many *Reform congregations, the solemn recital of the Ten Commandments is part of the confirmation ceremony which is generally celebrated on Shavuot. Likewise, at the bar mitzvah celebration in the synagogue, the boy or girl recites the Ten Commandments before the open *Ark as part of a solemn pledge of allegiance to the Jewish tradition.

For the Decalogue in *Tefillin* see *Tefillin and see also *Commandments, The 613.

[Aaron Rothkoff]

In Jewish Philosophy

In discussing the Decalogue, Jewish philosophers generally dealt with the following three topics: the nature of the Sinaitic phenomenon, the various enumerations of the Ten Commandments, and their philosophical message. The usual interpretation of the Sinaitic experience is that God willed that an incorporeal voice should come into being and pronounce the Ten Commandments in an audible and intelligible manner (*Philo, Decal. 9; *Judah Halevi, *Kuzari*, 1:89; *Levi b. Gershom, commentary to Ex. 20, etc.). Maimonides (*Guide*, 2:33) and Hermann *Cohen (*Die Religion der Vernunft* [1929], 44ff.) maintain that, since the Sinaitic experience was a prophetic one and thus could not have been experienced by those who were not qualified, it must follow that Moses alone heard and comprehended all the Ten Commandments. The people only heard an indistinguishable sound the meaning of which was explained to them by Moses. "I am the Lord" (Ex. 20:2) is generally accepted as the first commandment and the injunction against acknowledging the existence of other gods, making, or worshiping idols (Ex. 20:3–5) as the second. Philo, however, considers the prohibition of acknowledging other gods (Ex. 20:3) as the first commandment, and making or worshiping idols (Ex. 20:4–5) as the second. The Decalogue encompasses fundamental principles which contain the entire Mosaic teaching (S.D. *Luzzatto, commentary to Ex. 2; I. *Abrabanel, commentary to Ex. 20). Their aim is the perfection of the body and of the soul. Thus they include metaphysical truths and ethical rules of conduct (*Guide*, 3:17). Because of their greater importance, metaphysical truths are listed first in the first tablet (Joseph *Albo, *Sefer-ha-Ikkarim*, 3:26). The first three commandments teach the existence of God, His unity and incorporeality, His providence, revelation, and veneration (*ibid.*). The fourth commandment (Ex. 20:8–11; Deut. 5:12–15) enjoins a belief in creation, in the subordination of nature to God (*Guide*, 2:31), and in the equality of all men (H. Cohen, *Der Sabbath*, 1881). The last five commandments (Ex. 20:13–14; Deut. 5:16–18) aim at controlling emotions and desires in deeds, in words, and in intentions (Philo, Decal. 24ff.). *Abraham b. Ḥiyya, after placing the first command apart as comprehending all the others, divided the other nine (a) according to commands of thought, speech, and action, and (b) according to relations between man and God, man and his family, man and man, reaching the classification shown in Table: Decalogue 2.

Table 2. Abraham b. Ḥiyya's classification of the Decalogue

Relations between:	Man and God	Man and Family	Man and Man
Thought:	Second Command: "Thou shalt have no other God" – fear of God.	Fifth Command: "Honor thy father and thy mother."	Tenth Command: "Thou shalt not covet."
Speech:	Third Command: "Thou shalt not take the name of the Lord in vain."	Sixth Command: "Thou shalt not murder," especially one's family.	Ninth Command: "Thou shalt not bear false witness."
Action:	Fourth Command: "Remember the Sabbath Day."	Seventh Command: "Thou shalt not commit adultery."	Eighth Command: "Thou shalt not steal."

(see Abraham b. Ḥayyim, *Meditation of the Sad Soul*, tr. by G. Wigoder), 23–24, 130–9.

For Decalogue in Arts see *Moses in Arts.

[David Kadosh]

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DECAPOLIS (Gr. "the ten cities"), league or administrative grouping of Syrian-Greek cities situated in southern Syria, the northern Jordan Valley, and in Transjordan in the Roman and Byzantine periods. The Decapolis which was originally attached to the Roman Province of Syria is already mentioned in the 1st century C.E. by Josephus (Wars, 3:446), who refers to Scythopolis as the largest of the cities of the Decapolis, and in the New Testament with Jesus at one point passing through the region of the Decapolis (Mark 7:31, cf. 5:20; Matthew 4:25). Pliny (*Natural History,* 5:74) indicated that the Decapolis adjoined the Province of Judaea and lists the following ten cities – *Damascus, Philadelphia (*Amman), Raphana (al-Rāfa), Scythopolis (*Beth-Shean), *Gadara (Gader, now Um-Qays), Hippus (*Susitha, now Qalʿat al-Ḥuṣn east of the Sea of Galilee), Dium/Dion (Tell al-Ashʿarī?), *Pella (Peḥal in the Talmud, now Khirbat Ṭabaqāt Fāḥil), *Gerasa/Galasa (Ge-

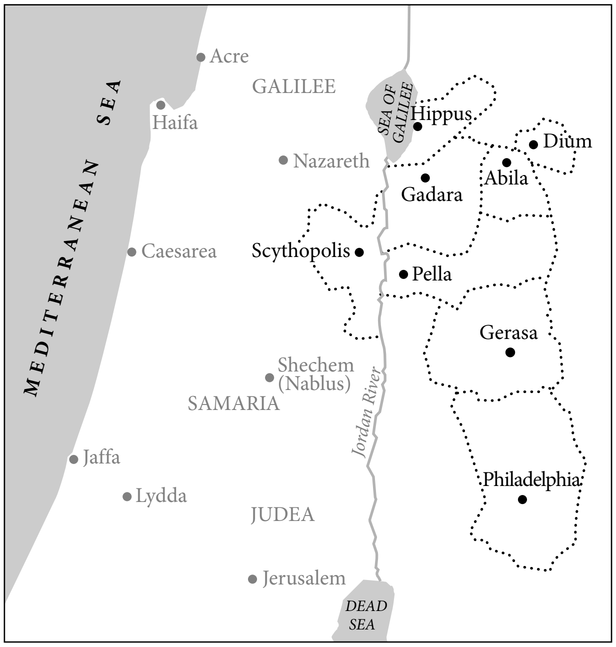

Map showing the eight cities constituting the continuous bloc of the Decapolis. Damascus and Kanatha lie north of this area.

resh), and Kanatha (Kenat, now al-Qanawāt in the Hauran). (See Map: Eight Cities of the Decapolis). Pliny admits, however, that other opinions existed concerning the composition of the Decapolis. Since most of the cities dated their civic eras from the time of Pompey's conquest of the area (63 B.C.E.), some scholars have suggested that Pompey founded the Decapolis when he freed the Greek cities which had been conquered by Alexander Yannai. In Hadrian's time Abila (Abel, Tell Ibil, north of Irbid) was also a member of the league. A different list of 18 cities of the Decapolis appears in the writings of the geographer Ptolemy (second century C.E.). It includes the cities mentioned by Pliny (excluding Raphana) and adds nine new places: Heliopolis, Abila, Saana, Hina, Abila Lysanias, Capitolias, Edrei, Gadora, and Samulis. In addition, the Decapolis was mentioned in the *Onomasticon* of Eusebius as a region situated near Peraea, and in the writings of Stephen of Byzantium (with a list of 14 cities).

Some of the cities of the Decapolis were situated on the sites of earlier cities (e.g. Damascus, Beth-Shean) while others were newly established in the Hellenistic period. Some claimed Greek origins (see a discussion of their foundation legends by Lichtenberger). Pompey incorporated the cities of the Decapolis into the province of Syria and granted them autonomy. In 30 B.C.E. Augustus gave Herod the cities of Gadara and Hippus; these were returned to the province of Syria after Herod's death. Kanatha and Raphana were under the control of Agrippa II. The other cities of the Decapolis were considered part of Syrian territory until 105–106 C.E. when Trajan transferred the cities in the far south to the newly established province of Arabia. In the Byzantine lists, some of the cities of the Decapolis are placed in Arabia and some in *Palaestina secunda*.

The cities of the league possessed autonomy in internal affairs as well as the right to mint coins. Only one inscription has been found to date that refers to the Decapolis. Damascus was granted the status of a Roman colony by Alexander Severus as was Gadara by Valens. Nothing is known of the legal aspects of the league in which the cities were united; at any rate, a reciprocal relationship existed between the various members. Each city had jurisdiction over an extensive area. With the exception of Damascus and Kanatha, the cities of the Decapolis constituted a continuous bloc south and southeast of the Sea of Galilee, extending from Philadelphia in the south to Hippus in the north. The cities of the league were important because they were situated along the trade routes between northern Arabia and Syria. Damascus served both economically and geographically as the northern assembling point for this trade and Scythopolis as the link connecting the trade routes with western Palestine. The cities of the Decapolis and their hinterlands formed a barrier against the Arabian desert-marauders and they also extended the agricultural belt to the east. At the same time they served as a Roman security ring around Palestine; during the Bar Kokhba War (132–135), Hadrian made Gerasa his base for attacking Judea. The establishment of the province of Arabia diverted the flow of trade from India, Arabia, and the Red Sea – which until then had passed through Petra to Gaza – northward to Damascus. This deflection increased the importance of the cities of the Decapolis and led to new economic prosperity, especially for the cities of Philadelphia, Gerasa, and Gadara. Their domination of the trade routes was further strengthened when the city of Tadmor (Palmyra) was destroyed by Aurelian in 273 C.E. In the 4th century, Gerasa and Philadelphia are described as "mighty cities" (Amianus Marcellinus).

Hellenistic culture flourished in the Decapolis in the Roman period. Among the famous residents of the cities were: Theodorus (teacher of the emperor Tiberius), Menippus the cynic, Oenomaus the stoic (who is perhaps identical with Avnimus the Gardi mentioned in the Talmud), and Meleager the poet, all from Gadara; Stephanus the historian, Plato the rhetorician, and Nikomachos the philosopher, from Gerasa; Aristotle the rhetorician came from Pella; and *Nicolaus the historian, one of Herod's ministers, from Damascus.

A large Jewish community existed in these cities at least from the time that most of them were conquered by Alexander Yannai. Some of the Jews were probably descendants of persons who had been converted by the Hasmonean king. In 44 C.E. a border dispute between the inhabitants of Jewish Transjordan and Philadelphia led to bloody clashes which were renewed on a large scale in most of the cities of the Decapolis at the outbreak of the Jewish War in 66 C.E. In Scythopolis 3,000 Jews were killed, in Damascus 10,000 or more, and there was mass slaughter in the other cities as well. According to Josephus, Gerasa was the only city which protected its Jewish inhabitants (Wars, 2:480), but remains of a synagogue found there show that it was destroyed even before the time of Hadrian. A large Jewish population nevertheless continued to live in the Decapolis cities for many generations after the destruction of the Temple, as is proved by remains of large synagogues in Hammath Gader and Gerasa and various statements in the Talmud (e.g., TJ, Dem. 2:1, 22d etc.). According to Eusebius a group of Jews who believed in Jesus fled from Jerusalem to Pella prior to the fall of Jerusalem to the Romans in 70 C.E.

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[Shimon Applebaum / Shimon Gibson (2nd ed.)]

DE CASSERES, BENJAMIN (1873–1945), U.S. essayist. De Casseres began to write for Philadelphia newspapers at the age of 16 and continued as an essayist, book reviewer, editorial writer, and columnist for New York dailies. His first book of verse was *The Shadow-Eater* (1915) and his first book of prose, *Chameleon: Being a Book of My Selves* (1922). More than 20 books followed, including his collected works in three volumes (1939).

DECEMBRISTS (**Dekabrists**), group of revolutionaries in Russia. Drawn from the aristocracy and younger army officers, from 1816 it developed as a secret society and sought to abolish the despotic regime. After the death of Czar *Alexander I, the group attempted to foment a rebellion against his successor, *Nicholas I. The rebellion, which began on Dec. 26, 1825 (hence the name Decembrists), was unsuccessful and its participants were severely punished. It is assumed that most of the interest of the Decembrists in the Jewish problem was awakened by Grigori Peretz – a converted Jew among them. He was arrested and sentenced to exile. He spoke at length on the necessity of founding a society for the settlement of the Jews in Crimea or the Orient, where they would live as an autonomous nation. On his suggestion his group adopted the Hebrew word "Ḥerut" (freedom) as their motto. In his work *Russian Justice*, Pavel Pestel, one of the Decembrist leaders, devoted a paragraph to the Jewish problem. He negated the right of Jews to be citizens of the Russian state because "they are united by an excessive and incomparable solidarity" and "are unable to become integrated within any nation of the world." They are subjected to the rule of their rabbis and "await the arrival of the Messiah who will return them to their country." Pestel saw two ways of solving the Jewish problem: the first, "to destroy the unity among the Jews, which is harmful to the Russians" and to impose a strict supervision over them; the second, "to assist the Jews in establishing a special state somewhere in Asia Minor." For this purpose, Pestel suggested that all the Jews of Russia and Poland should be concentrated in one place and that an army be raised from their midst which would conquer a territory in Asiatic Turkey and establish a Jewish state. Another leader of the Decembrists, Nikita Muraviov, included full equality for the Jews in his proposed constitution.

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[Yehuda Slutsky]

DE CHAVES, AARON (d. 1705), Dutch painter and engraver; first Jewish artist recorded as working in England after the readmission of the Jews. De Chaves' painting *Moses and Aaron and the Ten Commandments* hung over the ark of the synagogue in Creechurch Lane, London, which was opened in 1656. This was the first new synagogue to be established. The painting is now in the possession of the Spanish and Portuguese Synagogue in London.

°DECKERT, JOSEPH (1846–1901), Catholic priest in Vienna and antisemitic agitator. He propagated the view that antisemitism was compatible with Catholicism. Resurrecting the *blood libel, he brought out a pamphlet on Simon of *Trent in 1893; later that year he published in *Vaterland* an account by the apostate Paulus *Meyer of a ritual murder which Meyer had allegedly witnessed in his native Ostrov in 1875. The rabbis whom he had named sued for libel, and Deckert, Meyer, and the journal's editor were found guilty and fined. Deckert's inflammatory sermons were the subject of frequent interpellations in parliament, and his travesty of the "Lord's Prayer" directed against the Jews was confiscated. However, in a trial for sedition (1896) he was acquitted. Deckert's antisemitic writings include *Kann ein Katholik Anti-semit sein* (1893) and *Tuerkennoth und Judenherrschaft* (1894^5).

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DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE, ISRAEL. During the five months that followed the UN Palestine partition resolution of November 29, 1947, repeated attempts were made by representatives of the U.S. State Department and others to prevent the establishment of the Jewish State. On March 19, 1948, it was announced that the U.S. Government would propose an international trusteeship over Palestine. This suggestion was categorically rejected by David *Ben-Gurion, then chairman of the Zionist Executive. At the beginning of April, the Zionist General Council and the Va'ad Le'ummi decided to establish a 13-member National Administration and a National Council of 37 members, which would, upon the departure of the British Mandatory forces, become the provisional government and legislature of the Jewish State.

On May 12 Moshe Shertok (*Sharett) returned from the United States and reported to the National Administration that Secretary of State George Marshall had revived the trusteeship proposal, though President Truman and public opinion still favored a Jewish state. Shertok proposed the formation of a government, rather than the establishment of a state, while Felix Rosenblueth (Pinḥas *Rosen) proposed the proclamation of a state within the framework of the UN decision. Ben-Gurion insisted that the proclamation should be only "on the basis" of the UN decision and opposed the demand of Rosenblueth and Bekhor *Shitreet that the frontiers of the state be specified, pointing out that the United States had not designated its own frontiers when declaring independence. If the Jews succeeded in repulsing the Arab attack, they would occupy Western Galilee and the Jerusalem Corridor, which would thus become part of the Jewish State. By a 5 to 4 majority, it was decided not to specify frontiers. A committee of five – David *Remez, Rosenblueth, Moshe Shapira, Shertok, and Aharon *Zisling – was appointed to draft the Declaration of Independence. The draft submitted by the committee on May 13 consisted of 22 articles, 12 of which began with "Inasmuch as…" It was criticized as too long and flowery, and the final wording was entrusted to Ben-Gurion, Rabbi Y.L. Fishman (*Maimon), A. Zisling, and M. Shertok. During the same evening Ben-Gurion prepared a final draft, which was approved by his colleagues on the committee.

The National Council met at 10 A.M. the next day. The Communist leader Meir Wilner proposed the addition of articles denouncing the British Mandate and opposing British military bases, but Shertok argued that such items were out of place in the Declaration. David Ẓevi Pinkas of the *Mizrachi proposed that the Declaration should begin: "The Land of Israel was promised to the Jewish people in the Torah and by the Prophets." Zisling objected to the term "*Ẓur Yisrael,*" a version of the name of God (literally "Rock of Israel"), in the final paragraph; *Mapai's Meir Grabovski (Argov) proposed the addition of the word "language" to the clause guaranteeing freedom of religion, conscience, education, and culture, to ensure that Arabic would have equal rights with Hebrew. Ben-Gurion agreed to Grabovski's proposal, but not to his reasoning. The language of the State must be Hebrew, but the Arabs would be free to use their language in all aspects of Israeli life. As to Zisling's objection, he said, everyone from Right to Left believed in the "Rock of Israel" in his own way. On a first vote, 16 voted for the draft and 8 abstained. The chairman reported that the members of the council who had been unable to leave Jerusalem, because of the battles, had met that morning and had approved the draft. He requested that the Declaration be adopted unanimously in a second vote, whatever objections members might have to a particular item or aspect, and this was done.

The council also approved a proposal submitted by Felix Rosenblueth, that the Provisional Council of State – as the National Council was to be called after independence – be the legislative authority, with the right to delegate its powers to the government for the purpose of urgent legislation. The White Paper of 1939 and the relevant Mandatory ordinances were to be repealed, but all other laws in existence on May 14, 1948, would remain in force in the State of Israel.

At 4:30 P.M. of the same day, Iyyar 5, 5708, the National Council met in the Tel Aviv Museum Hall. Among those present were representatives of the Jewish Agency, the Zionist Organization, the Va'ad Le'ummi, the Zionist funds, leaders of political parties, personalities in the various cultural fields, the chief rabbis, the Tel Aviv Town Council, the chief of staff of the *Haganah and his colleagues, and pioneers of Jewish settlement.

Ben-Gurion, who presided, announced: "I shall read you the Foundation Scroll of the State of Israel, which has been approved in first reading by the National Council." As he concluded with the appeal "Let us accept the Foundation Scroll of the Jewish State by rising," the entire audience rose. The chairman stated that any member who so desired would be able to make a statement at the next session. Rabbi Fishman thereupon pronounced the traditional blessing: "Blessed art Thou, O Lord, our God, King of the Universe, Who has kept us alive and preserved us and enabled us to reach this season." The chairman then read the resolution annulling the White Paper, which was unanimously adopted. He then signed the Declaration of Independence, and the secretary, Ze'ev Schaerf (*Sharef), read out the names of the council members in Hebrew alphabetical order. Amid enthusiastic applause, each member went up to the dais and signed, space being left for those still in Jerusalem to sign later. Ben-Gurion announced: "The State of Israel has arisen. This session is closed."

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[David Ben-Gurion]

DE CORDOVA, JACOB (1808–1868), Texas pioneer. De Cordova was born in Spanish Town, Jamaica, and raised in Philadelphia. In 1834 he founded the Kingston *Daily Gleaner*, Jamaica's first daily paper, which his eldest brother's family has continued to publish. Returning to the United States in 1835, de Cordova was attracted to Texas by business, settled there, and became a citizen (1837). In 1842 he opened a large land agency. Thereafter he wrote guidebooks and lectured in New York, Philadelphia, and Manchester, England (1856–58), to attract settlers to Texas. Two years after Texas statehood (1845), de Cordova was elected to the Texas House of Representatives. Together with his brother Phineas (1819–1903), he published the semi-monthly *Texas Herald*, along with a weekly, the *Southwestern America* (1849–52), which helped stimulate railroad building in the state.

[Edward L. Greenstein]

°**DEEDES, SIR WYNDHAM** (1883–1956), British Zionist. During World War I he served at Gallipoli and, in 1915, was a member of the British Intelligence Service in Cairo. When Chaim *Weizmann reached Palestine in 1918 as head of the *Zionist Commission, Deedes was influenced by him and became a supporter of the Zionist cause. Herbert *Samuel, appointed high commissioner for Palestine in 1920, invited Deedes to become his chief secretary. In the early stages of the administration, Deedes proved an effective brake on the hostile attitude of the British civil servants to the policy based on the *Balfour Declaration. He unofficially recognized the Haganah and introduced Jews into the Palestine Police Force. In 1921 Deedes was instrumental in saving the Jewish settlement in *Reḥovot from destruction by a mob of 10,000 Arabs. He returned to England when his term of office ended in 1923 and subsequently visited several countries on Zionist missions. In 1943 he established the British Association for the Jewish National Home, and, upon the establishment of the State of Israel, formed the Anglo-Israel Friendship Association with both Jewish and Christian members. His Zionism was motivated by profound religious belief. He was one of the most outspoken non-Jewish supporters of Zionism in Britain. Deedes was knighted in 1921.

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[Getzel Kressel]

DEEP, THE. The ancient Hebrews believed that the earth lay across an all-encompassing ocean, which they called *tehom*. The term is used in the Bible either for the primordial waters *in toto* (Gen. 1:2) or for the upper or lower portion alone (cf. Ps. 42:8). Most frequently it denotes the latter, and it is then conventionally rendered "the deep." The Canaanite myths from Ras Shamra (Ugarit) speak similarly of "the two oceans" *(thmtm)*, i.e., the supernal and the infernal, the dwelling of the supreme god El being located at their confluence, i.e., on the horizon. In the Babylonian *Epic of Creation* the primordial ocean is personified as the monstrous Tiamat, who launches battle against the supreme god Anu, but is eventually subdued by Marduk and slit lengthwise "like an oyster," the two parts of her body forming, respectively, the vault of heaven and the bedrock of the earth. This myth is echoed in several passages of the Bible (Isa. 51:9–10; Hab. 3:8; Ps. 74:13–14; 89:9–10) which speak of a primeval combat between God and a monster variously styled Leviathan, Rahab ("Blusterer"), Tannin ("Dragon"), Yam ("Sea"), and Nahar ("Stream"). In the wake of Isaiah 27:1, post-biblical legend asserts that at the end of the world this monster will again break loose, and again be defeated – a notion which recurs in Iranian lore (Yashts 19:38–44; Bundahišn 29:9), and which also leaves traces both in the New Testament (Rev. 20:1–3) and in the Talmud (BB 75a). The personification of the primordial ocean as a monster is further echoed in Genesis 49:25, where Tehom is described as "crouching below," like a beast. Rivers and springs were believed to emanate from the nether *tehom* (Targ., Eccles. 1:7; cf. Weinsinck in bibl., p. 42), and the upsurging of it was partly responsible for the Deluge (Gen. 7:11). Ecclesiastes 1:7, as interpreted by Targum and Rashi, believes that after surging up from this nether *tehom* and flowing through streams into the sea, the water finds its way back to the *tehom* through tunnels and then surges up again to the springs and repeats the cycle. The rock on which the Temple was built at Jerusalem is said in later legend (Targ. Jon., Ex. 28:30) to have covered the mouth of the deep, and the stairs connecting the two courts of the Temple were called popularly "the stairs of Tehom" (Targ., Ps. 120). Similarly, the temple of Marduk at Babylon and that of E-ninu at Lagash rested reputedly on the nether ocean. Related to this is the belief that the supreme god sits enthroned over the waters of the nether flood. Thus, in a Hittite myth the god who conquers the dragon Illuyankas is subsequently installed "above the well," while in the second century C.E. Lucian was shown a spot in the temple at Hierapolis into which the waters of the Deluge were said to have gathered. This belief is, possibly, reflected in the words of Psalms 29:10: "The Lord sat enthroned over the flood" (see Gaster in bibl., pp. 750–1, 843–54, nos. 25–31). It is related in the Talmud (Ta'an. 25b) that the angel *Rdy'*, who is in charge of rain, stands midway between the upper and lower oceans, bidding the waters of the former to pour down, and of the latter to rise. In Ecclesiasticus 24:8 Wisdom is said to have walked primordially "in the depth of the abyss," and in Babylonian glossaries the name Apsu, by which the freshwater abyss is called, is fancifully etymologized as *ab-zu*, "abode of wisdom" (E. Dhorme, *Religion assyro-babylonienne* (1910), 73). Comparable is the classical notion that Proteus, the old man of the sea, is omniscient, while in ancient Mesopotamian folklore the seven sages (*apkallê*) who introduced civilization, emerge from the deep (Gaster, 324, no. 31). Job 28:12, 14 seems, however, to protest against this idea, while in Proverbs 8:24, Wisdom exists prior to the creation of the deep.

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[Theodor H. Gaster]

DEER. The *ayyal*, identified with the deer (*Cervus capreolus*), is mentioned among the seven species of permitted game that chew the cud and are cloven-footed (Deut. 14:5). The word occurs several times in the Bible in the feminine form *ayy-*

alah. The tribe of Naphtali was compared to a nimble deer ("a hind let loose") with branching horns ("he giveth *imrei shafer*," i.e., whose *amirim* ("antlers") are beautiful; Gen. 49:21). Since the hind has no horns, as pointed out by Rashi in his comment on the talmudic passage that "the hind's antlers branch out this way and that" (Yoma 29a), the reference here is to the hart, which in its first year has only one branch on its horns, growing two more later. Its height at the shoulder is about 30 in. (about 75 cms.). It is extremely beautiful and delicate (cf. Prov. 5:19). It survived in Ereẓ Israel until World War I but, despite its agility, it fell prey to hunters eager for its tasty meat. At present there are to be seen in Israel herds of *gazelle, which, although wrongly identified with *ayyal/ayyalah*, are in fact the biblical *ẓevi*, distinguished from the deer by its horns, which are hollow and do not branch out like those of the *ayyal*. Until the end of the 19th century the fallow deer (*Cervus dama mesopotamica*) was found in the Middle East. It is a larger deer, its height at the shoulder being about 35 in. (about 90 cms.), its horns broad, with five branches in those of an adult. Apparently this is the species called *yaḥmur* in the Bible. It is among the permitted game (Deut. 14:5) and was provided for Solomon's table (I Kings 5:3). In the Talmud it is identified with an important species of game akin to the deer (Bek. 7b), depicted frequently in ancient hunting scenes. In prehistoric times the European deer (*Cervus elaphus*), bones of which have been discovered in caves on Mount Carmel and in Lebanon, was also found in Ereẓ Israel.

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[Jehuda Feliks]

DEGANYAH (Heb. דְּגַנְיָה), two kevuẓot – Deganyah Alef and Deganyah Bet – in Israel, on the Jordan-Yarmuk Plain south of Lake Kinneret, both affiliated to Iḥud ha-Kibbutzim. Deganyah Alef was founded in 1909 on land that was among the first holdings acquired by the *Jewish National Fund. The initiative came from seven pioneers of the Second Aliyah who were working as wage earners at the neighboring farm of *Kinneret and who applied to Arthur *Ruppin to farm a plot of land on their own responsibility. Ruppin decided to accord them a trial period on a part of the lands east of the Jordan named Umm Jūnī. Surprisingly, the experiment succeeded economically, although the group dispersed after a year. It was followed in 1911 by the "Ḥaderah Commune" whose members (pioneers from Russia) worked out the principles of collective settlement (see *Kibbutz movement) and made Deganyah the "Mother of the Kevuẓot." A.D. *Gordon, one of the early members, played an important part in laying the ideological foundations of communal living. In the initial years, the kevuẓah suffered from frequent attacks by Bedouin robbers encamped in the vicinity. After World War I, with the arrival of Third Aliyah immigrants, Deganyah's intensified farming created a need for more hands, but preferring to maintain the frame of the small "family" kevuẓah, the settlers ceded part of the land allocated to them for the establishment of another kevuẓah, which was built in 1920 and named Deganyah Bet. In time, the two settlements further intensified farming and recognized the need, both economic and social, to absorb more members, although they were able to give a part of their land for a third settlement, the kibbutz *Afikim. During the *War of Independence (1948), the Syrian army, having taken neighboring Ẓemaḥ, attempted to continue its advance across the Jordan westward; but on May 20, 1948, it was repulsed by the vigorous defense of Deganyah Alef. One of the Syrian tanks remained stuck in the settlement's perimeter; it remained there as a memorial. In memory of its fallen members, Deganyah laid out Gan ha-Meginnim (The Defenders' Park). In 1968 the two Deganyahs had a combined population of 960, in 2002 around 1,000, equally divided between the two. Both operated intensive, fully irrigated farming (avocado, bananas, date palms, dairy cattle, and poultry) based on the hot climate and abundance of water in the region. Deganyah Alef has operated the Toolgal industrial diamond plant since the early 1970s, while Deganyah Bet operates a guesthouse. The Bet Gordon Museum and Study Center for natural sciences and agriculture is located at Deganyah Alef. Levi *Eshkol and Kadish *Luz were members of Deganyah Bet. Arthur *Ruppin, Otto *Warburg, Leopold *Greenberg, and other personalities are buried at Deganyah Alef, alongside A.D. Gordon, Joseph *Busel, and other founders of the labor settlement movement. In 1981 Deganyah Alef was awarded the Israel Prize for special contribution to Israeli State and society. The name "Deganyah" (Cornflower) is based on the Arab designation of the land, Umm Jūnī, which in turn may have its origin in the village Kefar Gun of talmudic times.

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[Efraim Orni / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

DEGGENDORF, city in Bavaria, Germany. In 1338 local burghers and members of the gentry, under the leadership of the ducal judge, set fire to the houses of the Jewish quarter and slaughtered the inhabitants. Duke Henry sanctioned the massacre by presenting the perpetrators with the Jews' property. As a result, the killing spread to 21 other places in Bavaria. The Deggendorf massacre occurred at a time of severe social unrest, which in previous years had led to waves of anti-Jewish rioting by the *Judenschlaeger* and *Armleder gangs in large parts of southern Germany. The slaughter of the Jews greatly benefited the impoverished townspeople, and a magnificent church was erected in place of the synagogue. Only at a later stage was the allegation of *Host desecration made to justify the massacre of the Jews. From the 15th century, relics of the supposed desecration were venerated in the church, and Deggendorf developed into a major place of pilgrimage in Germany. The last mass pilgrimage took place in 1843; the pictures in the church depicting the affair were covered up in 1967. In 1992 the pilgrimage was at last abolished. The small modern Jewish community (numbering 17 in 1910) was affiliated to that of *Straubing. Of the 500 inmates of the concentration camp established in Deggendorf on February 20, 1945, 400 were Jews. In 1946, 700 Jewish refugees were temporarily accommodated in a transit camp at Deggendorf. There is no postwar community in the city.

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[Stefan Rohrbacher (2nd ed.)]

DE HAAS, JACOB (1872–1937), author, journalist, and Zionist. De Haas was born in London of Dutch parentage. In 1896, when Theodor *Herzl visited England to secure the support of British Jewry, de Haas, an active Zionist and editor of the *London Jewish World*, became an enthusiastic supporter of Herzlian Zionism. He was appointed "honorary secretary to Dr. Herzl," serving as the latter's spokesman and collaborator in Zionist affairs in Britain. In 1902, at the behest of Herzl, de Haas settled in the United States and was elected secretary of the Federation of American Zionists and editor of *The Maccabean*. Resigning in 1905 because of policy differences with the leadership, de Haas then moved to Boston, where he became publisher of the *Jewish Advocate*. In 1910 he met Louis D. *Brandeis and evoked his interest in Zionism, encouraging him to assume leadership of the Federation. When Brandeis was elected chairman of the Zionist Provisional Emergency Committee in 1914, he appointed de Haas director of its New England bureau. When Brandeis was appointed to the Supreme Court in 1916, de Haas returned to New York as executive secretary of the Committee to interpret and carry out the Brandeis policies. With the establishment of the Zionist Organization of America in 1918, he served as its leader until 1921 when the Brandeis administration was defeated. Subsequently, de Haas headed undertakings for Palestine launched by the Brandeis Zionist groups, including the Palestine Development Council and the Central Committee of the Palestine Development Leagues. In 1930, when the Brandeis faction regained a dominant role in the ZOA, de Haas again assumed command, but resigned within a year, realizing that the Brandeis economic program for Palestine was impractical because of the economic depression. Toward the end of his life he briefly took up the Revisionist cause. De Haas wrote *Theodor Herzl* (1927); *Louis D. Brandeis* (1927); *History of Palestine* (1934), and *The Great Betrayal* (1930, with Stephen *Wise) attacking the British Mandatory Government in Palestine. He edited the *Encyclopedia of Jewish Knowledge* (1934).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *The New Palestine* (March 26, 1937), 1–3; L. Lipsky, *Gallery of Zionist Profiles* (1956), 166–75; A. Friesel, *Ha-Tenuah ha-Ẓiyyonit be-Arẓot ha-Berit ba-Shanim 1897–1914* (1970), index.

[Herbert Parzen]

DEHOK (Dihok), a town in the Iraqi part of Kurdistan. According to the official census of 1930, there were 843 Jews in the entire Dehok region. Their language was the *Aramaic spoken in the mountains, *Jabalī*. They were farmers, artisans, and weavers. The *ḥakhamim* who headed the community included Joseph b. Isaac, who in 1888 completed a book of homilies, and the kabbalist *ḥakham* Elijah Abraham Mizraḥi, who translated Kurdish-Aramaic poems into Hebrew. When the State of Israel was established, the entire community migrated there.

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[Abraham Haim]

DEINARD, EPHRAIM (1846–1930), bibliographer and Hebrew author. Born in Sasmakken, Latvia, Deinard wandered in his youth, collecting ancient manuscripts and books in many countries, and then established a bookshop in Odessa. In 1897 he tried unsuccessfully to found an agricultural settlement in Nevada (U.S.). An active Zionist, he settled in Palestine in 1913 where he investigated the possibilities of Jewish settlement. After being expelled by the Turks in 1916 he returned to the United States and continued his bibliographical work. His two most noteworthy bibliographical works are *Or Mayer: Catalogue of the Old Hebrew Manuscripts and Printed Books of the Library of the Hon. Mayer Sulzberger of Philadelphia* (1896) and *Koheleth America* (1926), a listing of Hebrew books published in America from 1735 to 1926. The first part of the latter work contains essays on the state of Hebrew literature in America, which are written in his unadorned, but typically acerbic, style. He laid the foundations of the Hebrew book and manuscript collections of the Library of Congress with the financial aid of Jacob *Schiff. A violent polemicist on many controversial subjects, he attacked Reform Judaism, Ḥasidism, Christianity, and Karaism. Deinard was a prolific Hebrew writer, producing more than 50 books and pamphlets often signed with his pseudonym, Adir. These included *Toledot Even Reshef* (1879; a biography of Abraham *Firkovich, whom he knew in the Crimea); *Sefer Massa Krim* (1878; on travels in Crimea); *Massa le-Ereẓ Kedem* (1883; travels in Palestine and Egypt); *Sefer Miflagot be-Yisrael* (1899; on the *Subbotniki* and *Ḥasidim); Zikhronot Bat Ammi* (1920; a history of Russian Jewry over the previous 70 years). He also published several short-lived Hebrew and Yiddish journals, among them *Ha-Le'ummi*, one of the earliest Hebrew periodicals in America.

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[Getzel Kressel]

DEIR (Dayr) AL-BALAḤ, Arab town in southern Ereẓ Israel, 8½ mi. (13.7 km.) southwest of *Gaza. It appears to have existed since Byzantine times, when it bore the name Darom or Kefar Darom and Jews were among its inhabitants. Under the early caliphates, a fortress was constructed there. It was also a crusader fortress and administrative military center. The castle was described by William of Tyre. Toward the end of the Middle Ages, the place-name was changed to "Deir" (Monastery) with the added designation "al-Balaḥ" ("of Date

Palms"). Date palms still constitute the principal produce of the town, in addition to citrus fruits, almonds, pomegranates, and grapes. The town grew from 1,600 inhabitants in 1945 to 18,000 in 1967, of whom 7,000 lived in the local refugee camp. In 1997 the population increased to 42,839 inhabitants, two-thirds of whom were refugees. The original name was revived in 1946 by the religious kibbutz Kefar Darom, on the town's eastern outskirts, which had to be abandoned in the War of Independence but was reestablished further north in 1970 as *Benei Darom. From 1948 to 1967, it was in the *Gaza Strip under Egyptian control, coming under Israeli control in the Six-Day War and reverting to the *Palestinian Authority in 1994 under the terms of the Declaration of Principles initialed in Oslo and signed in Washington in 1993.

[Efraim Orni]

DEISTS, adherents of a rationalist movement that arose in the 17th and 18th centuries as an attempt to explain the Bible and create a theology based on the rules of logic and the sciences. Deism arose in the middle of the 17th century out of the rationalist criticism of the past, and especially the religious past, which had been one element of the thinking of the Renaissance and the Reformation. It was also a result of the inevitable de-emphasis on the uniqueness of Christian Europe and its special revelation, as corollary to increasing scientific and geographical discovery, which emphasized the multiplicity of cultures and man's reason and power. The Englishman who founded Deism, Lord Herbert of Cherbury (1583–1648), made the fundamental distinction between "natural religion" and the various positive faiths, which were judged by its standards (*De Religione Gentilium*, 1663). In 1670 Baruch *Spinoza published in Amsterdam his *Tractatus theologico-politicus…* (Treatise on Religious and Political Philosophy) which subjected the Bible and even the New Testament to criticism in the name of universal principles of reason and morality available to any man by his very nature. In this debate about the Bible, others and especially Pierre Bayle (1647–1706), in articles such as his famous *Dictionnaire Historique et Critique* (Rotterdam, 1697), helped establish as a first principle of the European Enlightenment not only that the Bible was not unique but that indeed it was morally and culturally inferior and obnoxious.

In England the immediate followers of Lord Herbert argued on the grounds of comparative religion, a discipline of which they were the founders, that the basic customs of Judaism had been taken over from the Egyptians. This question, whether the Jews had taught the Egyptians or the Egyptians had taught the Jews, had been at issue in antiquity between Hellenistic Jewish writers and such of their detractors as *Manetho. Learned men such as John Spencer (1630–1693) argued against the originality of the Jews and used all the remarks in the sacred literature of both Jews and Christians that attacked the "stiff-neckedness" of the biblical Jews to paint them in the most negative colors and to suggest that their laws were a punishment visited upon them (*De legibus Hebraeorum ritualibus et earum rationibus*, Cambridge, 1685). The sources in classic antiquity of this negative estimate of the biblical Jews are even more pronounced in the work of Charles Blount (1654–1693), who renewed the ancient charge of Greco-Roman antisemites that the Jews had been expelled from Egypt as lepers. Anthony Ashley Cooper, third Earl of Shaftesbury (1671–1713), declared that the Jews "were naturally a very cloudy people" (*Characteristics of Men, Manners, Opinions, Times*, 1 (London, 1711), 29); "they had certainly in Religion, as in everything else, the least Good Humor of any People in the world" (*ibid.*, 3 (1711), 116).

The attack on the credibility of the Bible and the character of the Jews was continued in England in the 18th century by such figures as Anthony Collins (1676–1729), who, in his *Discourse of Free-Thinking* (1713), devastated the belief in biblical prophecy and repeated that the Jews were "such an illiterate, barbarous, and ridiculous people," "crossgrained brutes," in dealing with whom God had to "use craft rather than reason" (*ibid.*, 157). Such opinions were held by most of the other spokesmen of Deism in England, including Thomas Chubb (1679–1747), Thomas Morgan (d. 1743), and Peter Annet (1693–1769). They were repeated by Henry St. John, first Viscount Bolingbroke (1678–1751), the English Deist by whom *Voltaire pretended to be most influenced. The judgment of this whole school of thought was given by its most redoubtable figure in the 18th century, Matthew Tindal (c. 1655–1733). In his *Christianity as Old as the Creation* (1730) the Jews are no longer depicted as being merely ignorant and barbaric; he suggests that human sacrifice was part of their religion and that the immorality of utterly destroying the Canaanites was indicative of their true character.

All of these attacks were leveled at the biblical Jews, and their function was primarily to discredit Christianity, but this Deistic criticism of the Bible had important effects on enlightened thinking about the estate of the contemporary Jew. The century of Enlightenment, and especially the Deistic believers in universal laws of nature, held that human character was continuous, and the Jews of today were therefore as their ancestors were held to have been. English Deistic thinking had substantial influence on the most important intellectual figure of the 18th century, Voltaire, and on such other figures as Nicolas Freret (1688–1749) and Baron Paul d'*Holbach. A post-Christian seemingly rational and historical outlook in the name of which Jews could be despised was thus defined. Even on Deistic foundations anti-Jewish conclusions were not the only possible ones. John Locke was not a Deist, but he was close to such figures as Bayle, he was the tutor of Bolingbroke in his youth, and Anthony Collins regarded himself as Locke's disciple. As early as 1689 Locke, in his *Letter Concerning Toleration*, had announced that no one, not even a Jew, "ought to be excluded from the civil rights of the Commonwealth because of his religion." Locke was followed in these pro-Jewish views by his Deistic disciple John *Toland, who accepted the opinion that Mosaic legislation was borrowed from the Egyptians, but that did not prevent him from arguing that the Code of Moses was the ideal civil constitution and that because of it the Jews had withstood their long exile to the present. Toland knew Jews personally, and as early as 1714 he published a work entitled *Reasons for Naturalizing the Jews in Great Britain and Ireland on the same foot with all other Nations, Containing also a Defence of the Jews against all vulgar Prejudices in all Countries*. Five years later, in *Nazarenus* (London, 1718, Appendix 1), he suggested, in one of the early "Zionist" statements, that the powers of the world ought to help restore the Jews to their own land. It was thus possible to see virtue in the ancient Jews and regard what was wrong with the modern ones as created by the persecution which had been visited upon them and hence to suggest that a change in their conditions would uncover the same universal human nature which is common to all men. This was the view of men such as Gotthold Ephraim *Lessing, the leading German Deist and man of letters in his time, and of a wide variety of people such as Comte de *Mirabeau the Younger, who helped create the atmosphere for the *emancipation of the Jews in France by the *French Revolution. The other opinion, that the character of the Jews was lasting and incorrigible, was the legacy of Deistic biblical criticism, especially in its recension by Voltaire, to modern secular antisemitism. With few exceptions, notably that of Toland, no one who followed Deism, or was seriously influenced by 17th–18th century rationalistic and critical currents, had any doubt that the Jews as they had been molded needed to be freed of their characteristics and traditions in order to join universal culture (which, despite its universalist self-image, was then really a Western classicizing paganism).

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[Arthur Hertzberg]

DEJ (Hung. **Dés**), town in central Transylvania, N. Romania; until the end of World War I and from 1940–44 within Hungary. In 1638 Dej became known through its connection with the history of the Transylvanian Sabbatarians (Judaizers). Although Jews were officially prohibited from living in Dej until 1848, by 1805 there were already 70 Jewish residents. Jewish settlement in Dej began in 1834; previously they had been allowed to live only in a few of the surrounding villages. After 1848 many immigrants from Galicia settled in Dej who made up the majority of the community which remained Orthodox with a strong ḥasidic following. The majority spoke Yiddish as well as Hungarian (and some also Romanian). Communal life was organized around the 1850s. Members of the *Panet family served as rabbis of Dej from the beginning of the community's establishment to its end in the Holocaust. The first synagogue was built in 1863 and another opened in 1907, beside many other synagogues and yeshivot. A state Jewish elementary school was established in 1884, remaining open until 1938; the language of instruction was Hungarian and Yiddish until 1919 and subsequently Romanian and Yiddish. Zionist organizations were active from 1918. Attempts to bring out periodicals in Yiddish, Hungarian, and even Hebrew proved short-lived. The physician Nathan Friedlaender (1819–1902) settled in Dej in 1864. Meir Jehuda Majrovitz (1895–1944), the Hungarian writer, was born in Dej. Also connected to the city is the well-known Holocaust historian Randolph *Braham, who lived there and was sent to forced labor during World War II.

The change of regime of 1919 – when the Hungarians were replaced by the Romanians – caused significant changes in the life of the local Jews, mostly for those strongly assimilated to Hungarian culture and language. They had to accustom themselves to the new antisemitism brought in by the Romanian authorities. However, the Jews tried hard to adapt to the new conditions and survive. More difficult to understand was the new situation after 1940, when the Hungarian Horthiite authorities who returned to Dej turned out to be quite different from those they had known and gotten along with before 1919; the disappointment was to be very severe.

The community numbered 3,360 in 1930 (22.2% of the total population), and 3,719 (22.8%) in 1941. During World War II, the Jews were subjected to many restrictions. Jewish males were mobilized for forced labor; a number of families who could not prove their citizenship were rounded up in the summer of 1941 and deported to Kamenets-Podolski, where they were murdered. In early May 1944 the remaining Jews were placed in a ghetto set up in a forest (the Bungur), located about two miles from the city. The ghetto was liquidated with the deportation of the Jews to Auschwitz in three transports between May 28 and June 8, 1944.

The survivors who returned, with Jews from other places, numbered approximately 1,000 in 1947. The community subsequently dwindled through emigration, many leaving for Israel. In 2004 there were fewer than ten Jews there.

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[Yehouda Marton / Paul Schveiger and
Randolph Braham (2nd ed.)]

DE KLERK, MICHEL (1884–1923), Dutch architect. Born in Amsterdam, De Klerk became a leader of the architectural movement known as the "Amsterdam School." This school, which flourished from early in the century to the mid-1920s, proclaimed the beauty of unadorned materials and surfaces. Individual idiosyncrasy was encouraged, resulting in a rich variety of forms, and an Expressionist idiom was evolved, comparable to that developed in Germany during the same period.

The Amsterdam School became widely known through a series of low-cost housing projects. From 1911 onward De Klerk was engaged in designing workers' houses for the Eigen Haard Estate in the suburb of Amsterdam-Oost. The housing blocks were horizontal in emphasis, broken by sudden verticals, echoing the Dutch landscape. The use of brickwork created a richness of texture. Other features were the strangely shaped roofs with curious projections and whimsical details such as corner oriels in the shape of barrels. Despite the element of fantasy, the total effect of the scheme was quiet and controlled with a human warmth rare in the workers' housing schemes of the period.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: H.R. Hitchcock, *Architecture, 19th and 20th centuries* (1958), 357–9; Roth, Art, 734–5; R. Banham, *Guide to Modern Architecture* (1962), 53–56.

DELACRUT, MATTATHIAS BEN SOLOMON (mid-16th century), kabbalist and astronomer, born in Poland. In 1550 he went to Italy where he studied mathematics, natural sciences, astronomy, and Kabbalah in Bologna.

His works are (1) A commentary on Solomon b. Avigdor's Hebrew translation of Sacrobosco's *Tractatus de sphaera*, or *Aspectus circulorum* (*Marei Ofannim* or *Asfira ha-Gadol*, Offenbach, 1720), in which he made use of the Latin text and corrected the translation in several places. (2) *Ẓel ha-Olam* (Amsterdam, 1733), a translation of Gossouin's *Le Livre de Clergie* or *L'Image du Monde*, a treatise on astronomy and the natural sciences. On the title page Delacrut is named as the author; in his introduction he writes that this is the work of a gentile scholar which he has translated into Hebrew because of his zeal for Judaism. Some scholars believe that the work should be attributed to Ḥayyim Delacrut, a London rabbi, whose name was altered by the publisher to the better-known one of Mattathias Delacrut; others hold that Mattathias was either translator or editor. (3) A commentary on Joseph *Gikitilla's kabbalistic work *Sha'arei Orah* published posthumously by Delacrut's son Joseph (Cracow, 1600); Delacrut describes this work as eclectic but rather it is a popular exposition of kabbalist doctrines according to his individual interpretation. (4) A commentary on **Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut* (in Ms.). (5) A commentary on *Recanati (in Ms.), which Mordecai *Jaffe used in his commentary on Recanati, *Levushei Or Yekarot* (Lublin, 1595).

Delacrut was mainly absorbed in theoretical Kabbalah; at the core of his thinking lies the customary kabbalistic complex of questions concerning God, the Creation, and the relation of man to God. Man was created to serve the Creator, but not the contrary. Before the world was created, everything that was existed in the keeping of divine darkness. God accomplished the Creation by the agency of the *Sefirot*, which had always been a part of his essence and thus, in the act of creation, simply passed from the latent to the manifest plane. God created man in his own image; the soul of man acts in his body in the same way that God's qualities act in the world. The dualism of soul and body does not exist in man only but is present in the whole material world. Man stands at the median between the upper and lower world; he possesses free will and the power to decide between good or evil. Through purity of body and soul, man tries to approach nearer to God.

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[Samuel Abba Horodezky]

DE LA MOTTA, JACOB (1789–1845), antebellum southern U.S. physician. De la Motta was born in Savannah, Georgia. After getting a medical degree at the University of Pennsylvania in 1810 at the age of 21, he practiced in Charleston, South Carolina, until the outbreak of the War of 1812. Volunteering his services, De la Motta was commissioned as a surgeon in the U.S. Army. After the war he practiced in New York City and became an active Freemason, initiating his career as a leader in the medical, scientific, fraternal, political, cultural, and Jewish religious life of his times. In 1818 De la Motta set up practice in Savannah, where he did research on yellow fever, was active in politics, and continued his interest in Masonry. De la Motta returned to Charleston (1823), where he became a leading physician. He served as secretary of the Medical Society of South Carolina for ten years, as a trustee of the State Medical College, as assistant commissioner of health, and as physician for several public institutions. He set up a famous pharmacy called "Apothecaries Hall" and helped revise the *Pharmacopeia of the United States of America* (1830^2). A Whig dissenter from the dominant nullification politics of antebellum Charleston, De la Motta ran for Congress but lost. President Harrison, whom he supported, appointed him receiver general for South Carolina in 1841. He achieved the highest Masonic office in Scottish Rite as grand commander of the Supreme Council (1844). Strongly Orthodox, De la Motta was a leading opponent of reform in Beth Elohim's ritual during the 1840s. He was a founder of the breakaway Orthodox congregation, Shearith Israel, and its first president.

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[Thomas J. Tobias]

DELAUNAY-TERK, SONIA (1885–1979), French painter and fashion designer. She was born in Russia and in 1906 settled in Paris. In 1910 she married the painter Robert Delaunay. Her bold use of strong primary color was only fully revealed after 1912, when she and her husband invented a form of abstract painting known as "Orphism." This was based on "simultaneous color contrasts," often expressed in their paintings by circles of contrasting hues. Their innovation had a profound effect on the applied arts, including fashion, architecture, furnishings, and the theater. She illustrated books and became a celebrated designer of fabrics, scarves, and dresses.

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DELAWARE, U.S. state located on the Middle Atlantic seaboard. The first to ratify the United States constitution in 1787, it is the state with the second smallest land mass and the sixth smallest population. In 2001, some 13,500 Jews lived in the state and accounted for 1.7 percent of the Delaware population.

Although Jewish fur traders were in the territory that became Delaware as early as 1655, only a handful of Jews, including Jacob Fiana, Abraham Judah, and Jacob and Daniel Solis,

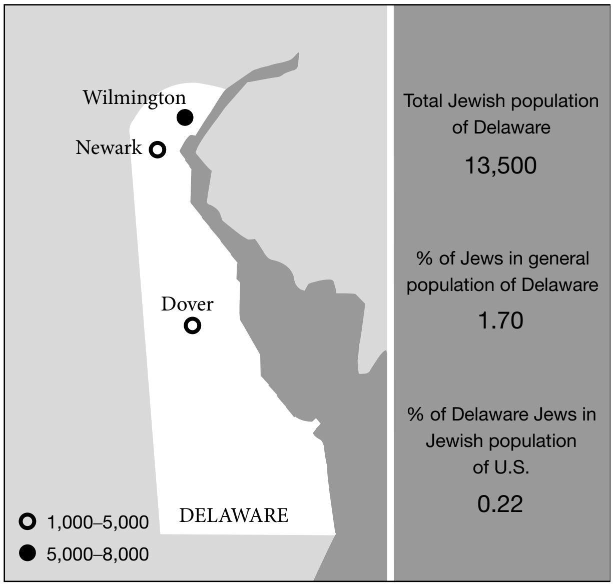
Wilmington
Newark
Dover
DELAWARE
○ 1,000–5,000
● 5,000–8,000
Total Jewish population of Delaware
13,500
% of Jews in general population of Delaware
1.70
% of Delaware Jews in Jewish population of U.S.
0.22

Jewish communities in Delaware. Population figures for 2001.

settled in the area before the middle of the 19th century when Jewish retailers from families in Philadelphia and Baltimore began opening stores in Wilmington. In 1879, 18 Jewish merchants formed Delaware's first Jewish organization, the Moses Montefiore Society, as a religious, educational, and charitable organization. Delaware became the last of the original colonies to have an organized Jewish community and worship services for the High Holidays.

Given Wilmington's prosperity and the influx of Jews from Eastern Europe, the Jewish population of Wilmington grew quickly reaching some 4,000 by 1920. The Jews formed numerous service organizations, including the Young Men's Hebrew Association (today's JCC), the Hebrew Charity Association (today's Jewish Family Service), and the Bichor Cholem Society (today's Kutz Home). By 1929, they had established three Orthodox synagogues, Adas Kodesch, Chesed Shel Emeth, and Machzikey Hadas; a Reform synagogue, Temple Beth Emeth; and a Conservative synagogue, Congregation Beth Sholom. These organizations and synagogues (Adas Kodesch and Chesed Shel Emeth merged in 1957) continued to serve the Wilmington population in 2005. Chabad-Lubavitch began conducting Sabbath services and educational activities in Wilmington and Newark in 1987.

A few Jewish students attended Delaware College, today's University of Delaware, at the end of the 19th century, but Jews did not settle in the college town of Newark until the early 20th century. The Hillel Foundation began activities at the university by 1948. In the early 21st century Hillel served some 800 students a year. The Newark Jewish Community, later known as Temple Beth El, the state's only Reconstructionist synagogue, was organized in 1954.

In the mid-19th century, a small number of Jewish retailers opened businesses in Dover, the state capital, and in several towns in southern Delaware. Jewish growth in the area was slower than in Wilmington, but by the early 20th century, Jewish retailers, peddlers, canners, distillers, and hotelkeepers lived in many towns of southern Delaware including Dover, Lewes, Georgetown, Milford, Millsboro, Seaford, and Smyrna. In 1897, with the aid of HIAS, the Isaac Benioff family settled in Kent County, becoming Delaware's first Jewish farmers. The Jewish Agriculture Society helped an additional 24 Jewish families establish farms in southern Delaware, primarily in Kent County, between 1912 and 1929. Religious services were held informally in homes until 1939 when the Jewish Congregation of Lower Delaware, a predecessor of today's Conservative synagogue, Congregation Beth Shalom, was incorporated.

In 1997, Jewish vacationers and retirees from Philadelphia, Baltimore, Washington, and Wilmington along with Jews from Lewes, Rehoboth, and the surrounding Delaware beach communities formed the Seaside Jewish Community. The group, which numbered more than 150 families in 2005, held religious services, educational programs including a Hebrew school, and social events.

Throughout the 20th century, most Delaware Jews continued to live in the Wilmington area, the focal point of Jewish life in Delaware. One Jewish federation, located in Wilmington, served the entire state. However, by the end of the 20th century, the demographics had shifted. A 1995 study estimated that 56% of Delaware's Jews lived in the Wilmington area, 32% in the Newark-Hockessin area, and 12% in southern Delaware.

Jews have become an integral part of life in all parts of the state. They have contributed to the arts, science, business, medicine, journalism, law, and public service. Irving *Shapiro became CEO of the Dupont Company in 1973 and chair of the Business Roundtable in 1976, Roxana Arsht became Delaware's first female judge in 1971, Daniel Herrmann became chief justice of the Delaware Supreme Court in 1973, and Jack Markell was Delaware's state treasurer in 2005.

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[Toni Young (2nd ed.)]

DEL BANCO, ANSELMO (**Asher Levi Meshullam**; d. 1532), head of the Jewish community in Venice. Owner of several loan-banks in the Venetian territories, Anselmo took refuge in Venice (from which the Jews had been hitherto excluded) when Padua was sacked by troops of the League of the Cambrai in 1509. From then on he acted as spokesman for Venetian Jewry and was largely responsible for securing rights of residence and taxation. He represented the community also in 1516 when the senate decided to establish a ghetto. He was also involved with the Jewish community of Jerusalem, sending money and helping those who sailed there from Venice.

He also corresponded with the famous kabbalist *Abraham ha-Levi of Jerusalem on messianic subjects, and his son Shimon covered the expenses of David *Reuveni in Venice. His daughter Diamant was married to Jehiel da Pisa.

His brother VITA (Hayyim) was also a wealthy banker and philanthropist. The family members were proprietors of one of the seven Venetian synagogues, known as the Scuola Meshulamim. Some of their descendants settled in Hamburg and were among the ancestors of the *Warburg family.

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[Giorgio Romano / Moti Benmelech (2nd ed.)]

DEL BENE (Heb. מַה טּוֹב, *Mah Tov*), **ELIEZER DAVID BEN ISAAC** (d. 1635), rabbinical author, born in Mantua. In his youth Del Bene won popularity as a preacher in the local synagogue; however, he provoked fierce opposition by frequently quoting Italian poets in his sermons and as a result was forced to retire from the pulpit. He then turned to talmudic studies, instructed by Menahem Azariah da *Fano, later becoming a member of the yeshivah of *Ferrara where he lived for 36 years until his death. His work *Ir David*, responsa, sermons, and novellae, remained unpublished.

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[Umberto (Moses David) Cassuto]

DEL BENE, JUDAH ASAHEL BEN DAVID ELIEZER (1615?–1678), rabbi and scholar who lived in Ferrara. Del Bene was considered by Isaac *Lampronti as one of the great talmudists of his time. He was the author of *Kisot le-Veit David* (Verona, 1646), a philosophical work in which he upheld basic Jewish teachings in the face of philosophical criticism. In the preface to *Kisot*, the author quotes from another, poetical work of his, *Yehudah Meḥokeki*.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Wolf, Bibliotheca, 1 (1715), 452; G.B. de Rossi, *Dizionario Storico*…, 1 (1802), 98; Ghirondi-Neppi, 123; Zunz, in: *Liebermanns "Deutscher Volkskalender"* (1853), 67; F. Delitzsch, *Zur Geschichte der juedischen Poesie* (1836), 71; Steinschneider, Cat Bod, 1343–44; A. Pesaro, *Memorie storiche sulta comunità israelitica ferrarese* (1878), 48; Fuenn, Keneset, 411; Mortara, Indice, index.

DE LEE, JOSEPH B. (1869–1942), U.S. obstetrician and gynecologist. De Lee was professor of obstetrics and gynecology first at Northwestern University and later at the University of Chicago. He designed over 20 new obstetric instruments, the most important of which was the stethoscope to locate the easiest place for checking the heartbeat of the fetus. He also introduced the use of educational films to aid in teaching obstetrics. De Lee wrote three books which became standard texts in the field of obstetrics: *Notes on Obstetrics* (1904), *Obstetrics for Nurses* (1904; ten editions), and *Principles and Practice of Obstetrics* (1913; 11 editions). He also wrote numerous articles and monographs in his field. De Lee was the founder of the Chicago Lying-in Hospital and Dispensary and of the Chicago Maternity Center.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: S.R. Kagan, *Jewish Medicine* (1952), 482.

[Suessmann Muntner]

DE LEON, prominent early American Sephardi family. DAVID CAMDEN DE LEON (1816–1872), first surgeon general of the Confederate Army, was born in Camden, South Carolina, eldest of three sons of MORDECAI H. DE LEON (1791–1848), a physician. David followed his father's profession, graduating from the University of Pennsylvania Medical School in 1836. He entered the U.S. Army as an assistant surgeon in 1838, serving in Florida during the Seminole War and then in frontier posts in the West. During the Mexican War De Leon was assigned to the invading American forces, entering Mexico City when it surrendered to General Scott. De Leon was twice cited for gallantry in action, gaining the sobriquet "the Fighting Doctor." In 1856 he was promoted to full surgeon with the rank of major. With the advent of the Civil War, De Leon, after considerable wrestling with his conscience, resigned from the U.S. Army and offered his services to the Confederacy. On May 6, 1861, he was appointed the first surgeon general of the Confederate Army but held the post only a few weeks. De Leon later served in Florida, Alabama, and Louisiana, and was named medical director of the army of Northern Virginia under General Lee, but resigned after a month. He has been characterized as an "unhappy and frustrated" man. After the war De Leon took refuge in Mexico and then returned to New Mexico, where he had been stationed and where he owned property. He planted, and also practiced private medicine until his death in Santa Fe. De Leon never married and is said to have ignored his Jewish origins.

EDWIN DE LEON (1828–1891), journalist, diplomat, Confederate agent, author, brother of David, was born in Charleston, South Carolina. Graduating from South Carolina College (now the University of South Carolina), De Leon became a journalist, and served as editor of several newspapers, including the Savannah *Republican*, the Columbia (S.C.) *Daily Telegraph*, and the Washington, D.C., *Southern Press*. In all of these he strongly advocated the institution of Negro slavery in the South. De Leon worked hard to help elect Franklin Pierce as president, and was rewarded by appointment as American consul general in Egypt, where he served ably for eight years under both Pierce and Buchanan. With the Civil War he resigned and reported to his old friend Jefferson Davis, who appointed him a confidential agent of the Confederate state department to stir up public opinion in Europe for the Confederate cause, and was given $25,000 to spend especially with the press. De Leon held no official title, representing himself as a "private citizen." His propaganda efforts failed to influence opinion in England and France, and his "gratuitous services" were ended in 1862. After the war De Leon was a freelance writer in New York. Later he returned to Egypt to live, and was involved in the installation of the Bell telephone system in Egypt about 1880. De Leon spoke and wrote on Egypt and the new South. His books include his memoirs, *Thirty Years of My Life on Three Continents* (1878), and *The Khedive's Egypt* (1878). He was buried in a Catholic cemetery in New York.

THOMAS COOPER DE LEON (1839–1914), author and editor, brother of David and Edwin, was born in Columbia, South Carolina. After attending Georgetown University, De Leon worked as a clerk in the bureau of typographical engineers in Washington. He served in the Confederate Army during the Civil War, apparently in the Confederate capitals, Montgomery and Richmond. His social and military observations were later the basis for a book, *Four Years in Rebel Capitals* (1890). After the war he edited *Cosmopolitan Magazine* in Baltimore, translated French novels, and wrote freelance articles. In 1868 he went to Mobile as managing editor (after 1877 editor) of the *Mobile Register*. In addition to his editorial work, De Leon was a versatile writer, poet, novelist, essayist, and playwright. His best-known book, Civil War reminiscences, was *Belles, Beaux and Brains of the '60s* (1907). He wrote a successful burlesque play which ran in New York, two parody plays, and two local-color novels. Although blind for the last 11 years of his life, De Leon remained active.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: DAVID CAMDEN: B.A. Elzas, *Jews of South Carolina* (1905), 271–3 and passim; S. Kagan, *Jewish Contributions to Medicine in America* (1934), 3, 43–44; J. Waring, *History of Medicine in South Carolina*, 2 (1967), 220–1; H. Simonhoff, *Jewish Participants in the Civil War* (1963), 229–31; *Appleton's Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, 2 (1888), 135. EDWIN: H.K. Hennig, "Edwin De Leon" (Thesis, University of South Carolina, 1928); C.P. Cullop, in: *Civil War History*, 8 (1962), 386–400; Edwin De Leon, manuscript papers and letters at University of South Carolina Library, Columbia, S.C. THOMAS COOPER: Wade, in: DAB, 5 (1930) 224.

[Thomas J. Tobias]

DE LEON, DANIEL (1852–1914), U.S. socialist leader. De Leon, who was born in Curaçao, Dutch West Indies, claimed descent from aristocratic, Spanish-Catholic stock. However, it is generally accepted as beyond doubt that he came from a Jewish family. He studied in Europe and went to New York in 1872. De Leon did not become concerned with labor matters until 1886, but by 1890 he had joined the Socialist Labor Party. From 1892 to his death, he edited the party's weekly *The People*, and from 1900 to 1914, the *Daily People*, becoming the single most important figure in the organization. De Leon vigorously rejected any compromise with the capitalist system, and attacked trade union leaders and socialists who were prepared to concentrate on the immediate demands of workers as enemies of the working class. He argued that only a minority would have the determination and spirit to lead the workers to Socialism, and this was the role that he assigned to the Socialist Labor Party. All who disagreed were forced from the party or left after bitter battles with De Leon. De Leon maintained that both political action and industrial unionism were necessary to spark revolutionary sentiments in the American worker. Until 1905 he laid heavy stress on political action through the Socialist Labor Party, but also organized the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance in 1895 to provide a radical Socialist alternative to the American Federation of Labor. In 1905 De Leon helped organize the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW). At this time he placed increased emphasis on industrial unionism as a revolutionary tool. However, De Leon rejected the IWW's repudiation of political action in 1908, and he left that organization to form a rival group. Despite all disappointments, De Leon tirelessly insisted on the eventual victory of Socialism and the ultimate vindication of his methods and ideology.

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[Irwin Yellowitz]

DELFONT, BERNARD, LORD (1909–1994), British theatrical manager. Born in Russia, the son of Isaac Winogradsky, he grew up in England and entered theater management in 1941. He subsequently managed many West End theaters and controlled 30 companies with theatrical, film, television, music, and property interests. Delfont became particularly well known for organizing many Royal Variety Performances, the first in 1958. He was awarded a life peerage in Harold Wilson's resignation Honours List in 1976. He was the brother of Lord *Grade.

ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY: B. Delfont with B. Turner, *East End, West End* (1990); ODNB online.

DE LIEME, NEHEMIA (1882–1940), Dutch Zionist. Born in The Hague, the son of a *shoḥet*, De Lieme was largely self-taught, mainly in the field of actuarial mathematics and economics. In 1904 he was one of the founders of the *Centrale Arbeiders Verzekeringsbank, the first Dutch workers' insurance company and bank. Legally still a minor, he became director of the bank, which largely due to him flourished after a difficult start, until his death. Although the Centrale was essentially a social democratic affair, De Lieme was throughout his life a convinced social liberal, at the same time emotionally involved with social problems and coolly business-like in the implementation of their solutions. He had great talent for organization. De Lieme joined the Zionist movement during the Zionist Congress in The Hague (1907). In 1912, after a crisis when its founder Jacobus *Kann endorsed Zionist propaganda among Christians, he became chairman of the Nederlandse Zionistenbond (NZB), the Dutch Zionist Federation. In 1914, when *Jewish National Fund headquarters were moved from Cologne to The Hague, De Lieme became its director. Because he managed the affairs of the JNF well through the difficult war years, he became a member of the Zionist Executive in London in 1920 and was one of the three members of the Zionist Reorganization Commission, which visited Palestine to report on the state of the Jewish settlements. While pioneers proudly wished to show their cattle and fields, De Lieme buried himself in their accounts and cemented his image as an unfeeling bookkeeper. He was highly critical of the financial management of the settlements, especially the delivery of subsidies without looking into the actual needs and into what he considered sound accounting. When the Executive in 1921 purchased the Jezreel Valley against his advice, he resigned. De Lieme's main objections were that the price of the Emek would inflate the land prices in Palestine and that *PICA already was negotiating with the owners about a purchase. With Jacobus *Kann and Siegfried *Van Vriesland, De Lieme now formed the "Hague Opposition," whose sentiments against *Weizmann's policies were shared by the *Brandeis Group in the United States: too much propaganda and bureaucracy, too little attention to the productiveness of Zionist enterprises in Palestine. For De Lieme especially the post-Balfour policy of engaging the whole Jewish and also the non-Jewish world in the building of the National Home meant a betrayal of Zionist principles. Though criticism of this opposition was largely shared by many Zionist figures in private, the Hague Opposition led a losing battle in the dynamics of the post-Balfour period, when the weak Zionist movement and scant Zionist funds required a good deal of political window dressing. De Lieme's standing within the NZB remained high despite only a brief chairmanship in 1924. He would strongly influence the Dutch Federation until 1940 in its criticism of Weizmann's policies, especially the establishment of the *Keren Hayesod and the *Jewish Agency, also later the immigration of Jewish refugees into Palestine, as would one of his successors, Fritz *Bernstein. In 1938 De Lieme, while he and his family already were preparing to immigrate to Palestine, publicly resigned from the Zionist Organization in protest against the Executive's decision to negotiate with the British Government on the partition of Palestine. From 1934 he took a great interest, financially and personally, in founding the International Institute for Social History in Amsterdam and in enabling it to purchase valuable archival material. De Lieme died shortly after the German invasion of Holland.

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[Ludy Giebels (2nd ed.)]

DELILAH (Heb. דְּלִילָה), a woman from the Valley of Sorek who was *Samson's mistress and who betrayed him to his enemies (Judg. 16:4ff.). The Philistine city kings offered her a handsome bribe to entice Samson to reveal the secret of his great strength. After three unsuccessful attempts, she finally induced her lover to disclose that it was his adherence to the Nazirite abstention from cutting the hair (cf. Judg. 13:5) of his head that made him so exceptional. She thereupon induced Samson to sleep, had him shorn of his long hair, and handed him over to the Philistines, who blinded and incarcerated him. The biblical narrative does not make it clear whether Delilah was herself a Philistine. It does not suggest that she was married to Samson, or that she was treacherously motivated from the first. The meaning of the name Delilah is uncertain. Two of the more plausible explanations are (1) "temptress," deriving, as does the parallel Safaitic name *Dllt*, from the Arabic root *dll*, meaning "to entice"; (2) a shortened theophoric name, akin to the Akkadian name Dalîl (or Dilîl) Ishtar, meaning "praises [or "majesty"] of Ishtar."

[Nahum M. Sarna]

In the *Aggadah*

The name Delilah is connected by the rabbis with *dalal* דלל ("to enfeeble") because "she enfeebled Samson's strength, she enfeebled his actions, and she enfeebled his determination" (Num. R. 9:24). To wrest his secret from him she disengaged herself from him at the moment of sexual consummation (Sot. 9b). She realized that Samson was finally telling the truth when he said: "I have been a Nazarene unto God" (Judg. 16:17), because she knew that he would not take the Lord's name in vain (Num. R. *ibid.*).

For Delilah in the arts, see *Samson.

DE LIMA, JOSEPH SUASSO (1791–1858), South African writer and journalist. Member of an Amsterdam family of Portuguese origin, he qualified in law, wrote for Amsterdam publishers, and in 1816 went on a government mission to Batavia. In 1818 he settled at the Cape as printer, publisher, and translator (of Hebrew, among other languages). One of the early South African literary figures to use Dutch, he wrote poems, plays, pamphlets, almanacs, and directories. His versatility and his lameness were both butts for the enemies he made in various controversies. He defended the form of colloquial Dutch spoken at the Cape, opened the first Dutch bookshop in South Africa, and ran the first weekly paper, the satirical *De Versamelaar*, for several years from 1825. His *Gedichten* appeared in Amsterdam in 1821; his *Nieuwe Gedichten* in 1840. In 1825 he published his brief *Geschiedenis van de Kaap de Goede Hoop*, the first manual of Cape history. De Lima joined the Dutch Reformed Church in 1833, but made a donation to the building fund of the first Cape synagogue in 1849.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: L. Herrman, *History of the Jews in South Africa* (1935), 94–97; Nienaber, in: *Jewish Affairs*, 7 (Johannesburg, 1952), 12–16.

°**DELITZSCH, FRANZ** (**Julius**; 1813–1890), German Protestant theologian, Bible and Judaica scholar. Inspired by Julius *Fuerst to devote himself to the study of Judaism, he was appointed professor of theology at the university of his native Leipzig in 1844. Later he taught at Rostock (1846), Erlangen (1850), and again in Leipzig (1867). Though Delitzsch was a devoted Christian and the most significant figure of the Lutheran "Mission to the Jews," believing in the supremacy of the New Testament over the Old, he maintained an extraordinary understanding of, and affection for, Judaism. Well versed in Hebrew and in Semitic languages, as well as in the Talmud and in medieval Jewish literature, Delitzsch was in close touch with the leading Jewish scholars of his time. As a devout Christian, he proselytized among the Jews, wrote several pamphlets for that purpose, and made a new translation of the New Testament into Hebrew (1877, 1901^{12}; supposedly with the assistance of A.H. Weiss). In 1863 he founded the missionary magazine, *Saat auf Hoffnung* ("Seed on Hope"), which appeared regularly until 1935. In 1880 he established in Leipzig the *Institutum Judaicum* (renamed the "Delitzschianum" after his death), for the training of missionary workers among Jews, an institute which is still in existence in Muenster (Germany), but has been transformed into a purely scholarly institution. In 1884/85, a controversy erupted between Delitzsch and A. Berliner, who deplored the proselytizing spirit of his Protestant colleague's work. Delitzsch harshly silenced his criticism, asserting Christianity's theological superiority and accusing him of ingratitude with respect to his political solidarity with German Jewry. In general, his theological attitude towards Judaism implied strong traditional anti-Jewish elements, including his definition of Judaism as an obsolete stage of revelation, his verdict on "Jewish legalism," and his polemic against scholars like A. Geiger, whose criticism of Christianity appeared to him as an expression of presumptuous Jewish anti-Christianism. Despite his own ambivalent views on contemporary Judaism (*Christentum und jüdische Presse*, 1882), Delitzsch fought vehemently against defamations of the Talmud by antisemitic writers, especially against *Rohling's libelous pamphlet *Der Talmudjude* (1871). Delitzsch's first book, *Zur Geschichte der juedischen Poesie vom Abschluss der Heiligen Schriften des Alten Bundes bis auf die neueste Zeit* (1836), was the first comprehensive study of the history of Hebrew poetry and a serious attempt to deal with this subject with the accepted tools of literary criticism. In his Bible commentaries, the most important of which are those on Psalms (1859, 1894^{5}), on Isaiah (1866–1889^{4}), and on Ecclesiastes (1875), his approach was based upon philological analysis. He meticulously adhered to the masoretic text and, on principle, avoided critical emendations. He mitigated his traditional attitude only in his later writings, in which he accepted some of the tenets of the "source theory" of modern Bible criticism. To this subject he devoted his *Complutensische Varianten zum alttestamentischen Texte* (1878). Delitzsch assisted Seligmann *Baer in his edition of the Hebrew Bible, based upon the masoretic text. Delitzsch edited both Moses Ḥayyim *Luzzatto's *Migdal Oz* (1857) and the Karaite Aaron b. Elijah's *Eẓ Ḥayyim* (1841, with the assistance of M. *Steinschneider). He also wrote *Juedisches Handwerkerleben zur Zeit Jesu* ("Jewish Artisans in the Time of Jesus," 1868, 1879^{2}) and *Juedisch-arabische Poesien aus vor-mohammedanischer Zeit* ("Pre-Islamic Jewish Poetry," 1874). His theological works and New Testament studies include *Die biblisch-prophetische Theologie* (1845); *System der biblischen Psychologie* (1855, 1861^{2}); *Commentar zum Briefe an die Hebraeer* (1857); *Jesus und Hillel* (also in Hebrew; 1866, 1875^{3}); *System der christlichen Apologetik* (1869). One of his missionary writings, *Ernste Fragen an die Gebildeten juedischer Religion* ("Serious Questions to the Educated Members of the Jewish Faith," 1888), which attempted to downplay the importance of Christology and the dogma of the Trinity in order to make it easier for Jews to convert to Christianity, also appeared in Hebrew under the title *Ha'amek She'elah* (1912^{2}). The obituaries published in Jewish journals after his death reflect the ambivalence toward Delitzsch's work: scholars like D. Kaufmann expressed their deep admiration for his scholarly achievements but did not hide their resentment over not being accepted as academic equals and his denigration of contemporary Jewish identity.

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[Mordechai Breuer / Christian Wiese (2nd ed.)]

°DELITZSCH, FRIEDRICH (1850–1922), German Orientalist, son of Franz *Delitzsch. Delitzsch was the outstanding student of E. Schrader; he served as professor of Semitic languages and Assyriology in Leipzig (1877), in Breslau (1893), and from 1899 in Berlin. Delitzsch was among the founders of modern Assyriology. In addition to his purely Assyriological studies he investigated the Hebrew language in its relation to Akkadian and the Semitic languages in relation to the Indo-European languages in *Studien ueber indogermanisch-semitische Wurzelverwandtschaft* (1873), and *Prolegomena eines neuen hebraeisch-aramaeischen Woerterbuchs zum Alten Testament* (1886). Delitzsch also published in the field of Bible. His *Die Leseund Schreibfehler im Alten Testament…* (1920) is a valuable aid to textual criticism. More controversial are his comparative studies of Babylonian culture and the world of the Bible. Their motivation was not objectively scientific but blatantly antisemitic. In 1902, Delitzsch prepared a number of lectures on the topic "Babel and Bible" (*Babel und Bibel,* 1902–05; Eng. 1906), in which he claimed the absolute superiority of "Babylonia" over "Israel" and that the Bible, in and of itself, is devoid of religious and moral value. While his views were accepted by antisemites with joy, scholars and men of religion reacted sharply to the superficiality of his conclusions and to their evil intent. But Delitzsch, who was silenced for a while, repeated his claims after World War I, and this time in an open attack on the Hebrew Bible, Judaism, and the Jews in his book, *Die grosse Taeuschung* ("The Great Deception," 1921). His actions contributed not a little to the slogans of the antisemitic movements in Germany. The most important of the polemical works against Delitzsch is E. Koenig's work *Fried-*

rich Delitzsch's "Die grosse Taeuschung" kritisch beleuchtet (1921).

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[Abraham Arzi]

DELL, EDMUND (1921–1999), British politician. An Oxford graduate and Labour member of Parliament from 1964 until 1979, Edmund Dell held a series of economic ministries in the 1964–70 and 1974–79 governments. Dell served as paymaster-general 1974–76 and then entered the cabinet as trade secretary from 1976 to 1978. After leaving Parliament, he became a company director. Dell was the author of ten books, including *A Hard Pounding* (1991), about the economic crises of 1974–79, and *The Chancellors: A History of the Chancellors of the Exchequer, 1945–90* (1996).

[William D. Rubinstein (2nd ed.)]

DELL, MICHAEL S. (1965–), U.S. computer entrepreneur. Born in Houston, Texas, Dell attended the University of Texas, intending to become a physician; instead, he became the dormitory millionaire. In 1984, with $1,000, Dell started a computer company called PC's Limited in his dormitory room. The company became successful enough for Dell to drop out of college at 19 to run the business full-time. Dell's idea was to sell computers directly to the consumer without going through retailers, and in the process design and deliver a computer based upon the customer's own specifications. Previously, buying a computer invariably involved a middleman. In addition to customization, Dell provided the industry's first support and service program. Today, the Dell corporation provides products and services in various information-technology and Internet-related sectors. Building to order, Dell has almost no inventory in computers or components, selling and delivering the completed PC units directly to consumers.

Dell is considered the most profitable PC manufacturer in the world, with sales of $35 billion and profits of $2 billion in 2002. Dell has 46,000 employees in more than 170 countries around the world. Dell is known for its ability to drive down prices and the company has a hold over its vendors. In addition, Dell has been able to leverage the power of the Internet to great advantage because it is the largest supplier of PCs over the Internet. Michael Dell ranks among the five wealthiest individuals in the United States. In 1999 Dell wrote *Direct From Dell: Strategies That Revolutionized an Industry,* which details the story of the rise of the company and the strategies he has refined that apply to all businesses.

Dell, through the foundation that bears his and his wife's name, has become active in philanthropy. One of their earliest gifts was $13 million toward building a new Austin (Texas) Museum of Art. The Dells gave $1 million for a new radiology center at the Children's Hospital of Austin, and the Dell Discovery Center at the Austin Children's Museum reflects the Dells' interests in children's causes. He also gave 40 acres, worth $2.5 million, in 1994 to the Jewish Federation of Austin as a site for a Jewish community center which bears his name.

[Stewart Kampel (2nd ed.)]

DELLA SETA, ALESSANDRO (1879–1944), Italian archaeologist. Della Setta was born in Rome to Giuseppe Della Seta and Rachele Rosselli. In 1901, he took a degree in archaeology and history of Greek and Roman art under Emanuel *Loewy's direction. In 1909, he qualified for university teaching in archaeology. In addition to his prolific and remarkable scientific production he worked as inspector of the National Museum of Villa Giulia, in Rome. In 1913, he held the chair of archaeology at the University of Genoa. During World War I, he attained the rank of artillery officer and received a War Cross. From 1919, for 20 years, Della Seta was head of the Italian Archaeological School of Athens. In 1926, his university chair was transferred from Genoa to Rome. In 1930, he was made a member of the Academy of the Lincei; he was also a member of the Greek Archaeological Society and a member of the technical committee of the *Enciclopedia Italiana*, directing the archaeological section from 1925 to 1930. The anti-Jewish laws of the Fascist regime put an end to his academic career as well as to his scientific production.

Della Seta was eminent both as a field archaeologist and as an art historian. In the 1930s he directed the important excavations at Paliochni, a site on the island of Lemnos, Greece. As an art historian he was particularly concerned with tracing the origins, development, and history of ancient classical art. Among his works are *La genesi dello scorcio nell'arte greca* (1907); *Religione e arte figurata* (1912); *Italia antica* (1922), a survey of Italian civilization from prehistory onward; *I monumenti dell' antichitā classica* (1926); and *Il nudo nell'arte* (1920).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, 37 (1989), 476–481 (includes bibliography).

[Massimo Longo Adorno (2nd ed.)]

DELLA TORRE, LELIO (**Hillel**; 1805–1871), Italian rabbi, teacher, and scholar. Born in Cuneo in Piedmont, he taught at the Collegio Colonna e Finzi in Turin from 1823 to 1829, serving as assistant rabbi from 1827. Two years later, with the opening of the Padua Rabbinical College (which trained the majority of Italian rabbis), he was made professor of Talmud. He gained renown for his teaching of homiletics and for his own preaching. Aside from his volumes of Hebrew poetry, *Tal Yaldut* and *Eglei Tal*, and numerous sermons, he published a commentary on the Pentateuch, translated and annotated the Psalms, and rendered the prayers according to Ashkenazi custom in Italian. His works on scholarly and current subjects, nearly 300 in Jewish publications alone, were published in the periodicals *Bikkurei ha-Ittim ha-Ḥadashim, Kerem Ḥemed, Kokhevei Yizḥak*, and *Avnei Nezer*, as well as in Italian, German, and French periodicals. Della Torre was honored by secular learned societies in Padua and Venice; his two-volume *Scritti Sparsi* appeared in 1908.

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[Getzel Kressel]

DELMAR (**De Le Mar; Lebhar,** from Arabic *al-Baḥr*, "the sea"), Moroccan family of merchants and diplomats. The first known member of the family was JACOB LEBHAR of Safi (c. 1650). SHALOM DELMAR-LEBHAR (d. after 1775), "merchant of the sultan" of Morocco in Mogador, was known as a scholar and kabbalist. Of his five sons, MORDECAI was adviser to the sultan and in 1780 was put in charge of all commerce and the port of the city. Together with his brother JOSEPH of Mogador, he was an agent for the ransoming of Christian captives. MASʿŪD was appointed agent for the sultan in Amsterdam, where he negotiated the peace treaties of 1777. Later he went to London where he was received by George III; his negotiations resulted in the Anglo-Moroccan agreement of May 1783. His son ABRAHAM (c. 1826) was one of the directors of the *talmud torah* of Amsterdam.

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[David Corcos]

°**DEL MEDICO, HENRI E.** (1896–?), scholar, writer and translator. Del Medico was born in Constantinople into a banking family. He left Turkey in 1922 and studied Semitics first in France and during World War II at the Pontifical Institute at Rome. His main interests were Jewish literature of the Roman diaspora in the early centuries C.E.; the Hittites; the Ugaritic texts of Ras Shamra, which he translated, not quite satisfactorily, into French (*La Bible cananéene, découverte dans les textes de Ras Shamra*, 1950); and especially the Dead Sea Scrolls. On these Del Medico published a number of studies, some translated into English (*Riddle of the Scrolls*, 1958), Italian, and Spanish, in which he assumes a rather later date for their origin than the majority of scholars. He also published a number of studies in Byzantine civilization and translated German, English, Italian, and Spanish works into French.

[Rene Samuel Sirat]

DELMEDIGO, ELIJAH BEN MOSES ABBA (c. 1460–1497), philosopher and talmudist. Born in Candia, Crete, Delmedigo was also known as Elijah Cretensis. While still a young man he immigrated to Italy. He received a traditional Jewish education, and studied the classics of Islamic and Jewish philosophy, particularly the works of *Maimonides and *Averroes. In addition he became conversant with classical literature. His Jewish learning was recognized by his contemporaries as can be seen from an exchange of letters with Joseph *Colon, who addressed Delmedigo in terms of high regard (see Resp. Maharik, no. 54). Delmedigo served for a time as head of the yeshivah in Padua. He also delivered public lectures on philosophy in Padua and possibly other Italian cities. *Pico della Mirandola was among Delmedigo's Christian disciples and admirers. On the basis of his reputation as a philosopher, Delmedigo was chosen, under the patronage of the Venice authorities, to act as a mediator in a philosophic dispute which arose between two schools of Italian scholars, and his decision in favor of one side aroused hostility toward him on the part of the other. In addition to this animosity on the part of the Christians, a bitter controversy on a halakhic question developed between Delmedigo and the rabbi of Padua, Judah *Mintz, and after the death of his patron, Pico, in 1494, Delmedigo was compelled to leave Italy and return to his birthplace, where he was welcomed by Jews and Christians alike. There in 1496 he completed his major work, *Beḥinat ha-Dat* ("The Examination of Religion"), which he wrote at the request of one of his disciples Saul ha-Kohen *Ashkenazi. He remained in Crete until his death three years after his return.

The main subject of Delmedigo's *Beḥinat ha-Dat* (first published in 1629 in *Ta'alumot Ḥokhmah* of Judah Samuel *Ashkenazi; published a second time, together with a commentary, by I.S. *Reggio in 1833) is the relation between religion and philosophy. Basing himself on a text of Averroes, Delmedigo holds that the study of philosophy is permissible, affirming further that in cases of contradiction between religious faith and philosophic reasoning, the philosopher may interpret religious beliefs as to make them accord with philosophic truth. This, however, does not apply to the basic principles of faith. Every person, including the philosopher, is obligated to believe in the basic dogmas of religion, even when these appear to contradict philosophic truth. Recognizing the possible contradiction between religious principles and philosophic truths Delmedigo tended toward the double faith theory of the Christian Averroists. In *Beḥinat ha-Dat* Delmedigo also described rabbinic literature and attacked the Kabbalah. He argued against the antiquity of the Kabbalah, noting that it was not known to the sages of the Talmud, or to the *geonim*, or to *Rashi. He also denies that *Simeon b. Yoḥai was the author of the *Zohar, since that work mentions personalities who lived after the death of Simeon. In addition, he attacks the extreme allegorists among Jewish philosophers. In another section of his work he discusses the reasons underlying the commandments of the Torah (*ta'amei ha-mitzvot*). Delmedigo's importance in the history of philosophy rests in his making the teachings of Averroes known to the Italian scholars of the Renaissance, especially through his Latin translations of many of Averroes' works.

He composed the following translations: a translation, no longer extant, of Averroes' commentary on Plato's *Republic*; a translation of six of Averroes' questions on Aristotle's logic (Venice, 1497); a short translation of Aristotle's *Meteorologia*, and a translation of parts of Averroes' middle commentary on that work (Venice, 1488); a translation of parts one to seven of Averroes' middle commentary on Aristotle's *Metaphysics* (Venice, 1560); a translation of Averroes' introduction to his large commentary on Aristotle's *Metaphysics* (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, man. latin, Ms. no. 6508); a translation of Averroes' *De Spermate* (Venice, 1560). In addition to his translations, Delmedigo composed the following original works in Latin: *Questiones Tres*, consisting of three sections: *De Primo Motore, De Mundi Efficentia*, and *De Esse Essentia et Uno* (Venice, 1501); a commentary on Aristotle's natural philosophy (Venice, 1480); a Latin and Hebrew commentary on Averroes' *De Substantia Orbis*, in Hebrew, *Ma'amar be-Eẓem ha-Galgal*, and two questions on Averroes' theory of the hylic intellect (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Cod. héb., 968). A copy of Delmedigo's *Beḥinat ha-Dat* was found in the private library of *Spinoza, and it may be assumed that it influenced the development of Spinoza's ideas in the *Theologico-Political Treatise*.

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[Jacob S. Levinger]

DELMEDIGO, JOSEPH SOLOMON (1591–1655), rabbi, philosopher, mathematician, and astronomer; also known as **Joseph Solomon Rofe** acronym **YashaR**) of Candia (Crete). A writer of extensive Jewish and secular learning and of encyclopedic range, he is the author of works whose number is estimated by some authorities at 30, by others at over 60. A member of a distinguished scholarly family, he was the son of Elijah Delmedigo, rabbi in Candia. In accordance with the family tradition, he was given a thorough Jewish and classical education. At the age of 15, he was admitted to the University of Padua, where he studied astronomy and mathematics under Galileo, and also medicine and philosophy, at the same time continuing his Jewish studies. While at Padua, he frequently visited Leone *Modena of the neighboring city of Venice, who, it appears, exercised a lasting influence on him. In 1613, he completed his studies at the University of Padua, and returned to Crete, where he began to practice medicine. From notes which he compiled during this period, he later began to compose his encyclopedic work *Ya'ar Levanon* ("Forest of Lebanon"), which he never brought to completion. In all likelihood he married in Candia, but there are indications that it was not a happy marriage. He soon found Candia too confining and left his homeland, never to return. Throughout his travels, he encountered misunderstanding and embitterment, since his ideas on the popularization of scientific knowledge aroused opposition and enmity.

His first stop after leaving Candia was Cairo. There he became acquainted with Ali b. Rahmadan, a renowned Arab mathematician, whom he refuted in a public disputation concerning spherical trigonometry. In Egypt, too, he met the physicist, Jacob the Alexandrian, head of the Karaite community there. Delmedigo was attracted to the Karaites by their love for secular learning and it is also possible that the hostility of Orthodox Jews caused him to turn occasionally to the Karaite sectaries for company. He was delighted to find in Egypt several works on Maimonides' *Guide*, as well as certain writings of Abraham ibn Ezra, whom he greatly admired. From Cairo, Delmedigo went to Constantinople, then a prominent center of learning. Here, again, he befriended several Karaite leaders, including Moses Mezordi, from whom he acquired many Karaite works. Here, too, he came to know some ardent followers of the Kabbalah, in particular Jacob ibn Nehemias. It may, however, be assumed that Delmedigo had already become acquainted with kabbalistic teachings while still at Padua. Yet, he approached its study more seriously during his stay in Poland. He immersed himself in the Kabbalah for two purposes: (1) To find in it solutions which philosophy could not offer, and (2) to criticize it. He wrote *Maẓref la-Ḥokhmah*, in which he allegedly refuted the attack on the Kabbalah made by his distant relative Elijah *Delmedigo, in his *Beḥinat ha-Dat*. Since, as Delmedigo himself explains, he was commissioned to write such a refutation, it is unclear whether the work reflects his true convictions. He says in this connection: "Do not presume that you can unravel the author's mind from his book" (ed. Odessa, 1864, p. 85). Leone Modena understood the *Maẓref la-Ḥokhmah* as a refutation of kabbalistic ideas, using it in his *Ari Nohem* ("Roaring Lion"), a systematic anti-kabbalistic treatise. Delmedigo next went to Poland, stopping off on the way in Romania, where he became friends with the kabbalist Solomon Arabi. In 1620, he was practicing medicine in Vilna, where he became the private physician of Prince Radziwill, and had many nobles for his patients. During the week, he used to make the circuit of the environs of Vilna to cure the sick, and on the Sabbath he would lecture in the synagogue. His nights were spent in scholastic pursuits. Though a conservative in many of his views, he was also a proponent of many new ideas. His scientific bent of mind having been stimulated by his early contact with Galileo, he was a pioneer in a number of aspects of scientific research. In astronomy, he parted company with the followers of Ptolemy to espouse the Copernician system. He was the first Jewish scholar to use logarithmic tables, which had just been invented. He preferred Platonic philosophy to Aristotelianism which had held almost unchallenged sway during the Middle Ages. In medicine and the natural sciences he emphasized the value of the empiric approach, although at an earlier stage he had criticized scientific empiricism. He spoke against the unsanitary conditions prevailing in the ghettos and the lack of organization and order. He wanted to uplift the people by a renaissance of science and learning of trades and professions. His knowledge of languages, acquired as tools for his scholarly research, encompassed Latin, Greek, Spanish, and Italian. He intended to study Arabic, but gave up the idea on finding that "everything that was beautiful in Arabic was taken, with few exceptions, from Greek writings." Coming to feel that he had been a failure in Eastern Europe, he left for Hamburg, Germany. From there he went to Amsterdam, where his first printed book, *Elim*, was published by *Manasseh Ben Israel (1629). This book was written as an answer to queries addressed to him by the Karaite scholar, *Zerah b. Nathan of Troki (near Vilna, Lithuania). Delmedigo named this work, which contained 12 general, and 70 specific queries, *Elim*, an allusion to the biblical Elim (Ex. 15:27) where there were 12 wells and 70 date trees. The questions concerned religious, metaphysical, and scientific matters.

In 1629–31, his *Ta'alumot Ḥokhmah*, a collection of kabbalistic treatises, was published by his disciple, Samuel Ashkenazi, in Basle, Switzerland. The first section, *Maẓref la-Ḥokhmah*, appeared in 1629, the second, *Novelot Ḥokhmah* ("Fallen Fruit of Wisdom"), in 1631. Except for these two books, the only other material that remains of Delmedigo's colossal output is the full text of his letter to Zerah of Troki, which was published together with a German translation in 1840 by Abraham Geiger in his *Melo Chofnajim*. It is known within the corpus of Delmedigo's published work under the name of *Iggeret Aḥuz*, after the first word of the letter. This letter is merely a precursory answer to Zerah's inquiries, and was written in 1624 or 1625. Delmedigo refers, in his writings, to a number of other works, which are no longer extant. Among these works are *Bosmat bat Shelomo* on arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, geography, logic, ethics, and metaphysics; *Ir gibborim*, divided into two parts: *Gevurot Adonai* on astronomy, and *Nifla'ot Adonai*, on chemistry and mechanics; and two medical works, *Refu'ot Te'alah*, and *Mekor Binah* which contains the Hebrew translation of the Latin aphorisms of Hippocrates. Toward the end of his life, Delmedigo settled at Frankfurt on the Main, where, as community physician, he again became part of ghetto life. Thereafter, he spent some years in Prague – a period about which little is known. On his tombstone in Prague are written the words: "He practiced what he preached – he was just to everyone – the glorified rabbi, scholar, divine philosopher, and mighty one among physicians."

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[Jacob Haberman]

DEL MONTE, CRESCENZO (1868–1935), Italian poet. Del Monte, who first wrote sonnets in Romanesco, the *patois* of his native Rome, also composed poems in the *Judeo-Italian dialect. His aim was to preserve the folklore and language of a Jewish world that had begun to crumble after the abolition of the ghetto and the Jewish emancipation of 1870. Del Monte's sonnets resemble an impressionistic painting of the everyday life of the Roman ghetto in the 19th century, and portray the patriarchal life, religion, and superstitions of these "Romans more ancient than the Romans of today." He successfully conveyed the vitality and everyday speech of these Jews in verse notable for its powerful expression and nostalgia. His love for their dialect led Del Monte to investigate the philology of Judeo-Italian, with which he had become emotionally and artistically involved. On the assumption that Judeo-Italian constituted an early stage of the Italian language and that, unlike the Roman dialect, it had preserved the medieval character of the language, its ancient vocabulary and Latin structure, Del Monte reconstructed its grammar. He sought in the Roman prose of the 14th–17th centuries words and expressions which corresponded to those that he had used in his own poems. In this original philological research Del Monte came close to the poet Frédéric Mistral, who sought to revive Provençal. Recent studies indicate, however, that the language spoken by the Jews of Rome originated in southern Italy. Del Monte's sonnets are, nevertheless, of philological importance because of their linguistic richness. They were published in two volumes, *Sonetti Giudaico-Romaneschi* (1927) and *Nuovi sonetti Giudaico-Romaneschi* (1933). The second volume contains a Judeo-Italian grammar as well as extracts from the old Roman dialect and their translation into Judeo-Italian. A third and posthumous volume, *Sonetti postumi Giudaico-Romaneschi e Romaneschi* (1955), includes sonnets written in the Roman dialect and an introduction by the renowned philologist B. Terracini.

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[Joseph Baruch Sermoneta]

DELOS, a small island in the Cyclades, measuring just 3 miles (5 km.) north to south and nearly 1 mile (1.3 km.) east to west. Its earliest occupation dates to the third millennium B.C.E. The mythological birthplace of Apollo and Artemis, it had become the center of the Apollo cult by the seventh century B.C.E. It is mentioned in Homer's *Odyssey* and in a Homeric hymn to Apollo. In 478 B.C.E., Delos became the site of the treasury for the Delian League. By the end of the third century B.C.E., there was an influx of traders from all over the Aegean, many of whom established their ancestral cults and associations on the island. Delos also became one of the main centers of the Aegean slave trade. As a thriving cultic, trade, and slaving center, Delos was often raided and caught between local warring factions. By the mid-first century B.C.E., disruptions on Delos had taken their toll, leaving Delos outside the commercial loop. The priest of Apollo no longer lived on Delos, and only returned once a year for the annual ceremonial sacrifice prescribed by the cult. In the second century C.E., the Emperor Hadrian attempted (unsuccessfully) to revive the old Delian festivals but by then, according to Pausanias (8, 33:2), the island was very sparsely inhabited. Delos was abandoned around the fifth century C.E.

While there is some literary evidence relating to Jews on Delos, not a single piece of it refers to the existence of a synagogue. The earliest reference to Jews on Delos is found in I Maccabees (15:15–23). The other piece of literary evidence relating to Delos comes from Josephus (*Antiquities* 14:213–16) and, interestingly, mentions the Jews on Delos being prevented from following their traditional customs, but there is no mention of a synagogue.

It was André Plassart, of the Ecole française d'Athènes who, during excavations of 1912 and 1913, identified building GD80 on Delos as a synagogue. He relied on six Greek inscriptions, the principal one having been found some 100 yds. (90 m.) north of GD80 in a residential area near the stadium. The other five inscriptions were found scattered within the two main spaces of GD80. Plassart interpreted ID2329 as reading "Agathokles and Lysimachos for the synagogue," whereas it actually reads "Agathokles and Lysimachos for a prayer/votive." It is notable that no direct evidence was found in or around GD80 to identify it as a synagogue.

Plassart also considered that the internal configuration of GD80 was similar to that of later synagogues. However, there are other buildings on Delos with the same configuration as GD80, such as Sarapeion A (GD91) and C (GD100). Coincidentally, the names *Agathokles* and *Lysimachos* are mentioned in inscriptions relating to donations to both Sarapeia in IDS 2616 and 2618, raising further doubts about the validity of the ID2329 inscription as relating to a Jewish context.

In 1979, Philippe Fraisse of the Ecole française d'Athènes found two Samaritan inscriptions on Delos not far from GD80. Both inscriptions are in Greek and are dedicated by the "Israelites who offer to Holy Argarizein," clearly indicating the presence of a Jewish and/or Samaritan community on the island. The question is where on the island that community was based and whether or not it had a synagogue or some sort of community or association hall at all.

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[Lidia Domenica Matassa (2nd ed.)]

DELOUGAZ, PIERRE PINCHAS (1901–1975), educator and archaeologist. Born in Russia, he went as a child with his parents to Palestine. Later he studied in France and the United States. His activities as field archaeologist included excavations at *Nuzi (Iraq), 1928–29; at Khorsabad (Iraq), 1929–30, where he uncovered the famous colossal bull ("father of the elephant"); in 1931 he directed the excavations at Khafaje (Iraq); and in 1952 he directed excavations at Bet Yeraḥ (Israel). In 1944 he was appointed curator of the Oriental Institute Museum at Chicago, and in 1949 became a member of the faculty of the University of Chicago (professor at its Oriental Institute from 1960). His method of teaching and research combined archaeology and literature. He considered art objects as "social documents" to be used as "evidence" in interpretations. In addition to numerous articles he published several books, among them *The Temple Oval at Khafajah* (1940), *Pottery from the Diyala Region* (1952), *Plano-Convex Bricks… Treatment of Clay Tablets in the Field* (1933), *Pre-Sargonid Temples in the Diyala Region* (1942, with S. Lloyd). On Delougaz' method and the meaning of the term "Proto-literate period," coined by him in 1942, see: R.E. Braidwood, *The Near East and the Foundations of Civilization* (1952, 1962^2), 37, 45; I. Lloyd, *Mounds of the Near East* (1963), s.v. Delougaz, protoliterate; R.W. Ehrich (ed.), *Chronologies in Old World Archaeology* (1965), s.v. proto-literate.

[Penuel P. Kahane]

DELOUYA (de Loya), family of Spanish origin, which settled in *Marrakesh, south *Morocco. From this town, JAKI (ISAAC) DELOUYA (c. 1572) carried on trade relations with English merchants, to whom he was of great service. His descendants were especially distinguished as rabbis. Some of the writings of MEIR (c. 1625) were published in the works of Moroccan rabbis. ISAAC (d. 1711) was *av bet din* of Marrakesh from about 1680, heading a yeshivah which included among its pupils the talmudist Solomon Amar and the kabbalist Abraham Azulai. During the upheavals caused by the pretenders to the throne, he and his family were denounced to the sultan, Isaac was imprisoned for some time, and his two brothers, JUDAH and MOSES, died as a result (1701). MORDECAI BEN ISAAC, his son JACOB, and his grandson MEIR (c. 1780) were also scholars.

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[David Corcos]

DE LUCENA, family of freemen in colonial America. ABRAHAM HAIM DE LUCENA (d. 1725), New York merchant and cleric, was made a freeman of New York in 1708 and carried on a substantial business in general merchandise. In 1710 he unsuccessfully petitioned for the right to export wheat. De Lucena succeeded Saul *Brown as rabbi of the New York Jewish community, requesting Governor Robert Hunter in 1710 to exempt him from civic duties because he was a minister. The following year he donated money for the building of the Trinity Church steeple. His son SAMUEL (1711–?) was made freeman of New York in 1759. By 1782 he had a brokerage business in Philadelphia and was a contributor to the building of Congregation Mikveh Israel.

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[Leo Hershkowitz]

DELVALLE, MAX SHALOM (1911–1979), Panamanian public figure. Born in Panama City, he entered politics in his late teens. He rapidly rose to prominence and was elected to the National Assembly. Delvalle became minister of public works and in 1964 vice president of the republic. In this latter capacity, Delvalle was the central figure of a constitutional crisis. In October 1967, President Marcos Robles announced the name of the candidate he would propose to succeed him in the 1968 elections. This led to a split in his party as the majority supported another candidate. In March 1968 the National Assembly, sitting as a court of justice, removed Robles and replaced him with Delvalle, who being the senior vice president was sworn in as president of the republic. In April, the Supreme Court decided that Robles was unconstitutionally deposed, but Delvalle denied its authority to overrule decisions of the legislature and continued to fill the presidency. In the following month, however, elections were held and a new president installed.

Max Delvalle was active in the Portuguese Jewish community of Panama, Kol Shearith Israel.

[Israel Drapkin-Senderey / Mordechai Arbell (2nd ed.)]

DELVALLE LEVI MADURO, ERIC ARTURO (1937–), Panamanian intellectual, businessman, and political activist. Nephew of the ex-president of Panama Max *Delvalle, Delvalle Levi Maduro is a member of one of the most prominent Portuguese Jewish families in Panama. He was active in democratic politics and as vice president replaced the president, Dr. Nicolas Ardito Barletta, in 1985. He served as president until 1987 and was deposed by the military dictatorship of General Manuel Noriega.

[Mordechai Arbell (2nd ed.)]

DEL VECCHIO, Italian family; according to one of its traditions, it ranks among the most ancient Jewish families of Italy. In Hebrew sources it is also referred to as Min ha-Zekenim ("the old ones" – a literal translation of Del Vecchio). Its members include SAMUEL MAHALALEL DEL VECCHIO (16th century), born in Ferrara where he served as rabbi. His name and knowledge of *halakhah* are mentioned in the responsa of Jehiel b. Azriel Trabot (in manuscript). He wrote *Sefer ha-Tikkunim* or *Haggahot ha-Rif*. ABRAHAM BEN SHABBETAI (d. 1654), born in Mantua, lived for some time in Sassuolo and served as rabbi of Mantua. He wrote a number of halakhic works; several of his responsa are included in works of contemporary scholars, such as Samuel Aboab in his responsa, *Devar Shemu'el* (Venice, 1702; no. 19). SOLOMON DAVID BEN MOSES (late 17th and early 18th century) was born in Lugo, near Ferrara, where he spent most of his life as rabbi of the town. He was a contemporary of Isaac *Lampronti, who mentions him with approval in his *Paḥad Yiẓḥak* and includes two of his responsa there. One of his responsa on the laying of *tefillin* during the intermediate days of the festival is quoted by Samson Morpurgo in his responsa *Shemesh Ẓedakah* (1, 4). His name is also mentioned with esteem in *Sefat Emet* by Nissim Mattathias Terni (1797, p. 16). His pupils included his grandson, Shabbetai Elhanan b. Elisha *Del Vecchio. SOLOMON MOSES (18th century) was rabbi in Sinigaglia. His name and erudition in *halakhah* are mentioned in Isaac Lampronti's *Paḥad Yiẓḥak*.

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[Guiseppe Laras]

DEL VECCHIO (Min ha-Zekenim), SHABBETAI ELHANAN BEN ELISHA (1707–?), Italian rabbi, *posek*, and preacher. In his youth Del Vecchio studied under his grandfather, Solomon David Del Vecchio, who ordained him as rabbi. In 1727 he was ordained rabbi also by the rabbis of Ferrara who included Isaac *Lampronti, with whom he was on friendly terms from his youth. He was a teacher in several Italian communities: Leghorn, Ancona, and Lugo from 1730 to 1739, when he was appointed rabbi of the town of Casale. Del Vecchio was alone among his Italian contemporaries in that 20 of his responsa were included in the *Paḥad Yiẓḥak* of Lampronti. Del Vecchio used to sign his responsa as "Malkat Sheva" ("Queen of Sheba"; from **Sh**abbetai **B**en **E**lisha). He was also on friendly terms with Ḥ.J.D. *Azulai who visited him in Casale in 1755.

His writings are still in manuscript: *Yeled Zekunim*, a collection of letters sent to him by rabbis and emissaries with his replies, some of which were published by J. Nacht (see bibl.). His halakhic works are *Ir Miklat* on the precepts; *Mishpat ha-Morim; Da'at Zekenim; Ta'am Zekenim*; and *Penei Zekenim*. Responsa and additional letters are to be found in the Jewish Theological Seminary of New York (nos. 55–915–1044).

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[Abraham David]

°D'ELVERT, CHRISTIAN RITTER VON (1803–1896), Moravian historian and politician. He was mayor of Bruenn (Brno) from 1861 to 1863 and 1870 to 1876, and headed the historical section of the Moravian society for local research. The fourth volume of his *Beitraege zur oesterreichischen Rechtsgeschichte* entitled *Zur Geschichte der Juden in Maehren und Oesterreichisch-Schlesien* ("On the History of the Jews in Moravia and Austrian Silesia," 1895), with almost full bibliography, and his publication of the index numbers of all the documents in the archives of the Moravian regent concerning Jews, remain important for research on Moravian Jewry.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Oesterreichisches Biographisches Lexikon 1815–1950*, 1 (1957), 176–7; B. Bretholz, in: ADB, 47 (1903), 653–5.

DEMAI (Heb. דְּמַאי, דְּמַיי), agricultural produce about which there is a doubt whether it has been duly tithed; talmudic tractate. The precise etymology of this word has not been determined with certainty, and it appears that the rabbis of the Talmud were already unclear about it. The Jerusalem Talmud connects it to the root *dmy*, in the sense of "perhaps" as in: "perhaps he prepared it, perhaps he did not prepare it" (Sot. 9:12 (24b); end of *Ma'aser Sheni*, as interpreted by H. Yalon, *Pirkei Lashon*, 346), possibly as a morphological analogy to its opposite *vadai*, "certain." In practice, the term designates produce regarding which doubts exist as to whether all the "gifts" for the priests, Levites, etc. have been set aside properly, because it was acquired from an *am ha-areẓ* ("person of the land"), an individual whose trustworthiness on these matters is questionable. Owing to these doubts, the *ḥaver* is expected to set aside the gifts, though in a manner that minimizes the financial loss. Initially, the produce was subject to *terumah* for the priests, first tithe for the Levites (a tenth of which must be given to the priest) and, depending on the year in the sabbatical cycle, second tithe which can be consumed by the owner in Jerusalem, or poor tithe. Since the *am ha-areẓ* is relied on to obey the severe Torah-based precept of *terumah*, and there is no ritual prohibition against eating the tithes due to the Levites or the poor, the *demai* procedure involved designating the first tithe only so that the priestly portion could be taken from it and given to the kohen. Because neither the Levites nor the poor could prove their respective entitlement to their tithes (since *demai* is by definition a doubtful case), these remained the property of the owner. As a result, the actual financial loss borne by the owner by re-tithing *demai* was modest.

The institution of *demai* seems to date back to early in the Second Commonwealth era and evidently reflects the fundamental identity of the Pharisees as individuals who distinguished themselves from the less rigid ritual standards of the *ammei ha-areẓ*. A. Büchler argued that the Mishnah really reflects the clashes between Judean and Galilean cultures in the second century C.E. when the rabbis cited in the Mishnah were active and Judean rabbis were migrating northward in the aftermath of the Bar Kokhba revolt; however, his view has not been widely accepted. More recent scholarship has voiced considerable skepticism about the degree to which the conceptual picture that emerges from the Talmudic texts reflects the actual social or religious situation, especially as regards its assumptions about the normative status of rabbinic *halakhah*.

A rabbinic tradition (Mishnah Sotah end; Tosefta Sotah end of Ch. 13; TJ Sotah 9:11 and end of TJ Ma'aser Sheni) speaks of *demai* as being in force in the time of Johanan the High Priest; i.e., John Hyrcanus (135–104 B.C.E.), who enforced separation of the required gifts by the producers, thereby exempting the purchasers. The *baraita* in the Babylonian Talmud (Sotah 48a), on the other hand, describes Johanan as the person who first instituted *demai* upon discovering the laxity of tithe observance.

Demai is the tractate in the Mishnah, Tosefta and Jerusalem Talmud (but not the Babylonian) that deals with the halakhic concept of *demai*, doubtfully tithed produce. An exception to the normal pattern of arranging the sequence of tractates according to the numbers of their chapters, *Demai* (with seven chapters) appears third in the Mishnah and Jerusalem Talmud, and in most manuscripts of the Tosefta, before tractates with more chapters. The Mishnah tractate contains disputes between the Houses of Shammai and Hillel, sages from Yavneh, as well as much material from the generation of Usha.

Because *demai* is a rabbinic stringency that was instituted in response to a minority of unreliable individuals, the rabbis tended to interpret doubtful cases in a lenient manner. This is the theme of much the tractate, which deals with exemptions, such as for species of produce that are not normally kept as food (1:1), produce from outside the halakhic borders of Israel (1:3, 6:11), certain types of commercial purveyors (2:4, 5:1–4, 6), etc. Similarly, tithes that were separated as *demai* are not subject to all the restrictions that would apply to fully sacred produce (1:2), especially where it is used for the fulfillment of religious precepts, such as distribution to the poor (3:1), an *'eruv* (1:4), etc.

The Mishnah (2:2) discusses how a person may be certified as a *ne'eman* (one who is deemed trustworthy with respect to tithing); or as a full-fledged *ḥaver* who is trusted on matters of purity as well (2:3).

Historians are not in agreement whether the restrictions observed by the *ḥaver* were considered obligatory or voluntary expressions of extraordinary piety. At any rate, the tractate *Demai* is addressed to a target audience of *ḥaverim* who are assumed to be observing the highest standards or tithing and purity. Because the need for *demai* results from the acceptance by some Jews of stricter standards than those followed by others, the tractate deals extensively with the relationships and interactions between the *ḥaver* and other segments of the community who are less punctilious about those matters. Thus, it provides instruction for how to proceed when obtaining foodstuffs from non-*ḥaverim* (4:1), when transferring food to them (2:3, 3:5), when eating in each other's homes (4:2, 7:1), or when operating in partnership, as sharecroppers (6:1–8) or with family relations (3:6). The general tenor of the *halakhah* is pragmatic, in that it focuses on solutions to specific technical situations, while presuming the existence of normal social and economic relations between the various groups, rather than encouraging separation from the less observant segments of the populace.

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[Eliezer L. Segal (2nd ed.)]

DEMALACH, YOEL (1924–), Israeli agriculturalist. Demalach was born in Italy and settled in Palestine in 1939. He joined kibbutz Revivim where he devoted himself to Negev agricultural development and invented irrigation methods for arid zone agriculture. In 1986 he received the Israel Prize for his investigation and teaching of arid region agriculture.

DEMBER, HARRY L. (1882–1943), German physicist. Born in Leimbach, Dember was at the Dresden Technische Hochschule (1905), where he was appointed professor of physics in 1914 and also director of the Physics Institute in 1923. Driven out by the Nazis, he held similar positions at the University of Istanbul from 1933 to 1941. He later immigrated to the United States and was visiting professor at Rutgers University, New Jersey, at the time of his death. His field was the photoelectricity of crystals and one aspect of his research in this area is known as the "Dember Effect."

DEMBITZ, LEWIS NAPHTALI (1833–1907), U.S. lawyer and Jewish leader. Dembitz was born in Zirke, province of Posen, Prussia, and went to the U.S. in 1849. He completed law studies in Cincinnati and then settled in Louisville, Kentucky, where he practiced law. Dembitz entered politics early and was elected to several Republican Party offices. He was a delegate to the Republican National Convention that nominated Lincoln in 1860. In 1888 he drafted the first Australian (secret ballot) voting system. Dembitz wrote a number of books on American law, including *Kentucky Jurisprudence* (1890); *Law Language for Shorthand Writers* (1892); and *Land Titles in the United States* (2 vols., 1895). Dembitz's affiliation with Jewish life was at first through the Reform movement, and he was a member of the commission on the plan of study for Hebrew Union College. But after that institution became openly Reform, and especially after the acceptance of the *Pittsburgh Platform, he joined the Conservative movement and helped to establish the Jewish Theological Seminary. Dembitz contributed several articles on Talmudic jurisprudence and on liturgy to the *Jewish Encyclopedia* and prepared the translations of Exodus and Leviticus which were incorporated into the revised English Bible of the Jewish Publication Society (1917). His volume *Jewish Services in Synagogue and Home* (1898) was widely used. His nephew, Louis *Brandeis, who admired him greatly, changed his middle name from David to Dembitz.

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[Jack Reimer]

DEMBITZER, ḤAYYIM NATHAN (1820–1892), talmudist and historian. Dembitzer was born in Cracow and became a *dayyan* in his native city. Active in financial support of the old *yishuv* in Ereẓ Israel, Dembitzer urged scholars to renew their support for the R. Meir Ba'al ha-Nes Fund (1852). His first research was devoted to responsa literature and the tosafists. Dembitzer became noted for historical research and critical work in the field of talmudic and rabbinic literature and its leading personalities. As early as 1841 he had begun correspondence on biographical and historical subjects with such well-known rabbis as Solomon *Kluger and Ẓevi Hirsch ben Meir *Chajes. A visit to Germany in 1874 brought him in touch with such contemporary scholars as H. Graetz, Z. Frankel, L. Zunz, and D. Kaufmann, who influenced him to publish his work. His works include *Livyat Ḥen* (1882), notes and glosses on the work of Ravyah (R. Eliezer b. Joel ha-Levi); *Kelilat Yofi*, volume one (1888), a historical survey of the Lvov rabbis, and volume two (1893, repr. 1960), biographies of famous rabbis from Poland-Latvia from 1493 to 1692, including information on Polish Jewish independent government; essays on the Council of Four Lands; and *Torat Ḥen* (1895), halakhic responsa.

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[Yehoshua Horowitz / Israel Halpern]

DEMBLIN, BENJAMIN (pseudonym of **Benjamin Teitelbaum**; 1897–1976), Yiddish writer. Born in Modzicz, Poland, Demblin immigrated to the U.S. in 1921 and began publishing in various Yiddish periodicals. Three of his novels deal with the *ḥalutzim: Tsvey un a Driter* ("Two and a Third," 1943), *Tsankendike Likht* ("Flickering Candles," 1958), and *Der Tate iz Gekumen* ("Father Has Come," included in the collection *Oyf Dray Kontinentn,* "Three Continents," 1963). His book-cycle *Erev Nakht* consists of five parts: *Erev Nakht* ("Before Night," 1954), O*yf Eygenem Barot* ("On One's One," 1961), *In der Velt Arayn* ("Into the World," 1965), *A Fremde Velt* ("A Foreign World," 1973), and *In Nayem Land* ("In a New Land," 1973). His other books are *Afn Shvel* ("On the Threshold," 1933) and *Vest-Sayd* ("West Side," 1938; Heb. 1954). Demblin was a realist who depicted in epic style the social changes in Jewish and general life.

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[Moshe Starkman / Tamar Lewinsky (2nd ed.)]

DEMBO, ISAAC (1846–1906), physician and communal worker, born in Ponevezh, Lithuania. He graduated from the military academy of medicine in 1870 and volunteered as a doctor in the Russian-Turkish War of 1877. Subsequently Dembo undertook a campaign to defend Jewish ritual slaughter against allegations of cruelty made by antisemites in Russia and abroad. He took part in a conference of the Russian Association for the Protection of Animals in 1891. To prove his point, Dembo also carried out experiments in Russia in the laboratory of the Russian physiologist I. Pavlov, and abroad in the laboratories of Du Bois-Reymond, Hoppe-Seyler, and Munk, among others, as well as in slaughterhouses. His *Das Schaechten* was translated into English (*The Jewish Method of Slaughter*, 1894), French, and Hebrew.

DEMETRIUS, earliest known Greco-Jewish writer. He lived during the reign of Ptolemy IV (221–204 B.C.E.). In ancient lists of Josephus and Clement of Alexandria, Demetrius is named first, followed by Philo (the Elder), and Eupolemus (Jos., Apion, 1:218; Clement, *Stromata* 1:141, 1). Without making clear whether these are Jewish or heathen, Josephus laments their inability to follow Hebrew records accurately (Josephus erroneously labels Demetrius as being from Phaleron).

Aside from Josephus' ambiguous testimony, seven remnants of Demetrius' work survive. Except for Fragment Six, cited by Clement of Alexandria, and Fragment Three, which reviews Clement's sources, the remaining texts have been salvaged in Eusebius' *Praeparatio Evangelica*, which quotes Alexander Polyhistor's monograph "On the Jews."

Fragment One, about ⅘ of all Demetrius' texts, deals with patriarchal chronology, and reveals the great fervor with which biblical studies were pursued in the third century B.C.E. By a minute analysis of Genesis, as well as by some gratuitous assumptions, Demetrius chronicles the year and month of Jacob's travels and the birth of each of his 12 sons and daughter. Jacob stayed in Haran 20 years, during 14 of which he served for Laban's two daughters (Gen. 31:41). He married both sisters after the first seven years, and Demetrius maintains that all of his children (except Benjamin) were born during the next seven years. Thus, except for one interval, Leah bore her six sons and her daughter in an exact sequence of ten months. Demetrius then proceeds to record the age of each of the children in conjunction with the events of their father's life, the clan's eventual descent into Egypt, and the death of each member. The repetitiveness of the dates suggests that Demetrius aimed at the construction of a chronological canon of biblical history, with summaries stressing significant events, such as the birth of Abraham, Jacob's descent into Egypt, and the Exodus. Demetrius' chronology from Creation coincides remarkably with that preserved in the Septuagint version: the dating of the Flood in Demetrius is 2264 compared to 2262 according to the Septuagint and 1656 by the Hebrew; the birth of Abraham is set at 3334 as in the Septuagint compared to 1948 in the Hebrew, and the Exodus is dated as 3839 versus 3849 following the Septuagint and 2668 according to the Hebrew.

The first discrepancy is apparently due to Demetrius' counting the birth of Seth two years after the flood. The obvious conclusion is that Demetrius depended on the Greek version. It is conceivable, moreover, that Demetrius' chronological scheme solves the puzzle of how the texts of Genesis 5:11 and Exodus 12:40 were altered from the Hebrew numbers into those found in the Greek. It is now agreed that the alteration was deliberate. Demetrius may have studied with, possibly even was one of, the men who produced the Septuagint.

Fragment Two traces the genealogy of Zipporah, whom Demetrius identifies with the "Ethiopian woman" whom Moses married (Num. 12:1), a view adopted by *Ezekiel the poet and the Talmud (MK 16b). Demetrius traces her descent from Abraham and Keturah (Gen. 25:1–4), making her lineage more distinguished than that of Moses. She was the sixth generation after Abraham, Moses the seventh. The chronographer was apparently defending Moses against charges of having violated his own laws against intermarriage.

Demetrius did not restrict himself to chronography. Fragment Seven relates Abraham's binding of Isaac (Gen. 22). The miraculous sweetening of the bitter waters of the desert is reported in Fragment Four. The reasonable hypothesis that Demetrius represents a school of biblical exegesis is supported by Fragment Five, where he suggests that despite the statement in Exodus 13:18 to the contrary, the Jews came out of Egypt unarmed. He bases this on their statement that they were going for a journey of three days and that after sacrificing they would return (Ex. 5:3): "Where did they get their weapons from? It appears that they obtained the arms of the Egyptians who were drowned in the Red Sea." In spite of Fragment Three, which groups Demetrius with Aristobulus and Josephus, there is no reason to assume that he addressed himself to the pagan world. Demetrius wrote for students of the Bible without any trace of apologetics. There is no evidence of his influence in the Book of Jubilees, Philo, Josephus, or the rabbinic chronological treatise *Seder Olam*, but his impact on Philo (the Elder) and Eupolemus in matters relating to chronology, as well as on Ezekiel the poet, who adopted many scenes from Demetrius, is noteworthy.

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[Ben Zion Wacholder]

DEMETRIUS, Jewish notable of *Alexandria (first century B.C.E.). He was the second husband of Mariamne, the daughter of Agrippa I. He "stood among the first in wealth and birth" among the Jews of Alexandria, and became *alabarch of that city. Mariamne left her husband Julius Archelaus to marry him. They had a son Agrippinus.

[Edna Elazary]

°DEMETRIUS I SOTER (162–150 B.C.E.), ruler of the Seleucid dynasty in Syria; son of *Seleucus IV. In his youth Demetrius was a hostage in Rome. When he became aware of the weakness of *Antiochus V and the governor *Lysias, he escaped, with the aim of wresting the Syrian crown from his cousin. Demetrius established his rule despite the opposition of the Roman Senate which did not wish to see an energetic ruler on the Seleucid throne. In consequence of the victory of his general *Bacchides over Judah Maccabee in 160 B.C.E., Demetrius reinstated the Syrian overlordship of Judea. He was also successful in crushing an insurrection in the eastern provinces led by Timarchus, governor of Babylonia. In the course of time, Demetrius, as a result of his tyranny, brought down upon himself the hatred of the Syrians. He also became embroiled with Attalus II of Pergamon and with Ptolemy V of Egypt. Finally the two kings joined forces against him in support of the pretender *Alexander Balas, who claimed to be the son of Antiochus IV. Jonathan the Hasmonean associated himself with Alexander, who appointed him high priest. The substantial concessions now made by Demetrius to the Jews availed nothing, as Jonathan did not trust him. In the end, Demetrius was defeated by Alexander and fell in battle (I Macc. 7:1–9; 10:20, 40–59; Jos., Ant., 12:389, 390, 393, 397, 400, 402–3, 415, 420; *ibid.*, 13:23, 35, 37, 39, 43–44, 47–48, 58–61).

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[Abraham Schalit]

°**DEMETRIUS II (Nicator)** (141–125 B.C.E.), ruler of the Seleucid dynasty in Syria; son of *Demetrius I Soter. In 146/5, with the support of Ptolemy V of Egypt, he defeated Alexander Balas. Ptolemy succumbed to wounds received in this battle and Demetrius, having succeeded in getting the Egyptian army to leave Syria, seized control of the country. He now came to an agreement with Jonathan the Hasmonean, whereby the latter was confirmed in his high priesthood and his annexation of the three regions of Ephraim, Lydda, and Ramathaim was officially endorsed. On his side, Jonathan was compelled to raise the siege of Acre, to cede Jaffa and Ashdod which he had captured, and to promise a tribute of 300 talents. Relying upon his army of mercenaries, Demetrius embarked upon a tyrannical rule, which eventually led to the revolt of *Diodotus-Tryphon. Tryphon made use of the young son of Alexander Balas, who until then had been under the protection of the Nabatean governor, and was successful in winning over the Syrian populace. In the civil war between Demetrius and Tryphon that now ensued, Jonathan supported Demetrius, until the latter was taken prisoner in a campaign against the Parthians in 141. Against this background of Syrian weakness, the independence of Judea was achieved under Simeon the Hasmonean. During the imprisonment of Demetrius, his brother *Antiochus (VII) Sidetes reigned over Syria. He defeated Tryphon and also the Jews, but he too came to grief on his expedition against the Parthians in 130–129. Demetrius, whom the Parthians freed in order to stir up civil war in Syria, regained the kingdom in 129, but lost it again through revolution, when Ptolemy Physcon, king of Egypt, supported the claims of one Alexander who pretended to be the son of Alexander Balas. The war between Demetrius and this Alexander came to an end after two years. Demetrius attempted to escape to Tyre, but was captured and put to death in 126/5 (I Macc. 10:67–11:56; Jos., Ant., 13:86–87, 109–62, 174, 177, 180, 184–6, 218–9, 221–2, 253, 267–9, 271).

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[Abraham Schalit]

°**DEMETRIUS III EUKARIOS THEOS PHILOPATER SOTER** (96–88 B.C.E.), ruler of the Seleucid dynasty in Syria; son of Antiochus Grypus, and one of the last kings of the Seleucid dynasty. On the initiative of Ptolemy Lathyrus, king of Egypt, Demetrius was appointed king of Syria, but civil wars prevented him from consolidating his rule over the whole country. From Damascus, his capital, Demetrius intervened in the affairs of Judea. When Alexander Yannai was waging war against the Arabs and the rulers of Transjordan, the rebellious Pharisees called in the aid of Demetrius against their king. Although Demetrius defeated the army of Yannai in a battle near Shechem, he was finally forced to leave the country. The memory of these events has apparently been preserved in the *Pesher Nahum* of the Dead Sea Scrolls: "…[Deme]trius, King of Greece, who sought to enter Jerusalem through the counsel of flatterers…" In the war against his brother Philip, Demetrius was captured and exiled to the court of Mithridates II, king of Pontus, where he died in captivity (Jos., Wars, 1:93–95; Jos., Ant., 13:370–1, 376–9, 384–6).

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[Abraham Schalit]

DEMETZ, PETER (1922–), Czech scholar and writer. Born in Prague into a Czech-Jewish-German family, Demetz spent the last years of the war in a Nazi labor camp for *mischlinge*. After finishing his studies at Charles University in Prague, he went into exile in 1949. He settled in the United States, where in 1962 he became professor of German and comparative literature at Yale University, retiring in 1979. He lectured at many American and European universities and after 1989 also in the Czech Republic. In 2000 he was awarded the Medal of Merit by President Havel.

The existence of three cultures – Czech, German, and Jewish – in the Czech lands was always in the foreground of his research and literary activities. Among his works are *Franz Kafka a Praha* (1947; "Franz Kafka and Prague"), including "Franz Kafka and the Czech Nation," and studies of Rilke, such as *The Czech Themes of Rilke* (1952) and *René Rilkes Prager Jahre* (1953; "Prague Years of René Rilke"; Cz. tr., 1998).

Other works include *Die Literaturgeschichte Švejks* (1989; "The Literary History of Schweik") and *Über Literaten und sanfte Revolution in Berlin und Prag* (1991; "On Writers and the Velvet Revolution in Berlin and Prague"). *Böhmische Sonne, mährischer Mond: Essays und Erinnerungen* (1996; Cz., 1997) is a collection of essays on Hašek, Rilke, Kafka, Masaryk, and others. *Prague in Black and Gold. The History of a City* (1997; Cz., 1998) is a detailed history of Prague from the early Middle Ages until the period of T.G. Masaryk, with emphasis not only on its multicultural character but also on its longstanding tradition of rationality, realism, science, and the spirit of criticism.

Demetz returns to Franz Kafka in his study *The Air Show at Brescia, 1909* (2002; Cz., 2003), in which he explores the circumstances under which Kafka wrote his article "Die Aeroplane in Brescia," published in *Bohemia* in 1909. He includes the portraits of those who took part in the air show: Max *Brod and his brother Otto, Italian poet and novelist G. d'Annunzio, the composer Puccini, and the aviators.

Additional works of Demetz deal with German literary history, including *Marx, Engels und die Dichter* (1959; "Marx, Engels and the Poets"), *Formen des Realismus: Theodor Fontane* (1964, 1966; "Forms of Realism: Theodor Fontane"), *German Post-war Literature: A Critical Introduction* (1970, 1972), and many others.

Demetz also published old tales of Prague and many translations of well-known Czech authors into German (Božena Němcová, Jiří *Orten, Jaroslav Seifert, Ludvík Kundera, etc.).

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[Milos Pojar (2nd ed.)]

DEMILLE, CECIL B. (1881–1959), U.S. film producer and director. DeMille was born in Ashfield, Massachusetts. His parents, Henry and Beatrice, were playwrights. His father was a minister, for whom his mother, born an English Jew, converted. After his father died, when DeMille was 12, he worked for several years at his mother's playhouse. In 1913, together with Jesse Lasky and Samuel Goldfish (later Goldwyn), DeMille formed the Jesse L. Lasky Feature Play Co., the basis for Paramount Pictures. The company's debut cinematic venture was *The Squaw Man* (1914), and the three were instrumental in Hollywood's becoming the film capital of the world. DeMille, who produced or directed as many as 70 films, and discovered such stars as Gloria Swanson, is renowned for his sweeping, epic style and frequent moral content, evident in films such as *The Ten Commandments* (1923, remade 1956), *The King of Kings* (1927), *Cleopatra* (1934), *Samson and Delilah* (1949), and *The Greatest Show on Earth* (1952). He also managed to weave a persona that matched the largeness of his films, hosting the popular radio series *Lux Radio Theater* every week for more than a decade, and frequently appeared in his movies as himself, well before the director Alfred Hitchcock employed the same tactic. Perhaps the most memorable example of DeMille's famous cameos occurs in *Sunset Boulevard* (1950), starring his protégé Gloria Swanson. During the McCarthy era of that same decade, DeMille temporarily fell out of favor for his adamant anti-Communist politics, but his views did not mar his legacy as a Hollywood legend.

[Casey Schwartz (2nd ed.)]

°**DEMJANJUK, JOHN** (**Ivan**; 1920–), Nazi death camp guard. Born in the Ukrainian village of Dub Macharenzi, Demjanjuk survived the famine in the Ukraine and was drafted into the Soviet Army at the start of World War II. Sustaining an injury to the back, he was treated in several hospitals before being returned to the front. During the battle of Kerch he was taken prisoner by the Germans. Recruited in a German prisoner-of-war camp, Demjanjuk was trained to be a Nazi camp guard, an auxiliary (watchman), at the Trawniki training camp in Lublin, Poland, where he was issued identity card 1393 and was dispatched to serve at several concentration and extermination camps until the war's end. Arriving in the United States in 1952, Demjanjuk concealed his Nazi service and gained admittance to the U.S. and eventually U.S. citizenship in 1958, living in Cleveland and working at a Ford auto plant.

In 1975, U.S. officials received information alleging that Demjanjuk had been a Nazi death camp guard at Sobibor. In 1976, his picture was sent to the Israeli police for investigation. Over the following years 18 Holocaust survivors would identify Demjanjuk as a guard at Treblinka, and several would identify him to police and in court as the gas chamber operator "Ivan" at the Treblinka death camp. Beginning in 1977, a series of legal actions ensued in the United States in which Demjanjuk was denaturalized and stripped of his U.S. citizenship (1981), ordered deported (1984), and extradited to stand trial in Israel for war crimes and crimes against humanity (1986), the first person to be so charged since Adolf Eichmann in 1961.

In 1987, the District Court of Israel put Demjanjuk on trial and broadcast the proceedings live on radio and on Israeli TV. Thousands attended the trial, giving an immediacy to the horrors of the Holocaust for a new generation. The trial lasted 18 months and involved the testimony of five Holocaust survivors and many experts on history as well as forensic experts who authenticated Demjanjuk's Nazi service ID card #1393, the original of which had been uncovered in Soviet archives and delivered to the Israeli authorities. In April 1988, Demjanjuk was convicted and sentenced to death. However, during the course of the appeal to Israel's Supreme Court, depositions of former Nazi guards tried in the Soviet Union in the late 1970s identified a different person named Ivan as the gas chamber operator at Treblinka. Even though the persons who gave the depositions were not known to be alive or cross-examined, the Supreme Court of Israel decided that this created enough of a doubt to reverse the decision against Demjanjuk. Although the court concluded that Demjanjuk himself was not innocent and had served the Nazis, nonetheless the Supreme Court of Israel ruled in 1993 that since the center of gravity of the case revolved around the six-month period between September 1942 and March 1943 when Demjanjuk was alleged to have been at Treblinka and Demjanjuk had not had a full opportunity to defend himself against charges of being at other death camps such as Sobibor, and that a new trial might contravene Israel's law against double jeopardy, and given that Demjanjuk had already spent eight years in Israeli prison in solitary confinement, the Supreme Court of Israel decided to release Demjanjuk and return him to the United States.

Back in the U.S., American courts found that U.S. prosecutors had known of these Russian testimonies and acted improperly. The courts vacated the extradition order against Demjanjuk, allowing him to remain in the U.S. (1993) and then set aside the decision to denaturalize him (1998). Accordingly, in 1999 the U.S. government filed a new denaturalization suit against Demjanjuk. In the intervening years, more Nazi era official documents had been unearthed which confirmed Demjanjuk's service at several concentration and extermination camps such as L.G. Okswo, Majdanek, Sobibor, and Flossenburg and further bolstered the authenticity of the Trawniki ID card #1393. Accordingly, Demjanjuk was again denaturalized (2002), which order was affirmed by the Sixth Circuit Court of Appeals in 2004. Demjanjuk, who continued to live in Cleveland, Ohio, appealed those decisions.

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[Tom Teicholz (2nd ed.)]

DEMNAT (Fr. **Demnate**), town in the High Atlas Mountains of *Morocco, 70 miles (110 km.) east of the city of *Marrakesh. Demnat had an important Jewish community whose members settled there in the early 12th century. Living in a Berber-Muslim milieu, Demnat's Jewry engaged in agricultural activities, producing some of the best wine in Morocco, but were also craftsmen and artisans specializing in leather goods. Partial modernization and the spread of French language and culture gradually became embedded in Demnati Jewish life from the early 1930s due to the colonial presence as well as the work of the coeducational school of the *Alliance Israélite Universelle, founded in 1932. Many of the boys and girls who frequented this school subsequently adopted French names such as Robert, Jacques, Marcelle, Alice, and Jacqueline.

Judeo-Berber coexistence in Demnat remained harmonious, with no major violence against the Jews until the mid-19th century. From the early 1860s and into the mid-1880s, however, Jewish-Muslim relations were exacerbated as Jews faced a pogrom (1864) and were exposed to undue humiliations by the local governor, who instigated abuses (1884–85). Owing to the efforts of the Alliance teachers in *Fez, the French minister plenipotentiary in *Tangier, L.C. Féraud, was informed of the situation in Demnat and contacted Sultan Hasan I over the matter. Féraud's intercession led to the issuance of two *zahir*s (sultanic decrees) ordering cessation of the abuses. From the contents of the *zahirs* – for the year 1885 – it can be seen that the Jews had been compelled to buy goods from Muslims against their will, were recruited to work without receiving wages, had to give away their farm animals without receiving payment, and had to give up some of their most valuable products, particularly leather goods.

The status of the Jews improved markedly once again under French colonial domination. In the early 1950s, on the eve of communal self-liquidation and *aliyah*, conducted by the Jewish Agency for Palestine, 1,800 Jews were living in Demnat. The tides of radical nationalism, and the Moroccan struggle for independence from France beginning in August 1953, which took on a violent character in 1954–55, only hastened Jewish departures. By the early 1960s only a few Jews remained there.

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[Michael M. Laskier (2nd ed.)]

DEMOCRATIC FRACTION, radical opposition faction in the Zionist movement between the years 1901 and 1904 that demanded the democratization of Zionist institutions, the organization of cultural activities by the Zionist Organization, and immediate settlement in Ereẓ Israel. Its leaders were Leo *Motzkin and Chaim *Weizmann. Their demand that the Zionist Organization conduct cultural activities sharply contradicted the stand of the religious wing, which violently opposed such programs, fearing that they would be used for the dissemination of "secular" culture. During the Fourth *Zionist Congress (1900) it was decided at a Zionist student meeting to establish a democratic-progressive faction or party. A conference was held in Basle, a few days before the Fifth Zionist Congress (1901), attended by about 40 delegates, most of whom were Russian Zionist students from German, Swiss, and French universities. The conference decided to establish the Democratic Fraction, which would remain within the Zionist Organization but would have separate headquarters and independent cultural activities. It was also decided to create a Jewish statistical bureau and to conduct research into suitable ways of settling Ereẓ Israel, preferring the cooperative method. The conference also recommended the democratization of philanthropic organizations in the Diaspora and the establishment of cooperatives to provide economic self-help for workers, stressing the need to form a trade union for Jewish workers. Finally, it demanded the separation of Zionism and religion and condemned the Zionist movement's submission to its Orthodox wing. The Democratic Fraction, which appeared for the first time as an organized bloc at the Fifth Zionist Congress (1901), prompted the unification of those who opposed, for religious reasons, any cultural activities by the Zionist Organization.

An Information Bureau in Geneva headed by Chaim Weizmann served as the secretariat for the Democratic Fraction. Its activities centered around the development of the publishing house *Juedischer Verlag, the establishment of the statistical bureau, and the creation of a fund to found a Jewish university in Ereẓ Israel.

The organization of the Fraction was weak, and it did not even hold the planned annual conference. Only a consultation of 11 men (including Weizmann, Feiwel, and Martin *Buber) was held in January 1904. When they decided to join the emerging opposition to the *Uganda scheme, the Fraction practically ceased to exist. Thereafter, its members worked individually for the overall Zionist Organization.

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[Israel Klausner]

DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENT FOR CHANGE (**DMC**; Heb. *Ha-Tenu'ah ha-Demokratit Le-Shinu'i*), political party formed in 1976 prior to the elections to the Ninth Knesset. The DMC was basically a protest party against the *Israel Labor. Its core group was made up of former chief of staff and archeology professor Yigael *Yadin, who headed the new party, *Shinu'i (a party formed by Amnon *Rubinstein in 1974), a group of former members of the Labor Party, headed by Major General (res.) Meir *Amit, a group of former members of the *Likud, headed by Shemuel *Tamir, as well as several Sephardi and Druze personalities.

The DMC participated in the elections to the Ninth Knesset on a platform that called for electoral reform to introduce a system of single-member constituencies; the passing of a Parties Law; a drastic paring of the government bureaucracy; the decentralization of the government system and the strengthening of local government; the preparation of a constitution (see *Governance); the establishment of a Ministry of Welfare; the reorganization of the education system in order to enhance social integration and reduce social gaps; a new housing policy based on building apartments for rental; strengthening the rule of law; preference for production over services; a fairer distribution of the tax burden; a fight against "black money" (unreported income); preservation of the Jewish character of the State of Israel and of Jerusalem as its capital; a willingness to accept a territorial compromise in return for true peace; opposition to the establishment of an additional state west of the Jordan River; the fixing of Israel's security border along the Jordan River; and continued Israeli control over areas vital for the State's security.

Most of the members of the new party were hoping to form a government with the Labor-Mapam Alignment after the elections. However, for the first time in Israel's history, the *Likud formed a government and commanded an absolute majority in the Knesset together with the religious parties, even without the DMC's 15 Knesset members (elected mainly at the expense of Labor); thus, despite its impressive electoral success, the DMC started its parliamentary life without real influence. The DMC joined the government formed by Menaḥem *Begin several months after it was sworn in, with Yadin becoming deputy prime minister, Tamir minister of justice, and Amit minister of transportation and communications. However, none of its ministers was directly involved in either the peace negotiations with Egypt or the liberalization of the economy. Within a year and four months of the elections to the Ninth Knesset the DMC broke up into several parliamentary groups. At the time of the elections to the Tenth Knesset in 1981 five of the DMC's 15 members were members of Shinu'i – the Center Party (the only splinter of the DMC that survived); two had joined the Labor Party; one had joined the Likud; one had joined Telem; four were independent members of the Knesset; and two were single-member parliamentary factions.

The dismal failure of the DMC to take root was a blow to all those who had hoped to form a strong Center Party. It was only in the elections to the Sixteenth Knesset in 2003 that the offshoot of the original Shinu'i managed to repeat the DMC's electoral success.

[Susan Hattis Rolef (2nd ed.)]

DEMOGRAPHY. This entry is arranged according to the following outline:

INTRODUCTION

SIZE AND GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION OF WORLD JEWRY

Major Geographical Shifts of World Jewry

UP TO WORLD WAR I

1914 TO 1939

THE SHOAH

1948 TO 1970

1970 TO 2005

Dispersion and Concentration

URBANIZATION

POPULATION CHARACTERISTICS
Age composition
Sex
Origin Groups (Edot)

INTRODUCTION

Jewish demography, like demography in general, deals essentially with the size and geographical distribution of the population, with its composition according to various characteristics (e.g., sex, age), and with population movements. The latter consist of natural movements or "*vital statistics" – births, deaths, marriages, and divorces; migratory movements (*migrations); and accessions to, or secessions from, the Jewish group. Demographic knowledge is based preponderantly on statistical data and their analysis; consequently data collection is an important part of demographic work. In recent decades, research has given increasing attention to the interrelation between demographic phenomena, in the narrow sense of the word, and cultural and economic phenomena. Since Diaspora Jews are scattered and everywhere in a minority status, and the very definition of Jewishness is today interpreted in differing ways, both the demographic profile and trends of the Jews and the study of the subject matter have peculiar aspects. Demographic work on Diaspora Jewry encounters special difficulties due to the lack of uniformity of available sources, and the need for data collection by Jewish institutions when official data are not available. Official statistics now exist only for a minority of Diaspora Jews, and even where they are forthcoming, they are mostly of a very general nature and insufficient for in-depth analysis (see *Vital Statistics).

SIZE AND GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION OF WORLD JEWRY

Major Geographical Shifts of World Jewry

Over the last 125 years, the geography of the Jews has changed completely. As a result of the Shoah and of large-scale international migrations, many veteran Diaspora communities in Eastern and Central Europe, the Middle East, and North Africa virtually disappeared, or became small and precarious. Instead, two major demographic centers arose: the United States, whose Jewish stock arrived mainly in the period 1881–1924, and Israel, whose large-scale demographic expansion followed the establishment of the state in 1948. Several secondary Jewish population centers are now situated on either side of the Atlantic: in Western Europe, especially in France and England; in Canada, alongside the major Jewish Diaspora population in the U.S.; in South America, especially in Argentina; and in Australia.

These changes consisted largely of a westward shift of the world Jewish population. Only since 1948 was an eastward counterpull exercised by Israel. It has been calculated that, geographically, the virtual central point of world Jewry (considering both location and size of the various Jewish populations) was at the border of the Ukraine and Galicia in 1850. It shifted to a spot just west of Scotland in 1933 and toward the middle of the North Atlantic Ocean in 1960. It has since moved eastward reflecting the growing size and share of Jewish population In Israel. Likewise, the cultural-linguistic milieus in which the Jews live changed greatly. Until the onset of the modern migration movement toward the end of the 19th century, most Jews lived among peoples with Slavic languages, while other large Jewish populations had German-speaking surroundings in Europe and Arabic-speaking surroundings in Asia and Africa. All these milieus lost much of their importance for the Jews because of the Shoah and emigration. Correspondingly, there was a great rise in the proportion of Jews residing in countries whose official language is primarily English but also French or Spanish. With the growing demographic importance of Israel, Hebrew became the official as well as the everyday language of a considerable proportion of all Jews. On the other hand the diffusion of traditional Jewish languages of the Diaspora – Yiddish and Ladino – dramatically diminished in favor of the official languages of the various countries of Jewish residence. This reflected not only the special impact of emigration and the Shoah on the traditional centers of Yiddish and of Ladino in Eastern Europe and the Balkans, but also internal social and cultural processes among the Jews and changing relationships between them and the surrounding non-Jewish populations.

Table 1.
World Jewish Population, by Official Language of Country of Residence, 1931–2005 (Rough Percent Estimates)[a]

Official Language	1931	1967	2005
Total	100	100	100
English	32	50	47
Hebrew	2	17	40
French	2	4	4
Russian and other Slavic Languages	41	18	3
Spanish and Portuguese	3	5	3
German	4	1	1
Arabic	4	1	0
Other	12	4	2

a Ranked by frequency in 2005.

Finally, the "newness" of most of the numerically important Jewish populations of the various countries deserves to be emphasized. The majority of Jews now live in countries where, some generations ago, few or hardly any Jews were to be found. The countries with the 10 largest Jewish populations that accounted for about 95% of world Jewry in 2005, accounted only for a minor share in 1850. This has implications for the relationship between the Jews and the general population of the respective countries. In fact, most of those are immigration countries where not only the Jews but a large part of the population is of comparatively recent standing. In addition, the newness of many numerically important Jewish Diaspora groups affects the sphere of internal integration and organization, especially in view of the weakening over time of the religious factor (see *Community, Organization). The situation is obviously different in Israel, where common national aspirations and common practical needs generate stronger cohesive tendencies.

UP TO WORLD WAR I. During part of the 19th century, information on the number of Jews in various countries was unsatisfactory. Taking of official censuses was only gradually coming into use, and the completeness of some of the earlier censuses with regard to the Jews left much to be desired. There were virtually no censuses in Asia and Africa. In the Czarist Empire, which contained the largest number of Jews in the world, the first general census was taken only as late as 1897. In some countries of Western Europe and America, the Jews were not distinguished as such in the official statistics. Moreover, examination of the alleged number of Jews from successive official counts in Austria-Hungary and in some parts of the Czarist Empire makes the incompleteness of the earlier figures evident. This was apparently often due to a deliberate tendency on the part of many Jews to evade inclusion in official registrations and counts. Under these circumstances, comprehensive figures on the Jewish world population must be based partly on conjecture and cannot be viewed as more than very rough indications of an order of magnitude. A. *Ruppin estimated the total number of Jews at the end of the 18th century at 2,500,000. J. *Lestschinsky arrived at an estimate of about 3,250,000 Jews in 1825, of whom 2,750,000 (i.e., more than 80%) in Europe.

The figures on the subsequent development up to World War I, as presented in Table 2, are based (with some adaptations) on the studies of Lestschinsky.

World Jewish Population increased from about 4¾ million in 1850 to 13½ million in 1914, i.e., by 180% or by 16 per 1,000 annually. In comparison, during 1850–1900 the total world population is estimated to have grown by six-seven per 1,000 annually, and the population of Europe, North America, and Oceania by 11 per 1,000 annually. The faster growth of the Jews was due to their relatively larger natural increase, in consequence of the faster reduction of mortality among European Jewish communities. The proportion of Jews in Asia and Africa among all Jews in the world declined somewhat. This was due to their lower natural increase at that time, mainly because of higher mortality, as compared with the Jews in Europe and America (see *Vital Statistics).

A far more spectacular change in the geographical distribution of world Jewry was the increase in the proportion of Jews in America after 1880: from about 250,000 in that year to 1,175,000 in 1900 and nearly 3,500,000 in 1914, and from 3% to 11% and, by 1914, a quarter of world Jewry. The corresponding figures for the United States and Canada (together) were about 1,115,000 in 1900 and 3,360,000 in 1914. This rapid expansion of American Jewry was due to the migration of about 2,400,000 Jews during the years 1881–1914, of whom 2,150,000 went to the United States and Canada (see *Migration). Equally due to immigration, but on a much smaller scale, was the growth of the Jewish populations in South Africa and in Oceania.

While the proportion of European Jews among all the Jews in the world was reduced from 88% in 1880 to about two thirds in 1914, as a result of the heavy emigration, the absolute number of the Jews in Europe kept on growing from more than 4,000,000 in 1850 to 6,800,000 in 1880, 8,700,000 in 1900 and 9,100,000 in 1914. This numerical growth despite the heavy emigration drain – which, during the peak period of 1901–14, led to the departure of 1,600,000 Jews from Europe – is striking evidence for the natural increase of European Jews at that time. Even the number of Jews in Eastern Europe rose greatly from 1880 to 1900 and maintained itself from 1900 to 1914, though nearly all the overseas emigration consisted of persons originating from that region and there was, in addition, migration from Eastern to Central and Western Europe.

1914 TO 1939. During the period up to the outbreak of World War II, the Jewish population of the globe is estimated to have risen from about 13,500,000 to 16,500,000. The rate of growth was smaller than in the preceding period because of the reduction in natural increase caused by the spread of birth control among the Jews in Europe and America (see *Vital Statistics). The annual increase of world Jewry was about eight per 1,000. In comparison, total world population grew from 1920 to 1940 by ten per 1,000 annually, while the populations of Europe, North America, and Oceania, which underwent a demographic slowdown, grew by nine per 1,000 annually. Whereas the relative growth of the Jews had exceeded that of the peoples of Europe, North America, etc. in the 19th century, this was no longer so in the period between the two world wars.

The relative share of the European Jews among total world Jewry continued to decline from about two thirds in 1914 to 58% in 1939, mainly because of emigration to America, South Africa, Australia, and Ereẓ Israel. For the same reason and because of the reduced natural increase, the absolute number of Jews residing in Europe grew only a little between the two world wars. On the other hand, the proportion of American Jews among world Jewry grew from about a quarter in 1914 to a third in 1939. During this period, the relative growth of the number of Jews was much greater in Latin America and South Africa than in North America. This was due to the limitations imposed on immigration into the U.S., which very strongly affected the Jews (see *Migration).

On the other hand, there was a rise in the relative share of Jews in North Africa and, especially, in Asia. The main reasons were considerable Jewish migration to Ereẓ Israel, to the Asian territories of the U.S.S.R., and also to Egypt and an upward swing in the natural increase of the local Jewish population because of reduced mortality.

Table 2.
World Jewish Population by Major Regions, 1700–2005[a]

Region	1700	1800	1900	1939	1948[b]	1970[c]	2005[d]
				Thousands			
World total	**1,100**	**2,500**	**10,600**	**16,500**	**11,500**	**12,662**	**13,034**
Total Diaspora	**1,095**	**2,493**	**10,550**	**16,055**	**10,735**	**10,080**	**7,796**
Total Erez Israel	**5**	**7**	**50**	**445**	**650**	**2,582**	**5,238**
Europe	**720**	**2,020**	**8,765**	**9,500**	**3,750**	**3,241**	**1,520**
Western Europe[e]	180	363	1,230	1,425	1,035	1,119	1,066
Eastern Europe and Balkans[e]	265	803	3,450	4,680	765	216	94
Former USSR in Europe[f]	275	854	4,085	3,395	1,950	1,906	360
Asia	**200**	**260**	**440**	**1,000**	**1,275**	**2,944**	**5,277**
Palestine/Israel	5	7	50	445	650	2,582	5,238
Former USSR in Asia	195	253	390	165	350	262	20
Other Asia[g]				390	275	100	19
Africa	**175**	**212**	**340**	**600**	**700**	**207**	**79**
North Africa[h]	170	200	305	500	595	83	5
South Africa[i]	5	12	35	100	105	124	74
America-Oceania	**5**	**8**	**1,055**	**5,400**	**5,775**	**6,270**	**6,158**
North America[j]	5	8	1,000	4,940	5,215	5,686	5,652
Latin America			40	430	520	514	397
Oceania[k]	0	0	15	30	40	70	109
				Percent			
World total	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**
Total Diaspora	**99.5**	**99.7**	**99.5**	**97.3**	**93.3**	**79.6**	**59.8**
Total Erez Israel	**0.5**	**0.3**	**0.5**	**2.7**	**5.7**	**20.4**	**40.2**
Europe	**65.5**	**80.8**	**82.7**	**57.6**	**32.6**	**25.6**	**11.7**
Western Europe[e]	16.4	14.5	11.6	8.6	9.0	8.8	8.2
Eastern Europe and Balkans[e]	24.1	32.1	32.5	28.4	6.7	1.7	0.7
Former USSR in Europe[f]	25.0	34.2	38.5	20.6	17.0	15.1	2.8
Asia	**18.2**	**10.4**	**4.2**	**6.1**	**11.1**	**23.3**	**40.5**
Palestine/Israel	0.5	0.3	0.5	2.7	5.7	20.4	40.2
Former USSR in Asia	17.7	10.1	3.7	1.0	3.0	2.1	0.2
Other Asia[g]				2.4	2.4	0.8	0.1
Africa	**15.9**	**8.5**	**3.2**	**3.6**	**6.1**	**1.6**	**0.6**
North Africa[h]	15.5	8.0	2.9	3.0	5.2	0.6	0.0
South Africa[i]	0.5	0.5	0.3	0.6	0.9	1.0	0.6
America-Oceania	**0.5**	**0.3**	**10.0**	**32.7**	**50.2**	**49.5**	**47.2**
North America[j]	0.5	0.3	9.4	29.9	45.3	44.9	43.4
Latin America			0.4	2.6	4.5	4.1	3.0
Oceania[k]	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.2	0.3	0.6	0.8

a Minor discrepancies due to rounding.
b May 15.
c December 31.
d January 1.
e Eastern European countries that joined the European Union included in Eastern Europe.
f Including Asian parts of Russian Republic. Including Baltic countries.
g Asian parts of Turkey included in Europe.
h Including Ethiopia.
i South Africa, Zimbabwe, and other sub-Saharan countries.
j U.S.A., Canada.
k Australia, New Zealand.

THE SHOAH. About six millions of Jews perished during the Nazi persecutions. In addition, there was a very low birth rate and survival of newborn among the Jews in the occupied territories. After the catastrophe, the total number of Jews was reduced by over one third. In consequence, a far-reaching change also took place in the geographical distribution of world Jewry. As the numerical strength of the European Jews waned, the relative shares of the Jews on the other continents rose. When it was again possible to do some statistical stocktaking in 1948, on the eve of the establishment of the State of Israel, less than a third of all Jews were found in Europe, as against more than a half in 1939. This change was essentially due to the enormous biological losses caused by the Shoah, but there was also some emigration from Europe in the early war years and again after the end of the war.

The Shoah was most devastating in the eastern parts of Europe occupied by the Nazis. In the years after the end of the war, a movement of *Displaced Persons also took place from Eastern to Central Europe. Therefore, if the regional distribution of the Jews inside Europe in 1948 is compared with that in 1939, an enormous reduction in absolute numbers is found everywhere, but the proportions of the various regions had changed greatly. Before the war, Eastern Europe, excluding the U.S.S.R., accounted for one half of European Jewry; by 1948 its share was diminished to less than a quarter, while the Jews in the U.S.S.R. constituted one half of all European Jews. Contributory causes for this development were the enlargement of the area of the U.S.S.R. after World War II and the departure of Displaced Persons from the other East European states; but the essential cause was the differential loss of life during the Shoah, when a much larger part of the Jews was spared in Russia than in the rest of Eastern Europe. Also the proportion of Jews in Western and Central Europe among all Jews of that continent was higher in 1948 (about a third) than in 1939 (about 20%). This happened, among other things, because the Jews in England had remained safe and because of the influx of Displaced Persons.

Table 3.
Jewish Populations in Europe, 1939–1945 (in thousands)

Country	1939	1945	Percent change
Eastern Europe and Balkans			
Estonia	5	66	-74
Latvia	95		
Lithuania	155		
Byelorussia	375	147	-61
Russia[a]	903	860	-5
Ukraine[b]	1,863	916	-51
Poland	3,225	100	-97
Czechoslovakia	357	42	-88
Hungary	404	180	-55
Romania	520	430	-17
Bulgaria	50	45	-10
Yugoslavia[c]	75	12	-84
Greece	75	8	-89
Turkey[d]	50	50	=
Western Europe			
Portugal, Spain[e]	6	9	+50
France	320	180	-44
Italy	47	29	-38
Switzerland	19	25	+31
Austria	60	7	-88
Germany	195	45	-77
Belgium[f]	93	32	-66
Netherlands	141	33	-77
United Kingdom[g]	345	350	+1
Scandinavia[h]	17	24	+41
Displaced persons	107	210	+96

a Including territory in Asia.
b Including Bessarabia/Moldavia.
c Including Albania.
d Territory in Europe only.
e Including Gibraltar.
f Including Luxembourg.
g Including Ireland.
h Denmark, Sweden, Norway, Finland.

As against the great drop in the share of European Jewry, the proportion of American Jewry rose from one third of world Jewry in 1939 to one half in 1948, and that of Asia including Palestine rose from 6 to 11%. There had been some immigration of Jews into these continents during the intervening years, but this was only a secondary factor in producing the marked changes in the respective proportions.

The direct outcome of the Shoah was the physical destruction of the majority of the Jews who had lived in Europe. Soon after the war came to an end, the vivid memory of the horrors, the renewed hostility of the non-Jews in some countries and, on the other hand, the creation of the State of Israel produced mass emigration of the survivors from Europe (see *Migration). The demographic aftereffects of the Shoah – particularly, distortions in the age and sex composition of the survivors – are conspicuous up to the present and will make themselves felt for a considerable time to come, not only in Europe, but also among those Jewish Diaspora populations elsewhere that have absorbed survivors from Europe. It has been estimated that if the expected growth of the generations that were destroyed and of those that were not born are factored in, the cumulative demographic impact of the Shoah might have ranged between 12 and 18 million lost people around the year 2000.

1948 TO 1970. After World War II, the statistical documentation available on the Jewish Diaspora based on official state sources greatly diminished. Before the War, the majority of world Jewry lived in countries (mainly in Europe) where official statistics furnished copious data on Jews. Now the situation was reversed: putting aside the State of Israel, over 70% of Diaspora Jews lived in countries without any official statistics on Jews, mainly in the United States. Besides, great conceptual problems emerged because of the growing frequency of "marginal Jews." On the other hand, over the years Jewish-sponsored efforts at collecting statistical information on Jewish populations produced a significant database for the study of Jewish demography (see *Vital Statistics). Under these circumstances, the quality of Jewish population estimates in many countries is unsatisfactory.

Since World War II, no assessment of Jewish demographic trends is possible without explaining what the data mean, particularly the statistical definition of "who is a Jew." The figures reported here usually relate to the concept of *core Jewish population*, i.e. *all those who, when asked, identify themselves as Jews; or, if the respondent is a different person in the same household, are identified by him/her as Jews*. This is an intentionally comprehensive approach, reflecting both subjective feelings and community norms and bonds. The definition is admittedly looser in the Diaspora than in Israel where personal status is subject to the ruling of the Ministry of the Interior. The *core Jewish population* broadly overlaps but does not necessarily coincide with the *halakhic* (rabbinic) definition of a Jew as someone who *is the child of a Jewish mother or converted by appropriate religious and legal procedure*. Inclusion in the *core* Jewish population does *not* depend on any measure of a person's Jewish commitment or behavior in terms of religiosity, beliefs, knowledge, communal affiliation, or otherwise. The *core* Jewish population includes all those who converted to Judaism, or decided to join the Jewish group informally and declare themselves Jewish. It excludes those of Jewish descent who have formally adopted another religion, as well as other individuals who did not convert out but currently refuse to recognize their Jewishness.

Concurrently, the concept of an *enlarged Jewish population* includes the sum of (a) the *core* Jewish population, (b) all other persons Jewish by birth or parentage who do *not* currently identify as Jews, and (c) all the respective *non-Jewish* household members (spouses, children, etc.). The *enlarged* Jewish population is by definition significantly larger than the *core* population.

The *Law of Return – Israel's distinctive legal framework for the eligibility and absorption of new immigrants – further extends its provisions to all current Jews, their Jewish or non-Jewish spouses, children, and grandchildren, and the respective spouses. As a result of its three-generation time perspective and lateral extension, the Law of Return applies to a much wider population than *core* and *enlarged* Jewish populations alike. The Law of Return, *per se*, does not effect a person's Jewish status, which, as noted, is adjudicated by Israel's Ministry of the Interior or rabbinical authorities. In practice, while the Law of Return defines objective, clear-cut normative rules for the attribution of certain rights and prerogatives, the initiative for being entitled to its provisions normally stems from people's subjective, individual awareness of belonging (directly or indirectly) to the Jewish collective. In Germany, since the 1990s, legislation similar to the principles of the Law of Return regulates the eligibility of Jewish immigrants.

The period from 1948 onward began during the "baby boom" of early postwar years; however, it was soon followed by a renewed decline in Jewish birth rates in Europe, America, and other Western countries. Jewish populations in Europe about which there is any statistical documentation reached a state of demographic stagnation and decline, with deaths consistently outnumbering births and additional losses to the Jewish population being occasioned by "withdrawals," whether in connection with frequent intermarriages or not. In the U.S., Canada, South Africa, and Australia, the only source of any Jewish population growth was international migration, but eventually in some cases this was insufficient to compensate for the deficit of internal demographic changes (see *Vital Statistics). Though there has been persistent natural increase in Israel, changes in the overall size of the Jewish world population have been rather limited.

Very conspicuous geographical shifts in the world Jewish population occurred over the years 1948–70. Throughout the period, the Jews in America accounted for about half of world Jewry. Nine-tenths of them resided in North America. But there were marked changes in the relative shares of other regions among world Jewry. The proportion of European Jews continued to decline from about a third of all Jews in 1948 to a quarter in 1970. It would have declined even somewhat further, were it not for an influx from North Africa. The relative share of Eastern Europe excluding the U.S.S.R. dropped both among total Jews in Europe (from more than 20 to less than 10%) and among world Jewry (from 7 to 2%). Throughout this period, the Jews in the European territories of the U.S.S.R. were one half or more of all Jews residing in Europe. The aggregate number and proportion of the Jews in other countries of Europe, i.e., mainly in the west and center of that continent, were first reduced by departures of Displaced Persons and others, most of whom went to Israel. But subsequently they were raised by intermittent immigration from countries of Eastern Europe and North Africa and the Middle East.

The proportion of Jews in North Africa and, consequently, in the whole of Africa, dropped drastically during 1948–70 (North Africa, from 5.5 to 0.5% of world Jewry). This was due to large-scale emigration from the Maghreb and other Arabic-speaking states. The emigrants went mainly to Israel and in the second place to France. The drain started after Israel's War of Independence (1948) and had come near to emptying North Africa of its once numerous Jewish population by the Six-Day War period (1967). A notable episode was the exodus of over 100,000 Jews from Algeria to France, together with the European population, in 1961–62.

Similarly, the share of Asia, excluding Israel and the Asian territories of the U.S.S.R., dropped from 3 to 1% of world Jewry during 1948–70. Most of the respective Jews had resided in Arabic-speaking countries; nearly all of them moved to Israel in a spectacular mass migration soon after the foundation of the new state.

On the other hand, the total share of Asia among world Jewry doubled from 1948 (11.5%) to 1967 (21.5%). This resulted essentially from the rapid growth of the Jewish population in Israel from 650,000 in May 1948 to almost 2,400,000 by the end of 1970. The number of Jews in the Asian territories of the U.S.S.R. also increased somewhat.

In all but one of the countries of Eastern and Central Europe, the number of Jews was very much smaller in 1970 than in 1939. This was due, of course, to the successive effects of the Shoah and of emigration. The most glaring instance in this respect is that of Poland, with 3,250,000 and only about 25,000 Jews, respectively (the latter figure relates to the reduced postwar territory). The one country in that region with a relatively smaller diminution in the number of Jews is the U.S.S.R., whose territory was only partly occupied by the Nazis during World War II and much enlarged after the war and where emigration is barred. The number of Jews in the European part of the U.S.S.R. amounted to 1,900,000 in 1959, according to the official census of that year. This number is probably below the actual figure, but there is no alternative statistical figure in existence. With regard to the 1939 figures in Table 2, those for Germany and Austria (at that time a German province) already showed the effects of Nazi rule: there were half a million Jews in Germany in 1933 and 190,000 in Austria in 1934. The number of Jews in 1939 on the enlarged post-World War II territory of the U.S.S.R. in Europe may be estimated at more than 4½ million.

In most countries of Western Europe, the number of Jews likewise declined, due to the Shoah and subsequent emigration. But the two notable exceptions are precisely the countries with the largest Jewish populations in that region. The Jews in England did not suffer directly from the Nazi persecutions; on the contrary, their numbers were swelled by the influx of refugees and survivors. The Jews in France did suffer from the Nazis and their number was estimated at only 180,000 in 1946, as compared with 320,000 in 1939. But the wartime losses were more than compensated by successive immigration from two sources: Eastern Europe (Displaced Persons, refugees after the Hungarian uprising of 1956, etc.), and North Africa, particularly Algeria.

As a result of all the demographic changes produced by the differential effects of the Shoah and of the subsequent migrations in the various European countries, a geographical polarization of the Jews in Europe has taken place. The main concentrations are now in the extreme east (the former U.S.S.R.) and in the extreme west (France, England). Over the postwar decades there was an increase in the number of Jews in nearly all countries of America, with the one conspicuous exception of Cuba, and in Oceania. The rise in the estimated Jewish population of the U.S. is shown in Table 4.

The number of Jews in South Africa increased, according to census figures, from 91,000 in 1936 to 115,000 in 1960. On the other hand, the number of Jews in each of the North African countries decreased reflecting the post-War de-colonization process.

Table 5 shows the expansion of the Jewish population in Ereẓ Israel.

The number of Jews in the Asian territories of the U.S.S.R. was, according to the official censuses, about 220,000 in 1939 and 370,000 in 1959. On the other hand, the two Arab countries in Asia with the largest Jewish populations had been Iraq and Yemen. To judge from the subsequent immigration to Israel, in the middle of 1948 there were about 125,000 Jews in Iraq and 50,000 in Yemen and Aden.

1970 TO 2005. Since 1970, significant changes affected the geographical distribution of world Jewry and the relative weight of communities in different regions of the world. The size of world Jewry at the beginning of 2005 was assessed at 13,034,000 (by the *core Jewish population* definition). World Jewry constituted 2.04 per 1,000 of the world's total population of 6,396 million. One in about 490 people in the world was a Jew. World Jewry's overall increase from 1970 through 2005 was about 3% (or 0.06% a year), as against an increase of over 70% in total world population (about 1.5% yearly). Significantly, Jewish zero population growth worldwide was the product of two entirely different trends compensating each other. The State of Israel and the rest of the world – or the Diaspora – are the two typological components of a contempo-

Table 4.
Jewish Population in the United States of America, 1790–2005

Year	Jews	Total US	% Jews
1790	1,500	4,000,000	0.04
1820	3,000	11,000,000	0.03
1830	6,000	15,000,000	0.04
1850	50,000	24,000,000	0.21
1860	150,000	30,000,000	0.50
1880	250,000	46,353,000	0.54
1890	400,000	59,974,000	0.67
1900	1,058,000	71,592,000	1.48
1910	1,777,000	85,817,000	2.07
1920	3,389,000	103,266,000	3.28
1930	4,228,000	119,038,000	3.55
1940	4,771,000	140,000,000	3.41
1950	5,000,000	157,813,000	3.17
1960	5,300,000	186,158,000	2.85
1970	5,400,000	210,111,000	2.57
1980	5,500,000	230,406,000	2.39
1990	5,515,000	254,776,000	2.16
2000	5,300,000	281,422,000	1.88
2005	5,280,000	293,600,000	1.80

Table 5.
Jewish Population of Erez Israel, 1856–2005

Year	Jews
1800	7,000
1856	10,000
1882	24,000
1895	47,000
1914	94,000
1922	84,000
1931	175,000
1947	630,000
1950	1,203,000
1960	1,911,000
1967	2,374,000
1975	2,979,000
1985	3,517,000
1995	4,522,000
2000	4,955,000
2005	5,238,000

rary world Jewish population that responds to two quite contrasting, if not conflicting, sets of demographic determinants and consequences. The Israeli component, approaching 40% of the world total in 2005, operates as the majority within its own sovereign state. The Diaspora, about 60% of world Jewry, consists of a large number of communities of different absolute sizes, each constituting a very small to minuscule share of the total population of the respective country.

In synthesis, Israel's Jewish population grew by more than two million between 1945 and 1970, and by another 2.6 million between 1970 and 2005. Diaspora Jewry diminished by about 400,000 between 1945 and 1970, and declined by another 2.3 million between 1970 and 2005. These changes reflect in part the net transfer of over 2.2 million Jewish migrants from the Diaspora to Israel over the whole period since World War II, including about one million since 1970. A substantial contribution to total population changes, however, comes from a very different balance of Jewish births and deaths, as well as to a different impact of accessions and secessions. Especially since the 1970s, these factors produced further substantial population increases in Israel, and visible declines in the aggregate of other Jewish communities.

Trends to growth, stability, or decline in the major Jewish communities were quite variable. The Jewish population in the United States increased by an estimated 100,000 between 1970 and 1990, from 5.4 to 5.5 million, less than might have been expected considering the total amount of known Jewish immigration to the U.S. Between 1990 and 2000, the number of U.S. Jews should have increased by an additional 200,000 only due to international migration. Instead, two new surveys undertaken in 2001, the NJPS and the AJIS, found a total of 5,200,000–5,350,000 or 150,000 to 300,000 less than in 1990. Substantial numbers of Jews did move to North America from the FSU, Israel, Latin America, South Africa, Iran, and other countries, but the internal interplay of demographic, social, and cultural forces balanced out much of the expected population increase and actually created a deficit.

The about 13 million Jews estimated worldwide at the dawn of the 21st century were intimately connected to several more millions of people. Some of the latter had Jewish origins or family connections but were not currently Jewish, whether because they changed their own identification, were the non-Jewish children of intermarried parents, or were non-Jewish members in intermarried households. These non-Jews shared the daily life experience, social and economic concerns, and cultural environment of their Jewish mates. The following examples indicate the extent of variation of *core* and *enlarged* Jewish populations in selected countries. The criteria followed in the ensuing comparison were not the same in each place.

In the Russian Republic in 2001, the Jewish population was estimated at 275,000 and the enlarged population including all non-Jewish members in the respective households was estimated at 520,000 – a difference of 89 percent. In the U.S. in 2001, based on two different surveys, a core Jewish population of 5,300,000 was part of an enlarged population estimated at 8.8 to 10 million – a difference of 69 to 89 percent. In the Netherlands, a 2000 survey found 30,000 Jews by matrilineal descent and another 13,000 by patrilineal descent – a 43 percent difference. In Brazil, according to the 1991 census, the reported Jewish population of 86,000 was part of an enlarged population of 117,000 in Jewish households – a difference of 36 percent. In France, according to a 2002 survey, 500,000 Jews had at least another 75,000 non-Jewish household members – a 15 percent difference. In Israel at the end of 2001, 5,025,000 Jews were accompanied by 275,000 non-Jewish family members, mostly in families that had immigrated from the F.S.U. – a difference of 5 percent. The gap between the numbers of individuals covered by the *enlarged* and *core* Jewish population definitions tended to increase in connection with growing rates of out-marriage. In some cases an increase in the *enlarged* population could be noted along with reduction of the respective *core*.

Recently, instances of accession or "return" to Judaism can be observed in connection with the absorption in Israel of immigrants from Eastern Europe and Ethiopia, and the comprehensive provisions of the Israeli Law of Return. The return or first-time access to Judaism of some of such previously unincluded or unidentified individuals contributed to slowing down the pace of decline of the relevant Diaspora Jewish populations and some gains for the Jewish population in Israel.

Table 6 gives an overall picture of Jewish population country by country for the beginning of 2005 as compared to 1970. The number of Jews in Israel rose from 2,582,000 in 1970 to 5,237,600 at the beginning of 2005, an increase of 2,655,600 people, or 102.9 percent (more than double the initial population). In contrast the estimated Jewish population in the Diaspora diminished from 10,063,200 to 7,796,500 – a decrease of 2,266,700 people, or 22.5 percent. These changes reflect the continuing Jewish emigration from the Former U.S.S.R. (FSU) and other countries, but also the internal decrease typical of the aggregate of Diaspora Jewry. While it took 13 years to add one million to world Jewry's postwar size, over 46 years were needed to add another million. The data also outline the slow Jewish population growth rate versus total population growth globally, and the declining Jewish share of world population. In 2005 the share of Jews per 1,000 world population was less than half what it was in 1945.

Table 6.
World Jewish Population, 1970 and 2005[a]

Country	1970	2005	Change %
World Total	**12,642,300**	**13,034,100**	**3.1**
Americas, total	**6,199,800**	**6,049,500**	**-2.4**
North America	**5,686,000**	**5,652,000**	**-0.6**
Canada	286,000	372,000	30.1
United States	5,400,000	5,280,000	-2.2
Central America	**46,800**	**51,900**	**10.9**
Bahamas	300	300	0.0

World Jewish Population, 1970 and 2005 (continued)

Country	1970	2005	Change %
Costa Rica	1,500	2,500	66.7
Cuba	1,700	600	-64.7
Dominican Republic	350	100	-71.4
Guatemala	1,900	900	-52.6
Jamaica	600	300	-50.0
Mexico	35,000	39,800	13.7
Netherlands Antilles	700	200	-71.4
Panama	2,000	5,000	150.0
Puerto Rico	1,200	1,500	25.0
Virgin Islands	200	300	50.0
Other	1,350	400	-70.4
South America	**467,000**	**345,600**	**-26.0**
Argentina	282,000	185,000	-34.4
Bolivia	2,000	500	-75.0
Brazil	90,000	96,700	7.4
Chile	30,000	20,800	-30.7
Colombia	10,000	3,300	-67.0
Ecuador	2,000	900	-55.0
Paraguay	1,200	900	-25.0
Peru	5,300	2,300	-56.6
Suriname	500	200	-60.0
Uruguay	32,000	19,500	-39.1
Venezuela	12,000	15,500	29.2
Europe, total	**3,241,200**	**1,519,600**	**-53.1**
European Union	**1,097,450**	**1,015,200**	**-7.5**
Austria	8,000	9,000	12.5
Belgium	32,500	31,200	-4.0
Denmark	6,000	6,400	6.7
Finland	1,450	1,100	-24.1
France[b]	530,000	494,000	-6.8
Germany[c]	30,000	115,000	283.3
Greece	6,500	4,500	-30.8
Ireland	5,400	1,200	-77.8
Italy	32,000	28,700	-10.3
Luxembourg	1,000	600	-40.0
Netherlands	30,000	30,000	0.0
Portugal	600	500	-16.7
Spain	9,000	12,000	33.3
Sweden	15,000	15,000	0.0
United Kingdom	390,000	297,000	-23.8
Other West Europe	**21,450**	**19,800**	**-7.7**
Gibraltar	600	600	0.0
Norway	750	1,200	60.0
Switzerland	20,000	17900	-10.5
Other	100	100	0.0
Former USSR (Europe)	**1,906,000**	**359,500**	**-81.1**
Belarus	148,000	21,000	-85.8
Estonia	5,300	1,900	-64.2
Latvia	36,700	9,500	-74.1
Lithuania	23,600	3,300	-86.0
Moldova	98,100	4,800	-95.1
Russia[d]	816,700	235,000	-71.2
Ukraine	777,400	84,000	-89.2
Other East Europe, Balkans	**216,300**	**94,100**	**-56.5**
Bulgaria	7,000	2,100	-70.0
Czech Republic	7,000	4,000	-42.9
Hungary	70,000	49,900	-28.7
Poland	9,000	3,300	-63.3
Romania	70,000	10,300	-85.3
Slovakia	7,000	2,700	-61.4
Turkey[d]	39,000	17,900	-54.1
Former Yugoslavia[e]	7,000	3,900	-44.3
Other	300	0	-100.0
Asia, total	**2,944,200**	**5,277,100**	**79.2**
Israel	**2,582,000**	**5,237,600**	**102.9**
Former USSR (Asia)	**261,900**	**20,300**	**-92.0**
Armenia	1,000	0	-100.0
Azerbaijan	49,100	7,000	-85.7
Georgia	55,400	3,600	-93.5
Kazakhstan	27,700	3,800	-86.3
Kirghizstan	7,700	600	-92.2
Tajikistan	14,600	0	-100.0
Turkmenistan	3,500	300	-91.4
Uzbekistan	103,100	5,000	-95.2
Other Asia	**100,300**	**19,200**	**-80.9**
China[f]	200	1,000	400.0
India	15,000	5,100	-66.0
Iran	72,000	10,800	-85.0
Iraq	2,500	0	-100.0
Japan	500	1,000	100.0
Philippines	500	100	-80.0
Singapore	600	300	-50.0
Syria	4,000	100	-97.5
Thailand	100	200	100.0
Yemen	500	200	-60.0
Other	4,400	400	-90.9
Africa, total	**207,100**	**78,800**	**-62.0**
North Africa	**82,600**	**4,800**	**-94.2**
Egypt	1,000	100	-90.0
Ethiopia	25,000	100	-99.6
Morocco	45,000	3,500	-92.2
Tunisia	10,000	1,100	-89.0
Other	1,600	0	-100.0
Other Africa	**124,500**	**74,000**	**-40.6**
Kenya	200	400	100.0
South Africa	118,000	72,500	-38.6
Zaire	300	100	-66.7
Zimbabwe	5,200	400	-92.3
Other	800	600	-25.0
Oceania, total[g]	**70,000**	**109,100**	**55.9**
Australia	65,000	102,000	56.9
New Zealand	5,000	7,000	40.0

a Core Jewish population definition. See text.
b Including Monaco.
c In 1970: West Germany 28500; East Germany 1500.
d Including areas in Asia.
e Of which in 2005: Bosnia-Herzegovina 300; Croatia 1300; Macedonia 100; Serbia-Montenegro 1500; Slovenia 100.
f Including Hong Kong.
g Including other.

In 2005, over 47 percent of the world's Jews resided in the Americas, with over 43 percent in North America. Over 40 percent lived in Asia, including the Asian republics of the F.S.U. (but not the Asian parts of the Russian Republic and Turkey) – most of them in Israel. Europe, including the Asian territories of the Russian Republic and Turkey, accounted for about 12 percent of the total. Fewer than 2 percent of the world's Jews lived in Africa and Oceania.

Comparing the 2005 and 1970 Jewish geographical distributions, North America remained nearly unchanged, with some losses in the United States – mostly due to identificational assimilation – compensated by growth in Canada – mostly due to immigration. Communities in Central America had an overall increase of about 11 percent – mostly in Mexico, Panama, and Costa Rica, whereas other smaller communities diminished quite significantly. In South America there was an overall decrease of 26 percent. All countries registered a smaller Jewish population in 2005, most notably Argentina with a decrease of 34 percent. The exceptions were Brazil and Venezuela both of which, however, were past their peak and were experiencing some recent population attrition.

In Europe, the main event was the return of continental majority to Western European Jewish communities, after several centuries of East European predominance. The main determinant of such epochal change was the dissolution of the U.S.S.R. and the massive Jewish emigration that started in December 1989. Among the 15 countries of the European Union (before the enlargement of 2004 to 25 countries), between 1970 and 2005 Jewish population increased by 7.5 percent. This reflected very unequal patterns of change. Germany after reunification in 1991 experienced the most dramatic pace of growth of any Jewish community worldwide, increasing by 283 percent (nearly four times the initial size). Other communities in the EU and other Western European countries with some Jewish population increase included Austria, Denmark, Spain, and Norway. All other western countries experienced Jewish population decreases, most notably the United Kingdom with a decrease of 24 percent, and France with a 7 percent loss.

The European former Soviet republics lost overall 81 percent of their initial Jewish population in 1970. Decreases were most dramatic in Moldova (-95 percent), Ukraine (-89 percent), Lithuania (-86 percent), and Belarus (-86 percent), and somewhat less dramatic in Latvia (-74 percent), Russia (-71 percent), and Estonia (-64 percent). The Asian former Soviet republics lost overall 92 percent of their initial Jewish population. The most resilient community was in Azerbaijan, which nonetheless lost 83 percent of its Jewish population.

In other East European and Balkan countries, the Jewish population decreased overall by 56 percent, ranging between Hungary (-29 percent) and Romania (-85 percent).

The total Jewish population in Asia grew by 80 percent between 1970 and 2005, but this was due to Israel's more than doubling its Jewish population, and the rest of the continent's Jews (including the former Soviet republics) shrinking by 89 percent. In Central and Eastern Asia, the main change was a decline by 85 percent in the size of the Jewish community in Iran. Small Jewish communities tended to become established and expand in rapidly growing economic powers such as China, Japan, and South Korea.

In Africa, the total Jewish population diminished by 62 percent – 94 percent in North Africa (including Ethiopia), and 41 percent in Southern Africa, respectively. Finally, in Oceania the Jewish population increased by 56 percent – 57 percent in Australia and 40 percent in New Zealand, respectively.

In the course of time, Jewish population has become overwhelmingly concentrated in a relatively small number of countries. In 2005 two countries dominate the geography of world Jewry: the United States with about 5,280,000 *core Jewish population*, and the State of Israel with 5,235,000 (each accounting for about 40 percent of the world total). The remaining two and a half million Jews (20 percent), were highly dispersed. Four countries alone include more than one half of total non-U.S. and non-Israeli Jews: France (with an estimated 496,000 Jews in 2005), followed by Canada (372,000), the United Kingdom (297,000), and the Russian Republic (235,000). Further important Jewish communities lived in Argentina (estimated at 185,000 in 2005), Germany (115,000 in 1996), Australia (102,000), Brazil (97,000), Ukraine (84,000), and South Africa (73,000). Jewish populations of at least 100 existed in 93 countries.

To further understand the logic of the changes in geographical distribution in the course of the last quarter of a century, the main aspects of the intensive and manifold relationship that exists between Jewish communities and contemporary society at large deserve closer scrutiny. The Jewish presence – as expressed in absolute numbers and as a percentage of the total population – appears to be strongly related to major social and economic indicators of the world regions, individual countries, provinces, cities, and neighborhoods where they live. Jews simply do not move and redistribute at random, but their mobility patterns reflect the inherent attraction or repulsion of the main instrumental forces that operate in society at large.

During the early 2000s, 92 percent of the Jews globally lived in the highest ranked quintile of countries including most western nations and the state of Israel, 6.5 percent lived in the second best quintile of countries, whereas only 1.5 percent lived in the bottom three-fifths. By the same token, in the 1990s, over 59 percent of Jews in the European Union lived in the best fifth of economic regions, against 1 percent in the bottom fifth; and in 2000, 64 percent of Jews in the United States lived in the top fifth of states, against 1 percent in the bottom fifth. The different concentration of the Jewish presence out of the total population, by level of development of the environment, is thus very consistent and statistically significant, passing from densest in the wealthier and more sophisticated areas to scantiest in the poorest and more backward areas.

Dispersion and Concentration

For many centuries the Jews have been a dispersed people. Yet their dispersion was never uniform; there always developed major centers of Jewish residence with large absolute numbers of Jews and comparatively greater proportions among all Jews and among the respective general population. In this connection, the degree of urbanization of the Jews deserves particular attention. Both dispersion of the Jews and their relative concentration have been much altered in recent generations.

Dispersion of the Jews increased through the changes in geographical distribution produced by emigration from Europe and by the drastic reduction of European Jewry due to the Shoah. The intercontinental distribution of the Jews has undergone periods of growing dispersion and growing concentration. Whereas in 1880 one continent, Europe, accounted for nearly 90 percent of all Jews, during the 1960s the numerically most important continent of Jewish residence, America, contained barely one half of all Jews, while Europe and Asia comprised each more than 20 percent.

In keeping with these changes, the geographical distances involved in the dispersion of the larger Jewish populations increased greatly. Only in the 20th century did the dispersion of the Jews become a virtually global one, with the notable exceptions of East Asia and large parts of Africa. Since the 1970s the tendency of Jews to be regrouped in few countries became again predominant, with 80 percent of world Jewry residing in the United States and in Israel.

Before World War I, the Czarist empire contained 5¼ million Jews (census of 1897), Austria–Hungary, 2¼ million (census of 1910), and the number of Jews in the United States had risen from about 50,000 in 1850 to about 3¼ million at the beginning of the war. The next largest Jewish population in size, Germany, numbered about 600,000 in 1910. After the boundary changes that resulted from World War I, the United States became the country with the largest Jewish population, estimated at 4¼ million in 1927 and at 4¼ million in 1937. The Jews of Poland numbered 3¼ million (estimate for 1939; the census figure of 1931 was 3.1 million) and those in the U.S.S.R., 3 million (1939 census). The next-ranking country was Romania, with about 800,000 Jews in 1939. Germany had about half a million Jews when Hitler came to power, but far fewer on the eve of World War II. All other countries had considerably less than half a million Jews each.

The concentration of the Jews in a limited number of countries expresses itself clearly in the high proportion of the respective Jewish populations among world Jewry.

The concentration in the top group increased since the period before World War II. The three countries that then had more than one million Jews each comprised together 67 percent of world Jewry in 1931, whereas the two countries in that category now comprise over 80%. Moreover, there was and is a tendency for the countries with large populations, in absolute numbers, to also have a comparatively large percentage of Jews in relation to the general population; however, there were and are some exceptions. Before World War II, Poland was the European country with the largest number of Jews and had the highest share of Jews in the general population of all Diaspora countries (about 10 percent). Around 1970, of the ten countries with Jewish populations of 100,000 and over, nine had 0.5 percent or more Jews in their total population. The U.S. had both the largest number of Jews and the largest percentage of Jews among all inhabitants (nearly 3 percent), and the U.S.S.R., especially its European territories, came in next according to the relative frequency of Jews (1–2 percent of the total population).

The number of individual countries with sizable Jewish populations of 50,000 and over rose since the beginning of the modern Jewish migration movement in about 1880. In the last few decades, though, there has been a significant decrease in the number of those countries, as compared with the position prior to World War II, because of the effects of the Shoah and of emigration from Europe and from the Arabic-speaking countries. While in the late 1960s there were 41 countries with at least 5,000 Jews, this had diminished to 36 in 2005, in spite of the significant increase in the number of independent states following the dismemberment of the U.S.S.R., Yugoslavia, and Czechoslovakia.

Jewish population concentration occurred not only at the global level, but also regionally within countries. This partly reflected the tendency of Jews to congregate in the major cities of the various countries (see Urbanization below). In the Czarist empire, the Jews were largely segregated in the Polish provinces and in the so-called *Pale of Settlement along the western borders of Russia. According to the 1939 census of the Soviet Union, the percentage of Jews among all inhabitants varied in the main regions as follows: total, 1.8; all European Russia, 2:1; Belarus, 6.7; Ukraine, 4.9; rest of European Russia, 0.9; Asian Russia, 0.7. According to the 1959 census of the Soviet Union, three-quarters of the Jews were enumerated in the two most populous republics, the Russian S.F.S.R. and the Ukraine. The highest proportions of Jews in the general population were found in some of the republics lining the western border of the Soviet territory, in the Caucasus region, and in the Uzbek Republic in central Asia (where Bukhara is situated).

In Poland between the two world wars, concentration of the Jews was much heavier in the former Russian and Austrian provinces than in the areas previously belonging to the German empire. In the U.S., there long was a heavy concentration of the Jews in the northeastern region and particularly in New York since the inception of mass immigration. Only in the last few decades has the share of the Pacific region risen somewhat. In both 1937 and 1967, the State of New York accounted for about 45% of the entire Jewish population of the U.S., and the 10 states with the largest number of Jews comprised close to 90% of all Jews of the U.S. but somewhat less than one half of the general population of the U.S. In keeping with the rise of the total number of Jews in the U.S., the respective 10 states all had more than 100,000 Jews in 1967, while only eight did in 1937. On the whole, the respective 10 states were also those with a higher relative frequency of Jews among the general population. In 1937 the overall percentage of the Jews in the U.S. was 3.7 percent of the general population; the 10 states with the largest Jewish populations had each more than 2 percent Jews in their general population (and there were only five more such states); six of the 10 top-ranking states had more than 4 percent Jews in their population. By 1967 the overall share of the Jews in the U.S. had declined to about 2.9 percent, because of the slower growth of the Jews compared with the total population. The 10 states with the largest number of Jews all had at least 1.5 percent Jews among their general population (and there were only four more such states), while in seven of the 10 states the proportion of the Jews amounted to more than 3 percent (see Table 7). By the early 2000s, U.S. Jewry constituted less than 2 percent of total population, and the percent Jewish tended to decline all across the board of U.S. states.

In 2005, reflecting global Jewish population stagnation along with growing concentration in a few countries, 97 percent of world Jewry lived in the largest 15 communities, and, excluding Israel from the count, 96 percent lives in the 14 largest communities of the Diaspora, of which 68 percent were in the United States (see Table 8). There were at least 100 Jews in 93 different countries. Two countries had Jewish populations above 5 million individuals each (the U.S. and Israel), another seven had more than 100,000 Jews, three had 50,000–100,000, five had 25,000–50,000, ten had 10,000–25,000, and nine had 9 had 5,000–10,000. Another 57 countries had less than 5,000 and overall accounted for 1 percent of world Jewry; 22 had 1,000–5,000 Jews, and 35 had less than 1,000.

In only seven communities outside of Israel did Jews constitute at least about 5 per 1,000 (0.5 percent) of their country's total population (see Table 9). In descending order by the relative weight (not size) of their Jewish population they were Gibraltar (24.0 Jews per 1,000 inhabitants), the United States (18.0), Canada (11.7), France (8.2), Uruguay (5.7), Australia (5.1), and the United Kingdom (5.0).

By combining the two criteria of Jewish population size and density, for 2005 we obtain the following taxonomy of the 26 Jewish communities with populations over 10,000 (excluding Israel). There were five countries with over 100,000 Jews and at least 5 Jews per 1,000 of total population: the U.S., France, Canada, the U.K., and Australia; another three countries with over 100,000 Jews and at least 1 per 1,000 of total population: Argentina, Russia, and Germany; one country with 10,000–100,000 Jews and at least 5 per 1,000 of total pop-

Table 7.
Jewish Population of the United States of America, by Region and State, 1967–2001[a]

Regions and States	Jews		Percent distribution		Percent of Jews among general population	
	1967	2001	1967	2001	1967	2001
Total	**5,780,000**	**6,155,000**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**2.9**	**2.2**
NORTHEAST	**3,723,700**	**2,850,000**	**64.4**	**46.3**	**7.7**	**5.3**
New England	397,300	426,000	6.9	6.9	3.5	3.1
thereof: Massachusetts	257,700	275,000	4.5	4.5	4.8	4.3
Connecticut	102,900	111,000	1.8	1.8	3.5	3.2
Middle Atlantic	3,326,400	2,424,000	57.5	39.3	9.0	6.1
thereof: New York	2,520,100	1,657,000	43.6	26.9	13.7	8.7
New Jersey	363,000	485,000	6.3	7.9	5.2	5.7
Pennsylvania	443,300	282,000	7.6	4.6	3.8	2.3
MIDWEST	**733,600**	**706,000**	**12.7**	**11.4**	**1.3**	**1.1**
East North Central	598,400	574,000	10.4	9.3	1.5	1.3
thereof: Ohio	160,600	149,000	2.8	2.4	1.5	1.3
Illinois	283,500	270,000	4.9	4.4	2.6	2.2
West North Central	135,200	132,000	2.3	2.1	0.9	0.7
SOUTH	**590,600**	**1,265,000**	**10.2**	**20.6**	**1.0**	**1.3**
South Atlantic	460,400	1,071,000	8.0	17.4	1.6	2.1
thereof: Maryland	177,100	213,000	3.1	3.5	4.8	4.0
Florida	175,600	620,000	3.0	10.1	2.9	3.9
East South Central	41,400	40,000	0.7	0.6	0.3	0.2
West South Central	88,800	154,000	1.5	2.5	0.5	0.5
thereof: Texas	64,000	131,000	1.1	2.1	0.6	0.6
WEST	**731,000**	**1,334,000**	**12.7**	**21.7**	**2.2**	**2.1**
Mountain	53,100	250,000	0.9	4.1	0.7	1.4
Pacific	678,800	1,084,000	11.8	17.6	2.7	2.4
thereof: California	653,600	999,000	11.3	16.2	3.4	2.9

[a] Source: American Jewish Year Book. Data include unknown percentages of non-Jewish members of Jewish households, and some amount of duplication of multi-residential households.

ulation: Uruguay; nine more countries with 10,000–100,000 Jews and at least 1 per 1,000 of total population: Ukraine, South Africa, Hungary, Belgium, the Netherlands, Chile, Belarus, Switzerland, and Sweden; and eight countries with 10,000–100,000 Jews and less than 1 per 1,000 of total population: Brazil, Mexico, Italy, Turkey, Venezuela, Spain, Iran, and Romania.

URBANIZATION. In the traditional countries of Jewish residence in Europe, there was even in the past a strong tendency for the Jews to live in towns. The residential location of the Jews in towns was often imposed by the authorities, but also had strong links with the economic activities of the Jews and with their religious-communal organization. Exceptions existed in some regions of Central Europe, where the Jews had been banned from the towns and settled on the rural estates of the nobility. In Eastern Europe, a considerable proportion of the Jews lived in villages and in townlets very similar to villages. But even there the share of the Jews in the urban and semiurban population was much larger than in the village population. In many of the Islamic countries as well, a high proportion of the Jews used to live in towns.

In the second half of the 19th century, when middle-sized and large towns developed in the economic centers and capital cities of Central and Eastern Europe, the Jews, who by then had obtained civic rights and freedom to settle where they pleased, participated with particular intensity in this urban evolution. Both the absolute and relative frequency of the Jews rose rapidly in the expanding larger towns (except for central Russia, where Jewish residence continued to be virtually barred). On the other hand, there was a drain away from many customary local Jewish communities in small towns and (where applicable) in villages. In the course of time, the out-migration from the smaller localities led to the extinction of an ever increasing number of Jewish communities there, some of them centuries old. In regions of Jewish in-migration – Western Europe, overseas, and, after the Russian Revolution, also central Russia – the Jews tended to settle directly in the main economic centers and capital cities.

In the 20th century, high proportions of the Jews in the world as a whole and in many individual countries are found in large towns and particularly in the very largest towns (with more than 1,000,000 inhabitants), where those exist. The respective proportions are, as a rule, much larger among the Jews than among the non-Jews of the same country. The relative frequency of the Jews is, therefore, greater in the large localities than in smaller ones. All the same, before World War II the countries of Jewish residence could be divided roughly into three groups, according to the degree of urbanization of the Jews:

1. All but a small percentage of the Jews were town-dwellers in countries of recent immigration in Western Europe, America, and the like.
2. More than 10 percent of the Jews lived in the small localities of some countries of Central Europe.
3. In Eastern Europe, the proportion of Jews resident in small localities was about 20 percent or above, e.g., 25 percent in Poland (1931), 31 percent in Romania (1930).

Under very different conditions, the Jews of Ereẓ Israel also fell into this category at that time. There were also some other countries in Asia and Africa where a considerable percentage of the Jews lived in small localities.

Table 8.
Largest Jewish Populations, 2005

			% of Total Jewish Population			
		Jewish	In the World		In the Diaspora	
Rank	Country	Population	%	Cumulative %	%	Cumulative %
1	United States	5,280,000	40.5	40.5	67.7	67.7
2	Israel	5,237,600	40.2	80.7	=	=
3	France	494,000	3.8	84.5	6.3	74.1
4	Canada	372,000	2.9	87.3	4.8	78.8
5	United Kingdom	297,000	2.3	89.6	3.8	82.6
6	Russia	235,000	1.8	91.4	3.0	85.7
7	Argentina	185,000	1.4	92.8	2.4	88.0
8	Germany	115,000	0.9	93.7	1.5	89.5
9	Australia	102,000	0.8	94.5	1.3	90.8
10	Brazil	96,700	0.7	95.2	1.2	92.1
11	Ukraine	84,000	0.6	95.9	1.1	93.1
12	South Africa	72,500	0.6	96.4	0.9	94.1
13	Hungary	49,900	0.4	96.8	0.6	94.7
14	Mexico	39,800	0.3	97.1	0.5	95.2
15	Belgium	31,200	0.2	97.4	0.4	95.6

Table 9.
Distribution of the World's Jews, by Number and Proportion per 1,000 Population in Each Country, 2005

Number of		Jews per 1,000 Population				
Jews in Country	**Total**	**0.0–0.9**	**1.0–4.9**	**5.0–9.9**	**10.0–24.9**	**25.0+**
			Number of Countries			
Total[a]	**93**	**62**	**23**	**4**	**3**	**1**
100–900	35	31	3	–	1	–
1,000–4,900	22	20	2	–	–	–
5,000–9,900	9	3	6	–	–	–
10,000–24,900	10	5	4	1	–	–
25,000–49,900	5	2	3	–	–	–
50,000–99,900	3	1	2	–	–	–
100,000–999,900	7	–	3	3	1	–
1,000,000 or more	2	–	–	–	1	1
			Jewish Population Distribution (Absolute Numbers)			
Total[a]	**13,034,100**	**304,900**	**925,400**	**912,500**	**5,652,600**	**5,237,600**
100–900	11,000	9,200	1,200	–	600	–
1,000–4,900	52,100	46,900	5,200	–	–	–
5,000–9,900	58,800	17,100	41,700	–	–	–
10,000–24,900	160,700	66,500	74,700	19,500	–	–
25,000–49,900	179,600	68,500	111,100	–	–	–
50,000–99,900	253,200	96,700	156,500	–	–	–
100,000–999,900	1,800,000	–	535,000	893,000	372,000	–
1,000,000 or more	10,517,600	–	–	–	5,280,000	5,237,600
			Jewish Population Distribution (Percent Distribution)			
Total[a]	**100.0**	**2.3**	**7.1**	**7.0**	**43.4**	**40.2**
100–900	0.1	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
1,000–4,900	0.4	0.4	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
5,000–9,900	0.5	0.1	0.3	0.0	0.0	0.0
10,000–24,900	1.2	0.5	0.6	0.1	0.0	0.0
25,000–49,900	1.4	0.5	0.9	0.0	0.0	0.0
50,000–99,900	1.9	0.7	1.2	0.0	0.0	0.0
100,000–999,900	13.8	0.0	4.1	6.9	2.9	0.0
1,000,000 or more	80.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	40.5	40.2

[a] Grand total includes countries with fewer than 100 Jews, for a total of 1,100 Jews. Minor discrepancies due to rounding. Israel includes West Bank and Gaza.

By 1925 Lestschinsky found that 23 percent of all Jews in the world lived in centers of over 1,000,000 inhabitants and 45 percent lived in centers of more than 100,000 inhabitants. Fifty-five percent of all Jews could be estimated to reside in about 166 localities, each comprising at least 10,000 Jews and 29 percent of all Jews in 15 localities having each more than 100,000 Jews. Of the 166 localities listed by Lestschinsky as containing at least 10,000 Jews each in 1925, 22 had a majority of Jewish inhabitants. These places were in Eastern Europe, with the exception of only two in Ereẓ Israel.

In the 1930s, 20 centers were estimated to have over 100,000 Jews. First and foremost among them ranked the uniquely large Jewish agglomeration of Greater New York, which was already estimated at about 2,000,000 persons – an eighth of world Jewry, exceeding the Jewish population of all but two individual countries outside the U.S. (namely Poland and the U.S.S.R.). It was estimated that the Jews formed nearly 30 percent of the total population of Greater New York. At a great interval, the next ranking group of cities had 3–400,000 Jews each: Chicago, Philadelphia, and Warsaw. Altogether, the 20 cities with more than 100,000 Jews each were geographically distributed as follows: Eastern Europe, 7 (5 in U.S.S.R., 2 in Poland); Central Europe, 3; Western Europe, 2; U.S., 6; South America, 1; Palestine, 1. The devastations of the Shoah, in terms of loss of life and uprooting of Jews; the geographical regrouping of the survivors returning to the original countries of residence; the large-scale emigration from Eastern Europe, as well as from Islamic countries – all affected the situation of the Jews with regard to urbanization. Under the new conditions, the previously existing tendency for Jews to congregate in the major towns was further accentuated. The scattered small Jewish communities and splinter groups in townlets and villages of Eastern Europe and of the Arabic-speaking countries virtually disappeared because the Jews flocked to the larger towns of those countries – for economic, cultural, and security reasons – or emigrated altogether. The great majority of the Jews who migrated to countries other than Israel settled directly in major cities, and even Israel provides only a partial exception to this rule.

An official population survey taken in the U.S. in 1957 showed that 96 percent of the (adult) Jews lived in urban localities and no fewer than 87 percent in urbanized areas of more than 250,000 inhabitants, while the corresponding proportions in the general population were only 64 and 37 percent respectively. In the U.S.S.R., according to the 1959 census, 95 percent of the Jews, but only 48 percent of the general population, lived in urban localities. Even in Israel, where 273,000 Jews lived in 705 rural localities in 1967, they constituted only 11 percent of the entire Jewish population, while 89 percent lived in urban localities of more than 2,000 inhabitants and 54 percent in towns of 50,000 and over. Also in virtually all other countries of Jewish residence, there is now a very high degree of urbanization of the Jews.

In 1967, there were 21 cities which (together with their outskirts) contained each more than 100,000 Jews. Greater New York continued to lead this array with an estimated number much above 2 million Jews. Next in size, at a long distance, comes Los Angeles, with 500,000 Jews. Of other towns, only four more had 300,000 Jews or over: Philadelphia, Buenos Aires, Paris, and Tel Aviv. The 21 major towns of Jewish residence were divided as follows according to geographical region: U.S.S.R., 4; Western Europe, 2; North America, 10 (thereof 9 in the U.S.); South America, 1; Israel, 4. In comparison with the distribution prior to World War II, the disappearance of the large Jewish populations in cities of Poland and Central Europe was conspicuous, as was the increased prominence of Israel.

Table 10.
Metropolitan Areas with Largest Core Jewish Populations, 2005

Rank	Metro Area[a]	Country	Jewish Population	Share of World's Jews %	Share of World's Jews Cumulative %
1	Tel Aviv[b, c]	Israel	2,707,000	20.8	20.8
2	New York[d]	U.S.	2,051,000	15.7	36.5
3	Los Angeles[d]	U.S.	668,000	5.1	41.6
4	Jerusalem[e]	Israel	660,000	5.1	46.7
5	Haifa[b]	Israel	656,000	5.0	51.7
6	Southeast Florida[d, f]	U.S.	498,000	3.8	55.5
7	Be'er Sheva[b]	Israel	347,000	2.7	58.2
8	Philadelphia[d]	U.S.	285,000	2.2	60.4
9	Paris[g]	France	284,000	2.2	62.6
10	Chicago[d]	U.S.	265,000	2.0	64.6
11	Boston[d]	U.S.	254,000	1.9	66.6
12	San Francisco[d]	U.S.	218,000	1.7	68.2
13	London[h]	United Kingdom	195,000	1.5	69.7
14	Toronto[i]	Canada	180,000	1.4	71.1
15	Washington[j]	U.S.	166,000	1.3	72.4
16	Buenos Aires[k]	Argentina	165,000	1.3	73.6
17	Baltimore[j]	U.S.	106,000	0.8	74.5
18	Detroit[d]	U.S.	103,000	0.8	75.2
19	Moscow[l]	Russia	95,000	0.7	76.0
20	Montreal[i]	Canada	93,000	0.7	76.7
21	Cleveland[d]	U.S.	86,000	0.7	77.4
22	Atlanta[j]	U.S.	86,000	0.7	78.0

[a] Most metropolitan areas include extended inhabited territory and several municipal authorities around central city. Definitions vary by country. Some of the estimates may include non-core Jews.
[b] As newly defined in the 1995 Israeli Census.
[c] Includes Ramat Gan, Bene Beraq, Petach Tikvah, Bat Yam, Holon, Rishon Lezion, Netanya, and Ashdod, each with a Jewish population above 100,000.
[d] Consolidated Metropolitan Statistical Area (CMSA).
[e] Revised estimate. Includes the whole Jerusalem District and parts of Judea and Samaria District.
[f] Miami-Ft. Lauderdale and West Palm Beach-Boca Raton CMSA.
[g] Departments 75,77,78,91,92,93,94, 95.
[h] Greater London and contiguous postcode areas.
[i] Census Metropolitan Area.
[j] Metropolitan Statistical Area (MSA).
[k] Capital Federal and Gran Buenos Aires Partidos (AMBA).
[l] Territory administered by city council.

In recent decades, many of the above-mentioned towns extended far beyond their municipal boundaries through the formation of conurbations that combined the main city as well as adjacent towns or suburbs into one continuous metropolitan area. These developments affected the Jewish population no less than the general one. One notable indicator of the sensitivity to global market forces of Jewish population distribution was the overwhelming concentration in major urban areas resulting from intensive international and internal migrations. The extraordinary urbanization of the Jews is evinced by the fact that in 2005, 52 percent of world Jewry lived in only five metropolitan areas – Tel Aviv, New York, Los Angeles, Jerusalem, and Haifa – and another 25 percent lived in the next 15 largest metropolitan areas (see Table 10). The Jewish population in the Tel Aviv urban conurbation extending from Netanyah to Ashdod (2,707,000) exceeded by far that in the New York Standard Metropolitan Area (2,051,000) extending from New York State to parts of Connecticut, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania. Of the 22 largest metropolitan areas of Jewish residence, 12 were located in the U.S. (in descending order New York, Los Angeles, Southeast Florida, Philadelphia, Chicago, Boston, San Francisco, Washington, Baltimore, Detroit, Cleveland, and Atlanta), four in Israel (the three mentioned plus Beersheba), two in Canada (Toronto and Montreal), and one each in France (Paris), the U.K. (London), Argentina (Buenos Aires), and Russia (Moscow). In these central places of world economic and cultural significance, large numbers of Jews enjoy favorable and perhaps unprecedented standards of living and can bring to fruition high levels of professional specialization.

While these trends augur well for the Jews, and set the stage and expected rules of possible geographical changes in the future, they also portend a substantial amount of dependency of the Jewish minority upon the favorable conditions created by the majority. The new situation is radically different from the one that prevailed during most of modern Jewish history when Jews were tolerated or discriminated against, and often nurtured hopes for societal changes that would benefit their political and social status. Under the more stable and attractive contemporary conditions, Jewish interests tend to increasingly coincide with the established societal order. At the end of a long transformation which brought with it political emancipation and economic achievement, the Jews find themselves in a more conservative mood facing society at large. Under these conditions Jews also face the challenge of more intensive competition with and easy access to alternative, non-Jewish cultures and social networks. At least in the Diaspora, Jewish cultural continuity appears to be a more difficult target precisely where Jews are physically more secure and where socioeconomic achievement is more easily attainable.

To conclude the topic of the residential concentration of the Jews, it must be said that there have been numerous instances of the Jews living more densely in certain areas of a city or conurbation than in others. The ghettos and mellahs of the past were cases in point. In recent generations, the tendency for urban neighborhoods with greater-than-average density of the Jews has responded to religious, organizational, and social requirements of Jewish life in the Diaspora. It has also facilitated the economic absorption of Jewish in-migrants. Whereas in the earlier part of this century there were well-known cases of quarters with many poor Jews in the large towns, the picture has more recently shifted to residential areas, often suburban, preferred by middle-class or well-to-do Jews.

POPULATION CHARACTERISTICS

Age Composition

The age structure of a population depends on several factors. The first is the vital statistics pattern. High or low levels of fertility or mortality, and any changes in these levels, are reflected in the age distribution of populations. A reduction in births leads to a diminished proportion of children in the population. At first, this increases the relative weight of the adults at age groups typical for work and demographic reproduction. But if the birth rate is low over an extended period, a more advanced stage in the process of aging may be reached, when the relative share of elderly and old persons in the population rises considerably. The impact of a sudden rise in mortality, through calamities, is usually differential according to age and, therefore, affects the age structure of the survivors. The Shoah for example carried away relatively more children and old persons than young adults among the afflicted Jews.

In turn, young adults tend to participate in migrations relatively more than children or older people. Therefore it is usual to find that the proportion of young adults goes down in populations with a negative migration balance (i.e., an excess of emigrants over immigrants) and rises in populations with a positive migration balance. Conditions may be different in the rare cases where almost an entire population is transferred from one country to another, as happened with some Diaspora Jewries that were transplanted in Israel in the first years after the establishment of the Jewish state.

Withdrawals from a Jewish population, whether through conversion to another religion or otherwise, can also affect the age structure if the relative frequency of these withdrawals varies at different ages. Accessions to the Jewish group may exercise similar influences in the reverse. As time passes after changes in the age structure were produced by any of the above factors, the effects make themselves felt in ever higher age groups. Twenty-five years after the Shoah, the particularly heavy deficiency of children originally caused by the persecutions was felt in the age groups 25–40 of the survivors.

Since many Jewish populations have been influenced by stringent birth control, the Shoah, massive immigrations or emigrations, withdrawals, etc., their age structure tends to show distortions due to these various factors and to the time intervals at which they exercised their influence.

All Jewish communities throughout history and geography can be described within a common demographic framework by observing their evolving age composition. Notably, changes affecting different communities over time were not synchronic.

In the middle of the 19th century, large proportions of children (aged 0–14) were still found among the Jews all over Europe, where data are available. With the reduction in fertility, a diminution in the proportion of children set in followed after a while by a marked rise in the percentage of elderly persons. As the decline in fertility affected the Jews in various parts of Europe at different times, so did the consequent changes in the age structure. Both developments began and proceeded at earlier dates among the more assimilated Jews of Western and Central Europe than among the great bulk of traditional Jews in the eastern part of the continent. The movement went from west to east, but before the outbreak of World War II its effects were clearly also visible among the Jews of Eastern Europe. Insofar as sufficient statistical documentation is available, the gradual aging of the Jewish population in one country or town can be observed over successive decades. Since the Jews usually preceded the non-Jews, among whom they lived, in the reduction of fertility, they also preceded them with regard to the consequent changes in age structure. Among the Jews of one country, there were frequently differences in the speed of these transitions according to their varying degree of traditionalism or assimilation. This can be seen, in the data of Table 11, through comparison of the Jews in the various provinces of Czechoslovakia in 1930 and of Jews in Polish localities of different sizes in 1931: the Jews

Table 11.
Selected Jewish Populations, by Main Age Groups, 1897–2004

Country[a]	Year	Total	0–14	15–29	30–44	45–64	65+	Median age[b]
Traditional type								
Ethiopia	1991	100	51	20	13	11	5	14.7
Syria	1960	100	43	23	12	16	6	19.6
Russian Empire	1897	100	41	28	16	12	3	19.8
Romania	1899	100	40	26	19	12	3	20.8
Transitional type								
Poland	1921	100	34	30	16	15	5	23.0
Iran	1976	100	30	28	19	17	6	25.7
USSR	1926	100	29	34	18	15	4	29.4
Mexico	1991	100	24	27	20	22	7	35.0
Venezuela	1998	100	24	19	21	24	12	35.0
USA	1957	100	24	17	21	28	10	36.6
Ageing type								
USA	1990	100	19	19	26	19	17	37.6
Prussia	1925	100	18	25	24	25	8	34.4
United Kingdom	1986	100	17	19	19	21	24	41.1
USA	2001	100	16	20	19	26	19	41.5
Italy	1986	100	14	23	18	26	19	40.8
Russian Republic	1959	100	14	19	23	36	9	41.2
Terminal type								
Russian Republic	1970	100	10	16	23	31	20	45.5
Yugoslavia	1971	100	10	23	17	29	21	45.0
Russian Republic	1979	100	8	15	21	31	25	49.2
Russian Republic	2002	100	5	11	14	33	37	57.5
Romania	1979	100	5	11	10	34	40	59.1
Israeli type								
Palestine	1931	100	33	32	19	11	4	23.0
Israel	1948	100	29	26	26	15	4	27.1
Israel	1961	100	34	22	19	20	5	25.9
Israel	1985	100	30	24	20	16	10	27.5
Israel	2004	100	25	24	19	20	12	30.8

a Countries sorted by the descending percentage of population at age 0–14. The largest age group in each population is underlined.
b The median divides the population into two equal parts: one half having higher and one half having lower ages than the median age.

of Carpatho-Ruthenia in Czechoslovakia and the Jews of the smaller localities in Poland, who adhered to a more traditional mode of life in their respective country, had preserved higher percentages of children.

In the 1930s, the great decline in births occurred in the industrialized countries and made itself particularly felt among the Jews (see *Vital Statistics). As a result, the proportion of 0–14 year-olds in the Jewish populations of Central Europe and, where statistical data are available, of Western Europe dropped below 20 percent, while the proportion of the 60 year-olds and over rose considerably above 10 percent. In Eastern Europe aging was less pronounced, though it had slightly risen there too. In the whole of Poland, the relative share of children under 15 among the Jews declined from 34 percent in 1921 to somewhat less than 30 percent in 1931. At the latter date, it was 26 percent among the Jews of Warsaw. In some Diaspora countries that had absorbed considerable Jewish immigration, the proportion of children aged 0–14 among the Jews tended to be about 20 percent in the 1930s or 1940s – though with considerable variations due to the character of each such Jewish population and the year of the respective data. On the other hand, there were still relatively few old persons and consequently a high percentage of adults in the age range 15–59. This can be seen from Jewish community surveys taken at that time in various towns of the U.S. as well as from statistics of the Jews in Canada, South Africa, Australia, etc. Among the Jews of Palestine, the proportion of children remained relatively high, because the presence of many young adult immigrants had raised the birth figures. But owing to decreasing fertility, there also the percentage of the 0–14 year-old children declined.

The ravages of the Shoah were particularly heavy among the children and the elderly. Therefore, immediately after the war, unusually high proportions of young and middle-aged adults were found among the survivors. The deficiency of birth cohorts from about 1930 to 1945 continues to make itself strongly felt among the Jews of Europe. Because many survivors emigrated from Europe, the peculiarities of their age composition have influenced the absorbing Jewish populations, whether in Israel or elsewhere. Besides, smaller populations tend, in general, to have less regular age distributions. The drastic reduction in size of the Jewish groups extant in European countries and, particularly, in individual localities makes in itself for increased age distortions.

Outside Europe, the Jews of European origin did not suffer physical losses from the Shoah. Still, the 1930s and early 1940s were the time of the great slump in Jewish births in America and elsewhere (see *Vital Statistics). The deficiency of the birth cohorts of that time is reflected in the age distributions of the respective Jewish populations to this day. After World War II, the "baby boom" occurred among the Jews in Europe, America, Oceania, and Israel. This rise in births was similar to analogous developments in the industrialized societies of the world, but it was rather short-lived among the Jews. The bulge in the age distribution produced by the increased cohorts born in the second half of the 1940s or around 1950 still clearly appeared in many Jewish populations fifty year later. So were the effects of the subsequent renewed decline in Jewish births which led to a reduction of the child population. For example, in many Jewish populations studied in the 1960s, the 0–4 year-olds were less numerous than the 5–9 and 10–14 year-olds, respectively.

The overall age profile of Jews in Western Europe included fewer young children than adults and, more significantly, than elders in their mid-60s or early 70s. While there are some internal differences within the continent, it is quite an aging Jewish population. The age profile of Jews in the United States and Canada in the 1990s was somewhat younger. The proportion of children and young adults was larger, reflecting the rather large cohorts born during the *baby boom* of the 1950s and 1960s, and the *echo effect* of the generations born to the *baby-boomers* during the 1980s and 1990s. But ageing is well visible in the most recent North American data.

The age profile of East European Jewry, largely influenced by the FSU Jewish population, is striking. It points to the consequences for a population of prolonged very low levels of fertility, very high rates of assimilation, and selective emigration of a comparatively higher proportion of younger families, leaving behind a large share of the elderly and the very elderly. East European Jewry has lost most of its demographic basis for the future.

Because of their high fertility, the Jews in Asia and Africa used to have a younger age composition, with a high proportion (40 percent and over) of children aged 0–14 and a rather regular decrease of frequency in successively higher age groups, culminating in a small proportion (less than 5 percent) in ages 65 and over. These features can be seen in the age distributions of the Jews of Morocco and of the immigrants to Israel from Asia and Africa. Most of the Jews from Asia and Africa have left their traditional countries of residence and have settled elsewhere, especially in Israel and France. The lowering of fertility in the new surroundings (see *Vital Statistics) cannot but have its gradual effects on their age structure.

Finally, the age profile of the Jewish population in Israel provides the only example of a demographically balanced Jewish population with a larger basis of children sustaining gradually smaller shares of young adults, mature adults, and elders. This mainly reflects Israel's sustained birth rate, and to a minor extent the continuous influx of a high proportion of young adults among new immigrants.

Sex

In populations sufficiently large for standard biological trends to express themselves, there is a small surplus of males over females among the newborn, but the age-specific mortality rates are usually lower for females and, therefore, a surplus of females is to be expected in the adult population (unless external factors, such as migrations, exert a contrary influence). Where statistical data have been available, these general tendencies have been found to operate among the Jews also. Another widespread tendency is the larger participation of men than women in migrations. In this case, the proportion of males is, by the fact of migration, lowered in the population of origin and raised in the population of destination. Modern Jewish migrations have been less motivated by economic considerations and more by the search for refuge than those of most other nations, and this has reduced the sex differential; but in many cases a larger participation of men has also been found in migrations of Jews.

Jewish populations in the Diaspora are usually small, and this fact operates by itself to create irregularities in the sex-age composition. Besides, they have often been strongly influenced by migrations, withdrawals, and the aftereffects of the Shoah. Hence, distortions in the sex-age composition are frequent. For the Jewish population of entire countries, the ratio of males per 1,000 females (irrespective of age) has ranged in recent years from 833 in the U.S.S.R. (1959), where war losses of men were very heavy among the Jews (as among the general population), to more than 1,100 in some other Diaspora countries, e.g., Germany and Austria.

The sex-ratio is particularly significant in the principal ages of marriage, because under modern conditions, when the religious factor has been weakened, this ratio has an influence on the proportions of endogamic Jewish marriages and *intermarriages of Jews, respectively. It must be borne in mind, though, that on the average there is an age difference of several years between grooms and brides. When the ratio of Jewish men aged, say, 25–39 to 1,000 Jewish women aged 20–34 is calculated, marked disparities are found in some countries.

Origin Groups (Edot)

It has been customary to divide the Jewish world population into several groups, called *edot* ("communities") and distinguished according to a combination of historical, geographic, and linguistic criteria. These groups have somewhat differing liturgical usages. In countries where Jews of several origin groups resided, they sometimes established separate organizational frameworks for the maintenance of synagogues and other religious and communal services. This led to the term *edah*, or its equivalents in other languages, being sometimes used not from the demographic, but from the organizational viewpoint. There has never been a generally accepted classification of all Jewish origin groups. Yet it is usual to distinguish three main groups:

1. *Ashkenazim, who constitute the overwhelming majority of the Jews in Europe (except for Italy, Greece, Bulgaria, and parts of the former Yugoslavia), North and South America, South Africa, and Oceania. In the past, a large proportion of the Ashkenazim were Yiddish-speaking.

2. *Sephardim (in a narrow sense of the term of descendants of Jews from Spain), who were concentrated in Greece, Bulgaria, southern Yugoslavia, and western Turkey and formed a considerable proportion of the Jewish populations in Lebanon and Syria, Egypt and Northwest Africa. Sephardi communities were organized in several Latin American countries. Many of the Sephardim used to speak Ladino.

3. Oriental communities. The further breakdown of this group has varied among different scholars, but the principal divisions are the following:

a) Jews of Arabic-speaking countries, especially Syria, Iraq, Yemen, Libya, Tunisia, Algeria, Morocco. Migrants from these communities created new community centers in France, Latin America (especially Mexico and Venezuela), the United States, and other western countries.

b) Jews of Persia, Afghanistan, and Bukhara, speaking Persian or related languages. Emigrants from Iran created communities in the United States and other western countries.

c) Kurdish Jews, part of whom use an Aramaic dialect.

d) Jews of the Caucasus region. With the massive emigration of Jews from the former U.S.S.R., Jews from the Caucasus resettled in the United States, Germany, and other countries.

e) Indian Jews. These include the Bnei Israel, the Baghdadi community, and the Jews from Kochin.

f) Italian Jews include the descendants of an ancient core of early settlers who reached the south European shores before and during the period of the Roman Empire, long before the notions of Askhenaz and Sepharad had even developed.

g) Ethiopian Jews, including the Beta Israel and the Falashmura community of Jewish ancestry.

More refined divisions are uncertain, because of the smallness and instability of some of the groups distinguished.

These origin groups cannot be thought of as completely separated from one another. Migrations and/or marriages between Jews of different origin often led to transfers of individuals, even between the major divisions. Besides, the linguistic criterion for group affiliation lost much of its importance in recent generations, because of the increased importance of the official languages of the various countries for the respective Jewish populations.

Special difficulties exist with regard to the distinction of Sephardim and Oriental communities. Not all Sephardim were Ladino-speaking even some generations ago. The Sephardim established in Northwest Africa had long since gone over to the use of Arabic. Moreover, there has been a tendency to broaden the concept of Sephardim so as to make it include all Jews who are not Ashkenazim. This has been so both because of the prestige which the name Sephardim commands and because, organizationally, Sephardi institutions have often also comprised the Oriental elements in Jewish populations of mixed origin. About 1930, Ruppin estimated that there were roughly 1,300,000 Sephardim and Oriental Jews, constituting 8% of world Jewry. In the past, the proportion of this group was greater, but went down in the 19th and early 20th centuries because of the higher natural increase of the Ashkenazim, i.e., the European Jews, at that time. Of the 1,300,000 Sephardim and Oriental Jews in 1930, two thirds lived in Asia and Africa, but only 3% in Ereẓ Israel. Since then, the absolute and relative number of Sephardim and Oriental communities within Jewry has been altered. Around 2000, they were estimated at 3,400,000 or about 26 percent of all Jews. The increase in their proportion is due to the reduced number of Ashkenazim after the Shoah and to their own high natural increase during the last few decades, which recently greatly exceeded that of the Ashkenazim.

The geographical distribution of most origin groups changed completely. Two thirds of the Ashkenazim in 1930, but only about 30 percent in 1967 and 14 percent in 2000, lived in Europe. On the other hand, the share of America among the Ashkenazim rose over the same time interval from a third in 1930 to about 60 percent in 1967 and the same in 2000, and that of Ereẓ Israel from less than 1 percent in 1930 to about 10 percent in 1967 and 26 percent in 2000. Of the Ladino-speaking Sephardim, a small number remained in only one of their traditional countries of residence, Turkey. Most of the other Ladino-speaking Sephardim either perished in the Shoah (Greece, Yugoslavia) or moved to Israel (particularly those of Bulgaria). Of the Jews of the Arabic-speaking countries, nearly all those who lived in Asia and a great part of those from North Africa found new homes in Israel. Israel has also attracted many Jews from Turkey, Iran, India, etc. Around 2000, about two-thirds of all Sephardim and Oriental Jews were in-gathered in Israel, another large section moved to France, the rest were scattered over many countries in all continents. Some of the Oriental groups transferred almost in their entirety to Israel, e.g., Yemenites, "Babylonians" (i.e., from central and southern Iraq), the Kurdish Jews, several groups from Syria, the Libyan Jews.

While the division into the traditional origin groups reflected the geographical-cultural plurality of world Jewry before the upheavals and mass migrations of recent decades, its present value for indicating demographic differences other than mere origin is rapidly disappearing. The Sephardim of the Balkan countries showed in the recent past the same demographic patterns characteristic of European populations.

Most Oriental Jews after moving to Israel and France, respectively, were exposed to the rapidly modifying influences of the respective surroundings. Israel in particular provided the meeting ground of Jews of all origin groups. The life in common there and many intergroup marriages rapidly reduced and eventually annulled any previously existing demographic differences between the various origin groups. Factors other than mere origin, such as education, occupation, and place of residence, became increasingly important for differentiation in demographic behavior in a context of general convergence. The growing impact of out-marriage and assimilation further reduced the impact of *edot* on contemporary Jewish demography. Nonetheless, the relevance of separate traditions and community organizations continued to play a significant role in the patterns of Jewish identification among contemporary Jewry.

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[Usiel Oscar Schmelz / Sergio DellaPergola (2nd ed.)]

DEMONS, DEMONOLOGY. A demon is an evil spirit, or devil, in the ordinary English usage of the term. This definition is, however, only approximate. In polytheistic religions the line between gods and demons is a shifting one: there are both good demons and gods who do evil. In monotheistic systems, evil spirits may be accepted as servants of the one God, so that demonology is bound up with angelology and theology proper, or they may be elevated to the rank of opponents of God, in which case their status as diabolic powers differs from that of the demons in polytheism. Moreover, in none of the languages of the ancient Near East, including Hebrew, is there any one general term equivalent to English "demon." In general, the notion of a demon in the ancient Near East was of a being less powerful than a god and less endowed with individuality. Whereas the great gods are accorded regular public worship, demons are not; they are dealt with in magic rites in individual cases of human suffering, which is their particular sphere.

Demonology in the Ancient Near East

Defense against evil spirits was a concern in Mesopotamia from earliest times, beginning with the Sumerians, to whom much of the terminology and praxis connected with demons may be traced. There is no qualitative difference between great gods and demons; one name for demon is "an evil god." Demons, however, have less power, though occasionally myths depict them as rebelling against the great gods, with some success. Incantations often list four, or even seven, classes of demons. Demons are messengers of the lord of the underworld, and march before him. They live in deserts and near graves, and many of them are ghosts, spirits of the dead, especially of those who died by violence or were not properly buried. Sickness may be thought of as caused by demonic possession, and some demons have the name of the specific disease they bring, thus "Headache," or "Fever." *Lamashtu* is the hag who kills children in the womb and newborn babies. Like many other demons, she is depicted as a composite monster. Lilitu, the Mesopotamian succubus, is mentioned once in the Bible as *Lilith (Isa. 34:14; see below), and in later Jewish demonology. Good demons are mentioned much less frequently.

In general features Canaanite demonology probably resembled that of Mesopotamia, to judge from the rather meager evidence preserved. In a mythological text from Ugarit, the father of the gods, El, is frightened almost to death by a demon "having two horns and a tail," like the devil in later representations. A Phoenician amulet of the seventh century B.C.E., from Arslan Tash, begins: "Incantations: O Flying One, O goddess, O Sasam… O god, O Strangler of Lambs! The house I enter you shall not enter; the court I tread you must not tread." Intended to protect women in childbirth, it goes on to invoke the protection of the gods, and contains depictions of the demons mentioned: a winged sphinx, labeled "Flying One, Lil[ith]," and a wolf devouring a child. Details of the text and iconography have close parallels in Mesopotamian, Arabic, classical, and later Jewish folklore, and illustrate the well-nigh universal character of many superstitions about demons (Gaster, in: *Orientalia*, 11 (1942), 41–79).

Demonology in the Bible

Israel's official religion contrasts sharply with contemporary polytheisms in the role assigned to demons, which in the Bible is practically nil. Magic was prohibited among the Israelites from very early times, for already the oldest collection of laws, the Book of the Covenant, contains the command: "You shall not tolerate a sorceress" (Ex. 22:17 [Eng. 22:18]; cf. Deut. 18:10–12), and Saul put the practitioners of necromancy out of the land (I Sam. 28:3). Since much of pagan magic was protective – intended to keep demons away or to expel them – obviously Israel's religion aimed at a very radical extirpation of traffic with demons. Calamities and illnesses were not from demons but from the Lord. "Shall there be evil in a city, and the Lord has not done it?" (Amos 3:6). Although God does not always accomplish His will immediately, but uses angels and spirits as agents, it is ordinarily made explicit that the spirits are under His control. The evil spirit which troubles Saul is "an evil spirit from the Lord" (I Sam. 16:14). Therefore, one must not overestimate the importance of the numerous small traces of belief in demons which survive in the Bible, or underestimate the difficulties involved in interpreting them. Most of the passages in question are poetic, and it is often impossible to be certain whether the demon named is part of living religious belief, or only part of traditional literary language. Just as some Mesopotamian demons have names which are also common nouns, so in biblical cases like *dever* and *mavet* (*mawet*; see below) it is hard to be sure when these are proper names and when not.

The Israelite conception of demons, as it existed in the popular mind or the literary imagination, resembled in some ways that held elsewhere. Demons live in deserts or ruins (Lev. 16:10; Isa. 13:21; 34:14). They inflict sickness on men (Ps. 91:5–6). They trouble men's minds (Saul; I Sam. 16:15, 23) and deceive them (I Kings 22:22–23) – but nevertheless these evil spirits are sent by the Lord. The mysterious being who attacks Jacob in Genesis 32:25ff. exhibits a trait which a very widespread belief associated with certain demons, who are spirits of the night and must perish at dawn. Even in Israelite popular religion, however, there seems to have been relatively little fear of the spirits of the dead. The Bible often mentions the shades of the dead, but "the congregation of the shades" (Prov. 21:16) carries on a shadowy existence below, and does not seem to trouble the living. Some features of the Israelite cult bear a formal resemblance to apotropaic measures employed in other religions. Thus, the bells on the robe of the high priest (Ex. 28:33–35) recall the use of bells in other cultures in the belief that their tinkling keeps off demons. So, also, horns (Ex. 19:16; Lev. 25:9; et al.), incense (Lev. 16:12–13), smearing of doorposts (Ex. 12:7), the color blue (Num. 15:38), written scripture-texts (phylacteries; Deut. 6:8; 11:18) – all have parallels elsewhere as devices to ward off evil spirits. In a given case, however, it is often extremely difficult to say to what extent any of these devices were consciously used for protection against demons at a particular period.

Specific Demons

Foreign gods are called *shedim* (Deut. 32:17; Ps. 106:37; cf. I Cor. 10:20), rendered "demons" or "devils" in most translations. The word is related to Akkadian *šēdu* ("demon"; good or evil).

SEʿIRIM ("hairy demons, satyrs") is also applied contemptuously to foreign deities (Lev. 17:7; II Chron. 11:15). These creatures haunt ruins, along with Lilith (Isa. 13:21; 34:14).

LILITH (Isa. 34:14; ultimately from Sumerian *lil*, "air," not Heb. *layl(ah)*, "night") was originally a succubus, believed to cohabit with mortals, but in the Arslan Tash incantation quoted above she is identified with the child-stealing demon, a character she retains in later folklore. The tradition that the name means "screech-owl" (in so many translations) reflects a very ancient association of birds, especially owls, with the demonic.

MAVET (*Mawet*), the ordinary Hebrew word for death, is also the proper name of a Canaanite underworld god (Mot), the enemy of Baal in a Ugaritic epic. The proper name, not the common noun, should probably be understood in Isaiah 28:15, 18: "We have made a covenant with Death," and Jeremiah 9:20 [Eng. 9:21]: "For Death is come up into our windows" (cf. Hos. 13:14; Job 18:13, "the firstborn of Death"; 28:22).

RESHEPH is another major god of the Canaanite religion who becomes a demonic figure in biblical literature. Resheph is known as the god of plague over much of the ancient Near East, in texts and artistic representations spanning more than a millennium from 1850 B.C.E. to 350 B.C.E. In Habakkuk 3:5, YHWH on the warpath is said to be preceded and followed by respectively Dever and Resheph. (This is similar to the picture of two divine attendants who escort major gods in ancient myths.) Just as some other names of deities are used as common nouns in biblical Hebrew (Dagon (*dagon*, "grain"); Ashtaroth (*ashtarot*, "increase [of the flock]"), etc.) so Reshef (*reshef*) has come to mean simply "plague" (Deut. 33:29; Ps. 78:48), and the fiery darts of the bow (Ps. 76:4 [Eng. 76:3]; Song 8:6), apparently from the common association of plague and arrows.

DEVER ("Pestilence") is the other demonic herald who marches with YHWH to battle (Hab. 3:5). Dever is also mentioned in Psalms 91:5–6: "Thou shalt not be afraid for the Terror (*Paḥad*) by night; Nor for the Arrow (*Ḥeẓ*) that flieth by day; Nor for the Pestilence (*Dever*) that walketh in the darkness; Nor for the Destruction (*Ketev*) that wasteth at noonday." Not only Dever but also the other words italicized above have been plausibly identified as names of demons. The "Arrow" is a familiar symbol in folklore, for disease or sudden pain, and *Ketev* (*Qetev*; cf. Deut. 32:24; Isa. 28:2; Hos. 13:14) is in this instance the personification of overpowering noonday heat, known also to Greek and Roman demonology.

*AZAZEL (*ʿAzʾazel*) occurs in the ritual for the *Day of Atonement (Lev. 16:8, 10, 26). Aaron casts lots over two goats, and the one "for *ʿAzʾazel*" is presented alive before the Lord, and then released into the wilderness. The ancient Greek and Latin versions understood *ʿAzʾazel* as "goat that departs," hence "the scapegoat" of some English versions. Most of the rabbinic commentators and some moderns take Azazel as the name of the place to which the goat is driven. The great majority of moderns regard Azazel as the personal name of a demon thought to live in the wilderness.

The vampire may be mentioned in Proverbs 30:15: "The *alukah (ʿaluqah)* hath two daughters, crying, 'Give, Give.'" Hebrew *ʿaluqah* may simply mean "leech," but since *ʿaulaq* occurs in Arabic literature as a name of a vampire, this fabulous creature and her two daughters may be referred to in this rather difficult passage.

Demons in Intertestamental Literature, Including the Dead Sea Scrolls

A great change had taken place in *angelology and demonology, at least in certain circles within Judaism, by the last centuries B.C.E. In this period the religion, while safeguarding its monotheistic character in various ways, nevertheless took on many traits of a dualistic system in which God and the forces of good and truth were opposed in heaven and on earth by powerful forces of evil and deceit. This seems to have been under the influence of Persian religion, with its opposition of Ormuzd the good god and Ahriman (Angra Mainyu) the evil god, but at the same time Jewish *dualism drew on older, native resources in constructing a more elaborate demonology. Ancient mythological themes, and figures from the Bible only potentially demonic, like Satan, were drawn in to fill out the enlarged conception of the role of evil spirits in the cosmos. It is characteristic of this period that the evil spirits are led by a prince, often called *Belial but also Mastemah, *Satan, or other names. The spirits of good and evil also struggled within the human soul, for in this period the role of demons is often conceived of as that of tempting men to evil rather than of inflicting physical harm. As a result, in many passages it is difficult to say whether "spirit" refers to a demon external to man or to a trait within the human soul. Belial (or Beliar, a corruption of the original form) is the most common name for the leader of the demons in the Dead Sea Scrolls, and occurs in other intertestamental literature and in II Corinthians 6:15. Belial (Heb. *Beliyya'al*) is a Hebrew compound word which etymologically means "no benefit" or "no thriving" and in liberal usage is often equivalent to "scoundrel." But already in the Bible "streams of *Beliyya'al*" means "streams of destruction" (II Sam. 22:5; Ps. 18:5). In the intertestamental literature Belial is "the spirit of perversion, the angel of darkness, the angel of destruction" and other spirits are subject to him. Mastemah, which as a common noun means approximately "enmity, opposition" in Hosea 9:7, 8 and in some passages in the Five Scrolls, is a demon "Prince Mastemah" in Jubilees (11:5, 11; 17:16; et al.), and perhaps also in the Damascus Document (16:5). Watchers (Aram. *ʿirin*) are a type of angel mentioned in Daniel 4:10, 14, 20. To this class the intertestamental literature assigns the angels who, according to Genesis 6:2, 4, cohabited with women before the flood and fathered the race of giants (Test. Patr., Reu. 5:6–7; Test. Patr., Napht. 3:5; cf. *Genesis Apocryphon*, ii 2:1, 16). *Asmodeus (Tobit 3:8, 17) is a demon who had slain the first seven husbands of Sarah, who becomes the wife of Tobias son of Tobit.

Demons in the New Testament

New Testament demonology in part reflects contemporary popular belief, which turns up also in rabbinic literature, and in part the dualism attested in the sectarian literature from Qumran. Demons are called "unclean spirits" or "evil spirits," as in rabbinic literature. They are believed to inhabit waste places. Possession by demons causes, or is associated with, various sicknesses, especially those in which there is a perversion of the human personality, so that the demon, not the man himself, directs his acts and speech (Mark 1:23, 26; 9:17–29). The story of how Jesus cured a demoniac by sending a legion of unclean spirits into a herd of swine (Matt. 8:28–34; Mark 5:1–20; Luke 8:26–39) illustrates vividly the persistence of very ancient popular belief, as does the parable of Matthew 12:43–45, in which the unclean spirit after wandering through the wilderness takes seven devils with him. On the other hand, in the New Testament lesser demons have little independent personality or power, but are subject to a prince, Beelzebul or Satan, and the demonic is often presented, not as something occasional and relatively harmless, but as a cosmic reality of great importance, the enemy of God and man (Eph. 6:12). Beelzebul (Beelzebub) is a name applied to the chief demon by both Jesus and his opponents (Matt. 10:25; 12:24, 27; Mark 3:22; Luke 11:15–19). The correct explanation of the name is much disputed, and new evidence from Ugarit has not completely cleared up the etymology. The spelling Beelzebub reflects identification of Beelzebul with Baal-Zebub, god of Ekron (II Kings 1:2). Possibly there were two different original forms, Beelzebul meaning "Baal is prince" or "Lord of the shrine," and Beelzebub "Lord of flies" (cf. Ugaritic *il dbb* [in Gordon, Textbook, *ʿnt* 3:43]).

[Delbert Roy Hillers]

In the Talmud

References are made to a belief in demonology during the tannaitic period. The *mazzikim* ("harmful spirits") are said to have been created on the eve of the Sabbath of creation (Avot 5:6) but this late reference is the only one made to demons in the entire Mishnah. Among the accomplishments of both Hillel (Sof. 16:9) and his disciple R. Johanan b. Zakkai was their knowledge of "the speech of the *shedim*" ("devils," Suk. 28a). The latter also gave the analogy of a *ru'aḥ tezazit* ("the demon of madness") entering a man and being exorcised, in order to explain to a heathen the anomaly of the laws of the *red heifer, although he agreed with his wondering disciples that it was but "putting him off with a straw" and that he himself did not accept it (PR 40a; Num. R. 19:4). Although these statements refer to Ereẓ Israel, the Jerusalem Talmud is markedly free from demonology, and in fact mentions only three general names for them – *mazzikim, shedim*, and *ruḥot*. A passage in the Babylonian Talmud specifically states that various beliefs connected with demons which were current in Babylon were ignored in Ereẓ Israel. Whereas in Ereẓ Israel they translated *shiddah* and *shiddot* (Eccles. 2:8) as "carriages," in Babylon they rendered them "male and female demons" (Git. 68a). The Palestinian R. Johanan stated that the *mazzikim* which used to hold sway in the world disappeared with the erection of the sanctuary in the wilderness (Num. R. 12:30). Demonology, however, is more prominent in the Palestinian Midrashim than in the Jerusalem Talmud. On the other hand the Babylonian Talmud is replete with demonology, obviously under the influence of the belief in demons which was widespread in Babylonia. In fact, in a responsum (published in Lewin, Oẓar, p. 20; cf. Assaf, Geonim, p. 262) *Hai Gaon states that the belief in demons was widespread in *Sura, since it was near to (old) Babylonia and to the house of Nebuchadnezzar, whereas in the more distant *Pumbedita they were far from such ideas. The Babylonian Jews lived in a world which was filled with demons and spirits, malevolent and sometimes benevolent, who inhabited the air, the trees, water, roofs of houses, and privies. They are invisible; "If the eye could see them no one could endure them. They surround one on all sides. They are more numerous than humans, each person has a thousand on his left and ten thousand on his right" and they are responsible for various inconveniences. Yet, by taking certain steps, in the morning one can see their footprints in the shape of those of a cock (Ber. 6a). Whereas in the Kabbalah there is an attempt to systematize demonology (see below) there is no sign of such an attempt in the talmudic literature. The material is vast and inchoate, scattered in profusion and without system throughout the whole Talmud and in the Midrashim. The following details, taken except where otherwise indicated from one passage of the Talmud (Pes. 110a–112b), may be taken as indicative.

Asmodeus is the king of the demons. The queen is *Agrath bat Mahalath, who has 10,000 demon attendants, each of whom can do harm. She haunts the air. Originally she held sway at all times, but Ḥanina b. Dosa, threatening to ban her from populated areas, relented in answer to her pleas and permitted her to be active on Wednesday nights and Sabbath eves. The Babylonian *amora* Abbaye later banished her from populated areas but she still lurks in the narrow alleys. Doing things in pairs, especially drinking an even number of cups, invites the malevolent activities of demons; an exception is the four cups enjoined in the *seder* on *Passover for which reason that occasion is called "a night of guarding" (Ex. 12:42), i.e., of protection from demons. Demons are especially harmful in and around palm trees, and their malevolent attention is invited by easing oneself between a palm tree and the wall, by passing between two palms, or by sleeping in the shadow of a palm tree. The demon Palga will affect a man easing himself on the stump of a palm tree; the demon Zereda him who leans his head on one. In general one should avoid many-branched or prickly trees, but there are special trees which are the favorite haunts of the spirits. In the caperbush there resides the eyeless Ruhe. Every sorb tree harbors demons in its shade and is especially dangerous when it is in the vicinity of a town. At least 60 demons haunt it, and they can be exorcised only by a "60 demon amulet." Demons called Rishpe live in the roots of trees. The demon *Ketev Meriri* (Deut. 32:34) is active in the mornings. It was seen by Abbaye when he was in the company of Papa and Huna b. Joshua. In the afternoon, its place is taken by *Ketev Yashud Ẓohorayim* (Ps. 91:6) which looks like a goat's horns, and has wings. Both these demons are particularly active from the 1st to the 16th of Tammuz.

According to the Midrash, however, *Ketev Meriri* is active during the period of mourning from the 17th of Tammuz to the Ninth of Av, between the fourth and ninth hours of the day. As late as the 13th century Zedekiah *Anav reports that in Rome pupils were not punished during these days and hours because of *Ketev Meriri* which held sway then (*Shibbolei ha-Leket*, 1:203). It is covered with scales and hairs; it has one eye in its heart and rolls like a ball between the sunlight and the shade. Whoever sees it, collapses and falls to the ground (Mid. Ps. 91:3; from the context however it appears that the reference should be to the *Ketev Yashud Ẓohorayim*). R. Joseph and R. Papa had friendly conversation with a demon called Joseph. Demons are prone to infest food and drink left under the bed, and one should refrain from drinking water on Wednesday and Sabbath eve or from pools and rivers at night. The demon Shabriri ("blindness" – cf. Targum Onkelos, Gen. 19:11) wreaks harm on those so doing, but an incantation, consisting of an abracadabra whereby the word is repeated, successively deducting one letter from the word (Shabriri, briri, riri, etc.), is an effective antidote. Solomon made use of male and female demons to build the Temple (Git. 68b) and to bring him water from India with which he was able to grow all kinds of exotic plants not otherwise growing in Ereẓ Israel (Eccles. R. to 2:5). Scholars were immune to the evil machinations of demons while they were engaged in study, but Rashi explains a passage of the Talmud to mean that, on the contrary, they are in need of special protection since the demons are envious of them (Ber. 62a). Psalm 91 is called "the Psalm of [protection against harmful] visitations." Moses is stated to have recited it when he ascended Mount Sinai "because of his fear of *mazzikim*… and angels of destruction." It is enjoined to be recited "because the whole world is full of evil spirits and *mazzikim*" (Tanḥ., Mishpatim, end) and the midrashic interpretations of this Psalm are a veritable treasure store of demonology lore (e.g., Mid. Ps. 91; Tanḥ., Mishpatim, end; Num. R. 12:3–4). The power of demons over man and his helplessness in face of it is illustrated by the fact that the talmudic metaphor for an act performed through *force majeure* is "as though a devil [*shed*] had compelled him" (e.g., RH 28a). The talmudic commentators and codifiers accepted the belief in demons; Maimonides alone opposed it.

[Louis Isaac Rabinowitz]

In Kabbalah

The kabbalists made use of all the motifs current in the Talmud and Midrash with regard to demons. New elements were developed or added, mainly in two directions: (1) the kabbalists attempted to systematize demonology so that it would fit into their understanding of the world and thus to explain demonology in terms derived from their understanding of reality; (2) new and varied elements were added from external sources, mainly from medieval Arabic demonology, from Christian demonology, and from the popular beliefs of the Germans and Slavs.

At times these elements were linked, more or less logically, to Jewish demonology and were thus "Judaized" to some extent. However, frequently the link was only external; material was incorporated into Jewish demonology with almost no explicit Jewish adaptation. This is particularly true with regard to the sources of practical Kabbalah. There, real kabbalistic beliefs mingled with folk beliefs which in fact originally had no connection with the beliefs of the kabbalists. This combination gives the late Jewish demonology its markedly syncretistic character. The material pertaining to this kind of demonology can be found in innumerable sources, many still in manuscript. Extensive research in this field and its development is one of the important desiderata of Jewish studies.

The works of the kabbalists also contain contradictory conceptions of the demons and the power of imagination. Traditions of the past as well as the cultural environment and the intellectual outlook of each individual kabbalist contributed toward the diversification of their beliefs. The ideas of the early Spanish kabbalists on this subject were formulated clearly in *Naḥmanides' commentary on Leviticus 17:7 and their influence is visible in all subsequent literature. In Naḥmanides' opinion the demons (*shedim*) are to be found in waste (*shedudim*), ruined, and cold places such as in the North. They were not created out of the four elements but only out of fire and air. They have subtle bodies, imperceptible by the human senses, and these subtle bodies allow them to fly through fire and air. Because they are composed of different elements, they come under the laws of creation and decay and they die like human beings. Their sustenance is derived from water and fire, from odors and saps; hence necromancers burned incense to demons. Despite the element of subtle fire which they contain, they are surrounded by a coldness that frightens off the exorcisers (this detail is singled out only in later sources). By means of their flight through air they are able to approach the "princes" of the zodiac who dwell in the atmosphere and thus hear predictions of the near but not the distant future.

Naḥmanides also hints (Comm. to Lev. 16:8) that the demons belong to the patrimony of Samael, who is "the soul of the planet Mars and Esau is his subject among the nations" (the angel of Edom or Christianity). The Castilian kabbalists, *Isaac b. Jacob ha-Kohen, Moses of *Burgos, and Moses de Leon (in his Hebrew works and in the *Zohar), linked the existence of demons with the last grade of the powers of the "left-side" emanation (the *sitra aḥra*, "other side," of the Zohar) which corresponds in its ten *Sefirot* of evil to the ten holy *Sefirot*. Their writings contain detailed descriptions of the way in which these powers emanated and explain the names of the supervisors of their hosts. Their ideas are mainly based on internal development in kabbalistic circles. In the various sources entirely different names are given to the upper grades of these demonic or Satanic powers. However, they all agree in linking the hosts of demons in the subhuman world, i.e., on earth, under the dominion of Samael and *Lilith who appear for the first time in these sources as a couple. Numerous details about these grades are found in *Sefer Ammud ha-Semali* by Moses of Burgos (*Tarbiz*, 4 (1933), 208–25).

In contrast, the Zohar, following a talmudic legend, stresses the origin of the demons in sexual intercourse between humans and demonic powers. Some demons, such as Lilith, were created during the six days of Creation, and in particular on the Sabbath eve at twilight, as disembodied spirits. They sought to take on the form of a body through association with humans, at first with Adam when he separated from Eve and then with all his descendants. However, the demons who were created out of such unions also long for this kind of intercourse. The sexual element in the relationship of man and demons holds a prominent place in the demonology of the Zohar, as well as that of several later kabbalistic works. Every pollution of semen gives birth to demons. The details of these relationships are remarkably similar to the beliefs current in Christian medieval demonology about succubi and incubi. They are based on the assumption (contrary to the talmudic opinion) that these demons have no procreating ability of their own and need the human semen in order to multiply. In the later Kabbalah it is pointed out that the demons born to man out of such unions are considered his illegitimate sons; they were called *banim shovavim* ("mischievous sons"). At death and burial they come to accompany the dead man, to lament him, and to claim their share of the inheritance; they may also injure the legitimate sons. Hence the custom of circling the dead at the cemetery to repulse the demons and also the custom (dating from the 17th century) in a number of communities of not allowing the sons to accompany their father's corpse to the cemetery to prevent their being harmed by their illegitimate step-brothers.

The terms *shedim* and *mazzikim* were often used as synonyms, but in some sources there is a certain differentiation between them. In the Zohar it is thought that the spirits of evil men become *mazzikim* after their death. However, there are also good-natured devils who are prepared to help and do favors to men. This is supposed to be particularly true of those demons who are ruled by Ashmedai (*Asmodeus) who accept the Torah and are considered "Jewish demons." Their existence is mentioned by the *Hasidei Ashkenaz as well as in the Zohar. According to legend, Cain and Abel, who contain some of the impurity of the serpent which had sexual relations with Eve, possess a certain demonic element and various demons came from them. But, in practice, the mating of female devils with human males and of male devils with female humans continued throughout history. These devils are mortal, but their kings and queens live longer than human beings and some of them, particularly Lilith and Naamah, will exist until the day of the Last Judgment (Zohar 1:55a). Various speculations were made on the death of the kings of the demons, in particular of Ashmedai (*Tarbiz*, 19 (1948), 160–3). One popular view is that Ashmedai is merely the title of the office of the king of the demons, just as Pharaoh is the title of the office of the king of Egypt, and "every king of the demons is called Ashmedai," as the word Ashmedai in gematria is numerically equivalent to Pharaoh. Long genealogies of the demons and their families are found in Judeo-Arabic demonology.

Apparently, the author of the Zohar distinguishes between spirits that have emanated from the "left-side" and were assigned definite functions in the "palaces of impurity" and devils in the exact sense who hover in the air. According to later sources, the latter fill with their hosts the space of the sky between the earth and sphere of the moon. Their activity takes place mainly at night, before midnight. Devils born out of nightly pollutions are called "the stripes of the children of men" (II Sam. 7:14). Sometimes the demons poke fun at men. They tell them lies about the future and mingle truth and lies in dreams. The feet of the demons are crooked (Zohar 3:229b). In numerous sources four mothers of demons are mentioned:

Lilith, Naamah, Agrath, and Mahalath (who is sometimes replaced by Rahab). The demons under their rule go out in their hosts at appointed times and constitute a danger to the world. At times, they gather on a particular mountain "near the mountains of darkness where they have sexual intercourse with Samael." This is reminiscent of the Witches' Sabbath in Christian demonology. Male and female witches also gather at this place, devote themselves to similar deeds, and learn the art of witchcraft from the arch-devils, who are here identical with the rebellious angels who have fallen from heaven (Zohar 3:194b, 212a). The author of the *Ra'aya Meheimna* in the Zohar (3:253a) distinguishes between three types of demons: (1) those similar to angels; (2) those resembling humans and called *shedim Yehuda'im* ("Jewish devils") who submit to the Torah; (3) those who have no fear of God and are like animals.

The distinction of demons according to the three main religions is found also in Arabic demonology as well as in sources of practical Kabbalah; it is mentioned in the full, uncensored text of a section of *Midrash Rut ha-Ne'lam* in the Zohar. Another division distinguishes between demons according to the various strata of the air in which they rule – an opinion common to the Zohar and to Isaac ha-Kohen who mentions details about this. On the other hand, the Zohar mentions *nukba di-tehoma rabba*, "the maw of the great abyss," as the place to which the devils return on the Sabbath when they have no power over the world. According to *Baḥya b. Asher, the devils also found refuge in Noah's ark, otherwise they would not have been saved from the Flood.

The kings of the devils were given names, but not the members of their hosts, who are known by the kings' names: "Samael and his host," "Ashmedai and his host," etc. Ashmedai is generally considered as the son of Naamah the sister of Tubal-Cain, but sometimes also as the son of King David and Agrath, the queen of the demons. Numerous names of demons have come from Arabic tradition. Among them should be mentioned Bilar (also Bilad or Bilid), the third king who succeeded Ashmedai. Bilar is merely a misspelling of *Satan's name "Beliar" in several Apocalypses and in early Christian literature, which thus returned to Jewish tradition via foreign sources. He plays an important role in "practical kabbalistic" literature and from it, disguised as Bileth, he came into German magic literature associated with the story of Doctor Faust. The seal of this king is described in detail in the book *Berit Menuḥah* (Amsterdam, 1648, 39b). The other demons too have seals, and those who know them can make them appear against their will. Their drawings are preserved in manuscripts of practical Kabbalah. The names of the seven kings of the demons in charge of the seven days of the week, very popular in later Jewish demonology, were derived from Arabic tradition. Prominent among them are Maimon the Black and Shemhurish, judge of the demons. Other systems originating in the Spanish Kabbalah put the three kings Ḥalama, Samael, and Kafkafuni at the head of the demons (*Sefer ha-Ḥeshek*, Ms. in Brit. Mus.; cf. *A. Freimann Jubilee*). Other systems of demonology are connected with lists of the angels and the demons in charge of the night hours of the seven days of the week, or with the demonological interpretation of diseases such as epilepsy. Such sources are *Seder Goral ha-Ḥoleh* and *Sefer ha-Ne'elavim* (G. Scholem, *Kitvei Yad be-Kabbalah* (1930), 182–5). These systems are not necessarily connected with kabbalistic ideas and some obviously preceded them. A complete system of kabbalistic demonology was presented, after the period of the Zohar, in *Sibbat Ma'aseh ha-Egel ve-Inyan ha-Shedim* (Ms. Sassoon 56), which develops internal Jewish motifs. A combination of the Zohar and Arab sources characterizes the book *Ẓefunei Ẓiyyoni* by Menahem Zion of Cologne (Ms. Oxford, late 14th century); it enumerates a long list of important demons and their functions while preserving their Arabic names. This book was one of the channels through which Arab elements reached the practical kabbalists among the Jews of Germany and Poland, and they recur often, albeit with errors, in collections of demonology in Hebrew and Yiddish. One of the most important among these is Schocken manuscript 102, dating from the end of the 18th century. Among North African and Near Eastern Jews, elements of kabbalistic and Arabic demonology were combined even without literary intermediaries; of particular interest is Sassoon manuscript 290. The collections of remedies and amulets composed by Sephardi scholars abound in this kind of material. An outstanding example of a complete mixture of Jewish, Arab, and Christian elements is found in the incantations of the book *Mafte'aḥ Shelomo* or *Clavicula Salononis*, a collection from the 17th century published in facsimile by H. Gollancz in 1914. King Zauba'a and Queen Zumzumit also belong to the Arab heritage. A rich German heritage in the field of demonology is preserved in the writings of *Judah he-Ḥasid and his disciples and in Menahem Zion's commentary on the Torah. According to the testimony of Naḥmanides, it was the custom of the Ashkenazi Jews to "dabble in matters concerning the demons, to weave spells and send them away, and they use them in several matters" (*Teshuvot ha-Rashba ha-Meyuḥasot la-Ramban*, no. 283). The *Ma'aseh Bukh* (in Yiddish; English translation by M. Gaster, 1934) lists numerous details about this Jewish-Ashkenazi demonology of the later Middle Ages. In addition to current popular beliefs, elements originating in scholarly magic literature as well as the names of demons whose origins were in Christian *magic were introduced from Christian demonology. These spread, not later than the 15th century, among the Jews of Germany. Demons such as Astarot, Beelzebub (in many forms), and their like became fixtures in incantations and lists of demons. A detailed kabbalistic system of demonology is found at the time of the expulsion from Spain in the book *Ha-Malakh ha-Meshiv.* These revelations were attributed to the kabbalist Joseph *Taitaẓak of Salonika. In this system, the hierarchy of the demons is headed by Samael the patron of Edom and Ammon of No (Alexandria), patron of Egypt, who also represents Islam. Ammon of No recurs in numerous sources in this period.

Ḥayyim *Vital tells about devils who are composed from only one of the four elements, in contrast to the opinion of

Naḥmanides mentioned above. This view probably has its origin in the European demonology of the Renaissance. Isaac *Luria's Kabbalah often mentions various *kelippot* ("shells") which have to be subdued via observance of the Torah and *mitzvot*, but it does not generally give them proper names or make them into devils as such. This process reached its peak in *Sefer Karnayim* (Zolkiew, 1709) by *Samson of Ostropol, who gives to many *kelippot* names which were not found in any ancient source. This book is the last original text in kabbalistic demonology.

Some details: according to *Isaac of Acre the devils have only four fingers and lack the thumb. The book *Emek ha-Melekh* (Amsterdam, 1648) mentions demons called *kesilim* ("fooling" spirits) who misguide man on his way and poke fun at him. Hence presumably the appellation *leẓim* ("jesters") occurring in later literature and in popular usage for the lower type of demons, those who throw about household goods and the like (poltergeists). From the beginning of the 17th century the demon called *Sh. D.* (ש״ד) is mentioned, i.e., *Shomer Dappim* ("guard of the pages"); he injures a man who leaves a holy book open. According to a popular belief of German Jews, the four queens of the demons rule over the four seasons of the year. Once every three months at the turn of the season, their menstrual blood falls into the waters and poisons them, and it is therefore forbidden to drink water at the change of the seasons. A special place in demonology is allotted to the Queen of Sheba, who was considered one of the queens of the demons and is sometimes identified with Lilith – for the first time in the Targum (Job, ch. 1), and later in the Zohar and the subsequent literature (*Tarbiz*, 19 (1948), 165–72). The motif of the battle between the prince and a dragon or a demonic reptile, representing the power of the *kelippah* who imprisoned the princess, is widespread in various forms in the demonology of the Zohar. Dragon is the name of the king of the demons who is also mentioned in *Sefer Ḥasidim*. According to Ḥayyim Vital, four queens of the demons rule over Rome (Lilith), over Salamanca (Agrath), over Egypt (Rahab), and over Damascus (Naamah). According to Abraham Galante, until the confusion of the languages there existed only two: the holy language (i.e., Hebrew) and the language of the demons. Belief in demons remained a folk superstition among some Jews in certain countries.

[Gershom Scholem]

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DENAZIFICATION, the efforts made by the Allies to remove active members of the former National Socialist Party from official public office and influential positions in Germany after World War II. At the Yalta Conference Franklin Delano Roosevelt, Winston Churchill, and Joseph Stalin proclaimed their desire to wipe out the Nazi party, institutions, organizations, laws, and cultural influences from German public and cultural life once they secured the surrender of Germany. This pledge was reaffirmed at Potsdam, which declared that "all members of the Nazi party who have been more than nominal participants … are to be removed from public or semi-public office and from positions of responsibility in important private undertakings." No guidelines were issued and the procedures and criteria were not clearly enunciated. Denazification was carried out on the basis of questionnaires about activities during the period of Nazi rule that the suspects had to fill out. The four Powers occupying Germany – the United States, U.S.S.R., Britain, and France – determined varied proceedings in each area of occupation, and the results were accordingly inconsistent and served national purposes. The French used this policy to weaken their traditional enemy Germany. The British were more pragmatic and thus more lenient in their enforcement of denazification and the Americans had two conflicting tendencies: first they had a general suspicion of all Germans; because of a sense of collective guilt, they could not easily distinguish between Nazis and other Germans, even at times anti-Nazis. Secondly, they sought to reeducate Germans for democracy, which took on added importance as the Cold War began. In the Soviet zone, the goal was to consolidate Communist rule and to eliminate capitalists and even take the property of the middle class. The results were diverse policies serving divergent goals. At first, denazification had important consequences as those who were not "rehabilitated" were not appointed to important offices or granted specific licenses (for example, to publish newspapers). To consolidate the policies five categories were established in 1946: (1) major offenders; (2) offenders; (3) lesser offenders; (4) followers; (5) persons exonerated. As political conditions and political needs changed the commitment to denazification diminished, amnesties were declared, and enforcement was transferred to the Germans themselves.

The extent of denazification was criticized in view of the multitude of cases of people who were "rehabilitated" in spite of their Nazi past. Among them were many who were active in the war against the Jews in a variety of ways, e.g., professors P.H. Seraphim (active in the "Final Solution"), H.F.K. Guenther (the outstanding racial scholar of the Nazi period), who published antisemitic literature, and Dr. Hans

Globke, co-author of the leading commentary on the Nuremberg Laws.

Still, despite the criticism, in the aftermath of the collapse of a totalitarian regime, occupying powers or successor governments look for ways to preserve the social, economic, cultural, and governmental structures of the given society while condemning the deeds and actors of a previous regime, and denazification is looked upon as an inviting precedent. It just could be that a fig leaf of procedural decontamination, however inadequate, is needed for a society to be rebuilt.

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[Jozeph Michman (Melkman) / Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

DENBURG, CHAIM (1918–1991), rabbi and scholar of *halakhah* and medieval Jewish philosophy. Denburg was born in Montreal, and received his B.A. from Yeshiva College as well as his rabbinic ordination from Rabbi Isaac Elchanan Theological Seminary in 1942. He spent his rabbinic career in Montreal at Congregations Chevra Kadisha (1942–49), Bnai Jacob (1949–56), and Shomrim Laboker (1956–91). He pursued graduate studies in medieval philosophy at the University of Montreal and received his doctorate from there in 1946 for a dissertation on "The Functional Value of Matter and Form in Maimonides." He subsequently taught in the Institute of Medieval Studies at the University of Montreal for over two decades. He published an annotated translation of portions of R. Joseph Caro's *Code of Jewish Law: Shulḥan Arukh* in two volumes (1954–55). He was president of the Board of Jewish Ministers of Montreal and active in the Rabbinical Council of Montreal and the Religious Welfare Committee of Canadian Jewish Congress.

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[Ira Robinson (2nd ed.)]

DÉNES (Springer), BÉLA (1904–1959), Hungarian physician, author, and Zionist leader. Born in Budapest, Dénes was paralyzed in both legs from the age of four after an attack of poliomyelitis. He studied medicine at the universities of Pécs and Budapest, and during the 1927 antisemitic riots there was beaten up as a result of which he became deaf in one ear. He was forced to go to Brussels, where he graduated with distinction in medicine. Dénes received medical work upon his return to Budapest, but the appointment depended on his agreeing to abandon his religion. He thus ceased work as a physician and began writing political commentary in his newspaper, entitled *Független Szemle* ("Independent Review," 1933). Dénes was an active member of the Social Democratic Party but in 1933, after prolonged disagreement with its leaders, he joined *Po'alei Zion. During the Holocaust period he was arrested (1942) for concealing and supporting Jewish refugees, and in 1944 he went into hiding. When Budapest was conquered by the Soviet army (1945), he tried to found a Zionist newspaper, *Zsidó út* ("Jewish Way"), but it was stopped after three issues through Communist intervention. Between 1945 and 1948, Dénes was the leading Zionist figure in Hungary. In 1949, after the dissolution of the Zionist Federation, the authorities granted him a passport, but he was arrested and sentenced for "spying for Israel" and spent five years in prison. In 1957 he managed to go to Israel. His most famous essays are *A háború biológiája* ("The Biology of War," 1933), *Hogyan élnek, mit keresnek Magyarországon a tisztviselők* ("How the Clerks Live in Hungary and How They Find Their Sustenance," 1937), and *Hat évszázad kulturhistóriája* ("Six Centuries of Cultural History," 1938). His autobiography, within the diary of his prison period, is extant in manuscript form and in 1945–49 he was editor of *Johud-Mapaj Haoved* pamphlets.

[Baruch Yaron]

DENIA, seaport in Valencia, E. Spain. In the 11th century Denia became the capital of the powerful and tolerant Muslim kingdom of the al-Mujāhid dynasty. Various sources, including documents from the Cairo **Genizah*, tell about Jewish settlement in the town from the beginning of the 11th century, and it appears that in the middle of the century there was a substantial community there. The Jews of Denia engaged in trade both by land and by sea and established trading relations especially with Tunisian towns and with Alexandria. The correspondence of a prominent 11th-century merchant of Fostat (old Cairo), Nathan b. Naharai, attests Denia's commercial importance and the role of its Jews. The community included some of the highly respected families of Spanish Jewry, e.g., that of Ibn al-Khatūsh who also engaged in commerce and traveled to the East. In the middle of the 11th century Isaac *Ibn Yashush was the court physician. His contemporary, R. Samuel b. Joseph, was a scholar who came to Spain from Baghdad and corresponded with *Samuel ha-Nagid. The rabbi of the town, Isaac b. Moses ibn Sikhri, left Denia and moved to Babylonia where he was appointed head of the yeshivah of R. *Hai Gaon. He was succeeded in his position in the community of Denia by R. Isaac b. Reuben *Al-Bargeloni. The poet Ibn Khāzin, who lived in the town, exchanged poems with *Judah Halevi.

After the Christian conquest, only a few Jewish families, engaged in maritime trade, were left in Denia. In 1274 the Jews of Denia, together with the Jews of Orembloy, paid 100 solidos in the currency of Barcelona as an annual levy. There is no information on the fate of this community after the anti-Jewish riots of 1391.

In the Muslim period, the Jews of Denia lived in a quarter in the *alcazaba*, the old city. The place today is in complete ruins.

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[Haim Beinart]

°DENIKIN, ANTON IVANOVICH (1872–1947), one of the generals and organizers of the White Army in the Russian civil war of 1918–21. His name is associated with the savage pogroms perpetrated against the Jews by his officers and soldiers in Russia and the *Ukraine during these years. Made commander-in-chief of the armed forces of the White Army of south Russia in the spring of 1919, in the fall of that year Denikin embarked on a northward-bound campaign that brought his troops, with the pogroms accompanying them, to the town of Orel, approximately 180 mi. (300 km.) south of Moscow. This initial success was followed by military collapse and rapid retreat southward. The corruption and chaos which spread among Denikin's officers and soldiers as a result of the atrocities they committed against the Jews and the property they looted were among the reasons for the military collapse. In April 1920 the remnant of the White Army took to the Crimea. Denikin transferred his command to General Wrangel and left Russia.

According to available data, which is incomplete, Denikin's armies were responsible for 213 pogroms against 164 Jewish communities during their northward advance and subsequent retreat. The number of Jews massacred reached many thousands. Although outwardly expressing regret for the pogroms, mainly because of their adverse influence on the White cause, Denikin made no serious attempt to suppress the constant antisemitic agitation which was widely regarded by the political leaders of the White Army as their main propaganda weapon against the Soviet regime. When he received a delegation from the Jewish communities in the conquered territories in July 1919, Denikin claimed that he was unable to take any action against antisemitism since his "volunteer" army was composed of the "dregs of humanity" and he had to be satisfied that they at least obeyed his military orders.

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[Yehuda Slutsky]

DENIS, ALBERTUS (also known as **Alavaro Diniz** and to his coreligionists as **Samuel Yahya**; c. 1580–c. 1645), court agent and mintmaster, one of the first members of the Portuguese Jewish community in Hamburg. In 1611, together with Andreas Falleiro and Ruy Fernando Cardoso, Denis purchased the Altona cemetery for the Portuguese Jews of Hamburg (the bill of sale was countersigned by him on May 31, 1611). A year later he was officially granted the right of residence in Hamburg; in the city register of 1614 he is listed as the donor of "*Twintig marck luebsch*" to the *Glueckstadt church. Denis acted as agent and mintmaster for Count Ernst of Schauenburg, and as such he incurred the enmity of the Hamburg authorities, who accused him of buying Reichsthaler coins minted in Hamburg and having them melted down in Altona. When the senate issued an order for his arrest, Denis took refuge in Altona and settled there under the protection of the count. In 1618 King Christian IV of Denmark put him in charge of the Glueckstadt mint, but it operated subsequently for only a few years. In Glueckstadt Denis also built and owned two houses and helped to introduce other Jews (see *Denmark). He remained a member of the Portuguese community of Hamburg; as their representative, he applied in 1637 to Count Otto of Schauenburg for a further extension of the cemetery privilege. Denis' minting activities contributed to the first "*Kipper und Wipper*" period of galloping inflation caused by corruption of the coinage.

With the stabilization of finances, Denis became a large-scale sugar importer and an exporter of grain through the ports of Luebeck and Danzig, where he tried to gain a foothold for his agents – often his relatives. In 1625 he obtained the right of settlement for Portuguese Jews in Troppau and Jaegerndorf in Silesia. In the 1630s he organized a news and information service for his Danish royal benefactor. His last activity was negotiating the 1643/4 settlement between Hamburg and Denmark, and he died in poverty soon after.

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[Joseph Elijah Heller]

DENMARK, kingdom in N.W. Europe. It was the first of the three Scandinavian countries where Jews were permitted to settle. The first arrivals were invited by King Christian IV, who, on Nov. 22, 1622, at the request of his Jewish mintmaster Albertus *Denis, sent a message to the leaders of the Sephardi communities in Amsterdam and Hamburg inviting Sephardi Jews to settle in the recently established township of Glueckstadt on the eastern border of Elbe in his duchy of Holstein, offering them religious liberty and commercial privileges. A few accepted the invitation and began trading and manufacturing operations there. Other Sephardi Jews were also active in Denmark in the 17th century as financiers and jewelers to the royal family and members of the Danish nobility. Benjamin *Mussafia, author of the talmudic dictionary *Musaf ha-Arukh*, was appointed physician to the royal family in 1646. His son-in-law Gabriel Milan became governor of the Danish West Indies in 1684. Members of Sephardi families such as Abenzur, Franco, Granada, De Lima, Meldola, De Meza, Moresco, and Texeira de Mattos continued to engage in financial operations in Denmark during the 17th and 18th centuries, but gradually lost their mercantile significance in the state economy and their predominance in the Jewish community. Jewish communities existed in the duchies of Schleswig and Holstein, then under Danish rule, from the beginning of the 17th century, in Altona and Ottensen (now part of Altona). German Jews wishing to settle in the kingdom of Denmark proper had to produce royal authorization before entering the country. This was granted only to applicants in possession of sufficient capital to establish industrial enterprises, to deal in substantial amounts of Danish merchandise, or to build their own houses. Later, German Jews, mainly from Hamburg and Altona, who married Danish Jewesses were also permitted to settle in Denmark. Rabbis, teachers, and other communal

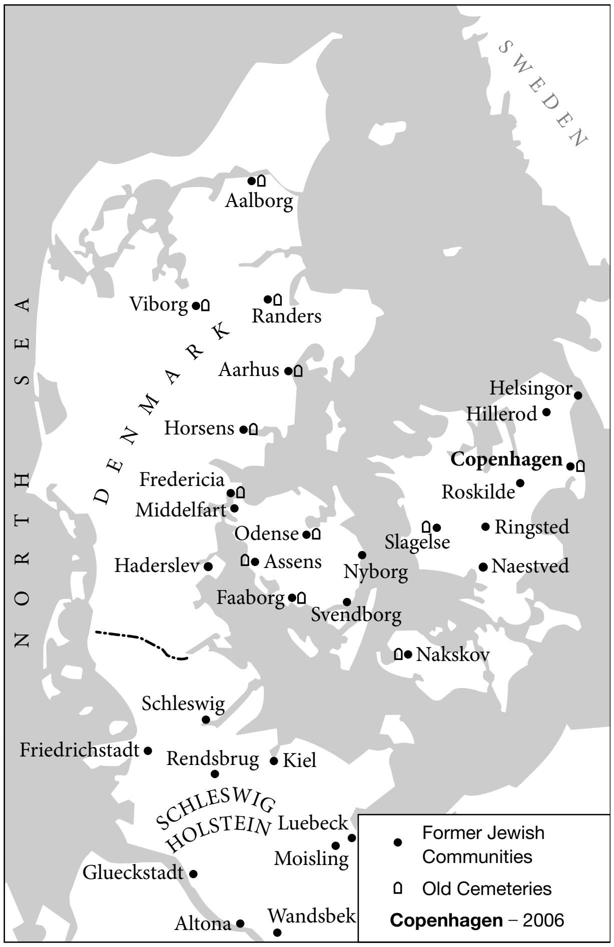

Danish Jewish communities in the 18th century and after World War II.

functionaries were permitted to practice in Denmark if guaranteed by leaders of the community. There were 1,830 Jews in Denmark in 1782 (1,503 in *Copenhagen).

The 19th century was a period of cultural, social, and economic progress for Danish Jewry, though there was a spate of anti-Jewish polemics between 1813 and 1819. Jews received Danish citizenship in 1814, and the last restrictive legislation was abolished in 1849 by the Danish constitution. While at the beginning of the 19th century the majority of Danish Jews were in poor circumstances, by about 1900 they mostly belonged to the middle and upper classes. The Jewish population increased steadily until, in the middle of the 19th century, there were about 4,200 Jews living in Denmark. The number subsequently declined to 3,500 in 1901 owing to intermarriage and a low birth rate. After the *Kishinev pogrom of 1903 a number of refugees from Eastern Europe entered Denmark, some in transit for the United States via Bremen and Hamburg. About 200 who arrived in 1904–05 obtained permanent residence, and their number subsequently increased to approximately 2,000. After some difficulties in social and cultural adjustment they gradually integrated into the old established Danish-Jewish society. The total Jewish population with the new immigrants numbered 6,000 in 1921 and has remained substantially the same.

On a footing of equality with their countrymen, the Jews in Denmark have been able to contribute to the development of their country in every sphere, and many have achieved international renown. They include the sculptor Kurt Harald Isenstein (see *Art), the literary critic Georg *Brandes, the botanist Nathanael *Wallich, the physicians and scientists Ludvig Levin *Jacobson, Adolph *Hannover, and Carl Julius *Salomonsen. Joseph Michaelsen, who served as postmaster-general, is considered the originator of the Universal Postal Union. Among outstanding politicians and high-ranking state officials were the minister of finance Edvard *Brandes, Herman Trier (1845–1925), a member of parliament and of Copenhagen municipal council, Moritz Levy (1824–1892), and Marcus Rubin (1845–1923), directors of the Danish National Bank, and Georg Cohn, who served as state adviser on international law. In the cultural sphere, contributions were made by the poets Meir Aaron *Goldschmidt, Henrik *Hertz, Henri *Nathansen, Louis *Levy, and Poul *Levin; the painters and sculptors Ernst Meyer, Joel *Ballin, Albert Gottschalk (1860–1906), and Theodor Philipsen (1840–1920); and the composers Fini Henriques (1867–1940), and Victor Bendix (1851–1926). Valuable contributions to science and learning in Denmark were made by the psychologist Edgar Rubin and the physicist Niels *Bohr.

Until the end of the 18th century the Jewish community remained strictly Orthodox. Influenced by the emancipation movement in Germany, however, a *Reform party was formed in Denmark by Mendel Levin *Nathanson who initiated several changes in the administration and educational system of the Jewish community of Copenhagen. The Danish Reform movement occasioned a schism within the Jewish community which was aggravated when Nathanson tried with the aid of Isaac Noah *Mannheimer, a young Danish Jewish theologian, to introduce a Reform service in Copenhagen. When Abraham Alexander *Wolff took office as chief rabbi (1829) he succeeded to some extent in reconciling the Orthodox and Reform parties. He was succeeded by David *Simonsen, the first native-born rabbi in Denmark; after ten years of office he retired to devote himself to Jewish studies and worldwide philanthropic activity. The Mahzike Hadas association was founded in connection with the retirement in 1910 of the strictly Orthodox chief rabbi Tobias Lewenstein. The succeeding chief rabbis were Max Schornstein and Moses Friediger, who was deported to Theresienstadt in 1943 but survived to return to Denmark, where he died in 1947. He was succeeded by Marcus *Melchior and in 1969 by his son Bent Melchior (1929–). The Zionist movement was introduced into Denmark in 1902 with the establishment of the Dansk Zionistforening. The World Zionist Congress headquarters moved to and operated from Copenhagen for the duration of the World War I period. Between 1933 and 1945 about 1,700 potential pioneers and members of Youth Aliyah from Central European countries received agricultural training with Danish farmers. The Danmark Loge of the B'nai B'rith was founded in 1912. Jewish periodicals in the Danish language have appeared in Denmark since 1907, except during the German occupation in World War II. Magazines in Yiddish appeared between 1911 and 1936, and a Yiddish daily, the *Folktsaytung*, appeared during World War I. A literary periodical *Tidsskrift for jødisk Historie og Litteratur,* sponsored by the Danmark Loge, was published in Copenhagen from 1917 to 1925.

[Julius Margolinsky / Rafael Edelman]

Holocaust Period

The fate of the Jewish community under German occupation was related to several factors: the attitude of the Germans to Denmark and its population and the attitude of the Danes to the Jews within their country. The German occupiers treated the Danes with respect, a dramatic difference compared with the way they related to occupied populations in Eastern Europe. Germany invaded Denmark on April 9, 1940, as part of its expansion westward. German occupation was limited: Danish institutions remained intact, even the Danish army and navy; only foreign affairs were no longer in Danish hands. Germany respected Danish sovereignty. The German occupation was administered by the Foreign Ministry and not the SS or the Gestapo and for internal bureaucratic reasons the Foreign Ministry wanted to keep it that way. Germany could not rule by decree in Denmark and thus there developed a policy of negotiation with Danish authorities, who collaborated within limits. Denmark had a long history of religious tolerance and did not perceive itself to have a "Jewish problem." The Danes regarded the Jewish question as a Danish problem rather than one of an isolated minority. They treated the Jews as fellow citizens. Throughout the 1930s, Denmark was reluctant to receive refugees but some Jews did manage to use Denmark as a country of transit and some 1,400 refugees from Germany, Austria, and Czechoslovakia and 300 children of *Youth Aliyah remained there.

For almost three and a half years, from the day of Denmark's occupation on April 9, 1940, to the major crisis in the Danish-German relationship at the end of August 1943, the Danish Jewish community, including the refugees, remained more or less unmolested. This unusual phenomenon can be explained by the fact that while the Danes collaborated with the Germans in the so-called policy of negotiation, they simultaneously extended full political, social, juridical, and personal protection to the Jews and to their property. So convincing was the steadfast behavior of the Danish authorities and the population that the Germans did not think it wise to injure the small Danish Jewish population as long as they were interested in the smooth operation of the Danish-German Agreement of April 9, 1940. Mounting Danish resistance during the summer of 1943 eventually destroyed the popular base of this agreement, which was eventually abolished by the Germans on Aug. 28, 1943. Emergency rule was declared. Until that time the civil representatives of the German Reich, Cécil von Renthe-Fink, as well as Werner Best, who succeeded him in office, did everything they could in order to avoid a conflict with the Danes over the issue of the Jews despite repeated attempts by Nazi authorities in Germany and small groups in Denmark to raise the issue. Best's role is perplexing as he was a known antisemite. He had served as deputy head of the Gestapo and worked as part of the German military bureaucracy to organize deportations to Auschwitz. His pragmatic behavior in Denmark may be explained by a difference in the attitude of the Danish population toward its own Jews. Martin Luther, Foreign Minister Joachim von *Ribbentrop's representative at the *Wannsee Conference in January 1942, stated that action against Jews in the Nordic countries had to be postponed. Public opinion in Denmark on the "Jewish" question was unanimous and had been expressed by the leader of the United Danish Youth Movement, Professor Hal Koch, just before the conference. Reacting to some incendiary declarations by Nazi newspapers in Denmark, he proclaimed that all suggestions to the effect that Danish Jews should be molested must be categorically rejected because the issue was one of both justice and respect for the Jews and the preservation of Danish freedom and law.

The Jewish community, anxious to cooperate with the Danish authorities, kept its members as inconspicuous as possible and refrained from all illegal activity, including escape. Only a group of *ḥalutzim* tried to escape illegally with partial success. Anxious to sustain his position in Berlin and to position himself for advance, Best advocated using this opportunity of emergency rule to deport the Jews. He was appealing to two very different audiences: Nazi colleagues anxious to deport the Jews and impose the "Final Solution" and the native population and its officialdom that regarded such acts as disruptive. His plan was opposed in German circles in Denmark, and several leading German personalities tried to ensure its cancellation. Ironically, Best, who was mainly interested in the additional police force transferred to Denmark to execute the deportation, was not very eager to carry out the order once Hitler approved it. He attempted to have it canceled and then leaked news of the operation through F.G. Dukwitz, the attaché for shipping affairs, who maintained good relations with leading Danish Social Democrats and informed them of the impending danger for the Jews. The warning was quickly spread and after a slight delay it was regarded as credible by the Jewish community, which canceled Rosh Ha-Shanah services, and by Danish citizens' organizations. The Lutheran Bishop of Copenhagen, H. Fuglsang-Damgaard, openly urged Danes to protect the Jews, proclaiming:

> Whenever persecutions are undertaken for racial or religious reasons, it is the duty of the Christian Church to protest against it for the following reasons:
>
> …Because the persecution of the Jews is irreconcilable with the humanitarian concept of love of neighbors which follow from the message which the Church of Jesus Christ is commissioned to proclaim. With Christ there is no respect of persons, and he has taught us that every man is precious in the eyes of God.

> …race and religion can never be in themselves a reason for depriving a man of his rights freedom or property. We shall therefore struggle to ensure the continued guarantee to our Jewish brothers and sisters [of] the same freedom which we ourselves treasure more than life.
>
> …We are obliged by our conscience to maintain the law and to protest against any violation of human rights. Therefore we desire to declare unambiguously our allegiance to the word, we must obey God rather than man.

Seemingly overnight a rescue organization sprang up that helped 7,200 Jews and about 700 non-Jewish relatives escape to Sweden in less than three weeks. Danish captains and fishermen carried out this operation. What began as a spontaneous popular movement was developed into an organized action by the Danish resistance movement. Though the heroic nature of the rescue has become fable, still the fishermen charged for their services. The cost of the transfer amounted to about 12 million Danish crowns, of which the Jews themselves paid approximately 6½ to 7 million. The rest was provided out of private and public Danish contributions. Out of the action grew a regular flow of illegal traffic between Denmark and Sweden. Danish and Swedish Jews helped to organize it and kept it financially sound. This traffic continued until the end of the war and provided the Danish underground with a constant line of communication with the Allies.

The attitude of Sweden was also quite significant. It had informed the Germans of its willingness to accept the Jews and it made an announcement of its openness to these refugees on radio, thus independently encouraging the exodus of Jews across the narrow sea that separated Denmark from Sweden. By the fall of 1943, German troops were in retreat from El Alamein in North Africa to Stalingrad in the East. With reduced power came reduced influence.

During the night of the persecution (Oct. 1–2, 1943) and following it, less than 500 Jews were seized by the Germans. They were sent to *Theresienstadt and remained there until the spring of 1945, when they too were brought to Sweden by the action of the Swedish Red Cross, headed by Count *Bernadotte. The Danish rescue effort did not end in October 1943. Refugee property was carefully protected. Homes and their contents were inventoried and businesses placed in trust. Torah scrolls and holy objects were stored in churches and returned intact to the Jewish community after the war. Non-Jewish relatives who remained behind were supported. The Danish government was persistent in its inquiries about its citizens who were deported to *Theresienstadt. Packages were sent. In an attempt to alleviate Danish concerns, the Germans allowed a special Red Cross visit to the camp in 1944, even though what the visitors saw was a hoax. Danish Jews were the first prisoners to return home after liberation. Of the 464 Jews deported, only 51 perished. Upon their return from Sweden to Denmark at the end of the war, most of the Jews who escaped found their property intact. It may be estimated that approximately 120 people perished because of the persecution: about 50 in Theresienstadt and a few more in other camps. Close to the same number committed suicide or were drowned on their way to Sweden. Less than 2% of the Jewish population of Denmark perished.

After the war, unlike many other countries that did far less for their Jews, Denmark did not seek credit for the rescue. Yad Vashem's list of the Righteous Among the Nations of the World lists only one entry for Denmark, not one individual, but the Danish people. And Danish historians have been critical of the limited efforts to receive refugees and the improvised nature of the rescue. More should have been done, they have argued.

Why was Denmark different? The answer is still a matter of dispute though the exceptional character of Denmark is not. Danes at every level of society, from fishermen to high government officials, intellectuals to Church leaders alike have said that they simply treated Jews as the neighbors they were, and one does not allow the enemy who occupies one's country to deport neighbors. The explanation for their behavior may well be as simple as that.

[Leni Yahil / Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

Postwar Period

The Jewish population of Denmark at the end of 1968 was about the same as before World War II, i.e., between 6,000 and 7,000: 25% of the total population were descendants of the old established Danish Jews and 67% were emigrants from Eastern Europe and their descendants; 8% consisted of refugees from Germany and their children. Only 1% of the Jewish population resided outside Copenhagen. In the course of 1969 a further 1,500 Jewish refugees from Poland were taken into Denmark, mostly into the Copenhagen area. Almost all the Jews who were rescued during the war, as well as most of the deportees to *Theresienstadt and other camps, returned to Denmark at the end of the war. The birth rate continued to be low (only about 60 children born each year) and this was insufficient to keep the Jewish population at the same level. The good relations between Jews and non-Jews were maintained in the postwar period. Mutual goodwill was demonstrated on various occasions, such as the 10th and the 25th anniversaries of the rescue of Danish Jewry from Nazi persecution, or, in 1964, on the 150th anniversary of the granting of citizenship to Danish Jews, as well as by the sympathetic interest of the population in Jewish problems and in the State of Israel. Many Jews were prominent in the postwar period. Stephan *Hurwitz was appointed Ombudsman in 1955, when this high position in the administration was established; Henry *Grünbaum was minister of finance in the labor government from 1965 to 1968; and Erik Warburg was principal of the Copenhagen University from 1956 to 1958. The Jewish community was state-recognized and therefore entitled to assess all Jews in the country for taxation, unless they resigned formally from the community. This recognition also involved the rights of the rabbis to perform marriages and to register births and deaths. All community institutions were administered in a strictly traditional way. Most of the members of the Orthodox

Mahzike Hadas community belonged simultaneously to the larger Jewish community. Community affairs were directed by a board of seven members, elected by an assembly of 20, which in turn was chosen in general elections. In addition to all religious services the community maintained a Jewish day school and three kindergartens, homes for the aged, and a spacious community center. The community supported an active Zionist Federation, *WIZO, youth organizations, *B'nai B'rith, an organization of craftsmen, and two choirs. Danish Jewry participated in all efforts to aid the State of Israel and strengthened its ties with other Jewish communities through close cooperation with the *Conference on Jewish Material Claims, the *American Joint Distribution Committee, and Jewish communities in Europe.

Later Developments

It is estimated that some 3,000 Polish Jews fled to Denmark at the beginning of the 1970s as a result of antisemitism. Their arrival affected the development of Danish Jewry during the decade, although they included a comparatively high percentage in mixed marriages. Most of the Jews settled in and around Copenhagen, but hundreds were brought to Aarhus and Odense in the provinces and tried to organize some form of Jewish life in these towns. The Federation of Polish Jews in Denmark was established to represent the newcomers, but other organizations were also founded partly in opposition to the federation. A youth group with Zionist orientation called the Coordination Committee became active in organizing inter-Scandinavian seminars. Although many of the newcomers did join the Jewish community, at the elections for the Jewish Community Board in 1979 some Jews from Poland organized their own party and gained two out of the 20 seats of the Board.

The Jewish day school moved to new premises in 1974. At the end of the decade the number of pupils had risen to 325 with an additional 60 children in the kindergarten. With two other Jewish kindergartens almost 50% of the Jewish children in Copenhagen attended these day institutions. The 150th anniversary of the school was celebrated in 1980 in the presence of the minister of education and the mayor of Copenhagen; a *Festschrift* was published on the occasion.

After the death of Chief Rabbi Dr. Marcus *Melchior in December 1969, his son, Rabbi Bent *Melchior, was elected to succeed him. In 1972 he resigned because of a conflict with the board of the community after making some outspoken remarks about the tragic events at the Olympic Games in Munich. After six months of discussions, which threatened to sunder the Jewish community, a formula was found which enabled the chief rabbi to accept a new contract, and he was unanimously re-elected. Shortly after, an American-born assistant had to leave his post when he had admitted that he had traveled on an electric train on the Sabbath. He was succeeded by Danish-born Rabbi Bent *Lexner, the first rabbi of the community to be educated and ordained in Jerusalem. Upon Melchior's retirement in 1996, Lexner became chief rabbi.

The Bnei Akiva movement continued to be active in Jewish education of the young generation, and it inspired most of the *aliyah* movement. Another important educational activity was established through Dor Hemshech. Many young people were active in the work for Soviet Jewry, and the Actions Committee for Soviet Jewry succeeded in creating strong support among Danish public figures for this cause.

Arne *Melchior, for many years president of the Danish Zionist Federation, was elected in 1979 to a third term in the Danish parliament, representing the Center Democrats. The former minister of finance, Mr. Henry Gruenbaum, was also re-elected in the same elections, and a new member, Mr. Magnus Demsitz representing the Social Democrats, was elected. Dr. Rafael Edelmann, who for nearly 40 years headed the department of Hebraica and Judaica at the Royal Library in Copenhagen, resigned at the end of 1970 and went to Jerusalem, where he died in 1972. He was succeeded at the Royal Library by Ulf Haxen.

The traditional prayerbook with Danish translation was re-published in 1977. Among the very few changes was the inclusion of the prayer for the State of Israel and a new text for the special prayer used on Tisha be-Av. The same year the Jewish community began the publication of a new Danish translation of the Pentateuch, the work of Rabbi Bent Melchior.

Since the kings Christian IV and Frederick III invited the first Jews to enter Denmark in the 17th century, relations between the Danish royal family and the Jewish community have been very close. This continued during the reign of Queen Margrethe II. In 1983 she attended the festive service in the Copenhagen Synagogue on the occasion of the synagogue's 150th anniversary. A year later she participated in the celebrations of the 300th jubilee of the Copenhagen community. In 1987 the queen was host to an official state visit by Israel's president Chaim Herzog, and in 1992 she agreed to be the patron of the many 1993 events to mark the 50th anniversary of the unique rescue operation of Danish Jews in October 1943.

The good relations also reflect the general situation between Jews and Christians in the country. Although an increasing number of foreigners settled in Denmark during the 1980s and 1990s, leading to an unhappy rise in nationalistic outbursts against newcomers, the Jews in general were not affected by the negative feelings towards strangers. Many of the newcomers were Muslims, and not a few of them Arabs from the Middle East. Muslim immigration continued into the 21st century and there were occasional incidents involving young Arabs, but most have been regarded by the police as street brawls. In 2003 a leader of the Hizbut-Tahrir association in Denmark was sentenced to jail for disseminating slanderous pamphlets against Jews. The Jewish community joined forces with the majority fighting extreme right-wing forces. A small, insignificant Nazi party existed, but its "Fuehrer" fell in love with a Palestinian girl and had to resign. In 1996 the right-wing Dansk Folkeparti took the issue of *sheḥitah* to the Danish Parliament in a campaign against Jewish and Muslim ritual slaughter. Their bill was voted down but they have brought up the issue repeatedly over the years, and in early 2005 a new bill was introduced in Parliament. This time too a majority of MPs voted against it. There was in fact no Jewish ritual slaughter in Denmark at the time because the Danish Jewish community imported its meat from Ireland and poultry from France. Nonetheless, the bill's defeat was a very important victory for the Jewish community.

The PLO did not find it easier than the Nazis to establish themselves in Denmark. They opened an office in Copenhagen in the 1980s and many people on the political left were sympathetic toward the organization, in particular after the Lebanon war and during the first *intifada.* But a plan to assassinate the Danish chief rabbi and a few other prominent Danish Jews visiting Israel not only failed but also became the beginning of the end of the office. More successful was an Arab attempt in 1985 to bomb the Copenhagen Synagogue. Strong security measures have since then been maintained around Jewish institutions.

The Jewish community tried to fight the problem of assimilation in various ways. Strong connections with Israel were being maintained and there was steady immigration of young families. The percentage of Jews making *aliyah* remained one of the highest in all Western countries. A large number of Danish Jews now have close relatives in Israel, and Danish Jews visit Israel frequently. Another major effort was made in the educational field, but the small number of children born to Jewish families has led to a decrease in the number of children attending the Jewish day school.

The Danish Jewish community included a large number of elderly people. Since the 1960s two old-age homes for sick people have been established with the help of the municipality, and in 1992 a new building was erected with modern apartments for elderly Jews. The new institution is named after the famous Swede Raoul *Wallenberg, who saved tens of thousands of Hungarian Jews from Nazi persecution.

The comparatively small community, numbering 6,400 in 2005, nearly all in Copenhagen, participated in international Jewish organizations such as the World Zionist Organization, World Jewish Congress, and B'nai B'rith. Denmark's geographical position also called for an active contribution to the effort on behalf of Soviet Jewry, and until the removal of the Iron Curtain many Danish Jews visited the U.S.S.R. to bring Soviet Jews material on Judaism and support their political struggle for freedom. Since 1989 this work has changed in character. Strong cultural ties have been established with the Jewish population of the Baltic states, and in 1992 a big operation for relief work in St. Petersburg was started in an attempt to assist the large Jewish population of that city to survive physically.

[Bent Melchior]

Relations with Israel

The relations between Denmark and Israel have been friendly and warm. Denmark was among the countries that voted for the partition of Palestine, and thus the establishment of a Jewish state, on Nov. 29, 1947, and recognized Israel soon after its establishment. Formal diplomatic relations were established on the ambassadorial level. Denmark has usually supported Israel at the United Nations and other international organizations. Of special note was its active support for Israel's right to free passage through the Suez Canal and the Gulf of Eilat, expressed in the attempt of the Danish boat *Inge Toft* to transport Israeli cargo through the Suez Canal in 1959. Trade relations developed from a modest scope to over $9,500,000 in 1968, with a balance between imports and exports, and $220 million in 2003, with Israel importing twice as much as it exported. Tourism from Denmark to Israel grew substantially over the years. The two countries maintained active friendship leagues, which concern themselves with disseminating information, caring for tourists, exchange visits of public figures, scientists, artists, etc. In most of the cities of Israel, streets or squares are named in honor of Denmark. In Jerusalem a monument to the rescue of Danish Jewry was erected on the 25th anniversary of the operation, and a comprehensive school in that city is named in Denmark's honor, and there is a King Christian X hospital at Eitanim. From the beginning of the 1960s, many thousands of Danish youth went to Israel every year for visits extending to a number of months, mostly working on kibbutzim. This movement led to the creation of a Danish organization of youth who worked on kibbutzim.

The appointment of Carmi Gillon, former head of Israel's General Security Service (GSS), as ambassador to Denmark in 2001 sparked a minor diplomatic crisis when Danish Justice Minister Frank Jensen said that Gillon would be detained under suspicion "of having participated in, attempted, or assisted in torture" in his GSS role. Within a few months, however, the situation was defused.

[Yohanan Meroz]

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DENMARK, FLORENCE LEVIN (1931–), U.S. psychologist. Born and educated in Philadelphia, Florence Levin received her B.A. from the University of Pennsylvania; after her marriage to Stanley Denmark, she completed a Ph.D. in social psychology at the University of Pennsylvania in 1958. Denmark taught as an adjunct professor at Queens College while raising three young children. She began teaching at Hunter College in 1964, ultimately serving as director of the doctoral program in psychology at CUNY Graduate Center. In 1984, she was appointed Thomas Hunter Professor in the Social Sciences at Hunter and four years later she was named the first Robert Scott Pace Professor of Psychology at Pace University, where she also served as chair of the Department of Psychology.

Denmark published widely on prejudice and discrimination against women and minorities. She is internationally known for her pioneering research and contributions to the psychology of women, which she helped establish as a legitimate scholarly field. A victim of gender discrimination in the early phases of her career, Denmark was committed to empowering female students and colleagues through organizing conferences, training graduate students, and co-authoring important resource works. These include *Women: Dependent or Independent Variable?* (1975); *The Psychology of Women: Future Directions of Research* (1978); *Women's Choices, Women's Realities* (1983); and *Psychology of Women: A Handbook of Issues and Theories* (1993).

Denmark was among the founders of the Division on the Psychology of Women of the American Psychological Association in 1973 and served simultaneously as the fifth woman president of the APA (1981–82) and the president of Psi Chi, the psychology honors society. She received many honors for her outstanding contributions to psychology, including the Association for Women in Psychology Distinguished Career Award (1986); the APA Distinguished Contributions to Education and Training in Psychology Award (1987); and the APA Public Interest Award (1992). In 1985, the APA's Committee on Women in Psychology recognized Florence Denmark's achievements with a Distinguished Leadership Citation, commending her for "exceptional organizational skills, administrative expertise, political acumen, and humanitarian leadership to promote equality for women and ethnic minorities and to create new visions for psychologists."

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[Harriet Pass Freidenreich (2nd ed.)]

DENVER, capital of *Colorado, U.S.; also known as the "Mile High City" and "Queen City." Jews began settling in Denver, and elsewhere in Colorado, following the discovery of gold in 1858. While some Jews were afflicted with "gold fever," most saw economic opportunities in servicing those who streamed into the many new mining towns. By 1859, a dozen Jewish immigrants had arrived, originally from Germany and Central Europe; among them, the brothers Hyman and Fred Salomon, Leopold Mayer, and Abraham Jacobs.

In 1860, Denver's first Jewish organization, the Hebrew Burial and Prayer Society, was formed. It soon split into a B'nai B'rith lodge (1872), which is still active, and into Colorado's first synagogue, Temple Emanuel (Reform) (1874), today the State's largest Jewish house of worship. From these earliest efforts, the Jewish community grew in numbers, prosperity, and influence, creating organizations, synagogues, and institutions, many from necessity because of Denver's isolation from other American Jewish population centers.

While Denver's early Jewish settlers identified with Reform Judaism primarily, beginning in the 1880s, some 2.5 million (mostly traditionally religious) Jews emigrated from Eastern Europe to the United States. This migration changed the demographics of Denver. Many Orthodox Jews settled in Denver seeking a cure for tuberculosis, the "white plague." Two Jewish institutions were founded to respond to their needs and other sufferers of consumption from around the country. The National Jewish Hospital for Consumptives was opened in 1899. Its name was changed in 1985 to the *National Jewish Center for Immunology and Respiratory Medicine. It is now the National Jewish Medical and Research Center, with a worldwide reputation in the research and treatment of allergy and pulmonary diseases. The Jewish Consumptives Relief Society was established just outside of Denver in 1904 to serve the religious needs of suffering Orthodox Jews. In 1955, it changed its mission to other medical purposes.

In 1882, a farming colony of East European Orthodox Jews was settled by the Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society in Cotopaxi, Colorado. The experiment failed, with the immigrants moving to the West Side of Denver and founding its Orthodox community there. It established synagogues, *mikva'ot* (ritual baths), Jewish educational institutions, and a Yiddish theater. Descendants of many of the Cotopaxi families still occupy leadership positions in the community. Reform Jews, on the other hand, gravitated to the East Side of Denver, first to the Curtis Park area, then to Capitol Hill and Hilltop, where Temple Emanuel relocated in 1956. Emanuel founded Shwayder Camp in the Colorado Rockies in 1948.

Denver became a temporary haven for Yiddish poets who suffered from tuberculosis. Yehoash was treated from 1900–1910; H. Leivick, from 1932–33 and 1934–35. A legendary figure was Dr. Charles Spivak, long time director of the Jewish Consumptive Relief Society, a major figure in Yiddish and Jewish cultural life, and a founder of the *Intermountain Jewish News* in 1913. Rabbi Judah Leib Ginsburg, an immigrant from Dvinsk, Latvia, wrote and published major Hebrew works on the Bible and Mishnah in Denver. Max Goldberg became the leading figure in media in mid-20th century Denver. He brought network television to Colorado, pioneered in talk televison, wrote for the *Denver Post* and published the *Intermountain Jewish News*.

By the 1970s, when the Jewish population had reached 40,000, many Jews began dispersing to Denver's suburbs, but continued to utilize the many institutions they had established on both sides of the city. Among these were the Hebrew Educational Alliance (1920), Yeshiva Toras Chaim (1967), and Beth Jacob High School for Girls (1968) on the West Side; and, on the East Side, Beth HaMedrosh Hagadol Congregation (1897) and Beth Joseph Congregation (1922), which merged in 1997; Hillel Academy (1951); and Temple Sinai (1967). The Allied Jewish Federation of Colorado was organized as the Allied Jewish Council in 1942; the Jewish Family Service (so named in 1990) dates back to 1887; and Green Gables Country Club (1928) and the Jewish Community Center (1948) provide a social outlet for Denver Jews.

In the latter quarter of the 20th century, Dr. Stanley M. Wagner founded the Center for Judaic Studies at the University of Denver (1975) and its affiliates, the Rocky Mountain Jewish Historical Society, Beck Archives and the Holocaust Awareness Institute, and the Mizel Museum (of Judaica, originally) (1982). Shalom Park (1992), a state of the art Jewish nursing home and assisted living facility, was an outgrowth of the Beth Israel Hospital and old age home on the West Side (founded in 1905). The Denver Campus for Jewish Education (2002) merged Herzl Jewish Day School (1975) and the Rocky Mountain Hebrew Academy (1979).

Denver became the focus of a widespread controversy in Jewish life in 1983. The *Intermountain Jewish News* published a 12-page supplement, edited by Rabbi Hillel Goldberg. The supplement reported that the Rocky Mountain Rabbinical Council, composed of Reform, Conservative, Reconstructionist, and Orthodox rabbis, had discontinued a joint conversion program (established six years earlier). The program processed hundreds of converts, attempting to avoid a schism in the Jewish community. Personal and ideological factors brought its demise. Most Orthodox authorities around the world rejected the halakhic basis of the program despite a ruling from the Shalom Hartman Institute in Jerusalem supporting it. Some Reform and Conservative Rabbis throughout the country also opposed the idea of having to send converts to an exclusively Orthodox Beth Din. A number of years later, in January 1998, the Ne'eman Commission, established by the Israeli government to create a conversion process acceptable to all wings of Judaism, embraced a variation of the Denver program. Still, attempts to revive it failed.

Among the many persons who figured prominently in Denver Jewish history were Golda *Meir, who came to Denver in 1913, where she met her future husband, Morris Myerson; Sheldon K. Beren, an oilman, philanthropist and national president of Torah Umesorah; and Ruth M. Handler, creator of the Barbie Doll. Notable rabbis were Rabbi William S. Friedman, who served Congregation Emanuel, 1889-1938; Rabbi Charles E. H. Kauvar, who filled the Beth HaMedrosh Hagadol pulpit, 1902-1971; and Rabbi Manuel Laderman at the Hebrew Educational Alliance, 1932–1979. Jews were also active in the political life of the community. Wolfe Londoner became Denver's only Jewish mayor in 1889, Philip Winn became ambassador to Switzerland in 1986, and Larry Mizel and Norman Brownstein are major influences in, respectively, Republican and Democratic politics nationally. Robert Lazar Miller, Jesse Shwayder, A. B. Hirschfeld, and Louis Robinson, and their descendants, have been highly visible in the business community for generations. The "mother of Jewish charity work" was Francis Wisebart *Jacobs, whose portrait in a stained glass window graces the Colorado Hall of Fame in the rotunda of the State Capitol.

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[Stanley M. Wagner (2nd ed.)]

DEPARTMENT STORES, an innovation first recognizable in mid-19th-century France. Similar contemporaneous developments were consumer cooperatives in Britain, and mail-order houses, chain stores, and "five-and-ten" stores in the United States. Only in Central Europe were department stores initiated and developed by Jewish entrepreneurs, except for the outstanding cases in Britain, South Africa, and the United States noted below. Of the five German department chain stores – *Schocken, *Tietz, *Wertheim, Karstadt, and Kaufhof – the first three were owned by Jews; although the last two were owned by non-Jews, they employed many Jews in top managerial positions. Jewish department stores were prominently situated in major cities; the N. Israel and Kadewe stores of Berlin and the Gerngross of Vienna were widely known. In addition, most medium and small towns had their own department stores, which were often Jewish-owned. The north German stores, founded in the last quarter of the 19th century for the sale of textiles, a field in which Jews were traditionally prominent, adapted to rapid industrialization and urbanization by expansion and diversification. Although department stores in Germany did not account for more than 4–5% of the total retail commerce, they aroused widespread and lasting hostility. The complaints and anxieties of small or specialized shopkeepers found support in conservative circles in general. Economic accusations of dishonest advertising and other unfair competitive practices merged with antisemitic attacks: the importance of the new type of Jewish shopkeeper was unpalatable to many; the very employment of Christian sales girls was distorted – they were pictured as being placed in danger of moral corruption by lustful Jewish bosses. In the late 19th and early 20th centuries this anti-department store pressure resulted in the levy of special taxes on department stores.

Under the Weimar Republic these laws were abolished and the stores entered a period of growth and expansion. Economic instability and unemployment, however, again made the stores a focus of popular resentment which the Nazis were quick to utilize. Before and especially after the Nazis seized power the stores were frequently sabotaged and their owners attacked in the streets. The nationwide *boycott of April 1, 1933, was specifically aimed against Jewish department stores, which continued to be harassed after the boycott was called off. Julius *Streicher, as *Gauleiter* of Franconia, led a vicious campaign against the Nuremberg Schocken store. The German government was eventually forced to ease the pressure for economic reasons and even to save the Tietz company from bankruptcy. On "*Kristallnacht*" (Nov. 9–10, 1938), the department stores, as symbols of Jewish economic oppression, were burned and looted along with the synagogues.

Jews played a major role in the development and ownership of department stores in the United States. The majority of such Jewish-owned stores originated with the 19th-century German-Jewish immigration to America. Many of these immigrants began their commercial careers as itinerant peddlers or small retailers in rural areas, where they enjoyed a virtual monopoly on merchandising; from there they expanded to large general stores, which eventually developed into the modern department stores of the late 19th and 20th centuries. A typical case was the *Gimbel family: after Adam Gimbel, a native of Germany, had opened a general store in the small town of Vincennes, Indiana, his seven sons established department stores first in Milwaukee, then in Philadelphia, and finally in New York, where Gimbels ultimately became one of the city's largest retail establishments. Its greatest competitor, Macy's, was not originally Jewish-owned, but was bought out in 1887 by the *Straus brothers, Isidore and Nathan, who had started by renting its basement to display the produce of the small glassware firm founded by their father Lazarus. In Brooklyn the brothers went into partnership with another German immigrant, Abraham *Abraham, to found Abraham & Straus. Bloomingdale's in New York grew out of a small drygoods store on Third Avenue owned by the *Bloomingdale brothers. Other New York department stores, such as B. Altman, Stern, Saks, S. Klein, and Ohrbach had similar histories, the latter two founded by 20th-century immigrants. Elsewhere in the U.S. large department store empires were also frequently the creation of Jews, such as I. Magnin and Levi *Straus on the West Coast, William *Filene's Sons Co. in the Boston area, Kauffmann Brothers in Pennsylvania, and Neimann & Marcus in Texas. The Chicago company of Sears, Roebuck, which came under the ownership of Julius *Rosenwald during the 1890s, became a vast mail order firm. Sears, Roebuck and other mail order firms, together with urban growth and the automobile, brought about the virtual extinction of countryside peddling as successfully practiced by Jewish immigrants. Jewish prominence in department store ownership continued, however. A highly successful chain of discount stores founded by a syndicate of young Jewish businessmen after the Korean War was E.J. Korvette, an acronym for "Eight Jewish Korean Veterans." Also prominent was the Farkas family, which owned Alexander's department store, a major entry in the New York market through the 1950s and 1960s.

By the early years of the 21st century, the retailing environment in the United States had changed, and most of the giant chains started years earlier by Jewish merchant families had disappeared like Korvette's or were absorbed in mergers and acquisitions. Federated Department Stores, for example, started in 1929 as a combination of Abraham & Straus of Brooklyn, Filene's of Boston, F&R Lazarus of Columbus, Ohio, and Bloomingdale's of New York. The stores operated independently for decades under the Federated umbrella and Federated also included Stern's, Burdine's, Rich's, Goldsmith's, and others, but in 2004 Federated, after gobbling up the May Company, decided to unite virtually all of its 400-odd stores under the Macy's brand name. The lone exception was Bloomingdale's, which grew from its New York origins to a high-end chain in several major American markets.

Nevertheless, other enterprising merchants entered the field, including Leslie H. *Wexner, who built The Limited, a chain in Columbus, Ohio, that specialized in women's clothing. By the late 1980s The Limited had become the parent of Henri Bendel, Lane Bryant, Victoria's Secret, Abercrombie & Fitch, and the Express stores and had a majority stake in Intimate Brands, which included Bath and Body Works and the White Barn Candle Company. The Wexner family was involved in many Jewish charities, supporting youth development programs, Jewish agencies, and temples and a long roster of organizations in the United States and Israel.

In Great Britain Simon *Marks and Israel *Sieff developed Marks and Spencer, famous for its high-quality, reasonably priced goods, and Sir Isaac *Wolfson founded Great Universal Stores. The *Cohen family of Liverpool established Lewis' chain of departmental stores in the north of England. In English-speaking countries public opinion was not hostile to department stores and recognized their advantages to the community. The leading Australian department store line was founded by Sidney (Simcha Baevski) *Meyer, founder of the Melbourne Myer Emporium. Jewish businessmen and industrialists played an important part in the development of the modern department store in South Africa, sometimes called there a "bazaar." In 1927, Sam *Cohen and Michael Miller, who had been in business together for 11 years, founded the O.K. Bazaars in Johannesburg and in time made it the largest chain-store business in South Africa. In 1931, Woolworths – independent of the company of similar name abroad – was started in Cape Town by Max Sonnenberg and developed with Elie Suzman to operate in other South African cities. In 1947 they became associated with Marks and Spencer of Britain. Other department stores such as Greatermans and the Belfast Warehouse were also developed by Jewish enterprise, while the countryside pharmacies of the South African Druggists Ltd. were largely the creation of Herman Karnovsky. Jewish involvement in department stores has undoubtedly diminished but new and notable entrepreneurs in retailing have arisen both in Britain (see *Green, Philip and *Kalms, Sir Stanley) and among Australian business leaders, many of whom are former refugees, operating chain stores and shopping centers.

In Israel the Histadrut developed a chain of small department stores called Ha-Mashbir la-Ẓarkhan. The first one opened in 1947 and by 1970 there were 14 branches throughout the country. A single large department store, Kol Bo Shalom, opened in Tel Aviv in 1965.

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[Henry Wasserman / Stewart Kampel (2nd ed.)]

DE PASS, family of Sephardi Jews who settled in England in Cromwell's time. Some members migrated in the 19th century to South Africa, where they helped to develop the shipping, fishing, and sugar industries.

AARON DE PASS (1815–1877) arrived in Cape Town in 1846 with his family and his younger brother Elias, and became a merchant. He established the firm of De Pass Brothers in 1848 and, having acquired his own ships, engaged in the export of guano from islands on the southwest Cape coast. His ships developed the coastal trade as far north as Walvis Bay. In 1857 the firm, by then known as De Pass, Spence and Company, started the sealing and whaling industries. It built the first ship-repair facilities at the Cape and laid patent slipways for the government in Simonstown and Table Bay. A leading citizen of Cape Town, Aaron de Pass was appointed justice of the peace and commissioner of the municipality. He was an elder of Tikvath Israel, the first Hebrew congregation in *Cape Town. He brought the first *Sefer Torah* from England in 1847, and was founder and first *parnas* of its synagogue in 1849.

ELIAS DE PASS (1834–1913), Aaron's younger brother and partner. In 1848 he enlisted with the colonial troops in the war with the Xosa tribesmen on the eastern frontier. He served throughout the campaign and became a lieutenant. He was for a time honorary secretary of the Cape Town Hebrew Congregation and a founder-member of the first synagogue.

DANIEL DE PASS (d. 1921), son of Aaron, joined the family firm in 1860 and interested himself particularly in exploiting the Ichaboe guano islands under a government lease. He established fisheries in South-West Africa and was the first to work a copper mine there. He later acquired extensive diamond interests. He contested in the courts the German claims to the territory and succeeded in retaining the guano offshore islands and Walvis Bay for the Cape Colony. He made an important contribution to the Natal sugar industry by introducing from India a variety of sugar cane which became the mainstay of the industry. On a visit to England, Daniel De Pass raised money toward the building of the Durban synagogue, the first in Natal.

ALFRED DE PASS (1861–1952), Daniel's son, was born in Cape Town. Trained as a chemical engineer, he worked in the family business and developed its sugar interests in Natal. In Cape Town, where he spent the later part of his life, he was best known as a philanthropist and a patron and connoisseur of the arts. The De Pass collections of art treasures, donated during and after his lifetime, are to be found in South African and British galleries and museums. His bequests included sums for the upkeep of Jewish cemeteries in Cape Town and in Britain.

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DE PHILIPPE (Phillips), EDIS (1918–1978), opera singer and founder-director of the Israel National Opera Company. Edis De Philippe was born in New York, and studied singing in the U.S., Italy, and France. At the age of 19 she appeared as Violetta in a gala performance of *La Traviata* in Washington before President Roosevelt. She went to Palestine in 1945 and set about founding an opera company backed by her own funds. She opened in 1947 with *Thaïs*, one of her outstanding roles. She continued single-mindedly to present opera regularly both in Tel Aviv and in other centers. From 1950 she devoted herself to production and direction, and added a ballet company in 1958.

[Dora Leah Sowden]

DE (DA) PIERA, MESHULLAM BEN SOLOMON (also called **En Vidas de Gerona**; first half of 13th century), Hebrew poet. Although Carmoly (in *Ha-Karmel*, 7, 1868/69) derived the family name of De Piera, who lived in northern Spain and southern France, from the city Fère in Burgundy, according to Neubauer it comes from the town Piera, in Catalonia, and this seems to be the most plausible explanation of the name. De Piera lived in the period of strife that raged around *Maimonides' *Guide of the Perplexed*. He first came under the influence of *Jonah b. Abraham Gerondi, the leader of the opposition, and his poems against the followers of the philosophical school stem from this period. He censured energetically all kinds of intellectualism and rationalism, and particularly that of the Maimonideans. For him, poetry was a way of defending the truth, a way to formulate his theological ideas about the most important issues in Judaism and to unmask the threat of the Maimonidean thinkers. His view of the foundations of Jewish faith brought him near to the Kabbalah and to the most traditional attitudes of Judaism. As a kind of champion of Orthodoxy and of the kabbalistic interpretation of Judaism, he even wrote against the Provençal Jews, seeing heretical trends in their ideas. He later changed his attitude however, perhaps on the advice of *Naḥmanides, and in one poem he begs his teacher, Isaac b. Zerahiah ha-Levi Gerondi, to forgive him for having opposed philosophy; the poor translations of the Arabic original, he claimed, had given him a false idea of the true content of the *Guide of the Perplexed*.

De Piera seems to have lived in Gerona for a long period and there belonged to a circle of mystics whom *Naḥmanides had gathered about him. Among his intimate friends was the Provençal poet, *Isaac b. Judah ha-Seniri of Beaucaire (c. 1220), and perhaps also Abraham *Ibn Ḥasdai of Barcelona. One of the most original Hebrew poets of his time, he abandoned many of the conventions of Andalusian poetry, dissenting from its ideological background, and even used a very different language, far from the pure biblical Hebrew used by the Andalusian poets. From the formal point of view, for example, he renounced the classical structure of the Arabic *qasida*. De Piera employs many unusual modes of structure, language, and subject-matter in his poems that, in the opinion of some scholars, can only partly be explained as due to the influence of Christian troubadour poetry, and in particular to the most obscure and difficult art of poetry which was at the time a particular fashion among the troubadours in southern France and in Catalonia; other scholars, however, prefer to explain his peculiarities as representing an internal development of Hebrew poetry. Abraham Bedersi, in his critical poem *Ḥerev ha-Mithappekhet* (published in *Ḥotam Tokhnit* (1865), 16 line 141), speaks of him with admiration. Only a part of De Piera's poetic work has been preserved (Neubauer, Cat, no. 1970 iv); a number of poems from this collection were edited by J. Patai, while an almost complete edition with introduction and commentaries was published by H. Brody (YMḤSI, 4 (1938), 1–117). As to the literary value of his poetry in the service of his theological ideology, there are very different opinions among scholars.

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[Jefim (Hayyim) Schirmann / Angel Sáenz-Badillos (2nd ed.)]

DE PIERA, SOLOMON BEN MESHULLAM (c. 1342–c. 1418), Hebrew poet of the Kingdom of Aragon, descendant of Meshullam b. Solomon *de Piera. His family was an important Jewish family of Catalonia who had its origins in Piera, a municipality of Barcelona county. He was in Cervera in 1385 (he bought the right to a seat in the new synagogue) and in 1387 he visited or stayed in neighboring Monzon. At this time he was in contact with the school of talmudists and poets of Gerona. He relates that in 1391 people attacked his house and took his own still-unmarried children away. After his children's deaths, Solomon de Piera found refuge in Saragossa, where no unrest had occurred. There he was in the service of three generations of the De la Cavalleria family. He acted as secretary to Don Solomon de la Cavalleria (Abenlavi), the patriarch of the family; he fulfilled similar functions for his son, Don Benvenist de la Cavalleria; and he was the tutor of the latter's two sons. He gave himself over completely to the art of teaching how to write verses and compose poems. Thanks to Solomon de Piera, a completely new phenomenon appeared in the history of Hebrew poetry in Spain, for he was the leader of a group of poets who gave themselves the names of *kat ha-meshorerim*, "the group of poets," and *adat o ḥevrat nogenim* "band" or "troupe of musicians." They were poets like Vidal de la Cavalleria, son of Don Benvenist, Vidal Benvenist (or Abenvenist), the author of *Efer ve-Dinah;* Moses Abbas, Moses Gabbai, Samuel al-Rabi, Vidal al-Rabi, etc., who figure in the *Dîwân* of De Piera and maintained correspondence with him. All of them composed the same type of poetry. Just like the poets around them who wrote in Romance, they sent each other letters in the form of poems and took part in disputes and competitions. This "troupe of musicians," known also as the poets of the "Circle of Saragossa," started on its path after the terrible events of 1391, flowered during the reigns of the two last monarchs of the House of Barcelona, Juan I and his brother Martin the Humane, who died in 1396 and 1410, respectively; and began its decline with Fernando de Antequera's ascent to the throne of Aragon, because of his proselytizing zeal. It ceased to exist shortly after 1414, as a consequence of the Dispute of Tortosa and the conversion to Christianity of some of its most important members, including Vidal de la Cavalleria and De Piera himself. The most important work of Solomon de Piera was his *Dīwān,* composed and edited by himself. He added headings to the poems, written in the first person, explaining the circumstances under which the poems were composed and naming their authors or addressees. The preservation of the manuscripts of De Piera's poems is due to a later literary circle of a similar kind, which flourished in Salonika in the second half of the 16th century (Saadiah *Longo and others). There exist at least six manuscripts, dating from the 15th to the 17th centuries that claim to contain the *Dīwān* of De Piera, and many others (at least 21) with some of his poems and writings. About 362 poems of Solomon de Piera are preserved in his *Dīwān*. Most have a *qasida* structure and are in conventional meters, and 35 – nearly all, liturgical compositions – are *muwashshaḥāt*. In addition to the poems, there are many texts in rhymed prose – letters and other writings that are not independent compositions but form a single unit with the accompanying poems. The nature of this material has been obscured by the fact that S. Bernstein gave the title *The Diwan* (1942) to his collection of Solomon de Piera's poems. But De Piera's original *Dīwān* was neither an anthology nor a miscellaneous collection of poems like Bernstein's edition; it was a coherent work, in which all the above-mentioned materials appeared according to a definite structure and organization. At Don Benvenist's request, De Piera wrote a "manual for composing poetry," the *Imrei No'ash,* that has not been completely preserved or completely edited. His dictionary of rhymes, however, had wide distribution, as one can see from the large number of existing manuscripts. The introductory poem and the preface to this work were published by Tauber (Kiryat Sefer, 1924–25)*;* the section *Ḥelek ha-Millim ha-Meshuttafim* was published by M. Tama in *Maskiyyot Kesef* (Amsterdam (1785), 3–23). A collection of liturgical poems by De Piera was published by S. Bernstein (HUCA, 19, 1945). Commissioned by the Jewish community of Saragossa, De Piera wrote a number of circular letters to the communities of Aragon on such matters as taxation. He also wrote letters in prose to the poet Moses Abbas (A.M. Habermann, in: *Oẓar Yehudei Sefarad.* 1964).

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[Judit Targarona (2nd ed.)]

°**DEPPING, GEORGES-BERNARD** (1784–1853), French historian of German origin. Depping was born and educated at Muenster, Westphalia, and settled in Paris, where he wrote on a variety of subjects. In 1823 he participated in a prize contest of the French Academy for an essay on "The Jews of France, Spain, and Italy," which he enlarged as a book in 1834 (*Les Juifs dans le moyen âge*). It was translated into German in the same year, and republished in French in 1844. Depping's work, while in some part based on original research in the published sources and generally sympathetic to the Jewish people, propagates many of the prejudices of earlier writers and his own time, which give a distorted, unjust picture of Jewish character and the economic role played by Jews in medieval Europe, and their legal position (corrected by O. *Stobbe). Depping has been used widely as a secondary source by historians, such as H. Graetz and W. Sombart, as well as antisemitic writers. He thus influenced the historical image of medieval Jewry.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Nouvelle Biographie Générale*, 13 (1866), 702–5; T. Oelsner, in: YLBI, 7 (1962), 189, no. 21.

[Toni Oelsner]

DEPUTIES OF THE JEWISH PEOPLE, representatives of Jewish communities in Russia to the government during the reign of *Alexander I (1801–25). After parts of *Poland-Lithuania had been annexed by Russia, the large communities sent *shtadlanim* to the court at St. Petersburg to represent them and defend their rights. Most of the *shtadlanim* were merchants or contractors who visited the city on business. When a committee was set up to frame a "Jewish constitution" in 1802–04 it was joined by several government-appointed Jewish advisers (N.N. *Notkin, A. *Peretz, and J.L. *Nevakhovich). The government also requested some important communities to send representatives to the committee. Together they tried to influence the committee in favor of Jewish rights. In 1807 the government appointed a "Jewish committee" to implement the inimical "Jewish constitution" of 1804 and proposed that the communities elect deputies to represent the Jews before the provincial governors. The memoranda of these deputies were referred to the "Jewish committee" in St. Petersburg and were influential in obtaining a temporary halt to the expulsion of Jews from the villages. It was also proposed to abolish the prohibition on the lease and sale of alcohol by Jews. During the invasion by Napoleon two "deputies of the Jewish people," Zundel Sonnenberg and Eliezer Dillon, accompanied Alexander's military headquarters in 1812–13, and acted as liaison between the czar and the large Jewish population in the combat area. They regularly presented memoranda and petitions concerning Jewish affairs to the court and transmitted its instructions to the Jewish communities. After the war an attempt was made to convert the committee of deputies into a permanent institution. The Jewish communities were requested to send representatives to St. Petersburg to maintain permanent contact with the ministries of religious affairs and popular education. On August 19, 1818, electors from the 12 districts (*gubernia*) of the *Pale of Settlement convened and elected three deputies, Zundel Sonnenberg, Beinush Lapkovski, and Michael Eisenstadt, and three deputy representatives. In order to raise funds to cover their expenses, which probably also included furnishing bribes, the assembly resolved that every Jew was to donate the silver headpiece of his prayer shawl. The change in Alexander's policy toward the Jews at the end of his reign reduced the importance and status of the deputies. Sonnenberg was dismissed because of "impudence toward the authorities." In 1825 the Jewish deputation was officially suspended "until the need arises for a new deputation," and the institution was thereby abolished and not renewed. However, the government continued to make use of Jewish representatives. In 1840 consultative committees, chosen from among "enlightened" Jews, were created and attached to governors in Kiev and five other towns. In 1844 the function of "Learned Jew" (*uchoni yevrei*) was created, meaning an expert and consultant in Jewish religious affairs attached to the district governers and responsible for education and interior affairs.

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[Yehuda Slutsky / Shmuel Spector (2nd ed.)]

DERASH (or **Derush**) (Heb. דְּרָשׁ or דְּרוּשׁ from דָּרַשׁ, "to interpret"), a method of exposition of scriptural verses. In the Midrash the distinction between *derash* and the alternative method called **peshat* is not clearly defined and in parallel passages the terms are sometimes interchangeable (cf. Gen. R. 10:7 with Tanh., Ḥukkat 1). Only in the Middle Ages, probably under the influence of Rashi's Bible commentary, did *derash* come to be used for homiletical exposition in contrast to *peshat*, the literal interpretation. *Derashah* (Heb. דְּרָשָׁה) is the equivalent of the word "sermon" today. Originally it was confined to a sermon on a theme which was based on a homiletical interpretation of Scripture.

[Louis Isaac Rabinowitz]

DERASHOT HA-RAN (Heb. דְּרָשׁוֹת הָרַ"ן), a collection of 12 homiletic works. Traditionally, they are attributed to R. Nissim b. Reuben *Gerondi, one of the outstanding Jewish leaders in Christian Spain, known as רַ"ן ("Ran," from Rabbi Nissim). The prolific writings and information on Gerondi, however, do not prove his authorship, and there is nothing in the homilies themselves to identify the author. It is therefore necessary to assume that the first initial of the writer of the work was the Hebrew letter נ (*nun*), and that later scholars attributed it to the famous rabbi of Gerona.

The homilies in the collection (first edition probably Constantinople, c. 1533; second Venice, 1592, and many subsequent editions) belong to the tradition of philosophic homiletic literature, started by *Abraham b. Ḥiyya (12th century) and carried on by homiletic writers like Jacob *Anatoli and Isaac *Arama. Like other writers of homiletic philosophic works, the author of this collection does not exclusively follow one school of philosophy but is eclectic, basing himself on several schools. The work is nevertheless of some importance in the history of Jewish philosophy and it seems that *Ḥasdai Crescas was influenced by it in the formulation of his anti-Aristotelian philosophic system. The homilies are based on single verses from the Torah, each forming the theme of an individual homily. The method used is that of homiletic questioning of the form and content of the verses, as well as of some logical problems. The answers and homiletic interpretations are arrived at by way of the questioning itself, into which the author interweaves his moralistic and ethical system. He never approaches his ethical point directly and uses philosophic questions and answers as a bridge between the verses and the ethical conclusions. Among the philosophical problems he examines are the creation, the essence of nature, and in particular the nature of prophecy and the unique quality of the revelation to Moses (in the third and fifth homilies). In his ethical and moralistic teachings much emphasis is laid on the themes of the nature of the divine commandments, the relationship between rabbinic laws and the Torah, fear and love of God, and especially on the ways of repentance. The author took special pains to drive home to his audience that all the troubles the Jews were undergoing had some purpose in a divine design, whose end was good.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Rosenmann, in: *Festschrift… Schwarz* (1917), 489–98; H.R. Rabinowitz, *Deyokna'ot shel Darshanim* (1967), 67–73.

[Joseph Dan]

DERAZHNYA, town in Khmelnitski district, Ukraine. A Karaite community existed there for many years and it suffered considerably during the *Chmielnicki uprising of 1648. The *Rabbanites settled there at the beginning of the 18th century. They suffered in a *Haidamack attack in 1734. There were 316 Jews living in Derazhnya in 1784, owning 50 houses, 3,333 in 1897 (68% of the total population), and 3,250 in 1926 (57.4%). *Shalom Aleichem placed the action of his short story "The German" there. A Jewish school with 140 pupils and a library was in operation at the beginning of the 20th century. Pogroms were unleashed on December 1, 1917, and in June 1919. Between the wars there were a Jewish council, a Jewish court, and a kolkhoz in Derazhnya. A Yiddish school attended by 90% (336) of the Jewish children in the town operated there. In 1939 the Jews numbered 2,651 (41% of the total population). The Germans occupied the town on July 11, 1941, and set up a closed ghetto, exacted heavy tributes, and confiscated all valuables. In September 1942, 4,080 Jews from Derazhnya and the surrounding settlements were murdered by the Germans. Two hundred skilled workers were executed later in the year in Letichev. The community was not refounded after World War II.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Yevrei v SSSR* (1929^{4}), 48–51.

[Shmuel Spector (2nd ed.)]

DERBENT (former ***bāb al-Abwāb**), Caspian Sea port in Dagestan (Caucasus). Derbent has been erroneously identified with Terbent (טרבנת) mentioned in the Talmud (TJ, Meg. 4:5; 75b). Certainly Jews, evidently originally from Persia, were already settled in Derbent by the time that the kingdom of the *Khazars was established; some ascribe the first propagation of Judaism among the Khazars to Derbent Jews. Jewish-owned caravans used to pass through the city in this period. After the fall of the Khazar kingdom on the Volga in 969, a number of survivors took refuge in Derbent. Jews living there are mentioned in the 12th century by *Benjamin of Tudela, and in the 13th by the Christian traveler Wilhelm of Rubruquis. The first mention of Jews in Derbent in modern times is by the German traveler Adam Olearius in the 17th century. Derbent Jewry endured frightful sufferings during the wars in the 18th century; Nadir Shah of Persia forced many Jews to adopt Islam. After the Russian conquest many of the Jewish occupants of rural Dagestan fled to Derbent, which became the spiritual center of the *mountain Jews. The Jewish population numbered 2,200 in 1897 (15% of total population) and 3,500 in 1903. After the 1917 Revolution many Dagestan Jews deprived of their lands migrated to Derbent where they generally took up occupations in crafts or industry. A visitor to Derbent in the 1960s reported that some of the Jews were occupied in agriculture, principally vinegrowing. They were organized in four kolkhozes whose lands bordered on the town. The kolkhoz members lived in town; in general Jews tended to live in the same area.

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[Yehuda Slutsky]

DEREKH EREẒ (Heb. דֶּרֶךְ אֶרֶץ; "way of the world"), desirable behavior of a man toward his fellows, in keeping with natural practice and accepted social and moral standards, including the rules of etiquette and polite behavior. This has become the common and accepted connotation of a term having several meanings in rabbinic literature:

(1) Natural and normal human behavior – "It is natural (*derekh ereẓ*) for the young to speak poetry; the middle-aged, proverbs; the old, despair at vanity" (Song R. 1:10).

(2) Worldly occupation – "It is appropriate to combine study of Torah with a trade" (*derekh ereẓ*) (Avot 2:2).

(3) A euphemism for sexual cohabitation – "'He saw our plight' (Deut 26:7) which means being cut off from sexual intercourse" (*derekh ereẓ*) (*Haggadah* of Passover; cf. Yoma 74b).

(4) Correct conduct and proper behavior – *derekh ereẓ* in this wide and general sense is much praised by the rabbis, and is the subject of a post-talmudic treatise, *Derekh Ereẓ* (see next entry). While its value is often equated to that of Torah itself, R. Ishmael b. Naḥman held that *derekh ereẓ*

preceded the Torah by 26 generations (i.e., the period between the creation of the world and the giving of the Torah; Lev. R. 9:3) – in other words, *derekh ereẓ* is part of the natural order of things.

Basic to *derekh ereẓ* are maintenance of family harmony and sensitive consideration for wife and family (Shab. 10b; MK 17a; et al.). The laws of *derekh ereẓ* demand that a man make it a rule to bear himself courteously toward his fellow (e.g., Avot 4:15; Ber. 6b; BM 87a), to exercise care in his words and claims, and especially to use "clean" speech (Pes. 3a). A man should eat less than his means allow (Ḥul. 84b). He should dress decently (Shab. 113a–114b, 145b). The rabbis stated "In whom mankind finds pleasure, God finds pleasure" (Avot 3:10). In agreement with this general principle, many specific instructions are found concerning proper behavior. Special stress is laid on putting the concerns of others before one's own (cf. Ḥag. 8a; et al.). Laws of *derekh ereẓ* also deal with definitions of modesty, particularly in relations between men and women, proper etiquette between teacher and pupil, table manners, reception of guests, etc. Scholars are to be particularly careful as regards *derekh ereẓ* since they serve as an example, and a fault in their behavior shames both them and the Torah. Maimonides' description based on halakhic and aggadic sources of the behavior befitting a scholar is in fact a summary of *derekh ereẓ*; it includes polite manners as well as the demand, "… he shall never in his lifetime trouble his fellow.…" It culminates in the counsel to prefer to be among the persecuted rather than the persecutors, among the humiliated rather than those who humiliate (cf. BK 93a). Such is the man described in the verse "And He said to me, 'You are My servant, Israel, in whom I will be glorified'" (Maim., Yad, De'ot 5).

Although the rabbis often found scriptural warrant for practices of *derekh ereẓ*, these were not generally included as formal laws in the great codes, since they were held to be recommendations rather than commandments, and often varied with time and place.

For "Torah with *derekh ereẓ*," see *Neo-Orthodoxy.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: ET, 7 (1956), 672ff.; W. Bacher, *Die exegetische Terminologie*, 1 (1889), 25; 2 (1905), 40–45.

[Simon S. Schlesinger]

DEREKH EREẒ (Heb. דֶּרֶךְ אֶרֶץ; lit. "way of the world"; "proper deportment"), one of the minor tractates of the Talmud, published in current editions of the Talmud at the conclusion of the fourth order, *Nezikin*. *Derekh Ereẓ*, as its name suggests, deals primarily with morals and customs. In its current printed edition, this treatise is divided into three sections: *Derekh Ereẓ Rabbah; Derekh Ereẓ Zuta*; and *Perek ha-Shalom*, which are basically independent units and were probably collated during the late Geonic period. It belongs to a genre of literature which represents the transition between earlier wisdom literature (Ben Sira, tractate *Avot*) and the mediaeval moralistic works (e.g., *Ma'alot ha-Middot* by Yeḥiel ben R. Yekutiel ha-Rofeh, 13th cent.; *Menorat ha-Maor*, by Israel Al-Nakawa, 14th cent., etc.). Related to this body of literature is also *Pseudo-Seder Eliyahu* Zuta, ed. M. Friedman, Jerusalem 1960, and *Masekhet Kallah*, ed. M. Higger, New York 1936.

Derekh Ereẓ Rabbah contains eleven chapters. It begins with a halakhic section on forbidden marriages, to which are appended some ethical maxims. The second chapter contains two entirely different sections, the first discussing 24 classes of people, 12 bad and 12 good; the second details the sins that cause eclipses of the sun and moon, concluding with mystical remarks about God and the 390 heavens. The third chapter contains moral reflections on the origins and destiny of man. Chapters 4 and 5 list rules of conduct for the sages and their disciples. Chapters 6 and 7 detail the proper mode of conduct in society and at the table; chapters 8 and 9 deal exclusively with rules of conduct while eating and drinking; and chapter 10 covers proper behavior in the bathhouse. The final chapter enumerates practices which are dangerous to life, concluding with blessings that are recited on various occasions. This short summary of the tractate's contents indicates that the first section, laws of forbidden marriages, is quite different from the rest of the work, which treats solely of ethical behavior and customs. *Elijah b. Solomon, the Vilna Gaon, was of the opinion that this first chapter is actually the last portion of the tractate **Kallah*, which precedes it in the printed editions and whose subject is marriage, and that it was wrongly taken from there and appended to *Derekh Ereẓ.*

There are ten chapters in *Derekh Ereẓ Zuta*. The name is misleading in one respect since the word *zuta* (lit. "small") could indicate that it is a shorter version of *Derekh Ereẓ Rabbah*. In reality, the two treatises have little in common, and the appellation *Zuta* is probably of later origin. The first nine chapters all possess a certain unity, in that they consist almost exclusively of exhortations to self-examination and modesty. Temperance, resignation, gentleness, patience, respect for age, and an attitude of forgiveness are urged. The moral and social duties of the scholars are stressed throughout. The first half of the tenth chapter is devoted to eschatology while the second half reverts to moral and ethical themes. Many of this tractate's statements are cogent and concise, such as, "if you have done much good let it seem insignificant in your eyes … but let a small kindness done for you appear great" (ch. 2). Appended to these tractates is the *Perek ha-Shalom* which extols the virtue of peace, and is a totally independent work, probably compiled during the Geonic period.

It may be that portions of these tractates were already redacted during the talmudic period. R. Judah's disciples requested that he teach them a section of the laws of *Derekh Ereẓ* (Ber. 22a). It also related that Simeon b. Ba waited on his master, R. Johanan, in accordance with the etiquette outlined in *Derekh Ereẓ* (TJ, Shab. 6:2, 8a). Nevertheless the present text of these treatises dates from the post-talmudic period, and more than one editor aided in its final redaction. These tractates are also known by other names in geonic and rabbinic literature. The first chapters of *Derekh Ereẓ Zuta* were also called the tractate on "Fear of Sin"; the third chapter of *Derekh Ereẓ Rabbah* was referred to as the "Chapter of Ben Azzai"; chapters 5–8 were called *Derekh Ereẓ Zeira,* and the first chapter of *Derekh Ereẓ Rabbah* was also known as the chapter of "Forbidden Relations." These treatises were widely read, and the fact that the tractate passed through so many hands partially accounts for the chaotic state of the texts. Eighteenth-century scholars did much, by means of glosses and commentaries, toward making the texts intelligible. A critical edition and English translation of these tractates was published by Michael Higger in 1935. Another English translation was issued in 1965.

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[Daniel Sperber 2nd ed.]

DEREN, MAYA (**Eleanora Derenkowsky**; 1917–1961), U.S. avant-garde filmmaker. Born in Kiev, Deren moved with her family to New York in 1922 to escape antisemitic pogroms in the Ukraine; at that time the family changed its surname to Deren. Eleanora undertook an arts degree at New York University, completing her master's dissertation on symbolist poetry at Smith College in 1939. Following university, Eleanora managed and toured with Katherine Dunham's dance troupe.

Settling in Los Angeles in the 1940s, Deren changed her name to Maya and made the landmark experimental trance film *Meshes of the Afternoon* (1943) with Alexander Hammid. The film, set in Hollywood, unravels in a nightmarish narrative of repetition and symbolic displacement with objects magically appearing and transforming across the cut. Shot as a silent film, it was edited to Teiji Ito's drumbeat, generating a strong sense of rhythmic form and dynamic movement. In 1943 Deren collaborated with Marcel Duchamp to produce *Witch's Cradle*. The surviving fragments reveal themes that recur throughout Deren's films: the artist's role, the influence of nature, and a fascination with ritual. *At Land* (1944) shows Deren crawling across a dining table, oblivious to the diners. Its depiction of waves descending back into the sea subverts natural rhythms. In *A Study in Choreography for the Camera* (1945) the performer and the camera become dynamic forces as the dancer's twirls bridge disparate spaces. *Meditation on Violence* (1948) focuses on a Wu Tang ritual, juxtaposing violence and stillness. In *Ritual in Transfigured Time* (1946) Deren experiments with slowed footage of two wind-swept women immersed in ritualized wool looming. Her final film, *The Very Eye of Night* (1959), is an incomplete collaboration with the Metropolitan Opera Ballet School that synthesizes dance and Greek mythology against a background of blinking constellations.

Deren organized and presented lectures at universities across the United States and in Canada and Cuba to raise the profile of experimental films. Her innovations inspired the formation of Cinema 16 and Deren herself established the Creative Film Foundation to encourage independent filmmakers. Bridging the divide between praxis and theory, Deren wrote *An Anagram of Ideas on Art, Form and Film* (1946). In 1947 she won the Grand Prix Internationale for avant-garde film at the Cannes Film Festival and was awarded a Guggenheim Foundation Fellowship, a first for a motion picture artist. This allowed Deren to travel to Haiti to film voodoo rituals and write *Divine Horsemen: The Living Gods of Haiti* (1953; rep. 1983). To mark her untimely death the American Film Institute established the Maya Deren Award to inspire independent film and video artists.

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[Wendy Haslem (2nd ed.)]

DERENBURG (**Derenbourg**), family of scholars and writers. ẒEVI HIRSCH DERENBURG, an 18th-century Hebrew writer, was born in Offenbach. In 1789 he went to Mainz as a private tutor of Hebrew and also kept a restaurant. He wrote *Yoshevei Tevel* (Oftenbach, 1789), a didactic moral drama in the style of M.Ḥ. Luzzatto's *La-Yesharim Tehillah*. The eight *dramatis personae* were apparently modeled on living figures in the Mainz community, including the rabbi who is the play's hero. JOSEPH NAPHTALI DERENBOURG (1811–1895), son of Ẓevi Hirsch, was an Orientalist. Joseph lived as domestic tutor in Amsterdam (1835–38), and then settled in Paris, where he continued his Oriental studies, while maintaining, under the influence of A. *Geiger, his interest in Jewish studies. In 1843 he became a French citizen and added an "O" to the second part of his name. He taught German at the Lycée Henri IV in 1851, became corrector at the Imprimerie Nationale in 1852, and also cataloged the Hebrew manuscripts at the Bibliothèque Nationale. In 1857 he founded a Jewish high school for boys which he headed until 1864. Derenbourg was awarded the Légion d'Honneur in 1869 and in 1871 was elected to the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres. In 1877 a chair for rabbinic-Hebrew language and literature was created for him at the Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes. He succeeded Solomon *Munk on the central committee of the Alliance Israélite Universelle and served later as its vice president. From 1869 to 1872 he also served as member of the Paris Consistoire.

Among Derenbourg's major contributions in the field of Oriental languages and inscriptions are: *Les fables de Loqman le Sage* (1850); *Les inscriptions phéniciennes du Temple de Seti à Abydos* (1885; in collaboration with his son Hartwig); part four of *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum* (on Himyaritic and Sabean inscriptions, in collaboration with his son; 2 pts., 1889–92). His most important contributions to Jewish scholarship were: *Essai sur l'histoire et la géographie de la Palestine d'après les Thalmuds et les autres sources rabbiniques* (1867); *Opuscules et traités d'Aboul Walid Merwan ibn Djanah de Cordoue* (in association with his son, 1880); *Deux versions hébraiques du livre Kalilah et Dimnah* (1881); *Le Livre des Par-*

terres Fleuris (Jonah ibn Janaḥ's Hebrew Grammar in Arabic, 1886); an edition of Maimonides' commentary on *Seder Tohorot* (Arabic text and Hebrew translation, 3 parts, 1887–89); and *Oeuvres complètes de R. Saadia b. Joseph al-Fayyoumi*, an edition of Saadiah's writings in Arabic, also in association with his son (5 vols., 1893–99), which was Derenbourg's most important work but remained unfinished. HARTWIG DERENBOURG (1844–1908), son of Joseph, was also an Orientalist. From 1875 he lectured in Arabic at the Ecole des Langues Orientales Vivantes and on Oriental languages at the Ecole Rabbinique. In 1885 Hartwig was appointed to the chair of Arabic at the Ecole des Hautes Etudes and to that of Islam, of which he was the first occupant. In 1900 he was elected a member of the Institut de France. Among his contributions to Jewish scholarship are the following: the editions and translations of Saadiah's Arabic version of Isaiah and Job (in association with his father and W. Bacher, 1896 and 1899; in manuscript at the British Museum). Derenbourg also compiled a catalog of Arabic manuscripts in Spanish libraries, which led him to discover the sources for a history of the Crusades and the Caliphate, published in 1895. A memorial volume, *Mélanges Hartwig Derenbourg* (1909), contains a full bibliography. For the German branch of the family, see *Dernburg.

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DERI, ARYEH (Machluf; 1959–), political leader of Shas in the years 1984–99. Member of the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Knessets. Deri was born in Meknès in Morocco, and immigrated to Israel with his family in 1968. He was educated in the Porat Yosef yeshivah and later in the Hebron yeshivah in Jerusalem. He was secretary of the *haredi* (ultra-Orthodox) settlement of Ma'aleh Amos, and in the years 1981–83 was a member of the Regional Council of *Gush Etzyon.

In 1984 Deri was instrumental in convincing Rabbi Ovadiah *Yosef, his mentor and patron, to establish Shas as a Sephardi *haredi* party, with the blessing of the Ashkenazi Rabbi Eliezer Menachem *Shach, against the background of feelings of discrimination within the Sephardi community. Deri did not stand for election to the Eleventh and Twelfth Knessets, concentrating instead on building the independent *El ha-Ma'ayan* Shas educational system, which soon provided education to tens of thousands of children from kindergarten age. In 1986 he was appointed director general of the Ministry of the Interior under a Shas minister.

Deri became minister of the interior in 1988, at the age of 29, even though he was not a member of the Knesset. In March 1990 he collaborated with the Israel Labor Party in bringing down the National Unity Government headed by Yitzhak *Shamir in a vote of no-confidence. However, after Shimon *Peres failed to form a government, he remained minister of the interior in the government formed by Shamir in June 1990. As minister of the interior he gained a reputation for his ability to make clearcut decisions on controversial issues, such as the abrogation of theater censorship or adjustment of the summer clock. He was subsequently elected to the Thirteenth Knesset, and was once again appointed minister of the interior in the government formed by Yitzhak *Rabin in July 1992, and as a result was ostracized by Rabbi Shach. Deri resigned from Rabin's government together with the other Shas ministers on the eve of the signature of the Declaration of Principles with the PLO in September 1993. At the same time criminal charges were brought against him, charging that he had transferred money from the Ministry of the Interior to various bodies established by Shas in breach of regulations, and that he had received bribes in the amount of $150,000, which he used to purchase apartments in Jerusalem, but which he claimed he had received as an inheritance from his wife's foster parents in the U.S.

The initial investigations lasted for close to three years, as Deri took advantage of his right to remain silent. Deri resigned from the government in September. The trial on the bribery charge opened in June 1994, and dragged on until March 1999, with Deri continuing to follow a strategy of remaining silent. Throughout the investigation and the trial Deri continued to lead Shas politically, and as his trial was viewed by many Sephardim as being based on discrimination, Shas won ten seats in the 1996 elections. Deri was finally found guilty of receiving bribes and sentenced by the District Court of Jerusalem in March 1999 to a four-year prison term and a fine of NIS 250,000. On appeal the sentence was reduced to three years. The affair turned Deri into a martyr within the Sephardi community. He was released from prison in July 2002. In September 2003 Deri was also found guilty of breach of trust for the illegal transfer of funds from the Ministry. However, he was not given another prison sentence.

Banned from returning to political life for a certain period, Deri resumed his religious studies. In the meantime a rift occurred between Deri and his former mentor Rabbi Ovadiah Yosef, against the background of Deri's conduct and Ovadiah's choice of Eliyahu Yishai to replace him as Shas' political leader.

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[Susan Hattis Rolef (2nd ed.)]

DERNBURG, German family of jurists, editors, bankers, and statesmen. HEINRICH DERNBURG (1829–1907) was a jurist. He studied law at Giessen and Berlin and from 1854 to 1862 was professor of law at Zurich. In 1862 he became professor at Halle University which, in 1866, he represented in the Upper House of the Prussian parliament. In 1871 he became professor of Roman and Prussian law in Berlin. One of the outstanding exponents of the "Pandectic" in Roman law, his three-volume work *Pandekten* (1884–87) is still considered a classic. His books on Prussian private law, *Lehrbuch des preussischen Privatrechts, und der Privatrechtsnormen des Reichs*

(1877–80; 3 volumes), in which he emphasizes the importance of social and economic factors in the development of law, and *Das buergerliche Recht des Deutschen Reichs und Preussens* (1889–1915; 5 volumes), had a great influence on German jurisprudence. He was baptized when a child.

His brother FRIEDRICH (1833–1911) was editor of the Berlin *Nationalzeitung* and coeditor of the *Berliner Tageblatt*. He wrote travel sketches, plays, and novels. Friedrich's son BERNHARD DERNBURG (1865–1937) was trained to be a banker and began by working for the Berliner Handelsgesellschaft. Later he went to New York to join *Ladenburg, Thalman & Co., where he familiarized himself with U.S. business methods. Returning to Germany, he joined the Deutsche Bank. He became head of the bank's trust company and acquired a reputation as a reorganizer of companies in difficulties and as an efficiency expert. He then moved on to the Bank für Handel und Industrie and the Darmstaedter Bank. In 1906 he was appointed head of the German government department for the colonies and devoted his efforts to Germany's colonial expansion and, with the cooperation of leading German banks, to ensuring its financial basis. He traveled a great deal in order to increase his detailed and local knowledge of colonial problems. In 1912 he became a member of the Prussian upper house and in 1919, following Germany's collapse after World War I, served for a short time as cabinet minister. From 1920 to 1930 Bernhard Dernburg was a member of the Reichstag.

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[Joachim O. Ronall]

DER NISTER (Yid. "the concealed one"; pseudonym of **Pinkhes Kahanovitsch**; 1884–1950), Yiddish writer. Born in Berdichev, Ukraine, he received a traditional Jewish education but also read secular works in Russian from an early age. His spiritual and literary growth was significantly influenced by his older brother, Aaron, a Bratzlaver Ḥasid whose personality and mysticism are echoed in the character of Luzi in Der Nister's realistic narrative, *Di Mishpokhe Mashber* ("The Family Mashber," vol. 1, Moscow, 1939; vol. 2, New York, 1948). In his youth Der Nister associated with Zionist socialist circles, some evidence of which, including his possible attendance at the Po'alei Zion conference (1905), as well as of his impression of Ber *Borochov at the conference, can be found in the novel *Fun Finften Yor* ("About the Fifth Year"), which remained in manuscript form in his literary legacy and was published in *Sovetish Heymland* (January 1964). Around 1905 he left Berdichev to avoid serving in the czarist army. Until World War I he led a fugitive existence, chiefly in Zhitomir, supporting himself by giving private Hebrew lessons. At 23, he published his first book, *Gedanken un Motivn – Lider in Proze* ("Thoughts and Motifs – Poems in Prose," 1907), which reveals what was to be a life-long preoccupation with such universal themes as the divine-satanic duality of humans, the eternal opposition between aspiration and reality, and the pendulum swings of human emotion. After having met Der Nister in 1910, I.L. *Peretz encouraged him to publish his short novel, *A Togbikhl fun a Farfirer* ("Diary of a Seducer"), which resembled a crime story, in his magazine, *Yudish*. Peretz was also instrumental in the publication of his next book of prose narratives, *Hekher fun der Erd* ("Higher Than the Earth," Warsaw, 1910), and his Kiev admirers David *Bergelson and Nachman *Mayzel assisted in publishing his first book of poetry, *Gezang un Gebet* ("Song and Prayer," Kiev, probably in 1910 or 1912). In 1917 he published a small collection of stories for children, *Mayselekh in Ferzn* ("Little Tales in Verse"; expanded and republished in 1917 and 1921 (with illustrations by Marc Chagall) and 1923). Living in Kiev, Der Nister contributed to *Eygns* (1918, 1920) and *Oyfgang* (1919), which belletristic collections served as the foundation of Soviet-Yiddish literature. In addition, he was a skilled translator of world literature; his rich fantasy and linguistic virtuosity displayed in his children's verse and stories have rarely been equaled.

In 1921 he left the Soviet Union, first for Kaunas (Kovno), then Berlin, a gathering point for literary emigrants. After some three years in Berlin, where he published *Gedakht* ("Imagined," 2 vols., 1922–3), the first collection of his visionary and fantastic tales, he moved to Hamburg where he worked for the Soviet trade mission in 1924–5. In 1926, while the Soviet Union was promoting Yiddish culture and attempting to lure émigré writers back, Der Nister returned to the Soviet Union, settling in Kharkov. Until 1929 Der Nister contributed to those periodicals still open to "fellow-traveling" writers. With the ascendancy of the "proletarian" critics in that year, his work came under sharp attack for its symbolism. For some time he published nothing, attempting in the years 1931–3 to find a place for himself on the hostile literary scene through writing *ocherki*, a form of reportage then regarded as progressive. Editing and translating continued to be the mainstays of his precarious livelihood. These were years of great anguish for Der Nister, who realized he could not adapt to the demands of realistic reportage nor abandon a style he had spent his life developing. Around the year 1935 he resolved to write his family saga, a resolve of desperation as well as a cunning stratagem on the part of a writer whose creative life was in danger. In a letter written around 1934 to his brother Motl, in Paris, Der Nister made his desperate position absolutely clear: "… the writing of my book is a necessity; otherwise I am nothing [*oys mentsh*]; otherwise I am erased from literature and from life…." The death sentence for Soviet-Yiddish literature may have been prepared as early as 1939, the year in which Der Nister won critical acclaim for the first volume of *Di Mishpokhe Mashber,* and the Soviet authorities suggested that Yiddish works appear only in translation, a danger sidetracked by the war, and one which Der Nister outspokenly opposed. The war years 1941–3 found Der Nister in Tashkent and Moscow, where he lived in great penury. During and immediately after the war he was close to the Jewish *Anti-Fascist

Committee in whose service he had accompanied Ukrainian Jewish immigrants to *Birobidzhan. There he had pressed parents to petition for Yiddish-language schools, which became one of the charges of anti-Soviet "nationalism" brought against him following the suppression of Jewish cultural life in the Soviet Union in November 1948. Not long thereafter Der Nister was arrested and died in a prison hospital.

Prior to 1929 Der Nister wrote as he wished; thereafter he worked under the shadow of repression. In the former period he wrote his highly original mystical visions and fantastic tales, developing a style unique in Yiddish literature. From the outset he had sought a universalist synthesis of the Jewish mystical tradition and world mythology, introducing into his earliest stories figures such as Buddha and the Virgin Mary, hitherto regarded as alien to Yiddish literature. His first volume, *Gedanken un Motivn*, reveals a tragic view of life wherein suffering is ultimately redeemed through love. Formally his "poetry in prose" is an attempt to combine rhymed and unrhymed passages. He employed this very peculiar compositional mixture until 1910, when many of his early works were published. His sense of the dual nature of humans finds expression in the antithetical pair of stories "Poylish" ("Polish") and "Kleopatra" (*Literarishe Monatsshriftn*, nos. 1 and 4, Vilna, 1908), where sanctified love and demonic lust are vividly contrasted through imagery derived from Jewish tradition on the one hand and classical tradition on the other. *Hekher fun der Erd* is filled with kabbalistic references and reveals Der Nister's mature literary language and reflections on the concept of creativity and its textual realization. The most intriguing composition of this volume, "Der Kadmen" ("The Original"), is a revision of the myth of creation, ending on a secularized cosmic evolutionary note. His tendency to express himself in mystical language is manifest in *Gezang un Gebet*, a volume of verse whose first poem, "Mir" ("We"), is a deeply felt meditation on the mystery of Jewishness and its destiny in the absence of spiritual guides. In these poems despair is countered by a vision of youth who rediscover the ancestral path.

Critics ignored Der Nister's first books, which they were unable to grasp; no reviews of his works were published until 1913, when the first two reviewers, Sh. *Niger and S. Rozenfeld, were essentially negative. David *Bergelson, a refined master of literary Yiddish himself, in a letter to Sh. Niger dated 1912, first recognized Der Nister's skill in shaping Yiddish language into original and innovative forms. Doubtless influenced by the criticism of Peretz, Der Nister, after 1912, de-emphasized description and introduced firm narrative structure into his visionary and fantastic tales, preserving their symbolic and ambiguous qualities while making them interesting as stories. Just as Peretz for his purposes renewed the ḥasidic hagiographic tale, so Der Nister revived the ḥasidic symbolic tale created by R. *Naḥman of Bratzlav, discovering, as had R. Naḥman before him, a popular and flexible medium for ideas which could not be broached directly. The years 1913–29, from the appearance of "A Mayse" ("A Story," in *Di Yidishe Velt*, no. 10, Vilna, 1913; later republished in *Gedakht*, vol. 1) to the sharply criticized "Unter a Ployt" ("Under a Fence," in *Di Royte Velt*, 5 no. 7, Kharkov, 1929) witnessed Der Nister's cultivation of a mode altogether congenial to him. This period marks the peak of his symbolist narrative achievement. Just as the characteristic symbols – e.g., the Well of Tradition and the Lonely Tower – and the mystic dualism of the Russian symbolists are reflected in his tales of this period, so too are the verb inversions and lyrical effects practiced by the Russian symbolists absorbed in Der Nister's Yiddish style. Set in space, in deep forests, at the margin of civilization, his stories are spun by characters without proper names, devils, wanderers, giants, drunkards, fools displaying a variety of archetypal relational patterns. Like those of his contemporary Franz *Kafka, they are paradigmatic representations of an alienated human condition. The hypnotic rhythms of his long sentences, their deliberate sound structure, the repeated use of "and" (possibly derived from the biblical conversive *vav*), and the archaic diction (derived from the *taytsh* tradition, i.e., from early Yiddish Bible translations) result in a dream-like, strangely compelling, at times surrealist atmosphere. The texture of his stories, interwoven with elements taken from the wondrous world of folk tales and, at times, of gothic fantasy, further heightens their enigmatic, unresolvable complexity. Most of the stories collected in the two volumes of *Gedakht* were reprinted in a revised one-volume edition (1929), when his last volume of symbolist stories, *Fun Mayne Giter* ("Of My Estates"), also appeared.

The extraordinarily complex "Unter a Ployt" represents Der Nister's covert protest against Soviet cultural regimentation as well as anguished self-accusation for abandoning his symbolic art. However, his subsequent efforts to write realistic reportage could not quell his characteristic impulse, and *Dray Hoyptshtet* ("Three Capitals," Kharkov, 1934) subtly resists the required orthodoxy. Aided by shifts in Party policy in the 1930s, Der Nister saved his artistic conscience by writing *Di Mishpokhe Mashber,* a family saga which appears to heed the requirements of realism while serving the author's own far from orthodox literary purposes. This novel, only two of whose three or more projected volumes have been published (a third volume may exist in manuscript somewhere in the Soviet Union), is perhaps the single greatest achievement of Soviet Yiddish prose. As suggested in its title, *Di Mishpokhe Mashber* (*mashber,* Hebrew "crisis") was conceived as the portrait of a traditional and rooted society in dissolution. Der Nister intended to portray East European Jewry from the 1870s to the revolutionary period. The two volumes published, which constitute Part One of the projected whole, cover less than a year during the 1870s in *Berdichev, the most Jewish of all Ukrainian towns. The view taken of Jewish life, and particularly the magnificent picture of Bratzlaver Ḥasidism, indicate deep sympathy rather than the prescribed anti-religious bias. What Der Nister has done in this supposedly "realistic" novel is to transform the nameless characters of his mystic tales into name-bearing particular persons. The central characters of the novel are precisely the same agonized seekers one finds in his tales and their concerns are the same. There is a remarkable continuity in Der Nister's creative career.

His war and postwar writings are impressive for the candor and courage with which strong national feeling is expressed, but undistinguished as literature. The informer of "Flora" (in *Dertseylungen un Eseyen* ("Stories and Essays") ed. N. Mayzel, New York, 1957) is a stereotyped villain, yet the story is of immense interest in its historical context. Nowhere else in Soviet Yiddish literature is a rabbi presented in so positive a light. Der Nister dared to envisage a Jewish future linked to the Jewish past. Unpublished manuscript material of Der Nister's from various periods appeared in *Sovetish Heymland* (no. 2, 1967), including a chapter from volume three of *Di Mishpokhe Mashber,* and in the collection *Vidervuks* ("New Growth," Moscow, 1969).

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[Leonard Prager and Chone Shmeruk /
Daniela Mantovan (2nd ed.)]

°DE' ROSSI, GIOVANNI BERNARDO (1742–1831), Italian Christian Hebraist. De' Rossi was born in Villa Castelnuovo, Turin. He became a priest in 1766 and graduated in theology in Turin. He had a profound knowledge of Hebrew language and medieval Jewish literature, and held the chair of Oriental languages at Parma University from 1769 to 1821. De' Rossi's library of Jewish literature, one of the most valuable that has ever been brought together, comprised 1,432 manuscripts (some illuminated), and 1,442 printed books including many incunabula, some unique. It was purchased for 100,000 francs in 1816 by Marie Louise, duchess of Parma, who presented it to the Palatine library at Parma, where it still is. De' Rossi compiled a catalogue of his collection (*MSS. codices hebraici bibliothecae I.B. De' Rossi, accurate ab eodem descripti et illustrati*, 3 vols., Parma, 1803), and wrote valuable works on Jewish incunabula (*Annales hebraeo-typographici saeculi XV*, Parma, 1795) and 16th-century typography (*Annales hebraeo-typographici ab anno 1501 ad 1540*, Parma, 1799) as well as on other subjects of Jewish interest, including studies of variant biblical texts and polemical literature. His *Dizionario storico degli autori ebrei e delle loro opere* (2 vols., Parma, 1802; Ger. ed. Leipzig, 1839) is still of value, especially for the biographical notes on contemporary Jewish scholars.

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[Ariel Toaff]

DERRIDA, JACQUES (1930–2004), French philosopher and literary critic. Derrida was born and raised in El-Biar, near Algiers. In 1942, he was expelled from school as result of antisemitic measures. In 1949 he moved to France and beginning in 1952 he studied at the École Normale Superieure, under Michel Foucault and Louis Althusser. He served in the French army in Algeria from 1957 until 1959 as a teacher of French and English. Until 1962 he hoped for the coexistence of the French of Algeria within an independent Algeria. In the same year Derrida resettled in Nice.

From 1960 to 1964, Derrida taught at the Sorbonne. From 1964 to 1984 he taught at the École Normale Superieure. In 1983, he founded the Collège International de Philosophie in Paris. In 1967 he published the first of a long series of books. He was not only a prolific writer, he also traveled extensively, lecturing and teaching. He was celebrated in the academic world, mostly in a number of American universities (e.g., Johns Hopkins, Yale, Cornell, City University of New York), but was almost excluded from the French university world. Nevertheless, his work was appreciated by many French academicians, among them Ph. Lacoue-Labarthe and J.L. Nancy, E. Levinas, and S. Kofman.

Derrida was an outspoken leftist intellectual. When visiting Israel, he had talks with Palestinian intellectuals. In 1981, he traveled to Prague for a clandestine seminar in support of the anti-totalitarian movement and was arrested by the police on the false accusation of drug possession. He was allowed to leave Czechoslovakia thanks to the intervention of François Mitterand and the French government. He also protested against apartheid in South Africa.

Among his many awards and honors he received the Nietzsche prize in 1988 and the Adorno Prize in 2001. His oeuvre has been translated into English, German, Spanish, Italian, Japanese, and other languages.

Derrida's Hermeneutics

Derrida developed a method, known as "deconstruction." Deconstructionism is neither nihilism nor destruction; it is affirmative openness towards the other. Derrida maintained that the written word is characterized by the absence of the original voice which gave it meaning. It is impossible, therefore, to know the intention behind the written word. Consequently, when one reads what is written, multiple meanings are possible: nobody has a monopoly on the "right" meaning. Letters and documents, from which the writer is absent, are open to endless interpretations, since there is no presence of the speaker who – face to face with the one who receives his words – eventually corrects his words or explains them. Texts are polyvalent and function as letters that did not reach their destination and are now read by whoever happens to read them.

Derrida studied at the Leuven Husserl Archive, and was long occupied with Husserl, whose phenomenology he deconstructed. Protesting against a metaphysics of presence and origin, where everything is transparent, Derrida showed the multiple fissures in texts and the indecidability that is implied in any text. He initiated a new hermeneutic. In a Heraclitian and anti-essentialist way, he showed how the meaning of a text changes all the time. The text is capable of infinite signification, and receives meaning not by reconstructing the intention of its writer, but through its autonomous function. The same book or letter can be read by different readers in different ways, and a second or third reading is not equal to the first. By limiting the text to one meaning, one excludes all other possible meanings. Meanings are produced through the different contexts of the reader and through the context in which a written document is placed.

A word also possesses several meanings. This is clear when one takes into account misunderstandings. One phonetic phenomenon can result in a proliferation of meanings, as is the case in the French homophone words l'est, l'é, lait, legs, or ontologie-hauntologie. The same word can also denote something completely different in another language, as in the case of the German "Gift," poison, that is the homophone of the English "gift," present.

Derrida and Postmodernism

Derrida is one of the most provocative thinkers of our time, and his thought is part of postmodern philosophy, which does not recognize universal truth and resists the imperialism of the sciences. In postmodernism, each text is a pretext for a multitude of interpretations and is open to the fantasy of the reader. The entire world is one big text and there is no limit to its explanations. Just as in medieval paintings cathedrals are carefully placed in biblical landscapes, the modern reader places his own point of view in every text. There is no absolute, objective truth, and the only truth that is recognized is that of the interpreting person. This does not mean that everyone has his own truth. It would be inaccurate to say that Derrida was a relativist. What he strove for is the advent of the wholly other outside the horizon of the same. In his numerous writings, there is a plenitude of associations, and in his books and articles he placed different texts next to each other, so that they began "speaking."

Derrida's Judaism as Refusal of Totality

Derrida admitted that he did not know Jewish culture. This non-knowledge was then elevated to a fundamental "not belonging." In this way, he thought of himself as "the last Jew" (*le dernier des juifs*): more Jewish than the Jews in his exemplary non-belonging. To be Jewish for Derrida is coterminous with the refusal of the same and the openness towards the wholly other. This non-identification is also what comes into the fore in his deconstructive method.

Derrida was French and Jewish. He thought that he was more French than the French people, because he is not a real Frenchman. In a parallel manner, he thought that he was more Jewish than every Jew, because he lacked a concrete engagement towards Judaism. In his view, he is and is not, at the same time.

Like Edmond Jabès, Derrida regarded the basic characterisitic of Judaism as a fundamental non-belonging to an all-absorbing totality. Jabès' oeuvre can be read as a poetic commentary on Derrida. Much has been written on the Jewish elements in the writings of such "non-Jewish Jews" (the term is from Deutscher) as Kafka, Marx, and Freud. This is also the case with Derrida, who saw his Jewishness as something contingent and denied that he belonged to any concrete Judaism, but conceived of this refusal as fundamentally Jewish.

Metaphoric Judaism: Deconstruction as Judaism

Derrida's Judaism is devoid of any concrete link to history, land, or law. It is at the same time a Judaism that believes because of its openness to the unabsorbable other, and is atheistic, without concrete content. Transcending his merely ethnic Jewishness, Derrida discussed Judaism, touching on many subjects: circumcision, bar mitzvah, the law, messianism, memory, and resurrection. Yet, again, the Judaism that Derrida encircles is without nation or religion. There is a link between Judaism and deconstruction: both are searching. Judaism becomes the example *par excellence* of his deconstructive method.

Derrida does not desert faith, nor does he exclude it. His deconstructionism affirms what is beyond the possible; it affirms the impossible, the coming of the wholly other (*tout autre*). It is an engagement, a certain faith, and a-theological hope for what is coming. Derrida alters religious sources by referring them to his expectation of what should come. Writing on religious notions like circumcision, confession, eschatology, or messianism, he divests these terms of their concrete, particular meaning and transcends them by translating them into something which is not present and which is hoped for. By reinventing these terms, he escapes the foreseeable and keeps the future (*l'à-venir*) open ended. In this sense, his method is not far from that of negative theology that refuses to define the wholly other.

Derrida's openness to the gift (*le don*) of justice and of the democracy to come lends to his work a touch of hope, in what was for him the best of Jewish tradition.

Derrida's works include *L'Ecriture et la différence* (1967), *La Voix et le phénomène* (1967), *De la Grammatologie (1967), La Dissémination* (1972), *Marge – de la philosophie* (1972), *Glas* (1974), and *Schibboleth* (1986). Later writings are collected in *Jacques Derrida and the Humanities: A Critical Reader,* ed. T. Cohen (2002).

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[Ephraim Meir (2nd ed.)]

DERSHOWITZ, ALAN M. (1938–), U.S. law professor and civil liberties lawyer. Dershowitz was born in Brooklyn, New York, graduated from Yeshiva University high school and Brooklyn College. He received his law degree from Yale Law School, where he was editor-in-chief of the *Yale Law Journal.* He was law clerk to Chief Judge David Bazelon, U.S. Court of Appeals, and Justice Arthur Goldberg of the U.S. Supreme Court. In 1967 he was appointed professor at Harvard Law School, where his special subjects were criminal law, psychiatry and law, and constitutional litigation. He served as consultant to the government of China on the revision of its criminal code, as a member of the President's Commission on Marijuana and Drug Abuse, the President's Commission on Causes and Prevention of Violence, and the President's Commission on Civil Disorders, and he was director of the National Institute of Mental Health. He was also chairman of the Civil Rights Commission for New England and of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, and was a prominent member of the board of directors of the American Civil Liberties Union.

Dershowitz lectured widely and wrote extensively (in books, magazines, and newspapers) on civil liberties and public affairs. He served as counsel in many important legal cases involving civil liberties, and became a public figure especially through his participation in television programs and interviews.

Dershowitz played a leading role in influencing Congress by promoting the theory of "presumptive sentencing," intended to obviate discrepancy in criminal sentencing for the same crimes.

Between 1967 and 1986 Dershowitz represented clients in 11 cases in the U.S. Supreme Court. Some of his cases attracted national attention, including those in which he represented Patricia Hearst, Claus von Bulow, the trial lawyer F. Lee Bailey, and Kenneth Tyson. Although stridently loyal to Jewish causes, he defended the constitutional right of the American Nazi party in 1977 to march in Skokie, Illinois, for he maintained that as a civil libertarian it was his duty to uphold the constitutional right of free speech, which includes the right to demonstrate peacefully. Dershowitz thinks of himself as a liberal in the tradition of John F. Kennedy and Hubert Humphrey. Although opposed to the philosophy and actions of the Jewish Defense League, in 1972 he successfully defended Sheldon Siegel, a member of the JDL, on a murder charge arising out of the blowing up of the offices of Sol Hurok to protest Hurok's sponsorship of Russian performers. Dershowitz succeeded at the trial of Siegel to expose the case as a police frame-up. *Time* magazine called him "the top lawyer of last resort in the country." He was on the defense team in the 1995 O.J. Simpson murder trial. *Newsweek* described Dershowitz as "the nation's most peripatetic civil liberties lawyer and one of its most distinguished defenders of individual rights."

In 2002 Dershowitz stirred up much controversy when he advocated the legalization of torture by means of a "torture warrant." He proposed that no torture be permitted without a warrant issued by a judge, his rationale being that it is practiced in any case, so better to create some parameters to monitor it. The application for such a warrant, he explained, would be "based on the absolute need to obtain immediate information in order to save lives, coupled with probable cause that the suspect had such information and is unwilling to reveal it."

From 1993, Dershowitz was Felix Frankfurter Professor of Law at Harvard Law School. His books include *The Best Defense* (1982); *Reversal of Fortune: Inside the von Bulow Case* (1982), which was made into a successful film; *Taking Liberties: A Decade of Hard Cases, Bad Laws and Bum Raps* (1988); his autobiography *Chutzpah* (1991); *Contrary to Popular Opinion* (1992); *Reasonable Doubts: The Criminal Justice System and the O.J. Simpson Case* (1997); *The Vanishing American Jew: In Search of Jewish Identity for the Next Century* (1997); *Sexual McCarthyism: Clinton, Starr, and the Emerging Constitutional Crisis* (2000); *Why Terrorism Works: Understanding the Threat, Responding to the Challenge* (2002); *Shouting Fire: Civil Liberties in a Turbulent Age* (2002); *The Case for Israel* (2003); *America Declares Independence* (2003); *Rights from Wrongs: The Origins of Human Rights in the Experience of Injustice* (2004); and *America on Trial: Inside the Legal Battles That Transformed Our Nation* (2004).

[Milton Ridvas Konvitz / Rohan Saxena and Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

DÉRY (Deutsch), TIBOR (1894–1977), Hungarian author and poet. Déry's early work, which was naturalistic and romantic, was published in the journal *Nyugat* ("West"). He joined the Hungarian Communist Party in 1919. He left the country in the following year and eventually settled in Vienna, where he published verse influenced by the activist-surrealist school. His first major work, *Szemtől szembe* ("Face to Face"), a trilogy of interrelated short novels, was published in the early 1930s. In 1933 Déry began writing his trilogy *Befejezetlen mondat* ("Unfinished Sentence"), which depicts the problems of a young man of bourgeois origin seeking the road to Communism. As a result of his involvement in the workers' uprising of 1934, Déry was forced to leave Vienna and finally returned to Hungary, where he was forbidden to publish most of his work. He went into hiding during World War II, but when his works were published after the war, he won recognition both in Hungary and abroad. The works which he wrote between 1955 and 1956, short stories entitled *Szerelem* ("Love") and a short story, "Niki," were designed to expose the evils of the "cult of personality." For his part in the short-lived 1956 revolution, as a prominent member of the Petőfi Writers' Club, Déry was sentenced to nine years' imprisonment. He was released in 1961 and, after a short interval, was allowed to resume the publication of his work.

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[Itamar Yaos-Kest]

°**DERZHAVIN, GABRIEL ROMANOVICH** (1743–1816), Russian administrator and poet; his investigation of the Jewish problem in his role as administrator influenced the status of the Jews in Russia and Russian policy toward the Jews from the beginning of the 19th century to the end of the czarist regime. Derzhavin was sent by the authorities in 1799/1800 to Belorussia, incorporated into Russia after the last partition of Poland, to investigate the conditions of Jewish life there in connection with a famine that had hit the peasants in the region. His conclusions were influenced both by the local Polish nobility, who blamed the Jews for the sufferings of the peasants, and by the Jew Nathan Note *Notkin, who advised Derzhavin to urge the government to direct the Jews from their traditional occupations and way of life to employment in crafts and colonization of "New Russia." The report Derzhavin submitted shows that he believed the allegations made against the Jews and the Jewish character. He suggested that the Jews should be divided into four estates according to income and place of residence, and that the steppes of Astrakhan and "New Russia" should be made available for Jewish agricultural colonization. Jews should be prohibited from keeping taverns and expelled from the villages in the old *Pale of Settlement.

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[Abba Ahimeir]

DESECRATION (Heb. חִלּוּל, *ḥillul*; lit., "desanctification" or "profanation").

In the Bible

Desecration occurs when the holy is replaced by the profane or impure, the difference between the two being that the impure must be purified before it can be resanctified (e.g., the purging and consecration of the altar on the *Day of Atonement, Lev. 16:19). The holy things which are subject to desecration or contamination are (1) objects, e.g., sacrifices (Lev. 19:8; 22:3), priestly dues (Num. 18:22), the sanctuary and its sancta (Lev. 21:12, 23; Ezek. 23:39; 44:7); (2) persons, e.g., priests (Lev. 21:4, 9); (3) sacred time, e.g., the Sabbath (Ex. 31:14); and (4) God's name (see below).

The paradigm of desecration is Ezekiel 22:26: "They [the priests] have desecrated My sancta: they did not differentiate between the holy and the profane and did not teach [distinguish] between the impure and pure … so that I am profaned in their midst" (cf. Lev. 10:10; Ezek. 44:23). Thus, owing to priestly negligence in protecting the holy realm, the sancta, and even God, have been desecrated. Actually, there is but one cause for desecration: the illicit contact of the holy realm with the profane or impure, as in the case of the lay person's consuming sacred food reserved for the priests (Lev. 22:15; Num. 18:22); the priest incurring forbidden impurity (Lev. 21:4); the practicing of Moloch worship (Ezek. 23:29; cf. Lev. 20:3); and foreigners entering the temple area (Ezek. 44:7; cf. Ps. 74:7). By figurative extension, desecration is also applied to whoredom (Lev. 19:29; 21:9,14; Num. 25:1) and to the violation of God's injunctions (Lev. 22:9; Ps. 89:32) and covenant (Mal. 2:10). Legitimate desecration (lit., desanctification) takes place when the Nazirite (called "holy," Num. 6:8) ends his vow and brings a purification offering to return to his former profane state (Num. 6:14), and when the fourth-year fruit harvest is dedicated to the Lord (Lev. 19:24; cf. Deut. 20:6; Jer. 31:4). The sages logically applied the term to the redemption of all property given over ("sanctified," Lev. 27:14ff.) to the sanctuary (TJ, Naz. 2:1, 51 d). The sphere of holiness is identified with God's presence on earth. Any reduction in holiness is ipso facto a reduction in the divine domain; it is therefore a *ḥillul shem YHWH* ("a desecration of God's [power or] Name"). The desecrations described above are also desecrations of God's name, e.g., those connected with priests (Lev. 21:6; 22:2), sacrifices (Lev. 22:32; Mal. 1:12), altars (Amos 2:7–8), and Moloch worship (Lev. 18:21; 20:3). One other desecration falls exclusively within this category: the false oath (Lev. 19:12; Num. 30:3; Jer. 34:16). The prophets, moreover, not only condemn Israel on this charge but turn it back upon God in their lawsuit against Him. The exile, they argue, is a desecration of God's name (e.g., Isa. 48:11) not only because the nations look upon Israel's humiliation as a sign of their God's impotence (so pleads Moses, Num. 14:15–16), but because it constitutes a violation of God's promise of the land to the forefathers. In Ezekiel this argument is especially prominent. Basing himself on the priestly promise that God's covenanted oath is inviolable (Ezek. 20:44; cf. Lev. 26:42–45), the prophet affirms that Israel will be restored to its land (Ezek. 20:37ff.; 36:20–23; 39:7) though it does not merit it (Ezek. 20:44; 36:32). The principle of intention plays a part in the penalties prescribed for desecration; if the desecration is willful, it is punishable by death (e.g., Num. 18:32), but if caused by accidental tampering with sancta (Lev. 5:14–19) or by swearing falsely (Lev. 5:20ff.), it is expiable through proper remorse and sacrifice (*ʾasham*). See *Sacrifices.

[Jacob Milgrom]

After the Bible

In the Mishnah sacred things could often be profaned by reciting the correct formula, a procedure obviously adopted to simplify social and commercial intercourse. It enabled the scholar to dine at the home of the **am ha-areẓ* who was suspected of not tithing his produce, or to partake of his own produce that he had not managed to tithe before the Sabbath (Dem. 7:1–5). Incense donated to the Temple or left over from a previous year's allocation had to be temporarily "profaned" in order to make it available in the following year for use in the Temple service, which the rabbis insisted could not be financed by private offerings or surpluses. It was profaned by paying the salaries of the incense makers with it and then repurchasing it from them with the moneys from the obligatory annual *_Shekel_ contributions of the community. This was in fact a purely bookkeeping operation which, however, served to impress upon the people the highest standards of probity and ritual propriety when dealing with sacred things, which could permanently revert to lay use by payment to the Temple treasury in money only, but not in labor (Shek. 4:5, 6; Tosef., Shek. 2:9).

[Aryeh Newman]

DE-SHALIT, AMOS (1926–1969), Israeli scientist and educator. Born in Jerusalem, de-Shalit received his scientific training as a pupil of Joel *Racah at the Hebrew University, Jerusalem. De-Shalit's major field of research was theoretical physics concerning nuclear structure theory, and his most important contributions were on the nuclear shell theory. In 1963 he published, together with Igal *Talmi, *Nuclear Shell Theory*. De-Shalit headed the nuclear physics department of the *Weizmann Institute of Science, Reḥovot, from 1954 to 1964. He was scientific director of the Weizmann Institute from 1961 to 1963 and its director general from 1966 to 1968. He was elected a member of the Israel Academy of Science in 1963 and won the Israel Prize for Natural Sciences in 1965. He was an outstanding lecturer and had a tremendous enthusiasm for improved science teaching, which he succeeded in communicating to others. He believed that talented youngsters were in this technological age one of a nation's greatest assets, and that every effort should be made by the community to cultivate these talents. He believed that the future of higher education in the sciences was wholly dependent on the basis given at secondary education level. On his initiative the Israel Ministry of Education set up a committee for the promotion of the teaching of natural sciences in Israel in secondary schools and he served as chairman.

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DESHEH, AVRAHAM (**"Pashanel"**; 1926–2004), Israeli producer. It is hard to imagine contemporary Israeli culture without the titanic influence of Avraham "Pashanel" Desheh. The number of bands and artists who owe their start in the entertainment business to Pashanel is enormous. The *Ha-Gashash ha-Ḥiver comedy trio, the seminal rock band Kaverret, the theater and singing troupe Green Onion, comedian Sefi Rivlin, and pop singer Yardenah Arazi are just some of the top acts who in all likelihood would not have made it had it not been for Pashanel.

Pashanel was born in Tel Aviv as Avraham Greenberg. His first encounter with the world of theater was as a taxi driver, after his release from the British army, when his fares included actors from the Cameri Theater. A career in theater soon became a burning ambition and he achieved his objective in 1957, when he was appointed director of the Zirah Theater. His first major stage success came in 1957 when, along with Chaim *Topol and Uri *Zohar, he created the popular Green Onion 13-member acting-singing troupe. Pashanel, Topol, and Zohar also put out a string of successful of musicals, including *Evita, Joseph and His Dreamcoat*, and *Fiddler On the Roof.*

After the break-up of Green Onion, in 1961, Pashanel and Zohar established the Amami theater production agency, which made a number of movies directed by Zohar, such as *Ḥor ba-Levanah* ("Hole In The Moon") and *Ha-Tarnegol* ("The Rooster"). Around this time Pashanel was also instrumental in establishing the Hammam music club in Jaffa and managed the hit pop group The Roosters, which included Yehoram *Gaon, Shaike Levi, Gavri Banai, and Israeli (Poli) Poliakov. Under Pashanel's guidance, the latter three later became the long-running seminal comic threesome Ha-Gashash ha-Ḥiver.

In his capacity as a producer, Pashanel was a leading force in all areas of the performing arts. He also had a well-developed knack for creating successful teams. The leading collaborations he initiated included the confluence of Ha-Gashash ha-Ḥiver with actor-writers Shaike *Ophir, Nissim *Aloni, and Yossi *Banai, and the all-female pop trio Shokolad Menta Mastik with director-producer Tzadi Tzarfati.

In his heyday, in the 1950s, 1960s, and early 1970s Pashanel was the undisputed king of the Israeli entertainment family. In 2002 he was given a Lifetime Achievement award in recognition of his contribution to Israeli theater, and he received a similar accolade for his movie work at the 2003 Jerusalem International Film Festival.

[Barry Davis (2nd ed.)]

DESKARTA (**Diskarta, Daskarta**), Babylonian town on the river Diala, about 55 mi. (90 km.) northeast of Baghdad. Arab writers ascribe the establishment of the town to Hormizd I (reigned 272–3), though he probably only fortified an already existing village. The town was of great importance for trade with Persia, and it may be assumed that a Jewish community existed there from its reestablishment. The earliest definite references to such a community are from the fourth century. A certain Judah of Deskarta, a disciple of Rava and teacher of Pappa, is frequently mentioned. R. Huna of Deskarta was another disciple of Rava, which leads to the supposition that the Jewish community of Deskarta came under the influence of the academy of Maḥoza. At the time of Chosroes II Parveg (590–628), the town became the Sassanid capital. It was destroyed by Heraclius in 628 and its ruins are still visible south of Shahraban. The name derives from Persian *das* ("district") and Aramaic *karta* ("town"), and is also used in talmudic literature as a name for a place in general, e.g., "the *deskarta* of slaves" (Git. 40a) and "the *deskarta* of the exilarch" (Er. 59a).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Neusner, Babylonia, 2 (1966), 247; J. Obermeyer, *Landschaft Babylonien* (1929), 146–7.

[Yitzhak Dov Gilat]

DESMAESTRE, JONAH (late 14th century), Majorcan scholar. Desmaestre was the head of the local yeshivah. Despite his piety and full devotion to Torah and talmudic studies, he was well versed in philosophy and mysticism, mathematics and astronomy. Majorca was an important center of astronomical studies. He was the father-in-law of Simeon b. Ẓemaḥ *Duran, and his name is mentioned several times in the responsa of his descendants. In the documents of the kingdom of Aragon, he is called Biona del Maestre. Desmaestre studied in the yeshivah of Barcelona under Perez ha-Kohen. Considered one of the most pious men of his generation, Desmaestre received permission to travel to Aragon to make representations to the king on behalf of his community. With Ḥasdai *Crescas he did much to promote the interests of the Jews of the Kingdom of Aragon. He acted as the leader of the Jews of Majorca and joined forces with the leaders of the other communities in the Kingdom to improve the conditions of the Jews. In 1383, he succeeded in obtaining a grant of privilege from Pedro IV of Aragon, which reinforced the authority of the communal leadership and protected it from harassment by converts to Christianity. He vigorously defended the Jews of Lérida who had been accused of buying the consecrated Host. There is no evidence to confirm the report that Desmaestre died as a martyr in the persecution of 1391.

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DE SOLA, prominent Canadian family in the 19th and early 20th centuries. ABRAHAM DE SOLA (1825–1882), rabbi, author, educator, was born into a London family of limited means. He received his general education at the City of London School and Jewish education from his father, David Aaron, and linguist Louis Loewe, secretary and aide to Moses Montefiore.

De Sola applied to be Second Hazan at Bevis Marks, but David Piza of Montreal got the job. De Sola, in turn, assumed Piza's position at Montreal's Shearith Israel in January 1847 where he used his pulpit to assert the positive value of emancipation for the Jews. He was convinced that Jews, even as they embraced the opportunities which equality offered, need never compromise their beliefs or practices but could remain what he called "consistent" Jews. De Sola lived by this credo. Looking to create a strong Montreal Jewish community, he soon organized a Hebrew Philanthropic Society, then a congregational school modeled on that of Rebbeca Gratz in Philadelphia. He was active in later incarnations of the Philanthropic Society and assumed a leadership role in the fraternal organization Kesher shel Barzel. De Sola also entered the intellectual life of Anglo-Montreal. He joined the Natural History Society, and eventually became its president. In 1848 he was appointed a lecturer in Hebrew and rabbinic literature at McGill College and in 1853 was named a professor of Hebrew and Oriental literature. He was awarded an honorary doctor of laws in 1858.

De Sola was a prolific author. He revised a catechism for use in Jewish schools in 1853, and in 1854 co-authored a Jewish calendar for 50 years, which included up-to-date information on the Jewish communities of North America. In 1873 he purchased from Isaac Leeser's estate the copyright, plates, and some stock of Leeser's Bible translations, Leeser's edition of the Sephardi liturgy (which De Sola considered superior to the Ashkenazi) as well as other works. De Sola published a number of works on the compatibility of science with Bible and Rabbinic Judaism. He joined some of Montreal's leading scientists, most notably the principal of McGill College, J.W. Dawson, in proclaiming the principles of natural theology and disdain for Darwin. De Sola outlined his views on science and religion in his portrayals of Jewish intellectuals as well as in more specialized studies, most notably his 1852–53 serialized "Observations on the sanatory institutions of the Hebrews as bearing upon modern sanatory institutions," published in 1861. De Sola also had an interest in historical issues and published derivative studies on the Jews of France, Poland, and England.

Abraham de Sola joined Montreal's Jewish patricians when he married Esther Joseph in 1852. They had seven children.

[Richard Menkis (2nd ed.)]

Abraham de Sola's eldest son, AARON DAVID MELDOLA (1853–1918), who was born in Montreal, was a Zionist, and the first Canadian-born rabbi. He studied under his father's direction, became his assistant in 1876, and succeeded him on his death in 1882 as rabbi of the Spanish and Portuguese synagogue. He was a member of one of the commissions appointed to deal with the Jewish school question in Quebec as early as 1886. De Sola, who wrote many newspaper articles in defense of Orthodoxy, was appointed first vice president of the Orthodox convention in New York in 1898 and was one of the committee of three who drew up its declaration of principles. In 1902, as vice president of the Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations, he issued a protest against the Central Conference of American Rabbis for discussing the transfer of the Sabbath to Sunday.

CLARENCE ISAAC (1858–1920), the third son of Abraham de Sola, was a Zionist and an industrialist. De Sola, who was born in Montreal, served as president of the Federation of Canadian Zionist Societies from its inception in 1899 until his death. He was also a member of the Zionist General Council of the World Zionist Organization. De Sola was a leading figure in the Canadian shipbuilding industry and general manager of the Comptoir Belgo-Canadien, the Belgium steel and construction trust. He was responsible for the establishment of a steamship service between Montreal and Antwerp. From 1904 until his death he was Belgian consul in Montreal.

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[Ben G. Kayfetz]

DE SOLA, JUAN BARTOLOMÉ (c. 1800–1858), Venezuelan general. Much confusion has existed about the place and date of birth of Juan De Sola. Presumably the son of Jeudah De Sola Nunes da Costa and of Sarah Ricardo, he was born c. 1800 on the island of St. Thomas. With the outbreak of the war for independence he joined the army of Gran Colombia (which included New Granada (Colombia) Venezuela, and Ecuador), obtaining the rank of lieutenant at the age of 19. In 1820 he was transferred to the "Bravos de Apure" Battalion, where he remained until the battle of Carabobo (1821). He was promoted to captain and decorated with the Coat of Arms of the "Vencedores de Carabobo" and with the bust of the liberator Simón Bolivar. To facilitate his marriage Juan embraced Catholicism in 1823. In the book where his conversion is registered one may read: "I proceeded to the instruction of Mr. Juan De Sola, Captain of the Battalion Apure, of the Hebrew nation, natural of St. Thomas […] I baptized him solemnly according to the Roman ritual and I imposed upon him the name of Juan Bartolomé de la Concepción." In 1830, Juan Bartolomé, then colonel of artillery, requested Venezuelan nationality, which was granted to him immediately. In 1837 he was appointed provisional governor of the Carabobo province. As president of the Provincial Delegation he sanctioned the ordinance that would create the public lighting system of the province. In 1858, he was promoted to the rank of brigadier general, but he died in Valencia (Venezuela) before he could take up the appointment.

[Jacob Carciente (2nd ed.)]

DESSAU, BERNARDO (1863–1949), Italian experimental physicist. Born in Offenbach, Germany, Dessau became an Italian citizen. He was a member of the Italian Academy of Sciences and professor at the University of Perugia (1904). He acted as *shoḥet* for the small Perugia Jewish community. An active Zionist, he founded *Il Vessillo Israelitico*, the first Italian Zionist periodical. He wrote books on wireless telegraphy, physical and chemical properties of alloys, and physics.

DESSAU, HERMANN (1856–1931), German historian and philologist. The son of the director of a Jewish school, Dessau studied under Theodor *Mommsen and became his collaborator at the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*. In 1884 he was appointed lecturer and in 1896 professor of ancient history at the University of Berlin; from 1900 he worked as the Latin epigraphist of the Prussian Academy. Dessau's principal studies were related to Latin inscriptions, the political and administrative problems of the Roman Empire, and Latin and patristic literature. He edited and published the basic book in the field of Latin inscriptions, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae* (5 vols. in 3, 1892–1916); his work on the Roman Empire, *Geschichte der roemischen Kaiserzeit*, remained incomplete, only the first two volumes being published (1924–30). Dessau was deeply attached to the traditional roots of Judaism. In 1919 he joined the council of the research department of the Akademie fuer die Wissenschaft des Judentums in Berlin. The last chapter of his book on the Roman Empire, entitled "Judaea und die Juden," was directed against the chapter bearing the same title in Mommsen's history of the Roman Empire. His mastery both of Roman history and of talmudic sources enabled him to attempt a reevaluation of the period of the Second Temple in the light of its Jewish character as well as in the context of general history.

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DESSAU, PAUL (1894–1979), German composer. The grandson of a cantor, Dessau was born in Hamburg. He was co-répétiteur in Hamburg (1912) and conducted operetta at the Tivoli Theatre, Bremen (1913). In 1919 he became co-répétiteur and conductor in Cologne. In 1925 he was appointed principal conductor at the Stätlische Oper, Berlin, and won the Schott Prize for his Violin Concertino. He left Germany in 1933 and visited Palestine. In 1939 he settled in New York and wrote a number of film scores (such as *Adamah* in 1947), but his political convictions led him to return to East Germany in 1948 and he made his home in East Berlin. Dessau composed in several fields. His vocal music, influenced by the concise verse of Bertolt Brecht (whom he met in New York in 1943), embraced almost every genre from political song to cantata and full-length opera. The latter include the operas *Mutter Courage und ihre Kinder* (1946), *Das Verhoer des Lukullus* (1951), *Puntila* (1957–59), *Lanzelot* (1969), *Einstein* (1971–73), and *Leonce and Lena* (1977–78). Dessau wrote also functional music for theater and radio. In 1936, he composed for the synagogue an oratorio, *Haggadah,* for which Max *Brod supplied the text. His early works were in free tonality; from 1936 he was influenced by the twelve-tone technique of *Leibowitz. After the rigorous separation of West and East Berlin, he remained one of the few artists allowed to commute between the two Germanys. He became a member of the East Berlin Deutsche Akademie der Künste in 1952 and was appointed professor in 1959. He was honored by both the East and West Berlin academies, he received an honorary doctorate from Leipzig University (1974), and four National Prizes of the German Democratic Republic (1953, 1956, 1965, 1974). Among his works are operas for children, the cantata *Requiem for Lumumba* (1963), and symphonic and chamber music.

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[Peter Emanuel Gradenwitz / Israela Stein (2nd ed.)]

DESSAUER, FRIEDRICH (1881–1963), German engineer, biophysicist, and philosopher. Born in Aschaffenburg, Dessauer originally worked in the X-ray industry, and in 1921 became professor of biophysics at Frankfurt. He was a Center Party member of the Reichstag from 1924 to 1933, and editor of the *Rhein-Mainische Volkszeitung und Handelsblatt*. When the Nazis came to power he fled to Istanbul, where in 1934 he set up the biophysical and radiological institute. He became professor of experimental physics at Fribourg, Switzerland, 1937, but returned to Frankfurt in 1950 and was reappointed to a professorship there.

Dessauer wrote numerous scientific books and articles as well as many philosophical works. The chief of these were *Leben, Natur, Religion* (1924, 1926^2), *Philosophie der Technik* (1927, 1933^3), *Mensch und Kosmos* (1948), *Die Teleologie in der Natur* (1949), *Prometheus und die Weltuebel* (1959), and *Was ist der Mensch? Die vier Fragen des Immanuel Kant* (1959). He analyzed the assumptions of science and technology and their connections with philosophical and religious principles.

[Richard H. Popkin]

DESSLER, ELIJAH ELIEZER (1891–1954), one of the personalities of the *Musar movement. Dessler was born in Homel, Russia. His father, Reuben Baer, had been a pupil and subsequently one of the directors of the *bet ha-talmud* in the small town of Kelme (Lithuania), founded by Simḥah Zissel Ziv, the outstanding disciple of Israel *Lipkin (Salanter), founder of the Musar movement. Reuben Baer's home, however, was in Homel where he engaged in business, and there Dessler passed his early youth. At the Kelme *bet ha-talmud*, he pursued talmudic studies and his teachers included Ẓevi Hirsch Broda and Nahum Velvel Ziv, leading exponents of Musar. On the outbreak of World War I he returned to Homel, studying at the yeshivah established there by refugees from the Lithuanian yeshivot and administered by his father. In Homel he came close also to ḥasidic circles and was influenced by their ideas. In 1919 he married the daughter of Nahum Velvel Ziv and went to Riga where he engaged unsuccessfully in business. In 1929 he settled in London where he became the rabbi of a synagogue, first in East London and then in North-East London, and became the supervisor of a large *talmud torah*. He exercised a profound influence on the teaching of Musar, not only because of the profundity of his ideas but on account of his personal ethical conduct. In 1941 he accepted an invitation to become director of a *kolel* for advanced Talmud study in *Gateshead, England, where he also lectured on Musar. He served in an honorary capacity, earning his livelihood by giving private lessons. The *kolel* added to the prestige and development of the Gateshead yeshivah and his influence extended beyond England to other countries, through its graduates who served as heads of yeshivot. In 1947 Dessler accepted the invitation of Rabbi Joseph Kahaneman to become the spiritual supervisor of Ponevezh yeshivah in Bene-Berak, Israel, and there he remained until his death. His teachings were a harmonious combination of the doctrine of Musar, particularly as taught in Kelme, with the concepts of Jewish religious philosophy, *Kabbalah, and *Ḥasidism. Some of his ideas were published by his pupils, in part from his own manuscripts and in part from notes taken from his lectures, *Mikhtav me-Eliyahu* (3 vols., 1955–64). The work contains attempts at a confrontation between Jewish and general philosophy, arising from the problems raised by those of his pupils who had studied philosophy. A periodical named after him is published at irregular intervals in London by his followers, in which his ideas are discussed.

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[Zvi Kaplan]

DESSOIR, LUDWIG (originally **Leopold Dessauer**; 1810–1874), German actor. He was born in Posen, the son of a merchant. Dessoir first appeared on the stage at the age of 14. From 1831 he acted in provincial theaters in character and heroic roles in classical repertoire (Shakespeare, Goethe, Schiller). He succeeded Karl August Devrients at the theater of Karlsruhe and was invited in 1849 to the Royal Theater in Berlin, where he continued his work for the next 23 years. His ability to analyze and interpret the spiritual content of a role enabled him to render many subtle characterizations. Dessoir was considered one of the finest Shakespearean actors of his time, not only on the German stage, but also in London, where he appeared in 1853. Lear, Othello, Hamlet, and Coriolanus, as well as Faust, Uriel Acosta, and Louis XI, were among his best portrayals.

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DESSOIR, MAX (1867–1947), German philosopher and psychologist, of Jewish origin (he described himself as a "*Vierteljude*"); son of Ludwig *Dessoir. Dessoir studied with Wilhelm Dilthey and received doctorates in philosophy and medicine. He was professor of philosophy in Berlin, 1897–1934 and taught until 1933. He only left Berlin in 1943 and returned to Germany in 1946 and taught at Frankfurt. Dessoir was particularly interested in marginal psychological phenomena, and in 1889 coined the term "parapsychology." He described and criticized the anthroposophy of Rudolph Steiner. Dessoir anticipated *Freud by introducing a theory of the subconscious, based on experiments carried out with hypnosis and dream analysis and psychological observation of daily life. Dessoir was also interested in aesthetics and "the general science of art" – a branch of study he founded. Aesthetic objects (or essences), in his view, include many phenomena in nature and in everyday life; while works of art have not only an aesthetic significance but also possess functions of meaning which embrace the whole range of culture: religious, moral, pedagogical, political, social functions, etc. Dessoir's aesthetics are mainly objectivist. He founded the *Zeitschrift fuer Aesthetik und allgemeine Kunstwissenschaft* in 1906 and was its editor for 30 years. His works include *Das Doppel-Ich* (1890); *Geschichte der neueren deutschen Psychologie* (1894); *Aesthetik und allgemeine Kunstwissenschaft* (1906); *Vom Jenseits der Seele* (1917); *Der Okkultismus in Urkunden*, 3 vols. (1925), ed. by M. Dessoir; *Beitraege zur allgemeinen Kunstwissenschaft*

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DETENTION.

In the Bible

The Torah does not recognize the use of imprisonment as a punishment for criminal offenses (see *Imprisonment), but it explicitly mentions the placing of a person in detention as part of the procedure of making a legal determination in the case. Thus we read about the man found gathering wood on the Sabbath – a deed which was clearly considered a very serious offense – who was placed in detention pending completion of the clarification regarding the punishment that would be imposed upon him: "And they put him in custody, because it was not specified what should be done to him [what needed to be done with him]" (Lev. 15:34). The Aramaic translations of this verse interpret the meaning of the word "custody" as holding him in jail, i.e., detention. The Midrash explains that although it was clear that he was liable for the death penalty, it was still not clear by what means he was to be executed and therefore he was put in detention in the meantime (*Sifri*, *Numbers*, 114). Similarly, a man who blasphemed the name of God – another offense that was clearly extremely grave – was placed in detention until it was clarified what should be done with him: "And they put him in custody, that it might be declared unto them at the mouth of the Lord." (Lev. 24:12). Indeed, the punishment imposed on the offender in both cases, according to the command of God, was the death penalty (see *Capital Punishment).

In Talmudic Literature

DETENTION OF THOSE LIABLE FOR CAPITAL PUNISHMENT. On the basis of these sources, tannaitic literature expanded the provisions regarding detention and it was determined that the person condemned to capital punishment should be put in detention: "To teach us that all of those condemned to capital punishment are to be placed in detention" (Sifri, Numbers, 114); However, these words do not indicate the stage at which the offender is placed in detention – whether after the completion of his trial, or when he is still only a suspect; and if at the stage in which he is only a suspect – what kind of evidence is sufficient for this.

DETENTION OF SUSPECTS IN ORDER TO ESTABLISH THE IDENTITY OF THE OFFENDER. In the opinion of Rabbi Judah (second century), detention was also utilized in cases in which the offender is located among a group of innocent people, and it is not known which of them is the murderer. His view diverged from the Sages' view, according to which in such a case all are exempt from detention, in his opinion – "they are all placed in jail" until it becomes apparent which of them is the murderer (Sanhedrin 9:3).

DETENTION OF THOSE CONDEMNED TO DEATH. A person sentenced to death was placed in detention until the sentence was carried out. The Mishna (San. 11:4) and the Tosefta (Zuckermandel edition, San. 11:7) state that the sentence of the stubborn and rebellious son, the rebellious elder, the inciter, the one who leads others astray, the false prophet and the perjured witness is not implemented immediately after sentencing but rather "he is brought up to the High Court in Jerusalem and is kept in custody until the festival and he is executed during the intermediate days of the festival." This is the position of Rabbi Akiva, with which Rabbi Judah disagrees, and he states that in order not to cause the offender to suffer a delay of justice he is to be executed immediately.

DETENTION OF THE SUSPECT ONLY WHEN THERE IS EVIDENCE; HUMAN DIGNITY. In the beginning of the fourth century, the *amoraim* of Ereẓ Israel ruled that the judge may not place a suspect in detention unless there was solid evidence that he had committed the offense. Rabbi Yose, in the Jerusalem Talmud (San. 7, 8), rejects the notion that it is permissible to detain a person in the street only because of the suspicion that he has committed murder, insofar as such an act constitutes an affront to his dignity: "Can it be that we will seize someone in the marketplace and humiliate him?" On the basis of the Mishna in Tractate Sanhedrin (7:5) Rabbi Yose rules that a person suspect of having committed a capital crime is detained even prior to being judged, but only in cases in which there are witnesses who testify that the suspect committed the murder in which case it is permissible to arrest and detain him.

KEEPING A PERSON IN JAIL UNTIL THE RESULTS OF THE OFFENSE ARE CLARIFIED. In addition to the detention of a person suspected of having committed murder, talmudic literature provides that a person may be detained even prior to a determination of his liability for the death penalty, when it is absolutely certain that he committed the offense, and as a result of which it may subsequently transpire that he is liable for capital punishment. Regarding a person who strikes and injures another, the Torah states that, once the victim gets up from his sickbed and it is clear that he will not die from the assault, the perpetrator is only liable for the various heads of damages (see *Damages): "And if men strive together, and one smite another with a stone, or with his fist, and he die not, but keeps his bed: if he rise again, and walk abroad upon his staff, then shall he that struck him be acquitted: only he shall pay for the loss of his time, and shall cause him to be thoroughly healed" (Ex. 21:18–19). The *Mekhilta* (*Mekhilta of Rabbi Ishmael*, Horowitz edition, *Mishpatim*, *Parashah* 6) rejects the possibility that the attacker "will provide guarantors and go walking in the market" until the victim recovers and it provides that "he is detained until the victim recovers."

The Babylonian Talmud cites a similar interpretation of this verse in the name of the *Amora*, Rabba, according to whom it is not possible that the Torah is teaching us that if the victim recovers, the attacker will not be executed, because this is self-evident. Consequently, the purpose of the verse in the Torah must be to teach us that the attacker is held in jail until the fate of the victim is clear; if he died – the attacker is executed and if he recovered – the attacker will only pay damages (TB, Ket. 33, 2; San. 78, 2). According to Rashi's explanation (San., *ibid.*), the purpose of the detention is to prevent the attacker from fleeing.

In the Post-Talmudic Literature

HOLDING A PERSON IN DETENTION – MERELY A PROCEDURAL TOOL OR PART OF THE PUNISHMENT. Regarding the detention of a suspect in a criminal offense, we have found a dispute from the period of the *geonim*. Their dispute dealt with the question of whether it was permissible to detain a person on the Sabbath or a holy day, and from their words we learn of a different outlook regarding the essence of detention. Rav Paltoi Gaon (Pumbedita, ninth century; Halakhic Rulings [Miller], 135) answered that he must be put in detention but he should not be flogged because flogging constitutes a desecration of the Sabbath (see *Flogging). In his opinion, the detention is for the sole purpose of preventing him from fleeing, and it does not contain any punitive element. About 150 years later, *Sherira Gaon held in an opposing opinion, that "it is not permissible to put a person in jail on a holy day, and all the more so this is impermissible on the Sabbath …" (*Shibbolei ha-Leket*, 60); according to his view, the detention itself is part of the sentence and of the punishment, and therefore it is impermissible on the Sabbath. It should be noted that the halakhic authorities continued to consider this issue, which was also dealt with by Joseph Caro (Beit Yosef, OḤ, end of sec. 263), the Rama (Shulkhan Arukh, OḤ, 339, 4) and Jacob Reischer (Responsa *Shevut Yaakov* 1:14 Germany, the 18th century).

THE AMOUNT OF EVIDENCE NECESSARY IN ORDER TO KEEP A SUSPECT IN DETENTION. The discussion in the Jerusalem Talmud, *supra*, regarding the detention of a suspect from the moment that there is evidence against him, has been interpreted in various ways: R. Nissim Gerondi (*Ḥidushei Haran*, San. 56, 1) interprets that the mere existence of witnesses is insufficient in order to place the suspect in detention; rather they must actually appear and testify before the court adjudicating the matter, and only then will it be possible to place the suspect in detention. In an opposing opinion, Rabbi Moshe *Margoliot (*Penei Moshe*, Jerusalem Talmud, *ibid.*) interprets the words of the Jerusalem Talmud as providing that it is sufficient that the existence of witnesses has been established.

OVERALL SURVEY OF THE LAWS OF DETENTION AND RELEASE ON BOND – THE RESPONSUM OF THE RIBASH. R. Isaac bar Sheshet *Perfet (Responsa of the Ribash, sec. 236) received an inquiry from the heads of the community in the city of Tiroal in the Aragon region of Spain regarding the law applicable to a Jew who was suspected of being an informer and who was prosecuted before the rabbinical court in Tiroal. In the question posed to him various problems are raised, both substantive and procedural, regarding the crime of informing, including the issue of release of the suspect from jail upon the posting of bail. The Ribash replies in a clear and leading *responsum* on this subject, and sets forth the rules of the detention:

a. The detention is only in the case of a suspect in a criminal offense for which the punishment is "a sentence pertaining to the body of the guilty party," i.e., capital punishment or imprisonment, and not when the expectation is that he "will only be obligated to pay money."

b. The rabbinical court will order the detention of a suspect only if it was convinced that "the prosecutor's claims are substantiated" – in other words, that the evidence is sufficient to support a reasonable suspicion against him.

c. The legitimate grounds for detention are (1) to ensure that the suspect will stand trial; (2) to ensure that the suspect, if convicted, will serve his sentence; (3) it is unacceptable for the suspect to be "strolling about the marketplace" while the court is adjudicating his case. This rationale could be interpreted from the point of view of "public opinion," insofar as the public is likely to be disturbed by the contradiction inherent in the fact that, while a trial for a serious crime is underway, the suspect is free to go where he pleases. However, it seems that it should be interpreted in accordance with the accepted grounds for detention that are in use in the contemporary judicial system, according to which the suspect's "walking in the marketplace" may obfuscate evidentiary material, intimidate witnesses, endanger the public inasmuch as he may commit additional crimes, etc.

d. Regarding release on bail – a suspect who is held in detention cannot be released on the basis of bail posted by others, for the reason that if he flees and does not stand trial, on the one hand the obligation to try criminals will not be fulfilled, and, on the other hand, there is no reason for those who posted the bail to pay for a crime perpetrated by another.

From the words of the Ribash, therefore, it may be stated that a suspect may be placed in detention only if the crime he is suspected of having committed would render him subject to capital punishment or imprisonment, the court is satisfied that the prosecutor has solid grounds for charging him and there is concern that if he is not placed in detention the safety of the public will be jeopardized or that there will be an obstruction of justice.

DETENTION OF A PERSON UNTIL THE CONSEQUENCES OF HIS ACTION ARE CLARIFIED. Regarding one who strikes another, when it is still not known whether the victim will die or not, the Rambam held (Hilkhot Roẓe'aḥ, 4, 3) according to the words of the Babylonian Talmud cited above, that the court must evaluate the injury; if in its opinion the victim will die from it, then "the perpetrator is imprisoned immediately and they wait for this," to see if he will indeed die, in which case the perpetrator will be executed, and if he recovers, the perpetrator will only be liable to pay monetary damages.

In the State of Israel

In the State of Israel, the law regarding the problem of detentions has been the subject of controversy, and has even seen vicissitudes, and the provisions of Jewish law have had a decisive role in its formation. We will expand on this issue somewhat, insofar as we can learn from it the appropriate manner in which the Israeli legal system should absorb values from its roots planted in the heritage of Israel and in Jewish law, in particular regarding significant issues like detention, that have bearing on human dignity and freedom.

In the past, before governing legislation was adopted regarding this issue, there was an opinion that the court could arrest a suspect in a serious crime even if there was no apprehension regarding public safety or obstruction of justice. The main justification for this procedure was to ensure the public's trust in the effectiveness of the criminal justice system.

A thorough examination of the approach of Jewish law to the laws of detention is found in the decision of the Supreme Court in the Abukasis case (BSH 71/78, *State of Israel v. Rachel Abukasis*, 32(2) PD 240). In the wake of the appeal of the extension of the arrest order, the Court (Justice Menachem Elon) was asked to make a determination regarding the principles behind the laws of detention, and the Court discussed the position of Jewish law regarding this problem at length. The Court presented the principles that were set forth by the Ribash and adopted them, in order to rule, by way of judicial legislation, relying on "the democratic principles of our legal system and the principles of our historical and national law – the Jewish law" (BSHP 2169/92 *Suissa v. The State of Israel*, 46(3) PD 338, p. 342), that the seriousness of the crime is not sufficient in itself in order to hold a person in detention – except in cases of murder, etc., that were set forth in the legislation.

In 1988, the Knesset passed an amendment to the Rules of Criminal Procedure, which explicitly provided that the seriousness of the crime, in and of itself, would not serve as grounds for detention of a defendant prior to his trial, unless there was proof of a reasonable basis to fear that the public security would be endangered or that there would be an obstruction of justice, or, if as a result of the seriousness of certain crimes enumerated in the law, there was a presumption of such a danger.

In a later decision of the Supreme Court (the *Suissa* decision, *supra*), the Court (Justice Menachem Elon) emphasized that, in the wake of the legislation in the State of Israel of the Basic Law: Human Dignity and Freedom, whose stated goal is to solidify the values of the State of Israel as a Jewish and democratic state, "the justification for abrogating this basic right (of individual freedom) … is that if he goes free he will endanger the safety of the public or of an individual or will obstruct justice, and these alone. Our feelings of revulsion due to the seriousness of the crime or our concern regarding the effectiveness of the criminal system cannot justify abrogating a person's freedom and detaining him behind bars; the legislature designated alternatives to achieve these purposes, such as house arrest, and additional means" (*ibid.*, p. 347).

At present, the law in the State of Israel is set forth in the Rules of Criminal Procedure (Enforcement Powers – Arrests), 1996. Pursuant to this law, a judge may order the detention of a suspect before the filing of an indictment only when he is convinced that there is a reasonable suspicion that the person committed a crime whose punishment is more than three months' imprisonment, and in addition there is a reasonable basis to believe that if the suspect is not detained the result will be endangerment of the safety of an individual or of society at large or of State security or obstruction of justice or, if there are special reasons that necessitate detention, in order to carry out an investigation (sec. 13). Detention such as this, prior to the filing of an indictment, is limited in duration.

After the filing of an indictment, the Court is authorized to order the detention of a suspect until the completion of legal proceedings, when, as set forth above, there is reason to believe that otherwise an obstruction of justice will result or that the suspect presents a danger, and in addition to this, also in the case of the most serious crimes, involving serious violence, threat to public security or domestic violence (sec. 21).

A policeman is authorized to arrest a person even without a court order in circumstances in which he has a reasonable basis to believe that the person represents a threat to the security of the public or of a person, or that the failure to order his detention will result in an obstruction of justice (sec. 23). In all cases of arrest and detention by a policeman, a police officer must approve the arrest with a short time, and a judge must confirm the arrest within 24 hours.

The similarities between these detention provisions and the limits on holding a person in detention that the Ribash set out in his *responsum*, *supra* can be clearly seen.

As distinguished from the holding of the Ribash, who ruled that when there are grounds for detention the suspect may not be released on bail, the provisions of Israeli law set forth that, as long as it is possible to substitute release on bail or other restricting terms for the detention, it is obligatory to do so.

(See also *Imprisonment.)

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[Menachem Elon (2nd ed.)]

DETROIT, largest city in Michigan, U.S., with a Jewish population of around 103,000 (with Ann Arbor) in 2001, comprising 1.9% of the city's total population. Part of the distinction of Detroit Jews derives from the nature and history of Detroit. Its economy, the first to emerge as distinctly 20th century American – that is, mobile, grounded in automobiles, roads, and related industries, and therefore suburbs, shopping centers, and massive industrial complexes like the Ford Rouge Plant – produced enormous wealth or the prospects of it. If Jewish immigration to the U.S. stopped in 1924, immigration to Detroit did not. Jews came from other American cities, seeking employment in the Ford factories or the related industries. Sometimes families that had been in this country for as many as 20 years picked up and left places like New York, Philadelphia, Indianapolis, Cleveland, or Baltimore to come to Detroit.

1760–1840

Jews had come to Michigan in the 18th century as fur traders and merchants. Chapman Abraham, Detroit's first known Jewish settler, arrived in Detroit in 1762 and became a successful trader for more than 20 years. Levi Solomons, partner of Chapman Abraham, was captured by the Indians near Detroit during the 1763 Pontiac Conspiracy. Chapman Abraham was captured during the 1763 Indian siege of Detroit, and after two harrowing months was released in exchange for an Indian chief. During the American Revolution Abraham fought in Canada against the invading Americans, remaining a loyalist all his life. Later records show he lived in Detroit in 1783. Hayman *Levy of New York, largest fur trader among the colonists and at one time a partner of Levi Solomons, carried on extensive business with Detroit merchants from 1774.

Ezekiel *Solomon, Michigan's first known Jewish settler, arrived in Fort Michilimackinac (today Mackinaw City) in 1761, and lived in Detroit in 1789. Moses David, of the well-known Montreal *David family, lived in Sandwich (now Windsor), Ontario, in 1792, when Sandwich and Detroit were still under British rule. Isaac *Moses joined Zion Lodge, Detroit's first Masonic lodge, in 1798, two years after Detroit's occupation by the Americans. Louis Benjamin was awarded a new plot of ground in 1808 to indemnify him for his loss in Detroit's great fire of 1805. Frederick E. Cohen, an English Jew, was in Detroit in 1837 during the Canadian rebellion, when he served in the Canadian militia. He became a prominent portrait painter, the first Jewish artist in Michigan. His self-portrait hangs in the Detroit Institute of Arts.

1840–1880

German Jews arrived in Detroit in significant numbers in the 1840s. Charles E. Bresler, a settler of the Ann Arbor-Ypsilanti area in the 1830s, moved to Detroit in 1844. He dealt in horses, furs, and wool, and made a fortune importing steel pens. He was one of the incorporators of Detroit's first Jewish congregation, Temple Beth El. Edward Kanter arrived in Detroit that same year, moving to Mackinac the following year where he was employed by the American Fur Company. Later he worked for the Leopold Brothers, pioneers on the island of Mackinac in the fishery business, and fur traders. Kanter returned to Detroit in 1852 and became Detroit's first Jewish banker and the first Michigan Jew to serve in the state legislature. Kanter Street is named after him. Simon Freedman, a settler of Adrian, Michigan, in the early 1840s, established a large dry goods business in Detroit around 1844, joined by his family. Like Besler, the Freedman brothers were among the founders of Beth El: Joseph was the first secretary of the congregation, Simon served as president, and Herman was president of the religious school board. In the 1870s David J. Wockum was the first Jew to serve on the Detroit Board of Education.

In 1850 Congregation Beth El was founded in the home of Sarah and Isaac Couzens by 12 German Jewish families. In 1851 a half acre of land on Champlain (later Lafayette) Street was purchased for a cemetery, the oldest Jewish congregational cemetery in Michigan. Beth El congregation's first rabbi, Samuel Marcus, was interred there in 1854 during a cholera epidemic. Originally an Orthodox congregation, Beth El became Reform in 1861, resulting in the withdrawal of 17 members who formed the Orthodox Shaarey Zedek congregation, later an important Conservative congregation. Beth El became a large and influential Reform Congregation, and among its leading rabbis was Kaufmann *Kohler (1869–71).

1880–1914

By 1880 there were approximately 1,000 Jews in Detroit, more than half from Eastern Europe, the others, German Jews. Detroit's Jewish population leaped during the so-called Great Migration from Eastern Europe, especially from 1880 to 1910 and from 1917 to 1924 when the government instituted its immigration restrictions. By 1920 the number of Jews in Detroit had reached almost 35,000, a 247% increase in 10 years while the general population of Detroit increased only 114%. There was one Reform congregation, Temple Beth El, and four Orthodox congregations, Shaarey Zedek, B'nai Israel (1871), B'nai Jacob (1875), and Beth Jacob (1878). Three charities existed: the Ladies' Society for the Support of Hebrew Widows and Orphans, popularly known as "Frauen Verein" (1863), Beth El Hebrew Relief Society, and Shaarey Zedek Jewish Relief Society. B'nai B'rith, Kesher Shel Barzel, and the Free Sons of Israel all had lodges in Detroit, and there was one flourishing social club, the Phoenix Social Club (1872).

Relations between the Ostjuden newcomers, most of whom were of the Orthodox tradition, and the more acculturated German Jews, primarily members of Temple Beth El, were ambivalent. Considerations of class, social standing, religious outlook, and degree of Americanization tended to keep the groups separate. However, the German community's sense of obligation to their less fortunate coreligionists overcame their feelings of antipathy, at least publicly, with the founding of two new charitable societies, the Hebrew Ladies' Sewing Society (1882) and the Self-Help Circle (1889), organized to assist the new immigrants, although many of them felt patronized. In 1896 a *Detroit News* article noted that "it is very rare that a German Israelite seeks relief from anybody," contrasting German Jews with East European Jews who needed charity. By 1903, however, a *Detroit Free Press* article pointed out that Russian Jews, while not so successful in business as German Jews, were "making their way upward." The article listed leading Jewish businessmen and four synagogues, the Division Street Talmud Torah, the House of Shelter, and the Hebrew Free Loan Office and concluded that Russian Jews were "intelligent, sensible, hard-working people, sober and religious, of good moral character and determined to get ahead in the world. They are men with characteristics that make any nation strong." Their German counterparts rarely agreed.

Some Eastern Europeans, conscious of the gulf between themselves and the city's German Jewish community, preferred to establish communal institutions more responsive to their special needs. The most important of these were the Talmud Torah Institute (1897), Hebrew Free Loan Association (1895), and Workman's Circle (Arbeter Ring) (1907). By 1917, Branch 156 of the Workmen's Circle was not only the largest secular Jewish organization in Detroit, but the largest Workmen's Circle branch in North America. It was the first of a wave of secular Jewish institutions that included Labor Zionist organizations, the Yiddish Sholom Aleichem Institute, Hayim Greenberg, and Farband Shule and the five IWO Communist-affiliated Hersh Leckert Schools. When the Farband Shule declared itself "the non-parteische" (non-partisan) school, it meant it was not a Hersh Leckert School.

Realizing that the profusion of Jewish charities resulted in unnecessary duplication and waste, Leo M. *Franklin, rabbi of Temple Beth El (1899–1941), united the Beth El Hebrew Relief Society, Hebrew Ladies' Sewing Society, Jewish Relief Society, and Self-Help Circle into the United Jewish Charities (1899). David W. Simons was the first president and Blanche Hart was superintendent until 1923. Despite differences, the German and the East European groups managed to cooperate in communal undertakings. This was exemplified when Temple Beth El, oldest and most prestigious congregation in the city, agreed to join the Kehilla (1911) organized by the Orthodox community. Prominent rabbis of the period included Leo Franklin; Judah Leib Levin, who was instrumental in organizing the United Orthodox Hebrew Congregations in the early 1900s, and founded the Yeshivah Beth Yehuda; and Abraham *Hershman of Conservative Shaarey Zedek (1908–46), an ardent Zionist.

Starting in the 1880s, Detroit's Jewish communities concentrated most heavily in the retail and wholesale clothing trades, mostly as proprietors of their own businesses, and in the clerical or white collar occupations as salesmen, insurance agents, and office workers. While Jews did not dominate any trade the way they did the garment industry in New York, a Jewish "monopoly" in Detroit's economic life did develop in the waste material and scrap metal business. By the late 1880s Jews outnumbered gentiles in this industry, and by the 1890s it had become almost solely a "Jewish" industry. This dominance was to continue after World War II.

Jews participated in the political life of Detroit during this period. Samuel Goldwater, a city alderman in 1894 and the Democratic Party's candidate for mayor in 1895, was the major force behind the organization of the Michigan Federation of Labor (1889). David E. Heineman served as a member of the state legislature (1896–1901) and Detroit's City Council (1902–09), and was city controller during 1910–13. In 1909 he was president of the American League of Municipalities; he also designed the flag of Detroit. Charles C. Simons was a state senator (1902). David W. Simons was a member of the first nine-man city council (1918).

1915–1940

The outbreak of World War I ended European immigration to Detroit until 1920. In 1915 the Jewish communities contained one Reform and 19 Orthodox congregations and by 1940 the Jewish population had risen to 85,000 as the number of congregations rose to 48. During these years the Jews of Detroit strengthened their communal organization. A survey of communal needs made in 1923 by the Bureau of Jewish Social Research of New York resulted in the organization, in 1926, of the Jewish Welfare Federation. Its first director was Morris D. *Waldman. Eventually housed in the Fred M. *Butzel Memorial Building, the Federation included among its affiliate agencies the Jewish Community Council, Jewish Community Center, Jewish Family and Children's Service, Jewish Home for the Aged, Fresh Air Society, Hebrew Free Loan Association, Federation Apartments, Jewish House of Shelter, Jewish Vocational Service and Community Workshop, Resettlement Service, Midrasha-College of Jewish Studies, Sinai Hospital and Shiffman Clinic, United Jewish Charities, and the United Hebrew Schools. The Jewish Community Council, organized in 1936, comprised 340 organizations and immediately took an active role in urban affairs, the civil rights movement, holding joint meetings with the NAACP and African American clergy. They would later offer staunch support of Israel. The first community-wide fund drive of the Jewish Welfare Federation in 1926 had 3,185 contributors; in 1940 there were 20,440 contributors; and in 1967 and 1969 the city's Allied Jewish Campaigns raised two of the highest per capita totals in the U.S.

Jewish education received a boost in 1919 when the United Hebrew Schools was organized by a merger of two *talmud torahs*. By 1940 the United Hebrew Schools had ten branches. In 1925 Congregation Beth El opened a College of Jewish Studies, and in 1940 an Institute on Judaism for Christian Clergymen. In addition to the various congregational Sunday and Hebrew schools and the secular schools, Jewish education had been fostered by the Beth Yehuda Day and Afternoon School, the Hillel Day School, and the Akiva Hebrew Day School.

If Detroit had become known for its modern, industrial achievements, it also gained a more infamous, less savory reputation that set it apart from other cities. It was unfortunately tarnished by its social and cultural blights. Racism and antisemitism may have been common features of the American cultural landscape in the 20th century, but their malevolence in Detroit was unmatched anywhere else. Father Charles Coughlin's vitriolic antisemitic national radio broadcasts in the 1930s, Henry Ford's anti-Jewish newspaper campaign in the *Dearborn Independent* during the 1920s, the Black Legion's night-riders and lynching, Gerald L.K. Smith and others, still evoke fear and anger in Detroit Jews. The 1930s also saw Detroit's German American Bund become fairly active. Along with news of the events in Europe, more subtle actions like department store ads from J.L. Hudson's that read "only Gentiles need apply," and public swimming pools that did not allow Jews to swim, or restrictive covenants that prevented Jews from purchasing or renting houses in Pleasant Ridge or Grosse Pointe or Birmingham, appreciably increased anxiety among Jews in Detroit.

The UJC 1923 Survey had noted: there appeared to be "no Jewish labor class consciousness in Detroit." While that lack of "labor class consciousness" may have been pervasive, organized Jewish groups, like the Jewish Community Council, the Workmen's Circle, the more than 80 *landsmannschaften*, supported the labor movement in Detroit. Perhaps the most notable example of this was the Detroit Laundry and Linen Drivers Association founded and led by Isaac Litwak in 1934. Within two years it had become Teamster Local 285 and in 1937 carried out no fewer than 12 major strikes. Unique among Jewish urban businesses, 25% of the laundry and linen workers in Detroit in 1936 were Jews. Locked out of other, more traditional Jewish enterprises like department stores because of antisemitism, Jews logically gravitated from tailoring and rag peddling to this trade. Nearly 90% of the laundry and linen industry was owned by Jews. Yet, in 1937, picket lines were attacked by goons, Litwak was severely beaten several times, once dragging himself to the line; he was arrested and joined in jail by Jimmy Hoffa, who made sure Litwak was not beaten or killed. The union triumphed in 1937 as it brought unorganized drivers earning $18/wk to contractual arrangements guaranteeing $95. The turmoil was typical of the early days of union organizing in Detroit, but with added emotional trauma in this case: although no charges were brought, it was clear that Jewish owners or their surrogates had hired Jewish hoodlums from the remnants of the notorious Jewish Purple Gang, to beat and break Jewish workers and their union.

Post-World War II

This period witnessed a growth in prosperity among the Jews of Detroit, and increasing mobility characterized by a steady move to the suburbs. The community's religious institutions were consolidated: by 1968 there were 23 Orthodox, six Conservative, four Reform, and one humanistic congregation founded by Rabbi Sherwin Wine, the Birmingham Temple, in the Detroit metropolitan area. Prominent in Jewish and general community affairs was Rabbi Morris *Adler, who served Congregation Shaarey Zedek from 1938 to 1966, when he was tragically shot in his pulpit and killed. A constant of Detroit Jewish history has been movement. By the time Jews began to move into Oak Park, the first suburb northwest of Detroit, beginning around 1948, an organized or identifiable Jewish presence in Detroit had existed for a hundred years. In that century, perhaps nothing characterized that people more than its movement – mytho-biblical in its quick, successive generational wanderings and in its group cohesion. It seemed that Jews moved en masse about every 20–30 (not to say 40) years. Morris Waldman, Federation's first executive director, who arrived in 1924, observing the rapid evacuation of the Hastings neighborhood in favor of the Westminster-Oakland area, called the phenomenon a *hegira*, a mass migration. The pattern of Jewish settlement in Detroit from 1840 to 1940 was a northwest exodus: from Lower Hastings to Upper Hastings, to Oakland between 1910 and 1940, to the Twlefth Street and Dexter areas just west of Oakland, to Northwest Detroit, from the late 1930s to the 1960s. After World War II, Oak Park, then Southfield became the greener pastures, where Jews could buy the typical brick ranch houses, in the midst of trees and open spaces, followed quickly by West Bloomfield and Farmington Hills. When correlated with generational, socio-economic upward mobility, such a prolonged series of moves seems to have sprung, in part, from a desire for larger homes, more space, and the pursuit of symbols of economic success. It mirrored the non-Jewish, upwardly mobile middle class abandonment of the central cities for the suburbs, the American dream of the 1950s: suburban life. As each generation of Jews became more educated, more successful, more American, and more assimilated, the wish to demonstrate all those features strengthened and took the form of new and bigger or better homes in new neighborhoods. Yet more than a quest for symbols of educational and economic achievement accounts for the regular relocation of whole communities. Federation surveys implied that, for all their tolerance, many Jews retained stereotypic views of African Americans and feared living in the same neighborhoods, although they often supported civil rights and defended blacks in that arena. In the Hastings Street neighborhood, long after Jews had moved their residences from there, they retained businesses. In the 1920s, 1930s, and 1940s often only Jewish merchants would allow blacks to shop in their stores. And only Jews would sell their businesses to blacks as white, non-Jewish racists grew more hostile to black neighbors – and to Jewish neighbors or businessmen. As black workers moved into Detroit, they occupied the areas in which Jews lived, and fears or prejudices on both sides fostered the Jewish moves.

A prominent Jewish community leader was Max M. *Fisher (d. 2005), long associated with the UJA, United Israel Appeal, and American Jewish Committee. As war seemed imminent in the Middle East in 1967, Fisher was flown from his yacht in the Aegean (where he was vacationing with Henry Ford II) to Tel Aviv, where he learned of Israel's needs and strategies. When he returned to his yacht, he convinced Ford to write a personal check for $100,000 and took Detroit by storm. Working with his friend Paul Zuckerman, who chaired the Israel Emergency Defense Fund, Fisher, just after a record-breaking UJA drive that had raised $5,627,136, cajoled, harangued, and convinced the Jews of Detroit to "give as you never gave before." Detroiters gave $4,700,000. Jewish Detroit had never been more united.

As Jewish professional success grew, and vestiges of anti-Jewish discrimination remained, Jews responded with specific actions. When Jewish physicians were blocked from practicing at some Detroit hospitals, Sinai Hospital was created; Jewish lawyers led the way in ending "restrictive covenants" in the Detroit metropolitan area and in reforming the civil rights codes in the Michigan Constitution. Jews were to be found in every area of the city's economic life, although despite the prominence of automobile manufacturing in Detroit, few Jews are employed in this industry. The occupational sphere where Jews have predominated is the waste industry, continuing their control of it from the 1890s. By the late 1960s almost 55 percent of those Jews who were employed could be classed in the manager or proprietor class. By 1970 almost 25 percent of the Jewish working force was in the professions, while 73 percent were white-collar workers. Less than 10 per cent of the Jewish population were blue-collar workers.

Jews prominent in political life included Melvin Ravitz, councilman (1969), and Sander *Levin, state senator and chairman of the State Democratic Committee (1969). Sander's brother, Carl, has served three terms in the U.S. Senate and Debbie Stabenow is Michigan's other senator (2000). Among noted civic leaders have been David A. *Brown (1875–1958); Max M. Fisher, who, after the Detroit Riots of 1967, led the foundation of New Detroit to try to reconstruct the city; Norman Drachler, superintendent of the Detroit Public Schools; Leonard N. Simons, president of the Detroit Historical Commission; Alfred A. May, president of the Detroit Round Table of Christians and Jews; Lawrence Fleischman, past president of the Detroit Institute of Arts Commission, and numerous others.

Detroit Jews have a distinguished record as jurists at the state and national level. Henry M. *Butzel was justice of the Supreme Court of Michigan; Charles C. Simons, a judge of the United States Circuit Court of Appeals; Lawrence Gubow and Theodore Levin, district court judges (1969); and S. Jerome Bronson and Charles Levin, judges of the state court of appeals (1969), and Avern Cohn, a federal judge. Jews of Detroit also play a prominent part in the cultural life of the city. When the Detroit Symphony Orchestra was organized in 1918, Ossip Gabrilowitsch became the principal conductor. He filled the post until his death in 1935 when Victor Kolar succeeded him. Mischa Mischakoff was concertmaster. Karl Haas was director of fine arts of radio station WJR and president of the Interlochen Arts Academy, a position then held by Robert Luby; concert pianist Mischa Kottler was director of music at radio station WWJ; Harry Weinberg hosted a long-lived Yiddish Radio Hour; Littman's People's Theatre featured everything from high drama with leading Yiddish speaking actors to burlesque. Albert *Kahn, world-renowned architect, built the city's General Motors Building, Fisher Building, and New Center Building, among many others. Charles E. Feinberg (d. 1988) was an internationally known collector of Jewish ceremonial art and authority on the poet Walt Whitman. Detroit's Jewish population remains a diverse and significant part of the city's culture.

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[Irving I. Katz and Robert Rockaway / Sidney Bolkosky (2nd ed.)].

DEUEL, HANS ERWIN (1916–1962), Swiss agricultural chemist and expert on plant gums and pectins. He was born in Leipzig, Germany, and went to Switzerland in 1934. Deuel's entire working career was spent at the Technische Hochschule at Zurich where he became professor of agricultural chemistry in 1949. He was primarily interested in the polysaccarides, relating properties such as gelation and complex formation with their structural features. In the field of soil science he investigated the ion exchange properties of plant roots, organic weathering through the degradation of clays by orthodiphenols, carbohydrates in soils, and the chemistry of humic substances.

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[Samuel Aaron Miller]

DEUTCH, JOHN M. (1938–), director, U.S. Central Intelligence Agency (1995–96); deputy secretary of defense (1994–95). Born in Brussels, Belgium, Deutch came to the United States in 1940 with his family to escape Nazism and pursued a B.A. in history and economics from Amherst College as well as a B.S. in Chemical Engineering from Massachusetts Institute of Technology, where he earned his Ph.D. in physical chemistry (1965). He first served as a systems analyst at the Office of the Secretary of Defense and later as an assistant professor at Princeton (1967–70) before returning to MIT, where he was a professor of chemistry, dean of science, and provost (1982–90). He subsequently became an institute professor at MIT.

Deutch spent his career shuttling between academia and government service on the Cambridge-Washington axis. From 1977 to 1980 he served as director of Energy Research, acting assistant secretary for energy technology, and undersecretary of energy. In 1993, President Clinton nominated him as undersecretary of defense for acquisitions and technology. In March 1994 he became deputy secretary and then left the Defense Department to become director of the Central Intelligence Agency from May 1995 until the conclusion of Clinton's first term.

A significant security breach marred Deutch's sterling reputation. He stored top-secret information on unsecured home computers and kept private journals of his public work. Deutsch had his security clearance revoked. Criminal investigations were concluded when President Clinton pardoned him before leaving office in January 2001.

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[Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

DEUTERONOMY (Heb. סֵפֶר דְּבָרִים, *Sefer Devarim,* short for סֵפֶר וְאֵלֶּה הַדְּבָרִים, *Sefer ve-elleh ha-devarim*, "The Book of 'These Are the Words'"), the fifth book of the Pentateuch. The name Deuteronomy is derived from the Greek translation of מִשְׁנֵה הַתּוֹרָה *mishneh ha-torah* (Deut. 17:8) by Tò Δευτερονόμιον *Deuteronomion*, "the second law" or "the repeated law," whence the Latin *Deuteronomium*. Strictly speaking, *mishneh ha-torah* in its biblical context means "a copy of the law." Nonetheless, "second/repeated law" is an appropriate name for the book, inasmuch as Deuteronomy repeats law and history, known from what in our canon are the preceding books of the *Pentateuch. The appellation מִשְׁנֵה תּוֹרָה *mishneh torah* for Deuteronomy is also common in post-biblical Hebrew sources, and it seems that the Jewish tradition stands behind the Greek term. In contrast to their view of preceding books of the Pentateuch, critics take Deuteronomy to be, for the most part, an organic literary creation. It is presented as a long farewell speech of Moses, styled in the first person singular (except for a few small digressions: 4:41–49; 27:1–26; 31:7–9, 14ff.; 32:44–45). Deuteronomy interrupts the narrative flow of the Pentateuch by delaying the death of Moses from where it might have been expected in Numbers 27, to the Priestly resumption in Deut. 33:48–52; 34:1–6. In Deuteronomy 31:9, "this Torah," which is said to have been written by Moses and delivered into the custody of the levitical priests, refers to Deuteronomy, or some form of it; not to the entire Pentateuch.

Contents

A notice indicating time and place (1:1–5) precedes the introductory discourse. The discourse contains a historical retrospect of the Israelite journey, alluding to various incidents attending the perilous journey (spies, defeat at Hormah, conquest of Sihon and Og, and occupation of the whole territory of east Jordan). The discourse stresses the Providence that brought Israel through the desert. An appeal is made to the people to observe the statutes and ordinances of God (1:6–4:40). The second discourse, which is the principal part of the book, falls into two parts. The first (4:44–11:32) consists of a hortatory introduction opening with an exposition of the *Decalogue, and develops the first commandment at great length. The second section (ch. 12–26) is the Deuteronomic Code of Laws containing special laws or statutes that supplement the Decalogue. These statutes may be divided in three categories: (a) *Ceremonial laws*: centralization of worship (12), injunction against idolatry (13), pagan mourning rites (14:1–2), clean and unclean food (14:3–21), tithes (14:22–29), year of release (15:1–18), firstling offerings (15:19–23), and holy seasons (16:1–17). (b) *Civil Laws*: appointment of judges and supreme tribunal (16:18–20; 17:8–13), selection of a king (17:14–20), regulations concerning rights and revenues of priests and levites (18:1–8), rules concerning prophets (18:9–22). (c) *Criminal laws*: homicide (19:1–13), encroachment on property (19:14), false testimony (19:15–21). From Chapter 20 on we find regulations concerning laws of war (20:1–20), statement of family rights (21:15–21), sexual purity (22:13–29) and various others. Although many scholars see randomness in the arrangement of some of the laws, Stephen Kaufman argues strongly that the laws of chapters 12 through 25 reflect the order of the Decalogue. Chapter 26 ends the series with a conclusion to the law and a formula of commitment to the covenant. Chapter 27, which interrupts the discourse and is a narrative in the third person, contains the directions for the building of an altar on Mt. Ebal and a ceremonial blessing and cursing between Mt. Ebal and Mt. Gerizim. The following chapter (28) is a declaration of the blessings and curses which will overtake the people depending on whether they observe or neglect the prescribed statutes. Chapters 29–30 include Moses' third discourse, which insists on the fundamental duty of loyalty to God and embraces an appeal to Israel to accept the terms of the Deuteronomic covenant. Chapter 31 reports the appointment of Joshua (31:7–8, 14–15) and Moses' delivery of the Deuteronomic law to the levitical priests with instruction for it to be read publicly every seven years (31:9–13). Then follows the Song of Moses (Ch. 32), Moses' blessing (Ch. 33), and the final chapter (Ch. 34), which concludes the book with an account of the circumstances of Moses' death on Mt. Nebo.

Although no biblical source explicitly credits Moses with the composition of the entire Pentateuch, passages such as Deuteronomy 31:9 were read so expansively that Mosaic authorship was taken for granted in early Jewish tradition and the New Testament. Once Mosaic authorship became an article of faith for classical Judaism and Christianity the faithful found difficulty in the last eight verses of Deuteronomy, in which the death and burial of Moses are described. Some rabbis attributed the writing of these verses to Joshua; but another opinion had it that Moses wrote these verses too at God's dictation (BB 14b–15a). Medieval commentators, such as Abraham Ibn Ezra, were sensitive to some of the anachronistic passages in Deuteronomy incongruous to the time of Moses. The following are a few examples of difficult passages coped with by medieval commentators: (1) "beyond the Jordan" (1:1), a term generally employed by people living in Palestine could not properly be used by Moses who was then situated in Moab; (2) the expressions "at that time" (2:34; 3:4) and "unto this day" (3:14) imply that a long period of time has elapsed since the past spoken of; (3) the mention of Og's bedstead at Rabbath Ammon (3:11) as proof of Og's huge proportions and giant stature implies that Og was no longer alive to be used as living proof; (4) "As Israel did unto the land they were to possess" (2:12) refers to the conquest of Canaan which had not yet taken place according to the Bible; (5) the verse, "when Moses had put down in writing the words of this teaching to the very end, Moses charged the levites…" (31:24), probably refers only to certain chapters and not to the entire book since it is inconceivable that a book would relate the author's actions after the completion of the book. Ibn Ezra accepts the talmudic position of Mosaic authorship but probably felt that several verses were added to the book after Moses' death.

Critical Assessment

Deuteronomy is the only part of the Pentateuch called "the book of the law" (*Sefer ha-Torah*), i.e., the authoritative, sanctified guidebook of Israel. In the editorial framework of the Former Prophets, which is inspired by the book of Deuteronomy, it is designated by *Sefer Torat Moshe*, "the book of the law of Moses" (cf. Josh. 8:31; 23:6; II Kings 14:6). Deuteronomy is, in fact, the only book of the Pentateuch to be ascribed to Moses (Deut. 31:9; see above) and, according to most scholars, the first book to have been sanctified publicly (II Kings 23:1–3). Only after the other books were appended to Deuteronomy was the term "Torah" applied to the whole Pentateuch. The form of "testament" given to the book looks peculiar, but has its antecedents in the Egyptian method of diffusing wisdom and moral teachings. Addresses of kings and viziers to their successors in Egypt were couched in the form of a will, and this technique may have exerted an influence on Israel's literature, especially since there exist some affinities between Deuteronomy and the Wisdom Literature (see below). In spite of its apparent formal unity, the book is not a homogeneous piece of work. It has two introductions (1:1–4:40; 4:44–11:32), two different kinds of blessings and curses (27:11–26; 28:1–68), and appendices of various kinds (chapters 29ff.). The problem of the composite nature of the book has been dealt with by many modern scholars, and no final solution has been reached. There is general agreement in regard to chapters 5–26 and 28. It is believed that these chapters constituted the original book, which was later supplemented by an additional introduction (1:6–4:40) and by variegated material at the end of the book (27:1–8, 11–26; chapters 29–30). The rest of the material is to be divided into two categories: (1) the genuine Deuteronomic material dealing with the commissioning of Joshua (31:1–8); the writing of the Torah, its use in the future, and the depositing of it at the ark (31:9–13, 24–29; 32:45–47); and the death of Moses (chapter 34); and (2) ancient material appended to the book, such as the Song of Moses 32:1–43 with its introduction 31:14–23, the Blessing of Moses in chapter 33, and the later priestly passage in 32:48–52. According to M. Noth, Deuteronomy 1:1–4:40 and 31ff. is the work of the Deuteronomist who was responsible for editing the history of Joshua-Kings. In his opinion, this historian began with Deuteronomy 1 and incorporated Deuteronomy 4:44–30:20 into his work. His own material 1:1–4:40 and 31:1ff. is concerned with the preparations for the conquest and the commissioning of Joshua, which, in fact, serves as a good introduction for the conquest, opening the so-called Deuteronomic history of the Former Prophets. Some critics asserted that Deuteronomy 9:7–10:11, dealing with the events at Horeb (not the "Sinai" of the Priestly source), originally preceded the historical account in Deuteronomy 1:6ff. If this is correct, it lends support to the theory of Noth, because in this case there is a clear division of the book: the original code with its introduction on one hand, and the historical material added by the Deuteronomist on the other. However, as attractive as this theory may be, stylistically chapters 1–30 seem to be of the same stock and are different in nature from the Deuteronomic material of the Former Prophets. The composite nature of the book is recognizable not only in its framework but also in the code which forms the basic section of the book. Thus in chapter 12, two sets of prescriptions about centralization of cult are found: verses 1–12 and 13–25. The two sets may be distinguished by their style: in the former the people are addressed mainly in the second person plural, while in the latter the address is mainly in the second person singular. This distinction has been taken, since Steuernagel, as the basic criterion for distinguishing sources in Deuteronomy, in the code as well as in the framework. Steuernagel considered these as two different sources and thus he maintained that there were three strands in the chapter. In addition, Rofé (16–17) has demonstrated that within chapter 12 there is a difference between 12:13–19, which gives blanket permission for profane slaughter, and 12:20–28, which permits profane slaughter only if one is far from the chosen place. These last verses are what would later be called *halakhic* (legally orientated) Midrash in that they harmonize the blanket permission of profane slaughter of Deuteronomy 12:13–19 with its blanket prohibition in Leviticus 17:1–7. The combination of stylistic and linguistic clues together with indicators of historical and religious context are crucial to distinguishing sources.

DATE OF COMPOSITION. Deuteronomy gives its setting an antique flavor by providing ancient geographic and ethnic names, names of ancient giants and legendary peoples and details of ancient conquests (chapters 2–3). Yet the writers inform us that they are at some distance from the events related. For example, in order to write "there never again arose in Israel a prophet like Moses" (Deut. 34:10) it was necessary to know of a long line of prophets later than Moses. The first serious modern scholarly date for the composition of Deuteronomy was established by the pioneering work of de Wette in 1805. Trying to trace the historical circumstances underlying the book of Deuteronomy, de Wette found a correspondence between the reforms of *Josiah (640–609), which according to II Kings 22–23 were motivated by the discovery of a book of *torah* (see below), and the legislation of Deuteronomy. Before Josiah places of worship throughout the land were considered indispensable for the religious life of Israel, so that, for Elijah, destroying altars of YHWH was almost tantamount to slaying His prophets (I Kings 19:10, 14). In the legislative literature in Israel, however, the demand for cult centralization occurs for the first time in Deuteronomy. This book would therefore be an outcome, or a reflection, of the reforms of Josiah. These reforms are reflected in Deuteronomy not only in the law of centralization but also in: (1) the prohibition against pillars in the worship of YHWH (16:22), which according to the older sources is legitimate and even desirable (e.g., Gen. 28:18; 35:14; Ex. 24:4; Josh. 24:26); 2) the references to "astral worship" (*ṣeva ha-shamayim*; Deut. 4:19; 17:3), which is not mentioned in the previous books of the Pentateuch and seems to have been introduced into Judah through Arameo-Assyrian cultural influence in the eighth century B.C.E.; (3) the correspondence between the manner of celebrating Passover in the days of Hezekiah (II Chron. 30) and Josiah (see below) and the prescription in Deuteronomy 16:1–8. According to II Kings 23:22, Passover had not been celebrated in such a manner since the times of the Judges. No less important for the date of Deuteronomy is the unique style of this book, both in its phraseology and manner of discourse (rhetoric). Style such as that found in Deuteronomy (see below) is not found in any of the historical and prophetic traditions before the seventh century B.C.E. Conversely, from the seventh century onward almost all of the historical and the prophetical literature is permeated by this style. Theologically and stylistically Deuteronomy has become the archimedian point for dating the sources in the Pentateuch and the historical books of the Old Testament. On this analysis, the legal codes which do not presuppose centralization of cult must be from pre-Josianic times. In contrast, the editorial passages of Kings which evaluate the kings of Judah in accordance with their observance of centralization of cult, and those passages in Joshua-Judges which are styled in Deuteronomic phraseology cannot be from before the time of Josiah. An objective clue has thus been established for fixing the date of the editorial parts of the historic literature.

ANCIENT NEAR EASTERN TREATY FORMS AND DEUTERONOMY. A new dimension was added to the problem of the date of Deuteronomy by the discovery of the treaty between Esarhaddon king of Assyria (680–669 B.C.E.) and his eastern vassals (the longest Assyrian treaty as yet discovered). Affinities between ancient Near Eastern treaties and the biblical covenant in general had been stressed by Mendenhall in 1954 (see below), but the treaty of Esarhaddon, discovered in 1956, provided new material that is parallel only to that of Deuteronomy. The most important parallel is with the series of maledictions in Deuteronomy 28, which resemble strongly the Esarhaddon type of treaty (see Weinfeld 1965, in bibl.). The warnings against treason and inciting treason in Deuteronomy 13 closely resemble those found in the Esarhaddon succession treaty (Parpola in bibliography, 28–58) and in the contemporaneous Aramaic treaties. Especially striking is the warning against seduction by the prophet and cultic functionary, which has its parallel in the Assyrian treaty. The depiction of the scene of *Covenant and emphasis on the perpetual validity of the treaty as binding on all generations in Deuteronomy 29:9–14 also coincides with the description of the treaty scene in the Esarhaddon succession treaty and the earlier Aramaic treaty from Sefire (750–745 B.C.E.; COS II: 213–17). The stipulations demanding exclusive allegiance to the God of Israel in Deuteronomy are formulated in the conventional manner of state treaties and documents, especially those of the seventh and eighth centuries B.C.E. Thus the expression "to love with all your heart" is the standard term for being loyal to the sovereign, and, similarly, the biblical expressions: "to go after" (= to follow), "to fear" (= to revere), "to hearken to the voice of," "to do as He commands," "to act in complete truth," "to be sincere," have their exact parallels in the Esarhaddon treaties and also in the oaths of allegiance of the princes and officials of Esarhaddon and Ashurbanipal to their masters. It has been therefore supposed – e.g., by Frankena – that Josiah's covenant with God was considered a substitution for the former treaty with the king of Assyria, thereby expressing vassalship to YHWH instead of vassalship to the king of Assyria. Less convincing is K.A. Kitchen (*Ancient Orient and Old Testament*, 90ff. and especially p. 99) who argues that "the Sinai covenant and its renewals must be classed with the late second millennium covenants."

The "Discovery" of the Book of the Law

In spite of the evidence established by the conventional theory for the date of Deuteronomy, it is hard to fix the exact date of its composition, and because of its complex nature, it is also difficult to mark the extent of its original form. The canonical book of Deuteronomy contains material ranging over centuries, from pre-monarchic material ignorant of Egyptian enslavement or the gift of the law at Sinai / Horeb (Deut. 33; Seeligmann; Rofé) to the realities of the Egyptian and other Jewish diasporas (Deut. 28–68; 29:27). There also Northern Israelite elements including the ceremonies at Mt. Gerizim and Ebal north of Shechem (Deut. 11:29–30; 27:4, 12–13), as well as the linguistic and doctrinal influences of *Hosea (Ginsberg). What is beyond doubt is that the "Book of the Law (*torah*)" was "discovered" in 622 B.C.E. (II Kings 22). The identification of the "Book of the Law" with Deuteronomy is based on the following:

1) As already indicated, the term "the Book of the Torah" is not mentioned anywhere aside from Deuteronomy, where it refers to the Book of Deuteronomy itself.

2) The abolition of high places and the centralization of the cult enacted by Josiah following the discovery of the book are prescribed only in Deuteronomy.

3) Astral worship, which is referred to in detail in Josiah's reform (II Kings 23:5, 11–12), is especially marked in Deuteronomy: "the host of heaven" (17:3).

4) The Passover celebrated in Jerusalem (II Kings 23:21–23) is performed in accordance with the commands of Deuteronomy 16:1–8, in contrast to the tradition reflected in Exodus 12, according to which it was to be celebrated at home.

5) The pledge taken by the people to keep the law of this

book (II Kings 23:3) is styled in the manner of the Deuteronomic injunctions of loyalty and allegiance to God.

It seems, however, that the book "discovered" was not identical with Deuteronomy in its present form. It is unlikely that a king would sponsor a program which made condescending and uncomplimentary references to the monarchy (Deut 17:20; 28:36). It is improbable that the book in its present form was read three times in one day: by Shaphan the scribe (II Kings 22:8), by the king (22:10), and presumably by Huldah the prophetess (22:13–14). Besides, though the prologues and epilogues of the code cannot be dated, it is nevertheless highly probable that a great amount of the material in the framework of the code is quite late and even post-Exilic (cf. e.g., Deut. 4:27–31; 30:1–10). The book could then consist mainly of a small introduction, a code (including above all chapters 12–19, which embody the principles of the reform), and the admonition of chapter 28 which may well explain the horror which befell the king at the recital of the book (II Kings 22:11 ff.; Kimḥi to II Kings 22:11 quotes a rabbinic tradition that the scroll was found rolled to Deuteronomy 28:36 where the king's exile is predicted). If the idea of this basic Deuteronomy is accepted, the problem is when it was composed. The appropriate historical and religious background for the composition of this type of work is the time of Hezekiah and Josiah, with that of Josiah being more likely. Of the "good kings" only Hezekiah and Josiah are credited with both *Kultusreinheit* (cult-purification) and *Kultuseinheit* (cult-centralization). Although Hezekiah is credited with being the first king to implement the centralization of the cult, and he and his personnel are credited (like King Ashurbanipal of Assyria) with the collection of ancient literature (cf. Prov. 25:1), no book is cited as the motivation for Hezekiah's reform. The attribution of the book to Moses (directly in II Chronicles 34 and by implication in II Kings 22) would enable the proponents of centralization and purification to claim that their program was a restoration rather than an innovation. Earlier scholarship explained Josiah's religious reforms as directed against imposed Assyrian cults whose elimination was taken as political rebellion. For a number of reasons this view cannot be sustained. First, Assyria did not impose its cults on vassal states. Second, Josiah's actions were not directed against distinctively Assyrian cults but mainly against old local ones, including *Asherah. Third, in contrast to Hezekiah the Bible does not ascribe rebellion against Assyria to Josiah. Indeed, if we follow the chronology of Kings, by the time of Josiah's actions Assyria would have been in retreat. It is more likely that the religious reforms arose out of a genuine belief that Judah's troubles were due to infidelity to Yahweh. The "Yahweh-alone" movement could always adduce the fall of Samaria a century earlier in proof. No wonder, therefore, that the law book caused a national resurgence and led the people to turn back to God with great enthusiasm. The constant editing and reworking of Deuteronomy shows the great interest this book aroused. Furthermore, the religious upheaval of that time along with the contemporary antiquarian interest attested in Mesopotamia and Egypt gave impetus to the collecting of ancient traditions and putting them into a systematic historical framework. Though the so-called Deuteronomic history of the Former Prophets was not completed before the destruction of the Temple, its beginning, or the constituent stage of its crystallization, has to be sought in the Josianic period.

The Provenance of Deuteronomy

"History of Form," which opened up a new vista in biblical criticism, has also made a contribution in the field of research of Deuteronomy. The question of the "Sitz im Leben" of Deuteronomy, i.e., of the reality which gave birth to the style of its literary creation, was brought up by G. von Rad. By analyzing the peculiar structure of Deuteronomy: homily (chapters 1–11), laws (12:1–26:15), sealing of the covenant (26:16–19), and blessings and curses (27:11–26; chapter 28), he came to the conclusion that this combination of different literary genres could hardly have been invented. He assumed, therefore, that the complex literary structure must have been rooted in a cultic ceremony in which God's laws were recited by clergy. The recital opened with a homily and religious preaching and concluded with a public pledge sanctioned by blessings and curses. He claimed to find traces of an old cultic ceremony in Deuteronomy 27 and in the tradition of the Shechem covenant in Joshua 24. According to von Rad, Deuteronomy renews the cultic tradition of the old Shechem amphictyony, a theory that fits in well with the prevalent opinion about the affinities of Deuteronomy to northern traditions. As a matter of fact, in the previous century A. Klostermann had already conjectured that the homiletic style of Deuteronomy reflects a public recital, but he could not base his thesis on form-critical observations as did von Rad, and, therefore, did not connect it with the cult. In 1947 von Rad went a step further and identified the reciters of the law with the levites and moreover recognized them as the actual spokesmen of the Deuteronomic movement. He based this supposition mainly on Nehemiah 8:7, which speaks about the levites "instructing the people in law." According to von Rad's earlier study (1934), the sermons in Chronicles are the product of the levites of the post-Exilic period. Thus in seeking for the originators of the sermons in Deuteronomy, it was only natural for him to identify them also with the levites. However, Mendenhall in 1954 was the first to see the similarities between the Hittite treaties and the Israelite covenant. A treaty pattern with a common basic structure – historical introduction, stipulations, blessings and curses – was prevalent in the ancient Near East for a period of over 1,000 years. The structure of Deuteronomy would then follow a literary tradition of covenant writing rather than imitating a periodical cultic ceremony for which there is no evidence. Once it is unnecessary to assume a cultic ceremony for understanding the structure of Deuteronomy, the assumption that the levites preserved this cultic tradition becomes dubious too. If a literary pattern lies behind the form of Deuteronomy, it would be much more reasonable to assume that a literary circle familiar with treaty writing – in other words, court scribes – composed the book of Deuteronomy. Only scribes who dealt with literary and written documents and who had access to the court could have been familiar with the structure of treaties, and what is more important, with formulas originating in the Assyrian political milieu. The means that Deuteronomy used to foster its aims are identical with those employed by scribes-wise men in Israel and other ancient Near Eastern peoples. Like the sapiential teachers and pedagogues, the author of Deuteronomy also places great stress on the education of children. The author of the book repeatedly emphasizes that children must be taught the fear of God and that this is to be done by inculcation (6:7; 11:19), that is to say, by formal methods of education. The Book of Deuteronomy does indeed contain a wealth of didactic idioms that are not encountered in any other of the pentateuchal books, but that constitute part and parcel of the vocabulary of sapiential literature which, to be sure, was composed with a pedagogical object in mind. The author of Deuteronomy holds wisdom in esteem and sets it above other spiritual qualities. This becomes particularly evident when the traditions concerning the Mosaic appointment of judges in Exodus 18 are compared with Deuteronomy 1. According to Deuteronomy (1:13) the essential traits characterizing the judge and leader must be wisdom, understanding, and knowledge (*ḥokhmah, binah, daʿat*), that is to say, the same intellectual traits possessed by the scribes, and not other personal characteristics such as social standing (e.g., *anshe ḥayil*), as in Exodus 18:21. The particular esteem with which Deuteronomy regarded wisdom explains the presence in this book of exhortations that have a sapiential character and formulation (cf. e.g., Deut. 19:14 with Prov. 22:28; Deut. 23:16 with Prov. 30:10; Deut. 25:13–16 with Prov. 20:10, 23). Wisdom has been styled "the humanism of the ancient Near East," and it is due to its impact that humanitarian laws, which have no counterpart in any other of the Pentateuchal books, found their way into the Book of Deuteronomy.

The Relation of Deuteronomy to the Tetrateuch

As to the relation of Deuteronomy to the Tetrateuch (i.e., the first four books of the Bible), critical work in Deuteronomy has indicated that this book depends on the historical and legal traditions of the preceding books of the Pentateuch, especially on the so-called Elohistic source. An exception, however, has to be made in regard to the priestly code which did not influence the laws of Deuteronomy, except its latest sections (e.g., Deut. 12:20–28). This is to be explained by the lateness of the priestly literature. Deuteronomy shows dependence especially on the *Book of the Covenant (Ex. 21–23; Deuteronomy itself also contains "the words of the Covenant," 28:69). The author makes it quite clear that at Horeb the Decalogue was proclaimed, whereas the law proper could have been given to Israel by Moses on the plains of Moab. In other words, Deuteronomy would be seen as complementing the old Book of the Covenant or supplementing it. It cannot be known whether the author of Deuteronomy had before him "the Book of the Covenant" in its present form or used a legal source in which laws of the type found in Exodus 21–23 were incorporated. What is clear is that Deuteronomy used laws identical in formulation with those of the Book of the Covenant and revised them according to its ideology. The parallels are:

Exodus 21:1–11	//	Deuteronomy 15:12–18
Exodus 22:15–16	//	Deuteronomy 22:28–29
Exodus 22:24–26	//	Deuteronomy 24:10–13
Exodus 23:4–5	//	Deuteronomy 22:1–4
Exodus 23:8	//	Deuteronomy 16:19
Exodus 23:15	//	Deuteronomy 16:3
Exodus 23:17	//	Deuteronomy 16:16
Exodus 23:18	//	Deuteronomy 16:4
Exodus 23:19b	//	Deuteronomy 14:21b

The parallels mainly pertain to the moral-religious section of the Book of the Covenant, the so-called apodictic law (Ex. 22:17–23:19). The civil section of the Book of the Covenant, the so-called casuistic law (Ex. 21:1–22:16), is not represented in Deuteronomy except for two laws (Ex. 21:1–11; 22:15–16). This may be explained in the following way: the civil law section in Exodus 21:1–22:16 constitutes the common law of the ancient Near East and has strong affinities to the Mesopotamian law codes. As in the neighboring codes, this section in the Book of the Covenant is mostly concerned with offenses against property, and even when dealing with human rights (injury, slaves etc.), it is the compensation for the damage that stands at the center of the discussion. Deuteronomy ignored these laws since the author's purpose was not to produce a civil law book like the Book of the Covenant treating of pecuniary matters but to set forth a code of laws securing the protection of the individual and particularly of those persons in need of protection. At the same time, Deuteronomy incorporated laws concerning the protection of the family and family dignity (22:11–19) which are not in the Book of the Covenant.

The only laws from the civil section of the Book of the Covenant employed by Deuteronomy are the law of the Hebrew slave (Ex. 21:1–11) and the law of the seduction of a virgin (Ex. 22:15–16). These two laws, which are located at the beginning and at the end of the section respectively, were incorporated by Deuteronomy because they contain moral implications aside from their civil aspect. Moreover, by the way these two laws are presented, Deuteronomy actually deprived them of their civil-financial character and turned them into purely moral-social laws. In Exodus 21:1–11 the rights of the master are protected no less than those of the slave (cf. the provision about the slaves born in the master's home belonging to the master, the master's right of keeping the slave in perpetuity, etc.), the main concern of the legislator there being to define the status of the slave. Deuteronomy, however, is concerned with only the slave, and, therefore, the obligations of the master to his slave (to bestow gifts, etc.) are stressed. By the same token, the law of the seduced virgin in Exodus 22:15–16 is discussed from the pecuniary point of view (the loss of the bride price) whereas Deuteronomy is concerned with the humiliation or moral degradation of the virgin and therefore does not deal explicitly with the bride price and does not grant the man who violated the virgin the right to refuse to marry her, but compels him to marry her forever.

In a similar way the author of Deuteronomy revised all the social and religious laws that he drew from the ancient lore. The social laws were elaborated and made to favor the distressed, as for example, the injunction not to enter the house of the debtor to take the pledge (Deut. 24:11) and the duty to take care of the loss until it is claimed by the owner (22:2), demands that seem utopian even in modern society. The religious-sacral laws were adapted to the new concept of centralization. Thus, for example, the law of the three annual pilgrimages in Deuteronomy 16:16, which is verbally identical with Exodus 23:17, is supplemented by the words "in the place that He will choose," which stresses the principle of centralization. The real meaning of the Deuteronomic law can be fully understood by comparing the religious institutions as reflected in Deuteronomy with those occurring in the other codes, including the priestly one. These show the uniqueness of the Deuteronomic law code. Though Deuteronomy deals basically with the same laws as the other codes, i.e., laws relating to sacrifices, the tithe, firstlings, the first fruits, festivals, the year of release, the cities of refuge, the judiciary, and the holy war, these appear here, according to some modern exegetes, in a completely new light and reflect a change not only in the institutions as such but in the religious concepts underlying them. Laws and institutions that have a substantially sacroritual character have in Deuteronomy undergone, it is held, a process of rationalization. Following the elimination of the provincial sanctuaries, the judiciary, which was closely associated with the sanctuary, was freed of its sacred ties and took on a more secular aspect. The cities of asylum that previously served as sacral places of refuge for the accidental homicide became in Deuteronomy secular cities whose exclusive function was to protect the manslayer from blood vengeance. Profane slaughtering which had been forbidden by the previous codes is allowed by Deuteronomy (12:13–19), a necessary consequence of the law of centralization. The year of release whose main essence in the earlier codes is the prohibition of the cultivation of the land (Ex. 23:10–11; cf. Lev. 25:1–7) is given here a new application, namely the remission of debts, and thus serves to ameliorate the condition of the poor (Deut. 5:1–11). All these innovations of the Deuteronomic Code, this theory maintains, revolutionized the religious life of the people, and, in fact, changed certain concepts in the faith of Israel. The sanctuary is here presented as a dwelling place of the name of God (e.g., 12:5, 11, 21), rather than the domicile of God Himself as in the ancient sources (cf. e.g., I Kings 8:13). Similarly the ark which in the previous sources is regarded as the seat of God or His chariot (e.g., Ex. 25:22; Num. 10:33–36; I Sam. 4:4) is seen in Deuteronomy only as the receptacle for the tablets (10:1ff.). A similar attitude is reflected in the descriptions of the revelation in Deuteronomy. According to Exodus 19, God went down to Mt. Sinai and from there made His voice heard to Moses and the people, whereas in Deuteronomy, God proclaimed His word from His seat in heaven, but it was transmitted to Israel through the great fire on the mount.

Deuteronomy is often characterized as monotheistic but the reality is more complex. Israelites must worship Yahweh exclusively (monolatry; Deut 5:7, 8; 6:4; 13:3–18; 28:15–20, 23–25; 30:17–18, etc.), but according to Deuteronomy 4:19, a verse that warns Israelites against worship of the heavenly bodies, it was Yahweh himself who designated the heavenly bodies as objects of worship for the Gentiles. Similarly subversive of monotheism, the belief that there is but one god in existence, is Deuteronomy 32:8–9, which informs us that when the Most High set up the boundaries of the nations he did so according to the numbers of the lesser divinities (Qumran *bny ʾl* or *bny ʾl[m]*). The existence of lesser divinities is acknowledged as well in Deuteronomy 10:17 where Yahweh is styled "god of gods and lord of lords." Deuteronomy 4:35, "It has been clearly demonstrated to you that Yahweh is God; there is none beside him," and Deuteronomy 4:39, "Know therefore this day and keep in mind that Yahweh alone is God in heaven above and on earth below; there is no other," are usually cited as denials of the existence of all other divinities. Yet the context of these verses cannot be ignored. Verse 34 asks rhetorically whether any god ever took another nation to himself as Yahweh has done for Israel. Verse 35 responds "Yahweh is THAT god; none beside him." The same sentiment is expressed in Deuteronomy 32:12: "Yahweh alone did guide him. No alien god at his (Yahweh's) side." Verse 39 is part of the same pericope, to be understood as "Know therefore … Yahweh alone is <the only> god in heaven above and on earth below, there is no other <who did these things.>"

STYLE AND PHRASEOLOGY. The style of Deuteronomy is distinguished by its simplicity, fluency, and lucidity and may be recognized by its phraseology and especially by its rhetorical character. The main characteristic of Deuteronomic phraseology is not the employment of new idioms and expressions, because many of these can be found in earlier sources and especially in the E source. Indeed, it cannot be said that in the seventh century a new vocabulary and new expressions were suddenly created. Language grows in an organic and natural way and it is not created artificially. What constitutes the novelty of the Deuteronomic style, therefore, is not new idioms and new expressions but a specific jargon reflecting the religious upheaval of this time. The Deuteronomic phraseology revolves around a few basic theological tenets such as:

1. the need to extirpate the native cults.
2. the centralization of the cult.
3. exodus, covenant, and election.
4. the repeated demand on Israel to serve Yahweh alone.
5. observance of the law and loyalty to the covenant.
6. inheritance of the land.
7. retribution and material motivation.

The editor of the Former Prophets, who was inspired by

Deuteronomy, uses the phraseology of Deuteronomy and even elaborates upon it. Like the Book of Deuteronomy so also the Deuteronomist makes use of speeches and discourses in order to express his ideology. Another branch of Deuteronomic writing may be recognized in Jeremiah's prose, where Deuteronomic phraseology is encountered and the oration is very common. According to this argument, therefore, the Deuteronomist, the editor of Joshua-Kings, and the editor of the prose sermons in Jeremiah are products of a continuous literary school starting in the middle of the seventh century and ending somewhere in the second half of the sixth century.

There are, however, less radical theories regarding the origin and date of Deuteronomy. These are reviewed in R.K. Harrison, *Introduction to the Old Testament* (1970), 631ff.

[Moshe Weinfeld / S. David Sperling (2nd ed.)]

Defenses of the Traditional View

The orthodox standpoint that Moses was the author of the Book of Deuteronomy as well as of the other books of the Pentateuch has been defended by a number of traditional scholars. These scholars maintain that the main theme of Deuteronomy is not centralization of worship, but opposition to idolatry. The struggle against idolatry could never have reached such intensity except in the age of Moses, the period of the formation of Israel's religion. It ideally fits into the period placed by tradition, immediately after Israel's apostasy to Baal of Peor (Num. 25), when the very existence of the new faith was threatened by contact with the Baal cult of Canaan. The centralization of the cult does not prove that Deuteronomy is of late origin since it may be argued that the law of a central sanctuary is quite early and primitive. Moreover, had a later author wished to impress the importance of cultic centralization he would have not failed to mention the city of Jerusalem, the main cultic center. Most of the laws repeated in Deuteronomy from the Book of the Covenant are found in one or more of the ancient Near Eastern codes, thereby testifying to their antiquity. As for the characteristic Deuteronomistic laws having no parallels in the Near Eastern codes, such as the law of release, the laws of kingship, appointment of judges, etc., there is nothing in these provisions incompatible with conditions and institutions of those early days. Not only the religious and legal but also the political background of Deuteronomy resembles that of the Mosaic and no other age. The order to destroy the Hittites, Amorites, Canaanites, Perizzites, Hivites, and Jebusites, the enemies of Israel (20:16–18), the denouncement of the inveterate enemies Ammon and Moab, the attitude toward the Edomites and Egyptians (23:8), and the omission of any mention of the Philistines or the division of the kingdom point to the political circumstances of the Mosaic age. The civil institutions are also of a nature approaching the primitive stage. There is no king. The elders of Israel are pictured sitting at the gate in judgment, while judges and clerks preside in trials in accordance with the advice of Jethro, Moses' father-in-law (Ex. 18). The book's covenantal structure fits ancient Near Eastern treaty forms; the Hittite vassal treaty form is a model by which the Book of Deuteronomy may be analyzed (see *Covenant). Linguistically, there is nothing against placing Deuteronomy in the days of Moses. Although the refined and polished style of the book may suggest a high state of development, it is probable that such a style existed in oratorical discourse, particularly in light of the perfect form of the 15th century B.C.E. Ras Shamra texts. Certain words are of an admittedly early period (נער for נערה, אל for אלה), and some of the ritual terms and practices such as *shalem* (peace offering), *kalil* (burnt offering), *maaser* (tithe), *tenufah* (wave offering), have their parallels in Ugaritic literature. Parallelism not only in poetry, but also in prose, accounts for many repetitions which higher criticism ascribes to different sources. Another principle of this sort is the change of person and the variation from singular to plural which higher critics take as a criterion for various sources, but is a general characteristic of the Bible and is common to all ancient Oriental composition. As to passages in the third person, they may be due to a late editor of the original book. Traditional scholars therefore believe that the best way to account for the book is to say that the bulk originated during the last days of Moses. The Israelites standing at the threshold of Canaan were about to graduate from a nomad group to a settled agricultural people and this change necessitated an amplification of the earlier codes of Exodus and Leviticus, which resulted in the book of Deuteronomy. The anachronisms and discrepancies may very well be explained by the reasonable assumption of later marginal notes by learned readers which in the course of time crept into the text itself and became an integral part thereof. Although the historical framework often lacks precision and strict sequence, as stated in the Talmud, "There is nothing prior or posterior in the Torah," for its chief aim is religious and moral and not purely historical.

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H. Tadmor, *II Kings* (AB; 1988), 218–22, 293–300; I. Seeligmann, *Studies in Biblical Literature* (1992), 189–204; J. Tigay, *Deuteronomy* (JPS; 1996); S.D. McBride, in: DBI I, 273–94; B. Levinson, *Deuteronomy and the Hermeneutics of Legal Innovation* (1997); idem, in: J. Day, *In Search of Pre-exilic Israel* (2004), 272–375; K. van der Toorn, in: idem (ed.), *The Image and the Book* (1997), 229–48; G. Knoppers and J.G. McConville (eds.), *Reconsidering Israel – …Studies in Deuteronomistic History* (2000); M. Sweeney, *King Josiah of Judah the Lost Messiah of Israel* (2001), 64–76, 167–72; J. van Seters, *A Law Book for the Diaspora* (2002); R. Nelson, in: JSOT, 29 (2005), 319–37.

DEUTERONOMY RABBAH, aggadic Midrash on the Book of Deuteronomy.

Name

In medieval literature the work was also referred to as *Haggadat Elleh Ha-Devarim Rabbah* and *Devarim Rabbati*, the designation "*Rabbah*" being used to distinguish it from *Deuteronomy Zuta* (see **Genesis Rabbah; *Ruth Rabbah*).

Structure

Deuteronomy Rabbah is a homiletic Midrash (**Derash*). The printed version is divided into 11 sections according to the weekly pentateuchal readings, but the division is in fact into 27 homilies, according to the triennial cycle of the reading of the Torah customary in Ereẓ Israel in earlier times. *Deuteronomy Rabbah* is a characteristically **Tanḥuma-Yelammedenu* type of Midrash, even more so than those homilies on the Book of Deuteronomy contained in the printed editions of the *Tanḥuma* and in that of S. Buber (see below). Each homily is introduced by a halakhic question characteristic of the *Tanḥuma-Yelammedenu* type of Midrash and begins with the formula: *Halakhah adam me-Yisrael… Kakh shanu ḥakhamim* – "What is the *halakhah* for a man of Israel … thus our sages taught …" (here *halakhah* is used instead of the more usual *Yelammedenu rabbenu*, "Let our master teach us," of this type of Midrash). This is followed by a homily incorporating both *halakhah* and *aggadah*, the transition from *halakhah* to *aggadah* being introduced by the term: **זה שאמר הכתוב** ("This is what Scripture says"). Most of the homilies conclude with a message of consolation or redemption. The numerous transitions in lengthy homilies on the same subject are introduced by the formula *davar aḥer* … "another version…."

Different Versions

In 1895 S. Buber published from the Munich manuscript of *Deuteronomy Rabbah*, written in 1295, those homilies on the portion of *Devarim* which differ from the printed version, as well as addenda to the section *Niẓẓavim* (this manuscript omits the sections *Va-Etḥannan* and *Va-Yelekh* to the end of the Book of Deuteronomy, whereas all the remainder is identical with the printed version). A few years later a complete manuscript of *Deuteronomy Rabbah* in the possession of A. Epstein was found to be almost identical with the Munich manuscript and to contain homilies on *Va-Etḥannan* and *Va-Yelekh* different from those in the printed versions, addenda to *Ekev*, and homilies on *Ha'azinu* and *Ve-Zot ha-Berakhah* identical with those in the *Tanḥuma* Midrashim. In 1940 S. Lieberman published the Oxford manuscript of *Deuteronomy Rabbah*, which is similar to the Epstein manuscript, except for additional homilies from the *Tanḥuma* Midrashim on *Va-Etḥannan*. Manuscripts, therefore, contain homilies on *Devarim*, *Va-Etḥannan*, and *Va-Yelekh* different from those printed, as well as additional ones on *Ekev* and *Niẓẓavim*. This version is likewise mainly a homiletic Midrash of the *Tanhuma Yelammedenu* type, although several of its homilies have no halakhic introduction, and, even in those having halakhic introductions, they begin directly with the question without any *terminus technicus*, whereas the answer begins with **כך שנו רבותינו** ("Thus did our masters teach"). The aggadic proems are not all, as in the printed *Tanḥuma* Midrashim, anonymous; some begin with the name of an *amora*. In structure, language, and composition, the printed version of *Deuteronomy Rabbah* is a homogeneous Midrash. The same cannot be said for the manuscripts which contain a composition of several versions. It is certainly not a complete entity in itself. There were apparently extant several versions of the *Tanḥuma-Yelammedenu* Midrashim on the Book of Deuteronomy. One of these is that found in the printed edition as well as Buber's editions of *Tanḥuma*, another is the printed edition of *Deuteronomy Rabbah*, while several manuscripts of the latter work quote homilies on *Devarim, Va-Etḥannan*, and *Va-Yelekh*, and also additions to *Ekev* and *Niẓẓavim*, from another edition (C) of the *Tanḥuma-Yelammedenu* Midrashim, with homilies on *Ha'azinu* and *Ve-Zot ha-Berakhah* taken from the *Tanḥuma* Midrashim version (A). The version (C) of *Deuteronomy Rabbah* in the above-mentioned manuscripts was apparently known in the Middle Ages only to Spanish scholars (the first to cite it was Naḥmanides) and the manuscripts on which the printed version is based (B) only to the scholars of France and Germany (first being cited by Moses b. Jacob of Coucy). There were apparently manuscripts extant which contained further addenda from the *Tanḥuma-Yelammedenu* Midrashim, for medieval scholars sometimes quote statements in the name of *Deuteronomy Rabbah* which are not found in any existing version. On the other hand, they sometimes cite passages in the name of the *Tanḥuma* or *Yelammedenu* which are contained in one of the editions of *Deuteronomy Rabbah*.

Language

The language of the two versions of *Deuteronomy Rabbah* is rabbinic Hebrew combined with Galilean Aramaic and containing a liberal sprinkling of Greek words.

Redaction

Both versions of *Deuteronomy Rabbah* drew upon tannaitic literature, the Jerusalem Talmud, *Genesis Rabbah*, and *Leviticus Rabbah* (the printed version also apparently drew upon *Lamentations Rabbah*). The redaction of the material is characteristic of that of the *Tanḥuma-Yelammedenu* Midrashim. None of the sages mentioned in the work lived later than the fourth century C.E. Although certain homilies in the manuscripts are typical of earlier times, there seem also to be allusions to anti-Karaite polemics, which would date the final redaction of even the earliest (C) version as not earlier than 800 C.E. Likewise, homilies in the printed version, which draw upon Midrash *Petirat Moshe* and are typical of the period after the Muslim conquest, were apparently redacted in the ninth century C.E. To the same century also belong the combinations found in the manuscripts. The earliest manuscript upon which the printed version is based was copied in the 13th century.

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[Moshe David Herr]

DEUTSCH, ALADAR (1871–1949), chief rabbi of Prague under the Nazi occupation. He was a pupil of Solomon *Breuer in Frankfurt, and subsequently served as rabbi in several Prague synagogues, when he was active within the *Afike Jehuda association. From 1930 he served as acting chief rabbi; his appointment as chief rabbi under the Nazi regime was accompanied by all the humiliations to which Jewish leadership was then subjected. He was finally deported to *Theresienstadt, from where he returned, a broken man, to Prague. Deutsch published an essay on the Zigainer Synagogue (1907).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Věstnik židovské obcé náboženské v Praze*, 11 (1949), 100–1; *Afike Jehuda Festschrift* (1909), 35–44; (1929/30), 3–8.

DEUTSCH, ANDRE (1917–2000), British publisher. Born in Budapest, Deutsch moved to Switzerland after the German *Anschluss* of Austria (where he was living) and then to England. In 1945 he founded his own publishing firm, Allan Wingate, and, in 1951, his well-known firm of Andre Deutsch Ltd. His first bestseller was the memoirs of von Papen, Hitler's diplomat, but most of the famous works published by his firm were novels and other fiction, especially books by famous American writers like Norman Mailer, Jack Kerouac, Philip Roth, and John Updike, as well as the fiction of serious British novelists like V.S. Naipaul. Deutsch was one among a number of very prominent Jewish refugee publishers who emerged in Britain after World War II, such as Paul *Hamlyn and George *Weidenfeld.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: ODNB online.

[William D. Rubinstein (2nd ed.)]

DEUTSCH, BABETTE (1895–1982), U.S. poet. Born in New York, Babette Deutsch graduated from Columbia University, where she taught English from 1944. Her first poems were published while she was still a college student; two early books of verse were *Banners* (1919) and *Honey out of the Rock* (1925). Other volumes of poetry include *Fire for the Night* (1930), *Epistle to Prometheus* (1931), *One Part Love* (1939), and *Coming of Age* (1959). She published some novels, a number of children's books, and translations of German and Russian verse. One of the most notable of these translations was the version of Aleksandr Blok's epic poem about the Soviet Revolution, *Dvenadtsat* ("The Twelve," 1918), which she and her husband, Avrahm *Yarmolinsky, produced together in 1920. A sensitive and emotional writer whose poems often touch on social problems, Babette Deutsch also won distinction as a critic with such works as *Potable Gold* (1929), *This Modern Poetry* (1935; revised as *Poetry in Our Time*, 1952), and *The Reader's Shakespeare* (1946). Her later verse collections include *Animal, Vegetable, Mineral* (1954) and *Collected Poems, 1919–1962* (1963). A new edition of her *Collected Poems*, covering the years 1919–1969, appeared in 1969.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: J. Kunitz and H. Haycraft, *Twentieth Century Authors* (1942), 375–6, and supplement (1955), 277–8.

[Sol Liptzin]

DEUTSCH, BERNARD SEYMOUR (1884–1935), U.S. lawyer, public official, and communal leader. Deutsch was born in Baltimore. He began his career as a lawyer in 1905, attaining prominence and playing an active role in judicial reform. He served as president of the Bronx County Bar Association (1927–30) and participated in the 1930 investigation of abuses of legal ethics in New York. Deutsch, an independent Democrat, was elected on Fiorello La Guardia's Fusion Party ticket in 1933 as president of the Board of Aldermen. He displayed strong leadership in reviving the moribund aldermanic council. Together with La Guardia he worked to improve city services in such areas as transportation, home relief, and labor arbitration. Long active in Jewish affairs, Deutsch became president of the American Jewish Congress in 1929 and held that post until his death. In association with Stephen S. Wise, he led campaigns to arouse public opinion on behalf of the rights of German Jews.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *New York Times* (Nov. 22, 1935), 1:8.

[Morton Rosenstock]

DEUTSCH, DAVID BEN MENAHEM MENDEL (1756–1831), Hungarian rabbi and author. Deutsch was a pupil of Ezekiel Landau. He served as rabbi of Jamnitz (1784–90), Frauenkirchen, Szerdahely, and, from 1810 until his death, of Waag-Neustadt. After he had published *Ohel David* (3 pts., Vienna, 1822), novellae on various tractates, he added various glosses to the work, and instructed that they be added to the passages indicated in every copy of the books. His novellae on *Yevamot* (Vienna, 1825) and on *Shevu'ot* (Pressburg, 1830; the latter published by his son Ezekiel, who also wrote an introduction) were brought to press through the efforts of his son-in-law, Meir Ash. Some of Deutsch's novellae were published by his grandson, Menahem Deutsch (Ungvar, 1867). Other novellae are to be found at the end of *She'elot u-Teshuvot ha-Ge'onim* (Pt. 1 responsa *Ge'onei Batra'ei*, Prague, 1816) and in part two of *Kedushat Yisrael* (Vienna, 1829) of Benjamin Wolf b. Leib (Lichtenstadt). Eleazar b. Aryeh Loeb Roke'aḥ, Deutsch's colleague and intimate friend, mentions his responsa several times in his own work, *Shemen Roke'aḥ*.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: L. Muenz, *Rabbi Eleasar, genannt Schemen Rokeach* (1895), 42, 106–9; Hruschka, in: *Juden und Judengemeinden Maehrens…* (1929), 257 no. 8, 265 no. 82; M. Eisenstadt, *Zikhron Yehudah* (1900), 4a; P.Z. Schwartz, *Shem ha-Gedolim me-Ereẓ Hagar*, 1 (1913), 24b no. 21; J.J. (L.) Greenwald (Grunwald), *Ha-Yehudim be-Ungaryah* (1913), 75 no. 62; idem, in: *Oẓar ha-Ḥayyim*, 10 (1933/34), 122ff.

[Yehoshua Horowitz]

DEUTSCH, ELIEZER ḤAYYIM BEN ABRAHAM (1850–1916), Hungarian talmudist and author. Deutsch was born in Petra, near Kaschau. He studied under Menahem Eisenstadt of Ungvar, Judah Aszód, and Solomon *Ganzfried. In 1876 he was appointed rabbi of Hunfalu, and, in 1897, of the important community of Bonyhad, where he founded and headed a large yeshivah. Deutsch was a leader of Hungarian Orthodoxy, and a supporter of the "Moriah" association for the advancement of Orthodox Judaism, founded in 1905 by Meir Lerner in Altona.

A prolific writer, his books are (1) *Tevu'ot ha-Sadeh* in six parts (1892–1904), novellae on talmudic themes with responsa appended to each part; (2) *Ḥelkat ha-Sadeh* (1901), glosses and notes on the *Ara de-Rabbanan* of Israel Jacob *Algazi; (3) *Peri ha-Sadeh* in four parts (1906–15), responsa; (4) *Si'aḥ ha-Sadeh* (1914), aggadic novellae on the Torah and for festivals. Published posthumously were (5) *Ẓemaḥ ha-Sadeh* (1917), novellae and responsa on the problems of *agunot*; (6) *Duda'ei ha-Sadeh* (1929, published by his son, Moses), responsa and a selection of rulings with respect to the laws of mourning. In the *Yizraḥ Or* of David *Meldola, there is an appendix by Deutsch, *Omer ha-Sadeh*, that comprises the laws for determining the New Moon. Halakhic queries were addressed to Deutsch from many parts of the world.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Deutsch, in: *Tevu'ot ha-Sadeh*, 5 (1902), introduction; S.N. Gottlieb, *Oholei Shem* (1912), 218; P.Z. Schwartz, *Shem ha-Gedolim me-Ereẓ Hagar*, 1 (1913), 196, no. 254; 3 (1915), s.v. book-titles; N. Ben-Menahem, *Mi-Sifrut Yisrael be-Ungaryah* (1958), 172, no. 95, 331, n. 3.

[Itzhak Alfassi]

DEUTSCH, EMANUEL OSKAR (**Menahem**; 1829–1873), Orientalist. Born in Neisse (Upper Saxony), Deutsch studied Jewish subjects with his uncle David Deutsch (see Israel *Deutsch) at Myslowice (Poland) and classics in Berlin. He became an assistant in the Oriental department of the British Museum in 1855. Deutsch, who possessed great ability in deciphering inscriptions, cooperated in W.S.A. Vaux's edition of *Phoenician Inscriptions* (1863) and in W. Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible* (1871) to which he contributed articles on the *Targumim*, the Samaritan Pentateuch, and other Bible versions. His essay on the Talmud in the *Quarterly Review* (October 1867) was translated into several languages. The article implied that the key to the understanding of Jesus was to be found in the study of his Palestinian background; this led to a renewed interest in the Talmud among Christians in England. A later article by Deutsch, on Islam, made less impact. He took a prominent part in the correspondence in the London *Times* which resulted from the discovery of the Mesha stele. He was also the paper's special correspondent to the Vatican Ecumenical Council 1869–70. Deutsch contributed nearly 200 articles to *Chambers' Encyclopaedia*. Some of his work was published posthumously in book form (*Literary Remains*, 1874) and edited by Lady Strangford.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: DNB, S.V.; JC (May 1873).

DEUTSCH, ERNST (1890–1969), German actor. At the age of 24, playing the main role in Hasenclever's *The Son*, Deutsch became one of the exponents of expressionism on the German stage. He had his most fruitful period at the Reinhardt Theater in Berlin, but could also be seen in films and on stage at the Burgtheater in Vienna. Deutsch played many Jewish roles, among them parts in Arnold Zweig's *Blood Libel in Hungary*, R. Beer-Hoffman's *Jacob's Dream*, and Galsworthy's *Loyalties*. With the rise of Hitler, Deutsch left Germany and worked in London and Hollywood. After World War II, he was invited to appear in Berlin and Vienna and in 1957 played in *Nathan the Wise*.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: J. Bab, *Schauspieler und Schauspielkunst*, 1928; A. Zweig, *Juden auf der deutschen Buehne* (1929). **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** G. Zivier, *Ernst Deutsch und das deutsche Theater: Fünf Jahrzehnte deutsche Theatergeschichte – Der Lebensweg eines großen Schauspielers* (1964).

DEUTSCH, FELIX (1884–1964), psychiatrist. Born in Vienna, Deutsch grew up in a liberal atmosphere without any formal religious background. Faced with the antisemitic environment of Vienna University, he joined the Zionist student organization Kadima, and became a leading figure with a reputation for fighting on the side of minority groups. He was a friend of Herzl and was one of the pallbearers at his funeral. In 1921 he lectured in medicine at Vienna University.

As early as 1919 Deutsch established a clinic for "organneuroses," a result of his scientific preoccupation with emotional factors in physical illness. This interest led him to psychoanalysis and to close association with Freud. As a result of his interest and influence, the first home of the Psychoanalytic Clinic was established in 1922 in Vienna. He produced many publications on the interaction of emotional and physical processes and became one of the pioneers of psychosomatic medicine. With the advent of Hitler, Deutsch immigrated to the United States in 1935, became research fellow in psychiatry at Harvard University, and held various teaching positions. From 1951 to 1954 he was president of the Boston Psychoanalytic Institute. He wrote articles on an astonishing variety of medical and psychoanalytical topics. Terms like "associative anamnesis," "sector psychotherapy," and "posturology" coined by him enriched the scientific language. In 1939, he published an essay on "The Production of Somatic Disease by Emotional

Disturbance," in *Inter-Relationship of Mind and Body* (published by the Association for Research in Nervous and Mental Disease), and in 1949, *Applied Psychoanalysis*. Deutsch never abandoned his Zionist ideals and his last project, cut short by his death, was a study of the art of children gathered in Israel from all corners of the world.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: G.W. Flagg, in: F. Alexander et al. (eds.), *Psychoanalytic Pioneers* (1966), 299–307; A. Grinstein, *Index of Psychoanalytic Writings*, 1 (1956), 380–4. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** G. Hohendorf, "Felix Deutsch und die Entwicklung der psychosomatischen Medizin," in: C. Kaiser and M.-L. Wuensche (eds.), *Die "Nervosität der Juden" und andere Leiden an der Zivilisation und Konzepte individueller Krankheiten im psychiatrischen Diskurs um 1900* (2003), 207–26.

[Heinrich Zwi Winnik]

DEUTSCH, GOTTHARD (1859–1921), historian and theologian. Deutsch was born in Dolné Kounice (Kanitz), Moravia. He studied at the Breslau Jewish Theological Seminary and at Vienna University, and was ordained by Isaac Hirsch *Weiss. Deutsch first served as teacher of religion at Bruenn and as rabbi in Most (Bruex, Bohemia). In 1891 he accepted a position as professor of Jewish history and philosophy at Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati, where he became one of the leading spokesmen of Reform Judaism. Deutsch succeeded Isaac Meyer Wise as editor of the German-American monthly *Deborah* in 1901, and also contributed articles in English and German to several Jewish and general periodicals. Deutsch was known for his sympathies toward Orthodoxy despite his intellectual disagreement. He prayed at an Orthodox synagogue in Cincinnati. His German roots and appreciation of things German proved problematic at the beginning of World War I. As anti-German sentiment spread throughout the United States there was a move afoot to dismiss him from the HUC faculty. He belonged to the moderates in the Reform movement, and although not a Zionist he greatly sympathized with many aspects of Zionism. He was editor of the modern Jewish history division of the *Jewish Encyclopedia*. Deutsch, while in many ways an original historian who devoted meticulous attention to detail and motivations, did not write a major account of Jewish history, and most of his published work is in the form of essays and lectures. He wrote *Scrolls, Essays on Jewish History and Literature* (3 vols., 1917–20), *Memorable Dates of Jewish History* (1904), and *History of the Jews* (1904). Deutsch wrote a German novel, *Unloesbare Fesseln* (1903), and a historical play in English, *Israel Bruna* (1908). A son of Deutsch was HERMANN BACHER DEUTSCH (1889–1970), writer and journalist.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Hebrew Union College Monthly*, 8 (1922), 117–55; G.A. Dobbert, in: AJA, 20 (1968), 129–55; M. Raisin, *Great Jews I Have Known* (1952), 143–52; Bloch, in: *Sefer ha-Shanah li-Yhudei Amerikah*, 6 (1942), 451–61. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** M.A. Cohen, "History," in: *Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion at 100* (1976); K.M. Olitzsky, L.J. Sussman, and M.H. Stern (eds.), *Reform Judaism in America: A Biographical Dictionary and Sourcebook* (1993).

DEUTSCH, HELENE (née **Rosenbach**; 1884–1982), psychoanalyst and psychiatrist. Helene Deutsch was born in Przemysl, Poland, where her father, a lawyer, was at one time president of the Jewish community. Because of the restrictions on female education, she ran away to Vienna in order to train as a physician. In 1912 she married Felix *Deutsch. Helene Deutsch was the first woman assistant in Vienna University's psychiatric department, and was later made head of the female ward. After becoming acquainted with the ideas of Freud she gave up her academic career. She went through a training analysis by *Freud himself and became one of the leading figures of the so-called second generation of analysts. In 1923 she went to work with Karl *Abraham in Berlin for a year and on her return established the psychoanalytic training institute in Vienna along the lines of the Berlin institute, serving as its director until her departure for the U.S. in 1935. At the institute she introduced the "continuous case seminar," which became the clinical model for the presentation of psychoanalytical treatment. In the U.S. she settled in Boston, where she spent the rest of her career on the teaching staff of the Psychoanalytic Institute. The outstanding achievement in Helene Deutsch's scientific work is her exploration of the particularities of the female psyche, working on the basis of psychoanalytical theory and expanding the findings of Freud. Her publications in this field were summarized in two volumes entitled *Psychology of Women* (1944–45), a comprehensive monograph with arguments illustrated by numerous clinical cases from Helene Deutsch's own practice and from studies of the female character in world literature. The lucid case presentations and theoretical deductions in her *Psychoanalyse der Neurosen* (1930; *Psychoanalysis of the Neuroses*, 1932) make this one of the classics of psychoanalytic literature. Among her later publications are the book, *Neuroses and Character Types: Clinical Psychoanalytic Studies* (1965), and *Selected Problems of Adolescence* (1967).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: M.H. Briel, in: F. Alexander et al. (eds.), *Psychoanalytic Pioneers* (1966), 282–98.

[Heinrich Zwi Winnik]

DEUTSCH, IGNAZ (1808–1881), extremist leader of Austrian Jewish Orthodoxy. A native of Pressburg (Bratislava), he became a banker in Vienna and *gabbai* of the Polish synagogue there in 1848. To further Orthodox influence, he submitted numerous memoranda to the minister of religious affairs claiming that Orthodox Jews supported monarchical rule while Reform Jewry favored revolution. He urged the government to invest rabbis with the same powers as those enjoyed by Catholic clergymen under the concordat of 1855. In 1857 he appealed for government intervention in his unsuccessful attempt to secure the secession of Orthodox communities. Deutsch was prepared to give in to Catholics and the government over questions of Jewish rights, for instance, requesting rabbis not to support the Vienna community leadership's protest against the cancellation of the rights of Jews to own real estate (1853) and approving the pope's standpoint in the *Mortara case (1858). His denunciation (1860) of the *Alliance Israélite Universelle as subversive led to the founding of the independent Viennese *Allianz. In 1859 Deutsch had himself appointed representative in Austria by the Jews living in Jerusalem under the protection of the Austrian consul, but his request to be granted supervision of money collections for them was refused. However, he was recognized as supervisor (*Kurator*) of the affairs of Austrian Jews in Ereẓ Israel. He denounced L.A. *Frankl for introducing reforms in the synagogue attached to the Laemel school in Jerusalem.

Gerson *Wolf's publication (under the pen name of Israel Levi Kohn) in 1864 of several of Deutsch's applications to the ministry of religious affairs in *Beitrag zur Geschichte juedischer Tartueffe* (1864), after Deutsch had publicly denied that he had written them, the failure of his bank, and his circular to the Orthodox rabbis on the Mortara affair put an end to his public career. The leader of Vienna Orthodoxy, R. (Benjamin) Solomon *Spitzer, refused to cooperate with him. Deutsch achieved government recognition of the Pressburg (Bratislava) yeshivah as an academic institution of theological instruction.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: N.M. Gelber, *Aus zwei Jahrhunderten* (1924), 145–77.

DEUTSCH, ISRAEL (1800–1853), rabbi of Beuthen (Bytom). He and his brother DAVID (1810–1873), rabbi of Muslowitz (Myslowice) and Sohrau (Zory), Germany (now Poland), were militant champions of *Orthodoxy against *Reform. They opposed Abraham *Geiger's nomination as rabbi of Breslau and wrote jointly a pamphlet attacking his views (1843). David took a strong stand against rabbinical *conferences (*Asaf Asefah*, 1846) and the use of the organ in the synagogue. He published an annotated edition (with translation) of the Book of Habakkuk (1837) and Isaac of *Troki's *Ḥizzuk Emunah* (1865). Israel's letters to Abraham Muhr (*Zera Israel*, 1855, 26ff.), written between 1837 and 1846, are indicative of Orthodox thought in Germany at that time. The sermons of the two brothers were a synthesis between the old-style *derashah* and modern preaching. A third brother, ABRAHAM, was *dayyan* at Gleiwitz (Gliwice). The Orientalist Emanuel Oskar *Deutsch was their nephew.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: J. Nordin, *David Deutsch…* (Ger., 1902); W.G. Plant, *Rise of Reform Judaism* (1963), 257–8; Toury, in: BLBI, 8 (1965), 69–80.

DEUTSCH, JUDAH JOEL (c. 1870–1918), rabbi. He was a devoted disciple of Jekuthiel Judah *Teitelbaum, rabbi of Sighet (Máramarossziget). At the age of 20 he was appointed rabbi of Ganya in Máramaros. Invitations were extended to him to become rabbi of many Hungarian and Polish communities, but his invariable reply was: "Here I acquired my knowledge and here I wish to dispense it." He wrote important works on the Talmud, as well as many responsa, but almost all his writings were lost during World War I.

His son, MOSES DEUTSCH (1887–1944), succeeded him as rabbi. Endowed with an outstanding memory and a keen mind, he was an expert in Jewish monetary law, and was particularly conversant with the responsa of Moses Sofer (Schreiber), which he quoted freely. He perished in Auschwitz.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: P.Z. Schwartz, *Shem ha-Gedolim me-Ereẓ Hagar*, 1 (1914), 54b; O.Z. Rand, *Toledot Anshei Shem* (1950), 25; J.J. Greenwald, *Maẓẓevet Kodesh* (1952), 27.

[Naphtali Ben-Menahem]

DEUTSCH, LEO (**Lev Grigoryevich**; 1855–1941), Russian revolutionary. Deutsch was born in Tulchin (Kamenets Podolsk) and in the 1870s joined the Populist Narodniki. In 1877 he organized a revolt of farmers in the district of Chigirin (Ukraine); he was arrested but escaped to Switzerland. In 1879 he returned to Peterburg and was a member of the revolutionary organization Ẓemlia i Volia" ("Earth and Freedom"), and later of "Chornyi Peredel." In 1880 he immigrated to Switzerland, and with Plekhanov, Akselrod, and others in 1883 they founded "Osvobozhdenie Truda" ("Liberation of Labor"), the first Russian Marxist group abroad. In 1884 he was arrested in Germany and was handed over to the Russian government. After 16 years of hard labor he escaped to Switzerland again (1901). His experiences were published in *Sixteen Years in Siberia* (London, 1903; Russian ed. 1924), which was translated into many languages. He sided with the Mensheviks in 1903. In 1905 he returned to Russia, was arrested and escaped again, and lived in London from 1907 to 1911 and in the U.S. from 1911 to 1916. After the February Revolution he returned to Russia. Since his attitude toward the October Revolution was negative, he gave up politics. He concerned himself with editing Plekhanov's works. In his later years he was mainly occupied with the history of the Russian revolutionary movement. Only the first volume of his work *Rol yevreyev v russkom revolyutsionnom dvizhenii* ("The Role of the Jews in the Russian Revolutionary Movement," 1923) was ever published.

DEUTSCH, MORITZ (1818–1892), cantor and teacher. Deutsch, who was born in Nikolsburg, Moravia, was an infant prodigy in talmudic studies. Having a remarkable tenor voice, he went to Vienna to study music and cantorial singing. In 1842 he was appointed second cantor of the Liberal temple in Vienna, where Solomon *Sulzer was chief cantor. Two years later he became chief cantor at the Reform synagogue in Breslau. Here he formed and conducted a mixed choir. Deutsch taught cantorial music at the Breslau Theological Seminary for 30 years and in 1859 founded an institute for training cantors. He made original arrangements of liturgical music, aiming perhaps excessively at German choral style. His compositions include *Breslauer Synagogengesaenge* (1880) for soloist and choir, school songs, 12 preludes for organ and piano, and *Vorbeterschule* (1871).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: A. Friedmann, in: AZDJ, 75 (1911), 174–5, 199–201; Sendrey, Music, index; Idelsohn, *Melodien*, 6 (1932), 24; E. Zaludkowski, *Kulturtreger fun der yidisher Liturgye* (1930), 63–67.

[Joshua Leib Ne'eman]

DEUTSCH, OTTO ERICH (1883–1967), Austrian musicologist and bibliographer. He was for some time art critic of *Die Zeit* in Vienna, where he was born, and from 1926 to 1955, librarian of the important music collection of A. van Hoboken. After the *Anschluss* in 1938, he went to England, but returned to Vienna in 1956. Deutsch developed a form of "synthetic biography," which combined bibliographical and iconographical documentation. He devoted many years to the study of Schubert, producing *Schubert, A Documentary Biography* (1946) and *Schubert, Thematic Catalogue…* (1951). His later years were devoted to research on Mozart, which resulted in *Mozart – Die Dokumente seines Lebens* and *Mozart und seine Welt in zeitgenoessischen Bildern*, both in 1961. He also compiled a documentary biography of Handel (1954) and published reference works on early music printing. All Schubert's works are now designated by D (Deutsch) numbers, based on his 1951 catalog.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: MGG, s.v.; *Grove's Dict*, s.v. (see also suppl. vol.); Gerstenberg, in: *Die Musikforschung*, 21 (1968), 149–54.

[Judith Cohen]

DEUTSCH, SIMON (c. 1822–1877), Austrian revolutionary. Born in Nikolsburg, Deutsch lived in Vienna, where he studied for the rabbinate, cataloged Hebrew manuscripts at the Imperial Library, and published Menahem b. Jacob ibn Saruq's *Maḥberet*. He soon turned to Socialism and after the 1848 revolution was condemned to death, but escaped via Switzerland to France. In Paris, Deutsch entered business and became prosperous, opening branches in Belgium, Romania, and Turkey, but remained a radical and associated with Michelet and Proudhon. During the 1870 Franco-Prussian War, Deutsch served in the French army. In 1871 he took part in the Paris Commune as one of the leaders of the First Communist International. After the collapse of the Commune he was thrown into prison, but was saved from death by the Austrian ambassador. In 1874 he replaced Karl Marx at the directory committee of the International. From Paris, Deutsch moved to Turkey, where he was associated in the foundation of the Young Turk movement. He died in Constantinople.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Nordmann, in: AZDJ, 47 (1883), 293–6. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** *Enciclopedia Judaica Castellana*, 3 (1949), 473.

DEUTSCH DE LA MEURTHE, HENRI (1846–1919), French industrialist and philanthropist. Henri was born in Paris, and began his career as an industrialist with the Société des Pétroles, which his father, Alexander Deutsch (d. 1889), had founded. In 1866 Henri and his brother, Émile, took over joint management of the firm, and under their direction it became one of the leading French companies in the petroleum industry. Henri Deutsch de la Meurthe pioneered in advancing the commercial uses of petroleum. His work, *Le Pétrole et ses Applications* (1891), and the exhibit on the petroleum industry which he arranged at the 1889 World Fair in Paris, contributed greatly to a fuller understanding of the importance of petroleum in industry and commerce. In 1901 he encouraged the use of petroleum for aviation with an offer of a prize for a successful flight over Paris, which was won by Alberto Santos-Dumont. In 1906 he made a gift to the French government of the dirigible *Ville-de-Paris*, which Santos-Dumont had flown. He was the founder of the Aerotechnic Institute at St. Cyr for the University of Paris, and the donor of a chair in aeronautics at the Conservatoire National des Arts et Métiers. He wrote a lyric opera, *Icarus*, which was performed at the Paris Opera in 1911. He was an active member of the French Consistoire Central. A monument in his honor was erected at Ecquevilly, Seine-et-Oise, in 1923.

His brother ÉMILE (1847–1924), who also pioneered in the French petroleum industry, was born in Paris. He was the founder and first president of the Franco-American Brotherhood during World War I, and as its continuing head played an important role in giving assistance to nearly 300,000 French war orphans. In 1920 he set up the Émile and Louise de la Meurthe Foundation with an endowment of 10,000,000 francs, to build seven dormitories for impoverished students in Paris. Émile was also active in the Consistoire Central and was elected vice president of the Paris Consistory. He was a member of the central committee of the Alliance Israélite Universelle and founder of the Union Libérale Juive.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Dictionnaire de biographie française*, 11 (1967), 164.

DEUTSCHER, ISAAC (1907–1967), British Marxist historian and political scientist. Born in Cracow, Poland, Deutscher had a strictly Orthodox education and upbringing. In his youth he was a Hebrew-speaking Zionist and even translated modern Hebrew poetry into Polish. From 1926 he was a member of the illegal Communist Party in Poland, ultimately serving as the party's clandestine editor of several legal periodicals which secretly accepted Communist guidance. In 1932, when he disobeyed party orders and in the periodicals refused to brand the Social-Democrats as "Social-Fascists" and the principal enemies of the working class, he was expelled from the Communist Party. For several years he displayed leanings toward Trotskyism.

In 1939, before the outbreak of World War II, he went to London, where he was on the editorial staff of the *Economist* and the *Observer* (under the pen name "Peregrine"). Later he devoted himself to historical research and acquired an international reputation as the political biographer of *Stalin and *Trotsky and an expert on Soviet Russia and Communism. Deutscher remained a Marxist although he became famous for his writings and lectures in which he exposed the brutality of the Stalin regime. In 1953 he visited Israel and showed understanding and sympathy for Jewish national independence after the Nazi Holocaust. But later he became again sharply opposed to Zionism and lost no opportunity of attacking Israel for its ultranationalism and for being nationalist in a world becoming increasingly supranational. It has been said that Deutscher's attempt to secure a chair at Sussex

University in 1963 was thwarted by Sir Isaiah *Berlin, who spoke strongly against him as a member of the appointments panel. Deutscher never held a continuing position at a British university. In *The Non-Jewish Jew and Other Essays* (published posthumously, 1968) Deutscher discussed the heritage of European Jewry as he saw it and defined such personalities as *Spinoza, *Marx, *Freud, and Trotsky as "non-Jewish" Jews; the phrase has become proverbial. Despite this attitude, Deutscher in his essays treated life in the small Jewish towns with tenderness and sympathy and had a warm feeling for the Jewish working masses.

His works include *Stalin, a Political Biography* (1949), *Russia after Stalin* (1953), *The Great Contest: Russia and the West* (1960), a trilogy on the life of L. Trotsky – *The Prophet Armed* (1954), *The Prophet Unarmed* (1959), and *The Prophet Outcast* (1963) – and *Unfinished Revolution: Russia, 1917–1967* (1967). A collection of his essays, *Marxism, Wars, and Revolution: Essay from Four Decades,* edited by Tamara Deutscher, was published in 1984.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: D. Lazar, *Rashim be-Yisrael*, 2 (1955), 315–20; T. Deutscher, in: I. Deutscher, *The Non-Jewish Jew and other Essays* (1968), introd. and preface. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** D.J. Horowitz, *Isaac Deutscher: The Man and His Work* (1971); ODNB online.

[Moshe Rosetti]

DEUTSCHER PALAESTINA-VEREIN, German society for the study of the Holy Land. It was founded by A. Socin, E. Kautzsch, and H. Guthe in 1877 on the model of the British Palestine Exploration Fund, its aim being the "advancement of the knowledge of the history of Palestine." The society, however, did not engage in excavations but concentrated on the publication of its journal, the *Zeitschrift des deutschen Palaestina-Vereins*. Many Jewish scholars contributed to the journal until 1933. Its publication stopped in 1943 and in the following year the archives and offices of the society were destroyed during the bombardment of Leipzig. From 1949 to 1951 it published the *Beitraege zur biblischen Landes-und Altertumskunde*. The society was reestablished at Bonn in 1952 and resumed the publication of its *Zeitschrift*. Its heads have included M. Noth, A. Kuschke, and K. Galling.

[Michael Avi-Yonah]

DEUTSCH-ISRAELITISCHER GEMEINDEBUND (DIGB), union of German Jewish communities; the first all-German Jewish association. Founded in 1869 at the Leipzig *synod, the DIGB began its activities only with the establishment of the German Empire (1871). Initially its headquarters were in Leipzig, but in 1882 they were moved to Berlin. The union gradually embraced most of the German communities, but internal dissensions and legal obstacles prevented it from becoming the representative body of German Jewry. Many of the Orthodox communities withheld their cooperation even though the DIGB's constitution precluded it from dealing with religious and political issues. After World War I, when the Weimar Republic permitted the unification of religious associations, a fresh attempt at effecting a joint representation of all communities had no practical results. Instead, separate communal associations were established in the different states, the largest of which was the Preussischer Landesverband der juedischen Gemeinden. A fully representative body, the *Reichsvertretung der deutschen Juden, was established only in 1933, as a result of the pressures of the Nazi regime.

The DIGB's activities were widespread. In particular it adopted small and financially weak communities, supporting the appointment of religious teachers, providing grants for communal buildings, planning curricula, and organizing Jewish teachers' conferences. One outcome of these efforts was the creation of the Jewish Teachers' Association of the German Empire. Funds were set up to provide for communal officials and charitable institutions, including homes for neglected and mentally retarded children, and a Jewish Workers' Colony for the rehabilitation of impoverished immigrants. In 1885 the DIGB founded the Historical Commission for Investigating the History of the Jews in Germany to gather and sift sources and records for scientific research into the Jewish past. The Commission included non-Jews, such as the legal historian Otto *Stobbe, one of its first chairmen. Only three volumes of the Commission's *Quellen zur Geschichte der Juden in Deutschland* (1888–98) were published. Another important publication was the *Zeitschrift fuer die Geschichte der Juden in Deutschland*, edited by Ludwig *Geiger and published for six years (1887–92). To cover German Jewry's more recent past the *Gesamtarchiv der deutschen Juden* (subsequently transferred to Israel; see Jewish *Archives) was set up, and a statistical yearbook was published. The DIGB attempted to combat antisemitism by disseminating explanatory literature, an activity later expanded by the *Centralverein deutscher Staatsbuerger juedischen Glaubens. Presidents of the DIGB included the renowned gynecologist S. *Kristeller and the historian Martin *Phillipson.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: A. Kober, in: JSOS, 9 (1947), 195–238; K. Wilhelm, in: YLBI, 2 (1957), 61–63; A. Sandler, *ibid.*, 76–84.

[Reuven Michael]

DEUTSCHKREUTZ (also **Cruez**; Hung. **Keresztúr** or **Németkeresztúr**, **Sopronkeresztúr**; Heb. צלם, צעלם), town in E. Austria. Its community, one of the "Seven Communities" of *Burgenland, increased mainly at the end of the 15th century. In 1526 it absorbed Jews expelled from *Sopron. The situation of the Jews in Deutschkreutz improved when the princes Esterházy took over Deutschkreutz in 1664. In 1701 an agreement was signed between them and the community, renewed several times against payment; Deutschkreutz Jews were permitted to do business in Sopron. A synagogue was built in 1747 and rebuilt in 1834. It was destroyed by the Nazis in 1941. The community was known for its Orthodoxy; its yeshivah became celebrated, especially under Menahem *Katz-Wannfried. The composer Karl *Goldmark grew up in Deutschkreutz. When in 1921 Burgenland was finally separated from Hungary, Deutschkreutz lost its hinterland, and the community decreased. It numbered 28 persons in 1672; 47 in 1725; 20 families in 1729; 222 persons in 1735; 100 families in 1780; 1,230 persons (37.8% of the total population) in 1880; 764 in 1911; 410 in 1929; and 433 (12.1%) in 1934. Immediately after the *Anschluss* in 1938 the Nazis expelled the Deutschkreutz Jews to Vienna. At the time there were 103 families (433 persons) there. In 1944 hundreds of Hungarian Jews were deported to Deutschkreutz to build the *Ostwall* fortifications. There were no Jews living in Deutschkreutz in 1970. A monument was erected on the site of the synagogue in 1949. The cemetery, including 286 gravesites of forced laborers from Hungary, has been fenced in and is cared for by the Vienna community. Part of the community archives has been preserved and transferred to the Burgenland state archives in Eisenstadt.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: L. Moses, in: JJLG, 18 (1927), 305–26; 19 (1928), 195–224; *Magyar Zsidó Lexikon* (1929) s.v. *Németkeresztúr*; MGWJ, 74 (1930), 92–93; Y. Gruenwald, *Mekorot le-Korot Yisrael* (1934), 91–99; MHJ, 2 (1937); 5, pt. 1 (1959); 5, pt. 2 (1960); 6 (1961); 7 (1963); 8 (1965); 10 (1967), index; N. Gergely, in: *Új Élet*, 14 (Dec. 15, 1969); A. Zistler, in: H. Gold (ed.), *Gedenkbuch der untergangenen Judengemeinden des Burgenlandes* (1970), 57–74; BJCE; PK. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** S. Spitzer, *Die juedische Gemeinde von Deutschkreutz* (1995).

[Yehouda Marton]

DEUTSCHLAENDER, LEO (1888–1935), educationist and writer. Born in Berlin, he became head of Jewish education in Lithuania during World War I, first as appointee of the German occupation authorities. He was co-founder of the first Orthodox secondary school Yavneh in Kaunas (Kovno). When director of the Keren ha-Torah of *Agudat Israel, he helped Sara Schnirer to develop the *Beth Jacob Orthodox girls' education network, mainly in Poland, and headed its Teachers Training College for women in Cracow.

Deutschlaender's published work includes *West-Oestliche Dichterklaenge* (1919); *Goethe und das Alte Testament* (1923); *Biblisch-talmudische Sentenzen* (1931); *History of the Beth Jacob Girls Schools* (1933); and various textbooks for schools. He also wrote on education for the Hebrew and Yiddish periodicals published by Agudat Israel. He died in Vienna.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Grunfeld-Rosenbaum, in; L. Jung (ed.), *Jewish Leaders* (1964), 426ff.; *Nachalath Z'wi*, 5 (1935), 344–5; LNYL, 2 (1958), 495–6.

[Judith Grunfeld-Rosenbaum]

DEUTZ, former town, now a suburb of *Cologne, Germany. Jews are first mentioned in Deutz as victims of the *Black Death persecutions (1348–49). It is unlikely that the expulsion of the Jews from Cologne in 1424 had a major impact on the development of the community in Deutz, which experienced significant growth only from the early 17th century. In 1631, during the Thirty Years War, the Jews of Deutz were permitted to deposit their wealth and pledges at Cologne. The Deutz *Memorbuch* for the years 1581–1784 records the prevention of anti-Jewish riots instigated by Cologne students in 1665. Throughout the 16th and 17th centuries celebrated Jewish physicians of Deutz practiced in Cologne. Noted 17th-century physicians, who were also talmudic scholars and community leaders, included Abraham Salomo (d. 1631), his son Isaac (d. 1657), and Levi Nathan (1616–1670). A synagogue is known to have existed in Deutz from the 16th century, but there is no evidence of a rabbinate before the mid-17th century. The first **Landesrabbiner* of the Electorate of Cologne to have officiated in Deutz was Herz Bruehl (d. 1656), who was succeeded in the 18th century by Judah Mehler (d. 1751) and Joseph Juspa Kossmann (d. 1758). In 1695 the Deutz community acquired a cemetery which was also used by the Cologne community from 1807 to 1867. In 1784 the old synagogue (built in the early 18th century) was destroyed by flood; it was rebuilt in 1786 and remained in use until 1914. A new synagogue was erected in 1915. The number of Jews in Deutz possessing rights of residence increased from four in 1616 to 17 in 1634 and 19 in 1764. In 1823, under Prussian rule, there were 238 Jews in Deutz, decreasing to 233 in 1840, and 206 in 1880. In 1928 the Deutz community was amalgamated with that of Cologne. The synagogue in Deutz was destroyed on **Kristallnacht*, Nov. 10, 1938.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Germ Jud, 1 (1963), 86–87; 2 (1968), 161; K. Brisch, *Geschichte der Juden in Cöln und Umgebung…*, 2 vols. (1879–82); A. Kober, *Cologne* (Eng., 1940), passim; idem, in: *Festschrift zum 75 jaehrigen Bestehen des juedisch-theologischen Seminars*, 2 (1929), 173–236; idem, *Aus der Geschichte der Juden im Rheinland* (1931), 22–5; Salfeld, Martyrol, 287. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** K.H.S. Schulte, *Familienbuch der Deutzer Juden* (1992); B. Klein, in: *Hirt und Herde* (2000), 251–78.

[Chasia Turtel / Stefan Rohrbacher (2nd ed.)]

DEUTZ, SIMON (1802–1852), French politician and son of Emmanuel Deutz (1763–1842). Emmanuel Deutz was rabbi of his native city of Coblenz then under French occupation. In 1806 and 1807 he was a member of the *Assembly of Jewish Notables and of the Napoleonic *Sanhedrin, and sat in the Central *Consistory formed in 1808. From 1822 until his death Deutz was *Grand Rabbin* of France.

Simon Deutz converted to Catholicism at the age of 23, but in his later years returned to the Jewish faith. Upon his conversion he adopted the name of Hyacinthe de Gonzague and worked for the amelioration of the condition of the persecuted Jews of Rome. Deutz was asked by Pope Leo XII to prepare a memorandum on the Jews of Rome, and he was secretary of a special commission appointed by Pius VIII to prepare a charter for them. However, the chairman, Cardinal Cappellari, known for his anti-Jewish views, consistently ignored Deutz's memoranda. In 1832 Deutz met the Duchess de Berry, then actively engaged in a legitimist conspiracy against Louis Philippe of France, and went to Spain and Portugal on her behalf to obtain arms and men. She also entrusted him with the delicate mission of securing a promise of Russian military assistance. In the end, however, Deutz, fearing civil war in France, denounced the duchess. Her arrest in 1832 was the signal for a public outcry against Deutz, the "Jewish traitor," few believing that he was activated by motives of loyalty to France. Adolphe *Crémieux asked Deutz's father to protest against his son's "shameful" act, on behalf of the Jewish community. The chief rabbi refused, but in 1835 Deutz published a memorandum *Arrestation de Madame* describing his conversion and his patriotic motives in his denunciation of the duchess. By this time Crémieux and others had become convinced of Deutz's sincerity.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Szajkowski, in: JJS, 16 (1965), 53–67; C. Roth, *ibid.*, 17 (1966), 83 f.; P. Klein, in: *Revue de la pensée juive*, 2:7 (1950/51), 87–103.

DEVEKUT (Heb. דְּבֵקוּת; lit. "cleaving"). The verb *dvk* occurs frequently in Deuteronomy (4:4, 10:20, 11:22, 13:5, 30:20) in the context of cleaving to God. The Talmud asks how it is possible for man to "cleave to God" Who is a "devouring fire" (Deut. 4:24) and answers that it is fulfilled by marrying the daughter of a scholar or assisting scholars materially (Ket. 111b). Elsewhere in answer to the same question, it answers that this is fulfilled by imitation of God, and emulating His attributes (the passage in Sotah 14a should obviously be based on the phrase "and cleave unto Him" in the verse quoted, and not on the words "Ye shall walk after the Lord your God").

Both the noun *devekut* and its verb *davok* have several theological and mystical meanings in kabbalistic literature. Sometimes it means no more than "being near to" or "to cleave." However, the most usual meaning of this term, if it can be said to have a usual meaning, is "communion with God," which is achieved mainly during the time of *prayer or meditation before prayer through using the right **kavvanot*, the mystical interpretations and meanings given to the words of prayer. Usually, *devekut* is described as the highest step on a spiritual ladder, which is reached after the believer has mastered the attitudes of fear of God, love of God, etc. The aspect in the divine world, according to the kabbalistic concept of the ten *Sefirot*, to which the mystic prays when he aspires to reach the state of *devekut*, is usually the **Shekhinah*, the tenth and lowest of the *Sefirot*, which is also the feminine element in the divine world. Usually, the kabbalists emphasize clearly that the communion achieved by the living mystic during prayer is transitory and incomplete in its nature. Only after death can a man hope that his soul will reach a complete and permanent state of *devekut* with God (again, usually with the *Shekhinah*), and the final state of bliss will not be achieved until the redemption, after the coming of the Messiah, when all just Jews will live together eternally in the state of *devekut*. This, the most conservative attitude, is expressed in the *Zohar several times (although other concepts are found in it too), and was widely accepted by the writers of kabbalistic ethical literature in the 16th–18th centuries, in Safed and in Eastern Europe. However, most kabbalists attempted to formulate a more ambitious concept of communion with God, which they described in many different symbols, revealing a wide range of spiritual attitudes toward the mystic's relationship with the divine powers.

One of the most common ideas to be found in kabbalistic literature is that *devekut* is itself a ladder, in which a man can climb from one *Sefirah* to another and raise his soul from one point to another in mystical contemplation. As the various portions and words of prayer and the various deeds that the commandments require correspond to different parts and powers in the divine worlds, so does the soul rise with the works and deeds toward the *Sefirah* to which it is intended. Thus the mystic may achieve *devekut* with the higher *Sefirot*, such as *yesod* (the ninth), *tiferet* (the sixth), *din* (fifth), and *ḥesed* (fourth) in the divine ladder. Kabbalists are more cautious when dealing with man's relationship with the highest *Sefirot*. However, there are expressions in kabbalistic literature which give the impression that *devekut* is possible even with them. In rare instances, *devekut* with the **Ein Sof*, the divine essence beyond all *Sefirot*, is also mentioned; and in some radical pronouncements (e.g., by *Isaac of Acre), it is possible to interpret the kabbalists' words as describing the possibility of achieving *devekut* with the *Ein Sof* while still living. The soul breaks all ties that bind it to the body and unites with the highest aspect of divinity. Such radical expressions, however, are very rare, and the exact meaning of *devekut* in such passages is open to different interpretations. Therefore *devekut* is not the Hebrew term corresponding to what the Christian mystic means by *unio mystica*. There are tendencies in some kabbalistic writings (and even in the Zohar itself) which point toward such a complete union with God, but usually the kabbalists were much more conservative, separating *devekut* from complete union by delaying it to the time after death and the end of days, and by limiting it to the lower parts of the divine worlds.

Early in the history of kabbalistic literature, there are expressions of contemplative, intellectual *devekut*, such as the *devekut ha-maḥashavah* ("the cleaving of thought to God"), which means the return of human thought to its origin in the divine wisdom; or the *devekut ha-raẓon* ("the cleaving of human will to God's"), achieved during prayer. However, in later kabbalistic writing, much more emphasis is placed on the union of the human soul with its spiritual origin in the world of the *Sefirot*. Sometimes there are some elements of ecstasy. The mystic's emotional state while approaching the state of *devekut* and while achieving it is described. In this case, the *devekut* is not an intellectual, contemplative state of mind, but a state of emotional exaltation. In such cases, there is sometimes a hint of a sexual element in the *devekut* between the mystic and the tenth *Sefirah*, the *Shekhinah*. However, such expressions are usually connected with the love of God, as the kabbalists interpreted it.

In most kabbalistic writings, there is a connection between the state of the *devekut* and prophecy, which is the outcome of such union between man and God. The fathers of the nation, Moses, and the prophets were described as people who achieved a lasting state of *devekut*. When *devekut* is achieved, *Ru'aḥ ha-Kodesh* ("The Holy Spirit") comes into contact with the mystic and gives him superhuman spiritual abilities. The idea of the *devekut* as the highest spiritual achievement in religious life was popularized by the writers of kabbalistic ethical literature, and numerous people who were not mystics became familiar with this concept. The last phase of this development was reached with the ḥasidic movement, where *devekut* became not only the supreme achievement of religious life but also its starting point. *Devekut*, according to *Ḥasidism, should be the believer's constant state of mind, even while he is dealing with everyday necessities of life and not only during the high points of prayer and religious activity.

[Joseph Dan]

The ideal of *devekut* as pointing to a complete mystical union between the human intellect and the Agent Intellect or God as an intellect is central in ecstatic Kabbalah as represented in the writings of Abraham *Abulafia. He draws upon the neo-Aristotelian theory of the identity between the knowing subject and its object during the process of intellection, but assumes that God may become the subject of human knowledge.

[Moshe Idel (2nd ed.)]

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DEVONS, ELY (1913–1967), British economist. Born in Wales and educated at Manchester University, Devons worked for the Joint Cotton Trades Organization from 1935 to 1940 when he was appointed to the cabinet's statistical office and subsequently to the economic office of the Ministry of Aircraft Production. In 1945 he returned to his native Manchester, where he held a chair until 1959 when he became professor of commerce (later economics) at the London School of Economics. His main fields were statistics, applied economics, and public policy. He questioned accepted economic theories and, because of his interest in public policy, was skeptical of the ability of governments to control and direct economic performance. His publications include *Planning in Practice* (1950), *An Introduction to British Economic Statistics* (1956), *Essays in Economics* (1961), and *Closed Systems and Open Minds* (1964), which he edited (with Max Gluckman).

ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY: ODNB online.

[Joachim O. Ronall]

DE VRIES, ANDRÉ (1911–1996), Israel physician and medical scientist. De Vries, who was born in Leeuwarden, Holland, studied in Amsterdam. After holding various appointments in Holland, he immigrated to Palestine in 1940 and at first became a farmer. Persuaded to return to medicine, he joined the staff of Hadassah Hospital in Jerusalem in 1942. In 1954 he subsequently became director of the department of internal medicine and of the institute of medical research at Beilinson Hospital near Tel Aviv. In 1960 he was appointed clinical professor of medicine at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. De Vries was one of the founders of the Faculty of Medicine at Tel Aviv University and in 1964 became dean of this faculty. In 1970 he was awarded the Israel Prize for medical science. His main research was on the methods of production of antivenins (notably snake venoms) and the epidemiology of kidney stones in sub-tropical climates.

[Joseph W. Davis]

DE VRIES, BENJAMIN (1905–1966), Israeli educator and talmudic scholar. De Vries, who was born in Leeuwarden, Holland, studied at the Amsterdam Rabbinical Seminary (where he later lectured), and at Leyden University. After immigrating to Palestine in 1934, he worked both as a teacher and an inspector of education in the religious state schools network. In 1955 he was appointed professor of Talmud at Tel Aviv University. De Vries published numerous articles on educational and religious subjects and made important contributions to the literary and legal study of the Talmud. He also wrote a volume in Dutch on *halakhah* development, *Hoofdlijnen en motieven in de ontwikkeling der Halachah* (1959); an introduction to the Talmud, *Mavo la-Talmud* (1951; 1962^2); *Toledot ha-Halakhah ha-Talmudit* (1962; 1966^2); and a collection of talmudic studies, *Meḥkarim be-Sifrut ha-Talmud* (1968).

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[Ze'ev Wilhem Falk]

DE VRIES, M. (19th century), South African lawyer and politician. De Vries was state prosecutor of the Transvaal in 1868 and a member of the Volksraad (parliament) in 1871 and 1875. He was chairman of the session in 1872 and 1875. Since there was a shortage of suitable officials he rose to these positions despite a provision in the Transvaal constitution barring non-Protestants from holding public office.

DEW (Heb. טַל), condensation of water vapor on an object near the ground, whose temperature has fallen below the "dew point" of the surrounding air because of radiational cooling during the night. The conditions favoring the formation of dew are clear nights, moist air, and only light winds in the surface layers of the atmosphere.

The Bible places so much importance on dew as a source of water for plant life (Hos. 14:6–8) that in its absence a drought is considered to prevail (Ḥag. 1:10–11). Dew, like rain, is a symbol of life and God's beneficence (Zech. 8:12). (It should be noted, however, that in biblical Hebrew טל may also refer to rain.) As a figure of speech *dew* expresses a source of abundance (Gen. 27:28), silent and sudden-coming (II Sam. 17:12), and ephemeral (Hos. 13:3). Several verses referring to dew appear in the Bible, according to which the main season of dew is late spring–early summer, or harvest time (e.g., Hos. 14:6; Prov. 19:12; Isa. 18:4; Job 29:19; Song 5:2). Soon after harvest time in the Harod Valley, Gideon "wrung enough dew from the fleece to fill a bowl with water" (Judg. 6:38). This valley, however, does not receive much dew, and is situated near the hills of Gilboa which David, in his lament over the death of Saul and Jonathan, cursed to enjoy neither dew nor rain (II Sam. 1:21).

According to modern investigations, however, the value of dew in the water balance of plants is dubious. As for the distribution of dew, it is interesting to note that the Bible refers to many of the regions, on both sides of the Jordan, in which dew occurs. As some Bible scholars have pointed out, most verses which allude to dew in different regions employ similar phrases of dewiness for them. The average frequency of dew nights in Israel, according to measurements by the Duvdevani dew gauge in the period 1945–1952, was for Tel Shalom (on the Coastal Plain) 231 nights per year; at the Tavor Agr. School (Hill Region) 163; and at Dafnah (in the Jordan Valley) 115.

The largest annual number of dew nights is found in the central Coastal Plain and the northwestern Negev. The northern coastal region and Carmel beach are not favorable for dew formation. The Hill Region is not known for much dew. Mt. Carmel, being relatively low and the nearest hill to the Mediterranean, is the dewiest hill in Israel. The quantity and frequency of dew depend much on local topography: slopes receive little dew while level and concave areas receive it in abundance. In the low and level Valley of Jezreel there are many dew nights, but its western part is dewier than the eastern part, which descends to the Harod Valley. Dew is scarce in the Jordan Valley, particularly in its southern part (Jericho). However, in the flat and concave parts of the Ḥuleh and Beth-Shean valleys the conditions for dew formation are better.

A breakdown of the seasonal distribution of dew frequency in Israel indicates that the largest number of dew nights occurs in summer in the Coastal Plain and Hill Region, the lowest number occurs in winter, and an intermediate number occurs in spring and fall (see Table: Number of Dew Nights).

In the southern Jordan Valley, between the Beth-Shean Valley and the Dead Sea, the regimen of dew is opposite to that in the coastal and hill regions. Dew in the southern Jordan Valley is most frequent in winter, while in summer it is rare or absent in this low-lying region. In the northern Jordan Valley no one month shows a marked increase in the number of dew nights.

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[Jacob Katsnelson]

DEW, PRAYER FOR, prayer incorporated into the liturgy because Ereẓ Israel depended on the moisture of *dew during the long, dry summers. As with rainfall, dew was held to be a heavenly blessing, and its absence a divine punishment (cf. Gen. 27:28, 39; Deut. 33:13; Judg. 6:37–40). The end of the rainy season and the beginning of summer is liturgically marked by a special prayer for dew, called *Tefillat Tal* (among Ashkenazim) or *Tikkun Tal* (among Sephardim), which forms part of the Additional Service (*Musaf*) of the first day of Passover, since it was held that the "stores of dew" are opened on this day (PdRE 32). The prayer is recited at the reader's repetition of the Additional Service *Amidah*. In the Ashkenazi ritual the prayer consists of a series of acrostic *piyyutim* (the central one *Taḥat Eilat Ofer* by Eleazar Kallir) and an invocation in six stanzas ending with: "For Thou art the Lord our God, who causes the wind to blow and the dew to descend," and with the plea: "For a blessing and not for a curse; For life and not for death; For plenty and not for famine; Amen." Nowadays, the *piyyutim* are generally omitted and in Israel the prayer is sometimes said after the Torah scrolls are returned to the ark and before the Additional Service. In Israel all rites have adopted the Sephardi custom of inserting the phrase: "Thou causest the dew to descend" (*morid ha-tal*) in every *Amidah* at the beginning of the second benediction in the period beginning with the first day of Passover and ending with Shemini Aẓeret when the Prayer for Rain is said. The Prayer for Dew and the Prayer for Rain are part of the service in all Jewish rituals including the Conservative and Reform trends who recite them, however, in shortened versions. In traditional Ashkenazi synagogues the reader wears a *kittel* ("shroud") for the Prayer for Dew (as he does on the Day of Atonement) and intones the *Kaddish* before the *Musaf* service in the melody of the Day of Atonement (Sh. Ar., OḤ 114).

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DHAMĀR, one of the historic cities of Yemen; located on the road between Yarīm and Sana. Dhamār, a large town, was the seat of a famous *madrasa* ("school") of the ruling Zaydiyya sect and had a large Jewish community. The Jewish name for the city was Hadoram, according to the Judeo-Arabic translation ascribed to Saadia Gaon (Gen. 10:27). Dhamār was the main spiritual center of Yemenite Jewry in the 15th century (see R. *Zechariah ben Solomon Rofe). The community numbered about 300 families before the immigration to Israel on 1949–50. The local Jewish community continued to be the spiritual center for the surrounding Jewish communities, having seven synagogues and a permanent rabbinical court with three *dayyanim*. Prior to the Mawza' expulsion, the old Jewish quarter was within the walls of the city, but after the Jews returned from exile they built their new quarter outside the walls, later enclosed by a wall connecting it to the city. Uncharacteristically the head of the *bet din* also served as the temporal leader (*'āqil*), in charge of the poll tax (*jizyah*) and the *ṭuḥna* (compulsory milling of grain for the army). The Orphans Edict was strictly enforced, but community leaders managed to smuggle the young Jewish orphans via Sana to Aden. The socio-economic structure of the local Jewish community was the same as in other urban Jewish communities: silversmiths (about a third of all Jewish craftsmen), weavers, shoemakers, millers, tailors, builders, and wholesalers. The community possessed two famous Torah scrolls to which pilgrimages were made until the whole community immigrated to Israel.

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[Yosef Tobi (2nd ed.)]

DHAMĀRĪ, MANṢUR SULEIMAN (**Ibn al-Muʿallim**, Heb. **Hoter ben Solomon**; first half of the 15th century), Yemenite scholar and author. Dhamārī's major work was *Sirāj al-ʿUqūl* ("Light of the Wise"), an early Yemenite midrashic compilation containing certain Midrashim unknown from other sources. He draws mainly on the Mishnah, the Talmud, the *Sifra* and *Sifrei* and also three post-talmudic scholars: Saadiah Gaon, Maimonides, and Nethanel b. Isaiah. An interesting innovation is his use of Arabic sources – poems, and philosophical essays – side by side with the Jewish sources. Most of the book is written in Arabic, with only about a third in Hebrew. Each chapter begins and ends with one or two poems. Dhamārī's method, similar to that of other Yemenite writers, is one of midrashic commentary, but he is noteworthy also for philosophical exposition. His quotations are, however, imprecise and interspersed with interpretations, some of which are very curious. Other known works by Dhamārī are *Sharḥ ʿalā al-Mishna*, a commentary on Maimonides' exposition of the Mishnah; *Sharḥ al-Qawāʿid*, a commentary on the 13 principles; and 100 responsa, mostly collected in 1423 (all unpublished).

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[Yehuda Ratzaby]

DHAMĀRĪ, SAʿID BEN DAVID (first half of the 15th century), Yemenite writer and scholar; author of *Midrash ha-Be'ur* (1441), a commentary on the Pentateuch and the *haftarot*, one of the early Yemenite Midrashim. The name of his work, he states, stems from the fact that it is an explanation (*be'ur*) of "the principles of the Torah and the oral tradition, as well as the sayings of the sages and stories about them." His sources were the Babylonian and Jerusalem Talmud, *Sifrei*, the *Mekhilta*, and Maimonides' works. Generally his teachings are identical to similar Yemenite Midrashim, but also contain important materials that Dhamārī took from earlier collections now lost. Of great significance are the differences in the versions transmitted by Dhamārī. The book as a whole is still in manuscript, but most of the weekly portion *Va-Yeẓe* was published by L. Finkelstein as an anonymous Midrash and subsequently identified by Ratzaby.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Finkelstein, in: HUCA, 12–13 (1937–38), 523–57.

[Yehuda Ratzaby]

DHIMMA, DHIMMI, Arabic term referring to the status of Jews and Christians living in Islamic countries as protected people. This status does not apply to other peoples or religious groups, such as Hindus, for whom a strict policy of "conversion or death" is in force. The *dhimmi* must be humiliated, belittled, distinguished by his appearance: his distinctive dress indicates to the Muslim that the *dhimmi* is to be treated as an inferior.

Jewish and Christian religious leaders in Muslim lands may only serve with the permission of the Muslim authorities. The Muslim Arabs allowed the Babylonian Jews to keep an official head of the community and head of the yeshivot for several hundred years, but then abolished this office. The Turks continue to choose the Greek-Orthodox Patriarch and the Egyptian president chooses the head of the Coptic church.

It is a religious obligation of Muslims to degrade non-Muslims. When Jews used to live in Muslim lands, they could not own property. If they lived in cities, they had to pay a special tax to demonstrate their subservience. They could not serve in the army, nor carry weapons. Marrying a Muslim woman was punishable by death.

Dhimmitude is the Islamic system of governing populations conquered by holy (*jihād*) wars, encompassing all of the demographic, ethnic, and religious aspects of the political system. The word "dhimmitude" as a historical concept describes the legal and social conditions of Jews and Christians subjected to Islamic rule. *Dhimmi* was the name applied by the Arab-Muslim conquerors to indigenous non-Muslim populations who surrendered by a treaty (*dhimma*) to Muslim domination.

The Muslim empire incorporated numerous peoples which had their own religion, culture, land, and civilization. For centuries, these indigenous peoples constituted the great majority of the population in the Islamic lands. Although these populations differed, they were ruled by the same type of laws, based on the Shari'a.

This similarity, with its regional variations, created a uniform civilization developed through the centuries by all non-Muslim indigenous peoples who were vanquished by *jihād* wars and governed by Shari'a law. It is this civilization which is called Dhimmitude. It is characterized by the different strategies developed by each *dhimmi* group to survive as a non-Muslim entity in its Islamized country. Dhimmitude is not exclusively concerned with Muslim history and civilization. Rather, it investigates the history of those non-Muslim peoples conquered and colonized by *jihād*. It encompasses the relationship of Muslims and non-Muslims at the theological, social, political, and economic levels. It also encompasses the relationships among the numerous ethno-religious *dhimmi* groups and the type of mentality they have developed out of their particular historical condition, which lasted for centuries (in some Muslim countries, until today).

Dhimmitude is a complete, integrated system, based on Islamic theology. It cannot be judged from the circumstantial position of any one community, at a given time or in a given place. Dhimmitude must be appraised according to its laws and customs, irrespective of circumstances and political contingencies.

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[Shlomo Alon (2nd ed.)]

DIAMAND, HERMAN (1860–1931), Polish Socialist politician. Born in Lvov into an assimilated family, as a student he was a member of the Zionist Zion Association but afterwards left it to join the PPS (Polish Socialist Party). Diamand was one of the founders of the Polish Social Democratic Party of Galicia and Silesia. He was a member of the party's executive committee from 1897 to 1899 and from 1904 to 1909 was a member of its directorate. In 1909 he represented the Polish Socialists at the International Bureau of the Second International. Diamand sat as a Galicia representative in the Austrian parliament from 1917 to 1918. After World War I he cooperated closely with Joseph Pilsudski in fighting for an independent Poland, and from 1919 until his death was a Socialist deputy in the Sejm (Polish parliament). Diamand was much concerned with the fate of the Jewish community of Lvov, and intervened many times with the authorities on its behalf.

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[Abraham Wein]

DIAMANT, PAUL JOSEPH (1887–1966), Israeli genealogist and historian of Austrian Jewry. Diamant, who was born in Vienna into a landowning family, was a devoted Zionist, and after World War I he turned his inherited estate into a training center for *ḥalutzim.* He subsequently became a leading member of the *Revisionist movement in Austria. After the *Anschluss* (1938), he took part in organizing illegal immigration. After his arrival in Palestine, he acquired a farm at Moẓa near Jerusalem. His interest in genealogy, heraldry, and history was stimulated by the fact that his family descended from Simon Michael and he was related to both Heinrich *Heine and Theodor *Herzl. He worked on a book (unpublished) on ennobled families of Jewish descent in order to refute the antisemitic *Semi-Gotha*. The material he gathered was deposited in the General *Archives for Jewish History. Diamant founded the short-lived *Archiv fuer juedische Familienforschung; Kunstgeschichte und Museumswesen* (1912–13), and in Jerusalem collaborated in establishing the Herzl Museum. He published a volume of letters written by Minna Diamant (1815–1840), *Ein Briefwechsel aus der Biedermeierzeit* (1962), and several articles in periodicals.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: I. Klausner, in: MB (June 10, 1966); B. Brilling, in: AWJD (July 5, 1966), 14.

DIAMOND, DAVID (**Leo**; 1915–), U.S. composer. Diamond taught himself to play the violin at an early age. In 1934 he studied at the New Music School in New York, and from 1937 to 1939 he studied with Boulanger in Paris. In 1951 he was appointed to a temporary professorship at the University of Rome. He was composer-in-residence for a year at the American Academy in Rome (1971) and was appointed professor of composition at the Juilliard School of Music (1973–86). His many honors include the Guggenheim Fellowship, the Prix de Rome (1942), the Paderewski Prize (1943), a National Institute of Arts and Letters grant (1944), the William Schuman Award (1985), the Gold Medal of the American Academy of Arts and Letters (1991), the Edward MacDowell Award (1991). Diamond's symphonic works are marked by an individual style in the advanced idiom of modern music. Despite the complexity of his harmonic and contrapuntal writing, he never abandoned the tonal system. His music is always marked by a strong rhythmic drive. The impression received from his music is that of cogency and lucidity. He composed 11 symphonies, three violin concertos, a cello concerto, a piano concerto, and *Rounds* for string orchestra. Diamond excelled in chamber music, often in unusual combinations, including *Quintet for flute, string trio and piano* (1937), and *Quintet for clarinet, two violas and two cellos* (1951). He also wrote vocal music – choral and song cycles. Of Jewish inspiration are his *Ahavah* for narrator and orchestra (1954) and *Kaddish* for cello and orchestra (1987–89).

ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY: Grove online; MGG^2; *Baker's Biog Dict*, s.v.; V.J. Kimberling, *David Diamond: A Bio-Bibliography* (1987).

[Nicolas Slonimsky / Israela Stein (2nd ed.)]

DIAMOND, I.A.L. (**Itek Domnici;** 1920–1988), U.S. filmscriptwriter. Born in Ungheni, Romania, Diamond was taken to New York, where his father changed the family name. A mathematics prodigy in high school, he studied engineering at Columbia University but took up writing and added the initials I.A.L. to his name. He wrote four college musical shows, and at graduation received an offer from Paramount studios in Hollywood. He collaborated with Billy Wilder on the film comedies *Love in the Afternoon* (1957), *Some Like it Hot* (1959), *The Apartment* (1960), *One, Two, Three* (1961), *Irma la Douce* (1963), *Kiss Me, Stupid* (1964), *The Fortune Cookie* (1966), *The Private Life of Sherlock Holmes* (1970), *Avanti!* (1972), *The Front Page* (1974), *Fedora* (1978), and *Buddy Buddy* (1981).

Some of Diamond's other film writing credits include *That Certain Feeling* (1956); *Love in the Afternoon* (1957);

Merry Andrew (1958); and *Cactus Flower* (1969). In 1961 Diamond and Wilder won the Academy Award for Best Writing, Story and Screenplay for *The Apartment*. In 1980, the Writers Guild of America gave Diamond the Laurel Award for Screen Writing Achievement.

[Jonathan Licht / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

DIAMOND, JACK (1909–2001), Canadian businessman, thoroughbred breeder, racetrack owner, philanthropist. Born in Lubience in Galicia, Poland, Diamond learned about animals, including butchering, on his father's farm. He immigrated to Vancouver in 1926, several years after his brother. In 1939 he acquired the Pacific Meat Company and transformed it into the largest independent meat packer in western Canada. During the war he first served as a lobbyist in Ottawa for small meat packers, then as an adviser to the Wartime Prices and Trade Board on meat pricing and supplies. In 1964 he sold Pacific Meat and he and his sons established West Coast Reduction, a rendering operation. Within two decades the firm dominated rendering in western Canada. Jack Diamond was also enthralled with thoroughbred racing. In 1938 he set up his own stables and started buying and successfully breeding horses. After the war, he owned and operated two Vancouver race tracks, and in 1977 was inducted into the Canadian Horse Racing Hall of Fame.

Jack Diamond also worked for and contributed to a number of Jewish and non-Jewish causes. In the late 1940s he was instrumental in the building of a new synagogue for the Orthodox Schara Tzedeck, and also served as chair of the congregation's Cemetery Board for more than 40 years. He is credited with saving Vancouver's claim to the British Empire Games in 1954, was instrumental in the creation of the BC Heart Foundation, and served on the Board of Governors of Simon Fraser University (1967–73) and as chancellor (1975–78). Diamond and his family established the Diamond Foundation in 1984. The foundation supports, above all, local Jewish causes with an emphasis on education and has funded the Diamond Chair in Jewish Law and Ethics at the University of British Columbia, and has provided major support for a Jewish day school in the suburb of Richmond, and a Jewish high school in Vancouver. In 2005 the president of the Foundation was Jack's son Gordon and the executive director was his granddaughter Jill.

Diamond's many honors include his 2000 appointment as a Companion of the Order of Canada, the highest honor that Canada bestows on a citizen.

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[Richard Menkis (2nd ed.)]

DIAMOND, JACK (1932–), architect and teacher. Diamond was born and raised in South Africa. While he came from a long line of rabbis, he studied architecture. He earned a bachelor of architecture degree from the University of Capetown, a masters in politics, philosophy, and economics from Oxford University, and a masters in architecture from the University of Pennsylvania. He went on to teach architecture at the University of Pennsylvania and work for Philadelphia-based Louis Kahn, one of the foremost architects of the mid-20th century.

Diamond immigrated to Canada in 1964, where he inaugurated and directed the Master of Architecture program at the University of Toronto from 1964 to 1970. Diamond also held appointments at York University in Toronto and the University of Texas and taught at Harvard, Princeton, and the University of California at Berkeley.

Diamond began practicing architecture in Toronto in 1965, and in 1975 he joined in forming the firm of Diamond and Schmitt Architects, which won more than 90 design awards, including six Governor General's Awards for Architecture. Award-winning Diamond projects, including many theaters and university buildings, are found in Canada, Europe, the United States, and Asia. Among Diamond's more notable architectural achievements are the Four Seasons Centre for the Performing Arts in Toronto, the Max M. Fisher Music Center in Detroit, the Citadel Theatre in Edmonton, the Canadian Embassy in Prague, the Baycrest Centre for Geriatric Care in Toronto, and the Jewish Community Center in Manhattan. Diamond's Israeli projects include the Jerusalem City Hall, the School of Computer Science and Engineering Building at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem, and the Israel Foreign Ministry in Jerusalem.

From 1986 to 1989 Diamond served as a commissioner for the Ontario Human Rights Commission and in 1996 he was appointed commissioner of the Greater Toronto Area Planning Task Force. Diamond is an honorary fellow of the American Institute of Architects and was awarded the Royal Architectural Institute of Canada's Gold Metal and appointed to the Order of Canada.

[Harold Troper (2nd ed.)]

DIAMOND, JOHN, BARON (1907–1978), British politician. The son of a cantor in Leeds, Diamond qualified as a chartered accountant and entered Parliament in 1945 as Labour member for Gloucester. From 1964 to 1970 he was chief secretary to the Treasury (a post specially concerned with the control of government expenditure) and won wide respect in the House of Commons for his mastery of detail in financial legislation and his familiarity with business problems. From 1968 until 1970 he sat in the cabinet, and, following the 1970 election, was made a life peer. He was treasurer of the Sadler's Wells Operatic Trust and was actively concerned with Jewish youth work. His brother ARTHUR SIGISMUND DIAMOND (1897–1978), a lawyer, held the senior legal post of Master of the Supreme Court and was an authority on primitive law. He was president of the Jewish Historical Society, chairman of Leo Baeck College, and president of the West London Synagogue.

Their mother, HENRIETTA (née Beckermann; 1873–1957), was an active Zionist and one of the most active supporters of the Zebulun Seafaring Society for the training of Jewish sailors in Palestine.

ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY: I. Finestein, "Arthur Sigismund Diamond, 1897–1978," in: JHSET, 26 (1974–78), 111–12.

[Vivian David Lipman]

DIAMOND, LOUIS KLEIN (1902–1999), U.S. hematologist. Diamond was born near Kishinev, Ukraine, and immigrated to New York City at the age of two. He graduated from Harvard Medical School, Boston (1927), where he progressed to professor of pediatrics (1967). He was medical director of the new U.S. National Blood Program for blood transfusion (1948–50). After retirement from Harvard (1968) he remained professionally active first at the University of California, San Francisco, and then at the University of California, Los Angeles Medical School into his nineties. Diamond was one of the founders of pediatric hematology. With Kenneth Blackfan he clarified the clinical manifestations and treatment of rhesus incompatibility disease in the newborn, and they described an unrelated form of congenital anemia named after them. He was a world-renowned clinician and teacher.

[Michael Denman (2nd ed.)]

DIAMOND, NEIL (1941–), U.S. singer and songwriter. Born in Brooklyn, New York, Diamond began his music career as a staff songwriter for Bang Records. He wrote hit songs for the Monkees, "I'm a Believer" (1965) and "A Little Bit Me, a Little Bit You" (1967), and then recorded his own smash single "Cherry Cherry." Diamond followed this up with a long series of Top Ten songs, including "Cracklin' Rosie," "Kentucky Woman," "Song Sung Blue," "Sweet Caroline," "I Am I Said," and "Solitary Man." He then scored the soundtrack for the movie *Jonathan Livingston Seagull* (1971) and wrote the number one single "You Don't Bring Me Flowers Anymore" (1979), which he recorded as a duet with Barbra Streisand. The two had known each other since they were students at Erasmus High School, where they had sung together in the school choir. In 1980 Diamond starred in a remake of the Al Jolson film classic *The Jazz Singer*, opposite Sir Laurence Olivier. Although the film was not a box office hit, the soundtrack album was very successful, spawning the singles "America," "Love on the Rocks," and "Hello Again." Diamond was not a hit as an actor either, becoming the first ever "winner" of a Razzie Award for Worst Actor. But he was in formidable company, having edged out such stars as Kirk Douglas, Anthony Hopkins, Michael Caine, Richard Dreyfuss, and Robert Blake for that dubious title that year. In 2000, the Songwriters Hall of Fame honored Diamond with the Sammy Cahn Lifetime Achievement Award. Diamond recorded some 75 albums and continued to go on concert tours worldwide, with members of his family performing in his back-up band.

[Jonathan Licht / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

DIAMOND, SIGMUND (1920–1999), U.S. sociologist. Born in Baltimore, Diamond graduated from Johns Hopkins University and joined the United Auto Workers Union. In 1945 he participated in a UAW-CIO-sponsored meeting for shop stewards in Tennessee. At night he violated state law by sleeping in a dormitory for blacks, thereby integrating public sleeping quarters in Tennessee for the first time since Reconstruction. The following year Diamond was a negotiator of the UAW-CIO contract with the Bendix Aviation Corp. When it was ratified, it became the first contract to give women equal pay for equal work.

In 1949 Diamond entered Harvard University, where he earned a Ph.D. in history. He was not granted a professorship there or at any other university he applied to in the United States because he had refused to cooperate with the FBI during the McCarthy period.

In 1955, however, Diamond was appointed to the first chair in historical sociology at Columbia University. A specialist in entrepreneurial and economic history, Diamond emphasized the sociological context of economic development. His major contribution to sociology lies in his analysis of the growth and transformation of new societies on the historically virgin soil of the Americas. He remained at Columbia until his retirement as Giddings Professor of Sociology and professor of history, emeritus, in 1986. Among his many activities during his years at Columbia were founding and directing the history department's program in social history and consulting on the American Jewish Committee oral history project on the Holocaust.

Diamond's publications include "From Organization of Society: Virginia in the Seventeenth Century" (*American Journal of Sociology*, 63:5, 1958); "An Experiment in Feudalism: French Canada in the Seventeenth Century" (*William and Mary Quarterly*, 1961); *Casual View of America: The Home Letters of Salomon de Rothschild 1859–1881* (1961); *The Creation of Society in the New World* (1963); *The Nation Transformed: The Creation of an Independent Society* (1963), a descriptive analysis of capitalistic development in America; *The Reputation of the American Businessman* (1966); *In Quest: Journal of an Unquiet Pilgrim* (1980); and *Compromised Campus: The Collaboration of Universities with the Intelligence Community 1945–1955* (1992). Diamond also edited the *Political Science Quarterly.*

[Werner J. Cahnman and Alvin Boskoff / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

DIAMOND TRADE AND INDUSTRY. Jews have been prominent in the trade and in working of precious stones, of which diamonds and pearls provided the bulk, from the Middle Ages to the modern era. They took an active part in opening up the diamond markets of India and Brazil, the resources of South Africa, the London diamond market, and the diamond industries of the Low Countries. Because the diamond trade routes corresponded with the links between Jewish centers in the Diaspora – in the Ottoman Empire, the Netherlands, in some of the cities of northwest Germany, and in Poland-Lithuania in the 16th to 18th centuries – the trade was particularly suited to Jewish enterprise. Additionally, as diamonds were still a relatively rare and new commodity in Europe up to the 16th century, this was a branch free of medieval trade and guild restrictions. Up to the 18th century the overwhelming majority of uncut diamonds came from India. Commerce and crafts pursued by Jews along the Indian Ocean trade routes, in Egypt, the Maghreb, and along the shores of southern Europe, included trade and workmanship in precious stones, pearls, and jewelry. The Fatimid caliphs were supplied with gems by the brothers *Abu Saʿd al Tustarī and Abu Naṣr al-Tustarī, influential bankers and diamond merchants in the 11th century at Cairo. As *moneylenders, Jews in Western and Central Europe had much to do with the assessment, repair, and sale of precious stones and jewelry which they received in pawn.

With the rise of *Amsterdam as a major center of the European diamond trade and industry in the 16th century, Dutch Jews, mostly members of the Portuguese Sephardi community who had been prominent in Portugal's diamond trade, played an important part in both. By the middle of the 17th century the preponderance of Jews in the newly developed trade was so marked that the resettlement of the Jews in England brought about a major shift in its structure. The Sephardi presence in London, combined with the growing ascendancy of England in the Eastern trade, resulted in the diversion of the greater part of Europe's diamond imports to England. A few years after the arrival of the first Jewish immigrants, the British East India Company, which had a monopoly of England's Indian trade, permitted independent merchants to import uncut diamonds under a system of individual licenses issued by India House. Until the end of the 18th century most Indian stones used by the European diamond industry were imported through London. The records of the East India Company show that the majority of the importers were Jewish and that they dominated the trade throughout most of this time. The diamond merchants exported silver and coral to India, the proceeds of which were invested in diamonds. The coral was first brought to London from Leghorn, mostly by Jewish merchants of that city who often had a direct share in the Indian diamond trade through Jewish agents in London. The Indian end of the trade was managed by agents of English firms – mainly English Jews who went out to India for this purpose. Around 1750 there were about ten Jewish diamond agents at *Madras.

In London the diamonds were usually sold to merchants who sent them to Amsterdam for cutting. Amsterdam remained throughout the 18th century the chief seat of the diamond industry, while *Antwerp, which was later to overshadow it, was of secondary importance, dealing mainly in stones of inferior quality. From Amsterdam the finished diamonds were distributed throughout Europe. From its inception, the diamond trade and industry of *Amsterdam was largely in Jewish hands. Portuguese Jewish diamond polishers are recorded in 1615; they later employed their poorer Ashkenazi brethren who gradually established their own businesses. Diamond cutting and polishing was a profitable profession, but suffered from the vicissitudes of an unstable market as well as an occupational disease – tuberculosis. The main demand for diamonds came from the courts of Europe, and jewel purveyance was both a stepping-stone to and a major part of the post of *Court Jew. An important stage in the transfer of precious stones from London to Amsterdam, and thence to the courts of Germany, was *Hamburg, where a sizable community of Sephardi Jews monopolized the diamond trade in the 17th and 18th centuries. One of the earliest Court Jews, *Lippold, was a supplier of gems and other luxury articles, as were almost all the Court Jews of the era. Aaron *Isaac of Sweden, the *Oppenheims of Vienna and Wuerttemberg, and the *Ephraim family all owed their success, at least initially, to their dealings in gems. *Glueckel of Hameln, a shrewd dealer in precious stones, gives a detailed picture in her autobiography both of the international commerce in precious stones and gold as well as of small-scale trading by German Jews in this sphere. After 1700 Ashkenazi Jews began to play an increasingly important role in the London center of the diamond trade. By the 1720s the investments of the Ashkenazi *Franks family in the Indian diamond trade were approximately equal to those of the biggest Sephardi enterprise – that of the brothers *Franco – and 60 years later the Ashkenazi merchant Israel Levin Salomons (Prager) attained a dominant position for a time.

The discovery of diamonds in Brazil around 1730 ended India's monopoly as a producer of uncut diamonds and for a time weakened the hold which London and its Jewish diamond merchants had on the import trade, though Brazilian stones were soon reaching London illegally in considerable quantities. In the long run this development diminished neither the prominence of Jews in the diamond trade and industry nor London's position as the chief international market for uncut diamonds. Jews continued to be dominant in the diamond-cutting industry of Amsterdam, and later of Antwerp, where in the late 19th century they constituted about one-fifth of the workers but three-quarters of the brokers and an even higher proportion of the factory owners. The diamond glut of the 1890s terminated a boom in the course of which the number of diamond workers had tripled through immigration of Jews from Eastern Europe. A period of reorganization followed, in which national and international diamond workers' unions in Belgium and Holland were organized under the leadership of Henry *Polak. The diamond workers' union spearheaded in 1893 a general strike in Belgium for a minimum wage.

The rise of Fascism in Europe created a crisis for Jews engaged in the diamond industry and trades. During World War II diamond-cutting centers were established in Ereẓ Israel (see below), Cuba, Brazil, Mexico, and the United States by Jewish refugees. The Nazi occupation authorities in Belgium and Holland made Jewish diamond merchants and industrialists their particular victims. By 1970 Jews had still not reattained their former dominance in the field in Amsterdam, although they had succeeded in doing so in Antwerp.

Jewish enterprise had a large share in the development of the South African diamond mines, which became the chief source of diamond supply after 1870, including the formation of De Beers Consolidated Mines Ltd. (1888), which in the 1960s controlled the production and marketing of the greater part of all uncut diamonds. German Jews were among the earliest pioneers of the South African diamond rush. Among the prospectors were many from London's East End, one of whom, Barney *Barnato, was a formidable rival and later partner of Cecil Rhodes. Alfred *Beit was the architect of the De Beers syndicate which S.B. *Joel first headed. Ernest *Oppenheimer and Harry Oppenheimer successfully followed in his footsteps.

[Gedalia Yogev / Henry Wasserman]

In Israel

A diamond industry was founded in Palestine before World War II by immigrants from the Low Countries, who brought with them the necessary technical skills and commercial connections.

During World War II Palestine replaced Belgium and the Netherlands as the gem diamond center of the free world. Palestine received its supplies of rough diamonds from the De Beers central selling organization ("The Syndicate") and sold its polished products mainly to the U.S. At its peak during this period, the industry employed some four thousand polishers, mainly in Netanyah. The value of the diamond exports reached some $16,000,000 a year.

The revival of the centers in Belgium and the Netherlands after the war, the diversion of raw material by the Syndicate to these countries, and the Israel War of Independence drastically contracted the diamond-cutting industry in Israel. By 1949 it was almost at a standstill. However, the industry revived in 1950 and, in the early 1960s, became the second largest diamond gem center in the world, after Belgium. Its share of the world trade in polished diamonds was between a quarter and a third, and it maintained the same proportion in the numbers of polishers employed.

The secure and steady supply of rough diamonds was a constant concern of the industry. The De Beers Syndicate directly controls the distribution of over 80% of the world output of rough diamonds. Between 1950 and 1959 its direct sales to Israel were frozen at approximately $7,000,000 a year. The industry had therefore to obtain its supplies from other sources, the proportion of which in the total import rose from 24% in 1950 to 84% in 1959. At the end of this period the special high premium of the indirect supplies was so severe that it endangered the prospects for further development.

Israeli agencies (among them *Pittu'aḥ* (Development), a company whose shares are owned by the Israeli government) were encouraged to exploit firsthand sources of supply in western Africa. Negotiations were conducted with the Syndicate with a view to assuring the industry in Israel an adequate share of the diamonds under the Syndicate's control. As a result, from 1961, the proportion of the supply from the Syndicate rose and gradually constituted more than half of the imports.

The Israel diamond industry concentrated on the cutting of melee stones, medium-sized octahedron-shaped rough stones, which are sawed in the middle. The two pyramid shaped parts are then polished by a chain of six polishers, each specializing in particular facets, to produce a round "brilliant" with 57 facets, suitable for setting. Some stones with particular shapes are cut into "fancies" (marquises, baguettes, etc.).

In the late 1960s the industry consisted of some 400 enterprises, about half of which employed fewer than 15 workers. Only 45 enterprises had more than 50 workers and only three more than 100 workers. Over half of the enterprises, and of the workers, were located in and around Tel Aviv (where the Diamond Exchange was also located), over a quarter in Netanyah, and the rest in Jerusalem and the development areas.

[Gideon Lahav]

In the 1970s Israel passed Antwerp as the world's largest diamond wholesaler, supplying over 50% of all cut and polished diamonds. A slump in the early 1980s led to the restructuring of the industry and the creation of around 800 new and smaller manufacturing units, with sales rising from $905 million in 1982 to $1.7 billion in 1986, representing 24% of Israel's total exports. By 2003 the figure had risen to $5.5 billion and further growth in 2004 of nearly 15% brought sales up to $6.3 billion. The United States imported 67% of the stones.

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DIAS, LUIS (d. 1542), Marrano messianic pretender, known as the "Messiah of Setúbal," after the seaport south of Lisbon where he was born. Dias was poor and uneducated and his notions of Judaism were confused and rudimentary. Nevertheless, he came to regard himself as a prophet and eventually announced himself as the Messiah. He acquired fame as a miracle worker and had a following of both Old and *New Christians in Setúbal, Lisbon, and other places. People meeting him kissed his hand and many sent him mystical letters. His activities, including the rumors that he circumcised the children of his followers, led to his first arrest by the Inquisition. After confessing, he was reconciled to the Church, assigned various penances, and released. When it was discovered that he had reverted to his previous activities he was rearrested by the Inquisition and eventually burned as a relapsed heretic in 1542, with 83 of his followers. Under his influence a government official Gil Vaz Bugalho became a secret Jew and even prepared a booklet on religious practice for Judaizers before his death at the stake in 1551.

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[Martin A. Cohen]

DIASPORA

Introduction

The word Diaspora, from the Greek διασπορά ("dispersion"), is used in the present context for the voluntary dispersion of the Jewish people as distinct from their forced dispersion, which is treated under *Galut. As such it confines itself to Jewish settlement outside Ereẓ Israel during the periods of Jewish independence or compact settlement in their land. It therefore applies to the period of the First Temple, the Second Temple, and that subsequent to the establishment of the State of Israel. The only dispersion during the period of the First Temple of which there is definite knowledge is the Jewish settlement in Egypt referred to in Jeremiah 44. (That in Babylon following the capture of Jehoiachin in 597 B.C.E., since it was forced and was the prelude to the complete Exile after the destruction of the Temple in 586, can be classified as an exile.) By the same definition, the Jewish communities in the world at present, after the establishment of the State of Israel, constitute a Diaspora, and since that event the custom has developed of referring to them in Hebrew as the *tefuẓot*, the Hebrew equivalent of Diaspora, in preference to the word previously used, *golah*, or *galut* ("exile"; for the concept of exile, see **Galut*). For the modern Diaspora, see Jewish *History and State of *Israel; for its demographic and statistical aspects, see *Demography, *Population, and *Vital Statistics; see contemporary periods of entries on the respective countries for the aspect of interrelation between Israel and the Jews living elsewhere.

By far the most important Diaspora during the period of the Second Temple was that of the Greco-Roman world. For the populous Babylonian Diaspora during this period, see *Babylonia.

In the Hellenistic-Roman Period

THE DISTRIBUTION OF JEWISH POPULATION. The existence of a Diaspora is one of the distinguishing features of the Jewish people in the Greco-Roman period. In part this Diaspora was a heritage from the preceding era; in part it was established only in the Hellenistic period with the rise of new Jewish groups as extensions of earlier ones. Among the various factors operating to enlarge the Diaspora geographically and increase it numerically were the banishments from Ereẓ Israel, political and religious pressures there, economic prospects emerging in prosperous countries such as *Egypt in the third century B.C.E., and the proselytizing movement, whose roots go back to the beginning of Second Temple times and which reached its zenith in the first century C.E, within the framework of the Roman Empire. As early as in the Hellenistic period the *Sibyl could sing of the Jewish nation "Every land is full of you, and every sea," and, in a reference to the first century B.C.E., the Greek geographer Strabo declared that it was difficult to find a place in the entire world to which the Jewish nation had not penetrated. Literary sources from the end of the Second Temple period (Philo, Acts) assert that the Jewish people had spread to all cities and lands.

The bulk of the Diaspora came under the sway of the Hellenistic and later of the Hellenistic-Roman civilization. Shaped first by the political, social, and economic changes which fashioned the character of the Mediterranean world in the period of "the balance of power" between the Hellenistic states, its development was afterward molded by the centralizing regime of the Roman Empire. Only one large Jewish group, that in Babylonia and in the countries of the Parthian Empire, was outside the sphere of Hellenistic or Roman political rule during the greater part of the period and developed its own forms of life, which in the course of time influenced Jewry as a whole. Two countries in particular bordering on Ereẓ Israel, namely Egypt and Syria (including Phoenicia), were influenced by their Jewish populations. Already in the Persian period, the Jewish inhabitants in Egypt were considerable in number. The fact that Ereẓ Israel was under the same rule at the beginning of the Hellenistic period encouraged the migration of Jews to the Nile Valley. Living in all the cities and border districts, from the capital *Alexandria in the north to Syene in the south of Upper Egypt, the Jews in Roman Egypt numbered by the first century C.E., according to Philo, a million souls. Alexandria became one of the largest Jewish centers in the world. From the beginning of the Jewish settlement in that city they had their own quarter, voluntarily established. Later they were also especially predominant in two of the city's five districts, although they were also to be found in the other three, in which they had synagogues. Other places in Lower Egypt distinguished for their Jewish populations were Schedia near Alexandria, Xenephiris, Athribis, and Nitrae, in all of which the Jews had synagogues. Particularly important was the concentration of the Jewish population in the Heliopolite nome, east of the Delta. Distinguished for its military spirit, it even erected its own temple, "the temple of Onias," headed by descendants of the high priest Onias III. The large number of papyri discovered in the villages and towns of the district of Fayyum (Magdola, Crocodilopolis, Psenyris, Tebtunis, Berenice-Hormos, Philadelphia, Apollonias, Trikomia, Alexandrou-Nesos, etc.) afford valuable information on Jewish settlement in that area. Among the villages of Fayyum was one named Samaria (whose founders were undoubtedly immigrants from Samaria). During the whole Roman period Jews lived continuously in Oxyrhyncus. The ostraca found in excavations have shed light also on the life of the Jews in Apollinopolis Magna (Edfu) and in Thebes in Upper Egypt. The number of Jews in Egypt presumably reached its zenith in the period of the Julio-Claudian emperors. The revolt of the Jews in the days of *Trajan dealt a severe blow to the Jewish population of Egypt both in Alexandria and especially in the provincial cities and in the villages. In many places the Jews disappeared entirely, and it was only from the third century onward that they gradually began to resettle in them.

The Jewish settlement in Cyrenaica was, as it were, a direct extension of that of Egypt, having been largely under the same rule. There were considerable numbers of Jews in the principal cities – in *Cyrene, where already at the end of the Hellenistic period they constituted an important part of the city's population, and in *Berenice – as well as in the villages. In the life of the Jewish people the Jews of Cyrenaica filled a notable function and played a leading role in the revolt in the days of Trajan.

Josephus describes Syria as the country with the highest percentage of Jewish inhabitants, which is very probably on account of its proximity to Ereẓ Israel. There were particularly important Jewish centers in the capital *Antioch, in *Damascus, and in *Apamea. According to Philo, numerous Jews lived in Syria and in Asia Minor, where the settlement of Jews was greatly promoted by the policy of the Seleucid kings, whose rule extended over large areas of *Asia Minor. Thus it is known that Antiochus III (223–187 B.C.E.) settled 2,000 Babylonian Jewish families in Phrygia and Lydia. From the period of the Roman rule at the end of the republic and the beginning of the Julio-Claudian principate there is clear evidence of the existence of Jews in most of the important cities of Asia Minor, in Adramyttium, *Pergamum, *Sardis, *Ephesus, Tralles, *Miletus, Iasus, Halicarnassus, *Laodicea, Tarsus, and very many others, as well as in the regions of *Bithynia, Pontus, and *Cappadocia. Asia Minor was undoubtedly also a homeland, or at least a transit station, for the Jews who established the Jewish center on the northern bank of the Black Sea (Panticapaeum). No grave political crisis, such as the revolt of the Jews in Egypt and Cyrenaica, overtook the Jews of Asia Minor, and so their development in the cities of Asia could continue undisturbed. There were many Jews, too, in the various islands of the eastern Mediterranean. The first Jewish settlement there was undoubtedly in *Cyprus, close as it was to the coast of Ereẓ Israel. But the war of the Jews against the island's non-Jewish inhabitants in the days of Trajan led to the temporary break in Jewish settlement on the island. Many Jews also lived in *Crete, Delos, Paros, Melos, Euboea, and in other islands.

*Greece proper, which at the end of the Hellenistic period and during that of the Roman Empire suffered from a declining population and a stagnant economy, attracted fewer Jewish immigrants than did Egypt and Asia Minor. Nevertheless, there were Jews in all the important urban centers of Greece and *Macedonia. The first mention of Jews in Greece, a reference to a Jewish freedman, appears on a third-century inscription from the city of Oropus in Boeotia. Inscriptions of the second century B.C.E. mention the freeing of Jewish slaves in Delphi. In the days of Philo, Jews lived in most of the important districts of Greece (Thessaly, Boeotia, Macedonia, Aetolia, Attica, and most of the areas of the Peloponnesus). According to the Acts of the Apostles, there were Jewish communities in Thessalonica, in the Macedonian cities of Philippi and Beroea, and in the famed Greek cities of *Athens and *Corinth. Inscriptions also attest to Jewish settlements in various places in the Peloponnesus (the district of Laconia, the city of Patrae, Tegea), in Athens, and in Thessaly. From Greece the Jewish settlements spread northward to the Balkan peninsula (Stobi) and reached Pannonia.

A special position was held by the Jewish settlement in Italy and principally *Rome, which became the political capital of the entire Mediterranean world. As early as the second century B.C.E. Jews were found in Rome, from which they were expelled in 139 B.C.E. because of their attempts to propagate the Jewish religion there. However, even before Pompey's conquest of Jerusalem (63 B.C.E.) their number had increased in Rome, while the Jewish captives brought to the country by Pompey and subsequent Roman conquerors hastened the process of Jewish settlement in Italy. The Jewish slaves who, on being freed, had become Roman citizens constituted a not insignificant factor in the life of the capital. By 59 B.C.E. in his speech in defense of Flaccus, the governor of Asia, Cicero was complaining of the decisive Jewish influence in the assemblies of the Roman masses. *Julius Caesar allowed them to maintain their position, and under *Augustus and his successors the Jewish population in Rome numbered thousands and possibly even tens of thousands. The administrative measures taken by Tiberius and *Claudius were ineffective in hindering Jewish settlement in the capital, and they remained a permanent factor in the life of Rome throughout the whole period of the empire. Certain areas in the city were especially noted for their concentrations of Jewish inhabitants. Gradually Jewish settlements also arose in other cities in Italy, chiefly in the south, in the port of Puteoli, in Pompeii, in the cities of *Sicily, and in the course of time in northern Italy too. More slowly Jewish groups came into existence in the other provinces of the Latin west (*Gaul, *Spain, and *Germany). Of great importance was the Jewish settlement in *Africa and especially in *Carthage.

Special features distinguished the development of Jewry in the Parthian kingdom which included the Babylonian Jewish population and its extensions in Persia, Media, Elam, etc. This Jewry was not only ancient but extremely numerous, particularly in Babylonia proper, where in some regions and cities the Jews constituted the majority of the inhabitants. The centers of Jewish settlement in Babylonia at the end of Second Temple times were in the cities of *Nehardea and *Nisibis. There was also a considerable Jewish population in the large city of Seleucia on the Tigris, where the Jews were the counterpoise between the eastern-Syrian and the Greek inhabitants. Through the proselytization of the rulers of *Adiabene in the first century C.E. the Jewish population in the region of the Euphrates was greatly augmented.

OCCUPATIONS. The occupations of the Jews in the countries of the Hellenistic-Roman Diaspora were varied, and certainly they were not confined to only a few specified occupations, as was the case in the Middle Ages, and no restrictions were placed on them. In Judea, the Jews had been farmers from the earliest days, and, while the cultivation of the soil remained an important occupation of the Jews in the countries of the Diaspora, they also engaged in other pursuits. Numerous papyri in particular furnish considerable evidence of the part played by the Jews in the *agriculture of Egypt. Among the Jewish agriculturists in Ptolemaic Egypt were "royal farmers," tenant farmers, military settlers, and agricultural workers. There were also Jewish peasants and shepherds. Other documents show that there was a Jewish family of potters in "a Syrian village" in the Fayyum district, and also a Jewish weaver in Upper Egypt in the second century B.C.E. Jewish officials were prominent in government service, occupying positions in the police force, in the administration of the government banks, and particularly in the collection of taxes.

A similar diversity characterized the economic life of the Jews in Roman Egypt. In Roman Alexandria there were wealthy Jews, bankers with interterritorial connections, important merchants, and ship owners who filled a notable role in the Egyptian, and in the entire Mediterranean, economy. However, alongside these, Jewish artisans and poor Jews were no less prominent. The Jewish artisans in Roman Alexandria engaged in various trades, and even occupied places in the large synagogue according to their occupations. Among the Alexandrian Jews, some owned land in various places whereas others had difficulty in making a livelihood, as can be seen from the papyri of Abusir el Meleq. This picture is confirmed by documents relating to the provincial towns. Thus in Roman Egypt some Jews owned land, some engaged in cultivating the soil and in rearing sheep, some in transport on land or along the Nile where they loaded cargo for various parts of Egypt, while others were artisans. Only in military service and in the collection of taxes was there a decline in the activities of the Jews as compared with the preceding period, as a result of general changes in these spheres following the Roman conquest. More or less the same state of affairs existed in the other countries of the Mediterranean world. In Cyrenaica there were rich Jews who, after the Jewish War in 70 C.E., aroused the jealousy of the Roman governor; but there were also poor Jews, who were apparently adversely affected by the agricultural policy of the Roman regime in *Libya. There were likewise rich Jews in Puteoli and on the island of Melos. The vast sums of money which flowed to the Temple in Jerusalem from all parts of the Diaspora attest in some measure to the existence of wealthy circles among the Jews. It is however important to point out that at least in Rome itself at the zenith of the imperial period it was chiefly the poor and mendicant Jews, and not the rich ones, who attracted the attention of those who derided Jewry.

JEWISH LIFE IN THE HELLENISTIC KINGDOMS. In the period preceding the annexation to Rome of the Hellenistic kingdoms there was no uniformity in the political fortunes of the Jews in the Mediterranean Diaspora, since they lived under the rule of various states. Yet several general lines in the policy toward the Jews had already taken shape. Among these the most prominent were the toleration of the Jewish religion shown by the various Hellenistic kings, the right enjoyed by the Jews to organize themselves in their own communities, and the permission to maintain contact with the religious-national center in Jerusalem, which found expression in the contribution of the half *shekel to the Temple. Where their number permitted, such as in Egypt, the Jews also played an active part in the general political life of the country. Egypt is, in fact, the only land on which there is detailed information about the relations between the Hellenistic regime and the Jews. *Ptolemy II Philadelphus, the most renowned of the Ptolemaic kings in the third century B.C.E., was well disposed toward them. The Jewish slaves taken captive during his father's rule of Ereẓ Israel were freed, and Jewish tradition even ascribed the inception of the Septuagint to his initiative. Some deterioration occurred apparently during the reign of Ptolemy Philopator (222–204 B.C.E.), due both to the situation in Ereẓ Israel and to the king's religious policy in Alexandria itself; but the conflict was short-lived, and the political influence of the Jews in Ptolemaic Egypt reached its summit in the second century B.C.E. More than all the Ptolemaic kings, Ptolemy VI Philometor (180–145 B.C.E.) showed especial friendship toward the Jews. In his days the stream of emigration from Judea to Egypt increased as a result of the pressure of *Antiochus Epiphanes. Ptolemy Philometor was on intimate terms with the Alexandrian Jewish philosopher *Aristobulus, and prominent among his army commanders were men of Jewish origin. Well disposed to *Onias IV, the son of the Jerusalem High Priest Onias III, the king permitted him to build a temple in Egypt. The Jews in "the land of Onias" became in his time an organized military body and a not insignificant factor in Egyptian politics. After the death of Ptolemy Philometor, the Jewish army appeared in Alexandria to help *Cleopatra II in her struggle against her rival for the throne, Ptolemy Euergetes II (Ptolemy Physcon). As a result, the general position of the Egyptian Jews deteriorated for a time at the beginning of the rule of Ptolemy Physcon (145–116 B.C.E.). However, due to revolts and riots, the Egyptian kingdom was unable to forego the help of the Jews, and Ptolemy Physcon did not long persist in his anti-Jewish policy.

There is reason to assume that an appreciable number of Jews were granted Alexandrian citizenship by this king when his relations with the Greek population deteriorated. At the end of the second century B.C.E., in the struggle between Cleopatra III and Ptolemy Lathyrus, her son and rival for the throne, the Jews supported the queen, and Hilkiah and Hananiah, the sons of Onias IV, even commanded her army in the operations outside the borders of Egypt. At the beginning of the first century (88 B.C.E.) the Jews in Alexandria were persecuted. When Gabinius invaded Egypt the Jews on the frontier assisted the Roman army, as they also did when the army, which had come to extricate Caesar from dire straits in Alexandria, reached the gates of the country (47 B.C.E.). Their actions were undertaken under the influence of Hyrcanus II and Antipater, the rulers of Judea, who were friendly toward the Romans.

ROMAN RULE. Rome's domination of the entire Mediterranean world led to the concentration of the bulk of the Jewish people under homogeneous rule, so that the development of the various Jewish settlements followed a more uniform political pattern. The Roman regime, faced with the need to lay down a comprehensive approach to the Jewish people, based its policy on showing toleration toward the Jewish religion and doing nothing either directly or indirectly to its detriment. This Roman attitude stemmed from several factors:

(1) it was the prevailing Roman policy to refrain as far as possible from affronting the different religions in the empire;

(2) Roman conservatism tended to maintain the existing situation in the various states comprising the empire, and the Jewish community, from the period of the Hellenistic kingdoms, had been an element with its own status and claims, and toleration toward it was an established principle even before the Roman conquest;

(3) the important role played by the Jews in the life and economy of the empire and the comparatively high percentage of the Jewish population among the peoples of the empire, particularly in the east;

(4) the great unity prevailing among the various settlements of the Jews wherever they were, so that any serious attack on one of the great centers of Jewish population produced echoes in other Jewish groups;

(5) secondary factors, such as the ties of Herod and other rulers of his dynasty, and also some individual Jews, with the Roman Empire, on occasion influenced the steps taken by the governors;

(6) primarily the realization that the alternative facing Rome was either toleration or persecution, for the loyalty of the Jews to their religion was well-known, as was their readiness to suffer martyrdom for it. An attack on the Jewish religion was bound to provoke the Jews to revolt, and the emperors' tolerant policy toward the Jews constituted no injury to the empire.

This toleration found expression in several spheres: in the right granted to the Jews to organize themselves in their own institutions and to establish an autonomous system of internal administration and justice, to refrain from taking part in what they regarded as idolatry, and to be exempt from duties involving a transgression of Jewish religious precepts. The permission to refrain from idolatry also included the right to abstain from taking part in emperor worship, the chief expression of the loyalty of the peoples of the empire, abstention from which was generally regarded as treason. For this worship the Jews found a substitute by offering sacrifices in the Temple in Jerusalem for the well-being of the emperor and by prayers on his behalf recited in the various synagogues in Ereẓ Israel and in the Diaspora. Dispensation from duties conflicting with the Jewish religion included the right of Jews who were Roman citizens to be exempted from military service, since this precluded the observance of the Sabbath and other commandments. The architects of the defined Roman policy toward the Jews were Julius Caesar and Augustus, both of whom issued a series of orders to preserve the rights of the Jews and ensure their religious freedom. Caesar explicitly excluded the organizations of the Jews from the prohibition of maintaining *collegia* "except the ancient and legitimate ones," and the representatives of the Roman regime in the islands of the Mediterranean Sea and in Asia Minor acted within the area of their rule in accordance with Caesar's approach.

After Caesar's death, the two sides in the Roman civil war virtually competed with each other in granting privileges to the Jews. The consul Dolabella, ally of Mark Antony, confirmed the right of the Jews of Asia Minor to religious freedom and exemption from military service, and made his action known to the authorities of Ephesus, the most important city in Asia Minor. Marcus Brutus, one of Caesar's assassins, adopted a similar course.

Augustus, in particular, set an example to succeeding Roman rulers. Agrippa intervened to protect the rights of the Jews against the claims of the inhabitants of the Greek cities in Asia Minor, and Augustus instituted a general arrangement whereby the Jews were permitted to send money to the Temple in Jerusalem. Any attack on this money was regarded as sacrilege. This arrangement remained in force until the destruction of the Second Temple. In general, the framework of the relations with the Jews, laid down at the beginning of the Julio-Claudian principate, was preserved during the existence of the pagan Roman Empire. The Julio-Claudian emperors, from Tiberius onward, remained faithful to the policy of Augustus. In fact, it was only during the short reign of Gaius *Caligula (37–41 C.E.) that this policy was seriously challenged. Taking his divinity seriously, the insane emperor demanded of his Jewish subjects the full observance of emperor worship. In Alexandria the Greek enemies of the Jews took advantage of the new situation to incite riots against the Jews, the first "pogrom" in the history of the Roman Empire. Caligula's attempt to introduce his image into the Temple in Jerusalem almost led to an uprising of the entire Jewish nation. Due to the intervention of Agrippa I the immediate threat against the Temple was removed and the danger of a revolt passed, particularly after Caligula was murdered by conspirators in Rome, but the episode left a turbid sediment in the relations between the Roman regime and the Jews. At the beginning of Claudius' reign the riots in Alexandria were renewed, whereupon Jews from Ereẓ Israel and from the provincial towns of Egypt flocked to the assistance of their coreligionists. The intervention of the emperor restored the status quo, which remained undisturbed until the Jewish War. There were echoes of this war in the larger cities of the Diaspora. In Alexandria the riots between Jews and Greeks broke out again, and the Roman army under the command of the governor, Tiberius Julius Alexander, massacred numbers of Jews in the city. Difficulties were also placed in the way of the Jews in the cities of Syria: there were riots against the Jews of Damascus, and the non-Jewish inhabitants of Antioch attempted, after the destruction of the Second Temple, to deprive the Jews of their rights but were prevented from doing so by Titus' opposition. In Egypt and Cyrenaica, the remnants of the freedom fighters of Ereẓ Israel who had escaped to these countries tried to incite new riots, but their attempt was foiled by the opposition of the Jewish upper classes and the leading instigators of the revolt were executed by the Roman authorities. Nonetheless, wealthy Jews, too, suffered, especially in Cyrenaica, and many of them lost their lives in the brutal acts of the Roman governor there. In general, the destruction of the Second Temple turned Rome into a ruthless regime and an evil kingdom in the eyes of the Jews everywhere. The humiliating position to which the people had sunk in the Roman Empire found legal expression in the obligation imposed on all the Jews to pay, instead of the half shekel which they had contributed to the Temple before its destruction, a tax of two drachmas to the treasury of the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus ("the Jews' tax"). This tax, collected with particular severity under the emperor *Domitian (81–96 C.E.), continued to be an aggravating and humiliating burden on the Jews until the fourth century.

THE TRAJANIC REVOLT AND ITS AFTERMATH. The greatest crisis in the relations between the Roman Empire and the Jews of the Diaspora was the revolt in the days of Trajan. Encompassing a large part of the Jewish settlements in Mesopotamia and in the eastern basin of the Mediterranean Sea (in particular Egypt, Cyrenaica, and Cyprus), it was, in effect, the most dangerous agitation against the Roman regime in the east since the wars of Mithridates at the end of the republican period, for it jeopardized the very existence of Roman rule in the eastern lands. Various factors combined to cause the eruption. These were the hatred of Rome in consequence of the destruction of the Temple and of the humiliation suffered by the Jews, the persistent tension between the Jews and the Greek inhabitants of the large cities such as Alexandria, and eschatological-messianic expectations. The revolt continued for several years (115–117 C.E.). Apparently Cyrenaica served at first as a base of prime importance for the rebels, who were led by Andreas (or Lucuas). The war assumed large proportions. Thousands of the non-Jewish inhabitants of the country were killed, and extremely serious damage was caused to the temples and public buildings of Cyrene as well as to the entire economy of the province. In Egypt the Jewish uprising embraced all the Nile country, from Alexandria in the north to Thebes in the south. Fierce battles were fought in the capital, in the villages, and in the various provincial towns, and many years later (199–200 C.E.) the victory over the Jews was still celebrated at Oxyrhyncus in Middle Egypt. Papyri tell of the enormous dimensions of the material damage and the gravity of the war. Only after full-scale battles, in which considerable forces of Roman legions fought alongside the local population, was the revolt crushed. In Cyprus, too, a ruthless war was waged, at the outset of which the Jews, under the leadership of Artemion, massacred large numbers of the island's non-Jewish inhabitants and destroyed the city of Salamis. When the revolt was finally quelled, the death penalty was decreed against any Jew who set foot on the island. The riots in Mesopotamia were connected with Trajan's wars against the Parthians, and no direct connection has been established between these riots and the Jewish revolt in Cyrenaica and Egypt, the actions of the Jews in Mesopotamia being essentially part of the uprisings of the peoples of the east consequent on the Roman invasion of the Parthian kingdom. In any event, the Jews suffered severely from the riots, and the emperor's representative, the commander Lusius *Quietus, massacred many of the Jewish people in the region. The Jewish revolt in the days of Trajan undermined to a great extent the existence of the Jewish communities in Egypt and in Cyrenaica and for a long time put an end to the settlement of Jews in Cyprus. As a result of the revolt there was a certain decrease in the Jewish population in the east of the empire, the material basis of their existence was shaken, and their political and social influence declined.

During the reigns of Trajan and his successor *Hadrian (117–138 C.E.), suppressor of the Bar Kokhba revolt, the history of the Jews in the pagan Roman Empire reached its nadir. However, from the days of *Antoninus Pius (138–161 C.E.) a gradual improvement took place in their position. There were no more Jewish revolts in the lands of the Diaspora nor punitive actions by the imperial regime, and the Jews once more acquired a strong position in the economic life of the empire. Antoninus Pius permitted the Jews to practice circumcision, which had been forbidden under Hadrian, although with the aim of putting a stop to proselytization he prohibited them from circumcising non-Jews. This prohibition continued also under the emperor *Septimius Severus (193–211 C.E.) but in general the Severian period was marked by a reconciliation between the Jews and the imperial regime. The rights of the Jews were assured; the *nesi'im* of the family of Hillel exercised great influence over the Jewish nation throughout the Roman Empire and were officially recognized by the authorities. Alexander Severus (222–235 C.E.) was favorably disposed toward the Jewish religion, while under *Caracalla (212 C.E.) the masses of the Jews in the empire, like its other peoples, became in every respect Roman citizens. These more favorable relations between the Jewish people and the empire continued, in effect, until the beginning of the fourth century, when Christianity became dominant. The Jews certainly suffered during the political and economic crisis which affected all the inhabitants of the empire in the third century, from the frequent changes of rulers and the civil wars, the barbarian invasions, inflation, and the heavy burden of taxation and exactions, but under no circumstances did they suffer because they were Jews. They had become an accepted part of the society of the Roman Empire, although there is no evidence at this time of political activity by the Jews in the Diaspora.

ORGANIZATION OF THE JEWISH COMMUNITIES. In their various places of residence the Jews had the right of self-organization, recognized by the Hellenistic and Roman authorities. This measure of *autonomy was an expression of their religious freedom, and the background to promoting the Jewish religion and to the continued existence of the Jewish people in the Diaspora. Different names were given to the Jewish communities in different cities. At times the terms denoting them were taken from the general organizational terminology (such as the name *politeuma*), at others they were called simply "Jews," at others again they were designated "synagogue." Not only the name but also the form of organization differed among the Jews in the various cities and countries. In Alexandria, for example, as early as the Ptolemaic period, the Jews had established a unified organization, a community known as a *politeuma*, led by the elders. At the beginning of the Roman period the Alexandrian community was headed by a president (ethnarch) who enjoyed an independent status and supervised the juridical arrangements in the community. During the reign of Augustus, apparently, certain changes took place in the organization of the community, when the authority passed from the ethnarch to the **gerousia*, consisting of scores of members. In the city of Berenice, too, as shown by an inscription, the Jews were organized in a *politeuma*, headed by nine archons. In Rome the Jews were organized around their synagogues, but no proof has yet been discovered of a central organization embracing all the Jews in the city. Neither in the Hellenistic nor in the Roman imperial period did the Jews of the Diaspora have central, countrywide organizations. To the extent that there was a unified leadership for all the Jews of the empire, it was supplied by the Jewish rulers in Ereẓ Israel and the high priests, while these existed, and afterward by the *nesi'im* and the Sanhedrin at Jabneh and in Galilee. In marked contrast to the picture among Hellenistic-Roman Jewry was the Babylonian Jews' more stable organization, which had hereditary leadership in the person of the exilarch, who traced his descent from the Davidic dynasty, was accorded official recognition by the Parthian regime, and had extremely wide-ranging authority.

The communities of the Greco-Roman world exercised fairly extensive authority, the most important aspect of which was the right to maintain a system of *battei din* with autonomous jurisdiction not only in matters of worship and religion but also in civil cases. However, from papyri it is evident that in various places, even in Alexandria itself where there was a developed system of Jewish jurisdiction, the Jews nevertheless had occasion to turn to non-Jewish law courts. Hence recourse to Jewish autonomous jurisdiction in civil cases was not compulsory. A community also had the right to hold property as a corporate legal body and to collect money from its members, since various expenses, either current or exceptional, had to be met by the communities. The current expenditure included primarily that connected with maintaining religious services, the synagogues, and other Jewish public institutions, such as schools and cemeteries. One of the characteristic features of the community was supplying the needs of the local poor from a charity fund. Exceptional expenditure comprised that associated with building new synagogues, sending delegations to the authorities, ransoming captives, and so on. Here the Jewish community was often assisted by the generosity of individuals.

One of the grave problems requiring adjustment was the relation between Jewish self-organization and the institutions of the Greek cities in the Hellenistic-Roman east organized in the form of a *polis*. Since in any event not all the inhabitants of a city were its citizens, there are no grounds for assuming that all the Jews were citizens of the Hellenistic cities in which they lived. Nor was the position identical in all cities, and in any case everywhere there were Jews with a differing civic status. At least some members of the first groups of Jews who settled in a city at the time of its establishment undoubtedly enjoyed civic rights; thus in Alexandria there were Jews who were "Macedonians." In general, however, most of the Jews who arrived in the Greek cities were presumably either foreigners or enjoyed a special status laid down for the Jewish members of the *politeuma*. Where there were special arrangements with the Hellenistic kings and the Roman emperors, the practical consequences of the status granted to Jews was no less congenial than the grant of civic rights by the Greek city itself, and this status could even be tantamount to equal civic rights. Generally the position in this respect was flexible. At times the Greek cities tried to deprive the Jews of the rights granted to them by the kings and confirmed by the emperors. On the other hand, there were also attempts by Jews, mainly by those of the upper classes, to infiltrate into the body of the citizens in such places and at such times as seemed to them expedient. It must also be noted that those men whose activities caused them to rise in the scale of the municipal leadership or in the administrative hierarchy of the Hellenistic kingdoms or the Roman Empire very often severed themselves, to a greater or lesser extent, from the Jewish world and made concessions to idolatry. Indeed the Jews who in those years attained prominence actually forsook Judaism, such as Dositheus b. Drimylus in Ptolemaic Egypt, or Tiberius Julius Alexander, Philo's nephew, who became the governor of Egypt. In the Roman Empire the special citizenship of the Greek cities gradually lost its value; all Jews became Roman citizens, and in the various cities of the empire Jews also became members of the municipal councils, a position which by then was less of an honor than a heavy financial burden.

LINKS WITH EREẒ ISRAEL. In the days of the Second Temple, as also after its destruction, the Jews of the Diaspora maintained close ties with Ereẓ Israel which found expression in several ways. Many Diaspora Jews fulfilled the commandment of going on pilgrimage to the Temple, and during the festivals Jews from all parts of the world, from Parthia and Media in the east to Italy in the west, could be found in Jerusalem. Some came to study Torah in the renowned schools, as did, for example, the apostle Paul, who studied under Rabban Gamaliel the Elder. This situation also continued after the destruction of the Temple. The greatest scholars of Babylonian Jewry came to study in the academies of Ereẓ Israel; some settling and becoming active there, while others, returning to Babylonia, made that country a great spiritual center. Among the Jews of the Diaspora who settled permanently in Ereẓ Israel were some who shaped the character of Jewish society in Jerusalem at the end of the Second Temple period, the most prominent of these being the families of Boethus and Phiabi, houses of high priests whose members had immigrated from Egypt, and *Bet Hillel and the *Benei Bathyra, whose roots lay in the Babylonian Diaspora.

Material support from the Diaspora to Jerusalem consisted primarily of the half shekel contributed to the Temple. This money was sent by Jews and proselytes, not only from the Roman Empire but also from eastern Jewry under Parthian rule. The Jews of Babylonia sent their half shekels to Nehardea and Nisibis, from where a caravan, accompanied by many thousands of Jews to defend it against possible attack by brigands, transported the money to Jerusalem. Wealthy Jews in Alexandria also made liberal contributions to enhance the outward splendor of the Temple. During the years following the destruction of the Second Temple the Jews of the Diaspora continued their financial support of the patriarchate. Important, too, was the political assistance which the Diaspora rendered to the Jews of Ereẓ Israel. As early as in the days of Alexander Yannai, the intervention of Hananiah and Hilkiah, Jewish commanders in the Ptolemaic army, was a prime factor in the development of military events in Ereẓ Israel, where the Jews derived encouragement from the large numbers and steady loyalty of the Jews in the Diaspora during the Roman Empire.

CULTURE IN THE GRECO-ROMAN DIASPORA. Although the Jewish Diaspora gave rise to considerable spiritual creativity, only a small portion of the literary productions have been preserved. They were written mainly in Greek, which in the Hellenistic period had become the principal language of the Jews of the Roman Empire outside Ereẓ Israel. The characteristic feature of these works is that they are not Greek literature produced by authors of Jewish origin, but Jewish literature written in Greek, for Jewry. Jewish history and problems are the central themes, and not the subjects typical of Greek literature. Whether it chiefly aimed at satisfying the internal needs of Jewish society or whether it was partially of an apologetic nature, intended for external purposes, it must, restrained though it sometimes is, be regarded as polemical literature. In form, however, Jewish-Hellenistic literature adopted most of the types characteristic of Greek literary productions, and among its representatives were historians, philosophers, and dramatic and epic poets. In the Hellenistic-Roman period very few authors of Jewish origin achieved fame in general Greek works unrelated to Jewry. Among these was, apparently, *Caecilius of Calacte in Sicily, an author and literary critic who was a contemporary of Augustus. Only gradually and at a later period did Jewish names begin to appear in the fields of general medicine and science, literature and art. Most of the Jewish-Greek writers were from Egypt, but other places, too, such as Cyrene (where the historian Jason of *Cyrene lived), participated in these productions. The influence of Jewish-Hellenistic literature on the development of later Jewry was scant and it became generally known chiefly through the channels of the Christian Church.

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[Menahem Stern]

DIBBUK (Dybbuk). In Jewish folklore and popular belief an evil spirit which enters into a living person, cleaves to his soul, causes mental illness, talks through his mouth, and represents a separate and alien personality is called a *dibbuk.* The term appears neither in talmudic literature nor in the Kabbalah, where this phenomenon is always called "evil spirit." (In talmudic literature it is sometimes called *ru'aḥ tezazit*, and in the New Testament "unclean spirit.") The term was introduced into literature only in the 17th century from the spoken language of German and Polish Jews. It is an abbreviation of *dibbuk me-ru'aḥ ra'ah* ("a cleavage of an evil spirit"), or *dibbuk min ha-ḥiẓonim* ("*dibbuk* from the outside"), which is found in man. The act of attachment of the spirit to the body became the name of the spirit itself. However, the verb *davok* ("cleave") is found throughout kabbalistic literature where it denotes the relations between the evil spirit and the body, *mitdabbeket bo* ("it cleaves itself to him").

Stories about *dibbukim* are common in the time of the Second Temple and the talmudic periods, particularly in the Gospels; they are not as prominent in medieval literature. At first, the *dibbuk* was considered to be a devil or a demon which entered the body of a sick person. Later, an explanation common among other peoples was added, namely that some of the *dibbukim* are the spirits of dead persons who were not laid to rest and thus became *demons. This idea (also common in medieval Christianity) combined with the doctrine of *_gilgul_ ("transmigration of the soul") in the 16th century and became widespread and accepted by large segments of the Jewish population, together with the belief in _dibbukim_. They were generally considered to be souls which, on account of the enormity of their sins, were not even allowed to transmigrate and as "denuded spirits" they sought refuge in the bodies of living persons. The entry of a _dibbuk_ into a person was a sign of his having committed a secret sin which opened a door for the _dibbuk_. A combination of beliefs current in the non-Jewish environment and popular Jewish beliefs influenced by the Kabbalah form these conceptions. The kabbalistic literature of *Luria's disciples contains many stories and "protocols" about the exorcism of _dibbukim_. Numerous manuscripts present detailed instructions on how to exorcise them. The power to exorcise _dibbukim_ was given to _ba'alei shem_ or accomplished Ḥasidim. They exorcised the _dibbuk_ from the body which was bound by it and simultaneously redeemed the soul by providing a _tikkun_ ("restoration") for him, either by transmigration or by causing the _dibbuk_ to enter hell. Moses *Cordovero defined the _dibbuk_ as an "evil pregnancy."

From 1560 several detailed reports in Hebrew and Yiddish on the deeds of _dibbukim_ and their testimonies about themselves were preserved and published. A wealth of material on actual stories of _dibbukim_ is gathered in Samuel *Vital's _Sha'ar ha-Gilgulim_, in Ḥayyim *Vital's _Sefer ha-Ḥezyonot_, in _Nishmat Ḥayyim_ by *Manasseh Ben Israel (book 3, chs. 10 and 14), in _Minḥat Eliyahu_ (chs. 4 and 5) by *Elijah ha-Kohen of Smyrna, and in _Minḥat Yehudah_ by Judah Moses Fetya of Baghdad (1933, pp. 41–59). The latter exorcised *Shabbetai Ẓevi and his prophet *Nathan of Gaza who appeared as _dibbukim_ in the bodies of men and women in Baghdad in 1903. Special booklets on the exorcisms of famous spirits which took place in Korets have also been published (end of 17th century in Yiddish), in Nikolsburg (1696, 1743), in Detmold (1743), and in Stolowitz (1848). The last protocol of this kind, published in Jerusalem in 1904, concerns a _dibbuk_ which entered the body of a woman and was exorcised by Ben-Zion Ḥazzan. The phenomena connected with the beliefs in and the stories about _dibbukim_ usually have their factual background in cases of hysteria and sometimes even in manifestations of schizophrenia.

[Gershom Scholem]

In the Arts

There are a few significant treatments of the _dibbuk_ theme in literature, one of the earliest being a story in the *Ma'aseh Book (1602; Eng. tr. 2 vols., 1934). The classic interpretation of the story is _Der Dibbuk_ (1916), a play by S. *An-Ski, which inspired various artistic and musical treatments. An unusual adaptation of the old legend is the French novelist Romain *Gary's bitterly satirical _La Danse de Gengis Cohn_ (1967; _The Dance of Genghis Cohn_, 1968), which tells of the haunting of an ex-Nazi by the spirit of a Jewish entertainer whom he murdered in World War II. In drama and music the _dibbuk_ motif has mainly found expression in compositions associated with An-Ski's play, the *Habimah production of which, in Moscow in 1922, was both visually and dramatically a landmark. It was directed by Eugene Vakhtangov, who gave the play an expressionist interpretation; the stage sets were designed by Nathan *Altman, and Jacques *Chapiro collaborated in the production. A Yiddish film version of the play was made in Poland in 1938 and a Hebrew version in Israel in 1968.

Joel *Engel's music for An-Ski's play, like the play itself, dates from 1912, when the two men heard the old folktale from an innkeeper's wife. An-Ski constructed the play on the leitmotiv of the ḥasidic song _Mipnei mah_ ("Why did the soul descend from the supreme height to the deep pit?"). The tune was used at the first performance of the play by the Vilna troupe, and was taken over by Engel. For the rest of the stage music, Engel drew on the folk melodies he had collected, mainly those of ḥasidic provenance. In 1926 Engel published an arrangement of the stage music as the Suite "_Hadibuk_" (op. 35). Bernhard Sekles wrote an orchestral prelude, _Der Dybuk_ (publ. 1929). The opera _Il Dibuk_ by Lodovico Rocca (text by Renato Simoni after An-Ski) had its premiere at La Scala, Milan, in 1934. Later settings include a ballet by Max Ettinger (1947), and two operas (both entitled _The Dybbuk_) by U.S. composers – David Tamkin (1951) and Michael Whyte (1962).

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DIBON (Heb. דִּיבֹן).

(1) An important Moabite city in Transjordan in the _mishor_ ("table-land"), N. of the Arnon River. It was located on the King's Highway and was one of the stations of the Israelites on the way to the plains of Moab during the Exodus (Num. 33:45, as Dibon-Gad). The Bible also relates that Sihon, king of the Amorites, captured it from the first king of Moab (Num. 21:30). With the Israelite conquest, it was allotted to the tribe of Gad (Num. 32:3, 33), although it is also listed in the territory of Reuben (Josh. 13:17). Dibon is identified with modern Dhiban, 13 mi. (21 km.) east of the Dead Sea and 3 mi. (5 km.) north of the Arnon River. Dibon is mentioned in an inscription of Ramses II from Luxor, together with _Btrt_, another city in Moab. In the *Mesha Stele, discovered at Dibon in 1868, Mesha, king of Moab (II Kings 3:4), calls himself "the Dibonite." Dibon was his capital, and, after his rebellion against Israel (c. 850 B.C.E.), he built the "Qarḥoh," (apparently the main citadel of the city) with a _bamah_ ("high place") to Chemosh, the god of Moab. Dibon henceforth continued to be part of Moab and the Bible refers to it as a Moabite city (Isa. 15:2; Jer. 48:18, 22). In 731 B.C.E. it came under As-

syrian domination, with tribute being paid to Tiglath-Pileser III, and this continued under subsequent rulers as well. In 582 the city fell at the time of the revolt against Nebuchanezzar.

Excavations began at Dibhan in the 1950s directed by Fred V. Winnett and subsequently by William H. Morton with A.D. Tushingham, bringing to light strata from the Early Bronze Age, Iron Age (Moabite), Nabatean, Roman, Byzantine and Umayyad periods. In one area of the excavations a palace from the Moabite level had an adjoining sanctuary, with cultic vessels, incense stand and fertility figurines. Especially noteworthy is a sequence of sacred buildings – a Roman temple built on the foundations of a Nabatean temple and a Byzantine church alongside them. Perhaps the high-place of the Temple of Kemosh, the Moabite deity, lay beneath the Nabatean temple. Dibon was an important place under the Nabateans; a Roman garrison occupied the area in the third century C.E. as the remains of a bath-house and a number of inscriptions testify. The plain of Dibon is mentioned in the Tosefta (*Shev.* 7:11); in the fourth century, Eusebius refers to it as a big village near the Arnon (*Onom.* 76:17ff.).

(2) A post-Exilic town in the Negev (Neh. 11:25). It is probably identical with *Dimonah in the Negev district of Judah (Josh. 15:22).

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[Yohanan Aharoni / Shimon Gibson (2nd ed.)]

DICHTER, MISHA (1945–), U.S. pianist. Dichter was born in Shanghai, where his Polish parents had fled at the outbreak of World War II. He moved with his family to Los Angeles in 1947 and began piano lessons at the age of six. Dichter studied with Aube Tzerko (a former *Schnabel student) and, later, with Rosina *Lhevinne at the Juilliard School of Music in New York. He also studied composition with Leonard Stein (a Schoenberg disciple). His crowning success came in 1966, when he won second prize in the Tchaikovsky International Piano Competition, Moscow, and he was particularly popular with Russian audiences.

After his London (June 1967) and New York (January 1968) debuts, Dichter toured widely. He performed with major American and European orchestras, and also in Israel and the Far East. An active chamber musician, Dichter frequently performed with his wife in duo-piano recitals. They gave the world premiere of Robert Starer's Concerto for Two Pianos with the Seattle Symphony. Dichter's master classes at Juilliard, Eastman, Yale, and Harvard were widely attended. A player of generous temperament and technique, he excelled in the Romantic piano repertory. Dichter's style reflects the German respect for structure and clarity and at the same time the Russian search for heroic proportion. His numerous recordings include works of Brahms, Liszt, Chopin, Mussorgsky, Schubert, Schumann, Stravinsky, and Tchaikovsky. As a writer, he contributed many articles to leading publications, including the *New York Times.*

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[Max Loppert / Naama Ramot (2nd ed.)]

°DICKENS, CHARLES (1812–1870), English novelist. One of his first full-length novels, *Oliver Twist* (1837–38), devoted to the evils of the poor-law system, introduces a Jewish villain, Fagin, a corrupter of youth and receiver of stolen goods. With Shakespeare's Shylock, Fagin is unquestionably the best-known Jewish figure depicted in the traditional canon of English literature. The young hero, Oliver, falls into Fagin's clutches but is saved from corruption by his own native innocence and by some good-hearted friends. Fagin, like the burglar Bill Sikes in the same novel, is one of Dickens' characters of monstrous evil, a literary stereotype larger than life. As for his Jewishness, Dickens claimed that "that class of criminal almost invariably was a Jew," but Fagin in fact lacks any recognizable Jewish traits. Dickens was challenged about his antisemitic prejudices, and in reply, claimed that he had always felt himself to be a friend of the Jews. As if to prove this, his last complete novel, *Our Mutual Friend* (1864–65), featured Mr. Riah, "the gentle Jew in whose race gratitude is deep." Jews appear in other novels of Dickens, notably *Pickwick Papers* (1836) and *Martin Chuzzlewit* (1843). Dickens' contradictory portrayal of Jews illustrates something of the ambiguity of the Jewish image in Victorian England, and also the deep contradictions in Dickens' own complex character.

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[Harold Harel Fisch]

DICKENSTEIN, ABRAHAM (1902–1977), Israeli banker and industrialist. Dickenstein was born in Wishniewa, Poland, and immigrated to Ereẓ Israel in 1921.

From 1921 to 1924 he worked as an agricultural laborer but entered the world of finance in 1925, when he founded the Audit Union of Credit Co-operatives and the Audit Union of Consumers Co-operatives, and in 1927 the Transport Co-operatives. From 1924 to 1935 he was assistant director of Bank Hapoalim of which he later became managing director and visited the United States in 1936 to sell shares of the bank. Encouraged by his success, he conceived the idea of establishing an American financial corporation for the purpose of mobilizing finance and investment resources among United States Jewry for the purpose of expanding the industrial and agricultural economy of Israel. The outcome was the founding of AMPAL, the American Israel Corporation, in 1941, which, with a balance sheet of $400 million, was in the 1970s one of the most important financial organizations in Israel.

He also served as chairman of the board of the Israeli American Independent Development Bank.

DICKER-BRANDEIS, FREDERIKE (**Friedl**; 1898–1944), artist and teacher who spent the last two years of her life teaching art to children in the Theriesienstadt ghetto. Born in Vienna, Dicker-Brandeis's mother, Karolina Fanta, died by the time she was four years old. Her father, Simon Dicker, a stationery store employee, nurtured Friedl's early interest in art by providing her with supplies from his store. In her early teens, she studied graphic arts at the Experimental School of Graphics. In 1914 she began formal art lessons with Johannes Itten, a pioneer in the Bauhaus School. When Itten left in 1920 for the new State Bauhaus school of art and design in Weimar, Friedl followed him. This began a period of enormous creativity for the young woman. At the Bauhaus school, Friedl studied with Itten, Paul Klee, Georg Muche, and Lyonel Feininger. Her training and skills grew. She became accomplished in charcoals, oil painting, weaving, architecture, poster art, jewelry, bookbinding, and textiles. Because of her outstanding teaching abilities, Friedl was invited to teach Itten's basic course for freshman at Bauhaus while she was still student.

In 1923, Itten and a number of students, including Friedl, left Bauhaus. She and Franz Singer, a fellow student, opened the Workshops for Visual Arts. They designed and sold textiles, books, and jewelry. The following year, Friedl returned to Vienna and opened a new gallery. Singer followed her in 1926 and the Atelier Singer-Drucker became one of the most fashionable design houses in Vienna. In addition to interior design, the couple's business and staff expanded to include architects who designed the Montessori kindergarten and the Tennis Club in Vienna. The Atelier also worked in set design for Berthold Brecht's theater. During this time, Friedl began teaching art courses for kindergarten teachers as well.

In the early 1930s, Friedl became active in politics. She was arrested for Communist activities in 1934 and briefly imprisoned. After her release, she immigrated to Prague continuing both in art and politics. In Prague, Friedl devoted herself to more traditional modes of painting, worked as an interior designer, and taught children of German and Austrian refugees. There she also located her mother's family and, in 1936, married her cousin, Pavel Brandeis. After the Anschluss, Friedl received a visa for Palestine. Instead, she and Pavel moved to Hronov, a small town in Bohemia. As the situation worsened, Pavel and Friedl lost their jobs and were forced to move. On December 14, 1942, they were deported to Theresienstadt.

In Theresienstadt, Friedl lived in a home for girls, caring for and teaching them. She gave art lessons, lectured to art teachers, designed sets and costumes for children's productions, and, with Pavel, re-designed some of the girls' living quarters. Some of her students' artwork is included in *I Never Saw Another Butterfly*, a well-known collection of poetry and art created by children in Theresienstadt. Her work with the children is legendary and seen as the embodiment of spiritual defiance to the Nazis and the circumstances of their incarceration. When Pavel was deported to Auschwitz, Friedl volunteered for the next transport. She died in Auschwitz in October 1944.

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[Beth Cohen (2nd ed.)]

DICKSTEIN, SAMUEL (1851–1939), mathematician and pedagogue, born in Warsaw. Author of many papers on mathematics and physics, from 1897 he edited *Wiadomości Matematyczne* ("Mathematical News"). One of the leaders of Polish Jewish assimilationism, he was its representative on the Warsaw Communal Council from 1884 to 1918. From 1891 to 1901 he was principal of a science-oriented secondary school (established in 1878) which had introduced Hebrew into its curriculum. It was closed by the Russian superintendent as being too Polish in orientation. In 1906 Dickstein was elected the first president of the Towarzystwo Rady Naukowej (Academic Council), the ruling body of the precursor of the Free Polish Polytechnic, and in 1915 became professor of mathematics at the University of Warsaw. His brother was the Polish Socialist Szymon *Dickstein.

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DICKSTEIN, SAMUEL (1885–1954), U.S. congressman. Dickstein, who was born in Vilna, Lithuania, was taken to the U.S. in 1887, when his family settled in New York's Lower East Side. In 1917 he was elected to the Board of Aldermen of New York City, and two years later to the State Legislature. In Albany he drafted several housing bills and drew up the first Kosher-Slaughtering Laws of New York State. Elected to the U.S. House of Representatives from the Lower East Side in 1922, Dickstein began a career there that spanned 22 years. As chairman of the House Immigration and Naturalization Committee, he lashed out constantly against alleged subversives both on the right and left during the 1930s and proposed that the naturalization and alien laws be used against them. A faithful member of the New York City Democratic political machine, Dickstein was elected a New York State Supreme Court justice in 1945, and served until his death.

[Richard Skolnik]

DICKSTEIN (**Dykstajn**), **SZYMON** (pseudonym **Jan Mlot**; 1858–1884), Polish naturalist and socialist theoretician. Born in Warsaw, he took special interest in new trends in natural science and was one of the translators of the works of Darwin and Spencer and was active in socialist circles. The growing repression of Polish socialists led him to immigrate in 1878 to Switzerland and later to France. Though at first influenced by anarchist ideas, Dickstein subsequently became a Marxist and joined the "First Proletariat" (the Polish Marxist Party). He maintained close ties with leading Russian revolutionaries including Plekhanov and devoted himself to popularizing Marxist socialism. In 1881 he published one of the first popular versions of Marx's *Kapital* and in the following year translated several works of Ferdinand Lassalle into Polish. His activities as a popularizer and press columnist had a great influence on the ideology of the first workers' parties in Poland.

[Abraham Wein]

°**DIDEROT, DENIS** (1713–1784), French man of letters. He was editor in chief of the celebrated *Encyclopédie ou Dictionnaire Raisonné des Sciences, des Arts et des Métiers* (1751–80), to which he also contributed many articles. His article *Juifs (Philosophie des)* constituted the major part of the article *Juif* in the encyclopedia (vol. 9 (1765), 24–51). In this Diderot writes with admiration about what he terms the two determining characteristics of the Jewish nation: its being the oldest nation still in existence and the only one which did not pass through the stage of polytheism. He also praises the "natural" religion of the patriarchs and the personality and ability of Moses. He later states, however, that all these attributes belong "more to the history of revelation than the history of philosophy." Diderot therefore provides a lengthy description of what he considers are the history and the principles of Jewish philosophy after the Babylonian captivity. The main points he made in his description of Jewish philosophy are that the Jews are a people almost unacquainted with science; and that "we cannot expect to find among the Jews exactitude of ideas or precision in style; in short, everything which characterizes a sound philosophy. On the contrary we find a confused mixture of principles of reason and of revelation, an affected and frequently impenetrable obscurity of principles, which cause fanaticism, a blind respect for the authority of the doctors and antiquity; in short, all the defects peculiar to an ignorant and superstitious nation."

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[Baruch Mevorah]

DIDI-HUBERMAN, GEORGES (1953–), French philosopher and art historian. Born in Saint-Etienne, an industrial city in the south of France, Didi-Huberman is the son of a painter of Tunisian descent who fought in the Forces Françaises Libres (FFL) Resistance group during the war and a mother of Polish descent who, together with her brother, was the sole survivor of the Holocaust in her family; her father, a workman who had come from the Warsaw ghetto to the mines of Saint-Etienne, died in Auschwitz. Georges' family played a decisive role in his intellectual career: "My childhood was placed under a dual influence. From my father, a painter, I learned the sense of beauty. His workplace was a place of colors. On my mother's side, it was the books – and the silence about the Shoah." After interrupted studies in the history of art and philosophy in Lyons and Paris, Didi-Huberman began a career in theater and dramaturgy, collaborating with André Engel or Jean-Pierre-Vincent, whom he assisted in creating a landmark staging of Bernard Chartreux's *Dernières nouvelles de la peste* at the festival of Avignon in 1983. This first career culminated with a position as playwright-in-residence at the prestigious Comédie-Française. But feeling the lack of a new language to bring to the stage, he resigned and returned to his former studies in the history of art, spending four years in Italy at the Villa Médicis in Rome, and in Venice. A disciple of Aby Warburg's school of thought, iconology, Didi-Huberman developed two main axes: specialization in the iconography of the Italian Renaissance and general, philosophical, and phenomenological reflection on the status of the image itself. From 1990, he taught at the EHESS (Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales) in Paris, where he developed an anthropological approach to vision and the visual arts. His major works include *Fra Angelico: Dissemblance and Figuration* (1995); *L'image survivante: Histoire de l'art et temps des fantômes selon Aby Warburg* (2002); *Ninfa Moderna. Essai sur le drapé tombé* (2002); and *Invention of Hysteria: Charcot and the Photographic Iconography of the Salpêtriére* (2003). In 2001, after he published an essay for a Paris exhibition of photographs clandestinely taken at Auschwitz by members of the *Sonderkommando*, he entered into an acrimonious intellectual debate with Claude Lanzmann in the pages of *Les temps modernes* on the ability of images to represent the Holocaust and convey historical knowledge or ethical content. Didi-Huberman advocated a "philosophy of the unthinkable," which he related to the tradition inaugurated by Hannah *Arendt, where the visual arts and the image have a crucial role, whereas Lanzmann tended to discredit photography, relying on witnesses and documents. Didi-Huberman attempted to deal with Lanzmann's objections in *Images malgré tout* (2002), stressing the importance of image and cinematographic art in Lanzmann's own *Shoah* documentary. The relation of aesthetics to ethics was the crux of the controversy, which was reminiscent of Adorno's famous indictment of "poetry after Auschwitz."

[Dror Franck Sullaper (2nd ed.)]

DIDYMOTEIKHON (**Didumotica, Demotika**), city in W. Thrace, Greece. Dating from the Middle Ages, there was a *Romaniot synagogue in Constantinople named for the Jews of Demotikan origin. The oldest tombstone in the Jewish cemetery dates from 1456. The local Jews spoke Judeo-Spanish and maintained close relations with the Sephardi communities of nearby Edirne, Sofia, and Istanbul. In halakhic matters, the Jews were under the rabbinic authority of Edirne. In 1821, at the beginning of the Greek Revolution, there were several dozen Jewish families there. In 1897 an Alliance Israélite Universelle school was established, operating until the mid-1920s. When the Bulgarians captured the city on October 30, 1912, much Jewish property, including stores, were damaged. The economy deteriorated and the Turks captured the city on July 13, 1913. During World War I sovereignty returned to the Bulgarians, who ruled until 1919, when in accordance with the Neuilly Treaty the city came under Greek sovereignty. In about 1920, there were 900 Jews in Didymoteikhon out of a general population of 12,000. They included exporters of grains, silks, cheese, and wool, as well as small grocers. In 1920, the Solidarity youth group of school graduates was formed as an intellectual group and Zionist activity was held at the Cercle Israélite club. In 1922, a branch of B'nai B'rith was founded. In 1934–35, the later noted Athenian Rabbi Eli Barzilai was principal of the Jewish school and French was taught until 1936 when foreign language instruction was banned by dictator Ioannis Metaxas. In 1940 there were 1,000 Jews in Didymoteikhon, of whom 970 were deported during the Holocaust. In 1948, 38 Jews remained in the city, and in 1967, 21.

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[Simon Marcus / Yitzchak Kerem (2nd ed.)]

DIE DEBORAH, German-language supplement of the English language weekly *The Israelite*, created by Isaac Mayer *Wise in Cincinnati in 1855. The first Jewish periodical in America devoted to women, *Die Deborah* appeared until 1902, two years after Wise's death. While ostensibly directed at women, the journal also served the larger needs of 19th century America's German-speaking Jewry, promoting a program of German identity, bourgeois culture, and Jewish Reform. The paper reported on Jewish affairs from all over the world and published essays on Jewish religion, culture, and history. It featured news from Germany and informed its readers on the cultural life of the German immigrant community in America. In particular, articles in *Die Deborah* discussed matters of schooling and education, and the journal prominently featured German literature, most commonly ghetto novels. *Die Deborah* promoted German culture, and it hailed the German concept of *Bildung* – the harmonious formation of the intellect and of the character – which was to inform true religiosity. The contributors to *Die Deborah* understood their Germanness not as an ethnic identity but as a legacy of cultural excellence, moral distinction, political progressiveness, and universalism which they wished to integrate into American society. *Die Deborah* promoted a Judaism based on a divinely inspired system of norms and values that encouraged free and rational thinking that was quite distinct from the patterns of male learning and halakhic observance of previous centuries. In this culture of middle-class propriety and enlightened German-Jewish sensitivity and religiosity, *Die Deborah* exalted the Jewish mother and wife as the pillar on which the Jewish religion rested. She instilled her children with faithfulness to Judaism and guaranteed the moral and cultural standards of Jewish family life. Domesticity, marriage, and motherhood remained central in *Die Deborah*, but the periodical also encouraged women's education, praised women's accomplishments in Jewish history, and encouraged women's activities outside the home, including professional careers. Thus, *Die Deborah* came to endorse the New Jewish Woman of the turn of the century and eventually supported women's suffrage. The importance of *Die Deborah* declined towards the end of the 19th century, as its readership achieved the integration into American society and the upward mobility that the journal had promoted.

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[Benjamin Maria Baader (2nd ed.)]

DIENCHELELE, from the Hebrew דיין כללי, *dayyan kelali* ("general judge"), an office instituted in Sicily in 1396 by King Martin I of Aragon. The holder of the office was both the judge and final court of appeal in cases judged according to Jewish law. The appointment was made from among those in special favor with the royal family, and since the *dienchelele* was often regarded as the actual representative of all the Jewish communities on the island, he was looked upon with suspicion by the Jews themselves. Joseph *Abenafia, personal physician to the king and queen, was appointed *dayyan kelali* in 1396 and held the office until 1407. In 1399, with the king's approval, Abenafia issued a series of ordinances that attempted to change and reform local customs. He forbade the marriage of underage girls, display of excessive grief at funerals, loaning money at interest, and gambling and he ordered that informers be punished. The holder of this office had wide powers in all matters governing community life: he appointed judges in all Sicilian communities, decided on the number of elected officials, and confirmed elections. This attempt at centralization was opposed by both the Jewish communities and the Sicilian cities because they feared it would infringe on their autonomy. Parallel to the institution of the general judge in the Kingdom of Sicily, another was appointed for the queen's lands (*Camera reginale*), an autonomous territory in the southeastern part of the island whose capital was Syracuse. The first judge appointed to this area was Rais de Ragusa, who remained in office until his death in 1414. After his death, Queen Bianca appointed Isaac son of David de Marsiglia, who was followed in 1416 by Sadone de Gaudio, all of them physicians. They, too, encountered the opposition of the local leadership. Although similar to the office of the court rabbis of Castile and Aragon, the Sicilian general judges did not enjoy the same power and they dealt only in matters concerning Jewish law, while criminal and civil jurisdiction was entrusted to a Christian official appointed as protector and judge of the Jews. In 1420 King Alfonso appointed Moses de Medici *Bonavoglia

(Hephetz) of Messina, a physician who completed his studies at the University of Padua, as general judge. His appointment was contested first by the city of Palermo, claiming that he had no jurisdiction as he was not a citizen of the city. Then, in 1421, at the request of the city councils of Palermo and Messina and their respective Jewish communities, the king revoked his appointment. Bonavoglia was reinstated in 1438 but only after a long process that necessitated the king's intervention. As a courtier, Bonavoglia intervened in 1431 to revoke the king's order of 1428 that the Jews of Sicily attend the sermons of the Franciscan Matteo Giummarra of Agrigento. Moses Bonavoglia died in 1446. He was succeeded by Joshua b. Nachrim de Manopelo of Randazzo. During his short stay in office he was accused of heresy for having summoned a priest to his sickbed and later denying the Christian faith; he was found innocent by a special commission ordered by the king. Joshua b. Nachrim was the last *dienchelele*. After having been twice in abeyance, the office was definitely abolished in 1447, at the request of the communities, in return for a heavy monetary payment.

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[Attilio Milano / Nadia Zeldes (2nd ed.)]

DIENEMANN, MAX (1875–1939), German Reform rabbi and author. Dienemann was born in Krotoszyn (now Poznań province, Poland), and studied at the Jewish Theological Seminary and university in Breslau. He served as rabbi in Ratibor, Upper Silesia, from 1903 to 1919, and at Offenbach from 1920 to 1938, when he immigrated to Palestine. Dienemann was one of the leaders of Reform in Germany and an active supporter of the World Union for Progressive Judaism. Dienemann wrote *Judentum und Christentum* (1914), *Liberales Judentum* (1935), *Galuth* (1939), and *Midrashim der Klage und des Zuspruchs ausgewaehlt und uebersetzt* (1935). He also published some sermons. Dienemann contributed articles to journals including *Der Morgen*, of which he was coeditor from 1931 to 1933. On his 60th birthday the Jewish community of Offenbach presented him with a *Festschrift (Minḥat Todah) Max Dienemann* (1935), and later his wife published a memorial volume, *Max Dienemann: ein Gedenkbuch, 1875–1935* (1946); both contain bibliographies. Selections from the *siddur*, in German translation, edited by S. Guggenheim and dedicated to Dienemann's memory, were published in 1948 as *Aus den Gebeten Israel.*

DIENNA, AZRIEL BEN SOLOMON (d. 1536), Italian rabbi and halakhic authority. Dienna, who came from a French family that had settled in Italy, studied under R. Nethanel Trabot. In his youth he was a teacher in Reggio and later moved to Pavia where he remained for 15 years. For a time, he also lived in Piedmont. In 1517, or possibly earlier, he became rabbi of Sabbioneta where he served until his death. He corresponded in *halakhah* with the great scholars of his generation. His works, which are still in manuscript, include a volume of responsa, several of which have been published in various periodicals. Many of them constitute a valuable source for the history, customs, and culture of the Jews of Italy, and they also demonstrate his strong personality and stormy temperament. He was sharp and sarcastic when replying to his opponents and took an active part in the communal disputes. He was involved in 1519 in the storm occasioned in the *Norsa-Finzi controversy, coming out in defense of Abraham Mintz. His responsum on this affair was published in *Pesak ha-Ḥerem shel ha-Rav Ya'akov Pollack*, appended to *Da'at Kedoshim* (1897–98) by I.T. Eisenstadt and S. Wiener.

In the scandal which arose in 1530–32 among his contemporaries over the dismissal of *Benjamin Ze'ev of Arta, Dienna supported those who expelled and excommunicated him. In 1532–36 he was the main instigator of the expulsion of Joseph of Arles from the *Ḥaverut* (a high grade of the Italian rabbinate) as well as from the rabbinate, pointing out that the latter's conduct did not conform with his rabbinical status. In his letter to Abraham ha-Kohen of Bologna in 1531 or 1535, Dienna dissociated himself from David *Reuveni who was greatly honored in many Italian communities, yet he expressed favorable sentiments about the false messiah Solomon *Molcho. Azriel's sons – Jacob, David, Samson, and Menahem – all served in the Italian rabbinate.

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[Abraham David]

DIESENDRUCK, ZEVI (1890–1940), philosopher, scholar. Born in Stryj, Galicia, he studied in Vienna. He also taught in Palestine (1913), attended the University of Berlin (1915), and in World War I joined the Austrian army. After the war, he served on the faculties of the Jewish Pedagogium (Vienna, 1918–27), the Jewish Institute of Religion (New York, 1927), the Hebrew University (Jerusalem, 1928–30), and the Hebrew Union College (Cincinnati, 1930–40), where he was professor of Jewish philosophy. Diesendruck showed a lifelong interest in Zionism, particularly the revival of the Hebrew language. He contributed to this revival with Hebrew essays, notably: the volume *Min ha-Safah ve-Lifnim* (1933); a Hebrew translation of Martin Buber's *Daniel;* Hebrew translations of Plato's *Phaedrus* (Warsaw, 1923), *Crito* (in: *Ha-Tekufah*, 24 (1924)), *Gorgias* (Berlin, 1929), and *The Republic* (Tel Aviv, 1935–36); and coedited (with G. Schoffmann) a Hebrew periodical *Gevulot* (1919). Diesendruck's chief interest was Jewish philosophy, particularly Maimonides' *Guide of the Perplexed.* Diesendruck's philosophic writings include "Maimonides Lehre von der Prophetie" (in: *Jewish Studies in Memory of Israel Abrahams*, 1927); "Die Teleologie bei Maimonides" (in: HUCA, 5 (1928), 415–534); "Samuel and Moses ibn Tibbon on Maimonides' Theory of Providence" (in: HUCA, 11 (1936), 341–66); "On the Date of the Completion of the *Moreh Nebukhim*" (in: HUCA, 12–13 (1937–38), 461–98); *Struktur und Charakter des platonischen Phaidros* (1927).

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[Alvin J. Reines]

DIETARY LAWS, the collective term for the Jewish laws and customs pertaining to the types of food permitted for consumption and their preparation. The Hebrew term is *kashrut*, which is derived from the root כשר ("fit" or "proper"). The word appears in the Bible only three times (Esth. 8:5; Eccles. 10:10; 11:6) and even then not in connection with food.

Description of Permitted Foods

Although there are laws which qualify the consumption of agricultural produce (see *Mixed Species; **Terumah*; **Orlah*; *Wine; *Idolatry), from the point of view of the dietary laws all fruit and vegetables are permitted. This is in fact the force of the first dietary directive in the Bible: "Behold I have given you every herb yielding seed which is upon the face of the earth and every tree …" (Gen. 1:29). Vegetables may also be consumed with either meat or milk (see below, Milk and Meat). The dietary laws therefore concern themselves with what animals, birds, and fish may be eaten, the way in which they must be prepared for consumption, and the fact that meat must not be consumed or cooked together with milk or other dairy products.

ANIMALS. The Bible classifies those animals permitted for consumption as *tahor* ("clean"), and those prohibited as *tame* ("unclean"). The distinction is traced to the wording of Noah's instructions. "Of every clean beast thou shalt take to thee seven and seven, each with his mate; and of the beasts that are not clean, two (and two), each with his mate" (Gen. 7:2). The criterion seems to have been the animal's sacrificial suitability, rather than pagan taboos.

Animals that chew the cud and whose hooves are wholly cloven, are "clean" (Deut. 14:6). Ten such herbivorous animals, both wild and domestic, are specifically enumerated in the Pentateuch: the ox, the sheep, the goat, the hart, the gazelle, the roebuck, the wild goat, the pygarg, the antelope, and the mountain-sheep (Deut. 14:4–5). Animals that have only one of the required characteristics (like the camel, which does not have split hooves, or the pig, which does not chew the cud) are forbidden (Deut. 14:7–8). Altogether, the Bible enumerates 42 "unclean" animals (see Table: Clean and Unclean Animals).

BIRDS. Leviticus 11:13–19 lists 20 "unclean" birds, and Deuteronomy 14:12–18 enumerates 21. From these two lists, the rabbis compiled a total of 24 "unclean" birds (Ḥul. 63a–b). All birds of prey are forbidden, such as the vulture, the osprey, the kite, the falcon, the raven, and the hawk. The Bible does not list "clean" birds. According to the Mishnah (Ḥul. 3:6), "clean" birds must have a crop, a gizzard which can easily be peeled off, and an extra talon (see Table: Clean and Unclean Animals). Today, only those birds for which there is a tradition that they are "clean" are permitted (Ḥul. 63b). With regard to certain birds there is sometimes a difference of tradition; thus in some German communities, the pheasant was regarded as "clean" whereas in others it was forbidden. There are differences of opinion also with regard to the turkey (for a complete list and discussion see: *Sinai*, 64 (1969), 258–281). Since "anything which comes from the unclean is unclean" (Bek. 7a–b), the eggs of forbidden birds are also forbidden (Ḥul. 64b). The Talmud lists among the indications for such eggs the fact that they are round rather than oval, and that the yolk is often on the outside and the albumen on the inside (*ibid.* 64a). Even the eggs of permitted birds are forbidden if they have been fertilized (*ibid.* 64a–b). That is usually seen from the fact that there is a dark spot in certain parts of the albumen. However, since there are several opinions among the authorities as to where the "danger zone" is, any spot of blood in the egg renders it unfit for consumption unless it comes from a chicken run in which there is no cock (and cannot therefore have been fertilized); it may be eaten if the spot itself is removed.

FISH. Only aquatic creatures that have at least one fin and one easily removable scale (*kaskeset*) are "clean" and permitted (Lev. 11:9–12; see Table: Clean and Unclean Animals). The Committee of Laws and Standards of the Rabbinical Assembly of America (Conservative) has ruled that both the sturgeon and the swordfish are permitted, whereas in England the Ashkenazi authorities forbid sturgeon while the Sephardi permit it (see ET, 7 (1956), 208).

INSECTS. Leviticus 11:21–22 specifically permits the eating of four kinds of *locusts. "But all other flying creeping things, which have four feet, shall be an abomination unto you" (11:23). However, since even the permitted locusts cannot be easily identified today, they are not eaten by most communities. Although the bee is a forbidden insect, its honey is regarded as "transferred nectar" and may therefore be eaten (Bek. 7b).

**Sheḥitah* ("Ritual Slaughter")

Specific regulations govern the method by which an animal must be slaughtered before it is permitted. So complex and minute are the regulations that the slaughter must be carried out by a carefully trained and licensed *shoḥet*. It is his duty both to slaughter the animal, and to carry out an examination (*bedikah*). Should a defect be found in some of the organs, such as the brain, the windpipe, the esophagus, the heart, the lungs, or the intestines, the animal is *terefah*, and forbidden for consumption. Defects are normally classified under eight categories (Ḥul. 43a): *nekuvah*, perforated organ walls; *pesukah*, split pipes; *netulah*, missing limbs; *ḥaserah*, missing or defective organs; *keru'ah*, torn walls or membrane covers or organs; *derusah*, a poisonous substance introduced into the body, when mauled by a wild animal; *nefulah*, shattering by a fall; *shevurah*, broken or fractured bones. It is assumed in the Talmud that any of these defects would lead to the death of the animal within one year (Hul. 3:1; see below). Only if the animal has none of these injuries, is it pronounced *kasher.* After *sheḥitah*, it is suspended head down, so that as much blood as possible may drain.

Should various sections of the animal have been removed before the *bedikah* has taken place, the animal is usually considered *kasher.* This rule is based on the fact that the majority of animals are usually found, after *bedikah*, to be *kasher* (Ḥul. 11a–b). This rule, however, does not apply if the lung has been removed. Since a large minority of animals do suffer from lung diseases that portion of the body must always be examined and if that is impossible the animal is considered *terefah.*

Sheḥitah and *bedikah* of poultry is carried out in the same careful manner. The same laws of *terefah* apply but there is no need for examination except of the intestines. There are no specific rules concerning the method by which permitted fish are to be killed.

Koshering ("Preparation of Meat")

The prohibition against the consumption of blood (Lev. 7:26–27; 17:10–14) is the basis for the process of koshering meat. The purpose of the process is to draw out and drain the meat of non-veinal blood, before it is cooked. The blood can be removed either by salting the meat, or by roasting it over an open flame.

The salting process is begun by fully immersing the meat and bones in clean, cold water (in a vessel used exclusively for this purpose), for 30 minutes. The purpose of this operation is to open the pores, and remove any blood on the surface, thus enabling the salt to draw the blood out of the softened fibers of the meat. The meat is then laid out on a special grooved or perforated board, which is slanted, in order to allow the blood to flow down. It is then sprinkled with salt. The salt should be of medium texture; neither fine (which melts away), nor coarse (which falls off). Poultry should be opened and must be salted inside and out. The meat is then left to stand, for one hour, after which it is washed two or three times in cold water. In an emergency, i.e., when the meat is intended for a sick person or when time is short on the eve of Sabbath, the periods of immersion and salting may be reduced to 15 and 30 minutes respectively.

The salting process cannot be used if more than 72 hours have elapsed since the time of the *sheḥitah*. Such meat can only be koshered by roasting over an open flame, a process which is considered to be more effective in removing the blood than salting. It is, however, customary to salt the meat a little, even if it is to be roasted over an open flame.

Before koshering, the vein which runs along the front groove of the neck must be removed or cut in several places. The heart, too, is cut in several places and the tip is cut off so that the blood may drain. The gizzard is cut open and cleaned before koshering. Salting is not considered effective enough to kosher the liver, which is full of blood. It is therefore sprinkled with salt, cut across or pierced several times, and placed on or under an open flame, until it changes color, or a crust forms.

Other Regulations Regarding Meat

FORBIDDEN PORTIONS OF CLEAN ANIMALS. It is forbidden to eat certain portions of "clean" animals. The sciatic nerve (*nervus ischiadicus*; Heb. גִּיד הַנָּשֶׁה), for instance, must be removed before any animal, other than a bird, can be prepared for consumption. The prohibition is traced back to the blow inflicted upon Jacob: "Therefore the children of Israel eat not the sinew of the thigh-vein which is upon the hollow of the thigh unto this day" (Gen. 32:33).

The fat portions (*ḥelev*), attached to the stomach and intestines of an animal, sacrificed on the altar in biblical and Temple times, are also forbidden for consumption. They must be removed by porging (*nikkur*) the organs to which they are attached. The abdominal fat of oxen, sheep, or goats, unless it is covered by flesh, is forbidden (Lev. 3:17; 7:23–25).

NEVELAH AND *TEREFAH*. It is forbidden to eat either a *nevelah* (an animal that dies a natural death, or that has been killed by any method other than *sheḥitah*; Deut. 14:21), or a *terefah* (an animal that has been torn by a wild beast; Ex. 22:30). The term *terefah* is also applied to an animal suffering from an injury which may lead within a specific time to its death (see above). Such an animal is absolutely prohibited for consumption. The Talmud (Ḥul. Chap. 3) describes over 70 such injuries and lesions (see also Sh. Ar., YD 29–60; Maim., Yad, Sheḥitah 10:9), which Maimonides describes as "the limit" and which, he says "must not be increased even though it should be found by scientific investigation that other injuries are dangerous to the life of the animal" (Maim., Yad, *ibid.* 10:12), or diminished "even if it should appear by scientific investigation that some are not fatal; one must go only by what the sages have enumerated" (Maim., Yad, *ibid.* 10:13).

ADMIXTURE OF PERMITTED AND FORBIDDEN FOODS. It is forbidden to eat any amount (no matter how minute) of forbidden foods (Yoma 74a). In the case of an accidental mixture of a forbidden food with a permitted one, however, the latter is only considered to be "contaminated" if the quantity of forbidden food inserted is large enough to affect the taste. For practical purposes, it was decided that only if the quantity of forbidden food was less than 1/60 of the permitted food with which it became mixed, is it considered not to have affected the taste. If more, the whole mixture is forbidden. If the forbidden admixture is, however, a type which is intended to affect the taste, then the mixture is forbidden even if the admixture is less than 1/60. Any leaven which becomes mixed

Tables of Clean and Unclean Animals, Birds, Fish, etc.

General Note: The purpose of this table is to give a resume of clean and unclean animals from an academic point of view only. It does not purport to lay down the *halakhah.*

MAMMALS

Characteristics: Viviparous[1], suckle their young, breathe though lungs, hairs on the skin; the body temperature is constant, four-chambered heart (two auricles and two ventricles); the chest cavity is separated from the ventral by a diaphragm.

CLEAN	UNCLEAN
Ruminants with cloven hooves *Characteristics*: herbivorous, they have incisors in their upper jaws. Ruminants, the stomach has four compartments. They have either hollow or solid horns[2]. They are cloven-hoofed, with two toes. *Examples*: buffalo, kine, goat, sheep, ibex, gazelle, deer, antelope, wild ox, wild goat, giraffe(?)[3].	**a) Cloven-hoofed but non-ruminants** *Characteristics*: They walk on their hooves, possess canine and incisor teeth. *Examples*: pig, boar, hippopotamus. **b) Ruminants but not cloven-hoofed** *Characteristics*: They have very small hooves, like nails, walk on cushion-like pads which form the soles of their feet. They have tusk-like canines on both jaws and incisor teeth on the upper jaw. Their stomach has only three compartments. *Examples*: camel, llama. **c) Solid-hoofed** *Characteristics*: They are herbivorous, have a single stomach, incisor teeth on both upper and lower jaws. *Examples*: horse, ass, mule, onager, zebra. **d) Carnivorous** *Characteristics*: They have six incisors and two sharp canine teeth on both jaws. They have four or five toes with claws on each foot and walk either on their toes or on their paws. *Examples*: cat, lion, leopard, dog, wolf, jackal, fox, hyena, bear. **e) Other mammals neither ruminants nor cloven-hoofed** *Examples*: hare[4], mouse[5], hyrax[6], bat[7], rat, elephant, ape, whale.

Notes:

1) *Mammals exist in Australia and New Zealand belonging to the order Monotermata, which lay eggs.*
2) *In this group the females have no horns. In the majority of species the males shed their horns annually. Some primitive species of cloven-hoofed ruminants are entirely without horns. There is some doubt as to whether they are clean.*
3) *The giraffe is a cloven-hoofed ruminant with a kind of horn, but there is no clear tradition as to whether it is kosher. Some hold that it is the tahash mentioned in the Bible and some the zemer of Deut. 14:5. The okapi belongs to the same family as the giraffe and has the same characteristics.*
4) *The hare is enumerated in the Bible (Lev. 11:6; Deut. 14:7) among the ruminants which are not cloven-hoofed. In point of fact it is not actually a ruminant although it appears to be one. See* *Hare.*
5) *The mouse* (akhbar) *and the rat* (ḥoled) *are enumerated in the Bible (Lev. 11:29) among the "creeping things" which are forbidden for food and whose carcasses render unclean by contact. Six other "creeping things" which are not mammals but reptiles are mentioned in the same verse and context. See later.*
6) *The hyrax is listed (Lev. 11:5) with the non-cloven-hoofed ruminants. Systematically it does not belong to the ruminants but in its anatomical structure it is somewhat similar to them.*
7) *The bat is enumerated in the Bible (Lev. 11:19; Deut. 14:18) with birds, because it flies, but systematically it belongs to the mammals.*

BIRDS

Characteristics: Their bodies are covered with feathers, and their upper limbs are wing-shaped. They have no teeth, breathe through lungs, and have a constant body temperature. The heart is four-chambered (two auricles and two ventricles). They lay eggs which have a hard shell of calcium carbonate (chalk).

CLEAN	UNCLEAN
The Bible does not give the characteristics which distinguish clean birds from unclean, as it does in the case of mammals and fish. The Mishnah, however (Ḥul. 3:6), states that "a bird that seizes food in its claws is unclean; one which has an extra talon[1], a craw, and the skin of whose stomach can be peeled, is clean." To this the Talmud adds in the name of R. Nahman that "to anyone familiar with birds and their	**a) Diurnal Birds of Prey** The Diurnal Birds of Prey mentioned in the Bible are from the family Falconidae which are carnivorous and Vulturidae which feed on carrion. **Falconidae:** have hooked beaks and their talons are sharp and bent like hooks. *Examples*: kestrel, hawk, eagle, kite, buzzard.

Tables of Clean and Unclean Animals, Birds, Fish, etc. (continued)

BIRDS (continued)

nomenclature, any bird which has one of these characteristics is clean, but to one unfamiliar with them it is unclean, but if it has the two characteristics it is clean" (Ḥul. 61b–62a). However, they also posited the rule "With regard to which birds are clean we rely upon tradition. A hunter is believed when he says "my master transmitted to me that this bird is clean." R. Johanan added, "provided he was familiar with birds and their nomenclature" (Ḥul. 63b). Already in the Talmudic period varying traditions are mentioned whereby certain birds were considered permitted in one locality and forbidden in another. For this reason, at the present day the custom has been adopted to eat only such birds as have all the signs of cleanliness, and about which there is a general tradition that they are clean. In the Bible and Talmud the following birds are mentioned as clean:

a) Columbiformes: pigeon, turtle dove, palm dove.
b) Galliformes[2]**:** hen, quail, partridge, peacock[3], pheasant[4].
c) Passerinae: house sparrow[5].
d) Anseriformes: domestic duck, domestic goose.

Vulturidae: The neck is usually bare, the bill thick and solid. The talons are blunt and only slightly inclined.
Examples: griffon vulture[6], black vulture, Egyptian vulture, bearded vulture.
b) Nocturnal Birds of Prey (Strigiformes)
Possessed of large head and eyes; they have four toes, two pointing forwards and two backwards. The Mishnah (Ḥul. 3:6) declares them unclean.
Examples: owl.
c) Water and Marsh Fowls
With the exception of the goose and the duck[7], they are all regarded as unclean.
Examples: stork, bittern, heron, crane, gull.
d) Various other Birds which either have no characteristics of a clean bird, or about which there is no tradition that they are permitted.
Examples: warblers, crow, swift, hoopoe, ostrich.

Notes:

1) *I.e., the rear talon is situated higher up on the leg than the other four, or the middle talon is longer than the others. This latter is characteristic of birds which eat grain and walk extensively on the ground (see *Eagle).*
2) *To this order belong two more domestic fowls: (a) the turkey which is today everywhere regarded as a clean bird, although a few generations ago there were localities where they refrained from eating it because of the lack of any tradition that it was clean, coming as it does from the New World. To this day the descendants of Isaiah Horowitz (the "Shelah") do not eat turkey; (b) the guinea-fowl which in some localities is regarded as clean while in others it is regarded as forbidden.*
3) *For the problem of its identification see *Peacock.*
4) *In many countries there is a tradition that the pheasant is a clean bird and permitted. See *Pheasant.*
5) *This is the "deror" of the Bible (Prov. 26:2; Ps 84:4). With regard to this bird also there is a tradition, particularly in Oriental countries, that it is a clean bird and permitted.*
6) *The signs of this bird are discussed in Ḥulin 61a et seq. see Tosafot,* ibid *63a, s.v.* nez, *as to its identification.*
7) *In some countries there is a tradition with regard to other species of birds belonging to this and other groups that they are clean and permitted.*

REPTILES

Characteristics: To this class belong creeping or crawling things which have short legs or none at all. As a result they move close to the ground or drag along it. They exist chiefly on dry land, and breathe with lungs. The majority lay eggs, but with a soft shell in which the white and the yolk[1] are mixed. They are cold-blooded, i.e., their temperature adjusts itself to the environment. Their skin is covered with scales or with heavy platelets.

CLEAN

None.

UNCLEAN

In the Bible reptiles are included in the general prohibition "and every creeping thing that creepeth upon the earth shall be an abomination; it shall not be eaten. Whatsoever goeth upon the belly and whatsoever goeth upon all four or whatsoever hath many feet among all creeping things that creep upon the earth, them ye shall not eat for they are an abomination." (Lev. 11:41–42)
The crocodile is forbidden in accordance with Lev. 11:12, which forbids "whatsoever hath no fins or scales in the water." Of the eight creeping things which are forbidden as food and whose carcasses defile on contact (*ibid*. 11:29–30), six belong to the class of Reptiles. They are the lizard, gecko, skink, monitor, tortoise and chameleon.
In addition all species of snakes are forbidden food though the laws of uncleanness on contact do not apply to them.
Examples: black snake viper, cobra.

Notes:

1) *This fact is mentioned in the Talmud (Ḥul. 64a) where a distinction is made between the eggs of birds and the eggs of reptiles.*

Tables of Clean and Unclean Animals, Birds, Fish, etc. (continued)

AMPHIBIANS

Characteristics: Vertebrates, born in water: when adult living on dry land, in water, or both media. During the early stages of metamorphosis (larva-tadpole) they breathe with gills; in the adult stage either with lungs or gills. The body temperature changes in accordance with the medium in which they live.

CLEAN	UNCLEAN
None.	a) Apoda (without legs). b) Tailed – salamander, newt. c) Tailless – toad, frog[1].

Notes:

1) The frog, like all amphibians, is forbidden, but the Mishnah (Toh. 5:1) points out that its carcass, unlike the six reptiles mentioned above, does not convey uncleanness by contact.

FISH

Characteristics: Vertebrates, living in water and breathing through gills[1]. In some species the body is covered with bony or teeth-like scales; others have no scales. All possess fins[2]. Their body temperature changes according to their environment. They reproduce either by laying eggs or by bringing forth their young alive[3].
Fish are divided into main classes:
a) Bony skeletons (about 30,000 species).
b) Cartilaginous (about 400 species).

CLEAN	UNCLEAN
According to the Bible those fish are permitted which have "fins and scales in the waters, in the seas and in the rivers" (Lev. 11:9; Deut. 14:9). In this category only Bony Skeletons are included, since they alone possess fins and scales. The scales must be real ones, i.e., they must overlap one another and be of bony origin and not a growth of the skin. Some scales are of minute proportions; for the fish to be clean the scales must be visible to the eye[4]. Some fish have scales while young but shed them later; they are clean. On the other hand there are fish which develop scales only when they grow to maturity; they are also clean[5]. *Examples*: carp, trout, salmon, herring.	**a) Cartilaginous** (Chondrichthytes) These fish either have no scales or have thick scales like teeth, which are not however true scales as they do not overlap. They give birth to their offspring alive, or lay eggs. To this group belong all the strange-shaped fish which inhabit the ocean depths, and all species of sharks. *Example*: shark, ray. **b) Cartilaginous – Bony** (Chondrostei) They also lack true scales. Their body is unprotected, except that it is partly covered with five long rows of protective matter. It is from these fish that caviar (mainly black in color) is derived. *Example*: sturgeon (controversial, see "Fish" in text). **c) Bony Skeletons** (Holostei) Fish which have no scales visible to the eye, or which have no fins. *Examples*: catfish, eel.

Notes:

1) An exception are the fish with lungs (Dipnoi) through which they also breathe. They are able to exist out of water. Although they have both fins and scales it appears that they are not to be regarded as fish at all, but as "creeping things," and are therefore forbidden.

2) In some cases the fins are minute, while in others they are broad and are used by the fish to crawl on the seabed. Some even use them for flying.

3) In the Talmud (Bekh. 7b) it is stated that "an unclean fish breeds, whereas a clean fish lays eggs." This rule applies to Cartilaginous fish which bear their young alive and to all bony fish in Israel, which lay eggs. In other parts of the world however there are found fish, with fins and scales, which bear their young alive. To these, for instance, belong the species of Gambusia which have been introduced in various localities as ornamental fish or as devourers of insects.

4) Even those Bony Skeletons which are considered unclean have minute scales which can be seen only through a microscope. They are regarded as being without scales.

5) As the Talmud states (Av. Zar. 39a), "Fish which have no scales at the time, but grow them later … and those which have them but shed them when drawn out of the water … are permitted." The "baraita" lists, in this category, fish such as the אֶכְסֶפְּטִייַּס *which is presumably the swordfish (Xiphias). This identification, however, is not absolutely certain and thus the permissibility of the swordfish is doubtful.*

INVERTERBRATES

Characteristics: To this group belongs the largest number of species in the animal kingdom. They have no bony skeleton. Their skin is either bare or covered with a calciferous shell or a thick chitinous membrane. They reproduce by simple division of the body, by laying eggs or by bringing forth their offspring alive. The smallest creatures of this group are the protozoa whose existence became known only with the invention of the microscope[1].

Tables of Clean and Unclean Animals, Birds, Fish, etc. (continued)

INVERTERBRATES (continued)

CLEAN	UNCLEAN
Of all the inverterbrates only a group apertaining to the order of locusts (Orthoptera) are permitted for food by the Bible. This order includes some hundreds of species (out of approximately a million other species of insects) and of it the Bible mentions only four, "Yet these may ye eat of every flying creeping thing that goeth upon all four[2], which have legs above their feet, to leap withal upon the earth; even these may ye eat, the locust after its kind, etc." (Lev. 11.21–22). The Rabbis interpret the word translated "after its kind" to include others of the same order and enumerate eight species of permitted Orthoptera (Ḥul. 65a–b cf. Maim. Yad, Ma'akhalot Asurot 1:21–22). The Mishnah gives four signs whereby permitted insects may be recognised: four legs, four wings, jointed legs and the wings covering the greater part of the body (Ḥul. 3:7). Insects of the order Orthoptera develop by stages. At first they have no wings and in the course of time they develop them. For this reason it is laid down that if they have no wings at the time but grow them later, they are permitted (Ḥul. 65a). This excludes such Orthoptera as have no wings at all. Even at the present day there are Jews in Israel from oriental countries who eat such locusts about which they have a tradition as to their permissibility.	All inverterbrates – with the exception of some Orthoptera – are forbidden[3]. Those which live in water are forbidden under the prohibition either of fish which lack fins and scales, or of "any living thing which is in the waters" (Lev. 11:10). Those which live on land are forbidden in accordance with the prohibition against "whatsoever goeth upon the belly, and whatsoever goeth upon all four, or whatsoever hath more feet" (ibid. 11:42). The main groups of forbidden inverterbrates are: **Leeches, Mollusks** (snail, oyster, squid). **Segmented Worms, Flatworms, Jellyfish, Sponges, Protozoa**.

Notes:

1) *Practically all protozoa are microscopic and invisible to the naked eye. it is obvious that food containing them is not thereby rendered forbidden. To the extent that they are visible, however, if it is clear that a certain food consists of protozoa, it would appear that one should refrain from eating it. Nevertheless it should be pointed out that until the last century the general opinion was that protozoa and insects are formed from non-living matter through spontaneous generation. This view is found in rabbinic literature with regard to certain insects, and on these grounds they regarded them as permitted.*

2) *All insects have six legs. The Bible disregards the two front legs which it regards as hands.*

3) *The Talmud lays down the rule with regard to all living things, including insects, "that which derives from an unclean animal is unclean," (Bekh. 1.2). The only exception is bee honey which, although it derives from the bee which is unclean, is nevertheless permitted as food, since " they gather it into their body but do not exude it from their body" (Bekh. 7b).*
Human milk is of course permitted (Maim. Yad, Ma'akhalot Asurot, 3:1).

[Jehuda Feliks]

with permitted food on Passover contaminates the whole, no matter how minute the amount (see **Ḥameẓ*).

Milk and Meat

"Thou shalt not seethe a kid in its mother's milk" is a prohibition repeated three times in the Pentateuch (Ex. 23:19; 34:26; Deut. 14:21). The rabbinical elaboration of this precept defines three distinct prohibitions: cooking meat and milk together; eating such a mixture; and deriving any benefit from such a mixture (Ḥul. 115b). Together these laws are known as the ordinances of *basar be-ḥalav* ("meat in milk"). "Milk" includes all dairy products, such as cheese, butter, sour cream, and fresh cream. To create a "fence around the law" the rabbis ordained that the separation of meat from milk must be as complete as possible. Thus, separate utensils, dishes, and cutlery must be used for dairy foods and meat (*milchig* and *fleishig*, respectively, in Ashkenazi parlance). These must be stored separately, and when washed, separate bowls (or preferably sinks), and separate dishcloths (preferably of different colors to avoid confusion), must be used. If meat and milk foods are cooked at the same time on a cooking range or even on an open fire in a closed oven, care should be taken that the dishes do not splash each other and that the pans are covered.

According to the Talmud (Ḥul. 105a) one may not eat milk after meat in the same meal. However, strict observance demands an interval of as long as six hours between eating meat and dairy dishes. Most West European Jews wait three hours, whereas the Dutch custom is to wait one hour. It is permitted to eat meat immediately after milk dishes, provided that the mouth is first rinsed and some bread eaten (Ḥul. *ibid.*). After hard cheese, however, it is customary to wait a longer period (Isserles to Sh. Ar., YD 89:2). Imitation "milk" derived from coconuts and soybeans may be used with meat. Fruit, vegetables, and eggs are all neutral (*parev* or *parve*), and may be eaten together with milk or meat dishes. Fish, too, is a neutral food. However, the rabbis prohibited the eating of fish and meat together, on the grounds that such a combination impairs the health.

Milk

Strictly observant Jews drink only *ḥalav Yisrael*, milk obtained and bottled under the supervision of a Jew (Av. Zar.

2:6). This ensures both that no other substances have been added to the milk, and, more particularly, that no milk of an unclean animal has been added. However, since such practices are today generally forbidden by state laws, and since, furthermore, "unclean" milk is more expensive than "clean," many authorities permit the consumption of milk which has not been supervised.

The dietary laws are exceedingly complex and a great deal of material in the Talmud is devoted to them. The tractate *Ḥullin* deals mainly with the subject and the *Yoreh De'ah*, one of the four sections of *Jacob b. Asher's *Tur* and the Shulḥan Arukh, deals exclusively with dietary laws.

History

IN PROPHETIC LITERATURE. The Hebrew prophets repeatedly refer to *kashrut*. *Isaiah (66:17) warned that those "eating swine's flesh and the detestable thing and the mouse, shall be consumed together." *Ezekiel (4:14), in his vision, claimed, "Ah, Lord God; behold my soul hath not been polluted, for from my youth up, even till now, have I not eaten of that which dieth of itself, or is torn of beasts; neither came there abhorred flesh into my mouth." *Daniel, together with his companions Ḥananiah, Mishael, and Azariah, refused to partake of the "king's food" and of the "wine which he drank" (Dan. 1:8).

THE SECOND TEMPLE TIMES. Jews endangered their lives by their faithful adherence to the dietary laws during the Syrian rule of Ereẓ Israel, especially in the reign of *Antiochus IV Epiphanes. I Maccabees (1:62–63) records, "Many of the people of Israel adhered to the law of the Lord. They would not eat unclean things, and chose rather to die." The eating of the "unclean things" was literally equated with apostasy: "*Eleazar, one of the principal scribes, a man already well stricken in years, was compelled to open his mouth and to eat swine's flesh. But he, welcoming death with renown, rather than life with pollution, advanced of his own accord to the instrument of torture" (II Macc. 6:18). During the same period, *Hannah and her seven sons chose martyrdom rather than contravene the dietary laws. "We are ready to die," they proclaimed, "rather than transgress the laws of our fathers" (*ibid.* 7:2). In the epic story of *Judith and Holofernes, Judith affirms, "I will not eat thereof, what I have brought with will be enough for me" (Judith 12:2).

The Book of *Tobit states that the dietary laws were specifically designed to set the children of Israel apart from their neighbors: "All my brethren, and those that were of my kindred, did eat of the bread of the gentiles, but I kept myself from eating of the bread of the gentiles" (Tob. 1:10–11).

Some tolerant gentile rulers not only permitted, but even facilitated, the observance of the dietary laws. Thus, in 44 B.C.E., Dolabella, the Roman governor of Syria, exempted the Jews of Ephesus from military service so that they would not be compelled to desecrate the Sabbath or eat forbidden food (Jos., Ant., 14:223–30). However, as Josephus' documentation of the barbarities committed during the Jewish revolt reveals, such remarkable instances of Roman tolerance were unfortunately rare. The *Essenes, on the contrary, were singled out for special savagery. "They were racked and twisted, burnt and broken, and made to pass through every instrument of torture in order to induce them to blaspheme their lawgiver and to eat some forbidden thing; yet they refused to yield to either demand, nor even once did they cringe to their persecutors or shed a tear. Smiling in their agonies, mildly deriding their tormentors, they cheerfully resigned their souls, confident that they would receive them back" (Jos., Wars, 2:152–3).

IN MEDIEVAL TIMES. Despite the difficulties, and even dangers, inherent in the observance of the dietary laws during subsequent periods of severe persecution, the Jews steadfastly remained faithful to *kashrut.* A Jewish chronicler of the period of the Crusades writes: "It is fitting that I should recount the praises of those who were faithful. Whatever they ate or drank, they did at the peril of their lives. They would ritually slaughter animals for food according to Jewish tradition and remove the fat and inspect the meat in accordance with the prescription of the sages. Nor did they drink the wine of the idol worshipers" (Chronicle of Solomon b. Samson, in: A.M. Habermann, *Gezerot Ashkenaz ve-Zarefat* (1945), 57). The heroism of the medieval *Marranos in defense of the dietary laws was matched by the devotion of the *Cantonists and the inmates of the Nazi concentration camps.

Attempts to Explain the Dietary Laws

Throughout the ages, many attempts have been made to explain the dietary laws. The Pentateuch itself does not explain them, although in three separate passages in the Bible they are closely associated with the concept of "holiness." Thus, Exodus 22:30 states: "And ye shall be holy unto Me; therefore ye shall not eat any flesh that is torn of beasts in the field; ye shall cast it to the dogs." Leviticus repeats the idea: "For I am the Lord your God; sanctify yourselves therefore, and be ye holy, for I am holy; neither shall ye defile yourselves with any manner of swarming thing that moveth upon the earth" (Lev. 11:44–45). Finally, Deuteronomy 14:21 states: "Ye shall not eat of any thing that dieth of itself; thou mayest give it unto the stranger that is within thy gates, that he may eat it; or thou mayest sell it unto a foreigner; for thou art a holy people unto the Lord thy God." The Pentateuch classifies the dietary laws as *ḥukkim*, "divine statutes," which by definition are not explained in the text (Yoma 67b). It has been variously suggested that the underlying motivation for the dietary laws are hygienic and sanitary, aesthetic and folkloric, or ethical and psychological.

MORAL EFFECTS. In Ezekiel 33:25, the prophet equates the eating of blood with the sins of idolatry and murder. One interpretation of this verse teaches that the dietary laws are ethical in intent, since abstention from the consumption of blood tames man's instinct for violence by instilling in him a horror of bloodshed. This is the view expressed in a letter by *Aristeas, an unknown Egyptian Jew (probably of the first century B.C.E.), who states that the dietary laws are meant to instill men with a spirit of justice, and to teach them certain moral lessons. Thus, the injunction against the consumption of birds of prey was intended to demonstrate that man should not prey on others (Arist. 142–7). *Philo, the Alexandrian Jewish philosopher, also suggests that creatures with evil instincts are forbidden lest men, too, develop these instincts (Spec. 4:118).

The rabbis of the Talmud rarely attempted to find rational explanations for the dietary laws, which they generally regarded as aids to moral conduct. "For what does the Holy One, Blessed be He, care whether a man kills an animal by the throat or by the nape of its neck. Hence its purpose is to refine man" (Gen. R. 44:1; Lev. R. 13:3). Commenting on the verse "and I have set you apart from the peoples, that ye should be mine" (Lev. 20:26), the *Sifra* (11:22), a halakhic Midrash on Leviticus, states, "Let not a man say, 'I do not like the flesh of swine.' On the contrary, he should say, 'I like it but must abstain seeing that the Torah has forbidden it.'"

EFFECTS ON THE SOUL OF MAN. Such mystics as Joseph *Gikatilla and Menahem *Recanati maintained that food affects not only the body but also the soul, clogging the heart and dulling man's finer qualities. Isaac b. Moses *Arama stated that, "The reason behind all the dietary prohibitions is not that any harm may be caused to the body, but that these foods defile and pollute the soul and blunt the intellectual powers, thus leading to confused opinions and a lust for perverse and brutish appetites which lead men to destruction, thus defeating the purpose of creation" (*Akedat Yiẓḥak, Sha'ar Shemini*, 60–end).

Samson Raphael *Hirsch wrote, "Just as the human spirit is the instrument which God uses to make Himself known in this world, so the human body is the medium which connects the outside world with the mind of man … Anything which gives the body too much independence or makes it too active in a carnal direction brings it nearer to the animal sphere, thereby robbing it of its primary function, to be the intermediary between the soul of man and the world outside. Bearing in mind this function of the body and also the fact that the physical structure of man is largely influenced by the kind of food he consumes, one might come to the conclusion that the vegetable food is the most preferable, as plants are the most passive substance; and indeed we find that in Jewish law all vegetables are permitted for food without discrimination" (*Horeb*, section 454, Eng. tr. by I. Gruenfeld (1962), 328).

HYGIENIC EXPLANATIONS. Maimonides (Guide, 3:48) noted that "These ordinances seek to train us in the mastery of our appetites. They accustom us to restrain both the growth of desire and disposition to consider the pleasure of eating as the end of man's existence." He also maintained, however, that all forbidden foods are unwholesome: "All the food which the Torah has forbidden us to eat have some bad and damaging effect on the body … The principal reason why the Law forbids swine's flesh is to be found in the circumstances that its habits and its food are very dirty and loathsome" (*ibid.,* 3:48). He gives an explanation entirely based on hygienic considerations, for the injunction against the consumption of sacrificial fat (*ḥelev*): "The fat of the intestines is forbidden because it fattens and destroys the abdomen and creates cold and clammy blood." Concerning the proscription of *basar be-ḥalav,* Maimonides states: "Meat boiled in milk is undoubtedly gross food, and makes a person feel overfull." He adds, however, "I think that most probably it is also prohibited because it is somehow connected with idolatry. Perhaps it was part of the ritual of certain pagan festivals. I find support for this view in the fact that two of the times the Lord mentions the prohibition, it is after the commandment concerning our festivals. 'Three times a year all your males shall appear before the Lord God' (Ex. 17:23–24; 23:17). That is to say, 'When you come before Me on your festivals, do not prepare your food in the manner in which the heathens do'" (*ibid.,* 3:48). Ancient inscriptions unearthed by archaeologists (e.g., at Ras Shamra-*Ugarit) tend to confirm that this was a fertility rite. J.G. Frazer, quoting a Karaite medieval author, writes: "There was a custom among the ancient heathens, who when they had gathered all the crop, used to boil a kid in its mother's milk" (*Folklore in the Old Testament*, 3 (1919), 117).

Abraham *Ibn Ezra maintained that the reason for the prohibition of *basar be-ḥalav* was "concealed," even from the eyes of the wise, although he added "But I believe it is a matter of cruelty to cook a kid in its mother's milk" (Commentary to Ex. 23:19; see: *Animals, Cruelty to). A contemporary interpretation, advanced by A.J. *Heschel, explains that the goat provides man with the perfect food – milk, which is the only food that can sustain the body by itself. It would, therefore, be an act of ingratitude to take the offspring of such an animal and cook it in the very milk which sustains us.

Many other scholars, however, followed in the footsteps of Maimonides. They pointed out that certain animals harbor parasites that create and spread disease. It was a fact that during the Middle Ages Jews were less prone than their neighbors to the many epidemics of the time. R. *Samuel b. Meir declared that "All cattle, wild beasts, fowl, fishes, and various kinds of locusts and reptiles which God has forbidden to Israel, are indeed loathsome and harmful to the body, and for this reason they are called 'unclean'" (Commentary to Lev. 11:3).

Commenting on the verse "Whatsoever hath fins and scales in the waters, in the seas, and in the rivers, them may ye eat" (Lev. 11:9), Naḥmanides states: "Now the reason for specifying fins and scales is that fish which have fins and scales get nearer to the surface of the water and are found more generally in freshwater areas … Those without fins and scales usually live in the lower muddy strata which are exceedingly moist and where there is no heat. They breed in musty swamps and eating them can be injurious to health." Many modern scholars give hygienic reasons for the dietary laws, since it is known that bacteria and spores of infectious diseases circulate through the blood.

Modern Views on the Dietary Laws

The dietary laws were on the agenda of the rabbinical conference held in Breslau on July 12–24, 1846. The Reform Movement appointed a committee consisting of S. Adler, D. Einhorn, L. Herzfeld, S. Hirsch, and S. Holdheim to examine this aspect of Jewish tradition. In his report published in *Sinai* (1859 and 1860), Einhorn stated that the dietary laws (with the exception of the prohibition to consume blood and animals that died a natural death) were directly related to the levitical laws of purity and the priestly laws of sacrifice and were, therefore, of a mere temporary ceremonial character and not essentially religious or moral laws. At the Pittsburgh Conference (November 16–18, 1885), the Reform Movement resolved: "We hold that all such Mosaic rabbinical laws as regarding diet … originated in ages and under the influence of ideas entirely foreign to our present mental and spiritual state. They fail to impress the modern Jew with a spirit of priestly holiness; their observance in our days is apt rather to obstruct than to further modern spiritual elevation." However, the Pittsburgh Platform did not prevent Reform Jews and Reform congregations from adopting and observing the dietary laws and some have always done so. By the late 20th century, Reform Judaism had developed a more positive attitude towards observance of *kashrut* as part of a larger pattern of return to traditional practices. The basic Reform philosophy as stated in such Union of Reform Judaism publications as *Gates of Mitzvah* (ed. S. Maslin, 1979) is that it is a Reform Jew's responsibility to study and consider the laws of *kashrut* so as to develop a valid personal position. Publications of the URJ between 2000 and 2005 suggested that Reform Jews seriously consider their dietary choices and the rationales behind them and consider whether adopting some or all of the Jewish dietary laws would enhance their domestic practice of Judaism and their spiritual lives. Out of respect for the larger Jewish community as well as their own members who observe *kashrut*, many Reform synagogues now maintain kosher kitchens.

The Conservative position is set out in such publications as *The Jewish Dietary Laws*, by Samuel H. Dresner, and *A Guide to Observance*, by Seymour Siegel (both in one volume, 1966^2). Dresner, for instance, maintains that "*kashrut* is one of the firmest ramparts of the pluralistic aspect of Judaism. It demands sacrifice, self-discipline and determination – but what that is really worthwhile in life does not? It demands the courage to turn our face against the powerful current of conformity that almost overcomes us daily. The goal of *kashrut* is holiness, a holy man and a holy nation. It is part of Judaism's attempt to hallow the common act of eating which is an aspect of our animal nature. It likewise sets us apart from the nations. Thus it achieves its objective, holiness in these two ways, both of which are implied in the Hebrew word *kadosh*: inner hallowing and outer separateness."

[Harry Rabinowicz / Rela Mintz Geffen (2nd ed.)]

Women and Dietary Laws

The scrupulous daily observance of *kashrut* in the home has necessarily been in the hands of women as preparation of meals was traditionally designated part of "women's work." Until contemporary times, observant Jews did not eat food outside their homes unless it was in the home of a relative or of another Jew whose observance was trusted or they were ill or found themselves in dangerous circumstances. Although supervision (*hashgaḥah*) of food for sale to the public was in the hands of men, as was slaughter (*sheḥitah*) in most cases, the maintenance of proper utensils, the purchase of food, the separation of meat and dairy, the ritual salting and soaking of meat, and the cooking and serving of the food were in the hands of women. Moreover, transmission both of mundane and esoteric knowledge of these domestic processes to the next generation of daughters was entrusted to their grandmothers, mothers, and other female relatives. Communities and families had to trust and rely on women for meticulous observance, particularly in the preparation for and during the holiday of Passover.

Eloquent testimony to the devotion of Jewish women to the maintenance of the dietary laws is found throughout Jewish history. Unfortunately, this often meant the willingness to suffer when various oppressors tried to break the will of Jews by forcing them to violate *kashrut*, particularly by eating pork, as in the examples of Hannah and her seven sons and of Judith in Second Temple times, cited above. Research into Inquisition documents has shown that women were strong defenders of domestic Judaism, including *kashrut*, and that even as *Crypto-Jews who had been forced into conversion they perpetuated some of the dietary laws whenever possible.

In later eras in Western Europe, when urbanization and secularization and the drive to rise in the society led to widespread acculturation and assimilation, particularly among middle class Jews, it was frequently the women in these families who were the last to give up observance of domestic ritual practices, including the dietary laws. A decline in traditional Jewish practice, including *kashrut*, accompanied the breakdown of traditional *shtetl* culture, growing urbanization in Eastern Europe, and the dislocations caused by immigration to America and other havens. Jewish leaders exhorted women to maintain *kashrut* in books, newspapers, and magazine articles in Yiddish and English that stressed female responsibility for maintaining the dietary laws. In the first decade of the 20th century Jewish women in New York City successfully organized a boycott of kosher butcher shops to counteract the precipitous rise in the price of kosher meat. Their actions became the model for kosher boycotts elsewhere, as well as other political activism of the time in support of suffrage and against exorbitant rents in immigrant neighborhoods, particularly the Lower East Side of Manhattan.

Food, Jewish law, and ritual are inextricably entwined at the very heart of the Jewish calendar and life cycle observances. In these arenas women were the facilitators rather than the public actors, even in the home. Wives arduously prepared Passover *seder* meals while husbands led the rituals. Somewhat ironically, the foods associated with various holidays as well as their modes of preparation have been shaped by the astonishing variety of societies, cultures, and areas of the world within which Jewish communities have been situated over the centuries. The women who have largely been responsible for Jewish cuisine have shown enduring creativity in adapting local delicacies and food ways to *kashrut*. Breads such as *maẓẓah* or *ḥallah* may be common to all, but the doughnuts fried in oil by Jewish women in the Ottoman Empire were a world away from the potato pancakes fried in oil to commemorate the miracle of Hanukkah in East European Jewish households. Even in 21st-century Israel, diverse laws governing the eating of *kitniyyot* (pulses and legumes including peas, rice, and corn) on Passover divide supermarkets and extended families in which Ashkenazi Jews have married Sephardi Jews.

Observance of the dietary laws by adults is an individual or couple's decision in an open society. However, because of the persistence of traditional gender role definitions in contemporary culture, it is generally Jewish women who continue to preside over the preparation of food, whether in households fully committed to the observance of Jewish law or in those where observance of the dietary laws is partial or mostly symbolic. Thus, the special historic connection of women to *kashrut* continues in the 21st century.

Dietary Laws and Jewish Culture

Jewish food, other than *maẓẓah*, was never standardized. In fact, in the contemporary world, the trend is to devise versions of a multitude of ethnic foods which comply with the laws of *kashrut*. Kosher pizza, Chinese, Japanese, and Indian food, or popular items such as sushi, *parve* ice cream, and margarine, and an American Thanksgiving dinner with the trimmings, may all be prepared in accordance with the dietary laws. Kosher restaurants specializing in a variety of cuisines are found in cities with substantial Jewish populations around the world and in the heart of Jerusalem, while recent kosher cookbooks offer recipes for dishes from many different ethnic fares.

Observance of the dietary laws, along with Sabbath observance connected to ritually infused meals, especially the Friday night dinner, are critical markers of Jewish identity in contemporary society. In the Diaspora in particular, they signal a willingness to maintain a particularistic identity in a multicultural society. For instance, in the demographic surveys through which American Jewish identification was analyzed from 1971 through 2001, observance of the dietary laws in the home is strongly associated with endogamy (in-marriage), other ritual observance, synagogue affiliation, providing children with formal Jewish education, and a feeling of connectedness to Israel and of responsibility for Jews around the world.

[Rela Mintz Geffen (2nd ed.)]

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[Victor A. Mirelman]

°DI GARA, GIOVANNI (16th century), Venetian printer of Hebrew books. Di Gara, who went to Venice from Riva del Garda (Trent), had apparently learned the art of Hebrew printing from Daniel *Bomberg; and after the latter's death he acquired most of Bomberg's type. Di Gara's printing activity spanned a half-century (1565–1610) and covered a wide range of Hebrew literature. Nearly 300 editions came out in this period, among them the *Turim* with Joseph Caro's commentary *Beit Yosef* (1565–94); Shulḥan Arukh (1593); a rabbinical Bible (1568); Judah Halevi's *Kuzari* (1594); Elijah de Vidas' *Reshit Ḥokhmah* (1578); Naḥmanides' *Torat ha-Adam* (1595); Isaac Aboab's *Menorat ha-Ma'or* (1595–1602); and a Mishnah (1609). He also printed some Yiddish and Latin books. There was close cooperation between Di Gara and the house of *Bragadini, and their printer's marks even appeared together on the same title page. That of Di Gara was a small single crown (in some cases he used two or three crowns as well); his title page is marked sometimes by a Roman arch whose pillars are garlanded with flowers and fruit; but he also imitated those of *Foa of Sabbioneta and of Meir Sofer of Mantua. The printer Asher *Parenzo, who worked for Bragadini, also worked for Di Gara. Others who were employed by him were Isaac Gerson of Safed, who introduced tables of contents and indexes; Samuel *Archivolti, author of the grammatical treatise *Arugat ha-Bosem*; Israel Zifroni and his son Elishama; and Leone Di *Modena. As typesetters, Di Gara had to employ Christians, which impaired the correctness of the editions. These have regularly the formula *con licentia dei superiori*. However, in 1592 Di Gara was accused by the Inquisition of having printed a book by Isaac Abrabanel without the required permission. At his death, Di Gara's types went to the Venetian printer Giovanni Cajon.

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[Giulio Busi (2nd ed.)]

DIGNE (Heb. דּינייא), capital of the department of Basses-Alpes, S.E. France. By the end of the 13th century there was a sizable Jewish community there; the fact that in 1311 the market contained three kosher meat stalls is proof of its importance. Throughout the 14th century, the market stalls were the subject of frequent disputes, as were the Jews' right to use the municipal bath and their contribution to the municipal taxes. The Jews of Digne cultivated agricultural holdings around the town. By 1468 there were only 20 Jewish families left there and their number continued to decrease. After the expulsion from Provence in 1498, some of the Jews of Digne found refuge in Comtat-Venaissin where the surname Digne was common. Digne's best-known scholar was R. Baruch who, in 1305, vigorously contradicted Isaac ha-Kohen of Manosque and was excommunicated by him. At the beginning of the 20th century, Joseph *Reinach represented Digne in the National Assembly. There is still a Rue de la Juiverie in Digne, but there are no Jewish inhabitants.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Gross, Gal Jud, 154–5; C. Arnaud, *Essai sur … Juifs en Provence* (1879), passim; F. Guichard, *Essai … ville de Digne* (1876), passim; E. Baratier, *Démographie provençale du 13e au 16e siècle* (1961), 72.

[Bernhard Blumenkranz]

DIJON, capital of Côte-d'Or department, E. central France. The first explicit evidence concerning the Jews there dates from 1196 when the Duke of Burgundy placed the Jews of Dijon under the jurisdiction of the commune, which he authorized to admit additional Jews. Ducal charters of 1197 and 1232 specified the authority of the town over the Jews of Dijon. They lived in the Rue de la Petite-Juiverie (today Rue Piron), the Rue de la Grande-Juiverie (Rue Charrue), and the Rue des Juifs (Rue Buffon). The synagogue and a "Sabbath house" were situated in the Petite-Juiverie, while the cemetery was in the present Rue Berlier. In this cemetery, which was confiscated after the Jews were expelled from France in 1306, over 50 tombstones were found about a century ago, apparently dating to the 13th century. Some Jews returned to Dijon in 1315, but, after the readmission of the Jews to the kingdom in 1359, a more important community was reestablished. When finally expelled in 1394, the Jews of Dijon left for *Franche-Comté. The only known scholars of Dijon are a certain R. Jacob and Simḥah Ḥazzan.

After 1789 Jews again settled permanently in Dijon, mainly from Upper Alsace. The Jewish population numbered 50 families in 1803, 100 in 1869, and about 400 persons in 1902. The community belonged to the Lyons *Consistory. Construction of the present synagogue in the rue de la Synagogue was begun in 1873; it was dedicated in 1879. The community also acquired land for a cemetery northwest of the city in 1789.

[Bernhard Blumenkranz]

Holocaust and Contemporary Periods

Dijon, an important railroad center, was under careful German surveillance during the Nazi occupation of World War II. The synagogue was emptied of its interior and served as a Nazi warehouse. Ninety Jews from Dijon perished in *Auschwitz. Dijon's returning Jews rapidly rebuilt their community after the war, and in 1960 the community was again flourishing. When Jews from North Africa settled in Dijon, the Jewish community increased to over 1,000 persons (1969) and owned a combined synagogue-communal center.

[Georges Levitte]

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Gross, Gal Jud, 151ff.; J. Garnier, *Chartes de communes … en Bourgogne* 1 (1867), nos. 19, 20, 41; Armand-Calliat, in: *Mémoires de la Société d'Histoire de Chalon-sur-Saône*, 34 (1956–57), 68, 73; Marilier, in: *Mémoires de la Commission des Antiquités de la Côte-d'Or*, 24 (1954–58), 171ff.; P. Milsand, *Rues de Dijon* (1874), passim; Gauthier, in: *Mémoires de la société d'émulation du Jura* (1914), 143ff.; Berg, in: *Journal des Communautés*, no. 109 (1954), 1–2; M. Clément-Janin, *Notice sur la Communauté Israélite de Dijon* (1879); M. Schwab, *Inscriptions hébraïques de la France* (1898); M. Gerson, in: REJ, 6 (1883), 222–9, and index in vol. 50.

DIK, ISAAC (Ayzik) MEIR (c. 1807–1893), first popular writer of Yiddish fiction, best known by the acronym **AMaD**. Born in Vilna, Dik received a traditional Jewish education and proved an able student. He began his literary activity around 1838 with a Hebrew story "*Zifronah*" and a Hebrew parody "*Massekhet Aniyyut*" ("Tractate on Poverty," in *Kanfei Yonah*, 1848). An adherent of the *Haskalah, Dik urged Jewish school and clothing reform, and in his early years corresponded to this end with the czarist minister of education. An admirer of the reforming zeal of Czar *Alexander II, Dik devoted his energy to promoting those reforms that would bring the Jews into modern European life as equal citizens. From 1861 he thus wrote only in Yiddish in order to instruct the unlearned in practical morality and ethics, becoming the author of over 300 stories and short novels. He is best known for introducing into Yiddish literature realistic tales with sound morals, many of which were subtle adaptations of other works. Dik knew that to teach, one must entertain, and he consistently used literature to popularize the ideas of the Haskalah which advocated both modern education and traditional learning. Since he was anxious to reach the widest possible audience without alienating pious traditionalists, he drew much material from traditional folklore. In 1865 he signed a contract with the Romm publishing house, agreeing to write a 48 page novelette each week. His engaging stories, which reveled in both sentimentality and melodrama, were eagerly read by men and women alike, who regularly bought nearly 100,000 copies of his works, many of which have not survived since they were literally read to shreds. Dik's work was characterized by the subtle use of narrative strategies and modes of discourse that worked against conventional expectations; his favorite modes were parody and satire in which he exposed the deficiencies of traditional Jewish society as he saw it. His purpose was to show Jewish people how to play productive roles in the modern world. The traditional values of Judaism nonetheless remained dear to him, and he himself remained strictly observant all his life. He popularized knowledge of the Bible, wrote on the *Haggadah*, composed a popular version of the *Shulḥan Arukh*, and published many stories on Ereẓ Israel, including a history of Jerusalem. Dik also summarized Jewish classical, medieval, and contemporary writings for the average Yiddish reader. His selected works, severely edited and modernized, were published in 1954 (*Geklibene Verk fun I.M. Dik*, ed. Sh. Niger).

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[Elias Schulman / Joseph Sherman (2nd ed.)]

DILLER, BARRY (1942–), U.S. media executive. Born in San Francisco, Calif., Diller was raised in Beverly Hills and had a good Jewish education. He skipped college and got his first job in show business in the mail room of the William Morris Agency. He moved to the programming department of the American Broadcasting Company in 1966 and was soon placed in charge of negotiating broadcast rights to feature films. He was promoted to vice president in charge of feature films and program development three years later and inaugurated the television network's Movie of the Week, which became the most popular movie series in the industry and helped ABC achieve parity with the National Broadcasting Company and the Columbia Broadcast System in the ratings. Abandoning conventional narratives like Westerns and crime melodramas, Diller ordered films that explored current issues like homosexuality, the Vietnam War, and drugs. The 90-minute films, sometimes called docudramas, were produced at the relatively low price of $350,000 each and probed current newspaper headlines and American popular culture for gripping topics aimed at young urban and adult audiences. By 1972 the genre had become an established network programming practice.

In 1974, at the age of 32, Diller was named chairman of Paramount Pictures and assembled a team that included Michael *Eisner and Jeffrey *Katzenberg. Diller had been hired by Charles Bluhdorn, head of Gulf & Western Industries, a sprawling conglomerate that had acquired Paramount in 1966. During Diller's 10-year tenure, Paramount produced such hit films as *Saturday Night Fever* and *Raiders of the Lost Ark* and such wildly successful TV shows as *Taxi* and *Cheers*. In 1984, Diller quit Paramount after a dispute with Martin S. *Davis, who had succeeded Bluhdorn, and went to work for Twentieth Century Fox. After Rupert Murdoch bought Fox, Diller was put in charge of developing the studio's new network. Starting with limited programming, Diller built Fox into a fourth network to compete with CBS, NBC, and ABC. He developed low-cost "reality" fare and balanced those shows with alternative and youth-oriented programming like *The Simpsons*.

In a surprise move, Diller quit Fox in 1992 to buy and run QVC, a television shopping network, with a $25 million stake. He made an unsuccessful bid to take over Paramount Communications in 1993 but lost to Sumner *Redstone of Viacom. Diller resigned from QVC in 1995 and acquired Silver King Communications, a small group of UHF stations, in an attempt to create a hybrid cable network that would offer a full schedule of entertainment, sports, and news. Also in 1995 he took over USA Interactive, which he expanded to include not only home shopping but a variety of successful companies that deal with interactive business on the Internet: Expedia, Inc., Hotels.com, and Ticketmaster. With these properties Diller became the leader of the online travel business. From May 2002 to March 2003 he served as chairman and chief executive of Vivendi Universal Entertainment. Diller served on the boards of several major corporations, including the Washington Post Company and the Coca-Cola Company.

[Stewart Kampel (2nd ed.)]

°**DILLMANN, AUGUST** (1823–1894), German Orientalist, Bible scholar, and theologian. Dillmann first studied Bible and theology and concentrated on Ethiopic studies at the universities of London, Paris, and Oxford in 1846–48. At Tuebingen he became professor extraordinary of theology (1853). He served as professor of Oriental languages at Kiel from 1854 to 1864, professor of theology at Giessen from 1864 to 1869, and at Berlin from 1869 until his death. Dillmann is best remembered for his long-standing attachment to Ethiopic studies. In 1847 and 1848 he published long neglected catalogs of Ethiopic manuscripts. He was responsible for pioneering studies on the various Ethiopic books of the Bible, Apocrypha, and Pseudepigrapha (from 1851 on). His Ethiopic grammar (*Grammatik der aethiopischen Sprache*, 1857, 1899^2), lexicon (*Lexicon linguae aethiopicae cum indice latino*, 1865), and chrestomathy (*Chrestomathia aethiopica*, 1866, 1950^2) were hailed as classics in the field. His most important works on the interpretation of the Bible are his commentaries on Genesis (1892^6) and Exodus-Leviticus (1897^3). An English translation of the one on Genesis came out in two volumes in 1897. He held that there were three independent sources in the Pentateuch (P, E, and J), and argued for the existence of an independent Deuteronomic source based on E. Unlike many higher biblical critics of his day, he maintained the priority of a pre-Exilic P over D. His posthumously published *Handbuch der alttestamentlichen Theologie* (1895) rejected J. *Wellhausen's philosophy of the development of Israel's religion and maintained that the religion of Israel, which was centered on holiness, was unique in the ancient world.

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[Zev Garber]

DILLON (Zuchowicki), ABRAHAM MOSES (1883–1934), Yiddish poet. Dillon was born in Russia. In 1909 he immigrated to the United States where he experienced years of hunger and hard physical labor. As a poet, he was affiliated with the New York impressionistic movement *Di Yunge.* His melancholy lyrics were published in anthologies and in the book *Gele Bleter* ("Yellow Leaves," 1919). A more complete edition of his work, *Lider fun A.M. Dillon*, appeared in 1935.

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[Melech Ravitch]

DIMANSTEIN, SIMON (1886–1937), Russian revolutionary and Communist leader. Son of a village peddler, Dimanstein studied at the Lubavitch yeshivah with the support of a distinguished Hebrew writer, Samuel Tchernowitz, and received his rabbinical diploma from Ḥaim Ozer Grodzensky. He joined the Bolshevik faction of the Russian Social Democratic Party in 1904 and actively opposed the Bund. Between 1906 and 1910 he was arrested on several occasions and finally banished to Siberia, but escaped and went to Paris. Dimanstein returned to Russia in 1917 following the February Revolution and, after the Bolsheviks seized power, became an assistant to Stalin, then Commissar for the Affairs of Nationalities. In January 1918 he became head of the Commissariat for Jewish Affairs, and from 1918 edited the Yiddish paper *Der Emess.* The newspaper was an instrument of Communist propaganda especially directed against religion, Zionism, and the Bund. With the creation of the *Yevsektsiya (the Jewish section of the Communist Party) Dimanstein was named chairman of its central committee from October 1918. In July 1919 he signed the order abolishing all Jewish parties, organizations, and institutions. He held various official posts, including commissar for education in Turkestan and head of the administration for political education in the Ukraine, and from 1924 was director of the nationalities sector in the Central Committee of the Communist Party. At the end of the 1920s he headed the OZET society for settling Jews on the land, and he played an important part in setting up the Jewish settlement in Birobidzhan. He was editor of the anthology "Yidn in FSSR" ("Jews in SSSR") in 1935. Dimanstein was arrested during the Stalin purges and died in prison, probably in 1937.

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[Abba Ahimeir / Shmuel Spector (2nd ed.)]

DIMI (Avdimi Naḥota; fl. first half of the 4th century), Babylonian *amora*. Dimi was one of the **Neḥutei*, the scholars who traveled from Palestine to Babylonia and back, conveying the teachings of the Palestinian academies to Babylonia and bringing the *halakhot* of the Babylonian *amoraim* to Palestine. His statements in the Talmud are introduced by the formula, "When Rav Dimi came, he said …." In particular, he transmitted the rulings of Johanan, *Resh Lakish, and Eleazar of the academy of Tiberias to the scholars of Pumbedita in the days of R. *Joseph and *Abbaye. Most of his statements are on halakhic topics, but he also transmits scriptural exegesis, midrashic *aggadot*, historical experiences (Ber. 44a, et al.), and particulars concerning the geography of Ereẓ Israel (Shab. 108b). He was painstakingly accurate in his reports; when he realized that he had been mistaken he sent word: "What I told you was erroneous, in fact it was said …" (Shab. 63b). He made frequent use of the expression: "In the West (i.e., Ereẓ Israel) they say …." For example, "When Rav Dimi came he said: In the West they say: 'Silence is worth twice as much as a word' (Meg. 18a). When Abbaye asked him: 'What do people avoid most in the West?' he replied: 'Putting others to shame. For R. Hanina said: "Only three categories of sinners do not reascend from Gehenna: he who commits adultery, he who publicly shames his neighbor, and he who calls his neighbor by a degrading nickname (even if the latter is accustomed to it)"'" (BM 58b). He reported, too, that in Ereẓ Israel it was customary to sing before a bride: "No powder and no paint and no styling of the hair – but she is still a graceful gazelle" (Ket. 17a). In the middle of the fourth century Dimi settled permanently in Babylonia, apparently because of the oppressive edicts of the emperor Constantine and the persecutions in the days of Gallus and Ursicinus (351).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Hyman, Toledot, 327–31; Halevy, Dorot, 2 (1923), 467–73.

[Yitzhak Dov Gilat]

DIMI OF NEHARDEA (fl. 4th century), Babylonian *amora*, head of the academy of Pumbedita from 385 to 388. In his youth Dimi was a fruit merchant. The Talmud relates an anecdote concerning him which affords an insight into contemporary social practice. Dimi once brought dried figs to sell, apparently in the market of Maḥoza. As talmudic scholars were permitted to sell their produce before other merchants so as not to be detained too long from their studies, Rava, on the instigation of the exilarch, sent Adda b. Abba to test his scholarship and consequent right to the privilege. Adda put difficult questions to Dimi on the laws of ritual uncleanness and as Dimi could not answer, he was not granted the privilege (BB 22a). Little is known of his relations with his contemporaries. He is mentioned as engaging in halakhic disputes with Abbaye (Men. 35a) and with Rava. Whereas Rava preferred a teacher who taught much, even at the expense of accuracy, since "errors get corrected by themselves," Dimi preferred the more accurate if slower teacher, since "an error once implanted cannot be eradicated." Dimi himself, faithful to his principle, transmitted halakhic statements with great accuracy, his version at times differing from those of his colleagues (RH 20a; et al.). Whereas Rava held that a less qualified schoolteacher should not be replaced by a superior one since the latter, relying upon his talent, might neglect his duty and come to regard himself as indispensable, Dimi held that he should be replaced, for the need to prove his ability would inspire him to greater efforts (BB 21a). Though chiefly a halakhist, he is also known for his aggadic statement: "The dispensing of hospitality is more meritorious than early attendance at the *bet ha-midrash*" (Shab. 127a).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Hyman, Toledot, 333; Weiss, Dor, 3 (1904^{4}), 182.

[Moshe Beer]

DIMITROVSKY, CHAIM ZALMAN (1920–), talmudist and historian. Born in Ereẓ Israel, Dimitrovsky was ordained in 1944. From 1951 he taught at the Jewish Theological Seminary in New York. In his historical writings, which deal mainly with the Jewish communities of Palestine and Italy in the 16th century, Dimitrovsky made use of halakhic works and unpublished documents in order to supplement and correct the accounts of historians and chroniclers. His analysis of a responsum and glosses concerning the legality of the renewal of *semikhah* (ordination) by the rabbis of Safed enabled him to reconstruct the facts of that controversy. Especially noteworthy historical contributions are his articles on the dispute between Joseph Caro and Moses Trani (in *Sefunot*, 6 (1962), 71–123) and on "Yeshivat *Rabbi Ya'akov Berab*" *(ibid.*, 7 (1963), 41–102). Dimitrovsky's writings in *halakhah* are devoted essentially to R. Solomon b. Abraham *Adret. He published Adret's novellae to the tractates *Megillah* and *Rosh ha-Shanah, Ḥiddushei Solomon ben Adret …* (1956 and 1961, respectively), and prepared an edition of his responsa.

[Shamma Friedman]

Dimitrovsky published (1980) *Seridei Bavli* consisting of 550 pages of a copy of the Babylonian Talmud printed in Spain between 1482 and 1497 based on an otherwise unknown version of the Talmud.

DIMONAH (Heb. דִּימוֹנָה), town in southern Israel, in the central Negev Hills, 21½ mi. (35 km.) southeast of Beer-Sheba and 25 mi. (40 km.) west of Sodom. It was founded in September 1955 to provide the employees of the *Sodom Dead Sea Works with homes in a healthy climate and at a convenient distance from their work. Laborers of the Oron phosphate field nearby also established permanent homes in Dimonah. The population grew to 3,500 in 1959 and by 1968 was 20,000. In 1969 the town received municipal status. Of the families resident at Dimonah in 1968, 65% were immigrants from North Africa, 20% from Europe, 10% from India, and the rest from Persia or born in Israel. Children below 15 years of age made up about half the population. Industry provided 65% of employment. During the 1980s the city's population began to decline, but thanks to the wave of immigration of the 1990s, it began to rise again. The population of Dimonah in the mid-1990s was approximately 30,000, rising further by 2002 to 33,700, making the city the third largest in the Negev. Its municipal area extended over 2.3 sq. mi. (6 sq. km.). At the turn of the 21st century the city's residents were employed in the textile, chemical, and electronic industries as well as in Dead Sea tourism. Some worked at the nearby atomic reactor and the new phosphate field of Ẓefa-Efeh. Income was considerably below the national average.

Dimonah is mentioned as one of the towns belonging to the tribe of Judah in the Negev (Josh. 15:22), but it is not certain whether the ancient site is identical with that of the present town.

[Efraim Orni / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

DINA DE-MALKHUTA DINA (Aram. דִּינָא דְּמַלְכוּתָא דִּינָא), the halakhic rule that the law of the country is binding, and, in certain cases, is to be preferred to Jewish law. The problem of *dina de-malkhuta dina* is similar to – but not identical with – the problem of *conflict of laws in other legal systems.

The Historical Background

The original significance of this rule, which was laid down by the *amora* *Samuel, can be deduced from the historical events of that era. The conquest of Babylon from the Parthians by Ardashir I, king of the Sassanids in 226 C.E., brought an end to the period of tranquillity from which the Jews in *Babylonia had benefited. Losing their political and religious autonomy, they had to adapt themselves to the powerful and centralized rule of the Sassanids. In 241 Shapur I, son of Ardashir, succeeded to the throne and granted the minorities under his rule cultural and religious autonomy which also applied to the Jews. Samuel, their leader at that time, imbued Babylonian Jewry with the consciousness that they must become reconciled to the new government, and a personal friendship was apparently established between Samuel and Shapur (Neusner, Babylonia, vol. 2; 16, 27, 30, 45, 71). Consequently Samuel's rule had important political significance, since it recognized the new Sassanid kingdom as a civilized rule possessing good and equitable laws which Jews were bound to obey, as they were to pay the taxes it imposed (*ibid.*, 69, 95).

The Principle in the Talmud

Samuel's principle is cited only four times in the Talmud (Ned. 28a; Git. 10b; BK 113a; BB 54b and 55a). Three *halakhot* that are cited by *Rabbah (according to another reading by *Rava, fourth generation of Babylonian *amoraim*), in the name of the exilarch Ukban b. Nehemiah, and are attributed to Samuel deal with the relationship of Jews to the Persian government and with the relationship of Jewish to gentile law. These *halakhot* establish that the Persian law of the presumptive ownership of land is to be recognized even if it is opposed to Jewish law (see **Ḥazakah*); that the sale of land confiscated by the government for non-payment of tax on the land is valid, but only if the sale is because of non-payment of the land tax and not because of non-payment of the poll tax (BB 55a; et cf. BK 113b). Additional *halakhot* adopted in consequence of *dina de-malkhuta dina* are: recognition of the Persian rules for the transfer of land even if they are not in accordance with Jewish law (BB 54b and 55a); the right of the king to sell a person into slavery for evading payment of the poll tax and the option of a Jew to buy him from the government executive officers and to enslave him (Yev. 64a; BM 73b); a prohibition against cheating tax collectors and concealing assets from them, unless the taxes are illegal for the reasons mentioned in the Talmud (Ned. 28a; BK 113a); and the recognition of bills executed by, or endorsed by, non-Jewish courts despite their being invalid according to Jewish law. The Talmud records a dispute as to the scope of the last *halakhah*. One opinion is that every type of document is to be recognized except for bills of divorce and manumission; according to another view the recognition is granted only to declaratory bills serving as evidence, such as bills of debt, but not to constructive bills such as benefactions (Git. 10b). It may be assumed that the definite but restricted recognition of the government's right to punish wrongdoers was based in part on Samuel's principle, although this is not stated explicitly in the talmudic sources. His principle was accepted as definitive *halakhah*, in the talmudic era and later. In spite of the permissiveness of the *halakhah* in adopting a foreign statute, Jewish law remained dominant in Jewish society, as is amply testified by the great legal creativity of Babylonian Jewry in the talmudic era.

The Legal Basis of the Principle

No legal basis for Samuel's principle is given by the Talmud; nor, apparently, did this problem engage the attention of the *geonim*. In one responsum of the geonic period an effort was made to establish the principle for practical religious reasons. The responder, having regard to the realities before him – Jews under a foreign government – states that it is the will of God that Jews should obey the laws of their rulers, a verse from the book of Nehemiah (9:37) being quoted in support of this view (S. Assaf (ed.), *Teshuvot ha-Ge'onim* (1942), no. 66). Later a number of legal explanations were suggested for Samuel's principle. According to one, Jewish law is able in certain cases to accept non-Jewish law because non-Jews are commanded to enact laws to preserve orderly social life (see *Noachide Laws; Rashi, Git. 9b). According to another view the reason is contractual; i.e., the inhabitants have accepted the king's statutes or the king himself: "For all the citizens accept the king's statutes and laws of their own free will" (Rashbam BB 54b), or "For the inhabitants of that country have accepted him [the king] and take it for granted that he is their master and they are servants to him" (Maim. Yad, Gezelah 5:18). A third view that has been adopted, especially by later authorities, bases the rule *dina de-malkhuta dina* on the right of the court to expropriate a person's property (*hefker bet din hefker*, see **bet din* and **takkanot*); namely, that the halakhic scholars, by virtue of their authority to enact *takkanot* in monetary matters, even in opposition to the laws of the Torah, have in certain matters recognized the customs of the kingdom and its statutes (*Teshuvot Ba'alei ha-Tosafot* no. 12; *Devar Avraham*, vol. 1, no. 1). Some scholars have compared the right of non-Jewish kings to the power of a king of Israel (Nov. Ritba, BB 55a). Others take the view that the legality of the king's statutes derives from the simple fact that the land belongs to the king, who lays down the conditions of residence, and if Jews wish to dwell in his land they are obliged to obey his directions (Ran, Ned. 28a; *Or Zaru'a*, BK, no. 447; for an additional reason, similar but not identical, see *Or Zaru'a, ibid.* and *Devar Avraham*, vol. 1 no. 1). Still others see the halakhic validity of custom as the basis of *dina de-malkhuta dina (Aliyyot de-Rabbenu Yonah*, BB 55a). Most of these views reflect the sociopolitical outlook of the Middle Ages.

In recent times halakhic scholars have been occupied by the problem of whether the principle *dina de-malkhuta dina* derives from rabbinic or biblical law (see **Mishpat Ivri*). The accepted view is that it is of biblical authority and thus those consequences in the field of *halakhah* that derive from this conclusion must be applied to it (see *ibid.*; *Resp. Hatam Sofer*, YD, nos. 127 and 314; *Avnei Millu'im*, 28:2; *Devar Avraham*, vol. 1, no. 1).

The Nature of the Government and the Statute

The halakhic authorities did not accept every law and every kingdom for the purpose of applying the principle *dina de-malkhuta dina* and a series of conditions and qualifications were established.

(1) THE RECOGNIZED GOVERNMENT. There were scholars who held that the principle applied only where there existed a monarchist form of government (*Oraḥ la-Ẓaddik*, ḤM, no. 1). Others, however, were of the opinion that Samuel's rule included other types of authority. With changes in the forms of government and the increase of non-monarchic states, the second view gained acceptance (*Keneset ha-Gedolah*, Tur, ḤM 369).

(2) DINA DE-MALKHUTA DINA AND THE KINGDOM OF ISRAEL. Another problem is whether the principle applies to Jewish kings in the land of Israel. From talmudic sources it follows that a distinction must be made between the laws of Jewish kings and those of non-Jewish kings as far as *dina de-malkhuta dina* is concerned; this was also the opinion of most early halakhists (*Teshuvot Ba'alei ha-Tosafot* no. 12; Nov. Rashba, Ned. 28a). According to Solomon b. Abraham *Adret, those who believe that *dina de-malkhuta dina* does not apply to Jewish kings admit that it does apply to them if they rule outside Israel (Resp. Rashba, vol. 2, no. 134). This opinion corresponds with one of the reasons given for the prin-

ciple not applying to Jewish kings in Israel: "But the laws of Jewish kings are not valid because Israel was divided among [is the inheritance of] every individual Israelite and does not belong to the king, while in the case of non-Jews their law is that the whole land belongs to the king" (*Or Zaru'a*, BK, no. 447). In the course of time the school that held that Samuel's principle was to be applied to a Jewish government in Israel grew stronger (*Tashbez*, pt. 4, section 1, no. 14).

(3) THE PRINCIPLE OF EQUALITY. All agree that the law of the kingdom must apply equally to all its citizens (Maim. Yad, Gezelah, 5:14; Sh. Ar., ḤM 369:8). Resulting from the conditions of Jewish life in exile, the principle of equality was so interpreted that certain types of discrimination were recognized as valid. In one case it was decided that it is sufficient if the law does not discriminate between Jew and Jew despite the fact that Jews as a whole are adversely discriminated against (Resp. Maharik, no. 195). An additional loophole is: the king is permitted to enact special laws for "strangers, not of his own country" (*Ḥokhmat Shelomo* ḤM, 369:8).

The Scope of Laws Included in *Dina de-Malkhuta Dina*

(1) *ISSUR ("religious prohibitions") AND MONETARY LAW. All agree that the principle does not apply to religious or ritual observances (*issur ve-hetter*). This was so certain that it was not particularly stressed and is mentioned only in a few sources (*Tashbeẓ*, pt. 1, no. 158).

(2) THE KING'S INTERESTS. Some scholars limited the application of *dina de-malkhuta dina* to such matters only as were the king's interests; namely, the needs of the kingdom and not matters of purely private law (*Sefer ha-Terumot, 46*:8) but most scholars believed that the principle is applicable even in matters of pure private law (*ibid., Maggid Mishneh, Malveh ve-Loveh* 27:1; Resp. Rashba, vol. 1, no. 895).

(3) "NON-JEWISH WAYS" AND NEW LAWS OF THE KING. Some halakhists affirm that the laws of the kingdom must be recognized but not "non-Jewish ways." This concept is somewhat obscure; in medieval times when it was first discussed, it apparently meant laws that were based on local customs whose source was not the laws of the kingdom but popular usage; these had no validity since the principle is that "the law of the king is binding but the laws of his people are not binding for us" (Rashba, Resp. vol. 6, no. 149; *Beit ha-Beḥirah*, BK 113b). On the other hand most medieval halakhists held that Samuel's rule does not apply to laws introduced by the kings themselves that were not previously the law of the land (*Teshuvot Ba'alei ha-Tosafot* no. 12; Nov. Ritba. BB 55a; Nov. Rashba, BB 55a). This was under the influence of the point of view prevailing in general medieval jurisprudence, which only recognized the validity of ancient laws. Despite the fact that most of the early halakhists held this view, since Maimonides and Asher b. Jehiel apparently disagreed with it (Alfasi does not discuss it at all), Joseph Caro decided the law in conformity with their opinion (see *Codification of Law), and in the Shulḥan Arukh he makes no mention of the restriction of *dina de-malkhuta dina* to ancient law. Joseph Caro's decision served in the following generations as the basis for the extension of Samuel's principle, an imperative necessity when medieval views on the static quality of law underwent sweeping changes and the main laws of the country were no longer based upon ancient statutes but on current legislation (Sh. Ar., ḤM 369:8–10).

(4) STATE LAWS IN OPPOSITION TO TORAH LAW. According to some halakhists the law of the state is binding only when it does not oppose Torah law; i.e., only when it relates to matters not explicitly dealt with in the Torah (A. Sofer (ed.), *Teshuvot Ḥakhmei Provinẓyah* (1967), ḤM, no. 49; *Siftei Kohen*, ḤM 73, no. 39, *Ḥatam Sofer*, Resp. ḤM no. 44). This distinction is not sufficiently clear, since it is difficult to find the dividing line between what is available in Torah law and what constitutes a lacuna since, according to the point of view of halakhists, the solution of every problem is to be found in the *halakhah* itself.

Taxes

The king's right to collect taxes was already recognized in the Talmud, and was strengthened by all halakhists in the post-talmudic period. Evading payment of tax is considered robbery (Tashbeẓ, pt. 3 no. 46). The authorities, however, continued to differentiate between justified taxes and confiscations and those without justification (Sh. Ar., ḤM 369:6–11). In practice the way this distinction operated was decided in every individual case, in accordance with the conditions at the actual place and with the substance of the tax. According to the talmudic *halakhah* an unlimited tax is not to be recognized, but later it was declared valid by the *posekim* if it was for "great needs," such as financing a war (*Haggahot Mordekhai*, BB no. 659). Even taxes which were "wicked and cruel" were, from sheer necessity, at times recognized as legal. Thus it was decided that the rule that taxes which have no limit are not to be recognized is to be interpreted as referring to current constant taxes whose sum is at this time greater and beyond the usual amount; when the tax was *ab initio* not fixed, the king may place an arbitrary burden upon the community (*Terumat ha-Deshen*, no. 341).

Bills Executed in Non-Jewish Courts

Beginning with the period of the *geonim* and until the 13th century the aim of limiting the acceptance of bills executed by non-Jewish courts prevailed (S. Assaf (ed.), *Teshuvot ha-Ge'onim* (1942), no. 66; Maim. Yad, Malveh ve-Loveh 27:1), but after this period most halakhists extended acceptance of these documents (Ramban, Nov., BB 55a, Rashba, Nov., Git. 10b). This approach may be inferred from the communal *takkanot.* Communities which undertook to rule in all matters according to Maimonides' *Mishneh Torah* stipulated that in three *halakhot* his ruling was not to be followed, one of the three being Maimonides' *halakhah* that benefactions executed by non-Jewish courts were invalid (A.H. Hershman, *Rabbi Isaac ben Sheshet Perfet* (Eng., 1943), 88f.). Because of this tendency it was decided – in opposition to the *halakhah* of the geonic period that permitted the collection of bills executed by non-Jewish courts from free assets only (S. Assaf (ed.), *Teshuvot ha-Ge'onim* (1927), no. 123) – that such a bill is to be treated like any normal bill and can be collected also from property transferred by the debtor (see *Lien; Rashba, Resp. vol. 3, no. 69; *Piskei ha-Rosh*, Git. 1:10, 11). Likewise there was an extension of recognition of non-Jewish courts in which the bills were executed. The need to establish the honesty of the courts, mentioned by the early authorities (Rif. *Halakhot* Git. Ch. 1, no. 410; Maim. Yad, Malveh ve-Loveh 27:1), was to all intents and purposes no longer demanded, the tendency being to assume the uprightness of the courts until the contrary was proved (*Piskei ha-Rosh*, Git 1:10, 11). Not only were the judges recognized but also administrative officers like notaries (Ramban, Resp. no. 46), and among late authorities all kinds of documents issued by those authorities were recognized (*Be'er Yiẓḥak*, EH, 5:4; *Sho'el u-Meshiv* pt. 1, no. 10). See also **Shetar*.

Changes in the Value of the Coinage

Another problem frequently dealt with in connection with *dina de-malkhuta dina* is that of changes in the value of the coinage. Thus it was laid down that if the government decided that a debt is to be paid in a certain way this could be done despite the possibility of being involved in a breach of the prohibitions against usury or theft (*Sefer ha-Terumot*, 46:5; *Meisharim* 6:1; *Ḥatam Sofer*, Resp., ḤM, no. 58).

Appointments to Religious and Juridical Office by the Government

The question of *dina de-malkhuta dina* was also raised in connection with appointments by the government to juridical and religious office in the Jewish community. Some held that the principle applied to such appointments. The opinion that was accepted is that, though indeed there is basis for the principle even in these cases, it is the duty of one so appointed not to accept the appointment if it is against the will of the members of the Jewish community (Ribash, Resp. no. 271; Rema, ḤM 3:4; *Tashbeẓ*, pt. 1 nos. 158, 162; Rema, Resp. no. 123; *Hatam Sofer*, Resp. ḤM no. 19).

[Shmuel Shilo]

Scope and Limitations

We must bear in mind when discussing *dina de-malkhuta dina* ("the law of the kingdom is law") that it is an underlying principle in the subsequent development and creativity of Jewish law. It is apparent from the Talmud that this principle does not only govern the relationship between the individual and the authorities but also relates to civil cases between private parties. Indeed, during the talmudic era, as long as a central Jewish authority existed, this principle did not restrict Jewish law in any way. But, with the dispersion of the people to various centers and the cessation of central authority, from the tenth century onwards, Jewish law was in danger of turning into an academic subject, its development obstructed and creativity suppressed. The halakhic Sages were aware of this and prevented it by limiting the scope of the rule 'the law of the kingdom is law'. They subordinated the *halakha* to Gentile law only in particular cases and conditions and rejected its application to civil cases between private parties as discussed above. To this end, the talmudic sources implying the wider scope of the rule were harmonized and reinterpreted (*Sefer Haterumot* 46, 8, 5) and sometimes the apprehensions of undermining the Jewish legal system are explicitly stated (Meiri, *Beit ha-Beḥirah,* BK 113b). It might well be that the very limitations of the rule resulted that when it had been applied, the foreign legal elements were not merely recognized and validated but also integrated into Jewish law. (See Bibliography, Elon, (1988), 61–66; Elon (1994), 68–73.)

Criminal Jurisdiction by Non-Jewish Authorities Recognized by Jewish Law

The rule "the law of the kingdom is law" was employed for this purpose by the Israeli Supreme Court in the case of *Aloni* (HCJ, 852/86, *Aloni v. Ministry of Justice, judgment*, 41 (2), 1). The Supreme court was asked to decide whether to instruct the State to extradite to France a man charged with murder in a French court. The defendant was already declared extraditable according to Israeli Extradition Law and in accordance with the treaty between the two countries. But the Minister of Justice decided not to implement the extradition, due to the potential life-threatening situations that the defendant may face in the French jail from other prisoners. Justice Menachem Elon extensively discussed the approach of Jewish Law on the subject of extradition as it was treated throughout the Dispersion when the gentile authorities demanded from the Jewish congregations the handing over of Jews accused of severe criminal charges. The first part of Elon's opinion discussed whether Jewish Law enabled the extradition of one accused of serious crimes to gentiles on the grounds of the criminal accusation itself (pp. 76–90, of judgment; q.v. "Extradition").

The second part of the opinion relates to the issue of whether Jews have to inform the gentile authorities about criminal acts committed by Jews on the grounds that gentile jurisdiction to try all citizens is recognized within the framework of the rule "the law of the kingdom is law." The following is a brief summary of the main points of that decision. Solomon ben Abraham Adret (Rashba) in a Responsum quoted by the *Beit Yosef* commentary on *Tur* (ḤM 308/12) relates to a case in which the Jewish community was requested by the gentile authorities to investigate whether a certain Jew had committed a felony, in order that he be punished. Rashba relying on the principle of "the law of the kingdom is law" ruled that when a Jewish court was acting by license of the authorities, there was no need to observe the usual requirements of admissible evidence by Jewish law such as forewarning, competent witnesses etc. – even in capital cases because "if we do not say this, but insist on adherence to Biblical law in procedural law, the world would become a wasteland and murderers and their cronies would proliferate …" (*ibid.* according to the version published by Kaufmann in: JQR, 8 (1896), 228, 235–6; p. 90 in *Aloni* judgment).

R. Samuel *Medina (*Responsa Maharashdam*, ḤM, no. 55) upheld the opinion of a Responsum by Abraham ben David of Posquières (Rabad) and clearly states on the basis of "the law of the kingdom is law" that measures taken by the government to punish criminal felons were entirely justified, as it was within the authority of the government to legislate laws in its jurisdiction (p. 91, *Aloni* judgment).

In the 19th century R. Moses Schick (*Responsa Maharam Schick*, ḤM, no. 50) cites the abovementioned responsum by Rashba in a case where it was known, though not proved, in the Jewish community that a certain woman had murdered her husband. The question was whether to hand her over to the non-Jewish authorities. Rabbi Schick ruled that punishment meted out by the authorities was legitimate for "…all they do to improve social order is legitimate" (pp. 91–92, *Aloni* judgment).

In this context, Justice Elon also quotes R. Meir Dan Plotzki (Poland, 19th–20th cent.; *Kelei Ḥemdah*, *Mishpatim 1*) who says that the talmudic prohibition of seeking remedy in non-Jewish courts did not apply to European state courts of his time, and it was preferable to bring cases before them because *dina de-malkhuta dina*.

On the basis of these sources, Justice Elon ruled that the provision of Extradition Act 5714 – 1954 was congruent with Jewish Law which negates evasion of criminally charged suspects from standing trial, especially in capital cases, if the Jewish court was unable to adjudicate them. Numerous great halakhic authorities were of the opinion that such a suspect should be handed over to a court which had the authority to try him, either by the authority of Jewish Law itself, or under the authority of the principle *dina de-malkhuta dina*. (p. 96, *Aloni* judgment). Rabbi S. Israeli disagrees (see bibliography) with this conclusion. In his opinion the scope of 'the law of the kingdom is law' is limited to the particular country (and it cannot be invoked in an international situation). For a more extensive discussion see *Extradition.

The Validity of the Rule Concerning Israeli Law

Since the establishment of the State of Israel, rabbinical courts frequently address themselves to the relationship between Israeli Civil Law and Jewish Law. On many occasions, rabbinical courts have conferred binding authority on the state law within the halakhic discourse of Jewish Law on the basis of the rule *dina de-malkhuta dina.*

1. THE ADOPTION OF VARIOUS STATE LAWS BY RABBINICAL COURTS. The application of Israeli Law by rabbinical courts on various matters, and based on usage or community enactment, was discussed by the Israeli Supreme Court in the case of *Vilozhny* (HCJ 323/81 *Vilozhny* v. *The Great Rabbinical Court*, judgment 36(2) 733). The appellant requested the court to annul the decision of the Great Rabbinical Court which had ruled that the appellant had to vacate the apartment in which he lived with his wife, after having been granted a divorce, due to the violent behavior of the husband. The appellant argued that the court should have recognized that the apartment was occupied by him according to the Landlord and Tenant Law (Consolidated Version), 5732 – 1972, and thus not order the sale of the apartment as if it were vacant. The Rabbinical Court determined that its ruling did not contradict the landlord and tenant law "which was given the same halakhic validity as any usage or regulation enacted by the community." The Supreme Court (Justice M. Elon) relates to this comment of the Rabbinical Court, and adds that rabbinical courts in numerous instances tend to adopt Israeli Law, describing the various methods of adoption, illustrated by examples. We shall quote here implementations based on *dina de-malkhuta dina* in order to further clarify this point.

> During their decision-making process, Rabbinical Courts also make use from time to time of the principle of "the law of the kingdom is law" in order to validate various legal transactions, if they were not valid according to Jewish Law (e.g., concerning a bank guarantee defective in collaterals, app. 5725/47, RC judgment E 264, pp. 267–270; concerning the competence of a legal personality, the recognition of which was uncertain by traditional Jewish Law [in this case R.S. Dichovsky ruled that on the basis of "the law of the kingdom is law" it was possible to create new concepts in civil law, and even to create a new category of legal personalities] (case 11183/32, RC Judgment J 273, pp. 288–289); concerning entry of property at the land registry [in that case the court raised the question discussed above, whether "the law of the kingdom is law" applied in the Land of Israel]). The court ruled that since the registration was entered prior to the establishment of the State of Israel, in the time of British rule, there was no doubt about the validity of the rule (appeal 26/127, RC Judgment F 376, pp. 380–382). In some cases the Rabbinical Court even annulled transactions valid according to Jewish Law, if they have not met the requirements of the State Law (e.g., the requirement to enter a purchase in the land registry, though Jewish Law only requires an agreement (file 747/26, RC Judgment F 249 p. 252).

The court noted that "when the principle of 'the law of the kingdom is law' is evoked, the ruling by State Law is given binding validity, but it does not become a part of the Jewish Law" (p. 740 HCJ, Vilozhny).

It has to be noted that in a later ruling (file 307/38 RC judgment 12 279 p. 294) the Haifa District Rabbinical Court ruled (on the basis of Responsa Ḥatam Sofer, ḤM no. 44) that even though the applicability of *dina de-malkhuta dina* in the Land of Israel was a matter of controversy (see above), even the opponents concurred that, concerning usage and enactments with the aim of regulating trade to the public benefit, the rule applied also in the Land of Israel. Based on this principle, the court ruled that transfer of landed property which was not entered in the registry office was not valid, even if the act of acquisition had met the requirements of Jewish Law, because the law requiring registration as a precondition for a transaction of property intended to prevent fraud in land sales, and in such cases the rule of *dina de-malkhuta dina* was in force.

2. SPOUSES' JOINTLY OWNED PROPERTY PROCEDURES. A special case in which the question of using the rule of "the law of the kingdom is law" for the integration of State Law

and Supreme Court rulings into the legal system of rabbinical courts (see *bet din*) was addressed, concerned the allocation of jointly owned property of couples about to be divorced. Israeli civil courts have ruled for numerous years to divide the property in equal shares (The Procedure of Spouses' Property). After subsequent legislation (The Property Relations Between Spouses Act 5733 – 1973), this ruling became State Law also binding for Rabbinical Courts (q.v. Matrimonial Property). In this context diverging opinions have been developed among contemporary halakhic authorities. In the opinion of R. Shlomo Dichovsky, judge of the Great Rabbinical Court (*Teḥumin*, 18 (1998), pp. 18–31; 19 (1999), pp. 205–20) rabbinical courts have to adjudicate according to the Spouses' Property Procedures, by the authority of the 'law of the kingdom is law' principle. In his opinion, judgments should be made on the assumption that the principle also obtained in the Land of Israel and applied also to laws enacted by the democratic government and to the precedents set by judicial legislation. Since the Israeli Supreme Court regards its own judgments as part of the binding law, there is no difference between a judgment and a law. Therefore, in his opinion, judgments of the Supreme Court should not be subjected to the distinction, of some authorities, between an explicit state law – to which *dina de-malkhuta dina* applies – and the legal precedent of a local court to which it does not. Since all citizens of the country are familiar with and conduct their affairs according to the Spouses' Property Procedure, and since it can be supported by Jewish usage, it has to be accepted by the authority of *dina de-malkhuta dina*. This is so with regard to presumption of jointly owned property, though it originates from court rulings, and the principle of 'the law of the kingdom is law' surely has to be applied to it and cases should be adjudicated accordingly in Rabbinical Courts.

A different view is expressed by R. Abraham Sherman, also a judge of the Great Rabbinical Court (*Teḥumin,* 18 (1988), pp. 32–40); 19 (1999), 205–20). His opinion is that laws and legal definitions not prompted by circumstances or social developments to improve the administration of proper order, but by *the ideological inclinations* of legislators or judges of the state courts, do not warrant the application of *dina de-malkhuta dina*, because it contradicts the principles of the Torah. Furthermore, it cannot be factually ascertained that the Spouses' Property Procedure was unanimously accepted, and therefore presume that all marriages take place with the assumption that the jointly owned property would be divided according to this procedure. Hence, it is difficult to find a halakhic basis for the Spouses' Property Procedure. So when the issue was the allocation of matrimonial assets rather than an enactment for the public benefit, 'the law of the kingdom is law' ought not to be evoked.

3. THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN JEWISH LAW AND THE ISRAELI STATE LAW. Justice Elon, in his opinion on the above-mentioned Vilozhny appeal, also discussed the desirable principles for the relationship between the State (secular) and the rabbinical legal systems. The main points are as follows (pp. 740–42 HC judgment):

We may distinguish between three possible methods by which Rabbinical Courts could confer binding validity on Israeli Civil Law. One way is the recognition of the binding validity, based on the principle of 'the law of the kingdom is law' as explained above. The other method is adoption – by means of the legal basis of a custom (or usage) in Jewish Law that integrates a certain law which then becomes an integral part of it. If there was an existing public usage of a certain legal norm, this norm may be recognized in certain circumstances as part of the Jewish legal system and may even be valid in spite of contradicting a particular law in Jewish civil law. Rabbinical courts make frequent use of the legal basis of usage (*situmta* in talmudic terminology) in order to absorb various principles and laws from other legal systems (**minhag*). The third method is *legislation*; the community or its leaders enjoy a limited measure of judicial authority and may make new laws in various legal spheres. In talmudic times this was called "the authority to impose punishments" (*mesi'in al kiztan*) but in later periods it has become known as "enactment of the public." These enactments have greatly enriched Jewish Law and became an integral part of it (**takkanot ha-kahal*).

From time to time, rabbinical courts make use of the principle of *dina de-malkhuta dina* or the recognition of common usage in order to validate or absorb laws from other legal systems. However, there are rare instances in which rabbinical courts recognize a state law on the basis of an "enactment of the public." This method has a fundamental and far-reaching importance, because as we said, the law of the state thus becomes part of the Jewish legal system. In the Vilozhny appeal, the Supreme Court noted that the ruling of the rabbinical court, to which the appeal related, made use of this method with regard to the Landlord and Tenant Act, since the rabbinical court stated that "it was given the same halakhic validity as any usage or regulation enacted by the community." The court also noted that with regard to the Landlord and Tenant Law a ruling had already been given by Rabbi Obadiah Hadayah, that it should be regarded as an enactment made by the leaders of the community since "here we are not concerned with foreign laws, but with laws enacted by the government for the benefit of the people of the country…" (Responsa Yaskil Avdi, 6, ḤM no. 8).

During its development and history, Jewish Law has many times met the need to confront other legal systems, created by foreign nations. The need to cope with a different legal system created by the Jewish people itself, whose legislative and judicial institutions do not recognize the authority of the *halakhah* as their guiding principle, is a new phenomenon in Jewish history. The recognition and validation of Israeli civil law on the basis of *dina de-malkhuta dina* or even based on the authority of common usage indicate an approach that conceived the state legal system as an entity without any inherent creative connection with Jewish Law. Conversely, halakhic recognition and validation of the Jewish state based on "enactments of the community" conceive the state legal system as a product of Jewish creativity, in accordance with one of the historical legal methods recognized by the Jewish legal system, and this is the preferable way for the future integration of Israeli and Jewish Laws.

[Menachem Elon (2nd ed.)]

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DINAH (Heb. דִּינָה), the daughter of *Jacob and his wife *Leah (Gen. 30:21). Of her life, the Bible records only that during her family's stay in the vicinity of *Shechem, she was raped by Shechem, the son of Hamor the Hivite. Jacob's sons, *Simeon and *Levi, avenged their sister by slaughtering the male population of Shechem, carrying off the women and children, and taking their goods and livestock as spoil (Gen. 34). The biblical narrative contains divergent appraisals of this act of revenge. On the one hand, Jacob strongly disapproves of his sons' deeds, and while his immediate reaction is based on a fear of reprisal by the local population (34:30), on his deathbed (49:5–7) he once again expresses disgust at their conduct, prophesying that their descendants would be scattered in later Israel. On the other hand, the story's emphatic ending ("Should our sister be treated like a whore?"; 34:31) appeals to the reader to understand their behavior and even to approve it. This ambivalence is reflected in later Jewish tradition as well (Judith 9:2–4; Gen. R. 80:12; Yal., Gen. 134–5).

Scholars who find a historical kernel in the story point to the absence of the tribes of Simeon and Levi from the tribal list of the Song of Deborah (Judges 5) and see in Genesis 34 and Genesis 49:5–7 an etiology of that absence. Others read the chapter from the anthropological perspective of ingroup versus outgroup marriage in proto-Israelite times. Still others (see Amit in Bibliography) understand the chapter as a hidden polemic of the post-exilic period directed against the practice of conversion to Judaism. Thanks to the feminist movement, more attention has been paid to the story of Dinah than in previous generations. The question raised recently of whether the story describes an actual rape is complicated by the absence of a single term for "rape" (post-biblical *anas*) from Biblical Hebrew.

The Bible relates nothing further of Dinah's life, nor of her progeny, after this episode, although she is numbered among those who immigrated to Egypt (Gen. 46:15).

[Jacob S. Levinger / S. David Sperling (2nd ed.)]

In the *Aggadah*

Dinah was destined to be a male, but Leah, out of compassion for her sister Rachel, prayed that she be a girl, so that of the 12 sons whom she knew Jacob was destined to beget, two would be born to her sister. Leah called her daughter Dinah because of the judgment (*din*) she had thus passed on herself (Ber. 60a). Both Jacob and Leah are held partly responsible for the tragedy of Dinah. Dinah, desiring to show off her beauty to the Canaanite (Tanḥ. B. on Gen. 34:1), "went out," in the same way that her mother "went out" (see Gen. 30:16), and "as the mother so was the daughter" (Gen. R. 80:1). According to another view, however, she never willingly left her tent. Shechem made her do so through a subterfuge (PdRE 38). Jacob was to blame in that he concealed Dinah from his brother. Because he refused to give her in marriage to the circumcised Esau, she was ravished by the uncircumcised Shechem (Gen. R. 80:4). Jacob was thereby punished for staying in Shechem and delaying his departure to Beth-El (Lev. R. 37:1). According to one view, Asenath, the wife of Joseph (Gen. 41:45), was a daughter of Dinah. Abandoned by Jacob and found and adopted by *Potiphar (Poti-Phera) in Egypt, she was recognized by Joseph by an amulet which Jacob had given her; she later became Joseph's wife (PdRE 38).

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DINE, JIM (1935–), U.S. painter, sculptor, printmaker, performance artist, book illustrator, stage designer, and poet. Cincinnati-born Jim Dine studied art at the Cincinnati Art Academy (1951–53), the Boston Museum School (fall 1955), and Ohio University (1954–57). He burst onto the art scene as a purveyor of artist performances known as Happenings after moving to New York City in 1958. The 32nd performance, *Smiling Workman* (1960), was followed by *The Vaudeville Show* (1960) and *Car Crash* (1960). At this time Dine also began making assemblages – canvases that incorporate found materials. *Lawnmower* from 1962 employs an actual lawnmower on a pedestal. The handlebars of this ordinary object lean against the canvas, which is mounted on the wall and painted with thick hues of green and yellow, suggesting grass and the sun. This kind of mixed-media work is one of many that utilize the everyday objects that continue to define Dine's oeuvre.

During the 1960s Dine was associated with Pop art, but the cold impartiality of the movement went against the artist's desire to imbue his work with elements of his own personality. Throughout the years, Dine instilled new layers of meaning in the varied objects which preoccupy his art, including hearts, trees, tools, gates, the Venus de Milo, and robes. These themes are reiterated in different media and in different styles. Tools have been painted, drawn, and created as prints, as well as used in assemblages. Similarly, bathrobes – introduced in 1964 – have been rendered in many media. The empty robes are meant to be self-portraits. Painted while in Jerusalem, *Light Comes upon the Old City* (1979) is a large canvas showing a dark empty robe suffused with golden light.

Ever restless and continually experimental, in 1966 the prolific Dine designed the costumes for the San Francisco Actor's Workshop production of *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, and in 1967–68 he designed costumes for a version of Oscar Wilde's *Picture of Dorian Gray* that never reached the stage. Several illustrated volumes of Dine's poems have been published (1969, 1987). He also illustrated a version of Guillaume Apollinaire's *The Poet Assassinated* (1968) and Sigmund Freud's *The Case of the Wolf-Man* (1993), among other books. In 1998 Dine designed a heart logo for the 67th General Assembly of the Jewish Council of Federations in Jerusalem.

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[Samantha Baskind (2nd ed.)]

DINER, HASIA R. (1946–), scholar of American Jewish history. Born in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, the daughter of Morris and Ita Schwartzman, she received her Bachelor of Arts degree from the University of Wisconsin at Madison in 1968 and her doctorate from the University of Illinois in 1975. In 1975 Diner became an instructor in history at the University of Maryland, College Park; she served as a research associate at Radcliffe College from 1978 to 1980. From 1980 to 1984 she taught at the American University in Washington, D.C., and then from 1984 to 1996 was professor of history in the Department of American Studies at the University of Maryland.

In 1996 Diner became the Paul S. and Sylvia Steinberg Professor of American Jewish History at New York University, and she was appointed as director of the Goldstein-Goren Center for American Jewish History at New York University in 2003. She was a visiting lecturer at numerous academic conferences and universities, including Williams College, Michigan State University, the Jewish Theological Seminary, and the University of Munich.

Diner was a specialist in immigration history and the history of relations between American Jews and other ethnic and racial groups. Her many books and articles explore various aspects of immigration, identity, women's experience, and relationships between, for example, Jewish Americans and African Americans. Her works include *In the Almost Promised Land: American Jews and Blacks, 1915–1935* (1977); *A Time for Gathering: The Second Migration, 1820–1880* (1992); *Lower East Side Memories: The Jewish Place in America* (2000); *Hungering for America: Italian, Irish, and Jewish Foodways in the Age of Migration* (2002); *Her Works Praise Her: A History of Jewish Women in America from Colonial Times to the Present* (with Beryl Lieff Benderly, 2002); and *The Jews of the United States, 1645 to 2000* (2004). *Lower East Side Memories* received warm critical reception for its exploration of the transformation of the Lower East Side from a neighborhood of Jewish immigrants to a locale of nostalgia and myth within American Jewish memory.

One of 20 living women historians included in *American Women Historians, 1700s–1900s* (1998), Diner is a fellow of the American Academy for Jewish Research and a member of the Society of American Historians; she serves on the Executive Committee of the Academic Council of the American Jewish Historical Society and on the Executive Board of the Association for Jewish Studies. She was coeditor of the *Newsletter of the Association for Jewish Studies* from 1999. As an expert in Jewish immigration history, Diner served as a consultant to numerous films and public history projects, including *They Came for Good: A History of the Jewish People in America, Jews and Blacks in the Civil Rights Movement* and "Sitting Shiva with the Rogarshevkys" at the Lower East Side Tenement Museum.

[Dorothy Bauhoff (2nd ed.)]

DINES, ALBERTO (1932–), Brazilian journalist, author, biographer, and script writer. Dines was born in Rio de Janeiro. After starting at the *Jornal Israelita* in 1952, he advanced his career in journalism (writing mainly on cinema and politics) in prestigious Brazilian publications, also lecturing on journalism at universities in Brazil, Portugal, and the United States. In 1988 he published the biography *Morte no paraíso: A tragédia de Stefan Zweig*. In 1988–94 he lived in Portugal, where he carried out research on the Inquisition, published as *Vínculos de fogo: António José da Silva, o Judeu e outras histórias da Inquisição em Portugal e no Brasil* (1992). In Lisbon he also wrote *O baú de Abravanel. Uma crônica de sete séculos até Silvio Santos* (1990). The title story of his book *Posso?* (1972) describes the positive encounter between a Jew and a Christian on Christmas Eve. In 1979 he published a second book of short stories, *E por que não eu?* In 1996 Dines established *Observatório de Imprensa* (http://observatoriodaimprensa.com.br), an internet site on media criticism. He is director of LABJOR (Journalism Advanced Studies Laboratory) at Campinas University.

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[Florinda Goldberg (2nd ed.)]

DINESON, JACOB (1856–1919), Yiddish novelist. Dineson, who was born near Kovno (Kaunas), Lithuania, received a traditional Jewish education and was influenced by the Haskalah movement. Before turning to Yiddish, he wrote Hebrew articles in *Ha-Maggid, Ha-Meliẓ*, and *Ha-Shahar.* His first Yiddish novel, *Be-Ovoyn Oves* ("For the Parents' Sins," 1876), was banned by the Russian censor. Not until 13 years later and after rebutting H. *Graetz's denunciation of Yiddish, did he publish his second novel, which won the hearts of Yiddish readers and sold more than 200,000 copies: *Ha-Ne'ehovim ve-ha-Ne'imim oder der Shvartse Yungermantshik* ("The Beloved and the Pleasant or The Black Youth," 1877). He was the pioneer of the Yiddish sentimental novel, and retained the affection of the Yiddish reading public with his *Even Negef* ("Stumbling Block," 1890), *Hershele* ("Little Hershl," 1891), and *Yosele* ("Little Yosl," 1899). He also took the lead in modernizing elementary Jewish education through secular schools which were often called Dineson Schools. A close friend of I.L. Peretz, he helped establish the latter's fame.

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[Chone Shmeruk / Samuel Spinner (2nd ed.)]

DININ, SAMUEL (1902–2005), U.S. educator. Born in Mogilev oblast, Russia, Dinin earned his bachelor's degree at the City College of New York in 1922 and received his master's degree and doctorate at Columbia University in 1923 and 1933, respectively. He was registrar and associate professor of education and history at the Manhattan-based Teachers Institute of the *Jewish Theological Seminary of America from 1926 to 1945. In 1945, he was appointed executive director of the Los Angeles Bureau of Jewish Education. Through his efforts in that capacity, the Bureau established the Los Angeles Hebrew High School in 1949. Elected dean of the University of Judaism in Los Angeles in 1957, he was named chairman of the faculty and vice president in 1963. He continued under the UJ's auspices as its chair of faculties and its vice president until 1974, when he retired to become the college's professor emeritus of education and history. Dinin played a key role in developing several institutional pillars of Jewish education in Los Angeles, including the West Coast's Bureau of Jewish Education (BJE) affiliate, the University of Judaism (UJ), and Camp Ramah. He wrote *Judaism in a Changing Civilization* (1933) and served as editor of *Jewish Education.*

[Leon H. Spotts]

DINITZ, SIMCHA H. (1929–2003), Israeli diplomat and politician, member of the Eleventh Knesset. Born in Tel Aviv, Dinitz served in the Haganah and the IDF. He studied political science at the University of Cincinnati in Ohio and received a B.Sc. in international relations and an M.Sc. in international law from the School of Foreign Service at Georgetown University in Washington, D.C. In 1958 he joined the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, first in the Information Department and from 1962 as deputy director general. In 1963 he was appointed as Golda Meir's political secretary and was twice a member of the Israeli delegation to the UN General Assembly. In 1966–68 he served in the Israeli Embassy in Rome and 1968–69 in Washington in charge of information. In 1972 Golda Meir appointed him director general of the Prime Minister's Office, and at the end of November 1972 he was appointed ambassador to the U.S., remaining in office through the Yom Kippur War and the beginning of the peace process with Egypt, playing an important role in arranging for the American airlift of weapons to Israel in the course of the Yom Kippur War and participating in the team that negotiated the Camp David Accord in September 1978. During his service in the U.S., Dinitz developed close relations with Henry *Kissinger when the latter served as President Nixon's national security advisor and then secretary of state. In the years 1979–84 Dinitz held the position of vice president of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. In 1984 he was elected on the Alignment list to the Eleventh Knesset, but resigned from the Knesset in March 1988 after being elected chairman of the Executive of the World Zionist Organization and Jewish Agency, a position he held in 1986–5. In this period he oversaw the opening of the gates of the former Soviet Union to Jewish emigration, and Operation Solomon, in which 14,000 Ethiopian Jews were airlifted to Israel in a single day in May 1991.

Dinitz was forced to resign before his term was over due to charges brought against him for allegedly using a Jewish Agency credit card for personal purchases. In 1996 he was found guilty by the District Court of Jerusalem for fraudulently expropriating $22,000 in this manner, but the following year was exonerated by the Supreme Court on appeal.

[Susan Hattis Rolef (2nd ed.)]

DINITZ, SIMON (1926–), U.S. sociologist and criminologist. Dinitz received his Ph.D. from the University of Wisconsin at Madison in 1951. After his first teaching job there, Dinitz became professor of sociology at Ohio State University and research assistant in psychiatry. His special interest was the sociology of deviant behavior as expressed in delinquency and mental disorders, and he worked on the prevention of hospitalization for schizophrenics. He also served as senior fellow in the Academy of Contemporary Problems. He served as president of the American Society of Criminology (1971) as well as vice president (1968 and 1969). He capped his academic career as professor emeritus of sociology at Ohio State University.

A pioneer in the fields of sociology, psychology, criminal behavior, and public policy, Dinitz collaborated in writing such books as *Social Problems: Dissensus and Deviation* (1967); *Women after Treatment* (1968); *Critical Issues in the Study of Crime* (1968); *Schizophrenics in the Community: An Experiment in the Prevention of Hospitalization* (1967); *The Prevention of Juvenile Delinquency: An Experiment* (1972); *Schizophrenics in the New Custodial Community: Five Years After the Experiment* (1974); *In Fear of Each Other: Studies of Dangerousness in America* (1977); *The Mad, the Bad, and the Different* (1981); and *Introduction to Criminology: Order and Disorder* (1988). In acknowledgment of his lifelong dedication to improving the knowledge base of corrections and having trained many correctional practitioners, the Ohio Community Corrections Organizations created the Dr. Simon Dinitz Achievement Award, which is given to a community correctional practitioner who has made contributions to the improvement of community correction in Ohio. Similarly, the Ohio Department of Rehabilitation and Correction presents the Simon Dinitz Criminal Justice Research Award.

[Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

DINUR (Dinaburg), BENZION (1884–1973), historian and educator. Dinur received his education in Lithuanian yeshivot, at Berne University, at the Berlin Hochschule, and at Petrograd University. He taught in several Jewish schools; at Jewish teachers' training colleges; and in "Oriental studies" courses. He was also active in the Zionist and Jewish Labor movements and in the problems of Jewish education. In 1921 Dinur settled in Ereẓ Israel and from 1923 to 1948 served as a teacher and later as head of the Jewish Teachers' Training College, Jerusalem. In 1936 he was appointed lecturer in modern Jewish history at the Hebrew University and became professor in 1948 and professor emeritus in 1952. Dinur was among the founders and editors of the bibliographical quarterly *Kirjath Sepher* (1924) and of the historical annual (later quarterly) *Zion* and of such historiographical projects as the *Sefer ha-Yishuv* (2 vols., 1939–44), *Sefer ha-Ẓiyyonut* (1938, 1954^2), and *Toledot ha-Hagganah* (1954–59). He was elected to the first Knesset on the Mapai list and served as minister for education and culture from 1951 to 1955, when he was responsible for the 1953 State Education Law, which put an end to the prevailing party "trend" education system. From 1953 to 1959 Dinur was president of *Yad Vashem. In 1973 he was awarded the Israel Prize in education.

As a historian Dinur brought a Zionist approach to the understanding of Jewish history. Central to his historical studies is the idea of the fluctuation of the Jewish psyche and Jewish community structure between establishment in the Diaspora and a yearning for redemption, with Ereẓ Israel as the focus of these continuous tensions; this was the determining factor, which gave unity to the history of the people in the Diaspora and determined the change of periods and their character. Dinur's studies underline the national value of the Jewish communal presence in Ereẓ Israel from the capture of Jerusalem in 70 C.E. to the Arab conquest in 636 and its end in the Crusader period. For the historiography of modern Jewish history, he stressed the importance of research into the social ideology of Ḥasidism and of the Ḥovevei Zion movement. Dinur believed it best to let the sources speak for themselves, and in some of his major works, quotations, with his introductions and notes, are collected into literary unity. The subject of the division of Jewish history into periods occupied Dinur's mind a good deal, particularly the passage from the Middle Ages to modern times. According to him the latter period began in 1700, the year of the great immigration to Ereẓ Israel.

Among his major works are a history of the Jewish people divided into two series, of which the first part of the first series appeared under the title of *Yisrael be-Arẓo* (1938), and the second series under the title *Yisrael ba-Golah* (5 vols., 1926, 1958^2, $1961–66^3$); a history of Ḥibbat Zion, *Ḥibbat Ẓiyyon* (2 vols., 1932–34); see also *Mefallesei Derekh* (Pioneers, 1947); and *Arakhim u-Derakhim* (1958), a study of the educational and cultural problems of modern Israel. Dinur also edited the correspondence between A. Mapu and A. Kaplan (1929); the correspondence and the letters of Mapu (1970); of S.J. Rapoport with R. Kircheim, Z. Frankel and others (1928); and the Zionist writings of Hermann Schapira (1925). A collection of Dinur's miscellaneous studies appeared in 1955 under the title *Be-Mifneh ha-Dorot;* volume 1 of his memoirs under the title of *Be-Olam she-Shaka 1884–1914* appeared in 1958, and volume 2, *Bi-Ymei Milḥamah u-Mahpekhah 1914–21*, in 1960. A collection of essays, *Sefer Dinaburg*, in Dinur's honor was published by Y. Baer, J. Guttmann, and M. Schwabe in 1949 (with a bibliography up to 1948), and a volume of appreciation on the occasion of his 70th birthday (1954). In 1969 a volume of his essays appeared in English, *Israel and the Diaspora.*

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°DIO CASSIUS (c. 160–230 C.E.), author of a Roman history, written in Greek. Dio frequently records the religious zeal and self-sacrificing spirit of the Jews. "Such was the fervor of their piety that the first Jews made prisoners during the conquest of the Temple by *Sosius [governor of Syria under Antony, 37 B.C.E.] obtained by their supplications permission to reenter the sanctuary on the day of Saturn [Sabbath] and devote themselves with their compatriots to their temple ritual" (*Historia*, 49:22). In some respects, his account of the Jewish war (66–70 C.E.) is more favorable to the Jews than that given by *Josephus. According to Dio, during the siege of Jerusalem, Titus received an injury to his left shoulder causing permanent weakness to his left hand. Some Roman soldiers deserted to the Jews because they believed that the town was impregnable. Dio, in common with Tacitus, notes the bravery of the Jews and commented that they were happy to fall near the

Temple and in its defense. Although they were a few arrayed against the might of the Roman army, they only gave in when a part of the Temple was in flames. "All believed that it was not a disaster but victory, salvation, and happiness to perish together with the Temple" (*Historia*, 66:6). Neither Vespasian nor Titus wished to assume the title of "Judaicus" (possibly because that title might imply sympathy with Judaic teachings). Dio offers information about Jewish rebellions under Trajan and Hadrian. He loved the sensational and reports that the outbreak of Jewish revolts in the time of Trajan (115–117 C.E.) in Cyprus, Cyrene, and Egypt, was marked by scenes of stark horror (*Epitome*, 68:32). The Jews committed horrible outrages, as the papyri likewise suggest, "destroying both Greeks and Romans." The immediate cause of the Jewish revolt under *Bar Kokhba (132 C.E.) was Hadrian's intention to build a new city and temple on the ruins of Jerusalem as the official center of the colony of Aelia Capitolina. According to Dio, the defenders recruited soldiers from all countries of the Empire and beyond the Euphrates inhabited by their "fellow-nationals." The solidarity of Jews elsewhere in the Empire with the Judean rebels under Bar Kokhba is also stressed by Dio (*Epitome*, 69:13). In common with *Fronto, he reports that in the Bar Kokhba war the Romans sustained such severe losses that Hadrian, writing to the Senate, omitted the customary opening formula "I and my troops are well." Dio's remark that "all those who observe the Jewish law may be called Jews, from whatever ethnic group they derive," reflects the transformation of the Jewish nation into a worldwide religious community, with a steadily increasing number of proselytes. Like other writers of antiquity, he blames the Jews for their unsociable character and has little understanding for the practice of the Sabbath; but he pays homage to the Jews' imageless cult and their only and unique God. The Jews, he states "are distinguished from other nations by their whole mode of living, but particularly by the fact that they do not honor any of the other gods, adoring only one and with great fervor. There is no image of their divinity even in Jerusalem. They believe God to be ineffable and invisible, yet they devote to him a more fervent cult than all other mortals [see *Tacitus]. The Temple in Jerusalem is very large and beautiful. The day of Saturn on which they fulfill a number of particular rites and refrain from doing any serious work is consecrated to the Sanctuary." Dio Cassius repeats the commonplace (see *Plutarch) that Jerusalem was captured on the Sabbath because the Jews refrained from defending it on that day. He alluded to Jewish proselytism in his statement that Domitian had people put to death on the charge of "atheism," which in fact meant the acceptance of Jewish customs (*Epitome*, 67:14). The accusation of atheism was leveled against both Jews and Christians because they refused to share in the official heathen cult. Although, as mentioned, Dio Cassius shows contempt for Jewish observances and misunderstanding of the inner spirit of Judaism, he nevertheless admires the Jews' loyalty to their pure belief and their persistence in the face of repression. Jewish history in Rome may be summed up in the words of Dio Cassius: "Though often suppressed, they nevertheless mightily increase, so that they achieve even the free practice of their customs."

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[Solomon Rappaport]

°DIO CHRYSOSTOM ("golden-mouthed," called so for his eloquence; **Dio of Prusa**; c. 40–120 C.E.), orator. According to the testimony of his biographer, Synesius (c. 365–413/414; Bishop of Cyrene), in one of his speeches Dio described the *Essenes as a utopian-like community living "in the interior of Palestine" near the Dead Sea in the vicinity of Sodom.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: M. Stern (ed.), *Greek and Latin Authors on Jews and Judaism*. vol. 1 (1974), 538–40.

[Shimon Gibson (2nd ed.)]

°DIOCLETIAN, CAIUS VALERIANUS, Roman emperor 284–305 C.E. Diocletian is mentioned in Jewish sources on various occasions, particularly in the Jerusalem Talmud, and despite their aggadic embellishments they appear to contain at least a kernel of historical truth. Thus the fact that he was of lowly birth, the son of a humble scribe or of a slave (Eutropius, *Breviarium* 9:19, 2), is embellished in the Talmud to the effect that in his youth he was a swineherd, and the pupils of the Nasi Judah II used to mock and beat him. When he became emperor he sought to revenge himself on the Jews and summoned Judah to appear before him. Judah answered that they had derided Diocletian the swineherd but not Diocletian the emperor (TJ, Ter. 8:11, 46b). It is known that Diocletian was in Palestine, and in Tiberias, both in 286, during the patriarchate of Judah II, and during his campaign against the Persians (297–8), and it is probable that he had contact with the leading Jews there. Similarly there is an echo of the heavy taxation which he imposed in Palestine in the story that the inhabitants of Paneas went into exile as a result of these taxes, and returned only after 30 years (TJ, Shev. 9:2, 38d).

Diocletian showed a certain tolerance toward the Jews, one of the reasons probably being that Judaism – unlike Christianity – had been declared a *religio licita* by the Romans. Thus, when he imposed a tax to provide sacrifices to the gods – a fact explicitly mentioned in the Talmud (TJ, Av. Zar. 5:4, 44a) – he excluded the Jews, but not the Samaritans, from this impost. The Jews reacted favorably to this treatment. It is stated that Hiyya b. Abba, who was a kohen, crossed a cemetery in order to meet him (TJ, Ber. 3:1, 6a). Shortly after his stay in Tiberias he issued an edict against bigamy (Cod. Just. 5:5, 2) and against a man marrying his niece, but they do not appear to have been applied to the Jews. The Talmud quotes an inscription which Diocletian inscribed when he dedicated a market place to Hercules (or Heraclius) in Tyre (Av. Zar. 1:4, 39d) and that he instituted waterworks in Syria. Evidence of his stay there is confirmed from the Codex of Justinian (14:41, 9).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: T. Mommsen, *Juristische Schriften*, vol. 2, pp. 196ff.; idem, in: *Verhandlungen der Berliner Akademie* (1860), 417ff.; Rappoport, *Erekh Millin*, 1 (1914), s.v. *Erkulis*; Kohut, Arukh, Suppl., 49; Halevy, Dorot, 2, 337; M. Rostovtzev, *A Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire* (1926).

°DIODORUS OF SICILY (first century B.C.E.), author of a world history (called the "Library") in 40 books, from the creation of the world to Caesar's conquest of Britain in 54 B.C.E. Hecataeus of Abdera was the source for his account of the Jews (40. frag. 2). Diodorus notes that "Moyses" claimed to have received his laws from the god named Iao. He also provided a narrative on the capture of Jerusalem by the Romans in 63 B.C.E.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: J. Palm, *Über Sprache und Stil des Diodoros von Sizilien* (1955), pp. 167–89 in M. Stern (ed.), *Greek and Latin Authors on Jews and Judaism*, vol. 1 (1974).

[Shimon Gibson (2nd ed.)]

°DIODOTUS-TRYPHON (d. 137 B.C.E.), rebel against *Demetrius II, king of Syria. According to Strabo, Tryphon came from Casiana (according to Josephus from Apameia). He served in the army of Alexander Balas and when uprisings began against the rule of Demetrius II, he headed the insurgents in Larissa. Another step that won him wide support in Syria was his taking care of Antiochus, the minor son of Alexander *Balas, who at one time had been handed over to the Arab Malichus, ostensibly in order to prepare him for the throne. Tryphon appointed himself regent to the young king and assembled a large armed force. Demetrius was defeated by Tryphon and compelled to withdraw from Antiochia, whereupon Tryphon entered with the lad and gave him the title Antiochus VI. However the war between Demetrius and Tryphon continued.

In Judea Tryphon succeeded in attracting to his side *Jonathan the Hasmonean, whom he confirmed in the high-priesthood in the name of "king" Antiochus, and appointed his brother *Simeon strategus of the whole coast from the boundary with Tyre to the border of Egypt. Jonathan gave considerable aid to Tryphon. He won over to himself a large part of the army of Demetrius, and grew so powerful that he became suspect in the eyes of Tryphon. As far as can be seen Tryphon aimed at that time at deposing the young Antiochus and proclaiming himself king. Suspecting that Jonathan might stand in his way he decided to remove him. He encountered the high priest at the head of a large army in Beth-Shean. Unable to make an attack on Jonathan, Tryphon employed a subterfuge. He loaded him with many gifts and honors and persuaded him to send his main army away, and keep only a small force. When Jonathan came to Ptolemais with only 1,000 men, Tryphon fell upon him, murdered his men, and imprisoned him. He then proceeded to conquer Judea, but Jonathan's brother Simeon acted swiftly and with great energy, and was ready for battle when Tryphon arrived at the head of his army. Tryphon at first tried to negotiate and promised to release Jonathan in exchange for a ransom and hostages, but he did not fulfill his promises and war ensued. However Tryphon was unsuccessful in his efforts to reach Jerusalem and he retreated northward. On the way Jonathan was put to death. Tryphon also put to death the young Antiochus, who was no longer important for his purposes, and proclaimed himself king (142/143 B.C.E.). The war between him and Demetrius continued for some years, and this state of affairs was largely unchanged even after Demetrius was captured by the Parthians. Antiochus (Sidetes) seized the kingdom and succeeded in defeating Tryphon, who had fortified himself in Dora where he was besieged. Dora was compelled to submit to Antiochus, and Tryphon slipped away to Orthosia in Apamea where he committed suicide.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: I Macc. 11:39–15:39; Jos., Ant., 13:131ff.; Schuerer, Gesch, 1 (1901^3/^{4}), 172ff., 234ff.; E.R. Bevan, *The House of Seleucus*, 2 (1902), 226ff., 236ff.; B. Niese, *Geschichte der griechischen und makedonischen Staaten*, 3 (1903), 277ff., 281ff.

[Abraham Schalit]

°DIOGENES LAERTIUS (third century C.E.?), author of "Lives of the Philosophers" (*Vitae Philosophorum*), a eulogistic account of the ancient Greek philosophers. In the prologue (1, 9) he mentions the view of some writers which traces the origin of the Jews back to the Magi. In a separate work, "Life of Socrates," Diogenes mentions that the Jewish historian Justus of Tiberias is the authority in regard to Plato's appearance at the trial of Socrates.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: M. Stern (ed.), *Greek and Latin Authors on* Jews *and Judaism*, vol. 2 (1980), 332–34.

[Shimon Gibson (2nd ed.)]

°DIONYSIUS VAN RYCKEL (**Denis the Carthusian**, **Denys van Leeuwen**; 1402–1471), Christian theologian and mystic, born in Ryckel, Belgium. He studied at Cologne University and in 1424 joined the Carthusian order at Roermond (Holland). A prolific and popular writer, he wrote commentaries on the Bible, the works of Boethius, Peter Lombard, John Climacus, and Dionysius the Pseudo-Areopagite, and was acquainted with the works of Greek as well as Arab and Jewish philosophers. He was also the author of works on moral theology and religious discipline. His theories concerning the Jews and their destiny appear in the seventh book of his "Dialogue on the Catholic Faith," entitled "On the Proof of the Christian Faith Based Upon the Law and the Prophets, and on the Errors of the Jews" (in his *Opera*, 18 (1896), 471ff.). Although attacking the Jews as enemies of the Church and an offense to Jesus, Dionysius considers that they should be tolerated as part of God's holy design.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Swenden, in: DHGE, 14 (1960), 256–60 (incl. bibl.); K. Schilling (ed.), *Monumenta Judaica, Handbuch* (1963), 148.

DIONYSUS, CULT OF, the cult of the Greek god of wine and fertility. The non-Jews of Alexandria and Rome alleged that the cult of Dionysus was widespread among Jews. Plutarch gives a Bacchanalian interpretation to the Feast of Tabernacles:

> "After the festival called 'the fast' [the Day of Atonement], during the vintage, the Jews place tables laden with different fruits in booths of thickets woven from vines and ivy. Their first festival is called by them *Sukkah* (σκηνή). A few days later, the Jews celebrate another festival, which one may simply call a Bacchanalian festival. For this is a festival on which the Jews carry fig branches and sticks adorned with ivy and carry them into the Temple. One does not know" – adds Plutarch – "what they do in the Temple. It seems reasonable to suppose that they practice rites in honor of Bacchus. For they blow small horns as the people of Argos do during the festival of Dionysus, and call upon their god. Others, who are called Levites, walk in front, either in allusion to Lysios (λύσιος) – perhaps 'the god who attenuates curses' – or because they call out 'Euius,' i.e., Bacchus."

According to Plutarch the subject of the connection between the Dionysian and Jewish cults was raised during a symposium held at Aidepsos in Euboea, with a certain Moiragenes linking the Jewish Sabbath with the cult of Bacchus, because "even now many people call the Bacchi 'Sabboi' and call out that word when they perform the orgies of Bacchus." Tacitus too thought that Jews served the god Liber, i.e., Bacchus-Dionysus, but "whereas the festival of Liber is joyful, the Jewish festival of Liber is sordid and absurd." According to Pliny, *Beth-Shean was founded by Dionysus after he had buried his wet nurse Nysa in its soil. His intention was to enlarge the area of the grave, which he surrounded with a city wall although there were as yet no inhabitants. Then the god chose the Scythians from among his companions, and in order to encourage them, honored them by calling the new city Scythopolis after them (Pliny, *Natural History* 5:18, 74). An inscription found at Beth-Shean dating from the time of Marcus Aurelius mentions that Dionysus was honored there as *ktistes*. Stephen of Byzantium reports a legend that connects the founding of the city of Rafa also with Dionysus (for the Dionysian foundation legends of cities in the region, see Lichtenberger's study). It is wrong to assume as some do that Plutarch took his account of the festival of Tabernacles from an antisemitic source, for despite all the woeful ignorance in his account it contains no accusation against, or abuse of, the Jews. It is more likely that Plutarch described the festival of Tabernacles from observation, interpreting it in accordance with his own philosophical outlook, which does not prevent him, however, from introducing into it features of the cult of the famous Temple of Jerusalem gleaned by him in his wide reading. The description as a whole, however, is of Tabernacles as it was celebrated in the Greek diaspora at the end of the first and the beginning of the second century C.E., and not as it was celebrated in the Temple, which had already been destroyed for more than a generation. The festival undoubtedly absorbed influences from the environment, so that Plutarch could indeed have witnessed what he recognized as customs of the Dionysian feast.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Reinach, Textes, 142–7 (= Plutarch, *Moralia, Quaestiones Convivales* 4:671D–672B), 309 (= *Tacitus, Historiae*, 5:5); Buechler, in: REJ, 37 (1898), 181–202; Schuerer, Gesch, 3 (1909^4), 151. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** M. Stern (ed.), *Greek and Latin Authors on Jews and Judaism*, vol. 1 (1974), 545ff.; A. Lichtenberger, "City Foundation Legends in the Decapolis," in: *Bulletin of the Anglo-Israel Archaeological Society* 22 (2004), 23–34.

[Abraham Schalit / Shimon Gibson (2nd ed.)]

°**DIOS** (**Dius**; c. 2nd century B.C.E.), historian, quoted by Josephus, who refers to him as "an accurate historian of Phoenicia" (Ant., 8:146–9; Contra Apionem, 1:112–5). Dios relates that King Solomon sent riddles to King Hiram ("Hirom") of Tyre, asking him to send him others in return, on the understanding that the one who failed to solve them would forfeit a sum of money. Hiram agreed and, unable to find the solutions, forfeited a large sum. Subsequently, however, with the aid of a Tyrian named Abdemon, Hiram not only solved Solomon's riddles but sent him others which Solomon could not solve. He had then to repay to Hiram more than he received. Dios also indicates that Hiram transformed Tyre by building up the eastern side with embanked fortifications and enlarging the town, linking it by a causeway to the off-shore island with a Temple of Zeus/Baal Shamin.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: M. Stern (ed.), *Greek and Latin* Authors *on Jews and Judaism*. vol. 1 (1974), 123–25.

[Shimon Gibson (2nd ed.)]

°**DIOSCORIDES PEDANIUS** (first century C.E.), pharmacologist from Anazarba in Cilicy, author of *De Materia Medica*. Dioscorides has a few references to materials of medical use found in Judaea, notably the balsam, the resin of the terebinth tree, asphalt (presumably from the Dead Sea), oil made from Ban (*Balanites aegyptica*), and scammony. He also makes reference to an item called the "Jewish stone," which, when dissolved and drunk with hot water, was thought to cure stones in the bladder. Dioscorides later exercised a great influence on medieval medicine. Ḥisdai ibn Shaprut took part in the revision of the Arabic translation of his work and Maimonides may have utilized it.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: M. Stern (ed.), *Greek and Latin Authors on Jews and Judaism*, vol. 1 (1974): 422–25.

[Shimon Gibson (2nd ed.)]

DIRINGER, DAVID (1900–1975), epigraphist and Orientalist. Born in Tłumacz (Galicia), Diringer studied at the University of Florence (Italy), where he later was appointed professor (1931–33). Diringer's main interest at first was the culture of the Etruscans. As a consequence of the anti-Jewish policy of Fascist Italy, Diringer moved in 1939 to England where he taught Semitic epigraphy at Cambridge University (1948). In England he specialized in Northwestern Semitic inscriptions and the history of the alphabet. At Cambridge he founded in his home a museum devoted to the history of writing systems, which he later transferred to Tel Aviv.

Among Diringer's publications, some scholarly and some for the general public, are *Le iscrizioni antico-ebraiche palesti-*

nesi (1934); *L'alfabeto nella storia della civiltà* (1937); *The Alphabet – A Key to the History of Mankind* (1953) together with R. Regensburger; *The Hand-Produced Book* (1953); *The Illuminated Book, Its History and Production* (1958); *Writing: Ancient Peoples and Places* (1962); *The Illuminated Book* (1967^{2}); *The Story of the Aleph Bet* (1960); *Writing* (1962); *The Alphabet* (2 vols., 1963); and *The Book Before Printing: Ancient, Medieval and Oriental* (1982).

[Meir Ydit]

DISCHE, ZACHARIAS (1895–1988), U.S. biochemist. Dische was born in Sambor (then Austria-Hungary, today Poland), the nephew of Leon *Reich. World War I broke out while Dische was studying at the University of Lvov and, after completing the first year of his medical studies, he was drafted into the Austrian army. He completed his medical degree in 1921 at the University of Vienna, where he became head of the chemistry laboratory of the physiological institute in 1931. Dische continued his research there until the *Anschluss* in 1938, when he was forced to flee Austria, first for Paris and later for the Medical School of Marseille. He reached America in 1941 and was appointed to the faculty at Columbia University in New York in 1947, becoming professor of biochemistry in 1957 and professor emeritus in 1963.

Dische discovered the basic reaction of the pentose phosphate cycle, the first example of feedback inhibition of a metabolic process. His contributions to scientific journals cover the biochemistry of sugars, the quantitative analysis of DNA sugars, polysaccharides in animal tissues, the cellular metabolism of blood and ocular tissues, and other biochemical topics. His analysis of the lens capsule was a model for basement membrane investigations in general. In 1965 he was awarded the Proctor Medal, the highest award in basic science in ophthalmology. He was elected to the National Academy of Sciences in 1976.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Editorial, in: *Investigative Ophthalmology & Visual Science* (July 1988).

[Ruth Rossing (2nd ed.)]

DISCIPLINE, MANUAL OF ("The Sectarian Document" or "The Rule of the Community"; Heb. סֶרֶךְ הַיַּחַד, *Serekh ha-Yaḥad;* abbr. 1QS), one of the *Dead Sea Scrolls, found in the spring of 1947 near Qumran; now in the Israel Museum's Shrine of the Book in Jerusalem. The designation "Manual of Discipline" was coined by the American scholars Burrows, Trever and Brownlee – who were the first to study the scroll, and who published a facsimile edition in 1951 under that title. Since then at least ten fragmentary copies of the *Manual* have been discovered in two caves (IV and V) in the vicinity of the Qumran ruin where, according to most scholars, these and many other manuscripts were copied in Hellenistic and Roman times, before 70 C.E., by members of a Jewish religious community.

Description

The manuscript is about 6 ft. 2 in. (1.86 m.) long and c. 10 inches (24 cm.) high and is made up of five pieces of parchment sewn together. Originally other sheets of parchment were attached to 1QS; these fragments were later found in Cave 1 and have been labeled 1QS^{a} (usually appearing as superscript a) and 1QS^{b} (usually appearing as superscript b). 1QS has 11 columns of Hebrew writing (with an average of 26 lines to each column); the scroll is well preserved and contains only a few lacunae, but from the occurrence of some erasures and insertions it has been concluded that, in its present form, the text (slightly corrupt in some places) is the work of more than one scribe. The margins of the manuscript contain curious symbols some of which are also found in the First (Great) Isaiah Scroll (1QIsa^{a}) found together with the *Manual*; the meaning of these symbols is unknown.

Contents

1QS is first and foremost a religious document focused on various aspects of life within "the community" (Heb. הַיַּחַד, *ha-yaḥad*). 1QS 1:1–18a contains a series of statements about the ideal life to which the members pledged themselves at the annual renewal of the covenant which is described in 1:18b–3:12; on that occasion the "priests" and the "levites" pronounced (a) praises to God, (b) blessings of "all the men of God's lot," (c) curses against "all the men of Belial's lot," and (d) curses against unworthy members of the movement. A communal confession of sins was an important feature of this ceremony which was followed by the priests' pronouncement of an expanded version of the *Priestly Blessing (Num. 6:24–26). This liturgical part of 1QS ends with a warning to members not to rely on the efficacy of ablutions carried out mechanically for "it is by an upright and humble spirit that sin can be atoned" (3:8). Some scholars assume that baptismal rites formed part of this annual renewal of membership although this is not explicitly stated, 1QS 3:13–4:26 is a treatise which explains in theological terms the position of the members of the community in this world, as well as their destiny in the world to come. The basic theme of the sharp division of mankind into members and those outside – already clear from the preceding homiletic and liturgical parts – is here seen as ultimately due to God's providential planning of everything from the Creation on. He has given man two "spirits" (of "truth" and "iniquity") which struggle with each other in the heart of everyone (4:23). As a result of this conflict mankind is divided into sons of "truth," "righteousness," and "light" on the one hand, and of "iniquity" on the other. The two "spirits" are not to be taken as cosmic, dualistic principles (as in Zoroastrian theology), but in accordance with the use of "spirit" in Hebrew psychology (cf. within the pseudepigraphical books Test. Patr., Judah 20:1 which affords a close parallel to the *Manual* here). Nor is the "dualism" expressed here either absolute, physical, or cosmic but ethical and eschatological: God is in control from beginning to end, and "the angel of darkness," though in charge of the "sons of iniquity," is clearly inferior to God, in the same way as the "prince of lights" rules over the "sons of righteousness" in a capacity subordinate to God, who, for some unknown reason beyond human understanding ("according to His mysteries," 3:23), allows the "angel of darkness" enough power to cause the "sons of righteousness" to sin "during the period fixed by Him." Eventually, however, God will utterly destroy the spirit of iniquity from a part of mankind by a holy spirit (4:20ff.). The pious, chosen by God and yet responsible for their acts, will then enjoy "healing and great peace… together with everlasting blessings, endless gladness in everlasting life … in eternal light" (4:6ff.). The damned will suffer "eternal perdition … together with the disgrace of annihilation in the fire of murky Hell" (4:12ff.). Neither the Messiah nor the Resurrection is mentioned. The theory of Zoroastrian influence in this treatise, although accepted by many scholars, is rejected by others, who feel that the themes of the essay are satisfactorily explained against the general background of apocalyptic circles of the time. Apart from a penal code (6:24–7:25), which contains a list of punishments for various offenses (such as cursing God, telling a lie, rebelling against authority, guffawing, and spitting in the assembly), the section 5:1–9:25 is not easily divided into subsections. In a verbose and repetitive manner, often echoing biblical language, the author enumerates the ethical ideals of the members of the community (truth, unity, humility, righteousness, love, etc.; e.g., 5:4 and 8:2ff.), describes the community in quasi-poetical passages (e.g., metaphorically as a spiritual temple consisting of "Aaron" and "Israel," i.e., priestly and lay members, 5:6; 8:5ff.), and alludes to the perfect lives of the members as being capable of atoning for sins, not only their own (5:6; 8:3, 10; 9:4). From such homiletic passages, aimed at impressing the lofty vocation and status of the community on the reader, the author passes on to aspects of organization, admission of members (5:7ff.; 20ff., 6:13ff.; 8:16ff.), and communal activities such as meals and deliberations (6:2ff.); at the latter, problems of scriptural interpretation, as well as any matter of concern to the community, were discussed. This long section, indispensable for an understanding of the inner life and spiritual nature of the Qumran community or the religious movement centered there, ends with a summary of the virtues characteristic of the *maskil* ("the wise man"), the ideal member of the sect. Almost imperceptibly, transition is made to a set of at least three hymns of praise (10:1–8a; 10:8b–11:15a, and 11:15b–22) with which 1QS comes to an end. The main themes of these compositions are indicated in 10:23: "With thanksgiving hymns I will open my mouth, and the righteous deeds of God shall my tongue enumerate always, together with the faithlessness of man and his utter sinfulness." The author, as a human being, is sinful (11:9f.), but God has forgiven him and granted him "righteousness" (10:11; 11:12), and that is the reason for praising Him at all times (10:1ff.). (For the use of the word "righteousness" in the meaning of "Divine grace," see 11:14, 2.) These concluding hymns belong to the same literary genre as the compositions contained in the **Thanksgiving Psalms* (1QH) which were found in Cave I together with the *Manual*. Some scholars claim that these contents form a literary unit whereas others claim that 1QS contains a number of originally separate texts copied onto the same scroll. It is generally assumed, however, that the contents of the scroll all go back to the same religious circles; an exception to this view is that of Del Medico who has argued for the theory that 1QS not only is not a literary unit, but also that the various parts, of which in his view the text of the manuscript is made up, go back to different Jewish religious circles. It must be conceded, however, that there is a unity of language and style in the *Manual*; nor can it be said that the various sections are unrelated to each other, or that they have been put together in an entirely haphazard fashion. Furthermore, the fact mentioned above that other copies of the work are in existence suggests that a traditional form of it was copied and recopied through a fairly long period.

Language and Date

The language of the *Manual* is akin to biblical rather than mishnaic Hebrew, and its text must have been copied, or at least composed, at a time when there was little or no difference between the literary language of sacred writings (as attested by the consonantal text of the Hebrew Bible) and the spoken Hebrew of everyday life. Paleographically 1QS is dated by experts to around 100 B.C.E. and if these datings are correct other copies now lost were probably in circulation at an even earlier time (second century B.C.E.) among the many local groups within the religious movement for whom the document was intended. Linguistically 1QS is akin to the Great Isaiah Scroll (1QIsa^{a}) which is supposed by many scholars to have originated in pre-canonical times, i.e., certainly before the first century C.E. – and long before the vocalization of the standard text by the masoretes in the early Middle Ages. The two manuscripts have some characteristic features in common, such as profuse application of vowel letters, a certain resemblance to Samaritan as regards pronominal suffixes, and – in the forms of nouns and verbs – a degree of influence from Aramaic which was then spoken in Palestine. Hebrew was undoubtedly spoken by the Jews in Palestine at this time, and therefore, the occurrence of words otherwise only known from late sources is not to be taken as pointing to a late date for the *Manual*.

Life and Identity of the Religious Circles Described in 1QS

No precise information about the history of the religious movement described in 1QS is available in either the document itself or in any other related text. However, the importance attached to the priestly element within the *Yaḥad* and the explicit reference to the "sons of Zadok," are usually taken to suggest that the *Yaḥad* originated in a schism within the Jerusalem priesthood in early Hasmonean times, as a result of which some Zadokite priests established a religious center at Qumran, possibly together with sympathizers among the *Hassideans. Cut off from the sacrificial cult at the central sanctuary they devoted themselves there to the study of the Scriptures (the Law and the Prophets), whose meaning was "found" or "revealed" by an allegorizing type of interpretation an example of which occurs in 8:13ff.: "When these become a community by these norms in Israel, they shall separate themselves from the session of the men of iniquity by going out into the wilderness in order to clear His way there; as it is written: 'In the wilderness make clear the way of…. [four dots are used in the manuscript to indicate the Tetragrammaton], level in the desert a highway for our God.' This alludes to the study of the Law which He has commanded through Moses to do, according to everything which has been revealed time and again, and according to that which the Prophets have revealed by His holy spirit." In this passage and elsewhere (5:1, 10; 8:10; 9:5, 9, 20ff.) the members are urged to "separate themselves" (verb נבדל) from iniquity, and a long passage (5: 11ff.) is devoted to a denunciation of the godless with whom the pious must have no dealings: they must not get involved in arguments with them, nor disclose any of their rules of conduct to them (9:16f.). The full members, whose exact place within the society was strictly defined according to seniority, learning, and behavior, ate, blessed and deliberated together (6:2ff.); new members, if approved by existing members and the inspector (*ha-mevakker* or *ha-pakid*), were admitted at the end of two years after which trial period they bound themselves by oath "to return to the Law of Moses … according to everything which has been revealed from it to the sons of Zadok, the priests who keep the covenant and seek His pleasure" (6:8ff.). Their property was then pooled with the property of the community and they themselves were allocated a seat at the communal meals, and from then on they were entitled to take part in its deliberations (6:4). A degree of ownership of property is presupposed in some passages, and poverty does not in itself seem to have been regarded as an ideal. Women are not mentioned in 1QS, and most scholars assume that the members of the *Yaḥad* were unmarried; women are, however, referred to in other texts which were either found near Qumran or appear to have originated in related religious circles. Parts of the *Manual* (as, e.g., the liturgy of the annual renewal of the covenant) must refer to events which took place at the Qumran center; and in 8:1ff. a special group of 15 members (12 laymen and three priests) is mentioned who can hardly have lived anywhere else. It is clear, however, from 6:3, 6 that there were local groups – some of them consisting of no more than 10 members (the required minimum) – in various parts of the country, within which the levitical laws of purity were strictly observed and the Scriptures were intensely studied. Much in the *Manual* may be taken as referring to such "Qumranian" fellowships anywhere in the country, and some Jewish scholars have attempted to establish a connection between these and the *ḥavurot* ("fellowships") of the early Pharisees which are described in the Talmud in terms which are partly identical with those employed in 1qs of the Qumran *Yaḥad*. That is not to say, however, that the Qumran "sectarians" are necessarily identified with the Pharisees. None of the designations applied in 1QS to the members contains any clue as to their exact identity; it is clear that the movement was priestly, ritualistic, legalistic, with a bent toward secrecy, mysticism, and apocalypticism, but these qualifications do not in their totality fit any of the known Jewish religious groups in late Judaism, including the Essenes, although there are suggestive similarities (as well as some differences) between Josephus' description of the latter and the *Manual.* Most scholars accept the view that the Qumran *Yaḥad* was Essene. If the theory is correct, lQS, apart from enabling us to check Josephus' information on a number of points, adds considerably to the knowledge of a branch of Judaism which, even before the Scrolls were discovered, was thought by some to form the background out of which Christianity grew. Within the New Testament the most suggestive points of contact with the *Manual* are found in the Johannine group of writings and in the Epistle to the Hebrews.

Related Documents

A fragment containing the Hebrew title of 1QS ([סר]ך היחד; [ser]ekh *ha-yaḥad*), and 1QS^{a} and 1QS^{b} mentioned above, were all originally attached to 1QS. As, however, the bottom quarter of the last column of 1QS is left blank, the Manual clearly ends at 1QS 11:22, and has presumably always done so. That there is a literary relationship between 1QS^{a} ("the Rule of the Congregation"), 1QS^{b} (several fragments making up a collection of benedictions) and 1QS is certain in view of some degree of phraseological similarity (especially between 1QS^{a} 2:11ff. (the messianic banquet of the Congregation) and 1QS 6:4ff. (the daily meal of the members of the *Yaḥad*)). It is possible, however, that these texts do not all refer to the same religious circles because of differences in contents (1QS^{a}, e.g., is martial (possibly Hassidean) in character and deals with aspects of family life); it was perhaps from among the circles referred to in 1QS that the *Yaḥad* of the *Manual* arose; and at least the major part of another, larger document ("the Damascus Document," CD) also probably dates back to the time before the *Manual* was composed.

[Preben Wernberg-Møller]

A Theory of Composition

A general hypothesis of composition was proposed by J. Murphy O'Connor in 1969, with 1QS developing to meet the needs of the Community at different stages in its history, as follows: (1) 1QS 8:1–10a, 12b–16a, 9:3–10:8: with a Teacher of Righteousness proposing the establishment of the Community in the Wilderness, to serve as a spiritual temple and run by a priestly core; (2) 1QS 8:10–12a, 8:16b–9:2, interpolations relating to the attempt to deal with failures of obedience within the Community; (3) 1QS 5:1–13, 6:8–23, 6:24–7:25, the organizational redefinition of the Community as an institution, with new legislation for the assembly and for the admittance of new recruits; (4) 1QS 1:1–3:12, 3:13–4:23a, 4:23b–26, 10:9–11:22, with attempts being made to revitalize the spiritual life of the Community.

[Shimon Gibson (2nd ed.)]

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DISCRIMINATION, distinguishing between people on the basis of the group to which the person belongs rather than individual characteristics. With rare exceptions, contemporary forms of discrimination against Jews were not based upon the type of legal device and sanction that reached its apotheosis with the *Nuremberg laws. The postwar disclosure of the details of the Holocaust generated such massive popular revulsion that legal forms of antisemitism became taboo, for the gas chambers and the concentration camps were the ultimate consequence of legalized anti-Jewish discrimination. Antisemitism continued to find expression in the contemporary world in non-legislative discriminatory patterns. Sophisticated formulations to mask the antisemitic intent of the pattern were elaborated, and in no case could the pattern appear to be overtly antisemitic. Even where complete or almost complete exclusion of Jews was practiced, the rationale for such action had to be explained on grounds other than religious or ethnic discrimination. The more characteristic pattern took the form of "tokenism" (i.e., the admission of one or a few Jews into a non-Jewish milieu) or a quota system, which restricted the number of Jews to a precise or approximate percentage of the total composition.

The overall pattern of discrimination was selective in character: not all or almost all Jews were the objects of discrimination and not all or almost all spheres of public life were the loci of the discriminatory pattern. There were, however, certain major postwar exceptions to the selective character of non-legislative discrimination. During the "Black Years" in the Soviet Union (1948–53), virtually all Jews were subject to some form of discrimination, and many were even more harshly treated. A similar phenomenon occurred in Poland during 1968, with the difference that Polish Jews were permitted and even encouraged to emigrate. These anti-Jewish campaigns were deliberately masked, however, in the first case as "anti-*Cosmopolitanism," and in the second as "anti-Zionism."

Soviet Union

The Soviet Union, where in 1970 approximately one-quarter of the world's Jewish population lived, offered a classic example of how antisemitic motivation on the highest level was expressed in either exclusion, tokenism, or quota techniques. Andrei D. Sakharov, the distinguished Soviet physicist and co-creator of the hydrogen bomb, acknowledged in 1968 that "in the highest bureaucratic elite of [the Soviet] government, the spirit of antisemitism was never fully dispelled after the 1930s." A burgeoning Russian nationalism, which fed upon traditional antisemitism and was reinforced by the determination to erect barriers against Western influences and contacts, provided the motivation for the policy, as Jews, characteristically, had family as well as spiritual and cultural links with the West. Sakharov specifically mentioned the Soviet Union's "appointments policy" as the device by which discrimination against Jews was effected. That "appointments policy" excluded Jews from all key policy-making positions. Whereas the percentage of Jews in the Central Committee of the Communist Party was 10.8% in 1939, over the course of years, the percentage was reduced to almost nil – only one Jew remained in the Central Committee in 1970. There were no Jews in the Politburo, the Orgburo, or the top levels of the Secretariat. In the sensitive areas of diplomacy, security, foreign trade, and military affairs there were virtually no Jews: at the top levels, there was none at all; elsewhere in the hierarchy there were less than a handful. The political sphere, which embraced soviets on various levels and which was manipulated by the Communist Party apparatus, was characterized by "tokenism," whereby a tiny percentage of Jews was selected by the party. In contrast with the composition of the Supreme Soviet in 1937, for example, when approximately 3.5% of the deputies were Jewish (before the new "appointments policy" had been instituted), at the end of the 1960s, with a membership of some 1,500, it contained a token number of Jews – 0.25%. The same percentage obtained in the Supreme Soviets of the 15 Union Republics, in which there were 14 out of some 5,300 deputies; one or two Jewish deputies were chosen for some of the Union Republic Supreme Soviets. On the bottom of the legislative scale, the local soviets, which comprised over 2,000,000 members, received a similar token number of Jews (about 8,000). The percentage on this level approximated that of Jews in the legislatures on the republic and national levels. The quota system was used in the various branches of administration. Yekaterina Furtseva, minister of culture from 1960, explained how the system was initiated. If "a heavy concentration of Jewish people" was found in a governmental department, "steps were taken to transfer them to other enterprises …" At about the same time, Canadian Communist Party leader J.B. Salsberg was told in Moscow that the "transfer" method was applied to Jews in the "once-backward" Union Republics in order to make room for the newly trained native cadres in the administrative apparatus. In December 1962, Premier Nikita Khrushchev told Soviet intellectuals that Kremlin policy was aimed at preventing too many Jews from holding prominent posts, and in June 1963, the Party's principal theoretical journal, *Kommunist*, admitted the widespread use of the quota system in the training and placement of cadres in the various Union Republics. The quota system was most clearly expressed in university admission practices. The Soviet *Bulletin of Higher Education* (December 1963) disclosed that "annually planned preferential admission quotas" prevailed in Soviet universities. Nicholas De Witt, a U.S. specialist on Soviet educational practices, explained that the quota system operated "to the particularly severe disadvantage of the Jewish population." In a study published in 1964, he found that "in those republics where Jews constitute an above-average proportion of the urban population, their representation among university students is well below the rate of the general population's access to higher education." Whereas in 1935 the Jewish enrollment in Soviet universities was 13% of the population, by the 1960s it dropped drastically to little more than 3%.

The pattern of discrimination against Jews in political and social life paralleled a policy that deprived the Jewish community of the ethnic and religious rights to which it was constitutionally entitled and that other Soviet ethnic and major religious groups enjoyed. It should be emphasized, however, that the pattern of discrimination, especially in the civic and political arenas, was not endemic to Communist societies. In other European Communist countries (including Poland until 1967–68), Jews held prominent positions at all levels of the party and state administration. Even in the U.S.S.R. the anti-Jewish pattern of discrimination did not extend to everyday channels of social life. Residential restrictions were nonexistent, and there were no barriers to membership and participation in the lower levels of the Communist Party, trade unions, armed forces, social services, and clubs. Employment opportunities, other than administration, in such fields as science, medicine, law, and the arts were widespread. Particularly in the crucial area of the sciences, Jews ranked high both in absolute and relative terms, although the quota system in university admission practices brought about a decline in the percentage of Jews in relation to other nationalities. With the disintegration of the Communist system, all forms of official antisemitism virtually came to an end in Russia and Eastern Europe, replaced in many cases by grassroots antisemitism.

United States

This Soviet pattern of discrimination was in striking contrast with the pattern prevailing in the United States, where in 1970 one-half of the world's Jewish population resided. Discrimination against Jews on the national political level was neither existent nor sanctioned. Jews played an important and active role in all areas of political, public, and community life, although to a lesser extent outside major population centers. Yet the chauvinism of an old, established patrician class, combined with a nativist-Populist tradition and an "in-group" phobia of those striving to protect their insecure status (in an extended period of upward social mobility), perpetuated patterns of social discrimination against Jews in non-government spheres – employment, housing, and social institutions. The techniques employed were exclusion, tokenism, and the quota system. Widespread patterns of discrimination in private industry were notable principally on the executive or management levels; no problem was apparent below that level. A study published in 1968 showed that comparatively few Jews were found in executive positions in the insurance, automobile, and shipping industries. A 1967 survey of 38 major companies in the New York City area, including utility and transportation companies, commercial banks, oil concerns, electronic firms, and stock exchanges, revealed that the proportion of Jews among the total number of executives was relatively small. Private employment agencies abetted the perpetuation of discrimination by responding positively to the real or imagined prejudices of their clients. Exclusive residential areas, both in suburbia and high-rental urban cooperatives, were often characterized by quota practices. By means of restrictive covenants, a complete ban on the sale of property to Jews could sometimes be effected. Even though the Supreme Court ruled that covenants were not legally enforceable, the device was still used, as, e.g., in certain choice locations in Washington, D.C. and Detroit. Resort hotels, especially in certain vacation areas, also erected barriers against Jews. A study in 1956–57 showed that one out of four hotels carried on such practices, with an even higher ratio in Arizona resort hotels. Particularly distinctive on the social landscape was the pattern of discrimination in country clubs and city social clubs. According to a 1961 survey, three-quarters of the former and 60% of the latter either excluded Jews or maintained quotas against them. A study released in 1969 emphasized that discrimination in these clubs led to an "almost insurmountable barrier" for Jews who strove for advancement in industry and finance. The reason for this crucial linkage between social-club discrimination and employment opportunities was the fact that top-level business executives frequented these clubs and "naturally turned to the ranks of those they knew." In local communities, social clubs were vital factors in the power structure, and the scope of Jewish participation in the local decision-making process was directly proportionate to the extent that they excluded or restricted Jews. Progress in removing barriers against Jews, however, was made gradually, especially in the employment field. Other private forms of social discrimination had greatly declined by 1970. Typical of this trend were university admission practices. An American Council on Education study in 1949 revealed that the average Jewish university applicant had considerably less chance of being accepted than a Catholic or Protestant of comparable scholastic ability. The technique generally used was a fixed quota. Since then, and especially from the 1960s, restrictions based upon religion or ethnic origin were significantly reduced, confining themselves largely to a few exclusive cooperatives, athletic or golf clubs, and law firms.

England

The American pattern of social discrimination was paralleled, at least to some extent, in the United Kingdom. In the early 1960s it was estimated that approximately one-half of British golf clubs prevented, as far as possible, the admission of Jews to membership. Usually a quota system was applied, although in Manchester nearly 100 clubs adhered to an unwritten "Aryan paragraph" providing for total exclusion. Whether and to what extent there was a decline in club discrimination from the middle and late 1960s was never studied. Private school (called "public" school in England) enrollment was also characterized by a form of snobbish discrimination effected by the quota system. A London newspaper study in the late 1950s showed that the best-known boys' "public" schools limited the number of Jewish students to 10–15%. Some girls' "public" schools excluded Jews entirely, while others placed a 10% quota on them. The absence of careful studies on "executive suite" discrimination made judgment about employment practices in England difficult, although in the 1960s relatively few Jews were found in finance and heavy industry. It can be surmised, however, that this problem and related forms of social discrimination were less pressing than in the United States. As in America, the political sphere was virtually devoid of discrimination. The basic motivation of discrimination in England appeared to be social, a vestige of patrician snobbishness perhaps reinforced by religious considerations. The extent to which the American pattern of social discrimination was present in other Western and Latin American countries was not made the object of any scientific study.

Arab Countries

Whereas antisemitism in most parts of the Jewish-populated world was expressed by subtler forms of discrimination, in the Arab countries the necessity for pretense was not felt, especially after the Six-Day War (1967). Discrimination against Jews was open, callous, and frequently brutal. Upon the establishment of the State of Israel, all the Jews in Iraq were classed as enemy aliens. This act was accompanied by the sequestration of Jewish property and businesses and the banning of emigration. In March 1950, when the ban was lifted for one year, almost all of Iraq's 120,000 Jews fled, leaving 6,000 in the country. Further anti-Jewish discriminatory legislation was enacted in the years that followed, while the outflow of Jews continued, and, as of May 1967, the 2,500 remaining Iraqi Jews faced sharp limitations in the areas of citizenship, travel, and property. The Six-Day War brought on even more repressive measures: all Jewish homes were placed under surveillance; telephones were disconnected; personal property could not be sold; assets were frozen; licenses were canceled; the dismissal of Jewish employees was ordered; and travel from their area of residence was forbidden. A complete ban on emigration made the discriminatory pressures under which Jews lived all the more burdensome. Several Jews were publicly hanged in Baghdad, together with Muslim opponents of the regime, as "imperialist and Zionist spies." The situation in Syria was similar. Even prior to the Six-Day War, Syrian Jews were forbidden to sell property and move about beyond a one-and-a-half-mile radius from their place of residence without a special permit. Jews were required to carry special identity cards, and after the war, the 4,000 Syrian Jews were not permitted to emigrate. Just prior to the Six-Day War, the UAR conducted a registration of its 2,500 Jews and, within two or three days of the outbreak of hostilities, ordered the imprisonment of the great majority of Jewish males. Most of these prisoners were released during 1968 but others were kept in prison until 1969 and 1970. Prior to the war, the 4,000-member Jewish community in Libya was subject to a variety of restrictions, including a ban on emigration. The outbreak of war unleashed popular violence against Jews. When the ban on emigration was lifted soon after the war ended, the entire Jewish community fled. The tiny Jewish community of Aden underwent a similar experience.

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[William Korey]

DISEGNI, DARIO (1878–1967), Italian rabbi and educator. Born in Florence, he completed his general studies there, at the same time studying at the Rabbinical College under S.H. Margulies and H.Z. Chajes. He served as rabbi in several communities: Genoa (1902–06); Turin (1906–09); and Verona (1909–24). During World War I he was a military chaplain and in 1922 for a few months, the rabbi of the Sephardi congregation in Bucharest. From 1924 he was rabbi in Turin. From 1930 he was rabbi in Tripoli for six months. He was one of the organizers of the first Italian Rabbinical Federation in 1917 and the founder and director of the S.H. Margulies Rabbinical School. Some of his pupils there later taught in Israel. The school, which was of great importance in the Jewish life of Italy and for a certain time provided the Italian Rabbinical College with pupils, was subsequently directed by his successor, Sergio Joseph Sierra, and bore the name Margulies-Disegni Rabbinical School. Disegni edited prayer books for weekdays, the Sabbath, and holidays, with Italian translations and short notes. The texts are those of the communities in Milan, Rome, and Turin. Almost a century after S.D. Luzzatto's edition of the Italian text of the Bible, Disegni initiated a new Italian translation in four volumes (Turin, 1960–67), with the original text and short notes. As its editor, he obtained the collaboration of many Italian rabbis and himself contributed to the translation which met with enthusiastic approval also in non-Jewish circles. Disegni died in Turin. His writings include numerous articles in different journals and reviews. A *festschrift* in Italian and Hebrew was published in his honor in 1969.

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[Alfredo Mordechai Rabello]

DISINTERMENT. Jewish law forbids the transfer of a dead body or of remnant bones from one grave to another, even when it is to a more respected site (Sh. Ar., YD 363:1; based upon Sem. 13:5–7; TJ, MK 2:4, 81b). This traditional prohibition is, however, lifted in the following cases: (a) If the dead person is to be reinterred alongside his parents or close relatives; the sanction is based on the concept that "It is seemly for a man to repose with his family, and in doing so, honor is conferred upon the deceased" (Sh. Ar., *ibid.*; Sem. 13:7). In Orthodox practice this is applicable where reinterment is in a family plot already in use, but not if a new site is acquired for future family use. Reform Judaism, however, permits disinterment for reburial in a family plot that is to be inaugurated and consecrated. Litigation on this subject took place in New York City in 1902 (*Cohn vs. Congregation She'arith Israel*) and the court sustained the congregation which refused to permit disinterment in accordance with traditional *halakhah* (see *The American Hebrew*, March 14, 21, 28, 1902, and *Jewish Exponent*, April 18, 1902). Most traditional halakhic authorities permit the removal of a dead body to a new family plot if the body was temporarily buried, i.e., with the intention of being later transferred to a family plot to be acquired. (b) Disinterment for the purpose of reburial in Ereẓ Israel was always regarded as a meritorious deed and a great honor for the deceased (Ket. 111a; Sh. Ar., *ibid.*). (c) The body of a Jew interred in a gentile cemetery may be exhumed for reburial in a Jewish cemetery. (d) Where a grave is in danger of water seepage or if it is not safe against robbers, etc., transfer is permitted.

In modern times, urban planning and the construction of railroads, highways, etc., frequently encroach on cemetery sites, necessitating disinterment by order of the authorities. Most halakhic authorities permit the transfer of the dead on condition that decent repose for the deceased is provided. A son may not be buried in a grave reserved for his father or in one vacated by his father through disinterment (Sanh. 47b; also Sh. Ar., YD 364:7); other persons, however, may be interred in a vacated grave, but it must not be used for other purposes (Sem. 13:9). On the day of the disinterment, members of the family are obliged to observe the customary mourning rites. (For the practice in talmudic times of "gathering the remnant bones" for reburial after 12 months, see **Likkut Aẓamot.*)

Under the halakhic direction of its chief rabbi, Shlomo *Goren, the Israel Defense Forces developed procedures for disinterments which are based upon those practiced during the wars fought during the period of the Second Commonwealth. Slain soldiers are temporarily buried in either nearby permanent or temporary military cemeteries (cf. Er. 17a; TJ, Er. 1:10, 19d). Only the military chaplaincy is present, and relatives do not participate in these funerals. There are no eulogies, and only a brief religious service is held. A declaration is made during this service that the interment is only temporary, and that it will therefore be permissible to rebury the deceased in a permanent cemetery. After a year has elapsed, the soldiers are reinterred in permanent military or civilian cemeteries in accordance with the wishes of their families (cf. TJ, Sanh. 6:12, 23d; Oho. 16:5). During the *Sinai Campaign of 1956, temporary cemeteries were consecrated by the military chaplaincy in the Northern and Central Negev. A year later, the remains of 132 soldiers were reinterred near their hometowns. During the *Six-Day War of 1967, temporary and permanent military cemeteries were used for the temporary burials. During June 1968, one year after the war, 475 military reinterments took place. During the reburials, special military and religious services were held in accordance with instructions issued by the army rabbinate.

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[Meir Ydit]

DISKIN, CHAIM (c. 1923–), Russian army doctor and Hero of the Soviet Union. Born in Korotkie, Bryansk district, RSFSR, Diskin was drafted into the Red Army in 1941 and served as an artillery gunner. In November 1942, in the battle of Moscow, wounded and cut off from his unit, he single-handedly destroyed seven German tanks. For this feat he was decorated as Hero of the Soviet Union. In 1947 he graduated from the Medical Military Academy and was later promoted from senior lecturer to head of department and professor. In October 1981 he received the rank of major-general in the Army Medical Corps. He retired from the army in July 1988.

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[Shmuel Spector (2nd ed.)]

DISKIN, MORDEKHAI (1844–1914), Ereẓ Israel pioneer. Diskin, born in Grodno, Russia, worked with his father as a market gardener. In 1882 he settled in Ereẓ Israel with his family and bought a holding in Petaḥ Tikvah that had been abandoned by earlier settlers because of malaria. He farmed there until his son shot and wounded a robber, and fear of vendetta caused him to move to Jerusalem. Diskin returned to Petaḥ Tikvah when it was resettled on the site of the neighboring village of Yehudiyyah. He became coachman in 1891, transporting passengers and goods between Petaḥ Tikvah and Jaffa, and taught Mishnah and Shulḥan Arukh in the evenings. Later he moved to Jaffa, still as a coachman, and his house became a free lodging for settlers who came to Jaffa for medical treatment. At the end of his life he became a shopkeeper, studying Torah and performing acts of charity. He was one of the founders of *talmud torah* Neẓaḥ Israel in Petaḥ Tikvah, the first modern religious school in the country. His monographs *Divrei Mordekhai* ("The Words of Mordekhai," 1889), *Ma'amar Mordekhai* ("Mordekhai's Essay," 1912), and *Yishuv ha-Areẓ* ("Settlement of the Land," 1913) are descriptions of the hardships of early agricultural settlement in Ereẓ Israel.

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[Avraham Yaari]

DISKIN, MOSES JOSHUA JUDAH LEIB (1817–1898), rabbi, halakhist, and leader of the old *yishuv* in Jerusalem. Diskin was born at Grodno, where he achieved fame as a child prodigy. From 1844 he was rabbi successively at Lomza, Mezhirech, Kovno, and Shklov, and from 1873 at Brest-Litovsk (Brisk), hence his title the "Brisker Rov." As a result of a case in which he was implicated by the authorities, and in consequence of which he was imprisoned for a short period, he left Russia for France, and in the summer of 1877 immigrated to Ereẓ Israel. He settled in Jerusalem where he served as rabbi until his death, enjoying the esteem of the whole community, among sections of which he was even more highly respected than Samuel *Salant, the rabbi of Jerusalem. He was one of the most prominent rabbis of his generation, who, in addition to a life of Torah study, was in the vanguard of Orthodox activism, leading the fight against all expressions of modernity and modern culture in Ereẓ Israel and advocating complete dissociation of the religious from the irreligious. He repeatedly excommunicated the modern schools in Jerusalem, stating of the ban that "no one has the power to annul it, since renowned rabbis of former days ordained it.… It is, moreover, a fence around the Torah, and not even an assembly of all the rabbis is in any way able or allowed to abrogate it" (written in 1896, responsa, pt. 1, 8a, nos. 29, 30). He ruled against the controversial decision of leading rabbis in 1889 permitting the cultivation of fields during that year, which was a sabbatical year. On other occasions, however, he was reluctant to decide an issue on his own, and suggested that prominent rabbis be consulted (responsa, pt. 1, no. 47, p. 43a; no. 52, p. 45a). He was opposed to the indiscriminate use of *pilpul*, regarding it solely as an instrument to arrive at halakhic decision (pt. 1, no. 52, p. 43d; pt. 3, no. 13). He himself subjected *halakhot* to critical examination, applying himself particularly to the problem of permitting the remarriage of *agunot* (women whose husbands are missing but whose deaths have not been established).

Diskin was active in establishing several communal institutions in Jerusalem. In 1880 he founded the orphanage which still bears his name, his purpose being to "save" children from a similar institution in which foreign languages were taught, established at that time in Jerusalem. He actively supported the foundation in 1887 of the Joint Sheḥitah Board of the Ashkenazim, Perushim (the non-ḥasidic Ashkenazim), and Ḥasidim, and together with R. Salant headed that body, which abolished the separate *sheḥitah* arrangements of these communities. He directed the Ohel Moshe (now called Tiferet Yerushalayim) yeshivah, where he also taught; gave his approval to the establishment of a separate community for immigrants from America; and, initially, supported the founders of *Petaḥ Tikvah, even serving as official agent for their company. He severed all connections with them, however, when it became clear to him that the town was assuming the character of the newer settlements. In all his public activities in Jerusalem, Diskin was supported by his second wife, Sarah (Sonia) Rattner, who was known as the "Brisker *Rebbetzin.*" In some circles she was thought to dominate her husband to lead him to the adoption of extreme views; in the literature of the new settlers she was referred to disparagingly. After Diskin's death, the orphanage and later the yeshivah came under the directorship of his only son, Isaac Jeroham (born of his first wife), who, together with Rabbi *Sonnenfeld, was one of the ultra-Orthodox anti-Zionist leaders at the beginning of the national movement.

Among Moses Diskin's works are *Torat Ohel Moshe* (1902), novellae to Exodus and to the *aggadah*, including also some of the novellae of his father, Benjamin Diskin; *Likkut Omarim* (1922 and 1935), aggadic and halakhic novellae to Genesis and Exodus; and Responsa (1911), in three parts. Diskin's novellae were also published in the collection *Mafteḥot ha-Torah mi-Ẓiyyon* (1887–98). His novellae to the Babylonian Talmud – excerpted from his *Torat Ohel Moshe* – and responsa were republished in the *Hosafot le-Talmud Bavli* in two volumes (1964). Of the published eulogies on him, the following are noteworthy: B. Lempert, *Zekher Zaddik li-Verakhah* (1898) and J. Orenstein, *Allon Bakhut* (1899).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: J. Orenstein, *Torah mi-Ẓiyyon*, 3 (1898), no. 4, 31a–34b; *Lu'aḥ Aḥi'asaf*, 6 (1899), 347; *Sefer ha-Yovel shel Petaḥ Tikvah* (1929), 46, 75, 138, 426; Y. Press, in: *Minhah le-David* (1935), 129, 135f.; D. Yellin, *Ketavim Nivḥarim*, 1 (1936), 230–3; J.A. Weiss, *Bi-She'arayikh Yerushalayim* (1949), 39–41, 88–90; I. Sheinberger, *Ammud Esh* (1954); B.Z. Jadler, *Be-Tuv Yerushalayim* (1967), 339–55.

[Yehoshua Horowitz]

DISNA (Pol. **Dzisna**), town in former Vilno district, Poland, today Molodechno district, Belarus. It is assumed that the first Jews settled there in the 16th century, but an organized community was only formed in the late 18th century. The Jews numbered 412 in 1797, and many made their livings from the wholesale trade of agricultural products. The community numbered 1,880 in 1847; 4,617 in 1897 (68.3% of the total population); and 2,742 in 1921 (62% of the total). After WWI Disna was cut off from its markets in Russia (U.S.S.R.), the economy deteriorated, and the number of Jews in the town declined. Most children were enrolled in a Yiddish CYSHO school. Zionist youth movements were active, and many of their members made aliyah.

[Shmuel Spector (2nd ed.)]

Holocaust Period

Between the outbreak of World War II and the German-Soviet war, Disna was under Soviet occupation. When the German army entered on July 2, 1941, there were 6,000 Jewish inhabitants in the city, many of them refugees from central Poland. Soon after the arrival of the Germans, the synagogues were burned down. On July 14, ten Jews were murdered. On August 3, a ghetto was set up. The main *Aktion* was carried out on July 14–15, 1942, when the entire ghetto was destroyed. The inhabitants were all taken to Piaskowe Gorki where they were murdered. During the *Aktion* about 2,000 persons broke out of the ghetto and sought refuge in the forests. The Germans hunted down the escapees, but some succeeded in organizing partisan units, while other Disna Jews joined the Fourth Belorussian Partisan Brigade. On Jan. 22, 1943, 17 Jewish craftsmen, the sole survivors of the *Aktion* of June 1942 to remain in Disna, were murdered.

[Aharon Weiss]

BIBLIOGRAPHY: O. Hedemann, *Dzisna i Druja* (1934); B. Wasiutyński, *Ludność żydowska w Polsce …* (1930), 84.

DISPLACED PERSONS, term for the hundreds of thousands of Jewish refugees and millions of non-Jews uprooted by the devastation of World War II, a large proportion of whom wound up in Displaced Persons camps set up by the victorious Allied forces in Germany, Austria, and Italy. Today the term is often synonymous with Jewish Holocaust survivors, who in the early years after the war sometimes referred to themselves as DPS. As such it embraces both the Jewish survivors of the concentration and forced labor camps as well as those who survived the war by hiding or by fleeing east to the Soviet Union, a group that may have constituted a majority of the displaced persons.

The Allies estimated that in May 1945 the tumult of the war had displaced eight million people from their homes in virtually all the countries of Europe. But within a few months three out of every four found their way back to their cities and villages, reducing the scope of the problem significantly but still leaving masses of frail people to feed, shelter, and repatriate. Assembly centers designed for 3,000 people soon began to contain over 10,000, resulting in crowding, unsanitary conditions, and shortages of clothing and basic supplies. Historian Yehuda Bauer estimates that of the 200,000 Jews who emerged alive from the concentration or labor camps, 55,000 remained in occupied zones of Germany and Austria. Other historians say the number could be as high as 100,000. The Polish and Baltic Jews who found a wartime haven in the Soviet Union and then were allowed to repatriate more than doubled the refugee number so that at its peak in 1947 there were almost 250,000 displaced Jews in Europe.

The Jewish refugees, after learning how their families had been slaughtered and communities destroyed, could not or would not return to their hometowns and cities, and that feeling only hardened after the pogrom in the Polish town of *Kielce in July 1946 in which 41 Jews were massacred with police help. Many were helped to smuggle themselves across borders and reach the refugee camps in the Allied occupied zones by an organization of partisans and Zionists called *Beriḥah (Flight). Once in the DP camps, the refugees waited for permits that would admit them to Palestine, the United States, Canada, Australia, and a handful of countries that were willing, however grudgingly, to absorb refugees. But with immigration restrictions as stringent as they were the DPS often languished for years. As a result, camps initially set up as a short-term solution lingered as refugee settlements into the early 1950s, with one remaining open until 1957.

Initial conditions at the camps were squalid, reflecting either poor preparation by the Allies, plain negligence, or in more than a few cases outright contempt for the Jewish refugees. Some of the DP camps were set up on the very grounds of the concentration camps as they were at *Bergen-Belsen, where the German officers barracks were converted by the British for use by the refugees. Others were set up at prisoner-of-war barracks and institutional settings, though one was at a fancy hotel in the Austrian Alps. Many camps were surrounded with barbed wire as if it were the refugees who represented a threat to the neighboring population. DPS lacked underwear, shoes, toilet paper, toothbrushes and there were reports that refugees were being given less food per day than German prisoners of war had been given. Some American soldiers brought their antisemitic prejudices with them, manhandling Jewish DPS and encouraging them to return to their home countries. In some camps, German police, some of them ex-Nazis, were placed in charge, and in one famous incident in Stuttgart in 1946, 200 German policemen accompanied by dogs raided a Jewish assembly center in search of black market goods and killed one DP. Most appalling to the Jewish refugees was their intermingling in the camps with Poles, Lithuanians, Latvians, and others who had collaborated with the Nazis in the murder of Jews.

When reports about maltreatment filtered back to Congress, Earl G. Harrison, dean of the faculty of law at the University of Pennsylvania and a former commissioner of immigration, was appointed to investigate. He reported back on August 1, 1945, that conditions were so grim that "we appear to be treating the Jews as the Nazis treated them, except that we do not exterminate them." The camps under General George Patton in southern Germany were said to be particularly poorly managed. (Patton wrote in his diary in September 1945 that some believe that the Displaced Person is a human being, which he is not, and this applies particularly to the Jews, who are lower than animals.) In response to the Harrison report, a distressed President Harry S. Truman appointed an advisor to the military with sole responsibility for the camps. Jewish chaplains were also important in prodding the military to treat the refugees more humanely, as was pressure from relief workers for organizations like the *American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee and *HIAS (the Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society). A visit to the DP camps by David *Ben-Gurion, chairman of the Executive of the Jewish Agency, in October 1945 helped spur the army to concentrate Jews in their own camps and allow the entry of Jews from Poland. The United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration, which had for months done an incompetent job of ministering to the refugees, was told to appoint Jewish refugees as camp administrators. Food was increased and conditions began to improve markedly.

While the discussion continued on what would be done with the DPS, whether they would be resettled in Palestine or in one of several Western countries, the refugees did not just remain idle. They started schools – including some 12,000 children at one point – and set up makeshift synagogues. They gave opera and theatrical performances and staged boxing matches. Despite the difficulty of obtaining printing presses and Hebrew type, they started some 70 newspapers, like *Unzer Shtimme* at Bergen-Belsen, the *Landsberger Lager Zeitung* and *Dos Fraye Wort* in Feldafing. Scores of writers and editors worked on those newspapers, many who had been human skeletons just months before or had been partisans staging ambushes against the Nazis. The more entrepreneurial traded in the black market that had cropped up in the occupied zones with the connivance of GIs and bureaucrats.

In many camps, the refugees took charge of their fate, setting up camp committees to run practical matters or aiding the Beriḥah network to smuggle people across a gauntlet of European borders to Palestine. Decades later, Menachem Rosensaft, a child of Bergen-Belsen and then a leader in the so-called Second Generation movement of children of survivors, recalled how his father, Joseph, an Auschwitz survivor, governed the Bergen-Belsen camp, organizing cultural and political activities, rooting out collaborators, and defying the British overseers, as he did when they attempted to transfer two groups of refugees to squalid camps. In effect, he said, from 1945 to 1950, his father had been the mayor of a largely autonomous Jewish community with its own schools, hospitals, and police force. In some instances, refugees directed the smuggling of arms to the *Haganah army in Palestine that was pressing the British to give Jews a state or trained for the Haganah using arms given to the refugee camp policemen.

Most importantly, the refugees revived family life, marrying and bearing children. The marriages were as often arranged out of convenience and desperate loneliness as out of romance, but that they took place at all signified a determination to carry on with life. The United States Holocaust Museum and Memorial has a singular wedding dress used by Lilly (Laks) Friedman, who survived Bergen-Belsen and was married in January 1946 near that camp. Because supplies were so scarce, her husband-to-be managed to scavenge a parachute from a German airman which Lily, trading her cigarette rations for the services of a dressmaker, converted to a dress. The dress was eventually borrowed by as many as 20 other refugee brides.

The DPs, most in their early twenties and thirties, also had thousands of children, making the DP camps, by some reckoning, the world's most fertile spot between 1946 and 1948. Historian Yehuda Bauer wondered decades later how the survivors summoned the strength and spirit to recapture life with such speed after spending years in the realm of death. Sam Norich, who was born in the Feldafing DP camp and went on to become the publisher of the *Forward* newspaper in the United States, offered a theory based on the Hebrew term originally used for the DPs, the *She'arit ha-Pleitah*, the surviving remnant. They saw themselves as the remnant that perpetuates, that redeems the family and the community as a whole, the community from which they came, he said in a speech in 2002.

It seems clear that the refugees were eager to see the establishment of a Jewish state, one that at a minimum would resolve their homelessness. In July 1945, 94 delegates from Jewish assembly centers held a conference at the St. Ottilien camp near Munich calling for the immediate establishment of a Jewish state in Palestine. More official entities also focused on this solution. Harrison proposed that the British accept 100,000 Jews into the territory of the British Mandate for Palestine and what was known as the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry recommended in April 1946 that the British government immediately grant the Jewish refugees 100,000 immigration certificates to Palestine. Despite these pressures, the refugees in the British Zone were given only 6,000 immigration certificates until the establishment of the State of Israel and other zones received only 1,460. Therefore illegal immigration became the only option for most refugees.

The moral pressure of this mass of Jewish displaced persons – a problem that could not be solved without the creation of a Jewish homeland – is now regarded as having been crucial in persuading the British to hand over its mandate in Palestine to the United Nations in 1947 and in persuading President Harry S. Truman to push for the creation of Israel despite the resistance of his own State Department. Jewish leaders in Palestine agreed to settle for a partitioned country rather than a whole loaf of the land because of the unresolved situation of the refugees.

The creation of Israel did indeed begin solving the refugee problem. By the beginning of 1950, 75,000 Jewish DPs had made their way to Israel. Meanwhile, other countries like Australia and Canada opened their doors to take in refugees. In America, admission of Jewish refugees was notably grudging. One might have thought that given the failure of the United States to admit the imperiled Jews of Germany before the war and to admit refugees during the war that after the war the doors would have been opened generously. But that was not the case. Many in Congress believed that the DP camps were filled with Communist sympathizers; other legislators simply did not want to admit more Jews. President Truman issued a directive in December 1945 mandating preferential treatment in the immigration laws for displaced persons. But as of June 30, 1947, only 22,950 visas had been issued to DPs in Germany, just 15,478 to Jews. In 1948 Congress passed a law that gave preferential admission to DPs who had held that status as of December 22, 1945, a date that effectively excluded most Jews. Provisions in the law also gave preferences for entry to Baltics, Ukrainians, and ethnic Germans, some with collaborationist backgrounds, and people working at occupations like agriculture in which Jews were not heavily represented. The law was amended in 1950, with a later cutoff date, but still only 16 percent of the 365,000 visas issued to DPs between July 1, 1948, and June 30, 1952, were issued to Jews. All told, fewer than 100,000 Jewish DPs reached the United States as a result of the Truman directive and the two DP acts, historian Leonard Dinnerstein reported.

Still, the laws produced a fresh cohort of immigrants – 140,000 of them from all sources between 1946 and 1953 – who brought an unusual spice to the American stew. These Jews were different from the more established descendants of the so-called Lower East Side generation of the late 19th century in everything from accent to the depth of sorrowful experience. A study published in 1992 by the sociologist William B. Helmreich, *Against All Odds: Holocaust Survivors and the Successful Lives They Made in America*, found that despite the brutality of their wartimes experiences and the many years they lived in limbo afterwards, the survivors amassed an impressive record of achievement. At first the American DPS took jobs in the blue-collar industries like garment manufacturing and used their small nest eggs to purchase candy stores and laundromats, and a significant proportion went on to earn fortunes in real estate and other business enterprises. By 1989 more than 34 percent of the survivors reported earning $50,000 annually, far higher than the national average. They divorced less than American Jews and had more children. They formed strong friendships and social networks. Their children adjusted well, worked hard in school, and went on to successful lives of their own. Children of displaced persons who achieved national fame include Daniel Libeskind, who designed the Ground Zero replacement for the destroyed World Trade Center; Wolf *Blitzer, a leading anchor and correspondent for CNN; Hadassah Lieberman, wife of Senator Joseph *Lieberman of Connecticut, who ran unsuccessfully for the vice presidency of the United States often mentioning his wife's Holocaust roots; and Sam Gejdenson, who became a Democratic congressman from Connecticut. As a result, the story of the displaced persons may ultimately be seen as a story of the steely resilience of the human spirit and its ability to recover from the unspeakable.

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[Joseph Berger (2nd ed.)]

DISPUTATIONS AND POLEMICS. This entry is arranged according to the following outline:

- **In the Pagan Environment**
  - THE CHRISTIAN ENVIRONMENT AND MISSION
  - DIALOGUE WITH TRYPHON
  - CELSUS
- **In the Christian and Muslim Medieval Milieu**
  - GREGORY OF TOURS AND PRISCUS
  - GILBERT CRISPIN
  - CHRISTIAN RELIGIOUS DRAMA
  - CHRONICLE OF AHIMAAZ
  - 12TH CENTURY
  - IN MUSLIM COUNTRIES
  - THE 13TH-CENTURY DISPUTATIONS
  - 15TH CENTURY
- **Renaissance and Reformation**
  - *HIZZUK EMUNAH*
- **Modern Times**
  - FRANKIST DISPUTATIONS
  - MENDELSSOHN AND LAVATER
  - ROSENZWEIG AND ROSENSTOCK
  - BUBER AND SCHMIDT

Up to early modern times dialogue between members of different faiths attempted either to prove the superiority and absolute validity of one faith over the other, or to defend the totality of one faith and its Holy Scriptures, or elements in them, against questioning and criticism by believers in another faith. In some cases the representative of one side has been put on a quasi-legal trial to justify his convictions, as often happened to Jews in the Middle Ages. Disputations and polemics between believers of the three monotheistic faiths – Judaism, *Christianity, and *Islam – inevitably start from and return to the common ground of the Hebrew Bible and certain religious concepts held by all three, but always in order to confute the opposing view and prove the validity of the proponent's argument.

In recording the most open public disputation to take place in the Middle Ages, that of *Barcelona in 1263, the Christian account stresses that the object of the disputation was not to question the validity of Christianity, "which because of its certainty cannot be subjected to debate" (*que propter sui certitudinem non est in disputatione ponenda*).

This was to remain the ultimate standpoint of disputants throughout the centuries. As late as 1933, a representative of Protestant Christianity, Karl Ludwig Schmidt, declared to his Jewish partner, as representative of German Jewry, the Zionist and philosopher Martin *Buber, in a Christian-Jewish dialogue before a gathering of Jews: "The evangelical theologian who has to talk to you, must talk to you as a member of the Church of Jesus Christ, must endeavor to talk in a manner that will convey the message of the Church to Jewry. He must do this even if you would not have invited him to do so. The assertion of a mission to you may have a somewhat bitter taste as if intending an attack; but such an attack precisely involves caring about you as Jews – so that you may live with us as our brethren in our German fatherland as throughout the world" (*Theologische Blaetter*, 12 (1933), 258; and see below). This liberal German theologian found it necessary to declare at the outset of the debate the missionary character of Jewish-Christian disputation.

Despite the self-assurance and aggressiveness implicit in this attitude, both sides were inevitably influenced to a certain degree by the dialectics of their opponents. At a very early stage of the Jewish-Christian debate this challenge was perceived in a Midrash which relates that "the **minim* [i.e., early Christians] were continuously disputing with Rabbi Judah, the son of Nakosa: they would ask him and he would answer them … When he was called [to Heaven] his pupils said to him: Rabbi, you were helped from on High and were victorious. He said to them: '… Go and pray for this … basket that was full of diamonds and pearls and now is full of burnt-out charcoal'" (Eccles. R. 1:8, no. 4).

Disputations sometimes started from a casual encounter, sparked off by an actual problem or object noticed. Sometimes, in particular from the 13th century in Europe, they were formally conducted in public. Authors of polemical literature like *Judah Halevi employed the artificial framework of the disputation to set forth their arguments. Alternatively, the dialectic climate of an actual disputation led to systematic theological formulations such as the *Sefer Ikkarim* (Book of Principles) of Joseph *Albo (see below) or *Cur Deus homo …* of *Anselm of Canterbury. The reports and impressions of the actual disputations that have been preserved are conflicting. The same motifs tend to recur time after time, any variation reflecting the spirit of the times, personal interests, or particular circumstances.

The history of disputations and their content, while concomitantly a record of constant tension and deliberate animosity, is also a process of continuous mutual interpenetration of ideas and influence stimulated by this tension.

In the Pagan Environment

In biblical times, the pagan polytheism of the period precluded the holding of any discursive dialogue of this nature. Claims are made asserting the might of one deity or deities above those of others, usually uttered in the heat of war after victory. Jewish monotheistic prophecy makes frequent use of scathing and ironical polemics to denounce polytheism and idolatry.

However, in the cultural milieu of the Hellenistic Roman world, Jewish monotheism was challenged by missionary Hellenistic philosophy and beliefs. Thus the Mishnah records that pagans asked the elders (in Rome): "If God does not desire idolatry why does He not destroy it? They answered: If men had been worshipping objects unnecessary for the cosmos He would have destroyed them, but they worship the sun and moon and the stars and the planets. Should He destroy His world because of fools? They [the pagan questioners] said to them: Then let Him destroy those objects [of pagan worship] of which the cosmos has no need, and leave only those necessary for the cosmos. They answered: Then the arguments of the worshipers of those [necessary objects] would have been strengthened, for they would say: these are divinities, for they have not been destroyed" (Av. Zar. 4:7).

The exclusiveness and superiority claimed for Jewish monotheism against idolatry are developed in the following disputation: "A *philosophus* asked Rabban Gamaliel: Your Bible states 'for I the Lord thy God am a jealous God.' Is there any merit in idolatry to give rise to jealousy? A hero is jealous of a hero, a sage of a sage, a rich man of a rich man; hence there must be merit in idolatry since it provokes jealousy. He answered him: If a man called his dog by the name of his father, and wanting to take an oath takes it on the life of the dog, of whom would the father be jealous, of the son or of the dog?" (Mekh., Ba-Ḥodesh 9). Details of Jewish worship also enter the disputation, as when "a Gentile asked Rabban *Johanan ben Zakkai: Those things that you perform resemble a kind of magic – you take a cow, slaughter it and burn it, and keep its ashes; and when one of you has become defiled by contact with the dead they sprinkle him two or three times [with water mixed with the ashes] and say, 'You have been purified.'" In replying to the Gentile R. Johanan drew a comparison with similar rituals employed in exorcism. To his own pupils, however, he explained it as an act of faith: "The dead does not defile nor does water purify; it is just a decree of the King of Kings. The Almighty, Blessed be His Name, said: This is my order, this is my rule, and no man may transgress it" (PdRK 40a–b).

Gradually the motif of Jewish weakness and dispersion was introduced into the argument against Judaism. When a certain "heretic" stressed that although the Jews were at the mercy of Rome, the Gentiles refrained from destroying them, he was answered by R. *Hoshaiah: "This is because you do not know how to carry this out. If you [seek to] destroy us all, we are not all to be found within your borders. [If you seek to destroy] only those within your borders you would be reputed a maimed empire. [The heretic] answered: By the body of Rome, we are engaged constantly with this problem" (Pes. 87b). This last motif, in stressing the enmity of the Romans and the dispersion of the Jews in both the Roman and Persian empires, seems to sound the note of the emerging predominance of Christianity.

The Talmud sometimes ascribes legendary disputations to biblical figures, for instance between Abraham and Nimrod. There are also accounts of litigations, supposed to have taken place before courts of law and kings, between representatives of the Jewish people and other claimants to the Land of Israel. *Josephus tells about litigation that took place between the Jews of *Alexandria and the Samaritans "in the presence of Ptolemy himself, the Jews asserting that it was the Temple at Jerusalem which had been built in accordance with the laws of Moses, and the Samaritans that it was the Temple on Mount *Gerizim. And they requested the king to sit in council with his friends and hear their arguments on these matters" (Jos., Ant., 13:74–75; and see the argumentation, 75–79).

Some sages appear in talmudic literature as having engaged in disputations that not only concern the Jewish faith and way of life but also show to advantage the breadth of knowledge and acuity of Jewish scholarship, for instance, *Joshua b. Hananiah (see Ḥag. 5b; Ḥul. 59–60b; Bek. 8b–9a).

THE CHRISTIAN ENVIRONMENT AND MISSION The developing cleavage between Christianity and Judaism, until the final parting of the ways in the second century, led to increasing disputation between Christians and Jews. The lists of *testimonia* from the Hebrew Bible prepared by early Christian teachers consist of biblical quotations to be used not only to convince pagans but also, in most cases, to persuade Jews to accept the Christianity clauses. With the growing distance between Christian and Jewish theological concepts and ways of life, the disputations became more formal and were noted down. The early disputations in the form of independent treatises are written down by the Christian side although fragments and impressions of such disputations are on record in talmudic literature (Mekh. Shira, 7; Ba-Ḥodesh, 5; Kaspa, 3; Mekh. Sb Y, to Shemot, p. 2; Sif. Deut. 87–91, 306; TJ, Ber. 9:1, 12d–13b; TJ, Ta'an. 2:1, 65b; TJ, Sanh. 1:1, 18a; TJ (Venice, 1523), Sanh. 13:9, 23 c–d; TJ, Sanh. 10:1, 27d–28a; Ber. 7a, 10a, 12a–b; Shab. 88a–b, 116a–b; Pes. 56a; Er. 22a; Suk. 48b; Ta'an. 27b; Ḥag. 5b; Yev. 102b; Sot. 47a; Git. 57a; Sanh. 38b–39a, 43b (in *Ḥesronot ha-Shas* in "El ha-Mekorot" ed. of the Talmud, 1963), 98b–99a, 106a–b; Av. Zar. 4a, 6a–b, 17a; Tosef., Hul. 2:2; Eccles. R. 1:8, no. 4; 2:1, nos. 1, 2; 4:8, no. 1; Song R. 7:3). The challenges and pressures of these disputations in the world of the *amoraim* (third to fourth centuries) are projected in the explanation given by *Abbahu, the celebrated disputant with the Christians at Caesarea, to Christians who questioned the learning of a scholar from Babylonia: "We [i.e., the scholars of Ereẓ Israel] who are living with you regard it as our task to study [Scripture] thoroughly. They [the scholars of Babylonia] are not so well versed" in it (Av. Zar. 4a). Representing the Christian view is a work well-known by around 500, the *Altercatio Simonis Judaei et Theophili Christiani* (ed. by A. v. Harnack, Leipzig, 1883). Although the text was subsequently lost for centuries the form of the *Altercatio* and the arguments put forward there influenced later Christian presentations of disputations with Jews.

DIALOGUE WITH TRYPHON. Of fundamental importance both for the authority it carries and the arguments met there is *Justin Martyr's Dialogue with Tryphon held about the time of the *Bar Kokhba revolt and written down between 156 and 161. While the argument of general issues and detailed points is sharp and bitter in this early discussion between Christians and Jews, the relationship between the disputants is represented as one of mutual courtesy. They part with an acknowledgment by the Jewish debater that he has "been extraordinarily charmed with our intercourse," with Justin stating that the Jews "departed, finally praying for my deliverance both from the dangers of the sea, and from all ill. And I prayed also for them, saying: I can make no greater prayer for you, Gentlemen, than this, that …you may do in all respects the same as we, acknowledging that the object of our worship is the Christ of God" (Justin Martyr, *Dialogue,* 142:1–3, Eng. trans. by A.L. Williams (1930), 289).

Even so, politeness does not hinder Justin from hurling at the Jews their harsh fate, at a time of life and death struggle with Rome, which he saw as the punishment designated by their Law: "The circumcision according to the flesh, that was from Abraham, was given for a sign, that ye should be separated from the other nations and us, and that ye alone should suffer the things that ye are rightly suffering now, and that your lands should be desolate and your cities burned with fire, and that foreigners should eat up the fruits before your face, and none of you go up unto Jerusalem. For by nothing else are ye to be known from other men, save by the circumcision that is in your flesh …. All this has happened to you rightly and well. For ye slew the Just One and His prophets before Him, and now ye reject, and, as far as in you lies, dishonor those that set their hope on Him …, cursing in your synagogues them that believe in Christ" (*ibid.*, 16:2–4, pp. 32–33). He also frequently explains other precepts as having been given to the Jews to their detriment: "Now because of your sins and those of your fathers God charged you to keep the Sabbath as a sign … and has also given you His other ordinances" (*ibid.*, 21:1, p. 42). The true meaning of the Torah and commandments enjoined in the Prophets is to be found in their Christological, spiritual-figurative sense. Physical rest could not really be enjoined on Saturday, for "you see that Nature does not idle nor keep Sabbath. Abide as ye have been born" (*ibid.*, 23:3, pp. 47–48). The stubborn and sinful Jewish people continue in existence only because God "has not yet brought the Judgment, nor has begun to bring it, because He knows that every day some [of the Jews] are becoming disciples unto the name of His Christ, and are leaving the way of error" (*ibid.*, 39:2, p. 77). Justin categorically rejects any form of Judeo-Christianity (*ibid.*, 46:1–2, p. 90; 47:1–2, pp. 93–95; see Jewish *Christian sects). A large part of Justin's argumentation consists of *testimonia* from the Prophets adduced in evidence of the validity of Christianity. His methods of dialectic and manner of presentation became the prototype of later Christian argumentation against Jewry and Judaism.

Tryphon objects in principle to the method of adducing Christological *testimonia* from the Hebrew Bible: "Why do you select for citation only such parts as you choose out of the sayings of the Prophets, and make no mention of those [that do not fit the Christian view]," and brings examples to prove his point (*ibid.*, 27:1, p. 53). Justin was fully aware that the main concern of responsible Jews at this critical period was not discussion of Greek beliefs or philosophical debate. Thus he describes how "Tryphon's companions sat down opposite, and after one of them had made a remark about the war in Judea, they conversed about it" (*ibid.*, 9:3, p. 20). However, the Jew regards philosophical paganism as preferable to superstitious Christianity: "It were better for you to continue to hold the philosophy of Plato or of some other learned man … than to have been completely led away by false speeches, and to follow men of no account. For while you remained in that mode of philosophy and lived a blameless life, a hope was left you of a better fate, but when you forsook God, and placed your hope on a man, what kind of salvation yet remains for you?" (*ibid.*, 8:3, p. 17). The Christians suffer persecution for their credulity: "You people, by receiving a worthless rumor, shape a kind of messiah for yourselves, and for His sake are now blindly perishing" (*ibid.*, 8:4, p. 19). The true hope of salvation lies in strict fulfillment of the Law: "First be circumcised, then … keep the Sabbath and the Feasts and God's New Moons, and, in short, do all the things that are written in the Law, and then perchance you will find mercy from God" (*ibid.*, 8:4, p. 17).

Not only is the Christian method of citation and evidence seen as falsifying the words of the Hebrew Bible by removing them from their context and failing to have regard for the spirit of the Hebrew language, but many of the events related by Christians and the interpretations they give are regarded as blasphemous and foolish. When Justin insulted the Jew by quoting the words of the Bible according to the version of Paul, which stigmatizes the Jews as prophet-killers, and added the remark referred to above that the Jews are still permitted to exist because of those among them who convert to Christianity, Tryphon interjected: "I would have you know that you are out of your mind when you say all this" (*ibid.*, 39:1–3, p. 77). To the long list of *testimonia* cited by Justin on the prophecies relating to Jesus and his primordial divinity, the Jew reacts: "You say many blasphemous things, thinking to persuade us that this man who was crucified has been with Moses and Aaron, and has spoken to them in a pillar of cloud, that he then became man and was crucified, and has ascended into Heaven, and comes again on earth, and is to be worshipped" (*ibid.*, 38:1, p. 75). Belief in incarnation and crucifixion in relation to the preexistent Divinity is rejected as irrational: "For your assertion that this Christ existed, and was God, before all ages, then that He was even born and became man and suffered, and that He is not man by origin, seems to me to be not only strange but even foolish" (*ibid.*, 48:1, p. 95). The Christian claims for Jesus amount to an attempt to "prove to us that the existence of another God besides the Maker of the universe is recognized by the spirit of the Prophets" (*ibid.*, 55:1, p. 108; and see also 50:1, p. 100). The interpretation given by Justin to "*ha-almah*" in Isaiah 7:14 to mean "the Virgin" (*Dialogue*, 66, pp. 138–139) is corrected by Tryphon who states that its actual meaning is "the young woman" and places the prophecy in its historical context in the reign of King Hezekiah. He adds that the Christian concept of a virgin birth is pagan in origin and character: "Among the tales of those whom we call Greeks it is said that Perseus had been born of Danae, still a virgin, by him that they entitle Zeus flowing down upon her in the form of gold. And in fact you ought to be ashamed of saying the same sort of things as they, and should rather say that this Jesus was a man of human origin, and, if you prove from the Scriptures that He is the Christ, [say] that because of his perfect life under the Law he was deemed worthy to be chosen to be Christ. And do not dare to assert marvels, that you be not convicted of talking folly like the Greeks" (*ibid.*, 67, pp. 139–140). Hence it would seem, according to Justin's rendering, that Tryphon would have found some satisfaction in a Christianity which recognized Jesus as the human redeemer of the Gentiles alone. Tryphon tries at some length to elicit Justin's attitude regarding whether Judeo-Christians should observe the Law (*ibid.*, 46:1, p. 90; 47:1–2, p. 93; and see above Justin's rejection of the Judeo-Christians). According to Justin's account, Tryphon expressly proposed: "Let Him be recognized of you who are of the Gentiles as Lord and Christ and God, as the Scriptures signify, seeing also that you have all acquired the name of Christians from Him. But as for us, who are worshipers of God who made even Him [Jesus], we do not need to confess Him or worship Him." Anger at this proposition provoked Justin into a rare outburst of personal invective against his Jewish opponent (*ibid.*, 64:1–2, p. 133). Tryphon pointed out that the messiah awaited by the Jews was a king-savior, not a redeeming God: "For all of us Jews expect that the Christ will be a man of merely human origin, and that Elijah will come and anoint Him" (*ibid.*, 49:1, p. 97). The King will come to his people, the descendants of Abraham. When Justin quotes to him from *testimonia* that the messiah will come to Israel, Tryphon asks what that implies: "Are you Israel, and does He say all this about you?" (*ibid.*, 123:7, p. 256).

This relatively early encounter between a separated Christianity and Judaism establishes the main themes and groundwork of future Jewish-Christian *testimonia*, the polemical statements by Tertullian against the Jews in the same century, and the fragments of Jewish-Christian disputation found in tannaitic and amoraitic literature mentioned above. Constantly recurring subjects in disputation from the end of the second century, therefore, are the significance of "*Bereshit*" ("In the beginning") and of "*ad ki yavo Shiloh*" (Gen. 49:10). Are the Just Men and Patriarchs who lived before the giving of the Torah to be regarded as observers of the Law or not? Why was the Law given to the Jews? For their benefit, or as a punishment? Is the true meaning of the Law and the Prophets to be elicited by a "literal" or a "spiritual" interpretation? What is the significance of the use of the plural form in referring to the Divine in the Bible? Is it intended to convey the concept of Trinity? Who is "the suffering servant of God" in Isaiah 52 and following? What is the correct translation of "*ha-almah*"? Although variations of these questions occur, this was to remain the exegetical core of Jewish-Christian disputation. The fate of the Jewish people, the course of history and empires, and war and peace in the world enter and are developed in the debate at a later stage. Although as yet not clearly defined, certain attitudes are already embryonic: the Jewish objection to the concept of the Trinity as being inherently idolatrous, and to incarnation as insulting to the divine nature of God; the insistence on the Jewish side that understanding of Scripture should be based on a comprehensive knowledge of the original language without depriving the words of their literal meaning or isolating them from their context. There also emerge the mystic-fideistic standpoint of the Christian side, the critico-rationalistic approach of the Jewish side; the universalist-individualistic claims of Church spokesmen against the Jewish concept of Israel as a national "natural-historical cell," the "kingdom of priests and holy nation" entrusted in this social pattern to carry the Divine call to the world.

CELSUS. Also dating from the early period of the disputations are the somewhat dissimilar strands of anti-Christian argumentation quoted by *Celsus in his anti-Christian polemic written about 178. There the Jew is reported to have said: "I could say much about what happened to Jesus which is true, and nothing like the account which has been written by the disciples of Jesus" (in Origen; *Contra Celsum*, translated and edited by H. Chadwick (1953), 2:13, p. 78). Celsus' record, which contains numerous extra-New Testamentary details and innuendoes adverse to Jesus, in some way prefigures the later polemical version of Jesus' life and death, **Toledot Yeshu* (Origen; *Contra Celsum*), 1:28, pp. 27–28; 1:32, pp. 31–32; 1:38, p. 37; 1:67, p. 62; 2:8, pp. 71–72; 2:9, p. 73; 2:15, p. 81; 2:16, pp. 81–82; 2:26, p. 90; 2:27, p. 90; 2:32, p. 93; 2:34, p. 94; 2:44, p. 100; 2:46, p. 101; 2:55, p. 109; 2:70, p. 121). The Jew also repeats many of the anti-Christian arguments used by Tryphon and the *amoraim*. In addition, he is quoted as sharply condemning Jewish *apostasy to Christianity, saying: "Why do you take your origin from our religion? And then, as if you are progressing in knowledge, despise these things although you cannot name any other origin for your doctrine excepting our Law" (*ibid.*, 2:4, p. 69; and see also 2:1, pp. 66–67). He attacks the concept of the resurrection of Jesus, in particular comparing it to similar pagan legends (2:55, p. 109), and adds: "While he was alive he did not help himself, but after death he rose again and showed the marks of his punishment and how his hands had been pierced. But who saw this? A hysterical female, as you say, and perhaps some other one of those who were deluded by the same sorcery, who either dreamt in a certain state of mind and through wishful thinking had a hallucination due to some mistaken notion (an experience which has happened to thousands), or, which is more likely, wanted to impress the others by telling this fantastic tale, and so by this cock-and-bull story to provide a chance for other beggars" (*ibid.*). His attack on resurrection is continued by the argument: "But if he really was so great he ought, in order to display his divinity, to have disappeared suddenly from the cross" (*ibid.*, 2:68, p. 118). The Jew continues: "Where is he then, that we may see and believe?" (*ibid.*, 2:77, p. 126). He uses Jesus' rejection by the Jews as an argument against his divinity: "What God that comes among men is disbelieved, and that when he appears to those who were waiting for him? Or why ever is he not recognized by people who have been long expecting him?" (*ibid.*, 2:75, p. 123).

The problems raised here denote the type of argumentation used by Jews against Christians in the Christian-Judeo-Pagan triangle of the second half of the second century. When Judaism alone remained face to face with Christianity much argumentation of this category was omitted in the direct confrontation.

In the fourth century, the rise of Christianity to imperial dominion in the late Roman Empire, the shock of *Julian "the Apostate's" revolt against this domination, and the fire and smoke of internal Christian doctrinal battles, were accompanied by bitter and brutal denunciation of Judaism and the Jews, their character, and way of life by *John Chrysostom, *Eusebius, and other fathers of the Church. Not only was the concept of divine election now claimed for the Church only, as the "spiritual Israel," but it was categorically denied to the historical Jewish people, leaving the title only to those of the nation who were considered "Christians before Christ," like the Patriarchs and the Prophets. Much of the argumentation in the talmudic literature cited above was in answer to this mode of attack.

At the beginning of the seventh century, the tensions in Ereẓ Israel between Jews and Christians, the Persian invasion, and entanglement of a Jewish revolt in the Byzantine-Persian struggle (see also *Benjamin of Tiberias, *Heraclius; *Jerusalem) are reflected in the controversial tract *Doctrina Iacobi nuper baptizati,* written about 640 (ed. by N. Bonwetsch, Berlin, 1910).

In the Christian and Muslim Medieval Milieu

GREGORY OF TOURS AND PRISCUS. The changed atmosphere at the courts of the German Christian rulers in Europe, and the standpoint of an educated Jew there, emerge in the account of a disputation recorded by Bishop Gregory of Tours in his *Historiarum Libri decem* (6:5; ed. R. Buchner, pp. 8–13). The Jewish merchant *Priscus in 581 was confronted with the bishop in the presence of King Chilperic, who initiated the disputation, in an attempt to win the Jew to Christianity. Gregory rests his argument on chapter and verse while the Jew puts questions and cites contrary biblical testimony. Priscus said to the king: "God did not enter into marriage and did not bring forth a son, neither can he have a partner to his sovereignty, as Moses says: 'See now that it is I, even I, and there is no God with Me. I put to death and I make alive; I strike and I heal'" (*ibid.*). And again: "Can God be man, can He be born of woman? Can he suffer beatings and be sentenced to death?" (*ibid.*). At this point the bishop intervened to cite lengthy Christological *testimonia*, and the Jew asks: "What necessity was there for God to suffer in such a manner?" To the bishop's explanation that He did so in order to save mankind from sin and reconcile man with God, the Jew rejoined: "Could not God send prophets or apostles who would bring man back to the way of salvation? and had He only the means of humiliating himself in the flesh?" (*ibid.*).

With the growth of Christian power, its clash with the conquering armies of Islam, and the consequent changes in the Jewish fate, theological argument was increasingly related to the actual historical situation. The letters of Archbishop *Agobard of Lyons against the Jews include fragments of disputations he had with them. The conversion of the Christian priest *Bodo-Eleazar to Judaism not only provoked his own vituperative anti-Christian polemics but is also evidence of the meetings and disputations which took place between Jews and Christians at the court of Emperor *Louis the Pious.

A large portion of both Jewish and Christian biblical exegetical literature, and Jewish liturgical works – *piyyutim, seliḥot*, and *kinnot* – contain polemical argument with religious, historical, and social overtones.

Under Islam, in particular in *Baghdad of the tenth century where both Jews and Christians were in the position of a minority, disputations between the two, as well as between Jews and Muslims, are found taking place in a relatively open atmosphere. *Saadiah Gaon's Arabic work *Book of Beliefs and*

Opinions incorporates and summarizes much of the argument in these disputations. His works also convey the main line adopted in Jewish *Rabbanite controversy with the *Karaites. The writings of the Karaites *Daniel b. Moses al-Qūmisi, Abu-Yusuf Jacob al *Kirkisānī, *Sahl b. Maẓli'aḥ ha-Kohen, and *Salmon b. Jeroham contain the Karaite attack on Rabbanite tradition. Many of the Karaite arguments against the Talmud, the anthropomorphic legends, contradictions, and immoral views found there, later became part of the Christian arsenal for attack on the Talmud.

GILBERT CRISPIN. About five years before the catastrophe brought on Jewry by the First *Crusade a disputation took place in England between the abbot of Westminster, Gilbert *Crispin, and a Jewish scholar. The latter, who had studied at Mainz, came there both for business and in order to meet Gilbert, who regarded the Jew as a personal acquaintance (*mihi familiaris*). He records, "Each time that we would meet, immediately [*mox*] we would have a talk [*sermo*] in a friendly spirit [*amico animo*] about the Holy Scriptures and our faith." Gilbert noted that the answers of the Jew seemed logical and worthy to those present at the discussions to be preserved. He therefore wrote down both sides of the disputation, and sent the text to Anselm, archbishop of Canterbury (*Gisleberti Crispini Disputatio Judei et Christiani;* ed. by B. Blumenkranz, Utrecht (1956), 27–8). It was the wish of both sides to hold the talk "in a tolerant spirit" [*toleranti animo*], as the Jew phrased it, while Gilbert calls for discussion "in a patient spirit" [*animo patienti*] guaranteeing to dispute "for the cause of faith and out of love to thee" (*fidei causa et tui amore*, 28–29). The atmosphere of tolerance in which the disputation was held makes it a valuable record. In addition to the discussion of former points raised in disputations between Jews and Christians, the Jew stresses the anomaly of the position accorded to Jews in Christian countries: "If the Law is to be kept [as the Jew had argued previously], why do you regard its keepers like dogs, pushing them with sticks and persecuting them everywhere?" (*ibid.*, 28). The troubled state of the world is brought as evidence against accepting Jesus as the messiah, since it contradicts the words of the prophet: "and they shall beat their swords into plowshares …." He states: "The iron with difficulty suffices the smiths for the preparation of weapons. All over the world, nation fights with nation, neighbor oppresses his neighbor and kills him. One king wars with the other" (*ibid.*, 34). Apparently describing paintings that he has seen in the Church the Jew points out: "God Himself you paint as the Man of Sorrows, hanging on the cross, pierced with nails – a terrible sight and yet you adore it… Again sometimes you paint God enthroned on high gesturing with outstretched hand, and around him – as if for greater glory – an eagle and a man, a calf and a lion; yet all this is forbidden in Exodus 20:4" (*ibid.*, 65). There is evidence of a certain interpenetration of ideals. The Christian responds to the Jew's condemnation of the warlike society of his environment by holding up monastic ideals: "There are many men of war and wrath who have left fighting and temporal riches and have turned to serve God in poverty" (*ibid.*, 38). When the Jew claimed that the Law was given to be observed the abbot pointed to Christian asceticism: "There are many of us who abstain not only from eating pork but from meat altogether" (*ibid.*, 35). On the other hand, the Jew not only insists that all the precepts of the Law should be observed but also reconciles it with the figurative understanding of the Scriptures: "Shall we condemn the letter [of the Law] because we listen to its figurative sense? And because we obeyed the letter, is there any sense in condemning the figure? We follow the letter and perceive also the figurative sense of the letter" (*ibid.*, 32). Even scholars who consider this dialogue a literary fiction would have to concede that in tone and content it expresses the spirit of arguments exchanged between Jews and Christians in a friendly atmosphere on the eve of the First Crusade.

CHRISTIAN RELIGIOUS DRAMA. The development of Christian religious drama in the 12th and 13th centuries permitted disputation with Jews to be presented in a popular dramatic form. In the Latin mystery play *Ordo Prophetarum*, a "reader" summons the Jews before him in the introduction to the Birth of Christ. The prophets appear one after the other, range themselves around the "reader," and quote passages considered to be Christological in content. In these debates the Jews are often led by an *archisynagogus*, while the prophets are led by the "reader" who in many plays is identified with *Augustine. Later, from the middle of the 12th century, beginning with the German *Ludus de Antichristo*, the rival disputants receive personification as *Ecclesia and Synagoga. Basically, all these dramas are disputations. The tone imputed to the Jews, particularly in later versions, is coarse and jeering.

CHRONICLE OF AHIMAAZ. Certain motifs in Jewish polemical literature which developed and changed over the centuries originated in reaction to the impressive display made by Christian religious life. The southern Italian 11th-century Chronicle of *Ahimaaz b. Paltiel tells of a disputation supposed to have taken place between the Jew *Shephatiah b. Amittai of Oria (ninth century) and the Byzantine emperor *Basil I concerning the beauty and splendor of the Church of Hagia Sophia in Constantinople. The Jew quotes from Scripture to prove that Solomon's Temple was even greater and more magnificent: "Then did the king say: 'Rabbi Shephatiah has overcome me in his wisdom'; and Rabbi Shephatiah answered: 'My lord, Scripture has been victorious over you and not I'" (*Megillat Aḥima'aẓ*, ed. by B. Klar (1944), 21).

12TH CENTURY. From the 12th century, apparently, chance encounters between Christians and Jews might often flare up into religious arguments. Both Jewish and Christian writers prepared manuals for the use of simple people of their faith when encountering arguments of the other side. In Christian literature this led to a long line of polemical writings against the Jews (*Adversus Judaeos*, a type that originated much earlier), intended for this purpose, some in the form of a dialogue.

In Jewish literature, such manuals are generally entitled *Sefer Nizzaḥon*, being the outcome of former chance encounters and a preparation for future ones. The subject matter of these books and the methods employed by both sides largely follow traditional lines, although concrete situations and new themes may interpose themselves.

Joseph *Kimḥi not only defends the Jewish way of life of the 12th century (see *Apologetics) but also indicates how a Jewish patrician saw the mainly feudal Christian patterns of behavior: "You cannot claim that you are circumcised in heart, for he who … murders and whores and robs and molests people, ridicules them and behaves like a brigand, is uncircumcised in heart. Hence you are uncircumcised both in heart and body and Israel is circumcised both in heart and body. For ye will not find a Jew whom they [the Jews] will hang, neither will they gouge out his eyes, nor will they mutilate one of his members for any transgression that he may have committed" (*Sefer ha-Berit*, in: *Milḥemet Ḥovah*, Constantinople, 1710, 26b). "You see with your own eyes that the Christian goes on the road to meet strangers, not to honor them but to seize all their provisions" (*ibid.*, 21a). "Even of your priests and bishops who do not take wives, it is well known that they whore" (*ibid.*, 21b).

In the 12th–13th-century *Sefer Nizzaḥon Yashan* there is a discussion in relation to the Cathedral of Speyer between Kalonymus and Emperor Henry II. Here the Jew again quotes chapter and verse to prove that the Temple surpassed the cathedral in greatness but the argument ended with an embittered denial of the sacredness of the cathedral precincts: "After Solomon built the Temple and finished it, it is written, 'the priests could not stand to minister by reason of the cloud; for the glory of the Lord filled the house of the Lord.' Yet if they were to load dung on a donkey and lead him through this cathedral nothing would happen to him" (J.C. Wagenseil (ed.), *Tela ignea Satanae* (1681), 41–42). Some arguments in this tract appear to be directed to Christian circles opposed to the Church establishment. The Jewish adversary is advised to cite certain verses in Isaiah to "those monks and priests that have taken into their hands the whole land … that rise early and stay late in their church for their payment that is called praebenda" (*ibid.*, 82). The problem of saint adoration and miracles performed by saints is dealt with at length (*ibid.*, 128–32). The Jewish disputant is advised to tell his Christian adversaries that one proselyte to Judaism who accepts the Jewish way of life and the Jewish fate of humiliation and suffering achieves greater glory for Judaism than many apostates to Christianity who gain materially and socially by their apostasy (*ibid.*, 242–3). As treated by Jacob of Venice (*Yeshurun*, 6 (1875), 1–34) and *Jacob b. Reuben (*Milḥamot ha-Shem*, ed. J. Rosenthal, 1963), this type of manual acquires a personal imprint. The *Sefer ha-Mekanneh* (fragments of which have been published in various learned periodicals and articles) is ascribed to three members of the Official family: the father Nathan b. Joseph *Official and his sons Joseph and Asher.

With the rise of the *Dominican order and the development of Scholasticism, disputation became the principal method of learned disquisition and was frequently used to combat the *Albigenses in the south of France.

IN MUSLIM COUNTRIES. The disputations held in the countries of Islam were, as mentioned above, much more diversified than those taking place in Christian countries. The *dhimmī (protected minorities) numbered many sects and creeds. Philosophical schools also took part in such disputations. While the argument was predicated on almost complete agreement between Muslims and Jews concerning monotheism, and opposition to Christian concepts such as incarnation, the Trinity, and icon worship, a consistently held principle of Muslim argumentation was that the Jews had falsified the original text of the Bible, having added to or subtracted from it. *Samuel b. Moses al-Maghribī, an apostate to Islam, fastened the major responsibility on Ezra the Scribe, arguing that the Torah given to Moses, which originally had been in the possession of the levites only, and known orally to the priests, had been destroyed: "When Ezra saw that the Temple of the people was destroyed by fire, that their state had disappeared, their masses dispersed and their Book vanished, he collected some of his own remembrances and some still retained by the priests, and from this he concocted the Torah that the Jews now possess. That is why they hold Ezra in such high esteem and claim that a light appears over his tomb … for he produced a book that preserves their religion. Now this Torah that they have is in truth a book by Ezra, and not a book of God. This shows that the person who collected the sections now in their possession was an empty man, ignorant of divine attributes. That is why he attributed anthropomorphism to God – regret over His past actions and the promise of abstention from similar acts in the future" (Samuel al-Maghribī, *Ifhām al-Yahūd* ("Silencing the Jews"), ed. and tr. by M. Perlmann, in: PAAJR, 32 (1964), 55). This attitude caused *Maimonides to forbid all religious disputation with Muslims "according to what is known to you about their belief that this Torah was not given from Heaven" (J. Blau (ed.), *Teshuvot Rambam* (1958), no. 149).

Apart from this problem of the authenticity of the text, and the anthropomorphisms the Torah was said to contain in its present state, Muslim-Jewish disputation mainly centered around charges of *anthropomorphism in the Talmud and attacks on the Jewish way of life, as for example made by the Muslim theologian Ibn Ḥazm. On their side the Jews attacked *Muhammad as "a madman" and described the *Koran as a book full of follies fit only for simpletons. Muslim pride and their oppression of the Jews were also bitterly castigated, in particular after the shock of the *Almohad atrocities in the 12th century.

THE 13TH-CENTURY DISPUTATIONS. By the 13th century the arguments used in ancient Christian, Karaite, and Muslim debate, and current trends of dialectic, culminated in a series of public disputations between Jews and apostates arranged with ceremonial splendor before royalty and high dignitaries of the clergy. The first great debate of this type to be held was the disputation of *Paris (1240) between the apostate Nicholas *Donin and the tosafist *Jehiel b. Joseph of Paris, which centered on the Talmud. The arguments of the apostate were to a large extent a continuation and development of the anti-talmudic arguments of the Karaites. The Christian side regarded and conducted the disputation as a trial in which the Jews were called upon to defend their errors. It resulted in the burning of the Talmud. In 1263 there took place in Aragon the disputation of Barcelona. The apostate Pablo *Christiani led the Christian side. The Jewish side was represented by R. Moses b. Naḥman (*Naḥmanides). This disputation centered on the problem of the nature and coming of the messiah. A version of the disputation was recorded by Naḥmanides (published in various editions), who obtained the right to express himself freely in the debates. The apostate "said that he will prove from our Talmud that the messiah prophesied by the Prophets has already come." The nature and authority of *_aggadah_ were also a prominent issue. Naḥmanides, like the Jewish opponent of Gilbert Crispin and other Jewish disputants, not only stressed the warlike aspect of the world after the advent of Jesus but also added that war had become integral to feudal society: "And how difficult would it be for you, my lord the king, and for these your knights, if war was no longer learned." The Jew fearlessly questioned the nature of Christian authority and teaching: "The core of the contention and quarrel between the Jews and the Christians lies in that what you state concerning the dogma of the Divinity is a very bitter thing. And you, my lord king, are a Christian, the son of a Christian father and mother. You have listened all your life to what priests, Franciscans, and Dominicans tell about the birth of Jesus, and they have filled your mind, yea, your very bones, with this matter; and it has thus become ingrained in you through habit. Yet that which you believe – and it is the heart of your faith – reason cannot agree to, nature opposes, and the Prophets never said such a thing. Miracle also cannot extend to this … that the Creator of Heaven and Earth and all that is in them shall become an embryo in the womb of a Jewess, shall grow there for seven months, shall be born a tiny creature, shall then grow up and later be given over to his enemies, and that they will sentence him to death and kill him. And you say that later he has risen from death and returned to his first place. Such beliefs cannot convince either a Jew or any other human being. Thus your speeches are made in vain and emptiness, for that belief lies at the heart of our quarrel. But let us also talk about the messiah, if you want it so" (_Kitvei R. Moshe b. Naḥman_, ed. by H.D. Chavel, 1 (1963), 310–1).

15TH CENTURY. The last of these great spectacles was the long drawn-out disputation of *Tortosa (1413–14). The many representatives of Judaism, who were compelled by official command to come to Tortosa and stay there during the disputation, defended themselves with acumen, and, in the difficult circumstances following the massacres in Spain of 1391, acquitted themselves with considerable courage against the attacks and calumnies of the apostate Maestro Hieronymus de Sancta Fide (Joshua *Lorki), a former champion of Judaism in discussion and writing. The _Sefer Ikkarim_ of Joseph Albo (see above), who participated in this disputation, is largely a summing up of the Jewish position taken there. In 15th-century Spain, when the Jews were subjected to the pressure of constant persecution and missionary persuasion, an impassioned polemical exchange developed. The sermons and writings of Vincent *Ferrer represent the most influential and penetrating presentation of the Christian side. Jewish writings attest that the breakdown of Jewish existence in Christian Spain seemingly contributed historical testimony in support of Christian supremacy, in addition to the traditional Christological argumentation. The persuasiveness of this line of thinking had already been strikingly demonstrated in the 14th century with the conversion of *Abner of Burgos (and see *apostasy). In the 15th century a series of Jews crossed over to Christianity to wage a bitter war on Judaism. In addition to Joshua Lorki, one of the most prominent was the former Rabbi Solomon ha-Levi, who as *Pablo de Santa Maria became archbishop of Burgos. His writings, and the sermons and argumentation of others like him, ultimately sealed the fate of Spanish Jewry. The exchange of views between estranged brethren introduced the genre of letter-exchange into the area of disputation from the 14th century.

On the Jewish behalf arose a witty and penetrating polemicist and satirist, Profiat *Duran. In his _Kelimat ha-Goyim_ ("Confusion of the Gentiles") he makes a systematic attempt to show that early Christianity was a conglomeration of mistaken conceptions held by naive persons, exploited by, and supplemented with, the tales and ideas of later-day Christian "deceivers" who had shaped the present form of Christianity. His satirical _Al Tehi ka-Avotekha_ ("Be not Like Your Fathers"), addressed to an apostate, presents apostasy as a process of tiredness and reaction from Jewish rationalistic, intellectual inquiry, coupled with attraction to the mystic doctrines of Christianity. These views are voiced here by the apostate who attacks the Jews: "Your fathers have inherited falsehood and were following foolishness; through overmuch inquiry their intellect has become disturbed … it appears to me [the Jew] that the Holy Spirit hovers over you [the apostate] in nightly vision and talks with you while awake …. Human reason does not draw you to its dwelling, the abode of darkness …. You regard it as alien, cruel as the serpent, the eternal enemy who injures faith … It was a reprobate who said that reason and religion are two lights. Reason has no part with us … it does not know the way towards light … Faith alone soars upward" (_Al Tehi-ka-Avotekha,_ in: _Koveẓ Vikkuḥim,_ ed. by Isaac b. Abraham Akrish, Breslau, 1844, 6b–7a).

The physician Ḥayyim Ibn Musa around 1460 wrote a systematic manual for Jewish disputation, directed formally against the writings of *Nicholas of Lyra and the works of the persecuting apostates and influenced by similar earlier works of Ḥasdai *Crescas and others. He was faced with the weight of Christian cultural achievement and theological literature in

Spain in a disputation with a Christian scholar in the presence of the grandee whom he attended as physician: "It happened that we three were sitting together and suddenly the above-mentioned scholar said as an opening: 'Sir, surely you know that the Jews have one theological work only, called *Moreh Nevukhim*, whereas we have so many books on theology that even a palace as great as this would not contain them, if they were stacked from earth to heaven.' To this I remained silent. The lord ordered that I should answer him. Then I said, 'Jews have no need of such books; they need only a single page.'" Ḥayyim then briefly enumerates what he considers are the self-evident doctrines of Judaism, and continues: "In these doctrines all believe [i.e., Christians also]. Only concerning two or three dogmas is there some doubt. There is total difference in unity that you have made three … As to incorporeity, you say that the son became incarnate, but after his death everything returned to one Divinity … As to the changing of the Law, you say that he came to add and not to diminish, and our Torah says 'Ye shall not add to it neither diminish from it.' There is no quarrel between us that the messiah means salvation. Our dispute concerns only whether 'he has come' or 'he will come.' But to believe that God could not eradicate the Original Sin of Adam except through his own death, that He became incarnate in the womb of a woman, that His wisdom could not find a way to atone for this sin except through His death, that He suffered so much abuse and pain until He died – and that after all this and despite all this men still die and go to Hell, both Christians and the sinners, all the books in the world will not convince intelligent people, and in particular those who have grown up in the way of the Torah … therefore the Jew requires only a single page for theology, for its plain meaning agrees entirely with reason" … "Then both of us fell silent and the lord was amazed at this speech and ordered that we should not talk before him lest we should lead him to doubt; and we remained silent" (his *Magen va-Romaḥ*, Ms. Heb. Univ. Lib. Heb. 8° 787, pp. 67–68).

The 15th century was also a period of controversialist debate in troubled and divided Germany. The apostate monk Petrus *Nigri (Schwarz) preached to the Jews in Nuremberg and tried to dispute with them. Around 1410 Yomtov Lipmann *Muelhausen wrote his *Sefer Niẓẓaḥon* (Nuremberg and Altdorf, 1644), which sums up the traditional Jewish line of defense in disputation and also puts forward systematically the arguments for attacking Christian views. Written in a rationalistic vein, it evidences signs of the strains present in the Christian Church at this time. As often occurred, some of his argumentation shows the impress of Christian molds of thought. He writes: "The Christian mocked saying, females who are uncircumcised have no Jewish character. They [the Christian mockers] do not know that faith does not depend on circumcision but is in the heart; circumcision does not make a Jew of one who does not believe correctly, and one who believes correctly is a Jew even if he is not circumcised, although he is guilty of one transgression. And circumcision is not possible with women" (*Sefer Niẓẓaḥon,* p. 19).

Later in the 15th century, Johanan Luria represented the Jewish side in occasional disputations with courage and skill. Traces of Christian impressions of disputations with Jews are found in the writings of Hans Folz. John of *Capistrano complains that "the Jews say [apparently in disputations] that everyone can be saved in his own faith."

Renaissance and Reformation

At the Renaissance courts of Italy, in the atmosphere of excitement generated by Humanism on the eve of the *Reformation, Jewish-Christian encounters often resulted in religious argumentation; sometimes such disputations were formally arranged. Abraham *Farissol tells that "our Lord Ercole, the duke of Ferrara, and his wife and brother … ordered me many times to come before their majesties to speak and dispute with two celebrated scholars of that time and place, of the Dominican and Minorite orders. I was compelled, on their order and with their permission, to step out publicly and speak before them many times, politely and temperately … Against my will I obeyed the above-mentioned friars and the demand of certain other scholars, such as the sage bishop of Trani who compelled me to write down in detail, in a book in their language, the questions and answers during the disputation, exactly as they had asked and I had answered them. They said that they wished to see in writing whether there could be any substance in my answers so that they would be able to answer all of them, also in writing, and sum up in a book the evidence and strength of their point of view and prove their assumptions" (cf. HḤY, 12 (1928), 286). The Hebrew version of his disputations, *Magen Avraham* (largely in manuscript), touches on a variety of subjects. It can be seen that Farissol was in close touch with both heretical "Judeo-Christian" circles among Jews, in particular among the exiles from Spain and Portugal, and heretical Christian "Judaizing," or anticlerical and anti-traditional, circles of Christian society. He quotes the opinions of such circles and sometimes gives information about their leaders. Farissol indicates that leadership is necessary for man's salvation, secular or spiritual (cf. REJ, 105 (1940), 37). In this context, for the sake of argument, under the heading "That the True Messiah to Israel has not yet come," he expresses the view: "I regard it a plausible possibility that they [i.e., the Christians] may call him [Jesus] their messiah and savior. For they as well as he say that after his coming and his teachings they were saved and cleansed from the stain of idolatry. And through him, and his apostles and companions, they have come very near to believing after a fashion in the unity of the First Cause, combining other assumptions and additions and innovations to believe in the Divine Law … coming nearer to the truth than any others, for they have approached him from a very far distance, previously worshipping the dual forces that God hates" (*ibid.*, 38). Farissol proceeds to show at length that Jesus does not fulfill the conditions of the messiah promised to Israel (*ibid.*, 38–40). He also defends Jewish moneylending, arguing that in 16th-century society there could be no social or ethical reason for differentiation between income from money and income from other sources (HḤY, 12 (1928), 290–7). He devoted a detailed chapter to criticism of the Bible translation of *Jerome (*ibid.*, 287–90).

With the rise and development of the Reformation in Central Europe, Martin *Luther and others among its originators made strenuous efforts to persuade the Jews to join their new brand of Christianity. Their failure turned Luther and *Martin Bucer (Butzer) into rabid enemies and persecutors of the Jews. From both the benevolent and the hostile standpoint they frequently had occasion to take issue with Judaism. An anonymous Jew, who early perceived the reliance placed on primary biblical sources in Lutheran argumentation, advised Jewish disputants as a preliminary to state that Jewish monotheism does not need support from texts: "The way of nature, through heart and through mind, obligates man to believe in pure monotheism. One has to believe it necessary that there be a Unity ruling the whole cosmos … And so shall you speak to them in order to purify, cleanse them – if there were [no] book in the world, what could be done [to prove Christianity]? And how can you believe in it now? For their faith is founded on our Prophets and Holy Scriptures. If we have no Prophets, they have no testimony to adduce nor Scripture to expound. Whereas we have a root and foundation, even lacking every book or writing, in nature – for we believe in His unity and greatness as the Creator through His action in first place, and because whatever we do each day cannot be done, except by His will" (cf. Ḥ.H. Ben Sasson, in: HTR, 59 (1966), 388–9).

Not only do the writings of Jewish leaders and authors in the heart of Christian Europe, such as the communal leader *Joseph (Joselmann) b. Gershon of Rosheim, the chronicler *Joseph ha-Kohen, and the kabbalist *Abraham b. Eliezer ha-Levi, contain many impressions of the Reformation movement and its ideas and actions, sometimes in a polemical vein, but there are also remoter echoes of the Christian-Jewish debate. In the first half of the 16th century, the physician Abraham Ibn Migash, living in the Muslim capital of Constantinople, tells, "there came to my house an uncircumcised Spaniard, who esteemed himself wise, and he questioned me." The ensuing dispute on the initiative of the Christian, written down by the Jew, mainly includes traditional elements of "the exegetical core" of Christian-Jewish disputation. The Jew argues in principle against basing exegesis on translations of the biblical text: "Tell me, please, where do you find in any science or teaching that a word is isolated from its meaning, as understood in the language in which it is current and fixed within the frame of that language, to give it a separate meaning taken from an alien language?… This cannot be done, for if you do so the meanings of words and concepts will change and intermingle and will not be understood immediately. Communication will cease." The Christian complains of the pride displayed by Jews in their divine election. He argues that the Law concerning the election is not eternal, and bases his argumentation on talmudic quotations. The disputation shows that the Spaniard had knowledge of Hebrew and rabbinical sources and that the Jew was well acquainted with the principles of Christianity. He ends his written report with a prayer for the conversion of the Christian (*Kevod Elohim*, Constantinople, 1585, 128b–31b; and see also his anti-Christian remarks and tales, *ibid.*, 124b–8b).

HIZZUK EMUNAH. The medieval and Reformation Jewish anti-Christian disputation is brought to perfection in the *Ḥizzuk Emunah* (ed. by D. Deutsch, 1872) of Isaac b. Abraham *Troki. The criticism of the New Testament in this work profoundly influenced Voltaire, according to his own evidence. It was written to strengthen Jews in combating Christian argumentation, being the outcome of the questions that Isaac "disputed with bishops and lords …. My speech with them was mild, to influence and not to anger …. I said nothing for which I could not provide a true biblical quotation …. I am not afraid of the multitude in writing down words of truth and good taste, for the truth is loved by every wise man …. I intended to write down those arguments which are deemed by the uncircumcised to be strong as the work of a great artist, firm and true. With their refutation, the weaker arguments will fall of themselves …. My first proposition is to explain what caused the Christian scholars, with all their great learning in the sciences known to man, to hold beliefs which are foreign to the human intellect and without authentic evidence from the words of the Prophets" (*ibid.*, 9–13). Isaac not only defends the Jewish interpretation of the Bible and points out in detail discrepancies in the Gospels but also finds much to his advantage in the controversy within the Christian camp. The anti-Trinitarian arguments of Simon *Budny and others are used by him against the Trinitarians. The innovations of Lutheranism and Calvinism, the reciprocal persecution of Catholics and Reformers, the low status of the Greek Orthodox community in Catholic Poland, and the prosperity and power achieved by Islam, all these elements perceived on Isaac's horizon are used to rebut Christian argumentation based on Jewish weakness and suffering in the Exile.

Modern Times

The first disputation under conditions which assume a certain equality between the opponents took place in the Netherlands in 1686 between the Jew Isaac (Balthazar) *Orobio de Castro and the Christian Philipp van Limborch, written down and published as an exchange of letters by van Limborch under the title *De veritate religionis christianae; amica collatio cum erudito Judaeo* (Gouda, 1687). While the discussion largely follows traditional lines, there is a difference in tone; thus the Jewish argument based on the prevalence of war and strife in the world becomes internalized and psychologized. Orobio states that so far as he can see the Christian messiah has not changed men by enabling them to love their neighbors more than they could before his coming (*ibid.*, Ch. 17). Van Limborch, on the other hand, claims that true Christians do not consider Jesus as God, but state only that he was the "Son of God," meaning that he was greater than Moses, being both prophet and messiah.

FRANKIST DISPUTATIONS. In 1757, at Kamienec (*Kamenets), and in 1759, at *Lvov, a disputation took place between Jacob *Frank and his followers and the leaders of Polish Jewry. This essentially began as an internal quarrel within the Jewish camp, as the first phase of the debate, at Kamienec, proved conclusively. The theses of the Frankists in the second phase, at Lvov, were dictated to them by their Christian patrons and a result of their own frustration and bitterness. Hence they included, as their seventh point in the disputation, the charge that Jews require Christian blood for ritual purposes at Passover, thus giving currency to the old *blood libel. On this they were answered by the chief Jewish spokesman, Ḥayyim ha-Kohen Rapoport, who cited from Christian documents and authorities refuting the libel, supported by comparisons from outside Europe: "You adduce against us this seventh point and say that you are arguing not with evil intent or out of revenge but only through love of the truth. But this [the blood libel] is not a matter relating to the Catholic Church or its faith. Here we truly perceive your evil intent towards us and your passion for revenge … Can you supply thorough evidence in support of these false claims about a matter in opposition to man's habits and nature which supposes that we, the breed of Abraham, from whom we come and to whom we shall return (after death) require and use human blood? A charge that has not been heard of in Asia, in Africa, or in Europe, or in the whole world against any other nation (even the most heretical one). And this you intended to prove against us?" (M. Balaban, *Toledot ha-Tenu'ah ha-Frankit* (1935), 256).

MENDELSSOHN AND LAVATER. Moses *Mendelssohn was shocked and dismayed when he was called upon by J.C. Lavater in 1769 either to refute the "evidence for the truth of Christianity" that he, Lavater, had translated into German from the French and published, or to do "what Socrates would have done if he had read this work and found it irrefutable." Mendelssohn, who rejected in principle the demand for public disputation, at first stated that his continued adherence to Judaism, in its present state of humiliation, and his well-known constant search for philosophical truth furnished self-evident proof that he had investigated Judaism and found it worthy to adhere to and suffer for, and that he had found no reason for turning to Christianity, even though he was well aware that this would give him full civil rights and a better social life. He thus uses its humiliation as an argument for Judaism and its ability to confer material advantages on apostates as an argument against Christianity. Mendelssohn claimed that to hold a public disputation would endanger the present status of his brethren in Christian society. He also stated that Judaism is not missionary; the proselyte is warned before he joins it: "he who is not born under our Laws need not live according to them." Mendelssohn regarded missionary work as ridiculous when addressed to intelligent people and pictured it as trying to convert Confucius to Judaism or Christianity.

As the storm raised by Lavater grew, Mendelssohn reluctantly abandoned his opposition to controversial debate. In the spirit of medieval Jewish argumentation he told his adversaries: "A single Christian who agrees to be circumcised proves more for Judaism than a hundred Jews who agree to be baptized prove for the truth of Christianity." In another context Mendelssohn is ironical about the Christian conception that Jesus had abolished the Law given by God, while not having done so expressly. When the Crown Prince of Brunswick-Wolfenbuettel respectfully asked Mendelssohn to explain his position, Mendelssohn answered in a clear polemical vein, listing four principles that he would have to accept as a Christian and that reason rejects: "(1) a Trinity in the Divine essence; (2) the incarnation of a God; (3) the physical sufferings of a person of the Divinity which would contravene its Divine majesty; (4) the satisfaction of the first Person in the Divinity through the suffering and the death of the humiliated second Person." These, and similar principles of Christianity, Mendelssohn states, he would not believe even if they were vouched for in the Old Testament. He was also unable to accept the concept of Original Sin. In addition to contending that Jesus did not abolish the Law expressly, he also points out that he, Mendelssohn, was well acquainted with the Hebrew of the Bible and could not find Christological evidence there (M. Mendelssohn, *Gesammelte Schriften*, 7 (1930), in particular 7–13, 63, 91, 299–304, 321; see also 16, (1929), 142, 148, 150–1).

Relationships between Christians and Jews in the modern environment were faced with the paradox of *emancipation of the Jews on the one hand and modern-type *antisemitism on the other. Trends toward *assimilation were confronted with *Zionism. Jews entering the environing society encountered the romantic reaction of nationalist *Volksgeist* and "Christian state" conceptions. Christian-Jewish discussion enters a new phase in the 20th century. It is held in an arena where a plethora of diverse opinions, each claiming orthodoxy for itself and heresy for the others, are argued both informally and in the public eye.

ROSENZWEIG AND ROSENSTOCK. In this dynamic climate of tension there took place the friendly but trenchant disputation between an apostate devoted to Christianity, the legal historian, philosopher, and sociologist Eugen *Rosenstock-Heussy, and the great Jewish philosopher, Franz *Rosenzweig, then a young man. During their exchange of letters both were serving in the German army, writing almost from foxhole to foxhole. Between May and December 1916 they exchanged 21 letters, originating from a spirited conversation they had had in 1913. Although intended as a private exchange of views, the correspondence contains in a nutshell the dilemmas confronting a Jewish intellectual at that time. Later, in 1917, Rosenzweig described Rosenstock as "a persistent but inexperienced missionary" and stated in retrospect that the letters "cannot be made into a 'Dialogue,' for they were not; they were simply a bombardment between two learned canons with a lyrical urge." Hence, at least in the view of the Jewish participant, this was a disputation in the subjective medieval sense.

In his letters, Rosenstock-Heussy stresses the traditional Christian arguments that the Law had been abolished and salvation lay in Christianity. Inherent in the character of Jewish Law are self-righteousness and impassivity in contrast to the true spirituality and dynamics of Christianity. Rosenstock regards as presumption the Jewish reliance on their descent and on their continued history as an argument in favor of Judaism. The Jews had crucified Him who came to fulfill the Divine promise that all the Gentiles would come to Jerusalem. Christianity had liberated the individual from the bonds of family ties and national limitations. Present-day Jews live non-Jewish lives, as present-day Christians live non-Christian lives, but to the Christian this discrepancy between the ideal and its realization is part of the cross he has undertaken to carry. What, however, is the sense to a Jew who lives a non-Jewish life, "plays the organ and thinks in a non-Jewish way"; to a Jew without the Temple and without the Law, who does not marry at the age of 18, does not evade army service; to a Jew who makes his girl a Jewess so that he can marry her; where then remain the metaphysics of "the children of Abraham"? Rosenzweig pointed out in his answer that many elements in this attack on modern Jewish life in Germany were derived from a picture taking the "true Jewish life," to mean that represented by the Jews from Eastern Europe, the despised "Ost-Jude." Rosenstock compares the *akedah* of Isaac by Abraham, the sacrifice of a son, with the sacrifice according to the New Testament whereby he who fulfills the covenant with God sacrifices himself. This is the dividing line. The synagogue has talked for two thousand years about what she has, because she has nothing; Israel in this world assumes the pride of Lucifer. Judaism is in the age of blind senility: "I know that Judea will outlive all 'the Nations,' but you have no capacity for theology, for inquiry after truth, or for beauty. Thou shalt not make any image. At this price the Eternal Jew may live because he hangs on tenaciously to the life granted to him. But he is cursed to live by the sweat of his brow, taking loans everywhere, and making loans everywhere. The Jew dies for no fatherland and for no mission. He lives because his life does not approach the margin of life. He lives in a chimerical reflection of a real life that cannot be envisaged without the sacrifice of death and the nearness of the abyss. That Judea shall live on is dependent on the success of the individual Jew, on the number of his children. He is a paragraph of the Law, *c'est tout.* You may well believe that you have your own ship, but you do not know the sea at all, otherwise you would not speak in this way, you who are never shipwrecked.… You do not know that the world is movement and change; the Christian says there is day and there is night, but you are so moonstruck that you think that the night view is the only view that exists and you consider as the ideal conception the minimum of light, the night. You consider that this encompasses day and night" (F. Rosenzweig, *Briefe* (1935), 682). Subconsciously or consciously, Rosenstock the apostate combines medieval Jew-hatred with the images and expressions of modern social and economic antisemitism. He considers that "the emancipation of the Jews is a process of self-destruction, for Europe," in its modern phase. He is violently opposed to Zionism. Even if Hebrew is made into a living language it cannot be saved in the metaphysical sense.

To this attack Rosenzweig answers that "the serious acceptance in reality in which the theological principle about Jewish stubbornness is being worked out is Jew-hatred. You know as well as I that all the realistic explanations of this hatred are only so many fashionable dressings to hide the only true metaphysical reason, which is, metaphysically formulated, that we refuse to take part in the fiction of the Christian dogma that has gained world acceptance because (although reality) it is fiction (and *fiat veritas, pereat realitas,* for 'Thou God art truth'), and, formulated in the manner of enlightenment (by Goethe in *Wilhelm Meister*): that we deny the basis of present culture (and '*fiat regnum Dei, pereat mundus,*' for 'a kingdom of priests shall ye be unto me, and a holy people'); to formulate it in an unenlightened way: that we have crucified Christ and, believe me, we shall do it again any time, we alone in all the world (and *fiat nomen Dei Unius, pereat homo*, for 'whom shall you make equal to me that I will be equal')" (*ibid.*, 670–1). Thus Rosenzweig points out that the Church is obliged to formulate the concept of Jewish stubbornness; it is part of her dogma. "Do whatever you want, you cannot get rid of us. We live on, 'the Eternal Jew,' out of a feeling of duty to life and not because of hunger for it." He agrees that there is a contrast between the sacrifice of Isaac and the crucifixion, but in a different sense from the apostate's conception. Abraham sacrificed "not a child but the 'only' son and what is more: the son of the promise to the God of that promise … the content of which is being made impossible according to human concepts through this sacrifice. We do not read this pericope on our most solemn Holy Days without reason. It is the prototypal sacrifice, not of one's own individuality (Golgotha) but of the folk existence of 'the son' and of all future sons … Abraham sacrificed all that he could be; Christ all that he was" (*ibid.*, 689). Jewish life is not the way of life of the Polish Jew as depicted by Rosenstock. "Alongside this life, which is amoral in the deepest sense and external, there exists a purely Jewish life, which is internal, one that serves all that has to be worked out internally, not bought from externally, for the sake of the preservation of the people, its 'life.' To this realm belong the internal-Jewish leadership activity, here Jewish theology, here the art of the Synagogue (so even 'beauty'). However much these phenomena may hold of the alien, Judaism cannot but help assimilate them to itself. It does so of itself even if not intending to.… The extent to which the Jew takes part in the life of other nations is not determined for him by himself, but they dictate it for him" (*ibid.*, 691). Rosenzweig relates himself to the metaphor of the ship traveling eternally on high seas. He answers Rosenstock that the Jew may give up everything "except one: hope; before God's seat the Jew, so it is said, is asked only this: Have you hoped for salvation?" (*ibid.*, 693).

This dispute is marked by a deep interpenetration of problematics and symbolism. Rosenstock demands from a

Jew that he live a full Jewish life both personally and in family life. He attacks Zionism as an evil manifestation of Judaism. Rosenzweig even as a young man was deeply influenced by Christian symbolism, which permeated his thought. He wrote in 1913, "I thought that I had Christianized my Judaism, in reality I have Judaized Christianity.… I was envious of the Church scepter because I thought that the Synagogue clings to a broken scepter" (*ibid.*, 72). The image of the Synagogue created by Church art haunts Rosenzweig. He explains it as a kind of Jewish symbol: "The Synagogue, immortal, but with a broken staff and a scarf over her eyes, must renounce all worldly work and concentrate all her strength on keeping herself alive and pure from life.… The Synagogue had a scarf over her eyes; she didn't see the world – how could she have seen the idols in it? She looked and saw only with the prophetic eye of the internal, and therefore only the last things and the farthest ones" (*ibid.*, 74–5).

In this exchange of views, rich in symbols and intellectual allusions, the turbulent, disintegrating world of the German-Jewish intellectual of the early 20th century – still craving some sort of integration – is mirrored through its divided souls.

BUBER AND SCHMIDT. The agonized, semiformal disputation between Karl Ludwig Schmidt and Martin Buber took place as the fate of German Jewry hung in the balance, at the beginning of the road to the *Nuremberg laws and the *Holocaust. The Christian, who was fully aware of the predicament which Jewry was already facing at the time the disputation was held (Jan. 14, 1933), dismissed the crucial issue by saying: "It would be ostrich policy to attempt to deny the racial biological [*rassenbiologische*] and racial hygienic [*rassenhygienische*] problems which arise with the existence of the Jews among other people" (*Theologische Blaetter,* 12 (1933), 264). He rightly considered it a courageous act to invite Jews to brotherhood with Christians, which he repeatedly urged in this disputation, although only as sons of a Germany united through the Christian conception of the Church as the spiritual Israel (*ibid.*, 258, 259, 264, 272, 273). He was sure that "the Christian message says in this context: God has willed all this; Jesus, the Messiah rejected by his people, prophesied the destruction of Jerusalem. Jerusalem has been destroyed, so that it will never again come under Jewish rule. Until the present day the Jewish diaspora has no center" (*ibid.*, 262). Not only is the ancient Christian argument from Jewish suffering and loss of political existence invoked here in the year 1933 of the Christian era, but it was made with an eye on Zionism, which Schmidt looked upon as even worse than the old simple Judaism: "The modern world reacts to Zionism, which is national or even racist [*oder gar voelkischen*], on its own side in a racist way; of course it must not be forgotten that racist antisemitism in the modern world is pre-Zionist" (*ibid.*). Schmidt asks why the Jews participate so actively in revolutions when so much is said about their conservatism (*ibid.*, 263). He declares to the Jews, or perhaps warns them, "that the Church of Jesus Christ has again and again shown her want of this Jewry, demonstrating her patience by waiting in hope that finally the Jews also … will be able to perceive that only the Church of the Messiah, Jesus of Nazareth, is the people of God, chosen by God, and that the Jews should become incorporated in it, if they indeed feel themselves as Israel" (*ibid.*, 264). He assures the Jews that "if and when the Church becomes more Christian than it is today, its conflict with Judaism will also become sharper, as it can and may do now. This sharp conflict has been present from the beginning of the history of Christianity." The conflict expresses the hurt and pain of the first Christians, Jews themselves, at the rejection of the Messiah by their brethren in the flesh (*ibid.*, 272). Schmidt strongly and courageously repudiates the racist attitude against the Jews and glorification of the State. To Buber's assertion that in the present condition of the world the signs of salvation are lacking, Schmidt answers with the hope of the second coming of Jesus (*ibid.*).

Toward the end of the disputation Buber answered the Christian from the plane of spiritual strength and pride derived from existential and material weakness and humiliation, in the ancient tradition of Jewish disputation: "I live not far from the city of Worms, to which I am bound by tradition of my forefathers; and, from time to time, I go there. When I go, I first go to the cathedral. It is a visible harmony of members, a totality in which no part deviates from perfection. I walk about the cathedral with consummate joy, gazing at it. Then I go over to the Jewish cemetery consisting of crooked, cracked, shapeless, random stones. I station myself there, gaze upward from the jumble of a cemetery to that glorious harmony, and seem to be looking up from Israel to the Church. Below, there is no jot of form; there are only the stones and the dust lying beneath the stones. The dust is there, no matter how thinly scattered. There lies the corporeality of man, which has turned to this. There it is. There it is for me. There it is for me, not as corporeality within the space of this planet, but as corporeality in my own memory, far into the depths of history, as far back as Sinai.

"I have stood there, have been united with the dust, and through it with the Patriarchs. That is a memory of the transaction with God which is given to all Jews. From this the perfection of the Christian house of God cannot separate me, nothing can separate me from the sacred history of Israel.

"I have stood there and have experienced everything myself; with all this death has confronted me, all the dust, all the ruin, all the wordless misery is mine; but the covenant has not been withdrawn from me. I lie on the ground, fallen like these stones. But it has not been withdrawn from me.

"The cathedral is as it is. The cemetery is as it is. But nothing has been withdrawn from us" (*ibid.*, 273).

Israel, strong and united in its national-religious continuity, cannot accept the Christian view that the world has been redeemed with the coming of Jesus. Buber in Nazi Germany declares: "We also know, as we know that there exists air that we take into our lungs, that there exists the plane on which we move; nay, deeper, more truly we know that world history has not yet been probed to its roots, that the world is not yet redeemed. We feel the unredeemability of the world" (*ibid.*, 267). Israel is both a nation and a religion, hence it is different from all other nations and religions. Man's confrontation with God demands nationality "as the precondition of the whole human answer to God. There must be a nation in which the human answer can be fulfilled in life in its entirety, to which public life also belongs. Not the individual as an individual, but only the community as a plurality and unity, working together … can give God the full life-answer of man; therefore … there is Israel" (*ibid.*, 268). The European community of nations has agreed, by accepting emancipation, to accept Jews as individuals. It rejects Jewish participation in creative life as a nation. Hence the stress placed by Zionism on the national aspect as a counter-balance to the prolonged denial of this aspect in modern times (*ibid.*, 270). To Schmidt's question, or insinuation, concerning Jewish conservatism and revolutionary activity, Buber answers that Jewish messianism calls forth both these aspects. Viewed from the standpoint of messianism, every state, however structured, is a problematical model of the divine state in the *eschaton.* But this same messianism always demands the Jew to see the other, questionable side of the state, its failure in realizations of the ideal: "Israel can never turn away its face from the state; it can never deny it; it must accept it; at the same time it must long for the perfection of the state, which is only so unsatisfactorily hinted at by every realization it achieves. Both the conservative and the revolutionary Jewish attitudes stem from the same [messianic feeling]" (*ibid.*, 271).

To the harsh and uncompromising postulate that the Jews can live in Europe only on acceptance of Christian conditions and conceptions Buber presents his thesis of open dialogue between Israel as a nation and religion, and Christianity as a religion for other nations. He proposes personally "to accept what others believe against our existence, against our consciousness of existence, as their religious reality, as a mystery. We cannot judge its meaning because we do not know it from the inside as we know ourselves from the inside" (*ibid.*, 266). "God's gates are open to all. The Christian need not come to them through Judaism. The Jew is not obliged to go to them through Christianity in order to arrive at God" (*ibid.*, 274). "No man that is not of Israel understands the mystery of Israel, and no man that is not of Christianity understands the mystery of Christianity; but unknowing they may acknowledge each other in mystery. How it can be possible that mysteries exist alongside each other is God's mystery" (*ibid.*, 267).

With these words Buber opened a way to divesting religious disputation of the polemical form it had assumed throughout most of its history and presenting it as an open and friendly meeting, ecumenical in the fullest sense. He had ancient Jewish ideological precedents for looking upon plurality of creeds and customs as "God's mystery" (notably the statements by various Jewish disputants in the 15th to 16th centuries and Maimonides' views on Christianity referred to above). Buber, however, reformulated this conception in modern terms, where it assumes a validity through anguish that disregarded fear, facing danger and humiliation.

Jewish-Christian disputation thus began in the meeting of Justin and Tryphon under the shadow of the Bar Kokhba revolt. The darkness and flames of the Holocaust and the light from Zion may illumine the pilgrimage to ecumenical conversation on equal terms, toward understanding and harmonious living, waiting for God to solve His own mystery in history.

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[Haim Hillel Ben-Sasson]

DISRAELI, BENJAMIN, EARL OF BEACONSFIELD (1804–1881), British statesman and novelist. His father, the historian and essayist Isaac *D'Israeli, quarreled with the London Sephardi community, and had his children baptized when Benjamin was 13 years old. Disraeli received a Christian upbringing, but his Jewish origins had a marked influence upon him. After unfortunate business ventures and after an abortive attempt to publish a morning newspaper, he wrote a number of satirical novels on English political society, starting with *Vivian Grey* (1826). This gave him an entry to London society, where his original dress and other extravagances made him a conspicuous figure. In 1828–31, an extensive tour of the Near East helped to determine his future attitude on foreign affairs and imperialism. A visit to Jerusalem made him conscious of the link between Judaism and Christianity and aroused his sympathy for the Ottoman Empire, where Jews were tolerantly treated. The literary harvest of this journey was *Alroy* (1833), a novel about Jewish messianism in the 12th century, in which the Jewish hero, David *Alroy, fails in his attempt to create a Jewish empire in Asia because it lacks the inspiration of Zion.

Disraeli's social ambitions drew him inevitably into politics, but it was not until 1837 that he was elected to Parliament as a Tory. Thereafter throughout his political career he followed a consistent line. His political philosophy is expressed in his *Vindication of the English Constitution* (1835), a development of the Conservative ideology evolved by Bolingbroke and Burke in the 18th century. On the one hand, he regarded the nation as a historically developed organism, whose well-being depended upon a balanced hierarchical structure of crown, church, and aristocracy. On the other hand, he wanted to restore the Tory party to its original historical role of leadership, guiding the way to national popular reform. He wished to transform the party from a purely aristocratic one to a popular movement embracing the working class. At first, Disraeli was met with suspicion and hostility, both within his party and outside, but within a few years he had made his mark as a brilliant parliamentary debater. In 1841, in reaction to his failure to receive an appointment in Peel's cabinet and in rejection of its bourgeois policy, he became leader of a group of young Conservative politicians, the "Young England" movement. A romantic party of revolt, which dreamed of gathering the people around the crown and the church under aristocratic leadership, it was hostile both to the middle class and to capitalism. Once again his personal experience found literary expression, this time in three major novels in which Disraeli's specific Tory outlook is the dominant theme. In *Coningsby* (1844), the rich banker Sidonia, who represents the outlook of the Jewish people, can be recognized as an idealized self-portrait merged into an idealized Rothschild. In the second, *Sybil* (1845), he warns against the contradiction between capital and labor, denounces the horror of the factory system and the division into two nations, rich and poor, mutually antagonistic. He looks back to a patriarchal medievalism with its natural aristocratic leadership and forward to the future with its demand for new thinking and new solutions. The hero of *Tancred* (1847), a young aristocrat, seeks to reestablish the harmony of English society. He goes to Palestine to restore to the Christian Church its Jewish foundations which are the bases of European civilization and to revive its moral and religious force.

The year 1846 was a turning-point in his political career. His opposition to the repeal of the Corn Laws, which protected the farmer whom he regarded as the backbone of English society, split the Conservative party; this led Prime Minister Peel to resign and left Disraeli as one of the acknowledged leaders of the Protectionist party.

When, in 1848, Baron Lionel de *Rothschild was elected to Parliament but was not permitted, as a Jew, to take his seat, Disraeli supported his right to be admitted. This he did not on the Liberals' grounds of religious tolerance, but rather because of the debt which Europe, and especially England, owed Jewry from whose midst the Christian savior had come. Although this angered high personages in his party, he boldly and constantly reminded them of his own Jewish origin and of their debt to this people.

Disraeli stressed his theory of the link between Judaism and Christianity in his biography of Lord George Bentinck (1852). He regarded the Semitic race as superior, and the Jews as its elite because of their spirituality. This spirituality, in his view, was ultimately and most finely embodied in the Church, in contrast to the materialism characteristic of the northern races. Disraeli attributed the preservation of Jewish vitality and power from ancient times to their purity of blood and their natural conservative attitude toward religion, aristocratic privilege, and property. With this theory he underlined his Toryism; on it he based his belief in the bond between the English people and the Jews. Moreover, the institutions and laws of English society, as well as those of Europe, were based on Semitic principles, and the debt owed to Jews had to be recognized and their proper place fully accorded them.

In 1852 the Tory party came to power under Lord Derby, and Disraeli became chancellor of the exchequer and leader of the House of Commons. He announced his party's rejection of protection but attempted to compensate the protectionists in his budget: when this was defeated after days of acrimonious debate, the government resigned. In 1858, he had another brief taste of power in Derby's second administration, and in June 1866 returned again to office. Disraeli's ideological views were reflected in his political career. Hence in 1867, as leader of the Commons, he proposed and carried an electoral reform bill extending the franchise to the industrial classes. This "leap in the dark" was in conformity with his view that the Conservative party should be popularly based. In 1868, on Lord Derby's resignation, Disraeli had his first brief term as prime minister and consolidated the warm friendship which he had already established with Queen Victoria. Ironically he was defeated at the general election based on the new suffrage. In 1874, he became prime minister once again after a decisive Conservative victory. During his six years of office, he applied the social principles for which he had always stood. He tried to bridge the gap between capital and labor by social and factory legislation directed toward a paternalistic rather than a modern welfare state. His foreign policy was guided by the desire to restore to England the glory which he thought had been weakened by Liberal pacifist policy. An important part of this policy was the attempt to enhance the British Empire, as the stronghold of culture, peace, and liberty. India was for him the heart of the Empire, and the acquisition of shares in the Suez Canal from the khedive of Egypt in 1875 with the financial help of the *Rothschilds was designed to ensure English control over the vital route to India.

In 1876 the Queen was proclaimed Empress of India and Disraeli was rewarded by being created Earl of Beaconsfield. In the ensuing developments, the central problem was Anglo-Russian rivalry. Disraeli adopted an aggressive policy, designed to check Russian penetration into the Mediterranean as well as to preserve the Ottoman Empire as a barrier. Critics of his policy asserted that its criterion was the attitude of these powers to Jews. When the Treaty of San Stefano (1878) resulted in the domination of Russia over the Balkans, he insisted that the agreement be submitted to the great powers, and at the subsequent Congress of *Berlin, Russia was forced to renounce all her acquisitions. This Congress was considered a personal triumph for Disraeli. He also supported the inclusion in the treaty of a clause granting rights to the Jews of the new Balkan countries. However, the anonymous memorandum prepared in 1878 for submission to the Congress, proposing the creation of a Jewish State in Palestine and once ascribed to Disraeli, is now proved to have been written by J.L. *Gordon. Economic crises and failures in Africa and Central Asia led to a Conservative defeat at the polls in 1880 followed by the resignation of the government. In his enforced leisure, Disraeli completed his *Endymion*, the most fascinating of his political novels.

The attitude of historians to Disraeli has been ambivalent. Some have seen him as an outstanding statesman, others as a political adventurer. He is now felt to have had a coherent philosophy and clearly defined political aims. The extravagant enthusiasms which marked his writings and his life, as well as his practical acumen, aroused suspicion. Yet despite many failures, Disraeli remained an optimist. His knowledge of Judaism was negligible, yet he gloried in his Jewish origin. His effort to prove that Christianity was a continuation of Judaism and his attempts to find a common denominator of Judaism and Christianity were misguided. His theory of race was wholly unscientific. A vaguely Zionist idea, that the Jew and Palestine are linked by destiny, runs through all his novels. A characteristic passage occurs in *Tancred:* "The vineyards of Israel have ceased to exist, but the eternal Law enjoins the children of Israel still to celebrate the vintage. A race that persists in celebrating their vintage although they have no fruits to gather, will regain their vineyards."

[Zvi Adiv]

As a Novelist

Disraeli's novels are closely related to his political career and ideology. They are not propaganda, but rather visionary statements of those same ideas and beliefs which underlay his special brand of Toryism. From a literary point of view, his works represent a somewhat strange mixture. They look back to the exotic Gothic novels of the late 18th century in their use of extravagant episode and high-pitched language. At the same time, they look forward to a new style later to be practiced by such writers as Mrs. Gaskell and Charles Kingsley, in which the novel deals with practical, social, and political issues with a view to righting wrongs.

In Disraeli's case, the inspiration is to be found in his desire to set up a new political movement (*Coningsby*, 1844), in his desire to improve the condition of the people in the new industrial towns (*Sybil*, 1845), and in his wish to revitalize the Church so as to make it a more effective moral and religious force (*Tancred*, 1847). There is also a certain Jewish strain of messianism in Disraeli's writing. In *Tancred* he proclaims his wish to set up a theocratic form of government, and his hero desires that the British might "conquer the world with angels at our head." Disraeli's conception of the British Empire is in fact nourished – unconsciously no doubt – by Jewish sources, but his Judaism is reflected through a distorting glass. He sometimes speaks of Christianity as if it were a slightly modified form of Judaism.

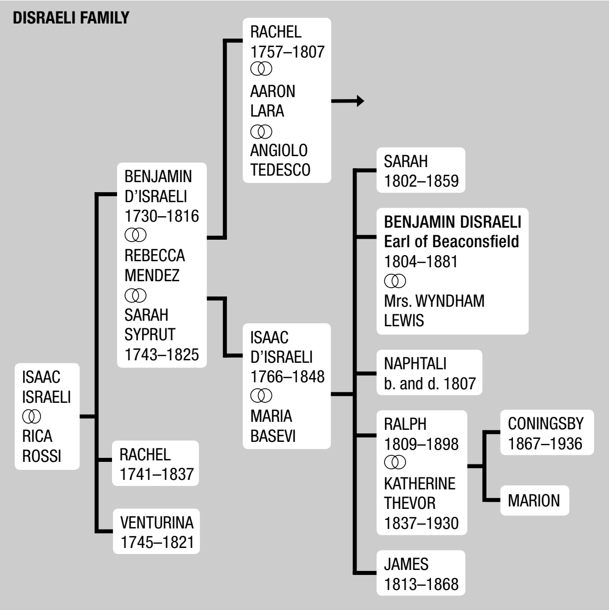
DISRAELI FAMILY
RACHEL 1757–1807 ⚭ AARON LARA ⚭ ANGIOLO TEDESCO
BENJAMIN D'ISRAELI 1730–1816 ⚭ REBECCA MENDEZ ⚭ SARAH SYPRUT 1743–1825
ISAAC ISRAELI ⚭ RICA ROSSI
RACHEL 1741–1837
VENTURINA 1745–1821
ISAAC D'ISRAELI 1766–1848 ⚭ MARIA BASEVI
SARAH 1802–1859
BENJAMIN DISRAELI Earl of Beaconsfield 1804–1881 ⚭ Mrs. WYNDHAM LEWIS
NAPHTALI b. and d. 1807
RALPH 1809–1898 ⚭ KATHERINE THEVOR 1837–1930
CONINGSBY 1867–1936
MARION
JAMES 1813–1868

Disraeli also directly discusses Jewish matters in a *Life* of his friend Lord George Bentinck (1852), as well as in *Alroy* (1833). In both *Coningsby* and *Tancred* he introduces the Jew Sidonia, who is always at hand to assist the hero with his wisdom, munificence, and vast international connections. In *Tancred* also, Disraeli speaks out energetically in favor of restoring national independence to the Jews, criticizing Jewish assimilationists "ashamed of their race and not fanatically devoted to their religion." Disraeli's style, through its extravagance and enthusiasm, provoked parodies by W.M. Thackeray and A. Trollope.

[Harold Harel Fisch]

It seems clear that Disraeli was obsessed by his Jewishness, just as were most of his contemporaries, for whom a Jewish political leader in Britain was a virtually unimaginable novelty. Historians have recently paid attention to the considerable antisemitic hostility faced by Disraeli, flowing from both the traditional Tory right wing and, more surprisingly, from many Victorian liberals, with an overt or covert evangelical Protestant worldview. Disraeli overcame all obstacles and prejudices to climb to "the top of the greasy pole." Probably only in Britain among Western nations in Victorian times was his career possible. That Disraeli was an iconic figure on the British right – not the left – the founder of the modern Conservative party, probably ensured to a significant degree that, in the troubled 20th century, British Conservatism never acquired an antisemitic tone or edge. In the final analysis, Disraeli's career was truly *sui generis.*

[William D. Rubinstein (2nd ed.)]

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D'ISRAELI, ISAAC (1766–1848), English writer; father of Benjamin *Disraeli. In 1748 his father, a Sephardi Jew, settled in London, where Isaac was born. D'Israeli entered commerce, although he was financially independent. His *Curiosities of Literature* (1791, and often reprinted), which made him famous, reveals a remarkable acquaintance with the by-ways of English literature. His *Amenities of Literature* was completed in 1840, after he had become blind. Although he was a free-thinker, D'Israeli maintained a formal connection with the Spanish and Portuguese Synagogue in London. However, as a result of a dispute over a fine of £40 imposed on him by the Sephardi elders, he formally withdrew from that community in 1817 and had his children, including the future Earl of Beaconsfield, baptized as members of the Church of England. Although he did not become a Christian, his *Genius of Judaism* (1833), as well as some incidental remarks in his novel *Vaurien* (1797), testify to his estrangement from Judaism. D'Israeli's view of English history was pro-Tory. He defended the Stuart kings against the Whigs in a way which might well have influenced the outlook of his celebrated son. In his lifetime, D'Israeli was already a well-known and much admired name, a point which is often ignored by those who regard Benjamin Disraeli as a complete outsider.

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[Harold Harel Fisch / William D. Rubinstein (2nd ed.)]

DISSENTCHIK, ARYEH (1907–1978), Israeli journalist. Born in Riga, Dissentchik worked in daily journalism in his home city. Active from his youth in the Revisionist movement, he served in Paris in the early 1930s as Ze'ev *Jabotinsky's secretary. After he immigrated to Palestine in 1934, he worked on the Revisionist newspaper *Ha-Yarden*, moving after its closure to the *Ha-Boker* newspaper. In 1948 Dissentchik joined *Maariv* as deputy editor to its founding editor-chief, Dr Azriel *Carlebach. When Carlebach died in 1956 Dissentchik replaced him, serving in the post until 1974. Dissentchik was a hardened newsman, widely connected with the Israeli political establishment, who ensured that *Maariv* maintained its dominant position as the country's largest-selling newspaper at the time as well as providing serious in-depth coverage and commentary. He was also the Israel correspondent of the Associated Press news agency for 10 years and a member of the world board of the International Press Institute. In 1978 he won the Sokolow Prize for outstanding journalism. One of his sons, Iddo, later became editor of *Maariv* as well.

[Yoel Cohen (2nd ed.)]

DITTENHOEFER, ABRAM JESSE (1836–1919), U.S. lawyer. Dittenhoefer, born in Charleston, South Carolina, son of German immigrants, was raised in New York City where he practiced law. A recognized authority on theatrical and copyright law, Dittenhoefer served as counsel to leading corporations and to the New York City Board of Aldermen. He was a judge of the City Court (1862–64). A lifelong Republican, Dittenhoefer cast an electoral vote in 1864 for Abraham Lincoln, was a delegate to Republican party national conventions, and served as chairman of the central committee of German Republicans for many years. He wrote *How We Elected Lincoln: Personal Recollections of Lincoln and Men of his Time* (1916).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *National Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, 36 (1950), 147–8; *New York Times* (Feb. 24, 1919), 13 (obituary).

[Morton Rosenstock]

DIUM (**Dion**), city in Transjordan called after a Macedonian town and mentioned by Pliny (*Historia Naturalis*, 5:16). The city was captured by Alexander Yannai (Jos., Ant., 13:393) and later incorporated into the *Decapolis by Pompey (Ant., 14:75; Ptolemy, 5:14, 18). The coins of the city show that Zeus, identified with Baal-Hadad, was worshiped there. It should probably be identified with Tell al-Ashʿarī, 15 mi. (24 km.) northwest of Edrei; other suggestions, such as Dahāma or Tell al-Ḥusn, seem less likely.

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[Michael Avi-Yonah]

DIVEKAR, SAMUEL EZEKIEL (**Samaji Hassaji Divekar**; d. 1797), soldier and benefactor of the Bene *Israel community in Bombay, India. Divekar enlisted with his brothers in a British native regiment where he rose to the rank of a native commandant or captain (*Subedar*). During the Anglo-Mysore wars he was taken prisoner by the notorious Tippoo Sultan, and according to one tradition was released through the intervention of some *Cochin Jews led by David Rahabi, who took him to Cochin. According to another legend, he was set free by Tippoo Sultan's mother who heard that he was a Bene-Israel.

Both stories state that he vowed to build a synagogue in Bombay for his own community in thanksgiving for his delivery. His "Sha'ar ha-Raḥamim" synagogue, the first in Bombay, was built in 1796 on present-day Samuel Street. It was renovated in 1860 and is still in use. Divekar was appointed *muqaddim* by his community and the office was assigned to his family on a hereditary basis. He died on a journey to Cochin, where he went to obtain Torah scrolls and liturgical appurtenances.

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[Walter Joseph Fischel / Yulia Egorova (2nd ed.)]

DIVIN (Pol. **Dywin**), town in Polesie district, Poland; now Brest-Litovsk district, Belarus, A small number of Jews lived there from the mid-16th century and an organized settlement existed from the end the century, as attested in a document from 1631. In 1634 the Polish king Wladislus IV ratified the ancient rights of Jews in Divin to acquire houses and building plots, and to engage in commerce. The local community owned a synagogue, a bath house, and a cemetery. In the framework of the Lithuanian Council, Divin was under the jurisdiction of the community of *Brest-Litovsk. In 1656 the Jews in the town were given one-third of the revenues from the municipal leases (they had requested one-half); supervision over these was entrusted to a committee consisting of two Christians and a Jew. There were 221 Jews living in Divin in 1756 and 556 in 1847. During the 19th century, the Jews there mainly engaged in small-scale commerce and crafts. The community numbered 1,094 in 1897 (3,737 the total population) and 786 in 1921 (34.1%). The laying of railways and roads at a great distance from Divin in the second half of the 19th century caused economic hardships and the Jewish population dropped. Divin was occupied by the Germans in the beginning of World War II. An open ghetto was established, and Jews from the villages were brought in, the number of its inhabitants reaching about a thousand. At the end of summer 1942 they were all murdered outside the town.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: B. Wasiutyński, *Ludność żydowska w Polsce …* (1930), 83. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** S. Spector (ed.), *Pinkas Ha-Kehillot Polin,* vol.. 5, Volhynia and Polesie (1990).

[Arthur Cygielman / Shmuel Spector (2nd ed.)]

DIVINATION. Man, by nature, longs to know what the future holds for him, either out of inherent curiosity or in order to anticipate the dangers that await him. Therefore, in all ancient civilizations – and even in some cultures of today – there were diviners who used various methods to predict the future. It is possible to distinguish between practitioners who use external means to guess the future and persons who perceive the future simply through their own awareness. The prediction of the future through technical means is closely akin to *magic, and the line between them is sometimes blurred. What distinguishes the one from the other is that divination only attempts to predict future events, while magic also professes to influence and change them for good or bad. In any case, man believed that prediction of the future was possible, and that it was bound up with superhuman, demonic, or divine powers, from which the diviner received his knowledge either directly or indirectly. This belief rested on the assumption that there were powers – spirits or gods – that knew the future and with which man could communicate in order to receive this knowledge. It was believed that some men have a natural talent for receiving revelations, either in a waking state or in dreams, and in the manner in which the future is revealed to them, such men resemble the prophets, at least outwardly. Others, who predict the future through signs, had to learn the signs and the means by which to interpret them. Divination was of both general and individual concern. In Mesopotamia fortune-tellers first appear in the service of the community. Egyptian documents indicate that diviners served the needs of the country and the king, as well as the everyday needs of the individual. This is also the case in the biblical world. The Bible mentions that the *Urim and Thummim were consulted on the needs of the community (Num. 27:21; I Sam. 14:41; et al.), and the prophets for a prediction of the future (I Kings 22:5ff.; II Kings 3:11ff.); prophets were also sought after for the needs of the individual (I Sam. 9:10, 19). Among the masses, it was a widespread practice to seek false prophets and fortune-tellers, as is known from the polemics of the true prophets against them (Ezek. 13:17ff.; Micah 3:11; et al.).

The Prophet as a Mantic

There is a certain relationship, at least externally, between the mantic, who foretells the future by means of internal awareness, and the prophet (see *Prophets and Prophecy). Knowledge of mantics is drawn from Greek and Roman literature. The mantic achieved ecstasy through music, by use of intoxicating drugs, and by other means. Sometimes he ate the principal organs of a living animal upon which a magical act had been performed. Of all these methods only the use of music is found among the prophets, and that only twice: Saul is told that he will meet a band of prophets "with harp, tambourine, flute, and lyre before them, raving" (I Sam. 10:5); and when Elisha was asked to prophesy about the results of the war with Moab, he requested a minstrel – "And when the minstrel played, the power of the Lord came upon him" (II Kings 3:15). In some cases, the prophet performs the functions of the mantic. In Deuteronomy it is stressed that the prophet is to take the place of various types of fortune-tellers (Deut. 18:14ff.). The criterion given for distinguishing between true and false prophets is the fulfillment of the prophecy or its non-fulfillment (18:20–22). The prophets were also consulted on matters of a type that a mantic would answer. In the story of Saul and the asses, the servant says of Samuel the seer: "All that he says comes true" (I Sam. 9:6), i.e., the seer envisions the future and does not err. Jeroboam sent his wife to Ahijah of Shiloh to inquire whether his son would live (I Kings 14:1ff.), Jehoshaphat asked the prophets to tell him the outcome of the battle at Ramoth-Gilead (22:5ff.), and Elisha was asked to predict the outcome of the war with Moab (II Kings 3:11). This consultation of the prophets replaced the consultation of the *ephod found in earlier periods (cf. I Sam. 23:2–6, 9–12). Following Kuenen and Wellhausen, current theories hold that the early Israelite seer resembled the pre-Islamic Arab priest (*kāhin*), who understood omens and had dreams, but was not an ecstatic prophet. However, there is no evidence in the Bible that the Israelite men of God were ever guided by omens, and even the false prophets were not accused of this (although their prophecy is contemptuously called divination; Ezek. 13:7, 23; Micah 3:6, 7). The seer (Heb. *roʾeh*, as in I Sam. 9:9; I Chron. 9:22; II Chron. 16:7, 10; et al.; or *ḥozeh*, as in II Sam. 24:11; et al.) did not use technical means, although their use was customary among the priests, who wore the ephod under the breastplate upon which the Urim and Thummim were placed (see below).

Methods of Foretelling the Future in the Bible

In the Bible *dreams and consultation of the Urim and Thummim were considered valid means of inquiring into the future. The dream as a source of divine revelation was widespread in all ancient civilizations, and there are even books of dreams from Egypt and Mesopotamia. The dream informs the dreamer of what awaits him in the future, as in the examples of the dreams of Joseph (Gen. 37:5–9), the cup-bearer and the baker (40:5ff.), Pharaoh (41:1ff.), and many others; however, it does not explicitly reveal the future, and must be interpreted (41:8ff.). To do this, one must know what the phenomena in the dream symbolize and to what they are directed. Books of dreams were written in Egypt and Mesopotamia for the purpose of teaching the interpretations of dreams according to their symbols, and it is reasonable to assume that a system of dream-interpretation (oneiromancy) was also known in Israel. In some passages the phenomenon of the dream is negatively evaluated: "the dreamers tell false dreams, and give empty consolation" (Zech. 10:2), and "for when dreams increase, empty words grow many" (Eccles. 5:6; cf. v. 2).

The Urim and Thummim, a type of lot oracle, were placed in the breastplate over the ephod of the priest. He who consulted the Urim and Thummim sought to determine between only two possibilities, as in the case of David: "Will the men of Keilah surrender me into his hand? Will Saul come down? … And the Lord said, 'He will come down.'" (The Urim and Thummim answer only the second question.) "… Will the men of Keilah surrender me and my men into the hand of Saul? And the Lord said, 'They will surrender you'" (I Sam. 23:10–12). Egyptian documents indicate the manner in which the oracle worked. The appointed priest would call out to the divine oracle two answers to his question, and the god would react to one of them. By another method, the priest would call out a list of names of suspects to the god, who would react to the name of the guilty one. Thus, for example, in a description of consultation of the statue of Pharaoh Amenhotep I, who became a divine oracle after his death, the god is asked to clarify who is guilty of the theft of clothing belonging to the complainant. The priest called out the names of all the households in the village before the statue of the god, and the house of the thief was identified (cf. I Sam. 10:19ff.). In Egypt, the reply was given by the idol-bearers, who stepped backward to signify a negative answer, and forward for a positive one. Lucian relates a similar method of replying, in which the statue of Apollo carried in a chariot would gallop forward to indicate a positive answer (*De Dea Syria*, 36). Several terms for diviners, who are connected with the consultation of the spirits of the dead, appear in the Bible (Isa. 19:3): *ʾov, yiddeʿoni*, and *iṭṭim.* The Hebrew word *ʾov*, which is derived from the Hittite *a-a-bi*, means the pit from which the spirit of the dead rises, or the spirit of the dead which rises from the pit (cf. I Sam. 15:23; Isa. 29:4). The *yiddeʿoni* ("wizard") is apparently synonymous with the *baʿal ʾov* ("medium"), either because of his ability (*yadaʿ*, "to know") to call up the spirit of the dead or his knowledge of the future. *Iṭṭim* appears to be a synonym for *ʾov*, and is explained according to the Akkadian *eṭemmu*, the spirit of the dead. Consultation of the *terafim* is also mentioned in connection with divination (Judg. 17:5; 18:14; Ezek. 21:26; Hos. 3:4; Zech. 10:2). The word *terafim* is derived from Hittite *tarpi(sh)*. The primary sense of the word is "spirit," and from this it came to designate the object that served as the symbol of the spirit, e.g., a statue or statuette. The size of the *terafim* was not defined. Those which Rachel stole from Laban were small enough to be concealed in a camel-saddle (Gen. 31:34), while those in David's house were large enough for Michal to place in bed and delude Saul's messengers who came in search of David (I Sam. 19:13). Some scholars hold that the *meʿonen* or *ʿonen* ("soothsayer"; Deut. 18:10, 14; Isa. 57:3; Jer. 27:9; Micah 5:11) also consults the dead to foretell the future, and they explain the root *ʿnn* according to the Arabic *ʿanna* ("to appear"). The *meʿonen*, therefore, is one who causes the spirit of the dead to appear. However, since the *meʿonen* and his activity are mentioned a number of times together with divination (the Heb. verb *naḥesh* and noun *naḥash;* Lev. 19:26; Deut. 18:10; II Kings 21:6; II Chron. 33:6), the term possibly refers to a special type of divination.

The techniques of divining mentioned in the Bible are with a goblet, with arrows, by attaching a pre-agreed significance to the manner in which one was addressed, by the inspection of a liver (hepatoscopy), and by astrology. Divination by means of a goblet is mentioned in the story of Joseph who divined with his silver goblet (Gen. 44:5). This method was apparently based on the patterns formed by drops of water in a cup of oil (lecanomancy), or by beads of oil in a cup of water; in some cases they also divined from the patterns formed in a cup of wine. This type of divination is known from Babylonian documents dated as early as the 18th century B.C.E. Divination by arrows (balomancy) is explicitly mentioned in Ezekiel 21:26, according to which Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, "shakes the arrows, he consults the teraphim.…"

The word *qilqal* ("shakes, flings") shows that this method of divination involved the shaking of arrows. Mesopotamian documents indicate that it was customary to cast lots by flinging arrows into a quiver. Divination by arrows was practiced by Arab tribes before Islam and was prohibited by the Koran (Sura. 5:4, 92). According to the testimony of scribes, during the "period of ignorance" (*jāhiliyya*), the Arabs divined with blunt arrows in the sanctuary. They would place the arrows in a quiver and fling it until an arrow fell from it. The first arrow to fall was the one that expressed the will of the god. There is also evidence that the arrows were named according to the answers that they represented, and were cast before the statue of the god. It is possible to interpret the above passage concerning Nebuchadnezzar to mean that he consulted the *terafim* by casting lots with arrows in front of them. Bronze arrowheads of the 11th–10th centuries B.C.E., on which the word *ḥeẓ* ("arrow") was written, were found near Beth-Lehem, in Galilee, and in the Valley of Lebanon. S. Iwri interprets the word *ḥeẓ* here as "luck, good luck" (according to Arabic and Ugaritic), but this is only a surmise. The Bible also mentions fortune-telling or divination of the type known in Akkadian as *egirru* and in Greek as *klēdōn*, by which an interpretation was given to a conventional word that was seen as a sign. In this way, one can understand the peculiar sign conceived by Jonathan when he went to fight the Philistines: "If they say to us, 'wait until we come to you,' then we will stand in our place, and we will not go up to them. But if they say, 'come up to us,' then we will go up; for the Lord has given them into our hand. And this shall be the sign to us" (I Sam. 14:9–10; cf. v. 12). The same holds for the sign given by the servants of Ben-Hadad when they went to Ahab to beg for the life of their master (I Kings 20:32–33): "… and they went to the king of Israel and said, 'your servant, Ben-Hadad …' and he said, 'Does he still live? He is my brother.' Now the men were watching for an omen … and said, 'Yes, your brother Ben-Hadad.'"

Hepatoscopy and astrology were more advanced methods of divining the future. The study of the liver is mentioned in Ezekiel 21:26. This custom was widespread in Mesopotamia, in the land of Canaan, among the Hittites, Greeks, and Romans, and, in a later period, also among the Arabs. The qualified augur inspected, in an established order, all the internal organs of an animal sacrificed to a god, in particular the liver. According to the signs that he found in the liver, and which were learned in schools established for that purpose, he predicted the future. "The astrologers, the star-gazers," are mentioned in the prophecy concerning Babylon in Isaiah 47:13. Some scholars explain the Hebrew word for astrologers *hoverei shamayim*, according to the Arabic *habara* ("to cut into large parts"). That would indicate that astrologers divided the sky into star-families, as did Babylonian astrologers, and were identical with stargazers. Others interpret *hoverei shamayim* according to the Ugaritic *hbr* ("to bow") and consider *hoverei shamayim* to be those who bow to the celestial bodies; thus the passage connects the worship of stars with astrology. The observation of celestial bodies or other heavenly signs is referred to in Jeremiah 10:2: "Learn not the way of the nations, nor be dismayed at the signs of the heavens …"

The Biblical Attitude Toward Divination in General

Divination is included among the abominations of the nations which the Israelites were forbidden to learn and practice (Deut. 18:9–11). Leviticus 19:26, 31 also contains the prohibition against the use of magic to tell the future: "You shall not practice divination or soothsaying" and "Do not turn to ghosts and do not inquire of familiar spirits to be defiled by them." The punishment for those who do consult them is excommunication (20:6). However, in response to human nature, the Bible allowed consultation of the Urim and Thummim on the one hand and the prophets on the other, and considered them the only proper means of inquiring into the future. The Book of Deuteronomy designates the prophet to satisfy the needs that were met among the nations by fortune-tellers using systems of magic (Deut. 18:14ff.). The dream was also a proper method of prophesying the future (cf. I Sam. 28:6; et al.), since God would often reveal Himself to His chosen ones in a dream (See *Dreams). According to the prophets Jeremiah and Ezekiel, fortune-tellers and mantics predicted the future in the name of God (Jer. 27:9–10; 29:8–9; Ezek. 22:28; cf. 12:24; 13:6–9). They probably functioned in the area of popular religion, and the prophets saw them as falsifying the word of God and therefore fought them. That fortune-tellers were persecuted is known from the story of the medium and Saul, who removed the mediums and "wizards" and cut them off from the land (I Sam. 28:3, 9). In contrast to Saul's act, which he performed in accordance with the precepts of the Torah, Manasseh, king of Judah, introduced idolatry into Jerusalem: "[he] practiced soothsaying and augury, and dealt with mediums and with wizards" (II Kings 21:6; II Chron. 33:6). The cultic reform of Josiah put an end to these (II Kings 23:24).

[Shmuel Ahituv]

In the Talmud

The rabbis adopted an ambivalent attitude toward divination. On the one hand there is the clear prohibition of the Bible (see above); on the other the rabbis, particularly the Babylonian *amoraim*, lived in an environment which was the classic home of divination, where it was extensively practiced. To some extent they overcame the difficulty by distinguishing between *naḥash* (divination proper), which was forbidden, and *simanim* ("signs"), which were permitted.

The *Sifra Kedushim* 6 and the *Sifrei Deuteronomy* 171 give different examples of divination. The former merely talks of divination by "weasels, birds, and stars," apparently referring to the cry of the animal and the bird, the bird in flight, and the stars in their courses. The latter is more explicit, giving examples of a man regulating his conduct by omens, "For instance, if he says that bread has fallen from his mouth, his staff from his hand, a snake passed on his right and a fox on his left and his tail crossed his path [which are considered bad omens], or if he refuses to do something because it is the New Moon, or the eve of the Sabbath, or Saturday night." The same passage, however, includes the enchanter (*kosem*) in the category of divination: "the enchanter is one who seizes his staff [and decides according to the direction in which it falls] whether I will go or not." The Talmud (Sanh. 65b) combines these with some variations and adds other bad omens, e.g., if a raven croaks at a man or a deer crosses his path. These are enumerated in Maimonides (Yad, Akum 11:4).

The dividing line between divination and signs is indicated by the statement, "Any divination which is not as the divination of Eliezer the servant of Abraham at the well [Gen. 24:14] or Jonathan the son of Saul [I Sam. 14:9–10] is no divination" (Ḥul. 95b). There is, however, a curious difference of opinion among the medieval commentators as to the import of this statement. Maimonides (Yad, loc. cit.) regards it as meaning that divinations of this kind are forbidden. Abraham b. David of Posquières (ad loc.) roundly disagrees with him, stating emphatically that the passage means that this kind of divination is permitted. Similarly, the *tosafot* (Ḥul. 95b) agree with Maimonides, while Isserles adopts the view of Abraham b. David, though with reservations (Sh. Ar., YD 179:4). The former view seems to be more in accordance with the text and context, and the difference between divination and signs seems to be that in the cases of Eliezer and Jonathan the course of action taken was dependent on the happening, whereas a "sign" merely interprets an event as an omen for good or evil and is permitted.

Thus it is specifically stated in the name of R. Simeon b. Eleazar, "A house, a child, and a wife, though they do not constitute divination, do act as signs" (Ḥul. 95b); i.e., good or bad fortune immediately following the purchase of a house, the birth of a child, or marriage may be regarded as auguries of future success or failure. In the same context comes a special kind of divination which was regarded as permitted: the custom of asking a child to recite "his" biblical verse (Ḥag. 15a; Gitt. 57a et al.) and interpreting the answer as a sign. One interesting example is given by the Talmud (Ḥul. 95b). R. Johanan decided to visit Samuel in Babylon after the death of Rav. He asked a child to quote his verse and the child cited, "Now Samuel was dead" (I Sam. 28:3). Johanan took this as a sign but the Talmud adds, "It was not so. It was only that Johanan should not be put to the trouble of visiting him." The special importance of this form of divination is provided by two passages in the Talmud, one to the effect that "since the destruction of the Temple prophecy was taken from the prophets and given to fools and children" (BB 12b) and the other "if a man wakes up and finds that a scriptural verse has fallen into his mouth, it is a minor prophecy." David ha-Levi presumably combines these two sayings when he justifies this form of divination as "minor prophecy" (*Taz*, YD 179:4). The Talmud is replete with "signs" which do not belong to the category of divination, and the same applies to the Middle Ages, particularly in the *Sefer Ḥasidim* of Judah he-Ḥasid.

Nevertheless the distinction between divination and signs is sometimes so fine as to be almost imperceptible. When Rav was on a journey and came to a ford, if he saw the ferryboat coming toward him he regarded it as a good omen, if departing from him a bad one (Ḥul. 95b). Similarly it is difficult to decide whether the knowledge of "the language of birds" and "the language of the palm-trees" belongs to divination or not. Although, as has been stated, the *Sifra* specifically forbids divination by the cries of birds, and the third of the *Sibylline books (224) states, "the Jews do not consider the omens of flight as observed by the augurs," the Talmud tells the story of R. Ilish for whom the language of the raven was interpreted; he refused to obey it since the raven is a lying bird, but when a dove repeated the message he did (Git. 45a). Of *Johanan b. Zakkai it is related that among his accomplishments was a knowledge of "the language of palm-trees" (Suk. 28a; BB 134a). The following explanation is given by Nathan b. Jehiel in the *Arukh* (s.v. *si'aḥ*. The text here given is by B.M. Lewin (*Oẓar ha-Ge'onim*, 6 pt. 2 (1934)), Sukkah, no. 67, which is slightly different): "On a completely windless day, so still that even when a sheet is spread out it does not sway, he who understands the speech of the palms takes up his position between two adjacent palms and watches how their branches turn toward one another, and there is in this movement signs from which he can recognize many things." It is also said of R. Abraham Kabassi Gaon (who lived in the year 828) that he was an adept in the speech of the palms, and as a result used to communicate "great and wonderful things, the truth of which was attested by many."

Moses *Isserles qualifies the permissibility of such divinations as that of Eliezer and Johanan (see above) with the reservation, "But he who trusteth in the Lord, mercy compasseth him about" (Ps. 32:10), and the Talmud (Ned. 32a) states "He who refrains from practicing divination is brought within a [divine] barrier which even the ministering angels are not permitted to cross." Generally speaking, the view of the halakhic authorities is that divination, like all the other forms of superstitions mentioned in the Bible in this context, such as sorcery, necromancy, and "familiar spirits," is possible but forbidden. A strikingly different, rational, view is taken by Maimonides. After faithfully detailing their laws as found in the Talmud he concludes: "But all those things are lying and falsehood and it is with them that the ancient idolaters led astray the nations of the lands that they should follow them. It is not fitting that the people of Israel, who are wise and perspicuous, be attracted by those follies or imagine that they are of any effect, as it is said, 'For there is no enchantment with Jacob, neither is there any divination with Israel' (Num. 23:23); and it is also said, 'For these nations which thou art to dispossess, hearken unto soothsayers and unto diviners; but as for thee, the Lord thy God hath not suffered thee to do so' (Deut. 18:14). Whosoever believes in those matters and their like and imagines that they are true, and matters of wisdom, but the Torah has forbidden the practice of them, is but of the fools and the retarded and in the category of women and minors whose mind is not whole. Those who possess wisdom and are of wholesome mind, however, know clearly that all these things which the Torah has forbidden are not words of wisdom but confusions and vanity to which those lacking in knowledge are attracted and as a result they have forsaken all the ways of truth. For this reason the Torah, when it warns against all these follies, says (Deut. 18:13), 'Thou shalt be wholehearted with the Lord thy God'" (Yad, Akkum 11:16). *Elijah b. Solomon, Gaon of Vilna, however, criticized Maimonides for this rational approach, saying that "accursed philosophy led him astray."

[Louis Isaac Rabinowitz]

In the Middle Ages

OMENS. During the Middle Ages, both Jews and Christians readily read omens from bodily phenomena. The following passages by *Eleazar b. Judah of Worms seem to derive from non-Jewish sources: "Just as the astrologers foresee events from the stars, so there are some who can foretell the future from human signs. If the flesh under one's armpit quivers, they will be broaching a match to him soon … If the sole of one's foot itches … he will be journeying soon to a strange place … if his palm, he will hold in his hand gold or silver … itching in any part of the body is an omen … God apprises man, through bodily phenomena, of what will transpire" (*Ḥokhmat ha-Nefesh*, 25d). Another powerful omen was sneezing. The behavior of animals was also regarded as a portent for the future. A dog howling mournfully is a clear sign that the angel of death is walking through a town; similarly, a dog dragging his hindquarters along the floor toward the door is an indication of the approach of death.

A number of occurrences betokened good or ill fortune; it was unlucky to open the day or the week with an action involving loss, for it was possible that this action could color the whole subsequent period. For this reason, it was considered undesirable to pay the tax-collector or repay a debt on the first day of the week. Other such superstitions include a seminal pollution on the Day of Atonement which was generally believed to herald death within a year, though the talmudic authorities differed in their interpretation of this; a Pentateuch falling to the ground was so bad an omen that it was customary to try to counter it by a period of fasting; making a mistake in prayer also heralded disaster; in the Rhineland it was believed that when the flames on the hearth leap unusually high, a guest will shortly arrive. If the fire is doused with water, the visitor will be drowned (Yoma 88a; Responsa Maharil, 83a–b, etc.; Balu, 149; Grimm, vol. 3,467, para. 889).

Particular tokens of good fortune were some foods. The main meal on Rosh Ha-Shanah included a number of foods symbolizing happiness and prosperity: a lamb's head, "that He may put us at the head and not the tail-end" of things; fat meats, and sweets such as apples dipped in honey, "that the new year may be prosperous and happy"; pomegranates, "that our merits may be as numerous as its seeds"; fish, which are proverbially symbols of fruitfulness, and others. The practice of eating on New Year's Day foods specially chosen for their good influence on the future probably initially reflected Roman custom, and it was also widespread in Christian Europe in the Middle Ages and modern times.

THE ART OF PREDICTION. The desire to know the future was not satisfied through interpretations of omens alone. The active creation of signs and portents was also widely practiced. Although, like leading non-Jewish thinkers, religious and lay, the rabbis forbade these practices on moral and religious grounds, their more or less open recognition that such "evils" bore results made all their prohibitions ineffectual. Medieval Jewry was acquainted with a considerable variety of means of divination deriving from Oriental and Greco-Roman sources as well as from contemporary Christian practice, and they resorted to many of these. One method was to place a lighted candle during the ten days between Rosh Ha-Shanah and the Day of Atonement (traditionally regarded as the period when the fate of each man is determined in heaven) where no draft could extinguish it. If the light went out, then the man in question would die before the year's end; if the candle burned to the end, then he could count on at least one more year of life.

On the night of *Hoshana Rabba, when it was believed that the decision concerning men's fate during the new year was finally and irrevocably set out in the heavenly book of records, it was a widespread practice among medieval Jews to go out into the moonlight to see if the shadows they cast were lacking heads, for the absence of a head was a certain sign that what had happened to the shadow would soon befall the body. The earliest Jewish reference to this custom is made by Eleazar of Worms, and Naḥmanides also mentions it, as well as many later German-Jewish writers.

Like Christians, Jews occasionally used the Bible as a method of divination. They followed the usual procedure of opening the Bible at random and taking as a portent the first word or sentence that met the eye, but in the Middle Ages they also adhered to a practice common in talmudic times of asking children what verses they had studied in school that day and taking them as good or bad omens.

Divination through casting lots was common throughout the Middle Ages. Although it was usual to employ simple devices like tossing a coin or throwing dice, even in these cases the procedure was complicated by rules governing when the operation could be performed, how the lot was to be held, and how the results should be interpreted, as well as prescribing what prayers or charms should be recited. The Hebrew "books of lots," like their Christian counterparts, were of Arabic origin; the Jewish versions seem to have been composed mainly in southern Europe and in the Orient.

The method of divination most common among Jews, which was well known in Oriental and classical antiquity, was also frequently practiced by medieval Christians. By this method a young child was made to gaze into a polished or reflecting surface until he saw figures that revealed the desired information. While this method of divination appears to have been most frequently used for detecting theft, it was also employed to divulge future events.

CALLING UP THE DEAD. Two kinds of necromancy are recognized in the Talmud, that of raising the dead man by naming him, and that of questioning him through the medium of a skull. Although both types were often referred to in the Middle Ages, it is doubtful if they were still employed. Other methods seem to have been more popular, such as the practice of two friends agreeing that the first to die should return to reveal the secrets of heaven to the other, appearing either in a dream, or during waking hours.

Other methods described in the sources include: (1) "incantations" at the grave, which were apparently frowned upon, for the word *laḥash* usually refers to a forbidden kind of magic; (2) spending the night on a grave, distinctively dressed and burning spices "until one hears an exceedingly faint voice from the grave responding to his questions"; this method was also considered unacceptable for it was included in the forbidden category of magic; (3) "A man and a woman station themselves at the head and foot of a grave, and on the earth between them they set a rattle, which they strike while they recite a secret invocation; then while the woman looks on the man puts the questions, and the deceased reveals the future to them"; (4) an apparently acceptable method which invoked the dead through the use of angelic names: "Stand before the grave and recite the names of the angels of the fifth camp of the first firmament, and hold in your hand a mixture of oil and honey in a new glass bowl, and say 'I conjure you, spirit of the grave, Nehinah, who rests in the grave upon the bones of the dead, that you accept this offering from my hand and do my bidding; bring me N son of N who is dead.'"

DIVINING TREASURE. It was widely believed in the Middle Ages, particularly in Germany, that treasure lay hidden in the earth. Many northern European folktales recount how a ghostly blue flame sometimes flickers on the ground above the hiding place of a hoard. However, since such capricious signs were a rare occurrence, people were not content to wait patiently for the chance appearance that would make them rich. A surer way of reaching the earth's treasures, therefore, was provided by the divining-rod. Several 15th-century Jewish formulas for making and using a divining-rod, which follow closely the texts of German recipes, have been printed. The language of spells, the names used in them, and the very belief on which they are based, are clear indications that they were borrowed from German originals. Not only buried treasure but also sought-after information could be revealed by this method. The preparation of the rods followed the same pattern, but the invocations were altered to suit the differing needs.

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DIVINE PUNISHMENT. In a system of law based on divine revelation all punishment originally and ultimately derives from God. Even though human agencies may be entrusted with authority to inflict punishments in certain prescribed cases, God's own overriding punishing power remains unaffected, and the ways and means of divine punishment are as numerous and varied as they are of catastrophic unpredictability (cf. the punishments threatened for "rejecting God's laws and spurning His rules" in Lev. 26:14–43 and Deut. 28:15–68). God punishes whole peoples (the Flood: Gen. 6; Sodom and Gomorrah: Gen. 18; Egypt: Ex. 14:27–28; et al.) as well as individuals (Cain: Gen. 4:10–15; Aaron's sons: Lev. 10:1–2; Miriam: Num. 12:6–10; Korah and his company: Num. 16:28–35; et al.); and visits "the guilt of the fathers upon the children, upon the third and upon the fourth generations of those who reject" Him (Ex. 20:5; Deut. 5:9). The fear of God is inculcated in those tending to be cruel or callous (Ex. 22:26; Lev. 19:14, 32), and specific retaliatory punishments will be inflicted by God for mistreating widows and orphans (Ex. 22:21–23).

Originally, divine punishment was independent of and additional to judicial punishment; there are several biblical instances in which *capital punishment is prescribed for a particular offense and yet the threat of divine punishment is superadded (e.g., Ex 31:14). In one instance, the law explicitly states that where the prescribed capital punishment is not carried out, God will himself set His face "against that man and his kin and will cut off from among their people both him and all who follow him in going astray after Molech" (Lev. 20:2–5). This juxtaposition of divine and judicial punishments appears conclusively to disprove the view that *karet* ("cutting off") was not a divine punishment of death, but rather a judicial punishment of excommunication. While, in the nature of things, all judicial punishment is uncertain, depending on the offender being caught, evidence against him being available, and the "people of the land not hiding their eyes" from him (Lev. 20:4), divine punishment is certain and inescapable, and thus a much more effective deterrent; the omniscient God will not suffer His laws to be disobeyed with impunity (cf. Deut. 32:41). The fundamental injustice underlying the ideas of inherited guilt and deferred punishment and unbounded wrath is, from the point of view of penal policy, a lesser evil than God's failure to mete out deserved punishment.

For a good many offenses, the divine *karet* is the only punishment prescribed. It has been suggested that they are such offenses as are committed in private, for which eyewitnesses will not usually be available, such as, for instance, the eating of fat or blood (Lev. 7:25–27; 17:10, 14), or various sexual offenses (Lev. 20:17–18; 18:29), or the nonobservance of the Day of Atonement (Lev. 23:29–30) or of Passover (Ex. 12:15, 19). Others maintain that these offenses are mostly of a religious or sacerdotal character, such as failure to circumcise (Gen. 17:14) or to bring certain sacrifices (Num. 9:13), as well as the nonobservance of the religious festivals already mentioned; and that for such religious sins any judicial punishment was thought inappropriate (cf. Sifra 1:19). There are, however, some offenses, punishable by *karet* only, that do not fit into either of these categories as, for instance, public blasphemy (Num. 15:30–31). This fact – together with the gravity of some of the sexual offenses so punishable – led some scholars to assume that *karet*, even though a threat of divine punishment, was at the same time an authorization of judicial capital punishment (cf. Ibn Ezra, Lev. 18:29). This theory is strengthened by the fact that some of the offenses punishable with *karet* are stated to be also judicially punishable (Ex. 31:14; Lev. 20:6).

Apart from *karet*, divine punishment is expressed in terms of simple death (e.g., Num. 18:7) as well as of "bearing one's iniquity" or guilt (e.g., Lev. 5:1; 7:18; 17:16; 20:19; 24:15; Num. 5:31). Sometimes "he shall bear his guilt" is followed by "and he shall die" (Ex. 28:43; Num. 18:32); sometimes it is combined with the threat of *karet* (Lev. 19:8; 7:20), and sometimes joined with the threat of childlessness (Lev. 20:20). It has therefore been suggested that where the "bearing of guilt" stands alone, it is meant only as imposing the duty to bring a sacrifice to God (Tosef., Shevu. 3:1).

With the development of jurisprudence, it was sought to purge divine punishment from apparent injustice (Jer. 31:28–29; Ezek. 18:2–29), and it was later relegated altogether to the realm of homiletics; people were warned that premature death (at the age of 50), or death without leaving issues, were signs of the divine *karet* (Sem. 3:8; MK 28a; Rashi and Tos., Shab. 25a–b), and that every undetected murderer would meet with "accidental" death at the hands of God (Mak. 10b). By talmudic law, *karet*, though interpreted as divine capital punishment, was absolved by the human judicial punishment of *flogging (Mak. 13a–b; Yad, Sanh. 19:1); having been flogged, the offender has expiated even his divine capital crime (Mak. 3:15). This substitution of flogging for divine capital punishment was in legal theory founded on the notion that God would forgive offenders who had repented, and in His mercy refrain from punishing them; undergoing the flogging was regarded as tantamount to repentance. By being flogged, the offender could avoid divine punishment since he cannot be punished twice for the same offense (Mak. 13b). The recidivist, who after having twice been flogged again committed the same offense, was given up – presumably because the supposed repentance could not have been genuine – and was imprisoned and kept on a diet of barley until his belly burst (Sanh. 81b; Yad, Sanh. 18:4).

Where a lesser penalty, such as a *fine, is merged in the larger penalty for the same offense and will not therefore be recoverable, it is sometimes held that in order to satisfy divine law (*Dinei Shamayim*) as well as human law and not be liable to future divine retribution, one should pay also the lesser penalty, especially where it is payable to the victim (cf. BM 91a; Tos. to BK 70b–7 la; Tos. to Ḥul. 130b).

[Haim Hermann Cohn]

Divine Punishment in Civil Law

In the framework of the laws of damages, in a number of cases in which the strict letter of the law does not allow the court to impose payment on the damager, it has been stated that the tortfeasor incurs divine punishment. Tosefta (Zuckermandel Edition; Shebu. 3:2–3), quoting Rabbi Yehoshua, enumerates four such types of damage, regarding which "according to the strict letter of the law, there is no obligation to pay, yet Heaven will not forgive the damager until he pays." Following are the cases, in the manner in which they were explained by the sages of the Babylonian Talmud (BK 55b–56a) and brought down as law (Maim., Yad, Edut, 17:7; Nizkei Mamon, 14:14; Sh. Ar., ḤM, 28:1; 32:2; 418:11,17): (1) if someone knows testimony that can help his fellow yet does not provide it, either testimony in which one witness suffices, or in which two are required (see entry: *Witness); (2) if someone hires false witnesses to testify in favor of one's friend; (3) if someone trains his neighbor's field in the direction of a fire in such a way that an especially strong wind will make the field catch fire, or if he sees fires nearing his neighbor's field and he covers the field in such a manner that the one who lit the fire will be exempt from paying damages, and he thereby prevents the victim from receiving payment; (4) if someone breaches a rickety fence thereby enabling his neighbor's animal to leave, and it goes out and does damage.

The Babylonian Talmud (ibid.) enumerates other cases in which the damager is "exempt by human law but liable by divine law": (1) if someone does work with *mei chatat* [water earmarked for use with the Red Heifer in purifying people who had physical contact with the dead; such work disqualifies the water as a purifying agent (see *Red Heifer); (2) if someone sets poison before his neighbor's animal; (3) if someone leaves a burning ember in the charge of a deaf person, imbecile or minor; (4) if someone frightens his neighbor, without physical contact, and thereby causes him to become sick; (5) if someone's pitcher breaks in a public thoroughfare and he abandons the water and the broken shards, and someone else comes along and is injured by them (see Tosefta, [Zuckermandel edition], BK 6:16–17, where other cases are brought; see *Torts).

The legal responsibility of physicians is a special case. According to Tosefta (Zuckermandel, BK 6:17), "A licensed physician who, with the authority of *bet din* treated a patient [and committed an error], is exempt by human law but is subject to divine law." Nahmanides, himself a physician, explains that a physician who inadvertently commits injury will be liable by divine law only where he finds out that he has erred and knows what his error was. If, however, he never becomes aware of his error, he is not liable by divine law. Rabbi Simeon ben Zemah *Duran (Algiers, 14th century; Responsa *Tashbeẓ*, 3:82) distinguishes between an inadvertent error during an operation, in which case he will be liable by divine law, and an error in prescribing medication, where not even liability by divine law is incurred. (See also *Assault.)

As far as the meaning of this incurrence within divine law, the *posekim* determined that a bet din has to inform the guilty party that, while the court cannot, in fact, sentence him to pay, he still incurs an obligation vis-à-vis divine law (Rabbi Shlomo Luria, *Yam Shel Shlomo*, BK 6:6). Some held that he is disqualified from bearing witness until he pays, because he is holding stolen money in his possession (Me'iri, Sofer Edition, BK 56a).

In the Kitan ruling (CA 350/77 *Kitan v. Weiss* PD 33(2) 785), the Israeli Supreme Court reversed a lower court's award of compensation for damages in a claim submitted by the relatives of a man murdered by a worker in a factory. The worker killed the man with a gun given him by the factory for work purposes. The respondents argued that, due to the worker's problematic mental state, the factory should have foreseen that his possession of a weapon was fraught with danger. Hence, they argued, the factory should be required to compensate the victim's family. The appeal was rejected because the causal connection between the appellant's (i.e., the factory's) negligence and the killing of the deceased was too weak. Judge Elon suggested in his ruling that the court should recommend to the factory to go beyond the letter of the law. In making this suggestion, Judge Elon relied on the principle of a divine punishment being incurred where, due to the lack of the causal connection required for a torts conviction, there is no possibility of sentencing by a human court. In the opinion of many Sages, under certain circumstances a human court can even force payment, going beyond the letter of the law, upon the defendant (Baḥ on Tur, ḤM 12:4). Even so, civil courts, in accordance with Israeli law, lack the authority to do this. Hence Judge Elon suggested to the defendants to follow this practice (ibid., pages 809–810). (See also CA 842/79 *Ness v. Golda*, PD 36(1) 204, page 220.)

In 1992, the Knesset adopted basic laws whose stated purpose was "to entrench within a Basic Law the values of the State of Israel as a Jewish and Democratic state." In accordance with these laws, a prominent role is accorded to Jewish law within the values of the State of Israel as a Jewish state. Today, all of this having occurred, the position of Jewish law should be given priority. It would appropriate for the courts to adopt this approach of making such recommendations to litigants, and under suitable conditions even of compelling them to go beyond the letter of the law.

For a detailed discussion of this, see *Damages; *Law and Morality.

[Menachem Elon (2nd ed.)]

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DIVORCE (Heb. גֵּרוּשִׁין), the formal dissolution of the marriage bond.

IN THE BIBLE

Divorce was accepted as an established custom in ancient Israel (cf. Lev. 21:7, 14; 22:13; Num. 30:10; Deut. 22:19, 29). In keeping with the other cultures of the Near East, a Hebrew in early biblical times could divorce his wife at will and send her from his home. This is reflected in the use of such terms as *shalle'aḥ* (e.g., Deut. 21:14; 24:1, 3), *garesh* (e.g., Lev. 21:7; Ezek. 44:22), and *hoẓi'* (Ezra 10:3; cf. Deut. 24:2) for divorce actions. It also accounts for the survival of the view down to the Christian era that "the woman goes out (*yoẓe'ah*) whether she pleases or not, but the husband sends her out (*moẓi'*) only if it so pleases him" (Yev. 14:1).

The biblical, like the Mesopotamian, law codes did not set down the law of divorce in all of its details. Instead, some of its provisions were stated in brief – almost in passing – within the context of a law restricting the right of a man to remarry his divorced wife (Deut. 24:1–4). Specifically, the husband was required to write her "a bill of divorce" (*sefer keritut*), hand it to her, and send her away from his house (Deut. 24:1; cf. Isa. 50:1; Jer. 3:8). The content of this document is unknown, though it has been conjectured that it contained the formula, "she is not my wife nor am I her husband" (Hos. 2:4). Z. Falk is probably right in assuming that biblical divorce remained essentially an oral declaration, witnessed by the writ. This accords with the actual Sumerian practice which required the husband to pronounce the formula "you are not my wife" and to pay his wife half a mina of silver before he dismissed her from his home. Moreover, as others have shown, the term *keritut* itself may be derived from the ancient Sumerian ceremony requiring the husband to cut the corner of his wife's garment to symbolize the severance of the marriage bond (cf. Ruth 3:9). In any event, biblical law was concerned with the finality of the divorce action and its attendant publicity, so that there might be no questions raised later with regard to the remarriage of the divorcée. Furthermore, the requirement that a bill of divorce be issued in writing and that the wife be formally sent out of her husband's house before the marriage was dissolved, kept him from acting rashly in a moment of anger. The prohibition of remarrying the same woman, if, in the interim, she had married another (Deut. 24:4; Jer. 3:1) acted, similarly, as a moderating influence. Finally, it has been suggested that a woman was entitled to some kind of a financial settlement in the event of an arbitrary divorce action. This is not clearly stipulated in the biblical texts. Still, the existence of such a requirement appears likely from its prominence in other Near Eastern codes (cf. e.g., *The Code of Hammurapi*, 137–140; in: Pritchard, Texts, 172). It also helps explain a husband's willingness to defame his wife despite the scandal to his household and the possible punishment to himself (Deut. 22:13–21), because presumably he could thus rid himself of her without any penalty. The Bible records only two types of situations in which the husband was stripped of his right of divorce. The first is the one just mentioned, in which he falsely accused his wife of prenuptial intercourse. The second resulted from his having ravished a virgin who had never been engaged to another man (Deut. 22:28–29). These instances and the requirements mentioned above were the only limitations set on a man's authority to dissolve his marriage. Bet Hillel was clearly correct in its interpretation of *ervat* (*ʿerwat*) *davar* (Deut. 24:1) as any kind of obnoxious behavior or mannerisms, and in concluding that a man was not restricted to grounds of sexual offense in seeking to divorce his wife (Git. 90a; cf. Deut. 23:15). Still, there are no instances in the Bible when a man sent his wife away lightly. On the contrary, Abraham is depicted as resisting the expulsion of his concubine (Gen. 21:11–12), Paltiel wept when he had to give up Michal (II Sam. 3:14–16), and Ezra encountered significant opposition when he called on the men to give up their foreign wives (Ezra 10:3ff.). The ideal of marriage was that of a permanent union (cf. Gen. 2:24) and conjugal fidelity was praised (Eccles. 9:9). Divorce did remain a necessary evil and was probably resorted to most often in the event of the barrenness of the marital union (cf. Gen. 30:1). There were instances, however, when living together must have been unbearable, and women did abandon their husbands (cf. Judg. 19:1–3; Jer. 3:20) since they had no legal recourse. The Torah did recognize, though, that a man had to discharge certain obligations toward his wife, and she, presumably, had the moral right to leave him if he refused to do so (cf. Ex. 21:10–11). The lot of the divorcée was not a pleasant one (cf. Isa. 54:6). Generally she returned to her father's home (Lev. 22:13), leaving her children with her former husband. Special arrangements were probably made for suckling infants; in later law, boys, at least, had to be returned to their father's home by the time they were six years old (Ket. 65b). The divorcée was free to remarry, but was prohibited to a priest (Lev. 21:7), indicating that some stigma was attached to her. Moral anguish speaks out of Malachi's denunciation of the frequency of divorce in Judea in the fifth century B.C.E. (2:13–16). At about the same time, the Jewish military colony in Elephantine seems to have adopted practices from their Egyptian neighbors which strengthened the woman's position in her marriage. In the three complete marriage contracts of this colony published to date (see bibl.: Cowley, 15, and Kraeling 2, 7), each spouse had full power to dissolve the marriage without establishing any grounds in "matrimonial offenses." The husband had to return his wife's dowry regardless of who had initiated the divorce proceedings, and he had to give her all of her possessions before she was required to depart from his home. These practices, however, had no basis in biblical law, though some scholars have found echoes of them during the talmudic period and later.

[David L. Lieber]

IN LATER JEWISH LAW

Talmudic literature also uses the terms *shalle'aḥ*, *hoẓi'* (see above). Divorce must be distinguished from a declaration of nullity of marriage in which the court declares that no marriage ever came into existence so that all rights and duties flowing therefrom – personal or pecuniary – are rendered inoperative *ab initio* (i.e., in the case of a marriage prohibited on account of incest according to biblical law). It must also be distinguished from an annulment of marriage, i.e., the retroactive invalidation thereof by decree of the court (see **Agunah*; *Marriage). "A man takes a wife and possesses her. She fails to please him because he finds something obnoxious about her, and he writes her a bill of divorcement, hands it to her, and sends her away from his house" (Deut. 24:1). This verse, stated in relation to the prohibition against a man remarrying his divorced wife after her marriage to another man (see *Marriages, Prohibited), provides the basis for the system of divorce practiced according to Jewish law, i.e., there is no divorce other than by way of the husband delivering to his wife – and not vice versa – a bill of divorcement, in halakhic language called a *get pitturin* or simply *get* (a word having the meaning of *shetar*, or bill: see Maim. Comm. to Mishnah, Git. 2:5). The rabbis stated that "whosoever divorces his first wife, even the altar sheds tears" (Git. 90b; cf. Mal. 2:14–16), and therefore she should not be divorced unless "he found something obnoxious about her" – an expression whose exact meaning was the subject of a dispute between Bet Hillel, Bet Shammai, and Akiva (Yev. 112b; Git. 90a). However, in terms of a rabbinical enactment known as the *Ḥerem de-Rabbenu Gershom* (see also *Bigamy, *Monogamy) it became prohibited for the husband to divorce his wife against her will (*Rema* EH 119:6; for the text of the *ḥerem* in relation to divorce see PDR 1:198). In Jewish law, divorce is an act of the parties to the marriage, whereby it is to be fundamentally distinguished from divorce in many other systems of law, in which the essential divorce derives from a decree of the court. In Jewish law the function of the court – i.e., in the absence of agreement between the parties – is to decide the question whether and on what terms one party may be obliged to give, or the other receive, a *get*. Even after the court has thus decided, the parties nevertheless remain married until such time as the husband actually delivers the *get* to his wife. At the same time, it is the function of the court to ensure that all the formalities required for divorce are carried out according to law.

Divorce by Mutual Consent

Jewish law shows a further distinction from many other legal systems in that the mere consent of the parties to a divorce, without any need for the court to establish responsibility for the breakup of the marriage, suffices for its dissolution, i.e., for delivery of the *get.* It must be given or received by them, however, of their own free will and not out of fear that they may be obliged to fulfill any obligations which they undertook in the agreement in the event of their not being divorced (*Pitḥei Teshuvah* EH 134, n. 9; PDR 3:322–4; 4:353f.). Hence, if either party withdraws from the agreement and satisfies the court of a genuine desire for matrimonial harmony, the other party will likewise continue to be subject to all the recognized matrimonial obligations. In this case, however, the pecuniary conditions which the parties may have stipulated in the event of either of them failing to uphold the agreement may nevertheless be valid and enforceable (*Pitḥei Teshuvah* loc. cit.; PdR 2:9; 6:97; PD, 20, pt. 2 (1966), 6, 12f.). It is also customary to make provision in the divorce agreement for matters such as custody of the children and their maintenance, and in principle there is no reason why such conditions should not have binding validity vis-à-vis the legal relationships between the parties themselves (PDR 4:275, 281). On the question whether and to what extent such conditions are binding in respect of the children, see *Parent and Child.

Divorce other than by Consent

In the absence of an agreement between the parties to a divorce, the court is required to decide whether or not there is a basis for obliging or – in cases where this is permitted by law – for compelling the husband to give, or the wife to receive, a *get*.

The decision of the court is dependent upon the existence of any of the grounds recognized as conferring a right on the wife or husband to demand a divorce.

RIGHT OF THE WIFE TO DEMAND A DIVORCE. The wife is entitled to demand a divorce on the grounds of (a) physical defects (*mumim*) in her husband or (b) his conduct toward her.

Physical Defects as Grounds for Divorce. In order to obtain a divorce on the grounds of physical defects the wife must prove that these preclude him, or her, from the possibility of cohabition, e.g., because he suffers from a contagious and dangerous disease – "afflicted with boils and leprosy" – or because the defects are likely to arouse in her feelings of revulsion when in his proximity, and the like. In the case of the unreasonable refusal of the husband to comply with the judgment obliging him to give his wife a *get* of his own free will in these circumstances, the court may compel his compliance (Ket. 77a and codes; PDR 3:126). The question whether judicial coercion is possible in the case of epilepsy is disputed, and the practice of the courts is to oblige – but not compel – a divorce on this ground (PDR 1:65, 73f.; 2:188, 193), save in exceptional cases, e.g., where there is the danger of the wife becoming an *agunah* (PDR 4:164, 171–3). The wife is also entitled to a divorce if she is childless and claims that she wishes to have a child but that her husband is incapable of begetting children (Yev. 65a/b and codes; Resp. Rosh 43:4; PDR 1:5, 8; 2:150). The wife must satisfy the court, as a precondition to divorce on this ground, that she is not seeking the divorce for pecuniary reasons or because she has "set her eyes on another" (Yev. 117a and codes; Resp. Rosh 43:2; PDR 1:364, 369). Similarly, she must prove her claim that her husband is the cause of her childlessness; the lapse of ten years from the time of her marriage without her having been made pregnant by her husband establishes a presumption that there are no longer any prospects of her bearing her husband any children (Yev. 64a and codes; PDR 1:5, 9, 10, 369). If the husband claims that the cause does not lie with him, he may demand that the matter be clarified by submission of himself and his wife to a medical examination; if his claim is established, he is exempted from paying his wife's **ketubbah* (Yev. 65a; Resp. Rosh 43:12; Sh. Ar., EH 134; *Beit Shemu'el* 134, n. 14). A comparable cause of action arises from the wife's claim that her husband is impotent (i.e., he lacks *ko'aḥ gavra*; see *Marriage). The claim is grounded not on the wife's desire to raise a family but on her right to sexual relations as such, and it is therefore of no consequence that she already has children, nor is she required to wait for ten years (Yev. 65b and codes; PDR 1:5, 9, 55, 59, 82, 84; 5:154). If the evidence leaves room for the conclusion that medical treatment may possibly lead to the husband's recovery, the court will refrain from obliging the husband to give a *get* immediately (Yev. 65b and codes; PDR 1:81, 84–89; 5:239). In principle, the wife's claim as to her husband's impotence is accepted as trustworthy in terms of the rule that she is believed in matters between her husband and herself; however, corroboration of her statements is required (*Rema* EH 154:7, PDR loc. cit.). In the opinion of some authorities, a wife who succeeds in her claim would also be entitled to the sum mentioned in her *ketubbah*, since her trustworthiness extends also to the pecuniary aspect (*Pitḥei Teshuvah* EH 154:7; *Ha-Gra, ibid.*, n. 41); according to others, full proof is required with regard to the latter aspect (Tur and Sh. Ar., EH 154 and commentators thereto). However, should the wife have married her husband with knowledge of his defects, or if she acquired such knowledge after their marriage and nevertheless continued to live with him, she is considered to have waived her objections unless she is able to show that the defects became aggravated to an extent which she could not have foreseen (Ket. 77a and codes; PDR 1:5, 9, 10; 2:188, 192; 6:221, 223). If she is able to account for her delay on grounds which negate any waiver of rights on her part (such as failure to approach the court because of her embarrassment), her right to a divorce is likely to remain unaffected even if considerable time has elapsed since she first became aware of her husband's defects (PDR 1:11–12). No claim can be based on defects or circumstances which, however serious they may be, do not preclude the wife from cohabiting with her husband – e.g., his loss of a hand, leg, or an eye, etc. – whether occurring after the marriage or before, unless she proves that she did not know or, despite investigation, could not have known of the existence of the defect, and provided that she claims a divorce within a reasonable period after becoming aware thereof (Ket.

77a and codes; Resp. Rosh 42:2; *Maggid Mishneh* Ishut 25:11; *Beit Shemuel* 154 n. 2; PDR 1:5, 11, 65, 71).

Conduct of the Husband as a Ground for Divorce. Unjustified refusal of conjugal rights on the part of the husband entitled his wife to claim a divorce (Sh. Ar., EH 76:11; for her ancillary or alternative rights in this case, see **Moredet*). Similarly, the wife may claim a divorce on the ground of her husband's unjustified refusal to maintain her when he is in a position to do so, or could be if he was willing to work and earn an income. In this event she may also claim *maintenance without seeking a divorce (Ket. 77a, according to Samuel, contrary to Rav). The court will not decree that a divorce should be given on the husband's first refusal, but only if he persists in his refusal after being warned and obliged by the court to pay her maintenance (PDR 5:329, 332). Were the husband totally unable to provide her with the minimum requirements ("even the bread she needs"), some authorities are of the opinion that he can even be compelled to divorce her, whereas others hold that there is no room for compulsion since his default is due to circumstances beyond his control (Yad, Ishut 12:11; Sh. Ar., EH 70:3 and commentators; PDR 4:164, 166–70). The husband will not however be obliged to grant his wife a divorce if he maintains her to the best of his ability, even if this be the measure of "a poor man in Israel" and not in accordance with the rule that "she rises with him but does not go down with him" (see *Maintenance; Sh. Ar. and commentators, loc. cit., PDR loc. cit.). Unworthy conduct of the husband toward his wife with the result that she cannot any longer be expected to continue living with him as his wife constitutes a ground for her to claim a divorce ("a wife is given in order that she should live and not to suffer pain": Ket. 61; *Tashbeẓ*, 2:8). The ground is established when his conduct amounts to a continued breach of the duties laid down as a basis for conjugal life, i.e., "let a man honor his wife more than he honors himself, love her as he loves himself, and if he has assets, seek to add to her benefits as he would deal with his assets, and not unduly impose fear on her, and speak to her gently and not be given to melancholy nor anger" (Yad, Ishut 15:19, based on Yev. 62b; see also *Marriage). Thus the wife will have a ground for divorce if, e.g., her husband habitually assaults or insults her, or is the cause of unceasing quarrels, so that she has no choice but to leave the common household (*Rema* EH 154:3; *Ha-Gra, ibid.*, n. 10; *Tashbez*, loc. cit.; PDR 6:221). The same applies if the husband is unfaithful to his wife (Sh. Ar., EH 154:1 and commentators; PDR 1:139, 141); similarly, if he "transgresses the Law of Moses" – for instance when he causes her to transgress the dietary laws knowing that she observes them, or if he has intercourse with her against her will during her menstrual period (see **Niddah*; *Rema* EH 154:3; PDR 4:342). If the husband is able to persuade the court that his wife has condoned his conduct (PDR 1:139, 142), or of his genuine repentance, the court will not immediately oblige the husband to grant a divorce. The court will direct the parties to attempt living together for an additional period in order to ascertain whether a divorce is the only answer for them, unless it is satisfied that no purpose will be served by such delay (Sh. Ar. and commentators, loc. cit.; PDR 1:87–89; 3:346, 351; 4:257, 259).

RIGHT OF THE HUSBAND TO DEMAND A DIVORCE. The grounds on which the husband may demand a divorce (i.e., since the *Ḥerem de-Rabbenu Gershom*) are mainly similar to those which afford the wife this right against him, and previous awareness or condoning of these defects invalidates his claim (PDR 1:66).

Defects (or Disabilities) of the Wife. In addition, however, defects of the wife which provide the husband with grounds for a divorce are those which are peculiar to a woman as such, and which prevent the husband from cohabiting with her, or which render her unfit for or incapable of such cohabitation (Nid. 12b; Yad, Ishut 25:7–9; Resp.Rosh 33:2; Sh. Ar., EH 39:4 and 117:1, 2, 4; PDR 4:321; 5:131, 193). Included in such defects, according to the majority of the authorities, is epilepsy (Resp. Rosh 42:1; PDR 2:129, 134–6; 5:131, 194). If the husband was aware of such defects prior to the marriage or later became aware – or could have become aware – that they had existed before the marriage but still continued to cohabit with her, he will be considered to have condoned them and they will not avail him as grounds for divorce (Ket. 75 and codes; PDR 1:66; 5:193). Similarly a defect which becomes manifest in the wife only after the marriage does not provide the husband with a ground for divorce, unless she is afflicted with a disease carrying with it mortal danger, such as leprosy, or she has become incapable of cohabiting (Ket. loc. cit. and codes; PDR 2:129, 134–6; 5:131, 194). The husband may demand a divorce if his wife has failed to bear children within a period of ten years of their marriage, and he has no children (even from another woman), provided that he persuades the court of his sincere desire to have children (*Rema* EH 1:3; Sh. Ar., EH 154:1; see also *Oẓar ha-Posekim* EH 1, n. 13–60; PDR 4:353).

Conduct of the Wife. The husband will have ground for demanding a divorce if his wife knowingly misleads him into "transgressing the Law of Moses," as when she has sexual relations with him during her menstrual period and conceals this fact from him, or when she causes him to transgress the dietary laws, etc., knowing that he observes these laws (Ket. 72a and codes), but not if she acted inadvertently, or out of fear, or in ignorance of the law, or if the husband has by his own conduct shown that he is not particular about them (*Rema* EH 154:3; PDR 3:346, 350). Similarly, the husband may claim a divorce if his wife shows habitual immodesty or deliberately slights her husband's honor, as when she curses or assaults him, and generally any conduct on her part tending to disrupt normal family life in such manner as to convince the court that no further condonation and continuation of the matrimonial relationship can be expected of the husband (Ket. 72; Sot. 25a; codes; PDR *ibid.*). Condonation of the above also deprives him of his cause of action for divorce. A similar ground for divorce arises when the husband is able to prove, on the testimony of two witnesses, conduct on the part of his wife which gives rise to the strong suspicion that she has committed adultery, even if there is no evidence of actual adultery (Yev. 24b, 25a; Yad, Ishut 24:15; Sotah 2:13; Sh. Ar., EH 11:1). Where such proof is forthcoming, the husband is entitled to a judgment compelling his wife to accept a divorce (Sh. Ar. loc. cit. and commentators; *Rema* EH 115:4; PDR 1:51, 54; 2:125–8). If it is proved that the wife has committed adultery, of her own free will, she becomes prohibited to her husband and she will be unable to raise a plea of condonation on her husband's part, since there can be no consent to do what is prohibited by the law (Sot. 18b and 27b; Ket. 9a and codes; PDR 1:13). The wife can be compelled to accept a *get* against her will since she is not protected by the *Ḥerem de-Rabbenu Gershom* in this case. By virtue of the said prohibition, the wife herself may claim a divorce if her husband refrains from instituting action against her since he does not have the right to render her an *agunah*, because on the one hand he is prohibited from living with her and on the other she may not marry another man until divorced from her husband (*Oẓar ha-Posekim* EH 11, n. 1–54; PDR 5:154, 156); however, this is disputed by some authorities (PDR *ibid.*). In this case too the evidence of two witnesses is essential in terms of the rule that "in matters of incest (*ervah*) there cannot be less than two [witnesses]" (Yev. 24b; Kid. 66a; and codes). Thus, generally speaking, her confession alone will not suffice because of the suspicion that she has "set her eyes on another man" (Yev, 24b; Kid. 66a; PDR 3:260), nor will the evidence of one witness only, unless her husband states that he believes her or the single witness as he would two witnesses, and provided the court too is satisfied of the truth of the matter (Kid. 66a and codes). In this event the court will oblige but not compel the parties to divorce each other (Maim. loc. cit.; Sh. Ar. loc. cit.; PDR 4:160). A divorce on the grounds of adultery precludes the wife from remarrying her former husband – to whom she is prohibited by Pentateuchal law – and from marrying the man with whom she committed adultery – to whom she is prohibited by rabbinical law (Sot. 27b and codes). Moreover, she forfeits her *ketubbah* (Ned. 90b; Sh. Ar., EH 115:5). In cases of rape, the wife does not become prohibited to her husband unless he is a kohen (Yev. 56b and codes; see *Priest), nor does she lose her *ketubbah* (Ned. 91a and codes).

Divorce in the Case of a Prohibited Marriage

The court will always compel a divorce at the instance of either party to a prohibited marriage of the sort in which the marriage is valid when performed (see *Marriages, Prohibited), regardless of whether or not they had knowledge of the prohibition, as a matter of law or fact, and regardless of their continued cohabitation after becoming aware of the prohibition (Ket. 77a; Git. 88b; and codes).

The Will of Parties

THE HUSBAND. To be valid, a *get* must be given by the husband of his own free will and is therefore invalid if given while he is of unsound mind, or under duress contrary to law (Yev. 112b; Git. 67b, 88b; and codes). "Contrary to law" in this context means the exercise of compulsion against him when it is not permitted in any way by law, or its exercise in an invalid manner; for instance, if he gives the *get* in order to escape a payment imposed on him contrary to law, even by judgment of the court. Such a case may be when he is ordered to pay maintenance to his wife or children without being at all liable for this, or when he is ordered to pay an excessive amount (PDR 2:9–14). However, if the law specifically authorizes that he be compelled to give a *get* – as in the cases mentioned above – or if he is lawfully obliged to make a payment to his wife – e.g., when ordered to pay interim maintenance in an amount due to his wife pending the grant of a *get* and he has the option of escaping this obligation by granting the *get* – then the *get* will not be considered to have been given by him under unlawful duress, since his own prior refusal to give it was contrary to law (Yad, Gerushin 2:20; BB 48a; Sh. Ar., EH 134:5). In order to obviate any suspicion that the *get* may have been given under duress contrary to law, it is customary, before the *get* is written and before delivery therefore, for the husband to annul all *moda'ot*, i.e., declarations made by him before others in which he purported to have been compelled to give a *get* (*Beit Yosef* EH 134:1; Sh. Ar., EH 134:1–3).

THE WIFE. There must be free will on the part of the wife also to receive the *get* as laid down in the *Ḥerem de-Rabbenu Gershom*, in order to maintain the prohibition against polygamy (see *Bigamy) lest the husband circumvent the prohibition by divorcing his wife against her will and thus become free to take another wife. The wife was therefore given a right similar to that of the husband and cannot be divorced except with her consent (Resp. Rosh 42:1; *Rema* EH 119:2). This applies even in those communities which did not accept the said *ḥerem* against polygamy (cf. *Oẓar ha-Posekim* 1, n. 68, 12). Already according to talmudic law, it was forbidden to divorce a woman who had become of unsound mind, even though it was not prohibited to divorce a wife against her will. If her condition is such that she is "unable to look after her bill of divorcement," the latter will be invalid according to biblical law since it is enjoined that "he shall give it in her hand" (Deut. 24:1) and such a woman has no "hand" in the legal sense (Yev. 113b and codes). Where she "knows how to look after her *get*" even though she "does not know how to look after herself," she still cannot be divorced, but in this case by rabbinical enactment, lest advantage be taken of her and the husband will remain liable for all pecuniary obligations to her even if he should take another wife (*ibid.*). This is all the more so in terms of the aforesaid *ḥerem*, since in both cases the wife is incapable of receiving the *get* of her free will. Whereas talmudic law did not require the husband to obtain permission of the court before taking another wife, the *ḥerem* had the effect of prohibiting the husband from doing so, save with the permission of 100 rabbis. (On the question of the first wife's legal status after the grant of permission as aforesaid, see *Bigamy.)

Execution of the Divorce

Divorce is carried into effect by the bill of divorcement being written, signed, and delivered by the husband to his wife. It is written by a scribe upon the husband's instruction to write "for him, for her, and for the purpose of a divorce." The materials used in the writing must belong to the husband and the scribe formally presents them as an outright gift to the husband before writing the *get.* The strictest care must be taken with the formula of the *get*, most of it in Aramaic, and the text is, with minor differences, according to the wording given in the Talmud. To obviate errors, it is still the practice at the present day to write the bill in Aramaic, although writing in any other language is theoretically permissible (Git. 19b, 87b and codes; on the rules of writing a *get*, its form and language, and the effect of variations therein, see Sh. Ar., EH 120ff.; for the version customary in Ereẓ Israel, see ET, 5 (1953), 656; see also Yad, Gerushin 4:12; Sh. Ar., EH *"Seder ha-Get"* following n. 154). The following is a translation of an Ashkenazi *get*, according to the general usage in the Diaspora:

> On the … day of the week, the … day of the month of …, in the year … from the creation of the world according to the calendar reckoning we are accustomed to count here, in the city … (which is also known as …), which is located on the river … (and on the river …), and situated near wells of water, I, … (also known as …), the son of … (also known as …), who today am present in the city … (which is also known as …), which is located on the river … (and on the river …), and situated near wells of water, do willingly consent, being under no restraint, to release, to set free, and put aside thee, my wife, … (also known as …), daughter of … (also known as …), who art today in the city of … (which is also known as …), which is located on the river … (and on the river …), and situated near wells of water, who has been my wife from before. Thus do I set free, release thee, and put thee aside, in order that thou may have permission and the authority over thyself to go and marry any man thou may desire. No person may hinder thee from this day onward, and thou art permitted to every man. This shall be for thee from me a bill of dismissal, a letter of release, and a document of freedom, in accordance with the laws of Moses and Israel. … the son of …, witness. … the son of …, witness.

The bill of divorcement is composed of the *tofes*, i.e., the formula common to all such bills, and the *toref*, i.e., the specific part containing the details of the particular case, concluding with the declaration that the woman is henceforth permitted to any man. Care must be taken to write the correct date on which the bill is written, signed, and delivered, otherwise it can be invalidated as a bill which is "anticipatory" or "in arrear" of the true date of its writing or signature or delivery (Sh. Ar., EH 127). The husband should also be careful to avoid sexual relations with his wife between the time of writing and delivery of the bill since such a bill, called an "antiquated" one (*get yashan*), although valid in the final instance, may not be used in the first instance (Git. 79b; Sh. Ar., EH 148:1). Once the witnesses sign the *get*, it is delivered by the husband to his wife in the presence of "witnesses to the delivery" (generally the same witnesses as sign; Sh. Ar., EH 133:1). Delivery of the *get* in accordance with the regulations renders the wife divorced from her husband and free to marry any man save those to whom she is prohibited by law, e.g., a kohen or paramour (see *Marriages, Prohibited). It is customary that after the wife has received the *get* she gives it to the court, who presents her with a document stating that she has been divorced according to law. The court then tears the *get* in order to avoid any later suspicion that it was not absolutely legal and files it away in its torn state (*Beit Shemu'el* 135:2; Sh. Ar., EH 154 (*Seder ha-Get*), ch. 6; *Sedei Ḥemed, Asefat Dinim*, *Get* 1:23). The rules pertaining to the writing, signing, and delivery of a *get* are very formal and exact in order to avoid mistakes or a wrongful exploitation of the *get*, and they must therefore be stringently observed. (The exact details are to be found in Sh. Ar., EH 124–39.) As a result it was laid down that "no one who is unfamiliar with the nature of divorce (and marriage) may deal with them" (Kid. 13a). The Mishnah mentions a particular form of *get* which was customary in the case of kohanim, who were regarded as pedantic and hot-tempered and therefore likely to be hasty in divorcing their wives. This form of *get* – called a "folded" or "knotted" one as opposed to a "plain" *get* – consisted of a series of folds, each of which (called a *kesher*) was stitched and required the signature of three witnesses (two in the case of a "plain" *get*) who signed on the reverse side and not on the face, between each fold. All this was done to draw out the writing and signing of the *get* so that the husband might reconsider and become reconciled with his wife (BB 160ff.). The "folded" *get* was customary in ancient times only and the rules pertaining to it are omitted from most of the codes (e.g., Maim., Tur, Sh. Ar.).

Agency in Divorce

Although divorce in Jewish law is the personal act of the husband and wife, their presence in person is not a necessary requirement for its execution. Delivery and receipt of the bill of divorcement, like any regular legal act, may be effected through an agent in terms of the rule that "a man's agent is as himself" (see *Agency; Git. 62b and codes). Appointment of the agent is made before the court by way of a power of attorney (*harsha'ah*), i.e., a written document very carefully and formally prepared to include all the relevant details, in which the agent is empowered to delegate his authority to another, and the latter to another in turn, etc. (Sh. Ar., EH 140:3; 141:29–30). An agent appointed by the husband for the purpose of delivering the *get* to his wife is called "the agent of delivery" and the *get* takes effect only upon delivery thereof by the husband or his agent to the wife or her agent, the latter called "the agent of receipt" (Sh. Ar., *ibid.*). In the latter case the fact that the wife may not know exactly when the *get* takes effect is likely to result in complications and doubts and it has not therefore been customary to resort to agency of this kind (*Rema* EH 141:29). The wife may also appoint a "delivery" agent – i.e., to deliver the *get* to her (and not to receive it on her behalf) after receiving it from the husband or his agent – in such manner that she will become divorced only upon delivery thereof to herself. The latter agent is not an "agent of receipt" and is subject to the same rules as is an "agent of delivery" (Sh. Ar., EH 140:5). The rules of agency in divorce are of practical importance in cases where the parties live in different countries and wish to avoid the expense involved in the grant and delivery of a *get* in the presence of each other, or where they do not wish to confront one another. The same applies when one of the parties is an apostate. In these cases the husband is enabled to divorce his wife by way of "conferring" the *get* on her (*get zikkui*), i.e., by delivery thereof to an agent appointed by the court, the divorce taking effect upon the agent's receipt of the *get*. (According to some of the *posekim* the *get* must thereafter be delivered to the wife herself so as to avoid doubt.) This *halakhah*, that the court can appoint an agent for the wife without her explicit consent or knowledge, is based on the rule that "a benefit may be conferred on a person in his absence" (Yev. 118b; see *Agency), on the following reasoning: if the husband becomes an apostate, it is presumed that the Jewish woman will always prefer living as a divorcée to living with an apostate; if the wife becomes an apostate, it can only be to her advantage if she no longer remains tied to her Jewish husband and will thus no longer be liable if she cohabits with another (see *Rema* EH 1:10 and 140:4; *Oẓar ha-Posekim* EH 1, n. 81, 1–9).

Conditional *Get*

A *get* may be written and delivered conditionally, that is so as not to take effect except on fulfillment of a stipulated condition, e.g., if the husband should fail to return to his wife within a specified period or that no word from, or concerning him, shall be forthcoming until then. The condition must not contradict the basic nature of divorce, i.e., the absolute severance of the marriage relationship between the husband and wife. To have validity it is necessary that all the complicated laws pertaining to *conditions be observed at the time of its imposition. Similarly, it must later be carefully investigated whether all the facts required to establish fulfillment of the condition have been adequately proved, since there is at stake the random divorce of a married woman. The doubts and complications attaching to a conditional *get* are likely to be particularly severe in the light of a rabbinical enactment to the effect that a plea of accident (*force majeure*, see **Ones*) does not avail in divorce. Thus, contrary to the general rule that a person is not responsible for his act or omission resulting from accident, the husband cannot plead that the condition to which the validity of the *get* was subject was fulfilled only on account of accident – such as his failure to return in time due to an unforeseeable disruption of the means of transportation (Ket. 2b, 3a; Sh. Ar., EH 144:1; see also **Takkanot*). Hence in general the practice is not to permit a conditional *get* save in exceptional cases, and then the above-mentioned laws may be of great practical importance, e.g., in times of persecution or war when there is separation between husband and wife and the danger of her becoming an *agunah*. In such cases the practice is sometimes adopted of granting a *get* on condition, e.g., if the husband should fail to return from the war by a certain date the *get* shall be deemed to be effective, and the wife divorced and free to remarry without need for a levirate marriage or *ḥaliẓah*. Upon fulfillment of the condition, the *get* will take effect either immediately or retroactively to the time of its imposition, according to the terms thereof, and provided that everything had been done in strict conformity with all the requirements of the law (Sh. Ar., EH 143, 144, 147; see also **Agunah*, *Levirate Marriage). This aim may also be achieved by the conditional appointment of an agent, e.g., the appointment by the husband, before going to war, of an agent given written authority to write a *get* in his (the husband's) name and to deliver such to his wife, on condition that the power of attorney is not acted upon unless the husband should fail to return home within a stated period (Sh. Ar., EH 144:5, 6). The court itself may be thus appointed and may in turn, in terms of authority generally granted in the power of attorney, delegate its authority to a third party. A deathbed divorce (see *Wills) is also a conditional *get*, i.e., one given by a husband on his deathbed so as to free his wife from the requirement of a levirate marriage or *ḥaliẓah.* In practice such a *get* will also have no validity except if the husband dies, whereupon it will take effect retroactively from the date of its delivery (see Sh. Ar., EH 145).

Consequences of Divorce

Upon divorce, the parties are generally free to remarry as they please save as prohibited by law. The wife becomes entitled to the return of her own property from the husband, in accordance with the rules of law pertaining to the husband's liability therefor (see *Dowry). She is similarly entitled to payment of her *ketubbah* and dowry, save where she forfeits her *ketubbah*, e.g., because of her adultery. Divorce terminates the husband's legal obligation to maintain his wife, since this duty is imposed only during the subsistence of the marriage (Sh. Ar., EH 82:6). For charitable reasons, however, it is considered a *mitzvah* to sustain one's divorced wife more extensively than the poor at large (*Rema* EH 119:8). Upon divorce the parties are not permitted to continue their joint occupation of the former common dwelling, lest this lead to promiscuity (Sh. Ar., EH 6:7; 119:7, 11). If the dwelling belonged to one of them, whether owned or hired, it must be vacated by the other party and if it belonged to both it must be vacated by the wife (*ibid.*), as "the husband has greater difficulty in moving about than the wife" (Ket. 28a); although sometimes the courts, in order to settle financial matters between the parties, or in awarding compensation to the wife, will decide that the dwelling remain in her hands (see e.g., OPD, 158, 163 no. 6). If the divorced parties nevertheless continue to jointly occupy the dwelling, or later return thereto – as testified to by witnesses – they will be presumed to have cohabited together as husband and wife for the sake of a marriage constituted by their sexual intercourse (*kiddushei bi'ah:* see *Marriage). This follows from the rule that "a man does not have intercourse for the sake of promiscuity if he is able to do so in fulfillment of a precept," i.e., it will not be presumed that the parties wished to transgress since they were lawfully in a position to marry each other (Yad, Gerushin 10:17; Sh. Ar., EH 149:1). Hence they will be required to divorce each other once again if they should wish to marry third parties, i.e., a "*get* out of stringency" (*get mi-ḥumra*) at least and possibly even out of an undoubted *kiddushin* between them (Sh. Ar., EH 149:1, 2; PDR 7:35). If the wife marries another man without having first obtained a second *get* as aforesaid, this marriage will accordingly require dissolution, since she is regarded as being the wife of the first husband (Sh. Ar., loc. cit.; *Beit Shemu'el* thereto, n. 4). Since the aforesaid presumption is founded on the premise that the parties were in a position to be lawfully wedded, it will not apply in the reverse situation, e.g., in the case of a kohen who is prohibited from remarrying his divorced wife, or when the wife has meanwhile become the widow of or divorced from another husband, or if the husband has meanwhile taken another wife and hence become prohibited by the *ḥerem* from being married at the same time to another, i.e., his former wife. Consequently, according to some of the codes, no second *get* will be required in all the above cases (*Beit Shemu'el* loc. cit.; PDR loc. cit.).

IN THE STATE OF ISRAEL

In terms of the Rabbinical Courts Jurisdiction (Marriage and Divorce) Law, 5713–1953, matters of marriage and divorce between Jews, citizens or residents of the state, fall within the exclusive jurisdiction of the rabbinical courts, which jurisdiction extends to any matter connected with the suit for divorce, including maintenance for the wife and for the children of the couple (sec. 3(1)). Divorce for Jews is performed in accordance with Jewish law (sec. 2). In applying the *halakhah* the rabbinical courts have introduced an important innovation, namely the award of monetary compensation to a wife who is being divorced; this is done even when the divorce is not specifically attributable to the fault of the husband, but the court, after close scrutiny of all the facts, is persuaded that the situation prevailing between the parties does not, objectively speaking, allow for the continuation of their marriage. In this event, the court, upon the husband's demand that his wife be obliged to accept a *get*, will customarily oblige the former to pay a monetary or equivalent compensation to his wife – in addition to her *ketubbah* – in return for her willingness to accept the *get* (OPD 51–55; PDR 1:137). The extent of the compensation is determined by the court, having regard to all the circumstances, including the financial position of the parties and their respective contributions to the state of their assets.

[Ben-Zion (Benno) Schereschewsky]

ENFORCEMENT. The legal position in Israel regarding the enforcement of divorce may be divided into two periods, the first extending from 1953 to 1995, and the second from 1995 onwards.

The Legal Position from 1953. The Rabbinical Courts Jurisdiction (Marriage and Divorce) Law, 5713 – 1953 established the following procedure for enforcement of a judgment compelling the husband to grant a get to his wife, or compelling the wife to accept a *get* from her husband: "Where a rabbinical court, by final judgment, has ordered that a husband be compelled to grant his wife a *get*, or that a wife be compelled to accept a *get* from her husband, a district court may, upon expiration of six months from the day of the making of the order, on the application of the Attorney General, compel compliance with the order by imprisonment (sec. 6 of the Jurisdiction Law)."

This Law enumerates the following preconditions for imprisonment as a means of compelling the husband to grant a divorce: (a) the rabbinical court judgment ordering a compulsory *get* is a final one; where an appeal against the judgment is pending, it cannot be enforced; (b) the authority is granted exclusively where the judgment *compels* the giving of the *get*, and not where the ruling is that there is an *obligation* to give a *get* (HC 822/88 *Rozensweig Borochov v. Attorney General*, 42 (4) PD 759, 760); (c) six months have passed since the final judgment was given, and the *get* has not been given; (d) after that period, the Attorney General, and not the spouse, is authorized (at his own discretion – see HC 85/54 *Zada v. Attorney General*, 8 PD 738) to apply to the district court, requesting it to enforce compliance with the judgment, by way of imprisonment. The district court, and on appeal the Supreme Court, is the only legal instance empowered to compel the giving or receiving of a *get* by imprisonment of the spouse who refuses to comply with the judgment of the rabbinical court. The Law does not stipulate the length of the period, nor is it of fixed duration. The imprisonment terminates upon the granting of the *get*. In one case, the recalcitrant husband remained in prison for a number of decades until he died (CA 164/67 *Attorney General v. Yichhieh & Ora Avraham*, 22 (1) PD 29).

The power to determine whether there is a need to compel the granting of a *get* in a particular case is vested exclusively in the local rabbinical court, and in the Supreme Rabbinical Court, as an instance of appeal (see entries on **Bet Din* and *Appeal). The Jurisdiction Law of 1953 established a mechanism for dual civil supervision over the compulsion of a *get*: (a) the initiative was neither of the spouse nor of the rabbinical court, but rather of the Attorney General; (b) the judicial instance that actually decided on the imprisonment of the recalcitrant spouse was the civil instance (the district court) and not the rabbinical court. According to the decision of the Supreme Court sitting as the High Court of Justice, the rabbinical court was not permitted to circumvent this supervisory mechanism by way of "intimidatory maintenance" (excessively high maintenance payments as a way of pressuring the husband into granting a *get*). This is because the legislation explicitly provided that the only way of enforcing judgments to compel the granting of a *get* is by way of an application made by the Attorney General, followed by a decision of the civil court. It follows therefore that this power was not conferred on the rabbinical court. An attempt on the part of the rabbinical court to procure the compulsion of a *get* by way of "maintenance and intimidation" would be overstepping its authority, and its ruling would be annulled by the High Court of Justice (see: HC 54/55 *Rozensweig v. Head of Execution*, 9 PD 1542., per Silberg J.)

The Legal Position since 1995. About 40 years after the enactment of the Jurisdiction Law of 1953 – and in view of the surfeit of unresolved *agunah* cases as a result of the complex mechanism described above – the Knesset pioneered a solution to the problem by the enactment of a special law to deal with enforcement of divorce judgments: The Rabbinical Courts Law (Upholding Divorce Rulings) (Temporary Provision), 5755–1995 (see **Agunah* for a brief description of this Law).

The Law was initially enacted as a temporary provision, but after a few years it became a permanent law. Over the years a number of additions and amendments were introduced in the wake of the lessons derived from its implementation.

The Law introduces the following innovations, in contrast with the situation that had existed since 1953: (1) the rabbinical court judgment need not be final (as in the 1953 law); even if the judgment can be appealed, the provisions of the 1995 Law apply; (2) the power to compel the granting of a *get* under the 1995 Law is not limited specifically to cases in which judgment was given for the compulsion of a *get* (as in the 1953 Law). Hence, section 1 of the 1995 Law provides: "For purposes of this section, it is immaterial if the judgment used the wording of compulsion, obligation, *mitzvah* (positive precept), suggestion or any other wording"; (3) moreover, the 1995 Law can be invoked 30 days after judgment is given for granting the *get*, and there is no need to wait six months, as was the situation under the 1953 Law; (4) the authority to compel the spouse to comply with the divorce judgment no longer rests with the civil authorities (the Attorney General and the district court) as under the 1953 Law; this authority has been conferred on the rabbinical court; (5) the procedure itself is initiated by the spouse, who is no longer dependent on the Attorney General's application to the district court; (6) the rabbinical court is permitted, at its own initiative, to impose or to amend restrictive orders; (7) under the 1995 Law, the period of coercive imprisonment cannot exceed five years, but, if necessary for the purpose of fulfilling the judgment, the rabbinical court is permitted to extend this period from time to time, provided that the total period of imprisonment does not exceed ten years (under the 1953 Law the imprisonment period was unlimited).

Another innovation of the 1995 Law was the establishment of a hierarchy of sanctions, collectively known as "restrictive orders," which the rabbinical court is authorized to impose on the recalcitrant husband (see **Agunah* for a specification of the restrictive orders).

Regarding criminal inmates who refuse to give or accept a *get*, the Law establishes special provisions within the framework of restrictive orders, which include the denial of benefits generally granted to inmates, such as: receiving furloughs, sending letters, receiving visitors, work in prison, and the like. Similarly, the rabbinical court is authorized to issue an order stating that an inmate of this ilk will not be released on parole, or will not be entitled to an administrative release.

The aforementioned restrictive orders of the 1995 Law are a modern application of the *harḥakot* (sanctions) of Rabbenu Tam, which allow the ostracizing of husbands who refuse to grant a *get* by prohibiting all social contact with them (SHEZ 154:211 *Rema,* and see in further detail **Agunah*). Indeed, the rabbinical courts have not regarded themselves as being limited to the specific restrictive orders enumerated in the 1995 Law, and in appropriate cases they added social-religious sanctions, such as not including the recalcitrant husband in a *minyan,* not giving him an *aliyah* to the Torah, prohibiting his burial in a Jewish cemetery, publicizing the entire matter, etc.

However, the most important and primary sanction established by the 1995 Law is the authority of the rabbinical court to imprison a person who refuses to comply with the divorce judgment. This imprisonment has proven to be particularly effective, and there have been quite a few cases in which the recalcitrant husband gave a *get* after just a short period in prison by order of the rabbinical court.

A special problem arises when the reluctant husband is in prison, serving a sentence for a criminal offense. How does one wield the imprisonment sanction against this kind of prisoner in order to compel him to give a *get* to his wife? The Law stipulates that, in such a case, service of the criminal sentence is discontinued, and from the date of the rabbinical court's order, the sentence being served by the inmate is regarded as being for his failure to give a *get*. After having given the *get*, he resumes the service of his criminal sentence (see section 47 of the Penal Law, 5737–1977).

Regarding inmates serving a sentence for a criminal offense, there may be cases in which the rabbinical court deems that imprisonment for compulsion of the *get* is not effective. In such cases, under section 3A of the 1995 Law, it is empowered to order that the inmate be held in solitary confinement for short, 14-day periods, and thereafter for seven-day periods, with intervals of seven days.

The rabbinical court has particularly broad discretionary powers under the 1995 Law. The Supreme Rabbinical Court supervises the rabbinical courts' implementation of the Laws by way of its power to stay execution of a restrictive order and within the framework of an appeal. This supervisory power applies both to restrictive orders and to the imprisonment that can be imposed on the husband refusing to give a *get.*

When recalcitrant husbands refusing to give a *get* petitioned the High Court of Justice, claiming that the imprisonment order issued by the rabbinical court violated their constitutional rights, their petitions were dismissed by dint of this brief and incisive argument: "The petitioner holds the key to his release from prison; when he gives the *get* to his wife, he will go free" (HC 3068/96 *Goldshmidt v. Goldshmidt and the Supreme Rabbinical Court*; HC 631/97 *Even Tzur v. Supreme Rabbinical Court*).

Originally, the 1995 Law regulated the manner of enforcing the *get* in cases where the *husband* is the party obliged to give the *get*. But the Law was amended shortly after its enactment, prescribing slightly different provisions for cases in which the *wife* refuses to accept a *get* from her husband. While the nature of the sanctions against the husband or the wife is essentially the same, with respect to their imposition on women, sections 1(c), (e), and (f) of the Law place the following two limitations: the first is the requirement of the advance approval of the president of the Supreme Rabbinical Court; the second is that, if restrictive orders against the wife have already been issued, the husband's application for permission to marry will not be adjudicated until three years have passed since the restrictive order was given.

It should be mentioned that the provisions of the 1995 Law do not detract from the provisions of the 1953 Law, and it is possible to enforce a divorce under either one of the two laws. However, in view of the effectiveness of the new law, since its enactment in 1995 it has been used exclusively, and the 1953 law is no longer applied.

Great importance is attached to the 1995 Law and the sanctions that have been imposed by rabbinical courts for enforcement of divorce judgments, and they have led to a significant reduction in the number of *agunot* in Israel. The rabbinical courts also relied upon the existence of enforcement measures in Israel as a justification for extending their jurisdiction to include Jewish couples with a limited connection to Israel, especially in cases in which they were civilly divorced abroad, and the woman requires a *get* according to the *halakhah* in order to be able to remarry (see judgments of the Supreme Rabbinical Court, *Appelbaum v. Appelbaum*, File 1239–53–1, and *Anon. v. Anon.*, judgment from 30.6.04). The latter judgment was adjudicated in HC 6751/04 *Sabag v. Supreme Rabbinical Court*. The majority view (Justices Procaccia and Adiel) was that the rabbinical courts in Israel do not have jurisdiction to adjudicate these cases. The minority view (Justice Rubinstein) was that the rabbinical court is competent to adjudicate the maintenance payments for a wife who is prevented from marrying due to the husband, even when the spouses are foreign residents, but Jewish. It should be noted that the Law was amended in 2005, and subject to a number of conditions stipulated in the amended Law, the Israeli Rabbinical Court now has jurisdiction over Jewish couples that were married abroad in accordance with *din torah*, and the 1995 Law applies to those couples as well (see in detail in the entry *Bet Din).

The aforementioned Knesset legislation of 1995 therefore makes an important contribution towards the resolution of the problem of the *agunah*, but the solution it provides is partial only, and the entire subject of the *agunah* still awaits an appropriate and desirable solution. The appropriate path for a comprehensive solution of the *agunah* problem is discussed in detail under **Agunah*.

In other dimensions too, the Israeli legal system operates in order to enforce the divorce and prevent a situation of *agunah*. For example, Elon opined that extradition abroad of a person suspected of murder could be delayed for at least one year in order to enable the rabbinical court to process the divorce of the parties involved, and thus prevent a situation in which the wife of the candidate for extradition would become an *agunah*; see HC 852/86 *Aloni v. Minister of Justice*, 41 (2) PD 1, 70 onwards (see 9 *Teḥumin*, 63 for the judgment of the rabbinical court).

There is now a new method for assisting in the enforcement of divorce judgments of the rabbinical courts if the wife receives a judgment obligating the husband to divorce her, and the husband refuses to comply: in such a case, the wife can sue him for the damage caused to her. In a recent ruling, the Jerusalem Family Court awarded damages in a case of this kind, basing itself on the general rules of negligence. The court ruled that the husband's failure to comply with the rabbinical cCourt's ruling, ordering him to give his wife a *get*, constituted a grave violation of the wife's autonomy and her right to self-realization. It violated her dignity and her freedom, causing her emotional damage by sentencing her to a life of loneliness, lack of partnership, intimacy, and sexual relations with a member of the other sex (FF 19270/03 *Anon. v. Anon.*: given by Judge Menahem Hacohen on 24.12.04).

[Moshe Drori (2nd ed.)]

STATISTICS

Europe

In 1897, the Russian Jews in the Pale of Settlement had a much higher divorce rate than other religious or ethnic groups. Jewish men in the relatively large cities had, on the average, 5.4 divorces per 1,000 males, while the others had only 2.2 per 1,000. In the case of the females the index was 19.1 and 5.4 respectively. Those who lived in smaller communities or rural places had a smaller percentage of divorces. It thus appears that the Jewish population had a much higher divorce rate than non-Jews. In both instances there was a larger percentage of divorces among the women than the men (since women are less likely to remarry) and those who lived in large cities had a higher divorce rate than their coreligionists in towns and rural communities. European Jewish communities witnessed in the years before World War I an upward trend in their divorce rate. One-eighth of those who were divorced or separated in Austria in the years 1882–89 were Jewish, but in the decade 1890–99 they constituted 15.8%, falling to 9.7% in the years 1900–12. Since in Austria the Jews formed only 4.8% of the population in 1890 and 4.6% in 1910, divorce was more prevalent among them than among other religious groups, many of whom were Roman Catholics. However, during this period, relating the number of divorces and separations to the number of marriages, the Jews had a lower rate of increase in divorces than others. The same was true of Prussia where during the same period the Jewish divorce rate continued to rise, but not as fast as the one of non-Jews. This suggests that the attitude of non-Jews to divorce was changing, and once this had occurred their divorce rate began to increase more rapidly than that of the Jews. The divorce rate of European Jews increased considerably in the years between World War I and World War II. The index of divorces per 1,000 living spouses of Jewish males in Polish cities increased from 2.8 in 1921 to 6.8 in 1931, while that of non-Jews in the same towns was 3.5 and 7.9. In the case of the females, the increases were from 9.6 to 17.3 and from 6.9 to 14.8 respectively. As in the case of Russia, the males had a relatively smaller number of divorces than the females, partly because of the difference in their remarriage rates. Because most of them were Roman Catholics, for whom remarriage was almost impossible, the non-Jewish males had a larger percentage of divorces than the Jewish group. Jewish women had a higher index of divorces because of the anti-divorce attitude of the Catholic Church. The Hungarian Jewish community, which had in 1930 a population of approximately 445,000, had a higher index of divorces than the Polish Jews and a larger increase in the decade 1920 to 1930. Urban Jews had a higher index than those in other localities; the Budapest community, for instance, had the largest percentage of divorces. The Jews in Czechoslovakia had a lower index of divorces than their coreligionists in Hungary. This may have been partly due to the fact that one-twelfth of the Czechoslovakian Jews were engaged in agriculture while only 2.7 were similarly employed in Hungary. German-born Jews in Prussia had in 1925 a larger percentage of divorces than their immigrant brethren. The index of divorces of the former was 14.0 for the males and 29.3 for the females; in the case of the immigrants the indices were 13.5 and 18.8 respectively. The differences were even more pronounced in Berlin, where the German-born males had an index of 24.8 and the females of 47.2 whereas the others had indices of only 18.8 and 23.4 respectively.

British Commonwealth

In Australia, where the number of divorces increased between 1911 and 1954, the male index rising from 7 to 38 and the female from 11.5 to 48.7, the Christians had in 1954 about the same percentage of divorces as the Jews. Canada had in 1931 a very small percentage of divorces, partly because those who had been separated from their spouses were not reported as such. Moreover, adultery was officially the only ground for divorce. The 1941 census report, however, had data on divorce and separation according to ethnic origin in cities with at least 30,000 inhabitants. Taking Montreal, Toronto, and Winnipeg, the three largest Jewish communities, the results were: the index for Jewish males was 14.8 and for Jewish females 24.8, while for the other males and females it was 26.3 and 40.7 respectively. The differences are mainly due to the fact that Jews have a low separation index.

Muslim Lands

Muslims usually have a large percentage of divorces. The Jews in Egypt had a much lower index of divorces than the Muslims. In and around Alexandria and Cairo, the index of divorces of the Muslim males in 1927 was 44.9 and that of the Jews 12.7; the corresponding female indices were 64.1 and 25.6. The Christians had about half as many divorces as the Jews. Twenty years later, the index of the Muslim males had dropped to 26.5 and that of the females to 49.7, while the Jewish indices had increased to 15.1 and 27.0. In 1951 in Morocco Jewish males had a relatively smaller number of divorces than Muslims, the indices being 14.4 and 22.6. However the female index of 57.6 was higher than that of Muslim females.

The U.S.

As far as the United States is concerned, it is difficult to assess the divorce rates of any of its religious or ethnic groups since the agencies which collect data on marriage and divorce do not use such classifications. Nor does the Bureau of the Census report the marital status of the population according to religious or ethnic origin. The only sources of information are surveys of Jewish communities or samples of the population in which Jews are included. As few attempts have been made to survey very large communities and some of the investigators do not use standard definitions or classifications, the results of these surveys and studies are suggestive rather than conclusive. Though the so-called family crisis at the beginning of the period of mass immigration was probably neither very serious nor of long duration, Jewish social agencies became very much interested in the family life of the immigrant. Studies made in the early 20th century showed that desertion was not as prevalent among Jews as among other ethnic and religious groups. An analysis of the Chicago Court of Domestic Relations in 1921 demonstrated that only 10.4% of the deserters whose religion was the same as their wives were Jewish. In 1929–35, when about one-tenth of Chicago's population was Jewish, only 5.5% of the non-support cases were Jewish couples, with those of Jewish origin whose spouses were not Jewish accounting for another 0.7%. In Philadelphia in the years 1937 to 1950, when Jews constituted about 16% of the white population, they accounted for 11.8% of the white couples who were divorced. Baltimore Jews also had low desertion and divorce rates. In 1936 and 1938, when at least one-tenth of the white population was Jewish, they formed only 5.3% of the white deserters. Similarly in the Detroit Jewish community broken homes were less prevalent than in other religious groups there. According to a metropolitan survey in 1958 only 4% of the Jewish respondents who had ever married reported that they had been divorced, as compared with 8% of the Catholics and 16% of the Protestants. However, a study made in 1955 reported that the Jews in several cities had a higher divorce and desertion rate than Protestants. Taken on the whole, these results show that divorce, separation, and desertion were less prevalent among American Jews than others, and surveys of Jewish communities made since 1946 showed that they have a relatively smaller number of broken homes than the rest of the white population. Divorce was more prevalent among those whose spouses are not Jewish than when both of them are of Jewish origin. (The above statistics are quoted by N. Goldberg in *Jews and Divorce* (see bibl.)). In more recent times Jewish divorce rates have followed the upward trend in the United States as a whole.

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DIWAN, JUDAH BEN AMRAM (d. c. 1752), emissary of the communities in Ereẓ Israel to the Diaspora. He resided first in *Jerusalem and later in *Safed. In 1708, he was sent as a representative of Safed to *Iraq and *Persia. Upon his return, he was sent by the community of *Hebron on a mission to the same countries. In the course of this mission he preached in the communities of *Aleppo, *Hamadan, and *Tabriz, and issued responsa in *Baghdad and Hamadan. On his return journey, he learned of the financial pressure Arab creditors were exerting on the Jewish community in Jerusalem. He interrupted his trip and remained in Aleppo for some time where he lost his money in an unsuccessful business enterprise. Having heard that the leaders of the Constantinople community had arranged to settle the debts incurred by the Jerusalem community, Diwan went to Constantinople. There, in 1728, he printed his book *Zivḥei Shelamim* on the laws of *sheḥitah*. He then went on a further mission to several Oriental countries to collect contributions for Jerusalem. On his return, some of the wealthy members of the Constantinople community founded a yeshivah for him in Jerusalem, called Neveh Shalom Berit Avraham. In 1736, he was a signatory to the regulations of the community in Jerusalem. He sent the manuscript of his book *Ḥuṭ ha-Meshullash* to Constantinople where it was published in 1739. The book consists of sermons delivered and responsa issued while on his missions. The introduction includes an autobiography and the description of his three journeys. There are extant a number of *haskamot* ("declarations of approval") to books signed by Diwan.

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[Avraham Yaari]

DIYALA, province of eastern Iraq, 6,154 sq. mi. (15,754 sq. km.). There were formerly Jewish communities in eleven towns and villages of Diyala. According to the 1947 census, the total Jewish population was 2,850. The capital city, *Ba'quba, was inhabited by Jews as early as the 12th century. In *Khanaqin in 1845 there were twenty Jewish families; in 1932 there were 1,110 Jews, most of whom spoke Arabic, while a minority spoke Jebelic Aramaic. Most of the Khanaqin Jews were employed in the textile and iron trades. Some of them were also perfume and spice dealers. In 1911 a coeducational school was founded by the Alliance Israélite Universelle. The majority of the Jewish population of Diyala immigrated to Israel in 1950–51, while some went to America.

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[Abraham Ben-Yaacob]

DI-ZAHAV (Goldstein), EPHRAIM (1902–1957), *ḥazzan*. Di-Zahav was born in Jerusalem and after completing his basic education studied in London. When he returned to Palestine he became involved in journalism and literature. He was an official of the mandatory government. He graduated in music from the Jerusalem Conservatory, and participated in oratorios and musical performances in Jerusalem. For six years he held the position of cantor in the Jeshurun synagogue in Jerusalem. When the Palestine Broadcasting Service was established in 1936 he was among its first employees. He was responsible for numerous programs for the radio's Hebrew hour, and participated in broadcasts of cantorial music, regularly reading the cantillation. After the establishment of the State of Israel, he continued to participate in the traditional programs on both Kol Israel and the overseas broadcasts, Kol Zion Lagola. He published articles and stories in the Israeli press. Among his works are *Mi-Sippurei ha-Dod Efraim* (Uncle Ephraim's Tales) and *Ẓeror Aggadot* (An Anthology of Fables).

[Akiva Zimmerman (2nd ed.)]

DIZENGOFF, MEIR (1861–1936), a founder and first mayor of *Tel Aviv. Born in Akimovici, near Orgeyev, Bessarabia, he was active in Russian revolutionary circles in his youth, and was arrested in 1885. Later he became active in the Ḥovevei Zion movement. During the late 1880s he studied chemical engineering in France, specializing in glass production. He was sent to Ereẓ Israel in 1892 by Baron Edmond de Rothschild to establish a glass factory at Tantura (Dor) which was to supply bottles for the wines produced in the settlements. However, the factory was closed in 1894 when it became clear that the local sand was unsuitable. During his stay in Ereẓ Israel Dizengoff, together with others, tried to form a Jewish workers' organization. Returning to Russia in 1897, he settled in Odessa, went into business, and became active in the Zionist movement. He participated in Zionist Congresses and was among the opponents of the Uganda Scheme. Dizengoff was a founder of the Geulah Company, formed in 1904 to purchase land in Ereẓ Israel. As director of the company he returned to Ereẓ Israel in 1905 and settled in Jaffa. Dizengoff was one of the founders of the Aḥuzat Bayit Company for establishing a modern Jewish quarter near Jaffa. This quarter, later called Tel Aviv, was founded in 1909. In 1911 Dizengoff was elected head of the local council. Later, when Tel Aviv became a city (1921), Dizengoff was elected its first mayor and, except during 1925–28, served in that capacity until the end of his life. At the outbreak of World War I, Dizengoff headed a committee that assisted war sufferers and refugees. However, the Turkish authorities expelled him to Damascus, where he remained until the conquest of northern Palestine by the British at the end of 1918. In 1919 Dizengoff founded *Ha-Ezraḥ* ("The Citizen"), a first attempt at the political organization of the non-labor middle class. He was a member of the Zionist executive during 1927–29 and ran its trade and industry department. He donated his house on Tel Aviv's Rothschild Boulevard for the establishment of the Tel Aviv Museum in his wife Zina's name. Upon the outbreak of the Arab riots in 1936 Dizengoff urged that government offices be opened in Tel Aviv and succeeded in establishing a separate port at Tel Aviv independent of Jaffa and its port. Dizengoff published his memoirs, *Im Tel Aviv ba-Golah* ("With Tel Aviv in Exile"), in 1931.

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[Yehuda Slutsky]

DJERASSI, CARL (1923–), U.S. chemist. The son of a Bulgarian father and Austrian mother, both Jewish physicians, Djerassi was born in Vienna but immigrated to the U.S. with his mother in 1938 to escape from the Nazis. He was educated at the American College in Sofia and at Newark Junior College, New Jersey, before graduating with a B.A. from Kenyon College, Ohio (1942), and obtaining his Ph.D. in organic chemistry from the University of Wisconsin (1945). After working with the Ciba pharmaceutical company, he moved to Syntex in Mexico City (1949–52) before becoming a professor first at Wayne State University, Detroit, and subsequently at Stanford University (1959). He continued his association with Syntex as vice president for research. Djerassi made major contributions to organic chemistry, including elucidating the structure of complex natural products with innovative optical and spectrometric techniques, characterizing a vast range of sterols encountered in marine sponges and corals, synthesizing many novel steroids, and advancing alkaloid and terpenoid chemistry. As president of Syntex's offshoot company, Zoecon, he was concerned with new approaches to insect control. His best-known achievement is the first synthesis of a female oral contraceptive, "norethisterone." His prodigious scientific output is reported in over 1,200 original articles and seven scientific monographs. His many honors include election to the U.S. National Academy of Sciences (1961), the National Medal of Science (1973), the first Wolf Prize in Chemistry (1978), the National Medal of Technology (1991), the Priestley Medal (1992), and the Gold Medal of the American Institute of Chemists (2004).

Djerassi was deeply involved in scientific programs relevant to less-developed countries; he participated in Pugwash Conferences on Science and World Affairs and chaired the U.S. National Academy of Sciences Board for International Development. He was also concerned with the social and cultural problems of population control. His many other interests include writing fiction, poetry, and plays with a particular concern for the portrayal of scientists in fiction and drama. His well-known works include the plays *An Immaculate Misconception* (1999), *Calculus* (2003), *Ego* (2004) and five novels, two of which (*Menachem's Seed* and *NO*) are set in Israel. His interest in the visual arts inspired the foundation of the Resident Artists Program at Woodside, California, and his collection of Paul Klee's works.

[Michael Denman (2nd ed.)]

DJERBA (**Jerba**), island off the coast of Tunisia. In ancient times it was an important Phoenician trading center. According to the local tradition, the Jewish settlement there is very old. It maintains that the Jews came there during the reign of *Solomon and founded the present al-Ḥāra al-Kabīra (the "Big Quarter"). A family of priests fleeing Jerusalem in the year 70 C.E. is said to have transported one of the Temple gates to Djerba. It is believed to be enclosed in the Bezalel synagogue, known as al-Gharība (the "extraordinary") of the Ḥāra al-Ṣaghīra (the "Small Quarter"), which is situated in the center of the island. The Gharība was a much frequented place of pilgrimage. The Jewish population consisted mainly of *kohanim* (priests) with a small sprinkling of others, although there were no levites among the residents. According to tradition, the absence of levites on the island is the result of a curse against them by *Ezra because they refused to answer his request to send levites to Ereẓ Israel (cf. Ezra 8:15), and they all died. The history of the Jews of Djerba includes three serious persecutions: in the 12th century under the *Almohads; in 1519 under the Spanish; and in 1943 under the Nazis. In 1239 a colony of Jews from Djerba settled in *Sicily, where they obtained concessions to cultivate henna, indigo, and the royal palm groves. It was common for the male Jewish population of Djerba to look for livelihood abroad, but they kept returning to the island, where their families had remained. Exchange of goods with *Malta and *Italy was in the hands of the Jews, who grew the products and processed the commodities for export themselves. *Maimonides, in a letter to his son, expressed a low opinion of their superstitions and spiritual capacity, but praised them for their faith. In the 19th and 20th centuries the yeshivot of Djerba produced many rabbis and writers and they provided rabbis for the communities of North Africa. In 1976, some 300 youngsters received Jewish education. In the early 1990s, the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee provided funding for Jewish education (including a girls' school) with a combined enrollment of 245. David Idan established a Hebrew printing press in Djerba in 1903, and many books, mainly Passover *Hagaddot* and liturgical items, were printed there. In 1946 there were some 4,900 Jews in Djerba, settled in al-Ḥara al-Ṣaghīra, al-Ḥāra al-Kabīra, and Houmt-Souk, the principal town of the island. Their number dwindled to about 1,500 by the late 1960s, about 1,000 in 1976, 800 in 1984, and 670 in 1993, the majority immigrating to Israel and settling in moshavim (many of them on moshav Eitan) or reaching France. Those remaining dealt in jewelry and commerce, but the Jewish neighborhoods lost their purely Jewish character as Muslims moved in and the community was the victim of several anti-Jewish incidents. In October 1980 a Jewish boy was sentenced to five years in prison (but released two months later) for destroying an Islamic religious manual during a 1978 schoolyard scuffle. Following the Israeli invasion of Lebanon in 1982, Jewish homes and shops in Djerba were ransacked and set on fire on Yom Kippur and several Jews were injured. The Tunisian government encourages the annual Lag ba-Omer pilgrimage to al-Gharība as a tourist attraction, even inviting Tunisian Jews from Israel to participate in May 1993. But al-Gharība suffered several attacks, with the pilgrimage temporarily decreasing. On May 9, 1979, a fire (labeled by the government an "accident") broke out, destroying seven Torah scrolls, the ark, and prayer books. During the Simḥat Torah prayers in October 1985, a Tunisian guard, posted by the government for protection, shot at the congregation, killing five (including a policeman) and wounding eleven. He was convicted and sentenced to a mental institution. On April 11, 2002, a natural gas truck exploded at the outer wall of al-Gharība, killing 21, mostly German tourists, with a group linked to al-Qaeda claiming responsibility.

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[David Corcos / Rachel Simon (2nd ed.)]

°DLUGOSZ, JAN (1415–1480), Polish cleric and annalist. He acted as secretary to Cardinal Zbigniew Oleśnicki in Cracow, who was violently anti-Jewish. After Oleśnicki's death in 1455, Dlugosz began a history of Poland, which he concluded in 1479. He was appointed archbishop of Lvov in 1478. A primary source for historical material, his annals include a first-hand account of the massacre of the Jews in Cracow in 1407 and the plunder, forcible conversions, and burnings of Jewish houses which accompanied it. His work set the anti-Jewish tone of medieval Polish historiography.

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[Natan Efrati]

DLUZHNOWSKY, MOSHE (**Moyshe Dluzhnovski**; 1906–1977), Yiddish novelist. Dluzhnowsky was born in Tomaszow Mazowiecki, Poland. His traditional *ḥeder* education was supplemented by autodidactic study of secular subjects. After his literary debut in 1925, he published short stories, novels, plays, essays, and reportage in the Yiddish press around the world. He immigrated in 1930 to Paris, where he described Jewish life in short stories and sketches. In 1940, he fled to Morocco and discovered in its *mellahs* a still unexplored field for Yiddish literature. His stories, and especially his novel *Vintmiln* ("Windmills," 1963), depicted the impoverished Berber-Arab-Jewish settlements. He went to the U.S. in 1941, where he contributed fiction to the Yiddish and English press. His works include a children's book *Der Raytvogn* ("The Chariot," 1958); a novel *Vi a Boym in Feld* ("As a Tree in the Field," 1958); and short story collections *Dos Rod fun Mazl* ("The Wheel of Fortune," 1949), *A Brunem Baym Veg* ("A Well by the Road," 1953), and *Tirn un Fentster* ("Doors and Windows," 1966). He also wrote several plays, some of them adapted from his novels. Most were produced in New York and South America, the most successful being *Di Eynzame Shif* ("The Lonely Ship," 1956).

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[Sol Liptzin / Eliezer Niborski (2nd ed.)]

°DMOWSKI, ROMAN (1864–1939), Polish politician and antisemite. He was leader of the Polish National Democratic party (ND: *Endecja) before 1914 in the Russian part of Poland and its chief representative in two of the *Dumas. Dmowski constantly propounded the view that antisemitism was an expression of the *Kulturkampf* between Jews and Poles; he adopted the anti-Jewish *boycott slogans introduced during the elections to the Duma in 1912. While on the Polish National Council between 1917 and 1918, which he headed as the representative of Poland to the Allied Powers, Dmowski discussed the future relations between Poles and Jews with the American Jewish leader Louis *Marshall in October 1918, particularly in view of the boycott then poisoning the atmosphere. Dmowski contended that Polish-Jewish relations would improve as the result of economic progress in an independent Poland, which would diminish the prevailing tensions. His readiness during the talks to listen to severe criticism of his antisemitic stand obviously only indicated his wish to alter his unfavorable image among American Jews so as to gain support in his activities as chairman of the Polish council. Dmowski served for a brief period in 1923 as foreign minister of Poland. After Józef *Pilsudski ousted Dmowski's party from all political power in 1926, Dmowski concentrated on writing articles in which he used antisemitism to rally right-wing opposition to Pilsudski's regime. With Hitler's rise to power Dmowski anticipated the collapse of world Jewry which in his view had hitherto depended on Germany. His "Downfall of Jewry" (1934) expresses the opinion that the 20th century will seal the fate of the Jewish people, which he considered to be an historical anachronism.

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[Moshe Landau]

DNEPROPETROVSK (**Yekaterinoslav** until 1926), city and industrial center situated on the River Dnieper in Ukraine. Jews first settled there shortly after its foundation in 1778, and in 1804 the town was included in the *Pale of Settlement. The community numbered 376 in 1805 (total population 2,634) and 1,699 in 1847. With the growth of the city in the second half of the 19th century Jews began to move there from other parts of Russia, and played an important role in its commerce and industry. Apart from big flour mills Jews owned sawmills utilizing the timber sent down the Dnieper River. In the mid-19th century the railroad to Odessa was laid and Jews took a large part in the development of the grain trade and exports. Later, when the Donets Basin was linked to the city by railroad, Jews were involved in the metallurgical industry. Several Jewish agricultural colonies (see *Agriculture) were founded in the Yekaterinoslav province and in the neighborhood of the city itself between 1846 and 1855 with about 8,000 persons; some remained in existence until the German occupation in World War II. Apart from *ḥadarim* there was a *talmud torah* for poor children and seven private schools (1887), while 153 Jewish children studied in the local high school in 1882. The writer and lawyer Ilya *Orshanski together with others upgraded the curriculum of the *talmud torah* and the *heders* and organized food and clothing for destitute pupils. Pogroms occurred in Dnepropetrovsk and the vicinity on July 20–21, 1883, in which 350 homes and many Jewish shops were looted and destroyed. The losses were estimated at 600,000 rubles, and 2,870 persons lost their sources of income. By 1897 the Jewish population had increased to 41,240 (36.3% of the total population). It included 15,160 breadwinners (3,046 of them women), including 4,531 in trade, 2,969 in the garment industry, 1,426 artisans, and 1,714 in services and working in shops, with many professionals as well. Most of the shops and houses in the city center were owned by Jews. There were three *talmud torah* schools with 500 pupils, 885 studied in the *ḥadarim*, and a yeshivah and 16 private schools were in operation. In 1860 a hospital was founded with 14 beds, growing to 29 in 1886. In 1880 an old age home was opened for the poor. The community extended help in 1882 to 500 families (2,625 persons). There was also a small Karaite community in Dnepropetrovsk which had its own prayerhouse. They numbered 359 in 1897, dropping to 145 in 1926. Pogroms again broke out on October 21–23, 1905, and 74 Jews were killed, hundreds injured, and much property was looted and destroyed. Local *self-defense was organized in 1904, comprising 600 members, 2% of them Christians. It did much to protect the community. Revolutionary trends among the Jewish youth were strong, alongside Ḥasidism and Orthodoxy among the older generation of the community. Dnepropetrovsk was an important Zionist center where M. *Ussishkin (from 1891 to 1906) and Shemaryahu *Levin were active. The latter served there as a government-appointed rabbi from 1898 to 1904. The well-known lawyer Oscar *Grusenberg was born and raised in the city. He took part in the pogrom trials of Kishinev and Minsk and defended the accused in blood libels in Vilna and Kiev (the *Beilis Affair). Also living in the city was Hillel *Zlatopolsky, a Zionist activist and founder, with his daughter Shoshanah *Persitz, of the Omanut the publishing house (later Massadah). In World War I and the civil war in Russia, thousands of Jews took refuge in Dnepropetrovsk, which numbered 72,928 Jews in 1920. In the Civil War (1917–20) the city changed hands a number of times, suffering from tributes, looting, rape, and murder. In June 1919 the *Denikin army raped about 1,000 women and in May 1919 the Grigoryev band killed 150 Jews. After the establishment of Soviet rule, Jewish community life ceased there as elsewhere in the Soviet Union. Zionist activity was forbidden, and on September 18–22, 1922 about 1,000 were arrested. Only *He-Ḥalutz was allowed to function, until disbanded in summer 1926. The Jewish population numbered 62,073 in 1926 (26.9% of the total), with the following occupational structure: workers in factories and workshops: 6,397; office workers: 8,477; in professions: 425; in agriculture: 887; in trade: 2,194; artisans: 3,469; without professional status: 2,146; unemployed: 4,819. In 1924, 1,187 school-aged Jewish children studied in Yiddish schools and 4,064 in general schools. In the 1930s there were four Yiddish schools, a vocational high school for mechanics, and an industrial school at the Petrovski steel mill, where 500 Jews studied. An illegal Chabad yeshivah operated in the years 1929–35 with a few dozen students. According to the census of 1939 the Jewish population of the city was 89,525 (total population 526,000).

Dnepropetrovsk was occupied by the Germans on August 25, 1941. Thanks to evacuation and flight, only about 17,000 Jews remained. In September, 179 were killed. On October 2 a big tribute of 30 million rubles was imposed on the community and on October 13–14, 13,000–15,000 Jews were assembled and led to the botanical gardens, where they were murdered. The remaining 2,000 Jews were executed at the end of 1941 and the beginning of 1942. At the end of summer 1943 a unit of Operation Group 1005 opened the mass graves, burned the bodies, and dispersed the ashes. The city was liberated on October 25, 1943, and many Jews returned. According to the 1959 census there were 53,400 Jews living in Dnepropetrovsk. In 1963 antisemitic hooligans broke into a synagogue during the High Holiday services without interference from the police. In 1970 there was one synagogue still functioning in the city. During the High Holidays the synagogue street became filled with Jews and order was maintained by the police. J.L. Levin served as rabbi of Dnepropetrovsk before becoming chief rabbi of Moscow. Subsequent census figures put the Jewish population at 45,622 in 1979 and 17,869 in 1989. Immigration to Israel diminished the number significantly during the 1990s. The community offered wide-ranging communal and educational services. Shmuel Kaminetzky was chief rabbi.

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[Yehuda Slutsky / Shmuel Spector (2nd ed.)]

DO'AR HA-YOM (Heb. דֹּאַר הַיּוֹם; "Daily Mail"), Hebrew newspaper established in Jerusalem in 1919, under the editorship of Ithamar *Ben-Avi. The newspaper was designed primarily for those born in Ereẓ Israel and for the older *yishuv* circles (as emphasized by the programmatic leading article in the first issue). The tone of the paper, which was set by Ithamar Ben-Avi, followed that of the sensational French press. *Do'ar ha-Yom* introduced modern reportage in Hebrew. Many of its reporters were native Palestinian Jews, and it became the mouthpiece of the farmers and older settlers. Its editorial policy opposed the official Zionist movement. From December 1928 until the beginning of 1931 it supported the Revisionist movement and was edited by V. *Jabotinsky. Afterward, Ben-Avi returned as editor, but was later replaced. *Do'ar ha-Yom* ceased publication in 1936 and while no other daily newspaper imitated Ben-Avi's emotional and sensationalist style, the innovations he introduced influenced Israel journalism and many of the journalists influenced by Ben-Avi played important roles later on in the Israel press.

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[Getzel Kressel]

DOBIN, SHIMON (**Shimoni**; 1869–1944), writer, educator, and socialist in Russia. Born in Bobr, Belorussia, he joined the *Ḥibat Zion movement in Odessa as a young man. With B. *Borochov he became an early member of the *Po'alei Zion in Yekaterinoslav, and was a delegate to the Minsk convention of Russian Zionists in 1902. He continued to play an active role in Zionist workers' movements for some time, and was a founder of *Vozrozhdeniye and the *Zionist Socialist Workers' Party. In 1906–07 he edited *Folksshtimme*, the organ of the *Jewish Socialist Workers' Party. After imprisonment and exile for his political activities he joined the *Bund in Kiev in 1911. After the October Revolution he became active in "Ozet" and educational institutions, and contributed articles on Yiddish literature and language. He died in Sverdlovsk.

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[Moshe Mishkinsky]

DOBKIN, ELIYAHU (1898–1976), Labor Zionist leader. Dobkin, who was born in Bobruisk, Belorussia, was a founder of the Zionist student organization, He-Ḥaver, in 1914 in Kharkov. He became general secretary of the *He-Ḥalutz movement in Warsaw in 1921. In 1932 he settled in Palestine. He served as a Mapai deputy-member of the Jewish Agency and Zionist Executive from 1937 to 1946, and thereafter as a full member. During World War II Dobkin was head of the Jewish Agency's immigration department, which dealt with rescue activities in Europe and later with "illegal" immigration. From 1951 to 1968 Dobkin served as head of the Agency's Youth and He-Ḥalutz Department, and was also chairman of Keren Hayesod ("United Israel Appeal") from 1951 to 1962. Dobkin was chairman of the Bezalel National Museum, Jerusalem. His writings include the book *Ha-Aliyyah ve-ha-Haẓẓalah bi-Shenot ha-Sho'ah* ("Rescue and Immigration during the Holocaust, 1946").

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[Benjamin Jaffe]

DOBRATH (**Dovrat**; Heb. דָּבְרַת).

(1) Levitical town of Issachar (Josh. 21:28; I Chron. 6:57). Dobrath/Daberath is located between Chisloth-Tabor and Japhia in the description of the border of Zebulun (Josh. 19:12). Some scholars see a connection between the names Dobrath and Deborah since the battle with the Canaanites took place in its vicinity. A Galilean village called Dabaritta is mentioned several times by Josephus (*Life*, 318); some of its inhabitants attacked and robbed a Herodian official (*Life*, 126; *Wars*, 2:595). In the Mishnaic period it was an administrative center as appears from a circular letter of the patriarch Gamaliel I; a Rabbi Matya of Dobrath is mentioned in the Talmud (TJ, Or. 1:1, 60d). In the fourth century Dabeira/Dabira was a Jewish village (Eusebius, *Onom*. 78:5; Jerome adds that it was small in size) in the territory of Diocaesarea (Sepphoris). Abel suggested identifying Dabbūriyya with Byzantine Helenopolis, but Bagatti believes it was at Kafr Kama instead. The Arab geographer Yakut mentions Dabbūriyya as a town in the province of Urdun. In the Middle Ages the place may have been known by the names Buria/Boria. It is the present-day Arab village of Dabbūriyya on the northern slopes of Mt. Tabor. It has been visited by many travelers and explorers since the 19th

century. Christian tradition places the location of Jesus' cure of the epileptic boy "having a dumb spirit" at Dabbūriyya (Luke 9:37–43; cf. Mark 9:28). The site is still largely unexcavated, although the remains of a ruined medieval chapel have been found – first reported on in the 19th century by Robinson and Guérin and eventually dug by Fathers Corbo and Loffreda in 1978. Others have noted the discovery at the site of a mosaic floor, tombs (including a decorated Roman stone door) and cisterns. Some travelers have associated the name Daburah with ruins situated in the northern part of the village, close to a path ascending to Mt. Tabor.

[Michael Avi-Yonah / Shimon Gibson (2nd ed.)]

(2) Kibbutz in Israel in the N.E. Jezreel Valley, W. of Mt. Tabor, affiliated with Iḥud ha-Kibbutzim. It was founded in 1946 by a group of immigrant youth who had previously settled temporarily near the En-Harod spring. Dovrat's economy is based on intensive farming (field crops, fruit orchards, poultry, and dairy cattle). The kibbutz also operates a small shopping center at the nearby gas station, a plant for organic fertilizers, and a computer laboratory. In 1968 its population was 290, in 2002 it was 278.

[Efraim Orni]

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DOBROGEANU-GHEREA, CONSTANTIN (originally **Solomon Katz**; 1855–1920), Romanian literary critic and Socialist theoretician. Born in Slavianka, Ukraine, Katz became involved in revolutionary politics as a student at Kharkov University. His subsequent political career was colorful and adventurous. Pursued by the czarist police, he crossed into Romania in 1875, but three years later the Russian authorities found him masquerading as an American citizen, and he was kidnapped and taken back to Russia. After a year's imprisonment, Katz succeeded in making his way back to Romania, where he changed his name to Constantin Dobrogeanu-Gherea. He obtained the restaurant concession at the Ploieşti railway station, and the place became an asylum for writers and Romanian and Russian refugee socialists. As a literary theorist and critic, he succeeded in introducing into Romania a new perception of art as opposed to "art for art's sake." He insisted that art was a product of society and reflected the outlook of different social groups and classes. The articles he began publishing in various periodicals in 1885 were collected in his *Studii critice* (3 vols., 1890–97; 2 vols., 1925–27), to which a fourth volume was subsequently added. The work became the main guide to the materialist viewpoint in Romanian literature. As a political writer, Dobrogeanu-Gherea was the great popularizer of Marxist socialism in Romania. Outstanding among his political works are his *Concepţia materialistă a istoriei* ("The Materialist Concept of History," 1892), *Ce vor socialiştii romni* ("What do the Romanian Socialists Want," 1886; 1946), *Anarhism şi socialism* (1894), and *Socialismul n România*. In his social study *Neoiobăgia* ("The New Serfdom," 1910), he declared that even a bourgeois revolution had still to take place in Romania. In 1941, at the height of Antonescu's dictatorship, the Bucharest authorities exhumed Dobrogeanu-Gherea's remains and induced the Jewish community to rebury them in the Jewish cemetery. After World War II the new communist regime criticized his ideas, seeing in him a typical representative of the social democratic camp, and declared him guilty of "grave ideological errors."

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[Dora Litani-Littman]

DOBROVEN, ISSAY ALEXANDROVICH (1894–1953), conductor and composer. Dobroven was born in Nizhni-Novgorod, and was a child prodigy as a pianist. He later studied at the Moscow Conservatoire, and joined *Godowsky's master class in Vienna. Between 1917 and 1921 he was a professor at the Moscow Music Academy; in 1919 he became chief conductor at the Imperial Opera. He staged in Dresden (1923) the first German performance of Mussorgsky's *Boris Godunov*, the first step in a lifetime's pioneering of Russian music all over the world which led to his appointment as conductor at the Grosse Volksoper (1924) and of the Dresden symphony concerts. From then until World War II he was musical director of the Bulgarian State Opera, Sofia (1927–28) and guest conductor in the United States, Palestine, Italy, and of the Budapest Royal Opera. He spent the war years in Sweden, after which he resumed his international career. In operatic engagements Dobroven was his own producer and stage director. Outstanding among his many compositions was a piano concerto, the solo part of which he played all over Europe.

[Max Loppert (2nd ed.)]

DOBRUSCHKA, MOSES (1753–1794), Frankist and French revolutionary. Dobruschka was born in Bruenn into a family that belonged to the small circle of rich tax-farmers who largely controlled the tobacco administration during the regime of Maria Theresa. His mother, Schoendel, was the first cousin of Jacob *Frank, and her house served as a meeting place for the secret adherents of the sect. It was apparently this connection which caused Frank to settle in Bruenn (1773–86) after his release from prison in Czestochowa. Dobruschka received a talmudic education and was also initiated into the kabbalistic teachings of Shabbateanism. He began to study German literature and foreign languages as an adolescent. In 1773 he married the adopted daughter of Ḥayyim (Joachim) Popper, one of the richest Jews of Prague, and about the same time began writing in Hebrew and German in the spirit of the early *Haskalah, producing, among other books, *Sefer ha-Sha'ashu'a* (1775), a commentary on the *Beḥinat Olam* of Abraham *Bedersi. Dobruschka later engaged in business and amassed a considerable fortune as one of the chief army suppliers in the preparation of the war against the Turks. In 1778 he was ennobled by Emperor Joseph II, with whom he enjoyed some favor and to whom he dedicated enthusiastic poetic eulogies, taking the title of Franz Thomas Edler von Schoenfeld. He became active in the mystic circles of freemasonry, into which he introduced elements of Kabbalah, particularly of a Shabbatean nature, but retired from active participation in 1784. In the late 1780s he lived as a wealthy man with wide connections in the upper circles of Vienna and established contact with the famous writers of Germany, continuing to enjoy the favor of Leopold II, the successor of Joseph II. On the death of Jacob Frank in 1791, Dobruschka's name was mentioned as his possible successor as head of the Frankist sect.

Dobruschka (or Schoenfeld) became an ardent admirer of the ideals of the French Revolution, and his career is henceforth closely connected with it. Arriving in Strasbourg in March 1792, he changed his name to Gottlob Junius Frey, joined the Jacobin club, and immediately involved himself in French politics. He moved to Paris in June, joined the Jacobin club there, took part in the storming of the Tuileries, and wrote a philosophical and constitutional book *Philosophie sociale, dediée au peuple français* (1793), which was a spirited defense of Jacobinism and included a strong attack on Moses and Mosaic legislation. In January 1793 he made the acquaintance of François Chabot, a Jacobin demagogue who married his sister Leopoldine in October of that year. Shortly after he was denounced by Austrian and German émigrés as an Austrian agent and this, combined with a financial fraud in which he was involved, brought about his arrest, together with that of Chabot. He was charged with corruption and espionage, found guilty, and executed on April 5, 1794. A few months after his death some of his Austrian friends spread a rumor that he had been engaged on a secret mission to liberate the former queen, Marie-Antoinette, from prison.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: G. Scholem, in: *Zion,* 35 (1971), v–vii, 127–81.

DOBRUSCHKA-SCHOENFELD, family in Moravia. Its first known member, JACOB MOSES DOBRUSCHKA (Dobruska; d. 1763), bought the concession for the Jewish eatinghouse in Brno in 1734, and by 1750 held the tobacco monopoly in Moravia. His son SOLOMON (c. 1715–1774) in 1759 obtained permission to retain a "small Torah" in his home, and to hold services at the rear of his house. Solomon's wife, Schoendl (1735–1791), obtained the potash monopoly and other concessions, and by skillful management increased the family fortune. Wolf Eybeschuetz stayed in her home in 1761 where he was reputed to have worked miracles. Jacob *Frank used the alias "Dobruska" while staying in Brno (1773–86); Schoendl, his cousin and an admirer, presumably supported him financially. After Solomon's death, eight of their 12 children embraced Christianity. In 1778 six were ennobled receiving the title "Edler von Schoenfeld." Four became Austrian army officers. Other members of the family married into the Polish and Austrian nobility; only two of them remained Jews. Solomon's second son, Moses *Dobruschka MOSES (b. 1753), published in 1774 *Sefer Sha'ashu'a*, a commentary on the *Beḥinat Olam* of Jedaiah *ha-Penini, approved by leading rabbis and dedicated to Joachim *Popper whose niece he had married a year before. He subsequently wrote poems in German, dramas, and reviews, and translations from the Psalms. Moses, who had connections with Jacob Frank, was considered by some as a candidate for his successor. His sister, Franceska, married into the *Hoenigsberg family, notorious for its Frankist connections. In 1782 Moses (now Franz Thomas von Schoenfeld) moved to Vienna. He was one of the founders of the "Asiatische Brueder," a masonic lodge with predominantly Jewish members, and formulated its doctrines. With his brother EMANUEL (formerly David; b. 1765), he went to revolutionary France, where they appeared in Strasbourg in 1792 under a new name, Frey (Moses used the symbolic name, Siegmund Gottlob Junius Brutus Frey). The "Frey" brothers contributed magnanimously to patriotic causes and attracted many to their *salon* in Paris. Junius published two anti-Girondist pamphlets. The influential radical politician François Chabot married their youngest sister, Leopoldine, for the sake of her large dowry. Thereafter all three were caught bribing members of a parliamentary committee deciding the future of the Compagnie des Indes. Chabot lost his influence and the Frey brothers were suspected as Austrian spies. On April 5, 1794, they and their accomplices were guillotined, together with Danton.

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[Henry Wasserman]

DOBRUSHIN, YEKHEZKEL (1883–1953), Yiddish literary critic, poet, and playwright. Born in the Ukraine, he was educated privately and at the Sorbonne, where he was involved in *Territorialist circles. After his literary debut in 1912, he became a central figure among young Kiev-based Yiddish modernist writers, co-edited the Moscow literary journal *Der Shtrom* (1922–24), worked as one of the first university lecturers of Yiddish literature, and was the main literary consultant of the Moscow State Yiddish Theater, adapting works by Sholem Yankev *Abramovitsh, *Sholem Aleichem and A.

*Goldfaden, while various Yiddish theater troupes staged his plays. An enthusiast of Soviet Jewish colonization, he spent much time in villages built by Jewish colonists in the Crimea, one of which still bears his name: Dobrushino. He (co)authored several folklore collections and books of literary criticism, including his study *Dovid Bergelson* (1947). Together with other leading Jewish cultural activists of the Jewish *Anti-Fascist Committee he was arrested in 1949 and sent to a Siberian labor camp, where he died.

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[Gennady Estraikh (2nd ed.)]

DOCTOROW, EDGAR LAWRENCE (1931–), U.S. novelist and editor. Born in the Bronx, New York, Doctorow began his career as a reader of fiction for TV and film studios. This led him into editorial work, first at New American Library (1959–1964) and then as editor-in-chief for Dial Press in the 1960s. His reading of mediocre film scripts for western movies helped inspire his first novel, *Welcome to Hard Times* (1960), a black comedy of the Wild West. His second novel, *Big as Life* (1966), a semi-science-fiction tale, described two huge, naked figures being introduced to New York. Several critics saw these figures as an allegory of the atom bomb.

In 1971, Doctorow published *The Book of Daniel*, a fictionalized account of the celebrated Rosenberg trial and its radical legacy. The novel is a portrait of the defendants' son "Daniel" who was profoundly affected by the death of his parents at the hands of a ruthless and indifferent society. The novel's style anticipates many of the innovative literary techniques employed in his later novels – juxtaposition of historical fact and fantasy and cinematic switches of tense, scene, and voice. The novel was made into a film.

Ragtime (1975) weaves a story around a host of early 20th century figures in the United States, among them Houdini, Freud, Jung, Emma Goldman, Theodore Roosevelt, Henry Ford, Woodrow Wilson, and Albert Einstein, together with ironic comment on their achievements and later effects. *Ragtime* was awarded the National Book Critics Circle Award in 1975. The film version was directed by Milos Forman. His *Loon Lake* (1980) dealt with life during the Depression; *World's Fair* (1985) culminates in a boy's visit to the New York World's Fair in 1939; and *Billy Bathgate* was made into a movie. Doctorow's fiction utilizes the past to explore parallel tendencies in the present and the inability of the present to learn from the past and escape its errors. His *City of God* (2000) is a theological novel. Its characters attempt to find the coherence of life and the significance of its representations through the events that have befallen them. Rich in its allusions and structure, the novel becomes an accounting for the spirit of things unseen within the city of man. *The March* (2005) is about Sherman's march to the sea in the American Civil War.

Doctorow also wrote a play, *Drinks Before Dinner* (1979), which was first produced at the New York Shakespeare Festival's Public Theater. He was a writer-in-residence at the University of California at Irvine and taught at Sarah Lawrence College in Bronxville, New York.

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[Susan Strul / Lewis Fried (2nd ed.)]

"DOCTORS' PLOT," the most dramatic anti-Jewish episode in the Soviet Union during *Stalin's regime involving the "unmasking" of a group of prominent Moscow doctors, mostly Jews, as conspiratorial assassins of Soviet leaders. It was a continuation of the "cosmopolitanism" accusations against Jewish scientists in the field of medicine. On January 13, 1953, *Pravda* and Radio Moscow announced that nine eminent doctors were under arrest and had confessed to murdering two Soviet leaders of the past, A.S. Shcherbakov and A.A. Zhdanov (who had died in 1945 and 1948, respectively). They were reported to have also admitted conspiring to murder a number of prominent figures in the Soviet armed forces, including the war minister, Marshal A.M. Vasilevski, the chief of staff, General S.M. Shtemenko, and the popular war hero, Marshal I.S. Konev. Six of the nine doctors were Jews. The number of arrested grew to 37 through 1952, of which 28 were doctors and the others family members. Among them were Professors Pevzner, Vinogradov, Ettinger, Vovsi, and others. "Most of the participants in the terrorist group," read the statement, "were connected with the international Jewish bourgeois nationalist organization, the 'Joint' (*American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee) established by American Intelligence … (in order to) conduct extensive espionage terrorist, and other subversive work in many countries including the Soviet Union."

These accusations unleashed panic among the Jews of the Soviet Union and were met by reactions of disbelief and foreboding in Western Europe, the U.S.A., and Israel. On January 19, the Israeli foreign minister, Moshe Sharett, bitterly condemned the Soviet action. A bomb exploded in the courtyard of the Soviet embassy in Tel Aviv on February 9, wounding four of the staff. Despite prompt apologies from the Israeli government, the U.S.S.R. immediately broke off diplomatic relations. The Soviet press now stepped up its attacks on Israel, the "Joint," Wall Street, Zionism, and imperialism. "The pack of mad dogs from Tel Aviv," wrote Yuri Zhukov in *Pravda*, Feb. 14, 1953, "is loathsome and vile in its thirst for blood." An article published in *Trud* on February 13 noted that the "Joint" had organized major anti-government conspiracies not only in the U.S.S.R. but in Hungary and Czechoslovakia as well – direct reference being made to the *Slansky Trial of November 1952.

Stalin died on March 5, and on April 3 *Pravda* announced that the doctors were not guilty and had been freed, and those responsible for using "impermissible means of investigation" had been arrested. On July 20 diplomatic relations between Israel and the Soviet Union were restored.

The Plot was apparently part of Stalin's plan for a new purge of the top Soviet leadership. It was probably directed against Lavrentii Beria, the minister of the interior (MVD), who had been responsible for security matters when Shcherbakov and Zhdanov had died. The *Pravda* editorial of January 13 specifically criticized "the agencies of state security" that had failed to "discover the doctors' wrecking, terrorist organization in time." (Moreover, the Plot was clearly modeled on the 1938 case of G.G. Yagoda, an earlier chief of the Secret Police who had been found guilty of recruiting medical specialists to murder such prominent citizens as Maxim Gorki.) Stalin's death enabled Beria to regain control of the Secret Police (MGB) and merge it with his ministry, the MVD. The release of the doctors and the arrest of their interrogators evidently formed part of Beria's desperate, but ultimately futile, effort to consolidate his power. Seen in broader perspective, the Plot proved to be the last of those macabre "conspiracies" that were manufactured during Stalin's reign but did not reappear in such a form in the subsequent Soviet regimes, though many of the anti-Jewish manifestations that had accompanied the Doctor's Plot were to reemerge later (see *Antisemitism in the Soviet Bloc).

In his secret speech at the Twentieth Party Congress (1956) Nikita Khrushchev blamed the Doctors' Plot on Stalin, but carefully ignored its antisemitic aspects and even took the opportunity to exonerate S.D. Ignatev, who had headed the MGB during the Plot, in early 1953. In fact, Ignatev was reelected to the Party's Central Committee in 1956.

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[Jonathan Frankel]

DÓCZY, LAJOS (1845–1918), Hungarian author, poet, and playwright, also known as L. Dux. Dóczy, who was born in Sopron, studied law at Vienna, and rose to a high position in the Austro-Hungarian government. He converted to Christianity and was made a baron. A founder of the neo-Romantic school of Hungarian drama, Dóczy became famous mainly as a writer of historical plays. One of these, *Az utolsó próféta* ("The Last Prophet," 1869), deals with the destruction of Jerusalem. Equally at home with German and Hungarian culture, Dóczy wrote in, and translated classical works into, both languages. His translations include a Hungarian version of Goethe's *Faust* and a German version of *Az ember tragédiája* ("The Tragedy of Man") by Imre Madách. Dóczy's most important plays are *Csók* ("Kiss," 1874), *Utolsó szerelem* ("Last Love," 1884), and *Széchy Mária* (1886).

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[Baruch Yaron]

DOEBLIN, ALFRED (1878–1957), German poet, novelist, and physician. Born in Stettin, Doeblin was raised in poverty in Berlin in an assimilated family. After studying medicine in Berlin and Freiburg from 1900 he started working as a physician in 1905; later on he specialized in psychiatry, opening his own neurological practice in 1911. At the same time, Doeblin began publishing in the expressionistic journal *Der Sturm* and wrote his first stories, collected in *Die Ermordung der Butterblume* (1913). He gained fame with *Die drei Spruenge des Wang-lun* (1915; *Three Leaps of Wang-Lun*, 1991), a novel about a Chinese rebel who becomes the apostle of a new religion. With this and the following important novels *Wallenstein* (1920), *Berge, Meere und Giganten* (1924), and *Berlin-Alexanderplatz* (1929), Doeblin essentially initiated the modern novel in German literature, dealing with the central questions of his time such as war, technology, and the metropolis. Even though Doeblin left the Jewish community and converted to Catholicism, though not until living in exile in the U.S. in 1941, he never completely abandoned Judaism; on the contrary, particularly in the 1920s, traveling through Poland, he participated in the discourse on East European Judaism and Zionism. Already in *Zion und Europa* (1921) he opposed Western assimilated Judaism with East European Judaism, and even more so in his account of his travels through Poland, *Reise in Polen* (1926; *Journey to Poland*, 1991). After the attack of the Jews of the Berlin Scheunenviertel in 1923 he wrote even more strongly about Zionism, leaning, however, toward the Jewish Territorial Movement founded by Nathan *Birnbaum, with whom he was in personal contact (cf. *Zionismus und westliche Kultur,* 1924). Fleeing from Germany to Zurich and Paris in 1933 Doeblin again raised the question of the Jewish people in several essays (*Unser Dasein*, 1933; *Juedische Erneuerung*, 1933). Publishing also in Birnbaum's journals, *Der Ruf* and *Der juedische Volksgeist*, at that time, Doeblin still took the territorial position, arguing that the Jews should settle not only in Palestine but throughout the entire world, a position which he changed in favor of Zionism shortly afterwards, as reflected in his essay *Flucht und Sammlung des Judenvolks* (1935). After Birnbaum's death in 1937 and criticism by Ludwig *Marcuse, Doeblin abandoned the territorial position (cf. *Von Fuehrern und Schimmelpilzen*, 1938), though he still emphasized the right to a territorial home for the Jews. In 1940 he barely escaped from Paris to the United States, as he recounts in his autobiographical work *Schicksalsreise* (1949; *Destiny's Journey*, 1992). In exile from 1933, he published several important novels such as *Babylonische Wanderung* (1934) and *Pardon wird nicht gegeben* (1935) and began the trilogy *November 1918* (1938). In 1940, under the guidance of the Jesuits, he converted to Catholicism. He described his conversion in *Der unsterbliche Mensch; Ein religioeses Gespraech* (1946). After World War II, Doeblin returned to Europe, living in Paris and Germany, where he edited a literary periodical in Mainz and completed the trilogy *November 1918* with the novels *Verratenes Volk* (1948), *Heimkehr der Fronttruppen* (1949), and *Karl und Rosa* (1950). His last novel *Hamlet: oder Die lange Nacht* *nimmt ein Ende* (1956; *Tales of a Long Night*, 1984) underscores his religious journey.

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[Andreas Kilcher (2nd ed.)]

DOEG (Heb. דּוֹיֵג, דּוֹאֵג, דֹּאֵג), the Edomite, one of Saul's court officials and his trusted adviser (I Sam. 22:9). The epithet הָאֲדֹמִי (the Edomite; Ps. 52:2) points up Doeg's foreign origin. He was probably responsible for the king's property and his herds, as can be deduced from his title, "Saul's chief herdsman" (I Sam. 21:8; cf. I Chron. 27:28–31). Some read רצים (*raẓim*, "runners, guards") instead of רעים (*roʿim*, "herdsmen"), and believe that he headed a regiment of runners, i.e., the bodyguard of the king, who ran before his carriage and executed his orders (cf. II Sam. 15:1). It seems that Doeg attained his important position in the court of Saul after having held a senior appointment in Edom before his arrival in Israel. It could also be that his title *ʾabbir* (Heb. "chief") was the title of his Edomite office. This was in accordance with the policy of Saul and of David, both of whom chose experienced men from neighboring countries to conduct their administrative affairs. He doubtless adopted his master's religion (I Sam. 21:8).

His being an Edomite and a stranger among the servants of Saul explains his unswerving loyalty to the king. In contrast to the servants of the king who betrayed him and were ready to side with David in exchange for some benefits which they could gain, as Saul himself complained, and who refused to submit information on David's whereabouts, Doeg was the only one to inform the king of the assistance which had been extended by *Ahimelech, one of the priests of Nob, to David when he fled from Saul (I Sam. 22:7–10). He was also the only one of the royal runners who was ready to kill on the king's orders. He thus put to death 85 of the priests of Nob and destroyed the city to its foundations so that only Abiathar the son of Ahimelech succeeded in escaping the massacre and finding his way to David (I Sam. 22:17–20).

[Josef Segal]

In the *Aggadah*

Doeg was a man of great learning who, however, perverted his knowledge for base and selfish ends (Sanh. 106b). He was called "Adomi" (Edomite) because he made those who disputed with him blush (*adom*, "red") with shame at their ignorance (Mid. Ps. to 52:4). He suited the law to his own purposes when persuading Saul not to kill Agag (*ibid.*); when maintaining that Ahimelech's consultation of the *Urim and Thummim on David's behalf (I Sam. 22:11–19) was illegal (*ibid.*, 52:5); by convincing Saul that David's marriage to Michal had lost validity from the day David was declared a rebel (Gen. R. 32:1); and by attempting to refute David's legitimacy because of his descent from Ruth the Moabitess (Yev. 76b–77a). Doeg is rebuked, "Thou lovest evil more than good, and lying rather than to speak right" (Ps. 52:5), and God says to him, "Are you not a mighty man in Torah? Why than boastest thyself in mischief?" (Sanh. 106b). The variant spellings of Doeg's name in I Samuel 21:8 and 22:22 are explained: "At first God sits and is anxious (דּוֹאֵג, *do'eg*) lest one go out on an evil course. But once he does so, He exclaims, 'Woe (דּוֹיֵג, *doyeg*) that he has entered on an evil path'" (Sanh. 106b). Eventually, Doeg's knowledge was taken from him. When he was 34 years old, he was confronted by three destroying angels, one of whom caused him to forget his learning, one burnt his soul, and the third scattered his ashes in the synagogues and schoolhouses (*ibid.*). According to another tradition, he was slain by his students when they saw that his wisdom had departed from him (Yalk. Sam. 131). His enmity toward David sprang from the fact that David chose a site for the Temple in preference to his own (Zev. 54b). Doeg deliberately praised David lavishly in Saul's presence (I Sam. 16:18) in order to arouse Saul's wrath against him (Sanh. 93b). As a result of his calumny Ahimelech, Abner, Saul, and Doeg himself lost their lives (TJ, Pe'ah 1:1). Doeg is one of the four commoners who have no place in the *olam ha-ba*, world to come (Sanh. 10:2), and one of those who set their eyes upon that which was not proper for them; what they sought was not granted to them, and what they possessed was taken from them (Sot. 9b).

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DOENMEH (**Dönme**), sect of adherents of *Shabbetai Ẓevi who embraced Islam as a consequence of the failure of the Shabbatean messianic upheaval in the *Ottoman Empire. After Shabbetai Ẓevi converted to Islam in September 1666, large numbers of his disciples interpreted his apostasy as a secret mission, deliberately undertaken with a particular mystical purpose in mind. The overwhelming majority of his adherents, who called themselves *ma'aminim* ("believers"), remained within the Jewish fold. However, even while Shabbetai Ẓevi was alive several leaders of the *ma'aminim* thought it essential to follow in the footsteps of their messiah and to become Muslims, without, as they saw it, renouncing their Judaism, which they interpreted according to new principles. Until Shabbetai Ẓevi's death in 1676 the sect, which at first was centered largely in Adrianople (*Edirne), numbered some 200 families. They came mainly from the Balkans, but there were also adherents from *Izmir, Brusa, and other places. There were a few outstanding scholars and kabbalists among them, whose families afterward were accorded a special place among the Doenmeh as descendants of the original community of the sect. Even among the Shabbateans who did not convert to Islam, such as *Nathan of Gaza, this sect enjoyed an honorable reputation and an important mission was ascribed to it. Clear evidence of this is preserved in the commentary on Psalms (written c. 1679) of Israel Ḥazzan of Castoria.

Many of the community became converts as a direct result of Shabbetai Ẓevi's preaching and persuasion. They were outwardly fervent Muslims and privately Shabbatean *ma'aminim* who practiced a type of messianic Judaism, based as early as the 1670s or 1680s on "the 18 precepts" which were attributed to Shabbetai Ẓevi and accepted by the Doenmeh communities. (The full text was published in English by G. Scholem, in: *Essays … Abba Hillel Silver* (1963), 368–86.) These precepts contain a parallel version of the Ten Commandments. However, they are distinguished by an extraordinarily ambiguous formulation of the commandment "Thou shalt not commit adultery," which approximates more to a recommendation to take care rather than a prohibition. The additional commandments determine the relationship of the *ma'aminim* toward the Jews and the Turks. Intermarriage with true Muslims is strictly and emphatically forbidden.

After the death of Shabbetai Ẓevi the community's center of activities moved to *Salonika and remained there until 1924. Shabbetai's last wife, Jochebed (in Islam, ʿĀ'isha), was the daughter of Joseph Philosoph, one of the rabbis of Salonika, and she returned there from Albania after a brief sojourn in Adrianople. Later, she proclaimed her younger brother Jacob Philosoph, known traditionally as Jacob *Querido (i.e., "the beloved"), as the reincarnation of the soul of Shabbetai Ẓevi. So many different and contradictory traditions exist concerning the profound upheaval which affected the *ma'aminim* of Salonika around 1680 and afterward that, for the time being, it is impossible to say which is the most reliable. They all agree that there was considerable tension between the original Doenmeh community and the followers of Jacob Querido, among whom were several of the rabbis of Salonika. As a result of their propaganda, two to three hundred families, under the leadership of two rabbis, Solomon Florentin and Joseph Philosoph, and his son, underwent mass conversion to Islam. There are two contradictory accounts of this conversion. One dates it in the year 1683, and the other at the end of 1686. It is possible that there were two mass conversions, one after the other. Many mystical "revelations" were then experienced in Salonika, and several pamphlets were written reflecting the spiritual tendencies of the various groups. As time went on, most of the apostate families from other cities in Turkey migrated to Salonika and the sect was organized on a more institutional basis. During the 18th century the sect was joined by other Shabbatean groups, particularly from Poland. Jacob Querido demonstrated his outward allegiance to Islam by making the pilgrimage to Mecca with several of his followers – a course of action which the original Doenmeh community opposed. He died on his return from this journey in 1690 or 1695, probably in Alexandria.

Internal conflicts caused a split in the organization and resulted in the formation of two sub-sects: one, according to Doenmeh tradition, was called *Izmirlis* (*Izmirim*) and consisted of members of the original community, and the other was known as the *Ya'akoviyyim*, or in Turkish *Jakoblar.* A few years after Querido's death another split occurred among the *Izmirlis*, when around 1700 a new young leader, Baruchiah Russo, appeared among them and was proclaimed by his disciples to be the reincarnation of Shabbetai Ẓevi. In 1716 his disciples proclaimed him as the Divine Incarnation. Russo was apparently of Jewish birth and the son of one of the early followers of Shabbetai Ẓevi. After his conversion he was called "Osman Baba." A third sub-sect was organized around him. Its members were called *Konyosos* (in Ladino) or *Karakashlar* (in Turkish). This was considered to be the most extreme group of the Doenmeh community. It had the reputation of having founded a new faith with a leaning toward religious nihilism. Its adherents embarked on a new missionary campaign to the chief cities of the Diaspora. Representatives were sent to Poland, Germany, and Austria, where they were a source of considerable excitement between 1720 and 1726. Branches of this sect, from which the Frankists later emerged, were established in several places. Baruchiah Russo died in 1720 while still young and his grave was an object of pilgrimage for members of the sect until recent times. His son, who became the leader of this sect, died in 1781. During the period of the French Revolution a powerful leader of one of the sects (either the *Izmirim* or the Baruchiah sect), known as "Deverish Effendi," became prominent. He is perhaps to be identified with the Doenmeh preacher and poet, Judah Levi Tovah, several of whose poems and homiletical expositions in Ladino were preserved in manuscripts belonging to the Doenmeh and are now in a number of public collections.

It soon became clear to the Turkish authorities that these apostates, who had been expected to encourage the Jews to convert to Islam, had no intention of assimilating, but were determined to continue to lead a closed sectarian existence, although outwardly they strictly observed the practices of Islam, and were politically loyal citizens. From the beginning of the 18th century, they were called Doenmeh, meaning (in Turkish) either "converts" or "apostates." However, it is not clear whether this is a reference to their conversion from Judaism or to the fact of their not being true Muslims. The Jews called them *minim* ("sectarians") and among the writings of the Salonika rabbis there are several responsa dealing with the problems of how they are to be treated and whether they are to be regarded as Jews or not. They settled in specific quarters of Salonika, and their leaders were on friendly terms with Sufic circles, and with the dervish orders among the Turks, particularly the Baktashi. At the same time they maintained secret ties not only with those Shabbateans who had not converted, but also with several rabbis in Salonika, who, when knowledge of the Torah diminished among the Doenmeh, were paid for secretly settling points of law for them. These relationships were severed only in the middle of the 19th century. This double-faced behavior becomes clear only when their ambiguous attitude toward traditional Judaism is taken into account. On one level, they regarded the latter as void, its place being taken by a higher, more spiritual Torah, called *Torah de-Aẓilut* ("Torah of Emanation"). But on another level there remained certain areas in which they sought to conduct themselves according to the actual Torah of talmudic tradition, called *Torah di-Beri'ah* ("Torah of Creation").

The numerical strength of the Doenmeh is only approximately known. According to the Danish traveler, Karsten *Niebuhr, around 600 families lived in Salonika in 1774, and they married only among themselves. Before World War I their number was estimated to be between 10,000 and 15,000, divided more or less equally among the three sub-sects, with the *Konyosos* having a slight numerical majority. At first, knowledge of Hebrew was common among the Doenmeh and their liturgy was originally standardized in Hebrew. This can be seen in the part of their prayer book which is still extant (Scholem, in: KS, vols. 18 and 19). However, as time went on the use of Ladino increased, and both their homiletic and poetic literature was written in that tongue. They continued to speak Ladino among themselves up to about 1870 and it was only later that Turkish replaced it as the language of everyday speech.

As far as social structure is concerned, there were distinct differences among the three sub-sects which developed apparently between 1750 and 1850. The aristocrats of Doenmeh society were the *Izmirlis*, who were called *Cavalleros* in Ladino or *Kapanjilar* in Turkish. These included the great merchants and the middle classes, as well as most of the Doenmeh intelligentsia. They were also the first to show, from the end of the 19th century, a marked tendency toward assimilation with the Turks. The *Jakoblar* community of *Ya'akoviyyim* included a large number of lower- or middle-class Turkish officials, while the third and most numerous group, the *Konyosos* (according to the few available accounts), consisted as time went on mainly of the proletariat and artisan classes, e.g., porters, shoemakers, barbers, and butchers. Some say that for a long time practically all the barbers of Salonika belonged to this group. Each Doenmeh had a Turkish and a Hebrew name (for use in Turkish and Doenmeh society respectively). Furthermore, they preserved the original Sephardi family names, which are mentioned in poems composed in honor of the dead; many of these poems have survived in manuscript. Doenmeh cemeteries were used in common by all the sub-sects. In contrast, each sect had its particular synagogue (called *Kahal* – "congregation") at the center of its own quarter, concealed from the outsider.

Their liturgies were written in a very small format so that they could easily be hidden. All the sects concealed their internal affairs from Jews and Turks so successfully that for a long time knowledge of them was based only on rumor and upon reports of outsiders. Doenmeh manuscripts revealing details of their Shabbatean ideas were brought to light and examined only after several of the Doenmeh families decided to assimilate completely into Turkish society and transmitted their documents to friends among the Jews of Salonika and Izmir. As long as the Doenmeh were concentrated in Salonika, the sect's institutional framework remained intact, although several Doenmeh members were active in the Young Turks' movement which originated in that city. The first administration that came to power after the Young Turk revolution (1909) included several ministers of Doenmeh origin, including the minister of finance, *Javid Bey, who was a descendant of the Baruchiah Russo family and served as one of the leaders of his sect. One assertion that was commonly made by many Jews of Salonika (denied, however, by the Turkish government) was that *Kemal Atatürk was of Doenmeh origin. This view was eagerly embraced by many of Atatürk's religious opponents in Anatolia.

With the exchange of population that followed the Greco-Turkish war of 1924, the Doenmeh were compelled to leave Salonika. Most of them settled in Istanbul, and a few in other Turkish cities such as Izmir and Ankara. In the Turkish press at that time there was a lively debate about the Jewish character of the Doenmeh and their assimilation. When they were uprooted from the great Jewish center of Salonika, assimilation began to spread widely. Nevertheless, there is reliable evidence that the organizational framework of the *Konyosos* sect survived, and as late as 1960 many families still belonged to this organization. Among the Turkish intelligentsia, one of the professors at the University of Istanbul was widely regarded as the leader of the Doenmeh. Attempts to persuade them to return to Judaism and to immigrate to Israel have borne little fruit. Only a few isolated Doenmeh families were among the Turkish immigrants to Israel.

There is hardly any basic difference in religious opinions between the Doenmeh and the other sects who believed in Shabbetai Ẓevi. In their literature, as far as it is known, there is hardly a mention of their belonging to the Islamic fold. Their claim of being the true Jewish community is not unlike the claims of the early Christians and the Christian church. They preserved their faith in Shabbetai Ẓevi, who had abrogated the practical commandments of the material Torah and had opened up "the spiritual Torah" of the upper world as a substitute. The principle of the divinity of Shabbetai Ẓevi was firmly developed and accepted by the sect, as was the threefold nature of the upper forces of emanation, called *telat kishrei demeheimanuta* ("the three bonds of faith"). In addition to their abrogation of the practical commandments and their mystical trinitarian belief, one factor in particular aroused great opposition among their contemporaries. This was their obvious inclination to permit marriages which were halakhically forbidden, and to conduct religious ceremonies which involved the exchange of wives and which, therefore, bastardized their issue according to Jewish law. Accusations of sexual licentiousness were made from the beginning of the 18th century, and although many have tried to belittle their importance there is no doubt that sexual promiscuity existed for many generations. The long sermon of Judah Levi Tovah (published by I.R. Molcho and R. Shatz, in: *Sefunot*, 3–4 (1960), 395–521) contains a spirited defense of the abrogation of the sexual prohibitions contained in the material "Torah of Creation." Orgiastic ceremonies in fact took place in the main on the Doenmeh *Ḥag ha-Keves* ("Festival of the Lamb") which fell on the 22nd of Adar and was recognized as a celebration of the beginning of spring. In addition, they celebrated other festivals, connected with the life of Shabbetai Ẓevi and particular events associated with their apostasy. They did not abstain from work on their festivals in order not to arouse outside curiosity. They contented themselves with rituals on the eve of their festivals. The Doenmeh liturgy for Tishah be-Av, the birthday of Shabbetai Ẓevi, called *Ḥag ha-Semaḥot* ("Festival of Rejoicing"), is extant in Hebrew and contains a Shabbatean adaptation of some of the High Holy Day prayers, with the addition of a solemn declaration of their Shabbatean creed, consisting of eight paragraphs (KS, vol. 18, 309–10).

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[Gershom Scholem]

DOG. In the Bible the dog is usually spoken of disparagingly, the references being however to ownerless dogs which prowl in inhabited areas (Ps. 59:7, 15), feed off animal carcasses and human corpses (I Kings 23:38), and attack passersby (Ps. 22:17). "Dog" was a derogatory term (II Kings 8:13) and apparently was applied to a male temple-prostitute (cf. Deut. 23:19). However, shepherd dogs were bred (Isa. 56:11; Job 30:1). Divergent views were expressed by the sages on the rearing of dogs. The Mishnah says: "One should not rear a dog unless it is kept on a chain" (BK 7:7). There was also opposition to rearing dogs in Ereẓ Israel, R. Eleazar declaring that "he who rears dogs is like one who rears swine" (*ibid.* TB 83a). It was however permitted in a frontier town where "one keeps it chained during the daytime and looses it at night" (*ibid.*) and one *amora* even stated that a man should not live in a town "in which no dogs bark" (Pes. 113a). There is no explicit information extant on the breeds of dogs reared in biblical times. Pedigree dogs were probably raised alongside the local dog, *Canis familiaris putiatini*, of which there were different types. Various breeds of dogs appear in Assyrian and Egyptian monuments. The use of hunting dogs is attested by an ivory comb from Megiddo showing a dog hunting a mountain goat. Mosaics dating from mishnaic and talmudic times also depict dogs. The Mishnah distinguishes between a common dog, which resembles a wolf, and a village or wild dog, which resembles a jackal (Kil. 1:6; cf. Ber. 9b). Attacks by mad dogs were a common occurrence; the rabbis refer frequently to rabies and give the symptoms by which to recognize a mad dog (Yoma 83b, 84a).

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[Jehuda Feliks]

DOHANJ, JULIJE (1884–1972), Yugoslav lawyer. Dohanj was born and studied in Budapest. He lived first in Karlovo Selo in the Banat region, moving later to Novi Sad, the capital of the Vojvodina province, where he had a successful career as an advocate. He was a Zionist and for a while even vice president of the Yugoslav Zionist Federation, but in the early 1930s he broke away and joined the Revisionist faction of Jabotinsky, which until then had had no adherents there. Under his influence the local Zionist group also broke away and became a center of Revisionism in Yugoslavia. Jabotinsky spoke at meetings in Zagreb, Belgrade, and Novi Sad, and the new movement, with its Betar youth sections, spread throughout the country. In 1935, after Jabotinsky left the Zionist organization, forming the New Zionist Organization, Dohanj presided over its Yugoslav branch. In that capacity, he helped organize "illegal" Jewish *immigration via the Danube River and, in cooperation with the British Embassy in Belgrade, attempted to warn the Yugoslav public of the Nazi danger.

Dohanj was married to a German woman. Despite this fact, or possibly because of it, he was arrested and interrogated, and was ultimately sent to the Gestapo headquarters in Berlin, where he was kept imprisoned throughout the war. Returning home after the liberation he reopened his office, but experiencing problems with the new Communist judiciary system he soon immigrated to the United States. He worked as a government employee and remarried, this time to an American. On his retirement in 1967 he moved to Israel, settling in Haifa.

[Zvi Loker (2nd ed.)]

°DOHM, CHRISTIAN WILHELM VON (1751–1820), German historian, economist, and diplomat. He was among the first to advocate "reformation" of the Jews and their customs, as well as improvement of their civil status. Dohm studied theology and law, and in 1779 entered the Prussian state service as royal archivist in Berlin where he met Moses *Mendelssohn. In 1786 and in 1797 he represented Prussia at the Congress of Rastatt, and in 1807 entered the service of the Kingdom of *Westphalia established by Napoleon. Dohm pursued the study of history and political science and wrote a number of books on these subjects.

His well-known work on the Jewish question, *Ueber die buergerliche Verbesserung der Juden* ("On the Improvement of the Jews as Citizens"; 1781, 1783^2), was undertaken at the instance of Mendelssohn who had asked him to draw up a memorandum in favor of the Jews of *Alsace. In this work Dohm reviews the history of the Jewish people in exile in order to point out the constant deterioration of their situation as a consequence of oppression and attacks. He argues that repression inevitably corrupts the character of the victim peoples as evidenced by the history of the Irish and the Gypsies. These examples are adduced to confirm his description of the Jewish character in his own time: "The Jews have wisdom, a sharp intellect, they are assiduous, persevering, and are able to find their way in every situation"; their ritual precepts, even though they encourage pettiness, educate them to fulfill their duty rigorously. On the other hand this nation has "an exaggerated tendency.… to look out for gain in every way, a love of usury … defects which are further aggravated in many of them by their self-imposed segregation owing to their religious precepts as well as rabbinical sophistry.… The breaking of the laws of the state restricting trade, the import and export of prohibited wares, the forgery of money and precious metals are the natural result" of these flaws of character. However, "if our reasoning is correct, we shall find that the oppression from which they still suffer and the restrictions imposed on the trades open to Jews are the true reasons for their shortcomings. Concomitantly we have also discovered the means by which they can be cured of this corruption so as to become better people and more useful citizens." Dohm finds no intrinsic evil in the Jewish religion and literature, and argues on this point against the anti-Jewish agitator Johann *Eisenmenger. He appreciates the enlightened Jewish intellectuals of his time, "these admirable men who attained eminence in the sciences and the arts." To eradicate the evil and abolish its consequences, Dohm suggests a series of measures for improving the situation of the Jews and hence their character. His proposals reproduce some of the ideas held by proponents of Enlightened Absolutism and in some points resemble the *Toleranzpatent* issued at that time by Emperor *Joseph II. Joseph Dohm plans to educate the Jews to identify themselves more closely to the state, and to serve it, by putting an end to oppression and by abolishing the economic restrictions imposed on them, as well as by encouraging them to participate in the culture of the environment. The educational effort and the grant of equal economic and civil opportunities to the Jews would be worthwhile to enlightened governments aiming at justice and the increase of their population. The Jews are preferable to new settlers since "they are more deeply rooted in the countries they inhabit than a foreigner can be, even after a considerable time; they know no other homeland besides the one which they already have and do not long for a home in a distant land."

Dohm thus voiced the climate of opinion prevailing in enlightened Christian and Jewish circles of Berlin. He aroused German public opinion to consider the Jewish problem as of political and social significance. His opinions had wide reverberations and provoked numerous and stormy debates. The antisemites accused him of being bought by the Jews. The Jewish *maskilim* were grateful to him for the way in which he described the situation of the Jews, and for his aims, with which they were basically in agreement.

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[Haim Hillel Ben-Sasson]

DOK, a fortress 3 mi. (5 km.) N. of Jericho where Simeon, the last of the Maccabean brothers, together with his wife and two sons, was murdered in 135 b.c.e. by his son-in-law, Ptolemy son of Habubu, governor (*stratêgos*) of Jericho (I Macc. 16:15). Josephus calls it Dagon (Ant., 13:230) and the place is also mentioned in the *Copper Scroll (265:19) found at one of the Qumran caves. A Byzantine monastery called Douka/Duca was founded in the vicinity of the site by St. Chariton. Dok is identified with Jebel Qarantal (Mons Quarantena); the Arabic names for the site are Duk and Dyuk, the first resembles the original name, but the second version stems from popular etymology (Dyuk = chickens). The name of the site is also preserved in the nearby village of ʿAyn al-Dūk (ancient *Naarah). The mountain of Qarantal commands a strategic situation overlooking Jericho to the east and has the remains of a small medieval chapel which was recorded by members of the Survey of Western Palestine in 1873. The site has not been thoroughly excavated, except for a few pits made by E. Netzer that revealed an ionic capital. Scattered architectural remains at the site, however, do attest to palatial buildings having existed at the site at the time of *Herod the Great and his successors, as well as during the Byzantine period (notably a Corinthian capital decorated with a cross). Roman siege works with towers have also been identified around the site by Z. Meshel, and a water system that was fed by an aqueduct was studied by D. Amit.

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[Michael Avi-Yonah / Shimon Gibson (2nd ed.)]

DOKSHITSY (Pol. **Dokszyce**), town in Molodechno district, Belarus. It passed from Poland to Russia in 1793; was within Poland from 1921 to 1939; and afterwards was in the Belorussian SSR. The Jewish community probably started at the beginning of the 18th century and increased from 210 Jews in 1766 to 2,775 (49.1% of the total population) in 1878. It numbered 2,762 in 1897 (75.8%). The Jews traded in lumber and agricultural products, exporting to central Poland, Russia, and even Leipzig. They were also occupied in crafts and farming. In 1925 they numbered approximately 3,000. Between the two world wars, the Jews lost their markets and were required to pay heavy taxes, leading to economic decline. The loan fund sponsored by the *American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee had 250 members in 1925. There was a Hebrew Tarbut school which was the center of Zionist activities. The Germans occupied the town on June 22, 1941, creating a ghetto on September 30. During Passover 1942, 65 and later 350 Jews were executed. The liquidation of the ghetto commenced on May 29, 1942. It lasted 17 days and about 3,000 Jews were murdered. The community was not reestablished after World War II.

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[Shmuel Spector (2nd ed.)]

DOLGIN, SIMON ARTHUR (1915–2004), U.S. Orthodox rabbi and Mizrachi leader. Dolgin was born in Chicago and studied at the Hebrew Theological College there, where he was ordained in 1939, and received his doctorate in 1959. He also received a doctorate in theology from the University of Southern California in 1954. From 1939 until 1971, he served as rabbi of Beth Jacob Congregation, Beverly Hills, California; he was vice president of the Rabbinical Council of America from 1966 to 1968.

A prominent member of the Mizrachi, he was a member of the National Council of the Ha-Po'el ha-Mizrachi, 1943–55, and vice chairman of the National Council of Religious Zionists of America.

On immigrating to Israel in 1971 he was appointed director-general of the Ministry of Religious Affairs, holding the office until 1977, when he became head of the Midrashah Gevohah le-Torah in Jerusalem, serving simultaneously as rabbi of Ramat Eshkol in Jerusalem. In 1978 he was appointed chairman of the World Organization of Mizrachi-Ha-Po'el ha-Mizrachi.

DOLGINOVO (Pol. **Dołhinów**), town in Molodechno district, Belarus. It passed from Poland to Russia in 1793; was within Poland from 1921 to 1939; and was then in the Belorussian SSR. Jews settled there at the beginning of the 16th century but only formed a community in the 17th, numbering 485 in 1667. Apart from petty trade and crafts, the Jews also exported agricultural products through Danzig. A pogrom in 1881 resulted in the looting and destruction of shops and homes. The community numbered 1,194 in 1847; 2,559 in 1897 (out of a total population of 3,551); and 1,747 in 1921 (out of 2,671). During the interwar years, the loss of the agricultural hinterland (Russia) resulted in the decline of the economy. Some Jews earned a living by smuggling goods across the border with the Soviet Union. Most Jewish children studied in a Hebrew Tarbut school. In September 1939 the Soviets abolished all Jewish organizations and parties and nationalized the economy.

[Shmuel Spector (2nd ed.)]

Holocaust Period

The Jewish population of the city had increased to nearly 5,000 in 1941. From the outbreak of World War II in 1939 until the German-Soviet war the town was under Soviet occupation. On June 28, 1941, the German army captured it. In August 1941, 22 men, including the rabbi of the community, were murdered by the Germans. On March 3, 1942, in the first mass *Aktion* 1,500 Jews were shot to death and cremated on the outskirts of the town. On May 1, 1942, a ghetto was set up. During the *Shavuot* festival that year, the entire community was wiped out, except for 500 craftsmen who were spared from immediate death. In this period groups of Jews fled to the forests and joined the partisans operating in Nalibocka Puszcza. The few remaining members of the community were murdered in September 1942. Only about 200 persons survived the war as soldiers of the Soviet army drafted in the spring of 1941, others as members of partisan units, and a number who had gone into hiding. The community was not refounded after World War II.

[Aharon Weiss]

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Eynikeit* (Dec. 3, 1945); material extant in Yad Vashem Archives.

DOLINA, town in Stanislavov district, Ukraine, in Poland between 1917 and 1939. Although Jews are mentioned in 1472, a community was only established in 1638, when they received a permit from the king to build a synagogue and cemetery and to trade, on condition that they pay taxes like the other burgers. After the Austrian annexation they suffered in the years 1772–1868 from severe restrictions and heavy and humiliating taxes. At the end of the 19th century many of the local Jews emigrated. The Jewish population was 2,654 in 1900 (29% of the total), 2,014 in 1921, and 2,488 in 1931. In the 1920s the economic conditions deteriorated. With the help of the Joint an orphanage, soup kitchen, and interest-free loan association were established. In the 1930s the economy improved after several factories reopened. Between September 1939 and June 1941 Dolina was under Soviet rule, with all public life terminated and industry and trade nationalized. Dolina was occupied by the Germans on July 2, 1941. In the beginning of August a group of Hungarian and local Jews was executed in a forest near the town. In July 1942 all the Jews from the environs were concentrated in Dolina and 3,000 people were murdered in ditches in the local cemetery. About 50 Jews joined the Babi partisan unit, but only five survived along with a few who hid in the forests.

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[Shmuel Spector (2nd ed.)]

DOLITZKI, MENAḤEM MENDEL (1856–1931), Hebrew and Yiddish poet and novelist. Born in Bialystok, he received a traditional Orthodox education and, as a teenager, became interested in the ideas of the *Haskalah. At the age of 19 he wrote a long satiric poem, *Likkui Shenei ha-Me'orot, o Shenei Ẓaddikim she-Ḥibbelu Zeh ba-Zeh* ("The Eclipse of Both Luminaries, or Two Ẓaddikim Who Harmed One Another," published in *Ha-Shaḥar,* 1879, then in book form). In this poem he mockingly describes the way of life of the ḥasidic groups. He served as a Hebrew teacher in various towns and in 1881 was an eyewitness to pogroms in southern Russia, which had a profound effect on him. In his poem *Ha-Ikkar ve-ha-Noẓah* ("The Farmer and the Feather," 1884) and his stories *Be-Tokh*

Leva'im ("Among Lions," *Ha-Meliẓ*, 1884, also in book form) and *Mi-Bayit u-mi-Ḥuẓ* ("From Inside and Outside," *Ha-Meliẓ*, 1890–91, also in book form), he described the sufferings of the Jews in Russia. After the pogroms he joined the Ḥibbat Zion movement and wrote poems of yearning for Zion in the spirit of this movement. The poems are colorless and full of clichés but nevertheless exude warmth and innocent romanticism. From 1882 to 1892 he lived in Moscow where he worked as Hebrew secretary to the philanthropist K.Z. Wissotzky. He wrote a biography of Wissotzky called *Mofet le-Rabbim* ("An Example to Many," 1894). At the same time he published various collections of letters: *Shevet Sofer* ("Writer's Pen," 1883); *Niv Sefatayim* ("Fruit of the Lips," 1892); and later *Ha-Et* ("The Pen," 1906), which include some interesting letters of A. *Mapu and P. Smolenskin. In 1892, when the Jews were expelled from Moscow, Dolitzki emigrated to New York and was warmly received by the small band of Hebrew *maskilim* in the U.S. He began publishing descriptions of the persecution of Jews in Russia in the journal *Ha-Ivri*, mainly in poetic form. His epic poem dealing with the forced conscription of Jewish children *Ha-Ḥalom ve-Shivro* ("The Dream and its Meaning"), which he had started in Russia but could not publish there because of censorship, appeared in 1904. Despite the efforts of the Hebraists in the U.S. to assist him, he found no way of making a living from Hebrew writing. After working at various jobs he finally took up writing for the daily Yiddish press, turning out serialized novels which catered to the popular reader. He died in Los Angeles. In his youth he was highly regarded as a Hebrew writer and poet, and his poems and stories were very popular with the Hebrew reading public of his day. J.L. Gordon, in a poem dedicated to Dolitzki on his departure for America, views him as his heir in Hebrew poetry ("Here, take my pen, rise and inherit my place"). However, after his arrival in America a period of decline set in, from which he never recovered. His last years were spent in poverty, and he was quite forgotten. A list of his Hebrew works in translation appears in Goell, Bibliography, 20–21.

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[Gedalyah Elkoshi]

°DOLLFUSS, ENGELBERT (1892–1934), chancellor of Austria and leader of the *Christian Social party there. He served as chancellor from 1932 until his murder in an attempted Nazi putsch. An antisemite, Dollfuss had been instrumental in excluding from membership all students "tainted with Jewish blood" at a Catholic students' congress in 1920. During his chancellorship a number of covert anti-Jewish measures were introduced, and after the crushing defeat of the Social Democrats in February 1934 he refused to see a Jewish delegation, remarking that the Jews should be pleased that he was too busy to deal with Jewish affairs. However, Austrian Jewry regarded him as a "bulwark against persecution and the horrors of a Nazi regime" (JC, July 27, 1934) because of his energetic stand against Nazism. Dollfuss issued several statements against racial antisemitism and was not connected with any official action against Jews. His opponents considered the Jews one of the pillars of his regime. His murder made him the symbol of the fight against Nazism. After his murder the Zionist leadership of the Jewish community and Chief Rabbi David Feuchtwang praised Dollfuss as the renewer of the Austrian state and organized mourning services in the synagogues.

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DOLMATOVSKI, YEVGENI ARONOVICH (1915–1994), Soviet poet and songwriter. Dolmatovski became known during World War II for his collections of patriotic verse, such as *Pesnya o Dnepre* ("Song of the Dnieper," 1942), and later wrote successful songs for postwar patriotic motion pictures. His other works include *Sozvezdiye* ("Constellation," 1947), praising the 16 republics of the U.S.S.R.; the anti-Western *Slovo o zavtrashnem dne* ("A Word about Tomorrow," 1949), which won the 1950 Stalin Prize; and *Iz zhizni poezii* ("From the Life of Poetry," 1965). Dolmatovski signed the 1970 manifesto opposing Jewish emigration from the Soviet Union.

DOLMENS ("stone table" in Breton, from *dol*, "table," and *men*, "stone"), ancient chambers built of a number of undressed vertical stone slabs (orthostats), usually weighing several tons, supporting a single flat capstone. In its original state the dolmen was covered over with a heaped-up mound of earth or small stones retained by an external ring of stones (tumulus). The disappearance of the encompassing mound since antiquity has given dolmens their typical table-like appearance. The stone chambers were intended to contain human remains and as such dolmens are regarded as places of burial. The dolmen is the most common of a series of monuments of proto-historic date called megaliths (structures built of massive undressed stone blocks), notably stone circles, standing stones (menhirs), and cists in cairns. Dolmens have been found across the world (see Joussaume) indicating that this form of burial was reinvented in different cultural centers. The idea that dolmens reflect patterns of diffusion (e.g., G. Elliot-Smith, who believed that the megaliths of Europe were built by wandering Egyptians) is no longer held by scholars. Burial in dolmens, or within stone cairns or tumuli, is characteristic of the southern Levant during much of the late fourth and third millennia B.C.E.

They are characteristic of regions where the geology does not provide natural caves or where the rock is difficult to quarry. Dolmens usually appear in groups ("fields") and they number in the hundreds. Some of the best examples are known from the Golan Heights and Transjordan (where there are fields of between 300 and 1000 each). In Palestine most of the dolmens have been found in the north, with isolated examples known further south (e.g., at Yiftahel). However, cairn and tumuli burials are known in southern Palestine as well, but their stone-built burial cists lack the monumental orthostats and massive capstones of the dolmens. An interesting field of tumuli with cist burials of this sort was investigated at Ramat ha-Nadiv in the Carmel Hill range. The oldest dolmens in the Near East are said to come from el-Adeimeh, 9 miles (15 kms.) southeast of Jericho, which was believed by Stekelis to be the cemetery of the Chalcolithic site of Tuleilat Ghassul, but there is uncertainty about this dating and they are more likely to be from the Early Bronze I. A series of extraordinary dolmens was investigated at Ala Safat in Transjordan, some of which had chambers that were accessed through stone slabs hewn with portholes. These too are dated to the Early Bronze Age. A correlation between the distribution of dolmen fields and Early Bronze Age settlements was pointed out by Vinitsky for the Golan. In the Golan a major study of dolmen fields was undertaken by Epstein, who noticed five types based on methods of construction and on the state of their preservation. Previous studies on dolmens have concentrated on typology, function, and date, but in-depth studies of dolmen landscapes have yet to be undertaken and may very well reveal evidence for various forms of social stratification. At er-Ramthaniyyeh in the Golan, for example, one "freestanding" type of dolmen existed within a field which otherwise only had *tumuli*-dolmens. Variation in monument type has also been noted by Greenberg within the dolmen fields of the Transjordan, as well as within the tumuli field at Ramat ha-Nadiv, suggesting the existence of a hierarchy within the populations they served. The general consensus of opinion is that dolmens served populations from a non-sedentary pastoralist background. Dolmens are notoriously difficult to date. The earliest artifacts found in them are dated to the Intermediate Bronze Age (EB IV; circa 2000 B.C.E.), but it seems likely that they were periodically reused or rebuilt for burial purposes throughout the protohistoric period, beginning with the Early Bronze I (late fourth millennium B.C.E.) and culminating with the Intermediate Bronze Age which was probably the last period in which the practice of dolmen construction persisted; this would account for the fact that most of the artifacts (mainly weapons, pottery, and some jewelry) found in dolmens date from this period.

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[Shimon Gibson (2nd ed.)]

DOLNI KOUNICE (Ger. **Kanitz**; Heb. קוניץ), small town in Moravia, Czech Republic. Jews were living there from the end of the 14th century. A "Jewish judge" is mentioned in 1581. The synagogue was destroyed by the Swedes in 1643; rebuilt immediately, it existed until the Holocaust. About the end of the 17th century several conventions of the Moravian communities were held in Dolni Kounice. Jews there were able to acquire real estate until the regulations imposing the *Familiants system were introduced in 1727; these also limited the number of families permitted to reside in the locality to 111. There were 16 "Jewish houses" registered in 1674 and 35 in 1823. Dolni Kounice was one of the political communities (**politische gemeinde*). The community numbered 595 in 1848; 206 in 1900; 71 in 1921; and 53 in 1930 (1.6% of the total population), of whom 41 declared their nationality as Jewish. The Jewish quarter was destroyed by fire in 1823, and in 1862 by flood. Dolni Kounice was the birthplace of the historian Gotthard *Deutsch. The historian Heinrich *Flesch was appointed rabbi there in 1894. The Jews in Dolni Kounice were deported to the Nazi death camps in 1942 and perished there. The synagogue equipment and *pinkas* (minute-book) of the *ḥevra kaddisha* were deposited in the central Jewish Museum in Prague. No community was reestablished after World War II. The synagogue building was restored by the authorities in 1969. Ancestors of Austrian chancellor Bruno *Kreisky were from Dolni Kounice.

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[Meir Lamed]

DOLNI KUBIN (Slovak **Dolný Kubin**; Hung. **Alsókubin**), town in N. Slovakia, now Slovak Republic. According to existing documentation, Jews arrived in the city of Dolni Kubin, and in the Orava region, by the beginning of the 18th century, though it can be assumed that they were in the area earlier.

Moravian Jews were the pioneers of Jewish settlement in the entire region of northern upper Hungary, from Čadca to Bardejov. *Holešov Jewry, in northern Moravia, settled in many Jewish cities of this region, including Dolni Kubin in 1710. During their initial years in the city, the Jews rented houses from local inhabitants and were quick to exploit the city's strategic location between Cracow and Vienna for business purposes. In 1775 the Jews built their first synagogue. They also acquired land for a cemetery.

In 1780 there were 112 Jews in the Orava region; in 1801, 668; in 1840, 2,333; and in 1900, 3,197 (probably the peak). In the town of Dolni Kubin the Jewish population rose from 124 in 1835 to 680 in 1921 but then dropped to 248 in 1940 (of a total 2,005).

In 1870 the community split into an Orthodox and a *Neolog congregation. It was reunited as a *status quo community in 1886. The Zionist movement in Dolni Kubin was one of the first in Hungary. Moric Greunwald was among the founders of the World Mizrachi movement and was a personal friend of Theodor *Herzl. He participated in the second and third World Zionist Congresses. At the end of World War I a wave of pogroms shook the region. Jewish war veterans fought off threatening mobs.

In September 1938 Slovak autonomy was proclaimed, and on March 14, 1939, the independent Slovak state came under German protection. From the outset Jews were persecuted. On June 5, 1942, the Jews of Dolni Kubin and the vicinity were dispatched to the Zilina transit camp, and from there to extermination camps in Poland. In 1947, 27 Jews lived in Dolni Kubin, most of them leaving in 1948–49. The synagogue became a movie house. In 1991, a memorial to the victims of the Holocaust was erected in the presence of President Vaclav Havel. It was the first such ceremony since the fall of Communism in Slovakia.

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[Yeshayahu Jelinek (2nd ed.)]

DOMALSKY, I. (**Mikhail Davidovich Baytalsky**; 1903–1978), Russian poet and publicist. Domalsky was born in the village of Chernovo in Odessa province. He participated in the Civil War and was a Komsomol (Communist Youth League) activist in the Ukraine. Together with M. Elko, he wrote the popular song "Po moryam – po volnam" ("Over the Seas – Over the Waves"). In the 1920s he worked as a journalist for newspapers in Kharkov and the Donbass. In 1930 he moved from the Donbass to Moscow where he worked on the staff of the newspapers *Vechernyaya Moskva* and *Izvestia*. Accused of Trotskyism, he was arrested and served two terms in forced labor camps in Vorkuta (1936–41 and 1950–56). He was a soldier in World War II and after his demobilization he worked as a metalworker in Eysk. While imprisoned Domalsky began to write poetry (c. from 1951) in which he expressed his passionate longing for Israel. The poems were smuggled out of the U.S.S.R. and published in Israel under the pseudonym D. Seter (Hebrew for "hidden") with parallel Hebrew translation. The book of poems was edited by Avraham Shlonsky and Moshe Sharett under the title *Pridet vesna moya* ("My Spring Will Come," 1962, 1975).

In 1956 Domalsky was rehabilitated. He then moved to Nal'chik where he began to write his memoirs, chapters of which appeared in Moscow in the *samizdat* (self-publishing) journal *Evrei v SSSR* ("Jews in the Soviet Union," 17, 1979) and in Israel in the journals *Vremya i my* ("Time and We," 11, 1978) and *22* (5, 1979).

In 1970 Domalsky moved to Moscow where, under various pseudonyms, he was actively involved both in the general democratic and Jewish *samizdats*. In 1975 his book *Russkie yevrei vchera i segodnya* ("Russian Jews Yesterday and Today") was published in Tel Aviv. In 1977 he wrote a sociological essay "Novoye v antisemitizme" ("What is New in Antisemitism?") which appeared in the collection *Antisemitizm v Sovetskom Soyuze. Yego korni i posledstviya* ("Antisemitism in the Soviet Union, its Roots and Consequences," Tel Aviv, 1979). In these publications Domalsky explained the mechanism of official Soviet antisemitism.

Domalsky died in Moscow. According to his wishes his remains were brought to Israel in 1979 and buried in kibbutz Gelil Yam near Herzliyyah.

[*The Shorter Jewish Encylopaedia* in Russian]

DOMBROVENI, Jewish agricultural colony in Bessarabia, founded in 1836 on 1,287 hectares (approx. 3,217 acres) of land bought by settlers from Podolia. It developed the most advanced level of farm economy in the Jewish colonies in the region. Of the 371 families (1,874 persons) living there in 1899, 139 owned land with an average holding of 9.2 hectares (approx. 32½ acres) per family; an additional 2,325 hectares (approx. 5,812 acres) were held on lease. The colony owned then 31 plows and 3,517 sheep and goats. A school was opened in 1900, to which the writer K.R. Abramowich-Ginzburg was appointed principal. Under the Romanian agrarian reform of 1922, 182 Jews in Dombroveni received 413 hectares (approx. 1,032 acres). The 303 members registered in the loan fund operating locally in 1925 included 225 farmers, 21 artisans, and 24 merchants. In 1930 there were in the colony 1,198 Jews (87.3% of the total population).

[Eliyahu Feldman]

Holocaust Period

After occupation by the Soviet army in June 1940, the rabbi and community leaders of Dombroveni were exiled to Siberia; Jewish property was confiscated in stages and all Zionist activity outlawed. In 1941, in the interval between the withdrawal of the Soviet forces and the entry of German-Romanian troops, Dombroveni was plundered by the inhabitants of the nearby villages, and the Jews fled to the outlying fields. When they were caught by the Romanian troops they were all concentrated in the school courtyard, robbed of their money and jewelry, and ordered to leave the place. Those who turned west were murdered by the Germans they met en route; others turned east and reached the Dniester, where some succeeded in crossing the river with the help of the remaining Soviet authorities and took refuge in the Soviet Union. Still others were caught by Romanians and dispatched to *Transnistria, where they were either killed or died of starvation and disease. The settlement itself was leased out and all the property seized and distributed among local peasants.

[Jean Ancel]

DOMENICO GEROSOLIMITANO (c. 1552–1621 or later), apostate and censor of Hebrew books. Born in Jerusalem, Domenico, whose Jewish name is unknown, received a talmudic and kabbalistic education at Safed and also studied mathematics and medicine. At first he was active as a rabbi, then practiced medicine in Cairo, and later became physician to the sultan in Constantinople. In 1593 he converted to Christianity and served the Inquisition as censor of Hebrew books first at Mantua and nearby towns, then at Monferrato, Milan, and Rome. In Rome Domenico became a member of the Collegio dei Neofiti, where he taught Hebrew in addition to his work as a censor. Parts of his Hebrew autobiography were published by Guidi (*Festschrift… A. Berliner,* 176ff.) and by G. Sacerdote. Domenico's writings, mostly in manuscript form, include an "Index Expurgatorius," the *Sefer ha-Zikkuk*, which lists all passages in Hebrew literature to which the Inquisition objected; a translation into Hebrew of the New Testament and the Apocrypha; and anti-Jewish, pro-Christian sermons in Italian.

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[Alfredo Mordechai Rabello]

DOMESTIC PEACE (Heb. שְׁלוֹם בַּיִת, *shelom bayit*). The Jewish tradition visualizes God as seeking peace: in the heavenly spheres, between the nations on earth, and especially between *husband and wife. Since every man is considered a king in his own household, Scripture regards a man who establishes peace in his house as a sovereign who establishes peace in his dominion (ARN^1 28:3). The rabbis sensed that the ultimate achievement of peace on earth depends upon its achievement in the smallest social unit – the *family. They also said that God's presence leads to peace in the home. However, the view that "Great is peace that reigns between husband and wife" had legal and moral consequences as well. It was permitted to tell a lie for the sake of domestic tranquility. God Himself had done this when He reported to Abraham on Sarah's soliloquy (Gen. 18:12–13 and BM 87a). Moreover, the practice of Jewish women to light candles every Sabbath eve, established by the rabbis as one of the principle commandments to be performed by females, is expressly for the purpose of promoting an atmosphere of warmth and peace on the holy day. The rabbis queried which of two commandments is to enjoy preference when there are insufficient funds for both, Sabbath or Ḥanukkah candles, and ruled that Sabbath candles were more important because they contributed to *shelom bayit* (Shab. 23b).

That God strongly desired *shelom bayit* was derived especially from the fact that according to the **sotah* ritual (Num. 5:11–31), He had permitted His holy name to be inscribed on parchment which was placed in water, though He knew that His name would thus be erased by the liquid. Yet He lent His name to this abuse that He might be a party to the restoration of marital tranquility. However, the rabbis in many places cautioned husbands not to make it necessary to resort to the ritual altogether. They should behave properly and not be tyrannical or jealous (Sot. 2b). Because of the principle that one cannot be expected to live with a snake under one roof, the rabbis ruled that the husband would not have the right to exact from his wife an accounting under oath with regard to her management of household goods (Ket. 86b). Either the relationship was one of trust, they stated, or it was better for it to be terminated. It is apparent from the Bible that the institution of polygamy was frowned upon because of *shelom bayit* long before it was abolished by the ban of R. *Gershom, in about the year 1000. The patriarchs Abraham and Jacob, who had more than one wife, had domestic strife; the prophet Samuel was born in such a home; and the kings suffered harmful intrigues because of their harems. There could hardly be *shelom bayit* when there was more than one mistress of the household, and the Bible proves this by its description of the relationship between the two wives of the same man by the word *ẓarah*, which also means misfortune and suggests that two wives of one husband can only bring grief to each other and to the home. Because of *shelom bayit*, husbands were urged to heed their wives' counsel (see the commentary of Me'iri on BM 59a) with regard to all household affairs, and especially the feeding and clothing of the sons and daughters. This, however, is only one of numerous rules involving the love and honor due to a wife from her husband and the husband's legal obligations because of the marital relationship. Moreover, for the sake of *shelom bayit*, a husband whose parents unjustly find fault with his wife is not required to please his parents by showing his agreement with them thereby angering his wife (*Sefer Ḥasidim*, 564). Thus even the fifth commandment of the Decalogue, to honor one's parents, is superseded by *shelom bayit*.

[Emanuel Rackman]

DOMESTIC VIOLENCE, behavior used by one partner to control the other; it can include verbal, emotional, sexual, and physical abuse and cuts across social strata. Although men can be abused, most victims are women. Children in abusive households are likely to have been abused or to have witnessed abuse. In recent decades, the term "domestic violence" has replaced "wife beating" or "wife battering"; such behavior is also referred to as "relationship violence," "domestic abuse," and "violence against a spouse."

Domestic violence is not a new issue among Jews. Although the word מכה (strike, blow, hit, beat) appears in the Bible, it is not associated with wife beating until talmudic times and even then it is not overtly discussed. The most useful source in the study of wife beating is responsa literature (ranging from geonic times to the present). There are a variety of attitudes towards domestic violence found in these texts, with some decisors who declare it unlawful while others justify it under certain circumstances. Gratuitous abuse, striking a wife without a reason, is unlawful and forbidden by all. However, the attitude of rabbinic sources toward perceived "bad wives" is ambivalent, and wife beating is occasionally sanctioned if it is for the purpose of chastisement or education.

Medieval Attitudes in the Muslim World

*Ẓemaḥ ben Paltoi, *gaon* of Pumbedita (872–90), allowed a man to flog his wife if she was guilty of assault. Rabbi *Yehudai b. Naḥman (Yehudai Gaon, 757–61) wrote that: "…when her husband enters the house, she must rise and cannot sit down until he sits, and she should never raise her voice against her husband. Even if he hits her she has to remain silent, because that is how chaste women behave" (*Oẓar ha-Ge'onim*, Ket. 169–70). The ninth-century *gaon* of Sura, *Sar Shalom b. Boaz (d. c. 859 or 864), distinguished between an assault on a woman by her husband and an assault on her by a stranger. The *gaon* of Sura's opinion was that the husband's assault on his wife should be judged less severely, since the husband had authority over his wife (*Oẓar ha-Ge'onim*, BK 62:198).

In his *Mishneh Torah*, Moses *Maimonides (1135–1204) recommended beating a bad wife as an acceptable form of discipline: "A wife who refuses to perform any kind of work that she is obligated to do, may be compelled to perform it, even by scourging her with a rod" (Ishut 21:10). The responsa of R. Solomon b. Abraham *Adret (Rashba, 1235–1310) include examples of husbands who occasionally or habitually use force; few of these men are brought to court for beating a wife in a moment of anger. However, there are instances in Rashba's responsa of wives who considered the rabbis as allies against violent husbands (Adret, vol. 5, no. 264; vol. 7, no. 477; vol. 8, no. 102; vol. 4, no. 113).

Medieval Attitudes in Ashkenaz

Responsa from 12th- and 13th-century France and Germany express a rejection of wife beating without any qualifications in a Jewish society in which women held high social and economic status. This attitude is reflected in a proposed *takkanah* (regulation supplementing the talmudic *halakhah*) of R. Perez b. Elijah, who believed that "one who beats his wife is in the same category as one who beats a stranger"; he decreed that "any Jew may be compelled on application of his wife or one of her near relatives to undertake by a *ḥerem* not to beat his wife in anger or cruelty so as to disgrace her, for that is against Jewish practice." If the husband refused to obey, the court could assign her maintenance according to her station and according to the custom of the place where she dwelled. It is not clear whether this *takkanah* ever received serious consideration.

Some Ashkenazi rabbis considered battering as grounds for forcing a man to give a *get*. Rabbi *Meir b. Baruch of Rothenburg (Maharam, c. 1215–1293) and R. *Simḥah b. Samuel of Speyer (d. 1225–1230) wrote that a man has to honor his wife *more* than himself and that is why his wife and not his fellow man should be his greater concern. R. Simḥah argued that like Eve, "the mother of all living" (Gen. 3:20), a wife is given to a man for living, not for suffering. She trusts him and thus it is worse if he hits her than if he hits a stranger. R. Simḥah lists all the possible sanctions. If these are of no avail, he not only recommends a compelled divorce, but allows one that is forced on the husband by gentile authorities. This is highly unusual since rabbis rarely endorse forcing a man to divorce his wife and it is even rarer to suggest that the non-Jewish community adjudicate internal Jewish affairs. Although many Ashkenazi rabbis quoted his opinions with approval, they were overturned by most authorities in later generations, starting with R. Israel b. Pethaḥiah *Isserlein (1390–1460) and R. *David b. Solomon Ibn Abi Zimra (Radbaz, 1479–1573). In his responsum, Radbaz wrote that R. Simḥah "exaggerated on the measures to be taken when writing that [the wifebeater] should be forced by non-Jews (*akum*) to divorce his wife … because [if she remarries] this could result in the offspring [of the illegal marriage, according to Radbaz] being declared illegitimate (*mamzer*)" (part 4, 157). Sixteenth-century responsa seem to acknowledge that wife beating is wrong, yet they avoid releasing the woman from the bad marriage. These evasive positions vis-à-vis relief for a beaten wife are part of *halakhah* and rest on the husband's dominant position in marriage.

Contemporary Perspectives

For many years there was a myth that domestic violence among Jewish families was infrequent. However, there is much data demonstrating that domestic abuse is a significant and under-recognized behavior in Jewish communities in Israel and the Diaspora. Jewish women typically take twice as long to leave battering relationships than other women for fear that they will lose their children and because they are aware of the difficulties in obtaining a *get*, the Jewish divorce decree which is dependent on the abusive husband's consent. The major halakhic stance in the early 21st century continues to support the central role and authority of the husband and domestic abuse is not automatic grounds for Jewish divorce. Rabbinic courts tend to favor men who promise to reform their behavior (*shelom bayit*) and often force women to return to their vicious husbands or lose their rights to maintenance and property and custody of children. An abused woman whose husband refuses to give her a divorce is considered an **agunah*, a chained or anchored woman.

The problem of domestic violence in Israel surfaced in the media during the first Gulf War in 1991 when soldiers were not mobilized and husbands and wives (and their children) were forced to be together in sealed rooms. Beginning in the 1990s the rate of husbands murdering wives spiralled upwards in Israel and this trend has continued, with over 200 spousal murders reported by 2002.

Jewish Women International (JWI) is among contemporary organizations addressing the plight of victims of domestic abuse. It has developed resources for Jewish women and an information guide for rabbis. JWI coordinated international conferences on Jewish domestic violence (2003 and 2005) addressing this behavior in the U.S., Israel, South America, and the FSU. An inter-denominational group, the Jewish Institute Supporting an Abuse-Free Environment (J-SAFE), promotes a Jewish community in which all institutions and organizations conduct themselves responsibly and effectively in addressing the wrongs of domestic violence. Its goal is to promote universal standards for training and policies that prevent abuse, that ensure that victims are treated supportively and appropriately, and that perpetrators are held accountable, thereby promoting a safer environment for all children and adults. In recent years, some rabbinic authorities, shocked by the growing murder rate, have made initial efforts to address the situation of women in abusive marriages.

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[Naomi Graetz (2nd ed.)]

DOMICILE.

Definitions

In contrast to "residence," which is the place of physical abode, domicile is that place where a man has his true, fixed, and permanent home and principal establishment and to which whenever he is absent he has the intention of returning. For example, in matters governed by local custom, a man is bound to follow the practices of his place of domicile (*lex loci domicilii*) if they conflict with those of the locality in which he happens to be residing (Pes. 51a; Maim. Yad, Yom Tov, 8:20; see also **minhag*). There is also a distinction between "resident" and "inhabitant," the latter term implying a more fixed and permanent abode than the former and imposing privileges and duties to which a mere resident would not be subject. Thus, one who uttered a vow not to derive any benefit from the "inhabitants" of a certain city (*anshei ha-ir, benei ha-ir*) is forbidden to do so from those who have resided there more than 12 months, but is permitted to derive benefit from anyone residing there less than that. If, however, his vow was not to derive any benefit from the "residents" of the city (*yoshevei ha-ir*), he is forbidden to do so from anyone who has lived there for more than 30 days (BB 8a; Maim. Yad, Nedarim, 9:17).

Intention to Establish Domicile

Intention in the matter of establishing domicile may be avowed, implied, or construed. Occasionally, these types are in conflict with one another, and authorities have disagreed as to the relative strength of each type. A famous case is that of the observance of the second day of a festival. Inhabitants of the Land of Israel keep one day; those of the Diaspora keep two (see *Festivals). The settled law is that people traveling between the Land of Israel and the Diaspora follow the practice of the place to which they have arrived if their avowed intention is to establish domicile there (Sh. Ar., OḤ 496:3, and commentaries). But the following geonic responsum illustrates how implied intention or circumstantial factors can modify the settled law:

> African Jews who have married in the Land of Israel and reside there: If 12 months have as yet not elapsed since they took up residence, they are obligated to keep two days following their place of origin; for this have the rabbis (BB 7b) taught, "How long must one reside in a city in order to be considered as one of its inhabitants? – 12 months." If, however, 12 months have elapsed, then thereafter – even if their avowed intention is to return – they follow the practice of the inhabitants of Jerusalem until they actually return to their homes.
>
> The foregoing refers to people going to the Land of Israel from Africa. As for people, however, who go to the Land of Israel from Babylonia which has two talmudic academies:
>
> If their avowed intention is to return – even though many years have elapsed – they keep the more stringent practices of both localities. If, however, they do not have the avowed intention of returning, they follow the practices of the Land of Israel whether this will make for more stringent or for more lenient observance (*Oẓar ha-Ge’onim*, ed. by B.M. Lewin, 3, pt. 2 (1930), 72, Pes. 51, no. 175).

Domicile as a Source of Obligations

The Talmud has a series of rules according to which the length of residence in a place determines the extent to which one becomes obligated to participate in local activities and to perform communal duties. Thirty days' residence carries with it the obligation to contribute to the communal soup kitchen maintained for the poor (*tamḥui*). It also renders one subject to the rules of the apostate city (*Ir ha-niddaḥat; Sanh. 112a). Three months' residence carries with it the additional obligation to contribute to the general charity fund of the community; six months' to the fund which provided clothing for the poor; nine months' to the fund which covered the funeral expenses of the poor. Twelve months' residence changes one's status to that of inhabitant and subjects one to all communal expenses, taxes, and imposts; in this respect, the purchase of a home has the equivalent effect of 12 months' residence (BB 7b–8a; Maim. Yad, Mattenot Aniyyim, 9:12, Shekhenim, 6:5).

Domicile of a Married Woman

According to the tannaitic sources, the domicile of a married woman is established by her husband. She could, with a few specified exceptions calculated to avoid undue hardship for her, be compelled to follow him on pain of divorce and loss of alimony rights (*ketubbah*). Thus, if they have been living in the country he may not compel her to move to the city, and if they have been living in the city he may not compel her to move to the country, "for in certain respects living in the country is preferable and in other respects living in the city is preferable." Another one of the exceptions to the general rule is taking up residence in the Holy Land. If a woman insists upon emigrating to the Land of Israel or, in Israel, to

Jerusalem, and her husband is adamant in his refusal, a divorce must be granted, and she retains her rights to alimony (Ket. 110b; Maim. Yad, Ishut, 13:17–20).

Concerning the domicile established by a rabbinic legal fiction, for the purpose of doubling the distance one might be permitted to walk outside the city limits on the Sabbath, see *eruv (*eruv teḥumin*).

With regard to restrictions on the freedom to establish domicile in the medieval communities of Europe, see **ḥerem ha-yishuv.*

[Aaron Kirschenbaum]

The Establishment of Domicile as a Factor in the Determination of Subordination to Communal Enactments in Matters of Civil Law

This issue arose in a question put to R. Isaac B. Sheshet (Spain-Algiers fourteenth century) in the context of an enactment passed in a particular town requiring that marriage ceremony be conducted exclusively in the presence of communal trustees and in the presence of ten of them; otherwise the money transacted for *kiddushin* would be expropriated and the marriage annulled. This enactment was intended to prevent clandestine/secret marriages (see *Marriage, **Hefker*, **Takkanot ha-Kahal*, **Aguna*). Ribash was asked whether the enactment could also apply to those who had taken up residence in the city after its enactment. Ribash responded that "even those who came from outside the town to reside there are subject to the same law as the people of the city and must abide by their enactments, and it is if they explicitly agreed to accept all of the communal enactments upon their arrival in the town, provided that they have no intention to leave. And they are even permitted with respect to matters that were forbidden in their own town because of the local custom, for as long as they do not intend to return, and if not forbidden in the town in which they came to live…" (see *Conflict of Laws).

On the other hand, in matters relating to the collection of taxes, a number of rulings in the responsa literature indicate that the community has no authority to subject a member of the community to a tax that was first levied prior to his becoming a member of the community. For example, if the community borrowed a certain sum of money, or if a tax was imposed by the ruler of the town, even if not by way of an enactment (Resp. Rashba, 111, no.412) According to Ribash, a new resident can only be required to pay previous debts of the town when the enactment had already been made prior to his arrival in the town and the new resident already had notice of the enactment.

The State of Israel

ESTABLISHMENT OF DOMICILE FOR DETERMINATION OF RABBINICAL COURT'S JURISDICTION. The question of establishing a person's permanent place of residence is of crucial importance in the State of Israel, with respect to the jurisdiction of the rabbinical court in matters of personal status. The Rabbinical Courts Jurisdiction (Marriage and Divorce) Law 5713 – 1953 provides that "matters of marriage and divorce of Jews in Israel, being citizens or residents of the State, shall be under the exclusive jurisdiction of the rabbinical courts" (sec. 1). On a number of occasions, the Israeli Supreme Court was required to determine whether a Jewish couple was domiciled in Israel, this being the precondition for the jurisdiction of the rabbinical court. The general criterion adopted in Israeli common law is the criterion of "the center of a person's life." Where a Jewish couple was married in Israel and their life centered in Israel, the Israeli rabbinical court has jurisdiction over them, even if the couple went to live abroad (see in detail in entry **Bet Din*).

The Place of Residence for Determining a Minor's Domicile for Purposes of the Hague Convention

The determination of domicile is also of decisive importance in cases of child abduction (see entry: *Abduction). The Hague Convention, which regulates matters of jurisdiction in cases of child abduction (for the contracting states), was enacted as binding legislation in the State of Israel (The Hague Convention Law Return of Abducted Children, 1991). The Hague Convention compels the Court in whose jurisdiction the abducted child was found to order the return of the child to the state from which he was removed, so that the case can be adjudicated by the court of that State. Under section 3 (a) of the Convention, a condition for the Convention's applicability is that the child was habitually resident in the State (from which he was removed) immediately before the removal or the retention of the child. The Israeli Supreme Court determined that as a rule the habitual residence of the child is the place in which he lives his daily life. However, the view was also expressed that, when the parents have traveled abroad for a temporary period, the duration of which having been determined in advance, their temporary place of residence abroad will not be regarded as their domicile, and by extension, will not be regarded as the child's domicile.

In FA 575/04 (Jerusalem District Court) the Court was required to determine a child's habitual place of residence in order to determine whether the case was one of abduction, and as such was governed by the provisions of the Hague Convention. The Court addressed a number of parameters indicating that the parents' permanent place of residence was Israel. Their stay abroad was temporary, its duration having been determined in advance, and the return to Israel was one of the preconditions for the trip abroad. The couple had not purchased an apartment abroad, and on the other hand, they owned an apartment in Israel. They visited Israel on a regular basis, and the husband was attempting to find work in anticipation of their return. However, in the Court's view (Judge M. Drori), the central and clinching argument for viewing *Israel* as the parent's permanent place of residence was the fact that the husband, who was religiously observant, did not observe the Second Day of Festivals ordinarily observed by Jews living outside Israel.

The Court adduced extensive halakhic material from the *posekim* who dealt with the prohibition on residents of the

Land of Israel who traveled abroad from performing work on the second day of the Festival, as distinct from actions performed in private, which are permitted to them (Maim., Yad, Hilkhot Yom Tov, 8.2; Sh. Ar. OḤ, 496.3, Magen Avraham, ad loc. 4). The Court also cited at length a responsum of R. David b. Zimra (*Resp Ridbaz*, 4: 73), who distinguishes between three categories of people traveling from the Land of Israel abroad: One who goes abroad exclusively for business purposes belongs to the category of "intending to return immediately" and is therefore required to conduct himself in accordance with the strict law of the place to which he came, but only in public; one who travels for business purposes in order to make a profit, or to engage in his livelihood or to learn Torah, belongs to the category of "intending to return at a later stage" and therefore is required to behave in accordance with the strict law of his place of origin and the strict law of his current location, so as not to trigger dispute; and one who changed his place of residence together with his wife and children, even though he intends (in the future) to return to settle in Israel, and who is not referred to as one who "intends to return," and is therefore required to conduct himself in all matters as one of the local residents. With respect to the final category, R. Yisrael Meir Radin (*Mishna Berura*, 496.13) explains that "one who leaves his place of residence with his wife and children for the purpose of trading and profiting, even though at the time of his departure he intended to return, is considered as one who does not have the intention of returning, for presumably, having moved his entire family to a new residence, he will not move again for as long as he is engaged in a profitable livelihood in his new place of residence."

Based on these comments and the fact that the husband concerned was both observant and knowledgeable, the Court presumed that in these kinds of matters he had conducted himself in accordance with, and in awareness of, the *halakhah*. When abroad, the husband had treated the Second Day of the Festival for exiles as though it was a regular weekday. The Court ruled that this indicated that he did not intend to settle in England, and had every intention of returning to Israel. In the Court's view this was conclusive evidence that the habitual residence of the husband – the appellant – was in Israel, and it was as though on each festival the husband had made a public declaration that his habitual residence was in Israel.

[Menachem Elon (2nd ed.)]

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DOMIN, HILDE (**Hilde Loewenstein**; 1909–), German poet and writer. Domin was born in Cologne, Germany. She studied law and economics, sociology, and philosophy in Heidelberg, Cologne, and Berlin. Among her teachers were Karl Jaspers and Karl Mannheim. In October 1932 she immigrated to Rome together with her future husband, the art historian Erwin Walter Palm. In 1935 she received her doctoral degree in the field of political science in Florence and taught languages in Rome. After the pact between Hitler and Mussolini she escaped with her husband in 1939 to England. In 1940 she settled in the Dominican Republic, where she worked as a translator and architectural photographer. From 1947 to 1952 she taught German at the University of Santo Domingo. After her mother's death, in 1951, she adopted the pseudonym Domin, as a reminder of the Dominican Republic.

In 1954 she moved back to West Germany, and three years later her first poems appeared. From 1961 she worked as a writer. Along with poems, stories, and one novel she wrote literary-scientific essays and worked as a translator and editor.

Her works reflect the emotional worlds of an individual caught between escape, exile, and return, with all the doubts and complexities involved.

Among her works are the poetry collections *Nur eine Rose als Stuetze* (1959), *Rueckkehr der Schiffe* (1962), *Der Baum blueht trotzdem* (1999), the novel *Das Zweite Paradies* (1968), and the autobiographical *Von der Natur nicht vorgesehen: Autobiographie* (1974) and *Aber die Hoffnung: Autobiographisches aus und ueber Deutschland* (1982).

Domin won numerous prizes, including the Droste-Preis der Stadt Meersburg (1971), Rainer-Maria-Rilke-Preis fuer Lyrik (1976), Nelly-Sachs-Preis der Stadt Dortmund (1983), Literaturpreis der Konard-Adenauer-Stiftung (1995), and received the Grosses Bundesverdienstkreuz (1994).

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[Noam Zadoff (2nd ed.)]

DOMINIC, ALEXANDRU (**Avram Adolf Reichman**; 1889–1942), Romanian poet and playwright. Born in Bucharest to a middle-class family, Dominic completed the local German-Evangelical secondary school and doctoral studies in law (Brussels) and in literature (Paris). While a student in France he had ties to an anarchist group and published articles in French periodicals, one of them *La société nouvelle,* under pen names. In 1912 he returned to Bucharest, where his poems appeared in Romanian periodicals. In 1920 he published his first volumes of expressionist and social poems, *Revolte si crucificari* ("Revolts and Crucifixions"). Well received by critics, Dominic was nominated for a Nobel Prize by the French review *Esope, journal d'action intellectuelle* in the same year. In 1921 he published the expressionist play *Sonata umbrelor* ("Sonata of the Shadows"), dealing with the problem of the intellectual. This play was staged at the National Theater in Bucharest (1920) and in German translation at Neues Theater am Zoo, Berlin (1922). In 1927, Dominic published a new volume of poems, *Clopote peste adancuri* ("Bells above Depths"). In 1924–25, together with the Romanian writer Liviu Rebreanu, Dominic edited the review *Miscarea literara*. His poem *Israel* (1920) deals with the theme of Jewish suffering. Dominic also published verses in the Zionist review *Puntea de fildes* (1925). In 1938 he visited Palestine, where he decided to send his son. Dominic died in Bucharest. His widow, Bertha, immigrated to Israel, where she established a prize in his memory. Some of his poems were translated into Hebrew.

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[Lucian-Zeev Herscovici (2nd ed.)]

DOMINICAN REPUBLIC, republic in the Caribbean islands comprising two-thirds of the island of Hispaniola. This region (Santo Domingo) has quite a convoluted history. By the treaty of Ryswich (1607) it was given to Spain, but the treaty of Basel (1793) gave it to France, and in 1814 it reverted to Spain. Haiti occupied it from 1822 to 1844 when it became independent; it was then occupied by Spain until 1865, when it became independent once and for all.

In the first part of the sixteenth century those in charge of colonization of the Spanish colonies, the Converso Bishop Juan Rodriguez de Fonseca and the secretaries of King Ferdinand, Lope de Conchilles and Miguel Perez de Almazan, applied a policy of sending *Converso colonists to Santo Domingo. Historians deduce that in that period Santo Domingo was practically in Converso hands.

From 1781 to 1785 Jews arrived from the destroyed Jewish community on the Dutch island of St. Eustatius. During the French occupation (1795) Jews from Curaçao, occupied by England, began to settle there and were joined by Jews from St. Thomas and Jamaica, all holding foreign citizenship. Jews also arrived from Haiti after the slave rebellion there.

Under the Haitian occupation a cemetery for foreigners was established and the first Jewish grave is located in it – that of Jacob Pardo, dated December 6, 1826. The Jews dispersed in various areas, including the capital Santo Domingo and Puerto Plata, Monte Christi, La Vega, and S. Pedro de Macoris. They dealt mainly with the export of tobacco, timber, and jewelry and the importation of general merchandise from Curaçao, St. Thomas, and Europe through the Sephardi community of Hamburg.

The local population saw the Jews as a progressive, positive, and patriotic element. This is best demonstrated by the famous response by the first Dominican president, Santana (Sept. 16, 1846), to an anti-Jewish petition instigated by the Spaniards in the city of La Vega.

Jews actively helped in the revolution against Spain in 1865, and the new independent government immediately thanked Rafael de Mordecai de Marchena and other Dutch subjects for their active support in the War of Independence.

The number of Jews living there in that period cannot be effectively evaluated, since most of them lived as Dutch, Danish, or British citizens. No organized community existed, and one of them – Rafael Namias Curiel – acted as cantor and performed marriages until 1900. The second-generation Sephardi Jews assimilated almost completely into the local population in a phenomenon that was called by the historian Ucko "the fusion between the Sephardics and the Dominicans."

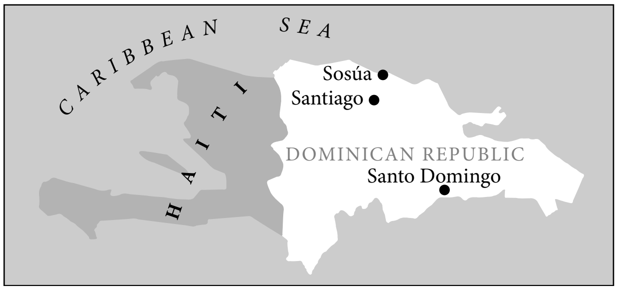

Major centers of Jewish settlement in the Dominican Republic.

President Gregorio La Peron made an official proposal in 1882 for the settling in the Dominican Republic of Jews suffering from pogroms in Russia. After limited public debate, however, the proposal was abandoned without further investigation.

At the *Evian Conference on refugees, convened by President Franklin Roosevelt in 1938, the Dominican Republic offered to accept for settlement up to 100,000 refugees. The Dominican Republic Settlement Association Inc. (DORSA) – sponsored by the *American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (JDC) – acquired from President Trujillo 22,230 acres of land in Sosúa on the northern coast, and the American Jewish Joint Agricultural Corp. (Agro-Joint) – a subsidiary of JDC – contributed a large sum in subsidies for the project. The agreement, signed by DORSA and the Dominican Republic and unanimously approved by parliament, assured the immigrants freedom of religion and facilitated immigration by offering tax and customs exemptions. DORSA, in turn, promised a policy of selective immigration and financial support for the settlers.

Despite the optimism of the government and the Agro-Joint, basic difficulties precluded the ultimate success of the project. Wartime conditions made travel, especially from occupied countries, extremely difficult. The first immigrants did not arrive until mid-1940; by 1942 there were only 472 settlers; and by 1947, 705 persons had passed through the settlement. Although the original objective of the project had been agricultural development, few of the settlers were agriculturists or even inclined toward it. Of the 373 people left in Sosúa in July 1947, only 166 were engaged in agriculture. The rest worked as businessmen and artisans. It is estimated that under the colonization scheme some 5,000 visas were actually issued, thus helping many of the beneficiaries to escape the Holocaust; but most of them never reached the Dominican Republic. The census taken in 1950 indicated the presence of 463 Jews in the Dominican Republic. Today most of the inhabitants of Sosúa have assimilated into the local population.

Descendants of Jews reached the highest strata of Dominican society. Francisco Henriquez y Carvajal, son of a

Jewish father and Converso mother, took office as president of the republic in 1916. His brother, the famous writer Federico Henriquez y Carvajal, wrote *La Hija del Hebreo* ("The Daughter of the Hebrew") on the problematics of mixed marriages. The president's son, Pedro Henriquez Urena, became one of the major linguists of the Spanish language. His other son, Max Henriquez Urena, as Dominican ambassador to the UN, made the welcoming speech when Israel was admitted to the *United Nations in 1949. The well-known writer Haim Horacio Lopez-Penha wrote the anti-Nazi book *Los Paisanos de Jesus* ("Jesus' Fellow Countrymen"). The composer Enrique de Marchena culminated his career with the concerto suite "Hebraicum," inspired by his visit to Israel.

In 2004 some 250 Jews lived in the Dominican Republic, which had two synagogues – one in Santo Domingo, the other in Sosúa; an active community, Centro Israelita de la Republica Dominicana; a bimonthly magazine, *Shalom;* and a Sunday school.

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[Benjamin (Benno) Varon (Weiser) / Mordechai Arbell (2nd ed.)]

DOMINICANS, Roman Catholic religious order, whose official name is *Ordo Fratrum Praedicatorum*, the Order of Friar Preachers. Often referred to as "Jacobins," after their Saint-Jacques Monastery in Paris, they were also popularly known as *domini canes*, "the [watch-] dogs of the Lord" because of their leading role in the *Inquisition. Founded by Saint Dominic and sanctioned by Pope Honorius III in 1216, the order's first mission was preaching against Christian heresies in the south of France. From 1232, the Dominicans (along with the *Franciscans) were also in charge of the Inquisition, which was initially an institution directed only against the Christian heresies of the *Albigenses and the Waldenses. Because of their duties in these and other spheres, the activity of the Dominicans soon became largely directed against the Jews.

When Popes Gregory X in 1274 and Nicholas IV in 1288 and 1290 reissued the *Turbato corde* bull of Clement IV (1267), which had likened to heretics those converted Jews who had later returned to Judaism together with those who had assisted them in the process (see Papal *bulls), they entrusted the Dominican and Franciscan inquisitors with the prosecution of such persons. The Dominicans proceeded with these prosecutions in southern France from the close of the 13th century. In his *Practica inquisitionis*, an Inquisition textbook written in about 1323, the Dominican Bernard Guy, inquisitor in Toulouse, inserted lengthy passages dealing with the Jews. The interrogatory model which he proposes was above all intended to uncover the accomplices of the converted Jews who had reverted to Judaism. Without any doubt, the cruelest role in the imposition of Inquisition policies against converted Jews was played by the Dominican Tomás de *Torquemada, inquisitor-general in Spain until his death in 1498.

The Dominicans also played a predominant role in the proceedings against the Talmud (see Burning of *Talmud) and the *censorship of other Jewish books following the denunciation by Nicholas *Donin in 1239; after the confiscation of March 3, 1240, these books were collected by the Dominicans (as well as by the Franciscans). When at this point one bishop came to the defense of the Jews, the Dominican Thomas de Cantimpré accused him of having been corrupted by the Jews. Both in order to be able to understand such books themselves, and also to be the better prepared for their spoken and written missionary activities among the Jews, the Dominicans introduced the study of Hebrew from the middle of the 13th century, a development in which the Spanish Dominican *Raymond de Peñaforte played an important part. Raymond *Martini, another Spanish Dominican, held a chair in Hebrew until his death (shortly after 1284), but at first it was mainly converted Jews who directed these studies. At the Council of Vienna in 1312, the Spanish Dominican Raymond Lully elicited a general decision calling for the teaching of languages (Hebrew and Arabic) for missionary activities. However, after the meeting of their general chapter in Rome in 1571, the Dominican attitude toward the teaching of Hebrew grew more reserved. On the insistence of the apostate Pablo *Christiani and Raymond de Peñaforte, the compulsory attendance of the Jews at Dominican missionary sermons was decreed in 1263 (see also *Sermons to Jews). In 1278, Pope Nicholas III ordered the grand master of the Dominicans to make such sermons and their compulsory attendance general practice. The Dominicans obtained the consent of Edward I of England for the introduction of such sermons in 1279; and subsequently many Dominicans, especially Vicente *Ferrer, and Peter *Schwarz, made widespread use of forced sermons to the Jews. The Dominicans were also in the forefront in organizing public *disputations, beginning with the one in *Paris in 1240, to which the Jews were compelled to send delegates. The disputation of *Barcelona in 1263 was convened on the initiative of Raymond de Peñaforte and Pablo Christiani.

Anti-Jewish polemics occupy an important place in Dominican writings. Raymond Martini drew up the *Capistrum Judaeorum* and the *Pugio fidei christianae* (Paris 1621, 1651; Leipzig, 1687), written in both Hebrew and Latin. Pierre de Janua, Martini's assistant, who was also well versed in Hebrew, wrote an *Opus adversus Judaeorum errores accuratum*. Alfonsus *Bonihominis, a Spaniard who lived for many years in Paris (d. 1353), claimed to have translated the *Epistola Rabbi Samuelis* (printed 1480?) from Arabic; however, it is probable that he composed the work himself. Other Dominican anti-Jewish works were *In sectam hebraicam* by the Italian Gratiadei Aesculanus (d. 1341); *Liber contra Judaeos nomine Thalamoth* (mid-14th century) attributed to Pierre de Pennis; and *Capistrum Judaeorum* (before 1418) by the Italian Lauterius de Batineis (or Laurentius de Valdinis, or de Ubaldinis). Theobaldius of Saxony (first half of the 15th century), one of the participants at the Council of Constance, wrote a *Refutatio errorum Thalmud*. The Spaniard Joannes Lopez (or Lupus, d. 1464) collected several anti-Jewish sermons and arguments under the title *Opus eruditum contra superstitiones Judaeorum*. The German Peter Schwarz, who appears to have learned Hebrew in a Jewish school in Spain and had attacked the Jews during a public disputation in Ratisbon, was the author of *Tractatus contra perfidos Judaeos de conditionibus veri Messiae… ex textibus hebraicis* which includes various appendices in Hebrew and a "reply to several Jewish arguments." Later authors were the Catalonian Gaspar Fayol, who wrote *Tractatus contra Judaeos* (end of the 15th century); John Baptist Theatinus, who knew some Hebrew, author of *De Trinitate et cognitione Dei contra philosophos et Judaeos* (early 16th century); and the Spaniard Cyprianus Benetus (d. 1522), to whom is attributed *Aculeus contra Judaeos*. Augustus Justiniani, who lived in northern Italy during the first half of the 16th century, translated several biblical texts from Hebrew, as well as Maimonides' *Guide of the Perplexed*, and translated the New Testament into Hebrew; he also published Victor Porcheti's pamphlet *Adversus impios Hebraeos*. On a more everyday plane, Sixtus Medices, who was in Venice during the second half of the 16th century, attacked the activity of Jewish moneylenders in *De foenore Judaeorum*. Antoninus Stabili (d. 1583) published in Italy *Fascicolo delle vanità Judaiche diviso in giornate sedeci*. In the older tradition of Dominican Hebrew scholars was Franciscus Donatus of Rome (d. c. 1653), who demonstrated his sound knowledge of the language in several works on Hebrew accents and abbreviations and made various translations from Hebrew.

Anti-Jewish polemics continued in the 17th century; especially prolific was the Italian Petrus Pichius, author of: *De partu virginis Deiparae adversus Judaeos; Epistola a gli Hebrei d'Italia nella quale si dimostra la vanità della loro penitenza ed aspetatione del Messia; Trattato della passione del Messia contra gli Ebrei; Stolte dottrine degli Ebrei con la loro confutazione*. The Italian Tommaso Campanella (d. 1639), author of about 80 works of all kinds, compiled *Adversus astrologos Judaeos*; and the Frenchman Johannes of Sancta Maria (1604–1660), in addition to a Hebrew grammar and commentaries on some of the prophets in which he made wide use of Hebrew sources, published the polemic, *De futura legalium apud Judaeos observatia post eorum ad Christi fidem conversionem*. Josephus Maria Ciantes of Rome (d. 1670), who had studied Hebrew and rabbinic literature and in 1625 had been appointed by Pope Urban VIII to "instruct" the Jews, was the author of *De sanctissima Trinitate contra Judaeos* and *De Sanctissima Christi incarnatione contra Judaeos*; the Hebrew translation of Thomas Aquinas' *Summa* is also his work. The Dominicans in Cologne, under their prior Jacob van Hoogstraaten, played a prominent and hostile role in the *Reuchlin-*Pfefferkorn controversy (1509–20) over the destruction of Hebrew books. In 1664, the general of the Dominicans, Giovanni Battista de' Manni, ordered members of the order in Poland to preach from the pulpit against the *blood libel. Although the Dominican Order continues to include in its ranks a considerable number of converted Jews, it has nevertheless given up all organized missionary activities among the Jews. Of late, the Dominicans have made important contributions to biblical studies and on the Dead Sea Scrolls at the Ecole Biblique et Archéologique Francaise de Jérusalem. They have adopted a positive attitude toward the State of Israel, where they have several monasteries and churches in Jerusalem.

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[Bernhard Blumenkranz]

°DOMITIAN (Titus Flavius Domitianus), Roman emperor, 81–96 C.E. Son of *Vespasian and brother of *Titus, Domitian attempted to establish an absolute monarchy against the senate, and resumed an expansionist policy. A rabid opponent of Oriental cults, he combated Judaism and Christianity, the latter then being considered a Jewish sect by the Romans. The triumphal arch dedicated to Titus for his victory in Palestine was erected in his reign. In the year 85, coins were issued with the inscription *Iudea Capta* or *Iudea Devicta*. In 95 he had his cousin *Flavius Clemens sentenced to death and the latter's wife, Flavia Domitilla, exiled, after having ensured their conviction for atheism on account of their adherence to Judaism (or Christianity). He stringently enforced the prohibition against conversion to Judaism and is said to have ordered the execution of all persons claiming to be descendants of the House of David (Euseb., Hist. Eccl. 3:19; Dio Cass., Hist. 69:23, 2), but it seems that he prevented the execution of a number of descendants of David who had been brought to him (Euseb., *ibid.* 3:20; Tertullianus Apol. 5:5). Under Domitian the *Fiscus Judaicus* was very strictly collected (*acerbissime actus est*) by means of informers (Suetonius, Domit. 12). The fiscal tribunal considered the cases not only of those who lived in accordance with Jewish custom, but also those who tried to hide their origin. Suetonius (*ibid.*) himself relates that he was present when a 90-year-old man was subjected to an examination in public, in order to see if he was circumcised (cf. Martial 7:55; 7:82). It was perhaps at that time that R. *Gamaliel went to Rome, together with three other rabbis, in the hope of being able to avert further persecutions.

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[Alfredo Mordechai Rabello]

DOMNINUS OF LARISSA (Laodicea in Syria; c. 415–485), philosopher and mathematician. He was a pupil of Syrian and a contemporary of Proclus Diadochus whose pupil Marinus mentions him frequently in his biography of Proclus. A neoplatonist of the Athenian school, he turned at times to the teachings of the Alexandrian school. Thus he criticized the metaphysical speculations of Syrian and Proclus, for which Damascius accused him of superficiality and of corrupting Platonic philosophy. Proclus is said to have directed against Domninus a work entitled "Restitution of Plato's Teaching." Damascius takes Domninus to task for having transgressed the prohibition against eating the meat of pigs when he visited the temple of Asclepius in order to effect the cure of a malady. On the other hand, Damascius praises Domninus as a mathematician. Domninus was also interested in problems of physical astronomy, such as the nature of comets, which he attempted to explain. Two of Domninus' mathematical works have been preserved: a mathematical handbook entitled ἐνχειρίδιον ἀριθμητικῆς εἰσαγωγῆς (in J. Boissonade (ed.), *Anecdota Graeca*, 4 (Paris, c. 1832), 413–29), and a treatise (ed. by C.E. Ruelle in *Revue de Philologie* (1883), 82ff., with French translation and a short commentary). In the *Encheiridion* Domninus mentions his intention to write a *Principle of Arithmetic*, but nothing further is known about this work. Domninus had a pupil Gesius, identical with Jasius, often cited by Arabic writers.

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DOMUS CONVERSORUM, home for converted Jews in London, established in 1232 by Henry III in New Street (now Chancery Lane). It could accommodate about 40 persons and paid pensions to others who lived outside. The home was governed by a warden and later a subwarden or presbyter, assisted by a chaplain. In 1280 Edward I devoted to its upkeep half of the property of converts, which legally escheated to the Crown, and for a period of seven years also the proceeds of the Jewish poll tax. From its foundation up to 1290 the total number of inmates and dependents was approximately 100. On the expulsion of the Jews from England in that year, there were as many as 80 at one time. Thereafter, its importance declined. However, it was hardly ever empty. It was continually resorted to by converts from France, Germany, Flanders, Italy, Spain, Portugal, or the Barbary States. From 1390 to the beginning of the 17th century, 38 men and ten women figure in its records. The last reference to an inmate appears in 1609, though for another 150 years converts from Judaism sometimes received crown pensions. The office of keeper was ultimately combined with the judicial office of Master of the Rolls. The last legal relic of the institution was abolished in 1891.

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[Cecil Roth]

DONALDA, PAULINE (1882–1970), Canadian soprano, teacher, administrator. Donalda was born Pauline Lightstone in Montreal into a Jewishly active East European immigrant home. As a child she attracted attention for the quality of her voice and studied music on scholarship at the Royal Victoria College. In 1902 she went to Paris on a grant from Donald Smith (Lord Strathcona), after whom she adopted the professional surname of Donalda. She made her London debut at Covent Garden in 1905 singing *Micaela* under the direction of Andre Messager, her Canadian debut in 1906 singing with her husband (Paul Seveilhac) in the Montreal Arena, and her New York debut later that same year in *Faust*. In the spring of 1910 Donalda opened the Covent Garden season and returned in 1912 singing in both *Les Huguenots* and *I Pagliacci*, again with her husband. She was about to leave Canada for a European tour when World War I broke out. She remained in Canada, often giving benefit concerts in support of the war effort. In 1917 she returned to Paris, where she sang in Balfe's *Le Talisman*, sharing the stage with her new husband, Mischa Leon (b. Haurowitz).

In 1922 Donalda left the stage to devote her life to teaching, opening a studio in Paris. She returned to Montreal in 1937, where she opened a studio, and in 1942 founded the Opera Guild, the company she directed until 1969. During her relatively short performing career, Donalda was recognized for the purity of her voice and for her musicality, fine diction, and powerful stage presence. She is remembered for the unfailing energy with which she promoted opera in Montreal and encouraged talented young Canadian singers. Donalda also was very active in support of Jewish music in Montreal and the study of music at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem.

[Joel Greenberg (2nd ed.)]

DONATH, ADOLPH (1876–1937), Austrian poet and art historian. Donath was born in Kremsier (Moravia) and, after studying law and philosophy at Vienna, began composing poetry on Jewish themes. The poems were published in the following year under the title *Tage und Naechte*, with a laudatory introduction by Georg *Brandes. Donath's early *Judenlieder* (1895) were set to music by Béla Nemes (1899, reprinted 1920). The poems in *Mensch und Liebe* (1901) bewailed the fate of the Jewish people without a homeland. From 1900 to 1904, Donath contributed regularly to the Viennese *Neue Freie Presse* and in 1904 he edited a *Festschrift* of Austrian poetry dedicated to poet Detlev von Liliencrons. In 1903, some of his poetry was included alongside those of Richard *Beer-Hofmann, Martin *Buber, and Stefan *Zweig in an anthology of Jewish poetry, entitled *Junge Harfen. Eine Sammlung jungjüdischer Gedichte*. In 1905 he moved to Berlin, where he devoted his writings mainly to art criticism, as well as the technique and psychology of art collecting. In 1910 he founded a bi-weekly art journal, *Der Kunstwanderer*, and from 1921 to 1925 edited the *Jahrbuch fuer Kunstsammler*; his book *Judenlieder* was published in 1920 in Vienna. After the advent of Nazism Donath moved to Prague, where he continued to write on art; his last book, *Wie die Kunstfaelscher arbeiten*, was published in 1937.

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[Sol Liptzin / Lisa Silverman (2nd ed.)]

DONATH, EDUARD (1848–1932), Austrian chemist. Donath was born in Wsetin, Moravia, and studied in Vienna. In 1876 he became a Christian. From 1888 he was professor of chemical technology and analysis at the Deutsche Technische Hochschule in Bruenn. Donath was a technologist, analyst, organic and inorganic chemist, geologist, and botanist. In particular, he worked on coal, metals, building materials, glass, water, rubber, dyestuffs, and the chemistry of food. His books include *Monographie der Alkohol-Gaehrung als Einleitung in das Stadium der Gaerungstechnik* (1874), *Die Pruefung der Schmiermaterialen* with K. Pollak (1879), *Neuerungen in der Chemie des Kohlenstoffes und seiner anorganischen Verbindungen* (1899), and *Das Wollfett…* with B.M. Margosches (1901). Donath was active in the development of technical universities at Brunswick, Vienna, Prague, and in the foundation of the Verein der Oesterreichischen Chemiker.

[Samuel Aaron Miller]

DONATH, LUDWIG (1900–1967), U.S. stage and screen actor. Born in Vienna, Donath became well known in pre-Hitler Germany and Austria in supporting roles. Later he was active in the anti-Nazi underground. He fled to the U.S. in 1940. In Hollywood, his mid-European accent typed him for Nazi roles, notably as the Fuehrer in *The Strange Death of Adolf Hitler* (1943). His talent soon brought him other parts: as Al Jolson's father in *The Jolson Story* (1947) and the psychiatrist in the Broadway success, *A Far Country* (1961).

DONATI, ANGELO (1885–1960), Resistance activist of the Holocaust period. Donati was born into a well-known Jewish family in Modena, Italy. After World War I he settled in Paris, where he created the Banco Italo-Francese di Credito while remaining an Italian citizen. In 1931 he brought *Jabotinsky together with the Italian government to open a naval school for *Betar in Civitavecchia. After the Germans occupied northern France in 1940, he found refuge in Nice, which was occupied by the Italians in November 1942. In Nice, he volunteered to help local Jewish organizations and eventually, in cooperation with the Roman Catholic priest Padre Maria Benedetto (Father *Marie Benoît), became active in rescuing Jews. Italian Police Inspector Guido Lo Spinoso, Italian commissioner for Jewish affairs, appointed Donati as his councilor. In turn, Donati introduced Padre Benedetto to Lo Spinoso in 1943 to persuade him to endorse a plan to rescue 30,000 Jews in Nice and the region in the event of a German occupation of the Italian-occupied zone. Padre Benedetto obtained an audience in Rome with Pope *Pius XII on July 16, 1943, in which he explained the plan to bring those Jews to northern Italy. After the fall of Mussolini on July 25, 1943, Donati negotiated with senior officials of the Italian Foreign Ministry and with the representatives of Great Britain and the United States at the Vatican in an attempt to transfer 30,000 Jews from France and another 20,000 from Italy to North Africa. The Italian government was ready to allocate four passenger ships, but the approval of Great Britain and the United States did not come. Though Italy's surrender in September 1943 frustrated these efforts, thousands of Jews managed to cross into Italy with the help of Italian authorities, and many were thus saved. Donati himself escaped in 1943 to Switzerland, where he continued rescue and assistance operations for Jews. He returned to Paris after the liberation in 1945, and was appointed as representative of the Italian Red Cross as well as ambassador of the small state of San Marino. He died in Paris. On April 25, 2004, Carlo Azeglio Ciampi, president of the Italian Republic, awarded Donati a posthumous Gold Medal of Civic Merit, referring to his "noble and enlightening example of eminent civic qualities."

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[Daniel Carpi / Sergio Itzhak Minerbi (2nd ed.)]

DONATI, ENRICO (1909–), Italian surrealist and abstract painter. He was born in Milan, and studied piano and composition before becoming a commercial artist and later a painter. In 1934 he moved to Paris, and subsequently to New York. Donati's art is largely inspired by geological phenomena. A collector of strange gems and ores, his paintings reflect their shifting, transparent colors. In 1949 he found a smooth, small stone on the beach at Dover in England. On breaking it open, he saw it contained a perfect fossil. From that time he became preoccupied with the theme of fossilization. At first he painted "moonscapes," depicting imaginary views down the center of a fossil, and then made a series of paintings depicting the surface of a fossilized plant or rock. Later he painted new themes, suggestive of immemorial antiquity: human imprints in sand and ancient inscriptions on cylinder seals and tablets.

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DONATI, LAZZARO (1926–1977), Italian painter, nephew of Angelo *Donati. He was born and lived in Florence. His painting is representational, but not literal. He painted on wood in thin, wet glazes and his favorite subjects were portraits of women, still lifes, city scenes, and landscapes. Donati's work is imbued with a purity of color and an atmosphere of poetic sensuality.

DONEN, STANLEY (1924–), U.S. film director. Born in Columbia, South Carolina, Donen trained as a dancer and while still in his teens began working with Gene Kelly on Broadway. He went with Kelly to Hollywood and joined MGM, where he worked closely with producer Arthur Freed. Donen's inventive choreography and directorial skills helped revitalize the musical during the 1940s and 1950s. For example, his filming of Fred Astaire dancing on the walls and ceiling of his London hotel room in *Royal Wedding* (1951) has become legendary. Donen directed some of the most successful and best-regarded musicals of the time, including *On the Town* (1949), *Singin' in the Rain* (1952), *Seven Brides for Seven Brothers* (1954), *It's Always Fair Weather* (1955), *Love Is Better than Ever* (1956), *Funny Face* (1957), *The Pajama Game* (1957), *Damn Yankees!* (1958), *The Little Prince* (1974), and *Movie Movie* (1978).

Donen also directed sophisticated comedies and thrillers, such as *Kiss Them for Me* (1957), *Indiscreet* (1958), *Once More, with Feeling* (1960), *Surprise Package* (1960), *The Grass Is Greener* (1960), *Charade* (1963), *Arabesque* (1966), *Two for the Road* (1967), *Bedazzled* (1967), *Staircase* (1969), *Lucky Lady* (1975), *Saturn 3* (1980), and *Blame It on Rio* (1984). In 1985 Donen directed the TV series *Moonlighting*, and in 1999 he directed the TV drama *Love Letters*, based on the play by A.R. Gurney.

Among his many honors, Donen has received the Career Achievement Award from the Los Angeles Film Critics Association (1989); a Lifetime Achievement Award from the Academy Awards "in appreciation of a body of work marked by grace, elegance, wit, and visual innovation" (1998); the Akira Kurasawa Award at the San Francisco International Film Festival (1995); the Opus Award from the ASCAP Film and TV Awards (2000); and the Career Golden Lion at the Venice Film Festival (2004).

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[Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

DONETSK (until 1924 **Yuzovka**, and until 1961 **Stalino**), industrial city in the Eastern Ukraine, established in 1869–70 when an iron mill and coal mines were opened. The Jewish population numbered 3,168 in 1897 (11.5% of the total). They were occupied as petty traders and artisans. In 1887 a magnificent synagogue was built, a *talmud torah* opened, and charity organizations were established. In 1887 the authorities prevented a pogrom against Jews and Englishmen, but during a pogrom which lasted for three days from October 20, 1905, many Jews were killed and wounded and synagogues and Jewish houses were destroyed. In 1910 there were three synagogues and five Jewish private schools. Zionism was active and a delegate was sent to the Sixth Zionist Congress. During World War I many refugees arrived and were helped by a local Jewish committee. Between the wars the general population grew by 400% and the Jewish population doubled. There were 11,300 Jews living in the town in 1926 (10.6% of the total population). In 1922 most of the Jews were artisans and were dominant in tailoring and hide production. In the second half of the 1920s there were 300 Jewish workers (among 12,000) in the big steel mill, 30 of them professionals. There were several hundred young Jews among the 4,000 workers employed in the construction of new steel mills. There was one Yiddish school with 320 pupils in Donetsk, and in 1935 it had six Yiddish and five Russian classes. In 1939 the Jews numbered 24,991 (total population 466,268). At the beginning of the German-Soviet war thousands of Jews were evacuated with their families by their factories or organizations, such as about 1,500 Jews employed at the Stalino Works who left with their families for the Urals. The town was occupied by the Germans from October 20, 1941, to September 8, 1943. A large ghetto was set up and its inhabitants were kept without food or medical aid, with hundreds dying every day. In December *Einzatzcommando* 6 murdered several hundred Jews. In April 1942 the liquidation of the ghetto commenced. The Germans took the Jews to the abandoned Maria mine and threw most of them down the shafts alive. They also used gas vans, throwing the bodies into the mine. Some 15,000 Jews were murdered there. According to the 1959 census, the Jewish population numbered 21,000 (3% of the total). There was a synagogue, a rabbi, and poultry slaughtering until 1959, when the synagogue was closed down during High Holiday services. In 1963 the militia clamped down on *minyanim* and confiscated religious articles, returning only prayer shawls. In 1970 the estimated Jewish population was 40,000. Many immigrated to Israel and the West in the 1990s but Jewish life was revived, with Pinchas Vyshedsky as chief rabbi from 1995 and a full range of religious, educational, and cultural services offered to the community.

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[Shmuel Spector (2nd ed.)]

DONIGER (O'FLAHERTY), WENDY (1940–), U.S. scholar of the history of religion. Born in New York City, educated at Radcliffe College (B.A., 1962), Harvard (M.A., 1963; Ph.D., 1968) and Oxford (D.Phil., 1973), Doniger taught at Harvard, the School of Oriental and African Studies of the University of London (1968–75), the University of California, Berkeley (1975–77), and the University of Chicago (from 1978), where from 1986 she was Mircea Eliade Distinguished Service Professor of the History of Religions at the Divinity School. She also held an appointment in the Department of South Asian Languages and Civilizations and was a member of the university's Committees on Social Thought and the Ancient Mediterranean World. In addition she was the director of the university's Martin Marty Center.

Doniger's work focuses primarily on the comparative historical study of religious mythology and its social and cultural meanings, with particular reference to gender relations, and on the history and culture of Hinduism, on which she is acknowledged to be among the greatest contemporary authorities. Her most important works include *Women, Androgynes, and Other Mythical Beasts* (1980), *Dreams, Illusions, and Other Realities* (1984), *Tales of Sex and Violence: Folklore, Sacrifice and Danger in the Jaimaniya Brahmana* (1985), *Other People's Myths: The Cave of Echoes* (1988), *The Implied Spider: Politics and Theology in Myth* (1998), *Splitting the Difference: Gender and Myth in Ancient Greece and India* (1999), and *The Bedtrick: Tales of Sex and Masquerade* (2000). She edited a number of important collections, including *Purana Perennis: Reciprocity and Transformation in Hindu and Jaina Texts* (1993), *Off With Her Head! The Denial of Woment's Identity in Myth, Religion, and Culture* (1995, with Howard Eilberg-Schwartz), and *Myth and Method* (1996, with Laurie L. Patton), and also published translations of culturally significant texts, including *The Rig Veda: An Anthology* (1981), the *Oresteia* (1989), and the *Kamasutra* (2002, with Sudhir Kakar), as well as *Mythologies* (1991), a translation of Yves Bonnefoy's landmark *Dictionnaire des Mythologies*.

[Drew Silver (2nd ed.)]

DONIN, HAYIM HALEVY (1928–1983), U.S. Orthodox rabbi and author. Donin was born Herman Dolnansky in New York City, legally changing his name in 1955. He earned his B.A. from Yeshiva University in 1948; his ordination from Yeshiva University in 1951; his M.A. from Columbia University in 1952; and his Ph.D. from Wayne State University in 1966. He served as rabbi of Congregation Kesher Israel in West Chester, Pennsylvania (1951–53), where he was also counselor of the B'nai B'rith Hillel Foundation at West Chester State Teachers College. In 1953, he became rabbi of Congregation B'nai David in Southfield, Michigan, where he remained until he immigrated to Israel in 1973.

Donin was Adjunct Professor of Judaic Studies at the University of Detroit (1969–73) and co-founder (with James Gordon) and first president of Akiva Hebrew Day School (1964), the first modern Orthodox day school in metropolitan Detroit. (Donin had previously started the Hebrew Academy of Oak Park, the forerunner of Yeshivat Akiva.) Donin also served as vice president of the Jewish Community Council of Detroit and chairman of the Board of License for Hebrew teachers in the Detroit area, and was a member of the Michigan Governor's Ethical and Moral Panel (1966–68). In 1961, he participated in the White House Conference on Aging, as Chairman of the Social Actions Commission of the Rabbinical Council of America, on whose National Executive Board he subsequently served (1967–8).

After publishing *Beyond Thyself* (1965), Donin wrote a highly acclaimed series of books on practicing Judaism from the Orthodox perspective: *To Be A Jew*: *A Guide to Jewish Observance in Contemporary Life* (1972); *To Raise a Jewish Child: A Guide for Parents* (1977); and *To Pray as a Jew*: *A Guide to the Prayer Book and Synagogue Service* (1980). Following the success of *To Be a Jew*, which was translated into seven languages, Donin moved to Jerusalem to write full-time, along with lecturing at Bar-Ilan University in Ramat Gan (1974–76). He was also one of the most popular teachers of conversion classes for non-Israelis sponsored jointly by the Rabbinical Council of America and the Chief Rabbinate of Israel. In 1999, Donin, who had already received Yeshiva University's Torah U'Mada Award, was honored posthumously by Yeshiva University with the Dr. Samuel Belkin Award for Excellence in Religion and Religious Education.

[Bezalel Gordon (2nd ed.)]

DONIN, NICHOLAS (13th century), apostate to Christianity; of La Rochelle. A pupil of R. *Jehiel b. Joseph of Paris, whose yeshivah he attended, he was excommunicated by his teacher for his heretical (Karaite?) ideas and repudiation of the Oral Law. Turning apostate and informer, he joined the *Franciscan Order, seeking revenge on his former coreligionists. Along with other converts, Donin compiled a list of 35 accusations against the Talmud – an indictment based on charges that the Talmud teaches that the Oral Law is superior to the Written Law, and that it is full of gross anthropomorphisms, obscenities, and blasphemies against Jesus, Mary, and Christianity. Donin was the main instigator of the famous disputation of Paris (1240), which in reality was a trial of the Talmud, himself appearing as the accuser with four rabbis called to be the defendants. Only two of them were given the opportunity to defend the Talmud: R. Jehiel and R. Judah b. David of Melun. As a result of the disputation the Talmud was condemned to be burned; 24 cart loads of talmudic works were burned in Paris in 1242. Donin was also said to be responsible for the spread of the *blood libel, although this accusation was not raised during the disputation. He is, however, not identical with the convert who instigated massacres of the Jews of *Anjou, *Poitou, and *Brittany in the year 1236. Although Donin continued his anti-Jewish activities for a long period, he was basically a rationalist who never became a good Christian. His name was mentioned in 1287 when he was condemned by the general of the Franciscans for a pamphlet attacking the order, which he wrote in 1279.

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[Judah M. Rosenthal]

DONNOLO, SHABBETAI (913–c. 982), Italian physician and writer on medicine. He was born in Oria, Italy. The name Donnolo is Greek in origin but is common among Jews in its Arabic form "Dunash." Such details of his life as are known have come from an autobiographical sketch in the preface to his book *Sefer Ḥakhmoni*, a commentary on the Sefer *Yeẓirah. At the age of 12 he was captured by Saracen raiders, but was ransomed by relatives in Taranto and remained in southern Italy. Donnolo studied medicine under teachers who were acquainted with pharmacy, medicine, astronomy, and astrology.

He was well versed in the Talmud, and some geonic literature, knew Hebrew, Greek, Latin, and colloquial Italian, and acquired, copied and studied Greek and Latin medical manuscripts. He traveled a great deal, presumably visiting Salerno, but it appears that he never left Italy, for no mention of other countries is made in his autobiographical writings. There are erroneous references to Donnolo's having visited Modena in Lombardy, as he practiced as a physician and teacher of medicine in southern Italy only. *Rashi's reference to Donnolo residing in Lombardy is due to the fact that southern Italy was at that time also called Lombardy. In *Sefer ha-Mirkaḥot* ("Book of Remedies") Donnolo mentions the village of Martis near Russano, in Calabria.

In keeping with the practice of medieval Europe, Donnolo was both a pharmacist and a physician. He appears to have been an independent thinker and his works are neither translations nor copies, but the collected experience of 40 years of medical practice. Throughout his commentaries he stressed the importance of Hebrew writings and spread the knowledge of them. Donnolo was acquainted with the writings of *Asaph ha-Rofe. Many common features and identical Hebrew expressions are to be found in the works of the latter and Donnolo's "Book of Remedies." It is uncertain if Donnolo knew Arabic, even though the Saracens were then in Sicily. What is evident is that he was not acquainted with Arab medicine, as there is no reference to it in any of his writings. Donnolo's Hebrew is difficult. His terminology is Greek, Latin, and colloquial Italian. His use of Hebrew terms from the Bible and Talmud is rare and of Arabic rarer still, except when these terms already appear in the Talmud, the geonic writings, or the books of Asaph or else designate commodities imported from Arabia. Donnolo's statement in his commentary on the *Sefer Yeẓirah* that "you can foretell the future of the person from the lines and appearance of his face" indicates that he drew material from the same sources as *Hai Gaon. The parallelism of physiognomies and astrology is based on Donnolo's idea that the human body is an image of the macrocosm. As far as is known, Donnolo was the first person in Christian Europe to write on medicine in Hebrew. Apart from Asaph's book on medicine – which was not written in Europe – the "Book of Remedies" is probably the first Hebrew medical work. It has added importance in that it was probably the first serious medical book written in Italy after the fall of Rome. Donnolo wrote at the crossroads of the Greco-Latin and Arab cultures, and his works show that the Greek medicine of his time had not yet been affected by its Arab counterpart, despite the fact that the Salerno School (founded probably in Donnolo's time) is said to have taught in Hebrew, Latin, and Arabic. Donnolo was not a prolific writer, but the works he left helped to spread the Hebrew language and promote science. His works include the following: *Sefer ha-Mirkaḥot* ("Book of Remedies") – published by Steinschneider in Virchow's Archive in 1867 and republished in a more complete edition by Muntner in Jerusalem in 1950; *Sefer Ḥakhmoni* (1880); *Pizmon* – a ritual poem in primitive verse; *Sefer ha-Mazzalot* ("Book of Constellations") of which only a few sentences have survived; *Antidotarium* (in Ms.). Although his name does not appear on this work, Donnolo himself refers to it in the "Book of Remedies." In his commentary on the *Sefer Yeẓirah* he mentions another book on anatomy and physiology. Although the inscription *Sefer ha-Yakar* ("The Precious Book") appears on the title page of the "Book of Remedies" it would appear that this name was generic and included both the *Antidotarium* and a work on fevers. In any case it is followed by another more practical inscription: "The Book of Drugs, Liquids, Powders, Bandages, Applications and Ointments to rub on the Skin." It includes more than 100 simple remedies and the method of compounding them. The book deals with medical preparations, pharmacy, scents, and the use of honey and wax as auxiliaries and of balsams (resins) as preservative substances. All Donnolo's remedies derive from the vegetable world. The "Book of Remedies" is not, as Steinschneider believed, a fragment, but is both an independent book and at the same time an integral part of his work. The Donnolo Hospital in Jaffa bears his name.

[Suessmann Muntner]

Donnolo's Theology

Though there is no direct evidence that Donnolo knew *Saadiah Gaon's works, there are some close parallels between the theology of Donnolo and that of Saadiah who was his contemporary. Donnolo's theology is expressed in two of the three parts of his *Sefer Ḥakhmoni*, in his treatise on the verse "God created man in His image," and in his interpretation of the *Sefer Yeẓirah*. Donnolo's aim was to remove anthropomorphic elements in the concept of God by reinterpretation of the biblical verses which may give rise to such concepts; the same aim guided Saadiah in his *Emunot ve-De'ot*, though Donnolo's treatment of the subject is less systematic and conclusive. Donnolo, however, made use of his scientific knowledge while interpreting the anthropomorphic elements in the Bible and offering his own conclusions. Donnolo's thesis was that a verse which stresses, or appears to stress, the similarity between God Himself and man in fact refers to the relationship between man and the created world. Thus he introduced into Jewish thought the idea of man's being the microcosm in contrast to the created world, which is the macrocosm. Using all his scientific knowledge, Donnolo tried to prove that everything in man corresponds to some phenomenon in the world. Man's two eyes, for instance, correspond to the sun and the moon, and man's hair to the grass and forests which cover the earth. He gives a detailed study of the functions of the various parts of man's body, and then equates them with the function of the various powers and elements in the world. Man, therefore, was not created in the image of God, but in the image of God's creation.

God, according to Donnolo, cannot be seen, because He has no form. Therefore, some explanation has to be given to the phenomenon of prophecy and the various biblical passages describing the appearance of God to man. Though probably unaware of Saadiah's theology, Donnolo offered the same answer to this question as Saadiah had: God did not appear to the prophets, but His glory (*kavod*) did. Moreover, the *kavod*, according to Donnolo, appeared in various forms to various people, so as to prevent them from believing that God Himself has a human form. Donnolo attempted to give a scientific explanation of the creation of the world in the course of his interpretation of *Sefer Yeẓirah*, one of the earliest interpretations of this work. Subsequent interpreters, mainly the *Ḥasidei Ashkenaz, but to some extent the kabbalists as well, used Donnolo's views while constructing their own concept of the process of creation.

[Joseph Dan]

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DONSKOY, MARK SEMENOVICH (1901–1981), Soviet film director. Born in Odessa, he began working in films in 1926. Most of his films were made from his own scenarios. He became famous with *Pesnya o schast'e* ("Song of Happiness," 1934). His trilogy based on Maxim Gorky's autobiographical accounts: *Detstvo Gor'kogo* ("Gorky's Childhood," 1938), *Vlyudjakh* ("Among People," 1939), and *Moi universitety* ("My Universities," 1940) are distinguished by the vividness and precision of the depiction of Russian provincial life at the end of the 19th century and by the psychological acuteness of his presentation of character. The direct and candid depiction of suffering in the partisan movement in the Ukraine as seen in *Raduga* ("Rainbow," 1944) and *Nepokorennye* ("The Undefeated," 1945; according to B. Gorbatov's novella) made a strong impression and influenced the masters of the Italian neo-realistic cinema. In the second of these two films there is a particularly striking episode depicting the mass execution of Jews in a Nazi-occupied city. *Sel'skaya uchitel'nitsa* ("The Village School Mistress," 1947) enjoyed considerable popularity. Later films included one about Lenin's mother and screen versions of Gorky's novels *Mat'* ("The Mother," 1956) and *Foma Gordeev* ("Foma Gordeev," 1959).

Donskoy was awarded three Stalin Prizes and one State Prize, and the honorary titles of Peoples' Artist of the U.S.S.R. (1956) and Hero of Socialist Labor (1971).

[*The Shorter Jewish Encylopaedia* in Russian]

DON-YAḤIA (Donchin), YEHUDAH LEIB (1869–1941), rabbi, one of the earliest religious Zionists, a founder of the *Mizrachi movement. Don-Yaḥia was born in Drissa, Belorussia, and from 1902 was rabbi to various Russian communities. He began his Zionist activity while still a yeshivah student and in 1902 was one of the four rabbis who founded the Mizrachi movement. In 1901 he published *Ha-Ẓiyyonut mi-Nekuddat Hashkafat ha-Dat* ("Zionism from the Religious Point of View"), which ran into several editions. In it Don-Yaḥia attempted to prove to Orthodox circles that political Zionism and settlement in Ereẓ Israel were religious duties. He remained a Zionist even under the Soviet regime and settled in Tel Aviv in 1936. His responsa on matters of *halakhah*, sermons, and articles on topical subjects are collected in *Bikkurei Yehudah*, 2 vols. (1930–39).

His cousin SHABBETAI DON-YAḤIA (1909–1981) settled in Palestine in 1931 and became active in Ha-Po'el ha-Mizrachi. When the daily *Ha-Ẓofeh* was founded, he joined the staff as a columnist, becoming its editor in 1948.

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[Getzel Kressel]

DOOR AND DOORPOST. The Bible distinguishes between the term *petaḥ*, which is the entrance to a house (Gen. 43:19), and *delet*, which is a device for closing and opening the entrance. Thus, while *petaḥ* applies to both the entrance to a tent (Gen. 18:1) and a house, the term *delet* is used only in connection with a built house. The door has two main components: a fixed frame and a moving board or slab. The frame has two doorposts (Heb. *mezuzot*), which are its vertical sides; a lintel (Heb. *mashqof*), its upper horizontal side; and a sill or threshold (Heb. *saf*), its lower horizontal side. Wider doorways occasionally had a third vertical beam on which two doorleaves, as implied by the dual form of the word *delata'im* ("paired doors"; Isa. 45:1), one attached to each of the doorposts, converged when shut. The doorway was constructed as part of the wall in question, but the doorposts, lintel, and threshold were built in after the construction of the building was completed. Finally, the door itself was set into this framework. At the top and bottom of each doorleaf was added a projecting hinge of wood, metal, or other material, to be received within depressions in the lintel and threshold respectively (cf. I Kings 7:50). Doors generally opened inward; they were prevented from swinging outward by ledges, stops at the outer edges of the lintel, and the threshold. Other methods of placing hinges were to suspend the door on some pliable material, such as leather or rope – these were fixed between the door and the doorpost at two points and served as hinges to enable the movement of the doors back and forth – or sometimes to put up special metal hinges that joined the door to the doorpost. A number of excavations have revealed the remains of metal coverings on hinges and sockets that served to protect them from wear. Excavations in Palestine have frequently uncovered sockets carved into the lintel and the threshold.

The threshold was of stone, either cut to size and laid slightly higher than the floor or built up from smaller stones. It was built slightly higher than the level of the floor and the street in order to keep out water and dirt. Doorposts were made either of wood or stone. The term *ʾammot* in Isaiah 6:4 probably refers to stone doorposts standing at both ends of the threshold. Doorposts made of wood are implied by the law about the Hebrew slave (Ex. 21:6; Deut. 15:17), according to which a Hebrew slave who, when the time of his release arrived, preferred slavery to freedom was to be placed against a doorpost and have his earlobe and the doorpost pierced with an awl as a symbol of his enslavement for life. Similarly, the lintel might be made either of stone or wood and was placed horizontally across the doorposts. The size of a doorway was related to the size of the building. Doorways to private dwellings from the Israelite period preserved in the Negev were lower than man's height, while the entrances to large buildings, such as palaces and temples, were proportionately higher and wider. Very large doors were erected at the gates of fortified cities (Judg. 16:3). The doors of luxurious buildings were made of special, expensive wood (I Kings 6:31, 34) or were overlaid with metal, usually copper, or even gold, like the doors of the Temple. Descriptions from various places on cylinder seals or monuments show single or double doors set within a decorative framework (Frankfurt, *The Art and Architecture*… (1954), Fig. 83). An integral part of the door was its bar or bolt, a device used to lock the door from the inside or the outside. The bar consisted of a movable horizontal beam which, when slid into a slot in the doorpost, prevented the door from opening. The lock was somewhat more complex and could be operated for locking or unlocking from the outside (II Sam. 13:17, 18). Another way to lock the door from inside was to put an iron bar on the inner side in a fitting depression. It seems that the Hebrew term for it is *bariʾaḥ* (cf. I Sam. 23:7). In the ancient world doorposts were marked in order to protect the people within the house from evil spirits and devils. That practice is reflected in Exodus 12:7, 22–23.

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[Zeʾev Yeivin]

DOR (**Dora**; Heb. דר, דור, דאר), ancient harbor town on the coast of Carmel, 18 miles (29 km.) south of Haifa. The earliest known appearance of the name of Dor is from an Egyptian inscription from Nubia, dated to the time of Rameses II (13th century B.C.E.). According to Egyptian documents Dor fell into the hands of the Sikila/Tjekker, one of the Sea Peoples (Philistines), in the 12th/11th centuries B.C.E. Dor was one of the important Canaanite city-states in the league of Jabin, King of *Hazor (Josh. 11:2). It was among the cities of Manasseh in the territory of Asher, but according to Judges (1:27) it was not conquered by them. Solomon appointed the son of Abinadab as overseer of the region of Dor – the fourth district of his kingdom (I Kgs. 4:11). Under the name of Du'ru it belonged to the Assyrian province of the same name following the conquest of the region by Tiglath Pileser III in 732 B.C.E. In the Persian period (6th–4th centuries B.C.E.), when the cities on the coast were granted autonomy, Dor became a Sidonian colony. In the early Hellenistic period it was a Ptolemaic royal fortress. At the end of the second century B.C.E., Dora was in the hands of the tyrant Zoilus, who also ruled Strato's Tower (*Caesarea). Alexander Jannaeus acquired both cities by negotiation in the late second century B.C.E. After conquering the country (63 B.C.E.), Pompey restored Dora to its former owners, as was his policy with all cities that had formerly been autonomous. The city retained its freedom during the reign of Herod and his successors. According to Josephus (Ant. 19:300) a synagogue existed there before the destruction of the Second Temple. A change in status came about early in the second century C.E., when it was annexed to the province of *Phoenicia. In the late Roman period it became part of Palaestina Prima. Eusebius (*Onom.* 78:9; 136:16) states that the site is located 9 Roman miles from Caesarea. A fortified tower (*Merle*) was built on the southwestern edge of the mound in the Crusader period.

The site consists of a mound and a lower area used for occupation to the east, i.e. the upper and lower cities. Excavations were first undertaken in the mound in 1923 and 1924 by John Garstang on behalf of the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem. Two test trenches were sunk on the northern and southern slopes, and a substantial area along the western slope in the area of the monumental temples with their impressive *podia* was cleared. Recent work has shown that these temples are undeniably Roman and apparently do not date back to the Hellenistic period as was once believed. Excavations on the tell were conducted by Ephraim Stern between 1980 and 2000 (current directors are Ilan Sharon and Ayelet Gilboa) and substantial structural remains from the Iron Age, Hellenistic, and Roman periods have been found. Excavations were first conducted in the lower city by J. Leibovitch in 1950–52, uncovering parts of a Roman theater and a Byzantine church, at the northern and southern ends of the city. The excavation of the Byzantine Church was resumed by Claudine Dauphin in 1979 and completed in 1994. A general survey of harbor installations along the edges of the tell and along the bays to the north and south has been undertaken by Avner Raban and others since the 1980s. Shipwrecks and other underwater features have been investigated by Raban, S. Wachsman, K. Raveh, and S. Kingsley. A survey of the aqueducts leading water to the site was made by Yuval Peleg. Regional surveys were conducted by Y. Olami, A. Siegelmann, A. Ovadiah, and others. A project of landscape archaeology was undertaken by Shimon Gibson and Sean Kingsley in 1994 with the investigation of settlements and fields, dating from the Chalcolithic, Early Bronze I, Middle Bronze Age IIA, Iron Age, Hellenistic, Roman, Byzantine, and medieval to Ottoman periods.

Several areas of the large 30-acre mound were examined during the excavations by Stern, and more recently by Sharon and Gilboa. In the upper level are remains of the Roman period. Below these lie the remains of a city wall of the Hellenistic period, which was apparently built in the latter part of the reign of Ptolemy II Philadelphus, and was still in use in the early Roman period. The wall, built of large ashlars, is still standing to a height of 7 feet, and it has a tower with a projection of 45 feet. It is built over the remains of a city wall of the Persian period, which is composed of large uncut stones and encloses a somewhat larger city. Beneath the Persian wall were sections of a brick Israelite city wall, at least 8 feet wide. Buildings remains were found within the wall. Whereas the buildings of the Persian and early Hellenistic period followed the Phoenician method of ashlar pillars alternating with a fill of undressed stones, the later Hellenistic walls were built of headers only. A dyeing installation of the Hellenistic period yielded large quantities of *murex* shells. Another monumental building of the Hellenistic period contained several plastered pools. The sections of the Hellenistic city examined revealed that it had been laid out according to the Hippodamian principles of town-planning, consisting of parallel intersecting streets, which formed a checkerboard pattern. Surprisingly, however, at Dor this method of town planning is dated to the Persian period. In the interior, adjacent to the wall, were shops opening onto a street. Little has remained of the underlying Persian level, except for pottery found in pits sunk into late Israelite levels. Inside the city were uncovered channels of an elaborate sewage system and of an aqueduct. From the city gate, a 30-foot-wide street led into the city, into an area which contained workshops of the Byzantine period. The gate of the Roman period has not been preserved. In deeper levels the gates of the Hellenistic and Persian periods were found, and beneath them an Israelite city gate, made of cyclopean boulders brought from Mt. *Carmel. In plan this gate resembles the gate of *Meggido IV-A. It consists of two guardrooms with paved squares at the front and back of the gate. Beneath this gate was a very solid gate of the four-chamber type, which is a unique example of Phoenician-Iron Age construction methods. One pilaster of the gate, facing the town, was made of polished orthostats. This gate is dated to the 9th–8th centuries B.C.E. and its destruction is ascribed to the Assyrians in 734 B.C.E. A massive fortification wall built of mud-brick along the eastern edge of the mound dates to the Early Iron Age (1150–1050 B.C.E.). These are associated with the Sikila/Tjekker settlement at the site. Only pottery and small finds are known from the Late Bronze Age. Several walls were dated to the 11th century B.C.E. The earliest remains of occupation at the site are buildings along the western edge of the site dating from the Middle Bronze IIA period.

The Byzantine-period town was apparently situated almost entirely in the area of the lower city immediately to the east of the mound that was no longer used for habitation purposes. The outline of the city is clearly visible in aerial photographs. Textual sources indicate that Dora was the seat of a bishop. The excavations by Dauphin have brought to light an episcopal basilica that was a center of pilgrimage and healing at the tomb of two saints and was erected in the fourth century over the ruins of a Graeco-Roman sanctuary.

[Shimon Gibson (2nd ed.)]

Modern Period

Modern Dor is a moshav, affiliated with Tenu'at ha-Moshavim, founded in 1949 by immigrants from Greece, some of whom had been stevedores in Salonika. These were joined by settlers from Iraq, Morocco, and other countries. Fishing, initially envisaged as a mainstay of the moshav's economy, was replaced by intensive farming and livestock as principal farm branches. A large plot of land was acquired at the site of the nearby Arab village Ṭanṭura (abandoned since 1948) by Baron Edmond de *Rothschild, who erected a glass factory in 1891 intended to exploit the fine shore sand for the production of bottles for the wine of Rishon le-Zion and Zikhron Ya'akov. The enterprise was unsuccessful. Dor was a partner with neighboring Kibbutz Naḥsholim in the Ḥof Dor recreation home. In 2002 its population was 321.

[Efraim Orni]

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DOR, MOSHE (1932–), Hebrew poet, essayist, and translator. Dor was born in Tel Aviv, served in the Haganah, and was a correspondent for the army weekly *Bamaḥaneh*. He later studied political science and history at Tel Aviv University and served many years as literary editor of *Maariv*. Dor was also cultural attaché at the Embassy of Israel in London and Distinguished Writer in Residence at the American University in Washington, D.C. A seminal figure in the "*Likrat*" literary circle in the 1950s, which strove to renew Hebrew poetry and free it from poetic verbosity and pathos, Dor published *Bisheloshah* in 1952 and the collection *Beroshim Levanim* ("White Cypresses") in 1954. This was followed by over a dozen other collections (including *Zahav va-Efer* ("Gold and Ashes," 1963), *Mivḥar Shirim* ("Selected Poems," 1970), *Ovrim et ha-Nahar* ("Crossing the River," 1989), and *Shetikat ha-Banai* ("Silence of the Builder," 1996)). In 2004 a volume of selected poems written over a period of 50 years appeared as *Shetaḥ Hefker*. Foregrounding the landscape, whether in Israel, London, or the United States, Dor coalesces feelings and sights, human experience and impressions. Dor has also published collections of essays and six books for children. Since the 1990s he has been living in Tel Aviv and in the U.S. Dor edited a number of collections in English, including: *The Burning Bush: Poems from Modern Israel* (with Nathan Zach; 1977), *The Stones Remember: Native Israeli Poetry* (with Barbara Goldberg and Giora Leshem; 1991), and *After the First Rain: Israeli Poems on War and Peace* (with Barbara Goldberg; 1998). A number of collections including Dor's own poetry have been published in English: *Maps of Time* (1978), *Crossing the River* (edited by Seymour Mayne; 1989), *Khamsin: Memoirs and Poetry by a Native Israeli* (1994).

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[Anat Feinberg (2nd ed.)]

DORATI, ANTAL (1906–1988), conductor and composer. Dorati was born in Budapest and entered the Budapest Royal Academy of Music at the age of 14, studying piano, conducting, and composition, and graduating at the age of 18. From 1924 to 1928 he was conductor at the Budapest Royal Opera House, subsequently becoming assistant to Fritz Busch at the Dresden State Opera, and at the same time conducting opera and concerts in other cities. In 1932 he became musical director of the Ballet Russe de Monte Carlo, with whom he toured widely and remained until 1940. Dorati's subsequent career focused principally on the United States: he was conductor of the Dallas Symphony Orchestra (1945–49) and of the Minneapolis Symphony Orchestra (1949–60), with whom he made many records. He was chief conductor of the BBC Symphony Orchestra from 1962 to 1966; and thereafter became musical director of the Stockholm Philharmonic Orchestra (from 1966) and later, concurrently, of the National Symphony Orchestra, Washington, D.C. (from 1969), with whom he had made his American debut, in 1937. Dorati's fine international reputation was based on his prowess as an orchestra builder; as a devoted advocate of contemporary music, with particular understanding of Bartok and Stravinsky; and as a conductor of many fine recordings. In 1973 he completed the formidable task of recording all the 107 Haydn symphonies, most of them for the first time. His many compositions include symphonies, a cello concerto, and choral and chamber music; he also made many ballet arrangements.

[Max Loppert (2nd ed.)]

DORFF, ELLIOT N. (1943–), U.S. rabbinical scholar. Born in Milwaukee, Wisc., Dorff was ordained by the Jewish Theological Seminary in 1970 and awarded a Ph.D. in philosophy by Columbia University in 1971. He then joined the faculty of the University of Judaism in Los Angeles. He later served as rector and distinguished professor of philosophy at the University and as a visiting professor at the UCLA School of Law.

The author of 10 books and over 150 articles on Jewish thought, law and ethics, Dorff assumed a leadership role in the community as well, serving as vice chair of the Conservative Movement's Committee on Jewish Law and Standards, co-editor of the halakhic commentary in *Etz Hayim*, the movement's edition of the Pentateuch, and president of the Society of Jewish Ethics and chair of the Academy of Jewish Philosophy and of the Jewish Law Association.

He was also deeply involved in public service. In the spring of 1993, he served on the Ethics Committee of then First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton's Health Care Task Force. In 1999 and 2000 he was part of the U.S. Surgeon General's Commission to draft a Call to Action for Responsible Sexual Behavior; and from 2000 to 2002 he served on the National Human Resources Protections Advisory Commission, charged with reviewing and revising the federal guidelines for protecting human subjects in research projects.

In *Jewish Law and Modern Ideology* (1970), Dorff delineates the different approaches of the various Jewish religious movements to Jewish law and argues for the authenticity of the one adopted by the Conservative Movement. While he affirms his commitment to uphold the traditional *halakhah,* he also supports the right to adjust it to meet radically altered conditions of living and even to change it in keeping with new moral sensibilities.

Dorff's most extensive work on Jewish law is *A Living Tree* (1988), co-written with Arthur Rosett, which traces the development of Jewish law through the past three thousand years, paying special attention to the rabbinic and medieval periods. It explains the relationship between religion and law and the interaction of the latter with morality.

Dorff's stress on the importance of law is also evident in his most speculative work, *Knowing God* (1994). Acknowledging that, as a pluralist, he accepts the relativity of all truth claims, he nonetheless believes that there is an "objective reality" that serves as the ultimate criterion for the truth of any system of ideas. However, this reality can only be known by us through "the perspective of a perceiving community," which depends for its existence on a system of law to define its principles and concretize them. Since "it is the Jewish community of the past and the present that decides (for Jews) which events are revelatory and what … the implications of that revelation are," the most direct way to experience revelation is through the study of the classic Jewish religious texts.

Dorff has written three popular works *Matters of Life and Death* (1998), which deals with medical ethics; *To Do the Right and the Good* (2002) on Jewish social ethics; and *Love Your Neighbor and Yourself* (2003), devoted to personal ethics. His knowledge of the moral issues faced by current medical practitioners is impressive, as is his willingness to address controversial questions raised by infertility and death and dying.

While being quite traditional in his personal practice, giving the longstanding *halakhah* "the benefit of the doubt," he tends to be more liberal in his rulings on issues of gender equality and homosexuality, for example. His general view is that the *halakhah* embodies the highest moral standards. When he feels that it does not, he is prepared to modify it, though he exercises great care to maintain the integrity of the structure of Jewish law. In this, as in all his teaching, he demonstrates the Conservative Jewish regard for the law and the role it must play in keeping the Jewish community loyal to the covenant of Israel.

[David L. Lieber (2nd ed.)]

DORFMAN, JOSEPH (1904–1991), U.S. economist. Born in Russia and educated in the United States, Dorfman worked with the National Industrial Conference Board and joined the faculty at Columbia University in 1931. Economic methodology and history of economic thought were his main fields of study. His major publications included a five-volume work, *The Economic Mind in American Civilization* (1946–59); other studies deal with the economics of the Jacksonian era and the thought of Thorstein Veblen, the American social scientist. He also wrote *Thorstein Veblen and His America* (1934); *Early American Policy: Six Columbia Contributors* (1960); and *Institutional Economics: Veblen, Commons, and Mitchell Reconsidered* (1963). Dorfman was a distinguished fellow of the History of Economics Society. In 1990 the HES established an annual prize for the best dissertation in the history of economic thought. In 1992 the Dorfman family endowed a permanent fund for the award, which is now called the Joseph Dorfman Best Dissertation Award.

[Joachim O. Ronall / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

DORFMAN, JOSEPH (1940–), Israeli composer. Born in Odessa, Ukraine, Dorfman studied at the Stolyarsky School of Music (Odessa) and later at the Odessa Conservatory (1958–65) with Starkowa (piano) and Kogan (composition). In 1971 he received his Ph.D. in musicology at the Gnessin Musical Institute in Moscow. Already as a student he was engaged in a wide range of musical activities as a composer, lecturer, theoretician, coach, and conductor. During the 1960s, Dorfman was among the pioneers in performing and lecturing on contemporary Western music in the Soviet Union. A consistent field of interest was also Jewish music in all its aspects (art, liturgical, and folk). In 1973 he immigrated to Israel, where he was appointed professor of composition and theory at the Rubin Academy of Music (Tel Aviv University). There he also served as head of the Composition and Theory Department and head of the Academy. While continuing to promote both Jewish and contemporary Western music, he was artistic director of the International Festivals of Jewish Art Music and music director of the concert series "20th Century Music." Dorfman was also visiting professor at Columbia University, at the Hochschule fuer Musik und Darstellende Kunst in Frankfurt am Main, and at Johannes Gutenberg University, Mainz (Germany), as well as at Bar-Ilan University.

His early compositions of the Soviet period were influenced by early 20th century Russian music and by Hindemith. Later he moved in many directions, including recorded and live electro-acoustic improvisation, graphic notation, and various combinations of graphic and traditional forms of notation. His works include music for solo instruments, chamber ensembles and symphony orchestra, opera, ballet and oratorios, multimedia staging, and educational works. Dorfman was a prolific musician, performing as a solo pianist, a participant in various chamber groups, and conductor of concerts in several European festivals and radio programs.

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[Yulia Kreinin (2nd ed.)]

DORFMAN, RALPH ISADORE (1911–1985), U.S. biochemist. Dorfman was born in Chicago. He joined the Worcester Foundation for Experimental Biology and became research professor of biochemistry, Boston University, in 1951. He was professor of chemistry at Clark University (1956), and later director of the Institute of Hormone Biology of Syntex Research Center in Palo Alto, California (1964). His books include *Metabolism of Steroid Hormones* (with F. Ungar, 1953) and *Androgens* (1956); he edited *Methods in Hormone Research* (5 vols., 1962–66).

[Bracha Rager (2nd ed.)]

DORI (Dostrovsky), YA'AKOV (1899–1973), military leader; first Israeli chief of staff. Dori, born in Odessa, Russia, was taken to Ereẓ Israel in 1906. After graduating from the Reali High School in Haifa, he served as a sergeant in the Palestinian Battalion of the Jewish Legion in World War I. When the Legion was disbanded, Dori joined the group of sergeants and soldiers who intended to form the nucleus for a Jewish unit within the Palestine Defense Force. The plan was canceled by the British authorities when this group of soldiers went to the defense of Tel Aviv in May 1921 during an attack by Arab rioters. Dori studied engineering in Belgium, and upon his return to Palestine joined the Haganah. From 1931 to 1939 he was Haganah commander of the Haifa district. Enhancing his military knowledge through self-education, Dori introduced systematic exercises and training in the Haifa branch of the Haganah, and formulated a plan for the defense of the town. He also participated in the training of commanders in nationwide courses. He was named head of the national command training bureau (Lishkat ha-Hadrakhah) upon its establishment. In September 1939 he became the first chief of staff of the Haganah, a post he held until the establishment of the State of Israel in 1948 (with an interval during 1945–47 to raise funds in the U.S. for the purchase of arms for the Haganah). With the establishment of Israel, Dori became the chief of staff of the Israel Defense Forces with the rank of *rav-alluf* (major general), a post he held until the end of the War of Independence. He served as president of the Haifa Technion from 1951 to 1965, contributing to its expansion and development as a center for technological and scientific training in Israel.

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[Yehuda Slutsky]

DORIAN, DOREL (**Iancovici**; 1930–), Romanian writer. Dorian was born in Piatra-Neamt. Upon completion of secondary school he studied building engineering at the Politechnical Institute, Kiev, 1948–53. As a student he had begun to make literary contributions to *Revista elevilor* (1946) and to Communist youth journals, among them *Tanarul Muncitor* and *Scanteia Tineretului.* Upon his return to Romania he worked as a building engineer for several years until he became the editor of popular science publications, among them *Stiinta si tehnica*. In 1955 he published a volume of stories, *N-au inflorit inca merii* ("The Apple Trees Haven't Blossomed Yet"). In 1959, his first play, *Daca vei fi intrebat* ("If You Are Asked") was performed at the Bucharest Municipal Theater and his play *Secunda 58* ("The 58th Second") earned him a state prize. By 1985, ten of his plays had been performed in Romanian theaters and on TV, among them: *De n-ar fi iubirile* ("If There Was No Love," 1961); *Oricat ar parea de ciudat* ("As Strange as It Seems," 1965), judged the best of the year; *Teatru cu bile* ("Theater with Balls," 1970); and *Confesiune tarzie* ("Late Confession," 1985). His plays deal with problems of conscience under the Communist regime. Dorian also published science fiction and ecological and parapsychological essays, such as *Paranormal 2000* (1998). In the 1980s he became active in Jewish communal life. In 1996 he became the main editor of the bimonthly *Realitatea Evreiasca* and in 1997 editor of the series of cultural pamphlets published by the same review. He also published a play on a Jewish subject, *Foc in Calea Vacaresti* ("Fire on Vacareshty Street," 1999). From 1996 to 2004 he was a member of the Romanian Parliament as the representative of the Jewish minority.

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[Lucian-Zeev Herscovici (2nd ed.)]

DORIAN, EMIL (1892–1956), Romanian poet and novelist. Born in Bucharest, Dorian practiced medicine there but devoted much of his time to writing. His works, published under such satirical pseudonyms as Michail Prunk and Dr. Knock, appeared in several important literary journals. Dorian's verse was later collected in *Cîntece pentru Lelioara* ("Songs for Lelioara," 1923), *In preajma serii* ("In the Twilight," 1924), and *De vorbă cu bălanul meu* ("A Talk with My White Horse," 1925). These poems, praised by the critics, display a serenity and love for mankind that later found expression in the novel *Vagabonzii* ("The Vagabonds," 1934). The leftist pacifism of this work provoked some hostile comment: the Romanian literary historian George Călinescu pointedly observed that only a Jew devoid of national feelings could so ruthlessly condemn a people's struggle. Other novels by Dorian were *Profeți și paiațe* ("Prophets and Clowns," 1933^{2}) and *Otrava* ("Poison," 1946), the latter dealing with the anti-Jewish persecution under Antonescu's pro-Nazi regime. *Otrava* stressed the permanence of antisemitism and its persistence in all strata of society – including the proletariat. For this deviation Dorian's works were banned by the Communists and the writer was thereafter only allowed to publish poems and stories for children. He also translated Heine's *Buch der Lieder* and Eliezer Steinbarg's Yiddish fables.

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[Abraham Feller]

DORIS (first century B.C.E.), first wife of *Herod the Great, whom he married (c. 47 B.C.E.) before he became king and while he was *strategos* of Galilee (Jos., Wars, 1:241, 432f., 448, 562, 590; Jos., Ant., 14:300; 17:68). The name Doris is Greek but was similar to Dorothea. Josephus refers to her as a Jerusalemite: "her family (γένος) being from Jerusalem" (War 1:432). Her precise background is unknown, but it is assumed she was Idumaean in origin and of Hellenized stock. On ascending the throne in 37 B.C.E. Herod dismissed her in order to marry the Hasmonean princess *Mariamne. Doris was now banished from the city together with her son Antipater II. Later Antipater was allowed back (c. 14 B.C.E.). Doris too was recalled and honored at the court, only to be dismissed again (c. 7/6 B.C.E.) with the discovery of her son's disloyalty and plotting against the king: "… he [Herod] stripped her of all the finery which he had bestowed upon her and for the second time dismissed her from court" (Wars 1: 590). She seems to have been as unscrupulous as her son, with whom she cooperated in all his crimes against the sons of Mariamne and against Herod himself.

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[Isaiah Gafni / Shimon Gibson (2nd ed.)]

DORMIDO, DAVID ABRABANEL (d. 1667), a founder of the modern English-Jewish community. Born in Spain of a Marrano family, as Manuel Martinez Dormido, he collected taxes in Andalusia and was a city councilor until arrested by the Inquisition in 1627. After appearing as a penitent in an auto-da-fé in 1632, he escaped to Bordeaux and in 1640 reached Amsterdam where he joined the Jewish community. Financially ruined by the Portuguese reconquest of Brazil he later accompanied Samuel Soeiro, son of *Manasseh Ben Israel, in 1654 to London where he petitioned Oliver Cromwell to assist him in recuperating his fortune and to readmit the Jews into England. Cromwell complied with the first request and apparently expressed sympathy with the second. Under the name David Abrabanel, Dormido signed the petition of the London Marranos for freedom of worship in 1656. When the Jewish community was formally organized in 1663 he was presiding warden. His son SOLOMON (ANTONIO) DORMIDO (1622–1700) was the first Jew to be admitted formally to the Royal Exchange in London. The statement that Dormido was Manasseh Ben Israel's brother-in-law has no authority.

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[Cecil Roth]

DOROHOI, town in N.E. Romania, located on important trade routes between Poland, Bukovina, and Moldavia. Jews began to settle there in the 17th century. They were granted charters of privilege in 1799, 1808, and 1823. The Dorohoi community was organized, like other communities in Moldavia, as a *Breasla Jidovilor* ("Jewish guild"), first mentioned there in 1799 and existing until 1834. There were 600 Jewish families in Dorohoi in 1803, 3,031 persons in 1859 (50.1% of the total population), 6,804 in 1899 (53.6%), and 5,820 (36.6%) in 1930. The town was also a ḥasidic center, where *admorim* sometimes lived, among them Jehiel Michael Tierer and Hanoch Frenkel who died in Haifa. Among the town's rabbis were Mattitiyahu Kalman (d. 1824); Ḥayyim *Taubes (1847–1909) after serving in Sassov, Galicia, author of Torah commentaries and responsa; Dov Beer Drimer; and Pinhas Eliyahu Wasserman (1917–1996), who died in Jerusalem. Before the Holocaust 25 synagogues functioned in Dorohoi. A regular modern communal organization was set up in 1896. The community had a *talmud torah* and a secular Jewish school by 1895. A large number of refugees from persecutions in the vicinity arrived in Dorohoi in 1881–4. The community also suffered severely during the peasant revolt in 1907. The Jews were persecuted by the military authorities during World War I and suffered from economic restrictions between the two world wars. The Jews in Dorohoi were mainly occupied as artisans, manual workers, and petty shopkeepers. In 1920 the community established a hospital. Ḥovevei Zion groups became active in the last decades of the 19th century. Later various Zionist and other Jewish organizations also became active. Among the intellectuals born in Dorohoi were Romanian-language writers on general and Jewish themes, such as Ion Călugăru (1902–1956), Saşa Pană (1902–1979), and Ştefan Antim (1879–1944). Jewish periodicals in Yiddish and Romanian were also published there.

[Yehouda Marton / Lucian-Zeev Herscovici (2nd ed.)]

Holocaust Period

In 1941 there were 5,384 Jews living in Dorohoi, comprising about one third of the population. Antisemitic outbursts began in June 1940, when nearby Bessarabia and northern Bukovina were occupied by the Soviet Union. Romanian soldiers attacked the Jewish quarter, murdered about 200 Jewish inhabitants, and looted houses. The following day local peasants stripped the Jewish corpses that were still lying in the streets. The victims' families were forced to sign statements to the effect that their relatives had been murdered by "unknown wayfarers"; the public prosecutor, however, came to the conclusion that the soldiers had acted on instructions. The terror was renewed when Ion *Antonescu rose to power (September 1940), and many Jews were barred from commerce and the trades.

After the war with the Soviet Union broke out, 2,000 Jewish men from the towns and villages in the district were brought to the city and deported to *Transnistria on Nov. 7, 1941. Dorohoi's Jews were deported on November 12, and by November 14 two transports totaling 3,000 persons were dispatched. Many died in the sealed railroad cars before they reached their destination, *Ataki on the Dniester. Deportations were resumed on June 14, 1942, when 450 men were sent to Transnistria. They were later joined by their families in Mogilev and were sent from there to German camps on the banks of the Bug, where most of them met their deaths. In Dorohoi itself, only 2,000 Jews were left and they were forbidden to engage in any economic activity. In January 1943 the Antonescu government acceded to the request of the Dorohoi community and the leaders of the Association of Romanian Jewish Communities in *Bucharest to permit the return of the deportees; but it took until December 20 for this decision to go into effect. Of the 3,074 who had been deported, 2,000 came back to Dorohoi. In addition, 4,000 Jews from Transnistria who were not permitted to return to their original homes in the district also stayed in Dorohoi. In April 1944, the Soviet army occupied the city.

[Theodor Lavi]

Contemporary Period

After World War II the Jewish population of Dorohoi increased because of the refugees who settled there. In 1947, 7,600 Jews lived there. Community life was rebuilt. Jewish schools (including a secondary school) functioned until 1948. Later, Yiddish was taught in some public schools. In 1967 a kosher restaurant was opened and functioned until 1990. Dorohoi was presented as a model of the Jewish *shtetl* in Romania, with delegations of foreign Jewish organizations brought there to visit. In order to maintain this illusion Rabbi Pinhas Eliyahu Wasserman, the last rabbi of the community, was forced to remain in Dorohoi for some 20 years, even though the Jewish population had diminished through emigration, mainly to Israel. In 1956 there were 2,753 Jews in Dorohoi; in 1966, 1,013. In 2000, only 49 Jews remained in Dorohoi, with a functioning synagogue. An organization of Israeli Jews originating in Dorohoi is based in Kiryat Bialik, Israel. A forest dedicated to the memory of the Jews of the town and former county of Dorohoi is located at Shoresh, near Jerusalem, where annual memorial ceremonies are held.

[Lucian-Zeev Herscovici (2nd ed.)]

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DORON, ABRAHAM (1929–), Israeli social worker specializing in the welfare state and social security system and considered the leading Israeli scholar in these fields. Doron was born in Radom, Poland, and immigrated to Israel in 1946. In 1951 he received his B.A. degree in social work and in 1954 completed his B.A. studies in history and sociology at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. In 1961 he received his M.A. from the University of Chicago and in 1967 he received his Ph.D. at the London School of Economics and Political Science. From 1963 he taught at the Paul Baerwald School of Social Work of the Hebrew University. In 1979–81 he was head of the school. Doron served on various government planning committees and wrote numerous articles and books, including *The Welfare State in an Age of Change* (1985), *The Welfare State in Israel* (with Kremer, 1992), *For Universality – The Challenges of the Social Policy in Israel* (1992), and *The Work and Welfare Ministry – The Reunion which Never Existed* (1995). In 2004 he was awarded Israel Prize in social work.

[Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

DORON, HAIM (1928–), Israeli physician. Born in Buenos Aires, Argentina, he immigrated to Israel in 1953. He received his M.D. from the School of Medicine of the Buenos Aires University (1952) and M.P.H. from Public Health School, London School of Tropical Medicine and Hygiene, University of London, in 1961. From 1953 to 1960, he was a family physician in Beersheba and Negev settlement clinics, and from 1961 to 1968, medical director of the Sick Fund (Kuppat Ḥolim Kelalit), Negev District, and the Negev Central Hospital, Beer-Sheba. During those years of mass immigration he organized community health services in the Negev region and promoted the *aliyah* of physicians from Latin American and other countries. He was co-founder of the Ben-Gurion University of the Negev and, in partnership with Moshe *Prywes, of its medical school. From 1968 to 1976 he was head of the Medical Division, Kuppat Ḥolim Kelalit, and deputy chairman. During these years he initiated the reorganization of Kuppat Ḥolim Kelalit health services, developed regionalization and integration of hospital and community services, developed the physician/nurse team in primary care, and introduced social work service within the framework of the health community structure. He was appointed professor of Community Medicine at Tel Aviv University and Ben-Gurion University of the Negev. From 1989 to 1996 he headed the School of Health Professions, Sackler Faculty of Medicine, Tel Aviv University. Doron contributed to the social and cultural process in Beer-Sheba and the Negev during the years of mass immigration and the renaissance of family medicine in Israel.

[Bracha Rager (2nd ed.)]

DOROT (Heb. דּוֹרוֹת), kibbutz in southern Israel, 10½ mi. (17 km.) E. of Gaza, affiliated with Iḥud ha-Kibbutzim, founded in 1941 by immigrants from Germany in a move to spread Jewish settlement southward toward the Negev at a time when the Nazi armies were advancing on Egypt. In 1946 the kibbutz was severely damaged during a search for illicit arms by the British. Thorough soil reclamation work was necessary before farming became possible. Dorot engaged in farming (field crops and dairy cattle in partnership with nearby kibbutz *Ruḥamah), produced herbs, and operated a guest house. In 2002 its population was 500. Its name is composed of the initials of the labor leader Dov *Hos, his wife Rivkah, and his daughter Tirzah, who all died in a road accident.

WEBSITE: www.dorot.org.il.

[Efraim Orni]

DOROTHEUS, (1) son of Nethanel (c. 45 C.E.), member of the Jewish embassy sent to Rome to plead before Emperor *Claudius in a dispute regarding the custody of the high priest's vestments (Jos., Ant., 120:14). Following the intervention of *Agrippa II, the mission was successful. In the summer of 45 C.E., the emperor sent a letter officially entrusting the garments to the care of the Jews. (2) A grammarian in first-century B.C.E. Ascalon. (3) The name appears in Hebrew and Greek on ossuaries and a sarcophagus from Jerusalem (first century C.E.).

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[Isaiah Gafni / Shimon Gibson (2nd ed.)]

DORPH, SHELDON (**Shelly**; 1941–), U.S. Jewish educator. Dorph was born in Philadelphia and completed undergraduate degrees from Temple University and Graetz College. After receiving rabbinical ordination from the Jewish Theological Seminary of America (JTS) in 1969, he was named director of Camp Ramah in the Berkshires, where he served for four years. He also served as principal of the Los Angeles Hebrew High School (1971–81) and as founding headmaster of the Golda Meir Day High School (1977–85). He published texts on biblical studies for high school students and edited the influential Shalav Hebrew textbook series for Behrman House Books. He earned a doctorate in religion and education from Teachers College, Columbia University, in 1976. He married Gail Zaiman Dorph, an important Jewish educator in her own right.

Dorph served as director of the Pacific Southwest Region of United Synagogue (1987–89) and helped guide the development of some 59 synagogues. But he was best known for his years as national director of the Ramah Camps, a position he held from 1989 to 2003. During that time Dorph oversaw a period of exceptional growth in the Ramah camping system, expanding to eight overnight camps and seven day camps in Canada, the U.S., and Israel and accommodating over 6,000 campers and 1,500 staff members each summer. While serving in the Ramah position he also taught in the education department at JTS.

In 1996 Dorph received the Shazar Prize from the Joint Authority for Jewish Education in the Diaspora for his work in Jewish education and Hebrew language. In 2004, Dorph received the Janice Coulter award for excellence in informal education from the North American Alliance for Jewish Youth and the Jewish Educators Assembly–Behrman House Books Award for Lifetime Achievement in Jewish Education.

[Barry W. Holtz (2nd ed.)]

DORTMUND (Heb. תירמוניא), city in Germany. A privilege issued by Emperor Henry IV to the city of *Worms in 1074 granted the Jews there trading rights in Dortmund market. In 1096 Mar Shemaryah, fleeing from the crusading mob, killed himself and his whole family in Dortmund. Records pointing to the existence of an organized Jewish settlement there date from the 13th century. The Jews paid a contribution of 15 marks to the imperial treasury from 1241 to 1250. They had their own quarter or street. While in 1250 it was the archbishop of Cologne who granted a privilege to the Jews of Dortmund and was responsible for their protection, these rights and duties had passed to the emperor by 1257, and from 1300 devolved on Count Eberhard of the Mark. By 1257 the community had a *Magistratus Judaeorum*, a rabbi (*clericus* or *papen*), a cantor, *shoḥet*, and a *Schulklopfer,* and possessed a synagogue, a communal center, a cemetery, and a *mikveh*, for which ground rent had to be paid. Jews participated in the guarding of the city walls.

In the *Black Death period the Jews were expelled from Dortmund (1350); the *Judenturm* ("Jews' Tower") was built with the spoils seized from them. They were readmitted in 1372 (for six- to ten-year periods) after making a payment to the count. Subsequently taxes were levied from individuals and not from the community; moneylenders were allowed to charge an interest rate of 36.1% on loans made within the city but twice as much outside. Jews could acquire property only with the permission of the municipality. There were no more than ten Jewish families living in Dortmund in 1380. Another expulsion seems to have taken place around the end of the 15th century as in 1543 the Jews were readmitted for an initial period of ten years, only to be expelled once more in 1596. A privilege granted in 1750 indicates the existence of a new community in Dortmund with elders elected every three years. Under French rule (1806–15) the Jews in Dortmund as elsewhere gained equal rights.

After its incorporation into Prussia in 1815, Dortmund expanded considerably as the result of the industrial revolution. The Jewish population also increased, from 120 in 1840 to 1,000 (1.5% of the total) in 1880, and 4,108 in 1933 (0.8%). The community built a modest synagogue around 1850 and a magnificent building in 1900. Benno *Jacob, the Bible scholar, became rabbi in Dortmund (1906–29); K. *Wilhelm served as rabbi from 1929 to 1933. The community had its own elementary school, apart from a religious school, and a variety of political, charitable, and social institutions, including a communal magazine. As the main congregation was *Reform, a small Orthodox congregation (*Adass Jisroel) was established, supported also by immigrants from Eastern Europe who arrived after World War I. The pattern of persecution in Dortmund followed the evolution of German policy. The Jewish population was 4,108 (out of 540,000) in 1933. The boycott was strictly enforced and sustained beyond April 1, 1933. More than 250 Jews were arrested in the initial year of the Nazi regime. The community tried to sustain its members, offering assistance to needy members, who grew in number. The Jewish school expanded to meet growing needs and then declined as Jews left. Unlike other cities, the community was forced to close its synagogue before *Kristallnacht*. By August 1938 the Jewish population was reduced to 2,600 through emigration. In October 600 Jews of Polish citizenship were expelled; Jewish businesses were Aryanized at a growing pace. On *Kristallnacht* 600 Jewish men were arrested and sent to Sachsenhausen; 500 more fled the city. On the outbreak of war the Jewish population was 1,222; the Jews soon became confined to "Jewish houses." Dortmund became an assembly point for deportations to the East, with about 40,000 deported in eight transports between 1942 and 1945. On April 27, 1942, between 700 and 800 Dortmund Jews were deported to Zamosc and then on to Belzec. On July 29, 1942, 331 elderly Jews were deported. By July 1944 only 334 were left, mainly partners of mixed marriages, but of those too the majority eventually suffered the same fate.

The post-war community, formed in 1945, numbered 351 in 1970, with a synagogue, communal center, and old-age home (opened in 1956). The Jewish community numbered 337 in 1989 and 3,800 in 2005 owing to immigration from the former Soviet Union. In 1998 the community center and synagogue were rebuilt. In 2003 a Jewish kindergarten was opened. From 2005 the community employed a rabbi. Dortmund is the seat of the Association of Jewish Communities in Westphalia.

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[Alexander Carlebach / Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

DOSA BEN HARKINAS (first–second centuries C.E.), Palestinian *tanna*. He is often referred to without patronymic, parallel passages showing that the Dosa referred to is Dosa b. Harkinas (cf., e.g., Eduy. 3:3 and Ḥul. 11:2 et al.). Dosa saw the Second Temple and survived its destruction, living until the time of *Gamaliel and *Akiva, i.e., the second decade of the second century. In Temple times, he engaged in halakhic dispute with *Akaviah b. Mahalalel and *Ḥanina Segan ha-Kohanim (Neg. 1:4). In a dispute concerning matrimonial law between Hanan, one of the judges of civil law, and the "sons of the high priests" he decided according to the latter, in opposition to Johanan b. Zakkai, who agreed with Hanan. He is mentioned 11 times in the Mishnah but more frequently in the *beraitot*. In the Mishnah (RH 2:8) it is related that Rabban Gamaliel accepted the testimony of two witnesses that they had seen the New Moon, despite the fact that Dosa was of the opinion that they were false witnesses, a view in which Joshua b. Hananiah concurred. Gamaliel did not take any steps against Dosa b. Harkinas, perhaps because of his age and honored status, but he ordered Joshua "to appear before me with your staff and your money on the day which according to your reckoning should be the Day of Atonement." Dosa advised Joshua to obey the *nasi*, since "If we call in question the decisions of the *bet din* of Rabban Gamaliel, we must call in question the decisions of every *bet din* which has existed since the days of Moses up to the present time" (RH 2:8–9). During the days of Akiva and Eleazar b. Azariah, the sages heard that Dosa had permitted the levirate marriage of a woman whose co-wife was the daughter of the levir. This was in conformity with the opinion of Bet Shammai against that of Bet Hillel, who forbade levirate marriage in such a case. When the sages heard of this ruling, "they were very disturbed, because he was a great scholar and his eyes were dim so that he was unable to come to the *bet midrash*." It was decided that Joshua b. Hananiah, Eleazar b. Azariah, and Akiva should call upon him to discuss the matter. Dosa explained that he too was of the opinion that the *halakhah* was in accordance with Bet Hillel, and the "son of Harkinas" who had permitted it was not he but his brother Jonathan, who was a disciple of Shammai (Yev. 16a; TJ, Yev. 1:6, 3a).

From a number of passages it appears that he was active in Jerusalem, but it is mentioned in the Tosefta (Mik. 6:2) that he appointed two scholars to investigate the ritual fitness of a **mikveh* between Usha and Shefaram. Dosa's maxim in *Avot* (3:10) is "Morning sleep, midday wine, children's talk, and sitting in the assemblies of the ignorant, put a man out of the world" (Avot 3:10).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Frankel, Mishnah, index; Halevy, Dorot, 1 pt. 5 (1923), 219, 227, 340ff.; Hyman, Toledot, 322–4.

[Shmuel Safrai]

DOSA BEN SAADIAH (930–1017), head of the academy of Sura, and son of *Saadiah b. Joseph Gaon. It was not until 1013, 71 years after his father's death, that, at the age of 83, he became *gaon* of Sura. Though only a few of the responsa of Dosa have survived, the new spirit of *halakhah* introduced into the academy by his father, and by his predecessor R. *Samuel b. Ḥophni, is readily recognizable in them. During Dosa's lifetime Babylonia went into decline and Spanish scholars not only began to emancipate themselves from the authority of the *geonim* but even to compete with them. When R. *Samuel ha-Nagid wrote his commentary on complex talmudic subjects, in which he strongly criticized the explanations of Hai Gaon, Dosa hastened to Hai's support and vigorously defended him. At the request of Ḥasdai ibn Shaprut, Dosa wrote a monograph on his father's life, of which only fragments have survived. In addition to his responsa, Dosa wrote commentaries on the Talmud and philosophical works, none of which has been preserved. He studied the sciences and religious philosophy. One of his works was devoted to the problem of *creatio ex nihilo*.

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[Mordecai Margaliot]

DOSTAI BEN JUDAH (second century C.E.), *tanna* of the fifth generation. He is not mentioned in the Mishnah, but is quoted a number of times in the Tosefta and the tannaitic midrashim. In Tosef. Ḥul. 8:19 he transmits a *halakhah* in the name of R. Simeon. The tradition found in the printed editions of Bavli Mak. 7a, according to which a *tanna* by the name of Judah b. Dostai transmitted in the name of Simeon b. Shetaḥ.

A legal rule stating that a sentence passed by a Palestinian court over a person who later escaped abroad is not set aside for a new hearing, but in the case of a person who escaped to Palestine the sentence is set aside, is almost certainly a corruption of the reading found in the manuscripts "Dostai b. Judah said in the name of R. Simeon" (cf. Tosef. Ḥullin), as is confirmed by Tosef. Sanh 3:11, where the reading is "Dostai b. Judah said." Other occurrences of the name "Judah b. Dostai," as in BK 83b Vatican 116 and in Pesaḥim 70b Vatican 134 (both versus the readings of the majority of manuscripts) are also certainly scribal errors, e.g. in Pesaḥim 70b where the correct reading "Judah b. Dortai" was corrupted in various ways in several manuscripts (Friedman, Baraitot, 235 note 135). Therefore the "first century *tanna*" by the name of "Judah b. Dostai" should be removed from the lists of talmudic sages.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Hyman, Toledot, 559; R. Rabinowitz, *Didqduqe Soferim*, Makkot 7a; S. Friedman, "Baraitot in the Babylonian Talmud: the Case of 'ben Tema' and 'ben Dortai'" (Hebrew), in: *Netiot le-David, Festschrift in Honor of David Weiss Halivni* (2004).

[Stephen G. Wald (2nd ed.)]

DOSTAI BEN YANNAI (fl. second half of second century), Palestinian *tanna*. The name Dostai is a form of the Greek Δοσίθεος corresponding to the Hebrew "Mattaniah." Only one brief *halakhah* is ascribed to Dostai himself (Tosef. Git. 7:11 = BB 11:10). In addition he reported a number of traditions in the name of the later *tannaim*, R. *Meir (Eruv. 5:4, Avot 3:8, Tos. Ber. 6:8), and R. *Yose b. Ḥalafta (Tos. Ṭoh. 5:8), as well as in the name of earlier figures like R. Eliezer (Tos, Shab. 14:16) and Bet Hillel and Bet Shammai (Tos. Ṭoh. 8:11). Like many relatively obscure tannaitic figures, the later talmudic tradition relates many colorful details concerning his adventures. Together with R. Yose b. Kippar he once went on a mission to Babylonia where they were ill-treated by the authorities. After their return to Palestine he defended himself before R. Aḥai b. Josiah for not having been able to protect his friend against the indignities they had suffered. This he did by giving a satirical description of the manners and vices of the Babylonian authorities (Git. 14a–b; TJ, Git. 1:6, 43d; TJ, Kid. 3:4, 64a). Some of the sayings ascribed to Dostai in the Talmud reflect a kind of humor, e.g., his answers to his pupils' questions on the differences between men and women (Nid. 31b). On the question "Why are the thermal springs of Tiberias not found in Jerusalem?" he replied that if Jerusalem had thermal springs the pilgrims would have come there for the pleasure of the baths and not for the sake of the pilgrimage (Pes. 8b). In another place, basing himself upon Psalms 17:15, he stated: "If a man gives but a penny to a beggar, he is deemed worthy of receiving the Divine Presence" (BB 10a).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Bacher, Tann, 5 s.v.; Hyman, Toledot, 326.

DOSTÁL, ZENO (1934–1996), Czech writer and director. Dostál was born in Konice at Prostějov (Moravia). From 1944 he was hidden from Nazis by his relatives. In the 1950s his studies at the Faculty of Pedagogy were interrupted because of his father's imprisonment. In the 1960s, after working at manual labor, he was employed in a film studio in Prague, where he became an assistant director. He started publishing his "zodiac" stories in the 1980s: *Býk, Beran a Váhy* (1981; "A Taurus, an Aries and a Libra"), describing life in the author's native part of Moravia in the 1930s and during the Nazi occupation, followed by *Lev a Štír* (1983; "A Leo and a Scorpio"), *Vodnář* (1987; "An Aquarius"), *Vrata* (1987; "The Gate"), *Rekrut* (1989; "The Recruit"), *Labuť* (1991; "The Swan"), *Blíženci* (1993; "A Gemini"), and *Ryby* (1994; "A Pisces"), reflecting postwar Czech society and the situation of the Jews.

He directed the movies *Král Kolonád* (1990; "The King of Collonade"), after his story *Leo*; *Golet v údolí* (1995; "Galut in the Valley") based on the work of Ivan *Olbracht; and *Váhy* (1992; "A Libra") for Czech TV (based on his own screenplay).

From 1992 to his death in 1996, he was the chairman of the Prague Jewish community.

[Milos Pojar (2nd ed.)]

DOSTROVSKY, ARYEH (1887–1975), Israel dermatologist. Born in Caro, Russia, Dostrovsky studied medicine at several European universities before settling in Palestine in 1919. From 1920 to 1956 he was head of the Department of Skin and General Diseases at Hadassah Hospital, Jerusalem. He was the first dean of the Hebrew University-Hadassah Medical School (1948–53). Dostrovsky laid the foundation for the development of dermatology in Israel, and was a specialist in the problem of leprosy in Ereẓ Israel. He was a member of the expert advisory panel of the World Health Organization on venereal diseases and treponematosis and was coeditor of *International Dermatologica*.

DOSTROVSKY, ISRAEL (1918–), Israeli physicist. Dostrovsky was born in Odessa, Russia, and a year later immigrated with his parents to Ereẓ Israel. He studied in London, receiving his doctorate in physical chemistry in 1943, and from that year until 1948 was lecturer in chemistry at the University of North Wales. In 1948 he returned to Israel to join the staff of the Weizmann Institute, where he was head of the Isotope Research Department until 1965 and designed and constructed the isotope separation plant. From 1961 to 1964 he served as senior scientist at the Brookhaven National Laboratory in the United States. From 1965 to 1971 he was director general of the Israel Atomic Energy Commission. In 1971 Dostrovsky was appointed vice president of the Weizmann Institute and in 1972 acting president and chief executive officer. In November 1973 he was elected president. Dostrovsky made studies of the mechanism of chemical reactions and isotope effects in them and in the mechanisms of high-energy nuclear reactions: high-energy fission, spallation reactions and nuclear evaporation, fragmentation reactions, and nuclear transfer reactions. Later studies focused on solar energy. He founded the Weizmann Institute's solar energy research center, which utilizes unique equipment. He represented Israel in international organizations, such as the International Atomic Energy Agency, the International Energy Agency, and GALLEX, a program of the Neutrino Astrophysics Group for solar energy. Dostrovsky was a member of the Israeli Academy of Sciences and the New York Academy of Sciences. In 1995 he was awarded the Israel Prize for exact sciences.

[Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

DOTAN (Deutscher), ARON (1928–), Israeli scholar of the Hebrew language, the Masorah, biblical accentuation, and the history of Hebrew grammar. Born in Stuttgart, Germany, Dotan came to Palestine with his parents in 1934, and was raised and educated in Haifa. His academic studies at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, begun in 1947, were interrupted by the War of Independence, during which Dotan served in the army and took part in battles in and around Jerusalem. He continued at the university after the war and was awarded a Ph.D. degree in 1963 for his study of *Dikdukei ha-Te'amim le-Rabbi Aharon ben Moshe ben Asher* (1963; see below). In 1961 he was appointed lecturer at Tel Aviv University (professor from 1969), where he continued to teach until his retirement in 1996. He also taught at Bar-Ilan University in Ramat Gan for most of this period, in addition to serving as a guest lecturer at the Sorbonne, at Yale University, and elsewhere. He was a member of the Academy of the Hebrew Language from 1966.

Dotan's research, as presented in several books and scores of articles, focuses mainly on the fields of the Masorah, biblical vocalization and accentuation, biblical manuscripts, and early Hebrew grammar. His *Sefer Dikdukei ha-Te'amim le-Rabbi Aharon ben Moshe ben Asher* ("The Dikdukei ha-Te'amim of Aaron ben Moses Ben-Asher") is a new critical edition of an early work by the outstanding tenth-century masorete Aaron ben Asher, with an introduction and extensive annotation. In another book, which inquires into Ben-Asher's religious affiliation, Dotan discredits the view that Ben-Asher was a Karaite (*Ben Asher's Creed: A Study of the History of the Controversy*, 1977). Dotan's intensive study of biblical manuscripts, of MS Leningrad (B19a) in particular, led to his publication in 1973 of a new edition of the Bible based entirely on this manuscript, which now serves as the Bible distributed to Israeli soldiers upon their conscription. A new edition of this Bible with a comprehensive introduction in English appeared under the title *Biblia Hebraica Leningradensia* (2001). Dotan's *Encyclopaedia Judaica* entry "Masorah" (1971; q.v.) provides a sweeping, detailed overview of the history of the Masorah and of the different systems of biblical accentuation.

Dotan's most important book in the field of early Hebrew grammar is *Or Rishon be-Ḥokhmat ha-Lashon* ("The Dawn of Hebrew Linguistics," 1997), a critical edition of *Saadiah Gaon's *Sefer Zahut Leshon ha-Ivrim* (in Arabic*: Kitāb Fasīh Lughat al-'Ibraniyyīn*), for which he was awarded the Bialik Prize for Jewish Thought in 1998. Alongside the Arabic original of this work, which is the first Hebrew grammar, this edition provides both an annotated Hebrew translation and a comprehensive introduction elucidating Saadiah's linguistic method.

In his *Min ha-Masorah el Reshit ha-Milona'ut ha-Ivrit* ("The Awakening of Word Lore: From the Masorah to the Beginnings of Hebrew Lexicography," 2004) Dotan shows that the Masorah comprised the basis of Hebrew lexicography. This approach is consistent with his thesis, demonstrated in a number of articles, that grammar was preceded by the Masorah.

[Chaim E. Cohen (2nd ed.)]

DOTHAN (Heb. דֹתַיִן, דֹתָן), city in the northern part of the territory of Manasseh near one of the north-south passes through the Carmel range. The author of Genesis locates the story of Joseph's sale to the *Ishmaelites-Midianites in this region (Gen. 37:17ff.). According to II Kings 6:13ff., Dothan was a walled city and the residence of the prophet Elisha. It is mentioned again in the apocryphal book of Judith (4:6; 7:3) among the cities in the Jezreel Valley near Holofernes' camp. Eusebius places it 12 mi. (20 km.) north of Samaria-Sebaste (Onom. 76:13). It is generally identified with Tell Dothan, 3 mi. (5 km.) south of Jenin and 13 mi. (22 km.) northwest of Shechem at the head of the valley of the same name. Excavations conducted there by J.P. Free, a professor at Wheaton College, between 1953 and 1960 uncovered remains from the Bronze and Iron Ages (Canaanite and Israelite periods) – walls, administrative buildings, private houses as well as tombs, rich in finds.

In 2005 an archaeological team from Wheaton College published the first volume of a series of final reports on the excavations. Their analysis revealed occupation from the Neolithic-Mameluke periods. Among the highlights, the Free excavations uncovered several sections of a large city wall dating to the EBII and EBIII, attended by several phases of walls and platforms, including a straddling tower, as well as monumental stairway and ramp, which probably led to a gate. The excavators found additional fortifications and a patrician house from the MBIIb-LBI periods. Dating from the LBII period, when the site was virtually uninhabited, some of the richest LB tombs in the region were excavated by Free's team. These family tombs lasted from LBIIA-Iron I and are an important example of continuity between the Bronze and Iron Ages in the highlands. The excavators uncovered a four-room Iron I period house surrounded by a large private precinct. Dating from the Iron II period, a massive exposure was excavated, which included seven buildings that were all variations on the four-room house. West of them a complex of buildings indicated an industrial area, showing evidence of smelting, weaving, and the production of oil and wine. In the southwest corner of the same area, the excavators uncovered a large administrative building, characterized by ashlar masonry, regular rooms grouped around a courtyard, pavements, drains, and dozens of identically sized small storage containers. These jars may have reflected the dry measure of a *seah*, for the purpose of redistribution. Along the western border of this area there was evidence of a typical Iron Age casemate wall. The Iron Age city underwent violent destruction, dated by radiocarbon analysis to the end of the ninth century. Some time later the tell was again used as a cemetery, after the region had been conquered by Assyria. From the Hellenistic period the fragmentary outline of a city *insula* was discovered, as well as a sizable collection of typical second century Rhodian stamped amphora handles. The Roman and Byzantine periods, confined to the top of the tell, contained massive architecture but few datable living surfaces. Finally, in the Mamluke period the top of the tell was reoccupied by a small farming village with typical Islamic courtyard houses.

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[Egon H.E. Lass and Daniel M. Master (2nd ed.)]

DOTHAN, MOSHE (1919–1999), Israeli archaeologist. After graduating from high school in his native Cracow, Dothan received an entry permit to study in Palestine at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. He arrived in 1938 but his studies were soon interrupted by the outbreak of World War II. He spent two years in kibbutz Naḥshonim (today kibbutz Ma'apil) and then joined the British army in 1942. His service took him to Malta, North Africa, and Italy. When in Italy, he first felt an interest in archaeology.

In 1946 he returned to Palestine and completed a master's degree in archaeology and Jewish history and while working from 1950 in the Department of Antiquities in Jerusalem was able to conclude his doctorate. His thesis (1959) was on the Late Chalcolithic period (4000–3000 B.C.E.) and much of his research was based on his findings at Tel Asor (near Naḥal Iron), a site where a mass grave from that period was discovered.

He headed numerous excavations including Tel Afula (1951); Mezer in Naḥal Iron; the 1956 survey of Kadesh Barnea in northern Sinai of the Israelite town of the tenth century B.C.E.; Tel Mor, the ancient port dating from 1600 B.C.E. where Ashdod port stands today; the excavations of the important Philistine town of Ashdod (1960–77); Ḥammath Tiberias (1962) where the excavations revealed an early synagogue dated approximately 250 C.E. under other synagogues which had been constructed on top of it; and Tel Acre (1972–89) where he headed excavations whose finds went back to the tenth century B.C.E.

From 1972 to 1988 Dothan was a professor at Haifa University where he founded the department of maritime civilization and in 1976 the department of archaeology. He was the *Encyclopaedia Judaica* departmental editor for Bible realia.

He published over 150 articles, primarily in English. He was married to Trude *Dothan.

[Elaine Hoter]

DOTHAN, TRUDE (1922–), archaeologist, expert on the Philistines and Sea Peoples. Born in Vienna, Dothan moved to Jerusalem in 1925 with her parents, Grete Wolf Krakauer, a well-known painter, and Leopold Krakauer, one of the pioneers of modern Israeli architecture and a graphic artist. Dothan studied archaeology and biblical studies at the Hebrew University, eventually earning her M.A. in 1950 with a thesis on the Khirbet Kerak pottery of the EB III period, written under the guidance of Professor E.L. Sukenik. Following her post-graduate studies at the Oriental Institute, University of Chicago, in 1951–52, and at the Institute of Archaeology, University of London, in 1953, Dothan completed her Ph.D. in archaeology at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem in 1961. Having already excavated between 1945 and 1952 at Khirbet Kerak, Ein Gedi and Tel Qasile, Dothan became a field supervisor at the Hazor excavations in 1955–60, under Yigael Yadin, and later a co-director of excavations at Ein Gedi in 1961–62. In 1971–72, Dothan co-directed (with A. Ben-Tor) excavations at Athienou in Cyprus, as well as directing excavations at Deir el-Balah, near Gaza, at intervals between 1971 and 1982. From 1981 to 1996, Dothan co-directed a major archaeological project at Tel Miqne-*Ekron. Having taught archaeology at the Institute of Archaeology, Hebrew University, since 1962, earning her full professorship in 1974, Dothan gained an enormous amount of respect from her students and colleagues, for her enthusiasm and learning. Dothan is the author of numerous articles and books, notably *The Philistines and Their Material Culture* (1981), and *People of the Sea: In Search of the Philistines* (1992, with M. Dothan). A recipient of many fellowships and grants, Dothan was awarded the P. Schimmel Award in 1991 and the prestigious Israel Prize in 1998. A volume of essays, *Mediterranean Peoples in Transition* (eds. S. Gitin, A. Mazar and E. Stern), was presented in honor of Dothan in 1998. Trude Dothan was married to a distinguished archaeologist, the late Moshe *Dothan.

[Shimon Gibson (2nd ed.)]

DOUDTCHITZKY, DINORA (c. 1915–2004), Chilean engraver. Born in the Ukraine, Doudtchitzky's family emigrated to Argentina when she was 10 years old. In Buenos Aires she studied art and in 1939 she moved to Chile where she continued her studies in painting, murals, and engraving. In 1959 she became professor of engraving at the Catholic University.

DOUGLAS, KIRK (originally **Issur Danielovich Demsky**; 1916–), U.S. actor. Douglas was born in Amsterdam, N.Y. A good student and a keen athlete, he wrestled competitively during his time at St. Lawrence University. In 1939 he enrolled at the American Academy of Dramatic Arts in New York City. A small part in Broadway's *Wind Is Ninety* in 1945, as well as the help of former classmate Lauren *Bacall, brought him to the attention of Hollywood producer Hal B. Wallis, who chose him to play opposite Barbara Stanwyck in *The Strange Love of Martha Ivers* (1946). His performance received rave reviews, and more work quickly followed, including a role in the dramatic film *I Walk Alone* (1948). In it, he worked alongside Burt Lancaster. The chemistry between the two future screen legends was so strong that they ultimately appeared in seven films together, including *Gunfight at the O.K. Corral* (1957), *Seven Days in May* (1964), and *Tough Guys* (1986).

Douglas' portrayal in 1949 of a prizefighter in the film *Champion* confirmed his reputation as a leading dramatic artist. He had memorable roles in *Young Man with a Horn* (1950), *The Bad and the Beautiful* (1953), *Lust for Life* (1956), and *Lonely are the Brave* (1962).

Turning to production, he formed a film company that made the anti-war *Paths of Glory* (1957) and *Spartacus* (1960), in both of which Douglas starred. He identified himself with Israeli causes in the U.S. He starred in *The Juggler* (1953), which was filmed in Israel, and in 1966 played the lead in *Cast a Giant Shadow*, a film about Col. David (Mickey) *Marcus. Douglas celebrated his bar mitzvah twice: once when he was 13 years old, and the second time when he was 83.

Other films in the prolific actor's filmography include *My Dear Secretary* (1949), *A Letter to Three Wives* (1949), *The Glass Menagerie* (1950), *20,000 Leagues under the Sea* (1954), *Ulysses* (1955), *Man without a Star* (1955), *The Vikings* (1958), *Strangers When We Meet* (1960), *Town without Pity* (1961), *Two Weeks in Another Town* (1962), *The List of Adrian Messenger* (1963), *Is Paris Burning?* (1966), *The Arrangement* (1969), *There Was a Crooked Man* (1970), *The Fury* (1978), *The Man from Snowy River* (1982), *Greedy* (1994), *Diamonds* (1999), *It Runs in the Family* (2003), and *Illusions* (2004).

Douglas became a goodwill ambassador of the United Nations in 1983, and he also held the position of director of the Los Angeles chapter of the United Nations Association. He was a goodwill ambassador for the U.S. State Department from 1963. His efforts were rewarded in 1981 with the Presidential Medal of Freedom, and in 1983 with the Jefferson Award. France honored him by making him a Chevalier of the Legion of Honor. In 2002 he was awarded the UCLA Medal of Honor.

Douglas was inducted into the Hall of Great Western Performers of the National Cowboy and Western Heritage Museum in 1984. For his film work, he received the American Cinema Award (1987), the German Golden Kamera Award

(1987), the National Board of Review's Career Achievement Award (1989), a Life Achievement Award from the American Film Institute (1991), a Lifetime Achievement Award from the Academy of Motion Picture Arts and Sciences "for 50 years as a creative and moral force in the motion picture community" (1995), and a Lifetime Achievement Award from the American Film Institute (1999).

Kirk Douglas was voted the 36th Greatest Movie Star of all time by *Entertainment Weekly*.

He published his autobiography, *The Ragman's Son*, in 1988. He also wrote the novel *Dance with the Devil* (1990), the novel *The Gift* (1992), *Kirk Douglas Writes to Gary Cooper* (1992), the novel *Last Tango in Brooklyn* (1994), the novel *The Broken Mirror* (1997), *Climbing the Mountain: My Search for Meaning* (1997), *Young Heroes of the Bible: A Book for Family Sharing* (1999), and *My Stroke of Luck* (2002).

The actor Michael *Douglas is one of his four sons.

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[Stewart Kampel / Rohan Saxena and Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

DOUGLAS, MELVYN (1901–1981), U.S. actor. Son of Edouard Hesselberg, a musician, Douglas first appeared on the New York stage in 1928 in *A Free Soul*. He went to Hollywood in 1931 to act in a screen version of *Tonight or Never*. After his army service in World War II, Douglas' Broadway appearances included *Two Blind Mice* (1949), *Inherit the Wind* (1955), *Waltz of the Toreadors* (1956), *The Best Man* (1960), and *Spofford* (1967). His films include *Counselor-at-Law* (1933), *The Shining Hour* (1938), *Ninotchka* (1939), *Billy Budd* (1962), *Hud* (1963), for which he received an Oscar for Best Supporting Actor, *The Americanization of Emily* (1964), *Hotel* (1967), *I Never Sang For My Father* (1970), *The Candidate* (1972), *The Tenant* (1976), and *Being There* (1979).

[Jonathan Licht (2nd ed.)]

DOUGLAS, MICHAEL (1944–), film actor and producer. Born in New Brunswick, New Jersey, Michael is the son of actor Kirk *Douglas. He received a B.A. from the University of California at Santa Barbara in 1968. Although his father tried to discourage him from entering show business, Michael would not be deterred. After graduating from university, he moved to New York City to continue his drama studies at the Neighborhood Playhouse and at the American Place Theatre.

Michael Douglas first made his mark in the television series *The Streets of San Francisco* (1972). He was the founder of Big Stick Productions and Stonebridge Entertainment. His first major success came as co-producer of the multi-Academy Award winning film *One Flew over the Cuckoo's Nest* (1975). His career as a movie star began with *Coma* (1978) and *Romancing the Stone* (1984). He won an Academy Award for best actor for his portrayal of a power-hungry New York stockbroker in the 1987 film *Wall Street*. Other leading roles were in *The China Syndrome* (1979), *Running* (1979), *Jewel of the Nile* (1985), A *Chorus Line* (1985), *Fatal Attraction* (1987), *Black Rain* (1989), *The War of the Roses* (1989), *Basic Instinct* (1992), *Shining Through* (1992), *Falling Down* (1993), *Disclosure* (1994), *The American President* (1995), *A Perfect Murder* (1998), *Wonder Boys* (2000), *Traffic* (2000), *One Night at McCool's* (2001), *The In-Laws* (2003), and *The Ride to Mt. Morgan* (2005).

The Michael Douglas Foundation, a non-profit organization, was established in 1991. Among its goals, the foundation seeks to better the living conditions of those in need of assistance, promote peace within and among nations, and protect the global ecosystem. Over the years, the foundation has contributed to more than 90 charities worldwide. In 1998 Douglas was named a United Nations Messenger of Peace because of his efforts to focus world attention on nuclear disarmament and human rights.

In 2000 he married actress Catherine Zeta-Jones.

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[Jonathan Licht / Rohan Saxena and Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

°DOUWES, ARNOLD (1906–1999), Righteous Among the Nations. The son of a Dutch pastor, Douwes was recruited for the underground by Johannes Post, a farmer and town councilor in the village of Nieuwlande (Drente), and immediately dedicated himself to saving Jews. Assisted by Max ("Nico") Leons, a Jew posing as a Protestant, Douwes systematically traversed great stretches of the Nieuwlande countryside on his bicycle, stopping at every house and farm to ask whether the inhabitants would be willing to lodge a Jewish child. When convincing failed, Douwes was not beyond, in some instances, forcing people to admit Jews for shelter, on the pretext that it was by order of the Resistance. His sometimes tactless methods produced good results – hundreds of Jews found shelter in the sprawling farms of the Nieuwlande region. Lou Gans, one of the many Jews assisted by Douwes, relates that when he arrived from Amsterdam, Douwes took him for a temporary stay with Jan Dekker, Nieuwlande's postman. He was then moved to the home of Hendrik Kikkert, a local farmer; then to Seine and Jans Otten, both of whom were teachers; and on to Simon Dijk, a housepainter (where counterfeit identity cards were printed), and Engel Bolwijn, a baker. "Our task was not easy," Douwes recalled. "The victims themselves were the main problem. It was very difficult to convince them. Many did not wish to acknowledge the dangers facing them.… We had to resort to lies in order to get the parents to give us their children!… When we told people 'one week,' it really meant until the liberation. When we said 'two days' we meant two years.… We used to contact people in Amsterdam and beg them to let their children go, assuring them that there were safe places waiting for them. There were really no such places. Our thinking was that we would somehow find suitable places the moment the children arrived. They had to be found and were indeed found: in homes, cellars, attics, or elsewhere." Douwes personally met the children in Amsterdam or at the train station when they arrived in the Nieuwlande region. Sixteen-year-old Haim Roet, one of those saved by Douwes, was brought by him by train from Amsterdam to Zwolle in eastern Holland and then by bicycle to Dedenswaart. There Haim was reunited with his brother, but when he fell ill, after about a month in hiding, and the local doctor refused to treat him, Douwes came to the rescue, taking him to a different doctor; then after Haim's recovery, bringing him back to Dedenswaart. When the German police staged raids in the area, Douwes spent the night on his bicycle, transferring children from one location to another right under their noses. "I well remember sitting on the back of Arnold's bike, riding the narrow lanes beside the canals that crisscrossed the area," Miriam Whartman relates. When she told Douwes that her host family in the village of Hollandse Veld was subtly trying to convert her, he immediately moved her to another household. Douwes kept a secret coded diary of the people rescued, their sheltering places and other vital information. An operation of such magnitude could not go long unnoticed, and the Gestapo was soon on the lookout for him. To avoid arrest he changed his appearance, sporting a mustache and wearing a hat and eyeglasses to hide his face as much as possible. Despite all his precautions, Douwes was arrested in December 1944. While awaiting execution, in an Assen prison, on December 11, 1944, the underground rescued him in a daring operation. He then went into hiding until the country's liberation. After the war he married Jet Reichenberger, one of the women saved by him, and the couple eventually settled in Israel with their three daughters, with Arnold resuming his previous profession as a landscape architect. Toward the end of his life, he returned to the Netherlands. It is estimated that Douwes was responsible for saving at least 500 Jews, including around 100 children. In 1965, Yad Vashem awarded him the title of Righteous Among the Nations.

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[Mordecai Paldiel (2nd ed.)]

DOV BAER (the Maggid) OF MEZHIRECH (d. 1772), one of the earliest and most important leaders of *Ḥasidism. As a youth, Dov Baer received a traditional religious education in the yeshivah of R. Jacob Joshua *Falk, author of *Penei Yehoshu'a*. He taught in Torchin and later became preacher in Korets and Rovno. Subsequently he moved to Mezhirech (Mezhirichi) in Volhynia, which became the center of the ḥasidic movement, and toward the end of his life he moved to Annopol (Hanipol). An erudite talmudic scholar, Dov Baer also made a profound study of Kabbalah, adopting the system of Lurianic Kabbalah (originated by Isaac *Luria) and an ascetic way of life. The mortifications to which he subjected himself eventually made him ill; he contracted a disease which affected his legs and he became bedridden. Tradition relates that he sought a cure from *Israel b. Eliezer (the Ba'al Shem Tov), the originator of modern Ḥasidism, whose reputation as a healer was widespread, and Dov Baer became one of his foremost disciples.

After the death of the Ba'al Shem Tov in 1760, Dov Baer was recognized as his successor to leadership of the movement although opposed by *Jacob Joseph of Polonnoye, the more senior disciple. The authority of Dov Baer as the main proponent of Ḥasidism was apparently only recognized in 1766, and even then there were a few notable exceptions such as Phinehas of Korets. Unlike his predecessor, Dov Baer was not a man of the people, and his illness made it difficult for him to associate with his disciples. He possessed charismatic qualities, however, and was an eloquent preacher and teacher. Solomon *Maimon, who visited Dov Baer during his youth, expressed great admiration for his spiritual endowments. Dov Baer was highly esteemed by his disciples, who not only derived spiritual sustenance from his teachings and utterances but also divined an inner significance in his daily life and actions. Thus, *Aryeh Leib Sarahs is said to have visited Dov Baer in order "to see how he put on his shoes and tied his shoelaces."

Dov Baer formulated a doctrine that provided Ḥasidism with a speculative-mystical system, introducing into it the concepts of Kabbalah and a specific pattern of organization. Dov Baer transferred the center of Ḥasidism from Podolia in the southeast to Volhynia in central Poland, and this facilitated its spread throughout the country. He endeavored to popularize Ḥasidism among new classes and in new areas, and sent emissaries to spread the new teaching in many places throughout Poland. His activity may be considered the beginning of Ḥasidism as a movement, while his personal conduct set the precedent in Ḥasidism, for the institution of the *Ẓaddik*, or saintly leader. Under his leadership, Ḥasidism spread in the Ukraine, Lithuania, and Poznania, and began to take root in central Poland. He also won respect and authority outside his own community, and his reputation as a talmudist led numerous people to appeal to him on legal matters, such as ownership and trespass. Dov Baer also took part in communal affairs and his emissary Aaron of Karlin succeeded in obtaining an amendment of the communal tax regulations. In Dov Baer's later years, his views on the Divinity, as well as his methods of leadership, aroused fierce opposition from many rabbis and those who did not accept Ḥasidism. Especial targets for their hostility were the ecstatic modes of religious worship, accompanied by violent bodily movement, adopted by the Ḥasidim of "Talk," the changes he introduced in the prayer ritual in adopting the Lurianic liturgy, the innovations in ritual slaughter, and the neglect of Torah study by the youth who abandoned the yeshivot and flocked to Mezhirech. The main problem confronting the rabbinical opposition was the authority assumed by the Ḥasidim to decide matters of belief and religious conduct. Eventually the ban of excommunication was pronounced on Ḥasidism in Vilna, the orthodox stronghold. According to tradition, the excommunication affected the health of Dov Baer and he died shortly afterward. After his death Ḥasidism remained without a single leader commanding the same authority and general support from all Ḥasidim, and the leadership was assumed by a number of his disciples. The doctrine of Dov Baer may only be ascertained from collections made of his interpretation of biblical passages and rabbinical literature which appear in several versions: *Maggid Devarav le-Ya'akov*, and *Likkutei Amarim* ("Collected Sayings," Lvov, 1697, falsified date), written down by Isaiah of Donovich; *Or ha-Emet* (Husiatyn, 1889), copied from the manuscript written by *Levi Isaac of Berdichev, and in Ms. 8°3282 in the Israel National Library, written by Levi Isaac of Berdichev. Additional sayings have been collected in *Likkutei Amarim* (Lvov, 1792).

Many of Dov Baer's homiletical observations are included in works written by his disciples, among whom were Samuel and Phineas *Horowitz, *Shneur Zalman of Lyady, Israel of *Kozienice, *Jacob Isaac of Lublin, Menahem Mendel of Vitebsk, Nahum of Chernobyl, *Elimelech of Lyzhansk, *Zusya of Annopol (Hanipol), Levi Isaac of Berdichev, Aaron of Karlin, and Aryeh Leib Sarahs.

His Doctrine

Dov Baer develops the doctrine of *devekut* ("devotion") out of a pantheistic and acosmic perception which describes the essence of God as penetrating all existence and embodying everything: "the whole earth is the Holy One, and it is the world which stands within the Creator." From this doctrine he formulated an approach to mankind which had as its basis an elevated appreciation of the metaphysical status of man. The divine emanation through all things renders possible, by means of inner reflection and contemplation, a close and direct relationship with the root of being, and the *ẓaddik* or the devoted man is thus a medium who enjoys direct contact with God. Since, in Dov Baer's theory, every man can achieve this direct contact with the Divine, the charismatic figure of the *ẓaddik* loses his function as the intermediary between the Ḥasid and God. From his acosmic and spiritualist outlook, Dov Baer speaks of *devekut* through the turning aside from conscious will and the negation of existence. The purpose of man is to abolish concrete cosmic reality and to return to the mystical *Ayin* ("Nothingness") which preceded creation ("God created existence out of nothing and He makes nothingness out of existence"). Thus the existence of man in this world is seen as a decline which must precede a rise, an existence which must precede nothingness. The soul descends from the heights in order to raise up the material existence through its spiritual exaltation and thus restore the unity which was disturbed by the work of creation. The *Sefirah* of *Ḥokhmah* ("Wisdom") or *Ayin* is the state which precedes creation as the object of the meditations of those in a state of *devekut*. In the words of the Maggid: "it is impossible for anything to pass from one existence to another, without it becoming nothing (*Ayin*) at the point of transition." (This is the Aristotelian theory of the "absence" in the transfer from potential to actual existence, which was transmuted from the physical realm to the metaphysical.) In all his extant writings there is a definitely acknowledged mingling between the sphere of the first *Sefirah* (*Keter*, *Ayin*) and the second (*Ḥokhmah*). Generally, Dov Baer does not distinguish between the two *Sefirot* – in various places they are treated as identical – and he transposes them in order to elucidate the true structure of the soul. He uses theosophic language and kabbalistic terminology when dealing with matters pertaining to the theory of the soul, from the principles of the doctrine of the *Sefirot*.

In his words on the essence of prayer, Dov Baer rejects the emphasis on the personal nature of supplication and advocates an attitude of indifference toward the results of the act, with no anticipation of an answer. Prayer is a psychological exercise in maximal concentration, a technique or ladder toward denial of the self. In the transfer from vocal prayer (speech) to prayer by thought, the human act is converted into divine speech (automatic speech).

The logical conclusion to be drawn from Dov Baer's monist approach, which lays down that God is to be found everywhere ("there is no place which is not occupied by Him") is that it is possible to worship Him with every act: "know Him in all thy ways" (he does not accept the Lurianic dualism which accentuates the extremes of evil and good; for him there is no absolute evil but only degrees of good). The idea of divine immanence and the Lurianic concept of the uplifting of the *niẓoẓot* ("sparks") are the theoretical basis for the principle of "worship through corporeality" (*avodah be-gashmiyyut*), i.e., the worship of God through *devekut* even during the performance of physical acts. Dov Baer was aware that such an emphasis on the value of the *devekut*, with its concomitant disregard of the precepts and halakhic principles, was likely to lead to anarchy and antinomianism; he therefore limited his approach to the spiritual sphere and emphasized the importance of the necessity for meticulous observance of the normative framework of the *mitzvot*. Because of his tendency toward spirituality, Dov Baer was a conservative in the field of *halakhah* and inclined toward conformity in practical areas. Worship through corporeality is difficult and only "outstanding men" can abide by it.

The concept of *ẓimẓum* ("contraction") in his doctrine contradicts in principle the Lurianic concept and returns to the ideological system of Moses *Cordovero. *Ẓimẓum* is not interpreted as a regression but as an abundance of emanation. The process of *ẓimẓum* is conceived as an act which differs in meaning with respect to the bestower and the recipients. From the aspect of the Divine Essence, *ẓimẓum* is an oblivion and a concealment, while from the aspect of the living creatures it is a manifestation and a revelation. *Ẓimẓum* is a form of cognition which compels God to appear according to the laws of the intellect. Dov Baer interprets the verse: "the king is held captive in the tresses" (Song 7:6), as "tresses of the mind" (*Maggid Devarav le-Ya'akov*). (The contraction of light and its embodiment in objects is conditional to perception, just as thought is revealed by its materialization – its *ẓimẓum* – in sound and speech.) By rejecting the Lurianic mythical personification, he blurs the origin of the fall of the *niẓoẓot* and dissociates himself from the notion of a crisis in the relationship of God with Himself and His relationship with the world. He does not interpret the *shevirah* ("breaking of the vessels") as a catastrophe within the divine world; its purpose is to illuminate, just as the tailor cuts in order to sew. The *shevirah* is expressed in allegoric fashion ("a broken heart") and is described as an internal event in the life of man.

Dov Baer's eschatological conception is not bound to any historical period. In it the emphasis is not on matters concerning messianism, as in Shabbateanism; rather the pre-redemption tension is slackened and the emphasis is placed on the road which leads to redemption instead of its consequences. Redemption has ceased to be a single national historical event and has become a continuous spiritual experience for the individual.

The main authority of the ḥasidic leader derived essentially from his direct connection with the heavenly powers, allied to his concern for the individual and the community. The *ẓaddik* is a man who struggles to attain a life of complete holiness, devoid of any personal benefit and untainted by any evil inclination. He supervises the scales of the world, watching over its moral equilibrium, and the social sphere is the lowest plane of his mystical activity. By the strength of his religious elevation, he is an intercessor for the bestowal of plenty and it is his task to put right the status of the worlds and redeem existence according to the Lurianic system of the uplifting of the "sparks" and the special *ḥasidic* method of the sublimation of evil thoughts, which transferred the scene of the struggle to the personal sphere and determined a process of internal individual restitution of the soul (*tikkun* of *Adam Kadmon* by means of *tikkun* of *Adam Taḥton*). Dov Baer differentiates between *ẓaddikim* who succeed in maintaining the dialectic tension between social life and the mystic life (and thus maintain a social and metaphysical link between themselves and the individual) and "*ẓaddikim* who are compelled to withdraw from the people" because their contact with society is liable to result in their downfall. His theory does not emphasize the doctrine of the *ẓaddik* and recognizes the possibility of ecstatic experiences without intermediaries. The doctrine of the *ẓaddik* was mainly developed by the disciples of Elimelech of Lyshansk (*ẓaddikut ma'asit*, the practical role of the *ẓaddik*) and was stressed in the Ḥasidism of Bratslav.

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[Esther (Zweig) Liebes]

DOVE (Heb. יוֹנָה, *yonah*), the domesticated (*Columba domestica*) as well as the wild pigeon, of which several species are found in Ereẓ Israel, in whose caves and rock clefts brood large flocks of rock pigeons (*Columba livia*), considered to be the original species of the domesticated variety. It builds its nest in the clefts of precipitous rocks inaccessible to birds and animals of prey (Jer. 48:28). Sepulchral chambers, hewn in caves in several places in Israel, are used by doves for brooding, and in the Bet Guvrin region there are columbaria consisting of tens of thousands of such chambers. Among the varieties of the rock pigeon is a wild variety found in Jerusalem which broods under the caves of houses and is known as the "loft-dove" in contradistinction to the "cote dove" which is bred (Tosef., Beẓah 1:10). The Mishnah refers to the catching of wild doves in nets (BK 7:7). The dove, which is permitted as food, was brought as an offering by the poor (Lev. 5:7) and by the Nazirite (Num. 6:10). Because of their importance as a sacrifice, the state of the young doves' development was taken into account when intercalating the year (Sanh. 11a). The sages held that the dove was eligible for sacrifices because "there is none among the birds more persecuted than doves" (BK 93a). It is monogamous, the female following the male (cf. Hos. 7:11). At nesting time the males coo (Isa. 59:11). The dove symbolizes beauty, innocence, and purity (Song 1:15; 5:2). The "*benei yonah*" which were used as sacrifices are defined in the Talmud as tender young doves until "their feathers begin to glisten"; they are identical with the *gozal* (Gen. 15:9; cf. Kin. 2:1; Ḥul. 22b). Of a superior domestic stock were the "*hardesiot*" doves, a name derived, some contend, from that of King Herod who, according to Josephus, bred doves (Jos., Wars, 5:181; cf. Ḥul. 139b). Among those ineligible to act as witnesses is one who decoys doves from his neighbor's dovecote or who engages in pigeon races (Sanh. 25a). The first dove mentioned in the Bible is the one sent by *Noah which brought back an olive leaf (Gen. 8:8–11) – according to rabbinic tradition from the Mount of Olives.

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[Jehuda Feliks]

DOWRY (Heb. נְדֻנְיָה), the property a wife brings to her husband at marriage; the Yiddish equivalent, *nadn*, is from the same root. The custom of *nedunyah* became clearly defined and institutionalized only in the talmudic period. In biblical times, *mohar* (מֹהַר), whereby the groom bought his wife from her father (Gen. 24:53; Ex. 22:15–16; Hos. 3:2), was the accepted practice. It was then customary that the groom give the bride gifts, and that she bring certain property to her husband's home upon marriage: slaves, cattle, real estate, etc. (cf. Gen. 24:59–61; 29; Judg. 1:14ff.; I Kings 9:16). Evidence of the custom of *nedunyah* is to be found in Tobit (7:14; 8:21) and in the Assuan papyri (Cowley, Aramaic, nos. 15, 18). Gradually, *mohar* was superseded by the *ketubbah* custom according to which the husband merely assumed the responsibility of compensation to his wife in case he divorced her: he had to pay her 200 *zuzim* if she had been a virgin at the time of marriage, and 100 *zuzim* if a widow or divorcée (see **Ketubbah*).

By talmudic times, the institution of *nedunyah* was prevalent; the father gave a dowry to the bride since the daughter was excluded from paternal inheritance. Fifty *zuzim* (equivalent to the worth of 180 grams of silver) was the minimum amount a father was obliged to give to his daughter (Ket. 6:5). Parents usually gave much more, according to their social standing. Community funds provided the dowry for an orphan or a very poor girl (*ibid.*; cf. Sh. Ar., YD 251:8). In case of her father's death, the brothers of a minor girl were obliged to give her the minimum dowry, and the court estimated how much her father would have given her above the minimum dowry. The sum was then taken out of the father's estate and given to the daughter upon majority (Ket. 6:6; 68a–69b). In the absence of such an estimate, each daughter was entitled to receive one-tenth of the value of her father's estate in money, or in valuables (Yad, Ishut, 20:4–7; Sh. Ar., EH 113:4). If the father was unable or unwilling to pay the promised dowry at the betrothal ceremony, the groom could refuse to marry his bride (Ket. 13:5; Ket. 108b–109a). Insistence on exact payment of the promised dowry, however, was frowned upon by later rabbinic authorities (Rema to Sh. Ar., EH 2:1). In certain communities it was customary for the groom's father to make a dowry contribution equal to that of the bride's father (Ket. 102b). The dowry, whether given in real estate, slaves, money, or chattel was recorded in the marriage contract (the *ketubbah*) and in some instances one-third or one-fifth of the actual value of the dowry was added to the sum mentioned in the *ketubbah*. Based upon a decree enacted by *Simeon b. Shetaḥ (first century C.E.), the Talmud ruled that the husband and his entire property were liable for compensation as stipulated in the *ketubbah*, either in case he died (when she collected the sum specified in the *ketubbah* from the heirs) or in case he divorced his wife (Ket. 82b). For the status of the dowry and the husband's rights and obligations, see below. The rabbinic enactments (*Takkanot Shum*) by R. Jacob *Tam and by the rabbinic synod of the communities of Speyer, Worms, and Mainz (Germany) stipulated that if a woman died without children within the first year of her marriage, the whole dowry should be returned to her father or to his heirs, and if she died without children within two years of her marriage, one-half of her dowry should be returned to her father or his heirs. These stipulations were accepted by Jews all over Europe, as well as by some Oriental communities. A rabbinic conference at Slutsk (1761) modified these rules by decreeing that only after five years of marriage would the husband of a childless wife become the sole heir to his deceased wife's property.

The custom of dowry in its original sense prevailed until modern times, especially among Jews of Eastern Europe. In these communities, the dowry often consisted of full board granted to the groom for several years so that he might continue his talmudic studies free from financial care. The custom was called in Yiddish *kest* and the financial arrangements of the dowry were detailed in a document called *tena'im* ("stipulations"; "conditions") signed at the betrothal ceremony; *tenoim shraybn* is derived from the term *tena'im* (see Ket. 102a–b). Jews in Muslim countries never accepted the custom of *nedunyah*, but continued the practice of *mohar*. The money which the groom gave to the bride's father, however, was used to buy furniture and household goods for the newly married couple. In modern Israel, the Oriental practices of *mohar*, as well as the custom of *nedunyah*, tend to disappear gradually. On the other hand, in cases of divorce, when couples settle the material aspects before a rabbinic court, the court's judgment, which is guided by the principles of *halakhah*, is legally binding. Societies for providing dowries for poor or orphaned girls were prevalent (see **Hakhnasat Kallah*).

In Jewish Law

Dowry or *nedunyah*, apparently from the word *neden*, nedeh (i.e., gift – Ezek. 16:33 and commentaries), means all property of whatever kind brought by the wife to the husband upon their marriage (Yad, Ishut, 16:1 and *Maggid Mishneh* thereto). In its restricted and common meaning, the term is intended to refer to those assets of the wife which she of her own free will entrusts to her husband's responsibility, the equivalent whereof the husband of his own free will undertakes in the **ketubbah*, and in a sum of money specified therein as the *nedunyah*, to restore to his wife upon dissolution of their marriage (*Maggid Mishneh*, Ishut 16:1; Tur, EH 85; Sh. Ar., EH 66: 11a and 85:2, Isserles' gloss; 88:2). Such property is also called *nikhsei ẓon barzel*, to be distinguished from another category of the wife's property, called *nikhsei melog* (see below). It is the practice for the husband to undertake in the *ketubbah* to restore to his wife the dowry with an increment (the *tosefet nedunyah*) of one third or one half of the amount specified, subject to local custom. Both parts of the total amount may be stipulated together in an inclusive sum and this is the customary practice; to this inclusive sum is added the sum of the *ketubbah*, as fixed by the *halakhah*, and its increments (see **Ketubbah*), so that an overall sum is mentioned, but it is stressed that this sum is the aggregate of all the above-mentioned components (Sh. Ar., EH 66:11, and *Rema* thereto). The said obligation of the husband is treated in the same manner as any other pecuniary obligation (*Maggid Mishneh*, Ishut 16:1).

NIKHSEI ZON BARZEL. (lit. "the property of iron sheep") is a term derived from the name of a transaction in which one party entrusts property on certain terms to another, the latter undertaking responsibility therefor as he would for iron, i.e., for return of the capital value of the property as at the time of his receipt thereof, even if it should suffer loss or depreciation; since, generally, small cattle was the subject matter of such transactions, they came to be described by the above term (BM 69b and Rashi thereto). Hence the use of the term *ẓon barzel* for the property of the wife, to denote that part of her property given over to her husband's ownership but under his responsibility, i.e., subject to his undertaking to restore to her the value thereof as fixed in the *ketubbah* upon dissolution of the marriage. This obligation of the husband is governed by the rule that any appreciation or depreciation in the property is his, regardless of any change it may undergo, or even its loss (Tur and Sh. Ar., EH 85:2); on the other hand, this obligation remains constant despite any fluctuations in currency values (as distinguished from the fluctuations in the value of the property) and the husband remains liable for the sum specified in the *ketubbah* as the dowry equivalent at its value on the date of the marriage, but subject to calculation thereof in accordance with the local law prevailing at the time of its recovery (*Taz* EH 66, n. 6; *Rema* ḤM 74:7; Resp. *Ḥatam Sofer* EH 1:126). However, if at the time of its recovery, i.e., upon divorce or the husband's death (Sh. Ar., EH 66:11 and *Rema* EH 93:1), the actual property is still in existence and fit for the purpose assigned to it at the time of the marriage – generally the case in respect of real property – the wife is entitled to demand the return thereof in specie, as being "the luster of her father's home" (*shevaḥ beit aviha*), and neither the husband nor his heirs can compel her to accept money instead (Sh. Ar., EH 88:3; *Beit Shemu'el* 88: n. 4; *Taz* 88, n. 3).

NIKHSEI MELOG. (lit. "plucked property," i.e., usufruct) is a term derived from the word *meligah*, e.g., *meligat ha-rosh*, i.e., plucking of hair from the head which remains intact. Similarly, *melog* property is property of which the principal remains in the wife's ownership but the fruits thereof are taken by the husband so that he has no responsibility or rights in respect of the principal, both its loss and gain being only hers (*Rashbam* BB 149b; *Haggahot Maimoniyyot* Ishut 16:1), and upon dissolution of the marriage such property returns to the wife as it stands, in specie. This category embraces all the property of the wife falling outside the category of *nikhsei ẓon barzel* – save for property of the kind described in the next section – whether brought by her at the time of entering the marriage, or acquired thereafter, e.g., by way of inheritance or gift (Yad, Ishut 16:2; Tur and Sh. Ar., EH 85:7).

PROPERTY WHICH IS NEITHER ZON BARZEL NOR MELOG. A third category is property of the wife concerning which the husband has no rights at all, neither as to the principal nor the fruits thereof. This includes property acquired by her after the marriage by way of gift, the donor having expressly stipulated that it be used for a specific purpose (such as for her recuperation), or that it be used for any purpose of her choice without her husband having any authority thereover (Yad, Zekhi'ah 3:13, 14; Sh. Ar., EH 85:11), or property given to her as a gift by her husband, he being considered here to have waived his rights to the fruits thereof, in terms of the rule "whoever gives, gives with a generous mind" (BB 52b and *Rashbam* thereto; Sh. Ar., EH 85; 7; see also *Gifts).

THE HUSBAND'S RIGHTS TO THE PRINCIPAL. Since the wife is entitled to the ownership of her property – *melog*, because it has never ceased to be in her ownership, and *ẓon barzel*, in terms of the halakhic rule concerning "the luster of her father's home" (see above) – the husband is not entitled to deal therewith in any manner prejudicial to her right, e.g., sale, etc., and any such act is invalid with reference to both movable and immovable property (Sh. Ar., EH 90:13, 14; *Rema* to 14; *Beit Shemu'el* 90, n. 48; Resp. *Ribash* no. 150). In the case of money the position is different: if it falls within the category of *ẓon barzel* and therefore passes fully into the husband's ownership, he being responsible for returning the equivalent thereof as determined in the *ketubbah*, he is free to trade or otherwise deal therewith, as with his own money (*Ḥelkat Meḥokek* 85, n. 4; Resp. *Ribash* no. 150); if, however, the money is part of the *melog* property and therefore not in the husband's ownership, he is not entitled to trade therewith save with his wife's consent but may only – and even will be obliged to do so if so requested by his wife – invest the money in such manner that the principal is preserved for her, while the fruits will be his (Resp. *Ribash* no. 150; *Ḥelkat Meḥokek* 85 n. 42).

INCOME FROM THE WIFE'S PROPERTY. All the fruits of the wife's property, i.e., all benefits derived from her property in a manner leaving intact the principal and its continued capacity to provide benefits – such as natural or legal fruits, e.g., rental or the right of occupation or stock dividends – belong to the husband (Sh. Ar., EH 69:3, 85:1, 2, 13). In accordance with the regulations of the sages he is entitled to these in return for his obligation to ransom her should she be taken captive, in order to avoid the ill-feeling that would arise between them if he received no help from her (Ket. 47a–b and Codes). The wife cannot forego her right to be ransomed at her husband's expense with the object of depriving him of his right to the fruits of her property, lest she remain unransomed and become absorbed among the Gentiles (Sh. Ar., EH 85:1); for the same reason, the husband does not escape the obligation to ransom his wife by renouncing the fruits from her property (*ibid.*).

By virtue of this right, the husband is entitled to receive the fruits and to take all steps necessary for the realization thereof – such as collecting rent or demanding the ejection of a tenant – in his own name and without being specifically authorized thereto by his wife (Sh. Ar., ḤM 122:8; EH 85:4 and commentaries; PDRE 4:107); nor does he require any specific authority from his wife in order to recover and receive any money to which she is entitled, including the principal, in order that it may be available to him for its investment and his enjoyment of its fruits (Sh. Ar., ḤM 122:8; *Siftei Kohen*, ḤM 122, n. 33; *Rema ibid.*). On the other hand, the husband, being entitled to the fruits, has the corresponding obligation to defray thereof the expenses of the property (Sh. Ar., EH 88:7), and if the fruits do not suffice for the purpose and he has to invest of his own money and labor on the property, he generally will not be entitled to compensation, not even upon divorce, since he is considered to have waived any claim therefor, having invested them with a view to enjoying the fruits ("what he has expended, he has expended and what he has consumed, he has consumed" – Ket. 79b; Sh. Ar., EH 88:7).

The husband's ownership of the fruits is not absolute, since the object of the halakhic rule whence his right to the fruits of the wife's property is derived is "for the comfort of the home" Ket. 80b), i.e., for their mutual comfort in their home and so as to ease the burden of maintaining the household (see Yad, Ishut 22:20 and *Maggid Mishneh* thereto). Consequently he is not entitled to use the fruits for his personal advantage, and if he should invest them in a way showing that he is not using them for the comfort of the home, the investment will be considered the wife's property as capital forming part of her *nikhsei melog*, of which the fruits only may be taken by him, to be used for the comfort of the home (Tur, EH 85, *Perishah* n. 51; *Derishah* n. 2). For the same reason the husband's creditors, i.e., in respect of debts unconnected with the upkeep of the household, may not seize the fruits and recover their debt from the proceeds thereof since this would preclude them from being used for their assigned purpose (Sh. Ar., ḤM 97:26; commentaries to EH 85:17). On the other hand, since the fruits belong to the husband, the wife must not do anything which may deprive him of his right of usufruct. Hence her sale of the principal without her husband's consent will be invalid with regard to the fruits, as a sale of something not belonging to her and therefore the husband's right of usufruct is unimpaired thereby and he continues to enjoy the benefits thereof even if the principal is in the hands of the purchaser: "the husband may seize the fruits from the purchasers" (Sh. Ar., EH 90:9, 13). This does not mean, however, that Jewish law denies a married woman legal capacity, like an idiot or a minor, for the sale, as mentioned above, is invalid only in respect of the fruits, as being a sale of something that is not hers (*Rema* EH 90:9, 13; and *Ḥelkat Meḥokek* 90, n. 29); with reference to the principal, therefore, her ownership is not affected by the husband's usufruct and her sale is valid, to the extent that upon her divorce or the death of her husband, the purchaser will acquire, in addition to the principal, the fruits also of the property purchased by him without any need for novation or ratification of the sale. Upon the death of his wife the husband, indeed, is entitled to seize also the principal from the purchasers, but not because the sale is regarded as invalid for reasons of legal incapacity of the wife, but because the sages regulated that when a wife predeceases her husband, he is considered – *mi-ta'am eivah*, i.e., in order to avoid ill feeling between them – upon entering the marriage as the earliest purchaser of her property and therefore takes preference over any other purchaser ("*Takkanat Usha*" – see Ket. 50a, Rashi and Codes). The rule that "whatever the wife acquires, she acquires for her husband," therefore means no more than that he acquires the fruits but the principal is and remains her own (Git. 77a and *Rashi*; Sh. Ar., ḤM 249:3; on the question of the husband's right to the fruits when he is a *mored* ("rebellious spouse") see *Husband and Wife).

DOWRY AND THE MARRIAGE DEED. The wife may only recover her dowry at the same time as she does the *ketubbah*, i.e., upon divorce or the death of her husband (Sh. Ar., EH 66:11; *Rema* EH 93:1, Isserles). The two are distinct, however, since the amount of the *ketubbah* is payable from the husband's own pocket whereas the dowry is her own property. Hence, even in the case where the wife forfeits her *ketubbah* according to law (see *Divorce), she does not lose her dowry, save in case of any express halakhic rule to the contrary (Yad, Ishut 16:1; *Maggid Mishneh*, ibid.; PD 12: 1121, 1197–1201).

THE DAUGHTER'S RIGHT TO A DOWRY. See *Parent and Child.

IN THE STATE OF ISRAEL. The Supreme Court has interpreted section 2 of the Women's Equal Rights Law, 5711/1951, as directing that Jewish law is not to be followed in matters concerning the husband's rights to the fruits of his wife's property (PD 12:1528ff.). According to this interpretation there is complete separation between the property of the respective spouses with reference to both the principal and the fruits, and the fact of their marriage in no way affects the rights of either party with regard to his or her own property or the fruits thereof.

[Ben-Zion (Benno) Schereschewsky]

The Women's Equal Rights Law, 5711 – 1951, as interpreted by the Supreme Court (see HC 202/57 *Sidis v.Rabbinical Court of Appeals*, 12 PD 1528) had far reaching implications for those cases in which a woman sued her husband for support, while simultaneously earning income from her own property. Under Jewish Law, the husband was entitled in such a case to argue that the wife receive her support from the income from her property which, according to *halakhah*, belonged to the husband (File 5712/2921,4457, 1 PDR 239; File 5716/153, 2 PDR, 97). However, in its aforementioned ruling, the Supreme Court partially abrogated the network of reciprocal obligations, so that the husband's obligation to support his wife remained intact, whereas his right to the income from her property was annulled. This meant that the income from the wife's property could not be deducted from her maintenance. This result was harshly criticized, conflicting as it did with the trend towards equalization of reciprocal duties and rights between spouses under which, in cases where the woman had income from property, she was required to assist in the household expenses. The Supreme Court noted that "this situation is unsatisfactory" and recommended that the Legislature rectify the situation by way of appropriate legislation (CA 313/59 *Balban v.* Balban, 14 (1) PD 285, per Justice Yitzchak Olshan; CA *Rinat v.* Rinat, 20 (2) PD 21 per Justice Zvi Berenson). In another case (FH 23/69 *Yosef v.* Yosef, 24 (1) PD 792), the Supreme Court ruled that, when the wife worked and earned a living, her salary was to be deducted against the sum he owed her as support, because her income constituted "the wife's handiwork" (*ma'aseh yadeha*), which belongs to the husband (see entry: *HUSBAND and WIFE). In wake of that decision, the Court again called upon the Legislator to amend the existing legal position and to equate the law applying to income from the wife's real assets with the law applying to her income, so that both might be reckoned against the sum owed for her support (CA 61/71 *Cohen v. Cohen*, 25 (2) PD 327, per Justice Etzioni):

> The existing legal situation gives rise to blatant inequality between maintenance awarded to women who have income-producing property, and those whose income is derived from her wages. In the former case the Court does not consider her income in calculating the support her husband is required to provide, whereas in the case of the working woman, the Court does take her wages into account (her salary being considered "her handiwork"). This is an unacceptable state of affairs. The way to eliminate the inequality inherent in this state of affairs is […] to apply to a women who owns *melog* (i.e., real property on which the husband enjoys usufruct) the same rule that applies to working woman when determining the amount of support (p. 332 of decision).

In response to the Supreme Court's recommendation to the legislature that the statute be amended, in 1976 a new clause, section 2a, was added to the Family Law Amendment (Maintenance) Law, providing that "Notwithstanding the provisions of the Women's Equal Rights Law, 5712 – 1951, in fixing the amount of support required to be paid to a spouse, the Court is entitled to take into account the income of the spouse from employment and from property, and if deemed appropriate – from any other source."

The Supreme Court (CA 596/89 *Hakak v.* Hakak, 45 (4) PD 749) ruled (per Justice M. Elon) that the amendment of the law restored the balance in Israeli law between the woman's right to support and the husband's halakhic right to his wife's handiwork:

> Had it been possible to rely exclusively on the personal law [based on *halakhah*], then with respect to Jewish spouses there would have been no need to amend the Maintenance Law, because according to Jewish Law, when fixing the amount of the support the wife's *melog* property is not taken into account – meaning that she does not have to sell her property in order to support herself. On the other hand, account *is* taken of her income from that property. However, as a result of the enactment of the Women's Equal Rights Law and its interpretation by the Supreme Court, this consideration for the wife's income from her property was abolished when fixing the amount of her support. This "incidental oversight" has now been rectified by the amendment in section 2a. Accordingly, section 2a begins with the provision: "Notwithstanding the provisions of the Women's Equal Rights Law" – the intention being to specify the name of the law requiring amendment, and to underscore that it was an amendment of that law. As a result of this amendment to the Women's Equal Rights Law, Jewish Law was "released" from the yoke of that "oversight" with respect to the fixing of the amount of support for the wife on the basis of the Women's Equal Rights Law as interpreted by the Supreme Court, and the crown of the original Jewish Law was restored (p. 778 of the decision) (see *Matrimonial Property).

[Menachem Elon (2nd ed.)]

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°DOZY, REINHART PIETER ANNE (1820–1883), Dutch Arabist-Islamist. Having studied Semitics at Leiden, Dozy was appointed professor of medieval and modern history at the university. His scholarly activities concentrated on Arabic lexicography (cf. his *Supplément aux dictionnaires Arabes*, 2 vols. (1881)) and the history of Muslim Spain. His *Histoire des Musulmans d'Espagne, jusqu'a la conquête de l'Andalousie par les Almoravides 711–1110* (4 vols., 1861) was re-issued at least 20 times and became fundamental to the modern study of medieval Andalusia. In 1864 he published a Dutch volume on the Jews in Mecca, *De Israëliten te Mekka van Davids tijd tot in de vijfde eeuw onzer tijdrekening*. There he suggested that migrants from the tribe of Simeon had started the Meccan sanctuary in the days of David, and that a new wave of Hebrews during the Babylonian period had strengthened the Hebraic impact on Muslim ritual. This controversial theory was both applauded and criticized, the latter especially in German Jewish circles. (Dozy's Leiden colleague H. Oort continued the discussion in *The Worship of Baalim in Israel* (1865).) Contemporary Dutch Jewish scholars, too, followed Dozy's work with a keen interest.

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[Irene E. Zwiep (2nd ed.)]

The first female rabbi in Italy celebrates Ḥanukkah at Lev Chadash synagogue in Milan, 2004. © *Silvia Morara/Corbis.*

In 2005, the worldwide Jewish population was estimated to be close to 14 million persons, with its largest numbers in North America and Israel. Despite the large concentrations in these two geographical areas, there are Jews all over the world who come from a variety of racial and ethnic backgrounds. Here are a few faces that illustrate the diversity and vibrancy of Jewish life in its many world-scattered communities.

COMMUNITIES

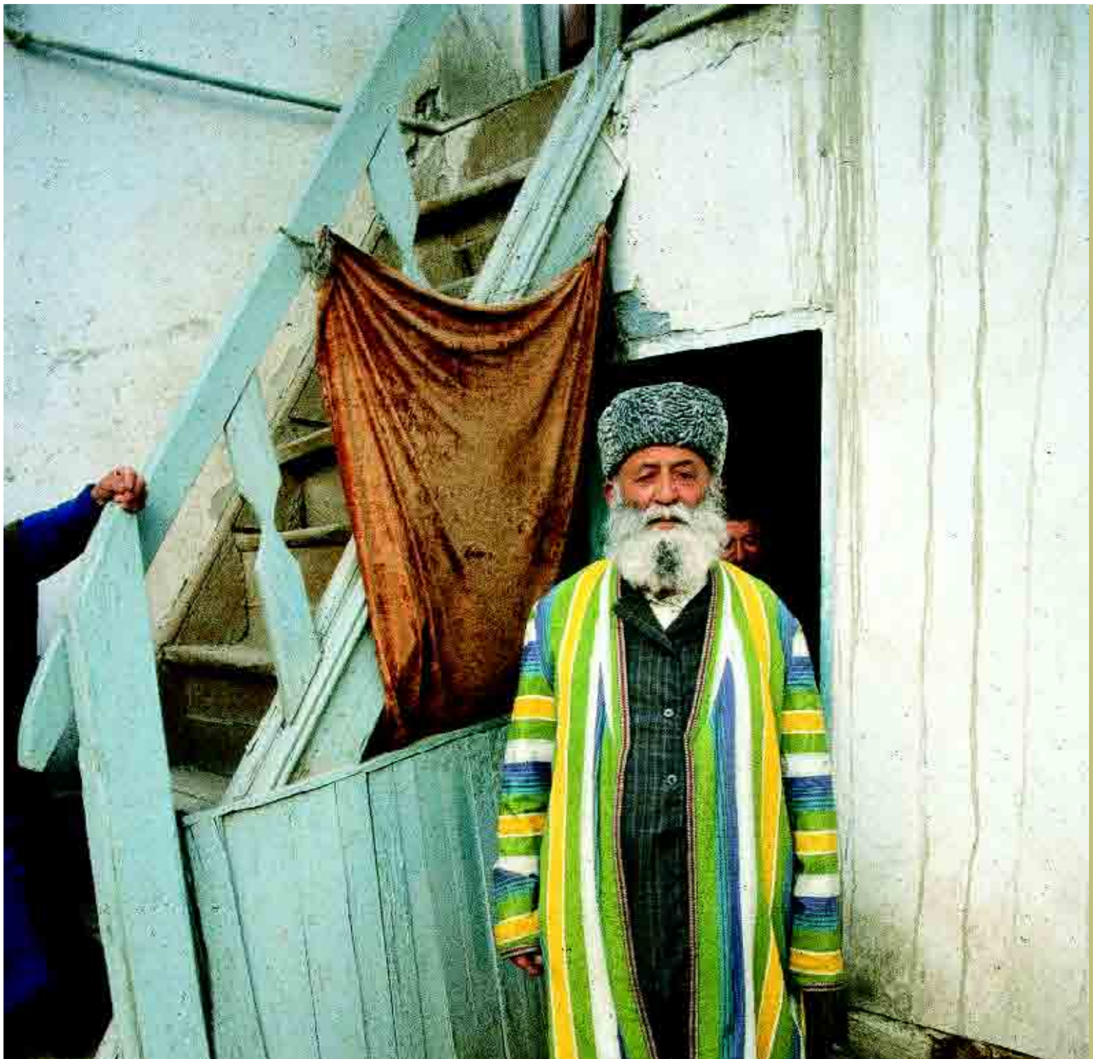

(opposite page):
A large gathering of Brooklyn's Orthodox Jewish community wait for the reading of Psalms in front of a synagogue in the Borough Park neighborhood in New York, 2000.
AP Images.

(this page):
Jewish man at the entrance of the synagogue in Bukhara, Uzbekistan.
Photo: Theodore Cohen, USA. By courtesy of Beth Hatefutsoth Photo Archive, Tel Aviv.

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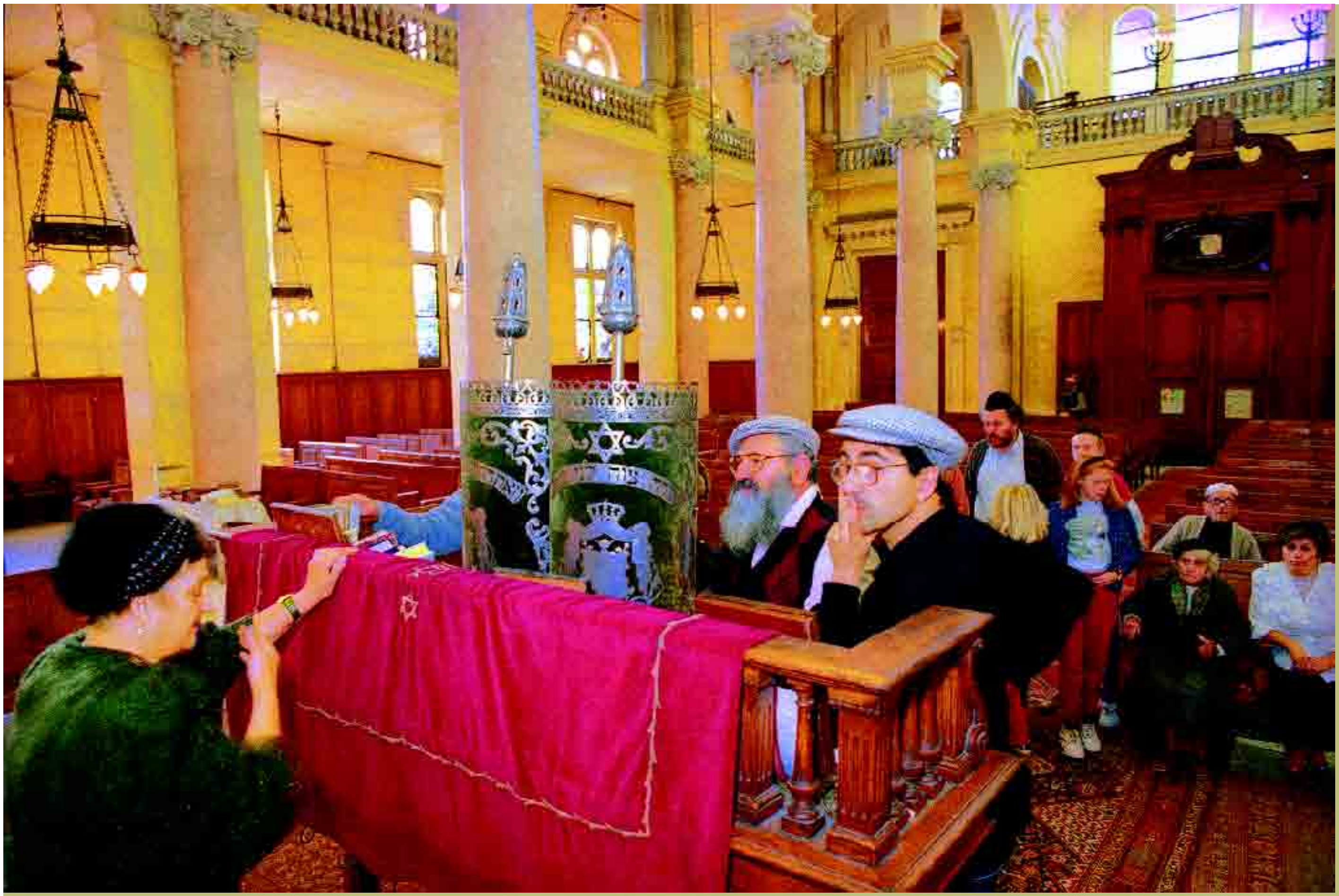

(opposite page) TOP: **A closing prayer during a *seder* at a Jewish Community Center in New York City, 2005.** *AP Images.*

(opposite page) BOTTOM: **In Havana, Cuba, teenagers play "Celebrating the Sabbath," a board game created by a member of the Jewish community there, 2005.** *ADALBERTO ROQUE/AFP/Getty Images.*

(this page) ABOVE: **Eliyahu Hanavi Synagogue; Alexandria, Egypt, 1994.** *Photo: Shlomo Taitz, Israel. By courtesy of Beth Hatefutsoth Photo Archive, Tel Aviv.*

(this page) LEFT: **Members of the Judah Hyam Hall Synagogue in New Delhi sing hymns during Sabbath service, 2003.** *FINDLAY KEMBER/AFP/Getty Images.*

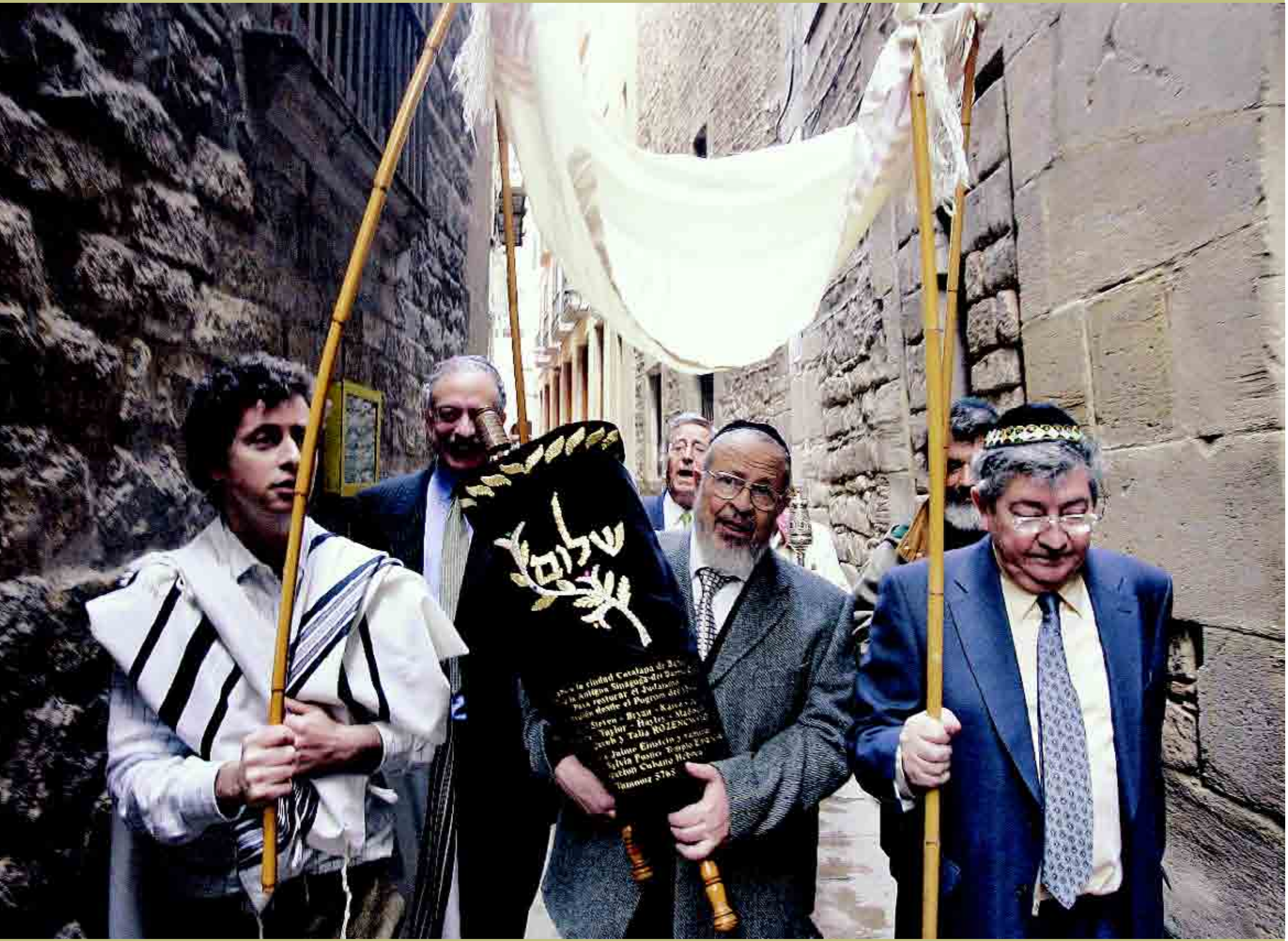

ABOVE: **The rabbi and a few members of the oldest synagogue in Barcelona transport the gift of a medieval Torah scroll under a ḥuppah to their recently restored temple, Spain, 2005.** *AP Images.*

(opposite page) TOP: **Rejoicing at the Hillula (festivity) of R. Jacob Abi-Hasira; Damanhur, Egypt, 1994.** *Photo: Shlomo Taitz, Israel. By courtesy of Beth Hatefutsoth Photo Archive, Tel Aviv.*

(opposite page) BOTTOM: **A South African bride is lifted up on a chair by some of her wedding guests as her groom—in the background—is lifted as well at their reception in Johannesburg, 2005.** *© Eitan Simanor/Alamy.*

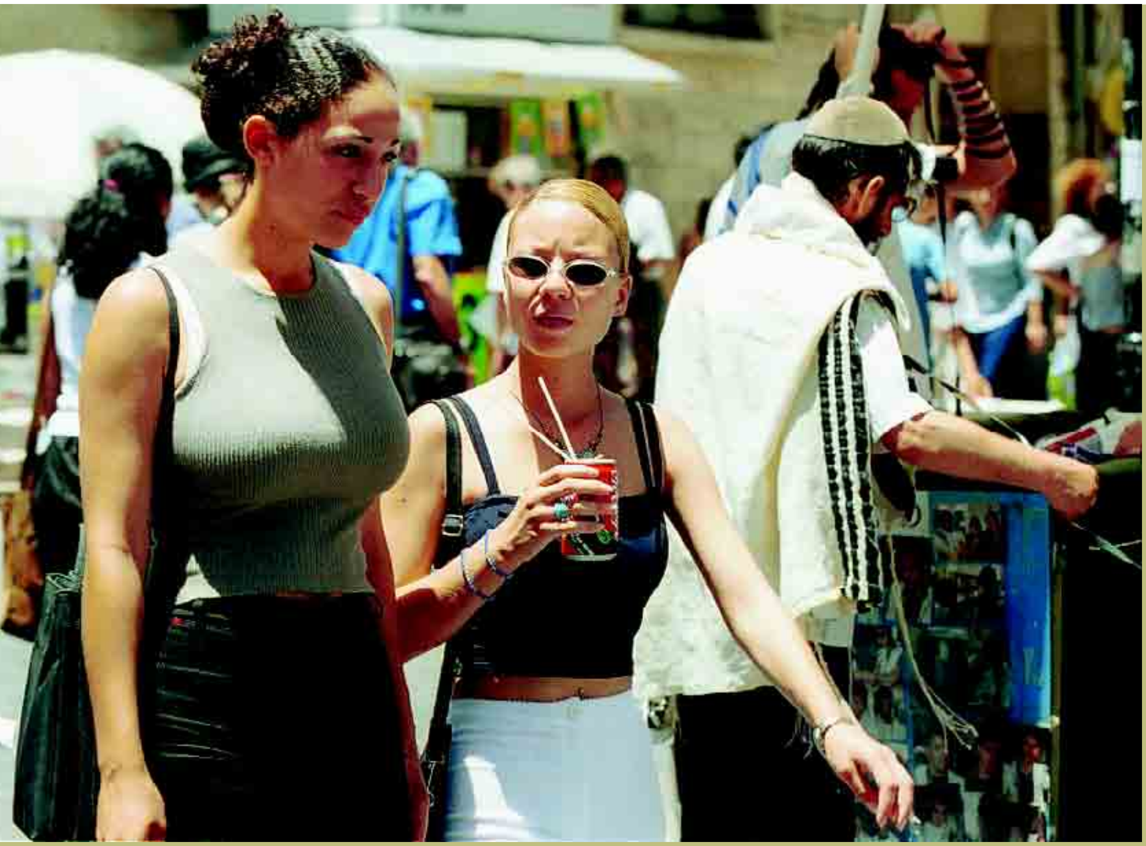

LEFT: **The contrast offered by Israeli society: Two young women, fashionably dressed, walk by two men wearing *tallits* (prayer shawls) and *tefillin* (phylacteries) in the city center of Jerusalem, 2000.** *© Koren Ziv/Corbis Sygma.*

BELOW: **Pilgrims process through the Hara, or Jewish quarter, on their way to El Ghriba synagogue on the Isle of Djerba, Tunisia, 2003.** *FETHI BELAID/AFP/ Getty Images.*

SYNAGOGUE
LA GHRIBA

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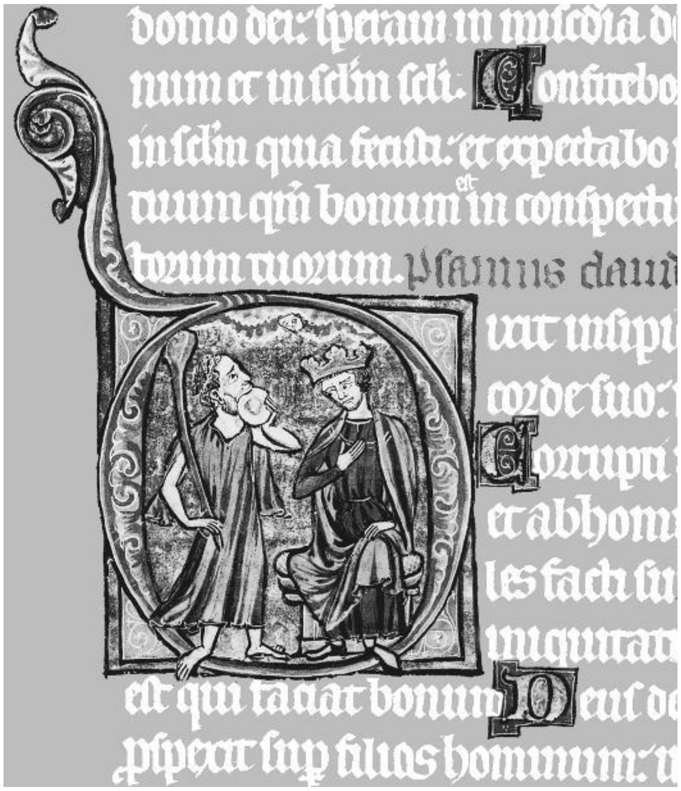

Initial letter "D" for "Dixit," the first word of Psalm 53, from the Angoulème Psalter, *France, 13th century. The illustration shows King David and a fool who, in accordance with medieval iconography, is represented holding a club and eating cheese, Besançon, Bibliothèque Municipale, Ms. 140, fol. 62 v.*

Dr–Dz

DRA (**Draa**), river valley region in southern Morocco on the borders of the Sahara. Many well-known scholars have ethnic regional names such as Dar'i, Edrei, etc., meaning "from Dra." According to an ancient legend, Dra was an independent Jewish state which was overthrown in wars with the Christians. In the Middle Ages active communities in the region corresponded with the Babylonian *geonim*. The Jews of Dra were the first to suffer during the *Almohad persecutions. The geographer Yaqut (1179–1229) stated that most tradesmen in the Dra valley were Jews. Dra is a fertile area with gardens and date-palm groves and until the mid-1950s Jews owned land farmed by "haratin," descendants of black slaves. As late as 1930, there were *mellahs* in the villages of Tamnugalt, Qasbat al-Makhzan, Rabat-Tinzulin, Arumiyat, Mansuriya, Amzru, Alhammid, and Mhamid, containing about 500 families. Some Jewish notables participated in the political life of the region as delegates to the 'councils' which governed this Berber-Arab society.

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[David Corcos]

DRABKIN, ABRAHAM (1844–1917), rabbi, born in Mogilev, Belorussia. After studying at the yeshivah of Volozhin and the rabbinical institute in Vilna, he was sent by the *Society for the Promotion of Culture among the Jews in Russia to the rabbinical seminary in Breslau, completing his dissertation, *Fragmenta Commentarii ad Pentateuchum Samaritano-arabicum*, in 1875. From 1876 to 1908 he served as *Kazionny Ravin* (government-appointed rabbi) of St. Petersburg. Drabkin was a member of the Provisional Committee for the Promotion of Crafts and Agriculture among the Jews in Russia. He took part in the conferences convened after the pogroms of 1881. He was editor of the rabbinical section for the first eight volumes of the *Yevreyskaya Entsiklopediya* (Russian Jewish encyclopedia).

DRACH, PAUL-LOUIS-BERNARD (**David**; 1791–1865), French apostate. Drach, who was born at Strasbourg, received a traditional rabbinic education. In 1813 he went to Paris, married a daughter of E. Deutz, chief rabbi of France, and, in 1819, was appointed head of the Paris Jewish School. At this time he published a Passover *Haggadah* (1818) and a *siddur* (1819), both with translation, a Jewish calendar (1821), and other works. On Easter 1823, to the consternation of French Jewry, Drach had himself baptized, with much pomp and circumstance, into the Catholic church, and he spent a year and a half in obtaining paternal control of his three children whom his wife had secretly taken to London. For a time he worked in

Paris as an expert in Hebrew and took part in the publication of the Venice Bible (27 vols., 1827–33). From 1832 to 1842 he served as librarian of the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith in Rome, and published Hebrew poems in honor of the pope and the cardinals. Returning to Paris, Drach collaborated with the Abbé J.P. Migne in the publication of his *Patrologia*. He also edited the fragments of Origen's *Hexapla* (1857–60), and translated into French the anonymous work **Sefer ha-Yashar* (1858), wrongly attributed to Jacob *Tam who wrote another work similarly entitled. He also wrote a number of books and pamphlets to justify his apostasy and to prove to his former coreligionists the truth of Christianity. He succeeded in winning over his brother-in-law Hyacinthe (Simon) Deutz, the man who denounced the Duchess of Berry to the police; and his children, too, grew up as Christians and took Holy Orders.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: P. Klein [= M. Catane], in: *Revue de la Pensée Juive*, 7 (1951), 87–103.

[Moshe Catane]

DRACHMAN, BERNARD (1861–1945), U.S. Orthodox rabbi, first of the modern English-speaking Orthodox American rabbinate. Drachman was born in New York and reared in Jersey City. His early Jewish education was at a Reform institution, the Hebrew Preparatory School, sponsored by Temple Emanu-El Theological Seminary. He graduated from Columbia College, and was sent to study at Breslau and Heidelberg by New York's Temple Emanu-El (Reform). In Europe, much to the chagrin of his patrons, for the first time he came into personal contact with the deep piety of East European Jewry, and was so influenced by it that he became entirely committed to Orthodoxy, of which he later became one of the leading spokesmen in the United States. Drachman served as rabbi of Oheb Shalom in Newark until it introduced mixed seating, and in several New York City pulpits, including Zichron Ephraim (1889–1909) and Oheb Zedek (1909–22). His background was unusual. American-born, he shared none of the East European experiences of his Orthodox colleagues; Reform-trained, he shared none of the enthusiasm for Reform of those who first taught him. He was the first ordained Orthodox rabbi to preach in the vernacular in the U.S. and was one of the founders of the *Jewish Theological Seminary, where he taught Bible, Hebrew, and Jewish philosophy from 1887 to 1902. After Solomon Schechter's arrival, he continued as assistant reader in Codes from 1902 to 1908. There are two versions of his decision to sever his service at the Jewish Theological Seminary. Some believe that Drachman was not sufficiently scholarly for the institution that Schechter was rebuilding and others believe that he left the Seminary when it gradually started to diverge from Orthodoxy; he later taught at Yeshiva College. He served as president of the *Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations during 1908–20. He was a candidate for the Chief Rabbinate of England in 1912 but withdrew when one of his first pupils, J.H. *Hertz, a graduate of the Jewish Theological Seminary, put forward his candidacy. Drachman was a founder of the Jewish Endeavor Society and Jewish Sabbath Alliance, which sought to repeal the Blue Laws that prohibited businesses from being open on Sunday and thus imposed a great economic hardship on Sabbath-observing Jews. In the 1920s, together with the labor movement they advocated a five-day work week. He translated Samson Raphael Hirsch's *Nineteen Letters of Ben Uziel* into English (1899). His autobiography, *Unfailing Light* (1948), is a vivid portrait of American Jewry during his lifetime.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: M. Davis, *Emergence of Conservative Judaism* (1963), 335–6. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** J. Gurrock, "Bernard Drachman and the Evolution of Jewish Religious Life in America," in: *American Jewish History*, 76:4 (June 1967).

[Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

DRACHSLER, JULIUS (1889–1927), U.S. sociologist. Drachsler was born in Austro-Hungary, taught at Smith College and at the City College of New York. He served in the Bureau of War Risk Insurance (1918–19), was assistant secretary of the Jewish Big Brother Association (1913–15), assistant executive director of the Bureau for Jewish Social Research (1919–20), secretary of the faculty of the School for Jewish Communal Work (1915–18), president of the Conference on Immigration Policy (1921–22), and consultant of the Bureau of Jewish Social Research (1921–22). In addition, he served as director of the training courses for community center workers of the National Jewish Welfare Board. In his organizational as well as in his scholarly work, Drachsler's interest was centered on topics relevant to the sociology of Jews, then in its infancy. His major published works are *Democracy and Assimilation* (1920) and *Intermarriage in New York City* (1921). The latter is considered a classic in the demography of the Jews, and has been frequently quoted in subsequent studies on intermarriage.

[Werner J. Cahnman]

DRAGUIGNAN (Heb. דרגינ"א), capital of Var department, S.E. France. Toward the end of the 13th century, when the poet *Isaac b. Abraham Ha-Gorni visited Draguignan, there was already an important community of wealthy Jews, who gave an unfriendly welcome to the poet, mistrusting his licentious behavior. The ancient synagogue, no longer standing, a beautiful building with a 23-m.(75.4-ft.)-long facade and a single spacious hall without the support of columns, was built during the same period. During the middle of the 14th century the community of 200 to 250 persons was governed by an administrative council and two bailiffs. In the 15th century, the number of Jews in Draguignan had increased so much that the accommodation in the Rue Juiverie had become inadequate. There were numerous Jewish physicians, one of whom received a salary from the municipality. In 1489 the Jews in Draguignan were among the first victims of the edict of expulsion from Provence. Five accepted baptism to avoid being expelled. During World War II, there were about 12 Jewish families living in Draguignan. A new community of Jews of

North African origin established there numbered approximately 100 in 1968.

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[Bernhard Blumenkranz]

DRAGUNSKI, DAVID ABRAMOVICH (1910–1992), Soviet army officer. Born in Sviatsk, Btyansk district, Russia, he started his army career in 1933. During World War II he commanded a tank battalion and a tank brigade. He was twice awarded the title Hero of the Soviet Union and finished the war as a colonel. After studying in the Military Academy he was promoted to major-general in 1953, lieutenant-general in 1961, and colonel-general in 1970. During World War II he was a member of the Jewish *Anti-Fascist Committee, and in 1947 his biography was published by the Committee in Yiddish. He represented Soviet Jewry at the opening of the Holocaust museum in Paris and in other places. He was used by the Soviet authorities to attack Israel, Zionism, and the movement to immigrate to Israel. He appeared at an anti-Zionist press conference in Moscow in March 1970 and headed the delegation of Soviet Jewry in Brussels in February 1971 for an international conference to defend Soviet Jews' rights. In 1968 he published his war memoirs.

[Shmuel Spector (2nd ed.)]

DRAÏ, RAPHAËL (1942–), French political scientist, sociologist, religious thinker. Born in Constantine, Draï had to leave Algeria at the age of 19, in 1961, and always considered the fate of Algerian Jews after the war of independence, and his own exile, as a great injustice. Nevertheless, he consistently refused to blame anyone for these events, which he saw as a result of the "hardships of history," leaving the door open to a process of "reconciliation"; he thus remained an advocate of trans-Mediterranean, intercultural, and inter-religious dialogue, and in 2000, after Algerian president Bouteflika acknowledged for the first time, in a speech in Constantine in 1999, the importance of Jewish culture to the history of Algeria, he tried to move forward and, together with the singer Enrico Macias and other Jews from Constantine, traveled to Algeria to pray at the tomb of Algerian-Jewish singer Sheikh Raymond Leyris, assassinated in 1961 and a symbol of the involvement of Jews in the shaping of Arab-Algerian classical culture. Intended to be the beginning of a reconciliation process, the journey left a harsh impression of unrelieved misunderstanding and alienation, but was still a remarkable step forward. In the wake of this journey, Draï voiced the complexity of his feelings in an open letter to President Bouteflika, *Lettre au président Bouteflika sur le retour des Pieds-Noirs en Algérie* (2000). In France, he had a successful academic career in which he tried to apply a broad perspective to political science, taking into account the results of diligent juridical analysis as well as new developments in the social sciences; he was one of the first social scientists to fully internalize and use the tools provided by psychoanalysis, joining the Psychanalyses et pratiques sociales research unit at the University of Aix-Marseille, where he taught. A former dean of the University of Amiens, Draï also wrote a number of books on social, juridical, administrative, and political subjects, including *Le temps dans la vie politique* (1981), *Sous le signe de Sion: L'antisémitisme nouveau est arrivé* (2001), *Science administrative, éthique et gouvernance* (2002), and *Le Droit entre laïcisation et néo-sacralisation, Instabilités européennes: recomposition ou décomposition?* (2000). Taking part in official think tanks on bioethics, Draï is also a recognized expert in Talmud and *halakhah*, using his knowledge of Jewish Law to deepen his ethical, social, and political analysis, so that his work can be described as an unusual attempt to combine a classical juridical approach to political science with the progress of the modern social sciences, psychoanalytical elements, and Jewish tradition. This original endeavor culminated in *Identité juive, identité humaine* (1995), a discussion of Jewish identity and universal values. Other works related to Judaism were *Lettre au Pape sur le pardon au peuple juif* (1998), *L'Economie chabbatique* (1998), *Freud et Moïse – Psychanalyse, loi juive et pouvoir* (1997), *La pensée juive et l'interrogation divine* (1996), and *La sortie d'Egypte, l'invention de la liberté* (1986).

[Dror Franck Sullaper (2nd ed.)]

DRAMA, city in Macedonia, Greece. *Benjamin of Tudela found 140 Jews in Drama in c. 1165. Documentation points to the settlement of a small Jewish community of merchants in Drama from the beginning of the 17th century who brought their legal problems to the Salonikan *bet din*. During the years 1671–68, the Hebron emissary Rabbi Moses ha-Levi *Nazir visited the community. After the fall of Ottoman Hungary in 1689, Jews from Buda settled in Drama. Jewish merchants carried goods in caravans from Drama to other towns. In 1900 the Jewish community numbered 45 families, or 150 people. Many Jews from Serres settled in Drama in 1913 after a large fire erupted under Bulgarian occupation. Before World War II the Jews were engaged in commerce (especially in tobacco); some were craftsmen or in the liberal professions. In 1934, the Zionist Geula organization was founded. In 1940 there were 1,200 Jews in the town. In 1941 Drama was occupied by the Bulgarians, who requisitioned all the Jewish enterprises. Jewish-owned capital in the banks was also confiscated. On March 4, 1943, the Jews of the community were arrested by the Bulgarian police and army, held in tobacco warehouses in the Agia Barbara quarter for three days, and then sent to the Gorna Djumaya camp in Bulgaria, where they were kept in extremely harsh conditions. From there, young men in their teens and early twenties were sent to forced labor in Bulgaria and 113 families (589 people) were dispatched by train to Lom and from there put on a boat to Vienna, where they were reloaded on trains to Treblinka and gassed upon their arrival.

In 1948 there were 39 Jews in Drama and in 1958, 17. A Holocaust memorial plaque was inaugurated in 1999.

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[Simon Marcus / Yitzchak Kerem (2nd ed.)]

DRANCY, small town near Paris where an internment camp was established by the Germans late in 1940. It became the largest center for the deportation of Jews from France. Beginning on August 20, 1941, it was reserved exclusively for Jews. They were deported from there "to the East" from July 19, 1942, until the camp was liberated on August 17, 1944. On that date some 1,500 internees were still there. The camp was directed by high Gestapo officers stationed in France. More than 61,000 persons were sent from Drancy to the death camps. The camp has been transformed into an apartment complex for low-income families. At the site, there are a number of memorial plaques and a small museum housed in a cattle car that was used to transport Jews during World War II.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: G. Wellers, *De Drancy à Auschwitz* (1946); Z. Szajkowski, *Analytical Franco-Jewish Gazetteer 1939–1945* (1966), 262 (includes bibliography).

[Shaul Esh / Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

DRAPKIN (Darom), ABRAHAM S. (1908–1993), criminologist and Israeli diplomat. Born in Argentina, Drapkin studied in Chile and from 1935 to 1940 was secretary-general of the Chilean Department of Prisons. In 1936 he founded the journal *Revista de Ciencias Penales*, and a year later helped establish the Chilean Institute of Penal Sciences. He published *Jurisprudencia de las Circunstancias Eminentes de Responsabilidad Criminal* (1937) and *Relación de Causalidad y Delito* (1943). In 1948 he immigrated to Israel and entered its foreign service. He represented Israel in Greece, Yugoslavia, Thailand, Mexico, and at the United Nations.

DRAPKIN (Senderey), ISRAEL (1906–1990), Israeli criminologist and physician. Drapkin, who pioneered criminological studies in Latin America, was born in Rosario, Argentina. In 1936 he established the first Criminological Institute in Chile, and in 1950 the chair of criminology at the University of Chile. He advised on the establishment of other national institutes of criminology, particularly in Venezuela, Costa Rica, and Mexico. Drapkin settled in Israel in 1959 and established the chair of criminology and the Institute of Criminology at the Hebrew University. His publications include *Manual de Criminología* (1949) and *Prensa y Criminalidad* (1958).

[Zvi Hermon]

DRAY, JULIEN (1955–), French politician. Born in 1955 in Oran, Algeria, Dray was first active in far-left movements after his family had to move to France at the end of Algeria's war of independence. During the 1970s, he was a member of the Trotskyite Ligue communiste révolutionnaire and the left-wing student union Mouvement d'action syndicale, which merged in 1980 with the newly created UNEF-ID, a radical faction of the mainstream socialist UNEF union. At the time, Dray himself moved from the far-left to the mainstream left and joined the Socialist Party (PS) in 1980, shortly before the socialist François Mitterrand was elected France's president. Dray was in charge of managing the Socialist Party's youth movements, and in 1984 was a founding member of SOS-Racisme, an anti-racist youth association affiliated with the PS and aiming at promoting the social integration of the immigrants, federating French youth around anti-racist values, and countering the rise of the anti-immigration far-right Front National party. In 1986, Dray also helped create the FIDL, a high-school student union. In 2003, he was involved in the creation of Ni putes ni soumises, a feminist organization that worked in the neglected, impoverished suburbs and among immigrant youth to promote the advancement of young women and lead the fight against sexual discrimination and violence. Dray was a member of Parliament from 1988 and in 1997 and 2002 was elected vice president of the Ile-de-France Regional Council. Acting as a spokesman for the party, Dray also participated in its internal ideological debates and headed one of the ideological clubs within the PS, the Club de la Gauche Socialiste. Julien Dray was widely seen as one of the most promising young leaders of the Socialist Party.

[Dror Franck Sullaper (2nd ed.)]

DREAMS.

In the Bible

The biblical view of dreams agrees substantially with that held by almost all ancient peoples. Dreams are visions of things actually transpiring on an ultramundane plane, where persons are not bound to bodies or events to specific moments and places. This plane is indistinguishable from that of the gods (or God), and dreams are therefore considered to be divine communications (Gen. 20:3, 6; 31:10–11). What is thus revealed may subsequently be actualized in historical fact. Accordingly, dreams are regarded as presages or omens. They are best understood by visionaries, i.e., by prophets, mantics, and ecstatics, who, in their suprasensory states, are in rapport with the "divine dimension," and it is to such persons that God vouchsafes dreams when He wishes to communicate with mankind (cf. Num. 12:6). In the Bible, "dreamer," "prophet," and "magician" are related terms (cf. Jer. 23:28; 27:9; 29:8; see *Divination). The final interpretation of dreams rests with God (Gen. 40:8).

Dreams are usually symbolic, and their interpretation (known as oneiromancy) revolves around the unraveling of their images. Dreambooks, in which such images are codified, feature in Egyptian and Mesopotamian literature. Biblical examples of such symbolic dreams are those of Joseph (Gen. 37:5ff.), of Pharaoh's butler and baker (*ibid.* 40:1ff.), and of Pharaoh himself (*ibid.* 41:1, 5); in Judges (7:13ff.) a man's dream that a cake of barley rolls onto the Midianite camp and bowls it over is taken to portend the imminent discomfiture of that people. Ancient Near Eastern parallels are afforded by a series of prophetic dreams related in the Babylonian "Epic of Gilgamesh" and in the Hittite "Legend of Kessi."

Dreams that occur in sacred places are considered to be revelations from the resident deity. People in search of divine direction resort to such shrines and sleep on the premises. This widespread practice, called incubation, is attested for the ancient Near East by a Sumerian inscription of Gudea of Lagash and a Hittite text of King Mursilis II of Hatti. The only clear instance in the Bible is the story of Jacob at Beer-Sheba (Gen. 46:1ff.), though some scholars claim that the narratives of the infant Samuel at Shiloh and of Jacob at Beth-El fall within the same category. It is necessary, however, to distinguish between incubation, which involves a purposeful visit to a shrine, and more general revelation through dreams, such as is described, for example, in I Kings 3:5–15 (Solomon at Gibeon). In sundry passages (e.g., Jer. 23:25; Zech. 10:2), the Bible speaks of false dreams. There appear to be two criteria for this designation, as there are also for false prophecy: a dream may be deemed false either because it is not subsequently realized, or because it never occurred at all. In the future Golden Age, says the prophet Joel (3:1), the gift of prophetic dreaming will be bestowed on all men, young and old alike. In the Greco-Roman age, apocalyptic visions were thought to be vouchsafed in dreams. Literary works inspired by this idea are the Book of Daniel and the Apocalypses of Ezra and Baruch. There is evidence of a pious protest against oneiromancy; both Ben Sira (31:1ff.) and the Letter of Aristeas (213–216) denounce belief in dreams.

[Theodor H. Gaster]

In the Talmud

Diametrically opposed views on dreams were expressed by the sages. Jonathan stated that "a man is shown in a dream only what is suggested by his own thoughts" (Ber. 55b). This statement is similar to Freud's views that certain thoughts which during the day are suppressed to the unconscious, reappear in a dream, where they find gratification. It is told of Meir and Nathan that after behaving unbecomingly toward Simeon b. Gamaliel the *nasi*, "they were told in their dreams to go and pacify him. Nathan went, but Meir did not, saying, 'Dreams are of no consequence'" (Hor. 13b; see also Git. 52a). The extent to which the sages did not set store by dreams is attested by Hanan's statement that "even if the genius of dreams informs a man that on the morrow he will die, he should not desist from prayer, since it is said (Eccles. 5:6): 'For through the multitude of dreams and vanities there are also many words; but fear thou God'" (Ber. 10b). There were sages who believed in dreams, however, and regarded them as being in the nature of prophecy; Ḥanina b. Isaac declared that "a dream is a variety of prophecy" (Gen. R. 17:5), and R. Joseph said, "If one was placed under a ban in a dream, ten persons are necessary for lifting the ban" (Ned. 8a). Some fasted on account of a bad dream, the *fast being known as *ta'anit ḥalom* ("dream-fast"). Thus Rav asserted: "Fasting is as potent against a dream as fire is against tow. Ḥisda said: Provided it is on the same day. R. Joseph added: Even on the Sabbath" (Shab. 11a).

The Talmud contains a prayer which originated in the last generation of the *amoraim* and which, said during the priestly benediction, reads as follows: "Sovereign of the Universe, I am Thine and my dreams are Thine. I have dreamt a dream and do not know what it is. Whether I have dreamt about myself, or my companions have dreamt about me, or I have dreamt about others, if they are good dreams, confirm and reinforce them like the dreams of Joseph, and if they require a remedy, heal them, as the waters of Marah were healed by Moses our teacher, and as Miriam was healed of her leprosy and Hezekiah of his sickness, and the waters of Jericho by Elisha. As Thou didst turn the curse of the wicked Balaam into a blessing, so turn all my dreams into something beneficial for me" (Ber. 55b). The Talmud records that there were 24 professional interpreters of dreams in Jerusalem (*ibid.*), an indication of how deep-rooted a belief in dreams was among the masses. (Extensive material on dreams and their interpretation is given in Ber. 55a–57b.) A third view, midway between these two extremes, regarded dreams as composed alike of truth and of incidental features. This was stated by Johanan in the name of Simeon b. Yoḥai: "Just as there can be no grain without straw, so can there be no dream without meaningless matter." A similar view was expressed by Berechiah, "While part of a dream may be fulfilled, the whole of it is never fulfilled," and by Ḥisda: "Neither a good dream nor a bad one is wholly fulfilled" (Ber. 55a). Some sages distinguished between one dream that lacks all substance and another that is fulfilled. This was the view of Johanan, who declared that "three dreams are fulfilled: an early morning dream, a dream which a friend has about one, and a dream which is interpreted within a dream" (Ber. 55b).

[Abraham Arzi]

In Medieval Thought

Interest in dreams continued through the Middle Ages to modern times, especially among the kabbalists and Ḥasidim. The Zohar discusses the problem of the admixture of truth and falsehood in dreams, and distinguishes between the dreams of the wicked, which derive from the forces of impurity, and the dreams of the righteous, which contain the visions, images, and prophecies seen by the soul in the higher worlds. Nevertheless, even the dreams of the righteous are infected by the false notions of the *sitra aḥra*. The angel in charge of the dreams of the righteous is Gabriel. These dreams, while they are not as great as prophecy, are close to prophecy (Tishby, *Mishnat ha-Zohar,* 2 (1961), 136–43). Maimonides developed a conception of dreams, based on his psychology and epistemology, as an integral part of philosophical anthropology, which totally rejects all supernatural categories. The religious significance of Maimonides' conception lies in his identification of dreams and prophecy in terms of their essence, and their distinction in terms of their content (*Guide of the Perplexed*, 2:36–38; cf. *Shemonah Perakim*, 1; Yad, Yesodei ha-Torah 7:2). Maimonides attributes no cognitive significance to dreams in the sense of a spiritual process which introduces new ideas or knowledge which was not previously known. Dreams are a function of the imagination only, not of the senses or the intellect. What one learns in dreams is not a new product of one's soul or a new idea from the outside, but is rather brought up from the imaginative faculty, the storehouse of sensual and intellectual impressions: "The thing which engages greatly and earnestly man's attention while he is awake and in the full possession of his senses forms during his sleep the object of the action of his imaginative faculty." The prophetic dream is unique in that "his [the prophet's] attention must be directed to the knowledge of God.… There must be an absence of the lower desires and appetites." If the prophet fulfills these requirements while he is awake, of necessity he will, in his dreams, "perceive things very extraordinary and divine, and see nothing but God and His angels." The experiences of the dream, those of both the prophet and the ordinary person, occur only "when the senses are at rest and pause in their action." In his dreams a person apprehends ideas which he previously had and which left their impression in his imaginative faculty, which "sees the thing as if it came from without and perceives it as if through the medium of bodily senses." It thus appears as if these are new ideas which have never before been experienced. From this conception of the essence of dreams it can be seen that Maimonides avoids the traditional interpretation of the "dream-fast" as a means of protection from an anticipated danger or for the purpose of abolishing a harmful decree, and sees the fast as an obligation which has a didactic-psychological purpose: "that he may reexamine his actions and analyze them and repent" (Yad, Ta'aniyyot 1:12). A later attempt to promulgate a belief in dreams and their interpretation on a "philosophical" basis was made by Solomon Almoli, whose book *Mefasher Ḥelmin* or *Pitron Ḥalomot* ("The Interpretation of Dreams") was very popular among eastern European Jews. Some medieval thinkers would rely on dreams even in matters of religious law, as, for example, Jacob of Marvège in his responsa. Other scholars, however, strongly opposed this practice: "We do not require the dream of R. Jacob … nor his interpretation based on a dream … and one should take no notice of dreams, because we know that it is not in the heavens" (Zedekiah b. Abraham Anav's *Shibbolei ha-Leket* (1896), no. 157). Nevertheless, there were people in later generations who made decisions on the basis of dreams.

[*Encyclopaedia Hebraica*]

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DREBEN, SAM (1878–1925), U.S. soldier of fortune. Born in Russia, Dreben immigrated to the United States in 1898 and volunteered for the army. He fought in China during the Boxer Rebellion of 1900 and later in Nicaragua, where he became known as the "fighting Jew." In 1916 he volunteered as a colonel in the Mexican army and in 1918 fought in France, where he won the Distinguished Service Cross. Dreben donated a large sum of money to the *American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee and helped fight the Ku Klux Klan in Texas in the 1920s.

DREIFUSS, RUTH (1940–), Swiss politician. Born in St. Gall, she spent her youth in Geneva. Her father was active on behalf of Jewish refugees in Switzerland. After receiving a diploma in commerce, she became editor of the consumer association's magazine *coop* in Basle (1961–64). She joined the Social Democratic Party in 1965 and studied economics at the University of Geneva, beginning her academic career there as assistant professor (1972–74). She was engaged by the Federal Foreign Ministry (1972–81) and was elected secretary of the Swiss Labor Union (Berne, 1981–93). She also served on the city council of Berne as a member of the Social Democrats. In 1993 she was elected by the Federal Assembly (Parliament) as a Federal councilor, becoming the first Jewish member of the Swiss government. As minister of the interior, she fought to cut welfare spending and was broadly perceived as fighting for women's equality in Swiss private industry. Her vision of social justice had roots in Jewish tradition, even if she declared herself an agnostic and did not become a member of a Jewish community.

In 1998 she was elected vice president of the Swiss Confederation and in 1999 she became president for the one-year term, serving in effect as the Swiss head of state. As such, she reiterated Switzerland's official apology to the victims of the Holocaust, acknowledging that Swiss asylum policy had been "marred by errors, omissions, and compromises." In 2002 she resigned from the government after being reelected councilor twice. In 2004 she contributed to the jubilee volume of the Swiss Federation of Jewish Communities, describing the changes in the position of Swiss Jewry from pre-emancipation times until the present.

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[Uri Kaufmann (2nd ed.)]

DRESDEN, capital of Saxony, Germany. A Jewish community existed there in the early 14th century, and its members were massacred in the *Black Death persecutions of 1349. Jews are not mentioned in Dresden again until 1375. They were expelled in 1430. Jewish settlement was renewed in the early 18th century when the *Court Jews Behrend *Lehmann and Jonas Mayer, with their retainers, were permitted to settle in Dresden. A synagogue and cemetery were opened in the middle of the 18th century. A society for caring for and visiting the sick was established which formed the nucleus for communal organization. During this period the Jews in Dresden were subjected to strict regulations and their rights of residence were limited. Nevertheless there were about 1,000 Jewish residents by the end of the 18th century. Their situation improved in the 19th century. Active in the communal leadership were R. David Landau of Lissa, who settled in Dresden in 1803, and Bernhard *Beer, founder of the "Mendelssohn-Verein" for the advancement for crafts, art, and science among Jewish youth (1829). As communal leader for 30 years, Beer was active in efforts for improvement of the civil status of the Jews in Dresden and the rest of Saxony. A new synagogue was built and consecrated on his initiative in 1840 and Zacharias *Frankel officiated as its first rabbi (1836–54). Frankel succeeded, among other achievements, in obtaining the repeal of the more humiliating portions of the Jewish *oath in 1840. During this period a Jewish elementary school was founded (1836) and complete civil equality attained (1869). Emil Lehmann (d. 1898) followed Beer as leader of Dresden and Saxon Jewry. Frankel was succeeded by the teacher Wolf Landau (1854–86) and the scholar of Midrash Jacob *Winter (1887–1941). The community numbered approximately 2,300 in 1886, 4,300 in 1913, and over 6,000 in 1925.

A number of Jews from East Europe settled there after World War I. A prosperous and well-endowed community, it owned a valuable library and maintained numerous social and charitable organizations. A group of Orthodox Jews seceded and founded the "Shomerei ha-Dat" congregations. In October 1938, 724 Jews of Polish citizenship were deported from Dresden. On *Kristallnacht*, 151 Jews were arrested and shipped to Buchenwald. The synagogues were burned and the Jewish community was presented with a bill for their demolition. By May 1939, the community had been reduced to 1,600 people as a result of emigration, deportation, and arrests. There were 12 deportations, dispatching 1,300 Jews, between January 1942 and January 1944. The final deportation was scheduled for February 1945. The Allied bombing of Dresden allowed the deportees to escape.

A synagogue seating 200 was opened in 1950. Subsequently the Dresden community declined, numbering 100 in the late 1960s. From 1962 to 1990 Dresden was the seat of the Association of Jewish Communities in the GDR. Owing to the immigration of Jews from the Former Soviet Union, the number of community members rose to 618 in 2005. A new synagogue was inaugurated in 2001. Dresden is the seat of the Association of Jewish Communities in Saxony.

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[Akiva Posner / Annegret Nippa (2nd ed.)]

DRESDEN, SEM (1881–1957), composer and teacher. Born in Amsterdam, Dresden studied there and with Pfitzner in Berlin. In 1914 he founded a choral ensemble which gave concerts of the works of the great Dutch composers and of Renaissance and modern works. He was director of the Amsterdam Conservatory (1924–37) and of the Royal Conservatory at The Hague (1937–40; 1945–49), and for a number of years president of the Society of Dutch Composers and of the Dutch section of the International Society of Contemporary Music. His compositions include *Chorus Tragicus* for choir, wind instruments, and percussion (1928, after Vondel's *Hierusalem verwoest*); Psalm 84 for choir "based on an old Hebrew prayer"; concertos for various instruments; orchestral and chamber works; and an opera, *Toto* (1945). He also wrote and edited books on music history and theory.

DRESNER, SAMUEL HAYIM (1923–2000), U.S. Conservative rabbi, activist, scholar, and author. Dresner was born in Chicago and began his education at the University of Cincinnati (B.A., 1945) and Hebrew Union College. He left HUC to study with his mentor Abraham Joshua *Heschel, who went to the Jewish Theological Seminary after World War II, where Dresner was ordained (1951) and subsequently earned his D.H.L. degree (1954). Dresner began his career as associate rabbi of Congregation Har Zion in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; in addition, in 1955, Dresner and several colleagues revived the quarterly magazine *Conservative Judaism*. For 10 years, Dresner almost single-handedly kept the magazine alive. In 1957, he became the rabbi of Congregation Beth El in Springfield, Massachusetts, where he also joined the civil rights struggle as chairman of the Massachusetts Human Relations Commission. He used his positions in the Conservative movement to promulgate a code of Jewish living, promoting Sabbath observance, and establishing an adult Leadership Training Institute. As part of his lobbying efforts for Jewish funeral reform, Dresner co-chaired the Committee on Funeral Practices of the non-denominational *Synagogue Council of America. In 1969, Dresner became rabbi of North Suburban Synagogue Beth El in Highland Park, Illinois (1969–77). In 1977, Dresner joined the faculty of Spertus College in Chicago and moved to Deerfield, Illinois, where he assumed the pulpit at Congregation Moriah. Following his retirement from the congregational rabbinate in 1984, he taught at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem (1985), at Hebrew Union College (1986–88), and at the Jewish Theological Seminary (1989–2000).

Dresner contributed hundreds of articles to such periodicals as *Judaism, Commentary, Forum,* and *Jewish Digest,* and wrote and edited numerous books, including *Prayer, Humility and Compassion* (1957), *The Jewish Dietary Laws* (1959, 1966), *Three Paths of God and Man* (1960), *The Zaddik* (1960; reissued as *The Zaddik: The Doctrine of the Zaddik According to the Writings of Rabbi Yaakov Yosef of Polnoy*, 1994), *The Jew in American Life* (1963), *God, Man and Atomic War* (1966), *The Sabbath* (1970), *Between the Generations: A Jewish Dialogue* (1971), *Levi Yitzhak of Berditchev: Portrait of a Hasidic Master* (1974; reissued as *The World of a Hasidic Master: Levi Yitzhak* *of Berditchev*, 1985, 1994), *Agenda for American Jews: Federation and Synagogue* (1976), *Judaism: The Way of Sanctification* (with Byron Sherwin, 1978), *Rachel* (1994), *Can Families Survive in Pagan America?* (1995), *Abraham J. Heschel: Prophetic Witness* (Vol. I, with Edward Kaplan, 1998), and *Heschel, Hasidism and Halakha* (2000).

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[Bezalel Gordon (2nd ed.)]

DRESS.

In the Bible

The biblical terms for clothing (Heb. בֶּגֶד, *beged;* כְּסוּת, *kesut;* לְבוּשׁ, *levush*) and the corresponding verbs are employed in connection with the cover of the body for warmth or reasons of modesty. Extensive use is also made of the terms in figures of speech: "Put on thy beautiful garments" (Isa. 52:1), as an emblem of greatness; "He put on garments of vengeance for clothing" (Isa. 59:17), as a symbol of revenge; "For he dressed me in clothes of triumph," as a metaphor for victory and good fortune (Isa. 61:10); "They shall wear shame" (Ps. 35:26), as a metaphor for failure and defeat; and "Let your priest be clothed with triumph" (Ps. 132:9), as a metaphor for success and prestige; and so forth. On many occasions, clothing emphasizes a person's status, position, clothing, or particular situation or task: "Royal apparel (*levush malkhut*)… which the king is accustomed to wear" (Esth. 6:8), with which another man (Mordecai) would be honored or favored. A hairy cloak was probably a hallmark of Nazirites and ascetics: "Neither shall they wear a hairy mantle (*adderet se'ar*) to deceive" (Zech. 13:4). During the period of mourning widows wore a characteristic garment: "She put off from her garments of widowhood" (Gen. 38:14). Prisoners apparently also had special clothing: "He changed his prison garments" (II Kings 25:29). The official uniform (holy garments) worn by priests in the service of God was of great importance: "And Thou shalt make holy garments for Aaron" (Ex. 28:2). Just as the beauty of a garment symbolized a man's greatness, tearing the clothing or wearing poor and dirty clothing or sackcloth indicated a lowered station or mourning.

The Bible mentions articles of clothing appropriate to specific parts of the body: a cloth miter or turban (*ẓenif, miẓnefet*) to cover the head (Ex. 29:6; Zech. 3:5); metal or leather helmets (*kova*ʿ), and head coverings used in warfare for protection (I Sam. 17:5; II Chron. 26:14); a dress-like garment (*simlah*), apparently with closed seams used by both men and women to cover the entire body from the shoulders to the ankles (I Kings 11:30; Ex. 12:34; Y. Yadin, et al., *Hazor*, 3–4 (1961), pl. cccxxxix: 1, 2); the tunic (*ketonet*), a short, closed garment, covering the top part of the body, worn by both men and women (Gen. 37:3; Lev. 16:14; Song 5:3); the coat (*me*ʿ*il*), a long outer garment open at the front (I Sam. 15:27; 24:5; II Sam. 13:18); breeches (*mikhnasayim*), covering the loins, worn by the priests (Ex. 28:42; Ezek. 44:18); the girdle (ʾ*avnet*), a belt for fastening the coat or dress around the waist (Ex. 29:9; Lev. 8:7); and the shoe, made of skin and attached with laces, strings, or straps (Gen. 14:23; Isa. 5:27).

Clothes, particularly the dress-like garment and the tunic, were considered essential though expensive articles, both because of their value, which of course was related to the work that went into producing them, and by reason of their importance in indicating a man's status, position, character, and living style. It is for this reason that the Bible and royal documents frequently list the quantities of clothing given as gifts (Gen. 45:22) or taken in war (Judg. 14:12). Kings had keepers of the wardrobe (II Kings 22:14), and the Temple in Jerusalem had a special wardrobe room.

Types of Garment Shown on Monuments

A common garment worn by men, which is often depicted on monuments in Egypt and Mesopotamia, was a piece of cloth covering from the waist to the knees or below (N. de Garis Davies, *The Tomb of Puyemrê at Thebes*, 1 (1922), pl. xxxiii, A), gathered around the waist and held in place by a belt fastened either in front or at the back or tied near the navel (L. Borchardt, *Das Grabdenkmal des Koenigs Sahu-Re*, 2 (1913), pl. 6; M.G. Lefébure, *Le tombeau de Séti I*, 4 (1886), pl. V). Occasionally this garment was patterned and multicolored, but more often it was a solid color, usually white. It was sometimes held in place by a leather or cloth suspender, passing diagonally over one shoulder from the upper part of the garment (Y. Yadin, et al., *Hazor*, 3–4 (1961), pl. ccxxvi). A more complex garment, made of a wide piece of cloth, covered the body from shoulder to ankle; it was worn by both men and women and was most common in Mesopotamia, though in other places it was worn as a festive garment (N. de Garis Davies and A.H. Gardiner, *The Tomb of Ḥuy*, 1926). This garment could be both in single color or in multicolored patterns. While it usually covered only one shoulder, it was occasionally worn covering both. In addition to the patterns woven into the cloth, a decorative border was common (W. Wreszinski, *Atlas zur altaegyptisehen Kulturgeschichte*, 2 (1935), pl. 46).

A garment more characteristic of the lower classes consisted of two shrunken cloths which were suspended from the waist in front and back by a belt or string, thus covering the loins (P.A.A. Boeser, *Die Denkmaeler des Neuen Reiches* (1911)). A sewn dress-like garment with sleeves covered the entire body; it had a large opening for the head, somewhat resembling a collar. The pictures on several monuments show that the stitches were prominent, serving also as a kind of decoration. The more elegant classes wore two garments: a sewn, short- or long-sleeved dress over which was worn a sheath covering the shoulder or sometimes the entire dress (E.F. Schmidt, *Persepolis*, 1 (1953, pls. 31, 32). Another such two-piece ensemble in the luxury category was made up of a length of cloth extending from the waist to the knees or trousers over which was worn a wide decorated cloth covering the body from shoulder to ankles. Typical of the colder, northern countries was a sleeved coat fastened all the way down

(F. Thureau-Dangin, *Arslan Tash* (1931), 111–2, pl. 33:43; N. de Garis Davies, *The Tombs of Menkheperrasonb…* (1933), pl. iv). Pieces of cloth were frequently added to the basic garment in order to cover the shoulders (Boeser, op. cit., pl. xxiv). The tunic was a short, sewn garment, usually with short sleeves. It was made of one piece of cloth specially woven for this purpose with an opening for the head in the center. The cloth was folded along the shoulder line and sewn along the edges, thus making a garment which covered the upper part of the body. The tunic was often made with a woven decoration or later embroidered.

The clothing shown on early Mesopotamian and Egypt monuments emphasizes ethnic differences. Most apparent are the shorter lengths, relatively lighter weights of the materials (including translucent cloth) – especially in the case of women's wear – and the head coverings worn in Egypt, while the northern countries used longer and heavier clothing. The materials from which the garments were made also show ethnological differences. The garments depicted on a number of Mesopotamian monuments of the third millennium B.C.E. are made of heavy wool strands, fastened with large laces, or sewn with strips of animal skin. Noticeable ethnological differences also appear in head coverings. Wigs seem to have been widely worn by both men and women. A common style was a band circling the hair, tied at the back or side. On the majority of the Egyptian monuments feathers worn on the head depict Ethiopian captives. Headgear crowned with feathers is characteristic of the Sea Peoples (T. Dothan, *Ha-Pelishtim ve-Tarbutam ha-Ḥomrit* (1967), figs 1–7). Skullcaps resembling cones and cylinders decorated with ribbons and lacing were common in Babylonia and Assyria. Covering the head with a kerchief was customary in Egypt and Canaan. The most common sandal had a leather sole held in place by straps. Sandals could be partly closed, covering half the foot, or completely enclosed. However, the figures on monuments are usually shown barefoot.

[Ze'ev Yeivin]

Talmudic Times

Talmudic and midrashic literature is replete with information on matters of dress and clothing, usually supplied incidentally as part of a comment on biblical themes or in connection with religious law and custom which often concern matters of dress.

The importance of clothing in adding to the confidence and dignity of man is stressed in the Talmud: "fine garments" are among the things which "enlarge man's mind" (Ber. 57b), and "a man's dignity is seen in his costume" (Ex. R. 18:5). Apart from the special and distinctive garments which characterized the scholar, he was enjoined to be spotless and neat in his dress: "A scholar on whose garments a stain is found is worthy of death" (Shab. 114a), and he should not go out in patched shoes (Ber. 43b). An incident related in the Midrash is based upon the fact that *Yannai mistook an ignorant man for a scholar because he was elegantly dressed (Lev. R. 9:3).

As many as 90 different articles of clothing are listed by Krauss, but the Talmud enumerates the 18 articles of clothing which were regarded as indispensable and which could therefore be rescued from a fire on the Sabbath. The lists given both in the Babylonian (Shab. 120a) and the Jerusalem (Shab. 16:5, 15d) Talmuds, apart from some differences in spelling, are practically identical, affording a picture of a man's complete apparel. On the upper part of the body, next to the skin, he wore a sleeveless tunic which was covered by a shirt (*ḥalluk*). Over this came an outer tunic, and the top garment was a cloak. A hollow money belt was worn. The lower part of the body was covered by breeches, over which trousers were worn; on the feet were socks and shoes. A girdle was tied round the waist and an apron was also worn. A felt cap covered the head and a hat was worn over this. A scarf completed the attire. Even the order of donning the clothes was laid down (DER 10). Apart from the shirt and the girdle, all these garments were worn by the Greeks, and this raises the question of whether there was a distinctive Jewish dress in talmudic times.

There is evidence that there was. With regard to men, the Midrash states that Moses was called an Egyptian (Ex. 2:19) because he was dressed as such and not as a Jew. In one version of a well-known Midrash, one of the reasons given for the redemption of the children of Israel from bondage is "that they did not change or substitute their [distinctive Jewish] dress" and on the verse "Lo, it is a people that shall dwell alone," a Yalkut (Num. 768) states, "they are distinguished from the other peoples in everything, in their dress…" Generally speaking, however, it would appear that apart from the **ẓiẓit* enjoined by the Bible, the dress of the ordinary people was similar to that of non-Jews. The scholar however wore distinctive garments. The scarf worn by ordinary people, which was probably fringed, became the **tallit* of the scholar. The Talmud indicates its severe displeasure of the common person who wore the *tallit* of the scholar (BB 98a). The scholar's shirt covered his whole body, so that his skin was invisible, and his *tallit* completely covered the shirt (BB 57b), so that "the scholar was recognized by the manner in which he wrapped himself in his *tallit*" (DEZ 5). He wore a distinctive hat, a kind of turban (Pes. 111b). Judah b. Ilai used to wrap himself in his fringed shawl and he looked like an angel of the Lord (Shab. 25b).

It was regarded as immodest and against Jewish custom for a married woman to wear her hair loose. The difference between the costume of women in Ereẓ Israel and Babylon is noted; in Babylon the women wore colored garments, while in Ereẓ Israel they wore starched white linen garments (Pes. 109a). Black clothing was worn as a sign of mourning, trouble, or distress (Ḥag. 16a), or when appearing as a defendant in a lawsuit (TJ, RH 1:3, 57b). When R. *Akiva had to break to R. Eliezer b. Hyrcanus the news of his excommunication he "clothed himself in black" (BM 59b). A complete change of garments was enjoined for the Sabbath, and this was regarded as so important that biblical sanction was found for it (Shab. 113a, 114a).

Hellenistic and Persian Periods

The frescoes of the third-century synagogue at *Dura-Europos, depicting a number of biblical scenes, portray costumes reflecting the Hellenistic and Persian cultures, both of which influenced this frontier city. The more common type of dress-tunic or gown (*chiton, colobium,* or *dalmatica*) with purple stripes (*clavi*), shawl (*himation orpallium*), and sandals – is assigned to prophets, elders, civilian leaders, and laymen. In certain cases, the *pallium* has *ẓiẓit* attached to the corners. The Persian costume, which includes a short belted tunic, trousers, and soft white boots, is assigned to royalty, courtiers, and Temple personnel. The high priest wears a long cloak; he alone has a head covering. Women wear a plain *chiton* with elbow-length sleeves and a shawl, one end of which is fastened over the shoulder and the other draped over the head. The two distinct traditions in Jewish dress, Hellenistic and Persian, are represented by a group of Jews portrayed in the sixth-century mosaics in the church of San Vitale, Ravenna, and by the sixth-century wall painting from Wadi Sarga, Egypt, of the "Three Children in the Furnace," now in the British Museum. These two works are probably based on much earlier types. The pronged ornaments known as *gams* shown on many of the costumes at Dura-Europos are similar to those found on garments discovered in the Judean Desert caves used as refuge by Bar Kokhba's followers in the second century.

The Post-Talmudic Era

In the post-talmudic period Jewish costume was greatly influenced by various halakhic, moral, and social principles laid down in rabbinic literature. The prohibition against following the custom of the Gentiles in the manner of dress and mode of cutting hair (Lev. 18:3; 20:23; Deut. 12:30; Zeph. 1:8) became an important factor behind many of the communal dress regulations and *sumptuary laws. The garb of a Jew should reflect propriety and humility and he should therefore avoid wearing expensive clothes. He must observe the laws regarding *ẓiẓit* and *sha'atnez* (see *mixed species) and decency requires him to wear a belt. Women must be modest in their attire, and married women should always cover their hair. Fine clothes should be worn on the Sabbath and even finer ones on the festivals. These rabbinical regulations served to keep Jewish dress conservative and outmoded. Discriminatory laws passed against the Jews had a similar effect. The earliest example of these, decreed in Egypt in 849 by the caliph al-Mutawakkil, required Jews and Christians to wear a yellow Persian mantle (*tailasan*) and a cord belt (*zunnar*). If they wore the Persian hat (*kalansuwa*) they were restricted to certain colors, and if they wore a turban it had to be yellow. Later, they also had to wear a *badge of the same color. In the Christian world, the first legislation of this kind was enacted in 1215 by the Fourth Lateran Council, which ordered Jews to wear a distinct type of dress on the grounds that in some regions they could no longer *be* distinguished from Christians. All these different influences combined to create a specifically Jewish dress, which, however, varied from one country to another.

Early Middle Ages

Little is known of Jewish costume in the early Middle Ages. Certain pottery figures of peddlers with Semitic features discovered in some of the Chinese T'ang Dynasty tombs (618–907) are believed to represent Jews, particularly those with pointed Persian hats, caftans, and girdles. There are no paintings or descriptions of European Jews from this period, and only two obscure references to their attire. In 839, when *Bodo became a convert to Judaism he allowed his hair and beard to grow, and also put on a military belt. This may be an early reference to the practice of wearing a girdle, later laid down in the Shulḥan Arukh. In the ninth century, Pope Nicholas I (858–67) attacked Arsenius, bishop of Orta, for introducing Jewish furred garments (*judaicae peluciae*).

The Orient

In many Muslim countries, Jews were restricted to black clothing, in North Africa practically up to our times. During the 16th century in Turkey, a native Jew wore a yellow turban, while the Sephardi Jew wore a red hat, shaped like a sugar loaf. The *ḥakhamim* of the Spanish expulsion wore the *capos* ("cape") on the Sabbath, which had been the distinctive dress of the Jews in Spain. In spite of the strict ruling of R. Elijah *Mizraḥi the *capos* was used as a festive garb. By the 18th century, the common dress for all Jews in Turkey was a violet *kaveze* ("turban"), a black or violet habit, *mest* ("socks"), and violet slippers. The same dress was worn in Mesopotamia, Syria, and Ereẓ Israel. Women developed various regional styles of dress with marked Jewish distinctions. During the 19th century, in Smyrna and Salonika, a woman's costume included full Turkish trousers, over which two or three gowns slit open from the hips to hem were worn. The different cloths had wide contrasting stripes with flower patterns printed over them. Outdoors, a woman wore a long, dark red pelisse, lined and trimmed with fur, and she covered her head with a fine white Turkish towel with fringed ends. In Constantinople, a short, loose jacket replaced the red pelisse. The Turkish Jewish woman's headwear included a *hotoz*, an enormous cushion-like headdress covered by a white muslin veil; this reached such fashionable extravagances at Constantinople that the chief rabbi banned it at the request of the grand vizier. The *feradje* ("cloak") worn by Jewish women was distinctive in color and shape. Peculiar to Aleppo was a high-domed cap of striped silk, from which hung a quantity of false hair.

The characteristic costume of Moroccan, Algerian, Tunisian, and Tripolitanian Jews was black; it consisted of a skull cap, a tunic, drawers, a *burnous* ("cloak"), and slippers. In Morocco, for ceremonial occasions, the women wore the *keswa el-kbira*, a costume that had elaborate gold embroidery for which the Jewish needlewomen of Tetuan were renowned. They also wore characteristic wigs which had many regional variations. In Algeria and Tunisia, the tall headdress, known as the *çâma*, was retained by Jewish women as part of their ceremonial dress, after it had ceased to be fashionable during the 19th century. In Tunisia women's ordinary dress consisted of a baggy chemise reaching down to the hips, a small gold-embroidered velvet jacket, a pair of white, very tight pantaloons, and a velvet *kufia*, shaped like a sugar loaf, worn on the head. No information is available on the Jewish dress in Turkestan, Kurdistan, South Arabia, or India prior to the 19th century. In recent times, some elaborate Jewish costumes have emerged from Bukhara, Yemen, and Aden, most of which reflect local influence. (See also *Bukhara.)

In India, the distinctive feature of the Bene Israel was their *pe'ot* (side curls). They wore Hindu-style turbans and shoes, and Muslim-style trousers. The Iraqi Jews of India retained Turkish dress; for festive occasions their women wore a long, silk brocade gown with a white plastron, probably also Turkish in origin. In the middle of the 19th century, the White Jews of Cochin wore a white cotton skullcap, a jacket, a waistcoat with 12 silver buttons, and trousers. The synagogue dress included a turban and a *djubba* ("Turkish gown"). The distinctive feature of the dress of the Black Jews of Cochin was a round embroidered cap.

Western Europe

In medieval Spain, Jews were obliged at times to wear a full length black gown with a cape and a pointed hood. They were also forbidden to shave their beards. Other distinctive features were the badge and the pointed Jewish hat. By the 13th century, in Germany, France, England, and other parts of Europe, the pointed hat, known as the *Judenhut*, had become distinctly Jewish; it was worn voluntarily and was accepted as a Jewish symbol. Later, however, the *Judenhut*, like the *badge, was also sometimes imposed by law. The hat was not worn after the 15th century, by which time a new type of hat with a tassel on its crown was prescribed by the laws of Frankfurt; other garments also acquired a distinctively Jewish significance. The medieval *chaperon* ("hood") known in Germany as the *matran, gugel*, or *kappe* as well as the *liripipe* ("tailed hood") was still being worn among the Jews of Nuremberg in 1755. Elsewhere in Germany and many parts of Central Europe, it had been replaced by a *barrette* (a black round hat made of felt or wool). Together with the *Judenkragen* (the 16th-century ruff), it became a distinctive feature of Jewish costume.

In the Papal States and elsewhere in Italy, the church canon requiring Jews to wear a yellow hat remained in effect until the French Revolution. Elsewhere in Western Europe, most Jewish distinctive dress had by then disappeared, except for synagogue and ceremonial occasions. The Jew, however, could still be identified by his beard and until the beginning of the 19th century even in England and Holland it remained a distinctive feature among Ashkenazi Jews.

The Sabbath *barrette*, known as *schabbes deckel*, and the *schulmantel* ("synagogue cloak") worn with a ruff, remained the accepted synagogue attire until the end of the 18th century; the whole costume was black. The *schulmantel*, or Sabbath *sarbal*, was a long cloak closed on the right side to prevent anything being carried on the Sabbath. During the 19th century, a new style for synagogue wear became the accepted garb: a three-cornered hat, a tail coat, knee breeches, and buckled shoes.

From the 13th century onward, in many parts of Europe, Jewish women were obliged to have two blue stripes in their veil (*oralia* or *orales).* The *oralia* was replaced by a pointed veil (*cornalia* or *cornu*) and, in the middle of the 18th century, it, together with the Jewish ruff and a special synagogue cloak, was still part of the Jewish woman's synagogue apparel. Other distinctive clothes worn by Jewish women were the *sivlonot* ("marriage belt") and the *kuerse* (a kind of blouse worn by brides). The *sheitel* ("wig") worn by Jewish women is a relatively recent custom (see Covering of the *Head).

Rabbinical Dress

There is no traditional rabbinical dress but among the Ashkenazim the distinctive features of Jewish lay dress were retained much longer by the rabbis. In 1705, at Fuerth, the rabbi wore a plain collar, a long tunic buttoned down the front, and a *barrette.* In 1755 the *Judenmeister* of Nuremberg wore the medieval *kappe* (hood) with a deep fringed collar and a long sleeveless gown. By the 19th century, the typical European Ashkenazi rabbi had a heavy beard and wore a Polish-style costume which included a fur-trimmed gown and a fur-trimmed hat; the latter was exchanged for a *streimel* (a wide-brimmed hat made of fur) on the Sabbath. The rabbinical *streimel* was made of 13 sable-tails. In the middle of the 19th century at Mattersdorf, Hungary, the rabbi wore a *streimel* on the Sabbath and a boat-shaped hat on weekdays. In England and America, Christian dress was adopted much earlier and in the 18th century Isaac Polack, *ḥazzan* of London's Great Synagogue, was clean-shaven, wore a three-cornered hat, a wig, and clerical robes with white bands.

The European Sephardi rabbis were even less subject to traditional influences. In the 15th-century painting by Nuno Goncalves, in the Lisbon National Museum, the rabbi wears a tall, black circular hat and a black gown with the Jewish badge shaped as a red six-pointed star. By the 17th century, the Sephardi rabbis of Holland and England, with their stiletto beards, skullcaps, wigs, and clerical gowns with white bands, were indistinguishable from the Christian clergy. In Oriental countries, a few instances of distinctive dress can be cited. In 1781, in Morocco, the rabbi's habit had very large sleeves and he usually had a blue kerchief around his cap. In the 1860s in Constantinople, the rabbis wore a dark blue felt cap, bound around the base with a white kerchief or turban with fine blue stripes. In 1873, at Smyrna, the rabbi wore a *bonneto*, a type of turban reserved for doctors and priests. At the present time, there are no distinctive features in rabbinical dress either in Eastern countries or in the West.

[Alfred Rubens]

Eastern Europe

The earliest Jewish costume from Poland, depicted on a 12th-century miniature, is an exact copy of the Byzantine tunic and *paludamentum* ("cloak") worn by men, though usually the Jews of Eastern Europe were less influenced by Christian fashions in dress than in the West. The first intervention of the authorities occurred as early as the 13th century; a church council held in Breslau in 1266 ordered the Jews in the bishopric of Gnesen in western Poland to wear a special hat. Soon the Council of Ofen (1279) specified the distinction to a greater extent by requiring the Jews to wear a red badge. Late medieval costumes seem to have been influenced by Central European gentile and Jewish garb, like the dress cut like a kimono, called a *cotte*, worn by men and women, the female kerchief, and the Jewish conical hat worn by men. Later the Jews adopted from the East their most characteristic garment – the *caftan*, which is still in use in certain extreme Orthodox circles. This Persian coat, cut open in the front, was so widely worn throughout the Turkish Empire that it was found in Yemen and Morocco under the same name. In the eastern areas of Poland and Russia the *caftan* was girdled by a wide Oriental sash and in the western regions by a cord.

Like other European regional costumes, the characteristic Jewish dress evolved during the 16th century, incorporating some features of the attire no longer worn by the Polish nobility or upper classes. The authorities in several parts of Eastern Europe reacted independently but with the same aim: to restrict the splendor of Jewish costume and to preserve some form of distinction. Thus the Piotrkow diet of 1538 reproved the Jews for adopting Christian attire and compelled them to wear a yellow hat. The Lithuanian statute of 1566, as well as the southern Polish statutes of 1595, laid down minute specifications restricting the sumptuousness of female dress and jewelry. The Lithuanian statute ordered yellow hats to be worn by men and yellow kerchiefs by women. On the other hand in times of special calamity, like the *Chmielnicki massacres (1648–49), the Jewish communities themselves imposed sober dress on their members. In the 18th and 19th centuries the Jews in Eastern Europe clung to their distinctive wear. Local differences continued paramount; in Russia and Lithuania clothes revealed an Oriental influence shown in the multicolored silks of the women, the halfmoons printed on materials, and an immense turban with three tails made of white starched linen.

The most widely known garments worn by Jewish men in Poland were the *bekeshe* and the *kapote*. The latter, both in name and shape, was derived from the Persian *caftan*. The *kapote* was generally made of very expensive cloth, such as velvet or *atlas* (a glossy silk or satin). Besides a shirt, knee-length trousers, and white stockings, the men also wore velvet waistcoats (Yid. *vestel* or *speneer*), a black silk belt with tassels called a *gartel*, and a small prayer shawl. Special headcoverings were the skullcaps (Yid. *keppel, yarmulke*), the fur hats (*soibel-heet* and *streimel*), the immense sable *kolpak*, adopted from the Gentiles, and the fur-trimmed *spodek* ("saucer") with a plush base. Most of these types of clothing, as well as female costumes, appear in the pictures and engravings of Polish types drawn by several artists (Norblin, Le Prince, Dave, Piwarski, Kilisinski, Kruszewski, Andrioli, and Debucourt).

The most important item of clothing was the white woolen prayer shawl, the *tallit*. Its central neckpiece *(atarah)* was decorated with an appliqué of knit embroidery, executed in flat, silver threads, in a style called by Polish Jews *spanier* ("Spanish style") or *shikh*, which was probably brought to Poland by Jewish craftsmen from Spain during the reign of King Sigismund Augustus. A similar type of Spanish embroidery was also used on Torah curtains and Torah mantles.

WOMEN'S COSTUME FROM THE 18TH TO THE BEGINNING OF THE 20TH CENTURY. Although the woman's dress was more colorful, her finery was not meant to be displayed out-of-doors, for it is written: "In all glorious things the king's daughter is within" (Ps. 45:14). However, the sumptuary decrees regulating women's clothing made an exception for the Sabbath. The dress of the Jewish woman was generally in the fashion of the period, but rather more subdued. The Jewish woman of the late 18th and 19th centuries wore on top of her dress a kind of bodice, the *vestel* or *kamisol*, usually made of brocade with black passementerie trimmings. At a later stage these trimmings were sewn on to the dresses themselves, or even on to separate plastrons, called *brust-tukh, brist-tikhel*, or *bristekh*. The *brust-tukh* was initially a wide strip of brocade adorned with silver stitching and occasionally ornamented with semiprecious stones. Later, this rectangular strip was almost covered with silver stitching, but in the 20th century it lost its regular shape and was made of velvet and adorned with various trimmings. The very Orthodox woman always wore an apron (Yid. *fartekh* or *fartukh*), usually trimmed with lace, embroidery, and ribbons, and serving no practical purpose.

WOMEN'S HEADDRESS. A distinctive form of headcovering for Jewish women did not emerge until the 17th century. At first the forms of headgear varied through the different regions of the area. In western Poland during the 18th century, it was customary to wear on the Sabbath a bonnet made of brocade trimmed with lace and silver stitching. On the other hand, in the east – Lithuania and parts of Russia – the earliest form of headcovering consisted of lace trimmed with colored ribbons, glass baubles, and beads. In time pearls and diamonds gradually replaced the simpler popular ornaments, and not only among rich women. In central Poland, Galicia, and Hungary the headcovering was made up of three separate parts: the *harband*, which covered the hair above the forehead; the *grint*, which served as the background; and the *kupke*, made of cloth or lace. Floral trimmings or ribbons were placed over all three. The headdress for very Orthodox women had to be made up from seven different parts assembled in strict order (in an implicit reference to the seven species of crops). The elaborate trimmings for these headcoverings were made by an expert hat-trimmer called *pitzikel* (derived from *putz*, "adornment").

For the Sabbath a woman put on a sort of tiara, the *binde*, consisting of two strips of velvet (recalling the two tablets of the Law), decorated with gold chains, pearls, and diamonds.

One such tiara, belonging to a Jewish woman of the late 18th or early 19th century, was acquired by the well-known Polish painter Jan Matejko, and he used it in several of his paintings as a headdress for Polish princesses. After the beginning of the 19th century the *binde* gradually disappeared and was replaced by the *sterntikhel, sternbindel*, or *bindalikh* worn on top of the *kupkeh.* The *sterntikhel* consisted of pearls and diamonds, strung on iron wire, set off against a cloth background, and later on with no background. Fixing the jewels on the *sterntikhel* was the job of an expert craftsman (which gave rise to the family names Perlherfter and Perlsticker ("pearl-fixer," "pearl-embroiderer"). From the *sterntikhel* (and other pieces of jewelry) a pearl or a segment was deliberately removed to indicate that there can be no complete joy as long as the Temple is in ruins. From the beginning of the 20th century the *sterntikhel* ceased to be worn almost entirely. In Lithuania where the *sterntikhel* was never worn, the headdress consisted of a white *binde* wound around the head like a turban, called a *patshaile;* it was often adorned with a decorative pin, the *knopp.*

Various forms of the *harband* and of the *kupke* continued to evolve in Poland throughout the 19th and early 20th centuries, most of them trying to suggest a woman's hair (with a white line of parting, the *kvishel*). The wig or *sheitel* (made of natural hair) was never considered proper wear for the very Orthodox woman, but many imitations, made of brown satin, were in use. Eventually the *kupke* took on the shape of a hat, the *hitel*, topped by flowers, ribbons, peacock feathers, and a *tsitenadel* ("trembling pin"). Two pairs of earrings were sometimes attached to the *kupke*, one at the level of the temples, the other at the level of the earlobes. Exhibitions of Jewish clothing may be seen at the Israel Museum (Jerusalem), the Museum of Ethnography and Folklore (Tel Aviv), and the Ethnological and Folklore Museum (Haifa).

[Miriam Nick]

Modern

Distinctive Jewish costume largely disappeared from the early 20th century. Among the influences of ancient dress that have survived in synagogue wear is the Roman *pallium*, in the form of the *tallit*, and the **kitel* (*sargenes*) worn by some on the Day of Atonement and for the *seder.* Distinctive features are still found in the everyday dress of Oriental Jews. In addition, the wearing of a headcovering at all times has become *de rigueur* as the external sign of the Orthodox Jew; among the modern element this has developed as the small embroidered *kippah.* The ultra-Orthodox groups, concentrated mostly in Jerusalem and Bene Berak in Israel, and in limited areas in other parts of the world, still wear the characteristic *streimel* on Sabbaths and festivals (including the intermediate days) and the long *caftan*, yellow and white striped, is sometimes still retained. The custom of married women covering their hair, obligatory according to the Mishnah, is no longer widely observed, except in Orthodox circles where the *sheitel* is also sometimes worn as a substitute.

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DRESSLER, WILLIAM (1890–1969), U.S. cardiologist and electrocardiographer. Born and educated in Austria, Dressler went to the United States as a refugee in 1938. From that year until 1967 when he became consultant, Dressler served as chief of the Cardiology Clinic and head of the Electrocardiographic Laboratory at Maimonides Medical Center. Dressler's major contribution to medicine was his recognition and description of the post-myocardial infarction syndrome, also known as the Dressler syndrome. He wrote six cardiology texts, three in German and three in English. His *Clinical Cardiology* (1942) became the classic book of cardiological diagnosis.

[Fred Rosner]

DREUX (Heb. דרו"ש), town in the Eure-et-Loire department, France, 53 mi. (86 km.) S.W. of Paris. During the Middle Ages, the Jews of Dreux were numerous enough to occupy their own quarter, which was remembered as the rue des Juifs up until the 19th century. Many figures previously associated with Dreux, like R. *Solomon b. Judah ("the saint") are now believed to have been active in Rouen. According to W. Bacher (REJ, 17 (1888), 301), Abraham *Ibn Ezra stayed there for a time.

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[Bernhard Blumenkranz]

DREXLER, MILLARD S. ("**Mickey**"; 1944–), U.S. merchant. Born and raised in New York City, Drexler spent all his professional life as an apparel retailer. He rose from humble beginnings to become chief executive officer of the publicly owned Gap Inc., whose focus on affordable basics made it the biggest specialty clothing store chain in the U.S. and an internationally familiar name. While attending the Bronx High School of Science, Drexler worked in New York City's garment center with his father, a buyer of buttons and textiles for a coat manufacturer. In 1966, he earned a business degree at the State University of New York at Buffalo and two years later received an M.B.A. at Boston University. He entered retailing with posts at Bloomingdale's, Macy's, and Abraham & Straus. In 1980, he was appointed president of Ann Taylor and within three years turned the women's apparel chain into a success. He joined Gap in 1983 as deputy to Donald *Fisher, founder and chairman, was named president of the Gap division, and went about reinventing the company. He hired new designers, strengthened quality control, and invested in store renovation. In 1986, he launched GapKids, an immediate success. He was named president of Gap Inc. in 1987 and CEO in 1995. In his almost two decades at the company, he cemented a reputation as a master merchandiser. When Drexler joined Gap, it had 550 stores filled with clothes that were not selling and $80 million in sales. When he left 19 years later, it had more than 4,000 Gap, Old Navy, and Banana Republic stores and more than $14 billion in sales. In 1994, when Gap's business was feeling the effects of increased competition from high-end designers as well as mass merchandisers, Drexler launched Old Navy, a discount chain that grew to 282 stores in less than three years. In 1998, *Fortune* magazine called him "possibly the most influential individual in the world of American fashion," pointing out that he had transformed Gap from a national retail chain into a global brand. A soft economy and tougher competition contributed to a two-year sales slump that began to reverse itself in 2002, the year Drexler left Gap. In January 2003, he became head of the smaller, privately held J. Crew Group, another specialty chain.

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[Mort Sheinman (2nd ed.)]

DREYFUS, family of bankers originating from Sierentz in Alsace. ISAAC DREYFUS (1786–1845) founded the firm Isaac Dreyfus, Soehne, Basle, with his sons as partners, as one of the few Jews the city magistrate allowed to settle within the walls (1813). His son SAMUEL (1820–1905), who remained with the firm, was president of the Basle Jewish community (1865–96) and founder of the Jewish orphanage and old-age home. A second son, JACQUES (1826–1890), moved to Frankfurt where he established the Dreyfus-Jeidels bank in 1868, which became J. Dreyfus and Co. in 1890, to which a Berlin branch was added in 1891. His son ISAAC (1849–1909) and grandson WILLY (1885–?) developed the bank into one of the largest investment banks in Germany, but the Nazis forced it into liquidation in 1937. Samuel Dreyfus was succeeded by his son JULES DREYFUS-BRODSKY (1859–1941) and his nephew ISAAC DREYFUS-STRAUSS (1852–1936). The family banking tradition was further maintained by Jules's son PAUL (1895–1967), who considerably expanded the firm's activities. Members of the Dreyfus family worked for the Jewish community. In Switzerland, Jules was president of the Swiss Union of Jewish Communities (1914–36) and of the community of Basel (1906–36) and Paul, who was a founder of *ORT in Switzerland, campaigned for the admission of Jewish refugees from Germany during World War II. In Germany Jacques, Isaac, and Willy Dreyfus were all active in communal affairs. Katjy Guth, née Dreyfus, was the director of the Jewish Museum of Switzerland in Basel (est. 1968).

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[Hanns G. Reissner / Uri Kaufmann (2nd ed.)]

DREYFUS, ALFRED (1859–1935), officer in the French army, involved in a treason trial. His court-martial, conviction, and final acquittal developed into a political event which had repercussions throughout France and the Jewish world. Born in Mulhouse, Alsace, Dreyfus was the son of a wealthy, assimilated family which settled in Paris after the Franco-Prussian War. He studied at the Ecole Polytechnique and entered the army as an engineer. In 1892 he became a captain on the general staff, where he was the only Jew. He was overwhelmed by the drama (see below) in which he played the central role, but failed to grasp its deeper significance: its Jewish, general humanitarian, and political aspects. After his final exoneration he was reinstated in the army as major and served a further year. He reenlisted in World War I and was promoted to lieutenant colonel at its conclusion. Dreyfus published his *Lettres d'un innocent* (1898; *The Letters of Captain Dreyfus to his Wife*, 1899) written from Devil's Island, and his memoirs *Cinq ans de ma vie* (1901; *Five Years of my Life*, 1901). Additional *Souvenirs et correspondence* were published posthumously (1936; *Dreyfus: His Life and Letters*, 1937).

Dreyfus Affair

In the fall of 1894 a secret military document (the *bordereau*) sent by a French officer to the military attaché of the German embassy in Paris, Col. von Schwartzkoppen, fell into the hands of the French Intelligence Service. On the basis of a certain similarity of handwriting, and probably out of anti-Jewish prejudice against Dreyfus, the heads of the Intelligence Service – among whom Major H.J. Henry was conspicuous – threw suspicion upon Dreyfus. He was arrested and tried before a court-martial. The trial took place *in camera* and the testimonies were insufficiently verified. It was also not disclosed that contrary to all legal procedure the ministry of war had placed a file of secret documents (part of which were forgeries) before the tribunal, a fact concealed even from Dreyfus' attorney. The court unanimously found Dreyfus guilty of treason, and he was sentenced to life imprisonment. On January 5, 1895, Dreyfus was publicly demoted in a degrading ceremony, during which he continued to proclaim, "I am innocent." The mob, which had been incited by the antisemitic press, especially by E.A. *Drumont, accompanied the ceremony with fulminations against Dreyfus and the Jews. Dreyfus was exiled to Devil's Island (French Guinea, off the coast of South America), even though in the meanwhile, the German ambassador had declared formally that Germany had had no contact with Dreyfus.

Dreyfus' brother turned to the writer Bernard *Lazare, who now led the struggle against the verdict. In November 1896 Lazare published a pamphlet, "The Truth about the Dreyfus Affair," and sent it to members of the senate and public figures. The new head of the French Intelligence Service, Lt. Col. Georges Picquart, had independently sensed something suspicious in the Dreyfus trial. In March 1896, Intelligence Service personnel seized a letter which Schwartzkoppen had written to a French major, Ferdinand Walsin Esterhazy, an adventurer of aristocratic Hungarian origin. This made it clear that Esterhazy was a German agent. Picquart concluded that the *bor-*

dereau incriminating Dreyfus had been written by Esterhazy. Henry forged additional documents to prove to his superiors that the court-martial had not erred. Picquart was dismissed from his position and dispatched to serve in Africa.

Before leaving Paris he transmitted the facts to his friends. Through them they reached the ears of the left-wing senator, Auguste Scheurer-Kestner, who announced in the senate that Dreyfus was innocent, and openly accused Esterhazy. The right-wing prime minister, F.J. Méline, refused to accept his statement and tried to hide the facts. The Dreyfus case increasingly became the focus of the political struggle centering round the regime, its image and principles, and fought in all strata of French society, including circles close to the government. Esterhazy was tried and acquitted, while Picquart was punished with 60 days imprisonment. On January 13, 1898 *L'Aurore*, Georges Clemenceau's newspaper, published an open letter from the novelist Emile *Zola to the president of the republic, captioned "*J'accuse!*," which accused the denouncers of Dreyfus of malicious libel. The article made a powerful impression; 200,000 copies were sold in Paris. Zola was found guilty of libel in February 1898. Officers of the general staff threatened to resign if Dreyfus was acquitted and antisemitic riots occurred in different parts of the country. In the meantime confidence in the justice of the verdict was waning. The affair aroused lively interest abroad and in France it became a public issue. Parties, social circles, and even families were split. The antagonistic groups formed two camps – the *Ligue des Droits de l'Homme*, which spearheaded the fight for Dreyfus, and the *Ligue de la Patrie Française*, led by Paul Déroulède. Many of the supporters of the latter camp considered that a single case of injustice involving one Jew was not sufficient grounds for staining the honor of the army.

In summer 1898 the protestations of Picquart and others induced the new war minister, Cavaignac, to reopen the case and re-investigate the documents. Henry's forgeries were detected. He was arrested and subsequently committed suicide in his cell. Public opinion moved in Dreyfus' favor and the controversy divided the government. At last the government decided to request an annulment of the verdict and a retrial for Dreyfus from the Supreme Court. The political agitation continued, and after several crises René Waldeck-Rousseau formed a cabinet whose avowed aim was to restore the rule of law and justice and reestablish democracy.

THE SECOND TRIAL. The second trial took place in Rennes. The army officers adhered to their original testimony. Finally, on September 9, 1899, the court-martial decided by a majority that Dreyfus had committed treason – but because of "extenuating circumstances" he was sentenced to only ten years' imprisonment, five of which he had already served. Anti-Semites and reactionaries viewed the verdict as a justification of their position. Differences of opinion developed between Dreyfus' defenders: those to whom the Dreyfus affair was a political issue and a matter of principle wanted him to appeal and continue the struggle, while Dreyfus and his family were interested only in securing his release. At Waldeck-Rousseau's suggestion, Dreyfus withdrew his appeal and was finally granted a "pardon" by the president of the republic. In 1904, with the Leftist government firmly established, Dreyfus demanded a fresh investigation. The Court of Appeal reexamined the case, and in 1906 pronounced that the evidence against Dreyfus was completely unsubstantiated and that it was unnecessary to order a further trial to exonerate him.

The Dreyfus affair was a turning point in the history of the Third Republic. It embittered the struggle between the opponents and partisans of the republican regime. The Waldeck-Rousseau cabinet succeeded in enacting a number of anti-clerical measures, and in 1905 it passed a law separating the church from the state. This also influenced the status of the Jewish Consistory in France. The Dreyfus affair made a powerful impact on the attitude of the socialist parties toward the Jews. The radical Marxist wing under Jules Guèsde, which identified Jews with the capitalists and viewed the affair as an internal concern of the bourgeoisie, retreated before the socialist-humanitarian wing led by Jean-Léon Jaurès. Proletarian antisemitism weakened. The Dreyfus affair made a strong impact on the outlook of world Jewry and the atmosphere in their respective countries. Jews everywhere were shocked that the affair could take place in France, the "homeland of liberty and the Great Revolution," and that hatred of the Jews could still prejudice the behavior of a considerable part of the French people, in particular when the Jewish victim was completely assimilated. This seemed to prove clearly that assimilation was no defense against antisemitism. Theodor *Herzl's confidence in liberalism was shaken when he personally observed the French mass reaction and the uproar that the Dreyfus case aroused. The experience led him to Zionism.

Echoes of the Dreyfus affair continued to reverberate in France for over a generation. Its consequences were still recognizable in the line that divided the Vichy government from the Free French during World War II.

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[Moshe Catane]

DREYFUS, STANLEY A. (1921–), U.S. Reform rabbi. Dreyfus was born in Youngstown, Ohio, and received his B.A. from the University of Cincinnati and his B.H.L. from Hebrew Union College in 1942. Ordination and his M.H.L. followed in 1946, when he also won the Heinsheimer Fellowship for graduate study at HUC, where he began teaching liturgy and served as director of the Reference Department. Subsequently (1948–50), he became counselor to the Hebrew Union College's Interfaith Program, working with Christian clergymen who were studying Hebrew, Bible, and Jewish thought to teach in their own seminaries. In 1951, Dreyfus was awarded his Ph.D. from HUC-JIR, which later conferred on him an honorary D.D. (1971). While pursuing his graduate studies, Dreyfus served as rabbi of Congregation Beth-El in Beaver Falls, Penn. (1946–50), and West London Synagogue in London, England (summer 1949). He went on to pulpits at Congregation Beth Shalom, East Liverpool, Ohio (1950–51), and United Hebrew Congregation of Terre Haute, Ind. (1951–66), where he also served as chaplain of the U.S. penitentiary (1951–53). His term as rabbi in Terre Haute and visiting professor at the Indiana School of Religion in Bloomington was interrupted by active service as chaplain for the United States Army in Colorado and Germany (1953–55). Subsequently, as rabbi of Congregation B'nai Israel in Galveston, Texas (1956–65), Dreyfus was president of the Association of Texas Rabbis and chairman of Home Service for the Galveston Red Cross, in addition to serving on the Galveston County Biracial Committee and the Human Relations Committee. In 1965, Dreyfus was appointed rabbi of Union Temple in Brooklyn, N.Y., where he remained until 1979, when he became emeritus and was named director of the Rabbinic Placement Commission of the Central Conference of American Rabbis, becoming emeritus in 1991.

From 1969 to 1973, Dreyfus was chairman of the Liturgy Committee of the *Central Conference of American Rabbis. He played an instrumental role in compiling *Gates of Prayer: The New Union Prayerbook* (the standard text for synagogue use on Sabbaths and Festivals); *Gates of the House* (for home prayer)*;* and *Gates of Repentance* (for the High Holidays). In this role, he also oversaw and contributed to the publication of *Gates of Understanding*, a volume of lengthy introductions to the series of Reform Jewish prayerbooks. In addition, Dreyfus served on the CCAR's Committee on Homosexuality and the Rabbinate – which ruled that homosexuality *per se* was not to be considered a disqualifying factor when it comes to candidacy for the rabbinate – and the Committee on Patrilinear Descent, which established that Jewish lineage may be passed on to children through the father alone, breaking from Orthodox and Conservative tradition that only the mother determines the religion of the offspring. Dreyfus was also a member of the CCAR's Committee on Reform Jewish Classics, the Admissions Committee, the Responsa Committee, the Rabbinic Population Committee, and the Reform Jewish Practice Committee.

At different periods during his career, Dreyfus also served as president of the Association of Reform Rabbis of New York, of the Brooklyn Board of Rabbis, of the Association of Jewish Chaplains of the United States Armed Forces, and of the National Association of Retired Reform Rabbis. Additionally, he was a member of the Governing Body of the World Union for Progressive Judaism, the Board of Governors of the New York Board of Rabbis, and the Commission on Jewish Chaplaincy of the National Jewish Welfare Board as well as co-chairman of the Catholic-Jewish Relations Committee of Brooklyn and Queens. Dreyfus was an instructor in the Active Reserve on the faculty of the Army Chaplain School for 21 years, attaining the rank of lieutenant colonel.

[Bezalel Gordon (2nd ed.)]

DREYFUS BROTHERS, pioneers of the cellulose acetate rayon industry. The brothers, HENRY (1876–1945) and CAMILLE (1878–1956), were born in Basle, Switzerland. They developed quality cellulose fiber soluble in acetone and manufactured noninflammable cellulose film, used by the Allies in World War I for treating fabric wings of airplanes. After the war they developed in England processes for spinning this film into man-made fiber, Celanese. Henry headed British Celanese Ltd.; Camille became president of Celanese Corporation of America and Canadian Celanese Ltd. Henry took out over 1,000 patents, the greatest number ever held by a single individual.

DREYFUSS, BARNEY (1865–1932), owner of the Pittsburgh Pirates baseball team from 1900 to 1932, founder of the World Series, builder of baseball's first modern stadium. Born in Freiberg, Germany, to Samuel Dreyfuss, an American citizen living in Germany, Dreyfuss came to the United States in 1881 to avoid being drafted into the German army. He settled in Paducah, Kentucky, and found work at the Bernheim whiskey distillery, at first cleaning whiskey bottles and eventually becoming head bookkeeper. Advised that outdoor activity would cure his poor indigestion, headaches, and general poor health, he organized and played second base on a semiprofessional baseball team that he formed.

The distillery moved to Louisville in 1888, and there Dreyfuss became part owner, secretary-treasurer, and eventually team president and owner of the National League Louisville Colonels. At the same time, he bought into the Pittsburgh Pirates, and as the National League was dropping the Louisville Colonels, Dreyfuss became sole owner of the Pirates, where he remained until his death. Considered the best judge of baseball talent in his time, Dreyfuss' outstanding ability as a scout made it possible for the Pirates to win the National League pennant six times (1901, 1902, 1903, 1909, 1925, 1927) and the World Series in 1909 and 1925. Indeed, many of his star players were elected to Baseball's Hall of Fame, and it was said by the president of the National League upon Dreyfuss' death, "He discovered more great players than any man in the history of baseball."

In 1903, Dreyfuss approached Henry Killilea and proposed that his American League champion Boston Pilgrims

(Red Sox) meet the National League champion Pirates in a nine-game interleague series, with the winner taking 60 percent of the gate receipts and the loser 40 percent. Dreyfuss believed a post-season contest would establish better relations between the two squabbling leagues and create additional interest in baseball. It did, beyond anyone's imagination, and thus was born the first World Series, a permanent American icon that achieved almost mythic proportions. In a gesture of goodwill, and contrary to the treacherous, greedy image of the typical owner, Dreyfuss put his club's $6,699.56 gate receipts into the players' pool, which earned the 16 Pirates $1,316 each, more than the victorious Boston players' $1,182.

In 1909, Dreyfuss built Forbes Field, the first modern steel-frame triple-tier stadium and the first baseball park capable of seating 25,000 fans. The stadium represented a visionary statement, for up until then no one believed that a game of baseball could attract that many people. Dreyfuss was also instrumental in having the spitball pitch banned from baseball in 1920.

Dreyfuss was also a pioneer in the formative years of professional football. He was co-owner and manager of the Pittsburgh Athletic Club, winners of the pro football championship in 1898, professional football's fourth organized season.

[Elli Wohlgelernter (2nd ed.)]

DREYFUSS, RICHARD (1948–), American actor. Dreyfuss was born in Brooklyn, New York, where his father was an attorney, but the family moved to Los Angeles, where he was educated. He joined the West Side Jewish Center and at the early age of nine showed his penchant for acting, taking part in all the plays produced there. Even as a high school student he was engaged to play professional parts, and from 1963 to 1973 acted on Broadway, in repertory and comedy. He first gained his reputation as a film actor in George Lucas' *American Graffiti*, playing the part of Curt Henderson, and from then went from strength to strength. In 1974 he went to Canada, and *The Apprenticeship of Duddy Kravitz*, a film with a Jewish theme in which he starred, won first prize at the Berlin Film Festival. In 1974 he starred in Steven Spielberg's film adaptation of Peter Benchley's best-selling novel *Jaws*, which became the biggest box-office hit to that date. A year later he played the part of Yonatan Netanyahu in the TV film *Victory at Entebbe*, about the Israeli commando action that freed hostages held in a plane hijacked to Uganda. In 1977 he starred in another highly successful Spielberg film, *Close Encounters of the Third Kind.* In 1977 he was awarded the Academy and Golden Globe awards for best actor for his performance in *The Goodbye Girl.* At the time, at age 29, he was the youngest performer ever to have won a Best Actor Oscar. Dreyfuss went on to act in such films as *The Big Fix* (1978), *Whose Life Is It Anyway?* (1981), *Down and Out in Beverly Hills* (1986), *Tin Men* (1987), *Stakeout* (1987), *Nuts* (1987), *Moon over Parador* (1988), *Lost in Yonkers* (1983), *Always* (1989), *Postcards from the Edge* (1990), *Rosencrantz and Guildenstern Are Dead* (1990), *What about Bob?* (1991), *Silent Fall* (1994), *Mr. Holland's Opus* (Oscar nomination for Best Actor, 1995), *Mad Dog Time* (1996), *Krippendorf's Tribe* (1998), *The Crew* (2000), *The Old Man Who Read Love Stories* (2001), and *Silver City* (2004).

Dreyfuss has also performed in many stage and television productions. He starred in the 2001 TV drama series *The Education of Max Bickford* as well as such TV movies as *Prisoner of Honor* (1991), *Oliver Twist* (1997), *Lansky* (1999), *Fail Safe* (2000), *The Day Reagan Was Shot* (2001), *Coast to Coast* (2004), and *Copshop* (2004). On Broadway he has appeared in *But Seriously* (1969), *Total Abandon* (1983), *Death and the Maiden* (1992), and *Sly Fox* (2004). In 2000 Dreyfuss was awarded a Lifetime Achievement Award at the Hollywood Film Festival. With Harry Turtledove, Dreyfuss co-authored the novel *The Two Georges* (1996).

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[Jonathan Licht / Rohan Saxena and Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

DREYZL, LEAH (second half of 18th century), composer of *tkhines* (Yiddish prayers). Dreyzl lived in Stanislav, Poland, and came from a distinguished family. Her great-grandfather was Ḥakham Ẓevi *Ashkenazi (1660–1718) and several of her male relatives were rabbis and scholars. Leah Dreyzl married Rabbi Aryeh Leib Auerbach, who became the rabbi at Stanislav and was closely associated with the burgeoning Ḥasidic movement. He was believed to be an intimate of the Baal Shem Tov.

It is clear from her own writings that Leah Dreyzl was educated. The two *tkhines* she is known to have written are filled with biblical references and lines from the prayer book, and are permeated with mystical overtones. They were published posthumously, probably during the 19th century, and were named (by the publisher) "Tkhine es rotsn" ("Tkhine of a Time of [Divine] Favor") and "Tkhine Sha'arei Teshuvah" ("Tkhine of the Gates of Repentance"). An introduction to the published edition credits "Mistress Hena…widow of the departed…Rabbi David Tsvi," with passing down these writings "from her mother-in-law, the righteous, pious, renowned rabbi's wife, Mistress Leah Dreyzel." Both of these poems, written for the penitential month of Elul, easily lend themselves to oral recitation. This has led literary analysts to conclude that Leah Dreyzl was a *firzogerin* in the Stanislav synagogue, leading the women's congregation in prayer.

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[Emily Taitz (2nd ed.)]

DREZNER, YEḤIEL DOV (1922–1947), Jew executed by the British in Palestine. Drezner was born in Poland and came to Ereẓ Israel with his parents who settled in Jerusalem, where Drezner joined the Betar movement. In 1940 he moved to Netanyah, where he joined I.Ẓ.L. under the pseudonym of Dov Rosenbaum. In 1945 I.Ẓ.L. retaliated for the flogging inflicted on one of their members who was captured by the British, by seizing British officers and subjecting them to the same humiliating punishment. Drezner was in command of one unit, the other four members of which were Mordekhai Alkaḥi, Eliezer Kashani, Abraham Mizraḥi, and Ḥayyim Golavski. The whole unit was captured. Mizraḥi was wounded and died before the trial (one version is that he was murdered) and the other four put on trial. Golavski was sentenced to life imprisonment in view of his youth, while the other three were sentenced to death. An attempt to rescue them by an assault on the Jerusalem central prison where they were held was foiled by their removal to Acre on the very morning of the intended assault. All four, together with Dov *Gruner, were hanged on the same day, Apr. 16, 1946.

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°**DRIVER, SAMUEL ROLLES** (1846–1914), Bible scholar and Hebraist; from 1883 Regius Professor of Hebrew at Oxford. Driver's chief work, *An Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament*, appeared in 1891 (1913^9). Among his early publications was *A Treatise on the Uses of the Tenses in Hebrew* (1874, 1892^3). He was a practicing Christian ordained as a priest in the Anglican Church and held various offices in that church. Nevertheless, he wrote his books in the spirit of the critical method established by J. *Wellhausen, at the same time stressing that his conclusions did not impugn the sanctity of the Bible or attribute literary forgeries to it. He was therefore attacked from both sides. Conservative theologians condemned his views as "dangerous," while some of his fellow Bible critics accused him of making concessions to orthodox extremism. Driver was alert to every new potential source of information on the Bible, as may be seen by the fact that he was among the first to write a book on archaeology and the Bible, *Modern Research as Illustrating the Bible* (1909). Driver was one of the editors of the "International Critical Commentary" series of scholarly editions of biblical books, and also contributed commentaries on Deuteronomy (1895, 1902^3), and Job (with G.B. Gray, 1905). His other works include commentaries on Genesis (1911^9), Exodus (1911), Daniel (1900), and other books of the Bible, and papers on specific points in the prophetic writings, as well as researches into the Masoretic text of Samuel (*Notes on the Hebrew Text and the Topography of the Books of Samuel*, 1890, 1913^2). He also participated in the compilation of *A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament* (with F. Brown and C.A. Briggs, 1907). This work, based on the lexicon of William *Gesenius, and popularly known as BDB (from the initials of its authors), remains in widespread use. Together with A. *Neubauer, he published *The "Suffering Servant" of Isaiah According to the Jewish Interpreters* (1877). All of Driver's books were well written and carefully researched and three of them are so basic that for all the progress that has been made since then the specialist still has occasion to consult them (his *Introduction…*, his *Tenses*, and his *Notes on the Hebrew Text*).

His son SIR GODFREY ROLLES DRIVER (1892–1975), Bible and Semitic scholar, gained knowledge of the Middle East with the British Egyptian Expeditionary Force in 1919 for which he wrote *A Report on Kurdistan and the Kurds* (1919). Later he also published *A Grammar of the Colloquial Arabic of Syria and Palestine* (1925). From 1919–28 he taught classics at Oxford and from 1928 lectured there on Hebrew and comparative Semitic philology, becoming professor of Semitic philology (1938–62) and intermittently professor of Hebrew (1934, 1953–54, and 1959–60).

One of his important early works was "The Modern Study of the Hebrew Language" in *The People and the Book* (ed. A.S. Peake), 73–120. In 1935 he collaborated with J.C. Miles in editing *The Assyrian Laws*, which aimed to serve as a textbook for scholars of the Old Testament as well as of comparative law (revised as vol. two of *Assyrian Laws and Babylonian Laws*, 1952, 1955). The following year Driver published *Problems of the Hebrew Verbal System* in which he explained the peculiarities of the Hebrew tense system and other features of Hebrew as resulting from the origin of Hebrew as a mixture of Canaanite and the original language spoken by the Israelites. In 1948 he published his Schweich Lectures of 1944 under the title *Semitic Writing* where he examined the origin and development of the Semitic alphabet and in which he was one of the first to realize the significance of Ugaritic. In 1954 he edited and translated the Borchardt Aramaic documents in the Bodleian Museum under the title *Aramaic Documents of the Fifth Century B.C.* (revised 1957). These were official and semiofficial documents from the court of the Persian satrap in Egypt. The following year he published *Canaanite Myths and Legends*, in which he translated Ugaritic legends and included an Ugaritic glossary.

His *Judean Scrolls* (1965) discussed the problem of the identity and date of the community of Qumran, which he identified with the *Zealots. On his seventieth birthday a volume of *Hebrew and Semitic Studies* (1963) was dedicated to him. It contains a selected bibliography of his works. He was joint director of the committee that prepared the translation of the Old Testament in the New English Bible (1970). He wrote numerous articles on Hebrew lexicography, in which, by the use of cognate languages, he uncovered hitherto unrecognized meanings of biblical words. Much of these he incorporated into the New English Bible and into his work on a new edition of F. Brown, S.R. Driver, and C.A. Briggs' *Hebrew Lexicon.*

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DROB, MAX (1887–1959), U.S. Conservative rabbi. Drob was born in Mlawa, Poland, and was taken to the United States in 1895. He graduated from Columbia University (1908) and received rabbinic ordination from the Jewish Theological Seminary (1911), and served congregations in Syracuse, New York (1911–13), Buffalo, New York (1913–19), New York City

(1919–27), and Philadelphia (1927–29). From 1929 he was rabbi of the Concourse Center of Israel, Bronx, New York, where he remained for the rest of his career. Drob was president of the Rabbinical Assembly of America from 1925 to 1927, and chairman of its *bet din* from 1923 to 1941. He was regarded as belonging to the traditionalist wing of Conservative Judaism seeking to transmit traditional religious practice in a manner more decorous and more American. He was actively involved in the professionalization of the rabbinate with such issues as rabbinic placement and pension determined by regulations and procedures. He was president of the non-denominational New York Board of Rabbis 1933–34 and also served as a member of the commission set up by New York State to supervise the enforcement of *kashrut* laws, at a time before the Orthodox Union had established its domination of *kashrut*. He was a founder of the United Synagogue of America and on the board of the Jewish Theological Seminary.

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[Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

DROBNER, BOLESLAW (1883–1968), Polish socialist politician. Born in Cracow into an assimilated family, Drobner joined the Polish Social Democratic Party of Galicia and Silesia in 1898, attaching himself to the radical left wing. He took part in the revolution of 1905 and during World War I fought in Pilsudski's Legion. After Polish independence, Drobner joined the Socialist Party and in 1922 became one of the founders of the Independent Socialist Party. When the two parties reunited in 1928 he was appointed to the supreme council of the united party. He represented the left wing of the party calling for cooperation between socialists and communists. Drobner was frequently arrested for organizing strikes and following the outbreak of World War II left Poland for the U.S.S.R., where he was a founder of the Soviet-sponsored Union of Polish Patriots. He became minister of labor and social care in the Committee of National Liberation and at the conference of the Polish Socialist Party in 1944 was elected party chairman.

Drobner returned to Poland after the war and was a member of the Polish delegation at the Russo-Polish frontier negotiations of August 1945. In 1947 he was elected to the Sejm (Polish parliament) and in the following year joined the ruling communist United Workers Party. He had a great love for his native Cracow and did much for the preservation of its historical relics. He also initiated the restoration of Jewish culture there, particularly the 15th-century Jewish synagogue.

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[Abraham Wein]

DROGOBYCH (Pol. **Drohobycz**), city in Ukraine, formerly in Poland and Austria. Information about individual Jewish contractors of the salt mines in Drogobych dates from the beginning of the 15th century. Some of them settled in the city, eventually forming a small community (*kehillah*). In 1578, however, Drohobych obtained the privilege *de non tolerandis Judaeis* authorizing the exclusion of Jews from its precincts. Although a number of Jews were subsequently found living in the vicinity, their settlement was not permanent until the end of the 17th century, enabled by royal patronage. All commerce and crafts were then concentrated in Jewish hands. Jewish guilds were formed and the records evidence the friction that existed between them and the Christian guilds of the city, as also between the citizens of Drogobych and the Jewish inhabitants. The Drohobych *kehillah* was represented on the provincial council of *Rzeszow (see *Councils of the Lands). In the middle of the 18th century a wealthy, despotic farmer of the taxes and customs revenues, Zalman b. Ze'ev (Wolfowicz), seized control of communal affairs. He appointed his son-in-law rabbi, and for his ruthless treatment of both Jews and non-Jews he was finally denounced to the authorities; in 1755 he was arrested, tried, and condemned to death, but as generous assistance was contributed by his coreligionists the sentence was commuted to life imprisonment. He subsequently adopted Christianity and died a member of the Carmelite order in 1757.

After Drogobych passed to Austria in 1772, economic oppression, heavy taxation, and government interference in communal affairs had an adverse effect on the Jewish position. It improved in the 19th century, however, especially with the exploitation of the mineral resources of Drogobych; the salt industry was also a Jewish enterprise. The first attempts to prospect for oil and its extraction were made in Drogobych by a Jew, Hecker, in 1810, and in 1858–59 a refinery was constructed by A. Schreiner in nearby *Borislav at the same time as the industry was developed in the United States. Drogobych Jews took a prominent part in oil extraction and refining, and its export was mainly in Jewish hands. Many families made fortunes in this sector. The takeover of the smaller companies by big enterprises at the end of the 19th century, however, badly hit the Jewish concerns, and the economic position of the community began to deteriorate. After World War I it became impoverished. *Ḥasidism and the *Haskalah movement spread to Drogobych at the end of the 18th century. A German biweekly printed in Hebrew characters, the *Drohobitzer Zeitung*, was published between 1883 and World War I, and brought out several Hebrew supplements entitled *Ẓiyyon* (1886–87, 1897). Toward the end of Hapsburg rule the constituency of Drogobych was represented in the Austrian parliament by a Jewish deputy, an assimilationist with sympathies for Poland, who had the backing of the authorities. He was opposed by a Zionist-supported Jewish national candidate in 1911. The authorities were accused of ballot-fixing during the elections, and the army was called out to disperse a demonstration. Shots were fired into the crowd. Thirteen Jews were killed and many injured. Drogobych remained the center of the Galician **kolel* from the 1890s until the Holocaust. Ḥayyim Shapira, the last *ẓaddik* in Drogobych, was the first of the ḥasidic *ẓaddikim* to join officially the Zionist movement. He went to Ereẓ Israel in 1922. The Jewish population of Drogobych totaled 1,924 in 1765, 2,492 in 1812, 8,055 in 1865, 8,683 in 1900, and 11,833 (about 44% of the total population) in 1921.

[Nathan Michael Gelber]

Holocaust and Postwar Periods

When World War II broke out, the town with its 17,000 Jews came under Soviet occupation. The authorities arrested the Zionist leaders and closed the Hebrew schools. Jewish refugees from western Poland found shelter in Drogobych, but most of them were deported to the Soviet interior. The Germans entered Drogobych on June 30, 1941, and immediately staged a pogrom with the help of the local Polish and Ukrainian population. About 400 Jews were brutally murdered outside the courthouse and at the Jewish cemetery. Another 300 were executed in the nearby Bronice forest in November. In March 1942 some 2,000 Jews were sent to the *Belzec extermination camp. The second mass deportation took place on August 8, with the dispatch of 2,500 Jews to the same destination, while another 600 were shot in the town itself. The ghetto was established in September. The remaining 9,000 Jews, some of whom were refugees from the nearby villages, were crowded into it. Toward the end of October an additional group consisting of 2,300 Jews was sent to Belzec, and 200 hospital patients were murdered. The surviving Jews began building hideouts or sought shelter in the nearby forest. However, the Germans thwarted their efforts by continuing the *Aktion* for the whole month of November 1942 and by ordering the death sentence for all non-Jews caught sheltering Jews. For a while the process of extermination did not affect those Jews conscripted for forced labor in the local petroleum industries. The Bronice forest became a mass grave for the Jews of Drogobych and vicinity, including all members of the Judenrat. On February 15, 1943, 450 were executed there, including 300 women. In March 800 from the labor camps were murdered. The remnants of the Jewish community tried to save themselves by hiding or by escaping to Hungary via the Carpathian Mountains, while a few tried to obtain "Aryan" papers. When the Soviet army entered Drogobych in August 1944, some 400 Jews were still alive.

After the war, Drogobych was ceded to the Ukrainian S.S.R., and most of the Jews left for Poland in transit to Israel and other countries.

[Aharon Weiss]

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DROPKIN, CELIA (1887–1956), Yiddish poet. Born Zipporah Levine in Bobruisk, Belorussia, daughter of a lumber merchant, Dropkin was raised by her widowed mother. Taught Jewish subjects by a rabbi's wife, she graduated from the Novosybko (Russian) gymnasium. She tutored in Warsaw, before continuing her studies in Kiev. There, the Hebrew writer Uri Nissan *Gnessin encouraged her writing of Russian poetry. Returning to Warsaw, then to Bobruisk, Dropkin married Samuel Shmaye Dropkin in 1909. She and their first child (born 1910) joined him in New York in 1912. Five of their six children survived into adulthood. In New York, Dropkin wrote Russian poems which she translated into Yiddish (1917) and published in *Di Naye Velt* and *Inzikh* (1920). Throughout the 1920s and 1930s, her works appeared in avant-garde publications of *Di *Yunge* and the *Inzikhistn*: *Onheyb*, *Poezye*, and *Shriftn*. Dropkin's poems – notable for their explicit sexuality, whether about love, motherhood, or death – earned her a reputation as a leading woman poet. Her short stories and poems also appeared in Abraham *Liessin's **Tsukunft*. Only a single volume of Dropkin's poems appeared during her lifetime: *In Heysn Vint* ("In the Hot Wind," 1935). Widowed in 1943, she spent her last years painting in oils and water colors. Her last published poem appeared in *Tsukunft* (April 1953).

Three years after Dropkin's death, her children published an expanded edition of her poetry, short stories, and paintings: *In Heysn Vint* (1959) includes the poems of the 1935 edition, as well as uncollected and previously unpublished poems, selected by Sasha Dillon. Another poem, "Shvere Gedanken" ("Heavy Thoughts"), was later discovered on a tape recording and appeared in *Yidishe Kultur* (1990). Poems and stories in English translation appeared in I. Howe and E. Greenberg (eds.), *A Treasury of Yiddish Poetry* (1969); I. Howe et al. (eds.), *Penguin Book of Modern Yiddish Verse* (1987); F. Forman et al. (eds.), *Found Treasures: Stories by Yiddish Women Writers* (1994); R. Whitman (ed.), *Anthology of Modern Yiddish Poetry* (1995); J. Chametzky et al. (eds.), *Jewish American Literature: A Norton Anthology* (2001); S. Bark (ed.), *Beautiful as the Moon, Radiant as the Stars: Jewish Women in Yiddish Stories* (2003).

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[Kathryn Hellerstein (2nd ed.)]

DROPSIE, MOSES AARON (1821–1905), U.S. attorney, businessman, philanthropist, and patron of Jewish learning. Dropsie was born in Philadelphia to a Dutch-Jewish immigrant father and a Christian mother. He embraced Judaism at the age of 14, and ultimately became a vigorous proponent of traditional Judaism in America. Dropsie made his livelihood in the jewelry business until he was 28, when he began the study of law. He was admitted to the bar in 1851. Although his practice was largely in business law, Dropsie became a scholar in legal history and published a number of works on Roman law, including one on the trial of Jesus. Dropsie invested very early in streetcar ventures and became the president of two traction companies. He served as chairman of the commission that supervised the construction of the South Street bridge across the Schuylkill River in 1870. An early organizer of the

Republican Party of Pennsylvania, Dropsie ran for public office only once. He became leader and officer of many Jewish communal activities, and was an admirer and disciple of Isaac *Leeser. Their sense of mutual understanding was disturbed only by their divergent sympathies in the early days of the Civil War. Dropsie was an active supporter of Leeser's short-lived Maimonides College from its inception in 1867, the first Jewish theological seminary in America. Dropsie believed that one of the major reasons for its failure was the refusal of New York Jewish leaders to give it their full support; when the Jewish Theological Seminary was organized in 1886 in New York City, he refused to lend a hand. This resentment was one of the factors which motivated his establishing a bequest for a totally new institution for higher Jewish learning. Another factor was his anger, which he also expressed in a number of pamphlets, against what he considered to be the extremism of Reform Judaism. Dropsie's will was written in 1895, while he was serving as president of *Gratz College. He assigned his fortune to the creation of Dropsie College.

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[Bertram Wallace Korn]

DROPSIE COLLEGE, independent, nontheological, academic institution dedicated to graduate instruction and research in Jewish studies and related branches of learning. It was founded in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, in 1907 as Dropsie College for Hebrew and Cognate Learning. The establishment of the institution was provided for in the will of Moses Aaron *Dropsie, dated September 17, 1895. Dropsie stated: "The increasing need in the United States for a more thorough and systematic education in Jewish lore has long been felt, and is a matter of solicitude to true Israelites, who cherish the religion of their ancestors…. [Hence] I order and direct that there be established and maintained in the City of Philadelphia a college for the promotion of and instruction in the Hebrew and cognate languages and their respective literatures and in the Rabbinical learning and literature." The will directed "that in the admission of students there shall be no distinction on account of creed, color, or sex." The college offered the Ph.D. and, from 1952 onward, the M.A. degrees in areas such as Hebrew, Arabic, and other Semitic languages, biblical and rabbinic studies, medieval Jewish philosophy, Assyriology, and Middle Eastern studies. In 1962 it instituted a program in Jewish education leading to the Ed.D. The original president of Dropsie was Mayer Sulzberger, who directed the Board of Governors selected to execute Dropsie's will. The first operating president was Cyrus *Adler, who served from the opening of the college in 1909 until his death in 1940 while holding other important positions including the chancellorship of the Jewish Theological Seminary. He was succeeded by Abraham A. *Neuman (1941–66), Abraham I. *Katsh (1968–76), Joseph Rapaport (1979–81), and David M. Goldenberg (1981–86). In 1986 the college closed its doors as a graduate school and reopened two years later as the Annenberg Research Institute for Judaic and Near Eastern Studies, a postdoctoral research center and fellowship program in Judaic and Near Eastern studies. In 1993 the institution was incorporated into the University of Pennsylvania as the Center for Judaic Studies.

The college's importance lies in that fact that when it was founded, and for several decades afterwards, it was the only non-theological institution in the United States that offered the Ph.D. in Judaic studies. As such, it attracted many distinguished scholars to its faculty (such as Cyrus H. Gordon, Benzion Halper, Leo L. Honor, Henry Malter, Max L. Margolis, Ben-Zion Netanyahu, Moshe Perlmann, Solomon L. Skoss, Bernard D. Weinryb, and Solomon Zeitlin). The faculty produced close to 250 Ph.D.s, many of whom filled positions in Judaic and related studies throughout the United States, thus spurring the growth of Jewish studies programs in the country. From its beginnings the college published the *Jewish Quarterly Review*, continuing the publication begun in England in 1888 under the editorship of I. Abrahams and C.G. Montefiore. As the only American Ph.D.-granting school in Judaic studies for several decades, Dropsie acquired an important library collection (including manuscripts and incunabula) in biblical, rabbinic, and medieval Jewish literature, as well as early American Jewish imprints.

Ironically it was the success of the college that, to a significant extent, spelled its demise. With the burgeoning of Jewish studies programs in U.S. universities during the 1950s and 1960s, Dropsie found that with its limited resources it could not compete with the larger and well-endowed universities. By the early 1980s it appeared that the college would eventually be forced to close. An attempt at a revival was made in 1981 with the appointment of David Goldenberg to the presidency of the institution. Goldenberg, a recent Dropsie graduate and then faculty member, rebuilt the faculty with young promising scholars, revived the languishing *Jewish Quarterly Review*, attracted funding for the conservation of *genizah* manuscripts, and hired professional library staff to convert the collection to the Library of Congress cataloguing system and provide online access to the library's holdings. However, the general financial situation of the College did not much improve and, finally, in 1986 the Dropsie closed.

By this time, Albert J. Wood, a member of the Board of Trustees, had induced the American Jewish philanthropist and former ambassador to Great Britain, Walter H. Annenberg, to become involved with Dropsie's future. Wood saw that while a small graduate school was no longer feasible, a postdoctoral research center in Jewish studies would fill a need. Annenberg embraced the plan, funded the construction of a new building near historic Independence Hall in Philadelphia, and supplied the new institution's annual budget. Thus Dropsie was transformed into the Annenberg Research Institute for Judaic and Near Eastern Studies. Under its first president, Bernard Lewis, the scholar of Islamic studies, the Institute opened it doors in 1988 with an annual program of invited scholars from throughout the world to work on various themes in Jewish and related studies. This program continues today as the University of Pennsylvania's Center for Judaic Studies.

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[Meir Ben-Horin / David M. Goldenberg (2nd ed.)]

DROSDOFF, MATTHEW (1908–1998), U.S. soil chemist. Born in Chicago, Drosdoff received his Ph.D. in soil science from the University of Wisconsin at Madison in 1934. He joined the U.S. Department of Agriculture and was adviser on mineral nutrition and coffee production to Colombia (1951–53), soils adviser to Bolivia (1954), soils adviser to Peru (1955–60), and chief of the Agricultural Division of the U.S. Agency for International Development (AID) in Vietnam (1960–64). From 1964 to 1966 he was the administrator of the International Agricultural Development Service, and in 1966 he became professor of soil science at Cornell University, remaining emeritus professor until his death.

Drosdoff was active in B'nai B'rith in various capacities and from 1944 to 1947 was director of the Hillel Foundation at the University of Florida.

Many of Drosdoff's contributions to scientific journals were concerned with foliar analysis of tropical tree crops. Other topics were soil composition, genesis and morphology, colloidal clays, soil surveys, and agricultural development generally. He was a fellow of the American Society of Agronomy and was honored with its international award for his many overseas services to the U.S. government.

[Samuel Aaron Miller / Ruth Rossing (2nd ed.)]

DRUCKER, DANIEL CHARLES (1918–2001), U.S. structural engineer. Drucker was born in New York and studied engineering as an undergraduate and postgraduate at Columbia University, where he obtained his Ph.D. in 1940. He taught at Cornell University in 1940–43 before serving in the U.S. Army Air Corps, after which he joined Brown University in 1946, becoming professor in 1950. He was Dean of Engineering at the University of Illinois in 1968–83. His main interests were the theory of plasticity and its application to designing metal structures. He introduced the universally accepted concept of material stability termed "Drucker's stability postulate" which governs the plastic behavior of metals in response to strain and has wide academic and practical applications. Among many honors and awards he received the National Medal of Science (1980) and was the first recipient of the American Society of Mechanical Engineers' Daniel C. Drucker Medal bestowed for outstanding contributions to mechanical engineering (1998). While at Brown University, he was active in the Providence, Rhode Island, Jewish community.

[Michael Denman (2nd ed.)]

°**DRUMONT, EDOUARD-ADOLPHE** (1844–1917), leader of the antisemitic movement in France. Originally holding strongly leftist opinions, while still an unknown journalist Drumont contributed to a number of publications, including *La Liberté* owned by the Jewish Saint-Simonist, Isaac *Péreire. In the 1880s, however, Drumont's views changed and he became associated with the activities of ultra-Catholic circles, although adhering to certain remnants of his radical social philosophy. It was on this foundation that he developed a rabid antisemitism, which became his consuming passion. His book *La France juive*, first published in 1886, describes France as subjugated to the Jews in the political, economic, social, and cultural spheres; in a short time it ran to over a hundred editions. Drumont continued his anti-Jewish propaganda in further books. In 1889 he founded the Antisemitic League (see *Antisemitic Political Parties and Organizations) and *La Libre Parole* whose policy veered between the Catholic right and social radicalism, but was invariably violently antisemitic in tone. Drumont and his paper had a considerable share in exacerbating the *Dreyfus Affair. In 1898 Drumont was elected to the chamber of deputies, but after the victory of Dreyfus' supporters he was not returned a second time; in 1909 his application for membership of the French Academy was rejected.

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[Moshe Catane]

DRUNKENNESS (Heb. שִׁכָּרוֹן, *shikkaron*).

In the Bible

Biblical, apocryphal, and ancient Near Eastern references make it clear that, far from being condemned, the use of alcoholic beverages was regarded by Jews and others as a necessary (Ecclus. 39:26; Pritchard, Texts, 598, line 89; 602, line 32) and distinctive (Ps. 104:15; Pritchard, Texts, 77c, line 12 ff.) feature of human life. A feast was inconceivable without wine, and Proverbs 9:1 ff. speaks of Wisdom personified offering food and wine. Indeed, complete abstinence was associated with a turning away from civilization (Jer. 35; see *Rechabites). Likewise, the *Nazirite avoidance of alcohol is of a piece with their refraining from cutting the hair and from participating in the burial of the dead, two other hallmarks of civilization (Numbers 6). *Wine was valued for bringing joy and banishing sorrow (Judg. 9:13; Ps. 104:15; cf. Pritchard, loc. cit., line 21; Prov. 31:6–7; Eccles. 10:19; Ecclus. 31:27–28; 40:20) and was used cultically in libations (Ex. 30:40–41) and the festive sacral meal (Deut. 14:26).

Intoxication, however, was deprecated (cf. Ecclus. 31:25–31; 39:27), both in the cult – in keeping with the biblical rejection of the Dionysiac element of other ancient religions (Lev. 10:8–11; I Sam. 1:13–16; Ezek. 44:21) – and in daily life. Wisdom literature warns that drunkenness brings poverty, woes, quarrels, wounds, strange visions, etc. (Prov. 20:1; 21:17;

23:19–21:29–35; 31:4–5; cf. I Esd. 3:19–24) and causes kings to err in judgment (Prov. 31:4–5; cf. Lev. 10:8–11 (priests); Isa. 28:7 (priest and prophet)). Several narratives depict the disgrace and sometimes death of drunkards (Noah, Gen. 9:20–27; Lot, Gen. 19:31–38; Nabal, I Sam. 25:36; Amnon, II Sam. 13:28–29; Elah, I Kings 16:9; Ben-Hadad, I Kings 20:16; Ahasuerus, Esth. 1:10; cf. Holofernes, Judith 13:2). The prophets frequently condemn drunkenness, particularly among the wealthy and the leaders (Isa. 28:1ff.; 56:11–12; cf. Prov. 31:4–5), associating it with moral insensitivity (Isa. 5:11–12, 22–23; Amos 2:8), licentiousness (Hos. 4:11–12, 18), and forgetting God (Hos. 4:11–12; cf. Job 1:4–5). Drunkenness and gluttony are among the charges against the insubordinate son (Deut. 21:20). However, Isaiah 51:17–18, like the Ugaritic Aqhat epic (in Pritchard, Texts, 150b, line 32–33), reflects a view that filial duties include helping a parent made unsteady by alcohol to walk. The occasion of drunkenness might be private drinking (Noah, Lot) or group celebration (Nabal, Amnon, Ben-Hadad, Ahasuerus), including carousing on religious festivals (Hos. 4:11ff.). Drinking songs and music are mentioned at such celebrations (Isa. 24:7–9; Amos 6:5–6; Ps. 69:13). One type of gathering that appears, especially in the light of extra – and post – biblical attestations, to have been conducive to drunkenness is the *marzeaḥ*, referring at times to a joyous banquet (Amos 6:7), at others to a mourning meal (Jer. 16:5)

[Jeffrey Howard Tigay]

In the Talmud

Basing himself on the fact that the death of Nadab and Abihu is followed by the injunction against priests drinking wine or strong drink when officiating, R. Simeon attributes their death to the fact that they entered the sanctuary while in a state of intoxication (Lev. R. 12:1). Judges must not render decisions after drinking wine (Er. 64a). As a result, judges were forbidden to eat dates because of their possible intoxicating effects (Ket. 10b). The judges of the *Sanhedrin had to abstain from wine during the entire hearing of a capital case (Sanh. 5:1; Sanh. 42a). The criterion for drunkenness is whether the person affected is capable of addressing himself properly to a king. A quarter of a "log" (approx. 3.2 oz., 100 milliliters) of wine was regarded as sufficient to cause intoxication, but it was not a rigid rule. If he later walked a mil (approx. 3,300 ft., 1,100 meters) or slept, a drunken person was considered sober, unless he drank strong Italian wine, in which case he must walk at least three mils (Er. 64a–b). A drunken person is forbidden to conduct a service. Based upon High Priest Eli's reprimand of Hannah (I Sam. 1:13–15), the Talmud lays down that if a person prays in a state of drunkenness, his prayer is an abomination (Ber. 31b). A person under the influence of alcohol is legally responsible for his actions unless he has reached the state of oblivion attributed to Lot (cf. Gen. 19:31–36; Er. 65a). The Bible adopted an ambivalent attitude toward wine, and there are several statements in the Talmud concerning the virtues of wine and its beneficial effects on health (cf. Er. 65a–b). There are many traditions that relate to the negative effects of drink on everyday life. One example that may be cited is the legend that when Noah was about to plant his vineyard, Satan buried in the soil carcasses of a sheep, a lion, a pig, and a monkey. As a result when a person indulges mildly he becomes sheepish, further indulging makes him feel like a lion. Overindulgence causes him to befoul himself like a pig, and when he becomes roaring drunk he literally "makes a monkey of himself" (Tanḥ., Noaḥ, 14). In one chapter of the Midrash (Lev. R. 12:1) there are three statements with regard to drunkenness. One interprets Proverbs 23:31 homiletically to mean that "while the drunkard has his eyes on the cup, the publican has his eyes on his pocket." The second tells of the despairing attempt on the part of the sons of a drunken addict to rid him of his vice, while the third is an account of a drunkard who was determined to make up the absence of one bottle from his daily quota of 12. Some scholars have assumed that drunkenness was not a serious problem in the talmudic period, and so have understood these traditions to reflect a lighthearted, almost jocular attitude toward the phenomenon. Others have suggested that these traditions may reflect not the rarity of drunkenness, but rather its frequency. While the Talmud states a positive injunction that a person shall get so drunk on *Purim that he cannot distinguish between "Blessed be Mordecai" and "Cursed be Haman," the disastrous results of an actual incident in which two famous amora'im, Rabbah and R. Zera, were involved (Meg. 7b), would seem to represent a serious criticism of this tradition. As a result, later rabbinic authorities were at pains to point out that this talmudic permissibility was not to be taken literally.

[Louis Isaac Rabinowitz / Stephen G. Wald (2nd ed.)]

Modern Times

Interest in contemporary drinking among Jews stems from the mystery of drinking not being a problem. Writers in many countries during recent centuries have commented on the comparative sobriety of the Jews. Multinational statistics of arrests for drunkenness, incidences of alcoholic psychosis, and alcoholic admissions to hospitals have consistently revealed a marked underrepresentation of Jews. From the 1940s, social scientists in the United States have systematically studied drinking patterns of Jewish youth and adults. The consistent finding has been that proportionately more Jews than other ethnic or religious segments of the population drink wine, beer, or spirits, but proportionately fewer Jews are heavy drinkers or alcoholics. Sophisticated socio-cultural-psychological hypotheses, rejecting rational blame-avoidance as an adequate explanation, relate Jewish sobriety to the early initiation of children in a family-centered, religiously oriented, moderate drinking pattern. The attitudinal values thus engendered are presumed to prevent later excess in drinking. An alternative but untested hypothesis proposes a genetic immunity to alcoholism.

Leading studies through the late 1960s suggested that the more acculturated Jewish youth tended to adopt the drinking patterns of the general population. Thus the frequency of drinking was highest among Jews whose religious orientation is Orthodox, lower among those whose orientation is Conservative, lower still among the Reform, and lowest among the secular, i.e., those who deny any feeling of religious association. But the frequency of drinking large amounts on an occasion, of getting drunk, or of getting into trouble on account of drinking ran in the opposite direction, from highest among the secular to lowest among the Orthodox. This suggested to some sociologists that alcoholism among Jews may increase as acculturation proceeded. But two antithetic findings reported that Jews who ostensively drink in the acculturated style consider themselves to have overindulged or "been drunk" after substantially smaller quantities than non-Jews; and the acculturated drinking style tends to be abandoned on settling down and starting to raise children. Only in the United States has Jewish drinking been studied extensively and systematically, but observers in many countries continue to report the pattern of sobriety. Some theorists speculated that the pattern may change in a Jewish state and, that drunkenness is more common among some Eastern Jews than among Westerners. However, although statistics on admission of alcoholics to mental hospitals in Israel in former years are not known, in 1966 78 new cases were admitted (2% of all new cases; in some countries alcoholism accounts for up to 25% of admissions to mental hospitals). The total admission of alcoholics was 154 in 1966 (2% of all admissions); and during a six-year period, only 23 deaths were attributed to alcoholism or its complications. Recent data on Jews in the United States are not available, but in New York State in 1950 0.2% of new cases were alcoholics. There was some evidence of greater alcoholic indulgence by Oriental-born Jews in Israel (but not in those of Oriental descent). Asian and African-born male Jews had twice the rate of first admission for alcoholism to mental hospitals than European-born men did. Israel-born Jews, of whatever descent, had only a third of the rate of the European-born. The rates in women of all origin groups were negligible. Thus there were no signs at the time of serious alcohol problems developing in Israel. However, with the development of a "pub" and "disco" culture among Israeli youth through the 1980s and 1990s and the influx of immigrants from the former Soviet Union with its more marked drinking tradition, not to mention growing disaffection in the economic underbelly of Israeli society, drinking has come to be perceived as more of a problem, though still not reaching the proportions characteristic of other societies.

[Mark Keller]

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DRUSILLA (b. 38 C.E.), daughter of *Agrippa I and *Cypros. Drusilla had been promised in marriage by her father to Epiphanes, son of King Antiochus of Commagene. The agreement was canceled, however, when Epiphanes refused to convert to Judaism, after originally agreeing to do so. Drusilla was later married by her brother *Agrippa II to Azizus, king of Emesa, who had consented to be circumcised. Shortly afterward, a Jewish magician from Cyprus persuaded Drusilla to leave her husband and marry his friend *Felix, the procurator of Judea. Out of this marriage a son was born, named Agrippa. Josephus alludes to the disappearance of this son and his wife during the eruption of Vesuvius in 79 C.E.

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[Isaiah Gafni]

°DRUSIUS (Van Der Driesche), JOHANN CLEMENS (1550–1616), Dutch theologian, Hebraist, and Bible scholar. A native of Oudenarde (East Flanders), he was professor of Oriental languages at Oxford (from 1572) and later in Leiden, Ghent, and Franeker. Drusius wrote several books on Hebrew grammar, including *Alphabetum ebraicum vetus* (1587) and *Grammatica linguae sanctae nova* (1612). He also edited Elijah *Levita's Hebrew-Yiddish dictionary, *Shemot Devarim* (*Nomenclator Eliae Levitae*, 1652), adding to it the Arabic; his son Johann added the Greek. He wrote several works of biblical exegesis.

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DRUYA (Pol. **Druja**), town in Molodechno district, Belarus. The Jewish community is mentioned in the late 16th century. Many Jews there were occupied in the local soap industry and others traded in farm products, like flax, grain, and hides. They dominated trade. In the late 18th century a beautiful synagogue was constructed. The community numbered 1,305 in 1766; 2,366 in 1847; 3,006 in 1897 (out of a total population of 4,742); 1,011 (41%) in 1921; and 1,800 in 1925. The author Alter *Druyanow was born in Druya. After WWI, Jewish merchants resumed their trade in agricultural products; others were artisans. The center of cultural life was the Bund-dominated Yiddish school.

[Shmuel Spector (2nd ed.)]

Holocaust Period

On the eve of World War II the Jewish population of Druya numbered about 1,500. Between October 1939 and June 1941 Druya was occupied by the Soviets. On July 6, 1941, after the outbreak of the German-Soviet war, the Germans entered the town. During the first days of the war many people accused of allegiance to the Soviets were killed. In April 1942 two ghettos were created, one for workers, the second for non-workers. On

July 2, 1942, the Germans surrounded the ghettos in order to liquidate them. The inhabitants tried to break out and some groups succeeded in reaching the forests. In order to prevent a mass escape, the Germans shot at Jews and set the ghettos aflame. Some of those who escaped to the forest joined the partisans around the village of Balnia and participated in activities against the Germans. About 50–60 persons survived.

[Aharon Weiss]

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DRUYANOW, ALTER (**Asher, Avraham Abba**; 1870–1938), Hebrew writer, editor, and Zionist leader. Born in Druya, in the district of Vilna, he studied at the Volozhin yeshivah in his youth and then turned to commerce. In 1890 he published his first essay in *Ha-Meliẓ,* under the pen name "Alef, Beit, Gimmel, Dalet," and from then on was a frequent contributor to the Hebrew press (*Mi-Mizraḥ u-mi-Ma'arav; Ha-Shilo'aḥ*, etc.), using various pen names. From 1900 to 1905 he was the secretary of the Committee for the Settlement of Ereẓ Israel in Odessa. In 1906 he immigrated to Palestine, but returned to Russia in 1909 and until 1914 was editor of *Ha-Olam*, the official organ of the World Zionist Organization. In 1921 he settled permanently in Palestine. Together with *Bialik and *Ravnitzky, he edited the first four volumes of *Reshumot*, a periodical devoted to the study of folklore (1919–26). His literary work includes Zionist articles, descriptive writing, and literary criticism. He is best remembered for two compilations: *Ketavim le-Toledot Ḥibbat Ẓiyyon ve-Yishuv Ereẓ Yisrael* ("Writings on the History of Ḥibbat Zion and the Settlement of Palestine," 3 vols., 1919–32 (re-edited by Shulamit Laskov, 1982)) and *Sefer ha-Bediḥah ve-ha-Ḥiddud* ("The Book of Jokes and Witticisms," enlarged 3-vol. edition, 1935–38), a collection of Jewish folk humor with notes on the origin and history of the contents. A two-volume selection of his essays was published in 1943–45.

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DRZEWIECKI, HENRYK (**Hercel Rosenbaum**; 1902–1937), Polish novelist and critic. An avowed Communist, Drzewiecki wrote essays and reviews advocating revolution in order to abolish Poland's economic misery. His controversial novel *Kwaśniacy* (1934) greatly influenced Polish proletarian literature and the writer only escaped imprisonment by fleeing first to Paris and then to the U.S.S.R. He was executed during the Stalinist purges of the late 1930s. He was rehabilitated in 1956.

DUALISM, the religious or philosophical doctrine which holds that reality consists, or is the outcome, of two ultimate principles which cannot be reduced to one more ultimate first cause. Dualistic systems have appeared in philosophical (metaphysical) as well as moral forms, both of which have exerted considerable influence on the history of religions, including the history of Judaism.

Philosophical Dualism

In the history of Western thought, philosophical dualism goes back to *Platonism and *neoplatonism which developed and spread the idea of an opposition between spirit and matter, spirit being the higher, purer, and eternal principle, whereas matter was the lower and imperfect form of being, subject to change and corruption. Applied to the understanding of the nature of man, this meant that man was composed of a lower, material part (the body), and a higher, spiritual part (the soul). This dualism could, and not infrequently did, lead to a contempt for the body and for "this world" in general, and encouraged a moral outlook which held *asceticism (or, in its more extreme forms, total renunciation of the world) to be the way by which the soul could liberate itself from the hold of the body and, purifying itself of the bodily passions, render itself worthy again of returning to its celestial and spiritual home. This view exerted considerable influence on Jewish thinking in the Hellenistic period (see *Philo) and in the philosophy and *Musar literature of the middle ages, though its more radical forms were partly inhibited by the rabbinic tradition which considered the physical universe and its enjoyment as essentially good, provided they were hallowed in the service of God.

Moral Dualism

Although moral dualism generally tended to express itself in the forms of a thoroughgoing metaphysical dualism, the term is justified inasmuch as it reflects the basic doctrine that good and evil were the outcome or product of two distinct and ultimate first causes. The best known form of this dualism is the ancient religion of Persia (Zoroastrianism), according to which history is a cosmic struggle between the powers of good, i.e., light, and evil, i.e., darkness. This system has the logical advantage of accounting for evil in terms of a separate, independent principle, and thus exonerating the "good" creator and God from responsibility for the existence, in the world, of evil and sin. On the other hand it raises many other problems and was unacceptable to any form of *monotheism. Some commentators see in the declaration that God "formed the light and created darkness, is the maker of peace and the creator of evil" (Isa. 45:7) the prophet's polemic against this dualism (a polemic, the harshness of which is mitigated by the wording in which this verse appears in the daily morning prayer: "the maker of peace and creator of all" Hertz, Prayer 109). The two types of "philosophical" and "moral" dualism were capable of fusing and merging in various combinations. The body, matter, and "this world" could become identified, or at least associated, with darkness and evil, and the soul, with goodness and light. Another pair of opposites, "spirit" and "flesh," though not identical with Platonic dualism, was yet sufficiently similar to combine with it in various ways. It is this dualism which underlies the theology and anthropology of the *Dead Sea (*Qumran) sect, and of the epistles of Paul in the New Testament. *Gnosticism presents a peculiar combination of the two types of dualism: this world and our bodily existence, being characterized by evil, are the work of a lower, imperfect deity (the "demiurge" or creator), above whom there is a completely distinct, more transcendent and spiritual, good and "true" god. This higher deity intervenes and "saves" the elect from the power of the evil creator who holds them imprisoned in matter and in this world. Some of the gnostic sects equated this lower and evil demiurge with the god of the Hebrew Bible, i.e., with the Jewish God and giver of the law. Gnostic dualism has therefore been described as a metaphysical antisemitism. The gnostic rejection of creation and the cosmos, as well as of the biblical law, as the work of a lower, evil, or at least imperfect, power led in some cases to manifestations of *antinomianism, and in others to a very rigorous asceticism and rejection of this world.

Dualism in Jewish History

Whether or not Isaiah 45:7 is a polemical reference to Persian dualism (see above), it is evident that dualistic tendencies asserted themselves in the Second Temple period and in the first centuries of the common era. These were of a neoplatonic, later also of a gnostic, character. In a general way it can be said that apart from the "heretical" dualistic doctrines of some gnostic sectarians (see *Minim*), Judaism could accommodate a "mitigated dualism," i.e., doctrines and attitudes which express metaphysical or moral contrasts in a dualistic manner, but without attributing to them an ultimate character or calling in question the sovereignty of the one omnipotent and good Creator God. This mitigated dualism can be found in some of the biblical *Apocrypha (e.g., *Jubilees or the Testaments of the *Patriarchs) and especially in the writings of the Dead Sea sect, whose doctrines of the spirit and the flesh, of the spirits (or angels), of purity and impurity, i.e., of light and darkness, come as near to a dualistic system as Judaism could tolerate. Yet even these beliefs can be characterized as a "dualism under God," since the spirits of light and darkness were held to exist through God's inscrutable will and to be subject to him. The Platonic dualistic spirit-matter (i.e., the realm of ideas as against the material world) penetrated rabbinic Judaism in the form of the soul-body dualism (cf. Plato's *Phaedo*, 67), and the belief in the preexistence of the soul. The doctrine of the immortality of the (spiritual) soul reflects, in this respect, a more dualistic anthropology than the doctrine of the resurrection of the body (see *Eschatology, Immortality of *Soul, *Resurrection). Rabbinic theology in general tended to reject or at least to mitigate dualistic tendencies. Thus the doctrine of the good and evil *yeẓer* (see Good and Evil *Inclination) is a transposition onto a more psychological (and hence theologically more harmless) level of what, for the Qumran covenanters and others, were metaphysical opposites. Talmudic literature has many polemical references to those who believe in *shetei reshuyyot* ("two powers"). Other polemical references are directed at the gnostic distinction between the supreme God on the one hand, and the Creator-Lawgiver on the other. Thus the *kofer ba-ikkar* (one who denies the essence of the faith) is said to be one who denies his creator and the giver of the Law (cf. Tosef. Shav. 3:7).

Dualism in Jewish Mysticism

The esoteric discipline and ecstatic visionary practices of the early *Merkabah mystics, while exhibiting certain gnostic traits, certainly did not share the basic dualism of the great gnostic systems. Dualistic elements, however, were not absent, as, e.g., in the doctrine of *Metatron (originally Javel) as the "lesser YHWH." In fact, the term *yoẓer bereshit* ("Creator") was deprived of any possible gnostic connotation by being used, in the **Shi'ur Komah* literature, for the manifestation of God on the Throne of Glory. Another kind of dualism is involved in the radical distinction made by the kabbalists between the hidden, inaccessible *deus absconditus* (the *Ein Sof*), and the godhead as manifested in the **Sefirot*. The latter two are occasionally described in a dualistic manner (right-left, male-female), but the essential point of the kabbalists was precisely the ultimate mystical unity behind the multiple manifestations.

The dualistic tendency is, perhaps, most marked in the kabbalistic treatment of the problem of evil. The profound sense of the reality of evil brought many kabbalists to posit a realm of the demonic, the *sitra aḥra* (or "*aẓilut* of the left"), a kind of negative mirror image of the "side of holiness" with which it was locked in combat. Nevertheless, here too it is necessary to distinguish between dualistic tendency and dualistic theory. It is precisely because kabbalistic doctrine does not know an ultimate dualism, that it is forced to seek the origin of the demonic realm of the *kelippot* somewhere in the sphere of divine emanation – whether in the *sefirah gevurah* (*din*) or (as in Lurianic kabbalism) in even more hidden aspects of the godhead. More than anything else, it is this awareness of the reality of evil, coupled with an essentially monotheistic rather than dualistic theology of the Zoroastrian type, which gives kabbalistic speculation such an audacious and indeed all but "heretical" quality. In medieval philosophy, the solution proposed for the problem of evil and its possible dualistic implications was the theory that evil had no substantial existence of its own but was a negation of good, even as darkness was the absence of light (cf. *Maimonides, *Guide*, 3:8; see also *Good and Evil). The first Jewish philosopher to argue systematically and at length against dualistic notions was *Saadiah Gaon in his *Beliefs and Opinions* (treatise 2).

Prophetic Dualism

While Judaism can thus be said to have been consistently anti-dualistic in the sense of recognizing only one ultimate cause and source of all being – including the opposites characteristic of being – there is another sense in which biblical and prophetic religion can be said to be dualistic. It assumes a radical distinction between the absolute being of God and the contingent being of all other (i.e., created) things. Contact and communion with God is possible in love, obedience, or mystical contemplation, but no identity of the creature with the creator is possible. Systems of thought which assert that all being is ultimately one and that the duality of God and the world (or God and the soul) can be transcended in a more profound unity have not been able to maintain themselves in any significant measure in Judaism. Pantheism and other forms of metaphysical or mystical monism (see *God, Conceptions of) have never been dominant Jewish philosophies.

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[R.J. Zwi Werblowsky]

°DU BARTAS, GUILLAUME DE SALLUSTE (1544–1590), French poet and diplomat. Du Bartas served Henry of Navarre as ambassador to England and Scotland. A Gascon Protestant, he opposed the paganism of the Pléiade group of poets and wrote baroque verse imbued with the spirit of the Bible. *Judith* (1573) commemorates the apocryphal Jewish heroine. The epic *La Semaine* (1578), which retells the Creation story of Genesis, and its sequel, *La Seconde Semaine* (begun in 1584, but never completed), set out to unfold the history of mankind to the beginning of the Christian era. The *Semaines* are outstanding for their lofty tone and moral purpose, though the style and imagery are often grotesque. Their encyclopedic conception betrays the influence of Du Bartas' erudite contemporary, Guy *Le Fèvre de la Boderie. Du Bartas' Hebrew scholarship may have been modest but his respect for and interest in Hebrew studies and the *Kabbalah (typical of the French humanists) may be deduced from the lengthy "Hommage au langage hebrieu" in the *Seconde Semaine.* Du Bartas made a powerful impression in the 16th and 17th centuries and probably influenced Hugo, as well as Milton and Goethe, in translation.

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[Godfrey Edmond Silverman]

DUBERMAN, MARTIN B. (1930–), U.S. historian and playwright. Duberman, who was born in New York City, entered Yale University in 1948 and received his M.A. and Ph.D. from Harvard University. From 1957 to 1961, he was history instructor at Yale. He then became an assistant professor at Princeton University and full professor in 1967. Duberman's research centered on the "middle period" of American history, with special attention given to the Civil War and Reconstruction, American radicalism, and intellectual history. His publications include *Charles Francis Adams, 1807–86* (1961) and *James Russell Lowell* (1966). Duberman, himself an advocate of dissent and deeply concerned with the advancement of human rights, edited *Antislavery Vanguard: New Essays on the Abolitionists* (1965). He also wrote a number of plays, notably *In White America* (1964), a documentary on the American black.

After exposing glaring instances of homophobia in his history *Black Mountain: An Exploration of Community* (1971), Duberman himself became the target of homophobic attacks from his academic peers. Subsequently, he became involved in gay activism on academic, public, and private levels. With fellow gay scholars, he founded the Gay Academic Union (1973) and joined the National Gay and Lesbian Task Force.

In 1971, Duberman resigned from Princeton to become Distinguished Professor of History in the field of gay and lesbian studies at Lehman College, the City University of New York (CUNY), where he continued to teach. He was the founder and first executive director of the Center for Lesbian and Gay Studies (CLAGS) at CUNY. The Martin Duberman Fellowship is a CLAGS endowment awarded to a senior scholar (tenured university professor or advanced independent scholar) from any country doing scholarly research on the lesbian/gay/bisexual/transgender/queer (LGBTQ) experience.

Other publications by Duberman include *The Uncompleted Past* (1969), *The Memory Bank* (1970), *Visions of Kerouac: A Play* (1977), *About Time: Exploring the Gay Past* (1986), *Paul Robeson* (1989), *Hidden from History: Reclaiming the Gay and Lesbian Past* (1989), *Cures: A Gay Man's Odyssey* (1991), *Mother Earth: An Epic Play on the Life of Emma Goldman* (1991), *Stonewall* (1993), *Midlife Queer: Autobiography of a Decade, 1971–1981* (1996), *A Queer World: The Center for Lesbian and Gay Studies Reader* (1997), *Left Out: The Politics of Exclusion: Essays 1964–2002* (2002), and the novel *Haymarket* (2003).

[Mark D. Hirsch / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

DUBIN, MORDECAI (1889–1956), *Agudat Israel leader in Latvia. Dubin represented his movement in the Latvian houses of representatives (1919–34). From 1920 until 1940 he was also the chairman of the Jewish community in Riga. He acquired a reputation among all sectors of the Jewish population as a negotiator and mediator (*shtadlan*) with the government on Jewish public matters and particularly for Jewish individual needs. An adherent of *Chabad Ḥasidism, in 1927 he played a decisive part in obtaining permission for Joseph Isaac *Schneersohn (the "Lubavitcher rabbi") to leave the Soviet Union. Even after the liquidation of the democratic regime in Latvia, Dubin, who was personally close to the dictator Ulmanis, continued to intercede with the government to obtain alleviation of anti-Jewish economic measures. With the incorporation of Latvia into the Soviet Union in June 1940, Dubin was arrested with other communal leaders and deported. He was released in 1942 and subsequently lived under police supervision and extreme poverty in Kuibyshev and Moscow. In spite of his personal plight he succeeded in extending help to many Latvian Jews who passed through these cities. In 1946 he returned to

Riga, but was forced to leave after attacks against him were published in the local Communist press. Again arrested in 1948, he died in a concentration camp near Moscow. His remains were buried in the Jewish cemetery in Malakhovka, a suburb of Moscow.

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[Yehuda Slutsky]

DUBINSKY, DAVID (1892–1982), U.S. labor leader. Born in Brest-Litovsk, Belorussia, Dubinsky was brought up in the Polish city of Lodz, where he became a master baker and secretary of the militant Lodz Bakers Union organized by the *Bund. He was arrested and imprisoned for organizing strikes against his father's bakery, and was exiled to Siberia in 1909 for making inflammatory speeches. He managed to escape en route, however, and at the end of 1910 immigrated to the United States. He joined his elder brother in New York and obtained work through the International Ladies Garment Workers' Union (ILGWU) becoming an apprentice in Cutters' Local 10. He devoted more of his time to the Socialist party than to trade union affairs until larger numbers of East European Socialist Jews entered Local 10, but in 1918 he was elected to its executive board. In 1921 he was chosen president of the Cutters' Local. Dubinsky also rose rapidly in the ILGWU, where he joined the anti-Communist majority. He was elected to its general executive board in 1923. In 1928 he played a leading part in bringing back Benjamin *Schlesinger as a compromise candidate for president to avoid a split in the union, and in the following year was himself elected secretary-treasurer. On Schlesinger's death in 1932 he became president, a position he held until 1966.

During the 1930s Dubinsky dominated the ILGWU and was a powerful force in the American labor movement. He favored cooperation with the employers in rationalizing the complex structure of the garment industry and made his union a symbol of progressive unionism. In 1934 he was elected a vice president of the AFL. Almost immediately he became embroiled in the controversy between the proponents of industrial unionism and the supporters of the old-style craft union. He played a leading part in the CIO which he helped to found in 1935, his union being the second largest in the country. In 1936 he resigned his vice-presidency of the AFL in protest against their support of the craft unions against the industrial unions, and persuaded the ILGWU to give their backing to the latter. For two years from 1938 the ILGWU was isolated from the American labor movement, but in 1940 Dubinsky brought it back into the AFL. In his capacity as president of the ILGWU for more than 30 years, he transformed the union from a struggling entity to one with assets in the hundreds of millions of dollars. Under his guidance, the union took on issues such as the provision of health insurance, severance pay, retirement benefits, and a 35-hour workweek. He also worked to abolish the sweatshops that were prevalent in the industry.

An influential figure in United States politics, Dubinsky refused to endorse Tammany Hall, New York's political machine, and supported Franklin D. *Roosevelt for president in 1932 and 1936. To this end he helped to create the American Labor Party (ALP) in 1936. In 1944, when Communists began to dominate the ALP, he helped to form the Liberal Party. After World War II Dubinsky was one of the founders of the anti-Communist International Confederation of Free Trade Unions. In 1945 he served once again as a vice president and member of the executive council of the AFL, even after it merged with the CIO in 1955. Due largely to his efforts to eliminate corrupt union leaders, the AFL-CIO adopted the anti-racket codes in 1957.

In 1969 U.S. President Lyndon Johnson awarded Dubinsky the Presidential Medal of Freedom, which cited him as "a national leader of foresight and compassion. He has advanced the cause of the workingman in America – and the broader cause of social justice in the world, with unfailing skill and uncommon distinction." In 1993 Dubinsky was inducted into the Labor Hall of Fame.

As a self-styled "Jewish worker," Dubinsky was concerned with the special problems facing the Jewish community as a consequence of events in Germany and World War II. He was a member of the executive council of the Jewish Labor Committee founded in 1933, engaged in relief efforts on behalf of refugees, and became a staunch supporter of Israel and in particular of the *Histadrut, Israel's General Federation of Labor. A hospital in Beersheba, financed by his union, carries his name. Dubinsky wrote *David Dubinsky: A Life with Labor* (1977).

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[Melvyn Dubofsky / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

DUBISLAV, WALTER ERNST OTTO (1895–1937), German philosopher. Born in Berlin, he studied mathematics with Hilbert at Goettingen, served on the Russian front in World War I, and took his degree in philosophy at Berlin after the war. He became professor at the Technische Hochschule in Berlin in 1931, and fled in 1936 to Prague. Dubislav was a logical positivist and conventionalist, influenced by Aristotle, Bolzano, and Frege. He was critical of Kant and a supporter of Fries, and was, with Reichenbach, a leader of the "Gesellschaft fuer empirische Philosophie." Dubislav participated in *Dassystematische Woerterbuch der Philosophie* (1923) and wrote *Ueber die Definition* (1925, 1931^3), *Die Friessche Lehre von der Begruendung* (1926), *Die Philosophie der Mathematik in der Gegenwart* (1932), and *Naturphilosophie* (1933).

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[Richard H. Popkin]

DUBLIN, capital of the Republic of Ireland. A small Jewish group apparently lived there in the Middle Ages since the Exchequer of the Jews at Westminster had an Irish branch. In the middle of the 17th century, some Spanish and Portuguese Marranos settled in the city, including Francisco and Manuel Lopes Pereira and Jacome Faro. According to tradition, a synagogue was founded in Crane Lane around 1660. Military operations in Ireland after the revolution of 1689 attracted a few more Sephardi Jews, and the community knew a short period of relative prosperity. In 1718 a cemetery was purchased with the assistance of the London Sephardi community, which advanced the Dublin congregation money to meet its debts and lent it some scrolls of the Law. During the 18th century, the original Sephardi element died out, and was replaced by Ashkenazi immigrants. By 1791 the congregation had fallen into complete decay and the borrowed scrolls were returned. The community was revived in 1882 by East European immigrants. It increased considerably with the Russo-Jewish immigration at the close of the century. Many of the Jews of that time engaged in peddling, small business, and small financial transactions (moneylending and pawnbroking). In the course of time the Jews moved into shopkeeping, manufacturing, and the professions. There has been considerable emigration over the years, especially among the younger generation. In 1968 the Jewish population numbered approximately 3,600 and maintained seven synagogues (including one Progressive) with the usual congregational institutions. James Joyce's *Ulysses* depicts certain elements of Jewish life in Dublin at the beginning of the century. Paradoxically, many literary visitors to today's Dublin come to see the route taken on "Bloomsday" by James Joyce's Leopold Bloom. Isaac *Herzog, later chief rabbi of Israel, was chief rabbi of Dublin 1919–36. Immanuel *Jakobovits was chief rabbi from 1949 and Isaac Cohen from 1959. Robert *Briscoe was lord mayor from 1956–57 and from 1961–62, and his son in the 1980s. In the mid-1990s the Jewish population numbered approximately 1,300. In 2004, after some renewed growth, it was estimated at about 1,500.

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[Cecil Roth]

DUBNO, city in *Volhynia, Ukraine. Jews in Dubno are first mentioned in documents of 1532 in connection with the ownership of cattle. The oldest tombstone inscription in the Jewish cemetery dates from 1581. At the beginning of the 17th century Isaiah ha-Levi *Horowitz, author of *Shenei Luḥot ha-Berit*, was rabbi in Dubno. The community was represented on the council of the province (*galil*) of Volhynia (see *Councils of the Lands). On the eve of the *Chmielnicki uprising there were about 2,000 Jews in Dubno. In 1648–49, most of the Jews were massacred because the Poles refused to permit them to take refuge in the fortress. According to tradition the graves of the martyrs were located near the eastern wall of the great synagogue, where it was customary to mourn them on the Ninth of Av.

The Jewish community was reestablished shortly afterward under the patronage of the owners of the town, the princes Lubomirski, who accorded it special privileges in 1699 and 1713. By the beginning of the 18th century Dubno had become the largest Jewish community in Volhynia, being represented on the Council of the Four Lands and earning the sobriquet "Dubno the Great" (*Dubno Rabbati*). Its delegate, R. Meir ben Joel, was chosen to be head (*parnas*) of the Council of the Four Lands in the late 1750s. As many blood libels occurred then in Poland, R. Meir sent his relative R. Eliokim-Zelig of Yampol to the pope in Rome, to get bull against the libels, which he published in Latin and Polish. Jewish poll tax payers numbered 1,923 in 1765. The great fair of *Lvov was moved to Dubno between 1773 and 1793, and the city became an important commercial center. The most famous of the 18th-century Jewish preachers of Lithuania, Jacob *Kranz, was known as the Maggid of Dubno after the city with which he was most closely associated. In the 19th century Haskalah (Enlightenment) activists like the physician and writer Reuben Kalischer, the lexicographer and poet Solomon *Mandelkern (author of a monumental Bible concordance), and the poet and writer Abraham Baer *Gottlober lived there. In 1780 the Jewish population numbered 2,325, in 1847, 6,330, and in 1897, 7,108 (about half the total). A main occupation was dealing in grain and hops. During World War I and the civil war in Russia (to 1921), the city changed hands a number of times and the community suffered extreme hardship, mainly of an economic nature. In March 1918 the Cossacks staged a pogrom killing 18 Jews. While Dubno belonged to Poland (1921–39), the community maintained many cultural institutions and there was an active Zionist and pioneer movement. In 1921 they numbered 5,315 (total population 9,146), and in 1931, 7,364 (total population 12,696).

[Yehuda Slutsky / Shmuel Spector (2nd ed.)]

Holocaust and Postwar Periods

After the outbreak of World War II Dubno was occupied by Soviet forces (Sept. 18, 1939). The Soviet authorities liquidated the Jewish community institutions, made all political parties illegal, transferred Jewish welfare institutions to the municipality, and allowed only one Jewish activity – the public kitchen for refugees from the West. All Jewish economic enterprises and buildings were nationalized. Jewish leaders, among them David Perl, president of the Zionist Organization, were arrested. When the German-Soviet war broke out (June 1941), hundreds of young Jewish men escaped from Dubno to the Soviet interior. After the Germans entered Dubno (June 25), the local Ukrainian population indulged in acts of murder and robbery, while the Germans extracted 100,000 rubles ($20,000) from the Jewish community. On July 22, 1941, 80 Jews were executed by the Nazis in the local cemetery; one month later 900 were killed. The Germans organized a Judenrat headed by Konrad Tojbenfeld. The Jewish population was conscripted for forced labor and many succumbed to the unbearable conditions. The winter that followed (1941–42) was marked by hunger and disease, despite the attempts to provide relief by organizing public kitchens. Two ghettoes were established at the beginning of April 1942, one for the workers and their families and the second for the rest of the Jews. On May 26–27, 1942, the Germans murdered all the Jews in the second ghetto, burying them in mass graves on the outskirts of the city. In August 1942 Jews from the environs and survivors were brought to the first ghetto. On October 5, 1942, about 4,500 inhabitants of the ghetto were murdered. The remaining 353, needed as artisans, were murdered on October 23, 1942, and the last 14 Jews escaped. Two partisan groups were formed by Dubno escapees. One headed by Isaac Wasserman was wiped out by the Germans, the other suffered losses in battles and the last 16 fighters joined the Polish self-defense units which fought the Ukrainian UPA. When the war was over only about 300 Jews from Dubno remained alive, including those who had returned from the Soviet Union. No Jewish community was reestablished after the war.

[Aharon Weiss / Shmuel Spector (2nd ed.)]

Hebrew Printing

The first Hebrew printing press was set up in Dubno in 1794 by Jonathan b. Jacob of Wielowies, Silesia. Jonathan's partner was M. Piotrowsky, a non-Jew, and the business was under the patronage of Prince Lubomirski, the ruler of the town, whose escutcheon and initials appeared on the title pages. The press was active for nine years and produced 22 books. Another press was founded in 1804 by the printer Aaron b. Jonah, who owned a similar business in Ostrog, in partnership with Joseph b. Judah Leib. During the four years Aaron was in Dubno ten books were published. Dubno's rabbi, Ḥayyim Mordecai Margolioth, established a press in 1819, printing works by his brother Ephraim Zalman of Brody, and a Shulḥan Arukh with his own commentaries (*Sha'arei Teshuvah*) and those of his brother (*Yad Ephraim*). The press was closed after a fire.

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DUBNO, SOLOMON BEN JOEL (1738–1813), Bible scholar and Hebrew poet. Dubno took his name from his birthplace in the Ukraine and studied in Lemberg (Lvov) under Solomon b. Moses *Chelm, whose *Sha'arei Ne'imah* on the masoretic accents he published in 1776 with annotations and an introductory poem (also appended to some editions of Judah Leib Ben-Ze'ev's *Talmud Leshon Ivri*, 1886). From 1767 to 1772 he lived and studied in Amsterdam and then in Berlin, where he was engaged by Moses *Mendelssohn as private tutor for his son Joseph. On Dubno's suggestion Mendelssohn undertook his famous German translation of the Bible and Hebrew commentary, known as the *Biur.* For that work Dubno prepared the prospectus with a lengthy introduction, *Alim li-Terufah* (1778), and contributed the commentary on Genesis (except ch. 1) and part of Exodus as well as annotations to the Masorah of Genesis and Exodus, *Tikkun Soferim.* Dubno, however, left Berlin in 1781 for Vilna before the *Biur* on the Pentateuch, *Netivot ha-Shalom*, appeared in 1783. He had been prompted, apparently, by his friends in Russia such as Zalman Volozkin, who disapproved of his association with Mendelssohn and his circle, and who encouraged him to write his own Bible commentary. Nevertheless, Mendelssohn paid generous tribute to Dubno's work in his introduction to the *Biur.* In 1786 he returned to Germany and finally to Amsterdam, where he lived in penury, though he possessed a valuable library of over 2,000 books, some of them very rare, and over 100 manuscripts, for which he prepared a catalog, *Reshimah* (1814). In Amsterdam he published a commentary on the Masorah of the whole Pentateuch, *Tikkun Soferim* (1803). Dubno also wrote a good deal of Hebrew poetry, e.g., *Yuval ve-Na'aman* (n. d.); *Evel Yaḥid* (1776), a eulogy on the death of Jacob Emden; and *Kol Simḥah* (1780), in honor of the wedding of Simḥah Bunim b. Daniel Jaffe (*Itzig). He published M. Ḥ. Luzzatto's drama *La-Yesharim Tehillah* (1780 or 1799) with an introduction and wrote a preface, interspersed with poetry, to Heidenheim's edition of the Shavuot *maḥzor* (1805). Dubno also wrote a geography of Palestine, *Kunteres Aharon* (Berlin, n.d.).

In his Bible commentary Dubno followed mainly the medieval exegetes, but added historical and geographical explanations as well as defending his own traditional position. He was the first Jewish commentator to dwell on the structure and didactic style of the Bible stories. In his notes on the masoretic accents, he stressed their exegetical importance as well as their antiquity.

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[Jacob S. Levinger]

DUBNOW, SIMON (1860–1941), historian and political ideologist. Born in Mstislavl, Belorussia, Dubnow received a traditional Jewish education from his grandfather, but early in his life ceased to observe religious practices. He was self-taught, having achieved his general education at "the home university," as he put it. Between 1880 and 1906 Dubnow lived, first illegally, in St. Petersburg; in his home town; in Odessa, where he joined the *Aḥad Ha-Am circle; and Vilna, writing all the time for the Jewish press. He finally settled in St. Petersburg, this time legally, teaching Jewish history, which from then on became his dominating interest; from 1908 at the Institute of Jewish Studies (established by Baron David *Guenzburg); and from 1919 at the government-supported "Jewish

People's University." Dubnow was one of the founders and directors of the Jewish Historico-Ethnographical Society and from 1909 to 1918 editor of its quarterly *Yevreyskaya Starina*. When the Bolsheviks came to power, Dubnow was asked to participate in the work of various committees appointed to prepare publications on Jewish themes; none of this work was ever published.

In 1922 he left Russia. A proposal for him to become professor of Jewish history at the University of Kovno met with the opposition of the Lithuanian professors, and Dubnow settled in Berlin, where he stayed until 1933. When Hitler came to power, Dubnow found refuge in Riga, the capital of Latvia. There the aged scholar continued his work in solitude, but with undiminished vigor. Riga was captured by the Germans in July 1941, and in a night of terror, on December 8, 1941, when the Jewish community was deported to a death camp, Dubnow was murdered by a Gestapo officer, a former pupil of his.

Dubnow's lifework was the study of Jewish history, of the relevant source material, and its "sociological" interpretation. He began with the evaluation of such men as I.B. *Levinsohn, *Shabbetai Ẓevi, and Jacob *Frank and his sect (*Razsvet*, 1881; *Voskhod*, 1882). This he followed by a study of *Ḥasidism (*Voskhod*, 1888–93; *Ha-Pardes*, 1894; *Ha-Shilo'aḥ*, 1901). Dubnow then published a series of documents and studies on Jewish life in Eastern Europe (*Voskhod*, 1893–95). He translated H. Graetz's *Volkstuemliche Geschichte der Juden* (1881) into Russian, with an introduction on the philosophy of Jewish history. When the censor prohibited the publication of the translation, Dubnow published his introduction separately (*Voskhod*, 1893; also in German, 1897, 1921^2; in English, *Jewish History,* translated by Henrietta Szold, 1903; and Hebrew, 1953). In 1896, he published in two volumes an adaptation in Russian of S. Baeck's *Geschichte des juedischen Volkes und seiner Literatur* (1878), and of M. Brann's book of the same title (1893), adding a chapter on the history of the Jews in Poland and Russia. In his introduction, for the first time, Dubnow stated his main thesis of Jewish history as a succession of "centers" and their "hegemony" (see below).

In 1898, he began writing his series of works on Jewish history, based on the works of Baeck and Brann: *An Outline of Jewish History* (3 vols., 1925–29; Russian, 1901–05, 1910^2, and translated into many languages); *History of the Jews in Russia and Poland* (3 vols., 1916–20; Russ., 1914, and translated into several languages); and finally his world history of the Jewish people, first published in German (*Die Weltgeschichte des juedischen Volkes*, 10 vols., 1925–29), then in Hebrew (1923–38) and Yiddish (1948–58). A version in the Russian original was published between 1934 and 1938. In 1940 an 11th volume was published in Hebrew, updating the work to World War II. An English translation by M. Spiegel began to appear in 1967. Although engaged in the writing of general Jewish history, Dubnow did not neglect research into its details. Thus, in 1922, he published the *pinkas* of the Council of Lithuania for the years 1623–1761. At the age of 70 Dubnow summarized his lifelong study of Ḥasidism in his history of Ḥasidism (Hebrew, 1930–32, many reprints; German, 2 vols., 1931). He also served as an editor of the Russian and English Jewish encyclopedias. Dubnow's activities in the field of journalism began with the foreign editorship of *Razsvet* (1881–83), and from 1883 to 1908 he was the literary critic of *Voskhod.*

Dubnow believed that his study of history gave him the key to the understanding of the past, enabled him to work for the improvement of the present, and even provided the solution for the future of the Jewish people. According to him the Jewish people in the Diaspora lost some of the attributes which normally ensure the continuous existence of a people. As a "natural" compensation it developed instead a special social system and communal ideology. Through these the Jewish people was able to exist in foreign countries in a state of judicial autonomy and spiritual independence. In every period there had been a Jewish community which had been more successful than others in maintaining self-rule and national creativity, and it was this community which became the "center" and exercised "hegemony." In the early Middle Ages it was Babylon, taking over from the Palestinian "center"; this was followed by Spain and the Rhineland; in the late Middle Ages and the beginning of the Modern Age it was the *Councils of the Lands of Poland-Lithuania. During the Middle Ages, the Jews became a "European" people, and they have remained one. Dubnow believed that not only was it possible to establish in modern times a regime of internal independence within the framework of a foreign country, but also that such a regime would rest on firmer foundations and would be more highly developed than during the Middle Ages. At this point he showed the influence of ideas, prevalent in his time, for a "State of Nationalities," which could preserve the unity of the Russian and Austro-Hungarian empires while satisfying the demands for self-rule of the various peoples living in them. The exceptional situation of the Jewish people during the Middle Ages could become a rule of life for many peoples and states in Europe. In this new period of Jewish history, the "center" would be Russian-Polish, with its spiritual strength and aspirations for self-rule. It was Dubnow's hope that under the new conditions Jewish creativity would lose the religious character which it had acquired in the talmudic period and the Middle Ages. Yiddish would be the language in which the new Jewish culture would express itself.

Dubnow's ideas placed him in strong opposition to both Zionism and the various forms of assimilation. In the course of time he became less outspoken in his anti-Zionist attitude but did not give up his basic stand (cf. the amended and "expurgated" Hebrew version of his "Letters on the Old and the New Judaism," 1937, with the original Russian version, 1907). In a series of articles published during World War I in *Novy Voskhod*, he outlined his position on the Jewish problem, demanding an international solution. In *Istoriya yevreyskogo soldata* ("History of a Jewish Soldier," 1918; French, 1929), he described the tragic situation of a Jew serving in a non-Jewish army.

Dubnow took an active part in a number of Jewish activities. In the Society for the Promotion of Culture he joined the Zionists in their struggle for the establishment of national Jewish schools. After the *Kishinev pogrom in 1903, he was among those who called for an active Jewish self-defense. Opposing the policy of the socialist-Marxist *Bund, he strongly supported Jewish participation in the elections to the Duma in 1905, established a Jewish section of the Constitutional Democrat party, and asked the Jewish deputies to join it. Dubnow also took part in the work of the Society for the Full and Equal Rights of the Jewish People in Russia in 1905, but later seceded and founded the Jewish People's Party in 1906. This "Folkist" party never exercised much influence and was weakened by internal dissension. It continued to exist until 1918.

The principal source on Dubnow's life is his autobiography, *Kniga moey zhizni*. The first two volumes appeared in Russian (1930–34; partial Heb. trans., 1936; Yid., 1962; Ger., 1937). A third volume, completed in 1940, was published in Riga shortly before the German conquest; the entire edition was destroyed by the Nazis. A single copy, however, rediscovered in 1956, made it possible to publish a new complete edition in 1957. Portions of Dubnow's private archives are in the possession of the Central *Archives for the History of the Jewish People in Jerusalem. A festschrift on the occasion of his 70th birthday was published in 1930; a memorial volume appeared in 1954, edited by S. Rawidowicz; and a centenary volume, edited by A. Steinberg, appeared in 1963 (all three with bibliographies).

[Joseph Meisl]

Historian and Political Ideologist

In his youth, Dubnow was influenced by the positivism of Comte and his followers, and especially by the philosophy of J.S. Mill, the "Gospel of Individualism" and the "Absolute Freedom of Thought and Speech." For several years Dubnow remained faithful to the teachings of these masters and attacked Judaism sharply in the name of the individual, of scientific thought, and of liberty.

Subsequently he was captivated by the historical world of Judaism. In 1887, having gone through a severe physical and spiritual crisis, he began to strive for a synthesis of "my self-acquired general knowledge and my universal aims… with my inherited treasures of Jewish wisdom and national ideals." To this synthesis he added a profound knowledge of the life and history of Russia and Russian Jewry, and a tremendous capacity for the uncovering of obscure sources of Jewish history. There was, too, the influence of Renan and Taine. Like Taine – who emphasized the importance of *petits faits significatifs*, from which the general principles are evolved – Dubnow placed the stress upon detail, which in its true form can only be found at the source. Both historians taught Dubnow the organic concept of the nation (which they termed "race"), and from Taine, in particular, he took over the idea that the situation of a people and its aspirations are faithfully reflected in the spiritual creations of its great men. Renan's historical concepts made it easier for Dubnow to change his adverse criticism of the Jewish religion into a positive evaluation of it as the revelation of the national spirit. "A mixture of the teachings of Renan and Tolstoy" was "the main element in his state of mind" when he embarked upon the study of Ḥasidism and of Jesus and the Apostles. In theory Dubnow always remained a radical individualist, while as a historian, he admired the national unit and the requirements of its life, though these may put restrictions upon the individual. Again, in theory he was a confirmed rationalist, yet he valued religion and religious movements for their role in serving as the nation's shield and as the expression of its spirit. In the writing of history, Dubnow preferred describing "objective" processes and circumstances, based upon a study of detailed events, to the portrayal of personalities, their feelings, and desires; and he noted with pride that in later editions of his works "many lyrical passages were omitted."

Dubnow viewed Jewish history on the assumption that a people is an organism whose life and development depend upon its environment, the conditions under which it lives, and upon the manner in which it chooses to react to them. "In the course of the centuries, the nation passed from the embryonic stage and achieved its own identity… assumed a certain national form, created a state and forfeited it…, the form of the national type reached its perfection when and, perhaps, because its first statehood was destroyed." Diaspora, as it were, is a fate preordained for the Jewish people, from the moment it entered Ereẓ Israel. Even toward the end of his life – on the eve of the destruction of European Jewry in 1939 – Dubnow restated in precise terms his conviction that "in the view of historism, as opposed to dogmatism, the diaspora was not only a possibility, but a necessity. A people small in numbers but great in quality, situated on the crossroads of the giant nations of Asia and Africa, could not preserve both its state and its nationality, and had perforce to break the barrel in order to preserve the wine – and this was the great miracle in the history of mankind." From this follows his definition of the Jewish people as "a people whose home is the entire world"; and his belief that what is known as Jewry is the result of the growth of a people and its adaptation to the conditions under which it lived; though of a special nature, these do not transcend the general laws of history. "… Ancient tribes combine to form a national entity, a state or kingdom. The kingdom is destroyed and the national entity splits into parts, which reconstitute as the communities." Here lies the source of the "unbroken chain of autonomy… of Jewish communities everywhere." Dubnow was convinced that in this respect the Jewish people was a pioneer of national development far wider in scope and much earlier in time than many nations of the 20th century.

As for the religion of Israel, Dubnow held that until the 19th century it was part of Jewish nationalism, a means of self-defense used by a people which possessed none of the normal defenses of other nations. When the Jewish people, by virtue of its belief in monotheism, became a special group within the pagan (and later Christian) world, having to fight against assimilation, its leaders were forced to make use of religion for the defense of its existence. In the 19th century, however, a Jewish "renaissance" set in, in which, on the one hand, the individual was liberated, and, on the other hand, there arose a new secular interest in the national life. In the development of the Wissenschaft des Judentums in Germany in the 19th century, Dubnow saw one of the manifestations of the Jewish renaissance. He went so far as to try to justify the Jewish converts in the period of the *salons (an observation not included in the Hebrew version of the "World History"). Religion was a discipline imposed upon the national organism, necessary only so long as Jewish culture stood isolated, unrelated to the culture of other peoples, i.e., to the time of *Emancipation. Once Emancipation had taken place, this discipline was no longer desirable. In Ḥasidism Dubnow saw a fresh manifestation of the creative power of Jewish religion among East European Jewry, which had preserved tradition and had not yet entered the era of cooperation with the nations of the world. Such cooperation would enable Jewry to exist as a European people with a secular culture, a people destined to remain a permanent minority in the countries of Europe. Basing his work upon such a concept of history, Dubnow regarded the attempts of Zionism to renew the Jewish State in its ancient land as a pseudo-messianic adventure. He put forth a program for the Jews' future based on these theories which he called *autonomism.

[Haim Hillel Ben-Sasson]

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DUBNOW, ZE'EV (1858–1940?), *Bilu member. Dubnow, who was born in Mstislavl, Belorussia, was the elder brother of Simon *Dubnow, the historian. He tended to assimilation in his youth and became interested in the Russian radical movement. After the 1881 pogroms he joined Bilu and went to Ereẓ Israel with its first group in 1882. After working at *Mikveh Israel, Dubnow moved with several friends to Jerusalem, where he was one of the founders of Shaḥu (Hebrew initials for the words "return of the craftsmen and the smiths"), an artisans' association. In his letters to his brother he expressed the ultimate aim of the Bilu movement: "to acquire Ereẓ Israel and return to the Jews their political independence." In 1885 he returned to Mstislavl, "disappointed in the hopes of quick success in settling Ereẓ Israel," but still "a fervent nationalist in his belief." He became a teacher, and assisted his brother in examining historical documents. Dubnow remained in contact with the Biluim in Ereẓ Israel and corresponded with them. Eventually he settled in Moscow, where he died.

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[Yehuda Slutsky]

DUBNOW-ERLICH, SOPHIA (1885–1986), poet, political activist, critic, translator, and memoirist. Born in Mstislavl, Belarus, she was the eldest child of Ida (Friedlin) and historian Simon *Dubnow. The family moved to Odessa in 1890, where Sophia entered a gymnasium in 1899; upon graduation in 1902, she studied at the Bestuzhev Higher Courses in St. Petersburg. Dubnow-Erlich began her foray into the literary and political worlds in 1904, when her first poem, "Haman and his Demise," appeared in the Russian-Jewish weekly *Budushchnost'* (Future). This satire of the czar's minister of interior, Plehve, was immediately confiscated by the censors. That same year, university officials expelled her from her courses for participating in a student protest. Undeterred, she entered the history-philology department of St. Petersburg University in 1905 and later studied comparative religion and the history of world literature at the Sorbonne (1910–11). Rejoining her family in Vilna, the hotbed of Jewish politics in the Russian Empire, Dubnow-Erlich became an active member of the Social Democratic Labor Party and the Jewish Labor Party and an antimilitarist propagandist.

In 1911 Sophia married Henryk *Erlich (1882–1941), a prominent leader of the leftist Bund in Poland with whom she worked to promote the ideals of Jewish cultural autonomy and socialist internationalism. By 1918, the political situation drove the Dubnow-Erlichs to relocate to Warsaw, where they remained for over 20 years with their two sons. When Warsaw fell to the Nazis in 1939, Erlich was arrested by Soviet authorities and Dubnow-Erlich moved her family to Vilna, where they lived until 1941. She reached the United States in 1942 where she learned of her husband's death and her father's murder by the Nazis. Dubnow-Erlich remained politically active throughout her life, advocating for civil rights and protesting the Vietnam War. She died in New York City.

Dubnow-Erlich contributed over 50 poems, essays, and translations to Russian and Yiddish-language journals and newspapers. She wrote three volumes of symbolist poetry (*Osenniaia svirel': stikhi*, 1911; *Mat'*, 1918; rep. Tel Aviv, 1969; and *Stikhi raznykh let*, 1973); several histories on topics relating to the Bund, including co-editing *Di geshikhte fun 'bund'* (5 vols., New York, 1960–81); a biography of her father (*The Life and Work of S.M. Dubnov*, transl. J. Vowles, ed. J. Shandler, Bloomington, Indiana, 1991; Russian original, 1950); and a memoir, *Khleb i Matsa* ("Bread and Matzah," 1994). Her papers are at YIVO.

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[Carole B. Balin (2nd ed.)]

DUBOSSARY, town on the Dniester River, E. Moldova. Founded at the end of the 18th century as a Russian fortress, Dubossary developed as a nearby settlement. The inhabitants were employed in the timber trade and log rafting. Jews traded in grain, wine, and prunes. They also grew tobacco. There were 2,506 Jews living in Dubossary (about 1,000 in the town itself) and its vicinity, including the towns of Grigoriopol and Ananyev, by 1847. In 1897 there were 5,220 Jews in Dubossary (43% of the total population). In April 1882 a pogrom was staged, and two Jews were killed, and much property was looted and destroyed. In the beginning of the 20th century the community operated a *talmud torah*, nine *ḥadarim*, and four private schools. An attempt to resuscitate the *blood libel was made in 1903. During the civil war of 1918–20 Jewish *self-defense was organized and the community remained relatively free from the pogroms that occurred at the time. Thousands of refugees making their way to Romania in 1920–22 passed through the town, and many from Dubossary itself also crossed the border. There were 3,630 Jews in Dubossary in 1926 (81% of the total population), dropping to 2,198 (total population 4,250) in 1939. In the 1930s there were about 400 Jewish artisans organized in nine cooperatives, and 227 farmers raising tobacco, while others worked as laborers and clerks.

The Germans occupied Dubossary in mid-July 1941. At the end of August a ghetto was set up, and on September 1 the town was annexed to Romanian Transnistria. On September 11, 1941, the Jews were ordered to assemble. By September 28 about 6,000 Jews had been murdered. In September 1943 thousands of Jews were brought to Dubossary from Bessarabia and Moldavia and "liquidated" there. Some managed to join the partisans in the neighborhood. After the liberation of Dubossary on August 14, 1944, the Soviet Commission for Investigation of Nazi Crimes found that about 18,000 Jewish victims were buried in mass graves near the town. Approximately 100 to 150 survivors returned after the war.

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[Yehuda Slutsky / Shmuel Spector (2nd ed.)]

DUBROVNIK (**Ragusa**), port in S. Dalmatia, Croatia; oligarchic maritime city-state, autonomous until 1808, mainly under Venetian or Turkish protectorate. Jewish merchants from Durazzo (Albania) are mentioned in Ragusan archives in 1368. French Jews living in Apulia (south Italy) after the expulsion from France temporarily resided and traded in Dubrovnik in the second half of the 15th century. After the Spanish expulsion in 1492 Dubrovnik became an important transit center for refugees traveling to Balkan cities under Turkish rule. In 1502 there were many refugees staying in Dubrovnik. When an old woman was found murdered, a dozen of them were arrested and tortured; several were declared guilty and burnt at the stake.

After the expulsions from Aragonese possessions in south Italy in 1514 and 1515, many more refugees went to Dubrovnik. Their success in commerce, together with the local clergy's zeal to have the city follow the example of other Christian states, resulted in several expulsion decrees (1514, 1515, 1545) which were revoked on the sultan's intervention. When wars against Turkey in the second half of the 16th century made the Mediterranean insecure for commerce, trade was re-routed through the Adriatic to Dubrovnik and thence by caravan to Turkey. Jews were allowed to settle in Dubrovnik and were given customs privileges to encourage transit trade. Jews dealt mainly in textiles, silk, wool, leather (Hananel-Eškenazi, 1 (1958), 264), and spices. They were allowed to live inside the walls in 1538, but in 1546 a ghetto was established in a small street (still called the Jewish street) enclosed by walls, and the gate was locked at night. A monthly tax was levied per person for residence and per bale for storage of wares. The synagogue is said to date from 1532. The Jewish cemetery was first mentioned in 1612 when it had to be enlarged; it was still in use in 1910. Two more streets were added to the ghetto in 1587, when there were 50 Jews in Dubrovnik, some with their families. Most of the trade with Turkey and much of the transit trade with Italy was in Jewish hands. At this time some Jewish intellectuals found temporary or permanent refuge there, such as the physician *Amatus Lusitanus and the humanist Didacus Pyrrhus. Many Jewish physicians were in the service of the republic, which had to obtain from Rome the authorization for them to treat Christians.

The most important Jewish family in the 16th and 17th centuries was that of *Aaron b. David ha-Kohen; arriving from Florence in the 16th century, they established connections with Sarajevo and Sofia, and also acted as agents for many Jewish traders throughout Europe. To induce more Jewish merchants to settle in Dubrovnik, the senate issued in 1614 a letter of safe conduct for five years, guaranteeing Jewish merchants freedom from arrest and from seizure of their wares for payment of previously incurred debts. There was a notorious blood libel in 1622, in which Isaac Yeshurun was accused of murdering a small girl: he stoically maintained his innocence, but was sentenced to 20 years imprisonment (he was released after 32 months). As a result of the restrictions imposed on the Jewish community at the time of this libel, most Jews left for Venice or Turkey; only four families remained in Dubrovnik, among them that of Aaron b. David ha-Kohen, rabbi of Dubrovnik. The Jewish population increased again after Aaron had obtained another letter of safe conduct in 1637. Since many restrictions imposed in 1622 were disregarded, the Church renewed its attacks and obtained from the senate the enforcement of several of them. But in many instances, the senate refused to pass anti-Jewish measures as Dubrovnik was a Turkish protectorate and the sultans had always protected the Jews.

In the 18th century the Jewish population increased; there were 218 Jews out of a total population of around 6,000. Ragusan archives mention Jewish schools, teachers, weddings, and a Jewish bookseller; Jews participated in maritime ventures as co-owners of ships that went as far as Scandinavia and America, or supplying loans for equipment of such ships; they also played a part in establishing the first maritime insurance companies. With the economic decline of Dubrovnik, however, restrictions were imposed on all foreigners. Jews could not engage in commerce and could only be teachers, physicians, or help in commerce, and some were tax farmers. In 1755 they were again forbidden to live outside the ghetto or to leave it at night. Although it had supported the French against the Russians, Dubrovnik was annexed in 1808 to the French vice kingdom of Illyria, which abolished all Jewish disabilities. When Dubrovnik passed to Austria in 1815, laws applied to Jews in Austria became valid in Dubrovnik too; e.g., Jews had to obtain permission from Vienna to get married. Full emancipation was granted only in 1873. When after World War I Dubrovnik became part of Yugoslavia, the Jewish population had decreased. There were 308 Jews in 1815, and 250 in 1939.

Holocaust and Contemporary Periods

Dubrovnik was occupied by the Italian army in April 1941; administratively however it belonged to the Independent Croatian State of the Croat quisling Pavelić, whose *ustashi* were allowed to persecute Jews. Jewish property was confiscated or put under "caretakers," and a few Jews were sent to concentration camps in Croatia. The Italians, however, did not allow mass deportations, so that many refugees from other parts of Yugoslavia went to Dubrovnik. At the bidding of the Germans, in November 1942, the Italians interned all Jews (750) in Gruž and on the island of Lopud, near Dubrovnik. There they remained until June 1943, when they were transferred to the big Italian internment camp on Rab in northern Dalmatia, together with most Jews from the Italian-occupied territories in Yugoslavia. During the brief interregnum in 1943 between the capitulation of Italy and the German occupation, most of them were transported by the partisans to the liberated territory on the mainland. Some joined the Jewish battalion formed on Rab, and others served as physicians or nurses. The 180–200 Jews who could not leave Rab were taken by the Germans to extermination camps. After World War II, 28 Jews immigrated to Israel. The Jewish community in Dubrovnik had 31 members in 1969. The rabbi of Dubrovnik served as the chief rabbi for the regions of southern Dalmatia, Herzegovina, and Montenegro. Services in the old synagogue were held irregularly. During the Yugoslav War of Secession of 1991/2 the synagogue suffered slight damage from artillery shells and its roof had to be repaired. Ceremonial objects from this synagogue, built c. 1510, were loaned to New York's Yeshiva University in 1964 and returned only in 1988 following a court order. A small community is now affiliated to the Coordination Committee of Croatian Jewish Communities, headed by Zagreb. It maintains a museum showing the synagogue artifacts and other items belonging to the past. The well-preserved cemetery contains 200 old gravestones, including that of Rabbi Jacob Pardo, who died there in 1819.

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[Daniel Furman / Zvi Loker (2nd ed.)]

DUBROVNO, city in the Vitebsk district, Belarus. Jews are first mentioned there in 1685. There were 801 Jewish taxpayers in Dubrovno and its environs in 1766. During the 18th century Dubrovno became a center for weaving prayer shawls in Eastern Europe. Conditions were difficult for the weavers, who worked on handlooms, and were harshly exploited by the merchants who supplied them with the yarn and afterward bought their products and marketed them through agents in Jewish settlements throughout Russia and Galicia, and even exported them to Western Europe and America. From the mid-19th century the industry, which had about 660 workers in 1847, encountered competition from the factories in the big cities where prayer shawls were woven by machine, and Jews began to leave the town. The plight of the weavers in Dubrovno aroused the attention of the Jewish community in Russia. In 1902, the Aktsionernoye Obshchestvo Dneprovskoy Manufaktury (Dnieper Textile Industry Ltd.) was founded with the help of the *Jewish Colonization Association (ICA), which held two-thirds of the shares, the rest being subscribed by wealthy Jews in St. Petersburg and Moscow. A large weaving factory, whose directors, staff, and workers were Jews and where Saturday was kept as the day of rest, was established. Near the factory, a public school and a cooperative store were opened. Dubrovno was also a center for scribes of Torah scrolls, phylacteries and *mezuzot*, who received permission to form a professional union in the early period of Soviet rule. A trainload of 30,000 phylacteries which had accumulated in Dubrovno after the war was permitted to be dispatched to Berlin. The manufacture of prayer shawls ceased in the 1920s. Around 1930, the weaving factory employed about 1,000 workers, of whom a considerable number were Jews. The community numbered 4,481 in 1847, 4,364 in 1897 (57.5% of the total population), 3,105 in 1926 (about 39%), and 2,119 (21%) in 1939. Dubrovno was the birthplace of the Zionist leader M. *Ussishkin and the brothers *Polyakoff. The Germans occupied the town on July 16, 1941. Soon the Jews were collected in a ghetto. In December 1941 the Germans murdered 1,500 Jews. The remaining 300 skilled workers and their families were executed with the help of Belorussian police in February 1942.

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[Yehuda Slutsky / Shmuel Spector (2nd ed.)]

DUCKESZ, EDUARD (**Yecheskel**; 1868–1944), rabbi and scholar. Duckesz was born in Szelepcsény, Hungary, and studied at the Pressburg (Bratislava) yeshivah. In 1889 he became rabbi at the Klaus synagogue and *dayyan* in Altona, Germany. His scholarly efforts were devoted to the history of the three sister communities Altona, Hamburg, and Wandsbeck (אה״ו). He fled to Holland in 1939 but was interned in Westerbork by the Nazis in 1943 and sent to the Auschwitz extermination camp in 1944 where he perished. Among Duckesz' published works are *Ivah le-Moshav*, the first volume of which contains biographies and tombstone inscriptions of the rabbis who served in the three communities, with annotations by S. Buber, and the second, entitled *Chachme Ahu*, biographies of the *dayyanim* and rabbinical authors of these communities, partly in German (2 vols., 1903–08); and *Zur Geschichte und Genealogie der ersten Familien der hochdeutschen israelitischen Gemeinden in Hamburg-Altona* (1914).

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DUDA, VIRGIL (**Rubin Leibovici**; 1939–), Romanian writer. A lawyer by profession, Duda chose a literary career in the mid-1960s, working also as a producer at the Bucharest Film Studio. After a first volume of short stories, he published several novels demonstrating his remarkable talent for psychological analysis: *Catedrala* ("The Cathedral," 1969), *Anchetatorul apatic* ("The Apathetic Interrogator," 1971), and *Măştile* ("The Masks," 1979). The following novels, published during the 1980s, made his reputation as one of the more important Romanian prose writers: *Războiul amintirilor* ("The War of Remembrances," 1981), which received the prize of the Writers Association); *Hărţuiala* ("The Harassment," 1984); and *Oglinda salvată* ("The Saved Mirror," 1986). Autobiographical elements going back to his life as a teenager in the Moldavian town of Bârlad became more obvious in these works. Settling in Israel in 1988, he continued his literary activity, publishing (in Romania) novels with a preponderance of Jewish themes, including the impact of the Holocaust and the Communist period: *România, sfârşit de decembrie* ("Romania, End of December," 1991), *Alvis şi destinul* ("Alvis and the Destiny," 1993), *A trăi în păcat* ("To Live in Sin," 1996), *Viaţă cu efect întârziat* ("Life with Belated Effect," 1998), and *Şase femei* ("Six Women," 2002). A volume of essays, *Evreul ca simbol* ("The Jew as a Symbol," 2004) includes many subtle reflections on Jewish intellectuals and writers (Franz Kafka, Isaac Babel, Benjamin Fondane, Mihail Sebastian). Duda's brother, Lucian Raicu, is a well-known Romanian literary critic.

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[Leon Volovici (2nd ed.)]

°DUEHRING, KARL EUGEN (1833–1921), German economist and philosopher, born in Berlin; one of the initial proponents of modern racial antisemitism. He studied economics, law, and philosophy at the University of Berlin. Although totally blind at 30, Duehring made significant contributions to philosophy and the theory of national-autarkic economics. A quarrelsome disposition, however, caused him to give up academic teaching in 1864. Eventually he developed a pathological aversion to such *bêtes noires* as academicians, Social Democrats, and all cosmopolitans, "whether Jews or Greeks." He propounded his theories on racial antisemitism in such scurrilous pieces as his *Die Judenfrage als Rassen-Sitten-und Kultur-Frage* (1881), *Die Ueberschaetzung Lessings und dessen Antwaltschaft fuer die Juden* (1881), *Sache, Leben, und Feinde* (1882), *Der Ersatz der Religion durch Vollkommeneres und die Ausscheidung alles Judenthums durch den modernen Voelkergeist* (1883). To Duehring, Karl Marx was the personification of evil, both because of his theories and his race. He had "taken his system from the Mosaic Law." Baptism had not prevented him from associating with his own kin (*Sippe*), namely "the descendants of Judas," in order to form a kind of international "Alliance Israélite." As to Social Democracy, its aim was to exploit and enslave the people in the interests of Jewry. Duehring had a paramount influence on the development of German antisemitism in the 1880s, whether indirect or active, and continues to inspire "voelkisch" elements to this day. In his *Der Wert des Lebens* (1865), Duehring rejected Zionism for strengthening Jewish "world power." Instead he recommended solving the Jewish question "by killing and extirpation" (*durch Ertoetung und Ausrottung*).

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DUEÑAS, city in Castile, central Spain. Its Jewish community began to flourish in the 13th century. In 1221, Ferdinand III transferred to the monastery of Huelgas near Burgos the Jews settled on lands belonging to the monastery in Dueñas. The first document referring to the Jews of Dueñas is from 1225. At the end of the 13th century the Jewish community of Dueñas was one of the smallest in Castile. In 1290 the community paid taxes amounting to 2,427 maravedis. The Jews of Dueñas owned land and vineyards; in 1346, the king's surgeon Don Judah, an inhabitant of Dueñas, leased several gardens belonging to the local church. The community was evidently impoverished by the Black Death (1348–49), since in 1352 it paid only 300 maravedis in tax. Among those who engaged in tax farming in Dueñas were Don Çag Merdohay of Sahagún and his sons David and Shem Tob (1365). During the Civil War in Castile, the Jewish quarter of Dueñas was attacked and sacked, around 1368. The Hebrew chronicler Samuel Zarza, who gives this information, writes that the members of the community were learned and righteous. Considering the tax paid, the community remained small in the 15th century. Following the edict ordering Jews and Christians to live in separate quarters, Ferdinand and Isabella gave instructions in 1483 that the *alcabalá* ("indirect taxes") should not be collected from houses owned by Christians which were situated in the new Jewish quarter. In May 1492 the Jews of Dueñas complained that they would not be able to leave the city on the date fixed by the decree of expulsion, as they were being hindered in selling their possessions and collecting their debts and the townspeople kept presenting them with claims dating back for generations.

The Jewish quarter was near the castle.

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[Haim Beinart / Yom Tov Assis (2nd ed.)]

DUENNER, JOSEPH ẒEVI HIRSCH (1833–1911), rabbi and talmudist. Duenner was born in Cracow. He studied in the yeshivah there and subsequently at the University of Bonn. In 1862 Duenner was appointed director of the rabbinical seminary in Amsterdam and in 1874 chief rabbi of the Ashkenazi community there. Regarded as the spiritual leader of Orthodox Jewry in Holland, Duenner nevertheless combined traditional learning with a critico-historical approach. The results of his researches and his new interpretations were published as glosses to 19 tractates of the Talmud (1896–1929). His main work is *Die Theorien ueber Wesen und Ursprung der Tosephta* (1874). Duenner became a supporter of the early movement for settlement in Ereẓ Israel in consequence of his contacts with Moses *Hess while studying in Bonn. He later became a leader of the *Mizrachi party.

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[Jacob S. Levinger]

DUEREN, city near Aachen, Germany. Jews from Dueren are mentioned in 13th-century records. In 1238 Anselm of Dueren and his wife, Jutta, acquired some property in the Jewish quarter of Cologne. In 1241 the Jews of Dueren paid ten marks imperial tax. Judah of Dueren was involved in a famous controversy over a marriage mentioned in a responsum of Meir b. Baruch of Rothenburg. During the second half of the 13th century Isaac ben Meir *Dueren lived in the city.

The community was annihilated during the Black Death (1348–49), and was not reconstituted until the 19th century. The modern community, which had its own elementary school, numbered 252 in 1880, 268 in 1905, and 358 in 1933, but was reduced to 184 in 1939. During *Kristallnacht* (November 10, 1938) the synagogue and community center were burned down by the Nazis. One hundred Jewish men from Dueren were interned in Buchenwald. In July 1941 the remaining Jews were deported to the death camps. After the war, 15 Jews returned there, but subsequently left, and Jewish community life was not resumed.

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[Ze'ev Wilhem Falk]

DUEREN, ISAAC BEN MEIR (second half of 13th century), German halakhic authority on the laws of **issur ve-hetter*. Isaac's surname Dueren derives from the town of that name in Germany. In his youth he studied under Tobias b. Elijah of Vienne in France. The period of Dueren's activity has hitherto been uncertain owing to the possibility of his having been confused with other contemporary local scholars of the same name. His date however can now be determined with some precision. Not only does Israel Isserlein state (*Pesakim u-Khetavim*, no. 215) that *Meir b. Baruch of Rothenburg is to be regarded as a *batrai* ("a later authority") compared with Dueren, but the recent discovery that the *issur ve-hetter*, in which Dueren is already referred to as an accepted authority, was written by a disciple of *Perez b. Elijah of Corbeil, and not, as previously accepted, by *Jeroham b. Meshullam, fixes his dates as the latter part of the 13th century. The statement therefore that he was the teacher of Alexander Suslin ha-Kohen, the author of the *Sefer Aguddah*, is erroneous. Dueren is chiefly known for his *Sha'arei Dura (Issur ve-Hetter shel Rabbi Yiẓḥak mi-Dura, She'arim mi-Dura, Dura*, etc.), which deals with the laws of forbidden food and of menstruant women. This book, based wholly upon the traditions of Germany and France, became the basis of *halakhah* in this difficult sector, exerting a decisive influence upon all Ashkenazi halakhic authorities after him from the *Aguddah* of Alexander Suslin ha-Kohen through *Terumat ha-Deshen* of Israel Isserlein until *Torat Ḥattat* of Moses Isserles. The early halakhic authorities guided themselves by the rule that Isaac was to be followed in *issur ve-hetter* even when he was lenient, although the rule did not apply to *terefot* (*Pesakim u-Khetavim*, no. 215). *Sha'arei Dura* was first published in Cracow in 1534. Since then it has been republished ten times with the addition of many glosses and commentaries by the greatest talmudists in each generation, among them Israel Isserlein, Solomon Luria, Elijah Loans, and Nathan Spiro. These glosses, as well as those of the scholars who preceded Israel Isserlein, were sometimes indiscriminately incorporated into the text, so that it is difficult, without the aid of manuscripts, to determine the original content of the book, a critical edition of which is still lacking. The book was regarded with such sanctity that Ḥayyim

b. Bezalel, brother of Judah Loew of Prague, complains about Moses Isserles' daring to deviate in his *Torat Ḥattat* from the order of *Sha'arei Dura*. Another of Dueren's books, *Minhagim mi-Kol ha-Shanah*, was published by Elfenbein (see bibliography). He also wrote *tosafot* to *Gittin* and *Kiddushin*.

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[Israel Moses Ta-Shma]

DUESSELDORF, city in Germany, capital of North Rhine-Westphalia. Jews are first mentioned there in 1418; the cemetery of the community then served the whole region of *Berg. They were expelled from Duesseldorf in 1438. In 1582 permission was granted to one *court Jew to settle there. The community numbered 14 families in 1750 and 24 in 1775. Of these the most distinguished was the wealthy *Van Geldern family, one of whose members, the court Jew Joseph (d. 1727) in the service of the duke of *Juelich-Berg, was head (*parnas u-manhig*) of the Jewish community of the duchy. He donated a synagogue to the community in 1712, where services were held until 1772. Joseph van Geldern's son and grandson followed him in these communal offices. During the 19th century Duesseldorf Jews achieved importance in trade and banking. The community increased from 315 in 1823 to 5,130 in 1925. A seminary for Jewish teachers functioned from 1867 to 1874. Leo *Baeck served as district rabbi from 1907 to 1912.

The events of November 10, 1938, were particularly calamitous for the Duesseldorf community since the diplomat Vom Rath, who had been assassinated by Herschel *Grynszpan at the German embassy in Paris a few days earlier, was a native of Duesseldorf. The main synagogue, built in 1905, and two Orthodox synagogues were burned down. Seven Jews were killed or died from the effects of their wounds, and about 70 were injured. In May 1939, 1,831 Jews remained in Duesseldorf, dropping to 1,400 in 1941. Most were deported to Minsk, Lodz, Riga, and Theresienstadt. Only 25 Jews remained in Duesseldorf in 1946. The community was reconstituted after the war, and in 1951 the Central Council of Jews in Germany was established in Duesseldorf. The main German Jewish newspaper, the *Allgemeine Wochenzeitung der Juden in Deutschland* (today *Juedische Allgemeine*), founded in 1946, was published there until 1985. A synagogue was inaugurated in 1958. The community numbered 1,585 in 1969. Owing mainly to the immigration of Jews from the Former Soviet Union, the number of community members rose to 7,237 in 2003. A Jewish elementary school was opened in 1993.

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[Zvi Avneri / Stefan Rohrbacher (2nd ed.)]

°DUGDALE, BLANCHE ELIZABETH CAMPBELL (1890–1948), British Zionist; a niece of Arthur James *Balfour. Blanche Dugdale was employed in the British Naval Intelligence Department and became a member of the League of Nations Union and the British government's delegation to the League of Nations Assembly (1932). Described by Chaim Weizmann as "an ardent, lifelong friend of Zionism," "Baffy," as she was affectionately called, constantly tried to influence cabinet ministers and high commissioners by personal contact and in writing, stressing the justice of the Jewish cause in Palestine. She also addressed public meetings, Zionist conferences, and even World Zionist Congresses and advised Weizmann in his political dealings with the British. From 1940 until a few months before her death she worked daily in the political department of the Jewish Agency. During World War II she served on various committees to aid Jewish refugees. She regularly published articles in the *Zionist Review* and authored a pamphlet *The Balfour Declaration: Origins and Background* (1940) and a two-volume biography, *Arthur James Balfour* (1936). Her diary is preserved in the Weizmann archives in Reḥovot. Before she died, on May 15, 1948, relatives and friends told her that the State of Israel had been established. Extracts from her diaries, covering the period 1936–47, were edited and published by Norman Rose in 1973. One of the most committed of British "gentile Zionists," it has been said that she "thought of [Jewish] Palestine as her second country."

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[Josef Fraenkel]

°DUHM, BERNHARD (1847–1928), German Protestant biblical scholar. Born in Bingum on the Ems, East Friesland, Duhm studied at Goettingen (chiefly under H. Ewald). In 1877 he was appointed professor at Goettingen University and in 1899, at Basle University. His activities in Basle, which included teaching in secondary schools and lecturing (*Das Geheimnis in der Religion*, 1896; *Das kommende Reich Gottes*, 1912; Eng. trans., *The Evercoming Kingdom of God*, 1914), extended beyond the academic sphere. His main works were devoted to the study of the Prophets. His early work *Die Theologie der Propheten…* (1875) reflects a somewhat dogmatic understanding of the prophets, whom Duhm regarded as analogous to the writers and orators of other ancient peoples, in particular the Greeks. In this work Duhm (simultaneously with Wellhausen, with whom he was friendly) rejects the presupposition of an older "Mosaic" law. His last work on the prophets, *Israels Propheten* (1918), is an overall exposition of the Israelite religion, based on his previous exegetical studies in his commentaries on Isaiah (1892), Jeremiah (1901), and Minor

Prophets (1911), all of which contain impressive translations. His outstanding capacity for understanding the prophets, especially the irrational aspects of prophetic vision and audition and their subsequent expression, enabled him to set forth a frequently violent (e.g., in conjectural criticism of texts), but profound and imposing, portrayal of the prophetic personalities. Duhm isolated the Servant Songs of Isaiah 40–55 from Deutero-Isaiah. He proposed the separation of Isaiah 56–66 (as "Trito-Isaiah") from Isaiah 40–55 and the rejection of the authenticity of Jeremiah's prose orations. Of less importance are his commentaries on Job (1897) and Psalms (1899). The latter work contains exaggerated historical criticism (e.g., he dates most of the psalms to the Hasmonean period).

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[Rudolf Smend]

DUISBURG, city in Germany. A small Jewish settlement existed there from the second half of the 13th century whose members were massacred in the wake of the *Black Death (1350). No Jews lived there subsequently until the 18th century, when a few families are mentioned. A few Jewish students studied medicine at the university between 1708 and 1817. In 1793 there were ten families living in the town, who formed an organized community. A small synagogue was consecrated in 1826 and replaced by a more impressive edifice in 1875. The Jewish population increased during and after World War I as a result of immigration from Poland and Galicia. The community (united with Hamborn) numbered 2,560 in 1933. In October 1938, 144 Polish Jews were expelled. On *Kristallnacht*, the synagogue was set on fire; 40 Jewish homes and 25 stores were vandalized and 25 Jews were sent to Dachau. In December 1938 Jewish youngsters were sent to Holland on a *Kindertransport*; some later reached England, where they survived the war. The remaining 809 Jews were crowded into 11 Jewish houses from which they were deported in 1941 to ghettos in the East and later to death camps.

In 1969, 75 Jews lived in Duisburg and Muelheim an der Ruhr, which constituted one community. In 1989 the joint community of Duisburg, Muelheim, and Oberhausen had 118 members; due to the immigration of Jews from the Former Soviet Union, their number rose to 2,653 in 2003. The new synagogue, designed by Zvi Hecker and inaugurated in 1999, is an architectural hallmark of the city.

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[Zvi Avneri / Michael Birenbaum and Stefan Rohrbacher (2nd ed.)]

DUJOVNE, LEON (1899–1984), Argentine lawyer, philosopher, and community leader. Dujovne was born in Russia and went to Argentina as a child. In 1966 he settled in Israel and in 1973 returned to Argentina. For many years Dujovne was a member of the Faculty of Philosophy and Letters of the University of Buenos Aires. He published many books, the most important of which are *Baruj Spinoza – Su vida, su época, su obra y su influencia*, 4 vols. (1941–44); *Martín Buber – sus ideas religiosas, filosóficas y sociales* (1966); *La Filosofia y las teorías científicas* (1930); and *Teoría de los valores y filosofía de la historia* (1959), which received the First National Prize of Argentina. Dujovne also translated into Spanish Dubnow's *History of the Jewish People*, Maimonides' *Guide of the Perplexed*, and works by Ibn Gabirol, Saadiah Gaon, Baḥya ibn Paquda, and others. He was for many years president of the Sociedad Hebraica Argentina and of the Instituto de Intercambio Cultural Argentino-Israelí as well as editor in chief of the Jewish weekly, *Mundo Israelita.*

[Lawrence H. Feigenbaum and Kenneth R. Scholberg]

DUKAS, PAUL (1865–1935), French composer. Born in Paris, Dukas studied at the Conservatory and taught there from 1909 until his death. In French music, his style formed a bridge between the school of César Franck and that of Debussy. He achieved fame in 1897 with his brilliant orchestral scherzo *L'Apprenti sorcier* ("The Sorcerer's Apprentice," inspired by Goethe), which, it was later suggested, was actually intended as a satire on the fashion of "symphonic poems." The most important of Dukas' works is the opera *Ariane et Barbe-Bleue* (1907, with text by Maeterlinck), symbolizing the struggle for emancipation from dictatorship. His other works also include a symphony, several overtures, the ballet *La Péri*, chamber music, and piano works. After 1912, Dukas, who had become increasingly self-critical, gave up composition almost entirely. He devoted himself to teaching at the Conservatory. Before his death he destroyed his unpublished works.

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[Chanan Steinitz]

DUKER, ABRAHAM GORDON (1907–1987), U.S. educator and historian. Duker, who was born in Rypin, Poland, went to the U.S. in 1923. He served on the library staff at the Jewish Theological Seminary (1927–33) and was research librarian at the Graduate School of Jewish Social Work (1934–38). From 1938 to 1943 he was on the staff of the American Jewish Committee, serving inter alia as the editor of the *Contemporary Jewish Record* (1938–41). He was also an editor of the *Universal Jewish Encyclopedia* (1939–43), *Reconstructionist*, and *Jewish Social Studies*, a quarterly. Duker was president of the Chicago Spertus College of Judaica (1956–62) and from 1963 director of libraries and professor of history and social institutions at Yeshiva University. His works include education surveys, books, and articles in his main fields of interest, Polish-Jewish relations and American Jewish sociology.

His books include *Jewish Emancipation under Attack: Its Legal Recession until the Present War* (with B. Weinryb, 1942) and *Emancipation and Counter Emancipation* (with Meir Ben Hurin, 1974). He also wrote about religious trends in American Jewish life (1949), Jewish community relations (1952), socio-psychological trends in the American Jewish community since 1900 (1954), and the impact of Zionism on American Jewry (1958).

[Sefton D. Temkin / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

DUKES, LEOPOLD (**Judah Loeb**; 1810–1891), historian of Jewish literature. Dukes was born in Pressburg, Hungary. He was a student of R. Moses *Sofer and of R. Ḥayyim Joseph Pollak; the latter introduced him to secular study. An inveterate, though poor, traveler, Dukes visited most of the important libraries in Europe, researching Jewish manuscripts and uncovering many hitherto unknown medieval works. His research covered various aspects of language and literature: aggadic literature, Bible exegesis, medieval Jewish literature, Hebrew grammar and the masoretic text, and talmudic maxims and truisms. Frequently, however, his research was unsystematic and his edited texts in need of correction. Dukes' translation of Rashi's Pentateuch commentary into German was published with Sofer's imprimatur in Prague during 1833–38 (*Ḥamishah Ḥumshei Torah im Ha'takah Ashkenazit al Perush Rashi [Raschi zum Pentateuch]*, 5 vols.). Dukes produced various studies on the poetry of Solomon ibn Gabirol and Moses Ibn Ezra. His autobiography appears in AZDJ, 56 (1892).

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[Jacob S. Levinger]

DUKHAN (Heb. דּוּכָן; "platform"), an elevated platform. According to talmudic literature, the word was used in four instances.

(1) The place in the Temple where the levites sang while the sacrifice was being offered (Ar. 11b). According to the Mishnah (Mid. 2:6), this *dukhan* was placed upon a step one cubit high, which was situated between the court of the Israelites and the court of the priests. It had three steps, each half a cubit high. Hence the height of the *dukhan* was one and a half cubits, or, together with the step, two and a half cubits.

(2) The place where the priests stood while reciting the *Priestly Blessing. The Talmud quotes R. Tarfon as saying "I once ascended the *dukhan* [for the Priestly Blessing]" (Kid. 71a). The Mishnah (Tam. 7:2) implies, however, that the priests stood on the 12 steps between the porch and the altar when blessing the people and not on the *dukhan* (cf. Tosef. Sot. 7:7). The explanation, apparently, is that the steps of the porch were the main site for the Priestly Blessing, but when there were too many priests to fit on the steps, the others took up this position on the *dukhan* (cf. *Tiferet Israel* on Middot 2:6).

(3) After the destruction of the Temple, the meaning of the word was extended to apply to the place in the synagogue where the Priestly Blessing was recited (Shab. 118b; Sot. 38b; et al.), and still later, to the Priestly Blessing itself. Hence the familiar phrase "to *dukhan*" was used for "to recite the Priestly Blessing."

(4) The platform where teachers sat while teaching children (BB 21a).

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[Jehonatan Etz-Chaim]

DULCEA OF WORMS (d. 1196), wife of R. *Eleazar ben Judah of Worms. Dulcea came from medieval German Jewry's elite leadership class. Married to a leading figure in the *Ḥasidei Ashkenaz, the German-Jewish pietist movement, she was the economic support for an extensive household, including children, students, and teachers. A capable businesswoman, she was apparently entrusted with the funds of neighbors which she pooled and lent out at profitable rates of interest on which she received commissions. Among R. Eleazar ben Judah's surviving writings are two Hebrew accounts, one in prose and one in poetry, recounting the murders of Dulcea, and their daughters, Bellette and Hannah, by intruders in November 1196. Both documents are important sources of information about medieval Jewish women's activities. Although many scholars have assumed the attackers were Crusaders, there were no massed Crusader forces in Germany at this time. While the two miscreants may have worn Crusader markings, they appear to have attacked the family out of criminal motives, probably prompted by Dulcea's business reputation. These assaults did not go unpunished; the local authorities, in accordance with the German emperor's mandate of protecting the Jews of his realm, quickly captured and executed at least one of the men. R. Eleazar's elegy, an expanded alphabetic acrostic, links numerous details of Dulcea's domestic, religious, and communal endeavors with the praise of the "woman of valor" in Proverbs 31. R. Eleazar designates Dulcea as *ḥasidah* (pious or saintly) and *ẓadeket* (righteous); in addition to noting her domestic management and business finesse, he praises her needlework, recounting that she prepared thread and gut to sew together books, Torah scrolls, and other religious objects. Unusually learned for a woman of her milieu, Dulcea is said to have taught other women and led them in prayer. As a respected investment broker, Dulcea may have been involved in arranging matches and negotiating the financial arrangements which accompanied them. She is also said to have bathed the dead and to have sewn their shrouds, meritorious endeavors in Jewish tradition. More than anything, R. Eleazar reveres his wife for facilitating the spiritual activities of the men of her household; the reward he invokes for Dulcea at the conclusion of his lament is to be wrapped in the eternal life of Paradise, a tribute to her deeds, on which so many depended.

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[Judith R. Baskin (2nd ed.)]

DULZIN, ARYE LEIB (1913–1989), Zionist leader and Israeli politician. Born in Minsk, Belorussia, he immigrated with his parents to Mexico in 1928, where he was educated and was for many years active in commerce. From 1931 to 1937 he acted as the honorary general secretary of the Zionist Federation of Mexico and in the years 1938–42 was president of the federation. From 1944 to 1946 he was chairman of the Mexico branch of the World Jewish Congress and member of the General Zionist Council at the 23rd Zionist Congress in 1951, and at the 24th Zionist Congress in 1961 was elected to the Zionist Executive of the World Zionist Organization (WZO), as representative of the Union of the General Zionists. He thus became the first Latin-American member. In 1965 Dulzin settled in Israel, acting as head of the Economic Department of the Jewish Agency and later head of the Aliyah and Absorption Department. From 1968 to 1978 he was treasurer of the Jewish Agency and the WZO and in this capacity traveled widely throughout the Jewish world to raise funds and to bring the message of Israel to the Jewish world. In 1970–71 on behalf of the Liberal Party, he was cabinet minister without portfolio in the Israeli government but later returned to the Zionist Executive. In 1973–74 and again in 1975 he was acting chairman of the Jewish Agency and the WZO. He was the president of the World Union of the General Zionists, chairman of the Central Actions Committee of the Liberal Party, and a member of the Likud Executive. Among his many other functions he was a governor of Bank Leummi, governor of the Land Development Company (Hachsharat ha-Yishuv), member of the board of directors of Keren Hayesod, president of the Israel-America Society as well as a member of a number of cultural and arts institutions in Israel. In 1978 he was elected chairman of the Jewish Agency and the WZO.

[Benjamin Jaffe]

DUMA, Imperial Russian legislature, in existence between 1906 and 1917. The electoral law establishing the First Duma included no specific restrictions on the Jewish franchise. Although the Jewish socialist parties, and primarily the *Bund, boycotted the elections to the First Duma, the majority of Jews took an active part, voting for candidates of the Russian Constitutional Democratic Party (the Kadets). Twelve Jewish deputies, including five Zionists, were elected: L. *Bramson, G. *Bruk, M. Chervonenkis, S. Frenkel, G. Jolles, Nissan *Katzenelson, Shemaryahu Levin, *M. *Ostrogorski, S. *Rosenbaum, M. *Sheftel, M. *Vinawer, and B. Yakubson. Nine of the deputies were affiliated to the Kadet fraction and three to the Labor group (Trudoviki). On May 15, 1906, a bill to grant civil equality to the Jews and repeal all discriminatory legislation on the ground of religion or nationality was brought in. When news of the pogrom in *Bialystok reached the Duma at the beginning of June 1906, it sent an investigating commission there. The commission's report placed the responsibility for the pogrom on the Russian authorities, and the debate on this burning issue terminated with the dissolution of the First Duma by the Russian government in July. The Jewish representatives took part in the subsequent convocation of protest held by Duma deputies in Vyborg, Finland, and joined in signing the "Vyborg Manifesto," which called on the Russian people to register passive resistance by refusing to pay taxes or enlist in the army. Jews were also among the deputies who were sentenced to three months' imprisonment for signing the manifesto and deprived of their elective rights.

The Second Duma, which met in February 1907, included only four Jewish deputies, and they were hardly known to the Jewish public: S. Abramson, L. Rabinovich, Y. Shapiro – affiliated to the Kadets – and V. *Mandelberg (Siberia), affiliated to the Social Democrats. The small number of Jewish members was the result of the organization and activities of the antisemitic groups who opposed the election of Jewish deputies on principle. Since the Jews were in the minority throughout the country they were unable to return Jewish deputies without the support of the non-Jewish electorate. A bill was laid before the Second Duma by the government abrogating all denominational restrictions in Russia excepting those imposed on the Jews. The premature dissolution of the Second Duma in June 1907 interrupted the debate on the bill.

The Third Duma (1907–12) was returned by a new electoral law which restricted *ab initio* representation of the national minorities and increased that of the landowners and clergy. It was overwhelmingly composed of right-wing elements. There were two Jewish deputies, N. *Friedman and L. *Nisselovich. The Jews were constantly attacked, especially by representatives of the extreme right such as Purishkevich and Zamyslowsky. A bill to abolish the *Pale of Settlement signed by 166 deputies met with ridicule and abuse from the antisemites. On the other hand, the assassination of Premier Stolypin and the *Beilis blood libel case provided an opportunity for scurrilous anti-Jewish attacks. The antisemites also proposed excluding Jews from the army.

Three Jews were elected to the Fourth Duma (1912–17), N. Friedman, M. Bomash, and E. Gurewich. A political office was established by a number of non-socialist Jewish parties to assist the Jewish deputies and provide guidance. The members of this bureau included Y. *Gruenbaum and I. Rosow (Zionists), S. *Dubnow and M. *Kreinin (Jewish Populist Party, *Folkspartei*), M. Vinaver and H. *Sliozberg (Jewish Peoples' Group), L. Bramson and A. *Braudo (Jewish Democratic Group), and O. *Grusenberg. During World War I the Jewish deputies were assigned to counteract the anti-Jewish vilification campaign spread by the army general staff and the restrictions introduced in its wake. It was on the initiative of the political office that deputy A. Kerensky paid a visit to the war zone: on his return he denied the libels from the podium of the Duma. The political office also appealed to the Duma to protest against the government memoranda of 1916 which accused the Jews of sabotaging the Russian war effort. After the February 1917 Revolution the Jews were granted equal rights and the "Jewish question" disappeared from the agenda of the Duma.

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[Yehuda Slutsky]

DUMUH, village near Cairo, thought to be on the site of the ancient Memphis. In the Middle Ages there was an ancient synagogue called *Kanīsat Mūsā* after Moses, because according to legend this was where he lived when he went on his mission to Pharaoh. Al-Maqrīzī (d. 1442), an Arab historian, mentions the miracles observed there and writes that the Jews of Egypt customarily visited the synagogue on Shavuot. Joseph Sambari (17th century) says that they came there on the seventh of Adar, the anniversary of Moses' death. Regulations were initiated to ensure proper conduct and, especially, that men and women should be separated. The leaders of Egyptian Jewry issued appeals for donations for the upkeep of the synagogue.

A 12th-century document reports that the elders of the Cairo community rented a plot of land in the vicinity of the synagogue to a Jew who wished to erect a building there so that the synagogue would not be isolated. Obadiah of *Bertinoro (end of 15th century) reports that there were two synagogues, one belonging to the Rabbanite Jews and the other to the Karaites. On Sabbaths and festivals, Jews went specially there to pray; thus it seems that Jews were still not living there. At the beginning of 1498 the sultan al-Malik al-Nāṣir Muhammad II ordered that the synagogue should be destroyed and this order was carried out in his presence; the synagogue may have been rebuilt, however. Sambari mentions some families who were named "Dumūhī," because of their origin.

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[Eliyahu Ashtor]

DUNAJSKA STREDA (Hung. **Dunaszerdahely**), town located on the largest island of the Danube River in S.W. Slovakia, now Slovak Republic. Towns and villages of the region had dense Jewish populations and most were supervised by the Dunajska Streda rabbinate.

The first Jews probably settled in the area around 1700. Count Palffy granted the community legal rights in a charter of 1739. The Jewish population rose from 16 families in 1700 to 1,874 people in 1880 (44.8% of the entire population) and around 2,700 in 1930.

From the outset, both the royal treasury and the Palffy family burdened the Jews with heavy taxes. The Jews were occupied in crafts, agriculture, and trade in grain and spirits. Rabbi Simeon David officiated in the mid-18th century and by 1780 the community already had a second synagogue and such communal institutions as a ritual bath, kosher butcher, matzah bakery, *talmud torah*, and primary school (a *Beth Jacob school for girls was opened in the 1920s). The Great Synagogue was constructed in 1865. The earliest tombstones in the old cemetery were from 1755. (All Jewish religious installations, with the exception of a small synagogue, were pulled down by the Communist regime in 1950 and 1960.) In 1780 the Jewish community of Dunajska Streda was the second largest in the Hungarian kingdom, after Pressburg (Bratislava).

The community was a center of Orthodoxy and important yeshivot were also located there. Among the celebrated rabbis who officiated in Dunajska Streda were Alexander Meislisch (1784–1800), David b. Menachem Mendel Deutsch, and Judah b. Israel Aszód.

In the late 1880s there was an outburst of severe antisemitism. After an extended anti-Jewish campaign the synagogue was set on fire in June 1887. In the same year the Jewish quarter was sacked and hooligans attacked Jews in the street and in their homes. Not until military units were alerted did the attacks stop. In World War I, 220 Jewish men enlisted in the army; 46 of them died. During the war a large number of Polish Jews settled in the town. With the end of the war, the town was hit by another wave of pogroms and robberies.

The Zionists were active in the town along with the Orthodox political bodies. Jews were well represented in the municipal council, including Jewish members of the Communist Party.

With the entry of the Hungarian army in 1938, persecution increased. Budapest would not forgive Dunajska Streda Jewry its loyalty to Czechoslovakia. Anti-Jewish laws in existence in Hungary were applied to the conquered territories. Jews were left with no source of income, and lived on the charity of Hungarian Jewish organizations. In 1940 Jews were recruited into the labor brigades of the Hungarian army, where many perished. Around 200 Jews who were not able to prove their Hungarian citizenship were assembled in the late summer of 1942 and deported to the vicinity of Kamenets-Podolski in Poland, where they were executed by the Germans. During the years 1942–44 Dunajska Streda was one of the centers for smuggling Slovakian and Polish Jews into Hungary.

In March 1944 German forces occupied Hungary. A new wave of persecutions started immediately. On March 29, the property of local Jews was sequestered. The community institutions were closed down and in their stead a Judenrat was organized. On June 8, all Jews were ordered to assemble in the Great Synagogue and on June 13–15 around 3,000 were deported to Auschwitz.

In 1947 there were 404 Jews in Dunajska Streda. In 1948–49, most of the Jews immigrated to Israel and elsewhere. A community of around 20 families established regular services in the small synagogue in the 1990s and the congregation organized social activities, including a yearly memorial service.

The well-known Orientalist Arminius *Vambery (1832–1913) was born in the town.

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[Yeshayahu Jelinek (2nd ed.)]

°**DUNANT, JEAN HENRI** (1828–1910), Swiss Protestant philanthropist. Dunant was the founder of the Geneva Convention and the International Red Cross. Among his humanitarian causes was the settlement of Jews in Ereẓ Israel, which he regarded as essential for reviving the Middle East. During the early 1860s he tried to arouse the interest of Napoleon III and leaders of West European Jewry in his Jewish settlement plan. He established an association for the colonization of Palestine, and in a letter to the *Jewish Chronicle* of December 13, 1867, described its basic principles: the acquisition of land by the association; the building of a Jerusalem-Jaffa railroad; and the development of agriculture "aided by the cooperation of Israelites." He traveled throughout Europe in an attempt to interest such personalities as Adolphe Crémieux and Moses Montefiore. Dunant was unsuccessful in his efforts, and his contention was that the indifference of the Jews was to blame. Herzl, in his closing speech at the First Zionist Congress (1897), referred to Dunant as a Christian Zionist.

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[Getzel Kressel]

DUNASH BEN LABRAT (mid-tenth century), Hebrew poet, linguist, and exegete. Most medieval scholars believed that he and Adonim ha-Levi were the same person. Moses Ibn Ezra described him as a Baghdadi by origin and a man of Fez by education. He could have been born around 925, in Baghdad or in Fez, and was one of the last students of *Saadiah in Baghdad. After the death of his master (942) he established himself first in Fez and later on in Córdoba, where he was teaching around 960. Some years later, after having had problems with *Ḥisdai ibn Shaprut, he abandoned Andalusia; in 985 he wrote a poem in honor of a prominent Andalusian Jew. We have no more concrete references about the rest of his life or about his death.

Dunash as a Poet

It was Dunash who applied the Arabic poetic forms, genres, and meters to Hebrew, adapting them to the biblical language and thus laying the foundation of medieval Andalusian Hebrew poetry. Though initially there was some opposition in Córdoba, in the circle of Menahem ben Saruq, the innovation was immediately accepted and developed. Ibn *Gabirol speaks of Dunash as the greatest poet of his generation and imitates his style in one of his compositions. Only some of Dunash's poems have been discovered and a few of them are known only by the lines quoted in his philological work. As was common at the time, his secular poems include panegyrics (in honor of Ḥisdai ibn Shaprut and other Jewish notables), songs of friendship and love, with praise to nature, the good life, and wine, and also didactic and wisdom poetry. The ambivalence of Jewish life in a Muslim atmosphere left deep traces in his verses. He expressed his sadness for the situation of his people, among Muslims and Christians, and for the ruins of Jerusalem. His religious poems include the Sabbath song *Deror yikra* and *Devai hasser,* which has become part of the Grace said after the wedding meal. He also wrote *piyyutim* as is clear from the remains of a *kerovah* for the Day of Atonement and other fragments. *A genizah* fragment indicates that ten rhymed riddles, previously thought to be the work of Ibn Gabirol, were written by Dunash. E. Fleischer published a short poem possibly written by Dunash's wife when her husband was leaving Andalusia.

Collections of Dunash's poems were published by D. Kahana in 1894 and by N. Allony in 1947 (see Mirsky, in: KS, 24 (1947/48), 16–19; *Shir u-Fulmus*, ed. by Y. Zmora, 1944); M. Zulay, in *Sinai*, 29 (1951), 36ff.; E. Fleischer, in *Tarbiz*, 39 (1970), 33ff., and in *Jerusalem Studies in Hebrew Literature*, 5 (1984), 189–202; in 1988 C. del Valle published 56 poems by Dunash with Spanish translation and commentary (*El diván poético de Dunash ben Labraṭ: la introducción de la métrica árabe*).

Dunash as a Linguist

When Dunash arrived in Córdoba, *Menahem b. Jacob ibn Saruq, Ḥisdai ibn Shaprut's secretary, was working on his dictionary of Biblical Hebrew and Aramaic in Hebrew, the *Maḥberet.* Dunash, worried about some possibly heterodox interpretations and dissenting from him in basic grammatical views, wrote some replies against Menahem and presented them, with praise and thanks, to Ḥisdai (shortly after 958). The grammatical and lexical study of the language of the Bible became for Menahem and Dunash a passionate question that gave rise to one of the hottest debates that took place in the Middle Ages. Dunash claimed to have disputed 200 items, but in the text which has been preserved there are 180 entries. Sixty-eight are included in the poem *Le-doresh ha-ḥokhmot* which is explained by parallel prose paragraphs, a literary form borrowed from technical Arabic literature. Many of Dunash's comments deal with those grammatical or lexical explanations which, in his opinion, are likely to lead to error in matters of *halakhah* and belief. This religious factor may explain the severity of his attack. From our perspective, it is not easy to understand that the meaning of a word or its appropriate grammatical classification could give rise to such vicious and scornful attacks. But it was not a mere question of words: upon this discussion depended the entire Jewish conception of God and his relation to the world, the way of understanding the moral obligations of mankind, and the confirmation of rabbinic tradition over sectarian views. Therefore, his could not be just a cold and objective science. For Dunash the meaning of the biblical text and theology could never be at odds. In some cases Dunash criticized interpretations of his adversaries which seemed to be close to Karaism. Though Menahem was relieved of his position as a result of accusations of heresy, there is no proof that Dunash deliberately caused his downfall or that he benefited from it in any way. Three of Menahem's students, Ibn Kapron, Isaac ibn Gikatilla (Ibn Janaḥ's teacher), and Judah Ḥayyuj, came out against Dunash though Ḥisdai was still alive. They wrote responsa dealing with 50 items, which imitated Dunash's poem in their form. Dunash's student, *Yehudi b. Sheshet, answered sharply in the same manner. Rashi, who knew of the argument between the school of Menahem and the school of Dunash, quotes Dunash about 20 times, and many more times Menahem. R. Tam wrote "decisions" on the disagreements between Dunash and Menahem, and Joseph Kimḥi, in his *Sefer ha-Galui*, wrote against these decisions in favor of Dunash. Although Dunash was correct in many of the points under discussion, his grammatical method is no more advanced than that of Menahem. Both shared, for example, the search for the "bases" of Hebrew words and verbs, a set of firm consonants very different from the diachronic concept of "root" used in later philology. However, while Menahem rejected for ideological reasons the comparison of Hebrew with other languages, Dunash accepted the comparatist method, in particular in relation to Arabic.

The book *Teshuvot ʿal Rav Saʿadyah Gaʾon* ("Responsa on R. Saadiah Gaon") is also attributed to Dunash, but many scholars doubt if he was the author, since it is written in prose full of Arabisms and, moreover, dissents on several points from the opinion of Dunash in his dispute with Menahem and recognizes that hollow roots are also triliteral. There are some who believe that Dunash wrote this work when an old man, perhaps after being influenced by Ḥayyuj, whom all consider to be the founder of the new method in Hebrew grammar.

Dunash's responsa were edited by Filipowski in 1855, and in a critical edition with new materials by A. Sáenz-Badillos in 1980; the arguments, written in verse by students of Menahem and Dunash, were edited by S.G. Stern (1870); S. Benavente published the answers of the students of Menahem (1986); the replies by Yehudi ben Sheshet were published by E. Varela (1981); the *Teshuvot ʿal Rav Saʿadyah Gaʾon*, by R. Shroeter (1866).

Dunash as an Exegete

Dunash did not write complete commentaries to biblical books, but practiced, like Menahem, a kind of grammatical analysis that was a true literal exegesis. For Dunash philology was not an end in itself, it was an instrument for the adequate comprehension of the Bible, the only correct way of interpreting the Scriptures. Dunash was very respectful toward the interpretations of the Targum and the Masorah, remaining faithful to the literal meaning of the text. This did not mean disregarding the fact that the Scriptures uses metaphors and analogies that should be understood as such, above all in the case of the anthropomorphisms and anthropopathisms in Scripture. Dunash applied linguistic knowledge to the interpretation of the Scriptures, complementing it with "the 13 rules by which most of the precepts, laws, norms, and instructions are governed and measured." He made moderate use of the methods of permutation or metathesis applied by some traditional interpreters, and continued the comparative methods initiated by Saadiah and other grammarians in North Africa in order to understand the most difficult words of the Bible.

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[Chaim M. Rabin / Angel Sáenz-Badillos (2nd ed.)]

DUNASH IBN TAMIM (c. 890–after 955/6), North African scholar, known also as **Adonim**, the Hebrew form of Dunash, and by the Arabic surname **Abu Sahl**. (The descriptive adjective *shaflagi* appended to his name by Moses *Ibn Ezra is inexplicable.) Dunash was from Kairouan, and studied with Isaac *Israeli, to whom he undoubtedly owed the greater part of his intellectual development. The philosophical and theological parts of his commentary on the *Sefer *Yeẓirah* reflect the neoplatonism of Israeli's philosophical thinking. Dunash probably also received from Israeli his medical knowledge, displayed authoritatively especially in the last pages of his commentary. Dunash also demonstrates a thorough knowledge of certain theories of Arabic grammar, chiefly theories of phonetics. In addition to astronomy, of which he had made a special study, this commentary shows that he had read treatises derived from Greek sources on physics and the natural sciences. Dunash is thought to be the author of several works (all probably in Arabic). The following three are no longer extant: (1) a comparative study of Arabic and Hebrew, in which the author tries to prove the antiquity of Hebrew, and which is mentioned or quoted by Judah *Ibn Bal'am, Abu Ibrahim Isak *Ibn Barun, Moses *Ibn Ezra, and Abraham *Ibn Ezra, but in deprecatory terms; (2) a book on Indian calculus, probably bearing the title *Ḥisab al-Gubar*; and (3) a treatise on astronomy in three parts (structure of the spheres, mathematical astronomy, and astrology, probably critical). The last was written at the request of *Ḥisdai ibn Shaprut; another edition or copy was dedicated by Dunash to the Fatimid caliph al-Mansur Ismail ibn al Qayyim. Extant in manuscript is a treatise on the armillary sphere, an astronomical instrument, dedicated to a high Fatimid dignitary and written in Arabic characters (as opposed to other Arabic writings in Hebrew script; Hagia Sophia Ms. 4861). There are vague allusions to a commentary on the first chapter of Genesis. The Arab physician Ibn al-Baytar (d. 1248) refers to a medical work by Dunash, and there are other references to a "Book on Urine" as well.

The commentary on the *Sefer Yeẓirah*, mentioned above, was written in 955/6. Attempts made to attribute this work to Isaac Israeli or Jacob b. Nissim may be disregarded. To date, the Cairo *Genizah* has yielded only about one-third of the Arabic original of this text; it has been preserved fully in four Hebrew versions: the first by Nahum ha-Ma'aravi (c. 1240); the second by Moses b. Joseph b. Moses (somewhat earlier), based on the complete Arabic editions; the third by an anonymous author, probably of the 14th century, from a shorter Arabic text of perhaps the mid-11th century; and the fourth by another anonymous author of unknown date, from an Arabic abridgment, possibly of 1092.

Dunash's exegetical method in *Sefer Yeẓirah* is scientific. He succeeded in incorporating in his commentary much of the knowledge of his day without losing sight of the influence of philosophic and scientific truths on religion. He dealt with such truths as an incorporeal God, creator of a perfectly regulated universe, a hierarchy of souls of the spheres, and prophetic inspiration, said to coincide in its highest degree, as in the case of Moses, with Plotinian ecstasy. Dunash did not hesitate to criticize *Saadiah Gaon's commentary on the *Sefer Yeẓirah*; however, these criticisms have been attenuated or suppressed in some of the Hebrew versions. Dunash's commentary enjoyed some renown in the 12th century when *Judah b. Barzillai, Joseph ibn *Ẓaddik, and perhaps *Judah Halevi made use of it. It is mentioned several times in the 13th century, particularly by Abraham *Abulafia; it was copied with slight alterations c. 1370 by Samuel ibn Motot, and traces of it are found among 15th-century authors, such as Ẓemaḥ Duran, Isaac Halayo (unpublished sermons on the Song of Songs, Paris, Ms. Heb. 228), and *Moses b. Jacob (*Oẓar Adonai*, Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Opp. 556). However, Dunash's work, like that of Isaac Israeli, his teacher, played only a secondary role in the history of Jewish thought.

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[Georges Vajda]

DUNAYEVSKI, ISAAC OSIPOVICH (1900–1955), Soviet Russian composer. Born at Lokhvitsa, near Poltava, Ukraine, he began to learn the piano at the age of four and studied at the Kharkov Conservatory, with Joseph *Achron. In 1919 he settled in Leningrad. Dunayevski was one of the leading popular composers of Soviet Russia, and in 1937 was made president of the Union of Soviet Composers. His works include light operas, dance music, songs, choruses, and incidental music to plays and films, as well as a string quartet, a *Song of Stalin* for chorus and orchestra, a *Requiem* for reciter and quintet, and one work for jazz orchestra, the *Rhapsody on Song-Themes of the Peoples of the U.S.S.R.* (1931). Among his operettas were *The Golden Valley* (1934) and *The Road to Happiness* (1939). His 12 scores for films include *Circus* (1935) and *Volga-Volga* (1938) which made a permanent contribution to Soviet popular song. For a time after 1933 he experimented with jazz idioms. He was awarded the Stalin Prize in 1941. Dunayevski died in Moscow, and the collection *Vystupleniya, statyi, pisma, vospominaniya* ("Appearances, Articles, Letters, Memoirs") was published posthumously in 1961.

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DUNAYEVTSY, town in Khmelnitski district, Ukraine. The Jewish community numbered 1,129 in 1765, but by 1775 was reduced to 484 as a result of the *Haidamak uprising of 1768. From the beginning of the 19th century many Jews found employment as workers, dyers, and traders in the flourishing textile industry there. Dunayevtsy was the scene of a trial lasting from 1838 to 1840 in which a number of Jews were accused of the murder of two informers. The Jewish population numbered 2,020 in 1847 and approximately 10,000 before the outbreak of World War I (about two-thirds of the total population). Dunayevtsy became known as a center of Hebrew and Zionist literary and educational activity. The scholars and writers Yeḥezkel *Kaufmann, Ẓevi *Scharfstein, S.L. *Blank, and Abraham *Rosen were born and educated there. After the establishment of Soviet rule the town became impoverished. Many Jews immigrated or moved to the cities of the Russian interior. There were 5,186 Jews in Dunayevtsy in 1926 (60.5% of the total), dropping to 4,478 (68.23% of the total) before World War II. The Germans occupied Dunayevtsy on July 11, 1941. They concentrated the Jews into a ghetto. On May 2, 1942, about 3,000 were murdered by the Nazis.

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[Yehuda Slutsky]

DUNEDIN, city in Otago, New Zealand. Five Jewish families had settled in Dunedin, the most southern Jewish community in the world, before the discovery of gold in Otago in 1861. In 1862, the congregation had a membership of 43, including the poet and novelist Benjamin *Farjeon. Jacob *Saphir of Jerusalem, then visiting Dunedin, wrote a *megillah* for reading on Purim. The first synagogue was consecrated in 1864. A number of congregational activities were initiated while B. Lichenstein was minister, from 1875 to 1892. A synagogue was built in 1881. From 1884 D.E. Theomin headed the community for almost 30 years. Wolf Heinemann, professor and examiner in German and Hebrew at Otago University from 1895, lectured in the synagogue and founded the Dunedin Zionist Society in 1905. Other ministers included A.T. Chodowski, who officiated from 1898 to 1909 and later founded the *Australian Jewish Chronicle*, and A. Astor (1926–30). Although a small community, it produced four notable members of the legislature – Sir Julius *Vogel, Samuel Shrimski, Bendix Hallenstein, and Mark Cohen. In the present century it dwindled and numbered only 100 in 1968 and about the same number in 2004.

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[Maurice S. Pitt]

DUNKELMAN, BENJAMIN (1913–1997), Canadian manufacturer and volunteer soldier in World War II and Israel's War of Independence. Dunkelman was born in Toronto. His father, David, was a wealthy Toronto clothing manufacturer and retailer and his mother, Rose Miller (see *Dunkelman, Rose), was a leading figure in Canadian Hadassah. After finishing at Toronto's elite Upper Canada College, he visited Palestine in 1932 as a teenager and worked for several months at Tel Asher, with the intention of joining a kibbutz. He returned again in 1935 hoping to stay on and establish a new settlement but returned to Canada and in 1939 – believing that he had a personal score to settle with the Nazis – tried to join the Royal Canadian Navy. Rejected, he enlisted in the Canadian Army and served in combat with great distinction, earning the prestigious Distinguished Service Order as a company commander in the Queen's Own Rifles for, among other achievements, leading his men under fire through the heavily mined Hochwald forest. He was recognized as an expert in mortars. Arriving back in Palestine in April 1948, Dunkelman joined Haganah forces battling on the roads to keep Jerusalem supplied and commanded one of the units in the fight for control of Galilee. Troops under his command captured Nazareth. He also organized and trained a heavy mortar support brigade. He returned to Canada after Israel's War of Independence and took over the family clothing manufacturing business. In Toronto he was active also in many Jewish and non-Jewish organizations and later wrote a revealing autobiography, *Dual Allegiance: An Autobiography* (1976), which reflects the tension he felt between his commitment both to Israel and Canada.

[Gerald Tulchinsky (2nd ed.)]

DUNKELMAN, ROSE (1889–1949), Canadian Jewish communal leader and philanthropist. Rose Dunkelman (Miller) was born in Philadelphia and moved to Toronto at age 13. She married David Dunkelman, a major Toronto clothing manufacturer, in 1910. They had six children. Rose Dunkelman was a formidable force in a number of Jewish causes, including the Toronto Talmud Torah and Hebrew Free Schools, the Toronto YMHA and YWHA, and the Jewish Federated Charities. A passionate Zionist, however, her prime organizational focus was in support of Canadian Hadassah and in her forthright manner she was partly responsible for making the organization an independent and powerful Canadian Zionist force during the interwar and immediate postwar years. At her Toronto home and summer estate, "Sunnybrook Farm," she often entertained visiting Zionist leaders who kept her informed of unfolding events in Palestine. Outraged by the exclusion of Jews from nearby vacation resorts, she founded Balfour Beach on Lake Simcoe north of Toronto, where she had 30 cottages built which welcomed Jewish vacationers. A veritable whirlwind of energy and activity, she also worked for the Canadian Red Cross and was awarded the King's Coronation Medal in 1937. Miffed by the anti-Zionist editorials in the Toronto-based *Canadian Jewish Review*, in 1931, together with her husband, she founded the *Canadian Jewish Standard*, and recruited the talented Meyer *Weisgal, who briefly served as editor. This monthly magazine reflected her deep commitment to the Zionist cause. When she died in 1949 Rose Dunkelman was buried in Israel at *Deganyah Alef. Her son, Benjamin *Dunkelman, fought in Israel's War of Independence.

[Gerald Tulchinsky (2nd ed.)]

°DUNS SCOTUS, JOHN (1265–1308), Catholic theologian and philosopher. Scotus opposed many of the views of Thomas *Aquinas. Against Aquinas he affirmed the limitations of philosophy, and argued that the will is superior to the intellect, because the will is free while the intellect is bound by necessity, insofar as one is constrained to believe what the intellect recognizes to be true. He objected to Aquinas' contention that attributes are applied analogically to man and God, holding that if man is to know anything at all about God, the attributes applied to God and man must, in some sense, be univocal. He affirmed the existence of individualized forms, maintaining that every object has its own unique form, its "thisness" (*haecceitas*), which differentiates it from other objects. Scotus is known for his support of the forcible baptism of Jewish children, and his contention that a sovereign has the right to have Jewish children educated in the Christian faith without parental consent. In this he opposed Aquinas who had argued against forcible baptism on the ground that it violates the right of parenthood which is a principle of natural law. Scotus held that conversion supersedes natural law, for nothing should stand in the way of enabling man to achieve eternal salvation. In the case of conflict between the right of parenthood and the will of God, the right of parenthood ceases to be binding. He did maintain that forcible baptism, when carried out by a private individual, violates natural law; however, when carried out by a sovereign it is legitimate (L. Wadding (ed.), *Opera Omnia*, 8 (1639), 275).

In a polemical passage directed against infidels Scotus characterized the Jews in exactly the same terms as had Aquinas: the laws of the Old Testament have become "tasteless" (*insipidi*) with the appearance of Christ (*Opus Oxoniense* Prolog., pt. 2, in *Opera*, 1 (1951), 71ff.). His negative attitude toward Judaism did not prevent Scotus from utilizing the views of Solomon ibn *Gabirol, author of *Fons Vitae* (*Mekor

Ḥayyim; "The Fountain of Life"), whom he knew under the name of Avicebron, and did not identify as a Jew, and *Maimonides. He defended Ibn Gabirol's theory that even spiritual beings are composed of form and matter, a view which was traditionally upheld by the Franciscans and rejected by the Dominicans. Scotus refers to Maimonides' discussion of the relation of reason and revelation, and to his doctrine of divine attributes, which he finds similar to that of Avicenna, and follows Maimonides in his doctrine of prophecy. He argues against the view that the temporal creation of the world cannot be proved – a view which Aquinas adopted from Maimonides – but does not mention Maimonides in this connection. While there are no direct references to Scotus in their writings it had recently been suggested that Scotus and his school exerted an influence on late medieval Jewish philosophers. Thus reflections of Scotus' theory of individuation are found in *Ma'amar ha-Dan ba-Ẓurot ha-Peratiyyot o Ishiyyot* ("A Treatise Upon Personal Forms," Paris Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. Heb. 984) written by *Jedaiah ha-Penini. *Levi b. Gershom, in his view that man's freedom of the will is a deviation from the determinism that prevails in the universe, and in his rejection of negative attributes, appears to have been influenced by Scotus. There are distinct similarities to Scotus in Ḥasdai *Crescas' criticism of the physical proofs of God's existence, in his theory of divine attributes, and in his seeing a compulsory element in the activity of the intellect. (For further details on Scotus' influence on Jewish philosophy, see S. Pines, in PIASH, 1 (1967), 1–51.)

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°**DUPONT-SOMMER, ANDRÉ** (1900–1983), French Bible scholar. Dupont-Sommer was director of studies at the Ecole des Hautes Etudes from 1938, professor at the Sorbonne from 1945, professor of Hebrew and Aramaic at the Collège de France from 1963, and president of the Institut d'Etudes Sémitiques of the University of Paris from 1952. He undertook archaeological excavations in the Near East from 1925 to 1934.

Dupont-Sommer was one of the first interpreters of the Dead Sea Scrolls. He published many articles and a number of books on them, including three that have been translated into English under the titles *The Dead Sea Scrolls: A Preliminary Survey* (1952), *The Jewish Sect of Qumran and the Essenes* (1954), and *The Essene Writings from Qumran* (1961). His *Les Araméens* (1949) is an outstanding contribution on the Arameans. His publication of an important collection of several hundred Aramaic ostraca discovered in the French excavations at Elephantine, conducted by C. Clermont-Ganneau, has increased the knowledge of the Aramaic of the Book of Ezra and of the culture of the Jews of Egypt in the Persian period. His other published works include *La doctrine gnostique de la lettre "Waw" d'après une lamelle araméene inédite* (1946), *Les inscriptions araméennes de Sfiré* (1958), and *Observations sur le commentaire d'Habacuc découvert près de la Mer Morte* (1950).

[Zev Garber]

DU PRÉ, JACQUELINE (1945–1987), British cellist. Du Pre was born in Oxford and began studying the cello at the age of six. In 1968, she graduated from the Guildhall School of Music, London, with a gold medal, then studied with Tortelier (in Paris), with Casals, and with Rostropovich (in Moscow). After her London debut at the Wigmore Hall (March 1961), she steadily acquired an international reputation as one of the most naturally gifted musicians England has ever produced. In 1967, she met Daniel *Barenboim, the Israeli pianist, and they were married in June of that year after her conversion to Judaism (she was previously an Anglican). She and her husband made many tours together and performed frequently all over Israel, playing chamber music with Itzchak *Perlman and Pinchas *Zuckerman and appearing in concerts with conductor Zubin *Mehta. In 1973, however, her career tragically ended when she was stricken by multiple sclerosis.

[Max Loppert (2nd ed.)]

DUQUE, SIMON DAVID (1897–1945), one of the last two *ḥazzanim* of the Portuguese Synagogue of Amsterdam, Holland. Born in Amsterdam, Duque was appointed *ḥazzan* in 1923. He was chosen from among three candidates because of his adherence to the Amsterdam tradition. He also aimed at an operatic style and had a beautiful voice. Among his many moving *ḥazzanut* features are his *Kedushah* for Sabbath *Musaf* and *Ve-Hu Raḥum* for the evening service. His falsetto was famous. He was deported by the Nazi occupiers of Holland and died at the Dachau concentration camp.

[Amnon Shiloah (2nd ed.)]

DURA-EUROPOS, ancient city on the Euphrates River in Syria. It was long known from the writings of the first-century geographer Isidore of Charax/Bosra, but its exact whereabouts, a site known as el-Ṣalihiye, was discovered only accidentally by a British patrol in the aftermath of World War I while they were digging military installations. A brief excavation was conducted at the site by F. Cumont in 1922–23. A major Franco-American expedition carried out work at the site between the years 1928–37. The city was founded in about 300 B.C.E. by Seleucus I Nicator. It served as a transfer post where goods brought up the river from India were put on camels and carried to Palmyra and the Mediterranean. Dura-Europos was taken by the Parthians in 114 B.C.E. but it retained its autonomy and Greek character. After being held briefly by the Romans at the time of Trajan in 116 C.E., it was restored to the Parthians in 118 C.E., and captured once again by the

Romans in Lucius Verus' campaign of 168 C.E. The Romans ruled it until its conquest and destruction by the Sassanids under Shapur I in 256 C.E. Throughout its history the city contained a mixed population and judging from its temples it was largely eastern in orientation, with strong cultural ties with Palmyra. In addition to a synagogue the excavators also found a Mithraeum for the Roman soldiers and a small Christian chapel. The relative sizes of the pagan temples and the synagogue seem to indicate that Dura-Europos' Jewish population was a small minority in the city. Thus although the city was only about 250 miles (400 km.) north of Nehardea, the great center of Babylonian Jewry, the Jews of Dura-Europos must have lived as an isolated group in a pagan center rather than as a fully Jewish community.

The synagogue at Dura-Europos, discovered in 1932, was found in a remarkable state of preservation. It lay just inside the western city wall within an insula of ten houses (block L7) and when the inhabitants, judged expendable by the shrinking Roman Empire, attempted to strengthen the wall against the advancing Sassanid army, they tore off the roofs of the buildings just behind the wall and filled them with sand from the desert. The synagogue was accordingly as securely buried and protected as at Pompeii. The paintings, completed only some five years before the city fell, emerged from the sand nearly as fresh as when painted. The synagogue was built in c. 244–45 C.E. by remodeling a private house and followed the plan of the inner shrines of the pagan temples of the city. Since it contained benches around the room, often found in synagogues elsewhere, it evidently served for group worship. The benches, however, could accommodate only a small part of the congregation and wooden stools were probably used as well. Beneath the synagogue the remains of another smaller and more modest one was found, dating to the last quarter of the second century C.E. The entrance to the earlier synagogue was on the side adjoining the city wall through a narrow corridor which led to a courtyard with porticoes on two sides. The prayer room, 25 × 14 ft. (10.85 × 4.60 m.), contained a niche (the Torah Shrine?) in its west wall, a bench along the walls of the room, and two doorways, one of which may have served as the women's entrance (no sign of a women's gallery was found at Dura-Europos). The walls of the building were painted in geometric designs and fruit and floral motifs. In one corner of the court was a pool; adjoining it was a large room with benches (*bet midrash*?).

The second (upper) synagogue has an inscription written in Aramaic indicating the date of the completion of its construction in 245 C.E. Its entrance was on the street side far from the wall; the entrance was well hidden and the prayer room itself was accessible only through various passageways. The courtyard of the synagogue was expanded and surrounded by porticoes on three sides and the prayer room was also enlarged (to 45 × 25 ft. (13.65 × 7.68 m.)). Benches were extended along all the walls and a stepped *bimah* ("platform") built near the niche. A Greek inscription commemorates the building of the synagogue by Samuel b. Idi "elder of the Jews" with the assistance of several members of the congregation. All the walls of the second synagogue were covered with paintings, most of them representing scenes from the Bible, and these must have been executed within only a few years of the renovation. Into these scenes were incorporated pagan figures, forms, and symbols (see *Symbolism, Jewish, in the Greco-Roman Period). The biblical paintings, and others, which only by a flight of the imagination can be associated with any specific biblical incident, were arranged in variously proportioned rectangles separated by borders of running grapevines. Pilasters painted with vines occupy the corners and support the ceiling which seems originally to have been made of square coffers decorated with painted tiles and probably with plaster wreaths at the intersections of the beams. The paintings around the bottom row of the room show masks and harnessed felines holding fragments of their victims. Both the masks and the felines are of the kind generally associated with Dionysus and also with other deities, e.g., the felines with Cybele, the Great Mother of fertility. The many tiles preserved from the ceiling show a large number of fertility symbols: bunches of fruit and grain, and many representations of female heads which Kraeling identified with the "ubiquitous Demeter-Persephone of the eastern Mediterranean," i.e., Cybele. This goddess also appears with the felines and the masks in the dado. Other ceiling tiles show birds, fish, running gazelles, and centaurs holding out a fish. Several tiles bear dated donor's inscriptions in Greek and Aramaic; the congregation was presumably bilingual. Since the ceiling was about 23 ft. (7 m.) high, the inscriptions, written in relatively small letters, could have been read only by the sharpest eyes and thus they were possibly designed to suggest the donors' destiny in the heavenly setting of the ceiling itself, and not as plaques for conspicuous notice.

The room was oriented for worship toward Jerusalem by placing the niche, presumably for the Torah, in the long west wall. On a panel above the niche were painted a *menorah*, *etrog*, and *lulav*, the temple facade, and a crudely drawn scene of the sacrifice of Isaac (the *Akedah*), which was apparently used to represent a *shofar* ("ram's horn"). This decoration, and the first stage of the high vine painted above the niche, seem to have been executed even before the other paintings had been planned. The high panel (the reredos) above the niche was repainted several times; this makes it the most important design in the room. After being exposed to light for a few hours, the underpaintings came through the upper ones, rendering the whole scene one of utter confusion. The various stages of painting, however, can be fairly well reconstructed, and show that the master directing the decoration planned it during the execution of the paintings and did not merely copy conventional models. First a great tree, rising nearly to the ceiling, was painted with grape leaves and tendrils but without grapes (and thus called a "tree-vine") growing out of a large crater. How many times this design was altered cannot be determined but at a later stage a king in Persian dress seated on a throne and two throne guards were inserted at the top of the tree-vine since leaves show through the white Greek robes of the guards. Several other alterations were also made. The crater at the bottom was painted out and the trunk awkwardly extended downward to leave spaces on either side of the trunk. In the space at the left a table was painted with a bread symbol, and on the right a crater with rampant felines facing each other above it. Halfway up the vine a figure of Orpheus was added playing his lyre to an eagle and a lion, and perhaps other birds and a monkey. This group was not part of the original design since the vine leaves show through the bodies of Orpheus and the lion. These alterations were apparently made to indicate more clearly the meaning of the tree-vine, namely, through the salvation of music, bread, and wine, the tree led to the great throne above. The design apparently still did not seem specific, or specifically Jewish enough, for the lower table and the crater with felines on either side of the trunk were painted out and replaced by two new scenes. On the left Jacob on his deathbed was represented blessing his twelve sons, while on the right he blesses Ephraim and Manasseh in the presence of Joseph. Representatives of the 13 tribes were also painted standing around the throne above. The alterations in the design were made to show explicitly what seems to have been originally implied by the tree-vine alone, i.e., the salvation of Israel. Orpheus was left in as he was apparently identified with some Jewish figure such as David who saved Israel through his music.

On each side of the reredos two standing figures were painted. The upper two clearly represent Moses at the burning bush and receiving the tablets of the Law on Sinai. Of the lower two figures one depicts a man in a white Greek pallium (as Moses was dressed in the upper two figures) reading a scroll on the model of readers in scenes of mystery religions, and the other an old man in similar garb standing under the arc of heaven with its sun, moon, and stars. The reader seems to be Moses giving the Law to the Israelites after his descent from Sinai, and the old man, the dying Moses, who in Philo's account of his life was taken at his death to join in the song of the heavenly bodies to God. Other identifications, however, have been suggested for the latter two figures and no positive judgment can be made. The painters now continued to cover the walls with scenes based mainly on biblical incidents, all of which are stylized and given midrashic or allegorical interpretation. On the bottom left side of the west wall Elijah is represented reviving the widow's son, an infant dead and without features who is held out to the prophet by his mother; next the prophet holds up the baby alive but still with no features, and lastly he is again in his mother's arms, glorified, and finally with features. Beside this scene a longer painting shows three groups of people. On the right Ahasuerus, enthroned with Esther, is humiliated as a messenger brings him news of the massacre of his subjects. At the left Mordecai in full regal splendor rides on a horse led by Haman in slave's dress. Between these two scenes, in the dramatic center of the painting, stand four large figures dressed in pallia with three of their hands raised in blessing. These are apparently angelic figures representing God's intervention in the Persian crisis. On the same row to the right of the niche Samuel anoints David, who stands with his hands folded under a dark pallium, while a large Samuel in a white pallium pours oil from a horn onto David's head. Jesse and five brothers stand behind in a hieratic row wearing white or light-colored pallia. To the right of this scene is the last painting on the bottom row of the west wall, a large work based on the infancy of Moses. At the right Pharaoh enthroned and in Persian dress orders the midwives (the mother and the sister of Moses) to kill all male Jewish babies and a woman stoops apparently to put Moses into the ark. In the center of a group at the left Moses is taken out of the ark by a naked woman who stands knee-deep in the river. She is identified as Aphrodite-Anahita by her peculiar necklace. She holds the baby up to three women standing on the bank; these are identified by the emblems they carry as the three nymphs who were the nurses of all divine babies, actual gods, and divine kings. As Aphrodite-Anahita holds the baby up to the nymphs it has no features, but in the last scene the baby is in the hands of the mother and sister and at last fully formed with features. At the far left of the row above, Moses again stands in the pallium, parts of which have a peculiar checked design. He touches a well with his rod and from it 12 streams flow out toward 12 tents surrounding the well. In each tent stands a short figure in Persian dress. A gabled doorway with only darkness behind it occupies the back center of the painting; a *menorah* and incense burners stand before it. It is generally agreed that the scene is based on Moses' bringing water from the rock in the desert, and that the 12 tribes here, as often in Jewish tradition, are equated with the Zodiac.

Adjoining this scene on the right, the artist depicted a temple with Aaron in priestly dress dominating the scene. Aaron is identified by his name written in Greek beside him. Five much smaller men in Persian dress attend him, one holding an ax as if to strike a reddish bovine before him, and the others carry horns (not like *shofars*). Another bovine, probably a bull, stands with a ram on the right. The main interest is the temple itself, which instead of the curtained tabernacle of Aaron's priesthood, is a temple of stone, an outer wall forming a court around an inner porticoed sanctuary. In the outer wall are three closed doorways; a pink-lined curtain blows back from the central one. Aaron stands in the court along with a large *menorah*, two small incense burners, and an altar with an indistinguishable animal on it for sacrifice. The *menorah* is the central object, but behind it, through the open door of the inner shrine, can be seen the veiled Ark of the Covenant. The Ark stands in front of the veil after the ancient custom for revealing veiled objects. The form of the temple was taken from a common design which the Dura painter spaced out so as to indicate the inner court with its objects. Even the winged Victories bearing wreaths as acroteria for the inner shrine were retained. This painting seems to represent the values of the Aaronic priesthood in general. Balancing this on the other side of the reredos is a basically similar temple, but with the design altered to express a more abstract idea. Again three closed doors pierce what was meant as the outer wall and above it is the inner shrine still with its winged Victories. The outer wall, however, has become a series of seven stone walls, each a different color, which rise from the bottom to the top and from side to side of the painting. Thus the three doors and the inner shrine seem to be artificially superimposed upon the walls. The inner shrine has ten columns instead of the five in the Aaron scene, and like the three doors, it is closed. The temple does not stand on the ground and no ritual is indicated (and so it is called the "Closed Temple"). On each of the two doors in the lower central doorway are three panels. These depict, from top to bottom, a bull lying in the position of sacrifice; a herculean figure standing naked and flanked by a small naked figure; and the figure of Tyche.

To the right of the "Closed Temple" is the last painting on this register of the west wall which depicts a third temple, open and empty, with cult objects and the fragments of two Persian deities strewn on the ground before it. Beside it is the Ark on a cart pulled by two bovines that are being whipped and led by two men in Persian costume. Three dignified men in light-colored pallia walk abreast behind the Ark. The painting was without doubt suggested by the biblical incident in which the idol of Dagon collapsed before the Ark and the Ark itself was returned to the Israelites on a cart. The left side of the top register of the west wall is almost totally destroyed although the base of a throne with "Solomon" written on it in Greek and the bottom of various figures can be seen. Nothing, however, can be identified. Opposite this, a long painting presents the drama of the Exodus from Egypt. Egypt is depicted as a walled town at the far right with figures of Ares and two Victories above the open gate through which the Israelites march out. They advance in four columns. In the upper three columns two bands of armed troops guard both sides of a row of 12 men in white pallia, presumably the 12 heads of tribes. The bottom row is made up of ordinary people wearing only the belted chiton. Leading them is Moses as a great heroic figure. In a white dotted pallium Moses strides vigorously toward the Red Sea, which he is about to strike, not with the rod expected from the biblical narrative, but with the knobby mace of Heracles. The sea before him is already closed in the economy of narrative art and Moses is again depicted closing it on its other side; the sea is filled with drowning people. Beyond this Moses again touches water with his rod; this time the water is a pool filled with numerous leaping fish to indicate its vitality. The armed guards of the first scene stand behind the pool with the 12 heads of the tribes; they hold banners like those carried in mystic processions. When the sea was divided, according to Jewish legend, 12 paths were made, one for each tribe, and these are apparently indicated by a tier of horizontal lines behind the third Moses. The other walls of the room present biblical scenes in a similar vein but, since they are only partially preserved, their overall plan, if any existed, cannot be reconstructed. Of the east wall only the lowest register and dado remain; one scene shows a few birds and part of a table. Another apparently shows David and Abishai approaching the sleeping Saul and Abner in the wilderness; half the painting is occupied by an army on white horses led by a captain. In the Esther scene the artist seems to have represented divine intervention and this apparently also appears in two scenes on the south wall. There, below a badly preserved procession of the Ark of the Covenant are three scenes from an Elijah cycle which first depicts Elijah coming to the widow, and then the sacrifice of the prophets of Baal. The sacrifice is being vitiated by a great serpent that attacks the small figure of Hiel according to the legend in which Hiel was hidden behind the altar to set fire to the sacrifice but was killed by a snake. Beside this, in the corner adjoining the west wall, Elijah offers his sacrifice while servants pour on water and three great figures dressed in pallia bring down heavenly fire. Although Elijah reviving the widow's son should have preceded the two scenes of sacrifice, it instead adjoins them on the wall where it was apparently part of the original plan and the cycle on the south wall, an afterthought probably intended to show the lesser triumphs of the prophet as preparation for his final power to raise the dead.

The north wall is better preserved but still only part remains. In the single scene left at the top Jacob dreams of the ladder. The design is identical with that in the catacomb of Via Latina in Rome except that in the catacomb the angels wear white pallia and at Dura-Europos, Persian dress. As the pallium is the original form, the change to Persian dress in the East must be of significance, but nothing suggests what prompted it. The register beneath this contains only unidentifiable fragments on the right; beside it is a fine representation of a great battle centering on two champions attacking each other with lances as in other scenes of Eastern art while warriors in identical armor fight above and below them. One champion rides on a black horse and the other on a white. In the same painting a group of six warriors guard the Ark of the Covenant while four men in Greek chitons carry it away from the battle. The scene must be based on the battle of Ebenezer where the Ark was captured but it also shows the turmoil of the conflict between light and darkness (the two horsemen) as against the triumphant reality embodied in the Ark. As in the Elijah cycle the scene seems to be related to the one adjoining it on the west wall where the heathen idols crash before the Ark after the same battle. The scene on the side wall again seems to amplify the one on the west wall but the artist's exact intention cannot be determined. Below this in the longest painting in the room is a great pageant of Ezekiel. He is first depicted being brought into the valley, then preaching to the bones, and supervising their restoration to life. The continuation depicts either the legendary beheading of Ezekiel or Mattathias the Hasmonean slaying the faithless Jew.

The paintings at Dura-Europos were executed by at least two artists. One, influenced by Hellenistic art, portrayed the major biblical personages (Moses, Jacob, Joseph, etc.) as Roman citizens dressed in the tunic and pallium, and the Israelite host as Roman soldiers. The other drew his inspiration from Persian art and portrayed his figures as horsemen in Parthian dress (Mordecai, Ezekiel, the sons of Aaron, the Israelites fighting the Philistines, etc.). The women (such as Queen Esther, Pharaoh's daughter, etc.) are dressed like the Hellenistic city-goddesses (Tyche). Particularly forceful and vivid in artistic execution are the imaginative paintings, such as the vision of dry bones which contains three episodes of the story of Ezekiel in one painting, and the souls of the dead are portrayed as Greek Psyches with wings of butterflies. The Dura-Europos paintings contain a wealth of material from the *aggadah*, which was also apparently derived in part from the early Targum, such as the descriptions of the miracle of the battle of Meribah where water was sent through channels to each of 12 tents which symbolize the camps of the tribes. Solomon's throne and the sacrifice of the prophets of Baal on Mt. Carmel are depicted according to the legends of the Midrash and thus they contain details not present in the biblical narratives, as for example, Hiel bitten by a snake on the altar of the prophets of Baal (cf. Yal., I Kings 18:25 [214]). The architecture in the paintings generally follows Hellenistic style but Jewish tradition can be recognized in several details, such as the Ark of the Covenant in the desert as a wheeled chariot (similar to a relief from Kefar Naḥum). This tradition is also evident in the dress of the high priest Aaron and other details.

From the social and religious historical standpoint it is significant that in the third century a Jewish community in the Diaspora did not hesitate to decorate the walls of a synagogue with the human form, with the major figures of the Bible (although this was later on also done in synagogues in the Galilee). The discovery of Dura-Europos is of primary importance for the history of art: until then this Jewish-Hellenistic art style was known only from the paintings of early Christians in the catacombs of Rome. Dura-Europos provided a Jewish source of this art. Its paintings present a blending of Eastern and Western – Persian and Hellenistic – elements (notably in the frontal pose of the figures and the Hellenistic style dress) which predates by centuries the same fusion which is the basis of Byzantine art. The paintings provide a focal point in ancient art in which influences of the past converge with developments of the future. The Dura-Europos paintings were later transferred to the Damascus Museum. A complete copy was reconstructed at Yale.

[Erwin Ramsdell Goodenough / Michael Avi-Yonah]

Later Scholarship

The synagogue paintings (approximately 29 panels are preserved) are thought to have been the work of Jewish artists, perhaps hailing from Palmyra (Kraeling), utilizing pattern books of artistic renderings of biblical stories available to them, as well as inspired by Jewish liturgy, customs, and legends prevalent in Palestine at that time. Wright wrote in 1980 that the paintings "are too clumsy and provincial in execution to have been invented independently, without an iconographic model, in that desert outpost" (quoted in Gutmann 1987). Among the questions that scholars have been dealing with in regard to the paintings are the following: What are their stylistic and iconographic sources? Why was the Second Commandment (Ex. 31:45–: "You shall not make for yourself a sculptured image or any likeness") ignored? Does the cycle of murals have an overall purpose and meaning? Do they reflect a set form of theological Judaism of that time? Did they exert any influence on subsequent Jewish and Christian art? Goodenough dedicated three volumes of his *Jewish Symbols of the Graeco-Roman World* to a detailed analysis of the Dura-Europas synagogue paintings. Goodenough's attempts to read Jewish mysticism into many of the details of the paintings, especially in regard to the type of garments worn by the various figures, and the absence of certain symbols next to the representation of the *menorah*, and so forth, have met with much criticism by scholars, notably by Avi-Yonah (1973) and Smith (1975). Although Jewish religious symbolism and imagery undoubtedly existed in antiquity, and much of it was clearly influenced by Graeco-Roman artistry, what remains unclear is the extent of the values that Jews attached to these symbols and images as they appeared in the Dura-Europas paintings. Most scholars are in agreement regarding many of the painted scenes, but a lack of agreement still prevails as to whether these scenes were connected to a central organizing theme or whether they were made at random to enshrine various events in the destiny of the Jewish people. Grabar was of the opinion that the paintings in the synagogue had explicit messianic associations; Flesher has recently shown this to be misguided. Gutman commented in 1987 that "the Dura Europas synagogue paintings have opened up hitherto unforeseen horizons in ancient religious art and history."

[Shimon Gibson (2nd ed.)]

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Roman World (1990); P.V.M. Flesher, "Rereading the Reredos: David, Orpheus, and Messianism in the Dura Europas Synagogue," in: D. Urman and P.V.M. Flesher (eds.), *Ancient Synagogues: Historical Analysis and Archaeological Discovery*. vol. 2 (1995): 346–66.

DURAN, family which originated in Provence, settled in Majorca in 1306, and after the persecutions of 1391 in Algiers. ẒEMAḤ ASTRUC DURAN (d. 1404), a grandnephew of Levi b. *Gershom, was respected as a scholar by both the Jews and non-Jews of Majorca. He died in Algiers. His son was Simeon b. Ẓemah *Duran (14th–15th century). Until the end of the 18th century, the descendants of Simeon b. Ẓemaḥ provided uncontested lay and spiritual leaders among Algerian Jewry. His son was Solomon ben Simeon *Duran whose three sons were *dayyanim* in Algiers. They were AARON (d. c. 1470), a rabbinical authority consulted by such distant communities as Constantinople; Ẓemaḥ ben Solomon *Duran who was married to the daughter of the illustrious Rab (rabbi) Ephraim al-Nakawa of Tlemçen; and Simeon ben Solomon *Duran. ẒEMAḤ BEN SIMEON BEN ẒEMAḤ (d. 1590) wrote a commentary on the poem for Purim by Isaac b. Ghayyat which was published in *Tiferet Yisrael* (Venice, 1591?) by his son SOLOMON (d. c. 1593). The latter wrote notes on the works of his grandfather Simeon b. Ẓemaḥ, *Yavin Shemu'ah* and *Tashbaẓ*, which are followed by his casuistic responsa *Ḥut ha-Meshullash*, part 1. In addition, Solomon wrote a collection of sermons, a commentary on the Book of Esther, and a treatise on temperance. All of these are included in his *Tiferet Yisrael*. He is also the author of a commentary on Proverbs, *Ḥeshek Shelomo* (Venice, 1623). His son ẒEMAḤ (d. 1604) was a talmudist whose death inspired Abraham *Gavison to write an elegy. AARON DURAN (d. 1676), *dayyan* in Algiers, was probably his grandson.

Ẓemaḥ ben Benjamin (d. 1727) was a prominent authority in religious matters. He also was active in Algerian commerce and left a large fortune to his sons: JOSEPH BENJAMIN (d. 1758), whose responsa were published in the works of Judah Ayash, together with whom he was *dayyan* in Algiers; and ḤAYYIM JONAH (d. c. 1765), who settled in Leghorn, where he published the first part of *Magen Avot* (1763). MOSES BEN ẒEMAḤ, one of the notables of Leghorn, had a previously unpublished part of *Magen Avot* printed in 1785 from an original manuscript which was in the possession of his family. DAVID DURAN (18th–19th centuries), whose father JUDAH (d. c. 1790) was a direct descendant of Simeon b. Ẓemaḥ and one of the wealthiest merchants of Algiers, himself held a distinguished position in Algerian commerce from 1776. He became a rival of the *Bakri-*Busnach merchant families who were then at the height of their power. After the assassination in 1805 of Naphtali Busnach and, two months later, of the dey himself, David was appointed *muqaddim* (leader of the Jewish community) by the new ruler of Algiers, Aḥmad Dey, but was replaced in the same year owing to the intrigues of Joseph Bakri. He continued representing the interests of England in Algiers as against those of France and Spain, whose side was taken by the Bakri-Busnach families. David Bakri was appointed *muqaddim* in 1806 and held the position for over four years but Duran's machinations evidently caused his execution. Although David Duran was again appointed *muqaddim* he was himself executed the same year (October 1811) for no apparent reason, immediately after bringing the annual tax, or presents, to the dey.

The descendants of Simeon b. Ẓemaḥ who had established themselves in Leghorn settled in London before 1826.

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[David Corcos]

DURAN, PROFIAT (**Profayt**; d.c. 1414), scholar and physician, one of the outstanding anti-Christian polemicists of Spanish Jewry. Duran was probably born in Perpignan and later moved to Catalonia. He was the son of Duran Profiat, himself the son of Profiat de Limos, both Jews of Perpignan. His Hebrew name was Isaac b. Moses ha-Levi, and he signed his books and letters with the pseudonym אפד ("Efod"), the Hebrew acronym of אני פרופיאט דורן, *Ani Profiat Duran* ("I [am] Profiat Duran"). Duran acquired an extensive knowledge of sciences and languages and associated with Ḥasdai *Crescas. He was the author of two polemical tracts against Christianity, the dates of which are not known with certainty: *Al Tehi ka-Avotekha* and *Kelimat ha-Goyim*. The decisive event in his life was the wave of anti-Jewish persecutions in Spain in 1391. According to R. Isaac *Akrish's introduction to *Al Tehi ka-Avotekha* (Constantinople, 1570), Duran himself had been forcibly converted to Christianity in 1391 but reverted to Judaism. However, documents recently discovered in the archives of Perpignan show that Duran lived there as a Christian, under the name of Honoratus de Bonafide, for about 12 years after 1391/2, serving as astrologer to Juan I of Aragon. This presents obvious difficulties, as it is certain that he continued his Hebrew literary activity throughout this period. Tradition has it that he wrote the *Al Tehi ka-Avotekha* when his friend David Bonet *Bonjorn, who was compelled to undergo conversion with him, became a sincere Christian. Duran apparently considered that the other should have remained like himself a Christian only in name, continuing to believe and act like a Jew. Nevertheless, how he managed to do this remains a mystery.

Al Tehi ka-Avotekha is a penetrating satire on Christianity, its tenets, and the affairs of the Church (the schism between Rome and Avignon), and especially on the Jewish converts attracted by the Church. Duran emphasizes the irrationality of Christian doctrine and its insistence on feelings and on "faith" alone. In contrast, he presents the view of Judaism in accordance with the approach of the Jewish philosophers that salvation is attained by faith that does not contradict the demands of the intellect, combined with the performance of the practical *mitzvot*. Because of its witty ambiguities several Christians of the period understood the epistle as a panegyric of Christianity and it was cited by Christian authors, who referred to it as "*Alteca Boteca*" a distortion of the opening words of the letter. When its real intention was recognized, the epistle was condemned to public burning.

Kelimat ha-Goyim, an attack on the tenets of Christianity by historico-critical method, was written by Duran at the initiative of Ḥasdai Crescas. Duran reviewed the writings of the Church Fathers and clarified inaccuracies and fabrications in the translations of Jewish writings by those who attacked Judaism. *Kelimat ha-Goyim* served as a source for subsequent Jewish apologetic literature.

Duran's grammatical work, *Ma'aseh Efod* (Vienna, 1865), shows his extensive knowledge of Semitic and Romance languages and Greek. More than a methodical presentation of grammatical rules in the conventional manner, the work is outstanding in its original approach to grammatical problems and its incisive logical analysis of a number of principles in the same field through an impartial critique of his predecessors. Duran arrived at a new evaluation of the conjugations of the verb by a system resembling that of modern Semitic linguistics. His discussion of the theory of pronunciation reveals exact observation of the functions of the organs of speech and describes in passing the accepted pronunciation of the Hebrew of his time in Spain. He emphasizes the social function of language and stresses that writing is a matter of convention. Unique to *Ma'aseh Efod* is the discussion of the essence of Jewish music, to which Duran attributes two basic styles: chant, such as the cantillation for the reading of the Bible, which is addressed to the mind and understanding, and free melody which arouses the feelings, such as used by supplicants in prayer and by righteous men. Duran regards Jewish melody as having a spiritual object and thus different from the music of other nations, which aspires to aestheticism for its own sake.

Important historical details and an outline of his philosophical ideas are found in a letter of condolence which Duran wrote in 1393 to his friend Joseph b. Abraham on the death of his father, R. Abraham b. Isaac ha-Levi of Gerona, a leader of Catalonian Jewry. In the letter, Duran describes the desperate plight of the Jews in his day whose sufferings had increased to such an extent that the loss of their leaders and scholars was not even felt. He blames the people for not observing the *mitzvot* with proper care and for being concerned only for personal benefit. On the other hand he comforts Jews who had been converted under duress and encourages them to repent.

The other works by Duran include replies on philosophical subjects; elucidation of various parts of the commentary on the Pentateuch by Abraham *Ibn Ezra and of some of his poems; works on astronomy including *Ḥeshev ha-Efod* on the Hebrew calendar (1395); explanations to the commentary of *Averroes on the *Almagest;* a criticism of the *Or Olam* of Joseph ibn *Nahmias; *Ma'amar Zikhron ha-Shemadot*, a history of the persecutions and expulsions from the destruction of the Second Temple until his own times (mentioned by Isaac *Abrabanel but now lost). The work was used by Jewish historians of the 16th century such as Solomon *Ibn Verga, *Joseph *ha-Kohen, and Solomon *Usque. Many of his writings remain in manuscript; some were published as supplements to *Ma'aseh Efod*. New editions of *Al Tehi ka-Avotekha* were published by A. Geiger in *Kovez̩ Vikkuḥim* (Breslau, 1844) and in some copies of *Melo Chofnaim* (Berlin, 1840); by P.M. Heilperin in *Even Boḥen* (Frankfort, 1846); and J.D. Eisenstein in *Oz̩ar Vikkuḥim* (1928), which also includes *Kelimat ha-Goyim.* His commentary on the *Guide* of Maimonides appeared after 1500 together with other commentaries.

[Jacob S. Levinger / Irene Garbell]

Philosophy

The introduction to *Ma'aseh Efod* contains Duran's philosophical views. The Torah, he writes, is perfect, and its study is the only means of attaining eternal, supreme felicity as well as happiness on earth. There are those who maintain that only the observance of *mitzvot* can lead to eternal life. However, while Duran does agree that the observance of the *mitzvot* is very beneficial, he maintains that only knowledge can lead to eternal felicity. He criticizes the talmudists, who reject the study of anything other than the Talmud, refusing even to study the Bible. The philosophers, on the other hand, are also misled. In attempting to reconcile two contraries – Aristotelian philosophy and the Bible – they attribute only a moral function to the Torah. In reality, Duran states, philosophy too is consonant with Jewish teachings, since gentile philosophers borrowed extensively from Jewish sources. However, when Maimonides places the philosopher closest to the throne of God, he is speaking of philosophy in the sense of true knowledge, which is the privileged property of Israel alone. The kabbalists, whose aim is to achieve communion with God, also realize that the worship of God can reach perfection only in the Land of Israel, since the commandments are in harmony with the stars which guide the destiny of that land. Thus the Kabbalah, too, conforms to the Torah and the prophetic books. Nonetheless, since the principles of the Kabbalah are not easily demonstrable and the dissensions among its adherents clearly indicate its dangers, Duran concludes that the surest course is the study of the Torah. The Bible, like the Temple of Jerusalem, has virtues which preserve Israel's physical existence; for example, the Jews of Aragon were saved from persecution as a reward for having recited the Psalms continually. In addition, the Torah has intellectual virtues: it is only the Torah which contains both moral precepts and all of true philosophy. The *sine qua non* of Jewish survival and of eternal life is to preserve the Torah, its text, and its grammar. Thus, for Duran, the real doctrine of Judaism, which he ardently defended, encompasses both philosophy and the whole range of the human sciences, without being limited as are the latter. His commentary on Maimonides' *Guide* (first published 1553) is quite literal. He rejects any interpretations of Maimonides which would portray the latter as a philosopher who holds the Torah in contempt. Nevertheless, he also emphasizes the dangers inherent in certain Maimonidean doctrines. He is very close to the astrological teachings of Abraham ibn Ezra. In response to questions raised by his student, Meir Crescas, he wrote commentaries on various passages of ibn Ezra's commentaries.

[Colette Sirat]

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DURAN, SIMEON BEN SOLOMON (**RaShBaSh**, Heb. acronym of **R**abbi **Sh**imon **b**en **Sh**elomo ha-Sheni ("the Second"); 1438–after 1510), rabbi and author. Simeon, son of Solomon b. Simeon *Duran (called RaShBaSh ha-Rishon, "the First"), was born in Algiers and succeeded his brother Ẓemaḥ *Duran as rabbi there. In 1499 he was active in the ransoming of 50 Spanish Jews who had been brought as slaves to Algiers (see Zacuto in bibl.). His attitude toward the Marranos from the religious point of view was lenient (his responsa *Yakhin u-Vo'az* pt. 2 nos. 3, 19, 31), regarding them as Jews. In his old age he had to flee from Algiers when the Spanish army was approaching Bougie and Tunis. He wrote responsa which are printed as the second part of *Yakhin u-Vo'az* (Leghorn, 1782), the first part being by his brother Ẓemaḥ. They are quoted by Joseph *Caro. He has been confused with Simeon (ha-Sheni) b. Ẓemaḥ.

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[Hirsch Jacob Zimmels]

DURAN, SIMEON BEN ẒEMAḤ (**R**a**SH**B**a**Ẓ, Hebrew acronym of **R**abbi **Sh**imon **b**en **Ẓ**emaḥ; 1361–1444), rabbinic authority, philosopher, and scientist. He was born in Majorca to R. Ẓemaḥ Astruc Duran. In his youth Simeon studied in Palma (Majorca) at the yeshivah of Ephraim Vidal, who was martyred in the year 1391, and in Aragon at that of Jonah *Desmaestre, whose daughter he later married. Educated in accordance with the old Spanish method, he acquired a thorough knowledge of mathematics, astronomy, science, logic, and particularly medicine, which was to become his profession. After his return to Majorca, Simeon practiced as a physician and surgeon in Palma, and he seems to have been in comfortable circumstances. He was also highly esteemed as a rabbinic scholar and even his teacher Ephraim Vidal sought his advice. His prestige there can be gauged from the fact that 44 years after he had left the island he addressed a letter to the Jews of the island reproaching them for negligence in some religious practices and admonishing them to change their way of life.

After the massacre of 1391 in which he lost all of his fortune, Simeon left Majorca for Algiers together with his father and family. Jews from other parts of Spain also immigrated to North Africa, and the arrival of the immigrants had a beneficial effect upon the native Jews there. It caused a revival of knowledge and scholarship, which had been neglected and was in a state of great decline. Spanish rabbis now became religious leaders of African communities. In Algiers the aged *Isaac bar Sheshet was appointed chief rabbi and was also nominated a supreme judge of the Jews by the king. Simeon seems to have joined his *bet din*. Having lost all his fortune and being unable to earn his livelihood from his medical profession, since the native population resorted to superstitious practices rather than to medical help, he was forced to accept a salaried office of rabbi. As Maimonides had prohibited the acceptance of a salary for a rabbinical office, and since in Algiers only Maimonides' decisions were regarded as authoritative, Simeon later found it necessary to justify his action.

The nature of Simeon's official activity during the lifetime of Isaac b. Sheshet can be seen from the following examples. In 1394 a commission to deal with matrimonial laws was appointed, consisting of Bar Sheshet, Isaac *Bonastruc, a rabbi in Algiers, and Simeon, who was asked by the other members to draft the ordinances; his draft was accepted in its entirety. Originally intended for the Spanish immigrants, the ordinances were soon adopted by some of the native Jews as well and were authoritative for African Jewry for centuries. A ban against informers issued about that time was also signed by Bar Sheshet, Bonastruc, and Simeon. From the very fact that Simeon signed third, it is obvious that he was not assistant chief rabbi as some scholars believe (at least not at that time).

Much has been written about the relationship between Bar Sheshet and Simeon. On the one hand Simeon respected the older rabbi, but on the other hand the latter bitterly complained of Simeon, who himself also confesses "I was childish and behaved impudently toward a rabbi who was very old and distinguished in learning" (*Tashbeẓ*, 1, no. 58). In view of this there can be no doubt that a certain tension had existed between the rabbis, the active party being Simeon. The reason for this animosity is not quite certain; it may have been the appointment of the chief rabbi which annoyed Simeon, who although much younger, regarded himself no less worthy of the post owing to his secular and rabbinical knowledge. It seems that Isaac bar Sheshet, being good-natured and peace-loving, succeeded in the course of time in dispelling the greater part of the unfriendly atmosphere. Soon after Bar Sheshet's appointment as judge by the king, Simeon wrote a responsum in which he tried to prove that such an appointment was not permitted, but he did not publish it (*ibid.*, 162). Bar Sheshet often consulted Simeon on various matters, asking him to deal with them and to write responsa. After Isaac bar Sheshet's death (1408) Simeon was appointed chief rabbi (he himself says *dayyan*) with the request that his appointment not be confirmed by the king. (According to the report of the Algerian rabbis in the introduction to *Tashbeẓ*, Simeon's appointment already took place during the older man's lifetime.) During his period of office Simeon was very active. While he had to fight some practices not in accordance with Jewish religion current among the native Jews, he had to raise his voice against his own countrymen who criticized the doctrines of *terefah* and were lax in the observance of some commandments. As judge, Simeon was regarded as an undisputed authority, and interesting facts have become known of his legal proceedings. From various communities, questions were sent to him about religious and legal matters. He had to deal with the problem of the Marranos from the religious and legal points of view. Of his pupils only Abraham ha-Kohen Sholal is known by name, but he may have been his pupil when he was still in Majorca.

Simeon was against adopting stringent practices (*ḥumrot*) which had no foundation in the Talmud; he said that one should be stringent with oneself, but lenient with others. There were some contradictions in him, however, which can also be found among other Spanish scholars. On the one hand he was meek, but on the other he praised himself for his wisdom. Although he greatly admired Maimonides and followed his philosophical views, he believed in astrology which Maimonides so strongly opposed, and he quoted Abraham *Ibn Ezra in connection with astrology, calling him "*he-Ḥasid.*"

A characteristic feature of the method employed in his decisions as *posek* is given by Simeon himself: "In reaching my decisions I do not grope like the blind grope along the wall, for I give a decision only after studying the case carefully. I have never given a decision which I later retracted" (*Tashbeẓ*, pt. 3, no. 189). His decisions were indeed always correct; they exhausted all existing sources and discussed all opinions, leaving no possibility of controverting them. His decisions became authoritative in North Africa (see introduction to *Tashbeẓ*). The *takkanot* he drafted were in vogue among the Jews in North Africa for centuries, and his responsa were a guide to later *posekim* who frequently quote them (e.g., Joseph *Caro, *Beit Yosef* EH 119, 122, 126, 130, 134, 140, 141, 143; they became known to Caro through Jacob *Berab; see introduction to *Tashbeẓ*). Ḥayyim *Benveniste established the principle that in cases in which Simeon's decisions contradict those of Solomon b. Abraham *Adret, the decision is according to the former (*Keneset ha-Gedolah*, ḤM 386). Preference should also be given to Simeon when he is contradicted by Israel *Isserlein.

Philosophy

As in his halakhic decisions, Simeon also respected the opinions of Maimonides in the area of philosophy, but often differed with him, even on important issues. He accepted Maimonides' naturalistic views on prophecy but with added emphasis on the role of divine grace. Like Ḥasdai *Crescas, he disagrees with Maimonides' theory that eternal bliss depends on how much knowledge one has acquired. He accepts the Aristotelian conception of the soul, but adds to it another, immaterial part of man, his *neshamah*, which is derived from God and bears the intellective faculty, and which is eternal. Thus eternal bliss is not proportioned only according to one's acquired intellect, as Maimonides claimed, but human felicity, both in this world and the next, depends on one's observance of the *mitzvot*, as Naḥmanides had shown. Further, Simeon disagrees with Maimonides' theory that superior intellect determines the amount of divine providence to which one is subject. According to Simeon, divine providence is contingent upon one's performance of God's commandments. Simeon's most important contribution (later repeated by Joseph *Albo) was his fixing the boundaries of philosophical speculation in order to safeguard the principles of traditional Judaism. Thus he reduced the fundamental dogmas of Judaism to three, which, according to him, must be accepted by everyone: the existence of God, revelation, and divine retribution. In doing so, he was not disagreeing with Maimonides but only commenting on Maimonides' system of 13 principles of faith. He insisted that "Every Jew must believe that the Holy Scriptures, and in particular the Torah, come from God and he must accept their contents as the absolute truth" (*Ohev Mishpat*, Introd.). Although, as has been mentioned, Simeon believed in astrology (*Magen Avot*, 4:21), he defined himself primarily as a disciple of the "masters of the truth," the kabbalists (*Ohev Mishpat*, Introd. to ch. 19), whose doctrines he often quoted in his works.

Among Simeon's writings as an exegete were a commentary on Job and glosses on Levi b. Gershom's commentary on the Bible (see list of his works). Only the former has been preserved, and shows that he was an adherent of the *peshat* ("simple meaning") and strongly opposed allegories such as those developed in the school of southern France in the 13th century. He often quoted Targum, *Saadiah Gaon, Abraham Ibn Ezra, Rashi, Naḥmanides, and Levi b. Gershom. When citing the Zohar he generally added "by R. *Simeon b. Yoḥai." He adopted some doctrines from the Kabbalah (e.g., transmigration of the soul, *Magen Avot*, 88a). In his responsa he quotes and uses *gematriot, notarica* (see *Notarikon), and letter mysticism. Sometimes he says (*Tashbeẓ*, 3 no. 54): "I can only explain what I have been permitted" and warns "You should give only a plain interpretation and consider what is permitted."

Simeon's philosophy is included mainly in his *Magen Avot*. However, his commentary on Job also contains several of his philosophic teachings. In it he refers to many philosophic sources, constructs his exposition lucidly, and takes a clear position on the philosophical problems which he treats. His philosophical ideas and writings did not have much influence on subsequent generations, except for Joseph *Albo, who in turn did make a significant impact on later philosophers.

As an apologist, Simeon deals with the *Karaites when seeking to prove the divine origin of the *Oral Law. He shows how important the Oral Law is for understanding Torah and fulfilling the commandments and states that many actions of Jewish leaders and institutions can only be explained as being based on oral tradition. He then attacks the doctrines of the Karaites (e.g., their explanation of Ex. 16:29 which contradicts Isa. 66:23). Simeon was very well acquainted with Christian literature (it has to be studied, he says, in order to be refuted). He had a dispute with a Christian theologian (*Keshet u-Magen*, 14a) who had to admit that Simeon was right. He quotes Saadiah Gaon, *Judah Halevi (*Kuzari*), the disputation of *Jehiel b. Joseph of Paris, and Naḥmanides. It is doubtful, however, whether he used Ḥasdai Crescas' *Bittul Ikkarei ha-Noẓerim* and the work of Profiat *Duran, since they are never mentioned. He first refutes the attacks of the Christians and then counterattacks. The Christians, he says, admit that the Torah is of divine origin, but maintain that it is superseded by the Gospels. He shows that Jesus and his disciples strictly observed the Law and that Jesus declared that he had come not to destroy the Law or the teaching of the prophets but to fulfill them. His death was not due to his negligence of the Law but to his assertion that he was "the son of God and Messiah" (*Keshet u-Magen*, 2b). Simeon points out the various contradictions regarding the origin of Jesus, his claim to be the Messiah (refuted by the fact that the criteria of the Messianic age had still not occurred), and the assertion that the Torah had been superseded by the Gospels, since the Torah, being of divine origin, is unchangeable. He draws attention to the many mistakes and forgeries contained in Jerome's Bible translation. He also enumerates 21 misquotations from the Bible by Jesus and his disciples. Simeon tries to prove that the Koran cannot be of divine origin owing to the great number of contradictions found in it (e.g., in regard to free will), to its many unintelligible passages, and to its sensual views on the world to come. What is good in it had been borrowed from the Midrash. Regarding Islam as a whole, Simeon did not consider Islam as idolatrous, however, he did consider the pilgrimage to Mecca as an idolatrous practice.

Simeon was also active as a poet and composed many *piyyutim, kinot, seliḥot*, and *teḥinnot*, some of which have been printed (see below). He was a prolific writer, and there is no subject with which he did not deal. His *Magen Avot* is more than a philosophical treatise. It covers human and animal physiology and pathology, psychology, science, phonology, etc., and has the character of an encyclopedic work. Perhaps the intention of its author was to write a book which should serve as a source of knowledge and information particularly for the Jews of North Africa. His responsa not only treat religious and legal problems, but also deal with grammar, philology, exegesis, literary history, philosophy, Kabbalah, mathematics, and astronomy.

The following list of his writings is given in the same order as mentioned by the author in *Tashbeẓ*, end of pts. 2 and 3: (1) *Perush Hilkhot Berakhot le-ha-Rif*, commentary on Alfasi's laws on *Berakhot*; (2) *Piskei Massekhet Niddah*, decisions on the tractate *Niddah*; (3) *Sefer ha-Hashgaḥah*, called *Ohev Mishpat*, commentary on Job, printed together with *Sefer Mishpat Ẓedek* by R. Obadiah *Sforno (Venice, 1589); (4) *Zohar ha-Raki'a*, commentary on Solomon ibn Gabirol's *azharot* (Constantinople, 1515); (5) *Tashbeẓ* (תשב"ץ, abbreviation of *Teshuvot Shimon ben Ẓemaḥ*), responsa in three parts (the fourth part is called *Ḥut ha-Meshullash*, containing responsa of three rabbis of North Africa, including Simeon's descendant Solomon b. Ẓemaḥ Duran; Amsterdam, 1738–41); (6) *Magen Avot*, four parts, philosophical work; the first three parts, without the fourth chapter of the second part (Leghorn, 1785); the fourth part is (7) *Magen Avot*, a commentary on the tractate *Avot* (*ibid.*, 1763); (8) *Keshet u-Magen* (fourth chapter of the second part of *Magen Avot* (see above no. 6)), polemics against Christianity and Islam, printed together with *Milḥemet Mitzvah* of his son Solomon (*ibid.*, c. 1750); the sections dealing with Christianity and Islam were published separately; (9) *Perush Massekhet Eduyyot*, commentary on *Eduyyot* mentioned by Simeon in his list; (10) *Ḥiddushei ha-RaSHBaẒ*, novellae on *Niddah, Rosh ha-Shanah*, and *Kinnim* (*ibid.*, 1745); the novellae on *Kinnim* were also printed with those of Solomon b. Abraham Adret on *Niddah* (Metz, 1770); (11) *Perush Keẓat Piyyutim*, commentaries on various poems, as well as poems composed by Simeon: (a) a *piyyut* by Isaac *Ibn Ghayyat for the Day of Atonement with Simeon's commentary appeared in B. Goldberg's *Ḥofes Matmonim* (Berlin, 1845, pp. 85ff.); (b) a commentary on the *Hoshanot* (Ferrara, 1553); (c) an elegy on the destruction of the Temple appeared with Profiat Duran's letter *Al Tehi ka-Avotekha* (Constantinople, c. 1575–78); (d) an elegy on the persecution in Spain was printed in *Magen Avot* (Leipzig, 1855); (e) some *piyyutim* published by I. Marʿeli appeared in *Kobez al Jad*, 7 (1896–97) under the title *Ẓafenat Pa'ne'aḥ* (see also A. Gavison, *Omer ha-Shikhhah* (Leghorn, 1748, 125); (12) *Or ha-Ḥayyim*, polemics against Ḥasdai Crescas (mentioned by Simeon in his list); (13) *Livyat Ḥen*, glosses on the commentary of Levi b. Gershom and four discourses against Ḥasdai Crescas mentioned by Simeon in his list; (14) *Yavin Shemu'ah* on *Hilkhot Sheḥitah u-Vedikah*, on the laws of slaughtering and porging; (15) *Ma'amar Ḥameẓ*, commentary on the *Haggadah*; (16) *Tiferet Yisrael*, on the calendar; (17) *Perush Eizehu Mekoman*, commentary on *Mishnah Zevaḥim* ch. 5, and commentary on the *Baraita* of R. Ishmael in the beginning of *Sifra*. Nos. (14), (15), (16), and (17) were published together with (18) *Tikkun Soferim* of his son Solomon (Leghorn, 1744); (19) also appeared in the Roedelheim *Haggadah* edition of 1882; novellae on *Bava Meẓia*, quoted in *Shitah Mekubbeẓet* of Bezalel *Ashkenazi; (20) *Sefer ha-Minhagim*, on customs, in the responsa of Abraham Tawwah in *Tashbeẓ*, pt. 4 no. 32; (21) *Sefer Tikkun ha-Ḥazzanim* (*ibid.*, no. 31); (22) commentaries on the *ketubbah* and *get* ("divorce document") and regulations about divorce and *ḥaliẓah* (Constantinople, 1516; cf. also *Tashbeẓ*, pt 3 no. 301); (23) *Takkanot*, see *Tashbeẓ*, pt. 2 no. 292.

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[Hirsch Jacob Zimmels]

DURAN, SOLOMON BEN SIMEON (known as **RaShBaSh**, Hebrew acronym of **R**abbi **Sh**elomo **b**en **Sh**imon; c. 1400–1467), North African rabbinical authority; son of Simeon b. Ẓemaḥ *Duran. He was born in *Algiers, but no details are known of his youth. His education embraced not only rabbinical knowledge but also science, medicine, and philosophy. It appears from his responsa that he joined his father's *bet din* at an early age and was the head of the yeshivah. Some of his responsa were written during the lifetime of his father. His apologetical work *Milḥemet Mitzvah* (1438) was written with his father's authorization. In it Solomon repulsed the accusations against the Talmud made by the apostate Joshua *Lorki (Geronimo de Santa Fé) and even made counterattacks against the Christian clergy. He showed that Lorki's accusation that the Talmud favored immorality was wrong, and on the contrary that it teaches a high standard of morality and chastity; and that it was the Christian clerical circles who indulged in immoral conduct to such an extent that it became known by the name "peccato dei frati." After defending the halakhic parts of the Talmud he proceeded to explain the *aggadot* attacked by Lorki. In Solomon's view (as expressed already by *Jehiel b. Joseph of Paris and by Naḥmanides in their disputations) they had no binding force.

In his youth he wrote a rhetorical epistle (*meliẓah*) to Nathan Najjar in Constantine (Rashbash, no. 259) using talmudic idioms, style, and language (the use of this kind of *meliẓah* is characteristic of him). His letter made a deep impression upon Najjar as can be seen from his reply in which the following passage occurs: "My son, my son, my heart was filled with anxiety for I said 'Who will sit on the throne of my master the rabbi, your father?'… Now, however, I know that Solomon, his son, will reign after him and will sit upon his throne" (cf. I Kings 1:13, 17, 30). After his father's death Solomon was appointed rabbi of Algiers. He seems to have also been the head of a yeshivah and some of his pupils were mentioned by name. His religious and general outlook can be derived from his responsa. Thus when asked whether the dialogue of *Balaam and his ass (Num. 22:28), Jacob's wrestling with the angel (Gen. 32:25), and the visit of the angels to Abraham (Gen. 18:1ff.) took place in reality or were dreams, his reply was that all were real events, as Naḥmanides had already stated (Rashbash, no. 44). In responsum no. 3 he strongly criticized Haggai b. Alzuk in Mostaganem, who maintained that perfection of the soul could be achieved by perfection of the intellect and that *aliyah* to Ereẓ Israel had no effect. In his view settling in Ereẓ Israel is a great *mitzvah*, particularly as many religious commands concern only Ereẓ Israel. With regard to the question whether the world will be destroyed or not, he showed that the Talmud and Naḥmanides decided in the affirmative, while Maimonides' view was in the negative. Solomon thought that while the belief in creation *ex nihilo* is binding, belief in the ultimate destruction of the world is not; it is left to one's own discretion (responsum no. 436). Concerning the Kabbalah he said of himself (no. 36): "I am not one of its members" and expressed his indignation at the doctrine of the ten *Sefirot (no. 188). His decisions were quoted by later authorities (including Joseph *Caro and Moses *Trani).

His works are (1) *Teshuvot Ha-Rashbash* (Leghorn, 1742), cited above, which deal not only with the legal matters but also with some philosophical problems and contain explanations of some biblical and talmudic passages; (2) *Milhemet Mitzvah*, in *Keshet u-Magen (ibid.*, 1750); (3) *Tikkun Soferim*, dealing with contracts together with *Yavin Shemu'ah* of his father (*ibid.*, 1744); (4) the elegy *Shamayim Laveshu Kadrut.* The bibliographers mention also *Meliẓah le-ha-Rashbash;* in fact, this *meliẓah* is contained in his responsum no. 259 (*Kerem Ḥemed*, 9 (1856), 110ff.).

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[Hirsch Jacob Zimmels]

DURAN, ZEMAḤ BEN SOLOMON (15th century), North African rabbinical authority. Ẓemaḥ, the second son of Solomon b. Simeon *Duran, acted together with his brothers Aaron and Simeon as *dayyan* in *Algiers. It appears from the sources that he was the most active of them and the greatest scholar of the three. In an admonishing responsum written to a certain rabbi he says of himself: "I do not boast of my distinguished ancestry, of my sermons, and of my responsa, of my learning – that I am familiar with all the tannaitic literature and the whole of the Talmud, of the accuracy and profundity of my legal tradition, of my rational reasoning, though my paternal grandfather [Simeon b. Ẓemaḥ *Duran] praised and eulogized me from my childhood for my readiness to grasp the truth." Being rather sickly he went for a cure to Majorca, returning in 1468. He had some knowledge of medicine and a great knowledge of philosophy and Kabbalah, and his attitude toward the latter was positive. His ideology and piety are reflected in the responsum in which he tries to refute the views expressed to him by R. Abraham Conque of Malaga, who, following other philosophers, maintained that perfection and immortality do not depend on fulfilling the commandments and studying the Talmud but rather on the study of sciences and philosophy. Ẓemaḥ tries to show that perfection can only be achieved through the fulfillment of the *mitzvot.* The seven sciences (see Ibn Ezra on Prov. 9:1; Klatzkin, *Thesaurus Philosophicus*, 1, 292ff.) serve only to teach fear and love of God. They are not the end but only the means. He writes that Maimonides wrote his *Guide of the Perplexed* to refute the philosophers with philosophical arguments (cf. also his father's responsum, Rashbash no. 3). Ẓemaḥ dealt with the problem of the Marranos (*Yakhin u-Vo'az*, pt. 1, nos. 75, 125), whom he regarded as Jews from the religious point of view. He wrote responsa which form the first part of his brother Simeon's collection *Yakhin u-Vo'az.* Some of them are quoted by Joseph *Caro.

[Hirsch Jacob Zimmels]

DURAZZO (Durrësi, Durrës), chief port of Albania. There may have been Jews in Durazzo during the Roman period. The community, referred to as Durachi(um), is mentioned however for the first time in 1204 in a responsum of R. *Isaiah b. Mali di Trani. An English traveler found a group of Jews in Durazzo in 1322. Documents of 1368 mention the community leader (*magister Yudayce*) David, his business associates, and the communal scribe. The Jewish merchants traded with Italy, Serbia, and Dubrovnik exporting salt and importing textiles. In 1401 the representatives of the Jews appealed to the Senate of Venice, which then ruled over Durazzo, to exempt or partly exempt them from the obligation of presenting to the civic authorities annually 16 cubits of finest velvet, in addition to a sum of money in cash. During the 16th century a few Spanish refugees settled in Durazzo, but they do not seem to have had a communal organization. In 1939, refugee families from Vienna settled in Durazzo.

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[Simon Marcus]

DURBAN, port in KwaZulu-Natal, third largest city in the Republic of South Africa. The relatively small Jewish population has always played a prominent part in the life of the city. One of the founders of Port Natal (Durban's original name) was Nathaniel *Isaacs, who came as a youth in 1825. Important contributions to the port's early development were made by Jonas *Bergtheil and by Daniel de *Pass. The first *berit milah* in Natal, for the son of a former Durban resident D.M. Kisch, was performed in 1876 by the Rev. S. Rapaport, who came from Port Elizabeth for the ceremony. In 1880 a Jewish burial ground was laid out. Three years later a congregation was formed and in 1884 a building which had been a Methodist chapel was converted into a synagogue, with Bernard Lipinski (d. 1907) as the first president. Outstanding services were rendered by Felix C. Hollander (1876–1955), who was mayor of Durban (1910–13), a member of the Natal provincial executive committee (1914–23 and 1926–39), a senator (1939–48), and the head of the Jewish community. Charles Phineas Robinson (d. 1938) was a member of the Natal legislature and later of the Union parliament. His son Albert also sat in parliament and later became London high commissioner for the Central African Federation. Other leading communal personalities were Philip Wartski (1853–1948) and Solomon Moshal (1894–1986).

Less affected by Eastern European immigration than other communities of the Republic, Durban Jewry has at the same time an active communal life. There are four synagogues (one Reform) and the usual fraternal and welfare organizations. Diminishing numbers, however, led to the closure of the city's Jewish day school, Carmel College, in 1997. The Durban Jewish Club, the only institution of its kind in the Republic, has played a major role in the community's development. The Council for KwaZulu-Natal Jewry is a coordinating body and also functions as the provincial office of the South African Jewish Board of Deputies. Zionist activity is directed by the KwaZulu-Natal Zionist Council. The Jewish population of Durban in 2004 was 2,750.

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[Louis Hotz / Gustav Saron]

DURHAM, city in North Carolina, U.S. Jewish communal life formed in the late 1870s as the agrarian village grew into a New South industrial town. The Jewish population, with neighboring Chapel Hill, rose from 40 in 1880 to 305 in 1910. As the region evolved into a Sunbelt academic, research, and retirement center, the Jewish population reached 5,000 in 2005.

In 1874 the first permanent Jewish settlers, Polish-born brothers Abe and Jacob Goldstein, opened a general store, which served as a way station for peddlers. By 1880, ten more Jewish merchants, all of German origin, had arrived from Virginia to establish dry-goods stores. In the early 1880s tobacco magnate James B. Duke contracted with a young Ukrainian immigrant, Moses Gladstein, to bring more than a hundred East European proletarians from New York to roll cigarettes in his factory. These Jewish rollers formed a chapter of the Cigarmaker's Progressive Union and later an assembly of the Knights of Labor. In 1884 Duke automated the factory and dismissed the Jewish workers. Most returned north although several, including Gladstein, opened Durham stores.

Immigrant peddlers, artisans, and storekeepers, mostly of Latvian-Lithuanian origin, created a viable community. Durham was a typical New South mill and market town. Jews provided mercantile services to workers, farmers, and industrialists. Durham's appeal was enhanced by the educational opportunities of Duke University and the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. Jewish faculty began establishing themselves in the 1930s. They included European émigré scholars, notably Polish law professor Raphael *Lemkin, author of the Genocide Convention. In 1943 Duke became the first southern campus to institute Jewish studies with the hiring of Judah *Goldin.

East European Jews resided first in a ghetto near the African-American "Bottoms" and then in a middle-class neighborhood near Main Street. The community supported chapters of B'nai B'rith, Hadassah, Mizrachi, and the Zionist Organization of America. In 1951, E.J. Evans, running on a progressive platform with black support, was elected to the first of six terms as Durham mayor, and in 1991 Kenneth Broun was elected Chapel Hill mayor.

Religious services were held as early as 1878, and a burial society formed in 1884, under Myer Summerfield, a Prussian-born Orthodox merchant. Two years later the Durham Hebrew Congregation organized, and by 1892, when it received a state charter, it had evolved into an East European shul. After meeting in rented halls, the congregation purchased a wooden house in 1905. In 1921 it built a brick, downtown cathedral-style synagogue, renaming itself Beth El. Evolving into a Conservative congregation, it dedicated a new suburban synagogue-center in 1957. Beth El also housed an Orthodox Kehilla.

In 1961 Judea Reform Congregation formed, and it built a temple in 1971. Growing into the area's largest congregation with 550 members, it built a new campus in 2003. The Lubavitcher movement established Chabad houses in Durham and Chapel Hill. In 1996 the Chapel Hill Kehillah, a Reconstructionist congregation, organized, and it purchased a synagogue five years later. The area also accommodated a Triangle Congregation for Humanistic Judaism. The communities are united by the Durham-Chapel Hill Jewish Federation and Community Council, founded in 1977, which supports Jewish Family Services, and Midrasha, a supplemental high school. In 1995 the Lerner Jewish Community Day School opened with a religiously pluralistic program. Both Duke and UNC erected new Hillel centers and expanded their Jewish studies programs.

Durham-Chapel Hill's growth reflects the national Jewish population movement toward the Sunbelt. With two major universities and the creation of the Research Triangle Park in 1959 it also reflects the Jewish demographic movement into the professions. Scientists Martin *Rodbell and Gertrude *Elion won Nobel Prizes at the Park. The moderate climate and college-town ambience also draw retirees.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: E. Evans, *The Provincials: A Personal History of Jews in the South* (2005); L. Rogoff, *Homelands: Southern Jewish Identity in Durham and Chapel Hill, North Carolina* (2001).

[Leonard W. Rogoff (2nd ed.)]

DURKHEIM, ÉMILE (1858–1917), French sociologist. Born in Epinal (Lorraine), France, of a long line of rabbinical ancestors, Durkheim initially prepared himself for the rabbinate. Although he never wrote directly on a Jewish topic, the interest in law, ethnology, and the ethical implications of social relations, which were aroused by his early training, stayed with him throughout his life. To be a sociologist always meant for him, essentially, to be a moral philosopher as well as a scientist of moral behavior; and although he became a free thinker early in life he remained conscious of his rabbinical heritage. Durkheim studied in Paris, where he was a pupil of the philosophers Emile Boutroux and Jules Monod and of the historian Fustel de Coulanges. He was also influenced by the French neo-Kantian Charles Renouvier and by his fellow students Lévy-Bruhl, *Bergson, and Jaurès.

Durkheim is a towering figure in the history of *sociology. The first chair in social science in Europe was established for him at the University of Bordeaux in 1887. In 1902 he became professor of sociology and education at the Sorbonne; a separate department of sociology, under his chairmanship, was established in 1913. Durkheim was a founder and editor in chief of *L'Année Sociologique*, which was published from 1898 until the beginning of World War I. Durkheim attempts to demonstrate that it is possible to trace regularities of behavior in human action regardless of the subjective motives of individuals. The physical, biological, and psychological factors operative in the social life of man must be taken into account. Yet, as soon as attention is focused on the interpersonal relationships characterizing group life, the special nature of "social facts" becomes apparent: group products, such as art, morals, and institutions are in the mind of the individual, and yet entities apart from him. These group products are irreducible facts which must be studied in their own right. Society's "collective representations" have an objective existence outside the individuals and, at the same time, exercise a constraining power over them. Even conceptual knowledge may be said to consist of collective representations having their roots in society.

The best exemplification of the fruitfulness of Durkheim's approach is his concept of social solidarity, as employed in his studies on the division of labor, religion, morality, conscience, and suicide. Because society, at the same time, is above man and penetrates man, it is ultimately the only thing that has the power to inspire awe and reverence in individuals and to submit them to rules of conduct, to privations, and to the kind of sacrifice without which society would be impossible. But society, on which the individual is absolutely dependent, is not sufficiently concrete to be an object of direct reverential submission. Instead, the individual experiences his dependence indirectly, by focusing his attention on everything essential to the maintenance of society: its principal norms, values, institutions, its sacred symbols. Especially, the notion of divine authority is a sublimation of society. Thus religion springs not from the nature of individual man, but from the nature of society. According to Durkheim, the effect of beliefs and acts with respect to essential norms and symbols is to create a more effective society. Similarly, suicide is not a function of race, climate, religious doctrine, and economic conditions, however close the correlations between any of these facts and the phenomenon of suicide itself may be. The clue, says Durkheim, lies in crucial social facts, that is, the breakdown of social solidarity and the ensuing normlessness, or "anomie." Groups with little social cohesion tend to have higher suicide rates than those providing strong psychic support to their members in the various crises of life.

Durkheim stresses the concept of "collective consciousness" (or "conscience"). Durkheim initially explained social control mainly in terms of external constraints. In his later work, however, he stressed the internalization of culture, the fact that social norms are "society living in us." On his conception of education he places no less heavy a burden. Through education, he holds, society implants general social values and discipline in the individual. "Discipline," he writes, "has its justification in itself." Yet, the nature of the discipline is not wholly a matter of indifference. It depends not only on society in general, but on the particular society in question. Not every society values the kind of individualism and democratic pluralism which Durkheim espoused in his personal and political thought.

Durkheim's early work, *De la division du travail social* (1893), still shows traces of evolutionary thought; but his opposition to the utilitarianism of the economists is clearly marked there. In his subsequent works, especially in *Les règles de la méthode sociologique* (1895; *The Rules of Sociological Method*, 1950) and in *Le suicide: étude de sociologie* (1897; *Suicide*, 1951), as well as in numerous scholarly papers published chiefly in *L'Année Sociologique*, he increasingly emphasized scientific method and the combination of empirical research with sociological theory. His major work, cast largely in the language of functionalism, is *Les formes elémentaires de la vie religieuse: le système totémique en Australie* (1912; *The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life*, 1965). Other treatises with a strongly historical and philosophical bent are *Education et sociologie* (1922; *Education and Sociology*, 1956), *Sociologie et philosophie* (1929), *L'éducation morale* (1925), *Le socialisme: sa définition, ses débuts, la doctrine Saint Simonienne* (1928; *Socialism and Saint-Simon*, 1958), *L'évolution pédagogique en France* (1938), and *Montesquieu et Rousseau; précurseurs de la sociologie* (1953).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Analyses of Durkheim's approach to sociology abound. The most influential of these are contained in G. Gurvich, *Essais de sociologie* (1936), and in T. Parsons, *Structure of Social Action* (1937). Among book-length evaluations the best known are C.E. Gehlke, *Emile Durkheim's Contributions to Sociological Theory* (1915); P. Faconnet, *The Durkheim School in France* (1927); R. Lacombe, *La Méthode sociologique de Durkheim* (1926); E. Conze, *Zur Bibliographie der Durkheim Schule* (1927); and H. Alpert, *Emile Durkheim and His Sociology* (1939). A complete bibliography is found in K. Wolff (ed.), *Emile Durkheim, 1858–1917* (1960).

[Werner J. Cahnman and Joseph Maier]

DUSCHAK, MORDECAI (**Moritz**; 1815–1890), rabbi, teacher, and writer. Duschak was born in Triesch, Moravia. He studied under Moses *Sofer in Pressburg, and later was appointed rabbi in Aussee and in Gaya, both in Moravia. From 1877 he occupied the post of preacher and teacher in Cracow. Toward the end of his life he moved to Vienna, where he remained until his death. Duschak published many studies on talmudic topics and Jewish scholarship in both Hebrew and German.

His noteworthy books in German are *Umriss des biblisch-talmudischen Synagogen-Rechtes* (1853), *Das mosaisch-talmudische Eherecht* (1864), *Geschichte und Darstellung des juedischen Cultus* (1866), *Das mosaisch-talmudische Strafrecht* (1869), *Zur Botanik des Talmud* (1870), *Die biblisch-talmudische Glaubenslehre* (1873), and *Tor Esier* (against the Blood *Libel, 1883). In Hebrew he published *Yerushalayim ha-Benuyah* (1880, combining the Babylonian and Jerusalem Talmuds in order to explain the *mishnayot* of tractates *Eruvin, Pesaḥim, Megillah*, and *Yoma*).

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[Yehoshua Horowitz]

DUSCHINSKY, CHARLES (**Jacob Koppel**; 1878–1944), historian. Duschinsky was born in Námestovo, Czechoslovakia; he served as rabbi in Kostel, Moravia, from 1904 to 1907, and thereafter settled in London, where he engaged in business. He continued publishing monographs in scholarly journals on Anglo-Jewish history and other topics. His most important work was *The Rabbinate of the Great Synagogue, London, from 1756–1842* (1921).

[Cecil Roth]

DUSCHINSKY, JOSEPH ẒEVI BEN ISRAEL (1868–1948), Hungarian rabbi, and later rabbi of the separatist Orthodox community of Jerusalem. Duschinsky was born in Paks, Hungary, where his father was the *sofer* ("scribe"). He studied first under Moses Pollak, rabbi of Paks, and later under Rabbi Simḥah Bunim Sofer (Schreiber, the *Shevet Sofer*) in Pressburg. In 1892 he married the only daughter of R. Mordecai Leib Winkler of Brezovanad Bradlom (Slovakia) and spent the next three years in his house. The years spent at Pressburg and his father-in-law's fine personality were the main formative influences in his life. In 1895 he was elected rabbi to a congregation in Galanta established in opposition to the existing one, and in 1921 went to Khust (Carpatho-Ruthenia). In 1932 he visited Palestine and on the death of R. Joseph Ḥayyim *Sonnenfeld was elected in 1933 to succeed him as rabbi of the Edah Ḥaredit ("Orthodox Community") of Jerusalem. He founded a yeshivah, Bet Yosef, which had hundreds of pupils. Duschinsky, an active supporter of *Agudat Israel, appeared before various commissions of inquiry of the British mandatory government, and although he did not normally cooperate with the official rabbinate, during the siege of Jerusalem in 1948 he endorsed their permission to undertake defense and fortification work on the Sabbath.

Duschinsky was a discerning bibliophile of refined taste and amassed a fine library of rare books. None of his own works was published in his lifetime. From his literary legacy two volumes of responsa, *She'elot u-Teshuvot Mahariẓ* (pt. 1, 1956; pt. 2, 1966), and three volumes of his homiletic commentary to the Bible (pt. 1, 1956; pt. 2, 1961; and pt. 3, 1965) have been published. His responsa in particular reflect his immense learning and wide range of reading (e.g., vol. 2, no. 51 adduces proof for a halakhic point of view from Emden's anti-Shabbatean tract *Mitpaḥat Soferim*, Altona, 1768). He died during the siege of Jerusalem. His yeshivah continued to function under the direction of his only son, Moses Israel.

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[Abraham Schischa]

DUSHKIN, ALEXANDER MORDECHAI (1890–1976), educator. Born in Suwalki, Poland, Dushkin was taken to the United States in 1901. He was associated with J.L. *Magnes' Kehillah experiment in New York City (1910–18) and with its Bureau of Jewish Education under Samson *Benderly, and in

1916 went to Europe as a secretary of the American Jewish Relief Committee. In Palestine in 1919, he was inspector of Jewish schools and taught at David *Yellin's Teachers' Seminary in Jerusalem. Returning to the United States, Dushkin was appointed secretary of *Keren Hayesod (1921–22). From 1923 to 1934 he was director of Chicago's Board of Jewish Education and founded that city's College of Jewish Studies (1924). In 1934 he was called by the Hebrew University in Jerusalem to organize and conduct its Department of Education (since 1952, the School of Education). He was lecturer in educational methods and administration and also the principal of Bet ha-Kerem High School, Jerusalem (1934–39). Upon his return to the United States he became executive director of the Jewish Education Committee in New York City (1939–49). In 1949 Dushkin was invited by the Hebrew University to establish and direct its undergraduate studies and to teach education and education administration. From 1962, he headed the Department of Jewish Education in the Diaspora in the Hebrew University Institute of Contemporary Jewry. Dushkin wrote the first doctoral dissertation on a Jewish educational theme (Columbia University, 1917), *Jewish Education in New York City* (1918), and was the editor of the first educational journal in English in the United States, *The Jewish Teacher* (1916–19); edited and co-edited its successor, *Jewish Education* (1929–35, 1939–49); was coauthor of *Jewish Education in the United States* (1959); edited the third volume of the *Enẓyklopedyah Ḥinnukhit* ("Educational Encyclopedia"); and wrote many monographs and articles. In his educational philosophy Dushkin recognized the validity of pluralism in American Jewish education, but saw its bases in common elements and values. He saw Jewish education in the Diaspora as being one of the main responsibilities of Jewish communal efforts. As a student of Kilpatrick and disciple of the progressivist concepts, he strove to base education on science and experience; he had, however, a positive attitude to Jewish tradition, seeing it as the unique force in the preservation of the Jewish people. Dushkin was awarded an Israel Prize in 1968.

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[Nathan Greenbaum and Leon H. Spotts]

DUSHKIN, SAMUEL (1891–1976), violinist. Dushkin was born in Suwalki, Poland, and studied with Guillaume Remy (violin) and Ganaye (composition) at the Paris Conservatoire, and with *Amar and *Kreisler in New York. After his Paris début in 1918, he toured widely and gave many important first performances, notably of Ravel's *Tzigane* (Amsterdam, 1925) and Stravinsky's *Violin Concerto* (Berlin, 1931). Stravinsky, who composed it with technical advice from Dushkin, often accompanied him in it at subsequent performances. Dushkin also collaborated with Stravinsky in making transcriptions from *Pulcinella* and *Le baiser de la fée* and recorded the *Duo concertant* with him. He gave the first performances of a considerable amount of chamber music by Prokofiev, *Milhaud, Poulenc, and others. Dushkin edited, and in some cases transcribed, virtuoso music for the violin. Some are in fact his own compositions attributed to earlier composers, such as Johann Benda and Boccherini. He also published teaching manuals for the violin.

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[Max Loppert / Israela Stein (2nd ed.)]

DUSHMAN, SAUL (1883–1954), U.S. chemist and physicist. Dushman was born in Rostov, Russia, and was taken to Canada as a child of nine. He obtained a doctorate at the University of Toronto in 1912 and in the same year joined the General Electric Company Laboratory at Schenectady, N.Y., where he worked for 40 years, from 1928 as assistant director. For a period he was also director of research at the Edison Lamp Works. Dushman's published books and papers were mainly concerned with the development and use of high vacuum with which his name is firmly associated. He introduced, with Langmuir, the suffix *-tron* for equipment in which high vacuum was used; later the suffix was used in words such as cyclotron, magnetron, etc. His books included *High Vacuum* (1923), *The Elements of Quantum Mechanics* (1938), *Scientific Foundations of Vacuum Technique* (1949), and *Fundamentals of Atomic Physics* (1951).

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[Samuel Aaron Miller]

DUSTAN (**al-Dustān**; Dositheans), Samaritan sect (or sects), followers of Dusis or Dustis, which is probably the Aramaic form of the Greek name Dositheos. In a somewhat different form – Dosa or Dostai – it is quite common in Jewish sources such as Mishnah, Tosefta, and Midrash. A Dostai and a Sabbai are mentioned in the Midrash as the priests sent by the Assyrian king to Samaria to teach the new settlers the laws and customs of the country. In a legend told by Josephus about a religious dispute between Jews and Samaritans before Ptolemy IV Philometer, Samaritan representatives are called Sabbeus and Theodosius (Theodosius being another form of Dositheos). But in all probability there is no connection between these and the founder of the Dosithean sect. Information about this sect is found in the *Samaritan Chronicles* and in patristic and Islamic writings. The relation between this sect and the 11th-century C.E. al-Dustan of the Samaritan liturgy has not yet been clarified. The accounts about the Dosithean sect (or sects) differ in many ways and contradict each other in some places. The Samaritan sources, the *Annals* of *Abu al-Fatḥ and the *New Chronicle*, speak of two sects: one called al-Dustān, which arose shortly before the time of Alexander the Great, i.e., in the fourth century B.C.E., and a sect mentioned in the *Tolidah* as founded by Dūsis or Dustis in the days of the high priest Akbon, the brother of *Baba Rabbah, i.e., in the second half of the fourth century C.E. Patristic sources from the second–seventh centuries mention a founder of a Samaritan sect, Dositheos, who claimed to be the messiah prophesied by Moses in Deuteronomy 18:15. The dating of the sect is vague, generally given as before or after the time of Jesus.

The Islamic writer al-Shaharastānī (1086–1153) describes a Samaritan sect al-Dustāniyya, also known as al-Īlfāniyya. Their founder, al-Ilfān, is said to have lived approximately 100 B.C.E. Al-Shaharastānī explains the name al-Dustāniyya to mean the dissenting, mendacious sect. It is difficult to tell from these accounts whether they render different traditions about one and the same sect which became blurred in the course of time, or whether there existed two or more sects at different times. The main source for the account of the fourth-century B.C.E. sect is the *Annals* of Abu al-Fatḥ. There the sect is said to have been called al-Dustān because they abolished the lawful festivals and the traditions of their ancestors. Their most important deviations were: changing of the Samaritan combined solar-lunar *calendar, counting all months as 30 days; ceasing to recite the formula "Blessed be our Lord in eternity" and to pronounce the Tetragrammaton, substituting *Elohim*; counting the 50 days between Passover and Pentecost from the day after the first day of Passover, as the Jews do; and altering the laws of ritual purity. Because of the above differences and others outside the sphere of belief and religious rites, they started to build their own synagogues and to appoint their own priests. The first to become their high priest was the son of the then high priest. He was called Zarʿa, perhaps an allusion to Ezra, and was banned from the community for infamous conduct. He composed a compendium of laws for them – a new Torah, derided the high priests, and was esteemed the most learned of his time. The account concerning the Dosithean sect of the fourth century C.E., found in the *Tolidah*, the *Annals* of Abu al-Fatḥ, and the *New Chronicle*, is centered on the person of Dustes b. Pilpeloy, who went to Shechem in the time of Akbon, Baba's brother. He was not of Samaritan extraction but descended from the Aravruba (*Erev rav*), the mixed multitude who left Egypt together with the Israelites. The Tolidah does not go beyond this brief statement, whereas the other two chronicles, especially that of Abu al-Fatḥ, elaborate their story with much detail.

Dusis b. Fufti (or in the *New Chronicle*, Dusis) was living in Jewish territory, committed adultery there, and was sentenced to death. However, when he proposed to the Jewish elders the founding of a heretic sect in Samaria, they consented to release him. He went to Qaryat ʿAskar, where he won the friendship of a very learned and pious man called Yaḥdū. Together they spent two years abiding by a vow of asceticism. When their vow ended, they ate, drank, and became intoxicated. When Yaḥdū was still sleeping off his drunkenness, Dusis took away his hood, gave it to a harlot, and bribed her to testify on the Day of Atonement before the community, gathered for prayer on Mt. Gerizim, that Yaḥdū had sinned with her. But his plot was discovered by the high priest Akbon, who sought to kill him. Dusis fled to Shuwayka or Socho and hid in the house of a widow called Amintū, whom he told that he was the son of the high priest. During his stay there, he occupied himself with writing. When he had finished, he heard that the high priest was still looking for him, so he left the house of Amintū and went to hide in a cave, where he eventually died of hunger and was devoured by the dogs. Before leaving, he had ordered Amintū to allow his writings to be touched only by those who had purified themselves in a nearby pool. Soon afterward the high priest's nephew, Levi, with seven companions, arrived at the house of Amintū in search of Dusis. She told them faithfully all Dusis had taught her. Levi then sent one of his men to immerse in the pool. Upon rising, the man cried out, "My belief is in Thee O Lord and in Dusis Thy servant and in his prophetic mission." Levi shouted at him and struck him. However, the same happened to all of the seven and at last to Levi himself. Then they read the books of Dusis and learned that he had changed much of the Torah, similar to Ezra and even more so. They kept all this to themselves and returned to Shechem. On the first day of the Passover festival, when Levi was called upon to recite the Law, he substituted the word "zatar" for "ezov," according to the books of Dusis. When the community tried to correct his reading, Levi insisted on it and blamed them for having rejected the prophetic mission of Dusis; he changed the days of the festivals, the mighty name of YHWH, and sent pursuers after the second prophet sent by God from Mount Sinai. Thereupon, Levi was stoned, and his followers went to a place near Jerusalem, from where they continued to win disciples from among the Samaritans. They venerated Levi as a martyr, kept a palm leaf dipped in his blood in the books of Dusis, and allowed only those who had fasted for seven days to approach and study them. They believed that the dead would soon rise; they cut their hair, prayed with their body immersed in water, did not go from one house to another on the Sabbath, and observed all the festivals on the Sabbath only. When one of the followers died, they put a belt around his waist, sandals on his feet, and a rod in his hand so that he could rise from his grave in haste. Some of them believed that as soon as the dead were buried they rose from their graves and went to Paradise. After a short story about Simeon the Sorcerer (Simon Magus, who, according to most scholars, belongs to the first century C.E.) there is an enumeration of seven subsects that succeeded each other and the fate that befell each of them. The narrative ends with the words: "All these came forth from the *Books of Dusis* and caused the Samaritans much hardship and great sinning."

Especially interesting is one of the sects, founded by Shaliyah ibn Ṭīrūn ibn Nīn, because his followers are once called al-Dustān. That is the only occurrence of this name in the narrative about the sect founded by Dusis. In this report antisectarian polemics are intermingled with the legend about Levi, which is obviously borrowed from the literature of the sect. The short notes speaking of Dositheos in the patristic sources all agree that he was a Samaritan heretic and founder of a messianic sect. But they differ in details. Thus Pseudo-Tertullian (second century C.E.) mentions the Samaritan Dositheos as the first Jewish heretic from whom the heresy of the Sadducees developed. He was the first to reject the prophets, deny belief in resurrection, angels, and the last judgment. According to the Pseudo-Clementines (third century C.E.), Dositheos and Simon Magus were pupils of John the Baptist. The Samaritans, awaiting a prophet predicted by Moses, had been prevented by the depravity of Dusis from believing in the prophetic mission of Jesus. Origen (second and third centuries C.E.) mentions Dositheos several times. After the time of Jesus, Dositheos tried to convince the Samaritans that he was the messiah prophesied by Moses, and he succeeded in winning some of them over. Then he adds that these are the Dositheans, still extant in his time, who own scriptures of Dositheos and recount myths about him that he had never died and was still alive somewhere. Similar to the above is the account of Eusebius (third and fourth centuries C.E.), who states that Dositheos appeared after Jesus' time and was acknowledged by the Samaritans as a prophet like Moses. Epiphanius (fourth century C.E.) gives a report resembling that of Abu al-Fatḥ in some basic points about Dusis and his sect. According to him, the Dositheans were a Samaritan sect; kept circumcision, the laws of the Sabbath, and the Pentateuch; refrained from eating meat; venerated abstinence; and believed in resurrection. Dositheos was of Jewish origin and had retired to a cave. However, out of an exaggerated desire to gain knowledge, he fasted so that at last he died of starvation. Eulogius (seventh century C.E.) tells of two rival Samaritan parties, one believing that the expected prophet of Deuteronomy 18:15 was *Joshua son of Nun, the other claiming that it was someone called Dosthes or Dositheos, who was a disciple of Simon Magus, cast blame on the prophets and the patriarch Judah, left scriptures, and did not believe in resurrection. Even from this scanty material, it becomes obvious that the Dosithean sect must have had considerable influence in the beginning of the common era or even before it. It seems quite plausible that several subsects branched off from an original major sect in the course of time. This may account for the double report of the Samaritan chronicles, including that of the seven subsects, and the discrepancies found in patristic and Islamic sources.

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[Ayala Loewenstamm]

DUTCH LITERATURE.

Influence of the Bible

The arrival, on October 27, 2004, of the Nieuwe Bijbelvertaling, a completely new translation into Dutch of the Bible and the Christian Apocrypha, initiated a fierce debate in Dutch literary circles. At the core was the major influence of the Bible on Dutch culture and linguistics. Many participants in the discussion lamented the sometimes radical choices the translators had made to rephrase the biblical stories into a modern vernacular. They stated their desire to protect the language and imagery of the Statenbijbel, the official translation of the Bible which was commissioned by the Dutch Reformed Church in the early 17th century. It was completed during the years 1627–37. Similar to its English-language counterpart, the King James Version, the Statenbijbel has enriched the Dutch language with countless beautiful and poetic similes, expressions, and metaphors, most of which are still in use in present-day Dutch.

The original Statenbijbel translation project was one high point in the cultural revolution that brought Calvinism and Humanism to Holland. The Eighty Years' War (1568–1648) led to a new and powerful interest in the Bible as a source of inspiration for a national Dutch identity, which was at that time beginning to assert itself. In a famous poem which later became the Dutch national anthem, "Wilhelmus van Nassouwe," Prince William of Orange was compared to David, king of Israel. The war against Spain was likened to Israel's war against her enemies. Among the many poetic adaptations of the Psalms composed in these times were those of authors such as Philips van Marnix van Sint Aldegonde (1540–1588), and the poets Pieter Corneliszoon Hooft (1581–1647) and Constantijn Huygens (1596–1678).

Humanists and Reformers promoted the study of Hebrew in the Low Countries during the 16th century, particularly in such circles as that of the humanist Antwerp printer Christophe *Plantin (1514–1589), who at one time was obliged to move to Leiden. During the 15th century, biblical drama flourished in the many chambers of rhetoric (*Rederijkerskamers*) and later poets such as Carel van Mander (1548–1606) and Dirck Volkertszon Coornhert (1522–1590) wrote a number of biblical plays. Outstanding among these authors was Joost van den Vondel, who wrote *Joseph in Dothan* (1640), *Joseph in Egypten* (1640), *Salomon* (1648), *Jephta* (1659), *Samson* (1660), and *Adam in Ballingschap* ("Adam in Exile," 1664). The last work can be compared to *Milton's *Paradise Lost.*

After the 17th century there was a sharp decline in interest in biblical subjects. In the late 18th century, Willem Bilderdijk wrote some biblical poetry, while Arnold Hoogvliet composed an epic entitled *Abraham de Aartsvader* ("Abraham the Patriarch," 1729). In the 19th century, Allard Pierson published *Israel*, the first part of his study *Geestelijke Voorouders* ("Spiritual Ancestors," 1887–91) and J.L. ten Kate wrote *De Schepping* ("The Creation," 1866).

Dutch biblical dramatists of the 20th century include H. van den Eerenbeemt, the author of *Judith* (1916); F. Rutten, who wrote *Hagar* (1917); and the Flemish poet René de Clercq, the author of biblical stories in verse form such as *Thamar* (1917). The poet Albert Besnard composed an epic poem about the history of the Jewish people called *Drama* (1959). In 1945 a Protestant author, H. de Bruin, published *Job*, a dramatic adaptation of the Book of Job. The Bible and the land of the Bible provide the themes of some of the writing of Roman Catholic poet Bertus Aafjes, notably his poem *In den Beginne* (1949) and his novels, *Vorstin onder de landschappen* ("Empress Among Landscapes," 1952) and *Arenlezers achter de maaiers* ("Gleaners Behind the Reapers," 1952).

During the 20th century Protestant religion lost its prominence in Dutch society. In mainstream fiction, Biblical themes have almost disappeared, the work of author and artist Jan Wolkers (1925–) being the most notable exception. In 1990 Wolkers published *Op de vleugelen der profeten* ("On the Wings of Prophets"), essays on the beauty of the Bible. As a literary topos, the Bible can be found in the works of novelists Maarten 't Hart, Nicolaas Matsier, and Desanne van Brederode. From the 1960s onwards, poet and novelist Gerard Kornelis van het Reve (1923–) created an original poetic aesthetic, mixing the language and imagery of the *Statenbijbel* with Roman Catholic mysticism and explicit references to homosexuality. This literary style is known as Revisme ("Revism").

Hebraic Influences on the Dutch Language

The influence of the *Statenbijbel* on the Dutch language can not be overestimated. Expressions deriving from this translation are still current in literature and colloquial usage. Besides such common words as *Satan, cherubijn*, etc., there are expressions like "*met de mantel der liefde bedekken*" ("to cover with the coat of love"), borrowed from the story of Noah (Gen. 9:23). The influence of Yiddish began to be felt with the appearance of Dutch books by Jewish authors, which contained Yiddish expressions. Some Yiddish words that have become part of standard Dutch are *Mokum*, the popular nickname for Amsterdam ("place," from *makom*); *bajes* ("prison," from *bayit*); *gabber* ("friend," from *ḥaver*); *stiekem* ("in secret," from *shetikah*); and *lef* ("courage," from *lev*). Many more are to be found in popular speech and thieves' slang – *jatten* ("to steal," from *yad*), and *kapoeres* ("gone to pieces," from *kapparah*). Others which were mainly used by Jews are disappearing with the dwindling of the Jewish community in Holland.

The Jewish community has coined some Dutch words for its specific linguistic needs. By subtly changing the prefix of verbs and nouns, meaning has shifted – predominantly in the verbs *aanbijten* (lit. "to bite onto," to break the fast after Yom Kippur) and *uitkomen* (lit. "to come out," to convert to Judaism), and the noun *voorzanger* (lit. "singer in front," Cantor), which are not in use outside the Jewish community.

The Figure of the Jew in Dutch Literature

The physical presence of Jews in the Netherlands is not reflected in medieval Dutch literature. The Jew is made to symbolize the forces of evil, and his sufferings are pointed to as proof of the Christian concept of history. Examples of this are to be found in the *Rijmbijbel* of Jacob van Maerlant (c. 1235–1300), in the same writer's *Spieghel Historiael*, in *Van den Levene Ons Heren* ("On the Life of Our Lord") by an unknown 13th-century author, and in various other sources. A literary record of the pogroms following the plague of 1350 occurs in *Brabantse Yeesten* by Jan van Boendale. The alleged use of the blood of Christian children for healing purposes was described in the *Bienboek*, a medieval Dutch version of the *Liber Apum* by Thomas de Cantimpré. Van Boendale's *Van den Joden ende van haren Wesen* ("Of the Jews and Their Nature") was a more rational work. The secular morality poem *Der minnen Loep* ("The Course of Love") by Dirck Potter (c. 1370–1428) denounces sexual intercourse with Jews. The Shylock motive appears in the fragmentary rhetorical play *Van den Gedinge tusschen eenen Coopman ende eenen Jode* ("On the Case Between a Merchant and a Jew," c. 1515).

Despite the increase in the number of Jews in Holland during the 17th century, none of the great authors of the Golden Age dealt with Jewish themes, with the exception of Joost van den Vondel, who wrote the poem *Aan de Joodsche Rabbijnen* as an addendum to the play *Hierusalem verwoest* (1620). On the other hand, many chronicles deal with Jews, mostly from a Christian, antisemitic point of view. An exception is the treatise on Jews and the Jewish religion in *Bewijs van den waren godsdienst* ("Proof of the True Religion") by the great Dutch jurist Hugo *Grotius. After a speculation scandal in 1720, Jews began to appear in low comedy, satirical poetry, and scurrilous writings. Examples are to be found in the unfinished comedy of manners *De Spiegelder Vaderlandsche Kooplieden* ("Mirror of Native Merchants," 1720) by Pieter Langendijk. Two periodicals founded by Justus van Effen, *Spectatoriale Geschriften* and *De Hollandsche Spectator*, were influenced in their attitude toward the Jews by the ideas of the Enlightenment.

In the 19th century, too, the number of literary works dealing with Jewish themes was very small. They include the poem *De Israelitische Looverhut* by Antonie Christiaan Wynand Staring; descriptions of middle-class Jews in the *Camera Obscura* (1839) of Hildebrand (pen name of Nicolaas Beets); descriptions of the Amsterdam ghetto in the novel *Woutert e Pieterse* (2 vols., 1865–77) by Multatuli (pen name of Eduard Douwes Dekker); and the antisemitic novel *Jeanne Colette* by W. Paap. At the beginning of the 20th century, Jewish types appear in the short stories collected in *Vluchtige begroetingen* ("Casual Greetings," 1925) by Aart van der Leeuw. An exotic Jewish girl figures in the novel *Tobias en de dood* ("Tobias and Death," 1925) by Jan van Oudshoorn (pen name of J.K. Feylbrief). The *Wandering Jew motif is to be found in the novel *De wandelende Jood* (1906) by the Flemish author August Vermeylen. The poet Johan Andreas dèr Mouw was the only writer who tried to analyze his attitude toward Jews.

The first writer to react to rising Nazism and the persecution of the Jews was the outstanding essayist Menno ter Braak, who had a great influence on Dutch literature. The change of attitude to Jewish themes brought about by World War II can be gauged by a comparison of two novels by Simon Vestdijk (1898–1971): *Else Boehler, Duits dienstmeisje* ("Else Boehler the German Maid," 1935) and *De rimpels van Esther Ornstein* ("The Wrinkles of Esther Ornstein," 1958). A writer who often used Jewish themes was Ferdinand Bordewijk, whose novels show a progressively antisemitic tendency. His works include the collections of short stories *Fantastische vertellingen* ("Fantastic Stories," 3 vols. 1919–24), and the novels *Noorderlicht* ("Northern Lights," 1948) and *Bloesemtak* ("Blossoming Branch," 1955).

In the years immediately after World War II, there was a remarkable increase in literary works dealing with Jewish themes and fictional characters. Some writers, like August Defresne in his play *De naamloozen van 1942* ("The Nameless of 1942," 1945), tried to prove the unequivocally sympathetic attitude of the Dutch people toward the Jews. The theme of other works is the absence of differences between Jews and non-Jews, as in *Volg het spoor terug* ("Follow the Track Back," 1953), an essay by J.B. Charles (pseudonym of W.H. Nagel), and in the novel *De ondergang van de familie Boslowits* ("The Ruin of the Boslowits Family," 1946) by Gerard Kornelis van het Reve. Nel Noordzij deals with collective guilt feelings as a personal experience in *Variaties op een moederbinding* ("Variations on a Mother Attachment," 1958), and with Jewish self-hate in her novel *Het kan me niet schelen* ("I Don't Care," 1955).

The difficulties arising in mixed marriages as a result of traumatic war experiences form the theme of several novels, including *De donkere kamer van Damocles* ("The Dark Room of Damocles," 1958) by Willem Frederik Hermans, *Het wilde feest* ("The Intruder," 1952) by Adriaan van der Veen, *Allang geleden* ("A Long Time Ago," 1956) by W.G. van Maanen, and Jan Wolkers' *Kort Amerikaans* ("Short American,"1962). A worthy attempt to draw an authentic Jewish portrait is that by the Flemish writer Marnix Gijsen (pseudonym of Jan-Albert Goris), who went to live in New York in 1939, in his short stories "Kaddisj voor Sam Cohn" and "De school van Fontainebleau" in the collection *De Diaspora* (1961).

During the 1960s and 1970s, Dutch literature shifted direction as a result of rising tides of realism and early post-modernism. Also, many Jewish writers came into their own, with a staggering growth of publications on Holocaust and post-Holocaust themes. As a result, Jewish experience and the place of the Jew in Dutch society became almost a taboo subject for non-Jewish writers. Jews all but vanished as characters in fiction by non-Jewish authors, with the exception of Erik Hazelhoff Roelfzema's *Soldaat van Oranje* ("Soldier of Orange"), which was published in 1971, a picaresque autobiographical novel about his travails during 1940–45 that included a Jewish love interest. The crime fiction that Jan-Willem van de Wetering wrote during the 1970s and 1980s features a minor character who is a Sephardi Jew.

It took until the late 1980s for a Jew to return to Dutch fiction. The novel *Mystiek Lichaam,* published in 1986 by acclaimed author Frans Kellendonk (1951–1990), caused a major literary scandal. Kellendonk uses the relationship between two siblings in a Roman Catholic family as the backdrop for an exposition of the intrinsic Otherness of homosexuality and Jewishness in Dutch society. Some critics denounced the novel as antisemitic. Since then, not many non-Jewish writers have dared touch the subjects of Jewish history, Jewish identity, and Judaism.

The Jewish community in the former Dutch colony of *Surinam has a long history. Cynthia Macleod-Ferrier (1936–), a writer from Surinam, described the experiences of a fictional Jewish family at an 18th century plantation in *Hoe duur was de suiker* (1987, "How Expensive Was the Sugar"). In children's fiction Karlijn Stoffels' novel about two friends during the Holocaust, *Mosje en Reizele* (1996, "Moshe and Reizele"), attracted a large audience.

The Jewish Contribution to Dutch Literature

17TH AND 18TH CENTURIES. The Sephardi Jews, arriving in Amsterdam toward the end of the 16th century, were the first Jewish writers in Holland. Although they wrote in Latin, Spanish, and Hebrew, they made a significant contribution to Dutch literature. Prominent among them were poets such as Jacob Israel *Belmonte; Paulo de Pina, author of the biblical morality play *Dialogo dos Montes* (1624); the satirist Abraham (Diego) Gómez Silveyra; and the dramatist and poet Antonio Enríquez *Gómez. A vast but inaccurate source for the history of the Amsterdam Sephardi Jews is the poetry of Miguel (Daniel Levi) de *Barrios. Other important cultural figures were the scholar and statesman Manasseh Ben *Israel and the philosophers Uriel da *Costa and Baruch *Spinoza (see also Spanish and Portuguese *Literature).

The literary production of the Ashkenazi Jews did not cross over into Dutch society in general. Until the 1750s Ashkenazi Jews mainly wrote in Yiddish. In addition to translations of religious books, they made adaptations of secular literature, such as the *Bove-Buch, Josef Maarsen's *Sjeine artliche Geschichten* (1710) translated from *Boccaccio's *Decamerone*, and a translation of the *Travels of Benjamin of Tudela* (1691) by Ḥayyim ben Jacob.

During the second half of the 18th century, the elite of the Jewish community slowly gained entrance into Dutch society through their growing ease with the Dutch language. A handful of young Amsterdam Jews actively participated in the revolutionary movements of 1787 and 1795. Some Jewish revolutionaries contributed to magazines and pamphlets in Dutch, marking the entrance of Dutch Jewry into Dutch letters. The emancipation of the Jewish nation, as declared by the French in 1796, officially opened the doors for their entrance into Dutch society.

FROM THE 19TH CENTURY TO WORLD WAR II. The 19th and early 20th centuries saw a gradual entry of a growing number of educated Jews into most walks of Dutch life. Jews went into law, medicine, commerce, and the fine arts. They entered journalism, the theater, and the entertainment industry. The advent of liberalism and socialism profoundly influenced Jewish intellectuals. Jewish writers reflected upon social inequality and depicted scenes of squalor and misery in the poorer Jewish communities and working-class neighborhoods of the major cities. Also, many explored Jewish self-hatred, assimilation, and, to an extent, Zionism.

The first writer of Portuguese-Jewish descent to contribute to Dutch literature proper was the poet Isaac da *Costa, who at first worked for Jewish emancipation but converted to the Reformed Church in 1822 under the influence of the poet William Bilderdijk. Da Costa was active in the Protestant Réveil movement, which strove for a deepening of religious experience. His works include a collection of poetry, *De Chaos en het Licht* ("Chaos and Light," 1850–53); the biblical drama *Hagar* (1848); and studies on various Jewish themes. Da Costa's friend Abraham Capadose (1795–1874), who also converted, was another early contributor to Dutch literature. He wrote several conversionist works, including *Rome en Jeruzalem* (1851). Other 19th-century authors were the satirist Mark Prager Lindo, the poetess Estella Hijmans Hertzveld, and the novelist Arnold Aäron Aletrino.

Herman *Heijermans, who is generally considered the most important playwright of his time, wrote naturalistic works reflecting the struggle with Jewish identity and social involvement. His many outstanding books include the novel *Diamantstad* ("Diamond City," 1904); *Ghetto* (1898), a drama of Amsterdam Jewish life; and a play about the life of fishermen, *Op hoop van zegen* ("The Good Hope," 1900), which is generally considered one of the best plays ever written in Dutch. The Sephardi author Israël *Querido wrote a number of novels on "ghetto" life, as well as several biblical works. His brother, the publisher Emanuel Querido (1871–1943), was also an author. Other writers of the time were Samuel C. Goudsmit; Willem Schürmann (1879–1915), the author of the "ghetto" play *De Violiers* (1912); and the anti-assimilationist rabbi Meyer de Hond (1873–1943), author of *Kiekjes* ("Snapshots," 1926).

Jewish national feelings dominate the works of M.H. van Campen and a few other writers. A.B. Kleerekoper (1850–1943), who was a minor Hebrew poet, wrote a Dutch adaptation of Song of Songs, *Het Hooglied Zangen van Liefde* (1903). A. van Collem (1858–1933), the first president of the Dutch Zionist Organization, wrote *Russische melodieën* (1891), the story of a pogrom, and the lyrical poem *God* (1930). Outstanding for his religious poetry was Jacob Israël de *Haan, a controversial figure who was assassinated in Jerusalem. His collection *Het Joodsche Lied* ("The Jewish Song," 2 vols., 1915–21) is among the finest religious poetry of modern times. De Haan's sister, the novelist Carry van *Bruggen, whose writing was mainly autobiographical, often dealt with the rift between Jewish parents and children. Sebastian Bonn (1881–1930) wrote some fine poems in both Dutch and Yiddish on Jewish and socialist themes, notably those collected in *Gewijde Liederen* ("Sacred Songs," 1926). The literary critic and poet Victor Emanuel van *Vriesland published an essay on Jewish literature, *De cultureele noodtoestand van het Joodsche volk* (1915). An important impressionistic poet was Herman van den *Bergh. The Catholic convert Herman de Man (1898–1946) wrote regional novels such as *Het wassende water* ("Rising Water," 1926). Jewish themes play a large part in the works of the novelist and literary critic Siegfried Emanuel van *Praag. Among his books were *Jerusalem van het Westen* ("Jerusalem of the West," 1961), an account of vanished Amsterdam Jewish life, and the monograph *De West-Joden en hun letterkunde sinds 1860* ("The Western Jews and Their Literature Since 1860," 1926). The novelist Maurits *Dekker wrote on Jewish and socialist themes, his works including *Brood* ("Bread," 1933) and *De laars op de nek* ("The Jackboot on the Neck," 1945), an account of the German occupation of Holland. Another writer with strong socialist leanings was David de Jong (1898–1963), whose collection of poems, *Eenzame opstandigheid* ("Lonely Revolt," 1925), displays deep melancholy. Dola de Jong (1905–2003), who settled in New York and Los Angeles, wrote the novel *En de akker is de wereld* ("And the Field Is the World," 1947).

EARLY POSTWAR PERIOD. World War II and the Holocaust are generally seen as the watershed in Dutch history. Since 1945, all Jewish novelists, poets, and playwrights have in one way or another reflected on the Holocaust. Some have published their prewar memoirs, others have written about their experiences in hiding or in the Nazi death and concentration camps. A younger generation has taken on the subject of the wartime and postwar experiences of their relatives. This contemplation has taken shape in many different genres. Some authors pursued careers in academia, commerce, journalism, or the stage before turning to writing fiction. Others were already well-established writers when they finally found the courage to give an autobiographical account of their wartime experiences.

War journals are headed by the world-famous diary of Anne *Frank, *Het Achterhuis* (1946; *The Diary of a Young Girl*, 1952). Others are *Brieven uit Westerbork* ("Letters from Westerbork," 1961) by Etty Hillesum (1914–1943), whose letters and diaries were rediscovered and reprinted in the 1970s, with dazzling commercial success. The diary *In Depot* (1964) by Philip Mechanicus (1899–1944) was also rediscovered by a younger audience in the 1970s and again in the 1990s.

Jacob *Presser wrote prose and poetry inspired by World War II experiences, and the two-volume historical study *Ondergang. De vervolging en verdelging van het Nederlandse Jodendom 1940–1945* (1965; *Ashes in the Wind: The Destruction of Dutch Jewry*, 1969). The prominent Zionist and lawyer Abel *Herzberg wrote factual stories on the Bergen-Belsen concentration camp, such as *Amor Fati* (1946) and *Brieven aan mijn kleinzoon* ("Letters to My Grandson," 1964).

A fine autobiographical novel on the war is *Het bittere kruid* (1957; *Bitter Herbs*, 1960) by Marga *Minco. She has continued publishing one novella per decade, in a sober, washed-out style.

Clara Asscher-Pinkhof (1896–1984), who settled in Israel, wrote about children in Bergen-Belsen in her novel *Sterrekinderen* ("Starchildren," 1946; Hebrew, *Yaldei ha-Kokhavim*, 1965); Meyer Sluyser (1901–1973), a popular radio commentator, wrote several novels on vanished Jewish life in Amsterdam, notably *Voordat ik het vergeet* ("Before I Forget," 1956). Another war writer was Salvador Hertog (1901–1989), author of the novel *De Tuin* ("The Garden," 1957) and *Meijer en ik* ("Meijer and I," 1980).

Early postwar poets include Maurits *Mok, author of *Aan de Vermoorden uit Israel* ("To the Murdered of Israel," 1950); Leo Vroman (1915–), who settled in New York and wrote in Dutch and English; and Hannie Michaelis (1922–). Novelist Josepha Mendels (1902–1995), who settled in Paris, tasted literary success only late in life, when her novels about Jewish family life *Rolien en Ralien* (*Rolien and Ralien*, 1947), and *Als vuur en rook* (1950; *Like Ashes and Smoke*) were rediscovered by an eager young readership.

1970–2005

Judith Herzberg (1934–), the youngest daughter of Abel Herzberg, made her literary debut as a poet with *Zeepost* ("Seamail," 1963). She developed into the most important poet and playwright of her generation. She is revered for her clarity of style and her use of seemingly simple language. She based *27 liefdesliedjes* (1971, "27 Love Songs") on the biblical Song of Songs. She succesfully translated and adapted classics of the Yiddish theater *The Golem* and *The Dybuk* for the Dutch stage. Her play *Leedvermaak* (1982) was chosen the best play of the 1980s by her peers. It deals with the unspoken trauma of a family of Holocaust survivors and the younger generations of child survivors and Jews born after 1945. Herzberg subsequently wrote two more plays revolving around the Leedvermaak characters, *Rijgdraad* (1995) and *Simon* (2003).

The literary career of Harry *Mulisch (1930–) has spanned decades. He broke new ground in the early 1980s with his highly successful *De aanslag* ("The Assault," 1981). In 1985, the film by Dutch director Fons Rademakers based on the novel won an Academy Award for Best Foreign Film. Mulish had dealt with Jewish themes in his novel *Het stenen bruidsbed* ("The Stone Bridal Bed," 1959) and wrote an account of the *Eichmann trial, *De zaak 40/61* (1968). His major epic on the world's redemption, as seen from a Jewish perspective through the unwitting ministrations of a Dutch boy, *De ontdekking van de hemel* (1992; *The Discovery of Heaven*, 1996), established his reputation worldwide.

A generation after the Holocaust, Dutch Jews who had pursued non-literary careers started putting their wartime experiences on paper. This has resulted in some exquisite fiction that has reached a large international audience. Andreas Burnier, the pen name of criminologist Catharina R. Dessaur (1931–2002), published *Het jongensuur* (*The Boys' Hour*, 1969), the first of many novels and essays on Judaism, ethics, and religion. Physicist Jona Oberski (1938–) wrote *Kinderjaren* (1978; *Childhood*, 1983), a memoir of his experiences in the Bergen-Belsen concentration camp as a small boy. Sociologist Gerhard Durlacher (1928–1996), a prewar refugee from Baden-Baden in Germany, did not dare to start writing fiction until the 1980s. His small body of work includes *Strepen aan de hemel* (1985; *Stripes in the Sky,* 1992), *Drenkeling* (1985, *Drowning: Growing up in the Third Reich*, 1993), and *De zoektocht* (1991; *The Search: The Birkenau Boys*, 1998). Lisette Lewin, who had previously worked as a journalist, published her semi-autobiographical novel *Voor bijna alles bang geweest* ("Having Been Afraid of Almost Anything," 1989). Eli Asser, a popular writer for television and the stage, changed direction in the early 1990s, which resulted in his war memoir *Rembrandt was mijn buurman* ("Rembrandt Was My Neighbor," 1995).

The autobiographical novel *Brief aan mijn moeder* ("Letter to My Mother," 1974) by journalist and theater critic Ischa (Israel Chaim) Meijer (1943–1995) is credited with shattering the taboo that children of Holocaust survivors have no cause to complain. Meijer luridly described his troubled childhood amongst Holocaust survivors. In Meijer's wake many new, younger writers have emerged who have grappled with the Holocaust "as part of their mental history, if not their own physical history," in the words of author Marcel Möring. This intense inner search has led to a large body of novels, poetry, and plays.

Leon de Winter (1954–) is both a novelist and a screenwriter. He started out as the highly literary author of *De (ver)wording van de jonge Dürer* ("The Corruption of Young Dürer," 1979), *Place de la Bastille* (1981), and *Zoeken naar Eileen* ("In Search of Eileen," 1981). With the publication of *Kaplan* (1986) De Winter seemed to have changed his pace. His Jewish characters, bitter humor, and use of literary techniques often used in crime fiction have made him a bestselling novelist, both in Holland and abroad, with *Hoffman's Honger* ("Hoffman's Hunger," 1990), *SuperTex* ("SuperTex," 1991), *De ruimte van Sokolov* ("Sokolov's Space," 1992), *Zionoco* (1995), *De hemel van Hollywood* ("The Heaven Above Hollywood," 1997), and *God's gym* (2002). Many of his novels were adapted for film or television.

Marcel Möring's (1957–) highly accomplished novels *Mendels Erfenis* ("Mendels Heritage," 1990), *Het grote verlangen* (1995; *The Great Longing*, 1995), *In Babylon* (1997; *In Babylon,* 1999), and *Modelvliegen* (2001; *The Dream Room,* 2002) seriously explore the emotional entanglement of children of Holocaust survivors, a theme also explored by Wanda Reisel (1955–) in her novel *Het beloofde leven* (1995).

Arnon Grunberg (1973–) has been called the most interesting young author in the Dutch language. He made his debut with the novel *Blauwe Maandagen* (1994; *Blue Mondays*, 1996). Grunberg moved to New York in the 1990s, but has continued to write in Dutch and concern himself with Dutch society. His novels *De figuranten* ("The Extra's," 1997), *Fantoompijn* (2000; *Phantom Pain*, 2002), *De asielzoeker* (2002; "The Asylumseeker"), and *De Joodse Messias* (2004, "The Jewish Messiah") gained him prominence. He has published poetry and essays, made a new version of Desiderius Erasmus' *Lof der Zotheid* (1509, *The Praise of Folly*), called *De mensheid zij geprezen*. ("Humanity Be Praised," 2001). Grunberg also makes use of the not overtly Jewish pseudonym Marek van der Jagt. Both Grunberg and Van der Jagt have won many Dutch and international literary prizes.

In fiction for children and young people, the novel *Chaweriem* ("Hawerim" (Hebrew for "Friends"), 1995) stands out as a modest Dutch classic. In this tale of a group of young Jews wanting to immigrate from Holland to Israel, Leonard de Vries (1919–2002) caught the hopes of young child survivors for a better future. Child survivor Ida Vos (1931–) has gained prominence with her many novels for children: *Wie niet weg is wordt gezien* (1981; *Hide and Seek*, 1995), *Dansen op de brug van Avignon* (1989; *Dancing on the Bridge of Avignon* 1995), *Anna is er nog* (1991; *Anna Is Still Here*, 1995), *Witte Zwanen, Zwarte Zwanen* ("White Swans, Black Swans," 1992), *De sleutel is gebroken* (1996; *The Key Is Lost*, 2000), and *De lachende engel* ("The Laughing Angel," 2000).

Dutch literary critics include Joseph Melkman (1914–), who settled in Jerusalem and wrote *Geliefde Vijand* ("Beloved Enemy," 1964), a book about the Jew in postwar Dutch literature. Historian Jaap Meijer (1912–1993) published a study on poet Jacob Israël de Haan, *De zoon van een Gazzan* ("The Son of a Cantor," 1967). Meijer, the father of Ischa Meijer, also became known by his pen name Saul van Messel, a poet who distinguished himself from his peers in the literary world by writing in the Saxon dialect of Groningen province.

A few Jews have also written in Afrikaans, a dialect of Dutch containing other elements and spoken mainly by the South African Afrikaners; see *South African Literature.

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[Gerda Alster-Thau / Daphne Meijer (2nd ed.)]

DUTY, an action that one is obligated to perform; a feeling, or sense, of obligation. In Judaism man's duties are determined by God's commandments. The entire biblical and rabbinic conception of man's role in the world is subsumed under the notion of *mitzvah* (meaning simultaneously "law," "commandment," "duty," and "merit"). The term *ḥovah*, meaning "obligation" or "duty," which came into use later, is used interchangeably with *mitzvah*. To perform a divine commandment is to fulfill one's duty, *laẓet yedei ḥovah* (Ber. 8b). The translator from the Arabic original into Hebrew of *Baḥya ibn Paquda's major work *Ḥovot ha-Levavot* ("Duties of the Hearts") used the term *ḥovah* as a synonym for commandment, and the term was taken up by other writers of **musar* literature (for a discussion of the relationship between "*mitzvah*" and "*ḥovah*" see ET, vol. 12, s.v. *ḥovah*). Duty is the incentive to moral action, and a morality-based duty is evidently different from one that is based on pleasure. According to a talmudic dictum "Greater is he who performs an action because he is commanded than he who performs the same action without being commanded" (BK 38a). The pleasure derived from the performance of a commandment is irrelevant to its nature (cf. RH 28a "the commandments were not given to be enjoyed"), and conversely dislike of an action is no sufficient reason for abstention from it, cf. the saying of R. Eleazar b. Azariah: "Say not, 'I do not like to eat pork'… but say, 'I would like, but I will not for it is God's prohibition'" (Sifra 20:26; cf. Mak. 3:15). One should not perform an action in order to gain a reward, but because it is a divine commandment, and hence one's duty: "Be not like servants who work for the master on condition of receiving a reward…" (Avot 1:3).

The morality of an action is determined more by the motivation of the one who performs it than by its consequences: "You must do what is incumbent upon you; its success is up to God" (Ber. 10a). The notion of intention (*kavvanah*) is central in Jewish ethics: "Whether it be much or little, so long as the intention is pure" (Ber. 17a; Sif. Deut. 41); "God demands the heart" (Sanh. 106b). That is not to say that an action performed without the proper motivation is worthless. The fact that its results are beneficial does give it some worth. Moreover, through performing an action without the proper motivation, one may come to perform it with the proper motivation: "From doing [good] with an ulterior motive one may learn to do [good] for its own sake" (Pes. 50b; cf. Maim., Yad, Teshuvah, 10:5).

The major problem in modern Jewish thought in connection with the concept of duty is posed by the Kantian notion of autonomy, according to which an action to be moral must be motivated by a sense of duty, and must be autonomous (I. *Kant, *Fundamental Principles of Ethics*, trans. by T.K. Abbott (1946^{10}), 31ff.). This appears to conflict with the traditional Jewish notion that the law is given by God, that is, that it is the product of a heteronomous legislator. Moritz *Lazarus in his *Ethik des Judentums* (1898, 1911; *The Ethics of Judaism*, trans. by H. Szold, 1900) attempts to show that rabbinic ethics are based on the same principles as Kantian ethics, the basic underlying principle of both being the principle of autonomy (*ibid.*, 1 (1898), no. 90–105). In so doing he somewhat distorts the Kantian notion of autonomy. Hermann *Cohen, in *Die Religion der Vernunft aus den Quellen des Judentums*, in his attempt to deal with the problem of heteronomy and autonomy, interprets *mitzvah* to mean both "law" and "duty," the law originating in God and the sense of duty in man. Man, of his own free will, must take upon himself the "yoke of the commandments." Franz *Rosenzweig approaches the question of the duties imposed by Jewish law from a somewhat different consideration. Distinguishing between "law" (Ger., *Gesetz*; Heb., *ḥukkah*) and "commandment" (Ger., *Gebot*; Heb., *mitzvah*), he holds that the individual is confronted by the body of Jewish law which is impersonal (*Gesetz*) and that he must make a serious effort to transform it into commandments (*Gebot*) by appropriating whatever is meaningful to him in the situation in which he finds himself (F. Rosenzweig, *On Jewish Learning* (1955), 83–92, 109–24).

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DUVDEVANI, SHMUEL (1903–1987), Israel botanist. Duvdevani was born in the Ukraine. He studied botany in England and went to Palestine in 1921. He was an instructor at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem and beginning in 1935 he taught at the agricultural school at Pardes Ḥannah. In 1936 he turned his attention to research on *dew. He invented an optical method of measuring the amount of dew precipitation which has been accepted all over the world. The international meteorological organization, accepted the Duvdevani Dew Recorder as a standard method for the international measuring of dew. Duvdevani was instrumental in setting up a network of observation stations throughout Israel for recording dew precipitation, the first such network in the world. In connection with his meteorological work, Duvdevani carried out research on plant physiology, especially on the absorption of water by the foliage of the plant. In 1946 he participated in the publication of *Magdir le-Ẓimḥei-Bar* (1946), which is a systematic definition of flora, according to vegetative qualities alone.

DUVEEN, family of British art dealers. The famous firm of Duveen Brothers was founded by Sir JOSEPH JOEL DUVEEN (1843–1908), who was born in the Netherlands, the son of a Jewish blacksmith, and migrated to Hull, where he opened a curiosity shop dealing in china. Duveen developed a deep knowledge of Nanking china, which he imported successfully, and, in 1879, moved to London. There he opened an impressive gallery. With the help of his brother Henry in New York, Duveen then specialized in selling paintings and other art works to nouveau riches millionaires, especially Americans and South Africans. He increasingly employed the renowned American-born art expert resident in Italy, Bernard *Berenson, to authenticate the works he sold. Duveen also built luxury houses for his wealthy clients. He received a knighthood in 1902 for his gift of £20,000 to build the Turner Gallery at London's Tate Museum.

Sir Joseph's eldest son, Joseph *Duveen, first Baron Duveen of Millbank (1869–1939), with whom he is often confused, became head of the firm after the death of his father and uncle (in 1919), and continued to maintain the firm as a leading international art house.

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[William D Rubinstein (2nd ed.)]

DUVEEN, JOSEPH, LORD (1869–1939), English art dealer. His grandfather was a Dutch Jewish blacksmith, and his father a dealer first in lard, then in Delft pottery, furniture, and objets d'art. Duveen was born in Hull, and later moved to London. He began to deal in paintings in 1901 and by 1906 was buying famous collections. In the same year he engaged Bernard *Berenson as his authenticator of Italian art. Duveen's chief clients were a relatively small number of American millionaires. He encouraged in his clients a taste for the luxurious surroundings in which great works of art could be shown, sometimes even going so far as to build and furnish their houses. At the same time he "educated" them in an appreciation of the old masters and fostered in them a desire to achieve lasting fame through the formation of important collections. He then met their requirements by supplying the most magnificent examples available of the Italian, Dutch, French, and English schools at the highest prices. His specialty was the English masters of the late 18th and early 19th centuries. The collections he thus brought into existence were often donated to the public on their owners' death. Lord Duveen received many honors. Most controversially, he was appointed a Trustee of London's National Gallery, National Portrait Galley, and the Wallace Collection. The apparent conflict of interest of an art dealer having a potential role in deciding which works of art England's leading art museums might purchase was widely debated, and led to Duveen's dismissal from these posts shortly before his death. Duveen received a knighthood in 1919, a baronetcy in 1929, and was awarded a peerage in 1933 – the first ever awarded to an art dealer – in large part for paying for the building of the famous gallery at the British Museum which houses the Elgin Marbles.

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DUVERNOIS, HENRI (pen name of **Henri Simon Schwabacher**; 1875–1937), French author and journalist. Duvernois' popular melancholy and ironical stories of everyday life in Paris, influenced by Maupassant, include the novels *Crapotte* (1908), *Faubourg Montmartre* (1914), *Edgar* (1919), and *Maxime* (1927). Duvernois also published a volume of one-act comedies (1928).

DUWAYK (**Doweik ha-Cohen**), family of rabbis and authors in Aleppo, Syria. SIMEON BEN SAMUEL (first half of the 18th century) was the author of *Rei'aḥ Sadeh* (Constantinople, 1738). ABRAHAM (d. 1900) was an author and presided over the Jewish community of Aleppo for many years, until his dismissal in 1896. His wealthy brother SAUL (d. 1874 in Aleppo) wrote *Emet me-Ereẓ* (Jerusalem, 1910). JACOB SAUL (d. 1919 in Aleppo) was acting chief rabbi of Aleppo beginning in 1906 and wrote *Derekh Emunah* (1914) and *She'erit Ya'akov* (1925), sermons. The family was also found in India, Calcutta and Bombay, and in the latter they had a certain influence on the *Bene Israel community.

[Haim J. Cohen]

DVIR, Hebrew publishing house, founded in 1922 in Berlin by Ḥayyim Naḥman *Bialik, Shemaryahu *Levin, and Yehoshua Hana *Rawnitzki as a successor to the *Moriah publishing firm of Odessa. Bialik expressed Dvir's program as: "Not just books, but basic books; books bequeathed from generation to generation that provide light for our people." The firm began publishing books in Tel Aviv in 1924. Dvir's publications covered all areas of publishing: reference books, dictionaries, handbooks, anthologies, belles lettres, humanities, sciences, social sciences, art, children's books, and textbooks. Its list included many basic works in Judaica and the classics of modern Hebrew literature. Its *Sefer ha-Mo'adim* ("Book of Festivals," 9 vols., 1956 on, ed. Y. Lewinsky) contains a wealth of material about each holiday. A new edition of the Mishnah, vocalized by Hanoch Yalon and annotated by Hanokh Albeck, was published in cooperation with Mosad Bialik. Dvir also began publishing the Babylonian Talmud with a Hebrew translation. Authors published by Dvir, in addition to the founders, include *Shalom Aleichem, Sholem *Asch, Yiẓḥak Dov *Berkowitz, Simon *Dubnow, Isaac Leib *Peretz, Moshe *Smilansky, Benẓion *Dinur, and Yeḥezkel *Kaufmann. Later Dvir merged with the Zemorah-Bitan Kinneret publishing house.

[Israel Soifer]

DVORETZKY, ARYEH (1916–), Israeli mathematician. Born in Chorol, Russia, Dvoretzky went to Palestine in 1922 and studied at the Hebrew University, Jerusalem, where he became professor of mathematics in 1951. As dean of the faculty of science (1955–56) and as vice president (1959–61) he adopted a policy of fostering basic research designed to keep pace with advances in contemporary mathematics. He was also chief scientist to the Israel Defense Forces. His special fields of study were mathematical statistics, the theory of probability, and functional analysis. In 1973 Dvoretzky was awarded the Israel Prize in exact sciences, and in 1974 he was appointed president of the Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities, after serving as chairman of its science section (1963–68) and vice president (1968–74). In 1975 he established the Institute for Advanced Studies at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem and from 1985 to 1988 he was president of the Weizmann Institute.

[Bracha Rager (2nd ed.)]

DVORZETSKY, MARK MEIR (1908–1975), writer, communal worker, and partisan fighter. Dvorzetsky was born in Vilna, where he graduated in medicine in 1935 and received his rabbinical diploma in 1938. He was active in Vilna in student affairs and a member of the Jewish Students' Self-Defense Organization. He was also a permanent contributor to the Jewish press in Poland. In 1939 he was elected to the Executive of the municipality of Vilna.

An officer in the Polish Army in World War II, he was taken prisoner by the Germans but escaped and returned to Vilna, where he took part in the Jewish self-defense against the Lithuanian pogromists. In 1941–43 he was one of the founders of the Jewish underground in the ghetto of Vilna and wrote a diary which is now in the historical archives of the city. During this period he did research on ghetto life during the Middle Ages on the basis of responsa existing in the ghetto library. In 1943 he was transported to a concentration camp in Estonia, where he formed an underground group called She'ar Yashuv, and where he also kept a diary. In 1944 he was transferred to concentration camps in Germany. In 1945 he organized the escape of Jewish internees from the camp during a death march and was finally freed by the French army. He organized and headed a displaced persons organization and served as editor of the Yiddish daily *Unzer Vort*. From 1945 to 1949 he resided in Paris, where he was active in the rescue of Jewish children who had been hidden in monasteries.

From this time Dvorzetsky devoted himself entirely to research on the Holocaust, publishing numerous papers and books on the subject in Hebrew, Yiddish, French, and English. Immigrating to Israel in 1949, he was a member of the executive of Yad Vashem from its establishment, and an active member of all the organizations of ex-partisan fighters and ex-inmates of the concentration camps, as well as literary organizations, including the Israeli branch of PEN.

He was instrumental in founding the chair for research into the Holocaust at Bar-Ilan University and lectured there from 1960. He received the Israel Prize for social sciences. in 1953.

[Benjamin Rivlin]

DWORKIN, RONALD (1931–), U.S. legal philosopher. Born in Worcester, Massachusetts, Dworkin received a B.A. degree from Harvard in 1953 and another B.A. degree in 1955 from Oxford. Two years later he received his law degree from Harvard. After admission to the New York bar, he joined the law firm Sullivan and Cromwell as an associate. In 1962 he joined the faculty of Yale Law School, where he was named Hohfeld Professor in 1968. In 1969 he was appointed professor of jurisprudence and Fellow at University College, Oxford; in 1977 he became professor of law at New York University without resigning his position at Oxford.

Dworkin is recognized as a leading philosopher of law. His best-known works are *Taking Rights Seriously* (1977), *A Matter of Principle* (1985), and *Law's Empire* (1986). In his work Dworkin has contended against the philosophy of legal positivism, identified with Jeremy Bentham, John Austin, and more recently H.L.A. Hart. Legal decisions, he maintains, should be based on principles and pre-existing rights, rather than on discretion or policy. While rights may be controversial, Dworkin holds that nonetheless there is always only one right answer in hard cases. Rights, he holds, are inherent in the Constitution and in the precedents that interpret it. Judges make moral judgments as they apply precedents to factual situations – precedents on which principles are based and which are the bases of decisions.

In *Ronald Dworkin and Contemporary Jurisprudence* (1984), the editor – Professor Marshall Cohen – states, "In the opinion of the editor, the jurisprudential writings of Ronald Dworkin constitute the finest contribution yet made by an American writer to the philosophy of law."

Despite Dworkin's close association, as student and as teacher, with Oxford, he is basically an American thinker. Much more than would be true of a British jurist, Dworkin has been influenced by American constitutional law and constitutional jurisprudence. His emphasis on principle is a reflection of this influence.

Dworkin holds the positions of professor of philosophy and Frank Henry Sommer Professor of Law at NYU and chair at University College, London. He is a fellow of the British Academy and a member of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, as well as co-chairman of the Democratic Party Abroad, a member of the Council of Writers and Scholars Educational Trust and of the Programme Committee of the Ditchley Foundation, and a consultant on human rights to the Ford Foundation.

Other works by Dworkin include *Philosophical Issues in Senile Dementia* (1987), *A Bill of Rights for Britain* (1990), *Life's Dominion: An Argument About Abortion, Euthanasia and Individual Freedom* (1993), *Freedom's Law: The Moral Reading of the American Constitution* (1996), and *Sovereign Virtue: The Theory and Practice of Equality* (2000).

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[Milton Ridvas Konvitz / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

DWORKIN, ZALMAN SHIMON (1911–1985), Lubavitch rabbi. Dworkin was born in Rogotchov, White Russia. At the age of 11, he arrived in the city of Lubavitch, then the center of activities of the *Chabad-Lubavitch movement, to study in the Yeshivah Tomchei Tmimim Lubavitch. In late 1915, when the fifth Lubavitcher Rebbe, Shalom Dov Baer, relocated from Lubavitch and settled in Rostov, Dworkin also settled there. As the need for additional Chabad grade schools and yeshivot across Eastern Europe became apparent to the Rebbe in Rostov, Dworkin was one of the students that served as the seed group in establishing many of them, as the Rebbe's emissary. He received rabbinic ordination from the Rogotchover Gaon, Rabbi Joseph *Rozin.

Following his marriage, Dworkin became the rabbi of the city of Stardov, Russia. He also served as a *rosh yeshivah* in Yeshivah Tomchei Tmimim Lubavitch in Samarkand and in later years in Paris, France. During World War II, he oversaw the *kashrut* of meat in Ireland. After the war, he arrived in the United States and settled in the Lubavitch community in Crown Heights, Brooklyn, N.Y. In the mid-1960s, he was appointed to the position of "*rav*" and "*av bet din*" in the Lubavitcher community.

The Lubavitcher Rebbe, Menachem Mendel *Schneersohn, was very fond of Dworkin and would refer many people with complicated halakhic questions to him, but also those with personal dilemmas that needed a bright and caring individual to assist them. The rabbi was exemplary in treating every individual, no matter who he was, with great sensitivity and understanding. He was a renowned expert on *sheḥitah* (ritual slaughter) and many other issues. After his death his responsa were published in book form as *Kovez̩ Razash*.

[Michoel A. Seligson (2nd ed.)]

DYATLOVO (Pol. **Zdzięciol**; Yid. **Zhetl**), town in Grodno district, Belarus. Jews first settled there around 1580, and by 1670 a community was formed. Rabbi Ḥayyim ha-Kohen Rapoport served there in 1720–29, and then moved to Lvov, where he was an important participant in the dispute with the Frankists in 1759. The number of Jews in the town steadily increased; of the total population of 3,979 in 1897, 3,033 (75%) were Jews. Personalities associated with Dyatlovo include Aryeh Leib ha-Levi Horowitz and Ḥayyim ha-Kohen *Rapoport. Dyatlovo was the birthplace of Jacob of Dubno (the "Dubner Maggid") and Israel Meir ha-Kohen (the "Ḥafez̩ Ḥayyim"). Zalman *Sorotzkin was rabbi of the community from 1912 to 1929. There were 3,450 Jews (75% of the total) in 1926, comprising 621 Jewish families. Of these, 303 earned their livelihoods from crafts, mainly as tailors and shoemakers, while 210 lived from trade. The community had a hospital and an old age home. Two schools were in operation: a Hebrew Tarbut school and a Yiddish CYSHO school.Communal and Zionist activities continued until the outbreak of World War II. The Germans occupied the town on June 30, 1941. A hundred and twenty prominent Jews were executed on July 25 and 400 were sent to the Dworzec labor camp on December 15. On February 22, 1941, a ghetto was created, housing together with refugees 4,000 Jews. On April 30 around 1,200 were murdered and on August 6, 1942 another 1,500–2,000. About 800 succeeded in escaping into the forests and joined the Soviet partisans or later the Red Army. A hundred of them died in the battles.

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[Shmuel Spector (2nd ed.)]

DYCHE, JOHN ALEXANDER (1867–1939), U.S. labor leader. Dyche was born in Kovno, Lithuania. He went to New York City in 1900 after 14 years in England, where he was active in trade unionism. Dyche soon became involved in the newly founded International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, and from 1904 was its secretary-treasurer. Dyche defended the principles of "pure and simple" trade unionism, including the sanctity of contracts, the use of the strike only as a last resort and only under the strict control of a national union, and the basic interest of the worker in self-advancement rather than solidarity and socialism. He strongly supported the Protocol of 1910, arguing that this collective bargaining agreement in the cloak and suit trade, with its unusual provision for arbitration, would aid the large clothing concerns at the expense of the small contractors, and allow the union and the employers to move toward a single wage schedule in the industry. He stressed that employers were prepared to raise wages if their competitors did likewise. However, the Protocol produced bitter disputes within the union, and Dyche refused to seek another term in office in 1924. He subsequently left the labor movement and became the owner of a small business in the garment industry. He wrote *Bolshevism in American Labor Unions* (1926).

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[Irwin Yellowitz]

DYEING.

Biblical Period

The preparation of cloth for clothing required several operations. After the cleaning of the wool or flax, it was dyed the necessary color, usually light blue or purple, with animal or vegetable dyes mixed with minerals and salts by chemical processes unknown today. Special dyeing plants and implements were used in Ereẓ Israel. Dye tools were found at Tel Beth-Mirsim, Gezer, and other places. They were made of stone, like hollow barrels: on the upper surface a groove was carved, which was connected to the inside by means of a hole. With the introduction of the material to be dyed into the dye-filled barrel, the liquid would rise, overflow through the hole, and be collected in the groove. Upon the removal of the wet garment, the overflow would return through the reverse process thus permitting the material to be dyed again and preserving the precious dyes. Some operations required heating or boiling, and portable earthenware vessels, which could be placed over a fire, were used for these purposes.

Mishnaic and Talmudic Periods

The craft had developed considerably by the mishnaic and talmudic periods, both in the preparation of dyes and in the dyeing of materials and clothes. The sources describe the dyer's workshop (MK 13b) and his equipment, such as the coverings which protected his hands (Kelim 16:6); before he cast the ingredients into the crucible, the dyer made a small sample for himself which was known as the "taste" (Men. 42b); the ingredients were ground with a special handmill (Tosef. Shab. 9 (10):19). During this period, some places were known as centers of dyeing: Migdal Zevaya on the eastern bank of the Jordan, which was noted for the production of cloth; *Haifa, which was also called Purpurin (Purple); and a place called Luz where the **tekhelet* was manufactured (Sot. 46b). After the Bar Kokhba War (132–135 C.E.) dyeing was developed in *Lydda and *Beth-Shean, both important weaving centers.

Middle Ages

As the Jews had been masters of the techniques of the craft from ancient times, in some districts, especially in the Mediterranean region, the preparation of dyes and dyeing of cloth was considered mainly a Jewish occupation. Such occupations were generally despised and their practice by Jews was seen as part of the general humiliation of the Jewish people. However, some sources indicate that dyeing was a highly respectable profession. The apparent contradiction points to a difference in social and economic standing between the artisan engaged in the craft and the merchant who dealt in the ingredients (though this distinction was not always clearly expressed in the sources). During this period, Jewish trade in dyestuffs expanded extensively. Jewish merchants imported reseda from eastern India, via Egypt and Tunisia, to Italy and Spain, and exported saffron from Tunisia to southern Europe. Those trading in indigo between Egypt and Europe were known as *al-nili* (nil = indigo). Contemporary letters illustrate the range of the undertakings: a Jewish merchant of Kairouan wrote to his friend in Egypt that in Sicily only indigo of the best quality could be sold; another merchant, head of the Babylonian congregation of Fostat (Old Cairo), wrote to an associate in Tyre in the 11th century, "The price of indigo has risen over the last fortnight because it was in great demand among the people of Syria and the West…" Documents also point to the high prices of these commodities: 270 pounds of indigo cost from 100 to 300 quarter dinars.

Jews also developed the manufacture of dyes, especially in Greece and Italy, where they were most active in the south, and in Sicily; important dyeing centers existed in *Brindisi, *Benevento, Salerno, Agrigento, Trani, and Cosenza. In these localities, the dyehouse was sometimes the center of the Jewish quarter, along with the synagogue.

*Benjamin of Tudela found Jews engaged in dyeing in several localities in Ereẓ Israel, notably in Jerusalem, Jezreel, Lydda, Bethlehem, and Bet Nubi. In Jerusalem, their shops were situated in a special building which they had obtained from King Baldwin II. In 1231, Emperor Frederick II created a crown monopoly of the silk and dyeing industries and Jewish firms in Trani were appointed to administer it. When the monopoly came to an end with the death of the emperor in 1250, the Jews continued to engage in this industry, which also spread to the north of Italy. In *Montpellier, France, Jews were prominent in the manufacture of dyes, while in Spain they had engaged in the craft from the Muslim period, especially in *Seville and *Saragossa. After the Christian reconquest, the Jews continued in this occupation, in particular in Saragossa where they owned special workshops. Among the responsa of Solomon b. Abraham *Adret are clear allusions to the existence of dyers' guilds. During the 16th century, the occupation expanded after *Safed had become the Jewish center of the wool weaving industry.

During this period, dyeing was highly developed in a number of Jewish communities in the Ottoman Empire, especially in *Salonika and *Constantinople. During the 17th century, the Salonika dye industry declined, along with weaving, mainly as a result of competition from Venice and Ancona. Jews of *Brest-Litovsk are often mentioned as experts in manufacture in Poland and Lithuania. Responsa literature contains numerous accounts of the craft of dyeing, the tools employed, and the various methods used in the preparation of dyes. There are descriptions of a dyeing shop where the work was carried out (Responsa of Abraham, the son of Maimonides, no. 117); of a dye-pit (*ibid.*, no. 101); and of barrels in which wool was dyed (Responsa of Samuel b. Moses di Medina, ḤM 462). Documents also mention dyers who were expert in a given color: *Samāk*, the expert in preparing dyes from the sumac shrub; *quirmizini*, the expert in crimson, etc.

Modern Times

In the Near East, the Jews continued to practice this profession during the 19th century. The surname Zebag (dyer), still widespread among Oriental Jews, is evidence of the fact. In Damascus in the middle of the 19th century, 70 of the 5,000 Jews were dyers. Jews also played an important part in the development of dye ingredients in the Americas. Planting of indigo was introduced in Georgia during the 17th century and Moses *Lindo from London invested large sums in the cultivation of indigo in South Carolina in 1756. The development of modern chemistry and the *chemical industry, in which Jewish scientists and entrepreneurs played a considerable role, brought to a close the traditional methods in the manufacture of dyes and dyeing.

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DYE PLANTS. The dye materials that were used in ancient times were many and varied and were obtained from various mineral, plant, and animal sources. The last gave fast and beautiful colors, but these were so costly that only the wealthy could afford them. Of these the most famous were the "blue and purple and scarlet" mentioned frequently in the Bible in connection with the construction of the Sanctuary and the Temple (see *Crimson, **Tekhelet*). In mishnaic times cheaper dyes were obtained from such common plants as the carob and the sumac (*og*; Tosef. Shev. 5:7). Green walnut and pomegranate shells were used to produce a brown-black dye (Shev. 7:3).

In the Bible three plants are mentioned from which dye was obtained: *karkom* (*saffron), *kofer* (*henna), and *pu'ah* (madder). The saffron provided an orange dye, the henna a reddish orange one, and the madder a red-colored dye. *Tola* (crimson) and *puvah* (or *puah*) are mentioned in the Bible as proper names (Gen. 46:13; I Chron. 7:1; Judg. 10:1). These names, which were borne by the sons of Issachar, suggest that this tribe was skilled in the production of these dyes or in using them for dyeing cloth. Madder is obtained from the plant *Rubia tinctorum* which was grown in large quantities before the discovery of synthetic dyes. It is indigenous to Edom, and many species grow wild in Israel. The plant was cultivated in the mishnaic period and there is a discussion on the methods to be employed in uprooting it in a sabbatical year (Shev. 5:4).

Other dyestuffs are mentioned in rabbinic literature. *Isalis, koẓah*, and *rikhpah* are mentioned together (Shev. 7:1). *Isalis* is obtained from a plant, *Isalis tinctoria*, from whose leaves a blue dye was extracted. It grew in abundance until the end of the 19th century; some 2,000 kg. (about 4,400 lbs.) of leaves per dunam were harvested, from which four kg. (about 8¾ lbs.) of dyestuff was produced. *Koẓah* is the *Carthamus tinctorius* whose top leaves provide a dye of a reddish orange shade. The seeds of this plant served both as a food and as a source of dye. In the Mishnah it has the additional name *ḥari'a* (Kil. 2:8; Uk. 5:3). In the Talmud it is also called *morika, kurtemei* (i.e., *carthamus*), and *dardara.* The latter means a thistle, hence its mishnaic name *koẓah* as it is a thorny plant of the family *Compositae. Rikhpah* is dyer's reseda, the *Reseda luteola* that grows wild in the arid areas of Ereẓ Israel. Its leaves and flower provide a yellow dye. *Leshishit* (turnsole, *Chrozophora tinctoria*) grows wild among the summer crops in many parts of the country. The various parts of the plant produce a blue dye which is used for dyeing textiles and is used in Europe for coloring food to this day. This plant is mentioned in the Tosefta (Shev. 5:6). *Kalilan* (indigo, indigotin) was imported from India during Roman times, and a dye of bluish shade was obtained from it. It was not easy to distinguish it from the true blue (see **Tekhelet*) permitted for the ritual fringes, and the rabbis therefore warned against the use of ritual fringes dyed with it.

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[Jehuda Feliks]

DYHERNFURTH (Pol. **Brzeg Dolny**), town in Lower Silesia; from 1945 in Poland, near Wroclaw (Breslau). Its Jewish community dates from 1688, when Shabbetai *Bass, founder of modern Hebrew bibliography, leased printing privileges from the local magnate who, in turn, held them from the emperor. The first work he printed in Dyhernfurth was *Samuel b. Uri Shraga Phoebus' *Beit Shemu'el*, a commentary on Shulḥan Arukh *Even ha-Ezer* (1689). A community was formed by 13 families, all employed in Bass's printing works. Both Bass and his son Joseph had to contend with the hostility of the Jesuits, but printing continued until 1762, from 1717 under Berel Nathan, husband of Bass's granddaughter Esther, and later under Esther herself. Other printing houses were established by Samuel b. Abraham Katz (until 1767), Abraham Lewin (until 1771), Solomon Koenigsberg (1774–75), M.L. May (until 1819), H. Warschauer & Co., and lastly D. Sklower whose press closed in 1834 when he moved to Breslau. The Dyhernfurth productions, which included a complete Talmud and Maimonides' *Mishneh Torah*, were very popular at the time, but business declined due to outside competition. A Yiddish newspaper, serving the Breslau community, was printed there in 1770. The cemetery of Dyhernfurth was used by Breslau Jews until 1765; a *Memorbuch* was started before 1700. The synagogue, consecrated in 1847, was sold in 1926. The numbers of the community declined from 191 in 1833 to 42 in 1885, and 5 in 1910, and it was dissolved in 1916.

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DYKMAN, SHLOMO (1917–1965), translator and literary critic. Born and educated in Warsaw, he fled to Bukhara during World War II and taught Hebrew there. In 1944 he was arrested for "counterrevolutionary Zionist activities" and sentenced to 15 years' hard labor in the Vorkuta coal mines in the far north. He was released in 1957 and repatriated to Warsaw. In 1960 he immigrated to Israel. He translated Bialik's collected poems into Polish, and his translations of the Greek and Roman classics into Hebrew include Virgil's *Aeneid* (1962); Lucretius' *On the Nature of the Universe* (1962); Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (1965); Sophocles' *Tragedies* (1963); and Aeschylus' *Tragedies* (1965). He was awarded the Israel Prize posthumously in 1965. Autobiographical notes on his years in Vorkuta appeared in *Ha-Ummah* (1 (1963), 531–46; 2 (1963), 60–67, 230–45, 375–89; 3 (1965), 375–85).

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[Getzel Kressel]

DYLAN, BOB (**Robert Allen Zimmerman**; 1941–), U.S. folk singer, composer. Probably the most significant folk artist in the last half of the 20th century, Dylan was born in Duluth, Minn., and grew up in the small town of Hibbing. He started writing poems at ten and taught himself piano and guitar in his early teens. He fell under the spell of the music of the country, rock, and folk performers Elvis Presley, Jerry Lee Lewis, Hank Williams, and Woody Guthrie. Dylan dropped out of the University of Minnesota and went to New York to be part of the burgeoning folk-music scene, and to meet Guthrie, who was hospitalized with a rare, incurable disease of the nervous system.

Dylan spent all his time with other musicians and began writing songs, including a tribute, "Song to Woody." He began to perform at local nightclubs, honing his guitar and harmonica work and developing the expressive nasal sound that would become the hallmark of his distinctive style. Around this time he adopted the stage name Bob Dylan, presumably in honor of the Welsh poet Dylan Thomas. In 1961, a reviewer for the *New York Times* said he was "bursting at the seams with talent." Columbia Records soon signed him to a contract, and in 1962 his first recording, *See That My Grave Is Kept Clean*, offered the sound of an aging black blues man in the voice of a 21-year-old from Minnesota. His next album, *The Freewheelin' Bob Dylan*, in 1963, contained two of the most important and durable folk anthems, "Blowin' in the Wind" and "A Hard Rain's A-Gonna Fall," and two influential ballads, "Girl From the North Country" and "Don't Think Twice, It's All Right" as well as nine other originals, marking the emergence of the most distinctive and poetic voice in the history of American popular music.

Dylan's next album, *The Times They Are A-Changing*, provided more of the same: the title cut, the protest song "The Lonesome Death of Hattie Carroll," and "Boots of Spanish Leather," a sad but graceful love song. In 1965, as he grew tired of the folk genre, Dylan recorded *Bringing It All Back Home*, a half-electric, half-acoustic album of complex biting songs like "Subterranean Homesick Blues," which featured the line "You don't need a weatherman to know which way the wind blows." (It was a line that inspired the name, the Weathermen, an American antiwar protest group.) Also on the album were "Mr. Tambourine Man" and "It's All Over Now, Baby Blue." When Dylan introduced his move from folk to rock at the 1965 Newport Folk Festival, he was booed off the stage. Nevertheless, he released the album *Highway 61 Revisited*, which contained the monumental single "Like a Rolling Stone," an angry six-minute-long song that found a huge audience.

Dylan had brought a new, literate standard to rock music writing. In *Blonde on Blonde*, a two-record set recorded in Nashville, Tenn., in 1966, he offered the now-classic "Stuck Inside of Mobile With the Memphis Blues Again," "Visions of Johanna," and "Sad Eyed Lady of the Lowlands."

After a near-fatal motorcycle accident on July 29, 1966, Dylan retreated to his home in Woodstock, N.Y., to reevaluate his career. He produced more recordings: *The Basement Tapes*, *John Wesley Harding*, *Nashville Skyline* (which included "Lay Lady Lay"). Over the years he dabbled, unsuccessfully, as a film actor and toured extensively with various groups. In the mid-1970s, one rock promoter said there were mail-order requests for more than 12 million tickets, though only 658,000 seats were available for 40 shows in one period. Dylan's pain after his marriage ended resulted in the album *Blood on the Tracks*, a moving and profound examination of love and loss that included the songs "Tangled Up in Blue," "Idiot Wind," and "Shelter from the Storm." His religious explorations led him to profess to be a born-again Christian in 1978, but in

1983 he reportedly returned to his Jewish roots and was said to have observed the Jewish holidays.

Widely regarded as America's greatest living popular songwriter, Dylan was inducted into the Rock and Roll Hall of Fame in 1988. In 1990 he received France's highest cultural award, the Commandeur dans l'Ordre des Arts et des Lettres. In 2001 he won an Academy Award and a Golden Globe for Best Original Song, "Things Have Changed," for the film *Wonder Boys*.

The 1967 documentary *Don't Look Back* chronicles Dylan's 1965 tour of England, which includes appearances by Joan Baez and Donovan. Martin Scorsese's 1978 film *The Last Waltz* is a documentary about Dylan and The Band performing their last concert after 16 years on the road. Among Dylan's publications are *Bob Dylan in His Own Words* (with C. Williams, 1993); *Tarantula,* a book of poetry (1994); *Younger Than That Now: The Collected Interviews with Bob Dylan* (with J. Ellison, 2004); and his autobiography, *Chronicles, Vol. 1* (2004).

Beginning in the mid-1980s Dylan hit the road full-time, performing all over the world. His albums were not as successful as those of his early years, but he continued to perform and sing in his nasal twang through the early years of the 21st century. He rarely granted interviews, refused to explain the meaning of his songs, and remained a significant but enigmatic figure. He had millions of fans – he played in Rome at the behest of Pope John Paul II – and inspired hundreds of articles, books, and websites. In December 2004 he was one of five recipients of one of the highest awards for artistic excellence, the Kennedy Center honors.

[Stewart Kampel (2nd ed.)]

DYMOV, OSSIP (pen name of **Joseph Perelman**; 1878–1959), Russian and Yiddish author and playwright. Dymov was born in Bialystok, attended a Russian gymnasium and the Forest Institute in St. Petersburg, and at 16 began publishing humoresques in Russian satiric journals. The first collection of his stories, *Solntsevorot* ("The Sun Cycle," 1905), artistically blending symbolism, irony, and wit, placed him in the mainstream of Russian literature. The motif of Jewish suffering became predominant in his plays *Slushay, Izrail!* ("Hear, Israel!" 1907; Heb., 1913) and *Vechny strannik* ("Eternal Wanderer," 1913), which were staged in Russian, Hebrew, Yiddish, and other languages in Europe and in the U.S., bringing Dymov substantial fame. He settled in New York in 1913 and over decades contributed hundreds of stories and humoresques to the Yiddish press and wrote dramas and comedies for the Yiddish theater. He also reworked classical texts for Yiddish screenplays, published two volumes of memoirs, and worked in Yiddish radio. His most popular play, *Yoshke Muzikant* ("Yoskhe the Musician") is included in the volume *Dramen un Dertseylungen* ("Dramas and Stories," 1943).

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DYMSHYTS, VENIAMIN E. (1910–1993), Soviet economist and engineer who became a deputy premier of the Soviet Union in 1959. He was a grandson of the Hebrew writer A.A. Rakowski. Born in Theodosia (Crimea) he qualified as an engineer at the Moscow Technical Institute and began working as a construction engineer in 1931. By 1950 he was deputy minister of construction enterprises in the metallurgical and chemical industries. Later he went to India as chief engineer of the Bhilai steel plant which was erected with Soviet aid. Dymshyts became chairman of the State Planning Committee in 1959 and simultaneously was appointed deputy premier, the only Jew in the upper echelon of the regime. He was promoted to head of the National Economic Council in 1962, with responsibility for dealing with the daily problems of overall economic management. Later he assumed the leadership of the new state committee to centralize the distribution of industrial products. Dymshyts was a member of the Communist Party Central Committee for 1961 and a deputy to the Supreme Soviet. He was awarded the Stalin Prize twice (1946, 1950). On March 4, 1970 he was the main representative of Soviet Jewry in a press conference about the situation and strongly criticized the State of Israel.

[Shmuel Spector (2nd ed.)]

DYNOW, ẒEVI ELIMELECH (1785–1841), ḥasidic *ẓaddik* in Dynow, Galicia, often known after his main work as "the author of *Benei Yissakhar*" (Zolkiew, 1850). He was a disciple of Ẓevi Hirsch of *Zhidachov, *Jacob Isaac "ha-Ḥozeh" ("the seer") of Lublin, and the *Maggid* Israel of *Kozienice. Ẓevi Elimelech served as rabbi in Strzyzow, Halicz, Dynow, and Munkacs. His total opposition to Haskalah and philosophy was evidenced in both his devotion to Kabbalah as the essence of Judaism and his statement that "there is no knowledge, either in the realm of science or philosophy, which is not alluded to in the Torah [which is higher than the intellect]" (*Benei Yissakhar,* Sec. 2:88). He considered philosophical enquiry a waste of time and of soul. Rational reason should not be sought for the *mitzvot*, but they should be observed with love, as divine decrees, whether rational or not, without questioning or seeking proofs. Man must have faith "even in two opposite [commands of God] where the intellect cannot solve the contradiction" (*ibid.*, Sec. 1, 73). The task of the *ẓaddik* is of utmost importance since by means of the high spiritual level he attains he may help to unite the upper and lower worlds. Ẓevi Elimelech differentiated between two types of *ẓaddikim:* the perfect one, "the servant of God" (*eved adonai*) and the one who only "worships God" (*oved Adonai*). Worship of God must combine both love and fear. Fear corresponds to *ẓimẓum* and love corresponds to *hitpashetut* ("expansion"). Just as there can be no stability or survival for worlds without *ẓimẓum*, so if it were not for fear, man would dissolve in ecstasy "and the light of the soul would depart from its earthly container." Fear of Divine Majesty – in contradistinction to fear of punishment – is the acme of faith. A man "to whom God gives knowledge (*binah*) is enabled to retreat within himself directing his thought to his Creator also while in the company of other men." Dynow thus reformulates *Naḥmanides' thesis (commentary on Deuteronomy 11:20).

Dynow's writings comprise (1) kabbalistic: glosses to the commentary of *Eleazar of Worms on Sefer *Yeẓirah (Przemysl, 1888); commentary on the beginning of Eleazar's *Sefer Ḥokhmat ha-Nefesh* (Lemberg, 1876); glosses to the *Zohar* (Przemysl, 1899); *Ma'yan Gannim*, a commentary on *Or ha-Ḥayyim* (1848) by Joseph Jabetz; *Regel Yesharah* (Lemberg, date of publication not known), an alphabetical commentary on names and concepts on the basis of the kabbalistic system of Isaac *Luria. (2) Homiletic and exegetical works which became popular among Ḥasidim, among them *Derekh Pikkudekha* (Lemberg, 1851), homilies on the mitzvot; *Igra de-Kallah* (Lemberg, 1868), homilies on the Torah; *Igra de-Pirka* (Lemberg, 1858); *Likkutei Maharẓa* (Przemysl, 1885), on the Torah and the Prophets; *Keli ha-Ro'im* (Lemberg, 1808), commentary on Obadiah; *Devarim Neḥmadim* (Przemysl, 1885); *Maggid Ta'alumah* (Przemysl, 1876), novellae to tractate *Berakhot; Rei'aḥ Duda'im* (Munkacs, 1879), on tractate *Megillah; Ve-Heyeh Berakhah* (Przemysl, 1875), commentary on Mishnah Berakhot; *Berakhah Meshulleshet* (Przemysl, 1896, commentary on the Mishnah); *Tamkhin de-Oraita* (Munkacs, 1926).

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DZIALOSZYCE, town in S. central Poland; passed into Austria in 1795 after the third partition of Poland, and to Russia after 1915; from 1919 in Poland. From 1765 it had a considerable Jewish majority. The community numbered 651 in 1765; 2,514 (83% of the total population) in 1856; 3,526 (76.5%) in 1897; 5,618 (83.3%) in 1921; and about 7,000 (80%) in 1939. Tanning, brickmaking, and tailoring were the principal occupations of the community. After World War I Jews in Dzialoszyce owned about 78 clothing stores, six tanneries, and brick kilns. In 1930 the artisans established an authorized union to protect their status and assist their members in obtaining recognized technical diplomas. Although efforts were made to reconstruct life in 1937, it had not returned to normal before the German occupation in World War II.

[Shimshon Leib Kirshenboim]

Holocaust Period

The German army entered on September 7–8, 1939, and the anti-Jewish terror began. In 1941 about 5,000 Jews from *Cracow, *Warsaw, *Lodz, *Poznan, and Lask were deported to Dzialoszyce, swelling the population to 12,000. In June 1941 Jews were forbidden to leave the town, but no closed ghetto was established. On September 2, 1942, the Germans carried out the first *Aktion* against the Jews. At least several hundred succeeded in fleeing to the surrounding forests and 800 were selected for the labor camps, but up to 2,000 unfit to travel were murdered in the local cemetery and about 15,000 were sent to Michow en route to Belzec. Several hundred Jews were allowed to remain in Dzialoszyce.

RESISTANCE. Those Jews from Dzialoszyce who fled into the woods joined other Jewish runaways from Pinczow and other places in the vicinity. A number of Jewish partisan groups were formed to resist actively the German police search units and Polish antisemitic gangs. The biggest partisan units were those organized by Zalman Fajnsztat and Michael Majtek. They united to form the guerrilla unit "Zygmunt," which was recognized by the Polish People's Guard. This unit fought the Nazis and provided armed cover for hundreds of Jews hiding in the forest until February 1944, when it suffered great losses in a battle near the village of Pawlowice. The surviving Jewish partisans joined different Polish guerrilla units, but only a few of them were still alive by the time of the liberation of Dzialoszyce region from the Germans (January 1945). The Jewish community in Dzialoszyce was not reconstituted after the war. The town retains a 19th-century synagogue built in the classic style.

[Stefan Krakowski]

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Yad Vashem Archives; *Sefer Yizkor shel kehilath Dzialoszyc ve-ha-Seviva* (1977).

DZIGAN, SHIMON (1905–1980), Yiddish satirical actor. Dzigan began his career in Lodz, Poland, where he was born. He became popular in comic dialogues with Israel Schumacher, who played the sedate know-all to Dzigan's quick-witted ignoramus. When World War II broke out, they escaped to Russia and gave performances for the Polish Jewish refugees. After the war, Dzigan and Schumacher performed in Western Europe and North and South America, before settling in Israel in 1952. When the two parted as a result of personal differences, Dzigan staged his own revues.

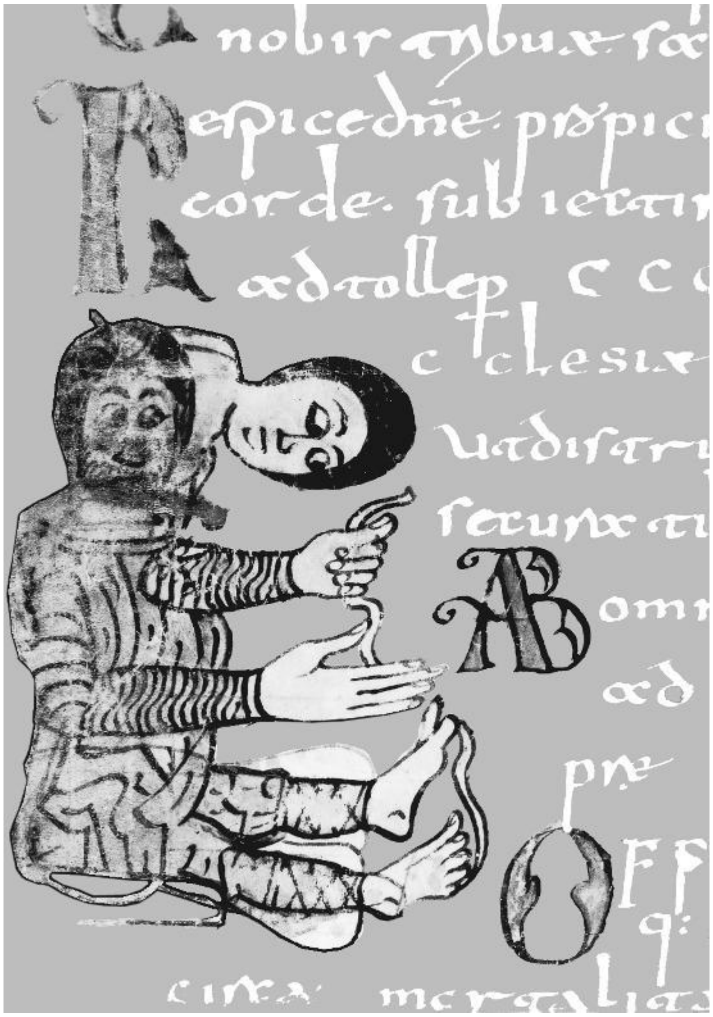

Initial letter "E" of the word Ecclesia, *from the* Sacramentary of Gellone, *E. France, eighth century. The illumination shows the afflicted Job sitting down among the ashes, and his wife urging him to "curse God and die" (Job.2:8–9), Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. Lat. 12048 fol. 143.*

EA–EZ

EAGLE, bird of prey of the genus *Aquila*, in particular the *Aquila chrysaetos*, the largest of the birds of prey. The eagle has been identified by the translators of the Bible with the biblical *nesher*, rendered by the Septuagint as *aetos* and by the Vulgate as *aquila.* Biblical passages, however, ascribe to the *nesher* characteristics that do not belong to the eagle, such as its feeding on carcasses (in the manner of Ugaritic *nšr.*; the biblical dictionaries notwithstanding, there is no native Akkadian *našru* for comparison) and having a bald head, and already R. Tam pointed out the mistake of regarding it as the eagle (Tos. to Hul. 63a). The biblical *nesher* is the griffon vulture (see *vulture), although its traditional identification as an eagle was accepted by the sages of the Talmud who applied the word to the Roman eagle. Ezekiel also apparently understood it in this sense when he compared the king of Babylonia to the *nesher,* which has "great wings and long pinions, full of feathers" (Ezek. 17:2–3). This is not the usual biblical *nesher*, the griffon vulture, which has no feathers on its neck.

The biblical name for eagle is apparently *ayit* (cf. Gr. *aetos*), described by Jeremiah (12:8–9) as carnivorous like the lion and as *ẓavo'a*, the latter in reference, it seems, to its middle talon (*eẓba*) which is especially long for clutching its prey. The powerful king, the conqueror of Babylonia, is compared to an *ayit* (Isa. 46:11); the bird's keen sight is referred to by Job (28:7). It is also mentioned several times in the Bible as a general term for carnivorous birds of prey (Ezek. 39:4; Isa. 18:6; and apparently also Gen. 15:11). In Israel there are six species of eagle of the genus *Aquila*, but they are rare. The largest of the eagles, the *Aquila chrysaetos*, is seldom seen in Israel.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: J. Feliks, *Animal World of the Bible* (1962), 66; M. Dor, *Leksikon Zo'ologi* (1965), 246f. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** CAD N/II, 79.

[Jehuda Feliks]

EARTH.

In Biblical Literature

The earth is portrayed in the Bible as a flat strip (Isa. 42:5; 44:24) suspended across the cosmic ocean (Ps. 24:2; 136:6). It is supported on pillars (Ps. 75:4; Job 9:6) or props (Isa. 24:18; Prov. 8:29) and is evidently surrounded by a mountain range like the *qār* of Arabic folklore, to keep it from being flooded (Prov. 8:29; Job 26:10). The ultimate bounds of the earth known to the ancient Hebrews were India and Nubia (Esth. 1:1; cf. Zeph. 3:10). A similar conception of the earth was held by Herodotus (3:114) and is found in the Persian inscriptions of Darius. Sometimes, too, its furthermost inhabitants were thought to be the peoples who resided in remote lands north of Palestine – *Gog and Magog – a concept which finds a parallel among the Greeks. It was believed that the fertility of the earth could be affected by the misconduct of men. It was then said to be "polluted" (Heb. *ḥanefah*; Isa. 24:5). As a result of Adam's sin, the earth yields grain only when man puts heavy labor into it (Gen. 3:17–19), and for receiving the blood of Abel it was forbidden to "yield its strength" to Cain under any circumstances (Gen. 4:11–13). The idea that the land could be rendered infertile by having innocent blood shed upon it is widespread in other cultures, and probably stems from the notion that "the blood is the life" and, therefore, represents the outraged spirit of the murdered man who exacts vengeance until the crime is redressed or expiated. Bloodshed could likewise cause lack of rainfall (II Sam. 1:21). Since it is usually a particular land, especially the Land of Israel, that is affected by misdeeds committed in it, such misconduct includes not only moral turpitude but also disobedience to divine commandments. For example, a famine ensued for several years as a result of David's taking a census, against the orders of God. According to Exodus 23:10–12, the land of Israel had to lie fallow every seventh year; according to Leviticus 25, every 50th year as well. This may be explained as a survival of the ancient belief that life is vouchsafed in seven-year cycles. Deuteronomy, which speaks of the seventh year only as one of debt remission (Deut. 15) and enjoins a public reading of the Torah to the pilgrims assembled in Jerusalem on the festival of Tabernacles of that year (Deut. 31:10–13), is believed to represent a late development. Among the gentiles particular lands were regarded as the estates, or inheritances, of their tutelary gods; in the Bible YHWH is the Lord of what would later be known as the universe, yet the land of Israel is the object of His special care (Deut. 11:12; 32:8–9; II Sam. 20:19; Jer. 2:7; Ps. 79:1). In the apocryphal book of Ben Sira (17:17), the Lord parcels out the earth among "rulers," i.e., celestial princes, as an emperor might apportion his dominion among satraps. Conversely, waste places were deemed the natural habitat of demons (Isa. 34:13–14), and the winds which sweep the wilderness were depicted as howling monsters, just as in Arabic folklore the desert is called "howl-place" (*yabāb*; cf. Deut. 32:10). Earth, like sky, was sometimes called to serve as a witness in prophetic denunciations of the people (Deut. 4:26; 30:19; 31:28). This reflects a common ancient Near Eastern practice of invoking the earth and sky, along with the national and local gods, to witness covenants and treaties. There is no clear evidence in the Bible of any worship of the earth, even by apostate Israelites. However, a goddess named Arṣay, i.e., Ms. Earth, is mentioned in the Canaanite texts from Ras Shamra (Ugarit) as one of the brides of Baal, and the Phoenician mythographer Sanchuniathon (second quarter of the sixth cent. B.C.E.) speaks of a primordial woman, called Omorka, who was cut asunder by Belus (Baal) to make earth and heaven respectively. In the six-day scheme of creation described in the first chapter of Genesis, earth is said to have emerged on the third day (Gen. 1:9–11). It was originally watered not by rain but by a subterranean upsurge (Heb. *ed*; Gen. 2:5–6). It is not impossible that this picture was inspired by conditions that actually obtain in parts of Palestine where, before the onset of the early rains and the beginning of the agricultural cycle in autumn, the soil is moistened only by springs which burst forth at the foot of the hills. It is possible – though this must be received with caution-that the Hebrews shared with the Babylonians the notion that the geography of the earth had its counterpart aloft and that the portions of the heavens corresponded to terrestrial domains, for it is in terms of such a view that it may perhaps be possible to interpret the words of Balaam (Num. 24:17) about the star which is stepping out of Jacob (i.e., the region of the sky answering to the Land of Israel) and which is destined to smite the borders of Moab. It was held that at the end of the present era of the world, when a new dispensation was to be ushered in, the soil of the Land of Israel would undergo a miraculous renewal of fertility. A stream, like that which flowed through Eden, would issue forth (Zech. 14:8), and there would be a prodigious increase in vegetation and livestock.

Post-Biblical Literature

Ideas about the earth are elaborated in post-biblical literature. The earth is represented as resting on a primal foundation stone, which also forms the bedrock of the Temple. The navel, or center, of the earth is located at Zion, just as among the Samaritans it is located at the sacred Mt. Gerizim, and among the Greeks, at Delphi. Earth, like heaven, consists of seven layers superimposed upon one another. Its extent is reckoned in one passage of the Talmud (Ta'an. 10a) as equivalent to (roughly) 190 million square miles, and it is 1,000 cubits thick. In IV Ezra 6:42 it is said that six parts of it are habitable, and the seventh is covered by water. According to post-biblical sources, the earth is sheltered from the blasts of the south wind by the gigantic bird ziz, and, as in the Bible, it will become miraculously fertile in the messianic age (Ginzberg, Legends, s.v.). Earth's pristine fertility, it is said, was diminished through the sin of Adam, and its smooth surface was made rugged by mountains as a punishment for its having received the blood of Abel. When the new age dawns, it will again become level. Just as in the Greek myth the earth opened to rescue Amphiaraus, so in Jewish legend it hid the tender babes of Israel hunted by Pharaoh. It likewise swallowed up the vessels of the Temple, to conceal them when that edifice was destroyed. On the other hand, it engulfed the four generations of the offspring of Cain as an act of punishment; it also swallowed up the army massed against Jacob, the unfinished part of the Tower of Babel, and the city of Nineveh. However, it refused to receive the body of Jephthah who, as the result of a rash vow, had sacrificed his own daughter (*ibid.*, s.v.).

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[Theodor H. Gaster]

EARTHQUAKE, ground vibrations produced generally by a sudden subterranean occurrence. Accounts of destructive earthquakes extend far into antiquity. In biblical times earthquakes, like thunder and other natural cataclysms, were regarded as demonstrations of God's unlimited power. It was believed that the phenomenon preceded divine manifestations (I Kings 19:11–12; Isa. 6:4; Ezek. 3:12–13), the revelation at Sinai (Ex. 19:18), divine wrath (Ps. 18:8; 104:8), and collective punishment (I Sam. 14:15; Isa. 5:25; Nah. 1:5; 16:32; Amos 9:1), and it was also envisaged as heralding the end of the world (Ezek. 38:19–20). The descriptions of earthquakes in the Bible – especially by prophets – indicate that such cataclysms occurred from time to time and that people were therefore familiar with their consequences. The almost scientific description of the phenomenon of earth dislocation and cracking related in a prophecy of wrath (Zech. 14:4–5) might be based on a personal experience of an earthquake. Because of its powerful impact, the major earthquake which occurred toward the end of King Uzziah's reign (about 800 B.C.E.) was referred to for some time in date references (Amos 1:1; Zech. 14:5). In 31 B.C.E. a disastrous tremor in Judea claimed 10,000 to 30,000 victims (Jos., Ant., 15:122). In 749 a powerful earthquake, thought to be 7.3 on the Richter scale, hit northern Israel, destroying *Bet(h)-Shean, *Tiberias, Kefar Naḥum (*Capernaum), and *Susita. The earthquake caused a huge tidal wave that led to the death of thousands. Another series of earthquakes occurred in 1033, striking Tiberias and its environs. During the last 2,000 years, earthquakes in Palestine and its neighborhood have been recorded in greater detail (see bibl. Amiran, 1951; Shalem, 1951; Arieh, 1967). These records reveal that, on the average, several damaging earthquakes have occurred in each century, but usually only one reached disastrous proportions. Seismological observatories have been operated by the Geological Survey of Israel since 1955 and by the Weizmann Institute of Science since 1969. Recent seismographic measurements indicate that most earthquake epicenters are situated in or near the Jordan Rift Valley, an area where the two most destructive earthquakes since the 19th century originated. The earthquake on Jan. 1, 1837, whose epicenter was near Safed, took about 5,000 victims, ruined much of the old city, and was strongly felt from Beirut to Jerusalem. This earthquake was preceded by one in 1759 in which the walls of *Safed were ruined and many were killed. On July 11, 1927, an earthquake occurred north of *Jericho violently affecting vast areas from Lebanon to the Negev, and in Transjordan killing about 350 persons and ruining some 800 structures (mainly in Shechem). This earthquake stopped the flow of the Jordan River for a few years owing to rock collapse. The last significant earthquake in Israel was in 1995 in Eilat (*Elath), when the epicenter was in the Red Sea, therefore causing minor damages. In 2004 a series of tremors struck Israel, mainly in the Dead Sea area. Experts argue that such earthquakes are a warning sign of a bigger one yet to come in the next few years. The extent of damage caused by an earthquake depends not only on magnitude, focal depth, and proximity to the epicenter, but also, and sometimes mainly, on local ground features, topographic conditions, type of foundation and construction, and density of population. In areas with long-standing earthquake records, seismic risk can better be evaluated than in areas without such records. Cities which have suffered relatively much from earthquakes are Safed, Tiberias, Shechem (all near the epicenter zone, and partly built on slopes and unconsolidated ground with poorly built structures), Lydda, and Ramleh (unstable ground conditions). Jerusalem, with its rocky fundament, has remained during its long history relatively undamaged by earthquakes, as if to justify the psalmist's verse: "Those who trust in the Lord are like Mount Zion, which cannot be moved, but abides for ever" (Ps. 125:1).

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[Eliyahu Arieh]

EAST LONDON, port in Eastern Cape province, South Africa. East London was founded in 1836 as a landing stage and proclaimed a town in 1847. W. Barnett acquired a grant of land in 1849, but the first known permanent Jewish resident was Gustave Wetzlar, who arrived in Cape Town in 1861 from Germany and settled as a merchant in East London in 1873. A town councilor in 1881, he became mayor in 1889. John Lewis Norton, a descendant of the British settlers of 1820, became chief constable and messenger of the court. The growth of the Jewish population resulting from immigration and an influx during the Boer War of 1899–1902 led to the establishment of a Hebrew congregation in 1901. Julius Myers and G.G. Deal, both immigrants from England, took the initiative and continued to be active in communal life. Emmanuel Lipkin, later of Oudtshoorn, arrived from England in 1903 as minister and a small synagogue was opened. A larger synagogue was built 20 years later. A small Reform congregation was established in 1958. In the heyday of the community, which at its height in the mid-1960s numbered some 1,200 people, there was an active Jewish communal life, with Hebrew schools, Zionist and other organizations, regional branches of national bodies, and a country club. By 2004, however, it had dwindled to fewer than 150, mainly elderly individuals, though the main communal organizations continued to function. Jews have been prominent in civic affairs, the mayors including (besides Wetzlar) David Lazarus, 1947–48 and 1966–68, Abraham Addleson, 1957–59, and Leo Laden, 1962–64.

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[Abraham Addleson / David Saks (2nd ed.)]

EATON, JOSEPH W. (1919–), U.S. sociologist and educator. Born in Nuremberg, Germany, Eaton went to the United States in 1934. After graduating in 1948, he directed the study of the Hutterites, an isolated Mennonite sect of northwestern U.S. and Canada who lived in communities and held property in common. The results were published in 1955 in *Culture and Mental Disorders* (J. Eaton and R.J. Weil). Eaton published an analysis of prison reform and treatment programs in California (*Stone Walls Not a Prison Make*, 1962). In 1961 he published *Measuring Delinquency* and in 1964 *Prisons in Israel.* He directed a long-range study of Israel's youth organization and national service program financed by the U.S. Office of Education (*Influencing the Youth Culture: A Study of Youth Organizations in Israel*, 1969). His academic interests were in evaluative research, applications of social theory, and the sociology of social work. He also wrote *Card-Carrying Americans: Privacy, Security, and the National ID Card Debate* (1986) and *The Privacy Card: A Low Cost Strategy to Combat Terrorism* (2004).

Eaton became professor emeritus at the Graduate School of Public and International Affairs at the University of Pittsburgh, in the field of economic and social development and sociology. He remained actively involved in studying the Hutterites and was a consultant for a University of Pittsburgh research project on the causes of schizophrenia.

[Zvi Hermon / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

EBAN, ABBA (Aubrey) SOLOMON (1915–2002), Israeli statesman, diplomat, and writer, member of the Fourth to Eleventh Knessets. Born in Cape Town, South Africa, Eban was brought up in England. He studied Oriental languages and classics in Queens College at Cambridge University, where he was research fellow and lecturer in Arabic in 1938–40. Eban was noted for his mastery of several languages. As an undergraduate, he was a founder of the University Labor Society and became president of the Students' Union.

During World War II Eban held the rank of major, serving on the staff of the British minister of state in Cairo from 1941. In 1942 he served as liaison officer on behalf of the Allied Command with the leadership of the Jewish *yishuv* in Palestine, and in 1944 as chief instructor in the Middle East Center for Arab Studies in Jerusalem, for the purpose of training Jewish volunteers. At the end of the war he took up residence in Jerusalem and in 1946 was appointed by the Jewish Agency political information officer in London, and the following year served as its liaison officer with UNSCOP. After serving as a member of the Jewish Agency delegation to the UN General Assembly, Eban was appointed representative of the newly established State of Israel to the UN, and in the years 1949–59 as Israel's permanent delegate, serving in 1952 as deputy president of the General Assembly. In the UN Eban was known for his eloquence and superb presentation of Israel's case in the face of Arab hostility. In 1950–59 he also served as Israeli ambassador to the United States. In 1958–66 Eban was president of the Weizmann Institute in Rehovot and initiated the International Rehovot Conferences on "Science in the Advancement of New States." In 1959 he was elected to the Fourth Knesset on the *Mapai list. He served as minister of education and culture in the years 1960–63, deputy prime minister in 1963–65, and minister for foreign affairs in 1966–74. As minister for foreign affairs, Eban sought to consolidate Israel's relations with the United States and to secure association status for Israel in the European Economic Community. In May 1967 he paid dramatic visits to Paris, London, and Washington in an effort to avert the outbreak of war. Throughout the Six-Day War in 1967 and the Yom Kippur War in 1973 he led Israel's diplomatic campaigns in the UN. Eban was reappointed minister for foreign affairs in the short-lived government formed by Golda *Meir after the Yom Kippur War and participated in the negotiations with Henry *Kissinger which led to the Disengagement Agreement with Syria on May 31, 1974. However, after Meir's resignation, following the publication of the *Agranat Commission report on the background to the outbreak of the war, he was not included in the government formed by Yitzhak *Rabin. Though continuing to serve in the Knesset, Eban started to teach at Haifa University and at Columbia University in the U.S. as a visiting professor. In September 1974 he was appointed chairman of the Board of Governors of Bet Berl, which was the ideological center of the Labor Party. In the Eleventh Knesset he served as chairman of the Knesset Foreign Affairs and Defense Committee and as chairman of a subcommittee that dealt with the Pollard Affair. In the primaries held in the Central Committee of the Labor Party for a place in the party's list for the Twelfth Knesset, Eban failed to be elected. Eban then withdrew from the political arena and concentrated on the production and presentation of TV programs in the U.S. on Jewish tradition and the history of the State of Israel. His writings include *Voice of Israel* (reprinted speeches, 1957), *The Tide of Nationalism* (1959), *The Final Solution: Reflections on the Tragedy of European Jewry* (1961), *Chaim Weizmann – A Continuing Legacy* (1962), *My People: The Story of the Jews* (1968), *My Country: The Story of Modern Israel* (1972), *An Autobiography* (1977), *Heritage: Civilization and the Jews* (1984), *The New Diplomacy: International Affairs in the Modern Age* (1983), *Personal Witness: Israel Through My Eyes* (1992), and *Diplomacy of the Next Century* (1998).

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[Edwin Samuel, Second Viscount Samuel / Susan Hattis Rolef (2nd ed.)]

EBEN-EZER (Heb. אֶבֶן הָעֵזֶר). (1) Site of the Israelite camp facing the Philistine army at *Aphek before the battle in which the Philistines captured the Ark of the Covenant (I Sam. 4:1). It is generally identified with Majdal Yābā, which was still known in the first century C.E. as Migdal Aphek. (2) Name of the stone set up as a victory monument by Samuel between *Mizpah and Shen after the Israelites had "pursued the Philistines and smote them, until they came under Beth-Car" (I Sam. 7:11–12). Most scholars consider the two Eben-Ezers identical and locate it on the Israelite-Philistine border.

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[Michael Avi-Yonah]

EBER (Heb. עבר, **Ever**). (1) Great-grandson of *Shem, son of Noah and ancestor of Abraham (Gen. 10:21ff.; 11:14ff.; I Chr. 1:17ff.); presumably (but nowhere explicitly) intended as the eponymous ancestor of the *Hebrews (*Ivrīm*). "All the children of Eber" (Gen. 10:21), a phrase which appears – possibly unintentionally – to include Arabian and other tribes as well as Israelite, may or may not be related to the term "Hebrews"; certainly there is no solid evidence that the Bible understood any but Israelites to be Hebrews. The names appearing in the genealogies of Genesis 10 and 11 are, as in other ancient West Semitic genealogies, personifications of tribes, nations, cities, and lands rather than individuals (see *Genealogy; *Nations, The Seventy). In view of this, many scholars consider the name Eber to be derived from Ivri, rather than vice versa, while others suggest that the term refers to the region known as *ever hanahar* ("beyond the river [Euphrates]"; Josh. 24:2; cf. Num. 24:24). Such usage of the name was facilitated by the fact that Eber was probably also the name of a clan or a personal name. (2) The head of a Gadite family (I Chron. 5:13). (3 & 4) The heads of two Benjaminite families (I Chron. 8:12, 22). (5) A post-Exilic priest (Neh. 12:20). (In nos. 2–5 some Hebrew and/or LXX manuscripts read עבד (*ebed*).)

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[Jeffrey Howard Tigay]

EBLA, archaeological site in northern Syria, present-day Tell Mardikh, located 35 mi. (60 km.) south of Aleppo and excavated by an Italian team of archaeologists starting in 1964. In the 1970s thousands of cuneiform texts dated to the second half of the 3rd millennium B.C.E. (in archaeological terms, EB IV, or Early Bronze Age IV) were discovered at the site. The language reflected in these texts was neither Sumerian nor Akkadian, two well-known languages of the period written in cuneiform, but rather was determined to be a previously unattested language, called "Eblaite" by scholars.

Scholars continue to debate the specific date of these texts. The main issue is whether they are pre-Sargonic (i.e., from a time before the reign of Sargon of Akkad (2270–2215 B.C.E. according to one standard opinion)), or whether they are contemporary with the Sargonic period. The discovery of an object bearing the cartouche of the Egyptian pharaoh Pepi I is an important find – attesting to trade relations between Ebla and Egypt, though perhaps only indirectly, through the intermediation of Byblos (see below) – but unfortunately the date of Pepi I (and all the 6th Dynasty monarchs) is not fixed (2333–2283 B.C.E. is one approximation), and thus this artifact cannot help answer the chronological question definitively. The issue of whether the heyday of Ebla is pre-Sargonic or Sargonic hinges in the main on who or what caused the destruction of Ebla (well attested in the archaeological record) during this period. Was the city destroyed by Sargon, by his grandson Naram-Sin, or by accidental fire that simply could not be controlled? Without attempting a definitive answer to these questions, for our present purposes we will side with those scholars who view the Ebla texts as pre-Sargonic. Accordingly, we proceed with the statement that Eblaite is the earliest attested Semitic language, antedating the oldest Akkadian material by about a century, though perhaps by only a few decades.

Another scholarly debate concerns the exact identification of the Eblaite language. Some scholars hold that the language reflected in the Ebla texts is nothing more than a dialect or variation of Old Akkadian; according to this opinion it would be incorrect to speak of a separate language called Eblaite. Other scholars, meanwhile, hold that Eblaite is sufficiently distinct from Old Akkadian to merit the identification as a separate Semitic language. Among the latter, though, there is still no consensus: some hold it to represent an independent branch of Semitic to be called North Semitic, while others group Eblaite in the West Semitic branch. To be sure, there are quite a few lexical and grammatical links between Eblaite and the later attested Amorite (early second millennium) and Aramaic (first millennium), thus suggesting a Syrian *Sprachbund* incorporating these three languages. An important piece of evidence is the first person singular independent pronoun *ana ana* 'I', exactly as in Amorite and Aramaic (in contrast to Akkadian *anāku*).

The debate over the language is due in part to the nature of the texts written in Eblaite. The Eblaite texts use a very high percentage of Sumerograms, that is, words written as Sumerian signs though meant to be read as Eblaite words. Often, however, we do not know what Eblaite words lie behind these Sumerograms. For example, in the expression *si-in i-li-lu* A-MU DINGIR-DINGIR-DINGIR, appearing in an incantation text, we can understand the words to mean "to Elil father of the gods." But the only Eblaite words that we learn are the preposition *si-in*, to be normalized as *sin*, "to," and the name of the deity *i-li-lu*, to be normalized as *ilîlu*, "Ilil" or "Elil." The remaining words are A-MU and DINGIR-DINGIR-DINGIR, whose meanings are clear as "father" and "gods," respectively. But these are the Sumerian forms. When the Eblaite scribe read this text aloud, he would have pronounced these words as their Eblaite equivalents. And while we can be almost certain that the former was based on the root *ab* and that the latter was based on the root *il* (as in all the Semitic languages), we lack the precise information in this case. When one multiplies this example several hundredfold, it becomes clear how scholars can differ over the issue of the exact identification of Eblaite.

Most of the Ebla texts were found in several rooms of Palace G from the 24th century B.C.E. (as per the statement above that the tablets are pre-Sargonic). The total number of texts is about 2,000 complete or nearly complete tablets and about 10,000 fragments. The discovery of this archive in 1974 came as a complete surprise to scholars. No one had imagined that a city in northern Syria might be home to such a literate culture. Even for the heartland of Mesopotamia at this time, the discovery of such a large archive would have been astonishing. Moreover, the previous scholarly consensus held that the Tigris and Euphrates valley at one end of the Near East and the Nile valley at the other end were the two great centers of culture, already in the third millennium B.C.E., but that the vast area in between, including Syria, was a cultural backwater, populated mainly by pastoralists with their flocks, with no great urban centers of the type found in Egypt or Mesopotamia. The excavations at Ebla and the discovery of this large archive changed everyone's conception.

The corpus of Ebla texts includes a wide variety of documents. The greatest number by far are administrative texts, recording in great detail the activities of the palace, the economy of Ebla centered mainly on textile production and the growing of barley and other grains, the far-reaching trade with cities throughout Syria and Mesopotamia, and so on. The second group consists of texts of a historical nature; these include some important treaty texts. The best preserved of the treaty texts is a highly detailed pact with Abarsil on the upper Euphrates; it includes about two dozen articles regulating commerce, taxation, emissaries, and the like. The third group is made up of lexical texts, the most important of which are the bilingual dictionaries providing us with the Sumerian and Eblaite equivalents of hundreds of words. While these dictionaries do not give us the words in literary contexts, they provide us with very valuable information about the Eblaite vocabulary (see further below). Finally, there is a series of incantation texts (a line from one was quoted above). (There have been some reports about literary texts found at Ebla; but at present only one such text has been published, and that composition is a duplicate of a document known from Abu Salabikh in southern Mesopotamia.)

The administrative and historical texts reveal that Ebla had contacts with hundreds of cities throughout the region. Many if not most of these cannot be identified with any confidence, but the toponyms that can be identified give us an indication of Ebla's power and influence. Here we may mention important urban centers such as Gublu (= Byblos) on the Mediterranean (though not all scholars agree with this reading); Emar and *Mari, both on the middle Euphrates; and Kish, situated between the Tigris and Euphrates near Babylon; as well as KURK^{i} *la-ba-na-an*, "the mountain-country of Lebanon." (When the Ebla tablets first were discovered, there were reports that the five cities of the plain listed in Genesis 14 appear at Ebla as well; but there is no substance to this claim.)

The quantity of materials appearing in the administrative texts is sometimes staggering. One text (ARET 2:20) gives a total of 548,500 barley measures distributed (and of this amount 360,400 appears in one line and 182,600 appears in a second line). Eblaite, in fact, attests for the first time in any Semitic language a word for 100,000, namely *ma-i-at* (obviously based on the pan-Semitic word for "hundred"; cf. Hebrew מאה).

The deities attested at Ebla are better known from later West Semitic sources than from East Semitic sources. Important gods are Dagan, Hadd/Baal, Rashap, Ashtar, Kamish, Malik, and Qura, as well as the sun and moon deities, though their Eblaite names are unknown since the Sumerograms UD ("sun") and ITI ("moon") respectively, are used consistently. (There is absolutely no validity to the claim (reported in the early days of Ebla studies) that Ya (a shortened form of Yahweh) appears in personal names.)

Of particular interest is the god Kamish: the name appears in the city name Kar-Kamish (Carchemish) in northern Syria; it is attested in the pantheon of *Ugarit on the Syrian coast from the Late Bronze Age, spelled alphabetically as *kmt* and syllabically as *ka-ma-ši* (= /kamāt/); and most prominently it appears much later as the national god of the Moabites, spelled כמוש and vocalized *kəmôš* in the Bible. Note, however, that in one passage, Jer 48:7, the name of the Moabite god occurs as כמיש in the Ketiv. While previous scholars typically assumed a confusion between *waw* and *yod* in the scribal transmission of this text, we now must consider another possibility, that the Ketiv in Jer 48:7 preserves an ancient alternative pronunciation, Kamish, harking back to the Early Bronze Age as attested at Ebla.

An important deity hitherto unknown is Qura (typically spelled Kura in Ebla studies), clearly a major god given the number of times the name occurs, including some prominent contexts. Apart from Ebla, we know nothing about this deity. The name resurfaces, however, about 3,000 (!) years later as the first element in the name of the angel Quriel, attested in Aramaic, Syriac, and Greek magical texts of the first millennium C.E. In one passage Quriel occurs as the father of a demoness; this invites comparison with the demotion of *Baal, worshipped throughout the Bronze and Iron Ages as a major deity, but appearing in the New Testament as ruler of the demons in the form Baal-zebul.

Whenever a new Semitic language is uncovered, the natural tendency among Hebraists and Biblicists is to mine the new source for information that can help elucidate problems in the Bible and can supply cognates for Hebrew lexemes. Several examples of this process were noted above. The remainder of this entry will present additional instances of contributions from the study of Eblaite to the study of Hebrew (notwithstanding the temporal and geographical distances between Eblaite in third millennium northern Syria and Hebrew in first millennium southern Canaan).

A number of Hebrew words, which hitherto had no cognates within Semitic (see the standard dictionaries), now gain etyma from the Eblaite lexicon. Examples include the following: *ni-zi-mu* (to be normalized as *nizmu*), "a type of jewelry" ≈ נזם, "nose-ring, earring"; *a-a-tum* (to be normalized as *ayyatum*), "a type of bird" ≈ איה, "a bird of prey"; *bar-su-um* (to be normalized as *parsum*), "a type of bird" ≈ פרס, "a bird of prey." The first of these items appears in an administrative text; the latter two appear in the bilingual lexical lists as the Eblaite equivalents of Sumerian forms classified as birds due to the presence of the MUŠEN determinative.

The common Hebrew word for "cedar" is ארז, but a unique feminine form ארזה occurs in Zephaniah 2:14. This now has a parallel in Eblaite *ar-za-tum,* presented in the bilingual dictionary as the equivalent of Sumerian GIŠ-NUN-SAL (the GIŠ determinative indicates a type of tree).

The above represents but a handful of Hebrew lexemes with parallels in Eblaite. In truth, however, the very large Sumerian-Eblaite dictionary (attested in multiple copies at Ebla) affords the scholar of ancient Hebrew much fodder for lexical exploration. We permit ourselves one further example here. The root גדד, "cut, incise, divide," yields the *hitpael* form התגודד, "make incisions upon oneself" (Deut. 14:1; I Kings 18:28, etc.) and the noun גדוד, "troop" (cf. English "division" in a military sense). Cognates to this word occur in various Aramaic dialects (Biblical, Samaritan, Jewish Babylonian, Syriac). The verb *gadādu*, "separate off," occurs in Akkadian, but only in Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian, and thus scholars conclude that the word is a borrowing from Aramaic. The bilingual dictionary from Ebla glosses Sumerian TAR-TAR with Eblaite *ga-da-dum*; since Sumerian TAR means "cut," it is clear that Eblaite *ga-da-dum* represents an Early Bronze Age forerunner of later Hebrew and Aramaic גדד.

We move now from the realm of lexicon to the realm of grammar, with one representative illustration. Already prior to the discoveries at Ebla, Francis Andersen opined that ancient Hebrew included a morpheme ומ-, that is, conjunctive *waw* + enclitic *mem*. Andersen's insight was strikingly confirmed by the presence of *ù-ma* in Eblaite, composed of the same two elements. Biblical passages which include this morpheme are Gen. 41:32, Num. 23:10, Judg. 13:19, I Kings 14:14, Ezek. 48:16, 48:22 (twice), Amos 6:10, Nah. 2:13, Ps. 147:3, Ruth 4:5, Neh. 5:11. A study of these passages reveals that Hebrew ומ- has a specific syntactic function: it serves as an emphasizing conjunction to be translated "indeed, even, verily, yea." The recognition of this form impacts most of all on the analysis of Ruth 4:5, where the phrase ומאת רות does not mean "and from Ruth" (note the *etnaḥ* on the previous word), but rather is to be analyzed as the emphasizing conjunction ומ- followed by the direct object indicator את and then the proper name רות, thus yielding a translation for the entire verse as follows: "Boaz said, 'On the day you acquire the field from the hand of Naomi – ; verily, Ruth the Moabitess, the wife of the deceased, I have acquired [reading with the Ketiv] to raise the name of the deceased on his estate.'"

Our last instance of the interconnections between Eblaite and Hebrew returns us to the world of magic. One of the incantation texts is directed against a demon named ḫa-ba-ḫa-bi, normalized as *ḫabḫabi*, who is bound and rendered powerless by the magician. This name is the reduplicated form of the demonic figure *Ḥby* attested in Ugaritic (Mesopotamian cuneiform has no symbol for [ḥ] and here substitutes [ḫ]; where he gains the epithet "lord of the horns and tail," that is, the traditional imagery of a devilish character), and appearing in the Bible in two passages in variant forms (one the basic form, the other with suffixed *-ôn*): חבי in Isa 26:20 and חביון in Hab 3:4. The occurrence of *ḫabḫabi*/*ḥby*/חבי in Early Bronze Ebla, Late Bronze Ugarit, and Iron Age Israel attests to the tenacity of magical praxes throughout the epochs (see also the discussion above concerning Qura and Quriel).

Finally, we may note that Ebla was rebuilt after the major destruction noted above and achieved a second floruit c. 2050–1950 B.C.E., that is, during the Ur III period. We possess very few Eblaite literary remains from this period, however. Most of our evidence comes from other sites, including, for example, references to Ebla in inscriptions of Gudea, famous ruler of Lagash, whose great building projects necessitated his men to travel to the region of Ebla in order to procure quantities of timber and stone.

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[Gary A. Rendsburg (2nd ed.)]

EBNER, MEIR (**Meyer**; 1872–1955), Jewish leader in Bukovina and Romania, active Zionist. Born in Czernowitz, he participated in the establishment of the Jewish national student association, Hasmonea, in 1891. He earned the degree of jurist doctor from the university in his native city. With the advent of Herzl, Ebner joined the Zionist Organization, attending the First Zionist Congress and many succeeding ones. He was active in Jewish affairs in Bukovina, at the same time working to obtain Jewish representation in the local *Landtag* and at the *Reichsrat* in Vienna. He was exiled to Siberia by the Russian conquerors in 1915 and returned in 1917. In 1918–20 he was head of the Jewish National Council of Bukovina. When Bukovina was annexed to Romania in 1918, he led the struggle for Jewish rights and in 1919 founded the German language periodical *Ostjuedische Zeitung* in which he advocated Zionism and a Jewish national policy in the Diaspora. It was published until the end of 1937, when it was banned by the government. Ebner attended the international Congresses of National Minorities in Geneva, becoming vice president of the organization after the death of Leo *Motzkin in 1933. In May 1926 (until July 1927) he was head of the Czernowitz Jewish community and was elected to the Romanian parliament, where he frequently spoke with great courage, undeterred by threats from antisemites. In 1928 Ebner was elected to the Romanian Senate and became head of the Jewish faction of four members. He helped found the Jewish Party of Romania in 1930 and was elected on its behalf to the Romanian parliament. In 1934 his election was prevented through the machinations of the government. Ebner immigrated to Palestine in the beginning of 1940, where he became a regular contributor to Zionist publications in Palestine and abroad and was active in associations of immigrants from Romania and Bukovina. He died in Israel.

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[Yehuda Slutsky]

EBONY, heartwood of certain trees. The Hebrew word *hovenim*, which occurs in Ezekiel (27:15) in a reference to Tyre's commerce in "horns of ivory and *hovenim*," is identified by most translators and exegetes as ebony, called *hbn* in Egyptian. Several tropical trees supplied the ebony used in ancient times, the most important being the *Diospyros ebenum*, which grows in India. Other species of the same genus grow in Africa. Ebony was extensively used with ivory ornamentation (as described by Ezekiel) for the effect given by the contrast of black and white.

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ECCLESIA ET SYNAGOGA, the name given to the symbolic representations in Christian art of the Middle Ages of the victorious Church and defeated Synagogue, symbolizing the triumph of Christianity. The representation is often found in medieval Christian manuscript art. It also became a conventional decoration in many medieval churches, especially in France, England, and Germany, and took the form of two graceful female figures, usually on the outside of the building. The Church is shown erect and triumphant, bearing a cross; the Synagogue is usually blindfolded and dejected, bearing a broken staff and sometimes decorated with the Tables of the Ten Commandments symbolizing the Old Testament. The best known statues of this type are on the exterior of the cathedrals of Strasbourg and Bamberg. They are also found in Rheims, Paris, and Bordeaux. In England, they figure, generally in a mutilated condition, in Rochester, Lincoln, Salisbury, and Winchester. The representation of the blindfolded synagogue was paradoxically reflected even in Jewish manuscript art: as for example in the miniature of the blindfolded Torah with her spouse, the People of Israel, in a 14th-century manuscript prayer book (Hamburg, Cod. Lev. 37; possibly having a symbolic meaning, representing the Torah and the People of Israel).

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[Helen Rosenau]

ECCLESIASTES (Heb. קוֹהֶלֶת, הַקּוֹהֶלֶת), one of the group of minor writings of the Hagiographa known as the Five Scrolls (*Megillot*). The name Ecclesiastes is Greek and probably means "member of the assembly." It renders the Hebrew word *kohelet* (*qohelet*, or *ha-qohelet* = the Qohelet; 1:1, 2, 12; 7:27; 12:8, 9, 10). Qohelet is not a proper name but means something like "one who acts in the assembly" or "teaches the public" – see the description of his activities in 12:9. Qohelet is usually thought to be the author, but he may be a fictional persona, the author's "mouthpiece." Though Qohelet never claims to be Solomon, he does describe himself in Solomon-like terms: He is "king in Jerusalem" (1:12) and "son of David, king in Jerusalem" (1:1). Traditionally, therefore, he was identified with Solomon. Solomonic authorship, however, is ruled out by evidence of language and content.

Language and Date

The Hebrew of the book represents the latest stage in the evolution of biblical Hebrew. An example of the indicators of late biblical Hebrew is the root *tqf* (4:12; 6:10), which can only be borrowed from Aramaic, and not before the seventh century B.C.E. Also, the nouns *pardes* "orchard" (2:5) and *pitgam* "decree" (8:11) are both borrowed from Persian. Persia only emerged from obscurity in the middle of the sixth century B.C.E., and no words are known to have been borrowed from its language before that. Moreover, *pardes*, from the Persian *piridaēza* ("rampart," a domain of the king) was also borrowed by the Greeks (*paradeisos*) in the sense of "orchard," the sense it has in Ecclesiastes 2:5. The word *avadeyhem* "their deeds" in 9:1 is Aramaic, not Hebrew. So too, *ʾillu*, the Aramaic and post-biblical equivalent of the classical *lu*, occurs in the Bible only in Ecclesiastes 6:6 and in *Esther 7:4 (the latter being obviously post-exilic and probably third century B.C.E.). There are, in fact, Aramaisms in Qohelet at a much greater frequency than we would expect in a pre-exilic work. Indeed it has been argued – see the items by Ginsberg in the Bibliography – that the book was written in Aramaic and later translated into Hebrew. This theory has not been accepted by other scholars, but it calls for further examination. On the linguistic background of the book, see especially the books by Schoors and Seow.

The content too points to a Hellenistic dating. There is reason to think that the author was influenced by Stoic philosophy (see Rudman in Bibliography). Also, competitive foot races, alluded to in 9:11, entered the Near East only in the third century B.C.E. A deeper indicator of Greek influence (which would scarcely be possible before the Hellenistic period) is the book's display of the mindset of Greek philosophy. This enterprise tried to determine the good by the application of human reason alone, without appeal to tradition or revelation. Qohelet, alone of the Bible, follows this path.

Contents

The book of Ecclesiastes is a reflection on life together with advice on making one's way through it. Qohelet introduces himself as a wise king who sought to examine all that happens on earth (1:12–18), including toil, wisdom, and pleasure. His goal is to determine "what is good for man to do under the heavens during the few days of his life" (2:3). He amassed wealth and belongings, and this accomplishment seems to have given him pleasure; but ultimately he found it senseless (2:4–2:26). As Qohelet proceeds on his investigation, he observes a variety of values and typical events. Most of these he finds senseless and "bad," but he does suggest various ways of maneuvering through life and, from time to time, does praise certain modes of behavior and experiences. Still, he begins and concludes with a judgment that recurs throughout the book, "All is *hevel*," a keyword usually translated "vanity" or "transient" but that might be better translated "senseless" or "absurd."

Recurring topics include injustices (3:16–22); social oppressions (4:1–3; 5:7–11); the futility of toil and pleasure (2:18–26; 4:4–8; 5:12–6:9); the failure of wisdom and the frailty of its achievements (4:13–16; 6:10–12; 7:13–14, 23–24; 8:16–9:10; 9:1–3). Occasionally he grants wisdom's (limited) value (9:13–18; 10:1–3). He more emphatically affirms life's goodness and the importance of grasping life's pleasures when they present themselves (9:4–10; 11:7–12:1) – an imperative made all the more urgent by the incessant awareness of death's grim certainty (9:7–10; 12:1–8). He concludes with a mysterious description of the path to death (12:2–7). The opening declaration "All is *hevel*" concludes his words. An epilogue (12:9–14) speaks about Ecclesiastes from the standpoint of a later sage.

Teaching

The book of Ecclesiastes is written in an unusual, difficult Hebrew, and its thought is self-contradictory and sometimes opaque. Hence its interpretation has been marked by sharp disagreement among the commentators.

Traditional commentators, following the Midrash (especially *Kohelet Rabbah*), regard the book to be King Solomon's words in old age. Having experienced both the world's glories and its disappointments, he realized the futility of mundane strivings and the insignificance of earthly goods – matters "beneath the sun" (1:3 and often). These he deemed *hevel* (understood to mean "trivial"). In contrast, matters that are *not* "beneath the sun" but rather belong to the transcendent, spiritual realm, have great and everlasting value. These are, above all, the eternal life and study of Torah. The book teaches that one must resign oneself to God's will, for all his works are good. Injustices will eventually be rectified and righteousness rewarded, if not in this life then in a blessed eternity, the "world to come."

Most modern commentators understand the book to express skepticism about traditional beliefs, especially the verities of the book of Proverbs and similar wisdom literature, in particular the axioms of God's justice and the efficacy of wisdom and hard work. An example of a negative reading is that of Crenshaw, according to whom Qohelet directs a radical, unrelenting attack on the traditional beliefs of the sages and denies the reality of a moral order. All that is left, Qohelet concludes, is the pleasure of the moment, which may soothe the troubled spirit. A more positive reading is advocated by Fredericks, who argues that Ecclesiastes is only commenting on the human realm. This is characterized by transience, to be sure, but man can find ways to cope, namely by simple pleasures, wisdom, the joy of work, and resignation to God's will. Similarly, Seow argues that "all is *hevel*" does not mean that everything is meaningless or insignificant, but that the meaning of life and the rationale of its inequities transcend human comprehension. Humans must accept whatever happens, while making the most of life's possibilities.

Fox (1999, 2004) argues that the underlying issue that Qohelet addresses is the question of meaningfulness in life. For events to be meaningful, they would have to cohere in a comprehensible picture, with deeds securely and predictably producing the appropriate consequences. The righteous should be rewarded and the wicked punished; the one who toils should get to enjoy the full fruits of his work while the foolish should suffer penury; the wise should have a life the polar opposite of the fool's; and something should distinguish them in death.

Qohelet sees that these things do not happen, at least not consistently (see 6:2; 8:11; 9:11), and he is weighed down by the collapse of meaning, which is revealed by the contradictions that pervade life. These he repeatedly calls *hevel* – "absurd" or "senseless." Qohelet is frustrated that life does not make sense. The irrationality of the world is his fundamental grievance, and his other complaints – such as the brevity of life, the futility of effort, the triviality of worldly goods, the vulnerability of wisdom, and the anomalies in divine justice – are secondary to this one and serve to confirm it.

Qohelet believes, or at least tries to believe, that God will eventually execute justice (3:17; 11:9b). The righteous, in principle at least, live long and the wicked die young (8:11–12a, 14). But Qohelet does not see this happening at present and fears that justice will come too late (8:10–11, 14). Qohelet sees injustices but insists that God is just. Qohelet does not eliminate this contradiction but is just frustrated by it.

God for Qohelet is an absolute, unpredictable autocrat. He is a distant and all-powerful force who can be feared but not loved (3:14b; 5:1, 2, 4; 6). But, though rather steely and remote, He is not uniformly hostile. If (for unpredictable reasons) God should grant someone good things, He wants the fortunate man to enjoy these gifts (5:20; 9:7).

For all his complaints, Qohelet is not a nihilist. "Everything is absurd" is to be understood as expressing a general characterization of life, not an absolute negation of the value of all activities and values. Qohelet shows how humans can recover and reconstruct meanings. He does not arrive at a grand logic or theology that makes sense of everything, but he does recommend modest adjustments and small-scale accommodations in our individual lives.

Some things Qohelet does find worthwhile, such as moderate work, temperate enjoyment of the pleasures that come to hand, love and friendship, gaining and using whatever wisdom is within our capacity, being reasonably righteous, and fearing God. Though their benefits are brief, imperfect, and uncertain, they are enough to make life worth living. Qohelet comes to realize that despite all its unfairness and absurdity, life itself is good, to be grasped all the more eagerly for death's finality.

Qohelet's affirmations all look inward, to each individual's benefit, and his concerns are internal as well: what troubles people, what cheers them up, how they can get along in a world in which much is predetermined and opaque. Though there are practical things we can do to reduce the risks, the only real realm of real freedom and control is the human heart – the domain of emotions, thoughts, and attitudes. We are to enjoy whatever pleasures God makes possible and avoid whatever sorrow we can. This, we may note, is Stoic doctrine as well.

A different theology emerges in the epilogue, 12:9–14. This is commonly considered an addition by a later scribe, but it may well be the words of the anonymous author. The epilogue evaluates Qohelet from a more conventional standpoint. It assures the reader that Qohelet was a wise and eloquent teacher, but also warns that the words of the wise hold certain dangers. What is of ultimate importance is to fear God, obey His commandments, and live in awareness of His ultimate judgment.

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[Harold Louis Ginsberg / Michael v. Fox (2nd ed.)]

ECCLESIASTES RABBAH (Heb. קֹהֶלֶת רַבָּה, *Kohelet Rabbah*), *aggadic Midrash on the book of *Ecclesiastes, called "*Midrash Kohelet*" in the *editio princeps*. (On the term "*Rabbah*," see *Ruth *Rabbah*.)

The Structure

Eccelesiastes Rabbah is an exegetical Midrash which gives a chapter by chapter and verse by verse exposition of the Book of Ecclesiastes. In the *editio princeps*, it is divided into three *sedarim* ("orders"): (a) Chapters 1–6; (b) 6:1–9:6; (c) 9:7–the end of the book of Ecclesiastes. In later editions however it is also divided into 12 sections, corresponding to the biblical chapters. The Midrash opens with an anonymous proem of the classical type found in amoraic Midrashim. It begins with an extraneous verse from the Book of Proverbs which is then connected with the opening words of the Book of Ecclesiastes. It bears, however, a few signs of lateness, including its (introductory formula): "This is what the Scripture declared in the holy spirit by Solomon king of Israel."

The Language

Ecclesiastes Rabbah is written for the most part in mishnaic Hebrew. Galilean Aramaic is also used, and there are numerous Greek words.

The Date of its Redaction

The redactor used tannaitic literature, the Jerusalem *Talmud, **Genesis Rabbah*, **Leviticus Rabbah*, **Lamentations Rabbah*, and **Esther Rabbah*. The work also incorporates material taken from the Babylonian *Talmud, some of which, however, was added later. Several factors indicate that *Ecclesiastes Rabbah* is of a comparatively late date, having been redacted apparently not earlier than the eighth century C.E. It was used by the *paytan* *Solomon b. Judah ha-Bavli, who flourished in the second half of the tenth century C.E., and it is quoted by *Nathan b. Jehiel in his *Arukh* (c. 1100). *Ecclesiastes Rabbah* contains much important material of the tannaitic and amoraic periods, and also numerous *aggadot* of a polemical character, some with anti-Christian references.

Editions

Ecclesiastes Rabbah was first published at Pesaro in 1519, together with Midrashim on the four other scrolls (Song of Songs, Ruth, Lamentations, and Esther) to which, however, it is entirely unrelated. The many subsequent ones are based on this edition. Although several manuscripts of *Ecclesiastes Rabbah* are extant (the earliest dating from the 14th century), a complete scholarly edition has yet to appear. M. Hirshman edited the four first chapters of the book in his dissertation

(1983). An English translation by Abraham *Cohen appeared in the Soncino Midrash (1939).

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[Moshe David Herr]

ÉCIJA, city in Seville, S. Spain. We have no information on the Jews of Écija in the Muslim period. The earliest information concerning Jews there dates from the 13th century. Following its conquest by Ferdinand III, Zulema, a Jewish courtier, was given substantial property. The size of the Jewish community can be judged from the fact that for the year 1293 its tax amounted to 5,000 maravedis. Its most prominent member was the wealthy Don Yuçaf (Joseph) de *Écija (Joseph ha-Levi ibn Shabbat), who distinguished himself in the service of Alfonso XI of Castile. In 1332 he endowed a yeshivah in Écija, and provided stipends for the scholars who studied in it. The persecutions of 1391 struck Écija and its synagogue was destroyed by order of Fernando *Martínez, who was archdeacon of Écija. However, when in 1396 the archbishop of Toledo demanded from the vicar of Écija an account of the destruction of the synagogue, he was told that it was razed by the mob. It is not known when the community was reconstituted, but its tax assessment in 1439 was 6,800 maravedis, in old coin. The community apparently lasted until the expulsion of 1492. There was also an organized group of *Conversos, which in 1477 had as its leader a New Christian named Fernando de Trujillo.

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[Haim Beinart]

ÉCIJA, JOSEPH (Yuçaf) DE (Joseph b. Ephraim ha-Levi ibn Shabbat; d. 1339/40). Écija was born in Écija, Andalusia, and was chief tax farmer (*almoxarife mayor*) of Alfonso XI of Castile. He played a major role within the Jewish community and cooperated with R. *Asher ben Jehiel, then the leading halakhic authority in Castile. He was advanced in the royal service through the patronage of Infante Felipe, son of Sancho IV. By 1322 he was *almoxarife mayor* and a member of the royal council, besides two other Christians. In 1326 he was sent by Alfonso XI to meet his betrothed, the daughter of the Portuguese king. While at Valladolid, some of the knights who accompanied him stirred up the populace against him, but he was saved through the intervention of Dona Leonor, the king's sister. He was dropped from the royal council in 1328 as a concession to the Cortes, which had been summoned to approve extraordinary taxes. A year later, however, he was again high in royal favor, conducting negotiations with Alfonso IV of Aragon. He gained the latter's favor as well and appealed to him to relieve the Aragonese Jews from the obligation to wear the Jewish *badge. In a letter of 1329 the Aragonese king expressed his regret over his inability to grant Joseph de Écija's request at that time. At court Joseph's rival was the royal physician, Samuel ibn Waqar of Toledo. The two competed for the farming of various royal revenues. Gonzalo Marténez de Oviedo, a protégé of Joseph, became royal major-domo and commander of the Order of Alcántara. Marténez turned against his benefactor and brought about the imprisonment of both Joseph and Samuel. Joseph appears to have died in prison. Solomon *Ibn Verga in his *Shevet Yehudah* emphasizes the fact that Joseph, for all his high rank at court, was a loyal and devoted son of his people. He built a synagogue in Seville and endowed a house of learning in his native Écija, providing for the maintenance of the dean and students. In 1342, the king asked Pope Clemens VI to permit the Jews of Seville to worship in the synagogue that was built by Joseph. He was also a lover of music, an interest which he shared with Alfonso IV of Aragon, who asked Joseph to send him his favorite Castilian musicians.

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[Haim Beinart]

°ECKARDT, ROY A. (1918–1997), theologian and Methodist minister. Born in Brooklyn, New York, Eckardt, a prolific writer and a leading figure in the field of Jewish-Christian relations in the U.S., was from 1955 president of the American Academy of Religion and, from 1956, chairman of the department of religion at Lehigh University (Bethlehem, Pennsylvania). His books on the Jewish-Christian dialogue (*Christianity and the Children of Israel*, 1948, and *Elder and Younger Brothers*: *The Encounter of Jews and Christians*, 1967), and his many articles on the subject, center upon three themes: the meaning of antisemitism; the theological and moral relations between Christians and Jews; and the understanding of the State of Israel. He interprets Christian antisemitism as the pagans' war against the people of God, and the Gentiles' war against Jesus the Jew. The Jewish people, whether conceived in religious or in secular terms, belongs to the unbreakable covenant between God and Israel. In Jesus the Jew, the covenant is opened to the world, but not in any way that annuls the election of the original Israel. Because the Christian has been brought into the family of Jews, the fate of Israel, including the State of Israel, is also his fate. Together with his wife, Alice, he wrote *Encounter with Israel: A Challenge to Conscience* (1970), which analyzed the distortion of facts related to Israel frequently favored by antisemites, and *Long Night's Journey into Day: A Revised Retrospective on the Holocaust* (1982). Regarded as one of the most powerful and prolific teams working in the area of Christian-Jewish relations, they traveled the globe to challenge Christians in the way they related to Jews, Judaism, and Israel. The couple made a point of encouraging young people who worked in the field of Christian-Jewish relations.

Eckardt was an active member of the National Christian Leadership Conference for Israel (NCLCI) since its establishment in 1979. That same year, President Carter appointed him special consultant to the President's Commission on the Holocaust. From 1981 to 1986 he served on the United States Holocaust Memorial Council as a special advisor to its chairman, Elie *Wiesel. Eckardt was also a senior associate fellow of the Center for Postgraduate Hebrew Studies and a Maxwell Fellow at Oxford University.

Other publications by Eckardt include *The Surge of Piety in America, an Appraisal* (1958), *Your People, My People: The Meeting of Jews and Christians* (1974), *Jews and Christians, the Contemporary Meeting* (1986), *For Righteousness' Sake: Contemporary Moral Philosophies* (1987), *Long Night's Journey into Day: Life and Faith after the Holocaust* (1988), *Black-Woman-Jew: Three Wars for Human Liberation* (1989), *Reclaiming Jesus of History: Christology Today* (1992), *No Longer Aliens, No Longer Strangers: Christian Faith and Ethics for Today* (1994).

[Yona Malachy / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

°ECKHART, MEISTER (c. 1260–c. 1327), theologian and mystic. Born Johannes Eckhart at Hochheim, Thuringia, he joined the Dominican Order in his youth. Although some of his propositions were condemned as heretical by Pope John XXII, Eckhart exerted a great influence on medieval mysticism. Because Eckhart wrote little about the Jews, and, unlike other Christian theologians, did not discuss the question of the continued existence of the Jewish people, it was generally assumed that he had nothing to do with Judaism. The pioneers in the study of the influence of Jewish philosophy on Christian scholasticism, Manuel *Joel and Jacob *Guttmann, did not even bother to analyze Eckhart's writings. However, in 1928, Josef Koch advanced the thesis that Eckhart was influenced by Jewish philosophy, in particular by *Maimonides. According to Koch, Eckhart first came into contact with the writings of Jewish philosophers in 1313, when he began to prepare a comprehensive collection of doctrinal statements to serve as authorities for his own interpretation of religious doctrines. Koch suggests that Maimonides' method of biblical exegesis, found in the *Guide of the Perplexed*, influenced Eckhart to change the direction of his work and to begin to write biblical commentaries instead of the collection of doctrinal statements he had originally begun. Maimonides' doctrine of negative attributes had a profound influence on Eckhart, in that it showed him that it was possible for man to describe God without obliterating the distinction between God and His creatures, a distinction which Eckhart regarded as fundamental. While it was a matter of routine by the last decades of the 13th century for Christian philosophers to refer to Maimonides, Eckhart was more dependent on Maimonides than other Christian philosophers of the period. It should be emphasized that Eckhart's interest in Judaism always remained purely intellectual, and that he was not at all interested in the social role of the Jews in a Christian society.

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[Hans Liebeschutz]

ECKMAN, JULIUS (1805–1877), U.S. rabbi. Eckman was born in Rawicz, Posen. He began a mercantile career in London at the age of 14, but after three years left for Berlin to resume his studies. In 1846 he was appointed rabbi in Mobile, Alabama, and subsequently in New Orleans, Richmond, and Charleston. In 1854 he was appointed rabbi of Congregation Emanu-El, San Francisco, but his appointment was terminated after one year. A man of high principles and constant devotion to scholarship, Eckman was in demand on account of his ability to preach in English as well as in German, but the reclusive bachelor lacked the temperament to cope with the conditions of congregational life in pioneer America. Eckman remained in San Francisco for the greater part of his life. He took over the congregational school as a private venture and devoted himself to the education of Jewish children. In 1856 he established a periodical *The Gleaner*, which he published until 1862 and resumed in 1864. Shortly thereafter he merged it with the *Hebrew Observer*. Eckman served as rabbi of congregations in Portland, Oregon, during 1863–66 and 1869–72.

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[Sefton D. Temkin / Fred S. Rosenbaum (2nd ed.)]

ECOLOGY. This survey deals with those Jewish sources which have particular reference to environmental matters, and the restrictions upon the actions of the individual both in his own private domain and in public places, to the extent that they affect his nearest neighbors and the community in general. Four general observations may be made:

(1) According to the Bible, the earth has not been given over to man's absolute ownership to use and abuse as he wishes; he merely acts as a custodian to maintain and preserve it for the benefit of his contemporaries and future generations; stress is laid on the influence exerted by the environment on the mind and spirit of man. The special talmudic approach to the individual's duty to protect and preserve public property is illustrated by the story told in the Tosefta of the man who threw boulders from his land onto the public highway. A pious person (*ḥasid*) chided him: "Dolt, why are you throwing stones from a place which does not belong to you to one which does?" The man was scornful of the *ḥasid*. Eventually,

the man sold his land. One day, as he walked along the highway adjoining the land, he stumbled over the boulders. Only then did he realize the wisdom of what the *ḥasid* had told him (Tosef. BK 11:10; BK 50b).

(2) Protection of the public is a constant motive.

(3) Although the regulations in the Talmud are cast in typical casuistic form, a number of general principles or basic guiding rules may be inferred, which are capable of extended application in the light of existing conditions.

(4) Although many of the rules fall within the specific context of what may be termed tort concepts, such as private nuisance, they have clear public law projections because of the religious character of Jewish law.

The Protection of Nature

THE FALLOW YEAR. The idea of preserving nature clearly inspires the biblical command concerning the fallow year (Lev. 25:1–5).

Maimonides in his *Guide of the Perplexed* (3:39) explains as one of the reasons for the fallow year "that the earth shall increase its yield and recover its potency." The clearly religious nature of the commandment extends its immediate utilitarian purpose and turns it into a general overriding principle of the widest application to the natural environment as a whole.

THE PROHIBITION OF WASTE. The peculiarly Jewish religious attitude towards nature is also to be seen in the rule forbidding the purposeless destruction of things from which human beings may derive benefit. The prohibition covers the destruction of animal and vegetable life as well as inanimate objects.

The reason for the prohibition in connection with fruit-bearing trees (see below) is given by the author of *Sefer ha-Ḥinnukh* in the following words: "to inculcate in our hearts a love of the good and the beneficial so that it becomes part of us and we separate ourselves from evil and destructiveness. That is the way of the pious, of those who observe religious practice – they love peace and rejoice in the well-being of their fellow-men, not even a mustard seed will they destroy" (Commandment 529).

THE FELLING OF FRUIT-BEARING TREES. The Bible prohibits the felling of fruit-bearing trees in time of war (Deut. 20:19), and the halakhic Midrash to this verse extends the prohibition to failing to irrigate the trees. The rule, however, is not confined to destruction in time of war, but is of more general application. Maimonides states it in the following terms: "Fruit-bearing trees growing in the countryside are not to be cut down, nor are they to be deprived of water so that they dry up and wither. Whoever cuts down (such trees) is liable to the penalty of flogging, and this not only during times of siege, but whenever they are wantonly destroyed. They may, however, be cut down if they damage other trees or a neighbor's land, or because it is too costly to maintain them. The Torah only forbids wanton destruction" (Yad, *Melakhim* 6:18; cf. *Talmudic Encyclopaedia*, s.v. *Bal Tashḥit*).

The rule is further extended to all objects, including buildings, unless their demolition is necessary for essential human needs. A case of the destruction of trees in the Bible which appears to contradict the clear proscription contained in Deuteronomy (II Kings 3:19) is regarded by Rashi and Kimḥi as exceptional in view of the special circumstances, in which higher national considerations were involved.

THE REARING OF SMALL CATTLE IN EREẒ ISRAEL. The Mishnah proscribes the breeding of small cattle except in Israel (BK VII:7), and the Talmud comments that it refers to "small cattle, but not to large, since intolerable restrictions are not imposed on the community, and whereas small cattle can be imported, large cattle cannot" (BK 79b). Rashi *ad locum* explains the prohibition by saying that the purpose of the regulation was to encourage settlement of Ereẓ Israel, and small cattle crop the soil so closely that it is impaired; they are also inclined to stay and trespass on the land of others.

The seriousness with which the prohibition was regarded from a religious (public) viewpoint is illustrated by the following incident related in the Talmud: There was once a pious person who suffered from heart disease. His doctors advised him to drink warm milk each morning, and for this purpose he acquired a goat which he tied to his bedpost. Some days later, friends came to visit him and when they saw the goat tied to the bedpost they said: "An armed robber is in the house of this man. How can we go in to him?" When on the point of death, he himself declared: "I know that I have not sinned except as regards the goat, when I transgressed against what my colleagues had said." Further it is reported that R. Ishmael said: "My father's family belonged to the landowning class in Upper Galilee. Why were they ruined? Because they pastured their cattle in the forest… but there was also a small field nearby (belonging to another) and they led their cattle on to it." In the talmudic period the regulation was extended to the Jewish settlement in Babylon (BK 80a).

Environmental Pollution

SEWAGE AND ODOR.

Human waste. The injunction of the Bible providing for the sanitary disposal of human waste (Deut. 23:13, 14) is formulated in a more comprehensive fashion by Maimonides: "It is forbidden to withdraw within the camp or to any chance place in the open fields, but it is a positive precept to set aside a special place for the purpose.… Likewise it is a positive precept that each one shall have with him a spade as part of his military equipment so that he can dig a hole for his needs and thereafter cover it up" (Yad, *Melakhim* 6:14, 15). In his comment upon this command, the author of *Sefer ha-Ḥinnukh* stresses in a still wider perspective the importance of cleanliness as a means for promoting the life of the spirit. "It is very well known that cleanliness is one of the virtues that conduces to holiness of mind" (Commandment 566). The precept is not confined to military camps, but applies to all human settlements (TJ Eruvin 5:1). Within the context of the Jewish law of torts, there is an injunction against the construction of privies too close to human habitation, and their removal may be ordered.

Sewage. The rabbis were stringent about public places being made insalubrious. They distinguished between summer and winter. "Nobody has the right to open up his drains or clear his cesspits in the summertime; that may only be done during winter" (BK 6a). Rashi explains that during summer it is pleasant out of doors and therefore wrong to make the place unsightly and malodorous, whereas this consideration does not apply to the rainy season.

The same passage also provides that although the disposal of sewage may be permitted, any injury caused thereby must be compensated for. The same rule is laid down by the Codes (Maim., Yad, Nizke Mammon 13:13; Sh. Ar., HM 104:31).

The Mishnah also prohibits pollution by industrial effluent. "Flax water must be kept away from vegetables" (BB 11:10), and the principle underlying it is naturally of general application.

Odors. The ruling of the Mishnah (BB 2:9) that "carrion, graves, and tanneries must be 50 cubits from a town" is ascribed to the bad odor which they emit, and for the same reason the Mishnah states that a tannery may be sited only on the east of a town, since the winds prevailing in Israel are northwesterly. The odors of privies are also included (BB 23a). These instances given by the Talmud are merely examples, and all like instances are comprehended in the prohibition. Thus R. Asher b. Yehiel (1250–1327, Germany-Spain), replying – inter alia – upon a geonic responsum regarding water pollution, gave a ruling about stagnant water which penetrated a neighbor's house and gave off an offensive smell (Responsa 108:10; cf. Tur HM 155:20–26; Sh. Ar. 155:20).

On the other hand, the rabbis composed a special benediction on fragrant odors "which give enjoyment to the soul and not to the body" (Ber. 34b).

AIR POLLUTION. Air pollution is also the subject of a number of mishnaic provisions. "A permanent threshing floor must be kept at a distance of 50 cubits from a town. One should not set up a permanent threshing floor on his own property unless there is a space of 50 cubits in every direction" (Mishnah BB 2:8). Rashi explains that the prohibition is because of the chaff which is injurious to humans and is also liable to affect sown fields. The same applied to all industrial waste, and Maimonides states that it applies to any operations which create dust, whatever the direction of the prevailing winds (Yad, Shekhenim 11:1).

SMOKE. Among the ten regulations enacted on entering Ereẓ Israel is one which, in order to preserve the amenities of Jerusalem, proscribed the erection of kilns which emit smoke and blacken the surrounding buildings (BK 82b). R. Nathan in the Tosefta generalized this rule by providing that kilns must be kept 50 cubits from any town (BB 1:7), and smoke damage is included among those injurious acts to which no legal title can be acquired by prescription (BB 23a). The *geonim* later did not prescribe a specific minimum distance for removal, but insisted that kilns must always be kept at such a distance that the smoke will not be a source of injury or give rise to any nuisance or annoyance (cf. S. Assaf, *Teshuvot ha-Geonim* 10:32).

The particular significance of smell, smoke and similar sources of damage are explained by Naḥmanides in the 13th century: "Since they cause injury to the person no prescriptive right can arise, for that only applies to pecuniary damage. Pools of water, lime, stones, and debris will affect only the fabric of a person's house and he may well acquiesce therein, even if real damage is done. Smoke, however, and privies give rise to damage and annoyance to the person, and no prescriptive right can be acquired" (Novellae to BB 59b).

WATER POLLUTION. According to the Tosefta, a person who digs a cistern or water hole for public use may wash his face and hands and feet there, unless there is mud or excrement on his feet. If the cistern and water hole, however, provide drinking water, he may not wash himself at all (Tosef. BM 11:31).

The fear of polluted drinking water is also manifested in the talmudic prohibition against drinking water which has been left uncovered for any length of time, since insects or other harmful matter may have contaminated it (AZ 12b; see also 30a and b).

The protection of water from pollution served as a cause of action against anyone who dug a cesspit close to a neighbor's well. The geonic responsa cite an instance which came before R. Samuel bar Ḥofni of Sura in the early tenth century. Reuven had a well adjoining the boundary of his land. Shimon came along and built a privy nearby at the prescribed distance of three *tefaḥim*. Reuven sued Shimon for the damage caused to his well water. Shimon defended by claiming that in accordance with rabbinical precept his privy did not adjoin the pit. R. Samuel was asked whether Shimon came along and built a privy nearby at the prescribed distance of three *tefaḥim*. Reuven sued Shimon for the privy must be removed from the well to a distance even up to 20 *amot*, at which the well water would not be affected. It was no argument, he added, that the privy had already been built, since no prescriptive right can be acquired when serious damage is suffered.

NOISE. Noise is an actionable civil wrong. According to the Talmud, millstones which create noise and vibrations must be kept at a prescribed distance (BB 18a and 20b). The Shulḥan Arukh extends the principle by making the distance vary with the size of the millstones, and making it apply to noises from other sources (HM 155:7).

An exception is made in the case of a school where the convenience of neighbors must give way to the needs of education (*ibid.*). This exception is again extended by the Shulḥan Arukh to all activities connected with the performance of religious precepts. In the case of a large school having at least 50 pupils, Rashi and Naḥmanides would, however, enable neighbors to prevent its continuance on account of excessive noise, when it is possible to moderate the noise by conducting the school in smaller classes (Rashi to BB 21a; *Naḥmanides Novellae*, *ibid.*).

AMENITIES OF PROSPECT. The Bible prescribes for an open space to be left surrounding the levitical cities (Num. 35:1–5). Maimonides, in summarizing the law, adds that it applies equally to other towns and cities in Ereẓ Israel (Yad, Shemittah 13:1–2, 4–5). Rashi explains that the reason for this open space, uncultivated, without trees or buildings, is to allow for free passage of air (Sotah 27b). The *Sefer ha-Ḥinnukh* suggests that since the levitical cities served national requirements (the levites were chosen to conduct divine services and people always came to consult them), they were to be kept pleasant and attractive to add to the luster of the people as a whole (Commandment 342). The same consideration lies behind the mishnaic rule that trees generally are to be kept at a distance of 25 cubits from a town, and carob and sycamore trees up to 50 cubits. R. Solomon b. Adret went further and introduced the rule that townspeople cannot forgo or waive anything which has been prohibited in the interest of the town's amenities.

Conclusions

Major environmental protection problems which concern us today are dealt with extensively in old Jewish sources. They indicate various ways in which spoiling of the environment in its various aspects may be prevented. Rules are laid down with some degree of particularity to control and inhibit the abuse of private rights to the detriment of others, both neighbors and local inhabitants.

Biblical passages dealing with the preservation of nature were elaborated in the Mishnah and Talmud to circumscribe and even remove possible sources of environmental damage. Its importance was emphasized by the fact that the rabbis were not merely content to rely upon the sanctions of the general law, as the law of torts but promulgated enactments specifically devoted to the environment and its protection, such as regulations relating to Jerusalem because of its special status, which were subsequently in part given wider application. Of utmost significance in this regard was the rule that while a particular injury might not be actionable according to the letter of the law, it was, nevertheless, forbidden. Equally important was the rule that no prescriptive right could be acquired in respect of any environmental tort of a serious nature which resulted in injury to the person, individual or collective, as distinct from injury to property, on the basis that no real acquiescence obtains in such cases.

The precise standards imposed by the Talmud to measure and control the injurious effects of the various sources of environmental injury were treated not as absolutes, but according to prevailing conditions, and thus were (and still are) adaptable, as times change. Injury to the environment included not only cases of proximate causation, but also those in which conditions were created which might reasonably give rise to nuisance.

[Nahum Rakover]

For the Jewish contribution to the environmental sciences, see *Environmental Sciences. See also *Conservation.

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ECONOMIC HISTORY.

This article is arranged according to the following outline:

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First Temple Period

Reconstruction of ancient Jewish economic conditions is greatly hampered by the paucity of available documentation. The main source of information still is the Bible; but its general orientation is either normative in the legal sections, exhortatory in the prophetic enunciations, or romanticizing in some of the historical descriptions. Thus a great deal may be learned of what the leaders believed the economic conditions ought to be rather than what they really were, the *Sollen* rather than the *Sein*. Archaeology, on the other hand, which has greatly enriched our knowledge about such *realia* as the utensils employed in agricultural and industrial production, the size and shape of buildings, sudden devastations by earthquakes or wars, and the like, has proved wholly inadequate in reflecting the daily economic relationships or the dynamics of economic evolution. More informative have been the documents found in the archaeological mounds, such as the el-Amarna and the Lachish Letters and the Samarian ostraca. But these documents are too few and limited to certain localities which may not warrant generalization from them to other areas and periods. Much can also be learned, however, from the vaster accumulation of materials in the neighboring civilizations (including the more recently explored Mari, Nuzi, and Ugaritic collections), provided one does not lose sight of the great differences prevailing between the respective countries and the many unique features which characterized the economy of ancient Israel as also Israelite society and culture at large. Utilizing these and other sources, as well as the combined results of many generations of intensive research by scholars, often of high competence, one may perhaps obtain some approximation of the actual economic evolution of ancient Israel after its entry into Canaan and the formation of its monarchy.

One conclusion which seems clearly to emerge from the state of knowledge today is that we must abandon the long-held assumption of both traditionalists and critical scholars that the historic evolution of ancient Israel must be explained in terms of a gradual emergence of a nomadic people into an agricultural society which was later combined with an urban civilization characterized by an increasing division of labor. This evolution, it was believed, required several centuries of slow growth. Such gradualism was used to explain not only the changing economic trends but also the general societal and religious transformations; it supposedly proved helpful even in the dating of biblical sources. It is now known, however, that the ancient Middle East, including the land of Canaan, had a fairly advanced civilization more than 2,000 years before the appearance of Israel on the historical scene. Even according to the biblical narratives, the first patriarch, Abraham – now widely accepted as an historic personality of prime magnitude – combined in his career an intimate acquaintance with his native Babylonian city of *Ur (the excavation of which has revealed its rich and ramified social stratification at the beginning of the second millennium B.C.E.) with that of Egypt, which he visited for a time and of Canaan, in which he settled. The segment of the Canaanite people which appears under the name of Phoenicians was soon drawn into the orbit of a maritime empire extending all the way to Spain. Hence even a primitive, nomadic tribe conquering one Canaanite city after another could quickly learn its methods of production and adopt its mode of living, skipping many stages of the accepted economic evolution.

It may be assumed, therefore, that very early Israel replaced nomadic cattle raising by agriculture as its dominant source of livelihood. Settlers in the formerly Canaanite cities also turned to crafts and even commerce as their primary occupation. With the establishment of a monarchy and the building of the Temple in Jerusalem there also arose a substantial royal and priestly bureaucracy. The new capitals of Jerusalem and Samaria, especially, revealed many characteristics of major urban centers where upper classes indulged in considerable luxuries in dwellings and personal attire, such as are described by Isaiah in his censure of the ladies of Jerusalem (Isa. 3:18ff.). At the same time, the old occupations of cattle raising and even the still more "primitive" activities of fishing and hunting – the latter was never a mere sport even among the Israelite kings – were never completely given up. They flourished particularly in the peripheral areas of the south and Transjordan.

This great diversity of pursuits was aided by both climatic and hydrographic conditions in the country. Despite its relatively small size, it has been found that ancient Palestine consisted of no less than 40 distinct geographic units, each with a different set of natural conditions, which not only affected the type of production but also colored the entire system of political and social life by promoting local independence, even tribalism. That is also why throughout the First Temple period Israel continued to share its land with Edomites, Moabites, Ammonites, Philistines, and some Arameans, while, beginning with a sort of "amphictyonic" alliance, its own 12 tribes gradually built up whatever unity existed later in their divided kingdom.

Although the country was dotted with many localities called cities (*arim*), these settlements did not resemble, as has often been assumed, the medieval and modern cities in being primarily centers of industry and commerce. While no less than 400 such "cities" existed in the territory of Israel and Judah, their population, as a rule, numbered no more than 1,000 persons and consisted principally of farmers who had banded together to live behind city walls for protection against raiders. Their livelihood was derived from cultivating their fields, vineyards, and orchards, for the most part located outside the city walls, to which they proceeded in the morning and from which they returned in the evening (note this sequence in Ps. 121:8; II Kings 19:27). Beyond their fields and vineyards there also were some pastures where the farmers could maintain some sheep and goats, particularly for the purpose of producing milk.

Nutrition of the ancient Palestinian population was about equally divided between grain and fruit. Barley was a particularly important staple which, if the prices are deduced from better known Babylonian parallels, was at times more in demand, and even more costly, than dates. Among the fruits grapes, dates, olives, and figs loomed very large in the popular diet. Meat was always considered a luxury and was consumed by the majority of the population only on festive occasions. The cultivation of vineyards and orchards often required intensive irrigation – already practiced in the pre-Israelitic period – and years of waiting for actual production, further aggravated by certain ritualistic taboos and imposts (*orlah, kilayim, bikkurim*). This system presupposed investment of much capital and human labor. But the ultimate returns were quite rewarding in produce yielded by small plots of land. The quality of some ancient Israel fruits seems to have been as high as that of similar products of the Second Temple era (see below).

Industrial production, on the other hand, was usually in the hands of artisans who were often organized in clans or guilds or both. We know of villages dedicated to single crafts (I Chron. 4:14). Entire families or clans served as scribes. While there is no evidence of guild monopolies, it appears that admission to certain crafts depended on a fairly long apprenticeship and hence was beyond the reach of ordinary laborers. At the same time we also learn about royal enterprises employing, for instance, numerous potters. The frequent occurrence of potsherds bearing the imprint of *la-melekh* ("to the king") suggests that it might have been a trademark of royal potteries. Some scholars, however, interpret that mark as a fiscal receipt for a certain quantity of wine or oil delivered to the royal treasury in payment of taxes. No final decision can be made on this score, since the entire subject of ancient Jewish taxation is shrouded in obscurity, deepened by many unresolved controversies.

A certain number of Israelites also entered mercantile occupations. Some of them did this as "the king's merchants," especially in the days of King Solomon (I Kings 10:28). At that time the international trade of ancient Israel made rapid strides both because it was fostered by the concentrated royal power and because, ever since David's conquest of Edomite territory, Israel had gained access to Ezion-Geber-Eloth on the Red Sea (I Kings 9:26). The new open route to the Indian Ocean made Israel a very welcome ally to Hiram, king of Tyre. Even earlier some northern Israelites seem to have hired themselves out as sailors to Phoenician shipowners (this seems to be the meaning of "Dan, why doth he sojourn by the ships?" in the Song of Deborah; Judg. 5:17). But now the two kings could collaborate in sending ships both to the Indian Ocean and the western Mediterranean where the Phoenicians had long been exploiting the copper mines of Sardinia and were ultimately to establish a colony in Tartessus, Spain. A combined Phoenician-Israelite expedition to Ophir, probably located on the west coast of India or even further east, was a landmark in the history of eastern navigation.

This condition did not last, however. After Solomon's death and the ensuing partition of the country into two kingdoms, Israel lost its overlordship over the Edomites, not to regain it except for a short time under Jehoshaphat. Nor could Israel any longer exploit the copper mines and use the refinery built by Solomon in Ezion-Geber. These losses contributed to the overall decline in both the commercial and political activities of Northern Israel and Judah, which often became tributary to foreign monarchs and occasionally indulged in internecine struggles. As a result, most of the country's mercantile activities were now conducted by strangers, mainly Phoenicians and other Canaanites. The term *kena'ani* now became a synonym for merchant in popular parlance.

All through that period Israelite commerce was abetted by a more or less stable system of weights and measures which the country shared with other Middle Eastern nations. There was also an increasing demand for money to facilitate mercantile transactions, and even in his day Abraham purchased the cave of Machpelah for "four hundred shekels of silver, current money with the merchant" (Gen. 23:16). At first the currency circulated in the form of silver bars which had to be weighed, but soon their weight was standardized and officially marked. By the end of the First Temple era regular coins, whether first introduced in Lydia or in Babylonia, gained the ascendancy. Curiously, gold never became the main instrument of exchange. Down to the Roman period it was often considered a mere commodity, valued at so-and-so many silver shekels, although its price was steadily gaining.

Another effect of the political weakness of the two kingdoms was the relative absence of *slaves from the productive processes in the country. Even Solomon's ambitious public works, including the building of the royal palace and the Temple, required more manpower than could be supplied by slaves. Hence the royal imposition of corvée labor on hundreds of thousands of free Israelites. After Solomon's death the supply of unfree labor must have further dried up, since the country now was rarely victorious in battle and thus could recruit only a small number of slaves from among prisoners of war. On the other hand, to purchase slaves in the Phoenician slave market became increasingly unremunerative. As early as the early days of the Book of the Covenant (ninth century or before) the indemnity for a male or female slave was set at 30 shekels of silver (Ex. 21:32). Later on the price seems to have gone up to 50 or more shekels. With the prevailing high rates of interest throughout the ancient Middle East, which ranged from a minimum of 20–25% on cash loans and of 33⅓% on grain loans, up to 100% and more for more risky credit or in periods of scarcity of capital, it simply did not pay for a landowner or craftsman to acquire a slave and maintain him to the end of his life while free day laborers were readily available at very low cost. "Hebrew" slaves probably originated only from debt bondage or a condemned criminal's inability to pay the fine. But the legal restrictions on the treatment of Hebrew slaves, the enforced manumission at the end of a six-year term, and the (probably utopian) demand of the Deuteronomist that a manumitted slave should be provided by his master with means for earning a living (Deut. 15:13–14), made the possession of a Hebrew slave very irksome. It was, therefore, not for productive purposes but rather for domestic service or concubinage that a few slaves were acquired by better situated masters. However, unemployment among free labor was often so great that one or another Hebrew slave may have chosen voluntarily to forego freedom and stay on after the expiration of the six-year term.

Surplus of free labor must have grown toward the end of the First Temple period as a result of the sharp inequalities which the prophets denounced. At that time many small farmers fell into debt and, unable to earn enough to pay the high rates of interest (probably collected under some subterfuge to avoid the even more far-reaching laws against usury), lost their land. Isaiah was not alone in exclaiming: "Woe unto them that join house to house, that lay field to field, till there be no room and ye be made to dwell alone in the midst of the land" (5:8; see also Hos. 5:10; Micah 2:1–2). The ensuing social unrest gave rise to the immortal calls for social justice by the great Israelite prophets. It also stimulated much idealistic social legislation (see below), the practical implementation of which left much to be desired. The rumblings of discontent among the masses helped to undermine the existing social order, particularly in Northern Israel with its constant revolts and assassinations of reigning monarchs. Of its ten ruling dynasties in the relatively short period of 931–721 B.C.E. all but two were replaced after the reign of one or two kings. Such instability was also ruinous for the country's economy and helped to bring about the disastrous fall of Samaria in 721 and of Jerusalem in 586 B.C.E. which spelled the end of the First Temple period.

Exile and Restoration

The fall of Jerusalem marked a turning point also in the economic history of the Jews. Not only was Palestine severely devastated – the reservations voiced by some modern scholars were disproved by the widespread desolation evidenced by archaeological diggings – but a large segment, perhaps the majority, of the Jewish population either perished during the war, was deported by the Babylonians, or emigrated voluntarily. The removal of the most active members of the community, including the royal house, the priests, the great landowners, and the artisans, further aggravated the effects of the depopulation and material destruction. Like the Philistine overlords of the early Israelite tribes, many ancient conquerors saw in the exile of smiths, the main suppliers of weapons as well as of industrial and agricultural tools, the best method of disarming the conquered population. Deprived of their leadership, the Israelites who remained behind were prone to adopt some of the more primitive ways of life and thought of their pagan neighbors.

On the other hand, the exiles to Babylonia joined the ever-growing Jewish dispersion. There are reasons to believe that a number of those deported from Northern Israel by the Assyrians in 733–719 B.C.E. had continued to profess their ancestral religion on the foreign soil. Their descendants, as well as those of the Judeans deported by Sennacherib in 702, now joined the groups of the new arrivals to form a powerful new community. (Only thus can we explain why those returning from the exile half a century later included descendants of families who had lived in Northern Israelite localities before the fall of Samaria; see Ezra 2:2ff. and the commentaries thereon.) They developed a new center in and around Nippur, the second largest city in Babylonia, which was located on the "river" Chebar, or rather the canal connecting the Euphrates and the Tigris. Here, both the new and old settlers now enjoyed the distinguished leadership of Ezekiel and many former Palestinian elders. They were also supported by surviving members of the royal family after Amel Marduk ("Evil-Merodach") released the imprisoned king of Judah, Jehoiachin, and restored him to a high position at the royal court of Babel. This release, narrated in the Bible (II Kings 25:27ff.) and confirmed also by Babylonian sources (E.F. Weidner in *Mélanges Dussaud*, 2 (1939), 923–35), seems to have laid the foundation for the development of the exilarchate, a remarkable institution which lent the dispersed Jews a focus of leadership, with few interruptions, for the following 2,000 years.

Besides Babylonia, Egypt also accommodated a number of Jewish communities; the best known being the Jewish military colony of *Elephantine in Upper Egypt, established perhaps as early as the seventh century by Psammetichus I to help defend the southern frontier of Egypt against Nubian raiders. Before long, Jewish settlers spread throughout the Middle East, especially after 549 B.C.E. when Cyrus and his successors founded the enormous Persian Empire, territorially exceeding in size even the later Roman Empire at the height of its grandeur. The author of the Book of Esther did not hesitate to place in the mouth of Haman, the anti-Jewish courtier in the capital of Susa, the accusation against "a certain people scattered abroad and dispersed among the peoples in all the provinces of thy kingdom; and their laws are diverse from those of every people" (3:8). Nor was Deutero-Isaiah guilty of vast exaggeration when he prophesied that "I [God] will bring thy seed from the east and gather thee from the west; I will… bring My sons from far and My daughters from the end of the earth" (Isa. 43:5–6).

This multitude of Jewish settlers appears to have been rather speedily integrated into the environmental economic structures. Despite their vivid messianic expectations, their majority followed Jeremiah's advice and built houses, took wives, and generally established themselves in their new countries on a semipermanent basis. In Babylonia, particularly, which at that time marched in the vanguard of a semicapitalistic civilization, Jews entered the stream of advanced mercantile exchanges. The people who at home had devoted itself largely to agriculture and small crafts now assumed an important role in *banking and far-flung commerce. Whether or not Jacob, the founder of the leading banking house of Egibi, was Jewish – there is some support for this hypothesis in the fact that loans were formally extended without interest, though the bankers collected the revenues from the mortgaged properties including slaves and cattle – there is no question that some Jewish landowners and businessmen wrote significant contracts with leading Babylonian capitalists. In the archives of the House of *Murashu, an important banking and warehousing firm, no less than 70 Jewish names have been identified. Some of the Jewish contracting parties, to be sure, merely undertook to raise sheep and goats in return for a specified annual delivery of cattle, butter, wool, and hides. Others obligated themselves to deliver to the firm 500 good fish within 20 days if they were provided with five nets and permits to fish in the firm's waters. But some major contracts were signed by wealthy Jewish landowners in their own right who traded with the Murashu Sons on a basis of equality.

In contrast, the Aramaic papyri of the Elephantine colony include business contracts representing rather small amounts, as was to be expected from a typical soldiers' camp which derived its main livelihood from cultivating the soil. Other Egyptian localities, particularly Migdol, Taphanhes, and Noph – mentioned by Jeremiah (44:1) and identified by scholars with Magdalos, Daphne, and Memphis in Lower Egypt – doubtless offered the Jewish settlers and other arrivals from the Asiatic mainland much wider business opportunities. Certain glimpses of such "higher" activities may be obtained from a number of other papyri which have come to light in recent decades.

In short, by acclimatizing themselves to their surroundings many Jews, especially those living in Babylonia, acquired considerable wealth and extensive political as well as business contacts with the ruling classes in the empire. They now could undertake the ambitious program of resettling thousands of their coreligionists in Palestine and to secure from the friendly Persian regime charters guaranteeing full autonomy to the reestablished community. In his original proclamation, *Cyrus himself provided that the Jews remaining behind should equip the returning exiles "with silver, and with gold, and with goods, and with beasts, beside the freewill offering for the house of God which is in Jerusalem" (Ezra 1:4). As a result, some 50,000 Jews, including approximately 7,000 slaves, left with Zerubbabel and another 5,000 later on under Ezra.

Not surprisingly, the returning Jews found the country in a chaotic state; they also encountered considerable hostility on the part of their new neighbors. To begin with, those families which, on the basis of their excellently kept genealogical records, started reclaiming the landed possessions of their ancestors evoked, as has often been the case elsewhere, the staunch resistance of the new owners. Before very long their "theocratic" leadership (a term later coined by Josephus to describe the new form of government in the Second Temple period) had to fight a protracted battle to stave off both the hostile actions of neighbors and excessive assimilation to them. For several centuries the Jewish autonomous area covered no more than some 1,200 square miles in and around Jerusalem. Cut off from the coastal region occupied by Phoenicians (as evidenced by the so-called Eshmunazarid inscriptions), they engaged in small-scale farming and petty trade and crafts. The socioeconomic difficulties encountered in the First Temple period now returned with increased severity because of the greater yoke of taxation imposed by the Persian bureaucracy, made doubly burdensome by the numerous gifts, bribes, and other "voluntary" contributions extracted by the Persian officials.

Once again the economic shortcomings brought about a state of unrest which boded ill for the future of the country. The complaints of the masses to the new governor, Nehemiah, were eloquently restated by him in his memoirs. They claimed:

> "We, our sons and our daughters, are many; let us get for them corn, that we may eat and live." Some also there were that said: "We are mortgaging our fields, and our vineyards, and our houses; let us get corn, because of the dearth." There were also that said: "We have borrowed money for the king's tribute upon our fields and our vineyards. Yet now our flesh is as the flesh of our brethren, our children as their children; and, lo, we bring into bondage our sons and our daughters to be servants, and some of our daughters are brought into bondage already; neither is it in our power to help it; for other men have our fields and our vineyards" (Neh. 5:2–5).

We are told, to be sure, that Nehemiah succeeded in persuading the upper classes to renounce their claims, to restore the fields to their rightful owners, and thus to reestablish for a while the social equilibrium. But the activities of this disinterested high official, who emphasized that he "demanded not the bread of the governor, because the service was heavy upon the people" (5:18), undoubtedly could offer but temporary relief. The conditions in the city of Jerusalem were no more satisfactory. Nehemiah actually had to take measures to prevent the flight of Jerusalemites, particularly the Temple personnel, to the countryside. Yet, the prolonged era of peace within the borders of the Persian Empire made life more or less bearable in the long run, and the country could look forward to better times.

Second Temple Period

The boundaries of the autonomous Jewish state, as established under Ezra and Nehemiah, did not expand, but there was a possibility for some Jews to settle in other parts of the country on both sides of the Jordan. While fertile Galilee was still called the *gelil ha-goyim* ("the district of gentiles"), the Jewish minority there was becoming a substantial factor. Transjordan, too, had a growing number of Jewish settlers. Alexander the Great's conquest of western Asia and the replacement of the Persian domination by that of Ptolemies and Seleucids opened up vast new opportunities for both Palestinian and Diaspora Jews. The new pervasive Hellenistic civilization greatly encouraged exchanges between the various provinces, including those between the Jews of Palestine and their ever growing Diaspora. Legally, too, under Alexander, Ptolemy I, and Antiochus the Great, Jewish self-government, with its implied economic freedoms, received a favorable interpretation. If, in time, the new Hellenistic culture began attracting many Jewish individuals, fostered their assimilation to Greek ways of life, and thereby created deep internal cleavages within the Jewish people, the ultimate result was the Hasmonean revolt and the establishment of a new and enlarged sovereign Jewish state. In the century between 165 and 63 B.C.E. the Hasmoneans conquered all of Palestine and Transjordan, converted most of the subject population to Judaism, and established a strong and populous Jewish country with but a few enclaves of Samaritans and Hellenistic city-states along the coast and in Transjordan.

Because the Temple of Jerusalem now served as a focal point for millions of dispersed Jews, the country benefited greatly from the influx of the half-shekels, imposed annually upon all adult male Jews, and from additional gifts voluntarily added by benefactors in various lands. A wealthy Egyptian Jew by the name of Nicanor, for example, provided the Temple with a brass gate named after him which allegedly required 20 men to open or close. In addition, thousands upon thousands of pilgrims from all lands considered it a high religious duty to visit the Temple and offer their sacrifices there at least once in a lifetime. Even Egyptian Jewry, which, for historic reasons, had built an independent Jewish "Temple of Onias" in the district of Leontopolis after the outbreak of the Maccabean revolt, continued to send to Palestine groups of pilgrims, including their spiritual leaders such as the Alexandrine philosopher Philo. Some pilgrims brought along with them substantial funds they had collected for Palestine in their home communities. Naturally, the coins collected by these cosmopolitan groups, as well as those spent by them during their stay in the Holy Land, greatly differed from one another in weight and value since many municipalities issued currencies of their own. To facilitate exchanges, the Palestinian authorities arranged for the opening of money-changing establishments in all parts of Palestine, including the Temple Mount, several weeks before Passover at the height of the pilgrim season. When Jesus "overthrew the tables of the money changers" in the Temple precincts (Matt. 21:12), he merely removed a facility which the visitors from many lands greatly appreciated.

Not surprisingly some large collections aroused the cupidity of Roman officials. One of them, Lucius Valerius *Flaccus, governor of Apamea, confiscated a local collection of 100 pounds of gold on the excuse that gold was not to be transferred to what in 59 B.C.E. still was a foreign country (despite Pompey's conquest of Palestine four years before). But in fact he merely sought to line his own pocket with the seized amount. However, he was promptly accused before the Roman senate of having committed a "sacrilege" on property belonging to a temple. He escaped severe punishment only after an effective defense by Cicero, whose eloquent plea, mixing Jew-baiting with purely legal arguments, still serves as a Latin textbook in many schools today. Later, Roman legislation, however, clarified the issue by placing all funds destined for the Jerusalem Temple, and later for the Palestinian patriarchs, under the protection of the laws governing sacrilege.

Domestically, too, the economy was surging upward. Agriculture still was the mainstay of the entire social structure. Benefiting from the accumulated energies of many generations, irrigation systems were installed in new areas, stimulating the annual output. True, in time, the needs of a quickly expanding population forced the farmers to put many marginal lands under cultivation. Probably for this reason R. Yose (second century) spoke of the seed yielding on the average a fivefold return in finished products (Ket. 112a), which contrasted with much higher yields in earlier periods. But some areas still produced the ten- or fifteenfold return characteristic of ancient Italy and even higher than ones recorded both in the First Temple era and in the talmudic period (see the exaggerations cited *ibid.*). Once again it was barley rather than wheat which was the mainstay of the bread diet. Dates, grapes, olives, and figs continued to furnish major ingredients for both domestic consumption and the export of surpluses. Remarkably, despite the growing population and the excessive costs of transportation, Palestine was able to export both cereals and fruits. Some of its choice fruits were served at the imperial tables in Rome, notwithstanding the competition of Italy, Spain, and Greece, all of which yielded similar products. A rarer plant was the papyrus grown in the Negev, the high price of which, however, maintained by the Egyptian state monopoly, made it noncompetitive as writing material with the far less expensive parchment, and still less costly ostracon. For its part Palestine had a sort of monopoly on the balsam tree, the growing of which was largely limited to the "fat lands of Jericho." Balsam was often sold for its weight in gold. During the Roman-Jewish War of 66–70, Pliny informs us, the Jewish defenders cut down the balsam trees lest they fall into the hands of the enemy; and "there have been pitched battles in defense of a shrub" (*Historia naturalis*, 12, 54:113).

It is small wonder that plants were considered a vital social asset of the country and cutting them down wantonly was treated as a serious crime. The term for cutting down plants was extended metaphorically to cover infringement on the fundamentals of the Jewish law and religion. To be called a "cutter, son of a cutter" became a superlative insult. The vine, palm, and olive trees were often used as symbols of the Jewish people; they still adorn many extant Jewish graves in ancient cemeteries and catacombs. Compared with agriculture, cattle raising played a rather minor role. While sheep were still needed to provide wool and milk products, meat was a relatively minor article of consumption. According to a second-century rabbi, "a man who owns 100 shekels shall buy a pound of vegetables for his stew; 1,000 shekels, shall buy a pound of fish; 5,000 shekels, a pound of meat [it is later explained: for the Sabbath]. Only if he owns 10,000 shekels, he may put his pot on the stove every day" (Ḥul. 84a). A major consumer of cattle was the Temple with its sacrificial worship, particularly on Passover when thousands of families lined up to offer their paschal lambs. However, the total production could probably be provided by the outlying steppes in Transjordan and the south, where more intensive cultivation was impeded by the shortage of water. With this geographic differentiation also went a cultural disparity, since the cattle-raising areas were removed from the main center of learning. As a result we may understand the transition from the high esteem of the shepherd in the First Temple period to the low status he held before and after the second fall of Jerusalem. Although conscious that in the Hebrew Bible God Himself was often compared to the "good shepherd," the rabbis now deprecated the shepherd not only as an illiterate person but also as a man untrustworthy to testify in court. Pigeon fanciers were likewise rejected as witnesses because they often engaged in aleatory games which were very popular throughout the Greco-Roman world.

In trade and industry the changes created by the new opportunities consisted in the main of the intensification of existing trends rather than of any change of direction or basic innovation. During most of the period the Jewish population remained cut off from the coastal area, the old Philistines and Phoenicians having been replaced by the Hellenistic city-states. Josephus' observation, "Ours is not a maritime country; neither commerce nor the intercourse which it promotes with the outside world has any attraction for us" (*Against Apion*, 1:60) was generally true, in spite of the Maccabeans' determined drive to the sea, which was blocked by the Roman conquest, and the presence of substantial Jewish minorities in Jaffa and Caesarea, the harbor newly founded by Herod. Yet some Jews engaged in maritime commerce, owned ships, and even participated in Mediterranean piracy. During the Jewish War of 66–70, the pirates actually threatened to reduce the supplies to the Roman legions by blockading the port of Jaffa. But the majority of Jewish merchants consisted of shopkeepers, agents, and other petty traders.

Industry, too, was conducted on a very small scale. As before, Jews often organized guilds of their own. This movement was stimulated by the growth of Greco-Roman guilds which were often endowed with special privileges by the administration. As before, some crafts were concentrated in special villages or had assigned to them special quarters in the cities. In the battle for Jerusalem, the Romans stormed "that district of the new town, where lay the wool shops, the braziers' smithies, and the clothes market" (Jos., Wars, 5:331). While the country was poor in metals, almost all of which had to be imported, it distinguished itself in the production of textiles, particularly linen. In the later price list of Emperor Diocletian the highest price was assigned to the linen produced at Beth-Shean (Scythopolis). The Dead Sea region supplied the country with a variety of minerals; it was renamed by the Romans the "Lacus Asphaltitis." Another series of industrial opportunities was created by the Temple. Because of its holiness and partial inaccessibility to laymen some tasks had to be performed by priests, so that we hear of 1,000 priests serving as skilled craftsmen at one time.

In general, the economic situation in the country might have been tolerable, were it not for the excessive fiscal exploitation by both Herodians and Romans and their corrupt bureaucracies. Ancient governments usually placed the main tax burdens on the farmers. As a major concession Caesar reduced the state's share in the farm produce from one-third to one-quarter. However, in actual practice the publicans, who farmed the taxes against lump sums, as a rule exacted more than their due. In Jewish Palestine, moreover, according to biblical law, the farmer was also expected to set aside a first tithe to the levite, a heave offering averaging 2% to the priests, and an additional second tithe to be consumed in two out of three years in Jerusalem, and to be distributed among the poor every third year. Through the observance of the year of fallowness the farmer not only lost the crop of the seventh year but often had no incentive to cultivate the soil in the preceding year. There also was much chicanery in the collection of tithes. The total number of priests and levites seems not to have exceeded 3% of the population – it may not have exceeded 1% of the world Jewish population – and hence the 12% of the produce should have provided sufficient income for all of them. Yet the powerful priestly families used their political power to the disadvantage of their fellow priests. Josephus states that the servants of High Priest Ananias (47–59 C.E.) "went to the threshing floors and took away tithes that belonged to the priests by violence, and did not refrain from beating such as would not give these tithes to them… so that priests that of old were wont to be supported with those tithes died for want of food" (Ant., 20:181).

As a result many farmers, crushed by these combined burdens and unable to resist the state-supported publicans, often disregarded the law of tithing altogether. In consequence, they appeared suspect to the orthodox leadership. Because of the prohibition on consuming untithed food there was practically no conviviality between observant Pharisees (or Sadducees) and the *am ha-areẓ* ("people of the land"), creating an almost unbridgeable class division (see Ber. 47b, and the exaggerations in Pes. 49b). Economically, too, the farmers were often unable to meet their obligations and lost their properties to better situated neighbors. Although Palestine never developed *latifundia* comparable with those existing in contemporary Italy, the number and size of "large estates" grew from generation to generation. The concomitant evils of absentee landlordism became even more manifest now, since after the Maccabean expansion the capital, Jerusalem, was located at a considerable distance from those estates.

The great difficulties confronting the small farmer and his ensuing migration to the cities resulted in a rapid increase of the urban proletariat. Although many small towns continued to engage in a mixed economy in which agriculture still played a predominant role, the larger cities, especially Jerusalem, developed into centers of trade, industry, and governmental bureaucracy. Into such cities streamed thousands of landless peasants seeking employment as unskilled laborers at below-subsistence wages. Understandably, the role of slavery constantly diminished. Not being a conquering country, Palestine had few prisoners of war, while purchasing slaves at the prevailing high prices was even less remunerative now that a vast army of underpaid free laborers was readily available. Hebrew slavery, in particular, hedged around by a variety of legal restrictions, to all intents and purposes disappeared completely. The rabbis phrased it metaphorically: "The Hebrew slave existed only when the Jubilee Year was in force" (Kid. 20a, 69a). Gentile slavery, too, played a small role in the agricultural and industrial production and was largely limited to domestic service.

Once again economic disarray combined with other socioreligious and political conflicts to bring about a social turmoil in the country which prepared the ground for its ultimate downfall. The great Roman-Jewish War of 66–70 was an almost unavoidable consequence. With it came the destruction of the Temple and the end of its hierarchy as well as of whatever residua of national independence had still remained after

6 C.E. when Judea was incorporated into the Roman Empire as a mere subdivision of the Syrian province. Thenceforth the center of gravity of the whole people shifted more and more to the Diaspora lands.

Talmudic Era

Before the fall of Jerusalem the majority of the Jewish people had long lived outside Palestine. Yet the course of Jewish history was largely determined by the Palestinian leadership and society. Only Egypt acted in a more independent way and Alexandria, its great emporium of trade and culture, served as Jerusalem's counterpart, as it was designated by the Palestinian leaders in their letter to Judah b. Tabbai (TJ, Ḥag. 2:2). Even Babylonia, upon which soon descended the mantle of leadership of the whole people, was rather inarticulate about its Jewish life until the third century C.E., when it came under the neo-Persian domination. Outside these two centers there is some information about the Jews of *Rome, owing to the preservation of numerous catacomb inscriptions, as well as occasional references, mostly in an anti-Jewish vein, in contemporary Latin letters. As to the multitude of Jews inhabiting Syria, Asia Minor, the Balkans, and North Africa west of Egypt, we are limited to stray flashes of light thrown by a few surviving inscriptions, the Pauline Epistles, and other sporadic sources. Before long, the distinction between Palestine Jewry and those of other countries became increasingly blurred as the former gradually lost their position as a majority of the Palestinian population.

Minority status understandably affected also the Jewish economic structure. Many Mediterranean communities may have owed their origin to Jewish prisoners of war taken by the Romans and sold into slavery. This was particularly true of the capital itself. To be sure, the Jews did not long remain in bondage. Because many Jewish slaves insisted upon observing the Sabbath rest commandment and abstained from consuming ritually forbidden food, they must have been uncomfortable workers and domestic servants. On the other hand, Jewish families and communities bent every effort to redeem captives, a commandment placed high in the hierarchy of values by the ancient rabbis. Roman law facilitated manumission inasmuch as freedmen retained certain connections with their patrons – whose family names they usually assumed – and performed important economic services for them. According to law, moreover, freedmen enjoyed a limited Roman citizenship, while their descendants were treated as full-fledged citizens with rights far superior to those of other citizens in the complex political structure of the empire before 312 C.E. Economically, however, such privileged citizens at first joined only the vast group of landless proletarians. Especially in Rome many of them joined the estimated 200,000 welfare clients (about a fourth of the population). In fact, Augustus singled out the Jewish welfare recipients for special favors. Taking into account their religious scruples, he allowed them to demand a double portion of the grain due them on Friday so that they would not have to violate the Sabbath. He also gave them the option of refusing oil, the other major article of consumption given away free, and to ask for money instead. In this way the Roman emperor decided a question still controversial among Palestinian rabbis as to whether "the oil of gentiles" was prohibited for Jewish consumption.

Nevertheless some former slaves and many free immigrants found ultimate employment in agriculture. Most of them had been engaged in farming at home and, wherever given the opportunity, they tilled the soil either as small farmers or as hired hands. In the major countries of their settlement, particularly Egypt and Babylonia, many of them cultivated vineyards, which they and the Greeks seem to have introduced into Egypt, and olive groves, in the planting of which their ancestors appear to have pioneered in Babylonia. They also helped produce dates and other fruits, as well as grain. Dates were particularly plentiful and inexpensive. The Palestinian rabbi Ulla upon arriving in Babylonia exclaimed: "A whole basket of dates for a *zuz* [28 cents] and yet the Babylonians do not study the Torah!" But after overindulging in dates, which caused him a stomach upset, he varied his epigram by saying: "A whole basket of poison for a *zuz*, and yet the Babylonians study the Torah!" (Pes. 88a). To facilitate their coreligionists' agricultural pursuits in competition with non-Jewish farmers, the Babylonian sages quite early suspended the obligation of Diaspora Jews to observe the years of fallowness and even the payment of levitical tithes. They included these requirements among "commandments dependent on the land" of Israel, that is, as being binding only for Palestine. Later on, under the pressure of Roman taxation and particularly after the reform of Diocletian (who instituted the collection in kind of the land tax from territorial groups (so-called *iugera*) regardless of the ethnic or religious differences among the owners of particular parcels of land) R. Yannai ordered even the Palestinian farmers to "go out and sow during the Sabbatical Year because of the tax" (Sanh. 26a).

Certain industrial activities, such as the brewing of beer, were also connected with *agriculture. Unlike Palestine, whose population preferred table wines, Babylonia had from ancient times consumed much beer, one variety being brewed from a mixture of barley and dates. No less than three distinguished Babylonian rabbis, *Huna, *Ḥisda, and *Papa, are recorded as having amassed considerable wealth from brewing. Jews were also active in many other crafts, and at times organized specific Jewish guilds. The crafts of tanners (see *Leather), collectors of dog dung, and copper miners were, however, considered so malodorous that the law permitted wives to sue for divorce on this ground. Nevertheless everybody knew that they were socially necessary and all that Judah ha-Nasi could say was that "the world cannot get along without either a perfumer or a tanner. Happy is he whose occupation is perfuming. Woe unto him who must earn a living as a tanner" (Kid. 4:14; 82a-b). Complaints of unethical practices by craftsmen were also heard; an example of such prejudices was the popular adage that "the best of surgeons belongs to Hell, and the most conscientious of butchers is a partner of Amalek." Judah bar Ilai, who reported this saying, also drew a line of demarcation between different types of transport workers. He contended that "most of the donkey drivers are evildoers, most of the camel drivers are honest, most of the sailors are pious." The latter's reputation may have been owing to the fact that *shipping had now become an even more important occupation than in earlier centuries. The Alexandrian Jewish guild of *navicularii* had become so important that even the hostile Roman administration had to extend it important privileges in 390 C.E. (*Codex Theodosianus*, 13, 5, 8).

Perhaps the most significant economic change, resulting from the transfer of the center of gravity to the dispersion, occurred in the much larger Jewish participation in commerce. It is a well-known sociological phenomenon that alien immigrants often turn to mercantile endeavors because they have no attachment to the foreign soil, shun isolated living among native majorities, are familiar with two or more languages and cultures, and hence are able the better to mediate between distant localities. If, as seems to have been the case, a large number of former Phoenicians and Carthaginians had joined the Jewish community via conversion, they must have brought some of their commercial skills and contacts into their new communities. Jewish slaves, if employed in their masters' businesses, must also have acquired certain aptitudes which they put to good use upon obtaining freedom. For all these reasons the number of Jewish traders, ranging from peddlers to big merchants, must have greatly increased. Yet their ratio in the Jewish population of the Diaspora need not have greatly exceeded the general mercantile ratios among the majority of peoples.

Even banking began to assume a certain role in Jewish economic life. True, would-be Jewish moneylenders faced the tremendous obstacles of the traditional Jewish anti-usury laws. In fact, some rabbis tried, on segregationist grounds, to forbid their coreligionists to lend money with or without interest even to gentiles, unless they found absolutely no other means of earning a living (BM 70b). However, there were always legal subterfuges which made loans profitable, such as high conventional fines for missing the repayment date, intervening in utilization of mortgaged properties, and the like (see, e.g., *The Tebtunis Papyri*, 3, 1902, ed. by B.P. Grenfell et al., 315ff., nos. 817–8; E.N. Adler, introd. to his ed. of *The Adler Papyri*, 1939, 5f.). In Alexandria Jewish banking may have played a certain role even in nurturing the anti-Jewish animus of the population. This is, at least, the interpretation given by some scholars to an Alexandrian merchant's warning to a friend "to beware of the Jews" recorded in a single papyrus dated 41 C.E. (*Aegyptische Urkunden aus… Berlin, Griechische Urkunden*, 2, no. 1079). But this explanation has been cogently disputed. There is no question, however, that Philo's relatives, Alexander and Demetrius, holding the high position of *alabarchs* (the meaning of this term is still controversial), could enter banking on a large scale. For example, Alexander extended to Agrippa I the substantial loan of 200,000 sesterces (about $30,000), the bulk of which he paid out to the Jewish king from his Italian branch office in Putoli-Dikaerchia (Jos., Ant., 18:160). But these were exceptions confirming the rule that the majority of Jews were still very poor and eking out a living by hard work in various occupations.

On the other hand, in the talmudic age Jewish slavery played even less of a role than before. Jewish masters, rigidly circumscribed by law, did not enjoy employing coreligionists as slaves. A popular adage had it that "he who buys a Hebrew slave acquires a master unto himself" (Kid. 20a). Certainly, as aids in production, even gentile slaves could not compete with the readily available free laborers. The Roman *colonate* with half-free sharecroppers tilling the soil for the landlords only developed toward the end of antiquity. Characteristically, the new Christian empire after Constantine I, which totally outlawed Jewish ownership of Christian slaves and encouraged pagan slaves to obtain freedom by conversion to Christianity, was prepared to tolerate the employment of Christian *coloni* by Jewish farmers (Gregory I, *Epistolae*, 4:21, 9:38). Even Jewish slave trading (see *Slavery and the *Slave Trade), which was to play a certain role in the early Middle Ages still, was quite insignificant.

In all these activities Jews depended even more than before on the general economic transformations which took place during the first centuries of the Christian era. The Roman Empire's semicapitalistic economy of the first two centuries increasingly gave way to a semifeudal system. The Sassanian Empire never reached the stage of relative economic freedom of the early Roman Empire. Jews, as well as their intellectual leaders, had to make constant adjustments to both economic systems through the adaptation of traditional laws by way of interpretation. As a consequence of this pliability, rabbinic legislation was to prove quite useful to the Jewish communities in their medieval pioneering. One result of the growing state controls in both empires was a certain regimentation in occupations and price structures, which also induced the Jews to organize their own zoning tariffs in transportation, supervision of weights and measures, and even setting maximum prices. Even the unfriendly Theodosius I decreed in 396 that "no one outside the Jewish faith should fix prices for Jews" – a principle upheld by his successors (*Codex Theodosianus*, 16, 8, 10). On the other hand, because of the ensuing commercial restrictions, customs barriers, and innumerable official fees, the exchanges between the provinces of the Roman Empire were now severely hampered. This reduction in imperial and international commerce greatly stimulated the local and regional autarky and helped to create in many parts of the empire highly diversified occupational structures, providing for most of the needs of the local populations. These developments account also for the greater diversity of occupations among Jews from the third century onward.

Economically perhaps even more important was the sharp decline in the class struggle within the Jewish community. Confronted with indiscriminate hostility on the part of many neighbors, Jews, whether rich or poor, employers or employees, had to close ranks. Since the hostile state legislation often interfered with their ability to earn a livelihood, many Jews now depended on the ramified Jewish welfare system. The economic effects of anti-Jewish riots also were quite significant. Although far from resembling medieval massacres, the occasional anti-Jewish outbreaks in the Middle Eastern cities seriously interfered with Jewish business activities. The first major anti-Jewish riot, staged by the Alexandrian mob with the support of the Roman governor Avilius Flaccus, is well described by Philo, an eyewitness. In his indictment of Flaccus, the philosopher wrote:

> But cessation of business was a worse evil than plundering. The provision merchants had lost their stores, and no one was allowed, either farmer or shipper or trader or artisan, to engage in his normal occupation. Thus poverty was brought about from both quarters, both from plunder, for in one day they were dispossessed and stripped of their property, and from inability to earn a living from their normal occupations (*In Flaccum*, 7:57).

Even in less stormy periods the Jewish masses required the intercession of their leaders to counteract inimical measures by unfriendly officials. Under these harsh conditions the old ritualistic animosities between the learned and the illiterate *am ha-areẓ* paled into insignificance. In any case, the main obstacle to rapprochement between the two classes was eliminated when the levitical tithes were discontinued in the Diaspora. Differences in the study of Torah were likewise toned down by the leading Palestinian rabbi Johanan's declaration (in the name of R. Simeon b. Yoḥai) that the biblical commandment, "This book of the law shall not depart out of thy mouth" (Josh. 1:8), could be fulfilled by the mere recitation of the *Shema* in the morning and evening. If, because of fear that the disclosure of this statement might discourage study, the rabbis forbade its being given wide currency; the fourth-century Babylonian Raba, however, insisted that it be divulged to the public (Men. 99b; see also the anecdote about Judah ha-Nasi's reconsideration in BB 8a). In short, even illiterate Jews could now fulfill their religious duties to the satisfaction of their more learned brethren.

Muslim Middle Ages

After the rise of Islam and its speedy expansion from southern France to India, Jewish economic life took a drastic turn. Together with the simultaneous developments in Christian Europe, *Islam's perennial antagonist, the new political and socioeconomic evolution for the first time converted a predominantly agricultural Jewish population into a people of merchants, moneylenders, and artisans. This lopsided economic stratification carried over into the modern period and was only slightly rectified in the emancipation era.

A major cause of this epochal change was the new treatment of Jews by the host nations as primarily an indispensable source of fiscal revenue for the respective governments and bureaucracies. In the declining Roman Empire and, still more, in Sassanian *Persia, Jews were often considered important objects of fiscal exploitation. This, however, was largely done by administrative chicanery within the generally oppressive taxation systems in the two empires. Jews and pagans in the Christian Roman Empire and Byzantium, and Jews and Christians in Zoroastrian *Iran may have been mere defenseless victims of arbitrary acts by rapacious officials; or, for special historic reasons, they may have been forced after the fall of Jerusalem to pay for a time a special tax, the so-called *fiscus judaicus* (in lieu of the old Jewish Temple tax); but they were not singled out, as a matter of principle, as a separate class of taxpayers on whose shoulders was supposed to rest the main burden of financially maintaining the existing governmental structures.

It was left to the founder of Islam to enunciate the broad general commandment: "Fight those who do not practice the religion of truth from among those to whom the Book has been brought, until they pay the tribute by their hands, and they be reduced low" (*Qur'an* 9:29). Later Muslim jurists and statesmen, constantly invoking this injunction of their messenger, interpreted it to mean that Jews, Christians, and for a time also Zoroastrians, as "people of the book," that is as adherents of scriptural religions, be tolerated in Muslim countries, provided they pay "tribute," that is taxes of all kinds, and are kept in a low social status without exercising any control over faithful Muslims. The latter provision (similar to Christian Rome's denial to Jews of the *honos militiae et administrationis*) was supposed to entrust all responsibility for the defense of the country and its administration to the Muslims, while delegating the entire fiscal burden and the task of keeping the economy alive to the infidel or "protected" peoples. Though *Muhammad himself left the details open, some extremists, such as Ash-Shafiʿī, founder of one of the four influential schools of Muslim jurisprudence, contended that a Muslim state could exact tribute to the extent of two-thirds of all his possessions from a Jewish or Christian subject.

The prevailing practice was to collect from these religious minorities a land tax of 25% of the crops and a poll tax from adult and able-bodied males. According to Abu Yusuf, Caliph Harun al-Rashid's chief fiscal expert, the Christians and Jews were divided into three income classes and paid 1 dinar, 2 dinars, and 4 dinars, respectively (*Kitab al-Kharaj*, 69ff. (Ar.), 187ff. (Fr.); a dinar was valued about $4 by its weight in gold, but had many times that value in purchasing power). Despite the great inflationary changes in the following three centuries, *Obadiah (Johannes), the Norman proselyte, recorded an increase by only half a dinar for each of these classes. He added that if a delinquent Jewish taxpayer died his body could not be buried unless his family or the Jewish community paid up all tax arrears (*Fragment*, ed. by A. Scheiber, in: KS, 30 (1954/55), 98). These basic imposts were augmented by a variety of local and individual taxes, enforced "gifts" and loans, and other services which made the life of the Jewish masses very difficult. But at least in periods of rapid economic progress, as in the ninth century, some Jews of the upper classes were able to amass sizable fortunes.

Methods of tax collection aggravated the generally arbitrary and unpredictable forms of fiscal exploitation. They were also designed to demonstrate the taxpayers' inferiority. A description preserved in an old papyrus gives an inkling of the deliberately humiliating ceremony accompanying the delivery by a representative Jew or Christian of a sum collected from his community. "Then the emir," we are told, "gives him a blow on the neck, and a guard, standing upright before the emir, drives him roughly away… The public is admitted to enjoy this show" (J. Karabacek, in *Mitteilungen aus der Sammlung der Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer,* 2–3, 1962, 178). Occasionally, following an old Babylonian custom, the tax receipt was stamped on the taxpayer's neck in a more or less indelible form. Needless to say, the Jews resented such excesses. However, they realized that their special taxation was the main justification for their being allowed to live in Muslim countries altogether. A Jewish family chronicle mentions that the prominent Baghdad Jewish banker, Netira, on being told by Caliph Al-Mutaḍid (c. 892) that the administration wished to eliminate all special Jewish taxes, allegedly dissuaded the ruler from such drastic action. He agreed that a reduction of the tax to its original size would be a blessing for his community, but he added, "Through the tax the Jew insures his existence. By eliminating it, you would give free rein to the populace to shed Jewish blood" (A. Harkavy, in: *Festschrift Berliner* (1903), 36 (Ar.), 39 (Heb.)). In the back of Netira's mind may also have loomed the danger that anyone of Al-Mutaḍid's successors might not only reinstate the taxes but also demand from the Jews the instantaneous repayment of all arrears thus accrued.

One effect of this discriminatory fiscal pressure was the constant diminution of the Jewish share in agriculture. Even after the extension of the land tax to the growing Muslim majority, many farmers were unable to meet their obligations to the state. Jewish farmers had the additional burden of the heavy poll tax paid in produce at a price arbitrarily set by the tax collector. The requirements of Jewish law, too, particularly the Sabbath rest commandment, which was much more stringent than the rest precepts of the Muslim Friday and Christian Sunday, generally made Jewish agricultural endeavor less competitive. There is evidence that in the days of Harun al-Rashid (766–809) the land flight of Palestinian farmers was so severe that the government was forced to appeal for their return under the promise of permanent tax abatement. The chances are that fewer Jews returned after having found shelter in one or another urban Jewish community. The growing disorders in the great caliphate from the tenth century on must also have induced many Jewish villagers, whose defenselessness invited attacks by marauders, to leave their landed properties – despite their great attachment to their ancestral soil attested by some geonic sources – and settle in a somewhat more secure urban Jewish quarter. Beginning in the 12th century the increasingly powerful trends toward semifeudalism throughout the Middle East further militated against Jewish farming as they did, on a larger scale, in contemporary Christian Europe.

On the other hand, new opportunities beckoned to Jews in the commercial area. The general upsurge of the Middle East economy during the first centuries of Muslim rule, the rise of great metropolitan areas such as *Baghdad and *Cairo, and, for a time, uniformity and stability of currency and relative security in travel and transportation, all stimulated the expansion of mercantile activities on the part of merchants of various nationalities. Commerce was generally held in higher esteem than agriculture among Middle Eastern Muslims, Christians, and Jews. Al-*Farabi voiced the prevailing notions that "villages are in the service of cities." While in the internal exchanges within the caliphate the Jews encountered severe competition on the part of several equally gifted mercantile groups, including Greeks, Armenians (increasingly muslimized), Syrians, and even Arabs – a popular Middle Eastern adage was to state later that one Greek could cheat two Jews, and one Armenian could cheat two Greeks – Jewish merchants had certain advantages in domestic and, even more, in international trade.

In the first place their competitors often came from regions of diverse legal systems. Most of the Christian merchants followed deep-rooted customs and traditions of the former provinces of the Byzantine Empire. The Muslims, too, were divided in their mercantile and other civil laws through the disparate teachings of their four major schools of Muslim jurisprudence and the great variations of local and regional customs. These factors were far less pronounced in the case of Jews. Although the Babylonian and Palestinian laws often differed in many significant details, a growing majority of Jews, settled in the great caliphate and adjoining countries, increasingly came under the sway of the Babylonian Talmud and its official interpretation by the geonic academies of Babylonia. At the same time the presence of Jewish communities throughout the far-flung empire and in many neighboring countries, both east and west, assured Jewish merchant travelers a brotherly reception and help in emergencies wherever they went. They could also readily establish branch offices, and engage a number of dependable local agents. Examples like those recorded in the documents preserved in the Cairo **Genizah* have shown the vast geographic extension of the mercantile dealings of certain Cairo-Fostat firms. In 1115–17 one Abu ʿImran gave a power of attorney to an agent surnamed "the candle maker" to look after all his business undertakings in Sicily, *Morocco, and other localities, as well as to manage his houses in Spain and Sicily. Another businessman, Ḥalfon b. Nethanel, after returning to *Aden in 1134 from a prolonged stay in India, soon thereafter traveled to Cairo. In the following year we find him in Morocco and *Spain before his return home (H. Hirschfeld, in: JQR, 16 (1925/26), 280f.; S.D. Goitein, *Speculum*, 29 (1954), 186f.)

An even greater advantage accrued to Jewish merchants in the burgeoning international trade with Western Europe. Although the Carolingian Empire and its successor states were still economically quite backward, their growing landed aristocracy furnished many customers for the luxury articles imported from Eastern lands. Here Jewish traders served as important mediators in a world divided between Islam and Christendom. Few Western merchants traveled to the Middle East, despite occasional Christian pilgrimages to the Holy Land, while even fewer Arabs dared to enter the hostile Christian countries for any length of time. Jews were tolerated under both civilizations. The legal advantages arising from the uniformity of their law were even greater in this area, since Christian and Muslim laws diverged very greatly and familiarity with each other's legal systems was extremely rare. The Jews also had a linguistic advantage in being able to communicate with one another, whereas few Christians knew Arabic and still fewer Arabs could converse in Latin or any local dialect. But a few polyglot individuals could occasionally serve as interpreters. We hear of a ninth-century Jewish linguist named Sallam, apparently a native of Spain or Khazaria, who in 845 reached the "wall of Gog and Magog" in China and who allegedly was able to converse in 30 languages. Multilingual documents were also found in the Cairo *Genizah*. When Charlemagne decided to send an embassy to Harun al-Rashid he had to add a Jewish interpreter, named Isaac, to the mission. It turned out that the chief noble envoys died on the journey and Isaac alone returned from Baghdad, bearing gifts from the Eastern potentate to the Western emperor. In general, however, Hebrew could easily serve as the regular medium of communication among Jewish merchants under both Islam and Christendom, and by the ninth century it had become a leading international language.

In his oft-cited *Kitab al-Masalik* ("Book of Routes"), written in 846 and revised some 40 years later, Ibn Khurdadhbah, who held in the caliphate an office approximating that of a modern postmaster general, described the routes taken by the Jewish *Radaniya (Radhanites; a word of uncertain etymology and meaning) from northern France and southern Morocco to India and China. He wrote:

> These merchants speak Arabic, Persian, Roman [Greek and Latin], the Frank, Spanish, and Slav languages. They journey from West to East, from East to West, partly on land, partly by sea. They transport from the West eunuchs, female slaves, boys, brocade, castor, marten and other furs, and swords. They take ship from Firanja [France] on the Western Sea, and make for Farama [Pelusium]… On their return from China they carry back musk, aloes, camphor, cinnamon, and other products of the Eastern countries… Some make sail for Constantinople to sell their goods to the Romans; others go to the palace of the King of Franks to place their goods… These different journeys can also be made by land (pp. 153ff.; E.N. Adler, *Jewish Travellers*, 1966, p. 2).

There is some reason to believe that Western Jewish merchants quite early reached even Korea and Japan.

Ibn Khurdadhbah's statement helped support what soon became a Christian ecclesiastical myth, adopted by some modern historians, about an extensive Jewish slave trade in the Middle Ages. Medieval and modern controversialists from St. Agobard, archbishop of Lyons, onward, often pointed a finger at the medieval Jews as the main slave traders who transported Christian slaves, especially from Slavonic countries, to the ever more manpower-hungry Middle East and Muslim Spain. They readily overlooked the staggering legal barriers erected against that trade by both Jewish and gentile laws. Islam and Christendom severely outlawed the possession by Jews of Muslim or Christian slaves respectively. On its part, the Talmud had long demanded that a slave acquired by a Jewish master should be circumcised, made to observe the seven Noachide commandments, and live an essentially Jewish life. If a slave refused to be converted within 12 months, he was to be freed or sold to a gentile master. Female slavery, mainly intended to serve sexual purposes, was made difficult for Jewish slaveholders by the strict prohibition on sexual relations with slave girls. Typical of the provisions of Jewish law was the following statement by the ninth-century Babylonian teacher Natronai Gaon: "If a son of Israel is caught with his slave… she is to be removed from him, sold, and the purchase price distributed among Israel's poor. We also flog him, shave his hair, and excommunicate him for 30 days" (*Sha'arei Ẓedek*, fol. 25a, attributed to Amram Gaon). The trade in eunuchs, so much in demand for Oriental harems, depended on whether the Jewish slave trader could acquire castrated males. Otherwise talmudic law had long included castration among the physical mutilations which entitled the slave to seek immediate release. Responsibility for a slave's hidden blemishes, both mental and physical, was greatly delimited by talmudic law and hence anyone acquiring a slave ran considerable risks. If some Jews, defying these legal difficulties, were attracted to this extremely lucrative commercial branch, they must have constituted but a minority among the international slave traders and doubtless played an even smaller role in the various domestic slave markets throughout the world of Islam. It is not surprising, therefore, to find that in the vast, populous, and affluent North African lands, hardly any reference to Jewish slave traders appears in the extant Muslim and Jewish sources of the time.

Under the rule of medieval Islam Jews also entered the money trade in all its ramifications in an important way. Some of them played a considerable role in the very *minting of coins. Under Caliph Abd al-Malik (695–96), for example, one Sumeir helped set up a very important monetary reform which so impressed a Jewish homilist that he placed it among the signs of the approaching Messiah (PDR, XXIX, ed. by Michael Higger, in: *Horeb*, 10 (1948) 193f.; in G. Friedlander's English trans., p. 221). Other Jewish minters are recorded in various Muslim and Christian countries, though not in Byzantium where minting was an effective state monopoly. Some of the first coins issued by Poland in the 11th and 12th centuries bore inscriptions in the Hebrew alphabet, probably because the minter was most familiar with that script. Money changing likewise became a very widespread and profitable trade, particularly after the dissolution of the caliphate when diverse coins from various lands began appearing in all large mercantile centers. Considerable expertise was required in order to recognize defects, whether inflicted by coin clippers or by the admixture of undue amounts of alloy. Here, too, internationally experienced Jewish dealers were often in a favored position. Deposit banking also assumed a major economic role. Unlike the ancient temples and medieval churches, neither mosques nor synagogues ever served as important depositories of funds. Because of the relative absence of expulsions and large-scale massacres of Jews in Muslim countries, Jewish bankers were considered a fairly secure outlet for surplus funds which, if profitably invested, could yield substantial profits to both depositors and depositaries. To be sure, in unstable periods an arbitrary official (for instance, Al-Baridi, governor of Al-Aḥwaz) could seize the bankers' possessions, including deposits held by them for other accounts, without compensation. But the depositors running afoul a dignitary's personal greed or whim found keeping their funds at home no less risky. In general, however, the frequency and usefulness of the new methods were so great that the rabbis had to relax some ancient restrictions and alter the areas of responsibility on the part of the depositaries in order to facilitate their operations.

Similarly, the transfer of large amounts from one province to another in the vast empire and beyond its boundaries became the more imperative as carrying cash to a distant locality by land or sea became increasingly hazardous. Gangs of robbers on land were far exceeded in number and efficiency by both Mediterranean and Indian Ocean pirates. The North African coast and the extended coastline of the Arabian Peninsula served as particularly useful hideouts for corsairs. If the Talmud had objected to the method of transferring money through a deed called *dioqni* (derived from sign), and some medieval rabbis still opposed the bearer instrument called *suftaja* in Arabic (which Jews apparently helped develop jointly with the Arabs), the economic realities were such that the *geonim* had to yield and recognize its employment as a legitimate mercantile usage, "lest the commercial transactions of the people be nullified" (*Teshuvot ha-Ge'onim*, 1887, ed. by A.E. Harkavy, nos. 199, 423, 467). Ultimately, Samuel b. Hophni, head of the academy of Sura, felt impelled to write a special legal monograph on "Letters of Authorization" (*Sefer ha-Harsha'ot*). Nor did the *Kairouan scholar Nissim b. Jacob hesitate to use a *suftaja* in forwarding a gift for the support of the Babylonian academies.

Even more important, of course, was the large-scale Jewish participation in the increasingly vital credit system. Although all three major religions tried to outlaw usury – the Muslim *riba* being even more broadly defined than the Christian *usura* or the Jewish *ribbit* – the economic needs of credit became overwhelming. Since most loans were now extended not to impoverished farmers but rather to businessmen or government officials for use in trade or public administration, the outlawry of any kind of increment over the amounts lent lost its moral justification. Jews were in a strategic position to overcome the legal obstacles, as they were the relatively smallest group in the population and, even if observing the prohibition of charging interest to coreligionists, could engage in profitable *moneylending with the large majority of borrowers of other denominations. All sorts of legal evasions, moreover, were conceived by jurists of all groups, although this system was never quite so refined as it was to become in medieval Europe. One of the simplest expedients appeared to be a fictitious sale of income-producing property with the right of repurchase which gave the lender the opportunity of collecting the revenue of that property during the interim. The widespread *commenda* contract, in which the investor appeared as a partner in the enterprise, likewise offered him the opportunity of exacting the pledge that he would participate in the ultimate sale with a specified profit regardless of possible losses. It was this form of purported silent partnership with a guaranteed revenue which was most widely used to secure for the lender an income agreed upon in advance. Until today, some pious Jews still enter on a bond of indebtedness the words *al ẓad hetter iska* (often in abbreviated form, see *Usury) to indicate their mental reservation against the transgression of the biblical commandment.

During periods of quiet, profits derived from banking could be enormous. As a result there emerged a number of wealthy Jewish bankers, especially in the metropolitan areas of Baghdad, Cairo, *Alexandria, Kairouan, *Fez, and *Córdoba. These banking firms did not limit their activities to loans but usually engaged in related businesses such as trade in jewelry and precious metals, investment in real estate, and the like. They often had at their disposal large funds deposited with them by high government officials secreting away illicit income from briberies. Ibn al-Furat, a leading vizier of early tenth-century Baghdad, admitted having had large deposits with the two Jewish bankers Aaron b. Amram and Joseph b. Phinehas. In return, the bankers had to perform services for these officials which went much beyond ordinary business risks. For example, ʿAli ibn ʿIsa, Ibn al-Furat's more virtuous rival, did not hesitate to force his Jewish banker to advance him monthly the equivalent of $40,000 in gold for the wages of the imperial infantry. This loan was to be covered by the banker's revenue from tax farming in the province of Al-Aḥwaz. Another Jewish tax farmer, Ibn ʿAllan al-Yahudi of Baṣra, who had lent both the sultan and the famous Persian statesman Nizam al-Mulk the equivalent of $100,000, was assassinated in 1079. Sometimes the whole Jewish community was held responsible for a banker's refusal to lend money to a dignitary. In one such case, in 996, the mob attacked the entire Jewish quarter.

Less dramatic, but equally significant, was the expansion of Jewish activities in the traditional fields of handicrafts and professions. Needless to say, these occupations offered vast opportunities to many more Jews than did commerce and banking. Regrettably no exact occupational statistics can be offered, but a few extant lists show that the proportion of craftsmen considerably exceeded that of merchants, even including the petty shopkeepers and peddlers. Three such *genizah* lists show percentages ranging from 38.4 to 52.1 for industrial occupations, compared with 17.3 to 37.5 for commerce and banking. According to Al-Jaḥiẓ, Jews predominated in the industries of dyeing and tanning in Egypt, Syria, and Babylonia and formed the majority among the Persian and Babylonian barbers, cobblers, and butchers. Another contemporary Arab observer, Muqaddasi, contended that "for the most part the assayers of corn, dyers, bankers, and tanners are Jews; while it is usual for physicians and scribes to be Christian" (J. Finkel, ed., in: *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 47, 311–34; Muqaddasi, *K. Aḥsam at-taqasim*, p. 183; in Le Strange's English trans. in his *Description of Syria*, p. 77). In fact no less than 265 different crafts are mentioned in the *genizah* records, showing both the extensive Jewish participation in industrial occupations and their great specialization. Gradually Jews also penetrated the medical profession, some of them achieving considerable fame as medical theorists and writers (Asaph, Israeli, *Maimonides, and others). One must add, of course, a considerable number of Jews who were employed by their own communities as rabbis, teachers, cantors, *shoḥatim*, sextons, and in administrative capacities, forming a sort of Jewish civil service.

This occupational diversification was greatly facilitated by the openness of Muslim society and the relatively large measure of economic equality for subjects of all faiths. The latter included much freedom of movement, except in Egypt where the traditional state-capitalistic order presupposed governmental controls over the influx of foreigners and the exit of natives. Only Egypt enacted strict regulations concerning passports. In industry, too, there was much freedom of choice. Even where industrial *guilds existed, they were neither so monopolistic nor so discriminatory in the admission of Jewish members as their counterparts in Europe. It was also possible for the autonomous Jewish communal organs to use considerable discretion in enforcing their own price controls whenever needed, supervising weights and measures, and generally policing the markets in the Jewish quarters.

It was unfortunate for the Jews and non-Jews alike that this flourishing commercial-industrial civilization sharply declined after the tenth century as a result of the caliphate's dissolution and its constant foreign and civil wars. By the time of the 13th-century *Mongolian invasions much of the grandeur of that great civilization had given way to a slow process of decay. Coming on top of the Christian *Crusades, these invasions dealt further severe blows to both the international and local commerce of the eastern lands. While Christian Europe was marching ahead on the road toward a flourishing economic structure, the eastern lands began to stagnate. Among the numerous departures were Jews, fleeing from foreign invaders as well as domestic enemies and seeking whatever uncertain shelter they could secure in Western lands. The center of world commerce now began shifting westward, with the various Italian merchant republics taking over the offensive, establishing colonies in the eastern Mediterranean and later in the Indian Ocean, and ultimately displacing the East even in the Levantine trade.

Medieval Christendom

At first, to be sure, far fewer Jews lived under Christendom. Only from the 13th century on, as a result of the general upsurge of the Western nations, the Spanish reconquest, and the simultaneous sharp decline of the Eastern countries, did the center of gravity of the Jewish people slowly move to the European area. Here the far better accumulation and preservation of archival materials and the concerted efforts of generations of scholars have yielded much reliable and detailed information about general and Jewish economic developments. Jewish documents, too, such as the "starrs" of England, the records of the Laurenz parish in Cologne, the vast collection of Arabic and Hebrew documents in Toledo and other parts of Spain, the numerous notarial records, and even occasional private archives of Jewish firms, have made the study of economic Jewish history much more reliable and concrete.

Clearly, the existing trends toward the alienation of Jews from agriculture were much stronger in Europe than in the Muslim Middle East and North Africa. In certain areas the insecurity of Jewish life and the ever-present danger of massacres, expulsions, and forced conversions made landholdings far less attractive for Jews. Whenever a landowner had to depart suddenly or was otherwise obliged to dispose of his property within a very short time, forced liquidation, if not total confiscation, resulted in enormous losses. For example, two years after the expulsion of Jews from France in 1306 a Christian landlord was able to acquire 50 Jewish houses in the old and venerable community of Narbonne for the mere pittance of 3,957 livres. This transaction so aroused the ire of both the viscount and the archbishop, each of whom had special feudal rights in the city, that, to appease them, the purchaser gave an additional 5,000 livres, two houses, and a plot of land to the viscount and an unspecified, but undoubtedly large, amount to the archbishop (S. Luce, REJ, 2 (1881). Of course, the Jewish exiles received nothing. Similarly, according to the court historian Andrés Bernáldez, after the promulgation of the Spanish decree of expulsion in March 1492, anyone could acquire a Jewish vineyard for a piece of cloth or linen (*Historia de los Reyes Católicos* (1870), 338f.). In addition to such countrywide expulsions, there were local and regional forced exiles of varying frequency. For instance, the city of *Speyer, to which Jews had originally been admitted in 1084 by Bishop Ruediger-Huozmann "in order to enhance the city's honor," subsequently often ousted them on short notice. To mention only the events of the 15th century: Jews were expelled from Speyer in 1405, readmitted in 1421, banished again in 1430, and allowed to return in 1434, to be once more evicted a year later. Yet they were there again in 1465. They became objects of renewed Episcopal legislation in 1468–72.

The first major blow of this kind came to the Jews of Byzantium as a result of Emperor *Heraclius' decree of 632 forcing all Jews to become Christians. Although incompletely carried out even in the areas which remained Byzantine after the expansion of Islam soon after, such Byzantine decrees were repeated in the following three centuries. It was truly amazing, therefore, that during his visit to the Balkans in the 1160s Benjamin of Tudela found an entire Jewish community of 200 families in the village of Crissa who "sow and reap on their own land" (Travels, pp. 12 (Heb.), 10 (Eng.)). Similar forced conversions occurred in Visigothic Spain, Merovingian Gaul, and Langobard Italy in 613–61, and were replaced in Spain by many sharply discriminatory laws against the Jews who survived or were allowed to return before the Muslim conquest of 711–2. To all intents and purposes these hostile actions put an end to all forms of organized Jewish life there and only a small Jewish remnant remained under Catholic domination in central and southern Italy. Even if not all the Jews left these countries, their ownership and cultivation of land must have practically ceased, while returning Jews may have had little incentive or opportunity to acquire new agricultural property. Similar effects were later produced by the successive expulsions of Jews from royal France, England, Spain, Portugal, various Italian states, and other parts of Christian Europe between 1182 or 1290 and 1600.

An equally important factor was the growth of European feudalism. Land now not only became the source of economic power but also the mainstay of political and military force. He who owned land exercised dominion over a multitude of peasants whether they tilled the soil as half-free sharecroppers so long as the Roman *colonate* persisted, or as villeins furnishing parts of their produce and corvée labor to their masters. While since Pope Gregory the Great the Church had allowed Jews to maintain Christian *coloni* on their land, it became increasingly awkward for Jews to be either vassals taking oaths of fealty to Christian lords, or seigneurs administering such oaths to Christian barons. Remarkably, this system persisted in Provence up to the 12th century and beyond. In Angevin England, kings also protected Jewish feudal holdings through decrees such as that issued by Richard the Lion Heart in 1190 in favor of one Isaac, son of R. Joce, and his sons or, more broadly, through the generic decree by John Lackland in 1201. It was in the royal interest to protect the Jewish holding of a "baronial state, claiming for themselves wardships, escheats, and advowsons," as did Henry III. Even the antagonistic Edward I had to allow Jews to acquire feudal possessions if their noble owners defaulted on the payment of their debts. But the antagonisms aroused in such cases contributed to the baronial revolt against the crown in 1264–66. The barons argued that the kings selfishly promoted feudal acquisitions by Jews because through the royal overlordship over Jews noble property was thus indirectly transferred to the royal domain. Ultimately, beginning in 1269, the kings themselves had to oblige Jewish creditors to dispose of such foreclosed estates to Christian owners within a year. In short, feudalism and Jewish landholdings appeared incompatible in the long run and it was the weaker Jewish side which had to yield ground.

On the other hand, unlike under Islam, Jewish landowners were not subjected to a special land tax. "In our entire realm," declared *Meir b. Baruch of Rothenburg, "[Jews] pay not tax on land. Sometimes capitalists have tried to change this system, but when the matter was brought before us, we disallowed it" (Responsa (Prague, 1607), 50c no. 452). In other areas, however, the general land taxes became so burdensome that the Barcelona rabbi Solomon b. Abraham *Adret complained that "frequently the very best fields yield insufficient harvests to pay the royal taxes" (Responsa, 3 (Leghorn, 1778), no. 148). More universal and irksome was the ecclesiastical drive to force the Jews to pay tithes on property they acquired from Christian owners, lest the parish priests or monasteries lose the income from such lands. Finally, the Fourth Lateran *Council of 1215 insisted that these contributions be universally collected from Jews, riding roughshod over the religious scruples of some Jewish pietists who saw in such payments subsidies for the erection of churches and monasteries devoted to the worship of another faith.

Employment of Christian agricultural workers by Jews became another important issue, anti-Jewish agitators of all kinds clamoring that Jews be forced to cultivate the land with their own hands. The nobles, on the other hand, even in Mediterranean countries, often tried to eliminate Jewish landholdings altogether. Such a proposal was advanced, for instance, by the Castilian Cortes in 1329. These opponents readily overlooked the early medieval Jewish pioneering contributions to European agriculture. Coming from the more advanced Eastern countries, Jewish groups settling in the West are often still remembered in such names as Terra Hebraeaorum, Judendorf, Żydaczów, and the like. Even a Spanish name like Aliud is probably a derivative of *Al-Yahud*. As late as 1138 three Jews of Arles bought from Abbot Pontius of Montmajour the entire output of *kermes* of the district of Miramar, thus stimulating the farmers to produce that dyestuff. They were also very active in introducing the silkworm into Sicily and other Mediterranean countries.

Yet it was only the opposition of the crown which prevented general prohibitions of Jewish land ownership. Wherever such were enacted, they usually bore a local character and even these were not always fully implemented. Even in fervently anti-Jewish Germany after the *Black Death of 1348–49, the assertion of the author of the *Rechtsbuch nach Distinctionen* (iii. 17, 1) that "Jews are not allowed to own real property in this country" was a clear exaggeration. In the Mediterranean lands, especially, Jews continued to own and cultivate landed properties; this they did to the very end of their sojourn in Spain, Portugal, Provence, Sicily, and Naples. Their endeavors were particularly flourishing in those areas where extensive orchards and vineyards, located in the neighborhood of towns, enabled them to combine fruit production with other occupations. Queen Maria of Aragon was not wrong when in 1436 she upheld the right of *Huesca Jewry to dispose of the grain and wines produced on its property, "since the Jews of the said city for the most part live as workers and cultivators of fields and vineyards and derive a living from the latter's produce" (Baer, Urkunden, 1 (1929), pt. 1, 858f. no. 535). The city council of Haro (Faro), close to the Navarrese border, complained that Jewish and Muslim landowners in the district had in 1453 signed a covenant not to sell any land to Christians. In the council's opinion this created a threat that before long the entire land of the area would fall into the hands of infidels (N. Hergueta, in: *Boletin de la Real AcademÍa de Historia*, 26, 467ff.). Less exaggeratedly, a modern scholar of the rank of F. de Bofarull y Sans claimed (in his *Los Judíos en el territorio de Barcelona*) that between the 10th and 12th centuries one-third of all the land around Barcelona was owned by Jews. In short, Jewish agriculture never completely disappeared from the European scene and the alleged complete outlawry of Jewish landholdings throughout medieval Europe is another example of a widely accepted historical myth.

Jewish land ownership was particularly frequent in urban settlements, particularly in Jewish quarters. Understandably, wherever the Jewish population grew rapidly and its quarter could not enlarge its area, the real estate owned by a family was often subdivided into small parcels by the numerous progeny. In the Laurenz parish of Cologne a Jewish couple sold in 1322 a one-eighth and one-96th portion of "a large house" in which two other coreligionists owned another quarter and one-16th part. Thirteen years later another Jewish couple acquired a share of one-third and one-60th minus one-700th of a house from a Christian neighbor. For the most part, however, in Europe north of the Alps and the Loire Jews were rarely allowed to live long enough to create many such subdivisions over several generations.

In Europe, too, Jewish industrial occupations were far more significant. In this area early Jewish immigrants from the Middle East and North Africa, often in possession of an advanced technology, could perform many pioneering services. In 1147 Roger II of Naples attacked Byzantine Thebes, a major center of the silk industry, and evacuated "all" Jews to southern Italy, where they helped establish a flourishing silk industry. Another trade in which Jews played a considerable role since ancient times was that of dyeing. When Benjamin of Tudela arrived in Brindisi he found there ten Jewish dyers. A particular "Jewish" dye existed in the Neapolitan kingdom. Weaving, too, had long been a prominent Jewish craft. It was partly stimulated by the biblical prohibition on **sha'atnez* (mixing wool and linen) which, carried down through the ages, became an important factor in preserving Jewish tailoring and other branches of the clothing industry in many lands. Another religiously stimulated industrial craft was that of slaughtering animals according to the Jewish ritual. Even where, as in most German areas, the Christian guilds tried to suppress Jewish competition, they had to make some exceptions in favor of Jewish butchers and tailors who were permitted to produce such ritually restricted goods for the Jewish customers. Many Jewish crafts were stimulated by Jewish pawnbroking. Since most pledges consisted of articles of clothing, furniture, or jewelry which, upon the debtor's default, became the property of the pawnbroker, it was natural for him to try to refurbish the pawns for sale to the public at a higher price.

In fact, many restrictive ordinances inspired by Christian merchants made a special allowance for Jewish trade in used articles (see *Secondhand Goods). For instance, in Rome during the Counter-Reformation Jews performed a major service by acquiring secondhand clothing from the luxury-loving high clergy and nobility for resale to the masses of the population. Indirectly, such business furnished employment also to tailors, dyers, and other craftsmen.

Beyond these specially Jewish areas there were also Jewish craftsmen in almost all domains of industry, although specialization here was far less developed than in the contemporary Islamic world. In Cologne, for example, where the guilds succeeded in ultimately barring Jews from almost all industrial occupations, they still allowed them to become glaziers, probably because no other qualified personnel was available. This exception was reminiscent of the Greek glassblowers in seventh-century France who claimed to be able to produce glass as well as the Jews did. The few extant Spanish occupational statistics are very enlightening indeed. For example, the 20 Jewish families in the small town of Valdeolivas near Cuenca embraced, in 1388, six shoemakers, three tailors, one weaver, one smith, and one itinerant artisan. Some of the wealthiest of the 168 Jewish taxpayers in Talavera de la Reina shortly before the expulsion in 1492 consisted of 13 basketmakers and three goldsmiths. Jewish cobblers, tailors, blacksmiths, and harness makers also seem to have made a reasonable living there. True, in 1412–13 Castile and Aragon, in sharply anti-Jewish decrees, forbade Jews to serve as veterinarians, ironmongers, shoemakers, tailors, barbers, hosiers, butchers, furriers, rag pickers, or rag dealers for Christians. Yet the very man who inspired that legislation, Anti-Pope Benedict XIII, himself employed a Jewish bookbinder, two Hebrew scribes, and even a Jewish seamstress-laundress for his ecclesiastical vestments. A Roman list of 1527 recorded the presence of 1,738 Jews in a population of 55,035 in the city. The more than 80 Jewish families whose occupations were recorded included about 40 Jewish tailors and a substantial number of other craftsmen. Twelve years earlier Cardinal Giulio de' Medici had urged his cousin Lorenzo to attract some of the Jewish manufacturers of saltpeter from Rome to Florence or Pisa, since "such opportunities do not occur every day." Although similar detailed data are not readily available elsewhere, it appears that wherever Jews lived in larger numbers their majority derived a livelihood from one or another craft.

In some Spanish cities there were enough Jewish craftsmen to form independent guilds. The statutes of the Jewish cobblers' guild in *Saragossa, approved by Pedro IV in 1336, offer mute testimony to the continuity of Jewish craftsmanship from the ancient associations of Jewish master artisans. When the Spanish decree of expulsion was extended to Sicily on June 18, 1492, the Christian leaders of Palermo and other cities protested that "in this realm almost all the artisans are Jews. If all of them will suddenly depart there will be a shortage of many commodities, for the Christians are accustomed to receive from them many mechanical objects, particularly iron works needed both for the shoeing of animals and for cultivating the soil; also the necessary supplies for ships, galleys, and other maritime vessels." In the north, of course, there was no opportunity for Jews to organize guilds of their own, whereas the Christian guilds in their constant drive for monopolistic control of their trades and political power in their municipalities not only sought to suppress Jewish competition but, if possible, to get rid of the Jews completely.

At the same time Jewish commercial activities played an ever-increasing role in Western Europe. There are relatively few records of Jewish *peddlers. Apart from the insecurity of roads in most European countries, aggravated by the hostility toward Jews on the part of many peasants and townsfolk – even hostile legislators often freed Jews from wearing their badges on journeys for this reason – the majority of the villeins had little cash available to purchase goods from itinerant merchants. Most of their needs were provided for by their own agricultural production and the home work of their wives and daughters in spinning, weaving, and tailoring. With the growth of the urban centers, Jewish shopkeepers increased in number wherever Jews were tolerated at all. Of course, there was a constant struggle with the growing burghers' class which wanted to monopolize whatever trade was available locally or regionally. In many cities these commercial rivals sooner or later succeeded in ousting Jews completely and even in obtaining from the royal power, whose self-interest dictated protection of Jewish tradesmen, special privileges *de non tolerandis Judaeis*. In England, for instance, where Henry III's exorbitant fiscal exploitation depended on the presence of a prosperous Jewry, there was a wave of such enactments in favor of many cities in the 1230s and 1240s. In many continental localities the law restricted Jewish shopkeeping to the Jewish quarter and often forced the Jewish merchants to abstain from displaying their wares on Sundays and Christian holidays – a major burden indeed for observant Jewish shopkeepers who kept their stores closed on the Sabbath and Jewish festivals. Nevertheless economic necessity forced Jews to use all means at their disposal to earn a living from merchandising.

Jewish international trade, which in the Carolingian age had been a major incentive for Christian regimes to invite Jewish settlers, later suffered greatly from the competition of the Italian merchant republics, the prevalence of Mediterranean piracy, highway robbery on land routes, discriminatory tolls at the multitude of feudal boundaries, and special Jewish taxation. Nevertheless, many rulers still tried to maintain freedom of movement and trading for their Jewish "serfs." The major imperial privileges for German Jewry often repeated, with minor variations, the provision in the 1090 privilege for the Jews of Speyer given by Emperor Henry IV: that they "should have the freedom to trade their goods in just exchange with any persons, and that they may freely and peacefully travel within the confines of Our kingdom, exercise their commerce and trade, buy and sell, and no one shall exact from them any toll or impost, public or private" (Aronius, Regesten, 71ff., no. 170, etc.). Similar sweeping provisions were enacted by John of England in 1201 and other monarchs (J.M. Rigg, *Select Pleas*, 2). If in practice Jews often suffered from attacks and despoliation by local barons and arbitrary officials, this was the effect of the poorly organized governmental systems in most European countries rather than of the rulers' intent. In this respect Jews had plenty of fellow sufferers among their gentile competitors.

International fairs in particular (see *Markets and Fairs) offered many opportunities for Jewish traders to profitably exchange goods with other merchants, Jewish and non-Jewish. Even in the less hospitable northern lands they played a considerable role in the famous Champagne fairs and those of Cologne. When in the last three medieval centuries most of these fairs lost their international character and catered more to regional needs, Jews still appeared as welcome visitors even in areas from which they were generally barred. They enjoyed the special protective devices developed by many communities seeking to attract foreign trade without discriminating among the visitors according to their faith or country of origin. One important concession generally granted at fairs was the suspension of the group responsibility of merchants of the same origin for each other's misdeeds or insolvency. Such mutual responsibility affected non-Jewish burghers as well as Jews, but the process of generalization in blaming all Jews for the misconduct of any coreligionist was generally much more prevalent. Even in Mediterranean commerce, where group responsibility was less strongly stressed, Pedro III of Aragon felt obliged to intervene in 1280 on behalf of many Jewish Levant traders, when one of their coreligionists, Isaac Cap of Barcelona, had been accused of unethical business dealings in the Middle East. The main argument advanced by the king in his epistle addressed to the Templars and Hospitalers in Jerusalem, the consuls of Pisa and Venice, and the representative of the king of Cyprus was not that other Jews should not be held responsible for Cap's actions, but that Cap had long since left Aragon. It so happened that in time Cap was able to return to Barcelona, settle his debts, and again become an honored member of his community.

Another major concession to Jewish traders was the acceptance by many regimes of the prevailing Jewish practice in respect to the so-called law of concealment. In the talmudic age the rabbis had already come to the conclusion that a merchant who had unwittingly acquired some stolen object was not to suffer complete loss in returning that object to its legitimate owner. They provided, "for the benefit of the market," that if the acquisition was proved to have been made in good faith, the owner had to compensate the merchant to the full amount of his investment. The more primitive Teuton laws, which dominated many European legislative systems, had made no such provisions in favor of the bona fide merchant. Jews, especially in areas where they were largely restricted to dealing in secondhand merchandise or lending on used pledges, could not carefully investigate the title of each seller or borrower. At times fraudulent borrowers might actually scheme to offer, through impecunious intermediaries, pledges for loans and subsequently as owners reclaim these objects without paying their debts. There were antecedents for such protection of legitimate merchants in other laws. Yet Jewish traders were in the vanguard of those clamoring for redress. Ultimately, this provision, which German antisemites often denounced as a *Hehlerecht* (privilege for "fences"), became a widely accepted principle in most modern mercantile laws.

Despite these and other legal safeguards, the general insecurity of Jewish life affected the Jewish merchants as well. A remarkable illustration is offered by the business ledgers kept during the years 1300–18 by the important mercantile firm of Héliot (Elijah) of Vesoul in Franche-Comté. These extant ledgers reveal both the firm's effective method of bookkeeping and its far-flung business interests. Principally a banking establishment endowed with vast resources, it also bought and sold merchandise of all kinds either through *commenda* agreements with Christian or Jewish traders, or by direct shipment of its own. It dealt in cloth, linen, and wine produced in its own vineyards. Héliot also served as a tax collector for the government. Characteristically, the ledgers also include entries relating to horses and carriages used by members of the firm for business travel as far as Germany and Flanders. Héliot was also very precise in delivering the ecclesiastical tithes to the churches, notwithstanding scruples he may have had in thus contributing to the upkeep of non-Jewish religious institutions. His career was cut short, however, when in 1322 Philip the Tall extended his decree of expulsion of the Jews from France to Burgundy as well. Two years later Héliot's house was given away to a lady-in-waiting of the queen.

In spite of all these difficulties Jewish commerce, particularly in the more friendly Mediterranean lands, frequently flourished and became another mainstay of the Jewish economy. In the 12th century a German rabbi, Eliezer b. Nathan, could assert that "nowadays we are living on commerce only" (*Sefer Even ha-Ezer* (Prague, 1610), 53d no. 295).

Commerce included money trade in its various ramifications, particularly moneylending. Because of their general insecurity and frequently enforced mobility, Jews under Christendom were not good risks for deposits. Unlike the Jews under Islam, they could not compete with the stability of deposits in churches or such major banks as the Banco di San Giorgio in 12th-century Genoa. Their rabbis, therefore, fell back on the talmudic regulation that treasures should be buried in the soil, which was not always feasible in the crowded Jewish quarters. Burying them out of town subjected the owner to the risk of some stranger accidentally discovering the place of burial and appropriating the treasure trove. Moreover, even accumulations of savings by Jewish communal bodies were subject to seizure by unfriendly rulers. In 1336 King John of Bohemia not only confiscated the communal "treasure trove" kept in the old synagogue of Prague but also fined the Bohemian elders for concealing its presence from him. Minting could occasionally help support a Jewish individual, especially in backward areas. But generally the manufacture of coins was a governmental enterprise, even if exercised by some local baron or city council (there were, indeed, many kinds of coins and even scrip circulated by such local rulers). On the other hand, coin clipping, whether for the purpose of reminting or for that of using the gold or silver in the fabrication of some industrial objects, was considered a major crime if indulged in by private individuals, although it was accepted as a perfectly legitimate performance on the part of governments. One such accusation of coin clipping, real or alleged, supposedly resulted in 1278–79 in the execution of 293 English Jews and was partially responsible for the decree of expulsion of 1290 (H.G. Richardson, *English Jewry*, 218 ff.). Finally, notwithstanding the great variety of coins in circulation, money changing likewise seems to have been only a minor sideline of Jewish banking, if we are to judge from the paucity of references thereto in the extant sources.

Moneylending, however, increasingly became the lifeblood of the Jewish economy at large. It was abetted by the increasing Christian prohibition on usury which was broadly defined by Richard, son of Nigel, as "receiving, like the Jews, more than we have lent of the same substance by virtue of a contract" (*Dialogus de Scaccario*, trans. by C. Johnson, 99 f.). It was an uphill struggle for the Church because, down to the 12th century, the clergy themselves often indulged in moneylending on interest, a practice surreptitiously pursued by some priests even later. Jews also encountered stiff competition from Lombards and Cahorsins, often styled the papal usurers for their major services in transferring ecclesiastical dues to Rome. However, Jews had the advantage of being able openly to engage in this legally obnoxious business; as a matter of fact they did it as a rule with considerable governmental support.

In fact, kings considered Jewish gains via moneylending as an increase of their own resources. This was basically the meaning of "belong to the imperial chamber," a stereotype phrase referring to Jews found in many imperial privileges in German, implying that the Jews were the "king's treasure," as they were designated in Spanish decrees. When in 1253 Elias of Chippenham left England and took along his own bonds, Henry III prosecuted him because he had "thievishly carried off Our proper chattels." This nexus did not escape the attention of hostile observers who often blamed the princes for the excesses of their Jewish usurers. In his letter of 1208 to the count of Nevers the powerful Pope Innocent III complained that while certain princes "themselves are ashamed to exact usury, they receive Jews into their hamlets [*villis*] and towns and appoint them their agents for the collection of usury" (S. Grayzel, *The Church and the Jews in the 13th Century*, 126 f.). Although in a special pamphlet *De regimine judaeorum* Thomas Aquinas tried to appease the conscience of Princess Aleyde (or Margaret) of Brabant for deriving benefits from Jewish taxation largely originating from usurious income, one of his most distinguished commentators, Cardinal Tommaso Vio Cajetan, sweepingly declared that "the gain accruing to a prince from a usurer's revenue makes him an accessory to the crime." The better to control Jewish revenues, the English administration introduced in 1194 the system of public chests (**archae*) into which all bonds had to be deposited, supposedly to avoid controversies between lenders and debtors. Philip II in France tried in 1206 and 1218 to emulate the English example, as did Alfonso IV of Aragon in 1333, and in a somewhat different way Alfonso XI of Castile in 1348. But outside of England this system broke down, apparently because neither lenders nor debtors wished to comply. In any case, the Protestant clergy of Hesse was not wrong when, in its memorandum of 1538 to the landgrave, it compared the role of Jewish moneylending with that of a sponge, used by the rulers to suck up the wealth of the population via usury ultimately to be squeezed dry by the treasury.

Despite all opposition, Jewish moneylending was an imperative necessity in many areas. Because of the prevailing high rates of interest it also was a lucrative business. Emperor Frederick II's Sicilian constitution of Melfi of 1231 restricting the permissible interest rate to 10% remained a dead letter even in his own kingdom. Somewhat more effective were the maximum rates of 20% set by certain Aragonese kings and Italian republics. But for the most part the accepted rates ranged between 33⅓ and 43⅓%, although sometimes they went up to double and treble those percentages, or more. Upon their readmission to France in 1359–60, Jews were specifically allowed to charge up to 86⅔%. Even some Silesian princes are recorded to have paid 54% to their Jewish moneylenders. In the case of the innumerable small loans by petty pawnbrokers, these high rates were justified by the lenders' overhead in receiving weekly interest payments, slow amortization, and much bookkeeping. But the Lombards who, for the most part, dealt in large credit transactions nevertheless likewise charged what the trade could bear.

So long as the economy was on the upswing the resentment against these high rates of interest was moderate. But when the European economy entered a period of deceleration in the late 13th century, further aggravated by recurrent famines and pestilences, such exorbitant charges, though economically doubly justified because of the increased risks, created widespread hostility. They were an important factor in the growing intolerance aimed at the English, French, and German Jews. Of course, expelling the Jews from the country, as England did in 1290 and France in 1306, merely meant replacing one set of moneylenders by another. Christian creditors, as a rule, charged even higher rates, partly to compensate for the increased opprobrium and sinfulness connected with their trade. As a result, Philip IV's successor, Louis X, in 1315 revoked the decree of expulsion and called the Jews back to the country as he claimed, in response to "the clamor of the people." Yet when the Jews returned under the royal pledge that they would be tolerated for at least 12 years, the popular outcry became so vehement that Philip the Tall broke his predecessor's promise and banished the Jews again in 1322. At the same time in neighboring Italy, where the grandeur of the Florentine and Genoese bankers was on the decline, Jews began to be invited by various republics to settle in their midst and to provide credit "to the needy population." These *condottas*, resembling formal treaties between the governments and groups of Jewish bankers, extended to the latter a variety of privileges for specified periods of time, subject to renewals. The city of Reggio (Emilia) went so far as to guarantee to the incoming Jewish bankers that, if they ever were to sustain losses from a popular riot, the city would fully indemnify them. This significant chapter in Jewish economic history, however, began drawing to a close in the latter part of the 15th century on account of the emergence of the new, rivaling institution of *monti di pietà*. These charitable loan banks were supposed to extend credit to the poor without any interest and thus make Jews wholly expendable. In itself this was a laudable idea and spread quickly into countries such as France from which Jews had long disappeared. At times the *monti* were supported by Jewish bankers themselves (for instance, by Isaac b. Jehiel of Pisa). But most of them assumed from the outset a strongly antisemitic character. They were propagated by outspoken anti-Jewish agitators and rabble rousers, especially *Bernardino da Feltre. Only in Venice, which refused admission to Da Feltre, did the Serenissima reach a compromise with the Jews by persuading them to establish the so-called *banchi del ghetto* which, financed entirely by Jews, were to serve an exclusively Christian clientele at nominal rates of interest. These institutions lasted until the emancipation era when, upon the entry of the French army into Venice in 1797, the Jewish community voluntarily transferred the assets of its five banks to the new republic.

Connected in many ways with banking was Jewish public service. As under Islam, the Christian rulers could not scrupulously adhere to the demands of their religious leaders to keep "infidels" out of any public office lest they exercise dominion over the faithful. Governments often had to rely on the religious minorities to provide fiscal experts whose specific experiences as taxpayers as well as businessmen could be put to good use by the treasuries for tax collection and necessary cash advances. In his petition to Alfonso IV of Aragon (before 1335), requesting the king's assistance in the collection of loans from Hospitalers, the Navarrese Jewish banker, Ezmel b. Juceph de Ablitas, boasted that Alfonso "had never received so great a service from either a Christian or a Jew as you have received from me at a single stroke" (M. Kayserling, "Das Handelshaus Ezmal in Tudela," in: *Jahrbuch fuer Israeliten*, 1860, 40–44).

Most widespread was the Jewish contribution to tax farming. The medieval regimes, as a rule, aided by only small, inefficient, and unreliable bureaucracies, often preferred to delegate tax collection to private entrepreneurs who, for a specified lump sum they paid the treasury, were prepared to exact the payments due from the taxpayers. Of course, the risks of undercollection were, as a rule, more than made up by considerable surpluses obtained, if need be, by ruthless methods. So indispensable were the Spanish Jewish tax farmers that the Catholic Monarchs signed such four-year contracts with Jewish entrepreneurs as late as 1491, only a year before the expulsion. Among their most prominent collectors was Abraham Seneor, officially the "rabbi of the court" or chief rabbi of Castilian Jewry, and Don Isaac b. Judah *Abrabanel. In the early days of the Christian reconquest, the services of able Jewish financiers and administrators were even more indispensable. Members of the Cavalleria and Ravaya families were particularly prominent in 13th-century Aragon. For one example, Judah b. Labi de la Cavalleria served from 1257 on as bailiff of Saragossa, from 1260 on as chief treasurer to whom all royal bailiffs had to submit regular accounts, and finally in 1275 also as governor of Valencia. Jews were also active in diplomatic service, for which their familiarity with various lands and languages made them especially qualified. In vain did Pope Honorius II address a circular letter to the kings of Aragon, Castile, Navarre, and Portugal, warning them against dispatching to Muslim courts Jewish envoys who were likely to reveal state secrets to the Muslim enemies, since "you cannot expect faithfulness from infidels." Yet his successor, Gregory IX, generally even more insistent on the observance of all canonical provisions, conceded in 1231 and 1239 that the Portuguese and Hungarian monarchs had no workable alternative.

In other countries Jews exerted political influence more indirectly. Even in some antagonistic German principalities of the 14th and 15th centuries some Jews were called upon to provide the necessary funds for raising mercenary forces as well as to supply them with food, clothing, and other necessities. Such a combination of large-scale financing and contracting was performed, for example, by a Jewish banker, Jacob Daniels, and his son Michael for the archbishop-elector Baldwin of Trier in 1336–45. This adumbration of the future role of *Court Jews in helping build up the modern German principality was cut short, however, by the recurrent waves of intolerance which swept Germany in the last medieval centuries and resulted in the expulsion of the Jews from most German areas.

Economic Doctrines

Notwithstanding these constant changes in the Jewish economic structure and the vital role played by the Jewish economic contributions for the general society, no ancient or medieval Jewish scholar devoted himself to the detailed interpretation of these economic facts and trends. No Jew wrote economic tracts even of the rather primitive kind current in Hellenistic and early Muslim letters. All Jewish rationales must therefore be deduced indirectly from the legal teachings. Even Maimonides who, in his classification of sciences, recognized the existence of a branch of science styled domestic economy, or rather the "government of the household" (a literal translation of the Greek *oikonomia*), did not feel prompted to produce a special monograph on the general or Jewish economic life. Speaking more broadly of political science which included that branch of learning, he declared: "On all these matters philosophers have written books which have been translated into Arabic, and perhaps those that have not been translated are even more numerous. But nowadays we no longer require all this, namely the statutes and laws, since man's conduct is [determined] by the divine regulations" (*Treatise on Logic [Millot ha-Higgayon]*, Arabic text, with Hebrew and English translations, by Israel Efros, 1937, 18 f.). In consonance with this conception, the great codifier devoted the last three sections of his *Mishneh Torah* to economic matters regulated by civil law. He also often referred to economic aspects in the other 11 books, following therein the example of both Bible and Talmud. None of these normative sources, however, which always emphasized what ought to be rather than what is or was, can satisfactorily fill the lacuna created by the absence of dispassionate analytical, theoretical, and historical economic studies. From the outset we must, therefore, take account of the idealistic slant of our entire documentation. The emphasis upon ethics and psychology far outweighs that of realistic conceptualism. Only indirectly, through the use of the extant subsidiary factual source material, can we balance that normative slant by some realistic considerations.

Typical of such idealistic approaches is the biblical legislation. For example, the commandment of a year of fallowness may have resulted from the practical observation that land under constant cultivation was bound to deteriorate and to yield progressively less produce. Similar experiences led other agricultural systems to adopt the rotation of crops and other methods. But there is no hint to such a realistic objective in the biblical rationales. The old Book of the Covenant justifies the commandment by stating that in this way "the poor of the people may eat" (Ex. 23:11). The more religiously oriented Book of Leviticus, on the other hand, lays primary stress on the land keeping "a Sabbath unto the Lord" (25:2) so that it provide "solemn" rest for servants, foreign settlers, and even cattle. Similarly, the Jubilee Year was conceived as a measure of restoring the landed property to the original clan, envisaging a more or less static agricultural economy, at variance with the constantly changing realities of the then increasingly dominant urban group. No less idealistic were the provisions for the poor, particularly widows and orphans. We also recall the extremely liberal demand that, upon manumitting his Hebrew slave, the master should also provide him with some necessaries for a fresh start in life.

That these and other idealistic postulates did not represent the living practice in ancient Israel we learn from the reverberating prophetic denunciations of the oppression of the poor by the rich and other social disorders. But here again we deal with even more extravagant idealistic expectations than had been expressed by the lawgivers. In the main, the Bible reflects in part the "nomadic ideals" carried down from the patriarchal age and in part the outlook of the subsequently predominant agricultural population. But the landowning aristocracy, as well as the priesthood and royal bureaucracy often residing in Jerusalem and Samaria, and the impact of foreign relations, especially wars, shaped the actual affairs of the people to a much larger extent than normative provisions or prophetic denunciations, although the latter's long-range effects far transcended in historic importance the immediate realities.

Even the far more realistic legal compilations of the Mishnah, the Talmud, and other rabbinic letters are still in the main ethically and psychologically oriented. This remains true for most periods of Jewish history until the emancipation era. Certain economic factors are simply taken for granted. Not even Maimonides, who tried to find rationales for many biblical rituals, considered it necessary to offer any justification for such a fundamental economic fact as private versus public ownership. There only was common agreement that good fortune is bestowed upon man by God's inscrutable will, while poverty is to be borne with patience and submission to fate. Asceticism never became a major trend in Jewish socioreligious life, although certain groups and individuals practiced it as a matter of supererogation. Similarly, the postulates of communal ownership raised by the *Rechabites in the days of Jeremiah and the *Essenes toward the end of the Second Temple period were only part of their rejection of alleged departures from the purity of the old law. But they remained rather ineffectual fringe movements.

At the same time the "normative" Judaism of the majority subjected private ownership to severe limitations because of ethical requirements. From the restatement by Maimonides of talmudic law, as modified by the subsequent rabbinic literature, the following categories of property clearly emerge: "(1) public property belonging to no one and accessible to everybody for free use, e.g., deserts; (2) public property belonging to a corporate group, but open to general use, e.g., highways; (3) potentially private property belonging to no one, but available for free appropriation, namely all relinquished and some lost objects; 4) private grounds belonging to the ownerless estate of a deceased proselyte, equally open to free appropriation; (5) private grounds not yet taken over by a Jew from a gentile, open to appropriation against compensation; (6) private grounds in a walled city, open to everybody's use but not to appropriation." To these must be added the "sacred property" (**hekdesh*) of the Temple of Jerusalem, which, however, did not apply to the later synagogues; objects placed outside ordinary use or sale by ritualistic law; as well as the theoretical claim of every Jew in the world to the possession of four ells of land in Palestine. Based on the assumption that forcible deprivation of land never eliminates the rights of the real owner, the latter legal fiction was of practical significance only in connection with certain technical restrictions on the formal transfer of property.

With all their emphasis on private ownership the rabbis recognized its limitations necessary for the common good. To begin with, they did not acknowledge the riparian rights of owners, but considered four ells along all shores as belonging to the community at large. They also accepted the right of expropriation for purposes of roadbuilding, the erection of city walls, and other necessary public works. A city also had a right to banish certain odiferous trades, such as that of tanning, outside its walls. Even individuals trying to sell land had to respect the neighbors' right of preemption at the price offered by strangers. In general, referring to an old tradition going back to the agricultural economics of Palestine and Babylonia, Jewish leaders placed land outside the range of ordinary commodities. During the very era of semicapitalistic prosperity under Islam, they still believed in the stability of land ownership as against the fluctuations in the value of any other property. Going beyond the advice of talmudic sages that prudent men should invest one-third of their funds in land, one-third in commerce, and keep one-third in ready cash, Maimonides, perhaps inspired by the severe business losses sustained by his own family on account of his brother David's shipwreck on a voyage to India, counseled his readers not to sell a field and purchase a house, or to sell a house and acquire a movable object. They should rather generously "aim to acquire wealth by converting the transitory into the permanent." The rabbis also greatly stressed the responsibility of relatives for one another, not only in such dire emergencies as the redemption of captives but they also generally taught that "a relative may prove to be extremely wicked, but he nevertheless ought to be treated with due compassion."

Other ethical and psychological criteria were employed in the rabbinic approximation of the doctrine of the just price, later extensively debated by the medieval Christian scholastics. No one questioned the community's right to supervise weights and measures. Any deficiency, if purely accidental, called for restitution, but if it was premeditated it was to be punished severely. Maimonides waxed rhetorical on this subject: "The punishment for [incorrect] measures is more drastic than the sanction on incest, because the latter is an offense against God, while the former affects a fellow man. He who denies the law concerning measures is like one who denies the Exodus from Egypt which was the beginning of this commandment" (Yad, Genevah 7:1–3, 12; 8:1, 20 with reference to BB 89b). The community also had the right as well as the duty to set maximum prices whenever conditions demanded it. Of course, under the general rabbinic doctrine of *dina de-malkhuta dina* ("the law of the kingdom is law") all market regulations by the state, including the maximum prices set by it, were to be respected by the Jews too, except when they specifically conflicted with the divinely revealed Torah. Conversely, in many areas (for instance in Majorca in 1344) the government specifically forbade the local market supervisors to interfere in any business dealings in the Jewish quarter. In any case, with their inveterate conservatism the rabbis were reluctant to accept the law of supply and demand as the determining factor in controlling prices.

A convenient psychological expedient was found in the theory of "misrepresentation" (**ona'ah*). To prevent overcharges by sellers and, to a lesser extent, the taking of excessive advantage of an existing "buyers' market," the ancient sages had already established the principle that if the price paid for an object exceeded or was below its market value by one-sixth, the sale could be nullified by the injured party. This rabbinic doctrine of "misrepresentation," which seems to have inspired some related teachings of the Church Fathers and, through them, the Code of Justinian, could prove to be a serious obstacle under the freer economy of medieval Islam or modern Europe. An escape clause was opened by the rabbis, however, through their emphasis on psychology. They taught that if a seller openly declared to the purchaser that he had overcharged him by so and so much and the purchaser accepted the deal, there was no redress. Also by removing such important areas as land, slaves, and commercial deeds – the latter particularly important in transferring properties from one individual to another – from the operation of this principle, the economic realities could reassert themselves without formally altering the law. The same exception facilitated barter trade. A man could trade, for example, a needle for a coat of mail if, for some psychological reason, he preferred the needle. This was particularly true in the case of jewelry where emotional preferences might well have outweighed purely market considerations.

Among the transactions also not subject to the law of "misrepresentation" was free labor. Although the economic importance of hired workers was much greater than that of slaves, there was no comprehensive labor legislation in rabbinic law (see *Labor Law). Generally, the leaders preferred the employment of Jewish workers as a matter of ethnoreligious policy. Typical of the rabbinic attitude was Maimonides' contention that "he who increases the number of his slaves from day to day increases sin and iniquity in the world, whereas the man who employs poor Jews in his household increases merits and religious deeds" (Yad, Mattenot Aniyyim 10:17). This doctrine implied a general right to work for Jewish laborers, just as it conversely stressed everybody's duty to work in order to make a living. "Skin a carcass on the streets [the lowest type of labor], rather than be dependent on other people" was an old rabbinic watchword. Because of the primarily psychological interpretations, an employer could overtly arrange with a free laborer to do work which he could not impose upon a slave, since this was but a voluntary agreement on both sides. Similarly, the ancient protective regulation in the Bible that the payment of a daily worker's wages must not be delayed overnight could be modified by mutual agreement if a labor contract extended over a longer period. On his part, the employee was obliged to do an honest piece of work and not waste any time. Following ancient precedents, however, the rabbis allowed agricultural workers to partake of some of the grapes or grain on which they were working, though not of the fruit from orchards or vegetables from truck gardens. There also were many specific regulations concerning different categories of labor, such as shepherds. Each category had its own regulations, largely derived from age-old customs prevailing in particular localities.

The most difficult problem confronting the Jewish leaders was that of moneylending on interest. From biblical times there existed the outright prohibition, "Unto thy brother thou shalt not lend upon interest" (Deut. 23:21). Once again the approach of the ancient and medieval interpreters to that passage was based on ethics and psychology rather than economics. We are told in the same verse that "unto a foreigner [or stranger] thou mayest lend upon interest," but it did not occur to any of these interpreters to look for an economic rationale for this distinction. Under the conditions of ancient Palestine, lending money to a fellow Israelite usually meant extending credit to a needy farmer or craftsman for whom the return of the original amount plus the prevailing high interest was an extreme hardship. At the same time the foreigner, that is, the Phoenician-Canaanite merchant, as a rule borrowed money to invest it in his business for profit. Such a productive form of credit fully justified the original lender to participate in some form or other in the profits derived by the borrower.

Instead, the interpretation was always purely moralistic, namely a demand that lending to a fellow Jew had to be purely charitable, while extending credit to a non-Jew could be a businesslike proposition. Without going to the extreme of St. Ambrose who considered lending to a stranger a legitimate hostile act against an enemy (*ubi ius belli ibi ius usurae*), nor sharing the equally extreme view of some Jewish jurists who considered the biblical phrase, *la-nokhri tashikh* a commandment: "thou shalt," rather than "thou mayest," lend on interest to a stranger, most rabbis followed the talmudic rule that for segregationist reasons all but well informed scholars should abstain from moneylending to gentiles altogether. Yet they admitted that many Jews could not make a living any other way. Remarkably, not even the medieval Jewish Aristotelian philosophers quoted, as did their Christian counterparts, Aristotle's doctrine of the essential sterility of money. Whatever the theoretical justification of this point of view was, it ran counter to the daily experience of most Jewish sages that money could, in fact, earn greater increments than did land or any other movable property.

In their extremist ethico-psychological bent of mind the rabbis even outlawed such external forms of "usury" as nonmonetary gains. They taught, for example, that, unless the borrower used to do so before securing the loan, he was not entitled to greet the lender first or even to teach him the Torah. Echoing talmudic teachings Maimonides insisted that "it is forbidden for a man to appear before, or even to pass by, his debtor at a time when he knows that the latter cannot pay. He may frighten him or shame him, even if he does not ask for repayment" (Yad, Malveh ve-Loveh 1:1–3). Needless to say, only a few pietistic moneylenders could live up to these high expectations. On the other hand, economic realities, particularly in countries like medieval England, France, northern Italy, and Germany, where banking became the very economic foundation of many Jewish communities, forced the Jews to make some theoretical concessions. In his apologetic tract, *Milḥemet Mitzvah* of 1245, Meir b. Simon of Narbonne argued that "divine law prohibited usury, not interest… Not only the peasant must borrow money, but also the lords, and even the great king of France… The king would have lost many fortified places, if his faithful agent, a Jew of our city, had not secured for him money at a high price" (cited by Adolph Neubauer from a manuscript in *Archives des missions scientifiques*, 3d ser., 16, 556). Addressing his own coreligionists, a German rabbi, Shalom b. Isaac Sekel, insisted that "the reason why the

Torah holds a higher place in Germany than in other countries is that the Jews here charge interest to gentiles and need not engage in a [time-consuming] occupation. On this score they have time to study the Torah. He who does not study uses his profits to support the students of the Torah" (cited by Israel Isserlein's disciple, Joseph b. Moses of Hoechstadt, in his halakhic collection, *Leket Yosher,* ed. by J. Freimann (1903–10), 1, 118f.).

Like their Muslim and Christian colleagues, the rabbis had to legitimize many practices aimed at evading the prohibition of usury. The ingenuity of businessmen and jurists invented a variety of legal instruments which, formally not reflecting borrowings, nevertheless secured sizable profits for the capitalist advancing cash to a fellow Jew. Called in Europe the *contractus trinus, contractus mohatrae* (the purchase of rents, and the like), these instruments were also employed by Jewish lenders with telling effect. It was also easy to circumvent the law by the purchase of bonds. Since deeds were generally exempted from the prohibition of usury and could be discounted below their nominal value, a lender could extend a profitable loan to a third party by using an intermediary. Agents, too, were entitled to charge a commission for securing credit for any borrower. Most importantly, the various forms of the *commenda* contract, which enabled a lender to appear as a silent partner in the enterprise, opened the gate very widely for "legitimate" profits by the "investor." The permission of that type of *iska* ("deal") became quite universal and served as the major instrument for credit transactions among Jews.

These examples of the rabbis' economic teachings, which can readily be multiplied, must suffice here. They give an inkling of the great power of halakhic exegesis which made it possible for scholars to read into the established texts of Bible and Talmud provisions, as well as limitations, to suit the changing needs of Jewish society. In this way the people's intellectual leaders were able to preserve a measure of continuity within a bewildering array of diverse customs and usages. At the same time ample room was left for individual opinions, which often sharply differed. Some interpretations were derived from the simple operation of juristic techniques which had an autonomous vitality of their own. However, in many cases the communal leaders, rabbinic and lay, often personally immersed in a variety of economic enterprises and thus acquiring much practical experience, consciously made interpretive alterations to reflect genuine social needs. Since the entire system of Jewish law operated through inductive reasoning on the basis of cases rather than the deduction from juristic principles, as advanced by Roman jurists and their medieval disciples, the sages of various countries and generations were able to maintain a certain unity of purpose and outlook among the different segments of the Jewish dispersion. They thus lent the Jewish economic rationales the same kind of unity within diversity that permeated the entire Jewish socioreligious outlook on life.

[Salo W. Baron]

Early Modern Period

The variety of place, social condition, and economic development puts any review of the economic aspects of Jewish life since the end of the 15th century beyond the reach of a simple unified framework. For this variety to be seen in a meaningful way, for an analysis of the leading features of the subject, there must be some preliminary, if crude, divisions of the subject. Yet even a simple temporal division of the developments of almost 500 years is not free from difficulty. The pace and pattern of Western economic development differed markedly from country to country and from region to region, and as a matter of course the economic situation and activities of the Jews in those countries and regions differed widely also. The striking event, the momentous date, that might symbolize a qualitative change in Western economic structure is not to be found. If there is some basis for separating the early modern economic history of the Jews from the later modern developments, it must be sought in other criteria: the basic structure and leading characteristics of the economy and the goals of the society.

If we accept these criteria, it is not difficult to divide the whole period into two phases. During the first, economic development and economic policy were clearly and rigidly subordinated to noneconomic considerations of the society, and there was relatively little room for activity prompted by considerations of economic rationality as determined by the individuals concerned. In the second phase economic interests were articulated more openly and clearly, and the idea of freedom of economic activity was accepted as leading to results generally beneficial to the community as a whole. The transitional period between the two phases saw fundamental changes occurring throughout society: the legal and social framework had to be adjusted to the new demands, as symbolized by the substitution of the voluntary contract for traditional, customary relationships or for relationships hitherto determined and regulated by the usage of special privileges and governmental orders. Equality before the law was established as a principle that overrode the predominant institutionally ingrained system of legal and social inequality.

This transformation took place slowly and unevenly. Decades and even centuries apart in the various regions of Europe, the process nevertheless was continued and was accompanied by major differences in the legal status, pattern of employment, and other characteristics of the various Jewish communities at each point in time. Thus, the study of the economic aspects of Jewish life over the 500 years is basically the study of the participation of the Jews in the process of economic change and of the impact of the changing conditions upon the economic and social structure of the Jews. Even within the first period, which for reasons of convenience and convention will be called the early modern one, the conditions of the Jews living in the economically advanced regions must be distinguished from conditions in the economically less developed regions of Europe. Examples of the advanced regions are the city-states and major commercial centers of Italy and the Low Countries; examples of less developed regions are the countries of Central and Eastern Europe.

The discussion here of the early modern period will be confined almost exclusively to Europe because most Jews lived there (although Jews of course lived within the boundaries of the Ottoman Empire, in the Middle East, and other areas). Although the variety and heterogeneity of the European situation make generalization hazardous, much of what was done in one part of the continent to the Jews was more or less emulated in other parts, because of the cultural affinities within Christian Europe.

SEPHARDIM AND ASHKENAZIM. The Jewish communities in Europe at the end of the 15th century were not homogeneous in the cultural sense. The two mainstreams or dominant groups were the *Sephardim, originating from the Spanish-Portuguese Jews, and the *Ashkenazim, originating from the French and German Jews. These two branches grew apart, especially from the time of the Crusades. By the end of the 15th and beginning of the 16th century, when the Sephardi Jews were finally expelled from the Iberian Peninsula, the two major "tribes" of European Jewry came into a much closer contact, one resulting not in integration of the two, but in tolerable coexistence and peripheral cross-cultural interchange. The intellectual impact of the Sephardim was noticeable primarily in one area, namely that of religious mysticism. In other areas the Ashkenazim excelled the Sephardim in the creative development of what could be termed Jewish culture.

In the area of economic and social activity, the difference between the Sephardim and Ashkenazim was profound. The Sephardim were on the average much more affluent, skilled, and better educated (at least in the secular sense) than the Ashkenazim. In comparison the Ashkenazim were not only less prosperous but less culturally influenced by the gentile environment and less successful in any attempts at finding an intellectual symbiosis between their own and the surrounding culture. Therefore, the elements of the resource endowment of the Sephardi Jews made them the more attractive group of the two for settlement and employment in any European country. The Sephardi Jews were able to bring into the new areas of their settlement highly developed skills and craftsmanship in the areas of luxury consumption and were therefore highly valued by the influential consumers of such products and services, by the nobility, gentry, and patricians – the ruling classes of the contemporary societies. From available direct and circumstantial evidence it becomes clear that some of the Sephardi Jews were able to transfer portions of their capital out of Spain and Portugal, and thus their settlement in an area was accompanied by a capital import. It is interesting to note that in most cases, as far as the Christian countries are concerned, the Sephardi Jews were attracted to and sought opportunities in the more economically advanced regions, areas with both developed trade and crafts and with a legal framework that did not hinder the economic activities of a developed money economy. These were areas actively engaged in foreign commerce in which the knowledge of commodity and money markets possessed by Sephardi Jewish merchants could be profitably utilized. An additional asset of some Sephardi Jews was their knowledge gained from family and former business connections in the Iberian Peninsula and the overseas empires of Spain and Portugal. The Jewish participation in trade with Spain, Portugal, and their colonies never ceased, contrary to the myth of a worldwide Jewish boycott of the Iberian Peninsula.

ECONOMIC ENVIRONMENT. Thus it could be roughly assumed that the "territory" of the Sephardim, at least during the 16th and 17th centuries, was the city-states and commercial centers of Europe, while the "territory" of the Ashkenazim was the interior, the landmass or hinterland of Central and Eastern Europe.

The economy of city-states like Genoa, Venice, and Dubrovnik (Ragusa), or of commercial centers like Antwerp, Amsterdam, and Hamburg, was based on international and interregional trade and the exploitation of politically dependent territories where trade was carried on or which were administered by corporate bodies either in the form of trading companies or governmental agencies acting on behalf of organized mercantile interests. The main problem for the Jews, as for any group of outsiders, and even more so because of some peculiar restrictions or prejudices, was to gain entry into the organized institutions of economic activity, whether registered partnerships, trading companies, or later the commodity and money exchanges. It was difficult, if not impossible, for the Jews as newcomers to operate outside the institutional framework except in areas where their specialized skills or professions (such as medicine or science) would be recognized as exceptionally useful for the polity or economy. Thus, each outsider, including the Jews as individuals, had to fit into the preexisting economic structure and social fabric, upon neither of which he could expect to make any significant impact. The process by which the Jews were economically integrated in the city-states and commercial centers was therefore primarily the sum total of adjustments by individuals in these occupations and activities. Much depended on individual skill or wealth, with very limited room left for the collectivity of the Jews, the autonomous and organized Jewish community, to influence significantly the pattern of economic activity of its members.

The economic environment of the majority of the Ashkenazi Jews in the areas of Central and Eastern Europe differed from that in the city-states and in the major commercial areas. In the latter the Jews were restricted in terms of numbers, place of habitat, and areas of gainful employment, and formed almost exclusively an urban element concentrated in the major cities and confined largely to trade, some specialized skills, and money and lending operations. The situation of the Jews in Central and Eastern Europe, by contrast, can be described as characterized by both greater opportunities and more severe constraints. The peculiar combination is a paradox of underdevelopment and discrimination, both operating simultaneously.

There is an inherent conflict in societies with a high propensity to have rigid institutional arrangements in their economic sphere, even if within the institutions there may be provisions and conditions enabling the exercise of individual initiative. This is the conflict between such a propensity for institutional stability and the need to innovate, for it is only through innovation that the economy can grow. Within such societies it is particularly difficult for newcomers, who have to be integrated and accepted, to innovate. Outsiders are often forced to follow a circuitous road and assume greater risks to achieve their objectives. An interesting case in point is presented by the penetration of the Jews into the international *sugar trade. Apparently finding it initially difficult to enter via trade activity, Jews of Amsterdam entered the sugar plantation business in Brazil, Surinam, and the West Indies. The result was beneficial for many parties: for Amsterdam, a widening of its foreign trade; for the Jews, entrance into sugar production and sugar trade; for Europe, presumably a decrease in the price of sugar as a result of a rapid increase in supply.

In the predominantly agrarian economies of this period, a very large sector of the population was on a subsistence level and for all practical purposes outside the exchange and money economy. The money economy included the court, the nobility, gentry, and the urban classes, but only to a very limited extent the majority of the rural population, the peasants or serfs. While the areas of traditional or routine economic activity were circumscribed and regulated to an extent that made it virtually impossible for the Jews to enter the established institutions, there was a relatively wide spectrum of activities that were not institutionalized or controlled and that broadened the market or money economy. This presented a range of opportunities for individuals who possessed or were forced to have a lesser-than-average risk aversion for activities in which returns proved to be higher and for whom accordingly the returns could be higher than average.

The Jews suffered from discriminatory legislation; very seldom did their legal or social status as individuals depend upon their individual skills or the size of their personal wealth. There was no institutional arrangement by which a Jew could be integrated into his economic class or professional group. In a sense, he was the eternal outsider regardless of the economic function he performed, operating under conditions of discrimination and extreme uncertainty, dependent upon the arbitrary decisions of the rulers, and paying a high price (in the form of high taxes, bribes, ransom, etc.) for his right to be employed. Thus with the environmental conditions differing between the more advanced and less advanced countries, the ranges of opportunities and the areas of economic activity of the Jews differed, which in turn influenced the patterns of utilization of their resource endowment and their social structure.

JEWISH MIGRATION. One of the chief characteristics of Jewish economic activities in Europe during the early modern period was the relative (for this period) mobility of both capital and labor of the Jews. Even if we could consider exclusively voluntary mobility, the two other outstanding groups, the Italians and the Dutch, are in quite a different class when compared with the Jews. Thus, the migration phenomenon can be considered as one of the most significant dynamic elements of the economic and social history of the Jews. Jewish migration from the end of the 15th century was from Western to Central and Eastern Europe; this continued as the main vector until the second half of the 19th century. The eastward movement overshadowed in its intensity the "return" of the Jews to the countries of Western Europe from which they were exiled in the earlier centuries and to which they gradually returned between the 17th and 19th centuries.

The process of migration did not take the form of an even, continuous flow but proceeded through spurts and movements differing in intensity, with interruptions, reversals, and resumptions that defied regularity. It is also difficult to ascertain, apart from the general vector of the migration movement and the main routes, the average distances and time periods of the earlier phases of the migration. For the Sephardi Jews two general directions can be established: one from the Iberian Peninsula to the areas adjacent to the Mediterranean toward Italy, the Balkans, and Asian Turkey; the other toward southern France, the Netherlands, Hamburg, and England. For the Ashkenazim the direction of migration was from Western Germany over Austria toward Bohemia and Hungary, with another branch through Bohemia leading toward Poland, Lithuania, Belorussia, and the Ukraine, while the Jewish population of eastern and northern Germany consisted of primarily Austrian and Bohemian Jews and to a lesser extent of western German Jews. Many aspects of Jewish migration still await thorough investigation. Nevertheless, certain generalizations can be made on the basis of available evidence:

(1) By and large the eastward migration was in fact a movement of labor and capital from more highly developed to less economically developed countries and regions, from areas of greater availability of skilled labor and capital to areas of greater scarcity of these factors of production.

(2) The mobility of labor and capital and thereby the migration process was facilitated not only by religious identity but also by the cultural affinity of common customs and language, by the availability of established and organized Jewish communities not far from the destination of the migration route, and by the relatively high level of liquidity of capital on the part of capital owners.

(3) The significance of the migration process for the economy of the Jews was due to a large extent to the fact that through migration and mobility a more remunerative distribution of human and capital resources could be achieved over a large territory, while both cultural and economic intercourse

could be maintained thanks to the continuing ties between the older and newer communities.

(4) Some of the benefits of the process of mobility accruing to the Jewish communities were congruent with the benefits to the economies of countries that absorbed the Jewish migrants, namely the import of skilled labor and capital resources to meet a strong demand.

(5) The migration process of the Jews in the eastward direction, although caused to a very large extent by economic considerations, even by the differential of economic well-being or differences in the rates of return to skills, had significant effects in other areas as well. It became a part of the "strategy for survival" either in cases of mass expulsions and exile or under conditions of a clear worsening of the legal status. Moreover, the absence of effective internal barriers supported the prevailing notion of a single, general Jewish community in Central and Eastern Europe. Leading schools drew students from far afield; famous scholars and rabbis were not bound to a particular locale; mystics and messianic claimants attracted multitudes from all over the continent.

The first reversal of the direction on a larger scale in the eastward migration took place around the middle of the 17th century during the times of the *Chmielnicki massacres in the Ukraine, the Swedish and Muscovite invasions of Poland, and the subsequent worsening of the economic situation there. The flow of refugees from Eastern Europe reached western Germany and even the Netherlands. From the middle of the 18th century, there was a small but continuous flow of Central and Eastern European Jews trying to settle in Western Europe and North America. But this early ebb of migration had a minimal effect upon the economic life of the communities that they left or the ones that they joined. It only indicated that change was possible if not imminent.

PATTERNS OF EMPLOYMENT. Any systematic insight into the economic activities of the Jewish population in Europe during this period requires an examination of the patterns of employment. If the chief economic characteristic of Jewish migration was the movement from more developed to less developed countries one would expect the Jews to be employed primarily not in areas of an abundant labor supply but in the economic sectors with a scarcity of labor and capital, namely trade and highly skilled crafts. Only when the employment in such areas had reached a level of saturation or was encountering barriers would we expect the migrants to turn to less remunerative employment. The great majority of the Jews was employed in sectors of the economy that were directly connected with the market. Very few operated outside the exchange and money economy, while most derived their incomes from the production and sales of goods and services. It is true that the markets differed, but it is important to bear in mind that the market psychology affected the activities of the great majority. It is therefore appropriate to begin the review of the patterns of employment with the type of employment and activity most intimately connected with the organized markets and also yielding the highest returns. The "big business" of that period was carried on by a small group of enterprising individuals who either combined or fulfilled separately the functions of wholesale merchants, bankers, and industrial entrepreneurs. Such individuals in the economically advanced countries acted mostly in their private capacity, in the economically backward countries mostly in conjunction with the government, and were termed *Court Jews.

It is impossible to measure directly the volume of international trade carried on by Jewish wholesale merchants from the 16th to the 18th century, or the share of Jewish trade in the countries they inhabited, or even the share of these countries in the total volume of international trade. Such data are not as yet available, but it should be clear that, for example, a 10% share in the Dutch trade would probably be more than a 50% share in Poland's international trade, because of the relative sizes of the trade volume of the two countries. Direct and indirect evidence indicates that the Jews were involved in the trade of precious metals, the colonial trade, and trade of products possessing a high value per unit. Only later, with the improvement of shipping technology and cheapening of transportation costs, did Jews enter the trade in grain and other bulk products, thus expanding the trade with the agrarian economies of Central and Eastern Europe.

As bankers and bill brokers in the economically developed countries, their operations did not differ from others of the profession. The two advantages that they might have possessed over some of their competitors were their ability to transfer money rapidly from one locality to another, as they had either family or business connections with members of other Jewish communities, and the extension of credits by using the savings deposited with them by members of the community. Jewish bankers' preference for short-term over long-term credit could perhaps be explained by the desire for a quicker turnover of their capital and the unwillingness to accept land or real estate as security for loans outstanding. Industrial entrepreneurship of the Jews in the developed areas was due to the availability of technical skills and business expertise in a number of craft and industry branches that the incoming Jews had brought with them.

In the less developed countries the Court Jews played a significant role, and the gradual transformation of their functions reflected the economic development of such countries as well as the contribution such individuals made to the development process. The shortage of money and the low credit standing of most European rulers and their governments were notorious. Accordingly, the initial role of the Court Jews, as the title implies, was to serve the rulers in a double capacity, as lenders of money and as suppliers of precious metals to the mint, precious stones, and other luxury items for consumption of the court. The form of payment and security given were often tax farming, toll collection, and other privileges that provided for the principal and interest of the transaction. Thus the Court Jews not only provided credit for the rulers but also performed functions in the revenue collection of the states. Two major factors contributed to the transformation of the nature of the service of the Court Jews. The first were the wars of the 17th and 18th centuries which called not only for greater monetary outlays and thus expanding demand for credits, but also for the organizational talent to supply the numerous armies in the field with weapons, ammunition, clothing, food, and fodder. The need to contract and pay for, and to deliver large bulks of necessary supplies at great distance, called for new and substantial organizational talents. The Court Jews performed well when requested to carry out the above tasks, and in the process of doing so gained new knowledge in large-scale operations requiring greater efficiency in mobilizing vast resources in relatively backward economies. In so doing the Court Jews were assisting the political interests of the rulers or of the state.

Another factor contributing to the transformation of their service was the entry of the Jews into the ranks of industrial entrepreneurs. The setting-up of mining and manufacturing industries in the economically backward countries was not a market response to a demand for such products. It was in most cases either a direct result of government action or an indirectly induced development as a result of a conscious government policy. Government policies in those countries pursued two goals: first, to develop armament industries to strengthen the countries militarily and politically in their struggles for hegemony or for the restoration of a power balance in Europe; secondly, to develop industry branches that produced import-substitutes, which meant primarily products used by the wealthy upper classes of society. The military needs on the one hand and the maintenance of a positive balance of payments on the other were mainly responsible for the state initiative and support given to early mining and manufacturing industries. Given the government financial or tax support for the industrial establishments, the critical factors were skilled labor and entrepreneurial and managerial talents. In providing technical skills the contribution of the Jews was probably inferior to the possibilities of importing skills from the advanced countries, so the primary area of their contribution, by no means exclusively Jewish, was that of entrepreneurial and managerial talent. Their previous experience in large-scale banking, military contracting, etc., provided the necessary background. The involvement in previous services for the state gave them the knowledge and political connections necessary for obtaining licenses, privileges, and often the labor force for the budding industrial enterprises. Thus the former Court Jew became an industrial entrepreneur, continuing social innovation, creating new types of economic organization, and helping to break old patterns and traditional systems. The economic significance for the Jewish community of this group of wholesale merchants, bankers, and industrial entrepreneurs consisted not only in their role in the accumulation of capital, but also and primarily in their collective role in creating employment opportunities for other Jews. The relatively large-scale operations of this entrepreneurial class gave rise to a demand for services that could be performed by other members of the community. For example, in such enterprises as supply-contracting, a system of subcontracting was established that provided income for a relatively large number of smaller-scale merchants, and even the administration of large landed estates provided employment for many innkeepers, alcohol distillers, and other self-employed members of the Jewish community.

A second area of employment, which was represented by a massive participation of the members of the Jewish community, was that of smaller-scale and retail trade and of commercial intermediaries operating with limited capital resources, in many cases not their own. In the economically more advanced centers the economic activities of this employment group were rather specialized, with heavy concentration in limited areas of the retail trade and specialized services as commercial and financial intermediaries. Here too their activities were limited by the existing institutional structure of the commercial centers. In order to compete with the more established firms or individuals, the Jewish merchants tried to deviate from the standards of goods being marketed and provided a greater variety in terms of quality for a broader range of prices. The economic effect of such – for that period – unorthodox behavior was a broadening of the market and an increase in the number of consumers attracted by a wider range of quality. In the less advanced economies of that period, the Jewish merchants had to overcome both the power of the urban guilds and the customary location of actual markets in the cities. Therefore a major area of the trade of the Jewish merchants consisted in reaching the social circle beyond the orbit of the exchange economy, the peasants. The merchants sought out the areas of a marketable surplus of agricultural products. By increasing the size of shipments from the outlying areas it was possible to decrease the costs of transportation that previously had made it unprofitable to bring these products to market.

A number of varied and interesting phenomena attended this Jewish mercantile activity. First, through their penetration of the rural areas Jewish merchants and peddlers supplied both the manor and the peasant huts with manufactured goods that were in demand, and simultaneously collected the marketable surplus of grains, flax, wool, and livestock. This two-way trade enabled the Jews to compete relatively successfully with the local merchants who conducted their trade at fixed points, primarily in the cities, and were relatively protected by their status as city dwellers and merchants. Secondly, the penetration of Jewish peddlers and merchants into the countryside enabled them to organize early, still primitive forms of a putting-out system, making use of and helping in the further development of cottage industries in the rural areas, and thus organizing and supporting a form of production in competition with the urban crafts controlled and protected by the city guilds (see *Peddling). Thirdly, the employment of Jews in innkeeping, alcohol distilling, and livestock production in the rural areas helped further to inject into the agricultural sector the elements of an exchange and money economy. The result of the activity of the Jewish small merchants in the rural areas was to encourage the production of an agricultural surplus, to stimulate the consumption of nonagricultural goods, and to foster the alienation of some part of the former agricultural labor force from the land and to channel it into the cottage industries and into transportation services, thus helping to create a nonagricultural labor force in the rural areas that depended upon wages rather than upon returns from land.

The second largest employment group within the Jewish community was that of the artisans. Given the limited size of the market and the degree of organization of the craft guilds, the Jewish artisans faced a constant struggle for the right to compete. Since they were refused admittance to the craft guilds, they suffered from the constraints imposed on nonmembers of the guilds and at best could count on a compromise that would allow them to continue their activity at the price of compensatory payments to the guilds. The alternative was to be restricted to the very narrow market for craft production provided by the Jewish community. Faced with this choice, the Jewish artisans accepted the conditions of higher costs of production, including the payment of compensation to the guilds, until such time as the burden of discrimination could be lessened or alternative arrangements could create new opportunities. The range of Jewish crafts was very wide, beginning with highly specialized gold- and silversmiths and jewelers, ranging to masons, carpenters, and blacksmiths, but with a heavy concentration in the clothing crafts like tailoring, cap-making, furriery, and shoemaking. This concentration indicates a reliance upon a mass market. Through this orientation toward an expanding market the survival of Jewish artisans was guaranteed and new arrangements for production and marketing were developed. The new arrangements took the form of what amounts to a putting-out system organized by Jewish merchants who provided the artisans with raw materials and occasionally with advance payments for their work. Thus, the artisans were converted almost into wage laborers. The arrangement, however, freed them from the necessity of having their own or borrowed capital tied up in stocks of raw material or finished goods and also from involvement in the process of distribution, these functions being performed by the merchants. From the end of the 16th century the artisans started to organize Jewish craft guilds. Although there is still much debate about the actual effectiveness of these Jewish guild activities, there is no doubt that their establishment was a response to a deeply felt need for collective action and for articulating their interests at least within the Jewish communities. Under such arrangements Jewish artisans were better able to survive at least until the time when modern industry posed new threats to the positions of small crafts and the putting-out system.

A description of the various employment categories within the Jewish milieu would be incomplete if it did not note that a certain part of the economically active population was employed within the Jewish community itself. This general area of employment can be divided into two groups: (1) the occupations that served the Jewish community exclusively; (2) those providing services for which an assured demand existed within the Jewish community but of which outsiders also could avail themselves. Among the first category were rabbis, schoolteachers, ritual slaughterers, scroll scribes, employees of the ritual bathhouse, and keepers of synagogues and cemeteries. The demand for the services of this group was determined largely by religious laws and customs and therefore was not very flexible. Among the other category were butchers, candlemakers, bookdealers, and prayer-shawl weavers. The demand for their employment could have been a joint demand since they were capable of providing services for non-Jews as well. Nevertheless the Jewish community had to sustain the costs of maintaining the bulk of their services when outside demand proved insufficient. The percentage of all these intracommunity services in the total of gainful employment varied for the particular communities according to their size; but there was less variation if the Jewish population of each of the countries was viewed as a unit. While smaller communities could have shared in some of the services that none alone could afford, the combined percentage of intracommunity employment, when standardized for size, was not much different from that of the larger communities. As a rule of thumb it would probably be correct to assume that at least 10% of total employment was devoted to the internal community services.

These various categories of employment constituted a wide spectrum within the Jewish communities and absorbed much of the energy of its members. In terms of the percentage of gainful employment or actual volume of labor input within the year they were probably greater than the average for the population at large for whom seasonality of agriculture reduced the volume of labor input. Apart from them, however, there existed a numerous group of unemployed or unemployable members of the community. It would be fair to assume that the primary responsibility for the support and maintenance of the unemployed or unemployable rested with the extended family which was the basic social unit within the community. Whenever the family was unable to provide such support, the community accepted such people as public charges. The three major ways in which the community met its responsibilities were through private charity; institutionalized voluntary associations organized for the purposes of providing assistance through institutions, such as hospitals, homes for incurables or the aged, and loan-societies; and through direct community support out of the taxation levied upon the tax-paying members. In accord with traditional beliefs, private charity was not only considered a responsibility but also an opportunity for the more prosperous members of the community. The activities of voluntary associations concerned with this type of welfare and social services prevented a full bureaucratization of functions, which would otherwise have been taken over entirely by the community authorities, and left thus much room for individual initiative and energy. Needless to say, neither private charity nor the work of the voluntary associations sufficed to meet the problem. Since the number of unemployed and unemployable also depended upon general economic conditions, in times of relative prosperity the economy would tend to absorb the unemployed and the community would be in a better condition to support the unemployable, while the reverse was true during periods of economic decline. Thus the role of community taxation increased at times when the tax burden was already felt most heavily. Nevertheless, the communities accepted this "welfare responsibility" either out of a sense of moral obligation or in order to mitigate the social friction and conflicts that a refusal would have entailed. It is difficult to estimate the proportion of unemployed or paupers within the Jewish communities for this period, but depending upon the economic and legal conditions of the Jews, it would be no exaggeration to estimate their number as between 15 and 25%, with a secular tendency to rise since the second half of the 17th century.

It is likewise difficult to document the employment distribution within the Jewish communities for countries scattered all over the map of Europe, although there are data for separate local communities either for irregular intervals or for single years. The employment distribution for the largest Jewish community in Europe – Poland-Lithuania – in the middle of the 18th century can roughly be reconstructed. The employment distribution differed markedly among the Jews settled in the larger cities, among those inhabiting the small towns, and among those scattered in the rural areas. In addition, the peculiarity of the settlement pattern of the Jews in Poland-Lithuania during this period was the large proportion of Jews living in rural areas, about one-third of the total Jewish population. While in the rural areas leaseholding (see **arenda*), innkeeping, alcohol distilling, and ancillary agriculture were the main occupations, the mass of Jewish artisans inhabited the larger cities and smaller towns. The social structure which emerges from the approximate data reflects the following employment distribution of the Polish Jews by the middle of the 18th century: wholesale merchants, financiers, etc. – about 2–3%; small traders, including leaseholders and innkeepers – less than 40%; artisans and other urban wage earners – more than 33%; employed in intracommunity services – about 10%; unemployed and paupers – at least 15%. The most obvious conclusions that could be drawn from this employment distribution is that the vast majority of the Jews earned their livelihood from physical labor and that a substantial proportion of the population was either already living on charity or on the threshold of poverty.

RESOURCE ENDOWMENT AND SOURCES OF INCOME. The consideration of the employment distribution within the Jewish community sheds some light on the problem of the sources of Jewish income and on one particularly interesting aspect, that of resource endowment and returns to labor and capital, the factors of production. For a long time the prevailing view among historians of the period has been that capital was the more important component of the resource endowment of the Jewish community and that returns to capital were also quantitatively the more significant component of the income earned by the Jews. Needless to say, this view was more congruent with popular images than with documentary calculations. Both progress in historical research and increased sophistication of economic analysis have led to serious questioning of this view. There is no doubt that a substantial part of the capital with which the Jews operated was borrowed from non-Jews, as evidenced by the bankruptcy of the Jewish communities in Poland during the 18th century and their large debts to the nobility and clergy. It is also increasingly clear that the return to skills in the pre-industrial period was relatively higher than was initially assumed. If first the labor income derived from the goods produced by Jewish artisans and craftsmen is calculated and then the labor component of the earning in retail trade is added, the result arrived at would be a very substantial share of the total income earned by all employed. The vast majority of the Jews during this period earned the bulk of their income from labor services. The profit rate of owners of capital could be maintained only by using capital in new areas of trade and industry, thus counteracting the secular tendency of the profit rate to decline while capital was becoming relatively more abundant. The capital earnings of the members of the Jewish community were in part used, through a process of income redistribution, to maintain intracommunity services and to aid the poorer members of the community.

The income position and income level of the Jewish community depended upon prevailing economic conditions and their changes. If the Jewish community is considered as being involved in an exchange of goods and services with the community at large, the economic well-being of the Jewish community would depend not only upon its employment composition and resource endowment, but also upon the "terms of trade" of its production of goods and services with the products for which it traded with the community at large. If, for simplicity's sake, it is assumed that the Jews were producing manufactured goods and consuming food and raw materials, their prosperity or lack of it would depend to some extent upon the terms of trade between manufactured goods and raw materials. In fact, the income of the Jews depended upon the economic situation of the various countries and particularly upon conditions in the agrarian sector which provided the bulk of the consumers of the products and services produced and marketed by the Jews. Since the goods sold by the Jews were more sensitive to the income position of consumers and since prices tended to vary with regard to relatively small changes in the demand or supply of such goods, their income probably fluctuated even more than that of the primary product producers. At the same time the volume of consumption of the Jews was less liable to fluctuate, thus tending to underscore even more the vulnerability of their net income position.

The secular trend of the economic well-being of the Jewish community in Europe varied from country to country, making it difficult to establish a general trend that would fit all countries during identical periods. The most general trend in the economic conditions of the Jews, and one that helps to explain the historical direction of the migration process, is the continuous improvement of their economic status and income level in Eastern Europe until the middle of the 17th century when the decline set in. About the same time, actually after the recovery following the Thirty Years' War in Germany (1618–48), a slow process of improvement of the economic conditions favorable to the Jews started in Central and Western Europe. While the 18th century reinforced the two diametrically opposed tendencies, the reversal of the migration pattern became discernible. The dependence of the Jews upon the economic conditions of the country and the particular society is self-explanatory. What is less clear, however, is the existence of significant differences in the attitude of different social groups toward the Jews behind the facade of a generalized "attitude."

ATTITUDES OF AND RELATIONS WITH THE SOCIETY AT LARGE. The pattern of economic and especially social relations between Jews and non-Jews remained almost unchanged throughout most of the early modern period. These relations were initially established to a very large extent upon the basis of the expected or actual utility of the Jews to the interests of particular social groups. The similarities and differences of economic interests of the social groups and their relative political strength played a decisive role in shaping the constraints upon the economic activity of the Jews. The following social groups might be differentiated: the crown and the nobility; the gentry; the merchants, with differentiation between the more advanced and backward countries; the craftsmen; and the peasants. From the outset it should be noted that the Jews had no economic counterpart to some of the social groups (crown and nobility, gentry, peasants) and thus no problem of economic competition could enter into the relationship. In the cases of the craftsmen and merchants, however, the problem of direct competition created almost an a priori presumption of an antagonistic relationship.

For the crown, the Jews were either a source of revenue or a vehicle of economic development in the areas of foreign trade, money and credit, and later manufacturing industry. The dependence of the Jews upon the crown allowed them to be considered both as a pliable instrument of government policies and as an important source of money income, fully compensating for the distaste or religious resentment generally felt toward the Jews. In the countries where the upper nobility shared in the power of the government, the economic convenience and money incomes from the Jews derived by the nobles employing them on the large private estates or in the discharge of the nobility's public offices rivaled the gains derived by the crown. The attitudes of the gentry toward the Jews were somewhat more ambiguous than that of the nobility. The Jews served the gentry as middlemen in the sale of their agricultural surplus and as suppliers of manufactured goods on terms more favorable than other merchants would customarily offer. In addition they often served as a source of credit for the money-hungry, debt-ridden gentry. Like the nobility, the gentry preferred in many cases to have the Jews act as a buffer between them and the peasantry, so that for the opportunity of employment and income the Jews often assumed the role of the gentry's agent in the economic exploitation of the peasantry and in effect became the scapegoat of the justified wrath of the peasants. The presence of the Jews as a threat of competition to the urban dwellers was useful to the gentry in resisting the merchants' demands for economic and political privileges, which the gentry were loathe to give up or to share. The gentry, therefore, appeared as a defender of the Jews and of their activities as traders and craftsmen. The ambiguity in the gentry's position arose mainly in connection with their role as debtors who were quite unwilling to live up to their obligations.

With respect to the merchants, a distinction has to be made between the advanced and the economically backward countries. In the economically advanced countries, the merchants during this period had already given up many of their special privileges in exchange for the legal protection of the business contract. The existing institutions and organizational forms of trade allowed a certain degree of competition; and the merchants as a group did not feel terribly threatened by an influx of newcomers, as long as the newcomers subscribed to the generally accepted rules of business conduct, were subject to the common jurisdiction, and were contributing to the expansion of trade. Therefore, even if the Jewish merchants were not socially accepted, they were tolerated as performing the same social function as the merchants in general. In contrast, the merchants in the economically backward countries were hostile for a number of reasons: (1) the occupation of merchants was circumscribed by sets of special privileges and regulated by the guild organizations in the areas of entry, business behavior of the guild members, and the nature of the markets; (2) the merchants in those countries subscribed very strongly to the erroneous notion that there is at each point in time a given volume of business, and the admission of more people into the profession will only reduce the share everyone already enjoys; (3) the fear of competition, which might lead to a decrease of the profit rate, made the merchants hostile to newcomers in general and particularly to the Jews who were outside their jurisdiction; (4) many of the merchants in the less developed countries were themselves ethnically of foreign stock and by keeping the conspicuous Jews out they tried to mollify the popular impression that trade was almost exclusively in the hands of foreigners. Thus the merchants in such countries did their best, wherever they could, to limit the occupations of the Jews, trying to eliminate competition from the most lucrative areas of trade and from the conventional channels of trade.

The social group that felt subjectively most threatened by competition from the Jews were the artisans who relied even more than the merchants upon benefits derived from old privileges and the guild organization. They tried to augment their incomes by following monopolistic practices, by regulating entry into guilds, setting a long time period for apprenticeship, prescribing the production process in detail, and trying to control the market. The artisan guilds in urban areas were relatively powerful, closed corporate bodies, quite effective in controlling urban crafts. As a social group the artisans had a much narrower outlook than the merchants, were much more under the influence of the Church, and resentful and suspicious of outsiders. During this period the Jewish artisans did not succeed in being incorporated into the general guilds and had to operate outside the Christian guild organization. Attempts to set up guilds of Jewish artisans were numerous and always argued for on the basis of the need for organization for successful competition or income maintenance. Needless to say, the artisans, the plebeian masses of the cities, quite often linked their struggle against competition from Jewish craftsmen and traders to the social struggle against the gentry and urban patricians. Thus anti-Jewish sentiment often accompanied particular forms of the class struggle of the urban plebeians.

The attitudes of the peasantry to the Jews did not matter in terms of the policies toward the Jews, except in cases of peasant wars and uprisings. Nor could the peasants prevent Jews from acting on behalf of the crown, gentry, and nobility. Nevertheless they affected some of the economic activities of the Jewish traders and artisans and were of importance in the social sphere since the peasants constituted the vast majority of the population. There is no doubt that in the situations in which the Jews acted as economic agents for the landowners they were strongly resented by the peasants. But even in the many instances when the Jews helped to bring the peasants into the money economy the attitude was not one of unqualified gratitude. This was due to the fact that the peasants' entry into and participation in the money economy was accompanied by rising demands for incomes on the part of both the landowners and the state at the expense of the peasants. In a sense, with peasant incomes rising, rents and taxes tended to rise accordingly. It would probably not be incorrect to conclude that in spite of tangible benefits provided for the peasants by some economic activities of the Jews, the peasants did not differentiate among the various roles played by the Jews in the rural economy. They were certainly either unable or unwilling to distinguish between different categories of Jews, a trait which they share with other social groups. The Jew was the stranger who, in the eyes of the peasants (as well as of the artisans), was suspected of undermining the traditional order. That old order was one that the peasants did not like, but they were too conservative to substitute another for it because of all the accompanying uncertainties. The Jews, in turn, especially those that settled in the rural areas, were perhaps only a notch above the peasants economically, but they were separated from the peasants by a cultural gulf that could not be bridged. Thus suspicion on the one side was reciprocated by contempt from the other.

ROLE OF THE JEWISH COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION. To the extent that the relations between some groups of the general community and various social groups within the Jewish community appeared to the contemporaries as antagonistic, and to the extent that the legal framework and policies of many European states were discriminatory, there existed a strong tendency within the Jewish community to engage in self-defense. In addition, there manifestly existed a desire to free themselves of the fetters of restrictions and controls imposed by the state, guilds, and other existing corporate bodies. But the latter attitude did not lead necessarily to a laissez-faire attitude even in areas of autonomous choice. The Jews' demand for freedom of trade or for the free exercise of one's skills in crafts and manufacturing did not include a demand for the abolition of regulations by the Jewish community itself of the economic activity of its members. The adoption of such an attitude would clearly clash with existing economic realities and with the basic tenet of governmental policy toward the Jews, which was accepted, willingly or unwillingly, by the Jewish communities. The point of departure of governmental policies was the principle, explicitly stated or implicitly assumed, of collective responsibility of the community for the acts of its members. In order for the Jewish community to discharge this responsibility at least a modicum of autonomy had to be granted in areas of taxation and civil law.

Seen in historical perspective, the measures of self-regulation and control by the autonomous authorities of the Jewish community over the economic activities of their members were perhaps only minor alterations in the general framework of the economic life of the Jews, which was determined largely by the conditions of the economy and major policies of the state. Nevertheless, the details and alterations seem to have been important since they apparently influenced the well-being of many and helped minimize some effects of discrimination. In general the spirit in which particular adjustments and arrangements were made was one of pragmatic realism. Broadly it coincided with the abolition of the restriction upon Jews charging interest to their coreligionists, a move that officially sanctioned a usage originating much earlier than the beginning of the 17th century. The basic criteria for community control appear to be in the same spirit: (1) maximum economic effectiveness for the community, the collectivity as the sum of its members; (2) conformity with traditional standards of justice and welfare; (3) minimal interference with individual initiative; and (4) continuity of religious traditions and maintenance of the existing authority structure, social order, and economic stratification.

Among the most outstanding examples of community activity as a self-regulatory agency influencing the economic life of its members, the following may be mentioned: (1) The right to accept new settlers enabled communities at least to some extent to regulate and direct the flow of migration. By granting or refusing the "right of entry" in the community (which was tantamount to the right of habitat and employment in a certain locality; see *Ḥerem ha-Yishuv*), the communal authorities were able to exercise a degree of control upon the supply of labor and the extent of competition for employment and business opportunities. (2) The community had the right of enforcing the principle of **ḥazakah* – of seniority or preferential option granted in the bidding or negotiation of a new contract to the previous partner over his competitors. This was a rule that benefited the previous or current party over any new entrant and effectively limited competition among Jewish businessmen. (3) There was a right and obligation to guarantee the solvency of the members of the community in business transactions whenever such guarantee were required or requested. In practice such guarantees helped members of the community avail themselves of business opportunities and strengthen their credit position, but in some cases the community, by indicating the limits of credit, was both protecting itself and preventing its members from engaging in high-risk operations. (4) There was a right to distribute the tax burden of the community among its members both for the purposes of poll tax payments and for its intracommunity needs (see *Taxation).

The paradox of the situation is that most of the cited examples appear to be in conflict with the liberal idea of granting freedom of economic activity to individuals. It is, however, congruent with the conviction that for a minority to survive as a distinct group it has to place the interests of group survival above the short-run interests of the individual members. It is also plausible that when the state was regulating economic life and practicing economic discrimination, an autonomous group could not afford a laissez-faire practice and still maintain its identity and internal cohesion. In fact, when during a later period the state started to withdraw from the positions of control and regulation, the Jewish communities also had to give up most of their regulatory functions under the pressure of the individual members in order to survive at least as voluntary associations. But during the period under consideration the Jewish community organization was still very strong in enforcing its control over an economically heterogeneous and socially stratified population.

SOCIAL STRATIFICATION WITHIN THE JEWISH COMMUNITY. Since the Jewish community was differentiated in respect to economic functions, it would be well to inquire into the pattern of social stratification among the Jews during this period. The society at large was hierarchically organized, and the social conditions of its members were largely predetermined either by birth (by hereditary status) or by the role and functions assigned to them by prevailing custom or by the state. There was no perfect identity, however, between the stratification of the society at large and the Jewish community for the simple reason that the Jews were excluded from land ownership and were therefore lacking the equivalent of the nobility, gentry, and serf-peasantry. Within the Jewish community there was the equivalent of three large groups which had their counterparts in the society at large, namely: the equivalent of the urban patricians, the equivalent of the small producers (craftsmen) and middlemen (merchants), and the wage earners and paupers.

The first group, in terms of wealth, was represented by rich merchants and entrepreneurs engaged in international and interregional trade, in ownership of industrial establishments, in banking and moneylending, as court factors, tax farmers, etc. In terms of social prestige this group also included famous rabbinical scholars and book publishers, although the last two categories were far inferior in terms of wealth. The second group, representing the majority of the Jewish population, included all the owners of some capital, in the form of tools or stocks of goods, to which their own or family labor was applied and who employed a small number of workers. They were the ones who, like the vast majority of the first group, came into direct contact with the market and were exposed to all the irregularities of the early, imperfect markets of the time. Although social mobility from this group into the upper stratum was not prevented by any legal means, the dichotomy between the two groups was noticeable both in the economic and the social spheres, and the grievances voiced by this group against the upper stratum are a clear witness to the cleavage existing between them. The third group included wage earners engaged in crafts, trade, transportation, services (including domestics), and a large number of unemployables for whom the community had to provide a livelihood. While social mobility from the third group into the second was a possibility, the "plebs" of the community constituted a distinct group, inferior not only in terms of income, but also in education and skills and separated by many social and cultural barriers from the ones who were economically independent.

While the intergroup mobility was limited by economic factors and perhaps also by some cultural factors, intragroup mobility was much more free and frequent; and in this respect the Jewish community was ahead of its times in comparison with the society at large. There were also special reasons why the tensions among the various groups and social classes were dampened and less explosive than in the society at large. Two reasons were especially significant: first, the generally oppressive attitudes of the society at large, which apart from exceptional cases and special situations was hardly in a mood to differentiate among the various categories and groups within the Jewish community; secondly, the institutionalized system of welfare within the Jewish community acted as a form of income redistribution and provided for the most basic needs of its indigent members. But even this mitigation of the internal tensions could not eliminate the intensity of the discord and the deep resentment that existed among the various social groups within the community, contrary to the superficial impressions of casual outside observers who were convinced that the Jewish community was a model of internal harmony and solidarity. The internal conflicts were at times so intense that external, governmental authorities were called upon to take sides and intervene either to strengthen the forces of authority within the community or to curb the arbitrariness of the decisions and limit the authority of the ruling bodies. The various intellectual and religious movements within the Jewish community also exhibited strong social overtones and in some cases revealed the strength of subterranean resentments and open protest on the part of the lower classes of the community.

The real power in the community was located in the hands of the upper social group, and the wealthy occupied offices of consequence and social prestige. Although Jewish communities strongly resented the appointment of officers by government authorities – which guaranteed office-holding for the wealthiest – as an interference in community affairs, the system of electing officers (who were often personally responsible for the fiscal obligations of the community) no less favored the election of the rich, the ones who could afford the burden of office. Wealth became almost a prerequisite for office and could be augmented by holding office, since offices provided access to information and opportunities that could be turned to business advantage by their holders. In part, some of the power of the wealthy elite was exercised because of the economic dependence of members of the community directly employed or indirectly influenced by the elite. The relatively large-scale business operations by the members of the elite provided employment opportunities for agents, salesmen, domestics, etc., which assured the elite of the support of the dependents in community affairs. The symbol of the autonomy of the Jewish communities was their right to elect their spiritual leaders, the rabbis. The communities viewed any attempt by governmental authority to appoint rabbis as an assault on their right of religious autonomy. Nonetheless, the power of the spiritual leaders was more important in maintaining the continuity of tradition and is to be seen more in their role as mitigators in internal conflicts than in the internal policies or the routine economic activities of the community. It was left to the business elite to regulate and supervise the economic activities of the community. In cases where a conflict arose between the spiritual leaders and the upper stratum in the community, the real power, that of the elite, usually asserted itself. In the communities in which the power of office was shared by the upper stratum with representatives of the middle group, the important decisions were usually left to the "patrician" families. An important result of the existing social stratification during this period was the degree of stability provided by community leadership recruited basically from one social group. In a period when all other societies were hierarchically organized, the Jewish community could hardly afford to be organized according to any other principle.

Transition Period

The transition between the "old" conditions and the "new" was neither smooth nor short. It spanned two distinct periods, which differed markedly from one another in respect to the general framework of economic activity, the prevailing ideologies, and the social groups that made the important decisions. The transition reflected the change in social and economic development, in this sense exhibiting both its revolutionary aspects regarding some institutions and individuals and its evolutionary aspects of piecemeal transformation of other institutions, habits, and activities. The major characteristics of the transition in the economic sphere included acceleration in the accumulation of tangible assets (capital) as well as the possibility and willingness to transfer increasing amounts of capital from one area of economic activity to another. This phenomenon was accompanied by the development of technology, which provided labor-saving mechanical devices for the production of goods, and in turn became a strong force in creating the demand for new capital and for new skills.

Concurrent with these economic changes were new developments in generally held beliefs and opinions. Among the many, some must be singled out for their significance. Especially important was the rise of secularism at the expense of traditional religious and theological views. The turn toward secularism put man in the center of the universe and assumed that he was able and willing to subordinate the forces of nature to serve him. This led both to the development of a more generalized utilitarian approach and, with the weakening of earlier dogmatic attitudes, to the development and penetration of scientific thought, thus providing the basis for innovations and inventions in the field of technology. The spread of the idea of egalitarianism was another important element in the change of social thought. While not a characteristic feature of the period, the fact that man in the abstract was now at the center of the universe, led egalitarianism to challenge the basic premises of a hierarchical society in which the accidents of birth largely determine the social position of individuals. Though egalitarianism was not yet successful during the period of transition in securing the political and social participation of a broad spectrum of the populace, it at least achieved the legitimization of merit and achievement rather than birth as the leading criteria for joining the social elite. The change of criteria was of utmost importance, while the implementation of the principle could proceed only slowly if the social fabric was not to be torn by revolution. If ideas of secularism and egalitarianism are to be intellectually tenable and socially effective, equality before the law is perhaps the first necessary step. Thus the establishment of a new legality based not upon divine law or the will of the sovereign but upon the consensus of the governed led to new forms of individual freedom and to social responsibilities or disciplines being shared by all citizens or inhabitants of the particular countries. That social discipline required the resolution of conflicts within a legal framework was obvious, and for the framework to be effective it had to approach universality and offer equitable treatment to all.

The transition period in Western Europe dates from about the middle of the 18th century until after the Napoleonic Wars, and in Eastern Europe runs from the Napoleonic Wars until the third quarter of the 19th century. The distinction and the lack of overlap in time is important to the extent that the Western European experience could have been considered as a model of the future economic and social development of Eastern Europe. However, if a comparison were made of the situation in Western Europe with that of Eastern Europe during a particular point in time, more striking contrasts than similarities would be found. At a time when the economies of Western Europe were caught up in the process of economic growth, those of Eastern Europe during the same period were in a state of relative stagnation in which the process of economic development either did not get off the ground or was arrested by the prevailing political regime. While in the West the end of the 18th and the beginning of the 19th century witnessed new economic opportunities for its indigenous population and for immigrants, the Jews included, the wholesale bankruptcy of the Jewish community organizations of Poland in the second half of the 18th century and the economic plight of the majority of the Polish and Russian Jews around the turn of the 19th century were examples of the different situations of the Jewish communities in various countries at those times.

How did the Jews fare under the conditions which were defined as the transition period? There is no doubt that the initial benefits were considerable since they signified the changed status of the Jews. Even in the absence of equal civil rights or true emancipation they meant an increased sense of personal security, a decrease in arbitrariness, and a greater recourse to the prevailing law of the land. It is possible to describe, rather than measure, the economic effects of these transitional changes upon the activities of the Jews in two distinct areas, labor and capital.

The loosening of restrictions affecting places of habitat or work made it possible for labor to move more freely in search of markets with higher earnings. Thanks to the relaxation of restrictions, on entering particular professions Jews could avail themselves of training opportunities or enter educational institutions with hopes for upward social mobility and higher incomes. The rising demand for new types of employment, spurred by the accelerated pace of economic development, provided possibilities for absorption of at least a part of the relatively large groups of unemployed members of the Jewish communities in the labor market. The greater degree of personal safety and security of their assets had a number of effects upon Jewish owners of capital. There was a reduction of the size of reserves previously kept as personal insurance against various emergencies. The size of such reserves for Jewish merchants was variously estimated as up to a third of their wealth. By reducing the reserve it was possible to devote a larger part of the total wealth to productive use. The improvement of the legal position of the Jews increased the amount of credit that could be extended to them without excessive risks on the part of the lenders. This development in turn probably led to a decrease in the rates of interest at which Jews could borrow. Added security and new opportunities enabled the Jewish owners of capital to use it in a number of areas (real estate, industry) hitherto closed to them, thus increasing both the returns and effectiveness of capital. The removal of some discriminatory regulations (such as double taxation), which previously increased the costs for Jews of carrying on economic activities and affected the size of their income, had the effect of increasing their disposable income and could have led to simultaneous growth in, or to a redistribution of the shares of, consumption and savings. In some cases an increase of savings (or investment) could be expected; in other cases an increase of consumption or an increase in family size could follow. With regard to the last, it is clear that even partial removal of some discriminatory rules applied to the Jews, like restriction on settlement, on marriage, and the like (see, e.g., *Familiants Laws), resulted in an increase in the birth rate and population growth.

The transition period can be characterized as the beginnings of consideration of the "Jewish problem" as a matter of social and national policies for the states and societies in Europe, in contradistinction to earlier preoccupation with fiscal interests, Church concerns, or narrowly defined group competition. The growing concern of the state with the economic activity of the Jews was exhibited in various attempts by governments to influence such activity. Some attempts could be classified as representing a policy of "productivization" of Jews and attempts to change the social composition of the Jewish population. Interesting examples of such policies, perhaps in part also inspired by physiocratic thought, were the attempts to settle Jews on the land by "enlightened absolutist" regimes such as those of *Joseph II in Austria and Alexander I in Russia. It is immaterial here that such attempts were completely unsuccessful, either because the schemes were insufficiently prepared and financed or because they were sabotaged by the bureaucracy that was to administer them. The disappointments of tens of thousands of Jews and the sufferings of thousands who participated in the failing experiments are also not at issue. The important feature was the clearer realization that in part, at least, government policies were responsible for the peculiarities of Jewish economic activities or social structure and that state policies – as a part of the social and legal framework of Jewish activity – had to be brought in line with or adjusted to the economic changes that were taking place. Therefore, while during the transition period, government-sponsored agricultural colonization in southern Russia resulted in settling on land only a few thousand Jewish families and failed abysmally in Austria, it nevertheless raised by implication the problem of legal tenancy and ownership of land for Jews. This in turn resulted in the subsequent development of a small but socially diverse farming element in the Jewish communities of Eastern Europe during the 19th century.

Whatever the impact of the changing economic and social conditions on the economic activities of the Jews, during the transition period the Jewish communities had to face an imminent, fundamental change. For the Jewish communities the problem was how to continue as a distinct group in the general society, not under conditions of forced separation but under those of free choice by their members. For the first time within the general period under consideration, it became possible for larger numbers of Jews to break away culturally and socially from the Jewish community, even while maintaining their religious beliefs, and to be accepted by the community at large. Social acceptance was offered to a small but influential minority of the Jews as remuneration for cultural assimilation. The price to pay was basically severance of their relations with the rest of the Jewish community and the abandonment of the active desire to perpetuate this community. Under the circumstances, the offer of social acceptance was a tempting one since it involved social advancement by the criteria of the community at large. That not every social group would accept its Jewish counterpart even at the price of cultural assimilation was obvious, but during the transition period personal or narrow group interests were strong and the fight for universal civil rights still very much ahead. The situation presented a challenge to the Jewish communal authority and called for surrender of its traditional power of exclusive representation of the Jews and of its power of *taxation. The weakening of the authority of the Jewish community organization could also be traced to the growing unwillingness of the more affluent groups in the community to subject themselves to income redistribution in favor of the poor. Poor relief was "scaled down" from a duty concept to one of discretionary charity, and paupers were "encouraged" to find employment. Although the full impact of the newly created situation of defining one's identity, under conditions of relatively free choice, was to be felt during a later period, the difficulties and problems thus created – psychological and social – were already becoming apparent during the transition period.

Modern Period

The main features of the development of the economy of the Jews during the modern period are patterns of migration, penetration into areas of industry, maintenance of a strong position in the area of services, and very limited involvement in agriculture. Decades ago economic historians were engaged in a debate about the role of the Jews in the development of capitalism, some trying to define the historically objective role of the Jews as active agents of capitalist development. Now with historical hindsight the discussion would probably be conducted and conclusions reached within a different framework. The implicit notion that capital was abundant in the Jewish sector of the economy would now be refuted and therefore the logic of portraying the Jews as "objectively acting" on behalf of a capitalist order would be rejected. It would probably be accepted, however, that an order of economic liberalism is one that provides greater opportunities for any minority, the Jews included, than an alternative economic system based upon a different ideology and set of political principles. An impersonal market and a high degree of division of labor may create alienation and other social ills, but by not requiring that the commodities produced have any other labels than the price tag, the free market works against discrimination. A competitive market may injure high-cost producers or cause unemployment, but its principles were compatible with the ideas of social and cultural pluralism. The relatively favorable response of Jews and other minorities to the liberalization of the economic order was based primarily on an expected reduction in discrimination. However, while a liberal economic order provided the Jews with opportunities, it could not provide them with a right to work, to compete on equal terms, to the same extent that such a "right" was traditionally enjoyed by the various classes of the majority population. In addition, the phase of economic liberalism as a chief characteristic of the capitalist system was neither a permanent feature nor a very long-lasting one, nor even one universally followed in all countries experiencing the capitalist type of economic growth.

In most countries of Eastern Europe the capitalist stage of development coincided with a rise of nationalism, which at various points exhibited a discriminatory attitude toward the Jews in general or toward some social groups within the Jewish community, in attempts to promote the interests of the ethnic majority. Tariff policies against foreign goods were accompanied not infrequently by discriminatory taxation imposed upon "foreigners" within the country, meaning national minorities. In the multi-national states of Eastern Europe there were ample opportunities for labeling various minorities as "foreign," "alien," and so on. Under such conditions it could hardly be expected that the Jewish masses, who were adversely affected by discriminatory policies, would consider the capitalist economic system as more desirable or attractive than an alternative promising them the "right to work."

JEWISH MIGRATION. It is against the background of insufficient employment opportunities and discrimination that the process of migration has to be viewed. The pattern of Jewish migration, of spatial mobility of labor, during the modern period differed in many respects from previous migration patterns. The general direction was westward, from Eastern Europe to the West, and from Europe overseas. As a matter of fact, the migration from Western Europe overseas was more than made up for by an influx of Jews from the East. This general direction of the migration was significant as a movement from less rapidly developing countries to more rapidly developing ones. In terms of its time dimension the inter-country migration was intensified during the 19th century and reached its peak during the decade prior to World War I. But apart from the inter-country migration, of very considerable significance was the intra-country migration from the less urbanized areas to the more urbanized areas, a development that increased the degree of concentration of the Jewish population in large urban and metropolitan areas, with their developed industry, trade, and other social or cultural characteristics. Both the domestic and international migration and the pattern of settlement of the Jews contributed to urban concentration and had an impact upon the social and economic structure of the Jewish population. While it is tempting to assign the role of prime mover in Jewish migrations to purely economic causes, it would be erroneous to omit political elements such as discriminatory legislation, violent antisemitism, pogroms, and revolutions. Political upheavals and governmental policies influenced the pace of the migration process, but could not stop it for any appreciable length of time (the case of the Soviet Union being an exception).

What were the characteristic features and effects of the migration process as a whole and of its various forms? The migration process started as soon as the Jewish population could rise above the level of poverty and isolation to which it had deteriorated in Eastern Europe by the end of the 18th and first half of the 19th century and regain its age-old habits of mobility. In terms of numbers, the migration stream from continental Europe during the 100 years preceding World War II accounted for approximately 4,000,000 individuals, of which over 70% went to the United States, about 10% each to South America and Palestine, and the rest to Britain, Canada, South Africa, Australia, and other countries. Thus, in view of the fact that the North American continent absorbed three-quarters of the total international (or overseas) migration, the characteristics of this migration may be assumed as the most typical.

The available data indicate that the migration was a family one (of whole families, even if separated by a one- or two-year period) rather than of single individuals; that it was a migration for settlement and not for work, saving, and return; and that it was a migration involving a relatively very high percentage of skilled workers. With respect to the last characteristic, only the data can be relied upon and little investigation beyond these can be done: the explanation of this phenomenon can only be surmised. It is logical to assume that the process of overseas migration required payment of transportation costs, in other words some amount of savings, and thus could not involve paupers. Therefore, it is logical to assume that the migrants were either members of the industrial labor force, or entrants into the labor force who already had acquired skills, or individuals who acquired particular skills in anticipation of their migration, having made an investment over and above their transportation costs or borrowed in anticipation of future returns. It was in large measure due to the industrial skills and some working habits of the migrants that their future relative success can be explained.

Three further points need to be emphasized in connection with the migration problem. First, given the nature of the family ties within the Jewish community, the financing of migration took place within the extended family of the immigrants and was later also subsidized by the earnings of the immigrants, often virtually out of their first savings. Secondly, prior to the end of the 19th century there were already in operation well-organized voluntary associations that assisted in the migration process. In their absence the economic and psychological costs of migration would have been considerably higher. Thirdly, by organizing voluntary associations of mutual assistance, in part copying the models from Eastern Europe, the immigrants were able to help the new arrivals more effectively. Some relatively small part, probably not more than about 3% of the total of the migration movement, was financed and assisted by funds donated or collected on behalf of the migration, especially in the presence of an ideological or programmatic background. The two most outstanding examples were Palestine and the agricultural settlements in Argentina.

The primary effect of both the intraregional and international migration of the Jews was to decrease the competition for employment opportunities where such were scarce and provide a higher return for the migrants where their labor and skills were in greater demand. Thus while the income of the migrants increased in comparison with their previous income level, the income level of those who remained behind did not fall. However, it must be admitted that the movement of millions of people within a few generations deprived the established Jewish communities of a young, enterprising, and skilled element. This movement had a number of demographic, economic, and cultural repercussions on the European Jewish communities. It is difficult to pinpoint such effects, but it certainly affected the age structure of the European communities by removing some of the middle groups (age groups 20–40 in particular). It also perhaps affected adversely the growth rate of the Jewish population in Europe, although it would be difficult to predict what that rate would have been under worse economic conditions in the absence of migration. In terms of its impact upon the social structure, it probably increased the economic polarization within the Jewish communities since neither the rich nor the very poor contributed to the migration stream. In another sense the migration movement contributed to a greater stability within the Jewish communities since it absorbed much of the unruly and nontraditionally inclined element of the community. Last but not least, the migration movement contributed to an activated exchange among Jewish communities, with a money transfer to Eastern Europe that not only subsidized further migration but supported relatives and community institutions, and that was in part compensated by an export of cultural and spiritual services from Europe to the areas of new settlement.

PENETRATION INTO INDUSTRIAL EMPLOYMENT. Some assessment must be made of the conditions that enabled Jews to penetrate into industrial employment and maintain their position in the areas of services under conditions of modern industrialization. What adjustment was required on their part to attain their goals? Here we are concerned with entrepreneurial activities in the industrial sector as well as the transformation of handicraft employment into small-scale and larger-scale industrial employment. This entrepreneurial activity is not being considered here in terms of "Jewish contributions" to the development of this or that country, or the amassing of wealth by individuals of Jewish descent. It is beyond the purview of this account to dwell upon the Rothschilds in England and France, on the German-Jewish bankers, or on mining magnates in Africa or South America. In addition, a distinction should be made between large-scale and small-scale entrepreneurs. While a few Jews entered industrial entrepreneurship via high finance, the banking system, etc., the multitude consisted of small-scale industrial entrepreneurs who were recruited mostly from the ranks of craftsmen and merchants, previously engaged in the putting-out system. They were subordinate to and dependent upon the large-scale industrial establishments because they could hardly compete with large-scale industrial firms in the production of goods and had therefore either to become suppliers to the large firms of some specialized goods or producers of market goods that were outside the assortment manufactured by large-scale industry. Given the scarcity of capital in the social milieu from which the small-scale producers or entrepreneurs were recruited, their proximity to industrial centers and markets was absolutely crucial. Small-scale industrial firms did not possess the capital to carry large stocks, and a quick turnover was their only mode of survival. A great deal of flexibility in product-mix and in assuring sources of demand was required to keep the enterprises in operation. They also required a labor force skilled but not overly specialized and with relatively few employment alternatives to accept a less-than-regular employment. This was a typical solution for economic branches that operated with a basically backward technology at low levels of productivity, low wages, and long hours of work, in what were fringes of the consumer goods industries. It was due to the declining role of handicraft production, which was suffering from industrial competition, that this type of industrial employment was acceptable to Jewish industrial job seekers.

Jewish entrepreneurs did, however, play an important role in providing gainful employment for large numbers of Jews. It may be assumed that for a Jewish entrepreneur there existed a "psychological income" in providing employment for other Jews, whether he did so for reasons of greater familiarity and cultural affinity or because it was considered a "good deed" in cases when discrimination in favor of Jewish employees increased his operational costs. Those costs, in turn, depended upon the nature of the labor supply and the distribution of skills within the Jewish labor force and within the total population. If the costs of hiring Jewish labor were less than or equal to those of hiring other members of the labor force, it can be assumed that there were no costs in the discrimination in favor of employing Jews. As will be seen from a number of examples, the employment pattern of Jewish labor by Jewish entrepreneurs did not in fact impose additional costs upon the employers. There were, however, two other obstacles that had to be overcome in order to have the employment of a Jewish labor force reach a significant level. The first constraint was the assumed or real strength of the religious taboo against work on the Sabbath, regardless of whether the taboo was expressed in the behavior of workers or in the attitudes of the entrepreneurs. The second constraint was the assumed animosity of non-Jewish workers and foremen toward Jewish co-workers. There is no doubt that such constraints upon the entrepreneurs were real, especially in the later part of the 19th century in Eastern Europe.

The cases of a few industries in Europe and one in the U.S. are instructive since they provide a broad spectrum of employment opportunities created by Jewish entrepreneurs for Jewish workers. One is the *textile industry in Russian Poland in which Jewish spinners, weavers, and other textile workers were predominantly employed in the smaller-scale enterprises, while the larger-scale factories refrained from employing them. Second is the case of the forestry trade, in which few Jewish workers and laborers could compete successfully with the low-paid peasants seeking off-season employment in lumbering. Therefore, thousands of Jews were employed in this industry by Jewish firms as overseers in the forests, sawmills, and transportation of the products, much of the output being destined for export or railroad construction. Thus, the demand for trained personnel with a degree of familiarity with the operation and quality standards in forestry and with some clerical skills attracted many Jewish workers and employees. While such a combination of skills was rare in the general labor force, and the wages and salaries accepted by the Jewish workers were generally low, there was hardly any cost of discriminating in favor of Jewish employment in the forestry trade. In the third case, the sugar and oil industries may be subsumed under one type of employment. Neither in sugar-beet growing nor in the processes of sugar refining were Jews represented. The same is true for the oil industry located outside the Jewish *Pale of Settlement. The Jews could compete neither with the peasants and local oil-workers nor with the highly skilled specialists in sugar and oil refining. The areas of employment for Jews provided for them by Jewish entrepreneurs were those of distribution and trade. Thus, thousands of Jews were employed as clerical personnel, salesmen, and sales agents in the trade networks of both the sugar and oil industries. The outstanding case of industrial employment provided by Jewish entrepreneurs for Jewish workers in the U.S. is the garment industry. The levels of skill brought over by the Jewish immigrants, the relatively low wage schedule of the garment industry, and the relatively small scale of the operations of the firms led to a high concentration of Jewish workers, with the industry as a whole serving as a massive source of employment.

The above examples illustrate some of the patterns of the penetration by Jews into areas of industrial employment. They are indicative of the manner in which masses of former artisans and pauperized elements of the Jewish community could join the ranks of industrial workers and employees. As in other societies, child labor and long-term apprenticeship were the chief means of skill-acquisition for the poor. Although the capital-goods industries were virtually closed for both Jewish entrepreneurs and workers alike, industrial employment concentrated in consumer goods industries signified the adjustment to modern, industrial society and injected a new dynamism both in the social relations within the Jewish communities and with the community at large.

MAINTENANCE OF POSITIONS IN THE SERVICE SECTOR OF THE ECONOMY. The service sector includes employment in trade, transportation and communication, public and private services, and the liberal professions. For the huge segment of the Jewish population previously employed in it, largely in trade and particularly commodity trade, the problem of economic survival within this sector became absolutely essential. During the early period of industrialization when massive investments are made in the build-up of physical industrial capital – primarily in construction and equipment and in some of the services of the social overhead type such as railroad and road building – the majority of the services are not recipients of capital. It is only when the basic capital in industry is created, and both the producers' goods and consumers' goods branches are producing at relatively high levels of productivity, that the demand for services increases on the part of a population whose general level of income has risen very substantially. The fact that Jews were heavily concentrated in the service sector in countries whose pace of development was slow, whose market growth was sluggish, and whose levels of personal income were among the lowest in Europe, did not augur well for service employees. It was, therefore, not so much a matter of historical foresight but a lack of viable alternatives that kept large masses of Jews within this sector during the early stages of industrialization. It was the gradual process of commercialization of agriculture that provided outlets for the commodity trade and thus for service employment for the Jews who were living in rural areas or small towns. Urbanization provided other opportunities for employment in trade and also in other services; but paradoxically the process of urbanization and the development of service opportunities in the large cities significantly undercut or substituted the service functions previously performed in small towns. The process of urbanization was accompanied by the development of a more dense transportation network which created direct links between the big cities and the hinterland, decreasing transportation and travel costs and making the big city and rural areas accessible to one another. The result was that many of the services concentrated in the small towns could no longer be performed at the prices offered in the big cities where economies of scale were more likely; and the decline of small towns under the conditions of a competitive market followed. The problem for Jewish service employment was whether the opportunities available to Jews in the big cities were sufficient to compensate or substitute for the disappearance of such opportunities in the small towns and also allow for the rate of Jewish population increase. The answer for Eastern Europe appears to have been negative, for Western Europe positive. In the U.S. there was a secular trend of employment growth in the service sector for the Jews. In Eastern Europe the crisis of the small towns remained a continuous problem, especially exacerbating for the Jews when coupled with discriminatory policies of limiting access or prohibiting the influx of Jewish service employees in such branches as the civil service, central government or municipal services, and public transportation. In countries that did not openly follow discriminatory policies, the solution of the service employment problem for the Jews became very much dependent upon both the general pace of economic development and the urbanization process.

The diversity of service employment makes it very difficult to estimate the degree of substitution of one type of employment for another or the mobility of individuals from one category to another within this sector. The required educational background differed substantially; and substitution or transfers were possible probably at the lower levels of skills in which literacy could be considered the predominant, if not the universally sufficient, prerequisite. Internal mobility within the service sector was much less frequent at higher levels of specialization and especially when the specific training presupposed a higher level of schooling. The explanation of the continuity of a high proportion of Jewish employment in the area of services would be incomplete if two other factors were overlooked. The first was the opening up of opportunities in the liberal professions; the second was the continued demand for special services generated within and performed expressly for the Jewish communities. The first phenomenon, entry into the free professions, was a result of the reduced effectiveness of discriminatory policies toward Jews in the area of secondary and higher education relative to the areas of the public services. Educational opportunities that provided employment possibilities in the free professions became attractive avenues of social and economic advancement for the Jewish middle class, previously employed primarily in commodity trade. Therefore, with employment in the public sector and in the civil service very much restricted and curtailed for eligible Jewish candidates, the typical employment pattern was in the private service sector, including health services, educational services, and legal services. In addition, the private service sector provided employment opportunities for a certain number of educated individuals as salaried employees, such as bookkeepers, legal clerks, and pharmacist's assistants.

The demand for services by and for the Jewish communities continued during this period, although the process of secularization tended to shift the demand from the purely religious areas to those of education, health, and social services. Attempts to maintain a general cultural and not only an exclusively religious identity helped to sustain the demand for educational services. Meanwhile, the pattern of settlement in urban and metropolitan areas created a demand for the development of a communication network by which some of the cultural needs could be met and thus supported the activities of the press, theater, literary activities, and the like. Given the fact that public services in the area of health for the total population were highly inadequate and that the Jewish population received even less than a proportionate share of those, the demand for health and social services provided within and by the Jewish community was very strong. This stimulus was instrumental in the provision of such services either on a private basis or as a part of the welfare activities carried on by the community authorities for needy members.

EMPLOYMENT IN THE AGRICULTURAL SECTOR. Farming played a very subordinate role in the employment structure of the Jewish population during this period and its share in total employment was relatively small. It is not difficult to provide an explanation for this phenomenon. During the 19th century and later, agriculture in Europe was a declining industry, releasing rather than attracting labor. In addition, previous discriminatory policies prevented land ownership and restricted land tenure for Jews to the extent that farming as a skill did not develop within the Jewish milieu. Although the lifting of some of the most severe restrictions rendered farming a plausible alternative to the precarious positions of small-town traders or artisans, a number of circumstances mitigated against a mass influx of Jews into farming. Land was becoming relatively expensive in Eastern Europe, and the returns to both capital and labor in agriculture were relatively small. Settlement on large land tracts and the establishment of colonies required sizable capital outlays and a degree of organizational effort beyond the available resources and authority of the organized Jewish communities. The pattern of individual settlement in a dispersed manner was discouraged on the one hand by religious and traditional attitudes, since it typically involved a high degree of cultural isolation, and on the other hand by an often hostile rural environment, suspicious of any aliens settling in its midst. Within the Jewish milieu or as part of Jewish folklore, the stigma of boorishness or coarseness was associated with Jewish farmers, characteristics of a low prestige status, not so much in economic terms as in general cultural ones.

Outside of Europe, however, two types of development have to be considered: (1) countries of rapidly developing agriculture in which the employment of Jews in this sector of the economy was not significant, the United States and Canada being prime examples; (2) countries in which the employment share of agriculture was higher than in most of Europe, the specific cases being Palestine and Argentina.

With respect to the first group, two factors might explain the relatively low share of agriculture in the employment distribution. The foremost was the greater attraction that employment opportunities had for immigrants in the industrial and service sectors coupled with the preference for urban settlement, which provided additional security to the immigrants as members of their own ethnic communities. The second was the timing of the large migration streams, which took place after the closing of the so-called "agricultural frontier." In the case of Palestine and Argentina there was an induced process in which some noneconomic variables were of utmost importance. In Palestine the ideological aspect, the Zionist idea, motivated a relatively high percentage of the immigrants to settle on land, beginning with the last decades of the 19th century; farming became as much a way of life as a profession. In Argentina a substantial segment of the immigration was sponsored by adherents of agricultural colonization schemes who induced agricultural employment by paying the transportation costs and providing land for agricultural group settlement in the name of ideas of "productivization" of unskilled and unemployed members of the Jewish community. However, the long-term trend both in Palestine, later the State of Israel, and in Argentina was the relative decrease of farm employment under the impact of industrialization and urbanization.

INCOME. Given the employment structure of the Jewish population during the modern period, what could be said about the level and distribution of income within this population?

At the beginning of the period, and in a number of countries during most of the period, the average income of the Jews was below that of the population at large, including the peasants. However, the level of income increased both as a result of the total increase of incomes in Europe in general and because of the impact of migration, which, given its direction from economically less prosperous areas to economically more prosperous ones, had a net impact of increasing the average income level of the Jewish population. In addition, because of its composition as an increasingly urbanized population and one concentrated in the industrial and service sectors of the economy, its income during the 100 years preceding World War II probably increased at a higher rate than the average income of the total population of the countries they lived in. As a rule of thumb it would not be incorrect to assume that the average income level of the Jewish population by the end of the period reached a level that was higher than the average for farmers and industrial workers, although probably not above the level of the skilled stratum of industrial workers and salaried employees. Another way of saying this is that Jewish income was at about the average level of the urban population. The level of Jewish income fluctuated around the general upward trend. The fluctuations were pronounced, first because of the relatively large proportion of self-employed, a social group whose income is less stable than that of salaried workers and employees; secondly, because of the impact of exogenous factors such as wars and major upheavals during which the property of the Jews was much more vulnerable than that of other population groups (e.g., the forced mass exile of Russian Jews from the war zones in World War I and the wave of pogroms in the Ukraine (1918–21), during which property was either destroyed, expropriated, or simply taken away by force from its rightful owners). Thirdly, during the downturns of the business cycle, Jews as a minority group usually suffered more than the average member of the society at large. But notwithstanding such fluctuations, the general trend of Jewish income growth on a global scale was upward.

How was this income distributed, and what were the basic determinants of its distribution? Both tendencies to increase and to decrease the income inequality were at work, and it would be very difficult to measure the separate effects with any degree of precision. Following intuitive judgment it would be sensible to assume that in the countries in which the impact of discrimination against Jews was the strongest, income inequality within the Jewish community was probably more pronounced than in the countries that followed a more liberal policy toward the Jews. That income inequality within the Jewish community led to tensions, internal struggle, and organized activities of one social group against the other is obvious. That the divergency of interests led to the development of different ideologies and as such intensified the divisive tendencies in the community is no surprise, being a reflection within the Jewish milieu of what was taking place within the population at large. It is also true that the internal struggles within the Jewish communities during the last decades of the 19th century and beginning of the 20th century made a considerable contribution toward reforming the community authorities toward their democratization and modernization. They thereby became much more responsive to the needs of their members. But whatever generalizations are attempted in order to bring under a common denominator the economic and social trends prevailing during the modern period, the significant differences of the developmental patterns of the Jewish communities can be better understood only upon a closer examination of at least the major Jewish communities. The ones selected for further scrutiny are the Western European, the Eastern European, the U.S., and the Palestine Jewish communities.

WESTERN EUROPE. The economic development of Western European Jewish communities during the modern period can be generally characterized by their successful attempt to join the middle class. Their problems roughly paralleled the problems of the middle class in Europe, in the sense that they enjoyed apparent well-being and security under normal conditions and discovered the precariousness of their position in times of crisis. Western Europe, following the example of England, experienced the industrial revolution around the middle of the 19th century and was busily involved in adjusting its institutional structure to fit the new economic order. Since the institutional adjustment was more complicated while vestiges of the older order had to be destroyed, eliminated, or transformed, and the state played a much more decisive role in the process of economic transformation on the European continent than in England, there was a greater degree of politization of economic issues than in England. The politization of economic issues provided a specific impetus for the activities of the middle class and had a profound impact upon the activities and attitudes of the Western European Jews.

At a time when new economic opportunities were being created in Western Europe, the Jewish population of those countries was relatively sparse and the Jews constituted a negligible percentage of the total population. Therefore, there was within the Jewish communities very little of the fierce competition for relatively scarce economic opportunities which characterized the situation of the Eastern European Jews. The process of urbanization and concentration of the Jewish population in Western and Central Europe started relatively early, but proceeded gradually, largely undisturbed by outside political factors. Migration, both internal and overseas, by the less prosperous members of the Jewish communities helped to achieve the aims of both the migrants as economic opportunities in the new centers of industry and the drive to penetrate into the middle class. The gradualism of the process of economic growth resulted in strengthening commerce, helped to develop among the Western European Jews a preference for independent economic activity. Economic integration of the Jews in Western European society meant self-employment in trade, finance, industry, and the free professions and not in manual labor. This process was facilitated by their utilization of the opportunities provided by the educational system and the marked decrease in discriminatory attitudes and policies.

The groundwork for the development of more liberal attitudes toward the Jews and for the readiness of the Jews to take advantage of the new economic and social opportunities was laid by the Enlightment (*Haskalah) and its impact on the Jewish milieu. Originally the new opportunities and social acceptance were offered to the upper strata of Jewish communities for the price of language assimilation and severance of their ties with the Jewish community. The upper strata of the Jews found the conditions acceptable and acted accordingly. When the opportunities to join the middle class became available to a larger number of Western European Jews and after they joined the political struggle of the middle class for broader suffrage, the problem of emancipation and of their civil rights was raised by the members of the Jewish middle class. Emancipation and civil rights for Jews meant a further integration of the Jews with the society, not within the concept of a Christian state but within a modern, secularized state. In the latter case language assimilation of the Jews was considered an insufficient prerequisite. The existence of Jewish Orthodoxy both as a symbol and major characteristic of their culture was considered a serious obstacle to real integration. Thus at the roots of the religious Reform movement which spread from Germany, there were both the changing patterns of employment among the Jews and the desire for cultural assimilation. As a result the gradual adjustment of religious rituals to modern conditions and some relaxation of the Orthodox law, which previously supported the exclusiveness and guarded the separation of the Jews from their environment, gained in appeal to the majority of the Western European Jews. An interesting by-product of the changes in the social position and cultural attitudes was the growing gulf between the Western European and East European Jews. The cultural ties were becoming looser and the sense of a common destiny weaker.

The penetration of the Jews into the middle class was a slow process which marked the second half of the 19th century. Its success over the period was unmistaken, but not necessarily continuous and certainly not without problems. It was challenged first by a wave of nationalism at the end of the century, when it became clear that the new social order in Europe could not guarantee the universal fulfillment of the rising expectations in the short run. The new wave of nationalism exhibited antisemitic aspects which gained currency among members of the European middle class. The *Dreyfus affair and other manifestations of antisemitism had a profound impact upon some members of the Western European Jewish communities and forced them to rethink and revise their notions of social and cultural integration. Although the majority continued to behave according to previously established patterns, a minority turned to solutions of either cultural pluralism or Jewish nationalism as the more satisfactory for the long run. A greater need was also felt for the maintenance of Jewish cultural (including religious) continuity and for closer ties with other Jewish communities. The net result was a somewhat decreased atomization of the Western European Jewish communities and their activities as well as the development of new cultural and economic institutions which strengthened the sense of Jewish identity and were instrumental in the moments of crises that lay ahead.

EASTERN EUROPE. To explain the economic activities of the Jewish communities in Eastern Europe during the third quarter of the 19th century and until World War II in purely economic terms, in terms of the market opportunities, demand for products, and labor supply would not only be a difficult task but provide incomplete and sometimes misleading answers. Since so much more is known about the economic conditions of this period, the interaction of the economic and extra-economic factors, be they political, legal, or psychological, is keenly felt. The outstanding characteristic of the other factors was the existence of a measure of discrimination against the Jews that was much more intense in this part of the world than elsewhere. Thus, in spite of the progress of a modern market economy, in spite of the process of industrialization that took place there, there was a strong residue of discrimination that limited the benefits of economic progress for the Jews and affected their economic activities. One rather striking example is to be found in the exile of Jews from the rural areas of Russia in the 1880s. The process of urbanization that took place as a result of industrial development is a familiar phenomenon and one that affected Jews in the rural areas. But there is a qualitative difference between a process that creates new opportunities in urban areas and draws labor away from the rural areas, and a mass exile that uproots tens of thousands and forcibly transplants them in a new economic and social environment with no visible means for their economic survival and with no economic alternatives since the demand for their labor or service is absent. Apart from such major catastrophes, the conditions of discrimination included a whole chain of minor calamities which created an atmosphere of uncertainty and determined the behavior of large masses of the Jewish population in Eastern Europe. Thus, the development of a capitalist society in Eastern Europe, while creating new economic opportunities was, as far as the Jews were concerned, accompanied by unsettling features that were constantly threatening to destroy the benefits bestowed by the economic progress. It is, therefore, proper to emphasize that the economic and social conditions of the majority of the Jews in Eastern Europe were influenced by a number of external constraints, one of which was the Pale of Settlement in Russia. The existence of the Pale limited the mobility of most of the Jews and virtually excluded them from some of the more important regions and dynamic centers of industry, trade, and public life and often forced them to accept opportunities that could be described as second best. The existence of legal and economic discrimination made the process of social mobility much more difficult and expensive for the Jews. The limitations on entering areas of employment, professions, public service, and education decreased their chances of fully contributing to the process of economic development and benefiting from it. While the advancement of the industrialization process destroyed some of the traditional areas of Jewish economic activity and created new ones, the process itself was erratic and did not allow for the formation of long-term expectations or less costly adjustments. Thus, while on the whole the Jewish population benefited from the process, growing in size and slowly improving in income position, the accompanying hardships were burdensome and unsettling. Given the relatively slow pace of economic progress of the regions of concentrated Jewish population in Eastern Europe (western part of the Russian Empire, northeastern part of the Hapsburg Empire, and Romania), coupled with the existence of discriminatory policies, these regions were primarily involved in the migration of Jews to Western Europe and America. But although emigration had the function of a safety valve, it could not counteract the impact of the industrialization process, which, while injecting a new dynamism in the economic and social sphere, affected the life of the Jewish communities by creating new areas of internal conflicts and threatening to destroy the traditional values built up through centuries of relative cultural isolation. To the extent that they represented breaks with previous traditions and emphasized the existence of new opportunities, the very processes of industrialization and urbanization raised the level of expectations of the Jewish masses and made them more aware of their relationship to the outer world. This led to the development of new patterns of thought, increased sensitivity to the conditions of discrimination, and a more intensive search for new solutions to the specific problems of the Jews. The awareness of common specific problems was demonstrated not only in the economic but also in the cultural sphere. In spite of some tangible returns to the cultural assimilation of groups of Jews, until the end of the period a cultural homogeneity of the Jewish population in Eastern Europe was preserved. This culture embraced the basic elements of traditional moral and religious values with an addition of modern elements developed during the period following the Enlightenment in Eastern Europe. While the symbiosis of the elements of the traditional culture with those of a secular, modern, and nationally oriented one was by no means harmonious, the tensions had a culturally stimulating effect. It was a period of very intensive cultural activity and creativity by the Eastern European Jews, marked by the revival and modernization of Hebrew literature and development of modern Jewish literature in Yiddish. Cultural activities, in addition to rudimentary religious training and bare literacy, penetrated and affected the Jewish lower classes which had previously been excluded from most of their cultural heritage.

The period between the two world wars witnessed a number of new developments in Eastern Europe that were of major significance for the Jewish population. The most important events were the Russian Revolution and the establishment of new national states in the region on the ruins of the two large empires that had long dominated the political scene in Eastern Europe prior to World War I. The positive effect of the political changes was the granting of citizenship and civil rights to the Jews in the new states. On the negative side were the growth of nationalism of the dominant ethnic groups and the continuation of de facto discrimination against the Jews in most countries. Coupled with the difficult economic conditions in those countries, which were even more aggravated by government interference in the economic sphere, the precarious power balance in Europe, and the impact of the economic depression of the late 1920s and 1930s, this worsened rather than improved the economic conditions of the Jewish population.

In the Soviet Union, after an initial gain resulting from the granting of civil rights and the abolition of the Pale of Settlement by the democratic government of 1917, the period of the civil war inflicted heavy population losses upon the Jews, particularly in the Ukraine. The three outstanding features of Soviet policy toward the Jews were the following: (1) The isolation of Soviet Jews from the Jewish communities abroad and the slow but consistent policy of destruction of their cultural autonomy, institutions, and organized forms of communal life, leaving cultural assimilation as the solution to their problems as individuals. (2) The destruction of the small town, the former locus of economic activity of the majority of Russian Jews as a result of the forced industrialization drive and the mobilization of human resources to build up the industrial base of the country. This policy led to a mass migration from the western parts of the Soviet Union (Belorussia and the Ukraine) to the metropolitan areas and new centers of industrial activity. (3) Since education became one of the major vehicles of social advancement and was made available in the first instance to the urban population, a large proportion of the Jewish population took advantage of the opportunities and a marked shift in the employment pattern as well as in the professional composition took place. The Jews entered en masse into industrial employment and various service branches, all of which were nationalized and under the centralized control of the government. Although the social and economic advancement of the Jews in the Soviet Union should not be disputed, it raised two grave issues: one of cultural assimilation and the loss of group identity of the Jews, of their existence as a distinct cultural or religious entity; and the second, of their dependence as a group or as individuals upon the decisions lodged in the hands of the supreme policy makers of the country. The gravity of both issues arose, however, in a later period, following World War II.

THE UNITED STATES. The chief characteristic of the development of the Jewish community in the United States during the late 19th and early 20th century was its rapid numerical growth by comparison with other Jewish communities. The growth occurred primarily as a result of the immigration of the Jews, rather than because of the birth rate of the Jewish population per se. The attraction of the U.S. for Jewish immigrants could be explained both in terms of a wage level relatively higher than in Europe as well as an open immigration policy, and the lack of specific anti-Jewish discrimination. However, the pace of immigration cannot be explained only in terms of increasing attraction. The impetus to immigration of the Jews can be traced to events in the European countries of their origin, and the influence of the turns of the business cycle in the United States on the size of the immigration stream can be demonstrated. During the modern period there were two streams of Jewish immigration, one of Western European Jews and the other involving almost entirely Eastern European ones. Each of these streams, although different in terms of its occupational or professional endowment, was faced by similar problems of economic integration and general acculturation with the environment.

While the German Jews arrived with the experience of language assimilation, a weakened sense of culture traditions, and the articulated desire to join the middle class, the Eastern European Jews arrived with industrial skills and the expressed willingness to be employed in any sector of the economy where opportunities were available, but without the experience of previous cultural assimilation. In addition, they transferred some of their habits of group behavior from their European environment. There was, therefore, among Jewish immigrants from Eastern Europe a strong preference for settling in compact masses for reasons of economic and psychological security. At the time of the first waves of mass immigration from Eastern Europe, the Western European Jews (mostly immigrants from Germany) had already acquired in the U.S. a basically middle-class or quasi-middle-class status and their pattern of employment reflected a high percentage of self-employment and concentration in the area of services. The mass influx of Eastern European Jews changed for at least two generations the social composition of the Jewish community in the United States. It became a predominantly industrial and labor-oriented community concentrated in major cities. The symbiosis of the two elements, the German and the East European, was ridden by conflicts and prejudices, by distinctions in wealth and status, the latter being derived from the degree of "Americanization" or the duration of residence in the U.S. The German Jews, often in the role of employers of the recent immigrants, especially in the garment industry, tried to maintain the social distance between themselves and the immigrants arriving from the culturally most backward areas of Europe. Faced with the model of success presented by the German Jews, the East European immigrants could not avoid aspiring to positions of social and economic advancement. While they accepted their status as manual workers and laborers as inevitable, and drew from it a number of conclusions, expressed by their political orientation, trade union activities, and so on, they actively sought an improvement in the economic position and status for their offspring. Thus, while the process of acculturation of the immigrants took time, the gradual social advancement of some was counterbalanced by the successive waves of immigration swelling the ranks of the Jewish industrial working population. It was not until after World War I and the harsh restrictions against East European immigration that the process of penetration into the service sector and self-employment category became much more visible.

The rapid growth of the economy, the decline of agriculture, and changes in industrial structure, accompanied by a sustained, relatively high level of income, made it possible for the service sector to develop. Aided by the availability of educational opportunities, the almost exclusively urban Jewish population found outlets for its employment in the service sector, and the percentage of employment as unskilled labor, domestic service, or low-paid industrial employment declined. It would be wrong to assume that the shift in employment and the resulting improvement in the income position of the Jews in the United States before World War II took place in the total absence of discrimination. There was in fact a whole range of discriminatory attitudes operating against the Jews, as against many other ethnic groups representing relatively recent immigration. There was, however, a major difference between the U.S. and Europe in that discrimination was a de facto attitude rather than a de jure, statutory, or legal arrangement; that it was a private matter rather than one of public policy. Like other groups of European origin, the Jews were relatively successful in minimizing the effects of discrimination, first by improving their economic position and second by using political power derived from their numbers and concentration in some major urban centers of the country. In addition, discrimination was met by the Jews with an almost atavistic reflex of communal activity. The Jewish community developed a time-honored self-defense mechanism against discrimination in the form of institutions designed to meet specific needs of individuals or groups within the community. In the absence of organized communal authorities, recognized either by the outside world or by the Jews themselves, or representing their collective interests, the role of voluntary associations and institutions was even more significant for the discharge of group responsibilities and for the maintenance of whatever cohesion was possible within the Jewish community.

The numerical growth and economic advancement of the United States' Jewish community resulted in a change in the relationships among Jewish communities in the world, the U.S. Jewish community becoming an important source of economic assistance for the others. In a certain sense the bonds between American and European Jews provided a community of interest and purpose for the various groups of American Jewry, giving expression to their Jewish identity. At a time when the process of language assimilation was in progress, and the commonalty of cultural concerns was diminishing, the "foreign aid" of American Jews provided them with a much-needed psychological satisfaction and helped to maintain their identity. This process turned out to be of particular importance for the subsequent developments during and after World War II.

PALESTINE. While the first systematic attempts of organized mass colonization in Palestine go back to the 1870s and 1880s, a marked acceleration of the immigration stream occurred at the beginning of the 20th century, primarily as a result of the growth of a modern nationalist movement making immigration and settlement in Palestine the cornerstone of its ideology. The more organized manner of immigration and settlement, in part directed by a long-term national vision, led to the establishment of a social infrastructure within and for the Jewish population in Palestine, and to the establishment of modern social, economic, and educational institutions in an otherwise primitive and backward country. The introduction of modern institutions was accompanied by a striking attempt to modernize agriculture, a successful undertaking that integrated the need for economic modernization with the ideological factor of the need to recover the land, producing a sizable agricultural sector within the Jewish community in Palestine. The fact that the agricultural sector embraced a variety of organizational forms of production, that alongside private agriculture a cooperative and even a communal network of farms was created, was of considerable importance for the further development of the economy. The ideas of cooperation were also applied to other sectors of the economy: in industry, construction, and the services. Such enterprises had to reconcile private and social criteria in their decision-making and had to accept procedures for social control, arrangements that provided a particular atmosphere for economic activity within the Jewish community.

The continuous numerical growth of the Jewish population, resulting from successive immigration waves and natural population increase, and the emotional intensity of the issues connected with its development and its role among Jewish communities in the world often obscured the interesting pattern of economic and social development of the Jewish community in Palestine. An important feature of the Jewish population in Palestine was its relatively homogeneous cultural background since the majority of immigrants came from Eastern Europe. It possessed or created a full array of industrial, agricultural, and service skills at various levels, coupled with a level of education that was compatible with, if not excessive of, the existing level of skills. The economic activities of the Jewish population were conducted under conditions of virtual absence of discriminatory policies, apart from restrictions on immigration, particularly during the interwar period. This in turn created a basically stable economic structure; the employment distribution did not change drastically with time. There was relatively less income inequality than within other Jewish communities because skills were distributed differently. The level of income of the Jewish population in Palestine provided for the consumption needs of the population, with investment funds either imported by private investors from abroad, borrowed abroad, or provided as a form of nonreturnable transfers (gifts) from other Jewish communities to the Jewish community in Palestine.

While the above characteristics appear to portray the main features of economic and social conditions of the Jewish community in Palestine until World War II, they obviously do not convey the dynamics of the process of economic development per se. A more detailed treatment of this subject would have to include the economic relationships with the majority of the population, the Arabs; the extent of self-sufficiency achieved within the Jewish community; and the economic relations with the foreign markets to which some of the products of Jewish labor, land, and capital were exported and from which income was derived (see *Israel, State of, Economic Affairs).

Epilogue

The interwar period that ended with the catastrophe of World War II, an event in the history of the Jews whose dimensions and consequences our present generation is still unable to perceive let alone define, was marked by the following characteristics: (1) the forced separation and isolation of one of the largest Jewish communities, namely that in the Soviet Union, from the rest of world Jewry; (2) the growth of the Jewish population in the United States and its relative economic strength in comparison with Jewish communities elsewhere created a new element in the balance and relationship between Jewish communities and indicated a future trend; (3) the economic situation of the European Jews, and especially of the East European communities, which worsened since economic and political uncertainty had become the norm even before the rise of Fascism and Nazism; (4) the rise of Nazism which created a direct danger to Jewish life and property in Central Europe, and the spread of discriminatory policies modeled upon the early legislation of Nazi Germany which became a real threat to a large part of European Jewry; given the limited opportunities for migration, the European Jewish population did not possess any real alternatives; (5) the growth of the Jewish community in Palestine which became an important cultural factor in the life of other Jewish communities, but its small relative size and the severe limitations imposed by the British upon Jewish immigration kept it from having a larger impact and from contributing toward a solution of European Jews' distress.

Therefore, prior to World War II, the Jewish communities found themselves at a crossroad, with the direction of their future fate and development depending upon exogenous, primarily political forces. The tragic results of World War II have left most of Europe virtually without Jews. There are now two major communities: that of the United States and that of the State of Israel, to shape the future of the Jews as a national entity. This situation of the Jewish communities, recovering from the physical disaster and psychological shock of World War II, made the economic relationship between the American Jewish community and the State of Israel one of the cornerstones of a policy of survival. The economics of the Jews, apart from the parochial interests of economists and economic historians, was geared toward the survival of the group during most of its recorded history.

[Arcadius Kahan]

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ECSTASY, from Greek *ekstasis*, "displacement," "movement outwards," "distraction of mind," "drunken excitement," "entrancement," or secondarily, "astonishment." (See Mark 5:42.) In Greek religion two fundamental types of ecstasy, dionysiac and contemplative, are well attested; the former is induced by means of narcotics, alcohol, music, and dance; the latter by contemplation and prayer. Only the dionysiac is represented in the Bible. Several scholars have maintained that ecstasy was the fundamental experience of all prophecy. This view ultimately can be traced back to *Philo who maintained that no prophecy is without ecstasy (see Spec. 4:49). Some scholars have distinguished between two groups: the classical prophets, or literary prophets, allegedly did not suffer from loss of identity, but maintained their consciousness and were aware of a divine encounter to which they responded. The second group, the pre-classical prophets, sometimes manifested group prophecy, which was ecstatic and contagious (cf. Num. 11:16 ff., where the 70 elders "speak in ecstasy" after the spirit of the Lord rests upon them – the Hebrew verb used is *hitnabbeʾ*). Thus, when Saul meets "a band of prophets coming down from the high place with harp, tambourine, and lyre before them," he, too, is overwhelmed: "A spirit of God came mightily upon him and he spoke in ecstasy among them" (I Sam. 10). Similarly, when Saul sends men to capture David, who was staying with Samuel, they find Samuel at the head of a group of ecstatic prophets. The messengers are overcome by the spectacle and begin to rave. After this has happened to three sets of messengers, Saul goes himself, and, in a violent ecstatic fit, strips off his clothes and lies naked a whole day and night (I Sam. 19:18–24). Both these incidents are cited as the origin of the proverbial expression "Is Saul among the prophets?" Scholars who maintain the pre-classical ecstatic/classical non-ecstatic distinction also cite I Kings 22, where some 400 prophets rave in ecstasy before kings Jehoshaphat and Ahaz on the eve of their united attack against Ramoth-Gilead. They note, correctly, as well that this feature of collective dionysiac frenzy is not confined to early Israelite prophets. In I Kings 18:28–29, 450 Canaanite prophets of Baal and 400 prophets of Asherah "cried aloud and cut themselves after their manner with swords and lances till the blood gushed out upon them … They prophesied in ecstasy until the time of the evening offering. …" Individual prophets, too, might fall into an ecstatic trance. Thus, Elijah ran before Ahab's chariot when the hand of the Lord was upon him (I Kings 18:46). An extra-biblical example, in addition to the Canaanite prophets of Baal just mentioned, is found in the 11th-century Egyptian tale of Wen-Amon, which relates that while Zakar-Baal, king of Byblos, was offering a sacrifice, "the god seized one of his youths and made him possessed" (Pritchard, *Texts*, 26). In such a state the person turns into "another man" (e.g., Saul, I Sam. 10:6) and may behave madly (I Sam. 18:10 ff.). This is doubtless why a disciple of the prophets is referred to as "the madman" (II Kings 9:11). But a careful reading of the classical prophets shows that they too manifested odd behavior. Jeremiah is referred to as "madman" and "ecstatic" (*mitnabbeʾ*) in the same breath (Jer. 29:26; cf. Hos. 9:7). Isaiah walked about barefoot and naked for three years (Isa. 20:3). Ezekiel lay on his left side for 390 days and 40 days on his right. From Zech. 13:4–6 we learn that a prophet might be expected to wear a hairshirt and have sores on his back, perhaps from some ritual beating. Indeed, the Hebrew word for madman, *meshuggaʿ*, may be a *terminus technicus* for a type of god-inspired individual who is called in the *Mari letters a *muḫḫu* (fem., *muḫḫutum*), "frenzied," "mad," "ecstatic." Such an ecstatic seizure may be induced by external means: music (cf. Elisha, II Kings 3:15, and the musical instruments carried by the bands of prophets, I Sam. 10:5 and II Chron. 35:15) or dancing (mentioned in connection with the prophets of Baal, I Kings 18:26). Sometimes this ecstatic seizure is described as caused either by "the hand of God" (I Kings 18:46; II Kings 3:15; Jer. 15:17) or by "the spirit of God" (I Sam. 10:6, 10; 18:10; 19:23), an indication that seizure and strange behavior might lend credibility to claims of prophecy.

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[Shalom M. Paul / S. David Sperling (2nd ed.)]

ECUADOR, South American republic; population 13,363,593 (2005); Jewish population 900.

Unlike most other Latin American countries it was only in the wake of the Nazi persecution in Europe that a considerable number of Jews arrived in Ecuador. With the Spanish conquerors Jews, too, had in fact come to Ecuador, but their number was small. Also after independence from Spain comparatively few Sephardi Jews immigrated; these assimilated or at least did not practice their tradition in public. Certain family names among established Ecuadorian families attest until today to their Sephardi descent. At the end of the 19th century, and in the 1920s and 1930s, Jews emigrated mainly from Eastern Europe and settled chiefly in Guayaquil but did not become visible as a group. It is related that the first meeting for a New Year's celebration took place in 1934 in a private apartment. In 1914 Vienna-born Julius Rosenstock was appointed by the Ecuadorian government to head the construction of the Sibambe–Quito highland railway. Because of his excellent connections in government circles he successfully fought for the entry of persecuted Jews to the country. The stream of refugees to Ecuador began in 1938, reaching its peak in 1939. On Rosenstock's initiative a HICEM Committee was founded and the government negotiated the conditions of immigration with him. Because of his personal intervention, he succeeded in obtaining the repeal of the 1937 decree by the dictator Alberto Enríquez Gallo ordering Jews who did not work in agriculture or industry to leave the country within 30 days.

A relatively small number of Jews, 3,500–4,000, found refuge in Ecuador through 1942. Settlement projects from the mid-1930s, including the plan for long-term settlement of 50,000 families in mostly remote areas, were supported neither by the Ecuadorian public nor by the Jewish settlers and proved to be untrustworthy and impractical. For most of the Jews who found refuge in the country until 1942, Ecuador, with its three million inhabitants, was a second-choice place of exile, since they had failed to find asylum in another, preferred country. The majority came from Germany and Austria after the pogrom of November 1938 (*Kristallnacht*) having lost hope that they could stay in their native country. Part of them settled in Guayaquil, the biggest city of the country, which was a real trading center with a population of about 180,000.

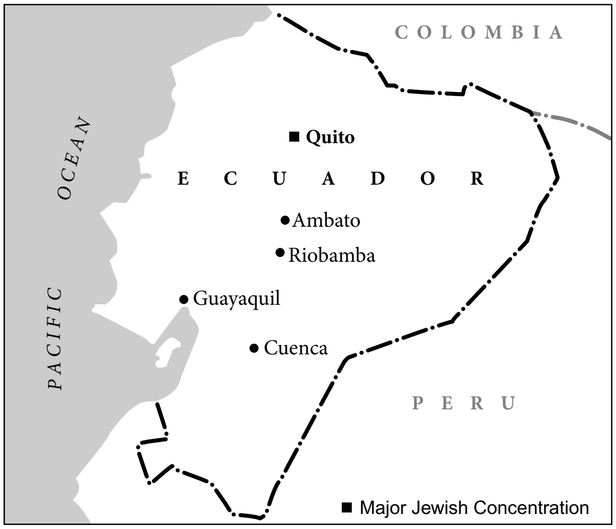

Major Jewish communities in Ecuador.

Located near the Pacific coast, it had a tropical climate. The vast majority, however, preferred the capital, Quito, situated in the Andes at an altitude of 9,200 ft. (2,800 m.). Few settled in small towns like Ambato (100), Banos, Cuenca (30), and Riobamba, or in the jungle around Puyo.

In Quito as in Guayaquil they were concentrated in several streets in the city center or not far from it. Quito with 150,000 inhabitants had no industry and only one multi-story building. Compared to middle-class European standards the living conditions were cramped and primitive, with no infrastructure and with infectious diseases and a lack of hygiene threatening their health. Many of the immigrants had only meager financial means, though many of them had brought their household goods and other possessions. Since the authorities returned the deposits that the immigrants had made to receive their visas (a few hundred dollars each), most of them had money to invest. Many had to earn their livings in unfamiliar occupations. But wherever it was possible they tried to continue in their former professions or similar ones.

Despite the regulations restricting immigration to industrial or agricultural laborers, only a minority worked in agriculture. Because of the difficult living and working conditions and their lack of knowledge such onerous attempts were given up. The project of HICEM and the Joint in 1937 to settle 60 families in the area of Ambato for chicken farming was among those failed attempts. A considerable number of the immigrants were active in trade, as peddlers, in retail and wholesale, and in the import and export trade. While the majority of the enterprises in the first years required hard work by all family members to reach a subsistence level, some of the enterprises reached a considerable size by 1942 and exist until today. The most successful were those that found a niche in the market, offering services and goods unknown in the country or absent from the market because of the war. In the field of food and textile production, in the metallurgical (El Arco, Ideal, Siderúrgica SA.) and pharmaceutical industries, in services and the hotel trade, they played an important role and brought a dynamic element into business life. Names like Rothschild, Seligmann, Neustätter, Di Capua, and Ottolenghi stand out.

The fact that the authorities as a rule did not enforce industrial or agricultural employment made it easier for the immigrants to integrate into the economic process but soon led to anti-Jewish pressure on the part of the local population. While the presidents José Maria Velasco Ibarra (1934–35, 1944–47) and Carlos Arroyo del Rio (1940–44) approved the immigration of Jews, some circles espoused an antisemitic line with recourse to the German-based press and deep-seated Christian prejudices. Also textile merchants of Arab origin, especially from Lebanon, who had lived in Ecuador for decades, considered the Jews undesirable competitors. In August 1944 Velasco Ibarra rescinded the regulations that restricted immigration to industrial or agricultural employment, but already at the end of the 1940s the authorities stepped up the control of Jewish enterprises and in 1952 another law was passed requiring proof that a foreigner was engaged in the occupation stipulated in his entry visa. This legislation was counteracted by the intervention of the World Jewish Congress. Within these limited political and social limitations the immigrants were free to do whatever they wished. There was no bar to practicing their religion or founding associations.

The biggest group among the refugees was in Quito. Its nucleus was the above-mentioned HICEM Committee founded in 1938. In the same year the Asociación de Beneficencia Israelita was founded, reaching its peak with over 540 members (heads of families) in 1945. Unlike most Latin American countries, where Jewish communities already existed and the newcomers founded their own separate organizations according to their countries of origin, the "Beneficencia" united Jews from Germany, Austria, Italy, Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Romania, the Soviet Union, and the Baltic states.

Though there was some religiously motivated separation this was of minor significance. While in Guayaquil differences of opinion about Zionism were a greater potential cause of discord than in Quito, in religious matters the situation was quite the opposite. In Guayaquil the strongest organization, Comunidad de Culto, with more than 140 members, combined the Sociedad de Beneficencia, founded in 1939–40, and the Centro Israelita, which had split off in 1944, both competing for cultural primacy. Under the impression of the foundation of the State of Israel all organizations in Quito united under the umbrella of the "Beneficencia" while in Guayaquil it took almost 20 years more to reach such unity.

The "Beneficencia" did a great deal to create a center of religious, social, and cultural life for its members. A bulletin called *Informaciones para los Inmigrantes Israelitas*, in the first period mainly written in German, informed readers about the community, the host country, and international affairs. Based on the model of their European countries a court of arbitration, a *ḥevra kaddisha*, a women's association, a cooperative bank, Maccabi, and B'nai B'rith were established. In

Quito and in Guayaquil Zionist organizations were founded that succeeded in winning the support of public figures in the host country for the objectives of Zionism. The Ecuadorian representative cast his vote in the UN General Assembly resolution of November 29, 1947, in favor of the partition of Palestine. Ecuador and Israel established diplomatic relations. From the late 1960s a network of technical cooperation and assistance was developed between the two countries, especially in the fields of agriculture, water development, youth training, and technology.

Jews achieved prominence in Ecuadorian society beyond the economic field. They contributed to cultural development in music, painting, theater, arts and crafts, architecture, literature, science, journalism, and publishing.

In the 1940s the Kammerspiele theater was established on a high artistic level, directed by Karl (Carl) Loewenberg, co-founder of the Juedischer Kulturbund of Berlin. In the 1950s the theater continued to perform in Spanish before appreciative local audiences. An international reputation was achieved by the painter Olga Fisch-Anhalzer, co-founder of the Instituto Ecuatoriano de Folclor. The painter and sculptress Trude Sojka, who had survived Auschwitz, arrived in 1946. Paul Engel, a physician and writer (pen name Diego Viega), who immigrated to Ecuador in 1950 from Colombia, became known as an endocrinologist. Benno Weiser (Benjamin Varon) made a name for himself as a journalist. Like his brother Max Weiser, who was the first Israeli consul to Ecuador, he entered the Israeli diplomatic service.

As the majority of the immigrants had regarded their stay in Ecuador as a temporary episode, emigration after the end of the war was considerable. By 1948 about half the Jews in Quito had emigrated, mainly to the U.S. On the other hand, a considerable number of survivors of the Holocaust arrived in the early postwar years. Because of continuous emigration, mortality, and partial assimilation of the following generation, which considered Spanish its mother tongue, the immigrant organizations lost their pivotal role as preservers of social and cultural identity. However, the Jews continued to form a small middle-class group largely cut off from the strong Catholic upper class and the masses of mestizos and the indigenous population.

In 1972 the *Informaciones* ceased publication. Different attempts to revive tradition did not persevere. The small communities of Ambato and Cuenca disbanded. At the beginning of the 1970s, in the course of the oil boom and thanks to easier-to-obtain entry permits, Jewish families from other Latin American countries arrived. As a result of political developments under the presidency of Salvador Allende a large number of families preferred to exchange Chile for Ecuador as a domicile. Towards the end of the 20th century many Jews from Argentina settled in Quito.

In 2005 the Jewish community (Comunidad Judía del Ecuador) of the city of Quito with its 2 million people numbers 200 families, or 550–600 members (the community of Guayaquil has 20 families, or some 70 members). The community has modern facilities for its social, recreational, and administrative needs. There is a synagogue and a rabbi for religious services. A *ḥevra kaddisha* and a home for the aged continue to function as well as the women's association as an independent organization. About 75 children go to the Colegio Alberto Einstein, a private school founded in 1973 by members of the community where the great majority of the pupils are non-Jews. The community is in contact with other Jewish organizations in Latin America and worldwide.

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[Marie Luise Kreuter (2nd ed.)]

EDAH, U.S. grassroots organization comprised of rabbis, laity, intellectuals, and communal leaders who joined forces to revitalize a distinctive Modern American Orthodoxy. By the late 1960s, most observers had abandoned earlier predictions of the imminent demise of American Orthodoxy. Champions of Orthodoxy, as well as more neutral observers, pointed to the growth of day schools, the strength of the Orthodox family, and the intensity of Orthodox commitments as markers of sustained vitality. Generally, however, these commentators pointed to Modern Orthodoxy as the wave of the future. Ḥaredi Orthodoxy remained in retreat and on the defensive. Israel's victory in the 1967 war signaled the ascendancy of religious Zionism. Yeshiva University, the flagship institution of Modern Orthodoxy, was experiencing unprecedented growth. High-profile Modern Orthodox intellectuals – notably Emanuel *Rackman, Irving *Greenberg, David *Hartman, and Eliezer *Berkovits – were eagerly probing the bold and exciting challenge of defining the shape of a Judaism that would wed modern values with the teachings of Torah.

By the end of the 1980s, much had changed. Although increasingly vibrant, American Orthodoxy seemed decreasingly modern. Some pointed to a Ḥaredi ascendancy. Others underscored the widespread Orthodox practice of attending year-long post-high school programs in Israel, which had intensified Orthodox commitment and attachment to Israel, but whose faculties loudly proclaimed the bankruptcy of Modern Orthodox culture and values. Historians pointed to a new wave of Ultra-Orthodox immigration to America. Survivors of the Holocaust, these individuals spared no effort to rebuild Ultra-Orthodoxy on American shores. Lastly, Modern Orthodox parents, unlike their Ḥaredi counterparts, generally failed to perceive Jewish education as a suitable profession for their children, thereby creating a vacuum that Ḥaredi educators eagerly filled.

Thus, within short order, Modern Orthodoxy appeared to be more in danger of eclipse than on the cusp of renewal. Interdenominational programs, such as the Joint Chaplaincy Board and the Synagogue Council of America, were closed down in 1987 and 1994, respectively. The very nomenclature

"Modern Orthodoxy" was dropped in favor of the more neutral and less ideologically-charged "Centrist Orthodoxy," a change that Dr. Norman *Lamm, then president of Yeshiva University, for one, publicly regretted by the close of the century.

In this context, it was easily understandable that some sought to restore the "modern" in American Orthodoxy. In the late 1990s, a group of Orthodox intellectuals and lay leaders established Edah under the banner of "the courage to be modern and Orthodox." Launched initially as a grassroots initiative, with Rabbi Saul Berman as president, Edah's founding conference in February 1999 attracted over 1,500 participants. At stake were the questions on which the founders of Edah maintained that Modern Orthodoxy has ceded leadership. These included the challenge of feminism and women's equality, the hijacking of religious Zionism by *Gush Emunim, the pursuit of secular education as a value in itself rather than purely for utilitarian or instrumental reasons, and the continuing need for cooperation with the non-Orthodox religious movements and their leaders. More specifically, Edah hoped to redress women's inequality, notably in Jewish divorce law, to train a cadre of Modern Orthodox educators, to help define religious Zionism for the 21st century, and, perhaps above all, nurture an atmosphere of open dialogue and freedom of exchange that was so sorely lacking in an Orthodox world dominated by *roshei yeshivah*. Significantly, during these years, one of the most prominent of Yeshiva University Talmud faculty had pronounced Modern Orthodoxy to be the "Amalek of our time."

Yet Edah's hope to reclaim Yeshiva University as Modern Orthodoxy's stronghold remained unfulfilled. For one thing, notwithstanding Edah's impressive turnout of supporters and intellectual leadership, Yeshiva University faculty generally were absent. At best, Yeshiva University remained neutral towards Edah if not outright dismissive. Rabbi Aharon Lichtenstein wrote from Israel that he was certain that his late father-in-law, Rabbi Joseph B. *Soloveitchik, upon whose memory as Modern Orthodox scholar and communal leader Edah had sought to build, would today have little identification with Edah and its program. More generally, Yeshiva University leadership dismissed Edah as unnecessary, pointing to Y.U.'s Orthodox Forum which claimed the virtue of continuing dialogue between Orthodox intellectuals and *roshei yeshivah*. Nonetheless, Edah, under Rabbi Berman's leadership, persisted into the 21st century. By 2005, it had held four national conferences and several regional ones. Five volumes of the Edah journal had appeared, containing impressive scholarship and dialogue on critical issues, e.g., *aliyot* for women, generally not found elsewhere in the Orthodox world. Other institutions, notably the Jewish Orthodox Feminist Alliance (JOFA), Rabbi Avi Weiss' Yeshivat Chovevei Torah, proclaiming its commitment to an "open Orthodoxy," and, in Israel, the Lavi Conference, all loosely aligned with Edah in an effort to spearhead a Modern Orthodox renewal.

In the final analysis, however, the struggle for the Orthodox future remained open. Most observers agreed that Yeshiva University, given its enormous resources and prominence inside the Jewish community, would continue to set the tone for Modern Orthodoxy in America. To be sure, Yeshiva's direction, under the presidency of Richard Joel, who was appointed in 2003, remained unclear. Yet the purposes for which Edah had come into being in the late 1990s remained as compelling in the 21st century.

[Steven Bayme (2nd ed.)]

EDEL, YIẒḤAK (1896–1973), composer and teacher. Edel was born in Warsaw and from 1924 to 1927 he taught music in the orphanage of Janusz *Korczak, in Warsaw. In 1929 he immigrated to Palestine where he worked as a music teacher in teachers' colleges. His works include orchestral and piano music, quartets for strings and wind instruments, songs, and cantatas. His musical style shows the influence of Eastern European Jewish tradition.

EDELMAN, GERALD MAURICE (1929–), U.S. biochemist and immunologist, Nobel Prize laureate. Edelman was born in New York. He originally studied as a violinist but turned to biochemistry and received his M.D. from the University of Pennsylvania in 1954 and his doctorate from the Rockefeller University in 1960, where he was appointed associate professor of biochemistry, and associate dean of graduate studies in 1963. One of the leading immunologists in the United States, he devoted himself to research in the elucidation of the structure of antibody molecules and established the complete chemical structure of gamma globulin, which defends the body against foreign bodies and disease. In 1977 Edelman and his colleagues discovered cell adhesion molecules. Subsequently he turned his attention to neuroscience, becoming director of the Neurosciences Institute in San Diego, California. He has proposed a global brain theory called Neural Darwinism, which provides the basis for understanding the origin of consciousness. Edelman is a member of numerous scientific bodies, including the National Academy of Sciences, the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, the American Association for the Advancement of Science, and the American Chemical Society. In 1972 he was awarded the Nobel Prize for Medicine and Physiology together with Dr. Rodney Porter.

EDELMAN, MAURICE (1911–1975), author and politician. Born in Cardiff and educated at Cambridge, Edelman was a Labour M.P. from 1945 until his death. He was president of the Anglo-Jewish Association in 1963. His works include *France: The Birth of the Fourth Republic* (1945); *David Ben-Gurion* (1964), a biography; and political and other novels, including *A Trial of Love* (1951), *Who Goes Home* and *A Dream of Treason* (both 1953), *A Call on Kuprin* (1959), *The Fratricides* (1963), *The Prime Minister's Daughter* (1964), and *Shark Island* (1967). Edelman's best-known work was probably the novel *Disraeli in Love* (1972). Although a Labourite, Edelman was such an admirer of Disraeli that, in 1972, he leased and lived in a wing of Hughenden manor, Disraeli's country house. Once a leftist supporter of the Soviet Union, by the end of his life Edelman was active in the movement for Soviet Jewry.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: ODNB online.

[William D. Rubinstein (2nd ed.)]

EDELMANN, RAPHAEL (1902–1972), Danish scholar and librarian. Born in Latvia, Edelmann immigrated to Copenhagen as a child. In 1933 at the recommendation of David *Simonsen he began working in the newly established Jewish department of the Royal Library of Copenhagen, which consisted of the rich library of Simonsen; from 1938 he headed the department. From 1948 he lectured at the University of Copenhagen, where he was in charge of Judaic studies, including Yiddish. In 1955 he founded the Association of Libraries of Judaica and Hebraica in Europe and in this capacity organized training courses for Jewish librarians. Edelmann published extensively in several scholarly fields and made important contributions to the dissemination of Jewish scholarship in Denmark. Among his works are *Bestimmung, Heimat and Alter der synagogalen Poesie* (1932), and *Zur Fruehgeschichte des Machzor* (1934), important works on the early history of liturgical poetry. He compiled the catalog of Hebrew incunabula of the library of L. *Goldschmidt, now at the Royal Library (in *Fund og Forskning*, 3 (1956), 82–90); edited the series *Corpus Codicum Hebraicorum Medii Aevi* (1954–); and edited the *Subject Concordance to the Babylonian Talmud* by L. Goldschmidt (1959). He also arranged successful exhibitions of the treasures of the Royal Library in Paris, Strasbourg, Milan, and New York.

[Menahem Schmelzer]

EDELMANN, SIMḤAH REUBEN (**Sar ha-Adulammi**; 1821–1893), Lithuanian Hebrew scholar. Edelmann was born in Vilna and studied at the Volozhin yeshivah. He tried his hand in various branches of Jewish scholarship, and also wrote poetry and was one of the first to "discover" J.L. *Gordon, whom he befriended.

Among his published books are *Shoshannim* (1860); *Ha-Mesillot* (1875); *Ha-Tirosh* (1871), on *Genesis Rabbah;* and *Doresh Reshumot* (1893), on I.H. *Weiss' historical work *Dor Dor ve-Doreshav*, which Edelmann criticized for its liberal views. Edelmann also contributed to Hebrew periodicals. Part of his literary remains were used by A.D. Lebensohn and I. Benjacob in their edition of the Bible (1849–53) and published by Edelmann's son Mordecai Isaac in his *Me'arat Adullam* (1922) and *Tovim ha-Shenayim* (1913). An autobiographical fragment was published by the son in his biography of his father, *Hakḥam ve-Sar* (1896).

EDELMANN, ẒEVI HIRSCH (1805–1858), Hebrew scholar, printer, and publisher. Edelmann, who was born in Svisloch, Belorussia, published books at Danzig, Koenigsberg, and London. In England, in particular, he carefully searched the libraries for Hebrew manuscript material. Edelmann published editions of hitherto unpublished medieval Hebrew literature such as Estori Ha-Parhi's *Kaftor va-Ferah* (1851, repr. 1959); *Ginzei Oxford* (translated into English by M.H. Bresslau and published in *Treasures of Oxford*, 1851), a collection (with L. Dukes) of liturgical and secular poetry by Spanish-Jewish poets; *Derekh Tovim* (also translated into English by M.H. Bresslau and published in *Path of Good Men*, 1852), varia by Maimonides, Judah ibn Tibbon and others; *Ḥemdah Genuzah* (1856), an important collection of philosophical writings and letters, mainly by, to, or about Maimonides; *Divrei Ḥefeẓ* (1853), another collection of philosophical and poetical material; and also M.Ḥ. Luzzatto's *La-Yesharim Tehillah* (1854). Edelmann also published a number of important liturgical items: *Seder Haggadah* (1845), with critical notes; *Haggadah Le-Leil Shimmurim* (1845), with commentaries and notes; and *Siddur Hegyon Lev* (1854) containing Edelmann's critical notes and emendations, *No'am Megadim* by J. Teomim, and *Mekor Berakhah* by E. Landshuth. Edelmann's first publications, which were purely talmudic, were *Haggahot u-Vi'urim li-Me'irat Einayim* (1839) and *Alim le-Mivḥan*, including *Megillat Sefer Iggeret ha-Purim* (1844) on Esther. He also wrote an historical study on Saul *Wahl, the alleged one-day king of Poland, *Gedullat Sha'ul* (1854), with an appendix *Nir David*. His considerable publishing ventures were carried out under conditions of great financial stringency. Edelmann lived in Berlin from 1852 and died in the ward for the insane in a Berlin hospital.

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EDELS, SAMUEL ELIEZER BEN JUDAH HA-LEVI (known as **MaHaRShA** – **M**orenu **Ha-R**av **Sh**emu'el **A**dels; 1555–1631), one of the foremost Talmud commentators. Born in Cracow, he moved to Posen in his youth, where he married the daughter of Moses Ashkenazi Heilpern. His mother-in-law, Edel, by whose name he was later known, was a wealthy woman and supported him and his numerous disciples for a period of 20 years (1585–1605). After her death, Edels took up a rabbinic position in Chelm. In 1614 he was appointed rabbi of Lublin, and in 1625 of Ostrog, where he founded a large yeshivah. On the lintel of his house (burned down in 1889) was inscribed the verse: "The stranger did not lodge in the street; but I opened my doors to the traveler" (Job 31:32). His commentary on the Talmud is one of the classical works of talmudic literature included in almost every edition of the Talmud. The commentary is divided into two parts. In his *Ḥiddushei Halakhot* he explains the talmudic text with profundity and ingenuity. In his introduction to the work he writes that "out of love for terseness" he would refrain from elaboration. He ends most of his comments with the phrases: "And weigh carefully" or "And the meaning is simple," although in reality it is far from clear and many later scholars often found difficulty in understanding his point. Often he poses a difficulty and says: "And this may be solved," leaving it to the students to find the answer. He was fond of talmudic casuistry, and used to say: "No one can arrive at the root and depth of a talmudic problem without a master who teaches him *pilpul*"; but he vehemently opposed the kind of casuistry which, in his time, came to be known as *ḥillukim*, where students would engage in fruitless debate to try to demolish one another's arguments. In his *Ḥiddushei Halakhot*, Edels' explanations of talmudic problems are generally in accordance with the view of Rashi and the tosafists. His book gained such wide currency that an understanding of Edels' comments came to be regarded for many generations as one of the qualifications of the average talmudic scholar. The second part of his commentary is called *Ḥiddushei Aggadot*, in which he attempts to explain the difficult talmudic *aggadot* in a rational manner, sometimes taking them as parables with interpretations which are at variance with their literal meaning. He criticized, however, the prevailing tendency of preachers to distort the plain sense of biblical and talmudical passages. Although censuring "those people who in the present generation give all their time to the study of Kabbalah," he nonetheless quotes extensively from kabbalistic literature. He also made use of his acquaintance with Jewish philosophy in his interpretation of talmudic *aggadot.*

He adopted a positive attitude toward the secular sciences, considering them important for a fuller understanding of Torah, and their acquisition as vital for learned Jews in their disputations with non-Jews. His statements are sometimes marked by a spirit of critical inquiry. He decides, for example, that the Targum to the Pentateuch ascribed to Jonathan b. Uzziel is not by him. He senses that the *tosafot* to the tractate *Yoma* are different in style from those to other tractates. He established that some statements or passages in Rashi's commentary and in the *tosafot* had originated as marginal comments by students who had not understood the passage, and in the course of time these comments had come to be interpolated in the text. Edels reproved his contemporaries for making light of certain precepts, e.g., those who drink to excess at the *melavveh malkah* meal on Saturday night and so neglect the recitation of the *Shema* upon retiring, and rise too late the following morning for the statutory time for the reading of the *Shema* and the recital of the morning prayers. He was a sharp critic of social evils in the communities, such as the dishonesty and egotism of some rich *parnasim.* He reproached the rabbis of his time with overawing their communities for motives which were not purely altruistic, and was irked by the fact that "in these times, whoever possesses wealth is appointed to public office for a price and is in constant pursuit of honor." In 1590 he participated at a session of the *Council of the Four Lands which pronounced a ban on those who purchase rabbinic office. Edels was held in high esteem by the scholars of his day. Joel *Sirkes in his address to the leaders of the Council of the Four Lands in Lublin, said: "You have in your midst the greatest man of the present generation … with whom to consult and deliberate." On his tombstone, Edels is described as "a holy man … exemplary in his generation … whose fame traveled far and wide. His great work was a light to the eyes of the Sages of Israel." He was also highly regarded by later generations. Jonah *Landsofer enjoined his sons to pay close attention to the works of Edels, "because his writings are amazingly terse and plumb the depths of Torah's truth … The spirit of God spoke through him, for without divine inspiration it would have been impossible for a man to write such a book." Edels' other works are *Zikhron Devarim*, novellae of the group of scholars at Posen (published by his mother-in-law in 1598); a penitential prayer beginning with the words: "*El Elohai Dalfah Einai*"; and a penitential prayer written in memory of the Warsaw martyrs (1597).

His brother's son, whose name has not been preserved, made his way to Morocco, and apparently settled there. His work *Sha'arei Ḥokhmah*, on *aggadah* and homiletics, is extant in many manuscripts. In it he quotes his uncle and many of the other great 17th-century scholars of Poland, including Israel Spira, son of Nathan *Spira, whom he calls "my teacher," and Abraham Abele *Gombiner. He died before 1674.

Modern rabbinic teachers lament the forsaking of Edels' talmudic commentary. In addition to the profundity of his ideas, Edels' work is instrumental in teaching the correct analysis of the talmudic text.

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[Shmuel Ashkenazi]

EDELSTADT, DAVID (1866–1892), Yiddish poet. Edelstadt was born in Kaluga, the son of a cantonist. After the Kiev pogrom of 1881, he immigrated to the U.S. as part of the agricultural *Am Olam movement but settled in Cincinnati to work in the garment industry, joined the anarchist movement (which at the time wielded great influence among Jewish workers), and became one of the first Jewish socialist poets, initially composing radical poetry in Russian. In 1888 he moved to New York and continued working in sweatshops, writing increasingly in Yiddish. In works such as "In Kamf" ("In Struggle"), "Vakht Uf" ("Awaken"), and "Mayn Tsavoe" ("My Last Will and Testament"), Edelstadt called upon his working-class audience to revolt against the upper classes and seize the means of production. In 1890, he became a regular contributor to and, a year later, editor of the newly founded anarchist weekly *Fraye Arbeter Shtime*. His lyrics, sung in sweatshops and on picket lines, depict the world's imperfections and the wondrous life to come after a social revolution. After he contracted tuberculosis in 1891, he traveled to Denver to recuperate but died there the following year at the age of 26, becoming a romantic legend to the young Jewish labor movement and a central figure, along with Joseph *Bovshover, Morris *Rosenfeld, and Morris *Vinchevsky, of the *Sweatshop Poets. His collected works were published in London in 1910 and in Moscow in 1935.

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[Sol Liptzin / Marc Miller (2nd ed.)]

EDELSTEIN, JACOB (d. 1944), Czech Zionist leader and head of the *Theresienstadt ghetto. Born in Horodenka, Galicia, Edelstein went to Bohemia as a refugee during World War I. He first joined the Social Democrat youth movement there, and then the Zionist movement. From the early 1930s he was one of the leaders of the Labor Zionist movement in Czechoslovakia, a member of the presidium of the nationwide Zionist Federation, and director of the Palestine Office of the Jewish Agency in Prague. After the invasion of Bohemia and Moravia by Nazi Germany in 1939, Edelstein became the central figure of the Zionist movement and of Jewish life in the Nazi Protectorate. In the autumn of 1939, he visited the group of Jewish deportees at Nisko, in the Lublin region, and reached the conclusion that in most cases deportation of Jews to the East meant their death. In order to avoid deportation of the Protectorate's Jews, he suggested establishing a labor camp for them within the Protectorate that would employ the Jews to further the economic needs of the occupying power.

The establishment of the ghetto in Theresienstadt (Terezin) was apparently due to Edelstein's initiative. He was appointed its first *Judenaeltester* (Jewish Elder), serving in this post from December 1941. His courageous stand on behalf of the ghetto inmates made him the object of hatred of several heads of the *Gestapo. His jurisdiction was restricted, and in November 1943 he was arrested for having falsified the lists in order to rescue several inmates. He was sent to *Auschwitz, where he was kept in a punishment cell and shot on June 20, 1944, after having been forced to witness the execution of his wife and young son. He went proudly to his death. Opinions are divided in the evaluation of his activities during the Holocaust. Some (such as H.G. Adler) contend that Edelstein misunderstood the situation and thus engaged in a measure of cooperation with the Nazis; others, particularly survivors from the Zionist pioneering movement, see in him a tragic martyr, who fought the enemy for the rescue of Jews until his defeat. The liberated inmates of Bergen-Belsen named their camp school for him.

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[Chaim Yahil]

°EDEN, SIR ANTHONY, EARL OF AVON (1897–1977), British Conservative statesman, foreign secretary (1935–38, 1940–45, 1951–55), secretary for war (1940), and prime minister (1955–57). Eden resigned in 1938 in protest against Neville Chamberlain's policy of "appeasement" to the Axis and became Churchill's right-hand man during World War II. In 1936 Eden signed the Anglo-Egyptian Treaty of Friendship and Alliance, which was unilaterally denounced by Egypt in 1951. During World War II he increasingly advocated Arab unity, which in 1945 took the form of the *Arab League that eventually turned against Britain. Eden was aware of the Holocaust and, indeed, made a famous statement in the House of Commons in 1942 confirming that the Nazis were exterminating Europe's Jews, but that Britain could do little or nothing to thwart it apart from winning the war. In 1955 Eden led Britain into the Baghdad Pact, an additional source of friction with Egypt. In November 1955 he suggested a compromise between the Arab demand that Israel withdraw to the boundaries of the UN Partition Plan of 1947 and Israel's stand on the borders of the armistice agreements of 1949. In October 1956, after the nationalization of the Suez Canal by Egypt, he and Guy Mollet, the prime minister of France, mounted the Suez Expedition, the object of which was to gain control of the Canal. The Suez campaign had the secret backing and cooperation of David *Ben-Gurion and the Israeli government. (See *Sinai Campaign.) Under the extraordinary agreement reached between Britain, France, and Israel, Israeli forces were to take control of the Sinai – which they proceeded to do in short order – at which point Britain and France were to intervene to keep the belligerents apart but also to retake the Suez Canal for themselves. The Suez Campaign failed, thanks in large measure to American opposition. It aroused fierce hostility from the British Labour party and left-wing sources, but also marked the first time in which Israel's military prowess was displayed successfully. Soon afterwards, Eden became seriously ill and retired from the prime ministership and from political life early in 1957. In retirement, he wrote *Full Circle* (1960), *Facing the Dictators* (1962), and *The Reckoning* (1965). In 1961, Eden was given an earldom. He had been made a knight of the Garter in 1953 and was known as Sir Anthony Eden during his prime ministership.

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[Sh.Be / William D. Rubinstein (2nd ed.)]

EDEN-TAMIR, Israeli piano duo. Bracha Eden was born in Jerusalem (1928) and Alexander Tamir (1931), a native of Vilna, settled in Jerusalem after World War II. Both studied with Alexander Schroeder (a pupil of A. Schnabel) at the Rubin Academy of Music in Jerusalem. After graduating in 1952, they formed a piano duo. In 1955 they continued their studies with Vronsky and *Babin at Aspen. They made their debut in Israel in 1954 and appeared in New York (1955) and Rome (1956), where they won the 1957 Vercelli Competition. Eden and Tamir founded the Max Targ Music Center in Ein Kerem, near Jerusalem (1968), and taught as senior professors at the Rubin Academy. During the 1990s they began to perform and teach regularly in China, Russia, and Poland, and in 1997 they became directors of the International Duo Piano Seminary. Well known for their artistry, virtuosity, and immaculate ensemble playing, the duo made an important contribution to the revival of works for two pianos and piano duet.

Among their recordings are the complete works for two pianos and piano duet of Mozart, Schubert, and Rachmaninoff, and works by Bach, Brahms, Debussy, Ravel, Bartók, and Poulenc. They gave the American première of Lutoslawski's *Paganini Variations* (1955) and, at the suggestion of Stravinsky (1968), were the first to perform and record the piano duet version of *The Rite of Spring*. Tamir has made several transcriptions for piano duo and duet and has written a few works for piano duo.

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[Uri Toepliz, Yohanan Boehm / Naama Ramot (2nd ed.)]

EDER, MONTAGUE DAVID (1865–1936), Zionist leader, psychoanalyst, and physician. Born in London into an assimilated family, Eder devoted himself to the medical care of the poor in London's slums and mining villages, becoming a member of the Labour Party. One of the first British psychoanalysts and protagonists of Sigmund Freud, together with Ernest Jones he founded the Psychoanalytical Association in England in 1913. Eder also established a children's clinic and founded and edited the journal *School Hygiene*. His interest in Jewish affairs was aroused by his cousin, Israel *Zangwill, and his brother-in-law, Joseph *Cowen. Eder joined the Jewish Territorialist Organization (JTO) and participated in a mission on its behalf to Cyrenaica to evaluate the possibilities for Jewish settlement there. In 1918 he was invited by Chaim *Weizmann to join the *Zionist Commission for Palestine, as a representative of JTO and as medical officer. He arrived there in 1918 and stayed for over four years, becoming an enthusiastic Zionist. He played a key role in the Commission, being its only member to extend his stay after 1918. He conducted the negotiations with the military and civil administration of Palestine and helped actively in the absorption of the first groups of immigrants of the Third *Aliyah, displaying great understanding for their pioneering spirit. Eder was a member of the Zionist Executive 1921–23 and 1922–28, first in Jerusalem and later in London. His kinship with the Soviet diplomat Maxim *Litvinov (to whom he was related through his wife) enabled him to visit the Soviet Union in 1921, where he tried, unsuccessfully, to achieve some degree of legal status for the work of the Zionist Organization there. Upon his return to Britain, Eder was active on behalf of the Hebrew University, the Political Department of the Zionist Executive, and the British Zionist Federation, which he headed for a short time in 1930. An agricultural farm for the training of Palestine pioneers, established in 1935 in Ringelstone, Kent, was called the David Eder Farm.

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[Getzel Kressel]

EDESSA, a city in the upper Euphrates Valley (today Urfa in Turkey). Archaeological remains are known in the area of the city going back to the second millennium B.C.E., and Edessa may very well have been a Hurrian city alternatively known as Orrhoe, Orhai, or Osrhoene. Until 11 C.E. Edessa was part of the border area that passed on various occasions from Parthian to Roman hands. The city was conquered in August 116 by Lusius Quietus, and remained a Roman possession until 216, when it was officially incorporated into the Roman Empire. The suppression of the Parthian resistance against the Romans meant also the subjugation of the Jews of the city (see Segal). By the end of the second century C.E. Edessa had become the center of Christianity beyond the Euphrates, and this development suggests a Jewish influence in the area during that period. It is known, for instance, that the local king during the early second century, Abgar VII, was a son of *Izates of Adiabene, a monarchy already converted to Judaism. Eusebius, a primary source regarding the establishment of Christianity in Edessa, relates that Abgar V had corresponded with Jesus himself, and as a result immediately accepted the teachings of the first Christian disciple to arrive at Edessa, the preacher Addai. The story is also given in the "Doctrine of Addai," which claims that the conversion involved, among others, Jewish silk merchants. The story is a Christian invention. The Palestinian Targum identifies the Erech of Genesis 10:10 with Edessa and refers to it, together with Ctesiphon and Nisibis, as one of the three Babylonian cities ruled by *Nimrod. In the Talmud the name of the community is Hadass.

[Isaiah Gafni / Shimon Gibson (2nd ed.)]

The Edessa chronicles mention an order issued by the emperor in 411, to erect a convent on a spot occupied by a synagogue; other reliable sources, however, describe the bishop who was then in office, and was alleged to have built the convent, as a friend of the Jews (see Overbeck, *Opera Selecta*, 195; reports on Jews in Edessa are also available for the year 499: REJ, 6 (1883), 137). The participation of Edessa Jews in the wars between Heraclius I, the Byzantine emperor, and the Persians (610–42), on the side of the latter, gives reason to believe that their number was quite substantial.

For a considerable period after its capture by the Arabs (who renamed it al-Ruha), the town remained predominantly Christian. Islam, of course, spread in the town, at the expense of Christianity and Judaism. There is a source about a false Messiah in c. 735, who was a native of Edessa. According to Bar-Hebraeus, Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir built a mosque in 825 on a site previously occupied by a synagogue. In the 9th century the physician Yizhaq Ben Ali Al-Rohawi (Odessa man) was born in Edessa. In 1098 the town was conquered by the Crusaders and the Jews were expelled. There is a document from December 1101 in Ruzafa (150 km. south of Edessa) which notes the Jews of the castle of Ruzafa (one of the names of Edessa); probably these Jews were the refugees from Edessa who had fled to Ruzapa. When ʿImād al-Dīn Zengi captured the town in 1144, he settled 300 Jewish families there; and in 1191 when

R. Samuel b. Ali, head of the Baghdad Academy, addressed a circular letter to the communities in northern Babylonia and Syria, he included the al-Ruha community among those addressed. *Al-Ḥarizi (13th cent.) also mentioned the Jewish community and noted that the local Jews were polite and cultured. He noted the *Ḥazzan* Joseph and another person, Hasan. He mentioned that the origin of the Jews in Ruha was from Al-Ein. Maybe he referred to the settlement of 300 Jewish families in Edessa two generations earlier which had been organized by the Mamluk Ruler Zengi I in 1144. From the 12th century the Karaite scholar Yehuda Hadassi (from Edessa) is known. Jews continued to live there during the Ottoman rule, when the town's name was changed to Urfa. In the 17th century, the traveler Pedro de Texeira found many Jews there. In 1834, 500 Jews lived there and the general population was 50,000. *Benjamin II, who visited the town in 1848, wrote of a community of 150 families, whose economic standard was very good, but their cultural standard was so low that only about a third was able to read the prayerbook. Benjamin also gave details of the local legends relating to biblical figures; the Syriac name of the town, Orhai, for some reason appears always to have been identified with Ur Kasdim (Ur of the Chaldees), and thus the town came to be regarded as the scene of various events in the life of Abraham. Among the sights pointed out to Benjamin II was a cave which was regarded as Abraham's birthplace and the oven into which Nimrod had been thrown. These places were venerated by both Jews and Muslims. In 1876 the Jews of the place spoke Aramic. In 1880 the Jews survived a big fire that had spread in the city. In 1893, 1,000 Jewish families lived in Urfa. At the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th, the number of Jews in Urfa dwindled steadily; in 1904 there were 322 Jews there, and thereafter their number was further reduced. Many of the town's Jews settled in Jerusalem, where they formed a separate community, that of the "Urfalis." During World War I most of the Jews in Urfa were merchants. Following a blood libel many of them were murdered and the survivors fled to Syria, Lebanon, Istanbul, and Ereẓ Israel, where many of the immigrants settled in Jerusalem. There have been no Jews in Urfa since the late 1960s.

[Eliyahu Ashtor / Leah Bornstein-Makovetsky (2nd ed.)]

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EDINBURGH, capital of *Scotland. No trace of Jews is to be found in medieval Scotland generally. Apart from individual Jews, a community possibly existed in Edinburgh at the close of the 18th century, but the present congregation was established in 1816 with 20 families. The first minister was Moses Joel of London, who served in the office for 46 years. With the influx of Russian and Polish Jews at the close of the 19th century, the community grew and many communal institutions were founded. For many years Salis *Daiches was the rabbi. In 1968 the community numbered approximately 1,100 out of a total population of 468,770. There was one synagogue and extensive communal and Zionist activity. In the mid-1990s the Jewish population numbered approximately 500. According to the 2001 British census, 763 Jews lived in Edinburgh. There is an Orthodox synagogue.

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[Cecil Roth]

EDINGER, LUDWIG (1855–1918), German neuroanatomist and neurologist; considered the founder of modern neuroanatomy. Edinger was born in Worms on the Rhine, Germany, and began his academic studies at Heidelberg University. He completed his medical studies at the University of Strasbourg and became a licensed physician in 1877. In 1879 he began teaching at the University of Giessen and in 1883 he moved to Frankfurt to practice neurology. That same year he started lecturing on the structure of the central nervous system. In 1885 he joined the Senckenberg Research Institute in Frankfurt and conducted further studies in neurology, particularly in brain anatomy. That year marked the appearance of *Zehn Vorlesungen ueber den Bau der nervoesen Zentralorgane*, later translated into English as *Twelve Lectures on the Structure of the Central Nervous System,* his most famous text on the structure of the nervous system.

By 1907 his division had become one of the most modern neurological departments of the time and he became professor of neurology at Frankfurt University. In his research Edinger described the ventral and dorsal spinocerebellar tract, clarified polioencephalon and neoencephalitis, as well as the paleo-cerebellum and the neo-cerebellum. His studies and research appeared in many publications, and his name became associated with several parts of the human brain that he elucidated, including "Edinger's nucleus," "the Edinger fibers," and "Edinger's tract."

Edinger was also a gifted artist and achieved considerable notoriety in the field of hypnosis.

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[Suessmann Muntner / Ruth Rossing (2nd ed.)]

EDINGER, TILLY (1897–1967), vertebrate paleontologist. Born in Frankfurt on the Main, Edinger received her doctorate in paleontology from Frankfurt University. Her main research interest was brain development and she created the field of paleoneurology. She was fascinated by the disproportionate growth of the forebrain in many mammals and the implications for the emergence of Homo sapiens. She worked initially at Frankfurt University's Geological Institute but, under antisemitic pressure, left for London in 1939 before moving to the U.S. in 1940. She joined Harvard University's Museum of Comparative Zoology and became a research associate in paleontology. Her classic works are *Fossil Brains* (1929) and *The Evolution of the Horse Brain* (1948).

[Michael Denman (2nd ed.)]

EDIRNE (**Adrianople**), town in Turkey located in eastern Thrace near the Turkish-Greek-Bulgarian frontier. According to the 2000 census, the city's population was recorded as 119,316. The city was named after the Roman emperor, Hadrian (125 C.E.). Individual Jews went to Adrianople even before the destruction of the Second Temple, but certain knowledge of a Jewish settlement comes only from the beginning of the *Byzantine period. The Adrianople Jews then traded in textiles, leather goods, and wine. The community is mentioned in connection with the opposition to the messianic ferment in the Byzantine Empire at the time of the First Crusade (1096), and the synagogue of the Greeks (or Romaniots), burnt down in 1905, probably dated back to that period. After the Ottoman capture (1361) the city, now renamed Edirne, became the new Ottoman capital and the main administrative and military base from where the *Ottomans set off to conquer the Balkans. The city maintained this latter position even after the capital moved to Constantinople/*Istanbul following the conquest of the Byzantine city in 1453. The Ottomans populated Edirne with many immigrants; among them there were a large number of Jews arriving from the newly conquered lands in the Balkans. The community developed further following the influx of immigrants from Hungary after the expulsion of 1376 and from France after 1394. R. Isaac Zarefati, the leader of the Ashkenazi community, issued an appeal to West European Jews to settle in the *Ottoman Empire (after the capture of Constantinople in 1453). He and his descendants held office until 1722. The Ottomans transferred some of the local Jews to Constantinople. After 1492 many exiles from Spain came to Edirne followed by refugees from Portugal, and Italy as well. These new immigrants, who had different customs from the Romaniots, established their own congregations (*kahal*, pl. *kehalim*) according to their place of origin. In 1656 there were 15 different *kehalim*, most of them named after locations in Spain, Portugal, and Italy. On the basis of Ottoman fiscal registers, we can estimate that the city's population in 1580 was around 30,000 inhabitants. During the second half of the 17th century, the general population grew to about 100,000; many of them arrived in Edirne following the temporary transfer of the sultan's residence to the city (until 1703). At the time the Jewish population of the city grew from 2,500 people to about 5,000. *Shabbetai Ẓevi was brought to Edirne for questioning before the sultan in September 1666, and after his apostasy, some of his disciples in Edirne also converted to Islam. Shabbetai lived another ten years after his conversion, mostly in Edirne. His influence lingered in the city: Samuel *Primo (d. 1708), the leading rabbi of Edirne, was a secret adherent of Shabbatean mysticism, covertly giving instruction in it to small groups of followers. The decline of the Ottoman central authority brought new burdens on the local Jewish community, which had to accommodate itself to the changing local political circumstances. Nineteenth-century developments, encouraged by the new policy of reforms (*tanzimat*) led to the emergence of a new bourgeoisie in the non-Muslim communities of Edirne. The Jewish economic elite was composed of moneylenders and traders. The 19th century was also marked by a deterioration in the relations between the Jews and their Christian neighbors: the Jews suffered, for example, from *blood libels, spread by the Armenians (1871–72). The rise of nationalism in the Balkans was another and much more menacing threat to the community: when the Bulgarians temporarily occupied Edirne during the First Balkan War (March 1913), following a six-month siege, the Jews suffered and many of them found temporary shelter in Istanbul.

The Ottoman census of 1831, which counted only the adult male population, registered 1,541 Jewish men in the city. In 1873 there were approximately 12,000 Jews in the city; a report submitted to the *Alliance Israélite Universelle in Paris in 1897 on the various handicrafts and occupations in the Jewish community mentioned some 815 workers in 47 different categories. The community developed further following the arrival of refugees from the newly established Balkan states. The Ottoman census of 1906–7 put the number of the Jews in Edirne at 23,839. They lived in various neighborhoods according to their professions. Each neighborhood maintained its own community organization, synagogue, and *bet din* under the general supervision of the city's chief rabbi (the first chief rabbi, *ḥakham bashi*, was appointed in 1836 as part of the formal recognition of the Ottoman Jewish community as an official one). Before World War I their numbers rose to 28,000 but thereafter they declined in 1921–22 to 13,000, in 1927 to 5,712 Jews, the community being reduced by 1943 to 2,000. The decline can be explained in part by the changed status of the city which became a border town, in part by the impoverishment due to the wars, which resulted in immigration to *Salonica, France, and America, and later to Palestine. Apart from the Rabbanite community there was also a *Karaite community dating from the Byzantine period; among its members was the *Bashyazi family which became famous in Karaite history. For a time, Edirne was one of the important Karaite centers in Europe. At the beginning of the 20th century no trace of the Karaites remained.

The Jews of Edirne played an important part in the city's economy. They traded with Jewish and Christian merchants in other countries, either directly or through the latter's Jewish agents in Edirne. Local Jews held at times the lease (*iltizam*) of the import taxes and manufactured glass. Government taxes were paid on the basis of a fixed assessment which took into account one hundred families, although the number of Jews had increased. These taxes were imposed on the 13 congregations. In accordance with a special *firman* of 1783, the Jewish community was allowed to collect the *gabela*, a tax on meat which covered the poll tax (**kharaj*), the clothing of the poor, and other communal needs. Tax collectors appointed by the general body apportioned the taxes among the congregations making evaluations every three years. Edirne was long a center of learning. In the 15th century Mordecai *Comtino lived there and at the beginning of the 16th century R. Joseph *Caro wrote most of his famous *Beit Yosef* commentary there. In the 16th century there lived in Edirne the *Ibn Verga family and the poet R. Avtalyon b. Mordecai (see Avtalyon *Modena). In the court of Sultan Mehmet II (1451–81) there was a famous Jewish physician, Hekim Ya'akub, with widespread diplomatic connections. He later converted to Islam.

The printers Solomon and Joseph *Jabez set up a Hebrew printing press in Edirne in 1554 when they fled from the plague in Salonica but returned a year later. During this short period they produced *She'erit Yosef* by Joseph ibn Verga; *Shevet Yehudah* by Solomon ibn Verga; and Joseph Jabez's own commentary on *Avot*. A press reappeared in Edirne only in the late 19th century.

The last of the rabbis of the Zarefati family was Abraham (d. 1722). After his death the jurisdiction of the Edirne rabbinate was divided between Abraham Gheron, Zarefati's son-in-law, and Menahem b. Isaac Ashkenazi (Bekhemoharar), each of whom had his adherents; the Bekhemoharar family officiated for approximately 180 years and counted among its descendants halakhists and authors, and the Gheron family officiated for approximately 170 years. Each family maintained its own **bet din*. In the 18th century R. Isaac Molkho, author of *Shulhan Gavoha* (1756), a popular handbook on the laws of *shehitah*, lived in Edirne. In the middle of the 19th century, the haskalah movement penetrated Edirne through the philologist Joseph *Halevy (1827–1917). While the role of Edirne's *maskilim* in diffusing these new ideas was only secondary when compared to the role of Istanbul or Salonica, we can still recognize some of their contributions: on the request of the *maskilim*, the *Alliance Israélite Universelle opened a school for boys in 1867 and one for girls in 1870. The writer, historian, and poet Baruch b. Isaac Mitrani (1847–1919) taught at the Alliance schools. He endeavored to implement new methods of education. To achieve these aims he established a new school – Akedat Yitzḥak – and published books on education in Hebrew and a grammar of spoken Judeo-Spanish. He edited the first newspaper that was published in Edirne: *Karmi* (1871–81) and *Kerem Sheli* (1890; in Hebrew and Ladino), calling for Jewish colonization in Palestine and national revival. Abraham *Danon (1857–1925), a pupil of Joseph Halevy, established under the latter's influence the *Doreshei Haskalah* group and in 1888 edited the historical periodical *Yosef Da'at* (in Hebrew and Ladino) in order to collect and publish Jewish historical studies. The periodical was closed down by the government after a short time. In 1891, Danon opened a rabbinical seminary that taught both secular and religious subjects. The teaching was partly in Turkish – a major innovation for the period. The seminary moved to Istanbul in 1898 with its 11 students. In his writings, he attempted to reconcile traditional and Western knowledge. The Ladino press was the major printed product of the period: Joseph Barishak edited the major political-literary Jewish journal of Edirne: *La Boz de la Verdad* ("The Voice of Truth") in 1911–22. Nissim Behar published the weekly *L'Echo d'Adrianople* in French in 1921–22. Many of the graduates of the Alliance joined the newly founded alumni associations. A B'nai B'rith lodge was established in 1911. These associations – including reading clubs and mutual-aid fraternities – were chiefly meant to support and propagate the new trends of modernization among the community's members. In this capacity they contributed to the Westernization and secularization of the local community. Following the great fire of 1905 in which all the 13 synagogues of Edirne were burned to the ground, the community constructed a new synagogue in 1907 which was modeled on the synagogue of Vienna. It could accommodate 1,200 worshipers – 900 men and 300 women – and was designated to demonstrate the community's achievements and modernity.

[Simon Marcus / Eyal Ginio (2nd ed.)]

The demise of the Ottoman Empire and the foundation of the Turkish republic put unprecedented pressure on all the Jewish communities of Turkey. They were required to assimilate linguistically and culturally into Turkish society. This pressure must be seen as part of the overall anti-minority attitude in public opinion in the republic's first years. It seems that the lot of the Jewish community in Thrace (including Edirne) was the harshest. Living in a sensitive border area and remaining the only non-Muslim minority following the transfer of the Bulgarian, Greek, and Armenian populations, the Jews of Edirne suffered from verbal and sporadically physical assaults as well as from legal restrictions on their economic activities. The local Turkish press played a major role in inciting the local population against their Jewish neighbors. This reached its peak with the outbreak of assaults on Jews in the major towns of eastern Thrace in 1934. The agitation of mobs in Edirne, which involved physical attacks on the Jews and threats against the community, caused panic among Edirne Jewry. Thousands moved permanently to Istanbul, although the government intervened to stop the attacks and assured the Jews of their safety. The community never recovered from this blow. The conscription to labor battalions and the imposition of a discriminatory head tax caused impoverishment and further decline in the community. The town suffered economic crises after World War II. The community diminished through migration to Israel and other countries and also to Istanbul. In 1948, 2,750 Jews remained in Edirne, while by 1960 their number dwindled to 438, and in 1977 there were only 72 Jewish inhabitants in the city. In 1948 the community was still well organized and levied dues from its members. Its council maintained charitable institutions, a Bikkur Holim society (which then provided medical care for 730 patients), a Mahazikei Torah association (which provided Hebrew and religious education), the ʿOzer Dallim association (which cared for the needy), and several synagogues. By 1969 most of the institutions had closed and the community was left with only one synagogue. In 1971 the municipality prohibited the community from using its cemetery and in 1975 it confiscated it altogether. Subsequently the cemetery was destroyed. The shrinking community used the synagogue until 1983. In 1998 there were only three Jews living in Edirne.

[Hayyim J. Cohen / Eyal Ginio (2nd ed.)]

Music

Edirne was also a center of Jewish music. A choral society of Maftirim was founded in the seventh century. It sang every Sabbath at dawn from a book of religious hymns which were locally called *jonk* (the Persian-Arabic designation of "harp"). A great number of able cantors and assistant singers (*maftirim, mezammerim*) came from Edirne. Congregations from as far away as Bulgaria and Romania appealed to this community whenever there was need of a good synagogue singer. The activity and reputation of the Maftirim Society helped Edirne become a center for hymn writers. Among the best known were Aaron b. Isaac *Hamon (18th century; possibly the composer called Yahudi Harun by the Turks), Abraham Zemah (late 19th century), and Joseph Danon (d. 1901). A large repertoire of Ladino folksongs from Edirne was collected and published by A. Danon in 1896. Danon contended that the proficiency of the local Jews in Eastern music had been stimulated by, and modeled after, the style of the Muslim Dervish brotherhoods.

[Hanoch Avenary]

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EDMAN, IRWIN (1896–1954), U.S. philosopher. He was born in New York, earned his Ph.D. at Columbia in 1920, and taught there until his death. He was appointed full professor in 1935. Edman wrote poetry, essays, and philosophical works. He was greatly influenced by John Dewey and American naturalism, while drawn to the philosophical classics. He once called himself "an empiricist homesick for Platonism." Edman was interested in aesthetics, social and political philosophy, and the philosophy of religion. He published many works, including *Human Traits and Their Social Significance* (1920); *The Mind of Paul* (1935), on St. Paul's religious outlook; *Philosopher's Holiday* (1938), a popular presentation of philosophical anecdotes from his own life; *Arts and the Man* (1939); and *Philosopher's Quest* (1947). Edman also edited English editions of Plato, Boethius, Schopenhauer, and Santayana. An anthology of his writings, *The Uses of Philosophy*, was published in 1955.

[Richard H. Popkin]

EDMONTON, capital of Alberta, Canada. Edmonton was first incorporated as a town in 1892. At that time, there were about 700 permanent residents. Founded on the banks of the North Saskatchewan River on the site of the former Hudson's Bay Company's Fort Edmonton, it gradually began to attract settlers. Abraham and Rebecca Cristall, Edmonton's first Jews, arrived in 1893. Their children, George and Rose, were the town's first Jewish-born children. Abe became a successful businessman and encouraged Jews from his native Bessarabia to come. By 1901, there were 17 Jews in Edmonton. In 1904, Edmonton became incorporated as a city, and in 1905 Alberta officially became a province and the Canadian Pacific Railway arrived.

In 1905, William "Boss" Diamond came to Edmonton from Calgary, where his businessman brother Jacob had been Alberta's first Jewish citizen. William set up in the clothing business in competition with Abe Cristall, but the two competitors worked together to establish Edmonton's Jewish community. Together with eight other men they formed the Edmonton Hebrew Association in 1906. They hired Rabbi Hyman Goldstick of Pilton, Latvia, to be rabbi, *shoḥet*, and *mohel* to serve both the Edmonton and Calgary Jewish communities.

In 1907, Abe Cristall purchased land on the south side for a Jewish cemetery and the *ḥevra kaddisha* was formed. In 1912, the foundations were laid for the Orthodox Beth Israel Synagogue. Cristall served as its first president, and William Diamond its second president, a position he held for 31 years. In 1912, the newly founded Edmonton Talmud Torah Society organized classes in the synagogue basement. In 1925, the Society erected its own building and in 1933 it was incorporated as the first Hebrew day school in Canada.

In 1928, a second congregation was started in the basement of the Talmud Torah building, which in 1932 became the Conservative Beth Shalom Congregation and engaged Rabbi Jacob Eisen, who became one of the first English-speaking rabbis west of Winnipeg. Also at that time, the Peretz or New Yiddish School was organized and opened its own building. An offshoot of the Arbeiter Ring, which started in Edmonton in 1922, it had its heyday in the early 1930s, but had to close in 1939 due to declining enrollment. By 1941, Edmonton's population had increased to 93,817, and the Jewish population stood at 1,449. Of the 120 men and women from Edmonton's Jewish community who served during World War II, 11 were killed in action.

The postwar years saw rapid growth in both the Jewish and general population of Edmonton. With prosperity and a shift by Jews into the city's West End, a new Beth Shalom Synagogue was built in 1951. A new Beth Israel Synagogue building was also constructed as well as a new Talmud Torah building. In 1954, the Edmonton Jewish Community Council was formed as a community-wide umbrella organization and served as such for 28 years. On September 20, 1982, the Community Council merged with the Edmonton United Jewish Appeal to become the Jewish Federation of Edmonton.

Alberta's booming oil-based economy brought increased immigration to Edmonton including that of Jews from other provinces in Canada, as well as from Hungary, Russia, and South Africa. From a Jewish population of 1,748 in 1951, the community grew to 2,910 in 1971 and 5,430 in 1991. In 2001 it stood at about 6,000.

All these new immigrants contributed to Edmonton's vibrant Jewish community life. Local branches of prominent Jewish organizations thrive, including the Canadian Zionist Federation, Edmonton Hadassah-WIZO, chapters of ORT and Na'amat, B'nai B'rith and Emunah, all of which are actively working for the welfare of the State of Israel. Local offices of the Jewish National Fund are located at the Edmonton Jewish Community Centre, founded in 1970. The now defunct Edmonton chapter of the National Council of Jewish Women was responsible for founding the city's Jewish Seniors' Drop-in Centre (formerly the Golden Age Club) in 1954, as well as Jewish Family Services.

The community's third congregation, Temple Beth Ora Reform Congregation, was founded in 1979, and incorporated in 1980. It rented space at the Jewish Community Centre. In 1996 Congregation Beth Tzedec, a breakaway from Beth Shalom, incorporated and began to hold services at the Talmud Torah. Chabad Lubavitch arrived in Edmonton in 1991, and in 1993 a second Hebrew day school, the Orthodox Menorah Academy, was founded. In 1999, a new building for Edmonton Talmud Torah was erected and the next year a new Beth Israel Synagogue was opened reflecting a further westward shift in population.

In the fall of 2004, Edmonton elected its first Jewish mayor, Stephen Mandel. Mandel had previously served as a city councilor, continuing a long tradition of Jewish city councilors, including Dr. Morris Weinlos, Helen Paull, Mel Binder, Tooker Gomberg, and former MLA Karen Leibovici. There has also been a strong tradition of Jewish civic involvement in the larger Edmonton community, with members serving on the boards and executives of many local arts, cultural, educational, and fundraising organizations, as well as on the judiciary.

The Jewish Archives and Historical Society of Edmonton and Northern Alberta (JAHSENA) was founded in 1996 to preserve and promote the history of this vibrant Jewish community.

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[Debby Shoctor and Ed Mickelson (2nd ed.)]

EDOM (Heb. אֱדוֹם), a land in the south of eastern Transjordan, the southeastern neighbor of Palestine.

The Country

"The land of Edom" is the most common name for the Edomite territory. It had, however, other names and appellations, both prosaic and poetic, i.e., "the field of Edom" (Judg. 5:4), "Seir" (*ibid.*), "Mount Seir" (Deut. 1:2), "the land of Seir" (Gen. 36:30, "the lands of Seir," cf. *mâtâti*^{d} *še-e-ri*^{ki}, in el-Amarna letter no. 288, line 26; Pritchard, Texts, 488; J.A. Knudtzon, *Die El-Amarna-Tafeln*, 2 (1915), 1340), and a combined name, "the land of Seir the field of Edom" (Gen. 32:3). There are also in Egyptian sources the equivalents of two names: Seir (Pritchard, Texts, 262) and Edom (Papyrus Anastasi VI, Pritchard, Texts, 259). It is possible to establish, according to the Egyptian and Akkadian sources, that the name Seir is chronologically first, since it is mentioned at the beginning of the 14th century B.C.E. in the Tell el-Amarna document, as well as in an Egyptian list from the time of Ramses II, i.e., from the first half of the 13th century B.C.E. On the other hand, the first mention of the name Edom in Egyptian sources occurs only at the end of the 13th century B.C.E.

The name Seir is apparently related to the Horites; this is especially evidenced by Genesis 36:20: "These were the sons of Seir the Horite, who were settled in the land" (cf. Deut. 2:12). The name Edom is related to the Western Semitic settlers who came after them.

It appears that the Edomite territory consisted of the mountain which extends from the Dead Sea in the north to the Red Sea in the south. The northern border of Edom was the Zered River (Wadi al-Hesa), which was also the southern border of Moab (Deut. 2:13). Its eastern border was the desert and its inhabitants were the Kedemites. Its southern border was Elath and Ezion-Geber (Deut. 2:8), i.e., the gulf of Elath. There was probably no fixed western boundary; during the Exodus from Egypt, the Israelites who requested permission to pass through Edom said to the king of Edom: "Now we are in *Kadesh, the town on the border of your territory" (Num. 20:16). Another place mentioned as being on its western border is "Mount Hor on the boundary of the land of Edom" (Num. 20:23). The western border is described more comprehensively as "the boundary of Edom to the wilderness of Zin at the farthest south" (Josh. 15:1), and in an abbreviated manner as "south, toward the boundary of Edom" (Josh. 15:21).

In later periods there was an Edomite expansion beyond Mount Seir, especially after the fall of the kingdom of Judah (see below). Ezekiel thus terms the Edomite territory "Mount Seir and all Edom" (Ezek. 35:15). The capital of Edom was probably Bozrah (see especially Amos 1:12, "the palaces of Bozrah," similar to the palaces of other capital cities mentioned in this prophecy). Bozrah was the principal city, the other cities of Edom being called Bozrah's cities: "For I have sworn by myself, says the Lord, that Bozrah shall become a horror, a taunt, a waste, and a curse; and all her cities shall be perpetual wastes" (Jer. 49:13). Among the other cities of Edom mentioned in the Bible are Teman, which is used as a parallel for Bozrah (Amos 1:12), and Dedan (Jer. 49:8). The principal cities of Edom, which were also the royal cities, can be learned from the list of kings, who reigned "before any king reigned over the Israelites" (Gen. 36). In this list, Bozrah and Teman are mentioned with other towns such as Avith, Rehoboth Hanahar, Masrekah, and Pau, about which nothing is known from the Bible or from other sources.

The People

In the biblical tradition about the origin of the Edomites or, more precisely, in accounts about the eponym "Esau who is Edom" (Gen. 36:1), the Edomites are related to the Hebrews. Esau was the grandson of Abraham the Hebrew and the son of Isaac. The close relationship of *Esau to Israel is especially emphasized in the narratives which point out his closeness with Jacob-Israel, and describe their birth as twins. In parenthetical narrative comments and especially in genealogical lists, the complexity of the Edomites' ethnic composition is demonstrated. In the accounts of Esau's marriages, which should be viewed as etiological-ethnological stories, it is told that Esau married Canaanite-Hittite women (Gen. 26:34; cf. 36:2). It is likewise told that he married Ishmaelite women (Gen. 28:9; cf. 36:3). He also took Hivite wives (Gen. 36:2). These parenthetical narrative remarks substantiate and confirm the contents of the genealogical lists of Edom. The ethnic composition appears to be even more heterogeneous when in addition to the Canaanite-Hittite, Hivite, and Ishmaelite elements, Kenazite (Gen. 36:15), Amalekite (36:16), and especially Horite (36:20, 21, 29, 30) elements are found in the genealogical list of Esau's descendants and in the list of the chiefs of Esau. A similar picture is reflected in the names appearing in the genealogical lists of Edom. West-Semitic names are listed side by side with Horite names. It is possible to distinguish earlier and later elements in the ethnic composition of Edom. Traditions, whose authenticity is beyond doubt, have been preserved in the Bible about the antiquity of the Horites in Edom. In the Deuteronomic tradition about the ancient settlers of eastern Transjordan before the advent of the Hebrews, it is stated: "Seir was formerly inhabited by the Horites; but the descendants of Esau dispossessed them, wiping them out and settling in their place" (Deut. 2:12). This tradition is reported in brief also in the chapter specifically dealing with Edom, Genesis 36, where a parenthetical remark is made: "these were the sons of Seir the Horite, who were settled in the land" (36:20). Thus, the ancient ethnic element of Edom is the Horites, to whom were later added those descendants of Esau who were from a Western-Semitic origin. This is corroborated by epigraphic sources and archaeological findings. From Akkadian and Egyptian epigraphic sources it is known that toward the first half of the second millennium B.C.E. "Horite" (Akk. *ḫurru*) tribes penetrated all the areas of the Ancient East and settled in these areas including Canaan and eastern Transjordan. There is also information about waves of migration of Western-Semitic elements who infiltrated western Asia, including Transjordan, and apparently conquered these territories and defeated the Horite population. According to biblical tradition, Esau and his descendants first inhabited the land of Canaan (Gen. 36:5), and when "the land in which they sojourned could not support them because of their livestock," Esau, together with Jacob and his children, "took … all the members of his household … [and] settled in the hill country of Seir" (36:6–8). From the archaeological survey of eastern Transjordan conducted by Nelson Glueck the same picture emerges. It appears that the settlement which existed from the 23rd to the 20th centuries B.C.E. was highly civilized, but the 19th century B.C.E. saw a steep decline and the total extinction of all the great fortresses and settlements. The blow was final and the destruction, total. The cities were not rebuilt and most of Transjordan became a camping spot for shepherds and nomads until the end of the 14th century B.C.E. The archaeological survey demonstrated that at the end of the 14th and the beginning of the 13th centuries B.C.E., there was a revival of an agricultural civilization among the Edomites, the Moabites, the Ammonites, and the Amorites, who quickly divided into national groups within defined territorial boundaries. Thus, Transjordan was divided into the kingdoms of Edom, Ammon, and Moab, which were separated mainly by the deep and wide natural boundaries of the Zered, Arnon, and Jabbok rivers. These kingdoms underwent a fast development of prosperity and growth, primarily material, from the 13th to the 8th centuries B.C.E. There followed a period of decline which ended in utter destruction in the sixth century B.C.E.

Biblical Sources

These latter comments would have exhausted our knowledge about Edom had the Bible not preserved much information about this kingdom, more so than about any of the other kingdoms neighboring Israel. This great amount of material in the Bible is very valuable from both the historical and historiographical points of view. Biblical information about Edom may be divided into two types, which are distinctly separable. The first type is the original and authentic material, which apparently originated in Edom itself and somehow made its way to Israel, and which is found mainly in Genesis 36. The second type is information about Edom which is connected with the history of Israel. These two types of material give a chronological coverage of the two periods of Edom's history (see below). The original and authentic material about Edom is from the period before the monarchy was established in Israel (it is not intended here to discuss R.H. Pfeiffer's Edomite-Seirite, or Southern source (s); for its scope, character, and time see *Pentateuch). This material describes the history of Edom until its conquest by David. On the other hand, the material about Edom which is contained in the Israelite history covers the period of the monarchy in Israel and Judah, and, in fact, beginning with the time of David, the history of Edom is contained within the history of Israel.

History until Its Conquest by David

From the information contained in Genesis 36, it may be learned that the Edomites were governed by chiefs (*allufim*) and kings in the period which preceded its conquest by David. The question arises as to whether chiefs and kings ruled at one and the same time, the kings being only the most powerful of the chiefs, or whether there were two periods, a first of chiefs and a subsequent one of kings. It appears that two periods should be distinguished, the "period of the chiefs" and the "period of the kings," typologically paralleling the "period of the judges" and the "period of the monarchy" in Israel.

THE PERIOD OF THE CHIEFS (*Allufim*). It appears that the chiefs were the heads of the thousands *(alafim)*, which were tribes or clans (in the broad sense of the word), and later, heads of regions. This form of organization was prevalent among nomadic tribes. Actually, only 11 chiefs of Edom are mentioned, but there is reason to accept the opinion that a 12th name, which is found in the Septuagint, was left out. The tradition of the 12-fold organization in Edom is based on, and confirmed by, the organization of other tribes which are closely related to Edom in terms of race and origin. This 12-fold organization is found among the Nahorites (Gen. 22:20–24), the Ishmaelites (25:13–15), and the Israelites, and it is M. Noth's opinion that this system is based on "principles such as were customary in tribal societies which were still lacking settled political institutions" (Noth, Hist Isr, 87; for details). Taking as a starting point the conclusion of Nelson Glueck's survey that the Edomites arrived in Edom at the end of the 14th and the beginning of the 13th century B.C.E., it may then be assumed that the rule of the chiefs lasted approximately 150 years, until the middle of the 12th century B.C.E. Actually, the Bible appears to contain information to the contrary, since in the narrative on the Exodus from Egypt and the penetration of Canaan it is told that the Israelites had dealings with the king of Edom (Num. 20:14; if it is assumed, as is the accepted opinion today, that the Exodus was during the second half of the 13th century B.C.E.). It is known, however, that the source for the narrative (Num. 20) is late and "the king of Edom" is an anachronism. More authentic evidence from a very early poetic source, the Song of the Sea, testifies that at the time of the Exodus the chiefs were ruling in Edom: "Now are the chiefs of Edom dismayed" (Ex. 15:15). There are also sources outside the Bible which confirm this. In the Papyrus Anastasi VI from the time of Merneptah (end of the 13th century B.C.E.) the population of Edom and its adjuncts is divided into "tribes" or *shasu*: "[We] have finished letting the Shasu (*š*ʾ*sw*) of Edom (ʾ*idm*) pass the Fortress [of] Merneptah" (in Pritchard, Texts, 259). Ramses III (beginning of the 12th century B.C.E.) boasts: "I destroyed the people of Seir among the nomad tribes. I razed their tents: their people, their property, and their cattle as well, without number, pinioned and carried away in captivity, as the tribute of Egypt" (see Papyrus Harris I, in: Pritchard, Texts, 262). In any event, it becomes evident from these two Egyptian sources that there was a tribal organization, the population was nomadic, and there was no monarchy.

THE PERIOD OF THE MONARCHY. The genealogy of Edom in Genesis 36 contains a list of the kings of Edom who ruled "before any Israelite king reigned" (probably meaning "before any Israelite king ruled over Edom"). It is not certain whether "kings" were merely judges or tribal chiefs, or whether they were literally kings. Those scholars who hold that they were judges point to the following supporting evidence: the absence of succession, the absence of a fixed capital city, the parallelism of *melekh*/*shofet* ("king"/"judge") in Ugaritic and the Bible, as well as the formula "in those days there was no king over the Israelites," which recurs repeatedly in the Book of Judges in reference to the period of the judges. Thus, king here means judge (this opinion has been expressed by S. Talmon). It appears that the second opinion is the correct one, however, and that kings is meant literally.

The list of the Edomite kings (36:31–39) resembles a "royal chronicle" in that it includes various details found in the Judean and Israelite chronicles contained in Kings and Babylonian Chronicles. Details given in this list – though not all the details are given for every king – are the name of the king, his father's name, the name of his city (or place of origin), and an informative comment. This list includes eight kings. The names of the fathers of four of them are given, and the city (or place of origin) of seven out of the eight is mentioned. An informative comment is made about two of them. The informative comment about Hadad son of Bedad is distinctly historical. It is stated that he "defeated the Midianites in the country of Moab" (36:35), while the comment about Hadar, the last king, refers to his wife's genealogy: "and his wife's name was Mehetabel daughter of Matred daughter of Me-Zahab" (36:39). This list has been analyzed by numerous scholars in an attempt to derive from it information about the history of Edom, its chronology and the possibility of synchronization, its monarchy, and its character. It is clear from this list that the monarchy in Edom was not dynastic. Not one of the kings of Edom is said to be son of the former king. However, it should not be deduced from this, as has been done by several scholars, that the monarchy was not consistent. The formula: "when … died, … succeeded him as king" attests to the consistency and continuity of the monarchy. Further, it should be pointed out that there was no central authority based in one capital city. The fact that the king's capital or place of origin is mentioned shows that there was no common ruling city for even two of the kings (cf. the absence of a regular capital city in the kingdom of Israel until the establishment of Samaria by Omri). The two informative statements were variously interpreted by scholars. From the statement about Hadad son of Bedad E. Meyer tried to establish a synchronistic connection with events in Israel, namely that Hadad, who defeated the Midianites, was a contemporary of Gideon who defeated the Midianites. On the basis of this they attempted to derive chronological conclusions with regard to the history of the kings of Edom. There is no certainty, however, about Gideon's time, and even less about the time of the kings of Edom, concerning whom there is no chronological information. From the information about Hadar's wife's lineage on her mother's side, and from the naming of her mother and grandmother, W.F. Albright attempted to deduce the existence of a royal dynasty in Edom which passed in succession on the side of the mother and not the father. Thus, the king's son-in-law because he marries the queen's daughter is heir to the throne. A general conclusion of this nature, derived from a single comment, is, however, difficult to maintain. Moreover, there are no examples of such a custom in the ancient Near East to support this hypothesis (the example of Saul-Michal-David cannot be explained in this way).

It is most difficult to assess the dating of Edom's kings since, as has been stated, there is no chronological information given in regard to this period. It is only known that it ended at the time of David's conquest of Edom. If this assumption is correct, namely, that at the time of the Exodus, Edom was ruled by chiefs and not by kings, then the period of these kings can be set from the middle of the 12th century to the end of the 11th century B.C.E., i.e., a period of around 150 years, and an average of approximately 20 years per king.

During this period of chiefs and kings, Edom was strong and its borders well-fortified by a series of border fortresses which prevented the penetration of nomadic tribes from the desert. A series of fortresses was discovered during the archaeological survey in eastern and southern Edom, and some also in western Edom. (In the north, Edom shared a common border with Moab, with which it apparently had close and good neighborly relationships.) There is almost no biblical information in regard to contacts between Israel and Edom during this period, except that Edom is listed among the nations oppressing Israel which Saul defeated at the end of this period (I Sam. 14:47; it is possible that this refers to Amalek which is related to Edom). In Psalm 83, which is assumed by B. Mazar and S. Feigin to be from the period of the judges, Edom (as well as Amalek and Gebal which belong to Edom) is also mentioned as joining with Israel's other neighbors against Israel. It appears, however, that these two mentions are schematic and it is difficult to arrive at historically valid conclusions from the appearance of Edom in these lists.

From David until the Destruction of Judah

THE TIME OF DAVID AND SOLOMON. In David's wars of expansion, Edom was conquered after a decisive defeat in the Valley of Salt. This is echoed in three biblical sources – actually three accounts of the same battle. According to II Samuel 8:13 it was David who defeated Edom (this should be read instead of Aram) in the Valley of Salt, slaying 18,000 Edomites. According to I Chronicles 18:12, "Abishai son of Zeruiah slew 18,000 Edomites in the Valley of Salt," while according to Psalm 60:2, it was Joab who defeated Edom, and here there is a different number given for Edom's casualties – 12,000. While a few scholars held that these are accounts of battles led by the different people mentioned, it appears that they are, in fact, different accounts of the same event, and the numbers are schematic. In any event, in order to clarify the historical aspects, it appears that the original historical version is that Joab defeated Edom. The introduction of Abishai in Chronicles is aimed against Joab and is based on the wars in eastern Transjordan in which Joab and Abishai led the armies. The war was attributed to David because it appears that the victories of Joab, his military commander, were credited to the king, David, as was the case in the defeat of Rabbath-Benei-Ammon (II Sam. 12:26–31). Edom suffered a decisive defeat, apparently after a difficult battle. Contrary to his custom with regard to the other nations of Transjordan, David did not leave the Edomite monarchy in power but made Edom into an Israelite province ruled by appointed governors (II Sam. 8:14; I Chron. 18:13). There is additional information about this battle in I Kings 11:15–16 which states that "For six months did Joab remain there with all Israel, until he had cut off every male in Edom." His reasons for turning Edom into a province which rendered tribute and was ruled by governors were probably primarily economic, since Edom controlled the trade routes, both overland – the "King's Highway" – and maritime – the port of Ezion-Geber-Elath. Israel's rule of Edom by means of governors lasted throughout David's reign and apparently also through most of Solomon's time, until Hadad, a descendant of the last Edomite king, rebelled against Solomon. (It is difficult to determine whether Hadad was the son or the grandson of the last king of Edom. Actually, this was the introduction of a dynastic monarchy in Edom. In the opinion of Edward Meyer the Edomites were loyal to their last king.) This Hadad, who fled to Egypt during the conquest of Edom, received personal aid and political support in Egypt, and returned to Edom after David's death (I Kings 11:14–22). According to the Septuagint, what is said about Aram in I Kings 11:25 refers to Edom, and it thus turns out that this Hadad rebelled at the beginning of Solomon's reign and ruled Edom. It is difficult to accept this version, however, since it would mean that at the beginning of his reign, a time of prosperity and growth, of the development of the Negev and Arabah, and of maritime and inland trade, Solomon did not have absolute control over Edom and over the routes which crossed its territory. It would therefore appear that Edom's liberation was possible only at the end of Solomon's reign.

FROM JEHOSHAPHAT TO AHAZ. There is no information about Edom from the end of Solomon's reign until Jehoshaphat's, either from the Bible or from other sources. It may be assumed that after the collapse of Solomon's kingdom and its division, and especially after Shishak's campaign in Judah and Israel, Edom finally overthrew the yoke of Israel's rule and established an independent kingdom, which lasted around 50 years, until the time of Jehoshaphat. With the expansion of Judah southward in the time of Jehoshaphat, the submission of the Arabian tribes (II Chron. 17:11), and the institution of a mercantile fleet at Ezion-Geber (I Kings 22:49), Edom was probably conquered. In fact, there is an explicit statement in this regard from which it can be understood that not only was Edom conquered by Jehoshaphat but he dealt with it as did David and turned it into a province ruled by governors. Chronicles writes in connection with Jehoshaphat that "there was no king in Edom; a deputy was king" (I Kings 22:48 (47)). The conquest of Edom probably stemmed from the same economic motivations which existed at the time of David and Solomon. Edom became subject to Judah, and, during the period of subjection, "the king of Edom" (probably the "deputy" mentioned above) joined the campaign of Joram king of Israel and Jehoshaphat king of Judah against Mesha, the rebellious king of Moab, which passed "through the wilderness of Edom" (II Kings 3:8). The participation of the "king of Edom" angered the king of Moab, who attempted first and foremost "to break through opposite the king of Edom" (3:26). The failure of this campaign led to the weakening of the rule of Judah and Israel in eastern Transjordan, as well as Judah's rule in Edom. It is explicitly stated that during the time of Joram, Edom rebelled against Judah: "In his days Edom revolted from under the hand of Judah, and made a king over themselves" (II Kings 8:20). Joram attempted at the beginning of his reign (probably in 848 B.C.E.) to reinstate Israel's hegemony over Edom in a great campaign including "all the chariots" (8:21–22), which apparently failed (the biblical text is corrupt here), and Edom was completely liberated from the domination of Judah. Edom maintained its independence for about 60 years, until the middle of Amaziah's reign. At the time of Amaziah, Judah recovered from the pressure of Aram, to which it paid heavy taxes. This recovery is expressed in the undertaking of a military campaign against Edom in order to renew the rule of Israel there. It is said of Amaziah that "He slew of Edom in the Valley of Salt 10,000, and took Sela by war, and called the name of it Joktheel unto this day" (II Kings 14:7). The battle was waged in northern Edom, the Valley of Salt (as in David's time), and in Sela. Amaziah (like Joab) treated the Edomites with cruelty, as is recounted in II Chronicles 25:11–12: "…and [Amaziah] smote 10,000 men of Seir. The men of Judah captured another 10,000 alive and took them to the top of a rock and threw them down from the top of the rock; and they were all dashed to pieces." It seems that the changing of Sela's name can be interpreted not only as a symbol of renewed domination but perhaps also as the introduction of Judahite settlers in the new important town Joktheel which "on account of its geographic conditions, its distinctly strategic location, its close proximity to the capital Bozrah which lay south of it, and its control over the approach to the mines of the Arabah, … was subject to a violent controversy between Israel and Edom" (S. Abramsky). With the conquest of Sela, Amaziah assured Judah of control over northern Edom and the copper mines of the Punon area. It appears that Uzziah son of Amaziah completed his father's activity by conquering Edom. Uzziah, who expanded his kingdom in the direction of south and the Negev, "built Elath and restored it to Judah" (II Kings 14:22); this was the climax of his activity in the Negev and the Arabah, in developing agriculture, industry, and commerce, which has been confirmed by archaeological excavations and surveys. Apparently, in the days of Jotham son of Uzziah as well, Judah ruled over Edom. The "ליתם" (*lytm*) seal found at Ezion-Geber may have belonged to Jotham. This period of Judah's rule over Edom did not last long, and ended with the establishment of the Aramean-Israelite coalition between Rezin king of Aram and Pekah king of Israel: "At that time the king of Edom recovered Elath for Edom (the MT text reads Aram instead of Edom) and drove the men of Judah from Elath; and the Edomites came to Elath, where they dwell to this day" (II Kings 16:6). The Edomites took the opportunity to penetrate Judah itself: "For again the Edomites had come and smitten Judah, and carried away captives" (II Chron. 28:17). There was probably a final attempt on the part of Judah, during the time of Hezekiah, to renew its hegemony over Edom. In the genealogical list of Simeon's descendants, it is stated parenthetically that "some of them, 500 men of the Simeonites, went to Mount Seir … and they destroyed the remnant of the Amalekites that had escaped, and they have dwelt there to this day" (I Chron. 4:42–43). This attempt, however, was probably limited to the western border district of Edom and had no real results since Edom, like Judah, was subjugated by Assyria.

FROM AHAZ UNTIL THE DESTRUCTION OF JUDAH. From the time of Ahaz, Edom became an Assyrian vassal state, like the other nations of Palestine and Syria. Tiglath-Pileser III (745–727 B.C.E.) mentions, together with the kings of Palestine and Syria, Qosmalaku, king of Edom, who surrendered to him (Pritchard, Texts, 282). Sennacherib mentions the king of Edom, Aiarammu (*ibid.*, 287), who surrendered to him in his campaign against Jerusalem (701 B.C.E.). Esarhaddon (680–669 B.C.E.) mentions Qosgabri king of Edom together with the 22 vassal kings whom he swore to loyalty at Nineveh (*ibid.*, 291). In addition to its subjugation to Assyria, Edom was, beginning with the eighth century B.C.E., under pressure from the Arabian tribes that impoverished the land and brought about its decline in material culture. Toward the end of the kingdom of Judah (beginning of the sixth century B.C.E.), when Judah was rising up against Babylonian rule, Edom was among the peoples preparing to rebel against the Babylonian king. The king of Edom sent messengers to a meeting of rebels called in Jerusalem by Zedekiah king of

Judah (Jer. 27). Later, however, during the destruction itself, Edom was on the other side, sending its troops against Judah (II Kings 24:1; "the bands of Edom" should be read in place of "the bands of Aram"), and even participating in its destruction. This is verified from the recently discovered Arad letters, in which Judah is guarding itself against Edom's penetration into the land (Y. Aharoni). Edom's participation in the destruction of Judah aroused the great anger and strong condemnation of the poets (Ps. 137; Lam. 4:21–22) and prophets (Isa. 34, which is to be dated to this period; Jer. 49; Obad.) of Judah. The anger and condemnation continued in the following generation in the prophecies of Deutero-Isaiah (Isa. 63).

Edom, too, was subject to destruction in the sixth century B.C.E. Nomadic tribes infiltrated Edom and exerted pressure on the Edomites, who turned toward Judah and settled in its southern region. This settlement was long known in Hellenistic sources as *Idumea.

Religion and Culture

The gods of Edom were mainly fertility gods, as is evidenced by the numerous clay figures found in Edom. Like Ammon and Moab, Edom had one chief god, Qos. This name is known to be a theophoric element, both from the names of the Edomite kings mentioned in the inscriptions of the Assyrian kings (see above) and from names which are preserved in the Bible (e.g., Barkos, Neh. 7:55). This name also appears as a first name in a seal in Hebrew-Edomite script on oil jugs from the eighth and seventh centuries B.C.E. which were found at Tell al-Khalayfa "לקוסענל עבד המלך," "*lqwsʿnl* servant of the king." There are some scholars who read instead of the unclear name *Alqum* in Proverbs 30:31, *Alqus*, on the assumption that the name is included here in the context of Edomite wisdom. Although Edom had one national god, it cannot be described even as monolatry. Biblical evidence emphasizes Edomite polytheism. It is told of Amaziah after "he came from the slaughter of the Edomites, he brought the gods of the men of Seir, and set them up as his gods, and worshipped them, making offerings to them" (II Chron. 25:14).

Apparently there was an early connection between the religion of the men of Seir and the early religion of Israel, a connection deduced from an Egyptian list from the time of Ramses II (13th century B.C.E.) from a statement in which there is the unusual juxtaposition "the land of the Shasu of JHW" (see Herrmann in bibl.). In the same list there is the equivalent juxtaposition "the land of the Shasu of Seir." (The connection between YHWH and Seir can be learned from a number of early biblical verses, e.g., Deut. 33:2; Judg. 5:4.) Of course, one cannot speak of the identification in this period of this name with YHWH but rather about the origin of YHWH from the same area and ancient contacts between the people of Israel in its early period and the sons of Seir. In this way the biblical tradition is confirmed.

From the archaeological excavations and surveys in Edom it appears that its material culture was developed. The only evidence with regard to its spiritual culture is biblical. The wisdom of Edom was held in esteem by the prophets. Jeremiah asked in amazement: "Is wisdom no more in Teman? has counsel perished from the prudent? has their wisdom vanished?" (49:7); Obadiah 8 repeats the same idea: "destroy the wise men out of Edom, and understanding out of the mount of Esau."

In Second Temple Times

The geographical conception of Edom during the Second Temple period differs radically from that at the time of the First Temple. Following the movement of Edomites from southern Transjordan and into southern Palestine, across the Arabah, in the late seventh and early sixth centuries B.C.E. (II Kings 24:2; Ezek. 35:6), the area to the south of the territory of Judah came to be referred to as Edom/Idumea. The territory of "Darom" ("south") in Talmudic literature usually refers to Idumea. Idumea in Second Temple times was further north than in the previous period and covered a considerable part of the territory of the tribe of Judah, including Hebron. The border with Judea passed south of Beth-Zur. This change came about on the one hand in consequence of the invasion of Old Edom by new tribes from the desert and the establishment there, in the course of time, of the Nabatean kingdom; and secondly through the weakening of Jewish resistance during the time of the destruction of the Temple and the Babylonian exile. The return only changed the situation slightly; in general the returning exiles did not settle south of Beth-Zur. Even in the list of those who built the walls of Jerusalem in the days of Nehemiah, there is no mention of men from places south of the line Tekoa-Beth-Zur-Keilah-Zanoah.

During the Hellenistic period the Idumean region formed a separate administrative district and is mentioned as such by Diodorus in connection with the period of the Didache (*Bibliotheca Historica*, 19, 98, 1). Marissa and Adorah were the main Idumean settlements in the Hellenistic era. Marissa became an important junction during the Ptolemide era and served, as can be inferred from one of the Zenon papyri (C.C. Edgar, *Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée de Caire*, 1 (1925), 34, no. 59015 *verso*), as the seat of the government administration. From the inscriptions and painted designs in one of the tombs, it is possible to follow in great measure the process of Hellenization of Marissa during the Ptolemide era. Among other things, a Phoenician settlement, which was the standard-bearer of the Hellenistic movement in Idumea, existed in the town, and had organized itself as a *politeuma* of Sidonians in Marissa (W. Dittenberger, *Orientis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae*, 2 (1905), 284–5 no. 593). The Ptolemide government of the country also helped in the migration of many Idumeans to Egypt. Hostile relations between the Idumeans and the Jews persisted throughout the Hellenistic period. Ben Sira enumerates the Edomites among the "nations whom his soul abhorred" (50, 25–26). The same enmity is reflected in the quotation from the Greek writer Mnaseas given by Josephus (*Apion* 2:112ff.) describing how Zabidus of Dorii fooled the people of Jerusalem. During the

Hasmonean wars the Idumeans assisted the Seleucids against the Jews. Judah Maccabee fought the Idumeans, and was particularly active against Hebron (I Macc. 5:65).

A decisive change in the relations between the two nations took place in the days of John *Hyrcanus (end of second century B.C.E.). Hyrcanus conquered the whole of Idumea and undertook the forced conversion of its inhabitants to Judaism (Jos., Ant., 13:257ff.). Thenceforth the Idumeans became a section of the Jewish people, Idumea becoming one of the ordinary administrative districts of the Hasmonean state. It appears that the Hasmonean dynasty used some of the respected families of Idumea to establish its dominion in that country. During the reigns of Alexander Yannai and his wife Alexandra Salome, *Antipas, who was an Idumean, served as ruler of Idumea on behalf of the Hasmoneans (Ant., 14:10). *Herod, appointed king of Judea by the Romans in 40 B.C.E., was his grandson. During the reign of Herod, Idumea served in general as the firm basis of his authority. He considered the Idumeans to be much more loyal to him than the Jews, and also depended upon them for the military settlement in Transjordan; three thousand Edomites being settled in Terakhan (Ant., 16:285). Despite this, even during his reign, an attempt was made to sever the link between Idumea and Judea. The king's brother-in-law, Costobar, entered into a conspiracy with Cleopatra, queen of Egypt, for the purpose of annexing Edom directly to Egypt, but the plot was foiled by Herod. After the death of Herod in 4 B.C.E. Idumea was included with Judea and Samaria in the ethnarchy of Archelaus. When the latter was deposed in 6 C.E., Idumea became part of the Roman province of Judea. Furthermore Gaza was severed from any administrative connection with Idumea and added to the province of Syria. Consequently, the size of Idumea was reduced – and in view of the fact that by degrees the differences between the Idumeans and their northern neighbors became blurred – the Roman government decided to abolish the separate status of Idumea as an administrative district equal in status to Judea or Samaria. Toward the end of the Second Temple era, Idumea appears as one of the 11 ordinary toparchies of Judea (Jos., Wars, 3:55).

The Idumeans participated in the Roman War of 66–70 C.E. They were organized into their own detachments and, at the time of the fratricidal war in Jerusalem between the Zealots and their opponents under the leadership of Anan b. Anan, hastened to the help of the Zealots, on the assumption that Anan and his associates intended to deliver the city into the hands of the Romans. The Idumeans were led by four commanders. They penetrated into Jerusalem on a rainy night and freed the Zealots who were besieged in the Temple, thus triumphing over their enemies. During the siege of Jerusalem by Titus they constituted a special division, numbering 5,000 men. They were led by ten officers, the most prominent among them being *Jacob b. Sosas and Simeon b. Katala. They acted under the high command of Simeon b. Giora (Jos., Wars, 5:249). Johanan, the brother of Jacob, was killed during the siege (6:290), and the Idumeans were prominent in the defense of Jerusalem (9:358–6:92, 148). Titus, too, regarded them as an important element of the Judean military force (8:379). It is not known which were the most important Idumean centers of settlement at the end of the days of the Second Temple. At the time of the Parthian invasion in 40 B.C.E., Marissa had already been destroyed, and Adorah no longer appears in the sources of the period. On the other hand Hebron is mentioned (4:529, 554).

Idumea is frequently mentioned in Latin poems of the period, usually as a synonym for Judea.

[Isaac Avishur]

In the *Aggadah*

Edom appears sometimes in the *aggadah* as referring to the actual Edomites and sometimes to the Romans, who are identified with them (see *Esau *aggadah*).

THE HISTORICAL EDOM. The historical Edom is chiefly discussed from the point of view of its relations with the Israelite people as these are reflected in the books of the Bible. Beside the enmity and hatred already stressed there, the *aggadah* emphasizes that Edom oppressed the people most closely akin to him. There are interesting *aggadot* which discuss, for example, the legal aspects of Israel-Edom relations in the time of King David (Gen. R. 74:15; ed. Theodor-Albeck, p. 872ff.), and also attempt to justify David's wars against Edom despite the biblical command laying down that Edom was not to be a heritage of the people of Israel (Deut. 2:5).

EDOM AS ROME. The identification of Edom with Rome is never found in the literature of the Second Temple period. It appears for the first time close to the Bar Kokhba revolt (cf. Margolioth, p. 610/2). R. Meir even connects it with the verse (Isa. 21:11), "The vision of Dumah" = the vision of Dome (דומי' = רומי', Rome, TJ, Ta'an. 1:1, 64a see ed. princ.); also "The *re'emim* [wild-oxen] shall come down with them" (Isa. 34:7) is read as "The Romans shall come down with them" (PdRK 7, 11, ed. Mandelbaum, p. 134). The previous verses (5–6) speak of Edom (cf. also Targ. Jon. ed. Sperber, Isa. 9, "The streams thereof shall be turned into pitch": "The streams of Rome shall be turned into pitch"). Many scholars are of the opinion that the source of this identification lies in the connection between *Herod, a descendant of Edomite proselytes, whose evil rule over Judea left a harsh impression and the intensification of Roman rule in Judea, especially as Herod was virtually a vassal of Rome. However these conjectures cannot be accepted. Not only are substantial proofs lacking, but the identification appears only in the second quarter of the second century C.E., more than four generations after the death of Herod. It seems, therefore, that its source is to be sought elsewhere.

In the Bible Edom is described as the eternal enemy of Israel (and Judah, Amos 1:11; Ezek. 35:5) who not only always oppressed Israel, but at the time of the destruction of the First Temple took advantage of the situation and seized control of parts of Judah (Ezek. 25:12; 35:5, 10, 2; Obad. 11–16), and it is hinted that Edom also took part in the destruction of Jerusalem (Ps. 137:7; Obad. 11) and even in that of the Temple itself (Obad. 16). In consequence, during the Second Temple period there spread a belief that it was actually the Edomites who burned the First Temple (I Esdras 4:45; Ethiopian Enoch 89:66), and also interfered with the building of the Second Temple (*ibid.*, 72). Hence the intense enmity toward Edom which grew stronger in the course of time (Ecclus. 50:25–26), until the conquest of Edom and its conversion to Judaism in the time of John Hyrcanus – a conquest which is the background to the descriptions of the wars of Jacob and his sons with Esau and his sons in the Book of Jubilees (37–38) and in the Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs (Judah 9). Edom is even compared to a black boar (I En. 89:12, 42–43, 49, 66; Jub. 37:20, 24). The intense hatred of Rome after the cruel crushing of the revolt of the Diaspora in the time of Trajan and still more after the harsh suppression of the Bar Kokhba revolt and the decrees of persecution in Hadrian's days; the fact that Rome, like Edom, had destroyed the Temple; the similarity of Edom, compared to a pig, with Rome, for whom the pig (or, more correctly, the sow) was a most important symbol; the allusions to Edom dwelling on high like an eagle and the fact that the eagle, too, was an important Roman symbol; and perhaps finally even the similarity to the name Rome and Romans in several verses that speak of Edom, Seir, and Esau – all these apparently combined to cause the application to Rome of the biblical references to Edom, the eternal enemy of Israel.

At the end of the tannaitic period, and still more in the amoraic, the identification became very widespread, and the overwhelming majority of homilies about Edom speak explicitly of Rome. Thus it was stated that Rome was founded by the children of Esau, and Rome was identified as one of the cities of the chiefs of Esau enumerated at the end of Genesis 36 (these identifications occur not only in the Midrashim and the Talmuds but also in the Palestinian *Targums of the Torah and in the Targums to Lamentations and Esther). At a still later period the term became a synonym for Christian Rome and thence for Christianity in general, and allusions were even found to *Constantinople among the cities of Edom (and see *Caesarea).

[Moshe David Herr / Carl Stephen Ehrlich (2nd ed.)]

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EDREHI (Heb. אדרעי), **MOSES BEN ISAAC** (c. 1774–c. 1842), Moroccan scholar. Edrehi was born in *Agadir, Morocco, but when the Jews were expelled from that city Moses, while still a boy, was taken with his parents to *Mogador, and after 1784 to Rabat. He began to preach in public at the age of 14, and became an itinerant preacher in North Africa. In 1791 he reached London, where he studied for a time in the *bet ha-midrash* Eẓ Ḥayyim and was accustomed to preach every Sabbath. In 1792 he published his *Torat Ḥayyim* readings for Friday nights according to the custom of the Jews of Morocco. In 1802 he proceeded to Amsterdam, where he published his *Yad Moshe* (1809), consisting of sermons preached in various places; and *Ma'aseh Nissim* (1818), tales of the ten tribes, with a Yiddish translation. An English edition of this somewhat preposterous work was published in London in 1834 under the title, *Book of Miracles… With… an Account of Many Millions of Israelitical Children… Dwelling Beyond that River*, later expanded as *An Historical Account of the Ten Tribes Settled Beyond the River Sambatyon in the East* (1836) which was prefaced by letters of commendation from Dutch, French, and English scholars and clergymen. About 1829 he met the writer John Wilson ("Christopher North") in Edinburgh who described him in his series *Noctes Ambrosianae* in Blackwood's Magazine. Edrehi finally left for Ereẓ Israel, traveling by way of France, Italy, Malta, and Smyrna and taking four years on the journey. While in *Izmir in 1841, his belongings and manuscripts – among them a grammar of the French and English language with a translation in Spanish – were destroyed by fire. In 1842 he published in *Jerusalem the *Azharot* of Isaac b. Reuben *al-Bargeloni. After his death his son Isaac published his *History of the Capital of Asia and the Turks, together with an Account of the Domestic Manners of the Turks in Turkey*, 3 vols. (1855).

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EDREI (Heb. אֶדְרֶעִי).

(1) A biblical town in Transjordan. It may be recorded among the towns captured by Thutmosis III in c. 1469 B.C.E., but that reference may be to (2) below. In all likelihood the toponym is found in Ugaritic (KTU 1.108:3). It is first mentioned in the Bible as the city of *Og, king of Bashan, whom Moses and the Israelites defeated before entering Canaan (Num. 21:33; Deut. 1:4; 3:1; Josh. 12:4; 13:12). Og's lands were allotted to the half-tribe of *Manasseh (Num. 32:33ff.; Josh. 12:6; 13:7–12, 29–31; cf. Deut. 3:5; I Kings 4:13). In Roman times, as Adraene, it was a well-known town in Provincia Arabia, located on the highway leading from Bozrah to Bet Reshah (Capitolias) 24 mi. (40 km.) from the former and 16 mi. (26 km.) from the latter. Edrei contained a Jewish community up to the 14th century. It is identified with the modern town of Darʿā in Syria, near the Jordanian border, 1,887 ft. (575 m.)

above sea level, with a population of about 8,000 Muslims. Potsherds ranging from the Early Bronze Age to the Arab period have been found on an adjacent tell. Within the town were discovered fragments of an early medieval Hebrew inscription. As a junction on the Hejaz Railway, Darʿā had great strategic importance during World War I and played a part in T.E. *Lawrence's campaign.

(2) A town in the territory of *Naphtali in Upper Galilee (Josh. 19:37). Aharoni identified it with the Edrei mentioned in Thutmosis III's list.

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[Michael Avi-Yonah]

EDUCATION. The Jewish people has an educational tradition as old as history (see *Education, Jewish). From the very beginning of their identification as a distinct entity, Jews have contributed not only to the advancement of their own education, but also to that of the world at large. The educational principles of the Bible found their way into the educational thought of Christians and Muslims. As an example one might cite the moral, spiritual, and character education through the family and community described in the Book of Proverbs. Compulsory teaching, incumbent upon the father in the first instance, is ordained in Deuteronomy 6:6–9 and 11:18–20. Compulsory school attendance was decreed by *Simeon b. Shetaḥ in 75 B.C.E. and by *Joshua ben Gamla in 64 C.E. In recent years, educators have come to recognize that ancient Jewish education anticipated, and no doubt indirectly and remotely influenced, modern education. Thus the National Education Association of the United States cited the Babylonian Talmud as authority for a maximum class size of 25 pupils (BB 21a). The same source requires, under Joshua ben Gamla's ordinance, that children start school at six or seven, the age at which children all over the world traditionally enter school. Adult education is sometimes traced by educational historians, such as I.L. *Kandel, to the *bet ha-midrash* of Second Temple times. The importance of the teacher in the learning process is repeatedly emphasized in the Talmud (*Avot*), as is the significance of motivation in teaching and of vocational training-principles, which are basic to effective instruction and a modern educational system. The practice of "each one teach one," inaugurated by Frank C. Laubach in teaching literacy to the people of developing nations, has a talmudic prototype.

For most of their history, Jews educated their children in their own institutions and expressed their educational ideas in their own languages, until the late 18th century. There was little contact between Jewish and non-Jewish pedagogues. Jews made few, if any, contributions to general education during the greater part of the development of education from ancient times. One outstanding exception may be Constantinus Afer or Africanus (d. 1087), believed by some historians to be Jewish. He influenced the course of medical education at the University of Salerno and other medieval universities, chiefly through his Latin translations of Greek and Arabic medical works, many of the latter of Jewish origin. Africanus had learned Hebrew and Kabbalah from a Jewish teacher and transmitted his inspiration to the German humanist Johannes *Reuchlin. Reuchlin then learned his Hebrew from Jacob Loans, physician to the emperor Frederick III, and from R. Obadiah *Sforno, the biblical exegete. Reuchlin went on to introduce the study of Hebrew as a learned subject in German universities. In this way Jews exercised an impact on the development of the European university curriculum.

The Edict of Tolerance issued by Emperor Joseph *II of Austria in 1782 applied the principles of the Enlightenment to the Jews of his empire. Among other reforms, Jews were permitted to enroll their children in government schools and to establish secular schools of their own. Young Jews could now attend institutions of higher education. These changes were hailed by Naphtali Herz *Wessely, a disciple and collaborator of Moses *Mendelssohn, in his *Divrei Shalom ve-Emet* (Berlin, 1782). The separation of Jews from the general stream of education was now beginning to be bridged. This German Haskalah *period ushered in a growth of interest among Jews in the secular pedagogical theories and practices of their Christian neighbors. Especially of interest to Jewish educators were the new ideas and methods of Johann Bernhard Basedow, Johann Friedrich Herbart, and Friedrich Froebel of Germany, Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi of Switzerland, and Andrew Bell and Joseph Lancaster, founders of the mutual or monitorial method of instruction in England.

Among the Jewish contributors to education in the early 19th century was the Austrian philanthropist Joseph Ritter von *Wertheimer who, among other things, was responsible for the development of Austrian kindergartens, the first of which he founded in Vienna in 1830. Another was Sir Isaac Lyon *Goldsmid, the first Jewish baronet in England, who helped to finance the establishment of University College in London (1825). The list of Jewish philanthropists in education is long. It covers many types of institutions in many countries. Among the men who made munificent and influential benefactions to education were Julius *Rosenwald, who contributed huge sums for the founding of schools for Blacks in the Southern states of the U.S.; James *Loeb, patron of the Loeb Classical Library; Sir Ernest *Cassel, founder of the Anglo-German Institute for the advancement of cultural relations between the two countries through the encouragement of mutual studies; and the Baroness Mayer de *Rothschild, who founded the Association for the Oral Instruction of the Deaf and Dumb in London on the basis of the lip-reading method practiced by William van Praagh. The kindergarten movement received much attention from Jewish educators and philanthropists. Adolf Pick (1829–1874) founded a pioneering kindergarten in Italy on the German model. In Germany, the original home of the kindergarten, the well-known feminist Lina *Morgenstern-Bauer was an ardent propagandist of the movement through her writings on childhood development, as well as a founder of kindergartens and seminaries for training kindergarten teachers. In still another branch of education there was a Jewish pioneer in the 19th century. Otto Salomon (1849–1901) promoted the teaching of manual skills in Swedish schools. In 1875 he established the Sloyd Seminarium at Nääs, where he trained teachers of manual crafts from all over the world. His impact on education was extensive not only in Sweden, but in other countries as well. A notable educator in the specialized field of teaching deaf-mutes was the Frenchman Jacob Rodrigues *Péreire. The first teacher of deaf-mutes in France, Péreire was to influence Maria Montessori a century later in her teaching of handicapped children. The international authority Edouard Séguin has also testified to the significance of Péreire's work. Perhaps the most long-lasting contribution to general education was the opening in 1805 of a school in Seesen, Germany, by Israel *Jacobson, an initiator of the Jewish Reform movement and an ardent advocate of closer Christian-Jewish relations. Among German historians this type of school is known as a "Simultanschule," an institution where religious instruction is given to different religious groups within the same school building. For 30 years, between 1838 and 1867, there was an equal number of Jewish and Christian pupils in the school, but because of the shortage of Jewish teachers of secular subjects, especially the sciences, as a result of the earlier limitations on higher education for Jews, there was a much larger proportion of Christians on the staff. Jacobson's school remained in existence until the advent of the Nazis in 1933. Few other Jews in the 19th century made any recognizable mark on general education. Félix Hément (1827–1891) rose from elementary teaching in France to become inspector of primary schools in the department of the Seine and, upon his retirement, honorary inspector-general of public instruction. Naphtali Herz *Imber, author of *Ha-Tikvah*, contributed bulletins on ancient Jewish education to a series published by the U.S. Bureau of Education.

In the 20th century, the liberalization of the position of Jews in the Western world made it possible for more of them to participate in the educational thought and work of the world at large. Ferenc Kemény (1860–1944), a Hungarian convert to Christianity who served as teacher, principal, school inspector, and professor at the University of Budapest, was active in promoting plans for international education toward world peace. Emile *Durkheim, professor of sociology and education at the universities of Bordeaux and Paris, won an international reputation not only as a sociologist, but also as author of a number of influential and scholarly works on education. International figures in education included William *Stern, an émigré from Hamburg to Duke University in the U.S., whose *Psychologie der fruehen Kindheit* (1914; *Psychology of Early Childhood*, 1924) and interpretation of the nature of intelligence were most helpful to teachers on both sides of the Atlantic. Also of international interest was Kurt Hahn (1886–1974), another refugee from Nazi Germany, who moved his Salem progressive school to Gordonstoun, Scotland, where Prince Philip and his son Prince Charles received their education.

To obtain a balanced view of the Jewish contribution to education the subject should also be considered from the standpoint of particular nations.

In Germany, Clara Stern, the wife of William Stern, wrote on and put into practice principles of child development in relation to education. Erich *Stern, a doctor of medicine and philosophy, was a professor at the universities of Giessen and Frankfurt before leaving for the University of Paris after 1933. His educational work was concerned with intelligence tests and with the application of child psychiatry. Curt *Bondy, who returned to Germany after World War II to become professor of social and educational psychology at the University of Hamburg, planned a system of education for juvenile prisoners. In the theoretical aspects of education, Jonas *Cohn, the neo-Kantian philosopher, wrote several works on educational philosophy, among them *Geist der Erziehung* (1919). Like Cohn, Richard *Hoenigswald approached pedagogy by way of his philosophical specialty, and wrote books on the theoretical foundations of education. He left Germany for the U.S. in 1933 after having been professor of philosophy at the universities of Breslau and Munich. There were many German Jewish educators who were concerned with the education of girls and women. Susanne *Engelmann wrote on the psychological foundations of girls' education, as well as a study of the teaching of German literary history. Ulrike Henschke (1830–1897) and her daughter Margarete (1859–?) were active in the promotion of secondary and vocational education for girls. Higher education for women was the special interest of Henriette Goldschmidt (1825–1920), who also made significant contributions, as a follower of Froebel, to the development of the kindergarten movement. This movement benefited immensely from the activities and writings of Clara Morgenstern and Johanna Goldschmidt. Eugen Pappenheim (1831–1901) opened kindergartens and seminaries, edited *Der Kindergarten*, and founded the Deutscher Froebelverband (1873). Among the other prominent German Jewish educators were Kurt Levinstein, author of research on the history of education and the teaching of literature; Leo *Kestenberg, author and editor of books on musical education; and Fritz *Karsen, head of the Karl-Marx-Schule in Berlin, a specialist in experimental schools and later professor of education at Brooklyn College, New York. August Homburger (1873–1930), a psychiatrist, founded in Heidelberg in 1917 the first German counseling center for the education of the mentally handicapped.

In Austria, Theodor *Heller pioneered in the teaching of the blind and the mentally handicapped, wrote and edited works in these fields, and organized societies. Alfred *Adler founded kindergartens and experimental schools, and edited and published works on education from the standpoint of individual psychology. Ferdinand Birnbaum (1892–1947), a psychologist, promoted through his teaching, writing, editing, and organizational work, the education of mentally handicapped children on an international basis. Siegfried *Bernfeld, a Freudian psychoanalyst, was active in youth psychology and education. In Denmark, Ernst Trier (1837–1893) founded the Vallekilde Folk High School (1865) in accordance with the principles of Grundtvig. Sofie *Elkan, a novelist, translated the writings of Comenius, Salzmann, and Pestalozzi into Swedish, thus making pedagogical classics available to the teachers of Sweden.

Jean *Zay, a youthful minister of education in France in 1936–39, introduced a school reform involving careful guidance of 11-year-old pupils before classification in secondary education. Among contemporary educators have been Lamberto *Borghi, professor and director of the Istituto di Pedagogia, University of Florence, and author and editor of pedagogical works and journals; Leon van Gelder, professor of education at the University of Groningen and former director of the Dutch teachers' association; and Joseph Katz, professor of comparative education at the University of British Columbia, founder-president of the Comparative and International Education Society of Canada, and author and editor of significant writings on Canadian and international education.

Jews have played a significant role in general education in the U.S.S.R. Moses M. Rubenstein wrote extensively on the applications of psychology to education. Sergey L. *Rubinstein, of the Academy of Pedagogical Sciences, worked along similar lines. Moses M. Pistrak (1888–1940), author of the first textbook on education for pedagogical institutes (1934), also wrote works on educational theory. Yevgeni Y. Golant, professor at the Hertsen Pedagogical Institute in Leningrad, became a leading figure in the historical and methodological aspects of education. Sholom Izrailovich Ganelin, of the Academy of Pedagogical Sciences, is recognized as a specialist on the theory and history of education. Alexander R. Luria, a psychologist in the Academy of Pedagogical Sciences, won an international reputation as an expert on the education of the mentally handicapped. Elye I. Monoszon, another of the many Jews in the Academy of Pedagogical Sciences, wrote important works on didactics. Distinction in editorial work was attained by M.S. Epstein, coeditor of the pedagogical encyclopedia (1927–30), and by David A. Epshtein, an editor of the new children's encyclopedia.

In England, Sir Meyer A. Spielman (1856–1936) served as inspector of schools for juvenile delinquents and as a pioneer in the Borstal movement for their rehabilitation. Sir Philip J.H. *Hartog was a well-known specialist on higher education and on education in India. Susan *Isaacs applied psychoanalytic methods in early childhood education, published important studies on the social and intellectual development of children, and headed the department of child development at the University of London's Institute of Education (1933–43). A refugee from Nazi Germany, where he was professor of psychology at the University of Frankfurt, Karl Mannheim enhanced his international reputation when he was professor at the University of London's Institute of Education by his publications on the sociology of knowledge and education.

In the United States, the Jewish contributions to general education in the 20th century have been varied, frequent, and profound. Probably the single most influential force in changing American education was Abraham *Flexner, the author of reports on medical education (1910) and universities (1930). The arguments of Louis *Marshall, the lawyer on behalf of private schools, influenced the U.S. Supreme Court's Oregon decision (1925) upholding the constitutionality of parochial schools. Lillian D. *Wald, a social worker, pioneered in public school nursing in New York City. Vice Admiral Hyman G. *Rickover emerged as a widely read critic of the U.S. educational system. Of particular value was the analysis by Fred M. Hechinger, who replaced Benjamin Fine as education editor of the *New York Times*. In the professional field of education, numerous Jews have distinguished themselves: Isaac B. *Berkson, Harry S. *Broudy, and Israel *Scheffler in the philosophy of education; Bernard Bailyn, Lawrence A. *Cremin, and Saul Sack in the history of education; Isaac L. Kandel and Harold J. Noah in comparative education; David P. *Ausubel, Bruno *Bettelheim, Benjamin S. *Bloom, Frank S. Freeman, Kurt *Lewin, and Irving *Lorge in educational psychology and research; Jacob Greenberg, Mark M. Krug, Morris Meister, Paul C. Rosenbloom, and Joseph J. *Schwab in methods of teaching various subjects; Harold H. *Abelson, Paul *Klapper, and Harry N. *Rivlin as deans of university schools of education; and Myron *Lieberman as specialist on the professional status of teachers. Abraham A. *Ribicoff and Wilbur J. *Cohen both served as U.S. secretary of health, education, and welfare; David H. Kurtzman was superintendent of public instruction in Pennsylvania. Rose Shapiro was elected president of New York City's Board of Education in June 1968. Most of these experts exercised considerable influence on education in other countries. Another powerful force in education was the mostly Jewish United Federation of Teachers in New York with over 140,000 members. Throughout the 1960s and 1970s, with the controversial Albert *Shanker serving as president 1964–74, it led a number of major strikes to improve the conditions of the city's teachers.

Two Israelis have won international recognition in education. The philosophical and educational writings of Martin *Buber have had a profound impact in educational theory and on teaching in Protestant theological seminaries in various countries. Ernst A. *Simon pioneered in the teaching of general educational history and theory in Israel, in research in these fields, and in advancement of comparative education.

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[William W. Brickman]

EDUCATION, JEWISH. This entry is arranged according to the following outline. Bibliography at the end of a section is indicated by (†).

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IN THE BIBLICAL PERIOD

The Nature of the Sources

The Bible is the primary source for an understanding of the process of education in ancient Israel. Since there is no biblical text that formulates a philosophy, methodology, or curriculum of education such information must be pieced together from occasional admonitions and narrative references and episodes supplemented by known facts about ancient Near Eastern institutions. Additional information is contained in the growing amount of ancient Hebrew epigrapha and relevant artifacts from archaeological digs.

Because of geographic proximity and cultural contact, extra-biblical Near Eastern material can be used to clarify the nature of biblical educational institutions. However, this material must be used judiciously, with an eye to the particular limitations of each society. For example, higher education or book learning in Mesopotamia and Egypt was formal and limited to the scribal class, which does not seem to have been the case in Israel. The difference was no doubt due to the simpler alphabetic system of writing used by the Hebrews.

Any description of education in the biblical period is necessarily incomplete and must ultimately rely on general impressions of what was applicable to most levels of society, as it is reflected in the Bible and later Jewish sources.

Historical Survey

The sources at hand do not allow for a precise, chronological description of the development of pedagogical institutions or methodology. Three major periods may be discerned, each displaying a distinctive political, social, and economic order in ancient Israel.

THE PATRIARCHAL PERIOD AND THE SETTLEMENT. During this crucial but sparsely documented period, the Israelites developed national-religious institutions that were to have a profound influence on them and on the world at large. For most of this period, they were seminomadic, residing in the great cultural centers of the ancient world, from Ur in Babylonia to the eastern Nile Delta in Egypt. Politically they were subject to greater and lesser powers in the Fertile Crescent.

The family or *bet av* was the basic socioeconomic unit tending to the communal needs of its members, including educating the young. In matters of war and external affairs the families acted concertedly with related groups to form the tribe and nation. There was little economic diversity. As the need arose, other clans that had specialized as scribes joined the confederation of shepherds and farmers (I Chron. 2:55).

The character of the Israelite nation was shaped during this period. Central to the religion of Israel were the promise to Abraham (Gen. 15), the exodus from Egypt (Ex. 7ff.), and the theophany at Sinai (Ex. 19–20). These historic moments welded the tribes into a nation related through blood and history. Guided by prophets and priests, they set upon the united goal of the conquest and settlement of the Land of Canaan. The revolutionary ideals of monotheism were later crystallized in the laws of the Torah and the historical narratives of the lives of the Patriarchs.

THE KINGDOM. Through the genius of David, the Israelite tribal union was reshaped into a politically independent, centralized monarchy. Over the following 400 years, and in spite of the internal split into two kingdoms, Israel and Judah were able, at times, to control politically and influence their neighbors (David-Solomon, Ahab, Jeroboam II, Uzziah, and Hezekiah). To serve the needs of this society, new institutions evolved. Tribal allegiances were subordinated to the new order. The country was redivided into administrative areas, not always along tribal lines (I Kings 4:7–20). A bureaucracy, patterned after local Canaanite models, came into existence, introducing new administrative forms (I Sam. 8:11–18).

The portable tabernacle and local shrines were overshadowed by the Jerusalem Temple, which was patronized by the king and officiated at by his appointees. The king's conquests and military establishment superseded the tribal holy wars. Professional soldiers and mercenaries now fought the battles of Israel (Song 3:8).

The centralized monarchy and subsequent urbanization directly affected all aspects of education. The need was felt for trained professionals and skilled artisans. Religious ideals of the covenant were transmitted to the people at the Temple and sanctuaries by a recognized priesthood. In reaction to the increased social injustice found in urban society, the classical prophets appeared in the eighth century to interpret the social implications of the election of Israel to the people.

THE BABYLONIAN EXILE AND HELLENISTIC TIMES. The Jewish people successfully overcame the trauma of the Babylonian Exile. The small province of Judah that was established subsequently was politically part of the Persian Empire and economically dependent upon the gifts of wealthier Jews in exile.

Ezra the Scribe and his colleagues were empowered to teach the Torah to the Jews (Ezra 7:25), and under his guidance the Torah became the accepted basis of individual and community life. Beginnings of a program of mass education (Deut. 31:12–13; II Chron. 17:7–9) matured under Ezra into new institutions, intensifying the study of Torah and raising the quality of popular knowledge. Recognized instructors, called *mevinim*, were appointed to teach publicly. The Torah was read out and explained (Neh. 8:7–8). It was the beginning of the regular public lection of the Torah, later connected with the synagogal liturgy and ascribed anachronistically to Ezra (BK 82a). The internal tensions between stipulations of the Torah, on one hand, and between the Torah and the reality of the period on the other, led to a search for new meaning in the biblical text, thereby creating Midrash (Dan. 9:23–27; Neh. 8:13–15). In Hellenistic times there began to appear schools for public instruction (Eccles. 12:9; Ecclus. 39:1–3). Ben Sira, the late third century B.C.E. pedagogue, seems to have introduced tuition-free education (51:28–30). It was not uncommon for an informal study session to take place even at a student's house (Avot 1:4). Finally, toward the end of the second century B.C.E., *Simeon ben Shetaḥ inaugurated the first known system of community-supported public education. A new intellectual model had emerged: the biblical *ḥakham*, or wise man, gave way to the rabbinic *talmid ḥakham*, or scholar.

The Goals and Orders of Instruction

The goals of education may be broadly summed up: (1) To transmit knowledge and skills from one generation to another or from one person to another; (2) To broaden the range of man's knowledge and skills; and (3) To concretize cultural values into the form of accepted group and individual behavior.

In each of the three main orders of study in ancient Israel – religious education, the learning of occupational skills, and military training – these goals were pursued to varying degrees. Each type of instruction had its own specific goals, methods of study, and pedagogic institutions.

Occupational and military training were subject to social and technological changes. For example, with the appearance of professional soldiers, military training for the average man became less important and at times nonexistent. On the other hand, religious education was conservative, retaining its goals and some of its methods well after the biblical period.

RELIGIOUS EDUCATION. The goal of religious education was to produce "a kingdom of priests, a holy people" (Ex. 19:6). Wisdom literature stated the corollary, *reshit ḥokhmah yirat adonai* ("The essence of knowledge is fear of the Lord"; Ps. 111:10; Prov. 1:7).

The means of achieving this goal were twofold: first, the recognition of the divine will in the laws of the Covenant; and second, the study of Israel's history, which reflected God's concern for His chosen people. Learning God's law and Israel's history became the basic means of receiving a peculiarly Israelite religious education.

The law was regarded as the conditions of the *berit*, or covenant, between God and Israel (Ex. 24:7). Near Eastern vassal and parity treaties help to clarify many aspects of the *berit* as it is found in the Bible (see *Covenant). Since the covenant at Sinai was accepted by all those present when they said "We will do and obey" (Ex. 24:7), it followed that the whole nation would have to be taught the laws incumbent upon them. It is for this reason that Moses, Israel's first teacher, is repeatedly commanded to "Speak unto the Children of Israel saying …."

How were the laws to be taught? Some Near Eastern treaties contained a "document clause," i.e., a clause providing either for the public display of the treaty document or for its deposit in a temple, where it was read at regular intervals before the vassal king and citizens. Parallels are found in the Torah. The text of the covenant was read at the time of the agreement (Ex. 24:7) and an authentic copy was kept in the holy ark guarded by the priesthood (Deut. 31:9, 26). The covenant was to be reread publicly once every seven years during the Feast of Tabernacles (31:10–11); this was the earliest prescription for mass education in ancient Israel: "Gather the people – men, women, children and the strangers in your communities – that they may hear and so learn to revere the Lord your God and to observe faithfully every word of His Teaching. Their children, too, who have not had the experience, shall hear and learn to revere the Lord your God as long as they live in the land which you are about to cross the Jordan to occupy" (Deut. 31:12–13; II Kings 23:1–3; Neh. 8:1–8; Sot. 7:8).

The second means of acquiring a religious education was through the study of Israelite history. The belief in a God acting in events, coupled with a high regard for oral tradition, made the telling of history a most effective pedagogical method. These collective memories took the literary forms of song and story that made up so large a part of biblical literature.

In the words of the psalmist:

> Give ear, O my people, to my teaching;
> Incline your ears to the words of my mouth.
> I will open my mouth with a parable;
> I will utter riddles concerning days of old.
> That which we have heard and known,
> And our fathers have told us,
> We will not hide from their children,
> Telling to the generation to come the praises of the Lord,
> And His strength and His wondrous works that He has done
>
> (Ps. 78:1–4; cf. 44:2).

A periodic reading of a written covenant in addition to the recital of an oral tradition of sacred history were the distinctive features of the Hebrew religious education. If the laws specified man's duty, it was history that revealed God's concern. Together, they instilled in the Israelite a sense of identification with his God and people.

Educational Institutions

During the biblical period various social and religious institutions served to disseminate the ideals and the amassed knowledge of society. Some of these were relatively short-lived, already disappearing during the biblical period, e.g., the monarchy and prophecy. Others, like the Temple itself, lasted through the Second Temple period.

One institution, the *family, has remained a vital educational influence in Israel from biblical times to the present. The family educated the whole man, only delegating some of its responsibilities in periods of technical specialization. While it is true that in most societies the family plays the key role in the child's socialization, in Israel new emphases were developed.

INTRA-FAMILY RELATIONSHIP. The ancient Israelite family was characterized as having respect and awe for parents (Ex. 20:12; Lev. 19:3) and love and responsibility toward the children (Mal. 3:24). The parents were allowed almost complete control over the lives of their offspring, except where the Torah limited their authority, as in cases of dispensing capital punishment (Deut. 21:18–21) or in disallowing the birthright of the eldest son (21:15–17). Fatherly love, even for the disobedient child, is a favorite prophetic image (Jer. 31:20).

Disciplinary measures were an expression of concern for the child's well-being (Prov. 13:24; 22:15; 29:15) and were to help him control the inherent evil inclination (Gen. 8:21; Ps. 51:7). At the same time, the child's natural abilities were to be encouraged (Prov. 22:6).

An especially close relationship between mother and son seems to have existed in the polygamous family. This motif plays a major part in the patriarchal stories (Sarah and Isaac; Hagar and Ishmael; Rebekah and Jacob; Rachel and Joseph; Leah and Reuben). While sibling rivalry was a decisive factor in these and later narratives, fraternal concern is also not lacking (Reuben for Joseph; Judah and Joseph for Benjamin; Miriam, Aaron, and Moses; Eliab for David; Absalom for Tamar).

OCCUPATIONAL TRAINING. It was a simple matter for the child to learn the rudiments of herding and farming by observing his elders and taking on these responsibilities at an early age (I Sam. 16:11). Girls learned the basic home trades necessary to make the family self-sufficient.

During the nomadic period some families may have specialized as merchants along the trade routes of the Fertile Crescent (cf. Gen. 37:25), while others were wandering smiths, as represented in a 19th-century B.C.E. picture from an Egyptian tomb. After they settled in Canaan, extended families and even whole villages were employed in a single trade (I Chron. 4:21–23).

Some families became artisans, eventually developing into professional societies. The terminology employed by these "guilds" was drawn from family life. The founder was called "father" and the members were "sons." The biblical term for these groups was, among others, the *mishpaḥah*, or "family" (I Chron. 4:21; cf. *lehakah (lehaqah)* and *ḥevel*).

This same system seems to have been common among Israel's neighbors: "Adah bore Jabal, he was the father of those who dwelt in tents and amidst herds. The name of his brother was Jubal; he was the father of all who play the lyre and the pipe. As for Zillah, she bore Tubal-Cain, who forged all implements of copper and iron" (Gen. 4:20–22). In Israel the noted craftsmen Bezalel son of Uri and Oholiab son of Ahisamach taught their skills to others (Ex. 35:30–34). Even the courageous Shiphrah and Puah may have become eponyms of "households" or professional midwives (Ex. 1:21).

MILITARY TRAINING. Before the establishment of the Davidic monarchy, the tribes were beset by continual local wars, necessitating general military training (Judg. 3:2).

The boys learned agility (II Sam. 22:34, 37) and courage in face-to-face combat (II Sam, 2:14ff.). They traveled with their warrior fathers and took active part in warfare (Judg. 8:20–21). They learned to handle the simple weaponry of the tribesman – sling, bow, sword, and spear.

The youth's training was probably supplemented by the telling of heroic exploits (Judg. 14–16; II Sam. 21:15–22), including tactical blunders that were not to be repeated (Judg. 9:50–53; II Sam. 11:20–21).

The tribes fought as units, each under its own banner (Num. 1:52). Some tribes seem to have developed their own military specialty. The tribe of Benjamin was noted for what seems to be the ambidextrous use of the sword (Judg. 3:15ff.) and the sling (Judg. 20:16), whereas the tribe of Judah was practiced in the bow (II Sam. 1:18). The monarchy probably exploited these local talents in homogeneous units in the organization of the national army (I Chron. 27:1–22; II Chron. 17:14–18). At that time, though, foreign mercenaries, professional Israelite soldiers, and sophisticated arms and defense systems were introduced, ultimately reducing the importance of the tribal warrior.

RELIGIOUS EDUCATION. The Israelite home was consciously employed for the religious education of the young (Deut. 4:9; 6:7). The content of this education centered on the telling of family, tribal, and national history:

> Remember the days of old,
> Consider the years of ages past;
> Ask your father, he will inform you,
> Your elders, they will tell you
>
> (Deut. 32:7).

The many prophetic allusions to bygone generations assume a wide popular knowledge of Israel's early history.

Deuteronomy makes a particular point of ensuring that the child be instructed orally in the laws of Israel. The head of the household was put under obligation to teach his own children (Deut. 6:6–7). The naturally inquisitive boy might himself initiate such lessons (6:20–25). Copies of appropriate sections of the Torah were to be attached to the doorposts (6:9; 11:20) or (so literally the scriptural phrases were later interpreted) worn on the person (6:8; 11:18; cf. Prov. 1:9; 3:3; 6:21; 7:3).

An outstanding innovation of biblical pedagogy was the religious home ceremony, which became the primary means of conveying cultural values from one generation to another. The Passover home ritual is found at the very inception of Israel's national history (Ex. 12:21–27) and other home rituals were associated with other holidays of the Hebrew calendar (Deut. 16:10–12; I Sam. 20:5–6). The home as an educational institution would become the hallmark of the Jewish people.

Specific Training

THE EDUCATION OF ROYALTY. The young prince grew up in the harem where he was raised by his mother. She was his first teacher and continued to exert her influence on him after he reached his majority (I Kings 1–2; Prov. 31:1–9). In the event that her son became king, her influence was enhanced when she assumed the title and privileges of queen mother or *gevirah*.

As an infant the prince was placed in the hands of a wet nurse, who was responsible for his physical well-being (Ex. 2:7–10; II Kings 11:2). After being weaned, the child was given over to a governess (*ʾomenet*) until he reached the age of five, approximately (II Sam. 4:4). Childhood and youth were spent at court in the company of aristocratic contemporaries (II Sam. 8:10; 13:3; II Kings 14:14). Due to accident or intrigue, the eldest son did not always succeed his father. To prepare for this eventuality, all the young princes received the same education. Upon maturing, they assumed positions of political responsibility, either as advisors to their brother (I Kings 12:8) and/or as governors of key cities in the kingdom (II Chron. 11:23).

Already in Davidic times, provision was made for the formal instruction of the king's sons (I Chron. 27:32). Ahab's 70 sons were educated by leading men of the northern capital of Samaria, no doubt with specialized training by professional tutors (II Kings 10:1ff.). Neo-Babylonian administrative documents show that the exiled Judean king Jehoiachin had a Hebrew attendant, perhaps a tutor, for five of his sons (Pritchard, Texts, 308).

Some princes had personal tutors. Solomon benefited from the prophet Nathan's guidance (II Sam. 12:25; I Kings 1); the young Joash was raised under the eye of his influential uncle (according to II Chron. 22:11), Jehoiada, the high priest (II Kings 11–12). Similarly, Isaiah took great interest in the young Hezekiah, over whom he was to wield a strong influence (Isa. 9:5–6; 11:1ff.).

The king himself also had influence over his son's upbringing. His own personality played a major part in their relationship. Some, like Saul, tended to harshness, while others, like David, were over-lenient. Both extremes led to family tragedies. In general, the king supervised the transfer of responsibilities to his sons (II Kings 15:5; II Chron. 21:2–3). On his deathbed, the king gathered his royal progeny to deliver his last testament, charging them in religious and diplomatic matters (I Kings 2:1–9; Isa. 38:1; cf. Gen. 48–49).

Drawing on the Former and Latter Prophets, it is possible to reconstruct broadly the curriculum of a prince's education. To fulfill his duties properly, he had to be trained in three main areas: physical and military training, diplomacy and government, and the national religion of Israel.

The first kings, Saul and David, were famous for their military prowess; some later kings rose to power through the army ranks (Omri, Jehu, and Pekah son of Remaliah). However, not only soldier-usurpers but also princes must have learned the art of warfare. Kings Jehoshaphat, Uzziah, and Josiah, to mention a few, took an active part in leading their soldiers. They trained with the bow (I Sam. 20:19–20, 35ff.; II Sam. 22:35), could handle horse and chariot, and probably learned the fundamentals of military strategy (I Kings 20:13–14; II Kings 3:6–8). Some were known for bravery and on more than one occasion a king died from battle wounds (I Kings 22:34–35; II Chron. 35:23–24).

In contrast to ancient Near Eastern descriptions of contemporary royalty, the Bible is silent in regard to hunting expeditions. This pastime, which is mentioned in connection with the non-Israelite Nimrod and Esau, was usually a basic part of physical training.

DIPLOMACY AND GOVERNMENT. Because of the ever-present foreign influences at court, the prince had a good measure of familiarity with the larger world. Through the many foreign wives, sons of vassals, and frequent diplomatic envoys (II Kings 5:5ff.; 20:12ff.; Isa. 18), he learned of the customs of the gentiles and learned to appreciate their political strength in relation to that of his father. In the later monarchy the prince may have acquired some fluency in Aramaic, which was during the eighth century B.C.E. the lingua franca of the ancient Near East.

The prince had also to learn the workings of government. Upon reaching his majority, he went through a period of practical training, when he accepted responsibilities in the royal bureaucracy. Jotham, Uzziah's heir apparent, held the high position of *ʿal ha-bayit* or "chamberlain" (II Kings 15:5). A personal seal inscribed only with *lytm* was discovered in the excavations of ancient Ezion-Geber, and possibly belonged to the prince. The absence of his father's name reflects his high administrative position. That other princes held minor administrative positions is suggested by several *ben ha-melekh* ("son of the king") seals found in and around Palestine.

RELIGIOUS EDUCATION. The king was patron and administrator of the Temple and national cult (II Kings 12). Like all other kings of antiquity, he demonstrated his piety by lavish donations to the cult (I Kings 8:63).

On the other hand, the prophets demanded of the king allegiance to monotheism and the religious values of the Torah, expressed in acts of justice (Isa. 9:5–6) and humility (Deut. 17:14–20). It was by these criteria that the Israelite kings were judged by the authors of the books of Kings and Chronicles. These values were imparted to the princes by the court prophets and priests, not always successfully.

From the very inception of the monarchy in Israel, the king was conceived to be the highest judge in the land (I Sam. 8:5–6). Most of the famous cases mentioned in the Bible are ad hoc decisions demonstrating the king's legal sagacity in finding a just solution (II Sam. 14:5–11; I Kings 3:16–28). In order to fulfill this primary function of kingship, the prince must have received a thorough education in common law and in the written law collections (II Sam. 15:1–6; II Kings 14:6).

Though there are no actual records, some kings may have promulgated laws of their own (cf. Micah 6:16). Jehoshaphat is said to have reorganized the judicial system, dividing it into local courts and a high court of appeal, and appointing supervisors for religious and royal interests (II Chron. 19:5–11). Such familiarity with Hebrew law assumes that the princes had training in jurisprudence. Indeed, the Deuteronomic ideal entailed a literate king, well versed in the Torah (Deut. 17:18–19; cf. II Kings 5:7; 19:14).

Not only in his judicial capacity, but in setting the tone of court life, the king patronized the literary arts. The more talented among Israelite royalty were accredited even with composition in the various genres. David's musical talent was still proverbial in the Kingdom of Israel two centuries after his death (Amos 6:5). His religio-national poems inspired later religious poets to see in him their own spiritual forebear (II Sam. 1:17–27; 22; 23:1–7, and 74 of the 150 psalms).

Solomon was the proverbial wise man, mastering all forms of wisdom literature (I Kings 5:9–14). This literature was edited from time to time by the court savants (Prov. 25:1). Such was the case in the time of Hezekiah, who was also credited with poetic talents (Isa. 38:9–20).

The importance of alphabetic writing for the history of education must not be overlooked. It ushered in a break with the traditional scribal cultures of Egypt, Mesopotamia, and second-millennium Canaan. To be literate was no longer the identifying and exclusive characteristic of a class of professional scribes and priests, versed in the abstruse cuneiform and hieroglyphic scripts.

SCRIBAL EDUCATION. The etymology of the term *sofer*, "scribe," has not been conclusively determined. It may be derived from the Canaanite root *spr,* "to count," "to tell." The rabbis suggested a similar origin (Kid. 30a). Others derive the word from the Assyrian, *šaparū*, "to send," "to deliver a message." Whatever the origin, it seems clear that in the Bible a distinction should be made between a scribe, in the usual sense, and a Scribe who because of personal ability or family ties was appointed a minister or secretary of state. Both, however, received the same basic training.

As in the ancient Near East, the scribal class (or "guild") in Israel was originally organized along family lines. An early example is found in I Chronicles 2:55. Under the Davidic monarchy, the same principle of kinship is found in the position of "the king's scribe" (II Sam. 8:17; I Chron. 18:16; I Kings 4:3; cf. Ezra 2:55 and Neh. 7:57). This was probably the case toward the end of the kingdom of Judah. The family of Shaphan dominated the bureaucracy and held the position of king's scribe from the time of Josiah until the Exile (II Kings 22:3; Jer. 36:11, 12, 20, 21; 40:9).

Most professional scribes served the administrators of the central government, city councils, and Temple bureaucracy. These institutions set up their own schools which taught the specific scribal skills demanded.

Perhaps the youth of Judges 8:14 was a local scribe: "And he [Gideon] caught a young man of the men of Succoth, and inquired of him; and he wrote down for him the princes and elders of Succoth, seventy-seven men."

CURRICULUM. Scribal education everywhere was the conservative study of traditional methods and subjects. The Israelite scribe had the easy task of learning the 22-letter alphabet, whereas his Egyptian and Mesopotamian counterpart had to master at least one system of hundreds of signs.

The alphabet was invented and developed by the Canaanites during the second millennium B.C.E., probably in one of the major Phoenician cities. Indicative of the conservative nature of the scribal art is the fact that the form of the letters in the three main alphabetic branches (Phoenician, Hebrew, and Aramaic) did not differ radically during the period between 1200 and 600 B.C.E. While mastering the forms, the apprentice scribe learned their order. The standard order of the characters is found already in the 30-letter abecedaries of the scribal schools of Ugarit (15th century B.C.E.). Minus eight letters, the series reappears in biblical acrostics (Ps. 119, 145; Lam. 1–4) and is almost identical with the sequence of the modern Hebrew alphabet. Probably in the ninth century B.C.E. the form and order of the letters were exported to the Greek islands as well.

It seems that Isaiah refers to an elementary class learning the alphabet in one of his prophecies (28:9–13): he describes the "first grade" lesson for the day when the children learned the letters *ẓadi* (צ) and *kof* (ק). During the excavations at Lachish, a list of the first five letters was found incised on one of the steps of an Israelite building, perhaps the work of a child practicing his alphabet.

The second stage of a scribe's training was the copying of short texts that may have been learned by heart and practiced at home. The *Gezer Calendar (tenth century B.C.E.) is a possible example of such an assignment. It divides the year into eight agricultural seasons, noting the main characteristics of each. Gezer had been an important Canaanite city, and during the tenth century it housed a levite community serving the Jerusalem administration. Perhaps it was in cities like Gezer that the Canaanite scribal traditions were conveyed to the Israelites.

The young student next learned epistolary and other administrative formulae. After much practice, he could easily produce the names of the city elders (Judg. 8:14). During the monarchy there was a standard tax form, as found in the Samaria Ostraca (mid-ninth or according to others mid-eighth-century B.C.E.), and as more recently noted in the inscribed jar handles from Gibeon (late seventh century B.C.E.).

The local scribe had also to master the forms of deeds of sale (Jer. 32:10–14), marriage contracts (Tob. 7:13 (14) and Elephantine Papyri), bills of divorce (Deut. 24:1–3; Isa. 50:1; Jer. 3:8) as well as court pleas (ostracon from Meẓad Ḥashavyahu; Job 31:35). The latter, however, may have been part of the responsibilities of the *shoṭer* or "court secretary." This term is derived from the Akkadian *šaṭāru* ("to write") and related to the later Hebrew *sheṭar* ("a written document").

The king's scribes received a broader and more cosmopolitan education. They had to be competent in diplomacy and the exact sciences. Their knowledge of international diplomacy began with the study of Aramaic, the lingua franca of the period (II Kings 18:26; Dan. 1:4).

Because of the involvement of all the Israelite kings, from Ahab to Zedekiah, in regional politics, it was necessary that the royal scribes know the workings of the Assyrian, Egyptian, Aramean, and Phoenician courts. Several kings even appeared in person before their Mesopotamian suzerains. International law and treaty formulae (II Chron. 20:35–37) as well as far-reaching trade agreements (Ezek. 27) were the scribes' normal business.

Simple arithmetic was probably learned in all formal systems of education (Isa. 10:19). The Israelite court scribe, like his Egyptian and Mesopotamian counterparts, mastered the higher mathematics needed for solving problems of logistics and engineering (II Kings 20:9–11; II Chron. 26:15; 32:30). While astronomy is not specifically mentioned in Israelite sources, it was needed for the calendrical intercalations decreed by the central government (II Chron. 30:2–4; Pes. 4:9; cf. Jub. 4:7; I En. 8:3). Cartography as well was a well-known ancient art (Josh. 18:9; Ezek. 4:1).

In addition to diplomacy and the exact sciences, the court bureaucracy developed what might be termed a "scribal ethic." Wisdom literature, more specifically the collections now found in the Book of Proverbs, served as a primary text for character education: they focused on the individual's rather than on the national interest.

Like the comparative Egyptian material, and the Book of *Ahikar (Aramaic), the Book of Proverbs was an outstanding example of court literature. The book was meant to serve in educating king and courtier (8:15–18) but especially the bureaucracy (22:29). The virtues stressed by these pedagogues were, among others, religious piety, proper family relations, honesty, industry, sagacity, responsibility, social virtues, and loyalty to the king.

Various literary methods were used as memory aids for the student. Key words (Prov. 25:4–5; 30:11–14) and common ideas (25:2–3, 5–6) tied together independent statements. Similarly alliteration (*rash, rashaʿ, raʿ*, 28:3–5) and repetition of the same or similar roots (25:18–20) served as learning devices. Other units might be formed as number series (30:15–33). Another mnemonic device was the alphabet acrostic (31:10–31).

Foreign material was freely borrowed: Proverbs 22:17–24:22 bears a great resemblance to the "Thirty Sayings of Amen-em-Opet," a famous Egyptian wisdom text (Pritchard, Texts, 421ff.).

The Book of Proverbs may be the closest thing to an actual school text from the biblical period. Its explicit pedagogic goal, as well as its employment of mnemonic devices, supports this contention. The centrality of secular, royal figures (Solomon, Hezekiah, King Lemuel of Massa, "The Wise") and its affinities to non-Israelite wisdom literature further argue for its role in the education of the officialdom.

EDUCATION OF PRIEST AND PROPHET. The nature of the priest's education can be determined through an inductive analysis of his manifold functions in biblical society.

Foremost were the cultic duties centered on the elaborate and complicated sacrificial rites. Later, the sacrifice was accompanied by music and song, performed by levitic families, versed in liturgical composition (I Chron. 25).

Giving rulings on questions of ritual law and ritual purity was intrinsic to the priest's responsibilities (Lev. 10:8–11; 12–15; Jer. 18:18; Haggai 2:11ff.; Mal. 1:4–8). The necessary knowledge for these decisions was no doubt acquired by training and study, including the study of the body and its diseases. Professional secular physicians are mentioned in II Chronicles 16:12 (cf. Ecclus. 38:7; Pes. 4:9, a "book of medicines").

It was to the priests that Moses delivered the official copy of the Torah (Deut. 31:24–26; Jer. 2:8). They authenticated and supervised the writing of subsequent copies (Deut. 17:18–19; II Kings 22:8) and became the authoritative teachers of the Torah (Deut. 31:10–13; II Kings 17:28; II Chron. 17:8–9; Ezra the Scribe was a priest).

The priesthood, though ultimately subject to the king administratively, supervised the Temple finances (II Kings 12:8–17). (The Chronicler even has the priests assume trusted positions in the centralized government system of David and Solomon, I Chron. 26:30–32.) Their religious and secular functions demanded that they be literate. This is apparent also in the centrality of the written word in the cult (Ex. 34:27–28; Num. 5–23) and upon the sacred vestments (Ex. 28:21, 36).

Though there are no actual records, the clergy must have received formal training. As was the case elsewhere, schools probably were part of the Temple complex.

The clerical census counted priests only from the age of 30 (Num. 4:3) and levites from the age of 25 (8:24), when they began to assume their cultic functions. This relatively late age indicated a long period of apprenticeship necessitated by their complex duties.

Unlike the priesthood, there were no qualifications for joining the prophetic orders. Even women achieved renown as prophetesses (Miriam, Deborah, Huldah).

The prophets attracted a following known as *bene hanevi'im*, "sons (i.e., disciples) of the prophets." Some encouraged only a selected group of disciples (Isa. 8:18) or only a single protégé (Moses-Joshua; Elijah-Elisha; Jeremiah-Baruch). The disciple did not always succeed the master since true prophecy was not a skill to be learned but rather a result of divine election (II Kings 2:9–10).

The disciple's education was acquired through his ministering to the needs of the prophet. This type of training resembled the rabbinic concept of *shimmush*, attendance upon a master (Avot 1:3). This, of course, is not to say that there was no formal or literary side to the novices' education. Several prophets may have been trained in the court schools (Isaiah and possibly Zephaniah); others had a priestly education (Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and possibly Malachi). Both schools provided a thorough knowledge of the national-religious literature and more.

The prophetic order no doubt preserved and studied the words and deeds of their illustrious predecessors (Elijah and Elisha cycles; cf. II Kings 8:4; Jer. 26:17–18). The writings of the prophets show unmistakable signs of their acquaintance with the writings of their predecessors (Isaiah of Amos', Zephaniah of Isaiah's, Deutero-Isaiah with those of Isaiah, Zephaniah, and Jeremiah) as well as with the older psalms and other literature.

There must have been some training in prophetic oration, and musical accompaniment (II Kings 3:15). An enlightening passage, reflecting prophetic training, in addition to the general popularity of the prophets' presentation, is found in Ezekiel 33:30–33: "… the children of thy people that talk of thee by the walls and in the doors of the houses and speak one to another … Come, I pray you and hear what is the word that cometh forth from the Lord … and, lo, thou art unto them as a love song of one that hath a pleasant voice, and can play well on an instrument …."

THE EDUCATION OF WOMEN. Women's education was conditioned by several cultural factors which limited and set the goals of their training. Before marriage, the woman was protected by her father or older brothers; afterward, by her husband who represented her interests in the community. Her dependent status is reflected in her being called by the name of her husband, be she ever so illustrious in her own right (Deborah, the wife of Lappidoth; Huldah, the wife of Shallum). Likewise her personal seal always refers her to some male: Elsegov, daughter of Elishama; Ne'ehevet, daughter of Remaliah; Abigail, wife of Asaiah; Aḥotmelekh, wife of Yesha; Menaḥemet, wife of Gadmelekh.

Her protected status was based on a religious and moral outlook, sharply contrasting local Canaanite custom, as well as on economic and social interests that predated the Settlement. These generally limited her activity to that of the home and kindred occupations and provided the goals and limitations of her education, contingent upon her father's position in society.

The mother was naturally the girl's primary teacher and model (cf. Ezekiel's epigram "Like mother like daughter," 16:44). Besides her religious obligations, the young girl learned the domestic chores and special skills of her mother through observation and imitation in the informal atmosphere of the home. She performed other tasks dictated by the family's work – attending the flocks (Gen. 29:6) or helping at harvest time (Song 1:6; Ruth 2:8). She played in the streets and markets (Zech. 8:5). Recently discovered artifacts have demonstrated that she also possessed an assortment of games and dolls.

The upper-class maiden was raised by her nurse, who sometimes accompanied her to her husband's house (Gen. 35:8). If orphaned at an early age, she was raised by a close relative (Esth. 2:7). If there were no brothers, she could inherit her father's property, though in order to protect tribal interests she would have to marry paternal relatives (Num. 27:1–11).

She was brought up on the virtues of sexual innocence and chastity. Violation of her body demanded retaliation by her menfolk (Gen. 34:25ff.; Judg. 21:22) and was considered a great personal and family tragedy (II Sam. 13:11ff.).

Woman was created to be a helpmate to her husband (Gen. 2:18). A good wife was regarded as a gift of God and worth great riches (Prov. 31:10). Her subordinate social and economic status did not diminish the affection in which she was held. A mother's guidance was highly regarded by sons and daughters, influencing them long after they had matured.

She was taught to be industrious and to take an active interest in the economics of her home. The paean to a good wife (Prov. 31:10–31) is an extraordinary celebration of woman's industry. Other virtues lauded are foresight, thrift, good judgment, devotion to her husband's interests, and, above all, piety. It has been suggested that this passage served as a guide to a formal course of study in home economics for upper-class girls.

If a woman had a profession or skill, it was passed on to her daughters. The usual skills were midwifery (Ex. 1:21), weaving and cooking (I Sam. 8:13), and professional mourning (Jer. 9:19). In the pre-Israelite period a musical profession, associated with the pagan cult, was regarded as a proper alternative to marriage. In a letter to a Canaanite nobleman living in 15th century B.C.E., Taanach, a friend, advises "As for your daughter … let me know concerning her welfare; and if she grows up you shall give her to become a singer or to a husband" (Pritchard, Texts, 490).

While Israelite women did not participate in the Temple choirs at Jerusalem, they did sing at the royal court (II Sam. 19:36; Eccles. 2:8). Others were known for gifts of prophecy and poetic expression (Ex. 15:20–21; Judg. 5). There were wise women able to compose fables; still others practiced the black arts and magic (I Sam. 28:7). Such skills indicate a formal training, learned from experts.

Women raised at court later assumed positions of importance. Political marriages were not infrequent in Israel; such women must therefore have received some formal education befitting their future positions. Since some women had personal property (II Kings 4:8ff.) and seals of their own (see above), they may have known writing and calculation.

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[Aaron Demsky]

IN THE TALMUD

General

While the sages regarded education as a central instrument in the preservation of Judaism, talmudic sources, characteristically, nowhere deal with the subject systematically in a comprehensive halakhic exposition. Instead, statements on education are scattered throughout talmudic literature, not as normative *halakhot*, but rather as incidental philosophical or psychological ideas, which in the main express the educational aspirations of spiritual leaders during about 600 years (c. 100 B.C.E.–500 C.E.). It is possible to derive a good idea, however, of the actual state of education at that time, which, when compared with the ideal, presents a unique cultural phenomenon – the approximation of pedagogical achievement to the ideal, not only in the attainments of exceptional individuals but also in the numbers of outstanding contemporary personalities. Here would seem to lie one answer to the riddle of the continued existence of Judaism despite the catastrophe which overwhelmed it in the first century C.E. History has revealed the profundity of *Joḥanan b. Zakkai's insight in his plea to the Roman ruler at the time of the destruction of the Second Temple: "Give me Jabneh and its sages" (Git. 56b). It was the study of the Torah which filled the breach left by the loss of the Temple service and which instilled new vigor into the nation.

Character and Aims

The basis of education is, according to talmudic sources, the study of the Torah, an all-embracing concept which includes means and ends alike. Two basic educational principles followed from the sages' regarding Torah as the very substance of their lives: (1) Education is not to be treated as distinct from the inner content of life but as one with it; (2) accordingly, Torah study is not to be limited to a certain age but to continue throughout one's life under the guidance of a teacher. The prompting of Rabban *Gamaliel, "Provide yourself a teacher" (Avot 1:16; cf. also 1:6), was intended for everyone, without regard to age or social standing. The unique character of Jewish education finds expression in the phrase "Torah for its own sake," a concept which sets before the student of Torah two goals: the disinterested fulfillment of the commandment itself – as it is written (Josh. 1:8): "Thou shalt meditate therein day and night" (Maim., Yad, Talmud Torah 1:8) – and the orientation of his studies to observance of the *mitzvot*. Torah study was actually regarded as greater than observance in that the first, aside from its intrinsic worth, led to the second by its very nature (Kid. 40b). The sages, in what was apparently designed to serve as a model for educators in all generations, defined the ideal man as one who studies the Bible and the Mishnah, attends upon scholars, is honest in business, and speaks gently to people (Yoma 86a).

Even as the supreme goal of study was Torah for its own sake, so was the general aim of education, "Let all your actions be for the sake of Heaven" (Avot 2:12), an epitomization which brings all actions, even those seemingly removed from Torah and *mitzvot*, into the sphere of man's central purpose – the service of God. To the end that a man support himself by his own labors and not become a burden on society, the sages declared: "All study of the Torah that is unaccompanied by work is ultimately futile" (*ibid.* 2:2). Accordingly, the permission granted parents to make arrangements on the Sabbath for the education of their children was extended to include arrangements "for teaching him a trade," both activities being regarded as "the affairs of Heaven," i.e., religious duties (Shab. 150a). One sage even declared that whoever fails to teach his son a trade, encourages him to become a brigand (Kid. 29a). A child was also to be taught swimming, undoubtedly for the preservation of life. As for other subjects, astronomy and geometry were regarded as aids to the study of the Torah, philosophy ("the wisdom of the Greeks") was not approved, and foreign languages, though discouraged for fear of contaminating cultural influences, were apparently, in view of the number of non-Hebrew words that found their way into talmudic literature, not entirely prohibited (see *Greek and Latin Languages, Rabbinical Knowledge of). Moreover, *Abbahu allowed girls to be taught Greek as "a social accomplishment" (TJ, Pe'ah 1:1, 15c), while Rabban Gamaliel established a school in which 500 pupils were taught philosophy so that they might be able to maintain contacts with the ruling authorities.

Age Levels

A child's education commences when he begins to speak, whereupon the duty devolves upon the father to teach him to repeat selected biblical verses, such as "Moses commanded us a law, an inheritance of the congregation of Jacob" (Deut. 33:4). This reveals the sages' appreciation of the cultivation of a child's imitative, mechanical faculties even before the attainment of understanding. They were aware of the value of inculcating in young children the habit of observing the *mitzvot*: "A minor who knows how to shake a *lulav* is obliged to observe the laws of the *lulav*; a minor who knows how to wrap himself in the *tallit* is obliged to observe the law of the *ẓiẓit*" (Tosef. Hag. 1:2). The pedagogical rule in *Judah b. Tema's statement: "At five years the age is reached for studying the Bible, at ten for studying the Mishnah, at thirteen for fulfilling the *mitzvot*, at fifteen for studying the Talmud" (Avot 5:21) was not always rigidly adhered to. At variance with it is *Rav's statement to *Samuel b. *Shilat, a schoolteacher: "Do not accept a pupil under the age of six; but accept one from the age of six and stuff him [with knowledge] like an ox" (Ket. 50a). At Usha it was laid down that up to the age of 12 gentle means were to be used to induce a child to study (*ibid.*, loc. cit.). A girl and a boy on reaching the age of 12 and 13 respectively were regarded as "adults," whereupon the father was no longer obliged to teach them Torah and the observance of *mitzvot*, the obligation now devolving upon the "new adults." The studies of adolescents did not thus represent a unique pedagogical stage. The obligation to study Torah under their teachers for the rest of their lives applied to them as it did to all other adults. Having learned Bible and Mishnah, they attended lectures on the Mishnah together with the young scholars and were present at the talmudic discussion centering around the *mishnayot*. In this "yeshivah" no distinction was made on grounds of age or status. Even those engaged primarily in earning a livelihood took part in the studies during the month of **kallah*, the special lecture series given by the academy head during the months of Adar and Elul when the studies of the intervening periods were summarized.

The Educational Framework

THE FAMILY, THE SCHOOL, THE TEACHER. In biblical times, as mentioned, the family, particularly the father, was the source of education. After that time, however, the growing demands of life and the expanding boundaries of Torah study made an institutional framework necessary. At an early stage it was apparently the custom to assemble children in the synagogue, where they were taught reading from the biblical scrolls. The first regulation that children be sent to school was introduced by Simeon b. Shetaḥ, the brother-in-law of King Alexander Yannai (c. 100 B.C.E.). The Talmud provides a more explicit statement on the establishment of schools at the end of the Second Temple period (the beginning of the common era) in which are noted the various stages in the development of institutional education: "Rav Judah said in the name of Rav: 'Truly the name of that man is to be blessed, namely, *Joshua b. Gamla, since but for him the Torah would have been forgotten in Israel. At first, if a child had a father, his father taught him; if he had no father, he did not learn at all… They then introduced an ordinance that teachers of children be appointed in Jerusalem … Even so, if a child had a father, the father would take him up to Jerusalem and have him taught there; but if he had no father, he would not go up there to learn. They therefore ordained that teachers be appointed in each district and that boys enter school at the age of 16 or 17. But because a boy who was punished by his teacher would rebel and leave school, Joshua b. Gamla at length introduced a regulation that teachers of young children be appointed in each district and town, and that children begin their schooling at the age of six or seven'" (BB 21a). The basis of organized schooling for all ages was laid by Joshua b. Gamla's regulation. Most of these schools were in synagogues and were under the supervision of beadles (see Shab. 1:3). "There were 480 synagogues in Jerusalem, each of which had a Bible school (*bet sefer*) for the study of the Bible and a Talmud school (*bet talmud*) for the study of the Mishnah" (TJ, Meg. 3:1, 73d). At a later period, the patriarch, as the chief spiritual leader, was concerned with education and with the quality of teachers. *Judah III (third century C.E.) sent emissaries throughout Ereẓ Israel to ascertain whether each town had teachers of the Bible and of the Mishnah (TJ, Ḥag. 1:7, 76c). *Rava, a leading *amora* of the fourth century C.E., introduced, on the basis of Joshua b. Gamla's regulation, several important educational ordinances: (1) No child was to be sent daily from one town to a school in another, but could be sent from one synagogue to another in the same town. (2) The number of pupils to be assigned to a teacher was 25. If there were 40, an assistant was to be appointed. Whether one teacher could be replaced by a better one was the subject of a difference of opinion between Rava and *Dimi of Nehardea, who also differed on which teacher was to be preferred, one who taught a great deal but inaccurately, or one who taught less but without mistakes. Dimi's view, favoring the more careful teacher, was adopted (BB 21a).

All these institutions – the *bet sefer* for the study of the Bible, the *bet talmud* for the study of the Mishnah, and the yeshivah – had as their purpose not only the imparting of knowledge but also education for a life of Torah. This aim was achieved thanks to the personal example set by the teachers, who were held in awe by their students, as witness the statement of *Joḥanan b. Nappaḥa and *Simeon b. Lakish (prominent *Ereẓ Israel amoraim* of the third century C.E.): "We succeeded in the Torah only because we were privileged to see *Judah ha-Nasi's finger projecting from his sleeve" (TJ, Beẓah 5:2, 63a).

Methods of Instruction

Instruction was two-pronged in intent – improvement of the memory by accurate transmission and frequent repetition of material, and, at a later stage, the development of creative thought. Pupils learned to transmit statements in the same phraseology used by their teachers ("one is obliged to use the language of one's teacher"). Since the Oral Law, which could not be committed to writing, was continually expanding, accuracy in learning it was attainable only through endless repetition; hence the dictum, "He who has repeated his chapter a hundred times is not to be compared to him who has repeated it a hundred and one times" (Ḥag. 9b). The pupils thus acquired proficiency in recitation and a knowledge of the language of Scripture and the basic equipment required for participation in the creative study of the Talmud, essentially an incisive analysis of the *mishnayot* and the *beraitot*. The sages were strikingly modern in their practice of the pedagogic art. When *Tarfon's pupils said to him: "Tell us, teacher, by what virtue did Judah merit the kingdom? he answered, 'You tell'" (Mekh., Be-Shallaḥ 5). On one occasion *Akiva deliberately stated a *halakhah* incorrectly "to sharpen the wits of his pupils" (Nid. 45a). Every possible mnemonic device was employed – *notarikon*, association of ideas, and many others. Only in this way could the vast body of talmudic thought have been transmitted intact from generation to generation until the end of the fifth century C.E., when it was finally redacted.

Discipline played a vital role in this system (see Shab. 13a, and Rashi, ad loc., s.v. *ve-eimat rabban aleihem*). Although corporal punishment was inflicted when deemed necessary, the sages sought to curtail it as much as possible and warned against injuring a child. Rav's directives to Samuel b. Shilat the school teacher included the following: "When you punish a pupil, hit him only with a shoe latchet. The attentive student will learn of himself; the inattentive one should be placed next to one who is diligent" (BB 21a). This counsel applied to younger students; with those who were older the teacher might introduce the lesson with a humorous remark to create an atmosphere congenial to learning. But the teacher's most valuable asset was the example he set for his students. Well aware of this, the sages sought to impress upon teachers the need for circumspection in speech and deed. Thus *Ze'eira, a leading *amora* of the end of the third century, stated: "One should not promise something to a child and then fail to give it to him, for he thereby teaches him to lie" (Suk. 46b). Though the sages were remarkable pedagogues, the greater part of their achievement doubtless resulted from the atmosphere generated by their personalities, an atmosphere of unbounded love for the Torah and of supreme self-discipline in the observance of *mitzvot.*

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[Yehuda Moriel]

IN THE MIDDLE AGES

Babylonian, Pre-Geonic, and Geonic Periods

By the end of the fifth century, the time of the completion of the Babylonian Talmud, the Jewish community in Babylonia had become the leading Diaspora Jewry, a position it was destined to maintain for another five hundred years. This leadership expressed itself also in its educational system and in its high level of scholarship. Many synagogues had both a *bet sefer* for elementary study, and a *bet talmud* for advanced study. At the peak of this network of educational institutions were the two major academies of *Sura and *Pumbedita that contributed so richly to Jewish scholarship and, through the interpretation of the *halakhah*, set the pattern for Jewish religious life and the place of study in it. The heads of these academies – known at first as *rashei ha-yeshivot*, and later as *geonim* – were accepted as the authorities on religious law not only in Babylonia but also in the other lands of the dispersion. In the seventh century, Babylonia's influence was enhanced by the Arab conquests of many Mediterranean countries, extending as far as Spain, which united them with Babylonia in the bonds of a common language, Arabic. This last factor facilitated personal contact and communication between the Jewries of the geonic period and helped establish and solidify a more or less uniform style of Jewish life.

One of the chief components of this style of life was the upbringing of children. Their education was started at home where at a very early age they noted numerous observances, learned some of the benedictions and simple prayers and began participating, on their level, in many traditional practices, especially on Sabbaths and holidays, where they became acquainted with the synagogue rituals and celebrations. The home and the synagogue were effective educational agencies from the child's very infancy.

While some children were instructed by their fathers, starting school at age six was the more common practice. The school was usually in the synagogue or in a building near it, and the pupils were accordingly referred to as "synagogue children" (*tinokot shel bet keneset*). It was a community institution. However some affluent parents preferred private schools for their sons.

The elementary school's chief aim was to prepare the boy for participation in the synagogue service. The ability to read was therefore the first objective. Books being rare and expensive, children learned the alphabet by copying its letters on parchment, or paper or slate. In the early stages of learning, the teachers often outlined block letters which the children filled out, and sometimes colored. On the more advanced level, scrolls or sheets with biblical texts were available, or Torah scrolls that were unfit (*pesulim*) for synagogue use. Prayers and sections from the Pentateuch came next on the program, often starting with Leviticus. The Torah was studied assiduously in an attempt to cover the *sidra* ("portion of the week"). Afterward the pupils delved into the books of the Prophets and Hagiographa, but a later tendency was to neglect these works in favor of Talmud. In some schools the native language and arithmetic were also taught. *Hai ben Sherira (10/11th century), the last *gaon* of Pumbedita, permitted teaching these secular subjects, recognizing the need for them in daily life. However, their inclusion in the school's curriculum probably preceded Hai's dictum.

Widespread and effective elementary education continued in Babylonia's Jewry for a thousand years or so. Surely *Pethahiah of Regensburg exaggerated when he recorded in his travel diary (of 1180) that "there is no one so ignorant in the whole of Babylonia, Assyria, Media, and Persia, that he does not know the twenty-four books [of the Hebrew Bible] with their punctuation and grammar. …" This statement, however, reinforces information from other sources indicating that basic instruction was the lot of nearly all boys during the centuries of the gaonate.

The elementary teachers at this period were known as *melammedei tinokot*, or simply *melammedim*. Their economic position was relatively low, as was also apparently their social status. Hai Gaon, who, in his didactic poem *Musar Haskel* ("Wise Instruction"), urged the people not to be miserly in educational matters and engage good teachers for their children, also advocated generosity in the matter of teachers' remuneration. Teachers enjoyed extra presents on special occasions and on gift-giving holidays, particularly from parents pleased with their children's achievements.

The elementary schools were also preparatory institutions for more advanced studies. There were two levels of such study that may be characterized in the modern terms of secondary and higher learning but this division did not reflect so much the age of the students as the level of studies. In the intermediate stage, those engaged in *Midrash Mishnah* (study of the Mishnah) or *Midrash Talmud* (study of the Talmud) still needed the assistance of a *rav* – a teacher. On the upper level students proceeded with their learning independently. The subject was almost exclusively Talmud. The stress on Talmud brought about a nearly complete elimination of Bible and Mishnah from schools beyond the elementary. *Natronai b. Hilai Gaon (nineth century) expressed the opinion that adults, being pressed for time because of the need to earn their living, should concentrate on the study of the Talmud, since the Talmud contains much of the other two works. This same logic was later expressed by Rabbenu Jacob b. Meir *Tam in France.

The Babylonian academies served substantial numbers of students, some of them from distant lands: Egypt, Tunisia, Italy, Spain. During the pre-holiday months of Adar and Elul, the *kallah* assemblies in the academies attracted many students. In Babylonia there thus developed a system of talmudic learning also for the broader circles of the Jewish population, something on the order of peoples' universities or, to use still another modern term, extension courses.

This entire educational enterprise, however, was restricted to the male population. Girls did of course learn a great deal at home and were taught those observances that applied to their function as housekeepers. They knew the benedictions and prayers related to these activities. Some of them also learned to read and attended synagogue services. There are references to an organized girls' class, to a girl that attended school together with her brother, and even to some women teachers. But these were exceptions. By and large the Jewish women of that period were untutored and either completely or partially illiterate.

The West Mediterranean Lands

In the West Mediterranean countries of Spain, southern France, and Italy, one finds in the eighth and ninth centuries the same basic educational pattern that prevailed in Babylonia. But in the course of time a substantial network of elementary schools and important academies for advanced study were established in Spain, which inherited Babylonia's place as the Diaspora's leading Jewry, and the dependence on Babylonian scholarship lessened considerably. The elementary Judaic program remained much the same as in earlier centuries in Babylon. On the more advanced levels, however, many new books were introduced, most of them by Spanish authors, but including the commentaries of northern France's *Rashi. There was also a tendency to engage less in *pilpul* (the casuistry of excessive arguing pro and con on all halakhic matters, which was supposed also to sharpen one's mind) and concentrate instead on works of such codifiers as Isaac *Alfasi and, later, *Maimonides.

Another innovation was the introduction into the curriculum of Hebrew language and grammar, a more serious study of the Prophets and Hagiographa, and of contemporary Hebrew poetry. Judah *Al-Ḥarizi (c. 1200, Spain) speaks of the "inspiration that descended upon the Jews of Spain … in the year 4700 (940 C.E.) to train their manifold tongues in the style of poems," which was very poor at first but improved in the course of a century until "they learned to construct a stanza in meter and proper form." In Spain also the curriculum expanded, especially in the upper classes, to include general, secular instruction. The language of the country, Arabic, was studied in order to improve one's professional or business opportunities. Judah ibn *Tibbon (1120–1190, Spain and France), in his "testament" to his son, stated that "as you know, the great men of our people did not achieve their high position except through their knowledge of Arabic." Some students found it feasible to combine the study of Bible and of Arabic, and Ibn Tibbon advised his son to review the weekly *sidra* every Sabbath both in the original and in Arabic translation, "as this would be of benefit to you [in understanding] the vocabulary of Arabic books." Good writing, too, was taught: fine penmanship to the young, proper language and good style to the more advanced.

The progression in the Judaic program of studies was, as elsewhere, reading the Pentateuch, then Mishnah and Talmud. Obviously, not everyone continued through all these stages of learning. *Baḥya ibn Paquda, in a classification of educational accomplishments, describes the person on the lowest level of achievement as able to read a biblical verse without understanding its content, without even knowing the meaning of the words, as "comparable to an ass carrying books." There were then some, perhaps many, who remained ignorant. Others advanced to substantial levels of knowledge.

During this period there appeared for the first time in Jewish literature treatises on education, mostly chapters in various books, testaments, or commentaries, some of which are quite informative about the educational practices of the time. A school curriculum was fully outlined by Joseph ibn *Aknin who lived mostly in North African lands, but whose opinions represent typical Spanish views. Besides Torah, Mishnah, and Talmud, he advocated the study of grammar, poetry and continuation to logic, rhetoric, arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, music, physical science, and metaphysics. Ibn Aknin also expressed definite opinions about teacher qualifications and prerequisites for the good student. The teacher must be well versed in the subject he instructs; must practice what he teaches or preaches; should be patient with students and consider their learning abilities; should stress ethical behavior, etc. The good student is to acquire habits of cleanliness and good manners; should not be too bashful to ask questions; should pay attention and subject himself to his teacher's discipline; must never be idle; should study for the sake of knowledge and not in order to acquire wealth or for any other ulterior purpose. The mature student should seek out communities that have good schools and try to learn from qualified teachers rather than exclusively from books. Other writers give programs of study similar to Ibn Aknin's or to parts of it, suggesting that in all likelihood some such programs were actually followed in many communities. An even more detailed and ambitious outline by Judah ibn *Abbas (13th century, Spain) offers curriculum guidance for virtually a lifetime. At the age of three or three and a half the child learns the alphabet, reading, and proper vocalization. He is then taught the weekly portions of the Torah, with stress on correct reading and cantillations; the translation of the Torah into Aramaic, which will prepare him for the language of the Talmud; the Former Prophets, with emphasis on accurate meaning, syntax and writing, to be followed by the Latter Prophets and the Hagiographa. This program should be covered by about the age of 13. The boy will then study grammar and language. Only after such well-grounded preparation does one begin studying the Talmud with commentaries. The *halakhah* requires separate attention, and is taken up next, culminating in Maimonides' *Mishneh Torah.* When the young man reaches the age of 18 or so, he studies medicine, mathematics, astronomy, logic, and natural sciences. Specific works are named in textbooks for the various subjects. Ibn Abbas warns that at all times the scholar must observe the commandments, and the more he delves into the various subjects (*ḥokhmot*), the more must he strengthen his fear of the Lord and the observance of the *mitzvot*. This program may have been followed by a few of high intellectual abilities who could afford to devote themselves entirely to study. But the unexceptional too, especially among the wealthy, followed a rich curriculum of both the sacred and profane subjects. Even music and sports were learned in affluent families, though most likely not in the schools, but privately. King Affonso of Portugal is reported to have asked some Jewish scholars why they taught their sons music and fencing when they are obligated to weep over the destruction of the Temple and they do not go into battle.

Such Spanish curricula, with extension into languages and secular studies, were not universal. There were always those who concentrated almost exclusively first on the Pentateuch (*Ḥumash*), then on Talmud, to the neglect even of Hebrew and of the post-Pentateuch Bible books. A compromise view was that "extraneous" subjects were permissible for God-fearing and observant adults who had already become thoroughly versed in Jewish lore. Jacob *Anatoli (1200–1250, Marseilles) expressed the opinion that those who prohibited the study of "Greek wisdom" on the basis of the talmudic injunction not to teach "your sons" *higgayon* (meaning "Greek wisdom") erred in interpretation, and the word "sons" should be understood to mean young boys who were not ready to assimilate it.

This issue of advanced "extraneous" studies stirred Jewish communities repeatedly in both Spain and southern France and led to serious controversies. In Montpellier (southern France) it resulted in a violent split between the proponents and opponents of philosophy and in mutual excommunication by and of the two groups. Solomon b. Abraham *Adret, rabbi of Barcelona and prominent leader of Spanish Jewry, wrote a decision which prohibited "extraneous" teachings to those below the age of 25, on threat of excommunication. However, he permitted the teaching of medicine which was needed to heal the sick.

The fear of the effects of broad general education was not without foundation in reality. Spanish Jewry of the 12th and 13th centuries experienced a weakening of the faith in some of its best-educated circles. M. *Guedemann states that Jews of Spain became in large measure "Arabized," or, through Arabic learning of Greek philosophy, Hellenized (Guedemann's term in German is "*graecisiert*"). This resulted in a countertendency on the part of many leaders troubled by the phenomenon. They gained strength by the arrival from Germany in 1305 of *Asher b. Jehiel who became rabbi in Toledo. R. Asher never studied "Greek wisdom" and rather gloried in that fact. His opposition to this area of scholarship was resolute and effective. Talmudic study gained greatly due to his efforts and influence, and as a result Jewish education in Spain took a turn away from the trend of the two or three previous centuries, and by and large restricted itself to Torah and Talmud. In certain groups, particularly those in the higher economic and social strata, the practice of engaging in secular studies persisted.

The Jewish settlements in Provence, southern France, resembled those of Spain in their educational and cultural development. Here too, learning had developed to a high level. *Benjamin of Tudela, who traveled in the area in 1165, listed a string of towns that had important academies and scholars. Lunel is mentioned as a city with "about three hundred" Jews, where the "holy community of Israel" is engaged in studying Torah day and night and "people that come there from afar to study are maintained by the community as long as they stay in the house of study." Posquières, with only "about 40 Jews," has "a great yeshivah." Marseilles, with "about 300 Jews," is "a city of *geonim* and sages." Narbonne and Arles were centers of Jewish medical learning in the 13th century. Some Jewish schools in the French cities must have been substantial institutions, as reflected in documents of the sale of Jewish properties that accrued to the royal treasury after the expulsion of the Jews in 1306. While ordinary houses were sold for 5–20 livres and big houses for somewhat higher prices, Jewish school structures realized 350 livres for the building of the *Midrash Katan* and 620 livres for the *Midrash Gadol*, both in Narbonne, and similarly for buildings in other cities. In Toulouse there was a street named *Rue des Ecoles Juives*, suggesting more than one school. These houses were sold for 700 livres.

The educational picture in Italy resembled that in Spain and southern France. A cultural spurt in Italy during the eighth century contributed to a parallel development in the Jewish community. Apparently there were at that time well-established Jewish communities and schools in the south of Italy. Abraham *Ibn Ezra, who visited Italy in mid-12th century, expressed little respect for Italian Jewish scholarship. Hebrew, however, was in use, at least in certain circles. Solomon b. Abraham *Parḥon (12th century, Spain and Italy) observed that Italian Jews spoke Hebrew better than those of Spain. His explanation was that since all the "lands of Ishmael" used one language (Arabic), the Jews understood each other without resort to Hebrew, but it was a necessity in the Christian lands that used diverse languages, and Jewish travelers from these lands used Hebrew among themselves. From the 13th century on, Italian Jews were active in the study of Hebrew poetry, Bible, and Talmud, but in all of these pursuits Italian Jewry more or less followed the paths paved in Spain and in southern France.

Northern France and Germany

The educational aims of the Jews in northern France and in Germany during the first half of the previous millennium differed from those in Spain and Provence. Knowledge of Torah, strict observance of the commandments, and complete devotion to God and to Israel, even to the point of readiness to be martyred, were the exclusive objectives in the rearing and teaching of the young generation. Philosophy did not hold any lure for them and they delved into the study of the Scripture and Talmud without the need to reconcile them with Greek philosophy. The teacher's task was thus to teach and not to speculate; the scholar's task to elucidate and explicate the law where it was obscure and difficult, as did Rashi (Troyes, France), the explicator par excellence whose commentaries helped the young boy and fascinated the adult. With such an attitude deeply implanted in the Jewish communities, Judaic knowledge was quite widespread. Guedemann states his conviction that the study of the Bible in the original was so widespread in 11th-century France, that there was hardly a Jew there who did not know Hebrew and learned Jews spoke Hebrew out of preference.

The Franco-German educational literature of this period, both fragments found in various works as well as several documents dealing primarily with learning, provides a fairly complete picture of education in the Jewish communities. The home, the rearing institution of early childhood, was saturated with a motivating atmosphere and with practices that would later lead to effective Jewish learning. Some of these were performed long before the child could appreciate their meaning. Thus, the *Maḥzor *Vitry*, a compilation of Jewish laws, prayers, and customs for the cycle of the year, written by Simḥah of Vitry (d. about 1105), tells of a custom that "some short time after circumcision, ten men would be gathered [in the home of the infant], a *Ḥumash* (Pentateuch) placed over the infant" in his cradle and the wish would be expressed "may this [boy] observe what is written in this [book]." As he was growing up the boy heard prayers and benedictions on many occasions at home, and was taught to repeat many of them. He soon began to carry his father's prayer book to the synagogue and sat there during services on low benches provided for children. On Fridays after the *Minḥah* service he would run home to notify his mother of the arrival of the Sabbath and of candle-lighting time. On Passover eve children were given nuts or chestnuts to play with, and wine glasses to arouse interest in their role at the *seder* ceremony. Similarly there were various practices in which children participated on other holidays: noisemakers on Purim, bows and arrows on Lag ba-Omer, etc.

The start of formal schooling was a special event. The boy was sent to a "*ḥeder*" (the word meaning room), a term which came into use in the 13th century, suggesting that certain rooms in the synagogue were designated especially for study. According to the *Maḥzor Vitry*, "when a person introduces his son to the study of Torah, the letters are written for him on a slate. The boy is washed and neatly dressed. Three cakes (*ḥallot*) made of fine flour and honey are kneaded for him by a virgin and he is given three boiled eggs, apples, and other fruits. A scholarly and honorable man is invited to take him to school … The boy is given some of the cake and eggs and fruit, and the letters of the alphabet are read to him. Then the letters [on the slate] are covered with honey and he is told to lick it up … And in teaching him, the child is at first coaxed and finally a strap is used on his back. He begins his study with the Priestly Code and is trained to move his body back and forth as he studies." This description is followed by an explanation of the rationale of each of these details. R. Eleazar b. Judah of Worms lists some of the same details in his version of school enrollment, as does also an anonymous document, *Sefer Asufot*, written probably around the year 1300. This initiation into school was usually made when the boy was five years old, in some cases earlier, at the time of the festival of Shavuot, which celebrates the giving of the Torah. Another source gives the month of Nisan as a suitable time weatherwise, "neither cold nor hot," for such a start.

The curriculum of the elementary school was the traditional one consisting, as R. Eleazar of Worms summarized it, of first learning the letters, then combining them into words, then biblical verses, to be followed by Mishnah and Talmud. But there was no need for pedagogues to outline this curriculum, since most Jews knew it quite well. The document *Hukkei ha-Torah* ("Rules of the Study of Torah") instructs the father to bring his child to a teacher at the age of five and tell the teacher what he expects of him: "… you are to teach my son knowledge of the letters during the first month, vocalization in the second, combination into words in the third and afterwards this 'pure' child will take up the 'purities' of the book of Leviticus. …" Later, the boy is to learn the weekly *sidra*, first in Hebrew and then in the vernacular and the Targum (the Aramaic translation of the Pentateuch) and its translation into the vernacular. At the age of ten the boy starts Mishnah and certain tractates of the *Gemara*. By 13 he has completed his course in the *Midrash Katan* and then continues in the *Midrash Gadol* (terms probably taken from the French *petite école* and *grande école.*)

These *Ḥukkei ha-Torah*, written in 1309, are unique in that they constitute a complete set of regulations dealing with community responsibility, school administration and supervision, course of studies, and other administrative and instructional elements. According to these regulations, teachers should not instruct more than ten children in any one group. The pupils should be trained to discuss their lessons with each other, and thus sharpen their minds and increase their knowledge. "On Fridays teachers should review with their students what they had studied during the preceding week, at the end of the month what they studied during the past month, in the month of Tishri what they had studied during the summer, and in the month of Nisan what they had studied during the winter." A supervisor is to be appointed to observe the pupils' diligence or indolence. Should the supervisor note a slow-learning, dull child, he should bring him to his father and say: "May God bless your son, and may he be brought up to perform good deeds, because it is difficult to bring him up for study, lest on account of him brighter students be retarded." Seven more years of talmudic study were to follow the elementary and intermediate schooling. This did not apply to the masses (*hamon*). However, the numerous references in the literature to yeshivot suggest that there were many bright boys who did continue with such an advanced program.

*Judah b. Samuel he-Hasid of Regensburg in his *Sefer Hasidim* advocated continuation of studies until the students no longer need their teacher and "are already teaching others." He, too, felt that talmudic studies were not for everyone: "if you see that [the boy] can study Bible but not Talmud, do not pressure him to study Talmud." For Talmud was practically the exclusive subject in the yeshivot, and talmudic erudition was the highest educational objective. The starting of a new tractate of the Talmud was an occasion for a minor celebration and a feast in which community leaders often participated. Hours of study were long, even for the young children, but especially for the talmudic scholars. When the young boys (*baḥurim*) arrived at an independent age, some of those who sought further knowledge wandered off to towns that had renowned yeshivot. This practice seems to have become fairly widespread in the 14th and 15th centuries during the decline of the Jewish communities in Germany that followed the severe persecutions associated with the *Black Death. Many schools closed their doors and young men in search of Torah wandered about the land. Occasional yeshivot arranged accommodations for these nomadic scholars and communities helped provide for their maintenance.

Here, as elsewhere, the educational program was aimed at the male population only. Women were not taught Torah, although a few of them managed to learn some of it. *Sefer *Ḥasidim* states that girls should be taught to pray, and also those commandments that fall within their realm of activities, "for if she does not know the regulations of the Sabbath, how will she observe the Sabbath?" The education of girls was thus quite limited in France and Germany as elsewhere.

Eastern Europe and Asia

The Jews from Byzantium who settled in southern Russia and the Crimea around the turn of the millennium at first had no rabbinic authorities of their own and maintained a correspondence with scholars in Germany in matters religious. They also sent there some of their young men who desired a talmudic education. There is thus a suggestion that some elementary schooling, or elementary instruction, was available at home. Hebrew was not unknown in the region. One Crimean Jew, Khoza Kokos, an influential agent of Ivan III Vasilievich, grand duke of Muscovy, used to write reports to the duke in Hebrew, causing the latter some difficulties in finding an interpreter for them. In Poland and Lithuania Jewish communities were formed in the 12th and 14th centuries, mainly by refugees from German persecution. Among these were some rabbis, teachers, and cantors. The new communities continued for some time importing these functionaries from Germany, so that the Jewish educational efforts in these lands were shaped in the German-Jewish style of the period. The advanced scholarship of East European Jewry did not begin to flourish until later times.

In the Asiatic lands the Jewish communities could not, because of poverty and the extremely primitive conditions of life in their physical and social environment, develop the type of educational institutions that evolved in Western Europe. However, elementary instruction was imparted among the Jews in *Yemen and occasionally scholarly talmudists were found among them. In Iran, during the geonic period, elementary study of the Torah seems still to have been popular. In the ninth century a deviationist tendency appeared in the work of *Ḥiwi al-Balkhi, who apparently wrote an abbreviated version of the Pentateuch, omitting portions that he considered unsuitable for children, and criticizing many biblical passages and teachings. His book and opinions gained popularity also in *Afghanistan, his land of birth, and in other countries, so that *Saadiah b. Joseph Gaon found it necessary to attack it severely. Jewish learning in Persia was already then on the decline, but the Jews, some of whom were active in Persian cultural life, retained their Hebrew alphabet for the Persian language in whatever writing they had to resort to. A number of Persian language manuscripts of the 12th to the 16th centuries authored by Jews, including poetry and fiction, were written in Hebrew characters. Most of this literature was not Jewish in content, but at least one major poet *Shahin wrote on Jewish themes and authored a poetical version of the Pentateuch. There were Jewish communities also in other Asiatic lands or cities that preserved their Jewish identity, but their education was mostly quite rudimentary.

Community Responsibility

With the demand for education so widespread in the Jewish population and with the heavy burden borne by parents for the schooling of their sons, it was only natural that the organized community too undertook certain responsibilities in the educational field. As far back as the geonic period teachers used to be appointed by the communities, paid by them, and considered community functionaries. Later, community support of education was best organized in Spain. Various responsa that deal with this problem refer to community taxes and to the handling of bequests for education. Meir ha-Levi *Abulafia (13th century, Spain) ruled that "communities must engage teachers for young children; and in smaller villages … it is the duty of the entire community, and not only of the children's parents, to pay [the teachers]." A revealing document on the subject is the set of ordinances of the Valladolid synod, convened by Abraham *Benveniste in 1432. Part I of these ordinances dealt with education, including its financing. It imposed taxes on meat and wine, and imposts on circumcisions, weddings, and funerals, for education expenditures. These taxes were not to be used for any other purpose than education or "support of students who received maintenance from the aforementioned *talmud torah* contributions." Each community of 15 householders was obligated to maintain a qualified elementary teacher who had to be paid according to the number of his dependents. Where the tuition fees from the pupils' parents were insufficient for his needs, the community had to supplement his income. The community also exercised a measure of supervision as seen from rulings about school practices, such as a limit on the number of children to be taught by one teacher (25), and other such administrative regulations.

Essentially the same type of responsibility obtained also in North European countries. Rabbenu Tam (12th century, Troyes, France) in his ordinances referred to communities paying or supporting teachers' salaries as established practice, and ruled that in cases of shortage of educational funds, moneys designated for other purposes might be diverted to meet educational needs. These ordinances were accepted by the Rhenish communities in the year 1220. Even very small Jewish communities in many German towns managed to maintain schools, or at least a teacher. Reference is also made to such practices and to support of advanced students in *Ḥukkei ha-Torah.* Guedemann, who first published this document, expressed the opinion that while there can be no certainty that it represents the exact reality of its period, he was inclined to believe that it did reflect prevailing practices. Nor was financial support the only responsibility undertaken by the community. Mention was made above of regulations dealing with size of classes, supervision, reviews of material covered, and similar practices. Large schools were even required to have non-teaching supervisors, akin to the modern principals, who were to manage the business aspects of the school as well as assure proper instruction by the teachers (*Ḥukkei ha-Torah*). These may have been concomitants of financial support, since in education, as in other endeavors, subvention is often linked with at least some regulation and supervision. In any case, Jewish communities of the Middle Ages, even in extremely difficult times and circumstances, undertook a substantial measure of responsibility for the education of their young.

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[Elijah Bortniker]

JEWISH EDUCATION – 16TH–18TH CENTURIES

General

Jewish education during the 16th–18th centuries continued as a virtually universal practice. It was greatly facilitated by the then recently developed process of printing which made reasonably priced books readily available. There was, of course, one negative factor that interfered with Jewish life and hence also Jewish learning. The constant prejudice and persecution, the repeated expulsions, the frequent minor and occasional major pogroms, reduced the numerical strength of the world Jewish community which reached its lowest ebb in the 17th century. However education seemed to persist in high priority in the Jewish family and in the Jewish community of the period.

Europe – North and East

Elementary Jewish schooling in the German lands and in Poland, Lithuania, and Russia was given either in the private *ḥeder* or in the community *talmud torah*. The former was in many places a rather shabby institution. Moses Moravchik, in a pamphlet entitled *Keiẓad Seder Mishnah* ("How to Organize Learning"), published in Lublin in 1635, listed among the causes for the poor state of the *ḥeder* the tendency of many parents to change teachers each half-year term, low instruction fees and difficulties in collecting them, the *melammed*'s inclination to promote pupils for fear of losing them, the difficulties of proper instruction in the *melammed*'s home, and improper program and methods of instruction. The *talmud torah*s, maintained primarily for the poor, were often better organized, because they were supervised by the community, usually by a Talmud Torah Society (Ḥevrah Talmud Torah). At periods and in places of community strength the *talmud torah*s too benefited. In the 16th and early 17th centuries, many Jewish communities in Eastern Europe enjoyed considerable autonomy and authority in their internal affairs, and they regulated both *talmud torah*s and private *ḥadarim.* The Cracow community ordinances (1594) are typical of those in many communities. They imposed penalties on parents who failed to pay the teacher in prescribed time and prohibited teachers to accept children for whom tuition fee was owed to another teacher. A "truant officer" was to see that boys were not out in the streets or market place during their school hours. Supervision of the schools was likewise quite common. It was the duty of *talmud torah* officials to visit the schools, to ensure adherence to the program of studies, to test the pupils at specified times, and to select those pupils who merited awards.

The age of school entrance was usually five, but many three- and four-year-olds were sent to the *melammed*, even if merely to sit in his *ḥeder* and thus absorb some fragments of knowledge or get into the habit of accepting learning. They were referred to as "sitting children." School attendance was obligatory in most communities to age 13, in 16th-century Moravia "even for boys who did not do well in their studies." In Metz (1690) education was compulsory to age 14, and the community announced that it "will pay out of its tuition fee fund for all the children whose parents request it … without inquiring into the applicants' economic position." Those aged 14–18 who did not continue attendance in a yeshivah were required to study at least one hour daily. Amsterdam regulations (1738) obligated the community to provide orphans with the best teachers, to keep them in school until they were 13, and good students to age 15. A 1750 revision changed these ages to 14 and 17. The Sephardi community of the same city placed even greater stress on equal quality of instruction for the rich and for the poor. Similar specific concern for the poor and the orphans is found in many towns across Europe, from Amsterdam to Belaya Tserkov in the Kiev region of Russia (1764). Some regulations fixed the number of students per class: up to 40 pupils, with two boys as assistants (*behelfers*), in Cracow; or 25 in Dubno. However, Talmud classes in Dubno were limited to 15; in Fuerth to 10; in Mikulov to 14. In Mogilev-Podolski a limit of 15 was set on Talmud groups, but of only ten for those studying Talmud with Rashi's commentary and *tosafot*.

Education of girls remained very limited during this period as in previous centuries. A few of them received some instruction in reading the prayers and no doubt some girls, not tutored formally, managed on their own to acquire reading skills at home, where book learning was highly regarded and assiduously practiced. From the 17th century on, after the publication in 1620 of *_Ẓe'enah u-Re'enah_ by Jacob Ashkenazi of Janow, the Yiddish work which became immensely popular among women, many girls learned biblical and later stories, aggadic and midrashic homilies, comments on Jewish life, customs and morals, as told by a remarkable raconteur. Private instruction was given to girls in some affluent families, which in the German and Western lands in the late 17th and in the 18th century often included French and German as well as music and dancing.

The elementary curriculum consisted, as in previous generations and periods, of reading, prayers, and _Ḥumash._ A new development was the widespread use of Yiddish as the language into which _Ḥumash_ lessons were translated, in most cases word by word. Textbooks appeared of such translations, or of commentaries, some of which were based mostly on the popular commentaries of Rashi, like the _Be'er Moshe_ of Moses ha-Levi (Prague, 1605) that became very popular, and other similar works. The weekly portion constituted the week's _Ḥumash_ curriculum, but it was seldom completed. The stress on talmudic learning was so great that it was started at age seven or eight, the Prophets, the Hagiographa, and Mishnah being completely omitted. R. Joseph Yuspa *Hahn (d. 1637) of Frankfurt wrote that "in our generation there are rabbis who never studied the Bible." Even less interest, or rather no interest whatever, was evinced in any area of study that was not directly related to the Jewish religious lore. Secular subjects were completely excluded from the curriculum.

In the yeshivot of Central and Eastern Europe the aim was to produce scholars with a thorough knowledge of the Talmud and its commentaries, the _tosafot_, and the major halakhic codes. The talmudic _pilpul_ method, a thorough dialectical examination of all possible arguments pro and con, was further elaborated in this period and transformed, mainly under the influence of Rabbi Jacob b. Joseph *Pollak of Prague, Cracow, and Lublin, into the "_ḥilluk_," extra-keen hairsplitting sophistry and ability to come forward with innovations (_ḥiddushim_) used in disputations and learned discourses, a sort of impressively complicated mental gymnastics, no matter how odd or absurd, which led to neglect of genuine search for understanding and even to distortion of original meanings. Although time consuming and apparently lacking in any practical purpose, it became very popular and highly valued in itself, to the neglect of more worthwhile scholarly pursuits.

Both the elementary and yeshivah programs and methods of study were severely criticized by R. *Judah Loew b. Bezalel of Prague and a number of his disciples. He advocated a graded program in accord with the child's readiness and in response to actual needs, greater stress on the commandments and practices taught in the Pentateuch rather than on Rashi's commentaries which were in his opinion a waste of time, and a further study of Hebrew, Bible, and Mishnah. He also sought the introduction into the school of certain secular subjects, particularly natural science. In the Talmud, according to him, children need not engage in study of tractates that are meaningless to them, and the overly refined pilpulistic method should be avoided at any stage since "it distorts one's intelligence." A number of prominent rabbis and scholars followed Loew's ideas and an elementary teacher, Moses Moravchik of Moravia (quoted above), wrote a pedagogic pamphlet based on them. But except for a few followers in several localities, these progressive ideas did not gain popularity.

The 17th century saw a decline of Jewish schools and of Jewish learning. In Germany the cities suffered decimation of population and impoverishment due to the Thirty Years War (1618–48). In Poland many Jewish communities were completely destroyed or reduced in the pogroms (1648–49) perpetrated by the *Chmielnicki rebellion, and the Jewish community organizations that flourished there broke down. After a slow and gradual recovery another development, mainly in the German lands, was the rise among the Jews of a substantial body of wealthy financiers, merchants, and *Court Jews, who lost interest in the traditional scholarship and observance. Their business required the use of local European languages, and "culture" decreed knowledge of French and Latin. Jewish learning was reduced in these circles to mechanical reading of ideas, and fragments of the Pentateuch. These attitudes and practices spread slowly into wider groups. Jonathan *Eybeschuetz (1690–1764), who served as rabbi in Metz, Hamburg-Altona, and Prague, and everywhere had many students and disciples, nevertheless complained about this decline in traditional learning and, in the lessened community, lack of support for it at a time when there seemed to be sufficient means for many other purposes, "some of them quite useless."

The second half of the 18th century brought about further changes in Jewish education in Germany and in the Austrian empire, which included, besides Austria proper, also Bohemia, Moravia, Hungary, Galicia, and parts of the Slavic Balkans. Emancipation of the Jews in these and other North and West European countries and the removal of many disabilities that afflicted them for centuries encouraged the spread of Moses *Mendelssohn's "Enlightenment" and of the educational views of Naphtali Herz *Wessely. Himself well educated both in traditional Jewish and general lore, Wessely advocated modernization of the Jewish school, through improved educational methods in the Jewish traditional subjects, which are God's law, and the introduction of secular subjects like the country's language, arithmetic, geography, history, and good manners, which are man's lore, into the Jewish school. Many prominent rabbis bitterly fought Wessely's proposals. But the desire for liberation from the old ghetto atmosphere and the slogans of enlightenment appealed to many in Germany and in parts of Austria. The governments too helped strengthen these tendencies.

In Germany, a high official, Christian Wilhelm von *Dohm, a friend of Mendelssohn, proposed reforms for the "civic improvement of the Jews" through modernized education. The very next year (1782) Emperor Joseph II of Austria issued a Toleration Edict that lifted some of the restrictions on

Jewish occupations and mobility, but also demanded "reform" of some of their practices including educational ones. The frank statements or implications that Jews needed "improvement" in order to merit improved civil status did not seem to offend and were in fact accepted by many of the Jewish seekers of emancipation and enlightenment. New schools were established by them in German and Austrian cities, where things soon took a very different turn from what Mendelssohn and Wessely intended, and Jewish studies in them suffered a serious decline. However, the Jews of Galicia, whose background and sentiments resembled more those of their fellow Jews in Poland and Russia to the east of them, remained refractory to the educational modernization efforts and only a few sent their children to the many schools opened for them, on government instruction, by the Jewish educator Naphtali Herz *Homberg.

Throughout this period, education of the youth in the Jewries of Poland, Lithuania, and Russia was most nearly completely traditional. During the period of the *kahal*'s ("community") greatest autonomy, traditional learning flourished. German cities exploited the scholarship of Polish and Lithuanian communities by employing rabbis and teachers who came West upon invitation or on their own. These East European Jews were influenced much less than their Western coreligionists by their environment, perhaps because this environment was much more primitive. Neither political emancipation nor cultural enlightenment and modern educational ideas had yet had a serious impact on the Jewries of the Russian lands at the end of the 18th century.

Italy

After the expulsion of the Jews from Spain and Portugal, Italian Jewry became the major Jewish community of the Mediterranean lands. Here, too, education was the earmark of the Jew. Even towns with only a few Jewish families, or for that matter a single one, had their local teachers. Nearly all the *condotta*s (contractual agreements) drawn up with Jewish loan bankers allowing them to conduct business in towns where no other Jews resided included permission to have a teacher brought by the family to instruct their children. In larger communities, too, there was a tendency by the affluent to engage private instructors. The *talmud torah*s, originally established for the benefit of the poor, eventually as they became well organized were generally placed in the service of all members of the community. The management of the schools was left to Talmud Torah Societies that operated them according to carefully formulated regulations. The manner and rate of assessment for the maintenance of the schools was usually distributed to all community members. In some towns, as in Casale Monferrato in the 16th century, school funds were raised mainly from obligatory contributions made by those called to the Torah. Minimum obligatory contributions were fixed in Ancona (1644) for those called to the Torah, for men getting married, for families celebrating the birth of a male child, and for the School Society members on specified holidays. House-to-house collections were practiced in some places, as in Modena (TT Society, 1597). Schools had overseers and supervisors. The Talmud Torah Society regulations of Ancona (1644) and of Verona (1688) specified the physical facilities of the building, the authority of the trustees, number of teachers, teachers' duties and salaries, discipline, the program of studies, and supervision. The Modena regulations, as well as several others, state that the school is open to all comers, whether rich or poor, whether local residents or out-of-towners. A number of these sets of regulations spell out in detail not only the manner of collecting funds but also of their disbursement, occasionally specifying that teachers, both men and women, must sign receipts for the books given them, that these receipts are to be handed over to the accountant and must be properly recorded, and so forth.

While the schools were primarily for boys, it appears that girls learned a great deal at home through private instruction, and in the early years some of them seem to have attended the schools as well. Women were knowledgeable enough to instruct children of pre-school level, i.e., below age six, and perhaps some of the school children as well, in reading and prayers. The woman teacher (*melammedet*) was popular in Italy and her functions and salary are set down in some of the TT Societies' regulations. David *Reuveni wrote in his travel notes that in Pisa (in 1524) he met a young lady who "read" the Bible and prayed daily the morning and the evening prayers. He also met there a wealthy woman who served as a schoolteacher. Later, in 1745, a *talmud torah* for girls was opened in Rome.

Children attended school generally from age 6 to 14, a practice that was virtually obligatory. Study to age 18 was strongly encouraged. The six-year-old who started school could usually read, having been taught previously by the *melammedet* who in some cases was also a community functionary, like the teachers in the *talmud torah*.

The program of study in the early grades was the Pentateuch, the Prophets and Hagiographa, prayers, Hebrew and its grammar. The weekly portion of the Torah was stressed, and the Torah with Rashi's commentary was continued in several grades. In the third or fourth year, the Code of Maimonides was introduced or Caro's Shulḥan Arukh, then Mishnah with Obadiah of *Bertinoro's commentaries. The Talmud, burned in 1553 and by decree not printable in Italy, was for nearly two centuries practically eliminated from the curriculum and replaced by the various Codes, particularly Isaac Alfasi's *Halakhot*, a codified compendium of the Talmud.

An important feature of the Jewish schools in Italy, which distinguished them from the *ḥadarim* in Central and Eastern Europe, was the inclusion in the program of general subjects – Italian, arithmetic, good writing and style. Following an educational trend that had its origins in the West Mediterranean European lands in the Middle Ages (see above), the schools aimed to train individuals to be at ease in Italian life and society as well as faithful Jews, rather than talmudic or halakhic scholars. The teachers of the secular subjects in the *talmud torah*s and the yeshivot were often Christian. In affluent families private teachers also taught music, dancing, and dramatic reading.

Higher learning was provided in the yeshivot which were established in the larger Jewish communities, such as Venice, Mantua, Padua, Modena, Ferrara, Leghorn, and elsewhere. Jewish students also attended general higher schools, mainly medical colleges. Reflective of the cultural tendencies among the Jews of Italy during the Renaissance period is a proposal circulated in all Italian Jewish communities by one David Provenzale of Mantua in 1564, to establish a Jewish university. It was to be a sort of combination yeshivah and university for advanced study of Hebrew, Bible, the Oral Law, Jewish philosophy, good speech and good writing, as well as Italian, general philosophy, mathematics, astrology, and medicine. In such an institution, the proposal stated, Jewish students would feel at ease and would not be influenced by their Christian environment, a comment suggesting that there was at the time some concern about assimilation and possibly conversion. The stress on good speech and good language, applied to both Hebrew and Italian, is particularly illuminating. Good, grammatical, and well-styled Hebrew seems to have been highly valued. The period's Hebrew documents evince great care in writing and editing. Fondness for Hebrew language and literature was widespread. Shabbetai Ḥayyim *Marini, a physician, must have been convinced that he would have a substantial reading audience when he translated Ovid's *Metamorphoses* into Hebrew. Moses Ḥayyim *Luzzatto, one of the earliest pioneers of modern Hebrew literature, learned his Hebrew in his native town of Padua. But, Luzzatto's work excepted, the bulk of Hebrew writing in Italy in this period seems to have been that of poetasters, altogether lacking substance and originality. In the 18th century, with restrictions somewhat relaxed, the Talmud became once more the main subject of study in the yeshivot, and there seems to have been a lessening of the emphasis on general secular studies. But when, toward the end of the 18th century, new trends in Jewish education rocked Jewish communities in Germany and Eastern Europe (see next section), they caused only a ripple of controversy in Italy. When after the French Revolution emancipation and liberation from the ghetto came to Italy's Jewry, it was on the one hand quite ready for their concomitant educational and cultural "enlightenment," and on the other hand quite unable to withstand their corollary assimilating powers.

East Mediterranean and North African Lands

In the other Mediterranean lands traditional Jewish education continued in all sizable Jewish communities and moreover there was some intensification in Jewish life and schooling due to the influence of the expellees from Spain who settled in North Africa, the Balkans, and *Turkey. The Turkish cities *Constantinople and *Izmir had substantial Jewish communities in the 16th and 17th centuries and there is a reference to Constantinople as "a city of sages and scribes." A report from the mid-18th century by a Constantinople rabbi speaks of about 1,600 children in that city's *talmud torah*s of whom about 1,000 received community assistance in the form of clothing. Izmir had a Talmud Torah Society and a *talmud torah* in which *Shabbetai Ẓevi received his schooling. *Damascus in the first half of the 16th century had about 500 Jewish families and three synagogues. There was no yeshivah there but several teachers were teaching 30 or so pupils each. In 17th-century *Alexandria boys apparently studied to age 13, mostly the Pentateuch, and at their bar mitzvah they held forth on the portion of that week. There is reference to a yeshivah in Arta, Greece, in mid-16th century. *Aleppo in the 17th century had a *ḥeder* or *ḥadarim* maintained by two communities, one of which was composed of "*Francos," West European Jews who settled there. A large and important Jewish community in the eastern Mediterranean was that of *Salonika, which had a number of private *ḥadarim* in the early 16th century. These were later merged to form a central community school. A Talmud Torah Society was organized, buildings were put up, and the institution apparently flourished. In 1564 the *talmud torah* opened a clothing manufacturing shop, mainly to produce clothes for its pupils. In 1694 the Society also opened a printing press to supply textbooks for the *talmud torah* and for the yeshivah. This *talmud torah* and the yeshivah of Salonika became popular in the Balkan area and attracted students from other Greek towns, from Albania, and from some of the Greek islands. Out-of-town Jews contributed toward their support.

In the Maghreb countries the Jews spoke Arabic and Spanish but also taught their children in accord with established tradition, first at home – various phrases, benedictions, and prayers, and even reading. Later, in school, they learned the Torah, prayers, and some of the Oral Law as well. The Bible was studied much more than in the Ashkenazi lands. The majority of the Jewish population, however, was very poor and could not afford adequate schooling. A 1721 document from *Meknes, Morocco, bewails the fact that poverty drives many families to send children of six and seven into trade apprenticeship, appeals for the cessation of the practice, and enjoins tradesmen from accepting for employment children below the age of 13. Even under these difficult conditions Jewish literacy seems to have been impressive to the non-Jew. A Christian minister, Lancelot Addison, in describing the life of Maghreb Jews in his book *The Present State of the Jews* (London, 1675), states that early in life children are taught at home some Hebrew terms of daily use and from age 5 to 13 they attend school. According to Addison, "there is no boy in the world who can at the age of thirteen give such an accurate account of the laws of his faith as can the Jewish boy."

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[Elijah Bortniker]

THE MODERN PERIOD, 1800–1939

General

The political emancipation of Jews in 19th-century Europe was associated with the so-called "Enlightenment" (Haskalah), in the educational and cultural spheres. Its effects differed in the various European lands, depending upon the local culture and politics, and on the numerical strength and the social and economic status of the Jewish populations.

Italy and Western Europe

The small French Jewry, formally organized as a consistory, opened two schools in Paris, one for boys (1819) and one for girls (1821), which were shortly afterward taken over by the municipality. Besides the general, secular subjects they offered a very limited program of Jewish studies. Additional schools of the same type came into being as the Jewish population increased, in Paris and in several other cities, particularly in southern France. After mid-century, however, most Jewish families began sending their children to the government schools. Supplementary religious instruction was at a minimum. In Alsace and Lorraine Jewish education was more intensive, but here too it became mainly supplementary by the beginning of the 20th century. Even more precipitous was the decline of Jewish education in Italy, where for centuries prior to the French Revolution a well-organized system of both elementary and advanced Jewish schools was in operation. Many small communities were virtually depleted of Jews by their migration to bigger cities, but here too a desertion of the Jewish schools took place, especially by those in the upper economic strata. About 1,600 pupils attended Jewish schools in 1901, mainly four-year elementary schools (some with two-year kindergartens, known in Italy as "*asili*"), accepted by the government authorities as fulfilling the legal requirements of elementary education. Jewish instruction was given in these schools for about one hour daily and consisted of reading, prayers, selections from the Torah, and a Jewish catechism in Italian. Older pupils received "religious instruction."

The rabbinical seminaries in France and Italy were similarly weak. The years 1827 and 1829 saw the establishment of such higher institutions of learning in Metz and in Padua. The Ecole Rabbinique moved to Paris in 1859, but continued to attract some students from the Alsace and Lorraine areas, and later, in the pre- and post-World War I periods, also from the East European Jews who settled in France. The Italian seminary, in its early years under the direction of Samuel David *Luzzatto, attracted a small group of eager young students, but declined after Luzzatto's death (1865). Removal of this Collegio Rabbinico to Rome (1865) did not improve its status. It was reinvigorated when it was again transferred, this time to Florence (1899), and came under the directorship of Samuel Hirsch *Margulies, chief rabbi of that city, who raised its level of scholarship and who introduced a Jewish nationalist spirit into it and into Italian Jewry.

In England, prior to the introduction of compulsory education (1870), Jews maintained schools of their own, some of which continued in existence for many years. When immigration brought many Jews from Eastern Europe, philanthropists established Jewish Free Schools for them in several cities. One of those in London was toward the end of the 19th century the largest school in England, with 3,000 pupils. Jewish studies were allotted limited time, no more than one hour a day. Some of the immigrants, displeased with this meager Jewish program, opened *ḥadarim* for supplementary instruction. Jews' College, for the training of ministers, was established in 1855. It had at all times a very limited enrollment.

The few Jewish schools that were founded in the 19th century in the Scandinavian countries closed their doors after the introduction of general compulsory education. Religious instruction preparing for confirmation became the accepted form of Jewish education. In Holland too, Jewish education was converted into this type of schooling, but here the Jewish community took it rather seriously, as did also the Dutch people their Christian religious instruction. After the enactment of the law of 1889, which permitted various religious groups to organize schools of their own to be supported by the government, Jewish full-time schools were opened in Amsterdam. Their program of Jewish studies was limited, but Jewish practices were strictly observed, and a Jewish spirit prevailed in them. Some private schools offered a more solid Jewish education. A rabbinical seminary, founded in 1808, began to train teachers as well as rabbis. A small Sephardi *bet midrash* likewise trained teachers and occasionally a rabbi.

Germany and Austria

The German lands present a more complex picture. Here emancipation and the "Enlightenment" brought about major changes in Jewish style of living and education, strong assimilationist tendencies, and considerable conversion. The old style *ḥadarim* were replaced by modern Jewish schools for those who did not wish to send their children to the general schools where an anti-Jewish attitude often prevailed. The number of these modern Jewish schools was rather small. Besides, their Jewish program was very meager: reading of prayers, some portions of the Bible translated into German, bits of Jewish history, mostly biblical, and religion and ethics. The traditional study of Mishnah and Talmud was abandoned, even in the secondary schools. After mid-century, when larger numbers began to enroll in the general educational institutions, supplementary schools came into being, from which students usually withdrew after the age of 13. Some religious instruction was also given in the general schools to Jewish students.

There was, however, a movement in Germany that countered these tendencies. Samson Raphael *Hirsch opened a coeducational school in Frankfurt (1855) offering a substantial program of Jewish studies, including Hebrew, Bible, and some Talmud, as well as the general subjects programmed after the pattern of the government or private German schools. A similar institution was opened in Fuerth (1862) after the previously existing Jewish school in that city was made nonsectarian. The Orthodox element, following Hirsch's approach, proved an anti-assimilationist force of considerable strength throughout the 19th century and in the early 20th. Germany also was a haven for many Jewish young men from Poland and Russia who, unable to gain admittance into the Russian universities, came for their higher education to Germany whose language they partly knew via Yiddish. Waves of emigration from Russia to the United States likewise passed through Germany. The students and migrants contributed to an ideological ferment that made Germany, in spite of the decline of its Jewish educational system for the many, a forum for live debates and discussions and study of Jewish religio-cultural life and Jewish issues.

On the higher level of Jewish studies German Jewry made a substantial contribution to scholarship through the establishment in the 19th century of several outstanding rabbinical seminaries. In 1854 the Jewish Theological Seminary was established in Breslau with Zacharias *Frankel at its head. It was a modernly organized institution, open to critical scholarship, yet traditionally oriented, in accord with Frankel's theory of "positive historical Judaism." The historian Heinrich *Graetz was one of the institution's early teachers, and many important Judaic scholars received their higher education in it.

The Higher School for Jewish Science (Hochschule fuer die Wissenschaft des Judentums) was opened in Berlin in 1872 and under Abraham *Geiger's influence came to represent Reform Judaism. However not all of its scholars were followers of Geiger's views, and it included among its teachers strictly observant talmudists and Zionist nationalists. An Orthodox rabbinical seminary (Rabbiner Seminar fuer das orthodoxe Judentum) was also established in Berlin in 1883 by Azriel *Hildesheimer, and it, too, soon became a school of high scholastic standing. These three rabbinical seminaries continued in existence until World War II.

In the German-speaking areas of the Austrian Empire, Jewish education resembled that of Germany. Although the Vienna Jewish community became numerically large, Jewish education declined. Again as in Germany, a rabbinical seminary was established in Vienna in 1893 which maintained high standards of scholarship. This, too, existed until the eve of World War II. The Hungarian part of the Empire had two paths of development, an assimilationist tendency in one section of the population and a strong Orthodox one in another. The latter elements gave their children an intensive Jewish education of the traditional type, as reflected in many yeshivot, some in rather small communities. A modern rabbinical seminary was established in Budapest in 1877.

The situation was different in Polish-Ukrainian Galicia, home of about half of the Empire's Jewish population. Here developments resembled those in Poland and Russia. Most of the government schools for Jewish children which were organized under the directorship of Herz *Homberg at the end of the 18th century closed in the first decade of the 19th. The only remaining modern type Jewish schools were the one founded by the esteemed educator Joseph *Perl in Tarnopol which was supervised by rabbis and gained the confidence of many traditional Jews, and a high school in Brody. The number of Jewish children attending government general schools increased slowly and reached some 78,000 in 1900. A new type of Jewish nationalist school (see below, Eastern Europe) made its appearance in the last decades of the century. However most Jewish boys continued receiving their instruction in the old style *ḥadarim*.

Eastern Europe

Western ideas began penetrating into the Polish-Russian domain after a lag of some decades. In Poland, contiguous to Germany and with many German contacts, the "Enlightenment" first reached the more prosperous and worldly Jewish circles who believed that talmudic training was obscurantist, that the educational system maintained by the communities was backward, and that the cure for these ills was stress on the Polish language and a school program similar to that in the Polish schools. The government, too, was interested in this educational issue, its aim being polonization. A similar situation obtained somewhat later in Russia where the government attempted a russification of the Jewish school and tried to destroy the *ḥeder* and the yeshivah. Many Jewish assimilationists in both Poland and Russia supported the government efforts. Even some of the non-assimilationist *maskilim* cooperated with the government, often not realizing its ulterior motives. Isaac Baer *Levinsohn advocated a revolutionary change in Jewish life, with return to such occupations as agriculture and manual trades, and, educationally, a modernization of the program of Jewish studies, and the introduction of secular subjects, particularly the Russian language and civics. He believed that the government intended to improve the status of the Jews. The government exploited this trend of thought and tried to change the *ḥeder* system under the direction of the rabbi and educator Max *Lilienthal, who was invited from Germany, first to administer a modern school in Riga (1840) and soon (1841) commissioned by the government to establish a chain of modern schools throughout the Pale of Settlement. Most of the Jewish population opposed Lilienthal's enterprise. After a few years Lilienthal himself became convinced of the government's ulterior objective of russification of Jewry and he immigrated to the United States. A number of these new schools continued to function but the majority of the Jews resisted the attempt to convert the *ḥeder* into a school and the *melammed* into a teacher and remained faithful to their traditional style of schooling.

The "enlighteners" nevertheless were gaining ground, even if slowly. Levinsohn's ideas of better organized and graded curricula and Lilienthal's modern practices and organization proved attractive to many groups. Westernized Jewish elementary and secondary schools began to appear in various communities. In the 1860s the newly formed "Society for the Promotion of Culture among the Jews of Russia" became influential in limited circles. At first this Society stressed knowledge of the Russian language and Russian culture, but toward the end of the century it came under the influence of the movement for the revival of the Hebrew language that was spreading among the Ḥovevei Zion and the intelligentsia. The revival of Hebrew as a national tongue became a passionate ideal in numerous nuclei of the large Diaspora of Russian Jewry. Limited though they were in numbers, these small groups soon began to exercise considerable influence in their communities. The search for effective ways to spread the knowledge of Hebrew led to the evolution at the turn of the century of a new type of Jewish school known as the *ḥeder metukkan* (improved *ḥeder*) that derived its inspiration from Jewish nationalism, and which rapidly developed into an educational movement. Its leadership included active Zionists, like *Weizmann and *Dizengoff, the poet *Bialik and others of similar stature and status in the Russian Jewish community. *Aḥad ha-Am spoke of the "invasion" of the school by Hebrew, the national language. The early *ḥadarim* of this "improved" kind were founded in the south of Russia – in the Kiev area, in Bessarabia, and in Odessa – and soon spread throughout the Pale of Settlement as well as in Austrian Galicia and sections of Romania. The movement proved a powerful intellectual and administrative stimulus. Men, and women, began studying educational programming and method and successfully organized and taught in the new schools. Ḥayyim Aryeh *Zuta authored a curriculum for this type of school. Isaac Epstein, linguist and psychologist, pioneered in the method of instruction which became known as *Ivrit be-Ivrit* (also referred to as the "natural method"). Samuel Leib *Gordon, later to gain renown as a popular biblical commentator, opened a *ḥeder metukkan* in Warsaw in 1903, and soon afterwards a similar school was opened by Ḥayyim Kaplan which continued in existence until the eve of World War II. Some of the "improved" *ḥadarim* were coeducational, but new schools for girls also made their appearance following the example of Pua Rakovsky's school in Warsaw, which gained considerable repute. A pioneer of the movement, Jehiel *Heilprin, organized a Hebrew kindergarten in Warsaw (1909), and as this enterprise was soon emulated in many other communities, Heilprin opened "Froebel courses" for the training of kindergarten teachers. Efforts to establish a training institution to provide teachers for the "improved" schools were made as early as the 1880s. These failed due to government opposition, but finally, in 1907, the Society for the Promotion of Culture succeeded in opening "Pedagogic Courses" in Grodno under the direction of Aaron Cohenstam in which all subjects were taught, at least partly, in Hebrew. The students were recruited in large part from the circles of yeshivah young men caught in the nationalist spirit. A more limited program of teacher training, including summer seminars, was later started in Odessa. The teachers themselves began to organize under the leadership of P. Shifman in 1906 for educational as well as for professional-economic purposes. A teachers' association was also formed in Galicia under the leadership of S. *Schiller, with the aim of strengthening and guiding the "improved school." Many new textbooks appeared during this period as well as Hebrew publications for children, youth, and adults. The Hebrew language was being revived as a modern language, even if in limited circles. Some Orthodox elements opposed this trend, maintaining that the sacred tongue (*leshon kodesh*) must not be turned to "profane" use. Assimilationist elements were likewise critical, as they were of the entire nationalist-Zionist movement. The revival of Hebrew however kept gaining ground. The term Hebrew School (*bet sefer ivri*) that crept into use reflected the new educational trend.

While the old style *ḥadarim* in Eastern Europe declined in quality, though not in enrollment, during the 19th century, some of the yeshivot saw a remarkable development, this in spite of government interference and of the indifference to them of the modern, so-called enlightened Jewish groups. Many of the leaders of Russian Jewry during the period under discussion were products of these yeshivot, in which high scholarship and originality raised the repute of talmudic studies and added dignity to those engaged in them. The community of the small country of Lithuania pioneered in this respect when the Volozhin yeshivah was established in 1803 and from the very start introduced innovations in the method of study, considerable freedom in students' choice of tractates to be covered, and later the introduction of some general subjects as well, such as history and mathematics. Yeshivot were founded in the following decades in Mir, Telz, Grodno, Radin, and elsewhere. A number of these were centers of distinctive Jewish philosophies, like the yeshivah of Slobodka (a suburb of Kovno), founded by Rabbi Israel *Lipkin, where his views on ethics (*Musar*) became a major subject, or the Tomkhei Temimim yeshivah of the Lubavitch ḥasidim where ḥasidic ideology was stressed. Modern type yeshivot too made their appearance, which included general studies as an integral part of the program, like the yeshivah in Odessa, founded in 1865 and reorganized in 1906 under the directorship of Rabbi Chaim *Tchernowitz (Rav Tza'ir) into an important institution of Jewish scholarship. The poet Bialik and the historian Joseph *Klausner served for brief periods as instructors in this Odessa yeshivah. Another prominent yeshivah, traditional but modernized in its program and organization of studies, was the Torah v'Daas, founded by Rabbi Isaac Jacob *Reines in Lida in 1905; it included in its program Hebrew grammar, Bible, Jewish history as well as Russian, and several general subjects in the humanities. On the eve of World War I the enrollment in some 30 yeshivot in Russia, which at the time included the Baltic states, much of Poland and Bessarabia, was about 10,000 students.

The Balkans and the Lands of Islam

In the Balkans, and in the Muslim lands of the Eastern Mediterranean and North Africa, an important factor in modernization of Jewish education appeared in the second half of the 19th century, that of the *Alliance Israélite Universelle (AIU). This organization was an expression of the Jewish group consciousness of French Jews, who, while themselves strongly assimilationist, yet felt the responsibility incumbent upon them to help their coreligionists in these underdeveloped lands. The AIU began its activities in the political field but after about 1860 concentrated mainly on education. It was instrumental in westernizing to a great extent some of the Oriental-style primitive *kuttabs* and *talmud torahs* of the old *Ottoman Empire and the Maghreb countries as well as in *Persia and the Balkans. Its first schools were established in *Tetuán, Morocco, in 1862, in *Tangiers in 1864, in *Damascus and *Baghdad in 1865. Soon a large network of schools, numbering on the eve of World War I more than 100, came into being. To train teachers for these schools the AIU founded the Ecole Normale Israélite Orientale in Paris (1867). Students were recruited from the AIU schools in the various countries and their study in Paris was subsidized. The AIU educational institutions stressed the French language and culture, but Hebrew, Bible, and other Jewish subjects were taught in them as well, the extent of the latter varying in different communities and sometimes depending on the personal opinions and sentiments of the local school directors. Other Jewish schools in the communities where the AIU operated were influenced by this educational enterprise. Old *ḥadarim* underwent considerable modernization. In Izmir, Turkey, a society was formed (1869) to help the education of the poor, mainly in order to ward off the influence of the missionary schools. In the same city regulations were passed earlier in the century prohibiting craftsmen from employing boys who do not know the three daily services. School societies came into being in many other cities of the Muslim lands. One of the largest schools, modern in its organization and program, was founded in *Baghdad in 1865. Recognizing that withdrawal into Jewish studies alone is disadvantageous, it introduced the study of the languages of the country, Arabic and Turkish. In Bulgaria, Hebrew as a spoken language gained a foothold in some schools. The trend reached also some non-Alliance schools in the North African lands of *Egypt, Tripolitania, *Tunisia, and *Algeria. Education of girls, too, became acceptable practice during this period. A girls' school was established in *Mogador, Morocco, as early as 1840. Later in the century a number of such schools, as well as several kindergartens, were opened in Egypt and in *Turkey.

A German society, the *Hilfsverein der deutschen Juden, founded in 1901, also entered the educational area of activities in the Balkan countries and in the Middle East. On the eve of World War I it maintained some 50 schools in these regions, including 29 in *Palestine.

The Period between the Two World Wars

The political upheavals that followed World War I brought about radical changes in the fate of the Jews of Eastern Europe. The Russian Revolution cut off Russian Jewry from the rest of the world and suppressed both Jewish religious and Hebrew-nationalist education. Yiddish was recognized as the language of the Jews in Russia, but in fact Yiddish schooling too was discouraged and was rapidly reduced to near the vanishing point (see below).

A second major outcome of the war was the establishment in Eastern Europe of a chain of new or enlarged states from the fragments of the broken Austrian and reduced Russian empires. The majority of Europe's Jews lived in these states, and they were recognized as national minorities entitled to national-minority status and to specific rights in the educational and cultural spheres. But the new states, as yet uncertain of, and jealous of their new national sovereignty, did not treat their minorities generously, and, steeled in the old tradition of antisemitism, the Jews found themselves a discriminated group. At the same time the Zionist ideal, which in the pre-War period inspired only narrow strata of the Jewish population, suddenly became, on the heels of the Balfour Declaration (1917) and the British Mandated National Home authorized by the League of Nations, a hope inspiring near-reality. This conjuncture of circumstances strengthened the Hebraist-Zionist trend in Jewish education both in the secular and religious groups. (It also encouraged the creation by the radical circles of a nationalist Yiddish movement.) The extreme Orthodox, non-Zionist elements resorted to a passive withdrawal into the traditional life and education, slightly modified to meet contemporary needs. During this period the cultural life of Jewry became strongly politicized, the schools and various courses having come under the auspices or sponsorship of Jewish political parties.

The Orthodox Agudat Israel maintained or supported a network of schools, "Ḥorev," which included *ḥadarim, talmud torah*s, and yeshivot, some of them full day schools in which both general subjects and Jewish subjects were taught. In the mid-1930s, "Ḥorev" schools in Poland numbered about 350 and had an enrollment of over 47,000 pupils. Another network, of schools for girls, grew out of the activities of a Cracow seamstress, Sarah Schnirer (1883–1938). Having noted the neglect of Jewish education for girls, she organized a group of girls into a class which eventually developed into a school. Its success encouraged the establishment of similar institutions, designated as Beth Jacob Schools, in many other communities. In 1938 they numbered 230 in Poland including several day schools, with about 27,000 pupils. In 1929 Agudat Israel took over the sponsorship of these institutions. The Mizrachi Zionist religious party sponsored the Yavneh network of schools. These included kindergarten and elementary day schools and, on the secondary level, mostly supplementary schools. In 1938 the Yavneh system had 235 schools of all types with an enrollment of over 23,000. A major difference between the Agudah and Mizrachi school systems was the attitude to and the use of the Hebrew language. The extreme Orthodox elements had not yet made peace with Hebrew as a modern language. In their view the language of conversation and instruction was to be Yiddish, the language of the majority of Jews in Eastern Europe and the one in which many prominent rabbis had preached. The Mizrachi leaders, on the other hand, with their Zionist philosophy, accepted Hebrew as the language of the National Home in Ereẓ Israel and the desired language of the people in daily life everywhere as well as the language of the sacred lore.

Another large school system was that of Tarbut. In these schools students were imbued in the Jewish nationalist spirit and were oriented towards *ḥalutziyyut* (pioneering) in Palestine. The Bible was the core of the Hebrew traditional program, and modern Hebrew literature provided the contemporary nationalist orientation. The Tarbut educational institutions included many day schools, both elementary and secondary. By and large the students came from the middle and upper middle classes, the poor being unable to afford them. Nevertheless the Tarbut schools, which in 1918 numbered 50 with 2,500 pupils, grew by 1935 to 270 with about 38,000 students, scattered throughout the Baltic states, Poland, and Romania.

There were also some schools not formally identified with these major trends in Poland and Lithuania, but that were actually under the same type of religious or secular sponsorship. Thus in Latvia Agudat Israel schools were known as "Moriah" and the Mizrachi schools "Tushiah" were similar in their Hebraic-religious program to the "Yavneh" schools in Poland. In several Bessarabian towns and elsewhere there were secondary schools not associated with the Tarbut network, but following virtually the same program. Aside from these major organized groups of schools private unaffiliated *ḥadarim* of the traditional type continued to function, mostly in Poland. These had, in the mid-1930s, an enrollment of some 50,000 boys.

The above school systems all had their teacher-training schools: the Beth Jacob school in Cracow (established 1925); the *bet midrash* "Taḥkemoni" in Warsaw (1920), which trained rabbis and teachers for the Mizrachi's Yavneh schools, and a similar institution in Vilna; and three Tarbut teacher seminaries, in Vilna (1921), Lvov (1922), and Grodno (1926). In Warsaw there was also a government school for teachers of the "Mosaic Faith" which became Hebraically oriented during this period.

The decline in the economic positions of the Jewish communities brought about considerable enrollment in Jewish trade schools and the study of agriculture in preparation for Palestine. One of the Tarbut schools offered courses in agriculture as did some of the yeshivot of Yavneh. The *Ort trade schools too were popular. In Poland alone in 1934 Jewish trade schools had an enrollment of about 5,000.

The yeshivot suffered greatly from the war, some having closed and others being forced to move. To recover from this decline a Va'ad Yeshivot (Yeshivot Committee) was organized under the leadership of R. Ḥayyim Ozer *Grodzinski, and numerous yeshivot and "junior yeshivot" (*yeshivot ketannot*, preparatory to the yeshivot proper) were established within a few years by this committee as well as by other groups or individual rabbis. In 1937 there were in Poland 136 yeshivot with some 12,000 students. Outstanding among these new institutions in its organization, physical facilities, and scholarship, was the Yeshivat Ḥakhmei Lublin (the Yeshivah of the Lublin Scholars) founded in 1930 by R. Meir *Shapira, who had previously established yeshivot in several towns in which he served as rabbi and who gained renown for his passionate advocacy of "the page a day" idea (*daf yomi*), that every Jew study one page of the Talmud daily.

In Central and Western Europe the Jewish educational trend continued much in the same direction as it did before World War I. Here and there new schools were founded, and some old schools closed their doors. In Antwerp there were two large day schools. A new day school was opened in Paris. In Gateshead, England a yeshivah was founded in 1927 which attracted students from the West European countries, especially after the beginning of the flight of Jews from Germany and the other lands threatened by the Nazis. Most Jewish learning however was in supplementary schools of limited hours and programs. In the general schools for Jewish students that continued functioning in Germany, England, Austria, and elsewhere time allotted to Jewish studies also remained minimal. On the eve of and immediately after the Nazi rise to power, study of Hebrew became widespread among the Jewish youth of Europe.

In the Muslim lands the Alliance Israélite continued to maintain or support schools, although their number began to decline in the 1930s. There still were 65 AIU schools in 1938, of which 33 were in one country, Morocco. In *Iraq certain restrictions were imposed on Jewish education after the country gained its independence in 1932, but a substantial number of schools continued functioning in *Baghdad and in several other cities. In the East Mediterranean Arab lands the schools took on a more modern Western character while the old style *ḥadarim* declined. In the Maghreb lands the *ḥadarim* and yeshivot remained numerous and popular.

All these educational activities of the period between the two world wars – modest in some of the countries discussed above, extensive and vibrant with vitality in others – were terminated in 1939 or soon after when the Germans invaded nearly all of Europe and gained control of North Africa. Even where the Jews were not physically destroyed as in Italy and the North African lands, the restrictions imposed upon them and the dread and uncertainty in which they lived during the German occupation suppressed their educational and cultural functions. The largest and most creative Jewries of Eastern Europe were almost totally destroyed and with them disappeared centuries-old centers of Jewish life, culture, and scholarship. While about two and one half million Jews remained alive in the Soviet Union after the Nazi Holocaust, the discriminatory regime deprived them of opportunities for the free exercise of their religio-cultural life. In this country there was practically no Jewish education of any kind. Fortunately the other large Jewish population centers on the American continent were unaffected by the ravages of World War II. One-half of the world Jewish population of 13 million was to be found on the American continent. The United States became the largest Jewish population center with 5,750,000 Jews who have created institutions for Jewish learning for both young and old.

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[Elijah Bortniker]

JEWISH EDUCATION IN EUROPE (WAR & POSTWAR)

The War Years

In Nazi-occupied Europe normal Jewish education practically ceased to exist. In Western Europe the Germans initially insisted that Jewish children be removed from general schools and educated in Jewish schools. Later, however, when the "Final Solution" was initiated, Jewish education was completely disrupted, particularly in Eastern Europe, where it was officially prohibited. In spite of this ban, clandestine classes in Hebrew and Yiddish were held, under highly dangerous conditions, in most larger ghettos such as Lodz, Warsaw, Vilna, and others. They continued until the liquidation of the ghettos themselves (see *Holocaust). Jewish schools developed during these years in Italy, where all Jewish children had to leave government schools.

The Period Since World War II

The survivors of the war gathered in Displaced Persons camps. About 250,000 Jews from Eastern and Central Europe were in D.P. camps in Italy, Austria, and Germany. Few children had survived, but for those who did come back from their various hiding places, schools were opened. An education board consisting of representatives of the Jewish Agency, the Joint Distribution Committee, and the DPs was set up in 1947. Work had to start from scratch. Books were reprinted, teachers were brought from Palestine, a complete network of schools was set up, serving all the camps and Jewish communities in the larger towns. Soldiers of the *Jewish Brigade played an important role in this work.

The camps were emptied with the establishment of the State of Israel in 1948. The vast majority of the Jews in the D.P. camps left for Israel. Those that remained behind settled in various communities in Central and Western Europe. By that time Jews in Eastern European countries could no longer freely leave their place of residence. New Jewish communities grew up in Eastern Europe, whose educational program depended on policies of the governments in their respective countries of residence. No serious educational program was developed in any of the Communist countries except for Hungary and, for a short period of time, in Poland. The Theological Seminary was reopened in Budapest. A primary and secondary Jewish day school was also started, which continues to function to the present time. The total number of children involved in Hungary, however, never exceeded 200–300 out of a total Jewish population of 80,000.

The education program in Poland developed after the era of Stalin and with the return of Jewish refugees from the Soviet Union. Four Yiddish schools were opened for the returning refugees. The language of instruction was Polish, but Yiddish and Yiddish culture were taught. These schools were closed with the reduction of the Jewish community in Poland through emigration and because of a change in government policy after 1967.

There were no Jewish schools in Romania, Czechoslovakia, or Yugoslavia. Very few children received a supplementary Jewish education in any of these countries.

With the collapse of Communism and the dissolution of the Soviet Union, Jewish communal life in Eastern Europe underwent a marked revival in parallel with mass emigration. Community organizations now offered a wide range of religious, social, and cultural services, including Jewish education. In 2005 the Federation of Jewish Communities of the Former Soviet Union operated 54 kindergartens, 72 elementary day schools, 15 high schools, and five universities in 65 cities, with a total enrollment of over 15,000 youngsters. In addition it had 15 yeshivot with 700 students and over 100 Sunday schools in 13 countries. The Federation also operated a teacher training institute and a resource center turning out educational materials.

In Hungary there were just three Jewish day schools and a high school in Budapest in 2005, serving a population of around 80,000 Jews countrywide, of which only a few thousand were affiliated to the Orthodox or Neolog community. However, it continued to operate the only rabbinical seminary in Eastern Europe. In Bulgaria formal Jewish education was received at a state secondary school where Hebrew and Jewish history studies were compulsory, while a few Sunday schools were also in operation. Other countries of Eastern Europe, with their small Jewish populations, were also making efforts, whether in *talmud torah* or Sunday schools, to perpetuate Jewish education.

In postwar Western Europe a new awareness spread among the surviving leadership that education is the foundation of Jewish communal life.

Several factors contributed toward the achievements in cultural reconstruction.

a) The respective governments were sympathetic to the Jewish communities and many helped in the maintenance of the schools. The Swedish government provided grants for the day schools and so did the governments of France, Belgium, Holland, Denmark, Finland, Germany, and Italy.

b) American Jewish aid, through the Joint Distribution Committee, heavily subsidized educational reconstruction in all Western European countries. The German government paid compensation channeled through the *Conference on Jewish Material Claims against Germany. These funds made it possible to build new schools or to renovate old ones in practically all larger Jewish communities.

c) The creation of the State of Israel was an enormous stimulus for Jewish education.

d) The Jewish Agency through its emissary-teachers played an important role in upgrading the level of education throughout Western Europe.

As a result of all these factors there were in 1969 over 40 day schools, some in communities where none existed before the last war, such as Stockholm, Madrid, Zurich, and Basle.

Parallel with the building program went an effort to train teachers and to prepare textbooks. Individual teachers were sent for training to Israel or to England and teacher-training programs were set up in Italy, Holland, and Belgium, the last one recognized by the Belgian government.

The Claims Conference encouraged the printing of textbooks, some of which were translated and adapted into various European languages.

Israel educators provided in-service training for European Jewish teachers.

Jewish education in 1970 embraced approximately 50% of all children of school age in Western Europe. Out of every four children receiving some Jewish education, three attended supplementary schools and one a Jewish day school. The underlying approach in all these schools was based on religious teaching. Only one day school in Western Europe (Brussels) declared itself to be non-religious. Even this school had to introduce the teaching of festivals and Jewish practices because of the demand of parents. Almost all schools taught Hebrew as a language and were Israel oriented.

The day school system continued to thrive into the 21st century, but with varying levels of enrollment. In Paris there were over 20 such schools, including kindergartens, primary and secondary schools, and religious seminaries, but only 4% of French Jewish children were enrolled in these frameworks, despite the influx of tradition-minded North African immigrants that made France the third largest Jewish community in the world. There was also a rabbinical seminary ordaining rabbis. In Antwerp, most of the community's children were enrolled in seven Jewish schools, receiving an intensive religious education, while another four such schools operated in Brussels.

There were three Jewish primary schools in Germany in 2005, but with low enrollment, and a Jewish high school in Berlin (opened in 1993). In Switzerland, nine schools were operating in five cities. Two Jewish day schools operate in Amsterdam, one each for the traditional communities (primary and secondary school) and the ultra-Orthodox community (primary and secondary school). Furthermore, there are three institutes of higher learning – a *kolel*, a seminary, and the Institute of Jewish Studies in Leiden. In Italy Jewish schools were to be found in Rome, Milan, Florence, Genoa, Livorno, and Trieste.

For Education in Israel see *Israel, State of.

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[Stanley Abramovitch / Fred Skolnik (2nd ed.)]

YIDDISH EDUCATION

In Czarist Russia

Yiddish had been the language of instruction in the *ḥeder* and the *talmud torah* for as long as it had been the vernacular. However, in recent centuries the language itself was introduced into those institutions as a new subject, i.e., the art of writing. The instructor in this subject bore the designation of "*Shrayber*" (scribe). Ordinances of communities and societies determined his duties and assigned specific periods of time during which he was to "write" with his boys. This was a new tendency in Jewish education, a sort of secularism, since the "*Brifnshteler*" (as the textbooks were known) introduced new content into the subject of writing.

In the first quarter of the 19th century several of these *Brifnshteler* were stereotyped reprints of older editions. There is a list of 60 such letter composers. In 1826 there appeared a *Brifnshteler* by Abraham Leon Dor which was reprinted in 1843, 1861, 1868, 1870, 1873, 1876, and 1882. In 1850 his son, Hirsh Leon Dor, issued "letter learning," a new *Brifnshteler,* in which he included various kinds of letters, customs, business letters, and arithmetic. This work, too, appeared in several editions. Gradually these works acquired the character of reading textbooks. They introduced anecdotes and fables, ideas for entertainment and humor that made reading "enjoyable," even some elements of arithmetic and geography. These scribes gained entry into all types of schools and in small towns they organized groups and conducted systematic instruction for girls. The method of instruction of these groups carried the name *Shura Greizel.* In this manner the study of "Yiddish writing" became an attempt at secular education in Yiddish. At first the Russian school authorities tolerated this study, but after 1863 they began to oppose it and finally prohibited it.

A further development in the study of Yiddish was the establishment of the "Sabbath and Evening Schools" for the young (1859). In the 1860s such schools existed in Vilna, Berdichev, Zhitomir, Minsk, and other cities. The official language in these schools was Russian, but lectures were also given in Yiddish on nature study, geography, and Yiddish literature. The Russian government mistrusted these schools, closed some of them promptly, and authorization of new schools was obtained with great difficulty. Nevertheless the number of these Sabbath and evening schools grew and toward the end of the 19th century such schools were found in Vilna, Homel (Gomel), Grodno, Kovno (Kaunas), Yekaterinoslav, Kishinev, Kharkov, Lodz, and elsewhere. Some of these bore a cultural-philanthropic character; but there were also schools on which the teachers and leaders bestowed an ideological character, and they valued the role of the Yiddish language in the program. In the officially required Russian subjects Yiddish was used as an aid language. In this fashion did the Sabbath and evening schools prepare the ground for schools for secular studies in the mother tongue of the children. Schools in the Yiddish language were not legalized by the education authority, and this led to the opening of schools under disguised designations (as in Mir, Dokshitsy, Warsaw). Under various legal excuses the study of the Yiddish language was carried on in the authorized schools. Out of the 53 schools which the Society for the Diffusion of Enlightenment (*Mefiẓei Haskalah*) subsidized in 1909, there were 27 schools that included Yiddish in their programs, of which 16 were girls' schools, 3 boys', and 8 coeducational. In 1910 there was a school in Kremenchug which conducted instruction of all the subjects in Yiddish. In 1911, in the town of Demievka (a suburb of Kiev) a collective *ḥeder* established by several progressive teachers, who obtained certificates of *melammedim*, was legalized, and all the subjects of study were taught in Yiddish. In 1912 teachers and community leaders converted the Warsaw school *Ḥinnukh Yeladim* into one of general studies in the Yiddish language. Also the modernized *talmud torahs* in the country gradually introduced Yiddish into their program.

When World War I broke out, Jewish refugees from Poland and Lithuania flooded the cities of central Russia and the Ukraine. The Yiddishist teachers and the Progressive Democratic organizations began establishing schools for the refugees' children where instruction was carried on in Yiddish, under the approval of the new law of 1914. By 1916 there were several dozens of schools in which Yiddish was the language of instruction. Teachers adopted new methods of instruction, and they created suitable textbooks for the pupils and pedagogic literature for the teachers. The Russian Revolution of 1917–18 brought about great changes in Jewish education.

The Ukraine and Belorussia

During the brief existence of the "Jewish Ministry" and after its liquidation there were under the leadership of the "*Kultur Lige*" 63 active elementary schools, three secondary, and dozens of kindergartens and evening schools, all conducted in Yiddish. In 1920 the Ukraine experienced the Bolshevik upheaval and the People's Commissariat for Nationalities of the Soviet regime became the school authority over the Jewish educational institutions in the Ukraine, Belorussia, and Russia proper.

The next decade, 1921–31, was very productive in the Soviet Yiddish schools. In the Ukraine there were in 1931 a total of 831 schools with 94,000 students; Belorussia had 334 schools with 33,000 students; and there were also a number of high schools; in all, 160,000 children were given schooling in Yiddish. In the year 1933–34 the attitude of the authorities to Yiddish underwent a radical change and a decline set in; the number of schools diminished annually, reaching a catastrophic low level on the eve of World War II.

Poland

With liberation and unification of the Polish Republic a strong school movement developed among the Jews of that country. In 1920 Warsaw already had 14 all-Yiddish schools with 49 classes and 14 kindergartens, with a total of 2,000 children. Similar developments took place throughout the provinces. At a conference in 1921 attended by 376 delegates, the Central Yiddish School Organization (CYSHO) was formed, which included as its affiliates Yiddish schools of all trends. In 1921 there were, in 44 Polish cities, 69 Yiddish elementary schools and 35 kindergartens, having altogether 381 classes with 13,457 children.

The Polish government took a hostile position to these new secular Yiddish schools, but nevertheless freed their pupils from the obligation of attending other schools to meet the requirements of compulsory education. Various absurd police accusations were leveled against the schools. Schools were closed and teachers arrested or removed. Nevertheless the network of these CYSHO schools grew. In 1925 their numbers reached 91 elementary schools with 455 classes and 16,364 pupils; 3 secondary schools with 780 pupils. In 1929 there were 114 elementary schools with 17,380 pupils, 46 kindergartens, 52 evening schools, 3 secondary schools, and 1 teachers' training seminary, a grand total of 216 institutions with 24,000 pupils. The Polish government became ever more reactionary and antisemitic, which resulted in a quantitative decline in the schools, but their quality kept improving. The character of the CYSHO school became crystallized; its educational approach included also the social and national upbringing of the child, attachment to his people, and an attitude of social responsibility. The methodology of instruction was in consonance with these objectives. The pride of the CYSHO school movement was the children's sanatorium named after V. *Medem. This was a great creative institution with many pedagogic achievements. On the eve of World War II it had 250 children, and the institution was open the entire year. The children and teachers were all killed by the Nazis.

The Educational and Cultural Union (Shul un Kultur Farband) of the right-wing Poale Zion and of the nonpartisan organizations tried to open Yiddish schools with a stress also on Hebrew and *Yiddishkeit.* In 1934–35 they had in Poland seven elementary schools with 818 children. The ideological and programmatic effect of this movement was minimal. The number of the religious schools was large, 2,560 schools with 171,000 pupils. These schools too conducted their program in Yiddish. Thus, over 200,000 children received their schooling in the Yiddish language.

Borderlands

The 1917–18 upheaval in Russia freed the countries of the borderland areas: Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia and, in part, also Romania. In these countries the Yiddish language schools went through the same development as in Poland. In 1934 there were in Lithuania 16 elementary schools with 1,555 pupils and 3 secondary schools with 420 students. In 1933 Latvia had 122 Yiddish schools with 6,000 children (45% of the total Jewish child population). The Fascist revolution destroyed these school systems in both lands. In 1934 Estonia had one Yiddish school with 80 children. For a time the Yiddish schools in these countries enjoyed the same status as government schools and were maintained by the state. In Bessarabia (Romania) there were 62 Yiddish elementary schools with 5,757 pupils. The decreed Rumanization of education gradually brought about their liquidation.

United States and Canada

The October 1910 conference of the Poale Zion formulated a policy for Yiddish National Radical Schools and soon afterward the first such school was opened in New York. In 1911 the National Workers' Farband formed a committee to organize and maintain these National Radical schools. This school program was also supported by the Socialist-Territorialists and by non-partisan groups. However, differences of opinion arose on the place of Hebrew in the curriculum. One school in the Bronx seceded from the National Radical movement and, after the death of *Shalom Aleichem, took on the designation of Sholem Aleichem School. In 1918 several schools of this type organized the Sholem Aleichem Folk Institute. The Farband likewise changed the designation of its schools to Jewish Folk Schools.

In 1915 a new type of school made its appearance. Members of the Jewish Socialist Federation opened a school in Harlem, New York, and a year later, one in Chicago. In 1916 the Conference of the Workmen's Circle decided to "demand of all its branches that they support the Socialist Yiddish Schools"; and in 1918 their convention declared that the school enterprise was the duty of the entire organization and of its Education Committee. Thus there came into being three different school organizations. The schools of the Workmen's Circle and of the Sholem Aleichem Institute put the stress on Yiddish language and literature and Jewish history; the Farband stressed Hebrew and national traditional upbringing. At the end of 1927 there were 103 Workmen's Circle schools with 6,000 pupils. In 1928 the Farband opened in Montreal a day school vis-à-vis the Folkshulen, which operated as an institution for supplementary education. By 1919 it had 559 pupils; the Peretz schools in Winnipeg had 600 pupils. In 1929 the Sholem Aleichem Institute conducted three schools in Chicago, three in Detroit including a secondary school, and the New York schools with an enrollment of 1,400 pupils. World War II upset the whole school system. In 1956 the picture was as follows: Workmen's Circle, 85 elementary and six secondary schools; the Farband, 57 elementary schools and seven day schools; Sholem Aleichem Institute, 16 elementary schools and five kindergartens. The International Order, a left-wing organization (no longer in existence), maintained a number of schools with an enrollment of approximately 4,000 as of 1939. In 1969 the various organizations had the following numbers: Workmen's Circle, a total of 50 institutions (kindergartens, elementary, and secondary) with 2,500 pupils; Farband, 21 schools with 1,700 pupils; Sholem Aleichem Institute, nine schools (five of them with pre-school educational programs) and, jointly with the Workmen's Circle, one secondary school.

All these schools faced extraordinary social and pedagogic problems in the early postwar period. The differences in the educational ideologies of these organizations were substantially reduced. Yet each continued its work on its own (with the exception of the joint secondary school and the teachers' seminary). Since that time the large majority of these schools have disappeared.

Latin American Countries

In most of the countries of Latin America with any appreciable Jewish community there were Yiddish schools of which the majority were secular. Such schools were established in Argentina (1917–1921), Brazil (1945), and Mexico (1924) and originally the language of instruction was Yiddish. The schools were oriented to a Yiddish Bundist ideology and in Argentina a teachers' seminary was also established which by 1955 had graduated 265 teachers to work in such schools and had 170 pupils in 1967. However, with the steady acculturation of the Jews the vernacular, by and large, replaced Yiddish as the language of instruction although the schools still styled themselves as Yiddish. The establishment of the State of Israel and particularly the Six-Day War in 1967 gave tremendous impetus to the study of Hebrew.

General

A few Yiddish language schools, all of them supplementary, are to be found in cities throughout the world under both ultra-Orthodox and secular auspices. In Israel, particularly in Jerusalem, there are many *ḥadarim* in which the language of instruction is Yiddish and in which the curriculum is hardly different from that of Eastern European *ḥadarim* of the Middle Ages. In most of the major yeshivot in Israel the language of instruction is Yiddish; the students, however, speak mainly Hebrew among themselves. In England, both in London and Manchester, there were Yiddish language schools associated with the ultra-Orthodox ḥasidic groups. In these schools a minimum of instruction in secular subjects was given in order to accord with the Compulsory Education Act.

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[Chaim S. Kazdan]

JEWISH EDUCATION IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Early National Period

During the colonial and early national periods, Jewish education was not regarded as a communal responsibility. Congregational life was led by volunteer trustees and non-ordained religious functionaries (*ḥazzanim*). Indeed, the first rabbi to settle in the United States did not arrive until 1840. While Jews acquired burial grounds, built synagogues for public worship, and established mechanisms for aiding the poor, education was not treated as a public concern. Tutoring in Hebrew language, prayers, and Torah (primarily reading and translating) was provided for a fee, most commonly by independent teachers. On occasion, congregations would contract with an instructor to provide education to indigent children.

In the generation that the American colonies became a nation, the most prominent Jewish religious figure in the United States was Gershom Mendes *Seixas. Congregation Shearith Israel in New York, at which Seixas received his education and which he served as religious leader, conducted an all-day school from 1755 to 1776 and, intermittently, through the early decades of the 19th century. The aim of this initiative was to provide both Hebrew and general studies under Jewish auspices, as an alternative to secular training under non-Jewish, sectarian auspices.

In the early national period, almost all schools in New York City, as elsewhere, were religious in character. "Common pay" (i.e., private) schools generally assumed the religious identity of their headmaster; charity or "free schools," supported by churches, could draw funds from the state. Through a bequest, Shearith Israel established a charity school named Polonies Talmud Torah, in 1803. Starting in 1811, the school achieved equal footing with the Protestant and Catholic schools in the city, benefiting from state financial assistance. In New York, state support of religiously sponsored charity schools continued until 1825; public schools were, gradually, to achieve a monopoly over state funding of education throughout the country.

Shearith Israel's inability to maintain a school on a continuing basis was not only a function of uncertain state financial support, but of an apparent disinclination of its members to enroll their children. This may, in part, have resulted from the lack of educational leadership on a sustained basis. For example, when Emanuel N. Carvalho, a well-qualified teacher who had come to New York from London, served as the school's headmaster, 1808–11, there was a well-subscribed, full day instructional program. When Carvalho moved to Charleston, the school experienced years of intermittent openings and closings, depending on the availability and ability of teaching personnel. The Polonies Talmud Torah eventually turned to the provision of supplementary education, holding sessions on Sunday morning and Tuesday and Thursday afternoons. Primary attention was given to prayers, Bible, preparation for bar mitzvah, and elements of Hebrew language and grammar.

In Charleston, home to the largest population of Jews in America in the early 19th century, the Jewish community allocated no funds for a school – parents had to rely, exclusively, on private tutors. Savannah's Mikveh Israel offered no congregationally sponsored religious education before 1853. With a modest population, rapid acculturation, and a negligible educational infrastructure, Jewish learning in the early national period was at a low ebb.

Emergence of Sunday Schools

As public, non-sectarian schools became increasingly predominant, many Christian Sunday schools, initially established by "benevolent societies" to provide poor children with general as well as Christian religious educational opportunity – and to keep them off the streets on Sunday – became strictly religious institutions. By 1838, there were 8,000 Christian schools of this kind in the United States. Consistent with this trend, American-born Rebecca *Gratz (1781–1869), member of a prominent Jewish family of merchants and community leaders in Philadelphia, aided in founding the Female Hebrew Benevolent Society (1819) and the Hebrew Sunday School Society (1838). Rebecca Gratz was convinced that religious instruction for all Jewish children was imperative, particularly in the face of Christian proselytizing.

One month after securing the approval of the Female Hebrew Benevolent Society for this initiative, the Hebrew Sunday School opened with 50 students and six teachers (including Gratz, who served as superintendent). The volunteer faculty consisted of women respected for their moral character and intelligence. From its inception, the Jewish Sunday School movement was, as its Protestant counterpart, a women's movement. Women founded, directed, and taught at the schools, starting with the Philadelphia prototype, and girls attended alongside boys. In America, children's religious education was considered part of the domain of women, and women thus required religious education to properly educate their children. Financial support came from the FHBS, private donors, and Mikveh Israel (Philadelphia's well-established Sephardi congregation). Parents who could afford to do so paid $2 per year, and an annual appeal was held at a festive public exam.

Gratz's Philadelphia-based efforts benefited from the assistance of the *ḥazzan* of Mikveh Israel, Isaac *Leeser. By 1845, Jewish Sunday schools had been established in a number of communities, including New York, Charleston, Cincinnati, and Richmond. As in the Philadelphia model, Saturday and Sunday schools established in other locales were conducted on a coeducational basis. Jewish Sunday schools reinforced the middle class values of public schools and Protestant Sunday schools: obedience, order, punctuality, cleanliness, and self-discipline. They embraced the Protestant division between universal morality (the domain of public education) and particularistic forms (the province of supplementary religious education).

Leeser, who championed Jewish traditionalism throughout his career, authored a *Catechism for Younger Children* (1839), used in many of the schools. The catechism opened with reflections on religion in general, before turning to the "Mosaic Religion" in particular. He affirmed the divine origin of the Torah and its correct interpretation by the sages; hence, the enduring imperative of both the moral and ceremonial law. The catechism concluded with Maimonides' 13 principles of faith.

Leeser also published a Hebrew Reader, "Designed as an Easy Guide to the Hebrew Tongue, for Jewish Children and Self-Instruction," in 1838. The text devotes 23 pages to the development of skills for Hebrew reading, with the ensuing 25 pages applying those skills to such recurring prayers as *Adon Olam, Shema, Ma Tovu, Modeh Ani*, the opening paragraph of *Birkat ha-Mazon*, and *Yigdal*. While the work was reprinted a number of times, Leeser lamented, in his preface to the 1856 (fourth) edition, that though the book "has met with approbation, still the sale has been very slow, the demand for the various schools being quite small." Leeser, who founded a short-lived Jewish Publication Society in 1845, produced dozens of printed works, along with a widely disseminated periodical

(*The Occident*). Improvements in print technology and the declining cost of printed material led, at mid-century, to expanded publications of all kinds, including evangelical literature. Consequently, Jewish education and Jewish educational materials were essential both to strengthen the faith and to protect against proselytizing missionaries.

Even as he expressed the highest regard for the work of Rebecca Gratz and her assistants, Leeser urged the establishment of an all-day Jewish school for two basic reasons. First, it was impossible to achieve Hebrew literacy in "extra" hours. Second, the public or private schools were, in Leeser's view, essentially Christian. Where it was impracticable to conduct day schools, supplementary education needed to be strengthened – hence, Leeser's support of Rebecca Gratz's Sunday School initiative.

Educational Currents in the Era of Heightened German-Jewish Immigration, 1840–1880

During the period 1840 to 1880, the American Jewish community grew from 15,000 to 250,000, primarily bolstered by the immigration of Jews from German-speaking lands. German Jews spread through the length and breadth of the expanding nation and, with their geographic diffusion, the number of congregations grew from 18 to 277 by 1877. As in the colonial and early national periods, congregations typically progressed from establishing a burial society to forming a synagogue and, only later, providing some form of Jewish education.

In the 1840s and 1850s, many American schools were still conducted by churches, and instruction in the Christian religion was part of the curriculum. Many public schools had a distinctly Protestant tone. Within this context, Jewish day schools were established by immigrant Jews in a number of communities.

By the 1850s, seven Jewish day schools had been established in New York, enrolling more than 1,000 students. Similar schools were initiated in other cities, including Philadelphia, Baltimore, Chicago, Boston, Albany, Cincinnati, Detroit, Essex County, New Jersey, Pittsburgh, and Washington, D.C. A typical school of this kind was the one organized by Kehillath Anshe Maariv Congregation, in Chicago in 1853. The school was patterned on similar schools in Germany, where the curriculum included general studies supplemented by instruction in Jewish religion, Hebrew prayers, and Bible reading in German translation. At KAM, in addition to English, German, arithmetic, geography, drawing, and singing, prayers and readings from the Pentateuch, as well as catechism relating to Jewish religion and history, were part of the curriculum. The "common" school branches were taught by non-Jewish instructors, with a rabbi or cantor responsible for Jewish studies. The commitment of German-Jewish immigrants to maintaining German culture is reflected in the fact that of the 17 mid-19th century Jewish day schools with extant curricular information, all schools included German.

Several private boarding schools teaching Jewish and secular subjects also operated in the middle of the 19th century. The creation of this variety of day school reflected their founders' interest in the Jewish education of their children, an interest in preserving German culture, a desire for "quality assurance" in their children's schooling (the developing public schools were not, uniformly, seen as centers of educational excellence), and concern about sectarianism in public schools. Intensive Hebrew education was, not always, of paramount interest; often, one hour per day was devoted to Jewish studies.

In the 1840s, Hebrew literary associations, maintaining libraries and conducting lectures, were founded in several cities. From references in Jewish newspapers, it appears that literary discussion groups typically were conducted separately by and for men and women. During the 1860s and 1870s, a new type of organization – the Young Men's Hebrew Association (YMHA) – was established in a number of communities (the first YMHA had been organized in Baltimore in 1854 but suspended its activities in 1860–68). The YMHA aimed to foster improved knowledge of the literature, history, and doctrines of Judaism. The "Y" often included a library of Jewish reading matter and offered lectures and classes for young men and women in Jewish history and Hebrew language. Y's thus met the need of young adults for a congenial social and intellectual milieu.

During the 1860s, Christian missionaries operating on New York's East Side operated a school teaching Jewish children Bible in Hebrew. Mission schools, with conversionary aims, appeared in other poor Jewish neighborhoods. In 1864, several congregations organized the Hebrew Free School, as a countermeasure. Five branches were established and, in addition to Jewish education, pupils were supplied with clothing and other necessities. Similarly, Jewish Y's introduced gymnasiums and sports as a counterinfluence to Christian missionaries, and in imitation of YMCAs.

While, in the development of American Jewry, the period 1840–80 was, primarily, an era of Western and Central European Jewish settlement and institution building, a trickle of Eastern European Jewish immigration was already apparent by the 1850s. New York's first East European congregation, Beth Hamidrash Hagodol, founded in 1852, established a *talmud torah* (supplementary Jewish school) for the instruction of children attending New York City public schools. This school was, in the 1880s, to become a communally supported *talmud torah* known as Mahazikai Talmud Torah.

As public schools, through exclusive state funding, came to be viewed as superior educational settings, Jews (unlike Catholics) increasingly opted for public education. For the American-born generation of parents with children of school age in the 1870s – by which time public education had become well established throughout the country – public schooling was a "given." By 1875, no Jewish day schools remained in operation.

Though, by 1860, there were 150,000 Jews in the United States, there was no institution of higher Jewish learning. All American rabbis were foreign-born and -trained immigrants.

An attempt to create an academy of higher Jewish learning, spearheaded by Isaac Leeser, was initiated, in 1867, with the founding of Maimonides College in Philadelphia. Leeser died in 1868, and the College disbanded in 1873.

An enduring college for the training of American rabbis was established by Isaac Mayer *Wise, the institution-builder of Reform Judaism in America. The Bohemian-born Wise, who had immigrated to the U.S. in 1846, succeeded in forming a "Union of American Hebrew Congregations" in 1873, with 34 participating synagogues. In turn, the Union, in 1875, sponsored the establishment of the *Hebrew Union College for the training of rabbis. The college, based in Cincinnati, with Isaac M. Wise as its president, was to take root and grow. Though Wise's vision of the possibility of a "Minhag America," an "American Way," among the Jews of the U.S. was not realized, the UAHC and HUC were destined to become pillars of American Reform Judaism.

It is estimated that, in 1880, there were 40,000–50,000 Jewish children of school age in the United States. Of this number, no more than 15,000 received some type of Jewish education in "Sabbath school" one or two days a week (Saturday afternoon and/or Sunday morning) or through private lessons. "Sabbath school" was generally of three to five years' duration. The curriculum consisted of Bible stories, religious thought (through catechism), and a few Hebrew verses used in worship. The first Jewish children's magazine in America, *The Hebrew Sabbath School Visitor,* founded and edited by Dr. Max Lilienthal, was initiated as an instructional aid for such schools, in 1874. Commonly, the rabbi served as "Superintendent," and volunteers taught the classes at these very part-time schools. In a paper on "Pedagogics in the Sabbath-School," presented in 1880, Moses Mielziner, professor at the HUC, reported that of 118 congregations affiliated with the UAHC (representing more than 40% of the then existing congregations), only 12 did not have a Sabbath school.

Educational Responses to Mass Migration from Eastern Europe, 1881–1910

Though East European Jews were to be found among the immigrants of earlier generations, a rising "wave" of such immigrants came to the shores of the U.S. in 1881–1910. The new immigration resulted not only from political persecution but from lack of economic opportunity, exacerbated by a fivefold increase in East European Jewish population in the 19th century. Swelled by immigration, primarily (though certainly not exclusively) from Eastern Europe, the American Jewish population reached two million by 1910.

East European immigrants transplanted to the United States the traditional educational institutions of their native lands. The immigrants' readiness to adjust to American life was manifest in their adoption of the public school for their children. On the Lower East Side of New York City, where Jewish immigrants were most heavily concentrated, 38 elementary schools, serving a total population of 65,000 students, included 60,000 Jews by 1905. The most prevalent form of Jewish education established by the new immigrants (primarily for boys) was the *ḥeder,* a private one-room school, open every weekday of the year. The teachers in most cases were ill-educated men untrained in pedagogy. Parents were too busy with their jobs in the sweatshops or small businesses to have the time to consider the quality of their children's education, or to exercise some control of the *ḥeder,* as was the case in their country of origin. The "curriculum" consisted of mechanical reading of prayers, study of the Torah portion of the week, recitation of portions of liturgy, and bar mitzvah preparation.

The *talmud torah*, an educational framework maintained in Eastern Europe for the children of the poor, developed as a promising alternative to the *ḥeder* in America. It was, typically, founded and managed by residents of a given neighborhood, financed by a paid membership and through synagogue appeals. These schools tended to be staffed by more competent teachers, among them nationalist Jews, products of the Russian *Haskalah and the *Ḥibbat Zion movement. The curriculum of most *talmud torah* schools approximated that of the East European elementary *ḥeder*: Hebrew reading (of the prayerbook), word by word translation – typically, into Yiddish – of the Pentateuch, and the commentary of Rashi on the Torah.

Concomitant with the onset of mass migration was an "awakening" in Jewish life among young, American-born Jews who, by the late 1870s, had lost confidence in the liberal, universalist visions of the era. This awakening expressed itself in initiatives for the revitalization of Jewish education. One manifestation of this agenda was the Jewish Chautauqua Society, launched by Henry *Berkowitz, one of the four men in the initial (1883) graduating class of HUC, in 1893. The Chautauqua Society had been developed by Bishop John H. Vincent of the Methodist Episcopal Church in 1874. Begun as an intensive training program for Sunday school teachers (with a summer assembly at Lake Chautauqua, New York), the society established local reading circles and adult correspondence courses. By the 1880s, it had become a forum for the discussion of politics, literature, science, economics, and religion. Dozens of local Chautauqua assemblies were launched; hence, Rabbi Berkowitz's initiative in launching the Jewish Chautauqua Society in Philadelphia (where he served as rabbi of Rodeph Sholom Temple) was also part of a national phenomenon.

The Jewish Chautauqua Society held its first summer assembly in 1894. By 1908, it had 125 circles, with 2,500 members. Starting in 1909, it sent scholars to teach summer courses on Jewish topics at universities (a function which, by the 1930s, was to become the society's central focus), and, in 1915, it initiated a correspondence school. This adult education project sprang from the sense of its leaders and supporters that Jewish education was sorely lacking.

While the Jewish Chautauqua Society focused on adults, the Jewish education of children was, likewise, a significant concern. Indeed, the first book published by the newly established Jewish Publication Society, in 1890, was a revised edition of a work (initially published in England, in 1886) by

British children's author Lady Katie Magnus, titled *Outlines of Jewish History*. The book sold tens of thousands of copies and went through numerous printings.

The first yeshivah day school in the U.S., Yeshivat Etz Chaim, an all-day Jewish school for elementary school boys, was established in New York in 1886. The school's constitution averred that "the purpose of this Academy shall be to give free instruction to poor Hebrew children in the Hebrew language and the Jewish religion – Talmud, Bible and Shulhan Aruk – during the whole day from nine in the morning until four in the afternoon. Also from four in the afternoon, two hours shall be devoted to teach the native language, English, and one hour to teach Hebrew – Loshon Hakodesh – and jargon [Yiddish] to read and write. The Academy shall be guided according to the strict Orthodox and Talmudic law and the custom of Poland and Russia." The general studies program also included grammar, arithmetic, reading, and spelling. Though called a "yeshivah," this elementary school, as others later to be established, differed significantly from its European predecessors, both with regard to the age of its students and to the breadth of its curriculum (which included general education).

In the ensuing decades, additional yeshivah schools, including the Rabbi Jacob Joseph Yeshiva (1900), the Yeshiva Rabbi Chaim Berlin (1906), and the Talmudical Institute of Harlem (1908), were established. To meet the continuing Jewish educational needs of Etz Chaim graduates and of teenage immigrants at advanced levels of talmudic study, the Rabbi Isaac Elchanan Theological Seminary (RIETS) was founded in 1897, creating a framework for the training of (Orthodox) rabbis. RIETS combined with Yeshivat Etz Chaim in 1915; the expanded institution was headed by Lithuanian-born Bernard *Revel (1885–1940), a scholar who had studied at the yeshivah of Telz and who, after emigrating, had earned a doctorate from the recently established Dropsie College in Philadelphia.

The Reform Pittsburgh Platform of 1885 had led established ("Americanized") traditionalists to band together to create a more traditionalist seminary than the HUC. The driving force behind the founding of the *Jewish Theological Seminary, which opened its doors in New York in 1887, was Sabato *Morais (1823–1897), who had succeeded Isaac Leeser as *ḥazzan* of Mikveh Israel in Philadelphia. Among the seminary's founders, in addition to Morais, were American-born, European-ordained Rabbis Bernard *Drachman and Henry Schneeberger, recently arrived Hungarian-born Rabbi Alexander Kohut, and the British-born *ḥazzan* of Shearith Israel (New York), Henry Pereira Mendes. In the early years of the 20th century, the seminary received significant financial support from such well established (Reform) German Jews as Jacob *Schiff, Felix M. *Warburg, David *Guggenheim, and Louis *Marshall, who hoped that it would attract Russian Jews and prepare them to be leaders in the Americanization of immigrants.

Under the leadership of Solomon *Schechter (1847–1915), reader in rabbinics at Cambridge University, who assumed the presidency of the fledgling Seminary in 1902, JTS became a center of Jewish scholarship and a core institution in the emerging Conservative stream of Judaism. Of great significance in the unfolding history of Jewish education in the United States was the establishment at JTS of a Teachers Institute (1909). Mordecai *Kaplan (1881–1983), himself a JTS rabbinical graduate, was appointed dean of the new Institute by Schechter.

The Teachers Institute, which was to play an important role in training a cadre of Jewish educators in the decades that followed, was the second Jewish institution for the preparation of teachers to be founded in the United States. The first, *Gratz College, had been launched in Philadelphia in 1893 through a bequest of Philadelphia merchant and philanthropist, Hyman Gratz, brother of Rebecca Gratz. Both of these teachers' colleges, as others established in the ensuing years, were open to and attracted significant numbers of women.

While an organic process of Jewish educational development was in evidence, an "external" event served as the catalyst for a pivotal, communal educational initiative in New York City. In the September 1908 issue of the *North American Review*, New York Police Commissioner Theodore A. Bingham commented that half of the city's criminals were "Hebrews" and that Hebrew juveniles were emulating the adults in this regard. This accusation served to galvanize hundreds of New York Jewish organizations – synagogues, federations, fraternal lodges, and professional societies – to establish the "New York Kehillah" in 1909. The Kehillah was headed by San Francisco-born, HUC-ordained Judah *Magnes (1877–1948), rabbi at New York's Temple Emanu-El. Magnes was close to the premier German-Jewish banking families who formed the leadership of Emanu-el and was the brother-in-law of the prominent Louis Marshall. At the same time, he was attracted to the Yiddish intellectual milieu of the East Side Russian immigrants, among whom he enjoyed a broad-based following.

One response to the Police Commissioner's charge was the establishment by the Kehillah of a Committee on Jewish Education to survey the state of Jewish education and to develop appropriate responses to needs that would be identified. The survey was undertaken by Professor Mordecai Kaplan of the Jewish Theological Seminary and Dr. Bernard Cronson, a public school principal.

The report identified six frameworks within which Jewish education was being conducted:

(a) *talmud torah* schools
(b) institutional schools
(c) congregational schools
(d) Sunday schools
(e) Chedorim (*ḥadarim*)
(f) private tutors

The *talmud torah* schools, opined the researchers, "instill more Jewishness into the lives of the children" than any of the other educational settings; and this, despite the facts that: "homework is never allotted; the discipline is poor; the attendance is very irregular and seldom kept up for any length of time."

The institution schools (operated by orphan asylums and social work agencies – often sponsored by German-Jewish-supported charitable groups) – had the benefit of good pedagogy and materials, but lacked the confidence of the population it aimed to serve, "because they do not regard it as Jewish enough insofar as it makes Hebrew only secondary." The congregational school, holding sessions three or more times per week, was typically sponsored by a Conservative or Orthodox synagogue. Here, "the work covered is not very extensive, and is usually confined to the reading and translation of the prayers, and of a few passages in the Bible, with a smattering of a few rules of grammar." Sunday schools, reported the survey, engaged a cadre of public school teachers, mostly women, many of whom volunteered their services. However, these teachers lacked "the knowledge necessary for a Jewish school," and carried out "a vague kind of curriculum…." As to the *ḥeder,* the researchers described it in the following, critical terms:

> A cheder is a school conducted by one, two or three men, for the sole purpose of eking out some kind of livelihood which they failed to obtain by any other means. It generally meets in a room or two, in the basement or upper floor of some old dilapidated building where the rent is at a minimum….The instruction, which seldom goes beyond the reading of the prayer book, and the teaching of a few blessings by rote, is carried on only in Yiddish. The method of instruction is quite unique. It consists of about fifteen minutes of individual instruction, with seldom or never any class work. Each pupil, not knowing when he is needed, straggles in at random, and waits for his turn to come, in the meantime entertaining himself with all sorts of mischief. When his turn comes and the teacher has given him the fifteen minutes, he runs off. There is hardly an ideal aim in the mind of the teacher, except in some cases it is the training for the Bar Mitzvah feat of reading the Haftorah.

The survey could not gauge the number of students who might have been receiving private tutoring, nor did the tally include the handful of day schools and their several hundred students. It was estimated that 21–24% of 200,000 Jewish children of school age were in the *talmud torah*, institutional, congregational and Sunday schools, and the various *ḥadarim*.

Ready to undertake communal action to address these challenges, the Kehillah of New York initiated a response which was to be replicated in the decades ahead in scores of American Jewish communities. It established a Bureau of Jewish Education. The Bureau was to provide educational guidance and service, and organize and coordinate activities beyond the capacity of any one school unit to conduct. In the ensuing generation, the concept of community responsibility in the domain of Jewish education was to be embraced by federations and central Jewish philanthropies in cities across the country. The BJE, launched through a $50,000 contribution from Jacob Schiff and $25,000 from the New York Foundation, was, initially, to perform the following specific functions:

> 1. To study sympathetically and at close range all the Jewish educational forces in New York City, including alike those that restrict themselves to religious instruction and those that look primarily to the Americanization of our youth, with a view to cooperation and the elimination of waste and overlapping.
> 2. To become intimately acquainted with the best teachers and workers who are the mainstay of these institutions, and organize them for both their material and their spiritual advancement.
> 3. To make propaganda through the Jewish press and otherwise, in order to acquaint parents with the problem before them and with the means for solving it.
> 4. To operate one or two model schools for elementary pupils, for the purpose of working out the various phases of primary education, these schools to act also as concrete examples and guides to now existing Hebrew schools, which will undoubtedly avail themselves of the textbooks, methods, appliances, etc. worked out in the model schools….

Dr. Samson *Benderly, of Baltimore, who had served as a consultant to the Kehillah on the Kaplan-Cronson survey and its analysis, was engaged as director of the new Bureau. Having worked with the Kehillah's education committee for a year, Benderly's educational and ideological positions were clear to Judah Magnes and to the Board which hired him. Benderly's ideas were to shape the work of the New York Bureau and influence scores of Jewish educators summoned to leadership in communities throughout the country.

Samson Benderly (1876–1944) was born and raised in Safed. At age 15, he traveled to Beirut to study at the American University. After completing a B.A., he began medical studies. In 1898, Dr. Aaron Friedenwald, professor of ophthalmology in Baltimore, visited Beirut, and encouraged Benderly's interest in coming to the United States. By September 1898 Benderly had moved to Baltimore, where he completed his medical studies at the College of Physicians and Surgeons (he earned his degree and began residency, in June 1900). Concurrently, he undertook to teach Hebrew and direct a Jewish school.

Having, because of the demands of time, to choose between medicine and Jewish education, Benderly chose the latter. His Hebrew immersion program (*Ivrit be-Ivrit*) included not only Hebrew language, but also Bible, holidays, history, and activities designed to nurture strong connection to Israel. In 1905, he initiated a youth group called "Herzl's children." He used visual aids and incorporated music, dance, and drama as instructional tools.

Though having begun his Baltimore career at a synagogue school, Benderly left, early on, to head the "Hebrew Free School for Poor and Orphaned Children." Interestingly, early in his Baltimore stay, Benderly served as Hebrew tutor to his "patron" Dr. *Friedenwald's son, Harry, then in his thirties, who was to become president of the Federation of Zionists in America – later known as the Zionist Organization of America. At the same time, he tutored Henrietta *Szold (also an adult learner) who was soon (1912) to found Hadassah.

Benderly's "Zionist-nationalist" bent was not unknown to the Kehillah committee that enlisted him. His pedagogic approach, centering on children and the development of a school-based society, was rooted in the progressive education ideals of John Dewey. For Benderly, as for Dewey, all human association – and most assuredly, the intentional constructs of schools – were educative, ensuring cultural continuity. The executive committee to which Benderly reported in New York consisted of five individuals, four of whom were Zionists (Israel *Friedlaender, Judah L. Magnes, Mordecai Kaplan, and Henrietta Szold). The fifth, Louis Marshall, was close to Jacob Schiff, and was likely keeping a watchful eye on the project for Schiff.

Modern Zionism had, already, expressed itself in two "*aliyyot*" to Palestine, several Zionist Congresses, and numerous Zionist ideologies. For Benderly and his committee, it was the cultural Zionism of *Aḥad Ha-Am combined with a commitment to Americanism, which shaped an emerging approach to Jewish education. In the modern era, the Zionist center (Palestine) would, it was supposed, serve as a spiritual hub of renewed Jewish cultural creativity, nurturing Jewish life in the Diaspora. Consistent with the findings of the Kaplan-Cronson report, the vehicle which Benderly and his supporters saw as best suited to furthering Jewish consciousness and commitment to Jewish ideals was the *talmud torah* school.

Institutional Development, 1910–1945

The New York BJE, created as a mechanism for improving and expanding Jewish education in a burgeoning community, undertook a vigorous program of federating and supporting *talmud torah* schools, providing in-service professional training to educators, writing modern textbooks, and recruiting pupils. *Talmud torah* curricula – typically, Hebrew-based (consistent with cultural Zionist nationalism) – included Hebrew language and literature, Bible, festivals, Palestine (as the source of Jewish creativity), selections from Midrash and the Talmud, Jewish history, and some degree of synagogue ritual familiarity (customs and ceremonies). Among the curricular innovations of the BJE was the use of arts and crafts and of music and dramatics in the instructional program. The BJE also gathered together graduates of the various *talmud torahs* and organized a Hebrew High School. A Board of Teachers' License and a Hebrew Principals' Association were organized; a summer camp was opened; the League of Jewish Youth was organized. Benderly successfully encouraged a group of young American Jews to study both Judaica and education, in preparation for professional careers in Jewish education.

Bureau-supported communal *talmud torah* schools had a decidedly Hebraic-Zionist emphasis, with much of the instructional program conducted *Ivrit be-Ivrit* (in Hebrew). Communal sponsorship and the Hebrew language emphasis (a cultural unifier) established the *talmud torah* as a community, "non-denominational" program. With few exceptions, *talmud torah* schools operated on a coeducational basis, consistent with the prevailing practice in public schools and Sabbath schools. As in Sabbath schools and public schools, women were well represented in the teaching force.

Yiddish (secular) schools offered a significant alternative. Starting in 1908, in Brownsville, New York – an area with a large, working class population noted for socialist leanings – Yiddish schools of various kinds were founded in every major locus of Jewish settlement. Among the larger networks of Yiddish schools were those of the Arbeiter Ring (Workmen's Circle), grounded in secularism and radicalism. Such schools were essential, their sponsors believed, both because the public schools were largely controlled by capitalists and because education in "*Yiddishkeit*," the culture of the immigrant generation, would bridge the disaffection between immigrant parents and their American-born and educated children. By the mid-1920s, the peak period of Yiddish secular education, 10,000 to 12,000 children attended *folkshuln* which centered on the study of Yiddish. At the other end of the spectrum, Orthodox day schools continued to be established in the early decades of the 20th century, though at a slow pace. In 1928, 4,290 students were enrolled in 17 such schools. Immigration restrictions, implemented in 1925, put an end to the massive influx of immigrants; by that time, more than 4 million Jews called America home.

A noteworthy structural opportunity for part-time Jewish study presented itself, beginning 1913, with the spread of the "Gary Plan" initiated in Gary, Indiana. The "Gary Plan," among other innovations, authorized release time during the school day for religious instruction, off campus. In New York, the plan was supported by the Reform movement and opposed by supporters of the *talmud torah* system. Reform educators were finding Sunday-only instruction insufficient to meet their Jewish educational goals. Release time might have represented a "slot" for additional instructional time. The Gary Plan, on the other hand, lengthened the school day. Supporters of the 5-days-per-week *talmud torah*, which drew children from multiple public schools, were concerned about negative impact on scheduling and enrollment in the established, more intensive Jewish educational programs. While the Gary Plan did not long survive, it evoked varying pronouncements within the Jewish community on church-state considerations relating to education. Discussions of "strict separation" of church and state were to become a matter of considerable debate later in the 20th century surrounding the issue of public funding in support of education in non-public schools.

Non-Formal Education

In 1913, many of the country's YMHAS and YWHAS (which had come into being starting in 1888) organized to form the Council of Young Men's Hebrew and Kindred Associations. The Y's cooperated with the Jewish Welfare Board, established in 1917, to provide Jewish chaplains and support services (starting with meeting religious needs) for Jews serving in the armed forces. In 1921, the Council of Young Men's Hebrew and Kindred Associations merged with JWB. Many mergers of YMHAS and YWHAS ensued, with most of the "new" institutions taking the name Jewish Community Center. In 1990, the JWB itself was to be renamed the Jewish Community Centers Association of North America. From their inception, the centers inherited from the Y's a culture of Americanizing Russian Jewish newcomers.

The first Jewish residential camps date to the closing decade of the 19th century, and a 1936 directory of Jewish camps sponsored by Jewish communal organizations listed 88 such camps in the U.S. and Canada. In the "fresh air" camps, Jewish experiences were, by no means, paramount; rather, good health and Americanization were emphasized. Under the influence of progressive educational thinking which recognized the rich possibilities for individual and group development inherent in camping, Jewish educational camping was launched starting in 1919 by Dr. Albert P. Schoolman. Schoolman, a disciple of Samson Benderly, founded CEJWIN (Central Jewish Institute) camps, to use the summer months to continue and strengthen the educational program of the Institute's *talmud torah* program. Jewish camps of diverse ideologies, both communal and private, were soon operating.

In the early decades of the 20th century, informal Jewish youth movements were formed, including such Zionist youth groups as Young Judaea (1909), Hashomer Hatzair (1923), AZA (1924), and Habonim Dror (1935). The (Reform) North American Federation of Temple Youth – NFTY (1939) and (Conservative) Leadership Training Fellowship (1945) followed suit. By 1940, there existed 30 American, nationally organized Jewish youth groups. Many served young people ages 18 to 25 or 30; only four (Young Israel, Agudat Israel Youth, Young Judea, and Hashomer Hatzair) served children under 12 years of age. Tabulation of membership in 26 of the 30 national Jewish youth organizations for the year 1939–40, showed 61,019 males and 99,262 females participating.

As young immigrants and the children of immigrants proceeded in increasing numbers to colleges, Jewish campus organizations were initiated. The Menorah movement began with the founding at Harvard University of the Harvard Menorah Society for the Study and Advancement of Jewish Ideals, in 1906. Jewish student organizations were, similarly, founded at several other universities. At a convention at the University of Chicago, the Intercollegiate *Menorah Association was launched, in 1913. The object of the IMA, as articulated in its constitution, was "the promotion in American colleges and universities of the study of Jewish history, culture and problems, and the advancement of Jewish ideals." Basic elements of any Menorah Society were lectures and study circles. By 1917, there were more than 60 such societies.

The exclusively intellectual focus of the IMA made it less appealing to many collegiates than the *Hillel Centers, which emerged in the 1920s. Hillel, which began at the University of Illinois in Champaign in 1923, encouraged social and cultural as well as scholarly programs. B'nai B'rith undertook sponsorship of Hillel in 1925, and Hillel Foundations were soon established at Wisconsin, Ohio State, West Virginia, California, Texas, and Cornell. The Intercollegiate phase of the Menorah Association ended by the late 1920s.

Institutions of Higher Learning, National Organizations, New Initiatives

In addition to Gratz College and the Teachers Institute of JTS, institutions for the education of Jewish teachers were established in New York, Baltimore, Boston, Pittsburgh, Cleveland, and Chicago between 1917 and 1929. The communal model of *talmud torah* education seemed headed for ascendancy in the American environment, and Hebrew teachers colleges, it was anticipated, would train the necessary faculties for a growing educational system. Moreover, these institutions were centers of higher Jewish learning, and their instructors often saw their mission as nothing less than ensuring the continuity of Jewish life.

As the teaching profession grew – in number of practitioners and level of training – several teachers' organizations were established, including a Hebrew Teachers Union. To link the efforts of communities across the country, the National Council for Jewish Education was created in 1926, as a forum for Jewish educational leaders. This organization became a catalyst for the establishment (1939) of the American Association for Jewish Education (AAJE) as a national service agency in the field of Jewish education. The AAJE served, in part, as a link among and between local bureaus of Jewish education which were, increasingly, becoming educational service providers to synagogue schools, rather than *talmud torah* operators.

An enrollment shift towards synagogue-based schools (as Jews moved from urban centers) was, already, in process after World War I. In the generation of 1910 to 1935, the percentage of children enrolled in synagogue-based Jewish schools rose from 35% to 60%. While *talmud torah* schools commonly met 4–5 days, 10–12 hours per week, congregational schools typically provided no more than 6 weekly hours of instruction and often lacked clear, curricular goals. In a notable resolution (1923) which, very gradually, came to be mirrored in practice, the Commission on Jewish Education of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, headed by Emanuel *Gamoran, a disciple of Benderly, urged that UAHC schools add a weekday session to the existing Sunday program. The Conservative movement's Commission on Jewish Education of the United Synagogue was established in 1940, and urged an educational program of no fewer than 6 hours per week.

Despite the decline of the communal, Hebraic-Zionist-oriented *talmud torah*, the supplementary schools operated by congregations of the growing Conservative movement continued to emphasize Hebrew language, and were commonly known as "Hebrew schools." While Hebrew had, at one time, been seen as a means to accessing classical Jewish texts ("*talmud torah*" in the sense of studying Torah), Hebrew proficiency – both in communal and congregational schools – gradually assumed paramount status, with classical (Hebrew) texts studied with the aim of improving Hebrew language proficiency.

Beyond the earlier-established HUC, JTS, and RIETS, a number of academies and yeshivot of higher Jewish learning were established in the early decades of the 20th century, as East European immigration continued. These included Tifereth Yerushalayim of New York (1908), Torah V'daath of New York (1918), Hebrew Theological College of Chicago (1921), Ner Israel of Baltimore (1934), and the Jewish Institute of Religion, organized in New York, in 1922 (JIR, founded by Stephen S. Wise, was to become part of HUC in 1950). JIR, a liberal rabbinical seminary, was – unlike HUC – pro-Zionist and welcoming of the immigrant East European Jews. Through a bequest of Moses Aaron Dropsie, *Dropsie College, an independent, non-theological institution dedicated to research in Jewish studies and related branches of learning, was established in Philadelphia in 1909.

In 1928, the Rabbi Isaac Elchanan Theological Seminary (RIETS) opened a College of Liberal Arts and Sciences, alongside its rabbinical school. Yeshiva President Bernard Revel recruited Rabbi Moses *Soloveitchik, scion of a world-renowned rabbinic family, to head the RIETS faculty in 1929. On the death of Rabbi Soloveitchik (1941), his son, Rabbi Joseph *Soloveitchik, talmudic scholar and Ph.D. in philosophy from the University of Berlin, became head of the RIETS Talmud faculty. The "Rav," as Soloveitchik came to be known, was to emerge as the "towering ideologue" of American Orthodoxy in the 1940s and beyond.

At Hebrew Union College, Kaufman *Kohler served as president in 1903–21. Kohler, whose religious ideology was expressed in the Pittsburgh Platform of 1885, expanded the faculty, brooking no tolerance of Zionist leanings. He was succeeded as president by Julian *Morgenstern, an HUC alumnus, and professor of Bible. During Morgenstern's tenure (1921–47), a dozen European Jewish scholars found a haven at the College, largely through his efforts.

At the Jewish Theological Seminary, Solomon Schechter was succeeded as president by Cyrus *Adler, who served until his death in 1940. Adler, an American-born, Hopkins-trained semiticist, took part in founding the Jewish Publication Society of America (1888), was a founder of the American Jewish Historical Society (1892), served on the staff of the Smithsonian Institution, played a leading role in the reorganization of the Seminary and its engagement of Solomon Schechter, was President of Dropsie College, and edited numerous publications, including the first seven volumes of the *American Jewish Yearbook* and the *Jewish Quarterly Review* (1916–40). Consistent with Adler's personal interests, it was during his tenure that JTS developed a pre-eminent library collection. Adler's successor was Louis *Finkelstein, a JTS alumnus. Both HUC and JTS had thus succeeded in educating leaders who could carry forward the spiritual-religious mission articulated by these institutions' founders.

Between 1917 and 1939, four "progressive" Jewish day schools were established; these schools aimed to synthesize progressive and Jewish education. Limited time was devoted to Hebrew studies. Three of these schools closed their doors after brief periods of operation for lack of pupils and financial support. The fourth of the progressive schools (Brandeis "bi-cultural" school) eventually affiliated with the Conservative movement.

In 1937, the Ramaz School in Manhattan and Maimonides School in Boston were established. These Orthodox day schools aimed at providing outstanding general education alongside excellent, classical Jewish education. Each of these schools was to grow and develop (continuing into the 21st century), serving as a model to future generations of modern Orthodox day schools. In 1939, an experiment in Jewish pre-school education was initiated in New York, with the establishment of Beth Hayeled (House of the Child) School. Children entered the program at the age of three, remained at Beth Hayeled five years, and transferred to public school (and a neighborhood *talmud torah*) in third grade. Soon after this program began, additional such early childhood "foundation" schools were established.

Though, by the beginning of World War II, there were 7,000 students in 30 day schools (almost all of which were in New York), most Orthodox leaders shared the view that, when it came to formal Jewish schooling, the congregationally sponsored *talmud torah* was to be the primary institutional framework for religious education. In 1942, the Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations published a curriculum guide for *talmud torah* education. The curriculum was designed, ideally, for a ten-hours-per-week school. Interestingly, as in the educational programs developed and promoted by Samson Benderly and his protégés, the Orthodox "Model Program" called for *Ivrit be-Ivrit* (Hebrew-based) instruction. Though influenced by the pedagogic approach of the Benderly "school," the UOJC manual made it clear that it brooked no tolerance for deviation from traditional Jewish belief and practice.

With the relocation of several leading personalities of Jewish educational life from Europe to the United States before and during World War II, a number of new institutions appeared on the American scene. These included Lubavitcher schools, established with the arrival of the Lubavitcher Rebbe in 1940, the creation of Bais Yaakov (*Beth Jacob) girls schools in the early 1940s, and the establishment, in 1941, of the Telshe Yeshiva in Cleveland and, in 1943, the Beth Medrash Govoha in Lakewood, New Jersey. In 1944, under the impetus of Shraga Feivel Mendlowitz, an immigrant from Austria-Hungary, who had studied with noted European rabbinic scholars and significantly expanded Brooklyn's Torah V'daath yeshiva, an ambitious Orthodox day school initiative was launched.

Mendlowitz, who had devoted himself to Jewish education in the U.S. since his arrival in 1913, aimed to "jump start" and unite a national network of (Orthodox) yeshivah day schools. Towards that end, Mendlowitz enlisted Samuel *Feuerstein, a successful business executive, to serve as president of the "Torah Umesorah Society for the Establishment of Torah Schools." The articles of incorporation of the society firmly established the ideological authority of a body of Orthodox rabbis in all matters of religious life appertaining to its functions; indeed, the Rabbinical Supervisory Council would determine the very scope of its jurisdiction, since it would decide what constituted a religious matter. A group of Orthodox rabbinical leaders was enlisted, and Torah Umesorah launched into the work of advocating the establishment of hundreds of Jewish day schools, nationwide.

Jewish Education in a World Transformed, 1945–1975

The dominant motifs of American Jewish life in the period 1945–75 were suburbanization and institutional growth. In the 1950s and 1960s, at least a billion dollars were spent building a thousand new synagogue buildings. Many of the young families who relocated to new suburban areas had not previously been involved in synagogue life. The synagogue, however, represented an expression of Jewish group feeling and was seen as a primary vehicle – particularly with the decline of "Jewish neighborhoods" – for the Jewish education and socialization of the younger generation. The Union of American Hebrew Congregations grew from 334 member congregations in 1948 to 664 in 1966, while the United Synagogue grew from 350 affiliates at the close of World War II to 800 by 1965. With the growth of Los Angeles Jewry – from 160,000 to 480,000, in the period 1945–65 – a West Coast branch of the Jewish Theological Seminary (*University of Judaism) was established (1947), as was a branch of Hebrew Union College (1954). In the 1950s and 1960s, the rate of synagogue affiliation climbed from the 20% of the 1930s to nearly 60%. American society validated Sunday school attendance as an expression of wholesome, middle class values.

One hundred forty thousand Holocaust survivors came to the United States after World War II, joining more than 200,000 refugees who had been admitted to the U.S. between Hitler's rise to power in 1933 and America's entry into the war, late in 1941. Among the most recent arrivals were Jews from traditional Jewish societies, who served as a "cultural booster shot," advancing demand for more substantial Jewish education. At the same time, the establishment of the State of Israel heightened Jewish identification among many American Jews, and excitement surrounding the founding of the State of Israel seemed to validate the teaching of modern Hebrew.

The post-World War II baby boom, combined with heightened synagogue and Jewish (largely synagogue-sponsored) school attendance brought about a trebling – in one generation – of students enrolled in Jewish schools, from 200,000 in 1937, to 588,955 in 1962. While, in the 1930s, only an estimated 10,000 students (5% of total enrollment) were in high school programs of Jewish education, by 1959, closer to 10% of the expanded population of students was to be found in Jewish secondary schools. Conservative congregational schools aimed to meet 6 hours per week (typically divided among three sessions) and the curriculum included Hebrew, prayerbook, history, Bible, customs and ceremonies, current events, and songs. By the late 1940s, 25% of Reform congregational schools had introduced weekday (in addition to Sunday) sessions. Instruction included holidays, biblical and post-biblical heroes, Jewish history and literature, Hebrew, prayers, Bible selections, singing, current events, and modern Jewish problems, and Jewish contributions to civilization.

Growth of Day Schools

Spearheaded, often, by Orthodox refugees who had found asylum in the United States, Jewish day schools, which had been rare phenomena before 1940, rapidly proliferated. From 30 day schools with 7,000 students in 1940, the "system" grew to 95 schools with 14,000 students in 1946, to 330 schools with 67,000 students in the early 1970s. By 1975, there were 425 Orthodox day schools (including 138 high schools) with a total enrollment of 82,200.

Although most Torah Umesorah schools devoted half of the school day to "Torah studies" and half of the day to general education, there was considerable diversity in outlook. While some schools emphasized the complete subordination of all study to a "Torah mindset," "integrationists" sought to achieve "synthesis" of Judaism and Americanism. Such ideological differences influenced the apportionment of time between Torah studies and general studies, the language of religious studies instruction, the choice of texts (within the "sea" of classical Jewish sources), and the structure of the school day.

Writing in 1973, Alvin Schiff distinguished between Orthodox Hebrew day schools, traditional yeshivot, and ḥasidic schools, noting that in the latter two categories – accounting for one-third of U.S. day schools – 30–40 hours per week were dedicated to Jewish studies and 10–15 hours (frequently less) to general education. From the 1940s to the 1960s, significant numbers of Torah studies educators were European immigrants. As Orthodox rabbinical seminaries grew and yeshivah day school enrollment escalated, American-educated teachers – themselves yeshivah graduates – became, increasingly, common. While the great majority of day schools were under Orthodox sponsorship, it was estimated, in the 1960s, that one-third of the students enrolled in yeshivah day schools were from other than Orthodox homes.

A number of Conservative congregations launched day schools under synagogue sponsorship, in the years after World War II. In 1946, Congregation Anshe Emet (Chicago) opened a day school, followed in 1950 by Temple Beth El in New York. By 1958, there were 14 Conservative day schools. Additional Conservative day schools were founded in the late 1950s and 1960s; in 1964 the (Conservative) Solomon Schechter Day School Association was formed. By 1977, nearly 10,000 students were enrolled in 50 Solomon Schechter schools.

Notwithstanding movement opposition to the establishment of day schools, two Reform temples – Congregation Rodeph Sholom in New York and Temple Beth Am in Miami – opened such schools in 1970. The emergence of Reform day schools – in 1970, and subsequently – represented a coalescence of parental concern for quality secular education and the interest of rabbinic leadership in quality Jewish education. Of great significance was the fact that, as confidence in public education eroded, private schooling was undergoing "democratization" in the eyes of many Reform Jews. By 1981, there were nine Reform day schools. Not until 1985, however, were day schools approved by the UAHC, and, subsequently (1990), a Reform day school network (PARDeS – Progressive Association of Reform Day Schools) established.

During the period of mass Jewish migration to the United States, the public school had been a key agent of Americanization. By the closing decades of the 20th century, at a time of increasing acceptance of ethnic and religious diversity and, among Jews, of greater openness to and the economic means of accessing private education, many children and grandchildren of Americanized immigrants chose to send their children to Jewish day schools. For many of these students and their families, the school experience now served a Judaizing function, nurturing intensive knowledge of and commitment to a Jewish way of life.

Congregational Education in the 1960s and 1970s

Notwithstanding the rapid growth in enrollment and the proliferation of congregational schools, curricula had not developed, substantially, for decades. Responding to this reality, and to the sense that congregational schools were missing the mark, a flurry of curriculum initiatives was launched in the 1960s and 1970s. The Melton Center (at the Jewish Theological Seminary) published curricular materials on Bible and holidays. Experimental editions of the UAHC's Shuster Curriculum began appearing in 1977, and the United Synagogue produced its Menorah curriculum in 1978. Behrman House published textbooks at all levels, utilized by both the Conservative and Reform congregational schools.

One of the noteworthy additions to the new curricula was the study of "comparative religion."

The National Conference of Christians and Jews had been established in 1928, and the interfaith "goodwill" movement gained strength after World War II. In 1955, Will Herberg published his classic *Protestant, Catholic, Jew.* On this backdrop, the UAHC published *Our Religion and Our Neighbors*, in 1963, and Behrman House published *Judaism and Christianity: What We Believe*, in 1968. Students who mastered the information in these texts could recognize certain similarities and differences between Jewish and Christian beliefs about God, human nature, sin, and salvation. They would also learn about various life cycle events, calendars, and liturgies. The textbooks encouraged their readers to view themselves as no different from their neighbors in values and citizenship, while suggesting the maintenance of boundaries between Jews and Christians in a narrowly circumscribed religious sphere.

In 1959, the AAJE published the "Report of the Commission for the Study of Jewish Education in the United States." The report estimated that 40–45% of Jewish children ages 5–14 were, in 1959, receiving Jewish schooling – though upwards of 80% were enrolled in Jewish education at some time during their elementary school years. It "pegged" the average stay at 3–4 years.

With regard to the profile of teachers teaching in various school types, the report distinguished between Sunday school, weekday (supplementary) school, and day school faculties. It found that, among day school faculty members, 69% were men/31% women, and that 62% of teachers were foreign-born; among weekday Hebrew school teachers, the data showed 64% women/36% men – 61% foreign-born; among Sunday school teachers, 64% women / 36% men – 90% U.S.-born. With reference to the qualifications of teachers, the report (which was based upon an extensive survey) noted that of the "pool" of Sunday school teachers, 58% claimed nothing beyond elementary Jewish education of some sort, and 9% claimed no Jewish education.

In 1950, the Jewish Educators Assembly of the Conservative Movement was established, followed by the (Reform) National Association of Temple Educators in 1954. Yet, with the collapse of the *talmud torah* system, there were few full-time teaching positions outside of day schools in Jewish education, and a lack of qualified personnel. There was a decided tendency, in the 1960s and 1970s, to embrace pedagogic trends in public education, including audio-visual technology, programmed instruction, values clarification, and cooperative learning. A 1967 study conducted by the American Association for Jewish Education showed that 42.2% of students enrolled in Jewish schools were in one-day-per-week programs; 44.4% in 2 to 5-days-per-week programs; and 13.4% in day schools.

New Settings of Jewish Education

A much different educational phenomenon, first emerging on a modest scale in the 1940s, was the *kolel*. The *kolel*, a full-time program of advanced talmudic study for adult men (supported by stipends) of outstanding scholarly ability, was introduced to the U.S. by Rabbi Aaron *Kotler at the Beth Medrash Govoha in Lakewood in 1943. The Lakewood *kolel* began with 12 graduates of American rabbinical schools. In 1945, 15 men who had been Rabbi Kotler's students in Europe joined the *kolel*.

A second *kolel*, Beth Medrash Elyon of Monsey – an extension of Brooklyn-based Mesivta Torah Vodaath – soon followed. While, in 1950, there were no more than 50–100 persons studying in American *kolelim*, by the end of the 1970s the number of *kolel* participants exceeded 1,000. Beyond the numerical growth, a cultural transformation had occurred over the course of a generation: the latter-day *kolel* was no longer exclusively for the elite, most outstanding students.

Yet another Jewish educational development which came into full flower in the 1940s was the Jewish residential summer camp. Early Jewish residential camps, dating back to the years before World War I, had been sponsored by philanthropic agencies to provide relief from tenement conditions and to teach immigrant children "American ways." As earlier noted, camping as a Jewish educational vehicle was first explored by Albert P. Schoolman, principal of the Central Jewish Institute in New York (an educational center influenced by the theories of Mordecai Kaplan) in 1919. Schoolman's Camp CEJWIN, originally envisioned as a bridge between the school year and the summer months, provided enveloping experiences in Jewish living and served as a training ground for young adults entering careers in Jewish education and social service.

In the 1920s and 1930s, a number of Yiddish and Zionist camps were launched, including camping initiatives by Hashomer Hatzair, Habonim, Young Judea, and B'nei Akiva (then known as Hashomer Hadati). The first Hebrew-speaking camp, Camp Achvah, was established by Samson Benderly in 1927. Though it provided a rich educational experience, the Depression dashed its early promise.

A more enduring Hebrew-based, Zionist camp, Camp Massad, opened in 1941, led for many years by founding Director Shlomo Shulsinger. In 1944, the Boston Hebrew Teachers College opened Camp Yavneh to advance the knowledge of students of the Hebrew Teachers College and to encourage the use of Hebrew outside the classroom. The Conservative movement entered the arena of Jewish educational camping with the opening of Camp Ramah in Wisconsin in 1947. NFTY held its first encampment at the UAHC's newly purchased camp in Wisconsin in 1951. In the 1940s and 1950s, scores of Jewish residential camps were established, coast to coast. While, prior to 1947, Jewish camping had been avowedly pluralistic, the opening of Ramah and, subsequently, of the Union Institute (Oconomowoc, Wisconsin), represented a move to a denominational agenda within the universe of Jewish educational camping. Within a few years, both Ramah and Union Institute became full-scale camping movements, often serving as training grounds for the development of the movements' leadership, lay and rabbinic.

Jewish youth groups continued their growth and development after World War II. Among the "new entries" were (Conservative) United Synagogue Youth (1951) and (Orthodox) National Conferences of Synagogue Youth (1959). Educators often encouraged students to participate in school, youth group, and residential summer camp, to maximize Jewish educational opportunity.

During the first half of the 20th century, a variety of Jewish community centers were created. In the settlement house era, such centers often focused on "Americanization" of Jewish immigrants. In the course of the Great Depression of the 1930s, JCC services to the broader community became common; many of the centers' professionals saw JCCs as agents in the mission of social reconstruction. During World War II, many Jewish centers had organized nursery schools and kindergartens to provide care for the children of working mothers. These early childhood programs became an integral part of the centers' "menu" of activities.

With increasing suburbanization, new Jewish community centers were built in emerging areas of Jewish population. In the two decades after World War II, $125 million were invested in new JCC facilities. In an effort to clarify the mission of the JCC in the new era, the Jewish Welfare Board, umbrella organization of the Jewish Community Centers, commissioned a study (1945–47) aimed at articulating the direction to be taken by Jewish centers at mid-century. Summarizing the data, the author of what came to be known as the "Janowsky Report" noted that very few centers provided an atmosphere reflecting intensive Jewish interest or activity. While the report called upon centers to promote Jewish activity, it did not offer guidance as to how the program of centers was to move towards this outcome.

Though Harry *Wolfson and Salo *Baron had, by the 1930s, achieved scholarly eminence in Jewish studies at Harvard and Columbia, respectively, it was the ethnic studies current of the late 1960s that brought courses in Jewish studies to hundreds of American universities. The number of full-time university positions in Jewish studies had risen from 12 in 1945 to 65 in 1965, and increased even more dramatically in the ensuing decades. In addition to the availability of and mounting interest in university-level Judaic studies courses, the aftermath of the June 1967 Six-Day War saw a proliferation of and enrollment in Israel programs for high school students and collegiates.

While the "Foundation Schools" of the 1940s for students ages three through eight (combining Jewish and general education) were being supplanted by day schools, early childhood ("nursery") centers for pre-school children, which had expanded significantly during and after World War II, continued to grow. As more women entered the work force, such programs served not only a Jewish educational function, but assumed an essential child care role. Synagogues, Jewish centers, and elementary day schools were among the primary providers of burgeoning early childhood education services.

In the 1940s, adult Jewish education began a generation of renewed growth. The Conservative Movement's National Academy for Adult Jewish Studies was established in 1940, followed in 1948 by the founding of the Department of Continuing Education of the UAHC. B'nai B'rith launched adult "Institutes of Judaism" in 1948. Another adult educational initiative destined to have a significant impact was the Brandeis Camp Institute for college-age young adults, initiated by Shlomo Bardin in 1941. In 1965, the AAJE convened the first national conference on Jewish adult education in the United States. There was ample evidence that programs of adult Jewish learning were on the rise. This was consistent with the expansion, during the 1950s and 1960s, of adult education generally, as a result of increased leisure time and an escalated level of education.

Despite the many positive trends in the Jewish educational landscape, there were some ominous signs of challenge to continuing Jewish vitality. In 1957, the U.S. Census Bureau reported the following regarding birthrates among Catholics, Protestants, and Jews: Catholics, 3.1; Protestants, 2.8; Jews, 2.1. Indeed, with the end of the post-World War II baby boom, Jewish school enrollment declined to under 400,000 (from a peak of nearly 590,000 in 1962) by the mid-1970s. Perhaps most shocking was the dramatic rise in intermarriage. The National Jewish Population Study of 1971 reported that the rate of intermarriage had risen from under 7% in the 1950s to 31% between 1966–70.

The vision of integration articulated by Benderly, Kaplan, and generations of educators was, it was beginning to appear, less tenable than once imagined. As Jewish communal leaders increasingly spoke the language of "Jewish survival," the focus of congregational education became Jewish identity – "to make young people feel more Jewish." Adding to concern about the success potential for ensuring Jewish survival in the United States were two studies, published in 1975 and 1976, which "scientifically" demonstrated that a minimum threshold of instructional hours of Jewish schooling (3,000 according to one study and 1,000 according to the second) was required to impart adult religious identification. These thresholds exceeded the level of Jewish education received by all but a small minority of Jewish students.

Educational Trends at the Close of the 20th Century

The last quarter of the 20th century, particularly its closing decade, saw Jewish education emerge as a centerpiece of Jewish communal and philanthropic efforts to address the perceived challenges to "Jewish continuity" in the United States. During this period, Jewish day schools came to serve nearly 200,000 students from the four-year-old pre-school level through high school, participation in "Israel experience" programs by teens and collegiates was defined as a "birthright" and heavily subsidized, a Foundation for Jewish Camping sought to expand the availability of residential camping as a Jewish educational option, initiatives aimed at recruiting and training recent college graduates for service as Jewish educators were launched, programs of systematic, comprehensive adult learning were created and embraced by significant numbers of participants, and congregational change strategies aimed at nurturing communities of Jewish learning were conceived and piloted. Philanthropic foundations and individual funders with interest in Jewish life came to play an increasingly more substantial role in shaping Jewish educational projects. Evidence of intensification of Jewish learning and living was readily available, as was evidence of declining Jewish population and the diminishing Jewish involvement – at least on a communal level – of many Jews. Sociologists aptly noted that, notwithstanding the plans and prescriptions of Jewish community leaders and organizations, the story and extent of individual Jewish involvement was, increasingly, a function of the "sovereign self."

Among the educational trends of note towards the close of the 20th century were the following:

1. The growth of early childhood education programs
2. The "boom" in Jewish studies programs on college campuses and the revitalization of Hillel
3. A more "holistic" approach to Jewish education, embracing both formal and informal educational experiences
4. Family education in a variety of settings (including Jewish community centers, schools, and retreat centers)
5. The proliferation of adult study opportunities
6. The impact (albeit touching a modest percentage of the population pool) of Jewish residential camping
7. Expanded Israel trips, including Birthright Israel (a partnership between North American Jewish philanthropists, Jewish Federations, and the Israeli government to make it possible for American Jewish college students to experience Israel on organized, ten-day trips, at no charge)
8. Foundation initiatives in funding broad issues in a systemic fashion

Many of these initiatives were responses to the findings of the 1990 National Jewish Population Survey, indicating inter alia that the intermarriage rate had reached 52% (a figure challenged by some as overstating a rate which stood "only" at 43%). Even before release of the NJPS, the Commission on Jewish Education in North America, convened by respected philanthropist Mort Mandel, had issued its report, *A Time to Act*, giving expression to the malaise of American Jewry, and suggesting Jewish education as the antidote.

As growing numbers of school-age children of the "echo" of the post-World War II baby boom were enrolled in private schools, including Jewish day schools, "community" (i.e., pandenominational) Jewish day schools were among the expanding educational venues. Alongside the Torah Umesorah, Solomon Schechter, and PARDeS School networks, there emerged networks of pluralistic day schools, representing approximately 10% of day schools and of student enrollment. Community elementary schools were organized as RAVSAK: the Jewish Community Day School Network. In 1999, the North American Association of Jewish High Schools (NAAJHS) was formed. Consisting chiefly of community day high schools, this network had more than 20 member schools within three years of its establishment. Its programs included joint student activities, in addition to collaboration among educational professionals. The American Association of Jewish Education was, in 1981, reconstituted as JESNA (Jewish Education Service of North America), and undertook to work with federations, bureaus, and school networks for the advancement of Jewish education, nationally.

With the growth of non-Orthodox day schools – and the enrollment in such schools of students whose families, in many cases, represented the element within Conservative and Reform congregations most interested in a more intensive Jewish life style – the primary focus of part-time congregational education came to be "Jewish identity" development. Consistent with this change in emphasis, and responding to member families' expressed needs, many schools sponsored by Conservative congregations modified their "traditional" 3 days /6 hours per week standard in favor of two weekly sessions.

Concern about the efficacy of congregational schooling was expressed not only by earlier research reporting on the inadequacy of instructional hours, but by a major study conducted by the Board of Jewish Education of New York in the mid-1980s. Findings of the study were released in a report titled "Jewish Supplementary Schooling; An Educational System in Need of Change." The report urged that family education and informal education became integral to supplementary education and that training and the provision of educational career opportunities be made available to attract and retain qualified personnel for the type of instruction proposed.

The 1980s and 1990s saw significant growth in family education initiatives. Early childhood Jewish education programs, in particular, were increasingly understood as portals of entry offering the possibility of Jewish educational engagement with parents and families. At the same time, there were those who argued that not only the family but the communities of families comprising congregations needed to "reimagine" themselves. In the 1990s, Joseph Reimer chronicled a model of effective, school-based Jewish education in a congregation which had apparently transformed itself into a community of learning. Isa Aron led a systematic project, "The Experiment in Congregational Education," aimed at facilitating a reconceptualization of congregational education. In Dr. Aron's vision, synagogues needed to re-engineer themselves into congregations of learners. On a parallel track, adult education frameworks such as Boston's Meah program, the Wexner Foundation Heritage program, and the Florence Melton Adult Mini-School, each serving thousands of participants over a two-year period of intensive study, aimed at effecting sociocultural transformation through Jewish learning.

An Avi Chai Foundation study of day school enrollment, released in the year 2000, showed that 80% of the 185,000 students (pre-K–4-years-old–through 12th grade) enrolled in the country's 670 day schools were in Orthodox schools; more than half of the total number of day school enrollees were in the state of New York. Ḥasidic and yeshivah day school enrollment – estimated at 33% in 1973 – had, a generation later, grown to nearly 50%. That the day school phenomenon, however, was not exclusively the concern of Orthodox institutional leadership was reflected in the emergence of PEJE (Partnership for Excellence in Jewish Education) – a consortium of mainly other-than-Orthodox philanthropists organized to promote access to and the quality of day school education – as a prominent advocacy group in support of day school education. The end of the 20th century saw an escalating number of day high schools established, many of them "community" (non-Orthodox) schools. Within the Orthodox sector, an Association of Modern Orthodox Day Schools and Yeshiva High Schools (AMODS) was established, affiliated with Yeshiva University.

The 1990s saw the emergence of "Partnership 2000," a series of "twinning" linkages between Israeli municipalities and various American Jewish Federations. Within those partnerships, educational initiatives between Israeli schools and American Jewish schools (typically, day schools) were launched. These joint ventures commonly brought faculty (and, sometimes, students) together, often around the question of the nature and meaning of Jewish peoplehood and core Jewish values. A century after Aḥad Ha-Am suggested that, somehow, a critical mass of Jews constituting a majority population in the land of Israel might resolve the malaise of Judaism in the modern world, the legatees of his thinking – both in Israel and in the U.S. – were working jointly to meet the continuing, complex challenge of articulating the very meaning of Jewish identity. On both sides of these partnerships, Jewish communities aggregating 75% of world Jewry sensed the need for such definition, knowing that, in the case of Jewish education as with any other educational matter, coherent purpose is essential for effectiveness.

The 1990s saw renewed declarations regarding the importance of Hebrew language literacy. The Statement of Principles for Reform Judaism, for example, adopted at the 1999 Pittsburgh Convention of the Central Conference of American Rabbis, affirmed "the importance of studying Hebrew, the language of Torah and Jewish liturgy, that we may draw closer to our people's sacred texts." It remained to be seen what impact the "new" Pittsburgh Platform might have on emphases in curriculum and instruction in the educational settings of Reform Judaism. Similarly, in the mid-1990s, the chancellor of the (Conservative) Jewish Theological Seminary of America, Ismar *Schorsch, issued a pamphlet describing the seven "core" values of Conservative Judaism. Schorsch identified recognition of the importance of Hebrew as a core value of Conservative Judaism, urging that Hebrew must emerge as the unifying language of the Jewish people. Writing at a time when Conservative congregational education was, for increasing numbers of students, being restructured from three weekly sessions to two weekly contacts, it remained to be seen in which settings this sentiment might be "translated" to an action program.

By 1998, Jewish civilization was being taught or researched at over 700 American institutions of higher learning. While the 2000–1 NJPS indicated that 41% of Jewish undergraduates took at least one course in "Jewish studies" during their college years, it is important to keep in mind that the academic analysis of aspects of Jewish civilization is neither designed nor presented as an exploration which should, in any way, inform the learner's identity. A revitalized Hillel Foundation sought to meet – and, for many, to create – Jewish educational needs of an estimated 400,000 Jewish collegiates.

By the year 2000, an estimated 18,000 post-high school young men – in addition to the 150,000 students of both genders in Orthodox Jewish day schools – were enrolled in yeshivot and *kolelim*. Of this number, approximately 2,350 studied at the Beth Medrash Govoha in Lakewood and 1,500 were at the United Talmudical Seminary of the Satmar ḥasidim. An emerging phenomenon was the establishment of small, "activist" *kolelim* in cities from Boca Raton to Atlanta to Pittsburgh, Chicago, Los Angeles, and elsewhere, in which full time, deeply Orthodox talmudists devoted significant time to community education, engaging in study with non-traditionalist segments of Jewry. In addition to the growing number of *kolel* participants, thousands of American Jewish young men and women were studying in yeshivot and seminaries in Israel each year. Yet, even the Orthodox population was by no means impervious to acculturating tendencies. The estimates for dropouts by youth from Orthodoxy, though not from Judaism, ran as high as one-third.

The 2000–1 NJPS indicated that, among students ages 6 to 17 in once per week programs, 2–3 times per week, or Jewish day schools, the day school group represented a plurality of students, with 29% of school age students receiving day school education, 24% part-time (but more than once per week) Jewish education, and 25% attending once-per-week classes, during the course of their educational "career." Day school enrollment had become ubiquitous in Orthodox circles and PEJE was undertaking a series of initiatives designed to double – over the ensuing decade – day school enrollment in the non-Orthodox sector (this at a time of a shrinking potential student pool owing to the end of the "echo" of the post-World War II baby boom). Issues such as government financial support for the education of students attending (day) schools, whether through voucher programs or funding of assorted educational services, continued to be vigorously debated within the Jewish community. The growing number of "community" (non-denominationally affiliated) day schools, combined with the emergence of two new non-denominational rabbinical schools (Academy for the Jewish Religion, California, and the Rabbinical School of Hebrew College, Newton, MA), suggested a growing strand of "post-denominational" American Judaism in the making.

The notion of Jewish education as "enculturation" gave rise, in the closing decades of the 20th century, to increased attention to "beyond the classroom" experiences engaging children and families. Influenced perhaps by public discussion and government action in the matter of providing appropriate educational services and opportunities for students with special learning needs, expanded initiatives to provide Jewish education for students with special needs were launched. Programs built on "inclusion" and self-contained models were established in schools, camps, and youth groups.

The trend towards maximizing the Jewish educational effectiveness of Jewish community centers continued at the turn of the century, as did "synagogue transformation" projects. If the Pittsburgh Platform of 1885 was a statement of late 19th-century American Jewish acculturation, the Pittsburgh Platform of 1999 reflected revitalized interest in the "whole array" of Jewish teaching. Kaplan's vision of Jewish organizations as vehicles for promoting Jewish learning and fostering Jewish consciousness was being realized in many settings.

Thus, by the end of the 20th century, trends of intensified engagement in Jewish education stood alongside diminishing numbers of Jews, and the spirit of individualism – long a distinguishing feature of the American ethos – was pervasive in Jewish life. The structures of Jewish corporate society, ruptured by modernity, never held sway on American soil. Through the first half of the 20th century, however, immigrant ties, the specter of antisemitism, and support of the emerging State of Israel had served to nurture and sustain strong communal bonds. By the latter part of the 20th century, the "sovereign self" reigned fiercely supreme. Individual "journey" had, for increasing numbers of Jews, supplanted community-centered Judaism. A growing array of Jewish educational frameworks aimed to respond to diverse needs and interests.

Challenges at the Beginning of the 21st Century

Within the many domains of Jewish educational activity, the issue of goal clarification, or educational vision, is an increasingly recognized focus. Articulating a vision (or multiple visions) of Judaism and its significance must, as generations of concerned observers have noted, be the starting point of Jewish educational activity. One significant model of building education on a "platform" of vision and clearly defined purpose was a pioneering school accreditation program developed by the Bureau of Jewish Education of Greater Los Angeles for Jewish day, supplementary, and early childhood education centers in the 1990s. This comprehensive program, as the Experiment in Congregational Education, called for institutional articulation of the mission and goals of each Jewish educational community as an essential starting point. Towards the same end, the Mandel Foundation, prior to and since publication of its *Visions of Jewish Education* (2003) – a work which "unpacks" the educational implications of alternative visions of Jewish education – has sponsored training programs aimed at encouraging more careful reflection on educational vision.

The challenge of personnel recruitment, training, and retention has been part of the "story" of Jewish education since the earliest period of American Jewish life. The Mandel Commission report of 1990 highlighted personnel as key to addressing Jewish educational challenges in every domain – early childhood through adulthood; in 2004, JESNA convened a national "Summit" focused on addressing the personnel needs of Jewish education. This heightened attention to the essential need for personnel has "translated" to a proliferation of fellowship and in-service programs, both preparing new recruits and strengthening the skills of those already in the field.

In addition to clarity of vision and the training of educational personnel, the cost of providing and accessing Jewish education is a third, critical issue, early in the 21st century. Having developed such outstanding – and costly – frameworks as day schools and residential camps, to name but two examples, the need for ensuring student access is compelling. If seats or beds, as the case may be, cost thousands or tens of thousands of dollars per child per session, what is to be the "standing" of the majority of American Jews who are unable to sustain the costs involved? The engagement of increasing numbers of private foundations in the cause of Jewish education and the example of "Birthright Israel" represent "promising prospects," but the challenge of financial access to Jewish education remains considerable. The organic inter-relationship of the above issues is clear. Attracting and retaining qualified personnel surely has cost implications. A sense of vision and mission relates to attracting personnel and funds, and will be rooted in notions of the very nature of Judaism and the purpose of Jewish education.

If American Jews are to continue to flourish and contribute to the world as Jews, intensive and extensive Jewish educational opportunity must, surely, be available and accessible. Though Jewish population is declining (because of low birthrates) and many Jews lack rudimentary Jewish education or more than an ephemeral sense of Jewish identity, the percentage and numbers of American Jews involved in serious Jewish study have never been greater. An Avi Chai report released in 2005, for example, showed that, over the five-year period 1998–99 to 2003–4, day school enrollment had increased from 185,000 students to 205,000 students.

At the start of the century, new initiatives were also underway aimed at strengthening early Jewish education and engaging parents of early childhood students in Jewish experiences. The challenges of creating, sustaining, and providing access to frameworks of meaningful Jewish educational engagement to nurture and facilitate lifelong Jewish learning and living are considerable. It is, however, the commitment and sense of urgency of those who care deeply about the advancement of Jewish education and act accordingly in each generation that ensures the vitality of Jewish life in the United States, as elsewhere.

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[Gil Graff (2nd ed.)]

GREAT BRITAIN

Early Period

Jewish education was quickly reorganized after the readmission of the Jews in the mid-17th century. The London Sephardi congregation established a boys' school, *Sha'arei Tikvah* ("Gates of Hope"), in 1664, where instruction was at first given in Spanish, Portuguese, and Ladino, although English was one of the secular subjects taught. A talmudical college (Beth Hamedrash Heshaim, 1664) was also sponsored by the Sephardim, and in 1730 the Villareal girls' school was founded to provide a training in Judaism, languages, and domestic science. During the 17th century, the haham of the London Sephardim had to devote several hours of his day to teaching the children of his congregants. Jewish educational standards among the British Ashkenazim were uniformly lower. Although the Great Synagogue in London established a *talmud torah* school in 1732, records of the mid-18th century show that the more recent Ashkenazi community had managed to organize only two small "*ḥadarim*" in which the language of instruction was Yiddish. An anonymous publication of the late 18th century, *Sefer Giddul Banim* (London, 1771), discussed contemporary teaching methods and syllabi in the spirit of the Haskalah. Despite its Hebrew title, this work was written in Yiddish and its approach reflects the critical views of English *maskilim* of the time.

The 19th Century

By the beginning of the 19th century, English had replaced Portuguese and Yiddish as the language of instruction in Jewish congregational schools, which were reorganized and broadened. The Sephardi "Gates of Hope" school was reconstituted in 1821 and the Villareal girls' school merged with the National and Infant Schools in 1839. Meanwhile, the Ashkenazim had overtaken the Sephardim in numbers and importance and this development was reflected in the comparatively large number of educational projects established during the first half of the century. In London, various "free schools" came into being: the Westminster Jews' Free School (1811); the (East End) Jews' Free School (1817); and the Jews' Infant Schools, founded to combat missionary activities. The Western Metropolitan Jewish School flourished during the years 1845–97 and, from the 1860s, other schools were established in the Bayswater, Borough, and Stepney districts. "Hebrew endowed schools" were also founded in the major cities of the Provinces, such as Manchester (1838), Liverpool (1840), Birmingham (1840), and Hull. By 1850, some 2,000 Jewish children attended schools of this type in Britain, representing a remarkably high proportion of the total Jewish school age population at a time when the Jews of Britain numbered no more than about 35,000.

The "free schools" did not, however, enjoy a complete monopoly of Jewish education at this period. Some children attended religion classes after spending the day at non-Jewish schools, and their educational needs were catered for by the Jewish Association for the Diffusion of Religious Knowledge (1860). Other children attended Jewish fee-paying schools run by private individuals and these were often of vastly differing educational standards. Among the best known were those of the Hebraist Hyman Hurwitz (Highgate, c. 1800), whose pupils included many who later attained eminence in Anglo-Jewry; Solomon Lyon (1754–1820), whose Jewish boarding school at Cambridge was the first of its type in Britain; the writer Grace *Aguilar (Hackney, 1842–47); and the Orientalist Louis *Loewe, who was secretary to Moses Montefiore.

Jewish educational institutes of an advanced type also came into existence during the early and mid-19th century. A chair of Hebrew was established at the non-sectarian University College of London in 1828 and attracted Jewish teachers and students; while the Jews' General Literary and Scientific Institution, inspired by the popular "mechanics institutes," was founded in 1845. Ten years later, Jews' College was established in London to train Jewish ministers and preachers. During the 1870s a Society for Hebrew Literature also flourished in London. Boys intending to enter the Jewish ministry were educated at the Jews' College Preparatory School (1855–79), a forerunner of Aria College in Brighton.

Following the Education Act of 1870, which established free primary schooling for children in Great Britain, no new Jewish "free schools" came into being and the private, fee-paying establishments suffered a sharp decline. Toward the end of the 19th century, when Jewish immigration from Eastern Europe swamped the old-established communities in London and the provinces, dozens of Yiddish-speaking *ḥadarim* and *talmud torah* schools were set up throughout the country. Though despised by many of the anglicized Jews, these provided Jewish youngsters with a far deeper basic training in Judaism. The Association for the Diffusion of Religious Knowledge was reorganized as the Jewish Religious Education Board (1893) and, by the turn of the century, the Jews' Free School in London's East End with its 3,000 pupils (2,000 boys and 1,000 girls) was the largest school in Britain and reputedly the biggest Jewish teaching center in Europe, if not in the whole world. Many of its own teachers were former pupils and it provided the staff for many other Jewish schools in Great Britain and the British Empire. However, as Israel *Zangwill observed in *Children of the Ghetto* (1892), the school's primary aim was to neutralize the more fiery Judaism of "alien" immigrants by the process of anglicization; and by 1901 Solomon *Schechter was already deploring the ignorance prevalent in the Anglo-Jewish community.

The 20th Century

As early as the first decade of the 20th century, the established Jewish educational organizations were feeling the pressure of the more Orthodox bodies set up by, or on behalf of, the immigrant population. The process had a synagogal parallel in the rivalry between the United Synagogue and the Federation of Synagogues in the London area, and there were similar repercussions in the major Jewish centers in the Provinces. A Talmud Torah Trust (known in later years as the London Talmud Torah Council) was founded in London in 1905; while bodies of the same type came into being in Leeds (1879) and Liverpool (1893) and in Manchester and Glasgow. The Redmans Road Talmud Torah in Stepney (1901) first introduced instruction in Hebrew on the Zionist pattern ("*Ivrit be-Ivrit*"), the same system being adopted by the Liverpool Hebrew Higher Grade School of Jacob Samuel *Fox. However, the overwhelming proportion of Jewish children attended state primary and secondary schools and acquired their meager knowledge of Hebrew and Judaism in "withdrawal classes" or in the religious schools administered by the various synagogue groups. Although an amalgamated Union of Hebrew and Religious Classes was founded in London (1907), there was little concerted effort to train teachers, standardize textbooks, or inspect classes in the Provinces. Those Jewish parents sufficiently interested could request the withdrawal of their children from Scripture ("Divinity") lessons and their exemption from attendance on Saturday mornings and Jewish festivals, wherever non-Jewish head teachers were agreeable. Only a small minority of youngsters enjoyed the benefit of a more intensive course of instruction.

After World War I, a fresh attempt was made to reorganize Jewish education through the "Jewish War Memorial" project, which led to the establishment of the Central Committee for Jewish Education (1920). This worked with limited success for the next two decades. More strenuous efforts were made by Zionist educators such as Jacob Koppel *Goldbloom in London's East End and Izak *Goller in Liverpool, as well as by the more strictly Orthodox Jews of London, led by Rabbi Victor (Avigdor) *Schoenfeld. In 1929, the latter established the Jewish Secondary Schools Movement, which was reinforced by Orthodox teachers and scholars from Central Europe who sought refuge in Britain during the 1930s. Other immigrants helped to fortify and improve the religion classes and standards of the Reform and Liberal movements. In the sphere of rabbinic training, Jews' College – the British Empire's only seminary from 1855 – continued to prepare ministers and a few rabbis under the direction of Adolf *Buechler; while the more recent yeshivot (talmudical colleges) founded by immigrants from Lithuania and Poland endeavored to produce "learned laymen" capable of influencing the religious direction of the community and of raising its Jewish educational sights. By 1939, there were flourishing yeshivot in London (Etz Chaim – Tree of Life College, 1903; Law of Truth Talmudical College, 1938, etc.), Manchester (1911), and Gateshead (1927), and smaller yeshivot in Liverpool (1915), Leeds, and Glasgow.

At the outbreak of World War II, the Jewish educational picture in Great Britain showed signs of improvement. Apart from the two old-established Sephardi schools and the London and provincial "free schools" of the 19th century, there were some 3,000 pupils at the Jews' Free School, over 2,000 at the 19 institutes run by the Talmud Torah Trust, and nearly 5,000 boys and girls enrolled in the 57 classes of the Union of Hebrew and Religious Classes, with many more at *talmud torah*s and religion classes in the Provinces. In 1939, the Central Committee for Jewish Education merged with the Joint Emergency Committee for Jewish Religious Education in Great Britain and, led by educators such as Nathan *Morris, grappled with the urgent problem of maintaining a Jewish educational program for children and young people uprooted from their homes by wartime evacuation. A series of regular publications and correspondence courses was devised for the teaching of Hebrew, Bible, Mishnah, Jewish history, and religious subjects; and supplementary aid was provided by the *Habonim, *Bnei Akiva, and *Torah va-Avodah Zionist youth movements, all of which published material of an educational nature during the war years. The Education Act of 1944 first gave formal sanction to the withdrawal of Jewish children from state or state-aided voluntary (i.e., denominational) schools for the purpose of worship or religious instruction in accordance with parents' wishes.

Early Postwar Developments

A Communal Conference on the Reconstruction of Jewish Education in Great Britain was held in London in 1945, as a result of which two major coordinating bodies came into being: the London Board of Jewish Religious Education and the Central Council of Jewish Religious Education, which had the harder task of organizing schools and classes in Jewish communities throughout the British Isles. In London and the Provinces, the old "*ḥeder*" and *talmud torah* institutions gradually gave way to the Jewish day school system, and increasing emphasis was laid on combating ignorance, apathy, and assimilation. In this battle much inspiration was obtained from the emergence of the State of Israel, which has enlivened the Jewish calendar and added a new zest to the learning and teaching of Judaism and Jewish history as well as the Hebrew language.

During the late 1940s and the 1950s many new Jewish day schools were founded in London and the major cities, this movement gaining added impetus and encouragement after the Ministry of Education granted recognition to several such schools in 1951. Most of them provide primary education (ages 5–11) in general subjects and Jewish studies, but there are also some secondary and grammar schools which receive state aid. Progress was at first slow after the devastation of the war years and in 1953 less than 19,000 Jewish children in the Greater London area (with a total Jewish population of 285,000) received regular religious instruction, as compared with slightly more than that number in 1924, when there were only 175,000 Jews in the British capital. By 1954, there were ten Jewish schools in Britain receiving state aid and 13 others operating on a private basis. One important development was the revival of the old Jews' Free School as the JFS Comprehensive School in Camden Town, North London (1958). The postwar years also saw the growth of the Jewish Secondary Schools Movement and of two other Orthodox networks: the right-wing Yesodey Hatorah schools (1943) and the Lubavitch Foundation (1959). A few schools were also sponsored by the British Mizrachi Federation in conjunction with the Jewish Agency Torah Department (North-West London, Dublin) and many more in London and the Provinces by the British Zionist Federation. Schools of the Zionist type run in conjunction with the London Board or local Jewish education authorities were founded in the London suburbs of Clapton (1956), Willesden (1945, 1947), Hampstead Garden Suburb, Golders Green (1959), Edgware (1956), and Ilford (1970), and older schools refounded in Bayswater and Stepney. The same trend was maintained in the Provinces with Jewish primary schools in Birmingham, Leeds, Liverpool, Manchester, Newcastle, Southend, Sunderland, and in Dublin and Glasgow.

The rate of educational progress may be gauged from the fact that, while only a little more than 4,000 Jewish children attended day schools in 1953, nearly 9,000 were enrolled in schools of this type by 1963. In 1961, it was estimated that 13% (approximately 8,000 children) out of the total Jewish school population attended 18 kindergartens, 23 primary, and 9 secondary schools under various Jewish auspices in Great Britain (of which 16 were state-aided); while 22,000 Jewish youngsters were enrolled in "withdrawal classes," "*ḥadarim*" and *talmud torah* and synagogue schools throughout the country. Nevertheless, only a little over half of the Jewish population of school age received regular Jewish education. Attendance in the day schools compared with the national average, whereas boys enrolled in synagogue and similar classes tended to abandon their Jewish studies after the critical age of 13, when they had reached their bar mitzvah. The same was true of girls once they reached their early teens. By 1970 there were 50 Jewish day schools in Great Britain (a little over half of them in the London area), with about 10,000 pupils in all, including 4,000 in the Provinces.

Secondary and Higher Education

During the 1950s and 1960s there was a gradual, but significant, increase in the number of Jewish youngsters in full-time attendance at Jewish secondary and grammar schools. In the Provinces, the two principal mixed grammar schools were both in Lancashire – the Liverpool King David School (part of a local network with a total enrollment of 700, not all of whom were, however, Jewish children) and the Manchester King David High School, which also had associated infants' and junior schools. The Glasgow Hebrew College taught youngsters over the age of 13. There were also a number of voluntary schools in Manchester, where about half the Provincial day schools were concentrated, including the Manchester Jewish Grammar School (Boys) and the Manchester Jewish High School for Girls. The most novel experiment in Jewish education of the postwar years was Carmel College at Wallingford, near Oxford, founded by Rabbi Kopul Rosen in 1948. This was a highly successful Jewish "public school" combining a high level of secular and traditional Jewish studies. It appealed to parents frustrated by the public school "quota" system operating against Jewish boys, but also attracted students from abroad. Whittingehame College in Sussex, run on a Zionist pattern, was, unlike Carmel College, based on a secular program, which may account for the lack of public support which led to its closure in the late 1960s.

The Jewish institutions of higher learning were headed by Jews' College which, under the direction of Isidore *Epstein, was reorganized from 1958 as a seminary for the training of rabbis, ministers, and cantors, with an associated teachers' institute. The Judith Lady Montefiore College (1869) in Ramsgate was reestablished in 1952 as the result of an agreement between the London Sephardim and the Jewish Agency Torah Department to train teachers and cantors mainly recruited from North Africa. In 1960 the college was transferred to London. Leo Baeck College (1956), a Reform foundation, was later reorganized in conjunction with the Liberal and Progressive movement to train non-Orthodox rabbis and teachers. By 1967, there were a dozen yeshivot in Great Britain with a total enrollment of some 400 full-time students – about four times as many as those attending the two London seminaries. Four of the yeshivot (Etz Chaim, Law of Truth, Horomo, and Chaye

Olam) were in the Greater London area; and there were three major yeshivot in Gateshead, Manchester, and Sunderland, each of which had an associated *kolel* (institute for higher rabbinic studies). Gateshead, an island of strict Orthodoxy, had a yeshivah population of 160 in 1962 and also housed two Jewish schools. There were smaller yeshivot in Ilford, Leeds, Liverpool, and Glasgow. Advanced Hebrew studies were also pursued by degree students at the universities of London, Leeds, Manchester, and Oxford, and at Dublin and Glasgow.

Jewish education was promoted in Great Britain by various communal and other bodies, including the National Union of Hebrew Teachers (1945), which fought a long campaign to raise the status and remuneration of the Jewish teacher; the B'nai B'rith Hillel Foundation (1953); the Inter-University Jewish Federation (1919); the Central Council's Jewish Youth Study Groups (1946); and Ḥovevey Torah (1951), a voluntary organization of young adults conducting a weekly program of advanced Torah study in London. Other important educational bodies included the Society for Jewish Study (1946), whose members ranged from the Orthodox to the Liberal; the Jewish Book Council (1949), which organized an annual Book Week of lectures and exhibitions in London; and the Institute of Jewish Studies (1953), established in Manchester by R. Alexander *Altmann and later transferred to University College, London. One notably successful educational scheme was the Hebrew Seminar movement initiated by Levi Gertner, director of the Jewish Agency Education Department, which drew hundreds of participants to its weekend and vacation courses in the countryside and abroad.

Hebrew Teaching

The cost of maintaining the fabric of Jewish education in Great Britain is borne by the most committed, and derives from communal taxation, voluntary donations, Zionist grants, *kashrut* supervision fees, and synagogue seat rentals. Additional sums are obtained from fees paid by a minority of parents, and a proportion of the budget is also paid by the state.

In order to improve the general standard of Hebrew teaching, salaries were increased (this was not necessary in state-recognized schools) and a number of teachers' training colleges established. These included the Teachers' Institute attached to Jews' College, whose students sat for degree and diploma examinations; an evening institute run by the London Board; the Lady Judith Montefiore College; the Salford Training College in Manchester; and two women's colleges administered by the Beth Jacob movement in London and Gateshead. In most, if not all, of these the minimum training period was three years; and in 1960 there were close to 250 men and women enrolled. There were active Jewish education boards in Glasgow, Leeds, Manchester, and Sheffield, and a communal education officer in Birmingham.

Subsequent Developments

While estimates of the Jewish child population (and of those receiving part-time Jewish education) fell with the decline of the general child population in Britain, the number enrolled in Jewish day schools reached some 13,000 at the end of the 1970s, representing over 20% of the estimated Jewish child population. New Jewish day schools continued to be founded and there were positive developments in Jewish adult education in various aspects involving synagogues of different religious affiliation, the Lubavitch movement, and courses for younger Jewish leaders. Enrollment continued to rise through the 1980s and 1990s reaching 30% in 1992 and 51% in 1999. The United Synagogue Agency for Jewish Education operated 14 primary and nursery schools and five secondary schools in the early 2000s and had trained over 150 teachers since 1997. The Leo Baeck College Center for Jewish Education offered an M.A. program in Jewish education from 2002.

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AUSTRALIA

In 1968 there were 40 school units of which 12 were day schools with an enrollment of 3,580 and 28 supplementary schools with a total registration of 3,335.The programs of all-day schools included secular subjects as prescribed by State authorities. In most of these schools 12 hours per week were allocated for Jewish study of traditional subjects, including modern Hebrew. These schools served children from grades 1 to 6 (ages 5–13 primary) and grades 7 to 12 (ages 14–17 secondary). The percentages of pupils on the secondary level were satisfactory (about 690 out of the total 3,580).

In the supplementary schools or part-time schools, based on a six-year program, the children attended four days a week as well as once-a-week classes. The educational program of the supplementary schools conducted by synagogues varied with the type of sponsorship. The Orthodox placed more stress on traditional subjects (prayers, Bible, customs, and Hebrew), the classes conducted by the Zionist Council emphasized the study of Hebrew, the liberal synagogue-schools, especially in the one-day-a-week classes, employed the vernacular in all teaching, and the Yiddish schools taught almost exclusively Yiddish language and literature and some Hebrew for bar mitzvah purposes. In addition to children receiving an education in the Jewish schools, there were in 1968 about 3,700 pupils in the religious instruction classes of the government schools. Since the education departments in all states of Australia permit denominational teachers to conduct weekly lessons, the Jews made full use of this opportunity. Thus a total of approximately 10,600 children received a Jewish education: a little more than a third having had a maximum program, and about two-thirds a minimal education. Most schools lacked adequate text materials and instructional aids. Most textbooks were imported from England, the U.S.A., and Israel.

The teacher situation was very grave in the 1960s. There was a shortage of competent, qualified teachers. In 1968 the day schools employed Israeli teachers; they constituted 35% of the instructional staff. Of the teachers of general subjects in the Jewish day schools more than 50% were non-Jewish.

The schools in each state were affiliated with its State Board of Jewish Education, a community representative body headed by competent educational leadership. In addition, there was in the 1960s an Orthodox United Education Board and a Board for the Schools of the Liberal Congregations. Hebrew classes were also conducted under Zionist auspices. All schools received regular supervisory services by educators engaged by the central educational agencies. In 1968 the Jewish education budget for all Australia was 1,700,000 Australian dollars.

[Judah Pilch]

Several full-time Jewish day schools were founded in the subsequent decades, bringing the total up to 18 in the early 1990s: nine in Melbourne, six in Sydney, and one each in Perth, Adelaide, and Brisbane. These represented the various streams in Australian Jewish life, with three schools in Melbourne, for instance, representing strict Orthodoxy, and the other schools associated with the Mizrachi movement, mainstream Orthodoxy, and with the Progressive movements, with secular Yiddish culture, and with secular Zionism. Enrollments continued to climb at these schools through the 1980s and into the 1990s. In Melbourne, they rose from 4,840 at all schools in 1982 to 5,492 in 1989, and about 6,000 in 1992. In Sydney, the rise was even more spectacular, from 1,594 in 1982 to 3,041 in 1988. During the severe recession of the early 1990s, doubts were widely expressed about the continued viability of several Jewish schools, all of which were fee-paying although they each received some state government assistance. Nevertheless, though their rate of growth fell off, absolute numbers continued to increase, with especially strong growth in the Strictly Orthodox schools, and enrollments at Jewish day schools in Australia probably represented a higher percentage of the local Jewish community than in any other significant Diaspora community, with over 50 percent of Jewish school-age children attending one or another school. Indeed, Australia's Jewish-day-school system has been termed "the jewel in the crown" of Australian Jewish life, with Melbourne's Mount Scopus College, with 2,700 students, long claiming to be the largest Jewish day school in the world. Growth, though slight, continued into the 2000s despite the fact that tuition had become prohibitive for many Jewish families, who were increasingly sending their children to state schools.

Advances were made in this period in tertiary Jewish education, long an area of neglect, especially in comparison with the well-developed day school movement. By 1992, the University of Sydney and three universities in Victoria – Melbourne, Monash, and Deakin – were offering or actively planning Jewish studies programs, a notable advance on the situation a decade before. Lecturers in Modern Jewish History were appointed at Melbourne and Monash universities in, respectively, 1988 and 1992. An Australian Association for Jewish Studies was established in 1987 and held annual conferences since then; hundreds of scholarly papers, representing all facets of Jewish studies, were presented. Several Orthodox *kolelim* also existed.

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CANADA

Jewish education in Canada began as formal schooling, using models that were familiar to the early immigrants arriving from Europe. These modes of instruction were slowly adapted to public school models that were developing at the same time in late 19th-century and early 20th-century Canada. What began, then, as *ḥadarim* in private homes soon became classrooms in a synagogue, and then, later on, modern school buildings. Early schooling was supplemental to the public system, in the afternoons and on Sundays, but day schools eventually became the dominant system. In the large communities of present-day Montreal, Ottawa, Toronto, Winnipeg, Calgary, and Vancouver day school students outnumber supplementary school students, a phenomenon which distinguishes Canadian communities from those in the United States.

This distinguishing characteristic is due, in part, to the fact that early in the history of Canadian public schooling, religion separated different school systems. This remains the case in certain provinces. As a result, Jewish day schools are government-assisted in some provinces, the great exception being Ontario, with the largest Jewish population. Many attempts have been made to right this injustice in the Ontario system where Catholic schools receive full funding, and for a brief period a tax credit did exist in the early years of the 21st century.

There are a number of modes of Jewish education currently operating in Canada. These include full day schools and supplementary congregational or independent schools; Jewish pre-schools linked to day schools, JCC's, or associated to congregational or independent supplementary schools; educational programs organized by denominational, community-, or Zionist-based youth groups; educational programs at denominational, community, Zionist, or private summer camps; adult educational programs offered by congregations and community organizations as well as Jewish teacher training programs and Jewish studies courses and programs available through different Canadian universities. With the exception of a few secular schools, youth groups, and camps, almost all Jewish education in Canada is religious education and is divided by denominations: Ḥasidic, Ḥaredi, Modern Orthodox, Reform, Conservative, Reconstructionist, and Ḥavura communities. Of course, university-based Jewish studies are conducted in the secular settings of Canada's largest academic institutions.

Day schools across Canada offer the typical full day of studies with varying proportions of general studies vis-à-vis Jewish studies, based on the ideology of the school. A typical Ultra-Orthodox school might have a morning and early afternoon of intensive holy studies followed by a late afternoon period of general studies. Another denomination will emphasize high-quality general studies for two-thirds of the day and a Jewish studies curriculum for the remaining third. Most day schools teach both textual and modern Israeli Hebrew, while some teach Yiddish for varied ideological reasons. Jewish curricular content and emphases are determined by the ideology of each particular school.

Pedagogical methodology is also case-specific to each school. The approaches range from rote recitation of texts to Montessori, multiple intelligence instruction, and arts-based techniques.

Supplementary schools are even more varied in their content and form. They range from volunteer-taught Sunday or Sabbath schools to three-day-a-week institutions with full-time directors and professional teachers. There are schools linked to synagogues and temples, community schools, Orthodox *kiruv* schools for non-Orthodox children, and for-profit commercial establishments. In Canada, supplementary schools account for the minority of children in Jewish schooling, but have demonstrated great potential for outreach to peripheral and marginal Jewish families.

Youth groups and summer camps are divided by religious denominations or Zionist movements, with some community-wide groupings. BBYO, Beitar, Bnei Akiva, Habonim-Dror, Hashomer Hatzair, NFTY, NCSY, Tzofim, USY, and Young Judea all have chapters and groups in various communities across Canada. Zionist camps, community camps, denominational camps, and private camps are active near most of the larger communities.

Teacher education has a unique character in Canada due to two university-based programs at McGill University in Montreal and at York University in Toronto, respectively. The McGill program was established in 1973, with York opening its version soon after in 1977. These are Jewish teacher training programs based on an undergraduate degree and a teaching diploma, using faculties of general education and Jewish studies programs in both institutions. York University has an agreement with western Canadian communities to train teachers for the schools of the western provinces. Other teacher training takes place either in pre-service seminaries of Ultra-Orthodox systems or in in-service professional development offered by central agencies such as Toronto's Board of Jewish Education or Montreal's Bronfman Jewish Education Centre.

Aside from teacher training, which is professionally oriented, there are multiple modes of adult education sponsored by a variety of synagogues, temples, service organizations, and community federations. They range from *kolelim* in the Orthodox community, sporadic lectures in a JCC, home study groups, on-line courses, synagogue *shiurim*, Daf Yomi classes, to the *kolel* in Toronto's liberal community.

It should be noted that although several provinces provide partial funding for day schools, all other Jewish educational activities are funded by users, voluntary organizations, and federated communities. In two such federated communities, Montreal and Toronto, there are central agencies for Jewish education, which provide a variety of services to Jewish schools, youth groups, camps, and Israel experiences such as the March of the Living and Birthright for Israel. In Toronto, where there is no provincial aid to day schools, the UJA Federation's Board of Jewish Education grants millions of dollars annually to subsidize day school tuition for parents in need. Over 200,000,000 Canadian dollars are spent annually on all aspects of Jewish education across Canada.

Data from the 2001 Canadian census, coupled with statistics provided by Jewish schools across the country, provide us with a snapshot of the status of Jewish education in Canada.

Of the 61,000 school-age children (those between the ages of 6 and 17) in Canada, 87% lived in the six largest Jewish communities, communities with more than 7,000 Jews. A review of enrollment in day elementary, day high school, and supplementary schools demonstrates the following: In 2001, of the 53,300 children aged 6–17 in the six largest Jewish communities, 25,446 children or 48% were receiving some form of Jewish education. In 2001, of the 34,215 Jewish students aged 6–13 in these communities, 13,767 or 40% attended day elementary schools; by comparison, in 1970, 30% of Jewish students aged 6–13 in all Jewish communities with more than 25 families attended day elementary schools. In 2001, of the 19,085 Jewish students aged 14–17 in the six largest Jewish communities, 4,889 or 26% attended day high schools; by comparison, in 1970, only 10–14% of Jewish students aged 14–17 attended day high schools, so there clearly has been a marked increase in high school attendance. In 2001, of the 53,300 children aged 6–17 who might have enrolled in supplementary schools, 6,790 or 13% were in attendance.

An examination of the figures for individual communities reveals that enrollment statistics vary widely:

	Total Jewish population (2001 Census)	Student population ages 6–17 (2001 Census)	Total enrollment in Jewish education	Total % enrolled in Jewish education
Toronto	179,100	30,365	14,569	48
Montreal	92,975	13,585	7,733	57
Vancouver	22,590	3,140	993	32
Winnipeg	14,775	2,240	875	39
Ottawa	13,130	2,650	913	34
Calgary	7,950	1,320	363	28

In Calgary, Ottawa, and Vancouver, approximately 30% of the children aged 6–13 were enrolled in Jewish schools, with 5–7%

of the students continuing through high school and 6–14% attending supplementary school programs.

Winnipeg's Jewish elementary day schools also service close to 30% of children ages 6–13. However, the situation in Winnipeg is somewhat different. In addition to those students enrolled in Jewish schools, a significant number were enrolled in Hebrew bilingual programs at two public schools, where they study Hebrew language, culture, holidays, etc. In total, then, some 48% of students ages 6–13 were enrolled in Jewish programs. Another difference: in Winnipeg, 20% of students ages 14–17 were enrolled in Jewish high schools. A very small percent attended supplementary school programs.

Montreal and Toronto, with the largest Jewish populations, attracted a larger percentage of the students than the smaller communities. Montreal had the highest percentage of enrollment, with 55% attending elementary schools and 46% attending high schools. Supplementary schools in Montreal attracted some 5% of students ages 6–17. Toronto had 36% of 6–13-year-olds in elementary day school and 21% of 14–17-year-olds in high schools. Toronto had the highest percent of students in supplementary school settings – 17% of 6–17-year-olds. (School population data provided by Federations and schools.)

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[Joyce Levine and Seymour Epstein (2nd ed.)]

SOUTH AFRICA

The outstanding feature of South Africa Jewish education is the predominance of all-day schools over supplementary classes. This is a development that followed World War II. Whereas in 1948 there were only seven pupils in a pioneering day school, in 1968 there were 17 schools with an enrollment in elementary and high school departments of a total of 5,632 pupils. The early post-World War II supplementary schools consisted of several types: one hour daily, five days a week in the morning prior to classes, on public school premises, for secondary school pupils; one hour each day, or two hours twice a week in the afternoon, meeting mostly in Orthodox congregational buildings. These classes had a total enrollment in 1968 of 4,275 pupils. In Johannesburg and its environs the afternoon Hebrew schools, or *talmud torahs,* were organized in a regional body called the United Hebrew Schools. Apart from these Orthodox part-time classes, the Reform congregations under the aegis of the South African Union of Progressive Judaism also maintained such Hebrew schools with a total enrollment of about 1,300 pupils. Finally, 3,406 children studied in 1968 in 53 Jewish nursery schools established and maintained by various women's groups. In 1967 Johannesburg had an Orthodox Yeshiva College and a *Folkshule* where instruction was given in Yiddish.

All these schools, except the Reform, were administered by two separate bodies, the South African Board of Jewish Education based in Johannesburg, and the Cape Board of Jewish Education in Cape Town. This division of labor was due to the distance between the two cities. The South African Board provided various services to scattered small settlements of Jews in rural areas, such as visiting teachers, correspondence courses, syllabi, and supervisory visits.

The South African Jewish community provided especially lavish support for its ever expanding system of day schools. All these schools were accommodated in magnificent, modern structures, usually surrounded by spacious sports fields. Expenditures were covered by tuition fees, fundraising campaigns, grants by Jewish communal organizations, and by private bequests, trust funds, and endowments. To accommodate pupils from outlying country districts, hostels, or dormitories, were provided. In 1968 more than 100 pupils were housed in such hostels of the King David schools in Johannesburg. The hostel of the Herzlia school in Cape Town was also quickly filled with over 50 out-of-town boarders. Sustained living in a richly Jewish atmosphere, especially on the Sabbath, provided a lasting influence on the character of students in these hostels. A further salutary effect upon the development of student Jewish consciousness was afforded by an ulpan scheme whereby groups of secondary school pupils from day schools spent annually over three months in Israel, learning Hebrew and touring the country.

Crowning the Jewish educational system was the Rabbi Judah Leib Zlotnik Seminary in Johannesburg for the training of Hebrew teachers. From the year of its foundation in 1944 to 1968 it produced more than 100 graduates. These teachers served not only the day schools but also the widespread country communities. Every graduate was sent for a year's further study in Jerusalem. The seminary did not meet the demand for teachers. A number of students, mainly women, took courses in Hebrew at the universities of Witwatersrand and Cape Town. Bursaries (stipends) were provided for by the community for those who studied for teaching. The severe shortage of Hebrew teachers was partly filled by arrivals from Israel. In addition to the formal schooling the community provided informal cultural activities, as well as sports and recreational facilities for both youth and adults.

[Isaac Levitats]

In 2003, over 80% of school-going Jewish children in Johannesburg, Cape Town, and Port Elizabeth (whose Theodor Herzl school by then had a mainly non-Jewish enrollment) were attending one of the Jewish day schools. The total pupil enrollment in the day schools was about 8,000, substantially more than the 1970 figure of nearly 6,000 even though the overall Jewish community declined by more than a third. Those still in government schools had their Jewish educational requirements catered to by the United Hebrew Schools (under the SABJE) in Johannesburg and the Religious Instruction Department of the SAJBD in Cape Town. Jewish pupils in Pretoria and Durban received Jewish education through a special department at the Crawford College branches. This arrangement came about following the takeover of the Carmel College Jewish day schools in those cities by Crawford during the 1990s.

The mainstream schools in Johannesburg were the three King David schools, located in Linksfield, Victory Park, and Sandton. The first two provided Jewish education from preschool to matriculation level while the third went up to primary school level. King David's counterparts in Cape Town were the Herzlia schools.

The ideological basis of the King David, Herzlia, and Theodor Herzl schools was officially described as "broadly national traditional," a formula intended to indicate both the religious and the Zionist character of the education. Pupils received a full education following a state syllabus and a Jewish studies program, including religion, history, literature, and Hebrew language. However, many demanded more intensive religious instruction and greater religious observance. Thus Johannesburg's Yeshiva College developed into a full-time day school from nursery school up to matriculation and steadily grew from an initial few dozen pupils to well over 800 by the turn of the century. In 1995, the school received the Jerusalem Prize for Jewish Education in the Diaspora. Yeshiva College could be regarded as centrist Orthodox in its approach. More right-wing Orthodox schools that subsequently were established included Torah Academy and Cape Town's Hebrew Academy (both under Chabad's auspices), Yeshivas Toras Emes, Shaarei Torah, Bais Yaakov, Hirsch Lyons, and Yeshiva Maharsha.

The Progressive movement also maintained a network of supplementary Hebrew and religious classes at its temples. These schools are affiliated with the Union for Progressive Jewish Education.

At the tertiary level, university students were able to take Jewish studies through the Semitics Department of the University of South Africa (UNISA); the Department of Hebrew and Jewish Studies of Natal University; and the Department of Hebrew and Jewish Studies (including the Isaac and Jessie Kaplan Centre for Jewish Studies and Research) at the University of Cape Town. Programs of adult education continued to be provided by the South African Board of Jewish Education, the South African Zionist Federation, and the various affiliates, including most particularly the Union of Jewish Women, the Women's Zionist Council, and the South African Zionist Youth Council.

[David Saks (2nd ed.)]

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ARGENTINA

Jewish education was sponsored and supervised by the Central Board of Education, an affiliate of the Va'ad ha-Kehillot. This Board represented a consolidation in 1956–57 of two formerly independent educational boards, one for Buenos Aires, the other for the provinces. It included the Agudah-oriented Heikhal ha-Torah school with 500 students in 1970. Only the Yieuf (Peoples Democrats, Communist) schools with some 2,000 students remained out of this national Jewish school network. In the past the Argentine Jewish educational system consisted of supplementary schools. The first day school was opened in Buenos Aires in 1948; it took a long time for these schools to spread. Supplementary education was facilitated by the fact that the public schools meet on a four-hour two-shift basis. This enabled Jewish children to attend either morning or afternoon Jewish classes. The predominant element in the program was national rather than religious. Yiddish was given preference over Hebrew, although both languages were taught. Each of the many ideological groupings had its own program of instruction. In the 1960s these curricula began to coalesce and to gravitate toward more traditional and broadly national common elements. There were many inherent weaknesses in the system. As late as 1965 it was pointed out that only 17% of the Jewish school age population was enrolled in Jewish schools. Of those who did attend the first grade in Buenos Aires in 1960 only 4.2% stayed until the sixth grade. Small schools predominated; most buildings were inadequate. European-trained teachers were gradually replaced by native-born, most of them female and inadequately prepared for teaching. Since schools were often initiated and administered teaching by lay individuals, supervision left much to be desired. The general apathy of parents and the assimilatory factors in the community resulted in cultural deprivation of the children.

In the late 1960s there was a turn for the better. Many school buildings were modern, airy, and roomy. The well-organized community supplied a considerable proportion of the school budgets for operational and capital expenditures and strove toward a general upgrading of curriculum and supervision. There were four types of schools: purely Hebraic, Yiddish–Hebrew, Hebrew–Yiddish, and religious. Israel was a most important element of the course of study.

In addition to in-service training courses for teachers there were a number of teachers' seminaries. The oldest among them was the Midrashah, or Seminario Docente para Escuelas Israelitas, established in 1940. In the course of the first 25 years it enrolled some 3,000 students; 900 teachers were graduated. Close to 70% of the teachers in Buenos Aires and neighboring schools were graduates of Midrashah, recognized for the higher Jewish learning it offered, and the requirement was that high school teachers must be graduates of that school. In 1966 it had 350 students enrolled. The Moisesville Teachers Seminary trained many of the teachers for the interior of the country. In 1949 it graduated its first class of ten primary and kindergarten teachers. In 1966 it had 120 resident and 85 local students. Ninety-nine percent of the teachers were native-born. Many spent a year in Israel. In 1964–69, 281 Buenos Aires graduates of teacher training schools enjoyed such an experience. Special courses were offered also for administrative personnel.

In addition to opportunities for formal schooling Argentina offered many informal programs. Thousands of students attended summer day and sleep-away camps. Evening courses for adults were offered at the spacious community center named Hebraica in Buenos Aires. Sports activities were popular among the recreational facilities which provided a means of identification with the Jewish group. Widely ramified communal and Zionist efforts further enhanced such identification. These positive factors were outweighed by the large sectors of the unaffiliated, the unschooled, and those bent on the road to assimilation.

[Isaac Levitats]

The institution of a longer school day in Argentina's public educational system in the late 1960s worked a revolution in Jewish education. With no time left for complementary education Jewish schools were transformed into day schools offering both a general and a Jewish curriculum. To keep their students the general curriculum was upgraded, often at the expense of Jewish studies, but the strategy succeeded. A survey carried out in 1997 found that nearly half of all Jewish children aged 13–17 and two-thirds of children aged 6–12 attended Jewish day schools. A total of 19,248 students attended classes in 56 kindergartens, 52 elementary schools, and 29 high schools.

By 2002, however, the numbers had dropped to just 14,700 students in 40 elementary schools and 22 high schools. The difference was the natural result of low birthrate, assimilation, and emigration. The high tuition rates in these private schools were also a deterrent under Argentina's grim economic conditions, even though local Jewish institutions, the Jewish Agency, and Israel's Ministry of Education, together with the Joint Distribution Committee and World Jewish Congress, established financial aid programs.

To reach Jewish youngsters not in day schools, the community, in cooperation with the Jewish Agency, established a supplementary program called *Lomdim* for secondary level (with about 1,200 students in 2004) with classes two or three days (6–9 hours) a week. A second supplementary program, for elementary-school children, called *Chalomot*, with 4–12 hours a week had approximately 600 children. Chabad developed a similar strategy, offering children attending public school an enriched after-school program in computers, English, and other subjects, together with Jewish studies.

There were also no teacher training institutions in Argentina after Michlelet Shazar was closed in the late 1990s. The only institutions of higher Jewish studies were Orthodox yeshivot and the Seminario Rabínico Latinoamericano of Conservative orientation, in which there was also a section for non-rabbinic studies.

[Efraim Zadoff (2nd ed.)]

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BRAZIL

On the assumption that the children of elementary and secondary school age constitutes 20 percent of the Jewish population in most countries, there should have been a Jewish school enrollment in Brazil of 28,000. Actually only a little more than 10,000 pupils attended the Jewish schools of Brazil in the late 1960s. The number of schools supervised by the central office for education consisted of kindergartens, elementary and secondary schools, a yeshivah, a college, a seminar, and a teacher training institute. Altogether 10,409 students attended these 33 schools.

The Jewish educational system combined both Jewish and general studies in the same school. The Jewish program included the study of both Hebrew and Yiddish. In schools where Jewish studies were taught two or three hours a day, there was still the possibility of teaching both languages; many of the schools, however, allowed only 40–50 minutes a day for Jewish studies, making the study of two languages in those schools to all intents and purposes impossible. The 20 Jewish day schools in the country had small enrollments, and thus had difficulties in grading the children adequately, in providing an adequate staff, and in financing. Among the Jewish teachers in Brazil there still were a number of teachers who came from abroad equipped with pedagogic skill, Jewish knowledge, experience, and deep commitment to Jewish education. But the number of those teachers was gradually diminishing. To meet in some manner the pressing need for classroom teachers, the community organized seminars for teachers in Rio and Sao Paulo, which in reality were secondary schools, applicants entering upon completion of the primary school. The Sao Paulo seminar, founded in 1950, had an enrollment of 84 students in 1968. A considerable number of the teachers were Israelis. In addition to maintaining the teacher training school, the Council of Education and Culture conducted periodically, especially during the summer, in-service teacher training programs for kindergarten and grade teachers. During the winter, the Council also conducted special courses for teachers in Bible, Jewish history, Hebrew literature, and educational psychology. In the early 21st century the Sao Paulo community had four Orthodox and four traditional schools, with 3,000 students at the Educacio Hebraico Brasileiro Renscenca. There were several Jewish schools in Rio de Janeiro, including the 500-student Bar-Ilan School, which also had a kosher dining room and a synagogue.

URUGUAY

The enrollment in Montevideo's 11 Jewish schools (seven of them day schools) was about 3,000 in 1968. Most of the schools offered elementary Jewish education, beginning with kindergarten. With the exception of the Sholem Aleichem school, Hebrew had replaced Yiddish in all schools. Many of the teachers and principals were Israelis or had studied in Israel. All the schools were affiliated with the Board of Education of the Montevideo *kehillah*, which acts as a central coordinating supervisory community agency for Jewish education. In the early 21st century there were four Jewish schools in all of Uruguay, with studies both in Spanish and Hebrew. A comprehensive school was the largest, going from pre-school through high school. The Chabad Center also ran a comprehensive school. About a third of the country's Jewish children attended these schools.

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[Judah Pilch]

MEXICO

After World War I large numbers of Jews from Eastern Europe and their families came to Mexico with the intention of staying temporarily while waiting for visas to the U.S.A. American immigration laws did not relax and they lost hope and decided then to make Mexico their permanent home. The married couples began to worry about the education of their children. Fortunately for Jewish education in Mexico there were among the immigrants a few young men with a good Jewish background who could not adapt themselves to the hard and humiliating occupation of peddling and consequently took upon themselves the organization of a school for Jewish children. The desire of the parents was to open a day school authorized by the Mexican Board of Education in accordance with the programs of the Mexican government schools, but with a substantial part of the schedule to be devoted to Jewish studies. Thus in 1924 an all-day Jewish school with 24 students was established in Mexico City.

By 1969, 45 years later, it had developed to nine all-day schools with a population of approximately 5,000 boys and girls between the ages of 3–18 in spacious modern buildings with up-to-date equipment, libraries, laboratories, workshops, and assembly halls. It has been claimed that as many as 90% of Jewish children in Mexico attended these Jewish schools, and still did at the outset of the 21st century in a country where the intermarriage rate is just 10 percent. In Mexico City there were at least a dozen Jewish schools in 2005. The schools in existence in 1969 were (1) Colegio Israelita de Mexico – from kindergarten to college with about 1,500 students; (2) Colegio Yavne – from kindergarten to college with about 700 students; (3) Colegio Tarbut – from kindergarten to college with about 1,000 students; (4) I.L. Peretz school – from kindergarten to high school with about 400 students; (5) Colegio Tarbut Sephardi – from kindergarten to college with about 800 students; (6) Colegio Monte Sinai – from kindergarten to college with about 700 students; (7) Yeshivah de Mexico – from kindergarten to high school with about 100 students; (8) Colegio Israelita de Monterrey – from kindergarten to high school with about 80 students; (9) Colegio Israelita de Guadalajara – from kindergarten to sixth grade elementary school with about 50 students; (10) The Yiddish-Hebrew Teachers Seminary in Mexico City – with about 70 students.

In all the schools the Jewish subjects were compulsory. The majority of them did not admit students in the higher grades without a proper preparation in Yiddish or Hebrew or both. Some schools were more lenient and special groups for Jewish studies were formed to prepare the newcomers for their respective classes.

In Colegio Israelita de Mexico, Colegio Yavne, I.L. Peretz school, and in the Yeshivah de Mexico, Yiddish and Hebrew were compulsory. In all the other schools only Hebrew was taught. Three hours daily were devoted to the Jewish subjects up to high school and two hours in high school and college. In the schools where both languages were taken the time was divided equally between Yiddish and Hebrew.

All the schools were authorized by and incorporated with the Board of Education of Mexico. The colleges were under the jurisdiction of the autonomous University of Mexico. In the colleges, after successful completion of the curriculum, the students were granted the degrees of B.A. or B.S. which entitled them to be admitted to the professional schools at the university without any additional examinations.

The Jewish subjects were Yiddish language and literature, Hebrew language and literature, Jewish history, Bible, and geography of Israel. The State of Israel occupied a very prominent place in the curriculum. In the higher grades study about Israel was included and in the lower grades starting from kindergarten the teachers made use of all available material to develop in the children a sense of national identity and common fate with the people and State of Israel.

Mexican Jewry has continued to be a tight-knit mostly Orthodox community into the 21st century, enfolding its young in a comprehensive educational system that ensures a strong Jewish identity.

[Bezalel Shachar]

NORTH AFRICA

Modern Jewish education in North Africa started with the opening of the first Alliance Israélite Universelle (AIU) School in *Tetuán in 1862. This French-Jewish organization through its schools and through its educators inspired with missionary zeal saved a significant number of Jewish children in North Africa and Asia from misery and prepared the new generation for modern professions and techniques.

The first schools were opened for boys, often against the opposition of the rabbis. Slowly the population was won over and schools were opened for girls in the larger cities. In 1878 the first school was opened in *Tunis. *Algeria, being a French *département* and its Jews having been declared French citizens, had government schools for the French population, including Jews, and did not require AIU schools.

Once the advantages of a modern education were understood, the parents clamored for more AIU schools. By 1914, when the French Protectorate was established, there were 14 schools in *Morocco with an enrollment of 5,500 pupils.

In 1928 an agreement was reached with the Protectorate authorities which assigned primary education for Jewish children to the AIU. The Protectorate agreed to subsidize the schools and to provide buildings. This enabled the AIU to develop further the network of its schools in North Africa. In 1939 there were 45 schools with an enrollment of 15,800.

The basis of programs was the teaching of the French language as a channel for Western and particularly French culture. This education enabled the Jews to leave the mellahs, to enter commerce and certain professions, and to become the intermediaries between the Protectorate authorities and the Arab population. Hebrew education was given by local rabbis in the age-old tradition and with the ancient methods which had neither influence nor any relevance to the emerging new generation of AIU students.

French influence in Algeria brought about speedy assimilation, to the extent that the AIU intervened to set up *talmud torahs* and to ensure some Jewish education.

Jewish communities in North Africa assumed new importance after the loss of the six million Jews in the Holocaust. American Jews, through the Joint Distribution Committee, became interested in Muslim countries. The AIU, with the help of the Protectorate authorities, developed a large network of new schools. By 1960 there were about 30,000 Jewish pupils in AIU schools. Two new agencies started working in North Africa after World War II. *Oẓar ha-Torah, an Orthodox organization for Jewish education in Muslim countries, opened schools for boys, girls, yeshivot, and teacher training colleges. The Lubavitch Ḥasidim opened yeshivot for boys and Battei Rivkah for girls.

The creation of the Jewish state, the independence of *Tunisia in 1955, Morocco in 1956, and Algeria in 1962 completely changed the Jewish map. On the one hand greater stress was laid on Hebrew and Jewish subjects. The AIU opened the Ecole Normale Hébraïque in Casablanca to train Hebrew teachers for its schools. On the other hand there was the rise in Muslim countries of anti-Jewish sentiment as a result of the wars in Israel. The independence of these countries and political events in the Middle East reduced through emigration the number of Jews in Tunisia, Algeria, and Morocco to about 50,000 by 1969. By the mid-1990s only Morocco had a substantial Jewish population of around 5,500, with only the AIU, Oẓar ha-Torah, Lubavitch, and ORT schools still in operation.

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[Stanley Abramovitch]

IRAN

*Iran, unlike Jewish communities in other Muslim countries, did not preserve through the centuries a high standard of Jewish learning. The arrival of the Alliance Israélite Universelle (AIU) in 1898 was, therefore, very important for the preservation of the Jewish community. AIU schools opened the doors of the "*mahaléh*," the Jewish quarter in *Teheran, for the Jews. In many towns the schools served as a safeguard against the inroads of Christian and Bahai missionaries. The French language provided wider commercial possibilities for Jews in a developing country.

The revolution of *Reza Shah in 1925 and his reforms weakened the influence of Muslim priests and introduced state schools for the entire population including Jews. AIU schools were opened in the larger cities. By 1939 there were 17 schools with an enrollment of 6,000. The schools provided a basic Iranian education with French as first foreign language. Hebrew was taught by local teachers and was generally on a low level. The flow of refugees through Iran during World War II drew the attention of American Jewry to Iran. The Joint Distribution Committee (JDC) opened an office in Teheran and Oẓar ha-Torah (OH) sent a representative. New schools were opened in Teheran, *Shiraz, and provincial cities, where no AIU schools existed. OH assumed responsibility for Jewish education in all AIU and OH schools. Teachers were trained in Iran and in Israel, and Israeli teachers were brought to Iran. Hebrew textbooks, suitable for Muslim countries, were printed. A first attempt was made to produce a Jewish history book in Persian for school children.

In 1969 there were 11,000 pupils in AIU, OH, and communal schools. On the basis of statistics available, it can be assumed that half the Jewish school population was in Jewish day schools and the other half in government and Christian schools. The AIU and OH developed secondary schools in the larger cities. There was emphasis on Hebrew language and Jewish religion. The level of Jewish education progressed in the 1960s and 1970s with the increasing wealth of the Jews in a period of general economic prosperity and was effective in containing assimilation trends in a community which had not known profound Jewish scholarship for many generations.

In 1977/78 there were in Teheran 11 OH, 7 AIU, and 6 community schools, including an ORT vocational school and a school belonging to the Iraqi Jews in the city. This picture drastically changed with the mass exodus of the Jews after the Islamic revolution in Iran. By the end of the 20th century there were reportedly three Jewish schools in Teheran, one in Shiraz, and one in Isfahan.

[Stanley Abramovitch]

EDUYYOT (Heb. עֵדֻיּוֹת; "Testimonies"), tractate of the Mishnah in the order *Nezikin*. *Eduyyot* is different from all other tractates in the Mishnah, in that it does not focus on a particular subject matter but rather contains a number of relatively small collections of *halakhot* dealing with various topics, and organized around the names of the particular sages who transmitted them. These *halakhot* often "bear witness" to the disputes and controversies of earlier authorities and frequently involve an attempt by contemporaries or by later sages to decide or to resolve these disputes and controversies. This general tendency of the tractate as a whole, together with the repeated use in the later chapters of the phrase "rabbi so-and-so testified" (הֵעִיד, *he'id*), probably explains the tractate's title. The tractate is also referred to in the Talmud (Ber. 27a; Kid. 54b; Bek. 26a) by the name *Beḥirata*, i.e., the "select" or "chosen" *halakhot*. This name seems to reflect an assumption that the traditions included in *Eduyyot*, having been reviewed and adjudicated by the sages, possess some special authority, as the Talmud itself explicitly states (Ber. 27a; Kid. 54b; Bek. 26a): "The *halakhah* of R. Judah (or Meir) is accepted as normative since his view was included in *Beḥirata* (i.e., in *Eduyyot*)."

Ḥ. Albeck argued that *Eduyyot* differs from the rest of the Mishnah because it represents an earlier stage – in fact the earliest stage – in the redaction of the Mishnah. In his opinion later redactors of the Mishnah then took most of its *halakhot* and included them in the various tractates and orders arranged according to subject matter, each in its own proper place. Epstein, however, argued vigorously against this view (Tanna'im, 428), and it is fair to say that no consensus had been reached concerning the date and purpose of the redaction of *Eduyyot* (Stemberger, 131). According to one tradition (Ber. 28a), these testimonies were pronounced on the day when *Eleazar b. Azariah was elected president of the Sanhedrin, but Epstein effectively refuted this view.

The Content of *Eduyyot*

The first chapter puts on record three items of controversy between Shammai and Hillel, and further items of controversy between their respective schools. There are instances where the school of Shammai disapproved of the view of Shammai, and instances where the school of Hillel eventually accepted the view of the rival school. Reasons are given why opinions which were finally rejected are nevertheless recorded in the Mishnah.

The second chapter opens with a testimony of *Ḥanina, Segan Ha-Kohanim, on four items of *halakhah* followed by mnemotechnical triads of sayings. R. Ishmael propounded three laws before the sages. They in their turn discussed another three laws before him. Again a halakhic pronouncement of Ishmael concerning three things is mentioned, with which R. Akiva disagreed. Then come three laws discussed before R. Akiva, and the chapter ends with two sets of five aggadic sayings by R. Akiva, and a concluding one by R. Johanan b. Nuri.

The third chapter records ten items of controversy between *Dosa b. Harkinas and the sages as well as other controversies between single scholars (Joshua, Zadok, Rabban Gamaliel, and Eleazar b. Azariah) and the majority of the sages. The fourth chapter lists items of law in which the House of Shammai was, contrary to custom, more lenient than the House of Hillel.

The fifth chapter puts on record further halakhic items in which, according to several named scholars, the House of Shammai was more lenient than its rivals. It includes one of the most beautiful aggadic passages of the Mishnah concerning the moral and intellectual integrity of *Akavyah b. Mahalalel. He gave testimony on four items of *halakhah* on which the majority of the sages had a different tradition. The sages urged him to retract, promising to appoint him *av bet din* if he did, and threatening him with excommunication if he did not; he remained steadfast. Before his death, however, he told his son to follow the majority ruling, as halakhic discipline required it. When his son, as a last favor, asked that he commend him to his colleagues, he refused, saying, "Your own deeds will bring you near or your own deeds will remove you far."

The rest of the tractate (chapters 6–8) gives a great variety of *halakhot* in which the word עיד ("testified") is consistently used and concludes with an *aggadah* to the effect that at the end of time Elijah the Prophet, in accordance with Malachi 3:23 f., will settle the controversies between the sages and make peace in the world. There is no *Gemara* either in the Babylonian or the Jerusalem Talmud, since the various *mishnayot* are included in the other tractates, where they are duly discussed. There is, however, a Tosefta.

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[Arnost Zvi Ehrman / Stephen G. Wald (2nd ed.)]

EDWARDS, PAUL (1923–2004), U.S. philosopher and editor of the eight-volume *Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (1967), the first comprehensive work of its kind in English since 1901. Edwards was born in Vienna, took his doctorate at Columbia University, and taught at New York University and Brooklyn College. In later years, he taught at the New School for Social Research in New York City.

A leading exponent of Bertrand Russell's philosophy and an atheist, Edwards was an aggressive opponent of religious philosophy and theological argumentation. He wrote *The Logic of Moral Discourse* (1955), in which he held that ethical predicates such as "good," "right," and "should" generally have two major functions: to describe something as having a certain property or properties and to express the speaker's pro or con attitude. Hence, he postulated, ethical predicates have, for the most part, descriptive as well as emotive meaning.

He also wrote *Heidegger on Death*: *A Critical Evaluation* (with Eugene Freeman, 1979), *Equiano's Travels* (1989), *Reincarnation: A Critical Examination* (1996), and *Heidegger's Confusions* (2004).

Among the many books Edwards edited are *A Modern Introduction to Philosophy: Readings from Classical and Contemporary Sources* (1967); and *Immortality* (1997).

[Richard H. Popkin / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

°EERDMANS, BERNARDUS DIRKS (1865–1948), Dutch Protestant Bible scholar. He was privatdocent of Semitic languages from 1896 to 1898 and professor of Bible from 1898 in Leiden. His *Alttestamentliche Studien* (4 vols., 1908–12), a collection of writings on the composition of Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, and the early history of Israel, are uniform in their complete rejection of the starting points of modern Pentateuchal criticism. Unlike the advocates of the Documentary Hypothesis, Eerdmans posits a fragmentary-supplementary hypothesis that views J, E, and P as redactors and supplement-ers, rather than composers. According to Eerdmans, material found particularly in Genesis belongs to various stages of religious development of which the earliest is polytheistic and the latest monotheistic, the earlier material referring to God by the plural form Elohim and the later as Yahweh. He argued for the cultural historicity of the patriarchs and for the advanced state of ritual in the Mosaic period. He maintained that most of the legal codes of Leviticus were Mosaic, thus rejecting the commonly accepted J. *Wellhausen–K.H. *Graf hypothesis. He was one of the earliest scholars who advanced an Exilic date for sections of the book of Daniel. He wrote *Der Ursprung der Ceremonien des Hosein Festes* (1894); *The Religion of Israel* (1947), a new treatment of his earlier *De godsdienst van Israeel* (2 vols., 1930); *The Covenant at Mt. Sinai* (1939); *Studies in Job* (1939); and *The Hebrew Book of Psalms* (in: *Oudtestamentische Studieen*, 1947).

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[Zev Garber]

EFRAT (Heb. אפרת), urban community with municipal council status, located in the *Gush Etzyon area south of Jerusalem. Its area is 1.5 sq. mi. (4 sq. km.). Efrat was established in 1983 after planning by an Israeli group and an American group led by Rabbi Shlomo *Riskin of New York, who settled in Efrat and became the town's rabbi. When the first families arrived the Shevut Yisrael Yeshivah, one of the *hesder* yeshivot, was functioning on the site. Efrat was unique among the West Bank settlements in that settlers moved immediately into permanent housing. Neighborhoods are named after the seven species for which the Land of Israel was famous in biblical times (Deut. 8:8). In 2002 the population of Efrat was 6,810, mainly religious people. Many of its inhabitants are Anglo-Saxons.

WEBSITE: www.efrata.muni.il.

[Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

EFRAT, YAACOV (1912–1977), agricultural researcher. Born in Poland, Efrat immigrated to Israel in 1936. He specialized in field agriculture, particularly in the various breeds of wheat used in Israel. He developed special systems for winter agriculture. Efrat received the Israel Prize in 1977 for services to agriculture.

EFRON, ILYA (1847–1915), Russian publisher. Efron was born in Vilna. In 1880 he founded a printing press in Peterburg and in 1890 he and the well-known German encyclopedia publisher F. Brockhaus founded the Brockhaus-Efron publishing house in St. Petersburg. It became one of the leading publishing houses in Russia, responsible for a number of historical and literary reference works, including an 86-volume Russian encyclopedia, the Library of Famous Writers, and the multivolume Library for Self-Education and Library of Natural Sciences. It also published, in cooperation with the Society for Jewish-Scientific Publications, the Russian-Jewish encyclopedia *Yevreyskaya Entsiklopediya* in 16 volumes (1907–13). In the field of Jewish history it published, among other works, Renan's "History of the Jewish People" with commentaries by S. Dubnow and others, and two works on the Inquisition. After 1917 it transferred its activities to Berlin, operating there until the 1930s.

[Shmuel Spector (2nd ed.)]

EFROS, ISRAEL ISAAC (1891–1981), Hebrew educator, poet, and scholar. Born in Ostrog, the Ukraine, he went to the United States in 1905. He served for a time as rabbi and in 1918 founded the Baltimore Hebrew College and the Teachers Training School. He was professor of Hebrew at Johns Hopkins University (1917–28), rabbi of Temple Beth El in Buffalo (1929–34), professor of Semitics at the University of Buffalo (1935–41) and Hunter College, N.Y.C. (1941–55), where he founded the Hebrew Division; in 1945 he was appointed professor of Jewish philosophy and modern Hebrew literature at Dropsie College, Philadelphia. Efros served as president of the *Histadrut Ivrit of America (1938–39). He settled in Israel in 1955 and served as rector of Tel Aviv University. In 1960 he was elected honorary president of the university.

His works on Jewish philosophy include *The Problem of Space in Jewish Medieval Philosophy* (1917), *Philosophical Terms in the Moreh Nebukim* (1924), *Judah Halevi as Poet and Thinker* (1941), *Ha-Pilosofyah ha-Yehudit ha-Attikah* (1959), *Ancient Jewish Philosophy: A Study in Metaphysics and Ethics* (1964), *Studies in Medieval Jewish Philosophy* (1974), and studies on Saadiah Gaon and Abraham B. Ḥiyya. Among his volumes of poetry are *Shirim* (1932); *Vigvamim Shotekim* (1932), a poem about the American Indians with echoes of American epic poetry; *Zahav* ("Gold," 1942) about the California Gold Rush of 1849; *Anaḥnu ha-Dor* (1945). A four-volume collection of his poetry was published in 1966. His spiritual world is rooted both in tradition and in critical philosophy; thus tension is felt in his poetry between the antipodes of feeling and cerebration. Efros' diction is both poetic and precise. A pessimistic vision dominates his post-World War II works. Efros translated Shelley's poetry and Shakespeare's *Hamlet* and other works into Hebrew, and some of Bialik's poetry into English. He also collaborated with Judah Even-Shmuel (Kaufman) and Benjamin N. Silkiner in compiling an English-Hebrew dictionary (1929). For translations of his poetry, see Goell, Bibliography, p. 21.

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EGALITATEA ("Equality"), Romanian-language periodical (1890–1916, 1919–40), edited, directed, and published in Bucharest by Moses Schwarzfeld with Elias *Schwarzfeld (from his exile in France) as chief editor in the first years. It was the longest-running Jewish periodical in Romania, at first calling itself a "weekly journal." The editor stated his aim in a letter sent to potential subscribers before the publication of the first number, explaining that it was an Israelite journal intending to inspire Romanian Jews with strength, courage, conviction, and moral force, and to give them guidance in their individual trials. The journal described Jewish life and the struggle for emancipation in Romania, condemned discrimination and antisemitism, and also published literary material. Although an independent journal, as its owner and manager involved himself in the Zionist movement it became the official publication of the Jewish National Fund of Romania (1907) and also published Zionist propaganda. In the fall of 1916, when Romania entered World War I and Bucharest was occupied by the German army, the journal ceased publication. It reappeared in 1919, also as a weekly, but with only four pages, and included popular historical articles promoting Jewish identity and the Zionist idea. In July 1931, when Moses Schwarzfeld was ill and in financial difficulties, he began to publish *Egalitatea* every two weeks, in double numbers, up until July 3, 1940, when its publication was banned by the government. Many articles in *Egalitatea* were written by Moses Schwarzfeld himself, sometimes signed with pen names. Among the contributors were Elias Schwarzfeld, Wilhelm Schwarzfeld, I.H. Fior, M. Braunștein-Mibashan, Carol Drimer, J.I. Niemirower, Leon Feraru, Adolphe Ștern, A.L. Zissu, E. San-Cerbu, and others.

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[Lucian-Zeev Herscovici (2nd ed.)]

EGER (Ger. **Erlau**), city in N. Hungary. Although Eger is mentioned in 1660 as a Jewish community it was only in 1841 that Jews obtained the right of residence there. A community organization was set up in 1843. By 1858 there were 861 Jews living in the city and an additional 680 in the district. Its first rabbi was Joseph Zevi Weiss. After his death the Orthodox members established a community – separate from the existing status quo community – whose first rabbi was Simon Schreiber, son of Abraham Samuel Benjamin *Sofer. Many Jews in Eger engaged in the wine trade. There were 2,559 Jews living in Eger in 1920, and 1,787 in 1941. They were deported to *Auschwitz by the Nazis on June 8, 1944. By 1946, only 215 Jews remained in Eger.

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EGER (Eiger), AKIVA ("The Younger") BEN MOSES GUENS (1761–1837), German rabbi. Born in Eisenstadt, Eger went to Breslau at an early age to study under his uncle, Benjamin Wolf Eger, and Ḥayyim Jonah Teomim-Fraenkel. In 1780, he went to live with his father-in-law in Lissa, where for about ten years he engaged in study, free from financial stress. Impoverished as a result of the losses suffered in the fire of 1791, he accepted a position as rabbi in Maerkisch-Friedland, where he established a yeshivah. As his reputation grew, his decisions were sought in many matters. The thought of reaping material benefit from the Torah was repugnant to him, and on several occasions he thought of leaving the rabbinate and devoting himself to teaching. In 1807 he led a deputation of Jewish leaders who negotiated with the French authorities on Jewish rights in the newly established duchy of Warsaw. In 1814 he was prevailed upon to accept the position of rabbi in Posen, which was offered to him over the objections of the **maskilim* and the followers of the Reform movement, who, fearing his great influence, sought the intervention of the secular authorities, on the grounds that he had no command of the German language and was opposed to all innovations. They were eventually obliged to accept Eger's appointment, but they attempted to minimize his influence by the insertion of certain restrictive clauses in his letter of appointment. Eger, as unofficial chief rabbi of the Posen district, labored on behalf of his own and other Jewish communities. He established a large yeshivah, whose students included Ẓevi Hirsch *Kalischer, Jacob *Levy (author of the dictionaries of the Talmud), and Julius *Fuerst. He waged a constant struggle against the Reform movement. The *maskilim* opposed him and drew attention to what they considered bizarre and unreal questions discussed in his responsa. Eger was not blind, however, to the spiritual and educational needs of his time. He made certain concessions to meet official demands for a more modern curriculum in Jewish schools, and he encouraged Solomon Plessner's pioneer efforts to propagate traditional Judaism using German instead of Yiddish, which was until then the medium of instruction. He received a royal message of thanks from Frederick William III for his services during the cholera epidemic of 1831, during which he framed a number of helpful *takkanot* and cared for many of the sick. A number of welfare institutions established by him were in existence until World War II. He was the father-in-law of Moses *Sofer and the ancestor of many prominent scholars, scientists, and writers. His son Solomon *Eger was elected rabbi of Posen on his father's death. Many popular legends surrounded Akiva's person. His exemplary humanity and beneficence earned him universal admiration, even among his adversaries. A story typifying his sensitivity to others tells of a Jew who asked Akiva before Passover if he could use milk for the Seder rituals. When asked why, the Jew answered that he did not have enough money to buy wine. Akiva promptly gave him 20 rubles for purchasing wine. When rebuked by his wife for giving too much, Akiva answered that he deduced from the question that the Jew also did not have enough money to buy meat for the holiday. His modesty was proverbial, and he was sternly opposed to the titles of honor common in rabbinical circles. Of his works, the following were published in his lifetime: *Ḥilluka de-Rabbanan* (1822); *Haggahot* to the Mishnah (1825–30); *Gilyon ha-Shas*, notes to the Prague edition of the Babylonian Talmud (1830–34), and later to the Vilna edition; responsa, together with decisions, etc. (1834). After his death there appeared responsa, part 2 (1839); *Ḥiddushei R. Akiva Eger* (1858); *Tosafot* (1841–48 in the Altona edition of the Mishnah); *Haggahot*, glosses to the Shulḥan Arukh (1859); responsa (1889); *Kitvei R. Akiva Eger* (letters; 1929). In addition many of his letters and responsa were printed in talmudic journals and in numerous other works. Much of his work has remained in manuscript and some has been lost (e.g., his glosses to the Palestinian Talmud).

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[Akiva Posner]

EGER, AKIVA BEN SIMḤAH BUNIM (c. 1720–1758), rabbi and author, known as R. Akiva Eger the Elder. A native of Halberstadt, he was a pupil of Ẓevi Hirsch *Bialeh (Ḥarif) of Halberstadt and Jacob ha-Kohen Poppers of Frankfurt. Around 1747, he served as rabbi of Zuelz (Upper Silesia). He conducted a yeshivah in Halberstadt even during the lifetime of his teacher Bialeh, and in 1756, became head of the yeshivah of Pressburg. Eger, who was among the foremost talmudic scholars of his generation, carried on halakhic correspondence with Jonathan *Eybeschuetz, Meir *Eisenstadt, and other prominent rabbis. His novellae on the Talmud, *Mishnah de-Rabbi Akiva*, to which are appended a number of his responsa, were published posthumously (Fuerth, 1781). Eger had two sons, Judah Loeb, who served as rabbi in Halberstadt, and Wolf, rabbi of Leipnick.

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[Jacob Haberman]

EGER, JUDAH LEIB OF LUBLIN (1816–1888), ḥasidic *ẓaddik*, son of Solomon *Eger, grandson of Akiva *Eger the Younger. Born in Warsaw, Judah studied in Posen under his grandfather, whom he regarded as an example of moral virtues. He also studied at the yeshivah of Isaac Meir Alter (later the founder of the ḥasidic Gur dynasty) in Warsaw, through whose influence Judah became a Ḥasid. After his marriage Judah settled in Lublin, and visited Menahem Mendel of *Kotsk (Kock), continuing as his disciple despite opposition from his family. When Menahem Mendel secluded himself from society, Judah became a disciple of Mordecai Joseph Leiner of Izbica. After his father's death in 1852 Judah declined the position of rabbi of Posen. Following the death of the Izbica *ẓaddik* in 1854 Judah led his own ḥasidic congregation in Lublin. It was not until after the death of Menahem Mendel of Kotsk in 1859, however, that Judah assumed the role of *ẓaddik* and propounded his own teachings. Judah Leib's moral integrity and conduct won him esteem even from people who opposed Ḥasidism. He spent a long time over prayer, devoting himself to it with concentration and fervor, accompanied by weeping and loud cries. His manner of prayer, which was contrary to the tradition of his preceptors, aroused severe criticism. Judah's teachings on the portions of the law and the festivals were arranged by his son Abraham in *Torat Emet* (3 vols., 1889–90) and *Imrei Emet* (2 vols., 1902–3). Judah corresponded on halakhic questions with his relatives Abraham Samuel Benjamin *Sofer in Pressburg and Simeon *Sofer in Cracow. Abraham succeeded Judah as leader of his disciples from 1882 to 1914. He was the author of a work on Ḥasidism, *Shevet mi-Yehudah* (1922–38). Judah Leib's grandsons Solomon and Ezriel Meir continued to lead their congregation until they perished in the Holocaust.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: A.I. Bromberg, *Mi-Gedolei ha-Ḥasidut*, 13 (1958), 91–158.

EGER, SAMUEL (Perez Sanwel) BEN JUDAH LOEB (1769–1842), German talmudic scholar and author. Eger, the grandson of Akiva *Eger the Elder, was born in Halberstadt. After studying at his father's yeshivah, in 1809 he became rabbi of Brunswick where he served until his death. He had one of the most acute minds of the talmudic scholars of the time, engaging in halakhic correspondence with his cousin, Akiva *Eger (the Younger) of Posen, and with Moses *Sofer, who was related to him by marriage. A staunch opponent of the Reform movement, he took a firm stand against the innovations of the Kassel Consistory. Although in principle he was opposed to changes in the liturgy, he stated that he would not oppose those changes which were not contrary to the Shulḥan Arukh. His insistence on the retention of Hebrew in prayer was motivated by his belief that it was a necessary link uniting all Jews throughout the world. His published works include *Ateret Paz* and *Rimmon Parez*, novellae on the tractates *Beẓah* and *Ketubbot* (both Altona, 1823); and homiletic discourses delivered on Sabbath *Devarim* (1837) and Sabbath *Mishpatim* (1829). The bulk of his work, talmudic novellae and responsa, comprising an extensive correspondence with the rabbis of Eastern and Western Europe, remains in manuscript.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Herzfeld, in: AZDJ, 6 (1842), 412, 460f., 762–64; B.H. Auerbach, *Geschichte der israelitischen Gemeinde Halberstadt* (1866), 103, 216–22; L. Wreschner, in: JJLG, 2 (1904), 33.

[Jacob Haberman]

EGER, SIMḤAH BUNIM BEN MOSES (1770–1829), Hungarian talmudist, younger brother of Akiva *Eger the Younger. Eger was also known by the family names of Guens and Schlesinger. After studying under his brother Akiva and then continuing his studies in Krotoszyn, he was appointed rabbi of Rogasen and in 1810 of Mattersdorf, where he remained until his death. Some of his novellae are printed in his brother's *Ḥiddushei Rabbi Akiva Eger* (1858) which also includes their halakhic correspondence. Eger was also in correspondence with his relative Moses *Sofer, with Mordecai Michael Jaffe, author of *Beit Menaḥem*, and with Israel Moses b. Aryeh Loeb, author of *Rishmei She'elah*. His novellae were later published as an appendix to his brother's responsa (2nd part; 1938). His sons were JOSEPH GINZ of Vienna, founder of the well-known publishing firm of Schlesinger; SAMUEL GENZ, rabbi of Abrany (Hungary), who published many of his novellae in the talmudic periodical *Tel Talpiyyot* (ed. D. Karzburg); and MOSES, rabbi and preacher in Hamburg. His daughter married Zalman Ulman, rabbi of Makow.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Wreschner, in: JJLG, 2 (1904), 34; Moses, *ibid.*, 18 (1927), 313 f.; P.Z. Schwartz, *Shem ha-Gedolim me-Ereẓ Hagar*, 1 (1913), 20b no. 1; 2 (1914), 39b no. 63 (Samuel Ginz); I. Kunstadt, *Lu'aḥ Ereẓ he-Ḥadash* (1915), introd.; B. Wachstein, *Die Inschriften des alten Judenfriedhofes in Wien*, 2 (1917), 168; S. Sofer, *Iggerot Soferim* (1929), 2nd pagination, 42–44, 55; J.J. (L.) Greenwald (Grunwald), *Maẓẓevat Kodesh* (1952), 140–2.

[Itzhak Alfassi]

EGER, SOLOMON BEN AKIVA (1786–1852), rabbi and *rosh yeshivah*. Born in Lissa, he was the son of R. Akiva *Eger the Younger, under whom he studied. Eger became a merchant in Warsaw, but after losing his fortune in the Polish rebellion in 1831, he accepted the rabbinate of Kalisz. In 1839 he was appointed to succeed his father in Posen. Active in communal affairs, Eger sought to direct the Jews from commerce to farming, and in 1844 appealed to Frederick William IV, king of Prussia, to assist Jews in founding an agricultural village in the province of Posen. The request was granted, and Eger took active steps to implement the plan. In 1846 he founded an organization for agricultural settlement with the consent and formal support of 21 local communities, with promises of support. The project was, however, brought to an end by the disturbances of 1848. Eger was also active in soliciting contributions for Ereẓ Israel and in assuring their fair disbursement. He also took a prominent part in the campaign for emancipation of the Jews in his country. A strong advocate of traditional Judaism in its strictest interpretation and an outspoken opponent of the Reform movement, he sided with G. *Tiktin of Breslau in his controversy with A. *Geiger and was influential in restoring Tiktin to his position. Many of his responsa are included among those of his father, particularly those which he published together with his older brother, Abraham. His own published works include *Gilyon Maharsha*, notes on the Talmud and on Alfasi's Code appended to the Vilna Talmud (1859); *Gilyon Rasha*, notes on *Yoreh De'ah* (Koenigsberg, 1859) and republished with additions in the Vilna Talmud. His letters were published in *Iggerot Soferim* (1929), pp. 62–86.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Bloch, in: *Jeschurun*, ed. by B. Koenigsberger, 1 (1901), 5–8, 75–79, 104–8; Wreschner, in: JJIG, 2 (1904), 47–48; L. Lewin, *Geschichte der Juden in Lissa* (1904), 245–8.

[Akiva Posner]

EGGED (Heb. "bundle"), Israel public transport cooperative. In the 1930s small groups of drivers, each numbering between 50 and 100, constituted themselves into cooperatives to avoid duplication by abolishing parallel routes, and to increase efficiency. Egged was founded in 1933 and established branches all over the country. With the large increase in public transport that followed the establishment of the State of Israel, two other cooperatives, Shaḥar, which operated in the Haifa area, and Drom Yehuda, which operated in Tel Aviv and the south, merged with Egged, the merger being completed in 1951. The Jerusalem transport cooperative, Ha-Mekasher, joined in 1967.

Egged is one of the largest public transport cooperatives in the world. In 1968, the company operated 2,200 buses, which traveled about 620,000 mi. (1,000,000 km.) daily on 1,100 routes. At that time, Egged members numbered about 4,400, and there were also 2,200 hired workers. In 2004, Egged employed 6,309 workers, 2,452 of whom were Egged members. It owned 3,332 buses, traveling on 1,308 routes, and served about a million people a day.

Egged owns four subsidiary companies: Egged Transport offers personalized transport services, including VIP limousines, company transport, a messenger service, and so on. Egged Tours is an inland tourist company operating 300 tourist buses. Derech Egged offers air and recreation services. Egged Investments develops new sources of employment for Egged. The cooperative is governed by a general assembly, composed of all members, which biennially elects a council of 80, an executive of 20 from the members of the council, and a secretariat with five members elected by the executive, which runs the cooperative.

WEBSITE: www.egged.co.il

[Leon Aryeh Szeskin]

EGGS. One of the few references to the egg in the Bible, and the only injunction connected with it, is the command to drive away the dam before taking the eggs from the nest (Deut. 22:6). The only other references to birds' eggs are in Isaiah 10:14 and the hatching of the egg of the ostrich through the heat of the sun (Job 39:14). Viper's eggs are mentioned in Isaiah 59:5. In contrast, the egg figures prominently in rabbinical literature, both in *halakhah* and *aggadah*.

Halakhah

The egg belongs to two spheres of *halakhah*: as permitted food and as a standard measure of volume (the tractate of the Talmud called *Beẓah* ("egg") deals with the laws of the festivals and is so called merely because of the first word of its first Mishnah, which deals with the question of the permissibility of eating an egg laid on the festival).

(1) Although it is nowhere clearly stated in the Bible that eggs are permitted for food (the Talmud sees a reference to it in Deut. 22:6; see Ḥul. 140a), on the principle that "that which emerges from a clean animal is clean and that from an unclean animal unclean" (Bek. 1:2) it is established that the eggs of clean birds are permitted for food, and those of unclean birds, forbidden (Ḥul. 122a). With the formation of the hard shell of the egg, however, even before the egg has been laid, it is regarded as independent and no longer part of its dam,

with the result that the prohibition of eating a part of a living animal does not apply to it, nor the law prohibiting the eating of meat with milk (Beẓah 6b). Nevertheless fully formed eggs in a bird which is **terefah* or **nevelah* are forbidden (Maim., Yad, Maakhalot Asurot, 3:19). The Talmud (Ḥul. 64a) gives the signs of the eggs of permitted and forbidden birds. The former have one end oblate and the other pointed and the white surrounds the yoke, while if both ends are oblate or pointed and the yellow surrounds the white it is the egg of a forbidden bird. The egg is regarded as beginning to form the embryo when a bloodspot appears on the yoke, from which time it is forbidden as food, but the custom has been generally adopted of forbidding eggs if the bloodspot appears even on the albumen (see *Blood).

(2) The bulk of an egg is one of the most common of all the measures of volume in the *halakhah*. It constitutes the usual quantity of volume to establish liability, e.g., for ritual uncleanness, for the size of the **etrog*, for the amount of bread from which **ḥallah* must be separated, and many others. It is also the standard whereby all other measurements are calculated, a *log* being equal to six eggs, a *kab* to 24, and a *se'ah* to 144 (see Er. 83a and *Weights and Measures). It is evident however that these relative measurements do not accord with the normal size of an egg. It is accepted that the "egg" is that of the chicken (Yoma 80a) and recourse has had to be made to the theory that the egg thus referred to is a "desert egg" which was much larger than the present day one, and to be on the safe side the standard adopted in the *halakhah* for the egg of the Talmud is two present-day eggs (*Ḥatam Sofer*, OḤ, Tesp. no. 127).

Aggadah

The egg is regarded both as having laxative qualities and of bringing about sexual stimulation. The egg, being "round and having no mouth" (opening), is regarded as a symbol of mourning which "is like a wheel which continually revolves in the world, and one must not open one's mouth in complaint" (BB 16b; YD 378:9 of Gen R. 63:14). It is therefore given to mourners at the meal given to them on the return from the burial (*se'udat havra'ah*) and is eaten at the meal before undertaking the fast of the Ninth of *Av. On the *seder* night of Passover there has developed the custom of eating an egg dipped in salt water before beginning the festive meal. There is no authority for this custom in the sources; various explanations have been put forward, and Moses Isserles connects it with its mourning aspect. According to him it is in commemoration of the destruction of the Temple with which the paschal sacrifice was discontinued, and it happens that the first day of Passover always falls on the same day of the week as the Ninth of Av of each year (OḤ 476:2). A roasted egg, in memory of the festival offering (*ḥagigah*), forms part of the Passover plate at the *seder*.

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[Louis Isaac Rabinowitz]

°EGIDIO DA VITERBO (c. 1465–1532), Italian ecclesiastical statesman and humanist. He entered the Augustinian order in 1488. The papal Curia utilized his diplomatic talents and in 1517 Leo X made him a cardinal; he was also bishop of Viterbo. For many years he maintained Elijah *Levita in his entourage in Rome, Levita instructing the cardinal in rabbinics and Jewish mysticism and himself obtaining instruction in Greek. He was also among *Reuchlin's correspondents (*Illustrium … epistolae … ad … Reuchlin*, Hagenau, 1519, 97–98) and entertained the false messiah David *Reuveni. Egidio's interests in Jewish (particularly kabbalistic) studies were very considerable. In addition to projecting a plan for translating David Kimḥi's dictionary he translated (or sponsored translations of) extracts of the Zohar and various esoteric tracts (*Ginnat Egoz, Razi'el*, etc.; also portions of Menahem Recanati's commentary), and composed a treatise on the Ten **Sefirot* (all preserved in manuscript: Paris Mss. 527, 596–8, 3363, 3367, Angelica Ms. 3).

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[Raphael Loewe]

ʿEGLAH ʿARUFAH (Heb. עֶגְלָה עֲרוּפָה), an expiatory ceremonial for an untraceable murder prescribed in Deuteronomy 21:1–9, in which the elders of the settlement nearest the corpse bring an unworked heifer to an uncultivated area in a watered wadi, break the heifer's neck, wash their hands over it, and profess their innocence to the bloodshed. This ceremonial of the *ʿeglah ʿarufah*, "the broken-necked heifer," is unique to the Bible, but it is elucidated by prior Hittite and subsequent rabbinic law codes. The *ʿeglah ʿarufah* is not a sacrifice. It is not slaughtered ritually on an altar, but is killed like a nonsacrificial animal (Ex. 13:13) away from the altar; it need not be unblemished like a sacrifice (Sot. 9:5), but it must never have been subjected to the yoke, a stipulation attested only in rituals never incorporated into the sacrificial system (Num. 19:2; see *Red Heifer; cf. I Sam. 6:7). Above all, its death does not make expiation for the life of the murderer (nor does any sacrifice; see *Atonement, *Sacrifices), for if the murderer is subsequently discovered, he is still put to death (Sot. 9:7; see Ket. 37b).

The key to this rite is its underlying postulate that the blood of the innocent does not "remain on his head" (e.g., Josh. 2:19; see *Bloodguilt), but pollutes the earth on which it is shed (Num. 35:33). The earth, having received the blood involuntarily, withholds its strength (Gen. 4:11–12), bringing drought and famine upon its inhabitants (II Sam. 21:1, LXX; cf. also II Sam. 1:21; Ezek. 22:24). This belief is not peculiar to Israel, but is part of its heritage from the cultures along the Mediterranean littoral (e.g., Ugarit: Aqhat 1:42–46; Asia Minor (Hittites), Proclamation of Telepinus, 20). That the blood of the slain must come into contact with the ground is confirmed by the rabbinic dictum that if the murder was perpetrated by some other means, e.g., hanging, the heifer ceremonial is not required (Sot. 9:2; TJ, Sot. 9:2, 23c). In rabbinic law, just as in the Hittite Code, paragraph 6 (earlier version, cf. Pritchard, Texts, 189), the corpse is interred on the spot where it was found (BK 81b), and the original owner loses his rights to a set area circumscribing the corpse.

According to biblical law, "the land shall have no expiation for blood that is shed except by the blood of him who shed it" (Num. 35:33b). However, what if the murderer is unknown: will the land be permanently blighted? The *ʿeglah ʿarufah* is the cultic prophylactic to avert this contingency. Its purpose is to transfer the land polluted by the corpse to an uncultivated plot, removed from the settled area. Thus it closely resembles the rites of the **azazel* goat and of the purification of the healed *leper, whereby sin and impurity, respectively, are exorcised from the afflicted and banished to the wilderness. Here, however, the fact that land and not man needs to be expiated necessitates the use of another method, not banishment, but transference. Through the killing of the heifer, the murder is, in effect, reenacted; the blood of the heifer (*ha-dam ha-zeh*, "this blood," Deut. 21:7) becomes identified with the blood of the slain, and the pollution is transferred from the area of the corpse to the area of the heifer. This rite of reenactment and transference explains why the ceremonial must take place at a perennial stream: the blood must not come into contact with the earth again and trigger the fatal polluted soil-drought syndrome, and it is thus drained off to some distant sea. Also explained is the need for the elders of the nearest settlement to wash their hands and recite a confessional over the broken-necked heifer: since the blood of the heifer represents the blood of the slain, they must purify themselves and declare their innocence of either committing or witnessing the crime (Deut. 21:6–7). Finally, the rabbinic law that the land surrounding the heifer is forever forbidden to be cultivated further underscores that the purpose of the ritual is the transference of land impurity from the human to the animal corpse.

According to this interpretation the Torah has incorporated an ancient rite, whereby land pollution due to an untraceable murder is transferred from a desirable area to an undesirable one. At the same time, it should not be overlooked how an act of pure sympathetic magic was transformed by the Torah to conform to its basic spiritual and ethical outlook. First, the ritual was placed in the hands of the priests, those "chosen by the Lord to serve Him" (21:5), and removed from the authority of the lay-elders, who might be addicted to its pagan origins. Then, the declaration was given an appendix (21:8–9), whereby the automatic, magical expiation presumed by the ritual was abolished, and the expiation and, indeed, all forgiveness of sin attributed solely to the Lord.

[Jacob Milgrom]

In the Talmud

No less than nine *mishnayot* (Sotah 9:1–9) and six folios of the Babylonian Talmud (Sotah 44b–47b) are devoted to the laws of the *ʿeglah ʿarufah*, despite the fact that the rite was abolished at the beginning of the first century (see below). Unless otherwise stated, the details that follow are derived from those passages. According to the rabbis, this act of expiation and disavowal by the elders was not for the murder itself, of which no one could possibly accuse them, but for failure to create conditions which would make such a crime impossible. "He [the victim, or possibly the murderer?] did not appeal to us for help and we dismissed him without providing him with food; we did not allow him to depart without an escort." The measurement of the distance between the corpse and the nearest town was performed by three or five elders from the Great Sanhedrin of Jerusalem. When they had finished their task and had decided to which city the murder was to be ascribed, they returned to Jerusalem, and the rite of breaking the heifer's neck (from behind with a hatchet) was performed in the presence of all the elders of that city. The rite was performed only when it was presumed that the undetected murderer was a Jew, and it was therefore not performed in a city near the border or where the majority of the inhabitants were gentiles. Nor did the rite apply to Jerusalem. It was limited to a murder executed with a lethal weapon and therefore did not apply in the case of hanging or strangulation. The heifer had to be less than two years old. The ceremony took place by day, and the carcass was buried *in situ*. The rite of the *ʿeglah ʿarufah* was discontinued "when murderers increased in number." Its discontinuation is connected with *Eleazar b. Dinai, also called Tehinah b. Parishah, a notorious murderer who is probably identical with the Zealot leader of the same name (c. 35–60 C.E.) mentioned by Josephus (Ant. 20:121 and 161; Wars, 2:235–6, 253).

[Louis Isaac Rabinowitz]

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EGLON (Heb. עֶגְלוֹן), Canaanite royal city. According to the Bible, Debir, king of Eglon, joined the confederation of Amorite kings, led by *Adoni-Zedek of Jerusalem, against *Gibeon. They were defeated by Joshua at Aijalon and slain near the cave of Makkedah, where they had sought refuge (Josh. 10). Eglon was subsequently captured, sacked, and destroyed (*ibid.* 10:34–35). The king of Eglon is again mentioned in the list of conquered cities (*ibid.* 12:12). The city was allotted to the tribe of Judah in the Lachish district (*ibid.* 15:39). It does not appear in later sources; Eusebius mentions an Agla, present-day Khirbat ʿAjlān, 12 mi. (19 km.) west of Bet Guvrin (Eleutheropolis) (Onom. 48:19). Scholars are divided as to the location of Eglon; the identification generally accepted is that of Tell al-Ḥasī proposed by Albright. This tell is situated 7 mi. (11 km.) southwest of Lachish, at the edge of the foothills that extend into the Coastal Plain. Elliger has suggested the more westerly Tell Beit Mirsim, and recent studies have shown that this identification is no less probable (cf. *Debir).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Albright, in BASOR, 17 (1925), 7ff.; Elliger, in: PJB, 30 (1934), 67f.

[Michael Avi-Yonah]

EGLON (Heb. עֶגְלוֹן; lit. "calf"), king of Moab in the period of the Judges, apparently in the first half of the 12th century B.C.E. The Bible relates that Eglon assembled the *Ammonites and the *Amalekites and with them attacked Israel, subduing the land for 18 years (Judg. 3:12–14). It is likely that Eglon had previously conquered the plain north of the Arnon, a region disputed by Israel and Moab. Eglon and his allies crossed the Jordan, captured the city of Jericho, and from there penetrated to the center of the country and subdued the tribes of Benjamin and Ephraim. It is natural, therefore, that a Benjaminite, the "judge" *Ehud, son of Gera, assassinated Eglon by a ruse and freed Israel from Moabite rule. The events related in Judges 3 appear historically plausible although some scholars have argued that the mention of Eglon's gross obesity (vs. 17, 22) and the chapter's apparent scatological references (vss. 21–25) are indications that the story is fictional political satire.

[Bustanay Oded]

In the *Aggadah*

Eglon is identified as the grandson of Balak (Yal. 665). Because of the respect he showed to God through rising from his throne when Ehud told him that he had a message from the Lord, he was rewarded: Ruth was his granddaughter (Naz. 24b) and her descendant David "sat on the throne of the Lord" (Ruth R. 2:9).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: E.G. Kraeling, in: JBL, 54 (1935), 205–10; K. Galling, in: ZDPV, 75 (1959), 1–13; A.H. van Zyl, *The Moabites* (1960); Y. Kaufmann, *Sefer Shofetim* (1962), 104–11; W. Richter, *Traditionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zum Richterbuch* (1963), 1ff.; A. Malamat, in: B. Mazar (ed.), *Ha-Historyah shel Am Yisrael, ha-Avot ve-ha-Shofetim* (1967), 229–30. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** B. Halpern, *The Bible's First Historians* (1980), 39–75; idem, in: ABD, 2, 414; M. Brettler, in: HUCA, 62 (1991), 285–304; Y. Amit, *Judges* (1999), 71–79.

EGOZI, Turkish family, members of which served as rabbis of Constantinople in the 16th and 17th centuries. MENAHEM BEN MOSES EGOZI (second half of 16th century) was a rabbi, preacher, and poet. His sermons, *Gal shel Egozim*, were published in the printing press of Gracia *Nasi in Belvedere between 1593 and 1599. *Ginnat Egoz*, a manuscript collection of his letters and poems, some showing considerable talent and of historical importance, is in the British Museum (Or. 11.111). A responsum by him is included in the responsa of Elijah b. Ḥayyim (no. 38). ḤAYYIM, a contemporary of the former, was a member of the *bet din* of Elijah b. Ḥayyim in Constantinople, their signatures appearing together in a document of 1601. A manuscript of his book on the laws of divorce is in the Jerusalem National Library (no. 119, 8°). DAVID (d. c. 1644) was rabbi of the indigenous Turkish community of Constantinople. He was appointed to be in charge of the congregational property and was in halakhic correspondence with Ḥayyim and Moses *Benveniste. NISSIM BEN ḤAYYIM, rabbi and *dayyan*, was involved in the Shabbatean controversy which engaged the Constantinople rabbis in 1666.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Rosanes, Togarmah, 3 (1938), 33; Scholem, Shabbetai Ẓevi, 2 (1957), 416–7; A. Yaari, *Ha-Defus ha-Ivri be-Kushta* (1967), 140–1, no. 228, 147.

EGYENLÖSÉG, a political weekly newspaper, its title meaning "Equality," which was published in the Hungarian language in Budapest from 1881. The official mouthpiece of the Neolog (non-Orthodox) sector of Hungarian Jewry, it circulated among Hungarian Jewry as a whole. Its founder was Moritz Bogdányi, who published daily editions during the proceedings of the *Tiszaeszlár blood libel trial of 1882–83. Miksa *Szabolcsi headed the editorial staff from 1884, later becoming its owner, and after the Tiszaeszlár trial took up the struggle anew for religious equality of the Jews of Hungary. Some of the best-known Hungarian Jewish writers were among its contributors, such as Adolf *Agai, Hugo *Ignotus, József *Kiss, Tamás *Kóbor, Emil *Makai, and Péter Ujvári. The declared policy of the paper was assimilationist, aiming at moderate religious reform but complete integration in the life of the state. With the appearance of organized Zionism, the paper took up an anti-Zionist stand. After the death of Miksa Szabolcsi in 1915, his son Lajos Szabolcsi edited the paper and took a bold stand against the "numerus clausus" and the excesses of the "White Terror" after the revolution of 1918–19. The paper was banned in 1938.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Magyar Zsidó Lexikon* (1929), 213–4.

[Baruch Yaron]

EGYPT, country in N.E. Africa, centering along the banks of the River Nile from the Mediterranean coast southward beyond the first cataract at Aswan. The ancient Egyptians named their land "Kemi," the "Black Land," while the neighboring Asiatic peoples used the Semitic word "Miṣr" which is still the country's name in both Hebrew (Heb. מִצְרַיִם; *Miẓrayim*) and Arabic. Geographically Egypt consists of two areas, Lower Egypt, the northern part of the land, which contains the Delta, and Upper Egypt, the south, which comprises the narrow strip of cultivable land on both sides of the river as far south as Aswan.

Ancient Egypt

Ancient Egyptian history can be divided into seven periods that correspond to the major dynastic ages of Pharaonic history:

1. Predynastic – (prehistory)
2. Early Dynastic Period (Archaic) – Dyn. 1–3, 2920–2575
3. Old Kingdom – Dyn. 4–8 (Pyramid Age), 2575–2134
4. First Intermediate Period – Dyn. 9–10, 2134–2040
5. Middle Kingdom – Dyn. 11–12 ("Classical" Period), 2040–1640

6. Second Intermediate Period – Dyn. 13–17 (including the Hyksos Period), 1640–1532
7. New Kingdom – Dyn. 18–20 (Empire Period), 1550–1070

PREDYNASTIC – EARLY DYNASTIC PERIOD. The Predynastic history of Egypt refers to the period before the unification of Upper and Lower Egypt. It is the unification of the two kingdoms that heralds the national consciousness of Egypt; therefore, her history as a nation cannot start before the Early Dynastic Period. Egyptian tradition traced its historical beginnings to the time when King Menes of Upper Egypt (as recorded by Manetho, and transmitted with slight variations by Herodotus, Josephus, and Diodorus Siculus) conquered Lower Egypt and unified the two lands. By this action, he became the ruler of both Upper and Lower Egypt, thereby establishing the First Dynasty. Menes' unification came to symbolize the nation and its conception of itself. The earliest representation of the unification of Egypt is the Narmer Palette (+/–3150 B.C.E., now in the Cairo Museum). The legendary Pharaoh Narmer has been identified with Menes, and the Narmer Palette apparently represents the Pharaoh of Upper Egypt conquering Lower Egypt and subduing the enemy. The obverse of the palette shows the ruler wearing the White Crown of Upper Egypt, while the reverse has him wearing the Red Crown of Lower Egypt. Throughout dynastic history the unification represented the potency of the land, a potency recalled in a variety of ways, from the titles of the kings, through the representations in the artistic canon.

The most important legacy of the Early Dynastic Period is the foundation of what we view as the civilization of ancient Egypt. The national economy, political ideology, and religious philosophy all developed in this period, and the administrative seat of Egyptian government moved north to Memphis. Much of the contact between Egypt and the Levant during the Early Dynastic Period was in the area of trade. Grain, timber for construction, precious and semi-precious materials, including lapis lazuli copper and turquoise, were imported to Egypt from Southwest Asia.

THE OLD KINGDOM. The Old Kingdom is also known as the Pyramid Age. During this period Egypt's power revolved around her resources, human and natural, and the Pharaoh's ability to utilize them. One of the results of the successful harnessing of resources was monumental architecture; the first complexes built from fully dressed stones are from this period. These large structures seem to represent the physical manifestation of the Pharaoh's godhead and authority. The strong centralized government of the god-king that had developed earlier underwent decentralization during the 5th dynasty and resulted in a new class of officials: The vizier no longer had to be a prince, and the nomarchs began to reside in the nome that they administered rather than in the royal residence or capital.

Foreign relations during the Old Kingdom were generally peaceful, and foreign expeditions were related either to defense or, more frequently, to trade. A 6th dynasty official named Weni inscribed his autobiography on a wall in his tomb-chapel. He reports that at the behest of the Pharaoh he led five expeditions into the Southern Levant to defend against the "Sand-dwellers" (Lichtheim 18ff.). At least two stone vessels bearing Old Kingdom royal names have been discovered at *Tel Mardikhi*, *Ebla, in central Syria. There is no certainty as to how the vessels got to Ebla (one, bearing Pepy I's name, is thought to have come through Byblos, and the other with Kephren's name may have come directly from Egypt), but their existence attests to far reaching diplomatic connections between Egypt and the Levant.

THE FIRST INTERMEDIATE PERIOD. In Egyptian chronology, the term "Intermediate" refers to the periods when there was no strong centralized government unifying the Two Lands. During the first Intermediate Period there was dynastic rule both in the North (at Herakleopolis), and in the South (at Thebes). The attempts to reunify the land fostered sporadic internal conflicts and civil wars.

THE MIDDLE KINGDOM. The detailed origins of the Middle Kingdom are unknown, but in a political sense the Middle Kingdom may be said to begin when the ruler of Upper Egypt becomes the sole Pharaoh and the two lands are again united. During the 11th Dynasty the seat of rule remained at Thebes in the South, but the first Pharaoh of the 12th Dynasty moved the capital North to a new capital called *Itjtawy*, "Grasper of the Two Lands"; the capital remained there for more than 300 years. The 12th Dynasty is the "Classical Period" in the art and the literature of Ancient Egypt.

The literature and the art of this period were used to promote the royal and elite values and interests. Many of the literary texts of this period have a propagandistic flavor and were circulated to the literati though the temples and schools. The monumental royal inscriptions on temples and other buildings were also used to address the public, to inspire loyalty, and to tell the people of the grandeur of their rulers.

For the most part Egypt's foreign relations remain peaceful during this period as witnessed by the famous tomb painting in the tomb of Khnumhotep II at Beni Hasan. Part of this painting depicts 37 Asiatics (men, women, and children) bringing eye-paint to Khnumhotep. But there is evidence of international strife during the Middle Kingdom in the Execration Texts. The Execration Texts were a class of formulas that functioned as destructive magic; they were designed to counteract negative influences, and they are attested from the Old Kingdom through the New Kingdom. The performance of execration rituals centered on objects inscribed to identify the target of the magical act; they were then destroyed or symbolically neutralized. These texts include figures made of unbaked clay and crudely formed into the shape of a bound prisoner. There are three lots of execration texts that deal with Western Asia containing standard formulae with the names of Asiatic chieftains and their related toponyms (place names), after which follows a comprehensive statement of curse along the lines of "all Asiatics of Gns, and their mighty runners … who may rebel … etc."

THE SECOND INTERMEDIATE PERIOD AND THE PERIOD OF THE HYKSOS. The Second Intermediate Period began toward the end of the 13th Dynasty when the centralized government began once again to falter, leading to the rise of local rulers in the eastern Nile Delta. The period reached its culmination when the *Hyksos invaded from Western Asia and usurped the throne. Originally these Near Easterners were referred to as "Shepherd kings" or "captive shepherds" by the scholarly community. These titles are based on an incorrect folk-etymology attested to as early as Josephus. The term Hyksos is the Greek rendering of the Egyptian appellation for these foreigners. But the Egyptian that underlies the Greek is best translated as "rulers of the foreign countries." In Egypt it became the official designation of the first three kings of the 15th Dynasty. The capital of the Hyksos was at Avaris, modern Tel ed-Dab'a in the Delta, on the eastern most of the Delta branches. The population there seems to have been composed of Asiatics, especially those who spoke Amorite, a West Semitic dialect.

Much of the Hyksos's power resulted from good trade relations with Cyprus, Nubia, and the Levant, and it was during this period that the horse, and wool-bearing sheep were introduced into Egypt. The archaeological record indicates that the Hyksos were not the first Near Easterners to live in the Nile Delta, but it was under the Hyksos that Egypt became more involved with the eastern Mediterranean (Bietak).

The reign of the Hyksos ended when the Theban ruler Ahmose finally expelled them and reunited the Two Lands. After this expulsion the capital shifted south again to Thebes.

THE NEW KINGDOM. The New Kingdom is the period of Egyptian expansion and imperialism. In the earlier periods Egypt's contact with, and control over, foreign areas was limited to her desire for trade and resources; during the New Kingdom Egypt's foreign policy became more aggressive. The Hurrian kingdom of Mitanni became a threat to Egypt, and the New Kingdom rulers responded to Mitanni's rising power in the area. The 18th Dynasty ruler Thutmose I led a campaign into northern Syria. Later, Thutmose III led 14 campaigns into Western Asia (one of which included a seven-month siege at Megiddo), and eventually subdued the Levantine coast, increasing Egyptian hegemony into the interior of Syro-Palestine. Under Thutmose III the rulers of the conquered Asiatic city-states became vassals to Egypt who had to send tribute and swear an oath of loyalty to the Pharaoh. True peace was not realized until the reign of Thutmose IV, who married one of the Mitannian princesses (Murnane 2001).

The Egyptian Empire reached its height during the reign of another 18th Dynasty Pharaoh, Amenhotep III. By this time the empire was firmly established, so that Egypt was able to keep her troops in just a few areas and to send garrisons only to regions that threatened revolt. But this relative ease of imperialism was short lived, and the Empire began to falter under the reign of Amenhotep IV whose internal policies caused him to be labeled the "heretic king." Amenhotep IV devoted much of his energy to religious reform. Traditionally, the established cults of Egypt's gods were under the care of the Pharaoh. Amenhotep IV neglected the traditional gods of Egypt and showed strict devotion to a new conception of the sun god the "Aten" (solar orb); he eventually withdrew his patronage from the capital at Thebes (which was the "city of Amun"), he changed his name to reflect his religious preferences to Akhenaten (*Akhenaton; "effective on behalf of the orb"), and established a new capital city named Akhetaten ("horizon of the orb"). Akhenaten weakened the power of the royal family to such an extent that that even when the traditional cult was re-established in the land, the last kings of the 18th Dynasty (including Tutankhamun) had no real power. The entire balance of power in the Near East changed during this period when the Mitannians lost control of most of their vassals to the Hittites and Egypt lost control of her vassal Kadesh to these same Hittites. The resulting hostilities between Egypt and Hatti only increased when a Hittite prince died on his way to Egypt with the intent to marry Tutankhamun's widow. Egypt's borders continued to recede south for the next three generations.

The Ramesside kings of the 19th and 20th Dynasties attempted to regain Egypt's past glory. These attempts met with varying levels of success. Ramesses II successfully defended Egypt against the invasions of the Sea Peoples, but his "victory" against the Hittites at Kadesh is not the unqualified "victory" portrayed on his temple walls. In addition, the balance of power achieved by Egypt in the south, and the Hittites in the north changed as Assyria emerged as a major force in Western Asia. Ramesses III was the strongest ruler of the 20th Dynasty, and he too defended Egypt against the Sea Peoples, and defeated two Libyan invasions. But the end of his reign is marked by a series of strikes by craftsmen who were working on the royal tombs at Thebes. These strikes were the beginning of the economic difficulties that helped bring about the end of the 20th Dynasty and Egypt's Empire period.

The New Kingdom saw Egypt rise to become an international superpower ruling territories from Nubia to Asia. But by the end of this period Egypt was a nation overwhelmed by internal troubles, which had lost control of all of her foreign territories; never again would Egypt regain her splendor.

For the biblical depiction of events in this period, see *History; *Exodus; *Pentateuch.

[Sharon Keller (2nd ed.)]

After the shortlived 21st Dynasty, the 22nd Dynasty, of Libyan origin, came to power in Egypt. Sheshonk I (the biblical *Shishak) gave refuge to the Israelite pretender *Jeroboam and, after the latter had returned to Israel, invaded first Judah, thoroughly ravaging and looting the country, and then Israel, treating it in like manner. Returning with vast plunder, and leaving a weakened Palestine behind him, Sheshonk retired to Egypt. Henceforth the Libyan rulers of Egypt, having shown their power, left West Asia alone.

By the end of the eighth century B.C.E. the Egyptianized Nubian rulers of *Cush had displaced the Libyans in control of Egypt, while the Assyrians under *Tiglath-Pileser III made their presence felt in Syria and Palestine. During the last revolt of Israel against Assyria (724–721 B.C.E.) Hosea wrote to So, the king of Egypt, for support against the Assyrians. This otherwise unknown king has been plausibly identified recently as Tefnakht, the ruler of Sais (So), a vassal of the Nubians. However, Egyptian support was to no avail; Tefnakht was repulsed and Samaria fell. Nevertheless Egypt still appeared to be powerful, and in the following decades *Hezekiah, king of Judah, again relied on Egypt. Although the biblical account names *Tirhakah (Taharka), king of Cush (Nubia; II Kings 19:35) as Jerusalem's ally, there are chronological problems involved, since the decisive battle of this campaign, that of Elteke, took place in 701, and Taharka's rule began only in 689.

*Sennacherib's successors subjugated Egypt, expelled the Cushites, and installed puppets who managed to regain Egyptian independence under the twenty-sixth Dynasty. The founder of this dynasty, Psammetichus I (c. 664–610 B.C.E.) strengthened Egypt by the widespread employment of foreigners – Greek and Jewish mercenary troops and Phoenician sailors and merchants. During his reign or that of Psammetichus II (c. 595–89 B.C.E.) the famous colony of Jewish mercenary soldiers was established at *Elephantine to protect the southern frontier of Egypt. After the fall of the Assyrian capital of Nineveh in 612 B.C.E. to the Neo-Babylonians and Medes, the king of Egypt, Neco II, "went up against the Babylonians," but found his way barred by *Josiah, king of Judah, whom he defeated and killed at Megiddo in 609. Four years later, the Babylonians decisively defeated him at the battle of Carchemish. The subsequent Babylonian invasion of Egypt, preceded by the siege and sack of Ashkelon, was, however, beaten back, although Palestine remained under Babylonian control.

In 589 *Nebuchadnezzar besieged Jerusalem, whose king, *Zedekiah, had rebelled at the instigation of the pharaoh Apries (*Hophra). The latter invaded Syria in an attempt to relieve Jerusalem, but again Egyptian support proved ineffectual, and in 587 Jerusalem fell. Most of the city's population was deported to Babylon; some, however, took refuge in Egypt, including the prophet *Jeremiah.

[Alan Richard Schulman]

Egyptian Literature in the Bible

Egypt has a long and full literary history and tradition, and as such, there is ample evidence of both literary and nonliterary genre of texts. These texts serve many functions and come in a variety of forms each with its own established conventions and styles. The technical aspects of Egyptian literary forms are not generally paralleled in biblical literature, yet it is well recognized that there is a commonalty in content between some biblical narrative motifs and those found in various Ancient Egyptian texts. Direct links in the prose literature are difficult to establish, but there is a scholarly consensus that relates the two bodies of literature. Wisdom texts fall in their own category; the consensus maintains that the biblical wisdom tradition is dependent, at least in part, upon the Egyptian. Questions of borrowing and/or primary derivation notwithstanding, there is no doubt that the Egyptian material antedates the biblical.

Egypt plays an important part in the narrative setting of the Torah. From the time that Joseph is sold into servitude through the Exodus and the crossing of the Sea of Reeds, the central location of the story is Egypt. It is in these stories, the ones set in Egypt, that the majority of narrative parallels are to be found. The most frequently cited example is the biblical tale of Joseph and Potiphar's wife (Gen 39) and the New Kingdom *Tale of Two Brothers*. The Egyptian tale is the first known example in ancient literature of the Temptress motif. The details and purposes of each of the stories differ greatly, but there is no serious doubt that the structure of the motif is essentially the same. In such stories an older woman (or a woman of higher social status) develops an ill-advised passion for a younger man (or one of a lesser social status). This "temptress" makes her desires known to the young man (Gen 39:7) who refuses her advances on moral grounds (verses 8–9); thus spurned, the "temptress" accuses the young man of violating her, and the "wronged" husband then seeks retribution. The standard versions of this tale eventually vindicate the youth and punish the mendacious wife. In the biblical account Joseph is punished for his supposed actions by being imprisoned (verses 19–20). Eventually he is pardoned by Pharaoh and released from prison because, after interpreting Pharaoh's dreams, Joseph is rewarded and made viceroy of Egypt (41:14–45). The biblical version deviates from the pattern in two significant ways: First, the narrator never tells us that Joseph is ever publicly declared innocent. (He is pardoned not exonerated). Second, the fate of the temptress is not revealed. Potiphar's wife disappears from the story right after she accuses Joseph (Gen 39:18–19), because she is no longer important to the progress of the narrative.

Although the *Tale of Two Brothers* is the most frequently cited example of biblical and Egyptian narrative parallels, it is by no means the only one. Some literary tales present us with a picture of Syria-Palestine that is reminiscent of the description of the area in the Patriarchal Narratives of Genesis and also show some parallel values. The prime example is the Middle Kingdom *Tale of Sinuhe*, which depicts the environment of the Levant in detail and shows it much the same as described in the Torah narratives. Both the Hebrew and Egyptian sources describe pastoral nomadic clans who travel among the settled urban population centers. Sinuhe was an attendant to Princess Nefru, daughter of Amenemhet I and wife of Sesostris I. After Amenemhet I dies, Sinuhe overhears plans for a palace coup. Fearing that he will be caught up in the civil-war that will inevitably follow, he flees Egypt and wanders through the Nile Delta and throughout Canaan. Sinhue becomes very successful in Canaan, but always longs to return to his native land. Ultimately, he is reunited with Sesostris I and urged to return to Egypt. As with most Egyptian tales, this one ends happily when Sinhue returns to Egypt and is welcomed back into the royal household, His wish that he be allowed to returned to Egypt so he may die and be buried there is fulfilled. Sinuhe's flight from political danger may be compared to Moses' flight from Egypt to avoid Pharaoh's wrath (Ex. 2:15). Sinuhe's subsequent wanderings though the Egyptian Delta and into Canaan along with his new found prosperity in a foreign land may be compared with the accounts of Abraham's peregrinations. Another frequently cited parallel is that Sinuhe very much wants to be buried in his native Egypt, just as Jacob desires that his body be returned from Egypt to Canaan (Gen. 47:29–30). Similarly, Joseph adjures the children of Israel to carry his bones out from Egypt when they leave (Gen 50:25, Ex. 13:19).

Narrative parallels are not limited to the Torah. One of Sinuhe's exploits has been compared to David's slaying of Goliath. "He came toward me while I waited, having placed myself near him. Every heart burned for me; the women jabbered. All hearts ached for me thinking: 'Is there another champion who could fight him?' He [raised] his battle-axe and shield, while his armful of missiles fell toward me. When I had made his weapons attack me, I let his arrows pass me by without effect, one following the other. Then, when he charged me, I shot him, my arrow sticking in his neck. He screamed; he fell on his nose; I slew him with his axe. I raised my war cry over his back, while every Asiatic shouted. I gave praise to Mont, while his people mourned him" (Lichtheim in COS) Both Sinuhe and David are underdog warriors who surprisingly vanquish the enemy champion with his own weapon (I Sam 17:51).

Scholarly consensus recognizes that the biblical Wisdom tradition, and much of the poetic and instructional literature related to that tradition, has very close associations with Egyptian Wisdom Literature. Within the Bible there is a conception of Egypt as a source of great wisdom (I Kings 4:30, "Solomon's wisdom was greater than the wisdom of all the Kedemites and than all the wisdom of the Egyptians"), but this "wisdom" is not that of the Wisdom Literature. Egyptian Wisdom Literature deals with "truth," "justice," and especially "order," the "cosmic order" as ordained by the gods. Biblical Wisdom focuses primarily upon Wisdom personified and the "fear of God" associated with it. So the larger conceptions that inform the genre are not identical, but the Egyptian material most certainly has influenced the biblical.

Psalm 104 is frequently viewed in light of "The Great Hymn to the Aten." Both texts venerate the solar aspects of the deity and use similar language in so doing. Song of Songs is widely recognized as having significant parallels to Egyptian love poetry (Fox) There are parallels of phraseology: In the Song of Songs "sister" is used as a term of intimacy between the two lovers (4:9, 10–12, "…my sister, my bride…"; also 5:1, 2), and in the Egyptian Love Songs both "sister" and "brother" are used as terms of love and intimacy. In both literatures there is an alternation between the speech of the girl and that of the boy, but with a difference; In the Bible the lovers engage in dialogues, whereas in the Love Songs from Egypt the lovers are given alternating soliloquies. Another common feature is found in the so-called "Praise Song," where the physical beauty of the beloved body is described limb by limb. (4:1–7; 5:10–16; 7:2–10a).

Even more striking parallels are to be found in instructional literature; these connections were first recognized in the early 20th century, and are regularly noted in modern commentaries. The prime example is the "Instruction of Amenemope." Proverbs 22:17–24:22 and Jeremiah 17:5–8 are both thought to be inspired by "Amenemope." Of particular interest is Proverbs 22:20 and the difficulty surrounding the Hebrew word traditionally written both *shlshwm* (*ketiv*) and *shlyshym* (*qere*) and vocalized to mean either "officers" or "the day before yesterday." Neither makes any sense in the context of the pericope. Accordingly, many scholars vocalize this word as *sheloshim*, "thirty" ("Have I not written for you thirty sayings of counsel and wisdom") especially since there are 30 chapters in the "Instruction of Amenemope" and that text ends "Look to these thirty chapters, They inform, they educate …."

The points of contact between biblical and Egyptian literature go beyond content, and include linguistic borrowings as well. There are close to six dozen agreed upon Egyptian loan words in the Bible, not including personal names and toponyms (place names); some of these words are Hebraized, whereas others are used in forms that are close to their Egyptian form. Understandably, there is a remarkable clustering of these loan words in the biblical accounts relating to Egypt. We have come to expect Egyptian words used to describe the natural environment of Egypt, so the biblical words for "reeds" (Ex. 13:18, 15:4, 22, 23:31; passim), "Nile" (Gen. 41:1–3; passim), "papyrus" (Ex. 2:3; Isa. 18:2, 35:7; Job 8:11), and "marsh grass" (Gen. 41:2, 18; Job 8:11) all are Egyptian loans. The same goes for specifically Egyptian offices like the *hartumim* typically translated as "magicians" (Gen. 41:8, 24; Ex. 7:11, 22, 8:3, 14–15, 9:11; Dan. 1:20, 2:2, 10, 27, 4:4, 6, 5:11). Pharaoh is a royal title (literally "big house" / "palace") used in the Bible both as a royal title with a specific royal name following (Pharaoh RN – II Kings 23:29, 33–35; Jer. 46:2), or alone as a virtual royal name or specific appellative (this usage is consistent in the Torah text). Attempts have been made to date biblical passages according to the usage of the word "Pharaoh," but such arguments are speculative at best, and ignore the literary aspects of the text.

[Sharon Keller (2nd ed.)]

The Hellenistic Period

THE PTOLEMAIC PERIOD. Egyptian Jewry traced its history back to the time of Jeremiah (Letter of Aristeas, 35), but it was not until the conquest of *Alexander the Great in 332 B.C.E. that the second great wave of Jewish emigration to Egypt began. Alexander's successors in Egypt, the Ptolemid dynasty, attracted many Jews early in their reign to settle in Egypt as tradesmen, farmers, mercenaries, and government officials. During their reign Egyptian Jewry enjoyed both tolerance and prosperity. They became significant in culture and literature, and by the first century C.E., accounted for an eighth of the population of Egypt. The majority of the Jews of Egypt lived,

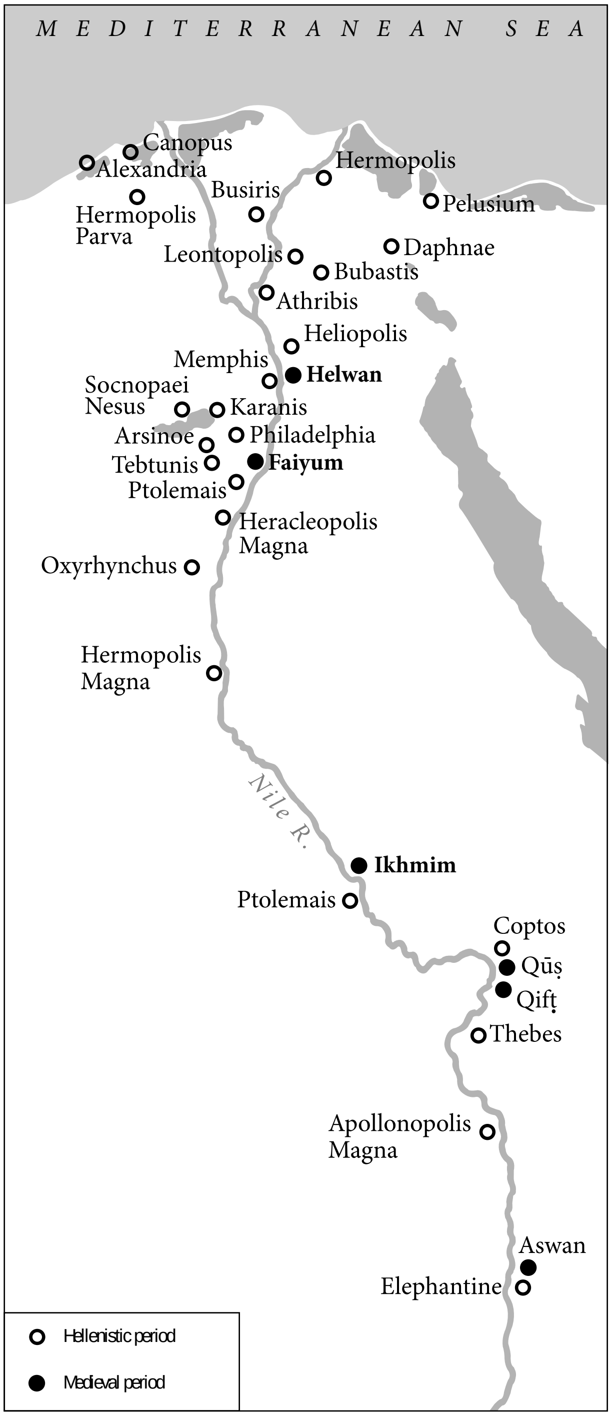
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
Canopus
Alexandria
Hermopolis
Busiris
Hermopolis Parva
Pelusium
Leontopolis
Daphnae
Bubastis
Athribis
Heliopolis
Memphis
Helwan
Socnopaei Nesus
Karanis
Arsinoe
Philadelphia
Tebtunis
Faiyum
Ptolemais
Heracleopolis Magna
Oxyrhynchus
Hermopolis Magna
Nile R.
Ikhmim
Ptolemais
Coptos
Qūṣ
Qifṭ
Thebes
Apollonopolis Magna
Aswan
Elephantine
Hellenistic period
Medieval period

Map 1. Main Jewish communities in Egypt during the Hellenistic period and during the Middle Ages; the enlarged section of the Delta region (right) gives medieval communities only.

as the Greeks, in *Alexandria, but there were also very many in the *ehora*, the provincial districts outside Alexandria.

*Ptolemy I Soter (323–283) took a large number of Jewish prisoners of war in Palestine and forcibly settled them as mercenaries in Egypt to hold down the native Egyptians (*ibid.*, 36).

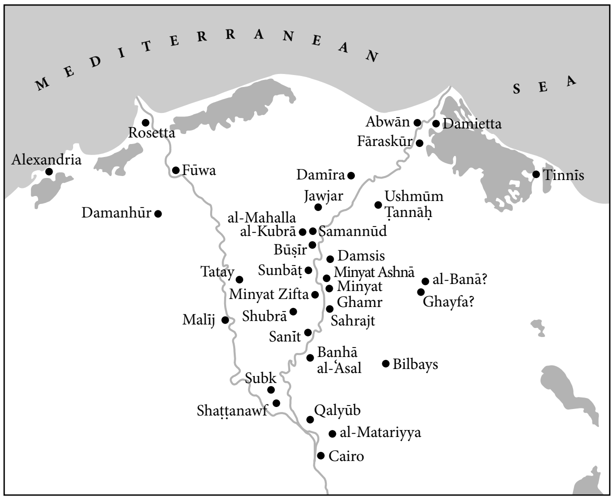
MEDITERRANEAN
SEA
Rosetta
Alexandria
Fūwa
Damanhūr
Abwān
Damietta
Fāraskūr
Damīra
Tinnīs
Jawjar
Ushmūm Ṭannāḥ
al-Mahalla al-Kubrā
Samannūd
Būṣīr
Damsis
Tatay
Sunbāṭ
Minyat Ashnā
Minyat Ghamr
al-Banā?
Ghayfa?
Minyat Zifta
Malīj
Shubrā
Sahrajt
Sanīt
Banhā al-ʿAsal
Bilbays
Subk
Shaṭṭanawf
Qalyūb
al-Matariyya
Cairo

On Ptolemy I's retreat from Palestine many Jews fled with him to Egypt, where they found a haven of tolerance. *Ptolemy II Philadelphus (283–44) emancipated the Jews taken captive by his father and settled them on the land as cleruchs or in "Jew-Camps" as Jewish military units. He was remembered by the Jews of Egypt as having instigated the translation of the Septuagint (see Letter of *Aristeas; *Bible: Greek translation). Since *Manetho's antisemitic work was written in his reign there must have been a fair number of Jews already in Egypt.

*Ptolemy III Euergetes (246–221) was said to have been favorably disposed toward the Jews and to have respected their religion. Two facts confirm this. One is the number of Jews who settled in the nome of Arsinoe (*Faiyum) in his reign, and the other is the synagogue inscription dedicated to him, declaring that he granted the rights of asylum to the synagogues (Frey, Corpus 2 pp. 374–6). There is also a synagogue inscription from Schedia, which was also probably dedicated to him (Reinach in REJ, 14 (1902), 161–4).

*Ptolemy IV Philopator (221–203) attempted to institute a massacre of the Jews of Alexandria in 217 B.C.E., but was later reconciled with them (III Macc. 5–6). During the reign of *Ptolemy VI Philometor (181–145) a marked change took place. Ptolemy VI won Jewish favor by opening up the whole of Egypt to the Jews, on whom he relied, as well as by receiving Jewish exiles from Palestine such as *Onias IV, to whom he granted land to build a temple at Leontopolis (c. 161 B.C.E.; Jos., Wars 1:33). The Jewish philosopher *Aristobulus of Paneas was said to have advised him on Jewish affairs, and he appointed two Jews, Onias and Dositheos, to high military posts (Jos., Apion, 2:49). During the struggles of Cleopatra *III (116–101) with her son *Ptolemy IX Lathyros (116–80) the Jews of Egypt sided with the Queen, thus earning her esteem but alienating the Greek population from them (Ant. 13:287). She appointed two Jewish brothers, *Ananias and Helkias, as commanders of her army.

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENTS. Most of the Jews who settled in the *chora* were either farmers or artisans. The

Ptolemies did not generally trust the native Egyptians and encouraged the Jews to enter three professions:

(a) the army, where, as other nationalities in Egypt, they were allowed to lease plots of land from the king (called cleruchies), and were granted tax reductions;

(b) the police force, in which Jews reached high ranks (cf. the Jewish district chief of police in Frey, Corpus, 2, p. 370); and

(c) tax collecting (a government executive job) and sometimes in the *chora*, tax farming (a government administrative post; see Tcherikover, Corpus nos. 107, 109, 110).

Others were managers in the royal banks or administrators (*ibid.*, nos. 99–103, from middle of second century B.C.E.). In Alexandria there was a greater diversity of occupations and some Jews prospered in trade and commerce.

Early in the third century B.C.E. synagogues were founded in Egypt. They are known to have existed at Alexandria, Schedia (third century B.C.E.), Alexandrou Nesou (third century B.C.E.), Crocodilopolis-Arsinoe (three: third century B.C.E., second century B.C.E., and second century C.E.), Xenephyris (second century B.C.E.), Athribis (two: third or second century B.C.E.), and Nitriae (second century B.C.E.). They were usually called προσευχή or εὐχεῖον (from the Greek *euche* = prayer), and tablets were often erected dedicating the synagogue to the king and the royal family.

At first the Jewish immigrants spoke only Aramaic, and documents from the third century and the first half of the second century B.C.E. show a widespread knowledge of Aramaic and Hebrew (cf. Frey, Corpus 2, pp. 356, 365). But from the second century on there was a rapid Hellenization. Documents were written in Greek, the Pentateuch was read in the synagogue with the Septuagint translation, and even such a writer as *Philo probably knew no or little Hebrew. At first the Egyptian Jews transliterated their names into Greek, or adopted Greek names that sounded like Hebrew ones (e.g., Alcimus for Eliakim, or Jason for Joshua), but later they often adopted Greek equivalents of Hebrew names (e.g., Dositheos for Jonathan, Theodoras for Jehonathan). Gradually Egyptian Jewry adopted any Greek name (even those of foreign gods), and among the *Zeno Letters only 25% of the names are Hebrew.

In the *chora* the Hellenization was not so strong, but there the Jews were influenced by the native Egyptians. Documents testify to Egyptian names among the Jews, and sometimes to an ignorance of Greek (presumably these Jews spoke Egyptian). However, the *chora* Jews were more observant of the Sabbath and dietary laws than those of Alexandria.

The relations between Greek and Jew was on the whole good under the Ptolemies. The Jews often sought to explain Judaism to the Greeks (cf. Aristobulus of Paneas, Philo, and others). They tried to enter the Greek gymnasium which was a sign of the cultured Greek. Cases of actual apostasy were rare; that of Dositheos, son of Drimylos, who renounced Judaism to enter court, was exceptional (III Macc. 1:3).

CONSTITUTION. It used to be thought that the Jews were given equal rights with the Greeks by Alexander the Great, and that they called themselves Macedonians (Wars, 2:487–88). This has been disproved by papyri where it appears that only Jews or Jewish military units, who were incorporated into Macedonian units, were termed "Macedonians" (compare Tcherikover, Corpus nos. 142 line 3 with no. 143). Since the population registered its name and racial origin, each nationality in Egypt formed a separate group through the Ptolemid period. The Jews, unlike the Greeks, were not granted a *politeia* (rights of free citizenship), but received a *politeuma* (a constitution by which they had the right to observe their ancestral laws). Individual Jews were granted citizenship occasionally by the polis or the king, or by managing to register in a gymnasium. These, however, were exceptions. From the papyri of Faiyum and Oxyrhynchus it seems that the majority of Jews did not use the right of recourse to Jewish courts, but attended Greek ones even in cases of marriage or divorce. The head of the Jewish community in Alexandria was the *ethnarch, while in the *chora* elders held sway.

Toward the end of the Ptolemid period Jewish-Greek relations steadily worsened. The Greeks, supported by the Egyptians, were struggling to strengthen the power of the polis, while the Jews supported the Ptolemids, first Cleopatra III (see above), and then *Ptolemy XIII and *Gabinius in 55 B.C.E. Papyri of 58 B.C.E. recorded some unrest in Egypt of an antisemitic nature (e.g., Tcherikover, Corpus no. 141). Josephus records that *Julius Caesar was aided by Jewish cleruchs in Egypt when *Antipater brought reinforcements from Palestine. In return for this Caesar is said to have reaffirmed the citizenship of the Alexandrian Jews in 47 B.C.E. (Ant., 14:131, 188–96).

Roman Period

EARLY ROMAN EMPIRE. The new administration under *Augustus at first was grateful to the Jews for their support (cf. the stele of their rights set up in Alexandria; Jos., Ant. 14:188), but generally it relied on the Greeks of Alexandria for help, which fact caused a great rift between the Jews and the rest of the population early in their rule. Augustus disbanded the Ptolemaic army and abolished the tax-collection system about 30 B.C.E. Both of these acts caused great economic hardships for the Jews. Few of them joined or were permitted to join the Roman army in Egypt (an exception being a centurion of 116 C.E., in Tcherikover, Corpus no. 229). Jewish tax collectors were mostly replaced by Greek government officials. The *cursus honorum* was closed to Jews unless they renounced their religion, which most refused to do (an exception being *Tiberius Julius Alexander, prefect of Egypt). Jewish civil rights (*politeuma*) were endangered by Augustus' revision of the constitution of Egypt. Three classes were created:

(a) the upper class of Romans, priests, Greek citizens of Alexandria, Naucratis, and Ptolemais, and those who had registered in the gymnasium;

(b) Egyptians, the lowest class, who paid a burdensome poll tax; and

(c) the middle class *metropolitae* (i.e., half-Greeks who lived in the *chora*), who paid the poll tax at a reduced rate.

Augustus placed the Jew in the lowest class, forced to pay the tax. This was a blow to Jewish pride, for besides those few individual Jewish families who had received the distinction of Greek citizenship, the vast majority of Jews could no longer register in the gymnasia and had to pay the poll tax.

From that time began a long struggle by the Alexandrian Jews to confirm their rights. The works of writers such as Josephus (*Contra Apionem*) and Philo (Vita Moysis 1:34) contain a defense of Alexandrian Jews' rights. The Greeks in turn approached Augustus suggesting that they would keep all non-Greeks out of the gymnasia, if he, in turn, would abolish the privileges of the Jews. Augustus refused and confirmed the Jewish ancestral rights, to the intense anger of the Greeks. Augustus abolished the post of ethnarch of Alexandria in 10–12 C.E., replacing it by a *gerusia* of elders.

The Greeks of Alexandria seized their opportunity with the rise of the pro-Hellenic emperor, Caius *Caligula in 37 C.E. The following year they stormed the synagogues, polluted them, and set up statues of the emperor within. The prefect, Valerius *Flaccus, was embarrassed and dared not remove the images of Caesar. The Jews were shut up in a ghetto and their houses plundered. Philo, who wrote *In Flaccum* and *De Legatione* on the affair, headed a Jewish delegation to Caligula to complain, but was dismissed with derision. On the assassination of Caligula in 41 C.E. the Jews of Alexandria took vengeance by instigating a massacre of the Greeks.

The new emperor, *Claudius, issued an edict in favor of the Jews in 41 C.E., abolishing the restrictions imposed at the time of the pogrom of 38 C.E., but he banned the Jews from entering the gymnasia, and refused them Greek citizenship. Much antisemitic material was written at this period in Egypt, e.g., *Apion's works, and the *Acts of the *Alexandrian Martyrs*.

Consequently the Jews closed their ranks and became more self-conscious of their Jewish heritage. Such works were written as III *Maccabees and the Wisdom of *Solomon. The Jews also tended to live closer together, though no ghettos were imposed.

In 66 C.E. the Alexandrians, in debating about a delegation to be sent to Nero, presumably to complain about the Jews, discovered several Jewish spies among themselves. Three were caught and burnt alive. The Jews rose in revolt and tried to burn the Greeks in their amphitheater, and Tiberius Julius Alexander, the prefect, crushed them mercilessly, killing more than were slain in the pogrom of 38 C.E. After the destruction of the Jerusalem Temple in 70 C.E. Onias' Temple at *Leontopolis was destroyed and the **fiscus judaicus* imposed. However, the Egyptian Jews had to pay more than other Jews, because the Egyptian calendar provided that they pay in the first year of the fiscus (71 C.E.), two years in arrears instead of one year, as other Jews. It is estimated that they paid that year 27 million Egyptian drachmae in taxes.

In 115 the great revolt of the Jews of Egypt, Cyrene, and Cyprus occurred (see *Trajan). The revolt was immediately crushed in Alexandria, by Marcus Rutilius Lupus, but it continued in the *chora* with the help of the Jews of *Cyrene (in centers as Thebes, Faiyum, and Athribis). Marcius Turbo was sent by the emperor to deal with the situation, and crushed the revolt in 117. Much of Alexandria was destroyed and the revolt resulted in the virtual annihilation of Egyptian Jewry. From that time on Jews almost vanish from the *chora*. In Alexandria the great synagogue was destroyed, large tracts of Jewish-owned land in Heracleapolis and Oxyrhynchus were confiscated, and Jewish courts were suspended. The causes of the revolt suggested are the antisemitism of the local Greeks, and the "messianic" movement centered around *Lucuas of Cyrene. The revolt spelled the end of Jewish life in Egypt for a long time. From 117 to 300 only a few Jewish names occur among the peasants in the *chora.*

From the End of the Second Temple Period to the Muslim Conquest

The defeat suffered by the Jews, both in Ereẓ Israel under Bar Kokhba and in the quelling of the rebellion in Egypt during the years 116–117 C.E. almost crushed the Jewish communities in Egypt, especially in Alexandria. The evidence from the papyri of the presence of a large, cohesive community in Egypt, found rather abundantly before 70 C.E, diminishes, until after the year 200 C.E. it becomes almost negligible. The territory of Egypt was still a marked battleground for imperial ambitions and rebellions during this later period of the Roman Empire. The revolt of the Βουκολοι (herdsmen) and its aftermath, finally settled by the emperor Septimus Severus (194 C.E.), left the country with its agriculture almost ruined and burdened with heavy taxes. During the latter half of the third century Egypt was again racked with internal dispute. Finally, Diocletian brought a period of relative peace to the land, reorganizing the territory into three, and later four, provinces. The later history of Egypt under the Byzantine emperors is closely tied up with the growth and predominance there of hitherto persecuted Christianity.

Centered as it was in Alexandria, Christianity in Egypt inherited some of the classical antisemitism of the city. Clement of Alexandria mentions (*Stromata*, 3:63; 2:45.5) the fact that there existed in the primitive church there two "Gospels," an "Egyptian Gospel" and a "Hebrew Gospel" – evidence of the dichotomy in the early church between gentile and Jewish Christianity, the latter being characterized in Egypt by a Gnostic tendency. By 150 C.E., however, both Orthodox and Gnostic Christianity found themselves allied with regard to the Jews. Basilides, an Alexandrian Gnostic at the end of the second century, tried to stress in Gnostic terms that Christianity is to be completely dissociated from its Jewish ancestry. An early work called the *Epistle of Barnabas* (c. 135 C.E.) argued for the abrogation by God of the Old Covenant (Old

Testament) and the preference for an allegorical and "spiritual" interpretation of the Jewish Scriptures, a tendency later adopted by Clement of Alexandria and the exegetical school of the Alexandrian, *Origen (d. 253 C.E.). Another early work, found only in citations, the *Kerygma Petrou*, accused the Jews of angel and star worship.

Some of the knowledge of the Jews in these times is derived from Christian sources. The martyrologies of the time, as a matter of style, brought in the Jews as the accusers. Generally though, as Baron reports (Social^2, 2 (1952), 188), the early Christians got along with their Jewish neighbors. Indeed, toward 300 C.E., Jewish names begin to appear more frequently in the papyri, giving witness to a renewal of activity. There are even some Hebrew fragments found at Oxyrhynchus which speak of *rashei* ("heads"), *benei* ("members"), and *ziknei* ("elders") of the *keneset* ("the community"; Cowley, *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, 2 (1915), 209 ff.). An interesting feature of the Greek papyri of this period is the appearance of the name "Sambathion" among both Jews and non-Jews, giving testimony to the great respect given the Sabbath among the Egyptians (for a fuller discussion cf. Tcherikover, Corpus, 3 (1964), 43–56). It is true that the Jews did support the Arians in their disputes with orthodox Christianity, and patristic literature placed the Jews together with the heretics and pagans as the hated enemies of the church. This attitude later became codified into law by the *Codices* of the emperors Theodosius and Justinian. A pogrom and expulsion of the Jews from Alexandria by the patriarch Cyril occurred in 415 C.E. Whether or not this expulsion was fully carried out is still a moot point, since later Christian literature points to the fact that Jews were still living there (M. Chaine, in *Mélanges de la Faculté orientale de l'Université Saint-Joseph*, Beyrouth, 6 (1913), 493 ff.). The Persian conquest seemed to be especially helpful to the Jews in Egypt, since they were able to receive those Jews persecuted in Syria by the emperor Heraclius. The Arab conquest in 632 saw the beginning of a new regime.

[Evasio de Marcellis]

Arab Period

There is little information available concerning the condition of the Jews from the Arab conquest in 640 until the end of the tenth century. In Fostat, founded by the conqueror of Egypt, ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ, a relatively large community was established, while the Jewish population probably also grew in other Egyptian cities. Ahmad ibn Ṭūlūn (ninth century), the first independent ruler of Egypt under the Muslims, seems to have favored the Jews. The historian al-Masʿūdī relates that he had a Jewish physician. Documents found in the *Cairo *Genizah* of Fostat give evidence of the commercial ties between the Jews of Egypt and those of *Kairouan (Tunisia) during the second half of the tenth century. The Jews of Egypt also renewed their relations with the major academies of Babylonia. It is significant for the high standard of Jewish learning in Egypt itself that *Saadiah Gaon (born in Faiyum in 882) acquired his widespread culture there. At that time many Babylonian Jews settled in the principal Egyptian cities and established communities with their own synagogue and *bet din*. They also maintained a close relationship with the academies in their country of origin. Students traveled there to study, and religious and judicial queries were addressed to the heads of the Babylonian academies. The Palestinian and Syrian Jews who settled in Egypt acted in the same manner. They established Palestinian communities and synagogues, and they recognized the heads of the Palestinian academies, to whom they gave their material support, as their spiritual leaders. The activities of Saadiah Gaon prove the presence of large numbers of *Karaites in Egypt at the time. It seems that during the ninth and tenth centuries, there was still a variety of sects in Egypt. The work *Kitāb al-Anwār wa-al-Marāqib* ("The Book of Lights and Watch Towers") by al-*Kirkisānī, in 936 (L. Nemoy (ed.), 1 (1939), 12), mentions a sect which observed Sunday as a day of rest instead of Saturday. Members of this sect lived on the bank of the Nile, some 20 miles from Fostat (Bacher, in: JQR, 7 (1894/95) 704).

THE *FATIMIDS. A change in the condition of the Jews occurred with the conquest of the country by the Fatimids in 969. After the conquest by this dynasty of Shiʿites which was in rivalry with the *Abbasīd caliphs, Egypt became the center of a vast and powerful kingdom, which, at the end of the tenth century, included almost all of North Africa, *Syria, and *Palestine. The union of all these countries brought a period of prosperity in industry and commerce from which the Jews also benefited. Of even greater importance was the characteristically tolerant attitude adopted by the Fatimids toward non-Muslim communities. They did not insist on the observance of the decrees of discrimination, such as the wearing of a distinctive sign on the garments; they permitted the construction and repair of non-Muslim houses of prayer, and they even accorded financial support to the academies in Palestine. In the court of al-Muʿizz (d. 975) and his son al-ʿAzīz (975–996), a Jew converted to Islam, Yaʿqūb *Ibn Killis, occupied an important position and was finally appointed vizier. He was the first to hold this post under the reign of the Fatimids in Egypt. There were also Jewish physicians in the service of al-Muʿizz. The third Fatimid caliph, al-Ḥākim (996–1020), founder of the *Druze sect and a controversial personality, departed from the policy of tolerance toward non-Muslims, which was characteristic of his dynasty, during the second half of his reign. At first, he ordered that the Christians and Jews mark their clothes with the *ghiyār* ("distinctive sign"; see Jewish *Badge); later, he issued orders for the destruction of their houses of prayer. He also prohibited Christians and Jews from riding horses and purchasing slaves and maidservants. Many Christians and Jews converted to Islam in order to escape these degrading decrees, while others emigrated to different countries, such as Yemen and *Byzantium. However, after some time, al-Ḥākim revoked his decrees and authorized the converts to return to their former religion.

In 1036 the grandson of al-Ḥākim, al-Mustanṣir, ascended to the throne. A Jewish merchant, who had previously sold al-Mustanṣir's mother to the caliph al-Ẓāhir, then wielded much influence in the court. This merchant Abu Saʿd (in Hebrew, Abraham b. Yashar) was also named "al-Tustari" after his city of origin in Persia. He and his brother, Abu Naṣr Ḥesed, endeavored to protect their coreligionists by all available means. According to one opinion, Abu Saʿd and his brother were Rabbanites, while according to another they were *Karaites. In 1047 Abu Saʿd was killed, as was his brother, Abu Naṣr, some time later. The economic stratification of Egyptian Jewry during the Fatimid period was very diversified. According to the lists of taxpayers and of charitable donators (such as the one published by E. Strauss in *Zion*, 7 (1941/42), 142ff.), the majority were engaged in various trades and a minority in commerce. At that time, the transit trade of products from India and the Far East became an important source of income in Egypt and the Jews played an active role in this commerce. The Fatimid government encouraged these commercial ties with India and protected the seaways and overland routes. The friendly attitude of the Fatimids was also expressed by the granting of a large degree of autonomy to the merchants.

At the beginning of their rule, the office of **nagid* was established. The first *nagid* seems to have been a physician in the service of the caliph al-Muʿizz. In later generations, the office of *nagid* was also filled by men employed in the court, especially as court physicians. The Fatimid dynasty began to weaken at the end of the 11th century, but the condition of the Jews did not worsen. A Jewish family which during several generations produced scholars and physicians held high positions at the royal court at that time. Judah b. Saadiah was probably court physician and from 1065 acted as *nagid*. He was followed by his younger brother *Mevorakh, who was also court physician and *nagid* from 1079–1110. During his period of office *David b. Daniel b. Azariah, a scion of a family of Babylonian exilarchs, arrived in Egypt. David made an effort to secure the leadership of the Jewish population and succeeded in deposing Mevorakh for a short while. Moses, the elder son of Mevorakh, was *nagid* from 1110–1140. At that period a Christian favorite of the regent al-Afḍal endeavored to remove the Jews from government service (see Neubauer, in JQR, 9 (1896/97), 29–30). Fragments from the **Genizah* mention another enemy who plotted against the Jews until Yakhin b. Nethanel, who was influential in the royal court, succeeded in saving them. On the other hand, *Abu al-Munajjā, one of the Jewish courtiers, was responsible for the administration of the "Eastern" province. In the middle of the 12th century *Samuel b. Hananiah was court physician. He was a distinguished scholar and also acted as *nagid* from 1142 to 1159. His poems in honor of his guest, *Judah Halevi, are well known.

During this period the Jews of Egypt prospered in every sphere. *Benjamin of Tudela, who was in Egypt in c. 1171, gives much information concerning the prevailing conditions in the communities he visited. On the basis of his information and other relevant data, the number of Jews in Egypt at that time has been estimated at between 12,000 and 20,000 (see Neustadt-Ayalon in *Zion*, 2 (1937), 221; Ashtor, in JQR, 50 (1959/60), 60 and JJS, 18 (1967), 9–42; 19 (1968), 1–22). After the death of Samuel b. Hananiah, there was a crisis within the Jewish community of Egypt. An ambitious individual named *Zuta, who succeeded in being appointed *nagid* for a short while during the lifetime of Samuel b. Hananiah, exploited his connections to secure the office for a second time, after Samuel's death, and later a third time. As a result of Zuta's activities, the prestige attached to the office of *nagid* declined and for a long time there was no new appointment. At that time the heads of the Fostat academy became the leading authorities of Egyptian Jewry; an academy had existed in Fostat from at least the end of the tenth century. During the reign of al-Ḥākim the academy in the Egyptian capital was headed by *Shemariah b. Elhanan, who had studied in Babylonia in his youth. He was succeeded by his son, *Elhanan b. Shemariah. During the first half of the 12th century, *Maẓli'aḥ b. Solomon Ha-Kohen, a member of the family of the Palestinian academy heads, arrived in Egypt. He founded an academy in Fostat, whose leaders were referred to as *geonim*. They appointed *dayyanim* and gave authority to their activities. The authority of these *geonim* was recognized even outside Egypt, especially in South Arabia and *Aden. In the early 1150s Abu Saʿīd Joshua b. Dosa headed the academy in Fostat.

With the end of the Fatimid dynasty, orthodox Islam again became the official religion in Egypt. Saladin (Salāḥ al-Dīn) and his successors made their religiosity conspicuous and, among other actions, Saladin renewed the discriminatory decrees against the non-Muslim communities. However, both he and his successors were by no means fanatical and they did not persecute non-Muslims. His successors, the *Ayyubids, who reigned in Egypt until 1250, followed the same policy. Communal life was well organized and cultural activities were maintained. During this period a number of scholars from Christian countries settled in Egypt and took an active part in the communal life. They included *Anatoli b. Joseph and Joseph b. Gershon from France, who became *dayyanim* in Alexandria. Moses *Maimonides spent most of his life in Cairo, where he played a leading role in the life of the community. His son, *Abraham b. Moses, acted officially as *nagid* after the death of his father in 1205 until his own death in 1237. He had an independent mind and was also a halakhic authority, as can be seen from the numerous legal questions which were addressed to him.

THE MAMLUKS. In the middle of the 13th century the *Mamluks came to power in Egypt. The entire political regime was changed and a decisive change in the condition of the Jews also took place. These rulers were the leaders of the foreign Turkish soldiery of which the army was exclusively composed, and they tried to enhance their position and to curry favor with the Muslim native population by emphasizing their piety and by introducing a series of measures directed against the non-Muslim communities. The first Mamluks declared total war against the Crusaders. They found it necessary to encourage religious fervor in order to succeed in their efforts. Thus, the Mamluk rule was accompanied by a series of decrees and persecutions against the Christians and Jews, which continued until the Mamluks were deposed by the Ottomans. The ancient discriminatory laws were brought back into prominence and new ones were also instituted. These activities were primarily directed against the Copts, the most powerful non-Muslim community in the Mamluk kingdom, but even so the Jews suffered considerably. On the other hand, Jewish communal organization in Egypt was not abolished and its autonomy was mostly maintained. The decrees against non-Muslims were introduced during the first generation of the Mamluk rule. In 1290 Sultan Qalāwūn issued an order which prohibited the employment of Jews and Christians in government and ministerial departments. This order was reissued during the reign of his son and successor, al-Malik al-Ashraf Khalīl (1290–1293).

In 1301 there was a large-scale persecution. The Christians were compelled to cover their turbans with a blue cloth, the Jews with a yellow one, and the Samaritans with a red one. The authorities renewed the prohibition of riding horses and also forbade the building of houses higher than those of the Muslims. On this occasion the Jewish and Christian houses of prayer in *Cairo were closed down. In 1354 there was an even graver persecution. The cause for it was again attributed by Arab historians to the haughtiness of the Christian officials. There were attacks on non-Muslims in the streets of Cairo and the government instituted a severe control over the habits of Muslim converts. At that time the economic situation of the Jews took a turn for the worse; under the Mamluks the system of monopolies was consolidated. Private industry was generally ruined and the commerce of spices, the most important part of Egypt's external trade, was taken over by the monopolized "Kārimī" merchant company in which only a few members were Jews. During this period the Jewish population was led by *negidim* of Maimonides' family. Maimonides' grandson, R. *David b. Abraham, was *nagid* from 1238 to 1300. In various documents the *negidim* are referred to as heads of academies but the exact nature of the academy is in question. During the second half of the 13th century, the literary activities of Egyptian Jewry continued to flourish, as in the Fatimid and Ayyubid periods. *Tanḥum ha-Yerushalmi, the well-known Bible commentator, and his son *Joseph, a competent Hebrew poet, lived in Egypt at this time.

At the end of the 14th century, a second dynasty of the Mamluks, the Cherkess, came to power. The Mamluk rule then increased in violence and the anti-Jewish and anti-Christian decrees grew in frequency. The oppression and extortions of the sultans were severer than in former times. There often were internal conflicts within this Mamluk faction, and as a result the soldiers, unrestrained, rioted in the streets and attacked the citizens. In order to appease the embittered people, the sultans issued a multitude of decrees against the non-Muslims. While the first sultan of the Cherkess Mamluks, Barqūq (1382–1399), as well as his son and successor Faraj (1399–1412), acted leniently toward the non-Muslims, the third sultan, al-Mu'ayyad Sheikh, oppressed the non-Muslims by various means. The discriminatory decrees were renewed, and there were searches for wine in the non-Muslim quarters. During the reign of the Cherkess Mamluks the autonomous organization of the communities in Egypt remained unharmed and as previously, they were led as before by the *negidim*. The last of Maimonides' descendants to act as *nagid* was R. *David b. Joshua. For reasons that are not known R. David was compelled to leave Egypt in the 1370s. He was replaced by a man named *Amram. At the end of the Mamluk period, Egyptian Jewry was led by the *negidim* R. Nathan *Sholal and his relative R. Isaac *Sholal, who emigrated to Palestine after the conquest of Egypt by the Ottomans.

The travelers Meshullam of Volterra, who arrived in Egypt in 1481, and R. Obadiah of *Bertinoro, who came there seven years later, provided information about the size of the communities in the descriptions of their travels. The numbers which are found in their writings emphasize the decrease in the Jewish population, which was concomitant with the general depopulation and was partly a result of the oppression under Mamluk rule. According to Meshullam there were 650 families, as well as 150 Karaite and 50 Samaritan families, in Cairo, 50 families in Alexandria, 50 in Bilbeis, and 20 in al-Khānqā. Obadiah mentions 500 families in Cairo, besides 150 Karaite and 50 Samaritan families, 25 families in Alexandria, and 30 in Bilbeis. From this it can be deduced that there was probably a total of 5,000 persons in all the communities visited by the two travelers. By then the immigration of Spanish Jewry to the oriental countries had begun. Even before the expulsion, groups of forced converts arrived in Egypt. Immediately after the expulsion, the Jews who had not converted arrived and the Jewish population in Egypt increased. In those centers where an important number of newcomers settled separate communities were established. The arrival of the Spanish immigrants had a beneficial effect on the cultural life of Egyptian Jewry. Their numbers included scholars of renown who engaged in educational activities and who were appointed as *dayyanim*. Among the scholars who arrived in Egypt during the first generation after the Spanish expulsion were R. *Samuel ibn Sid, who was a member of the *bet din* of the *nagid* in 1509, R. Jacob *Berab, who is mentioned in a document of 1513 as a *dayyan* of this same *bet din*, and R. Samuel ha-Levi *Ḥakim, who was a prominent halakhic authority and acted as *dayyan* at the beginning of the 16th century in Cairo. The *negidim* welcomed the Spanish refugees.

THE OTTOMAN TURKS. When Egypt was conquered by the Ottomans in 1517, there was a decisive turn in the history of the country and the Jews living there. A wide choice of commercial possibilities was offered to the Jewish merchants, as well as an introduction to a variety of other trades. At the height of their power, the Ottomans were very tolerant and the Jews held key positions in the financial administration and in the collection of taxes and customs duties. Almost all the Turkish commissioners and governors who were sent to Egypt turned over the responsibility of the financial administration to Jewish agents, who were known as *ṣarrāf-bashi* ("chief treasurer"). It is evident that the agents greatly profited by holding these positions. After two generations of prosperity, the political and economic decline of the *Ottoman empire manifested itself and affected the rank and file of the Jewish population who sank into poverty and ignorance. Thus, Ottoman rule caused a distinct polarization in the status of Egyptian Jewry. The corruption of the governors, who were often replaced and whose ambition was to enrich themselves or to rebel against the sultan in Constantinople, and their acts of violence, extortion, and cruelty brought suffering on the Jews. One of the first Turkish governors, Ahmad Pasha, who was appointed in 1523, extorted a large contribution from Abraham *Castro, director of the mint. He then ordered him to mint coins carrying his name, as if he were an independent ruler. When the Jewish official fled to Constantinople, Ahmad imposed an enormous contribution on the Jews, who were fearful of his vengeance if they did not provide the sum by the appointed time. However, on the day of payment, Ahmad Pasha was killed by soldiers loyal to the sultan and the anniversary was thereafter celebrated as *Purim Miẓrayim ("Purim of Egypt," i.e., Cairo).

In 1545 the governor Dāʾud Pasha ordered the closure of the central synagogue of Cairo. All the efforts to obtain its reopening were in vain; the synagogue remained closed until 1584. After the conquest of Egypt by the Turks, Jews of Constantinople were sent to Egypt to act as *negidim*. The first of them was R. Tājir, who was followed by R. *Jacob b. Ḥayyim Talmid. When this *nagid* came to Egypt, a dispute broke out between him and R. Bezalel Ashkenazi, who was then the leading rabbi in Egypt. As a result of this dispute, the office of *nagid* came to an end in about 1560. From then onward the Jewish finance minister in the service of the governor was recognized as the leader of the Jewish community in Egypt. He was referred to by the Turkish title of *chelebi* (*çelebi* = "gentleman"). Many of these Jewish ministers were executed by despotic governors. Masiah Pasha, who was appointed in 1575, chose Solomon *Alashkar, a well-known philanthropist whose efforts were directed toward the amelioration of Jewish education among the Jews of Egypt, as *chelebi*. His activities continued for many years, until Karīm Hussein Pasha executed him in 1603.

The standard of Jewish learning improved with the arrival of the expelled Spanish Jews. During the first generation of the Turkish rule, the leading rabbi in Egypt was R. *David b. Solomon ibn Abi Zimra. He instituted several regulations in the Jewish communal life, and, among others, he abolished the system of dating documents according to the Seleucid era, which was still in practice in Egypt. In the 1520s the renowned halakhic authority R. Moses b. Isaac *Alashkar also lived in Egypt, where he acted as *dayyan*. However, he emigrated to Palestine and died in Jerusalem in 1542. Later David b. Solomon Abi Zimra also emigrated to Palestine and Bezalel Ashkenazi became the spiritual leader of Egypt's Jewish communities. During the second half of the 16th century, R. Jacob *Castro was the most prominent Egyptian rabbi. These rabbis acted as *dayyanim*, gave responsa, and educated distinguished pupils. R. Isaac *Luria, the famous kabbalist, was one of Bezalel Ashkenazi's pupils.

The Jews of Cairo and Alexandria were at that time divided into three communities – the Mustaʿrabim (Arabic-speaking i.e., indigenous Jews), the Spanish (immigrants), and the Mograbim (settlers of North African, Maghreb origin). There were occasional disputes between the communities and the rabbis and communal leaders exerted themselves to restore peace.

During the 17th and 18th centuries, the Ottoman government became harsher and the upper class of wealthy Jews, who were employed by the governors and ministers, suffered especially. About 1610 the position of *chelebi* was filled by Abba Iscandari, a physician and philanthropist. In 1620 with the arrival of a new governor, the Albanian ("Arnaut") Husain, the Muslim enemies of the *chelebi*, jealous of his wealth, slandered him before the governor and he was executed. Jacob Tivoli replaced him as *chelebi* until he was executed by Khalīl Pasha. In 1650, when Silihdar Ahmad Pasha was appointed governor of Egypt, he brought with him Ḥayyim Perez, a Jew, whom he appointed *chelebi*. In the same year natural catastrophes and a plague occurred in Egypt; the sultan summoned the commissioner and the *chelebi* to Constantinople and had them both executed. A year later another governor, Muhammad Ghāzī Pasha, was sent to Egypt. He appointed Jacob Bibas as *chelebi*, but after a time became jealous of his wealth, killed him with his own hands and buried him in the garden of his palace. In 1661 the governor Ibrāhīm Pasha appointed the exceedingly wealthy Raphael b. Joseph Hin as his *chelebi*. The latter actively supported *Shabbetai Ẓevi, the pseudo-messiah, who had visited Cairo twice. In 1669 Karākūsh Ali Pasha was appointed governor of Egypt, became jealous of Raphael Hin's wealth, accused him of various crimes, and had him publicly executed. The title of *chelebi* was then abolished and the Jewish agent of the Egyptian governor, who stood at the head of his community, was henceforth known as *bazīrkān* (from Persian *bāzargān* "merchant"). In 1734–35, a serious popular riot killed many of Cairo's Jewish community which, as a result, became much less effective in Egypt's administration and economy. The severity of Ottoman rule and the economic decline lowered the cultural level of Egyptian Jewry. During this period the community ceased to be led by renowned rabbis, as in the 16th century, even though some of them were excellent talmudic scholars such as Abraham Iscandari, Samuel *Vital, the son of R. Ḥayyim *Vital, *Mordecai ha-Levi, and his son Abraham during the 17th century, and Solomon Algazi during the 18th century. Nevertheless, the Shabbatean movement brought some activity to the stagnant community. In 1703 the Shabbatean propagandist Abraham Michael *Cardoso settled in Egypt, where he became physician to the Turkish governor

Karā Ahmad Pasha. At times scholars and authors came to Egypt from other countries and acted as *dayyanim* and rabbis for a number of years. Such was the case of David *Conforte, author of *Kore ha-Dorot* who came in 1671.

The transition from an Ottoman province to a virtually independent unity was accompanied by a difficult struggle during which Jews also suffered considerably. In 1768 when Turkey became embroiled in war with Russia, Ali Bey, the governor of Cairo, proclaimed himself the independent governor of Egypt. He also made an effort to impose his authority on Palestine, Syria, and the Arabian Peninsula. In order to provide for the tremendous expenses of his wars, he levied a heavy contribution on the Jews, which they were compelled to pay within a short period (see Ben-Ze'ev in *Zion* (1939), 237–49). The reforms of *Muhammad (Mehmet) Ali (1805–1848) and later the opening of the Suez Canal (1863) brought a new prosperity to commerce and the other branches of the Egyptian economy. As a result of the changes in all spheres of life, the Jewish population grew. Jews from European countries settled in Egypt and schools where education was dispensed along modern lines were introduced. Alexandria again became a commercial center and its Jewish community expanded until it was equal to that of Cairo. The census of 1897 showed that there were 25,200 Jews in the country. Of these, 8,819 (including approximately 1,000 Karaites) lived in Cairo, 9,831 in Alexandria, 2,883 in *Tanta, 400 in Port Said, and 508 in al-*Manṣūra. There were also small communities in other provincial towns, numbering a total of 4,600 Jews. The immigrants from European countries founded their own communities, even though they recognized the authority of the rabbis of the existing ones. Thus, in the middle of the 19th century there were communities of Italian and Eastern European Jews in Alexandria, while in Cairo the immigrants from Italy and Turkey united in one community. The relations between Muslims and Jews were normal and there were only rare cases of disturbances resulting from religious hate. In 1844 there was a blood libel against the Jews of Cairo and this was repeated in 1881 and in 1901–1902. In 1840, after the blood libel of *Damascus, Moses *Montefiore and Adolphe *Crémieux came to Egypt and established Jewish schools in cooperation with R. Moses *Algazi. In Alexandria, rabbis who distinguished themselves by their western education were appointed, and social activities were encouraged in the community. The numerical increase, the improvement of cultural standards, and the development of social activities continued throughout the first half of the 20th century.

After World War I Sephardi Jews from *Salonika and other Ottoman towns, as well as Jews from other countries, settled in Egypt. According to the census of 1917 there were 59,581 Jews in Egypt, of which 29,207 lived in Cairo, and in 1937 their numbers reached 63,550, of which 34,103 lived in greater Cairo and 24,829 in Greater Alexandria. With the improvements in the economic and intellectual standards, the Jews took an active part in public life. Some financiers were appointed as members of Parliament and ministers. Joseph *Cattaui was a member of parliament in 1915 and minister of finances and communications in 1923 (the year Egypt became officially independent), and Aslan Cattaui was a member of the Senate during the 1930s. Some, such as Yaʿqūb (James) *Ṣanūʿ, had even been associated with the Egyptian nationalist movement. On the other hand, Zionist organizations were created at the end of the 19th century in the larger towns such as Cairo, Alexandria, Manṣūra, *Suez, *Damanhūr, and al-Maḥalla al-Kubrā. As a result of the expulsion of large numbers of Palestinian Jews to Egypt during World War I, the attachment of Egyptian Jewry to the Palestinian population and to the national movement strengthened. The reinforcement of Jewish consciousness found expression in the publication of Jewish newspapers in various languages. In 1880, a Jewish weekly in Arabic, *al-Ḥaqīqa* ("The Truth"), began to appear in Alexandria. In 1903, a weekly in Ladino, *Miẓrayim*, was founded in Cairo. From 1908 to 1941 a French weekly, *L'Aurore*, appeared in Cairo, and in 1919 another weekly, *Israël*, was founded in Cairo. This newspaper was amalgamated in 1939 with the Alexandria weekly *La Tribune Juive*, which was first published in 1936. It appeared until 1948, as did the Arabic weekly *al-Shams* ("The Sun"), founded in 1934.

[Eliyahu Ashtor]

Contemporary Period

According to the Egyptian census of 1947, 65,600 Jews lived in Egypt, 64% of them in Cairo, 32% in Alexandria, and the rest in other towns. Egyptian Jewry was thus among the most urban of the Jewish communities of Asia and Africa. In 1947 most Egyptian Jews (59%) were merchants, and the rest were employed in industry (18%), administration, and public services (11%). The economic situation of Egyptian Jewry was relatively good; there were several multi-millionaires, a phenomenon unusual in other Jewish communities of the Middle East.

Most Egyptian Jews received some form of education, and there were fewer illiterates among them than in any other Oriental community in Egypt then. This was due to the fact that Jews were concentrated in the two great cities with all kinds of educational facilities. There were no restrictions on accepting Jews in government or foreign schools. In November 1945 riots, organized by the "Young Egypt" group led by Aḥmad Ḥusayn, ended in attacks on the Cairo Jewish quarter. A synagogue, a Jewish quarter hospital, and an old-age home were burned down and many Jews injured or killed. This was the first disturbance of its kind in the history of independent Egypt.

The year 1947 was the beginning of the end of the Egyptian Jewish community, for in that year the Companies' Law was instituted, which required that not less than 75% of employees of companies in Egypt must be Egyptian citizens. The law affected Jews most of all, since only about 20% of them were Egyptian citizens. The rest, although in many cases born in Egypt and living there for generations, were aliens or stateless persons. After the State of Israel was established, perse-

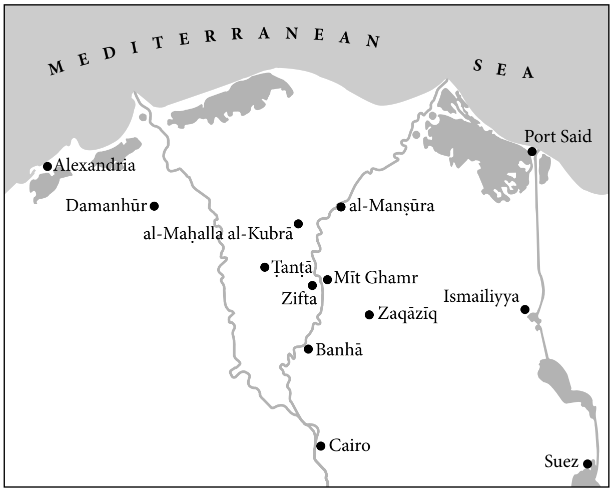

Map 2. Main Jewish communities in Egypt at the end of the 19th century.

cution of Jews began became more severe. On May 15, 1948, emergency law was declared, and a royal decree forbade Egyptian citizens to leave the country without a special permit. This was applied to Jews. Hundreds of Jews were arrested and many had their property confiscated. In June through August 1948, bombs were planted in Jewish neighborhoods and Jewish businesses looted. About 250 Jews were killed or wounded by the bombs. In 1949, when the consular law courts which tried foreign citizens were abolished, many Jews were affected. The condition of the Jews gradually worsened until, in July 1949, the new government headed by Ḥusayn Sirrī Pasha began to release detainees and return some of the frozen Jewish assets which had been confiscated, also allowing some Jews to leave Egypt, In January 1950, when the Wafd government under Nuqrāshī Pasha was overthrown, all Jewish detainees were released and the rest of their property restored to them. The condition of the Jews slightly improved, although they were forced to donate large sums of money to the soldiers' fund, and leaders of the community were coerced into publishing a declaration against the State of Israel. During the anti-British riots on Black Saturday (January 26, 1952), many foreign citizens were injured, and the loss of Jewish property on that day was estimated at EL9,000,000 ($25,000,000). About 25,000 Jews left Egypt between 1948 and 1950, some 14,000 of them settling in Israel. When persecution lessened, Jewish emigration decreased.

After the deposition of King Farouk in July 1952, the new government headed by General Muhammad Naguib was favorably inclined toward Jews, but when Naguib was overthrown and *Nasser seized power in February 1954 there was a change for the worse. Nasser immediately arrested many Jews who were tried on various charges, mainly for Zionist and communist activities. In 1954 about 100 Jews were arrested, but most attention was attracted by the trial of the 13 charged with being members of an Israel intelligence network. Two of those charged died, and Moses Leo *Marzuk, a Karaite surgeon and Samuel Bekhor Azar, a teacher, were sentenced to death, while the rest were condemned to various terms of imprisonment (see. *Cairo Trial).

Arrests of Jews continued. They were also forced to donate money to arm the military forces, Chief Rabbi Haim *Nahoum explaining that it was a national duty. In addition, strict supervision of Jewish enterprises was introduced; some were confiscated and others forcibly sold to the government.

Immediately after the Sinai Campaign (November 1956), hundreds of Jews were arrested. About 3,000 were interned without charge in four detention camps. At the same time, the government served notice on thousands of Jews to leave the country within a few days, and they were not allowed to sell their property, nor to take any capital with them. The deportees were made to sign statements agreeing not to return to Egypt and transferring their property to the administration of the government. The International Red Cross helped about 8,000 stateless Jews to leave the country, taking most of them to Italy and Greece in chartered boats. Most of the Jews of Port Said (about 100) were smuggled to Israel by Israel agents. The system of deportation continued into 1957. Other Jews left voluntarily, after their livelihoods had been taken from them, until only 8,561 were registered in the 1957 census. Most of them lived in Cairo (65.3%) and Alexandria (32.2%). The Jewish exodus continued until there were about 3,000 in 1967 of whom only about 50 were Ashkenazim, since most members of this community had left or been deported.

With the outbreak of the Six-Day War in June 1967 the few remaining Jewish officials holding public posts were discharged and hundreds of Jews were arrested. They were beaten, tortured, and abused. Some were released following intervention by foreign states, especially Spain, and were permitted to leave the country. Among the detainees were the chief rabbi of Egypt, R. Ḥayyim Duwayk, and the rabbi of Alexandria, who were held for seven months. Several dozen Jews were held in detention until July 1970. Less than 1,000 Jews still lived in Egypt in 1970, when they were given permission to leave Egypt but without their possessions. Subsequently, only some four hundred Jews (1971) remained in Egypt. Thirty-five thousand Egyptian Jews live in Israel and there are about 15,000 in Brazil, 10,000 in France, 9,000 in the United States, 9,000 in Argentina, and 4,000 in Great Britain.

Egypt was the only Arab country in which the Zionist shekel was clandestinely distributed for the Zionist Congress of 1951 after the establishment of the State of Israel. There was a well-developed Zionist underground movement in Egypt, and some of its members were arrested. After the mass exodus from Egypt, most of the synagogues, social welfare organizations and Jewish schools were closed; the Jewish newspaper, *La Menora* (published in French and edited by Jacques Maleh from February 1950 to May 1953), was closed down after Maleh had been deported. The Jewish representatives in the Senate and the House of Representatives (Aslan *Cattaui and his brother René) lost their seats. The Cairo and Alexandrian communities had official committees, but there was no nationwide organization, the chief rabbi of Cairo simply being recognized as the chief rabbi of Egypt.

The peace negotiations between Israel and Egypt brought some information and a certain renewed activity with regard to the small Jewish community remaining in Cairo. The total number of Jews in Egypt was approximately 400, and it was an aging community.

There was only one synagogue in Cairo, the 70-year-old Shaarei Ha-Shamayim synagogue, normally attended by a handful of old men and women. There was no rabbi, the last having left in 1972. In December 1977 over 120 persons, Israeli citizens and Jewish journalists who had come to cover the peace talks in Cairo, attended the services. The members of the Israeli delegation were unable to attend, but they attended the services the following Friday night. There was also a synagogue in Alexandria, the Eliyahu Ha-Navi synagogue. With only 150 Jews remaining in the city they succeeded with difficulty in holding services on Sabbaths and Festivals only.

In May 1977, at the request of Lord Segal of Wytham, 11 scrolls of the Torah from the Great Synagogue of Alexandria – of the 50 in the synagogue – were sent to Great Britain through the good offices of President Anwar *Sadat.

Jewish rights were restored in 1979 after the Camp David Peace Accords. Only then was the community allowed to establish ties with Israel and World Jewry. However, these ties remained weak, despite Israeli tourism to Egypt, because the community is almost extinct.

Egypt was one of the Arab countries that invaded Israel upon its establishment in May 1948. After the defeat of the Egyptian forces, an Armistice Agreement was signed between the two states at Rhodes on Feb. 24, 1949; however, Egypt still regarded itself as at war with Israel, and there was no improvement in the relations after the Egyptian officers' 1952 revolution and the accession to power first of Muhammad Naguib and, later, of Gamal Abdel *Nasser. Egypt participated in the Arab economic *boycott of Israel, did not permit passage of Israel shipping and cargoes to and from Israel through the Suez Canal, and obstructed the passage of Israel shipping and cargoes to and from Israel through the Straits of *Tiran. It occupied the *Gaza Strip after the 1948 war and encouraged an increase in armed infiltration and sabotage against Israel beginning in 1955, which led to the Sinai Campaign (October–November 1956). After the Sinai Campaign and the stationing of the United Nations Emergency Force (UNEF) in the Gaza Strip and Sharm el-Sheikh, there was an almost complete cessation of fedayeen activity on the Gaza Strip-Sinai border and no interference with shipping to the port of Eilat until the withdrawal of the UNEF at Egyptian demand in May 1967, which was one of the factors that precipitated the Six-Day War (June 1967). Throughout the period that followed the Israel War of Independence, Egypt was the leading force in Arab opposition to Israel and the threat to its existence. It attacked Israel again in October 1973 ("the Yom Kippur War") and, although defeated, President Anwar Sādāt felt the war's results were honorable enough for Egypt to initiate a peace process. The Camp David Peace Accords of November 1978 normalized relations between Israel and Egypt.

For subsequent political developments, see *Israel, State of: Historical Survey; *Arab World.

[Hayyim J. Cohen / Jacob M. Landau (2nd ed.)]

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EGYPT, BROOK OF (Heb. נַחַל מִצְרַיִם, *Naḥal Miẓrayim*), the natural border of the land of Canaan and the Kingdom of *Judah on the south and the southwest according to the Bible (Num. 34:5; Josh. 15:4; cf. II Chron. 7:8; Isa. 27:12; Ezek. 47:19;

48:28). It is also described as the southern border of Solomon's kingdom: "from the entrance of *Hamath unto the Brook of Egypt" (I Kings 8:65) and the eastern extremity of Egypt (II Kings 24:7). Assyrian inscriptions of *Sargon and *Esarhaddon also refer to it as the Muṣur or Muṣri River. Its identification with Wadi el-Arish is found in the Septuagint (Isa. 27:12), which translates it "Rhinokoroura," the Greek name of the city near its mouth.

The river, about 150 mi. (240 km.) long, drains about 12,500 sq. mi. (32,500 sq. km.) in the northern part of the *Sinai Peninsula. It absorbs part of the heavy flood waters inundating it, and the area near its mouth is rich in wells.

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[Moshe Kochavi]

EḤAD MI YODE'A (Heb. אֶחָד מִי יוֹדֵעַ; "Who Knows One?"), song incorporated in the Ashkenazi rite among the concluding songs of the Passover **Haggadah*, whose aim was "to keep the children awake" until the end of the *seder* (cf. Pes. 108b–109a). The song consists of 13 stanzas, made up of questions (Who knows One?.. Two?.. Three?.. etc.) and their corresponding answers. The reply to each succeeding question also repeats the previous answers. The last verse reads: Who knows thirteen? I know thirteen. Thirteen are the attributes of God; twelve the tribes of Israel; eleven the stars (in Joseph's dream); ten the Commandments; nine the months of pregnancy; eight the days of circumcision; seven the days of the week; six the books of the Mishnah; five the books of the Torah; four the matriarchs (Sarah, Rebekah, Leah, and Rachel); three the patriarchs (Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob); two the tables of the Covenant; One is our God in heaven and on earth. (Some *Haggadot* have substituted other answers for the eighth and ninth questions of the traditional form. They read: nine are the Jewish holidays of the year, eight the Ḥanukkah lights.) In some places the song is chanted responsively: one person, usually the leader of the *seder*, asks the questions, and the whole company answers, each person responding as quickly as possible in an effort to finish the answer first. *Eḥad Mi Yode'a* is first found in *Haggadot* of the 16th century and only in those of the Ashkenazi ritual. Many scholars believed that it originated in Germany in the 15th century. Perles showed its similarity to a popular German pastoral song, "Guter Freund Ich Frage Dich" (one of the "Hobelbanklied" German folk songs), the first stanza of which ends with the same words as the Passover song. In fact, the identical words of this line of the pastorale are given as the German translation of the first answer of *Eḥad Mi Yode'a* in many early *Haggadot*. The Christian theme of the original was changed to one of Jewish content. Zunz discovered that the Hebrew song was used in Avignon as a festive table song chanted on other holidays as well, and Geiger noted other German counterparts. Since then it has been found among the liturgical music of Jews from Ceylon and Cochin, where it forms part of their Sabbath songs for the entertainment of bride and groom. Some scholars have even traced it to Greek or English church songs and Scottish nursery songs.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: D. Goldschmidt, *Haggadah shel Pesaḥ, Mekoroteha ve-Toledoteha* (1960), 98; C. Zibrt, *Ohlas obradnich pisni …* (1928).

EHRENBERG, VICTOR LEOPOLD (1891–1976), German historian. Born in Altona, Ehrenberg was professor of ancient history at the German University in Prague (1929–39). The Nazi regime forced his immigration to Great Britain (1939), where he was visiting lecturer at several universities, and from 1949 to 1957 lecturer and reader in ancient history at the University of London. He was joint founder of the London Classical Society and joint founder and editor of the journal *Historia*. The bulk of Ehrenberg's work was in ancient Greek history. These include *Neugruender des Staates* (1925); *Alexander und Aegypten* (1926); and *Alexander and the Greeks* (1938). The *People of Aristophanes* (1943, 1951^2) is a sociological account of life in ancient Athens, based upon the surviving works of old Attic comedy; *Sophocles and Pericles* (1954) deals with the spiritual trends of the fifth century B.C.E.; *From Solon to Socrates* (1968) describes Greek civilization of the sixth and fifth centuries B.C.E. Many of his numerous articles were gathered in *Aspects of the Ancient World* (1946) and *Polis und Imperium* (1965).

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[Irwin L. Merker]

EHRENBURG, ILYA GRIGORYEVICH (1891–1967), Soviet Russian writer and journalist. Born to an assimilated middle-class Jewish family in Kiev and, with no ties to Jewish religion or culture, Ehrenburg is typical of many Jewish left-wing intellectuals of this century, whom Hitler and Stalin would not allow to forget their origins. A feeling of outrage at antisemitism recurs in Ehrenburg's books and journalistic output throughout his career and was a major factor in his youthful revolt against Czarist and, at the end of his life, against Stalinist injustice. Forced to flee Russia because of participation in revolutionary activities, he lived abroad, mainly in Paris, between 1908 and 1917. Ehrenburg returned to Russia after the February Revolution, criticizing sharply in his essays the October Revolution and its leaders, Lenin, Kamenev, Zinoviev, and others. He left again in 1921 and lived mainly in Berlin, where he witnessed the rise of the Nazis to power. Understanding that Nazi ideology was a danger to the world, he proposed to Stalin in September 1934 to turn the International Organization of Revolutionary Writers into a movement against Fascism and in support of the Soviet Union. His proposal was accepted. He did not permanently settle in the U.S.S.R. until shortly before the Nazi attack on the U.S.S.R. in the summer of 1941. On the eve of the Molotov-Ribbentrop agreement, the publication of his poems and essays was stopped, but renewed on the eve of the German attack on the Soviet Union. From 1948 he was active in the pro-Soviet World Peace Movement, serving as its vice chairman.

Of the nearly 30 volumes of Ehrenburg's literary and journalistic output, including collections of poems, the most successful was his first novel, *Neobychaynye pokhozhdeniya Khulio Khurenito* (1922; *The Extraordinary Adventures of Julio Jurenito*, 1958), an all-out sardonic attack on different aspects of modern civilization, including its persecutions "of the tribe of Judah." A series of rather undistinguished novels dealing with different subjects followed in rapid succession. These include *Zhizn i gibel Nikolaya Kurbova* (1923; "The Life and Death of Nikolai Kurbov"), the story of the undoing of a Soviet secret policeman; *Lyubov Zhanny Ney* (1923; "The Love of Jeanne Ney"), an account of a love affair involving a Russian Communist and a "bourgeois" French woman; *Rvach* (1925; "The Grabber"), a typical tale of a Soviet revolutionary corrupted by peacetime prosperity; and *Zagovor ravnykh* (1928; "The Conspiracy of Equals"), which tells the story of Babeuf, one of the heroes of the French Revolution.

Closest in spirit to *Julio Jurenito* is Ehrenburg's "Jewish" novel, *Burnaya zhizn Lazika Roytshvantsa* (1927; *The Stormy Life of Lazik Roitschwantz*, 1960) a biting lampoon of injustice, hypocrisy, and pretense both under capitalism and in the new Soviet republic. Its hero, a pathetic Jewish tailor, is a direct descendant of the ne'er-do-wells and *Luftmenschen* of *Shalom Aleichem. Try as he may, Lazik Roitschwantz cannot understand why both the Reds and the Whites consider harmless folk like himself dangerous enemies of the State. Though outwardly a rogue, all Lazik Roitschwantz really desires is to earn a livelihood and to be left alone by the authorities. Though liberated by the revolution from the yoke of official Czarist antisemitism, he is now suspect to the Soviet bureaucrats as a petty bourgeois individualist artisan. Escaping to Western Europe, he finds himself mistaken for a Communist agent and is packed off to jail as a Jewish Bolshevik. When he finally makes his way to Palestine, fate decrees that he die of starvation in the land of his ancestors.

There are no grounds to doubt Ehrenburg's assurances that the main reason he opposed reprinting the novel in the post-Stalin nine-volume set of his works brought out in the 1960s was his feeling that the old caricature of the "little Jew" should not be revived only a few years after millions of real-life "little Jews" were murdered in Nazi crematoria. Ehrenburg's loyalty to the Soviet regime did not waver during Stalin's bloodiest terror as well as during the Nazi-Soviet pact, and for years he was a most vocal apologist for some of the most abhorrent features of the Soviet regime. His activities in the latter capacity frequently smacked of cynical opportunism, just as his later championing of freedom might have been dictated by a desire to expiate his guilt as a verbal accomplice in Stalin's crimes. There is, however, one aspect of Ehrenburg's activity in which the writer's sincerity is beyond all questioning, namely his opposition to Nazism. His novel *Padeniye Parizha* (1941; "The Fall of Paris"), written during the period of Nazi-Soviet friendship, was published in its entirety only after Hitler's armies had invaded Russia. Ehrenburg had become the leading Soviet journalist on the strength of his reports in *Izvestia* on the Spanish Civil War and, during World War II, his impassioned diatribes against the German invaders were distributed to millions of Soviet soldiers. A member of the Jewish *Anti-Fascist Committee, he stressed his Jewish identity during the war. On the assignment of the Committee he prepared together with Vasily Grossman the "Red Book" on the heroism of Jewish fighters and the "Black Book" on the Holocaust of Soviet Jewry. The first book was banned outright by the authorities. The second was even typeset, but during the liquidation of the committee in 1948 it was halted by the KGB. Parts of the book were then published in Yiddish (1944) and Romanian (1946), and it was fully published in Russian in 1980 in Jerusalem by Yad Vashem.

Ehrenburg's usefulness as the Soviet Union's foremost anti-German ideologist came to an end with the defeat of Nazism, but he was soon to achieve eminence in the propaganda onslaught on the West, which is also much in evidence in his two novels of that period, *Burya* (1947; *The Storm*, 1949) and *Devyaty val* (1952; *The Ninth Wave*, 1958). In the fall of 1948 he played a significant part in the Soviet Union's swing away from outright support for the State of Israel. In an article in *Pravda* he opposed Jewish nationalism and warned Soviet Jews against cultivating any special attachment to Israel more than any other capitalist land.

A controversy that is not likely to be solved for years to come relates to Ehrenburg's role during the sinister antisemitic purges which claimed the lives of scores of Ehrenburg's friends and colleagues, such as the actor Solomon *Mikhoels, the poets Itzik *Fefer and Peretz *Markish, the novelist David *Bergelson and others. Not only did Ehrenburg escape their tragic fate, but in 1952, the year when the others were executed, Ehrenburg was awarded the Stalin Prize. However, he detached himself from the official line over the "*Doctor's Plot."

Almost immediately after Stalin's death in March of 1953 Ehrenburg became a spokesman for those Soviet intellectuals who demanded liberal reforms. His novelette *Ottepel* (1954–56; "The Thaw") was a major event in the struggle for a more humane Soviet society: it was an indictment of many aspects of Stalinism, including crudely propagandistic art and the antisemitic campaigns. Yet in retrospect Ehrenburg's crowning achievement may well prove to be his memoirs *Lyudi, gody, zhizn* (1961; *People and Life 1891–1921*, 1962; *Memoirs: 1921–41*, 1964), which were serialized in the monthly *Novy Mir* between 1960 and 1965. In spite of all the evasions and distortions, these presented a relatively truthful picture of Russia's and Western Europe's artistic and literary intelligentsia during the 1920s and 1930s and included several loving portraits of Yiddish cultural figures. Ehrenburg's memoirs constitute, in fact, the closest Soviet approximation to date of cultural history.

On the occasion of his 70th birthday celebrations, Ehrenburg stated: "Even though my passport declares me to be a Jew, I am a Russian writer," implying that Soviet Jews were allowed entry into Russian culture, but not into the Russian people.

Toward the end of his life Ehrenburg frequently clashed with Soviet official spokesmen, stubbornly championing the cause of a greater degree of artistic and personal freedom and, whenever the opportunity presented itself, heaping scorn on Soviet antisemites. Thousands took part in his funeral, many of them young Jews who saw him as a liberal and a fellow Jew.

A major biographical study of this Soviet Jewish writer in English appeared in 1984: *Ilya Ehrenburg: Writing, Politics and the Art of Survival* by Anatol Goldberg, with an introduction, postscript, and additional material by Erik de Mauny.

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[Maurice Friedberg / Shmuel Spector (2nd ed.)]

EHRENFELD, family of Hungarian rabbis. The founder was DAVID ẒEVI EHRENFELD (d. 1861), a son-in-law of Moses *Sofer. He wrote no books of his own, but some of his writings are included in the books of his son Samuel. Ehrenfeld had five sons, four of whom served in the rabbinate of Hungary. Samuel *Ehrenfeld served as rabbi of several communities. SIMEON (b. 1860) was rabbi of Szinna (Snina) and Nagymihaly (Michalovce), both of which places became part of Czechoslovakia after World War I. He laid the foundation of the central bureau of Orthodox rabbis in Czechoslovakia. SAUL (1835–1905), who was born in Pressburg, succeeded Samuel at Szikszo and served there until his death. ISAIAH (1850–1902) was rabbi in Berzavicze, Sarospatak, and Nagysurany and wrote *Shevet Sofer* (1903, 1938^2) on the Pentateuch. He fought vigorously against every form of religious innovation. Abraham Glazner was his son-in-law.

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[Naphtali Ben-Menahem]

EHRENFELD, NATHAN (1843–1912), chief rabbi of Prague. He was a pupil of Azriel *Hildesheimer both at the yeshivah in Eisenstadt and at his seminary in Berlin. In 1890 he was appointed chief rabbi of Prague. While strictly Orthodox himself, he managed to keep the peace between the divergent factions in the Prague community. He gave particular attention to religious instruction and founded a college for teachers of religion. He acted as trustee for the charitable foundations in Austro-Hungary of the Orthodox Karl Wilhelm Rothschild. His son-in-law, Heinrich (Ḥayyim) *Brody, succeeded him in office.

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EHRENFELD, SAMUEL BEN DAVID ẒEVI (1835–1883), Hungarian rabbi known from his works as the "Hatan Sofer," ("son-in-law of Sofer" to indicate his connection by marriage with the famous Moses *Sofer, and in assonance with the title of Sofer's responsa *Ḥatam Sofer.* Actually it was his father who was the son-in-law of Moses Sofer). Ehrenfeld was born in Pressburg. He studied under his father and in the yeshivah of Pressburg under Abraham *Sofer, his maternal uncle. At first he engaged in business, but when this failed he accepted the rabbinate of Betlen (now Beclean, Romania) in 1866. In 1868 he became rabbi in Szikszo, because of the opportunities which a larger yeshivah there afforded him. In 1877 he moved to Mattersdorf where his grandfather and other members of his family had served before him. He was able to devote himself completely to the interests of the community and the large yeshivah there. He died at Kierling, where he had gone to recuperate after a long illness. As a teacher he was able to impart his own approach to Talmud and *halakhah*, based on the clear understanding of the talmudic text and its relevance to the ultimate *halakhah.*

His clarity and complete mastery of all branches of *halakhah* is evident in his published works: *Ateret Baḥurim, Ḥatan Sofer* (only one part, 1874), on various topics from *Ḥoshen Mishpat*, and *Ḥatan Sofer* on the Shulḥan Arukh, *Oraḥ Ḥayyim* (one part, 1878; 2 vols., 1963^2), both having long aggadic introductions. He printed the biography of his grandfather as well as other historical matter. *Ḥatan Sofer* was edited with an introduction by his son, Simḥah Bunim Ehrenfeld (1912), and contains a biography of his father. *Misped Mar* (1874) was his next work. A Passover *Haggadah* (1884) with his own commentary and that of his grandfather was edited by Rabbi Joseph Baumgarten (later *rosh bet din* of Vienna).

Ehrenfeld was succeeded in Mattersdorf in 1884 by his son SIMḤAH BUNIM (1856–1926) who had from 1876 been rabbi in Sarvar. He is the author of *Ma'aneh Simḥah*, part of which is printed in the introduction to his father's *Ḥatan Sofer.* He was succeeded by his son SAMUEL, who served that community until 1938/39, when he immigrated to New York and there reestablished the Mattersdorf yeshivah (1939). In 1958 he founded Kiryat Mattersdorf, a religious suburb in Jerusalem. He re-edited all the above-mentioned works with copious notes and added much new material.

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[Abraham Schischa]

EHRENFEST, PAUL (1880–1933), Austrian physicist. Born in Vienna, Ehrenfest studied under Ludwig Boltzmann, the

Austrian physicist, and later went to Goettingen. He and his wife, Tatiana Afanashewa, carried out a critical investigation of kinetic theory, and collaborated in an extensive article on statistical mechanics which is still one of the classics on that subject. From 1912 until his death Ehrenfest was professor of physics at Leiden. His work in that period included papers on the adiabatic hypothesis and invariants (a term he coined), propagation of wave pockets, and ferromagnetic Curie points. Ehrenfest was a masterful teacher, infecting his students with his own enthusiasm for physics. He was a merciless critic of unclear and superficial expositions and in his own work stressed clarity and fundamentals. Ehrenfest became a symbol of a period in physics characterized by two great advances, the quantum theory and the theory of relativity, where fundamental enquiry was the rule.

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[Gerald E. Tauber]

EHRENKRANZ, BENJAMIN (WOLF) ZEEB (1819–1883), popular Yiddish and Hebrew poet known as **Velvl Zbarzher**. Born in Zbarazh, Galicia (now Ukraine), Ehrenkranz had a traditional Jewish education. He composed and sang folk songs, and as a singing bard traveled to various European cities, spending his last years in Galata, a district in Istanbul. He performed his songs in Yiddish, shifting to Hebrew when appearing before a maskilic audience. His songs spread quickly, gradually changing until their original versions were forgotten. The major themes of his poetry were nature and people, poverty and wealth, and the fight of light against darkness, i.e., as he viewed it: *maskilim* against ḥasidim. Much of his work, only a fraction of which he published, is comprised of satires and parodies. His collected poetry, *Makkel No'am* (Hebrew and Yiddish), appeared in 1865–78 in four parts. He also wrote *Makkel Ḥovelim* (1869), in Hebrew and Yiddish, as well as *Siftei Yeshenah* (1874). B. Wachstein published three of Ehrenkranz' long Yiddish poems (*YIVO-Bleter,* 1938), and a selection of his letters in 1928. Although most of his improvised songs were never published, some were issued by L. Morgenstern, the Warsaw publisher, but were not attributed to the poet.

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[Mordechay Zerkawod]

EHRENPREIS, MARCUS (**Mordecai**; 1869–1951), rabbi and author. Ehrenpreis, who was born in Lemberg where his father was a Hebrew printer, combined a traditional East European Jewish upbringing with a Western education, attending the *hochschule fuer die Wissenschaft des Judentums in Berlin as well as German universities. He officiated as rabbi in Djakovo, Croatia, from 1896 to 1900, and later became chief rabbi of Sofia, Bulgaria, and from 1914 of Stockholm. As the chief rabbi of Sofia, Ehrenpreis labored to ameliorate the condition of minorities in the Balkans, and in 1913 went on a mission to several European capitals on behalf of King Ferdinand I of Bulgaria. His contributions to the early Hebrew periodicals *Ha-Maggid* which first appeared in 1884 and in *Ha-Shilo'aḥ* among others make him one of the pioneers of modern Hebrew literature. At the request of Theodor *Herzl he translated the invitation to the First Zionist Congress into Hebrew, personally setting the type. There, and at later Zionist congresses, Ehrenpreis acted as a consultant on cultural matters. Like *Berdyczewski he criticized *Aḥad Ha-Am's view that Hebrew literature confine itself to Jewish themes and demanded that it fulfill all the spiritual needs of Jews living within the boundaries of European culture (*Ha-Shilo'aḥ*, no. 1, 1896/97). However, in his article *Ha-Sifrut ha-Illemet* ("The Silent Literature") in *Ha-Shilo'aḥ*, 17 (1908), he expressed the view that the Hebrew literature of his generation was not capable of creating "the redeeming synthesis between Judaism and Europeanism." From then on he abandoned almost totally his interest in Hebrew literature and the Zionist movement (for which he was severely criticized by the Zionists), and devoted himself to his rabbinic and public work, writing in Swedish and other languages. He published many translations of modern Hebrew literature into Swedish; and his own essays "De som byggt Israel" ("The Builders of Israel," 3 vols., 1929–43); "Landet mellam öster och vaster" ("The Country Between East and West," the journey of a Jew to Spain, 1927); *Österlandets Själ* (1926; *The Soul of the East*, 1928), impressions of a journey to the Middle East; and his autobiography, *Mitt liv mellam öster och väster* ("My Life Between East and West," 1946). His books were translated into several European languages and his autobiography (1953) into Hebrew. He founded the Jewish-Swedish journal *Judisk Tidskrift* (1928), and edited a Jewish encyclopedia in Swedish. Although first a political Zionist, he became an advocate of spiritual nationalism, believing that dispersal and assimilation were the true way of life for the Jewish people, enabling them to fulfill their spiritual mission among the nations.

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[Gedalyah Elkoshi and Hugo Mauritz Valentin]

EHRENREICH, BERNARD COLONIUS (1876–1955), U.S. Reform rabbi. Ehrenreich was born in Hungary and immigrated to the United States as a young child in 1879. He attended New York University, where in 1898 he was one of the founders of the Zeta Beta Tau American Jewish Fraternal Organization as a forum for exchanging ideas and promoting Zionism. Ehrenreich earned his B.A. degree from NYU in 1900, the same year he was ordained at the Conservative movement's Jewish Theological Seminary. He became rabbi of Congregation Beth Israel in Atlantic City, New Jersey (1901–2) and served as recording secretary of the Federated Zionists of America. In 1903, he assumed the pulpit of Congregation Adath Jeshurun of Philadelphia, where he was one of the nucleus of founders of the Alumni Association of the Jewish Theological Seminary (the forerunner of the Rabbinical Assembly). In 1906, after affiliating with the Reform movement's Central Conference of American Rabbis, he became rabbi of Kahl Montgomery in Montgomery, Alabama, where he was also active in the Jewish Welfare Board, the Montgomery Chamber of Commerce, the Graduate Menorah Society, and the American Jewish Congress. During World War I, he served as a welfare worker in the military base at Camp Sheridan, Alabama.

Devoted to the education, character building, and leadership development of young people, Ehrenreich purchased a summer camp in Minocqua, Wisconsin, in 1915, named it Camp Kawaga, and directed it as a Jewish boys' camp – albeit heavily influenced by Native American culture – from 1916 to 1951. His philosophy was that he could teach boys the Great Outdoors (GOD), as well as skills to turn them into men. Over the years, Kawaga attracted (and continues to attract) thousands of campers, winning the approval and endorsement of rabbis and educators from states throughout the Midwest, the South, and the Southwest. Ehrenreich's voluminous correspondence shows that many men stayed in close touch with "Doc E." into adulthood and attributed their lifelong allegiance to Judaism and Jewish values to his influence. Ehrenreich also became a civic leader in the town of Minocqua, where he eventually chose to reside for most of the year. During World War II, although in his late sixties, Ehrenreich traveled as far afield as Columbia, South Carolina, and Stockton, California, to volunteer as a replacement for congregational rabbis who were away serving as military chaplains.

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[Bezalel Gordon (2nd ed.)]

EHRENREICH, ḤAYYIM JUDAH BEN KALONYMUS (1887–1942), Hungarian rabbi. Ehrenreich served as rabbi of Holesov, Moravia; Deva, Transylvania; and Humenne, Slovakia. In this last community, to which he was appointed in 1930, he devoted himself to a study of talmudic literature. Ehrenreich planned a scientific edition of the Babylonian Talmud together with a new commentary of his own, and a similar one of the Jerusalem Talmud, but nothing was published. Immersed in this scholarly activity, he hardly engaged in communal activity, but in 1920 published an important pamphlet *Yisrael bein ha-Amim* ("Israel Among the Nations") dealing with Jewish survival. His works include *Saadiah Gaon's Shelosh Esreh Middot* (1922); *Sefer ha-Pardes* (1924); parts of *Sefer Abudarham* (1927); *Abraham Klausner's Minhagim* (1929); and *Givat ha-Moreh* (1936), sermons. From 1920 he published parts of *Seder Rav Amram Ga'on* with his own commentary and edited a monthly journal, *Oẓar ha-Ḥayyim*, from 1924–38. He and his family were killed by the Nazis in Lublin in 1942.

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[Naphtali Ben-Menahem]

EHRENSTAMM, family of pioneering textile manufacturers in the Hapsburg Empire in the 18th–19th centuries. Solomon Jacob, a son of Phinehas *Illovy, was first known by the family name of Kolin. He settled in *Prostejov (Prossnitz) in 1752 as a textile importer, but twice went bankrupt because of the unfavorable government policy on imports. In 1787 he adopted the family name of Ehrenstamm. His son Feith (d. 1827), who from 1786 had acquired wealth as an army contractor, took over the firm in 1790. In 1801 he founded a textile factory with modern imported machines, initially employing 3,000 workers, for supplying the army and export. He later added dyeing departments. In 1812 he accepted a contract for supplying the quota of textiles for army uniforms imposed on Moravia, and in 1820, in partnership with Simon von *Laemel, for supplying the entire Hapsburg army. He took up residence next to his factory, becoming the first Jew at this time to live outside the Jewish quarter of a Moravian town. After his death, the privileges he had received were transferred to his four sons. They became known for their extravagance, and gave a lavish reception in honor of Archduke Franz Karl. The firm built additional factories, but in 1833 went bankrupt. The factories were liquidated, the bankruptcy proceedings continuing until 1856. One of the brothers committed suicide, and another immigrated to Hungary in 1852.

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EHRENSTEIN, ALBERT (1886–1950), German poet and author. Born in Vienna of Hungarian parents, Ehrenstein lived until 1932 mostly in Vienna and Berlin as a freelance writer. Studying history and geography in Vienna, he published his first poems in Karl Kraus' *Die Fackel* (e.g., "Wanderers Lied"). The publication of the novel *Tubutsch* (with drawings by Oskar Kokoschka, 1911) made Ehrenstein an important exponent of the expressionist movement. His texts were guided by a new diaspora politics and aesthetics, understanding modernity as the overcoming of the bourgeois concept of nation and art. Ehrenstein's work is populated by exterritorial figures who suffer from homelessness and at the same time stand for a modern, aesthetic cosmopolitanism which transcends the 19th century concept of nationalism. This constant subject is found in Ehrenstein's novels (*Der Selbstmord eines Katers*, 1912; *Nicht da nicht dort*, 1916; *Bericht aus einem Tollhaus*, 1919; *Zaubermerchen*, 1919; *Die Nacht wird*, 1921; *Briefe an Gott*, 1922; *Ritter des Todes*, 1926) as well as in his poetry (*Die weisse Zeit*, 1914; *Die Gedichte*, 1920; *Wien*, 1921; *Herbst*, 1923; *Mein Lied*, 1931). In his essays, collected in *Menschen und Affen* (1926), Ehrenstein legitimized this programmatic extraterritoriality as a new "ahasverism" with social-revolutionary aspects, criticizing both assimilation and Zionism as throwbacks to old-European nationalism (cf. *Zionismus*, *Vom deutschen Adel juedischer Nation*, *Nationaljudentum*). He spent World War I in exile in Switzerland, vehemently criticizing the war (cf. *Der Mensch schreit*, 1916; *Die rote Zeit*, 1917; *Den ermordeten Bruedern*, 1919). After the war he turned to rewriting old Greek and Chinese works (cf. *Lukian*, 1918; *Longos*, 1924; *Schi-King*, 1922; *Pe-Lo-Thien*, 1923; *China klagt*, 1924; *Raeuber und Soldaten*, 1927; *Das gelbe Lied*, 1933). With the three cultural spaces of Hellas, Zion, and China, Ehrenstein constructed an antique world as a medium for contemporary criticism. In 1929, Ehrenstein together with Kokoschka visited Palestine, describing his impressions in a series of articles. In 1932, Ehrenstein moved to Switzerland. Even though the Swiss authorities prohibited him from writing, Ehrenstein praised Switzerland as a liberal and pancultural community within barbarian Europe (*Tessin*, 1938; *Switzerland*, 1942). In 1941 he settled in New York, where he died in poverty. After selected editions by Karl Otten and M.Y. Ben-Gavriel, the work and letters of Ehrenstein were published in a complete edition (ed. H. Mittelmann). Ehrenstein's manuscripts are at the Hebrew University.

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[Andreas Kilcher (2nd ed.)]

EHRENTREU, HEINRICH (1854–1927), Orthodox German rabbi and author. Ehrentreu was born in Alt-Ofen (Obuda), Hungary. Considered a brilliant talmudist in the yeshivah of Pressburg, he later pursued Semitic studies at the University of Heidelberg (from 1877) and was a tutor in Mainz. Ehrentreu became preacher at the Ohel Jakob synagogue in Munich where he supervised and greatly developed the religious institutions of the Jewish community over a period of 42 years. He was a member of the German chapter of the Rabbinical Council of Agudat Israel. In 1897 Ehrentreu edited the last volume of R.N. *Rabbinovicz's *Dikdukei Soferim*, 16 (1897). He also published *Heker Halakhah* ("Halakhic Research," 1904), and *Minḥat Pittin*, halakhic essays published in 1927/28. Together with Rabbi Jacob Schor of Kuty, he wrote *Ẓidkat ha-Ẓaddik* (1910), a defense of Z.H. *Auerbach's edition of *Sefer ha-Eshkol*, which had been attacked as a forgery by S. *Albeck. His responsa and numerous articles were published in Jewish scholarly journals. Ehrentreu's son, ERNST (JONAH) EHRENTREU (1896–?), succeeded him. Escaping from Germany to England, Ernst Ehrentreu became rabbi of a small congregation (Adath Yeshurun) in London. He published *Untersuchungen ueber die Massora* (1925), and *Jewish Thought in the Modern World* (1947).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: S. Levi, in: L. Jung (ed.), *Men of the Spirit* (1964), 375–87.

[Jacob Hirsch Haberman]

EHRLICH, ABEL (1919–2004), composer and teacher. Born in Crantz, Germany, Ehrlich went to Zagreb to study with Vaclav Huml at the academy of music (1934–38). In 1939 he settled in Palestine and studied composition at the Jerusalem Academy of Music with Solomon *Rosowsky. He taught theory and composition in various music institutions such as the Oranim Teachers College and at the Rubin Academy of Music in Tel Aviv. His works before 1953 were influenced by Arab music. In the late 1950s he began to use serial procedures, after attending the courses of Stockhausen and Pousseur at Darmstadt in 1959. He was awarded the Lieberson Prize three times (1969, 1971, 1980), won the Israel Composers and Authors Association Prize in 1974, 1980, and 1994, the Israel Prime Minister's Award in 1990, the ACUM Prize for life achievement in 1994, and the Israel Prize for music in 1997. Ehrlich was one of the most prolific Israeli composers – he wrote more than 3,500 pieces and as a result appeared in the Guinness Book of Records as the world's most prolific contemporary composer. Among his early compositions are *Bashrav* for violin solo (1953) and *Symphonic Bashrav* for orchestra (1958), in which he explored the fusion of Near Eastern and Western musical elements. His later works include *I Will Sing in Praise* for chamber orchestra (1977); *Will It Work?* suite for guitar (1985); *Enkhah Yode'a* for youth choir and violin solo (1986); *Our Modest Friend Avraham* for chamber ensemble (1992); *The Jubille,* chamber opera in 16 scenes (1995); *Another Exercise: Four Dreams: May 1997*, for four tenors and chamber ensemble (1997); and many pieces for solo instruments.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Grove online; A. Wolman and Y. Shaked, *Abel Ehrlich* (1995).

[Israela Stein (2nd ed.)]

EHRLICH, ARNOLD BOGUMIL (1848–1919), biblical exegete. Ehrlich was born in Wlodawa in Russian Poland. As a youth he studied in a *ḥeder* and then a yeshivah, married at an early age, and had two daughters. Despairing of his narrow Jewish world, Ehrlich, still quite young, divorced his wife, and, in 1865, went to Germany. There he worked as a librarian in the Semitics department of the Berlin Royal Library. In Leipzig, under the influence of Christian missionaries and tempted by the greater opportunities available to Christians, Ehrlich converted to Christianity. He worked with Franz *Delitzsch (1813–99) in the missionary Institutum Judaicum, helping to translate the New Testament into Hebrew (1877) for the purpose of a Christian mission to the Jews. At the age of 30, Ehrlich migrated to the U.S., married again, and raised a family under difficult economic conditions, working at various jobs including social work, portraiture, and Hebrew teaching. According to Richard J.H. *Gottheil, when Ehrlich reached New York in 1876 he called on Rabbi R. Gustav Gottheil of Temple

Emanu-El (Richard's father), confessed that he had been converted to Christianity at the age of 23 while working for Delitzsch, and expressed a desire to be reaccepted formally into the Jewish faith. He accordingly appeared before a *bet din* on March 7, 1876, and was readmitted to the Jewish community after making the necessary declarations in both German and English (which are quoted by Richard in his biography of his father). The proceedings were duly recorded. Ehrlich, who weighed three hundred pounds, never obtained a real academic post. On the one hand, Jews with academic influence suspected his Christian connections, while on the other hand Christians probably saw him as too much of an East European Jew. In 1884 he published a chrestomathy containing selections from the Talmud and the Midrashim, "for youths and students." His main work, however, was devoted to biblical exegesis. From 1899 to 1901 his Hebrew commentary on the Bible *Mikra ki-Feshuto* was published in Berlin in three volumes (of the four he planned; repr. 1969). He subscribed the title page with the pseudonym "Shabbetai b. Yom Tov ibn Boded." In the introduction he explained that he had written the commentary in Hebrew so that the Hebrew reader would study his words and comments. His book, however, received only scant attention. The Jewish press on the whole reacted to the book with exceptionally sharp criticism (also because of his skeptical attitude to tradition and his attacks on the medieval commentators), and the Christian scholars, who had great difficulty with Modern Hebrew, almost completely disregarded the commentary. The publication of his German commentary on the Book of Psalms (1905), which included a new translation, was a turning point in his life. It served as an introduction to his German commentary on the Bible, which like his Hebrew one consists of notes on the Bible, *Randglossen zur hebraeischen Bibel* (7 vols., 1908–14). Ehrlich included part of the material from his Hebrew commentary, but in an expanded form, as well as new interpretations arrived at since its publication; many of his earlier opinions are changed here. Although Ehrlich does not mention the Documentary Hypothesis, he employs evidence from language, religious concepts, and institutions to assign relative "late" and "early" dates to specific passages. Historical assessments such as the denial of Egyptian enslavement and of the Exodus are buried in comments to individual verses. He concentrates on textual criticism and reconstructions, and his very numerous emendations (especially in his German commentary) are at times conjectural (such as haplography or dittography, letters having a similar appearance in the ancient or in the square script, the use of abbreviations, glosses, etc.), and in most cases are not based on ancient translations. His comments, which are distinguished by their originality, at times have the quality of homiletics and are derived from Ehrlich's innovating spirit; yet through his sound linguistic instinct and fine linguistic differentiations he succeeded in illuminating and explaining, with great acumen and profundity, many verses and linguistic usages. Ehrlich's exegetical work is an important contribution to modern biblical exegesis. Ehrlich's work was highly influential on the Jewish translation produced by the Jewish Publication Society in 1917 and its successor of 1962–82.

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[Raphael Weiss / S. David Sperling (2nd ed.)]

EHRLICH, EUGEN (1862–1922), jurist. Born in Czernowitz, Ehrlich was associate professor of Roman Law in the university there from 1899 to 1914. In this capacity he made an important contribution to the study of the sociology of law, his thesis being that the law of society was the only "living law" and that the norms of a legal system must conform with the laws of society. Ehrlich was removed from all teaching posts in 1919 following antisemitic attacks by the student body in the nationalist press. His main works were translated into English and had a profound influence on American legal and sociological thought in the 20th century. These include *Grundlegung der Soziologie des Rechts* (1913, *Fundamental Principles of the Sociology of Law*, 1936). Although Ehrlich renounced Judaism in his youth he became interested in Jewish affairs in his later years and his treatise *Die Aufgabe der Sozialpolitik im oesterreichischen Osten* (1916) discusses the question of the Jews and the peasants.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: H. Sinzheimer, *Juedische Klassiker der deutschen Rechtswissenschaft* (1938), 231–55.

[Guido (Gad) Tedeschi]

EHRLICH, GEORG (1897–1966), graphic artist and sculptor. Born in Vienna, he studied at the Arts and Crafts School in Vienna under Oscar Strnad and Franz Cizek from 1912 to 1915. During World War I he served in the Austrian Army until 1918. In 1919 at his first exhibition Ehrlich became known for lithographs revealing the influence of Oskar Kokoschka. After he had been exhibited along with other modern artists such as Barlach, Beckmann, and Kokoschka in Munich, Paul Cassirer approached him with a commission for an album of lithographs entitled "Biblical Portfolio." The lithographs of this album reflect a deeply conscious Jewish identification and an intensely Jewish upbringing. At the same time, Ehrlich also painted watercolors of landscapes. He took up sculpture in 1926, in the graceful, elongated style of Lehmbruck, who remained a lasting influence. He cast numerous small-scale sculptures and busts in bronze, his favorite material. Ehrlich was already a prominent artist when in 1937 he was forced by the Nazis to leave Austria. He settled in England where he soon became established. His heads of the composer Benjamin Britten (1950) and the singer Peter Pears are among the finest works of this period. His work appears in leading museums in Britain, the U.S., and Israel.

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[Charles Samuel Spencer / Sonja Beyer (2nd ed.)]

EHRLICH, JACOB (1877–1938), Austrian Zionist leader. Born in Bistrica, Moravia, Ehrlich studied at Vienna University and joined the Jewish student association "J.A.V. Ivria." Encouraged by Theodor *Herzl, he toured Moravia and Bohemia to propagate Zionism. In 1908 he settled in Vienna, where he became a lawyer, and in 1912 he was one of the first Zionists to be elected as a member of the Board of the Jewish Community (Israelitische Kultusgemeinde). As a high officer of the Austro-Hungarian army during World War I he saved a number of Russian Jews from false accusations, among them the son of Abraham Menachem Mendel *Ussishkin. From 1919 to 1923 Ehrlich was a member of the Vienna city council. In the 1920s, and also during the Zionist Congress of 1925, he was president of the Zionist Federation in Austria. He helped to obtain a Zionist majority at the Israelitische Kultusgemeinde in December 1932, and in February 1936 became its vice president. In 1934, after the defeat of the Austrian Socialists in the civil war and the establishment of the Austrian corporate state, he became the representative of the Jewish community (councilor of the city of Vienna) in the "Buergerschaft," which replaced the city council, and an outspoken defender of Jewish rights. After the annexation of Austria by Nazi Germany (March 1938) Ehrlich was arrested, beaten daily by the Gestapo, and deported with the first transport to the Dachau concentration camp. He was murdered on May 17, 1938, the first prominent Austrian Jewish victim of the Nazis. His body was sent to Vienna, but the Nazis forbade all speeches and obituaries. His widow, Irma, and his son, Paul, immigrated to the United States via England.

The society of Jews from Austria in England and a B'nai B'rith Lodge in Tel Aviv bear his name.

[Josef Fraenkel / Evelyn Adunka (2nd ed.)]

EHRLICH, LUDWIK (1889–1968), Polish international lawyer. Born in Tarnopol, Ukraine, Ehrlich became professor of international law at the University of Lwow in 1924 and professor at the University of Cracow in 1945. He was recognized as an authority on international law and in 1928 and 1962 lectured at the Hague Academy. Ehrlich's writings include textbooks on general international law, and the law of treaties and sovereignty.

EHRLICH, PAUL (1854–1915), German chemist, pioneer of modern histology, immunology, and chemotherapy; Nobel Prize winner. Ehrlich was born in Strehlen near Breslau. He studied at German universities and began his scientific work in 1878 in Berlin University as an assistant, becoming an associate professor in 1890. In 1896 he became director of the Royal Institute for Serum Research in Steglitz (Berlin) and three years later director of the Institute of Experimental Therapy in Frankfurt on the Main, which was subsequently amalgamated with the Georg Speier Institute for Chemotherapeutic Research. In 1904 Ehrlich was appointed honorary professor at the University of Goettingen and in 1914 became a professor at Frankfurt University. He was awarded the Nobel Prize for Medicine in 1908. Ehrlich began his scientific work in the fields of hematology and histology. From methods of staining dead blood cells he progressed to staining living cells, and discovered methods of staining living nerve fibers. His research work on the staining of microorganisms led to the method of staining TB bacilli and he discovered the diazo reaction in urine for the recognition of aromatic compounds, which serves to diagnose typhoid fever.

From 1890 onward Ehrlich concentrated mainly on problems of immunization. He proved the specificity of immunity to toxins, and established the basic concepts of applied immunology: active and passive immunization. He laid the foundation for standardization of therapeutic sera by employing as standard serum a stable antitoxic serum capable of long-term preservation. On the basis of this method he developed, in 1897, the evaluation of the antitoxic sera and its theoretical basis, one of the vital practical achievements in the history of immunology.

Recognizing the particular specific affinity of dyes, active organic compounds, and toxins to certain cells, Ehrlich started to search for chemical compounds which would specifically attack the microorganisms causing disease without damaging the body cells. He first treated syphilis with the poisonous organic arsenic compound atoxyl and in 1909, after years of investigation, he discovered, together with his Japanese assistant Hatta, the compound "606," Salvarsan, which can inactivate the treponema causing syphilis, as well as other treponemas causing various tropical diseases. This was the greatest achievement in the fight against syphilis since its appearance in Europe four centuries earlier and marked the beginning of modern systematic chemotherapy.

Developments in theoretical and applied medical biology since Ehrlich's day have thrown new light on certain of his concepts and some of his theoretical assumptions have been modified. But his basic concepts and methods remain firm and still serve as fundamentals for research in the fields of hematology, immunology, and chemotherapy.

Ehrlich was interested in Jewish affairs all his life. He was an active member of Le-Ma'an Zion, and was also associated with and supported the Nordau Institute, one of the nuclei of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem.

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Paul Ehrlich and William Bulloch: A Correspondence and Friendship (1896–1914); Clio Medica, 3 (1968), 65–84.

[Aryeh Leo Olitzki]

EHRLICH, SIMḤA (1915–1983), Israeli politician, leader of the Liberal Party, and first non-Labor minister of finance, member of the Seventh to Tenth Knessets. Ehrlich was born in Poland. He studied at the Hebrew Gymnasium in Lublin and was active in the General Zionist youth movement prior to his immigration to Israel in 1938. In Israel he worked at first as an agricultural laborer in Nes Ẓiyyonah. Ehrlich studied optics and in 1961 established a firm for the manufacture of lenses and applied optical instruments. He joined the General Zionist Party and was elected to the Tel Aviv Municipal Council in 1955, serving as deputy mayor in 1962–65. In 1965 he ran in the municipal elections at the head of the *Gaḥal list. In 1969 he ran for the Seventh Knesset on the Gaḥal list.

In 1970, Ehrlich was appointed chairman of the Liberal Party Executive, and after the founding of the *Likud in 1973 he became a member of its Executive. In June 1977 he was appointed by Menaḥem *Begin as minister of finance, in which position he introduced a policy of economic liberalization, first of all in the field of foreign currency. However, his policy resulted in a serious deterioration in Israel's balance of trade and a rapid rise in the rate of inflation. As a result he was forced to resign in October 1979, remaining in the government as deputy prime minister. In Begin's second government formed after the elections to the Tenth Knesset, Ehrlich served as minister of agriculture and deputy prime minister.

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[Fern Lee Seckbach / Susan Hattis Rolef (2nd ed.)]

EHUD (Heb. אֵהוּד), son of Gera the Benjaminite, referred to as "a left-handed man" (Judg. 3:15). Ehud delivered Israel from *Eglon, the king of Moab, to whom they had been subject for 18 years. According to I Chronicles 8:3, Gera was the son of Bela, Benjamin's firstborn. If this is the same person, it would imply that Ehud belonged to one of the chief families of the tribe. Apparently, this family lived in the region of Geba, which may have been associated with the ancient Gibeonites. Possibly, this was the reason that some of its members were driven to the western slopes of the mountain (Manahath; see I Chron. 8:6). In early Israel's pre-monarchic period, some of the adjoining kingdoms, notably Moab, attempted to extend their dominion over the Jordan Valley and the hill country on the western bank of the river. They encountered resistance only in Mt. Ephraim, the territory of the Rachel tribes, who did not suffer foreign rule until the Philistine hegemony.

Ehud headed a tribute-bearing delegation to *Eglon, king of Moab (Judg. 3:15ff.). Being left-handed, he wore a sword under his garments on his right thigh, where guards were not in the habit of looking for a suspicious bulge, and no one noticed it. Under the pretext of having a "secret word" for the king, he succeeded in gaining a private audience with him. When he said "I bring you a word of God, your Majesty" the heavy-fleshed monarch rose to hear it; Ehud drew his sword, thrust its entire length into the belly of the corpulent king, and fled. Returning to his country, he sounded the ram's horn for the armies to gather, captured the fords of the Jordan, and defeated all the Moabite garrisons on the western bank of the river. This ended the Moabite rule over Israel for several generations. Ehud is not actually called a judge, although he is usually numbered among the "judges."

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EIBESCHUETZ, SIMON AARON (1786–1856), Danish philanthropist. He bequeathed the major part of his property, which amounted to about 700,000 Danish thalers, to various municipal institutions in Copenhagen, but especially to Jewish institutions. Among other bequests, he donated an annual grant to the University Library of Copenhagen in order to purchase ancient Hebrew works and books dealing with Oriental culture. The condition that two Jewish students be admitted annually without payment was attached to his bequests to the Polytechnic and the Academy of Arts of Copenhagen.

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EICHELBAUM, SAMUEL (1894–1967), Argentine playwright and short-story writer. Born in a Jewish agricultural colony in Domíguez, Entre Ríos, he lived most of his life in Buenos Aires. Though in his psychological plays Eichelbaum deals mostly with the Argentinian middle class and is not especially concerned with Jewish life, Jewish themes and characters (both urban and rural) appear in his plays *El Judío Aarón* (1942), *Nadie la conoció nunca* (1926), and *Divorcio nupcial* (1941); and in some of his short stories such as "La buena cosecha," "El señor Lubovitzky depositario" (1925), and "Lo que la luna vio." He is considered one of the principal architects of Argentinian drama. Two of Eichelbaum's plays were awarded the municipal prize of Buenos Aires: *Tormenta de Dios* (1930) and *Señorita* (1937); but his best-known plays, also adapted for the screen, are *Un guapo del 900* (1940) and *Un tal Servando Gómez* (1942), which deal with the suburban cultural environment of Buenos Aires.

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[Florinda Goldberg (2nd ed.)]

EICHENBAUM, BORIS MIKHAILOVICH (1886–1959), Russian literary scholar. Eichenbaum was born in Krasnoye (Smolensk district) to a Jewish father and a Russian mother, both physicians. His father, who became a Pravoslav Christian, was the son of Jacob *Eichenbaum (Gelber), a well-known Hebrew poet and scholar. After finishing the First Voronezh Gymnasium, Boris Eichenbaum entered the Military-Medical Academy of St. Petersburg in 1905. In 1907, he published his first essay on Russian literature ("Pushkin and the Rebellion of 1825," *Vestnik znaniya*, 1 and 2), and during the following year he was admitted to the Philological Faculty of St. Petersburg University, where he studied Slavic and Romano-Germanic philology, graduating in 1912 and joining the faculty of the university in 1918. From 1912, Eichenbaum regularly published scholarly and critical essays in *Russkaya Mysl, Apollon*, and other literary journals, as well as some poetry (in Gumilev's *Giperborey*). In 1919, Eichenbaum joined the Society for the Study of Poetic Language (OPOYAZ) and soon became one of the foremost exponents of the so-called "Formal Method" in literary scholarship, an early structural trend that laid the foundation of modern scientific poetics. Between 1922 and 1931, Eichenbaum published nine books, which are generally considered classics and have almost all been reprinted in the West: *Melodika stikha* ("Melodics of Verse," 1922); *Molodoy Tolstoy* ("Young Tolstoy," 1922; reprinted 1968); *Anna Akhmatova* (1923); *Lermontov* (1924; reprinted 1967); *Skvoz literaturu* ("Through Literature," Collected Essays, 1924; reprinted 1962); *Literatura, Teoriya. Kritika. Polemika* (1927; reprinted 1969); *Lev Tolstoy* (vol. 1, 1928; vol. 2, 1931; 1–2 reprinted 1968); *Moy vremennik* ("My Chronicle," 1929) (the latter collection includes an essay on Jacob Eichenbaum and his long poem "*Ha-Krav*").

In the late 1920s Eichenbaum attempted a synthesis of the purely intrinsic and the sociological approach to literature. However, this attempt, as well as Eichenbaum's earlier books, evoked official criticism, which found some support in retrograde academic and literary circles. Forced to abandon theoretical research, Eichenbaum devoted himself to textual work, preparing exemplary critical editions of such classic Russian authors as L. Tolstoy, Lermontov, Gogol, and Leskov. In 1933, he published a novel, *Marshrut v bessmertiye* ("A Route to Immortality"), about the lexicographer N. Makarov. In his diary he mentioned that his spiritual-genetic ties to his Jewish grandfather had an affect on him. When in 1924 his grandfather's Hebrew poem "The Battle" appeared in Russian anonymously, he wrote an essay speaking among other things about the forgotten author.

In 1947, in the course of the official campaign against the great Russian comparative philologist Aleksandr Veselovsky, Eichenbaum and his colleagues *Zhirmunsky and Tomashevsky "were taken to task for perpetuating Veselovsky's 'bourgeois cosmopolitanism,' i.e., drawing parallels between Russian and Western literature" (V. Erlich). In September 1949, an officially inspired article about Eichenbaum's "reactionary militant idealism," abundantly interspersed with antisemitic allusions, appeared in the magazine *Zvezda*, virtually silencing Eichenbaum for five years. He did not resume his scholarly activity until 1954.

The third volume of his great monograph on Tolstoy appeared posthumously in 1960. Following the revival of the study of poetic language in the U.S.S.R., two volumes of Eichenbaum's selected writings appeared in 1969 in Leningrad, *O poezii* ("On Poetry") and *O proze* ("On Prose"). The following works of Eichenbaum have been translated into English: "Theory of the Formal Method," in: *Russian Formalist Criticism*, transl. and ed. by L.T. Lemon and M.J. Reis (1965); "On Tolstoy's Crises," in: *Tolstoy* (20th Century Views series; 1967); "O. Henry and the Theory of the Short Story," transl. with notes and postscript, by I.R. Titunik, in: *Michigan Slavic Contributions* (1968); *Young Tolstoy* (1972).

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[Omri Ronen (2nd ed.)]

EICHENBAUM (Gelber), JACOB (1796–1861), Haskalah poet, educator, and mathematician. Born in Krystianopol, Galicia, he was married at the age of 11, but divorced when his father-in-law suspected him of secular leanings. He married again in 1815 and settled in Zamosc where he developed his interest in mathematics and translated Euclid from German into Hebrew (unpublished). Here he adopted the name Eichenbaum in order to obtain a resident's permit. Later he served as a private tutor, traveling from place to place, and finally settling in Odessa where he established a private Jewish school in 1835. He was appointed director of the Kishinev Jewish school in 1844 by the Russian government and in 1850 inspector of the newly established Zhitomir Rabbinical Seminary. Eichenbaum contributed poetry to Hebrew journals of the period. *Kol Zimrah* (1836), his collection of poems (and some translations), was one of the first books of poetry published in the Haskalah period. He also wrote *Ha-Kerav* ("The Battle," 1839), a book in verse describing the game of chess, and *Hokhmat ha-Shi'urim* (an adaptation of a French arithmetic book, 1857). His grandson Boris *Eichenbaum was a well-known Russian literary scholar.

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[Getzel Kressel]

EICHHORN, DAVID MAX (1906–1986), U.S. Reform rabbi, chaplain, and author. Eichhorn was born in Columbia, Pennsylvania, and received his B.A. from the University of Cincinnati in 1928. He was ordained at Hebrew Union College in 1931 and earned a D.D. degree from the same institution in 1938. In 1956, he was awarded an honorary D.H.L. from HUC-JIR. He served as rabbi of Sinai Temple in Springfield, Massachusetts (1932–34), and Mt. Sinai Temple in Texarkana, Arkansas (1935–38), before becoming the first rabbi of Temple Israel in Tallahassee, Florida, in 1939. He also became the first state director of Florida Hillel Foundations (1939–42). In 1942, he enlisted as a chaplain in the U.S. Army and was the first Jewish chaplain to enter Dachau, conducting the first religious service inside the liberated concentration camp on April 30, 1945. The service was captured on film and is commonly seen in liberation films. He was made supervisor of displaced persons for the Austrian Zone of the U.S. occupation, working with survivors of several concentration camps. For his service in combat zones, he was awarded the Bronze Star and eventually promoted to the rank of lieutenant colonel. After the war, the demobilized Eichhorn remained in the U.S. Army Reserve and was appointed director of field operations for the Committee on Army and Navy Religious Activities, as well as director of religious activities at the *National Jewish Welfare Board – a position he retained until he retired in 1968. He was also president of the Association of Jewish Chaplains of the Armed Forces (1953–55).

During his retirement, Eichhorn served as rabbi of Temple Israel in Merritt Island, Florida, and chaplain of the Kennedy Space Center and Patrick Air Force Base. In 1973, he founded the Jewish Community Center of Brevard County. In the field of scholarship, Eichhorn was renowned as an expert in the history of conversion to Judaism as well as Christian attempts to convert Jews in the United States. He wrote *Conversion to Judaism: A History and Analysis* (1965), *Evangelizing the American Jew* (1978), and *Jewish Intermarriage: Fact and Fiction* (1974). He was chairman of the Central Conference of American Rabbis' Committee on the Unaffiliated (1950–58), and a liberal who favored rabbinic participation in the wedding ceremonies of mixed marriages. He also wrote *Cain, Son of the Serpent* (1957); *Joys of Jewish Folklore* (ed., 1981; reprinted as *Jewish Folklore in America*, 1996); and *Musings of the Old Professor: The Meaning of Koheles* (1973). His posthumously published letters home from World War II provide a vivid depiction of Jewish life: *The GI's Rabbi: The World War II Letters of David Max Eichhorn* by Greg Palmer and Mark S. Zaid (2004).

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[Bezalel Gordon (2nd ed.)]

°EICHHORN, JOHANN GOTTFRIED (1752–1827), German historian and biblical scholar. Eichhorn was professor of Oriental languages at Jena (1775–87) and of philosophy at Goettingen (1788–1827), where he succeeded his teacher, J.D. *Michaelis. He was one of the pioneers in the modern study of the Bible. He shares the credit with G. *Herder for freeing biblical studies from the shackles of church dogma and making biblical literature accessible to a wider public. Some of his work attempts to explain biblical myth naturalistically. In his *Einleitung in das Alte Testament* (3 vols., 1780–83; a partial translation: *Introduction to the Study of the Old Testament*, 1888), which ran into four editions (the 4th edition including 5 vols., 1820–24) and several reprints, he summed up the results of research in the field of biblical literature up to his day and endeavored to give a just appreciation of the poetic and religious elements in the Hebrew Bible. This was the first introduction to the Bible to be written, and through its vivid style and wide scholarship made a deep impression upon the scholarly world. Eichhorn's *Einleitung* exerted great influence on the biblical studies of Moses *Mendelssohn and his fellow commentators, especially *Ben-Ze'ev. Eichhorn also wrote an introduction to the Apocrypha (*Einleitung in die apokryphischen Schriften des Alten Testament*, 1795) as well as translations of Job and the prophetical books of the Bible (*Die hebraeischen Propheten*, 3 vols., 1816–19). He edited *Repertorium fuer biblische und morgenlaendische Litteratur* (18 vols., 1777–86) and *Allgemeine Bibliothek der biblisehen Literatur* (10 vols., 1787–1801).

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[Moshe Zevi (Moses Hirsch) Segal]

EICHLER, MENAHEM MAX (1870–1927), U.S. Conservative rabbi. Eichler was born in Hungary and immigrated to the United States in 1892. In 1899, he earned a B.A. degree from the City College of New York and was ordained at the Jewish Theological Seminary. Eichler became rabbi of Congregation Beth Israel (1899–1905) in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, where in 1901 graduates of the *Jewish Theological Seminary met in his home to discuss the impending financial collapse of the Seminary. Their plan of action led to the formation of the Alumni Association of the Jewish Theological Seminary, which quickly evolved into the *Rabbinical Assembly. Eichler was elected the second president of the Rabbinical Assembly (1904–7) and served on the financial committee that planned the Seminary's million dollar campaign. From 1905 to 1916, he was rabbi of Congregation Ohabei Shalom in Boston, where he also attended law school at Boston University. After receiving his LL.B. degree in 1914 and being admitted to the Bar in 1916, Eichler began the practice of law and devoted much of his time to Jewish communal causes. He founded the Central Jewish Organization of Boston – which he also served as president – and was director of the Federated Jewish Charities of Boston, as well as the Zionist Bureau of New England. Eichler returned to the rabbinate in 1920, moving to Temple Beth El in Buffalo, New York, where he remained until his death. He wrote two books: *What Makes Life Worth Living* (1904) and *Jewish Home Prayers* (1913).

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[Bezalel Gordon (2nd ed.)]

°EICHMANN, ADOLF OTTO (1906–1962), SS officer and head of the Jewish Department of the Gestapo. He became one of the people most identified with "the Final Solution of the Jewish Problem" during his trial, which took place in Jerusalem in 1961, and a synonym in all discussions dealing with human evil.

Eichmann was born in Solingen, Germany, to Adolf Karl, an accountant, and Maria, a housewife, both of whom were devout Protestants. When Eichmann was seven years old, the family moved to the city of Linz, Austria, a mostly Catholic city. In 1916, Eichmann's mother died and, shortly thereafter, his father remarried.

Eichmann's childhood was a usual bourgeois one, very different from the commonly accepted image of what is thought to be the childhood of Nazi war criminals, as if they had usually experienced traumas in childhood and were on the fringes of society. No social rejections can be found in his childhood nor any outstanding expressions of hatred of Jews.

Eichmann's achievements as a student were low, and at age 19, he became a traveling salesman for the Vacuum Oil Company in Upper Austria. In 1933, he was promoted to the Salzburg area, but in the same year was fired because of staff downsizing in the company. His joining the ranks of the Nazi Party of Austria was the result of several factors. The general context was that Eichmann had grown up in an Austria where there was a long history of anti-Jewish movements and public discourse full of Jewish stereotypes. Eichmann was surrounded by an atmosphere and environment within which Jews were thought, as a matter of course, to be despised, foreign, and suspect as to their loyalty, as well as different in their religion and culture. Jews and non-Jews belonged to different societies. That is, there was a background of antisemitism, but not outright and aggressive. As to the street, there was a desire to eradicate the shame of Versailles and that, too, was thought to have been caused by the Jews. The strengthening of the National Socialist Party in Austria during the 1932 local elections gave it, besides strength, an increasing size and public respectability. To all this was added personal background. It was Ernst Kaltenbrunner, who later became the commander of the Head Office of the Security of the Reich, an acquaintance of the Eichmann family, who suggested to Eichmann that he join the ranks of the party and the SS. On April 1, 1932, Eichmann became a member of the Nazi Party. His number was 899895. Seven months later, he also swore allegiance to the SS, which at the time, numbered about 2,000 members in all of Austria.

The strengthening of the Nazi Party in Austria after 1933 resulted in its persecution by the government, and this, in addition to the fact that Eichmann was unemployed, caused him to immigrate to Germany in August 1933. Once in Germany, he received military training in one of the SS camps. In 1934, Eichmann served as a colonel in the Austrian unit of the SS in the concentration camp at Dachau. At the end of the year, he volunteered for the SD, the Secret Service, and was transferred to Berlin. This was extremely important because in a few years the SD became the driving force of the implementation of Jewish policies in Nazi Germany and an influence on the determiners of that policy.

Initially, Eichmann's main job in the SD was in Intelligence. At the beginning, he dealt with the Freemasons; later he gradually became an expert in the subjects of Judaism, Jews, Jewish organizations, Zionism, Herzl, and Jewish immigration. In appreciation of his efforts and achievements in the field of Jewish policy, he was promoted to *Untersturmfuhrer* (second lieutenant) in January 1938.

Now he had real standing and prestige. In the same year, he was requested by *Heydrich to prepare a memorandum about the international effort to encourage Jewish emigration from Europe. This was the beginning of a great advancement in Eichmann's career. This matter dealt with the future of the Jews in Austria, which had been annexed to the German Reich in March 1938. The SD made Eichmann responsible for the Jewish Emigration Office and, for the first time, he had real power. He had enactment authority in the security force and dictatorial authority over the helpless Jews. The summit of his achievements was the establishment of the Main Office of Jewish Emigration. The success of this office hinged on four factors: the ambitions of the SD and the despair of the Jews, together with the great effort of Eichmann to implement the emigration according to the SD doctrine, along with Eichmann's burning desire to achieve promotion. Moreover, in Vienna, Eichmann added a new twist to emigration by having the Jews themselves finance it and enlisting their cooperation, an action which was a precedent for the formation of the Judenrat.

Despite Eichmann's contentions that his efforts to encourage Jewish emigration were in the spirit of Zionism, the reality was that forced emigration was the realization of Nazi policy and that by forced, brutally implemented emigration the Nazis also got hold of Jewish possessions. Eichmann bragged that within a year of the annexation of Austria, about 100,000 Jews had emigrated from Austria legally and a few thousand Jews to Palestine illegally, and in total by November 1941, 128,000 Jews had left Austria. Eichmann's achievement was quickly rewarded by his promotion to *Obersturmfuhrer* (first lieutenant). Eichmann's activities in Vienna became the model for policy that was enacted in Germany beginning in January 1939, when the Main Office of Emigration within the Reich was established. Heydrich was appointed commander and Heinrich Mueller was appointed his second in command.

A few weeks later, Czechoslovakia was conquered and Eichmann was asked to come to Prague to establish an additional emigration center. At this point, Eichmann had formed a staff from the Austrian Nazis, which included Frantz Novak, Anton Burger, Karl Rohm, and Alois Brunner as well as the Gunther brothers. Fritz Gunther was to be his deputy. Theodor Dannecker and Dieter Wisliceny were also among the group. These were to be at the heart of activities in the years to come. To Bohemia and Moravia, which became a German Protectorate, Eichmann took Brunner and Hans Gunther.

All of Eichmann's activities seemed to be quite efficient until September 1939, when Germany invaded Poland and World War II began. At this point, Eichmann's command changed radically.

With the outbreak of war, *Himmler established the Main Office for the Security of the Reich (RSHA) commanded by Heydrich. Eichmann was appointed to chair the Jewish Department with Heinrich Mueller at the head. Consequently, Eichmann was serving under Heydrich.

During October 1939, Eichmann and his men were responsible for the expulsion of thousands of Jews from Germany, Austria, and the Protectorate of Bohemia-Moravia to a remote place in Poland called Nisko. Most of them perished; only about 300 of them survived. These deportations and those that came immediately afterwards became the basis for the development of methods of mass expulsions during the entire period of Nazi rule on the entire continent. It was Eichmann who at that time translated the German Foreign Office's plan to deport the Jews to the tropical island of Madagascar into a viable plan. The plan was never put into action.

In February 1940, the RSHA began a series of reorganizations. Eichmann's unit was renamed IVB4, the name by which it would become known forever: the "Department of Jewish Matters and Deportation." It was formally listed under the authority of the Gestapo. It was a victory for the SD in the struggle for control of anti-Jewish policy. Eichmann was now formally a Gestapo officer.

Now Eichmann worked furiously. As head of the Department of Emigration in Vienna, Prague, and Berlin, he had to evacuate hundreds of thousands of people to Poland to make room for ethnic Germans who had been evacuated from the Baltic countries. The deportation was carried out from the areas of Stettin and Posen, causing great chaos in the General Government and strong protests from Governor Hans *Frank. This crisis crossed wires historically with the preparations for the invasion of the U.S.S.R. It seems that at this point, the expert in emigration became the expert in mass murder and genocide.

The month of September 1941 marks the beginning of Eichmann's activities on a mass scale. In mid-September, *Hitler ordered Himmler to carry out a deportation of Jews from Germany, Austria, and the Protectorate. In October, Himmler officially prohibited Jewish emigration from the continent and in the same month Eichmann organized the deportation of 20,000 Jews from the Reich along with 5,000 Roma (gypsies) to the Lodz ghetto. In the same month, Eichmann was again promoted. This time, he was promoted to *Obersturmbannfuhrer* (lieutenant colonel), his highest rank. In October, Eichmann held a meeting of representatives of different institutions that were connected to the Jewish issue where he informed them of the deportation of German Jews. Likewise, they were required to report their activities in that matter. When all was ready, the trains from Germany and Austria began to move towards Poland, White Russia, and the Baltic area. Eichmann personally commanded all arrangements and traveled to Minsk, Lvov, Lublin, and Lodz, to check the progress of the preparations to receive the deportees.

At the beginning of 1942, Eichmann visited Auschwitz and Treblinka. Even so, most of his activities until then had involved deportations and their organization, and not the genocide of European Jews. His involvement in the latter phase began with the convening of the *Wannsee Conference on January 20, 1942.

At the Wannsee Conference, the coordination of all the German bodies connected with the implementation of the Final Solution was discussed. Eichmann had convened the conference, written Heydrich's speech, and written the protocol. At the end of the day, it was Eichmann, Muller, and Heydrich who joined together after all of their aims had been discussed. Eichmann had now turned from an emigration expert to one of the most important people in the implementation of the new policies against the Jews.

After Wannsee, Eichmann became the director of the largest murder project in history.

Eichmann now directed transportation from all parts of Europe to the extermination camps in Poland, and oversaw the number of deportees. He coordinated the train departure schedules with railroad authorities in different countries. In cooperation with the German Foreign Office, he organized the seizure of the huge quantity of possessions that the deported Jews left behind.

In defining Eichmann's role in this time period, it can be said that it was not Eichmann who determined the policy, yet he was an important link as an operative interpreter of the policy.

Although Eichmann was well aware of what was happening in the death camps, most of his activities were not in Poland and Eastern Europe. He was not involved in the activities of the *Einsatzgruppen*. His greatest impact was mostly in activities in Central and Western Europe. In all of those countries, except for Denmark, Norway, and Finland, representatives of his department spread out and were responsible for the deportations. In occupied France, Holland, Belgium, Greece, Slovakia, and the Protectorate of Bohemia-Moravia, as well as in the Reich, the orders were given by Hitler, Himmler, and Heydrich and carried out by the joint action of local collaborators and Eichmann's department. Yet Eichmann was informed and knew all along of the growing severity of the policy. Again and again, it can be seen how he intervened to reduce the number of Jews who received temporary exemptions from deportation orders. In Holland, for example, Eichmann fought to cancel the exemptions that were given to the country's Jewish diamond workers, who were very important for its economy.

Eichmann was a key figure in two places: in the Theresienstadt ghetto and in Hungary. The history of the Theresienstadt ghetto/camp in Bohemia is closely connected with the name of Eichmann. It begins with the order of Heydrich in October 1941 to evacuate 86,000 Jews from the Protectorate. The fear of chaos as with Nisko produced the decision to isolate them in the area of the Protectorate itself. Between January and June 1942, more than 50,000 Czech Jews were sent to the camp. In addition, Jews from Vienna and Jews of German nationality were later added. For most of them, the camp was a way station to Auschwitz.

It was Eichmann who realized the potential of Theresienstadt as a means of deceiving the world about the fate of the Jews. He made it into a "model camp," where the Red Cross Committee was allowed to visit in order to counter the reports of Nazi atrocities. The day after the Red Cross Committee's visit, one of the largest deportations was dispatched to Auschwitz.

In Hungary, which was conquered by the Germans on March 19, 1944, it was Eichmann himself who managed the deportations. Using the great experience he had acquired, Eichmann succeeded in sending off 437,402 Jews between May 15 and July 9, mostly to Auschwitz. More than 70% of them were murdered shortly after arriving at the camp. This "success" was made possible partly by the help the Nazis received from the Hungarians. Yet, at the beginning of July, the leader of Hungary, Miklos Horthy, ordered the cessation of this collaboration under international pressure. Eichmann was among those who fought most furiously to continue the deportations but was unable to continue for several months. He renewed his activities when the Hungarian Arrow Cross Fascists gained control of Hungary in October 1944. With his return, execution by gas in Auschwitz was stopped and he ordered marches of Jews to Germany through Austria to help with the German war industry. Around 76,000 Jews took part in these marches, which were called "death marches." In Hungary, Eichmann met with various attempts to save the Jews. In Budapest, Raul *Wallenberg, the Swedish diplomat, was active together with other representatives of neutral countries, against Eichmann's activities. Eichmann also played an important part in the famous "blood-for-trucks negotiations." In these, Joel *Brandt of Budapest was sent to Istanbul with the offer to exchange Jews for trucks and other goods that would be given to the Germans. The plan was apparently an instance of German duplicity, as was the involvement with Eichmann's approval of Wisliceny, a member of his department, in the "Europe Plan" in 1943, in which Jews would be exchanged for dollars. Eichmann worked to ruin two other plans in Bulgaria and Romania but had to allow the release of some of the Sephardi Jews from Greece and some Jews from the Land of Israel who had been seized in Europe in exchange for Germans who had been seized in the Land of Israel.

At the end of the war, Eichmann was captured, but managed to escape. Like thousands of escaping Nazis, in 1950, Eichmann used the "Rat Path" which led from Germany to Argentina through Italy. He lived with his family in Buenos Aires as Ricardo Klement and became a father to a third son. In 1960, he was abducted by the Israeli Mossad and brought to Israel. There his trial took place, in which he was found guilty and condemned to death.

The Eichmann Trial

On May 23, 1960, the prime minister of Israel informed the Knesset, the Israeli public, and the world, in a short announcement of 62 words that Adolf Eichmann, who had been designated one of the most important Nazis, was in Israel and would stand trial for his part in the "Final Solution of the Jewish Problem."

The Eichmann Trial was one of the biggest media trials of the 20th century and it made the name of Adolf Eichmann a synonym for the essence of human evil and its sources.

It took Israel almost a year to prepare for the trial, which began on April 19, 1961. The interrogation was carried out by a special unit of the Israeli Police Force (Department 06). Eichmann was charged with "Crimes against the Jewish People," "Crimes against Humanity," "War Crimes," and "Membership in an Enemy Organization" (SD, SS, and Gestapo). All of these were listed in Israel's Nazi and Nazi Collaborators Punishment Law (1950), on the basis of which Eichmann was brought to trial.

The trial ended in August 1961. On December 15, 1961, the verdict and sentence were read. Eichmann was convicted and sentenced to death. Eichmann appealed to the Supreme Court. A panel of five Supreme Court justices rejected his appeal and confirmed the verdict and sentence. Eichmann was executed by hanging on June 1, 1962, almost two years after he was brought to Israel. It was the only death sentence ever carried out by the State of Israel. Eichmann's body was cremated and his ashes were scattered outside the territorial waters of Israel.

Eichmann's trial revealed to the Jews and the world what had happened to the Jews during World War II. Ben-Gurion called the trial "The Nuremburg of the Jews" because during the Nuremburg trials in Germany the Holocaust had been sidelined, while this time it was at the heart of the matter. In this, Ben-Gurion also wished to emphasize that in 1961, unlike during the course of Jewish history in the Diaspora, the Jews had a sovereign state, and as a result they could call to account those who had injured them. Thus it was asserted that the State of Israel represented all the Jewish people in the world.

The prosecutor at the trial was the attorney general, Gideon *Hausner, who headed a prosecution team that numbered five people. The defense attorney was Robert Servatius of Germany, who had represented a number of German defendants in the Nuremburg trials. His co-consul was Dieter Wechtenbruch, an attorney from Munich. The panel of judges consisted of judges at two levels. The president of the court was a member of the Supreme Court, Moshe *Landau, and alongside him sat two judges from district courts, Benjamin Halevy and Yitzhak Raveh. The trial took place in front of an audience in a hall in Jerusalem, while Eichmann sat in a bulletproof glass enclosure. The beginning of the trial focused on the motions of the defense attorney, who mainly challenged the right of the court to try Eichmann. The defense attorney's main objection was that the judges, being Jews, could not judge Eichmann impartially. If that was not enough, Eichmann had been abducted from Argentina and brought to Israel illegally, in violation of international law. Finally, the defense attorney held that the law under which Eichmann was charged was retroactive and extraterritorial, in that it related to crimes committed before the State of Israel had existed and were committed outside the territory of Israel, on European soil. The judges rejected all of these arguments. They rejected the first on the grounds that a judge is bound to restrain his feelings while on the bench, and if he did not he would not even be able to sit in judgment of a felony. The issue of retroactivity did not involve a binding principle. Usually it is cited in cases where a law was not law at the time of the crime. But in the case of the current trial, laws had been passed all over the world that did not constitute new judicial norms but make it possible to bring to trial criminals who knew very well at the time of their crimes that their actions were illegal. In the matter of the abduction, the court held that it was not the court's business to deal with how the defendant had been brought to court but with the legality of the accusation and venue. Finally, in the matter of extraterritoriality, the court held that it was not relevant, for two reasons. First, the intention to murder was also to exterminate the Jews of the Land of Israel, and second, that there is an existential connection between the Land of Israel and the will to ensure that people who commit crimes against the Jewish people will be brought to trial and punished for their crimes.

With the rejection of the objections, the trial began. Eichmann's answer to each of the accusations was: "In the spirit of the indictment – not guilty."

The documentary evidence that was brought before the court included 1,600 documents, many of them with Eichmann's signature, and 110 witnesses, mostly Holocaust survivors. The trial told the story of the Holocaust as the story of European Jewry but excluded the story of the fate of the Jews of Libya and Tunisia in North Africa. The prosecution described the fate of the Jews of Europe in a wide geographic context while describing the chronological stages of the fate of the Jews in each country. The prosecution put on record the stories of the camps in Europe and the activities of the *Einsatzgruppen*, while emphasizing that in each stage one could see the fingerprints of Eichmann.

The defense attorney did not question the authenticity of the Holocaust, but the central role that the defendant had in it. The defense was not able to bring witnesses to speak for Eichmann since SS and other Nazi personnel were not offered immunity if they came to Israel and were therefore subject to prosecution. As a result a group of jurists was sent to Germany to gather testimonies from SS men who were willing to testify. Clearly this was a deviation from the commonly accepted practice in criminal trials.

The court rejected the claims of the defense that Eichmann was mainly obediently fulfilling the orders of his commanders, and claimed that Eichmann had acted in a criminal manner on his own initiative. The outstanding example was the murder of hundreds of thousands of Hungarian Jews, where the defendant had become relentless in his implementation of the "Final Solution." The court did not accept the claims of the prosecution especially with regard to Eichmann's part in the *Einzatzgruppen* murders and the murders in the camps. The main accusation against Eichmann concerned his part in what had occurred in Central Europe and in the west of the continent. The judges in their verdict did not rely on the testimony of witnesses when they came to convict Eichmann. The witnesses' testimony about their individual experiences had a powerful and enduring impact on Israel and the world, in contrast to their apparent lack of effect on the judges.

The Eichmann Trial left a lasting effect on the discourse and memory of the Holocaust as well as on Holocaust survivors, who at the time made up more than a quarter of the population of Israel.

Israel's public discourse shifted from an attitude that judged European Jews harshly and maintained that they had gone like "sheep to the slaughter," to deeper understanding of the desperate situation of the Jews at the time of the Nazi occupation and a more complex and varied insight into the essence of heroism. No longer was the latter understood only as armed combat but also as spiritual resistance. The Holocaust discourse underwent personalization. Israelis stopped speaking about "the six million" and began to speak about individuals with names and faces. Holocaust research, which until then had relied on German documents, began to focus on documents and materials that came from the victims. The Jerusalem school of Holocaust study began to flower. As a result, alternative interpretations of the behavior of the Jews, their leadership, and their choices in the Holocaust period were made. The status of Holocaust survivors in Israeli society underwent a dramatic change. For the first time, they were also seen as part of the Holocaust history, no less than the six million who were murdered. The Israelis, who perceived themselves as writing a new chapter in Jewish history, began to search for ways to rejoin the mainstream of Jewish history. The Holocaust survivors became the living bridge between the ruins of the Diaspora, its history and spiritual treasures, and the modern Israelis. It was the survivors who, in 1963, initiated the youth trips to Poland in search of the past.

Jews of the Diaspora also followed the trial with bated breath to discover the story of the Holocaust as it was revealed.

The trial's impact, however, transcended the borders of the State of Israel and the Jewish people. In Germany, the trials of Nazi criminals were sped up and, in 1963, the Auschwitz trials were held there.

The Western intellectual debate profited profoundly from the trial which introduced two ongoing controversies.

It was Yehiel Dinur (*K. Zetnick), the survivor of Auschwitz and well-known writer, who described in his testimony what he called "Planet Auschwitz." By this he excluded Auschwitz from ordinary human experience. This phrase significantly increased the danger of mystification of the Shoah. An important variation of this theme can be found in the debate about the uniqueness of the Shoah as opposed to its universalistic aspects.

In the wake of the *New Yorker* articles that later became the book *Eichmann in Jerusalem* by Hannah *Arendt, an intellectual and moral dialogue began about the essence of evil as expressed in Arendt's theory of "the banality of evil." In this she had meant to say that Eichmann did not differ from millions of people around the world. What was crucial, she claimed, is the essence of the Nazi evil, which does not lie in its sadistic manifestations but rather in its ability to undermine basic morality of humanity.

The controversy over "the banality of evil" became one of the cornerstones in the discussion of evil and the sovereignty of people in making their choices. In this connection, one must mention the title of *Righteous Among the Nations bestowed by Yad Vashem on gentiles who saved Jews during the Holocaust, a designation stemming from the need to illuminate the choice to do good.

Almost five decades after the trial, it can be said that for Diaspora Jews as well as for Israelis, the trial brought about a dramatic shift in the perception of national identity. Today it can be said that the heart of Jewish national identity is rooted in the Holocaust. Ironically, though, the result is the marginalization of the Jewish State in this identity.

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[Hanna Yablonka (2nd ed.)]

EICHTHAL, GUSTAVE D' (1804–1886), French publicist, Saint-Simonian, and Hellenist. He was the son of a family of Jewish bankers originally named Seligmann. His parents adopted Catholicism, and Eichthal himself was baptized in childhood. In 1822 Eichthal met Auguste Comte who introduced him to the doctrines of Saint-Simon. Subsequently, Eichthal became active in favor of civil rights for Jews and Negroes. In 1837 Eichthal went to Austria but was unsuccessful in enlisting official support for Jewish emancipation. He visited Algeria in 1838 and prepared a project for organizing the Jewish community there. After visiting Greece in 1832, Eichthal advocated the use of Greek as a universal language. Despite his Saint-Simonian and cosmopolitan outlook, Eichthal died a fervent Catholic. His works include *Les trois grands peuples mediterraneens et le Christianisme* (1864); *Melanges de critique biblique* (1886); and *La langue grecque* (1887).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Loeb, in: REJ, 15 (1887), 153–5; Weill, *ibid.*, 31 (1895), 261–73.

EICHTHAL-SELIGMANN, family of German Court Jews and bankers. The family was descended from ARON SELIGMANN (d. 1744), a trader and banker of Leimen, near Heidelberg. His sons ARON and ELIAS served as Court Jews in the Palatinate and in Wuerttemberg; both died in the 1770s. Four sons of Elias – ARON ELIAS, MAYER, LIEBMANN, and LEMLE – followed their father's vocation in the Palatinate, Bavaria, Baden, and Saxonia. The eldest, Aron Elias (1747–1824), became successively court factor, court agent, court councilor, and court banker to the royal house of Bavaria. In 1814, as a reward for his services as an army supplier during the Napoleonic Wars, he was made Freiherr (Baron) von Eichthal, the changed name and status being accompanied by a change of religion. All five sons of the first Freiherr Elias von Eichthal became bankers: ARNOLD (1772–1838) in Augsburg; DAVID (1775–1850) – who was also a factory owner in Karlsruhe; LOUIS ARON (ADOLPH) (1780–1850) in Paris, where he cooperated with the *Péreire brothers and the *Rothschilds in early French railroad development; BERNHARD (1784–1839), who was a financial councilor; and SIMON (LEONHARD) (1787–1854), who was court banker in Munich. Simon initiated the first Bavarian banking legislation in 1834, was a main shareholder in and first president of the Bavarian Mortgage and Exchange Bank, and pioneered Bavaria's railroad development. Simon's son CARL (1813–1880) was one of the founders of the Bayrische Vereinsbank. He was also a member of the "Zollparlament," composed of South-German delegates and the North-German Reichstag. A street in Munich is named after the family to mark their achievements in many community affairs.

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[Joachim O. Ronall]

EIDLITZ, LEOPOLD (1823–1908), U.S. architect. Eidlitz was probably the first Jewish architect to practice in the United States. Born in Prague, he immigrated to America in 1843, and went into partnership with the German architect Otto Blesch. He was a versatile designer, known for his banks, his work on the Capitol at Albany, New York, and churches, including the Christ Church Cathedral in St. Louis (1867). The synagogue Shaaray Tefila in New York was erected by Blesch and Eidlitz in 1847. It was built in the Romanesque style, and represented a break with the classical style of synagogue design previously current in America. In 1868 Eidlitz built Temple Emanu-El, on Fifth Avenue, New York. The basic plan was Gothic, as were some of the decorative details such as the rose window, but the Moorish element was given particular prominence. Eidlitz wrote *The Nature and Function of Art* (1881).

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EIDLITZ, (Abraham Moses) ZERAH BEN MEIR (fl. c. 1720), rabbi and preacher in Prague. An orphan, he was educated in the home of Jonathan *Eybeschuetz and was one of his outstanding pupils. He was a member of the *bet din* presided over by Ezekiel *Landau, and headed a yeshivah for over 30 years. At first wealthy, he supported numerous scholars. Later becoming impoverished, however, he would not accept support; it is related that a sum he had received from the head of the community was found sealed up after his death with instructions to return it. Fourteen of his sermons were printed under the title *Or la-Yesharim* (1785, reprinted 1942). His novellae on *Beẓah* were published in Jerusalem in 1960, and further manuscripts exist. Eidlitz appreciated the value of secular sciences, considering them necessary for both scholars and layman but inferior to the Torah. He therefore wrote a textbook on mathematics, in Hebrew and Yiddish on facing pages, entitled *Melekhet Maḥashevet*, of which only the first part appeared (Prague, 1785; the Hebrew section was reprinted in Zolkiew (Zholkva), 1837 and 1845, and an abridged Yiddish version in Warsaw, 1837). Some of his responsa were printed in works by his contemporaries. Jacob *Emden listed Eidlitz among those suspected of *Shabbateanism.

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EIFMAN, BORIS (1946–), Russian choreographer. He was born in Rubtzovsk, Siberia, where his parents were exiled before WW II and returned to Kishivev in the 1950s. At an early age Eifman showed a keen interest in ballet and dreamed of becoming a choreographer. He went to Leningrad where he was admitted to the ballet faculty of the conservatory. An autodidact, without taking any professional theater directing courses nor performing as a dancer, he became one of the world's prominent choreographers of his time. His first step as a choreographer was made in 1970 with his ballet *Gayane*, to the music of Kachaturian, performed in the Musorgsky Theater in Leningrad; this was a great achievement for a beginning choreographer. In 1997, he founded the theater of modern choreography named after him: the Boris Eifman Ballet Theater, which was extraordinary for Russia at that time. His theater's unusual repertoire included over 40 productions comprising tragedy, comedy, biblical story, fairy tales, and philosophical and psychological works. His theater became a laboratory where he experimented with different approaches and elaborated his own unique style, which combined modern art achievements and features of the classical school tradition. In Eifman's theater, the corps de ballet holds a place of pride and plays a role comparable to soloists. Turning to Russian literature he created in 1980 the ballet *The Idiot* based on Dostoyevsky's novel and set to the music of Tchaikovsky's 6th symphony. This performance played a very significant role in the cultural life of Russia. Another significant event was his ballet *Tchaikovsky* where Eifman used movement to penetrate the inner world of the musical genius. In 1990, he created *Don Quixote*, based on the original music of Mincus, and its original interpretations. The performance resulted in a political manifest, his creativity turned against totalitarian rule. In 1995 he returned to Dostoyevsky and created the ballet *The Karamozovs*, full of lust. A peak of his creativity is the ballet *Giselle*, based on the magical life the Russian dancer Olga Spessivtseva. Here, Eifman achieved the supreme blend of dance styles from classical to character dancing to expressionist movements. After his visit to Israel in 1997 he created a ballet *My Jerusalem*, based on Mozart's requiem. One of his most impressive works dedicated to the perverse Russian history is *Russian Hamlet* based on the sad life of Tzar Pavel I, the son of the great Yekaterina, set to the music of Beethoven and Mahler. Many of his productions were televised. Boris Eifman was a philosopher and a very sensitive person, concerned with contemporary problems. Among his numerous awards are the People's Artist Award (1995), National Prize of Russia (1995), Theater Prize (1996 and 1997), Golden Mask Prize (1996 and 1999), the prestigious prize of Peace and Consent (1998), and the chevalier of Arts in France (1999).

[Yossi Tavor (2nd ed.)]

EIG, ALEXANDER (1895–1938), botanist. Born in Minsk, Belorussia, Eig was taken to Palestine at the age of 14. During World War I he volunteered for the Jewish Legion, and after the war devoted himself to the study of botany, specializing in the vegetation of Palestine. He worked for some years as a traveling librarian, and on his travels acquired a rich and varied collection of plants and grasses which he classified. From 1926 to 1929, at the invitation of Otto Warburg, Eig headed the department of botany of the Agricultural Experimental Station, which was transferred in 1929 to the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. Eig began investigating the geobotany of Palestine, and in 1931 published the first table of phytogeographic regions and the first phytogeographical map of the country. During the same period he also compiled, with the help of his colleagues, the first Hebrew catalog of the flora of Palestine. From 1931 to 1933, he traveled in Syria, Turkey, and Iraq doing further research. In addition to his scientific work at the Hebrew University, he continued to interest himself in general botanical research and published descriptions of many new species of plants. In 1937 he was appointed lecturer in botany at the Hebrew University and devoted much of his time to the development of its botany department. His collection of plants served as a basis for the department's herbarium. His important works include *A Contribution to the Knowledge of the Flora of Palestine* (1926), *The Vegetation of Palestine* (1927), *Les elements et les groupes phytogeographiques dans la flore palestinienne* (2 vols., 1931–32), and *The Vegetation of the Light Soils Belt of the Coastal Plain of Palestine* (1939).

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EILAT, port and resort town at the southern extremity of Israel on the Red Sea coast. Eilat is the modern spelling for the biblical *Elath, under which heading the town and its history are described.

EILBERG, AMY (1954–), first woman to be ordained as a Conservative rabbi and admitted into the Rabbinical Assembly, the international association of Conservative/Masorti rabbis. Eilberg was the daughter of a prominent Philadelphia family. Her father Joshua Eilberg served in Congress from 1967 to 1979. A product of the Conservative movement, she began her journey towards the rabbinate in the mid-late 1960s in the institutions of informal and youth education of the Conservative movement, United Synagogue Youth and Ramah Camps, where she discovered her passion for Jewish religious practice and her innate talent for Jewish leadership.

Eilberg's college and graduate school years coincided with the height of the Jewish feminist movement. She entered Brandeis University in fall 1972, the same year the Reform movement ordained its first female rabbi, Sally *Priesand. At Brandeis, Eilberg enjoyed the mentorship of long-time Hillel rabbi Al Axelrad, who encouraged several pioneering women to become rabbis. As a freshman undergraduate, Eilberg was a student leader in a successful effort to make services at the campus Jewish chapel egalitarian. During her undergraduate years, Eilberg decided to pursue a path to the Conservative rabbinate, even though the Jewish Theological Seminary was, at that time, a decade away from its decision to ordain women.

In 1976, Eilberg entered the Seminary as an MA student in Talmud. After completing the masters program, she continued her academic work as a doctoral student in Talmud, studying primarily at Neveh Schechter (the name by which the Conservative movement's seminary in Israel was then known) and also at the Jewish Theological Seminary in New York. As a Talmud student, Eilberg was taught and mentored by such luminaries as Shamma *Friedman, David *Weiss-Halivni, Seymour *Siegel, and Gordon Tucker as well as the Seminary's then chancellor Gerson *Cohen.

While Eilberg and other women hoping to enter the rabbinical school pursued graduate studies, the battles surrounding women's ordination grew more intense. Chancellor Gerson Cohen established a "Commission on the Ordination of Women," charged to take testimony from communities around the country and which encouraged Seminary faculty to write position papers on the matter. A faculty vote that was to be held on December 19, 1979, was tabled in the face of a sharply divided group. Disappointed supporters established a popular and effective grassroots organization called GROW (Group for the Rabbinic Ordination of Women) that held public rallies, gathered support, and utilized the press to draw attention to their concerns.

Despite these setbacks, Eilberg remained committed to pursuing the rabbinate. In 1982, she entered the Masters of Social Work program of Smith College in order to train in the pastoral aspects of rabbinic work. In October 1983, following heated debate at both the Jewish Theological Seminary and in the Rabbinical Assembly, a vote was taken by the Seminary faculty to admit women to the Rabbinical School beginning with the incoming class of the fall 1984. Nineteen women, including Amy Eilberg, were admitted to the Rabbinical School. Since Eilberg had already completed most of the Rabbinical School curriculum, she was able to graduate in the same academic year, becoming the first female Conservative rabbi on May 14, 1985.

Subsequent to her ordination, Eilberg was drawn to pastoral work and served as a Jewish hospital chaplain. She also served as assistant rabbi at Har Zion Temple near Philadelphia. While in the Philadelphia area, she headed the Yad L'Chaim Jewish Hospice Program of the Philadelphia Board of Rabbis. These experiences in pastoral care came to serve as the basis for Eilberg's groundbreaking work in the nascent Jewish Healing movement. In 1991, Eilberg, together with Rabbi Nancy Flam (Reform), co-founded the Bay Area Jewish Healing Center. At the height of the AIDS crisis in San Francisco, the Jewish Healing Center offered spiritual care to Jews living with illness, death, and loss, as well as support to health professionals and Bikkur Holim volunteers, and conducted educational programming to inform the Jewish community about Jewish teachings on the challenges of illness and loss. Since the founding of the Healing Center in 1991, and the creation of the National Center for Jewish Healing in 1995, dozens of Jewish communities have launched their own Jewish healing programs and countless synagogues have embraced healing as a primary focus of communal concern.

Eilberg remained at the Jewish Healing Center through 1996, when, once again in the forefront of Jewish religious innovation, she was drawn to the practice of "Spiritual Direction," a counseling practice dedicated to supporting individuals in recognizing the ways in which God is present in their everyday life experience. Eilberg was also the co-founder of Yedidya, the Center for Jewish Spiritual Direction, and continued to write and lecture widely.

[Julie Schonfeld (2nd ed.)]

EILON (Heb. אֵילוֹן), kibbutz in northern Israel, near the Lebanese border, affiliated with Kibbutz Arẓi Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir. It was founded in 1938 as a "tower and stockade" outpost by pioneers from Poland and joined by Israel-born youth. All its fields necessitated heavy reclamation work to clear the rocky ground. Fruit orchards and livestock were prominent farm branches. It also operated a metal and other factories. In 2002 the population of Eilon was 635. The name Eilon refers to the local vegetation of oak and pistachio trees ("*allon, elah*").

[Efraim Orni]

EILOT (Heb. אֵילוֹת), southernmost kibbutz in Israel, 2½ mi. (4 km.) north of Eilat, affiliated with Ha-Kibbutz ha-Me'uḥad, founded in 1963 by pioneers, the majority of whom were Israeli-born. From 1955, the members of the kibbutz maintained a camp on the Eilat shore, where its members tried fishing in the Red Sea, worked in various trades, and participated in laying the foundations of the new town of Eilat. The kibbutz planted date-palm orchards on the southernmost playa of the Aravah Valley and raises out-of-season vegetables, melons, and flowers. In 2002 its population was 286. The kibbutz continued to grow vegetables and date palms, as well as mangoes, cattle, and grapes. It had a packing house for agriculture products, a transformer factory, and a guesthouse.

About half its members worked outside the kibbutz. In 1994 the peace agreement between Israel and Jordan was signed in the kibbutz fields.

[Efraim Orni / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

EILSHEMIUS, LOUIS M. (1864–1941), U.S. painter and watercolorist. Born in Arlington, New Jersey, to wealthy and cultured parents, Eilshemius studied at the Art Students League (1884–86) and at the Académie Julian in Paris (1886–87) in addition to taking private lessons from the landscape painter Robert L. Minor (1884–86). Influenced by painters of the Barbizon School, Eilshemius' late 19th-century landscapes are mostly traditional representations. *Delaware Water Gap Village* (c. 1886, Metropolitan Museum of Art) shows a panoramic landscape in soft focus with limited yet rich earthy hues. Recognition came early when Eilshemius had paintings accepted at the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts and the National Academy of Design while in his early twenties. This initial success was followed by years of critical neglect and often derision.

Around 1910, Eilshemius' art changed drastically when he began making unsophisticated, frankly naïve images that obviously rejected his training. From this period until his death, Eilshemius most frequently painted landscapes inhabited by nude, anatomically distorted female figures, and sometimes mysterious subjects derived from his imagination. In *Three Bathers* (1918, Hirshhorn Museum and Sculpture Garden), three simplified nudes pose awkwardly in a stream against a shallow, nondescript background. From then, critics began to call his work primitive, a designation Eilshemius disdained as it indicated a lack of training rather than the artist's goal to render "a silent poem" on canvas. Marcel Duchamp discovered Eilshemius at the first annual exhibition of the Society of Independent Artists in 1917. Thereafter, Duchamp helped promote the artist; he facilitated a 1920 one-man show of Eilshemius' work at the Société Anonyme, then one of the most progressive venues in the United States, followed by a second exhibition in 1924. While some members of the avant-garde praised Eilshemius, most critics negatively reviewed his work. Frustrated with lack of recognition, in 1921 Eilshemius stopped painting.

Nonetheless, several shows ensued, and interest and praise of Eilshemius' idiosyncratic paintings increased substantially. In 1939 three leading art dealers in New York City held solo exhibitions of Eilshemius' work, and a nearly 300-page biography of the artist was published. Indeed, from 1932 until his death, over 25 one-man shows were organized in New York. Hit by a car in 1932, Eilshemius was permanently paralyzed. He spent the remainder of his days writing letters to newspapers criticizing the art establishment.

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[Samantha Baskind (2nd ed.)]

EINAEUGLER, KAROL (**Ḥayyim;** 1885–1952), lawyer and socialist leader, born in Lemberg. Member of a poor family, he became a socialist while still in secondary school. In 1905 he served as secretary of the founding committee of the *Jewish Social Democratic Party (ZPS; the Bund of Galicia), later becoming one of its major leaders. In independent Poland, Einaeugler won a reputation as a lawyer; he served as a member of the community council of Lvov and representative of the Bund for eastern Galicia. Between 1939 and 1948 he was interned at intervals in Soviet prisons, and returned to Poland seriously ill. He subsequently immigrated to the United States, where he maintained contact with Bundist groups there. Einaeugler wrote "Der Ershter Yidisher May Oyfruf in Galitsie" ("The First Jewish May Day Proclamation in Galicia," in: *Historishe Shriftn*, Yivo, 1939).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: LNYL, 1 (1956), 71–72; J.S. Hertz (ed.), *Doyres Bundistn*, 2 (1956), 187–90; idem (ed.), *Di Geshikhte fun Bund*, 3 (1966), index. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** A. Reiss, *Bereshit Tenu'at ha-Po'alim be-Galicia* (1973), 210–11; J. Kisman, in: *Doyres Bundistn*, vol. 2 (1956), 187.

[Moshe Mishkinsky]

EINBECK (Heb. **איינבכא, איימביק**), town in Lower Saxony (formerly in Hanover), Germany. Several Jews were burned there at the stake about the year 1298. A Jewish street and synagogue in Einbeck are first mentioned in 1355. An "old" Jewish cemetery is referred to in 1454. The Jews were expelled from Einbeck around 1579 at the instance of a pastor, Johann Velius. They made several attempts to return, and are again mentioned in Einbeck in 1667. They were granted letters of protection in 1673 and 1678, and although these were opposed by the local inhabitants the duke refused to withdraw them. In 1718 the elector of Hanover, George I of England, restricted further Jewish settlement in Einbeck and few Jews were authorized to reside there in the 18th century. The number of Jewish families increased from nine in 1806–13 to 16 in 1816, and 139 persons in 1880 (2.04% of the total population). A new synagogue was dedicated in 1896. It was destroyed by the Nazis in 1938. Around 60 Jews remained in Einbeck in 1933. About half emigrated and most of the others were deported to the east. In 1968 there were two Jewish residents.

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EIN FASHKHAH (**'Ein Feshkha**, **Enot Ẓukkim**), brackish springs on the western shore of the Dead Sea, just over 2 miles (3 km.) south of Kh. *Qumran. The surrounding swamp, covering 1 km. in the 1950s, was crossed by both natural and artificial channels. The Ein Fashkhah springs fed a basin of 180–240 sq. yds. (150–200 sq. m.), up to 4 ft. (120 cm.) deep, with a maximum temperature of 27 degrees Celsius. The oasis has in recent times supported tall reeds, tamarisks, and oleanders. Today a wild nature reserve, this oasis is in danger of withering away with the recession of the Dead Sea and the fresh water aquifers along its perimeter, a condition that has also inhibited seasonal sweetwater springs (e.g., Ein et-Tannur/Tanourih, Ein Ghazal) furnishing what was a relatively fertile area between Ein Fashkhah and the Wadi Qumran. The water of Ein Fashkhah, drunk by Bedouin, animals, and European visitors of the 19th–20th centuries, as well as being the former home of five species of small fish, in 2001 was tested as having a fairly high salinity of 4.5 to 23 mS/cm.

The region of Ein Fashkhah was visited by Felicien de Saulcy in 1851, who identified ancient ruins. These were excavated in 1956 and 1958 by Roland de *Vaux, following his excavations at Kh. Qumran, and again in 2001 by Yitzhar Hirschfeld.

It is now clear that the first structure at Ein Fashkhah was an Iron Age II fort, located south of the springs, associated with a string of forts (at Qumran, Kh. Abu Tabak, Kh. es-Samrah, and Kh. el-Maqari) which guarded the road from the Dead Sea to Jerusalem via the pass at the Wadi Qumran. A large isolated building (60 × 64 m.) dating to the Iron Age was discovered by de Vaux, close to the spring of Ein Ghazal.

North of the pool of Ein Fashkhah, a structure (18 × 24 m.) was constructed in the first century B.C.E. De Vaux believed there were traces from the period 100–31 B.C.E., but the entire building is now reassigned to the Herodian period (by both Magness and Hirschfeld), after 37 B.C.E. This structure comprised a courtyard with a rectangular building on three sides. The exterior walls are 1 m. thick. Later, two ground floor rooms were built in the west. These had an upper story, including a balcony. North of this structure was an installation most likely used as a date-wine press (so Netzer), though alternative proposals have identified it as being associated with tanning (de Vaux), fish farming (Zeuner), opobalsam processing (Hirschfeld), or indigo manufacture (Bélis). Water was fed to a reservoir next to this installation from a now extinct spring north of the site. In between the date-wine press and the reservoir channel was a paved area, as also to the southeast. South of the building was an animal pen (34 × 34 m.) with a stable running along the northern side.

A long wall running north from the settlement of Ein Fashkhah towards Qumran (identified east of the isolated Iron Age building by de Vaux) would suggest an estate enclosure, most likely for date-palm cultivation (cf. Pliny, *Natural History* 5:17, 4 (73)). The wall may have been begun as early as the Iron Age, though its appearance adjoining the Herodian settlement of Ein Fashkhah indicates it is contemporary here. The continuation of the wall into the area of the Qumran settlement appears to indicate a linked estate. Ein Fashkhah may have been occupied by the *Dead Sea sect, usually identified as *Essene, who could have employed the spring-pool as a natural *mikveh*. The pottery forms of Ein Fashkhah are virtually identical to forms found at Qumran during the same period of occupation, but large cylindrical jars have not been discovered here.

The Herodian complex at Ein Fashkhah was partly destroyed by fire after the Romans took control of this region in 68 C.E., though occupation continued after this on the north side of the main building. A coin of Domitian from Antioch (81–96 C.E.; locus 16) and a coin hoard of 17 coins of Agrippa II, dating from 78–95 C.E., were found, giving the *terminus post quem* for the abandonment of the settlement as 95 C.E. A single coin indicates that Bar Kokhba rebels may have camped here in 132–5 C.E.

In the Byzantine period there was occupation in the northeast corner of the stable (locus 20), probably for just one anchorite. This may be evidenced in the *Pratum Spirituale* of John Moschus (158), which testifies to a vegetable garden for the monastery of Marda (Kh. Mird), 5.5 miles (9 km.) away.

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[Joan E. Taylor (2nd ed.)]

EINFELD, SYDNEY (1909–1995), Australian politician and communal leader. Born in Sydney, the son of a minister at Sydney's Great Synagogue, Syd Einfeld became one of the leading Jewish politicians and communal leaders in modern Australia. He served as a Labour member in Australia's federal House of Representatives in 1961–63 and as a member of the New South Wales parliament in 1965–81. From 1975 to 1983 he was deputy leader of the state's branch of the Australian Labour Party, and was subsequently a popular minister for consumer affairs when Labour held office. Einfeld was probably the most important communal leader from New South Wales of his time, and served as president of the Executive Council of Australian Jewry, the community's national body, in 1952–54, 1956–58, 1960–62, and 1964–66. Einfeld was also president of the Australian Jewish Welfare Society, the main immigrants' aid body, and is regarded as very influential in liberalizing Australian policy towards Jewish refugees.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: W.D. Rubinstein, Australia II, index.

[William D. Rubinstein (2nd ed.)]

EIN GEV (Heb. עֵין גֵּב), kibbutz on the east shore of Lake Kinneret in Israel, situated on the narrow lowland strip between the lake and the rim of the Golan Plateau below Mt. *Susita.

It was founded in 1937 as a "*tower and stockade" settlement by a group of pioneers from Germany, Austria, and the Baltic countries who had previously worked at *Kinneret. The kibbutz, which came under frequent attack during the Arab riots before World War II, was particularly vulnerable in its initial years when it was accessible only by boat from Tiberias. In the *War of Independence (1948), Ein Gev was again isolated and suffered a severe Syrian air and artillery attack, which it repulsed. After the armistice it remained exposed to the Syrian positions on the Golan rim and on land north of it, which the Syrians held until the *Six-Day War of 1967. Early in its history the kibbutz developed fishing in Lake Kinneret as well as tourism. The kibbutz operates a holiday resort, fish restaurant, and sailing boats. The Ein Gev Music Festival is held annually during Passover, and a 2,500-seat concert hall was erected. Farming is intensive, including bananas, dairy, and ostrich breeding. Near the kibbutz is the archaeological site of Susita. In 2002 the population of Ein Gev was 521. The name ("Waterhole Spring") is Hebraized from the Arabic designation of the site, "Nuqayb."

WEBSITES: www.eingev.org.il; www.eingev.co.il/main.html.

[Efraim Orni / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

EIN HA-EMEK (Heb. עֵין הָעֵמֶק; "Spring of the Valley"), rural community in northern Israel, in the Manasseh Hills of Samaria. Ein ha-Emek began as a moshav affiliated with Tenu'at ha-Moshavim. It was founded in 1944 by Jewish farmers from Kurdistan who had been stonemasons in Jerusalem before settling the moshav. Its hill-type farming included in 1969 mainly deciduous fruit orchards and vineyards. Farming was phased out and over the years the settlers took up other occupations. In the 1980s the moshav became an ordinary rural community and began to undergo expansion, its population increasing from 312 in 1969 to 440 in the mid-1990s and 616 in 2002.

WEBSITE: www.megido.org.il/arad/news/megidon/ein_haemek60.htm.

[Efraim Orni / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

EIN HA-ḤORESH (Heb. עֵין הַחוֹרֵשׁ; "Plowman's Spring"), kibbutz in central Israel, in the Ḥefer Plain, affiliated with Kibbutz Arẓi ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir. It was founded on April 10, 1932, by pioneers from Eastern Europe who reclaimed the land. In 1968 it had 570 inhabitants; in 2002, 715. Ein ha-Ḥoresh engages in intensive farming, in citrus and avocado plantations, field crops, and milch cattle. It also ran a factory for industrial packaging materials. A culture center put on a variety of performances.

[Efraim Orni]

EIN HA-MIFRAẒ (Heb. עֵין הַמִּפְרָץ; "Spring in the Bay"), kibbutz in Israel, south of Acre, affiliated with Kibbutz Arẓi ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir. It was founded in 1938 by pioneers from Eastern Europe. In addition to defending themselves against Arab attacks from Acre during the riots that lasted until 1939, the settlers had to drain the salt swamps near the mouth of the Na'aman River. Its economy was based on intensive farming (field crops, dairy cattle, fishery, and orchards) and two industrial enterprises (plastic products and cardboard packing material). The kibbutz was also a partner in the nearby power station. In 1968 the kibbutz had 580 inhabitants. In the mid-1990s the population increased to 760, but then dropped to 674 in 2002.

[Efraim Orni]

EIN HA-NAZIV (Heb. עֵין הַנְּצִיב), kibbutz in Israel, in the Beth Shean Valley, affiliated with Ha-Kibbutz ha-Dati, founded in 1946 by pioneers from Germany. Its economy was based on intensive farming and included dates, fishery, poultry, and dairy cattle. The kibbutz also operated a polyethylene foam factory and architectural firm. In 1969, it had 347 inhabitants; in 2002, 537. It is named after R. Naphtali Ẓevi Judah *Berlin, head of the Volozhin yeshivah and one of the first Ḥovevei Zion.

WEBSITE: www.hanatziv.org.il.

[Efraim Orni]

EIN HA-SHELOSHAH (Heb. עֵין הַשְּׁלֹשָׁה), kibbutz in southern Israel, in the northwestern Negev, on the border of the *Gaza Strip, affiliated with Ha-No'ar ha-Ẓiyyoni. Ein ha-Sheloshah was founded in 1949 by former members of *Loḥamei Ḥerut Israel and originally called Neveh Ya'ir, after the underground name of their commander Avraham *Stern. They were succeeded one year later by a group of settlers from Argentina, Uruguay, and Morocco. Farm branches included citrus orchards and irrigated field crops. In 2002 the population of Ein ha-Sheloshah was 340. The settlement's name ("Spring of the Three") commemorates three South American members of the pioneer group who fell in Israel's War of Independence.

[Efraim Orni]

EIN HA-SHOFET (Heb. עֵין הַשּׁוֹפֵט), kibbutz in Israel, in the Manasseh Hills, affiliated with Kibbutz Arẓi ha-Shomer ha-Za'ir. Ein ha-Shofet was founded in 1937 by the first immigrants of Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir from the United States and by a group from Poland. A "tower and stockade" settlement, the kibbutz was set up at a site that until then had been the headquarters for Arab bands attacking Jewish villages. It became part of the "settlement bridge" connecting the Sharon and the Jezreel Valley, the two principal Jewish regions at the time. Its economy was based on intensive farming (avocado plantations, field crops, and cattle) as well as factories manufacturing screws, electrical appliances, and automotive products. In 1968 Ein ha-Shofet had 590 inhabitants; in 2002, 715. The nearby Manasseh Forest is the largest in the country. The name Ein ha-Shofet ("The Judge's Spring") commemorates the American Zionist leader, Justice Louis *Brandeis.

[Efraim Orni]

EIN HOD (Heb. עֵין הוֹד), artists' village in northern Israel, on Mt. Carmel E. of Athlit, founded on the initiative of the painter Marcel *Janco, in 1953, on the picturesque site of an abandoned

Arab village. Artists inhabit the village either permanently or seasonally. Ein Hod has workshops for ceramics, lithography, weaving, and mosaics; art galleries; and an open-air amphitheater. Courses and seminars are held in painting, sculpture, lithography, and weaving. Antiquities of the Roman and Byzantine periods have been found, and there are crusader structures. During Napoleon's campaign (1799), the village served as a vacation site for French soldiers. In the mid-1990s Ein Hod's population was 291; by 2002 it had increased to 437. The village's name, which means literally "Spring of Splendor," was adapted from the name of the abandoned Arab village ʿAyn al-Ḥawḍ ("The Garden Spring").

WEBSITE: www.ein-hod.Israel.net.

[Efraim Orni /Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

EINHORN, DAVID (1809–1879), Reform rabbi and theologian. Einhorn was born in Dispeck, Bavaria, and received his rabbinical training at Furth, near his birthplace. He studied philosophy at Erlangen, Wurzburg, and Munich. His thinking was influenced by the ideas of F.W. Schelling. In 1838 he was elected rabbi of the community at Wellhausen near Uffenheim, but the Bavarian government would not confirm his appointment on account of his liberal views. Four years later he became *Landesrabbiner* of Birkenfeld in the Grand Duchy of Oldenberg. At the Frankfurt Rabbinical Conference of 1845, he took a decided view in favor of introducing the vernacular into the service and of eliminating prayers for the restoration of sacrifices and a Jewish state. Three years earlier, in coming to the defense of the position taken up by Abraham *Geiger in his controversy with Solomon Titkin, he had rejected the divine authority of the Talmud and upheld the right to diverge from ceremonial laws.

In 1847 Einhorn succeeded Samuel *Holdheim as chief rabbi of Mecklenburg-Schwerin. There he was involved in controversy with Franz *Delitzsch, the Christian Hebraist, for having pronounced a blessing in the synagogue over an uncircumcised child. Einhorn's radical religious standpoint jeopardized his position. In January 1852 he became rabbi of the Reform congregation of Budapest, but after two months the government closed the temple. While living in Budapest, Einhorn began his work *Das Prinzip des Mosaismus*, but completed only one volume (1854).

Denied any opportunity in Europe, Einhorn became rabbi of the Har Sinai Congregation of Baltimore (1855). His arrival in the United States coincided with the Cleveland Rabbinical Conference, which, under the leadership of Isaac Mayer *Wise, adopted a platform designed to permit a broadly based union among the various tendencies in American Judaism. Einhorn regarded this platform as treachery to the cause of Reform and denounced it violently. This marked the beginning of a bitter feud between Einhorn, the uncompromising Reformer, and I.M. Wise, who was ready to moderate his Reform in the interests of unity. Einhorn expounded his ideas in his monthly magazine *Sinai* (Ger., 7 vols., 1856–62) and gave them expression in his prayer book *Olat Tamid* (1856), which was no mere shortening of the traditional liturgy, but a new work written mainly in German.

Einhorn's sojourn in Baltimore was cut short in 1861, when his unsparing denunciation of slavery placed him in danger from the mob. He became rabbi of Congregation Kenesseth Israel, Philadelphia, and in 1866 moved to New York as rabbi of Congregation Adath Israel, which was later known as Temple Beth El. His was the dominant personality at the Philadelphia Rabbinical Conference which met in 1869 and adopted a thoroughgoing Reform platform.

Einhorn's farewell sermon, delivered after a quarter of a century in America, contained a plea for the cultivation of German as the vehicle for the ideas of Reform Judaism. If the dogmatic Reform upon which he insisted dominated neither the Union of American Hebrew Congregations nor Hebrew Union College at their inception, his spirit came to influence them later. Kaufman *Kohler, his son-in-law and disciple, formulated the Pittsburgh Platform of 1885, which was the basis of American Reform for a generation, and later became president of Hebrew Union College; Einhorn's *Olat Tamid* served as the model for the *Union Prayer Book.*

A letter which Einhorn wrote in 1844 summed up his theological system: "In all its stages, Judaism shows its capacity for continuous development both as to its form and its spirit, insofar as the latter became ever clearer and purer in the human consciousness; and no Israelite who knows his religion will deny it the power of perfectibility. Its essence, which is truth uniting all men, was from the beginning intended to overcome the exclusiveness attached to the form, which is national; but insofar as the latter served as an armor of protection and as the priestly garb of Israel among the nations, it cannot with impunity be cast off until the former in its entire inner force and its all-encompassing extent will have penetrated the whole human family, and Israel (Mosaism) will have fulfilled its priestly mission at the arrival of the Messianic era." Little has been published concerning the personality of David Einhorn or analyzing his thought.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: K. Kohler (ed.), *David Einhorn, Memorial Volume* (1911) (contains a selection of his sermons); idem, in: CCARY, 19 (1909), 215–70.

[Sefton D. Temkin]

EINHORN, DAVID (1886–1973), Yiddish poet and publicist. Born in Korelichi (Belorussia), his earliest poems were in Hebrew, but under the influence of socialist ideas he turned to Yiddish and made his debut in Bundist publications. His first volumes of verse, *Shtile Gezangen* ("Quiet Chants," 1909) and *Mayne Lider* ("My Poems," 1912), acclaimed by leading critics, expressed the tension between the declining traditional order and the heralded new society. In 1910 Einhorn helped organize the Boris Kletskin press, and was also the secretary of S.Y. *Abramovitsh. In 1912, after six months in prison for suspected revolutionary activities, Einhorn left Russia, moving to Paris and then in 1913 to Berne, Switzerland. There he studied at the university, wrote for *Di Yidishe Velt* and the children's periodical *Grininke Beymelekh*, and edited *Di Fraye Shtime* (1916–17). In 1917 his book, *Tsu a Yidishe Tokhter* (a present to his wife), appeared. He lived briefly in Warsaw, where he wrote for the Bundist *Lebns-Fragn*. In 1920 he moved to Berlin, and later, warning of the coming destruction of Europe, to Paris. He was among the first contributors to the *Algemayne Entsiklopedye*. In 1940 Einhorn immigrated to the U.S. and became a regular correspondent for the New York *Forverts*, publishing a weekly column (1956) "Tsvishn Tsvey Veltn" ("Between Two Worlds"), memoirs of the Yiddish literary world. Einhorn was active as a translator and editor, proclaimed a classical, coherent, and grammatically principled style (his poetry was criticized, especially by H. *Leivick, for its stylistic simplicity), and preferred traditional Jewish motifs, his work becoming progressively more national in character. He was quite popular among Hebrew authors such as *Agnon and *Brenner.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Rejzen, Leksikon, 1 (1928), 81–86; LNYL, 1 (1956), 73–6. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** Sh. Kuperman, in: *Khulyot*, 8 (2004), 177–88.

[Ruth Wisse / Shifra Kuperman (2nd ed.)]

EINHORN, IGNAZ (**Eduard Horn**; 1825–1875), Reform rabbi and leader in Hungary, economist, and politician. Einhorn, who was born in Nove Mesto, organized the Society for the Reform of Judaism in Pest in 1847. Later, as rabbi of the society's first Reform temple, he introduced several radical changes (such as observing the Sabbath on Sunday). A year later he helped to found the Society for the Propagation of Hungarian Language and Culture, and edited the first Jewish-Hungarian Yearbook. In 1848 he published his *Zur Judenfrage in Ungarn*, and established the weekly *Der Ungarische Israelit.* During the Hungarian national uprising in that year he volunteered for the national army as chaplain. After the revolt was suppressed, he fled to Leipzig, Germany, changing his name to Eduard Horn. On the publication of his treatise on *Ludwig Kossuth* (1851), the Hungarian government requested his extradition. He took refuge in Brussels, where he studied philosophy and economics, and later (1856) moved to Paris. He published several important works on economics and was made an honorary member of scientific societies in France and Belgium. In 1867 he received the Grand Prix of the French Academy for his *L'economie politique avant les physiocrates.* After the Austro-Hungarian compromise in 1867 Einhorn returned to his native country. He was elected to parliament and in 1869 was appointed deputy undersecretary of commerce, the first Jew to occupy such a high post there. During his government service he was associated with drafting the laws granting the Jews equal rights. In the conflict between Orthodox and Reform Judaism he then supported the former. By government decree, a memorial tablet was affixed to the house where he was born; a street in Budapest was named after him.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: J.J. (L.) Greenwald (Grunwald), *Korot ha-Torah ve-ha-Emunah be-Ungarya* (1921), 65–66; idem, *Li-Felagot Yisrael be-Ungarya* (1929).

[Aharon Fuerst]

EINHORN, MAX (1862–1953), U.S. internist and gastroenterologist. Born in Grodno, Russia, he immigrated to the U.S. where he became professor of medicine at the College of Physicians and Surgeons at Columbia University from 1896 to 1940. He was visiting physician at New York's Lenox Hill Hospital and consulting physician to several other hospitals. His major work was on gastric, digestive, and intestinal disorders.

EINHORN, MOSES (1896–1966), U.S. physician and editor. Born in Volkovysk, Russia, he was brought to Ereẓ Israel in 1908. In 1916 he was forced to emigrate by the Turkish authorities and after short sojourns in Egypt and the Balkans, he went to the U.S. Einhorn made several contributions to gastroenterology and headed the gastroenterological department of the Bronx Hospital in New York City. He is best known for his promotion of the use of Hebrew medical terminology. In 1926, together with Asher Goldstein, he founded the Hebrew medical journal *Harofe ha-Ivri* which appeared twice a year in New York until 1965. This journal was dedicated to the study of Hebrew medicine and Hebrew medical terminology. Einhorn contributed to the founding of various medical libraries in Israel, and in 1964 established a special fund in his name for the granting of prizes in Hebrew medical literature by the Tel Aviv municipality.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Goldstein and Muntner, in: *Korot*, 3 (May 1966), 635–7.

[Eisig Silberschlag]

EIN IRON (Heb. עֵין עִירוֹן), moshav in central Israel, in the northeastern Sharon, affiliated with Tenu'at ha-Moshavim. It was founded in 1934 by settlers from Russia and Poland, who were later joined by a few families from Germany. The principal farm branches were citrus orchards and milch cattle. In 1969, its population was 197, increasing to 255 in the mid-1990s, and 384 in 2002.

[Efraim Orni]

EIN KE-ELOHENU (Heb. אֵין כֵּאלֹהֵינוּ; "There is none like our God"), hymn recited at the end of the Additional Service on Sabbaths and holidays in the Ashkenazi ritual and in the Sephardi ritual on weekdays after the Morning Service. This hymn is already mentioned in the prayer books of *Amram Gaon (ninth century), *Maimonides (12th century), and *Rashi (13th century), where, however, the order of its stanzas differs from their present sequence. Now the initial letters of the first three verses form the word "*Amen*" and the other two verses start with "*Barukh*" and "*Attah,*" forming the phrase "*Amen Barukh Attah*" ("Amen, Blessed be Thou"). It is possible that originally there was a final verse starting with *Adonai.* Rashi states that *Ein ke-Elohenu* is recited, in the Ashkenazi ritual, on Sabbaths and holidays only, because on those days the *Amidah* consists of seven benedictions instead of the 19 on weekdays and through this hymn additional praises are recited, making up for those missing (cf. *Maḥzor Vitry*, no. 134; Zedekiah

b. Abraham ha-Rofe, *Shibbolei ha-Leket* (1966), 131f.). In the *Genizah* fragments, where the stanzas are in a different order from the present text, the hymn is followed immediately by a quotation from Psalms 90:1, which suggests that it may have been recited at the termination of the Sabbath.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Davidson, Oẓar, 1 (1929), 142; Eisenstein, Dinim, 14f.; Abrahams, Companion, clxvi–clxvii; Sendrey, Music, 2306. 2587–92.

[Meir Ydit]

EIN KEREM (Heb. עֵין כֶּרֶם), village on the western edge of Jerusalem, identified with biblical *Beth-Cherem; since 1949 part of the Jerusalem municipality. Early Christian tradition dating back to the sixth century identifies Ein Kerem as the birthplace of *John the Baptist in the house of Zacharias (*domum Zachariae*, Luke 1:40) and with the location of the visit paid to Elizabeth, John's mother, by her relative (συγγενίς) Mary, Jesus' mother (Luke 1:39–80). Theodosius (c. 530 C.E.) referred to the "dwelling place of Saint Elizabeth" about 5 miles from Jerusalem, and Procopius of Caesarea (550–58 C.E.) speaks of a well situated at the "Monastery of Holy Zacharias [father of John the Baptist]." In the seventh century, Epiphanius referred to Ein Kerem (garbled to "Carmel") as the family home of the forerunner (i.e., John the Baptist). References to "Encharim" also exist in the Georgian Lectionary (eighth century), in the Commemoratorium de Casis Dei (c. 808 C.E.), and in a work by Eutychius (tenth century). There are two churches associated with John the Baptist at Ein Kerem today: the Church of the Nativity of John on the northern hill and the Church of the Visitation on the southern hill. Outside the village is the Monastery of John in the Wilderness (Ein el-Habis). Numerous medieval and later travelers refer to Ein Kerem and its churches. The Franciscans established their first church in 1621, and after 1674 the Franciscan presence in the village became permanent.

The Franciscans remained the only Christians in Ein Kerem until the middle of the 19th century. In 1860 the Sisters of Our Lady of Zion settled in the village, followed by the nuns of the Russian Orthodox Church (1871), the White Fathers (1882), the Greek Orthodox Church (1894), and the Rosary Sisters (1911). A mosque (maqam 'umair) and minaret was built over the spring which gave the village its name. During the Israel War of Independence (1948) the inhabitants of the village – until then all Moslem Arabs – fled and were replaced by new immigrants mostly from Oriental countries. In 1949 Raḥel Yannait *Ben-Zvi brought the training school (after 1952 the Ein Kerem Agricultural School), of which she was director, from Talpiyyot in Jerusalem to Ein Kerem. In the 1950s and 1960s many Israeli artists (such as Yitzhak Greenfield) and academics settled in the village. Many of its residents offer guest accommodations to vacationers attracted by the rural setting.

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[Walter Zanger / Shimon Gibson (2nd ed.)]

EIN SHEMER (Heb. עֵין שֶׁמֶר), kibbutz in central Israel, near the entrance to the Iron Valley. Affiliated with Kibbutz Arẓi ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir, the site served as a camp for the *Ha-Shomer association before World War I. After 1918 a laborers' camp was opened there, which was taken over by a group of *Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir members in 1924. The permanent settlement was established in 1927. The kibbutz has intensive farming, with field crops, avocado plantations, poultry, and dairy cattle, and maintained several manufacturing enterprises (food, plastics, and rubber). The kibbutz operates the Old Courtyard on its premises, a theme museum showing life in the traditional kibbutz. In 1968 Ein Shemer had 545 inhabitants, increasing to 605 in the mid-1990s and 758 in 2002. The name refers to Ha-Shomer and to Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir as well as to the nearby Samaria (Shomron) Hill.

WEBSITE: www.courtyard.co.il.

[Efraim Orni / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

EIN-SOF (Heb. אֵין סוֹף; "The Infinite," lit. that which is boundless), name given in Kabbalah to God transcendent, in His pure essence: God in Himself, apart from His relationship to the created world. Since every name which was given to God referred to one of the characteristics or attributes by which He revealed Himself to His creatures, or which they ascribed to Him, there is no name or epithet for God from the point of view of His own being. Consequently, when the kabbalists wanted to be precise in their language they abstained from using names like *Elohim*, the Tetragrammaton, "the Holy One, blessed be He," and others. These names are all found either in the Written or the Oral Law. The Torah, however, refers only to God's manifestations and not to God's own being which is above and beyond His relationship to the created world. Therefore, neither in the Bible, nor in rabbinic tradition was there a term which could fulfill the need of the kabbalists in their speculations on the nature of God. "Know that *Ein-Sof* is not alluded to either in the Pentateuch, the Prophets, or the Hagiographa, nor in the writings of the rabbis. But the mystics had a vague tradition about it" (*Sefer Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut*). The term *Ein-Sof* is found in kabbalistic literature after 1200. However, it was apparently not coined as a technical term since this was not the style in which, in the medieval period, negative terms were coined. Most probably its source is to be found in those phrases stressing God's sublimity which is infinite (*ad le-ein sof*), or which emphasize the characteristics of the (Divine) thought, comprehension of which "has no end" (*ad le-ein sof*). The use of this epithet in early kabbalistic literature proved without doubt that the term grew out of this kind of expression. It originated, apparently, in the circle of *Isaac the Blind, and his disciples. In the view of some kabbalists, the name *Ein-Sof* was likewise applicable to the first product of emanation, the *Sefirah Keter,* because of its completely concealed nature, and this double use of the word gave rise in kabbalistic literature to considerable confusion. There is no doubt that from the beginning the intention was to use the name in order to distinguish the absolute from the *Sefirot* which emanated from Him. The choice of this particular name may be explained by the emphasis placed on the infinity of God in the books of *Saadiah Gaon which had a great influence on the circle of the Provençal kabbalists. The term also shows that the anthropomorphic language in which the kabbalists spoke of the living God of faith and revelation does not represent the totality of their theosophical theological approach. At first there was no definite article used in conjunction with *Ein-Sof*, and it was treated as a proper name, but after 1300 there were kabbalists who spoke of "the *Ein-Sof*." At first, the term was used only rarely (even in the principal part of the *Zohar its occurrence is very rare), but from about 1300 its use became habitual, and later Kabbalah even speaks of several "kinds of *Ein-Sof*," e.g., the enveloping *Ein-Sof*, the enveloped *Ein-Sof*, the upper *Ein-Sof*.

[Gershom Scholem]

Another possible source for the kabbalistic theory of *Ein-Sof* is the term *aperantos*, which occurs in a Gnostic source of late antiquity in a book in which interpretations of biblical verses and themes are found. According to some kabbalists, most eminently R. *David ben Judah he-Ḥasid, within *Ein-Sof* there are ten supernal *Sefirot*, called *Ẓaḥzaḥot*, which are described by resorting to many classical anthropomorphic terms. This view of the *Ein-Sof* reverberated in Safedian Kabbalah.

[Moshe Idel (2nd ed.)]

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EINSTEIN, ALBERT (1879–1955), physicist, discoverer of the theory of relativity, and Nobel Prize winner. Born in the German town of Ulm, son of the proprietor of a small electrochemical business, Einstein spent his early youth in Munich. He detested the military discipline of the German schools and joined his parents, leaving school after they moved to Italy. His interest in mathematics and physics started at an early age, and he avidly read books on mathematics. Unable to obtain an instructorship at the Zurich Polytechnic Institute, from which he graduated at the age of 21, he took a post at the patent office in Berne, having become in the meantime a Swiss citizen. This position left him ample time to carry on his own research. In 1905 he published three brilliant scientific papers, one dealing with the "Brownian motion," the second one with the "photoelectric effect," and the third on the "Special theory of relativity." It was the last one which was to bring his name before the public. He demonstrated that motion is relative and that physical laws must be the same for all observers moving relative to each other, as well as his famous $E = mc^2$ equation showing that mass is equivalent to energy. Ironically, however, when he received the Nobel Prize for physics in 1921 it was for his explanation of the photoelectric effect. Immediately after the publication of that paper Einstein was offered a professorship at the University of Zurich which he at first refused, having become fond of his job at the patent office. In 1910 he joined the German University in Prague, where he held the position of professor ordinarius in physics, the highest academic rank. Despite his absorption in his scholarly pursuits he could not fail to notice the political strife and quarrels between the rival feelings of nationalism, and felt great sympathy for the Czechs and their aspirations. In 1912 Einstein returned to Switzerland, where he taught at the Polytechnic, the same place to which he had come as a poor student in 1896. His friend and colleague, Max Planck, succeeded in obtaining for him a professorship at the Prussian Academy of Science in Berlin, a research institute where Einstein could devote all his time to research. In 1916, amid a world in the throes of World War I, Einstein made another fundamental contribution to science contained in *Die Grundlagen der allgemeinen Relativitaetstheorie (Relativity, the Special and the General Theory, a Popular Exposition*, 1920). In this theory he generalized the principle of relativity to all motion, uniform or not. The presence of large masses produces a gravitational field, which will result in a "warping" of the underlying (four-dimensional) space. That field will act on objects, such as planets or light rays, which will be deflected from their paths. His prediction of the deflection of starlight by the gravitational field of the sun was borne out by the expedition at the time of a solar eclipse in 1919. When the results of the solar eclipse observations became known to the general public, Einstein's name became a household word. He was offered, but refused, great sums of money for articles, pictures, and advertisements as his fame mounted. During the early years after World War I he worked for the League of Nations Intellectual Cooperation Organization and became a familiar figure on public platforms speaking on social problems as well as his Theory of Relativity. He became more and more disappointed by the misuse of sciences in the hands of man. "In the hands of our generation these hard-won achievements are like a razor wielded by a child of three. The possession of marvelous means of production has brought care and hunger instead of freedom." In 1932, Einstein accepted an invitation to spend the winter term at the California Institute of Technology. By January 1933, Hitler had come to power. Einstein promptly resigned from his position at the Royal Prussian Academy of Sciences and never returned to Germany. Many positions were offered him but he finally accepted a professorship at the Institute for Advanced Studies in Princeton, N.J., and later became an American citizen. During World War II secret news reached the U.S. physicists that the German uranium project was progressing. Einstein, when approached by his friend *Szilard, signed a letter to President Roosevelt pointing out the feasibility of atomic energy. It was that letter which sparked the Manhattan Project and future developments of atomic energy. However, Einstein was opposed to the use of the atomic bomb, as were many other scientists, and wrote another letter which, however, arrived only after Roosevelt's death. In spite of his dislike for engaging in public affairs Einstein became chairman of the Emergency Committee of Atomic Scientists and urged the outlawing of the atomic and hydrogen bombs. During the McCarthy period Einstein advised scientists to refuse to testify before the Congressional Committee on Un-American Affairs. Despite his advanced age he continued to work on the "Unified Field Theory" which attempted as a first step to unify gravitation and electromagnetism into one theory. It is impossible to assess whether he would have succeeded in this momentous task, since he died before its completion.

Einstein was not only one of the greatest scientists of all time but also a generous person who took time and effort to help others and spoke out openly for his beliefs and principles. He never forgot that he had been a refugee himself and lent a helping hand to the many who asked for his intervention. The man who refused to write popular articles for his own benefit devoted hours to raising money for refugees and other worthwhile causes. Einstein was a Jew not only by birth but also by belief and action. He took an active part in Jewish affairs, wrote extensively, and attended many functions in order to raise money for Jewish causes. He was first introduced to Zionism during his stay in Prague, where Jewish intellectuals gathered in each other's homes talking about their dream of a Jewish Homeland. He and *Weizmann had become acquainted, and, despite different outlooks – Weizmann regarded Einstein as an unpractical idealist and Einstein in turn thought Weizmann was too much of a "Realpolitiker" – remained allies and friends. In 1921 Weizmann asked Einstein to join him on a fundraising tour of America to buy land in Palestine and seek aid for the Hebrew University. Einstein readily agreed, since his interest in the University had been growing. The tour was highly successful. He visited Palestine and was greatly impressed by what he saw. Einstein appeared before the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry on Palestine in 1946 and entered a strong plea for a Jewish Homeland. When the State of Israel was established he hailed the event as the fulfillment of an ancient dream, providing conditions in which the spiritual and cultural life of a Hebrew society could find free expression. After Weizmann's death he was asked by Ben-Gurion to stand as a candidate for the presidency of the State of Israel, which he declined "being deeply touched by the offer but not suited for the position." When he went to the hospital for the illness which proved to be his last he took with him the notes he had made for the television address he was to give on Israel's seventh Independence Day. The notes were expanded into an article which is included in *Einstein on Peace* (ed. by O. Nathan and H. Norden, 1960). Among his works are *About Zionism* (ed. and tr. by L. Simon, 1930), speeches and letters; *Mein Weltbild* (1934; *The World As I See It*, 1934); *Evolution of Physics* (with L. Infeld, 1938); *Out of My Later Years* (1950); and *The Meaning of Relativity* (1921, 1956^6).

The Albert Einstein Archives at the Jewish National and University Library of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem (www.albert-einstein.org) house Einstein's personal papers. Through 1998, eight volumes of a projected 30 volumes of Einstein's Collected Papers were published by Princeton University Press.

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[Gerald E. Tauber]

EINSTEIN, ALFRED (1880–1952), musicologist. A cousin of the physicist Albert *Einstein, he was born in Munich. Einstein was a music critic in Munich and Berlin, and became editor of the *Zeitschrift fuer Musikwissenschaft* in 1918. In 1933 he left Germany for Italy, reached the U.S. in 1939, and was professor at Smith College, Northampton, Mass. Einstein combined the qualities of a music critic with those of a precise scholar and bibliographer.

In 1919 Hugo Riemann charged him with the preparation of the ninth edition of his *Musiklexicon.* Einstein subsequently edited also the 10th and 11th editions of this basic reference work. Of more popular character was his *Das neue Musiklexicon*, translated and edited by him from A. Eaglefield Hull's *Dictionary of Modern Music and Musicians* (1924). His Mozart studies culminated in his version of Koechel's catalogue of Mozart's works (3rd ed., 1937). He also enlarged and revised E. Vogel's *Bibliothek der gedruckten weltlichen Vocal-musik Italiens* (1962). A prolific writer, Einstein compiled semi-popular books, such as his *Geschichte der Musik* (1930^4; *Short History of Music*, 1954^4), *Music in the Romantic Era* (1947), and biographies of Schuetz (1928), Gluck (1936), Mozart (1946), and Schubert (1951). He produced scholarly studies on Renaissance music and edited compositions by Renaissance, Baroque, and classical composers. Also outstanding are his three volumes on *The Italian Madrigal* (1949), and the first four volumes of Mozart's *Collected Works* prepared by him.

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[Judith Cohen]

EINSTEIN, ARIK (1939–), Israeli pop-rock singer, actor. Einstein's initial performances were as a member of an army entertainment troupe, which he joined after his actor father encouraged him to go for an audition. Following his release from the army, in 1959, he acted and sang in a satirical theatrical show called *Sambation*. Einstein's debut four-song EP record was released the following year, and over the next four years he sang with several pop-folk bands, such as Green Onion and *Ha-Ẓe'irim* ("The Young Ones").

During this time he also furthered his acting career with parts in such acclaimed theater productions as *Little Tel Aviv* and *Irma La Douce*. Einstein's film career began with a role alongside his father in *Nini*. In 1964 he appeared in Ephraim *Kishon's *Sallah Shabati*, which took a bemused look at the difficulties faced by Jewish immigrants from Arab countries during the heyday of the Zionist movement in Israel. By 1972 he was an established star and played a lead role in the highly risqué Uri *Zohar film *Meẓiẓim* ("Peeping Toms").

Einstein's musical career took a significant leap in the mid-1960s when he joined singers Yehoram *Gaon (who was later replaced by Israel Gurion) and Benny Amdursky to form the Yarkon Bridge Trio. Over the next two years the band was the most successful act on the Israeli pop scene. In 1965 and 1966 Einstein placed first in the annual Israeli Song Festival with *Ayelet ha-Ḥen* and *Leil Stav*, respectively, and became a household name.

In 1969 Einstein revealed a rawer side to his artistic temperament when he recorded the first Israeli rock record in Hebrew, *Puzi*. It was shortly after this that Einstein joined forces with singer-guitarist Shalom *Hanokh and, together with other young artists such as Uri Zohar, American-born singer Josie Katz, and singer-songwriter Shmulik Krauss, produced a film called *Shablul* ("Snail"), which documented the making of the milestone rock record of the same name, with some loosely structured comedy sketches bridging the intervals in the music. Einstein also appeared in the comic skit series *Lul*, which was screened on Israeli television in July and September 1970, and was released as a full-length movie in 1988. In 1971 Einstein recorded an album of children's songs together with American-born guitarist Rob Huxley.

In 1973 Einstein changed musical direction, breaking away from the largely high energy rock material of the previous four years to produce a record of folk-oriented, more traditional songs called *Ereẓ Yisrael ha-Tovah ve-ha-Yeshanah* ("Good Old Israel"). Over the next decade Einstein put out more nostalgia-tinted records, collaborating with songwriter-musicians such as Shem-Tov Levi, Yitzhak Klepter, Yoni Rechter, and Miki Gabrielov.

In 1982 he was involved in a serious road accident and his next album, *Shavir* ("Fragile"), released in 1983, revealed a more vulnerable side to Einstein's character. Around this time he also stopped performing live. In the later 1980s and early 1990s Einstein produced several albums of children's songs, along with Levi and Rechter, and two video tapes called *Kemo Gedolim* ("Like Grownups") and *Kemo Gedolim 2*. In 1992, Einstein reunited with Zvi Shissel, who had produced *Shablul*, on a movie called *Kevallim* ("Cables"), a parody on cable television which had just become popular in Israel at the time. *Kevallim* also included some memorable musical collaborations, including a duet with singer Yehudit Ravitz, and comedy routines with well-known comic Moni Moshonov.

In 2001, Einstein renewed his professional relationship with Hanokh, recording a new version of *Aggadat Desheh*, written by the late Meir Ariel who grew up on the same kibbutz as Hanokh. Einstein and Hanokh also recorded a new album. In 2005 Einstein received a Lifetime Achievement Award from the Israeli artists' association, ACUM, in recognition of his songwriting and comedy sketch-writing contributions. He had maintained his position as the "prince" of Israeli pop music for four decades.

[Barry Davis (2nd ed.)]

EINSTEIN, CARL (1885–1940), German writer, art theoretician. Einstein drew philosophical inspiration from Nietzsche's apotheosis of aesthetics as well as from the reviews of causality of Schopenhauer and Mach. Intellectually challenged by the lectures of Georg Simmel during his studies at Berlin's Friedrich-Wilhelm-University, he composed his first novel, *Bebuquin oder die Dilettanten des Wunders* (1906–12), as a kaleidoscope of a world in which everything "exists only in its destruction." With its reflections on God and its somewhat preachy tone, Einstein's novel may also be regarded as a first step on the syncretistic-religious path he would follow in the years to come. Emphasizing a world of myth it also relates to the art of the primitive. The result was *Negerplastik* (1915), which was internationally acclaimed for its incorporation of a formerly ethnological field of study into the "world history of art" and constituted his theoretical contribution to Cubism.

His radical socialism brought Einstein into close contact with the "Malik" circle that grew up around George Grosz, Walter *Mehring, and John Heartfield. The product of these encounters was Berlin Dadaism, which Einstein abandoned only a year later. In 1922 he was prosecuted for the "blasphemous" representation of Jesus in his drama *Die schlimme Botschaft*. His most ambitious work, *Die Kunst des 20. Jahrhunderts* (1925), a vast compendium, proved him not only a profound connoisseur of contemporary art but also a serious theoretician and made his name widely known throughout Europe.

In 1927, Einstein settled in Paris, where he coedited the journal *Documents – Doctrines, Archéologie, Beaux Arts, Ethnographie* and came into contact with French surrealism. He called for a takeover of modernity by the "romantic generation," a term he used to characterize the messianic categories of the artistic revolutions of the 1920s. The failure of modernity in its capitulation to Fascism is the subject of *Die Fabrikation der Fiktionen*, written between 1930 and 1934.

During the Spanish Civil War, Einstein joined an anarchist militia in Aragon, fleeing after Franco's victory in 1939. Back in Paris, he was arrested by order of the French government (applying to all Germans living in France) and deported to a camp in Gurs. Released in June 1940, he attempted to escape the impending German invasion across the Pyrenees. He committed suicide near the Spanish border.

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[Philipp Theisohn (2nd ed.)]

EINSTEIN, LEWIS (1877–1967), U.S. diplomat and author. Einstein was born to a wealthy New York City merchant family. He entered the U.S. diplomatic service in 1903. His postings included Paris, London, the delegation to the Algeciras Conference, Peking (Beijing), Constantinople during World War I, and Prague throughout the 1920s. Einstein's score of books and nearly 100 published articles, reviews, notes, and comments embraced the diverse worlds of Renaissance art, modern biography, Tudor manners, Civil War diplomacy and, always, contemporary geopolitics, preserving the often fragile link between diplomacy and letters. One of the most prophetic of his articles, "The United States and the Anglo-German Rivalry" (*National Review*, 60 (1913)), also explained Einstein's realistic approach to international affairs. His memoir *A Diplomat Looks Back* (1968) provides insight into Einstein's deftness as a diplomat as well as an appreciation of his refined and skeptical world view. Another prominent work is *Holmes-Einstein Letters: Correspondence of Mr. Justice Holmes and Lewis Einstein, 1903–1935* (1964).

[James F. Watts, Jr.]

EIN VERED (Heb. עֵין וֶרֶד; "Rose Spring"), moshav in central Israel, in the southern Sharon. Affiliated with Tenu'at ha-Moshavim, it was founded on May 1, 1930 by settlers from Eastern Europe. Ein Vered was enlarged to absorb new immigrants after 1948. Farming was intensive, with citrus groves, field crops, beehives, and flowers as the principal branches. In 1969, there were 510 inhabitants; in the mid-1990s, 650; and in 2002, 965, as the moshav expanded.

[Efraim Orni]

EIN YAHAV (Heb. עֵין יַהַב), moshav in southern Israel, in the central Arabah Valley, affiliated with Tenu'at ha-Moshavim. It was founded in 1950 as an observation post for experiments in desert farming and later became a *Naḥal outpost. In 1967 Ein Yahav was transferred to a permanent site nearer the Jordanian border to become a moshav. In spite of its being exposed to attacks by Arab infiltrators because of its isolation, the moshav developed benefiting from a fairly abundant spring and hot climate. Its special farm branches included date palm groves, out-of-season vegetables, and flowers for export. Another specialty was turkey breeding. In 2002 the population of Ein Yahav was 457. Ein Yahav is the Hebraized version of the former Arab name "Ayn al-Wayba."

[Efraim Orni]

EIN ZEITIM (Heb. עֵין זֵיתִים), place in northern Israel, north of Safed. Jews resided in Ein Zeitim (in Arabic ʿAyn Zaytūn) from the 11th century C.E. In the 16th and early 17th centuries, 40 families of Moriscos (Arabic-speaking Jews) lived there and it was the site of a yeshivah, headed by R. Moses b. Makhir. After the 1837 earthquake in Safed, many Safed Jews fled to Ein Zeitim. A modern settlement was founded in 1891 by a Zionist group from Minsk, Russia, which planted olive groves and fruit orchards there. It was abandoned, however, before World War I. After 1918 Ein Zeitim was resettled but was again abandoned and destroyed in the 1929 Arab riots. A few families subsequently returned but were forced to leave again in the 1936 riots. A further attempt was made on January 17, 1946, when members of Ha-Kibbutz ha-Me'uḥad settled there, but it dispersed after the establishment of the State of Israel. A training farm was set up in its stead, but lacked adequate farming land and dissolved. In the 1950s a forest was planted in the Ein Zeitim area, forming part of the large *Biriyyah forest. The Ein Zeitim section has a large variety of trees, such as pine, cypress, eucalyptus, acacia, etc., as well as recreational facilities.

[Efraim Orni / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

EINZIG, PAUL (1897–1973), British economist. Born in Brasov, Romania, Einzig was educated in Budapest and after World War I settled in London where he was the first economic reporter on East European conditions. He became foreign editor of the *Financial News* and later political correspondent for that paper and the *Financial Times.* His main field was monetary policy and foreign exchange operations. Einzig's criticism of official policy, which drew considerable public attention, brought him into frequent conflict with cabinet ministers and central bankers. He advocated closer parliamentary scrutiny of public spending. Einzig wrote more than 50 books, including *Monetary Reform in Theory and Practice* (1936), *Primitive Money in its Ethnological, Historical and Economic Aspects* (1949), *How Money is Managed* (1954), *History of Foreign Exchange* (1962), *Foreign Exchange Crises* (1967), *The Case Against Floating Exchange Rates* (1970), and *Destiny of the Dollar* (1972). In 1960 he published an autobiography, *In the Centre of Things.*

ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY: ODNB online.

[Joachim O. Ronall]

EIN ẒURIM (Heb. עֵין צוּרִים; "Rock Spring"), kibbutz in S. Israel, 9.3 mi. (15 km.) N.E. of Ashkelon, affiliated with Ha-Kibbutz ha-Dati, originally founded in 1946 in the Hebron Hills by members of the religious youth movement Bnei Akiva. With other *Eẓyon Bloc settlements, it fought and fell during the War of Independence (1948), and its survivors were taken to Jordan as prisoners of war.

On July 6, 1949, upon their release, they established their kibbutz at its new site as part of the Shafir region of religious settlements. Besides intensive farming, which included field crops, citrus groves, fruit orchards, dairy cattle, and turkeys, the kibbutz operated the Tadmor air-conditioning plant, a catering service and holiday guest house, and the Bottle Tree company, which specialized in the development and production of gifts incorporating citrus fruit and blossoms in specially designed bottles. Two religious institutions operate in the kibbutz: a yeshivah and the Jacob Herzog Center for Jewish Studies. In 1969 the population of Ein Ẓurim was 330, increasing to 527 in 2002. A new settlement (Rosh Ẓurim) was established on the original site in August 1969 by *Naḥal Youth affiliated with Bnei Akiva.

WEBSITE: www.ein-tzurim.org.il.

[Efraim Orni / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

EISEN, ARNOLD (1951–), U.S. professor of religious studies and author of works on Judaism in modern America. Raised in Philadelphia, Eisen received his undergraduate degree from the University of Pennsylvania; he earned a degree in the sociology of religion from Oxford University and a doctorate from the Hebrew University. He taught at Tel Aviv University and Columbia University, then was recruited by Stanford University in 1986 to help plan a program of Jewish studies. He was subsequently the Daniel E. Koshland Professor in Jewish Culture and Religion at Stanford.

Eisen is well known as an expert in modern Judaism. A trained sociologist, he considers the relationship between social and cultural contexts and religious ideas, and in particular examines the contemporary American Jewish experience. His work *The Chosen People in America: A Study in Jewish Religious Ideology* (1983) suggested that the conception of the Jews as God's chosen people faced a unique challenge in America, where Jews became integrated into the larger society to a greater extent than in Europe. Called a complex work, it nevertheless received critical praise.

Galut: Modern Jewish Reflection on Homelessness and Homecoming (1986), one of Eisen's best-known works, received the National Jewish Book Award in 1987. The work examines the concepts of exile and return, and presents the Jewish problem of living apart from and within a society of others. Eisen discusses three major aspects of Jewish life: religion (Judaism), ethnicity (Jewishness), and nationality ("Israeliness"). *Galut* has been considered an original contribution to the field of religious studies.

Eisen again won the National Jewish Book Award in 1998, for *Rethinking Modern Judaism: Ritual, Commandment, Community.* Here Eisen examines the transformation and evolution of modern Jewish religious belief and practice, considering the effects of secularization and modernity on Judaism, even among the Orthodox. Eisen's other works include *Taking Hold of Torah: Jewish Commitment and Community in America* (1997) and *The Jew Within: Self, Family, and Community in America* (with coauthor Steven M. Cohen, 2000). In *The Jew Within* Eisen and Cohen explore the new emphasis on personal Jewish identity characteristic of the Jew in the late 20th and early 21st century, an identity so different than the Holocaust-centered, Israel-centered portrayal of Jewish identity only 15 years earlier.

In 1999 Eisen received the Koret Prize for outstanding contributions to the Jewish community. He is a fellow of the American Academy for Jewish Research and also serves on its executive committee. His recent work includes the study of the increased involvement of women in modern American Judaism. In 2006 he was named chancellor of the Jewish Theological Seminary.

[Dorothy Bauhoff (2nd ed.)]

EISENBAUM, ANTONI (1791–1852), author and educator, one of the first advocates of *assimilation in Poland. In 1823 he submitted a memorandum to Czar *Alexander I, conceived from the standpoint of an assimilationist, urging measures to improve the condition of the Jews. At the end of that year he began the publication of *Der Beobachter an der Weichsel*, subsidized by the government. Eisenbaum wrote articles for other Warsaw papers, urging emancipation for the Jews. In 1826 he was appointed supervisor, and in 1835 director, of the rabbinical seminary in Warsaw. The seminary aroused vehement opposition among traditionally minded Jews. Eisenbaum also acted as censor of Hebrew books in Poland (see *Censorship).

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[Nathan Michael Gelber]

EISENBERG, AHARON ELIYAHU (1863–1931), pioneer of Jewish settlement in Ereẓ Israel. Eisenberg, born in Pinsk, Russia, settled in Ereẓ Israel in 1886. He worked as a laborer in *Rishon le-Zion, later settling in Wadi Hanin (now Nes Ẓiyyonah), where he became one of the outstanding vineyard cultivators in the country. Eisenberg was one of those who acquired the land of *Reḥovot from its previous owners (1890). He was entrusted with the task of cultivating the lands of members of the Menuḥah ve-Naḥalah Association (the group of Warsaw Zionists who established Reḥovot) living abroad. He joined the *Benei Moshe association in 1893. In 1904 he established Agudat Neta'im, an association for planting and cultivating vineyards and orange groves on behalf of foreign investors. Eisenberg was instrumental in establishing small holdings for Jewish workers. He also helped settle Yemenite immigrants in Reḥovot. In 1920 he was chosen a delegate to the first Asefat ha-Nivḥarim and to the Palestine Advisory Council established by Sir Herbert *Samuel in the same year. Eisenberg was a leading member of the Va'ad Leummi and participated in various delegations to Paris and London.

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[Yehuda Slutsky]

EISENBERG, SHOUL (1921–1997), industrialist and philanthropist. Born in Munich, Eisenberg fled from Germany in 1938 and eventually settled in Japan. At the end of the war he laid the foundations of his worldwide industrial empire. In Japan, his companies became principal suppliers of raw materials for the country's steel industries and partners in a number of shipping enterprises. In South Korea, Eisenberg Companies developed many of its major industries. Eisenberg was the leader of the Tokyo Jewish community and he built its synagogue. He also made many gifts for projects in Israel where he and his family settled in the 1960s. An active participant in the economic conference called by the Israeli government in 1968, he established two large exporting companies. In 1980 he gained control of the Israel Corporation, one of Israel's large investment companies, which after his death was sold to the Ofer brothers in 1999. In 1978 he began to operate in China, with projects worth around $1 billion.

[Morton Mayer Berman / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

EISENDRATH, MAURICE NATHAN (1902–1973), U.S. rabbi and leader of Reform Judaism. Eisendrath was born in Chicago, Illinois, and received rabbinic ordination from Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati. After serving in pulpits at the Virginia Street Temple in Charleston, West Virginia (1926–29) and at Holy Blossom Toronto (1929–43), he established a towering reputation in Toronto, where he was involved in a weekly radio program at a time when radio was the dominant media of its age. *Forum on the Air* gave him prominence in Canada well beyond his own community. He used his forum to advance the ideas of prophetic Judaism, to push for anti-poverty assistance, to advocate civil rights and social justice, and to condemn the growing menace of Nazism.

In 1943, Eisendrath came to the Union of American Hebrew Congregations first as the interim director while Nelson Gleuck was away and later as the director and finally as its president, a position he held for almost three decades. During his administration the Reform movement grew in membership and changed its direction perceptibly. So too did Eisendrath. A committed pacifist at the beginning of his career, Eisendrath was forced to change his mind by Nazism, which could only be combated by force. He took Reform Judaism from an anti-Zionist movement, with some Zionist rabbis, into a more pro-Israel position, first declaring neutrality but not opposition to Israeli statehood in 1946 and later strongly supporting the new State.

He presided over the transfer of the movement's headquarters from Cincinnati to New York, and thus its integration into Jewish organizational life in the United States. He pushed for a shift in the balance of power from the South and Midwest to the East, and its ideological change from classical Reform to a new rapprochement with tradition. He was elected president of the World Union for Progressive Judaism in July 1972. Eisendrath was particularly active in interfaith activities and in social action, speaking out frequently during the 1960s for civil rights and later against the Vietnam War. With the big presence of Reform Judaism in the South, both moves took courage and spurred opposition. In protest, New York's Temple Emanu-El seceded from the Union for a time. Despite the opposition of two major congregations, New York's Emanu-El and Washington Hebrew Congregation, he established the Kivie Kaplan Religious Action Center in Washington to represent Reform Judaism in Congress and the White House, fortifying the connection between Liberal Judaism and American Liberalism. He also established the House of Living Judaism, headquarters of the Union. As a young rabbi, he was one of the founders of the Canadian Conference of Christians and Jews. Eisendrath was the author of *Spinoza* (1932), *Never Failing Stream* (1939), and *Can Faith Survive? The Thoughts and Afterthoughts of an American Rabbi* (1964), both the latter collections of essays on contemporary religious issues. He died at the biennial convention of the UAHC, on the eve of retirement.

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[Jack Reimer / Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

°**EISENHOWER, DWIGHT DAVID** (1890–1969), U.S. soldier, supreme commander of the Allies' European Theater of Operations during World War II, and 34th president of the United States. During World War II, he commanded the U.S. troops in the United Kingdom, and then the Allied forces landing in North Africa. There he pressured the French authorities to annul the anti-Jewish laws of the Vichy regime. As supreme commander of the Allied Expeditionary Forces, Eisenhower led the Normandy invasion in 1944. After the German surrender one of his first acts was to void all Nazi racial and antisemitic legislation.

Eisenhower's armies liberated tens of thousands of Jews in concentration camps. Upon the discovery of the remnant who refused to return to their native lands, and after pressure from President Harry Truman, he created the unprecedented position of adviser to the commanding general on Jewish affairs to speed the handling of the Jewish survivors. Chaplain Judah Naidich first filled the post and was succeeded by a series of civilians beginning with Judge Simon H. *Rifkind. Separate *displaced persons camps were created for Jews to improve their physical, cultural, and spiritual conditions. Eisenhower also ordered the admission into these camps of tens of thousands of Jews fleeing from Poland and Eastern Europe after the war (see *Beriḥah). In October 1945 Eisenhower received David Ben-Gurion and acceded to his request for planes to bring Hebrew teachers and agricultural instructors from Palestine to the camps, thus facilitating the later immigration of the displaced persons to Palestine.

During Eisenhower's presidential terms of office (1953–61), hundreds of millions of dollars in grants-in-aid were extended to Israel. An atomic energy agreement with Israel provided for training Israeli scientists and making heavy water available. Military equipment sent to Israel included training aircraft, signal supplies, and spare parts and ammunition. Relations between Eisenhower's administration and Israel reached their lowest ebb during and after the *Sinai Campaign of October 1956, when the U.S. took the lead in the UN in demanding the withdrawal of Israeli forces, even threatening sanctions. Upon Israel's withdrawal, Eisenhower affirmed that Israel would have no cause to regret its decision, and pledged support for Israel's national existence and internal development. American policy, he stated, viewed the Gulf of Akaba and the Suez Canal as international waterways.

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[Judah Nadich]

EISENMAN, CHARLES (1864?–1923), U.S. philanthropist. Eisenman was born in New York City. Moving to Cleveland, Ohio, he co-founded the K and E (later Kaynee) Company, manufacturing boys' clothing, in 1888. Eisenman retired as company president in 1906 and devoted himself entirely to philanthropic work. He was the founder and first president of the Cleveland Federation of Jewish Charities from 1904 until his death; he was active in the Cleveland Community Fund Council, the American Jewish Committee, the American Jewish Relief Committee, and other organizations. During World War I he was chairman of the Council of National Defense Committee on Purchases and Supplies, for which he received the Distinguished Service Medal. He advocated socially concerned business in a series of essays, *Everybody's Business* (1916).

[Edward L. Greenstein]

EISENMAN, PETER (1932–), U.S. architect. Eisenman was born in Newark, New Jersey, and studied at Cornell (B.A. 1955) and Columbia universities (M.A.), receiving a second M.A. and Ph.D. from Cambridge University in England. He taught at Cambridge, Princeton, Yale, Harvard, Ohio State, and the Cooper Union in New York, where he was founder and director of the New York Institute for Architecture and Urban Studies (1967).

Unique among modern architects, until 1980 most of Eisenman's work was in theoretical writing and teaching. During this period in his career, he was the leader of a group known as the "New York Five," which included John Hejduk, Michael Graves, Charles Gwathmey, and Richard *Meier. Eisenman Architects was established in 1980.

Eisenman's thought is often associated with that of postmodern philosophers Noam *Chomsky and Jacques *Derrida as well as Friedrich Nietzsche. Eisenman co-authored *Choral Works* with Derrida. His architecture is sometimes viewed as a text that emphasizes concepts such as fragmentation, and in the case of the *Berlin Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe* (Denkmal), opened in 2005, irreparable loss. His work thus avoids the use of traditional compositional elements familiar to architects as well as pure aesthetics. Eisenman has noted: "You cannot have an architecture that doesn't relate to cultural issues, whether they be philosophic, artistic, musical, filmic, psychological. I think that there is no question that architecture moves culture in the same way that other disciplines do, but it is also affected by and affects other disciplines."

Eisenman experimented with ten house designs between 1960 and 1980, each one being numbered in sequence. Eisenman, with associates Richard Trott and Laurie Olin, designed the Wexner Center for the Arts (1983–89) at Ohio State University in Columbus, Ohio. The building serves as an early example of Eisenman's concept of deconstruction in architecture. The structure contains a white spine that links pre-existing buildings with new construction and was designed on a series of grids that attempts to link symbolically the city of Columbus with the university campus. Among his other designs, which mirror the principles of deconstruction but with added computer engineering in the 1990s, can be found the Emory University Center for the Arts (1991); the Arnoff Center for Design and Art at the University of Cincinnati (1996), which mirrors the Wexner Center with a spine bringing together pre-existing structures; the Staten Island Institute of Arts and Sciences, with its use of vast curved "fluid fractals"; Cardinal Stadium in Phoenix, Arizona, which features a retractable roof, retractable side, and the field that has the capacity to move in and out of the structure in order to grow natural grass. The City of Culture of Galicia is a monumental project in the Spanish city of Santiago de Compostela. The 810,000 square feet project also includes a history museum, a library, a landscaped forest, and a theater for ballet, opera, and symphonies. From an aerial perspective, the City of Culture appears as a series of structures highly integrated into the Galician landscape.

The architect's most controversial project was the *Berlin Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe*, finished in 2005. The project, from its inception in 1988, featured two competitions and a long and often bitter debate in German society about the need for such a monument.

While Christine Jackob-Marks' design was selected from the 1,200 submissions of the first competition of May 1994, it was vetoed by German Chancellor Helmut Kohl. In 1997, 25 artists were asked to send in revised proposals. Among the four finalists was a joint project by Peter Eisenman and sculptor Richard Serra. The original conception of the team was to create a "field of memory," and it envisioned 4,000 concrete pylons of varying sizes, laid out like a field of wheat and progressively sinking below ground level. Serra later removed himself from the project and after an intense debate the parliament finally decided on June 15, 1999 on the revised Eisenman plan. The design reduced the number of pylons to 2,700.

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[Stephen C. Feinstein (2nd ed.)]

EISENMANN, LOUIS (1869–1937), French historian. Eisenmann, born in Haguenau, Alsace, moved with his family to France after the German annexation in 1871. In 1905 he became a professor of history at the University of Dijon, and in 1931 professor of Central European history at the Sorbonne. Eisenmann's special field of interest, in which he made important contributions, was Slavonic cultural history. Besides teaching, writing, and editing in this field, he served as general secretary of the Institute for Slavic Studies at the University of Paris. He was also an active director of the Center for the Study of Foreign Policy. Eisenmann's major writings deal with the Austro-Hungarian Empire. He wrote *Le compromis austro-hongrois de 1867* (1904), *La Hongrie contemporaine* (1921), *La Tchécoslovaquie* (1921), and *Un grand européen, Edouard Benes* (1934). He contributed sections to Paul Milyukov's classic work on Russian history, *Histoire de la Russie* (1932–33). Eisenmann played a prominent role as editor of two French historical journals, *Le monde slave* and *La revue historique.*

[William Korey]

°**EISENMENGER, JOHANN ANDREAS** (1654–1704), author of a work which had a formative influence on modern antisemitic polemics. Eisenmenger, born in Mannheim, studied Hebrew while at Heidelberg University. During a visit to Amsterdam in 1680–81 he was shocked when three Christians adopted Judaism, and also by the criticism of Christianity expressed by David *Lida, rabbi of the Ashkenazi community in Amsterdam. Eisenmenger therefore set out to examine Jewish writings to find material that would deter Christians from turning to Judaism. For 19 years he studied talmudic and midrashic literature with Jews, pretending that he wished to become a proselyte. In 1686 he was appointed lecturer at Heidelberg University, and, in conjunction with Johann *Leusden, published in 1694, at Frankfurt, an unvocalized edition of the Bible to which David *Gruenhut wrote an introduction describing Eisenmenger as a man of great learning. However, in 1699 the Frankfurt Jews learned that Eisenmenger was about to publish a work denouncing Judaism, titled *Entdecktes Judenthum* ("Judaism Unmasked"). As it was in German and not in Latin, they feared that it would inflame popular feelings against the Jews (especially as anti-Jewish riots occurred in Franconia, and in particular in *Bamberg in 1699). The Frankfurt Jews turned to Samson *Wertheimer in Vienna, and he and Samuel *Oppenheimer persuaded the emperor to forbid the publication of the book, which had been printed in 2,500 copies. A Protestant professor from Giessen, a Jesuit from Mainz, and six rabbis from Frankfurt were asked to study Eisenmenger's book and comment on it. In the meantime, the king of Prussia asked the emperor to allow the publication of the book and the elector of the Palatinate also intervened in Eisenmenger's favor. However the pleas of the Jews for its suppression were supported by the archbishop of Mainz, since Eisenmenger had also offended Catholic susceptibilities, as well as by the elector of Hanover. Eisenmenger, who had invested all his money in the printing, died suddenly in 1704. His heirs again induced the king of Prussia to intervene with the emperor to allow the book to be issued, but without success. The king of Prussia, therefore, permitted them to publish a second edition of 3,000 copies in Berlin in 1711. On the title page the place of publication is given as Koenigsberg, a city outside the emperor's jurisdiction. The city council of Frankfurt, the elector of the Palatinate, and the king of Prussia, meanwhile, made continual efforts to obtain permission for publication of the first edition; this was granted only in 1741. Eisenmenger's heirs claimed damages from the Jews of Frankfurt; their claim was finally quashed in 1773. In this book of two volumes, with over 2,000 pages, Eisenmenger had assembled passages to suit his argument from 182 books written in Hebrew, 13 in Yiddish, and eight written by apostates who had converted to Christianity. They were mostly extracts from talmudic literature, beginning with the Mishnah and concluding with commentaries, codes, and notes of the *rishonim* and *aḥaronim.* He cited them in the original language, providing a translation alongside. The translations are erroneous in places and often intentionally distorted. Eisenmenger's charges against the Jews include the *blood libel and poisoning of wells. Possibly Eisenmenger did believe in what he wrote, although his negotiations with the Jews, and the fact that he was prepared not to publish his book against a certain price, cast some doubt on this assumption. An English edition was published in 1732–33. Among a number of other German and Austrian antisemites, A. *Rohling quoted Eisenmenger, often inaccurately, in his venomous *Talmudjude* (1871), as Franz *Delitzsh decisively proved. *Entdecktes Judenthum* was republished in 1893.

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[Zvi Avneri]

EISENSTADT (Ger. also: **Weniger Maertersdorf**; Hung. **Kismarton**; Heb. א״ש; עיר ברזל), capital of *Burgenland, E. Austria. Its community was the leading one of the "Seven Communities" of Burgenland, and from the end of the 17th century to the middle of the 19th century one of the most important communities in Europe. Jews are mentioned in the city records in 1373, and the bishop of Eisenstadt was permitted to settle Jews there in 1388. Others came to the city after the expulsions from Austria (1421), Styria (1496), and Sopron (1526). By 1569 the community numbered 81 persons, living in eight small houses. A Jewish quarter and community institutions are mentioned for the years 1547 to 1571. Each Jew had to work eight days villenage services and pay ten florins in taxes yearly. The Jews were expelled from Eisenstadt in 1572 but returned soon afterward. In 1626 the community came under the protection of the aristocratic Hungarian Esterhazy family. The Jews had to leave Eisenstadt at the time of the expulsion from Austria in 1670 but were shortly afterward permitted to return. In 1675 Jews who had immigrated there from Mikulov (Nikolsburg), Moravia, were granted a letter of protection. The renewed version of 1690 served as model for the charters granted to all "Seven Communities" in the region. In return for yearly taxes and gifts on all possible occasions, the community was granted broad autonomy. Prince Esterhazy built near his farming estate a "Jewish street" of 20 houses, which formed a political community (see *Politische Gemeinden) as Eisenstadt-Unterberg (Hung. Alsókismartonhegy). Its leaders included the *Judenrichter,* before whom, from 1732, a mace was carried as symbol of his function. In 1900, only 38 of the 451 inhabitants on its territory were not Jewish. In 1704 and 1707, during the Kurucz revolts, Eisenstadt was destroyed, its inhabitants taking refuge in Wiener Neustadt. The community was restored with the help of Samson *Wertheimer, who also served as its rabbi. He built a house there containing a *bet midrash* (maintained by Wertheimer's endowment until the 1840s). Meir *Eisenstadt (Maharam Esh) was rabbi from 1717 until his death in 1744, and through him the local yeshivah became celebrated. This was the most prosperous period for the community because some of the wealthy Jewish families living in Vienna without residence rights paid heavily for a fictitious right of domicile in Eisenstadt. Some 35 Jewish house owners are on record in 1725. In 1735 the community numbered 113 families (24 living in Vienna), totaling 600 persons. The Jewish quarter was destroyed by a conflagration in 1795. A new synagogue was built in 1832. In 1836 the community numbered 191 families (908 persons) of whom 61 were part house owners and 12 owned their own houses. Azriel *Hildesheimer was rabbi of Eisenstadt between 1851 and 1869, and his yeshivah, at which secular studies were also taught, attracted pupils from all over Europe. After the Revolution of 1848 when Jews were able to move freely, many left Eisenstadt.

In its days of fame as a center of Jewish learning the Eisenstadt community used to be referred to as "Little Jerusalem." It had many customs peculiar to itself. The entrances to the Jewish street were closed on Saturdays and holidays by chains. Above the entrance to the synagogue a silver ball was hung containing cord for *ẓiẓit*, free of charge, supplied by a donation (*keren ẓiẓit*). Those who were called to the Torah as an obligation, such as a bridegroom on the Sabbath before his wedding, paid a special due. The *shammash* served the rabbi a cup of wine after the sermon. On the eve of Simḥat Torah it was the women's task to adorn the Torah scrolls before the **hakkafot*. At the beginning of the cherry season the first child to show the rabbi a worm in a cherry was rewarded, and the *shammash* would then proclaim in the street that henceforward it was forbidden to eat cherries without first examining them.

At the end of the 19th century, the *Wolf family, who concentrated the wine export in their hands, were prominent in local and communal affairs. Sandor Wolf founded a private museum in 1902 and published books on Jewish and general local history. After World War I, Eisenstadt remained the only Jewish community in Europe to have the status of a political community (until 1938). The Jews there suffered economically because of the disruption of their former commercial ties.

The Jews were expelled from Eisenstadt immediately after the *Anschluss* in 1938; most of them moved to Vienna. Some were among the refugees thrust onto the land strip in the Danube (see *Burgenland). On Nov. 10, 1938, the synagogue equipment and part of the houses in the Jewish street were destroyed by a mob. The synagogue building was demolished. (The trade-union headquarters was built on the site in 1952; it contains a plaque commemorating the synagogue.) Many of the tombstones in the Jewish cemetery were used to build anti-tank traps in 1945.

One hundred and nine Jews from Eisenstadt perished in the Holocaust. Five survivors returned after the war. The community was not reorganized. The Jewish collection of the Wolf museum was incorporated into the Burgenlaendisches Landesmuseum; in 1972 a Jewish museum was opened, the first of its kind in Austria. Some 23,500 documentary items are preserved in the *Juedisches Zentralarchiv der ehemaligen Judengemeinden des Burgenlandes.* Rabbi Akiva *Eger the Younger was a native of Eisenstadt; a plaque on the house where he was born was destroyed by the Nazis. Moritz *Benedikt, the professor of neuropathology in Vienna and liberal politician, was also born in Eisenstadt.

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EISENSTADT, ABRAHAM SELDIN (1920–), U.S. historian. Eisenstadt was born in New York City. He taught at Brooklyn College, where he was appointed professor of history. In 1998, he was one of 412 leading historians who signed an open letter deploring the proposal to impeach President Bill Clinton, on the grounds that "if successful, it will have the most serious implications for our constitutional order." Eisenstadt wrote *Charles McLean Andrews: A Study in American Historical Writing* (1956), and he edited *American History: Recent Interpretations* (2 vols., 1962) and *The Craft of American History* (2 vols., 1966), *Before Watergate: Problems of Corrup-*

tion in American Society (1979), and *Reconsidering Tocqueville's Democracy in America* (1988) as well as numerous volumes in Davidson, Harlan's American History Series.

[Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

EISENSTADT, ABRAHAM ẒEVI HIRSCH BEN JACOB (1813–1868), halakhic authority. Eisenstadt, who was born in Bialystok, was appointed rabbi of Berestovitsa, district of Grodno, in 1836, and of Utina (Uttian), district of Kovno, in 1856. Eisenstadt took upon himself the task of collecting and digesting the enormous amount of halakhic material scattered throughout the responsa literature, and relating it to the relevant laws in Caro's Shulḥan Arukh, publishing his digest in *Pitḥei Teshuvah.* At the end of his introduction to *Even ha-Ezer* he enumerates 180 volumes of responsa and other works that he used. In the introduction he explains that the purpose of his book is to supply a missing link in the chain of *posek* literature, namely, the decisions to be found in responsa. In addition to establishing the *halakhah* he also gives the reasons and the essence of the arguments in the different responsa. This enabled rabbis to give decisions on matters and problems which had arisen as a result of changed conditions since Caro's code had appeared. Eisenstadt regarded the literature dealing with *Even ha-Ezer* as of supreme importance, as he believed that it was impossible to come to a practical decision on any of the laws discussed in it by relying upon the original text. As a result, his work on this section of the Shulḥan Arukh is very detailed. Since the *Sha'arei Teshuvah* (Dubnow, 1820), begun by Ḥayyim Mordecai Margolioth of Dubnow and completed by his brother Ephraim Zalman *Margolioth, already met this need with regard to the *Oraḥ Ḥayyim*, Eisenstadt confined himself to the other three sections of the Shulḥan Arukh. His own novellae on the Shulḥan Arukh are highly regarded by halakhists.

Pitḥei Teshuvah on *Yoreh De'ah* and *Even ha-Ezer* was published during Eisenstadt's lifetime (1836 and 1861) and on *Ḥoshen Mishpat* (1875) after his death. He also published *Seder Gittin va-Ḥaliẓah by* Michael b. Joseph of Cracow accompanied by his own commentary and glosses, also entitled *Pitḥei Teshuvah* (1863), in which he gave the sources of the book in the Shulḥan Arukh and among the *rishonim* and *aḥaronim.* Many of his responsa appear in the works of contemporary rabbis. Eisenstadt died in Koenigsberg where he had gone for medical treatment. His son BENJAMIN (1846–1920) was appointed to succeed him in Utina after his death, and served in this post for 52 years. He was the author of *Masot Binyamin* (1921), talmudic novellae. Benjamin's son ABRAHAM ẒEVI (1871–1939) succeeded his father in Utina and served there for 19 years. He was one of the early Zionists. Leon *Rabinovich, editor of *Ha-Meliẓ*, was also a grandson of Abraham Ẓevi Hirsch Eisenstadt.

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[Shmuel Ashkenazi]

EISENSTADT, BENZION (1873–1951), U.S. Hebraist, rabbi, and scholar. Eisenstadt was born in Kletsk, Belorussia. He studied at Nishvitz with Rabbi Yosepoh Grodzinski. In his youth he was attracted to modern Hebrew literature and while in his teens corresponded with Jewish scholars, such as Slonimski and Buber. While still in Russia he published *Ẓioni* (Warsaw, 1895; Parts 2–4, Vilna, 1899–1902), a biographical dictionary of contemporary rabbis and scholars, and *Rabbanei Minsk va-Ḥakhameha*, on the rabbis and scholars of Minsk (Vilna, 1899), as well as *Ve-Zot li-Yehudah* (1901), annotations on *Noda bi-Yehudah*, the responsa of Ezekiel Landau.

In 1903 he immigrated to the U.S. where he served as a pulpit rabbi and continued writing biographical works on well-known rabbis, scholars, and communal leaders. They include *Ḥakhmei Yisrael be-Amerikah* (with photographs, 1903), *Dorot ha-Aḥaronim* (2 vols., 1913, 1917), *Anshei ha-Shem Be-Arẓot ha-Brit* (1933) on American rabbis and, posthumously, *Benei Ḥiyyon* (1952). He was an ardent Zionist, active in Mizrachi and in charity for the then Palestine.

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EISENSTADT, ISAIAH (**Isay**; pseudonym: **Yudin, Vitali**; 1867–1937), pioneer of the Jewish socialist labor movement in Russia; born in Vilna. He became a member of Populist Narodnaya Volya ("People's Will") circles in the 1880s and was imprisoned for revolutionary activities. He returned to Vilna and in 1889 joined the Social Democrats. A Marxist theoretician, Eisenstadt also proved an extremely able organizer among the Jewish workers in Vilna and in Odessa. In 1896 he was exiled to Siberia, remaining in prison there until 1901. After his release, Eisenstadt became one of the main leaders of the *Bund, his activities being suspended by frequent arrests; during the controversy within the party (1908–10) between those preferring the use of legal action and the "anti-legalists," Eisenstadt supported the latter. In the central committee of the Russian Social Democratic Workers' Party he endeavored to effect a compromise between the Mensheviks and Bolsheviks. After the Revolution of February 1917 Eisenstadt was active in Petrograd (Leningrad). He was elected vice chairman of the central committee of the Bund, and after its split with the Communists, became associated with the leadership of the Social Democratic Bund. He was subsequently imprisoned, and at the beginning of 1922 received permission to leave Soviet Russia. He reached Berlin, and continued his political activity among the Menshevik émigrés there and in Paris, gradually inclining to the leftist faction. His first wife LYUBA EISENSTADT-LEVINSON (1866–1903), also born in Vilna, became a Social Democrat while a student in Geneva. She was arrested at the Russian border and imprisoned for three years. From 1890 she was active as one of the leading propagandists for the party among the Jewish workers in Vilna and Bialystok. She was imprisoned with her husband in Siberia from 1896 to 1901. She died on a visit to New York.

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[Moshe Mishkinsky]

EISENSTADT, MEIR (“**MaHaRaM ESH**” – **M**orenu **Ha-Rav M**eir **Esh** [short for Eisenstadt]; c. 1670–1744), Polish rabbinical authority. After serving as rabbi in Szydlowiec in Poland, he settled in Worms, where Samson *Wertheimer appointed him head of the yeshivah. On the occupation of Worms by the French in 1701, he went to Prossnitz, Moravia, and there he was appointed rabbi. Among his disciples was Jonathan *Eybeschuetz, whom he brought up after the death of the latter’s father. In 1714, with Wertheimer’s support, Meir was appointed rabbi of *Eisenstadt and its “seven communities,” which by then had recovered from the expulsion of 1670 and from the havoc wrought by the Kurucz uprising (1704). Students from far and near flocked to the yeshivah which he had established. He fashioned the character of the community, which became distinguished for its piety, so that men of wealth and influence in nearby Vienna sought “right of residence” in Eisenstadt. In 1723 Meir was obliged to leave the community for a short time because of “informers and calumniators.” Upon his return he instituted a special prayer to be recited every Monday and Thursday, against “those who bring harm to Israel by their tongues and tear down the foundations of the community.” Meir issued a ban against card playing (except on Hanukkah and Purim). His works include *Panim Me’irot*, responsa and novellae on the Talmud (Amsterdam, 1715). His responsa, containing questions addressed to him by Akiva *Eger, *Moses Harif of Pressburg, and even rabbis of Italy and Turkey, testify to his wide authority. Other works are *Kotnot Or*, a homiletic commentary on the Pentateuch and the Five Scrolls, published together with *Or Ḥadash*, the commentary of his grandson Eliezer Kallire, under the general title of *Me’orei Esh* (1766), and *Or ha-Ganuz* (1766), novellae on *Ketubbot* and on the rules concerning *yein nesekh* in the *Yoreh De’ah.*

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[Aharon Fuerst]

EISENSTADT, MENAHEM ẒEVI (d. 1966), Polish rabbi. Born in Warsaw, Eisenstadt studied in Brisk, Lithuania, under R. Ḥayyim Soloveitchik and his son, R. Isaac Ze’ev. For a while he served as a member of the Cracow City Council. At the beginning of World War II, Eisenstadt moved to Vilna, where he directed the exiled Yeshivat Ḥakhmei Lublin. In 1941 he immigrated to Ereẓ Israel and lived in Tel Aviv. In 1947 he moved to the United States. In New York, he began the publication of an edition of Nahmanides’ biblical commentary, based on early manuscripts and early editions. His work was not completed, however, and only the commentary to Genesis appeared (2 vols. 1959–62). He died in New York, and was buried in Jerusalem.

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[Naphtali Ben-Menahem]

EISENSTADT, MOSES ELEAZAR (1869–1943), rabbi, educator, and author in Russia and France. Born in Nesvizh, Belorussia, he studied at the yeshivah of *Volozhin, and from 1889 at the university and Hochschule fuer die Wissenschaft des Judentums in Berlin. He wrote his doctoral thesis on “Bible Criticism in Talmudic Literature” in 1898. From 1899 to 1910 Eisenstadt officiated as *Kazyonny Ravvin (government-appointed rabbi) of Rostov, and from 1911 to 1923 held the same position in St. Petersburg. He subsequently immigrated to France, and in 1926 was appointed rabbi of the Ohel Ya’akov community of the Russian Jews in Paris. He also lectured in modern Hebrew literature at the rabbinical seminary. When the Nazis occupied Paris, he left for New York, and in 1942 was appointed rabbi of the Merkaz Beit Yisrael community of Russian Jews there. From an early age, he published articles, reviews, and stories in the Jewish press in Hebrew, Yiddish, Russian, and German. His books include *Be-Shuvi el Ereẓ Moladeti* (“On My Return to My Fatherland,” 1893), and *Me-Ḥayyei Benei Lita* (“From the Lives of the Inhabitants of Lithuania,” 1893). In 1918, he was a member of the editorial board of the Jewish historical journal *He-Avar*, published in Petrograd.

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EISENSTADT, SAMUEL NOAH (1923–), Israel sociologist. Born in Warsaw, and educated at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem and at the London School of Economics, Eisenstadt joined the faculty of the Hebrew University in 1948 and became chairman of the department of sociology in 1951. Eisenstadt’s contributions have been chiefly in the fields of political and historical sociology, with special attention to the analysis of social structure and of bureaucracy. In 1973 Eisenstadt was awarded the Israel Prize for social sciences. His book *The Political Systems of Empires* (1963) analyzed the social structures of the major empires throughout world history; this work has been hailed as the most significant contribution to political sociology after that of Max Weber. Among his other works in this field are *Political Sociology* (1955), *The Absorption of Immigrants* (1954), and *From Generation to Generation: Age Groups and Social Structure* (1956). The latter are comparative studies based chiefly on materials referring to problems arising from mass immigration, and the integration of the many different cultures which are found in Israel. Eisenstadt brought the analysis of developmental and general social problems into the framework of sociological analysis and comparative institutional study through his *Essays on Comparative Institutions* (1965) and his *Comparative Social Problems* (1964). He also published “Bureaucracy, Bureaucratization and Debureaucratization" in *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 4 (1959), 302–20, and *Israeli Society* (1967). Other books include *Tradition, Change, and Modernity* (1983), *Transformation of Israeli Society* (1986), and *European Civilization in a Comparative Perspective* (1987).

[Werner J. Cahnman and Pearl J. Lieff]

EISENSTADTER, MEIR BEN JUDAH LEIB (d. 1852), rabbi, author, and liturgical poet (*paytan*). Eisenstadter was born in Schossberg (Sastin), but in his youth moved to Eisenstadt, from which he took his name. He was also known as "Maharam Esh" (Hebrew acronym for Morenu ha-Rav Meir Eisenshtadt – "our teacher, the rabbi Eisenstadter"). He studied under Moses *Sofer and married the daughter of David Deutsch, the rabbi of Nove Mesto in Slovakia, where Eisenstadter was appointed head of the yeshivah. After serving as rabbi in Baja, Balassagyarmat (1815–35), he was appointed rabbi of Ungvar in 1835 and was regarded, together with Moses *Schick, as the leading rabbi of Hungary. In Ungvar, too, he headed a large yeshivah and many of the future rabbis of Hungary were his pupils. He took an active part in the communal life of Hungarian Jewry and exercised a profound influence on the course it was to take. He vehemently opposed the progressives who desired to introduce religious changes and reforms. He was the author of *Imrei Esh*, responsa in two parts (1852–64); *Imrei Yosher*, sermons (Ungvar, 1864); *Imrei Binah*, novellae on a number of tractates (1866), and, with the same title, his novellae and those of his son on the laws of **shehitah*, appended to A.Z. Schorr's *Simlah Ḥadashah* (1927); *Imrei Esh*, in two parts, expositions of the Pentateuch with the novellae of his father-in-law and his son (1901); and *Zikhron Yehudah*, containing his testament and novellae (1900). The greatest rabbis of Hungary and Galicia including Solomon *Kluger of Brod, Ḥayyim *Halberstam of Neu-Sandec (Nowy Sacz), and Simon *Sofer of Cracow addressed problems to him. His son Menahem succeeded him as rabbi in Ungvar.

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[Itzhak Alfassi]

EISENSTAEDT, ALFRED (1898–1995), photographer. Born in Dirschau, West Prussia (now Tczew, Poland), Eisenstaedt was the pre-eminent photojournalist of his time, whose pioneering images for *Life* magazine helped define American photojournalism. Over a career that lasted more than 50 years, Eisenstaedt became famous as the quintessential *Life* photographer, producing more than 2,500 picture stories and 90 covers for the magazine. His most famous photograph, of an exuberant American sailor kissing a nurse in a dance-like dip in Times Square on V-J Day, August 14, 1945, summed up the euphoria many Americans felt as the war came to a close. It is the most widely reproduced of the magazine's millions of photographs. Another of his best-known images shows Joseph Goebbels, the Nazi propaganda minister, in 1933, glaring at the camera. "Here are the eyes of hate," the photographer later wrote.

When Alfred was eight, his father, a merchant, moved the family to Berlin, and they remained there until Hitler came to power. At 17, Alfred was drafted into the German army and served on the Flanders front, where he was wounded in both legs. Sent home, he recuperated for a year before he could walk unaided. He used the time to visit museums and study light and composition. Although he became a belt and button salesman, he saved his money and bought photographic equipment. In 1927, while vacationing with his parents in Czechoslovakia, he took a photograph of a woman playing tennis. He was on a hillside 50 yards away, and the photo captured the long shadow the woman cast on the court. He sold it to *Der Welt Spiegel* for about $12.

By the age of 31, he became a full-time photographer, working for Pacific and Atlantic Photos, which became the Associated Press. At the time he began working with the innovative Leica 35 mm. camera, which had been invented four years earlier. His assignments included portraits of statesmen and famous artists. By 1933 he was sent to Italy to shoot the first meeting of Hitler and Mussolini. Two years after Hitler took power, Eisenstaedt immigrated to the United States, where he was soon hired with three other photographers, including Margaret *Bourke-White, to be the original photographers for the new *Life* magazine. The first issue carried five pages of Eisenstaedt's pictures. He became known for his ability to bring back visually striking pictures from almost any assignment. Among the many celebrities he photographed were Churchill, John F. Kennedy, Chaplin, Marilyn Monroe, George Bernard Shaw, and a smoldering Marlene Dietrich in top hat and tails. His mastery of the Leica allowed him to capture his subjects in unguarded moments, creating a sense of intimacy. In a 1947 picture, for example, the physicist J. Robert *Oppenheimer puffs on a cigarette as he stands in front of a blackboard covered with mathematical formulas.

Eisenstaedt became an American citizen in 1942 and traveled overseas to document the effects of the war. He received many awards and honors, including the Presidential Medal of Arts and the Master of Photography Award, given by the International Center of Photography. He continued to work until shortly before his death. In 1993 he photographed President Clinton, his wife, and their daughter on Martha's Vineyard, Mass.

He was the subject of many exhibitions and was the author of many books, including *Witness to Our Time* (1966), *The Eye of Eisenstaedt* (1969), *Eisenstaedt's Guide to Photography* (1978), and *Eisenstaedt: Germany* (1981). At age 81 he returned to Germany for the first time for an exhibition of pictures he had taken there in the 1920s and 1930s. Things in Germany seemed different, he said, from when he left. "You couldn't call it prettier, but maybe more relaxed."

[Stewart Kampel (2nd ed.)]

EISENSTEIN, FERDINAND GOTTHOLD (1823–1852), German mathematician. Eisenstein was brought up in poverty and succeeded in studying at a university despite considerable family opposition. In 1847 he became a lecturer at Berlin University. He made important contributions to algebra and to elliptic functions and their applications to number theory.

EISENSTEIN, IRA (1906–2001), U.S. rabbi and leader of the *Reconstructionist movement. Born in New York City, Eisenstein grew up in Harlem along with his friend Milton *Steinberg. Eisenstein was a grandson of Judah David *Eisenstein, a traditional scholar who compiled the anthology *Ozer Dinim u-Minhagim*. He was ordained at the Jewish Theological Seminary in 1931. He later served as president of the *Rabbinical Assembly from 1952 to 1954. As a son-in-law and leading disciple of Kaplan, the founder of Reconstructionist Judaism, Eisenstein was associate rabbi from 1931 to 1954 of Kaplan's Society for the Advancement of Judaism in New York City, the first Reconstructionist synagogue. Eisenstein was the associate chairman and later the editor of *The Reconstructionist* from 1935 to 1982, which in the 1930s and 1940s was the premier intellectual journal of the American Jewish community and which he was instrumental in creating. In 1954, the invitation was extended for Eisenstein to become the rabbi of Anshe Emet congregation in Chicago. The relationship with Anshe Emet did not endure, and in 1959 he returned to New York to become the president of the Jewish Reconstructionist Foundation, which he had founded. The foundation continued to publish the magazine, coordinated annual conventions of Reconstructionists, expanded the Reconstructionist Press, and began to issue a series of pamphlets on Reconstructionist ideas. One of these, titled "The Havurah Idea," was the first published program for what would in the 1960s and 1970s become a new and vital form of Jewish community.

While Mordecai *Kaplan, who was deeply rooted in the Jewish Theological Seminary, was reluctant to see Reconstructionism become a separate denomination, Eisenstein advocated for the creation of institutions that could embody Reconstructionist ideas. He founded the Fellowship of Reconstructionist Congregations and Havurot in 1955. Following Kaplan's retirement from JTS in 1963, Eisenstein rallied Reconstructionist lay leaders in support of establishing a seminary for the training of Reconstructionist rabbis, and in 1968 he became the founding president of the *Reconstructionist Rabbinical College (RRC) in Philadelphia, from which he retired in 1981.

In fulfillment of Kaplan's concept that American Jews "lived in two civilizations" Eisenstein's vision of rabbinic training mandated that RRC students simultaneously pursue a Ph.D. in religious studies at nearby Temple University where they would interact with faculty and students of many different religious traditions.

Eisenstein was coeditor of the controversial *New Haggadah* (1941), which eliminated the ten plagues as "unedifying" and celebrated Moses, rather than God, as the one who had "liberated Israel." With Kaplan, Steinberg, and Eugene Kohn, Eisenstein helped edit the original Reconstructionist prayerbooks for Sabbath (1945), High Holidays (1948), and Festivals (1958). This liturgy applied Kaplan's key ideas such as eliminating the idea of Jews as the chosen people and the mention of miracles and the hope for a personal Messiah, although only Kaplan was "excommunicated" by a small sect of Orthodox rabbis upon the publication of the Sabbath Prayerbook.

Recognizing that Kaplan's major books were often seen as overly long and complex for the average reader, Eisenstein helped to popularize Kaplan's work in *Creative Judaism* (1936) and *What We Mean by Religion* (1938). He also wrote *Judaism under Freedom* (1956) and *Reconstructing Judaism* (1986) and co-edited *Mordecai M. Kaplan: An Evaluation* (1952). With his wife, the musicologist Judith Kaplan Eisenstein, he co-authored a number of cantatas based on Jewish themes.

[Jack Reimer / Richard Hirsch (2nd ed)]

EISENSTEIN, JUDAH DAVID (1854–1956), U.S. encyclopedist, anthologist, and author. Eisenstein was born in Mezhirech, Poland, and in 1872 immigrated to the United States, where he became a successful coat manufacturer. He was a founder of the first Hebrew society in the United States, Shoḥarei Sefat Ever (1880), and one of its first Hebrew writers. Although he also undertook translations, e.g., in 1891 publishing the text of the American constitution in Hebrew and Yiddish, his fame rests on his anthologies, for which he earned the epithet "master of treasuries" (as all his anthologies bore the title *Oẓar*, "Treasury"). He published a Jewish encyclopedia in ten volumes with the assistance of experts from various countries, *Oẓar Yisrael* (1907–13). His other anthologies include *Oẓar Midrashim* (2 vols., 1915); *Oẓar Dinim u-Minhagim* (1917, "Laws and Customs"); *Oẓar Derushim Nivḥarim* (1918, "Selected Homilies"); *Oẓar Derashot* (1919, "Sermons"); *Oẓar Perushim ve-Ẓiyyurim al Haggadah shel Pesaḥ* (1920), on the *Haggadah; Oẓar Massa'ot* (1926), anthology of Jewish travel literature; *Oẓar Ma'amrei Tanakh* (1925), a biblical concordance; *Oẓar Ma'amrei Hazal* (1922), rabbinic aphorisms; *Oẓar Vikkuḥim* (1928), disputations; *Oẓar Musar u-Middot* (1941), on ethics and morals.

Eisenstein was the author of *Ma'amrei Bikkoret* (1897), a criticism of Rodkinson's translation of the Talmud; *History of the First Russian American Jewish Congregation* (1901); *Development of the Jewish Casuistic Literature in America* (1904); and other works. Eisenstein's *Commentary on the Torah*, edited by B.D. Perlow and I. Eisenstein, was published posthumously (1960). His autobiography and memoirs, *Oẓar Zikhronotai* (1929), includes a bibliography of his articles.

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[Abraham Meir Habermann]

EISENSTEIN, JUDITH KAPLAN (1909–1996), U.S. musicologist, educator, composer, and author. Born in New York

City, Eisenstein was the eldest of the four daughters of Rabbi Mordecai Menachem *Kaplan, the philosopher and founder of Reconstructionist Judaism, and Lena (Rubin) Kaplan. In 1922, at the age of 12, she celebrated one of the earliest known bat mitzvah ceremonies in the U.S. at the Society for the Advancement of Judaism, where her father was the presiding rabbi. Judith Kaplan Eisenstein had a second bat mitzvah at the age of 82 where she was honored by a number of Jewish and feminist leaders.

Kaplan continued her Jewish education at the Jewish Theological Seminary Teachers Institute and her secular education at Columbia University Teachers College, from which she received her B.S. in 1928 and her M.A. in 1932 in music education. Following a brief first marriage that ended in divorce, Kaplan married Rabbi Ira *Eisenstein, her father's assistant at the Society for the Advancement of Judaism, in 1934. This marriage endured for over 60 years; the couple had three children. From 1929 to 1954 Judith Eisenstein taught music education and the history of Jewish music at the Jewish Theological Seminary's Teachers Institute (now the Albert A. List College of Jewish Studies). While at the Teachers Institute she began her publishing career with a Jewish songbook for children, *Gateway to Jewish Song* (1937). She wrote several more books on Jewish music and on Jewish musical history for young readers; these include *Festival Songs* (1943) and *Songs of Childhood* (1955) with Frieda Prensky. In the years between 1942 and 1974, Eisenstein composed two song cycles and five cantatas on Jewish themes, written in collaboration with her husband. The most frequently performed of these is "What Is Torah?" (1942).

Eisenstein began doctoral studies at the School of Sacred Music of Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion in New York in 1959. Her dissertation was entitled, "The Liturgical Chant of Provencal and West Sephardic Jews in Comparison to the Song of the Troubadours and the Cantigas." After receiving her Ph.D., she taught at HUC-JIR from 1966 to 1979. In 1978, when her husband became president of the Reconstructionist Rabbinical College, the Eisensteins moved to Philadelphia. Eisenstein taught at the RRC from 1978 to 1981. Her book, *Heritage of Music: The Music of the Jewish People*, was published in 1972 and reprinted in 1990. In 1987, she wrote and broadcast a series of 13 radio lectures on the history of Jewish music.

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[Carole Kessner (2nd ed.)]

EISENSTEIN, SERGEI MIKHAILOVICH (1898–1948), Russian film director, son of a Jewish father who converted to Christianity and a non-Jewish mother. Eisenstein's work, revolutionary both in technique and in subject matter, was a major contribution to the modern art of the cinema. He was originally trained as a civil engineer, and served the Red Army in this capacity during the Russian civil war. In 1920, however, Eisenstein took up stage work, joining first the Proletkult Theater in Moscow and then the avant-garde company of V. Meyerhold. He was a disciple of Meyerhold in stage direction. After deciding that the theater was not close enough to the masses, he turned his attention to the cinema. His first film was *The Strike* (1924), followed in 1925 by *Battleship Potemkin*, which had an immediate impact on contemporary film making. It demonstrated a new approach, the dramatic handling of crowd scenes, and the use of nonprofessional actors for greater realism. Eisenstein further developed his methods in *October* (1926), a film about the Russian Revolution, and *The General Line* (1929), which extolled Soviet agriculture. He was invited to Hollywood in 1931, but his scenarios proved unacceptable there. With the assistance of the novelist Upton Sinclair he spent 14 months in Mexico making a film on the Mexican revolution but he was recalled to the U.S.S.R. before its completion. Parts were edited in Hollywood as *Thunder Over Mexico* (1933), evoking much criticism as being untrue to Eisenstein's principles. Another section of the film was issued in 1940 as *Time in the Sun*. In the 1930s he encountered difficulties with the authorities, who saw film as an important propaganda tool. They criticized his esthetic approach, and he was unable complete some of his works. In Russia, after these difficulties, he won the Order of Lenin for *Alexander Nevsky* (1938). Of his *Ivan the Terrible* trilogy, part 1 was shown in 1946, part 2 was suppressed until 1958, and part 3 was not shot. He expounded his theories in lectures and in two books, *The Film Sense* (1942) and *Film Form* (1949). Though he never affirmed his Jewish ancestry, he agreed to appear together with other known Jewish cultural activists in antifascist meetings on August 24, 1941, and in 1942. Eisenstadt's memoirs, called *Beyond the Stars* and written in 1946, appeared as volume 4 of his selected works in 1997 (published by the British Film Institute). A previous version had appeared in 1983 as *Immoral Memories*.

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EISLER, EDMUND MENAHEM (1850–1942), writer who envisioned a Zionist utopia. Born in Tyrnau, Slovakia, Eisler was active for many years in Jewish literature and journalism. He contributed Hebrew poetry to the literary annual *Kokhevei Yiẓḥak* (1877) but later wrote only in German. In 1882 he wrote a vision of a Zionist utopia in the form of a novel entitled *Ein Zukunftsbild*, which he published anonymously in 1885. The book relates the exodus of Jews from Europe and the establishment of a Jewish state under the rule of a king (the one who had conceived the idea of the exodus and the state was chosen as a monarch). It includes a detailed description of the constitution, how Hebrew functions as the official language of the country, and the division of the country into tribes according to the biblical account. There is even a description of the war that the young country must wage against those who threaten to destroy it, and its total victory followed by peace. Eisler prophesied a Europe without Jews after anti-Jewish legislation and terrible persecution and predicted the path of the German "hob-nailed boot." The novel fell into obscurity until it was rediscovered by Perez Sandler who identified its author and reprinted it in a Hebrew translation (by Y. Tolkes) in an anthology of Zionist utopias, *Ḥezyonei Medinah* ("Visions of a State," 1954), with a monograph on this utopia and its author. The work predates *Herzl's novel *Altneuland* by 17 years, and a copy of it was found in Herzl's personal library.

[Getzel Kressel]

EISLER, GERHART (1897–1968), East German Communist. Born in Leipzig, he was the son of Rudolf *Eisler and became a convinced Communist after serving with the Austrian army in World War I. In 1930 he served as political secretary in the Far East bureau of the Communist Trade Union International in Shanghai. Eisler went to Spain in 1936 and later to France, where he was interned in 1940. On his release he left for the United States where he became a leading Communist agitator. In 1949 he was sentenced to a year's imprisonment for contempt of Congress when he refused to be sworn as a witness before the House of Representatives' Un-American Activities Committee. While free on bail pending an appeal, he escaped to England on a Polish liner, after paying 25 cents to tour it as a visitor. On arrival in England he was arrested on the application of the United States Embassy, and a political storm arose when it was suggested that there was collusion between the British and American secret services. Eventually Eisler was released and flew to Prague, where he engaged in Communist propaganda activities for four years. Later he was minister of information in East Germany (until 1952) and became chairman of the East German radio authority. He died while on a mission to the Soviet Union.

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EISLER, HANNS (1898–1962), German composer; son of Rudolf *Eisler. Eisler, born in Leipzig, was a pupil of Arnold *Schoenberg and Anton von Webern in Vienna. His early compositions were in an advanced idiom, but Eisler soon adapted to the demands of "socialist realism." He went to Berlin in 1924 and wrote the music for some of Bertolt Brecht's plays, including *Die Rundkoepfe und die Spitzkoepfe* and the incidental music for *Galileo.* In 1937 he immigrated to the United States where he lectured at the New School for Social Research, New York, and then went to Hollywood. He was musical assistant to Charlie Chaplin (1942–47) and also composed scores for other filmmakers. He left in 1948 under "voluntary deportation" because of his political past. Settling in East Berlin, he became one of the ideological leaders of musical activity in East Germany. He taught at the Akademie der Kuenste and received a state prize for his compositions in 1950. He composed the national anthem of the German Democratic Republic (to a text by Johannes Becher). He wrote an opera, *Johannes Faustus* (1953), which was criticized for its mysticism. His works include symphonies (e.g., *Deutsche Symphonie*, 1937), chamber music, cantatas, a *Suite for Orchestra with Capriccio* based on Jewish folksongs, operas, oratorios, and songs.

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[Dora Leah Sowden]

EISLER, MÁTYÁS (1865–1931), Hungarian rabbi and scholar. Eisler was born in Paty, county of Pest, and was ordained at the rabbinical seminary of Budapest in 1891. He taught Hebrew at the *Israelitische Lehrbildungsanstalt* in 1890 and later at the University of Kolozsvar. He was chief rabbi of Kolozsvar from 1891 until his death. His scholarly interests included the history of the Jews of Transylvania and Hebrew linguistics, and among his works were *Az erdelyi zsidok mult abol…* ("From the Past of the Jews of Transylvania," 1901) and *Agyökbeli hangok interdialektikus valtozasai az aram nyelvekben* ("Interdialectal Changes of Root Sounds in the Aramaic Languages," 1889).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Magyar Zsidó Lexikon* (1929), s.v.

[Alexander Scheiber]

EISLER, MORITZ (1823–1902), educator and historian of Jewish philosophy. Eisler was born in Prossnitz, Moravia. In 1853 he became a teacher of religion at the Piarist high school and director of the communal school at Nikolsburg. In 1862 he founded an organization for the support of disabled Jewish teachers, their widows and orphans (which later became the "Maehrisch-Schlesischer Israelitischer Lehrerverein") and served as its president until 1898. His *Vorlesungen ueber die juedische Philosophie des Mittelalters* ("Lectures On Jewish Philosophy in the Middle Ages," 3 vols., 1870–83) became one of the first attempts to present, in popular fashion, the main systems of medieval Jewish philosophy. In addition, he published a number of essays on specific questions in the history of Jewish philosophy, including essays on *Spinoza, *Ibn Daud, and Ibn *Ẓaddik.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: H. Heller, *Maehren's Maenner der Gegenwart*, 1 (1889), 3, 28; *Kuerschners Deutscher Literatur-Kalender* (1902); Ch. D. Lippe, *Bibliographisches Lexicon*, 1 (1881), 92; 2 (1887), 52.

EISLER, RUDOLF (1873–1926), Austrian philosopher known for encyclopedic writings, especially his dictionaries of philosophy and biographies of philosophers. His works, which contributed greatly to the dissemination of philosophical ideas, include *Geschichte des Monismus* (1910), *Kritische Einfuehrung in die Philosophie* (1905), *Woerterbuch der philosophischen Begriffe und Ausdruecke* (1899), and his *Philosophen-Lexikon* (1912). He was the editor of the *Wissenschaftliche Volksbibliothek.* His *Kant-Lexikon* was published in 1930. Eisler was the father of Gerhart *Eisler, the Communist leader, and Hanns *Eisler, the composer.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Oesterreichisches Biographisches Lexikon 1815–1950*, 1 (1957), 238–39. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** NDB, 4 (1959), 421f.

[Samuel Hugo Bergman]

EISMANN, MOSES (1847–1893), Hebrew journalist. Born in Tivrov, he began his literary activity in 1870 with an article in *Ha-Meliẓ*, concerning government-appointed rabbis. In *Bi-Fero'a Pera'ot be-Yisrael* (1882), he argued that there was only one solution to the "Jewish Question" – the Jewish settlement of Palestine, which in the course of time would become the home of all the scattered Jews. This was also the subject of his pamphlet *Inyanei ha-Yehudim: She'elat ha-Yeẓi'ah* ("Concerning Jewish Affairs: the Emigration Question," Jerusalem, 1887). In 1890 he participated in the founding convention of Ḥovevei Zion in Odessa. He wrote Yiddish articles in *Der Veker,* edited by *Lilienblum, as well as in other publications. He also wrote articles in Russian under a pseudonym.

His brother, DAVID EISMANN (1869–1922), wrote stories in Russian, published in seven volumes in 1911, dealing mainly with the Jewish intelligentsia, exposed to the cultural environment of Russian society.

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[Baruch Shohetman]

EISNER, KURT (1867–1919), German socialist leader, who was founder and first prime minister of the Bavarian Republic. Born in Berlin, Eisner became a journalist. He was a contributor to the *Frankfurter Zeitung* from 1891 to 1893, and from 1893 to 1897 to the *Hessische Landeszeitung*. In 1897 he was imprisoned for nine months for lese majesty. In 1898 he joined the social-democratic journal *Vorwaerts* as political editor. In 1905 he had to leave because of disagreements with the orthodox left (Kautsky, Luxemburg, Mehring). Two years later, he became editor of the *Fraenkische Tagespost* (Nuernberg), and from 1910 he reported on the Bavarian Landtag as official correspondent for the *Muenchner Post*. A gifted writer, he had an intellectual and moral approach to political problems. At the beginning of World War I, Eisner favored the granting of war credits to the German government. However, he objected to the imperial policy of conquest and became a bitter opponent of the government's war policies. He was arrested and imprisoned in January 1918 for participating as one of the leaders in the Munich metal workers' peace strike but was released in October, in order to stand as Independent Social-Democratic candidate for the Reichstag. On November 7, 1918, Eisner headed the revolutionary uprising in Munich and next day became prime minister of the new republic of Bavaria. To affix the blame for the war on the German government, he revealed the contents of Bavarian government reports and as a result his enemies falsely accused him of taking huge bribes from the Allies to start the revolution. In the Bavarian elections that followed the uprising, Eisner's Independent Socialist Party received only a small number of votes. On February 21, 1919, on his way to the Landtag (parliament), to announce the resignation of his government, he was shot dead by the young Count Arco-Valley. Eisner's *Gesammelte Schriften* appeared in 1919 in two volumes.

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[Bernhard Grau (2nd ed.)]

EISNER, MARK (1886–1953), U.S. lawyer and public official. Eisner was born in New York City. After serving in the New York State Assembly (1913–15), Eisner was appointed delegate to the state's Constitutional Convention (1915). An authority on taxation law, Eisner was collector of internal revenue for the New York district from 1915 to 1919, and lectured on his specialty at New York University and New York Law School. He formed a law partnership in 1924. When the New York City Board of Higher Education was established in 1926, Eisner was appointed a member by Mayor James J. Walker, later serving as chairman (1932–38). Eisner was active in other civic, professional, and communal organizations, including service as president of the *American Association for Jewish Education (1939–47). He wrote *Lay View of Some of the Problems of Higher Education* (1936), and was an editor of *How Government Regulates Business* (1939).

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[Morton Rosenstock]

EISNER, MICHAEL DAMMANN (1942–), U.S. business executive. Born in Mount Kisco, N.Y., to Lester, a lawyer and administrator for the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, and Margaret (née Dammann), co-founder of the American Safety Razor Company, Eisner grew up in the family's apartment on Fifth Avenue in New York City and graduated from Denison University in 1964. Following summer jobs as a page and a first job as a Federal Communications Commission logging clerk at NBC, Eisner landed a job in the CBS programming department. Unhappy, Eisner sent his resume out to hundreds of companies. ABC head Barry Diller convinced the board to bring Eisner on as assistant to the national programming director, a position he held from 1966 to 1968. From there Eisner rose to senior vice president for prime-time production and development, creating such programs as *Happy Days*, *Barney Miller,* and *Starsky and Hutch.* When Diller took over as chair of Paramount Pictures in 1976, he offered Eisner the position of studio president. Under Eisner, the studio released such hits as *Raiders of the Lost Ark, Grease, Ordinary People, Terms of Endearment, Flashdance, Trading Places, Beverly Hills Cop*, and *Airplane*. Eisner left

Paramount to become chair and CEO of Walt Disney Company in September 1984. At the time, Disney had not had a hit film since 1969 and its profits had fallen dramatically. Eisner reinvigorated the studio on several fronts, luring new executives, making popular films for adults like *Down and Out in Beverly Hills* (1985), re-releasing classic Disney films, creating new animated films such as *Beauty and the Beast* (1991) and *The Lion King* (1994) – and launching Broadway versions of the films – as well as computer animated films in partnership with Pixar such as *Toy Story* (1995) and *Finding Nemo* (2003). He also expanded the company in TV and cable (launching the Disney Channel and acquiring ABC and the Family Channel), expanded the existing Disneyland and Disneyworld resorts and established Disneyland theme parks in Europe outside Paris, France, and in Japan, and acquired Harvey and Bob Weinstein's specialty films division Miramax Films. Although in a 20-year period Eisner increased the value of the company 2000%, his management style and inability to groom a successor led to major conflicts. Former president of production Jeffrey Katzenberg left to found Dreamworks and won a $250 million suit against Disney. Eisner hired former Creative Artist Agency founder Michael Ovitz and then a year later fired him, paying him a severance that exceeded $100 million and spurred several stockholder lawsuits. The relationships with Pixar and Miramax soured. In 2003, Walt Disney's nephew Roy Disney asked Eisner to resign as head of the company. Following a vote to remove Eisner from the board, the Disney CEO announced he would retire at the end of his contract on September 30, 2006. However, subsequently, he announced he would step down on September 30, 2005, and would be succeeded by Robert Iger. Eisner's tenure at Disney has been the subject of several books, including Eisner's own 1998 account, *Work in Progress*, and *Disney Wars* by James Stewart (2005).

[Adam Wills (2nd ed.)]

EISNER, PAVEL (**Paul**; 1889–1958), bilingual Czech-German writer, translator, and literary critic. His literary work made him a bridge-builder between Czech and German cultural circles in Czechoslovakia. Born in Prague, Eisner studied Slavic philology at the German University there and soon became known as the editor of a series of anthologies, mainly of Czech and Slovak folk literature (*Tschechische Anthologie, Slovakische Anthologie, Volkslieder der Slaven, Volksmaerchen der Slaven).* As editor of the literary supplement of the government-owned paper *Prager Presse,* he became one of the few interpreters – most of whom were Jews – of Czech literature to the German reading public. One of the most prolific writers of his time, he translated hundreds of poems and short stories by practically every modern Czech author of importance. On the other hand, he was also a tireless translator from German into Czech, acquainting the Czech reader with authors ranging from J.W. Goethe to Thomas Mann and from Heinrich *Heine to Franz *Kafka. He was the first, in his book *Německá literatura na půdě Československé republiky* ("German Literature on Czechoslovak Soil," 1933), to analyze the contribution of the German Jewish writers from Prague. Czech-German-Jewish symbiosis is also the theme of his book of essays *Milenky* ("Lovers," 1930) and of *Franz Kafka and Prague* (1950). However, the bulk of his literary studies, mainly in the fields of comparative literature, psychology of languages, and the mutual influence of national cultures, remains dispersed in a great number of Central European publications. Although prevented by a hearing defect from becoming a musician, he nevertheless kept in constant touch with musical life and not only translated foreign operas into Czech and libretti of Czech operas (by Dvořák, Martinů, Jeremiáš) into German, but also wrote several studies on the history of music, including one on Jewish music and musical instruments. Shielded by his non-Jewish wife, who was distantly related to Richard Wagner, Eisner escaped deportation during the Nazi occupation and was able to work in the Jewish Museum in Prague. Some of his last essays were published in *Věstník,* the monthly of the Jewish community of Prague. His best known work is *Chrám i tvrz* ("The Cathedral and the Fortress," 1946), an exposition on the Czech language and its riches.

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[Avigdor Dagan]

EISNER, WILL (**William Erwin**; 1917–2005), U.S. comic book artist and author. Born in Brooklyn, N.Y., the son of Jewish immigrants, Eisner published his first drawings in his high school newspaper. He published his first comic in 1936 in *Wow, What a Magazine!*, where he met Jerry Iger. Together they created a comic book outfit, Eisner & Iger, that employed among other artists Bob *Kane, creator of Batman and other superheroes. (Eisner turned down a comic called *Superman* by Jerry *Siegel and Joe *Shuster.)

In 1940 Eisner created the Spirit, a hero without superpowers. Fans called the strip the "Citizen Kane" of comics for its innovation, its seriousness, and its influences. A website devoted to the Spirit described the hero as a man "with no gimmicks or powers" other than "his freedom from society" and noted that Eisner called the Spirit a "middle-class crime fighter." At the height of its popularity, the Spirit appeared in 20 newspapers, reaching 5 million readers every Sunday. In 1942, when Eisner was drafted into the army, he started drawing comics for the military. In late 1945 he went back to the Spirit, and with the help of other artists, including Jules *Feiffer, he revived and deepened it. The Spirit expired in 1952. For the next 25 years, Eisner spent much of his time running the American Visual Corporation, a producer of education, army, and government comic books. Military manuals used to be dry and virtually unreadable but Eisner used words and pictures together to show soldiers how to do everything from cleaning their tanks to putting their lives back together after the war.

The Kitchen Sink Press reprinted all of the postwar Spirit comics from 1978 to 1998. Meanwhile, in the 1970s, Eisner was reborn as a comic artist. In 1978 he wrote and drew *A Contract* *with God*, a comic book story about Frimme Hersh, a Jewish immigrant who becomes a slumlord in the Bronx when he discovers that God has forsaken him. With that book, Eisner became famous for his moody rain, which came to be called "Eisner spritz." His work over the years was also noted for wordless, emotional close-ups on characters' faces. Eisner is credited with coining the phrase "graphic novel" in 1978. Eisner's seriousness influenced the work of Art *Spiegelman, author of *Maus*. Eisner wrote two books on comic art, *Comic and Sequential Art* in 1985 and *Graphic Storytelling* in 1996.

In 2004, Eisner took on Charles Dickens in *Fagin the Jew*, challenging most characterizations in *Oliver Twist* that stereotyped Jews. In Eisner's version of events, Fagin, who is in prison awaiting the hangman, confronts Dickens and demands a recasting of his characters without the prejudice in the novel. "A Jew is not Fagin," he tells the author, "any more than a Gentile is Sikes!" another character in the story. Eisner's *Last Day in Vietnam*, a collection of the military battle stories he wrote in Korea and Vietnam, was issued in 2005. His last work, *The Plot: The Secret Story of the Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, provided a graphic history of one of the most notorious works in the pantheon of antisemitism.

[Stewart Kampel (2nd ed.)]

EISS, ALEXANDER VON (1832–1921), Austro-Hungarian soldier. Born in Piesling, Moravia, Eiss joined the army in 1848 and took part in Austria's wars against Italy (1849), France and Italy (1859), and Prussia and Italy (1866). He was one of the first Jewish officers to receive many decorations for heroism. Eiss was proud of his Jewish identity and fought more than 30 duels over insults to his people. In 1866 he was awarded the Order of the Iron Crown, which conferred hereditary knighthood upon him. After the conquest of Bosnia, Eiss was awarded the Order of Maria Theresa, after having rejected it years earlier when it entailed his conversion to Christianity. In 1896, after becoming a major-general, he retired from the army and became almost blind. He sometimes appeared in his general's uniform at Zionist meetings in Vienna. His proud Jewish stance brought him to the attention of Herzl, who made him responsible for administering the central organ of the Zionist Organization, *Die *Welt*. Later, he also headed the Vienna office of the *Jewish National Fund. Also his three sons became officers in the army; two of them fell in World War I.

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[Mordechai Kaplan]

°**EISSFELDT, OTTO** (1887–1973), German Lutheran Bible scholar. From 1913 to 1921 he was *privatdocent* in Berlin, and from 1921, professor in Halle (Saale). In his two principal fields, literary criticism and the history of religion, he was decisively influenced by his teachers Smend, with whom he studied at Goettingen, and Baudissin, who taught him in Berlin. (At Goettingen he studied with Wellhausen as well.) Following Smend, Eissfeldt postulated instead of Wellhausen's oldest Hexateuch source, J, two originally independent sources, J^1 and J^2, or L (Lay source) and J, and also the continuation of the Hexateuch sources beyond Joshua (*Hexateuch-Synopse*, 1922; *Die Quellen des Richterbuches*, "The Sources of the Book of Judges," 1925; *Die aeltesten Traditionen Israels*, 1950; *Die Genesis der Genesis*, 1958). His comprehensive *Einleitung in das Alte Testament* (1934, 1964^3; Eng. trans., *The Old Testament, An Introduction*, 1965) strives to preserve the heritage of Gunkel, being concerned with the smallest preliterary units and their "Situation in Life" *(Sitz im Leben)*. Eissfeldt's inaugural lecture "Jahwe and Baal" given in Berlin (1914) prefigured the development of his work in the history of religion, which, to begin with, followed in the footsteps of Baudissin (the publication of his *Kyrios*, 1929); he concerned himself with numerous problems and figures in the Canaanite-Phoenician religion (*Der Gott Bethel*, 1930; *Der Gott Thabor*, 1934; *Molk als Opferbegriff im Punischen und Hebraeischen* ("Molek as a Sacrificial Term in Hebrew and Punic"), 1935; *Der Gott Karmel*, 1953), and after the discoveries at Ras Shamra the specific study of their Ugaritic manifestations (*Ras Schamra und Sanchun aton*, 1939; *El im ugaritischen Pantheon*, 1951). His chief aim was to arrive at a better understanding of the religion of the Israelites (*Ba'alsamen und Jahwe*, 1939; *Jahwe Zebaoth*, 1950; *El and Yahwe*, 1956; *Adonis und Adona*, 1970). He edited the *Handbuch zum Alten Testament* and, together with A. Alt, the third edition of R. Kittel's *Biblia Hebraica*. Many of his shorter articles were collected in *Kleine Schriften* (5 vols., 1962 ff.).

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[Rudolf Smend]

EISSLER, KURT R. (1908–1999), psychoanalyst. Born in Vienna, Eissler worked at the Vienna Psychoanalytic Institute under August Eichhorn and applied his training to juvenile delinquents. When the Nazis took over Austria, he left Vienna and settled in the United States. On the basis of his Viennese experience he edited and contributed to the book *Searchlights on Delinquency* (1949). Eissler was the first analyst who in 1943 broke away from tradition and treated schizophrenics. He wrote *Limitations to Psychotherapy of Schizophrenics* (1943). His action at that time was considered a bold step and he attempted in his book *Objective Criteria of Recovery from Neuropsychiatric Disorders* (1947) to introduce research methods into this area of psychotherapy. Later he began research into the psychodynamics of dying. His wide scholarship was evident in works like *Goethe, a Psychoanalytic Study* (1963), *Leonardo da Vinci: Psychoanalytic Notes on the Enigma* (1961), and *Freud and the Seduction Theory: A Brief Love Affair* (2001). His wife, Ruth Eissler, also trained at the Vienna Psychoanalytic Institute, was known for her work with children.

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[Miriam Gay]

EITAN, RAPHAEL (“**Raful**”; 1929–2004), Israeli soldier, 11th chief of staff of the IDF. Eitan was born in Israel and began his military career as an officer in the *Palmaḥ and was wounded in the battle for Jerusalem during the War of Independence.

In the 1956 Sinai Campaign he was one of the first to parachute into the Mitla Pass, and took a prominent part in the campaign in Sinai during the Six-Day War. He commanded the Israeli commando force which raided Beirut airport in 1968 and was later appointed chief infantry and paratroop officer. During the Yom Kippur War his unit played a key role in stemming the Syrian attack and advanced to within 25 miles of Damascus.

In 1978 he was appointed chief of staff in succession to Lt.-General Mordecai (“Motta”) *Gur, taking up his appointment in April. During his service as chief of staff he initiated the “Raful Youth” project, a special program for youth from underprivileged backgrounds. In his position as chief of staff he commanded the Israeli forces in the 1982 Lebanon War. In 1983 he was criticized by the *Kahan Commission – established to investigate the causes of the killing by Phalangist forces of Palestinians in the refugee camps of Sabra and Shatilla in west Beirut – for failure to try to prevent the massacre, but was not dismissed since his term as chief of staff was by then nearly over.

In 1983 Eitan formed the Tzomet political party, which united with the ultra-right-wing Teḥiyah party before the elections for the Eleventh Knesset in 1984. He was elected to the Eleventh on the joint slate and to the Twelfth Knesset in 1988 with Tzomet running independently, having split with Teḥiyah. Tzomet contested the 1992 elections on a hawkish, anti-religious platform and won eight seats, making it the fourth largest party in the Knesset; it remained in the opposition rather than join Yitzhak Rabin’s Labor-led coalition. He was elected again to the Knesset in the 1996 elections, running on the combined *Likud-Gesher-Tzomet ticket, and was appointed minister of agriculture and environment and deputy prime minister in the *Netanyahu government. His influence on government policy was minimal, and as a result he lost public support. In 1998 he announced his candidacy for prime minister, but withdrew later on. In the 1999 elections, Tzomet failed to win any seats and as a consequence Eitan retired from political and public life. He drowned in November 2004 when he was swept off a breakwater in Ashdod port on a stormy day.

[Fern Lee Seckbach / Rohan Saxena and Susan Hattis Rolef (2nd ed.)]

EITINGER, LEO S. (1912–1996), psychiatrist and pioneer researcher in psychotraumatology. Born in Lomnice, Czechoslovakia, and graduating from medical school in 1937, Eitinger fled from the Nazis in 1939 and came to Norway as a refugee with a Nansen passport. He was given permission to work as a resident in psychiatry in Norway until the Nazi occupation of Norway in 1940. In 1942 he was deported to Auschwitz together with the Norwegian Jews and was one of the very few to survive. After the war he returned to Norway, where he specialized in psychiatry. Eitinger wrote his doctoral thesis on “Psykiatriske undersøkelser blant flyktninger i Norge” (“Psychiatric Examination among Refugees in Norway,” 1958). In 1954 Eitinger was awarded the King’s Gold Medal for his study of the influence of military life on young Norwegian men’s mental health. He is regarded as one of the founders of victimology, the study of the effects of aggression upon the victim. After spending a year in Israel (1961–62) examining survivors of concentration camps, he published *Concentration Camp Survivors in Norway and Israel* (1964). This work, together with “Mortality and Morbidity after Excessive Stress” (1973), were his greatest achievements. He described a “concentration camp syndrome” comprising anxiety and depression in the survivors. He ascribed this to physical trauma. Eitinger, professor of psychiatry at Oslo University, was president of the Norwegian Psychiatric Association from 1963 to 1967. In 1966 he became head of the University Psychiatric Clinic. As professor emeritus, Leo Eitinger continued his research and writing uninterruptedly. He was awarded the World Veterans Federation’s Prize in 1995 for his unrelenting work for war veterans. He was also appointed Commander of the Royal Norwegian St. Olav Order, an award given to him by the king of Norway for his great contribution to medical science. He and his wife, Lisl Eitinger, devoted their lives to the promotion of human rights and the fight against injustice and racism. In this spirit they established the University of Oslo’s Human Rights Award, the Lisl and Leo Eitinger Prize.

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[Inger-Lise Grusd / Lynn Claire Feinberg (2nd ed.)]

EITINGON, MAX (1881–1943), psychoanalyst. Born in Mohilev, Russia, Eitingon was raised in Leipzig, Germany, where his parents settled. He studied philosophy, first in Heidelberg and then in Marburg, where he was a pupil of Hermann *Cohen. However, he subsequently moved to the study of medicine, and qualified as a physician at Zurich in 1909. There he joined the group of psychiatrists headed by Bleuler and Jung, who tried to give Sigmund *Freud’s theories a broader basis by applying them to psychiatric diseases. While still a medical student in 1907, Eitingon went to Vienna, where (as Freud himself disclosed) he was the first foreign visitor to study psychoanalysis at its source. Later he settled in Berlin. During World War I he served in the Austrian medical corps, and his encounter with war neuroses induced him to establish clinics for psychoanalytical treatment. In 1919 he was appointed a member of the so-called “Committee” – a small inner circle at the heart of the psychoanalytical movement. In 1920, together with Karl *Abraham and E. Simmel, he founded the Berlin Psychoanalytic Polyclinic to provide treatment for the underprivileged and to establish a program for the teaching of psychoanalysis. This Polyclinic was in 1924 registered as the Berlin Institute for Psychoanalysis, and became the model on which later institutes were based. Eitingon was elected president of the International Psychoanalytical Association at the Innsbruck congress in 1927. He chaired three later congresses and resigned only in 1932. After the rise of the Nazis, Eitingon immigrated to Jerusalem. In 1933 he founded the Palestine Psychoanalytical Society and a year later he established the Psychoanalytical Institute (subsequently named in his memory), of which he remained the head until his death. His move to Palestine was a natural consequence of his lifelong interest in and devotion to Zionism. He placed the Psychoanalytical Institute, as well as his own experience, at the disposal of Youth Aliyah.

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[Heinrich Zwi Winnik]

EIZENBERG, JULIE (1964–), U.S. architect; president and founder of the architectural firm Koning Eizenberg Architects, Inc., a California corporation established in 1981 and based in Santa Monica. The vice president is Hendrick Koning. This husband-and-wife team is known in the U.S. and Australia for its imaginative, site-specific, and people-oriented approach. Both principals hold degrees in architecture from the University of Melbourne, Australia, and the University of California, Los Angeles. The firm has a reputation for its creative thinking. The postmodern approach to design results in buildings with clear, clean, straight lines applied to a variety of commercial, retail, hotel, and residential premises. The firm is also known for designing affordable housing, schools, and community buildings. Its long list of honors includes awards for such buildings as the Simone Hotel, the first new single-room occupancy to be built in Los Angeles in 30 years. This hotel, built in the "skid row" neighborhood, won the National AIA Honor Award in 1994 for providing subtle changes in the usual plans for low-cost housing. They planned especially for the safety, comfort, and dignity of the occupants. Good lighting in the rooms, kitchen, and lounges provided a cheerful atmosphere. The firm also won the national competition in 2001 for the design of two new schools for the Chicago Public Schools and for the Pittsburgh Children's Museum expansion in 2000. Julie Eizenberg has lectured widely in the United States and Australia. She was the William Henry Bishop Visiting Professor at Yale University in 2004. Later projects in Los Angeles include the downtown LA Standard, 5th Street Family Housing, P.S. 1 Elementary School expansion, RAD Clothing, the Avalon Hotel, and the 25th Street Studio.

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[Betty R. Rubenstein (2nd ed.)]

EIZENSTAT, STUART (1943–), U.S. government adviser and special envoy and mediator for Holocaust property claims. Eizenstat was born in Chicago, Illinois, grew up in Atlanta, graduated with honors in political science from the University of North Carolina (1964), and received a law degree from Harvard Law School (1967). After law school, he worked in the Johnson White House as a staff aide and, in 1968, as the research director for Hubert Humphrey's presidential campaign. In 1969, he clerked for Justice Newell Edenfield of the U.S. District Court of Georgia, and in 1970, he joined the Atlanta law firm Powell, Goldstein, Frazier, and Murphy. He continued his interest in politics in 1976, joining the Jimmy Carter presidential campaign as policy and issues director, and subsequently served as domestic policy advisor in the Carter White House. At that time, he was an anomaly in public life, a high-ranking practicing Jew whose children attended Jewish school. President Carter honored Eizenstat's religious Jewish commitment by attending a Passover *seder* in his home. Since then, religiously committed American Jews have been quite comfortable in government service, comfortable as Americans and as observant Jews.

As domestic policy advisor, Eizenstat's Jewish commitment and knowledge of the Holocaust influenced two major decisions. He was instrumental in recommending the establishment of the President's Commission on the Holocaust, which led to the establishment of the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, and in providing shelter in the United States for Iranian Jews, Bahais, and Christians who were fleeing Ayatollah Khomeini's regime in Iran in 1979. Eizenstat succeeded in establishing a special visitor's visa, which would expire only when the Shah of Iran was returned to power. This served as a measure to protect some 50,000 Iranian Jews, almost all of whom are American citizens today.

With the defeat of President Carter, Eizenstat resumed private legal practice in 1980 and also served as an adjunct lecturer at the Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University and a guest scholar at the Brookings Institution. In 1993, he returned to public service, holding several high-profile positions in the Clinton Administration. He first was named U.S. ambassador to the European Union. While serving as ambassador, he was asked to assume the role of the State Department's special envoy for property claims in Central and Eastern Europe. In 1996, Eizenstat was named under secretary for international trade at the U.S. Department of Commerce and continued his role as special envoy for property claims. Eizenstat was asked to investigate U.S. and Allied efforts to recover billions of dollars of gold stolen by the Nazis from the central banks of the conquered countries and from Holocaust victims. Eleven U.S. government agencies participated; the report documented the complicity of the Swiss National Bank in converting looted gold into hard currency for the Nazis, the centrality of Switzerland to the Nazi economic effort, the inadequacies of U.S. postwar policies, and the inadequacy of reparations from the Allied nations to victims.

After moving to the State Department in 1997 as under secretary for economic, business, and agricultural affairs, Eizenstat became more immersed in the reparations issues, as Congressional hearings (led by Sen. *D'Amato, R-NY) continued and U.S. class action lawsuits against three major Swiss banks seized the world's attention. The United States government stepped up its involvement: Eizenstat was now deputy secretary of the U.S. Treasury and became the lead U.S. mediator not just in the class action lawsuits against the Swiss banks but in negotiations between Jewish organizations, such as the World Jewish Congress and the World Jewish Restitution Organization, and the governments and companies of Germany, Austria, and France. In his book, *Imperfect Justice: Looted Assets, Slave Labor, and the Unfinished Business of World War II*, Eizenstat recounts his efforts, which led to the disclosure of more than 20,000 dormant accounts in Swiss banks; $8 billion in class action settlements against private Swiss, German, Austrian, and French companies and their governments; the negotiation with 40 countries of the Washington Principles on Art regarding the return of looted works of art; and – most importantly – the emergence of truth about the large-scale theft of property and the financial methods the Nazis used to sustain their war effort.

[Lisa Lubick-Daniel (2nd ed.)]

EKRON (Heb. עֶקְרוֹן), one of the capital cities of the Philistine Pentapolis. According to the Bible, Joshua allotted it to the tribe of Dan on its northeastern border with Judah (Josh. 15:11, 45–46; 19:43), and Judges 1:18 relates that it was captured by the tribe of Judah. In Joshua 13:3, however, and all later sources, Ekron appears as one of the five cities of the Philistine confederation. After the Ark of the Covenant, which was captured at Eben-Ezer, had brought misfortune to the Philistine cities that received it, the people of Ekron refused to admit it and proposed returning it to Israelite territory (I Sam. 5:1ff.; 6:16–17). Cities in the region of Ekron and Gath were restored to Israel by Samuel (I Sam. 7:14). In the story of David and Goliath, the Israelites pursued the Philistines to "the gates of Ekron" (I Sam. 17:52). In the ninth century messengers of King Ahaziah of Israel consulted "Baal Zebub, the god of Ekron," receiving a stern rebuke from Elijah (II Kings 1:2–16). Amos (1:6–8) reprimanded Ekron and its sister cities for their slave trade and threatened it with destruction as did Jeremiah (25:20) and Zephaniah (2:4) in King Josiah's time (640–609 B.C.E.). Zephaniah threatened Ekron with being "rooted up" (תֵּעָקֵר), a play on words.

The siege of ʿamqar(r)una (Ekron), which took place in 712 B.C.E., was depicted on a wall relief in the palace of Sargon II at Khorsabad. Sennacherib captured Ekron in 701 B.C.E. during his suppression of the rebellion led by King Hezekiah of Judah. According to Sennacherib's Royal Annals, Padi, king of Ekron, who was loyal to Assyria, was deposed by a part of the populace who handed him over to Hezekiah for imprisonment. Despite the help Ekron received from the Egyptians, Sennacherib took the city, executed the rebels, and forced Hezekiah to release Padi, whom he restored as ruler of the city. Padi also received territory taken from Judah. His successor, Ikausu, however, was not so fortunate and, together with Manasseh of Judah, paid heavy tribute to both Esarhaddon (particularly materials for the palace at Nineveh) and Ashurbanipal during their campaigns against Syria, Egypt, and Cush, in the first half of the seventh century B.C.E.

In 147 B.C.E. Alexander Balas granted the city and its district to Jonathan the Hasmonean as a reward for his loyalty (I Macc. 10:89; Jos., Antiq., 13:102). Eusebius describes it as "a very large Jewish village called Akkaron" (Onom. 29:9). Jerome situates it to the east of Azotus and Iamnia, mentioning also that some equated Accaron with Straton's Tower at Caesarea; similarly in the Talmud R. *Abbahu mistakenly identifies Ekron with Caesarea (Meg. 6a). It is also mentioned in connection with a march by Baldwin I during the Crusades (c. 1200).

The biblical city of Ekron is now identified with Tel Miqne (Khirbat al-Muqanna'), a large fortified mound (75 acres), situated 22 mi. southwest of Jerusalem on the frontier zone that once separated Philistia from Judah. J. Naveh was the first to identify Muqanna' with Ekron, correcting W.F. Albright who had suggested that it should be identified as biblical Eltekeh. Naveh's identification has been borne out by subsequent excavations at the site (14 seasons) that were undertaken between 1981 and 1996 by T. Dothan and S. Gitin on behalf of the W.F. Albright Institute of Archaeological Research and the Hebrew University. Apart from ceramic finds from the Chalcolithic and Early Bronze Ages, the earliest remains of a settlement at the site date from the Middle Bronze Age (MB II), including monumental platforms – the base of a fortifications rampart, and intramural burials. The Late Bronze Age settlement was apparently unfortified and restricted to the ten acres of the northeast acropolis/upper city, while the lower city was abandoned. Finds attest to links with Cyprus, the Aegean, and Anatolia, on the one hand, and Egypt, on the other. The final LB stratum was destroyed by fire.

Ekron saw a process of re-urbanization during the Iron Age I with the founding of the first Sea Peoples/Philistine city in the second quarter of the 12th century B.C.E. This fortified urban center, encompassing upper and lower cities, was characterized by a new material culture with Aegean affinities, including megaron-type buildings and local versions of Mycenaean (IIIC:1) wares. The Iron Age I city was destroyed in the first quarter of the tenth century B.C.E., either by the Egyptians (at the time of Pharaoh Siamun) or by the Israelites. The Iron Age IIA–B city (tenth–eighth centuries B.C.E.) was limited to the northeast acropolis/upper city. Following the Assyrian conquest in 701 B.C.E., when Ekron became an Assyrian vassal city-state, the city once again expanded encompassing the lower and upper cities and a new area of 25 acres to the north of the site. During the Iron Age II period, when the Aegean affinities of the Philistine material culture had ceased to exist, the Philistines themselves did not disappear but underwent a process of acculturation. Nevertheless, throughout this period the Philistines were able to maintain their ethnic identity. Excavations have shown that in the seventh century B.C.E. Ekron achieved its zenith of economic growth, with the largest industrial center for the mass production of olive oil yet known from antiquity. Seventh century

Ekron also produced a unique temple with a royal dedicatory inscription dating from the second quarter of the seventh century B.C.E. This inscription refers to two kings of Ekron who are also attested in the Neo-Assyrian annals, namely Padi and his son Ikausu, the builder of the temple, and identifies the site as Ekron. The city was substantially destroyed by fire at the time of the campaign of the Neo-Babylonian Nebuchadnezzar (604 B.C.E.). Although it was partially resettled in the sixth century B.C.E., the mound was largely abandoned with only very few remains surviving from later periods.

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[S. Gitin (2nd ed.)]

ELAD (Heb. אֶלְעָד), urban community with municipal council status. It is located in the center of Israel, 2.5 mi. (4 km.) south of *Rosh ha-Ayin and occupying an area of about 1 sq. mi. (2.7 sq. km.). The town was geared to a religious population, mainly ultra-Orthodox Jews. The first settlers arrived in 1998. In 2002 its population was 15,100, about half 15 and under in age. Earnings in the town were about half the national average. An educational complex and industrial area were planned for the town's center.

[Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

ELAH (Heb. אֵלָה; 9th century B.C.E.), king of Israel in the period coinciding with the reign of King Asa of Judah; son of *Baasha. According to I Kings 16:8, Elah reigned two years (c. 883–882 B.C.E.); however, in effect it was only a few months (a short time before and a short time after the official New Year's day). Elah was murdered, while in a state of intoxication, by *Zimri, the captain of half his chariot force, in the house of Arza, who was Elah's steward, in the capital city Tirzah (*ibid.* 9–10). The murder of Elah was apparently connected with the army's dissatisfaction over his indifference to the renewed campaign against the Philistines near Gibbethon. This campaign was undertaken as a continuation of the efforts of *Nadab son of Jeroboam to ensure the security of the southwestern border of the kingdom (*ibid.* 16; cf. 15:27).

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EL AL (Heb. "Skyward"), the State of Israel's national airline; founded in November 1948. Its original mission was to facilitate the transportation of Jewish immigrants. Using surplus World War II aircraft – DC-4 Skymasters and C-46 Curtiss Commandos – and manned by volunteers from various parts of the world, it played a decisive role in rescuing Jewish communities in the Middle East. By 1949, however, El Al was flying scheduled routes between Israel and Rome and Paris. In the following year, it obtained the more modern Constellations, and with four of these planes routes were extended to include Athens, Vienna, Zurich, London, Nairobi, Johannesburg, and New York. Shortly afterward, Istanbul, Brussels, Amsterdam, Teheran, Frankfurt, Munich, and Copenhagen were added. By 1996, it served 50 intercontinental destinations including Cairo, Beijing, and New Delhi as well as nine cities in the U.S. In December 1957, El Al was the world's second air carrier to employ turboprops (four Bristol Britannias) for transcontinental service, and in January 1961 it procured three Boeing 707–420 intercontinental jet airliners. In June 1961 it inaugurated the first nonstop service between New York and Tel Aviv – then one of the world's longest nonstop scheduled commercial flights. El Al rapidly expanded its fleet to keep pace with the increasing development of tourism. By the mid-1960s it had two Boeing 720 B intermediate range jets, three standard intercontinental 707s, and two powerful 707–320 BS; it leased additional jet planes as required. In February 1969 an eighth plane was added and later in the year the airline acquired its first 320 C mixed cargo-passenger plane. Development plans included the acquisition of Boeing 747 Jumbo jets and two Boeing supersonic airliners. In 2004 the company had 28 Boeing aircraft: five 747–200s, four 747–400s, three 737–700/800s, six 767s, six 757s, and four 777–200s.

The majority shareholder in El Al is the Israeli government. Nearly all training is carried out at the company's headquarters at Lydda (Lod) Airport. All food served aboard its aircraft is *kasher.* The airliner does not fly on Saturdays, the Jewish Sabbath. However, its subsidiary, Sundor, a charter airline company, works seven days a week. Sundor was established in 1977 for low-cost flights. In 2003 El Al employed more than 3,000 workers and had 77 offices all over the world. It flew to 40 direct destinations, and to many others by share agreements with several other aircraft companies. It carried over 1.3 million people a year and its annual turnover was about $1.2 billion. Sundor carried 250,000 passengers during the years 2001–4 in two 757–200 aircraft.

After the Six-Day War, El Al became a target for one of the Arab terrorist organizations, the People's Front for the Liberation of Palestine. A Boeing 707 was hijacked to Algeria in July 1968 but was later returned to Israel. In December 1968, an El Al plane was attacked on the ground at Athens airport and one passenger killed, and an attack on another at Zurich in February 1969 resulted in the death of one of the crew. A hijacking attempt in 1970 was foiled by the crew. A Constellation, straying off course, was shot down over Bulgaria in 1955 (all passengers were killed and Bulgaria later paid compensation).

El Al played a crucial role during the 1991 Persian Gulf conflict, acting as Israel's sole airlink with the world when all other airlines had ceased flying to Israel. It also played a vital role in the 1990s in bringing Russian and Ethiopian immigrants to Israel. In the last two decades of the 20th century, the company faced serious economic problems. The government began privatization in 2003, issuing stock to the public. In 2004 the company showed a profit due to its increased share in both passenger and cargo flights.

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[Arnold Sherman / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

ELAM (Heb. עֵילָם, *ʿeylam*; Elamite *halhatamti*; Akk. *Elamtu*), region on the edge of the southwestern part of the Iranian plateau, modern Khuzistan, including the river valley around Susa and the highlands beyond. In Elamite Elam may mean "the lord-country," but in Mesopotamian languages it was understood as "The Heights." The word Elam probably derives from the Elamite, relying on a popular etymology in Akkadian relating it to *elû*, "high." In classical sources it is referred to as Susiana, from Susa (Heb. שׁוּשַׁן, *Shūshan*), the capital of Elam.

History

Elam was closely connected with Mesopotamia, serving as a source of its raw materials, wood, stone, and metals and as the route for precious metals and stones like lapis lazuli, the blue stone prized by the Mesopotamians, which were brought from as far away as Afghanistan. The Elamites also raided the valleys of the Diyala and the Tigris, and, according to the Sumerian King List, the Awan dynasty, the most ancient royal dynasty in Elam, ruled Sumer for a time. There is a poorly understood treaty between the Akkadian ruler Naram-Sin and an Elamite ruler from around 2200 B.C.E. In the 21st century B.C.E., the kings of the third dynasty of Ur in Mesopotamia annexed Elam, and Susa became a seat of Sumerian governors.

At the beginning of the 19th century B.C.E., an independent Elamite royal dynasty reigned in Anshan in the uplands and Susa on the plain. Elam exerted a widespread influence, and trading expeditions carried raw materials from Elam as far as Hazor in Canaan. In the middle of the 18th century B.C.E., Elam was consolidated under the rule of Kutir-Nahhunte I, whose reign coincided with the later years of *Hammurapi of Babylon and with the reign of Hammurapi's son, Samsu-iluna. From about this time on, and throughout the whole period, Babylonian influence is evidenced by the use of Akkadian as the written language of economic and cultural life.

During this period three rulers held power in Elam at one and the same time: the highest ruler, called in Sumerian the "Grand Regent" (Sumerian *sukkal-mah*), and two others, who were his sons, one ruling the highlands and the other the Susiana plain. The manner in which authority was divided among the three is not clear. But the rulers of Elam were members of one family, and succession to the throne was matrilineal. The old idea that one of the rulers was a nephew should be discarded. One of the son's mothers was the regent's sister, indicating a way of keeping power within the family that to moderns looks incestuous but must not have been seen as incestuous to Elamites.

Almost nothing is known about the history of Elam during the 17th-15th centuries B.C.E., but it appears to have suffered greatly from the migrations of the peoples who descended upon the Babylonian plain from the Zagros mountains. Elam rose to prominence again at the beginning of the 13th century B.C.E. The most famous king of that period was Untash-napirisha, who reigned during the first half of the 13th century and built his capital, Dur-Untash, the modern Tchoga Zambil ("Basket Hill"), 25 mi. (40 km.) southeast of Susa. Here was found the best preserved ziggurat, or temple tower, in all of the ancient Near East, still 82 ft. (25 m.) tall. The Elamite language and pantheon became more popular around Susa in the period. Untash-Napirisha honored both the lowland god Inshushinak and the highland god Napirisha in his temple complex.

The consolidation and rise of Elam in the 12th century B.C.E. coincided with the decline of Babylon during the rule of the last kings of the Kassite dynasty. The Elamites made several raids into Babylonia, plundered Sippar and its temples, and brought as booty to Susa royal monuments including the stele of the Code of Hammurapi now in the Louvre Museum. In 1159 B.C.E. the Elamites seized the city of Babylon itself and captured the statue of Marduk, its god, and snuffed out the long-lived Kassite dynasty. Elam's military ascendancy ended, however, with the renewal of Babylonian power during the reign of Nebuchadnezzar I (1125–1104 B.C.E.), who defeated the Elamites, captured Susa, and brought the statue of Marduk back to Babylon.

The decline of Elam was rapid and there are no further records of its history until the eighth century B.C.E. During this, the last period of Elam's history as an independent state, the Elamites joined forces with the Chaldean tribes in their wars against Sargon and Sennacherib, kings of Assyria, until their final defeat by Assurbanipal (669–627 B.C.E.), who devastated Elam. In a series of bloody battles (647–646 B.C.E.), the Assyrians razed most of the cities of Elam, especially Susa, deliberately desecrating its holy places, and destroying the temple of Inshushinak.

There were attempts at the beginning of the Neo-Babylonian period to rebuild Elam, but they were never totally successful. After the fall of the Assyrian Empire (612–610 B.C.E.), Elam was incorporated into the greater kingdom of Media; and after the defeat of Astyages, king of Media, by Cyrus, the Persian king, it became an integral part of his empire. Cyrus even called himself "King of Anshan," thus adopting the ancient title of the Elamite rulers (see *Cyrus). In the administrative division of the Persian Empire, Elam became the satrapy of Uja, Huja, or Huvja (whence Huz, in Middle Persian, and modern Khuzistan). Susa was rebuilt with magnificent palaces, and became a capital city of the Persian monarchs, second only to Persepolis. The Elamite language continued as the second language after Persian and equal with Akkadian in the royal inscriptions of the kings of Persia. The name Elam was still used in I Maccabees 6:1 (Elymais, Ελνμαΐς, attacked by Antiochus IV Epiphanes) and by Greek and Roman writers (Elamitai, Ἐλαμῖται, Acts 2:9).

Language

The Elamite language does not fall into any linguistic group known today. It can be divided into three strata: (1) Old Elamite (last quarter of the third millennium B.C.E.); (2) Middle Elamite (13th–7th cent. B.C.E.), the major stratum; and (3) Achaemenid Elamite (6th–4th cent. B.C.E.), known mainly from the bilingual and trilingual inscriptions of the Persian kings and archival texts from Persepolis.

Achaemenid Elamite was deciphered in the second half of the 19th century, and since the beginning of the 20th century great progress has been made in the understanding of Middle Elamite. Nevertheless, knowledge of the language remains imperfect; and particularly in the scantily documented older strata much is still obscure.

Scripts

The most ancient Elamite script is pictographic "proto-Elamite," employed at the beginning of the third millennium B.C.E., which has not yet been deciphered. A linear script which developed from it in the second half of the third millennium B.C.E. is still being worked out. During the reign of the kings of *Akkad (24th–23rd cent. B.C.E.), the ancient scripts of Elam were superseded by the Mesopotamian cuneiform writing, which, adapted to the needs of the Elamite language, was from then on the only one in which it was written.

In the Bible

Elam, located at the edge of the eastern border of the biblical world, is mentioned only a few times in the Bible. In the "Table of Nations" Elam is listed with the sons of Shem (Gen. 10:22; I Chron. 1:17), since from a geographic point of view it was apparently considered part of the Mesopotamian world. The odd narrative of Genesis 14 mentions *Chedorlaomer, king of Elam – sometimes identified with Kutir-Nahhunte (around 1750 B.C.E. or the later one around 1200) – as head of an alliance with two other kings, those of Shinar and Goiim, meaning probably Babylonia and the Hittites.

In the "Prophecies Against the Nations" in Isaiah and Jeremiah, Elam is mentioned, together with Media, as one of the "Peoples of the North" who would destroy Babylon (Isa. 21:2; Jer. 25:25). The only prophecy that may be related directly to a specific event in the history of Elam is Jeremiah 49:34–39, perhaps about Nebuchadnezzar's encounter with Elam in his ninth year (596/5 B.C.E.). According to Ezra 4:9–10, Elamites were deported to Northern Israel in the aftermath of the Assyrian king Assurbanipal's victory in the 640s, and thus constituted part of the peoples Jews later regarded as Samaritan non-Jews. In Isaiah 11:11 Elam is seen as a place of exile, in Ezekiel 32:24 as a typical foreign nation, and in Dan 8:2 as a site of a vision. Elam also appears as a personal name among returnees from exile, but also as a clan of Benjamin in I Chronicles 8:24.

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[Hayim Tadmor / Daniel C. Snell (2nd ed.)]

EL-AMARNA, modern name of the site of Akhetaton, the capital city of Egypt, founded by Amenophis-Amenḥotep IV (*Akhenaton), the "heretical" pharaoh of the 18th Dynasty (14th cent. B.C.E.). On this site was discovered the El-Amarna archive.

El-Amarna Letters

The El-Amarna Letters comprise a collection of cuneiform tablets named after al-ʿAmārna, a plain on the east bank of the Nile about 190 mi. (304 km.) S. of Cairo, in the territory of the Beni-ʿAmrān, or ʿAmārna, tribe. (Though often referred to as Tell ʾAmārna, or Tell el-ʿAmārna, the location is not a tell, or mound.) Amarna was the site of the Egyptian capital, Akhetaton, for about 15 years around the middle of the 14th century B.C.E.; here, in 1887, through the chance discovery of a peasant, a part of the diplomatic correspondence in the royal archives was unearthed. The clandestine explorations of the natives which followed, and the later scientific excavations (1889–92, 1912–14, 1921–22, 1926–36), yielded about 355 letters – some might be better classified as lists (of gifts) – besides more than 20 other cuneiform documents (scribal exercises, vocabularies, mythological and epical texts). The entire Amarna (cuneiform) corpus numbers 379 tablets. Though incomplete and lacking nos. 359–379, the standard edition, with transliteration of the cuneiform and a German translation, remains that of the Norwegian scholar J.A. Knudtzon, *Die el-Amarna Tafeln* (1915 = EA; for nos. 359–379 and other translations, see bibl.). An authoritative annotated French translation by W. Moran appeared in 1987 followed by a revised English version by the same author in 1992.

With only three exceptions (EA 24, Hur 32, Hittite), the letters are all written in Akkadian, the lingua franca of the ancient Near East in the second millennium B.C.E. In general, the language belongs to the "peripheral Akkadian" found at Nuzi, Alalakh, Ugarit, etc. Eloquent and moving as it may be at times, it lacks all elegance; it is awkward, often barbarous, betraying the scribes' ignorance not only of Akkadian but of their own native speech. This is especially true of the letters from Phoenicia and Palestine, and for this reason they are one of the most important sources for the early Canaanite language (and therefore for the background of biblical Hebrew). From the glosses to Akkadian words, the non-Akkadian morphemes, the non-Akkadian use of morphemes common to the two languages, and the syntax in these letters, it is possible to reconstruct much of the Canaanite grammar in this period.

The Amarna letters are also an invaluable historical source. Together with contemporary Ugaritic and Hittite documents and other Egyptian records, they make the two decades or so which they cover the best known in the early history of Syria and Palestine. They span, in absolute dates, around 1385/1375–1355 B.C.E.: about the last decade of the reign of Amenophis III, the 17-year reign of Amenophis IV, and the three or four years before Tutankhaten (Tutankhamun), to whom EA 9 is addressed, abandoned the capital. (The difference of a decade in estimating the period is due to the still very mooted question of the co-regency of Amenophis IV with his father and predecessor; according as one accepts or denies a co-regency, the chronology of the Amarna letters must be lowered or raised.) Some (at least nine) of the letters, which are probably copies of the originals, have a pharaoh as author; the rest were written outside Egypt, and, with few exceptions, are addressed to the pharaoh or, less commonly, to a high Egyptian official at court. The correspondents are the kings of major states (Babylonia, Assyria, Mitanni in northern Mesopotamia, Ḫatti and Arzawa in Anatolia, Cyprus) and Egyptian vassals in Syria and Palestine. The letters (41) to and from the larger powers are in striking contrast with the vassals' correspondence, and hardly hint at the political situation which motivates so many of them. According to the custom of independent nations at peace, their majesties exchange messages of mutual friendship, which are carried by their emissaries and accompanied by gifts; often their principal concern is the discussion and working out of marriages, a conventional bond of international amity. Were it not for the vassals' letters and other contemporary sources it would be impossible to measure the real significance of the efforts of Tushratta of Mitanni to reestablish diplomatic relations with Amenophis III (EA 17) and to maintain them with his successor (EA 26); of his passing reference to a victory over the Hittites (EA 17); of the presence of Assyrians at the Egyptian court (EA 15–16), with its implications of rising Assyrian power (cf. EA 9:31–35) and Mitannian weakness; of the murder of Babylonian merchants in Palestine (EA 8); of the reported request of the Canaanites for Babylonian support in a rebellion against Egypt (EA 9), etc. The general impression these letters give is one of legendary Egyptian wealth in an era of relative peace and political stability.

This impression is dispelled by the remaining Amarna letters. The vassals from Tyre across to Damascus and northward were caught, directly or indirectly, in the struggle of the Mitannians to defend their control of northern Syria and even their own independence, and of the Egyptians to maintain their rule in the rest of Syria, against their common enemy, the resurgent Hittites under Suppiluliuma. Though their letters to the pharaoh are all filled with protests of unswerving loyalty, it is evident from the accusations against their fellow vassals that many of them were exploiting the situation to secure and expand their own power while toadying to both sides and avoiding for as long as possible an irrevocable commitment to one or the other. Most prominent in this group of letters, and most successful in this game of intrigue, sedition, and popular and palace revolts, were Abdi-ashirta and his sons, particularly Aziru, who made of Amurru an important minor state in central Syria east of the Orontes. The almost 70 letters of Rib-Adda of Byblos are a long, increasingly nervous denunciation of their advances along the coast and of Egyptian inaction. The latter is probably to be attributed, in part at least, to the tendency of the vassals' accusations to cancel each other out; but it is also likely that the court felt Egyptian interests would be safeguarded best by a strong Amurru as a buffer against the Hittite thrust. Events proved Rib-Adda right: like so many of his neighbors (Ugarit, Kadesh, etc.), Aziru became a Hittite vassal.

In Palestine the situation reflected by the vassals' letters, if less dire in its consequences for Egyptian rule, was not less chaotic. The letters reflect the same rivalries of the local rulers, the same charges against one another of perfidy, and the same signs of deep popular unrest. These petty kings are constantly at war with one another, plundering and seizing villages, at times forming small coalitions against a common enemy, which soon break up, regroup, and exchange the roles of enemies and allies. In central Palestine, in the struggles involving Gezer, Megiddo, Taanach, Acre, Jerusalem, Lachish, and (perhaps) Hebron, the main instigators were the rulers of Shechem, Lab'ayu and his sons, who in a movement comparable to that in contemporary Amurru, attempted to expand their city-state into a territorial state, with one important objective being the possession of the fertile Plain of Esdraelon. The local Egyptian administration, when not corrupt and supporting treason, was apparently really concerned only with the payment of tribute and with a few other Egyptian interests like the provisions for troops moving northward, and this policy seems to have had the court's approval.

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[William L. Moran]

EL-ARISH (Ar. العريش, *al-ʿArīsh*), town on the Mediterranean coast of the Sinai Peninsula, near where Wadi al-ʿArīsh (the biblical Naḥal Miẓrayim: see Brook of *Egypt) reaches the sea. It was Sinai's principal center through most historic periods due to a number of geographical assets: loess soil present in patches along Wadi al-ʿArīsh and, on other stretches, loess hidden beneath a thin cover of coarse, porous sand allowing seepage of rainwater to the subsoil; an average yearly rainfall of more than 100 mm. (4 in.) which exceeds that of the rest of Sinai; an enrichment of its water supply by underground seepage and by seasonal surface flow in Wadi al-ʿArīsh; land communications leading to the east and west along the ancient *Via Maris* (sea road) and to the south, southwest, and southeast along the course of the wadi; and anchoring facilities on the beach near the wadi mouth. From the first century, it was known as a trade center by the name Rhinokoroura. Josephus mentions the town as part of Judea (Ant. 13:395) and Titus prepared his march on Palestine there (Wars 4:662). Until 1895 El-Arish served as the border town between Egypt and Palestine. Rabbi Judah *al-Ḥarizi passed through El-Arish in 1218 but does not mention any Jews who might have been there.

El-Arish Project

In the early 20th century, El-Arish and its region were sparsely settled. At that time, Davis *Trietsch proposed the El-Arish project for northern Sinai as one of several alternatives for Jewish settlement in the Middle East. On the basis of *Herzl's meeting in 1902 with Joseph *Chamberlain, the area, including the Pelusian Plain, was designated to become an autonomous Jewish settlement sponsored by the British government. Lord Cromer, then the British consul-general in Egypt, requested that a commission of experts explore the region on the prospects of settlement and its findings were positive. Nevertheless, the Egyptian government, on Cromer's insistence, rejected the report, declaring itself unable to allocate water from the Nile for the settlement's irrigation needs. Cromer's refusal came in spite of Herzl's efforts to rescue the scheme by reducing the project's scope to the El-Arish vicinity and renouncing appropriation of Nile waters for development.

From 1948

During the Israel War of Independence (1948), an Israeli army unit under Operation Ayin temporarily took up positions just south of El-Arish (December 1948). In the *Sinai Campaign, El-Arish fell to Israeli forces on Oct. 31, 1956, and was evacuated by them, according to the UN's request, in February 1957. In the *Six-Day War it was taken by an Israeli column on June 6, 1967, and remained under Israeli administration. Under the terms of Israel's peace agreement with Egypt, El-Arish was returned to Egypt.

After World War I, the town expanded gradually, numbering 7,000 inhabitants in 1932 and, according to Egyptian sources, 22,000 in 1956 and 45,000 in 1967. In the census conducted by Israel in August 1967, El-Arish had a population of 29,973. The date-palm groves near the seashore continue to constitute an important economic branch. Sea fishing and trapping of quails are additional sources of income. Since the 1950s, plantations of rhicinus bushes have gained ground in the area between El-Arish and Rafiaḥ (Rafaḥ) and rhicinus oil is produced in a factory in the town. Under Egyptian rule, administrative services to the Sinai Peninsula and especially services to the Egyptian army became important in El-

Arish's economy, although more recently tourism, based on new hotels and general development, seems to be its main source of income.

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[Oskar K. Rabinowicz / Efraim Orni]

ELASA (**Eleasah**, **Alasa**), a town north of Jerusalem near Beth-Horon. Judah *Maccabee encamped there before his last battle against *Bacchides, whose army was at *Beeroth, and was killed nearby in the fighting (I Macc. 9:5–18). Some scholars read Ḥadasha (Adasa) instead of Elasa. The town was apparently named after Eleasah, a descendant of Benjamin (I Chron. 2:39–40; 8:37; 9:43). It is identified with Khirbat al-Ishshī, southwest of al-Bīra.

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[Michael Avi-Yonah]

ELASAH (Heb. אֶלְעָשָׂה; "God has made"), son of *Shaphan, and one of Zedekiah's emissaries to Nebuchadnezzar, who brought the letter written by Jeremiah to the elders in exile (Jer. 29:3). Elasah was a member of one of the most influential pro-Babylonian families in the last years of the Kingdom of Judah. Shaphan, his father, was the scribe of Josiah (II Kings 22:3ff.; et al.). His brother *Ahikam was one of the men sent by King Josiah to the prophetess Huldah (II Kings 22:12, 14; II Chron. 34:20). His other brother *Jaazaniah is mentioned in Ezekiel 8:11 among the elders of Jerusalem.

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ELATH (in modern Israel, **Eilat**; Heb. אֵילַת, אֵילֹת, אֵילוֹת), ancient harbor town in Transjordan at the northern end of the Red Sea near *Ezion-Geber. Elath is first mentioned in the account of the Israelites' wanderings in the desert during the Exodus (Deut. 2:8). Solomon built a "navy of ships" at Ezion-Geber beside Elath; from there it sailed to Ophir manned by his servants and those of Hiram, king of Tyre (I Kings 9:26; I Chron. 8:17). Later Uzziah (Azariah), king of Judah (785–733 B.C.E.), rebuilt Elath restoring it as the port of Judah on the Red Sea (II Kings 14:22) but after his reign Judahite control of the Negev ceased. In the Hellenistic period it served for a time as a Ptolemaic port called Berenice (Jos., Ant., 8:163) and it is later mentioned as a Nabatean port (renamed Aila) from which an important commercial highway led to Gaza (Strabo, *Geography*, 16:2, 30; Pliny, *Naturalis Historia*, 5:12). Aila continued to be a major commercial and military port in Roman and Byzantine times. In the third century the Tenth Legion, together with its headquarters, was transferred there from Jerusalem and it was thereafter a key point in the Byzantine defense system in the south of the country. The Jewish population in the neighborhood of Aila was augmented by Jewish tribes expelled from Arabia by Muhammad during whose time the Muslims gained control of the town, which was called in Arabic *Akaba. A Jewish community continued to exist there until the middle of the tenth century and possibly until the Crusader period. In 1116 Baldwin I, king of Jerusalem, captured the port; the fleet of Reynaud de Chatillon sailed from there to harass Arab maritime trade in the Red Sea. Saladin, who brought the Crusaders' rule to an end in 1170, erected a fortress at Akaba. By the 14th century the town was almost completely deserted and only under Turkish rule was an attempt made to develop it. The ancient site of Elath with remains from the Nabatean, Roman, Byzantine, and medieval periods has been located north of Akaba.

[Michael Avi-Yonah]

Modern Eilat

Modern Eilat is 3 mi. (5 km.) west of *Akaba along the coast. The site, a wasteland bearing the Arabic name Umm Rashrash, was included in the future Jewish state in the UN partition plan of 1947. In fact, it was occupied by Israel forces on March 13, 1949, in the bloodless "Operation *Uvdah*" ("Established Fact"), which was the last military move in the *War of Independence. A first step in establishing a civilian settlement was made in December 1949 when members of Ha-Kibbutz ha-Me'uḥad set up a temporary camp on the Eilat shore. They transferred their settlement in 1962 about 2 mi. (3 km.) further north, where it became kibbutz Eilot. The first water pipeline was laid in 1952 to Eilat to take water from the *Be'er Orah and *Yotvatah wells which, however, are strongly saline (1,500 mg. chlorine content per liter and with a strong magnesium content). In the ensuing years, the first dwellings were built. By December 1952 Eilat received local council status. As long as the Straits of Tiran were closed to Israel-bound shipping, Eilat's growth was extremely slow (275 inhabitants in 1953, 520 in 1956). A few services to excursionists, experimental coastal fishing, and mineral exploration provided the inhabitants' principal occupations. The turning point came with the opening of the straits in the *Sinai Campaign (1956). Two months later, Eilat's population increased to 926 inhabitants. In view of its outstanding importance for Israel's development, Eilat was given city status in March 1959, although it had only 3,500 inhabitants, still far from the 20,000 population mark which in Israel normally warrants the accordance of this status. In 1963, the population rose to 7,000, and by 1968 reached 12,100, 80% veteran Israelis or Israel-born and the rest immigrants who were less than five years in the country. In the mid-1990s, Eilat's population reached 33,300 and by the end of 2002 it was already 42,100, spread over an area of 30 sq. mi. (80 sq. km.). Eilat's town planning, taking the local topography into account, endeavored to direct most of the city's living quarters to the hills rising at a short distance from the beach, to altitudes of 100–400 m. above sea level, where the climate is slightly cooler than on the shore. The many narrow gorges cutting through the hilly area make planning and communications difficult.

The renewed blockade of the Tiran Straits in May 1967 by Egypt threatened Eilat's existence and future as Israel's gateway to East Africa, South and East Asia, and Australia. That move led to the *Six-Day War, in which the Egyptian plan (according to documents found in Sinai) to cut off the city from the interior of Israel by pushing through to Jordanian territory in the Aravah Valley was foiled by Israel's victory, which subsequently accelerated Eilat's progress. From time to time in the period following June 1967, Arab saboteurs made attempts to attack Eilat despite the Jordanian government's fear that Israel's countermeasures against Jordan's only port, Akaba, would constitute an incomparably heavier blow for Jordan.

Great efforts were directed to creating the city's infrastructure. In 1957 the Eilat–Mizpeh Ramon–Beersheba road was built, and opened to traffic in January 1958. In 1967, the Eilat–Sedom highway was put into use. In 1969, construction began on the road leading from Eilat southward to Sharm el-Sheikh. With the sea bottom sloping steeply from the Eilat shore, port building there is relatively easy. From 1957 the original anchorage was repeatedly enlarged to cope with the mounting sea cargo traffic, and an oil port was installed in the southwest of the city. A new port was built at an investment of IL 20,000,000 (about $ 5,700,000) and opened in 1964; in 1968, it employed 500 laborers and handled approximately 1,000,000 tons of import and export goods. Mineral exports (potash, phosphates, copper) through Eilat amounted to 110,000 tons in 1966/67. Because of Eilat's distance from Israel's central sectors, air communications are vital. The Elath airfield, situated just east of the city, was enlarged, and in 1969 10–12 daily flights (operated by Arkia Company) connected Eilat with Tel Aviv and Jerusalem. The city's water shortage was gradually reduced by seawater desalination. An experimental plant employing the freezing method, developed by Alexander *Zarchin, was closed down after a few years of operation. In 1965, a thermal distillation plant was opened, which simultaneously supplied electricity to the town; its daily capacity was 4,000 m^3 (over a million gallons) of practically salt-free water which, when blended with brackish spring water, made the latter potable. In 1970 another plant was opened with a capacity of 2,000 m^3 (c. half a million gallons) a day.

Air conditioning is an absolute necessity in the Eilat climate and the local "desert cooler," which is relatively inexpensive to operate, reduces the temperature, and increases air humidity, was gradually introduced in all buildings in the city. The first 16 in. oil pipeline connecting Eilat with Haifa was laid in 1958/59. Work on the large 42 in. pipeline from Eilat to Ashkelon began in 1968 and was finished in 1970. A decisive factor in Eilat's economic life were the *Timna Copper Works, which in 1968 employed 1,000 workers, nearly all residing in Eilat. However, in 1975 they were closed due to economic difficulties. Local industry, mostly small and medium-size enterprises, included branches connected with the local building trade, several jewelry workshops (for processing the malachite "Eilat stone"), diamond-polishing plants, fish processing, metal products, and gypsum. Tourism and recreation always constituted one of the major branches in Eilat's economy. In 1968, Eilat had a marine museum and a modern art museum, municipal libraries, a concert and lecture hall, and an amphitheater. In 1970 the city's hotels had 2,000 beds; at the turn of the 20th century around 11,000 in five hotels, with considerable income derived from tourist services. Tourism was the main reason for the great Eilat shoreline project, providing for a number of artificial lagoons and land tongues. To encourage tourism further, the city received a VAT exemption in 1985. One of the city's tourist attractions is the coral reef in the Gulf of Elath where the diversified marine species of the Red Sea can be observed. Every year Eilat hosts two major cultural events: a jazz festival and a classical music festival with international participation.

[Izhak Noam / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

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ELATH (Epstein), ELIAHU (1903–1990), Israeli diplomat and Arabist. Born in Snovsk, Russia, Elath was active in the Zionist movement in Russia before settling in Palestine in 1924. He worked as a laborer in a number of settlements for a few years, meanwhile making a special study of the Bedouin. From 1934 to 1945 he was director of the Middle East section in the Jewish Agency's Political Department. As head of the Agency's Political Office in Washington, D.C., during 1945–48, Elath received the U.S. government recognition of the State of Israel in May 1948. With the de facto recognition of Israel he was appointed special representative of the Provisional Council of the Government of Israel, and from 1949 Israeli ambassador to Washington. From 1950 to 1959 he was ambassador in London. He served as president of the Hebrew University (1962–68) and chairman of the board of governors of the Afro-Asian Institute (1959–62). His books include *Ha-Bedu'im* (1933); *Ukhlosei Ever ha-Yarden ve-Ḥayyeihem* (1936); *Ḥaj Amin al-Ḥusseini* (Heb., 1968); *San Francisco Diary* (Heb., 1971); *Shivat Ẓiyyon ve-Arav* ("The Return to Zion and the Arabs," 1974) which deals with the contacts made between the Zionist and Arab leaders and the attempts to arrive at an understanding with them before the establishment of the State; *The Struggle for Statehood: Washington 1945–1948* (Heb., 3 vols., 1979–82).

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[Benjamin Jaffe]

ELAZAR, DANIEL J. (1934–1999), political scientist. Elazar was born in Minneapolis and received his M.A. and Ph.D. from the University of Chicago. He was appointed professor of political science at Temple University in Philadelphia, where he founded and directed the Center for the Study of Federalism. A leading authority on the subject, he was a founding president of the International Association for Federal Studies. Elazar divided his time between the U.S. and Israel, where he was professor of intergovernmental relations at Bar-Ilan University. And, as founder and president of the Jerusalem Center for Public Affairs, he headed the major independent Jewish think tank concerned with seeking solutions to the pivotal problems facing Israel and world Jewry.

In 1986 he was appointed by President Reagan to be a member of the U.S. Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations and was reappointed in 1991 by President Bush. He was secretary of the American Political Science Association and served as consultant to many federal, state, and local agencies, including the U.S. Departments of Education, Health and Human Services, and Housing and Urban Development, the National Governors' Association, the Education Commission of the States, and the Pennsylvania Science and Technology Commission, as well as to the governments of Israel, Canada, Cyprus, Italy, South Africa, and Spain.

Elazar was recognized as an expert on Jewish community organization worldwide, on the Jewish political tradition, and on Israel's government and politics. He was a consultant to the Israeli government, the Jewish Agency, the World Zionist Organization, the City of Jerusalem, and to most major Jewish organizations in the U.S. and Canada, Europe, South Africa, and Australia. Taking a leadership role in numerous local and national Jewish organizations, he was chairman of the Israel Political Science Association, a member of various consultative bodies of the Israeli government, active in the World Sephardi Federation, president of the American Sephardi Federation, and served on the International Council of Yad Vashem.

Elazar wrote or edited more than 60 books and many other publications, including *Community and Polity: The Organizational Dynamics of American Jewry* (1976), an in-depth study of the American Jewish community and its institutions; *People and Polity, The Organizational Dynamics of World Jewry* (1989), a study of the communities and institutions of World Jewry; *Israel: Building a New Society* (1986); *A Double Bond: The Constitutional Documents of American Jewry* (1992); *Israel at the Polls, 1992* (1994); *The Conservative Movement in Judaism: Dilemmas and Opportunities* (with R.M. Geffen, 2000); and *Israel at the Polls, 1999* (2001). Some of his books have sought a solution to the Israel-Palestinian problem based on federal principles. He was the founder and editor of *Publius*, the journal of Federalism, and the editor of the *Jewish Political Studies Review.* Together with his brother, David H. Elazar, he published *A Classification System for Libraries of Judaica.*

[Yitzhak Kerem / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

ELAZAR, DAVID (**"Dado"**; 1925–1976), Israeli soldier. Elazar was born in Sarajevo, Yugoslavia, and came to Israel in 1940, joining kibbutz Sha'ar ha-Amakim. In 1946 he became a member of the *Palmaḥ and during the War of Independence carried out reconnaissance in Syria. In 1948 he was appointed company commander of the Harel Brigade and led the forces which broke through to the Old City of Jerusalem via the Zion Gate in May of that year.

He studied economics and Middle Eastern studies at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. After the Sinai Campaign, in which he commanded the infantry brigade which fought in Gaza, he was transferred to the Armored Corps, and in 1961 succeeded General Ḥaim Bar-Lev as its commander, being promoted to the rank of major-general in 1962. In November 1964 Elazar was appointed O.C. Northern Command and was responsible for the capture of the Golan Heights in the Six-Day War. In 1969 he was appointed chief of the General Staff Branch, and in November 1971, chief of staff and promoted to the rank of lieutenant-general.

Following the publication of the interim report of the Agranat Commission on the *Yom Kippur War, which was published early in 1974 and recommended that his term of office be terminated, Elazar submitted his resignation. Many felt he had been made a scapegoat for Israel's failures in the war. He was subsequently appointed head of the Zim Shipping Company.

A biography of Elazar, *Dado*, by Hanoch *Bartov, appeared in 1978.

ELAZAR, YA'AKOV (1912–2002), last of a generation of Sephardi historians and personalities who lived through the course of the 20th century in the Ottoman, British, and Israeli periods and were active in the Sephardi life of Jerusalem. He was the last authority on active Sephardi life in Jerusalem, his death at the age of 90 symbolizing the end of an era.

A descendant of the Salonikan Elazar rabbinic family which moved to Jerusalem in 1878 and the Abulafia family of Tiberias on his mother's side, he lived and breathed the Sephardi life of Jerusalem. He was one of the younger members of the He-Ḥalutz ha-Mizrachi movement. From 1931 to 1936, he taught Hebrew in the revived Sephardi Jewish community of Hebron. He was elected to Va'ad ha-Kehillah in Jerusalem (1937), and the Asefat ha-Nivḥarim of the *yishuv* (1944). On "Black Saturday" (June 29, 1946), after 700 leaders of the Jewish *yishuv* were arrested, he gathered some 3,000 people in Jerusalem within hours for prayer and public protest against the British authorities.

He spoke the Jerusalemite Judeo-Spanish dialect, was an active researcher and authority on the Sephardim of the Old City of Jerusalem and the Sephardi courtyards, and was active in the Sephardi community of Jerusalem. His books include *Diyyur ve-Klitah be-Yishuv ha-Yashan 1842–1919, Ḥazerot Bi-Yrushalayim ha-Atikah*, and *Yamei Avra: Ha-Shevitah ha-Aravit April–Oktober 1936*. He wrote about the Ereẓ Israel Sephardi chief rabbis, the *Rishonei le-Ẓiyyon*, and advocated that the younger generation know and follow their teachings. He received *semikhah* for *sheḥitah* from Chief Rabbi Jacob *Meir and published a bibliography of him in 1997, feeling that his former teacher was already forgotten.

As a Jerusalem Street Names Committee member, he proposed names of past Sephardi figures for streets. He received the distinction *Yakir Yerushalayim* and is buried in the section of prominent Jerusalemites in the Har Menuḥot cemetery in Jerusalem. He was the uncle of the American Sephardi leader and political scientist Daniel *Elazar and a cousin of Israel Defense Forces Chief of Staff David *Elazar.

[Yitzchak Kerem (2nd ed.)]

ELAZARI-VOLCANI (Wilkansky), YIẒḤAK (1880–1955), agronomist and one of the planners of agricultural settlement in Ereẓ Israel, brother of Meir Wilkansky. Born at Eisiskes, near Vilna, Elazari-Volcani studied at European universities and in 1908 immigrated to Ereẓ Israel, where he managed the farm settlements of Ben Shemen and Ḥuldah (1909–18). He was an active member of the Ha-Po'el ha-Ẓa'ir party, which he represented at Zionist Congresses and in Zionist institutions. In 1921, he set up the experimental agricultural station of the Zionist Executive (today the Agricultural Research Station) and ran it until his retirement in 1951. He was one of the founders of the Institute for Agricultural Studies of the Hebrew University at Reḥovot, which later became the university's faculty of agriculture. In 1938, he was appointed professor of agricultural economics, and held various public and scientific posts connected with agriculture.

Volcani was also a prolific writer and polemicist. His first writings were published in David *Frischmann's journal *Ha-Dor* and he later contributed to J.H. *Brenner's *Ha-Me'orer*. Under the name of "E. Ẓiyyoni," he was also one of the main contributors to Ha-Po'el ha-Ẓair from its foundation. He was the first to give a positive evaluation of Baron de Rothschild's settlement scheme, and contended that it laid healthy foundations for the continuation of Jewish settlement in Ereẓ Israel. He also wrote literary studies and plays (under the pseudonym I. Avuyah). He published several books on agricultural subjects, settlement, etc. His collected articles on agriculture and other topics were published in ten volumes.

His brother, MEIR WILKANSKY (Elazari-Volcani) (1882–1949), Hebrew author, was born in Eisiskes, and immigrated to Ereẓ Israel in 1904. He first worked as an agricultural laborer; between 1908 and 1918, he was secretary of the *Palestine Office and, from 1918 until his retirement in 1942, head of the Palestine Land Development Company. Wilkansky was one of the first writers to depict the life of the pioneers of the Second Aliyah in Hebrew fiction. His stories include "*Be'er Ḥafarnu*," "*Baḥar*," and "*Yom Avodati ha-Rishon*." His books include *Sippurim me-Ḥayyei ha-Areẓ* (1918), *Ba-Ḥeder* (1934), *Bi-Ymei ha-Aliyyah* (1935), *Mi-Gal el Gal* (1943), and *Senuniyyot* (1963). He translated two of Goethe's works, *Die Leiden des jungen Werthers* and *Dichtung und Wahrheit* (Yefet series, 1911–12), and published two statistical pamphlets on Jewish settlement in Palestine (1918–19). Meir's son, RAANAN VOLCANI (1910–2002), became associate professor of animal husbandry at the agricultural faculty of the Hebrew University in 1960 and head of the Husbandry Department of the National and University Institute of Agriculture at Reḥovot.

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[Getzel Kressel]

ELBAZ, North African family noted for its rabbis. The Elbaz family originally lived in Azzaouia, *Morocco, from which it was expelled in 1668 by King Moulai Rashid along with 1,300 other families. They then settled in Fez and in Sefrou. Members of the family included MOSES BEN MAIMON *ALBAZ OF TARRODANT, author of *Heikhal Kodesh*, a kabbalistic commentary to the prayer book (Amsterdam, 1653), SAMUEL BEN ISAAC, author of *Toledot Adam*, a brief history up to the burning of the books in Italy (Venice, 1585), JACOB, author of *Toledot Ya'akov*, sermons (Venice, 1609), and SAMUEL BEN ISAAC (1698–1749), talmudist and codifier, who was head of the *bet din* of Fez. He was a friend of Ḥayyim b. Moses Attar, who would make no legal decision without his consent. Samuel is the author of *Va-Yomer Shemu'el*, talmudic novellae (Casablanca, 1929); his other works are still in manuscript. Many of his decisions were published in Jacob Ibn Ẓur's *Mishpat u-Ẓedakah be-Ya'akov* (Alexandria, pt. 1, 1894; pt. 2, 1903). Some of his *piyyutim* are in manuscript at the Ben-Zvi Institute in Jerusalem (no. 2072). JUDAH (1770–1847) was a codifier who headed the *bet din* of Sefrou. Many of his decisions were published in *Avnei Shayish* (2 pts., Jerusalem, 1930–34), and in his son's *Ḥayyei Amram*. He was one of the major fundraisers for the *kolelim* in Ereẓ Israel. His son AMRAM (1799–1857), codifier, judge, and poet, wrote *Ḥayyei Amram* (Meknes, 1949). Another son, SAMUEL (1790–1844), left behind a manuscript work on Rashi, *Ḥanokh la-Na'ar*. RAPHAEL MOSES ((1823–1896), Samuel's son, was a talmudic scholar, kabbalist, poet, and scientist. He wrote many works, including *Halakhah le-Moshe*, responsa (Jerusalem, 1901); *Shir Ḥadash*, poems (Jerusalem, 1935); and *Eden mi-Kedem* (Fez, 1940). Still in manuscript are many of his writings, including *Kisse ha-Melakhim*, a history of ancient kings and of the Jews.

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[David Obadia]

ELBERG, YEHUDA (1912–2003), Yiddish journalist and novelist. Born in Zgierz, Poland, Elberg came from a rabbinical family and was ordained as a rabbi. He was a distant cousin of the literary *Singer family. He began publishing stories and journalistic articles in Yiddish and Hebrew newspapers in 1932. His wartime activity involved smuggling people through safe houses, and he himself avoided identification and deportation; he also took part in the Warsaw ghetto uprising. After the war he wrote as a correspondent for Israeli and American newspapers, and for the European Yiddish press.

Immigrating to New York via Paris, he began a lifelong friendship with Chaim *Grade. In 1948 he arrived in New York and became active in Zionist causes. Shortly after the death of his first wife in 1955 he moved to Montreal, where he remained until his death.

Although he wrote belles lettres from the beginning of his career and published a book of short stories, *Unter Kuperne Himlen* ("Under Copper Skies"), in 1951, his greatest literary works came later in life. The novel *Afn Shpits fun a Mast (Ship of the Hunted)* appeared in 1974, followed in quick succession by five more novels and two collections of short stories between 1976 and 1987. His masterwork was the 1983 *Kalman Kalikes Imperye* (*The Empire of Kalman the Cripple)*. In the 1990s he turned his attention to translating his work, publishing both *Ship of the Hunted* and *The Empire of Kalman the Cripple* in 1997. His short story "837" was made into a play and is frequently anthologized. These three works constitute his most important contributions to Yiddish literature. They have appeared in Spanish, Hebrew, French, and German as well as English. During the 1980s he won the Manger Prize and Israel's Prime Minister's Award for literature.

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[Faith Jones (2nd ed.)]

ELBLAG (Ger. **Elbing**), a city near Gdansk (Danzig), Poland, from 1772 to 1945 in Germany. Jews were reported to have been burned there during the *Black Death. There were no Jews living in Elblag after the first partition of Poland in 1772, but in 1783 Moses Simon was permitted to settle in the city and provide for visiting Jewish merchants, obtaining a trade license in 1800. There were 33 Jewish families in 1812 and 42 in 1816, all of whom had been granted the right of settlement despite opposition from the local merchants. The community opened a cemetery in 1811, an elementary school in 1823, and a synagogue and *mikveh* in 1824. A rabbi was engaged from 1879. In 1932 the community numbered 460 and maintained three charitable and five welfare organizations, and a school attended by 60 children. The synagogue was burned down by the Nazis on Nov. 10, 1938, and most of the homes and shops of the Jews there were looted. Part of the communal archives (1811–1936) are in the Central Archives for the History of the Jewish People in Jerusalem. There has not been an organized Jewish community in Elblag since World War II.

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[Ze'ev Wilhem Falk]

ELBOGEN, ISMAR (1874–1943), scholar, teacher, and public figure. Elbogen was born in Schildberg, Posen province, and studied at the Breslau Rabbinical Seminary. Israel *Lewy, the famous Talmud critic, was the teacher who most influenced him. In 1899 he began teaching Jewish history and biblical exegesis at the Collegio Rabbinico Italiano in Florence. While in Italy he perfected his knowledge in Italian Jewish history and literature. In 1903 he joined the faculty of the Hochschule fuer die Wissenschaft des Judentums in Berlin, teaching many subjects and for many years was involved unofficially in directing the institution. He was involved in the organizational life of German Jews, heading important committees and commissions. In 1938, in the wake of Nazi persecution, Elbogen immigrated to New York. He was appointed research professor simultaneously at four institutions: Jewish Theological Seminary, Hebrew Union College, Jewish Institute of Religion, and Dropsie College.

His scholarly interests were chiefly in Jewish history and the history of Jewish liturgy. His major work, *Derjuedische Gottesdienst in seiner geschichtliehen Entwicklung* (1913^3), is a comprehensive and important work on Jewish liturgy; it traces the history of the prayers said in the synagogue. His other works are devoted to Jewish history and are written in a popular style. His *Century of Jewish Life* (1944) was planned as a sequel to *Graetz's history. Elbogen devoted his attention also to the history of *Wissenschaft des Judentums and set forth a program for Jewish scholarship that, in addition to describing the Jewish past, would be a guide for the Jewish present and future. He was one of the editors for the periodical *Devir* (1923–24); *Germania Judaica* (2 vols., 1917–34); the jubilee edition of Moses Mendelssohn's collected works, of which only six volumes appeared (1929–32); *Zeitschrift fuer die Geschichte der Juden in Deutschland* (vols. 1–7, 1929–38); *Juedisches Lexikon* (4 vols. in 5, 1927–30); *Encyclopaedia Judaica* (vols. 1–9, 1928–34); *Eshkol* (2 vols., 1929–32); and *Universal Jewish Encyclopedia* (10 vols., 1939–43). He was an active participant in the Liberal movement in the German Jewish community. He took part in writing the Liberal prayer book for German Jews, *Tefillot le-Kol ha-Shanah: Gebetbuch fuer das ganze Jahr bearbeitet im Auftrage des Liberalen Kultus* (1932), which in the main reflects his spirit. He restored to the liturgy those prayers that had been removed by the reformers in their desire to eradicate the concept of Jewish peoplehood from the Jewish religion. He also wrote *Geschichte der Juden in Deutschland* (1935).

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ELCAN, MARCUS (c. 1757–1808), early settler of Richmond, Virginia. Elcan probably was born in Germany. He arrived in Richmond by 1782, when his name appeared as witness to a deed, although he was listed as a member of Philadelphia's Mikveh Israel in the same year. A founder of Beth Shalome Congregation, Elcan was a successful merchant and highly respected citizen; his will provided an endowment of $1,000 to the Richmond Charity School. A man of cultural attainments, he willed his considerable library of almost 200 volumes to Joseph Marx, a friend and one of his executors. Elcan's widow, Phila (c. 1760–1820), is buried in the cemetery of Touro Synagogue, Newport, Rhode Island.

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[Saul Viener]

ELCHE, city on the east coast of Spain, near Alicante; important in the late Roman period. Greek inscriptions discovered in 1905 on a mosaic floor in Elche dating to some time between the third and fifth centuries are believed to refer to a synagogue. They seem to indicate that the community in Elche was organized along the same lines as other Jewish communities in Mediterranean countries. Nothing is known about the Jews in Elche under Muslim rule. After the capture of the city by James I of Aragon in 1263, Astruc *Bonsenyor of Barcelona served as interpreter. Alfonso X of Castile granted land to Don Isaac ibn Wakar, the physician of Don Juan Manuel, in the neighborhood of Elche. A Jewish scribe was in charge of the office registers and taxes of the Muslim community there in 1308. In a document from 1314 dealing with a case between Muslims of Elche and a local Christian, a scribe had to translate Catalan passages into Arabic. Abraham al-Behbehi, the Jewish scribe, wrote the text in Judeo-Arabic, that is, in Arabic written in Hebrew characters. Apart from its linguistic interest, the document has great historical significance. It sheds light on the role Jews, experts in Arabic, played in a multicultural and multilingual society. Abraham b. Baḥye farmed the taxes in Elche from 1381 to 1384. Nothing is known of the later fate of the community.

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[Haim Beinart / Yom Tov Assis (2nd ed.)]

ELDAD (Scheib), ISRAEL (1910–1996), Israeli underground leader, educator, geographer, writer, and translator from German; also known by his underground name and nom de plume Sambatyon. Eldad was born in Podvolochisk, in Eastern Galicia. In 1914 his family moved to Vilna, and finally settled in Lvov. He completed his studies at the rabbinical seminary in Vienna and studied for a doctorate in philosophy and history at the University of Vienna, writing his thesis on Schopenhauer. He returned to Poland to teach Jewish studies at the Jewish Teachers Seminary in Vilna. He was active in *Betar, and wrote literary and political articles for various Polish-Jewish publications in Yiddish. In 1938 he participated with Avraham *Stern in the World Conference of Betar. Back in Vilna he and his wife lived with Menaḥem *Begin's family.

In 1941 Eldad and his wife were allowed to leave Soviet-occupied Vilna and travel to Turkey, from which they then made their way to Palestine. In Palestine he taught Bible in Tel Aviv. He soon joined the leadership of the *Leḥi underground, becoming its ideologue, and editor of its underground publications, the monthly *He-Ḥazit*, and the weekly *Ha-Ma'as*. After Avraham *Stern was murdered by the British he became one of its triumvirate of leaders. In 1944 he was wounded in the back while trying to escape arrest by the British and was held in a prison hospital in Jerusalem, and later in the Latrun detention camp. In 1946 he managed to escape with the help of Leḥi members and continued his underground activities until the establishment of the State of Israel.

After the establishment of the State a breach occurred between the supporters of Nathan *Yellin-Mor, who sought to establish a neo-socialist party, and Eldad's supporters, who took a right-wing, nationalist line and focused on extra-parliamentary activities. The political group that Eldad founded was called Ḥazit ha-Moledet, but after Count *Bernadotte was assassinated in September 1948, the Israeli government declared the group to be illegal. Several of its members were detained while Eldad himself managed to escape detention. Eldad then started to publish a periodical called *Sulam*, which continued to appear until 1964. In *Sulam* he advocated Revisionist maximalism, according to which the goal of Zionism is a kingdom of Israel (*Malkhut Yisrael*), from the Nile and the Euphrates.

In the 1950s Eldad was frequently accused of incitement to violence and underground activities, but no concrete evidence was ever found. Upon orders from David *Ben-Gurion as minister of defense Eldad was fired from his post as a high school teacher and was prohibited from teaching in the public school system. Even though the Supreme Court decided in his favor he could not find work as a teacher. Subsequently he established a students association called the Nationalist Cells and earned a living as a translator. Later on he became a lecturer in humanities at the Haifa Technion and Beersheba (now Ben-Gurion) University.

After the Six-Day War Eldad became a leading figure of the radical right and was one of the founders of the Greater Israel Movement. In the elections to the Seventh Knesset in 1969 he ran at the head of a list called Le-Ereẓ Yisrael but failed to win a seat. In 1979 he was one of the founders of the Teḥiyya party with Geula *Cohen but did not run for the Knesset.

Eldad published articles regularly in *Haaretz* and *Yedioth Aharonoth.*

His son, Arie Eldad, was elected to the Sixteenth Knesset, on the National Union list. Among his books are *Ma'aser Rishon* (1975^3), memoirs of the underground, and *Hegyonot Mikra* (1984^2) on the Bible.

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[Benjamin Jaffe / Susan Hattis Rolef (2nd ed.)]

ELDAD AND MEDAD (Heb. אֶלְדָּד, מֵידָד), two of the elders (see *Elder) chosen by Moses to assist him in governing the people following their protests about the inadequacy of their diet in the wilderness (Num. 11:26–27). Both names are based on the root *ydd*, "to love, be in love." Thus, Eldad, "Beloved-of-El" and Medad, "Beloved." In response to Moses' complaint about the unbearable burden of administration placed upon his shoulders (verse 14), God commanded him to select 70 men known to him "as elders and officers of the people," that is, from the traditional leadership, who would share the burden with him (verses 16–17). To enable them to perform their function, God endowed them with part of the spirit that had rested on Moses, whereupon they made ecstatic utterances. Eldad and Medad, who did not go out with the others to the Tent of Meeting, but remained in the camp, nevertheless also spoke in a state of *ecstasy. When this was made known to Moses and Joshua, the latter suggested that they be restrained, but Moses answered him, "… Would that all the Lord's people were prophets" (verses 26–29). Eldad and Medad are not otherwise identified or mentioned in the Bible.

In the *Aggadah*

The enigmatic appearance of the otherwise unknown Eldad and Medad as authors of an unrecorded prophecy (Num. 11:26ff.) provided a fertile field for aggadic interpretations. It appears that at least some of these are thinly disguised references to the conspiracy of R. Meir and R. Nathan against R. Simeon b. Gamaliel (Hor. 13b), an event which gave rise to many "biblical" *aggadot* (cf. A. Buechler, *Studies in Jewish History* (1956), 160–78). Thus, according to R. Simeon b. Yoḥai, Eldad and Medad, though chosen to be among the elders of Israel, considered themselves unworthy of such high dignity. Thereupon God said, "Because you have humbled yourselves, I will add to your greatness yet more greatness" (Sanh. 17a). Hence, unlike other prophets, they never ceased to prophesy, and they were granted additional advantages (Num. R. 15:19; Tanḥ. B., Num. 29). The moral of the story seems to be that R. Meir and R. Nathan should have humbled themselves instead of plotting against the patriarch. All the sources report that Eldad and Medad prophesied, "Moses shall die, and Joshua shall bring Israel into the (promised) land." This prediction by the two prophets that the leader of Israel was to be replaced evidently alludes to the plan of the two rabbis to replace the patriarch. Other conjectures were that Eldad and Medad predicted the (imminent) arrival of the quails (cf. Num. 11:31) or else prophesied concerning Gog and Magog (Sanh. 17a; cf. Ezek. 38, 39). The latter suggestion was put forward by R. Naḥman who generally displayed a keen interest in messianic speculations (cf. Sanh. 96b–97a, 98b).

Joshua's objection to prophesying by Eldad and Medad (Num. 11:28) was attributed either to the fact that it was unauthorized – a serious offense in rabbinic times – or to the nature of the prediction (Sanh. 17a). The restraint proposed by Joshua (כְּלָאֵם, *kela'em*) was interpreted by some as implying the imposition of public office which would cause them to "cease (or "perish") of themselves" (*ibid.*), an unmistakable allusion to the ruinous burdens of the *Boule office in the amoraic age. Earlier interpretations were even harsher: "Destroy them from the world," or, according to R. Judah ha-Nasi (who many years after the plot against his father bore a grudge against R. Meir and R. Nathan (cf. Hor. 13b–14a)), "Chain them in bonds and fetters" (Sif. Num. 96).

While some late Midrashim make Eldad and Medad sons of Amram and half-brothers of Moses and Aaron, Targum Jonathan, Numbers 11:26, assigns their parentage to Jochebed and Elizaphan son of Parnach (Num. 34:25), whom she is supposed to have married during her temporary divorce from Amram. This strange Midrash may have been designed to counter in advance the charge against Moses' marriage alliance with a Cushite woman (Num. 12:1) – who is in some sources identified with Zipporah (Targ. Jon., Num. 12:1; Sif. Num. 99 et al.) – whom he had married before the giving of the Torah. At that time, Jochebed, too, could have been divorced, remarried, and returned again to her first husband, Deuteronomy 24:4 notwithstanding. (It is noteworthy that the numerical value of the letters פַּרְנָךְ (*Parnach*) is identical with that of עַמְרָם (Amram); and אֱלִיצָפָן (Eliẓaphan; "God has hidden") is reminiscent of Jochebed's hiding (וַתִּצְפְּנֵהוּ, *va-tiẓpenehu*) of Moses, Ex. 2:2.) Other Midrashim (Num. R. 15:19; Tanḥ. B., Num. 29) identify Eldad and Medad with Elidad son of Chislon and Kemuel son of Shiphtan (cf. Num. 34:21,24), due no doubt to the similarity or assonance of the names.

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[Moses Aberbach]

ELDAD HA-DANI (late ninth century), traveler. His origins and personality remain a mystery. He professed to belong to the tribe of Dan, whence his name ha-Dani. Eldad claimed that the Danites together with the tribes of Naphtali, Gad, and Asher, while leading a nomadic existence, formed an independent kingdom under the rule of their king Addiel (or Uzziel). Their kingdom was in Havilah, the land of gold (cf. Gen. 2:11) near Ethiopia. The tribes, of whom the descendants of Samson and Delilah were outstanding for their valor, were constantly at war with their neighbors. Eldad also mentions the "sons of Moses," who lived nearby but were cut off from the world by the *Sambatyon, an impassable river of rolling stones and sand which stops only on the Sabbath when it is surrounded by fire or covered by a cloud. It is possible to see and speak with these "sons of Moses" but not to cross the river. Eldad relates how he and a companion of the tribe of Asher set out on a journey but were shipwrecked and fell into the hands of cannibals; his companion was eaten but he escaped a similar fate owing to an attack by other natives, fire worshipers, from whom he was eventually ransomed by a Jew of the tribe of Issachar. He further gives a colorful description of the Ten Tribes, their whereabouts and independent existence. Eldad's accounts are probably embroidered legends, based on Jewish rulers and kingdoms known to have existed: the Arabian king Joseph Dhu Nuwas (sixth century) of Ḥimyar who along with his subjects converted to Judaism; the Falashas (*Beta Israel) in Ethiopia, who were possibly independent in the early Middle Ages; and the *Khazar state, whose rulers along with many of their subjects converted to Judaism. His aim was probably to raise the spirits of the Jews by giving them news of tribes of Israel who lived in freedom and by creating an attractive Jewish utopia. The report of the existence of such Jewish kingdoms undoubtedly encouraged and comforted Eldad's hearers, by contradicting the Christian contention that Jewish independence had ceased after the destruction of the Second Temple. For the Jews his stories obviously had far-reaching messianic implications.

According to the 12th-century Karaite Judah *Hadassi Eldad made two journeys, the first to Egypt, and the second to Africa. *Ẓemaḥ b. Ḥayyim, *gaon* of Sura, writes that Eldad spoke to R. Isaac b. Mar and R. Simḥah in Babylonia. It seems therefore that Eldad was in the east before arriving in Kairouan (North Africa) about 880. In Africa Eldad conversed with Judah *Ibn Quraysh. In 883 he sent a letter to the Jews of Spain and it appears from *Ḥisdai ibn Shaprut's letter to the Khazar king that he also visited Spain.

The Jews of Kairouan consulted Ẓemaḥ Gaon about Eldad, especially concerning four *halakhot* of his on the laws concerning *sheḥitah* and *terefah.* The source of these laws is not known. While in parts there is some resemblance to Karaite laws, which caused certain scholars (Pinsker, Graetz) to conclude that he was a Karaite, most of the *halakhot* resemble the traditional talmudic law, both Babylonian and Jerusalem, although some Islamic influence seems discernible. The language shows traces of Arab usage. It is therefore probable that they reached Eldad from a country influenced by both the Arabic language and the Jerusalem Talmud.

Meir b. Baruch of Rothenburg and Abraham Ibn Ezra regarded Eldad as an impostor but his *halakhot*, even if mostly not accepted, were quoted by many of the outstanding scholars of the Middle Ages (Rashi, Asher b. Jehiel, the tosafists, et al.). Neither was he rejected by Ẓemaḥ Gaon, who stated that the possibility of different traditions existed. Eldad's accounts have been preserved in several versions. They first appeared in print in Mantua in 1480. Changes were made in several later editions in accordance with the manuscripts. Besides this there are also extant the *halakhot* sent from Kairouan to Ẓemaḥ Gaon (Constantinople, 1516).

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[Azriel Shochat]

ELDAR (Lederer), REUVEN (1926–), professor of medicine. Eldar was born in Osijek, Croatia, but raised in Novi Sad (Serbia), where he was active in the Zionist Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir youth movement and the Maccabi Sports Club. Eldar immigrated to Israel in 1948. He studied in Jerusalem and then specialized in clinical neurology in London and New York. As a physician he was appointed chief medical officer of the Israel Defense Forces with the rank of brigadier general, serving for eight years. After his military career ended, he became director of Rambam Hospital in Haifa, followed by a WHO (World Health Organization) Mission to the Philippines. On his return in 1981, he joined the Faculty of Health Sciences at Ben-Gurion University in Beersheba. From 1986 until his retirement in 1992, Eldar was in charge of the Löwenstein Rehabilitation Center, Raanana. After his retirement he acted as a consultant to WHO on services for disabled persons and for the elderly, and completed another mission abroad, in war-torn Yugoslavia, advising on the rehabilitation of the wounded. Eldar served on the editorial board of several medical journals and published over 100 papers as well as the book *Quality of Medical Care* (in Croatian) in 2003.

[Zvi Loker (2nd ed.)]

ELDER (Heb. זָקֵן, *zaken*). In Israel, as among all other ancient peoples, the elder is not only a person of advanced age, but also a man of distinct social grade (cf. *šībum* in Akkadian, *senator* in Latin, *geron* in Greek, and *sheikh* in Arabic). The elders were the consulting body of the city, the nation, or the king respectively, and as such were considered "the wise" (cf. Ezek. 7:26 with Jer. 18:18). As a social institution, various types of elders are named: elders of a people (Israel, Judah, Moab, and Midian, Num. 22:4, 7; Egypt, Gen. 50:7); elders of an area (Gilead, Judg. 11:5–11); elders of a tribe (Deut. 31:28); elders of the Diaspora (Jer. 29:1); elders of the priests (II Kings 19:2; Jer. 19:1); elders of the city (passim); and elders of the house (i.e., palace, Gen. 50:7; II Sam. 12:17). The most prominent are the elders of the people or the country and the elders of the city.

The Elders of the City

These elders represented their fellow citizens in local matters. Their functions are best exemplified by the pertinent laws of Deuteronomy. The city elders are involved in five laws: (1) blood redemption (19:12); (2) expiation of murder by an unknown culprit (21:3, 6); (3) the rebellious son (21:19); (4) defamation of a virgin (22:15); and (5) levirate (25:9). All these cases deal with protection of the family and local patriarchal interests. In the first, the elders tend to the appeasement of the murdered person's family by delivering the slayer into its hands; in the second, they see to it that their town atones for a homicide committed within its borders. In the next two instances, the elders protect the family against a rebellious son and defend the family against defamation. In the last instance, the elders are concerned with preventing the extinction of a family in their town. No professional judgment is necessary in such cases: the elders preside over a case, whose consequences are clear beforehand. The same applies to Ruth 4:2ff., where the elders only confirm the act of levirate. In contrast, "the judges" in the laws of Deuteronomy have functions that are altogether different from those of the elders. The judges act in connection with disputes (19:17–18; 25:1–3) and controversies in the local courts (17:8ff.) that cannot be solved by the local patriarchal representatives, but need a higher and more objective judicial authority. Furthermore, disputes and controversies involve thorough investigation (cf. 19:18), which can be made only by qualified and professional people. These judges are nominated (cf. Deut. 16:19) in contradistinction to the elders, whose dignity is as a rule hereditary. In only one case in Deuteronomy do the elders act together with the judges: the case of the unknown murderer (21:1ff.). The elders of the town nearest the spot where the corpse was found have to perform the expiation rites on behalf of their town. In order to establish which town is nearest, the distances must be measured (see *Eglah Arufah*). This has to be implemented by the judges and the elders of the country (21:2), i.e., by a higher authority. This case is important for an understanding of the composition of the courts in ancient Israel, especially since it has its antecedents in the judicial procedures of the other peoples in the ancient Near East. Among ancient Near Eastern peoples, a representative of the state joined the local authority (i.e., the elders) in order to settle disputes. In Mesopotamia the elders (*šībūtum*) cooperated with the mayor (*rabiānum* or *ḫazānum*), and in the Hittite state the commander of the garrison acted with the elders in settling disputes. In purely provincial matters, such as the returning of stray cattle, the elders themselves acted without resorting to government officials (Hittite Laws, para. 71). Only when investigation was involved was the case brought before a tribunal, which consisted of both state officials and elders. In ancient Israel, as in the Hittite state, the judges were associated or even identical with officers and military commanders (Ex. 18:21; Deut. 1:15). That the officer and the elder had much in common is evident from Isaiah 3:14, Ezra 10:8, et al. In I Kings 21:11, they act together (for the interchange of "noble" with "officer," cf. Jer. 39:6 with 52:10; Jer. 27:20 with II Kings 24:14).

The Elders of the People or Country

In the city-state, as it existed in Canaan, the elders of the city were identical with the elders of the state. In Israel, both before and during the monarchic period, the elders of the town and those of the people, country, and congregation operated separately. Matters that concerned the entire confederation or the nation were brought to the elders of the people, and after the division of the kingdom to the elders of Israel and Judah respectively, whereas the elders of the town dealt only with the local provincial problems (see above). It is not known how the elders of the country were chosen, but it is possible that they were recruited from the city elders. One might argue that the monarchy had deprived the elders of their power and authority, but this was not the case. Even as powerful a king as Ahab had to consult "the elders of the land" before proclaiming war (I Kings 20:7). It is needless to dwell here on the important role that the elders of Israel and Judah played at the time of David (II Sam. 3:17; 5:3; 17:4, 15). The elders cooperated with Elisha against the king (II Kings 6:32), and the elders of the land interfered in the trial of Jeremiah (Jer. 26:17). The "people of the land" or the "people of Judah," who took action when the dynasty was at stake, seem to be identical with the elders of Judah.

The emergence of the elders has been explained in the Pentateuch etiologically. According to Exodus 18, it was Jethro who advised Moses to establish a judicial-social organ in order to help him judge the people. (In the desert setting of the narrative there was no distinction between the elders of the town and the elders of the congregation.) In Numbers 11, following Moses' complaint that he cannot manage the people by himself, the Lord draws from some of the spirit of Moses and instills it in the 70 elders who are to assist him. In Deuteronomy 1:9ff., finally, Moses himself proposes that he pick men from the tribes in order to create the judicial body. These three traditions present different outlooks on the quality of the elder-judge in ancient Israel. In Exodus 18, the attributes of the chosen men are fear of God, trustworthiness, and honesty. In Numbers 11, it is the spirit of God, i.e., divine inspiration (cf. the judge in the period of the Judges, Judg. 3:10; 6:34; et al.), which makes a man a member of the elders' council. In Deuteronomy 1, intellectual capacity (wisdom, understanding, and knowledge) makes a man fit to judge. The description in Deuteronomy is apparently the latest, since it reflects the aristocratic approach, which places wisdom at the top of the ladder of values (cf. e.g., Prov. 8:15–16; et al).

The Functions of the Elders of the People

The functions of the elders of the people were (1) to represent the people in the sacral covenant and in the proclamation of the law (Ex. 19:7; 24:1, 9; Deut. 27:1; 29:9; 31:9; Josh. 8:33; 24:1; cf. II Kings 23:1); (2) to appoint a leader or a king (I Sam. 8:4; Judg. 11:5–11); (3) to proclaim war (Josh. 8:10; II Sam. 17:4–15; cf. I Kings 20:7); (4) to conduct political negotiations and make agreements (Ex. 3:16, 18; 4:29; Num. 16:25; II Sam. 3:17; 5:3); (5) to perform sacred ceremonies (Ex. 12:21; 18:12; Lev. 9:1; I Sam. 4:3; I Kings 8:1, 3; I Chron. 16:25); and (6) to act in times of national crisis (Ex. 17:5–6; Josh. 7:6; I Sam. 4:3; I Chron. 21:16). The elders held their meetings near the city gate (Deut. 21:19; 22:15; 25:7; Ruth 4:1ff.; Lam. 5:14), and more precisely in the square located next to the gate (Job 29:7). In the desert the assemblies were held "at the entrance of the Tent of Meeting" (see *Congregation). The place of the assembly had also been called "the threshing floor" (I Kings 22:10), because of its smooth, stamped surface and its circular shape (cf. Sanh. 4:3). In texts from Ugarit, Danel the pious judge is presented as sitting "before the gate, in the place of the mighty on the threshing floor" (Aqht A, V, lines 5ff., Pritchard, Texts, 151). Participation in the assembly of the elders was considered a great honor (Prov. 31:23; Job 29:7ff.), and appears as such also in Greek literature (*Iliad*, 1:490; 4:225; et al.).

[Moshe Weinfeld]

In the Talmud

During the mishnaic period the name *zaken* ("elder") was reserved for scholars, and particularly members of the Sanhedrin or *bet din*. The title was regarded as equivalent to a sage, and was unconnected with age, as was emphasized by regarding the word as a notarikon: "The *zaken* is none other than a sage, and the word means *zeh she-kanah ḥokhmah* ("one who has acquired wisdom"; Kid. 32b). Thus one reads of the elders of Bet Shammai and the elders of Bet Hillel (Ber. 11a), of the "elders of the *bet din*" who supervised the high priest before the Day of Atonement (Yoma 1:3 and 5), and of "Rabban Gamaliel and the elders who were traveling by ship" (Shab. 16:8; Ma'as Sh. 5:9; cf. also **Zaken Mamre*). The word *zaken* hardly occurs with regard to local government (the "elders of the city" of. Sot. 9:5 and 6 is a reference to Deut. 21:3), although in the Book of Judith, the elders of the city or of the people appear as the main authority of the beleaguered city. It seems that the institution of "the seven good men of the city" who were responsible for its affairs was confined to Babylon. The Mishnah (Meg. 3:1) states that if the people of a town sell a synagogue or other sacred object, the purchaser may not use it for purposes of lesser sanctity. Where the Babylonian Talmud (Meg. 26a, 27a) makes the reservation that this does not apply in cases where the "seven good men of the city" stipulated at the time of the sale that the synagogue or the sacred object could so be used, the parallel passage in the Jerusalem Talmud merely mentions the stipulation but has no reference to the seven communal leaders. Nevertheless Josephus (Ant. 4:214–4) refers to the seven men who ruled the city in Ereẓ Israel, and the Syriac Baruch mentions "the seven elders of the people" (II Bar. 44:1).

[Louis Isaac Rabinowitz]

Middle Ages and Modern Period

In the Middle Ages and early modern times the term "elder" or "elders" appears both as a titular synonym for scholar and sage as well as a frequent description for the unpaid lay members in the leadership on the boards of communities within the framework of the *Councils of the Lands. It can also be regarded as an honorific description for members of the ruling aristocracy of wealth and learning in the communities of the period. The designation disappears almost entirely from the middle of the 18th century for both communal leaders as well as scholars (except for the fossilized expression *zaken ve-yoshev bi-yshivah* used as a title in ultra-conservative circles). Its disuse was the natural corollary of a diminished reverence for age and the rise of a mentality that refused to equate it with wisdom and leadership qualities. It is not accidental that antisemitic vilification in modern times fastened on the term "elder" and attempted to turn it into a horror image. Exploiting the feelings of revulsion against the notion of scheming old men and recalling the use of the term in the Jewish hierarchy and tradition, it conjured up a new Jewish bogey in the shape of the *Elders of Zion ("Sages de Sion"). The Nazis in their calculated policy of fragmentation and foisting a spurious leadership on the Jews turned to the use of the name *Judenaeltesete* ("elders of the Jews") for some of the functionaries in this leadership.

[Haim Hillel Ben-Sasson]

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ELDER, WILL (1921–), U.S. cartoonist. Elder, who was born in the Bronx, N.Y., attended the High School of Music and Art, where he began a lifelong friendship with a classmate and future collaborator, Harvey *Kurtzman, in stinging and hilarious cartoon art. Elder's penchant for zany humor flowered early with legendary stunts: when he failed to show up for class, he was discovered by a nervous teacher hanging by his neck in the school coat closet, his face chalked white. Another time he dressed joints of beef in clothing and spread them across train tracks, moaning, "Poor Schlomie! He fell on the tracks," horrifying passers-by.

Elder began his comic book career in 1946, writing and drawing a feature called Rufus Debree in *Toy Town Comics*. After several cartooning positions, Elder in 1952 joined Kurtzman, creator of *Mad* magazine, which gave him a chance to display his zany style of humor. Elder penciled and inked his own stories from the first issue on. He was credited with being the main creator of the early, zany Mad "chicken fat" style. His art was most notable for having numerous visual jokes hidden in the nooks, crannies, and backgrounds of the stories he drew. Elder became such a sensation at *Mad* that issue number 22 featured a book-length biography of him. Elder and Kurtzman left *Mad* in 1956 and worked together on a number of projects, including some short-lived satirical magazines. In one of them, *Help!*, Elder and Kurtzman created an innocent Candide-like character, Goodman Beaver. Inspired by a lusty spoof of the comic-book character Archie, Elder and Kurtzman turned the innocent Goodman Beaver, a man, into a sexy woman and named her Little Annie Fanny. *Playboy* magazine published the four-to-seven-page stories, written by Kurtzman and painted by Elder, from 1962 to 1988. The strip took comic art to new heights with sophisticated and savage satire and carefully painted stories.

Over the years, Elder's genres included crime, science fiction, horror, fantasy, war, and sex. In 2003, Fantagraphics published *Will Elder: The Mad Playboy of Art*, a definitive career retrospective. It contained more than 100 pages of comics and other art work.

[Stewart Kampel (2nd ed.)]

ELDERS OF ZION, PROTOCOLS OF THE LEARNED, antisemitic forgery aimed at showing the existence of international Jewish aspirations bent on world power. The specter of a worldwide Jewish conspiracy aiming at reducing the gentiles to slavery or exterminating them loomed up in the Christian imagination during the Middle Ages, growing out of legends about well-poisoning and plague-spreading. Some such stories claimed that a secret rabbinical conference had been held to work out a detailed plan for ritual genocide of the Christians. From the time of the Renaissance, at first in Spain, these legends turned on a political plot rather than a religious one; similar notions circulated in France and Germany, after Napoleon's convocation of the Great Sanhedrin (see French *Sanhedrin) in 1807. They did not gain widespread popular credence, nor at first did the versions launched during the second half of the century by French Catholic authors like *Barruel and Bailly, who associated *Freemasons and Jews in an anti-Christian plot. In its latest version, the legend of the "Elders of Zion" was concocted in Paris in the last decade of the 19th century by an unknown author working for the Russian secret police (*Okhrana*); in all probability, it was intended to influence the policy of Czar *Nicholas II toward the interests of the secret police. For his purposes, the anonymous forger adapted an old French political pamphlet by Maurice Joly attributing ambitions of world domination to Napoleon III, *Dialogue aux Enfers entre Machiavel et Montesquieu, ou la politique au xixe siècle* (1864), which does not contain the slightest allusion to Jews or to Judaism. This "dialogue" was transformed into the "protocols" of an alleged conference of the leaders of world Jewry, who stated in summing up that, under the cloak of modern democracy, they already controlled the policies of numerous European states and were therefore very close to their objective. However the calculations of the Russian police misfired on that occasion: Nicholas II, impressionable and antisemitic though he was, detected the fraud, writing "One does not defend a worthy cause by vile means" in the margin of the manuscript submitted to him. The first Russian public edition of the *Protocols*, which appeared in 1905, did not attract much attention and was taken seriously in a few mystic and sectarian circles only.

The worldwide success of the *Protocols* dates from 1919 to 1921; after the widespread slaughter in World War I, the Russian Revolution in 1917, and the risings in Germany, many people felt impelled to discover a "hidden cause" for such tragic and momentous events. The text was widely circulated during the Russian civil war by propagandists seeking to incite the masses against the "Jewish Revolution," and undoubtedly contributed to the extensive pogroms perpetrated in southern Russia between 1918 and 1920. After the defeat of the White armies, Russian émigrés publicized the *Protocols* in the West. Translations followed, but most reputable European newspapers, such as the *Times* of London, questioned their authenticity. In 1921 the English journalist Philip Graves pointed out the close similarity between the text of the *Protocols* and Joly's pamphlet; from then on, balanced and responsible circles refused to take them seriously. This was no bar to an enormous circulation of the text, which was translated into all the main world languages. In the United States it was even sponsored (until 1927) by the influential and popular Henry Ford I.

However, well before the Nazi rise to power, the *Protocols* found the largest number of adherents in Germany. The theory of the occult power of the Jews' sworn enemies of German-Christian culture, perfectly suited those reactionary propagandists who attributed Germany's defeat to "a stab in the back." Right from the start the Nazi Party propagated this theme. The Weltdienst organization of Erfurt was specially formed to diffuse it and to strengthen ties with antisemites in other countries. In Berne in 1934 the Jewish community of Switzerland brought the distributors of the *Protocols* to trial, establishing in court that the work was a forgery, but this did nothing to diminish the zeal of its propagators. During World War II, the *Protocols of the Learned Elders of Zion* became an implicit justification for the genocide of the Jews; and Nazi propaganda relied on them until the last days of the Third Reich. Although from 1945 no more than bibliographical curiosity in the majority of civilized countries, the *Protocols* were reissued in numerous Arab states and President Nasser of Egypt publicly vouched for their authenticity, as did the Jordanian delegate to the United Nations in 1980. The Arab states continued to disseminate the *Protocols* in places as diverse as Sweden and the United States, joined in the latter by black Muslim groups and the Ku Klux Klan. A Spanish edition, published in 1963, was probably an attempt to prevent the revision of the Catholic Church's traditional attitude toward the Jews at the Ecumenical Council Vatican II. The *Protocols* were also circulated in Japan, Latin America, and the Soviet Union.

Research by Colin Holmes, a lecturer in economic history of Sheffield University, has revealed the source which enabled Philip Graves to expose the *Protocols* as a forgery. They were given to Graves by a Russian émigré, Michael Raslovleff, who fled to Constantinople after the Russian Revolution of 1917. Raslovleff, a self-confessed antisemite, gave the information to Graves because he was unwilling to "give a weapon of any kind to the Jews, whose friend I have never been."

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[Leon Poliakov]

ELEALEH (Heb. אֶלְעָלֵא, אֶלְעָלֵה), biblical town in Transjordan, northeast of Heshbon. Elealeh is always mentioned together with Heshbon. It was settled by the tribe of Reuben and later reverted to Moab (Num. 32:3, 37; Isa. 15:4; 16:9; Jer. 48:34). Eusebius refers to it in the fourth century C.E. as a large village

(Onom. 84:10). The site is occupied at present by the Arab village al-ʿĀl, 2,986 ft. (910 m.) above sea level, halfway between Amman (Rabbath) and Madaba (Medba) in a region rich in vineyards. Remains of walls from the Early Bronze (pre-patriarchal) Age have been uncovered there as well as Moabite and Hellenistic potsherds. The ruins of a settlement from the Arab period are visible on the surface.

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[Michael Avi-Yonah]

ELEAZAR (Heb. אֶלְעָזָר; "God/El-has-aided"), high priest after *Aaron. Eleazar was Aaron's third son (Ex. 6:23); his older brothers Nadab and *Abihu perished after offering strange fire before the Lord (Lev. 10:1–7; Num. 3:4). During his father's lifetime Eleazar served as the "head chieftain of the Levites" (Num. 3:32) and performed some of the functions of the high priest (*ibid.* 19:4). After Aaron's death, Eleazar was appointed high priest in his father's place (*ibid.* 20:28; Deut. 10:6). Together with Moses, he concluded the census of the people on the plains of Moab by the bank of the Jordan (Num. 26:1–3) and, together with Joshua, supervised the division of the land (Num. 34:17; Josh. 14:1 and elsewhere). In the text describing the appointment of Joshua as Moses' successor, it is stated that Eleazar was to stand before Joshua when the latter inquired "by the judgment of the Urim" (Num. 27:18–22). Eleazar's burial place was on the hill of his son *Phinehas in Mount Ephraim (Josh. 24:33). The priestly family of *Zadok traced its descent from Eleazar, who was regarded as the ancestor of 16 of the 24 priestly houses (I Chron. 24:4–18).

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ELEAZAR (2nd cent. B.C.E.), martyr during the religious persecution instigated by Antiochus Epiphanes (167 B.C.E.). "Eleazar, one of the foremost scribes, well advanced in years," was compelled to eat swine's flesh, but chose "death with glory rather than life with pollution, and of his own free will was tortured" after refusing to so much as pretend to partake of the forbidden meat. The principal source of this story is II Maccabees 16:18–31, while IV Maccabees 5–6 offers an elaborated version of the original. Eleazar's martyrdom was subsequently extolled by the church fathers (Origen, Προτρεπτικὸς εἰς μαρτύριον, xxii–xxvii).

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[Isaiah Gafni]

ELEAZAR (**Alatzar**, **Abenalazar**), prominent Jewish family in the kingdom of Aragon in the Middle Ages. They were considered *francos* ("free") for the special services which they had rendered to the kings of Aragon during the Christian Reconquest and as such exempted from taxes. The main branch of the family lived in Saragossa. The founder of this branch was apparently ALAÇAR, treasurer of Ramon Berenguer of Aragon, who in 1135 granted him and his descendants a release from taxes. In 1212 ABULFATH ABENALAZAR, son of Alazrach, was transferred by King Pedro, together with his family, to the protection of the Knights of the Order of St. John. They were granted special protection, right of appeal to the king's court of justice, and exemption from the discriminatory Jewish *oath. This privilege was confirmed by James I in 1235 to Abulfath's grandson, ALAÇAR B. ALAZRACH, who served as *alfaquim* ("physician-interpreter") in Saragossa. The family's omission to pay their share of the communal taxes and failure to participate in communal affairs alienated them from the Jewish community. However, in 1413 the community succeeded in obtaining an order from King Ferdinand I by which the Eleazar family was compelled to share the expenses of sending a delegation to the papal court. Their release in 1425 from the tax on meat and wine finally caused their excommunication by the Jewish community.

Other members of this family include the physician MOSSE ABEN ELEAZAR (active c. 1390), as a result of whose services to the Franciscans in Saragossa the Jews were permitted in 1385 to carry their dead to the cemetery on the road which passed by their church. Other physicians of the family include EZDRA ELEAZAR, in attendance on the royal court in 1387, and TODROS ALAZAR (second half of the 15th century). The wealthy DON MAIR ALAZAR (first half of the 15th century) established a Jewish hospital. One of the gates to the Jewish quarter of Saragossa situated near his house was named after him. Maestre MOSSE ALAZAR was in the service of the court of Aragon in 1384. The richest Jewish moneylender in Saragossa at the time of the Expulsion of 1492 was SOLOMON ELEAZAR: an inventory of pledges in his possession has been preserved. A secondary branch of the family lived in Valencia. JUDAH ELEAZAR (d. 1377) was the most forceful communal leader in the city and among the signatories of the regulations of the communities of Aragon issued in 1354. He gave considerable financial help to the king in the war against Castile, and in 1370 lent 110,000 solidos for equipping the ships which conveyed Pope Urban V from Rome to Avignon. Several less influential members of the Eleazar family lived in Calatayud and Huesca.

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ELEAZAR BEN ANANIAS, Zealot leader in Jerusalem during the Jewish war with Rome 66–70 C.E. Eleazar evidently already held the office of Captain of the Temple (*segan ha-Kohanim* – στρατηγός) during the procuratorship of *Albinus, 62–64 C.E., and continued to hold that position until the destruction of the Temple. Son of the high priest *Ananias and a member of the priestly circles who joined the revolt, he persuaded the priests to discontinue the practice of accepting offerings on behalf of aliens. Cessation of the sacrifice offered up for the emperor was tantamount to challenging Roman rule, and – according to Josephus – this action signaled the revolt against Rome. The Talmud attributes the action to Zechariah b. Avkulus (Git. 56a).

The discontinuation of sacrifices for the health of the emperor led to a struggle in Jerusalem between the Zealots and those favoring conciliation. Eleazar and his partisans gained possession of the Temple mount and the lower city while the peace party and troops of King *Agrippa II occupied the upper city. With the help of the extremist *Sicarii faction, however, Eleazar and his men succeeded in capturing this section too. The extremist elements then gained the upper hand, and attacked not only the Romans, but also their opponents among their compatriots. They set fire to the palaces of Agrippa, *Berenice, and the high priest Ananias, as well as to the public archives where loan bonds were deposited. Ananias and his brother Hezekiah (see *Ananias b. Nedebeus) were put to death. When *Menahem b. Judah the Galilean, a central figure among the extremists, attempted to seize the command for himself, he was foiled by Eleazar. After *Cestius Gallus was defeated, Eleazar was appointed general of Idumea by the war party in Jerusalem, together with *Jesus b. Zapphas. The appointment was evidently prompted by a desire to remove him from a key position in the command, and no more is known of him.

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[Lea Roth]

ELEAZAR BEN ARAKH (second half of the first century C.E.), *tanna*. He was one of the most outstanding disciples of R. *Johanan b. Zakkai, who described him as "an overflowing spring," i.e., an inexhaustible source of innovative interpretation and insight into the meaning of the Torah. According to one tradition, he was considered to "outweigh all the sages of Israel" (Avot 2:8). Relatively few traditions are preserved in his name in the tannaitic sources. To his teacher's question, "Which is the good way to which a man should cleave?" Eleazar answered, "A good heart," a reply which, in R. Johanan's opinion, embodied all those given by his other pupils (Avot. 2:9). In addition he is associated with two other aggadic statements: the one "Be eager to study the Torah, and know what you should answer to an unbeliever …" (Avot 2:14); and the other that God humbled Himself by speaking to Moses from the burning bush and not from some high mountain or elevated place (Mekh. Sby, to 3:5; cf. Mid. Ḥag. to Ex. 3:2). Only two of his halakhic statements are cited in tannaitic sources (Tosef. Ter. 5:15; TJ, Yev. 2:1, 3c, and parallel passages; Sifra 2:8; Ḥul. 106a). According to two early traditions (Mech. of Rabbi Shimon, 158–159; Tos. Ḥag. 2:1), Eleazar engaged, together with his teacher, in mystical speculation concerning the Divine Chariot (see *Merkabah Mysticism). While this story may have an historical foundation, the literary figure of R. Eleazar – the "overflowing spring" – may also have been used here by later story tellers to exemplify Ḥag. 2:1, which permits mystical speculation only in the case of "a sage who understands by himself." According to the *Mech. of Rabbi Shimon*, R. Eleazar expounded the secrets of the Chariot "on the basis of his own understanding" until "a fire surrounded him" – a sign of divine confirmation of his experience. The story as related by the Tosefta is a far more sober affair, involving a form of "scholastic" mysticism, which takes place wholly on the earthly plane, and which was strictly supervised by Rabban Johanan. The Babylonian Talmud (following the lead of the Jerusalem Talmud) combines and elaborates these two traditions, relating that while they were traveling together, Eleazar asked R. Johanan to teach him the secrets of the Chariot, to which the latter replied: "Have I not taught you that such speculations may not be conveyed to an individual, unless he is a scholar who is able to think and speculate for himself?" Having obtained R. Johanan's permission, Eleazar began to expound the subject, whereupon fire immediately descended from heaven and enveloped all the trees in the field, which broke forth in song. R. Johanan then kissed his pupil and said: "Blessed be the Lord, God of Israel, who has granted our father Abraham a descendant capable of understanding, inquiring into, and expounding the Divine Chariot" (Ḥag. 14b). Later traditions tell a story of his having followed his wife's advice to go to Emmaus instead of accompanying R. Johanan from Jerusalem to Jabneh. As a result of his isolation he is reputed to have forgotten his learning in Emmaus, "a place of bathhouses and luxury" (Shab. 147b; ARN 14:30; ARN^2 29, 3; Eccl. R. 7:7). It is likely, however, that these traditions, rather than reflecting the historical truth of Rabbi Eleazar's own life, reflect an attempt to explain the paucity of traditions preserved in his name despite the lavish praise bestowed upon him by his teacher as recorded in *Avot*.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Geiger, in: JZWL, 9 (1871), 45–49; Bacher, Tann, 1 (1903^2), 69–72; Frankel, Mishnah, 95f.; Alon, Toledot, 1 (1958^2), 63. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** A. Goshen-Gottstein, *The Sinner and the Amnesiac* (2000); S. Wald, in: JSIJ (2006).

[Shmuel Safrai / Stephen G. Wald (2nd ed.)]

ELEAZAR BEN AZARIAH (first–second century C.E.), one of the sages of Jabneh. He was one of the most prominent *tannaim* and is quoted dozens of times in the Mishnah, the Tosefta, and the tannaitic Midrashim, his statements touching on all areas of *halakhah* and *aggadah*. A priest, it is said that he could trace his ancestry back ten generations to Ezra (TJ, Yev. 1:6, 3a–6). Like many prominent *tannaim*, events mentioned briefly or in passing in the earlier sources were expanded and elaborated in the later talmudic literature. For example, Ben Azzai mentions in three places (Zev. 1:3; Yad. 3:5; 4:2) "the day that they seated R. Eleazar ben Azariah in the yeshivah." The

Mishnah itself associates a series of important discussions and decisions with "that day" (Yad. 4:1–4). "That day" afterwards became the focus for a number of other important events mentioned or hinted at in tannaitic literature. For example, on that day the tractate *Eduyyot* was supposed to have been formulated (see however Epstein, *Tanna'im*, 422–4). "That day" was associated with the stories surrounding the removal of *Rabban Gamaliel II from office. It is told that when Rabban Gamaliel was deposed as *nasi* because of his autocratic behavior toward Joshua b. Hananiah, Eleazar was chosen to succeed him. The selection was prompted not only by his aristocratic lineage, but also by his great wealth, the *nasi* being required to bear a considerable proportion of the expenses of his office (TJ, Ber. 4:1, 7d; *ibid.* 27–28a). When appointed *nasi* he was, according to a tradition preserved in both Talmuds, only about 18 years old, but a miracle was wrought for him and his hair turned gray (Ber. 28a). This legend probably originated in Eleazar's remark (Ber. 1:5), "I am about (like one who is) 70 years old," which has been interpreted to mean that he merely had the appearance of an old man (Ber. 28a). From elsewhere in the Jerusalem Talmud (Ber. 1:9, 3d), it would seem that he made this statement in his old age. It is told that on "the day" he was appointed *nasi*, the college was thrown open to all who wished to study, without restriction, contrary to the previous ruling of Rabban Gamaliel that "No disciple whose true character does not correspond to his outer bearing may enter the *bet ha-midrash*. On that day hundreds of benches were added to the *bet ha-midrash*, and there was no *halakhah* about which there was any doubt that was not elucidated" (see Ber. 28a). After a reconciliation between the sages and Rabban Gamaliel and his reinstatement as *nasi*, it was decided that they share the discourses on alternate Sabbaths with Eleazar's known as "the Sabbath of Eleazar b. Azariah" (Ber. *ibid.*).

In another example, tannaitic literature tells of Eleazar ben Azariah's journey, together with Rabban Gamaliel and other sages, to Rome (Sif. Deut. 20:3; cf. Ma'as. Sh. 5:9; Er. 4:1). In the later literature we hear many more details of their stay there, of their meetings with the members of the Jewish community, with the authorities, and with the emperor, and with prominent Romans who had been attracted to Judaism, of their return voyage, and of Eleazar's pilgrimage, together with the *nasi* and the elders, to Jerusalem (Mak. 24a-b; et al.).

R. Eleazar was both a halakhist and an aggadist. A statement reported in the name of Judah ha-Nasi (or in that of his contemporary Issi b. Judah) praises him as being "a basket of spices" and "a spice-dealer's basket," i.e., carefully endeared by fragrant allusions to his vast, finely ordered learning, which enabled him to answer with equal facility questions on Bible, Mishnah, midrashic *halakhah*, or *aggadah* (ARN[1] 18:66; Git. 67a). Eleazar is the author of the observation that a Sanhedrin which executes a person once in 70 years is to be branded a murderous tribunal (Mak. 1:10). His exegetical practice is similar to that of the school of R. *Ishmael in keeping with the view that "the words of the Bible are to be construed literally" (Kid. 17b) and that no special significance is to be attached to the duplication of verbs in the infinitive construct since "the Bible speaks in the language of human beings" (BM 31b). He is thus at variance with the school of R. *Akiva, which felt that such duplications of the verb required an halakhic interpretation. At times Eleazar explicitly controverts the exegetical principles of Akiva (Sifra 7:12 et al.).

He was famous for his aggadic comments. After hearing one of R. Eleazar's aggadic interpretations of scripture, Joshua said, "The generation in which Eleazar b. Azariah lives is not forsaken" (Tosef., Sot. 7:12). In his aggadic interpretations he makes frequent use of two exegetical principles: the juxtaposition of biblical texts *semukhin* and the argument *a fortiori* (*kal va-ḥomer*). On the significance of the Day of Atonement he declared: "The Day of Atonement can bring forgiveness for transgressions between man and the Almighty, but not for transgressions between one man and another until the one has obtained the other's pardon" (Yoma 8:9). And again, "Where there is no Torah, there is no right conduct" (Avot 3:17). He also said: "A man should not say, 'I have no desire to eat pig's flesh' … but rather, 'I would like to do so, but how can I, seeing that God has prohibited it?'" (Sifra 11:22). Eleazar's wealth was proverbial, and it was said that "whoever sees Eleazar b. Azariah in a dream can expect riches" (Ber. 57b). He survived Rabban Gamaliel and was apparently alive at the time of the Jewish revolt under Trajan (115–117), although not at the outbreak of the Bar Kokhba revolt (131). When R. Eleazar b. Azariah died, it was stated "the crowns of wisdom have departed" (Sot. 49b).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: J. Bruell, *Mevo ha-Mishnah*, 1 (1876), 88–91; Derenbourg, in: MGWJ, 37 (1893), 395–8; Bacher, Tann, 1 (1903^2), 212–32; Weiss, Dor, 2 (1904^4), 85–91; Graetz, Gesch, 4 (1908^4), 35ff.; Frankel, Mishnah, 96–99; Hyman, Toledot, 186–91; L. Ginzberg, *Perushim ve-Ḥiddushim ba-Yerushalmi*, 3 (1941), 168–220; Alon, Toledot, 1 (1958^2), 368 (index); 2 (1961^2), 273 (index); S. Lieberman, *Tosefta ki-Feshutah*, 5 (1962), 1162.

[Shmuel Safrai]

ELEAZAR BEN DAMMA (early second century C.E.), *tanna*. Eleazar is mentioned in two places in the early tannaitic sources, both in connection with R. *Ishmael. In Tosefta *Shevuot* 3:4 Ben Damma asked R. Ishmael a question concerning a *halakhah*, who in responding called him "My son!" In Tosef. Ḥul. 2:22–23 it is told that "R. Eleazar Ben Damma was bitten by a snake and Jacob of Kefar Sama came to heal him in the name of Jesus b. Pandira. Ishmael said to him, 'it is forbidden, Ben Damma.' He rejoined 'I will cite a verse to prove that he may heal me,' but he did not manage to prove it before he died. Whereupon Ishmael said: 'Happy art thou, Ben Damma, that thou hast departed from this world in peace and hast not transgressed the words of the sages'" (cf. TJ, Av. Zar. 2:2, 40d). A later Midrash (Koh. R. 1) retells the story from the Tosefta, but refers to Ben Damma as R. Ishmael's nephew, a detail lacking in the earlier tradition. He is similarly described as R. Ishmael's nephew in the Babylonian Talmud Ber. 56b, where he asked his "uncle" to interpret his dream for him. This elaboration of earlier stories, including the filling in of the family ties between earlier talmudic figures, is characteristic of the later talmudic tradition, especially the Babylonian Talmud. The Babylonian Talmud also tells of his inclination toward Greek culture, as reflected in the following passage: "Ben Damma, son of Ishmael's sister, once asked Ishmael, 'May such as I who have studied the whole of the Torah study Greek wisdom?' Ishmael thereupon read to him the verse, 'This book of the law shall not depart from thy mouth, but thou shalt meditate therein day and night' (Josh. 1:8) and added, 'Go then and find a time that is neither day nor night'" (Men. 99b). His name is cited in *Heikhalot Rabbati*, 4, as one of those arrested by the Romans, but it appears that the reference is to Judah b. Damma, one of the *Ten Martyrs enumerated in the *Elleh Ezkerah* published by Jellinek (*Beit ha-Midrash*, 2 (1967^3), 64).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Hyman, Toledot, 161.

[Jehonatan Etz-Chaim]

ELEAZAR BEN DINAI (c. second half of the first century C.E.), Zealot leader. Josephus relates that for 20 years he ravaged Judea until, by ruse, he was captured by the procurator Felix (53–60) and sent to Rome. He is first mentioned in the period of the procurator Fadus (44–46) in connection with the conflict in the Philadelphia (Rabbath Ammon) area of Transjordan between the Jews and their neighbors, some of whom were killed. Subsequently Eleazar was arrested together with the other Jewish leaders and was banished. In the quarrel between the Jews and Samaritans arising from the murder of a Galilean pilgrim during the procuratorship of Cumanus Ventidius (48–52), the Jews called upon Eleazar, who had taken refuge in the mountains for some years, to assist them in taking vengeance. In the Mishnah, Eleazar is mentioned as a murderer in whose time the incidence of open murder greatly increased, leading to the discontinuation of the **Eglah Arufah* ceremony for an unsolved murder (see Deut. 21:1–9; Sot. 9:9), and he is mentioned elsewhere as one of those who sought to hasten the advent of the Messiah but failed (Song R. 2:7). Some are of the opinion that at first his deeds were well-intentioned but in the course of time he accustomed himself to acts of violence. It is almost certain that he was executed after being brought to Rome.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Jos., Ant., 20:2–4, 121, 161; Jos., Wars, 2:235, 253; Klausner, Bayit Sheni, 5 (1963), 15–17.

[Lea Roth]

ELEAZAR BEN ḤALFON HA-KOHEN (12th–13th century), Hebrew poet. Eleazar lived apparently in an Oriental country. About 15 poems from his *divan* survived in the Cairo **Genizah*, where his name usually appears as "Eleazar" or "Eleazar ha-Kohen," but in one, as "Eleazar ben Ḥalfon ha-Kohen." One of the poems is a panegyric to *Maimonides composed apparently during the latter's lifetime. Eleazar, who seems to have been among the best of the Oriental Hebrew *paytanim*, adopted the Sephardi style of *piyyut* in its fullest detail. Many of his *piyyutim* were attributed by copyists to the great poets of the Spanish era, and it is possible perhaps that some of the poems of his time, signed "Eleazar ha-Kohen," should be ascribed to him.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: A. Scheiber, in: *Sinai*, 35 (1954), 183–6; idem, in: *Sefer Ḥayyim Schirman* (1970), 393–4; Ḥ. Schirmann, *Shirim Ḥadashim min ha-Genizah* (1965), 106–16.

[Abraham David]

ELEAZAR BEN HANANIAH BEN HEZEKIAH (lived shortly before the destruction of the Temple in 70 C.E.), *tanna*. His full name was Eleazar b. Hananiah b. Hezekiah b. Garon. He is quoted in Sifre Deut. 294, and Mech. Baḥodesh 7, his position in this latter source appearing elsewhere in the name of Shammai. In **Megillat Ta'anit* it is stated (p. 351) that "the group of Eleazar (Eliezer) b. Hananiah b. Hezekiah b. Garon wrote *Megillat Ta'anit*." In the Talmud (Shab. 13b), however, the compilation of *Megillat Ta'anit* is ascribed to "Hananiah b. Hezekiah and his companions" (see: Noam, 29–31). Graetz, who adopted the reading of Eleazar b. Hananiah in *Shabbat*, identified him with the Eleazar b. Hananiah mentioned by Josephus as a leader of the Zealots in the rebellion against Rome, but his view has not found wide acceptance (Noam, 335–36).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Hyman, Toledot, 176. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** V. Noam, *Megillat Ta'anit* (2003).

[Stephen G. Wald (2nd ed.)]

ELEAZAR BEN ḤARSOM, in the *aggadah* described as a priest and a scholar. No mention is made of him in the extant tannaitic sources. In one place in the Jerusalem Talmud (Ta'an. 4:8, 69a; cf. Lam. R. 2:2) it is stated that "there were 10,000 cities on the king's mountain; Eleazar b. Ḥarsom owned 1,000 of them, and corresponding to them he owned 1,000 ships on the sea, and all were destroyed." It would seem from the context that they were destroyed during the Bar Kokhba revolt. In another place (Yoma 3:6, 40d) the Jerusalem Talmud relates that "his mother made him a tunic worth 20,000 *minas* and his brother priests would not allow him to wear it because [it was transparent and] he looked as though he were naked." In the Babylonian Talmud (Yoma 35b) these two traditions about his wealth are joined together, and integrated with an image of Eleazar b. Ḥarsom as a wandering scholar, who took a sack of flour upon his shoulder and went from city to city and from province to province to study Torah. The moral of the story is stated explicitly at the end: "Eleazar b. Ḥarsom condemns the rich" who will not be able to justify their neglect of learning on the plea that the cares of their wealth prevented them from devoting themselves to study. In Kid. 49b he has turned into the very epitome of the wealthy man: "[If one betroths a woman] on the condition that he is wealthy, it is not necessary that he be as wealthy as Eleazar b. Ḥarsom." His status as a priest is elaborated further in *Yoma* 9a, where – according to one alternative tradition – he is accorded the rank of High Priest during the time of the Second Temple. In the list of martyrs given in *Lamentations Rabbah* (2:2) it says "…there are some who exclude Tarfon and include Eleazar b. Ḥarsom," but his name is not included in the other lists (Mid. Ps. to 9; *Piyyutei Yannai*, ed. by M. Zulay (1938), 374). It is obvious that all these different traditions cannot refer to the same historical figure, nor is it likely that a high priest would be identified as a scholar with the title "rabbi." Rather, each tradition must be seen as reflecting the narrative and moralistic concerns of each storyteller and each editor as determined by the specific context.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Hyman, Toledot, 176–7; Klausner, Bayit Sheni, 5 (1951), 21.

[Stephen G. Wald (2nd ed.)]

ELEAZAR BEN JACOB HA-BAVLI (c. 1195–1250), Hebrew poet of Baghdad. Eleazar seems to have been a sort of house poet for the well-to-do Jewish families of Iraq. He represents himself as a disciple of Moses ben Sheshet al-Andalusi, who introduced him to the techniques of Andalusian poetry. He was probably the first young Oriental poet met by Judah *Al-Ḥarizi in his travels to the East, although he did not get a very positive evaluation. Some of Eleazar's poems were extant in various manuscript collections and in Oriental *maḥzorim* and attracted the attention of 19th-century scholars (L. Dukes, A. Neubauer, E.N. Adler, S. Poznanski). It was only with the discovery of one of the manuscripts of his *dīwān*, which comprised 281 poems, by Elkan N. *Adler in Aleppo in 1898 (Jewish Theological Seminary, New York, Ms. ENA 881), and its publication by H. *Brody (1935) that he emerged as one of the great poets of the eastern Diaspora. Thanks to other manuscripts from the Firkovitch collection of St. Petersburg and from other libraries, Y. Yahalom has been able to reproduce the possible original structure of Eleazar's *dīwān*, which contained more than 400 poems. Many of them are given over to praises and the familiar events of the notable Jews of the Iraqi community: births, circumcisions, weddings, and deaths of the families of his benefactors. Others are epigrams on secular subjects or short poems of didactic nature. He also wrote some Arabic poems, with his own Hebrew translation, and even verses with a mixture of both languages. While the *dīwān* contains mainly secular poetry, subsequent discoveries have brought to light about 50 of his religious poems. Nineteen such poems were published by S. *Bernstein; by a comparison of style and the help of acrostics, D. Jarden identified some more religious poems. They have the characteristics of the classical *piyyut* and some of the Andalusian innovations.

In addition to its importance to poetry, the *dīwān* is a historical source of utmost significance for the history of Iraqi Jews during the 13th century. It provides a glimpse into the wealthy and highly educated leading Jewish families in Baghdad, Basra, Mosul, Wasit, Hilla, and other places in Iraq. The *dīwān* is replete with the names (more than 400) of not only the contemporary *geonim* but also of eminent Jewish personalities, among them physicians, scholars, astronomers, administrators, keepers of the mint, and other state dignitaries in the service of the Abbasid caliphate in its declining years. The high-sounding titles of the Jewish notabilities indicate the social level and the great role played by them both in the community and in state and society. With the help of Arab chronicles, particularly of Ibn al-Fuwati, these personalities can be identified in their historical perspective.

Eleazar ha-Bavli also interested himself in the theory of Hebrew poetry and composed a book for teaching this theory to his Jewish audience. Substantial remnants of this work, written in Judeo-Arabic, have survived (published and translated into Hebrew by Yahalom, 2001). He studied 13 kinds of meter, the rhyme, the mistakes and deficiencies of the poets, and the figures of speech, following Arabic models. His method of studying Hebrew poetry was very different from that of his predecessor Moses *Ibn Ezra in his *Shirat Yisrael.* The situation in which Eleazar wrote was quite dissimilar, and his main goal was probably to encourage the Jews of the East to compose Hebrew poetry in consonance with Arabic poetics, reproducing the opinions of similar Arabic books and offering many examples taken from his own secular and liturgical poetic production.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: E.N. Adler, in: JQR, 11 (1898/99), 682–7; idem, in: *Livre d'hommage… S. Poznanski* (1927), 22–24 (Eng.); Mann, Texts, 1 (1931), 263–305; H. Brody, *Divan Kovez Shirei Rabbi Eleazar ben Ya'akov ha-Bavli* (1935); S.H. Kook, in: KS, 13 (1936/37), 12–13 (also in his *Iyyunim u-Meḥkarim*, 2 (1963), 194–7); W.J. Fischel, in: *Tarbiz*, 8 (1936/37), 233–6; idem, *Jews in the Economic and Political Life of Mediaeval Islam* (1969^2), 127–34; S. Bernstein, in: *Sinai*, 18 (1946), 8–34; N.H. Torczyner (Tur-Sinai), in: *Leshonenu*, 11 (1941), 269–83 (also in his *Ha-Lashon ve-ha-Sefer*, 3 (1955), 366–80); D. Jarden, in: *Tarbiz*, 26 (1956/57), 317–27; idem, in: HUCA, 33 (1962), 1–26; idem, *Sefunei Shirah* (1967), 54–96; A. Ben-Jacob, *Yehudei Bavel* (1965), 32–43; Abramson, in: *Perakim*, 1 (1968), 9–28. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** D. Yarden (ed.), *Shirim Ḥadashim le-Rabbi Eleazar ben Ya'akov ha-Bavli* (1984); Y. Yahalom, *Perakim be-Torat ha-Shir le-Eleazar ben Ya'akov ha-Bavli: Makor Arvi-Yehudi ve-Targum Ivri* (2001); idem, in: *Hispania Judaica Bulletin*, 4 (2004), 5–21; W. van Bekkum, in: *Ben Ever la-Arav,* 2 (2001), xxiii–xl.

[Walter Joseph Fischel / Angel Sáenz-Badillos (2nd ed.)]

ELEAZAR BEN JAIR (first cent. C.E.), chief of the Sicarii who captured the fortress of *Masada at the beginning of the Roman war (Jos., Wars, 2:447; 7:275ff.). Eleazar was commander of the besieged fortress from 66 until its fall in 73. According to Josephus he was a descendant of *Judah the Galilean, to whom the founding of the "fourth philosophy" (see *Sicarii) is attributed, though some identify him with Judah b. Hezekiah who, after Herod's death, raised the standard of revolt in Galilee and captured Sepphoris. Apparently Eleazar already had a connection with Masada in the time of *Menahem b. Judah, when he captured it and used the arms that he obtained there for the siege of Jerusalem. Josephus designates Eleazar, "head of the Sicarii … a valiant man," and ascribes to him a speech made to the defenders of Masada after the breach of its walls, first before a handful of fighters and afterward before all the besieged. This speech was possibly reconstructed from what Josephus heard from the woman belonging to Eleazar's family who escaped at Masada by hiding herself in the cistern there; although it has also been pointed out that the ascription of heroic speeches to the heroes of history was a literary device that characterized ancient historiography. These passages are the only sources where Eleazar is mentioned explicitly, and since Josephus is the only source for the final battle of Masada and the last days of the fighters, it should be treated with caution.

The image of Eleazar which emerges is not only multifaceted but contradictory. His colorful character made it difficult for Josephus to give a uniform or complete picture. He never fails to stress that Eleazar was one of the Sicarii, of whom he continually gives an unfavorable opinion. Yet, at the same time, when he comes to describe in detail the stand of Masada and its fall, he does not refrain from praising Eleazar. Doubts have been cast upon the reliability of Josephus' story of Masada. It has been argued (Ladouceur, but see comments by Rajak) that Eleazar's speech was written to act as a balance to Josephus' own opinions about self-inflicted death (Wars, 3:362–382). Nevertheless, the archaeological excavations at Masada – directed by Y. Yadin – even if they have not produced factual epigraphic testimony of what happened there, do not contradict the narrative. The many traces of fire throughout the whole area of the fortress are a small part of the mute testimony to the end of Masada. But the most remarkable part of the excavation was the discovery of 11 small sherds upon which names and appellations were marked (among them: "Ben ha-Naḥtom," "ha-Amki," "Yo'av," "Ben Ya'ir," etc.). These 11 *ostraka* have been tenuously connected by Yadin with the statement by Josephus (Wars, 7:395 f.): "then, having chosen by lot ten of their number to despatch the rest … these, having unswervingly slaughtered all, ordained the same rule of the lot for one another, that he on whom it fell should slay first the nine and then himself last of all." The sherd bearing the name "Ben Ya'ir" strengthens the picture, unique of its kind, of Eleazar ben Jair.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Klausner, Bayit Sheni, 5 (1951^{2}), 148, 287–9; S. Zeitlin, in: JQR, 55 (1964/65), 299–317; 57 (1966/67), 251–70; Y. Yadin, *Masada* (1968). **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** D.J. Ladouceur, "Masada: A Consideration of the Literary Evidence," in: *Greek Roman and Byzantine Studies,* 21 (1980), 246–47; S.J.D. Cohen, "Masada: Literary Tradition, Archaeological Remains and the Credibility of Josephus," in: JJS, 33 (1982), 385–405; T. Rajak, *Josephus: The Historian and his Society* (1983), 220; M. Stern, *Studies in Jewish History: The Second Temple Period* (1991), 313–43; D. Flusser, "The Dead of Masada in the Eyes of their Contemporaries," in: I. Gaphni et al. (eds.), *Jews and Judaism in the Second Temple, Mishna and Talmud Period* (1993), 116–46; T. Ilan, *Lexicon of Jewish Names in Late Antiquity. Part I. Palestine 330 B.C.E.–200 C.E.* (2002), 65.

[Abraham Lebanon]

ELEAZAR BEN JUDAH OF BARTOTA (first half of the second century C.E.), *tanna*. His cognomen is derived from a place Bartota, whose exact locality is unknown. It appears that Eleazar studied under R. *Joshua for, on the authority of the latter's teachings, he challenges those of R. Akiva (Tosef., Bek. 7:6; cf. Tev. Yom 3:4–5). Among the sages who quote him are R. Simeon b. Gamaliel (Or. 1:4) and R. Simeon b. Yoḥai (Tosef., Zav. 1:5). The Talmud (Shab. 32b) ascribes to R. Eleazar ben Judah (without the additional designation "of Bartota") a statement warning about the penalties for neglecting to separate *ḥallah*.

The importance which Eleazar accorded to charity is reflected in his maxim quoted in *Avot* (3:7). "Render unto Him what is His, for thou and what thou hast are His, as David has said (I Chron. 29:14), 'For all things come of Thee, and of Thine own have we given to Thee.'" In keeping with this maxim, the Babylonian Talmud describes him as excessively generous, which was a source of embarrassment even to the collectors of charity. The Talmud relates (Ta'an. 24a) that on one occasion, when he was on his way to purchase a trousseau for his daughter, the collectors tried to avoid him, knowing that he would give them more than he could afford. Eleazar, however, ran after them and, discovering that they were collecting to make possible the marriage of two orphans, he gave them all he had, leaving himself only one *zuz*. With this, he bought a small quantity of grain which he deposited in the granary. Miraculously, it multiplied to fill the granary to the bursting point; but when told of this by his daughter, Eleazar insisted that this, too, be consecrated to charity.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Bacher, Tann; Hyman, Toledot, 177.

[Jehonatan Etz-Chaim]

ELEAZAR BEN JUDAH OF WORMS (c. 1165–c. 1230), scholar in the fields of *halakhah*, theology, and exegesis in medieval Germany. Eleazar was the last major scholar of the Ḥasidei Ashkenaz movement (see *Ḥasidei Ashkenaz). Born in Mainz, he traveled and studied in many of the centers of learning in Germany and northern France. He spent most of his life in Worms. Eleazar was a member of the *Kalonymus family, one of the most important German-Jewish families of that period. His father *Judah b. Kalonymus, one of the leading scholars of his generation, taught his son both *halakhah* and esoteric theology. *Judah b. Samuel, he-Ḥasid ("the Pious"), the leading figure in the Ḥasidei Ashkenaz movement, to whom Eleazar was related, was, however, his main teacher in the latter field and R. Moses ha-Kohen and R. Eliezer of Metz were his most prominent teachers in *halakhah.* Eleazar witnessed and suffered personally from the new outburst of persecution of the Jews by the Crusaders at the end of the 12th and the beginning of the 13th century. On a number of occasions in his commentary on the prayers, one of his major works, he noted the events that befell Worms, especially during the persecutions that followed the fall of Jerusalem to Saladin. In one of these persecutions, Eleazar's wife, daughter, and son were murdered, and he was severely injured. Eleazar's wife was very active in the religious and cultural life of her community. It is reported that she led the women in prayer and even gave public lectures to the women on the Sabbath. This tragedy was described by him in detail both in a story and in a poem. His personal loss and the catastrophic situation in the Jewish communities in Germany explain his pessimistic outlook concerning the prospects of German Jewry. He felt that the German Jewry of his time was but a small remnant after the disasters of 1096 and the following years, and that this remnant was continually diminishing. He expressed this feeling in his introduction to the *Sefer ha-Hokhmah* ("Book of Wisdom"), which was written in 1217 after the death of Judah the Pious. He explained in this introduction that he felt compelled to put his knowledge into writing, since oral tradition was about to die out because of the deteriorating situation in Germany.

His works may be divided into five categories: *halakhah*, liturgical poetry (*piyyutim*), theology, ethics, and exegesis. Eleazar's halakhic book *Sefer ha-Roke'aḥ* (Fano, 1505; reissued several times) followed the tradition of halakhic works of the tosafists of northern France and Germany. The book was intended to educate the common reader in the details of halakhic law. Therefore, the author did not discuss at length exegetical studies of the talmudic passages, but rather explained the law and its talmudic basis. Unlike other halakhic works written by the tosafists, Eleazar also includes recommended *minhagim* in his work, material which is not strictly halakhic. He drew extensively on the writings of his German predecessors and quoted more than 40 scholars.

Eleazar wrote many *piyyutim*. However, a reliable record of them has not yet been compiled. Many of his *piyyutim* were attributed to other writers (also named Eleazar), and some attributed to him were probably written by other writers. His poems, written in the then-current Ashkenazi tradition, express devotion to, and worship of, God. At the same time, they protest to God because of Israel's sufferings, and express hope for Israel's redemption and revenge on her tormentors.

His major theological work was *Sodei Razayya* ("Secrets of Secrets"). Four parts of this work were printed, although most of what is extant is found only in manuscripts. The first part, a study of the creation (*Sod Ma'aseh Bereshit*), describes how the earth, stars, elements, etc., were created. Eleazar wrote this part of his work as an exegesis based on the 22 letters of the Hebrew alphabet. This was in accordance with his belief (derived from *Sefer* **Yezirah*) that the alphabet, the word of God, was the source of existence. Eleazar included in this part ancient material from the *Heikhalot* and *Merkabah literature especially the *Baraita de-Ma'aseh Bereshit* and *Shi'ur Komah.* More than half of this part, the introduction and the letters *Alef* to *Nun*, was included in the *Sefer* *Razi'el (Amsterdam, 1701). The second part of the work, *Sod ha-Merkavah* ("Secret of the Divine Chariot"), deals with the secrets of the angels, the Holy Throne, the Chariot, the Divine Voice which speaks to the prophets, the Divine Glory revealed to them, and the ways of revelation and prophecy in general. Eleazar made use here of the teachings of *Saadiah Gaon, but also included long quotations from *Heikhalot* literature. Most of this part was printed by I. Kamelhar as *Sodei Razayya* (1936). The third and largest part *Sefer ha-Shem* ("The Book of the Holy Name") contains very little theological discussion; most of it is devoted to a systematic exegesis of the names of God, using all the exegetical and homiletical methods which were used by the Ḥasidim. Eleazar defined three layers in God's manifestation: (a) the *Shekhinah* or *Kavod*, which has shape and form so it may be seen by prophets, (b) the *Borei*, which has a faint shape, hears prayers, and performs miracles and wonders, (c) *El Elyon*, which has no shape or form. The fourth part is a treatise on psychology, *Ḥokhmat ha-Nefesh* (Lemberg, 1876). The main problem analyzed is the various ways by which a connection is established between the soul and the divine world. Parts of this work discuss other problems, e.g., the meaning of dreams, the fate of the soul after death, etc. The fifth and last part of the work is a commentary on *Sefer Yeẓirah* (Przemysl, 1883) and contains detailed instructions for the creation of a *golem. Eleazar wrote one other important theological work, *Sefer ha-Ḥokhmah*, in which he described the various fields of theological study, as well as the methods used in this study. A major part of this work is concerned with exegesis of Holy Names.

Eleazar's main contribution to Ḥasidei Ashkenaz ethical literature is contained in the first two chapters of *Roke'aḥ.* In the first he discusses the central values of this Ḥasidism (love and fear of God, prayer, humility, etc.). In the second, he describes in detail the ways of repentance. A discussion of the value of ḥasidic ethics is also found in Eleazar's introduction to *Sodei Razayya.*

Eleazar wrote many exegetical works, some of which have yet to be printed, and probably quite a few are now lost. His short commentary on the Torah, another on the Passover *Haggadah*, and a few short commentaries on various *piyyutim* (e.g., *Ha-Adderet ve-ha-Emunah* and *Ha-Oḥez ba-Yad*) are extant. Eleazar's biblical commentaries have recently been published with annotations (Bene-Berak, 1985, 1988, and 2001; Los Angeles, 2004). *Abraham b. Azriel, his pupil who wrote the *Arugat ha-Bosem*, used his teacher's exegetical works extensively. Eleazar's major work in this field, extant in several manuscripts (Vienna 108, Oxford 1204), is the commentary on the prayers. In this work, he comments on every part of the usual and special prayers. He uses three methods in his commentary: explanation of the content; theological interpretation; and research for its hidden harmony with other parts of sacred literature by use of *gematriot.* This important work was edited and published by Hershler (2 vols., Jerusalem 1992). Dozens of other short treatises by him or attributed to him are scattered through manuscript libraries, and no exhaustive bibliographical study has yet been made which could describe the vast variety of his work. It seems that not one of Eleazar's pupils was able to continue his work, especially in the field of esoteric theology. His best-known disciples, Abraham b. Azriel and *Isaac of Vienna, dedicated their literary efforts to other fields.

In common with other Ḥasidei Ashkenaz, Eleazar became a legendary hero. According to a 13th-century story, Eleazar used a cloud to travel from place to place, especially when going to far-away circumcision ceremonies. As a pietist, his writings reflect a shift in emphasis away from the social-religious programs of Judah b. Samuel he-Ḥasid to a more personalized, individual pietism. He was regarded as one of the early sages of secret lore, and in later centuries many ideas and works were attributed to him.

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[Joseph Dan]

ELEAZAR BEN MATTATHIAS (2nd century B.C.E.), Hasmonean; the fourth of *Mattathias' sons (I Macc. 2:2–5). He was nicknamed Auran (Αυραν; *ibid.* 2:5) which in the original source may have been written with a ḥ – i.e., Ḥauran (as in Syriac) – or with an *ayin* – i.e., Auran. Some see his nickname as derived from *ḥor* ("a hole"), with reference to his piercing the body of an elephant (see below), overlooking the fact that the name was accorded him during his lifetime. Other suggestions are equally unsatisfactory. Little is known of his role in the war of the Hasmoneans. In II Maccabees 8:23 it is stated that Judah appointed Eleazar to command part of the army, but the reading there should perhaps be Ezra instead of Eleazar. During the Syrian attack in the battle of Bet Zekharyah in 163 B.C.E., Eleazar broke through the Syrian ranks to reach an elephant on which he thought the king was riding. Thrusting his spear into its belly, he killed the beast, which fell on him and crushed him to death (I Macc. 6:43–46).

[Uriel Rappaport]

ELEAZAR BEN MATYA (first half of the second century C.E.), *tanna*. Eleazar was one of the most important of the students of Jabneh (TJ, Shek. 5:1, 48a), and was apparently a pupil of *Tarfon (Tosef., Ber. 4:16). *Ben Azzai, *Ben Zoma, Ḥanina b. Ḥakhinai, and Simeon ha-Teimani were his fellow students. He is mentioned as one of the four scholars of the Sanhedrin of Jabneh who "understood 70 languages" (TJ, Shek. 5:1, 48a). In general his halakhic and aggadic statements are based upon the interpretation of scriptural verses. This system was recognized by the *amoraim*, and Rav remarked about one of his halakhic interpretations given in the Mishnah: "Eleazar could have produced a pearl but he has produced a potsherd" (Yev. 94a). It is related of him that, together with Abba Ḥalafta and Ḥanina b. Ḥakhinai, he stood upon the 12 stones taken from the Jordan and erected in Gilgal by Joshua (Josh. 4). They discussed their weight and concluded that the weight of each stone was 40 *se'ah* (Tosef., Sot. 8:6). Among his statements are (Tosef., Shevu. 3:4): "No man has the misfortune to hear [a curse] unless he has sinned … he who sees transgressors, deserved to see them; who sees pious persons, has merited to see them," and "If my father asks me for a drink of water and at the same time there is a precept to perform, I must neglect the honor due to my father and perform the precept. For the duty of observing the precept lies both upon my father and myself" (Kid. 32a).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Hyman, Toledot, s.v.; Frankel, Mishnah, 141.

[Yitzhak Dov Gilat]

ELEAZAR BEN MOSES HA-DARSHAN OF WUERZBURG (mid-13th century), one of the later writers of the *Hasidei Ashkenaz from the school of *Judah b. Samuel he-Ḥasid and *Eleazar of Worms. His father Moses was Judah's brother-in-law. None of his writings has been published. Two of his works, however, are found in manuscripts: a commentary on *Sefer* **Yeẓirah*, cited by Abraham *Abulafia, the 13th-century kabbalist, and parts of his commentary on the Torah, which uses mainly the system of *gematria* and is known as *Sefer ha-Gematriyyot.* Probably portions of his other works are scattered in 13th-century Ashkenazi exegetical literature, and many quotations are found in the writings of later scholars, e.g., his son Moses b. Eleazar.

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[Joseph Dan]

ELEAZAR BEN PARTA (c. early 2nd century C.E.), *tanna*. He is mentioned only once in the Mishnah (Git. 3:4), and four times in the Tosefta. In one of his homilies, he warns against evil speech by pointing out that if the spies (Num. 12) who spoke evil only of trees and stones (*ibid.* 13:32) "died by the plague before the Lord" (*ibid.* 14:37), how much greater must be the punishment of the one who speaks evil of his neighbor (Tosef., Ar. 2:11; Ar. 15a).

In the Babylonian Talmud he is described as one of the sages arrested by the Romans for the capital offense of contravening Hadrian's decree forbidding the public teaching of Torah and observance of the commandments. While in prison, he tried to comfort Hananiah b. Teradyon, a fellow prisoner, by pointing out that while the latter only faced one charge, he himself faced five and was therefore certainly doomed. Hananiah, however, replied that for this very reason Eleazar was more worthy of Divine salvation. Hananiah's tragic death and Eleazar's miraculous deliverance proved the truth of these words (Av. Zar. 17b).

In a late Midrash (Num. R. 23:1), Eleazar shows his ability to deduce practical lessons from scriptural texts. In reply to the query of some prominent coreligionists of Sepphoris as to the legality of flight from their Roman persecutors on the Sabbath, Eleazar, not wishing to commit himself by giving them a direct answer, said: "Why do you ask me? Go and ask Jacob, Moses, and David," and referred them to biblical verses which mention distinguished leaders who had fled.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Hyman, Toledot, 200 f.; Bacher, Tann.

[Jehonatan Etz-Chaim]

ELEAZAR (in TJ usually **Lazar**) **BEN PEDAT** (d. 279), third century *amora*. He is the *amora* Eleazar mentioned without a patronymic. Scion of a priestly family (MK 28a), Eleazar was born in Babylon (Ber. 2:1, 4b). There he studied under *Samuel (Er. 66a), and more particularly under *Rav (Hul. 111b). After the latter's death, he migrated to Ereẓ Israel. It was in Ereẓ Israel that he referred to the academy of Rav as the "little sanctuary" (Meg. 29a; cf. Ezek. 11:16). He was still unmarried when he went to Ereẓ Israel, and R. Ammi and R. Assi participated at his wedding in Tiberias (Ber. 16a). He emphasizes his great fortune in having had the privilege to migrate to Ereẓ Israel and resume *semikhah* there, as well as being one of the scholars who was entrusted with the intercalation of the calendar (Kil. 112a). In Ereẓ Israel he studied under Ḥanina, the *av bet din* of Sepphoris (Kil. 9:4, 32c). He quoted so many halakhic decisions and even more aggadic sayings in Ḥanina's name (Ber. 27b; Meg. 5a; et al.) that the Talmud remarks, "Everywhere Eleazar relies upon Ḥanina" (Ter. 8:5, 45c; et al.). In Caesarea, he studied under Hoshaya Rabbah (Ber. 32b), whom he refers to as the "father of the Mishnah" (Kid. 1:3, 60a; et al.). The Jerusalem Talmud also frequently cites traditions transmitted by Eleazar in the name of *Ḥiyya b. Abba (BM 10:4, 12c), and in one instance even states that the opinions of the two scholars cannot be regarded as those of separate people since "Eleazar is the pupil of Ḥiyya Rabbah" (Kid. 1:4, 60b). It cannot mean that he was his actual disciple, since Ḥiyya had probably died by the time Eleazar migrated to Ereẓ Israel. The intensity of Eleazar's study often made him oblivious to all worldly events (Er. 54b).

Although the Babylonian Talmud describes Eleazar as Johanan's "pupil" in Tiberias (BB 135b; Tem. 25b), the Jerusalem sources see the relationship rather as that of a typical "pupil-associate" (TJ, Sanh. 1, 18b; cf. TJ, Ber. 2:4b). Moreover, the phrase "both Johanan and Eleazar say," is often found in the Babylonian Talmud itself (Yoma 9b, et al.). Eleazar was, in fact, appointed Johanan's associate in the leadership of the council after the death of Simeon b. Lakish, Johanan's previous colleague (BM 84a), but the appointment was not a happy one, Eleazar being distinguished by his extensive knowledge in contrast to the profound acumen of Resh Lakish (Sanh. 24a). He was also one of the communal leaders of Ereẓ Israel (Pe'ah 8:7, 21a), and he is sometimes referred to as serving as *dayyan*, in which capacity he consulted Johanan on difficult cases (Sanh. 3:13, 21d; BB 7b). During his last years Johanan took no active part as head of the council and it appears that Eleazar took his place (Meg. 1:13, 72b). During this period he became widely known as the "master [i.e., legal authority] of the land of Israel" (Yoma 9b), and on many occasions sent rulings and decisions to Babylon which were transmitted by the ***Neḥutei* (Sanh. 63b). In fact it is stated that the words "they sent from there," i.e., from Ereẓ Israel to Babylon, refers to Eleazar (*ibid.* 17b). Among those to whom he sent his decisions were Mar Ukva the exilarch, and Judah the principal of the academy of Pumbedita (BK 1:1, 2c).

After the death of Johanan in 279, Eleazar was appointed head of the council in Tiberias, but he died in the same year (see *Iggeret Sherira Gaon).*

Private Life

Eleazar was extremely poor (Ta'an. 25a). He was, nevertheless, loath to accept any gifts from the house of the **nasi*. He excused himself by quoting the verse (Prov. 15:27), "He that hateth gifts shall live" (Meg. 28a). Moreover, despite his poverty, he sought to support other needy scholars. This he did in an honorable manner, supplying their needs in secret to save them embarrassment (BM 2:3, 8c). All but one of Eleazar's children died during his lifetime (Ber. 5b), his surviving son, Pedat, acting as an "*amora*" ("interpreter") in the *bet ha-midrash* of Assi (Meg. 4:10, 75c).

Teaching

Eleazar was one of the great exponents of the Oral Law, and the Mishnah. He quoted numerous statements of both early and late *tannaim* and several *beraitot*, particularly in *Midrash Halakhah, without indicating their source. It was with regard to one of his interpretations (Sifra 4:1) that Johanan once remarked to Simon B. Lakish, "I saw the son of Pedat sitting and interpreting the Law, like Moses in the name of the Almighty" (i.e., he expounded the verse in the manner of the *tannaim*, cf. Rashi). He was also a great halakhist who profoundly influenced the methods of mishnaic exegesis. Although he naturally preferred to follow the text of the Mishnah rather than that of the various *beraitot*, he nevertheless examined the wording of each *mishnah* in the light of the earliest sources (BB 87a). He often employed the technique of dividing the *mishnayot*, saying, "The author of this section is not the author of that section" (Shab. 92b; Ker. 24b; et al.). He would reject a *mishnah* whose source he could not find, with the words, "I do not know who taught this" (BM 51a). He thus considerably corrected and explained the Mishnah. He is the author of the rule that whenever Judah ha-Nasi transmits a case, first as subject to a difference of opinion and then in an undisputed form, the *halakhah* is in accordance with the second form (Yev. 42b) (see *Conflict of Opinion).

Eleazar was also an exceptionally prolific and profound aggadist, whose sayings are frequently quoted in the Midrash and in both Talmuds. Among them may be mentioned, "In seven places in the Bible, God equates Himself with the lowliest of creatures" (Tanḥ. Va-Yera, 3); "The performance of charity is greater than all sacrifices" (Suk. 49b); "Let us be grateful to cheats [mendicants who are not in need], for were it not for them we would sin daily by becoming unused to giving charity to the poor" (Ket. 68a); "Let my sustenance be as bitter as the olive, providing that it is from Thy hand, rather than as sweet as honey if I have to depend upon man" (Sanh. 108b); "Even when a sharp sword rests on his neck, man should not abandon hope of mercy" (Ber. 10a); "An unmarried person is less than a man … as is he who owns no land" (Yev. 63a). Many of his sayings are devoted to fostering the sanctity and love of the Land of Israel: e.g., "Whoever resides in Israel lives without sin" (Ket. 111a); "Those who die outside Israel will not be resurrected" (*ibid.*). When told that his associate Ulla had died during one of his frequent visits to Babylon, he quoted Amos 7:17 and declared "Thou Ulla, 'shalt die in an unclean land'" (*ibid.*). He also ruled as a matter of *halakhah*, "Books which have merited to come to Israel, may not be taken out of the country" (Sanh. 3:10, 21). Although Eleazar's aggadic sayings embrace many spheres of Torah, he avoided esoteric study. He refused to receive instruction in this field from either his teacher Johanan or, many years later, from his friend Assi, who wished to attract him to the subject (Ḥag. 13a). His teachings were transmitted by numerous contemporaries and later scholars, particularly Abbahu, Rabbah b. Hana, and Zera (Shab. 12b, 134b; Suk. 43a; et al.).

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[Shmuel Safrai]

ELEAZAR BEN SHAMMUA (c. 150 C.E.), *tanna*. He is generally referred to simply as "Eleazar," without his patronymic. He is quoted frequently in the Mishnah, the Tosefta, and the Midrashei Halakhah, appearing together with R. Meir, R. Shimon, R, Johanan ha-Sandelar, and other students of R. Akiva. Many of Eleazar's *mishnayot* were incorporated into the Mishnah by Judah ha-Nasi. It is difficult, however, to determine the precise extent of this incorporation because of the repeated confusion throughout talmudic literature between Eleazar and Eliezer (b. Hyrcanus). Tannaitic sources record that when Eleazar and Johanan ha-Sandelar reached Sidon on their way to Nisibis to study under *Judah b. Bathyra they recalled Ereẓ Israel, and with tears streaming from their eyes, returned home, declaring, "Living in Ereẓ Israel is equivalent to all the *mitzvot* of the Torah" (Sif. Deut. 80). He is the author of the law that the witnesses of its delivery validate a *get* (bill of divorce) or any other document, even if the document itself is unsigned by witnesses (Git. 9:4). Among his aggadic statements is: "The Bible and the sword came down from heaven, bound together. God said to the Jews: 'If you keep what is written in this book, you will be saved from the sword, but if not, you will ultimately be killed by the sword'" (Sif. Deut. 40). According to the Babylonian Talmud he was a kohen (Sot. 39a) and one of the last pupils of R. *Akiva (Yev. 62b; cf. Gen. R. 61:3), whose views are cited on several occasions as the bases for some of Eleazar's statements (Ket. 40a; Zev. 93a; et al.). After the Bar Kokhba revolt Eleazar, among others, was ordained by *Judah b. Bava, who consequently suffered martyrdom at the hands of the Romans (Sanh. 14a). Other talmudic sources, however, do not mention Eleazar among Akiva's pupils at any of the gatherings of the sages after the period of the persecutions (TJ, Ḥag. 3:1, 78d; Song R. 2:5; Ber. 63b). Judah ha-Nasi, who was his pupil (Men. 18a), said that Eleazar's *bet ha-midrash* was so crowded that six pupils used to sit there in the space of one cubit (Er. 53a). Highly esteemed by the early *amoraim*, Eleazar was called by Rav "the happiest of the sages" (Ket. 40a), while Johanan said of him that his heart was as broad as the door of the temple porch (Er. 53a). The Talmud tells that he lived to an old age, and when asked by his pupils to what he attributed his longevity, replied: "I have never taken a short-cut through a synagogue; I have not stepped over the heads of the holy people (i.e., of other pupils to get to his place in the *bet midrash);* and I have not raised my hands (for the priestly benediction) without first reciting a blessing" (Meg. 27b). Later Midrashim include Eleazar among the *Ten Martyrs of the Hadrianic persecutions.

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[Shmuel Safrai]

ELEAZAR BEN SIMEON, Zealot leader during the Roman war of 66–70 C.E. Eleazar was a member of a distinguished priestly family of Jerusalem and a friend of *Zechariah b. Avkilus. He played an important role in the war against *Cestius Gallus, attacking the retreating Roman army and seizing military equipment, which was later to prove of great value in the defense of Jerusalem. Eleazar was not appointed a member of the governing council formed after the war against Cestius, probably because he was an extremist. The entry of Idumeans into Jerusalem, and the ensuing slaughter of those who had opposed the Zealots can be attributed to the machinations of Eleazar and his associates. Josephus attempted to exonerate Eleazar from responsibility for the massacres, putting the blame on *John of Giscala. Josephus cannot be relied on in this, since he was probably influenced by his great hostility to John. Eleazar engaged in internecine warfare with John of Giscala inside Jerusalem. Eleazar's men entrenched themselves in the Temple, which occupied the highest position in the city, affording them a significant strategic advantage over their enemies. Eleazar was thus able to maintain a defense although he had only a few men at his disposal. A peace agreement between the warring factions was not reached until Passover of 70 C.E. when the siege of Jerusalem by the Romans had already begun. Coins inscribed "Eleazar the Priest" on one side and "Year One of the Redemption of Israel" on the obverse are extant. In the opinion of some historians Eleazar b. Simeon is the subject of the inscription but it is probable that the coins date from the rebellion of Bar Kokhba, and that "Eleazar the Priest" refers to the high priest of that time.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Jos., Wars, 2:562–5; 4:225; 5:5–10, 99, 250; Klausner, Bayit Sheni, 5 (1951^2), 302 (index); Schuerer, Hist, 264ff.; F.W. Madden, *Coins of the Jews* (1967^2), 35ff., 188ff.; A. Schlatter, *Zur Topographie und Geschichte Palaestinas* (1893).

[Abraham Schalit]

ELEAZAR BEN SIMEON, *tanna* of the end of the second century C.E.; son and pupil of *Simeon b. Yoḥai (Suk. 45b). He is mentioned by name very rarely in the Mishnah, though *amoraim* ascribe several anonymous *mishnayot* to him (Bek. 51b, et al.). He is quoted frequently in the *beraitot*, as well as approximately 75 times in the Tosefta, especially those of *Zevaḥim* and *Menaḥot*. His aggadic statements are few (e.g., Kid. 40b; Yev. 65b; Gen. R. 20:6). Later Palestinian sources state that after his death his contemporaries eulogized him as a biblical scholar, a student of the Mishnah, a preacher, and a poet (Lev. R. 30:1), this last remark causing him to be incorrectly identified with the *paytan* Eleazar *Kallir (Tos. to Hag. 13a). The Babylonian Talmud incorporates accounts of his youth into stories related to his father. According to the well known *aggadah*, he escaped with his father from the Romans by hiding in a cave for 13 years (Shab. 33b; BM 85a). This story, mentioned in the introduction to the *Zohar (1:11a), provided the literary framework for this pseudoepigraphic work of the 13th century, and caused its composition to be ascribed to them. According to the Talmud, Eleazar later became a noted scholar who engaged in halakhic controversy with his colleague, Judah ha-Nasi (BM 84b; et al.), as well as in halakhic and aggadic discussions with older scholars, such as Judah, Yose, and Meir (Sot. 34a; RH 4b; et al.). In contrast to his father's unyielding defiance of the Roman authorities, it is told that he accepted under compulsion a position in the Roman administration as an official responsible for the apprehension of thieves and robbers – a position that his grandfather, Yoḥai, had at one time held (Pes. 112a). Among others who reportedly censured him for this activity was his teacher, Joshua b. Karḥah, who reprimanded him by exclaiming: "Vinegar, the son of wine! How long will you continue to hand over the people of our God to be killed?" (BM 83b; et al.). It is related of his son Jose that he grew up without sufficient surveillance and was on the brink of turning to a life of crime. Judah ha-Nasi, however, placed him under the care of R. Simeon ben Issi, his maternal uncle, who directed and taught him, and he ultimately became the disciple of R. Judah ha-Nasi.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Bacher, Tann, 2 (1890), 400–7; Krauss, in: MGWJ, 38 (1894), 151–6; Weiss, Dor, 2 (1904^{4}), 165; Gutmann, in: *Zion*, 18 (1953), 1–5; Alon, Meḥkarim, 2 (1958), 88–91.

[Shmuel Safrai]

ELEAZAR BEN YOSE I (second half of second century C.E.), *tanna*. Eleazar was the second son of *Yose b. Ḥalafta of Sepphoris (Shab. 118b; TJ, Yev. 1:1, 2b). He attained distinction as a scholar during the lifetime of his father, who quotes him and praises his statements (Sif. Deut. 148; cf. Pes. 117a; Yoma 67a). He cooperated with his father in intercalating the year (Tosef., Sanh. 2:1). The Talmud counts him among the scholars of the academy of Jabneh (Shab. 33b) and reports that *Simeon b. Yoḥai held him in high esteem (Me'il. 17b). His *halakhot* are found in the Tosefta and *beraitot* but he is not mentioned in the Mishnah. Nevertheless, many statements in the Mishnah which are quoted anonymously may in fact derive from the Mishnah of Eleazar b. Yose (Kelim 11:3; cf. Tosef., Kelim; BM 1:2; Nid. 8:1). Tannaitic sources relate that he gave rulings in Rome in connection with ritual purity (Tosef., Nid. 7:1; Mik. 4:7), and while there he saw the vessels plundered from the Temple at the time of its destruction. He testified that the veil was spattered with blood from the sacrifices of the Day of Atonement (Tosef., Yoma 3 end). Talmudic tradition explains that Eleazar journeyed to Rome together with Simeon b. Yoḥai in an attempt to persuade the emperor to abrogate the edicts against Jewish religious practices that were reinstituted in the period of the Antonines (Me'il. 17a; see Alon, Toledot, 2 (1961^{2}), 61). According to the *aggadah*, they were helped by a miracle. A demon possessed the emperor's daughter and they succeeded in exorcising it. The emperor took them into his treasure chamber and invited them to take whatever they desired. They saw the text of the edict, and consigned it to flames (*ibid.*). We are also told that while in Rome Eleazar had discussions with *Mattiah b. Heresh, the leading scholar of the capital (Yoma 84b; Me'il. id), and saw the high priest's gold plate inscribed with the words "holy to the Lord" (the Tetragrammaton) in one line (Suk. 5a; et al.). According to the *aggadah* he also saw the insect that entered the nostrils of Titus and penetrated to his brain (Gen. R. 10:7, ed. Theodor Albeck, 82, note 3), as well as fragments of Solomon's throne that had been carried off by Nebuchadnezzar and taken from one nation to another until it reached the treasure house of Rome (Esth. R. 1:12). Eleazar also was reported to have visited Alexandria where an old Egyptian showed him hair and bones reputedly of the enslaved children of Israel embedded in a building from before the exodus from Egypt (Sanh. 111a and Dik. Sof. *ibid.*). He disputed with Samaritans and Sadducees, proving to them that their copies of the Torah scroll were forged and their commentaries false (Sot. 33b; Sanh. 90b). In addition to his halakhic powers he was also a gifted aggadist. He is quoted as saying: "All the charity and kindness practiced by Israel in this world bring abundant peace and serve as powerful advocates between Israel and its Father in heaven" (BB 10a).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Hyman, Toledot, 177–80; Epstein, Tanna'im, 178f.; Bacher, Tann. s.v.

[Yitzhak Dov Gilat]

ELEAZAR BEN YOSE II (c. early fourth century), Palestinian *amora*. He may have been the son of the *amora* Yose who, together with Jonah, headed the academy at Tiberias. In any event Eleazar discussed halakhic problems with Yose, frequently put questions to him (TJ, Ber. 1:8, 3d; TJ, Ta'an. 2:2, 65c et al.), and expounded before him (TJ, Kil. 8:2, 31c; Ned. 4:9, 38d). Eleazar frequently quotes the statements of other *amoraim* such as Avin, Rav, Tanḥum b. Hiyya (TJ, Ma'as. 1:3, 49a; 2:1, 49c; Ber. end of ch. 7, 11d; RH 4:8, 59c et al.). His own deeds and sayings are also reported. For example, he, Abba b. Mari, and Mattaniah permitted a gift (of bread) to be carried to the government representative (Ursicinus) on the Sabbath (TJ, Beẓah 1:6, 60c). In *Genesis Rabbah* (32:2), R. Menaḥemyah quotes him as saying: "No man loves his fellow craftsmen – but God does – as it is written, 'For the Lord is righteous, He loveth righteousness' [Ps. 11:7]."

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Hyman, Toledot, 177f.; Frankel, Mevo, 113b; Weiss, Dor, 2 (1904^4), 166.

[Yitzhak Dov Gilat]

ELEAZAR (Eliezer) BEN ZADOK, name of at least two *tannaim*, both belonging to the same family, in which the names Zadok and Eleazar frequently recur.

(1) *Tanna* of the first and beginning of the second century C.E. His father was the *tanna*, *Zadok, who, in an attempt to prevent the destruction of the Second Temple afflicted himself for 40 years. When he became ill, Johanan b. Zakkai obtained a physician from Vespasian and then accompanied by Eleazar he was permitted to leave Jerusalem, then under siege, in order to recover from the effects of his lengthy fast (Git. 56 a–b; Lam. R. 1:31). Eleazar's teacher was Johanan b. ha-Ḥoranit (Tosef., Suk. 2:3). He was a priest (Bek. 36a; et al.) and transmitted information concerning the structures, procedures, and practice of the Temple (Mei. 3:7; Mid. 3:8; Suk. 49a; et al.). While living in Jerusalem he engaged in commerce and such was his honesty that he dedicated to communal use three hundred flasks of wine, which he had collected from the residue in his measuring containers (Tosef., Beẓah 3:8). He was an eyewitness of the suffering endured at the time of the destruction of the Second Temple and saw the daughter of Nakdimon b. *Guryon, one of the wealthiest men in Jerusalem, picking up barley from under horses' hooves in Acre (Tosef., Ket. 5:10), and Miriam, the daughter of Boethus and wife of the high priest Joshua b. Gamla, tied by her hair to the tails of horses and made to run from Jerusalem to Lydda (Lam. R. 1:47; cf. TJ, Ket. 5, end). After the destruction of the Second Temple he joined the sages of *Jabneh, and as frequent visitor at the home of R. Gamaliel, reported the Sabbath and festival customs he witnessed there (Tosef., Beẓah 1:24; 2:13, 14; Pes. 37a; et al.). Eleazar frequently quotes halakhic traditions heard in his father's home or from earlier sages, as well as explanations of halakhic terms and expressions gleaned from the schools in Jerusalem and Jabneh (Bek. 22a; Nid. 48b). His statements include, "Do good deeds for the sake of the Creator, for their own sake, do not make of them a crown with which to glorify yourself, nor a spade to dig with them" (Ned. 62a; cf. Avot 4:5). Some assume the existence of an earlier Eliezer b. Zadok whose entire life was spent in Jerusalem before the destruction of the Second Temple.

(2) *Tanna* of the second half of the second century C.E., apparently the grandson of Eleazar b. Zadok (1). He transmitted *halakhot* in the names of R. Meir (Kil. 7:2) and of R. Simeon b. Gamaliel (Tosef., Kelim; BM 9: end), engaged in halakhic discussions with R. Judah and R. Yose (Kelim 9:26, 2:6), and was close to Judah ha-Nasi and his household (Tosef., Suk. 2:2). Aibu (the father of Rav, according to Rashi) relates (Suk. 44b) that he once learned from Eleazar's action that the shaking of the willow-branch on Tabernacles outside Jerusalem is a custom introduced by the prophets, and that no benediction is to be made over it (see, however, the readings in Dik. Sof., Suk. 136–7). Eleazar is the author of the statement, "No restriction may be imposed on the public unless the majority of the people can endure it" (Hor. 3b). It is difficult to decide to which Eleazar b. Zadok certain *halakhot* and statements are to be ascribed.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: A. Zacuto, *Yuḥasin ha-Shalem*, ed. by Filipowski (1857), 26–27; Frankel, Mishnah, 97–99, 178; Hyman, Toledot, 201–5; Bacher, Tann, 1 pt. 1 (Heb., 1903), 36–38; S. Lieberman, *Tosefta ki-Feshutah*, 4 (1962), 850.

[Yitzhak Dov Gilat]

ELEAZAR (Eliezer) HA-KAPPAR (late second century C.E.), Palestinian *tanna*, sometimes referred to as Eleazar ha-Kappar Beribbi (i.e., the descendant of eminent scholars). It is occasionally difficult to distinguish between the statements of Eleazar and those of *Bar Kappara, who was probably his son, and who was also called Eleazar ha-Kappar Beribbi. It is improbable, as some scholars believe, that the two were identical, since the son is sometimes specifically referred to as "Eleazar ben Eleazar ha-Kappar Beribbi" (e.g., Tosef., Beẓah 1:7). The father was apparently a member of *Judah ha-Nasi's *bet ha-midrash* (Tosef., Oho. 18:18), while the son was Judah's pupil. Some of the halakhic and aggadic remarks contained in the Mishnah and the *beraitot* perhaps should be attributed to the father. Eleazar ha-Kappar (the first) may be the author of the maxim "Envy, cupidity, and the craving for honor take a man out of the world" (Avot 4:21), and of the aggadic statement: "Great is peace for all the blessings conclude with the word *shalom* [peace]" (Sif. Num. 42), since it is followed immediately by another tradition brought in the name of his son. In 1969 a stone, which was apparently the lintel over the main entrance to a *bet midrash*, was found in the Golan area, inscribed with the words: "This is the *bet midrash* of Rabbi Eliezer ha-Kappar." It is unclear whether this inscription refers to the father or to the son.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Frankel, Mishnah, 213; Kahana, in: *Ha-Asif* (1886), 330–3; Hyman, Toledot, 215–7; Bacher, Tann; *Hadashot Archeologiyot* (April 1969), 1–2. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** D. Urman, in: *IEJ 22* (1972), 16–23; idem, in: *Beer-Sheva*, 2 (1985) (Hebrew), 7–25.

[Shmuel Safrai]

ELEAZAR ḤISMA (fl. first third of the second century C.E.), *tanna*, one of the sages of Jabneh. Some consider Ḥisma to have been his father's name and refer to him as Eleazar b. Ḥisma, but it appears rather to have been his byname, meaning "the strong," said to have been given to him because of the strength he displayed in overcoming his former ignorance (Lev. R. 23:4; for another interpretation, see *Midrash David on Avot* (1944), 75). A pupil of Joshua b. Hananiah and perhaps also of Akiva, he transmitted *halakhot* in the name of the former and, together with him, he gave an aggadic interpretation of a biblical passage (Tosef., Zav. 4:4; Mekh., Amalek, 176). Some of his statements are recorded in the Mishnah, *baraita*, and halakhic Midrashim. For example, on the verse (Deut. 23:25) which permits a laborer, while harvesting grapes, to eat the fruit, Eleazar commented: "A laborer may not eat more than his wage" (Sif. Deut. 266; BM 7:5). He objected to excessive demonstrativeness in prayer, applying to the person who "blinks with his eyes, gesticulates with his lips, or points with his fingers while reciting the *Shema*," the verse "thou hast not called upon me, O Jacob" (Isa. 43:22; Yoma 19:6). Though proficient in astronomy and mathematics, he did not ascribe too much importance to them; hence his statement: "(Even) ordinances concerning bird sacrifices and the purification of women constitute the essence of the law, whereas astronomy and geometry are (merely) auxiliaries to knowledge" (Avot 3:18). He remained extremely poor, as was expressed in R. Joshua's comment to Rabban Gamaliel: "Marvel at two of your disciples in Jabneh, Eleazar b. Ḥisma and *Johanan b. Nuri (this is the correct reading: see Sif. Deut. 16), who can calculate how many drops the ocean contains, but have neither bread to eat nor clothes to wear." To enable them to earn a livelihood, Gamaliel wished to appoint them supervisors in the academy at Jabneh. When, in their modesty, they declined the offer, Gamaliel sent for them a second time, saying: "You imagine that I offer you rulership? It is servitude that I offer you," whereupon they accepted the appointment (Hor. 10a–b).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Bacher, Tann, 1 (1903^2), 368–70; Weiss, Dor, 2 (1904^4), 110; Hyman, Toledot, 217–8; Frankel, Mishnah, 142; Alon, Toledot, 1 (1958^3), 143, 299, 306.

[Yitzhak Dov Gilat]

ELEAZAR OF MODI'IN (**ha-Moda'i**; end of the first and the beginning of the second century C.E.), *tanna*. He came from Modi'in, the home of the Hasmoneans, and was principally renowned as an aggadist, earning the praise of R. Gamaliel who said of him: "We still have need of [the aggadic interpretation of] the Modi'ite" (Shab. 55b; BB 10b). Defining the nature of *aggadah*, Eleazar said that it captivates men's hearts (Mekh., Va-Yassa, 5). Even the sole *halakhah* quoted in his name has an aggadic flavor about it; disputing the view that wherever "*Adonai*" is mentioned in the Pentateuch in connection with Abraham it refers to God, except in Genesis 18:3, "Adonai [my Lord], if now I have found favor in Thy sight," Eleazar is cited as saying: "This too, is sacred"; i.e., it also refers to God (Shevu. 35b). Some of his contemporaries protested against his exaggerated aggadic interpretations: "O Man of Modi'in, how long will you rake words together" (Yoma 76a). In *Avot* (3:11) he is recorded as declaring: "He who profanes the sacred things and despises the festivals and puts his fellow-man to shame in public and rejects the covenant of Abraham our father and gives the Torah a meaning contrary to its right one, even though he is learned in the Torah and has good deeds to his credit, has no share in the world to come." His reference to rejecting the covenant of Abraham – that is, to those who disguised their circumcision in order to hide their Jewish origin – is aimed at the Jews who forsook their people during the Bar Kokhba revolt (Tosef., Shab., 15:9). Most of his aggadic remarks are to be found in the *Mekhilta* on the portions dealing with the manna and with Amalek, where he is mentioned more than 40 times.

It is stated (TJ, Ta'an. 4:68d; Lam. R. 2:2) that Eleazar was the uncle of Bar Kokhba and was in Bethar during the final stages of its siege. Suspecting Eleazar's loyalty, Bar Kokhba struck him a mortal blow. "Immediately thereafter Bethar was taken and Ben Koziba was killed." It is thus probable that "Eleazar the priest," whose name occurs on coins of Bar Kokhba with that of "Simeon the prince of Israel" or by itself, refers to Eleazar of Modi'in. Although it is not stated in the sources that he was a priest, this may be taken for granted, since most of the scholars who bore this name, that of the son of Aaron the high priest, were *kohanim* (in contrast to Eliezer).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Frankel, Mishnah (1923), 135; Bacher, Fann, 1; Alon, Toledot, 2 (1961^2), 37; J. Guttmann, in: MGWJ, 42 (1898), 303–5, 337–45; L. Mildenberg, in: HJ, 11 (1949), 77–108.

[Shmuel Safrai]

ELEK (**Fischer**), **ARTUR** (1876–1944), Hungarian author and art historian. A contributor to *Nyugat* and other literary periodicals, Elek translated French and Italian classics and wrote short stories. His major works were *Álarcos menet* ("Masked Procession," 1913), *A reneszánsz festőművészete* ("Renaissance Painting," 1927), and *Ujabb magyar költők lýrai anthológiája* (1911), an anthology of modern Hungarian poetry. A convert to Christianity, he committed suicide during the Nazi occupation.

ELEPHANT. Archaeological finds of ivory objects made from elephant tusks have been found in Israel dating back to prehistoric and Chalcolithic times. It is assumed that wild elephants were still present in Syria during the second and first millennia B.C.E. until they were hunted to extinction. Alternatively, they may have been imported there from India (*Elephas maximus*) for the purposes of royal hunting, but this seems less likely. Thutmoses III is recorded as having hunted elephants during his campaign in Syria in the 15th century B.C.E.: "He [Thutmoses III] hunted 120 elephants at their mud hole. Then the biggest elephant began to fight before his Majesty. I [Amen-en-heb] was the one who cut off his hand while he was still alive, in the presence of his Majesty, while I was standing in the water between two rocks. Then my Lord rewarded me…." The lower jaws of elephants have been discovered in mid-second millennium deposits during archaeological excavations at the site of Atchana-Alalakh in Syria. While the elephant itself is not mentioned in the Bible, its ivory tusks (*Shenhabbim*) were brought from Ophir for Solomon (I Kings 10:22; II Chron. 9:21). The word "*shenhav*" means the tooth (*shen*) of the elephant (*ev* in Egyptian, hence the name of the island Yev (Jab) – *Elephantine). The word *shen* also signifies ivory, from which Solomon made his throne, overlaying it with gold (I Kings 10:18). The Bible also mentions "horns of ivory," "houses of ivory," "beds of ivory," and "ivory palaces" (Ezek. 27:15; Amos 3:15; 6:4; Ps. 45:9). Reference is likewise made to "the ivory house" which Ahab built (I Kings 22:39), the reference being to a house containing ivory vessels and ornaments. An examination of the ivory vessels, ornaments, and images uncovered at Megiddo and in Samaria shows that they were made from the African elephant *Loxodonta africana* (= *Elephas africanus*). Elephants were employed by Darius in his battle against Alexander the Great. At a later date, elephants were introduced into Ereẓ Israel being used for military purposes in the Syrian-Greek army (I Macc. 8:6; II Macc. 13:15). It was under one of these elephants that Eleazar the Hasmonean was crushed to death (I Macc. 6:43–46). A painting of an elephant appears on the walls of a Sidonian tomb found at Marissa (Maresha). In mishnaic times, elephants were kept in some rich homes and the *baraita* deals with tasks carried out for its master by an elephant (Er. 31b). It is stated that the elephant feeds on branches and is rarely to be seen (TJ, Shab. 18:1, 16c). On seeing an elephant one recites the blessing, "Blessed is He who makes strange creatures" (Ber. 58b). The elephant's period of gestation was said to be three years (Bek. 8a); it is now known, however, to be 18–22 months only.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: H.B. Tristram, *The Natural History of the Bible* (1883), 81–83; F.S. Bodenheimer, *Animal Life in Biblical Lands: From the Stone Age to the Nineteenth Century*, vol. 2 (1956), 375–77; J. Feliks, *Animal World of the Bible* (1962), 48. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** F.E. Zeuner, *A History of Domesticated Animals* (1963), 275–98; A. Houghton Brodrick, *Animals in Archaeology* (1972); R.D. Barnett, *Ancient Ivories in the Middle East*, in: *Qedem*, 14 (1982); O. Borowski, *Every Living Thing: Daily Use of Animals in Ancient Israel* (1998), 193–95.

[Jehuda Feliks / Shimon Gibson (2nd ed.)]

ELEPHANTINE (Aram. יֵב, *yb*; Eg. *'ibw, 'bw;* Gr. *ieb*), "the city of ivories," situated at the eastern bank of the southern end of a small island in the Nile, just north of the First Cataract and opposite the City of Sun (the Syene of Ezek. 29:10 and opposite modern Aswan). Its name relates to the natural rock formation along the river which, from even a short distance, looks like a herd of elephants. The Greek name Elephantine (Ἐλεφαντίνη; cf. Jos., *Bellum*, 4:611; Strabo, 16) was a rendering of the Egyptian name, itself preserved in the Aramaic name. Elephantine was sacred to the ram-headed god Khnum who was believed to control the annual inundation of the Nile from the First Cataract.

During the Old Kingdom, Elephantine was known as "The Door to the South" because it was the southernmost city of Egypt, and a frontier fortress defending access to Egypt from Nubia. During the Middle and New Kingdoms it was the center of the Egyptian administration of Nubia. Under Persian rule from 525 B.C.E., it was the center of Persian military command in Egypt, and there was a large mercenary camp at Elephantine which included companies or regiments (*degalim*, "banners") of Jewish soldiers (חילא יהודה).

Elephantine became known to the modern world at the beginning of the 20th century with the discovery of the Aramaic documents known as the Elephantine Papyri, which were first published by A.E. Cowley in 1923. A second collection, edited by Emil G. Kraeling, was published in 1953.

The Jewish military colony is well known from the Elephantine Papyri. These describe the lives of the mercenaries who lived in Elephantine in the sixth and fifth centuries B.C.E. as well as their families and others.

Much of the significance of the papyri lies in their forensic detail, such as those relating to marriage and divorce or with matters relating to commerce and inheritance. Others shed light on previously unknown or obscure historical occasions.

History of the Jewish Colony at Elephantine

There are no external sources on the history of the Elephantine community. When the southern frontier was exposed to Nubian raids, Jewish soldiers were sent to defend it, perhaps as early as during the Assyrian regime. The Jewish temple at Elephantine may have been built in the second half of the seventh century or at the beginning of the sixth but was constructed, in any event, before the Persian conquest of Egypt in the days of Cambyses' rule, as mentioned in the letter of the Elephantine Jews themselves (Cowley 1923: 30). It is sometimes said that there is a connection between the building of the temple at Elephantine and Isaiah's prophecy (19:19) concerning the "altar to the Lord in the midst of the land of Egypt" and the "pillar at the border thereof."

It is not thought that the soldiers of the garrison built the temple. The description contained in the Elephantine Jews' letter to Bagoas, the governor of Yahud (Cowley 30:9–12), attests to the great magnificence of the building, and apparently the Jewish mercenaries could not by themselves afford to erect such a splendid structure. Since there were also Jewish civilians living at Elephantine, the temple was probably not built until the civilians, together with the soldiers, financed the building project. Hence the temple was presumably not built in the early days of the Jewish settlement at Elephantine, but later when the community was better established and had achieved some prosperity and local standing.

The papyri indicate that there was a developed trade in property, such as homes and land. Other types of commerce also provided the Elephantine Jews with their livelihoods, for it was not only a frontier military post but also a center of commerce with Nubia, trading especially in ivory. The elite section of Elephantine society was probably small and its wealth limited. From the contributions to the temple (Cowley 22) and also from the gifts to Mivtaḥyah the daughter of Mahseiah (Cowley 15), it can be seen that silver was both uncommon and expensive.

In general, relations between the local Egyptians and the Jewish mercenaries and civilians were strained, although there were instances of marriage between Jews and Egyptians, in which case it would seem that the Egyptian partner had to convert to Judaism. This is inferred by several scholars from the fact that the Egyptian Asḥor's sons had Jewish names (Yedonyah and Mahseiah (Cowley 20)). However, as Bohak has stated (2002: 185), it is not possible to trace a single Jewish family over several generations to accurately establish the constancy of their Judaism in the face of intermarriage with locals.

In any event, the position of the Jews declined with the ascension of Egyptian power. While they were soldiers in the service of the Persian king their position was relatively secure, but with the expulsion of the Persians from Egypt at the end of the fifth century B.C.E. and the rise of the Egyptian kingdom, the position of the Elephantine Jews worsened (cf. the fragmentary document Cowley 37, which refers to a dispute between the Elephantine Jews, who were wronged and "fear robbery because they are few," and the Egyptians).

In 410 B.C.E., the temple of the Elephantine Jews was destroyed by the priests of the adjoining temple of Khnum (Cowley 1923: 30) after it was looted for gold and silver. The most common explanation for the act of destruction is that the priests of Khnum were angered by the sacrifice by the Jews of animals sacred to Khnum, particularly the sacrifice of sheep during Passover (Cowley 1923: 21). Three years after the destruction, the Elephantine Jews applied to the Persian governor of Yehud for permission to rebuild the temple. Permission was given, but on condition that animal sacrifices would no longer be made there (Porten 1968: 292). It is not known how much longer after this the Jewish temple stood, but the account of the community in the papyri ends in 399 B.C.E.

Even after the end of Persian rule in Egypt, it is not certain whether the Jewish colony at Elephantine persisted or not. Military requirements probably made it necessary to keep an army on the frontier even after the expulsion of the Persians, and it was unlikely that even a new administration would dispense with the Jewish soldiers who, for several generations, had been trained and experienced in guarding the southern frontier. By the end of the Ptolemaic period, Egypt's eastern frontier at Pelusium was run by a Jewish guard, and the Macedonians at the beginning of the Greek period in Egypt probably did not dispense with the services of the Jewish guards on the southern frontier, although there was a fundamental change in organization.

The Legal Papyri

The legal papyri shed light on the daily life of the Jewish military colony at Elephantine. Interestingly, both a husband and a wife had apparently equal power to unilaterally dissolve their marriage (Cowley 15; Kraeling 2, 7). Thus, the prospective bride had to consent to the marriage, and the prospective bridegroom was unable to obtain the father's consent without the girl's also: if she refused, her father could not compel her to marry him. As set out in another papyri (Cowley 15), a man asked the head of the family for the hand of the woman. If both agreed, the man recited the formula: "She is my wife and I am her husband from this day for ever," and also paid a dowry to the bride's father.

The gifts presented by the bridegroom to the bride Mivtaḥyah, the daughter of Mahseiah b. Yedonyah, are also set out in Cowley 15, with a note of their value, which is explicitly given in case the marriage is dissolved. This could be effected at the request of either husband or wife by one of them declaring in public that he or she "hates" the other. The results differed depending on who initiated the divorce. According to Cowley, in the event of Mivtaḥyah's rejecting her husband Asḥor, she would have to cover the cost of the dissolution of the marriage contract, that is, seven and a half shekels but, even then, the goods and chattels which she brought into the marriage remained hers after the dissolution of that union.

However if Asḥor dissolved the marriage, he forfeited the dowry, but Mivtaḥyah had to return all that her husband had given her during their marriage. To protect a wife against her husband's capriciousness, a further regulation was laid down to the effect that if the husband arbitrarily divorced his wife with the plea that he had another wife or other children, he had to pay a heavy fine (according to Cowley 15, 20 karsah = 200 shekels) and all the conditions of the marriage agreement in whatever concerned the wife were annulled. All these stipulations refer to a marriage between free persons.

Dated 449 B.C.E., Kraeling 2 is the marriage document of Tamut, the handmaiden of Meshullam b. Zaccur. Married to Ananiah b. Azariah, she remained a handmaiden even after her marriage, but another papyrus (Kraeling 5) shows that she and her daughter Yehoyishma eventually gained their freedom after Tamut had been married for 18 years, although they both remained closely aligned to the family.

A woman's status at Elephantine could also be gauged from the gifts she received as a wife and a daughter (Kraeling 5, 9; Cowley 8). Inheritance laws were also revealed in the Elephantine papyri. It is evident that sons inherited, but less so in the case of daughters (where there were also sons in the family). It seems likely that a daughter's right to inherit existed only when there were no sons. Possibly this was the origin of the institution of the gifts made to daughters – a compensation for their being discriminated against in the matter of inheritance.

In three papyri, Cowley 15 and Kraeling 2 and 7, there are illuminating comments on the inheritance of a widow and a widower. Cowley 15 states that if Mivtaḥyah died without male or female issue, Asḥor "inherited her goods and chattels"; but if Asḥor died without Mivtaḥyah having borne his children, male or female, "she had the right to his goods and chattels." This difference in wording is explained by scholars as indicating that in such a case the widower's right to inherit the assets was established in law, but in the case of the widow it was a matter of some sort of agreement or negotiation.

The Elephantine papyri also give instances of transactions in landed and other property, the site of which was fixed according to the adjoining land or houses, a procedure familiar from many papyri of the Ptolemaic period and the days of Roman rule of Egypt. With the help of these documents it is possible to reconstruct with some degree of certainty the location of the Jewish temple at Elephantine (cf. the plan in Kraeling, p. 81).

The Religion of the Jews in Elephantine

The Elephantine Jews brought with them the religion of the early prophets shortly before the destruction of the First Temple. This religion placed the God of Judah, Yahu (a name which occurs in several variants in the papyri), at the center of faith and worship. This is revealed by the fact that those who ministered in the Elephantine Jews' temple are referred to in the papyri as *kohanim* ("priests"), while the gentile cults are said to have *kemarim* ("idolatrous priests") – exactly as in the Bible.

It is interesting to note that the Elephantine Jews saw nothing amiss in having their own temple even though a temple to the God of Israel existed in Jerusalem. They appealed to the high priest Jehohanan to take steps to rebuild their temple, destroyed by the priests of Khnum, without any thought that he might regard it as a grave sin. It is evident from the Elephantine Papyri (Cowley 30), that those who wrote the letter to the Persian governor were surprised that the high priest in Jerusalem had not answered them. However, perhaps the Jews at Elephantine were unaware of the upheaval in Jerusalem, the ousting of the temple hierarchy by the returnees from the Babylonian exile and their establishment of the old/new Temple and Torah-based cult.

The Elephantine Jews' temple was originally established to serve as a focus of worship for the Jewish military and civilian colony which, remote from the land of Judah, needed some religious center. If the Temple of Zerubbabel was built more or less according to the plan of the First Temple, the description of the Elephantine temple given in papyrus Cowley 30 shows that it had an altogether different shape. It was adorned with stone pillars and hewn stone and had a roof of cedar and five gates with bronze hinges. In the temple were also various articles of furniture as well as bowls of gold and silver.

On the altar, the full range of sacrifices were offered before the destruction of the temple (by the priests of Khnum in 410 B.C.E.) and after the rebuilding of the temple, animal sacrifice was no longer permitted. Whether the order of worship was like that observed in the Temple at Jerusalem cannot be ascertained. However, this is improbable, if only for the reason that Yahu was not the only god housed in the Elephantine temple, since a list of the Elephantine Jews' gifts to their temple (Cowley 22), totaling 31 karash and 8 shekels, states that 12 karash and 8 shekels were for Yahu (*ibid.*, p. 70:123), 7 karash for Ashambethel (*ibid.*, loc. cit.: 124), and 12 karash for Anathbethel (*ibid.*, loc cit.: 125).

It seems clear that two goddesses dwelt alongside Yahu, and may have been worshipped with Him in the Elephantine temple. The element 'Asham' in Ashambethel is to be identified with the Ashmat of Samaria mentioned in Amos (8:14), while Bethel as an element in a compound proper noun current in Judah in the days of Darius I is mentioned in Zechariah 7:2. The same applies to Anathbethel: Anath was well known in Ereẓ Israel, as is indicated by place-names such as Anathoth and Beth-Anath.

This situation in Elephantine supports the assumption that the Jewish garrison there was an ancient one, with its origins in (if not before) the days of Manasseh. In the fifth century B.C.E., the relationship between the Jews at Elephantine and Jerusalem was not close, and no remains of the Pentateuch have been discovered at Elephantine, although the finding of the "Book of Ahikar" there shows that the community contained lovers of ethical and wisdom literature. It may also explain another, more interesting fact, namely that of the festivals of Israel only the observance of Passover is mentioned at Elephantine. Passover was observed in Jerusalem in the days of Hezekiah (II Chron. 30:13–27) and Josiah (II Kings 23:21–23; II Chron. 35:1–18). During the First Temple period no mention is made of Tabernacles – the first mention of its observance in Jerusalem belongs to the Second Temple period, in the time of Ezra (cf. Neh. 8:13–18), and its reintroduction in the fifth century had not yet spread beyond the borders of Judah. As some papyri are earlier than Ezra and Nehemiah and others only a few years later, the observance of Tabernacles was therefore unknown to them. The document referring to Passover (Cowley 21) contains King Darius II's edict of 419 B.C.E. (the fifth year of his reign) to the governor Arsames that the Jewish forces (and perhaps also Jews outside Elephantine) were to celebrate Passover.

Detailed religious instructions were given on what the Jews were to do to preserve the sanctity of the festival. The document is a copy of the original edict which was brought to the attention of Yedoniyah by Hananiah, apparently a Jew influential with the authorities. The contents of the document show that the rules of eating unleavened bread and of abstaining from leaven were known and properly observed at that time, in keeping with the commandments of the Torah.

Organization of the Military Colony

With the help of the Elephantine Papyri, an extremely clear picture can be drawn of the organization of the Jewish military colony as it existed at the end of the fifth century B.C.E. The Elephantine Jews constituted a military unit known as "the Jewish force" (חילא יהודה). There were also Jews at Elephantine who were not part of the military establishment. Every Jewish soldier belonged to a *degel* (company or regiment), and was referred to as "a man of the *degel*" (*ba'al degel*, בעל דגל), the Jewish civilian as "a man of the town" (*ba'al kiryah*, בעל קריה; Cowley 5:9, 13:10). The names of the *degalim* are not Jewish but Persian or Babylonian, and the same applies to the higher command. At the head of the Jewish force was a commander of the garrison (יב חילא), above whom was the *fratarak*, corresponding more or less to a general. These were non-Jews.

The Elephantine documents also mention "a hundred" as a military unit, apparently smaller than a *degel*. Despite the extensive civilian freedom granted to them, as attested by the

Elephantine papyri, the Jews there, being soldiers, required the Persian regime's permission for any change which interfered with their military duties. As soldiers subject to military discipline, they were tried by the military authorities at Elephantine or at Syene. Nevertheless, they enjoyed a large measure of civilian freedom in everything pertaining to their personal lives. They led a normal family life, were allowed to transact business among themselves or with non-Jews, to buy and sell landed property and houses, and to bequeath these to their children. As soldiers, however, they received their rations from the king (Cowley 24), being allotted a monthly ration in grain (usually barley) and legumes (Cowley 2; Kraeling 11:3ff.) and payment in silver (Cowley 2:16, 11:6). At Elephantine there was a "royal storehouse" (Kraeling 3:9, et al.). Accountants (Cowley 26:4ff.) and scribes (Cowley 2:12, 14) supervised the disbursement of goods and funds. One administrative document (Cowley 24) shows:

Men:	22	2	30
Ardab (c. 1 quart):	1	1½	2½

The monetary system combined the Persian karash (83.3 grams) with the Egyptian shekel (8.76 grams), a half-shekel agio being added to make 10 shekels equal 1 karash.

It is nonetheless clear that their wealth derived from commerce. The documents show that the Elephantine Jews attained a certain degree of wealth and some of them, especially the civilians, a measure of opulence. They occupied an intermediate position between a professional soldier living by his sword and a civilian engaged in a craft, in commerce, or in cultivating the soil. The same situation obtained in the Hellenistic period when, for example, the cleruchies were both soldiers and farmers. The status of the fifth-century Elephantine Jews can also be compared to that of the Babylonian Jewish military colony sent at the command of Antiochus III to Phrygia and Lydia, where the colonists were settled on the soil and in the cities and constituted a garrison loyal to the Seleucids, at the same time cultivating the land allotted to them by the king.

An active civilian life at Elephantine is attested by the various civilian officials mentioned in the papyri, such as judges (Cowley 16:4–5, 9), state scribes (ספרי מדינתא: Cowley 17:1, 6), and others. It is however probable that these officials were not Jews but Persians or other non-Jews. At the head of the Elephantine Jewish community was its most prominent personality, who represented it both internally and externally. At the end of the fifth century B.C.E. the leader of the community was Yedonyah b. Gemariah who with his colleagues sent the famous letter about the temple to Bagoas.

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[Abraham Schalit / Lidia Matassa (2nd ed.)]

ELFENBEIN, ISRAEL (1890–1964), U.S. rabbi and talmudic scholar. Elfenbein was born in Buczacz, eastern Galicia. He immigrated to the U.S. in 1906 and in 1915 was ordained at the Jewish Theological Seminary in New York. Between 1915 and 1940 Elfenbein was rabbi of congregations in Nashville, Chicago, and New York. In 1938 he became national executive director of the Mizrachi Education and Expansion Fund. Elfenbein's principal interest in scholarly research was medieval rabbinic literature. He made many contributions to scholarly periodicals and annuals. His major work was a collection of the responsa of Rashi, *Teshuvot Rashi* (3 vols. in one, 1943). Other works include *Maimonides the Man* (1946). Some of his more popular writings were collected in a volume published posthumously, *American Synagogue as a Leavening Force in Jewish Life*, edited by A. Burstein (1966).

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ELFMAN, DANNY (1953–), U.S. composer-musician. Born in Amarillo, Texas, to teacher Milton and teacher/writer Blossom (née Bernstein) Elfman and raised in Los Angeles, Elfman played violin in public high school and later played the conga drums and violin with the avant-garde troupe Grand Magic Circus in France and Belgium. After spending a year touring West Africa at 18, Elfman returned to Los Angeles in 1971 following a bout with malaria. His brother, Richard, asked him to join his multimedia theater ensemble, the Mystic Nights of the Oingo Boingo, and help score his film *The Forbidden Zone* (1980), which starred Elfman as Satan. Elfman taught himself composition during this time by transcribing the music of jazz great Duke Ellington. While working on the film, Elfman and other members formed the new wave group Oingo Boingo in 1979. The group released a string of albums with IRS Records – *Oingo Boingo* (1980), *Only a Lad* (1981), *Nothing to Fear* (1982), and *Good for Your Soul* (1984). Elfman recorded his first solo album *So-Lo* in 1984 for MCA. The group scored a Top 40 hit with the theme to the movie *Weird Science* (1985). That same year, the feature film *Pee-Wee's Big Adventure* debuted with

Elfman's score, and marked the first collaboration between the composer and director Tim Burton. Oingo Boingo followed Elfman to MCA, releasing *Dead Man's Party* (1986), *Boi-ngo* (1987), *Boingo Alive* (1988), and *Dark at the End of the Tunnel* (1990), but failed to break out from its local fan base. Elfman and Burton's gothic-themed creations continued with *Beetlejuice* (1988), *Batman* (1989), and *Edward Scissorhands* (1990). He won a Grammy award for best instrumental composition in 1989 for "The Batman Theme" for the film *Batman*, and was nominated for best score. In 1990, he received two Emmy nominations for his theme for the animated TV series *The Simpsons*, and in 1991 he received another Grammy nod for his Gershwin-flavored score for the 1990 film *Dick Tracy*. He released an album of his film scores, *Music for a Darkened Theater, Vol. 1: Film and Television Music* (1990), which was followed by *Music for a Darkened Theater, Vol. 2: Film and Television Music* (1996). Elfman co-wrote, scored, and sang as Jack Skellington in Burton's *Nightmare Before Christmas* (1993). Oingo Boingo shortened its name to Boingo and released a self-titled album in 1994, but called it quits a year later. Elfman, already established as a composer, went on to score such films as *Men in Black* (1997), *Good Will Hunting* (1997), *Sleepy Hollow* (1999), *Spy Kids* (2001), *Spider-Man* (2002), and *Chicago* (2002), and the TV show *Desperate Housewives* (2004). Elfman's second marriage was to actress Bridget Fonda.

[Adam Wills (2nd ed.)]

ELHANAN (Heb. אֶלְחָנָן; "God has mercy"), the name of two biblical characters: (1) the son of Dodo of Beth-Lehem and one of David's "mighty men," mentioned after *Asahel in the list of the 30 warriors (II Sam. 23:24; I Chron. 11:26); (2) the son of Jaare-Oregim of Bethlehem, one of the "servants of David." According to II Samuel 21:19 Elhanan killed *Goliath, while according to I Chronicles 20:5 (where he is called the son of Jair) he killed Lahmi, the brother of Goliath. The former verse contradicts the story of *David and Goliath in I Samuel 17. Among the various suggestions put forth to resolve this contradiction is B. Mazar's proposal that Elhanan the son of Jaare (יערי) is to be identified with David son of Jesse (ישי). Elhanan was David's true name before he ascended the throne, while Jaare is a corruption of Jesse (see *David). Some scholars believe that the Hebrew words *ʾet Golyat*, i.e., "Goliath," in the source II Samuel, was emended to *ʾaḥi Golyat*, i.e., "the brother of Goliath," in I Chronicles, in order to cover up the contradiction between the two accounts.

The *aggadah*, too, identifies Elhanan with David, and explains the word *oregim* in II Samuel 21:19 as "of those who weave (*oreg*) the curtains of the Temple" (Targum to this word).

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ELHANAN (**Paulus Pragensis**?; 16th century), apostate and author of missionary works, favored by the Hapsburg emperor *Rudolf II. Born in Prague, Elhanan became converted to Christianity and was baptized in Chelm, Poland, although his wife and children did not follow suit. He received stipends from the Polish kings Sigismund Augustus and Henry of Valois. He conducted missionary activities among the Jews in Frankfurt in 1579. In 1580 at the Protestant University of Helmstaedt, he published his *Mysterium Novum*, prefaced by a poem in Hebrew, in which he attempted to prove by kabbalistic methods that Jesus was the messiah. He reached Catholic Vienna in 1581, and published a missionary treatise there. Having submitted his works to the emperor, he asked Rudolf to support him in order to publish his Hebrew translation of the New Testament. Possibly Elhanan is to be identified with the apostate Paulus Pragensis, who published a missionary pamphlet, *Symbolum Apostolicum*, in Protestant Wittenberg in 1580 and the *Jona Quadrilinguis* (Helmstedt, 1580) – the Book of Jonah in four languages: Hebrew, Greek, Latin, and German. Pragensis is said to have died after abjuring Christianity.

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ELHANAN BEN ḤUSHIEL (first half 11th century), *av bet din* in *Kairouan, Tunisia. Elhanan went to Kairouan from Italy with his father at the end of the tenth century. His name appears in verses contained in a letter of R. Ḥushiel to R. *Shemariah ben Elhanan (publ. by S. Schechter in JQR, 11 (1899), 643–50). Scholars disagree as to whether Elhanan was the brother of R. *Hananel b. R. Ḥushiel, the well-known commentator of the Talmud, whether there were two sages by the name of Ḥushiel at the same time in Kairouan, or whether Hananel and Elhanan are the same person under different names. Only two of his responsa are extant. In one, the questioner addresses him as: "Our teacher, the great rabbi, the head of the *bet din*, the head of the schools," from which it may be concluded that as well as being the *av bet din* in Kairouan he was also the head of one of the yeshivot in that city. He also appears to have written a commentary to the tractates *Bava Kamma* and *Bava Meẓia*.

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[Simha Assaf]

ELHANAN BEN ISAAC OF DAMPIERRE (d. 1184), tosafist; son of *Isaac b. Samuel the Elder of Dampierre whom he predeceased. Elhanan was martyred, but the circumstances are unknown. Although he wrote *tosafot* to many tractates, only those to *Avodah Zarah* up to p. 35a are extant (Husiatyn, 1901). His *tosafot* to *Yoma* served as the source of the *Tosafot Yeshanim* to that tractate. His father often quotes him, as do other earlier halakhic authorities. *Tosafot* also cite him frequently. Elhanan also wrote responsa which cannot, however, always be identified as his, since they were usually written together with his father and bear his father's signature. Comments on the Bible are quoted in his name and he was the author of *piyyutim*.

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[Israel Moses Ta-Shma]

ELHANAN BEN SHEMARIAH (d. 1026), head of the academy in Fostat (Old Cairo), Egypt, at the beginning of the 11th century. Elhanan studied at the Pumbedita academy during the gaonate of *Sherira with whom he later exchanged responsa as he did with the latter's son and successor *Hai, and *Samuel b. Hophni, head of the Sura academy. A number of Sherira Gaon's responsa to Elhanan are extant. Elhanan was honored by the title "the sixth" at the academy in Palestine. After the death of his father he became the head of the academy in Fostat. His academy received a grant from the royal treasury. When Caliph al-Ḥākim stopped this support, Elhanan turned for assistance to the Jewish communities, including those outside Egypt. It is believed that Elhanan wrote a talmudic commentary, and commentaries to the tractates *Bava Kamma* and *Avodah Zarah* have been attributed to him. His literary works, found in the Cairo **Genizah*, include a poem against the *Karaites following *Saadiah Gaon's approach. From a fragment of a book of Arabic sermons attributed to him, it appears he also studied philosophy.

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[Simha Assaf]

ELHANAN BEN YAKAR (first half of the 13th century), *Ḥasidei Ashkenaz theologian. Elhanan, who lived in London, seems also to have traveled on the continent. In common with the Ḥasidei Ashkenaz, his main interest was in esoteric theology and all his known writings belong to this category. His family was related to that of R. *Simeon b. Isaac ("the Great"), which also gave rise to the school of *Judah he-Ḥasid in Germany. Elhanan received some traditions from the tosafists in France, as is proved by his statement that he studied the *Sefer *Yeẓirah* with a pupil of R. *Isaac ha-Zaken, one of the most prominent tosafists. All his works are based upon the *Sefer Yeẓirah*: two of the major ones are versions of a detailed exegesis of this work, and the third, *Sod ha-Sodot* (called in a later source, probably by mistake, *Yesod ha-Yesodot*), is a theological treatise which uses the *Sefer Yeẓirah* extensively. Elhanan was well acquainted with contemporary Christian theological works, both in Latin and French, and included almost literal quotations from such works in his writings. In this he is unique, as far as is known, among the theologians of the Ḥasidei Ashkenaz movement. His writings contain, in addition to his own theology, also compilations and juxtapositions of various ideas taken from other sources and relating to problems he discussed. One such prominent source was the *baraita* attributed to *Joseph b. Uzziel and the writings of the group of Ḥasidei Ashkenaz thinkers who based their doctrines on this pseudepigraphical text. Whole pages of Elhanan's writings are found in the commentary on *Sefer Yeẓirah* attributed to *Saadiah Gaon, which was written by one or several of that group. Elhanan discussed the major problems of Ḥasidei Ashkenaz theology in his writings: the creation, the relationship between the Creator and the Divine power revealed to the prophets, the "Special Cherub" or "Holy Cherub," etc. His theories frequently contain a stronger element of mystical speculation than those found in the writings of the continental Ḥasidei Ashkenaz.

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[Joseph Dan]

ELḤANANI (Elchanowicz), ABA (1918–), Israel architect and town planner. He was born in Warsaw, studied at the Technion, Haifa, and was in private practice from 1947. Some of his chief buildings are the Philip Murray House and the Workers' Club, Eilat, high schools in Jerusalem and Tel Aviv, a synagogue in Tel Aviv, the Civic Center in Kfar Shmuel, and the President's House, Jerusalem. He prepared large commercial projects for Tel Aviv with Oscar Niemayer, and designed Israel Trade Fairs in several countries, including the U.S. and the U.S.S.R.

ELḤANANI, ARYEH (1898–1985), Israeli architect, painter, and designer. Elḥanani was born in Russia, where he studied art and architecture in Kiev between 1913 and 1917. He immigrated to Ereẓ Israel in 1922 and began his career by designing trade fairs, and later pavilions for trade fairs abroad, designing inter alia the symbol of the Levant Fairs, a flying camel, and the Palmaḥ and IDF logos. In 1934 he sculpted *The Hebrew Worker,* located in Palmer Square, Tel Aviv. In the 1940s he undertook the planning of the buildings of the Weizmann Institute of Science in Reḥovot, and from then continued designing institutes of higher learning and other public institutes such as Bar-Ilan University. Two of his most notable designs are the Yizkor Tent at Yad Vashem in Jerusalem and the Memorial Square at Yad Weizmann in Reḥovot. His designs reflect the spirit of a nation reborn. He was awarded the Israel Prize in 1973. The Elḥanani Prize for combining art and architecture is named after him.

WEBSITE: www.imj.org.il/artcenter.

ELI (Heb. אֶלִי; "[YHWH is] exalted"), a priest in the sanctuary of the Lord at *Shiloh during the period of the Judges (I Sam. 1:9). The father of *Hophni and Phinehas, Eli's ancestry is not recorded in the Bible, but his two sons bear Egyptian names, one of them identical with the name of Aaron's grandson *Phinehas; in addition it appears from I Samuel 2:27 ff. that the house of Eli was believed to have been designated by the Lord for priesthood while Israel was still in Egypt. A later speculation traces Eli to *Ithamar son of Aaron (Jos., Ant., 5:361; cf. I Chron. 24:3; Yal., Judges 68), and another connects him with the house of *Eleazar (IV Ezra 1:2–3; cf. Ex. 6:23, 25).

The fact that the *Ark was in Shiloh in Eli's day proves that at that time Shiloh was the cultic center of the tribal confederation of which Eli was the head priest. According to the narrative in the first chapters of I Samuel, *Elkanah made an annual pilgrimage to Shiloh. Here his wife *Hannah made a vow in the presence of Eli and received from him the assurance that her prayer for a son would be answered (I Sam. 1:11 ff.). After her son *Samuel was weaned, Hannah brought him to Eli to serve in the sanctuary in fulfillment of her vow (1:27–28). What follows is a two-fold account of the ascent of Samuel and the downfall of the house of Eli. Hophni and Phinehas proved to be corrupt priests (2:12–17, 29; 3:13); hence the prophecy to Eli in I Samuel 2:27–36, which appears to be connected with that to Samuel (3:11–14), concerning the fall of the house of Eli and the emergence of a new priestly house. From these prophecies it appears that Eli himself had also sinned (2:29; 3:13). At any rate, his two sons were destined to die on the same day (2:34; 4:11, 17) and Eli, too, met his death when the news reached him of the tragedy at the battle of *Aphek (4:11–18). Following the death of Eli and his sons and the destruction of Shiloh, *Nob became the religious center. According to I Samuel 22:20–23, the sole survivor of Saul's slaughter of the priests at Nob was Abiathar son of Ahimelech son of Ahitub, a descendant of Eli who was deposed by Solomon (I Sam. 14:3; cf. I Kings 2:27). Clearly, the priestly house of Eli continued in importance for a long time after him.

It should be noted that the prophecies to Eli do not forecast the destruction of Shiloh; nor do they reflect the true status of the house of Eli in later times. In contrast to the promise of perpetual poverty, Abiathar was able to retire to his estate (I Kings 2:26). This indicates that the prophecies derive substantially from the time of Eli and were not adjusted to make them conform to later events.

In the *Aggadah*

When Eli accused Hannah of being drunk (I Sam. 1:13) she countered that his judging her wrongly proved him to be without divine inspiration (Ber. 31b). According to one opinion Eli was justified in his strictures, since a man who regards his neighbor as sinning is obligated to reprove him. But Hannah's retort was also in place, for one who is unjustly accused is obliged to inform his accuser of the fact (*ibid.*), for "a man must justify himself before his fellowmen just as he must do so before God" (*Mishnat R. Eli'ezer,* 129). Because Eli had suspected Hannah unjustly, he blessed her, "Go in peace" since one is obliged to appease and bless one he had wrongly suspected (Ber. 31b). The Bible brands both sons of Eli as wicked (I Sam. 2:12), although Phinehas, in fact, did not sin. The Bible censures him as it does for having failed to protest Hophni's behavior (Shab. 55b).

[Elimelech Epstein Halevy]

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ELIACHAR, MENACHE (1901–?), prominent Jerusalem businessman and communal worker. Eliachar, a scion of the distinguished Jerusalem family of that name, was born in the Old City of Jerusalem, the son of Isaac Eliachar, and on the death of his father in 1933 succeeded him as vice president of the Jerusalem Chamber of Commerce, becoming president in 1946, holding the position for more than 30 years. Eliachar played a prominent role in the industrial and commercial development of Jerusalem and represented Israel in the International Chamber of Commerce where he was successful in countering the Arab Boycott.

From an early age he took part in communal activity and was among the founders of the Binyanei ha-Ummah (Jerusalem Convention Center) and of the Economic Club of Jerusalem. He was instrumental in reclaiming thousands of dunams of land in Jerusalem from Arab owners which he placed at the disposal of the community, among them the land on which the Hebrew University and the Israel Museum stand.

On the occasion of his 75th birthday the title of Yakir Yerushalayim was conferred upon him and the school in the Givat Mordechai neighborhood was named in his honor.

ELIAKIM, MARCEL (1921–), physician and medical educator. Eliakim was born in Plovdiv, Bulgaria. He studied in an American high school and graduated from a French high school in Bulgaria in 1943. He then began studies at the University of Sofia Medical School (1944–49). He immigrated to Israel in 1949 and graduated from the Hebrew University–Hadassah Medical School (first class, 1949–52) with distinction. He served in the scientific corps of the Israel Defense Forces from 1952 to 1954, where he was assigned to conduct a research project on Schistosomiasis in Israel.

Eliakim started working in the Department of Medicine of the Hadassah University Hospital under Professor M. Rachmilewitz in 1954, and became full professor of medicine in 1969. He then became head of the Department of Medicine (1969–89). After retirement from Hadassah, Eliakim became head of the Department of Medicine in Bikur Holim Hospital in Jerusalem (1989–97).

During the period 1960–61 Eliakim received a grant from the American army for research in cardiovascular physiology in the Medical School of the University of Pennsylvania. Upon his return to Israel he founded and was the first director of the Institute for Postgraduate Medical Training of the Hebrew University. He also became chairman of the Board of Medicine of the Israel Medical Association in 1973. He served on the committee of higher education of the Ministry of Education (1976–79) and became dean of the Faculty of Medicine (1985–89). Eliakim founded the Israel Association for the Study of the Liver in 1973.

Eliakim published 221 scientific papers and wrote or edited four books. His research was concentrated in the field of Familial Mediterranean Fever, a disease affecting mostly Jews. Eliakim has educated a generation of physicians, many of whom have become leaders in medicine in Israel. Eliakim received many prizes, most important of which was the 75th Hadassah Anniversary prize for outstanding service in medicine (1987). He received the Worthy of Jerusalem award (1988) and the Israel Prize for medicine 2001.

[Rami Eliakim (2nd ed.)]

ELIAKIM GOETZ BEN MEIR (c. 1700), rabbi and author; grandson of R. Judah Loeb *Hanneles. He was rabbi in Swarzedz and Hildesheim. In 1700 he left Germany to travel to Ereẓ Israel, but on passing through Posen, where his father had been rabbi, he was persuaded to accept the rabbinate there, and was active until 1707. Goetz wrote (1) *Rappeduni be-Tappuhim*, a commentary on the 24 aggadic sayings of Rabba bar bar Ḥana (BB 73–74), published posthumously by his son Samvil, *dayyan* of Swarzedz (Berlin, 1712); (2) *Even ha-Shoham*, and *Me'irat Einayim*, a collection of responsa, the first part published by his son Meir (Dyhernfurth, 1733).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Michael, Or, no. 465.

[Jacob Haberman]

ELIANO, GIOVANNI BATTISTA (1530–1589), apostate and anti-Jewish propagandist. Grandson on his mother's side of Elijah *Levita, whence the surname he adopted, he was formerly known as Solomon Romano. Born in Rome, he traveled widely with his father in the Near East and was converted to Roman Catholicism in Venice in 1551. In the following year he was admitted by Ignatius of Loyola to the newly founded Society of Jesus and thereafter taught Hebrew and Arabic at the Collegio Romano. Together with his elder brother Joseph, converted as Vittorio Eliano, he was largely responsible for the condemnation and burning of the Talmud in Rome in 1553 (see *Talmud, Burning of). Giovanni Battista subsequently returned to the Levant to spread Roman Catholic propaganda among the Copts and Maronites.

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[Cecil Roth]

ELIAS, ELI (1912–2004), U.S. clothing manufacturer, Sephardi community leader. Elias was born in Rochester, N.Y., and studied drafting and machine designs while in high school. In 1929, he moved to New York City and became a plant manager at his uncle's clothing factory. It was the start of a lifelong career in the garment business, both as a manufacturer of women's sportswear and as an industry leader. In 1931, Elias left his uncle's company to become a partner in Maybro Sportswear. He opened his own business, Elias Sportswear, in 1931. By 1946, his Brooklyn plant employed 1,200 workers. Elias shifted ownership of the company to his son Richard in 1979, after being named president and executive director of the New York Skirt and Sportswear Association. At its peak, the Association had almost 300 members and was one of the biggest garment contractor groups in New York City. Elias headed the Association until he retired at the age of 86. By that time, a surge of imports had reduced the membership to 11, and when Elias was asked about the future of the New York apparel industry in the face of increasing competition from abroad, he said he felt like saying *Kaddish*, the Hebrew prayer for the dead. In addition to heading the association, Elias organized the Federation of Apparel Manufacturers and the Garment Center Economic Security Council. For many years, he was a management trustee of many union benefit funds. He was a vice chairman of the board of the Garment Industry Development Corporation and a board member of the Council for American Fashion, the Educational Foundation for the Fashion Institute of Technology, and the High School of Fashion Industries, in New York City. Elias was also a founder of the Sephardic Temple of Cedarhurst, N.Y., and an honorary president of United Sephardim of Brooklyn. He helped launch the Sephardic Home for the Aged in Brooklyn and received the Home's first Humanitarian Award, commemorating more than 55 years of service.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *New York Times* (Sept. 28, 2004); *Women's Wear Daily* (Sept. 29, 2004).

[Mort Sheinman (2nd ed.)]

ELIAS, JOSEPH (d. 1927), Jewish community worker in Iraq. Elias graduated from the law school of Istanbul, became postmaster in the harbor of Fao (Fa'w), then an official in the judicial service of Basra and Mosul, and finally an advocate in Basra and Baghdad. From 1921 until his death he was chairman of the Arabic Literary Society in Baghdad and of the Zionist organization in Iraq. In 1924 he was elected to the Iraqi Parliament as delegate of the Jewish community of Baghdad, and the following year represented Iraqi Jewry at the opening ceremony of the Hebrew University in Jerusalem.

[Haim J. Cohen]

ELIAS, NEY (1844–1897), British explorer. Ney was born in Kent, the son of a Jewish merchant who converted to Christianity when he was a child. In 1892 he journeyed from Peking (Beijing) across the Gobi Desert by a hitherto unexplored route to St. Petersburg – a feat for which he received the gold medal of the Royal Geographical Society. He then traveled for the Indian government and in 1885 made an expedition through Central Asia. Elias defined the boundaries (1889–90) between what became Thailand and Burma. His books include *A Visit to the Valley of Sheuli* (1876) and *The Tarikh-i-Rashidi* (1895), a history of the Moghuls.

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ELIAS, NORBERT (1897–1990), sociologist. Born in Breslau, Germany (now Wroclaw, Poland), Elias served in the German army during World War I, and then attended Breslau University. He was an active member of Blau-Weiss, the Zionist youth organization. After earning his doctorate in philosophy at Breslau in 1924, he moved to Heidelberg to work under Alfred Weber, and then to Frankfurt as Karl Mannheim's assistant. Elias fled Nazi Germany in 1933, first to Paris and then, in 1935, to London. His father died in Breslau in 1940, and his mother perished in Auschwitz around 1941.

In 1939 Elias published his seminal work *Ueber den Prozess der Zivilisation* (later translated into English as *The Civilizing Process*, 1978 and 1982). The work, largely ignored at the time, traced the process of change in standards of behavior – including those regarding acts of violence – through stages of European history, as manners and habits were transformed, in Elias' view, by changing thresholds of repugnance and increasing expectations of self-restraint. Elias linked this process to the formation of states and to the development of an interconnected society.

Elias received a senior research fellowship at the London School of Economics in 1939, but he was interred during the war as an enemy alien. In 1954 he obtained a post at Leicester University, from which he retired in 1962; he was a professor of sociology at the University of Ghana from 1962 to 1964. It was only during his retirement that Elias was acclaimed as a leading figure in his field. *Ueber den Prozess der Zivilisation* was republished in 1969, receiving international attention. The work was not, however, received without controversy; some considered it an extension of social Darwinism, overly Eurocentric, and suggested that its premise was refuted by the events of World War II and the Holocaust.

Elias wrote extensively in his later years; these works include *The Established and the Outsiders* (1965), *What Is Sociology?* (1978), *The Loneliness of the Dying* (1985), and *The Quest for Excitement* (1986), with Eric Dunning, on the sociology of sports. In 1971 he became professor emeritus of the University of Frankfurt, and in 1977 the city of Frankfurt named him the first recipient of the Theodor W. Adorno prize. In addition to other honors, he received the German Grosskreuz des Bundesdienstordens in 1986.

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[Dorothy Bauhoff (2nd ed.)]

ELIASBERG, MORDECAI (1817–1889), rabbi, one of the first *Ḥibat Zion (Ḥovevei Zion) in Russia. Born in Lithuania, Eliasberg studied under noted rabbis in Lithuania, became rabbi of Shishmory, Lithuania in 1853, and was rabbi of *Bauska, Latvia from 1862 until his death. Active from his youth in Jewish public life in Russia, he explained to Max *Lilienthal, who came to "enlighten" Russian Jewry, that the removal of legal restrictions on Jews was a prior condition to the achievement of this aim. Later he believed the basic principles behind Jewish demands should be the improvement of the economic situation of Russian Jewry and the achievement of equal rights. He supported the Haskalah movement, provided it did not weaken religion, and suggested the establishment of schools for commercial and vocational training. Eliasberg defended the first society for the settlement of Ereẓ Israel, founded in Germany in 1862, against attacks by ultra-Orthodox circles, who feared that messianic redemption would be delayed if the land was settled by secular efforts, and in 1879 he published articles supporting Jewish agricultural settlement in Russia and in Ereẓ Israel. After the pogroms in southern Russia (1881), Eliasberg was one of the first who vigorously supported the newly organized Ḥovevei Zion, orally and in writing, striving particularly to achieve harmony between the religious and the "free-thinking" circles in the movement. He was elected one of the leaders of Ḥovevei Zion at the movement's conference at Druzgenik (1887). During the controversy over the 1889 sabbatical year in Ereẓ Israel, Eliasberg opposed those ultra-Orthodox rabbis who demanded the cessation of Jewish agricultural work in that year and appealed to Jewish farmers not to heed their injunctions. He also strongly attacked the *ḥalukkah* methods in Jerusalem and those responsible for it, most of whom opposed the new settlement of Ereẓ Israel.

Of his more than 20 works, only one, *Terumat Yad* (1875), was printed in his lifetime. *Shevil ha-Zahav*, dealing with topical matters and the settlement of Ereẓ Israel, was published posthumously (1897) by his son Jonathan, who added a biography of his father. In 1947 a selection of Eliasberg's writings was published in Jerusalem.

[Getzel Kressel]

His son JONATHAN (1851–1898) was born in Kovno, Lithuania, and served as rabbi of Pumpian, Mariampol, and from 1886 until his death, of Volkovysk, Grodno district. His Torah novellae and ethical writings were published as a supplement to his father's *Terumat Yad* and his *Darkhei Hora'ah* was published independently (1884). In common with his father, he was one of the first rabbis to join the Ḥovevei Zion movement. Eliasberg strove to maintain harmony between the Orthodox and the progressive groups within the national movement, calling upon both sides "to be tolerant and patient with conflicting views." In 1893 he approached *Aḥad Ha-Am in connection with his essay "*Torah she-ba-Lev,*" which had aroused the anger of the Orthodox. (The author replied to the charges in his essay "*Divrei Shalom.*") His Zionist articles were published in *Shivat Ẓiyyon* (ed. by A.J. Slutski, 1900). After the first Zionist Congress, he joined the Zionist Organization.

[Yehuda Slutsky]

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ELIASHIB (Heb. אֶלְיָשִׁיב; "may God restore"), a name attested in the Arad letters of the late seventh–early sixth century B.C.E. The Bible shows the popularity of the name in post-Exilic times, borne by three individuals married to foreign women (Ezra 10:24, 27, 36), a descendant of the Davidic dynasty (I Chron. 3:24), and of the high priest who was the son of Joiakim (Neh. 12:10). The best known of these personalities was the high priest contemporary with Nehemiah. His house was located along the central portion of the eastern wall of Jerusalem and is mentioned in the account of the wall's reconstruction (Neh. 3:20–21). He and his colleagues were responsible for rebuilding the stretch of wall guarding the northwestern approach to the Temple Mount – the Tower of Hananel, the Tower of the Hundred, and the Sheep Gate (Neh. 3:1). An Eliashib "the priest" was in charge of the Temple storehouses and he assigned one of these chambers to Nehemiah's opponent Tobiah. This priest was somehow "related" to Tobiah (Neh. 13:4ff.), and many scholars identify him with the high priest; the lesser title, however, makes this unlikely. It is similarly unlikely that Eliashib, the father of Jehohanan, into whose Temple chamber Ezra retreated (Ezra 10:6), is identical with the high priest. A grandson of the high priest, however, did marry a daughter of Sanballat, another of Nehemiah's opponents (Neh. 13:28). During the second term of his governorship, Nehemiah expelled Tobiah from his Temple chamber and chased the high priest away from his presence.

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[Bezalel Porten]

ELIASHOV, SOLOMON BEN ḤAYYIM (1841–1926), kabbalist. Eliashov, who was born in Zagara, Lithuania, studied in the yeshivah in Telz, but spent most of his life as a private citizen in Shavli in Samogitia, Lithuania and never took a rabbinic position. In 1915 he was expelled with the rest of his community to Russia and in 1922 (or 1924) he settled in Jerusalem. Eliashov was considered one of the greatest kabbalists in Russia at the end of the 19th century. His method was influenced by the tradition of *Elijah b. Solomon, the Gaon of Vilna, and his disciples, and he generally opposed those who interpreted Kabbalah in an idealistic manner, particularly the kabbalistic commentaries of Moses Ḥayyim *Luzzatto and the Chabad Ḥasidim. All his works on Kabbalah, which he rewrote in several versions, were compiled at the end of the 19th century under the general title *Sefer Leshem Shevo ve-Aḥlamah* (Ex. 28:19). They include the following published works: *Sefer Hakdamot u-She'arim* (Piotrkow, 1908); *Sefer ha-De'ah* (an abbreviation for *Derushei Olam ha-Tohu*) in two volumes (Piotrkow, 1911); *Sefer ha-Kelalim*, on the principles of *egressus* and *digressus* in the process of emanation, two volumes (Jerusalem, 1924–26, but actually completed only in 1930); *Sefer Ḥelkei ha-Be'urim*, a commentary on Ḥayyim *Vital's *Eẓ Ḥayyim* in two volumes (Jerusalem, 1935–49). His glosses and additions to *Eẓ Ḥayyim* were also published in the Warsaw 1890 edition of that work. The works of Eliashov contain a highly detailed systematic description of the Lurianic Kabbalah concerning the doctrine of *aẓilut* ("emanation"). It was said that Eliashov accomplished for the works of Isaac *Luria what Moses *Cordovero had done for the *Zohar.

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[Gershom Scholem]

ELIAS LE EVESKE (**Elijah ben Berechiah ha-Kohen;** before 1200–after 1259), archpresbyter of English Jewry (1243–57). Born in London before 1200, Elias Le Eveske (or l'Eveske, as he was often known) was a prominent figure in the London Jewish community by 1230. His period of office coincided with the most outrageous of the royal exactions by Henry III. In 1253 he appeared before Earl Richard of Cornwall and the Royal Council and made a pathetic appeal for permission for the Jews to leave the country. He was deposed from office in 1257 and two years later became converted to Christianity, together with his two sons. His subsequent life is unknown.

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[Cecil Roth]

ELIASSOF, HERMAN (1849–1918), U.S. Reform rabbi. Eliassof was born in Russia, ordained in Germany, and immigrated to the United States in 1871. After serving for a year as rabbi of Congregation Rodef Shalom in Ogdensburg, N.Y., he became the first rabbi of Temple Beth-El in Chicago, where he was also editor of *The Occident*, a local religious weekly, as well as the regional correspondent for the **American Israelite*, the Anglo-Jewish weekly newspaper published in Cincinnati. For many years he served as principal of the Sabbath school of Kehillath Anshe Maarab and was a teacher in the Zion Congregation religious school. In the early 1890s, Eliassof was head of the Society in Aid of Russian Refugees, which assisted the many Jews who came to Chicago in the wake of the enforcement of the Russian *May Laws. Eliassof was the first scholar to write a history of the Jews of Illinois, which was published in a special issue of *The Reform Advocate*. He also wrote Hebrew poetry and was a frequent contributor on Jewish subjects to English, German, and Hebrew periodicals.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *The Universal Jewish Encyclopedia* (1969).

[Bezalel Gordon (2nd ed.)]

ELIAV, ARIE LOVA (1921–), Israeli planner, educator, sociologist, politician, and peace activist, member of the Sixth to Ninth and Twelfth Knessets. Eliav was born in Moscow and was brought by his parents to Palestine in 1924. He studied at the Herzlia Gymnasium in Tel Aviv and general history and sociology at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem. He joined the Haganah in 1936 and in the years 1941–45 fought in the British army in the Middle East and Europe. In 1946–48 he was active in the organization of "illegal"*immigration to Palestine. After the establishment of the state he joined the IDF and participated in the War of Independence, reaching the rank of lieutenant colonel. In 1949–53 he served as assistant to the director of the Jewish Agency Settlement Department, and studied agricultural economics in London in 1953. In 1955–57 Eliav directed the project for the development of the Lachish region in southern Israel, where many new immigrants were settled; he participated in the planning and establishment of the town of Arad. During the Sinai Campaign in 1956 he was in charge of the project for saving the Jews of Port Said.

In 1958–60, Eliav served as first secretary in the Israeli Embassy in Moscow. In 1960–64 he headed the aid and rehabilitation mission that Israel sent to Qazvin in northwestern Iran after it had been severely hit by an earthquake. Eliav was first elected to the Sixth Knesset in 1965 on the Alignment list. In 1966–67 he served as deputy minister of industry and trade in charge of industrialization in development areas, and the following two years as deputy minister of immigration absorption under Yigal *Allon. In 1969–71 Eliav served as secretary general of the *Israel Labor Party. In this period he started to adopt dovish positions regarding the concessions that Israel might make in return for peace with its neighbors. After resigning the secretary generalship of the Labor Party, he spent the next year writing an ideological work entitled *Ereẓ ha-Ẓevi* (one of the biblical names for the Land of Israel) in which an entire chapter was devoted to a discussion of Israel's relations with the Arabs and Palestinians. It appeared in English in 1974 as *Land of the Hart.*

Following the earthquake that occurred in Managua in Nicaragua just before Christmas of 1972 Eliav headed an Israeli aid mission to help construct temporary housing there. In December 1973 he ran in the elections to the Eighth Knesset on the Alignment list, but in April 1975 left the Alignment and joined the Civil Rights Movement, forming a parliamentary group by the name of Ya'ad. In 1975 he was also one of the founders of the Israeli Council for Israeli-Palestinian Peace. In January 1976 he and MK Marsha Freedman left Ya'ad, due to a dispute about policy toward the PLO and formed the Social Democratic parliamentary faction. In 1976–77 Eliav participated in talks with representatives of the PLO.

Eliav was one of the founders of the radical party Maḥaneh Sheli, and in 1977 was elected to the Ninth Knesset on its list. In 1979 he handed his seat over to Uri *Avneri and engaged in teaching new immigrants and prisoners. In 1982–85 he participated, on behalf of Prime Minister Menaḥem *Begin, in contacts with the PLO and other Palestinian organizations in an attempt to bring about the release of four Israeli prisoners held by them in return for over 1,000 Palestinian prisoners.

In 1982 Eliav joined the International Center for Peace in the Middle East. In the elections to the Twelfth Knesset in 1988 he returned to the Knesset on the Alignment list. In 1993 he unsuccessfully ran against Ezer *Weizman for the Labor Party nomination for the presidency of Israel.

[Susan Hattis Rolef (2nd ed.)]

ELIAV (Lubotzky), BINYAMIN (1909–1974), Israeli public figure and editor. Born in Riga, Latvia, he finished his secondary education in Haifa. Returning to Europe for his higher studies, he soon became one of the outstanding figures in the Betar movement, led by Vladimir Jabotinsky, whose personality profoundly influenced him. From 1932 to 1935, he lived in Paris where he served as general secretary of Betar. In 1935 he returned to Palestine, where his political activities against the policies of the British Mandatory government earned him repeated terms of imprisonment, principally in the Acre Prison. In between, he edited the movement's newspapers *Hamashkif* and *Hayarden*.

In 1938 he was released from Acre due to ill health, on condition that he leave the country until the termination of martial law, and was in Riga until 1940. After his return he championed the cause of conciliation between the Revisionist movement and the Zionist Organization. A tentative agreement that was to be the basis of the reconciliation was vetoed by Ben-Gurion.

Eliav left Betar and formed his own political party, Tenuat Ha'am, and edited its daily newspaper, *Mivrak*. This small party attracted a wide variety of supporters. In June 1947 Eliav was again arrested, and placed in a detention camp in Latrun together with other leading figures of the *yishuv*.

After the establishment of the State of Israel he underwent a certain metamorphosis. He disbanded his party and never again played an active political role. He worked as a journalist, editor, and translator (editing the Labor Party's afternoon daily *Ha-Dor*, and translating Isaac Deutscher's biography of Stalin). From 1953 he was in the Israel Foreign Ministry, serving in South America and later as consul-general in New York.

Gradually he devoted himself exclusively to the cause of Soviet Jewry, which in the mid- to late-1950s, was a tabula rasa. To Eliav the fate of this last great Jewish community to survive in Europe was crucial to the future of the Jewish people. At the same time, he saw it as a universal human problem of minority rights.

For the next 12 years he traveled all over the world and established a veritable network of influential connections. He won the support of outstanding personalities such as Bertrand Russell, Jean-Paul Sartre, Aya de la Torre of Peru, and Senator Terracini of Italy.

After retiring from the Foreign Ministry, he served for a while as Prime Minister Eshkol's adviser on information and as acting chairman of the Broadcasting Corporation. From

1969 Eliav worked on the *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, of which he was associate editor with particular responsibility for the section dealing with Israel, Zionism, and contemporary Jewish history. *Sifriat Keter*, a series of original monographs in Hebrew on various aspects of Jewish culture and history, was launched by him, and he edited its first volumes.

[Aryeh Eliav (2nd ed.)]

ELIEL, ERNEST LUDWIG (1921–), U.S. organic chemist. Eliel was born in Germany and received his Ph.D. from the University of Illinois in 1948. He was at the University of Notre Dame in 1948–72 (professor from 1960) and W.R. Kenan, Jr. Professor at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill in 1972–93. He was a member of the National Academy of Sciences, U.S., and the American Academy of Arts and Sciences. He wrote *Stereochemistry of Carbon Compounds* (1962) and was co-author of *Conformational Analysis* (1965), *Elements of Stereochemistry* (1969), *Stereochemistry of Organic Compounds* (1994), and *Basic Organic Stereochemistry* (2001). He published over 300 original publications and reviews in stereochemistry, conformational analysis, synthetic methodology, physical organic chemistry, and NMR. He received the Priestley Medal (Am. Chem. Soc.) in 1996 and many other awards and was president of the American Chemical Society, 1992.

[Bracha Rager (2nd ed.)]

ELIEZER (Heb. אֱלִיעֶזֶר; "God is help"), the steward of *Abraham's household (Gen. 15:2).

In the Bible

Eliezer's name appears in the text immediately following the word "Dammesek." While English "Tokyo Rose" is syntactically unobjectionable, "Damascus Eliezer" is foreign to Hebrew. Ginsberg (in bibliography) suggests accordingly that *dammeseq eliezer* is a phantom resulting from scribal corruption. Alternatively, "Dammesek Eliezer" is simply the name of the steward, composed of two words. According to the story, Abraham complained to God that material reward would be of little use to him since, because he had no offspring, his servant Eliezer was to be his heir. God replied with the promise of a natural heir (Gen. 15:4ff.). This episode is made clear in light of the Nuzi archives, which frequently mention the filial adoption of a stranger, sometimes a slave, by a childless couple to tend them in old age and perform their funeral rites in return for being their heir. Sometimes, complications might arise where a natural son would be born after the adoption, as in the case of Eliezer. The Nuzi contracts, however, carefully set out the rights and obligations of both parties in such eventualities.

In the *Aggadah*

Although nowhere so mentioned specifically in the narrative, Eliezer is identified by the rabbis with the anonymous servant sent by Abraham to find a wife for Isaac (Gen. 24). He is thus made the prototype of the loyal and selfless servant, fulfilling his master's wish even to his own disadvantage. He had a daughter whom he hoped Isaac would marry, and the failure of his mission would have made this possible (Gen. R. 59:9). He is credited with having acquired all the virtues and learning of his master. His name, "Eliezer of Damascus" is interpreted as meaning that he drew from and provided others with his master's teachings (*Dammesek = doleh u-mashkeh*; Yoma 28b). He even resembled Abraham in his physical appearance, and Laban mistook him for his master (Gen. R. 60:7). Raised in Nimrod's court, Eliezer was presented to Abraham after his miraculous deliverance from the fiery furnace (*Sefer ha-Yashar*, Noah 42). Eliezer alone went with Abraham to rescue Lot, the *gematria* of his name being 318, the number of Abraham's servants given in the Bible as constituting his army (Gen. 14:14; Tanh. B., Gen. 73). Later, Eliezer visited Sodom where he was victim of the injustices practiced in that city (Sanh. 109b; see also *Sodom in the *Aggadah*). Despite his admirable qualities, Eliezer still remained a member of the cursed Canaanite nation. He is identified as one of the two lads who accompanied Abraham and Isaac to the **akedah* (Lev. R. 26:7), and who remained at the foot of Mount Moriah because they could not see the vision which was vouchsafed to Abraham and Isaac (Gen. R. 56:2). Eliezer was wrongly suspected of having defiled Rebekah during their journey from Haran (PdRE 16).

As a reward for successfully discharging his mission, he was emancipated by Abraham and given the kingdom of Bashan, over which he reigned under the name of Og (PdRE 16). The curse resting upon Eliezer, as upon all descendants of Canaan, was transformed into a blessing because of his loyal service to Abraham (Gen. R. 60:7). His greatest recompense was that God found him worthy of entering Paradise alive, a distinction accorded to very few (DEZ 1).

There are nine other biblical personages of the same name: (1) Moses' younger son (Ex. 18:4; I Chron. 23:15, 17; 26:25); (2)–(9) see I Chron. 7:8; 15:24; 27:16; II Chron. 20; 37; Ezra 8:16; 10:18, 23, 31.

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ELIEZER BEN HYRCANUS (end of the first and beginning of the second century C.E.), *tanna*. He is sometimes called Eliezer the Great (Sot. 9:15; Tosef., Or., end) and is the Eliezer mentioned without patronymic. R. Eliezer was one of the pillars of the early talmudic tradition, and through his student R. Akiva (and Akiva's circle of disciples) he had a decisive influence on the evolution of *halakhah* during the tannaitic period and beyond. In the eyes of later talmudic tradition, the period of the *tannaim* was a heroic age, and even the slightest scrap of information about the least of the *tannaim* can develop in the later *aggadah* into a tale of epic proportions. In the case of truly heroic and significant personalities, like R. Eliezer – who was already the subject of many colorful stories in the tannaitic literature itself – this process of literary expansion and elaboration is inevitable. R. Eliezer even became the subject of an early medieval midrashic romance (**Pirkei de-Rabbi Eliezer*), while the talmudic story of his death was retold in the Zohar (1:98a), providing the literary prototype for the Zoharic masterpiece, the *Idra Zuta*. R. Eliezer remained the object of admiration and the subject of an ongoing and developing narrative tradition for over 1,000 years. As a result it is not always easy to distinguish between the earlier and more fundamental forms of the traditions relating to this historical figure, and those which reflect a later more romanticized and "fictionalized" form of these traditions. In fact it would be fair to say that up to and through the 1970s scholars rarely even made any attempt to distinguish between these different literary and historical levels. Only after Jacob Neusner's revolutionary studies of the life and legend of Rabban Joḥanan ben Zakkai did scholars begin to pay serious attention, not only to the legend, but also to the history of the legend. Below, we will first bring in outline the "legend" of R. Eliezer, as summarized by one of the finest scholars of the last generation, and then make a few brief comments about the "history of the legend."

Education

Eliezer's youth is enveloped in legend. It is said that until the age of 22 (or 28) he worked the estates of his wealthy father, but on deciding to study he left home, making his way to the school of *Johanan b. Zakkai in Jerusalem. There he studied diligently in poverty and want until he became one of the outstanding students of the academy. Some time later his father came to Jerusalem to take a vow to deprive him of his inheritance. When he entered the *bet midrash*, however, and found his son sitting at the head, with all the great scholars of Jerusalem facing him, expounding the Torah and "transcending what was said to Moses at Sinai, his countenance as luminous as the light of the sun, and beams emanating from him as the rays from Moses," Hyrcanus changed his mind and instead wished to bequeath the whole of his fortune to Eliezer, who, however, refused to accept more than his brothers (ARN^1 6, 31; ARN^2 13, 32; PdRE 1; 2, and parallels). According to another tradition, he was outstanding already in his youth. It was realized that he was destined to achieve great things, and the verse (Prov. 20:11), "Even a child is known by his doings," was applied to him (Gen. R. 1:11, and parallels). Johanan b. Zakkai had a very high opinion of his pupil and said of him, "If all the sages of Israel were in one scale of the balance and Eliezer b. Hyrcanus in the other, he would outweigh them all" (Avot 2:8). He also praised his phenomenal memory, calling him "a cemented cistern that does not lose a drop" and "a pitched vessel that preserves its wine" (ARN^1 14, 58), a reference also to his intense conservatism. Eliezer followed the example of his teacher both in his method of study and his behavior. He never walked four cubits without studying and without *tefillin*; no one ever found him sitting in silence, but only sitting and learning; he never said anything that he had not heard from his teacher (Suk. 28a). During the Roman War Eliezer was closely attached to his teacher. He and his colleague, *Joshua b. Hananiah, bore Johanan in a coffin outside the walls of Jerusalem during the siege for his meeting with Vespasian (Git. 56a).

After the destruction of the Temple he was numbered among the important scholars of the great *bet din* of *Jabneh (Sanh. 17b). He also played an important part in national affairs. He was a member of a delegation to Rome headed by the *nasi* to obtain concessions for the Jews (TJ, Sanh. 7:16, 25d, et al.); and traveled to Antioch on behalf of the scholars (*ibid.*, Hor. 3:7, 48a). He married into the family of the *nasi*; his wife, *Imma Shalom, was the sister of Rabban *Gamaliel. His permanent home was in Lydda, where he established an academy. Among his outstanding pupils were *Akiva, *Ilai, *Yose b. Dormaskos, Abba Hanan, and *Aquila the proselyte. His *bet midrash* was well-known, and the verse "Justice, justice shalt thou follow" (Deut. 16:20) was applied to it: "Follow an eminent *bet din*, follow the *bet din* of Johanan b. Zakkai and the *bet din* of Eliezer [in Lydda]" (Sif. Deut. 144; cf. Sanh. 32b).

Halakhic Method and Relation to his Colleagues

In his halakhic method Eliezer is distinguished by his great attachment to early traditions and ancient *halakhot*. This tie with early *halakhah* brought him into conflict with the trends operating in the council of Jabneh to adjust the *halakhah* in the light of the changes that took place with the destruction of the Temple, and to crystallize the religious tradition into a fixed and uniform system. In his disputes with *Joshua and his associates, different attitudes to the *halakhah* found expression. Thus Eliezer endeavored to limit the use of hermeneutical rules as a basis for deriving new *halakhot*, regarding the tradition and doctrine which had been handed down as the foundation and essence of the *halakhah* (Neg. 9:3; Tosef., TY 1:8 and 10; et al.). He regarded the act as the determinant of a person's obligations and punishments, in contrast to his associates who regarded intent and purpose as the deciding factor (Ker. 4:3; Tosef., TY 2:13f.; et al.). Even the tendency to stringency which he reveals in a considerable number of his *halakhot* was grounded in the early *halakhah*, which was based on the doctrine of *Bet Shammai, as a result of which he was called "*Shammuti*" ("follower of Shammai"; Shab. 130b; TJ, Beẓah 1:4, 60c; et al.). He was very determined and unforebearing (Ta'an. 25b). The drawn-out struggle between him and the *nasi* and scholars of the Sanhedrin ended tragically. The Talmud relates that during a discussion on the ritual purity of the "oven of Akhnai" (an oven made by Akhnai) in the college, Eliezer brought every conceivable argument in favor of his view but they were rejected by his colleagues. "He said to them: 'If the *halakhah* agrees with me, let this carob tree prove it,' whereupon the carob tree was torn a hundred cubits out of its place… He then said to them: 'If the *halakhah* agrees with me, let it be proved from heaven,' whereupon a *bat kol cried out: 'Why do you dispute with Eliezer, seeing that in all matters the *halakhah* agrees with him?' R. Joshua arose and said, 'It [i.e., halakhic decision] is not in heaven' [Deut. 30:12], we pay no attention to a *bat kol*, for it is written in the Torah at Mount Sinai: One must follow the majority' [Ex. 23:2]" (BM 59b). The *aggadah* continues that on that day all objects which Eliezer had declared ritually pure were brought and burned. A vote was then taken and they excommunicated him.

This severe step affected Eliezer's status and undermined his influence in *halakhah*. He was removed from the council, his associates and pupils held aloof from him, and even refrained from quoting his *halakhot* in the assembly of the scholars (Nid. 7b; Sif. Deut. 188). Of his violent reaction it is reported: "Great was the anger on that day, for everything at which he cast his eyes was burned. Rabban Gamaliel, too, was traveling in a ship when a huge wave arose to drown him. 'It appears to me,' he reflected, 'that this is on account of none other than Eliezer b. Hyrcanus.' He arose and said: 'Lord of the Universe! Thou knowest full well that I have acted neither for my honor nor for the honor of my father's house, but for Thine, so that strife may not multiply in Israel'" (BM 59b). Rabban Gamaliel excused his action on the grounds that excommunication was designed to establish unity in the sphere of *halakhah* and to establish the authority of the council as a determining and decisive institution in a fateful period in the life of the nation.

Attitudes toward the Jewish and Pagan Worlds

Eliezer's love for Israel and his country and his hatred of pagans knew no bounds. During the Roman War he was near in spirit to the *Zealots. He considered weapons to be an adornment, permitting them to be worn on the Sabbath in public (Shab. 6:4). He forbade chapter 16 of Ezekiel to be read as *haftarah*, and sharply censured anyone who transgressed this, because it included matters that offend the honor and ancestry of the Jews (Meg. 4:10, 25b). His adverse opinion of heathens is expressed in his saying: "All the charity and kindness done by the heathen is counted to them as sin, because they only do it to magnify themselves" (BB 10b). This adverse attitude served as the basis for several of his *halakhot*, such as his disqualification of sacrifice from heathens (Par. 2:1; Av. Zar. 23a), and he endeavored as far as possible to lessen social contact between them and Jews (Ḥul. 2:7; Git. 45b). This, too, is the cause of his reservations about accepting proselytes (Yev. 48b; BM 59b).

The Tosefta relates that Eliezer was once arrested by the government for uttering heretical opinions. Though he was liberated and exempted from punishment, he was greatly distressed that he had been wrongly suspected. Akiva, in an attempt to comfort him, said to him: "Perhaps you heard a heretical opinion and it appealed to you." Eliezer remembered that in Sepphoris he had heard a *halakhah* from Jacob of Kefar Sekhania in the name of Jesus b. Pandira, which had appealed to him, thus transgressing (Prov. 5:8), "Remove thy way from her," i.e., from heresy. This may be reflected in his statement: "Keep away not only from ugly deeds but from what appear such" (Tosef., Ḥul. 2:24; Av. Zar. 16b). His bitter experience is reflected in his saying: "Let the honor of thy friend be as dear to thee as thine own; and be not easily provoked to anger; and repent one day before thy death; and warm thyself before the fire of the wise, but beware of their glowing coals that thou be not singed, for their bite is the bite of a fox, and their sting is the sting of a scorpion, and their hiss is the hiss of a serpent, and all their words are like coals of fire" (Avot 2:10).

Attitude toward his Colleagues in his Last Days

When Joshua, Eleazar b. Azariah, and Akiva came to visit him in his last illness, he expressed his severe indictment of the scholars for their withdrawal from him: "I shall be surprised if these [the scholars of the generation] die a natural death," he exclaimed bitterly; and in explanation he said, "Because they did not come to study under me." Eliezer then lifted both arms, placed them upon his breast, and said: "Woe for my two arms, that are like two scrolls of the Law and that are about to depart from the world. For were all the seas ink, and all the reeds quills, and all the people scribes they would not suffice to write all the Scripture and Mishnah I learned, and all the practice I was taught at the yeshivah … and my pupils have taken no more than the paint brush takes from the palette" (ARN^1 25, 80f.; Sanh. 68a).

Attitude toward Eliezer after his Death

The attitude of the scholars to Eliezer changed only after his death. "When his soul departed in purity, Joshua arose and said: 'The vow is annulled! The vow is annulled!' and he clung to him and kissed him and wept, saying, 'Rabbi! Rabbi!'" (*ibid.*; TJ, Shab. 2:6, 5b). "Akiva rent his clothes and tore his hair until blood flowed and he fell to the ground and cried out: 'Woe is me for thee, Rabbi! Woe is me for thee, Rabbi! For thou hast left the whole generation orphaned. My father! My father! the chariots of Israel and the horsemen thereof [II Kings 2:12]. I have many coins to change, but no one to accept them'"(*ibid.*). Everyone realized: "With the death of Eliezer, the scroll of the Law was hidden away" (Sot. 49b). His *halakhot* were restored to the *bet midrash*, many being cited in his name in the Mishnah and *beraitot*. When scholars wished to refute his words, Joshua said "You should not seek to refute the lion after he is dead" (Git. 83a). The *halakhah* was also decided in accordance with his views in a number of instances (e.g., Nid. 7b). Eliezer left a son Hyrcanus who, according to tradition, did not wish to occupy himself with study, whereupon Eliezer consecrated his property to heaven in order to compel him to occupy himself with Torah. The scholars later absolved him from his vow (She'iltot, Ex. 40; cf. Shab. 127b). The *Pirkei de-Rabbi Eliezer*, as well as several other minor Midrashim, are ascribed to his authorship.

[Yitzhak Dov Gilat]

Toward a History of the Legend

When approaching the history of the legends surrounding a figure like R. Eliezer, it is virtually impossible to provide a simple, synthetic overview of his life, like that presented above. Each tradition has a history of its own, often beginning with some early traditional element related in tannaitic sources, and sometimes lacking any early literary foundation whatsoever. For example, in describing R. Eliezer's early life, it is natural to begin with the most detailed and colorful versions of the story – ARN[1] 6, 31; ARN[2] 13, 32; PdRE 1; 2. But all these sources are post-talmudic, and reflect a highly romanticized version of events. Similarly in the case of the story of the "oven of Akhnai," it is tempting to begin with the "complete" version of events – including a full description of R. Eliezer's excommunication – as laid out in Babylonian Talmud BM 59b, and to set aside the fragments of information found in tannaitic sources, or the merely "partial" description found in the earlier Jerusalem Talmud. Yet what do the early sources have to tell us? Mishnah *Kelim* 5:10 reports a simple and unexceptional dispute between R. Eliezer and the Sages, over a certain kind of oven, called the "oven of Akhnai," which R. Eliezer considered pure (i.e., not susceptible to ritual impurity), while the Sages held that it was impure (i.e., susceptible to ritual impurity). In Mishnah *Eduyyot* 7:7, however, this tradition is transmitted in a somewhat different form: "They testified that an oven [of this sort] was impure, since R. Eliezer held that it was pure." From this source it sounds as if R. Eliezer's opinion about this oven had been the subject of a special debate, in which his view was dismissed as invalid. The Tosefta of *Eduyyot* (2:1) restates the more neutral formulation of Mishnah *Kelim*, but adds at the end: "and it was called the oven of Akhnai, about which there were many disputes in Israel." From this it might seem that the dispute over the oven of Akhnai did not end with the attempt of the Sages to suppress R. Eliezer's position, but rather resulted in further and more serious disputes and confrontations. The next stage in the development of this tradition is found in the Jerusalem Talmud (MK 3:1, 81d). After quoting Mishnah *Kelim*, it transmits the following description in the name of R. Jeremiah – a fourth generation Palestinian amora: "A great tribulation occurred on that day. Wherever R. Eliezer looked was stricken. Not only that, but even a single stalk of wheat was half stricken and remained half healthy, and the walls of the meeting hall began to weaken. R. Joshua said to them: 'If friends are having an altercation what concern is it of yours?' Then a heavenly voice declared: 'The *halakhah* is according to R. Eliezer, my son.' R. Joshua replied: 'It is not in heaven.'" R. Jeremiah's description contains nothing about any excommunication, and in fact this Palestinian tradition contains little more than a colorful elaboration of what could be gleaned from the tannaitic sources themselves. On the other hand, immediately prior to this discussion of Mishnah *Kelim*, the Jerusalem Talmud (MK 81c) brings two anonymous traditions beginning with the words "They attempted to excommunicate R. Meir," and "They attempted to excommunicate R. Eliezer." In the first case R. Meir objected, and it would seem that the excommunication was not put into effect. In the second case also, after R. Akiva went to inform R. Eliezer that his "friends" had excommunicated him, R. Eliezer objected, as the Jerusalem Talmud relates: "He took him and went outside, and said 'Carob, Carob! If the *halakhah* is as they say, uproot yourself!' But it did not uproot itself. 'If the *halakhah* is as I say, uproot yourself!' and it did uproot itself. 'If the *halakhah* is as they say, return!' But it did not return. 'If the *halakhah* is as I say, return!' and it did return." Here also there is no sign that the proposed excommunication was put into effect. But when all of these anonymous and attributed Palestinian amoraic traditions are brought in Babylonian Talmud BM 59b they are presented woven together into a single coherent and continuous narrative, appearing as a single tannaitic *baraita* (whose content was summarized in outline above). Does the Babylonian Talmud preserve here an early tannaitic tradition, which contains the full and authentic version of historical events as they occurred, or does the Babylonian Talmud's version represent, rather, the final stage – to use Neusner's phrase – in the "development of a legend"? Each individual case obviously needed to be analyzed and evaluated in its own right. Similar questions need to be raised and similar analyses provided with respect to the halakhic positions ascribed to R. Eliezer both in tannaitic and amoraic sources. Because of the highly technical nature of these discussions, however, we will pass over them here.

[Stephen G. Wald (2nd ed.)]

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ELIEZER BEN ISAAC (**Ashkenazi**; 16th century), Czech Hebrew printer. Eliezer was born in Prague. In partnership with others he printed Hebrew books in Lublin from 1557 to 1573. For a short while an epidemic forced him to move to Konska Wola, near Lublin, and some of the products of his press bear the name of that small town. Among the works printed by him in Lublin are some tractates of the Talmud, published with the approval and recommendation of the *Councils of the Lands. In 1574 he set out for Constantinople, taking his typographic equipment, and set up press in partnership with David b. Elijah Kashti. They printed a volume of geonic responsa (1575) and began a *Maḥzor Romania* (festival prayer book according to the Romaniot rite), in which Kashti, as a member of the old-established pre-Turkish community, was particularly interested. The partnership broke up before the *maḥzor* was finished. Then Eliezer alone issued Baruch ibn Ya'ish's commentary on the Song of Songs under the title *Mekor Barukh* (1576). The same year Eliezer went to Safed, where he entered into partnership with Abraham b. Isaac (Ashkenazi), who financed the press. Thus they established the first press in Ereẓ Israel. They produced three works in the years 1577–79. Later Eliezer returned to Constantinople, where he printed, once more in partnership with Kashti, Samuel Aripol's *Lev Ḥakham* (1586). In 1587, in Safed again, Eliezer printed three more books. Eliezer apparently died soon after.

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ELIEZER BEN ISAAC OF WORMS (also called "**Eliezer ha-Gadol**"; 11th century), German talmudic scholar. Eliezer was a pupil of his relative Simeon ha-Gadol, in *Mainz, and later of *Gershom Me'or ha-Golah, and *Judah ha-Kohen, author of *Sefer ha-Dinim.* He was a friend of *Jacob b. Jakar (Rokeaḥ, *Ha-Tefillah* 21; Joseph Solomon Delmedigo, *Maẓref le-Ḥokhmah* 14:2). After the death of R. Gershom, he and Jacob b. Yakar headed the yeshivah of Mainz, which numbered among its pupils Isaac ha-Levi and *Isaac b. Judah, the teacher of Rashi, who mentions Eliezer several times in his commentaries to the Bible (e.g., Ps. 76:11) and the Talmud (Pes. 76b) calling him "*ha-Gadol*" or "*ha-Ga'on.*" A number of Eliezer's decisions and instructions have been preserved in works issuing from Rashi's school, including the *Sefer ha-Pardes.* Menahem b. Judah di Lonzano attributes to Eliezer the well-known work, *Orḥot Ḥayyim* or *Ẓavva'at R. Eli'ezer ha-Gadol*, which had previously been attributed to *Eliezer b. Hyrcanus. The suggestion that Eliezer was the father of Tobiah b. Eliezer, author of the *Lekaḥ Tov*, is without firm foundation. The *selihah* "*Elohai Basser*" recited in the *Yom Kippur Katan* service, which bears Eliezer's name in acrostic form, has been attributed to him.

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ELIEZER BEN JACOB, name of two *tannaim.*

(1) *Tanna* who lived during the period of the destruction of the Second Temple. He was intimately acquainted with the Temple and describes its structure, arrangements, and customs (Mid. 1:9; 2:6; Ar. 2:6; etc.). A tradition states that he was the author of the Mishnah **Middot* on the structure and dimensions of the Temple (Yoma 16a; TJ, Yoma, 2:3, 39d). It is reported that *Ben Azzai found in Jerusalem a genealogical scroll in which it was written that the opinions quoted in Eliezer's name are few "but well-sifted" (i.e., irrefutable) and that his statements everywhere represent the accepted *halakhah* (Yev. 49b). Since there was another *tanna* of the same name (see below), it is sometimes difficult to distinguish which of the two was the author of certain *halakhot.* It is, however, undoubtedly this Eliezer who is quoted in connection with laws dealing with the Temple and in discussions with R. *Eliezer b. Hyrcanus, R. *Ishmael b. Elisha, and R. *Ilai (Kil. 6:2; Kelim 7:3; Pes. 39a). One of his aggadic contributions is his interpretation of the phrase: "serve Him with all your heart and with all your soul" (Deut. 11:13), which he interpreted as an admonition to priests officiating in the Temple not to allow extraneous thoughts to enter their minds (Sif. Deut., Ekev. 41).

(2) *Tanna* of the second century. A pupil of R. *Akiva (Gen. R. 61:3; TJ, Ḥag. 3:1, 78d), he was among the sages who participated in the synod at Usha after the Hadrianic persecutions (Song Rabbah 2:5). Talmudic sources quote *halakhot* on which he differed from his colleagues R. *Meir, R. *Judah, R. *Yose, R. *Simeon b. Yoḥai, and R. *Eleazar b. Shammu'a (Neg. 10:4; Tosef., Yev. 10:5; Tosef., BK 5:7). He is reported as saying: "Whoever provides lodging in his home for a scholar and shares with him his wealth has the merit of one who offers up a daily sacrifice" (Ber. 10b). His kindness is illustrated in a story which tells that once, when a blind man came to his town, Eliezer gave him a seat of honor above his own. When the people saw this, they maintained the blind man in honor. The latter, on learning the reason for his good fortune, offered a prayer on Eliezer's behalf saying: "You have dealt kindly with one who is seen but sees not. May He who sees but is unseen accept your prayers and deal graciously with you" (TJ, Pe'ah 8:9, 21b).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Frankel, Mishnah, 76–78; Hyman, Toledot, 181–4; Halevy, Dorot, 1 (1923), 84–86, 181–5; Bacher, Tann, 1 (1903^2), 62–67; 2 (1890), 23 n. 3, 39f. n. 5, 76 n. 2, 151 n. 1, 191 n. 4.

[Yitzhak Dov Gilat]

ELIEZER BEN JACOB HA-LEVI (Horovitz) OF TARNOGROD (d. 1806), rabbi and ḥasidic author. A descendant of a famous rabbinic family, he was a disciple of Elimelech of Lyzhansk, Jacob Isaac of Lublin, and Israel of Kozienice. He wrote *No'am Megadim* (Lemberg, 1807) and *Amarot Tehorot* (Warsaw, 1838). According to one of his sayings, even the greatest saint has to hide his own light to avoid the sin of pride.

[Adin Steinsaltz]

ELIEZER BEN JOEL HA-LEVI OF BONN (Heb. acronym ראבי"ה, *Ravyah;* 1140–1225), rabbinic scholar in Germany. His maternal grandfather was Eliezer b. Nathan. Eliezer studied under his father *Joel ha-Levi of Bonn, as well as under Judah he-Ḥasid, and Judah b. Kalonymus of Mainz. His brother Uri died a martyr's death in 1216; Eliezer's mourning for him was so great that his vision was impaired and he was compelled to dictate his novellae to his students, among them *Isaac b. Moses Or Zaru'a. In the course of his long life, Eliezer wandered from place to place: Bonn, Worms, Wuerzburg, Mainz, Metz, Cologne, Regensburg, and, apparently, through France and Lombardy. He refused to accept rabbinical office so as "neither to be glorified by, nor benefit from, the Torah" (*Ravyah*, no. 396) until he was robbed of his fortune. At his father's request, he accepted the rabbinate of Cologne in 1200. The status he then attained as spiritual leader and halakhic expert bore out the prophecy of Eliezer of Metz, "Honor will pursue you, and you will merit a lofty seat on high" (*ibid.*). In 1220 he participated in the communal synod at Mainz and was among the signatories of the enactments passed there. Nothing further is known of him after this date.

His major work, *Ravyah*, also called *Avi ha-Ezri* ("My Father is my Help"), is a compendium of articles that developed into a book. It contains *halakhot* and legal decisions according to the order of the tractates in the Talmud as well as research on halakhic subjects which he calls "responsa." Among these "responsa" are some genuine responsa written by him and his father to contemporary scholars. They are written in simple, lucid language, and are generally prefaced by rhymed introductions. In 1885 Ḥ.N. Dembitzer published tractate *Berakhot* with the relevant responsa from a manuscript of *Ravyah* to which he added his own notes, *Livyat Ḥen.* V. Aptowitzer continued the task in a two-volume critical edition (published by Mekiẓe Nirdamim, Berlin, 1913; Jerusalem, 1935) up to section 893. He later published addenda and corrigenda (1936) and an introduction (1938). She'ar Yashuv Cohen and E. Prisman revised Aptowitzer's editions in three volumes (Jerusalem, 1965) and added a fourth volume covering sections 894–919. Eliezer also wrote *Mishpetei Ketubbah*, to which *Seder Binyan Bayit Sheni* ("The Order of the Construction of the Second Temple") is an appendix. Yom Tov Lipmann Heller quotes it 15 times in his commentary on tractate *Middot.* Early authorities mention his *Avi'asaf,* a commentary on the orders *Nashim* and *Nezikin*, in addition to other material not included in *Ravyah*, which was seen by Ḥ.J.D. Azulai. He apparently also composed *tosafot* on various tractates; *likkutim*, consisting of explanations of passages of the Pentateuch; and six *piyyutim*. Although his chief purpose was the determination of the *halakhah*, Eliezer's approach to textual clarification and to the basic sources (Babylonian and Jerusalem Talmuds; *rishonim*) is reminiscent of the approach of the tosafists. His works were considered basic in halakhic literature until the publication of the Shulḥan Arukh. The great codifiers relied heavily upon him and R. Eliezer of Metz called him "the pillar of decision and the foundation of *halakhah.*" He was also famous for his piety and for his ethical teaching, his contemporaries referring to him as "one who by his exhortations brought about repentance" (*Ravyah*, no. 922 in Ms.).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Zunz, Lit Poesie, 326f.; Gross, in: MGWJ, 34 (1885), 303–20, 367–75, 505–24, 555–72; 35 (1886), 24–32, 74–81; Weiss, Dor, 5 (1904^4), 72–73; Davidson, Oẓar, 4 (1933), 365; Germ Jud, 1 (1963), 75–78; V. Aptowitzer, *Mavo le-Sefer Ravyah* (1938); H. Tchernowitz, *Toledot ha-Posekim*, 2 (1947), 50–54; Urbach, Tosafot, 315–21; *Monumenta Judaica, Handbuch* (1963), 95, 103, 121, 122f.; S.Y. Cohen and E. Prisman (eds.), *Sefer Ravyah*, 4 (1965), 11–38.

[Yehoshua Horowitz]

ELIEZER BEN MANASSEH BEN BARUCH (mid-18th century), preacher in western Russia and author of an ethical work. In his youth, Eliezer spent some time studying in Berlin. It is not known who his teachers were or what he studied there. After some years of traveling, he was appointed *av bet din* in Rozwadow, where he probably spent most of his life. Later, at the time of the printing of his book, he was a preacher in the town of Tarnigrad. His *Ir Dammesek Eliezer* (Zolkiew, 1764) is, for the most part, a detailed homiletic and halakhic analysis of the weekly Torah portions. Each homily is divided into two parts: "*Ḥuẓot Dammesek*" and "*Penei Dammesek.*" Very often Eliezer brings lengthy sayings and rules by contemporary East European rabbis; his work is thus an important source for their teachings. The second part of this book, a short ethical work entitled "*Sha'arei Dammesek,*" contains four sections called *she'arim* ("gates"). The first deals with the Torah, the second with prayer, and the third, with repentance; the fourth, "the gate of Jerusalem," deals mainly with reverence toward and fear of God. To this last section the author added, at the conclusion of the work, a collection of homilies on various ethical themes, called "*Pirkei de-Rabbi Eliezer.*" Well versed in Kabbalah, Eliezer often quotes both the Zohar and ethical kabbalistic literature, in addition to the usual rabbinic sources.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Benjacob, Oẓar, 440.

[Joseph Dan]

ELIEZER BEN MEIR HA-LEVI OF PINSK (second half 18th century), rabbi and *darshan.* A descendant of Samuel *Edels (Maharsha), Eliezer was *rosh yeshivah* in Pinsk in the 1760s and 1770s, and, in the early 1780s, rabbi and *av bet din* in Chomsk (Khomsk). Returning to Pinsk in the late 1780s, he served as the rabbi of that city and of its *kloyz* (a type of *bet ha-midrash*). In this latter period, he became involved in a dispute in connection with a ḥasidic leader, Aaron ha-Gadol. The *Maggid* *Dov Ber of *Mezhirech sent a letter to Eliezer in which he requested that they unite in one group together with Aaron. The exact nature of this dispute is not known; some think that Eliezer was sympathetic to the Ḥasidim.

Eliezer wrote two homiletic works, *Si'aḥ ha-Sadeh* (Shklov, 1787) and *Re'aḥ ha-Sadeh (ibid.*, 1795), the first containing one sermon for each weekly Torah portion, and the second, two for each weekly Torah portion. The sermons, primarily ethical and moralistic in tone, are concerned with repentance in the realm of the *mitzvot* between man and God. Eliezer often uses kabbalistic symbols.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Nadav, in: *Zion*, 34 (1969), 101–4; W.Z. Rabinowitsch, *Lithuanian Ḥasidism* (1970), index.

ELIEZER BEN NATHAN OF MAINZ (known as **RaBaN** = **R**abbi **E**liezer **B**en **N**athan; c. 1090–c. 1170), one of "the elders of Mainz" and a leading rabbinic authority in Germany in the 12th century. Eliezer was apparently born in Germany and in his youth seems to have studied with rabbis of Mainz. Later he lived for a time in the Slavic countries, and possibly in Russia. He then returned to Mainz, where he married the daughter of Eliakim b. Joseph, of whose rabbinical court he was a member. Among his four sons-in-law were *Samuel b. Natronai and *Joel b. Isaac ha-Levi. He was also related to *Ephraim b. Jacob of Bonn and Jacob b. Isaac ha-Levi. It is doubtful whether *Asher b. Jehiel was a descendant of his. When the latter refers to *zekeni ha-Rabban*, the quotations are mainly from the *Ravyah* of *Eliezer b. Joel ha-Levi. Raban's contemporaries in France and Germany recognized his authority, and they addressed him in terms of great respect. Indeed Raban was in contact with all the major Jewish communities of his time. In 1150, together with Jacob b. Meir *Tam and *Samuel b. Meir, he drew up the famous *Takkanot Troyes* (the Troyes Ordinances).

His great work (*Sefer ha-Raban*) which he called *Even ha-Ezer* ("Stone of Help") is the first complete book that has survived emanating from German Jewry. It contains responsa and various extracts and halakhic rulings following the order of the talmudic tractates. The book appears to have come down exactly as Eliezer wrote it (but cf. *Sefer ha-Raban*, p. 106a), although there is no logical continuity from one section to the next and there are a number of omissions. The section numbers are by Eliezer himself, who used them for internal reference purposes, but in the printed editions they are deleted from §385 onward. The book contains expositions of talmudic topics and commentaries on customs, liturgical passages, including the *Kaddish*, as well as interpretations of various Midrashim and of chapter 31 of Proverbs, together with correspondence with over 20 rabbinical authorities of the day.

The book contributes much to knowledge of the way of life of the Jews of France and Germany in the 12th century and is a mine of information on the state of scholarship and religious practice in France, Germany, and Babylonia. The book functioned as a bridge between the world of the Talmud and the daily life of the Jew. *Even ha-Ezer* was a conduit for the Western dissemination of geonic literature and ideas. It is also a major source of early German customs. Special mention should be made of Eliezer's considerable use of the talmudic commentary of *Hananel b. Ḥushi'el ("Rabbenu Hananel"; often without mention of the source) only about 50 years after it appeared. Most likely Hananel's commentaries came to him from the *Arukh* of *Nathan b. Jehiel of Rome whom he also quotes. The citations from Hananel are rendered more accurately by Eliezer than by other early authorities. Eliezer is also the first to cite the anonymous *Sefer ha-Mikẓo'ot*. The Wolfenbuttel manuscript of *Even ha-Ezer* contains a sharply worded anti-Christian polemic that is based on chapter 30 of Proverbs. This is the first known polemic to emerge from medieval Germany.

There is some confusion with regard to the book *Ẓafnat Pa'ne'aḥ* ("Revealer of Secrets"), which the early authorities cite frequently, and which they attribute to Eliezer. The fact that many of the quotations appear in the *Even ha-Ezer* indicates that it may have been known by two names. Another opinion is that the reference is to a shorter edition of the book, while still another view is that there was an entirely different book, from which the copyists added to the *Sefer ha-Raban* that has been preserved. Another book ascribed to Eliezer, *Even ha-Roshah*, which is in manuscript, is merely a compilation from "*Hilkhot Dinin*" in the *Sefer ha-Raban* (pp. 92ff.), corresponding in all respects with a similar compilation printed in the **Kol Bo*. *Sefer ha-Raban* was first published in Prague (1610) and subsequently (only as far as tractate *Niddah*) by S. Albeck, who added a long introduction in Warsaw (1905). Part of it was published in Jerusalem (1915) by Leib Raskes, and the entire work was published by Solomon S. Ehrenreich (Simleul-Silvaniei, 1927), who wrote an extensive commentary to it.

Eliezer was the first commentator on *piyyut* in Germany. Part of his commentaries are preserved in manuscript, of which only fragments have been printed, often interspersed with selections from the commentaries of other early authorities in *maḥzorim* published in Ostrog (1810, 1817 et al.) and Slawita (*Maḥzor Korban Aharon*, 1826, et al.). An old manuscript, given to the editors by Ephraim Zalman Margaliot, served as the basis for this printing. Another incomplete manuscript was in the possession of Solomon Zalman *Halberstam (*Kehillat Shelomo*, Vienna, 1890). Eliezer's commentary encompassed the entire *maḥzor*, the complete *siddur* for Sabbaths and weekdays, the *Haggadah*, and *Pirkei Avot* ("Ethics of the Fathers"). He has mistakenly been credited with the authorship of the anonymous *Ma'amar Haskel* (Cremona, 1557), a commentary on his own *piyyut El Elohim ha-Shem Dibber*. The commentary was actually written more than 100 years after his time. It is also doubtful whether he is the author of the commentary on the *kinah* of Kallir, *Eikhah Yashevah Ḥavaẓẓelet ha-Sharon*, published by J.H. Schorr (see bibl.). Of Eliezer's *piyyutim*, some have been printed and others are extant only in manuscript. The horrors of the First Crusade form the theme of some of his *piyyutim*. He also devoted a special booklet to this subject, *Kuntres Gezerot "Tatnu"* ("Booklet on the Massacres of 1096," publ. Leipzig, 1854; publ. in English translation by Eidelberg, 1986). His commentary on *Avot* (also included in the above-mentioned manuscript owned by Margaliot), was in the possession of Jehiel Michael Moravchik, who made use of it "from the manuscript of the RaBaN written in 1145" in his own commentary on *Avot* (*Minḥah Ḥadashah*, Cracow, 1576). A didactic poem by Eliezer on the laws of *sheḥitah* was published in *Sefer ha-Yovel le-Rav Shimon Skop* (Vilna, 1936). In *Sefer ha-Roke'aḥ* (§319) he is credited with having written a book on customs.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: S. Albeck (ed.), *Sefer Raban* (1904), 3–27 (introd.); Davidson, Oẓar, 4 (1933), 364–5; V. Aptowitzer, *Mavo le-Sefer Ravyah* (1938), 49–57; Urbach, Tosafot, 148–58; idem (ed.), *Sefer Arugat ha-Bosem*, 4 (1963), 24–39; A.M. Habermann, *Gezerot Ashkenaz ve-Ẓarefat* (1945), 72–82; Levine, in: *Tarbiz*, 29 (1959/60), 162–75; Baron, 4 (1957), 287–8; K. Schilling (ed.), *Monumenta Judaica-Handbuch* (1963), 674, 676. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** D. Ackerman, in: WCJS, 11, C1 (1994), 57–64; idem, in: *Proceedings of the Rabbinical Assembly*, 55 (1994), 94–104; A. Shapiro, "Jewish Life in Germany of the 12th century: A Study of Eben ha-Ezer of Rabbi Eliezer bar Nathan of Mayence as a Source for the History of the Period," dissertation, Dropsie College (1968); S. Eidelberg, *The Jews and the Crusaders* (1996).

[Israel Moses Ta-Shma]

ELIEZER BEN SAMSON (fl. 12th century), *paytan* and rabbi in Cologne; a pupil of R. Isaac b. Asher ha-Levi in Speyer. He exchanged responsa with R. *Abraham b. Nathan, who referred to him with admiration. Many of his decisions were used as precedents by early authorities (Mordecai Ket. 219, Kid. 515, Shev. 761; and R. Isaac b. Moses Or Zaru'a). He composed a number of liturgical poems including a *reshut* in Aramaic to the Sukkot *haftarah*, which described the era between the creation of the world and the revelation at Mount Sinai.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Landshuth, Ammudei, 23ff.; Fuenn, Keneset, 133; Germ Jud, 74; Kohn, in: MGWJ, 27 (1878), 44ff.; Zunz, Lit Poesie, 176; Davidson, Oẓar, 4 (1933), 365.

ELIEZER BEN SAMUEL HA-LEVI (d. 1357), German Jew, son of Samuel b. Yakar, the *ḥazzan* of Mayence (also known as Tov Elem). Eliezer, who was not a rabbi, but was titled **ḥaver,* is known from his ethical will, which is preserved in several manuscripts and first published in 1870 in a German translation (ed. by A. Berliner in *Juedische Presse*, 1 (1870), 90f., 99). The Hebrew original was afterward published by M. Guedemann (Guedemann, Quellenschr, 295–8) and again, along with an English translation by I. Abrahams (*Hebrew Ethical Wills*, 2 (1926), 1207–18). In this touching document Eliezer requests that his children walk in God's ways, that they fulfill strictly all the *mitzvot*, that they be not mercenary, and if possible, live among Jews.

ELIEZER BEN SAMUEL OF METZ (c. 1115–c. 1198), tosafist and halakhic authority. Eliezer was a pupil of Jacob *Tam (see *Sefer ha-Yashar*, ed. by F. Rosenthal (1898), 128 n. 57), as well as of *Samuel b. Meir, and Ḥayyim Cohen of Paris. Among his disciples were some of the greatest German rabbis, such as *Eliezer b. Joel *ha-Levi and *Eleazar b. Judah of Worms, author of the *Roke'aḥ.* He thus served as an intermediary between the centers of study in France and those in Germany. Eliezer obtained his livelihood by moneylending, and was in charge of the distribution of charity. His daughters died during his lifetime. Little else is known of him. Eliezer's most important work is his *Sefer Yere'im*, written between 1171 and 1179, a work on the 613 precepts according to the enumeration of the **Halakhot Gedolot*. It was abridged by Benjamin b. Abraham *Anav, who divided it into 12 "Pillars," in which form it was published in Venice in 1566, and in many later editions. The complete book (464 paragraphs) was published from a Paris manuscript in Vilna (1892–1902) by Abraham Abba Schiff who added a commentary entitled *To'afot Re'em.* Other commentaries have also been written. Although essentially a halakhic work, *Sefer Yere'im* includes ethical maxims and homilies on the true service of God. Halakhic discussions are sometimes preceded by rhymed introductions. The rulings of *Sefer Yere'im* as well as those in Eliezer's commentaries on the Talmud were accepted as authoritative by the *rishonim*. Eliezer is also an author of *tosafot* and novellae. Mention is made of his commentary to *Berakhot, Shabbat, Zevaḥim*, and *Nedarim.* Ḥayyim Joseph David *Azulai was in possession of a manuscript by him on *Ḥullin.* Very few of his responsa have been preserved.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Gross, in: MGWJ, 34 (1885), 506f.; V. Aptowitzer, *Mavo le-Sefer Ravyah* (1938), 246f., 312–5; H. Tchernowitz, *Toledot ha-Posekim*, 2 (1947), 78–87; M. Reich, in: *Sinai Sefer Yovel* (1958), 356–72; Urbach, Tosafot, 132–40.

[Israel Moses Ta-Shma]

ELIEZER BEN SAMUEL OF VERONA (early 13th century), Italian tosafist. Eliezer was a pupil of Isaac b. Samuel of Dampierre (*Roke'aḥ* 377) and the teacher of *Avigdor b. Elijah Kohen Ẓedek of Vienna. He was a colleague of *Eleazar b. Judah of Worms and of Abraham b. Moses of Regensburg. He wrote *tosafot* to the Talmud, and those to *Bava Batra* (from 144b ff.) in particular are attributed to him. One of his rulings gave rise to considerable controversy. He permitted the widow of a certain Solomon b. Jacob to remarry, seven years after he had disappeared when the ship in which he was sailing sank near Pesaro in 1214. He sent his ruling to "the communities of the Rhine and of Cologne," but Baruch b. Samuel of Mainz forbade the *agunah* to remarry. After Baruch's death, Abraham b. Moses of Mainz sent Eliezer's ruling to Eliezer b. Joel ha-Levi, but he confirmed the prohibition (*Sefer Ravyah*, 4 (1965), 133–43). Eliezer's responsa to *Isaac b. Moses of Vienna (Or Zaru'a) are quoted in Zedekiah b. Abraham's *Shibbolei ha-Leket* (ed. by S. Buber (1886), nos. 13, 237, and 247) and in *Sefer Issur ve-Hetter* (no. 9) by the same author (published in *Ha-Segullah*, 1, 1934). There is also mention of his biblical exegesis (Zunz, in HB, 7 (1864), 20ff.). Isaac Or Zaru'a calls Eliezer and *Isaiah di Trani the Elder "the two kings of Israel." *Hillel of Verona was his grandson.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Zunz, Schr, 3 (1876), 250f.; S. Buber (ed.), *Shibbolei ha-Leket ha-Shalem* (1886), introd., 9; V. Aptowitzer, *Mavo le-Sefer Ravyah* (1938), 195, 311f., 429–32; Urbach, Tosafot, 357–9, 504f.

[Yehoshua Horowitz]

ELIEZER (Eleazar) BEN YOSE HA-GELILI ("of Galilee"; fl. second century C.E.), *tanna*. Eliezer is mentioned only once in the Mishnah, but more than ten times in the Tosefta, and even more frequently in the tannaitic Midrashim. Almost all of his dicta in both Talmuds, in *beraitot*, and in Midrashim are aggadic. According to the Talmud, R. Eleazar b. Simeon said of him: "Whenever you find the words of Eliezer b. Yose in the *aggadah*, bend your ear attentively" (Ḥul. 89a). The *Baraita of the Thirty-Two Rules*, which defines the hermeneutical rules for the aggadic exposition of scripture, is ascribed to him, though in its present form this is highly unlikely (see: **Baraita of the Thirty-Two Rules*). Among his statements are: "A person in distress is forbidden to pray" (TJ, Ber. 5:1, 8d); "Even if nine hundred and ninety-nine argue against a man [in the Heavenly Cause], while one argues in his favor, he is acquitted" (Shab. 32a). He applied the well-known saying of R. Eleazar b. Azariah, to the effect that the full praise of a person should not be uttered in his presence, to teach that "one utters only a portion of the praise of Him at whose word the world came into being" (Gen. R. 32:3).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Weiss, Dor, 2 (1904^4), 149; Hyman, Toledot, 180–1; Zunz-Albeck, Derashot, 143; Bacher, Tann, s.v.

[Alter Hilewitz]

ELIEZER FISCHEL BEN ISAAC OF STRZYZOW (end of 18th century), Galician kabbalist. Eliezer, who was born and lived in Strzyzow near Tarnopol, was close to the circle of the kabbalists of the *Klaus* of Brody, and devoted four books to the exposition of kabbalistic teaching in which the principles of Lurianic doctrine were presented in a more lucid way than in earlier works. His works include:

(1) *Sefer Olam ha-Gadol*, also called *Midrash la-Perushim* (Zolkiew, 1800); (2) *Sefer Olam Eḥad*, on the unity of God according to kabbalistic teaching (*ibid.*, 1802); (3) *Sefer Olam Barur*, on the doctrine of the elevation of sparks (*niẓoẓot*) and purification of souls (*ibid.*, 1800?); and (4) *Sefer Olam Hafukh*, homilies on morality in Kabbalah (*ibid.*, 1800?).

In addition to his works on Kabbalah, he also published *Olam Va'ed* (1849), on the calculation of the seasons and new moons (first days of months). Eliezer was nevertheless considered one of the leading opponents of Ḥasidism and several of his books contain both explicit and implicit criticism of the practices of the Ḥasidim.

[Gershom Scholem]

ELIEZER OF BEAUGENCY (fl. 12th century), biblical commentator from N. France. Nutt was of the opinion that Eliezer was a student of *Samuel b. Meir but there is no clear-cut evidence in support of this view. Few biographical details are known of him. He had a knowledge of Latin and often cited the Vulgate in his commentaries. Three of his commentaries have been preserved: on Isaiah (publ. by Nutt, 1879), on Ezekiel, and on the minor prophets (both publ. by S. Poznański, 1907–13). From references in these works and in those of other exegetes, however, it appears that Eliezer also wrote commentaries on the Pentateuch, Jeremiah, Psalms, Ecclesiastes, and Daniel. It is possible that he covered all the books of the Bible. Generally speaking Eliezer followed the literal method of interpretation of the Bible adopted by his French predecessors Rashi, Samuel b. Meir, and Joseph Kara. Although he did not cite these commentators frequently, it is quite clear that he relied upon them. Eliezer held Rashi in great esteem and called him simply "our teacher" or "our illustrious teacher."

In his attempts to give a literal exegesis of the Bible Eliezer ignored rabbinic exegesis to an even greater degree than his French colleagues. He occasionally referred to the Midrashim but adds that he would not utilize them since they were not in accordance with the plain sense of the verse (cf. his comments on Zech. 7:3; Ezek. 43:17). His comments on certain verses conflicted with the *halakhah* (e.g., Isa. 9:6). Nevertheless, he did concur at times with the homiletical interpretation. Eliezer attempted to identify the historical events alluded to by the prophets and their significance, sometimes interpreting the events to apply to the prophets' own times; on other occasions he applied them to the future. In his identifications he was greatly influenced by the *Sefer *Josippon*. He also placed greater emphasis than did his French predecessors on the problems of dating the prophecies and the editing of the books (cf. his introduction to Isaiah). Like his contemporary, Joseph *Bekhor Shor, Eliezer attempted to give a rational explanation of the supernatural miracles (e.g., Isa. 30:26; Zech. 4:3). On the other hand he believed that the constellations influenced man's fate. Orion and the Pleiades controlled the movements of the planets and at their command the world was destined for good or evil, war or peace, famine or plenty, everything in its season (Amos 5:8 and in greater detail in Isa. 38:1). His comments were usually brief and to the point, but his comments on the building of the Temple in Ezekiel constitute an exception which he justified because of the farfetched interpretations given by other exegetes.

In its simplicity and clarity Eliezer's style was similar to that of his French colleagues. His language was studded with biblical and talmudic phrases and expressions, but he also coined new terms and expressions. Eliezer paid little attention to questions of grammar. Like Rashi, he followed the system of *Menahem b. Saruq and *Dunash ibn Labrat. In his exegesis he was usually guided by the cantillation signs (e.g., Isa. 6:3), though occasionally he disregarded them. On occasion he drew upon the Targum, but here also he did not hesitate to disagree when he felt that its interpretation was contrary to the literal meaning. In order to determine the exact biblical text Eliezer examined various manuscripts which were available to him in France. There were instances when the spelling in his text differed from the present masoretic text (e.g., Ezek. 8:16; Micah 6:7). Many of the French words (**la'azim*) of which he makes use are derived from Rashi's commentary. Eliezer resorted to the Vulgate, which he attacked together with Christological interpretations of the Bible (cf. Isa. 7:14; 9:5). At times his remarks reflect the conditions of his own times. For instance, in his commentary on Ezekiel 37:12, "I shall bring you to the land of Israel," he stated: "This verse is a great comfort to all those who die a martyr's death and even to those who do not make the supreme sacrifice since they constantly suffer shame, disgrace, and physical abuse when they refuse to acknowledge false gods."

BIBLIOGRAPHY: S. Poznański (ed.), *Perush al Yeḥezkel u-Terei Asar le-Rabbi Eli'ezer mi-Belganzi* (1913), introduction.

[Avraham Grossman]

ELIEZER OF TOUL (d. before 1234), French tosafist. Eliezer came from Toul, near the German border. He studied under *Isaac b. Samuel the Elder of Dampierre. For some time he lived in Boppard, Germany, where he served as a tutor in the household of one of the local leaders of the community. When the latter withheld his remuneration, the case was referred to the rabbis. Eliezer's talmudic discussions appear in the works of later **posekim*, the disciples of *Meir b. Baruch of Rothenburg. Zedekiah b. Abraham *Anav of Rome mentions that he consulted his *tosafot* to tractate *Beẓah*, but these have not survived.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Urbach, Tosafot, 277 f., 285.

[Israel Moses Ta-Shma]

ELIEZER OF TOUQUES (d. before 1291), one of the last tosafists and editors of tosafist literature. Only a few details of his biography are known. He was a nephew of *Hezekiah of Magdeburg and appears to be identical with the Eliezer b. Solomon who signed a well-known responsum on the question of whether the **Ḥerem ha-Yishuv* applied to the community of *Goslar. He studied under *Isaac b. Moses (Or Zaru'a) and was the teacher of Ḥayyim *Paltiel. Eliezer's contemporaries had the highest regard for him, considering him an equal of *Meir b. Baruch of Rothenburg. Isaac Joshua b. Immanuel de *Lattes looked upon him as "head of the yeshivah of France," a post later attributed to *Perez b. Elijah of Corbeil. The **tosafot* of Eliezer of Touques are primarily an adaptation of those of *Samson b. Abraham of Sens, with the addition of later novellae. He sometimes adapted the *tosafot* of other scholars, among them *Judah b. Isaac Sir Leon. The disciples of Meir b. Baruch of Rothenburg used Eliezer's *tosafot* extensively, and it was through them that they became the accepted *tosafot* of France and Germany. Consequently the publishers of the Talmud also made an effort to include them, in order to enhance the value of their publication. The *tosafot* to the tractates *Shabbat, Pesaḥim, Ketubbot, Gittin, Bava Kamma, Bava Meẓia, Bava Batra, Shevu'ot*, and *Ḥullin* in the printed editions of the Talmud, and possibly also of some other tractates, were edited by Eliezer.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Urbach, Tosafot, index.

[Israel Moses Ta-Shma]

ELIHU (Heb. אֱלִיהוּא, once אֱלִיהוּ; "God is the one [who is to be thanked, or worshipped]"), son of Barachel the Buzite, of the family of Ram, a character – first introduced, and quite unexpectedly, at Job 32:2 – who addresses Job and his three friends from 32:6 through chapter 37. (For the literary problem this creates and an analysis of Elihu's contribution to the discussion, see *Job, Book of.) The names assigned to Elihu and to his father (Barachel, "God has [or "is"] blessed") may hint that the author of these chapters approves of the point of view that Elihu represents. The tribe and family assigned to him, however ("the Buzite, of the family of Ram"), are obviously chosen, like for example, the name and tribe of *Eliphaz the Temanite, in order to conform to the setting of the oldest stratum of the Book of Job ("the land of *Uz," Job 1:1; "the *Kedemites," 1:3b); for according to Genesis 22:21, Buz was a younger brother of Uz and an uncle of Aram, with whom the Septuagint and Symmachus, probably rightly, identify this Ram. A less likely possibility is the connection of Elihu's ancestry to Ram, grandson of Judah in the late sources (Ruth 4:19; I Chr. 2:9) that are followed by the New Testament (Matt. 1:2).

[Harold Louis Ginsberg]

In the *Aggadah*

The *aggadah* praises both the wisdom and modesty of Elihu. He was called "*buzi*" (lit. "lowly"; Job 32:2), only because he considered himself of low account in the presence of those greater than himself (Zohar, 2:166a), and showed his wisdom in never speaking until he had listened to what Job had to say (ARN^1 37, 111–112). His wisdom is reflected in his statement: "Touching the Almighty, we can never find Him out" (Job 37:23). He would have merited to be mentioned in Scriptures had he done no more than describe the action of the rainfall (cf. Job 36:27 and 37:3; Gen. R. 36:7). Elihu was a prophet (Sot. 15b) and descended from Nahor, the brother of Abraham (SER 28, 141–2).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Ginzberg, Legends, index; Y. Ḥasida, *Ishei ha-Tanakh* (1964), 65–66.

ELIJAH (Heb. אֵלִיָּהוּ, also אֵלִיָּה), Israelite prophet active in Israel in the reigns of *Ahab and Ahaziah (ninth century B.C.E.). In the opinion of some scholars, the designation "the Tishbite of the inhabitants of Gilead" (I Kings 17:1) supports the hypothesis that Elijah did not live in one specific place in Gilead but was a member of either the *Kenites or the *Rechabites, sects which led a nomadic existence. These scholars detect even in his resolute war against *Baal and in his zeal for Yahweh a line of conduct which they believe was characteristic of the Kenites and Rechabites but not of the nation at large. (For the role of Jehonadab son of Rechab in Jehu's purge of Baal, see II Kings 10:15–17.) But the accounts of Elijah's wanderings (I Kings 17) describe his withdrawal from society as a matter not of principle but of necessity (persecution, famine). In addition, the reading "of the inhabitants of Gilead" is suspect. It is impossible to decide whether "Elijah" was a cognomen symbolizing the prophet's mission: Eli-Jahu ("YHWH is God"), or whether he had been given that name by parents zealous for Yahweh. Elijah brought matters to a head by stressing the idea of zeal for YHWH, which unconditionally opposed the toleration of any cult (especially any official cult) other than that of YHWH in Israel. This extremist position, summed up in the sentence "I have been moved by zeal for the Lord, the God of Hosts" (I Kings 19:10, 14), was a minority opinion among Israelites, who evidently could comfortably serve Yahweh and Baal (I Kings 18:21), let alone intrinsically different from the polytheistic outlook, which never opposed in principle the blending of different religious cults, or their separate existence side by side. Even *Jezebel, who fought against zealots like Elijah and is accused of killing the Yahweh prophets (I Kings 18:13), was probably not opposed to the worship of Yahweh per se, but to the demand that he be worshipped exclusively at the expense of Baal. Ahab, in fact, gave his sons the names Ahaz-iah and Jeho-ram, which are compounded with the name of the national god YHWH. For the "Yahweh-alone" zealots, it was insufficient to worship Yahweh as the national god while tolerating others. The attitude of Elijah and those of like mind was liable to impair relations between Israel and her neighbors. Because of this, Elijah's activity encountered opposition from the royal court whose policy was to cultivate economic ties with Israel's neighbors and specifically with Tyre. Ahab saw no more harm in showing tolerance toward the religion of the people of Tyre and establishing a place of worship in Samaria than did Solomon who had acted similarly in behalf of his foreign wives (I Kings 11:7–8). But Elijah, whose attitude to the Sidonians themselves was not hostile (cf. the incident at Zarephath, which belonged to Sidon, I Kings 17:8–16), believed that it was his people's obligation to preserve within its own borders a "pure" religious cult that did not recognize any other gods but Yahweh. Hence, his vehement opposition to the cults of Baal and *Asherah of Sidon, supported by the royal court.

The most dramatic point of Elijah's activity was the confrontation on Mount Carmel. In response to Elijah's demands, Ahab assembled "all Israel unto Mount Carmel" together with 850 prophets of Baal and Asherah (I Kings 18:19). In their presence and that of the king, Elijah turned to the people: "How long will you keep limping between the two boughs? [Thus Joseph Caspi] If Yahweh is God, follow Him; and if Baal, follow him" (18:21). While the priests of Baal were offering up their sacrifices and calling "O Baal hear us," cutting themselves with knives and lances until the blood gushed out, Elijah mockingly suggested that they cry more loudly, since their god might be asleep or his attention otherwise engaged. Only after their prolonged pleas and cries proved of no avail did Elijah step forward to repair the demolished altar of Yahweh, make all the necessary preparations for the sacrifice, and offer up a short prayer. According to the biblical narrative, fire immediately descended from heaven, consuming the burnt sacrifice, and all the people of Israel present fell on their faces chanting, "Yahweh, He is the God; Yahweh, He is the God." At Elijah's command those present attacked and killed the prophets of Baal. The king showed no sign of opposition to Elijah's actions. This story is interwoven with another occurrence, which has a historical foundation, connected with the drought, the beginning and end of which were prophesied by Elijah. A short while after the events on Mount Carmel, the sky became black with clouds and heavy rain began to fall (I Kings 18:45). This was seen by Elijah and his followers as a sign that God had forgiven the repentant people their sin of Baal-worship which had been the cause of the drought (cf. I Kings 17:1). The Tyrian chronicle of Menander, which is generally reliable (Ant., 8:323–4), confirms that a drought occurred at that time, though it ascribes the rains to the prayers of Ethbaal (Ithobal) of Tyre, Ahab's father-in-law.

Elijah triumphed over the adversaries of Yahweh on the border of Tyre and Israel, and the altar on Mount Carmel remained in existence for some time (II Kings 2:25; 4:25). However, Jezebel was furious over the massacre of the prophets of Baal and launched a bloody war against Elijah and his followers, According to I Kings 19, Elijah was forced to flee to the desert south of Beersheba, where, tired and disheartened, he longed to die. However, while he was lying in a mood of despair under a broom bush, an angel appeared, strengthened Elijah with food and drink, and urged him to continue his journey. Elijah traveled 40 days until he reached Mount Horeb. There, in the place where the Lord had revealed Himself to Moses, He appeared to Elijah. The description of the revelation to Elijah differs from similar revelations which the Bible recounts as taking place on Mount Sinai. Fearful phenomena such as tempests, fire, and a general cacophony accompanied the revelation there also, but the Bible stresses specifically that these mighty forces appeared before the revelation of the Lord; that the Lord did not reveal Himself within them but rather in a still, small voice.

It is the task of the prophet to listen to the voice of God and pass on its message to the people. Since Elijah had fulfilled his prophetic task and the people had failed to stand by him in his war against Jezebel, retribution was merely a matter of time. The instruments of God's retribution were to be *Hazael, who was to assume power in Syria; *Jehu, the future king of Israel; and *Elisha, Elijah's successor. Elijah was commanded to anoint all three (I Kings 19:15–16), but the narrative makes it clear that he only appointed Elisha as a prophet and passed on to him the task of anointing Hazael and Jehu. Elisha, in turn, anointed only Hazael, and Jehu was anointed by one of the "sons of the prophets" at the behest of Elisha. All these actions, however, were carried out in the spirit of Elijah's ideals, with the aim of uprooting the worship of Baal in Israel. Despite the sharp conflict between Elijah and the royal palace over Baal-worship, there is no conclusive evidence that because of this Elijah prophesied the destruction of Ahab's house; in fact, the accusation of Baal-worship was leveled equally against the masses and the royal household. What finally caused Elijah to prophesy the complete destruction of the House of Ahab was the crime committed against *Naboth.

Elijah's last deed in the days of Ahaziah son of Ahab also reflects his zeal for the Lord. When Ahaziah fell ill and sent to inquire of Baal-zebub, the god of Ekron, whether or not he would recover, his messengers were intercepted by Elijah who asked, "Is it because there is no God in Israel that you are going to inquire of Baal-zebub the god of Ekron? Now therefore, thus says the Lord, you shall not come down from the bed which you have mounted, but shall surely die" (II Kings 1:3–4). In contrast to his relations with Ahab, on this occasion Elijah had no dealings with the king; he passed his judgment on to the king and after a short while his words were fulfilled. It seems that the difference lay in the nature of the king's fault – open consultation of a foreign god, a sin which Ahab never committed. The account in II Kings 1–2 makes it difficult to establish whether Elijah's activity ceased during the reign of Ahaziah or in that of his brother and successor Jehoram. According to II Chronicles 21:12, Elijah sent a letter to Jehoram son of *Jehoshaphat, the king of Judah. It is likely however that the letter was sent while Jehoram was acting as regent for Jehoshaphat (according to Thiele, 853–848 B.C.E.), and it is therefore possible that the event occurred in the lifetime of Ahab. By the time Jehoram of Judah was king in his own right, Elisha had succeeded Elijah. Elijah's standing was bolstered by wonder-tales. He was fed bread and meat by ravens (I Kings 17:6) at the divine command. As an *ish-elohim* ("Man of God," i.e, divine messenger, he miraculously caused a jar of flour and a jug of oil to keep on producing for the benefit of a poor woman whose son he subsequently raised from the dead (I Kings 17:7–24). It was believed that a divine wind could take him from one place to another (I Kings 18:11). He could bring rain and then, seized by the hand of YHWH, outrun the royal chariot from Mount Carmel to Jezreel (I Kings 18:46). That being the case, we should not be surprised that Elijah did not die but was carried to heaven in a chariot and horses of fire (II Kings 2:1–11). Elijah was well-known by his gait and manner of dress. Ahaziah's envoys described him as wearing "a garment of haircloth, with a girdle of leather about his loins" (II Kings 1:8). Miraculous powers were attributed to Elijah's cloak. As Elijah ascended to heaven, his cloak dropped to the ground and with its help Elisha too performed miracles (*ibid.* 2:8, 13). II Chr. 21:12–15 expands on Elijah's activity by attributing to the prophet a letter to King Jehoram of Judah prophesying dire punishment for worshipping foreign gods and for fratricide. The prophecy at the end of Malachi (3:23) that the prophet Elijah would be sent to the people before the coming of "the great and fearful day of YHWH" came within Judaism to mean that Elijah would herald the coming of the *Messiah. Some early Christians, accordingly, identified *John the Baptist with Elijah (Matt. 11:14; 17:10–13).

[Joshua Gutmann / S. David Sperling (2nd ed.)]

In the *Aggadah*

The deep impression left by Elijah's revolutionary ministry and his miraculous translation to heaven in a "chariot of fire" drawn by "horses of fire" (II Kings 2:11) had already made Elijah a legendary figure in biblical times. Malachi's final prophecy that Elijah would be sent by God "before the coming of the great and terrible day of the Lord," so that he may "turn the hearts of the fathers to the children, and the hearts of the children to their fathers" (Mal. 3:23ff.), became the point of departure for the subsequent association of Elijah with the Messianic age.

Ben Sira (c. 200 B.C.E.), in his eulogy of Elijah, attributed the future restoration of "the tribes of Jacob" to him (Ecclus. 48:10). By the first century C.E., it was taken for granted that Elijah was to be the precursor and herald of the Messiah. Jesus himself was at first believed to be Elijah, but when he revealed his own messianic claim, he proclaimed John the Baptist as having been the reincarnated Elijah (Matt. 11:10ff.; 17:10ff.; Mark 9:11ff.).

It was perhaps against this Christian and sectarian tendency to associate Elijah with religiously dubious and politically dangerous movements that attempts were made to counter the excessive veneration accorded to Elijah among apocalyptic-sectarian and Christian circles. It was, accordingly, denied that Elijah had ever gone up to heaven (Suk. 5a), biblical evidence to the contrary notwithstanding. Elijah's habit of revealing divine secrets to pious mortals (cf. BM 59b) once earned him a severe punishment of 60 lashes of fire (BM 85b). Elijah's denunciation of Israel for having forsaken the divine covenant (cf. I Kings 19:10, 14) had so angered God that He dismissed Elijah from His service and appointed Elisha in his place (Song R. 1:6, no. 1; cf. I Kings 19:16). Above all, the scope of Elijah's future tasks was limited to the solution of certain halakhic problems (Eduy. 8:7; Tosef., Eduy. 3:4). Subsequently, too, it was believed that "when Elijah comes, he will tell us" (Ber. 35b; cf. Men. 45a; Bek. 24a). He was indeed supposed to have his own court (Av. Zar. 36a), and legal problems which defied solution were to be referred to him (Shek. 2:5; BM 1:8; 2:8; 3:4–5; Men. 63a). Nevertheless, the predominant tannaitic view was that Elijah was not only to solve halakhic disputes, but also to be the great peacemaker in the world (Eduy. 8:7).

Rabbis and pious men endowed with a mystical frame of mind established a spiritual communion with Elijah and were reputed to have been guided by him in their studies (cf. *Tanna de-Vei Eliyahu*, ed. M. Friedmann, 27ff.; Ginzberg, Legends, 4 (1913), 217–23). Nine aggadic *beraitot* in the Talmud are introduced by the words "It was taught at Elijah's school" (cf. Friedmann op. cit. 44ff. for a complete list). Although these *beraitot* may have originated from a compilation by a *tanna* called Elijah (Ginzberg, Legends, 6 (1928), 330, n. 70) or from a school called after Elijah (Friedmann, op. cit., 60–61), they were soon attributed to the prophet. In post-talmudic times, the Midrash *Tanna de-Vei Eliyahu* ("It was taught at Elijah's school") was likewise believed to have emanated from the prophet's own "school."

Despite such relatively restricted rules assigned to Elijah by the rabbis, his primary task of heralding the redemption of Israel was never forgotten (cf. also the third benediction after the reading of the *haftarah*), and in the post-talmudic era it assumed primary importance in Jewish eschatology (cf. PR 35:161). Even earlier, Elijah appears almost invariably in the role of one who is deeply concerned about Israel's suffering and exile, and who does what he can to speed the day of deliverance. In a beautiful tannaitic *aggadah*, R. Yose relates how Elijah once told him that "whenever Israelites enter synagogues and houses of study… the Holy One, Blessed be He, as it were shakes His head and says: Happy is the king who is thus praised in his house! Woe to the father who exiled his children, and woe to the children who are banished from their father's table" (Ber. 3a).

R. Simeon b. Yoḥai, a relentless opponent of Roman rule who had to flee from Roman persecution, was freed from his hiding place in a cave by Elijah's announcement that the emperor had died (Shab. 33b). As the carrier of good tidings for Israel (cf. the Grace after Meals, in which Elijah is assigned the function of bringing good news to the Jewish people), Elijah inevitably became the antithesis of Rome and all it stood for. Thus, he sharply rebuked R. Ishmael b. Yose who had undertaken police work on behalf of the Romans: "How long will you deliver the people of our God for execution?" (BM 83b–84a). Similarly, when the pious R. Joshua b. Levi, who was said to have been in constant communication with Elijah (cf. Sanh. 98a; Mak. 11a; Gen. R. 35:2), persuaded a Jew sought by the Roman authorities to give himself up, thereby saving the entire Jewish community of Lydda from destruction, Elijah shunned R. Joshua for about 30 days. Later he explained that he could not be "a companion to informers": and although R. Joshua had acted according to mishnaic law, Elijah maintained that "this should have been done by others, not by you" (TJ, Ter. 8:10, 46b; Gen. R. 94:9, end).

On another occasion, Elijah told R. Joshua b. Levi that the Messiah was to be found among the beggars of Rome ready and willing to redeem Israel, although, as he subsequently explained, only if they repented and obeyed God (Sanh. 98a). A late Midrash, however, maintained that Israel would repent only when Elijah made his public appearance (PdRE 43, end).

Elijah's association with the Messiah became more pronounced in the late talmudic and post-talmudic ages. Increasingly, Elijah becomes not only a precursor, but an active partner of the Messiah. Both Elijah and the Messiah are busy recording the good deeds of the righteous, no doubt with a view to hastening the day of Israel's redemption (Lev. R. 34:8; Ruth R. 5:6). Ultimately, Elijah and the Messiah are to be among four world conquerors (Song R. 2:13, no. 4); though, according to one Midrash, Elijah himself is destined to overthrow the foundations of the heathen (Gen. R. 71:9). Elijah is, indeed, accorded the exclusive privilege of bringing about the resurrection of the dead (Sot. 9:15 end; cf. Song R. 1:1, no. 9) – no doubt because of his achievement in reviving the son of the widow of Zarephath (I Kings 17:17ff.).

Elijah's solicitude for Israel's safety was also demonstrated in the past. Thus, when Haman was threatening to exterminate the Jews, Elijah was said to have intervened with the Patriarchs and with Moses to secure their intercession with the Almighty. At the decisive moment he appeared in the guise of Harbonah to denounce Haman (Esth. R. 7:13; 10:9). Likewise, at the time of the siege of Jerusalem by the Babylonians, Elijah was searching among those who were languishing with hunger in the hope of saving those who might renounce idolatry (Sanh. 63b).

Of equal concern to Elijah were individual pious Jews who happened to be in trouble. Among those whose lives were saved or whose health was restored by Elijah's timely appearance in various guises were Nahum of Gimzo (Ta'an. 21a; Sanh. 109a), R. Meir (Av. Zar. 18b), R. Eleazar b. Perata (Av. Zar. 17b), Judah ha-Nasi (TJ, Kil. 9:4, 32b; Gen. R. 33:3; 96:5), R. Shila (Ber. 58a), R. Kahana (Kid. 40a), and many others (cf. also Matt. 27:47ff., and see Mark 15:35–36 for similar expectations in connection with Jesus' crucifixion). Innumerable legends and stories are still told of the poor and hopeless being aided by Elijah.

It was because of Elijah's great love for Israel that he had boldly assumed an attitude of insolence toward God, Whom he blamed for turning their hearts away from Him (cf. I Kings 18:37). God, however, eventually agreed with him (Ber. 31b–32a). The furious zeal displayed by Elijah on that occasion (cf. I Kings 18:40; 19:10, 14) was so similar to that shown by Aaron's grandson Phinehas (cf. Num. 25:7ff.; Ps. 106:30) that in rabbinic literature the two are often identified, either expressly or by implication (PdRE 47; cf. BM 114a–b; Kid. 70a; Num. R. 21:3; Targ. Yer., Num. 25:12), and both are, accordingly, regarded as immortal (BB 121b; Gen. R. 21:5; 25:1; Num. R. 21:3).

Elijah is often associated with Moses in both rabbinic and Christian literature – first because Elijah was to inaugurate Israel's future redemption just as Moses had liberated the Israelites from Egyptian bondage; second, because his career resembled that of Moses' inasmuch as both were granted revelations at Mount Sinai in somewhat similar circumstances (Ex. 3:2; 19:16ff.; 20:18; Deut. 4:11ff., 33ff.; I Kings 19:11–12); and since, moreover, Malachi's admonition to "remember the law of Moses" and his prediction of the future mission of Elijah are in close juxtaposition (Mal. 3:22–24). Elijah appears as a disciple and follower of Moses and also as a fellow prophet active in the same cause of delivering Israel, in which both are to participate on the advent of the messianic age (Tosef., Sot. 4:7; Tosef., Eduy. 3:4; Sot. 13a; TJ, Sanh. 10:1, 28a; Ex. R. 44:1; Num. R. 18:12; Lam. R. 1:2, no. 23; Matt. 17:3ff.; Mark 9:4ff.; Luke 9:30ff. et al. For a detailed comparison of the careers of Moses and Elijah, see PR 4:13).

[Moses Aberbach]

In Mysticism

According to *Moses b. Shem Tov de Leon, Elijah belongs to the angels who advocated the creation of man (Cordovero, *Pardes Rimmonim*, 24:14); accordingly, Elijah is an angel who dwelt only temporarily on earth as a human being, before again ascending to heaven. Moses *Cordovero compares Elijah's life with the fate of Enoch (*ibid.*, 24:13), as the two are the only biblical personages who were carried off from earthly life in an extraordinary manner. The further fate of Elijah and Enoch in heaven is imaginatively described by Jewish mystics. While Enoch's body is consumed by fire and he himself is changed into *Metatron, the highest angel, Elijah remains after his ascension in possession of his earthly shape, which is why he can maintain his association with the human world and, when necessary, reappear on earth. Though his body is not made from dust like that of human beings but came from the tree of life, it enables him to carry out God's commands and miracles (*ibid.*; Zohar, 1:29a; 2:197a; Yalk. R. 27). Therefore, unlike Enoch who is known only as the archangel Metatron, Elijah keeps his name under which he intervenes in the fate of the Jewish people. The *Zohar, like the Talmud, tells of devout men to whom Elijah is supposed to have revealed himself. In the later mystic literature, Elijah's comments on the secrets of the Torah are extremely frequent. Elijah prophesied the births of Isaac *Luria and *Israel b. Eliezer Baal Shem Tov to their parents. He appeared frequently to Israel Baal Shem Tov, and also played an important part in the legends of the *Ẓaddikim*.

[Samuel Abba Horodezky]

In Jewish Folklore

Many of the legends and stories in written and oral Jewish folk literature are spun around biblical and post-biblical (historical) figures and legendary characters. Among these Elijah is a favorite hero and overshadows other popular folklore protagonists: e.g., Moses, King David, King Solomon, Maimonides, and such local sages as R. Shalom *Shabbazi of Yemen, R. Ḥayyim b. Moses *Attar of Morocco, R. Israel b. Eliezer Baal Shem Tov of the ḥasidic legend, and others. The redemptive motif associated with Elijah in rabbinic literature as the herald of the future redemption of Israel and of the messianic era is not stressed in folklore; he is rather portrayed as the heavenly emissary sent on earth to combat social injustice. He rewards the poor who are hospitable and punishes the greedy rich. In his attempts to right wrongs, he seeks to bridge the gap of social inequality and does not hesitate to punish the unjust, regardless of their status even if they be rabbis or respected communal leaders. In Joseph Shabbethai Farḥi's collection of folktales, *Oseh Pele* (vol. 2 (1954), 114), Elijah strangles the local rabbi while the latter rests after the **seder*. The prophet admonishes the rabbi: "You collected all the money as charity, but you distributed it according to your own will. The cries [of the needy] reached heaven and came before God, the Almighty…" Many of the stories about Elijah are outcries of the wretched and unfortunate against the proud and oppressive elements in the Jewish community and were used by the authors as a vehicle for social protest. At the same time, these legends are a type of comfort and solace to the poor. Elijah appears especially on the eve of *Passover when he punishes the misers and provides the despairing poor with the necessaries to prepare the *seder*. His activities continue late into the *seder* night; the Cup of Elijah is placed in the center of the festive table and the prophet is expected to announce the redeemer. Elijah also alleviates the burdens of Jewish communities suffering from religious and national persecution, and exposes *blood libels – mainly occurring on Passover – as absurd and perfidious calumnies.

Elijah's benign acts and the miracles he performs extend beyond the specifically Jewish sphere and have their parallel in other folklore. A recurrent theme in the Elijah legends is the prophet's ability to ward off the *Angel of Death from the young fated to die (a motif rooted in the biblical revival story); this he usually does by advising them to study the Torah. A healing agent, he also blesses the barren with fertility and is able to interpret occult events and visions described in cryptic passages in the Torah and in the Talmud. Another prevalent Elijah motif is the prophet's task to act as provider, based on his biblical endowment to make rain. He confers an inexhaustible barrel of oil on Mayer Amschel Rothschild, distributes magic money-making boxes to the poor but deprives them of this heavenly gift when they become uncharitable and stop giving alms. In the Yiddish song "God of Abraham," chanted by East European Jewish women at the termination of the Sabbath, Elijah is heralded as Israel's redeemer, but since the song is chanted at the beginning of the new week, it also stresses his role as provider. Since Elijah did not die, and is thought to wander the earth, usually disguised as a poor man, a beggar, or a gentile peasant, there are those who are eager to meet him, or at least to see him in a dream (*Gillui Eliyahu*, "Elijah's revelation"). The practical Kabbalah and Jewish folk beliefs describe ways to bring this about. His name is, therefore, also inscribed on many amulets, especially in the areas influenced by Islamic culture.

The stories and beliefs revolving around Elijah were the subject of many *chapbooks composed in Yiddish, Ladino, and Judeo-Arabic dialects. All these legends testify not only to the popularity of the prophet among all Jewish communities, but also reveal the close affinity in Jewish folklore between written and oral literature and customs (see *Elijah, Chair of; *Elijah, Cup of). Many of the customs associated with Elijah can be explained by etiological tales. Their setting is usually an Elijah cave or shrine found on Mount Sinai, at Haifa, Alexandria, Cairo, Damascus, Aleppo, etc. The miracles in these tales, which are mainly of a healing nature, often give the name and describe the origin of the cave. Elijah's role in the circumcision ceremony is not only associated with the "Chair of Elijah," but he heals and is the guardian angel of the newborn Jewish child during the "critical birth" period (lasting at least 30 days from the date of birth). Numerous religious and secular folk songs and dances testify to this fact. Many proverbial sayings and aphorisms grew around Elijah's name. The most popular among them "until Elijah arrives," used when referring to a doubtful and unsolved matter, is similar to the folk explanation of the word תיקו (*teiku*), which is actually a form of תיקום "let it stand," "stalemate," as a **notarikon* consisting of the initial letters of *Tishbi yetareẓ kushyot u-veʾayot* "the Tishbite (Elijah) will resolve difficulties and problems." Though the main stream of the Elijah folklore is associated with his socionational and religious roles, the prophet – as is usual with popular folk heroes – is also a protagonist in witty tales, folk jokes, and humoristic stories. In these Elijah is identified with, or is the guardian angel of, the simpleminded Jew who at the end of the story is victorious; a factor which testifies to a type of wishful thinking at the root of Jewish folklore.

[Dov Noy]

In Islam

According to the Koran (Sura 37:123–130), Ilyās (Elijah) was one of the apostles sent to his people to admonish them to fear God and not worship Baal. They, however, regarded him as a liar. In Sura 6:85 he is mentioned among the righteous ones, together with figures from the New Testament who included ʿĪsā (Jesus). The commentators of the Koran and the authors of Muslim legend enlarge upon this limited information and explain that Ilyās lived during the days of Ahab and Jezebel. They also add that he was the fourth generation (!) after Aaron the Priest. In light of the Bible and the Midrashim they shaped the figure of the prophet who wages war against the worshipers of Baal and its priests, even though they occasionally change the names of the characters: Ahab becomes

Lājab, Jezebel becomes Arbil (this difference is due to omission of the diacritical mark on the letter *R*).

[Haïm Z'ew Hirschberg]

In the Arts

Elijah has inspired a wealth of literary material, mainly in the form of drama and verse. However, apart from an early appearance in the 17th-century medieval English *Stonyhurst Pageants*, he only began to receive serious attention in the late 18th century, when the Countess de Genlis included *La Veuve de Sarepta* in her sacred plays and T.S. Dupuis wrote his English dramatic poem *Elijah* (1789). These were followed in the 19th century by the U.S. writer R. Davidson's *Elijah, a sacred drama…* (1860), and by two Hebrew poems: *Tiferet ha-Tishbi* (1839) by Max E. Stern (1811–1873) and *Ru'aḥ Eliyahu ha-Tishbi* (1879) by Samuel Loeb Silbermann. The subject acquired greater popularity in the 20th century, when writers invested Elijah with fresh social or political significance. The pioneer Yiddish dramatist Peretz *Hirschbein contributed *Eliyohu der Novi* (1916), a comedy portraying the sudden arrival of Elijah at the home of a poor Jew; and Ben Jair (Moritz Golde) wrote a three-part dramatic poem entitled *Elijahu* (1914). Between the world wars the English author Clemence Dane wrote her play *Naboth's Vineyard* (1925) and John Kinmont Hart a poem entitled *Prophet of a Nameless God* (1927). During the period of World War II and immediately following it, there were further works, such as *The Vineyard* (1943), a drama about Elijah, Ahab, and Jezebel by the Earl of Longford; Norman Nicholson's verse play *The Old Man of the Mountains* (1946); and Helmut Huber's German drama *Elias* (1947). Nicholson's play set the Elijah-Ahab conflict in the North of England, the prophet here appearing as the champion of the working classes. Mid-20th century treatments of the subject include Jean Bothwell's *Flame in the Sky…* (1954); Heinrich Bela Zador's *Die Erfuellung* (1958; *Hear the Word!*, 1962), a novel about Elijah and Elisha; and a late work by Martin *Buber, *Elija; ein Mysterienspiel* (1963).

The prophet Elijah is also a prominent figure in Christian art of both East and West. From Greece, where the name was assimilated to Helios (god of the sun), his cult spread to Byzantium and Russia. In the West, the cult was propagated to some extent by the foundation of the Carmelite Order, so named because Elijah, its patron and "founder," is associated with Mount Carmel. Through this patronage Elijah acquired the attribute of a white mantle, the dress of the Order. In Christian typology, Elijah figures as the precursor of John the Baptist; like him he is an ascetic, living in the desert, and like him he is shown as emaciated and wearing a hair-tunic. Elijah, however, also prefigures Jesus: his despair in the desert parallels the Agony in the Garden; the resurrection of the son of the widow of Zarephath (I Kings 17:8–24) is seen as a prefiguration of the resuscitation of Lazarus; and his ascension in a chariot of fire is equated with the Ascension of Jesus. Even the fire of heaven which ignites his sacrificial offering is likened to the descent of the Holy Spirit at Pentecost. Elijah cycles exist in several Carmelite environments. Examples include a 12th-century storiated capital from the Carmelite cloister of Trie (now in Tarbes); paintings of the school of Jörg Ratgeb in the refectory of the Carmelite convent at Hirschhorn am Neckar (1507); 17th-century windows in the Carmelite church of Antwerp; and 18th-century paintings by Jean-Baptiste Despax in the chapel of the Carmelites in Toulouse. The beautiful Russian church dedicated to Elijah at Yaroslavl on the Volga (17th century) is painted with scenes from his life.

The important scenes in Elijah's life are Elijah fed by ravens, Elijah fed by the widow of Zarephath (Sarepta), the resurrection of the widow's son, Elijah comforted by an angel in the wilderness, the sacrifices on Mount Carmel, the massacre of the prophets of Baal, Naboth's vineyard, the smiting of the Jordan, and the ascension in a chariot of fire. These have received varying emphasis in iconographic treatment, those most favored being the ravens, the widow, the angel, and the ascension. The feeding of the ravens appears in a 14th-century fresco in a monastery on Mount Athos; in a 15th-century fresco in a church at Lublin, Poland; in a privately owned painting by Guercino (1620); and in a work by Washington Allston (1779–1843). The widow of Zarephath and her sticks and the resurrection of her son appear in the synagogue of *Dura-Europos; the widow is also depicted in a window at Chartres (12th century) and another at Bourges (13th century); in the 16th-century tapestry of La Chaise-Dieu; and in a painting by Jean Massys (1565). The resurrection of the widow's son also occurs at Bourges; in an icon of Pskov (Tretiakovskaya Gallery, Moscow; 16th century); and in a curious late 19th-century watercolor by Ford Madox Brown (Tate Gallery, London). The angel in the desert appears in a fresco in Orvieto Cathedral (14th century); in 16th-century paintings by Luini (Brera, Milan) and Tintoretto (Scuola di San Rocco, Venice); and in a Tiepolo ceiling in the archbishop's palace at Udine and a Rubens tapestry cartoon (17th century). The holocaust on Mount Carmel is represented at Athos and in a 16th-century fresco in Siena Cathedral by Beccafumi. The ascension of Elijah is, iconographically, in the strong classical tradition including Helios, Apollo, and Pluto. Some early examples are third- and fourth-century catacomb paintings and Christian sarcophagi. The Chapel of Golgotha in the Church of the Holy Sepulcher, Jerusalem, had an early mosaic representation of the scene and the subject also appears on the sixth-century wooden doors of Santa Sabina, Rome; in a ninth-century miniature of the Kosmas Indikopleustes manuscript (St. Catherine, Sinai); on the bronze door of Saint Sophia, Novgorod (1155); in Athos and Prague (14th century); in the 14th-century *Weltchronik* manuscript of Rudolf von Ems; and in paintings by Tintoretto (Scuola di San Rocco), Rubens, and Simon Vouet.

A rich and variegated selection of Elijah songs forms part of the folk and paraliturgical repertory of almost every Jewish community. In Christian music, the "History of Elijah and Ahab" occurs among Hungarian Protestant Bible songs of the 16th century (Hofgreff manuscript). Oratorio composers, from the 17th century onward, made use of the subject when the political climate was favorable, although no oratorios or cantatas about Elijah were composed for the French court. Some early examples are M. Cazzati's *Il Zelante Difeso* (Bologna, 1665), on Elijah and the priests of Baal; and the oratorios written for the Viennese court by composers such as Georg Reutter (1728) and Antonio Caldara (1729; libretto by Zeno). A comic opera after Kotzebue by Conradin Kreutzer, *Die Schlafmuetze des Propheten Elias* (1814), was by the whim of the censor retitled *Die Nachtmuetze…*, varying the term for nightcap. Felix *Mendelssohn's oratorio *Elijah*, first performed at the Birmingham Festival in 1846, has remained the outstanding musical interpretation of the prophet's character and deeds; it is also practically the only 19th-century oratorio that survives in the repertory and is most often performed in England, Germany (except during the Nazi era), and Israel. Abraham Zvi *Idelsohn's opera *Elijah* has yet to be published.

[Bathja Bayer]

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ELIJAH, APOCALYPSE OF, apocryphal work. In the *Stiehometry of Nicephorus*, a Christian list of biblical books and Apocrypha generally dated to the middle of the sixth century, there is the item, "Of the Prophet Elias, 316 *stichoi.*" Similar references are found in other early Christian lists and the *List of 60 Books* gives the title as *The Apocalypse of Elias.* The existence of such a work is confirmed by Origen's comment that the verse in I Corinthians 2:9 (Commentary to Matthew 27:9) is from the *Apocalypse of Elias the Prophet.* A similar claim is made by other Church Fathers, but Jerome, a great opponent of all apocryphal books, denies it vigorously (*Epistula LVII [ad Pammachium]*, 9). This same verse is quoted in the Ascension of Isaiah 11:34, definitely from I Corinthians and perhaps independently in Pseudo-Philo (*Antiquitatum biblicarum liber* 26:13), Clement of Alexandria (*Protrepticus* 10:94), and elsewhere. Likewise, some ancient sources attribute a quotation in Ephesians 5:14 to the same source (cf. Schuerer, Gesch, vol. 3, 361ff.).

Two Latin documents containing quotations from the *Apocalypse of Elijah* have been discovered, one of particular interest (de Bruyne, in *Revue Benedictine* (1908), 146ff.), presenting a description of the torments in Hell. A similar revelation is shown by Elijah to R. Joshua b. Levi in the *Chronicles of Jeraḥmeel* (ed. by M. Gaster (1899), 34ff.). De Bruyne published additional Latin materials relevant to the *Apocalypse of Elijah* in *Revue Benedictine* in 1925. There are also two later *Apocalypse of Elijah.* One, in Coptic, first published by G. Steindorff in 1899 (there is a 1981 edition: *The Apocalypse of Elijah, based on Pap. Chester Beatty 2018: Coptic text*, ed. and transl. by A. Pietersma and S. Turner Comstock, with H.W. Attridge), probably preserves a considerable body of older Jewish apocalyptic material, including descriptions of the Antichrist. Similar descriptions are also to be found in the Hebrew *Sefer Eliyahu*, a work edited with an explanation in German by M. Buttenwieser (1897), who discerned in it an apocalypse written about 260 C.E. with later, supplementary materials. A description of the Antichrist is also found in quotations attributed to the *Apocalypse of Elijah* in the fragments published by F. Nau in *Journal Asiatique* in 1917 (IIesérie, tome 9, p. 453ff.).

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[Michael E. Stone]

ELIJAH, CHAIR OF (Heb. כִּסֵּא שֶׁל אֵלִיָּהוּ, *kisse shel Eliyyahu*), a special chair placed at the right of the *sandak* (godfather) at the circumcision ceremony and left unoccupied. The chair is symbolically meant for Elijah the prophet, called "The Angel of Covenant" (Mal. 3:1; covenant = *berit* = circumcision). It is usually richly carved and ornamented with embroideries. The Shulḥan Arukh (YD 265:11) prescribes the reservation of a special chair or seat for Elijah, and the *mohel* (circumciser) refers to it in the opening prayer preceding the circumcision: "This is the chair of Elijah, blessed be his memory." The chair is also mentioned in the special *piyyut* for circumcision when the rite is performed on a Sabbath. Midrashic literature links the custom to Elijah's plaint to God that "the children of Israel have forsaken Thy covenant" (I Kings 19:10, 14). According to the homiletic interpretations of this verse, Elijah had complained that the Jewish people had disregarded the commandment of circumcision and God is said to have replied: "Because of excessive zeal for Me you have brought charges against Israel that they have forsaken My covenant; therefore you shall have to be present at every circumcision ceremony" (PdRE 29; Zohar, Gen. 93a). Since "the messenger [angel] of the Covenant," spoken of in Malachi 3:1, was identified with the prophet Elijah, it was only proper that the Angel of the Covenant should be present whenever a Jewish child entered the Covenant of Abraham (i.e., circumcision). Scholars have suggested that the custom is rooted in the belief in guardian angels for the newborn; Elijah is identified as the guardian angel of the Jewish child. Most probably, the biblical story (I Kings 17:17–24) in which Elijah revived the child of the widow was instrumental in creating this concept. Elijah is also the child protector in the inscription on *amulets against *Lilith. These were placed above the bed of the mother and the newborn child.

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ELIJAH, CUP OF (Heb. כּוֹסוֹ שֶׁל אֵלִיָּהוּ, *koso shel Eliyyahu*), term designating the cup of wine which is placed on the table of the *Passover eve ceremonial (*seder*), but which is not drunk. There was controversy among the rabbis whether the *seder* ritual required four or five cups. Since, according to traditional belief, all doubtful cases of tradition will be resolved "when Elijah comes," custom decreed that the fifth cup should be filled but not partaken of (cf. Pes. 118a; Maim., Yad, Ḥameẓ u-Maẓẓah 8:10). Later this custom became associated with the belief that Elijah had not died but had ascended to heaven in a fiery chariot (II Kings 2:11), and that he would return as the forerunner of the Messiah (Mal. 3:23). The festival of redemption from Egyptian bondage was naturally associated with the forerunner of the Messiah, who was expected in this "season of redemption" to herald the coming deliverance (cf. RH 11b). Hence the popular notion arose that the "cup of Elijah" was prepared to welcome the prophet who visited every Jewish home on the Passover night.

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ELIJAH BEN AARON BEN MOSES (also referred to as **Ibn-'Abd-al-Wālī** or *ha-dayyan*, "the judge"), Karaite author in Jerusalem; according to A. *Firkovich, he lived in the 15th century, and according to P.F. Fraenkel (see bibliography) in the 16th. He wrote the following works in Arabic: *Shurūṭ al-Dhabaḥāt*, on the laws of ritual slaughter; a key (*fihrist*) to Judah *Hadassi's *Eshkol ha-Kofer*; collectanea (manuscript in Jewish Theological Seminary, N.Y., presumably the same as *Sefer le-Eliyahu ha-Dayyan,* referred to in S. Pinsker, *Likkutei Kadmoniyyot* (1860), 192 no. 14); and a commentary on the weekly portion *Ha'azinu.* He also composed *Shevaḥ fī al-Torah*, a prayer on opening the Ark.

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[Jakob Naphtali Hertz Simchoni]

ELIJAH BEN ABRAHAM (first half of 12th century), Karaite scholar who may have lived in Ereẓ Israel. He wrote a polemical tract *Ḥilluk ha-Kara'im ve-ha-Rabbanim* ("The Controversy between the Karaites and the Rabbanites"). In this Elijah lists 14 Jewish sects of which there remained in his time only four: the *Rabbanites, the *Karaites, the Tiflisites, and the followers of the faith (i.e., sect) of *Meshwi al-Ukbari. Following *Kirkisānī and other Karaite writers, Elijah considers that the breach between Karaism and Rabbanite Judaism is traceable as early as the time of *Jeroboam I. Elijah was the first Karaite author to relate the questionable Karaite tradition according to which *Anan b. David and other Karaites were the first Avelei Zion ("Mourners of Zion") in Jerusalem. The list of Karaite sages in Elijah's work includes authors not known from other sources and also Rabbanite scholars such as *Judah b. Eli of Tiberias and Judah ibn Quraysh. The author states in conclusion that "although the *Rabbanim* go astray in most of the *mitzvot*, they are our brothers and our coreligionists. And our soul grieves for their errors."

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[Simha Katz]

ELIJAH BEN BARUCH (ben Solomon ben Abraham) THE ELDER (d. before 1712), Karaite author. Elijah lived at first in Constantinople but is included by Simḥah Isaac *Luẓki among the Karaite writers of the Crimea. Elijah subsequently visited Ereẓ Israel, and is therefore referred to as "Yerushalmi." While in Jerusalem he copied the polemic by Salmon b. Jeroham against *Saadiah Gaon, as well as the polemical tract of Sahl b. Maẓliaḥ. Elijah inserted his own comments, strongly critical of the *Rabbanites in general and Saadiah Gaon in particular. Elijah's writings, mainly polemical, include (1) *Asarah Ma'amarot*, his major work, on the differences between the Rabbanites and the Karaites; (2) *Iggeret ha-Vikku'aḥ*, in four parts, not extant (mentioned in Luẓki's *Oraḥ Ẓaddikim*); (3) *Yalkut*, a collection of 61 essays by Karaite and Rabbanite scholars, with commentary; (4) *Sippurei Massa'ot*, a description of his journey from the Crimea to Ereẓ Israel; (5) *Ẓeror ha-Mor,* a commentary on Judah Gibbor's *Minḥat Yehudah.* None of his works was published.

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ELIJAH BEN BENJAMIN HA-LEVI (d. after 1540), rabbi and *paytan* of Constantinople. He belonged to an indigenous Turkish Jewish family. He studied under Moses *Capsali, to whose aid he came in his dispute with Joseph *Colon, and afterward under Elijah *Mizraḥi, whom he succeeded as chief rabbi of Constantinople in 1525. Elijah wrote a book of responsa called *Tanna de-Vei Eliyahu*, comprising 451 responsa (in manuscript), 221 of which were edited by Benjamin b. Abraham *Motal and published by Aaron Galimidi, one of his descendants, under the title *Zekan Aharon* (Constantinople, 1734). Some of his responsa were published in the works of his contemporaries, in the responsa *Oholei Tam* (in *Tummat Yesharim*) of *Tam ibn Yaḥya, and in the *Avkat Rokhel* of Joseph *Caro. Benjamin Motal published Elijah's article "*Kol De'i*," on the laws of **asmakhta*, in his collection *Tummat Yesharim*. Elijah edited and published the *Maḥzor Romania*, the liturgy in use in Greece and the neighboring countries, adding to it *bakkashot, teḥinot*, and other *piyyutim*. Benjamin Motal states that Elijah wrote thousands of poems, and the following books of poetry are known to be by him: *Beit ha-Levi, Tokheḥah Megullah, Shevet ha-Musar,* and *Mei Zahav*. The book *Zekan Aharon* mentions his *Livyat Ḥen*, which deals with ethical conduct. It is divided into three parts: *Maḥaneh Leviyyah* (of which one chapter was published as no. 148 of *Zekan Aharon*), *Maḥaneh Yisrael*, and *Maḥaneh Shekhinah*. He also prepared for publication Jacob b. Asher's *Arba'ah Turim* (Constantinople, 1494 or 1504) and Alfasi's code (Constantinople, 1509).

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[Abraham David]

ELIJAH BEN ELIEZER PHILOSOPH HA-YERUSHALMI (fl. 15th century), scholar and Hebrew poet who lived in Crete. Elijah wrote a book on logic, *Sefer Higgayon al Derekh She'elot u-Teshuvot* (manuscripts in Leiden, Paris, and Parma), which is based entirely on Aristotelian logic, omitting the categories. He also wrote *Perush Pirkei ha-Merkavah*, a commentary on Maimonides' interpretation of Ezekiel's vision in his *Guide* (manuscript in Paris). In this work Elijah cites his commentary on the book of **Bahir*. He is also the author of a number of poems written in Hebrew and Aramaic and of prayers in prose (Mss. Parma 997; Paris 707).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: G.B. De Rossi, *Manuscripti Codices Hebraici*, 2 (1803), 163, no. 772, 3; M. Steinschneider, *Catalogue Leyden* (1858), 239ff.; Steinschneider, Uebersetzungen, 499, 523; idem, in: HB, 19 (1879), 63; 21 (1881), 27; Zunz, Lit Poesie, 518, 711; Zunz, in: ZHB, 19 (1916), 61, no. 3, 63, no. 18; S. Munk, *Manuscrits hébreux de l'Oratoire* (1911), 54–56; Davidson, Oẓar, 4 (1933), 364. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** C. Sirat, *A History of Jewish Philosophy in the Middle Ages* (1985), 344; Sh. Rosenberg, in: *Daat,* 1 (1978), 63–71; 2–3 (1979), 127–38; 7 (1981), 73–92.

[Jefim (Hayyim) Schirmann]

ELIJAH BEN ḤAYYIM (1530?–1610?), rabbi and halakhist, known as **Maharanaḥ** or **M**orenu **ha-Ra**v ib**n Ḥ**ayyim. Elijah was born in Adrianople and in about 1575 was appointed chief rabbi of Constantinople. His writings – including novellae, discussions on most of the tractates of the Talmud, and responsa – were stolen, but some were recovered and published. They comprise *Teshuvot ha-Ranaḥ* (Constantinople, 1810^{2}), responsa, with an appendix consisting of novellae on tractate *Ketubbot* published by his disciple, Isaac di Leon; *Mayim Amukim* (Venice, 1647), responsa, together with others by Elijah *Mizraḥi; *Ha-Noten Imrei Shefer* (Venice, 1630), homilies on the Pentateuch (the first edition entitled *Mikhtav me-Eliyahu* (Constantinople, 1624) was probably incomplete). He was highly regarded by later rabbis, among them Akiva *Eger, who praised his *Teshuvot ha-Ranaḥ*, which he used as a source for his decisions.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Conforte, Kore, 42a–b, 48b; Beer, in: *Literaturblatt des Orients*, 9 (1848), 805f.; Rosanes, Togarmah, 3 (1938), 32f.; Habermann, in: *Sefer Assaf* (1953), 217–22.

[Jacob Haberman]

ELIJAH BEN JUDAH OF PARIS (first half of the 12th century), French talmudist, commentator, and halakhist. Elijah is quoted in the *tosafot* and in the works of *Eliezer b. Nathan of Mainz, *Eliezer b. Joel ha-Levi of Bonn, *Moses of Coucy, *Mordecai b. Hillel, *Meir b. Baruch of Rothenburg, and others. He was considered one of the leading scholars of his time, together with R. *Tam and *Meshullam b. Nathan of Melun, who held him in great esteem. Eliezer b. Nathan of Mainz directed his question on *Ḥezkat ha-Ḥallonot* to these three scholars (Raban, 153:3); and questions were also addressed to Elijah by Isaac b. Samuel ha-Zaken (Tos. to Ket. 54b). *Moses b. Abraham of Pontoise, in a responsum to R. Tam (*Sefer ha-Yashar*, Resp. 51), refers to Elijah as "our teacher and our light." The Jews of Paris followed his customs, even in opposition to the views of R. Tam. His ruling (Tos. to Eruv. 97a) that the *tefillin* knot must be tied every day is well-known. Zunz attributes to Elijah a number of liturgical poems.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Zunz, Gesch, 458; Gross, Gal Jud, 515f., no. 9; Michael, Or, no. 381; V. Aptowitzer, *Mavo le-Sefer Ravyah* (1938), 310–1; Urbach, Tosafot, index.

ELIJAH BEN KALONYMUS OF LUBLIN (second half of 17th century), preacher and rabbi. Little is known about Elijah, whose only extant work, *Adderet Eliyahu* (Frankfurt on the Oder, 1696), contains sermons commenting on each weekly Torah portion. They resemble short fables, each of which can stand independently, while together they form an intricate whole. In these *derashot*, written in a pleasant style, Elijah employs much kabbalistic terminology, quoting from such works as the Zohar, *Zohar Ḥadash*, and *Sefer ha-Peli'ah*, and makes use of talmudic-midrashic literature as well as Rashi. At the end of the book is appended a prayer from Ereẓ Israel, the recitation of which could ensure forgiveness for sins connected with the destruction of the Temple and the resultant Diaspora.

ELIJAH BEN LOEB OF FULDA (c. 1650/60–c. 1720), rabbi and halakhic author. Elijah was born in Wiznica (Poland), where he spent most of his life, and where he died. Toward the end of his life he moved to Fulda (southwest Germany), although there is no evidence that he became rabbi there as has been stated by some. Elijah made a special study of the Jerusalem Talmud, his fame resting principally on his commentaries to *Shekalim* (Frankfurt, 1689), the order of *Zera'im* (Amsterdam, 1710), *Bava Kamma* and *Bava Meẓia* (Offenbach, 1725), and *Bava Batra* (Frankfurt, 1742). Using manuscripts upon which he also relied for his corrections to the *editio princeps* of the Jerusalem Talmud, Elijah's commentaries deal with each topic in *halakhah* and *aggadah*. His style is generally succinct; lengthier discussions are inserted in a separate rubric. Elijah's commentary was published approximately 50 years after that of Joshua *Benveniste, the existence of which was unknown to him, and his commentary, published together with the text, exercised great influence on his contemporaries and initiated the systematic study of the Jerusalem Talmud in 18th-century Poland.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: L. Ginzberg, *Perushim ve-Ḥiddushin ba-Yerushalmi*, 1 (1941).

[Jacob Haberman]

ELIJAH BEN RAPHAEL SOLOMON HA-LEVI (end of 18th and beginning of 19th century), Italian rabbi, author, kabbalist, and liturgical poet. Elijah was both a pupil and a colleague of Isaac *Lampronti together with whom he studied under Judah *Briel in Mantua. He was at first rabbi of Finale and later worked in Alessandria. He composed a number of marriage poems and other occasional poems as well as a large work, *Seder de-Eliyahu* (Mantua, 1786). The names of all his books are connected with the name Elijah, such as *Sava Eliyahu* and *Eliyahu be-Arba.* His responsa are to be found in the *Shemesh Ẓedakah* of Samson Morpurgo, in the *Paḥad Yizḥak* of Isaac Lampronti, and in the *Givat Pinḥas* (unpublished) of Phinehas Anau. A number of talmudic and kabbalistic works, responsa, and homilies by Elijah remained unpublished. Isaac Raphael Finzi composed an elegy on his death.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Fuenn, Keneset, 117; Ghirondi-Neppi, 13f.

[Samuel Abba Horodezky]

ELIJAH BEN SHABBETAI BE'ER (14th–15th centuries; also known as **Elia di Sabato of Fermo** and in England as **Elias Sabot**), papal physician. He attended Popes Innocent VII (1404–06), Martin V (1417–31), and Eugene IV (1431–47), as well as the duke of Milan and the marquess of Ferrara. In 1410 he was summoned to England to treat King Henry IV and was empowered to bring with him a retinue of ten persons. A teacher of medicine at the University of Pavia, he was the first Jew recorded on the faculty of a European university. In recognition of his services, he was accorded the dignity of knight, and in 1405 was awarded Roman citizenship. An enigmatic medal was struck in 1497 (or 1503) in honor of his son Benjamin.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Gauthier, in: REJ, 49 (1904), 259; Wiener, in: JQR, 18 (1905/06), 142ff.; Simonsen, *ibid.*, 360; Milano, Italia, 155, 483, 629; Muenster, in: *Scritti… Sally Mayer* (1956), 224–58, includes bibliography; C. Roth, *Jews in the Renaissance* (1959), 39, 210, 215–6, 355.

[Ariel Toaff]

ELIJAH BEN SHEMAIAH (fl. 11th century), liturgical poet in Bari, southern Italy. He was one of the most prolific poets of the Italian school. He composed about 40 *seliḥot*, most of them strophic, which have remained in manuscripts and old editions; some were included in the German-Polish ritual. Y. David, who prepared a critical edition of Elijah's *piyyutim* (1977), commented also on their sources, meaning, and characteristics. The subject matter is mostly a variation of the same theme: grief over present misery of Israel in exile and trust in God's help. Some of his poems allude to cruel persecutions in his time, and he refers to the enemies of Israel with many allegorical names. Stylistically, the poems resemble the *seliḥot* of his contemporary *Solomon ha-Bavli, who was probably his master, but the language is more stereotyped. Zunz made a special study of his language and style. Elijah's signature is, among others, preserved in a responsum of Samuel b. Natronai. In the past scholars underlined the lack of depth and originality of this kind of *piyyutim* and the obscurity of the language. More recently, scholars have come to have a much higher opinion of the quality of Ben Shemaiah's *seliḥot*, considering him an excellent spokesperson of the Jewish community of Bari in its historical situation and a good representative of the literary tendencies of the epoch with his own individuality.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Zunz, Vortraege, 406; Zunz, Lit. Poesie, 139, 244ff.; 616ff.; Landshuth, Ammudei, 17; Michael, Or, no. 412; Elbogen, Gottesdienst, 333; H. Brody and M. Wiener, *Mivḥar ha-Shirah ha-Ivrit* (1922), 233ff.; Schirmann, Italia, 41–47; A.M. Habermann, *Be-Ron Yaḥad* (1945), 105–7; A. Mirsky, *Yalkut ha-Piyyutim* (1958), 264ff.; Davidson, Oẓar, 4 (1933), 362; Roth, Dark Ages, 180, 258–9. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** Y. David (ed.), *Piyyuṭei Eliyah Bar-Shemaiah* (1977); B. Bar-Tikva, in: *Sinai,* 83, 1–2 (1978), 92–94.

[Jefim (Hayyim) Schirmann / Angel Sáenz-Badillos (2nd ed.)]

ELIJAH BEN SOLOMON ABRAHAM HA-KOHEN OF SMYRNA (d. 1729), one of the outstanding preachers of his time. Born in Smyrna, Elijah spent most of his life there as a preacher, *dayyan*, and rabbi. Elijah came from a family of rabbis and writers; his grandfather, R. Michael ha-Kohen, wrote exegetical works on the Torah, and his uncle, R. Isaac ha-Kohen, was also a writer. His father, Abraham Solomon ha-Kohen, one of the rabbis of Smyrna, is known for his involvement in the rescue of Jews who had been taken captive. It would seem that he was also a scholar, as Elijah often quotes him.

Elijah was a prolific writer; about 30 of his works are extant, some in print, others in manuscript; his lost works are known only from references to them in his own writings. The following are among his extant works:

(1) *Shevet Musar* (Constantinople, 1712, and many subsequent editions), one of the most popular Hebrew works in the fields of ethics and homiletics, also translated into Yiddish. This work consists of 52 sermons, corresponding to the

weekly Torah portions and to the numerical value of his Hebrew name, "Eliyahu."

(2) *Me'il Ẓedakah* (Smyrna, 1731), an ethical work dealing with the question of charity.

(3) *Midrash ha-Ittamari* (Constantinople, 1695; Salonica, 1725), a homiletical work consisting of sermons on various subjects, many of them ethical (e.g., charity and repentance). Because of this work, Elijah became known in Hebrew literature as Elijah ha-Kohen ha-Ittamari.

(4) *Midrash Talpiyyot*, novellae on various subjects, collected, according to the author, from the 300 books listed in the preface. Only the first half of this work, arranged in alphabetical order, was printed (Smyrna, 1736).

(5) *Minḥat Eliyahu* (Salonika, 1824), 33 sermons, or chapters on ethical subjects.

The rest of his works includes several other ethical-homiletical collections, commentaries on Psalms, on other parts of the Bible, on *Pirkei Avot*, the 613 commandments, prayers, rabbinical sayings related to the various Torah portions, and on the *aggadot* of the Jerusalem Talmud. In addition, Elijah wrote several responsa, some to questions sent from far away. It is possible that he also dabbled in magic; many legends, which can be found in Ladino folktales, were related about him.

The teaching of ethical behavior, however, was Elijah's main purpose. He made extensive use of the vast ethical literature of the Middle Ages, both early and late – from *Sefer Ḥasidim* to the *Shenei Luḥot ha-Berit*, by Isaiah ha-Levi Horowitz. In the sermons, ethical writings, and exegetical works, he also used kabbalistic literature, in which he was well versed. Later writers of homiletics and ethics, the author of the famous *Ḥemdat Yamim*, for example, made use of his works.

Social problems are a basic concern in his thought. The social and economic gap between rich and poor disturbed him, and some of his sermons are devoted to the question of theodicy: Elijah dwells at length upon the heavenly rewards of the poor and the just after death while vividly describing the horrible punishment awaiting the wicked. His preaching displays a strongly negative attitude toward the benefits derived from this world, and his listeners are asked to renounce all its joys, even purposely to take suffering and hardship upon themselves.

A considerable portion of Elijah's sermons deals with messianic subjects. G. Scholem – through the aid of historical documents and theological analysis of some of Elijah's works – proved that in fact he was a Shabbatean, although not one of the extremists. He probably adhered to its theology as expounded by Abraham *Cardoso. It is possible that late in his life Elijah became detached from this movement, but he did not delete the Shabbatean portions from his earlier works.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Steinschneider, Cat Bod, 932; Michael, Or, 188–90; M. Wunderbar, in: *Literaturblatt des Orients*, 37 (1847), 579; A. Jellinek (ed.), *Beit ha-Midrash*, 1 (1938^2), 16; Rosanes, Togarmah, 6 (1945), 291; Zinberg, Sifrut, 5 (1960), 196–200; S. Werses, in: *Yavneh*, 2 (1940), 156–73; G. Scholem, in: *Sefer ha-Yovel Alexander Marx* (1950), 451–70.

ELIJAH BEN SOLOMON HA-KOHEN, Palestinian *gaon* from 1062 to 1083. His father Solomon was *gaon* from about 1020 to 1025 and was succeeded by *Solomon b. Judah, who held that office until 1051. Elijah and his elder brother Joseph, who were very young when their father died, occupied important positions during Solomon b. Judah's incumbency, Elijah being the "*shelishi*" ("third") and his brother the **av bet din*. According to the prevailing custom Joseph should have been appointed as *gaon*, and Elijah as *av bet din* after the death of Solomon b. Judah, but they were forcibly prevented by *Daniel b. Azariah who belonged to the family of the Babylonian *geonim*. Daniel assumed the gaonate, holding the office from 1051 to 1062, and the two brothers were obliged to accept his authority. Only after the death of Daniel was Elijah appointed *gaon*. After the conquest of Jerusalem by the Seljuks in 1071, Elijah moved to Tyre together with his yeshivah. About two years before his death he designated his son *Abiathar to succeed him after his death, and his second son, Solomon, as *av bet din*. A few of his responsa have survived, in which he and Abiathar reply to questions from *Meshullam b. Moses of Mainz.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: S. Schechter, *Saadyana* (1903), 80–104; Bornstein, in: *Sefer ha-Yovel… N. Sokolow* (1904), 125ff.; Marmorstein, in: REJ, 73 (1921), 84ff.; Mann, Egypt, 2 (1922), index; Mann, Texts, 2 (1935), index; Dinur, Golah, 1, pt. 4 (1962^2), index; Scheiber, in: *Tarbiz*, 32 (1962/63), 273–6.

[Simha Assaf]

ELIJAH BEN SOLOMON ZALMAN (the "**Vilna Gaon**" or "**Elijah Gaon**"; acronym **Ha-GRA** = **H**a-**G**aon **R**abbi **E**liyahu; 1720–1797), one of the greatest spiritual and intellectual leaders of Jewry in modern times. A man of iron will, Elijah combined the personal life of an intellectual hermit with active and polemical leadership in Jewish society through his overwhelming influence on a chosen circle of disciples. Born in Selets, Grodno province, he came from a well-known rabbinical and scholarly family, whose members included Moses Rivkes. From his childhood, Elijah showed unusual gifts. At the age of six and a half, he gave a homily in the synagogue of Vilna and answered with great perception the rabbi's questions on it. When he was seven, Abraham Katzenellenbogen, rabbi of Brest-Litovsk, took him to Moses Margalioth of Keidany (Kedainiai), with whom Elijah studied for a time. However he mainly studied on his own, and thus remained untrammeled by the conventional methods of talmudic education of his day. Besides the Torah and the Oral Law, Elijah also studied Kabbalah, and before the age of 13 attempted to cultivate "practical" Kabbalah and to create a *golem*. Elijah stated, however, that "while I was making it, an image appeared above me, and I ceased from making it, for I said, doubtless God is preventing me" (Ḥayyim of Volozhin, in *Sifra de Ẓeni'uta* (with a commentary by the Vilna Gaon), introd.). Elijah also acquainted himself with astronomy, geometry, algebra, and geography in order to understand certain talmudic laws and discussions. Thus his main concern with astronomy was to understand the rules of the Jewish calendar. For similar reasons he paid great attention to Hebrew grammar (see below). After his marriage around the age of 18 he would seclude himself in a small house outside the city and concentrate on learning day and night.

After staying briefly with his father-in-law in Keidany, Elijah traveled throughout Poland and Germany and visited important communities, including those of Zolkiew (Zholkva), Lissa (Leszano), and Berlin. Subsequently he settled in Vilna, where he remained until his death. He received financial support from the bequest of Moses Rivkes (who left a foundation for scholars in his family) and was additionally assisted by a sum allocated him by the community board, which also provided him with a rented apartment. In about 1785 his weekly allowance was raised by the community to 28 zlotys, which was higher than the stipend of the *av bet din*, the rabbi, or the *shtadlan*. Since there were many outstanding scholars in Vilna at the time, the financial assistance given to Elijah, although he did not hold communal office, testifies to the high esteem in which he was held, despite his extreme personal modesty.

In Vilna his exceptional diligence in study became even more pronounced. To shut out distraction, Elijah would close the windows of his room by day and study by candlelight. In winter he studied in an unheated room placing his feet in cold water to prevent himself from falling asleep (Israel of Shklov, *Sefer Pe'at ha-Shulḥan* (Safed, 1836), introd.). According to Elijah's sons he did not sleep more than two hours a day, and never for more than half an hour at a time. He noted his comments and remarks in the margin of the page he was studying. Elijah made a special study of the Jerusalem Talmud, "opening up new horizons and clarifying incomprehensible passages" (his son Abraham in his eulogy *Sa'arat Eliyahu*). When he was 40 Elijah evinced a revolutionary change in his life. According to his students, he gave up studying exclusively by himself and began to teach, giving lectures to a group of outstanding scholars. In 1768, a wealthy relative, Elijah Peseles, bought a plot near Elijah's home where the edifice he built was dedicated to prayer and study. The master's "prayer room" was later enlarged and became the *bet ha-midrash* (*Klaus*) of the Gaon. Several of Elijah's disciples, including Ḥayyim of Volozhin and the brothers Menahem Mendel and Simḥah Bunem of Shklov, recorded his observations and explanations, and hence through them and Elijah's sons his teachings were disseminated. Elijah at this time generally refrained from contact with people who were not close to him. An exception was the "Maggid of Dubno," Jacob b. Ze'ev *Krantz, whose friendship he sought, and to whom he once wrote: "Come, my friend, to my house and do not delay to revive and entertain me." Though his views had been sought earlier, only at this time did the Gaon also begin to express opinions on public issues. When in 1756 he was requested by Jonathan *Eybeschuetz's party to express his opinion on the controversy with Jacob *Emden, Elijah modestly refused to arbitrate, saying: "Who am I, a man from a distant land, a man young in years, of retiring disposition, that they should listen to me." However his intellectual and spiritual influence continued to grow, and according to the testimony of his contemporaries, "without his knowledge no important activity can be carried out" (I. Klausner, *Vilna bi-Tekufat ha-Ga'on* (1942), 237).

Elijah encouraged the translation of works on the natural sciences into Hebrew but opposed philosophy and Haskalah, seeing them as a threat to faith and tradition. He violently opposed the ḥasidic movement. Although he devoted considerable attention to Kabbalah he looked with concern on any suggestion of giving Kabbalah precedence over halakhic studies, and he also objected to changes in prayer rites and new customs that were being introduced by Ḥasidim. He was apprehensive over the possibility of the creation of a new group which would lead to a split in the community. When the first groups of Ḥasidim were organized in Belorussia and Lithuania the leaders of the Shklov community asked Elijah what policy they should adopt toward the new sect; Elijah replied that it should be fought. Etkes demonstrates that Elijah was the one who initiated the rejection of the Ḥasidim. The Vilna community decided to close the prayer rooms of the Ḥasidim, burn their works, and excommunicate them. In 1772 its leaders dispatched letters to a number of other communities urging them to combat the new movement.

Thus, under the leadership of Elijah, Vilna became the center of opposition to Ḥasidism. In 1772 and 1777 Menahem Mendel of Vitebsk and Shneur Zalman of Lyady, the heads of the ḥasidic movement in Belorussia, attempted to meet Elijah to demonstrate that the new movement did not conflict with traditional Judaism, but the Gaon refused to see them. After publication of Jacob Joseph of Polonnoye's *Toledot Ya'akov-Yosef* (1781), Elijah's fight against Ḥasidism intensified. Through his influence, the ban was again pronounced on the Ḥasidim, and emissaries were sent to rouse the communities against the movement. Around 1794 the Gaon gave instructions that the *Ẓavva'at ha-Ribash* ("Testament of R. Israel Ba'al Shem Tov") should be publicly burned in Vilna. In 1796, the Ḥasidim having spread a rumor that Elijah regretted his stand against the movement, the Gaon replied in a letter sent by special emissaries to the communities of Lithuania and Belorussia: "I will continue to stand on guard, and it is the duty of every believing Jew to repudiate and pursue them [the Ḥasidim] with all manner of afflictions and subdue them, because they have sin in their hearts and are like a sore on the body of Israel." When several Ḥasidim in Minsk cast doubts on the authenticity of Elijah's signature on the letter the community leaders sent two emissaries to Vilna to clarify the matter and Elijah responded with an even sharper condemnation of Ḥasidism. Because of the denigration of the Gaon in ḥasidic circles, the leaders of the Minsk community threatened excommunication to anyone impugning Elijah's honor. In the dispute which broke out in Vilna between the heads of the community and Samuel, the *av bet din*, Elijah opposed Samuel, although they were related. Elijah's intervention resulted in a judgment by the rabbis ruling that Samuel had broken an oath and was guilty of other instances of bad conduct. Samuel's supporters thereupon tried to persuade the state court to prevent payment of the community's weekly allowance to Elijah, since he did not hold a formal position in the communal institutions. The community leaders, however, vigorously condemned this action and imprisoned the preceptor Joel for defaming Elijah. At that time a son of one of the community leaders ran away to a monastery and became converted to Christianity. When the youth was kidnapped from the monastery to induce him to return to Judaism, the ecclesiastical and state authorities arrested several suspects and charged them with the kidnapping. Elijah was also interrogated and imprisoned for a month in February 1788; in September 1789 he was again imprisoned for 12 weeks but the term was commuted. After his death, the opposition to the ḥasidic movement abated somewhat but did not die out completely.

Elijah had decided, before 1783, to immigrate to Ereẓ Israel. He set out alone with the intention of sending for his family later, and on his way sent them a letter – a kind of spiritual testament. The missive reflects his delicate feelings toward his children, his wife, and his mother. He requested his wife not to economize on the tuition of his sons and to care for their health and diet. He also gave instructions for the education of his daughters and admonished them to refrain from taking oaths, cursing, deceit, or quarreling. He considered that vain talk was one of the greatest sins and therefore advised making few visits, even to synagogue, and praying at home, alone, in order to avoid idle talk and jealousy as much as possible. He warned them not to covet wealth and honor, because "it is known that all This World is vanity" (in his *Alim li-Terufah*, 1836). For unknown reasons Elijah did not reach Ereẓ Israel and returned to Vilna.

Over time, Elijah became known as the Gaon and Ḥasid. The first appellation is based on his enormous scholarship that spanned the entirety of rabbinic literature, including the vast world of Midrash and kabbalistic literature. In addition, the depth of his knowledge and understanding is evident in his writings. The combination of Elijah's asceticism and almost obsessive devotion to Torah study and religious observance earned him the title of Ḥasid. Through his teachings and actions Elijah did much to form the characteristics of the "Litvak" *Mitnaggedim* peculiar to Lithuanian Jewish culture whose achievements attained their pinnacle of expression in the 19th century in the many celebrated yeshivot of Lithuania, such as those of Volozhin and Mir. The semi-legendary figure of saint and intellectual giant towered over Lithuanian Jewry and influenced its cultural life in the 19th and into the 20th centuries.

[Israel Klausner]

Teachings

The importance of the spiritual activity of the Vilna Gaon stemmed primarily from the vast range of subjects with which he dealt. There is no subject relevant to Judaism on which he did not write a book or notes and glosses that at times amount to a complete book. The Bible, the Talmud, including the minor tractates, the tannaitic Midrashim, the Zohar and the *Tikkunei ha-Zohar,* the Shulḥan Arukh, Hebrew grammar, and a long list of general sciences such as geometry, measurements, astronomy, and medicine – all these occupied the Gaon of Vilna, to such an extent that it may be said of him that no Jewish or general topic which had a bearing on Judaism was alien to him. Even in the order of the prayers and in the *piyyutim* he formulated new readings that have been accepted (e.g., in the hymn for the termination of the Sabbath, instead of "our seed and wealth he shall multiply as the sand," he read, "our seed and peace").

The fundamental base of his outlook was the concept of the eternity of the Torah, with all its details and minutiae, in actual practice. He regarded the slightest attack on any single detail of the *halakhah*, or the undermining of a single precept of the Torah, as a blow at the foundations of the Torah as a whole. His outlook on the absolute eternity of the Torah he expressed strikingly in his commentary to the Sifra *de-Ẓeni'uta* (Ch. 5): "Everything that was, is, and will be, is included in the Torah. And not only principles, but even the details of each species, the minutest details of every human being, as well as of every creature, plant, and mineral – all are included in the Pentateuch." This belief also encompassed the Oral Law, whence his punctiliousness about every smallest detail of the *halakhah* which established the content and the mode of observance of the precepts of the Torah. In consequence of this outlook the Vilna Gaon came to revive many customs and early prohibitions no longer mentioned even in the Shulḥan Arukh but mentioned in the talmudic sources, or for which he found support in these sources.

The Vilna Gaon interested himself in secular sciences to the extent that he saw in them an aid to the understanding of the Torah. It was his opinion that "all knowledge is necessary for our holy Torah and is included in it." "To the degree that a man is lacking in knowledge and secular sciences he will lack one hundred fold in the wisdom of the Torah" (introduction to Baruch of Shklov's *Euclid*, The Hague, 1780). For this reason he influenced the physician Baruch of Shklov to translate into Hebrew works in such secular sciences as he found necessary for this purpose. He also desired to see the works of Josephus translated into Hebrew, "since they are in aid to the understanding of many passages in the Talmud and Midrash which deal with topics connected with the Holy Land in ancient times." According to a statement dated 1778, he regarded the lack of interest in secular sciences that was widespread in the circles of talmudic scholars as a profanation of Israel's name among the nations, "who like the roaring of many waters will raise their voice against us, saying, where is your wisdom? And the name of Heaven will be profaned" (*ibid.*).

After deeply studying many branches of science, he tried his hand at writing works on mathematics (*Ayil Meshullash*, 1833), on geography (*Ẓurat ha-Areẓ*, Shklov, 1822), on astronomy, and on the calculation of the seasons and planetary motions (in Mss.). He also greatly valued music and said that "most of the cantillation of the Torah, the secrets of the levitical songs, and the secrets of the *Tikkunei ha-Zohar,* cannot be understood without it" (Israel of Shklov, introduction to Elijah's *Pe'at ha-Shulḥan*, 1836). Similarly he greatly interested himself in medicine. However he had no knowledge of foreign languages and derived all his secular knowledge from Hebrew sources, most of which had been compiled during the Middle Ages. As a result he had no idea of Newton's theory or the theory of Lavoisier and his entire scientific thinking was bound up with the theory of the four elements. Despite this Elijah was far removed from the *Haskalah, which spread in his time in the circles of German Jewry. He imposed a severe punishment upon the preacher Abba of Glussk who identified himself with the *maskilim* when in Berlin, and in a conversation with Elijah expressed himself to the effect that "Rashi did not succeed in interpreting the Torah according to the plain meaning of the Scripture, and the authors of the Midrash as is well known are not masters of the correct literal meaning" (J.H. Lewin, *Aliyyot Eliyahu* (1856), n. 34). He did not join battle with the Haskalah movement because at that time the *maskilim* still stood within the bounds of traditional Judaism. They saw no contradiction between Elijah's attitude to secular sciences and the activities of Moses Mendelssohn and some of them had connections with both of these simultaneously.

Elijah's chief strength lay in *halakhah*. The fact that many *halakhot* and dicta in the Talmud are quoted in a fragmentary or defective form in one place, but in full or in a more correct version elsewhere, roused in him the determination to establish the correct reading of many *halakhot* by comparing the different sources. Emendations of the text not based upon investigation of the sources but the result of mere conjecture he regarded as "an absolute crime… for which excommunication is merited" (*Be'ur ha-Gra* to Sh. Ar., YD 279:2). Frequently he succeeded in explaining difficult problems in the Talmud by establishing the correct readings. His eschewal of casuistic hair-splitting, of which he said that "through it transgression increases, iniquity grows, pleasant speech is lost, and truth driven from the congregation of the Lord" (introd. by his sons Judah Leib and Abraham to *Be'ur ha-Gra* to Sh. Ar., OḤ), was also connected with this desire to clarify the readings of the *halakhot.* Hence he also demanded of the student "that he should delve into the subject with integrity, detest piling up difficulties, admit to the truth even if uttered by school children, and all his intellectual desires be nullified as against the truth" (*ibid.*). He regarded the commentary of Rashi as ideal for the study of the Talmud, since his comments "are very straightforward to the discerning" (*ibid.*). In the same spirit of this approach to the study of the Talmud he also established rules for the study of the Mishnah. The rabbis of the Talmud were accustomed in his opinion to explain the words of Mishnah as they explained the words of the Torah, i.e., both according to the plain meaning and exegetically. Expositions of the Mishnah on the basis of the assumption "there is a lacuna and this is what was taught" are exegetical. According to the Gaon, in actual fact the Mishnah lacks nothing, but Judah I occasionally cites a Mishnah which expressed the view of one of the halakhic scholars, and as the *amoraim* inclined to a different view, they understood the Mishnah as if it were defective through omissions, in order that it should conform with their view. This view of the relationship between the Mishnah and the *Gemara* is expressed with complete consistency in his commentary on the Mishnah. At times he deviates from the conclusions of the *Gemara* in connection with certain *mishnayot* and explains them in accordance with the literal meaning of the passage (see, e.g., his commentary to Ber. 4:1 and 7:2).

The Vilna Gaon included within the Torah the Zohar, the *Tikkunei ha-Zohar,* and other early kabbalistic books like the *Sefer ha-Bahir,* of which he had a profound and extensive knowledge. Here, too, he paid special attention to establishing the correct readings. His chief aim, however, was to explain the Kabbalah sources in such a way as to abolish any contradictions between them and the talmudic sources. Wherever he found such contradictions he ascribed them to error in the understanding of the Kabbalah sources or of the words of the Talmud. He applied the same thoroughness to the kabbalistic works of Isaac *Luria, in which he delved deeply, and "he brought them out of the darkness caused by copyists' errors" (Ḥayyim of Volozhin in the introduction to the commentary to the *Sifra de-Ẓeni'uta*). His method of exposition in Kabbalah literature was also directed to understanding the words in their plain sense, although pupils said that in every literal interpretation he gave there was latent the esoteric meaning of the passage. Because of his attachment to Kabbalah he took a negative attitude to philosophy, which he designated "the accursed." In particular his criticism was directed against Maimonides who rejected the efficacy of the use of Divine Names, charms, and amulets, thus denying the possibility of practical Kabbalah, which Elijah had followed from his early youth (*Be'ur ha-Gra* to Sh. Ar., YD 179:6). In his critical observations against philosophy he did not refrain from sharply attacking even Moses *Isserles. When the Gaon gives the view of Isserles who, following Maimonides, interprets *pardes* as wisdom, he comments, "Neither he nor Maimonides saw the *pardes*" (*ibid.* to YD 246:4). Despite all his vast knowledge and understanding of Kabbalah, Elijah opposed preference being given to its study over that of the *halakhah*, as he opposed changes in the text of the liturgy and new customs, in which he saw echoes of Shabbateanism. In Ḥasidism's stress on the fundamental of the love of God and the service of God in joy which it regarded as being on a higher level than Torah study, he saw contempt for the importance of Torah. Elijah's spiritual path starts with ritual observance and Torah study. Only after one has perfected these two aspects of religious life can one enter the realm of mystic experience. Mysticism is attained through perfection of the self, not by enthusiasm.

The curriculum he laid down conforms to the demands of the Mishnah (Avot 5:21). He demanded that girls should also have a certain knowledge of the Bible and laid particular importance on their acquiring a knowledge of the Book of Proverbs and conducting themselves according to its principles.

Writings

Over 70 works and commentaries are attributed to Elijah. More than 50 have appeared in print while several of his manuscripts have been completely lost. Up to the age of 40 he wrote only for his own use. Subsequently he would teach his novellae to his pupils who could take down only part of his teachings as he did not pause to allow time for this. None of his works was published during his lifetime. His commentary to the Shulḥan Arukh (OḤ, Shklov, 1803; YD, Grodno, 1806; EH, Vilna and Grodno, 1819; ḤM, Koenigsberg, 1855), *Ayil Meshullash,* fragments of a commentary on Scripture, and parts of a commentary on several *aggadot* which are extant were written by his own hand. Of his other teachings there remained notes written in haste on the margins of books and later copied – at times with errors that distort the meaning – by his sons or pupils. Of these notes, Hayyim *Volozhiner said (introduction to *Be'ur ha-Gra* to Sh. Ar., OḤ) that they are "like the stars which appear small but beneath which the whole world stands." In the scholarly circles of Vilna and beyond, several Torah novellae were also known that were transmitted in his name, and in order to make sure that everything attributed to him actually emanated from him, a proclamation was issued by the Vilna *bet din* on Kislev 19, 1798 forbidding anything to be published in the name of Elijah until it had been made absolutely certain that it was in his actual handwriting (*Shenot Eliyahu* to *mishnayot* of *Seder Zera'im*, Lemberg, 1799). The unsatisfactory external form of the Gaon's spiritual testament resulted in the fact that his great work in establishing the correct readings was not fully exploited.

The Gaon wrote commentaries to practically all the books of Scripture and to several of the books of the Mishnah. Among his expositions of the Mishnah, his commentary on that of *Arugah* (Kil. 3:1) became especially well-known in scholarly circles (*Be'ur al ha-Arugah*, in: Zerahiah Gerondi, *Sefer ha-Ẓara* (Shklov, 1803). Knowledge of geometry is necessary for its understanding, for which reason previous commentators of the Mishnah had experienced difficulty in explaining it. Israel b. Samuel of Shklov, the pupil of the Gaon, who, during the years he dwelt in Ereẓ Israel interested himself especially in the Gaon's novellae to *Zera'im* (from the standpoint of their value for agricultural work in Israel), testifies: "He toiled on the theme of *Arugah* for as long a time as it would have taken him to complete half the Babylonian Talmud, rejecting all the explanations of the early commentators and expounding it by a new and true system" (introduction to *Pe'at ha-Shulḥan*, 1836). He also wrote commentaries and glosses on the tannaitic Midrashim – *Mekhilta* (1844), *Sifra* (1911), *Sifrei* (1866) – on various parts of the Tosefta, on the Jerusalem Talmud, on the whole of the Babylonian Talmud, and on the *aggadot* of the Talmud. Among his commentaries on the sources of the Kabbalah are a commentary to the *Sefer Yeẓirah* (Grodno, 1806), the *Sifra de-Ẓeni'uta* (Vilna and Grodno, 1820), the Zohar (Vilna, 1810), the *Tikkunei ha-Zohar* (1867), the *Ra'aya Meheimna* (1858), and the *Sefer ha-Bahir* (1883). Many attempts have been made to collate his teachings and sayings. The most reliable such collection is *Ma'aseh Rav* (Zolkiew, 1808, and many more editions) by Issachar Ber of Vilna.

A singular aspect of the Gaon's writings was his constant emendation of the text. Elijah made textual emendations throughout all of rabbinic and kabbalistic literature. He combined two methods of emendation: (a) assuming that all rabbinic literature is a seamless whole, Elijah harmonized parallel sources, and (b) he corrected texts even when he had no textual sources. Rather, his amazing command of the entire literature allowed him to speculate as to the correct reading of the text. He even based some of his legal decisions on such emendations. Later historians claim that in emending the text, Elijah was a forerunner of modern scientific philological scholarship. However, what the Gaon did and how he did it is vastly different from modern scholarship. Nevertheless, he was a pioneer in thinking that many if not all of the available printed editions were filled with errors.

The Gaon's kabbalistic writing had great influence on the religious thinkers of the 19th and 20th centuries, starting with his student Ḥayyim Volozhiner, continuing through such ḥasidic giants as Abraham of *Sochaczew and *Ẓadok ha-Kohen of Lublin, to Abraham Isaac ha-Kohen *Kook. His kabbalistic ideas were explicated and expanded upon by Isaac Ḥaver and Solomon Eliashiv, author of the *Leshem Shevo ve-Aḥlamah*.

[Samuel Kalman Mirsky / David Derovan (2nd ed.)]

As Grammarian

Elijah's study of Hebrew, *Dikduk Eliyahu* ("Elijah's Grammar"), was first published by Ẓevi the grammarian (1833), and later in an edition by A.L. Gordon (*Mishnat ha-Gra*, 1874). Employing the methodology of the medieval grammarians, the study concerns itself with details from the field of phonology. It includes chapters on consonants, vowels, the *sheva*, the *dagesh*, and rules of accentuation in the Bible. In an additional list, Elijah summarizes the general principles of vocalization by means of mnemotechnical symbols and numbers. In the second part of the work, apparently authentic, are summaries of the categories of words in Hebrew (noun, verb, particle), and a short description of their morphological structure (conjugations and declensions). Here also the description is concise; at times it is summarized by numerical symbols.

Many grammatical observations are also found in Elijah's commentary on the Pentateuch (e.g., Gen. 1:1–7) and on the Prophets and Hagiographa. His entire exegesis on the first verses of the Torah is a morphological analysis, a summary of the rules of vocalization. His purism in defining the meanings of words, especially in distinguishing between synonyms, is apparent throughout his commentaries. At times he distinguishes between synonyms by using the etymology of the words (e.g., *dal,* "poor," is from *dal minneh* – "it became less for him," i.e., "his wealth was taken from him"). Similarly, linguistic and literary observations, accompanied by examples, are to be found in his commentary on the "thirty-two principles of exegesis of Rabbi Yose ha-Galili."

[Menahem Zevi Kaddari]

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ELIJAH CHELEBI HA-KOHEN OF ANATOLIA (probably 15th century), liturgical poet. Five religious poems by him are printed in the *Maḥzor Romania* and in the collection of devotional poems *Shirim u-Zemirot ve-Tishbaḥot* (Constantinople, 1545). Menahem Tamar in the introduction to his own *Azharot* (Ms. Leyden 34) claims to have seen a collection of poems by Elijah. He is also mentioned in the collection of poems by Joshua Benveniste (written in 1635).

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[Jefim (Hayyim) Schirmann]

ELIJAH MENAHEM BEN MOSES (c. 1220–1284), English rabbi, physician, and financier. Elijah Menahem was the son of R. *Moses of London. From 1253, when he is first mentioned in the records, he was one of the most active English financiers. Many nobles, and even members of the royal family, were among his clients. Recent research has disclosed that he was one of the greatest and most prominent of the pre-exilic rabbis of England. Apart from various responsa, he wrote a commentary on the Mishnah (at least on the order *Zera'im*) which was frequently utilized by Yom Tov Lipmann *Heller (in his *Tosafot Yom Tov*) and also a commentary on the Passover *Haggadah*. Elijah also achieved some reputation as a physician, on one occasion being called upon to attend the count of Flanders. One of his brothers was Hagin (Ḥayyim) of Lincoln, archpresbyter of the Jews of England from 1257 to 1280; another was the scholar Berechiah of Lincoln.

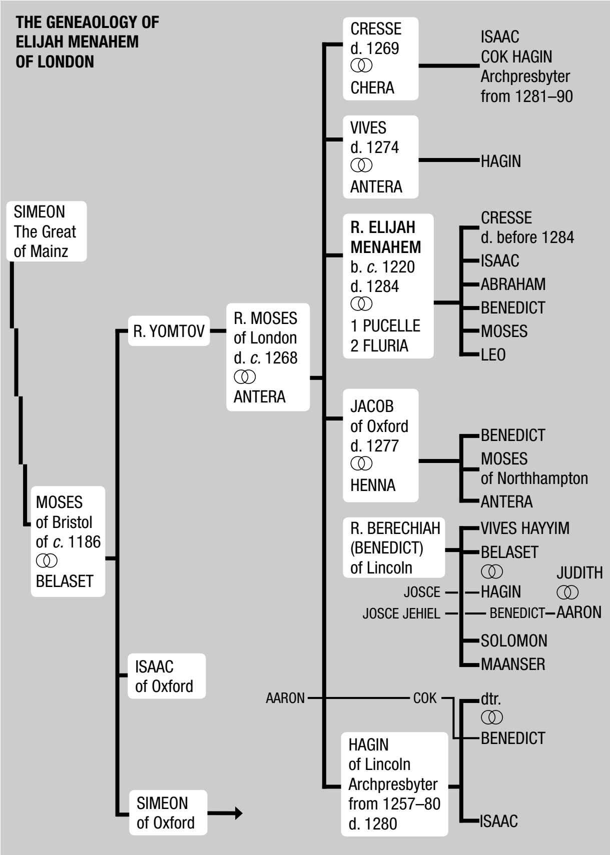
THE GENEAOLOGY OF ELIJAH MENAHEM OF LONDON
SIMEON The Great of Mainz
MOSES of Bristol of c. 1186 ⚭ BELASET
R. YOMTOV
ISAAC of Oxford
SIMEON of Oxford
R. MOSES of London d. c. 1268 ⚭ ANTERA
CRESSE d. 1269 ⚭ CHERA
ISAAC COK HAGIN Archpresbyter from 1281–90
VIVES d. 1274 ⚭ ANTERA
HAGIN
R. ELIJAH MENAHEM b. c. 1220 d. 1284 ⚭ 1 PUCELLE 2 FLURIA
CRESSE d. before 1284
ISAAC
ABRAHAM
BENEDICT
MOSES
LEO
JACOB of Oxford d. 1277 ⚭ HENNA
BENEDICT
MOSES of Northhampton
ANTERA
R. BERECHIAH (BENEDICT) of Lincoln
VIVES HAYYIM
BELASET ⚭
JOSCE
HAGIN
JUDITH ⚭
JOSCE JEHIEL
BENEDICT
AARON
SOLOMON
MAANSER
AARON
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dtr. ⚭
BENEDICT
HAGIN of Lincoln Archpresbyter from 1257–80 d. 1280
ISAAC

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[Cecil Roth]

ELIJAH OF LA MASSA (15th century), Italian rabbi and author. Elijah was head of the Padua yeshivah in the 1520s. He made a pilgrimage to Palestine via Egypt after 1433. A short while after his arrival in Jerusalem in 1437 he was appointed *dayyan*; halakhic questions were also addressed to him from neighboring countries, such as Syria and Egypt. He wrote several letters from Jerusalem to his sons via his brother in Ferrara. One of these, written after he had lived in Jerusalem for over a year, is the only known document about the Palestinian Jewish community of the first half of the 15th century. In this letter he describes his adventures and misfortunes on the way to Palestine; relates the details of the plague that struck Palestine and Syria, which was responsible for the death of 90 persons in Jerusalem; tells of his appointment as *dayyan* in Jerusalem; and mentions the occupations of the local Jews. In the last part of his letter he speaks of the rumors current in Jerusalem about the wars of Beta Israel in Ethiopia, and also of what he heard about the Ten Tribes in India from a Jew who emigrated from Iraq. These rumors were already current in Italy, and Elijah was asked to get more details about them. It is not known whether he stayed in Jerusalem or returned to Italy. An English translation was published by E.N. Adler in his *Jewish Travellers* (1966^2), 151–55.

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[Avraham Yaari / Moti Benmelech (2nd ed.)]

ELIJAH OF PESARO (16th century), Italian scholar and traveler. After living for some time in Venice, Elijah set out for the Holy Land in 1563 but was obliged to stop his journey in Cyprus as there was an outbreak of cholera in Ereẓ Israel. From Famagusta he wrote a letter to his relatives in Italy describing the journey, giving advice to travelers, and including an account of Cyprus which remains a primary source for the social and economic history of the island. Elijah also wrote philosophical homilies and commentaries on the Song of Songs, Jonah, and Job (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale Ms. Heb. 276).

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[Ariel Toaff]

ELIJAH OF PRAGUE, rabbi and head of the yeshivah in Prague in the 15th century. Elijah was strict in applying his rabbinical authority, frequently placing his opponents under the *ḥerem* (ban), and even invoking the assistance of the secular authorities, an act for which he was censured by Israel *Isserlein. His ruling that in a case of *blood libel all the communities of the realm should be considered "one city," and obliged to share the expenses for defense was accepted under protest because he had not consulted the communities concerned. He became involved in financial affairs "not in accordance with his honor" and was summoned before a *bet din* by Isserlein. Toward the end of Elijah's life Eliezer of Passau settled in Prague and encroached upon Elijah's sphere of competence, opening a rival yeshivah, among other activities. Israel *Bruna and Perez succeeded in stopping the conflict between them which affected the whole Prague community.

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ELIJAH PHINEHAS BEN MEIR (c. 1742–1821), scholar, kabbalist, and *maskil*. Elijah was born in Vilna, but in his youth, after his father's death, he traveled extensively among the Jewish communities of Europe. In each city that he visited he furthered his Jewish learning, in particular his knowledge of Kabbalah, as well as his secular studies. Elijah became known through his work *Sefer ha-Berit*, the first edition of which appeared anonymously in Brno in 1797. This work enjoyed a relatively wide circulation and was particularly well received in Haskalah circles in Galicia and in Berlin, where, according to Elijah's own testimony, it was regarded as a kind of encyclopedia of the natural sciences, astronomy, and theology. When the work was attributed to *Elijah ben Solomon Zalman, the Gaon of Vilna, and to Moses *Mendelssohn, Elijah had the second edition published under his own name (Zolkiew, 1807, with additions and emendations; third edition, Vilna, 1818). The work is divided into two parts. The first, composed of 21 treatises, deals with science and philosophy; the second, comprising 14 treatises, deals with ethics and Kabbalah. The section on science was already outdated at the time of its composition, for, while it contains new empirical data, it embodies a conception of the universe that is based on medieval Aristotelian philosophy and on the Kabbalah of Isaac *Luria. Elijah ignores the principles of Galileo and Newton in physics, and of Lavoisier in chemistry, maintaining, for instance, that the earth is stationary. The section on ethics and Kabbalah, which Elijah intended to be the main part of the work, is modeled after Ḥayyim *Vital's *Sha'arei Kedushah*. In this section Elijah accepts *Judah Halevi's view that the Jewish people is on the fifth level in the ascending scale of creation – mineral, vegetable, animal, rational, and Israel, and he makes use of the kabbalistic concept of the five souls inherent in rational beings – *nefesh*, *ru'aḥ*, *neshamah*, *ḥayyah*, *yeḥidah*, and of the doctrine of the *Sefirot*. Turning to more practical matters Elijah discusses the means by which one can prepare oneself for communion with the holy spirit (*ru'aḥ ha-kodesh*). Since the principal requisite is "the fulfillment of the commandments for their own sake," he provides guidance for the observance of the commandments, according to the teachings of Isaac Luria. The love of one's neighbor, Elijah maintains, is one of the foundations of the service of God. However, higher than the love of human beings is the love of God, which he discusses in the final section of the work, entitled "Love and Joy," and which he defines as the soul's cleaving to God. In addition to *Sefer ha-Berit*, Elijah wrote a commentary on Immanuel Ḥai *Ricchi's *Mishnat Ḥasidim* (published in 1889); *Mitzvot Tovim*, dealing with the reasons for the commandments (*Ta'amei ha-Mitzvot*); *Matmonei Mistarim*, on the combinations of letters; and *Beit Yoẓer*, a commentary on *Sefer Yeẓirah*. These last three works are extant only in manuscript.

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[Meir Hillel Ben-Shammai]

ELIMELECH (Heb. אֱלִימֶלֶךְ; "God [or my God] is king"), the husband of *Naomi and father of Mahlon and *Chilion, from Beth-Lehem in Judah. Due to the famine in Israel during the time of the Judges, Elimelech crossed over to Moab, where he and his two sons died. Following their deaths, his wife Naomi returned to Beth-Lehem together with her daughter-in-law *Ruth (Ruth 1:1–3; 2:1, 3; 4:3, 9). There Ruth married *Boaz, one of Elimelech's relatives. The name itself is attested in the *El-Amarna letters of the 14th century B.C.E. as Ili-Milku, a variant of the name Milk-ilu, ruler of Gezer. In Ugaritic documents of the 13th century the name is written *'Imlk* and pronounced either Ili-Milku or Ili-Malku.

ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY: W. Moran, *The Amarna Letters* (1992), 326; W. Watson and N. Wyatt (eds.), *Handbook of Ugaritic Studies* (1999), index, 841.

ELIMELECH OF LYZHANSK (1717–1787), popular *ẓaddik* of the third generation of Ḥasidim and one of the founders of *Ḥasidism in Galicia. Elimelech was a disciple of *Dov Baer the *Maggid* of Mezhirech and is considered the theoretician and creator of "practical ẓaddikism." Elimelech and his brother Zusya of Hanipol traveled from village to village, according to the principle of *nedudei galut* ("wanderings of exile"), i.e., their travels, symbolically expressing their identification with the wanderings of the *shekhinah* (Divine Presence). According to a later interpretation, the purpose of their wanderings was the promotion of repentance. After the death of Dov Baer (1772), Elimelech settled in Lyzhansk, Galicia, which as a result became an important ḥasidic center. He headed a court financed by *pidyonot* (lit. ransoms), i.e., a system of internal taxes paid to the *ẓaddik* usually accompanied by *kvitlakh* (lit. "receipt"), slips on which the Ḥasidim wrote their spiritual and material problems for the *ẓaddik* to solve. Letters published under his name show his attitude toward the quarrels between the Ḥasidim and the *Mitnaggedim*. Elimelech is also mentioned in the indictments against the Ḥasidim in *Sefer ha-Vikku'aḥ* and in *Zemir Ariẓim.* In his letters, he defends himself against the objections of the *Mitnaggedim* to Ḥasidim praying according to the Sephardi ritual (following the rite of Isaac *Luria). Elimelech cited as proof Joseph *Caro and even Moses *Isserles, who according to him established the Ashkenazi ritual for the general community, but not for the pious who had attained a higher plane of faith. Elimelech was ascetic, but he did not regard asceticism as the way of life for all. According to him, asceticism corresponds to the "breaking of the vessels" in Lurianic Kabbalah, whose purpose is *tikkun* ("restitution of the world"). However, it is not the only path to *tikkun*; for "one *ẓaddik* reaches *tikkun* through eating and another, through asceticism" (*No'am Elimelekh,* "*Va-Yikra*").

The Doctrine of the *Ẓaddik*

Elimelech formulated the mores of ḥasidic society in the doctrine of the *ẓaddik*. In contrast with the view that the *ẓaddik* was solely a spiritual leader, Elimelech maintained that the *ẓaddik* possessed the task of leadership in all spheres of life. The *ẓaddik* had to live in the dialectical tension between the spiritual life of *devekut* (devotion) and the pragmatic, materialistic requirements of society. Apparently, Elimelech himself could not withstand the pressure of the life of a *ẓaddik*, and toward the end of his life concentrated on self-fulfillment. He withdrew from his disciples and even neglected the spiritual leadership of his community. According to Elimelech, the *ẓaddik* possesses a higher spiritual status than the *seraphim* and is the foundation of the world. He has power to influence the higher spheres, i.e., "the *ẓaddik* decrees and God fulfills" (Shab. 59b, cf. *No'am Elimelekh,* "*Shelaḥ*"). The authority of a ḥasidic leader comes from his direct connections with higher powers whose assistance he receives for his concerns for the individual and the community. "Every utterance of the *ẓaddik* creates an angel, and influences higher spheres" (*ibid.*). By means of reflection and contemplation, the *ẓaddik* wages a war whose ultimate purpose is *devekut* and the ascent to the absolute. He "lives below" (i.e., on earth) "but in reality he dwells in higher worlds" (*ibid.*, "*Va-Yera*"). The *ẓaddik* faces the danger of death from an excess of enthusiasm. Therefore, God calms him in the height of his *devekut* in order that he not die from the ecstasy of the mystical experience. The condition of *devekut* is not static, but varies in its intensity, having ascents and descents.

Nefillat ha-Ẓaddik ("The Fall of the *Ẓaddik*")

Elimelech recognizes two types of falls (Heb., *nefillot*) in the status of the *ẓaddik*: descent for the purposes of *tikkun* and descent because of Satan. Descent for the purpose of *tikkun* is conceived of as a voluntary process. The *ẓaddik* knows that he is obligated to improve his community and, therefore, descends to its level in order to uplift it. Elimelech regarded the sublimation in this doctrine of descent as the inner identification and conscious comparison of the *ẓaddik* with the ordinary individual. As a result there takes place the process of the elevation or sublimation of evil thoughts (*ha'ala'at maḥashavot zarot*), the abolition of sin, and the transformation of the profane into the holy. *Tikkun* by the elevation of *niẓoẓot* ("sparks") in the Lurianic Kabbalah is transferred to the sphere of the soul in Elimelech's teachings and is interpreted as the elevation of evil thoughts, leading to personal redemption. The "fall" of the *ẓaddik* is essential, and his capacity to sin is a condition of his charismatic mission. Practical application of this doctrine, which apparently stemmed from the Shabbatean idea of sin as a source for performance of a *mitzvah*, contains a serious religious danger. Inability of the *ẓaddik* to "fall," however, interferes with the spiritual elevation of the community. The ascent of the *ẓaddik* which follows the "fall" is higher than the level he attained in his previous ascents. From this point of view, evil strengthens holiness. Elimelech's solution to the problem of evil is the sanctification of material things and the overcoming of temptation. The *ẓaddik* must abolish the dualism of coexistent good and evil by transforming evil into good, a process which will bring the advent of the messiah when all will return to their original unity. The innovations of this doctrine are the spiritual renewal of man and the revelation of the inner aspects of the Torah not revealed on Mount Sinai. These ideas appear in *No'am Elimelekh* (Lvov, 1787) arranged in the form of sermons on the weekly readings of the Torah, mostly describing how the *ẓaddik* worships God. It includes his letters, his religious testament on matters of leadership, and a treatise, *Likkutei Shoshanim*. Elimelech's disciples were Abraham Joshua Heshel of *Apta, Jacob Isaac *Horowitz, the Seer ("*Ha-Ḥozeh*") of Lublin, Kalonymus Kalman *Epstein of Cracow (author of *Ma'or va-Shemesh*), Menaḥem Mendel of *Rymanow, and *Moses Leib of Sasov.

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[Esther (Zweig) Liebes]

ELION, GERTRUDE BELL (1918–1999), U.S. pharmacologist and Nobel Prize laureate. Elion was born in New York City. She studied chemistry at Hunter College and NYU, where she obtained her master of science degree in 1941. After a series of intellectually less challenging appointments, she joined Burroughs Wellcome in North Carolina as a biochemist in 1944, becoming head of the Department of Experimental Therapy in 1967 and scientist emeritus after her retirement in 1983. Her collaboration with George Hitchings led to her lifelong interest in DNA and RNA synthesis from purine and pyrimidine precursors and the design of drugs which selectively inhibit these pathways. This led to the development of 6-mercaptopurine, a landmark drug which inhibits cell proliferation and thus has anti-cancer properties, and its derivative, the anti-leukemic drug 6-thioguanine. Later came the immunosuppressive drug Imuran (Azathioprine), used to combat graft rejection and to treat immunological diseases; acyclovir, which inhibits herpes viruses and was the first anti-viral drug; and allopurinol, which inhibits uric acid synthesis and is a mainstay of gout treatment.

In 1988 she received the Nobel Prize in medicine (jointly with George Hitchings and James Black). Other honors include the Garvan Medal (1968), the American Cancer Society's Medal of Honor (1990), election to the National Academy of Sciences (1990) with subsequent Council membership, and the National Medal for Science (1991).

[Michael Denman (2nd ed.)]

ELIONAEUS, SON OF CANTHERAS (or **Cithaerus**), high priest 43–44 C.E. Elionaeus was appointed by *Agrippa I. It is not clear whether he is to be identified with the "Cantheras" who was deposed by Herod of Chalcis and was succeeded by Joseph, the son of Camei (Kimḥit; Jos., Ant., 20:16). The Mishnah refers to him as Elioneiai b. ha-Kof (Par. 3:5), one of the few high priests who prepared the ashes of the *red heifer.

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[Edna Elazary]

°**ELIOT, GEORGE**, pseudonym of **Mary Ann Evans** (1819–1880), English novelist. A Christian, George Eliot was a friend of the talmudic scholar Emanuel *Deutsch, and began to study Hebrew and to show an interest in Jewish matters at an early age. *Daniel Deronda* (1874–76), her celebrated "Zionist" novel, was, however, her last great work of fiction. Possibly suggested by the career of Colonel A.E.W. *Goldsmid, the hero of this novel, after discovering his Jewish identity only in his 20s, eventually leaves for Palestine to help "revive the organic center" of his people's existence. *Daniel Deronda* influenced the early Zionist thinker Eliezer *Ben-Yehuda, and such Hebrew writers as I.L. *Peretz and P. *Smolenskin. Literary critics have severely criticized this novel complaining that the Zionist part is inflated, rhetorical, and not based on genuine observation. But it has been claimed that the author was writing a special kind of novel, dealing with the destinies of nations rather than individuals. George Eliot discussed the Jewish question again in "The Modern Hep-Hep," a strong attack on anti-Jewish prejudice published in a collection of essays entitled *Theophrastus Such* (1878).

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[Harold Harel Fisch]

ELIPHAZ (Heb. אֱלִיפַז, אֱלִיפָז; perhaps: "God is victorious"; Ar. *fwz*), the name of two biblical characters. The first is the oldest son of *Esau and his wife Adah, and the ancestor of several Edomite clans, the most important of which is Teman, since its name is employed in poetry as a synonym for "Edom" (Jer. 49:7; Obad. 9) and "Amalek" (Gen 36:2, 10–12, 15–16). The second, Eliphaz the Temanite, is the oldest of the three friends with whom the later stratum in the book of "Job the Patient" (see *Job) furnishes its hero. In his choice of a name and nationality for this friend, the author of the later stratum may have been guided by the following considerations: the older stratum locates Job himself in the land of *Uz and in the general ambience of the *Kedemites (Job 1:1, 3b). The land of Uz is identified in Lamentations 4:21 with Edom, which, in any case, included a group known by the name of Uz (Gen. 36:28), and was certainly an important Kedemite nation (Isa. 11:14). From the above data on the first Eliphaz, it is not difficult to see why within Edom the author was attracted to the tribal name of Teman and within Teman to the personal name of Eliphaz.

[Harold Louis Ginsberg]

In the *Aggadah*

Eliphaz, the comforter of Job, is identified with Eliphaz, the son of Esau (Gen. 36:4; Targ. Yer., Gen. 36:12). He had, however, few dealings with Esau (Yal. 897), and became a righteous man by virtue of the fact that he grew up under Isaac's care (Tanḥ. Va-Yera, 38). When his father sent him to kill Jacob, after the latter's flight from Haran, and Jacob beseeched him to spare his life, he agreed to do so, but, in order technically not to disobey his father completely, took all Jacob's worldly goods, since "one who has lost his possessions is regarded as dead" (Mid. Ag., Gen. 28:20). Eliphaz even attempted to avert a later tragedy by advising Amalek his son (Ten 36.12) to help Israel, because they were to inherit both this world and the world to come. In the time to come, Eliphaz will testify that Israel has observed all the Torah (Av. Zar. 3a).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Ginzberg, Legends, 1 (1961), 421–3, 345–7; 5 (1955), 322; I. Ḥasida, *Ishei ha-Tanakh* (1964), 68–69.

ELISHA (Heb. אֱלִישָׁע; "God is salvation"), Israelite prophetic wonder-worker of the ninth century B.C.E. in the days of *Jehoram son of *Ahab, *Jehu, *Jehoahaz, and *Joash. According to I Kings 19:16, God commanded *Elijah on Mount Horeb to anoint Elisha as prophet in his place. (II Kings 19:15 is the sole biblical reference to anointing as an element of prophetic investiture.) When Elijah passed by the fields of Elisha's father and found Elisha busy plowing, "he cast his mantle upon him." The mere touch of Elijah's cloak transformed Elisha. The fact that he was plowing with 12 yoke of oxen that he slaughtered as a farewell feast before leaving his family for Elijah's service shows that he was wealthy. He became Elijah's devoted servant and outstanding disciple. Elisha came from *Abel-Meholah (19:16). On the basis of the opinion that Abel-Meholah was in Gilead (see Glueck in bibl.), certain scholars postulated that geographical proximity was one of the causes of the personal affinity between Elijah and Elisha. Elisha was given the task of continuing Elijah's general prophetic mission. He also performed certain acts which had been imposed on Elijah but which the latter did not carry out in his lifetime, e.g., the anointing of *Hazael as king of Aram and Jehu as king of Israel. The transfer of Elijah's prophetic mission to Elisha is also described in the story of Elijah's ascension. Elisha, who saw Elijah ascending and "took the mantle of Elijah that had fallen upon him," was vouchsafed two-thirds of Elijah's prophetic spirit, and the sons of the prophets said: "The spirit of Elijah rests on Elisha" (II Kings 2:1–18). In contrast to Elijah, who appears as a hermit-like prophet performing his deeds alone, Elisha in the performance of his acts avails himself of the sons of the prophets (9:1–12). He is also in need of a musician, so that the hand of God may rest upon him (3:15). Elisha's first appearance as a prophet in his own right took place during the expedition against Moab undertaken by *Jehoram king of Israel and *Jehoshaphat king of Judah (about 850 B.C.E.). Jehoram asked Elisha to reveal to him the "word of the Lord" about the outcome of the battle. Elisha did not hesitate to speak to Jehoram in the sharpest terms, and at first even refused to prophesy. Only when the king pressed him, hinting that not only was he in danger but also his allies – the kings of Judah and Edom – did Elisha agree to prophesy because of the virtues of Jehoshaphat (II Kings 3:11–19). The relations between Elisha and the kings of Israel were generally, but not always, harmonious (II Kings 6:31–3). Jehoram is described as an improvement over his parents Ahab and Jezebel because "he put away the pillar of Baal which his father had made" (3:2). The Bible has preserved an account of how the king asks *Gehazi, Elisha's young servant, to describe some of his master's deeds (8:4–6). The king listened with interest to Gehazi's narration, evidence not only of admiration for the prophet but also of complete belief in him and his prophetic powers. Nevertheless, this did not prevent Elisha from apprehending the failures of Jehoram's regime: the Moabite rebellion against Israel, defeats in the wars against the Arameans, the Aramean invasion and siege of Samaria, and the many years of famine, which Elisha saw as an indication that the sins of Ahab's house demanded atonement. In Jehu and Hazael, he saw the rod of God's wrath in the awful and terrifying events that befell Israel as a punishment for the sins of Ahab's house.

Especially noteworthy is Elisha's prophecy to the Aramean Hazael (II Kings 8:7–15) in which the prophet told Hazael that he would succeed to the throne of his ailing master *Ben-Hadad. Elisha instructed Ben-Hadad to tell Hazael that he would recover, despite Elisha's prophetic knowledge that Ben-Hadad would die. Encouraged by Elisha's prophecy Hazael hastened Ben-Hadad's death. Noteworthy as well in the same story is how Elisha wept when he told Hazael that his greatness would come at the expense of the Israelite people. Elisha is likewise depicted as playing a role in Jehu's revolution in the kingdom of Israel. It was Elisha who sent one of the disciples of the prophets (Heb.: *benei ha-nevi'im*) to anoint the army commander Jehu and instruct him: "You shall strike down the house of Ahab your master, that I may avenge on Jezebel the blood of my servants the prophets, and the blood of all the servants of the Lord" (9:1–7). Interestingly, the biblical writers do not mention any direct involvement of Elisha with Jehu in the destruction of the house of Ahab, or in Jehu's bloody purge of the worshippers of Baal. Nor do we have an account of Elisha's intervention in subsequent events of Jehu's reign. Only in the days of Jehu's grandson, Joash, more than 40 years after the bloodshed, does Elisha once again appear to prophesy future victories for the kingdom of Israel over the Arameans (II Kings 13:14–19). He died during the reign of Joash son of Jehoahaz.

Elisha was remembered as a powerful wonder-worker for both good and ill. One of his miracles rescues the son of the widow of one of the disciples of the prophets from slavery (II Kings 4). In another tale he brings fertility to a barren woman and later brings the boy back to life (*ibid.*) In another tale he heals the Aramean general Naaman of a dread skin disease (II Kings 5). In yet another case he responds to youngsters who had teased him about his baldness by cursing them in Yahweh's name with the result that 42 of them are mangled by bears. Elisha was a prophet by profession and sometimes received payments or gifts for services rendered, but refused to take them from the grateful Naaman (II Kings 5:16). In fact, when his servant Gehazi cunningly received the gift from Naaman, Elisha cursed him vehemently (II Kings 5:20–27). It appears that the stories of the wonders performed by Elisha and his master Elijah influenced the New Testament writers in their portrayals of Jesus as wonder-worker.

[Yehoshua M. Grintz / S. David Sperling (2nd ed.)]

In the *Aggadah*

Elisha was the only one of Elijah's disciples whose prophetic powers were not only not diminished after his master's ascension but were increased, as a reward for his undeviating loyalty to his master. When the angel descended to take Elijah to heaven, he found the two so immersed in a learned discussion that he had to return without accomplishing his mission (SER 5:90–91; cf. Ta'an. 10b). Elijah's promise to bestow a double portion on his disciple was realized in that Elisha performed 16 miracles compared to the eight performed by his master (David Kimḥi to II Kings 2:14). While Elijah restored one person to life, Elisha revived two – the son of the Shunammite woman and Naaman, since a leper was considered as dead (Ḥul. 7b). His washing of Elijah's hands is extolled since serving a teacher is more meritorious than being his disciple (Ber. 7b).

The Shunammite built a private chamber for him to minimize his contact with other people since any woman gazing directly at Elisha would die (PdRE 33). She discerned the holiness of the prophet since she never saw a fly on his table and because a pleasant fragrance surrounded him (Ber. 10b; Zohar, 2:44a). Elisha did not refuse her hospitality because a sage may benefit from the generosity of his followers, though Samuel refused to do so (Ber. 10b). Elisha sanctified God's name when he refused to accept any recompense from Naaman (Num. R. 7:5). The children devoured by the bears on Elisha's command were in reality disgruntled water carriers whose livelihood was affected by the miraculous healing of the waters of Jericho. They, their ancestors, and their posterity were completely devoid of virtue. Nevertheless, Elisha was punished and afflicted with severe illness because he yielded to anger and cursed his antagonists. He was also visited with illness for completely thrusting Gehazi away instead of maintaining some relationship with him (Sot. 46b–47a). When Elisha rebuked King Jehoram in anger, the spirit of prophecy departed from him and he had to resort to artificial means to arouse it again (Pes. 66b). Elisha recovered from his two illnesses and was the first person in history to survive serious illness. Before him, every illness had resulted in death (BM 87a). Even after his death a great miracle occurred when a dead man was revived by touching his bier (PdRE 33; Sanh. 47a).

In Islam

Al-Yasaʿ or Alyasaʿ is to be identified with Elisha, the disciple of Elijah. He is mentioned in the Koran twice (Sura 6:86; 38:48), once together with Ishmael, Jonah, and Lot (Sura 6:86) and the second time with Ishmael and Dhū al-Kifl, a figure who is not easy to identify (see *Ezekiel). It is, however, evident that Muhammad did not know where to place him. According to the commentators of the Koran, he lived before King Saul.

[Haïm Z'ew Hirschberg]

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ELISHA BA'AL KENAFAYIM (Heb. אֱלִישָׁע בַּעַל כְּנָפַיִם; "Elisha the man-of-the-wings"; c. second century C.E.), pious man of the tannaitic period whose name is said to reflect his miraculous escape from death during the Roman persecutions. The talmudic story reads as follows: "… the wicked state (i.e., Rome) once proclaimed a decree against Israel that whoever put on phylacteries should have his brains pierced; yet Elisha put them on and went out into the streets. A quaestor saw him; and when Elisha fled from him, the latter gave pursuit. As he overtook him, Elisha removed the phylacteries from his head and held them in his hand. 'What is that in your hand?' he asked, to which Elisha replied 'The wings of a dove.' He opened out his hand and the wings of a dove were found therein. Hence he is called 'Elisha the man-of-the-wings'" (Shab. 49a, 130a). The Jerusalem Talmud states "Whoever is not like Elisha the man-of-the-wings should not put on phylacteries" (Ber. 2:3, 4c; see *Penei Moshe, ibid.*). It seems however, that the epithet "man of the wings" is in fact a *euphemism* for "one with clean hands," i.e., that he was scrupulous with regard to the ritual washing of hands (see *Arukh ha-Shalem*, ed. by A. Kohut, 4 (1926), s.v. *Kanaf,* and S. Lieberman, *Tosefta ki-Feshutah*, 1 (1955), 215).

[Jacques K. Mikliszanski]

ELISHA BEN ABRAHAM (d. 1749), rabbi and author. Elisha was born in Leczyca, Poland. He also lived in Frankfurt and Altona in Germany and in Grodno in Lithuania. In his youth he was a pupil of Joseph Samuel of Cracow, the rabbi of Frankfurt, in whose home he was brought up. In 1697 he published in Amsterdam *Kav ve-Naki*, a short commentary to the Mishnah, which was brought out together with the text in one compact volume and has been frequently republished. He was appointed head of the *bet din* of Grodno, but in his old age returned to Germany, staying for some time in the home of Joseph Oppenheimer (son of David *Oppenheim). Oppenheimer placed at Elisha's disposal a manuscript of *Asher b. Jehiel's commentary to the Mishnah on the order *Zera'im*, which he published together with his own notes and glosses under the title *Pi Shenayim* (Altona, 1735). The work received several approbations, including that of Moses Hagiz and his opponent Jacob *Emden, who rarely gave approbations. The manuscript of Asher b. Jehiel's commentary is now in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, and an edition of *Pi Shenayim* (1966) collated anew with the manuscript was published in 1966.

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[Shlomoh Zalman Havlin]

ELISHA BEN AVUYAH, *tanna*, quoted once in the Mishnah as saying: "Learning in youth is like writing with ink on clean paper, but learning in old age is like writing with ink on blotted paper" (Avot 4:20). From the position of this saying toward the end of the fourth chapter (see: **Avot*, Structure) – after R. Jacob and R. Shimon ben Eleazar and before R. Eleazar Hakapar – it would seem likely that he was one of the very last of the *tannaim*. In the talmudic tradition (TJ, Ḥag. 2:1, 77b) he was identified with "Aḥer" ("the Other"), the third of the four companions who "entered the *pardes*." In the earliest form of this *baraita* (Tosef., Ḥag. 2:3, cod. Vienna), this third companion was named explicitly as "Elisha." Elisha is a relatively rare name among the *tannaim*, and this probably contributed to the identification of these two figures. From the story in Tosefta *Ḥagigah*, it seems clear that the Elisha mentioned there was a contemporary of R. Akiva. Beyond what is told in *Avot* and in Tosefta *Ḥagigah*, tannaitic sources provide no additional information on either of these two figures. Chapter 24 in *Avot de-Rabbi Natan* version A ascribes various statements to Elisha ben Avuyah. However, *Avot de-Rabbi Natan* in the forms in which we possess it is a post-talmudic work, and these specific traditions are variously ascribed to other Sages in other sources. They cannot, therefore, be viewed as reliable evidence for early traditions concerning Elisha.

Tosefta *Ḥagigah* tells us that Elisha "looked and destroyed the plants." "Destruction of plants" is a standard phrase in tannaitic sources for wanton destruction. It can refer either to damage caused to oneself or to damage caused to another (BK 8:6). In later sources it is used by extension to refer to the destructive consequences of sin (Gen. R. 19), and specifically to one who learns Torah but does not fulfill its precepts (Deut. R., ed. Lieberman, 109). In the Palestinian tradition two related interpretations of Elisha's "destruction of the plants" are suggested. According to one interpretation (TJ, Ḥag. 2:1, 77b–c; Ruth R. 6; Eccles. R. 7), Elisha himself stopped learning Torah and gave up observing the Sabbath. In this tradition Elisha is viewed as a tragic figure, who has strayed from the ways of the Torah and is convinced that there is no way back. In response to R. Meir's repeated attempts to convince him to repent, Elisha states: "Once I was passing by the Holy of Holies riding on my horse on the Day of Atonement which fell on the Sabbath, and I heard a heavenly voice coming from the Holy of Holies, which said: 'Return, O children' – except for Elisha ben Avuyah." This interchange, which provides the thematic framework for this entire narrative tradition, reflects a literary reversal of R. Meir's own position in Tosefta *Demai* 2:9, where R. Meir states that a sage who has abandoned the ways of the *ḥavurah* "can never be accepted back" into the fold, while R. Shimon and R. Joshua ben Korḥah state that he can always be accepted back, as it is written (Jer. 3:14): "Return, O repentant children." This theme of the "sinful sage" (Rubenstein, 64–104; Goshen-Gottstein, 21–229), as developed in the Jerusalem Talmud and the parallel *Midreshei aggadah*, has no obvious connection to the story of the "four who entered the *pardes*." In response to the question of what led to Elisha's apostasy, this tradition provides a number of answers. Two of them relate to the impure nature of Elisha's conception and birth, and two to Elisha's crisis of faith concerning the suffering of the righteous (e.g., seeing the tongue of R. Judah ha-Naḥtom in a dog's mouth, regarding which he commented: "Is this the Torah and this its reward?" (TJ, Ḥag. *ibid.*), cf. the parallel description of the tongue of Ḥuẓpit the Meturgeman being dragged along by a pig in the Babylonian Talmud (Kid. 39c), concerning which Elisha exclaimed: "The mouth that uttered pearls licks the dust," and see below). Since none of these reasons seem to have any connection to what Elisha may have "seen" when he entered the *pardes* (however this is understood), the later Palestinian tradition (Song R. 1) omitted the word "looked" from the original text of the *baraita*, reading instead: "Elisha destroyed the plants." According to this tradition his experience in the *pardes* was not the cause of his apostasy. Rather the underlying causes of both his apostasy and of his negative experience in the *pardes* were the flaws in his character and the weakness of his faith.

Another early Palestinian interpretation of Elisha's "destruction of the plants" is also found in the Jerusalem Talmud (TJ, Ḥag. 2:1, 77b) and echoed in Song R. 1. According to this understanding, Elisha did not merely bring damage upon himself by ceasing to learn Torah and to observe the Sabbath. He also inflicted damage upon others, by forcing them to desecrate the Sabbath, or by preventing children from learning Torah, or even – according to an extreme version of this tradition – killing children who learned Torah. Clearly this tradition does not portray Elisha as a tragic figure, but rather as an arch-villain, deserving no sympathy, but rather only contempt and hatred. It is therefore significant to note that only in this tradition does the Jerusalem Talmud use the term "Aḥer" to refer to Elisha, thus avoiding referring to him by name. R. Meir also does not appear in this tradition, nor is there any discussion of his repentance or his return to the fold (cf. Tosef., Yoma 4:11).

In the Babylonian Talmud (Ḥag. 15a–b) these two very different early aggadic traditions were combined into a single composite, but fairly continuous narrative. Elisha both sins against himself and commits crimes against others. He is simultaneously a sympathetic and tragic figure, accompanied by his still devoted disciple R. Meir, and given consideration by sages like R. Joḥanan, yet at the same time an arch-villain, never referred to by his own name, but rather only as "Aḥer" – "the Other" – and clearly despised by R. Judah ha-Nasi. As such, his complex and contradictory (or if you will: paradoxical) figure provides a profound challenge for literary critics. But the most important change in the Babylonian tradition is in fact a return, in part, to the earliest forms of the Elisha tradition, namely the connection between his apostasy and the experience of the *pardes*. No doubt basing itself on the original tradition of Tosefta *Ḥagigah*, the Babylonian Talmud assumes that Elisha's "destruction of the plants" was a direct result of what he saw when he entered the *pardes* ("Elisha looked and destroyed the plants"). Moreover, the Babylonian Talmud assumes (probably correctly) that the original story of the entry into the *pardes* as described in the Tosefta reflects a mystical journey, involving an ascension (physical or spiritual) into the heavens, and a vision of some aspect of divinity. The clarification of the precise nature of the tannaitic understanding of the mystical ascent to the divine, and of the dangers inherent in this ascent, are therefore crucial to any appreciation of the roots and development of the Elisha traditions. In their present form, the Babylonian Talmud's version of these traditions reflects a relatively late stage in the evolution of the Metatron traditions, and shows some degree of interdependence with the later strata of the *heikhalot* literature. For a powerful and profound study of these aspects of the Elisha traditions, see Liebes, *The Sin of Elisha*.

Given the composite character of the Elisha traditions, it is quite clear that any attempt to write a single consistent and coherent "biography" of this character will ultimately break down in contradiction. One extreme example of this phenomenon is reflected in the willingness of earlier scholars to accept on face value the identification of the tanna R. Jacob b. Korshai as Elisha's grandson. The textual basis of this pseudo-identification provides a good text-case both of the talmudic method of "creative historiography," and of the uncritical use of talmudic sources by some scholars. As mentioned above, one of the reasons given for Elisha's apostasy was his loss of faith in divine reward and punishment. The Jerusalem Talmud (Ḥag. 2:1, 77b) tells that Elisha once saw a man ascend to the top of a date palm, take the young birds without sending off the mother, and came down safely, despite the fact that he had transgressed the law of the Torah (cf. Deut. 22:7). The next day, Elisha saw another man ascend to the top of a date palm, send off the mother and then take the young birds, thus fulfilling the law of the Torah. When he came down, he was bitten by a poisonous snake and died. Elisha was distressed because the Torah explicitly promises that one who fulfills this commandment will be given "goodness and length of days," and so he lost his faith. To this the Jerusalem Talmud adds that Elisha lost his faith only because he was unaware of R. Jacob's interpretation of the verse: "'you shall receive goodness' – in the world to come, which is all good; 'you shall receive length of days' – in the future world, which is 'long' [i.e., unending]." This dictum is brought in the name of R. Jacob (b. Korshai) in Tosefta *Ḥullin* 10:16, a text which also includes a story about a man who ascended a tree, etc. Given the similarity between the story told by R. Jacob in the Tosefta and the story told by the Jerusalem Talmud in the name of Elisha, there can hardly be any doubt the entire passage in the Jerusalem Talmud is a free reworking and elaboration of R. Jacob's original story in the Tosefta in order to suggest an additional reason for Elisha's apostasy. In the context of the Babylonian Talmud's discussion of R. Jacob's position (Kid. 39b; Ḥul. 142a), it brings a dictum of Rav Joseph, which states: "If Aḥer had only interpreted this verse like R. Jacob the son of his daughter, he would not have sinned." This is the only evidence for any family connection between Elisha and R. Jacob. Attempts like this to provide detailed family connections between characters in aggadic narratives are very common in the Babylonian Talmud. For example, both Abba Hilkiah and Ḥanan ha-Neḥba are described in Ta'an. 23a–b as grandsons of Ḥoni Hameagel – the former as the "son of his son" and the latter as the "son of his daughter." In fact, the only substantial connection between them is that they were all miraculous rainmakers. Even the precise phrase "Jacob the son of his daughter" occurs elsewhere in the Babylonian Talmud (Sot. 49a) with regard to Rav Aha bar Jacob. "Evidence" like this is inherently weak. However in our case, the very notion that Elisha was R. Jacob's grandfather is totally implausible. R. Jacob b. Korshai's was one of R. Judah ha-Nasi's teachers. In TB Ḥag. 15b when Elisha's daughter appeared before R. Judah ha-Nasi to ask for charity, he asked her: "Whose daughter are you." She replied: "I am the daughter of Aḥer." To this he exclaimed: "Does he have any offspring still remaining in the world?" If his own teacher was the son of Aḥer's daughter, how could he be unaware that Aḥer had offspring? Moreover, how could R. Jacob b. Korshai be Aḥer's daughter's son, and still be old enough to have been R. Judah ha-Nasi's teacher? These are the sort of problems one is bound to encounter when one takes what is in effect a minor literary embellishment ("the son of his daughter") as an assertion of historical "fact."

The various legends of Elisha, who forsook Judaism to seek new paths, influenced the Jewish writers of the Haskalah period, many of whom had passed through a similar crisis. He is the central character of several historical novels and poems of that period, and is the subject of various studies, including those of M.J. Berdyczewski, Y. Liebes, J. Rubenstein, and A. Goshen-Gottstein. M. *Letteris' Hebrew adaptation of the first part of Goethe's *Faust* is called *Ben Avuyah*. Elisha b. Avuyah is also the subject of Milton *Steinberg's novel *As a Driven Leaf* (1940).

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[Stephen G. Wald (2nd ed.)]

ELISHAH (Heb. אֱלִישָׁה), one of the sons of Javan, a grandson of Japheth (Gen. 10:4; I Chron. 1:7), and also the name of the island from which the Tyrians obtained blue and purple dyes (Ezek. 27:7). Elishah is usually identified with the name *Alašiya* (= *Cyprus, or a part of the island) which occurs in document form in Alalakh, Tell el-Amarna, Ugarit, and in Hittite sources. The copper of Alašiya was already well-known in *Mari in the Old Babylonian period. Other forms of Elishah are Ugaritic, *Alṯy* ("from *Alṯ*"), and Egyptian *ʾá-la-sá*.

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ELISHA ḤAYYIM BEN JACOB ASHKENAZI (d. 1673), father of *Nathan of Gaza and emissary of the Ashkenazi community of Jerusalem. In 1650 Ashkenazi and the kabbalist Solomon Navarro were sent as emissaries to North Africa by their community. On their return, they stayed for a time in Venice where Isaac *Bing of Jerusalem published Joseph *Caro's *Maggid Meisharim* (1654), from a manuscript which Ashkenazi had brought from Jerusalem. Bing had published the first part of the work in Lublin in 1646. Ashkenazi also brought to Italy for publication Abraham *Galante's *Zohorei Ḥammah*, a commentary on the *Zohar (Venice, 1655). During his stay in Italy, Solomon Navarro converted to Christianity. The money they had collected on their mission was therefore lost, and Ashkenazi was compelled to begin anew, leaving for Germany and Poland. He returned to Italy in 1665, and in Leghorn heard of his son's prophecies in Gaza. Ashkenazi proceeded to Ereẓ Israel via Egypt, where he was received by the wealthy Raphael Joseph with honor and gifts, on account of his son, the prophet. In 1666 he again departed for Germany and Poland on a mission for the Ashkenazi community of Jerusalem, passing through Constantinople, the Balkans, Budapest, and Vienna. Toward the end of his life, Ashkenazi went to Morocco on a mission, and he died there in the city of Meknès. It is possible that he brought his son's kabbalistic writings with him on this mission, for they were circulated widely throughout Morocco at that time. Certainly the fact that Nathan's father was well known and respected in the North African communities facilitated the spread of Shabbateanism there. There is no doubt that Ashkenazi believed in the prophecies of his son, who corresponded with him notifying him of his activities, and in the messianism of *Shabbetai Ẓevi, even after the latter's conversion to Islam. Ashkenazi's other son, AZARIAH ḤAYYIM ASHKENAZI, was also sent to Morocco as an emissary of the Jerusalem Ashkenazi community. His novellae on the Torah appeared in *Mareh Einayim* (in Ms.) written by Eliezer Bahalul in 1710.

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[Avraham Yaari]

ELISHEBA (Heb. אֱלִישֶׁבַע; "[my] God is fullness"), wife of *Aaron, the daughter of Amminadab, and the sister of *Nahshon. She bore Aaron four sons, *Nadab, *Abihu, *Eleazar, and *Ithamar (Ex. 6:23).

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°**ELISHEVA** (pen name of **Elisheva Bikhowsky** née **Elizaveta Zhirkova**; 1888–1949), non-Jewish Hebrew poet. Born in Russia, she began writing poetry in Russian in 1907, came into contact with Jewish circles, and was deeply attracted by the movement for Jewish national renaissance. Her admiration for the Jewish people and their hopes for redemption found expression in poems full of yearning for the beautiful and noble qualities of Judaism. Her Russian poems were published in two volumes in 1919: *Minuty* ("Minutes") and *Tainye Pesni* ("Hidden Songs"). She studied Hebrew, which she regarded as the "language of the heart of lights and shadow," and translated into Russian works by Judah Steinberg, J.Ḥ. Brenner, J.D. Berkowitz, G. Schoffmann, and U.N. Gnessin. Her first Hebrew poems were published in *Ha-Tekufah* (1921) no. 13. In addition to stories and poems, her Hebrew writings include articles of literary criticism on Hebrew and general European literature, particularly Russian. In 1925 she settled in Palestine with her husband Simeon Bikhowsky, whom she had married in 1920. Referred to as "Ruth from the banks of the Volga," her stories and her poems are pervaded by a deep love of everything Jewish. Her poems often have the innocence of a folk song, while her stories reflect a desire to stress the noble elements in life and to describe all that is good and exalted in man. Her Hebrew books are *Kos Ketannah* ("A Small Cup," poems, 1926); *Sippurim* ("Stories," 1928); "*Mikreh Tafel*" ("Unimportant Incident," a story, 1929); *Simtaot* ("Alleys," a novel, 1929; 1977); *Meshorer ve-Adam* ("Poet and Man," about the poetry of Aleksandr Blok, 1929); *Shirim* ("Poems," 1946). A collection of poems, *Yalkut Shirim*, appeared in 1970.

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[Gedalyah Elkoshi]

ELISOFON, ELIOT (1911–1973), U.S. photographer. Born in New York, the first generation of his Latvian Jewish family in America, Elisofon grew up in poverty and he later developed an immense sympathy for the victims of the cataclysms he witnessed and photographed in traveling two million miles across six continents. He became a professional photographer in 1935 after graduating from Fordham University. He depended on commercial work until 1939 when the Museum of Modern Art hired him as its first staff photographer. By the following year he had transformed himself into an energetic and committed photojournalist, artist, activist, teacher, lecturer, and writer. His still work ranged from war reportage and social photojournalism to food and glamour photography. He focused often on art and architecture of ancient cultures, and he loved Africa as a subject. He covered the London blitz, and as a staff photographer for *Life* magazine, he accompanied United States troops to North Africa. As a Hollywood color consultant, he created the mood-inducing hues of the film *Moulin Rouge*. Exhibitions of his paintings, often with his photographs, were held in leading museums and galleries throughout the world. He contributed to many books, including *The Art of Indian Asia: Its Mythologies and Transformations* (1955), *The Sculpture of Africa* (1958), and *The Nile* (1964), a work involving years of research.

[(Stewart Kampel (2nd ed.)]

ELITZUR, sports organization of the religious workers movement, *Ha-Po'el ha-Mizrachi. It was founded in 1938 at the initiative of R. Meir *Bar-Ilan. Its early years in Ereẓ Israel were devoted to mixed military and sports activities in the framework of the Haganah and Palmaḥ and also in helping "illegal" immigrants come safely ashore. Intensive sports activities only developed after World War II. Its object was to encourage sport among religious youth in a framework which would not interfere with observance, with all activities taking place on weekdays. Elitzur's membership reached 25,000 in 130 branches throughout Israel by the 1990s. Its teams played in the national leagues for basketball, volleyball, table tennis, tennis, judo, swimming, chess, athletics, badminton, squash, and handball but not for soccer where games are played on Saturdays. Outstanding has been the encouragement of sport among Ethiopian immigrant children and youth, producing several Israel champions in light athletics and winners of the Israel marathon.

Starting in 1983, the Elitzuria games were held every 4–5 years with the participation of religious Jewish youth from the Diaspora and Israel, attracting as many as 2,000 athletes from 20 countries, including Eastern Europe and the former U.S.S.R. World Elitzur has branches in North and South America, Europe, South Africa, and Australia.

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[Zeev Braverman]

ELIYAHU, MORDECHAI (1929–), Israeli religious leader, kabbalist, and former Sephardi chief rabbi of Israel. Born into a Jerusalem family of little means, Eliyahu was 11 years old when his father and teacher, Ḥakham Salman Eliyahu, passed away. Eliyahu then continued his studies at Yeshivat Porat Yosef with the Rabbi Ezra Attiah. For a number of years he studied with Rabbi Abraham Yeshaya *Karelitz, the Ḥazon Ish. He graduated from the Institute of Rabbis and Religious Judges headed by Rabbi Isaac *Nissim, the former chief rabbi of Israel. Upon graduation he became the youngest *dayyan* (religious court judge) appointed to a religious court in Israel. He served on the rabbinic court in Beersheba for four years and then transferred to the court in Jerusalem. Eventually, he was elected to the High Rabbinic Court, where he continued to serve. In 1983 he was elected Sephardi chief rabbi of Israel and served one term until 1993. During his term as chief rabbi and afterwards, as well, Eliyahu, together with his colleague, Chief Rabbi Abraham *Shapira, became one of the spiritual leaders of the religious Zionist camp in Israel. For over 20 years, he spoke out on political and social issues of concern to religious Zionism. During the events leading up to the Israeli government's disengagement from Gaza in 2005, he was a vocal opponent of the removal of the Jews from their homes and the uprooting of Jewish communities in Gaza.

Eliyahu is the author of several popular works on *halakhah*, including *Darkhei Taharah*, about the laws of family purity (published in five languages); an annotated and updated edition of the *Kiẓẓur Shulḥan Arukh*; a Sephardi rite *siddur*; and various pamphlets regarding Jewish law. Every Monday Rav Eliyahu taught a *shi'ur* (lesson) that could be heard on the radio over the Internet and by satellite in 250 localities throughout Israel. He also had his own website: http://www.harav.org. Eliyahu's second son, SAMUEL, was chief rabbi of Safed. Eliyahu was recognized as a *posek* (halakhic decisor) and kabbalist, with many coming to him with their halakhic questions and for personal advice.

[David Derovan (2nd ed.)]

ELIYIA, JOSEPH (1901–1931), Greek poet, scholar, Hebraicist, and translator. Eliyia was born in Janina (Ioannina), was an ardent Zionist in 1917–18, and taught French at the Alliance Israélite Universelle school in Janina. He was a radical in defense of workers. His poem "Militarism" (1920) criticizing the role of Greece in the Asia Minor War angered the Greek authorities. He published demotic verse in various Athenian periodicals (*Noumas, Vigla*, and *Nea Estia*) and in the *Epiritikon Aghon* of Janina. His outstanding poems were love songs dedicated to Rebekah, his ideal of womanhood. Eliyia's major translations include Greek versions of Isaiah and Job, the Song of Songs, Ruth, and Jonah, the poems of Judah Halevi and Ibn Gabirol, and the works of such modern Hebrew writers as Bialik, Frishman, Shneur, Peretz, and Tchernichovsky. He also wrote articles on Kabbalah and eschatology. He was one of the first Jews to advocate liberal ideas in Ioannina. In 1924, as an anti-militarist and leftist, he was arrested. He also developed a socialist ideology. To avoid problems with the authorities, he settled in Athens in 1925, writing in *Filiki Etairia* and the *Great Greek Encyclopaedia*. In Athens he graduated from the Ecole Française d'Athènes in 1930. A teaching appointment necessitated Eliyia's move in 1930 to Kilkis, a remote town in northern Greece, where he was the only Jew in a hostile environment. By the time of his premature death from typhoid at age 29, Eliyia had written 257 poems and had contributed over 200 articles on Jewish themes to the *Great Greek Encyclopedia*. A biographical study of Eliyia (together with 90 of his poems in English translation) and a Greek edition of his poetry (sponsored by the B'nai B'rith) appeared as posthumous tributes to the writer.

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[Rachel Dalven / Yitzchak Kerem (2nd ed.)]

ELI ẒIYYON VE-AREHA (Heb. אֱלִי צִיּוֹן וְעָרֶיהָ; "Wail, Zion and its cities"), the initial words of an acrostic elegy for the fast day of the Ninth of *Av. This dirge, written in the Middle Ages but of anonymous authorship, consists of 12 stanzas, each closing with the refrain: "Wail, Zion and its cities,/ as a woman in labor pains,/ and like a maiden that dons sackcloth to mourn for the husband of her youth." The dirge enumerates, in detail, the cruelties suffered by Judea and its inhabitants during the destruction of the Second Temple. *Eli Ẓiyyon* is sung by the congregation standing. The refrain is sung slowly (and in some traditions twice) at the beginning, and then repeated faster after each stanza. The melody is of an elegiac character, and has become, for all Ashkenazi communities, a symbol of the yearly commemoration of the Destruction. It therefore came to be used also for some other *kinot*, such as the last stanza of *Az be-ḥata'einu* ("Then, for our sins"), and for *Teraḥem Ẓiyyon ka-asher amarta* ("Have mercy upon Zion as Thou didst promise"); and also for **Lekhah Dodi* during the "Three Weeks" (17th of Tammuz to 9th of Av). It is sometimes considered one of the **Mi-Sinai Niggunim*. The origin of the melody has been discussed by Emmanuel Kirschner and Abraham Zvi Idelsohn. Kirschner related it to a 15th-century German court ballad *Die Frau zur Weissen Burg*, and to 14th- and 17th-century Catholic songs. Idelsohn related it to a 17th-century Spanish folksong, and a Czech song of the same period, both of which belong to a melodic type which he also found among the Balkan Sephardim. Since all these comparisons are based upon resemblances of isolated motives or melodic phrases, and a direct prototype has not been identified as yet, it seems more probable that it represents a particular instance of a widespread European "migrant" tune or melodic pattern. The earliest notated evidence of the melody found so far is in the manuscript manual of Judah Elias of Hanover (1743), for *Lekhah Dodi* (in a slightly varied form), and in several of the manuals of 18th-century *ḥazzanim* published in Idelsohn, Melodien, vol. 6 (1932) (Isaac Glogau, Moshe Pan, I.L. Wolf). Its earliest appearance in print is in Isaac Nathan's very free paraphrase of the melody, for his setting of "O weep for those that wept by Babel's stream" in Byron's *Hebrew Melodies* (1815). An interesting version is given by Moses Margoliouth who states that he heard it sung by Polish immigrants at the Western Wall on the Ninth of Av, 1848 (*A Pilgrimage to the Land of my Fathers*, 2 (1850), 356–9).

The melody can be found in the following publications: S. Sulzer, *Schir Zion* (1838), 188, no. 148; M. Kohn, *Vollstaendiger Jahrgang von Terzett- und Chorgesaengen*, 3 (1839), 130, no. 89; S. Naumbourg, *Zemirot Yisrael*, 3 (1864), 23, no. 25; A. Baer, *Baal T'fillah* (1883^3), 90; A.S. Ersler, *T'fillah w'Zimrah*, 1 (1907), 48, no. 49; L. Kornitzer, in: *Israelitisches Familienblatt* (July 28, 1927), supplement; Idelsohn, Melodien, 6 (1932), 213, no. 35; 7 (1933), 105, no. 302 a and b; 148, no. 101. It was published in Israel in Y. Sharett (ed.), *Anot*, 5 (1938), in M. Ayali, *Ḥaggim u-Zemannim*, 1 (1953), 527, and in *Sefer ha-Mo'adim*, 7 (1957), 16–18 (music section).

In the 20th century, several composers made arrangements of the melody, including L. Zeitlin and Joseph *Achron. Its poetical and melodic structure was the inspiration for A. Luboshitzky's elegy on the death of Theodor Herzl *Eli Ẓiyyon ve-Nodedeha* ("Wail, Zion, and her dispersed ones"; *Mivḥar Shirei Amenu* (1921), 59–60). A modern *kinah*, J.L. Bialer's *Eli, Eli Nafshi, Bekhi* (Wail, wail my soul, cry"), in commemoration of the Holocaust, was approved by the Union of Synagogues in Israel for use on the Ninth of Av, and is sung to the *Eli Ẓiyyon* melody.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Davidson, Oẓar, 1 (1924), 229; E. Kirschner, *Ueber mittelalterliche hebraeische Poesien und ihre Singweisen* (1914); A. Nadel, in: *Gemeindeblatt* (Berlin 1924), no. 9; Idelsohn, Music, 168, 171.

[Haim Bar-Dayan]

ELKABBACH, JEAN-PIERRE (1937–), French broadcast journalist. Elkabbach was born in Oran, Algeria. He was a leading figure of radio and television journalism in France. From 1970 to 1972 he was a newscaster on the first channel. In 1975 he was chief editor on the state radio network, France Inter, and he became director of the news division in 1976. During the years 1977 to 1981 he was head of the news department of the second channel of French television. Since the position at that time was based on a political appointment, he was replaced when the Socialist government came to power in 1981. He became an editor and newscaster on the main daily news report on Europe No. 1 radio station. In 1993 he reached the peak of his career when he was appointed chairman of France Television, the French public broadcasting company. His methods of dealing with the strong competition from private networks were somewhat controversial, and he was forced to resign in 1996. He wrote about his experiences and the role of public broadcasting in France in *29 mois et quelques jours* (1997).

From December 1999, Elkabbach, a dynamic reporter noted for his aggressive broadcasting style, was chairman of Public Senat, the parliamentary channel of the French Senate.

[Gideon Kouts / Dror Franck Sullaper (2nd ed.)]

ELKAN, BENNO (1877–1960), sculptor and graphic artist. Elkan was born in Dortmund, and studied art in Munich and Karlsruhe. He became a very versatile artist and could not decide whether to work as painter or sculptor. But after he had finished *The Walking* (1904, Ostenfriedhof Dordmund) he decided to specialize in sculpture. In 1905 he went to Paris where he taught himself sculpture. There he became acquainted with Paul Albert Bartholomé, whose monumental sepulcher in the Pére-Lachaise cemetery greatly influenced Elkan. A year after his marriage to Hedwig Einstein in 1907, the couple went to Rome for three years, where he immersed himself in the art of the Renaissance. In 1911 he returned to Germany where he executed a large number of stone tombstones decorated with bronze statues, and several large sculptures in colored stone. Among the busts he carved is a bronze mask of Jules Pascin (1906, Hamburger Kunsthalle), and busts of Truebner (1911, Ursula Hammil, Beverly Hills, U.S.), Alfred Flechtheim (1912, Stadtmuseum Düsseldorf), and Rathenau (1925, Museum am Ostwall Dortmund). Elkan's bas-relief portrait medals capture elements of chiaroscuro. In World War I, Elkan enlisted but was released after a bout of cholera. Elkan settled in Frankfurt for 15 years and had a profound impact on local cultural life. He published his war experiences (*Polnische Nachtstuecke)* as lithographs in 1918. The medals and busts created by Elkan are to be found in all the important museums of Europe. His most outstanding works in Germany were the freedom monument in Mainz *(Erwachende, 1930*, granite, about 17 ft., 4.5 meters, high) which was destroyed during World War II, and the memorial to the victims of war, erected in Frankfurt, which the Nazis removed in 1933, but which was restored in 1946.

In 1933 Elkan settled in London, spending the war years in Oxford. He modelled portraits of Lord Keynes, Winston Churchill, Lord Samuel, James de Rothschild, Claude Montefiore, Chaim Weizmann (on his 75th birthday), and Chief Rabbi J.H. Hertz. He created large bronze candelabra engraved with biblical figures for King's College (1934), Cambridge, New College, Oxford (*Verkündigung*, 1938), and several churches. His twin candelabra (*Old Testament*, 1931; *New Testament*, 1942, 2 × 2 meters) in Westminster Abbey depict 24 groups of figures from the Bible. Elkan's monumental bronze seven-branched candelabra (1956) decorated with biblical scenes was presented by members of the British Parliament to the Israel Knesset.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: F. Hofmann and Peter Schmieder, *Benno Elkan. Ein juedischer Kuenstler aus Dortmund* (1997); H. Menzel-Severing, *Benno Elkan* (1980); idem, "Benno Elkan – ein künstlerischer Kosmopolit aus dem Ruhrgebiet," in: J.-P. Barbian, M. Brocke, L. Heid (eds.), *Juden im Ruhrgebiet. Vom Zeitalter der Aufklärung bis in die Gegenwart.*(1999), 133–53.

[Sonja Beyer (2nd ed.)]

ELKAN, SOPHIE (1853–1921), Swedish novelist. She published some early works under the pseudonym Rust Roest, but her best-known novels, based mainly on historical themes, appeared under her own name. These include *John Hall* (1899) and two novels dealing with the Swedish king, Gustavus Adolphus IV – *Konungen* ("The King," 1904) and *Konungen i landsflykt* ("The King in Exile," 1906). Her central characters are perverted personalities, whom she analyzes with psychological subtlety. Following a voyage to Egypt and Palestine which she undertook with Selma Lagerlöf (1858–1940), she wrote an interesting book entitled *Drömmen om Österlandet* ("The Dream of the Eastern Land," 1904).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Svenskt Litteraturlexikon* (1964), 120.

[Hugo Mauritz Valentin]

ELKANAH (Heb. אֶלְקָנָה; "God has created"), father of *Samuel. 1 Samuel 1:1 names four generations of Elkanah's ancestors, thereby suggesting his important lineage. He lived in Ramathaim-Zophim (*ibid.*), which was apparently Ramah in the land of Zuph, at the southern end of Mount Ephraim. The genealogical lists in 1 Chronicles 6:7–12, 17–23, trace Elkanah's line to *Kohath, the son of Levi, i.e., the levites who dwelt in Mount Ephraim. But the text in 1 Samuel 1:1 calls him an Ephraimite, and there are some who believe that this suggests that he was a descendant of Ephrath, Caleb's concubine, whose line is associated with Beth-Lehem in Judah. Possibly the claim to his descent from Kohath was added by later sources, which concluded from Samuel's priestly service that he was a levite. Elkanah has often been praised for nobility of character attempting to comfort his barren wife Hannah (1 Sam. 1:8), but in fact he negates the legitimacy of her feelings, and she is not comforted as the ensuing verses make clear. In the genealogical lists in 1 Chronicles several ancestors of Samuel are mentioned by the name of Elkanah.

[Samuel Ephraim Loewenstamm]

In the *Aggadah*

The good deeds of Elkanah are compared with those of Abraham (Agg. Ber. 50). He was the only pious man of his generation, and was able to overcome the problem of having two wives who hated each other (*ibid.*). He did not marry Peninah until he had been married to Hannah for ten years without offspring (PR 43, 181a). He used to encourage his fellow men to accompany him on pilgrimages to Shiloh, and himself always made four annual pilgrimages instead of the obligatory three. Because he always traveled with his kinsmen and household, his caravan invariably roused the interest of the inhabitants of the towns through which he passed. Elkanah informed them of the purpose of his journey and encouraged them to join him. By taking a different route to Shiloh every year, he was eventually responsible for all Israel going on pilgrimage (SER 8).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Noth, Personennamen, 172; Levi Della Vida, in: JBL, 63 (1944), 8; W. Rudolph, *Chronikbuecher* (1955), 56. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** S. Bar-Efrat, *1 Samuel* (1996), 52.

ELKANN, JEAN-PAUL (1921–), French engineer, businessman, and Jewish community leader. Elkann was born in Paris; he received his engineering degree from Columbia University. In addition to his engineering endeavors, he was appointed director of important French fashion houses and director of government companies. He was the director of Christian Dior from 1983 and prior to that of Parfums Givenchy (1980–83). Elkann was the owner and director of Vanadium Steel Italiana from 1948 and of Vanadium Alloys Steel Company Canada from 1950, and vice chairman of Vanadium Alloys Steel (U.S.A.) from 1953. Among his activities in the Jewish community, he was president of the Association de la cooperation economique France-Israel and vice president of the France-Israel Chamber of Commerce. In 1982 he became president of the *Consistoire Centrale Israélite de France, holding this position for a decade. In addition, Elkann was a member of the Alliance Israélite Universelle Central Committee and the Technion's Board of Governors.

He was awarded France's highest honors: Commander of the Legion of Honor and Grand Officer of the National Order of Merit.

[Gideon Kouts / Dror Franck Sullaper (2nd ed.)]

ELKERBOUT, BEN (1940–1987), Dutch-Jewish documentary film producer. Elkerbout joined the Dutch Labor Broadcasting Company VARA as a young man, first in an administrative position but later working as a producer of television documentaries. In this capacity he made many reports from abroad – from Vietnam, Biafra, and particularly Israel, where he felt closest to the Israel Labor party. His interview with Golda Meir in 1976 won a special prize from the international press jury at the First Jewish Film and Television Festival in Jerusalem.

In 1979, together with his younger colleague Ludi Boeken, he founded the independent Belbo Film Productions Company, which specialized in documentaries on unusual subjects. The topics included the uncovering of the financial resources of the neo-Nazis throughout the world, the dumping of unlicensed medicines in the Third World, prisons in Argentina, and a reconstruction of the students' revolts in Europe in the late 1960s.

In 1986 he went over to producing full-length feature films, the first of which was *Dreamers*, on pioneers of the Third Aliyah in Palestine.

[Henriette Boas]

ELKES, ELHANAN (1879–1944), chairman of Kovno (Kaunas) *Aeltestenrat* (Council of Elders under the Nazis). Elkes was born in Kalvarija (Lithuania). He received both a traditional Jewish and a private secular education. Elkes studied medicine in Koenigsberg, Germany, was a village doctor in Belorussia, and then served as a physician in the Russian army during World War I before coming to Kovno, where he was director of internal medicine at Bikkur Holim. A respected physician, he treated prominent non-Jews as well as Jews and thus had excellent contacts, which he used when the Soviet Union occupied Kovno to assist in the emigration of Polish Jews stranded in Lithuania. Although an ardent Zionist from youth, he was not active in Jewish public life until the German occupation (June 1941), when he was unanimously elected chairman of the Kaunas *Aeltestenrat*, a position he accepted with great reluctance. Thus, he derived the legitimacy of his administration from the Jewish community and not from the Germans, who routinely appointed the Jewish leadership. Despite his failing health, Elkes guided the council for more than three years, during which time he took upon himself fateful decisions involving the future of the community while actively furthering the local resistance movement. He was a man of unquestioned integrity, who conducted the affairs of the Judenrat with equity and fairness, in marked contrast to other ghettos where corruption and the enticements of power – however limited and derivative from the German master – were rampant. Also in contrast with other Judenrat chairs, Elkes cooperated with the resistance. In Kovno the Jewish police directly assisted the partisans. In 1942, word of the fate of Polish Jews reached Kovno through Irena Adamowicz, a non-Jewish courier for the underground. From then on the members of the Jewish Council understood they would lead the battle for survival even without knowing if their efforts could postpone or prevent the day of destruction. Despite the Judenrat's best efforts, only 2,000 Jews – 8 percent of the ghetto's original population – survived, a rate little different from that of other ghettos whose internal governance was more corrupt and less benignly guided.

By his personality and dignity of bearing Elkes represents an outstanding example in the history of imposed Jewish "self-government." He wrote of his fate in a letter to his children, who were safe in England (written on October 19, 1943).

> I am writing these lines, my dear children, in the vale of tears of Vilijampole, Kovno Ghetto, where we have been for over two years. We have now heard that in a few days our fate is to be sealed. The Ghetto is to be crushed and torn asunder. Whether we are all to perish, or whether a few of us are to survive, is in God's hands. We fear that only those capable of slave labor will live; the rest, probably, are sentenced to death.
>
> We are left, a few out of many. Out of 35,000 Jews of Kovno, approximately 17,000 remain; out of a quarter of a million Jews in Lithuania … only 25,000 live … The rest were put to death in terrible ways by the followers of the greatest Haman of all times and generations …
>
> We are trying to steer our battered ship in furious seas, when waves of decrees and decisions threaten to drown it every day. Through my influence I succeeded, at times, in easing the verdict and scattering some of the dark clouds that hung over our heads. I bore my duties with head high and an upright countenance. Never did I ask for pity; never did I doubt our rights. I argued our case with total confidence in the justice of our demands.
>
> The Germans killed, slaughtered and murdered us in complete equanimity. I was there with them. I saw them when they sent thousands of people – men, women, children, infants – to their death, while enjoying their breakfast, and while mocking

> our martyrs. I saw them coming back from their murderous missions – dirty, stained from head to foot with the blood of our dear ones. There they sat at their table – eating and drinking, listening to light music. They are professional executioners.
>
> I am writing this in an hour when many desperate souls – widows and orphans, threadbare and hungry – are camping on my doorstep, imploring us for help. There is a desert inside me. My soul is scorched. I am naked and empty. There are no words in my mouth.

Following the liquidation of the ghetto, he was deported to Lansberg, where he served as a physician before succumbing to illness on October 17, 1944.

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[Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

ELKIN, ADOLPHUS PETER (1891–1979), Australian anthropologist. Born in Maitland, New South Wales, Elkin began his fieldwork in the mid-1920s among the Australian aborigines and was one of the founders of anthropology in Australia. In 1934 he joined the faculty of the University of Sydney and became the chairman of its department of anthropology, remaining until 1956. During this time he did fieldwork in all parts of Australia, as well as in New Guinea and other areas of Oceania, and wrote on the rapidly disappearing aborigines of these areas. His books include *The Australian Aborigines* (1954^3) and *Marriage and the Family in Australia* (1957). He became editor of the anthropology journal *Oceania* in 1933.

Elkin made great efforts to better the condition of the aboriginal peoples of Australia and New Guinea, and to improve relations between them and the white populations of these areas. From 1933 to 1962 he was president of the Association for the Protection of Native Races. Although Elkin's father, Reuben Israel Elkin, was Jewish, his mother was a Christian and, it should be noted, Elkin apparently regarded himself as an Anglican. He was married as an Anglican and for some years after 1919 was vice warden of St. Johns Theological College, Armadale, New South Wales, an Anglican institution.

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[Ephraim Fischoff / William D. Rubinstein (2nd ed.)]

ELKIN, STANLEY (1930–1995), U.S. novelist and short story writer. From 1955 to 1957, he served in the U.S. Army. From 1960, he taught and wrote at Washington University in St. Louis, Missouri, where he was appointed professor of English in 1968.

Elkin has been described as a black humorist. His fiction, which dramatizes the conflicts and vulgarity of contemporary popular culture in the U.S.A., has become increasingly popular since the 1960s. His first novel *Boswell: a Modern Comedy* (1964) chronicles the post-World War II era as seen through the eyes of a cynical outside observer. His 1976 novel *The Franchiser* describes the life of Ben Flesh, who collects franchises, lives out of his Cadillac, eats fast food, and sleeps in motels. Only serious illness forces Ben to confront the sterility of his life.

Elkin's fiction is peopled by fantastically comic characters. In his third novel, *The Dick Gibson Show* (1971), Elkin utilizes a radio talk show format to recreate a set of eccentric comic personalities. His novella *The Living End* (1979) traces the lives of hold-up victims in Minneapolis-St. Paul, the cast of characters including Jesus, Mary, and Joseph and others both living and dead.

Elkin often uses the Jew and his exile as analogy for man's striving for freedom. In his first collection of short stories, *Criers and Kibitzers, Kibitzers and Criers* (1966), Elkin evokes the atmosphere of growing up Jewish in the late 1930s.

Elkin's other works have included the novel *A Bad Man* (1967) and the volume of short stories *Searches and Seizure* (1973), *George Mills* (1982), for which he won the 1983 National Book Critics Circle Award, and *Magic Kingdom* (1985).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: D. Dougherty, *Stanley Elkin* (1990); T. Pughe, *Comic Sense* (1994).

[Susan Strul]

ELKIND, ARKADI DANIILOVICH (1869–?), Russian physician and anthropometrist. Elkind was born in Mogilev. After graduating in medicine, he became increasingly involved in the scientific study of anthropometry and craniology. As a result, he was entrusted by the Imperial Society of the Friends of Natural Science, Anthropology, and Ethnography with the study of the physical anthropology of Russian Poland. His extended investigations resulted in two important monographs for the society's journal, one an anthropological and cranial sketch of the Vistula Poles, the other *Yevrei*, a study based mainly on his observations of Polish Jews. The latter, which appeared in 1903, was described by M. *Fishberg as the most comprehensive work ever published on the anthropology of a particular Jewish community. Elkind later pursued his demographic and anthropometric research in Germany and Italy. He came to the conclusion that there was a distinctive Jewish type, especially among the Jews of Russian Poland, which had been crystallized for the most part in the pre-Christian period. He published his findings in *Zeitschrift fuer Demographie und Statistik der Juden* (nos. 4–5, 1906; no. 12, 1908).

[Ellen Friedman]

ELKUS, ABRAM ISAAC (1867–1947), U.S. lawyer and public official. Elkus, who was born in New York City, practiced law there. He was appointed special United States attorney to prosecute bankruptcy in 1908, and in 1911 counsel for the New York State Factory Investigating Commission. Under the administration of President Woodrow Wilson, he was ambassador to Turkey (1916–19). Upon his return to the United States, he served briefly on the New York State Court of Appeals and as a League of Nations commissioner before resuming his private law practice. He was active in a number of Jewish organizations, especially the New York Free Synagogue, whose president he was from 1919 to 1927, and the Jewish Publication Society of America, of which he was honorary vice president until his death.

[Hillel Halkin]

ELLENBOGEN, WILHELM (1863–1951), Austrian politician. Born in Breclav (Lundenburg, Moravia), he was taken to Vienna by his family in 1870 and qualified as a physician in 1886. He was one of the first members of the newly constituted Social Democratic party, and served on its Executive Board from 1891. He was elected to the Reichsrat in 1901 and remained in the Austrian parliament also after 1918, until its dissolution in 1934. In 1907, Ellenbogen played an important part in securing the passage of the Universal Franchise Bill. At the end of World War I, he negotiated with the Hungarian government for food shipments to save Vienna from famine. In 1919 he became undersecretary for commerce, and in 1921 he succeeded Otto *Bauer as secretary for socialization, with the rank of a cabinet member. Later he headed the office for electrification of the state railroads (until 1929). After the *Anschluss* in 1938, Ellenbogen fled to France and in 1940 to New York. His publications include *Was will die Sozialdemokratie?* (1910), *Sozialisierung in Oesterreich* (1922), and *Anschluss und Energiewirtschaft* (1928).

ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY: A. Barkai, "The Austrian Social Democrats and the Jews," in: *Wiener Library Bulletin,* 24 (1970); A. Rabinbach, *The Crisis of Austrian Socialism: from Red Vienna to Civil War, 1927–1934* (1983); R.S. Wistrich, *Socialism and the Jews: The Dilemmas of Assimilation in Germany and Austria-Hungary* (1982).

[Josef J. Lador-Lederer]

ELLENSON, DAVID HARRY (1947–), U.S. Reform rabbi and scholar of modern Jewish thought; president of Hebrew Union College. Born in Brookline, Mass., Ellenson was raised in an observant home in Newport News, Virginia. He received his undergraduate degree from the College of William and Mary in 1969, a master's degree from the University of Virginia in 1971, and his Ph.D. from Columbia in 1981. He was ordained at the Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion (HUC) in 1977, and from 1979 to 2001 was a professor at the HUC campus in Los Angeles. In 2001, Ellenson was appointed as the president of the Hebrew Union College.

Over the course of his life, Ellenson has belonged to Orthodox, Conservative, and Reform communities. Consequently, some observers greeted his appointment as HUC president as reflective of a new post-denominational trend in American Jewish life. Ellenson's wide-ranging life experiences, broad scholarly interests, and well-known affability have enabled him to forge connections with scholars and religious leaders of differing outlooks in the United States and Israel. At the same time, his vision of a liberal Judaism balanced by ethical obligation and personal autonomy, as well as a strong commitment to Zionism and the State of Israel, have infused considerable new energy into Hebrew Union College and the American Reform movement. Since becoming president of HUC, Ellenson has been a vocal spokesperson on contemporary Jewish issues in North America and the State of Israel.

Ellenson's research has been devoted to the manifold efforts of Jews to mediate between tradition and modernity in a post-Enlightenment age, as indicated by the titles of three volumes of his collected papers: *Tradition in Transition* (1989), *Tradition and Culture* (1994), and *After Emancipation* (2004). Throughout these books, Ellenson extensively analyzes two types of Jewish sources: liturgy and halakhic responsa. In the first case, Ellenson has followed his fellow Reform scholars Jakob J. *Petuchowski and Lawrence *Hoffman in utilizing liturgical innovation and translation as a prism through which to understand the ways in which modern Jews adapt age-old ritual formulae to contemporary realities. Typical of his intellectual reach, Ellenson's study of liturgy has spanned the denominational spectrum and engaged German, American, and Israeli milieux.

The other major genre of literature that has occupied Ellenson's scholarly attention is the halakhic responsum. In a long series of studies of articles, he has sought not only to understand halakhic decision-making from within the Jewish legal tradition, but also to examine the shifting function of the responsum in modern contexts that are quite distinct from the well-guarded bounds of the pre-modern *kehillah*. His approach owes much to the historical sociological method of Jacob *Katz, with whom Ellenson studied. For Ellenson, responsa are important barometers of the struggle of observant Jews to remain true to traditional legal norms while confronting the challenges of modernity.

David Ellenson has devoted the majority of his research to Orthodox Judaism. His main monographic study, based on his Columbia doctoral dissertation, is *Rabbi Esriel Hildesheimer and the Creation of a Modern Jewish Orthodoxy* (1990) that traces the intellectual path of the founder in 1873 of the new-style Berlin Orthodox rabbinical seminar. Ellenson brings his historical sociological method to bear on a subject who, to him, personifies the central question of modern Jewish existence: "how to live in two different cultural worlds." Although their paths differ, Ellenson avers, "I have come to see much of his problem as my own."

[David N. Myers (2nd ed.)]

ELLENSTEIN, MEYER C. (1886–1967), U.S. politician. Ellenstein was born in New York City and raised in Patterson, New Jersey. He graduated from Columbia University's dental school (1912) and opened a practice in Newark, meanwhile studying law at the New Jersey Law School. Receiving a law degree in 1925, Ellenstein gave up dentistry and entered politics. In 1933 he was elected on the Democratic ticket to the five-member Newark City Commission, which chose him mayor and returned him once more to the office in 1937. During his administration Ellenstein developed Newark's airport and harbor, but his second term was marred by charges of conspiracy to defraud the city in a real estate swindle. After a three-year investigation, Ellenstein was finally acquitted in 1940, but failed in his bid for reelection in 1941. In 1945 he was voted onto the City Commission again, where he served for eight more years. After another unsuccessful mayoral candidacy in 1958, he retired permanently from politics.

ELLINGER, MORITZ (1830–1907), U.S. public official, communal leader, and journalist. Ellinger was born in Fuerth, Bavaria, and arrived in New York in 1854. He advocated Reform Judaism. Active in the affairs of B'nai B'rith, he was a member of its National Executive Committee and served as corresponding secretary between 1895 and 1905, besides being instrumental in helping to establish lodges in several European countries. Ellinger toured Europe in 1882 on behalf of American Jewish leaders in an attempt to organize the migration of Russian refugees. In addition, he edited the *Menorah Monthly*, the official organ of B'nai B'rith, from 1860 to 1901, and as founder and editor of the *Jewish Times* (1869–78) he expressed the views of David *Einhorn. In civic life, Ellinger was coroner of New York City (1876–81) and an official of the Surrogate's Court (1888–1907). He also served as secretary of the New York Medico-Legal Society.

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[Robert Shosteck]

ELLIOT, "MAMA" CASS (Ellen Naomi Cohen; 1941–1974), U.S. folk singer, member of the rock group The Mamas and the Papas. Born in Baltimore, Maryland, to a middle-class Jewish family, Elliot was given the nickname Cass by her father. She changed her last name from Cohen to Elliot when she went to New York to try to make it as a Broadway actress in the early 1960s. Elliot joined a rock group, The Big Three, a short-lived band called the Mugwumps, and then the folk-rock band, the New Journeymen, which became The Mamas and the Papas in 1965. In December of that year the group's first album, *If You Can Believe Your Eyes and Ears*, was issued, containing the single, "California Dreamin'," which reached No. 4 on the music charts in March 1966, followed by "Monday, Monday," which in May reached No. 1 and later won a Grammy Award. Other hits included "Words of Love," "Dedicated To the One I Love," "Go Where You Wanna Go," "I Saw Her Again," and "Dream a Little Dream of Me," which became her theme song.

The Mamas and the Papas were arguably the first music act to combine both hippie and pop sensibilities, enabling Middle America to see the "safe" side of the Haight-Ashbury counterculture of the 1960s. Elliot, who had the most outgoing and appealing personality in the group, and who wore big yellow and orange flower and sun images in appliqué on a long white dress, became the poster girl for the "Age of Aquarius."

In June 1967, the group played at the prominent Monterey Pop Festival, but tensions within the band led to a break-up a year later. Eliot went solo, and had some hits with songs such as "It's Getting Better," "Make Your Own Kind of Music," and "New World Coming." In 1969 Eliot began appearing on TV variety shows doing comedy sketches and performing songs, with much success.

Eliot had health problems brought on by her obesity – she stood 5′5″ and weighed 238 lbs. – and on July 28, 1974, she died in London of a heart attack. It was initially misreported that her death was caused by choking on a ham sandwich, but despite the autopsy report by a pathologist and a London coroner a week later, the "ham sandwich" story became an urban legend.

Elliot and her fellow band mates from The Mamas and the Papas were inducted into the Rock and Roll Hall of Fame in 1998.

[Elli Wohlgelernter (2nd ed.)]

ELLIS, VIVIAN (1904–1996), British theatrical composer. Born in London, the son of a tailor, Ellis started as a concert pianist and began composing for musical shows before he was 20. He subsequently contributed music and lyrics to many revues, wrote popular songs, and was the composer for A.P. Herbert's musical plays *Big Ben* (1946), *Bless the Bride* (1947), *Tough at the Top* (1949), and *The Water Gypsies* (1955). He also wrote humorous books and two volumes of autobiography, *Ellis in Wonderland* (1939) and *I'm on a See-Saw* (1953). Ellis wrote many pieces of "light classical" music which have become well-known, such as "Coronation Scot," as well as popular songs like "Spread a Little Happiness."

BIBLIOGRAPHY: ODNB.

ELLISON, LAWRENCE J. (1944–), U.S. computer entrepreneur. Born out of wedlock in New York to a Jewish teenager and an Italian-American Air Force pilot, Ellison was raised by an aunt in a lower middle-class Jewish community in Chicago. At the University of Illinois, he was named science student of the year but dropped out of school after his aunt died. He enrolled at the University of Chicago, but also left before graduation. Ellison went to California, where, after a few jobs, he became a computer programmer. He was inspired by a paper on relational database theory, which held that if data could be stored in computers in a less "hierarchical" way, it would be easier to find and use. With two other programmers, Ellison began in 1977 what became the Oracle Corporation, now the foremost producer of computer software for corporate databases. At the time, IBM was doing pioneering research on the subject, but doubted that relational databases were commercially viable. Ellison put together a prototype and made his first sale to the CIA. Over the next few years, Oracle found itself on the cutting edge of data storage technology. IBM was wrong and Ellison was right. Relational databases were the future, and Oracle, under strong pressure from Ellison, won marquee-name clients like the National Security Agency and

Navy Intelligence before going public in 1986. Ellison turned Oracle into a world leader in producing software that runs large organizations. The initial release of Oracle was Oracle 2, even though there was no Oracle 1. The release number was intended to imply that all of the bugs had been worked out of an earlier version. Ellison was chief executive officer and a director from the time he cofounded the company. He was believed to be one of the richest people in America, with a net worth estimated at $18.7 billion.

Ellison and Oracle developed a reputation for dealing on the edge. It sold software not yet ready for use and blamed customers when things went wrong. In the early 1990s the mistakes caught up with the company and it suffered significant losses. But in 1992 Ellison brought in new leadership and Oracle regained its place in the market. At that time Ellison began focusing on the big picture. In the mid-1990s, when Microsoft was still not appreciating the importance of the Internet, Ellison pushed Oracle to switch over to web-based data storage software. It was a brilliant move, and Oracle rode the Internet to new heights.

Ellison was also the leader and principal financier of Oracle-BMW Racing, which competed for the America's Cup in 1999 and 2003 on behalf of the Golden Gate Yacht Club of San Francisco. Ellison was the winner of the disastrous 1998 Sydney to Hobart Yacht Race in his boat *Sayonara*. The storm that hit the race cost six other sailors their lives, an experience that caused Ellison to swear off ocean racing. Ellison was believed to have the biggest yacht (as of 2004) in the world, named *Rising Sun*. It was 452.75 feet long and reportedly cost more than $200 million to build.

[Stewart Kampel (2nd ed.)]

ELLMANN, RICHARD (1918–1987), U.S./British literary biographer and critic. One of the most eminent of recent literary biographers, Richard Ellmann was born in suburban Detroit, the son of a lawyer, and was educated at Yale University. When stationed in Britain during World War II he became interested in studying the lives of the leading modern Irish writers, and produced a long list of path-breaking and highly regarded studies and biographies, beginning with his life of William Butler Yeats, *Yeats: The Man and the Masks* (1948). Much of Ellmann's professional career was spent at Northwestern University in Illinois (from 1951 to 1968). From 1970 to 1982 he lived in England, where he was Goldsmiths' Professor of English Literature at Oxford University, the first American to hold this position. Ellmann returned to the United States in 1982, although he died in Oxford in 1987. Ellmann's long and distinguished list of works include his much-lauded biography *James Joyce* (1959), based on ten years of research, and *Oscar Wilde* (1987), completed immediately before his death, which received the Pulitzer Prize, as well as many other biographical works and essays. Ellmann was notable for the respect in which he held his subjects, declining, in contrast to many biographers, to concentrate on their pathologies. Ellmann was also the co-editor (with Robert O'Clair) of *The Norton Anthology of Modern Poetry* (1973), a standard collection. A posthumous *Festschrift* in his honor, edited by Susan Dick et al., *Essays for Richard Ellmann: Omnium Gatherum*, appeared in 1989.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: R.E. Johnsen, "Richard David Ellmann," in: John A. Garraty and Mark C. Carnes (eds.), *American National Biography*, vol. 7 (1999), 453–54.

[William D. Rubinstein (2nd ed.)]

ELLSBERG, DANIEL (1931–), U.S. government adviser responsible for leaking the Pentagon Papers. Born in Chicago, Ellsberg was a graduate of Columbia University, receiving both his B.S. (1952) and his Ph.D. (1959) there. A Vietnam veteran, he was a first lieutenant in the Marine Corps. He then went to work for the Rand Corporation on defense issues, ultimately becoming an important adviser to Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara. His views then were decidedly hawkish. He was assigned to study American policy toward Vietnam and in the course of that study became a fierce opponent of the war. He then took the major step of leaking a study of the history of American involvement in Vietnam to the *New York Times*. The study, commonly known as the Pentagon Papers, documented the way in which the Johnson administration had misled the American people during the Vietnam War. Although the Papers did not directly attack Richard Nixon's actions, his administration reacted with fury. Ellsberg was charged with leaking the document; a petition was filed against the *New York Times*, enjoining them from publishing the papers; and then the White House had some secret operatives, later known as the "plumbers unit" of Watergate fame, break into Ellsberg's psychiatrist's office in search of potentially incriminating information that could be used to destroy his reputation. When the *Washington Post*, which had not been enjoined from publication, printed the Pentagon Papers, the case became moot and the information became public. The break-in at the office of Ellsberg's psychiatrist became public during the Watergate hearings that led to the downfall of Richard Nixon, who resigned as president of the United States in August 1974. Having achieved his "five minutes of fame" Ellsberg remained politically active, most especially fighting against nuclear arms proliferation and becoming a prominent figure at public protests.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: D. Ellsberg, *Secrets: A Memoir of Vietnam and the Pentagon Papers* (2002).

[Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

ELLSBERG, EDWARD (1891–1983), U.S. naval officer. Born in New Haven, Conn., Ellsberg was the son of Jewish refugees from czarist Russia. The family moved to Colorado when Ellsberg was a boy. He trained as an engineer. One of very few Jews to be accepted into the U.S. Naval Academy in 1910, he ranked first in his class. After varied service on the *USS Texas*, he was ordered to the Massachusetts Institute of Technology for postgraduate work in naval architecture, receiving a master of science degree. Although he was encouraged to remain an executive officer, he transferred into naval construction. During World War I he worked in refitting confiscated German liners in the New York Navy Yard and subsequently became an authority on raising sunken vessels. In 1925 he became the first person to be awarded the Distinguished Service Medal in peacetime when he raised the submarine USS *S-51*, which had sunk after a collision off Block Island, Rhode Island. During the ten-month salvage operation, Ellsberg became the first naval officer to qualify as a deep-sea diver, understanding the importance of going down to the ocean floor with his men. He earned a reputation as an expert in submarine salvage.

In industry, Ellsberg worked as chief engineer of the Tidewater Oil Company until 1935. He patented several inventions, including a method for increasing the yield of high-octane gasoline and a process for removing water from lubricating oil.

Ellsberg organized the rehabilitation of the U.S. naval base in Eritrea (then Massawa, Ethiopia) following the entry of the United States into World War II. There, with a makeshift workforce, he restored the demolished Italian naval base and cleared the harbor of scuttled ships. At the end of 1942 he was made principal salvage officer for the Mediterranean. On the North African coast, he cleared the ports of Oran and Algiers for Operation Torch. He also took part in the Artificial Harbors project connected with the Allied invasion of France in 1944. He was released from active duty shortly before the end of World War II. Ellsberg was the recipient of many awards from the United States and British governments, such as the Legion of Merit and the Order of the British Empire. He retired in 1951 with the rank of rear admiral. He consulted for shipbuilding companies and remained on the sea, traveling and sailing on his boat.

Ellsberg was the author of books on naval topics, including *On the Bottom* (1928), *Thirty Fathoms Deep* (1930), *Pigboats* (1931), *S-54* (1932), *Hell on Ice* (1938), *Men under the Sea* (1940), *Under the Red Sea Sun* (1946), *No Banners, No Bugles* (1949), *Passport for Jennifer* (1952), *Midwatch* (1954), and *The Far Shore* (1960).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: J. Ben Hirsh, *Jewish General Officers* (1967), 96–98. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** J. Alden, *Salvage Man: Edward Ellsberg and the U.S. Navy* (1997).

[Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

ELLSTAETTER, MORITZ (1827–1905), German politician, the first Jew to become a minister in a German state. Born in Karlsruhe, Ellstaetter studied law and worked in a banking house in Berlin, where he met Karl Mathy (1807–1868), the future Baden minister of finance. When Mathy assumed office in 1866, he appointed Ellstaetter department head of his ministry. In 1868, on Mathy's death, Ellstaetter was given responsibility for the ministry. He reformed the Baden finances and introduced a new taxation policy which was followed by other German states. Ellstaetter advised the German government on fiscal and coinage legislation for 25 years. In 1881 he became director of railways. Although he took no part in Jewish affairs, Ellstaetter was, because of racial prejudice, only officially confirmed as minister of finance in 1888. He retired due to ill health in 1893.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: NDB, 4 (1959), 460.

[B. Mordechai Ansbacher]

ELLSTEIN, ABRAHAM (**Abe**; 1907–1963), composer, conductor, and pianist. Born in New York, Ellstein studied with Frederick *Jacobi, Rubin *Goldmark, and Albert Stoessel, and became the accompanist for Mischa Mischakoff, Michel Piastro, Isa Kramer, and Jossele *Rosenblatt. At the age of 19 he wrote the first of his 33 scores for the Yiddish musical theater. He also wrote the scores for several Yiddish films produced in Warsaw before World War II and composed over 500 Yiddish songs. In 1957 he turned to composing works for concert, stage, and the synagogue. Among his compositions are *Ode to the King of Kings,* a cantata in celebration of the tenth anniversary of the State of Israel; *The Thief and the Hangman*, a one-act opera; *Hora Fantasy,* for piano; *Haftorah,* for violin and string orchestra; *Negev Concerto,* for piano and orchestra; two *Sabbath Eve Services; Passover Service; The Redemption,* a Hanukkah oratorio for chorus, organ, and percussion; and an opera, *The Golem* (1962).

ELMALEH, family of rabbis and communal leaders in Turkey, Morocco, and Italy. The family originated in Spain. (1) ABRAHAM BEN JUDAH ELMALIK, kabbalist, settled in Pesaro in 1551. He was the author of *Likkutei Shikhḥah u-Fe'ah* (Ferrara, 1556), kabbalistic expositions of talmudic *aggadot.* In the introduction he relates his adventures on leaving his home, possibly Salonika, though some scholars took it to refer to the expulsion from Spain. (2) AARON BEN GERSHON ELMALI was an important member of the Salonika community in the first half of the 17th century. His signature occurs on a document of 1647, and members of his family were represented in the Évora congregation of Salonika (whose members originally came from *Évora). The first known member of the Turkish branch of the family is (3) MOSES BEN DON DAVID ELMALEH of Adrianople. He apparently served as *dayyan* and there is a reference to him dating from 1510. After this date the name is hardly found in Turkey, the family reappearing in Salé and Rabat in North Africa at the beginning of the 18th century. (4) JOSEPH BEN AYYUSH ELMALEH (1750–1823), kabbalist and halakhist, was considered one of the outstanding Moroccan scholars of his time. He served as rabbi of Salé and of Rabat in 1780. There he maintained a large yeshivah, which continued to function after his death. In 1809 he was in Gibraltar with the intention, according to one source, of journeying on to Ereẓ Israel, and was invited to serve as rabbi there. In the same year, however, he returned to Rabat. He introduced a special tax (*imposta*) on behalf of the poor, which is still levied. His responsa (Leghorn, 1823–55), chiefly on *Ḥoshen Mishpat* and in part on *Even Ha-Ezer*, are a valuable source for the history of the Jews of Morocco. His son (5) AMRAM (d. before 1855), a wealthy merchant, dwelt in Mogador and in Lisbon. According to one source he was once imprisoned in Lisbon, but was freed on the intervention of the British authorities. During the last years of his life, he was appointed Sicilian consul in Mogador. His protection of the Jews aroused the anger of the Muslims.

(6) AARON BEN REUBEN ELMALEH of Demnat in south Morocco settled in Rabat and studied in the *bet ha-midrash* of Joseph ben Ayyush Elmaleh, whose daughter he married. When his father-in-law went to Gibraltar, he acted in his stead. His halakhic rulings were extant in manuscript. (7) JACOB BEN JOSEPH, rabbi and poet, lived in Rabat. He was the author of poems and dirges, among them a *kinah* on the persecutions in Morocco in 1790. (8) JOSEPH ELMALEH (1788–1866), son of (7), rabbi, writer of books on Kabbalah, and merchant, was born in Rabat and married into the wealthy Gedaliah family, which had many business connections in Morocco and London. Joseph served as rabbi in Mogador for over 50 years and built a large synagogue there. His great influence with Abdul Raḥman, sultan of Morocco, enabled him to be of great assistance to the Jews. When the city was attacked by the Kabyles in 1844, hundreds of Jews gathered in his house and defended themselves against their attackers. Later he lost his wealth and immigrated to Jerusalem shortly before his death. (9) JOSEPH BEN AARON ELMALEH (1809–1886) was born in Rabat, where he later served as *dayyan*. In 1826 he went to Mogador and about 1840 was appointed rabbi there. He became Austrian consul and was decorated both by the emperor Franz Joseph and by the bey of Tunis. Joseph was active on behalf of the persecuted Jews of Morocco, opposing missionary activities, and bringing many apostates back to the fold. In 1879 on one of his numerous business visits to Europe, he was offered the position of rabbi to the Spanish and Portuguese community in London, but declined. He died in London. His son REUBEN became head of the community of Mogador as well as Austrian consul.

(10) ABRAHAM BEN JOSEPH ELMALEH, rabbi of Mogador, played an important role in the spiritual and communal life of the Jews of Morocco, and was considered one of its important contemporary poets. In 1855 he was in Leghorn as an emissary. While there he published *Sova Semaḥot*, a book of poems, a shortened version of which was published in Algiers in 1890. The poems are full of religious yearning and of longing for Zion and redemption. He also published *Tokpo shel Yosef*, responsa. (11) JUDAH BEN MORDECAI ELMALEH, rabbi of Sefrou, was also in Fez, Meknès, and Rabat. In 1833 he endorsed a responsum of the sages of Fez and in the following year, himself wrote a responsum in Tetuán. He appears to have been a bookseller, and correspondence on books and halakhic topics between him and Amir Abutbol of Sefrou are extant. (12) ELIJAH BEN ABRAHAM ELMALEH, lawyer and jurist, was the author of *Naḥalat Avot* (Leghorn, 1874) on the will of the caid, Nissim *Samama of Tunis, *Mishpat ha-Yerushah* (Leghorn, 1878), and other works. (13) ELIJAH BEN JACOB ELMALEH (1837–1908) was born in Mogador, settled in Tangiers in his early youth, and was appointed rabbi there. He was the author of *Beka la-Gulgolet* (Jerusalem, 1911) on the Bible, as well as novellae on the Talmud and the Codes.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *The Voice of Jacob*, 4 (1844), 33–34, 50–51; JC (Jan. 5, 1886); J. Nehama, *Mikhtevei Dodim mi-Yayin* (1893), 100; Kaufmann, in: ZDMG, 50 (1896), 238–40, 335–6; idem, in: REJ, 37 (1898), 120–6; J.M. Toledano, *Ner ha-Ma'arav* (1910/11), 168–91; N. Leven, *Cinquante ans d'histoire*, 2 (1920), 81, 89; J. Benaim, *Malkhei Rabbanan* (1931), 19b, 52b, 102a; M.D. Gaon, *Yehudei ha-Mizraḥ be-Ereẓ Yisrael*, 2 (1937), 73–78; A.M. Hyamson, *The Sefardim of England* (1951), 363; Toledano, in: *Minḥah le-Avraham Elmaleh* (1959), 22–26; Benayahu, *ibid.*, 27–39.

ELMALEH, ABRAHAM (1885–1967), Hebrew author and a leader of the Sephardi community in Ereẓ Israel. Born in Jerusalem, Elmaleh fostered Hebrew education among the Sephardi Jewish communities in Palestine, Istanbul, and Damascus before World War I. He was a member of the Asefat ha-Nivḥarim and of its executive, the Va'ad Le'ummi. Elected to the Jerusalem Municipal Council, Elmaleh served as deputy mayor for some time. In 1949 he was elected to the first Knesset on the Sephardi list. A journalist and writer, he was founder and editor in chief of the daily *Ha-Ḥerut* (1909–10), served on the editorial boards of the daily *Do'ar ha-Yom*, and edited the monthly magazine *Mizraḥ u-Ma'arav* (1912–32). In addition to publishing popular works on the history of Palestine and Syria during World War I and on the Jews in Oriental countries, Elmaleh compiled the following dictionaries: Hebrew-French (1923, 1925, 1947), French-Hebrew (1935, and eight other editions), Hebrew-Arabic (1929), Arabic-Hebrew (1930), and a Hebrew-French dictionary in five volumes (1950–57). A list of his Hebrew writings is found in *Minḥah le-Avraham* (1959), 11–43 (Hebrew numerals). Elmaleh also wrote *Rishonim le-Ẓiyyon Toledoteihem u-Fe'-ulatam* (1970), containing biographies of the Sephardi rabbis of Ereẓ Israel.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Tidhar, 1 (1947), 512–4.

EL MALE RAḤAMIM (Heb. אֵל מָלֵא רַחֲמִים; "God full of compassion"), a prayer for the departed recited at the funeral service, on the anniversary of the death (**Yahrzeit*), on visiting the graves of relatives (especially on the Ninth of *Av and during the month of Elul), or after having been called up to the reading of the Law (see **Ashkavah*). In some Ashkenazi rites it is also part of the memorial service (**Hazkarat Neshamot*) on the festivals and on the Day of Atonement. *El Male Raḥamim* originated in the Jewish communities of Western and Eastern Europe where it was recited for the martyrs of the *Crusades and of the *Chmielnicki massacres. This explains the many different versions of this prayer in various European communities (e.g., Nemirov, Lublin, Prague, etc.). At a funeral service which takes place on those days when **Taḥanun* is not said, *El Male Raḥamim* is also omitted and other appropriate prayers are substituted. In the Conservative version of *El Male Raḥamim*, the words "and in whose memory charity is offered by… so and so…" are omitted (see *Likkutei Tefillah, A Rabbi's Manual [RAA]* (1965), 120ff.). The Reform ritual has a shorter version of the traditional Hebrew and English text (*Rabbis' Manual [CCAR]* (1961^{2}), 99).

Musical Rendition

The elaborate musical form of the prayer, and its – often virtuoso – rendition by a cantor, are customary only among the Ashkenazi communities. There it has become the symbolic center of the burial and commemoration ceremonies, next to the **Kaddish*. The melody is almost never featured in the standard collections of synagogal song. The version attributed originally to Joshua (Osia) *Abrass became famous when Solomon *Razumni recited it after the Kishinev pogrom.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Davidson, Oẓar, 1 (1924), 176, no. 3808, and 3800, 3801, 3804, 3805, 3806, 3807; Elbogen, Gottesdienst, 203; *Siddur Oẓar ha-Tefillot* (Sephardi, 1916), 723ff. MUSICAL RENDITION: A. Baer, *Ba'al Tefillah* (1883^{2}), no. 829; M. Wodak, *Ha-Menaẓẓe'aḥ* (1898), no. 442; J.J. Sebba, *Shirei Yosef* (1914), no. 102.

[Bathja Bayer]

ELMAN, MISCHA (1891–1967), violinist. Born at Talnoye, near Kiev, Elman received his first violin lessons from his father Saul, who later wrote a book entitled *Memoirs of Mischa Elman's Father* (1933). At the age of six he was taken to the Odessa Music Academy. In 1902 he was accepted in Leopold *Auer's class at the St. Petersburg Conservatory, having received a permit of residence by Imperial assent, since Jews were not allowed to live in that city. As a youth he made sensational debuts in St. Petersburg and Berlin (1904), in London (1905), and in New York (1908). Thereafter he made the United States his home, but traveled widely. His playing, remarkable for its sweet intonation as well as technical perfection, gave rise to the phrase "the Elman tone." Besides many transcriptions for violin, he composed several works, including a light opera.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: M. Carpenter, *Mischa Elman and Joseph Szigeti* (1955); *Grove's Dict.*

[Dora Leah Sowden]

ELMAN, ZIGGY (**Harry Finkelman**; 1914–1968), U.S. trumpeter and band leader. Elman is one of those handful of jazz musicians who has the misfortune of being known for a single recording, "And the Angels Sing," which was a huge hit for the Benny Goodman band in 1938. The song was a reworking of an Elman tune, "Frailach in Swing," that bespoke both musicians' all-but-forgotten roots in Jewish music. Elman was born in Philadelphia but raised in Atlantic City, where he flourished as a startlingly natural musician, first playing trombone with the Alex Bartha band on the Steel Pier, then joining Goodman in 1936. Elman could play any instrument he picked up, once teaching himself clarinet in a single day for a performance with the Goodman band. After leaving Goodman in 1940, he played with several other important bands, including Tommy Dorsey's and his own, basing himself in Los Angeles. Ironically, when Hollywood came calling for *The Benny Goodman Story* Elman, who played himself, was too ill to recreate his famous solo on "Angels"; his trumpet part was dubbed by Mannie Klein.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: J. Chilton, "Ziggy Elman," in: *Who's Who of Jazz: Storyville to Swing Street* (1978); D. Fairweather, "Ziggy Elman," in: *Jazz: The Rough Guide* (1995); O. Ferguson, "The Boy from the Back Row," in: *The New Republic* (May 17, 1939).

[George Robinson (2nd ed.)]

EL MELEKH NE'EMAN (Heb. אֵל מֶלֶךְ נֶאֱמָן; "God, faithful King"), an affirmation of faith pronounced before the recital of the **Shema*. The rabbis interpreted the word *Amen as being composed of the initial letters of *El Melekh Ne'eman* (Shab. 119b). The phrase, however, is pronounced only in private prayer and not at public services where an interposition (even Amen) between *Shema* and the preceding benediction is omitted (according to some opinions) as an unlawful "interruption." A midrashic interpretation (Tanḥ, B., Lev. 74ff.) derives the custom of reciting *El Melekh Ne'eman* from the fact that the *Shema* consists of 245 words, and the phrase *El Melekh Ne'eman* brings the number up to 248, corresponding to that of the human limbs (cf. Ps. 35:10 "All my bones shall say: Lord, who is like unto Thee"). At public synagogue services where the *ḥazzan* repeats the last three words of the *Shema* aloud, the number of the words comes to 248 and the recital of *El Melekh Ne'eman* is therefore omitted (see Sh. Ar., OḤ 61:3).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Elbogen, Gottesdienst, 21ff.; Eisenstein, Dinim, 16.

EL MELEKH YOSHEV (Heb. אֵל מֶלֶךְ יוֹשֵׁב; "God, King enthroned"), first words and name of a petitional prayer for the forgiving of sins, with reference to *God's Thirteen Attributes (Ex. 34:6–7). It is the main theme and refrain of the **Seliḥot* services in all rites and is thought to have originated in the sixth century C.E.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Elbogen, Gottesdienst, 222; Davidson, Oẓar, 1 (1929), 177, no. 3822.

ELNATHAN BEN ACHBOR (Heb. אֶלְנָתָן; "God has given"; Septuagint reads here the semantically equivalent Yehonatan), a minister of King *Jehoiakim (Jer. 36:12). Yeivin identifies him with Elnathan, the father-in-law of King Jehoiakim (II Kings 24:8). At the king's command Elnathan brought the prophet *Uriah from asylum in Egypt to be executed (Jer. 26:20–23). In another episode he begged the king not to burn Jeremiah's scroll of denunciation (Jer. 36:25). Certain scholars feel that these two acts are incompatible. However, human behavior is not always consistent. Indeed, Elnathan's reverence for Jeremiah's scroll may very well have resulted from a guilty conscience because of his role in Uriah's murder.

The *Lachish ostraca mention a prophet of Zedekiah's reign whose words are "not good, making hands weak" (6:2–8), as well as an army officer named C[on]iah b. Elnathan, who went to Egypt (3:13–21). Torczyner (Tur-Sinai) attempted to relate the two references and explained that the ostraca refer to the prophet Uriah's being brought back from Egypt by

Elnathan. The fact remains, however, that Jeremiah speaks of a prophet who fled to Egypt during Jehoiakim's reign, while the ostraca refer to a prophet of Zedekiah's time. In addition, according to the biblical text, the minister who goes to Egypt is Elnathan b. Achbor, while in the Lachish ostraca it is C[on]iah b. Elnathan. Therefore it seems that two similar but not identical events took place, the first during Jehoiakim's and the second during Zedekiah's reign. The "true" prophets opposed an Egyptian orientation and preached capitulation to Babylonia ("to weaken our hands"). During the reigns of both kings they were persecuted and forced to flee. Political fugitives had traditionally sought asylum in Egypt. It is almost certain that C[on]iah mentioned in the ostraca was the son of the Elnathan in the biblical text, and that he performed a mission in the time of Zedekiah similar to his father's during Jehoiakim's reign.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: H. Torczyner (Tur-Sinai) et al., *The Lachish Letters* (1938), 63–67; idem, *Te'udot Lakhish* (1940), 93–103; Yeivin, in: *Tarbiz*, 12 (1940/41), 255–9; Malamat, in: BJPES, 14 (1948), 871. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** W. Holladay, *Jeremiah 2* (1989), 252.

[Jacob Elbaum]

ELNECAVÉ, DAVID (1882–1963), journalist and writer. Born in Istanbul, Turkey, he studied at the Rabbinical Seminar of Istanbul and in 1909 founded the Sephardi Zionist daily *El Djudio*. Political persecution in Turkey for his Zionist activities motivated his immigration to Sofia, Bulgaria, where he continued to publish *El Djudio* between 1925 and 1930. In 1930 he immigrated to Argentina and was the correspondent of the JTA. In 1931 he founded the Spanish bi-weekly *La Luz*, which fulfilled a central role in spreading the Zionist ideology among the Sephardim in Argentina during the 1930s and 1940s. After his death *La Luz* was directed by his son Nissim and subsequently by his grandson David. Elnecavé was the author of a number of books on biblical and Jewish topics, including *El buen pastor* and *Introducción a la Biblia*.

[Efraim Zadoff (2nd ed.)]

EL NORA ALILAH (Heb. אֵל נוֹרָא עֲלִילָה; "God that doest wondrously"), name of a solemn hymn for the **Ne'ilah* service of the Day of Atonement. The initial letters of the stanzas (משה חזק) form the name of its author, Moses b. Jacob *Ibn Ezra of Spain. The motive of this hymn is expressed in the refrain of each of its eight stanzas: "Pardon at Thy people's cry,/ As the closing hour draws nigh," referring to the last hours of the Day of Atonement. The hymn (which is to be found in the prayer books of Aragon, Barcelona, Algiers, Tunisia, Leghorn, Constantine, and Tlemcen) originally formed part only of the Sephardi and Yemenite (*Tiklal*) *Ne'ilah* liturgy, but because of its moving text and solemn melody some Ashkenazi congregations also included it in their liturgy (cf. *High Holiday Prayerbook*, ed. M. Silverman (1954^2), 458).

[Meir Ydit]

ELOESSER, ARTHUR (**Marius Daalmann**; 1870–1938), German literary historian and dramatic critic. Born and educated in Berlin, Eloesser was denied an academic career at the university because of his refusal to convert and thus became a drama critic for the *Vossische Zeitung* and a producer at the Lessing Theatre in Berlin. He published essays and criticism in the *Neue Rundschau* and edited the works of Otto Ludwig, Heinrich von Kleist, Shakespeare, and Frank Wedekind. In 1925 Eloesser wrote the first biography of Thomas Mann. His main achievement was *Die Deutsche Literatur vom Barock bis zur Gegenwart* (2 vols., 1930–31). Its second volume was published in English as *Modern German Literature* (1933) and contained a preface by Eloesser's cousin, Ludwig Lewisohn. He published monographs on French and German literary figures and an autobiographical work, *Die Strasse meiner Jugend* (1919). Eloesser was long indifferent to his Jewishness, but he adopted a positive Jewish attitude after Hitler came to power and was impressed by two visits to Palestine. He became an occasional contributor to the *Juedische Rundschau* and in 1933 published *Judentum and deutsches Geistesleben*. In 1936 Eloesser published *Vom Ghetto nach Europa* on the role of the Jews in 19th-century culture from material he had prepared for *Juden im deutschen Kulturbereich* and whose publication was prohibited by the Nazis. It concentrated on German-Jewish authors such as Moses *Mendelsssohn, Berthold *Auerbach, and Heinrich *Heine. Eloesser promoted the return to Ereẓ Israel; however, on his return from his second journey to Palestine he became severely ill and died in the Jewish hospital in Berlin in 1938.

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[Ann-Kristin Koch (2nd ed.)]

ELON, AMOS (1926–), Israeli journalist and author. Born in Vienna, Elon came to Israel as a young child. He began his career as a journalist for *Ba-Maḥaneh* and in 1948 published his first book, *Yerushalayim Lo Naflah* ("Jerusalem Did Not Fall"). From 1954 he was associated with *Ha'aretz* and from 1961 was a member of the editorial board. He served as foreign correspondent in New York, Washington, Paris, Bonn, and Eastern Europe. His book *A Journey through a Haunted Land* (1967), a reportage on the new Germany, was highly praised. His bestselling *The Israelis: Founders and Sons* (1971) was heralded by *Newsweek* magazine as "the most illuminating, even-handed, candid appraisal of the Jewish condition yet to appear," and his biography *Herzl* (1975) was also widely acclaimed. *Herzl* was later made into a Broadway play by Dore *Schary in collaboration with Elon.

His other books include *Between Enemies* (1974), a dialogue with Egyptian Sana Hassan; the novel *Timetable* (1980); *Flight into Egypt* (1981); *Founder: Meyer Amschel Rothschild and His Time* (1996); and *The Pity of It All: A Portrait of the*

German-Jewish Epoch, 1743–1933 (2002). His works have appeared in English, Hebrew, French, German, Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, and Japanese.

ELON, BINYAMIN (**Benny**; 1954–), Israeli rabbi and politician, member of Knesset since the Fourteenth Knesset. Born in Jerusalem, the son of former Supreme Court justice Menachem *Elon, he studied at Yeshivat Merkaz ha-Rav in Jerusalem and the Idra Kolel in the Golan Heights. He served in the IDF in the artillery corps. He was ordained as a rabbi in 1978. In 1979–82 Elon served as rabbi in Kibbutz Sheluḥot in the Beit She'an Valley. In 1983–85 he was an emissary of the Jewish Agency to the Jewish students organizations in the United States, and after his return taught at the Makhon Meir and Atteret Kohanim yeshivot in Jerusalem. He settled with his family in Bet-El near Ramallah in 1982 and in 1987 founded there, together with his wife, Emuna, the Sifriyat Bet-El publishing house, and the Tov Ro'i Institute, where he published Abraham Isaac *Kook's talmudic commentaries. In 1990 he established the Bet Orot Yeshivah, heading it until 1996, when he was elected to the Knesset.

Elon was an active opponent of the Oslo Accords and consequently founded the Emunim Movement, which fought against the establishment of a Palestinian authority, which he viewed from the start as a terrorist entity. He maintained that it was legitimate to discuss a transfer of the Palestinian population to a Jordanian-Palestinian state in Transjordan, and argued that the refugee camps should be dismantled, and the refugees resettled.

Elon entered the Fourteenth Knesset on the list of Reḥavam *Ze'evi's Moledet party, and despite the extreme views that he represented soon came to be known for his mild manner. He promoted the unification of the various right-wing parties in the Knesset and ran in the elections to the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Knessets on the National Union list. Following the assassination of Ze'evi in October 2001, Elon was appointed minister of tourism, but resigned from Ariel *Sharon's government in March 2002 because of Sharon's agreement that the assassins of Ze'evi be held in prison in Jericho instead of being turned over to Israel. He was again appointed minister of tourism in the government formed by Sharon after the elections to the Sixteenth Knesset. During both his terms in the Ministry of Tourism he contended with the drop in tourism to Israel due to the second *Intifada*, by encouraging Christian tourism to the Holy Land and the development of tourist sites in Judea and Samaria. The National Union objected fundamentally to Sharon's disengagement plan, and the removal of Jewish settlements from parts of Ereẓ Israel, and as a result its ministers were dismissed by Ariel Sharon from the government in June 2004, before the government voted on the issue.

Since his dismissal from the government Elon has been an active member in the Finance Committee.

From 1990 Elon was active in establishing various associations engaged in the purchase of property and buildings in East Jerusalem and the renewal of Jewish settlement in them. He was also active in renewing Jewish settlement in Bethlehem, in the vicinity of Rachel's tomb. He maintained close ties with Jewish communities abroad and communities of Christians who support Israel throughout the world.

His wife, EMUNA, an educator and writer, served as the prime minister's adviser on women in 1996–97, and in this capacity led the establishment of the National Authority for the Advancement of Women. She has written numerous children's books.

[Susan Hattis Rolef (2nd ed.)]

ELON (Fetter), MENACHEM (1922–), Israeli jurist and Supreme Court justice. Born in Dueseldorf, Germany, Elon immigrated to Palestine in 1935. After eight years of study at the Hebron Yeshivah in Jerusalem, where he was ordained as a rabbi, Elon was awarded an M.A. degree in humanities (*cum laude*), and a doctor of laws degree (*cum laude*) from the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, where he subsequently taught for over 40 years. From 1959 to 1966 Elon was adviser on Jewish Law to the Israel Ministry of Justice. From 1966 he taught Jewish Law at the Hebrew University, where he founded and directed the Institute for Research in Jewish Law.

Elon was appointed to the Supreme Court of Israel in 1977 and was named deputy president of the Court in 1988. He was awarded the Israel Prize in 1979 for his classic work, the authoritative four-volume *Ha-Mishpat ha-Ivri* (Eng. version: *Jewish Law: History, Sources, Principles*, 1994). It compares Jewish legal traditions and modern legal systems, emphasizing both the differences between them and their common denominators. The work became the classic textbook in universities and law schools in Israel and abroad in Jewish Law.

The first part of the work deals with the history and elements of Jewish Law, its scientific study and its impact – as a living legal system – on Jewish history and society. The second section deals systematically with the various legal sources of Jewish Law such as exegesis (*midrash*) and interpretation, legislation, custom (*minhag*), precedent, and legal reasoning. The third section is devoted to a broad description of the literary sources of Jewish Law, from biblical times until the modern era, including the basic sources (Bible, Mishnah, and Talmud) and their interpretation, the commentaries and novellae literature, the codificatory literature, and the vast responsa literature. The fourth part deals extensively with the implementation of Jewish Law in the modern legal system, particularly in Israeli legislation and case law. Elon, together with his predecessors (such as Judges S. *Assaf, M. Zilberg, and H. *Cohen), made a remarkable and most important contribution to the implementation of Jewish Law in hundreds of judgments he wrote while serving as a Supreme Court judge. Amongst his most important and renowned judgments are the decision enabling women to serve as active local religious council members, a decision forbidding active euthanasia, and a decision forbidding imprisonment for civil debt.

Elon's attitude in the study of Jewish Law can be characterized by three main qualities: (1) research into all periods of Jewish Law (unlike his predecessors, who focused on the biblical and talmudic periods) and the intensive use of post-talmudic legal sources, in particular the vast responsa literature; (2) historical-analytical methodology, analytically examining each legal institution while examining at the same time how its development was affected both by time and place; (3) emphasis on the potential of Jewish Law to contribute to the modern legal system and indication of how its principals should be implemented in modern law, legislation, and judgments alike.

Elon published many works on the history and nature of Jewish Law and the relationship between it and the modern State of Israel, including *The Freedom of the Person of the Debtor in Jewish Law* (1964, 2000^2), *Religious Legislation in the Laws of the State of Israel and within the Jurisdiction of the Civil and Rabbinical Courts* (1968), *Jewish Law (Mishpat Ivri): Cases and Materials* (1999), and *The Status of Women: Tradition and Transition* (2004). From 1968 to 1971 he was editor of the Jewish Law section of the *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, whose entries were subsequently collected in his *Principles of Jewish Law.* By 1984 he had edited ten volumes of the *Annual of the Institute for Research in Jewish Law* of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem and also edited *Indices to the Responsa of Jewish Law* (5 vols.).

Elon established Chairs of Jewish Law at the Harvard School of Law, New York University, and McGill University, Montreal, and was the founder of the Institute for Research in Jewish Law of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem (1963) and the Center for the Study and Research of Jewish Law at Sha'arei Mishpat College (1997), where he served as dean until 2003. From 1995 Elon also served as the president of the World Union of Jewish Studies and continued to serve as editor of the Jewish Law section of the second edition of the *Encyclopaedia Judaica*.

[Aviad Hacohen (2nd ed.)]

EL PASO, west Texas city bordering New Mexico and situated on the Rio Grande River across from Juarez, Chihuahua, Mexico; Jewish population (1969) was approximately 4,500 out of a total population of 400,000. Its general population increased significantly with the expansion of the Southwest and numbered 750,000 in the early 2000s but the increase of the Jewish population did not keep pace proportionately. There were approximately 5,000 Jews in El Paso in 2005. The Jewish population was unusual in its low median age range, its large proportion of American-born newcomer families, and its large proportion of third-, fourth- and fifth-generation American Jews. Despite its geographic isolation from important Jewish population centers, the El Paso community maintained organizational counterparts of several Jewish institutions and philanthropic agencies. El Paso was a major crossroad for the east-west and north-south trails of the 1800s. There were Jews in El Paso as early as 1850 and major influxes of Jews occurred after each of the world wars. Many Jewish pioneers were involved in business transactions with Mexican government and anti-government forces, with the U.S. Indian Bureau, and with the U.S. Quartermaster Corps. Many Jewish soldiers were stationed at Fort Bliss and other military installations in the area and a sizable number of these stayed on after discharge. Mount Sinai Temple, the oldest Jewish institution in El Paso, is located in the Mission Hills district of the west side of the Franklin Mountains where most Jews reside. In 2005 this Reform congregation consisted of approximately 480 members. Congregation B'nai Zion (Conservative) is located further west and has a comparable membership. Although there was an Orthodox congregation in El Paso between the world wars, none existed by the 1960s until Chabad came to town.

The El Paso Jewish Federation coordinates Jewish organizational activities and the annual Jewish fundraising appeal which originated in 1935. El Paso also boasts a Jewish Family and Children's Service, housing for the elderly, and a Jewish day school, El Paso Hebrew Academy, with grades 1–8. Each of the congregations has a religious school for children and there is a great deal of informal Jewish learning sponsored by many of the local institutions. El Paso is home to a Holocaust Museum and Study Center that serves the Jewish as well as the non-Jewish community. A sizable collection of Judaica was established in the library of the University of Texas at El Paso by the family of the late Dr. Vincent Ravel.

By the 1960s, El Paso Jews were primarily merchants. As in much of the United States, by the new millennium, El Paso's Jews were increasingly professionalized, including lawyers and doctors, accountants, academics, businesspeople, and others.

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[Ralph Segalman / Anne Schwartz Schaechner (2nd ed.)]

EL SALVADOR, republic of Central America; population, 6,704,932 (2005); Jewish population, 120.

El Salvador is one of the smallest communities in Latin America. A few Crypto-Jews from Portugal passed through El Salvador in colonial times. The recorded existence of Jews in El Salvador dates back to the first half of the 19th century, when some French-Sephardi Jews settled in the small town of Chalchuapa. More French and German Jews, most of them Alsatians, settled in the capital, San Salvador, during the second half of the 19th century. Alfredo Widawer, arriving in 1909, was the first to organize the services of the High Holidays. East European and some Oriental Jews came during the 1920s and a few German Jews arrived as a consequence of World

War II. During that period, El Salvador granted Salvadoran documents of citizenship to 10,000 Jews, most of them from Hungary, thus rescuing them from deportation to Auschwitz. This operation was carried out by George Mandel-Mantello, a Romanian Jew, who was appointed as first secretary in the Salvadoran Consulate in Geneva, Switzerland. Mandel-Mantello was supported by José Castellanos, consul general of El Salvador in Switzerland, by José Gustavo Guerrero, former president of El Salvador, and by the foreign minister of El Salvador, Julio Enrique.

The communal organization La Comunidad Israelita de El Salvador was founded in 1944, as the representative organ of the Jewish community and the provider of its social and religious needs. A year later it inaugurated its cemetery and in 1950 it opened a synagogue that conducts services on Sabbaths and holidays. The Zionist Organization was established in 1945 and an affiliate of *WIZO somewhat later. There is no regular Jewish school, but some classes in Hebrew and religion are conducted by the rabbi. The Jewish community of El Salvador is affiliated to FEDECO – Federación de Comunidades Judías de Centro América that was founded in 1956. The Liebes and De Sola families were the most prominent in philanthropic, cultural, and business activities of the community. Alexander Freund was for many years the spiritual leader of the community.

Prior to the civil war of 1979–91 there were around 300 Jews in El Salvador, most of them in the capital. A census of the community carried out in 1971 recorded 268 affiliated Jews and 43 non-affiliated; 277 were Ashkenazim and 34 Sephardim; 53 couples were Jewish and 60 were of mixed marriages, with most of the children considered as non-Jews.

The signing of peace treaties in 1991 led to the return of several Jewish couples with children who had moved elsewhere during the civil war, and, as of 2000, the Jewish population in El Salvador was approximately 120. A new community center and synagogue were inaugurated in the 1990s. There are two synagogues, and the community is divided between adherents to Conservative and Reform Judaism. At the Conservative synagogue, Sabbath services are held on Friday evenings only; however, the Comunidad Israelita de El Salvador holds services on Friday, Shabbat morning, and on holidays. University students have a Jewish students association, ejes (Estudiantes Judíos de El Salvador), and a Zionist group, fusla (Federación de Universitarios Sionistas de Latinoamérica), both of which are active throughout the year. For adults, the community offers different educational classes in Hebrew and other topics of interest. The "Chevra of Women" offers a course in Jewish cooking, and there is a monthly Jewish bulletin called *El Kehilatón*, which advertises synagogue events. The Noar Shelanu youth movement, with about 30 children age 8–18 and a kindergarten for young children, meets weekly.

Relations with Israel

El Salvador abstained in the debate about the Partition of Palestine in the UN General Assembly session of November 29, 1947, but was one of the first countries which recognized the State of Israel (on Sept. 11, 1948). The Instituto Cultural El Salvador-Israel was founded in 1956. El Salvador is one of only two countries (Costa Rica is the other) to maintain its embassy in Jerusalem. One of the only times of tension between the two countries was during the civil war, when the Israeli Honorary Consul was kidnapped and murdered by guerillas.

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[Alfred Joseph / Margalit Bejarano (2nd ed.)]

ELTE, HARRY (1880–1944), Dutch architect of buildings with a Jewish (ritual) function in the interwar years; also active as a restorer and project developer. He came to prominence when he won a design competition for a stadium that opened in Amsterdam in 1914. His work was influenced by three architectural styles. His early work, including villas and residential complexes in Amsterdam, reflects the influence of the Berlage School (1900–25). Examples of his Amsterdam School style (1910–30) include the Second Synagogue in The Hague, demolished in 1981, and the Amsterdam nursing home De Joodsche Invalide (Jewish Invalid), both dating from 1924–25. International Expressionism (1920–30) influenced his design for the monumental synagogue on Amsterdam's Jacob Obrechtplein (1927–28), considered Elte's finest achievement. Its Cubist architecture, featuring characteristic colors and use of daylight, reflects the influence of American architect Frank Lloyd Wright. The interior decoration is Art Deco, with beautiful materials and warm colors. While most of the 12 synagogues Elte completed between 1904 and 1932 have since been demolished or converted for some other purpose, the Obrecht Shul continues to serve as a synagogue. It was granted historical monument status and completely restored in 1997. Elte was deported to Theresienstadt in February 1944, where he died on April 1, 1944.

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[Julie-Marthe Cohen (2nd ed.)]

ELTEKEH (Heb. אֶלְתְּקֵה, אֶלְתְּקֵא), levitical city in the territory of Dan (Josh. 19:44; 21:23; but according to TJ, Sanh. 1:2, 18c "of Judah"). It was in the "plain of Eltekeh (written: Altaqû)" that *Sennacherib in 701 B.C.E. defeated the Egyptians who had come to the aid of the rebelling king of Judah Hezekiah and his allies. The battle is described in Sennacherib's annals (1:76–79). *Albright proposed identifying Eltekeh with Khirbet al-Muqannaʿ, 6 mi. (10 km.) S.E. of ʿĀqir, but recent surveys have shown that this was the largest fortified city in the area and probably the site of *Ekron. Mazar has consequently suggested Tell al Shallāf, about 2½ mi. (4 km.) N.E. of Jabneh, where potsherds from the Early and Late Iron Age have been found.

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[Michael Avi-Yonah]

ELTON, SIR GEOFFREY RUDOLPH (1921–1994), British historian. Elton, a son of Victor *Ehrenberg, was born in Tuebingen, Germany, and went to England in 1939. He began teaching at Cambridge University in 1949, and in 1967 was appointed professor of constitutional history. From 1983 to 1988 Elton was Regius Professor of Modern History at Cambridge.

Elton's interpretation of the political and constitutional history of 16th-century England has brought about a major reassessment of the Tudor period. His most important work, *The Tudor Revolution in Government* (1953), portrays the 1530s as a revolutionary decade, when Henry VIII's minister, Thomas Cromwell, reshaped England's government. Elton later extended and consolidated his insights in *England under the Tudors* (1955), and in a collection of documents, *The Tudor Constitution* (1960). His other books include *Reformation Europe* (1963), which is a basic introduction to the subject, and *The Practice of History* (1967). He edited a number of volumes of the *New Cambridge Modern History.*

Elton was one of the most distinguished historians of early modern Britain, although many of his theories about Tudor government were widely disputed. He received innumerable honors, including honorary degrees from six universities, while no fewer than five *Festschriften* were published in his honor. He was knighted in 1986.

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[Theodore K. Rabb / William D. Rubinstein (2nd ed.)]

ELUL, the post-Exilic name of the sixth month in the Jewish year. The name is Babylonian and was subsequently adopted in Hebrew, Aramaic, and Arabic. Its first occurrence in a Hebrew text is in Nehemiah 6:15. The zodiacal sign of this month is *Virgo.* In the present fixed calendar, it invariably consists of 29 days, and the first of Elul never falls on a Tuesday, a Thursday, or a Sabbath. In the 20th century, Elul in its earliest occurrence extended from Aug. 8 to Sept. 5 and in its latest from Sept. 6 to Oct. 4. The talmudic rule that Elul invariably consists of 29 days reflects the early endeavor to facilitate the prior calculation of the date of Rosh Ha-Shanah, i.e., the *New Moon of Tishri (the seventh month, which followed Elul, and was therefore directly determined by the length of Elul), and consequently also the dates of the other festivals occurring in that month. For the same reason, the New Moon of Elul was announced to Jewish communities by the messengers of the Sanhedrin (RH 1:3). Witnesses to the sighting of the New Moon of Elul were not permitted to travel on the Sabbath to report their sighting to the court in Jerusalem; the witnesses to the new crescent of Nisan and Tishri were so permitted (RH 1:4; cf. EJ). In Temple times traveling on Sabbath was permitted to report the new crescent of all the months because of the Temple sacrifices (*ibid.*). According to some *tannaim* the first of Elul was to be considered a Rosh Ha-Shanah (beginning of a new year) in respect of the tithing of animals (RH 1:1; Bek. 9:5–6). There is a tradition that the seventh or 17th of Elul had once been observed as a fast, commemorating the death of those spies whom Moses had sent to Canaan and who brought back an evil report of the land (Num. 14:37; Tar. Jon., *ibid.;* Meg. Ta'an. 13, ed. Neubauer; Sh. Ar., OḤ 580:2, et al.).

As it precedes the *Ten Days of Penitence, Elul became a month of repentance and of special ascetic and devotional practices. A rabbinic homily derives an allusion to the name of the month from the initial letters of *Ani le-Dodi ve-Dodi Li* (Heb. אֲנִי לְדוֹדִי וְדוֹדִי לִי; "I am my beloved's, and my beloved is mine," Song 6:3), as describing the relationship between God and His people. The **shofar* is sounded daily at the morning service (except on the Sabbath), and Psalm 27 is recited. In the Sephardi rituals **Seliḥot* are also recited daily throughout Elul, whereas in the Ashkenazi ritual, they are recited only during the last four to nine days of Elul (Sh. Ar., OḤ 581). A similar liturgical divergence existed already in the geonic age (Tur., *ibid.*, citing R. Hai Gaon). Rabbinic *aggadah* connects the special significance of Elul with the 40 days of Moses' stay on Mount Sinai (Ex. 34:28) which was calculated to have commenced on the first of Elul and ended on the tenth of Tishri (the Day of *Atonement, PdRE 46).

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[Ephraim Jehudah Wiesenberg]

ELUSA (Gr. Ελουσα), Nabatean city in the Negev, now the ruins of Ḥaluẓa (Ar. al-Khalaṣa), 12 mi. (20 km.) S.W. of Beersheba. Elusa was the starting point of the roads leading from Palestine to Egypt and Sinai in the Roman and Byzantine periods (Ptolemy, *Geography*, 5:15, 7; cf. *Peutinger Map*, where it is located 71 Roman miles from Jerusalem, 24 from Eboda, and 53 from Thamara) and especially of the pilgrim road to Sinai (Theodore, *Itinera Hierosolymitana*, 78). Elusa was colonized by the Nabateans in the last decades of the first century C.E. In the fourth century C.E. Elusa was the seat of a school of rhetoric and had its own police chief; the city's area extended as far as Nessana (Nessana Papyri). In Targum Jonathan (Gen. 16:14) Elusa is identified with Bered. The monk Hilarion visited Elusa and was served wine from the local plantations; the inhabitants of the city apparently spoke Aramaic (Jerome, *Vita Hilarionis*, 25). Its bishops participated in the church councils from 431 onward. In Arab times Elusa was the seat of a district governor who was under the jurisdiction of the governor of Gaza. The site was surveyed by E. Robinson (1838), E.H. Palmer (1869/1870), A. Musil (1897), A. Jaussen, R. Savignac and H. Vincent (1905), and C.L. Woolley and T.E. Lawrence (1914). Although the ruins of the city are extensive, they were greatly damaged by the builders of Gaza during Turkish and British Mandate times. Some of the city's dumps were excavated in 1936 by the archaeologist H. Dunscombe Colt. Excavations were conducted at Elusa by A. Negev in 1973, 1979, and 1980, revealing fortifications (represented by a tower), an area of dwellings, a theater that had been repaired in the fifth century C.E. (based on the evidence of an inscription which speaks of a new floor made for the "old theater"), and a Byzantine period church, one of the largest known in the Negev Desert. Additional, smaller, churches are known at Elusa. A Nabatean cemetery was also discerned near the settlement. New excavations were conducted at the site in 1997 by H. Goldfuss and P. Fabian in the area of the Roman theater, the construction of which can now be shown to date from the late second or early third century C.E., with its abandonment taking place in the sixth century C.E. Additional work was done in an area of pottery workshops on the edge of the settlement.

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[Michael Avi-Yonah / Shimon Gibson (2nd ed.)]

ELVIRA (**Eliberis**, **Illiberis**), town in Andalusia, Spain, near Granada. The church council convened in Elvira in 300–303 (or 309) issued canons forbidding marriage between Christian women and Jews unless the Jew first adopted Christianity (§16); prohibiting Jews from keeping Christian concubines (§78); from entertaining at their tables Christian clergy or laymen (§50); and from blessing fields belonging to Christians (§49): Christians who turned to Jews for such blessings were to be excommunicated. These were the earliest canons of any church council directed against the Jews. A Jewish community still existed in Elvira at the time of the Muslim conquest. Its scholars corresponded with Saadiah Gaon in the tenth century, as attested by Abraham *Ibn Daud in *Sefer ha-Kabbalah* (ed., G.D. Cohen (1967), 79). In the course of time the Elvira community became merged in that of Granada.

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[Haim Beinart]

EL-YAM, Israeli merchant shipping company. Cargo Ships El-Yam Ltd. was founded in 1949 by a subsidiary of the Israel Discount Bank and started operations in 1953 with three 10,800-ton vessels. It developed rapidly and in 1977 its fleet (owned through affiliated and subsidiary companies), consisting of bulk carriers and refrigerated vessels for the transport of fruit, meat, and dairy products, exceeded 1.75 million tons deadweight, representing an investment of $200,000,000.

ELYAN, SIR ISADORE VICTOR (1909–), chief justice of Swaziland. Born in Dublin, Ireland, Elyan qualified as a lawyer and from 1946 was a magistrate in the British Colony of Gold Coast (Ghana) until his appointment as judge of the Basutoland Court of Appeal in 1955. From 1965 to 1970 he was chief justice of Swaziland and from 1966 also served as judge of the Court of Appeal for newly independent Botswana.

ELYASHAR, JACOB BEN ḤAYYIM JOSEPH (after 1720–1788), rabbi and communal leader in Ereẓ Israel. Elyashar was born in Hebron. He was a grandson, through his mother, of Jacob Vilna, a member of the group of *Judah he-Ḥasid. He acted as an emissary of the Hebron community to various countries, visiting Italy, Germany, and Poland after 1751, Baghdad in 1763, and Sofia and other Turkish towns in 1768, returning in about 1770 to Hebron, where he became one of its notables. He was included there among the pupils of Ḥ.J.D. *Azulai and the two became very close friends. He helped Azulai in his literary activities, copying on his behalf various manuscripts. In 1773 Elyashar again visited Baghdad as an emissary of the Hebron community, and in 1774 went to Basra where he stayed until 1781. During that time the Persian army in 1775 captured the town, ruling over it until 1779.

Elyashar, who was a composer of *piyyutim* and poems, commemorated the day the Persians left Basra by composing a poem, "*Megillat Paras,*" in which he described events in Basra during the siege and its capture by the Persians. It was first published by his grandson, Jacob Saul *Elyashar, at the beginning of the latter's *Ish Emunim* (1888). A critical version with a commentary was published by M. *Benayahu in his book *Rabbi Ya'akov Elyashar* (1960). Jacob also composed poems in honor of that day, which the Jews of Basra continued to recite annually amid great celebrations for about 100 years after the event. In 1781, through the influence of the well-known Farḥi family, he reached Safed. There he served as *av bet din* and one of the leaders of the community. He devoted himself to the rebuilding of *Safed, whose Jewish settlement began to develop anew in the years 1778–79. He wrote several books which were lost as a result of his wanderings and the persecutions he suffered.

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[A'hron Oppenheimer]

ELYASHAR, JACOB SAUL BEN ELIEZER JEROHAM (1817–1906), Sephardi chief rabbi of Ereẓ Israel (*rishon le-Ẓion*). A grandson of Jacob ben Ḥayyim *Elyashar, he was born in Safed. His father, a *dayyan, shoḥet*, and cantor there, was arrested by the Turkish authorities, but succeeded in escaping and settled with his family in Jerusalem. When Jacob Saul was seven, he lost his father, and his mother remarried in 1828. His stepfather, Benjamin Mordecai *Navon, became his teacher and supported him for many years. Elyashar married the daughter of *ḥakham bashi, Raphael Meir *Panigel. He was appointed a *dayyan* in Jerusalem in 1853, and in 1869 head of the *bet din*. He succeeded his father-in-law as *ḥakham bashi* and *rishon le-Zion* in 1893.

A cultured scholar and a fluent linguist, Elyashar wrote thousands of responsa in answer to questions from both Ashkenazim and Sephardim all over the world. He was respected by the authorities and the heads of other religious communities, and received orders of merit from the Turkish sultan, Abdul Hamid, in 1893, and the German kaiser, William II, in 1898. He was accepted by both the Sephardi and Ashkenazi communities and worked hard to put religious institutions in Jerusalem on a solid foundation. The affection in which he was held is reflected in the fact that he was referred to as "*Yissa Berakhah*" ("conferring a blessing"), the word *Yissa* (יִשָּׂא) being derived from the Hebrew initials of his name. He enjoyed marked success as an emissary to Smyrna (1845), Damascus (1854), Alexandria (1856), and Leghorn (1873).

In 1888 when a controversy arose as to the permissibility of working on the land during the following year, a sabbatical year, Elyashar decided that such work could be permitted by selling the land formally to a non-Jew, but suggested that each Jewish agricultural settlement leave a small portion of land uncultivated as a symbol and reminder of the commandment. Elyashar died in Jerusalem, where the Givat Sha'ul district is named after him.

He was the author of the following works, all published in Jerusalem (some by his son, Ḥayyim Moshe) and all bearing the word "Ish," the initials of his name, in their title: (1) *Yikrav Ish* (1876–81), 2 parts, novellae and responsa, which were included in the *Benei Binyamin* of his stepfather; (2) *Ish Emunim* (1888), homilies for festivals and various special occasions; (3) *Ma'aseh Ish* (1892), responsa; (4) *Derekh Ish*, homilies; (5) *Divrei Ish*, 2 parts (1892–96), homilies; (6) *Simḥah le-Ish* (1888), novellae, responsa, and *piyyutim;* (7) *Yissa Ish* (1896), responsa; (8) *Olat Ish*, responsa, as well as a number of sermons entitled *Penei Ish* (1899); (9) *Sha'al ha-Ish* (1909), responsa and rulings, together with responsa by his son, Ḥayyim Moshe, entitled *Penei ḤaMA;* (10) *Kavod le-Ish* (1910), responsa, including the eulogies in his honor. Elyashar possessed a large collection of manuscripts, some of which are in the Jerusalem National Library.

His eldest son, Rabbi ḤAYYIM MOSHE ELYASHAR (1845–1924), a merchant and businessman, represented the Jewish community on the council of heads of religious communities established by the Turkish authorities, and, in the early days of the Mandate, served as *rishon le-Ẓion.* He was one of the initiators of the combined rabbinical committee which was the forerunner of the chief rabbinate of Ereẓ Israel. His son ISAAC ELIACHAR (1873–1933), the first chairman of the United (Sephardi and Ashkenazi) Jewish Community Council of Jerusalem, was appointed to the Jerusalem municipality in 1917. His grandson ELIYAHU ELIACHAR (1898–1981) was chairman of the United Community Council of Jerusalem from 1938 until 1949. He headed for many years the Committee of the Sephardi Community of Jerusalem and served during the mandatory period as a member of the Asefat ha-Nivḥarim and the Va'ad Le'ummi. He was a member of the First and Second Knesset.

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[Geulah Bat Yehuda (Raphael)]

ELYASHIV (Heb. אֶלְיָשִׁיב), moshav in central Israel, in the Ḥefer Plain, affiliated to Tenu'at ha-Moshavim. One of the first Yemenite agricultural settlements in Israel, it was founded in 1933. Its economy was based on intensive farming including citrus orchards as well as outside employment. In 2002 the population of Elyashiv was 436.

[Efraim Orni / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

ELZAS, BARNETT ABRAHAM (1867–1939), U.S. Reform rabbi and historian. Elzas was born in Germany, the son of a Hebrew teacher, and moved with his parents to Holland and then to London where he was educated at Jews' College and the University of London. In 1890 he went to America and served congregations in Toronto, Canada and Sacramento, California, being eventually appointed to the pulpit of Congregation Beth Elohim in Charleston, South Carolina (1894). Elzas became keenly interested in local Jewish history and made an exhaustive study of records of Charleston Jewry and of the older smaller communities of the state. After writing a number of studies on the subject, he produced the comprehensive *Jews of South Carolina: From Earliest Times to the Present Day* (1905), which still ranks as one of the best historical studies of an American Jewish community. While in Charleston, Elzas also qualified at the Medical College of South Carolina (1900), although he never practiced. In 1910 he moved to New York City where he ministered to the Hebrew Congregation of the Deaf and served as Jewish chaplain to the City Department of Correction and the State Mental Hygiene Department. He also served as president of the New York Board of Rabbis. In 1912 Elzas became rabbi of Beth Miriam Congregation, Long Branch, N.J.

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[Thomas J. Tobias]

EMANATION, a theory describing the origin of the material universe from a transcendent first principle. According to this theory, the universe, which is multiple, is generated from the One, which is unitary, through the medium of a hierarchy of immaterial substances. The ultimate source is undiminished, while the beings which are emanated are progressively less perfect as they are further removed from the first principle. The process is conceived as being atemporal. In neoplatonic emanationism the ultimate product, the material universe, is not regarded as evil, as in gnostic systems of emanation. A variety of models are used to describe emanation. For example, it is compared to the efflux of light from a luminous body, or to water flowing from a spring. The emanationist theory was given its classical formulation by Plotinus in the *Enneads*, in which the typical fourfold scheme of the One, Intellect, Soul, and Nature is found. Emanationism tends to be combined with an eschatology (or soteriology) that envisions the soul's return to its ultimate source of being by *epostrophē* or "reversion" (see A. Altmann, *Studies in Religious Philosophy and Mysticism* (1969), 41ff.). The theory of emanation was developed further by Plotinus' successors, particularly Proclus, who systematized the scheme of *monēproodos-epistrophē* (immanence, procession, reversion) to account for the process of emanation.

In Jewish Philosophy

The Hebrew terms used for emanation are *aẓilut* or *aẓilah* (cf. Num. 11:17), *hishtalshelut, meshekh, shefa;* the verbs *shalaḥ* and *sadar* (in the pu'al) are also used (see J. Klatzkin, *Thesaurus Philosophicus* (1930), 96; 4 (1933), 112). The theory of emanation was known to medieval Arabic and Jewish philosophers from several sources. Plotinus was known from the *Theology of Aristotle* (in both a vulgate and long recension), a paraphrase of texts from the *Enneads*, as well as from Plotinian material ascribed to "al-Sheikh al-Yūnānī" ("The Greek Sage," probably Porphyry, editor of the Enneads), and a work titled *al-ʿIlm al-Ilāhī* ("The Divine Science"), falsely ascribed to al-*Fārābī (translations of this material are in Plotinus, *Opera*, ed. by H. Schwyzer (1959), vol. 2). Proclus was known from the *Liber de causis* (*Kitāb al-Idāh fī al-Khayr al-Maḥḍ*) ascribed to Aristotle but actually based on Proclus' Elements *of Theology* (ed. and tr. by E.R. Dodds, 1963). One must also take into account neoplatonic texts such as the pseudo-Aristotelian source utilized by Isaac *Israeli and Abraham *Ibn Ḥasdai (see S.M. Stern, in *Oriens*, 13–14 (1960–61), 58ff.) and the pseudo-Empedoclean *Book of Five Substances* (ed. by D. Kaufmann, *Studien ueber Salomo Ibn Gabirol* (1899), 17ff.). Jewish philosophers also relied on the appropriation and development of emanationism by Arabic philosophers such as al-*Kindī, al-Fārābī, *Avicenna, and the Sincere *Brethren (Ikhwān al-Ṣafā'). In medieval Arabic and Jewish neo-Aristotelianism, the neoplatonic theory of emanation was applied to the Aristotelian-Ptolemaic cosmology which posited a series of nine concentric spheres encompassing the earth, each endowed with an intelligence. Thus, Aristotle's active intellect (*De Anima*, 3) was identified either with Plotinus' universal intellect in the neoplatonic hierarchy, or with the intelligence of the lowest sphere (of the moon) in the Aristotelian-Ptolemaic cosmology. Emanation is a necessary (natural) and eternal process, and is thus thought to imply the absence of will and design on the part of the ultimate source. Thus, the theory of emanation is in conflict with the biblical concept of temporal creation by divine volition. Also, emanationism sees the divine source as somehow omnipresently immanent in the world, and it therefore tends toward pantheistic expressions.

In their discussions of cosmology, Jewish philosophers sometimes tried to harmonize emanation with biblical concepts of *creation and *providence. Isaac Israeli, for example, postulates an initial act of creation by "the will and power" of God which results in the first two substances, which are in his system prime matter and form (or wisdom), while the subsequent entities are generated by a process of emanation. These are the typical hierarchy of intellect, soul, and nature of Plotinus, but the universal soul, like the individual soul, is tripartite (rational, animal, vegetable; as in Ibn *Gabirol), and nature is identified with the first or outer sphere. Each emanated being is derived from "the shadow" of its anterior cause. Ibn Gabirol injected an element of voluntarism into an emanationist system with his notion of "will," which mediates between the first essence and primary matter and form, which together constitute the hypostasis of intellect. Will thus appears not as a function of the creator (cf. Israeli), but as a distinct hypostasis. Gabirol often appeals to the metaphors of a spring of water, light from the sun, the reflection in a mirror, and human speech to explain emanation. There is a pronounced tendency toward pantheism (see *Mekor Ḥayyim* 5:39, 3:16).

Pseudo-*Baḥya's *Kitāb Maʿānī al-Nafs* ("On the Essence of the Soul") combines creation and emanation. The entire chain of being hinges on God's will and wisdom. Intellect is called *Shekhinah* and soul is called *Kevod Elohei Yisrael* (see Guttmann, Philosophies, 110). *Abraham bar Ḥiyya posits five worlds above the celestial spheres, which he correlates with the five days of creation, giving each a theological interpretation. The lower three (the worlds of knowledge, soul, and creation) seem to correspond to the neoplatonic hypostases. Above them are the world of light (*ha-olam ha-nurani*) and the world of dominion (*olam ha-ravrevanut*), probably derived from an Arabic neoplatonic work (*Megillat ha-Megalleh*, ed. by A. Posnanski (1924), 21ff.; see also, G. Scholem, in MGWJ, 75 (1931), 172ff.; and Guttmann, Philosophies, 112ff.). Like Ibn Gabirol, Abraham bar Ḥiyya uses expressions which are tantamount to pantheism. God is essentially identical with the universe insofar as He gives it the power of being.

The emanation theory of Arabic and Jewish Aristotelians, an intricate system explaining the derivation of the spheres and their intelligences, was rejected by *Judah Halevi as an unproven claim (*Kuzari*, 4:25). Abraham *Ibn Daud also rejected the emanationist explanation of the derivation of the spheres and their intelligences, but without denying the order itself (*Emunah Ramah*, ed. by S. Weil (1852), 67). The position of *Maimonides is complex. He was keenly aware of the opposition between eternal necessary emanation of the world from God and the free act of creation. Nevertheless he wrote: "It has been said that the world derives from the overflow (*fayḍ*) of God and that He has caused to overflow to it everything in it that is produced in time." In the same context he compares the derivation of the world from God to a spring of water which, he says, is "the most fitting simile for the action of one who is separate from matter" (*Guide of the Perplexed*, 2:12). Divine emanation also accounts for cognition and prophecy (*ibid.,* 2:37). The governance of the lower world is perfected by means of forces emanating from the spheres (*ibid.*, 2:5). Still, this emanation is said to be unlike that of heat from fire and light from the sun in that it constantly assures duration and order for the existents that emanate from God by "wisely contrived governance" (*ibid.*, 1:59). Maimonides' insistence on creation in time and insertion of intention and wisdom into a scheme of emanation appear to contradict the presuppositions of the latter. *Levi b. Gershom found several difficulties with the theory of emanation which postulates an eternal procession from God (*Milḥamot Adonai*, 6:1, 7; see also Guttmann, Philosophies, 211ff.). He maintained, for example, that it was impossible for existence to flow constantly from God to the heavenly bodies (as opposed to their being brought into being at once), for the heavens would thus exist only potentially.

[Joel Kraemer]

In Kabbalah

Though the term *aẓilut* has many meanings in Hebrew, the Jewish philosophers and kabbalists used it to describe different forms of emanation. The Hebrew term is understood as pointing to both the process of emanation and to the realm that is emanated. The major concept that is conveyed by this term is the prolongation of a spiritual entity into a hypostasis that does not separate itself essentially from its source. According to such a view, the Infinity, *Ein-Sof,* underwent a process of autogenesis that produced a realm of ten divine powers which, different as they are from each other, nevertheless constitute together the divine zone. In this mode of understanding the process of emanation is conceived of as remaining within God, offering a pseudo-etymology of *aẓilut* as if related to the Hebrew word *eẓlo*, "with him," namely with God. Though articulated since the 13th century, this view has much earlier Jewish sources, as early as second century, according to which some angels are extensions of the divine glory and return to it after completing their mission. This view is known in Kabbalah as the doctrine of essence, which means that the divine emanated powers are identical with the divine essence. According to another view, the emanation is constituted as the shadow of the higher plane of being. This view understands *aẓilut* as if derived from the Hebrew *ẓel*, "shadow," and points to a concept of efflux that somehow leaves its source. This view is more consonant with the kabbalistic theory according to which the first emanated powers are the instruments used by the Infinite to create the world and to interact with it, or the vessels which contain the divine energy, which pour themselves out. The instrumental view of emanation is closer to, and derived and adapted by, the kabbalists from Neoplatonic sources which reached them via Arabic and Latin translations. In some few cases, the astrological theory of emanations descending from stars and other celestial bodies was represented by the term *aẓilut*.

Though emanation explains the gradual descent from the Infinity to the lower world as part of a great chain of being, in two important cases there is a direct emanation from the divinity: both the Torah and the soul are described as circumventing the great chain of being, and having a special relationship with the divine. In these cases, evident in Naḥmanides and Cordovero, the special emanation is described as a cord that allows the kabbalist to have a theurgical impact on the divine sphere.

In many forms of theosophies, the first world is described as the world of emanation, *olam ha-aẓilut*, as part of the fourfold distinction ABYA (*Aẓilut, Beri'ah, Yeẓirah, Asiyyah*). During the Renaissance period, kabbalists in Italy like Johanan *Alemanno or David Messer *Leon paid special attention to the processes of the emanation of the *Sefirot*, and this development influenced the Safedian kabbalists.

[Moshe Idel (2nd ed.)]

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EMANCIPATION.

Definitions and Dialectics

Emancipation of the Jews in modern times stands alongside such other emancipatory movements as those of the serfs, women, slaves in the United States, and Catholics in England. The term "emancipation" is derived from Latin (*emancipatio*), and originally meant in ancient Rome the liberation of a son from the authority of his father and his attainment of independent legal status. It has come to mean the liberation of individuals or groups from servitude, legal restrictions, and political and social disabilities. Jewish emancipation denotes the abolition of disabilities and inequities applied specially to Jews, the recognition of Jews as equal to other citizens, and the formal granting of the rights and duties of citizenship. Essentially the legal act of emancipation should have been simply the expression of the diminution of social hostility and psychological aversion toward Jews in the host nation. Indeed, Jewish emancipation was related to the weakening of the general social antipathy toward Jews; but the antipathy was not obliterated, and constantly hampered the realization of equality even after it had been proclaimed by the state and included in the law. Emancipation was achieved by ideological and social change and political and psychological strife. Before achieving full emancipation the Jews in many countries passed through several transitional stages. They had to overcome the barriers of vested interests and such ancient prejudices as the hateful image of the Jew as alien, his religion odious, and his economics unscrupulous. Ideologically, emancipation stemmed from the utopian political and social thought since the 18th century. Emancipation was, however, dependent on actual political and social conditions in each country and on the residential, cultural, and social characteristics of the Jewish population. Stages in the history of emancipation have been marked by the strength or weakness of egalitarian ideology and the corresponding interaction with existing laws, institutions, and relationships.

The Three Periods in the History of Jewish Emancipation

The first period, "heralding emancipation," covered the 50 years preceding the *French Revolution (1740–89). The second period, the 90 years from the French Revolution until the Congress of *Berlin (1789–1878), comprised emancipation in Western and Central Europe. Finally, the third period extended from the Congress of Berlin to the Nazis' rise to power (1878–1933) and saw in an atmosphere charged with newly inflamed hatred and racial animosity the achievement of Jewish emancipation in Eastern Europe, and the struggle in many countries to maintain civic equality and the right to national definition.

During the first period, demands for alleviating the lot of the Jews, with a view to their ultimate emancipation, were based on a theory of the "civic improvement of the Jews." The proponents of this idea, men like John *Toland, Christian Wilhelm von *Dohm, Comte de *Mirabeau, and their supporters, argued that existing legislation disabling the Jews was motivated primarily by religious intolerance, hence contrary to the enlightened "spirit of the times." They pointed out, moreover, the economic advantages which would accrue to the state as a result of permitting Jews to function in society with the same rights and obligations as other groups. Admitting the faults of the Jews pointed out by opponents, enlightened thinkers showed the defects to be the natural result of the degrading status in which Jews were compelled to live when all decent ways of life were closed to them. Such considerations were expressed in the deliberations on the Jewish question in prerevolutionary *France. Their influence is reflected in the announcement of an essay competition set by the Société Royale des Arts et Sciences in 1785 on the question: "Are there any ways of making the Jews of France happier and more useful?" and the entry of Abbé Henri *Grégoire which gained the prize. New legislation ameliorating the status of Jews was inspired by this idea. Notable examples were the 1740 law enabling the Jews to become naturalized in the British colonies if they had lived there for at least seven years, and the law passed by the British Parliament in May 1753, according the Jews of *England the right of naturalization. The British government, however, was compelled to revoke the latter law on Dec. 20, 1753, because of vigorous public opposition. For the first time Jews were also given the right, in several places (Leghorn [Italy] and Belorussia), to elect representatives to municipalities and other institutions, like merchant and burgher organizations, although with some educational limitations. The *Toleranz-Patent* (1781–82) of *Joseph II of Austria aimed at encouraging the integration of the Jews into Christian society, and is thereby a law "heralding emancipation," as were the laws abolishing the "body tax" (see *taxation) in Austria in 1781 and in the France of Louis XVI in 1784. The declarations and laws issued on freedom of conscience and religion at the time of the American Revolution were radical in their egalitarianism (see below).

Among the Jewish initiatives toward obtaining civic liberation, the literary activity of Moses *Mendelssohn is of historic importance, and the demands of Zalkind *Hourwitz are worth noting. The petitions for equal rights and "equality in religious rights," presented by U.S. Jews in 1784 and 1787, set an example which was later widely followed.

The second period opens with the principles and wars of the French Revolution and ends with the resolutions and tactics of the Congress of Berlin. In the intervening 90 years, Jewish emancipation became a political and legal fact in all European countries where revolution and liberalism were in the ascendancy: France, *Belgium, the *Netherlands, *Italy, *Germany, and *Austria-Hungary. The revolutionary peaks of 1789–91, 1830–31, 1848–49, and times of fundamental change in the structure of European states (e.g., unification of Germany and of Italy, and national independence in Hungary) were periods of progress in Jewish emancipation. Even where the emancipation evolved from legislation created within the permanent framework of the existing order (England and Scandinavia), or as the result of international circumstances (*Switzerland), or international pressure (*Serbia; *Bulgaria), the relation between the new liberal political climate and the emancipation of the Jews was decisive. The ideals of the Enlightenment were also evident in the numerous arguments and lengthy literary and political deliberations on Jewish emancipation which took place during this period. It was stressed that keeping the Jews in a politically limited and socially inferior status was incompatible with the principle of civic equality. Such deprivation would be a contradiction of the principle of "natural rights" of man, and, therefore, would undermine the civic equality of all who had attained it by revolution and the application of this principle. Emphasis was placed on the belief that "it is the objective of every political organization to protect the natural rights of man," hence "all citizens have the right to all the liberties and advantages of citizens, without exception."

As men, Jews should be guaranteed political rights in the countries in which they reside. Their ethnic origin and messianic hopes notwithstanding, the Jews had adopted the language and the culture of their environment; they were loyal to the state and identified themselves with the national feelings of their fellow countrymen. The activity of Jews in the struggle for their rights was bound up with their energetic participation in the general striving toward political liberty and egalitarianism as exemplified by Heinrich *Heine, Ludwig *Boerne, Johann *Jacoby, Ignaz *Kuranda; by the journalists and parliamentarians Gabriel *Riesser, Berr Isaac *Berr, Moritz *Veit, Sir David *Salomons, and Lionel Nathan

*Rothschild; and by the statesman Adolphe *Crémieux, who in 1870 issued in the name of the French government the law which conferred French citizenship on the Jews of *Algeria. Jewish society fought for its emancipation not only through general institutions (the *Board of Deputies of British Jews, the Central *Consistory of Paris, individual communities), but also through organizations specifically devoted to this aim. The *Alliance Israélite Universelle worked energetically for its declared goal "of striving universally for the freedom of the Jews."

The third period (1878–1933) witnessed a reaction to Jewish emancipation, and in Europe was marked with the prevalence of rabid *antisemitism. Intense opposition brought many Jews to realize that the state's legal recognition of Jewish civic and political equality does not automatically bring social recognition of this equality. The controversy over Jewish emancipation intensified and became embittered in almost every European country. Racism and nationalism were the bases for anti-emancipation agitation. Opponents claimed that emancipation was granted under the false pretenses that Judaism is only a religion, and that emancipated Jews would give up all Jewish national identity and assimilate into the host nations. The "price of admittance" had not been paid by most Jews, who continued to form a separate national group. Even in the view of many liberals, the claim of Jews for participation in the government of the nation in which they were not an organic part was unjustified. Racists added that Jews should not be granted civil rights or become assimilated because their racial inferiority could only harm the "superior race." Throughout its difficult and complex history, Jewish emancipation was a touchstone of freedom and social openness in European culture. Support came from those who cherished liberalism in life, thought, and politics, while bitter opposition came mostly from the reactionary camp. In Jewish life the fight for emancipation at first went hand in hand with a readiness to assimilate, and then, in the late 19th century, became associated with national Jewish loyalty and *autonomy.

Emancipation in Various Countries

UNITED STATES. The first country to emancipate the Jews was the United States. Jewish political inferiority during the colonial period before 1776, however, was not the result of a peculiar legal status. It derived rather from the Jews' belonging to the non-Protestant portion of the population, or in some colonies their nonmembership in one privileged Protestant denomination. Before the period of the American Revolution, Jews living in the colonies were generally ineligible for public office, owing to a Protestant form of oath which operated to exclude Catholics as well. There are instances where Jews entered public life nevertheless, perhaps by disregarding such forms. Jews were not limited in the rights of domicile, economic activity, or the practice of Judaism. Their full enjoyment of civil rights, together with the newness, foreignness, and minuscule numbers of colonial Jews, probably did not encourage them to seek the full political rights which they lacked.

The American Revolution and the Federal Constitution brought emancipation in the political realm to Jews and other disadvantaged white minorities. Most of the newly enacted state constitutions abolished Christian oath formularies and separated church and state. The Virginia Statute of Religious Liberty, long promoted by Thomas Jefferson and enacted in 1786, not only guaranteed freedom of worship and prohibited public support of religious institutions, but provided that "religious opinions and beliefs shall in no wise diminish, enlarge, or affect civil capacities." This law influenced the Federal Constitution of 1787. The latter's clause that "no religious test shall ever be required as a qualification for any office or public trust under the United States" is the closest the United States ever came to a definitive act of religious emancipation, including Jews. The First Amendment, enacted in 1791 within the Bill of Rights, completed the process by disestablishing all religions. Such Federal constitutional law did not, however, supersede the rights of individual states, although virtually all of them emulated the Federal model. The right of Jews to hold public office was actually sharply debated in Maryland between 1816 and the abolition of the Christian oath requirement in 1824. Vestigial oath clauses remained on the statute books of North Carolina until 1868 and New Hampshire until 1877, but they were generally disregarded. Both states had only a handful of Jews.

For emancipation in Latin America see *Latin America.

ENGLAND. Jewish emancipation in England came through the gradual change in the climate of social opinion rather than through revolution, although the ideas of the American and French revolutions, and the emancipation of English Catholics in 1829, were influential in changing English attitudes. Jews had participated with Catholic leaders in planning the strategy for achieving Catholic emancipation. Jewish emancipation in England was accomplished by laws specifically relating to the Jews. These laws were passed only after some social equality had become an accomplished fact and the state was required to give it legal expression. Literature, as well as law, did much to shape and reflect public opinion. Byron, for example, expressed sympathy for the suffering Jew; Richard *Cumberland in *The Jew* (1794) created a complimentary portrait of the Jew as a man. In addition, there were English translations of the literature written in defense of the Jews by such men as *Lessing, Mendelssohn, and Grégoire; publication of books and essays by various English authors calling for emancipation of Jews; and the defense of the rights of Jews in other countries by English diplomacy (e.g., at the Congresses of Vienna and Aix-la-Chapelle; support of Moses *Montefiore's interventions in the *Damascus Affair; Morocco; Russia). The change in public attitude toward Jews was largely due to their civic and economic progress. In practice, neither the right of the Jews to reside in England, nor their choice of profession or commercial opportunity were restricted after their return in the 17th century, the Jews being gradually allowed to improve their economic and social status to a great extent. Jewish civic and political inequality was bound up with the formula of the oath of loyalty, "according to the usages of the Anglican Church," to be taken in order to hold any office. In the deliberations on the emancipation of the Catholics (1828), one of the bishops proposed the new formula, "on the true faith of a Christian," which would then only discriminate against Jews. Thereafter, Jews and their public sympathizers and parliamentary supporters demanded the abolition of this formula for Jews. An attempt in 1830 by a Liberal member, Sir Robert Grant, to change the oath, was carried at first by a majority of 18, but was defeated in second reading. In 1833 after the reform of the British Parliament, Grant proposed "that it is expedient to remove all civil disabilities at present affecting His Majesty's subjects of the Jewish religion, with the like exceptions as are provided with reference to His Majesty's subjects professing the Roman Catholic religion." During the discussion following this motion, speeches were made which have become classics in the polemics of Jewish emancipation, including one by the English historian Macaulay (see *Apologetics). The motion was finally carried by a great majority in all three readings. The House of Lords, however, rejected it, as it was to do again in 1834. During this time, nevertheless, Jews were being elected to various honorary positions. After David Salomons, a banker and communal worker, was elected sheriff in 1835, the government passed a law in Parliament which enabled Jews to hold this position. Similarly, after Salomons was elected to the court of aldermen in 1841 and again in 1844, a law was passed in 1845 enabling a Jew elected to municipal office to substitute an oath which was acceptable to his conscience for the prejudicial declaration ordinarily demanded. In 1835 a law was enacted which exempted voters from taking any oath. The Jews were enabled in 1837 to receive degrees from the University of London (a secular university), and in 1841, the Jew Isaac Lyon *Goldsmid was knighted. Admission of Jews to Parliament and university was gradual, changes coming through compromises occasioned by the election of two Jews, Lionel Nathan Rothschild and David Salomons, to Parliament and their struggle to take their seats from 1841 to 1858; a compromise law of 1858; the deletion by law in 1866 of the Christological portion of the oath; and a further abolition of limitations for Jews in 1871.

BRITISH COMMONWEALTH. The later development of the major countries of the British Commonwealth and their colonization by the English (and to a far lesser extent by Europeans) created a situation in which the problems of political emancipation did not present themselves either at all or to any great degree. This development became effective only toward the middle of the 19th century or later, and by this time the climate of opinion and political thinking was characterized by liberal concepts averse to legal discrimination for reasons of religion. Originally administered as colonies direct from London through a local representative of the central government, they achieved or were granted self-government when these liberal concepts were dominant. The social stratification of the settlers also had an influence in the same direction. These were frontier societies engaged in promoting and establishing themselves, in which there was no room for religious discrimination. And in that frontier society, Jews themselves occupied a prominent position and played an important role as entrepreneurs of various kinds. The generally superior educational attainment of Jews also helped. A further element was the very small percentage of the total European population that Jews constituted, in New Zealand never more than about a quarter percent and in Australia one-half percent. The problem confronting the Jews in these Commonwealth countries was not "legalized" religious discrimination and restrictions but the absence thereof and the prevalence of measures of social freedom which brought quite different problems manifested in a trend to intermarriage and complete assimilation.

SCANDINAVIAN COUNTRIES. Emancipation was not an acute problem in the Scandinavian countries in which Jewish settlements were comparatively recent (17th and 18th centuries) and few in number. There Jewish emancipation came as the legal expression of the quiet victory of a sociopolitical principle natural to civilized states, developing in a conservative mode. On March 29, 1814, the king of Denmark authorized all "the believers in the Mosaic faith" born in Denmark, or living there legally, to engage in all professions, obliged them to keep their books in Danish or in German, and narrowed community autonomy. In 1837 Jews became eligible for municipal election, and in 1843, the special Jewish *oath was abrogated. In the constitution of June 5, 1849, article 84 was tantamount to a grant of emancipation in refusing to recognize the inequality of "any person on the basis of religious grounds." In Sweden the government abolished discrimination against Jews by an administrative decree on June 30, 1838, but was compelled to rescind it under pressure of public opinion. Some disabilities were abolished by general laws on freedom in the choice of profession. In 1860 Jews were permitted to acquire real estate. Marriage between Jews and Christians was legalized in 1863, and in 1873 it was also permitted to give a Jewish education to children born of such marriages. In 1865 Jews were granted the active right to vote and in 1870, the passive right. In Norway, the 1814 prohibition against the entrance of Jews was abrogated in 1851, after several unsuccessful previous attempts in 1842, 1845, and 1848. It was only in 1891 that the Jews were authorized to enter government service.

FRANCE. The emancipation of the Jews of France was linked to the French Revolution and its principles. Jewish equality was implied in the Declaration of the Rights of Man (Aug. 27, 1789), where it states that no man ought to be molested because of his opinions, including his religious opinions. Equality was gradually implemented through various national laws amid a continual, and sometimes fierce, discussion of the applicability of full equality to Jews, but full emancipation was granted on Sept. 27, 1791. Various features in the composition and distribution of the Jewish population, and in the traditional French attitude toward Jews, caused this acrimonious two-year struggle (see also *France, *French Revolution, *Alsace). During the debate in the National Assembly Comte de *Clermont-Tonnerre, an advocate of emancipation, explicitly formulated the assimilationist assumptions of the emancipation when he declared on Dec. 23, 1789: "The Jews should be denied everything as a nation, but granted everything as individuals…" and that "it should not be tolerated that the Jews become a separate political formation or class in the country. Every one of them must individually become a citizen; if they do not want this, they must inform us and we shall then be compelled to expel them. The existence of a nation within a nation is unacceptable to our country." Indeed, Jews striving for emancipation abandoned all demands for autonomy, especially those of the Portuguese communities in the south of France (see *Avignon; *Bordeaux; *Berr Isaac Berr), who were emancipated somewhat earlier than the Ashkenazi Jews of Alsace. The law of September 1791 (ratified by the king on November 13) emancipating all Jews as a matter of principle was considered by Jews as an historic turn in their fate, "a tremendous revolution which heralded happiness," and a victory of revolutionary principles, while the clergy and the royalists considered it a "further insult" to the Church and French historic tradition.

Every territory conquered by the French revolutionary armies, or placed under their rule, and where the laws of France were introduced, saw the proclamation of Jewish equality (e.g., Belgium, the Netherlands, Italy, southern Germany). Jews in these countries considered the French "friends of the Jews," and *Napoleon Bonaparte was admired by most, even though he later (from 1806 publicly) restricted full emancipation (see France, *Assembly of Jewish Notables, French *Sanhedrin). Napoleon's restrictions lapsed in 1818, and ironically were not renewed by the reinstituted reactionary Bourbon regime; civic equality of the Jews in France became an established fact. Jewish legal equality was renewed by the law of Feb. 8, 1831 (passed in the French Parliament after numerous discussions), which recognized the Jewish religion as equal in rights to the Christian churches, and provided for the salaries of its religious officials to be paid by the state. In 1846 the *oath *more Judaico* was abolished by a decision of the court of appeal.

THE NETHERLANDS. The French revolutionary conquest of the Netherlands precipitated Jewish emancipation. It was declared legally on Sept. 2, 1796, by the Batavian National Assembly, which stated that "it is impossible to deprive any Jew of the rights and privileges which are attached to Batavian citizenship, if he wishes to employ them, on condition that the Jew answers to all the requirements and fulfills all the obligations to which every citizen is bound." Both the basis of this law and the discussion about it centered on the definition of Jews and their aims. Neither party to the discussion was inimical to Jews. The opponents of emancipation emphasized the political nature of the Jewish people, who, although deprived of a state, considered Ereẓ Israel to be its country and the Torah its law. One of the debaters, Van Hamelsveld, claimed that since the Jews anticipate a messiah, bringing political revival, to grant them political rights in Batavia would cause the Jews to deviate from their correct historic path, which was similar to that of the Greeks, who stood on the verge of a political revival. All Jews, the argument continued, should have civic rights, which are encompassed by human rights, while political rights should only be given to those who explicitly declare their wish to become Batavian citizens. This conception was supported by the majority of Dutch Jews and their communal leaders, both noted for loyalty to the monarchy (the princes of Orange) and the desire not to cooperate with the revolutionaries who relied on the French conquest.

The opponents of equality claimed that by their religion the Jews were monarchists and thus opposed to any republican regime. They argued, in addition, that Jews are opposed to the abolition of their autonomy and feared that active participation of the Jewish masses in the affairs of state would finally bring misfortune to the Jewish population. In practice, emancipation in the Netherlands did not encounter much difficulty (see the *Netherlands), and the change of regime in the Netherlands did not change the law of equality. In the constitution, redrafted in 1848, the article on equality was even more clearly formulated: "The members of the various religions are to benefit from the same rights as the citizens of the state and the citizens of the communities, and they have an equal right to hold honorary, clerical, and public service positions."

With the conquest of Belgium by the French armies, the laws of France were applied. Emancipation continued through the time of union with the Netherlands (1815–30), and was incorporated into the Belgian constitution of 1831, which proclaimed the equality of all citizens.

ITALY. The beginnings of emancipation in *Italy were also connected with the victories of the French revolutionary armies. Opening the gates of the ghetto and the destruction of their walls symbolized the new regime. The government of the Cisalpine Republic invited the Jews to send their delegates to its founding assembly, and declared in its first proclamation that "the Jews are citizens and society must recognize them as citizens." One of the first steps of the government of the Republic in Rome was to publish in February 1798 the following decree: "The Jews answering to all the conditions required for the obtention of the rights of Roman citizens shall become subject to the laws which have been decreed for all the citizens of the Republic. Therefore, from this day, all the special laws and decrees concerning the Jews are declared to be null and void." The grounds for this decree were the "sanctified principles of the Constitution of the Roman Republic," according to which "the laws must equally apply to every Roman citizen." Support of Italian patriotism, unification, and revolutionary aims became characteristic of traditional Jewish community leaders (rabbis, *parnasim*, etc.), as well as Italian Jewry in general during the 19th century.

The first emancipation in Italy was of short duration, being repealed with the return of the "ancient order." The rhythm of repeal varied in the different Italian states. The renewed animation of the Italian liberation movement in the 1840s helped to bring about a considerable shift in public opinion in favor of the Jews. During the Revolution of 1848, the equality of the Jews was proclaimed in almost all the states of Italy: the duchy of Tuscany in its founding constitution of Feb. 17, 1848; Sardinia (which granted Jews civic rights on Mar. 29, 1848) on July 8, 1848; and Rome at the beginning of 1849. The general reaction which followed the year of the Revolution especially affected the Jews of the Papal States, where the period of reaction was also of longer duration. Only with the unification of Italy in 1870 did emancipation also come to the Jews of Rome when all restrictions connected with religion were abolished by the decree of Oct. 13, 1870, and by the parliamentary decision of Dec. 15, 1870. Liberation of parts of Italy during the process of unification also accomplished Jewish emancipation: in Modena, June 14, 1859; Lombardy, July 4, 1859; Romagna, Aug. 10, 1859; Umbria, Feb. 27, 1860; Sicily, Feb. 12, 1861; Naples, Feb. 16, 1861; and Venice, Aug. 4, 1866. Jewish emancipation in Italy was an expression of both social reality and public opinion, until the conclusion of the alliance between Benito *Mussolini and Adolf *Hitler.

GERMANY. Jewish emancipation in Germany prior to unification was related, as in Italy, to aspirations for the reform of the state along liberal and democratic lines, and to the desire for unifying the nation, as well as to the revolutionary movement. But after 1848 Germany was controlled by conservative, "historic," elements, which shaped the form of German unity and the nature of its political life. The process of emancipation in Germany was, therefore, a prolonged and bitter struggle, complicated by *assimilation on the one hand, and the power of the German "tradition of hatred" of Jews on the other (see G.E. Lessing; Ch. W. von Dohm). The struggle was to last from the 1780s until the passing of the law on Jewish equality in the North German Confederation on July 3, 1869, and its extension, with the ratification of the Constitution, to the whole of the German Empire on April 14, 1871. Emancipation in Germany also came first to those regions conquered by the French (see *Westphalia; *Frankfurt on the Main; *Hamburg). In the German states which retained their independence, "improvements and concessions" in the situation of the Jews were introduced (e.g., the abolition of the body tax, etc.).

The most important initial law in the emancipation of German Jews during the French revolutionary period was the edict issued in *Prussia on March 11, 1812, with its various modifications and limitations. It recognized all Jews already resident in Prussia by virtue of privileges and "special concessions" as citizens of Prussia, and abrogated all limitations on their rights of residence and commerce, all special taxes, and in general, all special laws relating to the Jews. It imposed on Jews all civic duties, including army service, and entitled them to serve in municipal and academic offices. However it did not give them the right of appointment in the civil service and army, and did not regulate communal affairs and Jewish religious education. After liberation of the "free cities" in Germany from French domination, stringent measures were taken to return the "ancient order," i.e., they endeavored to deprive the Jews of their civic rights (Frankfurt; Hamburg) and even of their right of residence (*Bremen; *Luebeck). The Jews appealed to the Congress of Vienna for assistance, thus making Jewish emancipation in Germany an international question. A result of the German-Jewish conflict was the wording of article 16 of the credentials of the German Confederation (June 10, 1815), which stated that only rights granted Jews "by the states" will be continued and not rights granted "in the states," thus eviscerating, through the change of one word, the rights granted under French dominion. The states did indeed use this opportunity to restrict the freedom of the Jews (see Bremen, Luebeck, Hamburg, Frankfurt, *Mecklenburg). Only during the 1830s was the movement for Jewish emancipation revived, a movement in which the literary and political activities of Gabriel Riesser played a central role. He succeeded in founding societies for the obtention of equality which influenced the governments and public opinion. Riesser considered himself a German nationalist, but he gave a distinctly Jewish communal character to the Jewish fight for their rights in Germany. The most prominent and talented members of the Jewish community aided Riesser in the battle, as did all of the Jewish communities in the German states. By the 1840s the results of this campaign were evident in public opinion in Prussia, expressed by the demands of the provincial assemblies (*Landtage*), and in the "law on the reform of the Jews" (July 23, 1847). The law resulted in a certain improvement in the organization of the Jewish communities, especially in southern Germany.

The Revolution of 1848 caused all the German states to proclaim emancipation. "The fundamental rights of the German people" (published on Dec. 27, 1848), which were to serve as the norm for every constitution of the German states, declared that "civil and political rights are not conditioned by religion or restricted as a result of it" and that "religion must not diminish civic obligations." This article was included, in one form or another, in the basic constitutions of most German states (Prussia, April 6, 1848, Dec. 5, 1848; Wuerttemberg, Dec. 21, 1848, Jan. 14, 1849; *Baden, Nov. 17, 1849) and was even preserved in the "constitutions" of the early reactionary period. Article 12 of the Prussian Constitution (Jan. 31, 1850) declared "freedom of religion and the freedom of organization of religious societies," and, further, that "the use of civic and political rights is not dependent on religion," nor does the "use of religious freedom impair civic and political obligations." This article appeared to be a firm guarantee for the emancipation of Jews.

Serious attempts were made during the 1850s to challenge the emancipation as a matter of principle and to abolish it in fact. Friedrich Julius *Stahl stressed the Christian character of the state and the resultant impossibility of granting equality to the Jews. In 1856 a motion was even introduced for the abolition of article 12 of the constitution. But the Jewish communities, led by Ludwig *Philippson, raised a storm of protest and the motion was dismissed. However, through its interpretation of the "amended" constitution's article 14, an article which dealt with the Christian religion, a means was found to bar Jews from government service. In other states, too (e.g., *Bavaria) many discriminatory laws were revived or remained in force.

On Nov. 1, 1867, all restrictions on the Jews' right of residence, acquisition of real estate, and choice of profession were abolished in the states of the North German Confederation. These restrictions were similarly abolished in the states of southern Germany (Bavaria in 1861; Wuerttemberg in 1862; Baden in 1864). The law of equality was passed by the Parliament of the North German Confederation on July 3, 1869. With the extension of this law to the states united within the German Empire (Bavaria, April 22, 1871), the struggle of Germany's Jews for emancipation achieved success.

AUSTRIA AND HUNGARY. The first period of emancipation in Austria made no change in the status of the Jews. But on the basis of the general constitution of the empire (March 4, 1849), which contained an article on "civic and political rights" being "not dependent on religion," all restrictions on Jews were abolished. With the abrogation of this constitution on Dec. 31, 1851, however, the ancient disabilities were renewed in aspects of life ranging from the acquisition of real estate (Oct. 20, 1853) to the employment of male and female Christian domestics. It was only during the 1860s that emancipatory laws were reinstituted. On Dec. 21, 1867, emancipation was achieved in Austria with the promulgation of the new fundamental laws in which article 14 assured "complete freedom of religion and conscience for all" and that "the benefits derived from civic and political rights were not dependent on faith and religion." "In any event," the article continued, "religious faith should not collide with the fulfillment of civic obligations."

In Hungary the townspeople tended to oppose granting rights to the Jews, whose numbers were constantly increasing. However, the lower aristocracy, whose economic progress was connected with the commercial activity of the Jews, and who were generally the standard-bearers of national liberalism, actively supported the Jews. As a result of their influence the demand "to give to the Jews all those rights from which the non-aristocratic population benefits" was included in the instructions of the provincial assemblies to their delegates in parliament. These instructions resulted in the law making the Jewish religion a "government-recognized religion," abolishing the "tolerance-tax," and declaring "the Jews equal in their civic rights to the other citizens who were not of the nobility." Therefore, public and government offices, including positions in the war ministry, which were not reserved for the nobility, could be occupied by Jews (1840). The Upper House however did not ratify the law, and the king would not even agree to the abolition of the "tolerance-tax." The Austrian government consented only to the extension of the right of residence to the Jews. Magyarization was made a prerequisite for Hungarian Jewry before it could achieve emancipation. The Jews have "to speak the language of Hungary and to sing its songs" so as "to cleave to the fatherland, which we have acquired for ourselves." But *Orthodoxy, in the words of Moses *Sofer, claimed that emancipation – i.e., "having all the same rights as the other inhabitants of our country" – proves that it is the Will of God to maintain His people in the Exile for a prolonged period, therefore the Jews should be roused to ask for mercy and pray for Redemption. The assimilationists and reformers claimed that declarations of the Orthodox had "strengthened the opponents of equality" and had caused the Upper House in 1844 to deny even the abolition of the "tolerance-tax" (abolished two years later by the Austrian government, after exacting "compensation" from the Jews for losses anticipated as a result of the abolition). Direct negotiations conducted by the Jews with the Austrian government, without taking into consideration the national rule in Hungary, angered the Hungarian nationalists and brought about a deterioration in their relations with the Jews. During the first days of the Revolution in 1848, the Hungarian Parliament deliberated on the issue of equality for the Jews. Even the Liberals, who in principle demanded it, were mostly of the opinion that such equality must be gradual and conditional to preliminary "reform" of the Jews. The Parliamentary Assembly, on March 14, 1848, decided to grant to the Jews the right to vote, but had to rescind this decision because of demonstrations and riots against Jews in several Hungarian towns (in most cases in connection with the admission of the Jews into the National Guard). The riots were not suppressed by the government, which even exerted pressure on the Jews to relinquish their rights "of their own free will." The patriotic activity, however, of many Jews during Hungary's war of independence created a bond between the Hungarian national cause and the Jews, strengthened by severe fines imposed on the Jewish communities by the victorious Austrians. On July 28, 1849, the government presented a motion to the Founding Assembly in Szegedin (Szeged) stating that "every believer in the Mosaic faith born on the soil of Hungary, or who has settled on it legally, shall benefit from all those civic and political rights which the believers of other religions enjoy." This emancipation turned out to be only a gesture, because the rule of the Hungarian government was rapidly disintegrating. Jewish emancipation was to become legal only with the establishment of Austria-Hungary as a dual monarchy. The two Hungarian houses of parliament, on Dec. 20/27, 1867, declared one of the fundamental laws of Hungary to be that "the Israelite inhabitants are equal to the Christian inhabitants in their civic and political rights" (art. 1) and that "all the laws, usages, and decrees which are in contradiction with these are hereby abrogated" (art. 2).

SWITZERLAND. The struggle for emancipation in Switzerland was drawn out over more than 75 years. It developed from nine

French demands imposed upon Switzerland (1797) to exempt French Jews visiting the country from special customs duties and taxes. The Helvetic Republic, established in 1798, passed general resolutions on emancipation. Special taxes on Jews were abrogated on July 1, 1798, as "a disgrace to the honor of mankind." This problem only concerned *Aargau, the one canton in which Jews were living legally. Full emancipation was rejected in 1799. The constitution of 1848 declared the theoretical equality of all Swiss citizens (art. 4), but, in effect, reserved full rights of citizenship only for members of one of the recognized Christian churches (art. 41). In 1856 the National Council decided that Jews living in the cantons permanently were to benefit from civic and political rights in their places of residence, and guaranteed their right to move freely within Switzerland. These resolutions, however, met with strong opposition from both the public and the authorities of Aargau. Only on Aug. 27, 1863, was the vote granted to the Jews of Canton Aargau. The emancipation of Switzerland's Jews concluded as it had begun by pressure from the outside. Many countries (France, the Netherlands, the U.S.A.) requested that Switzerland not discriminate against their Jewish citizens visiting there. Threats to cancel commercial treaties were made by France in 1835 and 1864, and the Netherlands in 1863, if the rights of their Jewish citizens were not guaranteed. Switzerland's consent to such demands created the anomaly of giving preference to Jews of other countries over Jews of Swiss nationality, which strengthened the case of those who demanded full emancipation. On Jan. 14, 1866, all restrictions concerning the right of Jews to establish residence were abolished, and on April 19, 1874, article 49 of the new constitution declared full emancipation in Switzerland.

THE BALKANS. In the Balkan countries (*Greece, *Bulgaria, *Serbia, and *Romania), which gained their independence from the *Ottoman Empire with the support of Russia, the question of the status of Jews was raised as soon as each country became independent. The Jews were generally loyal to *Turkey. The Christian insurgents were imbued with religious fanaticism, and Russia's hostility toward the Jews was notorious.

The question of Jewish emancipation became connected with the fate of Muslim minorities. From the time of establishment of the Balkan countries, these factors brought about the intervention of the great powers to help determine the status of minorities. In the protocol of the Conference of London (Nov. 30, 1830), which recognized the independence of Greece, the powers agreed that "all the subjects of the new state, without distinction of religion, shall be eligible for appointment in public service, government, and honorary positions, and their treatment should be based on complete equality in all religious, civic and political matters."

In the *irade* (a decree on governmental organization), which the sultan gave to Serbia on Dec. 24, 1838, the obligation of the government to "protect the property, the freedom, and the honor" of all the inhabitants was emphasized. After the Crimean War, the protocol of the Council of Constantinople (Feb. 11, 1856) declared that in the principalities of the Danube (Moldavia and Wallachia, which by their union formed the Kingdom of Romania) "freedom would be given to all the members of the various religions, and all of them, without distinction of religion, would be accorded the protection of the law, would be eligible for employment in the service of the public and society, and would be authorized to acquire lands and real estate." The Treaty of Paris (Aug. 19, 1858), however, stated in article 46 that "those belonging to the Christian Churches would benefit from political equality, while the extension of political rights to other elements of the population was the concern of the legislature." Agreeing in principle with the non-equality practiced in Serbia and Romania, the article continued to be the source of discrimination and expulsions (in Serbia, 1856 and 1869; in Romania, 1867–70, etc.), and even riots (in Romania, 1866–68).

It was only in Greece that emancipation gradually materialized (1870–72) without any additional outside pressure. In the other Balkan countries, emancipation was guaranteed by the Congress of Berlin, where, as a result of the numerous intercessions of the Alliance Israélite Universelle, it was decided that special articles on equality in Bulgaria, Serbia, and Romania would be a condition for international recognition of their independence. The article on Bulgaria declared that "no person should be deprived of his civic or political rights because of his religious beliefs," and that "all the inhabitants of the Bulgarian Principality, without distinction of religion or race, may be accepted into every public office, government service, and honorary position." With respect to Serbia, the Congress decided to consent to Serbian independence on the condition that religious freedom be recognized. The kingdoms of Bulgaria and Serbia included the articles on emancipation in their constitutions.

ROMANIA. The situation developed differently in Romania. Article 44, ratified at the Congress of Berlin, dealt with emancipation in Romania, and although not explicitly mentioning the Jews, reflected an understanding of their oppressed position in that country and was directed toward ameliorating it. The article declared "the differences between the religious faiths, or the credo of any person, cannot serve as a pretext for exclusion from the society which enjoys civic and political rights, or from certain professions, categories of crafts or industry, in any place." "Freedom of worship," the article continued, "shall be guaranteed to members of all religions in Romania, as well as to all foreigners, and no obstacles shall be laid in the way of the hierarchic organization of the various communities or their relations with their spiritual leaders. The treatment of the subjects of all the powers, businessmen, or others, when in Romania, shall be on the basis of complete equality." In actual practice, the Romanian government found a way to nullify this article. Although formally drafting the seventh article of its constitution according to the demands of the Congress of Berlin (the difference in religions and faiths in

Romania shall not entail any limitations in the acquisition of civic and political rights), the Romanian authorities included articles on "aliens" which permitted civic rights to be given to only 885 Jews while enabling the government to withhold these rights from more than 250,000 Jews (1885) who were declared aliens and required to undergo naturalization.

The peace treaty concluded with Romania after World War I (Dec. 9, 1919) included an article stating that "all those born in Romania, who are not subjects of another country by birth, shall become Romanian citizens on the strength of their birth in the country." In addition, a special article (7) was drafted into the treaty according to which Romania "commits herself to recognize as Romanian citizens the Jews living on Romanian territory who do not have any other nationality, by the actual fact of their living in the country, without requiring any formal demands of them." Another article (8) declared that "all Romanian subjects shall be equal before the law and shall benefit from the same civic rights without any distinction based on race, religion, or language." However, the motion to include article 7 in the constitution of 1923 was rejected, and the Jews were again required to provide documents attesting their right of citizenship causing about 10% of the Jewish population to remain without rights.

POLAND. Demands for Jewish emancipation in *Poland were presented at the end of the 18th century, amid the social and spiritual agitation resulting from the collapse of the regime and the state. During the interim period between its second and third partition, Poland's struggle for existence compelled it to seek ways of exploiting all available resources, including the increased economic resources which would accrue from "reform of the Jews." Thus "reform" was proposed by Mateusz *Butrymowicz, Tadeusz *Czacki, Kołłątaj, and others, mainly in the spirit of mercantilist exploitation of Jewish economic activity and their "improvement" through assimilation into Polish culture rather than as the natural result of a liberal regime in which Jews would be permitted civic equality and access to Polish cultural life. The Jewish population in Poland, which was the largest and most specifically Jewish in the Diaspora, could not be considered a mere collectivity of individuals. Influenced by Western political liberalism, Polish theorists formulating the methods for Jewish "reform" believed that the state should be based on the principles of civic equality legislated systematically and implemented with persistence by the state. It was the conflict between the theoretical liberal and the practical mercantilist orientations which caused the complete failure of the projects to "reform the Jews." The constitution of May 3, 1791, did not mention the Jews, and the law on the municipalities was based on the principle that municipal citizenship could be granted only to Christians. After the dismemberment of Poland, Polish legislation concerning Jews was applied only within those territories which enjoyed intermittent independence: the Grand Duchy of Warsaw, 1807–13; Kingdom of Poland, 1815–30; and Republic of *Cracow, 1815–46. Polish attitudes continued to influence the status of the Jews under alien rule, especially during the Polish uprisings, and in autonomous Galicia from 1848 to 1918.

The Grand Duchy of Warsaw tortuously followed Napoleon Bonaparte's policy toward the Jews. On Oct. 17, 1808, the duke decreed that "the inhabitants of the Grand Duchy of Warsaw of the Mosaic faith" could not make use of their political rights for a period of ten years, though "this law will not prevent us from authorizing individual members of this religion to benefit from political rights even before the lapse of the said period, should they be found meritorious and suitable." However, all petitions presented by a group of individuals, who considered themselves deserving of full equality, were dismissed by the government which emphasized that "equality before the law does not transform the inhabitants of the country into citizens." The government also took pains to issue special laws against the Jews, such as prohibiting the acquisition of estates, and restricting residence in Warsaw.

The Kingdom of Poland followed a similar but simpler course: it promised and did even less to emancipate Jews. In its draft constitution presented at the Congress of Vienna, an article promised that "all the civic rights, which are guaranteed in the present laws and regulations, shall also be reserved for Jewish people; special reforms should also be introduced in order to facilitate a larger Jewish participation in the rights of citizens." During the same year (1815), however, the Jewish question was studied by a reforms commission, headed by Prince Adam *Czartoryski, which endorsed the principle of emancipation only in theory, withholding it in practice until the Jews took up agriculture, abolished their community organization, acquired modern Polish education, and refrained from trading in and sale of alcoholic beverage (see *Wine and Liquor Trade). The decree which abrogated the equality of the Jews was prolonged by the Sejm (parliament). All suggestions advanced by "progressive," wealthy, or enlightened Jews (*maskilim*) to be considered "reformed" and separate from Jewish society as a whole and, therefore, worthy of civic rights brought no legal change in the condition of the Jews. An extensive polemical literature emerged, which was overwhelmingly and violently opposed to the Jews.

During the Polish uprising of 1830, there were those who favored the equality of the Jews, and there were some Jews, especially among the youth and the masses, who openly manifested their sympathy for the uprising and wished to participate in it. The leaders of the uprising and the Sejm generally adopted a negative attitude toward the desires of the Jews. A step toward Jewish emancipation was made later by Marquis Wielopolski who obtained from Czar *Alexander II permission to grant the Jews "partial civic equality." As a result, Jews were allowed to acquire land, and residence restrictions in several towns and regions were abolished, as were the Jewish oath and other limitations. But the use of Hebrew or Yiddish in bookkeeping or documents was forbidden on May 24, 1862. The national revolutionary government of 1863 addressed itself to "the Polish brothers of the Mosaic faith" in a special manifesto in which it promised that "the people's government would not ask about religion and race, only the place of birth," and that the Jews would be granted "all civic rights without restrictions" (see Dov Berush *Meisels).

The Sejm in Galicia ratified on Dec. 21, 1867, the abolition of restrictions on Jews' participation in municipal elections. The recognition of Jewish emancipation in principle was widespread among Polish progressives in the 1860s and 1870s. The belief was based on the assumption that after emancipation the Jews were bound to identify themselves nationally and politically with Poland and assimilate its culture. However, the increase in Jewish population and its social and cultural cohesiveness convinced the Poles that this assumption was illusory. The Poles argued that although the Jews fulfilled their civic obligations and were loyal to the state, they did not accept assimilation. Opposition to the Jews grew continually in intensity. It was encouraged by the Russian government's policy of "divide and rule," and by the Christian urban classes' enmity toward the Jews as rivals in commerce and in the liberal professions.

At the beginning of the 20th century Jewish participation in revolutionary activity (1905), the development of their own press, public schools, and economic institutions, the rise of modern Jewish nationalism (*Zionism, the *Bund, etc.), and the weight of their increasing numbers in municipal and *Duma elections sharpened Polish opposition to emancipation for the Jews. Only the Polish socialist movements demanded Jewish civic and political equality. During the German conquest of Poland in World War I, many laws and regulations directed against the Jews were actually abolished, and the organization of the communities received a more democratic character. Between the two World Wars the Jewish fight for equality in independent Poland was influenced by these developments. Emancipation of the Jews in Poland had been guaranteed by the Treaty of Versailles (arts. 86 and 93), and, in particular, by the "additional Treaty of Versailles" (June 28, 1919) signed by Poland, which provided for *minority rights in Poland. After numerous delays, the Polish government was compelled to sign the treaty. Although the Polish constitution of March 17, 1921, included the "additional Treaty of Versailles" and promised "complete equality in civic rights" (art. 9), there was also included an article stating that "in order to execute the constitution, the preparation of suitable legislation would be required." In other words, until the publication of new laws, it was possible – perhaps even necessary – to apply the ancient laws and restrictions. It was only in 1931 that several of these laws and restrictions were abrogated. In the new Polish constitution of April 23, 1935, the principle of equality was outlined in article 7 according to which "the rights of a citizen would not be restricted because of his origin, religion, sex, or nationality," and that "the right of the citizen to determine the course of public affairs would be considered in respect to the value of his efforts in the service of public welfare." Yet the violent opposition of Polish authorities and society to Jewish emancipation did not cease. The law of equality and the law concerning the rights of minorities were successfully emptied of their contents, remaining merely a political and judicial framework for Jewish complaints against the oppressive injustice and perverted laws under which they were compelled to live.

RUSSIA. The beginnings of the struggle for emancipation in Russia took place after the first partition of Poland (1772), when Russia annexed Polish provinces which contained large Jewish populations (Belorussia). On May 7, 1780, Catherine II accepted the "requests of the Jews living in the districts of *Mogilev and *Polotsk to register among the merchants." She ratified the rights of the Jews who had registered with the merchant class and who had been elected to public positions in the self-governing institutions of the burghers, ordering officials not to prevent the Jews from exercising this right (May 13, 1733). This episode is the beginning of the difficult fight for Jewish emancipation in Russia. Emancipation conflicted with the ideology of the czarist regime, which was built on a system of special privileges in all areas of life, and on rigid social classes legally separated. Under such a regime, every attempt to attain Jewish civic equality was doomed to failure from the start. The promptings of theory and pretensions toward principle often resulted in decrees which were supposedly intended to "reform" the Jews in order to render them suitable "for admission into civil society." On Dec. 23, 1791, the *Pale of Settlement was set up for the Jews, with further discriminations and impositions following suit. The Commission for the Reform of the Jews, at first inclined toward the liberal opinion that "prohibitions should be reduced and liberties increased" (Sept. 20, 1803), in the end issued the "Jewish Statute" of 1804 which determined the limits of the Pale of Settlement and imposed further domiciliary and economic disabilities. The commission, however, encouraged Jews to enter agriculture by recommending that the government allocate land and subsidies for their agricultural settlements. Also, Jews were to be permitted to attend general schools of all standards. In 1847 Czar Nicholas I replied to Moses Montefiore's plea for Jewish emancipation by saying that "such a thing is inconceivable, and as long as I live, such a thing shall not take place." Yet Nicholas supposedly believed in the principle of "betterment of the Jews," which meant that "if the experiment to direct the Jews toward useful work should succeed, time will gradually bring about automatically the abolition of those restrictions, which in the meantime are still indispensable." The czar's *Cantonist decree was occasionally "explained" by reasons of "reform in order to achieve citizenship."

During the reign of Alexander II, the situation remained basically unchanged. He ordered the appointment of a special commission to "examine all the existing regulations concerning the Jews in order to adapt them toward the general objective of the integration of this nation within the country, as far as the moral condition of the Jews renders them suitable for this" (March 31, 1856). The czar, however, shared with some members of the commission their opposition to Minister of the Interior Lanskoy's belief that the civic equality of the Jews was a preliminary condition for their assimilation. Alexander II held the view that "the emancipation of the Jews of Russia must be graduated in accordance with their intellectual progress and their adaptation to useful occupations." He only consented to the extension of the rights to certain classes in the Jewish population who had proven their usefulness to the state (see *Russia). He rejected any "far-reaching" suggestions, such as the abolition of the Pale of Settlement, or even less dramatic but immediate alleviation of the Jewish plight. During the reign of *Alexander III the Supreme Commission for the Study of the Current Laws Concerning the Jews was set up on Feb. 4, 1883, under the presidency of Count K. von Pahlen. On May 24, 1888, a report was presented whose majority opinion suggested "changing the system of laws and restrictions for a system of graduated laws of freedom and equality," because "from the governmental point of view, the Jew should benefit from all the rights available." Alexander III, however, rejected the opinion of the majority, accepting the minority viewpoint which accentuated the policy of discrimination. Convinced that there was no hope for an improvement in their conditions within the framework of the existing political regime, many Jews became active participants in the revolutionary movement.

While previous generations of Jews had presented their demands for reform to the authorities through the intermediary of *shtadlanim* (Nathan Note *Notkin, Lippman Selzer), *deputies of the Jewish people, or delegations of the wealthy and intellectual (Baron Horace *Guenzburg, Samuel *Poliakoff, Alexander *Passover, and others), the generation prior to the Russian Revolution expressed their demands for civic equality through increased numbers of Jewish political parties and movements (see *Bund; *Jewish Socialist Workers' Party ("Sejmists"); *Po'alei Zion). All of these parties approved of the "political struggle" within Russia in general and the struggle for the rights of the Jews in particular. At the beginning of 1906, political activism within Russia was included in the program of the Zionist Organization, largely for the purpose of obtaining civic, political, and national rights for the Jews. With the rise of the revolutionary movement (1904–05), and the appointment of Prince Svjatopolk-Mirski as minister of the interior (succeeding V.K. *Plehve who was assassinated by a revolutionary) to "appease" the public, many groups of Russian Jews presented demands for civic equality to the government. In April 1905 the *Society for the Attainment of Equal Rights for the Jewish People in Russia was established. As a protest against the 1892 law which deprived Jews of the right to vote in local elections, the league encouraged Jewish members of the municipalities appointed by the government to resign. It also organized a protest movement against the intention of the government to deprive Jews of the right to vote for members of the Duma.

Jewish revolutionary activities, especially participation in revolutionary parties and in the Bund, led the government to intensify its persecutions (see *Pogroms; *Minsk; *Kishinev; *Gomel; *Zhitomir) and actually to declare "war on the Jews" to "protect the Russian state and people." The czar's decree issued on the eve of the first revolution, Dec. 12, 1904, which was intended to appease the public, promised an "investigation into the laws which restrict the rights of aliens," and that "the restrictions which are necessary for the welfare of the state and the Russian people are not to be abolished." To the government manifesto of Oct. 17, 1905, Count *Witte appended a declaration which discriminated against Jews in the application of "civic freedom." Dealing with the "civic equality of all citizens without distinction of religion and nationality," the declaration stated "this would be executed through the channels of ordinary legislation," while the application of the other articles (freedom of the press and assembly) would be carried out immediately. And to article 76 in the basic laws issued on May 6, 1906, guaranteeing "to every Russian citizen the right to freely choose his place of residence," the Russian government added that "the restrictions to these laws are to be defined in special laws."

The first Duma did not deal specifically with the "Jewish question"; yet in answer to the opening speech of the czar it undertook to prepare "a law on the complete equality of rights of all citizens and to abolish all the restrictions and privileges which are conditioned on class, nationality, religion, or sex." A motion to this effect was introduced and supported by 151 delegates. A special commission was appointed to draft the bill, but the first Duma was dissolved before the work was completed. The government introduced a motion in the second Duma for the abolition of all restrictions based on faith or religion, "with the exception of the restrictions concerning the Jews." The Duma commission decided to delete this limitation, but it did not succeed in bringing the revised law to the plenum before the second Duma was also dissolved. In the third Duma, which was not a liberal one, the Jewish deputy L.N. *Nisselovich introduced (May 31, 1910) a bill, supported by 166 deputies, for the abolition of the Pale of Settlement. The bill was transferred (Feb. 9, 1911) to the commission on "personal liberties," but it, too, failed to reach the plenum. The government removed the issue of Jewish equality from the agenda as a matter of principle. During World War I the partial abolition of the Pale of Settlement by a circular of the minister of the interior (August 1915) was actually forced by the pressure of Jewish refugees expelled by the Russian authorities from the front area.

After the overthrow of the czarist regime the decree of the Russian Provisional Government (March–October, 1917), although not formulated only for Jews, was the most complete of all the laws of civic equality enacted with respect to the status of the Jews. In its preamble the decree stated that "according to our firm inner consciousness, in a free country, all citizens must be equal before the law, and the conscience of the nation cannot consent to the restriction of the rights of individual citizens because of their religion or race." On the basis of this ideology the Provisional Government decreed that "all the restrictions in the rights of Russian citizens because of their attachment to any faith, religion, or nation – such restrictions as are in force according to existing laws – shall be abolished." The first article of the decree enumerated in nine subsections the categories of restrictions to be abolished – both those in force throughout Russia and those limited to localities or regions. In six articles (2–7), the decree specified in great detail, giving dates of publication and numbers in the legal codes, all the numerous laws discriminating against Jews and members of other religions and nations. Article 8 declared invalid all prior administrative orders issued by civil or military authorities "which contained restrictions in rights because of affiliation with any faith, religion, or nation." Inclusion of an itemization of anti-Jewish legislation in the equality decree, reflecting the extent of Russian discrimination and the struggle for emancipation, resulted from the initiative and counsel of the Jewish Political Committee (delegates of the Jewish parties and Jewish representatives in the Duma), which provided this material for the government. The policy of the antisemitic czarist Russian govern-ment had compelled the Jews to act for themselves in every sphere of life: legal defense, self-defense against pogroms, founding schools and educating the masses, mutual credit, professional training, emigration arrangements, and political organization. The resulting "strengthening" of the Jews' ability to solve the problems of everyday life, together with the widespread appeal of the Zionist movement, increased Jewish cohesion to the point where it became a powerful instrument in the fight for survival. A basic political demand of Jewish political parties was "national *autonomy," expressing the collective character of Russian Jewry's struggle for emancipation.

THE BALTIC STATES. *Finland, *Estonia, *Latvia, and *Lithuania, which all became independent after World War I, included Jewish civic equality in their constitutions, because the *League of Nations accepted them as members only after committing themselves to providing for minority rights.

On Jan. 12, 1918, by granting emancipation in its constitution, Finland abolished the prohibition against Jewish settlement in force from 1806. This prohibition had been relaxed only for a few Jewish soldiers, whose other rights were nevertheless restricted, after their demobilization in 1865. The constitution permitted all Jews living in the country for at least five years prior to 1918 to become naturalized citizens.

Estonia's constitution of 1919 promised the Jews full equality. The law concerning cultural autonomy (Feb. 5, 1925) granted the Jews the right to elect a national council to administer their own schools, provide for their cultural needs, and supervise the communal organizations.

In Latvia civic equality was promised in its constitution. A special law on minorities (Oct. 8, 1919) granted the Jews, among other minorities, extensive cultural autonomy. An official appointed by the minority group was placed at the head of its school network. With the abrogation of the constitution in May 1934, the autonomous institutions of minorities were also dissolved.

The leader of the Lithuanian Paris peace delegation, Prof. Voldemaras, informed the *Comité des Délégations, in a letter of Aug. 5, 1919, that Lithuania would now promise the Jews representation in the country's legislative institutions, complete autonomy in their internal affairs, legal status for their autonomous institutions, recognition of the right to use their mother tongue, and the appointment of a special minister for Jewish affairs. The promises were ratified in the constitution of 1922 and, to a large extent, in the constitution of 1928, even though autonomous Jewish institutions in the meantime were dissolved. With the dissolution of the Jewish National Council and the Jewish Ministry in 1924, the Jewish community again became merely a religious community.

MUSLIM STATES. In the Islamic world there was no emancipation in the Western sense, neither as a public movement to which was linked the Jewish desire for civic equality and participation in the life of the state, nor as a reform movement holding civic equality to be a sign of a new order. To a certain extent, however, the civic equality granted to the Jews in the Ottoman Empire may be considered "emancipation." During the 19th century the sultan twice, in 1839 and 1856, proclaimed the civic equality of Jews and Christians, which represented a great change in the attitude of the Islamic countries toward "infidels." The revolution incited by the Young Turks in 1908 resulted in the ratification of this equality. The number of Jews who participated in the organizations of the Young Turks, and in the political life of Turkey, was not inconsiderable. After World I, Turkey signed a minorities treaty (1923), but, in the letter of the Jewish notables to *Kemal Pasha of Feb. 6, 1926, the Jews officially waived these rights for fear that they be accused of separatism. *Yemen, which won its independence between the two World Wars, never granted legal emancipation to Jews. Other Arab states (*Egypt, *Iraq, *Syria, *Libya, *Morocco, *Algeria, *Tunisia) granted Jewish emancipation officially, but took it away in reality after the Israel War of Independence through restrictions, persecutions, and humiliations as Jew-hatred became part of the fight against Zionism and Israel.

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[Benzion Dinur (Dinaburg)]

EMANUEL, a man of Jewish origin mentioned in a letter of the Austrian envoy in Istanbul in 1591 as the Turkish sultan's nominee for the *gospodar* of the principality of Moldavia. According to the envoy the man came from Poland and owed his appointment to the efforts of the physician Solomon *Ashkenazi, and even more to the large sums (half a million ducats) which he had paid to the sultan and his courtiers. The envoy states that Emanuel had many enemies and that his appointment might be nullified even before he left Turkey. Some identify Emanuel with Prince Aron Vodã, ruler of Moldavia from 1591 to 1595, who rebelled in 1594 against the Turks; 19 Jews from Turkey who were in Jassy at that time were then killed along with the Turks. This identification has no grounds; according to some Romanian historians, Aron belonged to a princely Moldavian family. Emanuel could have been one of those who tried to buy the Moldavian throne but did not succeed, as the Austrian envoy indeed says.

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[Eliyahu Feldman]

EMANUEL, WALTER LEWIS (1869–1915), humorist. A London lawyer, Emanuel contributed to *Punch* and wrote amusing books such as *A Dog Day* (1902), *The Snob* (1904), *The Dog World and Anti-Cat Review* (1909), and *One Hundred Years Hence* (1911). His father and brother both served as secretary to the Board of Deputies of British Jews and Emanuel himself was active in communal affairs.

EMAR, ancient city in the Near East. The cuneiform finds from Emar, at modern Meskeneh, must be understood in relation to those from *Ugarit. They are contemporary, spanning the 13th and early 12th centuries B.C.E.. Emar is directly inland from Ugarit, on the great bend of the Euphrates River. Both populations were dominated by Semitic speakers, whose dialects appear to have been distinct, though both western. Both towns were ruled in this period by their own local kings, with a circle of dependent towns and villages. For our understanding of the indigenous culture, it is unfortunate that Emar did not share Ugarit's alphabetic cuneiform alternative. Like much of Ugarit's cuneiform, the texts from Emar are mostly written in Akkadian, the language of the eastern Mesopotamians who were the system's first users. Emar's most striking textual discovery is the archive of a scribal school that was run by the man who oversaw the main body of public religious life in the town. As a whole, the cuneiform finds from Emar offer a counterpoint to Ugarit, that adds variety and nuance to our picture of Syria at the time of Israel's emergence. Politically and socially, Emar was in some ways more like Israel than was Ugarit (see below).

Excavations at Emar have taken place in two phases, the second of which is still in progress as of 2006. When Lake el-Assad was created by a new dam in the 1970s, a French team led by Jean-Claude Margueron explored much of the Late Bronze II town. All of the cuneiform finds came from this phase of work and belong to this period, including the tablets from the illicit antiquities market. Tablets were uncovered in a pair of temples, a public building of modest size, and several houses. The major discovery, however, was the building M_1, both the residence and shrine of an official who called himself "the diviner of the gods of Emar." Roughly a thousand tablets and fragments were found here, mostly written in Akkadian, but also including two Hittite letters, scribal lore in Sumerian, and divination manuals in Sumerian and in Hurrian. The diviner was a well-educated man.

Margueron did not uncover any strata from earlier periods, even though texts from other sites make clear that Emar already existed in the third millennium, at the time of the *Ebla archives. He concluded that the town was completely rebuilt under Hittite sponsorship at the end of the 14th century. New excavations by a joint German-Syrian team led by Uwe Finkbeiner, Shawki Sha'ath, and Farouk Ismail, beginning in 1996, have now demonstrated that the older town occupied the same site, suggesting greater cultural continuity in the society depicted in the texts. Perhaps the most fascinating feature of the Emar excavations, in vivid contrast to Ugarit, is the lack of a proper palace. The texts prove that the town had a king and palace, but no royal archives were unearthed, and the small public building that Margueron identified as the palace is far from convincing. It appears that the palace did not occupy either of the two main high points of the tell, both of which have been explored. Without palace finds, other buildings and their contents take center stage. Beyond the building M_1, three temples were found, one pair at the western summit of the town and another just above the diviner's residence, near the middle of the site. Several houses were excavated, proving that unlike some administrative and religious enclosures, these city walls protected a substantial population. The texts from the temple include only lists, and those from the houses are private legal documents.

The real novelty at Emar is the diviner's building, which has a temple-shaped hall and entrance, modified by rooms along one side. Cuneiform tablets were found jumbled across its main level, badly broken and suggesting collapse from a second story. The archive is diverse, with various threads indicating the diviner's personal interest. A large collection of lexical tablets includes colophon signatures for this diviner and his associates or students. Some of the divination lists include similar signatures, and the nature of the texts by itself suits the "diviner" title. The Hittite letters involve the financial interests of the first in the family of diviners, a man named Zu-Ba'la. Many of the tablets reflect everyday affairs at Emar rather than standard professional texts. These are divided into two main groups, both of which carry Emar's main interest for the Bible because they reflect the particular life of this Syrian site. There are many private legal documents of the same type as those from Emar's houses. One part of these record the affairs of Zu-Ba'la's family through four generations. A larger number of tablets and fragments pertains to the administration of Emar's religious institutions, apparently including the activity of the building M_1 itself. To our benefit, some of this administration was tied to prominent rites and festivals that are described in considerable detail. A few of the ritual texts were even copied as exercises. Throughout the rituals, "the diviner" receives various portions and payments, evidently for his services, and he surfaces occasionally with other roles.

The longer ritual texts form two natural groups. One set is defined by the calendar, for rites defined by the sacred year, generally celebrated once a year. Most prominent is the *zukru* for the turn of the year every fall, which survives in two versions. The simpler rite was understood to be annual. One tablet presents a special event focused on a certain seventh year, first anticipated by ritual preparations a year in advance. Nothing defines the *zukru* itself, a local Semitic word that makes best sense as something spoken. The central event of the *zukru* in both annual and seventh-year forms is a procession outside the town walls that has the god Dagan (see *Dagon) pass between upright stones. Dagan is the most important god of this part of the Euphrates valley. At Emar, he is invoked by far most often in personal names, and the *zukru* festival presents him as the explicit head of the pantheon. This is a major event for a preeminent god, gathering all the people and including offerings for all the town's gods. Removed from Dagan's temple in favor of the external site and simple stones, the whole thing has an old-fashioned feel to it. Neither the king nor any temple servant has any active role. Somehow, the rite is central to Emar's identity as a single community.

Another small set of festivals is defined by special events not tied to the calendar. The two most impressive are rites to install in office two leading priestesses, one for the storm god, and the other for the goddess Ashtartu. In the first rite, the priestess of the storm god is prepared in stages to move from her father's house to the house of the god. She takes up residence in the temple, a privilege that may be shared only by the priestess of Ashtartu. These installations take place only upon the death of a sitting priestess.

As a whole, the collection of ritual administration is dominated by local concerns, and this allows us a view of longstanding religious practices at Emar in western Syria. With cuneiform archives, local origin cannot be taken for granted, because the scribal lore is often learned from distant sources, ultimately founded in eastern Mesopotamia. For those interested in the Bible, the distinction is crucial. Western Syrian culture shared much more with ancient Israel than did eastern Mesopotamia, and this explains the many continuities in religious practice.

By any measure but the most traditional, however, the Bible is a product of the first millennium, the periods of the kingdoms, the ends of Israel and Judah, and the early survival of Judah's people. Many would challenge the very relevance of a Late Bronze site to the Bible, and the application merits conscious explanation. First of all, Emar must be considered in combination with Ugarit, the more famous city on the Mediterranean coast. The archives of Ugarit date to the same period and are also cuneiform based. Because a subset of the Ugarit tablets is written in an alphabetic cuneiform with the local West Semitic dialect, this site has attracted special interest, and it presents unique comparative possibilities. In a larger sense, however, Ugarit and Emar should be treated in combination, with the same argument for their relevance to the Bible. This is especially true for questions about religion.

Together, Ugarit and Emar provide a baseline from written evidence for understanding what is ancient and indigenous in the Bible, as opposed to late borrowings from outside contacts with distant empires. Both sites are far north of Israel and Judah, and they represent distinct expressions of Syrian culture. Both reflect many contrasts with the peoples of the Bible. Where we find points of continuity, these probably reflect deep lines of cultural likeness between these northern and southern societies. Little if anything can be treated as borrowed, because there is no reason to imagine any contact between these populations, either directly or through intermediaries. The comparisons are then all the more valuable for the independence of the writings on both sides. By the nature of this comparison across cultures, in no case does it date any biblical text or tradition. Common ground between early Syrian writing and the Bible may undermine certain arguments for late foreign influence or uniquely late and Judahite developments. Where similar features appear, the biblical expression appears then to be in long continuity with regional patterns.

Before addressing the specific possibilities of how Emar texts may illuminate the Bible, it is worth distinguishing the applications from Emar and Ugarit. Ugarit is essential for good reason. The West Semitic dialect of Ugarit by itself offers the primary point of reference for the earliest development of Hebrew. Emar's tablets are entirely cuneiform, and the local West Semitic language is only visible in personal names, terms that pass into the texts without translation, occasional glosses for Emar vocabulary, and grammar that does not fit proper Akkadian. In spite of these limitations, it still seems that the dialect of coastal Ugarit had more in common with ancient Hebrew than did that of Emar. More precisely, an adequate grammatical comparison is impossible for Emar Semitic, but the vocabulary of Ugarit overlaps substantially with Biblical Hebrew, much more than that of Emar.

In a way, religion presents a similar situation. With El (Ilu), Baal (Ba'lu), and Asherah (Athiratu) among the leading deities, even the vocabulary of Ugarit's pantheon coincides more with the Bible's divine names than does the pantheon of Emar. Of course, the name of Israel's particular god YHWH appears in neither, a detail not to be missed. Like the vocabulary of the languages as a whole, the religious vocabulary of Ugarit matches that of the Bible in significant ways, including sacred personnel (e.g. the *khn* "priest"). Ugarit's religious poetry displays themes and language that have echoes in the Bible, especially in the poetry of Jerusalem. Emar's ritual texts offer comparisons based less on vocabulary than on procedure, but the degree of ritual similarity is striking.

As we consider various individual comparisons between Emar documents and the Bible, we must keep in mind at least two dimensions of the Emar component: its inland geography, and its political heritage. Like Ugarit's, Emar's archives are earlier than biblical writing, from what would be the first stages of Israel's existence in the land and before. Both are far north of Israel, though closer than the origins of cuneiform in eastern Mesopotamia. Cultural proximity must be distinguished from physical distance and decided by the actual characteristics of the peoples involved. Egypt is physically closer to Israel and Judah than either of these two northern sites, but its language and religion are much more sharply separated. It appears that the peoples of the Bible shared much with those of the lands directly to the north, to an extent measured by the specific continuities found between their writings, even across centuries of chronological distance. Especially in the case of Emar, we must remember that this evidence precedes the spread of the *Arameans across Syria at the beginning of the Iron Age.

In spite of the fact that both Emar and Ugarit are roughly the same distance north of Israel, their geographical relationship both to each other and to Israel requires precision. According to various biblical lore, confirmed by the 9th-century Mesha Inscription from Moab, Israel straddled the Jordan River valley, with a sizable population on the east side. In Genesis 31, the tradition of Jacob's return from Syria has Laban chase him south along an inland route, from the vicinity of the Euphrates into this territory east of the Jordan River. On the southwestern elbow of the Euphrates, Emar participated in currents of exchange that moved north and south without ever entering the coastal regions or the land more properly called Canaan.

The other large factor to keep in mind as context for any Emar comparisons is political tradition. During the 13th century, Emar did have a king whose power is visible even though no royal archive was discovered. Because most of the Emar texts were not composed in the palace, however, including the whole output of the building M_1's diviner, we have an unusually good view of life outside royal circles. At Emar, kings struggled to establish true dominance in a town that for centuries had maintained a stubborn tradition of collective decision-making, defined by "elders" or a governing council. The public ritual life of Emar, as depicted in the diviner's archive, gives the king no active role, in radical contrast to the ritual found at Ugarit. In this respect, the Emar evidence stands in closer continuity to the world of the Bible than does that of Ugarit. The Bible also leaves much of the world of kings opaque. We learn almost nothing about royal and palace ritual and religion. In the Torah, Israel is presented as celebrating its festivals as a gathered people, without kings.

The tablets from the authorized excavations at Emar were only published in the mid-1980s, and their study has barely passed its first phase. Because the author both took part in this early research and maintained a continuing interest in the Bible, he has pursued several separate applications, and this article follows his personal work. There remains much to be done, however, especially to take advantage of the social context offered by Emar. Very soon after the publication of the main Emar volumes, Ben-Barak incorporated Emar into her discussions of women's inheritance, as with Zelophehad's daughters. Hundreds of legal documents from private households can be identified with Emar, whether or not from the authorized excavations. These offer a rich and varied portrait of family affairs in Late Bronze Syria, as a backdrop to the portrayal of family life and law in the Bible.

A second category of broad comparison that has not yet attracted attention is political. In broad terms, the Bible presents Israel as a people that maintained a political identity for some long period without having a king. Emar represents a very different setting in that its political identity is defined by the town and whatever surrounding population depends on it. Nevertheless, the combination of evidence from Late Bronze Emar itself and about Emar (written Imar) in the Middle Bronze archives of *Mari suggests that a strong monarchy only emerged in the 13th century. Kings may have existed during earlier periods, but their leadership was always balanced by a vigorous collective alternative. During the Middle Bronze Age, this took the form of a council called the *tahtamum*, known only at Emar and Tuttul. Even at the time of the Late Bronze archives, elders retained important legal and ritual responsibilities. Israel's monarchy also had to build its power in a political environment with long-established traditions for collective governance, in this case rooted in populations spread across a much larger region. Aside from any direct political comparison, the strength of collective political life at Emar gives its public religious celebrations a flavor more like what the Bible portrays for Israel than much Near Eastern public ritual, which tends to revolve around the king.

The most striking specific comparisons between Emar texts and the Bible have to do with religion, and public ritual life in particular. One preoccupation of the biblical Torah is the definition of a collective Jewish religious practice by reference to Israel in its life before kings, before Jerusalem and its temple, even before settlement in the land. This religious practice includes a major public component, with the ark and its tent shrine, priests for all Israel, and festivals to be celebrated in the name of Israel.

Although Emar religion belongs to a Late Bronze Age town, far to Israel's north, the cultural framework has points in common with Israel, beyond the collective political traditions. Most telling is the foundation of a shared temple architecture. In broad Near Eastern terms, the temples of Syria-Palestine, drawn north-south to include what become the lands of Israel and Judah, stand out from many other types. Even in the central cities of significant states, Syrian temples are most often constructed along one axis, with a doorway that opens directly onto the main sanctuary room. Four Emar temples, including the sacred room of the diviner's building M$_1$, share this form. The only descriptions of temple form in the Bible apply to Solomon's structure at Jerusalem and the mobile tent of *Exodus. Both of these share the simple axial layout of the regional type. Together with these simple sanctuary forms we find a lack of large temple-based communities, in contrast to the major sacred centers of the southern Mesopotamian cities, for one. Only a small number of priests enter the temple, and it is rare that the temple serves as the home for sacred personnel. At Emar, it is possible that only the storm god's (NIN.DINGIR) priestess and perhaps the neighboring *mash'artu* priestess of Ashtartu lived in the temples they served.

The most provocative comparisons between Emar and biblical religion relate to ritual procedure. Two clusters merit special attention, one related to the calendrical structure of festivals and the other to the technique of anointing. Both clusters are embedded in the public ritual life of the people on both sides of the comparison. On the biblical side, the closest comparisons appear in the priestly lore of the Torah. Although the finished versions of this lore may date to the exile of Judah or later, the similarities to Emar practice suggest that these traits do not derive from external contacts unique to such late times. They appear to be deeply indigenous, never borrowed, arising and developing in the local setting.

Three of Emar's all-town festivals are constructed around seven-day blocks, like the Bible's seven-day festivals of Pesah/Massot (Passover/Unleavened Bread) and Sukkot (Booths). Two of the Emar events are the installation rites for the priestesses of the storm god and Ashtartu, which were evidently performed after the death of the previous officeholder. Only one was celebrated according to the annual calendar, and the similarities are striking. Emar's *zukru* festival was focused on the full moon of the first month, with a seven-day period of feasting to follow. Emar counted the new year from the fall. At least once, a special version took place in the seventh year, and this event was by far the most expensive rite recorded in the archive. The *zukru* was an all-town festival during which the whole population brought all the gods outside the walls to pay special honor to Dagan as head of Emar's pantheon. The word *zukru* is West Semitic, not Akkadian, and probably represents an act defined by speech, a prayer or oath that renewed devotion to Dagan in this leading role.

Emar's *zukru* has more in common with the major calendar festivals than does any one rite found at Ugarit. Pesah/Massot and Sukkot are celebrated at the two axes of the ancient year, in spring and fall, and in the Holiness Code and Priestly versions of Leviticus 23 and Numbers 28–29, both incorporate a seven-day block and are focused on the full moon. The autumn new year at Emar matches the timing of Sukkot, in particular. Although this feast came to give came to give pride of place to the spring event in later tradition, the importance of the autumn equinox is visible in several aspects of the biblical calendar. In spite of the count of numbered months from the spring in priestly writing and the eventual borrowing of the Babylonian calendar with its spring new year, Exodus 23:16 and 34:22 indicate a turn of the year in the fall. This tradition is preserved in Rosh Hashanah, celebrated at the new moon of the first autumn month. A late note at the end of Deuteronomy preserves the most striking comparison with Emar's *zukru* (31:10–11). Every seventh year, at the feast of Sukkot, the written instruction of Moses was to be read aloud to the assembled population. The calendar is exactly like that of Emar's'special event, and the centrality of speech also offers an impressive continuity. How can we explain these similarities? The contents of each religious tradition are surely distinct. Deuteronomy's choice of this timing for such a major rite must, however, reflect ancient practices in Israel or Judah, even if they are transformed here to fit the notion of a Mosaic text. Somehow, the *zukru* at Emar belongs to a stream of ritual custom in which the biblical festivals participate at a later date. Where the calendar of biblical ritual corresponds with that of Emar's *zukru*, it is unlikely that the biblical timing was first created or borrowed at the date of textual composition, even if that may finally be exilic or later. The priestly calendar for the spring and fall festivals, along with the fall rite of Deuteronomy 31, appear to be much older than the texts in which they are embedded.

Aside from the calendar, Emar's festival accounts resemble the Torah instructions for Israel in at least one more important respect. They share an emphasis on the assembly of the people, without differentiation, and without leadership by any special individual, whether priest or king. In the Bible, Moses and Aaron have leading ritual roles, depending on the context, but the spring and fall festivals never specify the role of a priest, even in the Holiness and Priestly versions of Leviticus 23 and Numbers 28–29. All the accounts of Israel's primary festivals emphasize the gathering of the populace. At Emar, the most striking comparison again is found in the *zukru*, "given" by "the sons of the land of Emar" together and with feasting by "the people" as a whole. The feasting takes place outside the city walls, where all the gods of the town have gathered to witness Dagan's procession between sacred stones. Although the king's financial commitment to the festival is impressive, no ritual role is attributed to him. Likewise, the diviner is absent. Only the gods have individual roles, and we are never told who moves them or manipulates their statues. What is important is the participation of all the people and all their gods, the human and divine population of Emar. The same full participation characterizes the ideal of the Torah festivals.

The continuities between the worlds of Emar and of the Bible have more to do with the structures of their societies. At the same time, the ritual calendar and emphasis on the collective at the ritual expense of the king, for example, are not universal Near Eastern traits. Somehow, both Ugarit and Emar show different expressions of a cultural kinship that reached north and south along the Mediterranean and inland. The overlapping preoccupations of Torah instruction and the Emar ritual texts allow glimpses of this common cultural foundation beneath the superstructures of their separate developments. These glimpses warn us neither to treat the Bible and its religion as a world unto itself nor to explain points of similarity by the notion of borrowing, especially by contacts with conquering Mesopotamian powers. Rather, these similarities are hints of a massive commonality, from which the distinct features of particular peoples developed. The commonality itself is not uniform across the ancient world, and the north-south axis is striking, even as lines of distinction will not often be sharp. Emar, like Ugarit and other Syrian sites with cuneiform archives from the Bronze Age, suggests a depth to the cultural traditions embedded in the Bible that is too easily neglected. Evaluation of the stories and the events they describe is a problem that requires other comparative evidence.

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[Daniel Fleming (2nd ed.)]

EMBALMING. The natural drying out of the body by solar heat (mummification) is the oldest method of preserving a corpse. The ancient Egyptians may have simply tried to dry corpses in the hot desert sands, or as in one of the chambers found at Thebes, in rooms which were artificially heated. Embalming is the artificial treatment of a corpse to prevent or delay its putrefaction. In ancient Egypt the technique consisted, according to Herodotus, of using an iron hook to draw out the brain through the nostrils, and then making a cut along the flank to remove the abdominal contents, which were washed and soaked in palm wine and infusions of spices, and then stored in "canopic" jars. The heart, as seat of intelligence, was removed, wrapped in linen, and replaced into the chest cavity. The cavity was filled with myrrh, cassia, and other spices before being sewn up; the body was then washed and wrapped from head to foot in fine linen. The Bible describes embalmers as "physicians" (Gen. 50:2), and mentions it (perhaps to provide local color) only with reference to Jacob and Joseph (Gen. 50:2–3, 26), who both died in Egypt. The statement that the process required 40 days (Gen. 50:3) is at variance with Herodotus' statement that it required 70, the period which the Bible assigns to the Egyptians' mourning for Jacob. In actuality, the mummification process might range between 30 and 200 days. The strong belief in an afterlife was what made preservation of the body so important in Egypt, in marked contrast to the situation in ancient Israel.

Today embalming before burial is widely practiced in the United States by undertakers, who inject a formalin solution into the blood vessels; but in Israel it is rare, being confined entirely to bodies being sent abroad for burial (in conformity with international regulations).

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[Heinrich Karplus]

EMBDEN, GUSTAV (1874–1933), German biochemist. Born in Hamburg, Embden was appointed professor of physiology at Frankfurt University in 1914, where he carried on his productive investigations into the chemistry of muscular contraction. Recognizing that muscle glycogen is not directly oxidized for energy, he helped to elaborate the metabolic pathways by which carbohydrate is degraded within the cell. This biochemical pattern, which bears his name, is characteristic of most living cells. Embden also stressed the significance of phosphoric acid in the intracellular metabolism of sugars. Other research contributions were in the area of fat metabolism. He contributed, with G. Schmidt, to *Handbuch der biologischen Arbeitsmethoden* (1921–39) and edited, with others, *Handbuch der normalen undpathologischen Physiologie* (6 vols., 1925–29).

[George H. Fried]

EMBER, AARON (1878–1926), U.S. Orientalist and Egyptologist. Born in Kovno, Lithuania, Ember migrated to the U.S. in 1891. From 1904 to 1910 he worked as a fellow of Semitics at Johns Hopkins University and from 1911 was assistant professor (professor 1924) in its Semitics department. His studies in Ancient Egyptian, Assyrian, Arabic, and Ethiopic led him to seek an earlier form of proto-Semitic in Egyptian, which he came to regard as the oldest Semitic language. He died as a result of a fire in his house in which his wife and child also perished. His papers, which were partially destroyed, were partly published by Cyrus Adler in the *Paul Haupt Anniversary Volume* (1926), in a chapter entitled "Partial Assimilation in Old Egyptian" (pp. 300–12), where Ember discussed the phonological relationship of Egyptian to Semitic languages and his theory that abstract terms developed from a concrete basis. The book also includes a biographical sketch of Ember. In 1930 a manuscript that survived the fire was published as A. Ember, *Egypto-Semitic Studies*. Its publication was due in large part to the efforts of Ember's former teacher, the great Egyptologist Kurt Sethe of Berlin. Ember took an active part in the Jewish community of Baltimore. For many years he was a director of the Baltimore Talmud Torah and of the Isaac Davidson School and helped to found the Jewish Public Library there. He was also an ardent Zionist and assisted the Hebrew University Library, Jerusalem.

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EMBRYO (Heb. עֻבָּר, *ubbar*), a child in the womb of its mother before its head emerges (Sanh. 72b; Sh. Ar., ḤM 425:2), the Hebrew *ubbar* meaning the unborn child in both the embryonic and fetal stages. Generally speaking, an embryo is incapable of having legal rights or duties, although there are various rules intended to protect its rights when born, and to prevent uncertainty with regard to its status.

Determining the Identity of the Embryo

A widow or divorced woman must not remarry until 90 days after the death of her husband or after her divorce (Sh. Ar., EH 13:1; see *Marriages, Prohibited). The reason for this prohibition is to remove any doubt should she immediately become pregnant from her second husband, as to whether the child she bears is a nine-month child of the first, or a seven-month child of the second, a doubt which might seriously affect its personal status (Yev. 41a–42a; and Codes).

Mother or Embryo

Who Takes Precedence? On the question of whether an embryo may be killed in order to save its mother in the case of a difficult confinement, see *Abortion.

Parentage

Generally, the same laws that apply in determining the parentage of a born child and the capacity of the mother or her husband to deprive it of its status apply to the embryo; see **Mamzer*; Parent and *Child.

Levirate Marriage or *Ḥlizah* of a Pregnant Woman

If a woman was pregnant when her husband died and the child is subsequently born alive, she is exempt from levirate marriage or *ḥalizah* (Sh. Ar., EH 156:4; see *Levirate Marriage and *Ḥalizah*).

Proselytization

For the status of a child born after its mother became a proselyte while pregnant with it see *Proselyte.

Succession

An embryo is incapable of acquiring rights, for only a person born can possess rights. Accordingly, if an embryo dies in its mother's womb, it does not leave the right of succession, to which it would have been entitled had it been alive when the deceased died, to those who would have been its heirs had it been born alive when the deceased died. Instead, such right of succession passes to the heirs of the deceased as if the embryo had never existed (BB 142a; Nid. 44a; and Codes, Rif to Yev. 67a). There is a contrary opinion, however, to the effect that intestate succession being automatic, the embryo does acquire it (*Piskei ha-Rosh* to Yev. 67a; see Tur, ḤM 210). All agree, however, that a child born alive after the death of its father inherits its father as though it had been alive when he died (Rif, Ritba, to Yev. 67a, *Beit Yosef* and Bah to Tur and Sh. Ar. loc. cit.; see *Ḥiddushei Ḥayyim ha-Levi* to Yad, Terumot 8:4). Hence, an embryo that is born after the death of the deceased, even if it dies the day it is born, leaves the right of succession (after its mother) to its heirs on its father's side, but not to those on its mother's side – who would have inherited had the embryo died in her womb (Tur and Sh. Ar., ḤM 276:5). Only in respect of the special rights due to a firstborn son is a child born after the death of his father not of equal status with one already born when the father dies. Thus, if twins are born, the first one will not be entitled to the additional share in the father's estate due to the firstborn (see *Firstborn), since the Torah states of the primogenitary right, "If they have borne him children …" (Deut. 21:15), i.e., only a firstborn alive when the father dies, but not an embryo, is entitled to the (additional) primogenitary share (BB 142b, and Codes).

A will in favor of the embryo of another has no validity, even if the embryo is born alive, since no rights can be conferred upon one not yet born (BB 141b–142; *Piskei ha-Rosh* to Yev. 67a; Sh. Ar., ḤM 210:1). However, when a man whose wife is pregnant makes a will in favor of his own embryo whether it be a will of a person being on his deathbed (*shekhiv me-ra*) or of a person regarded as being in health (*bari*) (see *Wills) –

it is valid, because a person is favorably disposed toward his own child and wholeheartedly wishes to transfer ownership to him (Sh. Ar., ḤM 253:26–27). Some are of the opinion that this law applies only to a will made by a person on his deathbed and not to one made by a healthy person (*Beit Yosef* to Tur, ḤM 210:3; Sh. Ar., ḤM 210:1).

Contractual Obligations to an Embryo

According to some authorities although transfer of rights cannot be made to an embryo, a contractual obligation can be undertaken in his favor (see *Contract). A guardian can be appointed to protect the rights of an embryo (Sh. Ar., ḤM 290:1).

The State of Israel

In general, Jewish law is followed. With regard to succession, however, section 3 of the law of succession (1965) provides that a person born within 300 days after the death of the deceased is deemed to have been living when the deceased died, unless it is proved that he was conceived thereafter. In terms of section 33 (b) of the Capacity and Guardianship Law, 5722–1962, the court may appoint a guardian for a child *en ventre de sa mére.*

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[Ben-Zion (Benno) Schereschewsky]

EMDEN, city in Germany. The first authentic reference to Jews in Emden dates from the first half of the 16th century. David *Gans mentions Jews of Emden in his *Ẓemaḥ David.* A Jewish cemetery is mentioned in 1586. In 1590 the citizens of Emden complained to the representative of the emperor that the Jews were permitted to follow their religious precepts openly and were exempted from wearing the Jewish *badge. Marranos from Portugal passed through Emden on their way to Amsterdam, and a few settled in Emden and returned to Judaism. Moses Uri ha-Levy (1594–1620), a former rabbi of Emden who settled in Amsterdam, officiated there as the first *ḥakham* of the Portuguese community. The city council of Emden discriminated between the local Jews and the Portuguese, encouraging the latter to settle in the city, while attempting to expel the former. Their attempts, however, were unsuccessful, since the duke intervened in their favor. The judicial rights of the Portuguese Jews were defined in a grant of privilege issued by the city council in 1649, and renewed in 1703. In 1744, when Emden was annexed to *Prussia, the Jews there came under Prussian law. In 1762 there was an outbreak of anti-Jewish riots in Emden. In 1808, during the rule of Louis Bonaparte, the Jews in Emden were granted equal civic rights. There were then 500 Jews living in Emden. The rights of the Emden Jews were abolished under Hanoverian rule in 1815, and they did not obtain emancipation until 1842. Noted rabbis of Emden were Jacob *Emden (1728–33), and Samson Raphael *Hirsch (1841–47).

The community numbered 900 in 1905, and 1,000 in 1930. Nearly half left with the advent of Nazi rule and another quarter through 1938. The synagogue was burned down on *Kristallnacht* and most of those remaining were later deported and perished, including at least 150 on October 23, 1941. Community life was not resumed after the Holocaust.

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[Zvi Avneri]

EMDEN, JACOB (pen name **Yaveẓ**; derived from **Y**a'akov **B**en **Ẓ**evi; 1697–1776), rabbi, halakhic authority, kabbalist, and anti-Shabbatean polemicist. Emden was regarded as one of the outstanding scholars of his generation. Emden's teacher was his father Ẓevi Hirsch *Ashkenazi (Ḥakham Ẓevi). He inherited his father's interest in secular studies, his dissociation from the Ashkenazi method of study (*pilpul*) and customs, his stormy, independent, and uncompromising character, and his devotion to the campaign against the Shabbateans and their sympathizers. In addition, he possessed a fine literary talent, a critical tendency, and a knowledge unusual for his age of general non-halakhic Jewish literature. He was also familiar with sciences and languages (German, Dutch, Latin). Despite his distinguished descent and his remarkable talmudic attainments, Emden occupied no official position, with the exception of a few years as rabbi of Emden (1728–33). This made it possible for him to be exceptionally critical toward the society and the tradition of his time. He was more on guard about anything that he considered *ḥillul ha-Shem* (bringing the name of the Jew into disrepute) than for the good name of the rabbinate and of the community. He made extensive use of the private printing press he founded in *Altona to disseminate his views. As a result, because of his views on a number of issues, both personal and communal, he became a figure of contention. His important halakhic works are *Leḥem Shamayim*, on the Mishnah (pt. 1, 1728; pt. 2, 1768); a letter of criticism against R. Ezekiel Katzenellenbogen, rabbi of Altona (1736); responsa, *She'elat Yaveẓ* (2 pts., 1738–59); *Mor u-Keẓi'ah*, on the Shulḥan Arukh, OḤ (2 pts., 1761–68). In addition, he published an important edition of the prayer book (whose parts had different names) with a valuable commentary (1745–48). This prayer book was reprinted several times. His main historical importance lies in his campaigns against the Shabbateans to which he dedicated many years. He relentlessly examined and investigated every suspicious phenomenon pertaining to the sect. He called upon the contemporary rabbis to publish excommunications and mercilessly attacked anyone suspected of supporting or showing sympathy to the Shabbateans. The Shabbateans were accustomed to introduce hints of their secret doctrine into their literary works, particularly in the field of Kabbalah. Consequently, Emden became an expert in uncovering such allusions and hidden meanings, and developed an extraordinarily sharp critical faculty by which he could recognize any suggestion of the Shabbatean heresy. Many books in which no one saw anything to which objection could be taken, were condemned by him as heretical. Though at times he was at fault and suspected the innocent without cause, his judgment in general was sound (F. Lachover and I. Tishby (eds.) *Mishnat ha-Zohar*, 1 (1957^2), 52–56).

His most famous controversy was with Jonathan *Eybeschuetz, rabbi of the "Three Communities" (Altona, Hamburg, Wandsbek) from 1750 until he died in 1764. It commenced in 1751 soon after Eybeschuetz came to Altona and did not cease even with the latter's death. It divided German Jewry, particularly rabbinic circles, into two camps, and undermined the prestige of rabbinical institutions.

The conflict at first centered around several amulets which Eybeschuetz circulated in Metz and Hamburg. Emden published their content in his work *Sefat Emet u-Leshon Zehorit* (1751) and interpreted them rather convincingly as Shabbatean amulets. As a result of this publication, Emden was compelled to escape to Amsterdam for some time and there he published in *Torat ha-Kena'ot* (1752) an anthology of documents on Shabbateanism. Eybeschuetz too was a great scholar; he had devoted disciples but also many enemies. He was suspected of adhering secretly to the Shabbatean groups or at least of affinity to them. His son was a declared Shabbatean. Eybeschuetz denied the accusation, which in any case could not be proved with certainty. The majority of the greatest rabbis in Poland, Moravia, and Bohemia, as well as the leaders of the Three Communities supported him, either because the accusation was utterly incredible, or because condemnation of a rabbi who enjoyed such an enormous prestige as Eybeschuetz would cause inestimable damage to the communal organizations as a whole. Emden disregarded these considerations vehemently. He fought his opponent and his numerous supporters by means of books and pamphlets which came out in unabated succession.

Emden's major works in this dispute, apart from several small pamphlets and leaflets, are *Edut be-Ya'akov* (1756); *Shevirat Luḥot ha-Even* (1756–59), a detailed critique of the defense of Eybeschuetz; *Luḥot Edut, Sefer Hitabbekut* (1762–67), which also includes important protocols on the Shabbatean propaganda activities in the yeshivah of Eybeschuetz in Hamburg and in the great yeshivah in Pressburg. In addition, Emden dedicated his *Sefer Shimmush* as "a special weapon for every Jew to use in order to know what to answer to the Shabbatean groups" (1758–62) and to fight Frankism, which arose in his time. The two opposing camps in Altona requested the intervention of the authorities and it was only through this intervention that the conflict subsided.

From this campaign, Emden went on to criticize the Zohar, the bastion of the Shabbateans (see *Kabbalah). The Zohar was regarded by many as second only to the Bible in sanctity. Emden had questioned its antiquity, and consequently its sanctity in *Mitpaḥat Sefarim* (1768), which provoked opposition. His piety and profound attachment to tradition would not permit him to condemn the work as a whole. Nevertheless, he did not hesitate to state his conclusion that later and forged additions had been interpolated into an ancient and sacred book. His critical attitude toward accepted ideas and beliefs is revealed also in his criticism of the *Guide of the Perplexed*, the major work of Jewish philosophy, which he found to contain heretical tendencies; he did not believe that *Maimonides was its author. His activity in many directions as well as his general approach which he based on the use of grammar, philology, and history and the like, his brilliant and scholarly style, his tolerant attitude to Christians and his deprecation of Polish Jews, created a certain affinity between him and the first proponents of Haskalah, who had already emerged in his day, and most of whom were opposed to the Kabbalah and its influence. Although in fact Emden rejected philosophy and scientific criticism in the sphere of Judaism, permitting only the study of the natural sciences, he was friendly with Israel of Zamosc and his disciple, Moses *Mendelssohn. He held discussions with them on halakhic topics, customs, and principles of religion. From the correspondence between Emden and Mendelssohn, the difference between the *maskil* of the old school such as Emden and the new type such as Mendelssohn emerges clearly.

The independence, originality, and stormy temperament of Emden are noticeable in his halakhic works. In certain subjects he takes up an extreme view against the majority opinion, and in others he is outstandingly lenient (e.g., with regard to concubinage and eating legumes during Passover). In a dispute with Israel of Zamosc on the authority of the Shulḥan Arukh, it was precisely Emden who upheld the principle of the freedom of the *posek* (halakhic authority), from dependence on this code. Emden's autobiography, *Megillat Sefer* (first published from an Oxford Ms. in 1896), is unique in the rabbinic world. In addition to its historical importance it is of no small belletristic value.

Emden's ability as a grammarian is evident in his commentary on the prayers (*Siddur Beit Ya'akov*), where he combines grammatical comments and kabbalistic commentary. He explains, for example, that *barukh* is not a passive past participle but a noun like *raḥum*, the *kamaẓ* compensating for the lack of a *dagesh* in the letter *resh*. In consequence he arrives at the explanation that God is the source of blessings. He also discusses mishnaic Hebrew (e.g., the word "*Nishtannah*" as a conflation of *nifal* and *hitpa'el*). In his commentary on the Mishnah *Leḥem Shamayim*, he discusses variant readings, determining the correct one by linguistic considerations. *Em la-Binah*, his commentary on Scripture, abounds in inferences drawn from differences between synonyms, and *Gal Ed* contains discussions on correct vocalization.

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[Moshe Shraga Samet]

°EMERY, RICHARD WILDER (1912–1989), U.S. historian. Emery was professor of history at Queens College, New York. A non-Jew interested in medieval French history, Emery began detailed research on the rich notarial records of Perpignan in southern France. The amount of material of Jewish interest was so great that he devoted a separate volume to this subject, *The Jews of Perpignan in the Thirteenth Century: An Economic Study Based on Notarial Records* (1959), which was followed by other monographs. This is the most detailed study of certain aspects of the history of a medieval Jewish community that has ever appeared, and it reveals the existence of vast untapped sources of information. In addition, his studies have thrown much light on the real extent and consequences of the forced conversions that began in 1391 and on eminent personalities, such as Menahem *Meiri and Profiat *Duran. He also wrote *The Friars in Medieval France: A Catalogue of French Mendicant Convents 1200–1550* (1962) and *Heresy and Inquisition in Narbonne* (1967).

[Cecil Roth]

EMESA (now **Homs**), city in Syria. It was ruled by a dynasty which enjoyed friendly political relations in the first century C.E. with Agrippa I (Jos., Ant., 18:135; 19:338) and with Agrippa II (*ibid.*, 20:139). The marriages contracted between members of the two royal families were apparently dictated by political expedience. It is likely, although evidence is lacking, that at this period Jews were living in Emesa. Azizus king of Emesa consented to be circumcised in order to marry Drusilla the sister of Agrippa II, and it may be that he was not the only proselyte in his kingdom at this time. There is reference to other proselytes in Emesa at a later period, in about the third century (TJ, Yev. 11:2, 11d, et. al.). Several Palestinian *amoraim* visited Emesa: Ḥiyya b. Abba received money for orphans and widows from the local Jews (TJ, Meg. 3:1, 74a). R. Yose was asked there about the laws concerning a levirate marriage and proselytes (TJ, Yev. 11:2, 11d), and R. Haggai about those concerning the tithe from fields rented to non-Jews (TJ, Dem. 6:1, 25b; TJ, Av. Zar. 1:9, 40b). Still in existence at the time of the Arab conquest (635–40), members of the community assisted the conquerors. With the fall of the *Umayyad caliphate and the Byzantine invasions of the region, the town was impoverished and the Jews abandoned it. *Benjamin of Tudela, the 12th century traveler, found about 20 families there. After a short period of prosperity during the 13th century, there is no further information on Jews in the town.

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[Lea Roth / Aryeh Shmuelevitz]

EMIN PASHA (**Eduard Schnitzer**; 1840–1892), Austrian traveler and explorer. Born of Jewish parents in Silesia, he was baptized as a child. He served as a quarantine doctor in Albania, and from 1870–74 as private physician to the governor of Albania. He adopted a Turkish name, Emin Effendi, and entered the services of General Gordon, who was then governor of the Equatorial Province of Egypt. When Gordon was made governor general of the Sudan in 1878, he appointed Emin to succeed him. They were both determined to stamp out the slave trade, and Emin traveled the length and breadth of his province continuously on the watch. When the Mahdi revolution broke out in 1881, Emin Pasha (as he now called himself) held his province although he was completely surrounded and isolated. The Germans and the British made various plans to relieve him but the British explorer H.M. Stanley was the first to reach him and with great difficulty persuaded him to leave the province. In 1880 Emin entered the service of the Germans and led an expedition along the coast of Lake Victoria to Lake Albert. The aim was to acquire certain lands for the German government but while he was traveling, the Anglo-German agreement was signed excluding these territories. He was ordered to return but quarreled with the Germans and refused. Disease now broke out among the men of his expedition and Emin went into the Congo, sending the able members to the coast while he stayed inland with the stricken. In 1892 Emin was murdered by slave traders against whom he had never stopped fighting. Emin was a good governor, a great linguist, and his contributions to the ornithology, ethnography, and meteorology of Central Africa were important. He published a number of treatises and diaries. Emin Pasha Gulf, the Southern Bay of Lake Victoria, was named after him.

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EMIOT, ISRAEL (pseudonym of **I. Goldwasser**; 1909–1978), Yiddish poet. Influenced by the Warsaw Jewish Writers' Club, Emiot moved in the years 1932–36 from ḥasidic to worldly themes and published several collections containing ballads on Jewish history, pastoral lyrics, and innovative triolets that reflect the somber interwar mood (*Mit Zikh Aleyn,* "Alone with Self"; *Tropen in Yam,* "Drops in the Ocean"; *Bay Zayt,* "Beside Me"; *Iber Makhitses,* "Over Partitions"). In 1939 he fled to Russia, where *Lider* ("Songs," 1940) contained lamentations about family, homeland, and war. While he was a correspondent in Birobidzhan (1944–8), he published *Oyfgang* ("Rising," 1947), with Sovietized content. When the Jewish *Anti-Fascist Committee was liquidated (1948), he was arrested and imprisoned for seven years in Siberia. Repatriated to Poland, he published *Benkshaft* ("Yearning," 1957), before immigrating to the

U.S. (1958), where he republished and augmented his previous work during the years 1960–69: *In Nign Ayngehert* ("In Melody Absorbed"), *Fardekte Spiglen* ("Covered Mirrors"), *In Mitele Yorn* ("In Middle Years"), *Eyder Du Leshst Mikh Oys* ("Before You Extinguish Me"), and *Tsulib Di Tsen Umshuldike* ("For the Sake of Ten Innocents"). His prose memoir *Der Birobidzhaner Inyen* ("The Birobidzhan Affair," 1960) provides a dispassionate account of his Siberian experience, retained in the author's 1981 translation, while his verse translation, *Siberia* (1991), reveals a more anguished personal account. Emiot edited the trilingual journal *Roots*. His work after 1958 includes sonnets, addresses to God, free verse, lyrics of alienation and love, and reflections on the U.S. in prose and poetry. He expanded his interest in musical themes and modernist poetry, but maintained his use of traditional Jewish imagery.

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[Leah Zazulyer (2nd ed.)]

EMMA LAZARUS FEDERATION OF JEWISH WOMEN'S CLUBS, U.S. progressive women's group, founded in 1944 by the Women's Division of the Jewish People's Fraternal Order (JPFO) of the International Workers Order (IWO). Formed to combat antisemitism and racism and to nurture positive Jewish identification through a broad program of Jewish education, the Emma Lazarus Division attracted a membership of left-wing, largely Yiddish-speaking women of the immigrant generation. One founder was labor leader, Clara Lemlich *Shavelson.

In 1951, when New York State's attorney general initiated proceedings against the IWO as a subversive institution, the Women's Division reorganized as the Emma Lazarus Federation of Jewish Women's Clubs. Despite revelations about Stalinist terrors and antisemitism, ELF Executive Director June Croll Gordon and her successor, Rose Reynes, called for coexistence with the U.S.S.R. ELF's public disregard of Soviet antisemitism remained a conspicuous blind spot.

At home, the ELF commissioned writer Eve Merriam to write a biography of poet and essayist Emma *Lazarus, and in 1954 published Yuri Suhl's biography of Ernestine *Rose, who was seen to combine Jewish patriotism with broad humanism. The Federation wrote study outlines of other Jewish women, including Rebecca *Gratz, Lillian *Wald, Sophie Loeb, and Penina *Moise. The ELF also developed curricula on working women, dissident women (from Anne Hutchinson to Ethel Rosenberg), and black women, and joined in a statement of principle with the Sojourners for Truth and Justice, an African-American women's group. In the 1950s and 1960s, it sent food and clothing to the South and joined boycotts and sit-ins. In 1963, the ELF initiated a petition campaign for the U.S. to ratify the Genocide Convention, adopted by the UN General Assembly in 1948; it considered this campaign its most important political project.

With chapters in Brooklyn, the Bronx, Boston, Los Angeles, San Francisco, Chicago, Philadelphia, Detroit, Miami, Rochester, Newark, Jersey City, Lakewood, and Toms River, New Jersey, the ELF maintained its educational and political activism for almost 40 years, attracting approximately 4,000–5,000 members in 100 clubs at its peak. Affected by the aging of the membership, the transformation of women's work, and the women's movement, ELF disbanded in 1989, though some individual clubs remained.

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[Joyce Antler (2nd ed.)]

EMMANUEL, ISAAC SAMUEL (1899–1972), Greek-born rabbi and historian. Emmanuel was born in Salonika, the son of Samuel Emmanuel, a rabbi. He studied at the rabbinical seminary there and was ordained at the Jewish Theological Seminary of Breslau. Thereafter he held pulpits in Curaçao, Panama, Rio de Janeiro, and Cincinnati. His works include *Histoire de l'industrie des israelites de Salonique* (1935); *Gedolei Saloniki le-Dorotam* (1936), 500 epitaphs of the Jewish cemetery of Salonika with biographical notes; *Precious Stones of the Jews of Curaçao* (1957); *Maẓẓevot Saloniki* (2 vols., 1963–68); and with his wife Suzanne A. Emmanuel (1912–1969), *History of the Jews of The Netherlands Antilles* (2 vols., 1970).

EMMAUS, ancient town in the Judean Shephelah, 20 mi. (33 km.) N.W. of Jerusalem. It is first mentioned as the site of the camp of the Seleucid army under Georgias, which Judah Maccabee routed in 166 B.C.E. (I Macc. 3:40). Six years later it was fortified by Bacchides (Jos., Ant., 13:15; I Macc. 9:50). In 43 B.C.E. the Roman general Cassius sold its inhabitants into slavery for failure to pay taxes (Jos., Ant., 14:275; Wars, 1:222).

When Zealot activity was intensified in the area immediately after the death of Herod in 4 B.C.E., Varus burnt down the city in reprisal (Jos., Wars, 17:29). During the Jewish War, Vespasian established a fortified camp at Emmaus (in 68 C.E.) and stationed the Fifth Macedonian Legion there (*ibid.*, 4:444–5); during the Bar Kokhba War (132–135 C.E.), Roman detachments were posted there to encircle the rebels (Lam. R. 1:16, no. 45). In talmudic sources the city was considered the boundary between the Central Mountain Range and the Shephelah (TJ, Shev. 9:2, 38d). Described as a place of "fair waters and healthy climate" (ARN^1 14, 59), it apparently possessed hot springs and public baths, which is possibly the reason for its Hebrew name Hammat (*ḥam*, "hot"; Song Zuta, 6:9). Eleazar b. Arak settled in Emmaus after the death of his teacher Johanan b. Zakkai, and there, far removed from his colleagues, he is said to have forgotten his learning (Eccl. R. 7:7, no. 2; Shab. 147b). The city was also the home of *Neḥunya b. ha-Kanah (Mid. Tan. to 26:13). Archaeological remains indicate that a Samaritan community had lived there. According to

Christian tradition, Jesus appeared before his disciples at Emmaus after his crucifixion and resurrection (Luke 24:13–16). In the third century, the Christian writer Julius Africanus lived there. In 221 he headed a deputation that induced the emperor Elagabalus to confer on Emmaus the status of a city enjoying Roman rights, and it was henceforth called Nicopolis. There was a Christian community there from very early times and Jews continued to live in the city until the Arab conquest in 639 (J. Moschos, in: *Patrologia graeca*, ed. by Migne, vol. 87, pt. 3 (1863), 3032). A plague broke out in the city after the Arabs took it (the "Plague of Emmaus") and it decimated the conquerors. After the founding of Ramleh, the town (see *Latrun) declined in importance. It became the Arab village ʿImwās on the Jerusalem–Tel Aviv highway which before 1948 had a population of 1,420 Muslims and was destroyed during the Six-Day War (1967). Excavations conducted there in 1924–25 by the Ecole biblique et archéologique française uncovered remains of a Roman villa and a Christian basilica that was destroyed during the Samaritan revolt in the sixth century and later rebuilt. The Crusaders also erected a small church there. Today the excavations are part of Ayalon-Canada park.

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[Michael Avi-Yonah]

EMŐD, TAMAS (**Ernő Fleischer**; 1888–1938), Hungarian poet. Emőd was born at Berekböszörmény and graduated in law at Oradea (then Nagyvárad) Law Faculty. He worked as a journalist but mainly devoted himself to literature. Emőd's first poems, influenced by the great Hungarian poet E. Ady, appeared in the avant-garde anthology *Holnap* ("Tomorrow"). The poems he wrote during World War I were particularly well-known. Emőd chose Jewish subjects for a number of his works, including *Temetés* ("Funeral"), *Falusi zsidó* ("The Village Jew"), and *Vox Humana.* Of his plays, the most important are *A vándor katona* ("The Wandering Soldier"), written in collaboration with F. Karinthy, and *Ferenc Jóska ládájából* ("From Ferenc Jóska's Box"). Emőd was one of the originators of the *chanson*, which was at one time a feature of Hungarian literary cabarets.

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[Baruch Yaron]

EMOTIONS. Jewish tradition has shown a positive interest in human emotions, and they are portrayed and discussed in the Bible, Talmud, Jewish philosophy, and mysticism.

Bible

Biblical figures are frequently emotional, and in this lies much of their human appeal and credibility. Genesis introduces feelings of *Love, *Joy, Fear, and their opposites (in, e.g., 3:6; 4:5; 29:18; and 37:3) that are later found in such figures as Saul and David, the psalmist, and the lovers of the Song of Songs. Similarly, in His initial appearances God is portrayed as a deity who acts out of deep feelings of compassion and anger (Gen. 4:10; 15; 6:5; 8:21; 18:17; 29:31), emotions which are revealed at Sinai as essential to His nature (Ex. 20:5, 6; 34:6). The Israelites encountered God's fearsome, possessive love, frequently expressed in jealous wrath and moral indignation, in their desert wanderings, and the prophets tended to identify with these same emotions (see Ex. 19:3; 32:9; Num. 14:11; 17:8; Isa. 65:3; Jer. 7:19; Ezek. 16:36). However, the Torah advocates a different set of relationships and emotions as an ideal, one in which God loves His people and wishes them to respond in love as well as fear (Deut. 6:5; 10:12, 15), and in which man is exhorted to rid himself of hatred and lust, relate to his fellow man in love and kindness, and joyfully observe God's commandments (Ex. 20:14; Lev. 14:17, 18; Deut. 16:11). Then God will bless men both materially and spiritually, meaning with emotional peace and happiness (Num. 6:24–26; Isa., 65:17ff.).

Talmud

Prophetic and rabbinic Judaism also appeal, in particular, to such emotions, as in Micah's terse summary of the religious ethic (6:8: "to do justice, to love kindness (*ḥesed*), and to walk humbly with your God"; and in Hillel's paraphrase of Lev. 19:18: "what is hateful to you, do not do to your fellow man" (Shab. 31a)). Anger, jealousy, lust, and pride are all condemned by the rabbis (see, e.g., Avot 2:11; 4:21); the Talmud even blames the destruction of the Second Temple on the Jews for the sin of unjustified hatred, *Sinat ḥinnam* (Yoma 9b). The ideal emotional type, according to the rabbis, is one who controls his passions and is good-hearted, humble, and peace loving (Avot 1:12; 2:9; 4:1; 5:11). Such a man finds emotional gratification in the study and observance of the law, enjoying a happiness (*simḥah shel mitzvah*) that, while itself a reward, is an intimation of future bliss as well. Prayer (as well as devotional, i.e., *musar,* literature, and most poetry), study, and ritual increasingly became outlets for the Jewish psyche in exile, and deeply felt personal and national emotions were formalized in such holidays as Simḥat Torah and such commemorations as the Ninth of Av.

Medieval Jewish Philosophy

Medieval Jewish philosophy resumed the attempt of Hellenistic Jewish thought to subjugate the emotions to the intellect, and attempted, even more than rabbinic exegesis did, to rationalize away the biblical depiction of God's emotions (see *Allegorical Interpretation and *God, Attributes of). Using Arabic mediated Greek models, Jewish philosophers analyzed emotions in terms of both the humors and organs of the body and the faculties, or parts, of the soul. Whatever the variation in details (for which see *Soul), however, the philosophers generally agreed with Aristotle that moderation should be observed in expressing emotion (see, e.g., Solomon ibn Gabirol, *The Improvement of the Moral Qualities* (1901), pt. 4, 84–86; and *The Eight Chapters of Maimonides on Ethics* (1966), 54ff.). Yet for all its rational emphasis, like that of its Arabic and late Greek predecessors, Jewish philosophy views the dispassionate, analytical search for Truth as a religious quest, beginning in anxious doubt and culminating in feelings of certitude and the bliss of divine love (Saadiah Gaon, *The Book of Beliefs and Opinions*, trans. by S. Rosenblatt (1948), introduction, 6ff.; Maimonides, *The Guide of the Perplexed*, trans. by S. Pines (1963), introduction, 5ff., 51, 618ff.).

Mysticism and Hasidism

Jewish mysticism seeks to lead man from a state of psychic alienation to one of ecstatic intimacy with God. Mostly, however, it attempts to reach this emotional goal through an intellectual process and a discipline parallel to that of philosophy. It is mainly *Ḥasidism, with its suggestion of antinomianism and its anti-intellectual direction, that emphasizes the emotions – particularly joy, trust, and gratitude – as a primary means to the religious life.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: S. Schechter, *Some Aspects of Rabbinic Theology* (1909), 148–69; S. Belkin, *In his Image* (1960), 185–93.

[Alfred L. Ivry]

°**EMPEDOCLES** (fifth century B.C.E.), Greek poet, prophet, and natural philosopher who set forth the doctrine of the four elements, which dominated Arabic, Hebrew, and Latin thought in the Middle Ages. Empedocles is known in medieval Jewish circles through stray references to him and his work, mainly found in the works of Aristotle, which were translated into Arabic and then into Hebrew. The form of his name in the Hebrew translations from the Arabic follows the Arabic form, that is, Abnduqlīs, Abīduqlīs, and others. In translations from the Latin, the Latin form is found. Empedocles' name was taken over by late Greek neoplatonic circles and affixed to treatises later translated into Arabic, which became known to medieval Jewish thinkers. The main representative of this literature is the *Book of the Five Substances*. The Arabic version is lost but it is partially preserved in a Hebrew translation, published by D. Kaufmann as an appendix to his *Studien ueber Salomon ibn Gabirol* (1899).

Among medieval Jewish philosophers, Shem Tov ibn Falaquera mentions that Solomon ibn Gabirol's *Source of Life* was influenced by the *Book of the Five Substances* (S. Munk, Mélanges, 1). Joseph ibn Zaddik refers to the true conception of the will as a secret whose true meaning may be derived from the *Book of Empedocles* or works by other philosophers written on these subjects. Judah Halevi twice refers to Empedocles as the head of a philosophic school, in his *Kuzari* (4:25 and 5:14). Maimonides, in his famous letter to Samuel ibn Tibbon, states that one should not waste one's time studying the works of Empedocles, which form a part of ancient (pre-Aristotelian) philosophy (A. Marx, in: JQR, 25 (1935), 380).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Stern, in: EI^2, s.v. *Anbadukīs;* Steinschneider, Uebersetzungen, index; D. Kaufmann, *Geschichte der Attributenlehre* (repr. 1967), index; A. Altmann and S.M. Stern, *Isaac Israeli, A Neoplatonic Philosopher…* (1958), index.

[Lawrence V. Berman]

°**EMPEREUR, CONSTANTIJN L'** (1591–1648), Dutch Calvinist theologian and Christian Hebraist. L'Empereur pursued an academic career as a theologian. Only following his appointment to the professorship of Hebrew at the University of Leiden (1627) did he start to study rabbinical literature seriously. Within six years he published several (fairly competent) editions of rabbinical works, most of them with a parallel Latin translation and annotations, meant to facilitate the study and use of Jewish literature. He paid *Menasseh ben Israel and Isaac *Aboab da Fonseca to assist him in his studies. His books did not sell well. His emphasis on rabbinical literature in his lectures was not well received by the students and professors of the theological faculty, and he was ordered to focus on biblical Hebrew. In 1633 he was passed over in a fiercely contested appointment to a professorship in the faculty of theology. To compensate him, the board of the university raised his salary, and justified this unusual generosity by appointing him to a spurious professorship of Jewish controversies, which did not entail any duties. In 1637 he published an edition, translation, and commentary on the tractate *Bava Kamma*, a highly original (although implicitly antisemitic) work in which he compared its rulings with the corresponding legislations of Roman Law. In 1647 he was, finally, appointed to a professorship in the faculty of theology.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: P. van Rooden, *Theology, Biblical Scholarship and Rabbinical Studies in the Seventeenth Century* (1989).

[Peter van Rooden (2nd ed.)]

EMPEROR WORSHIP, the Roman cult established during the reign of Augustus, first in the provinces but not in Italy, and practiced throughout the Roman Empire. It is the direct continuation of the Hellenistic worship of the ruler. Emperor worship first appeared in Palestine during the reign of *Herod the Great. Although it was completely unacceptable to the Jewish population, Herod could nevertheless not afford to lag behind other vassal princes in establishing the cult. Thus although a temple was not erected in Jerusalem to honor the emperor, these rites were adopted in the cities of Sebaste and Caesarea, both predominantly non-Jewish. The Jewish population, though not the Christian, was everywhere exempted from the loyal duty of emperor worship and only one attempt was made to compel the Jewish nation to accept emperor worship, when *Caligula issued a decree to erect a statue of himself in the sanctuary at Jerusalem (Jos., Ant., 18:262; Jos., Wars, 2:184; Philo, *De Legatione ad Gaium*, 188, 207–8; Tacitus, *Historiae*, 5:9). The decree was never carried out, however, due to the death of Caligula in January 41 C.E.

Following the destruction of the Second Temple there was a tendency among the rabbis to mitigate various laws concerning idolatry, which was no longer considered a threat to the Jewish community. Nevertheless these same rabbis continued to reject any compliance with the imperial cult.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: C.R. Taylor, *The Divinity of the Roman Emperor* (1931); CAH, 10 (1934), 481–9 (bibliography: 951f.); Urbach, in: *Eretz Israel*, 5 (1958), 189–205 (English summary: 94f.); A. Schalit, *Koenig Herodes* (1969), 421–3.

[Isaiah Gafni]

EMRĀNI (**Imrāni**; probably a pen name; 1454–after 1536), Judeo-Persian poet. Emrāni was born in Isfahan and died in Kashan. He is considered the second greatest Judeo-Persian poet after *Shāhin. Emrāni produced the following Judeo-Persian works, the majority of which were discovered after 1960.

1. *Fath-Nāmeh* ("Book of Victory") is an epic poetic paraphrase of the biblical books of Joshua, I and II Samuel, part of I Kings, and the Book of Ruth. This is Emrāni's longest composition. It was composed in 1474 and consists of about 10,000 couplets. In some *Fath-Nāmeh* mss. one may find other poetic compositions such as *Shofetim-Nāmeh* and *Pilegesh al ha-Giva* with interpolations which do not belong to Emrāni.

2. *Ganj-Nāmeh* ("Book of Treasure") is a poetic paraphrase of *Pirkei Avot*. Composed in 1536, this is apparently Emrāni's last important work and consists of about 5,000 couplets.

3. The following are relatively short poems by Emrāni found in collections of mss: (a) *Vājebāt-e Sizdahgāneh*…. a poetic paraphrase of Maimonides' Thirteen Principles; (b) *Hanukkah-Nāmeh* ("Book of Hanukkah") narrates the historical events of Hanukkah; (c) *Entekhāb-e Nakhlestān* ("Choice of the Palm Grove") is a didactic poetic work; (d) *Sāqi-Nāmeh* ("Book of the Cupbearer") is a mystical-lyrical poem; (e) *Qesse-ye Haft Barādarān* ("Story of the Seven Brothers"), written in prose and verse, narrates the story of Hannah and her seven sons who were murdered because they refused to worship the Greek idols; (f) *Asarah harugei ha-malkhut* ("The Ten Martyrs of the Kingdom"), in prose and verse, relates the torture and death suffered by ten Jewish sages of Mishnaic times; (g) a few other short poems mostly of didactic nature; (h) a few short prose works such as the story of the **Akedah* (Binding of Isaac) and *tafsir* of *Pirkei Avot*.

Some selections of Emrāni's works have been published in Persian transliteration (Netzer, 1973). The manuscripts of Emrāni's works are kept in the libraries of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, the Ben-Zvi Institute, JTS in New York, HUC in Cincinnati, and the British Library in London.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: A. Netzer, *Montakhab-e ashʿār-e farsi az āsār-e yahudiyān-e Irān* (Teheran, 1973); idem, *Oẓar Kitvei Yad shel Yehudei Paras be-Makhon Ben-Zvi* (1985); D. Yeroushalmi, *The Judeo-Persian Poet ʿEmrāni and His Book of Treasure* (1995).

[Amnon Netzer (2nd ed.)]

EMSHEIMER, ERNST (1904–1989), Swedish musicologist of German birth. Born in Frankfurt on the Main, Germany, Emsheimer studied piano and music theory, and thereafter musicology, at the universities of Vienna and Freiburg, where he received his doctorate in 1927. After concluding his studies he went to Soviet Russia, where he began his research on folk and non-European musical traditions. He was research assistant at the Russian Academy of Sciences in Leningrad from 1932 until 1937, and accompanied a music research expedition in northern Caucasia in 1936. In 1937 he joined a scientific expedition to the northwestern provinces of China. In 1937 Emsheimer immigrated to Sweden, where he intensified the ethnomusicological tradition. From 1949 until his retirement in 1973 he was the curator of the music history museum in Stockholm. After War World II he investigated Georgian folk polyphony. In 1962, he created jointly with Erik Stockmann the first study group on European instruments under the auspices of the International Folk Music Council and founded the famous series of studies dedicated to popular European and non-European instruments under the title *Studia Instrumentorum Musicae Popularis,* of which the first volume appeared in 1969. His writings include *Musikethnographische Bibliographie der nichtslavischen Voelker in Russland* (1943); *Preliminary Remarks on Mongolian Music and Instruments* (1943); *Music of Eastern Mongolia* (1943); and *Lappischer Kultgesang* (1950).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: MGG², S.V; NG², S.V.

[Amnon Shiloah (2nd ed.)]

EMUNAH, World Religious Zionist Women's Organization, the third largest women's movement in Israel. Founded in Jerusalem in 1925, Emunah was incorporated as a worldwide movement in 1977. World Emunah combines the Israel National Religious Women's Movement and its sister organizations in 28 countries with a membership of over 150,000. This voluntary organization is devoted to educational and social service programs. Emunah is unique in that it is rooted in Jewish tradition and emphasizes the spiritual and moral heritage of the Jewish people within a Zionist framework. In Israel, Emunah has around 100,000 members.

The Israeli programs include a network of 120 day care centers, six residential homes for deprived children, six high schools, an arts and technology college for girls, and Emunah's teachers college. Its social-welfare projects in Israel range from literacy programs to group dynamics and family counseling. The organization runs an emergency center for abused children. In Israel, Emunah volunteers' activities in the absorption of new immigrants have been noted with distinction by the awarding to them of municipal and national awards. In the field of women's rights, Emunah is active in promoting legislation and representing women in such bodies as the rabbinical courts. The organization also runs a club for business and career women.

In addition to supporting the Israeli projects, the member organizations worldwide conduct adult education outreach programs within their own countries to strengthen their commitment to Jewish values and Jewish living. Emunah worldwide is actively involved in community programs relating to religious education, support for Israel, and pressing contemporary issues affecting world Jewry. Emunah is represented on major Zionist and Jewish bodies in its member countries as well as in international forums.

WEBSITE: www.emunah.org.il.

ENCYCLOPEDIAS.

Encyclopedias of General Content in Hebrew and Yiddish Outside of Israel

The first Hebrew encyclopedias were translations or adaptations of Arabic works, which were intended as systematic presentations of the sciences in the medieval Aristotelian scheme, not usually arranged in alphabetical order. The first of these was *Yesodei ha-Tevunah u-Migdal ha-Emunah* by *Abraham b. Ḥiyya ha-Nasi of Barcelona (in the early 12th century), which included sections on mathematics, geometry, astronomy, optics, and music. Only the preface and the beginning of this work have been preserved in manuscript. In 1247 Judah b. Solomon ibn Matka, a native of Toledo, Spain, wrote an Arabic work that he later translated into Hebrew as *Midrash ha-Ḥokhmah.* The first part deals with logic, physics, and metaphysics, in addition to commentaries on passages in Genesis, Psalms, and Proverbs; the second, with mathematics, in addition to a kabbalistic study of the letters of the Hebrew alphabet; there is also an enumeration of Bible passages that are to be interpreted philosophically. Again, only fragments of this encyclopedia have been preserved.

Shem Tov b. Joseph *Falaquera, another Spanish scholar of the 13th century, wrote *De'ot ha-Filosofim*, dealing with physics and metaphysics, based mainly on Averroes. Although the two extant manuscripts of this work ascribe its authorship to Samuel ibn *Tibbon, Zunz and Steinschneider identify Falaquera as its author. *Gershon b. Solomon of Arles presents a vivid picture of the scientific works available in Hebrew in the late 13th century in his *Sha'ar ha-Shamayim.* In the introduction he states that he used only Hebrew sources or works in Hebrew translation; thus, it is known that at this time some of the works of the major writers of classic antiquity had become part of the Jewish cultural background. His book is divided into three parts: physics, subdivided into a discussion of the four elements, minerals, plants, and animals; astronomy, according to Almagest (see *Ptolemy), *Avicenna, *Averroes, *Aristotle, and others; and theology or metaphysics, according to Averroes and Maimonides. This work is the oldest medieval encyclopedia to be printed, although in abridged form, first in Venice in 1547 and several times in the 19th century, as a part of the program of the East European Haskalah to broaden the horizon of the masses. Based in part on *Sha'ar ha-Shamayim* is the *Shevilei Emunah* by the 14th-century Spanish scholar Meir ben Isaac *Aldabi, whose intent was to combine natural sciences and Jewish religious tradition (Riva di Trento, 1518). Between the 15th and 18th centuries no major encyclopedia was written by Jews, as their interest in the general sciences declined. In 1530–32 the Sephardi physician Solomon b. Jacob *Almoli published a plan for such a work, *Me'assef le-Khol ha-Maḥanot*, in Constantinople. Another small work was *Kelal Kaẓer mi-Kol ha-Rashum bi-Khetav* by Judah ibn Bulat, another exile from Spain in Constantinople, who attempted to organize the sciences systematically (Constantinople, 1531–32; reprint Jerusalem, 1936).

Jacob b. Isaac *Zahalon, a physician in Ferrara, Italy, had prepared a large work to be called "*Oẓar ha-Hokhmot*," but only the third part, devoted to medicine, appeared, *Oẓar ha-Hayyim* (Venice, 1683). In the 17th century physicians were the only Jews in Central and Eastern Europe who had an opportunity for secular education. Thus, another representative of that profession, Tobias *Cohn (Tobias b. Moses Narol of Metz), compiled an encyclopedic work, *Ma'ase Toviyyah* (Venice, 1707), covering metaphysics, physics, astronomy, geography, medicine, and pharmacology.

With the rise of the Haskalah, an interest in publishing a general encyclopedia in Hebrew developed. In particular David *Franco-Mendes, a Jewish community leader and Hebrew poet in Holland, formulated such a suggestion in *Ha-Me'assef* (1785), but except for a prospectus, *Ahavat David*, nothing came of it. A pupil of the Gaon of Vilna, Phinehas Elijah b. Meir Horowitz, tried to present the general sciences from the point of view of Jewish tradition in his *Sefer ha-Berit* (Bruenn, 1797). This work became quite popular, as is evidenced by the publication of several editions in the 19th century. In 1856 Julius *Barasch, a Romanian physician, published the philosophical part of a general encyclopedia under the title *Oẓar ha-Ḥokhmah.* The first alphabetically arranged general encyclopedia in Hebrew was attempted by Isaac Goldmann in Warsaw in 1888; it was called *Ha-Eshkol*, but only six parts came out, and even the first letter of the Hebrew alphabet was not completed.

Joseph *Lurie and Ḥayyim Dov *Horowitz began the first general encyclopedia in Yiddish, *Di Algemeyne Yidishe Entsiklopedye*, in St. Petersburg, Russia, in 1904, but only three parts were published before the venture failed. In 1917 the well-known Yiddish writer and journalist Hillel *Zeitlin began *Di Ershte Algemeyne un Yudishe Hand-Entsiklopedye* with similar abortive results. David Goldblatt's *Algemeyne Ilustrirte Entsiklopedye* (2 vols., New York, 1920–23) was more successful, but it did not get beyond *alef* either (it should be remembered that an initial *alef* for transliterated words is equivalent in the Latin alphabet to *a*, *e*, *i*, *o*, and *u*).

The most ambitious attempt in Yiddish encyclopedias was *Algemeyne Entsiklopedye*, published by the Dubnow Fund from 1931, first in Paris and then in New York. After the first five volumes, devoted to general subjects, seven more on Jews and Judaism, arranged according to topic, were published by 1966.

Encyclopedias of Jewish Content Only

The first large Jewish encyclopedia in alphabetical arrangement was *Paḥad Yiẓḥak* (13 vols., 1750–1888) by Isaac ben Samuel *Lampronti, a physician in Ferrara, who worked on this reference book covering Talmud, rabbinics, and responsa throughout his life, part of it being published posthumously. It was the first such enterprise to be completed to the last letter of the alphabet. In each entry the history of the topic is traced through Mishnah, Talmud, and the responsa up to Lampronti's day.

With the development of the study of Judaism and Jewish history on a scientific basis in the 19th century, the Jews sought to emulate others in promoting encyclopedias devoted to their interests alone. The Jewish historian Isaac Marcus *Jost suggested such a project in his journal *Israelitische Annalen* in 1840. In 1844 the prestigious scholars Moritz Steinschneider and David Cassel published *Plan der Real-Enzyklopaedie des Judenthums, zunaechstfuer die Mitarbeiter.* Some of the articles intended for this work found their way into the general encyclopedia edited by Ersch and Gruber, *Allgemeine Enzyklopaedie der Wissenschaften und Kuenste*, into other journals, or into separate monographs. Another talmudic dictionary was begun by the Prague chief rabbi, Solomon Judah Leib *Rapoport, under the title *Erekh Millin* (Prague, 1852), but it did not go beyond the letter *alef.*

The first Jewish encyclopedia in German was the *Real-Encyclopaedie fuer Bibel und Talmud* by Jacob *Hamburger, chief rabbi of the German principality of Mecklenburg-Strelitz. It treated biblical and talmudic subjects in two separate volumes with a six-part supplement and appeared in three editions, the latest between 1896 and 1901. In spite of many defects, it was considered an achievement for its time, since it was helpful in tracing Jewish religious ideas in the Bible and Talmud.

Aḥad Ha-Am's suggestion to publish a Jewish encyclopedia in Hebrew did not gain much support. He had wanted to present the salient areas of Judaism and Jewish history and literature in a systematic, rather than an alphabetical scheme. There were objections that Hebrew literature was in its beginnings and could not sustain such an ambitious venture. Others believed that a general encyclopedia in Hebrew was needed more urgently than one devoted to Jewish subjects only. On Aḥad Ha-Am's suggestion, a sample of the *Oẓar ha-Yahadut* was published in Warsaw in 1906, containing four articles by four young scholars who later made their mark in Jewish learning, David *Neumark, Hirsch (Ẓevi) Perez *Chajes, Ismar *Elbogen, and Joseph *Klausner.

Despite the great accomplishments in Jewish studies in Europe during the 19th century, it was not granted to European Jewry to publish the first synthesis of its rich harvest. Instead, it was the American Jewish community, which at the turn of the century consisted of a population less than half its present size, a large proportion of whom were new immigrants, that published this basic work, *The Jewish Encyclopedia* (12 vols., 1901–06). Under the editorship of Isidore *Singer and with the participation of hundreds of scholars in the United States and abroad, the attempt was made to bring all Jewish knowledge within the scope of this work. Naturally it, too, had weaknesses, as in its treatment of modern Hebrew literature and the history of East European Jewry, but many of its entries (e.g., those by Louis Ginzberg) have remained unsurpassed statements. Shortly thereafter, Judah David *Eisenstein prepared a ten-volume encyclopedia in Hebrew, *Oẓar Yisrael* (New York, 1906–13). Unlike the *Jewish Encyclopedia*, which took account both of the traditional and the modernist viewpoints, its approach was more traditional, but it was considered inadequate in many respects.

Also influenced by the *Jewish Encyclopedia* was the Russian *Yevreyskaya Entsiklopediya* (16 vols., St. Petersburg, 1906–13) under the editorship of such outstanding scholars as Judah Leib *Katzenelson (Buki ben Yogli), Simon *Dubnow, David *Guenzburg, and Albert (Abraham) *Harkavy. Yet, while omitting some of the material about Jewish life in America that figured so prominently in the *Jewish Encyclopedia*, it concentrated on Eastern Europe and gave full scope to modern Hebrew literature. Its ideology was that of the *Galut* ("Diaspora") nationalism advocated by Dubnow, but the Zionist point of view was also presented. Thus, it was in a way a complement to the *Jewish Encyclopedia.*

Under the leadership of George *Herlitz and Bruno Kirschner, the *Juedisches Lexikon* (Berlin, 1927–30), a five-volume work in German, was published. Because of its size it had to be more limited in scope than the *Jewish Encyclopedia* and concentrated more on contemporary Jewish life than had the other major Jewish encyclopedias published earlier in the century. A more ambitious project was the *Encyclopaedia Judaica* (10 vols., Berlin, 1928–34) in German under the editorship of Jacob *Klatzkin, Nahum *Goldmann, and Ismar Elbogen. It was intended to present a new synthesis of Jewish knowledge some 20 years after the appearance of the *Jewish Encyclopedia* and to include all those areas neglected in the earlier pioneering work. However, because of the establishment of the Hitler regime in Germany, the plan could not be completed; only ten volumes appeared, through the article "Lyra." Of its Hebrew companion, *Eshkol, Enẓiklopedyah Yisre'elit* (Berlin, 1929–32), only two volumes were printed, not completing even the first letter. An oddity among encyclopedias with Jewish content published in Germany was the *Sigilla Veri* (4 vols., Erfurt, 1929–31), a work with antisemitic sponsorship in four volumes through the article "Polak."

The need for a more up-to-date and popular encyclopedia in English in the mid-20th century was met by a number of one-volume works, which are noted below in the bibliography, and by the *Universal Jewish Encyclopedia* in ten volumes (New York, 1939–43). Similar in purpose to the *Juedisches Lexikon* (whose English translation rights the editors Isaac *Landman and others had secured at the time of its publication), it concentrated on the more recent past and on the history of American Jewry.

The growth of the Latin American Jewish community is reflected in the *Enciclopedia Judaica Castellana* (10 vols., Mexico, 1948–51), based largely on the *Universal Jewish Encyclopedia* but containing original material for Latin America.

Encyclopedias in Israel

The first general encyclopedia in Palestine on a large scale was the *Enẓiklopedyah Kelalit* (6 vols., 1935–37). It was conceived and planned by Joseph Klausner. A work on a larger scale is the *Enẓiklopedyah Kelalit Yizre'el* (16 vols., 1950–61). Another popular work is the *Enẓiklopedyah Kelalit Massadah*

(6 vols., 1960–61) with a supplementary volume (1966). The most ambitious Jewish encyclopedia ever attempted is *Ha-Enẓiklopedyah ha-Ivrit* (*Encyclopaedia Hebraica*; (1949–1981); first supplementary volume, covering volumes 1–16, 1967; second supplementary volume, 1983), a general, Jewish, and Israel reference work.

The special needs of Israel require, in addition to general and Jewish encyclopedias, specialized ones devoted to such fields as the social sciences, agriculture, and education, as well as Bible and Talmud. The young State of Israel has already met the need to a considerable extent.

Jews and Judaism in General Encyclopedias

Until the 19th century the treatment of Jews and Judaism in encyclopedias as well as in all other reference works was determined by the Christian point of view. Primary attention was paid to the biblical period as a background to Christianity, but very little interest was shown in the period that followed.

Among the first general encyclopedias to depart from this pattern was the Ersch-Gruber Allgemeine *Enzyklopaedie der Wissenschaften und Kuenste* (1818–89), when it included Moritz *Steinschneider among its contributors. His article on Jewish literature in its volume in 1850 and published separately in English translation in 1857 is considered a classic.

Since that time post-biblical Jewish history and Judaism have generally received more comprehensive and fairer treatment. It is now customary to assign such topics to recognized Jewish scholars. Notable among such encyclopedias are Hastings' Encyclopedia *of Religion and Ethics* (1908–26), *Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart* (1927–31^2, 1957–65^3), *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences* (1930–35; repr. 1948–49), and *New Catholic Encyclopedia* (1967).

Quite striking is the difference between the earlier and more recent editions of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*. In its third edition of 1797 the detailed history of the Jews ended with the destruction of the Second Temple in the year 70. The laws of rabbinic Judaism that followed are dismissed as mere "absurdities" deserving no consideration. In a concluding paragraph the history of the following 16 centuries is summarized with persecutions and massacres duly noted, the more tolerant attitude of the present day emphasized, and mentioning the recent emancipation of the Jews in France in 1791.

In the ninth edition of 1881 the history is divided into two articles, "Israel," dealing with antiquity and the medieval period, until the emancipation, written by the German Protestant Bible scholar Julius *Wellhausen, who gave a fair presentation, also referring to Jewish scholars, such as Jost, Graetz, and Herzfeld, in his bibliography, and "Jews," the period beginning with Mendelssohn, written by Israel Davis, a Jewish lay leader in England. More recent editions have had contributions by Isidore *Epstein, Norman *Bentwich, Jacob R. *Marcus, and other well known Jewish scholars.

Jewish Encyclopedias

ENGLISH. Major works: *Jewish Encyclopedia*, 12 vols. (1901–06; 1925^2; repr., 1963); *Universal Jewish Encyclopedia*, 10 vols. (1939–43); *Encyclopaedia Judaica* (1971, 2006^2).

Other works: J. De Haas (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Jewish Knowledge* (1934); A.M. Hyamson and A.M. Silbermann (eds.), *Vallentine's Jewish Encyclopedia* (1938); *American Jewish Cyclopedia* (1943); D.D. Runes, *Concise Dictionary of Judaism* (1959); P. Birnbaum, *A Book of Jewish Concepts* (1964); S. Glustrom, *Language of Judaism* (1966); Z. Werblowsky and G. Wigoder, *Encyclopedia of the Jewish Religion* (1990^2); J. Neusner, *Encyclopedia of Judaism*, 3 vols. with supplements (1999, 2003); G. Wigoder et al., *New Encyclopedia of Judaism* (2002^2).

Special encyclopedias: *Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible*, 4 vols. (1962); G. Wigoder, S. Paul, et al., *Illustrated Dictionary and Concordance of the Bible* (2005^2); A. Negev and S. Gibson, *Archeological Encyclopedia of the Holy Land* (2001); S. Spector and G. Wigoder, *Encyclopedia of Jewish Life Before and During the Holocaust*, 3 vols. (2001); R. Rozett and S. Spector, *Encyclopedia of the Holocaust* (2000); *Yad Vashem Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations* (vols. 1–6, 2003–5), in progress; P. Hyman and D.D. Moore, *Jewish Women in America: An Historical Encyclopedia*, 2 vols. (1997); M.D. Sherman, *Orthodox Judaism in America: A Bibliographical Dictionary and Sourcebook* (1996); P.S. Nadell, *Conservative Judaism in America: A Biographical Dictionary and Sourcebook* (1988); K.M. Olitzky, L.J. Sussman, and M.H. Stern, *Reform Judaism in America: A Biographical Dictionary and Sourcebook* (1993); A. Steinberg, *Encyclopedia of Jewish Medical Ethics,* tr. F. Rosner (2003); R. Slater, *Great Jews in Sports* (2000^2); R. Posner, *Junior Judaica* (1994^2); G. Wigoder et al., *Student's Encyclopedia of Judaism* (2004).

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[Theodore Wiener]

ENDECJA (so called after the pronunciation of N.D., abbr. of Polish "Narodowa Demokracja," National Democracy; also Endeks), right-wing political party which became a focus for Polish antisemitism in the first half of the 20th century. The party was active in all parts of partitioned Poland. It originated from the "National League," established at the end of the 19th century, to unite Poles of various political allegiance to work for the resurrection of Poland. At first the liberal and right-wing tendencies in the party were balanced, but from 1903 the chauvinist tendency gained in strength, finding expression in struggle against the Jews and a stand against liberalism, among other objectives. It also adopted a pro-Russian and anti-German policy. In Galicia, Endecja was set up in 1905, where it was anti-Ukrainian, and in 1907 won a victory in the elections to the Austrian parliament in which its representative was elected president of the "Polish club" of all Polish deputies in the parliament. Between 1907 and 1911 Endecja was split and weakened by an internal crisis over its pro-Russian policy. During the elections to the fourth Duma in 1912 in Warsaw, when the Jewish vote tipped the balance in favor of a Socialist candidate against the Polish majority, the occasion was used by Endecja as a springboard to strengthen the party. Under the leadership of Roman *Dmowski, Endecja proclaimed an anti-Jewish economic boycott, which was carried out by the mass of Poles. During World War I, the party supported Russia and the Allies and achieved its maximum influence on the future of Poland through the establishment of the National Polish Committee, in which Dmowski played a decisive role as chairman. This committee was recognized as the official representative of the Polish nation at the Versailles Peace Conference. The Endecja-led delegation took part in the coalition government of 1919 headed by I. Paderewski. Endecja became the dominant party in the first elected Polish parliament (Sejm), and took a share in several governments until Pilsudski's coup in 1926. Active mainly on behalf of the interests of the petty bourgeois urban classes, the party was adept in making political capital out of emotionally charged issues, such as a chauvinistic attitude toward the national minorities. Endecja continued its extreme antisemitic stand in its struggle to preserve the Polish character of the towns in Poland against Jewish influence and economic competition. Its connections with capitalist circles and the clergy determined its objectives in domestic policy. Endecja was instrumental in the passing of various laws intended to curtail Jewish influence on the Polish economy and culture. It was active in the numerus clausus case of 1923, and later influenced the youth in the universities to demonstrate against the Jewish students, leading to bloody incidents. Concerning discrimination in commercial taxation Endecja found it difficult to remain consistent, since the party largely represented the urban element in Poland. However it acted energetically regarding the extension of the government monopoly, and in support of Polish cooperatives – all in an anti-Jewish direction – and in the economic restriction of Jews, even if the aims did not correspond with the party's basic principles concerning the sanctity of private property and free enterprise. Through the economic boycott Endecja inspired the *Rozwoj organization. The party's antisemitic influence was strong in military circles, particularly among the Polish volunteers who returned after the war from France and the United States, led by General *Haller. With Hitler's rise to power and the spread of Nazism in Europe, Endecja changed its traditional attitude toward Germany, which it had always considered Poland's principal enemy. The party's youth faction, influenced by Fascist ideas, founded a new body, *NARA, that saw in the Nazi regime a desirable example for Poland. After the outbreak of World War II and the collapse of the Pilsudski regime, which had been Endecja's political opponent, the party's influence increased among Polish émigré circles, both among the army reorganizing abroad and the government-in-exile, established first in France and later in England. During the Nazi occupation Endecja was also active in the nationalist underground movement "Armja Krajowa," which in many cases acted against Jews. In 1970 it still had adherents among Poles outside the country.

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[Moshe Landau]

ENDELMAN, TODD M. (1946–), scholar of Jewish history. Born in Fresno, Calif., he was educated at the University of California at Berkeley, and at Warwick University, Coventry, England, and the Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion. He received his doctorate from Harvard University in 1976. He was an assistant professor of Jewish history at the Bernard Revel Graduate School of Yeshiva University in New York from 1976 to 1979 and a lecturer in history at Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion in 1979. From 1979 to 1985 Endelman was an associate professor of modern Jewish and European history at Indiana University, Bloomington. He became the William Haber Professor of Modern Jewish History at the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, in 1985, and the director of the university's Jean and Samuel Frankel Center for Judaic Studies. In 1982 and 1999 he was a visiting scholar at the Oxford Centre for Postgraduate Hebrew Studies.

Endelman is known as a specialist in the social history of the Jews of Western Europe, particularly Anglo-Jewish history, and his work examines conversion and other forms of radical assimilation. His 1979 work, *The Jews of Georgian England, 1714–1830: Tradition and Change in a Liberal Society*, received the National Jewish Book Award for History and the A.S. Diamond Memorial Prize of the Jewish Historical Society of England. His other works include *Radical Assimilation in English Jewish History, 1656–1945* (1990) and *The Jews of Britain, 1656–2000* (2002). He served as editor of (and contributor to) *Jewish Apostasy in the Modern World* (1987) and *Comparing Jewish Societies* (1997). He was coeditor, with Tony Kushner, of *Disraeli's Jewishness* (2002). He has written extensively for academic journals and has contributed to many works, including *The Legacy of Jewish Migration: 1881 and Its Impact* (1983), *History and Hate: The Dimensions of Anti-Semitism* (1986), *Living with Anti-Semitism: Modern Jewish Responses* (1987), and *The Self-Fashioning of Disraeli, 1818–1851* (2000).

A fellow of the American Academy for Jewish Research, he is also a member of the American Historical Association, the Association for Jewish Studies, and the Jewish Historical Society of England. He has received fellowships from the National Endowment for the Humanities, the Memorial Foundation for Jewish Culture, the Lucius N. Littauer Foundation, and the Lilly Endowment. Endelman's later research involves the study of Jewish apostasy in Europe and America from the Enlightenment to the present.

[Dorothy Bauhoff (2nd ed.)]

ENDINGEN, town in Baden, Germany, site of a notorious *blood libel. Jews are first mentioned there in 1331; in 1349 they were affected by the *Black Death persecutions. When the headless corpses of two adults and two children were found in the grounds of the cemetery in March 1470, Rabbi Elias and his two brothers (granduncles of *Joseph b. Gershon of Rosheim) were accused of ritual murder, tortured, put on trial, and burned at the stake on April 8, 1470. On May 5, Emperor Frederick III condemned the executions on the grounds that the Jews were under imperial protection and ordered the release of other imprisoned Jews, repeating this demand on June 22 and stressing papal prohibitions of the blood libel. In consequence of the libel, the Jews were expelled from Endingen. Despite imperial and papal disapproval, the blood libel story was kept alive; the remains of the supposed victims were enshrined in the altar of the Church of St. Peter. The story was reenacted in the *Endinger Judenspiel*, first performed before huge crowds in 1616. A church bell cast in 1714 bears reliefs of the headless children. Carrying the children's relics in church processions was prohibited under Emperor *Joseph II (1765–90). By 1871 some Jews were living in the town once more. Their number reached 43 in 1888, but declined to ten in 1925, and five in 1933. The remaining couple was deported in 1940. In 1967 the remains of the "martyred" children were removed from the church.

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ENDINGEN AND LENGNAU, villages in the Swiss canton of *Aargau, in the Surbtal near the German border. A few Jewish families are known to have lived there during the Middle Ages, when the villages were in the county of Baden, but organized communities were not formed until early in the 17th century. Around 1650 Marharam (Meir) Guggenheim was their leader. The legal status of the Jews was based on letters of protection, which had to be renewed (and paid for) periodically. From 1696 these letters were renewed every 16 years, the last dating from 1792. The letters authorized them to trade in the whole Baden region, though not in real estate, but for the most part they engaged in the sale of livestock. They were authorized to grant loans against movable property only. The number of Jewish houses was limited and a Jew and non-Jew were forbidden to live under the same roof. The Jews were subject to the bailiff, but they had recourse to their rabbis in civil and religious affairs. The 1776 letter of protection limited Jewish residence in the county of Baden to Endingen and Lengnau only. From 20 households in the entire county in 1634, the number grew to 35 in 1702, 94 in 1761, 108 in 1774, and 240 in 1890.

A cemetery was leased to the Jews in 1603 on a small island in the Rhine, called the *Judenaeule* or *Judeninsel.* In 1750 they were allowed to acquire another cemetery (*Waldfriedhof*), halfway between the two villages. In the same year a permanent synagogue was dedicated in Lengnau (which had no church!), and in Endingen in 1764; both communities shared the services of a rabbi from around the same date. The synagogues were rebuilt in 1848 and 1852 respectively.

The French Revolution and the formation of the Helvetic Republic brought the Jews of Endingen and Lengnau no nearer to civic and political emancipation. By a law of 1798 they at least achieved the status of other aliens in the republic. When the French left in 1803, the Christian population of the district rioted, plundering Jewish homes, as had already happened in 1729 and recurred in 1861. The Jews' Law of 1809 was a retrograde move, and like the laws of 1824 (*Organisationsgesetz*) and 1835 (*Schulgesetz*) led to increased interference in the autonomy of the communities, which by then had achieved the legal status of public corporations. The struggle for full equality continued and was successful only in 1878. The Reform movement led to sharp controversies within the communities, but the majority remained loyal to tradition. The Jewish scholars J. *Fuerst and M. *Kayserling served as rabbis of the communities from 1854 to 1858 and 1861 to 1870 respectively. The Jewish population of Endingen and Lengnau, around 1,500 in 1850, had decreased to less than 100 by 1950, and in 1962 the combined community had only 17 members. The Swiss-Jewish Home for the Aged was established in Lengnau in 1903.

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°ENDLICH, QUIRIN (d. 1888), antisemitic journalist in Vienna called the "Judenfresser" ("Jew-eater"), particularly prominent during the revolution of 1848. Endlich first contributed to S. *Ebersberg's *Zuschauer,* later founding *Schild und Schwert* ("Shield and Sword"), with a column entitled "Judenkontrolle" which heaped denunciations and obscenities upon the Jews. Taking advantage of the newly proclaimed freedom of the press, Endlich called the Jews "Austria's greatest disaster" and asserted that all their activities were destructive. His book, *Der Einfluss der Juden auf unsere Civilisation*, was published in 1848. According to Endlich, the Jews had instigated all the unrest of March 1848 in order to achieve their emancipation. To divert public resentment, they stimulated hatred against the real benefactors of the people, i.e., the aristocracy and the army. By building railways the Jews ruined the innkeepers and carters, and their factories ruined the artisans. His style and methods were later adopted by the Austrian *Christian Social Party.

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[Israel Smotricz]

EN-DOR (Heb. עֵין דֹּאר, עֵין דּוֹר).

(1) A city in the territory of Issachar that was occupied by the strong Manasseh tribe (Josh. 17:11). The biblical statement that Gideon's triumph over the Midianites took place at En-Dor (Ps. 83:11) corresponds well with its location north of the hill of Moreh (Gibeath-Moreh, Judg. 7:1). The city's notoriety is mainly due to Saul's visit to "the woman that divineth by a ghost" – the famous witch of En-Dor (1 Sam. 28:7). Saul disguised himself because he and his army were then at Gilboa and the Philistines at Shunem and he had to pass near the enemy camp to reach En-Dor. Eusebius describes it as a very large village 4 m. (6½ km.) south of Mount Tabor and north of the Little Hermon (al-Nabī Daḥī), and also mentions its proximity to Na'im, near Scythopolis (Onom. 34:8; 94:20). En-Dor seems to have been originally part of the district of Sepphoris and was detached from it with Na'im to form a separate district. The name is preserved in ʿIndūr, east of Na'im and north of the hill of Moreh. Tell al-ʿAjjūl or Khirbat al-Ṣafṣāfa, two tells in the vicinity of Na'im containing Iron Age remains, have been suggested as possible sites of the ancient city.

[Michael Avi-Yonah]

(2) The modern kibbutz of En Dor, S.E. of Mt. Tabor, was founded on June 16, 1948, a few days after the region was secured by Israel forces in the War of Independence. It is affiliated to Kibbutz Arẓi ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir. Its settlers include Israel-born pioneers and immigrants from the United States, Bulgaria, Turkey, Germany, and South America. Its economy was based on field crops, poultry, dairy cattle, and a factory for modern electronic equipment. The kibbutz also operated a station for seed development. In the mid-1990s the population was approximately 635, rising to 783 in 2002.

[Efraim Orni / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

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EN-DOR, WITCH OF, the popular designation of a medium from the town of En-Dor in Manasseh, who was consulted by King *Saul (I Sam. 28:7–25). (The woman is not designated "witch," Heb. *mekašepah*.) The narrative begins with a report of the Philistine advance; their superiority is so great that Saul, seized with terror, vainly seeks ways of discovering the will of God. In desperation, he resorts to necromancy, which he himself has outlawed (*ibid.* 28:3; cf. Deut. 18:11). Saul finds the necromancer of En-Dor, who is persuaded to accede to his request to conjure up *Samuel. The prophet rebukes Saul and predicts his defeat at the hands of the Philistines. The woman, who had recognized Saul, solicitously provides him with a meal before he departs.

[Shlomo Balter]

In the *Aggadah*

According to the *aggadah*, the witch of En-Dor was the mother of *Abner and was called Zephaniah (the hidden one; PdRE 33), while Pseudo-Philo calls her Sedecla (unrighteous) and tells that she deceived Israel with her sorcery for 40 years (Pseudo-Philo 64:3–5). The rabbis state that the evocation of Samuel took place within 12 months of his death when the body has not yet decomposed and the soul still hovers near it (Shab. 152b). The witch knew it was Saul who called upon her because the ghost appeared face upward, while for an ordinary person it comes face downward (Lev. R. 26:7). From the details given in this story, the rabbis concluded that the necromancer sees the spirit but does not hear it, while the person that evokes the spirit hears its voice but does not see it. Others present neither see nor hear it (Lev. R. 26:7).

Two interpretations are given of the words "*Elohim Olim*" (I Sam. 28:13). One is that Samuel was evoked like a god and thus told Saul, "Do you not know that just as punishment is inflicted upon the worshiper so it is inflicted upon the worshipped?" The other is that the word "*elohim*" refers to Moses (Ex. 7:1). Samuel, fearing that the Day of Judgment had come, brought Moses up with him to act as his advocate.

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°ENDRE, LÁSZLÓ (1895–1946), Hungarian antisemite. After World War I Endre joined various antisemitic organizations and published anti-Jewish pamphlets, including a booklet in 1936 on the *Protocols of the *Elders of Zion*. In 1937 he organized the "Socialist Party for the Defense of the Race," which merged with Szalasi's party in August of that year. His administrative career started in the White Terror period; he served as county sheriff in various places and from 1923 on in Gödöllő. In 1937, as deputy prefect of the Pest district, he became known for his brutal orders against the Jews. In 1940, in a memorandum to Prime Minister Teleky, he proposed the sterilization of the Jews serving in forced labor units. He maintained close ties with the German Nazi party and attended several of its conventions.

Shortly after the formation of the puppet government under Sztójay (March 1944), he became director-general of the Ministry of Interior, with the special assignment of dealing with the "Jewish problem." He then issued various orders for the concentration of the Jews in ghettos, including the secret order of April 14, 1944, providing for the establishment of ghettos in Hungary. In his statement to the Israeli Police, Adolf *Eichmann described Endre as a very clever man who needed no urging to act against the Jews; on the contrary, he was sometimes forced to restrain Endre. In his negotiations with (Israel) Rezsö *Kasztner, Eichmann on one occasion hesitated to agree to one of Kasztner's requests, wondering "What will Endre say?" During the Soviet advance into Hungary in 1945, Endre fled to Austria, where he was caught by an American unit, turned over to Hungary, sentenced to death, and executed in Budapest.

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[Yehouda Marton]

ENELOW, HYMAN (**Hillel Gershom**; 1877–1934), U.S. Reform rabbi, scholar, and writer. Enelow, who was born in Kovno, Lithuania, went to the U.S. as a young man, age 16, and was ordained by Hebrew Union College in 1898. Enelow served as rabbi of Temple Israel, Paducah, Kentucky (1898–1901), Temple Adath Israel, Louisville, Kentucky (1901–12), and Temple Emanu-El, New York (1912–34). During World War I, Enelow served in France with the Jewish Welfare Board. He was vice president of the Central Conference of American Rabbis (1925–27), its president (1927–29), and a member of both the American Historical Association and the American Jewish Historical Society. Enelow was instrumental in having chairs for Jewish studies established at Harvard (with the aid of his friend Lucius *Littauer) and Columbia (aided by Mrs. Nathan Miller). His numerous books on Jewish religion include the following: *The Synagogue in Modern Life* (1916); *The Faith of Israel* (1917); and *A Jewish View of Jesus* (1920). His *Selected Works* were published in four volumes by F. Levy in 1935.

Enelow's four-volume edition of Israel *Al-Nakawa's *Menorat ha-Ma'or* (1929–32) was an important contribution to Jewish scholarship. His thesis that this work served as the model for Isaac *Aboab's work of the same name was widely discussed though not universally accepted. Of equal importance is Enelow's edition of *Mishnat Eliezer* (or *Midrash of 32 Hermeneutic Rules*, with an English introduction and full apparatus, 1933). A collection of manuscripts was presented in his memory to the Jewish Theological Seminary, New York, by his friend Mrs. Nathan Miller. His private library of over 20,000 volumes was also willed to the Seminary.

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EN-GANNIM (Heb. עֵין גַּנִּים).

(1) A locality in the territory of Judah, about 2 mi. (3 km.) south of Beth-Shemesh, that is mentioned in the Bible together with Zanoah (Josh. 15:34). Its identification with ʿAyn Faṭīr near Beit Jimal has been proposed.

(2) A levitical city in the territory of Issachar (Josh. 19:21; 21:29). This has been identified by various scholars with the modern Jenin on the southern extremity of the Jezreel Valley, which Josephus mentions (Wars, 3:48) as Ginaea, on the northern border of Samaria. Jenin, however, is probably the biblical Beth-ha-Gan ("gardenhouse," II Kings 9:27), and a more plausible identification is Khirbat Beit (Bayt) Jann near Jabneel on the northern border of Issachar.

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[Michael Avi-Yonah]

EN-GEDI (Heb. עֵין גֶּדִי).

(1) An oasis on the western shore of the Dead Sea and one of the most important archaeological sites in the Judean Desert. En-Gedi (En-Gaddi in Greek and Latin; ʿAyn Jiddī in Arabic) is actually the name of the perennial spring which flows from a height of 656 ft. (200 m.) above the Dead Sea. In the Bible, the wasteland near the spring where David sought refuge from Saul is called "the wilderness of En-Gedi" and the enclosed camps at the top of the mountains, the "strongholds of En-Gedi" (I Sam. 24:1–2). En-Gedi is also mentioned among the cities of the tribe of Judah in the Judean Desert (Josh. 15:62). A later biblical source (II Chron. 20:2) identifies En-Gedi with Hazazon-Tamar but this is rejected by most scholars. In the Song of Songs 1:14 the beloved is compared to "a cluster of henna in the vineyards of En-Gedi"; the "fishers" of En-Gedi are mentioned in Ezekiel 47:10.

In later literary sources, Josephus speaks of En-Gedi as the capital of a Judean toparchy and tells of its destruction during the Jewish War (Wars, 3:55; 4:402). From documents found in the "Cave of the Letters" in Naḥal Ḥever, it appears that in the period before the Bar Kokhba War (132–135), the Jewish village of En-Gedi was imperial property and Roman garrison troops were stationed there. But in the time of Bar Kokhba, it was under his control, and was one of his military and administrative centers (see *Judean Desert Caves). In the Roman-Byzantine period, the settlement of En-Gedi is mentioned by the Church Fathers; Eusebius describes it as a very large Jewish village (Onom. 86:18). En-Gedi was then famous for its fine dates and rare spices, and for its balsam.

After surveys of the area, five seasons of excavations were conducted at En-Gedi by B. Mazar, T. Dothan, and I. Dunayevsky between the years 1961–62 and 1964–65. The settlement of En-Gedi was found to have been established only in the seventh century B.C.E. with no evidence of occupation in the time of David (tenth century B.C.E.). Excavations showed that Tell Goren (Tell el-Jurn), a small hill above the southwestern part of the plain near Naḥal Arugot, was one of the main centers in the oasis beginning with the Israelite and especially in the Iron II, Hellenistic, and Roman-Byzantine periods. Surveys of the area revealed that the inhabitants of En-Gedi had developed an efficient irrigation system and engaged in intensive agriculture. The combination of abundant water and warm climate made it possible for them to cultivate the palm trees and balsam plants for which En-Gedi was renowned. The settlement was apparently administered by a central authority which was responsible for building terraces, aqueducts, and reservoirs, as well as a network of strongholds and watchtowers along the road linking En-Gedi with Teqoa.

Five periods of occupation were uncovered on Tell Goren. The earliest settlement, Stratum V, was a flourishing town which had spread down the slopes of the tell dating from the Judean kingdom (c. 630–582 B.C.E.). Various installations, especially a series of large clay "barrels" fixed in the ground, together with pottery, metal tools, and ovens indicated that workshops had been set up for some special industry. This discovery conforms with various literary sources (Josephus and others) which mention En-Gedi as a center for the production of opobalsamon ("balsam"). It can thus be assumed that En-Gedi was a royal estate which ran this costly industry in the service of the king. This first settlement was apparently destroyed and burned by Nebuchadnezzar in 582/1 B.C.E.

The next town on the tell (Stratum IV) belongs to the Persian period (fifth–fourth centuries B.C.E.). Its area was more extensive than the Israelite one and its buildings were larger and well-built. A very large house, part of it two-storied, which contained 23 rooms, was found on the northern slope of the tell. En-Gedi at this time was part of the province of Judah as attested by the many sherds inscribed "Yehud," the official name of the province.

Stratum III belongs to the Hasmonean period. Its famous dates are mentioned in this period by Ben Sira (Ecclus. 24:14). En-Gedi flourished, especially at the time of Alexander *Yannai and his successors (103–37 B.C.E.). A large fortress on the tell was probably destroyed in the period of the Parthian invasion and the last war of the Hasmoneans against Herod.

The next occupation (Stratum II) contains a strong fortress on the top of the tell surrounded by a thick stone wall with a rectangular tower. This settlement is attributed to the time of Herod's successors (4–68 C.E.); it was destroyed and burned apparently during the Jewish War in 68 C.E. Coins from the "Year Two" of the war were found in the area of the conflagration.

During the Roman-Byzantine period (Stratum I) the inhabitants of the tell lived in temporary structures and cultivated the slopes of the hill (third–fifth centuries C.E.). It appears that at least from the time of the Herodian period the main settlement at En-Gedi moved down to the plain, east and northeast of Tell Goren between Naḥal David and Naḥal Arugot.

A Roman bath was found in the center of this plain about 660 ft. (200 m.) west of the shore of the Dead Sea. It is dated by finds, especially six bronze coins, to the period between the fall of the Second Temple and the Bar Kokhba War.

A sacred enclosure from the Chalcolithic period was found on a terrace above the spring. It consists of a group of stone structures of a very high architectural standard. The main building was apparently a temple which served as the central sanctuary for the inhabitants of the region.

Excavations (1970) brought to light the remains of a Jewish settlement dating from the Byzantine period. The synagogue had a beautiful mosaic floor depicting peacocks eating grapes, and the words "Peace on Israel," as well as a unique inscription consisting of 18 lines which, inter alia, calls down a curse on "anyone causing a controversy between a man and his fellows or who (says) slanders his friends before the gentiles or steals the property of his friends, or anyone revealing the secret of the town to the gentiles. …" (According to Lieberman, it was designed against those revealing the secrets of the balsam industry.) A seven branched menorah of bronze and more than 5,000 coins (found in the synagogue's cash box by the ark) were also uncovered.

[Benjamin Mazar]

Since the writing of the entry above by Benjamin Mazar, new archaeological work and historical studies concerning En-Gedi have been made. En-Gedi is an oasis on the fringe of the Judean Desert, situated in the middle of the western shore of the Dead Sea, in the rift valley, the lowest place on earth. The climate of the rift valley is arid and climatic changes have in the past influenced the flow of the springs as well as the levels of the Dead Sea. The source of the springs is in the aquifer of the Judaean Group of the Cenoman-Touron Formation. In the past, there were ten springs, but only four are active today: 'Arugot, David, En-Gedi, and Shulamit.

En-Gedi is mentioned for the first time in the Bible as Hazazon Tamar (Gen. 14:7), which was identified as En-Gedi (II Chron. 20: 2). In I Samuel 23:29; 24:2–3, David took refuge in the wilderness of En-Gedi. En-Gedi is mentioned once in each of the Talmudic writings (TJ, Shevi'it 9:2, 38d; TB, Shabbat 26a). The inhabitants of En-Gedi made their living from agriculture. They cultivated a very poor marl and stony soil with irrigation channels from the waters of the springs. They also collected salt and asphalt (bitumen) from the shores of the Dead Sea, as well as chunks of sulfur from the marl plains for the production of medicines. The main cultivations in this oasis were palm trees and barley; balsam, a cash crop, was also grown in the region. Writers from the Roman period praised the excellent dates that grew in En-Gedi and Judaea (Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* 13:6, 26; Josephus, Ant., 9: 7). The palm tree, a symbol of Judaea, was used as a motif on Jewish coins and Flavian victory coins. Transportation between En-Gedi and other parts of the country was dictated by geographical and political conditions. During ancient times En-Gedi had a strong connection with Jerusalem. During the First Temple period, En-Gedi was first established as a military outpost on the western shores of the Dead Sea over against Moab and Edom. Later maritime transportation was undertaken on the Dead Sea, as has been proven by the discovery of wooden and stone anchors, as well as of anchorages near En-Gedi and at other locations around the Dead Sea. Although sailing vessels have not yet been found underwater, drawings and graffiti of sailing ships are known from Masada and on the mosaic map of Madaba. The connection between En-Gedi and Nabataea, and later with Arabia, is attested by ancient historians, on the one hand, as well as in the Judean Desert Documents, on the other. Nabatean coins have also been found in archaeological excavations.

During the 1980s–90s a systematic archaeological survey was conducted in the area, and a number of intact burials of the Second Temple period were revealed and excavated. These were family tombs and the bodies were wrapped with linen shrouds and interred in wooden coffins, usually without funerary objects (Hadas, 1994). In the late 1990s a large area of the Byzantine village adjacent to the synagogue was excavated and many dwellings were revealed, all of which supports Eusebius' description of En-Gedi as "a large village of Jews" (Hirschfeld, in press). During this project the irrigated agricultural systems were also investigated and excavated (Hadas, 2002). In recent years (2003–5), a new suburb of En-Gedi dating from the Second Temple period has been revealed to the northwest of the synagogue (Hadas, forthcoming). Caves in the cliffs behind En-Gedi have also been surveyed, revealing Bar-Kochba coins and papyri in some of them, and much earlier Persian period ornaments in another. Additional excavations conducted in the area of the synagogue area (Hadas, in press) have shown that the Byzantine village was destroyed and burnt in the sixth century C.E. This was the end of the Jewish settlement, which had existed here almost continuously for about one thousand years. A gap in the occupation of En-Gedi existed until the 13th–14th centuries C.E., when a Mamluke village was founded at the spot and existed there for about a century. Remains of this period were found above the synagogue site and in the general vicinity. A water mill was also built at this time (Hadas, 2001–2) and it still exists near the En-Gedi spring. En-Gedi remained in ruins until the establishment of the State of Israel in 1948.

[Gideon Hadas (2nd ed.)]

(2) Settlement in the Judean Desert on the west bank of the Dead Sea, founded by Israeli-born youth first as a *Naḥal military outpost in 1953 and later in 1956 as a civilian kibbutz affiliated to the Iḥud ha-Kevuẓot ve-ha-Kibbutzim. Its primary functions were, initially, those of defense; but it also successfully developed farming methods adapted to the local conditions of a hot desert climate and an abundance of fresh water from the En-Gedi Springs. These are fed by an underground flow (from the rain-rich intake area on the western slopes of the Hebron Hills), which emerges on a fault line. An area surrounding the Springs has been declared a nature reserve because of the small enclave of Sudano-Deccanian flora existing there. A field school of the Society for the Preservation of Nature, a youth hostel (Bet Sara), and a recreation home are all situated there. Until 1967 the means of transportation to En-Gedi were by land or sea from Sodom, on the south side of the Dead Sea. In 1962 a narrow asphalt road was built and it replaced the 50 km. dirt road that was frequently destroyed by flash floods in the winter months. At that time there was a motorboat that sailed from Sodom to En-Gedi, and a medical doctor used to arrive once a week by light plane (Piper) from Beer Sheva. In 1971 an asphalt road was built northwards and connected En-Gedi to Jerusalem, shortening the travel time from En-Gedi to Tel Aviv, from 5 to 2 hours. The kibbutz economy was based mainly on tourism, including a guest house and medicinal waters. Farming was based on mango plantations, date palms, and herbs. The kibbutz had a 25-acre botanical garden with 900 plant species from all over the world. In 2002 the population of En-Gedi was 603.

[Efraim Orni / Shaked Gilboa and Gideon Hadas (2nd ed.)]

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ENGEL, ELIOT L. (1947–), U.S. congressman. Engel was born and raised in New York. His family lived in a third floor Bronx tenement and around the time of his bar mitzvah moved to middle-class public housing. During the summers of his teenage years, he worked as an actor. In 1969, he graduated from Hunter-Lehman College with a B.A. in history and received a master's degree in guidance and counseling in 1973 from Herbert H. Lehman College of the City University of New York. In 1987, he received a law degree from New York Law School. After graduation from college he was a teacher and guidance counselor in the New York school system before entering politics.

He began his political career as a member of the New York Assembly (1977–88) where he chaired the Committee on Alcoholism and Substance Abuse as well as the Subcommittee on Mitchell-Lama Housing. After six terms in the Assembly, he challenged ten-term incumbent Mario Biaggi, who had been convicted of bribery and extortion. He beat him in a Democratic primary, which was paramount to election in the district. He served in Congress from 1989. In Congress he was a member of the Energy Committee and a member of the International Relations Committee. In typical New York fashion he pursued the three I's strategy: Israel, Ireland, and Italy. He was outspoken in his defense of Israel, and a prime mover of the bill to move the American Embassy from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem. He also pressed the issue of American participation in Bosnia during the crisis of the mid-1990s. Engel was a member of the Congressional Human Rights Caucus, the Democratic Study Group on Health, and the Long Island Sound Caucus. He co-chaired the Albanian Issues Caucus and was an Executive Board Member of the Congressional Ad Hoc Committee on Irish Affairs.

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[Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

ENGEL, JOEL (**Yuli Dimitriyevich**; 1868–1927), composer and music editor, a pioneer of music in Ereẓ Israel. Born in Berdyansk, Russia, he studied at Kharkov and the Moscow Conservatory. He was music critic of the journal *Russkiye Vedomosti* for 20 years and in 1911 he published a collection of criticism, *At the Opera.* The turning point in Engel's work came in 1900, when he began to adapt Jewish folk songs and to organize concerts for their performance. His activity attracted young Jewish musicians and the Society for Jewish Folk Music was founded in 1908. In 1912 Engel took part with S. *An-Ski in an ethnographical expedition to South Russia, and collected many folk songs among the Jewish population. Engel found in the Ḥasidic wordless *niggunim* manifestations of an original Hebrew melos. He believed that folk songs sung for years by the Jewish people, even though containing alien elements, reflected the Jewish spirit. He applied this idea in his most important composition, the music to An-Ski's play *The Dybbuk* (published as a suite for orchestra, 1926). He also set Hebrew poems of *Bialik and *Tchernichowsky to music. In 1924 he settled in Tel Aviv and devoted himself to the creation of original Hebrew-Palestinian songs. His music for Peretz's works was performed at the Peretz Festival in the Ohel Theater in 1926. He also wrote children's songs. In 1916 in Moscow he published *Fifty Children's Songs* (in Yiddish). More songs appeared in the booklets *Yaldei Sadeh* (1923) and *Shirei Yeladim*, and in a posthumous collection *Be-Keren Za-*

vit (1927). The Tel Aviv municipality named a prize for Israel composers after Engel.

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[Simha Katz]

ENGEL, JOSEPH BEN JUDAH (1859–1920), Polish rabbi and halakhist. Born in Tarnow, after his marriage he settled in Bendin, where his father-in-law lived, and there became famous as one of the greatest of Polish rabbis. In 1906 he was elected *av bet din* of Cracow and was the virtual chief rabbi of the city, no one being appointed to the position during his tenure of office. At the outbreak of World War I he moved to Vienna where he died.

Engel wrote more than 100 works on *halakhah, aggadah*, and Kabbalah. His works comprise a sort of (mostly alphabetic) encyclopedia and include 30 volumes on Talmud; more than 20 volumes on Kabbalah; and five of responsa, novellae on talmudic themes and on the Shulḥan Arukh, and sermons. During his lifetime about 20 of his works were published, but the rest have remained in manuscript. After his death a committee of the friends of Engel was formed in Vienna, with the name "Ohavei Torah," for the purpose of collecting and publishing all his manuscripts. Some of them are in the process of publication, but many others were lost as a consequence of the Holocaust.

The following of his published works are noteworthy: *Atvan de-Oraita* (1891), giving 27 fundamental principles on talmudic methodology; *Beit ha-Oẓar* (Pt. 1, 1903; Pt. 2, 1907), on biblical themes, arranged in alphabetical order; *Bet Porat*, responsa (Pt. 1, 1907; Pt. 2, 1912); *Oẓerot Yosef* (1921), comprising eight sermons; halakhic novellae on the laws of the sabbatical year as they apply at the present time (1928); and novellae to Shulḥan Arukh *Yoreh De'ah* (1929). His revolutionary interpretation concerning the sabbatical year is noteworthy: even if the sabbatical year applies to modern times, it has only the force of a rabbinical enactment, whereas the *mitzvah* of settling in Ereẓ Israel is a commandment ordained by the Torah and hence completely abrogates the laws of the sabbatical year, thus making it unnecessary, in order to permit cultivation of the land, to have recourse to the expedient of selling it temporarily to a non-Jew. Other published works of his are *Gilyonei ha-Shas*, marginal notes on the Babylonian and Jerusalem Talmuds in three volumes (1924–37), containing source references, novellae, and comparisons. They testify to Engel's great erudition. He reveals points of similarity with the subject under discussion in apparently unconnected passages. Additional works are *Hoshen Yosef* (1945), novellae on the Maharit, and on the *Avnei Millu'im* of Aryeh Leib ha-Kohen; *Gevurot Shemonim* (1903), containing 80 solutions to a single problem; and *Ẓiyyunim la-Torah* (1904), consisting of 40 pilpulistic discourses. These last works in particular reflect Engel's keen and penetrating intellect. His approach to the Kabbalah is interesting in that he finds a parallel in the Talmud for every kabbalistic idea, and endeavors to demonstrate the close connection between Jewish mysticism and the rational part of the talmudic *halakhah* and *aggadah*. Recognized as an outstanding halakhist, he was consulted on halakhic problems by hundreds of rabbis.

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[Itzhak Alfassi]

ENGEL, JÓZSEF (1815–1901), Hungarian sculptor, born at Sátoraljaujhely, Hungary. Intended for the rabbinate, he was sent to study at the yeshivah of Moses *Sofer at Pressburg. While still studying, Engel began to practice sculpture, and his father asked the rabbi whether this was permissible according to rabbinic law. On his receiving a negative reply, Engel was forced to stop. When his father died, however, Engel left for Vienna and became apprentice to a wood-carver. In 1840 he moved to England, where he made his name and executed busts of Queen Victoria and of Prince Albert, who commissioned several works from him. He also executed a bust of Sir David *Salomons, the first Jewish lord mayor of London. In 1847 he went to Rome, remaining there for nearly 20 years before returning to Hungary.

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ENGELBERG, ḤAYYIM OF (**Ferdinand Franz Engelberger**; d. 1642), apostate who converted to Christianity in 1636 to evade the penalty for stealing. After publishing a missionary pamphlet, he went to Vienna where he won the favor of *Ferdinand III. When he and two Jewish accomplices were caught pilfering gems from the treasury and sentenced to death, he assumed that the emperor would pardon him and accepted the last sacraments peacefully. Becoming aware that the sentence was to be carried out, he smashed a crucifix, rejected Christianity, and asked to die a Jew, also announcing that he had desecrated the *Host. This admission spurred the mob to kill a number of Jews and plunder their homes. After being tortured and maimed, Ḥayyim was burned at the stake on the Sabbath, Aug. 26, 1642, and was heard mumbling: "May my death be my atonement." The incident was commemorated on two marble tablets in Vienna. His wife and children, whom he had persuaded to accept baptism, escaped to Poland and reverted to Judaism.

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ENGELMANN, GABRIEL (d. 1850), Hungarian talmudist and *rosh yeshivah*. Engelmann was born in Vaguihely. For 15 years he served as *dayyan* in his native town and later was appointed rabbi and *av bet din* of Rohonc, Hungary, where he remained until his death. He devoted most of his life to his yeshivah and in the introduction to his *Einei Yisrael* (pt. 1) relates that he chose for himself the way trodden by most Jewish scholars to devote himself to study and teaching. His contemporaries esteemed him highly and those who gave their approbations to his books included Moses *Sofer. Engelmann's *Einei Yisrael* is in two parts, the first (Vienna, 1822) on tractates *Shevu'ot* and *Bava Batra*, the second (*ibid.*, 1824) on *Ḥullin.* Some erroneously attributed to him the *Gevurat ha-Shem* (1838), a commentary on the Passover *Haggadah*, but its author is Gabriel b. Jacob Katz of Szamotuly.

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[Naphtali Ben-Menahem]

ENGELMANN, SUSANNE CHARLOTTE (1886–?), educator. Born in Germany, she was recognized during the Weimar period as an influential educator of girls, as well as the author of significant works on education, including *Die Krise der heutigen Maedchenerziehung* (1929) and *Methodik des deutschen Unterrichts* (1929). From 1933 on, she was deprived of the right to pursue her professional work, but she did not leave Berlin until 1940, when she migrated to the U.S. She was a guest scholar at Wilson College, Chambersburg, Pa., and lectured at other institutions. Her writings after 1940 stressed the educational changes in Germany of the 1930s and the war period. As author of *German Education and Reeducation* (1945), she was characterized as one of the most competent writers to assess the effectiveness of Nazi methods of indoctrination and the necessity of reeducating the German mind.

[William W. Brickman]

ENGELSBERG, LEON (1919–1998), Israel painter. Born in E. Europe, Engelsberg studied at the Warsaw Academy of Art. He settled in Israel after World War II in Jerusalem, in 1955. He painted expressionist landscapes of the Jerusalem countryside, but did not exhibit. His landscapes describe the hills and valleys of the Jerusalem area, so that landmarks like the Temple Mount and other religious sites are absent from his paintings. He won the Yad Vashem and Sussman prizes.

ENGLAND. The British Isles were unknown to the Jews until a late date, and the settlement of the Jews in medieval England was among the latest in Europe. It is possible that a small nucleus was to be found there under the Romans and that in the Saxon period, isolated Jews extended their commercial activities as far as the British Isles. But the slender evidence formerly adduced in support of this (e.g., the references in the *Liber Poenitentialis* ascribed to Archbishop Theodore of Canterbury, 669) has no validity.

The Medieval Period

Jews were settled in some numbers in the continental possessions of William the Conqueror. With the Norman Conquest in 1066, it was inevitable that some should follow him to England, even if (as sometimes reported) he did not specifically invite them. The new community thus had a comparatively artificial origin, and possessed a remarkable homogeneity, being composed almost entirely of financiers and their dependents. It may thus be regarded as a type of late medieval Jewry in composition and in occupation as well as in its close subjection to royal control.

The community originated in the main in northern France, of which it was to some extent a cultural, linguistic, and economic offshoot. A minority came from Germany, Italy, and Spain, while one or two came even from Russia and the Muslim countries. By the mid-12th century, communities were to be found in most of the greater cities of the country, in *Lincoln, *Winchester, *York, *Oxford, *Norwich, and *Bristol. However, the *London community was always the most important. Until 1177 the only cemetery allowed was in London. No communities were found west of *Exeter or north of York. The Jews were treated tolerantly by the Norman monarchs. William Rufus (1087–1100) is even said to have encouraged them to enter into disputations with Christian clerics. Under Henry I (1100–35), an exemplary charter of liberties, the text of which is no longer preserved, was probably granted to the Jews.

In the course of the 12th century, anti-Jewish feeling began to manifest itself. In 1130 the Jews of London were fined the then enormous sum of £2,000 on the charge that one of their number had killed a sick man. The first recorded *blood libel took place at Norwich in 1144 and was imitated at *Gloucester in 1168, before the precedent came to be followed outside England. Similar accusations were made before the end of the century at *Bury St. Edmunds (1181), Bristol (before 1183), and Winchester (1192). Nevertheless, the community grew in wealth and numbers, and its financial importance became increasingly recognized and exploited by the Crown. In 1168 a tallage (an arbitrary tax, theoretically levied only in emergency) of 5,000 marks (a mark was two-thirds of a £) was imposed by Henry II. In 1188 a tax of one-fourth of the value of their movable property was levied upon London Jewry. The amount raised, according to the rough contemporary estimate, was £60,000, as against only £70,000 raised from the general population. The annual revenue obtained by the state from the Jews is conjectured to have averaged at this time £3,000. *Aaron of Lincoln (c. 1125–1186) was the greatest English capitalist of his day. His financial aid made possible the completion of several English monasteries and abbeys, besides secular buildings. On his death, his property and credits were claimed by the Exchequer, where a special department was set up to deal with them.

The period of relative tranquility ended with the spread of crusading enthusiasm under Richard I. At his coronation, a riot began at the doors of Westminster Hall, which ended in the sack of London's Jewry and the murder of many of its inhabitants (September 1189). The example spread throughout the country in the following spring. The leaders were in many cases members of the lesser baronage whose religious ardor was heightened by their financial indebtedness to the Jews. At Dunstable, the handful of Jews saved themselves by accepting Christianity. At Lynn (later *King's Lynn), foreign sailors exterminated the entire little community. At *Stamford and Norwich, all who did not take refuge in the royal castle perished. The most tragic episode occurred in York. There, the community, headed by R. *Yom-Tov b. Isaac of Joigny, escaped massacre by voluntary death (March 16–17, 1190).

These outrages had been accompanied everywhere by the burning of the deeds of debts due to the Jews. The Crown, which derived much revenue from the profits of the moneylenders, thus suffered considerable loss. Accordingly, after his return from captivity (to supply ransom the Jews of the country had been made to contribute three times as much as the citizens of London) Richard, by his "Ordinance of the Jewry" (1194), ordered the establishment of an **archa* or chirograph chest in principal cities, under the charge of Jewish and Christian "chirographers," in which duplicate records of all debts contracted with the Jews were to be deposited. Thus, whatever disorders might occur, the Crown's dues were henceforth secure. As coordinating authority over these provincial centers, ultimately some 26 in number, there came into being the *Scaccarium Judaeorum* or "*Exchequer of the Jews" – an institution with both judicial and financial functions. Closely connected with it was the office of *Presbyter Judaeorum* or *archpresbyter – not a chief rabbi, as once believed, but official representative and expert on Jewish matters appointed by the Crown. Of the occupants of this post, the names of Jacob of London (appointed 1199), Josce (1207), *Aaron (fil' (i.e., son of) Josce) of York (1236), *Elias le Eveske (1243), Hagin (Ḥayyim) fil' Moses of Lincoln (1258), and Cok Hagin fil' Deulecresse (1281) are known. In the Exchequer, the Jews of England had an organization acting in the royal interest equaled in no other European country. Its records, preserved in unparalleled completeness, yield minute information as to their condition.

The English communities never fully recovered from the blow they received at the time of the accession of Richard I. John indeed favored them at first and in 1201 confirmed their charter of liberties. However, later in his reign he began to squeeze money out of them by a succession of desperate expedients culminating in 1210 in the harshly-exacted Bristol Tallage of 60,000 or 66,000 marks (though this figure may have been used merely to describe a vast sum) which reduced them to the verge of ruin. Nevertheless, the barons viewed the Jews with aversion, as instruments of royal oppression; in the course of armed baronial resistance to the Crown, the Jewry of London was sacked. A clause in the Magna Carta (omitted in subsequent reconfirmations) restricted the claims of Jewish creditors against the estates of landowners who had died in their debt.

During the minority of Henry III, the Jews recovered some degree of prosperity. This was, however, counterbalanced by the introduction at the Council of Oxford (1222) of the discriminatory legislation of the Fourth *Lateran Council of 1215, which was enforced in England earlier and more consistently than in any other part of Europe. The most important of these provisions was the wearing of the Jewish *Badge which here took the form of the two tablets of stone.

From the beginning of the personal rule of Henry III in 1232, the condition of the Jews rapidly deteriorated. Tallage succeeded tallage with disastrous regularity. A "Parliament of Jews," consisting of six representatives from each of the major communities and two from the smaller centers, was held at *Worcester in 1241 in order to apportion one such levy. When nothing further could be extorted from the Jews directly, Henry exercised his rights as suzerain by mortgaging them to his brother, Richard of Cornwall. They were subsequently made over to Edward, the heir to the throne, who in turn consigned them to their competitors, the Cahorsins. The Crown, however, resumed its rights before the expiration of the period.

Meanwhile, ecclesiastical enactments against the Jews were enforced with unprecedented severity. A new synagogue built at London was confiscated on a frivolous pretext (1232). There was a whole series of ritual murder accusations, culminating in the classical case of Hugh of *Lincoln in 1255. In 1253 a decree was issued forbidding the Jews to live henceforward except in towns with established communities. With the outbreak of the Barons' Wars in 1263, the Jews found themselves exposed to the animosity of the insurgents who regarded them as the instruments of royal oppression. From 1263 to 1266, one Jewish community after another was sacked, with considerable loss of life, including those of London (which suffered twice, in 1263 and 1264), *Cambridge, *Canterbury, Worcester, and Lincoln.

The Expulsion

On his accession in 1272, Edward I found the Jews so impoverished that their importance to the treasury had become negligible. Moreover, foreign bankers who enjoyed a higher patronage had begun to render the services for which the Jews had formerly been indispensable. By the *Statutum de Judaismo* of 1275, the king endeavored to effect a radical change in the occupations and mode of life of his Jewish subjects. The practice of usury was forbidden. On the other hand, they were empowered to engage in commerce and (for an experimental period) to rent farms on short leases. They were not, however, permitted to enter the Gild Merchant, without which the privilege to engage in trade was virtually useless; nor were they given the security of tenure necessary for agricultural pursuits. The *Statutum* failed in its purpose. A few of the wealthier began to trade in wool and corn (though this was in many cases a mask for moneylending) but others continued to carry on clandestinely the petty usury now prohibited by law; while some eked out a living from their capital by clipping the coinage. This led

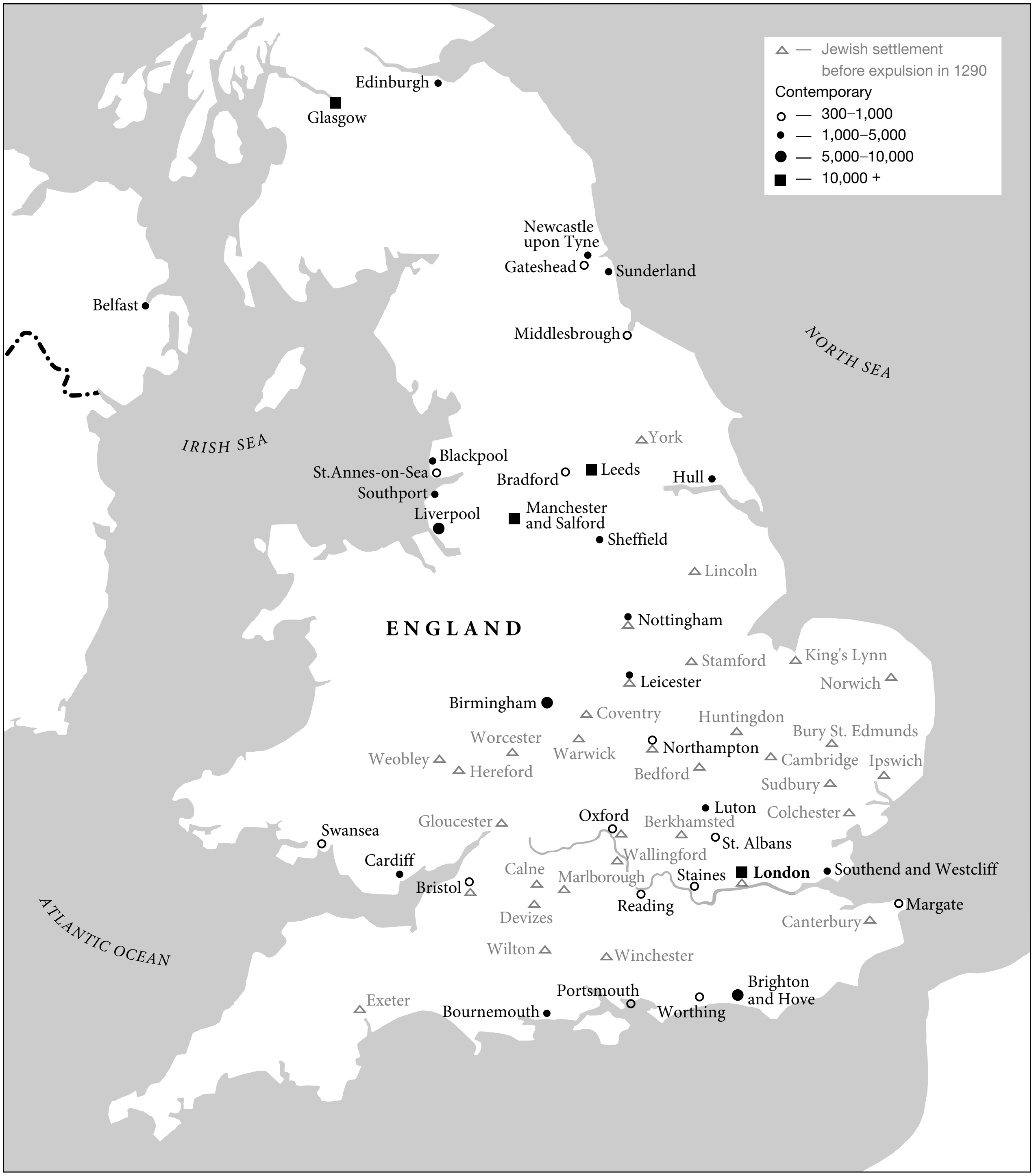
△ — Jewish settlement before expulsion in 1290
Contemporary
○ — 300–1,000
• — 1,000–5,000
● — 5,000–10,000
■ — 10,000 +
Edinburgh
Glasgow
Newcastle upon Tyne
Gateshead
Sunderland
Belfast
Middlesbrough
NORTH SEA
IRISH SEA
York
Blackpool
St.Annes-on-Sea
Bradford
Leeds
Hull
Southport
Liverpool
Manchester and Salford
Sheffield
Lincoln
Nottingham
ENGLAND
Stamford
King's Lynn
Leicester
Norwich
Birmingham
Coventry
Huntingdon
Bury St. Edmunds
Worcester
Warwick
Northampton
Weobley
Hereford
Cambridge
Ipswich
Bedford
Sudbury
Luton
Colchester
Gloucester
Oxford
Berkhamsted
Swansea
St. Albans
Wallingford
Cardiff
Calne
Marlborough
Staines
London
Southend and Westcliff
Bristol
Reading
Margate
Devizes
Canterbury
ATLANTIC OCEAN
Wilton
Winchester
Brighton and Hove
Portsmouth
Exeter
Bournemouth
Worthing

Jewish settlement in Britain before the expulsion of 1290, and communities existing in the late 20th century.

in 1278 to widespread arrests and hangings, in many cases on the flimsiest pretexts.

Edward may have contemplated a relaxation of the situation by permitting a resumption of usury but for a variety of economic and political reasons, and from sheer rapacity, he finally decided to resolve the problem drastically. On July 18, 1290, he issued an edict for the banishment of the Jews from England – the first of the great general expulsions of the Middle Ages – by All Saints' Day (November 1). Most of the refugees made their way to France, Flanders, and Germany.

The English Jews of the Middle Ages perhaps numbered fewer than 4,000, though contemporary chroniclers put the figure far higher. They formed, intellectually as well as politically, an offshoot of the neighboring Franco-German center, even speaking French among themselves. Their interests were accordingly halakhic rather than literary, though no name of the first importance figures among them. Outstanding scholars included *Jacob b. Judah of London, author of the ritual compendium *Eẓ Ḥayyim*; the grammarian Benjamin of *Cambridge; Isaac b. Perez of Northampton; *Moses b. Ha-Nesi'ah of London who wrote the grammatical work *Sefer ha-Shoham*; *Meir of Norwich, a liturgical poet; *Moses b. Yom-Tov of London, halakhist and grammarian; and his sons *Benedict of Lincoln (Berechiah of Nicole) and *Elijah Menahem of London, physician, scholar, and financier, the greatest luminary of medieval English Jewry.

Their expulsion in 1290 cleared England of the Jews more completely than was the case in any other European country. The **Domus Conversorum* founded by Henry III in London in 1232 continued indeed to function until the beginning of the 17th century, but ultimately its few inmates were in every case foreigners. The only professing Jews known to have come to the country were half a dozen individuals in 1310 (perhaps to negotiate conditions for readmission), one or two physicians who were invited professionally, and occasional wandering adventurers.

The Resettlement Period

This almost absolute isolation was broken by the repercussions of the expulsions from Spain and Portugal and of the activities of the Inquisition in the Iberian Peninsula, which drove refugees throughout Western Europe. A small *Marrano settlement was established in London in the reigns of Henry VIII and Edward VI but broke up on the accession of Mary in 1553 and the Catholic reaction which ensued. In the reign of Elizabeth, a semi-overt congregation existed for some years in London and Bristol, comprising among others Dr. Hector *Nunez whose commercial connections were found useful by the government in Spanish affairs, and Roderigo *Lopez, the queen's physician, who was executed in 1594 on a charge of having plotted against her life. The latter was connected by marriage with Alvaro Mendes (Solomon *Abenaes), duke of Mytilene, who sent diplomatic missions to the English court on more than one occasion. Although this Marrano community at one time numbered approximately 100 persons, it had no legal guarantee of existence. With a change in political and economic conditions in 1609, it disappeared.

Toward the middle of the 17th century, a new Marrano colony grew up in London, partly of refugees who had been settled for a time at Rouen and the Canary Islands. The revolution and the spread of extreme Puritan doctrine among the English people led to the development of a spirit more favorable to the Jews, which increased proportionately with the importance attached to the Old Testament. Sir Henry *Finch, Roger Williams, Edward *Nicholas, and John Sadler were among the notables who joined in the agitation for the formal readmission of the Jews into England, whether as a measure of humanity or in the hopes of securing their conversion. The economic revival under *Cromwell, coupled with his anti-Spanish policy, combined to create an atmosphere more and more favorable to the Marrano merchants, some of whom, such as Antonio Fernandez *Carvajal, rendered the government valuable service in obtaining intelligence from the continent.

Meanwhile, the reported discovery of Jews in America by Antonio (Aaron) de *Montezinos had led *Manasseh Ben Israel, the Amsterdam rabbi and mystic, to look forward to the millennium which would be ushered in by the completion of the dispersion through the official introduction of the Jews to the "end of the earth" (*Keẓeh ha-Areẓ* = Angle-Terre). Negotiations with him, which had been going on fitfully since 1650, came to a head with his arrival in England in the autumn of 1655. A petition presented on behalf of the Jews was backed up by his eloquent plea in the "Humble Addresses" (Amsterdam, 1655), presented to the Lord Protector. On December 4, 1655, a conference of notables met at Whitehall to consider the whole question. The judges present decided that there was no statute which excluded the Jews from the country. On the other hand, a large body of theological and mercantile opinion manifested itself, which would consent to readmission only on the severest terms. After four sessions, Cromwell dissolved the conference before it arrived at a positive conclusion. In the following March, the London Marranos presented a fresh petition, merely asking for permission to have their own burial ground and to be protected from disturbance in the performance of their religious ceremonies. Their position was meanwhile strengthened by a judicial ruling which restored the property of Antonio *Robles (seized on the outbreak of war with Spain because of his Spanish nationality), mainly on the grounds that he was a Jew. In July, as it seems, the petition of the previous March was at last taken into consideration and assented to by the Council of State. Although the relevant pages were subsequently torn out of the minute book, the settlement of the Jews in England was never thereafter seriously questioned. This was far from the formal recall for which Manasseh Ben Israel had hoped, but its very informality secured its continuance even after the restoration of the monarchy in 1660 and saved English Jewry from that special and inferior status which was the rule elsewhere in Europe.

The easygoing King Charles II was indeed little disposed, on his return to England, to reverse the arrangement which had become established under the Protectorate, in spite of anti-Jewish agitation fostered by Thomas Violet and embodied in a petition by the City of London. In 1664, in consequence of an attempt at blackmail made by the Earl of Berkshire and Paul Ricaut, the community received from the Crown a formal promise of protection, and in 1673, after another petty persecution, a guarantee of freedom of worship, which was confirmed in similar circumstances in 1685. This pragmatic policy of protection for the Jews was continued throughout the reigns of the later Stuarts. Suggestions for special taxation (which must inevitably have led to special status) were not implemented. The legality of the practice of Judaism in England at last received indirect parliamentary recognition in the Act for Suppressing Blasphemy of 1698.

The community henceforth grew in wealth and in importance. Its numbers were increased by immigrants, principally from Amsterdam, or else directly from Spain and Portugal. Its position was consistently favorable, despite certain vexatious restrictions – e.g., the obligation to support their children even after conversion to Christianity and the limitation of the number of "Jew Brokers" in the City of London to 12. The only other community in the British Isles was a small Sephardi group in *Dublin. Nevertheless Jews figured in an increasing proportion in the growing colonial empire – at *Tangier, *New York, *Bombay, and in the West Indies – especially *Jamaica and *Barbados. Numbers rapidly grew in the final years of the 17th century, particularly during the period of the close connection with Holland under William of Orange, when several families came over from Amsterdam. A new synagogue, now classified as an historic monument, was erected in Bevis Marks in London in 1701. The upper class of the community was composed of brokers and foreign traders; the lucrative coral trade, for example, was almost entirely in their hands. Jews entered gradually into various aspects of the country's life. Mention may be made of city magnates, such as Samson *Gideon and Joseph *Salvador, whose financial advice was sought by successive ministries, and of Jacob de *Castro Sarmento, a notable physician and scientist, of Moses *Mendes, the poet, and of Emanuel *Mendes da Costa, clerk and librarian of the Royal Society and a prolific writer.

Meanwhile, an influx of Ashkenazim had followed upon the Sephardi pioneers. The forerunners came principally from Amsterdam and Hamburg, but they were followed by others from other parts of Germany and elsewhere, and later in increasing numbers from Eastern Europe. About 1690, a small Ashkenazi community was formed in London. In 1706, as the result of a communal dispute, a second was formed, and in 1761, a third. The newcomers were, for the most part, distinctly lower in social and commercial status than their Sephardi precursors. A large number of them were occupied in itinerant trading in country areas where the Jewish peddler became a familiar figure. They generally returned to pass the Sabbath in some provincial center. Thus congregations, several of which have since disappeared, grew up in the course of the second half of the 18th century in many country towns – Canterbury, Norwich, Exeter, and others, as well as ports such as *Portsmouth, *Liverpool, Bristol, *Plymouth, King's Lynn, *Penzance, and Falmouth, and manufacturing centers such as *Birmingham and *Manchester. London remained, however, the only considerable center.

The external history of the Jews in England was meanwhile tranquil. In 1753 the introduction to Parliament of the Jewish Naturalization Bill ("The Jew Bill"), giving foreign-born Jews facilities for acquiring the privileges enjoyed by their native-born children, resulted in an anti-Jewish agitation so virulent that the government withdrew the measure; but it was not accompanied by physical violence. Political opposition, on the other hand, led to greater solidarity among the various sections of the community. From 1760 representatives of the Ashkenazi congregations began to act intermittently with the *deputados* of the Sephardim as a watch-committee in matters of common interest. This gradually developed into the London Committee of Deputies of British Jews (usually known as the *Board of Deputies), ultimately comprising representatives also of provincial and (in a minor degree) "colonial" congregations, which assumed its present form in the middle of the 19th century.

The 19th Century

The Napoleonic Wars marked an epoch in the history of the Jews in England. Ashkenazi families, notably the *Goldsmids and *Rothschilds, began to occupy an increasingly important place in English finance and society. A generation of native-born Jews had meanwhile grown up, who were stimulated by the example of Jewish emancipation in France and elsewhere to desire similar rights for themselves. The civic and political disabilities from which they suffered did not in fact amount to very much, for they had enjoyed a great measure of social emancipation almost from the beginning, and commercial restrictions were confined to a few galling limitations in the city of London. In 1829, on the triumph of the movement for Catholic emancipation, agitation began for similar legislation on behalf of the Jews. It was championed in the Commons by Robert Grant and Thomas Babington *Macaulay, the great Whig historian, and in the Lords by the Duke of Sussex, son of George III, a keen Hebraist. On its second introduction in 1833, the Jewish Emancipation Bill was passed by the recently reformed House of Commons, but it was consistently rejected by the Lords in one session after the other. Meanwhile, the Jews were admitted to the office of sheriff (1835) and other municipal offices (1845). Minor disabilities were removed by the Religious Opinions Relief Bill (1846), which left their exclusion from Parliament the only serious grievance of which the English Jews could complain. Lionel de *Rothschild was elected by the city of London as its parliamentary representative time after time from 1847, but the continued opposition of the Lords blocked the legislation which could have enabled him to take the required oaths. In 1858, however, a compromise was reached, and each house of Parliament was allowed to settle its own form of oath. In 1885 Nathaniel de *Rothschild (Lionel's son) was raised to the peerage – the first professing Jew to receive that honor. The example of Benjamin *Disraeli, one of the most brilliant of modern English statesmen, who made no effort to disguise his Jewish origin and sympathies, did much to improve the general social and political position of the Jews. Sir George *Jessel was made solicitor general in 1871, and several Jews subsequently received government appointments. Herbert (later Viscount) *Samuel became a cabinet minister in 1909. Sir David *Salomons, who had been the first Jewish sheriff in 1835 and the first Jewish alderman in 1847, became lord mayor of London in 1855 – a position in which several Jews have since followed him. In 1890 religious restrictions on virtually every political position and dignity were removed and Jewish emancipation became complete.

Considerable changes had meanwhile been taking place within the community. There was a gradual movement toward greater cohesion. The Sephardi community had to yield pride of place to the Ashkenazim before the end of the 18th century. Solomon *Hirschel, son of R. Hirschel *Levin (Hart Lyon), was appointed rabbi of the Great Synagogue in London in 1802, in succession to David Tevele *Schiff of Frankfurt. His authority was recognized by the other Ashkenazi congregations in London, who were induced by him to enter into a closer union. His successor, Nathan Marcus *Adler, who was elected to office by the delegates of the London congregations in association with those of the major provincial communities, may be considered the first chief rabbi. The extension of his authority is indicated in the *Laws and Regulations for all the Synagogues in the British Empire* which he issued in 1847. He was followed as chief rabbi in 1891 by his son, Hermann *Adler, who had been acting as his father's delegate for some years. He was succeeded by Joseph Herman *Hertz.

COMMUNAL EXPANSION. During the 19th century Anglo-Jewry took the lead in measures for the protection of the Jews and the amelioration of their position in every part of the world. In this they were assured of the assistance of the British government, which was now identified with a strikingly protective policy toward the Jews, especially of Palestine and the Muslim countries of the Middle East – partly because of the absence of closely allied Christian bodies on whose behalf the exertion of political influence could ostensibly be based, as was the case with the rival Russian and French governments. The Board of Deputies increased in scope of activity and in importance. Sir Moses *Montefiore, backed up by the British government, acted as the ambassador for the whole of Jewry, in the event of persecution, from the *Damascus Affair of 1840 onward. In 1871 the *Anglo-Jewish Association was founded to collaborate in the work of the *Alliance Israélite Universelle, prejudiced by the enmities aroused through the Franco-Prussian War; and in 1878 the Joint (Conjoint) Foreign Committee, which it formed in conjunction with the Board of Deputies, came into being as an agency for safeguarding Jewish interests abroad. The **Jewish Chronicle*, the first permanent Anglo-Jewish periodical (now the oldest continuing Jewish publication in the world), was established in 1841. In 1855 *Jews' College was founded in London – the first theological seminary for the training of Anglo-Jewish ministers of religion. It was followed four years later by the Jewish Board of Guardians (since 1964 known as the Jewish Welfare Board), a model London organization for the relief of the poor, which was widely imitated in provincial centers. The loose union for certain charitable and other purposes of the Ashkenazi synagogues in London, which had been in existence since the beginning of the century, became consolidated in 1870 by the establishment, under authority of an act of Parliament, of the United Synagogue which is today one of the most powerful Jewish religious organizations of its sort in the world.

The basis of the community had meanwhile been broadening, though it remained overwhelmingly centered in London. The industrial developments of the 19th century led to a widening of the area of Jewish settlement, important communities based largely on German immigration being formed or expanded in provincial centers such as Manchester, *Bradford, etc. All were Ashkenazi, except at Manchester, where a Sephardi community was also organized in the second half of the century, mostly composed of newcomers from the Levant. With the recrudescence of persecution in Russia in 1881, immigration increased immensely. A majority of the refugees settled in London; the communities of Manchester, Birmingham, and other places were similarly reinforced while that of *Leeds, wholly based on the tailoring industry, proportionately attracted the greatest number of all. The congregations in all the more important industrial towns and seaports throughout the country – including *Scotland, *Wales, and *Ireland – now grew to important dimensions. However, at the same time, some of the older country centers, such as Canterbury or Penzance, were decaying. The newcomers largely settled in urban districts and entered one or two specific trades; the ready-made clothing industry was virtually created as a result of their efforts. The characteristically English Trade Union and Friendly Society movements rapidly acquired a stronghold. The tide of immigration was, however, checked by the Aliens Immigration Act of 1905, passed after a long agitation which at one time assumed something of an antisemitic complexion.

The Federation of Synagogues was established in London by the first Lord *Swaythling in 1887 to coordinate the many small congregations set up by the Russian-Polish immigrant elements – partly in rivalry with the "aristocratic" United Synagogue. The Reform movement had been introduced into England, in spite of strenuous opposition, in 1840, when the West London Synagogue of British Jews was founded. It was long confined almost entirely to the capital. Branch congregations were set up before the end of the 19th century only in Manchester and in Bradford. A more radical movement was begun by the foundation at the beginning of the 20th century, under the auspices of C.G. *Montefiore, of the Jewish Religious Union, which in 1910 established the Liberal Jewish Synagogue. This also showed in the mid-century a considerable measure of expansion. The vast mass of English Jewry, however, remained attached to the compromising Orthodoxy represented by the United Synagogue.

SCHOLARSHIP AND CULTURE. The most eminent Jewish scholars associated with England have been immigrants from abroad, such as David *Nieto, Ephraim *Luzzatto, Michael *Friedlaender, Solomon *Schechter, and Adolf *Buechler. The most eminent native-born scholars have been humanists rather than talmudists, such as David *Levi, an able polemicist and translator of the liturgy, and (in more recent years)

Israel *Abrahams, H.M.J. *Loewe, and C.G. Montefiore. On the other hand, through the building up of the superb collections of Hebrew printed books and manuscripts at the British Museum, the *Bodleian Library at Oxford, and the Library of the University of Cambridge (the last predominating in the *Genizah* Mss.), England has become in many ways the Mecca of the Jewish student throughout the world.

The *Disraelis, father and son, are noteworthy figures in the English literature of the 19th century. Grace *Aguilar and Amy *Levy are among the earliest names in a series of Anglo-Jewish novelists which culminated with Israel *Zangwill, Louis *Golding, etc. Joseph *Jacobs was an eminent figure in English as well as in Jewish letters. Sir Sidney *Lee, editor of the *Dictionary of National Biography* and the foremost Shakespearian scholar of his day, and Sir Israel *Gollancz, secretary of the British Academy, illustrated the Jewish contribution to English literary studies. In art, Simeon *Solomon, Solomon J. *Solomon, Sir Jacob *Epstein, and Sir William *Rothenstein were notable figures. Sir Landon Ronald occupied an important position in the world of music. Alfred *Sutro was among the most popular English dramatists of the Edwardian era, while in the middle of the 20th century Arnold *Wesker, Harold *Pinter, Wolf *Mankowitz, Peter *Shaffer and others have attracted considerable attention. In politics, the Jewish representation in Parliament is considerable. Jews have been identified with all parties (since World War II, especially the Labour Party), and individuals have risen to high rank under governments of every complexion.

[Cecil Roth]

Modern Period

MASS IMMIGRATION. The mass immigration from Eastern Europe that began in 1881 opened a new epoch in Anglo-Jewish history. The Anglo-Jewish community was affected not only by the sheer size of the migration, which increased the population of the community from 65,000 in 1880 to 300,000 in 1914, but also by the differences it imposed on the character of the community. The immigration injected into what was by then an increasingly middle-class, anglicized, mainly latitudinarian body, a mass of proletarian, Yiddish-speaking, predominantly Orthodox immigrants. Whereas the existing community had begun to disperse from the old Jewish quarters into the suburbs, the immigrants formed compact, overcrowded ghettos in East London, Manchester, Leeds, Liverpool, and Glasgow. Furthermore, while the earlier English Jews had tended to seek an increasing diversity of occupations in the 19th century, the immigrants were concentrated in a limited number of trades: in 1901, about 40% of the gainfully employed Russo-Polish immigrant males were tailors, about 12–13% were in the boot and shoe trade, and about 10% were in the furniture trade, mainly as cabinetmakers. The immigrants created a network of institutions such as Yiddish and a few Hebrew newspapers and fraternal societies and trade unions, although the Jewish trade-union movement had no lasting history in Britain. They also created many small synagogues (*ḥevrot*) and joined in the London Federation of Synagogues – albeit under the leadership of English Jews – headed by Sir Samuel Montagu, later Lord Swaythling.

The communal leadership sought to "anglicize" the immigrants by encouraging their participation in classes in English, the state-aided Jewish schools, such as the Jews' Free School, and clubs and youth movements, like the *Jewish Lads Brigade. The London *United Synagogue tried to found a large synagogue in the Jewish quarter with associated community services (the "East End Scheme"), but this plan was frustrated largely by opposition from the *ḥevrot* it was intended to replace. The immigrants themselves generally sought anglicization, as British prestige was high in the world and the British libertarian tradition was appreciated among Jews. While some stalwarts, such as the Machzike Hadath community, remained aloof, many immigrants joined the United Synagogue, since its rite was broadly traditional. The instance of social mobility was high among the immigrants: they sought economic independence, moved to the suburbs, and joined the Anglo-Jewish middle class. Leaving aside minorities of Orthodox, secularists, Yiddishists, socialists, and anarchists, the Anglo-Jewish community that evolved was probably more integrated than any other in the western lands of immigration.

The influx of so many aliens, at a time when there was no effective control over immigration, produced considerable reaction among the native population. Charges were made that aliens working for low wages on piecework in small workshops would depress wages generally and cause unemployment; pressure on housing accommodation would cause overcrowding, raise rents, and introduce "key money" (premiums for grant of tenancies); the English or "Christian" character of whole neighborhoods would be altered, and immigrants would bring disease and crime. Strong sections of the trade unions were hostile to immigration. Organizations such as the British Brothers' League were formed to combat it, and, unfortunately, the peak years of immigration occurred during a period of economic depression.

The charges against the aliens were investigated by several official inquiries, culminating in the Royal Commission on Aliens in 1903, which declared all the charges unfounded, except, in part, that relating to overcrowded housing conditions. A majority of the commission recommended measures to prevent the concentration of immigrants in particular areas. This move proved impracticable, but the government reacted by introducing the 1905 Aliens Act to restrict immigration. The act had some effect at first, but, since it contained appeal provisions for genuine refugees from racial or religious persecution, the number of immigrants increased again to the former annual average. Many opponents of immigration sought to distinguish between the immigrant population and the established Jewish community. The latter had at first displayed an ambivalent attitude toward the immigrants. Although they recognized the humanitarian problem, some leaders feared that the communal institutions would be swamped by the helpless, and at first it was not generally appreciated that

Russian persecution was more than a temporary check on the progress of liberalization. In the earlier years, therefore, attempts were made to dissuade immigrants from coming to England and even to "repatriate" them to Eastern Europe. After the 1903–04 pogroms, however, there was no longer any doubt about the nature of the situation in Eastern Europe and the support of the Jewish communal leadership for immigration was unquestioned.

PARTICIPATION IN PUBLIC LIFE. Meanwhile, political emancipation for British Jews reached its climax when the first peerage was conferred upon a Jew, Lord *Rothschild (1885). The attainment of social acceptance was expressed by the presence of a number of Jews in the "Marlborough House set" centered around the Prince of Wales (later Edward VII); Lord Rothschild and his brothers, Alfred and Leopold, the Reuben brothers, Arthur and Albert *Sassoon, Sir Ernest *Cassel, Baron de *Hirsch, and others, were members of this group. Jews had also become prominent in politics as Conservative members of Parliament (such as the communal leaders Lionel Louis and Benjamin *Cohen), although as a group they still belonged primarily to the Liberal Party which had fostered Jewish emancipation. Notable in the Asquith administration, which began in 1906, were Sir Rufus Isaacs (who became lord chief justice as Lord *Reading in 1913) and the young Herbert Samuel. The prominence of Jews in Liberal politics, the Marconi case (in which both Isaacs and Samuel were, however unfairly, involved), the wealth of Jewish financiers, and even the friendship of Jews with royalty were all ingredients in the literary antisemitism of the Edwardian period, in which Hilaire Belloc, G.K. Chesterton, and Rudyard Kipling all attacked the allegedly alien influences in high places.

WORLD WAR I. The outbreak of World War I (1914) ended the great immigration, although the refugees from Belgium included a considerable number of Jews of East European origin. The high-strung xenophobia of the early war years, in which everything related to Germany was attacked, created some antisemitism and some curious anti-German reactions in the Anglo-Jewish community. The demand for uniform clothing produced an economic boom which benefited small Jewish entrepreneurs. On the other hand, because their civilian occupations were generally not essential enough to defer them from military service in the national interest, the proportion of Jews in the armed forces was higher than in the general population. Genuine loyalty, however, was also responsible for this factor: there were 10,000 casualties among the 50,000 Jews serving, and 1,596 were decorated (including six recipients of the highest award, the Victoria Cross), which was also probably above the general average. Of special significance was the raising of Jewish battalions of the Royal Fusiliers to serve in the campaign to liberate Palestine from the Turks.

The outstanding event of the war, however, was the attainment of the *Balfour Declaration in 1917. Zionism in England originated with the *Ḥovevei Zion in 1887, led by Elim d'Avigdor and Colonel Albert *Goldsmid. Although some of the older members of Anglo-Jewry were interested in the Jewish national movement, the recent immigrants provided the mass of support, particularly after the development of political Zionism in 1897. *Herzl visited England on a number of occasions and the offer of *Uganda was made to him by Joseph *Chamberlain, then colonial secretary. Although Sir Francis Montefiore became president of the English Zionist Federation, formed in 1899, many leading figures of the established community, notably the first Lord Rothschild, Sir Samuel *Montagu (Lord Swaythling), and Hermann *Adler, the chief rabbi, opposed it. The turmoil World War I brought to the Middle East and the desire to influence American Jewry on behalf of the Western allies provided Chaim *Weizmann with the opportunity to persuade the British government to issue the Balfour Declaration. To some extent, Weizmann had been anticipated by Herbert Samuel, a member of the government until 1916, in a pro-Zionist memorandum to the prime minister. The official leadership of the community was now much more disposed to Zionism: the new chief rabbi, Joseph Hertz, the Haham of the Sephardim, Moses *Gaster, and the second Lord Rothschild (who succeeded his father in 1915) were all actively associated with Zionism. The issue of the declaration had been preceded by a letter to the *Times* from the presidents of the Board of Deputies (D.L. Alexander) and the Anglo-Jewish Association (Claude Montefiore) dissociating themselves from Jewish nationalism. The declaration precipitated the resignation of Alexander and the victory of the pro-Zionists, whose views were henceforth the official policy of the Anglo-Jewish establishment. The events of 1917 thus served as a catalyst within the Anglo-Jewish community and promoted it into a new role in world Jewry, since Britain was to become the administering power for the Jewish National Home.

RELIGIOUS AND SOCIAL TRENDS. Although Russo-Jewish immigrants had exercised a decisive influence in the religious and intellectual spheres, they were not alone. A group of British- or Empire-born scholars and writers grew up in the 1880s with the Romanian-born Solomon *Schechter as their mentor. The Anglo-Jewish Historical Exhibition of 1887 (with whose organization the art connoisseur Sir Isidore Spielmann was associated) was visited by Heinrich *Graetz, who urged the formation of a body to study Anglo-Jewish history. This suggestion was implemented in 1893 by the foundation of the *Jewish Historical Society of England, with whose work Lucien *Wolf, equally celebrated as an expert on international affairs, was associated for over 35 years. Apart from the continuation of historical studies, the specifically Anglo-Jewish renaissance was short; Schechter and Jacobs moved to America, as did the *Jewish Quarterly Review (begun by Claude Montefiore and Israel Abrahams in 1888).

The main body of religious Anglo-Jewry continued its latitudinarian way. While small congregations of German or East European origin maintained a separate existence on the extreme right of the religious spectrum, the immigrants increasingly joined the United Synagogue in London and its provincial counterparts. Some changes in liturgical usage had been sanctioned by the aged chief rabbi, Nathan Marcus Adler, in 1880 and may have led to his retirement from active office. His son, Hermann, who succeeded him sanctioned further changes in 1892. But these changes were in detail rather than substance and followed what the United Synagogue then described as its principle of progressive Conservatism, an attitude confirmed by the next chief rabbi, Hertz.

In contrast to this trend was a movement in the 1890s for more radical change that soon broke from the Orthodox ranks, although several of those originally concerned, such as Simeon *Singer, the translator of the prayer book, remained in the Orthodox community. As a result, in 1902, Claude Montefiore formed the Jewish Religious Union, which soon developed into the Liberal Jewish Synagogue.

The 1920s was a period of deceptive political calm and relative intellectual stagnation for Anglo-Jewry. Socially, the decade saw the progressive anglicization of the community and its increasing upward mobility from the working to the middle class. Small businesses prospered; the new generation turned to professional callings as lawyers, doctors, dentists, and accountants; and university education, even in the established institutions, began to be the practice for the middle class, instead of the prerogative of virtually the upper class alone. Social change was reflected in the steady exodus from the crowded Jewish quarters in London and the main provincial centers as middle-class families acquired a house and garden in the expanding residential suburbs. A distinctively Anglo-Jewish, middle-class way of life began to develop there, and Golders Green became as characteristic a milieu of interwar Anglo-Jewry as Maida Vale had been in the 1880s.

An attempt to finance a massive education renaissance as the Jewish memorial to World War I fell far short of achievement, but the United Synagogue, under the effective paternalism of the industrialist Sir Robert Waley-*Cohen, continued to expand as an efficiently run religious organization and founded new synagogues in the developing districts of London. During this period, the Board of Deputies was led by Sir Osmond d'Avigdor-Goldsmid, a founder of the "mixed" *Jewish Agency, on which both Zionists and non-Zionists served. Although the Zionist victory of 1917 had changed the community's political trend, it had not yet effected a social revolution and removed control from members of the older establishment.

THE SHADOW OF NAZISM. The 1930s were overshadowed by the rise of fascism, which produced an immigration of 90,000 refugees (73,000 from Germany and Austria, 10,000 from Czechoslovakia, 4,000–5,000 from Poland, and 2,000 from Italy and elsewhere). Of this number, 10,000–12,000 left Britain in 1940, 2,000–2,500 were transferred as internees to Australia and Canada and did not return, and 15,000–20,000 left after 1945 or died during the period, so that some 40,000–55,000 prewar refugees, mostly but not exclusively Jewish, were counted in Britain by 1950. Quantitatively, this was a substantial intake for a community of between 300,000 and 400,000, though a much smaller one than the Russo-Jewish immigration of 1881–1914. Qualitatively, its impact was almost as great. The Central European immigrants were essentially from the middle class, unlike the originally proletarian Russo-Jewish ones. Before drastic restrictions were imposed on the export of property from Germany, the refugees of the 1930s brought considerable capital: it is estimated that up to mid-1938, £12,000,000 were transferred from Germany to Britain. The immigrants created or transplanted many businesses, particularly in the fashion trades, pharmaceutical production, and light engineering, and made London the European center of the fur trade in place of Leipzig. Equally important was the influence of the many professionals, intellectuals, and artists upon British scientific, literary, and cultural life.

The effect of this immigration upon Anglo-Jewry was even more dramatic. Both branches of religious life were strengthened. Ministers and scholars trained in the German Reform movement revitalized progressive Judaism; the Frankfurt-inspired Orthodox expanded the separatist Orthodox movement in England and also produced a shift to the right in the United Synagogue. The Jewish day-school movement, the *Gateshead yeshivah (founded in 1927) and associated institutions and, after 1945, a number of other educational institutions (especially in North and North-West London) were strengthened by German and Hungarian Jews. The Central European immigrants virtually created a cultural revival in the academic sphere. They took part in every aspect of activity from rabbinic studies to Anglo-Jewish historiography, and postwar institutions like the Department of Hebrew and Jewish Studies at University College, London, would have been unthinkable without them.

Continental fascism was imitated in England on a smaller scale and fostered by the economic depression of the early 1930s. Attacks on Jews and Jewish property by the "blackshirts" led by the English fascist leader Sir Oswald Mosley, provocative processions through the Jewish areas, and street clashes with left-wing elements followed, but were checked by the 1936 Public Order Act, which, inter alia, banned the wearing of political uniforms. The need to defend the community against these attacks induced a feeling of solidarity that was intensified by the need to raise funds for the relief of refugees and the work of settlement in Palestine. Fund raising again became a primary communal commitment that served as a unifying force as well as an engrossing organizational and social activity.

WORLD WAR II. The outbreak of war in 1939 had a centrifugal effect on Anglo-Jewry. At first schoolchildren and some mothers were evacuated from London and other large centers of population; the heavy bombing which began in the autumn of 1940 brought about a more general dispersal. Service in the armed forces took away women as well as men, and in 1940 refugees were subjected to large-scale, though temporary, internment. Religious and communal life in London continued on a smaller scale, and the dispersal of the population was followed by a regrouping in new communities in the evacuation areas. The countryside and small towns, which had hardly known a Jew, became the homes of thriving communities for the duration of the war, and some of these new communities maintained their existence even after the war. The main effect of the war on the distribution of the Jewish population, however, is seen in the East End of London and in some of the other Jewish quarters in the main provincial cities, where the bombing destroyed the physical environment. The Ashkenazi Great Synagogue in Duke's Place, London, was only one of the Jewish monuments and institutions that was lost. In the East End of London, the old Jewish residential area was never rebuilt though some of the older people remained or returned and many others continued to come in daily to work.

ENGLAND AND PALESTINE. The relations of the developing Jewish community in Palestine with the British government as a mandatory power increasingly concerned the Anglo-Jewish community, which expressed opposition to the policy set down in the White Paper of 1939, limiting Jewish immigration to Palestine. Support for a Jewish state was the policy of the Zionist bodies and the *World Jewish Congress, but not of the *Anglo-Jewish Association nor of its splinter group, the anti-Zionist Jewish Fellowship, headed by Sir Basil *Henriques (which dissolved in 1948). The Anglo-Jewish Association enjoyed great prestige for its distinguished membership and 70 years of concern with foreign affairs. The wish to mobilize the support in the representative body of Anglo-Jewry for Zionist policies was combined with a desire to make its leadership reflect the changing character of the community as a whole. These aspirations were symbolized by the 1939 election of Selig *Brodetsky, a first generation Russo-Jewish immigrant, educated in Britain, as president of the Board of Deputies. They were realized in 1943 by a carefully planned campaign to secure the election to the board of a majority committed to the creation of a Jewish state in Palestine. The newly elected board dissolved its joint Foreign Committee with the Anglo-Jewish Association. As in World War I, the problems of Palestine effected a polarization in the Anglo-Jewish community between those who put primary emphasis on Jewish national ideals and those who stressed the overriding claims of British citizenship.

Although this dichotomy was unrealistic in many respects, it sharpened communal tensions. After the creation of the State of Israel, the Anglo-Jewish Association adopted a policy of goodwill toward the new state, but stressed the responsibilities of Anglo-Jews as citizens of Britain who were identified with its national life. Communal tensions were also heightened by some antisemitism, which resulted from the conflict between the mandatory administration and the *yishuv*, beginning with the assassination of Lord Moyne in 1944 and culminating in the hanging of two British army sergeants in August 1947. The latter was followed by minor disorders in some provincial cities and some attacks on Jewish property. Normalcy was restored after the establishment of diplomatic relations between the British government and the new state.

EDUCATION. The need to provide for the education of children dispersed in the 1939–45 evacuation led to the formation of a joint emergency organization. In 1945 Jewish education was substantially reorganized on this basis with a central council for the whole country and an executive board for London, representing the United Synagogue and other Orthodox institutions. Jewish education during the evacuation had been limited to an average of one hour a week, and improvement of standards after the war was slow. The new organization was responsible for the reconstitution of the Jews' Free School and two other of the prewar private schools that were closed during the war, one of which was a secondary comprehensive school in a central location with a planned complement of 1,500 pupils. As Jewish education regained importance, the schools took various forms: the Jewish secondary schools movement, begun in 1929 by Victor Schonfeld; the day schools begun in the 1950s under Zionist auspices; independent Orthodox day schools with Yiddish as a language of instruction; the long-standing provincial day schools; and Carmel College, a private school in the country, founded by Kopul Rosen.

Early Postwar Period

Chief Rabbi Hertz died in January 1946 and Israel *Brodie succeeded him in May 1948. The first chief rabbi to be both born and educated in Britain, Brodie found the religious spectrum of Anglo-Jewry not only growing stronger at either end but also tending to disintegrate in the middle. Orthodoxy, combining strict observance and exact learning with secular culture, had been strengthened by the Central European refugees of the Frankfurt school and, particularly after 1945, was also increased by refugees from Poland and Hungary, many of whom were Ḥasidim. The Reform and Liberal congregations, while still a minority, probably increased their membership at a greater rate than the United Synagogue, opening numerous new congregations and founding the Leo Baeck College to train their own ministers. Although their leadership was clearly strengthened by the Central European immigration of 1933–39, much of their postwar membership could only have come from the ranks of the nominally Orthodox. The Spanish and Portuguese Congregation also increased with the immigration of Jews from Egypt, Iraq, and Aden.

In 1956, Anglo-Jewry celebrated the tercentenary of the resettlement, with a more or less united service at the historic Bevis Marks Synagogue and a dinner at London's Guildhall, in the presence of the Duke of Edinburgh. But the sentiments of communal solidarity – and of self-congratulation on communal self-discipline – engendered by these celebrations were short-lived. There had already been considerable changes within the main synagogal bodies. The character of the Federation of Synagogues changed as its membership, while hardly increasing, moved from the small *ḥevrot* of the

East End to live in the suburbs. There they often attended local synagogues but retained membership in the federation for sentiment and burial rights. The old-fashioned minister (and even his clerical collar) had disappeared in the United Synagogue in favor of younger rabbis, often pupils of Jews' College under the direction of Isidore *Epstein, who strove to remodel it as a rabbinical seminary. The *bet din*, under the influence above all of the great scholar Yehezkel *Abramsky, steadily kept the religious orientation of the United Synagogue to the right; at the same time, however, the old lay leadership, under the presidency of Frank Samuel and Ewen Montagu, tended toward religious flexibility. The influence of members of the older families must not be exaggerated, however. As early as the 1950s, a new generation of laymen – second-generation citizens, Zionist, and traditionally Orthodox – was maturing in the United Synagogue.

In all these changes lay the seeds of conflict, which crystallized around Louis *Jacobs, a rabbi of Orthodox practice who held certain modernist views. Minister of the fashionable New West End Synagogue (London), Jacobs was appointed tutor of Jews' College in 1959 with the consent of the chief rabbi. The latter, however, vetoed Jacobs' appointment as college principal and then in 1964 his reappointment to his former synagogue, because he held that Jacobs maintained parts of the Torah were not of divine origin and human reason should select which parts were divine. The local management of the synagogue persisted in their desire to have Jacobs as minister and permitted him to preach, although the requisite certificate or special sanction had not been issued by the chief rabbi. The central body of the United Synagogue then constitutionally deposed Jacobs' supporters, who founded a new congregation in another area with Jacobs as minister. The "Jacobs Affair" received wide publicity in the non-Jewish press, but its significance may have been exaggerated. Since the formation of the Reform Synagogue in 1840, Anglo-Jewry has not been very interested in theology or biblical criticism, as distinct from ritual or liturgy. There were personal and social factors underlying the controversy, and a shift took place in the leadership of the United Synagogue in 1962, when the presidency was first filled from outside the circle of older families by the financier and industrialist Sir Isaac *Wolfson. The incident that led to the formation of a new synagogue was over a disciplinary issue, not a theological one (preaching without the chief rabbi's certificate), and the new congregation has not yet inspired a wider movement. The issues involved in the "Jacobs Affair" and its consequences could, however, be regarded as marginal to the much more important problem of Jewish religious life, i.e., the progressive alienation of growing sections of the Anglo-Jewish community from Jewish religious affiliation of any kind.

The main countervailing factor to the trend away from Jewish identification was the influence of the State of Israel. Mobilizing support for Israel was a major communal and social activity and, to some extent, a substitute for the organized religious life of earlier times. But it actively affected only a minority of the community until the *Six-Day War (1967), when the danger to and triumph of Israel produced an emotional reaction unprecedented in intensity and affecting even many who were previously estranged from Jewish life. It was not clear, however, how lasting the effect would be or whether it might weaken Anglo-Jewry still further by adding to those numbers, previously inconsiderable, who have gone to settle in Israel. Anglo-Jewry made little impact on world scholarship in the second third of the 20th century.

[Vivian David Lipman]

DEMOGRAPHY. The number of Jews in Britain, which was estimated to be 410,000 in 1967, is declining in absolute terms. World Jewish population figures show that during the 1960s Britain's Jewish community has slipped numerically from fourth to sixth place. This decline is being felt acutely in the provinces, in both very small communities and larger centers. Greater London, on the other hand, has maintained its level of 280,000 Jewish inhabitants (61% of the total Jewish population of the country). Close to 75% of the Jewish population of Britain is concentrated in the country's five largest cities. The most significant trend in the last two decades has been the migration of the Jewish population from the urban central areas – the old ghetto quarters – to the new suburban districts surrounding big conurbations. The exodus from the older districts has not, however, been characterized as a transplantation of old communities in new areas. A concomitant phenomenon has been the wider distribution of the Jewish population in places more distant from urban centers and settlement in a more scattered fashion among a predominantly non-Jewish population. In these areas Jews lack effective community organization and are isolated from the more developed forms of Jewish life found nearer the cities, exposing them to the potent forces of assimilation. The influence of assimilation must be regarded as one of the factors contributing to the numerical decline of the community. In purely demographic terms, the most visible symptom of this decline, and one reflecting the speed with which it is taking place, is the drop in Jewish marriages, and the intermarriage rate has been estimated to be between 12% and 25%. The drastic change can be seen when the synagogue marriage rate of 4.0 per thousand in the period 1961–65 is compared with the marriage rate in the general population, which was 7.5 in the same period. This very substantial difference may be attributed to two main causes:

(a) the rise in the number of Jews who marry by civil ceremony only, a phenomenon which might also signify a rise in the rate of intermarriage;

(b) the decline in the Jewish birthrate over the last few decades. In the second half of the 20th century a strong tendency had set in among Jews in Britain not to go through a religious ceremony in the synagogue, the causal factor for which might be the increase in the intermarriage rate.

OCCUPATIONS. The occupational trends in the second quarter of the 20th century (up to the 1960s) have been as follows:

large numbers have abandoned the semi-skilled and manual occupations; increasing proportions have entered occupations with opportunities for self-employment, such as shopkeeping, hairdressing, and taxi driving; and there has been a continuous rise in the number of Jews entering the professions. The number of economically active persons in the community has declined, but one explanation for this turn is the greater number of Jewish students who remain in school after age 15 and proceed into the professions. The disproportionate Jewish interest in finance has drastically decreased and preoccupation with manufacturing has increased substantially. Since the beginning of the 20th century, the predominance of Jewish-owned merchant banks has declined, while Jews have become more prominent in enterprises of large-scale production, particularly of consumer goods. On the whole, information concerning industrial distribution shows that remarkable similarities exist between Jews in Britain, the United States, Canada, and continental Europe. In all cases large concentrations of Jews are found in the clothing and textile trades, distributive trades, and light industries, and to an increasing degree in professional and administrative services. There is an under-representation of Jews, however, in agriculture and heavy industries. The fact that the younger generation has largely avoided the traditional Jewish industrial setting of tailoring and furniture making in the last three decades has resulted in a decline of the Jewish labor and trade-union movements that flourished at the turn of the century. The Jewish worker in the 1950s exhibited a strong tendency to leave the ranks of the working class and become self-employed. It has been estimated that Jewish students compose 3% of the total student population of Britain, whereas Jews account for less than 1% of the population of the country. In addition, only 11.4% of the Jewish women were economically active, compared to 33.9% in the general population.

COMMUNITY LIFE. Organization life in Britain boasts a wide array of charitable, religious, educational, recreational, and political groups. These often overlap both in function and membership, which makes it difficult to estimate the proportions of Jews associated with particular types of organizations. Some figures are available, however; in London 61% of the Jews are members of synagogues, as are 75% in Liverpool; in Leeds more than 43% contribute to charitable organizations, and over 63% contribute to the *Jewish National Fund; in the Willesden district of London, 72% of the boys and 53% of the girls are members of Jewish youth groups. Youth organizations are divided into the following categories: various clubs offering social and sports activities, the best example of which is *Maccabi; Zionist organizations offering educational and recreational programs and strengthening cultural and personal ties with Israel, such as *Habonim and *Bnei Akiva; organizations providing study courses and the Jewish Youth Study Group movement; and societies for Jewish students at universities and colleges. The larger representative youth organizations are the Jewish Youth Council, on which nearly 40 organizations are represented; the Association of Jewish Youth, with some 15,000 members; and the Inter-University Jewish Federation, with some 30 affiliated societies in most universities and in many other higher educational establishments.

Some of the basic constituents of religious identification seem to have remained stable since the 1930s. Thus, in 1934 there were 310 registered synagogues in England and Wales and 400 in 1962; however, considering that there were fewer than 300,000 Jews in the country in 1934, the number of synagogues per thousand Jews had not changed. In London more than a third of the Jewish population is not affiliated with any synagogue, while in Leeds and Liverpool less than a quarter of the Jews were found to be similarly unaffiliated. All the surveys taken in this area point to the fact that the vast majority of Jews still ascribe to religious burial. Synagogue attendance compared with prewar years has been low, except for the High Holidays; however, fragmentary statistics on this point suggest that attendance runs parallel to church attendance among the general population, i.e., between 13–15% of the population attend services weekly. Some religious practices, such as bar-mitzvahs, are observed by a substantial majority, and other practices, such as circumcision, are almost universally maintained. There can be no doubt, however, that on the whole the influence of religion on Anglo-Jewry has declined. Immanuel *Jakobovits, who was elected chief rabbi in 1966, declared after taking office in 1967 that the survival of Judaism was the primary challenge, in view of "staggering losses by defections, assimilation and intermarriage." He drew particular attention to the estimate that 85% of the students and 90% of the 2,000 academics were outside organized Jewish religious life.

EDUCATION AND CULTURE. The leadership of the community agrees that the key to the preservation of Jewish identification in general, and religious practice in particular, is education, although Jewish education in and of itself will not insure identification without the maintenance of a Jewish atmosphere in the home. Statistics also reveal a continuing desire on the part of Jews to associate mainly with fellow-Jews. Education has been constantly highlighted, therefore, and in the past 15 years much effort has gone into the establishment of Jewish day schools, especially after it became evident that Jewish education imparted through *talmud torah* classes after school hours was becoming less and less satisfactory. In 1962 it was estimated that in London and the provinces, at any one time, only about 57% of Jewish children of school age were receiving Jewish instruction. Despite the efforts to extend day-school programs to larger numbers, the achievement is less impressive than it might at first appear. In the whole of Britain in 1963 there were some 8,800 children in the 48 Jewish day schools (of which only 12 were secondary schools), a figure that represented a doubling of students compared with the situation ten years before. Progress since 1963 has been rather slow, although a certain amount of consolidation in the day-school movement has taken place. (See also *Education, Great Britain.)

Higher Jewish and Hebrew *education can be obtained in yeshivot and colleges with specialized departments in these fields. A survey published in 1962 showed that in the eight yeshivot in Britain, there were 392 full-time students (many of whom were from overseas). Jews' College had 31 students in its combined degree and minister's-diploma course during the 1959–60 session. Similarly, the numbers associated with cultural bodies such as the Jewish Historical Society or the Friends of Yiddish are relatively small. The larger Jewish public is reached, however, by the Jewish press, which has a strong influence on the measure of individual identification. The leading position is taken by the *Jewish Chronicle*, which has the widest circulation in the community. A number of smaller newspapers also cater to some of the provincial towns and to some sections of the community more actively connected with Israel and its specific political parties. Two leading academic journals, *The Jewish Journal of Sociology* (1959–) and *The Journal of Jewish Studies* (1949–), are published, and two social science units, one at the Board of Deputies and the other at the Institute of Jewish Affairs, are specifically engaged in research on Jews. There is no regular Hebrew publication in the form of a journal or a newspaper, and the almost total decline of Yiddish is reflected in the closing of the last weekly Yiddish newspaper in 1967. The trend in Britain toward an open society and the existence of equal citizenship rights has closed the social distance between the Jewish minority and British society, and in turn has been eroding Jewish identification. There can be no doubt that progressive emancipation has been leading to a greater degree of assimilation. The persistence of prejudice and some degree of discrimination against Jews has worked, however, in the opposite direction. During the 1950s and 1960s Britain was not free of such anti-Jewish prejudices. They have been promoted by tiny antisemitic groups, who in 1959 and again in 1965 engaged in desecration and arson against synagogues and have spasmodically disseminated virulent antisemitic literature. Less extreme or overt prejudice has also been evident in the business world; for example, in some insurance firms and other commercial enterprises. Quotas exist for Jewish pupils in some elite schools, and Jews have been excluded from the membership of some recreational clubs. At the same time forces more favorable to gentile-Jewish relations have been growing in the postwar period. Special efforts made by the Council of Christians and Jews, established in 1942 and functioning through its 20 branches, have succeeded in fostering better Jewish-gentile relations in the 1960s.

[Ernest Krausz]

Later Developments

DEMOGRAPHY. A conference in March 1977, organized by the Board of Deputies of British Jews and the Institute of Jewish Affairs, surveyed Jewish life in modern Britain and reviewed trends since a previous conference in 1962, basing itself on the social and demographic data produced by the Board's Research Unit, established in 1965. Generally, the conference found a trend towards polarization in Anglo-Jewry: a growing minority were intensifying their commitment to Jewish religion and education, but there was also an increasing general drift towards intermarriage and assimilation. No official estimates of the Jewish population had been published since the estimate of the Research Unit in 1965 of 410,000, but informed observers now put the number of those identified with the Anglo-Jewish community at considerably below 400,000. While between 1960 and 1979 the annual number of burials (and cremations) under Jewish auspices remained in the range between 4,600 and 4,900, the number of persons married under Jewish religious auspices fell from an annual average of 3,664 for 1960–65 to 2,782 for 1975–79 and 2,606 in 1979. Local community surveys carried out indicated households of sizes varying from 2.4 to 2.98 according to the age structure and character of the local Jewish community, and data on children per marriage in the 1970s reinforced the conclusion that Anglo-Jewry was not replacing itself by natural increase: nor was this deficiency being made up by net immigration.

The surveys confirmed the picture of organized Anglo-Jewry as consisting of increasingly middle class, and increasingly aging, communities; with a high proportion of home- and car-ownership, and a wide range of occupations; and with a tendency well above the national average towards self-employment. Geographically, there remained pockets of elderly and often poorer residents in the inner cities but the trends were towards dispersal from the larger conurbations into the suburbs and countryside, combined with the decline or extinction of established smaller provincial communities.

Synagogue affiliation showed 110,000 members of synagogues in 1977, a decline of 6% since 1970; the Central Orthodox (e.g., United Synagogue and Federation of Synagogues) appeared to be losing ground to the Progressives (Reform and Liberal) with over 20% of the membership and to the small but growing right-wing Orthodox (3.5%). This apparent trend towards religious polarization was also found in the marriage figures for 1979, with the Progressives responsible for 22.5% (compared with 18.6% in 1960–65) and the right-wing Orthodox for 8.4% of the total number of synagogue marriages. The overall decline in synagogue affiliation continued into the 21st century, dropping to a membership of 88,000 in 362 congregations in 2001. The United Synagogue and Federation of Synagogues accounted for half the congregations, with the United Synagogue accounting for 57 percent of overall membership, the Progressives next with 25,000 members (28 percent), and the Ḥaredim with 7,500 (8.5 percent).

The Jewish population continued to decline in the 1980s, from 336,000 (plus or minus 10%) in 1983 to around 300,000 in 1990, a level which it maintained into the 21st century, making it the fifth largest Jewish community in the world. The percentage of Jews who were members of synagogues in the central Orthodox stream fell from 70.5% in 1983 to 64% in 1990. The percentage of those affiliated to the right-wing Orthodox community increased from 4.4% in 1983 to 10% in 1984, falling to 6.9% in 1990. Only the Progressive movements showed signs of consistent growth. In 1983, 22.4% of Jews affiliated to synagogues belonged to Reform and Liberal congregations. According to 1990 figures, the Reform Synagogues of Great Britain accounted for 17%, the Union of Liberal and Progressive Synagogues claimed 7%, with the Masorti movement taking a small, but growing share. The Sephardi community held steady at just under 3% of the total.

The geographical and social distribution of British Jews barely altered. Two-thirds continued to inhabit the capital. The only growth areas were the "sun-belt" towns on the South Coast such as Brighton, the largest with 10,000. Manchester Jewry maintained its numbers at around 30,000, but Leeds had seen a fall from around 14,000 to about 11,000. A similar drop was estimated for Glasgow. Within each metropolitan center, Jews remain concentrated in a small number of prosperous, suburban, middle-class districts: Bury in Manchester, Moortown in Leeds, northwest London and Redbridge, an eastern suburb of the capital. The first centers of settlement are now almost bereft of Jewish residents or institutions.

In the mid-1990s the Board of Deputies Community Research Unit estimated the total number of Israelis in the UK to be at least 27,000. Their distribution reflected that of the Jewish population. Over two-thirds live in Greater London, with the majority concentrated in the northwestern boroughs. The highest concentration of Israelis outside London, 7% of the total, is in the northwest of England. The Israelis had a different age profile than British Jews. Over 25% were aged under 16 and only 2% were over 65 years, as compared to 17% and 25% respectively for British Jews. There have been no significant changes in the geographical or occupational distribution of British Jews.

POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS. The General Election of 1979 returned to the new House of Commons 21 Labour and 11 Conservative Jewish members. The new Conservative Government included one Jewish cabinet minister, Sir Keith Joseph, responsible for industry and regarded as a strong influence on the economic thinking of Prime Minister Thatcher, and senior ministers outside the cabinet including Nigel Lawson (Financial Secretary, Treasury), Leon Brittan (Home Office), Mrs. Sally Oppenheim (Consumer Affairs), as well as junior ministers such as Malcolm Rifkind (Scotland) and Geoffrey Finsberg and Lord Bellwin (Environment). In spite of the prime minister's personal commitment to Israel and the strong Jewish vote in her constituency (Finchley), concern was expressed at the pro-Arab record of influential Foreign Office ministers and some evidence of Britain modifying her attitude towards Israel in line with developing EEC policies on the Middle East.

In 1980, earlier discussion of the question whether there was a specifically Jewish pattern of voting crystallized in a debate between the political scientist, Dr. Geoffrey Alderman, who maintained that Jews voted according to their communal interests and could exercise a key influence in important marginal constituencies, and Dr. Barry Kosmin, director of the Board of Deputies' Research Unit, who showed that the trend of Jewish voters to support the Conservative Party merely reflected their increasingly middle class status; and even if Jews did vote to support a particular policy, they could not affect the outcome in more than a very few constituencies.

A disturbing change during the later 1970s was that of the extreme right-wing National Front from latent to overt antisemitism; and their obtaining 75,000 votes, with some high percentages locally, in the 1976 district council elections. In the 1979 general election, however, when the turnout was much higher, their 301 candidates polled a total of only 191,000 votes with the highest vote for any of their candidates just over 2000; nor did any National Front candidate win even one local council seat. However, in late 1980 Anglo-Jewry shared the unease caused in European Jewry generally by the violence of right-wing movements, notably the Paris synagogue bombing; and the recurrence of anti-Jewish incidents, albeit scattered and unpublicized, combined with deepening economic recession, gave cause for concern.

The principal manifestation of anti-Jewish activity was however associated with the Arab and overwhelmingly leftwing propaganda against Israel, particularly on university campuses. With some 12,000 Arab students in British universities and higher technical institutions, outnumbering Jewish students, especially in engineering and other vocational faculties, anti-Israel propaganda in student organizations had been rife for some years, and it developed into overt anti-Jewish discrimination in 1977. The (British) National Union of Students had voted in 1974 to "refuse any assistance (financial or otherwise) to openly racist and fascist organizations … and to prevent, by whatever means are necessary," any members of these organizations from speaking in colleges. The resolution of the UN Assembly in November 1975, equating Zionism with racism, thus gave a welcome opportunity to the Socialist Workers Party and the General Union of Palestinian Students. Student unions at some eight universities and five polytechnics voted to withdraw recognition from local university Jewish societies. Decisions at such meetings are usually taken by a small minority of the total number of students in the institution, and several were subsequently reversed. In 1980, however, the exclusion of Israeli scholars from an Arab-sponsored colloquium at Exeter University was widely criticized as an infringement of academic (and tax-payer supported) freedom of discussion.

Support for Israel continued to be possibly the most socially unifying factor in Anglo-Jewry with the organizational framework complementing, even to some extent replacing, more traditional patterns of organization. The advent of the Begin Likud government in 1977 evoked at first a detached, even critical, attitude, from personalities accustomed to dealing with the previous governments in Israel. The peace initiative of Prime Minister Begin and the Camp David agreement which followed, however, produced a much more sympathetic attitude within Anglo-Jewry. The Likud government's settlement policy in the administered territories, however, evoked controversy within Anglo-Jewry, in which Chief Rabbi Jakobovits became involved, when he argued that the retention of occupied territory in the Holy Land had to be considered in the light of the possibility of advancing the cause of peace and the saving of life. While there was not unqualified support for his views within Anglo-Jewry, there was condemnation of attempts to impugn the integrity of his commitment to the cause of Israel. Organizationally, the union of the Zionist Federation of Great Britain with the Mizrachi as the United Zionists was announced but not consummated as of 1981.

The 1980s saw a shift of political allegiances among British Jews from the left to the right. Affluence and self-interest have underpinned the trend, but it was abetted by the perceived anti-Zionism of the Labour Party and the appeal of Mrs. Thatcher, prime minister for most of the period, who was seen as "strong" on Jewish issues. Yet the same period saw manifestations of a stubborn prejudice against Jews within Conservative political circles.

In the June 1983 General Election, 28 Jewish MPs were elected of whom 17 were Conservative and 11 Labour. Three Jews were appointed to serve in the new cabinet, rising to four in 1984 and briefly five in 1986. The General Election of June 1987 saw 63 Jewish candidates. Of these, 16 Conservative and 7 Labour candidates were elected. This marked the second highest ever number of Jewish Tory MPs and a big fall in the number of Jewish Labourites. In the June 1992 General Election out of 43 Jewish Parliamentary candidates, 11 Tory, 8 Labour, and 1 Liberal Democrat were successful. The unsuccessful candidates included 4 Jewish Greens, a new phenomenon. Three Jewish Conservative MPs retired and two others were defeated. Among the appointments to the new cabinet made by the prime minister, John Major, were two Jews: Michael Howard, secretary of state for the environment (home secretary in 1993) and Malcolm Rifkind, secretary of state for defense.

Unlike the rest of Europe, the far-right has been conspicuously unsuccessful in British electoral politics at either a local or national level. In April 1992, the British National Party obtained a mere 7,000 votes for the 13 candidates it fielded. The National Front did even worse, winning under 5,000 votes in 13 constituencies. A visit to Britain by M. Le Pen in December 1991 was met by Jewish protests and antifascist demonstrations.

The government's stand on immigration and asylum issues throughout the decade has aroused disquiet among sections of the Jewish population. In February 1992, a delegation from the Jewish Council for Community Relations saw the then home secretary, Kenneth Baker, to protest against the Asylum Bill. The Board of Deputies also expressed its concern. The Jewish historical experience was alluded to several times by Jewish speakers in the debates accompanying the Asylum Bill's passage through Parliament during 1991–93.

Another long-running Parliamentary issue of Jewish concern was the punishment of alleged Nazi war criminals and collaborators domiciled in the United Kingdom. An All Party Parliamentary War Crimes Group was formed in November 1986 to press first for a government investigation and, subsequently, for action against suspected war criminals. Intense lobbying and media revelations caused the government to announce an inquiry in February 1988. Its report in July 1989 called for legislation to enable the trial in Britain of men suspected of committing war crimes in Nazi-occupied Europe at a time when they were not of British nationality. Legislation was introduced into Parliament in November 1989, but opposition by a minority of MPs and a majority of Peers delayed its passage into law until May 1991. The debates about the bill exposed the persistence of many negative stereotypes about the Jews. By April 1992, around £10 million had been spent on the investigations being conducted by the Metropolitan War Crimes Unit and its Scottish counterpart. Over 90 cases were being looked into, but there was still no indication of any case coming to trial.

In July 1992, Antony Gecas, a former member of the 11th Lithuanian Police Battalion who had lived in Scotland since 1946, lost his libel case against Scottish TV for a program which had accused him of being a war criminal. The hearing lasted four months and cost £650,000. In his ruling, the presiding judge, Lord Milligan, concluded that Gecas had "participated in many operations involving the killing of innocent Soviet citizens including Jews in particular." Despite this, Gecas has not been charged with war crimes under the 1991 Act.

Anti-Jewish prejudice surfaced in politics and society. Leon Brittan, the trade and industry secretary who resigned from the cabinet over the "Westland Affair" in 1986, Lord Young, secretary of state for trade and industry who Mrs. Thatcher wanted to take over the chairmanship of the Conservative Party, and Edwina Currie (née Cohen), a junior health minister who resigned in December 1988 over her pronouncements on salmonella in eggs, were all thought to have been victims of a "whispering campaign" among Tory backbenchers.

A series of criminal cases involving Jews attracted much attention and discussion during the late 1980s. The Jewishness of those involved was mentioned sometimes directly, sometimes obliquely, and efforts were made to find a link between this and the malfeasance in question. Such commentary could be open and well-intentioned, but at other times it was insidious and malevolent.

In August 1990, the first trial in the Guinness fraud case, which had lasted 113 days, resulted in the conviction of Gerald Ronson, Sir Jack Lyons, Anthony Parnes, and Ernest Saunders. Parnes, Ronson, and Lyons were Jews, the last two being notable donors to Jewish causes. Saunders was Viennese-born of Jewish parents, but raised as a Christian. In the two subsequent trials connected with the Guinness affair, none of the defendants was Jewish and none was convicted. This fostered the sense that the defendants in the first case had been at best "fall-guys" or, at worst, victimized.

The sensational death of Robert Maxwell in November 1991 was followed rapidly by the collapse of his business empire and the revelation that he had stolen hundreds of millions of pounds from his employees' pension fund in order to prop up the share value of his companies. His sons were subsequently arrested for abetting this fraud and await trial. Although Maxwell's ostentatious burial on the Mount of Olives could not help but draw attention to his Jewish roots, media commentary was relatively restrained. However, it was widely considered that Maxwell and the Jewish entrepreneurs in the Guinness case were outsiders in the City. This denied them protection by the "old boys" network when their schemes, in no way unique, ran foul of the law.

British Jews were, on the whole, spared violent forms of antisemitism. The exception was 1990 when, over a 12-month period there were 29 cases of vandalism against Jewish cemeteries, synagogues, and Holocaust memorials in the London area alone and seven reported cases of physical assault on Jewish persons. This violence is miniscule compared to the assault on non-white minorities, but the attacks provoked media comment and provoked reassuring statements from the prime minister in May 1990.

The most prevalent form of anti-Jewish action in Britain has been the distribution of antisemitic literature. In November 1990, Greville Janner, MP, sponsored an early day motion in the House of Commons which attracted the names of 100 MPs in support of suppressing the circulation of Holocaust Denial material. In March 1991, Dowager Lady Birdwood was charged under the Public Order Act (1986) for distributing the ritual murder accusation against the Jews. She was subsequently found guilty and given a two-year unconditional discharge. In December 1992, glossily produced pseudo-Ḥanukkah cards containing doggerel that embraced antisemitic libels were sent to hundreds of Jewish organizations and prominent individuals. Police investigations failed to identify the source of this "hate mail" and the Government has consistently rebuffed pleas by the Board of Deputies, most recently in October 1992, for a community libel law.

The announcement that a gathering of Holocaust Denial practitioners would be held in London in November 1991 led to demands that the home secretary ban the entry of Robert Faurrison and Fred Leuchter. Leuchter actually entered the country illegally and was deported after showing up at a "conference" that was heavily-picketed by anti-fascist groups. David *Irving, sometime British historian and now a propagandist well known for addressing neo-Nazi rallies in Germany, had become a linchpin in this shadowy global network.

Jews and the Holocaust figured in several historical controversies. In 1987 Jim Allen's anti-Zionist play *Perdition* deployed the canard that Zionists collaborated with the Nazis. Production was canceled after expressions of outrage from the Jewish community and intense media scrutiny, but this only inflamed the debate. The War Crimes Bill occasioned many reflections on the Holocaust, often yoked disturbingly to Jewish terrorism in Palestine in 1946–47. In January 1992, when Irving claimed to have discovered new Eichmann papers the press treated him as a right-wing historian whose views merited serious reportage. In July 1992, the *Sunday Times* caused a storm of controversy by employing him to transcribe and comment on newly revealed portions of Goebbels' diary.

Alan Clark, junior defense minister, was widely condemned in December 1991 for attending a party to launch the revised version of Irving's book *Hitler's War* in which Irving states that Hitler was innocent of the Final Solution and denies the existence of gas chambers for killing Jews. Clark later endorsed a political biography of Churchill by John Charmley, which appeared in January 1993, that suggested Britain should have made peace with Hitler in 1940 or 1941. Clark and Charmley agreed that there was little to choose between Stalinism and Nazism, and that the plight of the Jews under Nazism was a marginal issue. The exposure in the *Guardian* newspaper in May and December 1992 of war crimes in the Nazi-occupied Channel Islands, and the concurrence of the local authorities in the deportation of Jews, shed a different light on the matter. The Irving affair reached a head when Irving filed a libel suit in 1996 against Deborah Lipstadt and her British publisher, Penguin Books, claiming that Lipstadt's *Denying the Holocaust* had accused him of being a Nazi apologist, Holocaust denier, racist, and antisemite. Lipstadt contended that this was precisely what he was, and the Court agreed in its 2001 verdict denying his suit.

Controversy also surrounded efforts to set up an *eruv* in the London borough of Barnet. The project was launched by the United Synagogue "*Eruv* Committee" in 1987. In June 1992 it was passed by the Public Works Committee of Barnet Council. It was then considered by the Hampstead Garden Suburb Trust, which manages this architecturally unique suburban area. At a stormy meeting in September 1992, the Trust's chairman, Lord MacGregor, was censured for approving a letter to Barnet Council advising it to reject the plan and calling the *eruv* "a very unpleasant exhibition of fundamentalism." He subsequently resigned. This fracas made the *eruv* into a heated issue locally and in the national newspapers. On February 24, 1993, the council's planning committee defeated the *eruv* proposal by 11 to 7 votes. Jewish councilors were split and it generated fierce opposition from both Orthodox and "assimilationist" Jews. It was also attacked by non-Jews unable to accept the public expression of Jewish difference.

In June 1992 the prime minister, John Major, appointed two Jews to his new government: Michael Howard became secretary of state for the environment and Malcolm Rifkind was appointed secretary of state for defense. After a cabinet reshuffle in March 1993, Howard was made home secretary. In November 2003, however, Howard was elected leader of the British Conservative Party, the first Jewish leader of a government or opposition party in Britain in the 20th century. Howard stepped down after the 2005 elections. Another reshuffle in September 1995 led to Rifkind's appointment as foreign secretary. He was the first Jew to hold this office since the brief tenure of Rufus Isaacs, the Marquess of Reading, in 1931.

After the death of John Smith MP, in April 1994 the Labour Party chose Tony Blair MP, as its new leader. He actively sought to heal the breach between British Jews and the Labour Party so marked in the 1980s. Blair promoted a number of Jewish MPs and political activists. Blair's closest advisers include Peter Mandelson MP, and David Miliband. In October 1995, Barbara Roche MP, a former headgirl of the Jews' Free School, was elevated to the ranks of the Labour shadow government. The veteran Jewish Labour MP, Greville Janner, former president of the Board of Deputies and chairman of the House of Commons Employment Select Committee, announced that he would not stand again for Parliament at the next general election.

The far-Right enjoyed a modest revival in September 1993, when Derek Beackon, an unemployed 47-year-old former steward for the neo-Nazi British National Party (BNP), won a local council by-election in the Milwall ward of the Isle of Dogs in London's docklands. However, the election of the first BNP councilor proved to be a local quirk. Beackon took 34% of the vote, winning by seven votes, in a contest with a disorganized Labour Party opposition. The vote was more of a protest gesture than an endorsement of neo-Nazi ideology. The BNP "triumph" was universally deplored by mainstream politicians and triggered the revival of a national anti-racism campaign. In the May 1994 local council elections, Beackon increased his vote by 500. But he polled only 30% of the total vote on a much higher turnout that resulted in a Labour victory. The BNP won over 25% in two other east London constituencies, but failed to elect a single councilor.

The Board of Deputies reported that antisemitic incidents numbered 346 in 1993 (as against 292 in 1992) and 327 in 1994. In 2000 the number was 405 and in 2002, 350. Jewish cemeteries were desecrated in Newport in May 1993; Southampton in August 1993; East Ham, London, in December 1993, January 1994 and June 1995; Bournemouth in July 1995. A Manchester synagogue was daubed with swastikas in August 1993 and the following month a Jewish nursery school in Stamford Hill, London, was destroyed in an arson attack. There were mailings of antisemitic literature in September and December 1993. In April 1994, 80-year-old Lady Birdwood was found guilty of distributing material liable to incite racial hatred. Upsurges in antisemitic incidents were generally related to events reflecting the conflict in the Middle East, like 9/11 or the 2002 Israeli military action against Jenin. In this context, in a particularly outrageous act, Britain's 48,000-member Association of University Teachers decided in April 2005 to boycott Israel's Bar-Ilan and Haifa universities. In the face of international pressure it rescinded its decision a month later.

Jewish leaders made numerous representations to the government for stronger legislation against racism. In December 1993, the Board of Deputies gave evidence of escalating anti-Jewish activity to the House of Commons Home Affairs Select Committee. The Board assisted the drafting of a private members bill, introduced into the House of Commons by the Conservative MP Hartley Booth, to impose tougher penalties on criminals convicted of racial crimes and outlaw group defamation. In January 1994 the Runnymede Trust published a report, "A Very Light Sleeper: The Persistence and Dangers of Anti-Semitism," charting the increase of anti-Jewish attacks and urging that religious discrimination be outlawed. The Home Affairs Select Committee report in April 1994 recommended making "racial harassment" an offense and tightening the penalties for racial crimes.

Michael Howard promised to clamp down on racial violence, but rebuffed calls for tougher legislative action made by a Board delegation in February 1994. The government refused to support Booth's widely backed bill, and in June 1994 rejected the recommendations of the Home Affairs Select Committee. However, in October 1995, the minister of state at the Home Office gave instructions to the police and the courts to be as harsh as possible within the existing legal framework when dealing with racial crimes. Meanwhile, Howard flagged new measures to reduce illegal immigration and curb the number of "bogus" asylum seekers. His proposals were regretted by Jewish representatives.

Following the Washington Peace Accords in September 1993, anxiety about communal security focused on militant Islamic groups allowed to operate in the UK. In February 1994 the Board complained to the Home Office about Hizb ut-Tahrir, an association of mainly overseas Muslim students attending British universities. After the March 1994 Hebron massacre, which was condemned by the chief rabbi and president of the Board of Deputies, there were attacks on Jewish targets in London, Birmingham, and Oxford. After the bombing of the Israeli Embassy and JIA offices, in London on July 26–27, 1994 (see below), Jewish organizations reiterated their concern about radical Islamic groups. The Board unsuccessfully called on the Home Office to ban a rally organized by Hizb ut-Tahrir at Wembley Conference Centre in August 1994. After much prevarication, in November 1994, the governing body of the London School of Oriental and Asian Studies (SOAS) banned Hizb ut-Tahrir from holding meetings on SOAS premises. Hizb ut-Tahrir held a mass meeting in Trafalgar Square in August 1995 at which speakers called for the destruction of Israel and denied that the Holocaust had taken place. British Jews have also been concerned by the growing influence of the Chicago-based Nation of Islam among British blacks. In 2002 Sheik Abdullah al-Faisal was arrested for incitement to murder Jews.

War crimes cases continued to cause controversy. In February 1994 the Scottish police war crimes unit was wound up and the Crown Office later announced that there was insufficient evidence to charge Antony Gecas, the sole subject of investigations, under the 1991 War Crimes Act. In December 1994, Lord Campbell of Alloway introduced into the House of Lords a bill to stop war crimes trials in England, basing his case on the need to harmonize English with Scottish practice. It was opposed by the government. In July 1995, Simeon Serafimovicz, an 84-year-old former carpenter, was charged with the murder of four Jews in Belorussia in 1941–42. He is the first person in England ever to be charged with war crimes under the Act. However, British efforts to prosecute war criminals, from the passage of the Act through the early years of the 21st century, have been, on the whole, tepid.

The bid by the United Synagogue Eruv Committee, launched in 1987, to establish an *eruv* with a circumference of 6.5 miles in Golders Green, Hendon, and Hempstead Garden Suburb finally met with success. In February 1992, Barnet Council planning committee had rejected the proposal. An appeal was lodged with the Department of the Environment and a revised plan was put to the planning committee in October 1993. It was again rejected, but the Department of the Environment ordered a public inquiry which took evidence in December 1993. Much of the rhetoric at the inquiry by opponents of the *eruv* was lurid and inflammatory. In September 1994 the government inspector conducting the inquiry issued his report. It refuted the arguments of *eruv* protesters and the following month, during Sukkot, John Gummer, Secretary of State for the Environment, gave his sanction for its erection.

THE ANGLO-JEWISH HERITAGE. The introduction of government aid for historic places of worship in use assisted the restoration of the third oldest surviving synagogue, Exeter, established in 1763/4 and re-opened in October 1980, its use as a synagogue being combined with the provision of a center for Jewish students at Exeter University. This highlighted the problem of architecturally and historically important Jewish buildings no longer viable because of the movement of Jewish population from provincial towns or city centers, which was exemplified by the appeal to convert the former Sephardi synagogue in Manchester established in 1874 to a Jewish museum.

A unique commemoration took place on October 31, 1978 when on the initiative of the Jewish Historical Society of England, and in the presence of the chief rabbi and the archbishop of York, the massacre of the Jews of *York in 1190 was commemorated by the unveiling of a plaque at Clifford's Tower, the site of the massacre. The inscription in English reads: "On the night of Friday, 16 March 1190, some 150 Jews and Jewesses of York, having sought protection in the royal castle on this site from a mob incited by Richard Malebisse and others, chose to die at each other's hands rather than renounce their faith," and concludes with the verses in Hebrew: "They ascribe glory to the Lord and his praise in the isles" (Isaiah 42:12); the word *ha-iy*, "the island," being the name used for England in medieval Hebrew.

COMMUNITY LIFE. In mid-1979, Lord Fisher of Camden retired as president of the Board of Deputies. His six years of office saw the affiliation of the Board to the World Jewish Congress, changes in the organization and representational basis of the board, and the growth of a sense of communal purpose in support for Israel and Soviet Jewry, and in opposition to threats against civil liberties from extremes of the left and right. He was succeeded by Greville Janner, QC, MP, son of a former president (Lord Janner) and, at 50, the Board's youngest president. On taking office, he declared that his policy would be to emphasize working with youth and with provincial communities.

The 1980s also saw the first visit of a prime minister, Mr. James Callaghan, to the Board as well as that of the foreign secretary, Lord Carrington, at his own request, to explain British policy in relation to Israel.

The community was increasingly concerned with the problems of meeting the welfare needs of its increasingly aging membership. The London Jewish Welfare Board devoted the greater proportion of its expenditure to homes and flatlets, day centers and home visits to the aged. Coordination of social work was advanced by cooperation between organizations and professional workers, and shared use of accommodation in buildings like the Golders Green Sobell House or the Redbridge Jewish Centre.

The Board of Deputies acquired a new chief executive in February 1991 when Neville Nagler, a senior civil servant, succeeded Hayyim Pinner, holder of the position for 14 years. In June 1991, Judge Israel Finestein, QC, won the election for the presidency of the Board of Deputies and succeeded the outgoing Dr. Lionel Kopelowitz who had held office since 1985. Rosalind Preston was elected the first woman vice president of the Board. Finestein announced that he intended to increase democracy in Anglo-Jewry and secure greater participation in communal governance by the young, women, regional communities, and academics.

Chief Rabbi Dr. Immanuel Jakobovits was elevated to the House of Lords in January 1988 and in March 1991 was awarded the prestigious Templeton Prize for progress in religion. In May 1991 he was criticized by figures in the Joint Israel Appeal because of an interview in the *Evening Standard* newspaper in which he expressed reservations concerning Israeli conduct in the Administered Territories. He was succeeded in September 1991 by Rabbi Dr. Jonathan Sacks. As principal of Jews' College, in 1989 Sacks organized two important conferences on "traditional alternatives" in Judaism, one on general and another on specifically women's issues.

In February 1992, the new chief rabbi unveiled his review of women's role in Jewish life and named Rosalind Preston as its head. This followed a bitter struggle over women's services in Stanmore Synagogue. Although in April 1991 he resigned from a Jewish education "think tank" because it included a Reform rabbi, in April 1992 Chief Rabbi Dr. Sacks led a delegation that embraced Reform and Liberal rabbis (including a woman) to a major interfaith conference.

In September 1992 a report on the United Synagogue, conducted under the guidance of Stanley Kalms, found "mistakes, miscalculations, poor management, and financial errors" and revealed a debt of £9 million. The report also noted that a majority of members felt alienated by the rightward trend of the rabbinate and recommended an "inclusivist" position. It precipitated the resignation of Sidney Frosh, the president. In December 1992, the United Synagogue announced £0.8 million of cuts and a freeze on rabbis' salaries. It wound up its three-year old *sheḥitah* operation, established as a result of the bitter "*sheḥitah* wars" in the 1980s, with a loss of £0.7 million.

The search for economies underlay the amalgamation of the Jewish Blind Society and the Jewish Welfare Board to form Jewish Care in December 1988. In the recession of the early 1980s and again in the slump of 1990–92, Jewish welfare organizations had to cater for Jewish unemployed persons, too, despite a shrinking income base. The second recession saw many of the fortunes built up by Jewish entrepreneurs in the 1980s crumble. Grodzinski, the *kasher* baker, went into receivership in February 1991 after trading for 102 years. The famous *kasher* caterer Schaverin suffered a similar fate in November 1991. In June 1992, the Glasgow *Jewish Echo* closed down after 64 years of publication.

Nor was Anglo-Jewry immune to the social problems afflicting the rest of society. In July 1991 David Rubin, son of an eminent rabbi, absconded after allegedly defrauding fellow-Jews of millions of pounds. A few weeks later, a child-abuse case in the Orthodox community of Stamford Hill led to violent demonstrations by members of the community against the family that had taken the matter to the police.

Jewish communal institutions have been dogged by poor finances, while attempts at reorganization have had uneven success. In March 1993 the highly effective and inexpensive Association of Jewish 6th Formers (AJ6), which prepares Jewish teenagers for university, faced closure due to lack of funds. AJ6 received a last-minute reprieve, but the affair showed the need for a strategic funding policy. In April 1993, Lord Young, former Tory cabinet minister and businessman, initiated the Central Council of Jewish Social Services (CCJSS) which he envisaged as a directorate for British Jewry. In July 1993 he was elected chairman of the CCJSS, now embracing over 40 Jewish organizations.

Lord Young dismissed the Board of Deputies as inefficient and incapable of providing either policies or leadership. His view appeared to be confirmed when plans for its reform were stymied. In December 1993, the Board failed to give a two-thirds majority to measures to decrease the size of the executive, the number of Deputies, and the frequency of plenary meetings. The election of Eldred Tabachnik, QC, as president in June 1994 revived hopes of reform.

The United Synagogue (US), which announced that it had lost £1 million on a disastrous *sheḥitah* operation in June 1993, pulled itself back into the black by means of draconian economies. A series of institutional reforms failed to placate women who demanded a greater say in its affairs (see below). The Rix Report on Jewish youth in September 1994 called for greater investment in youth work which was met with alacrity by the CJCS and other funding bodies. After a series of poor appeal results, the JIA was relaunched in October 1995.

The most important communal initiative was the inauguration of Jewish Continuity in April 1993. Jewish Continuity was intended to raise money to fund new and existing educational projects, invest in people to "champion" Judaism, and provide advice and guidance across the whole Jewish community. However, Continuity immediately aroused the suspicions of Progressive Jews because of the absence of any but Orthodox Jews from its directorate and staff. In May 1994 an allocations board was set up that included members of the Reform and Liberal movements. Continuity hoped to avoid Orthodox criticism of this move by making the allocations board semi-detached, dispensing moneys given it for the purpose by Continuity. In July 1994, Continuity reached an agreement with the JIA that £12 million of the money raised by the JIA in Britain would go to educational projects identified by Continuity. In September 1994 it announced its first grants, totaling £435,000. The largest number and amount of grants went to Orthodox causes.

During 1995, critics continued to charge Jewish Continuity with bias and a lack of strategy. In October 1995 it announced a major review of its operations, to determine what its role should be and end the confusion between its functions as grant giver and service provider. The review would also deal with the antagonism which had built up between it and the JIA and Progressive Jews in Britain.

The fortunes of Jewish Continuity were inextricably linked with those of its progenitor, Rabbi Dr. Sacks. He appeared increasingly beleaguered by an intractable rabbinate, an assertive Jewish women's movement and confident Masorti, Reform, and Progressive movements. In February 1993 a Jewish women's prayer group held the first women's Sabbath service in a manner authorized by Rabbi Dr. Sacks: in a private house and without use of a *Sefer Torah* or prayers requiring a male quorum. But there was pressure for more radical, and according to many authorities permissible, steps such as use of a *Sefer Torah* and praying in a synagogue. In March 1994, a women's prayer group defied Rabbi Dr. Sacks and held a service using a *Sefer Torah* on a Sunday at Yakar, an independent Orthodox study center in London.

In July 1993, Rabbi Dr. Sacks issued guidelines to the US on how to accommodate women's demands for greater involvement. He ruled that women could become members of the US council and sit on synagogue boards of management, but only by co-option not election. This did not satisfy the women of the US. In October 1993, Rabbi Dr. Sacks announced his solution to the problem of *agunot*. He recommended mandatory prenuptial contracts entitling the wife to support from her husband until divorced by a *get*, and mutual cooperation to achieve that end. Enforcement of this recommendation was stymied by members of his Beth Din.

The inquiry into women in the community, initiated by Rabbi Dr. Sacks and headed by Rosalind Preston, announced its findings in June 1994. It revealed that women wanted more spiritual involvement, more rituals in recognition of female life-cycle events, the right to say *kaddish*, greater recognition of the needs of single women and single mothers, urgent reform of the *get* system, and greater sensitivity by *Batei Din* to women's issues including domestic violence. Yet Sacks found it difficult to deliver anything meaningful and his hands were still tied even on prenuptial agreements. Acting out of frustration, on October 28, 1995, "chained" Jewish women demonstrated outside the office of the United Synagogue Chief Rabbinate. The debate about Jewish women's rights under *halakhah* has consistently attracted national press and television coverage.

In January 1995 Sacks launched an attack on the Masorti movement in England. The pretext was an article in the Masorti magazine insinuating that he had recognized marriages conducted by Masorti rabbis. He responded with an article in the ultra-Orthodox *Jewish Tribune* in which he declared that the Masorti were guilty of "intellectual dishonesty"; using the term "*ganavim*" (thieves) to describe them. He stated that a follower of Masorti had "severed his links with the faith of his ancestors." Masorti, Reform, and Liberal rabbis, as well as lay leaders upbraided Sacks for the violence of his outburst. It put the future of Jewish Continuity into doubt since non-Orthodox Jews could not see how a body under Sacks' influence could fund their work or merit their support and Rabbi Dr. Sacks struggled to contain the damage.

The cultural agenda has been dominated by the anniversaries connected with World War II and the Holocaust. The 50th anniversary of the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising, the liberation of Auschwitz, the liberation of Belsen, and the end of the war were all marked by commemorative events, academic conferences, and a spate of publications. Media coverage of these events was intense and raised public awareness of the Holocaust. In November 1994, the Imperial War Museum announced that it was considering the construction of a permanent exhibit on genocide in the 20th century, focused on the Holocaust. Plans for a Holocaust Museum were unveiled in Manchester, too. Beit Shalom, the first Holocaust Museum in Britain, a private initiative originated, funded, and developed by a non-Jewish family in rural Nottinghamshire, opened in September 1995.

The Board of Deputies considered legal action against the Jewish authors, producers, and director of a TV fictional film, "Wall of Silence," about murders in the ḥasidic community of North London. First screened at the 9th Jewish Film Festival and then transmitted on BBC on October 17, 1993, the film was widely criticized for presenting negative stereotypes of Orthodox Judaism.

A Center for Jewish Studies was inaugurated at SOAS in December 1993, for German-Jewish Studies at Sussex University, and Sephardi Studies in London, under the auspices of the Sephardi community, in 1994. In November 1994, Dr. Dovid Katz started the Oxford Institute for Yiddish Studies, incurring the wrath of the Oxford Center for Hebrew and Jewish Studies, from which he subsequently resigned. New positions in Jewish studies were created at professorial level at Manchester University and at lecturer level at Bristol University. The Institute for Jewish Affairs transferred to a new home in April 1993 and broke away from the World Jewish Congress, forming instead close ties with the American Jewish Committee. Jewish Book Week moved to a new venue and attracted bigger literary figures and audiences than ever before. A specially designed building to house the London Jewish Museum was opened in Camden in 1995. In 1994 the *Jewish Quarterly* was invigorated by a new editor, Elena Lappin.

EDUCATION AND CULTURE. While estimates of the Jewish child population (and of those receiving part-time Jewish education) fell with the decline of the general child population in Britain, the number enrolled in Jewish day schools reached some 13,000 at the end of the 1970s, representing over 20% of the estimated Jewish child population. New Jewish day schools continued to be founded and there were positive developments in Jewish adult education in various aspects involving synagogues of different religious affiliation, the Lubavitch movement, and courses for younger Jewish leaders. Enrollment continued to rise through the 1980s and 1990s reaching 30% in 1992 and 51% in 1999. The United Synagogue Agency for Jewish Education operated 14 primary and nursery schools and five secondary schools in the early 2000s and had trained over 150 teachers since 1997. The Leo Baeck College Center for Jewish Education offered an M.A. program in Jewish education from 2002.

In 1984, Jews' College moved to new accommodations and the Manor House Sternberg Center for Reform Judaism was set up. Jewish museums were founded in London and Manchester. In 1990–92 there were several conferences and publications on the preservation of the documents, artifacts, and buildings that constitute the Jewish heritage in Britain. Sadly, Bevis Marks synagogue suffered collateral damage from an IRA bomb attack in London in August 1992. In 1991, Immanuel College was opened and the Jewish Chronicle Chair in Modern Jewish History was established at University College London to mark the paper's 150th anniversary and a chair in Modern Jewish Studies was dedicated at the University of Manchester. During 1992–93, lectureships in Modern Jewish History were established at Warwick and Leicester universities. In 1992, Dr. David Paterson was succeeded by Professor Phillip Alexander as head of the Oxford Center for Postgraduate Hebrew Studies, having secured its future. Jewish schools topped the national league for the award of "A" Levels in August 1992. Less happy publicity was created by the decision of state-aided Jewish schools in Liverpool and Manchester in September 1991 not to admit Jewish children from a Reform Jewish background.

Jewish culture found diverse expression in the courses of the Spiro Institute throughout the decade. There were festivals of Yiddish culture on the South Bank, an annual Jewish Film Festival, and Jewish music festival. In December 1991, *Leon the Pig Farmer*, an independent film funded largely by Jews and on a Jewish subject, won awards at the Edinburgh and Venice Film Festivals. In 1988, the conference "Remembering for the Future" inquired into the Holocaust. The anniversary of the massacre at Clifford's Tower in York in 1090 occasioned several solemn events. The 50th anniversary of the 1942 Wannsee Conference was the subject of an international conference in London organized principally by the Wiener Library. During 1992 there were many celebrations of the Sephardi experience to mark the anniversary of the expulsion from Spain.

[Vivian David Lipman and David Cesarani]

Relations with Israel

Britain's relations with Israel should be viewed in the perspective of half a century, beginning with the closing phases of World War I. In November 1917, with the war against Germany and her allies still at its height, the British government issued a statement of policy, the *Balfour Declaration, favoring the establishment of a Jewish national home in Palestine. The near euphoria and sense of gratitude to Britain that this announcement aroused among Jews everywhere was to give way a generation later to an atmosphere of bitterness and mutual recrimination, in which the British Mandate over Palestine finally came to an end (1948). But in the intervening years, despite all the frictions and difficulties, the foundations of Jewish statehood had in fact been laid. The period immediately following Israel's Declaration of Independence in May 1948 was a somber one in the relations between the new state and the former mandatory power. Unlike the United States and the Soviet Union, Britain refused to recognize the newly established state for many months. At the United Nations General Assembly in Paris in the latter part of 1948, the British delegation was the principal, though ultimately unsuccessful, protagonist of the so-called *Bernadotte Plan, a central feature of which was the proposal to transfer the Negev from Israel to the Arabs. Relations between Britain and what it termed "the Jewish authorities in Tel Aviv" reached an acute point when, on Jan. 7, 1949, in the course of renewed fighting between Israel and Egypt, the Israelis shot down five British planes that had been sent on a reconnaissance mission from the Suez Canal Zone. At this time, however, a strong reaction against the policy of Foreign Secretary Ernest *Bevin began to assert itself in Britain. The debate in the House of Commons on January 28 was a damaging one to the government. Three days later Bevin announced the *de facto* recognition of Israel and, shortly thereafter, the appointment of Britain's first diplomatic representative to Israel, Sir Knox Helm.

Gradually a new pattern of relations evolved between the two countries. The period of Bevin's influence had not been forgotten by the people of Israel, but Britain's initial role in having made the development of Jewish nationhood in Palestine politically and physically possible was increasingly recalled and recognized. Steady progress was made in day-to-day contacts through trade, tourism, and cultural relations. But despite these positive developments, British policy toward Israel continued to be markedly reserved, for reasons connected with Britain's interests and commitments in the Arab world. As late as 1955, the British government still harbored ideas about the transfer of at least a part of the Negev to Egypt. This attitude was reflected in Prime Minister Anthony Eden's speech at the Guildhall on Nov. 9, 1955, in which he suggested a compromise on the frontiers set by the Partition Resolution of 1947 and those established under the Armistice Agreements as a way out of the Arab-Israel impasse. This proposal was unequivocally rejected by Israel and eventually abandoned. Less than a year later, Britain and Israel found themselves in unlikely association in military action against Egypt–Israel in Sinai, Britain in Suez. The events leading to this development were President Nasser's nationalization of the Suez Canal on the one hand, and his active sponsorship of the *fedayeen* terror gangs, organized on Arab territory for acts of murder and sabotage within Israel, on the other.

For more than a century, the preservation of Britain's communications with India, the keystone of her empire, had been a dominant factor in Britain's interest in the Middle East. In 1947, India achieved independence almost contemporaneously with Israel. The strategic and political implications of this event for Britain's status in the world were not immediately obvious. Britain remained the paramount power in the Middle East with military bases in Iraq, Egypt, and Jordan, and with a vital financial stake in the ever-increasing oil wealth that was being uncovered not only in Iran but in the Arab lands bordering on the Gulf, including Iraq, Kuwait, Bahrain, and the sheikhdoms. In the mid-1950s a revolutionary change occurred: the collapse of British power and prestige that accompanied the Suez debacle of 1956 was followed two years later by the murder of the king of Iraq and the lynching of his premier, Nuri Said, Britain's faithful friend and ally. The last British base in the Arab Middle East other than one in Aden was now relinquished. By 1968, as Britain's policy of withdrawal from direct military commitment to areas east of Suez began to be extended even to the Persian Gulf; Aden too was abandoned. Middle East oil, so vital to the European economy, continued to flow more or less uninterruptedly because of the mutual interests of the Arab governments on the one hand and of Western purchasers on the other. But the old power relationship, including its implications for Israel, had dissolved.

Nevertheless, Britain's role in the area in the 1960s must not be underestimated. As a great world financial and trading community, with the support of experienced and effective diplomats, Britain continued to exert extensive influence. The decline of Britain's authority in the Arab world significantly affected British-Israel relations. Although the traditional sensitivity of the Foreign Office to possible Arab reactions persisted, a more relaxed, less inhibited attitude toward Israel began to assert itself. This was manifested not only in official contacts and public statements, but also in willingness to sell Israel such major items of military equipment as Centurion tanks, naval vessels, and submarines. Within the aggregate of Britain's overseas trade, Israel occupied a modest but increasingly significant place in 1968. The total bilateral trade between the two countries in 1967 amounted to about $215,000,000, an increase of nearly 75% compared with 1957. In fact, the value of Britain's exports to Israel exceeded that to any of the Arab countries. Britain constituted Israel's most important overseas market, with agricultural products (notably citrus) and polished diamonds predominating. Israel–British economic relations have long been a target of the Arab boycott offices, but, as trade figures reveal, their success has been marginal. The Suez Canal – blocked as a result of the *Six-Day War – remained closed. The resultant loss to British trade and shipping, although eventually much reduced, undoubtedly contributed to Britain's active interest in seeking a solution to the Middle East crisis. British diplomats at the United Nations thus took a leading part in sponsoring and securing the passage of the Security Council resolution of Nov. 22, 1967. The war brought about a rupture in relations between Britain and a number of Arab countries, but these were reestablished, and Britain's policy ostensibly aimed at seeking to maintain a balance of friendship with both the Arab states and Israel.

Although there is not always an identity of views between Israel and Britain on the problems of the Middle East, there was a broad base of common understanding in the late 1960s. The interest of the British people in Israel is not a passing phenomenon but rests on deep religious and spiritual foundations and was impressively demonstrated at the time of the Six-Day War. Attitudes and suspicions on the part of both countries survive from a more troubled period in their relationship. But the dominant motive was one of mutual regard that found its expression not only in political and economic spheres, but also in cultural relations and public opinion.

[Arthur Lourie]

For most of the 1980s British foreign policy was conducted by Sir Geoffrey Howe. Britain urged the PLO to recognize Israel and renounce terrorism, while calling on Israel to halt settlements in the occupied territories as a *quid pro quo*. Between 1984 and 1987 there were several friendly high-level exchange visits, but British unease about conditions in the Gaza Strip were forcefully expressed by junior Foreign Office Minister David Mellor during a visit in January 1988. After Yasser Arafat announced acceptance of UN resolutions 242 and 338 and renounced the armed struggle, William Waldegrave, Mellor's successor, met with Abu Bassam Sharrif of the PLO.

The outbreak of the *intifada* in 1989 led to the revival of the propaganda war in the media and in student politics. British Government officials repeatedly expressed concern at Israeli handling of the disturbances. In March 1990, the new foreign secretary, Douglas Hurd, met with Abu Bassam Sharrif, although the Palestinian terrorist attack on Israel in May 1990 led to demands to sever links with the PLO. Hurd issued a call to the Palestinians to curb terrorism, but contacts with the PLO continued. The situation was transformed by Iraq's invasion of Kuwait in August 1990. The British Government deplored PLO support for Saddam Hussein and rejected any "linkage" between Iraq's invasion and the Palestinian problem, although in October 1990 it said that Israeli policy towards the Palestinians could not go unchanged. In November 1991, Britain resumed diplomatic ties with Syria, severed after the 1988 Lockerbie disaster, which was now a member of the anti-Iraq coalition.

When the war started, hundreds of British Jews, including the chief rabbi, went to Israel on solidarity missions. Prime Minister John Major congratulated Israel on its "admirable restraint" following Iraqi missile attacks. Popular attitudes towards Israel and the Palestinians changed radically, although British official policy soon reverted to type. In January 1992 Mr. Major addressed a letter to the Zionist Federation of Great Britain calling on Anglo-Jewish leaders to intervene with the Israel Government against the deportation of 12 Palestinian activists. On July 30, 1992, Mr. Major addressed the annual dinner of the Conservative Friends of Israel. He called the settlements "a major impediment to the peace process," denounced the Arab boycott as "iniquitous" and said it should be ended in return for freezing the settlements.

In March 1993, Douglas Hogg, the minister of state at the Foreign Office, met with Faisal Husseini and PLO officials, thus ending the ban on official ministerial contacts with the PLO. On July 2, 1993, the Foreign Secretary met Husseini along with Nabil Shaath and Afif Safieh, the PLO's London representative. Following the White House Accords, which were welcomed by the government and opposition parties, Douglas Hogg visited Yasser Arafat in Tunisia and the status of the PLO office in London was upgraded to a "delegation." The Foreign Secretary, Douglas Hurd, visited Israel during a Middle East tour in December 1994. A visit to London by Israeli prime minister Yiẓḥak Rabin was curtailed by a terrorist bombing in Israel.

On October 30, 1994, Prince Philip made the first royal visit to Israel. During his 25-hour stay he attended a ceremony at Yad Vashem to honor his mother for rescuing Jews in Greece during the war, and dined with President Ezer Weizman. In March 1995, Prime Minister John Major became the second serving British premier to go to Israel. The accent of his visit was firmly on strengthening trade links between the two countries. However, British diplomats avoided the Jerusalem 3000 celebrations.

The peace accords divided British Jews. While welcomed by Israel Finestein, president of the Board of Deputies, and Chief Rabbi Dr. Jonathan Sacks, they were anathematized by British Mizrachi and Ḥerut, including many rabbis. On December 15, 1993, during an official visit to London, Yasser Arafat met British Jewish leaders including Israel Finestein, Lord Rothschild, Greville Janner MP, and Sir Sigmund Sternberg. But 60 rabbis and prominent *dayyanim* issued a statement condemning the meeting. On August 6, 1995, businessman and JIA leader Cyril Stein and Rabbi Alan Kimche, the outreach director of Jewish Continuity (see below), joined a demonstration outside the Israeli Embassy in London against the peace negotiations. It was organized by the New York Rabbi Avi Weiss. In October 1995, Rabbi Dr. Sacks was again attacked by his own rabbinate for endorsing the peace process and the principle of withdrawal from the West Bank.

The peace process had a more dangerous and tragic impact. On July 26–27, 1994 bombs exploded outside the Israeli Embassy at Palace Green, Kensington, and Balfour House in North Finchley, which houses the offices of the Joint Israel Appeal (JIA) and the Zionist Federation. Nineteen people were injured in the first attack, none seriously, but the embassy was badly damaged. The Jewish community was aggrieved that its warnings to the authorities had been ignored. Armed police guards were subsequently posted at potential Jewish targets and communal security stepped up, but the government refused to help fund the installation of surveillance systems. In December 1994, Israeli police minister Moshe Shaḥal held talks with Scotland Yard in London to discuss measures to counter the threat posed by radical Islamic groups operating in London. On September 5, 1995, Danny Frei, a former pupil of Hasmonean school in London, was murdered in Israel on the West Bank where he lived.

During the Blair years, Israel's relations with England were fairly smooth. Blair himself exhibited warmth and support while maintaining what England considers an even-handed approach to the Middle East conflict. In a meeting with Shimon Peres in October 2005 he called Israel's disengagement from Gaza a "crucial and courageous act," reaffirming his commitment to a secure Israel as well as a viable Palestinian state. The British media, on the other hand, and particularly the BBC, is perceived as hostile in Israel and in effect as encouraging terrorism through its biased reporting.

[Vivian David Lipman and David Ceserani]

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ENGLARD, YITZHAK (1933–), Israeli jurist. Englard was born in Frankfurt, Germany. He received his Magister Juris (cum laude) at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem in 1956 and his Diploma d'Etudes Superieures at the Faculte de Droit, Paris. Admitted to the Israeli Bar in 1960, he served in the Israel Defense Forces (as judge advocate) in 1962–63. Subsequently he became professor and later dean of the Hebrew University Law Faculty and director of the university's Institute for Research in Jewish Law. He was also a visiting professor at the University of Zurich, Switzerland; the University of Grenbole, France; and the University of Toronto, Canada. He was also an honorary member of the World Jewish Academy of Sciences.

In 1997 Englard was awarded the Israel Prize for law and in 1997–2003 he served as a justice of the Israel Supreme Court, occupying the "Orthodox seat." He wrote numerous books and articles on torts and Jewish law, state and religion, legal capacity and comparative law. Englard has been a critic of Menachem *Elon's dogmatic-historic approach to **Mishpat Ivri*, preferring to place the emphasis on spiritual input rather than legal doctrine in assessing the desired relationship between *halakhah* and Israeli law.

[Leon Fine (2nd ed.)]

ENGLISH LITERATURE.

Biblical and Hebraic Influences

The Bible has generally been found to be congenial to the English spirit. Indeed, the earliest English poetry consists of the seventh-century metrical paraphrases of Genesis and Exodus attributed to Caedmon (died c. 680). Here the emphasis is on the military prowess of the ancient Hebrew warriors. Abraham in his fight against the five kings (Gen. 14) takes on the character of an Anglo-Saxon tribal chief leading his thanes into battle. One early biblical work was *Jacob and Josep*, an anonymous early 13th-century poem written in the Midlands dialect. As in France, biblical figures also appear in the medieval miracle or mystery plays staged in York and other towns. A more religious understanding of the Old Testament was achieved later, in the period of the Reformation, with works such as the Greek academic drama about Jephthah written in 1544 by the Catholic Christopherson. This Hebrew judge inspired several dramatic works, notably the ballad "Jephthah Judge of Israel," quoted by William *Shakespeare (*Hamlet*, Act 2, Scene 2) and included in Bishop Thomas Percy's *Reliques of Ancient English Poetry* (1765); and *Jephthes Sive Votum* (1554), by the Scottish poet George Buchanan, who also wrote a Latin paraphrase of the Psalms (1566). Other biblical works of the 16th century were *God's Promises* (1547–48) by John Bale; *The Historie of Jacob and Esau* (1557), a comedy by Nicholas Udall in which Esau represents the Catholics and Jacob the faithful Protestants; the anonymous *New Enterlude of Godly Queene Hester* (1560), which had strong political undertones; Thomas Garber's *The Commody of the most vertuous and Godlye Susanna* (1578); and *The Love of King David and Fair Bethsabe* (1599) by George Peele mainly about Absalom. From the Middle Ages, biblical and Hebraic influences had a profound impact on English culture. Works inspired by the Bible were especially prominent in the 17th century, first during the era of Puritanism, and later when the undogmatic, practical temper of Anglican piety led to a new evaluation both of the Jews and of the Hebrew scriptures. The Puritans were particularly drawn to the Psalms and to the records of the Judges of Israel, with whom they were apt to identify themselves. John *Milton, their greatest representative, knew Hebrew, and his epic *Paradise Lost* (1667) and *Samson Agonistes* (1671) are steeped in biblical and Judaic lore. The Puritans' doctrine of election and covenant also derived to a great extent from Hebrew sources. They made the "Covenant" a central feature of their theological system and also of their social life, often undertaking their religious and political obligations to one another on the basis of a formal covenant, as recorded in Genesis. There are interesting developments of the covenant idea in the philosophies of Thomas Hobbes (1588–1679) and John Locke (1632–1704), and also in Milton and the 17th-century religious radicals known as the Levellers. The same period saw the publication of other works based on the Bible or Jewish history, such as the *Davideis* (1656), an anti-royalist epic poem by Abraham Cowley, and *Titus and Berenice* (1677), a play by Thomas Otway based on the tragedy *Bérénice* by Jean *Racine. John Dryden dramatized Milton's *Paradise Lost* unconvincingly as *The State of Innocence and Fall of Man* (1677). His famous satire *Absalom and Achitophel* (1681), in which David represents Charles II, reflects the contemporary political scene. In the 18th century, various minor writers provided the librettos for Handel's oratorios, over a dozen of which deal with Old Testament themes ranging from *Israel in Egypt* (1738) to *Judas Maccabaeus* (1747). Hannah More, who wrote *Belshazzar* (one of her *Sacred Dramas*, 1782), was one of several English writers who paid attention to this figure. Others were Henry Hart Milman (*Belshazzar*, 1822); Robert Eyres Landor, who wrote *The Impious Feast* (1828); and Lord *Byron, whose *Hebrew Melodies* (1815) contains a poem on this subject. William Wordsworth revealed an imagination shaped by biblical forms and patterns, and in "Michael" the dramatic focus of the whole poem is the picture of an old man setting up a heap of stones as a covenant between himself and his son at their parting. In a more scholarly field, the Christian Hebraist Robert *Lowth devoted much time to the study of Hebrew poetry in the Bible. One novelist in whom a fairly strong Hebraic background can be discerned is Henry Fielding, whose *Joseph Andrews* (1742) was intended to recall the lives of Joseph and Abraham.

BIBLICAL MOTIFS IN LATER WRITERS. During the third decade of the 19th century, the biblical figure of Cain was the center of some literary controversy and interest. The publication of an English translation of Salomon Gessner's German prose epic *Der Tod Abels* (1758) in 1761 set a fashion, and Coleridge's "Gothic" work on this theme was one of many. Byron's attempt to transform the first murderer into a hero in his *Cain* (1821) roused a storm of protest, provoking *The Ghost of Abel* (1822), a riposte by William *Blake. A less revolutionary side of Byron is seen in his *Hebrew Melodies*, which includes poems on Jephthah's daughter, Sennacherib, and the Babylonian Exile. The 19th century produced many other works of biblical inspiration by English writers. One which had a great vogue in its day was *Joseph and His Brethren* (1824), a grandiose epic poem written under a pen name by Charles Jeremiah Wells. In his *Poems* (1870), Dante Gabriel Rossetti used Midrashic and legendary material for his treatment of the conflict between Satan and Lilith and Adam and Eve in "Eden Bower." Alfred Austin wrote *The Tower of Babel* (1874); and in defiance of the censors Oscar Wilde first published his daring comedy *Salomé* in French (1893), the English version only being allowed on to the British stage in 1931. A number of leading 20th-century writers maintained this interest in the personalities and themes of the Old Testament. They include C.M. Doughty, with the dramatic poem *Adam Cast Forth* (1908); George Bernard Shaw, in his play *Back to Methuselah* (1921); Thomas Sturge Moore, author of the plays *Absalom* (1903), *Mariamne* (1911), and *Judith* (1911); the poet John Masefield who wrote *A King's Daughter* (1923) on Jezebel; D.H. Lawrence, with his play *David* (1926); Arnold Bennett, whose *Judith* had a brief, sensational run in 1919; and Sir James Barrie, who wrote the imaginative but unsuccessful play *The Boy David* (1936). The works of the Scots playwright James Bridie include *Tobias and the Angel* (1930), *Jonah and the Whale* (1932), and *Susannah and the Elders* (1937). A number of anti-biblical *Old Testament Plays* were published in 1950 by Laurence Housman. Figures from the Bible are also introduced in *A Sleep of Prisoners* (1951), a symbolic play written by Christopher Fry, whose *The Firstborn* (1946) transformed Moses into a superman. Curiously enough, most of the Jewish writers who emerged in Britain during the 19th and 20th centuries avoided biblical subjects and devoted their attention to social and historical themes. However, Isaac *Rosenberg wrote a Nietzschean drama, *Moses* (1916).

IMPACT OF JEWISH PHILOSOPHY AND MYSTICISM. In the general abandonment of medieval Christian authorities during the Reformation, there was a certain tendency to look to the medieval Jewish philosophers and exegetes for guidance. The thinking of writers like John, Jeremy Taylor (1613–1667), and the "Cambridge Platonists" was in part shaped by the Bible and by Maimonides. The Platonist poet Henry More (1614–1687) drew heavily on both Philo and Maimonides, and made frequent reference to the Kabbalah. Like many other English writers of his time, More had, however, only a very imperfect idea of what the Kabbalah contained. Two earlier writers whose works contain kabbalistic allusions are the Rabelaisian satirist Thomas Nash and Francis Bacon. Nash's *Pierce Pennilesse His Supplication to the Divell* (1592), a humorous discourse on the vices and customs of the day, draws from the Christian Kabbalah; while Bacon's *The New Atlantis* (1627) describes the utopian Pacific island of Bensalem, where the Jewish colonists have a college of natural philosophy called "Solomon's House" and are governed by rules of kabbalistic antiquity. Genuine kabbalistic motifs, admittedly obtained at second hand, are to be found in the late 18th century in the works of William Blake. His notion of the sexual inner life of his divine "Emanations" and "Specters" is at least partially kabbalistic, while his portrait of the "Giant Albion" is explicitly derived from the kabbalistic notion of the *Adam Kadmon* ("Primal Man"). Kabbalistic notions and images later played a part in the occult system employed by W.B. Yeats (1865–1939) in his poetry; and in the mid-20th century the Kabbalah acquired a considerable vogue, exemplified by the poetry of Nathaniel *Tarn and by *Riders in the Chariot* (1961), a novel by the Australian writer Patrick White.

The Figure of the Jew

Jews were expelled from England in 1290, and the great medieval English works in which Jews were portrayed, notably John Gower's *Confessio Amantis* (c. 1390), William Langland's *The Vision of Piers Plowman* (three versions c. 1360–1400), and Geoffrey *Chaucer's *Prioress's Tale* (one of the *Canterbury Tales*, c. 1390) were all composed about a century later. The figure of the Jew was therefore almost certainly not drawn from life, but rather from imagination and popular tradition, the latter a mixture of prejudice and idealization. This approach is not untypical of medieval writing generally, which often used stereotypes and symbols and gave them concrete shape. The evil stereotype of the Jew is clearly based on the Christian account of the crucifixion of Jesus, including his betrayal by Judas (identified with the Jew in general) and his often-stated enmity toward the Jewish scribes and Pharisees. This provided the basis for the image of the Jew in the early mystery or "miracle" plays, current from the 13th century, which presented the Bible records in dramatic form. A contemporary touch was sometimes added by representing Judas as a Jewish usurer. There is an historical link between the dramatizing of the Crucifixion and the rise of the *blood libel, which reached its culmination in the notorious case of *Hugh of Lincoln (1255). This accusation became the subject of several horrific early poems, including the old Scottish ballad of "The Jew's Daughter," reproduced in Percy's *Reliques*. In this ballad the story is slightly varied, the ritual murder being committed by a young Jewess. Chaucer's *Prioress's Tale*, a story of child murder committed by Jews, explicitly refers the reader to the case of Hugh of Lincoln a hundred years earlier, the suggestion being that the killing of Christian children by Jews was habitual. Echoes of these medieval fantasies continue to be heard down the centuries, and they provide the starting point for Christopher *Marlowe's *The Jew of Malta* (c. 1589) and for Shakespeare's *The Merchant of Venice* (c. 1596). Both Marlowe's Barabas and Shakespeare's Shylock obviously delight in the murder of Christians either by knife or by poison, a partial reflection of the charges leveled at the trial of the unfortunate Marrano physician Roderigo *Lopez. The stage Jew down to the Elizabethan period looked rather like the Devil in the old mystery plays, and was very often dressed in a similar costume: this explains why, in Shakespeare's play, Launcelot Gobbo describes Shylock as "the very devil incarnation," while Solanio sees him as the devil come "in the likeness of a Jew."

THE DUAL IMAGE. The Jew, however, aroused not only fear and hatred but also awe, and even admiration. Thus the medieval imagination had room not only for Judas, but also for heroic Old Testament figures such as Isaac and Moses. There is no doubt that the Israelites at the Red Sea in the old mysteries were also clearly identified as Jews. *Judah Maccabee (another Judas) was one of the famous Nine Worthies of early legend, along with David and Joshua. Shakespeare, who refers to the Jews in seven of his plays, draws on this tradition in the closing scene of his comedy, *Love's Labour's Lost.* Another early Christian tradition which carries undertones of admiration and awe is that of the *Wandering Jew. Ahasuerus, as he is sometimes called, in the early ballads was a "cursed shoemaker" who churlishly refused to allow Jesus to rest on a stone when he was on his way to Golgotha, and for this was made to wander the world forever. As the Jew who lives on eternally to testify to the salvation offered to the world, he is by no means an unsympathetic figure. In later romantic literature, particularly in poems by Percy Bysshe Shelley (*Queen Mab*, 1813) and Wordsworth ("Song for the Wandering Jew," 1800), he finally symbolizes universal wisdom and experience. The anonymous interlude *Jacob and Esau* (first published in 1568) includes acting directions which state that the players "are to be considered to be Hebrews, and so should be apparalled with attire." Thus, both Jacob the saint and his brother Esau, the lewd ruffian, are clearly Jews. The portrait of the Jew therefore becomes ambiguous: he is both hero and villain, angel and devil. There is more of the devil than the angel in the early portraits, but the balance varies. What is lacking is the middle, neutral ground of everyday reality, for little attempt is made to visualize the Jew in his ordinary environment. It is, however, worth noting certain speeches in *The Merchant of Venice*, especially Shylock's famous lines beginning, "I am a Jew. Hath not a Jew eyes? hath not a Jew hands, organs, dimensions, senses, affections, passions?" Here, there is at least a glimmer of realism. Jews are usually referred to by writers of the Elizabethan and succeeding periods in derogatory terms, the very word Jew invariably suggesting extortioner, beggar, thief, or devil's accomplice. But the resettlement of the Jews in England after 1656 and the new undogmatic character of 17th-century Anglicanism led to some change. George Herbert's poem "The Jews" (in *The Temple*, 1633) breathes a strain of devout love for Israel as the exiled people of God. Herbert was imitated a few years later by Henry Vaughan who, in an equally passionate poem of the same title, prays that he "might live to see the Olive bear her proper branches." The reference is to the metaphor of the olive used by the apostle Paul (N.T. Rom., 11), when he speaks of Israel as destined one day to be restored to flourishing growth. William Hemings based his drama, *The Jewes Tragedy* (1662), on the Jewish revolt against Rome, as described by *Josephus and *Josippon. Milton's *Samson Agonistes* presents a picture which is in part that of the heroic Jew of the Bible, in part a self-portrait of the poet himself. This marks a new phenomenon: the subjective projection of the author into the portrait of the Jew, and it was not to be repeated until much later, by such 19th-century poets as Byron and Coleridge, and by James Joyce in the figure of Leopold Bloom in *Ulysses* (1922).

LATER DRAMA AND FICTION. In 18th-century drama the Jew continued to be portrayed as either utterly evil and depraved or else completely virtuous. One dramatist might often produce both types, as did Charles Dibdin in *The Jew and the Doctor* (1788) and *The School for Prejudice* (1801). Richard Brinsley Sheridan introduces an unpleasant Jew, Isaac, in his comic opera, *The Duenna* (1775), balanced by a virtuous Jew, Moses, in *The School for Scandal* (1777). The hero of an anonymous play, *The Israelites* (1785), is a Mr. Israel, who practices all the virtues that the Christians only profess. The most sympathetic portrayal of all is that of the Jew Sheva in Richard *Cumberland's play, *The Jew* (1794). A kind of Shylock in reverse, Sheva is the English counterpart of the hero of the German dramatist *Lessing's *Nathan der Weise* (1779). In fiction there was a similar tendency to extremes. The vicious and criminal Jew painted by Daniel Defoe in *Roxana* (1724) is balanced in Tobias Smollett's novel *The Adventures of Ferdinand Count Fathom* (1753), where the benevolent Joshuah Manasseh insists on lending the hero money without interest. Yet Smollett himself had a few years earlier (in *The Adventures of Roderick Random*, 1748) drawn a no less exaggerated portrait of the Jewish usurer in Isaac Rapine, whose name suggests his character. The same duality in the portrait of the Jew is noticeable in the 19th century. Maria Edgeworth, having produced a gallery of rascally Jews in her early *Moral Tales* (1801), compensated for those in *Harrington* (1816), a novel largely devoted to the rehabilitation of the Jews, whom she represents as noble, generous, and worthy of respect and affection. All this was part of the new liberal attitude generated by the French Revolution and the spread of the belief in human equality and perfectibility. To entertain anti-Jewish prejudices was to subscribe to outmoded social and ethical forms. Thus, "Imperfect Sympathies," one of the *Essays of Elia* (1823–33) by Charles Lamb, expresses mild reservations about "Jews Christianizing, Christians Judaizing," Lamb having little time for Jewish conversion or assimilation. The novel *Ivanhoe* (1819) by Sir Walter Scott introduces Isaac of York, the medieval usurer who, though described as "mean and unamiable," is in fact radically humanized in line with the new conceptions. He has become grey rather than black, and his daughter Rebecca is entirely white, good, and beautiful. Scott has come a long way from the earlier stereotypes, and the Jews, far from being murderers, preach peace and respect for human life to the murderous Christian knights. In later 19th-century English novels there are many Jewish portraits. William Makepeace Thackeray always pictures his Jews as given to deceit and as suitable objects for social satire. In his *Notes of a Journey from Cornhill to Grand Cairo* … (1846), which includes the record of a visit to the Holy Land, Thackeray indulges in a rather more emphatic strain of antisemitism. Charles Kingsley and Charles *Dickens, on the other hand, both have sympathetic as well as unfavorable portraits. Kingsley's bad Jews are to be found in *Alton Locke* (1850), and his good Jew in *Hypatia* (1853), while Dickens introduces Fagin, the corrupter of youth and receiver of stolen goods, in *Oliver Twist* (1837–38), and Mr. Riah, the benefactor of society and ally of the innocent, in *Our Mutual Friend* (1864–65). Charles Reade has as the central character of his novel *It is Never too Late to Mend* (1856) a Jew, Isaac Levi, who initially more sinned against than sinning, ends by taking a terrible revenge on his rascally foe. George Henry Borrow, an agent of the British and Foreign Bible Society, was obsessed with Jewish exoticism, but disliked Jews as people. He used a Hebrew title for *Targum* (1835), a collection of translations, and in his most famous work, *The Bible in Spain* (1843), recorded his encounter with the alleged leader of Spain's surviving Marranos and included his own verse translation of *Adon Olam.* In his novel *The Way We Live Now* (1875), Anthony Trollope drew the fantastically wicked Jew Augustus Melmotte on a melodramatic scale and with no real attempt at verisimilitude. But in the following year, the ultimately noble Jew makes his appearance in George *Eliot's Zionist novel, *Daniel Deronda* (1876). This shows the Jews not merely as worthy of sympathy, but as having within them a spiritual energy through which mankind may one day be saved and made whole. The 19th-century belief in race and nationality as a source of vital inspiration has here combined with a certain moral idealism to produce a remarkable vision of the Jewish renaissance, in some measure prophetic of what was to come after the rise of Herzlian Zionism. Something similar is to be found in the novelist and statesman Benjamin *Disraeli, who never tired of vaunting the superiority of the Jewish race as a storehouse of energy and vision. In *Tancred* (1847) and his biography of

Lord George Bentinck (1852) he maintained his belief that the Jews were "the aristocrats of mankind." George du Maurier propagated a Jewish caricature nourished by the new Nietzschean philosophy of race. Svengali, the evil Jew in his novel *Trilby* (1894), is the eternal alien, mysterious and sinister, a sorcerer whose occult powers give the novel the character of a Gothic thriller. Svengali belongs, of course, to an "inferior race," and his exploits are ultimately designed to corrupt the "pure white race" personified in the novel's heroine, Trilby. On the other hand, George Meredith, in *The Tragic Comedians* (1880), presents a romantically attractive Jew, Alvan, who is actually a portrait of the German-Jewish socialist Ferdinand *Lassalle. Sir Thomas Henry Hall Caine also showed unstinted sympathy and admiration for the Jew in his novel of Jewish life in Morocco, *The Scapegoat* (1891), although his account is not without some inner contradictions. The non-Jewish Anglo-American Henry Harland, using the pen name Sidney Luska, published three novels – *As It Was Written* (1885), *Mrs. Peixada* (1886), and *The Yoke of Thorah* (1887) – in the guise of an immigrant of Jewish background describing the life of the German Jews of New York. The poets Wordsworth and Byron were drawn to the romantic glamour of the Jewish past, the former in a touching descriptive lyric, "A Jewish Family" (1828), the latter in the more famous *Hebrew Melodies.* Like Blake, Shelley was repelled by the Old Testament's stress on the Law and the Commandments – his instinct being toward free love and anarchism – but was drawn to the figure of the Wandering Jew. Samuel Taylor Coleridge, too, in his "Rime of the Ancient Mariner" (in *Lyrical Ballads*, 1798) shows an interest in the same theme evidently derived from his reading of M.G. Lewis' gruesome novel *The Monk* (1796). Coleridge translated *Kinat Jeshurun*, a Hebrew dirge on the death of Queen Charlotte by his friend Hyman *Hurwitz, calling it *Israel's Lament* (1817). The warmest and most detailed accounts of Jews are to be found in the poetry of Robert *Browning, who seemed determined to show that even post-biblical Jews, such as the medieval Rabbi Ben Ezra and the Jews of the Roman ghetto, could be given sympathetic, even noble, treatment. Browning tried to do in poetry what *Rembrandt had done in paint – suggest the mixture of everyday realism and sublimity in the lives of Jews. Matthew Arnold, the most "Hebraic" of 19th-century English writers, paid tribute to Hebrew culture in his elegy "On Heine's Grave" (*New Poems*, 1867), while Algernon Charles Swinburne gave expression to great indignation in his poem "On the Russian Persecution of the Jews" (1882).

THE 20TH CENTURY. English poets of the 20th century have shown less interest in Jews. T.S. Eliot makes a return to the medieval stereotype of avaricious extortioner in his phrase: "My house is a decayed house,/and the jew squats on the window sill, the owner/spawned in some estaminet of Antwerp/…" (*Gerontion* and other references), although elsewhere he speaks with veneration of Nehemiah, the prophet who "grieved for the broken city Jerusalem." In Catholic writers such as Hilaire Belloc, G.K. Chesterton, and Graham Greene, there is a similar rendering of the dark image of the Jew. Belloc, an anti-capitalist, held that the Jews and Protestants were the arch-enemies of civilization and evolved a belief in a "Jewish conspiracy" (*The Jews*, 1922). Greene revived the medieval connection between Judas and the Devil in *A Gun for Sale* (1936) and *Orient Express* (1933), and in *Brighton Rock* (1938), where the Jewish gang-leader Colleoni – one of the most sinister villains in English literature – leads the hero, Pinkie, to damnation. Frankly antisemitic portraits can also be found in the writings of D.H. Lawrence and Wyndham Lewis. A more mild and benevolent portraiture emerges from the biblical dramas of James Bridie, Laurence Housman, and Christopher Fry. George Bernard Shaw brought back the Jew-Devil stage tradition in burlesque form in *Man and Superman* (1903); and various characters in *Major Barbara* (1905), *Saint Joan* (1923), and *The Doctor's Dilemma* (1906) express Shaw's not unkindly view of the Jew in modern society. An important development in the 20th century was the attempt to abandon the old stereotype and depict Jews in natural, human terms. John Galsworthy took the lead in his novels and more particularly in his play *Loyalties* (1922). Here the Jew, Ferdinand de Levis, is the victim of a robbery at a country-house party. The other guests band together to defend the thief because he is one of them, whereas the Jew is an alien. Galsworthy has carefully purged his imagination of the kind of emotional attitudes that determined the reaction of Shakespeare and his audience to the basically similar situation in *The Merchant of Venice*, and the result is an objective study in social psychology. A similarly unemotional approach is to be found in James Joyce's *Ulysses*, where the central character, Leopold Bloom, is neither exactly hero nor anti-hero but something in between. Less flamboyant Jewish characters appear in novels by E.M. Forster, *The Longest Journey* (1907); and C.P. Snow. The latter's *The Conscience of the Rich* (1958) is devoted to the affairs of a Jewish family who differ from the English upper class around them only in an extra touch of gregariousness and more tenacious adherence to tradition.

Palestine and Israel in English Literature

Ever since medieval times English writers have recorded impressions of their visits to the Holy Land or written imaginative works based on Jewish historical themes. One of the earliest books of this kind was the *Voiage* (1357–71) of the 14th-century Anglo-French traveler Sir John Mandeville. Outstanding works over the centuries were Henry Maundrell's *A Journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem at Easter 1697* (1703); *The Fall of Jerusalem* (1820), a play by Henry Hart Milman, dean of St. Paul's, who also wrote a *History of the Jews* (1829); *Eothen* (1844), travel impressions by Alexander William Kinglake; *The Brook Kerith* (1916), a novel by the Irish writer George Moore; and *Oriental Encounters. Palestine and Syria 1894–1896* (1918) by Marmaduke William Pickthall. Britain's Mandate in Palestine, which led to a political confrontation with the *yishuv*, and the State of Israel found wide reflection in English fiction, generally of inferior merit. G.K. Chesterton, an antisemite who condoned massacres of Jews during the First Crusade as "a form of democratic violence," was nevertheless attracted to the Zionist ideal of emancipation through physical toil, recording his impressions of a visit to the Holy Land in *The New Jerusalem* (1920). A thinly disguised account of Jewish-British relations in Ereẓ Israel is combined with an accurate description of Palestine under the Romans in W.P. Crozier's *The Letters of Pontius Pilate* (1928). Some writers were intensely pro-Zionist, others violently hostile and pro-Arab. Muriel Spark's *The Mandelbaum Gate* (1965) was a tale of divided Jerusalem with an anti-Israel bias, but another non-Jewish novelist, Lynne Reid Banks, who wrote *An End to Running* (1962; U.S. ed., *House of Hope*) and *Children at the Gate* (1968), settled at kibbutz Yasur. Of the many books about Palestine and Israel written by English Jews outstanding was Arthur *Koestler's dramatic *Thieves in the Night* (1946).

The Jewish Contribution

Before the Expulsion of 1290, the Jews of England were culturally an integral part of medieval French Jewry, speaking Norman French, and conducting their business affairs in Hebrew or Latin and their literary activities almost exclusively in Hebrew. *Berechiah ben Natronai ha-Nakdan, the 12th–13th-century author of *Mishlei Shu'alim* ("Fox Fables"), is probably identical with Benedict le Poinctur (i.e., punctuator, Hebrew *Nakdan*), who is known to have been living in Oxford in 1194. Berechiah's "Fox Fables" compiled from a variety of Jewish, Oriental, and other medieval sources, were both popular and influential, partly determining the shape of later medieval bestiaries. Their influence may also be seen in the Latin *Gesta Romanorum*, first compiled in England (c. 1330; first printed c. 1472). An important literary figure of the Elizabethan period, John Florio (1553?–1625), was descended from converted Italian Jews. A friend of Ben Jonson and Sir Philip Sidney, he influenced Shakespeare, whose *Hamlet* and *The Tempest* echo Florio's pioneering translation of the *Essays* of Montaigne (1603). It was not until nearly a hundred years after the readmission of the Jews in 1665 that they began to play any significant part in English literary affairs. Moses *Mendes, the grandson of a Marrano physician, was a well-known poetaster and minor playwright. His ballad-opera, *The Double Disappointment* (1746), was the first work written for the theater by an English Jew. He also wrote *The Battiad* (1751), a satire, in collaboration with Dr. Isaac *Schomberg. Jael (Mendes) Pye (d. 1782), a convert like Mendes, made a brief but significant entry into English literature with poems and a novel; while another early poet, Emma (Lyon) Henry (1788–1870), a staunch Jewess, received the patronage of the Prince Regent in the early 19th century. Many of the Anglo-Jewish writers of the 18th and 19th centuries were either remote from Jewish life or actually abandoned Judaism. They include Isaac *D'Israeli, father of Benjamin Disraeli, Earl of Beaconsfield; the half-Jew John Leycester *Adolphus, the first person to deduce Sir Walter Scott's authorship of the *Waverley Novels;* members of the *Palgrave dynasty, notably Sir Francis (Cohen) Palgrave and his son, Francis Turner Palgrave, editor of the famous *Golden Treasury* of English Verse (1861); and Sir Arthur Wing Pinero (1855–1934), the most successful dramatist of his time, who was also of Jewish origin. Late writers included Stephen Hudson (Sydney Schiff); Naomi Jacob; Ada *Leverson; Benn Levy; Lewis Melville; Leonard *Merrick; E.H.W. *Meyerstein; Siegfried *Sassoon; Humbert *Wolfe; and Leonard *Woolf.

JEWISH THEMES. From the early 19th century onward, many Anglo-Jewish writers devoted a large part of their talent to Jewish themes. Several of these committed authors were women. The sisters Celia (Moss) Levetus (1819–1873) and Marion (Moss) Hartog (1821–1907), who ran a private school for 40 years, together published a collection of poems, *Early Efforts* (1838[1], 1839[2]); a three-volume *Romance of Jewish History* (1840); *Tales of Jewish History* (1843); and a short-lived *Jewish Sabbath Journal* (1855). Better known was Grace *Aguilar, a vigorous champion of Judaism, who wrote the first significant Anglo-Jewish novel, *The Vale of Cedars* (1850). Two other women writers were Alice Lucas (1851–1935) and Nina (Davis) Salaman (1877–1925), both of whom wrote poetry; Nina Salaman also translated medieval Hebrew verse. Novels on Jewish themes proliferated from the latter half of the 19th century. Benjamin *Farjeon, a writer of North African Sephardi origin, really created this new genre with works such as *Solomon Isaacs* (1877), *Aaron the Jew* (1894), and *Pride of Race* (1900), which described the London-Jewish scene and especially the growing populace of the East End. This was the main location for the more famous novels of Israel *Zangwill, who remains the greatest single figure in England's Jewish literary history. Although Zangwill wrote many books on non-Jewish themes, he is best remembered for his "ghetto" stories – *Children of the Ghetto* (1892), *Ghetto Tragedies* (1893), *The King of Schnorrers* (1894), and *Dreamers of the Ghetto* (1899). At about the same time, Jewish middle-class life was being faithfully described by three women novelists, Amy *Levy; Julia (Davis) *Frankau ("Frank Danby"); and Mrs. Alfred Sidgwick (Cecily Ullman, 1855–1934), whose works include *Scenes of Jewish Life* (1904), *In Other Days* (1915), and *Refugee* (1934). Their books had little impact outside the Jewish community, but their common central theme – mixed marriage – became increasingly popular. This was the case with the novelist G.B. *Stern, but the most sentimental, and obsessive, use of the motif occurs in the works of Louis *Golding, whose *Magnolia Street* (1932) and "Doomington" novels enshrine this aspect of Jewish assimilation with an archetypal repetitiveness that suggests a permanent solution of the "Jewish problem" through wholesale extra-marriage. The outstanding Jewish poet of the 20th century was Isaac *Rosenberg, whose feeling for the sufferings of the soldiers in the trenches of World War I was in part nourished by the Bible. Izak *Goller, originally a preacher, was a more intensely Jewish poet, whose passionate Zionist sympathies and outspoken manner brought him both fame and notoriety during the 1930s. Other Jewish writers included S.L. *Bensusan; the biographer and historian, Philip *Guedalla;

and M.J. Landa. A number of Jewish writers also became eminent as literary scholars and critics. They include Sir Sidney *Lee; F.S. Boas; Sir Israel *Gollancz; Laurie *Magnus; V. de Sola Pinto; Jacob Isaacs (d. 1973), first professor of English at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem; David *Daiches; and George Steiner. The left-wing publisher, author, and pacifist, Victor *Gollancz, attempted to synthesize his conception of Judaism with a liberalized Christianity. Joseph *Leftwich, J.M. Cohen (d. 1989), and Jacob Sonntag (d. 1984) were prominent editors, anthologists, and translators.

NEW IMPULSES. In the mid-20th century a new dimension was given to the problem of Jewish existence both by the European Holocaust and its aftermath and by the birth and consolidation of the State of Israel. These momentous events, shattering old illusions, in time created a new sense of tragedy and peril, in which the Jew became the focus of a universal situation. This feeling can be detected in several Anglo-Jewish writers, although none of them was as significant as such U.S. authors as Saul *Bellow, Bernard *Malamud, and Philip *Roth. In poetry the outstanding names were Dannie *Abse, Karen Gershon, Michael Hamburger, Emanuel *Litvinoff, Rudolf Nassauer, Jon *Silkin, and Nathaniel Tarn. A writer whose novels, essays, and political and philosophical works commanded wide attention from the 1930s onward was the Hungarian-born Arthur Koestler. Like Koestler, Stephen Spender (1909–1995), a leading poet and critic of partly Jewish origin, was a disillusioned leftist. His works include impressions of Israel, *Learning Laughter* (1952). Elias *Canetti was a refugee playwright who continued to write in German, his works being translated into English. Harold *Pinter, Peter *Shaffer, and Arnold *Wesker were leading playwrights of the post-World War II era. In 2005 Pinter was awarded the Nobel Prize for literature. Janina David (1930–) described her childhood experiences in pre-war Poland and the Warsaw ghetto in *A Square of Sky* (1964); its sequel, *A Touch of Earth* (1966), tells of her postwar move to Australia. *The Quick and the Dead* (1969), a novel by Thomas Wiseman (1930–), reflects early memories of Vienna during the 1930s and the *Anschluss* era. A few writers attempted to demythologize the Jewish image by presenting Jews as basically similar to their fellows. The novelist Alexander Baron, the novelist and playwright Wolf *Mankowitz, and Arnold Wesker all belong to this category, although Mankowitz later reassessed his commitment to Judaism. Popular novelists included the Socialist member of parliament Maurice Edelman, whose book *The Fratricides* (1963) has a Jewish doctor as its hero; and Henry Cecil (Judge Henry Cecil Leon), who specialized in legal themes. From the late 1950s a "new wave" of Anglo-Jewish writers appeared following the publication of *The Bankrupts* (1958), a novel by Brian *Glanville harshly criticizing Jewish family life and social forms. Works of similar inspiration were written by Dan *Jacobson, Frederic Raphael, and Bernard *Kops. Following the general inclination to reject or debunk the inheritance of an older generation – these writers were not, however, entirely destructive, their aim being to strip Jewish life in England of its complacency and hypocrisy. Other writers were more firmly committed to Jewish values and ideals. They include the humorist Chaim Bermant; the novelists Gerda Charles, Lionel Davidson, William Goldman (1910–), Chaim Raphael, and Bernice Rubens; and the Welsh-born poet Jeremy Robson (1939–), who edited *Letters to Israel* (1969) and an *Anthology of Young British Poets* (1968).

Another member of this group was the critic John Jacob Gross (1935–), assistant editor of *Encounter*. The Six-Day War of June 1967 galvanized many Jewish writers in England into a sudden awareness of a common destiny shared with the Israelis in their hour of peril. This found expression in a forthright letter to the London *Sunday Times* (June 4) signed by more than 30 Anglo-Jewish authors.

[Harold Harel Fisch]

Later Developments

The trends which had characterized Anglo-Jewish literature during the 1960s continued to manifest themselves in the 1970s. New books were published by virtually all of the better-known writers, including the novelists Gerda *Charles, Frederic *Raphael, Chaim *Raphael, Nadine *Gordimer, Bernard *Kops, Barnet *Litvinoff, Chaim *Bermant, Bernice *Rubens, the last of whom was awarded the Booker Prize for Fiction in 1970 for *The Elected Member* (1970), the story of a drug addict and his Jewish family set against the background of London's East End.

One of the new trends in the years under review was a growing closeness to the Hebrew tradition. Dan *Jacobson's *The Rape of Tamar* (1970) brought King David, his family, and court to life in a searching and brilliant retelling of biblical narrative. His drama, *The Caves of Adullam* (1972), treated the David-Saul relationship no less interestingly. Later heroism was described in David *Kossoff's *Voices of Masada* (1973), the story of the siege as it might have been told by the two women who, according to Josephus, were the only Jewish survivors. In another historical novel, *Another Time, Another Voice* (1971), Barnet Litvinoff deals with Shabbetai Ẓevi, while against the background of present-day Israel Lionel *Davidson's detective story, *Smith's Gazelle* (1971), deftly wove together kibbutz and Bedouin and the Israel love for nature.

Davidson, who settled in Israel after the Six-Day War, in 1972 became the first writer in English to win the Shazar Prize of the Israel Government for the encouragement of immigrant authors. Another English writer who settled in Israel was Karen *Gershon, the German-born poet, whose poems on Jerusalem were the heart of her volume of verse, *Legacies and Encounters, Poems 1966–1971* (1972). A cycle of the Jerusalem poems appeared in Israel with Hebrew translations facing each page.

The new, sometimes even personal, relation of Anglo-Jewish writers to Israel is paralleled by a deeper involvement with the Jewish past in England itself. Thus, Gerda Charles' novel, *The Destiny Waltz* (1971), grew out of the life of Isaac

*Rosenberg, the East End poet who died in World War I, while Maurice *Edelman went further back to write *Disraeli in Love* (1972), a portrait of the statesman in his youth. The largely interrelated aristocratic families that dominated the Anglo-Jewish community in the 19th century and even later were vividly described in *The Cousinhood* (1971) by Chaim Bermant.

The nearer past continued to be reflected in literature, Emanuel *Litvinoff's *Journey through a Small Planet* (1972) depicting an East End childhood in the 1930s and Arnold *Wesker in his play, *The Old Ones* (1973), evoking ideologies and eccentricities of an older East End generation that is now vanishing. The second part of David *Daiches' autobiography, *A Third World* (1971), describes the author's years in the United States, while *Mist of Memory* (1973) by the South African writer Bernard Sachs portrayed a Lithuanian childhood and full, contemplative years in South Africa – its politics, racial conflicts, trade unionism, and Jewish attitudes.

Another book on South Africa, Dan Jacobson's novel on interracial marriage, *Evidence of Love* (1960), was translated and published in the Soviet Union. Both Jacobson and Sachs, like other South African Jewish writers, in recent years made their home in England. Similarly, Canadians like Norman Levine and Mordecai *Richler, though continuing to write about Canada, became resident in England, and Richler's *St. Urbain's Horseman* (1971) sharply described expatriates in the film and television industry.

[Shulamit Nardi]

Starting in the 1980s Anglo-Jewish literature has undergone something of a transformation. Instead of specifically English concerns and forms of expression, many recent Anglo-Jewish novelists are influenced by the American Jewish novel and incorporate European Jewish history and the contemporary State of Israel into their fiction. This marked lack of parochialism is reflected in novels, often first novels, published in the 1980s by Elaine *Feinstein, Howard *Jacobson, Emanuel *Litvinoff, Simon Louvish, Bernice *Rubens, and Clive *Sinclair.

In 1985, the London *Times Literary Supplement* indicated a serious general interest in Anglo-Jewish literature by organizing a symposium for English and American Jewish writers on the role of Hebrew and Yiddish culture in the writer's life and work. In general, national British radio, television, and press have devoted a significant amount of time to Anglo-Jewish literature which, in recent years, has included many individual profiles of Jewish novelists in England. Clive Sinclair and Howard Jacobson, in particular, have achieved national prominence with Sinclair, in 1983, designated one of the 20 "Best of Young British Novelists" and Jacobson's *Peeping Tom* (1984), his second novel, winning a special *Guardian* fiction prize. Since 1984, the Institute of Jewish Affairs, the London-based research arm of the World Jewish Congress, has organized a regular Jewish writers' circle which has brought together many Anglo-Jewish writers for the first time. This group has grown out of a colloquium in 1984 on Literature and the Contemporary Jewish Experience which included the participation of the Israeli writer Aharon *Appelfeld and the literary critic George *Steiner.

In contrast to Anglo-Jewish literature which includes explicitly Jewish concerns, many Jewish writers in England continue to abstain from overt expression of their Jewishness in a fictional context. Prominent examples, in these terms, include Anita *Brookner's *Hotel du Lac* (1984), which won the Booker McConnel Prize for Fiction in 1984, Gabriel *Josipovici's *Conversations in Another Room* (1984), and Russell Hoban's *Pilgermann* (1983). Against this trend, however, Anita Brookner's *Family and Friends* (1985), for the first time in her fiction, obliquely refers to the author's European Jewish background and her *The Latecomers* (1988) makes explicit her grief for a lost European past as well as her Central European Jewish antecedents. Gabriel Josipovici's literary criticism reveals a profound interest and knowledge of Jewish literature. Two of Josipovici's novels, *The Big Glass* (1991) and *In a Hotel Garden* (1993), are concerned, respectively, with a Hebraic understanding of art and the continued European dialogue with Jewish history. Josipovici has also published his much acclaimed *The Book of God: A Response to the Bible* (1988) which has had a considerable impact on his fiction. Josipovici has also written the introduction to the English translation of Aharon Appelfeld's *The Retreat* (1985).

A young Anglo-Jewish playwright, who has emerged in the last decade, is Stephen Poliakoff, whose plays have been regularly produced in both London and New York. Older playwrights, Bernard *Kops and Arnold *Wesker, continue to produce drama of interest, especially Bernard Kops' *Ezra* (1980) and Arnold Wesker's *The Merchant* (1977). Between 1977 and 1981 Harold *Pinter's collected *Plays* were published to much acclaim and Peter *Shaffer, the author of *Amadeus* (1980), staged *Yonadab* (1985), a play based on Dan *Jacobson's *The Rape of Tamar* (1970), which played in a West End London theater. Jacobson, who was born in South Africa and has lived in England for nearly three decades, continues to produce fiction of high quality as demonstrated by his autobiographical set of short stories, *Time and Time Again* (1985) and his novel *The God-Fearer.* The poet Dannie *Abse has published *A Strong Dose of Myself* (1983), the third volume of his autobiography, and his *Collected Poems: 1945–1976* appeared in 1977.

Much Anglo-Jewish literature continues to situate Jewish characters in a specifically English context. In a comic tour de force, Howard Jacobson contrasts Englishness and Jewishness in his popular campus novel, *Coming From Behind* (1983). Jacobson's *Peeping Tom* (1984) is a brilliant and lasting comic treatment of the same theme. His *The Very Model of a Man* (1992) and *Roots Shmoots: Journeys among Jews* (1993) are explorations of his Jewishness.

Frederic *Raphael's *Heaven and Earth* (1985) examines Anglo-Jewishness in the political context of an amoral English conservatism. A more conventional account of middle class Jewish life in England – and its relationship to the State of Israel – is provided by Rosemary Friedman's trilogy, *Proofs* *of Affection* (1982), *Rose of Jericho* (1984), and *To Live in Peace* (1986). Friedman's fiction demonstrates that the family saga continues to be a popular form of Anglo-Jewish self-expression. Chaim *Bermant's *The Patriarch: A Jewish Family Saga* (1981) is another example of this genre, as is Maisie Mosco's bestselling *Almonds and Raisins* trilogy (1979–81). Judith Summers' first novel, *Dear Sister* (1985), is a woman-centered Jewish family saga.

While much Anglo-Jewish literature continues to be set in an English milieu, many Jewish novelists have begun to reveal a fruitful interest in European Jewish history and the contemporary State of Israel. Emanuel Litvinoff's *Falls The Shadow* (1983), using the form of a detective novel, examines the Jewishness of modern-day Israel and the relationship of the Jewish State to the Holocaust. A more controversial account of these themes is found in George Steiner's *The Portage to San Cristobal of A.H.* (1981). The 1982 West End stage version of this novella excited a prolonged exchange of articles and letters in the London *Times* and the *Jewish Chronicle*. Steiner also published an interesting work of fiction, *Proofs and Three Fables* (1992). Other works of fiction by Jewish critics include Al Alvarez's *Day of Atonement* (1991) and Harold Pinter's autobiographical novel *The Dwarfs* (1990 but mainly written in the 1950s). Pinter, like Steven *Berkoff in his challenging plays, was deeply influenced by his poor London East End Jewish background. Provocative fictional accounts of contemporary Israel are found in Simon Louvish's novels, *The Therapy of Avram Blok* (1985), *The Death of Moishe-Ganel* (1986), *City of Blok* (1988), *The Last Trump of Avram Blok* (1990), and *The Silencer* (1991). Louvish, who lives London, was raised in Jerusalem and served in the Six-Day War. His fiction is an iconoclastic, deliberately grotesque, portrait of the State of Israel. Clive Sinclair's *Blood Libels* (1985), his second novel, also utilizes Israeli history, especially the Lebanon War, and combines such history with a haunting imagination. In fact, Sinclair epitomizes the explicitly Jewish self-assertion and maturity of a new generation of Anglo-Jewish writers that has emerged in the 1980s. He describes himself as a Jewish writer "in a national sense" and so situates his fiction in Eastern Europe, America, and Israel. In this way, he eschews the usual self-referring, parochial concerns of the Anglo-Jewish novel. This is especially true in his collection of short stories, *Hearts of Gold* (1979) – which won the Somerset Maugham Award in 1981 – and *Bedbugs* (1982). His later works are *Cosmetic Effects* (1989), *Augustus Rex* (1992), and *Diaspora Blues: A View of Israel* (1987).

Elaine Feinstein is another Anglo-Jewish writer who, over the last decade, has consistently produced fiction of the highest literary excellence and has demonstrated a profound engagement with European history. Her fiction, especially *Children of the Rose* (1975), *The Ecstasy of Dr. Miriam Gardner* (1976), *The Shadow Master* (1978), *The Survivors* (1982), and *The Border* (1984), all demonstrate the persistence of the past in her characters' lives. Apart from *The Survivors*, all of these novels have a continental European setting. That is, Feinstein's fiction has successfully drawn on European Jewish history in a bid to understand her own sense of Jewishness. In recent years this has been clearly focused in her autobiographical *The Survivors*, set in England, and her less overtly autobiographical *The Border* which is set in Central Europe in 1938. *The Border* received high critical acclaim. The novel, using the form of a collection of letters and diaries, enacts the irrevocable march of history leading up to the outbreak of World War II. In juxtaposition to this historical backdrop, Feinstein's rare lucidity evokes her characters' passionately differing sense of reality. Bernice Rubens' *Brothers* (1983) utilizes modern Jewish history in more expansive terms than Feinstein, but, perhaps because of this, with less success.

The growing strength of British-Jewish writing is further indicated by a younger generation of Jewish novelists which is now emerging. Work by them includes Jenny Diski's *Like Mother* (1988), Will Self's *Cock and Bull* (1992), and Jonathan Wilson's *Schoom* (1993). When this writing is coupled with the plays of a number of young Jewish dramatists such as Diane Samuels, Julia Pascall, and Gavin Kostick, then the future of British-Jewish literature looks particularly healthy.

The last decade has demonstrated that there is a coincidence of interests between English literature in general and the concerns of the Anglo-Jewish novel. In recent years, much of the best English fiction looks to Asia, the Americas, and continental Europe for its subject matter and sense of history. It is not uncommon, therefore, for non-Jewish writers to incorporate Jewish history into their novels. With regard to the Holocaust, two of the most prominent examples of this phenomena are Thomas Keneally's Booker Prize winning *Schindler's Ark* (1982) – based on the life of the righteous gentile Oskar *Schindler – and D.M. Thomas' controversial *The White Hotel* (1981).

[Bryan Cheyette]

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EN-HAROD (Heb. עֵין חֲרֹד).

Ancient

Spring where Gideon and his people camped during his war against the Midianites and the place where he selected the men for his night ambush (Judg. 7:1). It is identified with a spring on a northwestern spur of Mt. Gilboa, and may also be the unnamed fountain where Saul camped against the Philistines (I Sam. 29:1). From Byzantine times it was believed that the battle between David and Goliath took place at En-Harod. The Arabs thus called it Ain Jalud ("Spring of Goliath"), by which name it became famous as the site of the Mongol defeat by the Mamluk sultan Kotuz in 1260.

En-Harod is also an unidentified locality which was the home of Shammah and Elika, two of David's warriors (II Sam. 23:25; cf. I Chron. 11:27).

[Michael Avi-Yonah]

Modern

En-Harod is the name of two kibbutzim in the Harod Valley, one affiliated with Ha-Kibbutz ha-Me'uḥad and the other with Iḥud ha-Kevuẓot ve-ha-Kibbutzim. The original En-Harod was founded in 1921 at the foot of Mt. Gilboa near Harod Spring by a pioneer group of *Gedud ha-Avodah. They set up two tent camps and started draining the malarial swamps of the "Nuris Bloc" recently acquired by the *Jewish National Fund. At En-Harod, the principles of the "large and growing kibbutz" were worked out in its first years and laid down by Shelomo *Lavi. At the same time, fierce discussions were held between members accepting the Gedud ha-Avodah doctrine of a countrywide commune of kibbutzim and others who demanded that every village constitute a separate economic unit. The former concentrated at neighboring *Tel Yosef, and the latter at En-Harod. When the Gedud declined, most of its groups associated themselves with En-Harod, eventually forming Ha-Kibbutz ha-Me'uḥad. In 1929 the En-Harod settlement was transferred to the northern rim of the valley, on the slope of the Ẓeva'im (Qūmī) Ridge. In the 1930s, the kibbutz quickly increased in membership, intensified its farming, and opened manufacturing enterprises. Exposed to frequent attacks during the 1936–39 Arab riots, special night squads of the Haganah were set up and trained at En-Harod, under Orde *Wingate. In the Israeli War of Independence (1948), a Palmaḥ group from En-Harod dislodged the Arab Legion from its positions menacing the Harod Valley at Zirʿin (Yizre'el) and al-Mazar on Mt. Gilboa. In the 1951–52 split in the Kibbutz Me'uḥad movement, members of En-Harod were about equally divided between Mapai and the *Aḥdut-Avodah faction of Mapam, causing the settlement to be split between Iḥud ha-Kevuẓot ve-ha-Kibbutzim and Ha-Kibbutz ha-Me'uḥad, the latter setting up a new kibbutz adjoining the veteran settlement in the northwest. Both kibbutzim developed highly intensive farming (beehives, dairy cattle, poultry, fishery, fields crops, and orchards) and each had a number of industrial enterprises (at En-Harod "Iḥud," stainless steel sanitary equipment, other metal products, a printing press, and a guest house, and at En-Harod "Me'uḥad," steel works, a furniture factory, medical and industrial recording equipment, and software). Tel Yosef and En-Harod maintained the Bet Sturman Museum and Study Center containing collections and documents on the region's nature, history, and settlement history; nearby, a large open-air stage for art performances was set up. There was also a museum for contemporary art, Mishkan la-Ommanut (see *Museums, Israel). In 1968 En-Harod "Me'uḥad" had 760 inhabitants, and En-Harod "Iḥud" had 690. In the mid-1990s the population of En-Harod "Me'uḥad" was approximately 875, and the population of En-Harod "Iḥud" was approximately 720. At the end of 2002 the population of En-Harod "Me'uḥad" was 809 and the population of En-Harod "Iḥud" was 559.

WEBSITE: www.einharodm.co.il (for Me'uḥad).

[Efraim Orni]

ENNERY, JONAS D' (1801–1863), French politician, geographer, and educationalist. Ennery, who was born in Nancy, was principal of the school of the Jewish community in Strasbourg. In 1849, despite the anti-Jewish disorders in Alsace, he was elected to the constituent assembly, where he sat among the members of the "Mountain" (left wing). After Napoleon III's coup d'état in 1852, Ennery was exiled to Belgium. His works include *Dictionnaire général de géographie universelle* (4 vols., 1839–41) and *Prières d'un coeur israélite* (1848).

ENOCH (Heb. חֲנוֹךְ). (1) Son of Cain, father of Irad. The world's first city was named after Enoch (Gen. 4:17f.). It has been suggested that the writer is punning on the root *ḥnk*, "to found," "initiate." (2) Son of Jared, father of Methuselah, seventh generation of the human race (Gen. 5:18–24; I Chron. 1:3). Sasson (in Bibliography) has suggested that as seventh in the line of Adam, Enoch's life of piety is in contrast with the seventh in the line of Cain, who is associated with bloodshed. In comparison with the life-span of his ancestors and descendants, his life is short and corresponds in years with the number of days in the solar year. It is further said of him that he "walked with God; then he was no more for God took him" (Gen. 5:23). This cryptic statement implies the existence of some fuller narrative about Enoch, now lost, perhaps connecting him with the sun god (see below). Legend has stepped in to fill the gap. Some scholars have pointed to a similarity with the Mesopotamian story of Enmeduranna, the seventh king before the flood, who was very close to the sun-god to whom his capital city was dedicated. Hess follows Borger (Bibliography) in suggesting that a better Mesopotamian counterpart of Enoch would be Utuabzu, adviser to Enmeduranki. Utuabzu, seventh in a list of sages before the Mesopotamian flood, like Enoch ascended into heaven.

[Nahum M. Sarna / S. David Sperling (2nd ed.)]

In the Apocrypha

In Jewish apocryphal literature of the Second Temple period similar motifs to those of Enmeduranna are connected with Enoch (seventh in Seth's line); he too learned God's mysteries and had access to the heavenly tablets. It is therefore probable that the similarity between the later legends about Enoch and the figure of the Babylonian legendary king can be explained by the fact that Genesis preserves a partly expurgated narrative about Enoch and that some of the original mythological motifs continued to exist in oral tradition until they reached their present form in Jewish pseudepigrapha and medieval legends and mystical literature. Enoch became a hero in Jewish apocalyptic literature and two Jewish apocalyptic books are ascribed to him: the so-called Ethiopic and Slavonic Books of Enoch. The figure of Enoch was especially significant in the spiritual movement from which the *Dead Sea Sect originated. Thus his story and his writings are treated in the Book of *Jubilees, his prophecies are hinted at in the Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs, and he plays an active role in the Genesis Apocryphon, one of the *Dead Sea Scrolls. Cave 4 at Qumran yielded Aramaic fragments many of which correspond to the apocalyptic I Enoch. The importance attached to Enoch in some Jewish circles in the Second Temple period aroused the opposition of the more rationalistic Jewish sages. Therefore in rabbinic literature Enoch is sometimes presented as evil and the biblical statement that he was taken by God is simply explained as a reference to his death. The first to claim that Enoch merely died was Ben Sira (Ecclus. 44:16; 49:14–16) – even Joseph, Shem, Seth, Enoch, and Adam had to die. It is interesting to note that all these biblical personages (with the exception of Joseph, but note "The Prayer of Joseph") became heroes of Jewish, Gnostic, and Christian mystical speculations. It is also important that while the Hebrew text of Ben Sira presents Enoch as a "sign of knowledge to all generations" – a hint at his mystical wisdom – by the time of the Greek translation (135 B.C.E.) Enoch had become "an example of repentance for all generations," reflecting the legend that there was repentance before the Flood. This legend, in a curious form, occurs even in Mormon holy scriptures (Moses 6:27–7:19).

[David Flusser]

In the *Aggadah*

Enoch was among the nine righteous men who entered paradise without suffering the pangs of death (DEZ 1, end). "He ascended to heaven on God's command, and was given the name *Metatron the Great Scribe" (Targ. Yer. to Gen. 5:4). During his lifetime Enoch was the guardian of the "secret of intercalation" and of the "miraculous rod" with which Moses later performed the miracles in Egypt (PdRE 7:40). He is the central figure in some late Midrashim, such as *Sefer Ḥanokh* and *Ḥayyei Ḥanokh* (which are related to the legends found in the various pseudepigraphic Books of Enoch and other apocryphic works). Enoch lived in a secret place as a hidden righteous man and was called by an angel to leave his retreat to go to teach men to walk in the ways of God. He taught for 243 years, during which peace and prosperity reigned in the world. He made a powerful impression on all he taught, including kings and princes, and they acclaimed him as their king. As a reward for instructing mankind, God resolved to install him as king over the angels in heaven too. He ascended to heaven in a fiery chariot drawn by fiery chargers. When Enoch arrived in heaven the angels exclaimed: "How comes a man born of a woman amid the fire-consuming angels?" To which God replied: "Be not offended, for all mankind denied Me and My dominion and paid homage to the idols; I therefore transferred the *Shekhinah* ['Divine Presence'] from earth to heaven, and this man Enoch is the elect of men." God arrayed him in a magnificent garment and a luminous crown, opened to him all the gates of wisdom, gave him the name "Metatron," prince and chief of all heavenly hosts, transformed his body into a flame, and engirdled him by storm, whirlwind, and thundering (*Sefer ha-Yashar* to Genesis, p. 11a–13a). Notwithstanding these legends, third-century Palestinian rabbis deny the miraculous translation of Enoch, and state that he vacillated all his life between righteousness and sinfulness, whereupon God removed him from the world before he relapsed again into sin (Gen. R. 25:1). This derogatory evaluation of Enoch was, at least in part, a reaction against the use made by Christians of the legend of Enoch's ascension to heaven.

In Islam

A prophet named Idrīs is mentioned in the Koran in Suras 19:57–58 and 21:85. The commentators identify him with Enoch, whom God "took" (Gen. 5:22–25), namely, that he did not die. The Muslims shaped the character of Idrīs, the brother of "Noah," in keeping with Jewish *aggadah*, as already found in Ben Sira, Josephus, and the books of the Pseudepigrapha, in various languages, which are attributed to Enoch. The brother of "Noah" was well versed in books and was therefore named Idrīs ("the expounder of books"). Like the Jews, the Muslims occasionally identify him with Elijah, as well as with al-Khaḍir (see *Mūsā).

[Haïm Z'ew Hirschberg]

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ENOCH, ETHIOPIC BOOK OF (known as **I Enoch**; abbr. **I En.**), one of the most important of the apocalyptic works, dating from the period of the Second Temple. It is named after the biblical Enoch, son of Jared, about whom it is stated in Genesis 5:24 that he "walked with God; then he was no more, for God took him," which was understood to mean that he ascended to heaven during his lifetime. The work consists of different sections, which are generally clearly indicated.

In its present form it is divided into five parts, consisting of some nine separate sections, as follows:

(1) 1–5: An introduction, in which Enoch relates the good in store for the "elect" after the final "day of judgment"; 6–11 describes Shamḥazai and his cohorts, the chiefs of the watchers (cf. Dan. 4:10–14); they are "sons of God … the Nephilim" of Genesis 6:4, who lust after the daughters of men and sire children (cf. the Greek *gigantes*), who consume the labor of others, and teach mankind the arts of magic and the art of fashioning weapons of destruction. Uriel, one of the angels of the "Heavenly Presence," is sent by God to apprise Noah of the impending flood, destined to come upon the earth because of this wickedness. The angel Gabriel is sent to destroy the children of the "watchers" and the angel Michael to bind the "watchers" in *Sheol until the day of the last judgment; 12–36 continues the foregoing except for the fact that here the leader of the Nephilim is called Azael, and Enoch the "righteous scribe" acts as the intermediary between them and God. It continues with Enoch's journey through the universe, during which he is granted a view of all the elements of creation (hills of darkness, rivers of fire, the abode of the spirits, the place of the great future "judgment," the garden of Eden, Gehenna, the sun, the stars, etc.) and among them also "the seat of glory," upon which sits "the great glory" (God).

(2) 37–71: This section deals with the "last day." The Messiah, who is here called the "Elect One," is envisioned as a preexistent being who has, from time immemorial, been "under the wings of the Lord of the spirits" and who, on the last day of judgment, is destined to act as the judge of all mortal beings (41). The ministering angels, who lift their voices in song in the morning, first greet the "Lord of spirits" (or the "ancient of days" of Dan. 7:9) and then the "Elect One."

(3) 72–82: The Book of the Courses of the Heavenly Luminaries. This book is entirely separate and distinct from the preceding one. It gives a detailed description of the course of the sun, of the moon and of the stars, of the falling of dew and of rain, of the recurring seasons of the year, etc. The nature of the "true" calendar of 364 days per year, i.e., 52 weeks, is also explained (by means of a description of the procession of the sun through the "gates" and "windows" of the heavens).

(4) 83–90: This part is similar in content to section (2). In it are related, by means of dream-visions and symbols, the deluge and the history of the children of Israel down to the beginning of the Hasmonean era.

(5) 91–108, which may be subdivided as follows: (a) 91–105: another survey of the history of man and of the children of Israel. History is divided into ten periods, seven of which have already occurred (the creation, the flood, Abraham, the revelation at Sinai, the Temple, the destruction of the Temple, the time of the election of "the righteous shoot") and three which belong to the future. In them the righteous shall triumph, the Temple will be rebuilt, and the day of the last judgment come; (b) 106–107: The Book of Noah, the story of Noah's birth, similar in content to the Genesis Apocryphon and to the Book of Noah found at Qumran; (c) 108: Enoch's instructions to mankind.

The different parts of the work are not merely a compilation of various heterogeneous elements, but apparently also reflect different periods in the life of the community in which these "books" arose. In its view of the role of Enoch and in its solar calendar it has affinities with the Book of *Jubilees (which mentions it – 4:17–23 et al. – and is dependent upon it), as well as with other apocalyptic literature (cf. the Testament of Levi, 10:5; 14:1 et al.). These books are also familiar with the Noah story, as apparently with chapters 80–93. On the other hand chapters 37–71 reflect the views of esoteric circles. In the Talmud, R. Akiva, who was among the sages who delved into such lore (*ma'aseh merkavah*; see Tosef., Ḥag. 2:4), expressed similar ideas concerning a preexistent Messiah who sits on a seat next to the "Divine Presence" (*Shekhinah*; Sanh. 38b; Ḥag. 14a), and similar ideas are found in the later "pseudepigraphic" midrashic literature (ed. by A. Jellinek in his *Beit ha-Midrash* and in PR 36–46). One passage in this section (67:6–8), which speaks about mineral waters used medicinally by mighty and wicked monarchs, apparently alludes to Herod (cf. Jos., Ant., 17:171) and hence dates from after his reign (or possibly the days of the early *procurators). The belief in a Temple which will descend from heaven (91–105) also stems from separatist circles, such as those represented by the authors of the Dead Sea Manual of *Discipline who did not consider the Second Temple to be sacred and dissociated themselves from it. The final chapter is both ideologically and linguistically close to the *Dead Sea Scrolls, and the term "righteous shoot" is also common in the writings of this sect.

The Book of Enoch had tremendous influence. From it, or at any rate, through it the Manual of Discipline received the solar calendar and it also served as an exemplar for the composition of the burgeoning apocalyptic literary genre. From it too comes the concept of a preexistent Messiah, which influenced early Christianity and prepared the way for the belief in the divinity of Jesus (see later). It was this influence which was apparently responsible for the negative attitude of some of the talmudic sages of the third century C.E. who regarded Enoch as a wicked and hypocritical figure (Gen. R. 25:1). Only later, at the beginning of the Middle Ages, did the rabbis deal with the mystical knowledge traditionally vouchsafed Enoch. Some early Church Fathers (like Tertullian) considered the book to be part of the canon. However, from the fourth century on, it gradually lost importance in the Western Church and only in the Ethiopic Church is it still considered canonical. The Book of Enoch became known again in Europe only in the 18th century when James Bruce brought parts of it from Ethiopia. In the 19th century, Dalman (who is also responsible for the chapter divisions), and later Charles, disseminated it in the world of Western scholarship.

The original language of the Book of Enoch was, according to Joseph Halévy, Hebrew, but the fragments of the book found in Qumran are all in Aramaic. Charles' hypothesis is that the book consists of Hebrew and Aramaic portions indiscriminately combined. The book was translated into Greek and from Greek into Ethiopic. Only part of the Greek translation is extant. The Book of Enoch is quoted in the Epistle of Jude (14–15) in the New Testament and its influence has been discovered at many other points in the New Testament and in the Church Fathers (cf. Charles, Apocrypha, 2 (1913), 180–5). Of the Greek translation, chapters 1–32 were found in Egypt in 1886–7 and were published by Bouriant in 1892. In 1930 the University of Michigan purchased this manuscript, as well as the manuscript of chapters 97:6–104, 106–107, which were published by Bonner (*The Last Chapters of Enoch in Greek*, 1937). The most complete Ethiopic version was published by R.H. Charles as *The Ethiopic Version of the Book of Enoch edited from 23 Mss.* (1906). There are the following translations of the Ethiopic text into modern languages: English, Charles, Apocrypha, 2 (1913), 163–28; German, G. Beer, in: E. Kautsch (ed.), *Apocryphen und Pseudepigraphen*, 2 (1900), 236–310; French, F. Martin, *Le livre d'Hénoch* (1906); Hebrew, A. Kahana, *Ha-Sefarim ha-Ḥiẓonim*, 1 (1936), 19–101.

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[Yehoshua M. Grintz]

ENOCH, SLAVONIC BOOK OF (known as **II Enoch**; abbr. **II En.**; also entitled the **Book of the Secrets of Enoch**, or several variations on this), apocryphal work translated in the tenth or 11th century from Greek into Slavonic. The dating is deduced from the evidence of certain linguistic peculiarities. The first complete edition of the work was published by A. Popov in 1880. It was edited and studied by M. Sokolov (1899 and 1910) who made a special examination of the quotations from Old Russian literature it contains. An edition and translation of the work into French was made by A. Vaillant (1952). There are considerable differences between the two recensions (one long and one short) found in the manuscripts. Vaillant and other scholars maintain that the short recension is closer to the original text than the long one, which in their view contains many interpolations made by two revisers. Nonetheless the long recension seems to contain some material belonging to the original text omitted from the short recension.

The Slavonic Book of Enoch begins with *Enoch's account of his journey on the wings of angels through the seven heavens. This account, which contains astronomical information and descriptions of various classes of obedient and rebellious angels, recalls, despite considerable differences in detail, similar passages in the Ethiopic Book of *Enoch. In the seventh heaven Enoch sees from afar the Lord, who speaks to him and orders the angel Vreveil to describe to him the workings of heaven and earth, as well as disquisitions on various other topics, and commands Enoch to record these in 360 books. This is followed by an account of the creation given to Enoch which is succeeded in turn by Enoch's exhortations to his sons. These exhortations include moral admonitions, injunctions concerning sacrifices, a description of what Enoch has seen in the heavens, and an eschatology. The tale continues with Enoch being carried away by angels. His son Methuselah is ordained as a priest, offers animal sacrifices, and at the end of his life sees in a vision the Lord, who announces the deluge and commands him to choose Nir, the second son of Lamech (i.e., Noah's brother), as his successor in the priestly office. After the death of Methuselah, Nir offers animal sacrifices. After more than 200 years, when people have changed for the worse, Sophonim, Nir's wife, becomes pregnant in her old age. Rebuked by her husband who believes her unfaithful, she dies. A child comes forth from her corpse. He has the distinctive signs of priesthood and is named Melchizedek. When the time of the deluge approaches, the Lord informs Nir that Melchizedek will be taken to Eden by the archangel Michael and will be forever the priest of priests, or, as Nir puts it, the head of the priests of the "other" people (those who will live after the deluge).

In the long recension the Lord refers to the 13 priests headed by Melchizedek's son Nir who precede the Melchizedek known from the Bible and to 12 priests who follow the second Melchizedek; after them will come the great high priest, the Word of God, who created all things visible and invisible. This allusion to the Christian concept of the Christ has no counterpart in the short recension. The latter, which ends with the removal of the first Melchizedek, is possibly cut short, and in this case the long recension may have preserved some original materials.

Various hypotheses have been put forward on the origin of the Slavonic Book of Enoch and the influences discernible in it. There are unmistakable echoes of Christian doctrine in the long recension, but only doubtful ones, or none at all, in the short. If, as seems probable, the latter text is comparatively free from interpolation, there does not appear to be any firm ground for maintaining, as Vaillant does, that the work originated in a Christian milieu. It is possible that it reflects tendencies of one or even several Jewish groups; there are many quotations from biblical texts and allusions to them and to Ben Sira. It is reasonably likely that the original work, which is more or less represented by the short recension, was an amalgam of two or more texts of differing provenance. A significant clue may be provided by the fact that in two passages – in Enoch's exhortations to his sons (Vaillant, p. 58–59) and in the account of the sacrifice offered by Methuselah (p. 66–67) – the text makes it clear that the four legs of the sacrificial animals should be tied together. A passage in the Babylonian Talmud (Tam. 31b) characterizes this way of tying sacrificial animals as a custom of the sectarians (*minim*). It is therefore a possibility that some portions of the Slavonic Book of Enoch, or the whole of it, reflect the views of a Jewish sect which was heterodox in rabbinic eyes. In this connection, it may be asked if the story of Melchizedek recounted in this work also belongs to the lore of this sect.

Some portions of the Slavonic Book of Enoch show Iranian influences. A passage in the exhortations of Enoch (Vaillant, p. 56–57) referring to the souls of animals accusing man certainly derives, as W. Otto noted, from the Zoroastrian scriptures; its ultimate source may be found in the Avestic Gathas (Yasna 29). The reference in the same passage to the habitation assigned to the souls of the animals in the Great Aeon may also reflect Zoroastrian views. It may be significant that these passages immediately precede the sectarian passage of sacrificial animals (Vaillant, p. 58–59). A passage in the exhortations of Enoch (p. 60–63) in which he refers to God having established the division of time in the Aeon of Creation and to these divisions (the years, months, days, and hours) disappearing in the eschatological Great Aeon is also reminiscent of Iranian doctrines on the creation of the Time of Long Dominion (which has the ordinary divisions of time) and to its merging at the end with Infinite Time (which has none). It has been claimed, with good reason, that the account of the creation the Lord gives to Enoch (Vaillant, p. 28–31) also contains some Iranian elements. The book also shows an Egyptian influence. The Greek original of the Slavonic text appears to have been full of Hebraisms; it may be supposed that the author was familiar with the language of the Septuagint. However, in at least one case (Vaillant, p. 10) a post-biblical Hebrew expression, *porkei ʿol*, seems to have been translated.

Chronologically the Slavonic Book of Enoch comes after the Ethiopic Book of Enoch. *A terminus a quo* is suggested (though not established) by the hypothesis that the Mishnah may include a reference to the sacrificial usages of a sect within which at least some portions of this text may have originated. There are some not wholly conclusive indications that the Greek original of the work may have still existed in the 13th century.

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[Shlomo Pines]

ENOCH BEN ABRAHAM (d. after 1662), talmudist and preacher. In 1649, after having served as preacher in Cracow, he left for Gnesen where he was appointed rabbi. He afterward became *dayyan* at Posen. As a result of the suffering and poverty caused by the Chmielnicki rebellion (1648–49), Enoch left Poland and settled at Oettingen (Germany) where he was appointed rabbi, remaining there, probably until his death. His works, published posthumously, are *Vikku'aḥ Yosef ve-ha-Shevatim* (Amsterdam, 1680), an attempt to exonerate Joseph's brothers; *Reshit Bikkurim* (1708), three sermons on God's existence, revelation, and reward and punishment, published as part one of his grandson Enoch b. Judah's book of the same title. The introduction mentions his commentaries on Psalms, Proverbs, and Esther; *Berit Olam*, homilies on the Bible; and novellae on the *Tur Oraḥ Ḥayyim*. Some of his responsa, together with those of his son Judah and his grandson, appear in *Ḥinnukh Beit Yehudah* (1708).

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[Jacob Hirsch Haberman]

ENOSH (Heb. אֱנוֹשׁ; "man, mankind"), eldest son of *Seth and the father of Kenan (Gen. 4:26; 5:6, 9; I Chron. 1:1–2). He lived 905 years (Gen. 5:11). It was in his day that the name YHWH was first invoked (*ibid.* 4:26).

In the *Aggadah*

The generation of Enosh is the "counsel of the ungodly" of Ps. 1:1. Enosh and his contemporaries studied and practiced the arts of divination and control of heavenly forces, thereby making way for the generation of the flood (Zohar 1:56a), and were also the first to practice idolatry (Sif. Deut. 43; see also Shab. 118b). Four revolutions in nature occurred during the days of Enosh: the mountains became barren; corpses began to putrefy; the faces of men became apelike (rather than Godlike); and demons lost their fear of men (Gen. R. 23:6).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Cassuto, in: EM, 1 (1965), 450; E.A. Speiser, *Genesis* (1964), 37–38. IN THE AGGADAH: I. Ḥasida, *Ishei ha-Tanakh* (1964), 73.

EN-RIMMON (Heb. עֵין רִמּוֹן), ancient town in the northern Negev. Originally part of the territory of Simeon (Josh. 19:7), it was absorbed by the tribe of Judah in the time of David (*ibid.* 15:32; I Chron. 4:32). It was resettled by Jews in the Persian period (Neh. 11:29). In the masoretic text of the Books of Joshua and Chronicles, En-Rimmon appears as two separate cities (Ain and Rimmon) but as one city in the Book of Nehemiah and the Septuagint. In the fourth century C.E. Eusebius refers to it as a large Jewish village (Onom. 88:17; 146:25). The name may be preserved in the Arabic Khirbat Umm al-Ramāmīn, about 8 mi. (13 km.) north of Beersheba.

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[Michael Avi-Yonah]

ENRIQUES, PAOLO (1878–1932), Italian zoologist. Born at Leghorn, he became director of the Institute of Zoology at Padua in 1921 and remained there until his death. His zoological studies dealt with comparative physiology and protozoology. Among works of wider scope were his *La teoria cellulare* (1911), in which he attempted a synthesis of modern biological problems; *Riproduzione nei protozoi* (1924); and a series of monographs on genetics and evolution in which Enriques attempted to reconcile Mendelian heredity with the Darwinian theory of evolution.

[Mordecai L. Gabriel]

ENRÍQUEZ (Henríques), ISABEL (fl. 1660), Spanish poet. According to Miguel de *Barrios, she was "famous in the Academies of Madrid for her rare talent." In 1636 Isaac *Cardozo dedicated to her his *Panegýrieo… del color verde.* At some date after this she fled to Amsterdam, where she openly professed Judaism. It was here that she was befriended by Barrios, who dedicated two poems to her in his *Aplauso métrico* (1673). In his *Relación de los poetas*, Barrios cites a *décima* of hers and describes her as the author of a volume of verse. Together with Isabel *Correa, Isabel Enríquez is reputed to have been a member of Belmonte's Academia de los Sitibundos in Amsterdam.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: M. de Barrios, *Relación de los Poetas y Escriptores Españoles de la Nación Judayca* (1683), 56; Kayserling, Bibl, 52; Brugmans-Frank, 455.

[Kenneth R. Scholberg]

ENRÍQUEZ (Henriquez) BASURTO, DIEGO (b. 1621), *Marrano poet, son of Antonio Enríquez *Gomez. Probably born in Spain, he lived with his father in Rouen, France, and later moved to the Low Countries. Apparently while in Antwerp, Enríquez was the target of a vicious lampoon written in 1664. Enríquez wrote a sonnet in praise of his father's *Siglo pitagórico.* A longer poem, *El Triunpho de la Virtud y Paciencia de Job*, dedicated to Anne of Austria, employs a variety of verse forms and is divided into six "visions," with intercalated portions of the Psalms (Rouen, 1649).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Roth, Marranos, 246, 333; Kayserling, Bibl, 26; Barrera, *Catálogo del teatro antiguo español* (1860), 136; I.S. Revah, *Spinoza et le Dr. Juan de Prado* (1959), 24, 74–76.

[Kenneth R. Scholberg]

ENRÍQUEZ (or **Henríquez**) **GÓMEZ, ANTONIO** (pseudonym of **Enrique Enriquez de Paz**; 1601–1663), Spanish playwright and poet. Born in Segovia Cuenca, he was the son of a Portuguese Converso family that had been persecuted by the Inquisition for several generations. From 1577 the family began to practice Judaism in secret. They kept the Sabbath and festivals, observed some of the laws and customs pertaining to *kashrut*, and performed certain acts that were distinctly Jewish. His grandfather Diego de Mora was arrested for judaizing in 1588 and died in an Inquisition prison. Some members of the family escaped to France where they openly practiced Judaism. His father Diego Enríquez de Mora was arrested and tried in 1624 and then left for France. Once his Christian wife died, his father married a second wife, this time from a Converso family. Antonio lived in Cuenca, Seville, and Madrid. Together with other Converso writers and poets, Antonio was at the court of Felipe IV. Antonio, whose mother was an old Christian, also married an old Christian but raised his children as Jews. His literary career was a great success. He wrote about 40 plays and many prose and poetry pieces. For purely racist reasons his literary work was almost totally ignored until recent times. His works bear clear testimony of his "Jewish" identity. Gómez had a distinguished military career, rising to the rank of captain and receiving the decoration of Knight of the Order of San Miguel. Together with his son, Diego Enríquez Basurto (who also became a well-known author), Enríquez Gómez left Spain in about 1636 and lived for a time in France, in Bordeaux and Rouen, where most of his books were published. He later moved to Holland, where he reverted openly to Judaism; he was symbolically punished in absentia at an auto-da-fé in Seville on April 13, 1660. Enríquez Gómez felt very bitter that he had to live away in a country where his mother tongue, in which he produced masterpieces, was not spoken. For some unknown reason, he returned to Spain in around 1649 and lived in Seville under a false name. He intended to continue to live as a Jew and had plans to move to Naples. He continued to write using a pen name Fernando de Zárato y Castronovo. For more than ten years he was able to remain incognito. His real identity was discovered because of the drama he wrote. The Inquisition examined the background of the playwright whose work aroused its suspicion. In 1660 he was burnt in effigy. He was arrested in 1661 and was thrown into prison where his life ended in 1663.

Enríquez Gómez was a lyric, dramatic, and epic poet, as well as a noted satirist. His major works include the *Academias morales de las musas*, dedicated to Anne of Austria (Bordeaux, 1642), and *El siglo pitagórico y vida de don Gregorio Guadaña* (Rouen, 1644). The latter, a novel in verse and prose, presents a series of 14 transformations of a soul in different bodies, satirizing various classes of society. Enríquez Góez also wrote *Luis dado de Dios a Luis y Ana* (Paris, 1645), dedicated to Louis XIII of France; *Torre de Babilonia* (Rouen, 1649); and a biblical epic about Samson, *El Sansón nazareno* (Rouen, 1656). In the prologue to this last work, Gómez refers to his authorship of 22 plays. These are mainly concerned with themes of honor, love, and friendship and half are based on biblical subjects. In many of his works Enríquez Gómez very strongly criticized the Inquisition. Enríquez Gómez composed a ballad dedicated to the martyr Lope de Vega (Juda el Creyente), who was burned at Valladolid on July 25, 1644.

Revah's research has clarified many dark points in Gómez's biography and introduced his literary creation to the wider academic and literary world.

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[Kenneth R. Scholberg / Yom Tov Assis (2nd ed.)]

EN-ROGEL (Heb. עֵין רֹגֵל), a spring or well southeast of Jerusalem on the border between the tribes of Judah and Benjamin, between En-Shemesh and the *Hinnom Valley (Josh. 15:7; 18:16). Jonathan and Ahimaaz, who acted as spies and runners for David when he was fleeing from Absalom, waited there for news from Jerusalem (II Sam. 17:17). Adonijah's aborted attempt to succeed David as king took place at En-Rogel (I Kings 1:9) and it is probably identical with the "dragon's well" (Ein ha-Tannim) mentioned in Nehemiah 2:13. En-Rogel has been identified with a well, 60 ft. (18 m.) deep, called Bīr (Bi'r) Ayyūb ("Job's Well"; perhaps a corruption of "Joab's well" [Ahituv]), situated at the convergence of the Hinnom and *Kidron valleys, some 500 meters south of the city of David outside the walls of the Old City of Jerusalem. It sometimes overflows in rainy winters, justifying its definition as a spring. Alternatively, the well was dug on the site of the ancient spring that had been stopped up.

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[Michael Avi-Yonah]

ENSHEIM, MOSES (also known as **Brisac** and **Moses Metz**; 1750–1839), mathematician and Hebrew versifier. Ensheim left his native Metz in order to avoid having to become a rabbi, and for many years led a wandering life. From 1782 to 1785 he was employed as a tutor in the home of Moses *Mendelssohn in Berlin. He then returned to Metz, where he gave private lessons in mathematics since, as a Jew, he was precluded from teaching in the new central school in the city. He also started working with the Hebrew journal *Ha-Me'assef* in which (vol. 6 (1790), 69–72) he published his *Shalosh Ḥidot*, a satire against billiards and card games, and two hymns: *Al-ha-Va'ad ha-Gadol asher bi-Medinat Ẓarefat* (6 (1790), 33–37), addressed to the National Assembly in Versailles; and *La-Menaẓe'aḥ Shir,* a hymn on the occasion of the Metz civic fete of 1792. The latter was sung in the Metz synagogue to the tune of the *Marseillaise*. Ensheim was a friend of Abbé *Grégoire, and helped him with the preparation of his essay on the Jews (1788). He was also acquainted with several French mathematicians of note, and his *Recherches sur les calculs différentiels et intégrals* (1799) was highly regarded by Lagrange and Laplace. Ensheim spent the last years of his life in Bayonne as a tutor in the home of Abraham *Furtado. He bequeathed a quarter of his estate, amounting to 12,000 francs, to the Jewish elementary school in Metz.

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[Jefim (Hayyim) Schirmann]

ENSISHEIM, town in Haut-Rhin department, Alsace, E. France, about 19 mi. (30 km.) S. of *Colmar. R. *Meir of Rothenburg was held prisoner there from 1286. The first evidence that Jews were living in the town dates from 1291. They were among the victims of the *Armleder persecutions in 1338. The community had hardly been reconstituted when it suffered from the persecutions accompanying the *Black Death in 1348–49. A few Jews again settled there from 1371. The small community welcomed the Jews expelled from Kaysersberg and *Mulhouse at the beginning of the 16th century. After an ordinance of 1547, only one Jewish family was allowed to reside in Ensisheim and the surrounding localities, and the synagogue was closed for worship. In 1689, some Jews were again admitted for a short while on payment of a high protection fee. It was not until 1824 that some Jews again settled there. Only a few Jews were still living there in 1936. At an unknown date there was a *blood libel in Ensisheim and the Jews there were put on trial.

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[Bernhard Blumenkranz]

ENTEBBE RAID. On Sunday, June 27, 1976, an Air France jet plane en route from Tel Aviv to Paris with over 200 passengers on board, including 80 Israelis, was hijacked after it took off from Athens where it had made an interim landing. The hijackers claimed to belong to the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine. The plane landed at Benghazi Airport in Libya later the same day, and after refueling there (although Libyan authorities denied this), it took off in the direction of Amman and ultimately landed at Entebbe Airport near Kampala, Uganda, in complete darkness.

On Wednesday, June 30, the terrorists – after releasing 47 of the passengers, including elderly women, children, and the sick – issued their demands for the release of 53 Palestinian terrorists imprisoned in various countries, 40 of them in Israel, setting the following Thursday at noon as the deadline, and threatening to kill all the remaining passengers and blow up the plane if their demands were not met. Later, they extended the deadline for another 24 hours.

Meanwhile, on the previous two days the hijackers released 148 passengers, most of them Jews who were not Israelis, leaving 102 hostages, mostly Israelis, plus the crew of the airline.

On July 1, the Israeli government announced that it would submit to the demands of the hijackers and officially asked France to negotiate on its behalf for the return of the hostages.

It later transpired, however, that from the moment that the hijack took place a rescue plan was drawn up, and on July 4, Israel and the whole world thrilled at the news of an attack by an Israeli commando unit at Entebbe, which effected the release of the hostages. The operation was rightly described as the most daring and incredible rescue mission in military history, taking place as it did, in a hostile country, 2,500 miles distant and with minimal time for planning its complicated details. The operation, which had been kept a guarded secret, was under the command of Brigadier-General Dan Shomron and was carried out with giant American Hercules transport planes.

The rescuers landed at the airport with orders only to return fire directed at them and did so at Ugandan soldiers who fired at them from the control tower. Storming the place where the hostages had been housed, they shouted to them to keep their heads down, with the result that the rescue was thus effected with a minimum of loss of life.

Three of the civilians lost their lives, two in the actual operation and one succumbing to wounds in Nairobi Hospital. There was a single military casualty – Lt.-Col. Jonathan ("Yoni") Netanyahu, commander of the strike force, the 30-year-old son of Professor Ben-Zion Netanyahu. He was buried with full military honors in the Military Cemetery on Mt. Herzl. Among those present were President Katzir, Prime Minister Rabin, and Chief of Staff Mordecai Gur.

One hostage, Mrs. Dora Bloch, was left behind, since she had earlier been taken to a hospital in Kampala and it transpired that she was later brutally murdered.

Kurt Waldheim, secretary-general of the UN, described the rescue operation as a violation of Ugandan sovereignty and claimed that the situation created by it was likely to have serious international repercussions, especially as far as Africa was concerned. (It was in fact condemned at a summit meeting of the Organization of African Unity.) This, however, was the only discordant note in a flood of congratulations which poured in, including one from President Ford – a message which was declared to be "unprecedented," since no American president had ever congratulated Israel on a military action.

[Louis Isaac Rabinowitz (2nd ed.)]

ENTIN, JOEL (1875–1959), Yiddish editor, educator, and translator. Entin was born in Pohost, Russia, where he received a traditional religious and secular education. He became active in Ḥibbat Zion and in 1890 moved to Moscow to work for Bnei Zion. He arrived in New York in 1891 where he audited classes at Columbia University. Although he wrote chiefly in Yiddish, his first publication was an English poem. With Jacob *Gordin he organized in 1896 the Fraye Yidishe Folksbine. Entin was a journalist and commentator on current events and literature for the Yiddish daily *Varhayt* (1905–15). He co-edited the second volume of the literary almanac *Yugend* (1908) and *Der Yidisher Kemfer*, the Labor Zionist weekly (1916–20). He translated novels, plays, and stories into Yiddish and was a founder of Yiddish secular schools, the Jewish Teachers' Seminary (1919), and the People's Relief Committee during World War I. He was active in the American Jewish Congress and the Farband Labor Zionist Order. His *Gezamlte Shriftn* ("Collected Works"), edited by S. Shapiro, appeared posthumously in New York in 1960.

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[Elias Schulman / Marc Miller (2nd ed.)]

ENTRE RÍOS, province in the Argentine Republic and one of the most important centers of Jewish agricultural settlement. In 2005 the Jewish population was estimated at 1,200 families, 550 of them in the capital city of Paraná. Entre Ríos has been the focal point of Jewish settlement in Argentina since the beginning of Jewish immigration to the country. The Jewish Colonization Association (ICA) first purchased land in the province in 1892 and the first settlers came during the same year. Argentina's national census of 1895 indicated that of the 6,085 people who declared their Jewish affiliation 3,880, or about 64%, lived in Entre Ríos. The amount of land in Entre Ríos owned by the Jewish agricultural settlements continued to increase until 1940, when it reached its peak of 571,988 acres.

On the perimeter of the agricultural settlements, Jewish communities began to develop in the towns and later in distant principal cities. A 1909 survey found Jews in seven cities and towns and their number at that time was estimated at 585 in contrast to 9,948 who lived in the Jewish agricultural settlements. Another poll, conducted in 1943, estimated the number of Jews in Entre Ríos at 20,803, of whom 9,266 were engaged in agriculture in the Jewish settlements, 4,695 lived in 17 adjacent villages, and the remainder – 6,842 persons – were settled in 76 towns, villages, and hamlets in the province. As a result of the Jewish agricultural colonization in the province Entre Ríos has such Hebrew and Jewish place names as Carmel, Baron Ginzburg, and Avigdor. Jews in Entre Ríos have had local political importance, a rare circumstance within Argentinian Jewry as a whole. During the first years of settlement the Jewish colonies established in Colón, Uruguay, and Villaguay increased the population of these regions by about 55%. This relative numerical importance, however, was not maintained. The settlements were arenas for Argentinian political struggles which had tragic consequences in 1916–17 when synagogues were destroyed and Torah scrolls desecrated in the Clara colony. In 1921 the Jews of Entre Ríos suffered violent antisemitism – camouflaged as anti-Communism – a phenomenon which increased particularly during the 1930s and 1940s.

The concentration of Jews in rural areas helped to preserve Jewish life especially where Jews constituted a majority. Jewish economic organizations – such as Sociedad Agrícola Lucienville, which was possibly the first agricultural cooperative in Argentina, and the Fondo Comunal, among the largest in the province – remained of economic importance. Nevertheless, the diminishing number of Jewish agricultural settlements and the general migration to Buenos Aires and its environs have had severe consequences for the Jews of Entre Ríos. The 1947 census recorded 11,876 Jews who declared their Jewish affiliation, i.e., 4.9% of all avowed Jews in Argentina; the 1960 census indicated the number had declined to 9,000. According to data provided in 1968 by the Va'ad ha-Kehillot (Central Committee of Jewish Communities), the number of Jews had decreased to 8,000, of whom about 3,050 lived in Paraná, the capital of the province. The same data refers to some 30 congregations in the province, but only nine of them, with 442 students (141 in Paraná), maintained any kind of Jewish education and there were only five youth centers. Nevertheless, these congregations provide a framework for activities and their membership in the regional branches of the Va'ad ha-Kehillot and of the *DAIA brings them assistance in providing communal services and constitutes a mutual defense against antisemitism. Other local and regional committees allow the Jews of Entre Ríos to contribute to central welfare projects in Buenos Aires – such as the Jewish hospital, and the national and Israel funds.

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[Haim Avni]

ENVIRONMENTAL SCIENCES.

> The Holy Blessed One took the first human, and passing before all the trees of the Garden of Eden, said, "See my works, how fine and excellent they are! All that I created, I created for you. Reflect on this, and do not corrupt or desolate my world; for if you do, there will be no one to repair it after you" (Midrash Ecclesiastes Rabbah 7:13).

The philosophy of materialism and humanity's right to dominate its environment has led to man's rapid development. This attitude further developed during the Middle Ages and the Enlightenment in Western Europe on the basis of biblical interpretation. Western society embraced man's dominance of nature, and technological advances through the ages enabled people to overcome the environment and attain a higher standard of living. Technological innovations, such as plowing, harvesting, forest clearing, and animal husbandry, helped overcome natural obstacles and tame nature.

Ecological and environmental concern can be found in Jewish sources from the Bible onward. In Genesis 2:15 man is given stewardship of the earth – *le-ovedah u-le-shomerah*. Man is to preserve the earth, to look after it, and to tend it. He is not the owner, nor the master. The earth was not given to man in absolute ownership to use (or abuse) as he saw fit; but rather it was given to him to maintain and to preserve for his benefit and for that of future generations. Some of the many topics dealt with in Jewish sources include *shemittah* – the fallow year; *bal tashḥit* – the prohibition of purposeless waste; felling of fruit-bearing trees; raising small cattle in Ereẓ Israel; sanitary disposal of human waste; air pollution; water quality; noise; and many more. For a comprehensive discussion of this topic see *Ecology.

The Mishnah and Talmud elaborate and expound on biblical passages that deal with nature and its preservation in order to curtail environmental damage. The approach taken by the rabbis to limit the harmful effects of different environmental sources was to treat them not as absolutes but according to prevailing conditions, and this is still applicable today. Injury to the environment included not only cases of proximate causation but also those in which conditions were created that might reasonably give rise to nuisance.

The Coalition on the Environment and Jewish Life was founded in 1993 to promote environmental education, scholarship, advocacy, and action in the American Jewish community. COEJL is sponsored by a broad coalition of national Jewish organizations and has organized regional affiliates in communities across North America. COEJL is the Jewish member of the National Religious Partnership for the Environment (www.coejl.org/about/).

Environmental studies (environmental sciences) is a relatively new field that gained recognition after the publication of Rachel Carson's *Silent Spring*. It crosses the boundaries of traditional disciplines, challenging us to look at the relationship between humans and their environment from a variety of perspectives. It is closely related to ecology and draws heavily on the physical sciences (chemistry and physics) as well as on biology and mathematics. Furthermore, due to globalization the careful integration of natural and social science data and information is vital to scientific research and societal decision-making related to a wide range of pressing environmental issues.

Complex interactions in the air, on land, underground, and in rivers, bays, and oceans are intricately linked to one another – and to our well-being. Below we shall briefly review the contributions made to the various disciplines comprising environmental sciences.

Atmospheric Sciences

Atmospheric sciences deal with environmental issues such as acid deposition, air pollution and quality, and stratospheric ozone. One of its goals is to identify and quantify the natural and anthropogenic processes that regulate the chemical composition of the troposphere and middle atmosphere and to assess future changes brought about by human activities. They deal with topics as varied as the role of the biosphere in producing and consuming trace gases; the importance of the chemical and photochemical processes occurring in different atmospheric environments; and the role of transport processes connecting these environments (e.g., large-scale advection, convection, stratosphere/troposphere exchanges, and continental export).

By the mid-1980s there was undeniable evidence that our planet was getting hotter, a massive 10% shift in only 30 years, so the idea of reduced solar radiation just did not fit and was not widely accepted in the scientific community. This began to change in 2001, when G. Stanhill and a colleague at the Volcani Center in Bet Dagan, Israel, collected all the available evidence together and proved that, on the average, records showed that the amount of solar radiation reaching the Earth's surface had gone down by between 0.23 and 0.32% each year from 1958 to 1992 (solar dimming).

Theoretical and experimental research in atmospheric radiative transfer and remote sensing of aerosol, their interaction with clouds and radiation, and impact on climate, with emphasis on biomass burning in the tropics was being conducted by Yoram J. Kaufman at the Goddard Space Flight Center. Joseph M. Prospero at the University of Miami was a specialist in the global-scale properties of aerosols focusing on the aerosol chemistry of the marine atmosphere and the biogeochemical effects of the long-range atmospheric transport of materials from the continents to the ocean environment. He pioneered in the study of mineral aerosol (soil dust) transport, showing that huge quantities of dust were carried by winds from arid regions to the oceans.

Richard Siegmund Lindzen at MIT was renowned for his research in dynamic meteorology on topics such as the atmospheric transport of heat and momentum from the tropics to higher latitudes. He developed models for the Earth's climate with specific concern for the stability of the ice caps, the sensitivity to increases in CO_2, the origin of the 100,000 year cycle in glaciation, and the maintenance of regional variations in climate. Alan Robock, at Rutgers University, was involved in many aspects of climate change. He conducted both observational analyses and climate model simulations and his current research focuses on soil moisture variations, the effects of volcanic eruptions on climate, detection and attribution of human effects on the climate system, and the impacts of climate change on human activities. In the 1980s much of his work addressed the problem of nuclear winter, the climatic effects of nuclear war, demonstrating long-term (several-year) effects with a computer model, disproving the dirty snow effect, and discovering observational evidence of surface cooling due to forest fire smoke plumes in the atmosphere.

Research on cloud physics and dynamics, atmospheric radiative transfer, atmospheric dynamics, and satellite remote sensing of the Earth's climate and other planetary atmospheres was being conducted by Dr. Rossow of NASA. His early work focused on the clouds and dynamics of the atmospheres of Venus and Jupiter and he served on the Science Teams for the Pioneer Venus and Galileo (to Jupiter) space missions. Eli Tziperman of Harvard University worked on climate dynamics, trying to understand physical processes that affect the Earth's climate on time scales of a few years to millions of years.

The first numerical model able to simulate El Niño and the Southern Oscillation (ENSO), a pattern of interannual climate variability centered in the tropical Pacific but with global consequences, was devised by Mark Cane of Columbia University. In 1985 this model was used to make the first physically based forecasts of El Niño. Dr. Cane also worked extensively on the impact of El Niño on human activity, especially agriculture.

Oceanography

Oceanography is the science that studies the world's oceans, its waters and depths, how they move and how they play a part in the whole of our planet. The sea is not just salty water, but a living system that controls many aspects of this planet. Limnology is the scientific study of the physical, geographical, chemical, and biological aspects of inland freshwater systems. The factors studied in such bodies of water as lakes, rivers, swamps, and reservoirs include productivity, interactions among organisms and between organisms and their environment, characteristics of the water and of the water bottom, and pollution problems. Structure, function, and long-term changes in these water bodies are also of importance.

Global studies of freshwater lakes with emphasis on biological, chemical, and physical interactions between the surrounding watersheds and lakes are the fields of interest of Charles Goldman of UC Davis with particular emphasis on eutrophication of lakes, nutrient limiting factors, the impact of climate and weather, and the use and importance of long-term data sets in environmental research. The core research has been directed towards a better understanding of lake processes and measures to preserve the water quality of lakes.

The research efforts of Paul G. Falkowski of Rutgers University were directed towards understanding the co-evolution of biological physical systems, evolution, paleoecology, photosynthesis, biophysics, biogeochemical cycles, and symbiosis. The cycling of nutrients and energy transfer in the microbial food chain, the dynamics of nutrient uptake by marine phytoplankton, the interaction of chemical-biological processes at the microbial level, and the impact of physical-biological processes on marine primary productivity were the major interests of Joel Goldman, UC SC.

Daniel P. Schrag of Harvard University applied geochemistry to problems in paleoclimatology and oceanography on a variety of timescales. A large portion of his current research effort used corals as recorders of information on past and present climates. Modern corals from the Pacific were being used to reconstruct El Niño variability over the last few centuries, and to assess the reliability of coral records. He also used geochemistry of corals to understand recent patterns of ocean circulation.

Understanding major biogeochemical cycles in the marine environment, as they operate today and in the past, were the main research interests of Mark A. Altabet, University of Massachusetts. He specialized in nitrogen cycling in the marine environment; nitrogen isotope biogeochemistry; particle fluxes in the open ocean; marine productivity; oceanic paleochemistry and paleoproductivity. Much of this research relates to the Earth's carbon cycle and control of atmospheric CO_2 concentration. Related work involved studies of N_2O and carbon isotopes.

Soil Microbiology

Soil microbiology deals with the improvement of knowledge and understanding of the microbial processes involved in geochemical cycles (e.g., carbon and nitrogen cycles) and in the factors contributing to the quality of our environment and our foods, in order to understand them and to eventually control them. These objectives require improved knowledge of microbial populations and their activities. They also require improved knowledge of how terrestrial ecosystems work, using integrated methods for research of the processes.

Over and above improved knowledge of soil micro-flora and their activities, and more generally the biological functioning of soils, soil microbiology is concerned with the identification of the bio-indicators of soil quality, and the management of native micro-flora (sustainable agriculture) and/or introduction of selected strains (microbial inoculation) in order to improve soil quality (bio-remediation) and/or reduce the use of synthetic inputs (pesticides and nitrogen fertilizers) thus contributing to the improvement of food quality (residue reduction).

Selman Abraham *Waksman was born in the Ukraine in 1888 and immigrated to the United States in 1910. In 1915 he graduated from Rutgers University. His decision to enter agriculture was guided by Jacob G. Lipman, a bacteriologist who was dean of the College of Agriculture and himself an immigrant from Russia.

In 1939 Waksman and his colleagues undertook a systematic effort to identify soil organisms producing soluble substances that might be useful in the control of infectious diseases, what are now known as antibiotics. He developed simple screening techniques and applied these to a variety of samples of soil and other natural materials. Within a decade ten antibiotics were isolated and characterized, three of them with important clinical applications: actinomycin in 1940, streptomycin (with A. Schatz) in 1944, and neomycin in 1949. Eighteen antibiotics were discovered under his general direction. The many awards and honors that were showered on Waksman after 1940 culminated in the Nobel Prize.

M. Alexander, of Cornell University, focused his research in the areas of soil and environmental microbiology, bioavailability and aging of chemical pollutants, and microbial transformations that are of environmental or agricultural importance in natural environments. His research dealt with the bioavailability and biodegradation of a variety of toxic organic chemicals and pesticides in soils, subsoils, groundwaters, and surface waters. A variety of different issues are dealt with, including the biodegradation of sorbed chemicals, interaction between species during transformations of chemicals, finding means to enhance microbial destruction of pollutants, exploring bioremediation methodologies to promote the use of introduced microorganisms to rid natural environments of toxicants, and unique problems arising because of persistence of low concentrations of organic compounds.

Hydrology

Hydrology is the study of all waters in and upon the Earth. It includes groundwater, surface water, and rainfall. It embraces the concept of hydrological cycle.

The large volume of research in the last several decades has shown an increasing frequency of many chemical and microbial constituents that have not historically been considered as contaminants being present in the environment on a global scale. The sources of these emerging contaminants are from municipal, agricultural, and industrial wastewater sources.

Environmental hydrology aims to provide information on these compounds for evaluation of their potential threat to environmental and human health. To accomplish this goal researchers need to develop analytical methods to measure chemicals and microorganisms in a variety of matrices (e.g., water, sediment, waste); determine the environmental occurrence of these potential contaminants; characterize the myriad of sources and source pathways that determine contaminant release to the environment; define and quantify processes that determine their transport and fate through the environment; and identify potential ecologic effects from exposure to these chemicals or microorganisms. Environmental hydrology seeks to combine models of the atmosphere, land surface, or rivers, for example, into full-fledged simulated ecosystems. These simulations are critical throughout the physical and natural sciences.

Gedeon Dagan, Tel Aviv University, is a hydrologist whose main interests are the theory of flow through porous media; groundwater hydrology and water waves; and naval hydrodynamics. His research has led to the application of effective strategies for protecting and restoring groundwater, which constitutes 97% of the world's useable freshwater.

He contributed greatly in aquifer characterization and monitoring. This research is important because groundwater protection is hindered by difficulties in observing and characterizing the subsurface. Therefore, effective strategies for protecting and restoring groundwater require realistic predictions of the effects of different management options. He was awarded the Stockholm Water Prize for having established the basis of a new field within geohydrology, where contaminant spreading in the subsurface environment is determined in such a way that it accounts for heterogeneity and for biochemical processes.

Jacob Bear is professor emeritus of the Technion-Israel Institute of Technology. His teaching, research, and consulting covered the areas of groundwater hydrology and hydraulics, management of water resources, subsurface contamination and remediation, and the general theory of transport phenomena in porous media.

Biological Plant Protection

Biological plant protection, or biological control, is concerned with the identification, screening, release, and monitoring of biological agents for long-term, cost-effective control of invading plant pests. Effective biological control is an essential element in the sustainable management of invading alien pests. Main research areas in this field include studies on the role played by insects, spider mites, nematodes, and microorganisms in reduction of plant pests and improvement of their strains and application methods for biological and integrated programs of plant protection. The goal is environmentally safe control of pests of open-field, greenhouse, mushroom house, and orchard cultures, as well as urban forest and park trees.

Ilan *Chet, president of the Weizmann Institute of Science, Israel, was a member of the UN Panel for Applied Microbiology and Biotechnology. His research dealt with the biological control of plant disease using environment-friendly microorganisms, focusing on the basic, applied, and biotechnological aspects of this field. Prof. Chet was awarded the Israel Prize (1996) and the Wolf Prize (1998).

Desertification and Afforestation

Desertification is a worldwide phenomenon. Land deterioration into desert-like conditions occurs in the world at the rate of 6 million hectares a year as the result both of climatic conditions and man's destructive use of the soil: failure to arrest this process endangers the vital infrastructure of a country. Combating desertification is essential to ensuring the long-term productivity of inhabited lands in arid and semi-arid regions. Desertification occurs at the transition zones between true deserts and cultivated lands. These transition zones have very fragile, delicately balanced ecosystems. In these marginal areas, human activity may stress the ecosystem beyond its tolerance limit, resulting in degradation of the land.

JNF activities are aimed at arresting the spread of the desert and improving the ecology of the area. One of the central questions troubling people concerned with the quality of life is the maintenance of a reasonable level of environment preservation in these dense urban areas. The JNF deals with this problem through planting forests around urban settlements. Through this afforestation work, Israel will be the only country to have more trees at the conclusion of the century than at the beginning! These forests enable the town dweller to have contact with nature, improve his quality of life, and create green lungs which absorb pollutants and emit carbon dioxide.

Savanization is another strategy for halting the desertification process. In the desertification process, the ecological system is controlled by sparse vegetation of bushes and green growth. In the savanization process the bushes are replaced with trees and the inferior vegetation with herbaceous growth. This involves sophisticated measures for collection of water, preservation of soil, planting of trees, and increasing natural vegetation and animal life in the area. Forests contribute to soil conservation, prevent soil erosion, act as a barrier against dust, noise and air pollution, create shade and comfortable mini-climates, halt desertification on the border of arid zones, and contribute ecologically and globally to reducing the greenhouse effect by releasing oxygen into the atmosphere and absorbing carbon dioxide.

One of the most important agrotechnological innovations of modern times is probably the Israeli invention of drip irrigation by Simcha Blass and his son (the father conceived the idea, the son developed the dripper). Drip irrigation has many advantages over other irrigation methods and is especially suited for arid and semi-arid regions.

Blass developed a drip irrigation system for greenhouse use and in the 1960s began drip irrigation experiments in the Negev Desert. Development in capillary tubes, self-filtering systems, fertilizer injectors, and improved emitter bodies has increased the usage of these systems at an exponential rate. From 1974 to 1984, the worldwide acreage under these systems quadrupled.

Ecological responses to global climate change; the interactions between biodiversity, desertification, and climate change; and the role of individual species in the provision of ecosystem services are topics studied by Uriel Safriel. He worked on projects carried out jointly by Israel, Jordan, and the Palestine Authority, for example, as regional expert for Israel on the "Initiative for Collaboration to Control Natural Resource Degradation (Desertification) of Arid Lands in the Middle East," a joint project of Israel, the Palestinian Authority, Jordan, Egypt, and Tunisia, facilitated by the World Bank. He was head of the delegation of Israel to the Intergovernmental Negotiating Committee on Desertification.

Environmental Law

Environmental law uses sustainability as an organizing principle to develop new strategies for the protection of land, water, and biological resources by integrating environmental laws, tax laws, development laws, and other tools. Environmental law aims to solve environmental problems and promote sustainable societies through the use of law, to incorporate fundamental principles of ecology and justice into international law, to strengthen national environmental law systems and support public interest movements around the world, and to educate and train public-interest-minded environmental lawyers.

Topics of concern in environmental law include climate change, biodiversity and wildlife, biotechnology, sustainable development, persistent organic pollutants, and human rights and the environment.

Joel B. Eisen, director of the Robert R. Merhige, Jr., Center of Environmental Law, served as counsel to the U.S. House of Representatives. He taught courses on environmental law, urban environmental law, international environmental law, environmental dispute resolution, property, and energy law and policy.

Robert J. Goldstein was director of environmental programs, Pace Law School. His publications include *Environmental Ethics and Ecology: Green Wood in the Bundle of Sticks*; *Environmental Ethics and Law; Environmental Ethics and Posi-*

tive Law; *Only Who Can Prevent Forest Fires?: Considering Environmental Context in Fire Suppression and Land Use*; *Putting Environmental Law on the Map: A Spatial Approach to Environmental Law Using GIS and Forestry Law*.

Howard Latin, of the Rutgers Law School, was involved in environmental law, international environmental law, tort law, and products liability law. Latin was an advisor to a three-year Congressional Office of Technology assessment study on "Rethinking Environmental Regulation." He is among the most widely read scholars in the environmental law field and served as a consultant for environmental groups advocating marine conservation and pollution control. He engaged in political lobbying efforts to protect ocean wildlife in the Bahamas, Western Australia, the Galapagos Islands, and the United States.

Dan Mandelker is one of the U.S.'s leading scholars and teachers in land use law. He was also a pioneer in the teaching of environmental law and state and local government law. In environmental law, Mandelker is best known for his widely used treatise, *NEPA Law and Litigation*.

Sustainable Development

From conferences at Stockholm in 1972, to Rio de Janeiro in 1992, and finally to Johannesburg in 2002, the global community has embarked on a three-decade journey aimed at furthering progress towards broad global sustainable development objectives. During the course of this 30-year period, a manifold range of sustainable development issues has been discussed, debated, deliberated, and negotiated, serving as a critical call for action of individuals, voluntary organizations, businesses, institutions, and governments.

Sustainable development is defined as "development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs" (Brundtland Report, 1987). For development to be sustainable it must integrate environmental stewardship, economic development, and the well-being of all people – not just for today but for generations to come.

The Rio conference was also known as the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development, or more simply the Earth Summit, bringing together nearly 150 representatives of states including Israel who negotiated, signed, and agreed to a global action plan for sustainable development which they called Agenda 21. In addition, four new international treaties – on climate change, biological diversity, desertification, and high-seas fishing – were signed in the official sessions. Further, a United Nations Commission on Sustainable Development was established to monitor the implementation of these agreements and to act as a forum for the ongoing negotiation of international policies on environment and development.

Agenda 21 has been the basis for action by many national and local governments. Many countries have set up national advisory councils to promote dialogue between government, environmentalists, the private sector, and the general community and include nearly 2,000 cities worldwide with their own local plans. They have also established programs for monitoring national progress on sustainable development indicators. Within this framework, one of the most successful programs which has been adopted by governments all over the world is the Man and Biosphere program. Biosphere Reserves are areas of terrestrial and coastal ecosystems promoting solutions to reconcile the conservation of biodiversity with its sustainable use. They are internationally recognized, nominated by national governments, and remain under sovereign jurisdiction of the states where they are located. The Israel National Commission for UNESCO has formed a MAB committee, though with just one Biosphere Reserve in Israel so far, Mount Carmel, these issues are receiving broader attention.

ISRAEL'S COMMITMENT. Israel established environmental institutions after the Stockholm conference in 1973 with the Environmental Protection Service as part of the Prime Minister's Office, in 1976 within the Ministry of Interior, and finally in December 1988 a full-fledged Ministry of Environment with district and local offices. The program was initiated by Uri Marinov, while physical planning and development was guided by Valerie Brachya as deputy director-general. In the mid-1990s the Ministry of Environment, aided by the Mediterranean Action Plan of the United Nations Environment Program, initiated a strategy for sustainable development in Israel.

The Israeli government's decision of August 4, 2002, calls for the minister of environment to report to the government on the Johannesburg Summit and on ways to incorporate the conclusions of the conference in government policy. As Agenda 21 calls for including environmental and development issues in all government decisions that have to do with economy, social policy, energy, agriculture, transportation, and commerce, it was decided that every government office would prepare its own strategy for sustainable development. Integrating environmental issues within policy decision-making calls for the gathering of information and using efficient ways to evaluate dangers and profits for the environment.

In August 2004, the Ministry of Environment presented the government with a report on the implementation of government decisions on sustainable development. The report shows that all government offices began the process of assimilating sustainable development issues, with the Ministries of Finance and Commerce first to present their strategies. Current guidelines and programs were being developed for ecotourism, educational programs for schools, and general strategies for sustainability.

Non-Government Organizations (NGO) concerned with environmental issues have played an important role in contributing to public awareness and pressure on the government to allocate more resources for these issues. Among these are the Society for the Protection of Nature in Israel (SPNI), Friends of the Earth/Middle East, Adam Teva VaDin, the Heschel Center, and local initiatives like Sustainable Jerusalem. There are a number of private foundations supporting issues related to environment, sustainability, and education. These organizations continue to work together in promoting sustainable development policies in Israel, assisting in professional knowledge and experience. The Knesset established a Commission for Future Generations, whose responsibility is the coordination of programs at the parliamentary level.

University courses and research including sustainability are developing rapidly from the esoteric programs of the 1970s in Environmental Health at the Hebrew University to exclusive degrees in environmental sciences at all the universities attached to a variety of subjects like economics, geography, and earth sciences.

ENVIRONMENT AND SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT IN JUDAISM. Essentially an agrarian society, certain concepts in Judaism relate more specifically to sustainability. The commandment to plant fruit-bearing trees on entering the Holy Land relates to the consideration and investment that is made for future generations. This is paralleled with the commandment of *bal tashḥit* ("do not destroy") used in the Bible with reference to the proper behavior with regard to trees during wartime (only non-fruit-bearing trees may be chopped down). The talmudic sages expanded this to forbid the destruction or damaging of anything potentially useful to man.

Another set of laws that apply in the Holy Land are those concerning sabbatical and jubilee years: *shemittah* and *yovel*. *Shemittah* refers to the seventh year, when one must refrain from working the land in order to enrich the soil and prevent exhaustion of the land. Through keeping this commandment the fields rest for one year, and products that might be produced during that time are not used. *Yovel* refers to the fiftieth year, adding the cancellation of debts to the *shemittah* regulations. It also involves the reversion of land to the original tribal structure, thus preventing large-scale concentration of land and looking after local and individual interests and maintaining sustainability.

Finally, urban laws fall under "doing good" and "preventing bad," i.e., laws that instruct in the right way and those that relate to tort. The city had defined borders and could be extended only through a decision of the Sanhedrin. Perhaps the rebuilding of cities in the layered tel is the epitome of recycling urban land and preventing the deterioration of the immediate agricultural hinterland. The maintenance of public monuments was part of the joint responsibility of the public and private domain.

See also *Conservation; *Ecology.

[Miriam Waldman, Zev Gerstl and Michael Turner (2nd ed.)]

°**EÖTVÖS, BARON JÓZSEF** (1813–1871), Hungarian statesman, author, and jurist; he fought for and brought in the legislation granting *emancipation to the Jews in Hungary. Eötvös became a member of the Hungarian diet in the Liberal opposition. In 1840 he published his classic work *A zsidók emancipatiója* ("Emancipation of the Jews") where he refuted the arguments of those who rejected emancipation of the Jews unconditionally, as well as of those who first required the "betterment of the Jews" before they attained emancipation. Only emancipation without any prior conditions, Eötvös claimed, would improve the way of life of the Jews whose defects he did not deny, and whose assimilation he advocated in this as well as in his other writings. Eötvös was a member of the revolutionary government (1848) as minister of public instruction and religious affairs. After the failure of the revolution, he fled to Germany, from where he returned in 1851. He retired from political life and was elected president of the Hungarian Academy. With the formation of the independent Hungarian government in 1867, he once more held the same ministerial position and succeeded in having the bill on the emancipation of the Jews passed during that year. Eötvös also sought to organize the structure of Hungarian Jewry upon the principle of a unified community, without any intervention in its internal affairs. To this end, he convened a national congress of the Jews of Hungary in 1868, but his project did not materialize. Eötvös was a talented writer of fiction and in his fictional works also expressed his ideas concerning the Jews (*A falu jegyzöje*, 1845; *The Village Notary*, 1850).

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[Baruch Yaron]

EPERNAY, town in the Marne department, northern France, approximately 19 mi. (about 30 km.) E. of Châlons-sur-Marne. During the Middle Ages, the Jewish community there was sufficiently large to occupy three streets, the Rue Juiverie, Rue Haute, and Basse Juiverie. On the eve of World War II, a small community, which was to be cruelly tried during the persecutions, existed in Epernay. In 1969, the community numbered fewer than 200.

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[Bernhard Blumenkranz]

EPHESUS, Greek city on the W. coast of Asia Minor, at the mouth of the River Cayster. Ephesus had an important Jewish community in the first century and its beginning apparently goes back to the early Hellenistic era. Information about it is found chiefly in Josephus, but also in Philo, in inscriptions, and Acts. What is perhaps the earliest information about the Jews of Ephesus appears in Josephus (Apion, 2:39) referring to *Antiochus II. Josephus also mentions a decree of the consul Lentulus in 49 B.C.E. concerning the Jews. Ephesus played an exceptionally important role in the history of early Christianity, and its main importance in Jewish history is in the opposition of the Jewish community to Paul's missionary activity there. Paul laid the foundation of the first Christian community in Ephesus against the vehement opposition of the local Jews and the non-Jews who were worshipers of Artemis (Acts 19, and the Epistle to the Ephesians). Paul disputed his critics in the hall of Tyrannus within the city (Acts 19:9), but the whereabouts of this location have not been discovered during excavations at the site. With the rise of Christianity throughout the Roman Empire, Ephesus became one of the most important centers of the new religion. The third Ecumenical Council was held there in 431 C.E. With the political change during the sixth and seventh centuries in Asia Minor, Ephesus ceased to exist. Close to the ruins of Ephesus is the modern town of Selçuk.

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[Abraham Schalit / Shimon Gibson (2nd ed.)]

EPHOD (Heb. אֵפוֹד). The term ephod occurs several times in the Bible, where it appears to describe different cultic objects. In Exodus 28 the ephod is a garment made of expensive materials. In I Samuel 2:18; 22:18; II Samuel 6:14 the ephod is made of linen (Heb. *bad*). In Judges 17:5; 18:14–20 the ephod is mentioned along with a sculpted image (Heb *pesel*) of the kind outlawed by the Decalogue. In Judges 8:24–27 Gideon makes an ephod out of captured Midianite metals, which he sets up (*wayaṣṣeg*) in Oprah, which Israel "whored after," i.e., worshipped. Another biblical form of the word ephod is *ʾafuddah* (Heb. אֲפֻדָּה: Ex. 28:8; 39:5; Isa. 30:22), to which the verb *ʾafad* (Ex. 29:5; Lev. 8:7), with the meaning "gird" or "adorn," is related. In its broader sense in what appear to be early texts, ephod includes the entire mantic instrument (e.g., I Sam. 2:28; 23:6, 9; 30:7; cf. I Sam. 21:10). It is possible that the robe worn by the priest (see below) from which the golden bells were suspended may also be included in the term ephod. (The bells were necessary to alert Yahweh that the priest, and not some intruder, was entering the sanctuary so that the priest would not be killed for entering the holy place (Ex. 28:31–35).) Biblical religion prohibited many forms of soothsaying and divination by means of auguries, but did permit, side by side with prophecy, the priestly ephod (see *Divination). Both prophecy and the ephod were seen as a means of seeking the counsel of God and of obtaining a revelation of His will. The technical term for consulting the ephod and the Urim and Thummim is "to come before the Lord" (Ex. 28:30; cf. Num. 27:21), that is, either in the Tabernacle or before the ark (Judg. 20:27; cf. Judg. 20:18, 23, 27; I Sam. 14:18, 41 et al.). Some biblical references indicate that in ancient Israel use was made of an ephod, together with *teraphim (Hos. 3:4) and a graven image, for approaching God (Judg. 17:4–5; 18:14, 17, 20; Isa. 30:22; cf. Judg. 8:27). The Pentateuch contains no clear description of the shape of the ephod, nor does the Hebrew root of the word furnish any additional clues. The Hebrew word seems related to the Akkadian *epattu*, plural *epadātu*, which signifies a costly garment in the Cappadocian tablets, and to Ugaritic *ʾipd* (KTU 4. 707:13; 4. 780:1, 3, 4, 7); plural *ʾiptt* (KTU 4. 707:11); dual *ʾipdm* (KTU 1. 136:10) with the same meaning. The ephod has an apparent analogue in Greek *ependytēs* (overgarment). A similar word is found in Aquila's translation of ephod. According to H. Thiersch (see bibliography), the *ependytēs* originated in Syria, spreading from there through Asia Minor and Greece. But while correct about the Oriental origin of the *ependytēs* and its physical resemblance to the ephod, Tiersch seems to have erred about the cultic use of the Greek garment. It seems instead to have served as a luxury item for Orientalizing Greeks. (See Muller in Bibliography.) The pentateuchal ephod was engraved with the names of the Twelve Tribes, apparently to signify the totality of the nation (Ex. 28:9–12). It is not stated how the ephod was made in the days of the Judges (*Gideon: Judg. 8:27; *Micah: Judg. 17:5), nor the ephod at Shiloh (e.g., I Sam. 2:18; and Nob: *ibid.* 22:18), and that used in connection with Saul's campaign against the Philistines (*ibid.* 14:3). The Pentateuch contains a description of the ephod of Aaron (Ex. 28). The most common occurrences refer to an upper garment, the ornamented vestment which the high priest wore over the blue robe ("the robe of the ephod"). To this he bound the *breastplate together with the principal vehicle for enquiring of God, the *Urim and Thummim. All of these attestations are confined to Exodus 25, 28, 35, 39 and Leviticus 8 in settings that describe Aaron as a priest, with him and his sons wearing breeches (Ex. 28:42), an invention of the Persian period, and must be dated to post-exilic times. According to this description, the ephod was an embroidered work "of gold, of blue, purple, and crimson yarns, and of fine twisted linen, worked into designs." To its two ends were attached two straps which fastened over the shoulders, and on each of the shoulder straps was set a *shoham* stone (identification uncertain), engraved with the names of the tribes of Israel. The breastpiece (Heb. *ḥoshen* חֹשֶׁן) was bound to the ephod at the top by rings and chains and at the bottom by a cord of blue, while in the middle it was encircled by "the decorated band" which was also made "in the style of the ephod" and of the same combination of gold thread and four yarns. The ephod seems to have been a square, sleeveless garment, falling from just below the armpits to the heels ("like a sort of horsewoman's surcoat," according to Rashi (to Ex. 28:6)). According to this view, it enveloped the entire body. According to the commentary of R. Samuel ben Meir (to Ex. 28:7), however, the ephod enclosed the body from the waist downward, the upper part of the body being covered by the breastpiece. Josephus (Ant., 3:162; Wars, 5:231–236) states that the ephod had sleeves and resembled a type of waistcoat ("the *epomis*" of the Greeks – used by the LXX in translating "ephod" of the Pentateuch); it was variegated and had "the middle of the breast uncovered" for the insertion of the breastplate. The high priest used the ephod along with the breastplate and the Urim and Thummim as a means of divination. Lesser priests, as well as others engaged in sacred ministrations, Samuel (I Sam. 2:18), and once even David (II Sam. 6:14) wore a simple ephod of linen, apparently during sacred service or at special celebrations (I Sam. 22:18).

According to the Talmud, each thread of the ephod consisted of six blue strands, six of purple, six of scarlet, and six of fine twisted linen, with a thread of gold in each twist of six strands, making a total of 28 strands (Yoma 71b, 72a). The names of the tribes were engraved on the onyx stones with the *shamir* (Sot. 48b; Git. 68a). The ephod was one of the eight vestments worn by the high priest (Yoma 7:5; Maim., Yad, Kelei ha-Mikdash, ch. 8–10) and, together with the onyx stones, was used in the Second Temple. The ephod was believed to atone for the sin of idolatry (Zev. 88b). Gideon was said to have made an ephod because the name of his tribe, Manasseh, was not included on the stones of the ephod (Yal., Judg. 64).

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[Yehoshua M. Grintz / S. David Sperling (2nd ed.)]

EPHRAIM (Heb. אֶפְרַיִם), younger son of *Joseph, born to him in Egypt by his wife *Asenath daughter of Poti-Phera (Gen. 41:50–52); the eponymous ancestor of one of the two tribes descended from Joseph. Before his death, Jacob adopted both Ephraim and his older brother *Manasseh as his sons on a par with Reuben and Simeon, thereby ensuring that each would become the ancestor of an entire Israelite tribe, rather than of half a tribe (48:5, 16). He made Ephraim the recipient of a greater blessing than his older brother (48:13–20), thus giving greater prominence and importance to the tribe of Ephraim. The story is an etiological explanation of the prominence of the Ephraimites in historical times. In contrast to the pentateuchal tradition, I Chr. 7:20–29 maintains that Ephraim and his family remained in Canaan and says nothing about Ephraim's birth in Egypt.

The Name

From about 745 B.C.E. onward, the name Ephraim also served as a popular alternative to Israel to designate the people of the shrunken northern kingdom or their descendants (Isa. 7:5, 8; Jer. 31:17, 20; Hos. 5:3, 5, et al.). The origin of the name Ephraim is not clear. According to Genesis 41:52, Joseph, in so naming his son, made a wordplay based on the root פרי ("to be fruitful"). Most scholars consider this to be the correct derivation, and hold that the name means "fertile land," with the addition of an old locative suffix – *aim* (*-ayim*). However, some view the name as a derivative of the post-biblical אֲפָר ("a place of pasture"). In both theories the name is geographical, the tribe having been called after the region it occupied, "the land of Ephraim," "the country of Ephraim" (Obad. 19), or "the hill country (Heb. *har*) of Ephraim." Least likely is the suggested connection with Akkadian *eperu*, "dust," "region," cognate with Heb. *ʿapar*, that would have resulted in spelling Ephraim with initial *ayin*.

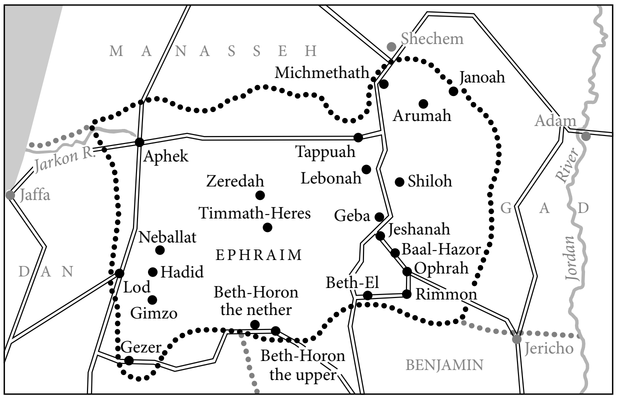

Territory of the tribe of Ephraim.

The Land of Ephraim

This area comprises the hill country of central Palestine. In this region there is no watershed plateau as in Judah, but a complex of ridges, spurs, and valleys surrounding the central valley, el-Makhnah, which is apparently to be identified with Michmethath (Josh. 16:6; 17:7). Shechem stands at the northwest extremity of this valley. On the east, two long spurs descend to the Jordan plain: Qarn as-Sarṭabah (RH 2:4) and Rās al-Kharrubueh. Wādi esh-shaʿīr, which falls into the Alexander River, continues northwest from the central plain of Shechem. To the northeast is the plain of Sychar (al-ʿAskar), which is formed by Wādi Beidān falling into Wādi Fāri, which in turn flows into the Jordan. The Shalem Plain, linked to the Jordan Valley by Wādi Ifjīm, extends to the east. The plain of Michmethath stretches southward until it reaches the Lebonah Ridge (Khān Lubbān), which hems it in on the south. The hill country of Ephraim is one of the most fertile areas in Palestine and at present is planted with such fruit trees as vine, olive, pomegranate, carob, etc. Prior to Israelite settlement, it was wooded (Josh. 17:18), and during the monarchy, beasts of prey still roamed there (II Kings 2:24). The coastal strip parallel to the hill country of Ephraim is extremely narrow; it is unsuitable for anchorage and ships found shelter in the river estuaries (Alexander, Ḥaderah; see Sharon in *Israel, Land of: Geographical Survey). It is widely accepted that the lists of tribal territories in Joshua 13–19 reflect the situation before the period of the monarchy. It is difficult, however, to determine the exact limits of the territory of Ephraim, since it is only indicated as part of the wider unit, the house of Joseph (which included Manasseh), and the biblical data are variously interpreted by scholars (see Yeivin, bibliography).

The Tribe

From the genealogical lists of the tribe of Ephraim (Num. 26:35 ff.; I Chron. 7:20 ff.), it is known that its families intermingled with other tribes, especially *Asher, *Benjamin, and *Judah. The central position of the Ephraimites' area of settlement and their militant spirit led them to encroach upon Manasseh, whose power declined with the passage of time. After the migration of the *Danites (Judg. 18) to the north, and the defeat of the *Benjaminites (Judg. 19), the Ephraimites spread both south and southwest, coming into conflict and mingling with Judah in areas severed from the Jebusites of *Jerusalem (see *Jebus) during the period of the Judges. This explains why, in various biblical lists, certain families, places, and areas are sometimes attributed to Judah, Benjamin, or Dan, and sometimes to Ephraim. According to the Bible, the conquest of Canaan was led by *Joshua of the tribe of Ephraim. In the ensuing period of the Judges, the accounts of the disputes with *Gideon (Judg. 8) and *Jephthah (Judg. 12) illustrate the pride of the Ephraimites, who claimed seniority among the tribes and precedence over the fraternal tribe of Manasseh (cf. Gen. 48:13–20). This was doubtless due not only to the political independence that they achieved in the period of the Judges, but also to the location of the religious center of *Shiloh in their territory. The military and political importance of the Ephraimites is reflected in some ancient biblical poems, such as the Song of Deborah (Judg. 5:14). Jacob's blessing (Gen. 49) praises Joseph for his prowess and his hegemony over the other tribes, but contains no reference to Joseph's sons Ephraim and Manasseh, perhaps because it dates from a time when Joseph still counted as only one tribe in the league of Israelite tribes. In the blessing of Moses, however, the sons of Joseph are referred to as "the myriads of Ephraim," and "the thousands of Manasseh" (Deut. 33:17), which probably reflects the later date, on the whole, of the pronouncements on the tribes in Deuteronomy 33, as compared with those in Genesis 49. The self-aggrandizement of the Ephraimites over the other tribes and their tendency to isolation, inherent in such self-aggrandizement, ultimately proved fatal to themselves and to the entire nation, since it brought about the end of the united kingdom of David and Solomon and the diminution of the state's prestige. The man held responsible in the Bible for the breakup was an Ephraimite – *Jeroboam son of Nebat, from Zeredah in the land of Ephraim (I Kings 11:26).

[*Encyclopaedia Hebraica*]

In the *Aggadah*

The preference shown by Jacob toward Ephraim, in placing his right hand on his head instead of on Manasseh's and in twice mentioning Ephraim before Manasseh (Gen. 48:14–20), was interpreted by the rabbis as an all-inclusive nullification of Manasseh's prerogatives as the firstborn. Thus Ephraim was granted precedence to Manasseh in the distribution of the Holy Land (Josh. 16:5); in the order of the banners during the wandering and camping in the desert (Num. 2:18, 20); and in the consecration of the Tabernacle (Num. 7:48, 54). Likewise, the descendants of Ephraim ruled before those of Manasseh, i.e., Joshua before Gideon, Jeroboam before Jehu (Gen. R. 97:5; Num. R. 14:4). Jacob instructed Ephraim for 17 years, yet when he came with Joseph, together with his brother Manasseh, to receive Jacob's blessings, Jacob did not recognize him, for upon seeing Jeroboam and Ahab as issuing from Ephraim, the prophetic spirit left him. Only after Joseph's prayer did it return, whereupon seeing that Joshua too would descend from Ephraim, he blessed him, giving him precedence over Manasseh (Tanḥ., Va-Yeḥi 6). R. Aḥa in the name of R. Levi explains Jeremiah 31:19 to mean that Jacob blessed Ephraim thus: "You shall be the head of the tribes and the head of the academies; and the best and most prominent of my children shall be called after thy name" (Lev. R. 2:3). Moreover, one of the two future Messiahs will originate from Ephraim; he will prepare the way for the Messiah, son of David, and defeat Gog and Magog and the kingdom of Edom; according to some sources he will be killed in battle (Targ. Yer. Ex. 40:11; Suk. 52a). Ephraim's standard was black and bore the emblem of a bullock in accordance with Deuteronomy 33:17 (Num. R. 2:7). The tribe of Ephraim camped to the west, whence came snow, hail, cold, and heat, since Ephraim had the strength to withstand them, as stated in Psalms 80:3 (Num. R. 2:10). The archangel Raphael was appointed to assist at God's throne to heal the breach wrought by Ephraim's descendant, Jeroboam the idol worshiper (*ibid.*). According to the Midrash, the tribe of Ephraim erred in their calculation of the termination of the Egyptian bondage and left the country 30 years before the date ordained for redemption. On their way to Canaan the Philistines waged war against them, killing 300,000 of their number. Their bones were heaped up along the road. In order that the children of Israel would not see these bleached bones and consequently take fright and return to Egypt, God did not lead them on the straight road from Egypt to the Land of Israel, but led them by a circuitous route. According to the Palestinian Targum (Ezek. 37) and the Talmud (Sanh. 92b) it was these bones which were resuscitated by Ezekiel (in the "Vision of the Dry Bones," cf. Ezek.).

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EPHRAIM, family mainly active in Berlin. Its first member to settle there was HEINE (ḤAYYIM) EPHRAIM (1665–1748), born in Altona, who rose to be court jeweler and head of the Berlin Jewish community (1726–32). His son was Veitel Heine *Ephraim, most of whose great-grandsons embraced

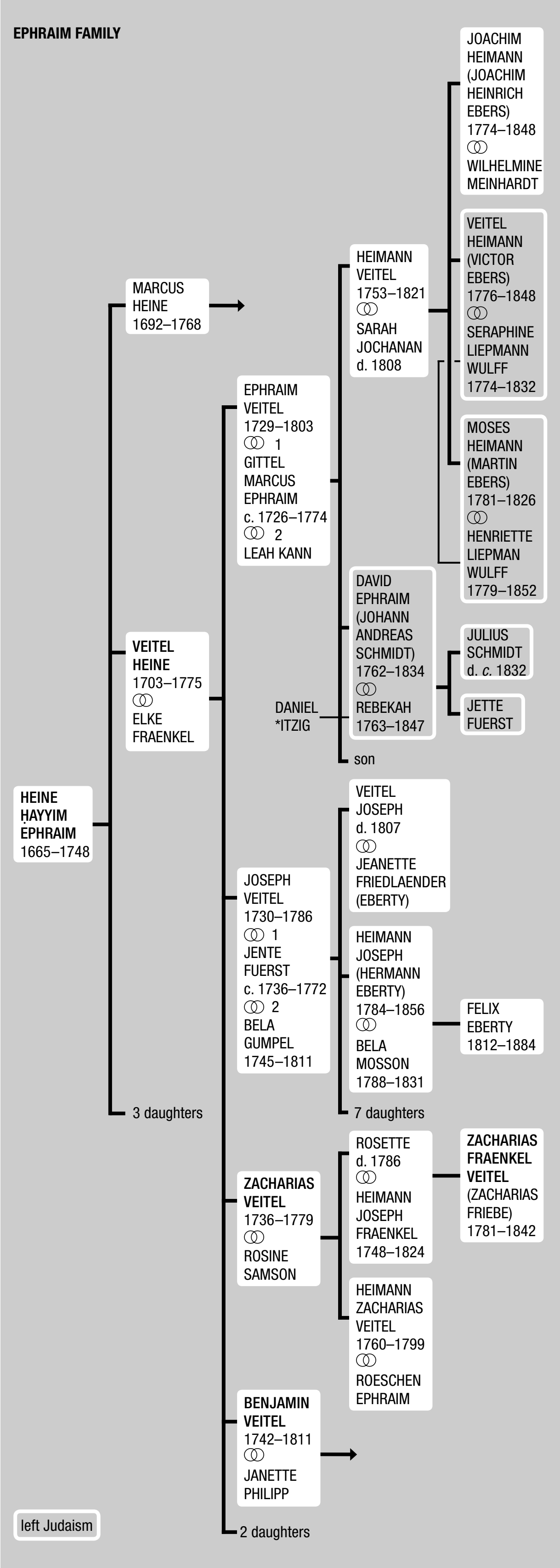
EPHRAIM FAMILY
HEINE ḤAYYIM EPHRAIM 1665–1748
MARCUS HEINE 1692–1768
VEITEL HEINE 1703–1775 ⚭ ELKE FRAENKEL
3 daughters
EPHRAIM VEITEL 1729–1803 ⚭ 1 GITTEL MARCUS EPHRAIM c. 1726–1774 ⚭ 2 LEAH KANN
JOSEPH VEITEL 1730–1786 ⚭ 1 JENTE FUERST c. 1736–1772 ⚭ 2 BELA GUMPEL 1745–1811
ZACHARIAS VEITEL 1736–1779 ⚭ ROSINE SAMSON
BENJAMIN VEITEL 1742–1811 ⚭ JANETTE PHILIPP
2 daughters
HEIMANN VEITEL 1753–1821 ⚭ SARAH JOCHANAN d. 1808
DAVID EPHRAIM (JOHANN ANDREAS SCHMIDT) 1762–1834 ⚭ REBEKAH 1763–1847
DANIEL *ITZIG
son
VEITEL JOSEPH d. 1807 ⚭ JEANETTE FRIEDLAENDER (EBERTY)
HEIMANN JOSEPH (HERMANN EBERTY) 1784–1856 ⚭ BELA MOSSON 1788–1831
7 daughters
ROSETTE d. 1786 ⚭ HEIMANN JOSEPH FRAENKEL 1748–1824
HEIMANN ZACHARIAS VEITEL 1760–1799 ⚭ ROESCHEN EPHRAIM
JOACHIM HEIMANN (JOACHIM HEINRICH EBERS) 1774–1848 ⚭ WILHELMINE MEINHARDT
VEITEL HEIMANN (VICTOR EBERS) 1776–1848 ⚭ SERAPHINE LIEPMANN WULFF 1774–1832
MOSES HEIMANN (MARTIN EBERS) 1781–1826 ⚭ HENRIETTE LIEPMAN WULFF 1779–1852
JULIUS SCHMIDT d. c. 1832
JETTE FUERST
FELIX EBERTY 1812–1884
ZACHARIAS FRAENKEL VEITEL (ZACHARIAS FRIEBE) 1781–1842
left Judaism

Christianity and changed their names to Ebers; some of their descendants were ennobled. Veitel Heine's grandson, DAVID (1762–1834), married a daughter of Daniel *Itzig; following a financial scandal he fled to Vienna, embraced Catholicism, and changed his family name to Schmidt. ZACHARIAS (1736–1779), son of Veitel Heine, showed marked business ability. His grandson ZACHARIAS FRAENKEL (1781–1842) was an influential banker. As representative of the Berlin community, he demanded conscription of the Jews in 1812.

Veitel Heine's youngest son BENJAMIN (1742–1811) was a businessman and government confidential agent. After varying success in questionable business transactions, he reorganized the family lace factory in Potsdam, opening a school for his girl workers, which was highly commended. In 1779 he took on in his factory unemployed Jewish girls and women from the recently annexed Polish territory. He successfully averted the expulsion orders of Frederick William II by stressing the usefulness of his 700 to 1,500 workers to the state. In Berlin, Benjamin maintained a leading salon, was the first Jew to own an art collection, and had access to ruling circles, having loaned the king large sums before his accession. In 1787 he was sent on a secret mission to Brussels to assure the anti-Austrian rebels of Prussian support. In 1790 the king entrusted him with the mission of contacting the French government to arrange a treaty, with a government post promised as his reward. His expenditure of large sums of his own fortune in Paris aroused suspicions against him in Berlin; at the same time Prussia changed her diplomatic course. Discredited and impoverished, Benjamin demanded recognition and reimbursement. An advocate of close French-Prussian ties, he was entrusted with minor diplomatic roles in negotiations with France. His pro-French attitude led to his arrest in 1806; he was later released by the victorious French. He died in relative poverty.

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[Henry Wasserman]

EPHRAIM, VEITEL HEINE (1703–1775), court jeweler and head of the Berlin community. From 1730 he regularly attended the Leipzig fairs, and supplied jewels to the Prussian court and silver to the mint, strengthening his position by furnishing loans to the crown prince. The wedding of two orphans in his home in 1740 was attended by the court. In 1745 Ephraim was officially appointed court jeweler to the king of Prussia. After the death of his father in 1748 Ephraim was elected head of the Berlin Jewish community, continuing in this office until his death. He proved a benevolent though despotic leader, enjoying the continued support of *Frederick II. In 1743 Ephraim appointed his brother-in-law, David *Fraenkel, the teacher of Moses *Mendelssohn, rabbi of Berlin. He also forced a personal enemy, Abraham Posner, a *maskil*, who wanted to shave off his beard in demonstration of his unorthodox convictions, to retain his beard. Ephraim built a school for the children employed in his factories and an educational foundation bearing his name. During the Seven Years' War (1756–63) Ephraim organized a consortium (including Daniel *Itzig and other financiers) for the mint farming rights in Prussia and the conquered territories, especially Saxony. The consortium bought up all the precious metals and good coinage and issued a series of debased coins, which became known as "Ephraimiten." Through these government-authorized inflationary measures about one-sixth of Prussia's war expenditures were defrayed, but the general populace became impoverished and Ephraim was attacked from the pulpit and in pamphlets. Frederick II issued a formal discharge to Ephraim although refusing to have it made public. After the war Ephraim was active in measures taken to improve the coinage. Having amassed great wealth during the war, Ephraim invested it in building a castle-type residence and in manufacturing ventures. He leased the Potsdam orphanage factory for fine gold and silver thread, over which he was granted a monopoly, and owned a Brussels lace factory, employing 200 workers. He died one of the richest men in Berlin.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: H. Rachel et al., *Berliner Grosskaufleute*, 2 (1938); H. Schnee, *Die Hoffinanz und der moderne Staat*, 1 (1953), 145–68; 5 (1965), 25, 26; H. Rachel, in: ZGJD, 2 (1930), 188ff; L. Geiger, *Geschichte der Juden in Berlin*, 1 (1871), 82, 84, 86f.; 2 (1871), 140ff.; M. Stern, *Beitraege zur Geschichte der Juden in Berlin* (1909); idem, in: *Juedische Familien-Forschung*, 1 (1925), 6, 82; J. Jacobson, *Die Judenbuergerbuecher der Stadt Berlin 1809–1851* (1962), index; S. Stern, *The Court Jew* (1950), index.

EPHRAIM BEN ISAAC (of Regensburg; 1110–1175), tosafist, member of the *bet din* of Regensburg, and the greatest of the *paytanim* (liturgical poets) of Germany. Among his teachers were *Isaac b. Asher ha-Levi and *Isaac b. Mordecai of Regensburg. He was held in great esteem by his contemporaries, being referred to as "the great Rabbi Ephraim" and as "Ben Yakir" (an allusion to Jer. 31:20). His youth was spent in France, where he was among the first pupils of Jacob b. Meir *Tam (Rabbenu Tam). Ephraim was uncompromising in his pursuit of truth; his intransigence often brought him into conflict with other scholars, even with Jacob Tam himself. Once, after a particularly heated dispute with the rabbis of Speyer, Rabbenu Tam answered him sharply: "From the day I have known you, I have never heard you concede a point" (*Sefer ha-Yashar*, no. 64). Rabbenu Tam, however, appreciating Ephraim's selfless motives, bore him no ill will, even referring to him affectionately as "my brother Rabbi Ephraim" (*ibid.*, n. 80).

When the rabbis of Speyer complained to Rabbenu Tam that Ephraim was overly lenient, a literary controversy arose, in which Ephraim's letters to Rabbenu Tam evidenced undeviating adherence to Jewish law and custom. Ephraim remained in Speyer for a short while after the dispute, then moved on to Worms, and finally to Regensburg. Ephraim is the author of *Tosafot* (cited in early works); a commentary on *Avot;* and halakhic decisions. He also apparently wrote *Arba Panim* ("Four Aspects"), a commentary to *Seder Nezikin.* Thirty-two of his *piyyutim* are extant. They reflect the severe hardships which the Jews of Germany suffered in the Regensburg massacre of 1137 and the Second Crusade (1146–47). Zunz regarded Ephraim's poems as superior to all other contemporary Hebrew poetry written in Germany. They are distinctive in form and content, and powerful in expression. Ephraim also employed the metric forms of Sephardi poetry and one of his *seliḥot* is in the Sephardi festival liturgy.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Zunz, Lit Poesie, 274–80; idem, *Nachtrag zur Literaturgeschichte …* (1867), 16–17; Davidson, Oẓar, 4 (1933), 369, index; Germ Jud, 1 (1934), 289–90; V. Aptowitzer, *Mavo le-Sefer Ravyah* (1938), 321–3; A.M. Habermann, in: YMḤSI, 4 (1938), 121–95; Urbach, Tosafot, 72–73, 170–7; Weinberg, in: *Hadorom*, 23 (1965/66), 31–53; Ta-Shema, in: KS, 42 (1966/67), 507–8.

[Abraham Meir Habermann]

EPHRAIM BEN JACOB HA-KOHEN (1616–1678), rabbinic authority. Ephraim served as a judge in Vilna together with *Shabbetai Kohen and Aaron Samuel *Koidanover in the *bet din* of his teacher, Moses Ben Isaac Judah *Lima. During the Swedish War (1655), Ephraim fled from Vilna to Velke Mezerici in Moravia. From there he went to Prague, where he established a yeshivah. He then moved to Vienna, remaining there until 1666, when he was appointed head of the *bet din* in Ofen (Buda). There he established a famous yeshivah and corresponded with some of the most prominent rabbis of his time, including those of Turkey and Ereẓ Israel, among them Moses *Galante and Moses ibn *Ḥabib. Toward the end of his life he was invited to the rabbinate of the Ashkenazi congregation of Jerusalem, a position which, 80 years earlier, his grandfather R. Ephraim ha-Kohen had held. He died, however, before he could take up the position. Ephraim was one of the great legal authorities of his generation. His decisions on many questions, civil, domestic, and religious, helped influence Jewish life in several countries for a number of generations. His only published work is his responsa, *Sha'ar Efrayim* on the Shulḥan Arukh, published by his son Aryeh Loeb (Sulzbach, 1689). Other works have remained in manuscript. Ephraim was the grandfather of Ẓevi Hirsch *Ashkenazi, the "Ḥakham Ẓevi."

BIBLIOGRAPHY: D. Kaufmann, *Die letzte Vertreibung der Juden aus Wien …* (1889), 62; *Even ha-Me'ir*, 2 (1907), 27f., no. 148; J.J. (L.) Greenwald (Grunwald), *Sefer Toledot Ḥakhmei Yisrael, Kolel Toledot R. Efrayim ha-Kohen mi-Vilna* (1924); Frumkin-Rivlin, 1 (1929), 107f.; H. Gold (ed.), *Juden und Judengemeinden Maehrens* (1929), 227f.

[Aharon Fuerst]

EPHRAIM BEN JACOB OF BONN (b. 1132), liturgical poet and commentator. When his teacher Joel b. Isaac ha-Levi left Bonn, Ephraim succeeded him as *av bet din*. He also taught for some time in Mainz and Speyer. In 1197, he resided in Bonn and Neuss, leaving the latter town only three days before its Jews were massacred. He appears to have died shortly thereafter. Ephraim wrote the *Sefer Zekhirah* ("Book of Remembrance") and dirges on the sufferings of the Jews during the Second Crusade. He also composed *piyyutim* for the festivals, 27 of which (two in Aramaic) have been published. His commentary on *piyyutim* still exists in manuscript; it contains many traditional details concerning the early liturgical poets, poems, and liturgical customs (Hamburg, Ms. no. 152). The well-known legend describing the martyrdom of *Amnon of Mainz, as well as the legend concerning the early *paytan* R. *Yannai, who out of jealousy of his pupil R. Eleazar *Kallir put a scorpion in his shoe, are attributed to him. He also wrote *tosafot* and commentaries to the treatises of *Eruvin, Ketubbot*, and *Avot*, besides halakhic responsa and commentaries to benedictions and various customs. R. Ephraim is also referred to in his hymns as "Shalom"; it was possibly an additional name. The meaning of the word ילִ֗יבייה added to his name has not yet been clarified. It has been suggested that he had a German name such as *Geliebter* ("beloved") which was commonly pronounced "*yelība.*"

BIBLIOGRAPHY: A.M. Habermann (ed.), *Gezerot Ashkenaz ve-Ẓarefat* (1945), 115–36; Davidson, Oẓar, 4 (1933), 369, s.v. *Efrayim mi-Bona (b. Ya'akov);* Zunz, Lit Poesie, 288–93; Germ Jud, 1 (1934), 49–50, no. 6; V. Aptowitzer, *Mavo le-Sefer Ravyah* (1938), 319–21; Habermann, in: YMḤSI, 7 (1958), 215–96; Baron, Social, index.

[Abraham Meir Habermann]

EPHRAIM BEN SHEMARIAH (c. 980–c. 1060), leader of the Palestinian community in *Cairo during the first half of the 11th century. Ephraim's father, Shemariah, was born in *Gaza and later moved to *Egypt with his family. Ephraim himself studied in the Palestinian yeshivah, where he received the title *ḥaver* ("scholar") from the *gaon* Josiah. He was engaged in commerce, but in about 1020 became the rabbi of the Palestinian community. Although he came into conflict with an opposing faction from time to time, he held his position for more than 30 years. Ephraim supported the Jews in Palestine and, especially, the Palestinian yeshivah. He was a close friend of the *gaon* R. *Solomon b. Judah, with whom he corresponded for many years.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: S. Poznański, in: REJ, 48 (1904), 145–75; A. Cowley, in: JQR, 19 (1906/07), 107–8; M. Schwab, in: REJ, 70 (1920), 63; Mann, Egypt, index; Mann, Texts, 1 (1931), 314; Hirschberg, Afrikah, 1 (1965), 131, 159–60, 175, 260.

[Eliyahu Ashtor]

EPHRAIM IBN AVI ALRAGAN (late 11 and early 12th centuries), North African halakhist. He is referred to in halakhic literature as "Rabbenu Ephraim," "Ephraim of Kaleah," "Ephraim the Sephardi," "Ephraim, pupil of the Rif" (i.e., Isaac *Alfasi), "Ephraim the Elder," etc. He lived in *Qalʿat Ḥammād (Algeria). Ephraim was an outstanding disciple of Alfasi, with whom he discussed halakhic problems and Alfasi at times accepted his view. The "*Mahadura Batra*" (second recension of the *halakhot* of Alfasi) contains Ephraim's amendments. He was the first to write a commentary on the *halakhot* of Alfasi, and this is referred to in the works of *rishonim* under various names: *haggahot* ("glosses"), *hassagot* ("critiques"), *teshuvot* ("responsa"), *tosafot* ("addenda"), and *tashlum halakhot* ("complement to the *halakhot*"). The work has not survived, but quotations from it appear in the works of the *rishonim*, and a substantial part of it, on *Bava Kamma*, was published in the *Temim De'im*, no. 68, margin in the Romm Vilna (1882) edition of Alfasi. The quotations indicate that the book covered the whole of the *halakhot* and possibly also the Mishnah of tractates which Alfasi did not include in his work. The book consists of supplements to the *halakhot* ("additional *halakhot* omitted by Alfasi"), explanations of passages from the *Gemara* which Alfasi quoted without comment, explanations of the text itself, and refutations of Alfasi's critics. It also contains criticism of Alfasi, mainly where he disagrees with the decisions of the Babylonian *geonim* and North African scholars, and with their customs. The criticisms are presented vigorously but respectfully. Sometimes, when an opinion attributed to Alfasi is not acceptable to Ephraim, he, like other admirers of Alfasi, questions the attribution. Ephraim's purpose was to secure universal acceptance for the *halakhot;* even his criticisms were directed to this end, for by citing the views of earlier scholars which conflict with those of Alfasi, those who disagreed with him could still use the work as a whole as an authoritative code. Because the *rishonim* quoted mainly the criticisms of Ephraim, it was thought that the whole work was critical. Ephraim exercised an influence particularly on the early scholars of Provence and Catalonia, such as *Abraham b. David of Posquiéres, *Zerahiah ha-Levi, *Jonathan ha-Kohen of Lunel, *Isaac b. Abba Mari of Marseilles, and *Naḥmanides. Much of his teachings are contained in their works, sometimes without attribution. In some cases his glosses in the margins were incorporated in error by copyists into the text of the *halakhot* itself. Solomon b. Parḥon was one of Ephraim's pupils.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Benedikt, in: KS, 25 (1948/49), 164–9, 229–30; 26 (1949/50), 216, 322–38; 31 (1955 /56), 264; Ta-Shema, *ibid.*, 42 (1966/67), 507–8.

[Binyamin Zeev Benedikt]

EPHRAIM SOLOMON BEN AARON OF LUNTSHITS (**Leczyca**; 1550–1619), rabbi and renowned preacher. He was known as "Ephraim of Luntshits," the popular pronunciation of Leczyca among Polish Jews. The name "Solomon" was added some time after 1601. In his youth Ephraim was sent to study in the yeshivah of Solomon *Luria. At an early age he had already gained a reputation as a preacher, in which capacity he traveled to Lublin, Lemberg, Jaroslaw, and other towns. It is not known whether he ever held a regular communal post before he became head of a yeshivah in Lemberg when he was already past fifty. In 1604, he arrived in Prague where he served as president of the rabbinical court and head of the yeshivah, but he relinquished his rabbinical post in the last year of his life. As a preacher he was distinguished for his lucid and fascinating sermons. He addressed the heads of the *Council of Four Lands when they met in Lublin and was apparently on friendly terms with the leaders of that council on whose recommendation he was appointed *rosh yeshivah* in Lemberg. Ephraim's sermons shed much light on the religious and communal life of the Polish-Jewish community of his time. He railed against the wealthy members of the congregation whose passion for money and luxury caused them to withhold assistance from their needy brethren and he criticized their pretensions to spiritual and religious status on the basis of their commercial success. He said that wealth corrupts and destroys the character of men when they do not appreciate its purpose. At the same time, he complained about the poor who wished to enjoy the charity of the rich without making any effort to provide for their needs. In addition, he attacked certain casuistic methods of talmudic study (*pilpul*) which often neglected the truth, and the desire for personal aggrandizement among communal leaders.

Ephraim's sermons were collected and published in various books: *Ir Gibborim* (Basle, 1580); *Olelot Efrayim* (Lublin, 1590); *Oraḥ le-Ḥayyim* (*ibid.*, 1595); *Keli Yakar* (*ibid.*, 1602), commentary on the Pentateuch in homiletic style that was subsequently included in various editions of the rabbinical Bible (*Mikra'ot Gedolot*); *Siftei Da'at* (Prague, 1610); *Ammudei Shesh* (*ibid.*, 1617); *Petiḥot u-She'arim* (Zolkiew, 1799). He also compiled a book of sermons entitled *Rivevot Efrayim*, which is occasionally mentioned in his other works. He composed three *seliḥot* in connection with the invasion of Prague in 1611 by the army of the bishop of Passau.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: M. Gruenwald, *Rabbi Salomo Efraim Luntschitz* (Ger., 1892); I. Bettan, *Studies in Jewish Preaching* (1939), 273–316; idem, in: HUCA, 8–9 (1931/32), 443–80; Halpern, Pinkas, 607, index; H.H. Ben-Sasson, *Hagut ve-Hanhagah* (1959), 263, index; idem, in: *Zion*, 19 (1954), 142–66; H.R. Rabinowitz, *Deyokena'ot shel Darshanim* (1967), 137–49; G. Klemperer, in: HJ, 12 (1950), 38 ff.

[Abraham David]

EPHRATH (Heb. אֶפְרָת), an additional name for *Bethlehem of Judah: "Ephrath – the same is Bethlehem" (Gen. 35:19; 48:7; LXX, Josh. 15:59b; cf. Micah 5:1). In the genealogical tables in the Bible, which provide information on the distribution of the clans and the places occupied by them, Ephrath appears as the wife of Caleb and the mother of "Hur the first-born of Ephrath, the father of Bethlehem" (I Chron. 2:19, 50; 4:4). The various biblical references apparently indicate that in addition to the Calebite clans, originating from the south, the Ephrathites, who possibly were of a different origin, also penetrated into the Bethlehem district, and their influence there was so great that the chief city of the district was named for them. Jesse, David's father, was called "Ephrathite" (I Sam. 17:12) and so were Naomi's sons (Ruth 1:2).

[Moshe Kochavi]

EPHRATI, DAVID TEVELE BEN ABRAHAM (1849–1884), talmudic scholar. Born in Merits (near Vilna), he showed exceptional talent as a child and at the age of 14 had already written his *Daltot Zahav* on the Shulḥan Arukh *Oraḥ Ḥayyim* and *Yoreh De'ah*. At 15, his articles and studies began to appear in the periodical *Ha-Levanon*, and he continued to write regularly. At the age of 22 he wrote a halakhic work, *Migdal David.* Ephrati was one of the most active leaders of the Ḥibbat Zion movement, and was on intimate terms with Elijah *Guttmacher and Ẓevi Hirsch *Kalischer. In 1873 he was sentenced to a year's imprisonment for his Zionist activities. He refused invitations to rabbinic posts and, from 1868 lived alternately in Mogilev and Gorodok, later moving to Vitebsk where he engaged in business. Toward the end of his life he moved to Berlin, where he became friendly with Azriel *Hildesheimer. He died in Frankfurt on the Main. Ephrati was also the author of *Toledot Anshei Shem* (1875), biographical sketches of great Jewish scholars, with an appendix, *Divrei David*, consisting of homilies and novellae; this work is of considerable historical importance. Other works are *Yad David* (1880), *halakhah* and *aggadah; Matta Efrati* (1882), novellae and responsa; *Kohelet David ha-Efrati* (1884), a commentary on Ecclesiastes; *Sha'ar ha-Zekenim* (1884), a collection of manuscripts of early authorities with his own commentary, *Mevo Efrati.* Ephrati was also editor of a monthly periodical called *Eẓ Ḥayyim*. Many of his works have remained unpublished.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Ha-Asif*, 2 (1885), 754; *Oẓar ha-Sifrut*, 1 (1887), 129–32 (2nd pagination), contains an autobiography.

[Itzhak Alfassi]

EPHRON (Heb. עֶפְרוֹן).

(1) Mountain on the northern boundary between Judah and Benjamin 8 mi. (13 km.) west of Jerusalem between Nephtoah (Liftā) and *Balaah-Kiriath-Jearim (Tell Deir al-Azhar; Josh. 15:9). Ephron probably constituted the mountainous area extending from Har ha-Menuḥot to Qaryat al-ʿInab.

(2) A town in Transjordan captured by *Judah Maccabee during his retreat from Gilead in the direction of *Beth-Shean (I Macc. 5:46–52; II Macc. 12:27–29; Jos., Ant., 12:346). It appears in the account of the conquest of Ptolemaic Palestine by *Antiochus III in 218 B.C.E. as Gephrous (Polybius, 5:70, 12). It is identified with al-Ṭayyiba, 7½ mi. (12 km.) northeast of Pella.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Aharoni, Land, index; Avi-Yonah, 176; C. Steuernagel, *Der Adschlun* (1927), 447 f.; Abel, in: RB, 32 (1923), 520.

[Michael Avi-Yonah]

EPHRON (Heb. עֶפְרוֹן, עֶפְרֹן), son of Zohar, from whom *Abraham purchased the cave of *Machpelah and the field east of Mamre (Gen. 23; 25:9; 49:29–30; 50:13). Abraham sought a burial site for Sarah, but as he was a "resident alien," he did not own land. He therefore sought to purchase the cave belonging to Ephron, who, after much bargaining, agreed to accept 400 shekels of silver. Ephron is described as a "Hittite," though the form of his name and that of his father is West Semitic. While "Hittite" in the Bible may sometimes refer to Canaan's pre-Israelite inhabitants (cf. Gen. 26:34 with Gen 27:46), and not to the Hittites of Anatolia in the second millennium B.C.E., the first millennium Arameo-Hittites were within the orbit of the biblical writers. Some scholars interpret the name Ephron as being related to *ʿofer* ("gazelle"); S. Yeivin's explanation that Ephron is not a personal name but an indication that the man was an ʿApiru (see *Habiru) of Hittite origin is ingenious but unlikely.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: S. Yeivin, in: *Beth Mikra*, 7 (1963), 44–45 and note 281; E.A. Speiser, *Genesis* (*The Anchor Bible*, 1964), 172; N. Sarna, *Understanding Genesis* (1967), 168ff. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** J. van Seters, in: VT, 22 (1972), 64–81; N. Sarna, *Genesis* (JPS; 1989), 396.

EPHRON, NORA (1941–), U.S. writer, film director. Ephron was born on Manhattan's Upper West Side, but her family moved to Beverly Hills by the time she turned three. Her parents, screenwriting duo Pheobe and Henry Ephron, wrote such classics as *Carousel* (1956) and *There's No Business Like Show Business* (1954). They based their script *Take Her, She's Mine* on the letters their daughter wrote home while she was attending Wellesley College. In 1962, after finishing school, Ephron moved to New York City, launching a career in journalism. She worked for the *New York Post* and, later, for publications such as *Esquire*, the *New York Times Magazine*, and *New York Magazine*. Her work is collected in such books as *Wallflower at the Orgy* (1970), *Crazy Salad* (1975), and *Scribble, Scribble* (1978). After a brief marriage to writer Dan Greenburg, Ephron married Carl *Bernstein, the journalist who, along with Bob Woodward, first brought the Watergate scandal to the country's attention in the pages of the *Washington Post.* The marriage broke up while Ephron was pregnant with their second son, Max, and the breakup became the basis for her semiautobiographical novel, *Heartburn*. With two young children to support, Ephron turned to her family trade – screenwriting. Her scripts frequently focus on strong, independent women struggling to achieve their ambitions. Ephron wrote such films as *Silkwood* (1983), *When Harry Met Sally* (1989), and *Sleepless in Seattle* (1993). She made her directorial debut with the comedy *This is My Life* (1992), which she co-wrote with her sister Delia. She continued to write and direct movies, including the box office smash *You've Got Mail* (1998) and *Bewitched* (2005).

[Casey Schwartz (2nd ed.)]

EPHROS, GERSHON (1890–1978), *ḥazzan*. Born in Poland, he went to Palestine at 20, and studied under the musicologist A.Z. *Idelsohn, for whom he also conducted a choir. Later he immigrated to the U.S. where he received appointments as *ḥazzan* and taught singing in schools. Ephros composed liturgical music for soloists, choir, and organ, and arranged Ḥasidic dances and Israel songs. His main work is his *Cantorial Anthology* in five volumes (1929–57), a practical collection of older and recent works for all the synagogue services of the year, which also contains some of Ephros' own compositions.

In 1976 the Gershon Ephros Cantorial Anthology Foundation was established for the purpose of continuing the publication of his Anthology, of which 6 volumes have now been published. In 1979 the American Society for Jewish Music published an index to them. Two records of his liturgical songs and songs for children have appeared.

[Akiva Zimmerman (2nd ed.)]

EPHRUSSI, BORIS (1901–1977), geneticist. Ephrussi was born in Moscow but moved to Paris after the 1917 Revolution, where he graduated in zoology (1922) and obtained his doctorate in experimental embryology (1932) from the University of Paris. A Rockefeller fellowship with George Beadle at California Institute of Technology (1934) determined Ephrussi's career as a geneticist. The German occupation of France forced him into exile in the United States, where he worked mainly at Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore. He became professor of genetics at the Sorbonne, Paris (1945), and director of the newly established Laboratory of Physiological Genetics in Gif-sur-Yvette near Paris (1956). After a period of major organizational difficulties, he moved to the U.S. as professor at Western Reserve University, Cleveland (1962), until he returned to direct the same institute near Paris, now renamed the Center of Molecular Genetics, until 1972. Before 1945 Ephrussi was one of the few internationally recognized French geneticists in France and he largely directed the reorganization of the field after World War II. His collaboration with Beadle helped establish the concept that genes control cellular events. Subsequently he pursued the then highly contentious concept that cytoplasmic factors influenced by external factors are genetically transmitted independently of conventional genes. The experimental validity of his work was subsequently vindicated by the discovery of mitochondrial DNA. His many honors included election to the French Academy of Sciences (1978).

[Michael Denman (2nd ed.)]

°**EPICTETUS** (c. 100 C.E.), Greek Stoic philosopher, who made several noncommittal observations on the Jews. Epictetus wrote no books; the sole source of his teachings is the *Discourses* of Arrian. Here (1:11, 12–13) it is related that Epictetus indicated the differences between the dietary concepts of the Jews, Syrians, Egyptians, and Romans, noting their incompatibility; and later (1:22, 4) he is reported as classifying these four peoples as in agreement on the substance of the principle of sanctification, though differing on details, such as the eating of pork. A third passage (2:9, 19–22) shows that Epictetus knew of the importance of ritual immersion for proselytism. The Galileans mentioned by him (4:7, 6) cannot be identified with the Zealots; here, the more usual explanation – that Epictetus was referring to Christians – is preferable.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Reinach, Textes, 154–5.

[Menahem Stern]

EPICUREANISM, a philosophy of adjustment to the social changes after *Alexander the Great (336–323), founded by Epicurus, 342/1–270 B.C.E., "the most revered and the most reviled of all founders of thought in the Greco-Roman world" (De Witt). Recent scholarship sees in it a "bridge" to certain rabbinic and Christian moods. Epicurus taught freedom from fear and desire through knowledge as the natural and pleasurable life. He endorsed religious observance but denied earthly involvement of the perfect gods and with it providence, presage, punishment, and penitential prayer. The transformation of Epicureanism into a competitive sect celebrating Epicurus as "savior" increased the already existing opposition to it. Rhetorical literature falsely accused Epicurus of materialistic hedonism. Complaints of Epicurean dogmatism, "beguiling speech" (Col. 2:4), and compelling argumentation (of Avot 2:14 "…[know] what to answer the Epicurean") are frequently heard. Rabbinic condemnation reflects knowledge of Greco-Roman rhetoric, experiences with individuals and centers (Gadara, Gaza, Caesarea), and, possibly, the favoritism shown to Epicureanism by *Antiochus Epiphanes and *Hadrian. "Epicurean" became thus a byword for "deviance" – ranging from disrespect to atheism – in Philo, Josephus, and rabbinism alike (see **Apikoros*). An early unexpanded version of the "four who entered 'Paradise'" (Ḥag. 14b) may once have signified Epicurus' school ("the garden"), since it fits Akiva's past, Ben Azzai's celibacy and many Epicurean sayings, Elisha b. Avuyah's heterodoxy, and Ben Zoma's gnosticism (Epicureanism and Gnosticism were equated also by the Church Fathers). Akiva's "mystical" admonition (Ḥag. 14b) could easily have been a parody on the "apocalyptic"-enthusiastic style of the Epicureans (parallel parody H. Usener, *Epicurea*, fragm. 364; Gen. R. 1:5, Theodor-Albeck, p. 2 mentions "nothing from nothing"; Mid. Ps. to 1:22 the "automatic" universe; cf. Jos., Ant., 10:280).

Agreements, however, both in content and literary form, between rabbinism and Epicureanism are striking: study for its own sake (Vatican fragment 45 and Avot 6:1); removal of doubt (*Life* 121b, *Doctr.* 22 and Avot 1:16); mortality and urgency (Vat. fr. 10 and Avot 2:15); acquisition of a companion (*To Menoeceus*, end, and Avot 1:6); diet of bread and water (Bailey, fr. 37 and Avot 6:4); satisfaction with one's lot (Bailey, fr. 69–70 and Avot 4:1); and avoidance of public office (Bailey, fr. 85–87; Vat. fr. 58; *Doctr.* 7 and Avot 1:10–11; 2:3; etc.). Epicurus anticipated Judaism's denial of astral divinity and rule. With the general rise of the lower classes he accorded human dignity even to the prostitute, an evaluation continued in the Midrash (Sif. Num. 78; Gen. R. 85:8) and the Gospels (Matt. 1:3; 5, etc.). In Hellenism and Christianity, too, denunciation of Epicurus together with partial adoption of his ethics is frequent. The centrality of the sage in post-Socratic ethics and rhetoric facilitated such developments.

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[Henry Albert Fischel]

EPIRUS, province in N.W. Greece. Epirus was an independent despotate between c. 1214 and 1340. Under the first and strongest of its despots, Theodore Ducas Angelus, the Jews (see *Durazzo, *Arta, *Ioannina) were subjected to a persecution in which Jewish property was confiscated and Judaism probably prohibited. This was subsequently extended to Salonika, captured by Theodore in 1224, and continued even after Salonika was retaken from Epirus in 1246. With the strengthening of the empire under *Michael VIII Palaeologus, parts of Epirus reverted to the empire and the persecutions came to an end. His son Andronicus II Palaeologus placed the Jews of Ioannina (Janina), the most important of the Epirote communities, under his direct protection and angered the Church by favoring the Jews.

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[Andrew Sharf]

EPISCOPUS JUDAEORUM (Lat. "bishop of the Jews"), title given by the Christian authorities in the Middle Ages to the head of the Jewish community or its rabbi. The significance of the title, which is much disputed, is sometimes clarified when Hebrew and Latin forms are found side by side. In Germany the title is mentioned in the privilege granted to the Jews of Worms in 1090, addressed to Salman the "Jews' bishop," a distinguished scholar. The "bishop" of the Jews in Worms, later called the *hegmon parnas*, was the permanent chairman of the community board; the last man to hold the title, Michael Gernstein, died in 1792. In Cologne the first "bishop" of the Jews is mentioned from 1135 to 1159. His successors were in office for long terms, although elections were held annually; some of them were rabbis. In Silesia, the "Jews' bishop" held the offices of rabbi, ritual slaughterer, cantor, and religious teacher in 1315. Found in England in the 12th century, the term (*Eveske* in Anglo-French) was sometimes equivalent to the Hebrew *kohen*. It is therefore impossible to maintain that in England it denoted an official rabbinical position.

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[Isaac Levitats]

EPITAPHS. Commemorative inscriptions marking the place of burial were known at the time of the First Temple following the custom of the other Oriental nations, in particular the Phoenicians. The most elaborate as yet discovered is a rock-carved inscription over a burial cave in the Kidron Valley outside Jerusalem apparently referred to explicitly in Isaiah 22:15–16, indicating the grave of the royal steward Shebna: “This is (the sepulcher of) … yahu who is over the House. There is no silver and no gold here but (his bones) and the bones of his slave-wife with him. Cursed be the man who will open this.” In the Second Temple period, there grew up the practice of burial in sarcophagi or secondary burial in *ossuaries: these generally bore at the most the names of the persons whose bones had been brought together in them. On the other hand, more elaborate inscriptions were placed over some burial places, such as the tomb of the priestly family of Benei *Hezir in the Kidron Valley. From the period of Roman-Byzantine domination, after the fall of Jerusalem in 70 C.E., many epitaphs are preserved, brought together by J.B. Frey in the second volume of his *Corpus Inscriptionum Judaicarum*, the largest number being from the *catacombs of *Bet She’arim in Galilee. Normally these bear only the name of the deceased, whether in Hebrew or in Greek: in two cases the epitaph is a lengthy poem in Greek verses.

To the same period belong the very large number of epitaphs found in the Roman catacombs, collected with others from Europe in Frey’s first volume. Of these, the great majority (approximately 75 percent) are in Greek: most of the remaining 25 percent are in Latin. Only a small minority include any Hebrew, and these, mainly stereotyped phrases (“Peace” or “Peace upon his resting place”). On the other hand, a very large number are distinguished by Jewish symbols such as the seven-branched candelabrum, or *menorah*. The Roman epitaphs are on the whole brief, giving little more detail than the name of the deceased, sometimes with the addition of the communal position he held (e.g., *grammateus*, “secretary”; *archon*, “warden”); one of them includes a poem in Latin hexameters. Contemporary with and similar to the Roman Jewish catacombs are some of *Venosa in south Italy. Here, however, there was a tendency for the epitaphs to be longer, more elaborate and more descriptive, as in the case of that of a girl of 14 who, it is related, in a remarkable inscription in curious Late Latin, was the only child of her distinguished parents, was conveyed to her grave amid universal lamentation, and was commemorated by two rabbis and two messengers from the Holy Land (Frey, no. 611).

From Venosa and the neighboring region of south Italy a series of *tombstones also have been preserved which demonstrate how, from about the year 800, Hebrew displaced Latin and Greek in funerary epitaphs. These are now relatively long, mention Jewish schools and “scholars of the academy” (e.g., Nathan b. Ephraim of Venosa, who died in 846), and in one case incorporate poetical passages from a funerary prayer. In other lands of Europe (Greece, Gaul, Spain, Pannonia) epitaphs of the late classical period in Latin and Greek are similarly preserved: the Mérida (Spain) inscription is trilingual, in Greek, Latin, and Hebrew.

In due course, however, as knowledge of Hebrew spread and Latin came to be considered the language of the Church, the use of Hebrew became universal. From the 11th century, tombstones with epitaphs in Hebrew are preserved in Spain, France, Germany, and elsewhere. These are generally at the beginning very brief, containing little more than the name of the deceased. Later they tend to become more elaborate. The Spanish epitaphs of the 13th–14th century (collected by F. Cantera), written sometimes on all sides of raised horizontal tombstones, are veritable literary documents. The French medieval inscriptions are collected by M. Schwab. Similar collections for some other countries remain a desideratum. In Italy, from the 16th century, it became usual to incorporate in the epitaph a short poem in a stereotyped lilting meter: a very large number of those composed by R. Leone *Modena of Venice have been published by A. Berliner and R. Pacifici. Less literary, but historically of great importance, are the funerary inscriptions from such places as Prague (published by S. Hock), Frankfurt on the Main (published by M. Horovitz), Salonika (published by I.S. Emmanuel). No epitaphs are preserved from the Papal States in Italy or France (Avignon, Carpentras) during the age of the ghetto, when commemorative inscriptions over the dead were sternly forbidden.

In the 17th century, the communities established in Western Europe by the ex-Marranos reintroduced the use of vernacular on tombstones, as instanced in the epitaphs from Amsterdam (published by D. Henriques de Castro), Hamburg (collected by M. Gruenwald), Curaçao (published by I.S. Emmanuel), Barbados (published by E.M. Shilstone), Jamaica (included by J.A.P.M. Andrade in his *A record of the Jews in Jamaica*, 1941), New York (published by David de Sola Pool), London, Venice, Leghorn, Bordeaux, Bayonne, etc. Many of the Spanish epitaphs end with the valedictory abbreviation “SBAGDG” (*Sua bendita alma goze de gloria*, “May his blessed soul enjoy glory”), or something similar. Sometimes these inscriptions are bilingual (Spanish/Portuguese, and Hebrew). English (though not Dutch, German, etc., elsewhere) began to appear already in the 17th century: in 1684 the epitaph of the English court jeweler, Isaac Alvarez Nunes, in London, incorporates an English poem in Alexandrine couplets. The cemeteries of the Ashkenazi communities on the other hand did not as yet admit the vernacular. The inscriptions were here now longer and more elaborate, sometimes incorporating crude verses giving the name of the deceased in acrostic form. The inscription in the case of a man was generally headed פ״נ for פֹּה נִקְבַּר (“here lies”), for a woman, פ״ט, for פֹּה טְמוּנָה (“here is interred”). At the close, the abbreviation תנצב״ה for תְּהִי נַפְשׁוֹ צְרוּרָה בִּצְרוֹר הַחַיִּים (“May his soul be bound up in the bond of eternal life”; cf. 1 Sam. 25:29) was usual. This has remained the case down to the present time, and in recent times is sometimes the only Hebrew element that remains.

In the course of the 19th century in most of the countries of the Western world the vernacular began to encroach more and more in epitaphs. At the beginning the secular name of the deceased alone figured together with the Hebrew; later a fairly lengthy vernacular (e.g., English) inscription paralleled and repeated the details of the Hebrew: in due course often the Hebrew name alone figured, or sometimes not even this. In some cemeteries (e.g., in England) the use of some Hebrew has been made obligatory; in others, belonging to strongly Orthodox groups, no English whatsoever is allowed. In Israel, the tendency is now for simple epitaphs in which Hebrew alone figures.

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[Cecil Roth]

EPPENSTEIN, SIMON (1864–1920), German rabbi and scholar. Eppenstein was born in Krotoszyn, Poland, and served as rabbi at Briesen (West Prussia) 1889–1911, and thereafter was lecturer in Jewish history and Bible exegesis at the Berlin Rabbinical Seminary. As an early supporter of religious Zionism (Mizrachi), he conducted some of his lectures at the Seminary in Hebrew.

Eppenstein's main fields of study were the geonic period, on which he wrote *Beitraege zur Geschichte und Literatur im geonaeischen Zeitalter* (1913), and medieval Bible exegesis, such as publishing *Astruc's *Midrash ha-Torah* (1899), Joseph *Kara's commentaries on the Bible, as well as *Saadiah Gaon's introduction to his commentary on the Psalms (publ. in *Festschrift A. Harkavy).* He also made Hebrew translations of Joseph b. Judah ibn *Aknin's *Marpeh Nefashot* (in *Festschrift N. Sokolow*) and *Abraham b. Moses b. Maimon's *Kifāyat al-ʿĀbidin* (in *Festschrift J. Lewy).* Eppenstein also wrote a biography of Maimonides (for W. *Bacher's work on him), as well as one on his son Abraham (in *Jahres-Bericht des Rabbiner-Seminars zu Berlin fuer 1912/13*). He also edited and annotated the fourth edition of the fifth volume of *Graetz's *Geschichte der Juden* (1909) and the *Festschrift D. Hoffmann* (1914).

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[Akiva Posner]

EPPLER, SANDOR (1890–1942), Hungarian communal worker. Eppler, the son of an Orthodox rabbi, was born in Budapest and despite his association with the Neolog movement maintained an Orthodox way of life. After completing his studies in a business academy, he entered the service of the Neolog community of Budapest and as a result of his outstanding organizational and administrative ability became its general secretary.

His abilities, however, found full scope following the anti-Jewish discrimination in Hungary, which began in 1938, and the consequent impoverishment of the Jews of the country. He undertook negotiations with the government and participated, initially as an observer, at the Evian Conference in 1938. He established contact with the Jewish welfare organizations of France and England, and in 1939 proceeded for that purpose – with Samuel Stern, chairman of the National Council of Hungarian Communities (Neolog) – to Paris and London, where he pleaded unsuccessfully with Lord Winterton, the chairman of the Inter-Government Commission for Refugees in London, to include Hungarian Jewry in Germany and Austria among those granted priority in emigration.

As a result Eppler devoted himself energetically to the problem of the rehabilitation of the Jews of Hungary, especially after the annexation to Hungary in 1939–40 of territory which had belonged to it before World War I and contained the largest Jewish population, and the arrival of Jewish refugees from Germany, Slovakia, and Poland. He established welfare organizations, educational and trade institutions, reopening schools which had been closed.

His greatest achievement was the Jewish Hospital which gave employment to Jewish doctors whose qualifications, received outside Hungary, were not recognized. In opposition to the leadership of the community he assisted in the *hakhsharah* of *ḥalutzim* who intended on immigrating to Ereẓ Israel.

Eppler published a number of works on social service: *A budapesti zsidóság szociàlis munkàja* ("Social Work of the Jews of Budapest," 1937); *A zsidóság helyzete, kulturàlis és szociàlis munkàja Europa tizenkét àllamàban* ("The Position of the Jews, Their Cultural and Social Activities in Twelve European Countries," 1938); *A rabbik szerepe a hitközségi ügyintézésben* ("The Function of Rabbis in Communal Activities," 1940); *Zsidó segitöszervezetek* ("Jewish Welfare Organizations," 1942).

Eppler died a natural death in 1942.

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[Baruch Yaron]

EPPSTEIN, PAUL (1901–1944), sociologist and German-Jewish community leader, "elder" of *Theresienstadt. Eppstein, born in Mannheim, was lecturer in sociology at the university there from 1926 until 1933. After the *Kristallnacht* pogrom of November 1938, he was invited to England as a sociology lecturer but refused to go. As a prominent Jewish youth leader, organizer, and speaker he was one of the founders of the Reichsausschus der juedischen Jugend-Verbaende (National Board of Jewish Youth Organizations) and of the

Reichsvertretung der deutschen Juden; he was the head of its welfare department, retaining the position when it became the Nazi-imposed *Reichsvereinigung, until his deportation to Theresienstadt in January 1943. Upon his arrival he was, on *Eichmann's orders, nominated "*Judenaeltester*" ("Jewish Elder") in place of Jacob *Edelstein. On September 27, 1944, he was arrested by the *Gestapo, apparently for having helped to organize clandestinely self-defense among the inmates, and immediately shot.

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[Yehuda Reshef / Bjoern Siegel (2nd ed.)]

EPSTEIN, ABRAHAM (1841–1918), rabbinic scholar and historian. Epstein was born in Staro-Konstantinov, Russia, to a wealthy family. Epstein leased some land near Kozmin in 1865 and worked it himself for many years, trying to persuade some of the local Jewish poor to do the same. During that period he developed an interest in natural sciences and built a laboratory, where he carried out various experiments. After his father's death Epstein left his farm and took over the family business. In 1861 he traveled to Western Europe, where he met some of the leading figures in Jewish scholarship (S.J.L. *Rapoport, Z. *Frankel, and M. *Sachs) who greatly stimulated his interest in Jewish studies. Gradually, he liquidated his shares in the family business and devoted himself to research. In 1876 he settled in Vienna, where he pursued his studies and contributed articles to learned Hebrew periodicals. Among Epstein's Midrash and Targum studies are *Kadmut ha-Tanḥuma* (1886), on the antiquity and origin of *Midrash Tanḥuma*; and a critical edition of *Eldad ha-Dani* (1891) with a comprehensive introduction, notes, and appendices, including a note on *Beta Israel and their customs. On the Franco-German school he wrote "Der Gerschom Meor-ha-Golah zugeschriebene Talmud-Kommentar" (in *Festschrift … Steinschneider* (1896), 115–43), an article which aroused much interest and revolutionized the study of pre-Rashi Talmud commentaries; *Schemaja, der Schueler und Sekretaer Raschis* (1897); a critical edition of *Ma'asei ha-Ge'onim* (1901), a collection of responsa of the Franco-German school; and *Das talmudische Lexikon Jechuse Tannaim we-Amoraim und Jehuda b. Kalonimos aus Speier* (1895). Epstein's historical studies on the same period include *Juedische Altertuemer in Worms und Speyer* (1896) and *Mishpaḥat Lurie* (1901). In the controversy between Rapoport and I. *Weiss, Epstein defended the former in *Divrei Bikkoret* (1896). Epstein's works manifest his vast knowledge and painstaking research: he combined the best of Eastern scholarship with Western method and is recognized as an outstanding scholar in his fields. A collection of some of his writings appeared under the title *Mi-Kadmoniyyot ha-Yehudim* (1887), of which the second volume of *Kitvei R. Avraham Epstein* (1950–57), edited by A.M. Habermann, is an enlarged version. An autobiographical sketch was published in N. Sokolow, *Sefer Zikkaron le-Sifrei Yisrael* (1889, 162–6), and is reproduced in *Kitvei R. Avraham Epstein* (1, 1950, 14–19). Epstein willed his large and valuable library to the Vienna Jewish Theological Seminary.

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[Zvi Avneri]

EPSTEIN, ABRAHAM (1880–1952), Hebrew literary critic. Born in Slutsk, Russia, he started his teaching profession on the faculty of the Hebrew Teachers' Seminary in Odessa and taught later at the Herzliah Hebrew Teachers' Institute in New York City, where he settled in 1925.

Epstein's first creative works were published in *Ha-Ẓofeh*, but he began his career as a literary critic with an essay in *Ereẓ* (1918). Although he was impressionistic rather than analytical in his approach, Epstein was a sensitive and earnest critic. *Soferim* ("Writers," 1934), his first volume of criticism, deals mainly with non-American Hebrew authors but it also discusses four Hebrew writers in America: Yitẓhak Dov *Berkowitz, Benjamin *Silkiner, Shalom Dov Ber *Maximon, and Israel Zev Frishberg. *Mi-Karov u-me-Raḥok* ("From Near and Far," 1943) is devoted mostly to Hebrew literature in America, but included are also critical essays on other leading Hebrew writers. Some of the essays in the book are devoted to Yiddish literature in America and to the biblical books Song of Songs and Ruth. *Soferim Ivrim ba-Amerikah* (2 vols., 1952) is a critical work on the major Hebrew poets and novelists in the United States.

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[Eisig Silberschlag]

EPSTEIN, ABRAHAM (1892–1942), U.S. economist and sociologist. Born in Russia, Epstein immigrated to the United States in 1910. He specialized in the problems of the aged and their economic maintenance, and became a leading advocate of publicly financed old age pensions. Through publications, research, legislative drafting, and political activity, Epstein was instrumental in preparing the ground for the 1935 Social Security Act, but remained critical of the principles adopted by the federal legislation and their implementation. In 1939, the federal government incorporated many of Epstein's recommendations through major amendments. In 1927 Epstein organized the American Association for Old Age Security which in 1933 became the American Association for Social Security. From 1934 to 1937 Epstein served as United States representative on the social insurance committee of the League of Nations' International Labor Office, and as a consultant for the Social Security Board. He also taught at Brooklyn College and New York University. Epstein's major publications include *The Negro Migrant in Pittsburgh* (1918), *The Problem of Old Age Pensions in Industry* (1926), *Facing Old Age* (1922), *The Challenge of the Aged* (1928), and *Insecurity, a Challenge to America* (1938).

[Roy Lubove]

EPSTEIN, ABRAHAM MEIR BEN ARYEH LEIB, also called **Meir Harif** ("sharpwitted"; 1726–1772), talmudist. Epstein was born in Grodno. He studied under his father, the kabbalist Aryeh Leib *Epstein, with whom he later also pursued halakhic studies. The results of their joint work appear in the talmudic glosses *Divrei Ḥiddud*. In 1750 he was appointed rabbi of Lyskovo, and in 1752 of Nowy-Mysz. In the dispute between *Eybeschuetz and *Emden on the use of amulets, Epstein, like his father, supported the former. He leaned toward *Ḥasidism and received Israel of Plotsk, a pupil of *Dov Baer of Mezhirech, with great respect. The added name Abraham was given to him during a serious illness in 1756. He was held in great esteem by his contemporaries and was frequently consulted on halakhic problems. He was the author of novellae to the Talmud and to Maimonides' *Mishneh Torah* (*Shevil Nahar, Divrei Yedidim, Mahadura Batra*); a collection of sermons, *Vikku'aḥ Ger ve-Toshav*; an ethical treatise in the form of a dialogue; responsa; glosses and novellae to the Shulḥan Arukh, *Yoreh De'ah*, together with contributions by his father. Some of his novellae are contained in the works of his contemporaries. His ethical will was published as an appendix to the *Gevurot ha-Ari* of Ephraim Mordecai Epstein (1888^2).

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[Samuel Abba Horodezky]

EPSTEIN, ALVIN (1925–), U.S. actor. Born in the Bronx, New York, Epstein acted with a U.S. Army company in Europe after World War II, then joined the French Mime Theater and toured Europe. He joined the Habimah Theater, Israel, in 1953. He spent three years in Israel – the first one devoted to learning Hebrew. During the following two years he played 11 roles, gaining invaluable experience working with many well-trained actors who had come from the Moscow Art Theater School. He subsequently played in New York and on tour, his roles including Lucky in *Waiting for Godot*, Feste in *Twelfth Night*, the title role in Pirandello's *Henry IV*, Shabelsky in *Ivanov*, and Lee Strasberg in *Nobody Dies on Friday.*

Epstein served as artistic director of the Guthrie Theater and, for almost 25 years, he was the associate director of the Yale Repertory Theater. He also taught acting at the ART/MXAT Institute (Institute for Advanced Theater Training).

Epstein performed throughout the United States, staging over 20 productions and performing in over 100. His Broadway and off-Broadway credits include his debut with former fellow student Marcel *Marceau, as well as roles in Orson Welles' *King Lear*, *The Threepenny Opera* (co-starring with rock star Sting), the world premiere of *When the World Was Green* (*A Chef's Fable*), and *Tuesdays with Morrie*. For 20 years Epstein and Martha Schlamme performed *A Kurt Weill Cabaret* on tour in the U.S. and South America, with a year's run on Broadway.

Epstein reprised the role of Lucky in the 1961 TV movie version of *Waiting for Godot*. He also played in the TV series *The Doctors* (1981) and appeared in the TV movie *Doing Life* (1986). On the big screen, he had a role in *Never Met Picasso* (1996) and *Alma Mater* (2002). Epstein also lent his voice to the films *Everybody Rides the Carousel* (1975) and *Beauty and the Beast* (1991).

In 2004 he became involved with the Colleagues Theater Company in New York. Founded in 1996 by Catherine Wolf, its aim is to "identify and develop performance opportunities for the mature and seasoned actor and to provide training opportunities in theatrical craftsmanship for gifted high school graduates from underserved communities." Epstein appeared in the CTC's productions of *The Mad Woman of Chaillot; 24 Evenings of Wit and Wisdom;* and *Tasting Memories.*

[Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

EPSTEIN, ARYEH LEIB BEN MORDECAI (1705–1775), rabbi and kabbalist. Epstein was born in Grodno and was a pupil of Isaac of Grodno, Poland, and Aryeh Leib b. Nathan of Slutsk. After a brief period as a merchant he took up the position of preacher in Grodno and in 1741 became rabbi in Berestovitsa and Golynka. In 1745 he went to Koenigsberg, where he developed an extensive educational system. He sided with Jonathan *Eybeschuetz in the latter's dispute with Jacob *Emden, sharply criticizing the bickering in rabbinical circles. Two inquiries which he sent to Eybeschuetz in 1758 are extant, the one dealing with a halakhic matter, the other with the liturgy. Epstein was responsible for the introduction of a number of important *takkanot* in the Koenigsberg community and also for the establishment of the Great Synagogue there.

His works include *Or ha-Shanim*, on the 613 commandments (Frankfurt on the Oder, 1754); *Sefer ha-Pardes*, consisting of novellae to tractate *Shabbat*; sermons; funeral orations; a treatise on positive and negative commandments called *Yalkut Sakhar va-Onesh*, with an appendix entitled *Kunteres ha-Re'ayot* on Shulḥan Arukh, *Oraḥ Ḥayyim* (Koenigsberg, 1764); and *Mishnat Gur-Aryeh*, a commentary on Isaac *Luria's prayer book (published in part only, Koenigsberg, 1765). He also published his responsa under the title *Teshuvot Maharal* (Morenu ha-Rav R. Aryeh Leib; *ibid.*, 1769); wrote glosses to the Talmud (together with his son Abraham Meir); glosses and novellae to Shulḥan Arukh, *Yoreh De'ah*, to which his son also contributed (Vilna, 1883); and several other works.

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[Samuel Abba Horodezky]

EPSTEIN, BARUCH HA-LEVI (1860–1942), Russian talmudic scholar. Born in Bobruisk, Epstein received his early education from his father, R. Jehiel Michal *Epstein, author of *Arukh ha-Shulḥan*. In his youth he distinguished himself by his unusual diligence and his phenomenal memory. He continued his studies under his uncle, Naphtali Ẓevi Judah *Berlin, who, recognizing his outstanding abilities, devoted special attention to him. Berlin later married Baruch's sister. Epstein declined offers to occupy rabbinical positions in such great communities as Pinsk, Moscow, and Petrograd, preferring to work in a bank and to devote all his spare time to his studies. His correspondence with many leading scholars brought him wide recognition. Epstein is best known for his *Torah Temimah*, a compilation of quotations from the oral law arranged according to the scriptural verses to which they refer and annotated by a brilliant commentary which attests to his vast and profound knowledge of Talmud.

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[Mordechai Hacohen]

EPSTEIN, BRIAN SAMUEL (**Shmuel**; 1934–1967), British impresario, one of history's most successful show business entrepreneurs whose success in managing the Beatles changed the world of music. Epstein was born on Yom Kippur to Harry (Tzvi) and Malka ("Queenie") in Liverpool, where the family owned a furniture store and where Epstein became manager of the store's record department. When his father opened an NEMS music store on Whitechapel Street, Brian was put in charge, becoming fully engrossed in the world of music and writing a music column for *Mersey Beat* beginning August 3, 1961. The store was down the street and around the corner from a basement nightclub called The Cavern, and it was there on November 9, 1961, that Epstein first met and saw the Beatles perform. Three weeks later he approached John Lennon and offered to become the Beatles' manager. Paul McCartney's father – who had once bought a piano at the Epstein furniture store – immediately approved, telling Paul that Epstein would make a good manager. "He thought Jewish people were very good with money," McCartney said years later. "That was the common wisdom. He thought Brian would be very good for us.… And he was right.… If anyone was the fifth Beatle, it was Brian."

Epstein immediately changed the Beatles' appearance from their unpolished, jeans and leather-jacket greaser look to one of neatly tailored matching suits; and he ordered them not to eat, smoke, or swear on stage and to bow to the audience after each number. After getting rejected by all the major British record companies, Epstein landed the Beatles a recording contract in June 1962 with EMI's smallest labels, Parlophone, headed by Sir George Martin. Drummer Pete Best was fired and replaced by Ringo Starr, and the elements for success were now in place. Indeed, in little more than a year under Epstein's direction, the Beatles began enjoying the greatest success that any popular artists had ever achieved.

Epstein's homosexuality, and his alleged infatuation with Lennon, were the subject of many articles and books. It was extensively rumored that in the Beatles' song "Baby You're A Rich Man," Lennon sang "Baby you're a rich fag Jew" as a slur against Epstein. The audible ambiguity of the recording fueled the rumor into a worldwide urban legend, though it was never authoritatively confirmed.

Epstein died of a drug overdose, likely from some sort of sleeping pills, at age 32. Once he died the Beatles became embroiled in a tangle of conflicts, money squabbles, and personal jealousies, and their business affairs began to unravel. Within three more years the group disbanded.

In addition to managing the Beatles, Epstein also managed Gerry & the Pacemakers, Billy J. Kramer & The Dakotas, The Fourmost, and Cilla Black. He wrote an autobiography, *A Cellarful of Noise* (1964).

[Elli Wohlgelernter (2nd ed.)]

EPSTEIN, CHAIM FISCHEL (1874–1942), Orthodox rabbi. Born in Taurogen, Lithuania, Epstein was recognized for his brilliance at an early age. After studying Talmud at the famed Telshe Yeshiva, Epstein wrote his first book, *Ḥinukh le-Na'ar* (a commentary on Aaron Ha-Levi's *Sefer ha-Ḥinukh*), at age 16. That same year, he entered the Volozhin yeshivah, studying under its famed leaders, Rabbi Naphtali Ẓevi Judah *Berlin and Rabbi Ḥayyim *Soloveitchik. At only 18 years of age, Epstein was ordained as a rabbi by Rabbi Soloveitchik and Rabbi Shelomo Cohen of Vilna.

Notably, Epstein also studied secular subjects, which many other Orthodox rabbis of his time did not, earning the equivalent of a high school diploma at a gymnasium in Shedlitz. Epstein also displayed an energetic interest in the fledgling Zionist movement. He wrote poetry about the Land of Israel, was affiliated with the *Ḥibbat Zion movement, and attended a Zionist conference in Minsk in 1902. Eventually, he became a founder of the Mizrachi movement of religious Zionists, and continued to endorse Zionism after immigrating to the U.S.

At age 24 Epstein began a series of rabbinical positions, including Grosowa (near Minsk) and Sainee, where he remained until the outbreak of World War I. Toward the end of the war, Epstein was named chief rabbi of an Estonian Jewish region. During this time, Epstein completed a Ph.D. degree and taught Jewish philosophy at the local university.

Epstein declined invitations to serve congregations in London and Liverpool, instead immigrating to the U.S. in 1923. He served many communities, including in Bayonne, New Jersey; Cleveland; Cincinnati; and Brooklyn. Like many of his colleagues from Eastern Europe, he faced resistance from more liberal lay leaders and congregants regarding standards of Jewish practice, particularly *kashrut*. Yet Epstein's reputation as a scholar assured that many rabbinical colleagues and lay leaders came to him to adjudicate matters of Jewish law.

In 1923, he served as a rabbinical judge in a *kashrut* dispute between two prominent Canadian rabbis. Epstein wrote several volumes of highly regarded responsa, including *Teshuvah Shelemah*. A second volume addressing matters of American concern was published in 1940 in the U.S.

Epstein lived his later years in St. Louis, serving as chief rabbi of the United Orthodox community and head of the city's newly established Va'ad ha-Ir. He remained the leading Orthodox rabbi in St. Louis until his death.

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[Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

EPSTEIN, CHARLOTTE (1884–1938), U.S. swimmer and champion of U.S. women's participation in the Olympic Games; known as the "Mother of Women's Swimming in America." The daughter of Moritz H. and Sara Epstein, Charlotte was born in New York City and educated at the Ethical Culture School. She became a court stenographer. Epstein, who enjoyed swimming competitively, joined the recently formed National Women's Life-Saving League in 1911; in 1913, she served as chair of the Athletic Branch of the National Women's Life-Saving League in which role she and colleagues campaigned to reform gender constraints in aquatic sports and to convince the Amateur Athletic Union (AAU) to allow women to compete in Olympic aquatic events.

In October 1917 Epstein founded the New York City Women's Swimming Association (WSA), a non-profit club, to advance the sport of women's swimming. "Eppie," as she was known, launched the swimming careers of many American and Olympic swimming champions when she became team manager of WSA, chairman of its Sports Committee and, in 1929, president. She successfully battled the U.S. Olympic Committee to enable American female swimmers and divers to compete in the 1920 Olympics in Antwerp, Belgium, the first time women participated in aquatic Olympic events. As U.S. Olympic Women's Swimming Team Manager in 1920, 1924, and 1932, Epstein's WSA members won Olympic championships and set numerous world records. Epstein served as chair of the national AAU women's swimming committee.

Eppie worked with Jewish organizations with suitable swimming pools. The WSA team of Olympians swam at the Young Women's Hebrew Association of New York for national championship meets in the 1920s. In 1935 Epstein served as chair of the Swimming Committee of the Second Maccabiah Games where WSA swimmer Janice Lifson triumphed. In 1936 Epstein refused to attend the Berlin Olympic Games and withdrew from the American Olympic Committee in protest at U.S. participation in the "Nazi Olympics." Epstein's major influence on swimming continued until her death. She was inducted into the International Swimming Hall of Fame and the International Jewish Sport Hall of Fame.

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[Linda J. Borish (2nd ed.)]

EPSTEIN, CLAIRE (1911–2000), Israeli archaeologist, expert on the Chalcolithic culture of the Golan Heights. Born in London, Epstein was the only daughter and oldest of three children of German immigrants, Olga and Mortimer Epstein. Educated at the University of London in English and Italian literature, Epstein became active in Zionist circles, studying Hebrew and helping to found the local branch of the Habonim youth movement. She also translated material from Hebrew for the Peel Commission. In 1937 Epstein immigrated to British Mandate Palestine, settling in Tel Aviv where she worked as liaison to the Mandate Government until 1942. Answering a call to help with the war effort, she joined the Women's Corps of the British army, serving four and a half years in Egypt. Shortly after returning to Tel Aviv, Epstein became a member of the newly established kibbutz En Gev on the S.E. shore of the Sea of Galilee. In 1955 Epstein joined kibbutz Ginnosar and remained one of its members for the rest of her life. Epstein's first digging experience was as a field supervisor on the Tel Hazor under the direction of Yigael Yadin. It was only at the age of 50 that Epstein embarked on her formal studies at the Institute of Archaeology of University College, London, eventually earning her Ph.D. under Kathleen Kenyon in 1962 on the subject of "Palestinian Bichrome" pottery. As a full-time archaeologist, working for the Israel Department of Antiquities (later the Israel Antiquities Authority), Epstein conducted numerous surveys and excavations in Israel, notably the Golan emergency archaeological survey in 1967. Subsequently Epstein excavated numerous Chalcolithic sites on the Golan Heights, and the results of her work were eventually published in a monograph titled *The Chalcolithic Culture of the Golan* (1998). Epstein was the author of numerous articles on the late prehistory of Israel, including excavation reports, and research papers, one of which was on her interpretation of the stratigraphy of the sacred area at Megiddo. Epstein was the recipient of numerous prizes: the Percy Schimmel Award, the prestigious Israel Prize, and the Irene Levy-Sala Award.

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[Eliot Braun (2nd ed.)]

EPSTEIN, GILBERT (1927–), U.S. Conservative rabbi. Epstein was born in New York City, educated at Yeshiva University (1948), and then moved to the Jewish Theological Seminary, where he was ordained in 1952. He then served in congregations in the New York suburbs of Woodmere (1952–55) and Hewlitt (1955–61) before moving to the Conservative synagogue on Fifth Avenue. He was among the first to lead teen tours to Israel and was the first director of Kefar Silver's summer camp in Israel (1962–64).

In 1965 Epstein joined the *Rabbinical Assembly and headed its Joint Commission on Rabbinic Placement, the very sensitive job and highly political position of matching rabbis with congregations, thus enabling young rabbis to advance, successful rabbis to move to larger and ever larger congregations, and those whose careers have been difficult to find additional employment. It was a position that he handled with grace and tact. His task was to deal with rabbis and congregations in times of crisis and transition. During the years of major growth of the Conservative movement, the job was exceedingly demanding because there were so many positions to fill. As the rate of expansion declined and the need for rabbis settled down, his work became difficult in a different sense as he had to redirect rabbis to positions where they could succeed. He helped Wolfe *Kelman and represented the Conservative Rabbinate in many national organizations including the National Conference of Soviet Jewry, the New York Board of Rabbis, and the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations.

[Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

EPSTEIN, HARRY H. (1903–2003), U.S. rabbi. Epstein was born in Plunge, Lithuania, and raised in New York and especially Chicago. He attended the Rabbi Isaac Elchanan Theological Seminary, where Bernard *Revel became a mentor. Epstein continued his education at the famed Slobodka Yeshivah and its branch in Hebron, Palestine, both of which were headed by his uncle, Moses Mordecai *Epstein. He obtained traditional *semikhah* (ordination) from three rabbis, including Abraham Isaac *Kook, later the first Ashkenazi chief rabbi of Israel. He also obtained B.Ph. and M.A. degrees from Emory University, a Ph.D. from the School of Law of the University of Illinois, and a D.D. (honorus causa) from the Jewish Theological Seminary.

Epstein's was a surprisingly eclectic education given the dominant influence of his traditionalist father, Ephraim, an Orthodox rabbi who helped launch what became Chicago's Hebrew Theological College. The Slobodka Yeshivah was noted for the **Musar* approach, which fostered modern Jewish character through piety and faith alongside talmudic study. RIETS provided American Orthodox training but the remainder of his education, including public school in Chicago, was secular. His background prepared him well for an evolving East European-American Judaism and rabbinical career.

After a year filling a pulpit at Tulsa's B'nai Emunah, Revel's father-in-law's congregation, where Epstein advised oil-rich members on philanthropy, in 1928 he became the rabbi at Ahavath Achim, the more affluent of Atlanta's four Orthodox synagogues. Fluent in Yiddish and English, and mixing learned Talmud classes for the old guard with early Friday night services for their acculturating children, Epstein offered a trans-generational, gradual accommodation to middle-class Jewish life in America by becoming an exemplar of the Modern Orthodoxy championed by Joseph *Lookstein and Leo *Jung during the interwar years. Traditional observance was coupled with modern education in a synagogue-center environment hosting a variety of activities. Epstein, who lost a brother in the 1929 Hebron massacre, also led his congregation as an ardent Zionist. He headed regional Zionist efforts, participated in national conferences during World War II to aid European Jewry, co-chaired Atlanta Jewish Federation campaigns with Reform Rabbi Jacob Rothschild after the war, and served as a model for modern, traditional rabbis throughout the South. Following national trends he drew his congregation into the Conservative fold in 1954, something he later regretted when his successor, Arnold Goodman, allowed women to read from the Torah and he realized that Orthodoxy could have survived.

Epstein wrote *Judaism and Progress: Sermons and Addresses* (1934).

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[Mark K. Bauman (2nd ed.)]

EPSTEIN, ISAAC BEN MORDECAI (c. 1780–1857), talmudist and kabbalist. Epstein, who had already written halakhic works in his youth, attached himself against the will of his grandfather to *Chabad Ḥasidism, and thenceforth devoted himself to the study of Kabbalah and Chabad teaching, burning his previous halakhic writings. He felt that only *Shneur Zalman of Lyady, whose favorite pupil he became, was capable of revealing the innermost secrets of the divine Law. Epstein served as rabbi of Gomel. In his old age he himself made his debut as a *ẓaddik*. In the handling of halakhic problems he took pains to write in an unpretentious and clear style. He left ten studies on Chabad teaching including *Ma'amar ha-Shiflut ve-ha-Simḥah* (1864) and *Ma'amar Yeẓi'at Miẓrayim* (1877); the others are in manuscript. He also wrote homilies for the weekly portions of the Law and the festivals, some of which were published with his *Ma'amar Yeẓi'at Miẓrayim*.

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[Samuel Abba Horodezky]

EPSTEIN, ISIDORE (1894–1962), English rabbi and scholar. Epstein was born in Kovno, Lithuania, and immigrated with his parents first to France and then in 1911 to England. He later studied in Hungarian yeshivot, particularly at Pressburg, and at London University until 1926. From 1921 to 1928 he served as rabbi in Middlesborough. In 1928 Epstein began teaching Semitics at Jews' College where he was also librarian; in 1945 he became director of studies; and in 1948, principal. Epstein expanded the activities of Jews' College by introducing a *ḥazzanut* department, a rabbinical diploma class, and an institute for training teachers.

Epstein's first publications were in history as reflected in responsa: *Responsa of Rabbi Solomon b. Adreth of Barcelona (1235–1310) as a Source of the History of Spain* (1925) and *The*

Responsa of Rabbi Simon b. Zemah Duran as a Source of the History of the Jews in North Africa (1930); they were published together in their second editions as *Studies in the Communal Life of the Jews of Spain, as Reflected in the Responsa of Rabbi Solomon ben Adreth and Rabbi Simeon ben Zemach Duran* (1968). His *Faith of Judaism* (1954) is an important theological statement of the Orthodox position in the light of modern philosophy and science. While this work addressed itself chiefly to the believing Jew, Epstein's *Judaism* (1954), "a historical presentation," spoke to the non-Jewish world. Epstein contributed the article on Judaism to the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (from the 1958 edition onward). He was the first Jewish scholar to be given this assignment and the first to present Judaism in its entirety, not merely as a forerunner of Christianity. Articles on Jewish subjects in *Chambers' Encyclopedia*, too, were either written or edited by him (1950 and subsequent editions). Epstein's major achievement in Jewish scholarship was supervising the English translation of the Babylonian Talmud (Soncino, 35 vols., 1935–52; 18 vols., 1961). This monumental work made the Talmud accessible to the English-speaking world. Epstein also edited *Moses Maimonides, 1135–1204; Anglo-Jewish Papers in Connection with the Eighth Century of His Birth* (1935) and coedited *Essays in Honor of the Very Rev. Dr. J.H. Hertz* (1943); he had assisted *Hertz with many of his publications. Apart from contributions to learned periodicals and Festschriften, Epstein also published a variety of theological and historical studies for educational purposes. As a scholar, writer, and educator, Epstein played a significant role in modern Anglo-Jewish scholarship.

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[Hirsch Jacob Zimmels]

EPSTEIN, IZHAC (1862–1943), Hebrew writer and linguist, and a pioneer in modern Hebrew education in Ereẓ Israel and in the Diaspora. The brother of the writer Zalman *Epstein, he was born in Luban, Belorussia. In 1886 he (together with five others) was sent to Palestine for training in agricultural colonies at the expense of Baron Edmond de Rothschild. After working for four years in Zikhron Ya'akov and Rosh Pinnah, he became a teacher. In 1891 he was appointed principal of a public school which had just been opened in Safed and later taught in public schools in Metullah and Rosh Pinnah. He studied at the University of Lausanne from 1902 to 1908 and directed the Alliance school in Salonika from 1908 to 1915. Influenced by the psychophysiological school of T.A. Ribot, Epstein pioneered in the new method (the "natural" method) of teaching Hebrew. According to this system explanations are made only in the language that is being taught. Epstein expounded the new method in "*Ivrit be-Ivrit*" (*Ha-Shilo'aḥ*, 4 (1898), 385–96), which was later published as an introduction to his textbook of that name in 1900. The work had a fundamental influence on Hebrew teaching. The subject was also treated by Epstein in his doctoral thesis "La Pensée et la Polyglossie" (1915). In "*She'elah Ne'lamah*" ("The Obscure Question," *Ha-Shilo'aḥ*, 17 (1907), 193–206), he discussed Jewish-Arab relationships in Ereẓ Israel and urged Zionists to adopt a more compromising attitude.

After World War I, Epstein returned to Ereẓ Israel where he served for a short time as principal of the Lewinsky Teachers' Seminary in Jaffa and then as supervisor of the schools under the auspices of the Zionist movement. Upon resigning from his official duties, he devoted himself to the study of Hebrew linguistics, concentrating especially on problems of phonetics. He coined many new words and phrases, particularly in pedagogy and psychology. Among his other books are *Hegyonei Lashon* (1947) and *Meḥkarim ba-Psikhologyah shel ha-Lashon ve-ha-Ḥinnukh ha-Ivri* (1947).

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EPSTEIN, SIR JACOB (1880–1959), English sculptor, considered one of the greatest sculptors of the 20th century, and probably the most famous Anglo-Jewish artist of his time. He was born on New York's Lower East Side into a family of Polish Jewish immigrants and studied at the Art Students League. His first assignment came from the non-Jewish writer, Hutchins Hapgood, who asked him to illustrate a book about the Jewish quarter of New York, *The Spirit of the Ghetto* (1902, reissued 1967). He used the fee to go to Paris, where he studied at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts. In 1905 he went to London, which became his home for the rest of his life; he was naturalized in 1910. In 1907 he was commissioned to decorate the facade of the British Medical Association in the Strand. His series of 18 figures, *The Birth of Energy*, shocked the British public because he had refused to disguise sexual characteristics, and because one figure was of a woman in advanced pregnancy. The nationwide protest made him famous. Epstein remained the subject of heated moral and aesthetic criticism almost to the end of his career.

Epstein was an admirer of the prehistoric carvers, the archaic Greek sculptors, the African, Polynesian, and pre-Columbian image-makers. In creating his works he drew on his vast knowledge of the sculpture of all places and periods, yet always retained the powerful imprint of his own style. His style passed through several successive phases. *The Birth of Energy* was executed in a naturalistic classical tradition. *The Tomb of Oscar Wilde in Paris* (1912) is in a very different style. It consists of a strange figure with a human face and swept-back wings reminiscent of the hieratic winged bulls of Assyrian sculpture. The face is surmounted by a crown decorated with representations of the Seven Deadly Sins.

Epstein's only abstract sculptures were executed during the years 1913–15. *Rock Drill* (1913) is a sculpture romanticizing the power of the machine; *Venus I* and *Venus II* are also experiments in abstraction. In later years Epstein felt that abstract sculpture was of no value in itself, but that it had helped him to develop his sense of form.

In the monumental works executed after World War I, Epstein aroused hostile criticism by his expressionist distortion of form and by his treatment of sacred themes in a deliberately crude and primitive style. By this means he endeavored to express elemental forces. *Genesis* (1931) is the solid, heavy figure of a pregnant woman with a brooding head like an African mask. The dynamic, advancing figure of *Adam* (1939) is even more "primitive." *Jacob and the Angel* (1941) is more naturalistic. His sculptures on Christian themes also gave rise to controversy owing to his unorthodox treatment of traditional subjects. In his day Epstein was probably the most controversial artist in Britain, arousing fierce hostility, often laced with overt or covert antisemitism, from conservatives, but also great praise from many experts.

Throughout his life Epstein cast portraits in bronze, and many critics believe that as a portraitist he was second only to Rodin. Executed in a naturalistic, renaissance style, these works aimed at expressing the personality rather than the mere physical features of the sitter. Characteristic of these bronzes is the pitting and furrowing of the surface to suggest the clay from which they were cast. Among the many eminent figures Epstein portrayed were Albert Einstein, Chaim Weizmann, and Yehudi Menuhin. He was also an excellent draftsman; his drawings included illustrations of the Old Testament, and a series inspired by Baudelaire's *Les Fleurs du Mal.*

By the end of World War II Epstein had become acceptable to the British art establishment, and in 1954 he was knighted. Although he had no organizational links with Judaism, he always recalled with great warmth his origins in the New York ghetto, and never lost his broad Lower East Side accent. He said in his memoirs (*Let there be Sculpture*, 1942): "I imagine that the feeling I have for expressing a human point of view, giving human rather than abstract implications to my work, comes from these early formative years." In his late period, Epstein executed a number of religious works. These are in a sense more conservative than his earlier works and though elements of abstraction and distortion still exist they are no longer so dominant. They include *Lazarus* in the chapel of New College, Oxford (1947), the *Madonna and Child* in Cavendish Square, London (1953), the *Christ in Majesty* (1957) at Llandaff Cathedral, and the *St. Michael and the Devil* (1959) at Coventry. After his death, 105 of his clay models were donated to the Israel Museum, Jerusalem, by Lady Epstein. He wrote an autobiography, *Let There Be Sculpture* (1940), which he published in revised form in 1955 as *Epstein: An Autobiography.*

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[Alfred Werner]

EPSTEIN, JACOB NAHUM (1878–1952), Talmud scholar. Born in Brest-Litovsk, Epstein studied at home with his father, at the Mir yeshivah, and at the universities in Vienna and Berne, receiving his doctorate from the latter. In 1923 he became lecturer at the Hochschule fuer die Wissenschaft des Judentums in Berlin and in 1925 professor of talmudic philology at the newly founded Hebrew University. He formulated the basis for a new approach to talmudic studies in which he trained generations of scholars, and such outstanding individuals as S. Lieberman, G. Alon, S. Abramson, M. Margaliot, and E.Z. Melammed. On the occasion of his 70th birthday, pupils and fellow scholars presented him with a jubilee volume. Early in his career Epstein devoted studies to books of the Bible and the Elephantine papyri, but the major portion of his life's work was dedicated to rabbinical literature, particularly to the Mishnah text about which he wrote *Mavo le-Nusaḥ ha-Mishnah* (2 vols., 1948). This work is considered to be the most authoritative study of the original text of the Mishnah. The author displays great erudition and critical acumen in attempting to establish the correct version of the Mishnah and its development. He clarifies many difficult passages in the Mishnah and the Talmudim. Two works were published posthumously, edited by E.Z. Melammed: *Mevo'ot le-Sifrut ha-Tanna'im* (1957, containing an introduction to the Mishnah and Tosefta, introductions to the 18 *masekhtot* of the Mishnah, and an introduction to halakhic Midrashim) and *Mevo'ot le-Sifrut ha-Amora'im* (1962, including introductions to nine tractates of the Babylonian Talmud, an introduction to the Jerusalem Talmud, and alternate versions of the latter, down to the end of tractate *Shabbat*). These works, together with the preliminary studies such as *Dikduk Aramit Bavlit* ("Babylonian Aramaic Grammar," ed. by E.Z. Melammed, 1960), were actually preparatory to a critical edition of the Mishnah text, which unfortunately remained an unfulfilled dream. Epstein was also concerned with establishing a correct version of the Jerusalem Talmud, a problem connected with the relationship between the *editio princeps* and the Leiden manuscript. He also initiated the ambitious plan of translating the Babylonian Talmud into Hebrew, accompanied by variant texts and a short commentary. Three tractates (*Bava Kamma, Bava Meẓia*, and *Bava Batra*) were published (1952–60).

It was natural that other early rabbinic texts should similarly engage Epstein's attention. He defined the Tosefta to be a supplement to the Mishnah recording older materials, omitting controversies and traditions, and commenting on established (Mishnah) texts. He also wrote studies on the halakhic Midrashim and prepared a new edition of the *Mekhilta de-R. Simeon ben Yoḥai* (ed. by E.Z. Melammed, 1955) which, in addition to being reconstructed from materials embodied in such other works as D. Hoffmann's edition of 1905, used fragments of this lost Midrash found in the Cairo *Genizah.*

In the field of geonic literature, Epstein edited the geonic commentary to the sixth order of the Mishnah (*Tohorot*, 1921–24; supplement, 1945), the introduction to which had studies on the *She'iltot of R. Aḥa Gaon. He devoted other studies to such medieval talmudic commentators as Rashi and his son-in-law and pupil, the early tosafist, Judah b. Nathan; Elijah b. Menahem of London; Yom Tov b. Abraham and others. His contribution to the modern study of rabbinical literature was of far-reaching importance. Epstein's essays and reviews appeared in many learned periodicals, and he was cofounder and coeditor of the quarterly *Devir* (1923–24), and edited the first 23 volumes of the quarterly *Tarbiz* (1930–52). He was an active member of the Vaad ha-Lashon and presided over several of its committees.

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EPSTEIN, JEAN (1897–1953), French director. Epstein was born in Warsaw but lived and worked in France. As a young man the experimental cinema attracted him, and he directed his first film, *Pasteur*, when he was 25, thereafter working largely in the realistic mode, using outdoor settings and everyday scenes in such films as *La Belle Nivernaise* and *Finis Terrae* (1928), a documentary-style tale of Bannec island fishermen. In *La Chute de la Maison Usher* (1928) he created notable indoor atmospheric effects as well, introducing the use of slow motion. One of his last films was *Les Feux de la Mer* (1948). His sister MARIE EPSTEIN (1899–1995) worked with him and also with Jean Benoît-Lévy, writing the screenplay for and sharing direction of the classic *La Maternelle* (1933) with Benoît-Lévy.

EPSTEIN, JEHIEL MICHAL BEN AARON ISAAC HALEVI (1829–1908), rabbi and halakhic authority. Epstein was born in Bobruisk, Belorussia. He studied in Volozhin under R. Isaac of Volozhin from 1842. At first unwilling to enter the rabbinate, he was persuaded to do so by the rabbi of his native town, R. Elijah Goldberg, who formally ordained him, and c. 1862 he was appointed to his first rabbinate in Novosybkov where there were many *Chabad Ḥasidim. During that period he visited R. Menahem Mendel of Lyubavich, author of *Ẓemaḥ Ẓedek,* from whom he also received *semikhah*. In 1874 he was appointed rabbi of Novogrudok, Belorussia, where he remained until his death.

Epstein's fame rests upon his *Arukh ha-Shulḥan*, consisting of novellae and halakhic rulings on the four parts of the Shulḥan Arukh: *Oraḥ Ḥayyim* (1903–07), *Yoreh De'ah* (1894–98), *Even ha-Ezer* (1905–06), and *Ḥoshen Mishpat* (1884–93). In the introduction to the volume on *Ḥoshen Mishpat*, Epstein explains that just as Maimonides saw the need to compose the *Mishneh Torah* and Joseph Caro the Shulḥan Arukh, in order to codify the halakhah in their times, there was now a need to bring the Shulḥan Arukh up to date by giving the halakhic rulings which had been promulgated by authorities subsequent to Caro, both in works devoted to that purpose and in responsa. He said that "great anxiety and confusion" had resulted from those new rulings and his work was intended to give the final halakhic summation up to his day. Although in its external arrangement the work follows the chapters of the Shulḥan Arukh, in its internal arrangements he conforms to that of the *Mishneh Torah* of Maimonides. According to Epstein the principal aim of the study of Torah is not dialectical and casuistic exercise, the "uprooting of mountains"; but to arrive at a definite knowledge of the *halakhah*. He showed a marked tendency toward leniency in his rulings, and he gave expression to this tendency in a statement to Rabbi J.L. *Maimon who obtained *semikhah* from him. "When any problem in connection with the prohibitions of the Torah comes before you, you must first presume it is permitted, and only after you have carefully studied the *rishonim* and can find no possibility of leniency are you obliged to rule that it is forbidden" (Maimon, *Sarei ha-Me'ah*, p. 112).

The *Arukh ha-Shulḥan* has become an authoritative work. Like the Shulḥan Arukh on which it is based, it deals only with the laws which have a practical importance. After Epstein completed it, however, he undertook the writing of additional works dealing with such laws as are not applicable at the present time, to which he gave the suggestive title *Arukh ha-Shulḥan le-Atid* ("*Arukh ha-Shulḥan* for the Future"), which were published posthumously. They deal with agricultural laws (*Zera'im*, 3 pts., 1938–46); *Sanhedrin, Mamrim, Melakhim, Shekalim*, and *Kiddush ha-Ḥodesh* (1962); and *Kodashim* (1969). In them he takes especial care to indicate his sources, tracing the development of each law from its first source to its latest form. His son Baruch *Epstein gives an attractive picture of the manner in which his father would encourage candidates to the rabbinate. He would exhort them always to consider the pros and cons before giving a halakhic decision, and to show every consideration to the person putting the problem, so as not to confuse him.

Among his other works are *Or la-Yesharim* (1869), a commentary on the *Sefer ha-Yashar* of Jacob *Tam in which he defends Tam against the criticisms leveled against him by later authorities. Only two of his responsa have been published (in the *Even Me'ir* of M. Gordon, 1909).

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[Yehoshua Horowitz]

EPSTEIN, JEHIEL MICHAL BEN ABRAHAM HALEVI (d. 1706), German rabbi and author. Epstein is principally known for his *Kiẓẓur Shelah* (Fuerth, 1683, 1696) and for a *siddur* which he issued with a translation of the prayers, laws, and customs in Yiddish, entitled *Derekh Yesharah* (Frankfurt, 1697). These he wrote largely for the benefit of Jews living in isolated villages that were without the guidance of rabbis and teachers. *Kiẓẓur Shelah*, mainly an abbreviated version of Isaiah *Horowitz' *Shenei Luḥot ha-Berit* (*Shelah*), also contains glosses as well as new laws and customs which Epstein extracted from works appearing after the publication of Horowitz' book. In addition, the author deals with Jewish education, its organization and syllabus. Criticizing the prevailing system, he proposed that the pupils be first taught the Bible and the four *sedarim* of the Mishnah relevant to the times (an approach reminiscent of that of *Judah Loew b. Bezalel of Prague) and only subsequently the Talmud and the codes. He opposed the form of casuistry known as *ḥillukim* on the basis of its being largely forced. The proposed educational reform could, he maintained, only be achieved through cooperation between the *ḥeder*, the home, and the *bet midrash. Kiẓẓur Shelah* was translated into Yiddish by Wolf Gershels of Prague under the title of *Eẓ Ḥayyim* (Frankfurt, 1720), 39 editions of which have appeared. It is very doubtful whether he had any associations with the Shabbatean movement, although he was suspected of it because of the wording of a certain passage in his *siddur.* He was also the author of *Derekh ha-Yashar la-Olam ha-Ba* (Frankfurt, 1703), an ethical work written in Yiddish, which language, he contended, had become a religious and cultural necessity in Jewish life; since it had acquired a sacred character, the gulf between it and Hebrew, the holy tongue, was progressively diminishing. His works provide an insight into the contemporary life of the smaller Jewish communities of Germany.

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[Yehoshua Horowitz]

EPSTEIN, JUDITH (1895–1988), U.S. Hadassah leader. Epstein was born in Worcester, Massachusetts. She became involved in Jewish communal activity while at Hunter College, from which she graduated in 1916. Epstein served Hadassah in many capacities from 1928 when she was national secretary. She was chairman of various national departments, including membership and Zionist public relations, and was editor of *Hadassah Magazine.* Named vice president in 1934, Epstein served as national president of Hadassah during 1937–39 and 1943–47. From 1947 she was an honorary vice president. She traveled to virtually every Jewish community in the country, and for many years she played a prominent role at sessions of the Zionist General Council in the United States and abroad.

Dedicated to the needs and the future of the Jewish state, Epstein was largely responsible for funding the Rothschild-Hadassah-University Hospital in Jerusalem.

During her lifetime, she was an ardent advocate for young women. In her name and to honor her legacy, the Judith Epstein Memorial Award was created in 1991 to recognize the achievements of National Young Leaders Advisory Council (NYLAC) representatives, who are responsible for initiating activities and events that will bring visibility to Hadassah as well as bringing other young women into the organization. Each year the award is presented to a young leader whose community project was the most successful in promoting Hadassah in a meaningful way.

[Gladys Rosen / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

EPSTEIN, JULIUS J. (1909–2000), **AND PHILIP G.** (1909–1952), U.S. screenwriters. New York-born identical twins, Julius and Philip Epstein graduated from Pennsylvania State University in 1931. They had their first play, *And Stars Remain*, produced by the Theatre Guild in 1936. After working separately for two years, they joined Warner Brothers and became the best-known screenwriting team of the 1940s. Their films included *Daughters Courageous* (1939), *Four Wives* (1939), *No Time for Comedy* (1940), *Casablanca* (1942), *The Bride Came C.O.D.* (1941), *The Strawberry Blonde* (1941), *The Man Who Came to Dinner* (1941), *Yankee Doodle Dandy* (1942), *The Male Animal* (1942), *The Battle of Britain* (1943), *Arsenic and Old Lace* (1944), *Mr. Skeffington* (1944), *Saturday's Children* (1946), *Romance on the High Seas* (1948), *My Foolish Heart* (1949), *Take Care of My Little Girl* (1951), *Forever Female* (1953), *The Last Time I Saw Paris* (1954), and *The Brothers Karamazov* (1958).

In 1943, the Epstein brothers won a Best Screenplay Academy Award for *Casablanca*, which they had adapted from an unproduced play with the forgettable title "Everybody Comes to Rick's."

After Philip's death, Julius continued to work alone. Among his screenplays were his Oscar-nominated *Four Daughters* (1938), *The Tender Trap* (1955), *The Reluctant Debutante* (1958), *Take a Giant Step* (1959), *Tall Story* (1960), *Light in the Piazza* (1962), *Fanny* (1964), *Send Me No Flowers* (1964), *Any Wednesday* (1966), his Oscar-nominated *Pete 'n' Tillie* (1972), *Cross of Iron* (1977), *House Calls* (1978), and his Oscar-nominated *Reuben, Reuben* (1983).

In 1956 Julius won a Laurel Award for Screenwriting Achievement. In 1998, some 15 years after he had retired, Julius received the Los Angeles Film Critics Association Career Achievement Award.

[Jonathan Licht / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

EPSTEIN, KALONYMUS KALMAN OF CRACOW (d. 1823), ḥasidic *ẓaddik*. A disciple of *Elimelech of Lyzhansk and *Jacob Isaac ha-Ḥozeh ("the Seer") of Lublin, he became noted for the ecstatic mode of prayer he adopted. In 1785 he organized groups of Ḥasidim in Cracow, and arranged *minyanim* where they prayed with *devekut* ("devotion") employing pronounced bodily movements. They were strongly opposed by the Cracow community, this opposition resulting in excommunications issued by Isaac Ha-Levi of Cracow and his *bet din* in 1786 and 1787. Epstein, however, withstood his opponents and actively propagated Ḥasidism throughout western Galicia. His main work, *Ma'or va-Shemesh* (Breslau, 1842), a commentary on the Pentateuch, is one of the fundamental works of Ḥasidism, and includes information on the activities and the personalities of *ẓaddikim.* It was published in many editions. His son, Aaron (d. 1883), succeeded Epstein as the leading propagator of Ḥasidism in western Galicia and founded the first *kloiz* (ḥasidic synagogue) in Cracow, called after him R. Aaron's *kloiz*. Another son, Joseph Baruch of Neustadt (d. 1867), became known as a miracle worker. He was known as "the good Jew" of Neustadt, for the simplicity of his life and conduct.

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EPSTEIN, LESLIE (1938–), U.S. writer. Born in Los Angeles and having a father as well as an uncle who were screenwriters (Julius J. and Philip G. *Epstein), Leslie Epstein was no outsider to Hollywood life: his *San Remo Drive: A Novel from Memory* (2003) is a recounting of his childhood as well as its repossession by the novel's protagonist. Its writing must have been cathartic yet this act of purgation runs throughout much of Epstein's work, which deals with those who are powerless or deluded or both, and who are presented to us in a tight narrative line that offers dark satire as a way of recounting the horrific. *The King of the Jews* (1986), a meditation upon the uses of power and self-deception, explores the nature of Trumpelman (based on Rumkowski, the ruler of the Lodz ghetto). Though the book is a controversial one, Epstein being charged with trivializing the Holocaust, the novel has also won much praise for its strongly controlled tone that veers between pathos and comedy. His most endearing character is Leib Goldkorn, a former Viennese musician, who undergoes a series of mishaps yet whose reflections are by turns chilling, sweet, and astonished by the chaos and destruction that he sees. He threads his way through *The Steinway Quintet* (1976), *Goldkorn Tales* (1985), and *Ice Fire Water* (1999).

Epstein attended Yale and Oxford and served as the director of the Creative Writing Program at Boston University for over 20 years.

[Lewis Fried (2nd ed.)]

EPSTEIN, LOUIS M. (1887–1949), U.S. Conservative rabbi and authority on Jewish marriage law. Epstein was born in Anyksciai, Lithuania. When his father, Rabbi Ezriel Epstein, went to the United States to accept a pulpit, he left his son behind to study at the yeshivah in Slobodka. He graduated from Columbia University (1911) and was ordained at the Jewish Theological Seminary in New York in 1913. He served in various congregations in Dallas, Texas, and Toledo, Ohio, before assuming the leadership of Beth Hamedrosh Hagdol in Roxbury, Massachusetts, in 1918 and then becoming rabbi of Kehilath Israel in Brookline, Massachusetts, where he served for the remainder of his career. Epstein was president of the Rabbinical Assembly (1922–25) and chairman of its committee on Jewish Law (1936–40). Epstein wrote *The Jewish Marriage Contract* (1927), *Marriage Laws in the Bible and Talmud* (1942), and *Sex Laws and Customs in Judaism* (1948). His scholarly attainments made him a leading figure in the Conservative movement. He was instrumental in framing various proposals in Jewish law, the best known being a method of solving the **agunah* problem published in his *Li-She'elat ha-Agunah* (1940). Under Epstein's proposal, the husband would authorize the wife to act as his agent for the purpose of a *get*. This innovation was accepted by his colleagues but was abandoned by the Rabbinical Assembly because of the opposition of the Orthodox rabbinate and of some members of the faculty of the Jewish Theological Seminary.

[Benjamin Z. Kreitman]

EPSTEIN, MELECH (1889–1979), Yiddish journalist and editor. Born in Ruzhany, Belorussia, Epstein received a traditional Jewish education but left home at the age of 13 and became involved in socialist activities in Russia and Poland. In 1913 he immigrated to the U.S., where he joined the Communist Party in 1921. Epstein was one of the founders of the Yiddish daily *Morgn Frayhayt* and its chief editor from 1925 to 1928. He also served on the editorial board of the Communist monthly *Der Hamer.* He left the Communist Party in 1939 in protest against the Hitler-Stalin pact. Thereafter he contributed to the *Forverts* and *Tsukunft* as well as to the English-language Jewish press. He wrote *Sacco un Vanzetti* ("Sacco and Vanzetti," 1927), *Sovyetn Farband Boyt Sotsyalizm* ("The Soviet Union Builds Socialism," 1935), and *The Jew and Communism … in the Jewish Community, U.S.A., 1919–1941* (1959).

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[Israel Ch. Biletzky / Lily O. Kahn (2nd ed.)]

EPSTEIN, MORRIS (1921–1973), U.S. author and editor. Epstein was born in Newark, N.J., and studied at Yeshiva University and Columbia, receiving his doctorate from New York University in 1957. In his early years he wrote a number of children's books. In 1940 Epstein, together with Sigmund Laufer and Ezekiel Schloss, established the bi-monthly youth magazine *World Over* (1940–83) under the auspices of the Bureau of Jewish Education and published with the support of the New York Jewish Board of Education. The 16-page English-language magazine served as a learning tool to challenge Jewish youth and reinforce the ideas they learned at Hebrew school and in the home, but with a non-academic bent. While the three founders produced most of the text and artwork for the magazine themselves, they also included stories and essays submitted from the U.S. and abroad. Epstein was also the managing editor of the *Jewish Education Magazine*. He edited and translated the tales of *Sindabar (*Tales of Sendebar*, 1967) and in 1970 published a book on the *Sefer *Minhagim*, an illustrated collection of Jewish customs (Venice, 1593). In 1955 he joined Stern College for Women of Yeshiva University and was appointed full professor and chairman of the English Department in 1966. He wrote radio plays, drama reviews, and scholarly essays, and broadcasted and lectured extensively.

Books by Epstein include *My Holiday Story Book* (1958), *A Pictorial Treasury of Jewish Holidays and Customs* (1959), *A Picture Parade of Jewish History* (1963), *The New World Over*

Story Book: An Illustrated Anthology for Jewish Youth (1968), *More World Over Stories: An Illustrated Anthology for Jewish Youth* (1968), and *All about Jewish Holidays and Customs* (1970).

[Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

EPSTEIN, MOSES MORDECAI (1866–1933), talmudist and *rosh yeshivah* in Lithuania and Ereẓ Israel. Born in Bakst, Moses studied in his youth at the Volozhin yeshivah where he was known as the "*illui* ("prodigy") of Bakst." At Volozhin he supported the Ḥovevei Zion group, founded by students of the yeshivah and in 1891 was a member of a Ḥovevei Zion delegation, which bought the land for the settlement of Ḥaderah. In 1893 he was appointed head of the Keneset Israel yeshivah of Slobodka, a position he filled until his death. During World War I he wandered from town to town in Russia at the head of his yeshivah and after the war became one of the leaders of religious Jewry in Lithuania and a cofounder of its rabbinical council. In 1923 at the conference of the Agudat Israel held in Vienna, he was elected a member of the *Kenesiyyah ha-Gedolah*, the supreme body of the organization, and the *Mo'eẓet Gedolei ha-Torah*, its rabbinical council, established on that occasion. In 1924 he transferred most of the Keneset Israel student body to their sister yeshivah in *Hebron, which he had established. After the 1929 riots in Hebron in which many of the students were killed, he moved the yeshivah to Jerusalem. His method of studying Jewish law was to seek an understanding of the structure of individual laws as a means of comprehending the system of talmudic law in general. To this end he made a special study of Maimonides, whose method of halakhic commentary he sought to elucidate. In his teaching, likewise, he stressed the understanding of the underlying principles of individual laws more than expertise in wider areas. Epstein's method was adopted in numerous yeshivot. A collection of his lectures, entitled *Levush Mordekhai*, was published in four volumes: on tractate *Bava Kamma* (1901); on *Bava Meẓia* (1929); on the four parts of the Shulḥan Arukh (1946); and on *Yevamot* and *Gittin* (1948).

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[David Tamar]

EPSTEIN, PAUL SOPHUS (1883–1966), theoretical physicist. Epstein was born in Warsaw. After his studies in Russia he went on to take a degree in optics in Germany. He left Russia in 1919 and lectured for two years at the Technische Hochschule in Zurich, Switzerland. In 1921 he went to the U.S. and became a professor at the California Institute of Technology at Pasadena. Epstein's scientific output was very impressive, and his studies covered wide fields which included applications of the quantum theory (in a series of papers in the Berlin periodical *Zeitschrift fuer Physik*), spectroscopy, radiation pressure, Stark effect, thermodynamics, fluid mechanics, theory of elasticity, and earth magnetism. In 1937 he published a *Textbook of Thermodynamics.*

[Arthur Beer]

EPSTEIN, SEYMOUR (1917–), U.S. author. Epstein's novels, *Pillar of Salt* (1960), *The Successor* (1961), *Leah* (1964), and *Caught in that Music* (1967), and his collection of short stories, *A Penny for Charity* (1965), are mostly about first-generation immigrants no longer bound by traditional commitments. Perhaps his most powerful novel, *Looking for Fred Schmidt,* was published in 1973.

EPSTEIN, ZALMAN (1860–1936), Hebrew essayist and critic. Epstein was born in Luban, Belorussia, and he received his early education at the Volozhin yeshivah. At the age of 16 he moved to Odessa where he lived for 30 years. He served on the central committee of Ḥovevei Zion from 1890 to 1900 in Odessa. Later Epstein lived in St. Petersburg, Warsaw, and Moscow, and settled in Palestine in 1925. In 1879 he began to publish letters and articles in the Hebrew press, some under the pen-names of "Shelomo ha-Elkoshi" and "Ben Azzai." His article, "The Spirit of Nationalism and its Results in Modern Times," which appeared in *Ha-Meliẓ* in 1882, brought him a measure of recognition. He became a regular contributor to *Ha-Meliẓ* and later to *Ha-Ẓefirah, Ha-Shilo'aḥ*, and other journals, writing primarily about Jewish problems, particularly the settlement of Palestine and Zionism. He contributed a series of articles in Yiddish to the St. Petersburg paper *Der Tog.* Epstein also commented on Hebrew and general literature, and published a number of poetic sketches, the best known of which are the series *Mi-Sefer ha-Zikhronot shel Shelomo ha-Elkoshi* ("From Shelomo ha-Elkoshi's Book of Reminiscences"). In his article "*Ha-Sefer ve-ha-Ḥayyim*" ("Books and Life"), in: *Lu'aḥ Aḥi'asaf*, 1 (1894), he called upon Hebrew writers not to concern themselves solely with Jewish problems. Epstein was a romantic who respected and admired Jewish traditions and sought to blend Judaism and humanism. He was the first to publish articles in Hebrew on Dostoyevski, Tolstoy, and Turgenev (in *Ha-Boker Or, Ben-Ammi*, and *Ha-Zeman*). His style was biblical and ornate. Only a few of his hundreds of articles and sketches were collected in the two volumes of his work, one of which appeared in St. Petersburg in 1905, the other in Tel Aviv in 1938. His monograph *Moshe Leib Lilienblum* was published in 1935.

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[Gedalyah Elkoshi]

EPSTEIN HA-LEVI, MOSES JEHIEL (1890–1971), rabbi and *admor.* Epstein was born in Ozarow, Poland, where he received his rabbinic education. In 1913 he was appointed rabbi there and in 1918 *admor.* Epstein immigrated to the U.S. in 1927 and in 1953 came to Israel and settled in Tel Aviv. He was a leader of Agudat Israel and a member of the *Mo'eẓet Gedolei ha-Torah* and also active in educational and charity affairs. His works are *Esh Dat* (11 vols.) and *Be'er Moshe.* He was awarded the Israel Prize for rabbinical literature in 1968.

ER (Heb. עֵר; "watcher, watchful"), the name of two biblical figures. (1) The eldest son of Judah and the daughter of Shua, a Canaanite (Gen. 38:2–3). He married *Tamar but died childless because of his wickedness (Gen. 38:6–7; 46:12; Num. 26:19; I Chron. 2:3). The nature of his offense is not specified. (2) The son of Shelah, the grandson of Judah, and the father of Lecah (I Chron. 4:21).

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°**ERASMUS OF ROTTERDAM** (**Desiderius Erasmus Roterodamus**; 1469–1536), European humanist, theologian, and writer. Netherlands-born Erasmus lived and worked in all major countries of Europe and wrote only in Latin.

Erasmus' view of Judaism as a religion was fully determined by traditions of the New Testament (especially by the epistles ascribed to Paul) and of the Early Church (in the first place, Jerome, to a lesser extent, Augustine). An original aspect of this position is that he regularly used the words *Judaismus, Judaeus*, etc., to stigmatize bad Christians, "for whom religion consists of rituals and observations of corporeal things" (a letter of December 1504). In another writing, he says, "Judaism I call not Jewish impiety, but prescriptions about external things, such as food, fasting, clothes, which to a certain degree resemble the rituals of the Jews" (*Declarationes ad censuras Lutetiae*, 1532). In fact, the majority of Erasmus' anti-Mosaic attacks are directed against this "new Judaism."

As far as the Jewish Bible (the Old Testament) is concerned, it is only natural that a Christian humanist professing "the philosophy of Christ" placed the New Testament higher than the Old. But on many occasions he insisted on the importance for Christians of the Old Testament in its entirety and, even more significantly, on the complete inadmissibility of contrasting the two Testaments.

As a humanist (in the strict and specific sense of the word) Erasmus highly appreciated Hebrew and demanded thorough knowledge of the original language of the Bible. "Who does not master all three holy tongues [i.e., Hebrew, Greek, and Latin], is not a theologian, but a violator of the holy Theology" (*Adagiae*, 1515). But Erasmus' own knowledge of Hebrew was rudimentary and he was completely dependent on other scholars' commentaries and upon their direct, personal help (in his New Testament commentaries and paraphrases of Psalms). Hence numerous mistakes, "anti-philological" interpretations (discrediting Erasmus' general method), and even a kind of irritation against "ambiguities" of Hebrew can be found in his writings.

Erasmus' attitude toward Jewry of his day should be evaluated against a background of the universal hatred of Jews, intolerance, and missionary zeal in the 15th and 16th centuries, especially in Germany. This sinister background is often apparent, much more in private correspondence than in writings intended for print. In some of the latter we find remarks that are comparatively moderate and reasonable. Thus, Erasmus thinks that the number of Jews, their force, and influence are insignificant, and, consequently, they are of no danger to Christianity; that forced conversion of Jews is absolutely inadmissible, and even that Christian missionary activity among Jews is perhaps useless; that the expulsion of Jews from Spain should be condemned, and that the Marranos should be treated mercifully, etc. Such remarks spring organically from the deepest principles of Erasmus' understanding of the world and must be considered as really "erasmian." But the "erasmian spirit," expressing itself in a well-known line from a letter (January 30, 1523 (4)), "I have a temperament such that I could love even a Jew, if only he were well-mannered and friendly, and did not mouth blasphemy on Christ in my presence," was far from always being uppermost. In fact, he never met a real Jew all his life, never sought out such a meeting, and never wrote anything especially devoted to Jews or Judaism. He was, in fact, indifferent to the living "remnant of Israel"; the flesh-and-blood Jew was simply not within his field of vision. This indifference, in a time of catastrophic sharpening of religious and national fanaticism, could have been an initial step toward true tolerance. Erasmus' position could be qualified as asemitism; suggesting that he was an antisemite seems to be as unhistorical as claiming he was sympathetic toward Jews.

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[Shimon Markish]

°**ERATOSTHENES OF CYRENE** (c. 275–194 B.C.E.), polymath, author of *Geographica*, a first-rate geography much used by *Strabo, who cites his description of Arabia (16:4, 2), commenting upon the occupations of the inhabitants (including the Judeans), soil, flora, water supply, and distances. Strabo elsewhere (16:2, 44) cites Eratosthenes' theory that the region around Edom was once a lake and that the land came into existence as a result of volcanic eruptions.

ERECH (Sum. **Unug**; Akk. **Uruk**; modern **Warka** in Iraq), city mentioned as one of the mainstays of the kingdom of *Nimrod (Gen. 10:10), and perhaps referred to in Ezra 4:9. In ancient times Uruk lay on the bank of the Euphrates, approximately 40 mi. (65 km.) N.W. of Ur; the river has now shifted far to the west, leaving the city in the desert. The site was occupied in the fifth millennium B.C.E., and experienced its first peak of prosperity in about 3300–3100 B.C.E., when it was probably the largest religious center of Sumer, with large temples and the earliest written documents so far known. The legendary hero Gilgamesh was probably an historical king of Uruk in about 2700 B.C.E. Uruk played a part in the rise of the Neo-Sumerian kings of Ur, and was the seat of a dynasty of West Semitic rulers shortly before the time of Hammurapi. Thereafter, it was politically unimportant, but remained a seat of learning until Seleucid times. It was the cult center of Anu, the sky god, and of Inanna-Ishtar, the goddess of love and war. In 1912 the German Oriental Society began to excavate the site and allowing for the interruptions caused by wars continued until the end of the 20th century.

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[Richard S. Ellis]

EREẒ ISRAEL (Heb. אֶרֶץ יִשְׂרָאֵל), Hebrew name of Land of Israel. The term Ereẓ Israel is biblical, although its meaning varies, designating both the territory actually inhabited by the Israelites (I Sam. 13:19) and the Northern Kingdom (II Kings 5:2). It was, however, only from the Second Temple period onward that Ereẓ Israel became the current appellation of the Promised Land. It was the official Hebrew designation of the area governed by British mandate after World War I until 1948. For further details, see *Canaan, Land of; *Israel, Land of (Geographical Survey).

ERFURT, city in Thuringia, Germany. Jews are first mentioned there in the 12th century. At first under the protection of the king, by the second half of the 12th century they had passed to the jurisdiction of the archbishop of Mainz, who composed an *oath formula for them in German. In 1209 the king also relinquished his right to collect taxes from the Jews, which in 1212 was explicitly granted to the archbishop. In 1221 anti-Jewish riots broke out in Erfurt: the synagogue was burned down, and a number of Jews were murdered while some threw themselves into the flames. Among the martyrs was the *paytan* and cantor Samuel b. Kalonymus. Nevertheless, the Jewish community of Erfurt continued to exist and even to expand. After some time a new synagogue was built and well-known rabbis chose Erfurt as their seat. Between 1286 and 1293 Asher b. *Jehiel probably lived there, and at about the same time Kalonymus b. Eliezer ha-Nakdan composed his *Masorah Ketannah*, still preserved in manuscript in Erfurt. During the Middle Ages the Jews of Erfurt followed the Saxony prayer rite. The community's Book of Ritual is preserved at Jews' College, London (Ms. 104, 4). At the beginning of the 14th century protection over the Jews passed to the municipality; this, however, was unable to save them from massacre during the Black *Death: at the beginning of March 1349 over 100 Jews were murdered by the populace, and many set fire to their homes and perished in the flames. Those who survived were driven from the city. Among the martyrs was Alexander Suslin ha-Kohen, author of *Sefer ha-Aguddah*. Israel b. Joel *Susslin mentions the Erfurt martyrs in an elegy (*Sefer ha-Dema'ot*, 2, 126–7). The city council again permitted Jews to settle within the city walls and build a new synagogue in 1357. During the following century the Erfurt community became one of the largest and most important in Germany, some of the most celebrated rabbis officiating there. Meir b. Baruch *ha-Levi served there for some time; a disciple of his was Hillel of *Erfurt. In the middle of the 15th century Jacob b. Judah *Weil taught there. During this period, Erfurt Jews played an important role in banking in Thuringia. In 1391 the king canceled all the debts owed by Christians to the Erfurt Jews and handed them over to the municipality for 2,000 gulden; the municipality claimed this sum from the Jews but promised them to return part of the debts. Subsequently the Jews had to pay a special tax to the king's treasury. In 1418 they were compelled to declare the amount of their property on oath, in the synagogue, and the king collected new taxes from them on this basis. In 1451 and 1452 Nicolas of *Cusa and John of *Capistrano visited Erfurt. Their anti-Jewish sermons greatly agitated the populace, and in 1453 the city council withdrew protection from the Jews, who subsequently left Erfurt.

Around 1820 the Prussian authorities used the tombstones in the Jewish cemetery for the fortification of the city. At that time Jews again began to settle in Erfurt, numbering some 144 in 1840 when a new synagogue was dedicated. The communal archives from 1855 to 1936 have been transferred to the Central Archives for the History of the Jewish People in Jerusalem. The community numbered 546 in 1880 (1.03% of the total population); 795 in 1910 (0.72%); and 831 in 1933 (0.6%). After the advent of the Nazis the majority left Erfurt, 263 remaining in 1939. The synagogue was burned down on Nov. 9, 1938. The community was compelled to pay for the benzene used for igniting the synagogue and for clearing the ruins. The men were detained in the local school, where they were mistreated, and subsequently deported to *Buchenwald. Of the 188 Jews remaining in Erfurt in September 1941, 152 were deported to the East in four transports between May 1942 and January 1944.

A few Jews returned to Erfurt after the war, and there were 40 in 1951. A new synagogue was opened in 1952, and the community numbered 120 in 1961. As a result of the immigration of Jews from the former Soviet Union, the number of community members rose to 550 in 2003. One of the famous manuscripts of the Tosefta was found in Erfurt after which it is named (S. Leibman, intr. *Tosefta bi-Feshuto*).

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[Zvi Avneri / Stefan Rohrbacher (2nd ed.)]

ERGAS, JOSEPH BEN EMANUEL (1685–1730), rabbi, kabbalist, and author of books on halakhic and kabbalistic matters. Ergas, who was of Marrano descent, was born in Leghorn. The headdress of a knight engraved on his tomb in Leghorn perhaps indicates descent from a noble Spanish family. Samuel of Fez was his teacher of *halakhah* and *Benjamin ha-Kohen Vitale of Reggio taught him Kabbalah. As a young man, he traveled throughout Italy and preached public sermons, urging repentance. For a while he stayed in Pisa where he founded a yeshivah, Neveh Shalom. Later, he was appointed rabbi in Leghorn, and remained there until his death. Ergas became famous for his pamphlet *Tokhaḥat Megullah*, the polemic against the Shabbatean Nehemiah *Ḥayon, and an addition to it called *Ha-Ẓad Naḥash* (London, 1715). His kabbalistic works include *Shomer Emunim* (Amsterdam, 1736), in which he explains the principles of the Kabbalah in the form of a dialogue between Shaltiel, who believes only in the revealed Torah, and Jehoiada, the victor in this argument, who believes also in the esoteric aspect of the Torah; *Shomer Emunim* includes *Mevo Petaḥim*, an appendix to the former, a selection from *Luria's doctrine, and an introduction to the Kabbalah, and *Minḥat Yosef*, an ethical-religious anthology and the rules for the study of the kabbalistic doctrines. A selection of his responsa was published by his disciple Malachi Ha-Kohen as *Divrei Yosef* (Leghorn, 1742). The publisher's introduction mentions several *piyyutim* written by Ergas. Ergas was an enthusiastic believer in the importance and sanctity of the Kabbalah in general and of the *Zohar in particular, despite his view that marginal annotations had been introduced into the proper text of the Zohar. He opposed philosophy, which he considered alien to Judaism and an invention of heretics. He opposed *Maimonides' explanations of the stories of the Creation and the visions of Ezekiel in the spirit of Aristotle's natural philosophy. Ergas' style is distinguished by its clarity.

Ergas' Kabbalah evinces affinities with that of Moses Ḥayyim *Luzzatto, and tension over this issue developed between the two kabbalists.

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[Azriel Shochat]

ERIK, MAX (pseudonym of **Zalmen Merkin**; 1898–1937), Yiddish literary critic and literary historian. Born in Sosnowiec (Poland), Erik was educated privately (among his tutors was Ḥayyim Naḥman *Bialik) and in a traditional *ḥeder*. He later studied at a Russian-language high school and at a Polish officers' training school from which he graduated as a reserve officer. His uncle was Yitzkhak Peysekzon, a founder of the Jewish Labor Bund. In 1922 he settled in Vilna where he taught Yiddish and Polish literature in Yiddish-language high schools. Erik published his first essays in 1920 on neo-Romanism and Hugo Tsukerman in I.M. Weissenberg's *Yudishe Zamelbikher* and then contributed studies, essays, and critical articles to various Yiddish periodicals including *Ringen*, *Literarishe Bleter, Bikher Velt*, and the *Vilner Tog*. His first works on Yiddish literature were *Konstruktsiye Shtudiyen: tsu der Konstruktsye fun der Goldene Keyt* ("Construction Studies: On the Construction of the Golden Chain," 1924), an analysis of the variants of I.L. *Peretz's plays; *Vegn Alt-Yidishn Roman un Novele – 14ter–16ter Yorhundert* ("On the Old Yiddish Novel – 14th–16th Centuries," 1926); and *Di Geshikhte fun der Yidisher Literatur fun di Eltste Tsaytn biz der Haskole Tekufe* ("History of Yiddish Literature – from the Beginning to the Haskalah Period," 1928). Erik's work helped found the field of Old Yiddish studies. He also formulated the long-dominant but now disproven theory of Yiddish *shpilmener* ("troubadours") who composed, or adapted from other languages, the extant Old Yiddish epics. In 1929 Erik settled in the Soviet Union. He lived in Minsk and Kiev and taught Yiddish literature at various Jewish institutions of higher learning. Increasingly, his works in this period were written from the official party-line point of view and include a study of Sholem *Asch (1931); *Etyudn tsu der Geshikhte fun der Haskole* ("Studies in the History of the Haskalah," 1934); and *Di Yidishe Literatur in XIX Yorhundert*, vol. 1, coauthored with A. Rosenzweig ("A History of Yiddish Literature in the 19th century," 1935). He also edited *Di Komedies fun der Berliner Ufklerung* ("The Comedies of the Berlin Haskalah," 1933) and a selection of the works of Solomon *Ettinger (1935). Upon the liquidation of the Institute for Jewish Proletarian Culture of the Ukrainian Academy of Science in May 1936, Erik was arrested and exiled to the Vietlosian prison camp in Siberia, where he died.

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[Elias Schulman / Barry Trachtenberg (2nd ed.)]

ERIKSON, ERIK HOMBERGER (1902–1994), U.S. psychoanalyst. Born in Frankfurt, Germany, Erikson immigrated to the U.S. in 1933. He taught and did research at Harvard, Yale, and the University of California until 1951, when he joined the senior staff of the Austen Riggs Center at Stockbridge, Mass. In 1960 he was appointed professor of human development and psychiatry at Harvard. Erikson's research into the cultures of the Yurok and Sioux Indians resulted in *Childhood and Society* (1950, 1963^2), in which he discussed childbearing methods and human development. In the same book he dealt with the evolution of identity and character, including the American and German, and with antisemitism and the role of Jews in changing culture. In *Young Man Luther* (1958), Erikson related the reformer's adolescent crisis of identity (identity versus identity diffusion) and the historical crisis of his age. He later clarified his concept of the synthesis of the ego through successive identifications by the child with individuals, group ideals, and goals. His *Insight and Responsibility* (1966) discusses the ethical implications of psychoanalytic insight and the responsibility of each generation to succeeding generations.

Other books by Erikson include *Identity: Youth and Crisis* (1968), *Gandhi's Truth on the Origins of Militant Nonviolence* (1969), *The Twentieth-century Sciences: Studies in the Biography of Ideas* (1972), *Dimensions of a New Identity* (1974), *Life History and the Historical Moment* (1975), *Toys and Reasons:*

Stages in the Ritualization of Experience (1977), *Adulthood: Essays* (1978), *Themes of Work and Love in Adulthood* (1980), *St. George and the Dandelion: Forty Years of Practice As a Jungian Analyst* (1982), *Vital Involvement in Old Age: The Experience of Old Age in Our Time* (1986), *Identity and the Life Cycle* (1988), *The Life Cycle Completed* (1995), and *The Erik Erikson Reader* (2000).

For *Gandhi's Truth* (1969), Erikson was awarded the Pulitzer Prize and National Book Award.

Erikson is labeled an ego-psychologist in that he built on Freud's early work on the ego, though with emphasis on social rather than sexual factors. He is best known for his work in expanding Freud's theory of stages. Often referred to as the "father of psychosocial development" and "the architect of identity," and the man who coined the term "identity crisis," Erikson believed that development functions by what he called the "epigenetic principle." According to this principle, we develop through a predetermined unfolding of our personalities in eight stages. Each person's progress through each stage is in part determined by his/her success, or lack of it, in the previous stages. If one interferes with any stage of that natural order of development or does not manage a stage well, one could develop maladaptations and malignancies as well as jeopardize one's future development.

Erikson also theorized about the interaction of generations, which he called "mutuality": not only do parents influence their children's development, as Freud suggested, but children also influence their parents' development, Erikson contended.

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[Louis Miller / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

ERLANGER (D'Erlanger), family of German bankers, originating in Frankfurt. RAPHAEL ERLANGER (1806–1878) learned banking with the Rothschilds and eventually established in Frankfurt his own bank, Erlanger and Sons, which was mainly concerned with the formation of German provincial banks and existed until 1904. Raphael received titles from the rulers of Portugal, Saxe-Meiningen, and Austria. Three of his sons expanded the banking operations. VICTOR (1840–1894) managed the Vienna branch which went into liquidation in the 1890s. FREDERIC-EMILE (1832–1911) established the London house. LUDWIG (1836–1898) headed the original bank in Frankfurt, which was absorbed by the Dresdner Bank in 1904. In Paris and London the Erlangers became part of Europe's banking elite, although their attempt to float a Confederate loan during the American Civil War miscarried.

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[Joachim O. Ronall]

ERLANGER, CAMILLE (1863–1919), composer. Born in Paris of an Alsatian family, Erlanger studied composition at the Paris Conservatoire with Delibes and Massenet, and received the Rome Prize in 1888 for his cantata *Velléda*. Erlanger wrote nine operas. His first opera, *Kermaria*, produced in 1897 by the Opéra-Comique, made little impression. However, his next attempt – *Le Juif Polonais* (1900), based on the story by Erckman-Chatrian – was very popular and remained in the operatic repertoire until 1933. His most popular opera was an opéra-comique – *Aphorodite* (1906), adapted from Pierre Louÿs' novel and performed over 180 times in 20 years. Erlanger was particularly influenced by Weber, whom he greatly admired, and to a much lesser extent by Wagner. Other operas of his are *Bacchus triomphant* (1909) and *Hannele Mattern* (1911). He also wrote the symphonic poem *Maître et Serviteur*, based on Tolstoy's story, which remained in manuscript; *La Chasse fantastique* (1893); *Le fils de l'étoile* (drame musical, 1904), and many songs.

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[Israela Stein (2nd ed.)]

ERLANGER, JOSEPH (1874–1965), U.S. physiologist and Nobel Prize winner. Erlanger, who was born in San Francisco, graduated from Johns Hopkins University in 1899. From 1906 to 1910 he was professor of physiology at Wisconsin Medical School and from 1910 held the chair of physiology at Washington University School of Medicine in St. Louis. He and Herbert Spencer Gasser received the 1944 Nobel Prize for physiology and medicine, for their work on the functional differentiation of nerves and on the influence of pulse pressure on kidney secretion. Erlanger made fundamental contributions to the knowledge of the cardiovascular and nervous system and to methods of physiological investigation. He invented a graphic method for measuring blood pressure and studied the mechanism of production of sounds used in measuring blood pressure by the auscultatory method. He studied nerve action potentials by cathode ray oscillograph; induction shocks as stimuli; traumatic shock and impulse initiation and conduction in the heart.

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[Suessmann Muntner]

ERLANGER, MICHEL (1828–1892), French communal worker. Son of the rabbi in Wissenbourg, Alsace, he had a traditional Jewish education. Erlanger was among the founders of the *Alliance Israélite Universelle and a member of its central committee. He helped Charles *Netter to establish the *Mikveh Israel agricultural school, and accompanied Baron Edmond de *Rothschild's representative, Albert *Cohn, on his visits to Ereẓ Israel. Erlanger advised Rothschild on his philanthropic activities and acted as his liaison with the *Hibbat Zion movement and colonists in Ereẓ Israel. He was vice president of the Jewish *Consistoire in Paris, a member of the board, and treasurer of the Société des Etudes Juives.

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[Yehuda Slutsky]

ERLANGER, PHILIPPE (1903–1987), French writer and art critic, son of Camille *Erlanger and related on his mother's side to the Comte de *Camondo. Born in Paris, Erlanger wished to become a diplomat but worked principally at the Ministry of Education, where for 40 years he headed the cultural-exchange office. In this position he organized hundreds of exhibitions and was one of the founders of the Cannes film festival. Erlanger was also a prolific journalist and art critic (*Les Peintres de la réalité*, 1946; *Les Gisants*, 1947) and wrote more than 30 books. He began as a novelist, but from the 1930s his main work was biographical, falling midway between scientific historical research and literary psychological studies. Among his subjects have been the French kings Charles VII (1945), Henri III (1933), Louis XIII (1946), Louis XIV (1961, 1965), and their entourage: Diane de Poitiers, Henri II's favorite (1955), the two antagonistic advisers of Louis XIII, Cinq-Mars (1962) and Richelieu (3 vols., 1967–1970), Gaston d'Orléans, Louis XIV's brother (1953), and the "Régent" Philippe d'Orléans (1938), as well as Marguerite d'Anjou, queen of England (1932), the Duke of Buckingham (1951), and the Borgia family (1934). The only contemporary subject of his biographies was Georges Clemenceau (1968). Erlanger received many prizes and honors.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Biblio*, 24 (June/July 1966), 6.

ERLICH, HENRYK (**Wolf Hersh**; 1882–1941), journalist; leader of the *Bund in Poland. Erlich was born of a well-to-do family in Lublin; his father was a Ḥasid who became a *maskil* and a Ḥovev Zion. Having joined the Bund in 1903 while a student at the University of Warsaw, Erlich was arrested several times for revolutionary activities and expelled from the university. Later he graduated in law from the University of St. Petersburg and became a member of the central committee of the Bund. After the 1917 revolution he was a leading figure in the Petrograd (Leningrad) Workers' Soviet. In October 1918 he returned to Warsaw, becoming prominent in the Bund, and editor of the party's Yiddish daily *Di Folkstsaytung.* He was a member of the Warsaw city council and the *kehillah* board, and participated in numerous international socialist congresses. On the German invasion of Poland in September 1939 Erlich left Warsaw with his family, and in October was arrested by the Soviet authorities. With Victor *Alter he was accused of active subversion and helping Polish intelligence, and was condemned to death; the sentence was later commuted to ten years' hard labor. In September 1941, following the amnesty for all convicted Polish citizens in Soviet Russia, Erlich and Alter were set free. After their release they were approached by Soviet representatives to join a Jewish anti-Fascist committee. However, in the early morning of Dec. 4, 1941, they were again arrested in Kuibyshev. According to a communication of Feb. 23, 1943, from Maxim *Litvinov, then Soviet ambassador to the United States, addressed to William Green, president of the American Federation of Labor, Erlich and Alter were executed shortly after their arrest "for hostile activities, including appeals to the Soviet troops to stop bloodshed and immediately conclude peace with Germany." The executions aroused worldwide protests by Labor and Liberal organizations. His wife, whom he married in 1911, was SOPHIA *DUBNOW-ERLICH (1885–1986), the daughter of the historian Simon *Dubnow.

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[Ezekiel Lifschutz]

ERLICH, VERA STEIN (1897–1980), Yugoslav social-cultural anthropologist and psychologist. Vera Erlich devoted many years to the study of family relationships in rural areas. She managed to save her material on the eve of World War II, and it eventually formed the basis of her book *Porodica u transformaciji* (1964; *Family in Transition: A study of 300 Yugoslav villages*, 1966). From 1945 to 1950 Vera Erlich was a United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (UNRRA) psychiatric social worker with displaced persons in Italy. She then went to the United States, and for ten years acted as lecturer in Slavic languages and literature and a research fellow in anthropology at Berkeley University. In 1960 she returned to Yugoslavia and became a professor in anthropology at the University of Zagreb. Her published works include *Savremeno dijete* ("The Contemporary Child," 1936) and *U društvu sa čovekom* ("In the Company of Man," 1968). In her capacity of professional consultant, she was helpful to the operations of UNRRA (the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration) and the IRO.

She was married to Dr. Benno Stein, a noted psychologist of Zagreb, murdered in the Jasenovac death camp.

[Zdenko Lowenthal]

ERLIK, DAVID (1909–1995), Israeli physician, one of the founders of modern surgery in Israel. Erlik was born in Pinsk, Russia, in 1909. His family came to Palestine in 1924 and settled in Haifa. From 1928 to 1935 he studied medicine in Strasbourg, France. In 1936 Erlik was accepted for a residency in

Jerusalem's Hadassah Hospital, where he spent the next dozen years training in general surgical techniques. In 1948 he was asked by Israel's Ministry of Health to put together the surgical department at the abandoned British Mandatory Hospital in Haifa, by then renamed Rambam Hospital. As its chief of surgery for over 30 years, Erlik was instrumental in making Rambam the major medical center in northern Israel, including the successful association between the Haifa Technion and Rambam's medical school, which opened its doors in 1969.

Erlik was a pioneer and innovator of surgical procedures involving the blood vessels in the abdomen and kidneys. In 1966 he carried out the first kidney transplant in Israel, and under his stewardship Rambam became the leading transplant center in the country. Erlik created a surgical standard of excellence with which he imbued the next generations of surgeons in Israel.

Erlik was awarded the Israel Prize in life sciences in 1992.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: M. Hashmonai, "David Erlik (1909–1995) – A Founder of Surgery in Modern Israel," in: *Digestive Surgery*, 21 (2004), 447–51.

[Ruth Rossing (2nd ed.)]

ERMAN, JOHANN PETER ADOLF (1854–1937), German Egyptologist, usually cited as Adolf Erman, or A. Erman. Erman studied at Leipzig and Berlin under Georg *Ebers, and then became director of the Egyptian Section of the Berlin Museum and professor of Egyptology (1884–1923). Primarily a philologist, his work established a solid foundation for all subsequent philological study in ancient Egyptian. At the turn of the 20th century, under the auspices of the Prussian Academy of Science, he began work on the great dictionary of the Egyptian language, the *Woerterbuch der aegyptischen Sprache* (vol. 1, 1926). The second revised edition of his *Neuaegyptische Grammatik* (1933^2), dictated from memory when he was virtually blind, still remains the standard grammar of Late Egyptian. In addition to numerous philological, technical works, he wrote popular books on Egyptian literature, culture, and art. In an article "Eine aegyptische Quelle der Sprueche Salomos" (in *Sitzungsberichte der Deutschen (Preussischen) Akademie der Wissenschaften*, 15 (1924), 86–93), Erman maintained the direct relationship of Proverbs 22:17–24:22 to the Instruction of Amen-em-opet. This had considerable repercussions in biblical studies, for scholars began to see the close, sometimes direct, relationship of biblical wisdom literature to ancient Near Eastern wisdom literature. Erman, himself a Protestant, was of Jewish descent, and although not actively persecuted, suffered indignity and humiliation under the Nazis until his death in Berlin. His autobiography *Mein Werden und mein Wirken* appeared in 1929.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, 23 (1937), 81; 24 (1938), 231.

[Alan Richard Schulman and Michael Fox]

ERNAKULAM (formerly **Angicaymal**), town in Kerala, India, about 5 mi. (8 km.) from *Cochin. A community of "black Jews" is known to have existed there since the 15th century. Moses *Pereira de Paiva (1687) lists it as the second largest Jewish settlement on the Malabar Coast after Cochin, with 150 families. In 1970 "Jew Street" contained two large synagogues, Theckoobagam (said to have been built in 1625) and Kadvoobhagam (1150), formerly containing valuable liturgical objects; services were held in them alternately on the Sabbath and festivals. Two old cemeteries lie some distance from this street. In 1922, the elders of the synagogues wrote to the British Zionist Federation expressing their desire to settle in Palestine. In recent years the community has declined, mainly because of emigration to Israel. None of the Ernakulam synagogues function any more.

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[Walter Joseph Fischel]

°ERPENIUS (van Erpe), THOMAS (1584–1624), Dutch Orientalist. Erpenius traveled (1608–12) extensively through the libraries of Europe, availing himself while at Venice of Jewish instruction. In Leiden, where in 1613 he was appointed professor of Oriental languages (initially excluding but from 1619 on including Hebrew), he ran an Oriental press. Erpenius' own work covers various Oriental languages, such as his *Orationes tres de Linguarum Ebreae et Arabicae Dignitate* (Leiden, 1621). His works include grammars of Hebrew (Leiden, 1621; Geneva, 1627; Leiden, 1659); of Aramaic and Syriac (Amsterdam, 1628); the books of Samuel and Kings edited and translated into Hebrew and Latin; the Pentateuch in Arabic (Leiden, 1621); Psalms in Syriac (1628); and a treatise on the punctuation of the divine name (Rostock, 1626). After Erpenius' death his Oriental manuscripts were purchased and donated to Cambridge University (a.o. Hebrew Mss. Ee. 5.8–10, Mm. 6.26.1–2).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Nouvelle Biographie Universelle, 13 (1815), 372–6, includes bibliography.

[Raphael Loewe]

ERRERA, CARLO (1867–1936), Italian geographer and historian of exploration. Errera, who was born in Trieste, and originally trained as a geographer, became interested in the Italian explorers and cartographers of the 15th and 16th centuries, and produced numerous monographs on their activities. These detailed analyses were synthesized in *L'Epoca delle grandi scoperte geografiche* (1902, 1926^3). An "Irredentist" with a particular interest in the Adriatic region, Errera wrote a number of books and pamphlets on this subject. He was vice president of the Italian National Research Council.

[Frank D. Grande]

ERRERA, LÉO (1858–1905), Belgian botanist and Jewish leader. Errera studied in Brussels, Strasbourg, and at the Botanical Institute of Wuerzburg. In 1884 he was appointed lecturer at the University of Brussels (professor, 1895), where he founded the Botanical Institute in 1891. In 1898 he was elected to the Royal Academy of Belgium. Errera's research included discovery of glycogen as the reserve carbohydrate of fungi, studies on the role of alkaloids in plants, and pioneer studies on the physical laws governing the shape of cells. His collected works were published in five volumes between 1908 and 1922. Errera was prominent in local and international Jewish activities. He was connected with the Alliance Israélite Universelle and he participated in many international conferences on Jewish questions. In 1893 he published a pamphlet protesting the persecution of Russian Jews, *Les Juifs russes: extermination ou émancipation* (English ed. 1894; German ed., together with the author's study on the Kishinev pogrom, 1903). His brother was Paul Joseph *Errera.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Massart, in: *Annuaire de la Société Royale des Sciences naturelles et médicales de Bruxelles* (1905); Fredericq and Mossart, in: *Annuaire de l'Académie Royale de Belgique* (1908), 131–279; A. Errera, in: *Commemoration Léo Errera*, ed. by Université libre de Bruxelles (1960), 17–37 (includes bibliography); Pelseneer, in: *Bulletin de la Société Royale de Botanique de Belgique*, 92 (1960), 269–70.

ERRERA, PAUL JOSEPH (1860–1922), Belgian jurist. Born in Brussels, son of the banker Jacques Errera, Paul Errera became professor of constitutional law at Brussels, was rector of the university from 1908 to 1911, and its administrative vice president in 1919. He was a member of the Royal Academy of Belgium. Errera published several works on Belgian law, including *Les Masuirs* (1891), *Les Warechaix* (1894), and *Traité de Droit publie belge* (1918^2). He was active in Jewish affairs and a member of both the Jewish Colonization Association and the central committee of the Alliance Israélite Universelle.

[Rose Bieber]

ERTER, ISAAC (1791–1851), Hebrew satirist of the Haskalah. Born in Koniuszek near Przemysl, Erter, during the earlier part of his life, lived in various places including Lvov, where he, together with a group of young *maskilim*, was excommunicated in 1816 by Rabbi Jacob Ornstein; Budapest, where he studied medicine (1825–29); and Brody, then an important commercial and cultural center for Galician Jewry, where he settled in 1831 and remained for the rest of his life. In addition to his literary work, Erter was also active communally among Haskalah circles, showing special interest in the plans for a reform of contemporary Jewish society. Toward the end of his life, he collaborated with his friend Y.H. *Schorr in the early stages of the founding of *He-Ḥalutz*, a Hebrew periodical dedicated to the study of Judaica in the spirit of religious reform, and distinguished by a boldly critical treatment of problems relating to Jewish tradition.

Erter's only book, *Ha-Ẓofeh le-Veit Yisrael* ("The Watchman of the House of Israel," 1858), consists of five satires, all of which had been published separately (between 1823 and 1851) with the addition of some personal correspondence relevant to his literary career. Noteworthy among the satires are the following: *Ḥasidut ve-Ḥokhmah* ("Ḥasidism and Wisdom"), *Tashlikh* (the ceremony of symbolically casting one's sins into the water on Rosh Ha-Shanah), and *Gilgul Nefesh* ("Transmigration of the Soul"). Written in the form of epistles, several of the satires seem to have been modeled on the work of Lucian, the second-century Greek satirist, whose writings were very popular in European Rationalist literature and which Erter came to know in Wieland's German translation. Lucian's satiric and ironic treatment of Greek mythology and of ignorant and boorish antiquity during its decline was adapted by Erter in his fight against the traditionalist Jewish society of his day. The recurring character – a type of "*persona satirae*" – "the watchman of the House of Israel," has its source in the prophet-castigator of Ezekiel 3:17 (whence also the title); by virtue of the authority of the biblical figure, Erter's watchman reviews the reality of Jewish society in Galicia and Poland in the first half of the 19th century. In this narrative, written in an autobiographical manner, the "observer" gathers evidence and confronts the reader with confessions of figures belonging to an imaginary, fanciful world, confessions made in a dream state or after death. Having endowed them with a keen rhetoric ability, Erter enables these figures to explain their character and experience by ironic exaggeration, coupled with the idealistic pathos characteristic of the Haskalah movement.

The subjects treated in the satires are the hypocrisy, ignorance, and superstition, which in Erter's view characterize the world of Ḥasidism; the rabbis, who are accused of pedantry, pursuit of personal glory, and literary plagiarism; and the leaders of the Jewish community, condemned for their corruption. The irony is likewise directed, although to a lesser extent, at the *maskilim*, who ignore the plight of their brethren, and at Erter's colleagues, the physicians, who abuse their profession out of either ignorance or the pursuit of gain and glory. These facts are presented in an extremely satiric form with Erter's frequent use of not only conventional personifications of human qualities, in the tradition of satirical allegory, but also demonic figures drawn from the Jewish legends, such as angels, Samael, and reincarnated souls. The satirist pretends to be an objective reporter of empirical facts who, in his experimental approach, employs such satiric devices as scales which expose the true value of human qualities, nets which catch the sins of persons regarded by all as above reproach, and the cynical confessions of deceased sinners. He even has recourse to the pseudo-magical devices of a miraculous shortening of a journey and instantaneous flight to distant places so as to keep track of events in all areas of Jewish sojourn. The number of observations made is basic to his method, for in describing as many facets as possible of Jewish life which to him seem disgraceful, Erter seeks to stress his accusations by way of irony. Assuming an air of innocence, he is apparently surprised and shocked at the various reports of deceit and ignorance which are conveyed to him by the characters which inhabit the shadow of his sketches. His style is most important in the shaping of his satire. Using biblical phraseology extensively, he highlights the disparity between the sublime and the ideal in the original biblical source from which that phraseology is drawn and the ugly and the ridiculous state of the contemporary world which it describes. He also parodies traditional legal sources and adapts for his purpose some traditional sayings and proverbs. His idiom reflects the elaborate Hebrew style of the period and does not lack a certain rhetorical symmetry. A new edition of *Ha-Ẓofeh le-Veit Yisrael* was published in 1996.

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[Samuel Werses]

ERUV (pl. **Eruvin**; Heb. עֵרוּב), term applied to various symbolical acts which facilitate the accomplishment of otherwise forbidden acts on the Sabbath and festivals. The literal meaning of *eruv* is "mixing" and it probably connotes the insertion of the forbidden into the sphere of the permissible (cf. Maim., Yad, Eruvin, 1:6). Thus, though it is forbidden (biblically, according to some authorities, rabbinically, according to others) to walk further than 2,000 cubits from one's town on the Sabbath or festivals, one may "mix" the forbidden and permitted areas by establishing an *eruv teḥumim* (boundary *eruv*). This is accomplished by placing sufficient food for two meals (also called *eruv teḥumim*) less than 2,000 cubits from the town, thus establishing another "residence" from which one can again walk the permissible distance in any direction. This ordinance is evidently ancient since its existence is assumed in tannaitic sources (cf. Er. 3–5; Tosef. Er. 3–7; et al). It is discussed extensively in the Talmud (cf. Er. 26b–61b; TJ, Er. 3–5) and by later authorities (e.g., Tur, Sh. Ar., OḤ 408–16).

A similarly old statute (attributed to Solomon in Er. 21b) is that of *eruv ḥaẓerot* (domain *eruv*). While carrying between private and public domains is forbidden on the Sabbath, the rabbis also forbade carrying between two private domains. For example, if several houses opened onto one courtyard, an object could not be removed from one house to another, nor from a house to the courtyard (the latter is considered private property, owned by all the residents, if it is surrounded by a wall at least ten handbreadths high). To facilitate such carrying, a loaf of bread (called *eruv ḥaẓerot*) owned by all the residents is placed in one of the houses, thereby symbolically creating mutual ownership of all the dwellings. The houses and courtyard are thereby "mixed" together into one private domain. The sources indicate that *eruv ḥaẓerot* was already practiced in the time of the Second Temple; the details are elaborated in rabbinic literature from tannaitic times (Er. 1:10; 2:6, et al.; see also Er. 17b; 61b–82a, et al.) down to the later codes (cf. Tur, Sh. Ar., OḤ 366–95).

To "mix" private and public domains in order that an individual may carry from one to the other or within the latter, an *eruv* is erected around a given settled district. According to most early authorities, this *eruv* consists of a minimum of four poles at least ten handbreadths high, connected by other poles from top to top, forming the shape of a gate. The accepted practice among Jewish communities for generations has been to erect such an *eruv* by connecting poles (of the required height) with iron wires. A minority opinion among the authorities, based on a disagreement of interpretation of a talmudic section (Er. 11a–b; cf. Tur, Sh. Ar., OḤ 362), holds that the poles must also be no more than ten cubits apart.

No *eruv*, however, can permit carrying within what rabbinic law considers as falling under the biblical definition of public domain (cf. Shab. 6b; Er. 6). According to most authorities, such a domain is defined as an area crossed by at least 600,000 people (the number of Jews who fled Egypt) every day, and this definition is accepted in law. Since such public domains exist only in the largest cities, an *eruv* is effective in most areas. Some consider the minority opinion, which finds a biblically defined public domain in most settlements. While individuals refrain from carrying in such areas, the authorities admit that this practice is not required of everyone by law (cf. Shab. 6b; Tos. to Shab., s.v. *Kan;* Tur, Sh. Ar., OḤ 303, 345).]

According to rabbinical decree, in order to cook for the Sabbath during a festival immediately preceding it, one must establish an *eruv tavshilin* (cooking *eruv*). Before the festival, bread and a cooked food (some feel the former is unnecessary) are put aside for the Sabbath. Since the preparation of food for the Sabbath begins before the festival, it may be continued during the holidays. The preparation of food for the festival and that for the Sabbath are thus "mixed." The food prepared before the holiday is "mixed" with that prepared within the day, and the use of both is permitted. The term *eruv tavshilin* is applied both to the act of setting aside the food and to the food itself. This practice also evidently dates from an early period, since a controversy is recorded between the schools of Shammai and Hillel regarding one detail: Bet Shammai held that not one but two cooked dishes must be set aside. *Eruv tavshilin* is made by every householder, although, in principle, one man's *eruv* (e.g., that of the rabbi) can dispense the whole congregation or city. The making of the *eruv* is preceded by the standard benediction "Blessed art Thou … Who hast sanctified us with Thy commandments and hast commanded us concerning the ordinance of the *eruv*" followed by an Aramaic sentence to the effect that "by virtue of this *eruv* it is permitted to bake, to cook, and to kindle light as well as to provide for our necessary wants on this festival day for the succeeding Sabbath; for us and for all the Israelites living in this town." In some congregations it is customary to announce before the evening service of the festival that those who have forgotten to make *eruv tavshilin* are dispensed by the rabbi's *eruv*. In the Portuguese rite of Amsterdam the congregation was reminded by the *ḥazzan* on the day preceding the eve of the festival of the obligation to make *eruv* (*Vosses tens obrigaçao de fazer Hirub*). The rules regarding *eruv tavshilin* are discussed in the Talmud (cf. Mishnah Beẓah 2:1; TB, Beẓah 16a–17b; TJ, Beẓah 2:1) and the codes (Sh. Ar., OḤ 527).

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[Zvi Kaplan]

ERUVIN (Heb. עֵרוּבִין), the second tractate of the order *Mo'ed* in the Mishnah, Tosefta, and in both the Babylonian and Jerusalem Talmuds. It deals with all aspects of the Sabbath *eruv*: *eruv* of Sabbath boundaries, the *eruv* of courtyards, and the *eruv* of the partnership of alleys (see **Eruv*). It is thus a continuation of the tractate *Shabbat*, and in fact, it appears that originally the two tractates were one, but in view of its length (24 and 10 chapters) it was divided into two. This is evidenced by the fact that the last chapter, the Mishnah of *Eruvin*, is a kind of supplement to both *Shabbat* and *Eruvin* and deals with several details of the law of the Sabbath. The Tosefta of *Eruvin* also concludes with a statement which applies to the Sabbath: "The *halakhot* of the Sabbath … are like mountains hanging by a hair, having few biblical verses and many *halakhot* that have nothing upon which they can be supported" (cf. Ḥag. 1:8). *Eruvin* contains traditions which relate to the realia of the Second Temple period. Thus chapter 1:10 states that soldiers proceeding to battle are exempted from four things: they are permitted to collect wood for fuel from any place – and it is not regarded as theft; they are exempt from washing hands before touching food; they do not have to tithe **demai* produce; and they are permitted to carry things from tent to tent and from the tent into the camp without an *eruv*. Chapter 10:11–15 similarly gives a collection of *halakhot* regarding activities generally forbidden because they conflict with the spirit of Sabbath rest but permitted in the Temple. The chief sources of the Mishnah of *Eruvin* in its present form are, as usual, the pupils of Akiva-Meir, Judah, Yose, Simeon, and Eleazar. It is said of Judah that wherever he teaches a Mishnah in *Eruvin*, the *halakhah* goes according to his teaching (Er. 81b).

The first two chapters deal with the alley and with domains of a semi-private nature (*karmelit*), where the sages permitted carrying after minor modifications had been made. Chapters three to five deal with the limits of travel on the Sabbath and their extension by *eruv*. The next three chapters deal with the *eruv* of courtyards and of entrances owned jointly, and, as stated, chapter ten discusses various details of the *halakhot* of the Sabbath. According to Mishnah 6:1, if a Jew shares a courtyard with a non-Jew or with one who does not admit the validity of the *eruv* (such as a Samaritan or a Sadducee), he is thereby precluded from carrying articles from his house into the common alley on the Sabbath. The effect of this law was to limit joint residence with a gentile or sectarian in a building served by a common courtyard, or using the courtyard on Sabbaths (cf. Er. 62b: "lest he learn from his actions"). In the Jerusalem Talmud (Er. 7:9, 24c), however, Joshua b. Levi states: Why are *eruvin* made in courtyards? For the sake of peace, i.e., the carrying of the food before the Sabbath into the house of one of the neighbors for the *eruv* of courtyards promotes peace among the neighbors. The Jerusalem Talmud goes on to relate the case of a woman who was hated by her neighbor and sent her *eruv* through her son. When the neighbor saw the son she embraced and kissed him; on his return home he told his mother, who said, "She loves me so much and I did not know it," and as a result they were reconciled.

The order of the chapters in the manuscripts differs from that in the printed text. In the Munich manuscript chapter five precedes chapter three, and in the Oxford manuscript chapter four follows chapter two and chapter five follows six, but the order of the Tosefta accords more with that of the printed texts even though in many *halakhot* its order is different from that of the Mishnah. The Tosefta in the printed texts and in the Vienna manuscript of *Eruvin* has eight chapters – in the Erfurt manuscript (Zuckermandel's edition) it is divided into 11 chapters – and supplements the topics dealt with in the Mishnah. Worthy of note are the collection of *halakhot* in chapter 4 (3): 5–9 which discuss war on the Sabbath. If gentiles come to attack Jewish cities, it is permitted to go out with arms and desecrate the Sabbath; this applies only if they are bent on hostilities which endanger lives, but if their purpose is only to take spoil, it is forbidden. If, however, they move against towns near the border, even if only to take chaff or stubble, it is permitted to go out against them with arms and desecrate the Sabbath. In the Babylonian Talmud tractate *Eruvin* is considered one of the most difficult tractates, apparently because of the mathematical calculations (see, e.g., 14a–b or 76a–b) as well as because of the difficulty in understanding the various designs of the domains and their mutual relationship, despite the fact that sketches are provided in order to illustrate them (starting with the later printed versions).

Many scholars conclude from the discussion in Eruvin 32b, where there occurs the phrase, "Did you embody it in your *Gemara*?" that the *amoraim* already possessed a *Gemara* on the Mishnah which was methodically arranged (see the epistle of Sherira Gaon, ed. by B.M. Levin (1921), 63; Halevi, *Dorot*, 3 (1923), 117, et al.). It can also be seen from *Eruvin* 72a–b that there was an early editing of various discussions in the Talmud which preceded its final editing (see C. Albeck, *Mavo la-Talmudim* (1969), p. 578). Scattered throughout

Eruvin are many *aggadot* and ethical dicta. One tells how "for three years Bet Hillel and Bet Shammai disagreed, one school saying, 'the *halakhah* follows us,' and the other, 'the *halakhah* follows us.' A heavenly voice [**bat kol*] was heard to say, 'Both are the words of the living God but the *halakhah* follows Bet Hillel.' Since, however, 'both are the words of the living God,' why did Bet Hillel merit to have the *halakhah* established according to them – Because they were genial and modest, and taught their own sayings and those of Bet Shammai. Furthermore, they put Bet Shammai's words before their own.… This teaches you that whosoever humbles himself the Holy One exalts, and whosoever exalts himself, the Holy One humbles" (Er. 13b). The method of learning and memorizing in the academy of Rabban Gamaliel of Jabneh and of Simeon b. Gamaliel is reflected in an anachronistic aggadic *baraita*, quoted in *Eruvin* 54b, that describes the "order of the Mishnah" which Moses received from the Almighty and its teaching to the elders and the nation (cf. Epstein, *Tanna'im*, 187). Among the many apothegms to be found in *Eruvin* are the following: "The numerical value of the word *yayin* ["wine"] is 70 and that of *sod* ["secret"] also 70, to teach that when wine enters, secrets are divulged" (65a); "A man's character can be recognized by three things; by his cup [*kos*], by his purse [*kis*], and by his anger [*ka'as*]; some say also by his mirth" (65b). In addition to the many commentaries, editions, and translations available today, Abraham Goldberg has published a critical edition and commentary to Mishnah *Eruvin*, which discusses the historical levels in this tractate of the Mishnah, its relation to the Tosefta, and many of the traditions and interpretations found in the two Talmudim.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Epstein, Tanna'im, 300–22; C. Albeck (ed.), *Shishah Sidrei Mishnah*, 2 (1958), 77ff. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** Goldberg, *The Mishnah Treatise Eruvin* (1986).

[Yitzhak Dov Gilat]

ERWITT, ELLIOTT (1928–), U.S. photographer. Born in Paris to Russian parents, Erwitt immigrated to the United States with them in 1939. The family settled in Los Angeles, where Erwitt studied photography from 1942 to 1944 at Los Angeles City College. He worked as a photographic assistant in the U.S. Army before going to New York to study film. There, his work gained the regard of three influential figures in photography: Edward *Steichen of the Museum of Modern Art; Robert *Capa at Magnum, the photo agency; and Roy Stryker at the Standard Oil Company photo library. Steichen included several of Erwitt's pictures in the Modern's monumental 1955 "Family of Man" show, Stryker hired him as a staff photographer, and Capa promised a membership at Magnum after Erwitt's two-year army hitch. He remained with Magnum for more than 50 years. Erwitt's photography has often reflected his sense of humor: a quiet sense of the ridiculous, sometimes punctuated with visual puns, sometimes with hilariously candid juxtapositions. Most of his images, in black and white, were candids, taken with a small Leica, which he carried constantly. Some familiar photographs included Richard M. Nixon and Nikita S. Khrushchev at the famous "kitchen debate" in the Soviet Union; a bored-looking dog lifting his leg during a political speech by Nelson A. Rockefeller; and Jacqueline Kennedy in Arlington National Cemetery, clutching the flag that covered her husband's coffin. Other memorable pictures are of unknown people at unknown places and times. The cover of one of his books, *Personal Exposures*, for example, shows a photograph, taken at a beach in California in 1955, of a parked car whose side-view mirror reflects a couple kissing.

[Stewart Kampel (2nd ed.)]

ESARHADDON (Akk. *Aššur-aḫ*(*a*)*-iddina*, "Ashur has given me a brother" (for the other siblings); Heb. אֵסַר־חַדּוֹן), king of Assyria from 680 to 669 B.C.E., third ruler of the Sargonid dynasty. Though a younger son, he was preferred for the succession because of the influence of his mother Naqiʿa-Zakutu. His reign is characterized by three main policies. The first was the reconciliation of Babylonia by the rebuilding of Babylon, which his father Sennacherib had destroyed in 689 B.C.E. The second was the maintenance of Assyrian rule and influence in the northern and eastern marches of the empire, especially in the face of the Scythian invasion of 679 B.C.E. and its consequences in the north, and the gradual political and military consolidation of the Medes on the Iranian plateau. With some of the latter he concluded vassal treaties in 672 B.C.E. to ensure the orderly succession of his son Ashurbanipal to the throne. The terminology of these treaties bears comparison in structure and detail with various parts of the contemporaneous Book of *Deuteronomy, especially the final section of curses in Deuteronomy 28:15ff. The third aspect of Assyrian imperial policy during the reign of Esarhaddon was the response to the danger of increasing Egyptian influence and intrigue among the vassal states of Syria, Phoenicia, and Palestine, involving punitive campaigns against insurgent cities in 677 and 675 B.C.E. and an expedition to the Arabian desert in 676 B.C.E., and culminating in the defeat and conquest of Egypt in 671 B.C.E. Esarhaddon relates that he made 22 western vassals, including *Manasseh of Judah, drag beams and timber for the construction of his palace in Nineveh and stone statues of protective deities (see Pritchard, Texts, 291). This may be the historical nucleus of II Chronicles 33:11–12, according to which Manasseh was taken in chains to Babylonia by the army officers of the king of Assyria but was later allowed to return to his kingdom. But the political orientation of Judah in those years is obscure and Manasseh may have steered a national course for a time. Assyrian cultural influence in Judah was strong in the reign of Esarhaddon, and according to Ezra 4:2 he continued the colonization of Samaria with foreign settlers.

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(SAA II; 1988); M. Luukko and G. van Buylaere, *The Political Correspondence of Esarhaddon* (SAA XVI; 2002); F. Reynolds, *The Babylonian Correspondence of Esarhaddon* (SAA 17; 2003).

[Aaron Shaffer]

ESAU (Heb. עֵשָׂו; meaning uncertain; see below), the firstborn son of *Isaac and *Rebekah, the twin brother of *Jacob (Gen. 25:24–26). Esau is also called Edom (25:30) and is the ancestor of the Edomites (Gen. 36; Mal. 1:2–3; see *Edom). The Bible does not describe Esau at great length; but he is featured as a hairy man, "a skillful hunter, a man of the outdoors," and the favored son of Isaac, in sharp contrast to Jacob, a mild man, "smooth-skinned," and the favored son of Rebekah (Gen. 25:25, 27–28; 27:11). According to the biblical narrative, while Rebekah was pregnant with the twins, "the children struggled in her womb" and in her anxiety Rebekah "went to inquire of the Lord." The oracle she received in reply describes, in fact, not so much the relationship between Jacob and Esau as that between the Israelites and the Edomites: each of the boys would become the progenitor of a nation, and "One people [would] be mightier than the other, and the older would serve the younger." In a sense, the prophecy began to be fulfilled in the lifetime of the two ancestors, through two episodes in which Jacob gains the upper hand. First a starving Esau took an oath whereby he agreed to relinquish his birthright to his brother in exchange for a meal (25:29–34). The oath, it should be noted, was as binding as a written document. The narrative at this point contrasts with pentateuchal law, which guarantees certain privileges to the firstborn (Deut. 21:15–17), and reflects an earlier state of affairs in which the transfer of the birthright was possible. The socio-legal situation behind this incident is clarified in the finds of *Nuzi (see *Patriarchs). The second event which gives the struggle between the two brothers special significance is the loss by Esau of the patriarchal blessing (Gen. 27). Jacob, following the advice of his mother, disguised himself as Esau and received the blessing promised by Isaac to his brother. When Esau discovered the deception and implored his father for a blessing, he was told, "See, your abode shall enjoy the fat of the earth and the dew of heaven above. Yet by your sword you shall live, and you shall serve your brother; but when you grow restive, you shall break his yoke from your neck." This "blessing" contains echoes of the oracle which Rebekah had received, the supremacy of the younger brother over the firstborn being emphasized in both cases. However, at the end of Isaac's blessing there is a hint of Edom's recovery of her independence in the days of Solomon (I Kings 11:21–22, 25) and Jehoram (II Kings 8:20–22). Incensed by Jacob's deception, Esau intended to kill Jacob once Isaac was dead (Gen. 27:41). When Rebekah became aware of this, she advised Jacob to flee to her brother *Laban in *Haran, where he stayed for 20 years. Meanwhile Esau, having taken two wives from among the indigenous peoples of Canaan and a third from among the daughters of his uncle, Ishmael (regarding their names, and the parentages of the Canaanite ones, there are two different traditions: Gen. 26:34; 28:9; and Gen. 36:2), and having begotten children, migrated with all his household and his belongings "to another land because of his brother Jacob. For their possessions were too many and the land where they sojourned could not support them because of their livestock" (Gen. 36:6–7). Esau settled in the land of Seir, alongside the descendants of Seir the Horite, who were already living there (36:20). When Jacob, on his way home from Haran, had advanced into *Gilead as far south as *Penuel, he decided to try to appease his brother by sending messengers with greetings. Esau set out to meet him with a band of 400 stalwarts; and when his messengers returned and made this known to Jacob, he was frightened and sent ahead some herds of livestock as gifts (32:4–22; 33:1–2). As it turned out, however, Jacob's fears proved to be unfounded; for Esau came with 400 of his men to welcome his brother just south of the *Jabbok, greeted him with every sign of affection, and refused to accept the gifts. He wished to escort Jacob and his company southward through Transjordan to his home in Seir where he would no doubt act the older, if not unkind, brother; but Jacob persuaded him to go ahead, and then proceeded westward to the land of Canaan (33:4–16). In this incident as in the sale of the birthright Esau is a good but simple fellow, easily manipulated by his wily brother.

Three popular etymologies are connected with Esau. In the description given of him at his birth – "red, like a hairy mantle all over" (Gen. 25:25) – at most only the second part can have anything to do with the name Esau (Heb. Esav, ʿEsaw), which may be related to the Arabic root *ġšw*, "to cover." The redness, in contrast, can only explain his other name, Edom (Heb. ʿEdom), connected with the word *ʾadom* ("red"). In verse 30, the same name is explained by his impatient plea, when he came home hungry, for some of the "red stuff" (i.e., lentils) that Jacob was cooking. The red down ("hairy mantle," Heb. *ʾadderet seʿar*) with which he is said to have been covered at birth may originally have served to explain the name Seir (Heb. *seʿir*).

[Yuval Kamrat]

In the *Aggadah*

The personality of Esau is discussed in the *aggadah* from three different aspects, the differentiation between which causes difficulties. He is discussed as the brother of Jacob, as identical with *Edom, and sometimes with *Rome, with whom Edom was identified.

JACOB'S BROTHER. Esau's relations with *Jacob were a favored theme for many homilies and *aggadot.* Generally the *aggadah* follows the biblical account, and so do the pseudepigraphic works of the Second Temple period (particularly the Book of *Jubilees and the *Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs), but they aim at describing Esau as completely wicked. However, there are also descriptions aimed at finding some redeeming features in him, such as the dictum of Simeon b. Gamaliel: "All my days I attended upon my father but I did not attain to one hundredth of the attention Esau gave his father, for I attended him in soiled garments and when I went out to the market-place I went with clean clothes. When Esau, however, attended his father, he waited upon him in regal garments, saying, 'Father's honor is to be respected only in regal garments'" (Gen. R. 65:16). So too the homily: "And Esau saw that the daughters of Canaan pleased not Isaac his father; so Esau went unto Ishmael and took Mahalath [Gen. 28:8–9]; Joshua b. Levi said: he intended to mend his ways [*Maḥalat*, root: "to forgive"] because the Holy One pardoned his iniquities" (Gen. R. 66:13). The aggadists also find some merit in his relations with Jacob. Thus Simeon b. Yoḥai says: "It is a well-known fact that Esau hated Jacob, yet at that moment his compassion was turned to him and he kissed him wholeheartedly" (Sif. Num. 69, cf. a similar saying of Simeon b. Eleazar in Gen. R. 78:9). Here too, however, the opposite opinion is expressed that he did not kiss him "with his whole heart" or that he even "intended to bite him" (*ibid.*). The homilies which portray the wickedness of Esau are many and very diversified. He is said to have committed the most heinous sins – idolatry, adultery, and bloodshed (Gen. R. 63:12) – and he was hypocritical, asking questions like "how does one tithe salt … how does one tithe straw?" (Gen. R. 63:10).

ESAU AS EDOM. The identification of Esau with Edom (cf. Gen. 36:1, 43) is often referred to in the Bible and is found in all the apocrypha and pseudepigrapha of the Second Temple period and naturally in talmudic and midrashic sources too. *Amalek, the eternal enemy of Israel, is one of his descendants. Since the end of the Second Temple, the identification of *Haman the Agagite (Esth. 3:1; 8:3, 5; 9:24) as "a descendant of the seed of Amalek" (an identification first found explicitly in Jos., Ant., 11:20, apparently on the basis of the connection between the name "Agagite" and *Agag, king of Amalek: I Sam. 15:8–9, 20, 32–33, and cf. Num. 24:7) served as a fertile source for many homilies connecting the stories of the Book of Esther with Esau. Most of these homilies are naturally condemnatory, but there occur some with a slightly different tone, such as "R. Ḥanina said, whoever says that the Holy One is indulgent will be punished. The truth is that He is patient but ultimately claims His due; Jacob caused Esau to utter one cry [Gen. 27:34], and where was he requited? In Shushan the capital, as it is stated [Esth. 4:1] 'and he cried with a loud and a bitter cry'" (Gen. R. 67:4).

ESAU AS ROME. The identification of Esau with Rome is not found in the literature of the Second Temple period; attempts at detecting it in the Ezra Apocalypse (IV Ezra 6:7–8 and in Jos. Ant.) and in the Targum of *Onkelos to the Pentateuch have no real basis. The identification appears first, apparently, in an *aggadah* of the period following the *Bar Kokhba War (132–135 C.E.): "It has been taught: Judah b. Ilai said: My teacher Baruch (or, "blessed be he" – see later) used to say 'The voice is the voice of Jacob, but the hands are the hands of Esau [Gen. 27:22]; the voice of Jacob cries out at what the hands of Esau did to him at Bethar'" (TJ, Ta'an. 4:8, 68d; Gen. R. 65:21, et al. – "Baruch my teacher" may be a cryptic reference to *Akiva). The identification is also found in a conversation between Akiva and *Tinneius Rufus (Tanḥ. Terumah, 3) and is common in the mouths of the scholars of the age following the Hadrianic persecutions (Gen. R. 67:7 – Yose b. Ḥalafta; Tanh. B., Deut. supplement 5 (p.5) – Simeon b. Gamaliel). Thereafter it became very widespread (see the anonymous homily in Sif. Deut. 41, ed. Finkelstein, p. 85). In general Esau is referred to in a derogatory vein but here too there are exceptions such as: "For the three tears that Esau shed [Gen. 27:38], Israel suffered in three wars, as it says [Ps. 80:6]: Thou hast fed them with the bread of tears, and given them tears to drink in large measure" (*shalish*, ARN^2 47, 130).

[Moshe David Herr]

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ESCALONA, town in Castile, central Spain. A Jewish community existed in Escalona during the Muslim period and remained in the town after the Christian conquest in 1083. The rights of the Jews in Escalona were established by the *fuero* ("municipal charter") of 1130. This gave them equal status with Christians and Moors, although a Jew was not permitted to act as judge in Christian lawsuits. Jews in Escalona owned vineyards and real estate throughout the existence of the settlement there. In the 1290 tax distribution among the Jewish communities, the Jews of Escalona were not included specifically, probably due to their small number. The community was destroyed during the persecutions of 1391, but was renewed in the 15th century, when it was fairly small. In 1453 real estate in the city was given to R. Salamon, the physician of Countess Juana Pimentel, in appreciation of his services. The list of the taxes levied on the community is an important source of information, showing that it paid 1,000 maravedis in 1474, and 2,000 maravedis in 1482. The levy for the war against Granada amounted to 38 gold castellanos in 1485. The community paid 5,040 maravedis in 1489, 6,570 maravedis in 1490, and 4,000 maravedis in 1491. From a source preserved in the municipal archives we know that a Jewish quarter existed between 1477 and 1489. There is a reference to a Jewish slaughterhouse. Following the segregation of the Jews in 1483 the mosque of the Muslims was included within the Jewish quarter. Thus the community apparently continued to exist until the expulsion of the Jews from Spain in 1492. Don Isaac *Abrabanel had business interests in the town. There was a group of *Conversos living in Escalona, and those suspected of secretly practicing Judaism were tried by the Inquisition of Toledo.

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[Haim Beinart / Yom Tov Assis (2nd ed.)]

ESCAPA, JOSEPH BEN SAUL (1570–1662), Turkish rabbi and author. Escapa was the descendant of a family from Castile which settled in *Salonika. He served there as head of a yeshivah, and was a colleague of Ḥayyim *Shabbetai. From about 1620 he was rabbi of the Salonikan community in Smyrna, and in 1648 was appointed rabbi of all the congregations of the city. Under his leadership, the united Smyrna community became one of the most important in Turkey. Gifted with administrative ability, he introduced regulations concerning the collection of taxes and the supervision of communal affairs; these practices are followed to the present day by the community of Smyrna and surrounding territory. Escapa's enactments were collected by R. Joshua Judah and published in his *Avodat Massa* (Salonika, 1846). Escapa was one of the most vehement opponents of *Shabbetai Ẓevi, who was his disciple and whom he had ordained, and proclaimed it a religious duty to put Shabbetai Ẓevi to death. Escapa wrote a commentary on the Shulḥan Arukh, called *Rosh Yosef*, of which only sections – on *Oraḥ Ḥayyim* (Smyrna, 1657), and *Ḥoshen Mishpat (ibid.*, 1659) – were published. He also wrote responsa (Frankfurt on the Oder, 1709), and a work on *Maimonides which has remained in manuscript.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: J. Sasportas, *Ẓiẓat Novel Ẓevi*, ed. by I. Tishbi (1954), 378, index; Conforte, Kore, 46a; Rosanes, Togarmah, 2 (1938), 208–10; Werses, in: *Yavneh*, 3 (1942), 101ff.; Scholem, Shabbetai Ẓevi, 89–90, 113, 119–20, 140, 304–5.

ESCHATOLOGY. In general, the term "eschatology" designates the doctrine concerning "the last things." The word "last" can be understood either absolutely as referring to the ultimate destiny of mankind in general or of each individual man, or relatively as referring to the end of a certain period in the history of mankind or of a nation that is followed by another, entirely different, historical period.

INTRODUCTION

The Bible has no word for the abstract idea of eschatology. It does, however, have a term – *ʾaḥarit ha-yamim* – that often has eschatological connotations, at least in the broad sense mentioned above. It means literally "the end of the days," i.e., "the end of time." Just as the cognate Akkadian term, *ina aḥrât ūmī* (from the older *ina aḥriāt ūmī*), often shortened to *ina aḥrâti*, means simply "in the future" or "for [all] the future," so also the Hebrew term *be-ʾaḥarit ha-yamim* can sometimes mean merely "in the future, in time to come," without necessarily having any eschatological connotation (thus, e.g., Deut. 4:30; 31:29; cf. *ʾaḥarit*, "a future," in Jer. 29:11; et al.). In the Prophets, however, *be-ʾaḥarit ha-yamim* generally has an eschatological connotation (see below).

In the last few centuries before the destruction of the Second Temple, a new term with a strictly eschatological meaning in the absolute sense appears. This term, *keẓ* (*qeẓ*) *ha-yamim*, means literally "the term of the days" (Dan. 12:13b; cf. the similar term, *ʿet qeẓ* "the time of the term," Dan. 8:17; 11:35, 40; 12:4, 9).

Some scholars have sought to derive Israelite eschatological ideas from similar concepts of its ancient neighbors, Egypt and Babylonia. At most, there may have been some borrowings from these sources by the Prophets in the secondary details of their descriptions dealing with the horrendous conditions of the eschatological period. More likely, the features for which there are early extra-Israelite parallels were concepts common to the entire ancient Near East. Essentially, eschatology in Israel is an inner-Israelite development. Only in the very later period, i.e., in Daniel and the so-called intertestamental literature of the Jews, can a certain amount of borrowing from Persian sources be shown as probable.

It is difficult to date several eschatological oracles. In certain cases where, for instance, reference is made in a pre-Exilic prophet to Jerusalem as already destroyed and the people of Judah as already in exile, it is legitimate to suggest that such passages are later insertions into the pre-Exilic Prophets. However, when such criteria are lacking, the supposition should normally be that the eschatological oracles in question belong to the pre-Exilic prophet to whom they are attributed.

IN THE BIBLE

For the sake of showing how eschatological ideas evolved in ancient Israel, it is useful to consider the preprophetic period, the early prophetic oracles, the later pre-Exilic Prophets, and the Exilic and post-Exilic Prophets.

Pre-Prophetic Period

In the age of the Patriarchs, of Moses and Joshua, and of the Judges, and in the first few centuries of the monarchy there is little evidence of true eschatology. Yet the basis of later Israelite eschatology was really laid down in that early age. From the time of Abraham on, those descendants of his who later called themselves *bene Yisrael*, "the Israelites," venerated their one and only God as a "living God," i.e., as one who took an active part in the history of His people. They were conscious of the fact that He had made them His "*chosen people." Since He was not only the special God of Israel but also the sole Lord of the entire world, Israelite religion combined a certain "particularism" as the "chosen people" with a certain universalism, which looked forward to their God's reign over all mankind. They regarded Him as a just God, who would reward or punish all men according to their morally good or evil lives. Because of His *covenant with His chosen people, He proves Himself to be faithful and loyal to His promises (thus showing His frequently praised *ʾemet* or *ʾemunah*, "faithfulness," and *ḥesed*, "mercy"); therefore in times of need He sends His people "saviors," such as Moses and Joshua, the various "Judges," and especially David, the ideal *mashiʾaḥ*, "anointed" (see *Messiah) king, who was promised an everlasting dynasty (II Sam. 7:11–16). The hope and expectation that this relationship between the God of Israel and His people would continue in the future led to the genuine eschatology that is found in the books of the so-called "writing" Prophets (as distinct from such earlier prophets as Elijah and Elisha). The essential origin of Israel's eschatology lay in Israel's belief in its election by God as the means by which He would establish His universal reign over all mankind, combined with His promise to Israel of its own land, "the Promised Land," "the land of Canaan," as His pledge guaranteeing this promise.

Early Pre-Exilic Prophets

Among all the prophets of Israel, only the recorded oracles of Amos and Hosea were uttered before the destruction of the Northern kingdom of Israel (722 B.C.E.).

AMOS. The prophetic activity of *Amos took place in approximately 750 B.C.E., during the brief period of peace and prosperity that both Israel and Judah enjoyed after Jeroboam II, king of Israel (786–746), inflicted a decisive defeat (at an uncertain date) on the Arameans of Damascus (II Kings 14:25–27). This prosperity led to various forms of social injustice, whereby the relatively small class of rich landowners and government officials oppressed the poor, as well as to an indulgence by many of the people of both kingdoms in the degrading practices of their pagan neighbors. With divinely inspired foresight, Amos knew that these evils would bring about a time of crisis when the wrath of God would condemn to inevitable doom (Amos 1:3, 6, 9; et al.) not only the pagan nations (1:3–2:3) but also Judah and especially Israel (2:4–6:14). The prophet based his prediction of Israel's and Judah's punishment on the much older concept of their election by God as His "Chosen People": "You only have I known of all the families of the earth; therefore I will punish you for all your iniquities" (3:2).

In designating the time of God's future punishment, Amos was the first to call it "the *Day of the Lord" (*yom* YHWH), a term that was taken up, with further developments of the concept, by many of the later prophets (Isa. 13:6, 9; Ezek. 13:5; Joel 1:15; 2:1, 11; 3:4; 4:14; Obad. 15; Zeph. 1:7, 14; Mal. 3:23), with variations such as "the day of the Lord's fury" (Zeph. 1:18), "that Day" (*ha-yom ha-hu'*, Isa. 2:11; Zeph. 1:15), or simply "the Day" (*ha-yom*, Mal. 3:19; cf. Ezek. 7:7). However, Amos did not invent the term; it is clear from his reference to it that it was already in popular use. Its origin is obscure, and at first it may have had a military connotation, "the day of the Lord's victory over the enemies of His people" (cf. the expression "the day of Midian" in Isa. 9:3, where, however, it refers to Israel's victory over the Midianites). In any case, at the time of Amos the common people were using the term to designate the time when their God would bring them complete victory over their enemies and thus lead them into the "light" of lasting peace and prosperity. The prophet turned this expectation of theirs directly against them: "Woe to you that desire the day of the Lord! Wherefore would you have the day of the Lord (YHWH)? It is darkness, not light.… No, the day of the Lord shall be darkness, not light, gloomy, devoid of brightness" (5:18, 20). In 8:9–10 Amos enlarges on this theme: "And on that day, says the Lord God, I will make the sun go down at noon, and darken the earth in the clear day. And I will turn your feasts into mourning and all your songs into lamentation; I will bring sackcloth upon all loins, and baldness on every head; and I will make it like the mourning for an only son, and the end of it like a bitter day." While Amos used the image of a midday eclipse of the sun merely in a figurative sense, the eschatological oracles of later prophets (e.g., Isa. 13:10) developed this image into vast cosmic disturbances, seemingly to be understood literally, that would accompany the Day of the Lord.

Although for Amos the event initiating the new historical era would be primarily one of punishment and destruction, he includes, because he is aware of God's fidelity to His promises, the hope that for those who "seek the Lord" (5:4–6) "it may be that the Lord, the God of hosts, will be gracious to the remnant of Joseph" (5:14–15). Here again there occurs the earliest use of a term, "the remnant" (*she'erit*; see *Remnant of Israel), that was reused and at times received a different connotation in later eschatological writings (Jer. 6:9; 31:7; Ezek. 9:8; et al.; sometimes also in the form *she'ar*, Isa. 10:20–21; 11:11, 16; et al.). For Amos it designates those who will survive the destruction of the Northern Kingdom.

In order that the Book of Amos might end on a more positive note of hope, the last verses of the book (9:11–15), concerning the restoration of Israel, were apparently added by a post-Exilic editor. The later origin of this passage seems probable because it presupposes that the Davidic dynasty has come to an end and that the walls of Jerusalem have "breaches" and the city is in "ruins" (9:11).

HOSEA. It is generally agreed that *Hosea, the only "writing" prophet who was a native of the Northern Kingdom, was a contemporary of Amos, although apparently a younger one, for some of his oracles were probably delivered shortly before the fall of Samaria, although none after that date (722 B.C.E.). Like Amos, Hosea inveighed vigorously against the moral evils in Israel. Yet his vehement threats of terrible punishments (Hos. 2:3–7, 16–25; 5:14; 10:14–15; 13:7–8; et al.) are mingled with generous promises of forgiveness and future happiness (2:16–23; 6:1–3; 11:8–9; 12:6; 14:2–9; et al.); this is done with such sudden and confusing transitions that some scholars regard the book as a rather haphazard collection of Hosea's short oracles strung together by some later editor in complete disorder, while others see in this a reflection on the Lord's part of the prophet's own experience with his faithless wife (1:2–9; 3:1–3; cf. McKenzie, in CBQ, 17 (1955), 287–289).

If eschatology is understood in the broad sense of a dramatic change from one historical period to an entirely different one in the future, Hosea no doubt shows genuine eschatological concepts. Some of these, which are original with him, played an important role in later eschatological writings. Such, for instance, is Hosea's concept of renewal of God's love for and covenant with Israel as in the days following the Exodus from Egypt (2:14–15; 11:1). The notable – and seminal – feature of this new covenant is that it has a built-in guarantee against Israel's ever giving cause for its dissolution as it did with the original covenant. With the covenant, Israel will receive a new nature which will render it incapable of breaking it (Hos. 2:21–22; see Jeremiah below). Another notable eschatological concept is the view of a future in which Israel will never again be attacked by human enemies from without and will live in peaceful harmony with all living creatures within its border.

Later Pre-Exilic Prophets

In the second half of the eighth century B.C.E. two prophets, Isaiah and Micah, were active in Judah, and some of their oracles are eschatological in the broad sense described above. Similar eschatological oracles are found in Zephaniah, Nahum, and Jeremiah, who lived about a century later.

ISAIAH. The authentic prophecies of *Isaiah, who was active as a prophet from approximately 740 to at least 701 B.C.E., are found in the first 39 chapters ("Proto-Isaiah") of the long book (66 chapters) that is attributed to him; even in the first 39 chapters there are several sections, some rather long (e.g., the eschatologically important "Apocalypse of Isaiah" in 24:1–27:13), that are later additions to the Book of Isaiah. These, as well as "Deutero-Isaiah" (40:1–55:13) and "Trito-Isaiah" (56:1–66:24) – the question of a Trito-Isaiah is still, however, disputed – will be considered below for their eschatological import. Only those oracles with eschatological bearing that are clearly or at least probably from Isaiah or his disciples are treated here.

Isaiah lived at a time of national crisis for Judah: the Assyrians under Tiglath-Pileser III (745–727) ravaged and annexed Syria and most of the northern kingdom of Israel, and under Shalmaneser V (727–722) and Sargon (722–705) subdued the rest of Israel and most of the Philistine plain; meanwhile the wicked Ahaz (735–715) and even the pious Hezekiah (715–687), kings of Judah, played the game of international politics rather than trust in help from the Lord. Filled with a deep sense of God's utter holiness by his call to prophesy, Isaiah fulminated against idolatry and general wickedness in Israel and Judah. Many of his vehement threats of the punishment that would come on "the Day of the Lord" have a genuine eschatological ring: they predict universal destruction, not only for Israel and Judah, but also for the pagan nations, especially those who were the "rod of His wrath," and these oracles often have the overtones of cosmic disturbances that became characteristic of later Jewish eschatology. Thus, for instance: "For the Lord of hosts has a day against all that is proud and lofty.… And the haughtiness of man shall be humbled, and the pride of men shall be brought low; and the Lord alone will be exalted on that day" (2:12, 17); "You will be visited by the Lord of hosts with thunder, and with earthquake, and great noise, with whirlwind and tempest, and the flame of a devouring fire. And the multitude of all the nations that fight against Ariel … shall be like a dream, a vision of the night" (29:6–7).

A recurring theme with eschatological implications in Isaiah is that of the "remnant of Israel" (10:21–22; 11:11, 16; 14:30; 28:5; 37:32). To some extent this term implies a threat, as in Amos 5:15 (cf. "only a remnant" in Isa. 10:22), but usually it includes a consoling promise that at least a remnant of the people will be left with whom the Lord will be pleased (cf. "to recover the remnant of His people" in 11:11, and similar phrases in 4:3; 11:16; 28:5). There is no good reason for rejecting these passages as not authentic or for placing them in the Exilic or post-Exilic period, since there is mention of a son of the prophet with the symbolic name of Shear-Jashub (7:3), which means "a remnant shall return." (This, however, occurs in a third person story about the prophet, and its historicity is therefore not technically assured; but see Isa. 6:11–13.)

A new theme in Isaiah is the prospect of a future ideal king of Judah. This occurs in the so-called Immanuel passages, although, apart from its use as an exclamation in 8:8, the name Immanuel, meaning "God is with us," occurs only in 7:14, and the literary form of third person narrative, among other things, raises doubts as to its historicity (see *Immanuel). When King Ahaz of Jerusalem is threatened with war by a coalition of the kings of Israel and Damascus if he does not enter into an anti-Assyrian league, Isaiah urges him to trust solely in the Lord and gives him this sign: "Therefore the Lord Himself will give you a sign: behold, a young woman shall conceive, and bear a son, and shall call his name Immanuel.… Before the child knows how to refuse the evil, and choose the good, the land before whose two kings you are in dread will be deserted" (7:14, 16). Although the exact meaning of this passage is disputed, it is usually understood as referring directly to Ahaz' son and successor Hezekiah, who is here given the symbolic name "God is with us." Probably 9:5–6 is to be connected with this passage. Here, after singing of joyful peace following a great victory that the Lord has wrought for His people, the prophet continues: "For to us a child is born, to us a son is given; and the government will be upon his shoulder; and his name will be called Pele-Joez-El-Gibbor-Abi-Ad-Sar-Shalom ["Wonderful Counselor, Mighty God, Everlasting Father, Prince of Peace"]; of the increase of his government and of peace there be no end, upon the throne of David, and over his kingdom, to establish it, and to uphold it with justice and with righteousness from this time forth and for evermore. The zeal of the Lord of hosts will do this." Finally, connected with these two prophecies is that of 11:1–5: "There shall come forth a shoot from the stump of Jesse, and a branch shall grow forth out of his roots. And the Spirit of the Lord shall rest upon him, the spirit of wisdom and understanding, the spirit of counsel and might, the spirit of knowledge and the fear of the Lord. And his delight shall be in the fear of the Lord. He shall not judge by what his eyes see, or decide by what his ears hear; but with righteousness he shall judge the poor, and decide with equity for the meek of the earth; and he shall smite the earth with the rod of his mouth, and with the breath of his lips he shall slay the wicked. Righteousness shall be the girdle of his waist and faithfulness the girdle of his loins." These passages are quoted here at length because in their description of the future ideal king of Judah, they laid the foundation for the so-called Royal Messianism in the post-Exilic period, an important element in late Jewish eschatology. There is no solid reason for denying the Isaian authorship of these prophecies; even though the pre-Exilic prophets may not have held the kingship of Judah, as they knew it, in high esteem, they must have been aware of the constant tradition based on Nathan's oracle concerning the perpetual endurance of the Davidic dynasty (II Sam. 7:12–16; Ps. 89:20–38; see *Messiah).

Like Hosea 2:20, 23–25, Isaiah describes the peace of the Messianic age as a return to the happiness of the Garden of Eden, where all creatures, wild beasts as well as men, would live in tranquil harmony; "for the earth shall be full of the knowledge of the Lord, as the waters cover the sea" (11:6–9).

MICAH. Contemporaneous with Isaiah, *Micah, a native of Moresheth in Judah, apparently had a much shorter prophetic ministry. Like Isaiah, he looked forward, in a broader eschatological sense, to an ideal ruler (the basis of Royal Messianism) who would be of the Davidic dynasty, coming from David's native town of Beth-Lehem (5:1–3).

The theme of Mount Zion's eventually becoming the religious center of all mankind, which is further developed in later Jewish eschatology, is first enunciated in a prophecy that is given, in almost identical words, in both Micah 4:1–4 and Isaiah 2:2–4. Some scholars hold that this prophecy is not original in either Micah or Isaiah, but that it was inserted in both books from some common source by a later editor. Yet there is no solid reason for assigning a post-Exilic date to it. Interestingly enough, in the post-Exilic book of Joel, where there is a description of the eschatological war that will be waged between the Lord and His pagan enemies, the classical words of the earlier oracle describing universal peace are turned into the directly opposite sense: "Beat your plowshares into swords, and your pruning-hooks into spears" (Joel 4:10).

ZEPHANIAH. The prophet *Zephaniah probably uttered his oracles at about 640–603 B.C.E., in the first decade of the reign of King Josiah of Judah, a turbulent period when the idolatry and general wickedness of the people of Judah, combined with the political folly of Jerusalem's leaders in favoring the declining power of Assyria, led him to believe that "the great day of the Lord is near" (Zeph. 1:14). The bold imagery he used in describing this terrible "day" had much influence on later Jewish eschatological writings. After depicting the destruction of all the wicked on this day of doom (1:2–14), he cries out: "A day of wrath is that day, a day of distress and anguish, a day of ruin and devastation, a day of darkness and gloom, a day of clouds and thick darkness, a day of trumpet blast and battle cry against the fortified cities and against the lofty battlements. I will bring distress on men, so that they shall walk like the blind, because they have sinned against the Lord; their blood shall be poured out like dust, and their flesh like dung. Neither their silver nor their gold shall be able to deliver them on the day of the wrath of the Lord. In the fire of his jealous wrath, all the earth shall be consumed; for a full, yea, sudden end he will make of all the inhabitants of the earth" (1:15–18).

In genuine prophetic tradition, Zephaniah ascribes to the Lord phrases such as "the remnant of My people" and "the survivors of My nation" (2:9), adding "For I will leave in the midst of you a people humble and lowly. They shall take refuge in the name of the Lord, those who are left in Israel; they shall do no wrong and utter no lies, nor shall there be found in their mouth a deceitful tongue. For they shall pasture and lie down, and none shall make them afraid" (3:12–13). However, the final verses of the book (3:14–20) were probably added to it in the Exile or in the post-Exilic period since they speak of the gathering in of the scattered exiles of Zion.

NAHUM. Although the short Book of *Nahum, as such, consists essentially of a hymn of victory over the fall of Nineveh (612 B.C.E.), this hymn is introduced by an incomplete "alphabetic" psalm (Nah. 1:2–8), in which God's wrath is portrayed in the vivid colors that are later employed in describing the cosmic disturbances accompanying the great and terrible Day of the Lord.

JEREMIAH. In the broad sense of eschatology as the "end" of a given historical period that would be followed by a very different one, the Book of *Jeremiah, despite its seemingly disturbed sequence of poetic oracles and prose narratives combined with later scribal accretions, can be considered as practically eschatological throughout. Jeremiah clearly foresaw that the kingdom of Judah was doomed, because most of its people refused to give up their evil ways and their political leaders resisted the Babylonians whom God had sent to punish His people. One can almost speak of "realized eschatology" in Jeremiah, since for the prophet the doom was so imminent as to be felt as already present. Sixteen of his oracles begin with the expression *hinneh yamim baʾim* ("Behold, the days are coming when…"; 7:32; 9:24; 16:14; 19:6; et al.), which for Jeremiah is almost the equivalent of the eschatological term "at the end of days," when the imminent and actual invasion of the Babylonians under Nebuchadnezzar (cf. 15:1–4; 34:8–22; 37:3–10; et al.) will take place.

Yet even when the situation looked utterly hopeless for Judah, the prophet still believed that in God's mercy a remnant would survive the Babylonian destruction of Jerusalem (32:1–15), just as he had expected a reprieve for the remnant left in the Northern Kingdom (3:11–18) and a restoration of Judah's exiles taken to Babylonia in the first deportation of 597 B.C.E. (24:1–10). Like Isaiah and Micah a century before his time, Jeremiah looked forward to the continuity of the Davidic dynasty in an ideal king of the future (23:5–6). (In the symbolic name that the prophet gives to the new, ideal king, YHWH *ẓidekenu* (*ẓideqenu*) (Heb. יהוה צִדְקֵנוּ), there is most likely an intentional allusion – with obvious inversion – to the name of the last, wicked king of Judah, Zedekiah (Heb. צִדְקִיָּהוּ).) Moreover, Jeremiah, obviously inspired by Hosea 2:21–22, foresaw that Israel's reestablishment would entail a renewal of the ancient Sinaitic covenant in such a way that it would bring about a true change of heart, a new, interior spirituality (31:31–34).

Exilic and Post-Exilic Prophets

During the Babylonian exile and in the centuries that followed the gradual return of the Jewish exiles to the land of

Israel until the latest writings in the Bible, important developments took place in Jewish eschatological thought. This can be seen especially in the writings of Ezekiel, the so-called Deutero-Isaiah (Isa. 40:1–55:13), the so-called Trito-Isaiah (Isa. 56:1–66:24), Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi, Joel, the so-called Deutero-Zechariah (Zech. 9:1–14:21), the author of the so-called Apocalypse of Isaiah (Isa. 24:1–27:13), and finally in the Book of Daniel.

EZEKIEL. Since it can rightly be said that the Babylonian destruction of Jerusalem in 587 B.C.E. formed the climactic turning point, not only in the political history of ancient Israel but also in its religious orientation, the prophet *Ezekiel is unique in many ways, particularly as he prophesied before that destruction (although already in Babylonia), as well as during the first few decades of the Jewish exile in Babylonia, where he had been taken in the first deportation of Jews by Nebuchadnezzar in 597 B.C.E. He shows a more intense sense than the older prophets both of the imminence of God's punitive judgment on the pagan nations (Ezek. 25:1–32:32) and of the restoration of God's chosen people to a holier state than before.

For Ezekiel, Judah's restoration would be almost as miraculous as the resurrection of the dead to life, which is illustrated in his well-known vision of the valley filled with dead men's bones that took on flesh and came back to life (37:1–14). Although the new religious life of Judah would be essentially based on a sincere inner conversion to the Lord (11:19–20; 36:26–27), it would be centered on an elaborately described worship in a rebuilt temple in Jerusalem; this holy city, with its new symbolic name of "The-Lord-Is-There," would be in the center of the new land of Israel, with six of the twelve tribes of Israel living in parallel geographic strips to the north of it, and the other six in similar strips to the south (40:1–48:35).

Now that Judah no longer had its own king, Ezekiel kept alive the ancient expectation of a continuance of the Davidic dynasty – the basis of later messianism. However, for this prophet, Judah's future ruler as the Lord's viceroy would have the title of only "prince" (*nasi*, anciently "a tribal chief"), not "king" (44:3; 45:17; et al). He would be a true shepherd of the Lord's flock (34:11–24). Chastened Israel, though now scattered throughout the world, would be the Lord's means of establishing His reign over all the earth, and would thus fulfill the promise He made to the Patriarchs (36:1–38). A diligent elaborator of Jeremiah motifs, he conceived in his own way the motif of a change in Israel's nature – "a new heart and a new spirit," with variations (11:17–20; 16:60; 36:24–28) – which would guarantee the new covenant against dissolution as in the case of the first. However, he stresses in his inimitable manner (36:20–23, 29–31) the principle first clearly enunciated in I Samuel 12:22, according to which God's motive is not compassion for undeserving Israel, but His own prestige, since His name, because it is associated with Israel, is discredited in the eyes of the nations by Israel's misfortunes. That is why, even after proving that he is able to restore Israel to its land, He will further "prove Himself great and holy" in the eyes of the nations (38:23) by demonstrating through Gog and Magog that He is able to prevent their being subjugated again (39:22–29).

The fantastic word pictures drawn by Ezekiel, which he used directly only for describing eschatology in the broad sense, e.g., that of *Gog and Magog who represented for the prophet the hostile pagan nations of his time (38:1–39:20), were destined to find many echoes in later Jewish writers, who reused them in depicting their eschatology in the strict sense – the "end" of the world as men knew it.

DEUTERO-ISAIAH. The anonymous writer who composed Isaiah 40:1–55:13 and to whom modern scholars have given the name "Deutero-Isaiah" (the "Second Isaiah") is generally believed to have prophesied in the last years preceding the conquest of Babylon by the Persians under Cyrus the Great in 539 B.C.E. Just as the prophet knew that the Lord had used the pagan kings of Assyria and Babylon to punish His sinful people according to the predictions of the earlier prophets (Isa. 1:21–31; Jer. 7:1–15; Ezek. 22:1–22), so he foresaw that the Lord would use the pagan king of Persia as His "anointed one" (cf. Isa. 44:28; 45:1 with Jer. 25:9; 27:6; 43:10) to liberate repentant Judah from its captivity. The prophet's preaching, therefore, is almost entirely one of consolation for his afflicted fellow exiles. From an eschatological viewpoint, Deutero-Isaiah is important for his clear perception of God's plan in directing man's history on earth; the Lord alone prearranged this history from beginning to end (Isa. 41:22–23; 42:8–9; 46:8–13; et al.). The prophet treats this history of man on a cosmic scale; the restoration of Judah is to be a "new creation" for all mankind as well as for the Jews (41:17–20; 42:5–7; 43:1; 45:8). This plan of God for the world's salvation would be carried out by the *Servant of the Lord (*ʿeved YHWH*), who both personifies Israel (49:3) and has a mission for Israel (49:5–6); his sufferings atone for man's sins, but his glorious exaltation brings peace and salvation to the world (52:13–53:12). With Deutero-Isaiah there begins a more transcendent concept of eschatology; climactic events in history are viewed not so much as the beginning of a new historical era brought about by human means, but rather as a transformation of the world on a cosmic scale produced by God's extraordinary intervention in man's history.

HAGGAI, ZECHARIAH, AND MALACHI. When Zerubbabel, the grandson of King Jehoiachin of Judah, was appointed governor of the small Persian province of Judah, the prophets *Haggai and *Zechariah temporarily saw him as the one who could continue the Davidic dynasty (Hag. 2:20–23; Zech. 4:6–7; 6:9–14 (emending "Joshua son of Jehozadak, the high priest," to "Zerubbabel" in v. 11; cf. "the Shoot" in 3:8)); thus they kept alive the messianic expectation in Judah. Moreover, the strange type of symbolism that first appears in Zechariah 1:7–2:13 and 5:1–6:8, connected with the concept of an incredibly enlarged Jerusalem (Zech. 2:5–9), was later reechoed in the eschatological imagery of Daniel and the later Jewish writers.

The book that bears the title *Malachi ("my messenger"), apparently borrowed from Malachi 3:1, was probably written about the time of Ezra and Nehemiah (second half of the fifth century B.C.E.). This prophet predicts that the Lord will come to His temple preceded by His messenger, and will hold His Day of Judgment against the wicked (Mal. 3:1–6). In what is generally considered to be a later addition to the book, this messenger is identified with "Elijah the prophet [coming] before the great and terrible day of the Lord" (3:23). Since on the basis of II Kings 2:11 it was commonly assumed that Elijah never died, a popular belief, later elaborated on in Jewish writings, held that he would return to earth as the precursor of the *Messiah (cf. Matt. 11:14; 16:14; Mark 9:11–13; Luke 1:17; John 1:21; et al.).

JOEL. A terrible plague of locusts (Joel 1:2–20) was seen by the prophet *Joel, who probably prophesied between 400 and 350 B.C.E., to have eschatological significance in that it symbolized the forces hostile to God on "the day of the Lord…, a day of darkness and gloom, a day of clouds and thick darkness! Like blackness there is spread upon the mountains …" (2:1–17). Yet the Lord would be victorious over His enemies (4:1–16) and bring salvation and blessings to His chosen people (2:18–3:5). This is eschatology in the strict sense, involving cosmic disturbances as the initiation of the new, transcendent era (3:1–4).

In the verse in which Joel has God say: "I will gather all the nations, and bring them down to the valley of Jehoshaphat, and I will enter into judgment with them there, on account of My people and My heritage Israel…" (4:2), the term "valley of Jehoshaphat" has no geographic significance; it merely means "the place where the Lord judges." Later tradition identified it with the Kidron Valley to the east of Jerusalem, and consequently this valley and the Mount of Olives to the east of it became a favorite burial place, where one would be at hand at the resurrection of the dead for general judgment on the Last Day.

DEUTERO-ZECHARIAH. The last six chapters of the Book of Zechariah (9:1–14:21) differ in so many respects from the first eight chapters that many modern scholars attribute them to a later writer (or even to two later writers – one for 9:1–11:17, and another for 12:1–14:21), who apparently lived some time between Joel (c. 400–350 B.C.E.) and Ben Sira (c. 180 B.C.E.). Rejoicing over the fall of Syria and the coastal cities of Palestine (9:1–8), perhaps as the victorious army of Alexander the Great advanced toward Egypt in 332 B.C.E., the prophet saw in their fall a sign of the imminent coming of the Messiah as a prince of peace: "Rejoice greatly, O daughter of Zion, shout aloud, O daughter of Jerusalem; Lo, your king comes to you; triumphant and victorious is he, humble, and riding on an ass …" (Zech. 9:9). In describing the new, transcendent era, the prophet develops the symbolic language of the older prophets, especially that of Ezekiel, but it already has more of the fantastic imagery that is characteristic of *apocalyptic literature. A theme that later receives further development is that of the sufferings that God's people must still endure (14:1–2, 13–14a) before "the Lord will become King over all the earth" (14:9).

TRITO-ISAIAH. Many scholars hold that the last 11 chapters of the Book of Isaiah (56:1–66:24) form a unit quite distinct from both Proto-Isaiah (1:1–39:8) and Deutero-Isaiah (40:1–55:13). This section probably consists of a collection of writings composed by different men at various times in the post-Exilic period (even though 57:3–13a may possibly be of pre-Exilic origin). From an eschatological viewpoint, the passages in Isaiah 60:1–62:12; 65:17–25; 66:7–17, depicting the glory of the new Jerusalem and the joy of all the earth, and the passage in 66:18–21, describing the gathering of all the nations of the earth for God's final judgment on mankind, are of particular importance. (On the bearing of the "unquenchable fire" (66:24), together with Jer. 7:30–8:3; 19:6; 31:40, for the later eschatological concept of the eternal fire of Gehenna, see below.)

"APOCALYPSE OF ISAIAH." Isaiah 24:1–27:13 is so different from the rest of Isaiah that it seems to have been written by some anonymous prophet distinct from all the other prophets whose prophecies have been gathered together in the large compilation now known as the Book of Isaiah. The hymns of praise (24:14–16a), thanksgiving (25:1–12), and supplication (26:1–19) that are interspersed among the various prophecies of doom and blessing suggest that this section once formed a sort of "liturgy." Nowhere in the section is there any reference or even allusion to an historical event that could be used for dating the composition. Yet in the descriptions of the devastation of the entire world (24:1–13), of the concomitant cosmic disturbances (24:19–23a), and the salvation of the "remnant" (26:20–21), the style and language are so similar to later apocalyptic writings that this section is commonly called "the Apocalypse of Isaiah," and the date of its composition is generally placed not long before the composition of the genuinely apocalyptic chapters in the Book of Daniel. Concepts that play a large role in the later apocalyptic writings, such as the eschatological banquet (Isa. 25:6) and the resurrection of the dead (26:19, perhaps to be understood here in the literal sense as distinct from the symbolic resurrection of the dead, signifying national resurrection, in Ezek. 37:1–14) appear here for the first time (see the Book of *Isaiah).

DANIEL. The first section of the Book of *Daniel is a compilation of six (or five, the first being merely introductory) aggadic stories about Daniel and his three companions, who are presented as living in Babylon in the sixth century B.C.E., toward the end of the Neo-Babylonian empire and the beginning of the empire of the Medes and Persians (Dan. 1:1–6:29); the second section contains four visions or revelations (7:1–12:13) that Daniel is said to have received and which foretell the history of the Near East from the time of Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon (605–562 B.C.E.), to that of Antiochus IV Epiphanes, king of Syria (175–164 B.C.E.). This compilation was made in its present form shortly before the death of Epiphanes, at a time when Judaism in Palestine was suffering a severe crisis both from defection toward pagan Hellenism from within, and from violent persecution from without by Epiphanes to make the Jews forsake their ancient religion.

The older aggadic stories were retold in the book for the sake of encouraging faithful Jews to withstand persecution; as the Lord had come to the rescue of Daniel and his companions, so also would He intervene in the present crisis by putting an end to the pagan empires and establishing His reign over all the earth by means of His chosen people, for He is the Lord of history, who "changes times and seasons; he removes kings, and sets up kings" (2:21).

The second half of the book (7:1–12:13) contains the earliest preserved form of apocalyptic literature in the strict sense, a type of writing that was frequently imitated and developed by Jews at least until the destruction of the Second Temple. This type of writing, in brief, purports to be a revelation (Greek *apocalypsis*, literally an "uncovering") of the future, especially the final destiny of the world, which was given to some ancient worthy centuries or even millennia earlier, but was left "hidden" (Gr. *apocryphon* – hence many of these writings are called "*apocrypha") until the present time of crisis.

Persian influence on the apocalyptic writings can be seen, not only, e.g., in their more elaborate *angelology, but especially in their division of history into various distinct eras or "monarchies." The Persians divided their history of the world into three "monarchies": the Assyrian, the Median, and the Persian. In the Hellenistic period a fourth "monarchy" was added – their own Greek "kingdom," which as far as Palestine was concerned, consisted of the Ptolemaic dynasty in Egypt and the Seleucid dynasty in Syria, with the capital at Antioch. The Jews adapted this four-monarchy theory of history to their own situation by substituting the Babylonian empire (as better known to them) for the Assyrian empire, and by adding a fifth "kingdom" – the universal reign of God on earth, based on His chosen people, Israel. This last kingdom would be "an everlasting kingdom" (3:33) – a concept that is eschatology in the strict sense. In Daniel this view of world history is presented in two places: first, in the aggadic story of Nebuchadnezzar's dream of the gigantic statue made of four different materials (symbolizing the four successive pagan empires), that was smashed by a rock hewn without hands from a mountain, which itself "became a great mountain and filled the whole earth," the kingdom of God, "which shall never be destroyed…, and it shall stand for ever" (2:31–45); secondly, in the apocalypse of chapter 7, where four beasts (each with a characteristic number to show the number of rulers) representing the four successive pagan empires are destroyed by God, and in their place "one like a son of man" receives from the Lord "dominion, and glory, and kingdom, that all peoples, nations, and languages should serve him; his dominion is an everlasting dominion, which shall not pass away, and his kingdom one that shall not be destroyed" (7:13–14).

In Daniel, the "one like a son of man" (a Semitism meaning simply "one like a human being") is a symbol, as stated explicitly, representing "the people of the saints of the Most High" (7:27); that he "came with the clouds of heaven" (7:13), i.e., had his origin from God, is said primarily to contrast him with the four great beasts that "came up from the sea" (7:3), i.e., from the realms of chaos (cf. Gen. 1:2). However, as will be shown below, this purely symbolic figure of "one like a son of man" was soon regarded as a real person, the Messiah.

Daniel contains the first unequivocal affirmation of a belief in the eschatological resurrection of the dead: "There shall be a time of trouble…; and at that time your people shall be delivered, every one whose name shall be found written in the book. And many of those who sleep in the dust of the earth shall awake, some to everlasting life, and some to shame and everlasting contempt" (12:1–2). This does not necessarily imply a universal resurrection of all mankind at "the end of the world"; the expression "many of those" hardly means "all men, numerous as they are." But it does offer a solution to the age-old problem of divine retribution, why the just suffer and the wicked seem to prosper in this life. The Book of Job struggled in vain with this problem; yet even the well-known passage in Job 19:25–27, where the text itself is not clear, seems merely to have the sufferer reassert his firm belief that God would some day vindicate Job's righteousness. Belief in the resurrection of the dead may have been adumbrated in the "Apocalypse of Isaiah" (Isa. 26:19; see above) and in the pious hope of the Psalmist (Ps. 73:23–26), yet it appears in Daniel 12:1–2 with startling suddenness. Perhaps there is some influence here from the Zoroastrian religion of the Persians, which had such a belief. However, the occasion for the expression of this belief in Israel was apparently due to Israel's conviction, on the one hand, of God's justice in rewarding the good, and on the other hand the martyrdom of so many innocent Jews in Antiochus Epiphanes' persecution.

Another important trait in the eschatology of Daniel is the attempt by the author of the apocalypse contained in chapter 9 to show that "the end" was to come in the near future; he does this by interpreting the 70 years of exile that had been foretold by Jeremiah (Jer. 25:11; 29:10) to mean 70 weeks of years or 490 years, and to argue from this by his own strange chronology that only three and a half years still remained before the end would come. The author may well have been the compiler of the entire book, for the references to the remaining three and a half years before "the end" in the other apocalypses (7:25b; 8:14; 12:7) seem to be insertions made by him. Later on, additions were made to the book in 12:11 and 12:12, in order to lengthen the period of waiting when the earlier predictions failed to be fulfilled.

IN THE INTERTESTAMENTAL LITERATURE

Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha

Certain Jewish writings that were composed after the completion of the latest book of the Hebrew Bible (probably Daniel, c. 165 B.C.E.) and before the completion of the books of the New Testament are commonly referred to as the "intertestamental literature." With the exception of some fragments that have been found at *Qumran, these writings have been preserved in Greek (or in secondary translations made from the Greek), although most of them were originally written not in Greek but in Hebrew or Aramaic. None of these books is included in the Jewish or Protestant canon; but seven of them, which are found in the *Septuagint, are included in the Bible of Roman Catholics and Orthodox Christians. These seven books – Tobit, Judith, Baruch, I and II Maccabees, the Wisdom of Ben Sira, and the Wisdom of Solomon – are called "deuterocanonical" (i.e., belonging to the "second canon") by the Catholics; Protestants call them "the *Apocrypha," and the rest, "the Pseudepigrapha." Some of these books – the Ethiopic and the Slavonic Books of Enoch, the Apocalypse of Ezra, the Syriac and the Greek Apocalypses of Baruch, the Jewish Sibylline Oracles, etc. – are primarily apocalyptic and of prime importance for the eschatological concepts of the period in question. However, even the pseudohistorical writings (Jubilees, Life of Adam and Eve, Ascension of Isaiah, etc.) and the moral-didactic writings (Wisdom of Solomon, Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, Psalms of Solomon, etc.) provide much information concerning eschatological ideas of the Jews in the last two centuries before, and the first century after, the destruction of the Second Temple. Almost all the intertestamental writings have come down in copies or translations made by Christian scribes, who often interpolated new passages containing Christian concepts into the older original Jewish compositions. However, it is generally not difficult to discern which passages are Christian interpolations.

MESSIANISM. Although Jewish eschatology, including that of the intertestamental literature, was always theocentric, i.e., concerned basically with the ultimate triumph of God and His justice, it combined this with certain preliminary events that would precede the establishment of God's universal reign over all mankind on "the Day of the Lord." Chief among these preliminary events would be the reign of the *Messiah (I En. 45:3; 105:2; 28:29; 13:32–35; 14:9). Not only from the intertestamental writings but also from Josephus (Wars, 2:6, 12; Ant., 13:9) and the New Testament (Matt. 23:23–24; etc.), it is clear that in the last two centuries before the destruction of the Second Temple and even in the succeeding generations, e.g., at the time of the revolt of Bar Kokhba (132–135 C.E.), belief in the imminent coming of the Messiah was widespread in Judaism. During that period more than one contender arose to claim the title of Messiah (cf. Acts 5:36; 12:38). The intertestamental literature naturally reflects this belief, but not always in a uniform fashion.

Some of these writings speak of certain personages who would precede the coming of the Messiah. On the basis of Deuteronomy 18:15 ("A prophet will the Lord thy God raise up into thee…, like unto me; unto him ye shall hearken"), some of the apocalyptic writers of this period predicted that a special prophet, or even Moses himself, would come to prepare the way for the Messiah. Jeremiah, "a friend of his brethren, who prays much for his people and for the holy city" (II Macc. 15:14) and highly respected by the Jews of the period, was sometimes identified with this precursor of the Messiah. However, the chief candidate for the office of the precursor of the Messiah was the prophet Elijah, in keeping with the oracle of Malachi 3:23–24; by his miracles and his preaching he would reform the people and make them ready to receive the Messiah (cf. e.g., Ecclus. 48:10–11).

Reckoning Eschatological Times. In imitation of the attempts made in Daniel to calculate the time remaining before "the end of time" (cf. Ass. Mos. 1:18; IV Ezra 3:14), the apocalyptic writers of the intertestamental period devised various methods for reckoning "the times of the Messiah," *Yemot ha-Mashiaḥ*. Jubilees, for instance, divided the history of the world into a great number of "jubilees" (period of 50 years each) in order to establish when "the end" would come. Other writings divided the history of the world into 12 periods of 400 years apiece (IV Ezra 14:11; Test. Patr., Abraham A 19, B 7; Life of Adam and Eve 42). Some reckoned by millennia and maintained that the reign of the Messiah itself would last for a thousand years, referring to "the Messianic millennium," a period of peace and happiness on earth before the final Day of the Lord.

Birth Pangs of the Messiah. In general, the intertestamental literature depicts the period preceding the coming of the Messiah as one of terrible distress: plagues and famine, floods and earthquakes, wars and revolutions, accompanied by such cosmic disturbances as the darkening of the sun and the moon and the falling of the stars from the sky. In part, these ideas were derived from contemporary events, such as the dispersion and persecutions suffered by the people of Israel, and in part from the descriptions of the Day of the Lord found in the writings of the earlier prophets. The purpose of these terrifying pictures was to encourage the faithful in Israel to bear their afflictions patiently as God's will for them, for only when the cup of evil was filled to the brim would the Messiah come to bring salvation. These sufferings, therefore, are commonly called "the pangs of the Messiah," *ḥevlo shel Mashiaḥ*, meaning that Israel, like a mother, was to bring forth the Messiah in the pangs of childbirth.

On the basis of Ezekiel 38:1–39:20, the pre-messianic wars are presented as the Lord's fight against Gog and Magog, symbols of the powers of evil in the world. The leader of these evil forces bears such names as Satan, Belial (or Beliar), Maste Din (or Mastema), and (in the Greek versions) the Anti-Christ. However, it should be noted that this pre-messianic warfare is to be understood primarily as a spiritual, not a military, one; and the Lord's use of Israel in establishing His reign over all mankind is not intended to imply an Israelite political empire.

Son of Man. Besides such titles as "savior" and "redeemer," which are given to the expected Messiah in the intertestamental writings, a special title is given to him in the (Ethiopic) Book of Enoch (I En.; written shortly after Daniel) and in the Apocalypse of *Ezra (IV Ezra; written c. 30 years after the destruction of the Second Temple), that of the "son of man." This title is clearly borrowed from Daniel 7:13. Although in Daniel the term is purely symbolic (see above), the intertestamental books use it in reference to an actual person, the Messiah. According to these writings, the "son of man," who stands "at the throne of God" in heaven, existed "before the sun and the stars were created" (I En. 46:1–3); he will bring salvation at the end of the ages, when he will be enthroned as king of the world (IV Ezra 13:26).

4TH WORLD TO COME. The apocalyptic writings after Daniel (though in this book the terms themselves are not used) divide the time after God's great eschatological interventions as "this (present) time" (*olam ha-zeh*) and "the time to come" (*olam ha-ba*, lit. "the coming time"; cf. I En. 23:1; IV Ezra 7:30, 43; Test. Patr., Abraham 19, B 7). It is only in the latter period – the eschatological period in the strict sense – that full retribution for good and evil is meted out by God to every man.

Retribution. Israel always had firm faith in the Lord's justice, in His rewarding the good and punishing the wicked. However, in Israel there was a definite development of this concept in two important points: (1) from collective responsibility and retribution to individual responsibility and retribution, and (2) from full retribution in man's mortal life to full retribution only "in the world to come (**olam ha-ba*)," i.e., after man's death.

Although even in the oldest periods of biblical theology Israel often expressed the belief that God rewards and punishes each man according to his own deeds (cf. e.g., I Sam. 26:23), as can be seen in the numerous cases of divine punishment meted out to individual sinners (Cain, Lot's wife, Miriam, Er and Onan, etc.) and as frequently stressed in the wisdom literature, in pre-Exilic Israel the emphasis was placed primarily on collective retribution; the whole group (family, tribe, nation) was responsible for the deeds of its members. It was Ezekiel in particular who shifted the concept of divine retribution from a collective to an individual one (cf. especially Ezek. 18; Jer. 31:29–30 is probably a later addition, borrowed from Ezek. 18:2–3). However, the principle that every man is rewarded or punished in this life for his good or evil deeds seemed to be contradicted by ordinary experience; and the problem of why the innocent suffer and the wicked prosper in this life, as presented especially in *Job, appeared to be an insoluble mystery, best left to God's wisdom.

Resurrection of the Dead. A solution to this problem was finally found in the belief of the resurrection of the dead (*teḥiyyat ha-metim*), i.e., in the notion that the dead would come back to life, both in body and in soul, on the Day of the Lord. The earliest clear expression of this belief is in Daniel 12:12, and subsequently it was often expressed by many writers of the intertestamental literature (II Macc. 7:9, 11, 14, 23; 12:43; 14:46; Jub. 23:30; Test. Patr., Men. 98:10; IV Ezra 7:29–33; etc.). Some of these writings speak of all men, good and bad alike, rising from the dead for judgment on the Day of the Lord; others maintain that only the just will rise to life, since the condemnation that the wicked receive at God's tribunal can scarcely be called "life" (so apparently even in Dan. 12:2). Moreover, some of the apocalyptic writings (e.g., II En. 66:5) speak of two resurrections: the first only of the just, at the beginning of the Messianic millennium; the second of the wicked, at the final Day of the Lord, which is for the wicked a "second death."

A special concept of a future life immediately after death is seemingly found in the Wisdom of *Solomon, a Greek composition (c. 75 B.C.E.) by an Alexandrian Jew, who was influenced by the Greek philosophical concept of the immortality of the human soul (cf. Wisd. 3:1–9). Yet the author of this work really follows the common Hebrew concept of life as truly human only when man's body and soul are united.

In the last two centuries before the destruction of the Second Temple the *Pharisees believed in the resurrection of the dead, whereas the *Sadducees did not (Jos., Ant., 18:14; Wars, 2:14; cf. also Mark 12:18; Acts 23:8).

Until the last two centuries before the destruction of the Second Temple the Jews retained the ancient Israelite concept of *Sheol, the dark abode in the nether world of all the dead, good and bad alike (thus still Ben Sira: e.g., Ecclus. 14:16; 28:21; 51:6, 9). However, when the concept of individual retribution after death developed in Judaism during this period, the concept of Sheol underwent various changes in the different intertestamental writings. According to some of these writings there are various levels in Sheol (e.g., six: IV Ezra 7:36–37), so that even before the resurrection of the dead the wicked are tormented in various degrees in Sheol's lower levels, whereas the good enjoy bliss in its highest level. According to other writings Sheol is replaced by **Gehinnom* (Gehenna), the place where the damned are in torment, whereas the just, either immediately after death or only at the resurrection, have the delights of an eschatological *Garden of Eden or Paradise.

Gehenna. The word "Gehenna" is the Greek form of the Aramaic *Gehinnom* for the Hebrew *Ge* (*Bene*) *Hinnom* ("the Valley of (the sons of) Hinnom"), the ravine in the south of ancient Jerusalem (Josh. 15:8; 18:16). Since it had been defiled by being the site of the Topheth worship of Molech (II Kings 23:10; Jer. 32:35; etc.), Jeremiah cursed the place and predicted that, at the Babylonian destruction of Jerusalem, this valley would be filled with the corpses of the city's inhabitants, to be burned there and rot like "dung upon the face of the earth" (Jer. 7:32–8:3; 19:6; 31:40). Trito-Isaiah (Isa. 66:24) clearly alludes to these sayings in Jeremiah, even though he does not use the word "Gehenna," when he speaks of the eschatological punishments of the wicked: "And they shall go forth, and look upon the carcasses of the men that have rebelled against me; for their worm shall not die, neither shall their fire be quenched; and they shall be an abhorrence unto all flesh."

The intertestamental writings add further gruesome details to the torments suffered by the wicked in this fiery pit, where their bodies burn eternally, although, incongruously, they are, at the same time, rotting away with worms and maggots (cf. IV Ezra 7:36; I En. 27:2; 48:9; 54:1; 90:26–27; 103:8; Ass. Mos. 10:19; II Bar. 85:12–13).

Eschatological Paradise. The term "paradise" is from the Greek word that the Septuagint uses to translate the Hebrew term, Gan Eden ("the Garden of Eden"). Since the earlier prophets had depicted, in figurative terms, the eschatological bliss of "the new earth" as a return to the original peace and joy of the Garden of Eden before Adam's sin (cf. Isa. 11:6–9; 51:3; Ezek. 36:35), the intertestamental writers call the place where the righteous are to enjoy endless bliss "the Garden of Eden" (IV Ezra 4:7; 7:36, 123; 8:52; II En. 42:3; 65:10). It is not identical with "heaven" as God's abode. But just as Gehenna is pictured as having several levels, one lower than the other, so the eschatological paradise has at least three levels (I En. 8), one higher than the other, the uppermost being nearest to God's abode in heaven. As in the case of Gehenna, so also in regard to the eschatological paradise there is inconsistency in these writings concerning the time when the just enter this place of paradisiacal bliss, whether immediately after death, or only at the resurrection.

One of the features of the eschatological paradise, at least during the "messianic millennium," is the participation in the messianic banquet (based on Isa. 25:6; cf. the Qumran literature below, and Matt. 8:11). A special privilege at this banquet in the world to come is to be seated at the side of Abraham (Test. Patr., Abraham 20; cf. Luke 16:26; the poor man Lazarus in "Abraham's bosom").

Dead Sea Scrolls

The writings composed by the *Essene community that lived at Qumran from approximately 150 B.C.E. to 68 or 70 C.E., generally called "the *Dead Sea Scrolls," can from a merely chronological viewpoint be classified with the intertestamental literature; yet, because of their unique importance for revealing the specifically Essene concepts of eschatology, they are here given separate treatment.

IMMINENCE OF THE END OF DAYS. The presumably Essene community of Jews that had its headquarters at the site now known as Khirbat Qumrān, near the northwestern shore of the Dead Sea, was very concerned with eschatology. Its life was organized by austere rules, especially by an exact observance of the various precepts of the Torah, particularly those concerning ritual purity, so that this would hasten the coming Day of the Lord and, at the same time, make the members of the community ready to stand at God's awesome tribunal on that day. They lived in the barren Desert of Judah, not merely because they had fled from Jerusalem and its Temple on account of what they considered the illegitimacy of the Hasmonean high priests and their successors who were appointed by the conquering Romans, but more particularly because they thus sought to carry out literally the command (originally intended merely in a metaphorical sense) of Isaiah 40:3: "Clear ye in the wilderness the way of the Lord" (cf. 1QS 8:12–14; 9:19). They were convinced that they were living "at the end of the era of wickedness" (CD 6:10, 14; 12:23; 14:19), which was soon to be followed by "the era of (divine) favor" (1QH 15:5). They believed that they were living in the "last days" foretold long ago by the ancient prophets; and, therefore, they held that their anonymous founder, whom they called the *Moreh Ẓedek* "Teacher of Righteousness" (probably to be understood as "the right teacher," i.e., the one who explained the Torah correctly), had been raised up by God "to make known to the later generations what He would do in the last generation" (CD 11:12). Their *pesher* ("commentary") on Habakkuk 2:1–2 says: "Its interpretation concerns the Teacher of Righteousness, to whom God made known all the secrets of the words of His servants the prophets" (1QpHab 7:4–5). The Qumran community apparently expected "the end" to come 40 years after the death of their founder (CD 20:14–15), during which period the wicked in Israel would be destroyed by God (CD 20:15–16). However, when the members of the community were disappointed in the nonfulfillment of this expectation, they admitted that only God knows when the end will come. So the writer of the *pesher* on Habakkuk 2:3a says: "Its interpretation is that the final end may be prolonged, indeed longer than anything of which the prophets spoke, for the secrets (or mysteries) of God are for wondrous fulfillment" (1QpHab 7:7–8). The interpreter, therefore, says on Habakkuk 2:3b: "Its meaning concerns the men of truth, who carry out the Law (Torah) and do not let their hands grow too weak to serve the truth, despite the final end being long drawn out; for all the limits set by God will come in their due time, as He has set for them in His mysterious wisdom" (1QpHab 7:10–14).

ESCHATOLOGICAL WAR. Before "the end" there will be, according to the Qumranites, a great eschatological war, waged not only against the powers of evil but also against all wicked men, not excluding the wicked of Israel. In fact, the Qumranites placed in the latter class all the Jews who did not belong to their community. They alone were "the remnant of Israel" (CD 1:4–5), God's "chosen ones" (1QM 8:6). They called themselves "the Sons of Light"; all others were "the Sons of Darkness." This ethical dualism, perhaps influenced by Persian thought (though not foreign to the older Hebrew Scriptures), is typical of Qumran theology: "He [God] created man to rule the world, and He set for him two spirits by which he would walk until the appointed time of His visitation; these are the spirits of truth and perversity" (1QS 3:17–19).

The eschatological war, besides being referred to in other Qumran writings, is described at great length and in great detail in a fairly well-preserved scroll of 19 columns to which the title "The War of the Sons of Light against the Sons of Darkness" has been given. This document is a strange mixture of sound military tactics combined with idealistic warfare, in which God and His angels fight on the side of the Sons of Light against Belial (Satan) and his evil spirits, who come to the aid of the Sons of Darkness. The good fight is waged also against Gog and Magog (cf. Ezek. 38:1–39:20), here merely symbols of the powers of evil. It seems, therefore, that this eschatological war is to be viewed as waged on a transcendental plane, despite the elaborate rules based on mundane battles; the Essenes of Qumran, like their predecessors the Hassideans of Hasmonean times (cf. I Macc. 7:13–17; and perhaps Dan. 11:34), were not militarists. They trusted more in the power of God than in the force of arms. In the end God would be victorious, and then the messianic age would begin.

MESSIANISM. The "Teacher of Righteousness" did not regard himself, nor did his disciples regard him, as a Messiah. In fact, there is little messianism in the earliest Qumran documents. However, when the 40 years had elapsed after the death of their founder and "the end" had not yet come, the Qumran writers speak more often of the ultimate salvation that would come with the appearance of the Messiah: "the coming of the prophet and the Messiahs (*meshiḥe* – note the plural) of Aaron and Israel" (1QS 9:11; cf. 4QTestimonia).

For the Jews of that time the Hebrew term, *ha-Mashi'aḥ*, "The Messiah" (lit. "the Anointed One"), did not have the same connotations that its Greek translation, *Christos*, had for Christians. From certain other passages, in the Qumran writings it appears quite certain that this community, which was fundamentally a priestly one, expected an especially anointed high priest ("the Messiah of Aaron") as well as an especially anointed lay ruler ("the Messiah of Israel"). It should be noted that in the Cairo Damascus Document (CD 7:20) the royal Messiah is not called a "king," but a "prince" (*nasi*, in keeping with Ezek. 34:24; 37:25; etc.). The concept of two Messiahs, one royal and one priestly, probably goes back to Zechariah 4:14: "These are the two anointed ones that stand by the Lord of the whole earth" (said of Zerubbabel of the Davidic line and of the priest Joshua). On the presence and precedence of the royal Messiah and the priestly Messiah at the eschatological "messianic banquet," see below.

It is not clear what the Qumranites meant by the "prophet" who precedes these two Messiahs. He may be the "prophet like Moses" foretold in Deuteronomy 18:15, 18, since the Qumranites believed they were living or were to live under a "new covenant" (CD 8:35 – the term, no doubt, borrowed from Jer. 31:31); or he may be Elijah (on the basis of Mal. 3:23), in whom the Qumranites were interested.

FUTURE LIFE. Although the Qumran community possessed and, therefore, apparently prized several of the books of the so-called intertestamental literature mentioned above – Jubilees, Enoch, Testaments of Levi and Naphtali, etc. – its own compositions, at least as far as now known, betray relatively little concern with the future world after death. They do not use the terms, "this world," and "the coming world," to designate the present and the future eras. There is no explicit mention of the resurrection of the bodies of their deceased members, but neither is there any denial of such a belief. Perhaps it was taken for granted, or it was left as one of God's mysteries about which they should not speculate. However, they do say the righteous "will share the lot of God's Holy Ones," i.e., the angels (1QH 11:11–12), and they are to enjoy "everlasting" bliss (see below).

The Qumran writings often speak of "the end" (*Keẓ*), i.e., of the present era (1QS 3:23; 4:18, 25; CD 4:9–10; 20:15; 1QpHab 7:2; etc.). The end will be preceded by the "pangs" of the premessianic era (1QH passim), by cosmic storms (1QH 3:13–16), and by a cosmic conflagration (1QH 3:29–31; cf. 1QM 14:17). At "an appointed time of decisive judgment" (*mo'ed mishpat neḥerashah*: 1QS 4:20) God will judge both angels and men (1QH 7:28–29), for in the present era there are both good and evil spirits (1QS 3:20–22).

RETRIBUTION. Whereas the writings of the Qumran community do not mention either a "Gehenna" for the wicked or a "Garden of Eden" for the just in the afterlife, they do, apparently, speak of the punishment of the wicked as an everlasting death, and reward of the just as an eternity of bliss: "The doors of the Pit will be closed upon those who are pregnant with wickedness, and the bars of eternity upon all the spirits of worthlessness" (1QH 3:18). "But the reward of all those who walk in it [the way of truth] will be a healing remedy and abundant well-being in a long life and a fruitfulness of seed, together with all the blessings of eternity and everlasting bliss in life forever, and a crown of glory with a recompense of majesty in light everlasting" (1QS 4:6–8).

NEW TEMPLE. Because of God's promise of "new heavens and a new earth" (Isa. 65:17), the apocalyptic writings sometimes speak of a new Jerusalem with its new temple as coming down from heaven to the earth. Since the Qumran community was basically a priestly one, it was naturally interested in a new temple for the messianic age of bliss on earth. Even the so-called War Scroll gives instructions on how the priests and levites are to function in the new temple (1QM 2:1–6). But, surprisingly, the new temple of the Qumranites is not thought of as coming down ready-made from heaven, but as built by themselves according to a new plan revealed by God.

The *Temple Scroll, like the Torah, is written as if dictated by God to Moses. Besides giving various precepts concerning ritual purity, festivals, sacrifices, etc., it presents detailed prescriptions for the construction of the new temple and its surrounding courts. The resulting construction differs from all the previous temples – of Solomon, of Zerubbabel, and of Herod, and even from the idealistic temple of Ezekiel 40:1–42:20.

To understand the relationship between this proposed man-made temple and "the house that He [God] will make for you at the end of days," as mentioned in certain Qumran *pesharim*, one must remember that the Qumran community lived a quasi-sacramental life: their cultic acts both prepared for, and symbolized, the full reality that would come to pass in the messianic age. This is likewise the case in regard to the so-called messianic banquet at Qumran.

MESSIANIC BANQUET. The midday and evening meals at Qumran were cultic acts. Those who were ritually unclean or who were penalized for various faults could not be present at them. The Davidic Messiah and the Priest (or Aaronic Messiah) are depicted as already present at these repasts, even though this would not be actually true until "the end of days."

The protocol of these eschatological meals is described in 1QSa 2:11–22: "This is the (order of the) seating of 'the Men of the Name who are invited to the Feast' (a phrase based on Num. 16:2, but with Qumranite interpretation) for the council of the community, if … [?] the Messiah with them. The priest shall come in at the head of the whole assembly of Israel, and all the ancestral leaders of the Aaronide priests…; and they shall take their seats, each one according to his rank. After that, the Messiah of Israel shall come in; and the head of the thousands of Israel shall take their seats, each one according to his rank." The text then continues with instructions on the blessing of the bread and wine by the priest, who is the first to partake of them, followed by the Messiah of Israel, and finally by "all the assembly of the community." This rite is to be observed when at least ten men are present. One striking element in this ritual is the precedence given to the priestly Messiah over the royal (lay) Messiah – which would be expected in such a sacerdotally oriented community. Another important feature is that this ceremony is to be observed even when only a *minyan* is present. This ritual meal, therefore, is both a foreshadowing and a quasi-sacramental anticipation of the great eschatological messianic banquet that is often referred to in other religious writings of the period (e.g., the New Testament).

From its earliest beginnings in God's promises to the patriarchs until the dispersion of the Jews after the destruction of the Second Temple, Israel always kept alive its eschatological hopes and expectations, based both on a belief in God's justice and on an optimism that, with God's help, good would ultimately triumph over evil in the world.

[Louis F. Hartman]

IN THE TALMUDIC PERIOD

The eschatology of the Talmud and the Midrash is based upon that of the Bible and is very similar to that of the Apocrypha. A distinction is generally made between "the days of the Messiah" and "the world to come." The former is regarded as the transition stage to the world to come, and various periods are mentioned for it: 40, 70 ("those generations"), 365 ("as the days of the solar year"), and 400 years (Sanh. 99a; Sif. Deut. 310) as in Esdras (IV Ezra). A late *baraita* states that this world will exist for "6,000 years, of which the first 2,000 will be a period of desolation, 2,000 of Torah, and the last 2,000 the messianic era" (Sanh. 97a–b; Av. Zar. 9a). There is also a view that "4,291 years after the creation, the world will be orphaned"; when there will break out "the war of the great sea-monsters" (almost certainly referring to the civil wars of the Roman Empire during the period of its decline and fall), "the war of Gog and Magog," etc.; "And the Holy One Blessed Be He will renew his world only after 7,000 years" (Sanh. 97b). Not only the year of redemption but even the very month and day was fixed by those "who calculated the end" (*ibid.*) – the 14th day of Nisan, according to R. Joshua (Mekh., Pisḥa 14) whose view is accepted in preference to that of R. Eliezer.

Since, however, these calculations did not prove true, the scholars proceeded to enumerate among "the seven things hidden from men" "when the Davidic dynasty will return, and when the guilty kingdom will fall" (Pes. 54b; Mekh., Va-Yassa 5). Moreover the Messiah was included among the "three things that will come unawares" (Sanh. 97a). When Jonathan b. Uzziel wanted to reveal the "messianic end" in his translation of the Hagiographa "a heavenly voice was heard to say 'enough!'" (Meg. 3a). There is an even more striking saying from a period later than that of the early *tannaim*: "May the bones of those who calculate the end rot. For they say: Since the time has arrived and he has not come, he will never come" (Sanh. 97b). At a still later period it was enunciated that: "All the calculated times have gone and everything depends upon repentance and good deeds" (*ibid.*). Moreover the children of Israel were even placed under an oath "not to make known the end, and not forcibly to hasten the advent of the end" (Ket. 111a).

[Joseph Gedaliah Klausner]

IN KABBALAH

Introduction

Apart from basic ideas concerning reward and punishment, life after death, the *Messiah, redemption, and resurrection, there is hardly a commonly held belief among the Jews regarding eschatological details. This lacuna provided an obvious opportunity for free play for the imaginative, the visionary, and the superstitious, and so became the field in which the kabbalists left their mark: for they dealt extensively with just these concepts. It is understandable that with such scope they could never arrive at a decision which was acceptable to all, and thus various trends developed. From fairly simple beginnings, eschatological teaching developed in the *Zohar, and in the kabbalistic works which followed it, and it had many ramifications.

Life after Death

Of great importance here are the views of *Naḥmanides in *Sha'ar ha-Gemul* on the Zohar, and of the Lurianic school as they are crystallized in the great summary of Aaron Berechiah b. Moses of Modena, *Ma'avar Yabbok.* Generally speaking, they stress, after the time of Naḥmanides, the differing fates of the three parts of the soul, which are separated from one another after death. The *nefesh* (the lowest part) remains below by the grave, and suffers punishment for transgressions after the first judgment, which is called *ḥibbut ha-kever* ("punishment of the grave") or *din ha-kever* ("judgment of the grave"). The *ru'aḥ* is also punished for its sins, but after 12 months, it enters the earthly Garden of Eden, or "the Garden of Eden below." The *neshamah* returns to its source in "the Garden of Eden above"; for, according to the Zohar, the *neshamah* is not liable to sin, and punishment falls only upon the *nefesh* and the *ru'aḥ* (although other opinions exist in early Kabbalah). In certain cases the *nefashot* ascend to the category of *ruḥot*, and *ruḥot* to the category of *neshamot.* The *ẓeror ha-ḥayyim* ("the bond of life"), in which the *neshamot* are stored, is interpreted in various ways. It is the concealed Eden, prepared for the delight of the *neshamot;* it is the "treasury" beneath the throne of glory in which the *neshamot* are stored until the resurrection; or it is one of the *sefirot*, or even their totality, into which the *neshamah* is gathered when it is in communion and bound up with God. There are a large number of descriptions in kabbalistic literature of the details and the various degrees of punishment in the abodes of *Gehinnom*, and of pleasure in the Garden of Eden and its various standards. They dealt with the problem of how the *ruḥot* or the *neshamot* could have any experience without physical faculties; what kind of garment the *ruḥot* wore, and the method of their survival. (According to some, the garment of the *ruḥot* was woven of the commandments and good deeds, and was called *ḥaluka de-rabbanan* ("the garment of the rabbis").) Naḥmanides called the domain of pleasure after death *olam ha-neshamot* ("the world of souls"), and distinguished it absolutely from the *olam haba* ("the world to come"), which would be after the resurrection. This distinction was generally accepted by the Kabbalah. In the "world of souls," the *neshamot* are not incorporated into the Divine, but preserve their individual existence. The idea of punishment in *Gehinnom* (which was envisaged as a subtle spiritual fire which burned and purified the souls) conflicted to no uncertain way with the idea of atonement through transmigration (**Gilgul*). There was no settled opinion on the question of which sin was punished by *Gehinnom*, and which by transmigration. One can only say that with the development of the Kabbalah transmigration took on an ever more important role in this context. Both the Garden of Eden and *Gehinnom* were beyond this world, or on the borders of it, whereas the theory of transmigration ensured reward and punishment in large measure in this world. Kabbalists sought various compromises between these two paths, but they came to no agreed solution. Attempts were also made to remove the whole subject of *Gehinnom* from its literal sense and to interpret it either according to the view of *Maimonides, or metaphorically as referring to transmigration. The eschatology of the Kabbalah, and particularly that of the Zohar, was greatly influenced by the idea of the preexistence of souls. The existence of the soul in "the world of souls" is nothing more than its return to its original existence before its descent into the body.

The Messiah and Redemption

The Messiah receives a special emanation from the *sefirah malkhut* ("kingship"), the last of the *sefirot.* However, there is no trace of the concept of the divinity of the Messiah. The picture of the personal Messiah is pale and shadowy and does not add much to the descriptions of him in the Midrashim of redemption which were composed before the growth of the Kabbalah. In the Zohar, there are a few new elements. According to the Zohar, the Messiah dwells in the Garden of Eden in a special palace, called *kan ẓippor* ("the bird's nest"), and he will first be revealed in Upper Galilee. Some believed that the soul of the Messiah had not suffered transmigration, but was "new," while others contended that it was the soul of Adam (the first man) which had previously transmigrated to King David. The letters of Adam (*alef, dalet*, *mem*) refer to Adam, David, and the Messiah – a *notarikon* found from the end of the 13th century. There is possibly some Christian influence here because, according to Paul, Adam, the first man, corresponds to Jesus, "the last man" (Rom. 5:17). Descriptions of redemption in the Zohar follow in the footsteps of the Midrashim with the addition of some points and certain changes in theme. The redemption will be a miracle, and all that accompanies it miraculous (the stars sparkling and falling, the wars of the end of time, the fall of the Pope, who is called symbolically in the Zohar "the priest of On"). The idea of the pangs of redemption is greatly stressed, and the condition of Israel on the eve of redemption is pictured in terms which reflect the historical conditions of the 13th century. Descriptions of the redemption became more numerous at times of crisis, and particularly after the expulsion from Spain. However, in the later Kabbalah (Moses of *Cordovero and Isaac *Luria), their importance declined. On the other hand, the mystical basis of redemption was emphasized – the basis that developed from the time of Naḥmanides and his school and which centered on the midrashic view that redemption would be a return to that perfection which was sullied by the sin of Adam and Eve. It would not be something entirely new, but a restoration, or a renewal. Creation at the time of redemption would assume the form that was intended from the beginning by the eternal intellect. Only at the redemption would there be a revelation of the original nature of Creation which has become obscured or impaired in this world. Hence, the extreme utopian character of these ideas. In the Divine realm, the state of redemption is expressed as the end of the "exile of the *Shekhinah*," the restoration of the divine unity throughout all areas of existence. ("In that day the Lord shall be One, and His name One" – hence the view that the true unity of God will be revealed only in the time to come, while during the years of exile it is as if sin had rendered His unity imperfect.) At the time of redemption there will be a continuous union of king and queen, or of the *sefirot Tiferet* and *Shekhinah*; that is to say that there will be an unceasing stream of Divine influence through all worlds, and this will bind them eternally together. The hidden secrets of the Torah will be revealed, and the Kabbalah will be the literal sense of the Torah. The messianic age will last approximately a thousand years, but many believed that these years would not be identical with human years, for the planets and the stars would move more slowly, so that time would be prolonged (this view was particularly current in the circle of the *Sefer ha-*Temunah* ("Book of the Image"), and it has origins in the Apocryphal books). It is obvious, on the basis of these theories, that the kabbalists believed that the natural order would change in the messianic era (unlike the view of Maimonides). As to the problem of whether the redemption would be a miracle or the logical result of a process already immanent, kabbalistic opinion was divided. After the expulsion from Spain, the view gradually prevailed that the appearance of the Messiah would be a symbolic event. Redemption depended on the deeds of Israel, and on the fulfillment of its historic destiny. The coming of the redeemer would testify to the completion of the "restoration," but would not cause it.

Resurrection at the End of the World

The Kabbalah does not cast any doubt on the physical resurrection of the dead, which will take place at the end of the days of redemption, "on the great day of judgment." The novel expositions of the kabbalists revolved round the question of the fate of those who were to be resurrected. Naḥmanides taught that after a normal physical life the resurrected body would be purified, and be clothed in *malakhut* ("the garments of the angels"), and, thereby, pass into the future spiritual world, which would come into being after the destruction of this world; and this new world would appear after the resurrection. In the world to come the souls and their "spiritualized" bodies would be gathered together in the ranks of the *sefirot*, in the true "bond of life." According to Naḥmanides, the souls, even in this state, would preserve their individual identity. But afterward other views emerged. The author of the Zohar speaks of "holy bodies" after the resurrection, but does not state his specific view of their future except by allusion. One widespread view identified the world to come with the *sefirah Binah* and its manifestations. After the life of pleasure experienced by the resurrected, this world would be destroyed, and some say that it would return to chaos ("waste and void") in order to be recreated in a new form. Perhaps the world to come would be the creation of another link in the chain of "creations" or *shemitot* ("sabbaticals"; according to the view of the author of *Sefer ha-Temunah*) or even the creation of a spiritual existence through which all existing things ascend to reach the world of the *sefirot*, and return to their primeval being, or their "higher source." In the "Great Jubilee," after 50,000 years, everything will return to the bosom of the *sefirah Binah*, which is also called the "mother of the world." Even the other *sefirot*, through which God guides creation, will be destroyed with the destruction of creation. In contrast to the teaching of the author of *Sefer ha-Temunah* concerning the creation of worlds according to a fixed cycle (*Baḥya ben Asher speaks of 18,000 jubilees), most of the kabbalists maintained that there would be only one creation, and, correspondingly, only one eternal "world to come." The contradiction of having two judgments on man's fate, one after death, and the other after resurrection, one of which would appear to be superfluous, caused some kabbalists to restrict the great Day of Judgment to the nations of the world, while the souls of Israel, in their view, would be judged immediately after death.

[Gershom Scholem]

IN ISLAM

Introduction

From the beginning of Muhammad's prophetic career, he was impressed with eschatological ideas about the descriptions of the occurrences which were to take place on the last day. Contending that the "insured children of Abraham [the Jews]" did not feel the crushing terror of God's last judgment, J. Wellhausen concluded that Muhammad must have been greatly influenced by Christian eschatological ideas, especially the descriptions of the punishment of the sinners as they were spread in Arabia by monks and hermits who lived in the deserts of the Arabian peninsula. However after a thorough examination of Koranic material, T. Andrae concluded that Wellhausen's assumption has no foundation in the Koran. No decisive judgment can be made as to which religion – Judaism or Christianity – was more influential in Muhammad's formulation of an eschatology. In any event, it may be added that the same ideas are to be found in the poems of Jews in Arabia, and the works of the **ḥanīfs* and contemporary pagan poets. The texts found among the Dead Sea Scrolls show that these ideas were familiar to Jewish circles in pre-Christian times. Thus, it is probable that the beliefs about resurrection, the last judgment, paradise, and hell were current in Arabia among Jews, Christians, and Arabs alike. It is therefore not astonishing that Koranic eschatological descriptions and beliefs have parallels in the Apocrypha, the *aggadah*, and the apocalypses.

The Day of Judgment

On many occasions Muhammad repeats the descriptions of *yawm al-qiyāma* ("the day of resurrection"), an expression which occurs 70 times (e.g., 2:79, 107; 16:125; 58:19; 75:1–35), and *al-sāʿa* ("the hour"), 40 times (e.g., 6:31, 40; 79:42). He also uses many other names for that day, e.g., *yawm al-ḥisāb* ("day of reckoning"; 38:15, 25, 53), and describes it in many different fashions. On that day all men come back to life to be judged (28:85; 77:13–14); it will be a day of great calamity, when everyone will try to flee, so that "the leg shall be bared" (68:42; i.e., the loins will be girded for flight); on that day the trumpets (of resurrection) shall be blown (6:73). According to Sura 69:13, "the trumpet shall be blown with one blast," but Sura 39:68 states that the trumpet shall be blown twice: at the first sound "those who are in the heavens and in the earth shall swoon, save whom God pleases. Then it shall be blown again and, lo! they shall stand up and look on." This *āya* ("verse") was of great importance for later descriptions of the last judgment: the sound of the trumpet will be followed by an earthquake (78:18); all this will occur "as the twinkling of an eye, or nigher still!" (16:79); at the second sound all the dead will return to life and gather at the *al-maḥshar* ("the gathering place"). Later Muslim tradition states that this gathering will take place in Jerusalem (see below): Allah will come to the judgment with a host of angels; the scales will be set up for the exact weighing of the good deeds (7:7–8) and "no soul shall be wronged at all" (21:48); the books of the deeds of every individual will be opened and the reckoning made (10:62; 80:11–15; 89:7–12); Allah himself will judge or every sinner will bear witness against himself (17:14–15; 36:65; 69:19, 25–27; 89:13, 23); the *ṣirāṭ* (37:23), the way to hell, will lead the sinners to their place of punishment. The prevailing opinion in the Koran is that intercession (*shafāʿa*) will not avail the sinner (2:45, 255; 74:49; cf. Ps. 49:8) because man must face his Judge alone. Nevertheless, the Judge, Allah, the Merciful, can allow intercession (2:256; 19:90). According to the **ḥadīth* Muhammad can intercede for the believers and his intercession will be helpful.

Retribution

Descriptions of the last day are related to those dealing with the lot of the sinners and the righteous: on that "overwhelming day" the sinners shall be "humble, laboring, toiling – shall broil upon a burning fire; shall be given to drink from a boiling spring! no food shall they have save from the foul thorn, which shall not fatten nor avail against hunger! [But the faithful] shall be comfortable … in a lofty garden wherein they shall hear no foolish word; wherein is a flowing fountain; wherein are couches raised on high, and goblets set down, and cushions arranged, and carpets spread" (88:1–16; cf. also 67:7–8). In some suras the bright and large-eyed virgin maids (the *houri*) are mentioned. They take part in the banquets arranged in paradise and some are wedded to the pious (e.g., 44:54; 55:70–74; 56:15–22).

Muhammad was greatly concerned with the concept of hell (*jahannam*; Heb. *gei-hinnom,* cf. Josh. 15:8; 18:16), but his descriptions of it are not clearly defined. *Jahannam* is seen as something mobile, possibly a monster which swallows the sinners (cf. 67:8; 89:23–24). Muhammad's conception of paradise (usually called *janna* ("garden"), but twice named *firdaws* or *jannat al-firdaws*, 18:107; 23:11) is much clearer, and is of a very material nature. Later Muslim traditionalists and theologians found in his descriptions many difficulties which had to be elaborated, explained, and adapted to philosophical and ethical trends.

Resurrection

Among the signs of the resurrection the *ḥadīth* mentions the appearance of the *Dajjāl* – the arch foe of the true Believers – and the descent of ʿĪsa (Jesus Christ) at the "hour" (cf. Sura 43:61). Later eschatological descriptions assign a special role to the Temple Mount, the Valley of Hinnom, and the Mount of Olives. According to ʿAbdallah ibn Salām, a Jew from Medina who embraced Islam after Muhammad's arrival in that city, the *ṣirāṭ* – the narrow bridge over the Valley of Hinnom which all creatures must cross on judgment day – extends between the Mount of Olives and the Temple area (where the Lord will take His stand on that day); according to the basic writings of Islam it is a real bridge, which a Muslim is required to believe in. A certain area of the Mount of Olives is called *sāhira*, where men will assemble at the hour of resurrection – its soil is white and no blood has ever been shed on it. Obviously, these places are particularly suitable as burial places of prophets, as they relieve them of the necessity of performing the "subterranean journey" to Jerusalem and enable them to be the first to be resurrected. According to Islamic tradition, many Muslim mystics, saints, and heroes were buried near the Temple Mount or on the Mount of Olives, evidently so that they, too, might be among the first to rise on the day of resurrection. A special place in eschatological descriptions is reserved for the *Dajjāl*, Allah's enemy (the *Armilus of the Jewish legend and the *Antichrist of Christianity), and for the War of Yājūj and Mājūj (*Gog and Magog). These legends embody many reminiscences of Jewish and Christian stories. The *Dajjāl* will wage war and conquer the entire world, except three cities – Mecca, Medina, and Jerusalem; the battles of the *Dajjāl* will be similar to the battles of Yājūj, which will be fought in the neighborhood of Jerusalem. In eschatological descriptions, Muslim writers created many new legends. Though devoting a great deal of space to this subject, the Koran never mentions any definite place. Tradition filled the gap by assigning the locale to Jerusalem and its surroundings. Books are extant – outstanding among them are the *Kitāb al-Zuhd* ("Book of Asceticism") and the *Kitāb Aḥwāl al-Qiyāma* ("Book of the Phases of Resurrection") – which mainly consist of descriptions of the resurrection: the angel Isrāfīl will sound three trumpet blasts, whereupon all mankind will assemble at the gathering place on the Mount of Olives. Gabriel will move paradise to the right side of Allah's Throne and hell to the left side. Abraham, Moses, Jesus, and Muhammad will stand to the right of the scales of justice; the angel Raḍwān will open the gates of paradise and the angel Malik will open the gates of hell. The bridge (*ṣirāṭ*) which all men must cross is long and slippery and narrower than a hair, sharper than a sword, and blacker than night; it has seven arches, and on each arch men are questioned about their deeds. Particularly interesting – in view of parallels in later midrashic literature – are the four mountains associated with the day of resurrection: Khalīl (i.e., Hebron), Lebanon, Ṭūr (the Mount of Olives), and Jūdī (Ararat), each of which will shine like a white pearl, with incomparable splendor, between heaven and earth. They will stand at the four corners of the Temple. With the exception of those concerning the *ṣirāṭ*, which seems to be of Persian origin, these legends are based on Jewish or Christian conceptions (e.g., 1 En. 26–27; Av. Zar. 2b).

[Haïm Z'ew Hirschberg]

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ESCHELBACHER, JOSEPH (1848–1916), author and rabbi in Bruchsal, Baden (1870–1900), and Berlin. His main work, *Das Judentum und das Wesen des Christentums*, was written in answer to Adolf von Harnack; others include a biography of Jehiel Michael Sachs and a work on the attitude to the Jews revealed by contemporary Protestant theology. His son MAX (1880–1964), rabbi in Bruchsal, Freiburg, and Duesseldorf (1913–39), published comparative studies on Jewish law and a book on the Duesseldorf community. In 1939 he escaped to England, where he remained until his death.

ESCUDERO, LORENZO (d. apparently in 1682), convert to Judaism and polemist. He was born in Córdoba (Spain) to Old Christian parents. He left his wife in Seville when he was 40 years old and apparently married an English woman who converted later on to Judaism. Later, he went to Amsterdam, studied Judaism, and in due course was converted, being known henceforth as Abraham Israel Peregrino (i.e., "the convert") or Abraham Guer (Ger) de Cordova. After the Portuguese community in Amsterdam refused to convert him, he applied to the Ashkenazi community, which agreed to do so. He was circumcised in 1658. Subsequently, the Portuguese community changed its attitude towards the new convert. Although a skilled fencer and able musician, he spent the rest of his life in penury. Perhaps he served as *shamash* in the Portuguese synagogue. After his conversion, he was invited to the wedding of Emperor Leopold and Marguarita Maria in Brussels, despite the prohibition of Philip IV, Margarita's father, of Jews to dwell in his Flemish territory. It is astonishing that a convert to Judaism was invited to Spanish-ruled Flanders. Attempts in Brussels to bring him back to Christianity failed. He adopted a very daring attitude towards Christian lay and religious leaders and he challenged Alonso de Cepeda to participate in the debate with Isaac Orobio de Castro. He lived in London from 1655 to 1659, when he was denounced to the Lisbon Inquisition. Abraham Guer was converted out of conviction, but he was not the author of *Fortaleza del Judaismo y confusion del estraño* as suggested by some scholars, including Cecil Roth (prob. Amsterdam, c. 1680), of which manuscript translations exist in Italian and in Hebrew (under the title *Ẓeri'aḥ Bet El*). According to his own testimony he was attracted to Judaism under the influence of the Dominican Fray Luis de Granada, whose spiritualism and attack against Christian "physical ritual" attracted both old and new Christians. *Copia da vida do bemaventurado Abraham Pelengrino* (sic; formerly in the D. Henriques de Castro collection, no. 534), contrary to what Roth wrote, was written by another convert, Manuel Cardoso de Macedo, who also took the name Abraham Peregrino, who died in 1652. Daniel Levi (Miguel) de *Barrios wrote a sonnet in his honor. Escudero was not an isolated case of a Jewish convert in 17th-century Amsterdam.

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[Cecil Roth / Yom Tov Assis (2nd ed.)]

ESHEL, YITZḤAK (1912–), *ḥazzan*. Yitzḥak Eshel was born in Debrecen, Hungary. He studied in a *ḥeder* and in yeshivot, among them the Ḥatam Sofer Yeshivah in Bratislava (Pressburg). At the age of 19 he was appointed chief cantor in Munich, where he also continued to practice music and studied in the Conservatory. He served as cantor in Manchester and in his birthplace, Debrecen. In 1938 he was appointed cantor in the famous Nozyck Synagogue in Warsaw, but because of the antisemitic atmosphere he decided not to accept the position. In 1949 he immigrated to Israel where he became the cantor in the Great Synagogue in Ramat Gan. He became known throughout the country, officiating at prayer services and appearing in concerts in different parts of the country. He served as chief cantor of the Beth-El Synagogue in Tel Aviv, and in 1956 for a year was chief cantor of the Shomrei Hadass congregation in Antwerp. He moved to the United States and was appointed chief cantor of the Po'ale Zedeck Synagogue in Pittsburgh. When he returned to Israel in 1961 he was chief cantor of the central Hekhal Meir Synagogue in Tel Aviv, where he served until 1970. He founded a choir, which was led by the English-born director, Martin White. From 1970 he appeared in various synagogues in Israel and in the Diaspora and trained many young cantors. Yitzḥak Eshel has produced records of cantorial music and Yiddish songs. He is considered one of the creative cantors, while his original compositions are written in a traditional spirit. He published articles on cantorial music and other Jewish music in the journal of the Sha'arey Zedek Synagogue in Pittsburgh.

[Akiva Zimmerman]

ESHET ḤAYIL (Heb. אֵשֶׁת חַיִל; "a woman of valor"), opening words praising the virtuous woman in Proverbs 31:10–31. This poem enumerates the qualities of the ideal wife in a sequential alphabetic acrostic of 22 verses, one for each of the letters of the Hebrew alphabet. She is lauded as provident, economically successful, working hard for husband and household, and charitable to the needy. She possesses optimism, faces life with confidence, and speaks in wisdom and kindness. Her efforts enable her husband to function as a prominent communal leader, "As he sits among the elders of the land." The conclusion of the passage celebrates a woman's domestic and spiritual strengths: "Grace is deceitful, and beauty is vain, But a woman that fears the Lord, she shall be praised … and let her works praise her in the (city) gates."

In many Jewish families the song is recited or chanted on Friday evenings before the *Kiddush*. This custom originated in kabbalistic circles and initially referred to the *Shekhinah* ("Divine presence") as the mystical mother and wife. Later this devotion became a domestic ceremony in which the family paid homage to its wife and mother. Other sources maintain that *Eshet Ḥayil* refers to the Sabbath or the Torah. In some places this song was chanted at Jewish weddings. Its verses have often been used as inscriptions on tombstones of the pious; in Sephardi rituals the first verse is recited before the **Ashkavah* ("laying to rest") prayer at women's funerals.

Derashot to some of the singular verses of *Eshet Ḥayil* appear in tannaitic, talmudic, and midrashic literature. Several smaller Midrashim expound the poem in sequence, a genre which has assumed the rubric *Midreshei Eshet Ḥayil*. Some of these Midrashim interpret the entire poem as referring to Sarah. One such text appears in *Tanḥuma*, Ḥayei Sarah 4. Two additional versions, which interpret the poem until the verse "Her husband is prominent in the gates" (Prov. 31:23), appear in *Tanḥuma*, ed. Buber, Ḥayei Sarah 3, pp. 116–18, and in *Aggadat Bereshit*, ed. Buber (Cracow, 1893), ch. 34, pp. 66–69. Several *Midreshei Eshet Ḥayil* interpret each of the verses of *Eshet Ḥayil* as referring to a different biblical female personality.

The earliest surviving manuscript of *Midrash Eshet Ḥayil* was copied in 1270. This text, which was erroneously appended to the end of *Midrash Proverbs*, is actually an independent Midrash. It contains *derashot* to the first 20 verses only. The women in the first eight verses, all mentioned in the Pentateuch, are presented in chronological order: the wife of Noah, Sarah, Rebekah, Leah, Rachel, Bithiah the daughter of Pharaoh, Jocheved, and Miriam. The remaining women appear in non-chronological order. With the exception of Elisheba, the women mentioned in the latter group appear in the Prophets and Hagiographa. A critical edition of this Midrash has been prepared by Y. Levine (*Midreshei Eshet Ḥayil*, pp. 1–151).

Several *Genizah* fragments of *Midrash Eshet Ḥayil* survive. One such text was published by L. Ginzberg (*Ginzei Schechter*, 1 (1928), 163–68). Other versions have been annotated by Y. Levine (*Midreshei Eshet Ḥayil*, pp. 254–83) and M.B. Lerner (*Sefer Zikaron le-Tirzah Lifshitz*). Additionally, four Yemenite editions of *Midrash Eshet Ḥayil* containing *derashot* to the entire poem exist in their entirety. The version in *Midrash ha-Gadol*, by R. David ha-Adani, refers to the verse beginning "And the lifespan of Sarah" (Gen. 23:1) (ed. Margulies, pp. 368–74). Another edition, based on *Midrash ha-Gadol*, appears in *Midrash ha-Ḥefeẓ*, by R. Zechariah ha-Rofeh (*Midrash ha-Ḥefeẓ al Ḥamishah Ḥumshei Torah*, Bereishit–Shemot, Jerusalem, 1991, Gen. 23:1–2, pp. 163–64). An additional edition is attributed to R. Moses Albalidah and was published by Z.M. Rabinowitz in *Mi-Ẓefunot Yehudei Teiman* (1962), pp. 209–22. However, this ascription is questionable (*Midreshei Eshet Ḥayil*, p. 244).

The *Eshet Ḥayil* poem also served as the basis for many post-medieval *derashot,* in which traditional sources concerning women, primarily talmudic and midrashic, were expounded. This external form was particularly prevalent and common among Sephardi rabbis as eulogies for women. Contemporary Jewish feminists have sought to reclaim this poem and have offered new insights and interpretations.

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[Yael Levine (2nd ed.)]

ESHKOL (Shkolnik), LEVI (1895–1969), Israeli statesman and third prime minister of Israel, member of the Second to Sixth Knessets. Eshkol was born in Oratova, in the Kiev district in the Ukraine, into a prosperous ḥasidic family. As a child he studied at a *ḥeder* and with private tutors up to the age of 16, when he entered the Hebrew high school in Vilna. Eshkol joined the Ẓe'irei Zion movement in Vilna. He settled in Ereẓ Israel in 1913 and began his career as an agricultural worker and watchman. He was one of the founders of a workers' commune called *Ha-Avodah* in Petaḥ Tikvah, which then moved to a plot of land near Kalandia, north of Jerusalem, and from there to Rishon le-Zion. In 1918–20 he served in the *Jewish Legion, and after World War I was one of the founders of kevuẓat *Deganyah Bet, soon becoming its treasurer and economic planner, securing funds for its development from central labor and Zionist institutions. In later years he became active in initiating and managing various institutions within the framework of the *Histadrut. In 1921 he served on the Defense Committee of the Histadrut, and in 1922, while on a mission to Europe to acquire arms, he was arrested and detained for several weeks by the Vienna police for allegedly purchasing arms illegally. Eshkol was one of the first leaders of the *yishuv to* recognize the importance of securing an adequate supply of water for agricultural development, and was one of the founders of the *Mekorot Water Company, which he directed in the years 1937–51. In 1934 he was also one of the initiators and implementers of the *Haavarah project for transferring Jewish capital from Nazi Germany to Palestine in the form of capital goods and was sent to Berlin to oversee the arrangement. In 1940 he became a member of the National Command of the Haganah, where he was in charge of finances and played a major role in organizing illicit arms manufacturing activities. In 1942–45 Eshkol served as secretary of *Mapai, and in 1944–48 secretary of the Workers' Council of Tel Aviv. In 1947, he was among those in charge of registration in the *yishuv* for national military service in anticipation of the approaching armed struggle. He was simultaneously a member of the Negev Committee, which prepared the defense of the Negev settlements.

Eshkol was a member of the Jewish Agency Executive, its treasurer in the years 1949–51, and head of the Settlement Department in the years 1948–63, simultaneously holding ministerial posts in the governments of David *Ben-Gurion and Moshe *Sharett. As head of the Settlement Department he oversaw the establishment of 371 new settlements and the expansion of an additional 60.

In 1948–49 Eshkol served as director general of the Ministry of Defense (he was referred to as deputy minister), helping Ben-Gurion set up and organize the ministry. He was elected to the Second Knesset in 1951, serving as minister of agriculture and development in 1951–52. In 1952 he replaced Eliezer *Kaplan, who had passed away, as minister of finance, a position he held until replacing Ben-Gurion as prime minister in 1963, overseeing the implementation of the New Economic Plan introduced by Kaplan and reaping the economic benefits of the Restitution Agreement signed with West Germany in September 1952 – three months after he became minister of finance. Under his direction the Israeli economy entered two decades of rapid economic growth, with GDP rising by an average of 10 percent annually. In 1953–55, Eshkol headed Israel's delegation in negotiations with President Eisenhower's special envoy, Eric Johnston, on the allocation of water resources between Israel and its neighbors. After the Arabs rejected the Johnston Plan that emerged from these negotiations, Israel embarked on the construction of the National Water Carrier, involving the channeling of water from the Jordan River to the Negev, which Eshkol strongly supported. In 1954, when Ben-Gurion temporarily retired to Sedeh Boker, he designated Eshkol as his successor, but the Mapai institutions elected Moshe Sharett, and Eshkol continued to serve as minister of finance.

In 1960 Eshkol was a member of the cabinet committee that exonerated Pinḥas *Lavon from responsibility in the Lavon Affair, but several months later he supported Lavon's dismissal from his post as secretary-general of the Histadrut. In the following years Eshkol used all his patience, equanimity, and skill to resolve the crisis as amicably as possible. When in 1963 Ben-Gurion was finally obliged to resign as a result of the crisis, it was Eshkol who was chosen to succeed him as prime minister and minister of defense. Despite pressure by Ben-Gurion, after becoming prime minister Eshkol refused to reopen the Lavon Affair. This refusal, plus Eshkol's success in getting Mapai and *Aḥdut ha-Avodah-Po'alei Zion to form a single list – the Alignment – in the elections to the Sixth Knesset in 1965, finally caused Ben-Gurion and his supporters in Mapai to leave the party and form *Rafi, which ran independently.

Soon after becoming prime minister Eshkol reversed Ben-Gurion's policy and agreed to bring the remains of Ze'ev *Jabotinsky for burial in Israel. Eshkol was the first Israeli prime minister to visit the United States, at the invitation of U.S. president Lyndon *Johnson, and during his premiership the U.S. started selling Israel significant quantities of arms, though until the Six-Day War France remained its main source of arms. It was also Eshkol who decided to establish formal diplomatic relations with West Germany in 1965. His attempts to improve relations with the Soviet Union failed, and these relations were broken by the latter in the aftermath of the Six-Day War.

The National Water Carrier was inaugurated about a year after Eshkol became prime minister. The Arabs responded by initiating a project to divert the headwaters of the Jordan and repeatedly shelling settlements in northern Israel. In November 1964, Eshkol approved air operations (for the first time since the *Sinai Campaign) against Syrian artillery positions and the Arab diversion works. In the following two and a half years the security situation became increasingly tense, and the IDF undertook numerous operations in reaction to Syrian and Jordanian attacks and to acts of sabotage by infiltrators. A further deterioration took place in May 1967, when President Gamal Abdel *Nasser closed the Straits of Tiran to shipping bound for Eilat, called for the withdrawal of UN peacekeeping forces from the Gaza Strip, and started to amass troops in the Sinai Peninsula. Eshkol's policy was to try to avert war at any cost, but when all his efforts failed he approved preemptive action by the IDF. On the eve of the outbreak of the war, and due to growing public pressure, he invited Rafi and *Gaḥal to join a government of national unity, and handed over the defense portfolio to Moshe *Dayan, even though he had wanted to appoint Yigal *Allon to the post. After the war Eshkol did not object to Israel's returning most captured territories in return for a comprehensive peace, and in December 1967 accepted Security Council Resolution 242, which spoke of Israeli withdrawal from territories in return for recognition of its right to live in peace within secure and recognized borders. However, the Arab Summit at Khartoum in 1968 rejected any prospect of negotiations with Israel. Eshkol paid a second visit to the United States in January 1968 when President Johnson agreed to upgrade U.S. arms sales to Israel.

In the aftermath of the Six-Day War Eshkol actively supported the establishment of the Israel Labor Party, through the merging of Mapai, Aḥdut ha-Avodah-Po'alei Zion, and Rafi. The Labor Party was established in January 1968, and Levi Eshkol stood at its head until his sudden death in February 1969.

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[Susan Hattis Rolef (2nd ed.)]

ESHTAOL (Heb. אֶשְׁתָּאוֹל), biblical town in the Judean Shephelah, in the territory of the tribe of Dan, usually mentioned together with nearby Zorah (Josh. 15:33; 19:41). The Danites set out on their march to Laish from these towns (Judg. 18:2) and somewhere between were the tombs of Samson and his father Manoah (Judg. 13:25; 16:31). The *aggadah* describes the two towns as mountains facing each other (Sot. 9b). In the fourth century C.E. Eusebius mentions a village called Eshtaol in the Eleutheropolis (Bet Guvrin) district, 10 mi. (16 km.) north of the city; its location is not clear (Onom. 88:12–14). Estori ha-Parḥi (14th century) was the first to identify Eshtaol with Ishwaʿ, north of Zorah and 16½ mi. (27 km.) west of Jerusalem (*Kaftor va-Feraḥ*, 302). The ancient city was perhaps located at Tell Abu-al-Qābūs, on the hill above the village of Ishwaʿ, where remains of the Iron Age have been found. In the War of Independence (1948), the village (pop. 600) was taken during the building of the "Burma road" to Jerusalem; it had been abandoned by its inhabitants.

[Michael Avi-Yonah]

The name Eshtaol was renewed when a moshav, affiliated with Tenu'at ha-Moshavim, was founded by newcomers from Yemen, at the site of Ishwaʿ in the Judean Foothills north of Beth-Shemesh. Initially this was a work village whose settlers were employed at reclaiming the terrain for farming. Gradually, the main branches – deciduous fruit orchards, vineyards, garden crops, etc. – were developed. Near the village a forest tree nursery of the Jewish National Fund offered further employment to the settlers who also worked in nearby forests, e.g. the President's Forest commemorating Chaim *Weizmann, which served as a recreation ground. The crossroads near Eshtaol bears the name Ẓomet Shimshon ("Samson Junction"). In 1968, Eshtaol numbered 320 inhabitants, rising to 480 in the mid-1990s and 702 in 2002 as the moshav underwent expansion.

[Efraim Orni]

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ESHTEMOA (Heb. אֶשְׁתְּמוֹעַ, אֶשְׁתְּמֹה, אֶשְׁתְּמֹעַ), levitical city in the territory of Judah, south of Hebron (Josh. 15:50; 21:14; I Sam. 30:28; I Chron. 6:42) that belonged to the family of Caleb (I Chron. 4:17, 19). According to Eusebius, in the fourth century C.E. it was still a large Jewish village in the district of Bet Guvrin (Eleutheropolis; Onom. 26:11; 82:20). The site is occupied by the Arab village of al-Samūʿ where many fragments of synagogue ornamentation, such as reliefs of candelabra, have been found. Remains of an ancient synagogue were uncovered by excavations conducted by L.A. Mayer and A. Reifenberg in 1935–36.

On November 13, 1966, the Israeli army attacked the Arab village – then in Jordan with a population of about 2,500 Muslims – which was serving as the base of terrorist raiders who had committed a number of outrages in Israeli territory. The village fell into Israeli hands as a result of the *Six-Day War in 1967. Excavations by Z. Yeivin in 1969–70 led to the discovery of a mosaic pavement with an Aramaic inscription at the synagogue site. The synagogue differs in plan and details from the type common in Galilee in the third and fourth centuries C.E. It measures 40 ft. (12 m.) by 65 ft. (20 m.). Iron Age jewelry and ingots were found beneath the floor.

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[Michael Avi-Yonah]

ESKELES, family in Vienna. The name is derived from Elkesh, i.e., Olkusz, town in Krakow province. The first noted member, GABRIEL BEN JUDAH LOEW ESKELES (d. 1718), was born in Cracow. A pupil of Samuel *Koidanover, he became rabbi of Olkusz in 1684. The rabbinate of Prague was offered to him in 1683 but it is not clear if he accepted it. He became rabbi of Metz in 1695, and in 1708/9 *Landesrabbiner* ("chief rabbi") of Moravia and head of the yeshivah in Nikolsburg (Mikulov), sharing his office with David *Oppenheim. In 1712 he banned the kabbalist and Shabbatean Nehemiah *Ḥayon. Gabriel left unpublished novellae on the Talmud tractates *Shabbat* and *Megillah,* a commentary on *Avot*, and a collection of responsa (now lost), known mainly from quotations in Meir *Eisenstadt's *Panim Me'irot*.

His son ISSACHAR BERUSH (Bernard Gabriel, 1692–1753) married a daughter of Samson *Wertheimer, and, as written on his tombstone, "wrapped in a gold-trimmed cloak" became rabbi of Kremsier (Kromeriz) at the age of 18. As he absented himself frequently on business, he appointed a substitute rabbi. In 1717 he is mentioned as rabbi of Mainz. Around 1719 he settled in Vienna as court purveyor (see *Court Jews), supplying arms and other commodities. He succeeded his father as chief rabbi of Moravia and in 1725 followed Samson Wertheimer as chief rabbi of Hungary, administering both offices from Vienna. When consulted by the Moravian authorities in 1727, he suggested that they enforce the precept forbidding Jews from shaving with a razor, and advocated distinctive dress for Jews except for traveling. He translated into German the Moravian *takkanot* (published in 1880 by Gerson Wolf) for the Austrian government. His novellae on

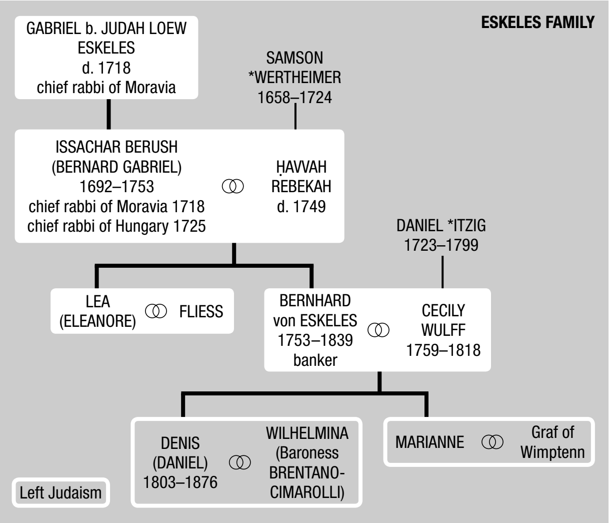
ESKELES FAMILY
GABRIEL b. JUDAH LOEW ESKELES d. 1718 chief rabbi of Moravia
SAMSON *WERTHEIMER 1658–1724
ISSACHAR BERUSH (BERNARD GABRIEL) 1692–1753 chief rabbi of Moravia 1718 chief rabbi of Hungary 1725
ḤAVVAH REBEKAH d. 1749
DANIEL *ITZIG 1723–1799
LEA (ELEANORE)
FLIESS
BERNHARD von ESKELES 1753–1839 banker
CECILY WULFF 1759–1818
DENIS (DANIEL) 1803–1876
WILHELMINA (Baroness BRENTANO-CIMAROLLI)
MARIANNE
Graf of Wimptenn
Left Judaism

tractate *Berakhot* remain unpublished. Using his influence at court, he supported Diego *d'Aguilar's efforts to prevent the expulsion of the Jews from Moravia in 1742, and from Prague and Bohemia in 1744–45. Four days before his death, he established the Eskeles-Stiftung (see below).

Issachar's son BERNHARD (1753–1839), born after his father's death, became one of the outstanding financiers in Austria at the beginning of the 19th century. After an unsuccessful start in Amsterdam, where he lost his father's legacy (over 400,000 florins), he returned in 1774 to Vienna, married Cecily Wulff (née *Itzig), and went into partnership with her brother-in-law Nathan von *Arnstein. Following the rise of his banking house and his uncovering of a banking forgery (1795), he was entrusted with government financial tasks and his advice was sought by *Joseph II and *Francis I. He founded the Austrian National Bank in 1816, and, competing with Salomon Mayer *Rothschild, promoted railway construction. Ennobled in 1797, he became a baron in 1822. It is assumed that he was the author of an anonymous exposé of the Jewish situation used by Joseph II for his *Toleranzpatent*. In 1815, he was one of the signatories of a petition for Jewish rights (see *Austria). The only Austrian Jew invited to the Napoleonic *Sanhedrin in 1806, he informed the police out of loyalty to Austria. In an obituary (AZJ, 1839, 518–9) he was attacked for failing to make sufficient use of his influence and wealth for the benefit of the Jews. Bernhard's wife CECILY (1759–1818), a daughter of Daniel Itzig, made their house a meeting place for high society (see *Salons), mainly during the Congress of *Vienna. Her parties rivaled those of her sister Fanny von *Arnstein. *Goethe made her acquaintance at Carlsbad. Bernhard and Cecily's children were baptized in 1824. DENIS (Daniel) inherited the firm, which went bankrupt in 1859, as a result of his connection with the French Crédit Mobilier. Issachar's elder daughter LEA (Eleanore) was involved in a Prussian spy scandal. Because of this Valentin Guenther (with whom she had had two children), who had played an important part in the formulation of the *Toleranzpatent*, was banished from court. In later years Goethe corresponded with her.

The Eskeles-Stiftung

Issachar established a foundation for Torah teaching to children and providing dowries for poor brides. Endowed with 50,000 florins, the foundation was one of the largest in the Hapsburg empire. When in 1782 the government ordered that it should be used for the newly founded *Normalschulen* (see *Austria, education) Bernhard sued the government, and it was agreed that the foundation should be used for its original aims as well as for the new ones. As its income had decreased considerably, Bernhard doubled the capital in 1811. In 1839 he altered the statute, adding a donation for five Moravian university-trained rabbis and ten students. The latter were required to be of Jewish faith when granted the scholarship, but they were not to lose it if they were baptized. Of the two trustees one was to be a member of the Eskeles family of any religion, who was to propose the second, a Moravian resident of Jewish religion, who could be replaced if he were baptized. The foundation's committee still existed in Brno in the 1930s.

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[Meir Lamed]

ESPINOSA, EDOUARD (1872–1950), British ballet dancer and teacher. Espinosa belonged to a renowned family of dancers and teachers, originally of Sephardi extraction. His father Léon E. (1825–1904) studied at the Paris Opera school, danced at the Théâtre de la Porte-Saint-Martin, and toured the U.S. before joining the Bolshoi Ballet in Moscow as premier danseur de contrast. He settled in London in 1872, where he opened a school. Edouard was born in London and trained by his father. He danced under Henry Irving at Lyceum Theatre, London (1891–96) and for a season (1893) under Charles *Frohman, New York. From 1896 to 1939 he was ballet master at Covent Garden and other London theaters, producing dances for numerous shows, including *Chu Chin Chow* (1916), *Maid of the Mountains* (1917), and *The Last Waltz* (1922). He was one of the founders of the Royal Academy of Dancing in 1920 and of the British Ballet Company in 1930. After his death the latter was directed by his son Eduard Kelly Espinosa (d. 1991) and daughter Ivette (d. 1992). He also wrote manuals on dance technique.

[Amnon Shiloah (2nd ed.)]

ESPINOZA, ENRIQUE (pseudonym of **Samuel Glusberg**; 1898–1987), Argentine author, publisher, and, journalist. His pseudonym combines the names of Henrich Heine and Baruch Spinoza. Born in Kishinev, Espinoza arrived in Argentina at the age of seven. He founded and edited the literary reviews *Cuadernos Americanos* (1919) and *Babel* (1921–51), first in Buenos Aires and later in Santiago de Chile, where he settled in 1935 for health and political reasons, and also founded the Babel publishing house, which launched books by new Argentinian writers. In 1945 he conducted a symposium on "the Jewish Question" among prominent Latin American intellectuals, published in *Babel* 26. He was co-founder and first secretary of the Argentine Writers' Association, and a member of avant-garde movements in literature and the arts. His short stories and articles deal with Jewish identity, immigration, antisemitism, and the Holocaust, as well as ethical and universal social issues. His contemporaries saw him as the perfect intellectual blend of cosmopolitanism and Jewishness. His best-known stories appeared in *La levita gris: cuentos judíos de ambiente porteño* (1924); and *Ruth y Noemí* (1934). His essays were collected in *De un lado y otro* (1956), *Heine, el ángel y el león* (1953), and *Spinoza, ángel y paloma* (1978).

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[Florinda Goldberg (2nd ed.)]

ESRA, organization founded January 26, 1884, with its headquarters in Berlin and its major objective to support Jewish agricultural settlers in Ereẓ Israel and Syria without the traditional **Ḥalukkah* system. At the end of 1886 a group of young Berlin Jews produced a manifesto prompted by the movement of Russian Jews to Ereẓ Israel to establish agricultural settlements, proclaiming: "These Russian Jews, who have been continually tortured and persecuted, were able to initiate this excellent project out of their intense need. Shall German Jewry, which enjoys the full protection of an impartial government, stand idly by and merely watch their efforts? We, who have had intellectual hegemony since the days of Mendelssohn, stand ashamed before Russian Jewry." The founding assembly of the Verein zur Unterstuetzung ackerbautreibender Juden in Palaestina und Syrien ("Association for the Support of Jewish Farmers in Palestine and Syria") took place in Berlin in 1884. Its early leaders were Willy *Bambus and Hirsch *Hildesheimer, the son of Rabbi Esriel Hildesheimer, who coopted the Orthodox camp into the organization. At its peak, the leaders of the organization included Otto *Warburg and Eugen *Mittwoch. The association, which had branches throughout Germany, published the newspapers *Serubabel* and **Selbstemanzipation*, pamphlets about agricultural settlement by Bambus, and the periodical, *Zion*. In 1891, the association succeeded in forming an umbrella organization for all European associations supporting settlement in Ereẓ Israel. Esra supported individual settlers in almost all agricultural villages, devoting special attention to the Qastina settlement (later Be'er Toviyyah), the Benei Yehudah colony in the Golan, Yemenite immigrants, and educational projects. When political Zionism gained momentum, the association emphasized the value of practical settlement in Palestine, while opposing Zionist political activity. Even at the end of World War I, it stated firmly that despite the "Charter" (i.e, the Balfour Declaration, to which they would not refer by name), supreme value must still be attached to settlement, without which there is no real basis for "national rights." Since the Zionist organization now began its large-scale settlement projects (inter alia, in the Jezreel Valley), the activities of Esra became superfluous. The association disappeared in the early 1920s.

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[Getzel Kressel / Bjoern Siegel (2nd ed.)]

ESSELIN, ALTER (**Artur Eselin**; pseudonym of **Ore Serebrenik**; 1889–1974), Yiddish poet. Born in Chernigov, Ukraine, Esselin immigrated to the U.S. at the age of 16, worked as a carpenter in various cities, and settled in 1925 in Milwaukee, Wisconsin. His first poems appeared in 1919 in local Yiddish newspapers (*Der Veg*, Detroit; *Kundes*, New York). In a few years, he received significant literary recognition. His poetry volumes, *Knoytn* ("Candlewicks," 1927), *Unter der Last* ("Under the Yoke," 1936), and *Lider fun a Midbernik* ("Poems of a Hermit," 1954), are marked by their sadness. He often laments his lonely vigil far from Yiddish centers and voices his pride that he earns his living with saw and hammer. Death is a frequent theme, and in a poetic epitaph he describes himself as a poet who poisoned himself with songs in which honey and arsenic were mixed. A selection of his poems, translated into English, with an introduction by his son, Joseph Esselin, appeared in 1968.

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[Sol Liptzin / Eliezer Niborski (2nd ed.)]

ESSEN (in Jewish sources: **עסא**), city in North Rhine-Westphalia, Germany. Jews are first mentioned there in the 13th century. During the *Black Death (1349) they were expelled from the city, but subsequently allowed to return. Jews are mentioned in a list of taxpayers of 1399. Between 1545 and 1578 there were no Jews in Essen. The first municipal law concerning the trades open to Jews was passed in 1598. Jurisdiction over Essen Jewry was disputed between the monastery and the municipality during the period 1662 to 1686. Although there were only seven Jews living in Essen in 1652 and 13 in 1791, a synagogue was built there in 1683 and a cemetery consecrated in 1716. Several Jewish physicians were living in Essen in this period. With the city's expansion in the mid-19th century the number of Jews rose from 19 in 1805 to 750 in 1869.

There were approximately 5,000 Jewish residents in 1930 and 4,500 (0.7% of the total population) in 1933. Jewish businesses were Aryanized and Jewish workers, no matter how prominent, were fired, including Benno Schmidt who invented stainless steel and was dismissed by Krupp and Company. The synagogue built in 1913 was desecrated by the Nazis in 1938. Seven hundred Jewish men aged 16–60 were arrested and deported to Dachau. Among the Jews not arrested were Ingo Freed and his father; Freed went on to serve as the architect of the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum. By May 17, 1939, 1,636 Jews remained in Essen. Those who had not already left were deported between 1941 and 1943. Deportations commenced when 247 Jews were sent to Lodz on October 27, 1941; 121 were sent to Minsk in November; an unknown number were deported to Riga in December; and in April 1942, 355 were sent to Izbica and from there presumably to Belzec. According to ration cards issued in 1942, there were 527 Jews left in May who were confined to the Holbeckshof camp in Essen-Steele and from there were deported to concentration camps. Two hundred ninety-four were sent to Theresienstadt on July 21. In April 1944, 39 Jews still lived in Essen, mostly people in mixed marriages. In the fall the Jewish population grew as an acute labor shortage at Krupp led to the arrival of 520 young Jews. Many later died in Bergen-Belsen. About 100 survivors returned after the war. A community was again established in Essen after the war and a synagogue was opened in 1959. There were 170 Jews living in Essen in 1970 (0.03% of the total population) and 130 in 1989. As a result of the immigration of Jews from the Former Soviet Union, their number rose to 667 in 2003.

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[Azriel Shochat]

ESSENES, a religious communalistic Jewish sect or association in the latter half of the Second Temple period, from the second century B.C.E. to the end of the first century C.E. Contemporary or near-contemporary descriptions are found in *Philo (*Every Good Man is Free*, *Hypothetica*), *Josephus (*Antiquities* and *War,* including references to individual Essenes), and Pliny the Elder (*Natural History*). Brief references from later authors are in Hegesippus (2nd century, who merely lists them, with other Jewish sects), Hippolytus (2nd–3rd century B.C.E., who seems dependent on neither Josephus nor Philo), and Synesius (4th–5th century C.E., apparently based on Pliny). Epiphanius (4th century C.E.) refers to both *Essenoi* (as a Samaritan sect) and *Ossaioi/Ossenoi*, whom he locates near the Dead Sea. The information in these sources is not always consistent. Josephus, who (improbably) claims to have been a member of the Essenes for a while, is probably less idealistic or fanciful than either Philo or Pliny, though he is relying on more than one source himself, while the latter preserve some probably reliable information. Josephus names them as one of his three main Jewish parties (*hairesis*), and according to Philo, they numbered about 4,000. According to both authors, their members lived in monastic communities; Josephus states that some married and some did not, while Philo is unclear, stating that they had children but did not "take women." Pliny says they lived "without women … or money" but seems to consider them as living in one place only, "above En-Gedi." The *Dead Sea Scrolls are widely regarded as belonging to the Essenes and if so they extend our knowledge of them considerably. There is no reference to the Essenes in the rabbinic literature, or in the New Testament, though it has frequently been suggested that *John the Baptist was influenced by Essenism since he lived, preached, and baptized beside the Jordan River only a few miles from Qumran. Some New Testament scholars also believe that the early Church may have incorporated Essene elements into its structure. The very existence of a pre-Christian Jewish quasi-monastic (and celibate) community is important for the understanding of subsequent Christian ascetic practices. A gateway and nearby district near Mt. Zion in Jerusalem has been excavated and plausibly identified as an Essene quarter (Pixner, following a suggestion from Yadin), but no absolute proof exists. Qumran is widely identified as an Essene settlement (see below); two other possible Essene locations have been proposed near the Dead Sea at Ain al-Ghuweir (by P. Bar-Adon) and above En-Gedi (by Y. Hirschfeld).

Their origins are unclear. They seem to have emerged as a distinct party, along with Sadducees and Pharisees, in the wake of the Hasmonean revolt, though all three probably have earlier roots. Some scholars regard both the Essenes and Pharisees as originating from the *ḥasidim* mentioned in connection with the Maccabean revolt; but the different *halakhah* and calendar, as well as strong criticism of apparently Pharisaic beliefs and practices, make this unlikely. It has also been suggested (Murphy-O'Connor) that they had immigrated from Babylonia at about this time or, alternatively (García Martínez), that they arose out of the Palestinian Jewish "apocalyptic movement."

The Essenes and the Dead Sea Scrolls

The Qumran scrolls have generally been interpreted as belonging to the Essenes, and their descriptions of sectarian communities cohere well with the classical sources, especially once the difference between the descriptions of the Damascus Document and the Community Rule is observed, since these differences can partly explain the discrepancies in the classical sources as well as control our interpretation of them. Thus, for instance, Josephus' account fits rather well with the many settlements (called "camps" and "cities") of the "Damascus" community, and with the existence of marrying and non-marrying orders, with the lengthy initiation procedures, attitudes towards women, limited participation in the Temple cult, and strict adherence to Torah and Sabbath; while Pliny seems to allude to the *yaḥad* described in the Community Rule, which is represented as a single and entirely celibate community – most likely that living at Qumran. Although the interpretation of the Qumran settlement is currently controversial, the site has generally been regarded as according well with the accounts of Essene lifestyle reported in the ancient sources, and this settlement has been understood either as a headquarters or a retreat center for the wider movement (Stegemann), or the home of a group that split off from the main body under the leadership of a figure named in the Qumran scrolls as the "Teacher of Righteousness." This figure is unnamed in the scrolls, but has been variously identified with known Essene figures mentioned by Josephus, in particular "Judah the Essene."

Meaning and Origin of the Name

There is a wide diversity of opinion as to the etymology of the name "Essene." Greek writers refer to them by names of which the most common are ʾΕσσηνοί and ʾΕσσαῖοι. The English "Essene" comes from the first form through the Latin. Philo invariably uses the second, and explains the name with reference to the Greek *hosioi*, while *Josephus uses both forms. Among the numerous theories that have been proposed are the following: (1) the most popular is a derivation from חסידים (*ḥasidim*, "pious"), a name used in I and II Maccabees of those especially loyal to the Torah (there are also references in rabbinic literature). Alternatively, the basis may be the Aramaic form חסיא, the plural of חסא ("pious") (the same derivation, but from Syriac, has also been proposed); (2) from Aramaic אסא, "heal," based on Josephus's account of their interest in medicinal herbs and the possible connection between Essenes and Therapeutae made by Philo. (Whether the Therapeutae should be regarded as linked to the Essenes, rather than just compared by Philo, is dubious); (3) from חשאים or חשאין ("the silent ones"), based on a passage from the Mishnah which mentions two rooms in the Temple of Jerusalem, one called the "chamber of utensils," and the other, the "chamber of חשאים" (chamber of "secrets" in H. Danby's translation). In the chamber of חשאים, the "sin-fearing ones" used to depose their gifts "in secret" and impoverished gentlefolk could help themselves to these gifts, equally in secret. This is now discarded, though it possibly fits with Josephus' statement that the Essenes sent offerings to the Temple, but offered sacrifices "by themselves" (εφ' αὑτων). Less probable are (4) from Heb. עשׂים or עשׂין "doers (of Torah"); (5) from חשן "breastplate": Josephus uses *essen* to refer to this item, and it also figures in the liturgy of the Qumran "Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice"; and (6) from the celibate priestly *Essenas* who ministered to Artemis at Ephesus (reported by Pausanius).

Rites, Practices, and Doctrines

By critically combining the evidence of the Qumran scrolls and the classical sources, the following description can be offered. The Essenes lived frugal, usually celibate, lives, supporting themselves by manual labor, generally agricultural, and practicing common ownership. They were also devoted to study of the Torah in its minutest details and performed frequent washing to maintain ritual purity (Josephus says they avoided oil, which was often used for cleaning the body). They had a rigorous and lengthy system of initiation. Unlike the Pharisees and Sadducees, they lived a segregated lifestyle with very limited contact with those outside. On the evidence of the Dead Sea Scrolls, they deemed themselves the only true Israel and regarded the religious observances of other Israelites, and especially in the Temple, as corrupt. On all these grounds they qualify to be called a "sect." Like the Pharisees, they stressed the need for personal piety and separation from the impurities of daily life, imposing on themselves levitical rules of purity: but while the Essenes (so Josephus) believed in the immortality of the soul, they rejected the Pharisaic doctrine of bodily resurrection. It has recently been proposed that the *halakhah* of the Scrolls is similar to that ascribed to Sadducees in the rabbinic literature.

The Essenes laid a strong emphasis on scrupulous obedience to the Torah, as they interpreted it. They emphasized observance of the Sabbath and the observance of festivals on the appropriate days, according to their own 364-day calendar, based on the solar year – which may explain Josephus' statement that they prayed towards the sun every morning. According to Josephus, they then worked through the greater part of the morning, then having gathered they girded themselves in white linen garments, and bathed in cold water (Jos., War, 2:129). They had their midday meal together, with a grace recited by a priest before and after the meal. The meal, eaten in a state of purity, seems to have played a very important role in sustaining the corporate identity of the sect. After working until the evening, they again ate together, in total silence. In all its activities, each Essene community was governed by rank and learning; the leaders directed the procedure, and named the persons to officiate. The Essenes zealously studied the sacred books and had an interest in medicinal herbs. They abstained from oaths, and blasphemy against God was punishable by death.

Initiation and Organization

New members of the community were recruited by adopting candidates after a probationary period. Those wishing to enter had to wait before being given the emblems – a belt, a white garment, and a hatchet for digging holes in the earth (whenever they wished to relieve themselves; *ibid.*, 2:127; 148). Then they were allowed to follow their routine and receive "more purifying washings for holiness" but were not yet permitted to take part in the common meals. After a probationary period of two more years the new member was admitted to the society, but not until he had taken oaths to observe the rules. Some form of communal ownership of goods was allowed, apparently more complete in the *yaḥad*, which, as the name ("union") implies, may have seen itself as a corporate unit, whose holiness depended on the individual holiness of all its members who worked, ate, and studied in communion. The Damascus Document describes a looser social structure, with an "overseer" (*mevakker*) in charge of each "camp" and ideology: corporate activity is less intense, but also subject to similar disciplinary rules. The settlements of married members were organized on the basis of individual households, with wives and children included in the sect automatically. This community also had dealings with non-Jews and owned slaves, though detailed accounts of such aspects are not provided. While the classical sources say little about priestly leadership, the Scrolls accord a very important role to the priesthood in matters of law and of course liturgy; how far they were responsible for the wider governance of the sect is unclear.

Essene participation in wider Jewish affairs is hard to assess. Apart from the mention of individual Essenes, however, Josephus states that they participated bravely in the war against Rome, and the discovery at Masada of some manuscripts that may have originated at Qumran, together with evidence of the Roman destruction of Qumran in about 68 B.C.E. and the many copies of a "War Rule" in the caves, in which the Romans appear as a thinly disguised enemy, support this claim. After the end of this war, the Essenes seem either to have disappeared or fled or dispersed: but the existence of copies of the Damascus Document in the Cairo *Genizah* may suggest that some of their traditions continued and influenced, among others, the *Karaites.

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[Menahem Mansoor / Philip Davies (2nd ed.)]

ESSEX COUNTY, county in New Jersey, U.S. Located in northern New Jersey, Essex County has an area of 127 sq. miles (330 sq. km.) and in 2005 was the second largest county in New Jersey by population. Essex County is part of the United Jewish Communities of MetroWest, which encompasses Essex, *Morris, Sussex, and northern *Union counties and serves a Jewish population of approximately 120,000.

Early History

The Jewish history of Essex County is rooted in the city of Newark. Records indicate that a small number of Sephardi Jews were among the earliest Jewish settlers in the Newark area, but, with few records and no synagogues to document their stay in the area, the growth of Newark's Jewish community is attributed to the arrival of German Jews in the 1840s. Conventional wisdom has it that the first recorded Jewish settler in Newark was Louis Trier in 1844. Trier had six children, among them Abraham, who in 1845 became the first Jewish child to be officially registered as born in Newark.

Prince Street and the Third Ward

Of the many memories associated with Jewish Newark, none engenders more enthusiasm than stories about life on Prince Street and the six blocks of Yiddish-speaking neighborhoods that bordered and surrounded Prince Street. This was Newark's Third Ward. The boundaries at the eastern end were High Street (now Martin Luther King Boulevard) from Clinton Avenue to Springfield Avenue. The western boundaries were Belmont Avenue (now Irving Turner Boulevard) from Clinton Avenue to South Orange Avenue. This is where Newark's Jews, some 50,000 of them by 1911, lived and worked. First there were peddlers who came to the area, then came the pushcarts, followed by Jewish merchants who opened storefronts on Prince Street. Prince Street was described as "Baghdad on the Passaic" by one of the founders of the Jewish Historical Society of MetroWest, Saul Schwarz. Residents kept to the neighborhood. For entertainment, old and young attended Yiddish plays and operettas at Elving's Metropolitan Theater (1922–44). This first generation of Jewish immigrants also maintained memberships in mutual benefit and burial societies. For German Jews there was the KUV, Kranken Untersteutzung Verein, or Chronic Benefits Society, and for East European Jews, these societies, or "landsmanschaften," helped ease their adjustment to life in America. Two of the most popular occupations at this time were that of the saloonkeeper and the pharmacist. For sons of Jewish immigrants, boxing was a way to make a living. The starting place for Newark's Jewish fighters was the High Street YMHA. Noted amateurs were Newark's only Jewish mayor, Meyer Ellenstein, and Newark's bagel king Sonny Amster. Professional boxing sites were Laurel Garden or the Newark Veledrome. Newark's Jewish boxers were also recruited into an organization designed to counter pro-Nazi activities in the Newark area in 1933 and were called "The Minutemen."

Synagogues

By 1855, the number of Jewish families living in Newark was estimated at 200. The steady increase of Jewish families had already manifested itself when, in 1848, as many as 60 families joined the newly incorporated "Jewish Religious Congregation B'nai Jeshurun." This was Newark's first synagogue and New Jersey's oldest Reform congregation. Isaac Schwarz was its first rabbi. Newark's second oldest congregation, Temple B'nai Abraham, founded in 1855, was followed by Congregation Oheb Shalom in 1860. Oheb Shalom was one of the seven charter members of the *United Synagogue of America. These synagogues continue to host large congregations but are now located in the Essex County towns of Short Hills, Livingston, and South Orange respectively. In its heyday, however, Newark was home to as many as 43 synagogues. After numerous mergers and relocations, Essex County is currently home to 27 synagogues. There is one neighborhood synagogue with member services still located in downtown Newark, Ahavas Sholom, and one continuously operating synagogue, Mount Sinai Congregation, located at the Ivy Hill Apartments in suburban Newark. Of the many distinguished rabbis that served the greater Newark community, one in particular earned national and international recognition. Rabbi Dr. Joachim *Prinz, who fled Nazi Germany, became chief rabbi of Temple B'nai Abraham in 1939. Prinz used his pulpit to rally support for America's civil rights movement and counted civil rights leader, Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., as one of his close friends.

Business, Industry, and Philanthropy

Louis *Bamberger and Felix Fuld established what became, by 1920, the nation's fourth largest department store, L. Bamberger and Company. Bamberger and Fuld were Essex County's, and possibly New Jersey's, greatest philanthropists of all time. The two men were the largest donors for Newark's Beth Israel Hospital, the YM-YWHA building on High Street, the building that houses the world-renowned Newark Museum, and the lasting legacy of an annual cherry blossom festival (more cherry trees than Washington, D.C.) at Branch Brook Park courtesy of Carrie Bamberger Fuld. Bamberger and Fuld donated some $18 million dollars to found the world famous Institute for Advanced Study located in Princeton, New Jersey, which offered world renowned scientist, Albert *Einstein, a position as the first head of its mathematics department. Einstein's connection to Newark's Jewish community is well documented.

Newark's Jews owned manufacturing businesses in industries such as leather, trunk, and harness manufacturing as well as jewelry manufacturing. Prominent industries such as Louis Aronson's Ronson Lighter Company and A. Hollander Sons, which grew into the largest fur dressing and dyeing operation in the world, earned Newark the name "workshop of the nation." New Jersey's premier supermarkets, Kings, ShopRite, Pathmark, and Wakefern Food Corporation were founded by members of the MetroWest community following World War II. Jewish businessmen with family roots in Newark continue to play a role in the renaissance of Newark. Jewish landmarks from the past are finding new uses.

Charitable Institutions

The collective accomplishments of Newark's Jewry include the founding and funding of Newark's Jewish hospital, Beth Israel Hospital (1901), which merged into St. Barnabas Healthcare System in 1996, and whose profits from the sale of the hospital are managed by the Jewish community as the Healthcare Foundation of New Jersey, and New Jersey's first Jewish home for the aged, Daughters of Israel Geriatric Center, founded in 1906, and located in West Orange. The first YM-YWHA was located on Newark's High Street in 1924. MetroWest now maintains two "Y" buildings, one in West Orange and the other at its Whippany Campus in Morris County. The community's social service agencies are distributed around the greater MetroWest area.

Educational Institutions

A congregational Hebrew school was established at B'nai Jeshurun in 1863; the Plaut Free Memorial Hebrew School followed in 1888. A *talmud torah* was established in 1899 in a store on Newark's Broome Street. Michael Stavistsky spearheaded the movement to establish the JEA, or Jewish Education Association, in 1937. Not well known is the Bet Yeled Jewish Folk School organized in 1950. The first major day school, Yeshiva of Newark, merged with the *talmud torah*, and was renamed the Hebrew Academy of Essex County in 1943; it subsequently merged with the Hebrew Youth Institute, and was renamed the Hebrew Youth Academy in 1962. Currently, it is the Joseph Kushner Hebrew Academy located in Livingston. Two individuals, Professor Nathan Winter and Horace Bier, were responsible for most of the Solomon Schechter Day Schools founded in New Jersey.

The newspaper-of-record, the *Jewish News*, began publishing in 1947. This paper is now the *New Jersey Jewish News*, and has the distinction of being the nation's second largest Jewish newspaper.

Shift to the Suburbs

In 1948, Newark was home to as many as 65,000 Jewish residents with an additional 21,000 Jews living in its suburbs. In the decades after World War II, there was a large-scale movement to the suburbs to towns such as South Orange, West Orange, Livingston, and more recently, Millburn-Short Hills. Flight was intensified by the Newark riots of 1967 and paralleled similar movements by Jewish communities elsewhere into the suburbs. In the mid-1990s the Jewish population of Essex County, including Newark, numbered approximately 76,200. The Jewish population of Livingston was approximately 12,600, and the Jewish population of West Orange was approximately 16,900.

Mergers of Institutions and Agencies

In 1923, an agreement to merge 13 Jewish agencies resulted in Essex County's Conference of Jewish Charities. The Essex County Council of Jewish Agencies was formed in 1936. The Jewish Community Council of Essex County, established in 1944, went one step further and incorporated the community's welfare services, fundraising, and community relations programs within one central federation. The 1973 merger of towns in the greater Summit area with the Jewish Community Council of Essex County reflected the movement of Jews west to towns in Morris County. The last significant merger occurred in 1983 between the Jewish Community Federation of Metropolitan New Jersey (Essex County) and the Jewish Federation of Morris and Sussex to create the United Jewish Communities of MetroWest.

MetroWest in Footlights

Essex County's greatest contributions to Jewish life in America are in the broad field of entertainment. Theater owner Morris Schlesinger is credited with discovering singer/film star Al *Jolson; Dore *Schary, executive producer at MGM studios, produced as many as 350 movies and also wrote the Pulitzer Prize-winning play *Sunrise at Campobello*; Essex County claims world-famous comedian Joseph Levitch, a.k.a. Jerry *Lewis; composer Jerome *Kern attended Barringer High School; Broadway producer Burton Shevelove produced *A Funny Thing Happened on the Way to the Forum;* choreographer Dean Collins gave us the steps to the West Coast Swing; there was children's poet Ilo Orleans; Beat Generation poet Allen *Ginsberg; and Newark's Jewish neighborhoods, mom and pop merchants, synagogues, rabbis, and institutions have been immortalized on the pages of American literature by Pulitzer Prize-winning author and Weequahic High School graduate Philip *Roth, who depicts Newark time and again in his novels.

[Linda Forgosh (2nd ed.)]

ESSLINGEN, city in Baden-Wuerttemberg, Germany. The sum levied on Esslingen Jewry in the tax list of 1241 indicates that it was one of the largest communities in Swabia, comprising more than 10% of the town's population. In the 13th century the community owned a synagogue, a drinking (or dance) hall, and a cemetery. The "Jews' Street" is first mentioned in 1308, but Jewish residence was not confined to it. Jews were allowed to join the guild on payment; the main Jewish occupation was moneylending. When attacked during the *Black Death persecutions in 1349, the Jews in Esslingen set fire to their synagogue; some committed suicide and others fled. However, in 1366 Jews are again mentioned in Esslingen. There were 14 in 1387, 21 in 1391. Esslingen Jewry loaned 84 hellers to the city in 1384; a Jew named Saecklin lent money to Duke Leopold III of Austria some time before 1385. By 1439 there were no Jews left in Esslingen. In the 16th century several Jews were admitted for short periods at high rents and taxes. However, the city expelled this group in 1543. Later it admitted two Jewish physicians. In 1806 Frederick I of Wuerttemberg allowed five Jewish families to settle in Esslingen, who founded a hardware factory and organized a community. A synagogue was built in 1817–19, a Jewish elementary school opened in 1825, and an orphanage was established in 1842. The Jewish population numbered 88 in 1823; 101 in 1831; 160 in 1860; 145 (1% of the total) in 1892; and 128 in 1930. During the Nazi regime the interior of the synagogue was destroyed (1938) and the building later used as a center for training Hitler youth. The last 34 Jews remaining in Esslingen were deported in 1941–42, including some of the children of the orphanage and the headmaster. There were 12 Jews living in Esslingen in 1965. After 1992 Jews from the Former Soviet Union settled in Esslingen. About 230 Jews who belonged to the Jewish community in Stuttgart were living in and around Esslingen in 2004.

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ESTE, JOÃO BAPTISTA DE (17th century), Italian-Portuguese convert to Catholicism and anti-Jewish polemist. Born in Ferrara, he was baptized in Évora and became a consultant in Jewish matters to the Portuguese Inquisition. His works include a "Dialogue Between a Pupil and his Catechizing Teacher, Resolving All the Doubts that the Obstinate Jews are Wont to Make Against the Catholic Faith, with Cogent Arguments both from the Holy Prophets and from their Own Rabbis" (*Dialogo entre discipulo e Mestre catechizante*, Lisbon, 1621, 1674), and a "Summary of All the Festivals, Holidays, and Ceremonies, both from the Written Law and from their Talmud and Other Rabbis" (unpublished).

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[Martin A. Cohen]

ESTELLA (**Stella**), city in northern Spain. The Jewish community there was one of the most important in the kingdom of Navarre, the third after Tudela and Pamplona. The earliest information concerning the settlement dates from the 11th century. The Jews lived in the citadel and in the adjacent unwalled area. Because of the privileges granted to the Jews there, the city attracted other Jews from many parts of Spain during the 12th century. The growth of the Jewish community in Estella was also due to the city's location on the route of the pilgrims to Santiago. There were Jews from Andalusia who fled from the Almoravid invaders and Jews from France who were attracted to the city. These included the poet Moses *Ibn Ezra, who was warned by *Judah Halevi against residing in so remote a town, which he compared to living among wolves, bears, and lions. In 1144 King García Ramirez transferred the synagogue to the bishop of Pamplona to be converted into a church. A *fuero* ("municipal charter") granted to Estella in 1164 contained a series of articles regulating relations between Jews and Gentiles. A responsum of Solomon b. Abraham *Adret (4:268) deals with problems of the sewage and the water conduit in the Jewish quarter. In 1265 there were 29 Jewish householders in Estella paying land tax and rent to the king. Following the death of Carlos IV in 1328 the Jews of Estella were particularly hard hit by anti-Jewish rioters. Many were killed. The Jewish quarter in Estella was destroyed and most of its inhabitants perished in 1328 during the French invasion, as recorded by *Menahem b. Aaron ibn Zeraḥ in his introduction to his code *Ẓeidah la-Derekh*. The community began to revive in the second half of the 14th century. There were 85 Jewish families in Estella in 1366. In 1365 Charles II appointed Judah b. Samuel ha-Levi of Estella to act as high commissioner for the crown for collecting the money in services and taxes owed by Jews and in 1390 sent him on a diplomatic mission. Jews of Estella engaged in tax farming throughout the 15th century. The city opened its doors to the exiles from Aragon and Castile but the Jews in Estella suffered the same fate, with the rest of those of Navarre, in 1498.

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[Haim Beinart / Yom Tov Assis (2nd ed.)]

ESTERKE, Jewish woman from the village of Opoczno, Poland, said to have been a mistress of the Polish King *Casimir the Great (1310–1370). Reports claim that her outstanding beauty caught the king's eye while he was passing through her town. Her two sons, Pelka and Niemera, were given grants of land from their father and were raised as Christians. The names of her daughter (or daughters) were never recorded, but with the king's approval, they supposedly remained Jewish. Alternate endings to Esterke's story include the king's severing his relationship with her; Esterke's death while they are still together; and Esterke's suicide either immediately after the king's death or several years later. Although a house in Opoczno was designated as her family home, and her grave was believed to be in Lobzow Park, near Cracow, there is no historical basis for any of the Esterke legends, and there is no mention of her either in court documents or in Jewish sources. Written mention of Esterke appears in the late 15th century in a history by Polish cleric Jan Dlugosz (1415–1480). The first Jewish source to mention Esterke is *Ẓemaḥ David* by David Gans, written in 1595. Gans believed in the historicity of the report and gave a Christian source for it. The relationship of Esterke and Casimir, with its obvious parallel to the Book of Esther, was appealing; the theme was used by Jewish writers as late as the 19th century. Versions of Esterke's story in Polish antisemitic literature attempted to undermine customary Jewish privileges granted to Jews by King *Boleslav V (1221–1279) and continued by King Casimir, suggesting that they were promulgated to please a lover rather than for the good of the nation. A 16th-century priest alluded to Esterke in his book *Jewish Cruelties*, claiming that her "gentle words induced him [Casimir] to devise by scheme this loathsome law under the name of the Prince Boleslav…" Such negative allusions to Esterke continued in Christian writings until the 19th century; the belief that this Jewish woman actively interceded for her people gave Casimir the nickname "the Polish Ahasuarus." Despite confirmations by modern historians that Esterke is best regarded as an example of a literary trope of the seductive Jewish woman, popular from the early Middle Ages, and despite the fact that her name was used to further antisemitic claims, her sentimental appeal persists among Jews.

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[Emily Taitz (2nd ed.)]

ESTERMANN, IMMANUEL (1900–1973), U.S. physicist. Estermann, born in Berlin, was educated and worked at Hamburg University until 1933 when he immigrated to the U.S.A. For the next 20 years he was professor at the Carnegie Institute of Technology, and a consultant on the Manhattan (atomic bomb) Project. From 1951 he was with the Office of Naval Research, and in 1959 became its scientific director in London. From 1964 onward he had a visiting professorship at the Technion in Haifa. Estermann's main fields of work were on molecular beams, low temperatures, solid state physics, and semiconductors. Among his books was *Recent Research in Molecular Beams* (1959). He edited *Methods of Experimental Physics* (vol. 1, 1959) and coedited *Advances in Atomic and Molecular Physics* (3 vols., 1965–68).

[Samuel Aaron Miller]

ESTEVENS, DAVID (born before 1670–died after 1715), Jewish artist of Spanish (Marrano) origin. He lived in Denmark, studying in Copenhagen under the French artist Jacques d'Agar; he also spent some time in England. His best-known work is a portrait executed in London of Rabbi David *Nieto which was afterward engraved by James McArdell (1727). He may also have been the artist of the well-known portrait of Ẓevi Hirsch *Ashkenazi (the Ḥakham Ẓevi).

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[Cecil Roth]

ESTHER (Heb. אֶסְתֵּר), daughter of Abihail, an exile at *Susa, and heroine of the Book of Esther. The name Esther is probably from Old Persian *star* (well attested in the later Persian dialects), with the same meaning as English "star." She is once called Hadassah (Esth. 2:7), a testimony to the practice of Jews having double names, as do the heroes in *Daniel. She was orphaned as a child, and her cousin *Mordecai adopted her and brought her up.

When Queen *Vashti fell into disgrace because of her disobedience to King *Ahasuerus, Esther was among the beautiful virgins chosen to be presented to the king (1:19–2:8). Ahasuerus was struck by her beauty, and made her queen instead of Vashti (2:17). Esther, however, did not reveal the fact that she was a Jew.

Later, when *Haman, the prime minister, persuaded the king to issue an edict of extermination of all the Jews of the empire, Esther, on Mordecai's advice, endangered her own life by appearing before the king without being invited, in order to intercede for her people (4:16–17). Seeing that the king was well disposed toward her, she invited him and Haman to a private banquet, during which she did not reveal her desire, however, but invited them to another banquet, thus misleading Haman by making him think that he was in the queen's good graces. Her real intention, however, was to take revenge on him. During the second banquet, Queen Esther revealed her origin to the king, begged for her life and the life of her people, and named her enemy (7:3–6). Angry with Haman, Ahasuerus went into the palace garden. Haman, in great fear, remained to plead for his life from the queen. While imploring, he fell on Esther's couch and was found in this compromising situation on the king's return. He was immediately condemned to be hanged on the gallows he had prepared for Mordecai. The king complied with Esther's request, and the edict of destruction was changed into permission given to the Jews to avenge themselves on their enemies.

See also *Scroll of Esther.

In the *Aggadah*

Esther was a descendant of King Saul. Her father died soon after her conception and her mother when she was born (Meg. 13a), and she was brought up by Mordecai as his daughter. Her real name was Hadassah, but she was called Esther by non-Jews, this being the Persian name for Venus (*ibid.*). Esther was one of the four most beautiful women in the world (*ibid.* 15a), though some say that she was of sallow complexion but endowed with great charm. Like the myrtle (Heb. *hadassah*) she was of ideal height, neither too short nor too tall (*ibid.* 13a). All who beheld her were struck by her beauty: she was more beautiful than either Median or Persian women (Esth. R. 6:9). In addition, everyone took her to be one of his own people (Meg. 13a). Before Esther was made queen, Ahasuerus would compare women who entered with a statue of Vashti that stood near his bed. After his marriage the statue was replaced by one of Esther (*Midrash Abba Guryon*, Parashah 2). When Esther became queen she refused to disclose her lineage to Ahasuerus though she claimed that like him she was of royal descent. She also criticized him for killing Vashti and for following the brutish advice of the Persian and Median nobles, pointing out that the earlier kings (Nebuchadnezzar and Belshazzar) had followed the counsel of prophets (Daniel). At her suggestion he sought out Mordecai whose advice he requested on how to induce Esther to reveal her ancestry, complaining that neither giving banquets and reducing taxation in her honor nor showering gifts upon her had been of any avail. Mordecai suggested that maidens be again assembled as if the king wished to remarry and that Esther, aroused by jealousy, would comply with his wishes. But this too was in vain (Meg. 13a).

Mordecai was appointed to the king's gate, the same appointment that Hananiah and his companions had received from Nebuchadnezzar (Dan. 2:49). His task was to inform Ahasuerus of any conspiracy against him. Bigthan and Teresh, who had previously kept the gate, became incensed, saying: "The king has removed two officials and replaced them by this single barbarian." To prove the superiority of their guardianship over that of the Jew, they decided to kill the king. Not realizing that Mordecai as a member of the Sanhedrin knew 70 languages, they conversed together in their native Tarsean. In Mordecai's name Esther informed the king, who ordered the two to be hanged. All affairs of state were entered into the king's chronicles and whenever the king wanted to be reminded of past events they would be read out to him. The information given by Mordecai was written in the book, and this was the beginning of Haman's downfall (Esth. 6). This was why the sages said: "whoever repeats something in the name of one who said it brings redemption to the world" (Perek Kinyan Torah = Avot 6:6 in the prayer book version; Esth. R. 6:13; Meg. 15a; PdRE 50). The three days appointed by Esther as fast days (Esth. 4:16) were the 13th, 14th, and 15th of Nisan. Mordecai sent back word complaining that these days included the first day of Passover! To which she replied: "Jewish elder! Without an Israel, why should there be Passover?" Mordecai understood and canceled the Passover festivity, replacing it with a fast (Esth. R. 8:6). Esther's motive in inviting Haman to the banquet was that he should not discover that she was Jewish, and that the Jews should not say: "We have a sister in the king's palace," and so neglect to pray for God's mercy. She also thought that by being friendly to Haman she would rouse the king's jealousy to such an extent that he would kill both of them (Meg. 15b). Haman thought that Esther prepared the banquet in his honor, little realizing that she had set a trap for him (Mid. Prov. 9:2). With the revocation of the evil decree, Esther sent to the sages and asked them to perpetuate her name by the reading of the book of Esther and by the institution of a feast. When they answered that this would incite the ill-will of the nations, she replied: "I am already recorded in the chronicles of the kings of Media and Persia (Meg. 7a)."

[Elimelech Epstein Halevy]

In the Arts

Of all the biblical heroines Esther has enjoyed greatest popularity among writers, artists, and musicians, representing feminine modesty, courage, and self-sacrifice. From the Renaissance era onward she figured in a vast array of dramas, including many Jewish plays intended for presentation on the *Purim festival. Two early works on this theme were *La Representatione della Reina Hester* (c. 1500), an Italian verse mystery that went through several editions during the 16th century, and the last of the 43 plays of the French *Mistére du Viel Testament*, a work of the later Middle Ages. These were followed by the German Meistersinger Hans Sachs' *Esther* (1530) and an English verse play, *A New Enterlude of Godly Queene Hester,* published anonymously in 1561. The latter, which entirely omitted the character of Vashti and muted the role of Mordecai, contained marked political undertones reflecting popular dissatisfaction with King Henry VIII and his ministers of state. A work of the same period was Solomon *Usque's *Esther,* first staged in Venice in 1558. This Portuguese play, later revised by Leone *Modena, was remarkably successful and attracted many non-Jews to its performances.

The subject gave rise to a series of dramatic interpretations in France, beginning with the Huguenot playwright Antoine de Montchrétien's three verse tragedies, *Esther* (1585), *Vashti* (1589), and *Aman* (1601). During the 17th century a drama, *Esther* (1644), was written by Pierre Du Ryer and a long epic poem of the same name (1673) by Jean Desmarets de Saint-Sorlin, both in the austere religious manner of the period. The major French literary treatment of the theme was *Racine's epic tragedy *Esther* (1689), written for presentation at the Saint-Cyr girls' school supervised by Madame de Maintenon, the morganatic wife of Louis XIV, and first performed with choruses by J.-B. Moreau. Esther herself, a model of Christian womanly virtues, evidently represented the sponsor, while Vasthi (Vashti) represented the king's former mistress, Madame de Montespan, heightening the political implications of the play. Other 17th-century works on the subject include *Aman y Mardoqueo o la reina Ester,* a play by the Spanish New Christian Felipe *Godínez; the refugee Portuguese Marrano João *Pinto Delgado's *Poema de la Reyna Ester* (Rouen, 1627), part of a volume dedicated to Cardinal Richelieu; Mardochée Astruc's Judeo-Provençal *Tragediou de la Reine Esther;* and Isaac Cohen de *Lara's *Comedia famosa de Aman y Mordochay* (1699).

Interest in the theme was maintained during the 18th-20th centuries, beginning with Manuel Joseph Martin's *La Soberbia castigada. Historia … de Esther y Mardocheo* (1781). A Yiddish play, *Esther, oder di belonte Tugend* (1827, 1854^3), was written by J. Herz, and Hebrew adaptations of Racine's classic drama made by S.J.L. *Rapoport (in *She'erit Judah*, 1827) and, in complete form, by Meir Ha-Levi *Letteris (*Shelom Esther,* 1843). The virtues of the Jewish heroine were emphasized in the Austrian dramatist Franz Grillparzer's unfinished play *Esther* (1848), and other treatments included J.A. Vaillant's Romanian *Legenda lui Aman și Mardoheu* (1868), Joseph Shabbetai Farḥi's Italian *Alegria di Purim* (1875), and the U.S. writer Frank C. Bliss' verse drama *Queen Esther* (1881). Almost the only biblical play to escape censorship in 19th-century England was *Esther the Royal Jewess: or the Death of Haman*, a lavishly produced melodrama by Elisabeth Polack, which was staged in London in 1835. There have been numerous plays about Esther from the early 20th century onward: *Esther, princesse d'Israël* (1912) by André Dumas and S.C. Leconte; H. Pereira *Mendes' *Esther and Harbonah* (1917); Max *Brod's *Esther* (1918); John Masefield's *Esther* (1922), a pastiche of Racine; and other works of the same name by Felix *Braun (1925), Sammy *Gronemann (1926), and the U.S. dramatist Sonia V. Daugherty (1929). Three other modern treatments are Izak *Goller's fantasy *A Purim-Night's Dream* (1931) and James Bridie's *What Say They?* (1939); and a rare biblical novel on the subject, Maria Poggel-Degenhardt's *Koenigin Vasthi; Roman aus der Zeit Esthers* (1928). Most successful were the satiric Megilla-Lieder of the Yiddish poet Itzik *Manger adapted for the stage in Israel in 1965.

In art the Book of Esther is represented in the cycle of paintings from the third-century synagogue at *Dura-Europos and also in the ninth-century mural in the basilica of San Clemente in Rome. The scenes depicted at Dura-Europos were Esther and Ahasuerus enthroned and Mordecai riding in triumph on a regal white horse. They could be seen clearly from the women's benches, and it has been suggested that they were placed there because women normally came to synagogue to attend the reading of the Scroll of Esther which, according to *Joshua bar Levi (Meg. 4a), they were obliged to hear. In medieval Christian iconography, Esther was associated with the cult of the Virgin Mary. Her intercession with Ahasuerus on behalf of the Jews was interpreted as a prefiguration of the Virgin's mediation on behalf of mankind. After the Middle Ages the story of Esther was treated in a less symbolic manner and was used instead as a storehouse of picturesque episodes. The story was sometimes presented in a narrative cycle of varying length or in individual episodes. Examples of the cycle form may be found on an arch over the north portal of the Chartres Cathedral (13th century), a 17th-century Belgian tapestry in the cathedral of Saragosa, and an 18th-century set of Gobelin tapestries. Popular single subjects were the toilet of Esther, the triumph of Mordecai, and the punishment of Haman. Renaissance artists such as Botticelli, Filippino Lippi, Mantegna, Tintoretto, and Paolo Veronese painted subjects from the Book of Esther. Botticelli (or Filippino Lippi) decorated two marriage-caskets (1428) with scenes from the biblical story, including the long misinterpreted figure *La Derelitta*, now supposed to represent Mordecai lamenting before the palace at Shushan. The Venetian painters Tintoretto and Veronese treated the Esther story as an occasion for pomp and pageantry, Tintoretto painting the *Swooning of Esther* (1545), a subject later treated by Poussin. The Book of Esther was also popular with 17th-century artists in the Netherlands. Rubens and Jan Steen painted *Esther Before Ahasuerus*, and Jan Steen also executed a spirited, almost farcical, *Wrath of Ahasuerus* (1660). Rembrandt painted *Mordecai pleading with Esther* (1655), *Ahasuerus and Haman at Esther's Feast* (1660), and *Haman in Disgrace* (1660). A charming *Toilet of Esther* was executed by Théodore Chassériau in 1841.

An early musical treatment of the subject is a 14th-century motet for three voices, *Quoniam novi probatur*, in which Haman, or someone whose fate he symbolizes, voices his complaint (see C. Parrish, *The Notation of Mediaeval Music* (1957), 138–40). Palestrina wrote a five-voiced motet, *Quid habes Hester?* (publ. 1575), the text of which is the dialogue between Esther and Ahasuerus in the apocryphal additions to Esther (15:9–14). From the late 17th century onward the Esther story attracted the attention of many serious composers. Some 17th- and early 18th-century works were A. Stradella's oratorio *Ester, liberatrice dell' popolo ebreo* (c. 1670); M.-A. Charpentier's quasi-oratorio *Historia Esther* (date unknown); G. Legrenzi's oratorio *Gli sponsali d'Ester* (1676); J.-B. Moreau's choruses for Racine's *Esther*; A. Lotti's oratorio *L 'umilità coronata in Esther* (1712); and A. Caldara's oratorio *Ester* (1723). Handel's masque *Haman and Mordecai*, with a text by John Arbuthnot and (probably) Alexander Pope based on Racine's drama, was first performed at the Duke of Chandos' palace near Edgware in 1720, and was Handel's first English composition in oratorio form. Worked into a full oratorio 12 years later, with additional words by Samuel Humphreys, it had a triumphant reception at the King's Theater in London in 1732. The libretto was translated into Hebrew by the Venetian rabbi Jacob Raphael Saraval (1707–1782), and two copies of it – with the scenic indications in English and Italian respectively – are in the *Ets Haim* Library, Amsterdam; no evidence of a performance has yet been discovered (see Adler, Prat Mus, 1 (1966), 123–4, 212). One of the few works on the subject in the second half of the 18th century was K. Ditters von Dittersdorf's oratorio *La liberatrice del popolo giudaico nella Persia o sia l'Esther* (1773).

The 19th century saw a few operatic variants of the story, such as Guidi's *Ester d'Engaddi*, set by A. Peri (1843) and G. Pacini (1847), while Eugen d'Albert wrote an overture to Grillparzer's *Esther* (1888). For performances of Racine's play at the Comédie Française during this period the choruses were composed by several undistinguished musicians; later contributions include those by Reynaldo *Hahn (1905) and Marcel Samuel-Rousseau (1912). The most notable modern work on the subject is Darius *Milhaud's opera *Esther de Carpentras*, which dramatized the staging of an old Provençal Purim play with the threat posed by a conversionist bishop of Carpentras. *Esther,* an opera by Jan Meyerowitz with text by Langston Hughes, was written in 1956. Meyerowitz also wrote a choral work, *Midrash Esther* (premiere, 1957).

The music of the Jewish Purim plays has not survived in notation, except for a few songs collected by 20th-century folklorists from surviving practitioners. Some Yiddish and Hebrew poems of the early 18th century were published with the indication "to be sung to the tune of Haman in the Aḥashverosh play" (see Idelsohn, Music, 437), but this tune has not yet been recovered. However, the tradition is evident in Isaac Offenbach's play *Koenigin Esther* (manuscript dated 1833, at the Jewish Institute of Religion, New York), which includes some "couplets" and in which the court jester seems a more important figure than the biblical personages. Hermann Cohn's five-act parody *Der Barbier von Schuschan* (1894) was an imitation of P. Cornelius' *Barbier von Bagdad*; Abraham *Goldfaden's *Kenig Akhashverosh* (c. 1885) produced no memorable tune; and M. Gelbart wrote *Akhashverosh*, a Purim play in New York (1916). For the production of K.J. *Silman's *Megillat Esther* by the *Ohel theater, the music was written by Y. *Admon (Gorochow). The music for the production of Itzik Manger's *Di Megille* was written by Dov Seltzer in a "revival style" reminiscent of the East European Jewish song tradition in general and of the Yiddish theater tradition in particular. Nahum *Nardi's songs to Levin *Kipnis' kindergarten Purim play *Misḥak Purim*, written in the early 1930s, have become Israel folksongs.

See also *Purim-Shpil.

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ESTHER (pseudonym of **Malkah Lifschitz**, whose names by marriage were **Frumkin** and **Wichmann**; 1880–1943), communist leader, writer, and educator, born in Minsk; one of the most original women in the Jewish labor movement. She acquired a wide Jewish knowledge in childhood, including Hebrew and Bible studies, and studied in St. Petersburg and Berlin. From 1896 Esther was active in Social Democrat circles in Minsk influenced by A. *Liessin, and from 1901 in the *Bund. She edited Bundist periodicals after the 1905 revolution. A representative of the extreme Yiddishists at the *Czernowitz Yiddish Conference, Esther was one of the main promoters in the Bund of Jewish education in Yiddish. She published two books on the subject in Yiddish: "On the Question of the Jewish National School" (1910) and "What Kind of National School Do We Need" (1917). She was imprisoned several times for revolutionary activities and went to Switzerland, where she became a member of the foreign committee of the Bund. After the 1917 February Revolution, she became a member of the central committee of the Bund, and was elected to the Minsk municipal and community councils. She took an active part in founding a network of Yiddish schools, courses for teachers, and other educational institutions. At first violently opposed to the Bolsheviks, she later became a leader of the Kombund, and in May 1921 voted for the self-liquidation of the Bund and joined the Communist Party. From 1921 to 1930 she was a member of the education department of the *Yevsektsiya. With M. *Litvakov she brought out a Yiddish edition of Lenin's writings in eight volumes, and wrote a biography of Lenin in Yiddish (3 eds., 1925–26). She also edited the Moscow Yiddish daily, *Emes.* She was rector of the Jewish section of the "Communist University of the National Minorities of the West" (KUNMZ) from 1925 to 1936. In January 1938 she was arrested and imprisoned but refused to admit to the false charges proffered against her. In August 1940 she was sentenced to eight years in detention and died in the detention camp in Karaganda.

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[Moshe Mishkinsky / Shmuel Spector (2nd ed.)]

ESTHER, ADDITIONS TO THE BOOK OF. The Book of Esther in the Septuagint, followed by the Old Latin version, contains six passages comprising 107 verses that are not found in the Hebrew text. In the fourth century C.E., *Jerome, when compiling the Latin Vulgate Bible, removed all these additions and grouped them as an appendix at the end of the Book of Esther. Although Jerome had provided notes to indicate where each addition belonged within the canonical book, subsequent scribes sometimes neglected to copy the explanatory notes, resulting in a meaningless combination of separate portions. The confusion was compounded in the 13th century when Stephen Langton, having divided the text of the Vulgate into chapters, numbered the chapters of the canonical and the apocryphal portions of Esther consecutively. Rearranged in their proper order and with chapter and verse numbering according to Jerome's sequence, the six additions are as follows: A (11:2–12:6), Mordecai saves King Artaxerxes' life; B (13:1–7), the edict of Artaxerxes ordering the massacre of the Jews; C (13:8–14:19), the prayers of Mordecai and Esther; D (15:1–6), Esther risks her life to appeal to the king; E (16:1–24), Artaxerxes' second edict, denouncing Haman and supporting the Jews; F (10:4–11:1), the interpretation of Mordecai's dream. These additions belong within the sequence of the canonical text as follows: A before 1:1; B after 3:13; C and D after 4:17; E after 7:12; F after 10:3.

The author (or authors) of the additions is unknown, but probably at least some of them were composed by Lysimachus, an Alexandrian Jew who lived in Jerusalem and who translated the canonical Hebrew text of Esther into Greek about 114 B.C.E. (11:1). Although the name of God does not appear in the canonical Book of Esther, all but one of the additions contain it. Likewise, although prayer is not mentioned in the canonical text, addition C includes two devout prayers. Thus it appears that one of the purposes of the expansions is to introduce into the book certain religious elements that are conspicuously absent from the Hebrew narrative. Occasionally the additions contradict statements in the canonical text. For example, according to the Hebrew, Mordecai discovered the plot against the king sometime after the seventh year of the reign of Ahasuerus (Esther 2:16–21), whereas addition A suggests that this occurred in the second year of the king's reign; in 16:10 Haman is called a Macedonian, whereas in Esther 3:1 he is called the Agagite (= Amalekite); and in 13:6 the date set for the massacre of the Jews is the fourteenth of Adar, whereas in Esther 3:13 it is the thirteenth of Adar.

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[Bruce M. Metzger]

ESTHER, FAST OF (Heb. תַּעֲנִית אֶסְתֵּר, *Ta'anit Esther*), the day before *Purim on which it is customary to fast (unless that day falls on the Sabbath; see below). The *She'iltot* of R. Aḥa of Shabḥa (eighth century; ed. by S.K. Mirsky, 3 (1964), 222, no. 69) has the earliest record of the custom of fasting on the 13th of Adar. It quotes the declaration of R. Samuel b. Isaac (Meg. 2a), "The 13th day of Adar is the time for public gathering," and refers to the words of Esther (9:18) "The other Jews in the king's provinces gathered together and stood up for themselves on the 13th day of the month of Adar"; explaining that the purpose of the gathering was for public prayer and fasting (cf. *Asher b. Jehiel on Meg. 2a, who quotes R. Tam in a similar vein). Maimonides accepts the custom of public fasting on this day finding his scriptural authority in the words "Regarding the fasting and the crying" (Esth. 9:31). Comparing it with other public fasts he declares, "Whereas the other fasts are postponed to the following day if they would otherwise fall on the Sabbath the Fast of Esther is anticipated to the Thursday, since fasting here must precede the celebration" (Maim., Yad, Ta'anit 5:5). An earlier tradition of fasting in connection with Purim is preserved in the Talmud (Sof. 14:4), which specifically excludes fasting on the 13th of Adar, "because of Nicanor and his men." This is in accordance with the prohibition of *Megillat Ta'anit* against fasting on those days on which the Maccabean victories over *Nicanor and their other enemies were celebrated. Elsewhere tractate *Soferim* asserts: "Our Rabbis in the West [i.e., Ereẓ Israel] are accustomed to fast at intervals after Purim [i.e., on the three subsequent days: Monday, Thursday, and Monday] in commemoration of the three days fasted by Esther and Mordecai and those who joined them" (Sof. 21:1). Although *Jacob b. Asher's Tur (OḤ 686) refers to this ancient custom, there is no historical indication of its preservation. It was probably falling into desuetude at the very time that the tractate *Soferim* was being edited, as the contemporaneous composition of the *She'iltot* indicates. In his gloss on the reference to the fast in the Shulḥan Arukh (OḤ 686:2), Isserles considers the Fast of Esther as less obligatory than other statutory public fasts. He allows concessions to nursing mothers and pregnant women, and even to those with an eye-ache. He advocates, nevertheless, its continued observance. Special *seliḥot* are recited in addition to those of a regular fast-day, and the fast-day portion of the Torah is read (Ex. 32:11–14; 34:1–10). The day is especially observed by Persian Jews. The afternoon *Taḥanun* is omitted in anticipation of Purim joy.

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[Isaac Newman]

ESTHER RABBAH (Heb. אֶסְתֵּר רַבָּה), *Midrash Aggadah* on the *Scroll of Esther. In the *editio princeps* (Constantinople, 1517?) the work is referred to as "*Midrash *Ahasuerus*" while in the second edition (Pesaro, 1519) it is called "*Midrash Megillat Esther*" and the title "Ahasueros." On the origin of the name "*Esther Rabbah*," see **Ruth Rabbah*.

The Structure

In the *editio princeps*, *Esther Rabbah* is divided into six sections. However, subsequent editions have ten, the last section being subdivided into five smaller ones. In fact, the work consists of two different Midrashim: *Esther Rabbah* 1 (sections 1–6) and *Esther Rabbah* 2 (sections 7–10).

Esther Rabbah 1

This is an exegetical Midrash which expounds the first two chapters of the Scroll of Esther verse by verse. The sections are introduced by proems of the classical type characteristic of amoraic Midrashim, opening with an extraneous verse which is interpreted and then connected with that expounded at the beginning of the section. There are 16 proems, the majority in the name of an *amora*, the rest anonymous. Most of them commence with a verse from the Prophets or the Hagiographa, only a small number with one from the Pentateuch. Section 2 concludes with a message of consolation. The language of *Esther Rabbah* 1, like that of the Jerusalem Talmud, is mishnaic Hebrew with an admixture of Galilean *Aramaic and a liberal sprinkling of Greek words. The work, which contains much original tannaitic and early amoraic material, quotes Aquila's translation, and draws upon tannaitic literature, the Jerusalem Talmud, **Genesis Rabbah*, and **Leviticus Rabbah*, but was apparently unaware of the Aramaic translation of the Scroll of Esther, some passages of which are even cited as statements of *amoraim*. The Babylonian *Talmud is also not utilized. On the other hand, **Targum Sheni*, **Ecclesiastes Rabbah*, **Midrash Tehillim*, *Midrash Abba Guryon*, and *Midrash Panim Aḥerim* to Esther, Version 2 (see smaller *Midrashim) all draw upon *Esther Rabbah* 1. It is thus apparently an amoraic Midrash, redacted in Ereẓ Israel not later than the beginning of the sixth century C.E.

Esther Rabbah 2

This, likewise an exegetical Midrash, covers Esther 3:1–8:15, but with many omissions. Its few proems are not of the classical type in that they do not conclude with the verse expounded at the beginning of the section. It quotes the Septuagint Additions to the Scroll of Esther: Mordecai's dream about the two sea monsters (8:5); the prayers of Mordecai and Esther (8:7); and the conversation of Esther and Ahasuerus (9:1). It borrowed these additions as well as other *aggadot* from *Josippon (chap. 4). Alongside later material, however, it also contains older homilies. Early medieval scholars cite expositions from part of a Midrash on Esther parallel to *Esther Rabbah* 2, which, however, do not occur in the present text. The redactors of *Ecclesiastes Rabbah*, *Midrash Tehillim*, **Midrash Samuel*, and **Genesis Rabbati* were unacquainted with *Esther Rabbah* 2. All these Midrashim, as well as *Midrash Abba Guryon*, drew upon an earlier midrashic work on Esther 3 ff. which apparently constituted the original second part of *Esther Rabbah* 1. On the other hand, *Midrash Panim Aḥerim* to Esther, Version 1, **Yalkut Shimoni*, and perhaps also **Midrash Lekaḥ Tov*, draw upon *Esther Rabbah* 2. All this would seem to make *Esther Rabbah* 2 a composite work containing remnants of the original second part of *Esther Rabbah* 1 with later additions in the style and language of the later aggadic works (see *Midrash). *Esther Rabbah* 2, which contains valuable information on anti-Jewish manifestations in the late Roman empire, was redacted about the 11th century. After it was attached to *Esther Rabbah* 1 the original second half of the latter was lost.

Esther Rabbah is thus composed of two different Midrashim which were apparently combined by a copyist in the 12th or 13th century C.E. The earliest extant manuscripts date from the beginning of the 15th century C.E.

Editions

Esther Rabbah was first published at Pesaro in 1519 together with Midrashim on the other four scrolls, which, however, are completely unrelated to it. This edition has often been reprinted. There is as yet no critical edition of the work based on manuscripts. An English translation by Maurice Simon appeared in the Soncino Midrash (1939).

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[Moshe David Herr]

ESTONIA (Est. **Esti**), independent state from the 1990s, after the breakup of the Soviet Union, bordering on the gulfs of Finland and Riga. Estonia was an independent republic from 1918 to 1940. From 1940 to the dissolution of the U.S.S.R., with an interval of German occupation (1941–44), Estonia was a Soviet Socialist Republic. Until 1918 part of Russia (Estland and the northern part of Livland), the area of Estonia was not included in the Pale of Settlement. In 1897 some 4,000 Jews lived on this territory, including about 1,200 in *Tallinn (then Revel). The nucleus of this community was founded by Jewish soldiers after their demobilization from the army of Czar Nicholas I (see *Cantonists), who established a Jewish cemetery in the town in 1856. There were approximately 1,800 Jews living in the university town of *Tartu (known among Jews by its German name Dorpat), about 480 in Narva (then belonging to the district of St. Petersburg), and about 400 in Pärnu, on the Gulf of Riga. (See Map: Jews in Estonia.) Jews took part in the struggle for Estonian independence. In independent Estonia, the Jews numbered 4,566 in 1922 and 4,381 in 1934 (about 0.4% of the total population), of whom 2,203 lived in Tallinn, the capital, and 920 in Tartu; 923 (57.4% of those supporting families) were occupied in commerce, 484 (30.1%) in industry and crafts, 159 (9.9%) in the liberal professions, 26 (1.6%) were house owners, and 16 (1.0%) were religious officials. About 642 of the total were employees (officials and laborers) and the remainder were self-employed.

Estonia was the only country in Eastern Europe to fulfill its obligations toward its national minorities according to the concepts of the Minorities Treaties (see *Minority Rights), even though it had refused to become a signatory. The law on national-cultural autonomy was confirmed by the Estonian parliament on Feb. 5, 1925, and four minorities – Russian, German, Swedish, and Jewish – were accordingly recognized. The Jewish autonomous institutions, headed by a Cultural Council, were established in 1926. However, only 75% of Estonian Jewry (about 3,252 persons in 1939) registered with the Jewish minority list; the remainder ranged themselves with other nationalities, in particular Russian. The first Cultural Council was composed of 12 Zionist representatives, nine Yiddishists,

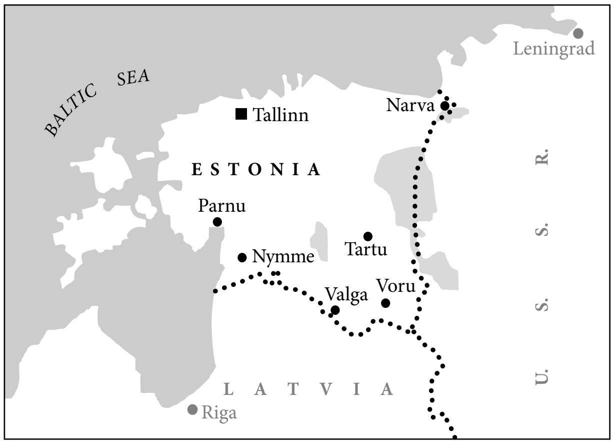

Major Jewish communities in Estonia, 1918–1940.

and six Independents. Subsequently the Zionists gained in strength, and by 1939 held 20 of the Council's 27 seats. After a severe struggle within the Council on the issue whether the language of instruction in Jewish schools should be Hebrew or Yiddish, the supporters of Hebrew finally prevailed, and most of the Jewish schools were affiliated to the Hebrew Tarbut educational network, including the two secondary schools of Tallinn and Tartu. About 75% of the Jewish children attended Jewish schools. A chair for Hebrew language and literature was established at the University of Tartu. There were three Jewish cooperative banks in Tallinn, Tartu, and Narva, with a total of 625 members in 1935. Estonian Jewry attained important national achievements, but because of its small numbers remained culturally dependent on the neighboring Jewish populations of Latvia and Lithuania. During the 1930s, a Fascist movement was formed in Estonia which launched an antisemitic propaganda campaign. The hardening anti-Jewish attitude was reflected in the decrease of the number of students at the University of Tartu, from 188 in 1926 to 96 in 1934.

After the annexation of Estonia to the Soviet Union in 1940, the Jewish institutions were liquidated and the political and social organizations disbanded. On the eve of the German invasion of the Soviet Union, some 500 communal leaders and affluent members of the congregation were arrested and deported to the Russian interior. Due to the efforts of the Soviet army to halt the German advance on Leningrad, the conquest of Estonia took about two months. Tallinn was not occupied until Sept. 3, 1941, and about 3,000 Estonian Jews succeeded in escaping to the Russian interior. All the Jews remaining in the zone of German occupation were murdered by the end of 1941 by the *Einsatzkommando* 1a with the active help of Estonian nationalist Omakaitse units. On October 12 all men aged 16 and above, about 440, were murdered, and in the last weeks of 1941 the others were liquidated – in all, 936 Jews according to the report of *Einsatzgruppe* A, from January 1942. This left Estonia "*judenfrei*," a fact which was reported in the Wannsee Conference at the same time. In 1942 and early 1943 about 3,000 Jews, mainly from Germany, were sent to the extermination camp in Kalevi Liiva. By May 1943 Heinrich *Himmler had ordered the cessation of mass shooting and the erection of forced labor camps. The main camp in Estonia was Vaivara, commanded by Hans Aumeier (sentenced and executed in 1947). About 20,000 Jewish prisoners, mainly from Vilna and Kaunas (Kovno), passed through its gates to labor camps at Klooga, Lagedi, Ereda, and others. The inmates were employed in mining slate and building fortifications. The successful advance of the Soviet army led to the evacuation of the camps to Tallinn and from there to *Stutthof from where a "death march" of 10,000 took place along the Baltic coast. Other camps were also liquidated (2,400 killed at Klooga and 426 at Lagedi). On Sept. 22, 1944, Estonia was finally liberated. The Germans attempted to burn the bodies of their victims to conceal their crimes.

After the war, Jews from all parts of Russia gathered in Estonia. The Jewish population numbered 5,436 in 1959 (0.5% of the total) of whom 1,350 (25%) declared Yiddish as their mother tongue, about 400 Estonian, and the remainder Russian; 3,714 Jews (1.3% of the total population) lived in Tallinn. As in the rest of the Soviet Union, there was no organized Jewish life in the Estonian S.S.R.

[Yehuda Slutsky / Shmuel Spector (2nd ed.)]

Revival of Jewish Life

There were an estimated 3,200 Jews in Estonia at the end of 1993 and 1,800 in 2001.

Jewish communal life was renewed in 1988 with the creation of the Jewish Cultural Society in Tallinn, the first of its kind in the Soviet Union. The Society organized concerts and lectures, and a Jewish school going up to the ninth grade was opened in 1990. Jewish culture clubs were also started in Tartu, Narva, and Kohtla-Järve. Other organizations followed, like the Maccabi sports club and the Jewish Veterans Union. Courses in Hebrew were offered. The Jewish Community was established in 1992 as a voluntary umbrella organization; its charter was approved on April 11, 1992. The community published a Jewish newspaper, *Hashakhar* ("Dawn"), and the radio program "Shalom Aleichem" was broadcast monthly. A synagogue was also reopened, attended mostly by the elderly.

In November 1993, an Estonian translation of the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, giving no details of the publisher, appeared in Tallinn bookshops. After the protests of the Jewish community and the Estonia-Israel Friendship Society, the book was withdrawn by the bookshop owners. However, in August 1994 the nationalist weekly *Eesti* published an article by Juri Lina, an Estonian émigré in Sweden, claiming that the *Protocols* were authentic and demanding to lift restrictions on their publication.

A more serious danger for the future of the small Jewish community in the country lay in the activities of Russian extremists in Estonia. An antigovernment demonstration, organized by ethnic Russians in Narva (North East) in December 1993, displayed anti-Jewish placards; two parties which are counterparts to Zhirinovsky's LDPR in Russia – the harshly antisemitic Ruskii Sobor Estonii [Russian Council of Estonia] and Liberal Demokraatiik Partei, led by Piotr Rozhok – continued to operate.

Another potentially dangerous phenomenon in Estonia was the continuing romanticization of the Estonian military units which, during World War II, fought together with Nazi troops, some of them in the SS; many of them were guilty of murderous acts against Jews.

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ESTORI (Isaac ben Moses) HA-PARḤI (1280–1355?), first topographer of Ereẓ Israel. The family was originally from Florenza, Andalusia, Spain – hence, the name ha-Parḥi, a Hebrew translation of the Spanish *flor* ("flower"). In the introduction to his main work Estori refers to himself as *Ish Tori* ("Man of Tours") in Touraine, France. It appears that he was born in Provence. He studied in Montpellier with his relative Jacob b. Makhir *Ibn Tibbon and with *Asher b. Jehiel. He obtained a broad general education, including the study of medicine as well. When the Jews were expelled from France in 1306, Estori went to Perpignan and Barcelona and then to Toledo. He stopped in Cairo in 1313 on his way to Ereẓ Israel. He studied with Baruch Ashkenazi in Jerusalem but left because of the negative attitude to Maimonides among the scholars of the city. Estori then settled in Beisan (Beth-Shean), where he was respected as a physician. He continued to earn his livelihood as a physician wherever he went. From Beisan he traveled throughout the land investigating ancient sites. He spent two years studying the Galilee and five years, other parts of the country. In Beisan he wrote *Sefer Kaftor va-Feraḥ* (Venice, 1549), which was completed in 1322. In this book he delineated the names of the towns and villages in the land. He also presented a complete discussion of the topographic principle that applied to the land. The book, based upon first hand visits to the sites, is rich in information. The book gives the borders of Ereẓ Israel as presented in the Bible and in the *halakhah*. It describes Jerusalem and the various regions of the country and presents a list of the biblical, talmudic, and Arabic names of the sites. Most of the 180 identifications of ancient sites that he made were correct. He was the first person to identify the sites of *Usha, *Modi'in, *Bethar, and others. His ruling that the biblical and talmudic names of villages and rivers are preserved in the Arabic, with only slight changes, is accepted by modern scholarship. Especially important is his study of ancient coins, which he compared with contemporary coins. He also compared the weights and measures of the Bible and the Talmud with contemporary weights and measures. He investigated plants, noting their Arabic names and attempting to determine their Hebrew names according to the Mishnah and Talmud. He also described the appearance of Jewish dress in Ereẓ Israel and in those countries of the Diaspora with which he was acquainted. He discovered the ruins of an ancient synagogue in Beisan and also described the remnants of an ancient synagogue in Hukok. He also provides information about the different religions and religious sects: Muslims, Christians, Jews, *Samaritans (whom he calls Sadducees), and Karaites. He gives valuable information on the Jewish settlements in Israel during his time. He mentions 11 Jewish communities, three of which were in Transjordan. A.M. *Luncz published a critical edition of *Kaftor va-Feraḥ* (Jerusalem, 1897), in which he mentions a number of other books that Estori wrote, though most of them are not extant. Estori's books include a translation of the book of medicine *De Remediis* by the physician Armengaud (Eremenganus) of Montpellier; a translation of the book *Hakabusim* containing articles and notes on medical matters, probably collected by the physician Elijah b. Judah; an exposition of some chapters from the Canon of Avicenna; *Battei ha-Nefesh*, words of admonition and moral rebuke; *Shoshannat ha-Melekh*, on the humanities and the sciences in the Talmud; and *Sha'ar ha-Shamayim*, expositions and novellae on the Talmud.

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[Jacob Elbaum]

ESTRAIKH, GENNADY (1952–), Yiddish scholar, writer, and journalist. Born in Zaporizhzhia, Ukraine, into a Yiddish-speaking family from a Jewish agricultural colony, he received his first degree in electronics and lived in Moscow (1976–91). In 1979 his family's application for an exit visa to Israel was rejected. In 1981 he joined the Jewish Historical and Ethnographical Commission, an independent scholarly body that sought to revive Jewish scholarship in the Soviet Union. From 1985 he regularly published short stories about contemporary Jewish life and essays on Jewish culture in the Moscow Yiddish monthly *Sovetish Heymland*, which he joined in 1988 as managing editor. His collection of stories *Di Royte Balke* ("The Red Ravine," 1988) and two editions of *Kratkiĭ Idish-Russish Slovar'* ("Concise Yiddish-Russian Dictionary," 1989/1990) appeared as supplements to that journal. In 1991 he moved to Oxford to pursue a doctorate, resulting in the book *Soviet Yiddish: Language Planning and Linguistic Development* (1999). In 1994–2002 he edited the Yiddish literary monthly *Di Pen*, worked at the Oxford Institute for Yiddish Studies, and taught Yiddish language and culture at London University's School of Oriental and African Studies. In 2003 he was appointed visiting professor of Yiddish studies at New York University. He is a regular columnist for the New York weekly *Forverts* (also under the pseudonyms G. Yakobi and Yakov London). He has published numerous scholarly articles on 20th century Yiddish culture in English and Yiddish. Other books include *Moskver Purim-Shpiln* ("Moscow Purim Plays," 1993), *Intensive Yiddish* (1996), and *In Harness: Yiddish Writers' Romance With Communism* (2005).

[Mikhail Krutikov (2nd ed.)]

ESTROSA (or **Istrumsa**), **DANIEL** (1582?–1653), Salonikan rabbi and halakhist. Estrosa was born in Salonika and studied under Isaac Franco and Mordecai *Kalai. He was apparently appointed as head of the famous yeshivah of the community known as "Portugala Yaḥya" during the latter years of Kalai's life. Among his pupils were David *Conforte, Gershon b. Abraham Motal, and Gabriel Esperanza. He died in Salonika during a plague. The only one of Estrosa's works published under his own name is *Magen Gibborim* (Salonika, 1754), responsa. It contains valuable glosses on the readings of Maimonides' *Yad* and of Jacob b. Asher's *Tur.* Other known works by him are included in the publications of others: his *Kunteres Shemot ha-Gittin* in the *Yerekh Avraham*, pt. 1 (Salonika, 1815), 1a–4b, of his grandson, Ḥayyim Abraham Estrosa, who also included his grandfather's novellae on chapter three of tractate *Avodah Zarah* in his *Ben Avraham* (Salonika, 1826); glosses on the *Tur, Ḥoshen Mishpat*, in the *Doresh Mishpat* (Salonika, 1655) of Solomon b. Samuel Florentin; and his halakhic decisions in the works of his colleagues and disciples.

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ESZTERGOM (Ger. **Gran**), city in N. Hungary, on the Danube; it had the oldest Jewish community in Hungary. This is mentioned for the first time during the 11th century, when Kalonymus b. Shabbetai lived in Esztergom; he is known for the severe legal decision which he pronounced against two merchants of Regensburg who arrived in Esztergom after the beginning of the Sabbath (Zedekiah Anav, *Shibbolei ha-Leket, Hilkhot Shabbat*, para. 60; see also Rashi to Beẓah 24b). The community lived in a closed Jewish quarter under the protection of the archbishop, granted by him in 1294, and the royal court, and had grown to 1,000 persons before the expulsion of the Jews from Esztergom in 1526. Jews resettled in Esztergom during the 18th century, and numbered 870 in 1850, 1,540 in 1910, 1,300 in 1930, and 450 in 1941, attached to a labor camp in 1942 along with thousands of other Jews. On June 13–16, 1944, they were deported to Auschwitz via Farkan. Only 52 survivors returned and there were only ten Jews living in Esztergom in 1970.

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[*Encyclopaedia Hebraica*]

ETAM (Heb. עֵיטָם).

(1) The cleft in the rock where 3,000 men of Judah came to speak with Samson after he had slaughtered the Philistines (Judg. 15:8, 11). Some scholars identify it with ʿIrāq Ismāʿīn, 2½ mi. (4 km.) southeast of Zorah.

(2) A village in the northern Negev, mentioned together with En-Rimmon (I Chron. 4:32) and identified with the prominent Tell Beit Mirsim, where remains of the Israelite period, including walls, have been found.

(3) A city in the territory of Judah, located in the Bethlehem district according to a Septuagint addition to Joshua 15:59. It was fortified by Rehoboam together with Bethlehem and Tekoa (II Chron. 11:6). Josephus relates that it was one of Solomon's pleasure resorts and describes it as "delightful for, and abounding in, parks and flowing streams" (Ant., 8:186). It is most likely to be identified with Khirbat al-Ḥūḥ, a large tell with Iron Age remains, near Ein-Atan in the vicinity of the Pools of Solomon. According to the Talmud, the waters of its spring were brought to the Temple (TJ, Yoma 3:8, 41a), probably a reference to the aqueduct built by Pilate to catch the waters of the spring of Etam (Jos., Wars, 2:175; Ant., 18:60). A Kefar Etam is mentioned in the Mishnah (Yev. 12:6).

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[Michael Avi-Yonah]

ÉTAMPES (Heb. איטנפש), town in the Seine et Oise department, S. of Paris. At the time of the expulsion of 1182, King Philip Augustus gave the synagogue to the canons of Étampes to be converted into the collegiate church of Sainte-Croix (destroyed during the Revolution). There is still a rue de la Juiverie in Étampes, near the Place de l'Hôtel de Ville. One house in this square is still called the "synagogue," a name also given to the vast cellar (since filled in) under 39 and 41, rue Ste-Croix. Local tradition holds that Jews took refuge in the cellars of the quarter to escape persecutions and expulsions and that they buried their treasures there. Until 1182, R. Nathan b. Meshulam, great-grandfather of Joseph b. Nathan *Official, author of *Yosef ha-Mekanne*, lived in Étampes.

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[Bernhard Blumenkranz]

ETHAN (Heb. אֵיתָן; "permanent, enduring"? or "one consecrated [to a temple]"?). The Bible ostensibly mentions four individuals named Ethan: (1) Ethan the Ezrahite, a sage (along with *Heman, Calcol, and Darda, "sons of Mahol") whom Solomon surpassed in wisdom (I Kings 5:11). Psalm 89 is ascribed to him. (2) A son of Zerah son of Judah (I Chron. 2:6, 8). His brothers are Zimri, Heman, Calcol, and "Dara." (3) A levite Temple musician in the time of David, colleague of the levites Heman and Asaph (I Chron. 6:29; 15:17, 19; in some lists Ethan's name is replaced by Jeduthun (*ibid.* 16:41; 25:1–2; II Chron. 5:12; 35:15). (4) An ancestor of Asaph (I Chron. 6:27). In view of their common association with Heman, Calcol, and Dar(d)a, the first two Ethans are undoubtedly identical. The descent from Judah alleged in I Chronicles 2 probably represents a (pre-Chronicles) midrashic attempt to explain the epithet "Ezrahite" on the basis of the name of Zerah, Judah's son. The epithet is usually understood today to mean a member or descendant of the native pre-Israelite population of Palestine. (*ʾEzraḥ* may be a loan from Akkadian *um/nzarḫu*, "homeborn" (Deller apud Cogan in Bibliography).) Ethan (and Heman, cf. Ps. 88:1) was thus descended from the latter. Since both Ethan and Heman are credited with psalms, it is hard not to identify them with the musicians of the same names in David's time ((3), above; note, too, that the epithet applied to Heman, Calcol, and Darda in I Kings 5:11, "sons of Mahol," is interpreted by W.F. Albright as "members of an orchestral guild"). As "Ezrahites" they may thus have been among the several non-Israelites holding prominent positions in David's time. The levite ancestry ascribed to them in Chronicles is typical of that book's treatment of cultic personnel (cf. the levite lineage it gives the Ephraimite Samuel, I Chron. 6:13; contrast I Sam. 1:1). Thus the first three Ethans appear to be one: one of the eponymous ancestors (cf. I Chron. 6:18ff.) of the guilds of Temple musicians (cf. to Calcol the Temple musician named *Krkr* on one of the 14–12th centuries B.C.E. ivories from Megiddo; in Pritchard, Texts, 263), living (according to Chron.) in the time of David, and of pre-Israelite Palestinian ancestry. His wisdom apparently was his psalmodic skill.

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[Jeffrey Howard Tigay]

ETHBAAL (Heb. אֶתְבַּעַל; "Baal is with him" – pronounced *Ittobaʿal*?), a name borne by several kings of city-states in the area that classical sources call *Phoenicia, corresponding in the main to present-day Lebanon and Northwest Israel. Akkadian transcriptions indicate that the initial *alef* of Itobaal might be elided in pronunciation. (1) King of Tyre and Sidon, ca. 887–856 B.C.E., father of Jezebel (I Kings 16:31; Jos., Ant., 8:317). According to Menander of Ephesus, the historian of Phoenicia quoted by Josephus, Ethbaal (Ithobalos) was a priest of Astarte (as is attested of later kings of Sidon), who became king by murdering his predecessor, and ruled for 32 years (Jos., Apion, 1:123). A year-long drought in his reign (identified by Josephus as that in Ahab's reign, cf. I Kings 17) ended, according to Menander, when Ethbaal "made supplications to the gods, whereupon a heavy thunderstorm broke out" (Jos., Ant., 8:324). He founded the Phoenician city Botrys and the Libyan city Auza (*ibid.*). (2) Son of *Hiram (Ahiram), a tenth-century B.C.E. king of Byblos (Pritchard, Texts, 2, 504; *ibid.*, 3, 661). (3) An eighth-century king of Tyre who paid tribute to Tiglath-Pileser III ca. 740 B.C.E., whose existence was unknown before 1972. (4) A king of Sidon installed by Sennacherib in 701 as a replacement for the rebellious Lulli. (5) A sixth-century B.C.E. king of Tyre (Jos., Apion, 1:156).

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[Jeffrey Howard Tigay / S. David Sperling (2nd ed.)]

°ETHERIDGE, JOHN WESLEY (1804–1866), English student of Judaica. Etheridge, who was a Methodist minister, held no academic position. His published works deal with both the Syriac Bible and the Targum, of which he did English translations of Onkelos and Pseudo-Jonathan to the Pentateuch, *The Targum of Onkelos and Jonathan ben Uzziel on the Pentateuch* (2 vols., 1862, 1865). He also published *Horae Aramaicae: Outlines of the Semitic Language* (London, 1843) and in 1856 a survey of Jewish learning entitled *Jerusalem and Tiberias: Sora and Cordova.* As a pioneering introduction to the various departments of Jewish learning, the work is not without significance.

ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY: ODNB online.

[Raphael Loewe]

ETHICAL CULTURE, an American nontheistic movement based on a humanist ideology. From the time of its establishment in 1876, the Ethical Culture movement has appealed to a relatively well-educated, middle- and upper-class, socially idealistic public. Originally and until about 1945, the people attracted to this movement were residents of major urban centers: New York, Chicago, Philadelphia, St. Louis. Felix *Adler (1851–1933), the leading figure of the first half century of the movement, was deeply influenced in his idealism by both the American transcendentalist Ralph Waldo Emerson and the German transcendentalist Immanuel Kant. Adler's personal variation of Kant's ethic was developed into a "religion of duty," purportedly neutral on theological and metaphysical questions.

Among the comparatively small number of followers of Adler (never more than about 5,000), Jews of German background were prominent in New York City; outside of New York, Germans of Christian background outnumbered the Jews. Again, as the social service activities of the New York group entered the Lower East Side, some of the young Jews of Eastern European backgrounds joined the movement; nothing comparable occurred in other urban centers. Thus it is possible to describe the New York Society for Ethical Culture as largely an offshoot of German Reform Judaism, while describing the other Ethical Culture societies as largely offshoots of liberal German Protestantism.

The later philosophical orientation of the Ethical Culture movement was influenced by American humanistic and naturalistic ideas, and its audience became increasingly a Jewish and non-Jewish suburban public. The suburban societies have also served as compromise religious "homes" for couples of mixed background.

In keeping with the movement's mandate to affirm the importance of working to make people's lives and the world at large more humane, the American Ethical Union takes positions on specific issues at delegated national assemblies and meetings, striving to apply its ideals to current concerns. Local Ethical Societies engage in a wide range of service, humanitarian, and social change projects. An affiliate of the AEU, the National Service Conference, works with other non-governmental organizations at the United Nations and within the AEU on ethical peace-building and other programs. The Washington Ethical Action Office works toward achieving its selected goals by activities such as lobbying and disseminating information through the Washington Ethical Action Report.

Since 1990, some of the resolutions passed by the American Ethical Union include opposing capital punishment, seeking a peaceful solution to the Middle East conflict by ensuring a Palestinian state and a secure Israel, supporting the legalization of gay marriages, and advocating free choice regarding abortion.

On the international front, the International Humanist and Ethical Union has special consultative status with the UN, general consultative status at UNICEF and the Council of Europe, and maintains operational relations with UNESCO.

Succeeding Adler, David Algernon *Black led the movement into the 1980s.

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[Joseph L. Blau / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

ETHICAL LITERATURE (Heb. סִפְרוּת הַמּוּסָר, *sifrut ha-musar*). There is no specific ethical literature as such in the biblical and talmudic period insofar as a systematic formulation of Jewish *ethics is concerned. Even the Wisdom *literature of the Bible, though entirely ethical in content, does not aim at giving a systematic exposition of this science of morals and human duties, but confines itself to apothegms and unconnected moral sayings. The same is true of the tractate **Avot*, the only wholly ethical tractate of the Mishnah, which consists largely of the favorite ethical maxims of individual rabbis, and later works, such as **Derekh Ereẓ* and **Kallah*. The ethical principles and concepts of Judaism are scattered throughout the vast area of rabbinic literature and it was only in the Middle Ages that this data was used as the basis of ethical works and from this time ethical literature becomes a specific genre of Jewish literature.

The term "ethical literature," applied to a type of Hebrew literature, has two different meanings. Both refer to an important part of Hebrew literature in medieval and early modern times, but while one denotes a literary form which encompasses a group of works closely resembling each other structurally, the other denotes a literary purpose expressed in various literary forms. Traditional authors generally use the term in the first sense, while the latter sense is preferred by modern scholars.

Literary Form

"CLASSICAL" ETHICAL LITERATURE. These writings are in book form and aim at instructing the Jew in religious and moral behavior. Structurally, the books are uniform: each is divided according to the component parts of the ideal righteous way of life; the material is treated methodically – analyzing, explaining, and demonstrating how to achieve each moral virtue (usually treated in a separate chapter or section) in the author's ethical system.

The first major work in "classical" ethical literature, *Ḥovot ha-Levavot*, by Baḥya b. Joseph ibn *Paquda (written in the 11th century), postulates ten religious and moral virtues, each forming the subject of a separate chapter. In *Ma'alot ha-Middot*, Jehiel b. Jekuthiel *Anav of Rome expounds 24 ethical principles of perfect moral conduct (positive and negative – the latter to be avoided). Baḥya b. Asher, one of the most prominent kabbalists in Spain, lists and analyzes the components of moral perfection in alphabetical order in *Kad ha-Kemaḥ*, while Moses Ḥayyim *Luzzatto's major ethical work *Mesillat Yesharim*, constructed in the tradition of the *baraita* of R. *Phinehas b. Jair, enumerates the main steps to perfection and holiness. Writings falling into this structural category form the main body of the traditional ethical literature.

ETHICAL MONOGRAPHS. Closely following the formalistic pattern of "classical" ethical literature, ethical monographs concentrate on one particular stage in the journey to religious perfection. The first major work of this kind was the *Sha'arei Teshuvah* by *Jonah b. Abraham Gerondi. In this work the author analyzes every situation and problem that might possibly confront a repentant sinner and advises him how to purge himself completely of the effects of sin. Jonah Gerondi paved the way for what was to become one of the major literary forms in medieval Hebrew literature.

Literary Purpose

The second meaning of the term ethical literature includes, besides the two categories mentioned (the classical ethical writing and the ethical monograph), nine literary forms, which, though structurally very different, have the same objective – to posit ethical and religious principles. The search for moral and spiritual perfection is the purpose of ethical literature just as practical observance of *mitzvot* is the purpose of halakhic literature.

HOMILETIC LITERATURE. Hebrew medieval *homiletic literature is didactic and, in this sense, does not differ from "classical" ethical writings. The difference between the two is in their methods. Homiletic literature forms the bulk of ethical literature and for centuries influenced Jewish life more than any of the other ethical literary writings. Except for halakhic literature, no other type of Hebrew literature has achieved such a variety in content and form, has inspired authors over such a long period, and has reached such wide audiences.

ETHICAL WILLS. Developed in Germany, France, and Spain from the 11th to the 13th centuries, writers have used this literary form until modern times. *Ethical "wills" usually refer to short, concise works in which the main principles of moral behavior are expounded and which are written in the form of a father's last words to his children. Frequently, the "will" is nothing but a literary cliché, and quite often was applied to short ethical works not really intended as "wills." Many of the works in this category are pseudepigraphic and are later compilations attributed to early scholars.

ETHICAL LETTERS. This form includes actual letters in which the writer instructs either his son or another person, who was far away, to live a moral life; and short ethical treatises, called "a letter" ("*iggeret*"), which is also the conventional name applied to any short work. *Naḥmanides' letters to his sons belong to the first category, whereas the work "*Iggeret ha-Musar*" by R. Shem Tov *Falaquera is typical of the second.

MORALISTIC STORYBOOKS. One of the earliest literary forms used by writers of ethical literature, the first moralistic storybook, **Midrash Aseret ha-Dibberot*, a collection of moralistic tales in the form of exempla and short homilies, was probably written in the geonic period. Structurally, the work is a series of stories which exemplify the way to achieve complete devotion to each one of the Ten Commandments. *Nissim b. Jacob b. Nissim ibn Shahin's *Sefer ha-Ma'asiyyot* ("Book of Tales"), better known as *Ḥibbur Yafeh me-ha-Yeshu'ah*, is also an early work (11th century) expressed in this form. Originally written in Arabic, it was translated into Hebrew and as such influenced later Jewish writers. After the 15th century, moralistic-storybook writing became more common in Yiddish literature than in Hebrew.

HANHAGOT LITERATURE. Unlike the genres described above, which usually strive to teach the most basic and essential principles of ethical behavior, *hanhagot* literature concentrates on small practical details and not on general spiritual fundaments. The objective – to instruct the individual in the minutest details of daily behavior – makes use both of halakhic laws and of ethical principles. *Hanhagot* literature began to develop in the 13th-century *Sefer ha-Yirah* by R. Jonah Gerondi, and later *Ẓeidah la-Derekh by* *Menahem b. Aaron ibn Zeraḥ, but it was still popular, mainly in Eastern Europe, in the 17th and 18th centuries.

EULOGIES. This type of ethical literature belongs to homiletics because eulogies – written obituaries at least – were considered homilies. Eulogies are usually didactic with the virtues of the mourned dead serving as emulative qualities. Hundreds were printed, either as separate booklets or forming parts of a more general homiletic work.

COLLECTIONS OF ETHICAL FABLES AND EPIGRAMS. The first collections were influenced by Arabic works; sometimes these compilations were translations from the Arabic (e.g., *Musrei ha-Pilosofim*, attributed to Isḥaq ibn Hunayn or **Mivhar ha-Peninim*, attributed to R. Solomon b. Judah ibn *Gabirol, or **Kalila and Dimna*).

ETHICAL POETRY. Ethical treatises were sometimes written in verse. Structurally, many of them follow biblical examples, especially the Proverbs, and list the commandments in poetical form. One of the earliest works in this literary form, *Shirei Musar Haskel* (1505), was attributed to *Hai Gaon. Some of the *maqāma* literature should also be included (*Beḥinat Olam* by *Jedaiah ha-Penini, and *Iggeret ha-Musar* and *Sefer Mevakkesh* by Falaquera).

INTERPRETATIONS OF THE BOOK OF PROVERBS AND OF THE TRACTATE AVOT. The Book of Proverbs and *Avot*, mainly concerned with ethics, formed the basis of many medieval ethical writings. The interpretation served as a vehicle for the author's own concepts of Jewish ethics. Popular in medieval literature, these commentaries were usually regarded as independent works of ethics, and not part of the literature of exegesis and interpretation.

The objective of all these literary forms is to give workable and practical answers to the moral problems of the times. Their answers however were derived from theological considerations which lie outside the scope of ethical literature. Conceptually, ethical literature is not original in any of the disciplines it draws upon: theology, anthropology, philosophy, or psychology. The new concepts which originated in theological and theosophical literature were adapted to everyday religious life by ethical literature. It expressed them in different literary forms to make them acceptable to the public at large and it is thus, in form rather than in content, that ethical literature was original. Forms of expression usually do not interest theological innovators who mainly address themselves to the intellectual elite of the community, but a writer of an ethical work cannot disregard them. Since his main objective is to influence the life and religious behavior of the community as a whole, the ethical writer cannot afford to address only a segment of the public; consequently structural considerations play an important role.

Two unrelated processes have thus shaped the history of ethical literature: (a) the development of the literary forms as such; (b) the general development of Jewish religious thought on which ethical literature drew for its content and which it popularized. The merger of these two processes is the reason why ethical literature tends to be more conservative, less radical and innovative, than the theological movements in which the concepts it used originated. This phenomenon is apparent at every stage of the history of ethical literature, excluding perhaps the first period in Spain (see below). Ethical literature, in adapting new ideas, couched them in traditional literary genres for which it drew on aggadic lore. All the ethical writers used the aggadic form. The fusion of the old and the new, in form and content, made ethical literature the catalytic agent that preserved the new ideas and introduced them into the bloodstream of Judaism. Ethical literature modified the more radical implications of these concepts, and made them acceptable to the traditional community at large.

Since the ideas that ethical literature propounded originated with the ideological and theological movements in medieval Judaism, its history also reflects the development of these movements. Consequently there are four types of Hebrew medieval ethical literature: philosophical, rabbinic, Ashkenazi-ḥasidic (see *Hasidei Ashkenaz), and kabbalistic; the last greatly influenced modern ḥasidic ethical literature. These testify to four distinct ideological movements. The development of each of these types will be briefly studied.

Philosophical-Ethical Literature

The beginnings of Jewish ethical literature in the Middle Ages are rooted in the development of Jewish philosophy of that period. The last chapter of *Emunot ve-De'ot* by Saadiah Gaon (ninth century), which is on human behavior, may be regarded as the first Jewish medieval work in ethics. Distinct from the body of the book, both because of its form and because of its contents, it seems to be a separate work on ethics. The philosophical basis of Saadiah's ethical concepts did not develop out of earlier Jewish thought, and this might be the reason why this part of his work did not have a lasting influence on later Jewish ethical writings. *Tikkun Middot ha-Nefesh* (11th century) by Solomon ibn Gabirol suffered a similar fate, probably because the ethical system developed in the work was also alien to Jewish thought and did not fit into the accepted morals and ethics of the talmudic *aggadah*. Ibn Gabirol tried to show that the fusion of the four essential elements in medieval thought and the five senses formed the bases of all human characteristics.

Both works are written in Arabic, and both were translated (early 12th century) into Hebrew by R. Judah ibn Tibbon. They are an attempt at introducing a "pure ethic" into Jewish philosophy – a direct application of alien philosophical ideas to the field of Jewish ethics, without either blending them with, or using, the wealth of random ethical material already existing in Jewish tradition. In *Sefer ha-Ma'asiyyot*, a book of ethics which appeared at about the same time (11th century), also written in Arabic, but which was early translated into Hebrew, the author, R. Nissim b. Jacob b. Nissim ibn Shahin, used the opposite approach to that of Saadiah Gaon's and Ibn Gabirol's. He collected ethical stories and sayings from the Talmud to which he added medieval tales and concepts scarcely using philosophical ideas and applying no ethical system. It came to be widely used and accepted in its Hebrew version by all later writers of the ethical tale.

These works were precursory to the body of Jewish philosophical writings and it was *Ḥovot ha-Levavot* of Baḥya ibn Paquda, one of the most penetrating works in medieval literature, which gave impetus to this literature. The first medieval Jewish work to evolve an ethical system rooted in Jewish thought, it tried to come to grips with the fundamental spiritual problems that troubled the medieval Jewish mind. While the influence of contemporary medieval philosophy can easily be detected, especially in the first section which is a philosophical treatise on the unity of God, Baḥya ibn Paquda also culled from such sources as biblical and rabbinic literatures, and Arabic proverbs, tales, and epigrams to create what is primarily an ethical guide. The most influential single Jewish work in ethics in a period of over 600 years, its impact may be partly attributed to the author's profound and fundamental treatment of what was probably the most challenging question to Judaism at the time – the inner quality of religious life.

All major medieval ethical works came to grapple with this basic and crucial problem which essentially grew out of an age that had adopted the Platonic concept of matter and spirit being antagonistic elements and consequently creating a rift within man. The ethical and spiritual teachings in the Talmud had come to be relegated to a secondary position and Judaism thus came to be seen as a materialistic religion, based on practical deeds and actions, and not on spiritual attitudes which, to the medieval scholars, seemed the essence of religious life. Jewish moralists were therefore confronted with the problem of reconciling the contemporary Jewish concept of religious life which was practically orientated and consequently seen as inferior, with the new ideas which saw religion almost exclusively in a spiritual light. While this question was also considered from a purely philosophical point of view, and thus formed the basis of many medieval philosophical writings, it most needed to be answered in the sphere of morals and ethics to which the community at large turned for guidance.

The conflict was resolved in ethical literature through a reinterpretation of the ancient Jewish heritage in which its spiritual values were stressed in the light of the moral and ethical concepts of the age. Nowhere was the problem more sharply and clearly stated than in the introduction to *Ḥovot ha-Levavot.* Baḥya ibn Paquda's ethical system, except for minor changes and variations, was generally accepted by philosophical-ethical literature. He stressed: (a) the idea of *kavvanah* – any ritual act as such does not represent spiritual fulfillment, unless it is performed with the right *kavvanah* (awareness and intention); the deed becomes a means in the fulfillment of a religious duty. Religious value thus also came to be attached to the spiritual attitude of the doer, and not to the deed alone; (b) a whole system of purely spiritual commandments – the *ḥovot ha-levavot*, which gave the title to the work. Spiritual commandments, according to Baḥya ibn Paquda, are those that are completely detached from any physical act, and they, therefore, do not include the traditionally "spiritual" religious acts of prayer and study, because the mouth or the eyes (physical organs) are required in their performance. These commandments he set out as: reaffirmation of God's unity, recognition of His workings in the world, divine worship, trust in God, sincerity of purpose, humanity, repentance, self-examination, asceticism, and the love of God.

With variations in emphasis, this double or triple system of commandments (practical commandments, *kavvanah*, and *ḥovot ha-levavot*) is found in other philosophical-ethical writings: *Hegyon ha-Nefesh* by *Abraham b. Ḥiyya ha-Nasi of Barcelona, in which the spiritual meaning of repentance is described; *Yesod Mora* in which Abraham *Ibn Ezra gave a spiritual foundation to the commandments; and especially in the works of *Maimonides. The latter, sometimes orientated toward "purely philosophical ethics" as in *Shemonah Perakim*, are also invested with philosophical and spiritual-moral commandments which complement the practical laws, as in *Sefer ha-Madda* of the *Mishneh Torah*. These works ushered in a new period in ethical literature: writings were now in Hebrew and the need to establish a link between the new philosophical-ethical ideas, directed toward the spiritualization and immanence of religious life, and the older more traditional Jewish concepts, became more pronounced. For the Jewish philosophers it had been easier to express "pure philosophy" in Arabic rather than in Hebrew. Henceforth however, even philosophers based their ethical works on biblical passages and talmudic sayings, and thus integrated more closely the ancient Jewish ethical teachings with the new philosophical-ethical ideas.

The relationship between moral perfection and maximum religious fulfillment was one of the main problems that confronted Hebrew philosophers. Maximum fulfillment was usually understood as philosophical contemplation, which had nothing to do with social life and ethical behavior. Was ethics, therefore, to be considered only as a means toward attaining this religious fulfillment, or was ethics an end in itself? Maimonides' writings contain both contradictory concepts; in most places Maimonides subordinates ethics to philosophy but there are places where he sees ethical behavior as the best possible approach to God which man can achieve. Most of the followers of Maimonides tended to see ethics as a means and not as a religious end, e.g., Shem Tov Falaquera's *Sefer ha-Ma'alot*. This approach to ethics possibly contributed to the fact that philosophical-ethical literature after the 13th century ceased to be a vehicle of expression of the ethician.

The search for the inner religious quality of life had found expression in ethical literature before Maimonides, but especially after him philosophers tried to give rational and spiritual reasons for the practical commandments. The commandments were thus considered only seemingly materialistic, and their true essence was seen as spiritual. During the 13th century Jewish thought used allegorization as a means to reveal the hidden spiritual meaning of the commandments and the Torah, thus breaking with the Maimonidean rationale. *Malmad ha-Talmidim*, by Jacob b. Abba Mari b. Samson *Anatoli, and the polemic and exegetic writings of Zerahiah b. Isaac b. Shealtiel *Gracian (Ḥen) demonstrate this trend. This development within philosophical-ethical literature was later blamed for the conversion of so many Jews during the Spanish persecutions of the late 14th and the 15th centuries: the contention of these Jews had been that if the true meaning of the commandments was a hidden spiritual one, why sacrifice one's life in order to preserve the outer meaningless, material shell?

Rabbinic-Ethical Literature

The rise of rabbinic-ethical literature, especially in 13th-century Spain, Provence, and Italy, came as a reaction to such trends and was a revolt against Jewish philosophy influenced by Aristotelian concepts. Rabbinic-ethical literature was receptive to organized ethical thought; its aim, however, was to show that a moral system was already existent in the *aggadah* and in the Talmud. Jonah Gerondi, one of the first Hebrew ethicians, dedicated his major ethical work *Sha'arei Teshuvah* ("The Gates of Repentance") to the problem of repentance, much as Abraham b. Hiyya had done a hundred years earlier. According to him, a systematic arrangement of the old talmudic sayings together with a suitable exegetical commentary would present a complete and satisfactory system. Jonah and the other writers of this literature tried especially to emphasize the spiritual dicta found in older Jewish tradition, thus minimizing and possibly reconciling the antithesis between medieval beliefs and this older tradition.

It is significant that many of the writers of rabbinic-ethical literature were kabbalists, though they did not reveal their mystic ideas in their popular ethical works. Naḥmanides' ethical treatise, *Sha'ar ha-Gemul*, discusses the various categories of the just and the wicked and their retribution in the world to come. Baḥya b. Asher wrote a very popular rabbinic-ethical work, *Kad ha-Kemaḥ*, in which, following the rabbinic-spiritualistic method, he enumerates alphabetically and studies different ethical problems. These and other ethicians (some modern scholars even maintain that Jonah Gerondi had been a kabbalist) presented the public with a rabbinic-ethical system, while in their closed mystical circles they resolved the antithesis between the spirituality of religion and the material aspect of the Torah through mystic speculation.

There were, however, some rabbinic-ethical writers who merely tried to compile and systematize the different talmudic-ethical writings. Thus, most of *Ma'alot ha-Middot* by Jehiel b. Jekuthiel Anav is a collection of talmudic and midrashic sayings arranged according to theme and content. The objective of later works, e.g., the two versions of *Menorat ha-Ma'or*, one by Israel *Al-Nakawa b. Joseph of Toledo, the other by Isaac *Aboab, was similar. Rabbinic-ethical literature, therefore, did not try to innovate, but to apply traditional Jewish ethics to the medieval world. In the process, it even revived some of the old forms of aggadic literature which came to serve as vehicles of expression.

Ashkenazi-Ḥasidic Literature

The creative verve of the Ḥasidei Ashkenaz movement in Germany expressed itself in a body of ethical writings (see *Sefer *Ḥasidim* (first published 1538, Bologna), *Judah b. Samuel he-Ḥasid of Regensburg, *Samuel b. Kalonymus he-Ḥasid of Speyer, and *Eleazar b. Judah b. Kalonymus of Worms) that deviate in character from the philosophical-ethical literature and rabbinic-ethical literature of the time. (The former, however, had already reached its zenith when Ashkenazi ḥasidic literature started to develop, while the latter began at the same time.) While *Sefer Ḥasidim*, a work of major scope, epitomizes Ashkenazi-ḥasidic literature, writings of lesser range and reputation are equally representative, e.g., the introductory chapters to the halakhic work *Sefer ha-Roke'aḥ* by *Eleazar of Worms and the ethical works *Sefer ha-Gan* (1899) by Isaac b. Eliezer and *Sefer Ḥasidim Katan* (1866) by Moses b. Eleazar ha-Kohen (14th and 15th centuries) are almost exclusively based on Ashkenazi-ḥasidic moral teachings. The problems which faced the Ashkenazi ethician, essentially the same as those that confronted the Hebrew thinkers of Spain, Italy, and Provence, were approached differently and were expressed neither in the variety of forms nor given the systematic treatment of the philosophical-ethical and rabbinic-ethical literatures of the south. The teachings of Greco-Arabic philosophy had not reached and therefore had not influenced the Jewish communities in Germany and in northern France. Thus while medieval European thinkers were essentially confronted by the same challenge, their response grew out of their immediate cultural environment.

Ashkenazi-ḥasidic literature is basically less abstract (less consideration is given to principles and fundamentals and more attention is paid to actual situations and concrete problems) than the literatures of the south. Structurally, the two types of literary writings also differ widely. *Sefer Ḥasidim* is not patterned on the methodical division of *Ḥovot ha-Levavot.* It is comprised of 2,000 short random passages in which every situation and every phase of moral and religious life is discussed. Thus Ashkenazi-ethical thinking was much more concerned with the specific problems to which local historical conditions gave rise than were their southern counterparts.

The approach of the Ḥasidei Ashkenaz to the concept of the spiritual essence of religious and moral behavior and their interpretation of the practical commandments of the old teachings became the classical solution to all such questions in rabbinic literature. They contended that all commandments and ethical demands made upon man by God are a test in order to examine man's devotion to his creator. The religious value of certain deeds therefore does not lie in the actual performance but in the spiritual and religious effort that constitutes the action, e.g., a rich man who paid the ransom for a captured Jew and released him does not attain the spiritual height of the poor man who, with much effort, collected the ransom from many people, but upon paying the money found that the Jew had already been released. It is not the deed alone that counts, but the effort and devotion which God expects of man in following His will. Thus the reasons for (and even the meaning of) the commandments become negligible and even irrelevant: God in His infinite wisdom chose certain deeds by which to try man; they could be any deeds. What is important is that God's will was revealed through certain commandments and through certain ethical standards; it is not for man to ask why.

Ashkenazi Ḥasidim thus arrived at a certain scale of religious and ethical values and of commandments which ranged from the most difficult and trying precepts to acts which everybody could easily perform; the latter were therefore considered secondary. The religious value in the study of the talmudic tractate *Mo'ed Katan*, which deals with death and mourning, is higher than that of the study of other tractates. The more a commandment contradicts average human desires and instincts, the more religious value is attached to it. Thus, the greatest sacrifice that man can possibly make – to die for **kiddush ha-Shem* (be martyred in the sanctification of God's name) – is man's supreme religious fulfillment. This view, prevalent during the times of the *Crusades, was able to take root in an age when thousands of Jews in Germany and northern France died for *kiddush ha-Shem*.

The Ashkenazi-ḥasidic movement thus gave new relevance and new spiritual meaning even to the simplest and most practical of the religious and moral commandments. A more radical principle which also directly affected a whole pattern of behavior was the distinction made between *din Torah* (the "earthly law") and *din shamayim* (the "heavenly law"). Strict observance of the Torah precepts does not necessarily lead to the highest religious fulfillment; for this a higher moral law – *din shamayim*, the law of conscience – is necessary. According to the Torah, a thief is a thief; but according to *din shamayim* a clear distinction must be made between a man who steals bread out of hunger and a rich man who steals in order to further enrich himself. This does not mean that the laws of the Torah should be abandoned; a pious man however should try to transcend them and follow a higher spiritual and moral law.

During the 12th and 13th centuries, when Ashkenazi-ḥasidic theology and ethics flourished, Jewish life and thought of southern and northern Europe were clearly distinct: they were almost two separate cultures. The 13th century saw the slow bridging of the gulf – Ashkenazi ideas spread to southern Europe where they influenced rabbinic-ethical writers, and after the expulsion from Spain in 1492, Ashkenazi-ḥasidic ethics were a bulwark on which Judaism drew, to reorientate itself ideologically after the great tragedy.

Creativity in philosophical-ethical thought came to an end with the expulsion from Spain, mainly because philosophy was seen as a contributory factor to the conversion of hundreds of thousands of Spanish Jews. Writers like Joseph b. Ḥayyim *Jabez and Isaac Abrabanel clearly denounced current Jewish philosophical thinking. It was a time when Judaism seemed to have fallen into a theological void – the old beliefs were shattered by the tragedy, and for a time nothing, at least nothing systematic and of embracing scope, seemed to replace philosophical thinking. A new theological outlook, the *Kabbalah, which came to form the largest body of ethical writings in Jewish literature, finally gave literary expression to Jewish life and its aspirations in the aftermath of the expulsion. Ashkenazi-ḥasidic ethical thought had been only a temporary moral and spiritual support to the Jews of southern Europe and it was integrated into the *Kabbalah which began to develop during the 16th century.

Kabbalistic-Ethical Literature

The early European kabbalists usually tended to confine themselves to their closed circles and did not want to turn the Kabbalah into a popular literature. The center of kabbalistic learning established in Safed during the 16th century, however, created a body of moral writings which were directed toward the Jewish community at large and which started the 300-year period of kabbalistic-ethical literature.

This literature drew on earlier kabbalistic works, especially the *Zohar, as well as on Ashkenazi-ḥasidic ethics and rabbinic-ethical thought. Using the Kabbalah and its mystical system as a basis, kabbalistic-ethical teachings were formulated along the same strong systematic lines. Central to kabbalistic-ethical literature are two closely related concepts: (1) an ethical dogma in which the commandments are conceived symbolically; (2) the idea that the temporal world reflects the eternal world and vice versa and that there is an interdependence between the performance of deeds on this earth and processes in the divine mystical world. The symbolic approach to the commandments demanded of man to adhere to them with all his might because they reflect divine mystical actions. Through the idea of reflective worlds, man's deeds formed part of the divine drama, and enabled man by means of his action to influence the mystical powers. Moses b. Jacob *Cordovero's *Tomer Devorah*, one of the first kabbalistic ethical works of this period, is a detailed guide to moral behavior and how such conduct could and should reflect divine essences and satisfy divine requirements. His pupil and follower, *Elijah b. Moses de Vidas, the author of *Reshit Ḥokhmah*, developed the idea that man's moral deeds are reflected in the heavenly struggle between good and evil. The *Kabbalah of Isaac *Luria, which developed in the last part of the 16th century, strengthened this concept by stressing even more man's responsibility in the war raging in the mystical spheres.

The kabbalistic-ethical literature, which, from the 17th century onward continued to develop in Eastern Europe, was based almost exclusively on Lurianic teachings. It emphasized more strongly the power of Satan and the consequences that sin has in the divine world. Works like Ẓevi Hirsch *Koidonover's *Kav ha-Yashar*, which was very popular, used kabbalistic-Lurianic teachings to warn the reader against the havoc which sin might wreak on the sinner as such, and on the world as a whole.

Kabbalistic theosophy firmly rooted this literature in systematic mystical reasoning and gave it a theological structure. The actual teachings, the positive and negative precepts, did not, however (with a few exceptions, like the custom of *tikkun*, see *Kabbalah), originate with the kabbalist but were culled from older ethical literature: rabbinic and Ashkenazi-ḥasidic.

The Shabbatean movement, which deeply influenced all of Judaism in the second half of the 17th century, did not use ethical literature as a vehicle of expression (see *Shabbetai Zevi). Despite the ethical work *Tikkunei Teshuvah* (published by I. Tishby) by *Nathan of Gaza, most of the Shabbatean literature was theosophical in nature. Some of the Shabbateans who wrote popular ethical works tended to conceal their theological views and only occasional allusions can be found.

During the 18th century two converging trends in Jewish thought – kabbalism and messianism – gave rise to the kabbalistic-ethical works of Moses Ḥayyim *Luzzatto: *Mesillat Yesharim*, *Da'at Tevunot*, and *Derekh ha-Shem*. The controversy that raged around Luzzatto, one of the major ethicians in Jewish literature, forced him to conceal the kabbalistic elements in his works through the use of pseudo-philosophical language and terms. His works, which became popular toward the end of the century, are read to this day.

Ḥasidic literature of the late 18th century and throughout the 19th century is almost exclusively ethical. Most of it is comprised of homilies in which moral behavior is strongly stressed; some of the writings, however, are purely ethical in nature, e.g., *Sefer ha-Middot* by R. *Naḥman of Bratslav or *Tanya* by R. *Shneur Zalman of Lyady. The collections of ḥasidic stories and fables are usually didactic and have an ethical theme. The *Mitnaggedim*, opponents of Ḥasidism, also based their teachings on Lurianic ethical literature. From their ranks sprang the *Musar movement which tried to introduce the study of major ethical works into the yeshivot and for whom moral behavior became the greatest religious fulfillment man could aspire to. Haskalah literature at the end of the 18th and the beginning of the 19th centuries also used the traditions of ethical literature in its didactic endeavors.

Hebrew ethical literature, a diversified corpus of writings, is characterized by an underlying unity which cuts across not only the divergent ideological movements out of which the literature grew and which it represents, but also subsumes the various vehicles of expression used by ethicians. Hebrew ethical writers were primarily concerned with a number of elemental universal problems. The solutions they presented, while reflecting the various ideologies, are basically a response to the most crucial point at hand – man and the human condition, his position in the cosmos, and his attitude to the ways of God. They thus transcended the specific dogma to which they adhered and considered the dilemma of man in its universal aspects. Fundamental to this literature are such questions as: the ill fate suffered by the just and the success enjoyed by the wicked in this life; the ways of divine judgment; God's knowledge and active management of the temporal world;

why the wicked were created; freedom of choice in ethical and religious matters and the boundaries of that freedom; the meaning of sin and in what relation does the repentant sinner stand to the just who has never sinned; the relation between fear of God motivated by the thought of retributive justice and fear of God aroused by God's greatness; the relationship between the worship of God through fear and the worship of God through love; the meaning of *devekut* (communion with God) and the ways to achieve it; the essence of *kavvanah* and its place in ethical life; the right attitude to Gentiles; the fate of the just and the wicked after death; the essence of the soul; existence after the resurrection; social behavior in and toward the family; and similar questions which transcend time and space to create one unifying body of literary writings. Some of the answers are dictated by the special character and inclinations of the writer more so than by the movement to which he belonged.

Unlike the philosopher and theologian, the ethician is faced with concrete situations, actual people; his responses are therefore more pragmatic and less dogmatic – he tackles the questions practically and in human terms. Ethical literature thus, through the uniqueness of this aspect of its character – the specific moral confrontation with man's universal dilemma – has carved out for itself an independent place in Hebrew literature and it is not merely another branch of theological literature.

Form as much as content was a unifying factor in the corpus of ethical writings that classified it into a literature. Ethicians were obliged to use different literary means in order that their works might be accepted by a wide and sometimes uneducated public. This unavoidable emphasis on form, and not only on content, placed ethical literature into a separate category and set it apart from the other branches of religious thinking. The constant use of fables, stories, epigrams, jokes, and hagiography as vehicles of expression created a distinct literature which was read not only for didactic purposes but also to be enjoyed. The literary and didactic role played by literature during the Middle Ages is comparable to that of fiction in modern times.

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[Joseph Dan]

ETHICS.

IN THE BIBLE

There is no abstract, comprehensive concept in the Bible which parallels the modern concept of "ethics." The term *musar* designates "ethics" in later Hebrew, but in the Bible it indicates merely the educational function fulfilled by the father (Prov. 1:8) and is close in meaning to "rebuke." In the Bible ethical demands are considered an essential part of the demands God places upon man. This close connection between the ethical and religious realms (although the two are not completely identified) is one of the principal characteristics of the Bible; hence, the central position of ethics throughout the Bible. Accordingly, the Bible had a decisive influence upon the molding of ethics in European culture in general, both directly and indirectly through the ethical teachings in apocryphal literature (see *Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha) and the New Testament which are based on biblical ethics.

Social Ethics

The command to refrain from harming one's fellow man and to avoid doing evil to the weak is fundamental to biblical ethics. Most of the ethical commands specified in the Bible belong to this category: due justice (Ex. 23:1–2; Deut. 16:18–20); avoidance of bribery (e.g., Ex. 23:8), robbery, and oppression (Ex. 22:20; Deut. 24:14); defense of the *widow and the *orphan; compassionate behavior toward the *slave; and the prohibition of gossip. Added to these were the commands to sustain the poor (Deut. 15:7–11), feed the hungry, and clothe the naked (Isa. 58:7; Ezek. 18:7). The radical but logical conclusion derived from this is that man is obliged to suppress his desires and feed even his enemy (Prov. 25:21), return his enemy's lost property, and help him raise his ass which is prostrate under its burden (Ex. 23:4–5). Biblical ethics, which cautions man to love and respect his fellow man, reaches its highest level in the commandment: "You shall not hate your kinsman in your heart, reprove your neighbor," which concludes with "Love your neighbor as yourself. I am the Lord" (Lev. 19:17–18). The principle aim of this commandment, as of others, is the avoidance of unfounded hatred which destroys the life of the society.

The general trend of social ethics was summed up by the prophets who said: "Hate evil and love good and establish justice in the gate" (Amos 5:15); and similarly: "He has told you, O man, what is good; and what does the Lord require of you but to do justice and love kindness, and to walk humbly with your God" (Micah 6:8). These passages and their like not only summarize the teaching of ethics, but also place it at the center of the Israelite faith. A summation of biblical ethical teachings is contained in the well-known saying of Hillel: "What is hateful to you do not do unto another" (Shab. 31a).

The Ethical Perfection of the Individual

Unlike the ethical system of Greek philosophy, which seeks to define the various virtues (who is courageous, generous, or just, etc.), the Bible demands of every human being that he perform the good deed, and behave virtuously toward his fellow man, and is not concerned with abstract definitions. This attitude is almost explicitly expressed in Jeremiah 9:22–23: "Let not the wise man glory in his wisdom, let not the strong man glory in his strength, let not the rich man glory in his riches. Only in this should one glory: in his earnest devotion to me. For I am the Lord who exercises kindness, justice, and equity in the world; for in these I delight – declares the Lord." From this it follows that doing what is right and just is the essence of biblical ethics. The personal ethical ideal is the *ẓaddik* (the good man; see *Righteousness). Ezekiel defines him in detail for the purpose of explaining the doctrine of reward and *punishment, and his definition is nothing but an enumeration of the deeds performed by the good man and of those from which he refrains (Ezek. 18:5–9). The essence of all of these acts is the proper relationship between man and man, except for one commandment, to shun idolatry, which is solely a duty of man to God. A similar definition of the good man appears in Isaiah 33:15 and in Psalm 15. Added to the ideal of the righteous man in Psalms is the Godfearing man who finds happiness in the teachings of God and in the worship of Him and who shuns the life devoid of ethical earnestness (e.g., Ps. 1). The personal ethical ideal received further expression in the character of *Abraham, who was credited with several especially fine and noble qualities. He was complaisant in his relationship with Lot, hospitable, compassionate toward the evil inhabitants of Sodom, humble and generous in his dealings with the people of Heth, and he refused to profit from the booty of the war with Amraphel.

Distinguishing Feature of Social Ethics in the Bible

The lofty level of biblical ethics which is evident in the command to love one's neighbor, in the character of Abraham, and in the first Psalm, is peculiar to the Bible, and it is difficult to find its like in any other source; however, the general ethical commandments in the Bible, which are based on the principle of refraining from harming others, are a matter of general human concern and constitute the fundamentals of ethics. Some characteristic features of biblical ethics, such as due justice and the rights of the widow and the orphan, are prevalent in the ancient Near East (see below). Therefore the generalization that the Bible is unique among religious works in the content of its ethical teachings cannot be made. However, the Bible does differ from every other religious or ethical work in the importance which it assigns to the simple and fundamental ethical demand. The other nations of the ancient Near East reveal their ethical sense in compositions that are marginal to their culture: in a few proverbs dispersed throughout the wisdom literature, in prologues to collections of laws, in various specific laws, and in confessions (see below). The connection between ethical teachings and primary cultural creations – the images of the gods, the cult, the major corpus of law – is weak. The ethical aspirations of these cultures are sometimes, but not always, expressed in their religion and social organization, while the Bible places the ethical demand at the focus of the religion and the national culture. The ethical demand is of primary concern to the prophets, who state explicitly that this is the essence of their religious teaching. Basic sections of biblical law – the Ten Commandments, Leviticus 19, the blessings and curses of Mount Gerizim and Mount Ebal (Deut. 27:15–26) – contain many important ethical commandments. Biblical law itself testifies to its ethical aim: "Or what great nation has laws and norms as just (*ẓaddikim*) as all this Teaching…" (Deut. 4:8). While the wisdom literature of Israel is similar to that of the neighboring cultures, it is distinctive in the greater stress it places upon ethical education (see below). The assumption that God is – or should be – just, and the question of reward and punishment which follows from that assumption, are the bases of the religious experiences found in Psalms, Job, and some prophetic passages. The opinion of Hillel the Elder that the ethical demand is the essence of the Torah may be questioned, for it can hardly be said to be the only pillar of the biblical faith. However, there is certainly a clear tendency in the Bible to place the ethical demand at the focus of the faith, even if it does share it with other concerns such as monotheism (see biblical view of *God).

Biblical ethics teachings, though clear and forceful, are not extraordinary in content, for the Bible requires nothing other than the proper behavior which is necessary for the existence of society. Biblical ethics does not demand, as do certain other systems of ethics (Christianity, Buddhism, and even some systems in later Judaism), that man withdraw completely or even partially from everyday life to attain perfection. Asceticism, which views the normal human situation as the root of evil, is foreign to the Bible and to the cultures of the Near East in general. The Bible approves of life as it is, and, accordingly, makes its ethical demand compatible with social reality. However, the degree of justice which it is possible to achieve within the bounds of reality is demanded with a clear forcefulness which allows for no compromise. This makes the Bible more radical than most ethical systems. The ethical teachings of the Bible, like the Bible generally, are addressed first and foremost to Israel. But some biblical passages extend the ethical demand to encompass all mankind, such as the *Noachide laws (Gen. 9:1–7), the story of Sodom (Gen. 19:20ff.), or the rebuke of Amos against the neighboring kingdoms for their cruelty (Amos 1:3–2:3). The setting of the Book of Job is also outside the Israelite realm.

Sexual Ethics

What has been said up to here applies only to social ethics, in view of the fact that in the realm of sexual morality the biblical outlook differs from that of neighboring cultures. The Bible abhors any sexual perversion such as *homosexuality or copulation with animals, prescribing severe punishments for offenders (Lev. 18:22–23; 20:13, 15–16). The adulteress sins not only against her husband, but also against God (e.g., Ex. 20:14; Lev. 20:10; Mal. 3:5). Fornication is generally frowned upon, severely condemned by *Hosea, and legally punishable by death in some cases (Lev. 21:9; Deut. 22:21). The other peoples of the ancient Near East did not treat these offenses with such severity. They regarded *adultery as essentially an infringement upon the rights of the husband – damage done to his property, like robbery or theft – and not as an abominable act sinful to God. Society was reconciled to prostitution, although a certain stigma was attached to it. Therefore Babylonian law, for example, defines the legal status of the various types of prostitution and treats it as it treats other phenomena in society (e.g., Code of Hammurapi, 145, 181, in: Pritchard, Texts, 172, 174; Middle Assyrian Laws, 40, in: *ibid.*, 183). There is little opposition to sexual perversions: homosexuality is numbered among the sins in the Egyptian "Book of the Dead" (see below); Hittite law punishes copulation only with certain animals, and even these not very severely (see below). This opposition, which is occasionally expressed, does not declare these acts to be an outright abomination. Fornication and more serious sexual offenses are ascribed to the gods in *mythology, and possibly played a role in the cult (see *Kedeshah*). Therefore, it is clear that the biblical stand on these matters is unique. The biblical sexual ethic was imposed by Christianity on most of the civilized world in theory if not in practice but in the ancient world it was unique to Israel.

Ethical Teaching in the Bible

MEANS OF INSTRUCTION. The orientation of biblical ethics is uniform in content, but is expressed in different ways, according to the viewpoint of the particular book of the Bible. The strongest and most radical expression of the goal of biblical ethics is found in the rebukes of the prophets, who chastise the people relentlessly for ethical transgressions and demand ethical perfection (especially in the realm of social ethics) without compromise. But their rebukes do not really constitute instruction, for they do not always teach one how to behave in particular situations.

Biblical law is concerned with providing ethical instruction in particular acts. The legal sections of the Torah explicitly and in detail forbid various offenses such as murder, robbery, and bribery, and explicitly demand support of the poor, love of one's neighbor, and the like (see below).

Both prophecy and law demand of man in the name of God that he behave properly. Their ethical outlook is a fundamental element in their demand that man do God's will, and therefore is not practical utilitarianism, even though they teach the doctrine of reward and punishment. This ethical attitude is given added depth in the Psalms, where it becomes a matter of religious feeling that throbs in the heart of the righteous man who seeks closeness with his God (see Ps. 1; 15, especially verses 2, 4, 24:4; 34:13–15). The Book of Job also stresses the commandment of righteousness to which the individual is subject, but from another aspect. Job is not content to protest that he did not commit transgressions of robbery, oppression, or bribery, but asserts that he actually observed positive ethical commandments and was strict with himself beyond the requirements of the law. For example, he claims he did much to support those in need of his help: "Because I delivered the poor who cried, and the fatherless who had none to help him. The blessing of the destitutes came upon me, and I gladdened the heart of the widow" (Job 29:12–13). Job 31 contains a series of oaths concerning his righteousness, all beginning with *ʾim*, "if," which is often equivalent to "I swear": "(I swear) I have not rejected the cause of my man servant …" (verse 13); "(I swear) I have not made gold my trust …" (verse 24). Job is careful to be above suspicion not only in social ethics, but also in sexual ethics, for he claims: "If I have been enticed by a woman, and have lain in wait at the door of another man, may my wife be used by another …" (31:9–10).

The ethical teachings in all the biblical books so far surveyed are considered an essential element of God's demands of man. In this respect, the attitude of *Proverbs is different. Most of the proverbs aim at proving to man that it is worthwhile for him to follow the good path from the consideration of simple worldly wisdom. For example, Proverbs does not declare that adultery is prohibited but points out the dangers in it (6:24–35). In a similar vein are the following verses: "Do not slander a servant to his master, lest he curse you, and you be made to feel your guilt" (Prov. 30:10), and "If your enemy is hungry, give him bread to eat … for you will heap coals of fire on his head, and the Lord will reward you" (25:21–22). Although there is also a reference to God here, man is placed at the center of ethical instruction. This approach is more practical and utilitarian than the approach of the Bible in general, due to the practical educational orientation of the Book of Proverbs. While Proverbs belongs to the category of general wisdom literature which was prevalent in the ancient Near East, it nevertheless differs from other works of this type in the prominence it gives to ethical instruction; in Proverbs it is of prime importance, while in the wisdom literature of the peoples of the ancient Near East, it is of secondary importance. There are two reasons for this: first, Proverbs aims at the education of the young citizen while the works of Ahikar and Egyptian didactic literature place more emphasis on the training of the official; second, Israelite wisdom literature identified the righteous man with the sage on the one hand, and the evil man with the fool on the other (e.g., Prov. 10:21, 23).

*Ecclesiastes, in those sections that deviate from stereotyped wisdom literature, casts doubt on the benefit of wisdom in general, and on the simple utilitarian ethical instruction contained in Proverbs. He knows that "there is not one good man on earth who does what is best (i.e., leads to the most desirable results, 6:12) and does not err" (7:20). In his despair he says: "don't overdo goodness …" (7:16–18).

ETHICAL INSTRUCTION IN THE BIBLICAL NARRATIVE. Narrative is the one literary form in the Bible which is not entirely infused with an ethical orientation. In biblical narratives ethical instruction is presented indirectly in the form of words of praise for noble deeds, and even this praise is, for the most part, not explicit. Deeds which are represented as noble include Joseph's fleeing from adultery (Gen. 39:7–18), the mercy shown by David in not killing Saul (I Sam. 24; 26:3–25), and the story of Rizpah, daughter of Aiah (II Sam. 21:10). Abraham is the only biblical character who can truly be described as an ethical model. The other heroes in biblical narrative (Judah, Joseph, Moses, Caleb, Joshua), although blessed with fine qualities, are not described as models of ethical perfection. The Bible portrays their shortcomings clearly (though implicitly; Isaac's weakness of character, Jacob's cunning, the sins of Saul and David) and does not make the slightest attempt to whitewash the ethical defects of its heroes. However, it is the rule in biblical narrative that appropriate punishment follows specific transgressions: Jacob, who bought the birthright by deception, is himself deceived by Laban; David is punished for his sin with Bath-Sheba, and so on. Yet these features are not especially emphasized and thus do not give biblical narrative a prominent ethical orientation. It has been said that biblical narrative takes no clear moral stance, but rather rejoices in the success of its heroes even when they act immorally (Jacob, when he bought the birthright; Rachel, when she stole the household idols; Jael, when she killed Sisera). It is true that the main intent of biblical narrative is to make known the greatness of God, whose acts are the only ones that are perfect. Thus the narrator can afford to see human beings as they are. He does not force himself to moralize overmuch, or to make his heroes model men, but introduces the ethical aspect only where it suits the story. Thus in the narrator's attitude to his heroes one observes a kind of tolerant, knowledgeable understanding of human nature: it is this which makes most biblical stories great, both as literature and as ethics.

LAW AND ETHICS. The Bible does not make a formal distinction between those commandments which could be classified as ethical, those which are concerned with ritual (circumcision, sacrifices, the prohibition against eating blood), and those which deal with common legal matters. Scholarship is obligated to differentiate between these categories and to see where the ethical aim appears. The ethical aim can be distinguished by recognizing the difference between the basic, general commandment "Thou shalt not murder" and the laws concerning the punishment of the murderer (e.g., Num. 35). Thus ethical commandments, in the strict sense, are laws without sanctions, to be obeyed but not enforced, e.g., the commandments of gleanings, the forgotten sheaf, and the corner of the field (Lev. 19:9–10, see **Leket, Shikhḥah, and Pe'ah*); the prohibition against harming the orphan and the widow (e.g., Ex. 22:21–23); the prohibition against delaying payment of wages (Lev. 19:13). Aside from the clearly ethical commandments, there is a general tendency in biblical law to emphasize the aspiration for justice which is the basis for every law. To be sure, every law is based upon the ethical viewpoint of the legislator and attempts, through the power of practical regulations, to enforce the ethics accepted by the existing society; however, biblical law aspires to this end clearly and consistently, as for example, "Justice, justice shall you pursue" (as the summary of practical regulations concerning the establishment of courts, Deut. 16:18–20), the laws of the Bible are defined explicitly as "just laws and statutes" (Deut. 4:8). Accordingly ethical and social reasons were attached to several laws, such as the commandment for the Sabbath: "So that your male and female slave may rest as you do. Remember that you were a slave …" (Deut. 5:14–15). This tendency is revealed in laws whose purpose was to defend the weak and to limit the power of the oppressor, such as the laws governing the Hebrew slave (Ex. 21:2; Deut. 15:12) or the relatively lenient punishment of the thief. Yet it must be remembered that law is based not only on the abstract viewpoint of the legislator, but also on the needs of the society according to its particular structure and customs. Therefore an evaluation of biblical law is incomplete if only the ethical aspect is considered; however, the discussion of the aim of law is not essential to the definition of biblical ethics.

ETHICAL INSTRUCTION AMONG THE PEOPLES OF THE ANCIENT NEAR EAST

Egypt

The Egyptian attitude toward ethics is expressed in literary works of different types. Among these works it is worth noting the books of proverbs (wisdom literature) which teach practical wisdom and proper behavior and include basic ethical principles such as not to covet, rob, or trespass, to be diligent in the performance of justice, and the like. Along with these principles, the books of proverbs include advice on practical knowledge which goes beyond the foundations of pure ethics; there is even the impression that the Egyptian sages advised their students to act justly because in this way they would succeed and achieve their goals, and not because justice is an ethical principle in its own right. According to Frankfort, however, this impression is the product of insufficient understanding of the Egyptian world view.

Another type of literature similar to wisdom literature in its ethical orientation and termed "ideal biography" by scholars is seen in the compositions which were engraved on the walls of tombstones and monuments to the dead. In them, the deceased tells what he did and how he conducted himself throughout his life, as for example: "I spoke the truth, I acted honestly … I judged both sides to the satisfaction of both. I rescued, with all my power, the weak from the strong. I gave bread to the hungry, and clothing to the poor, etc."

Another aspect of Egyptian ethics is revealed in the collection of writings called the "Book of the Dead." This is a collection of documents from various ancient sources, whose purpose is to assure the passage of the dead into eternal life. It contains statements which the deceased must make when he stands in judgment upon entering the world of the dead, such as: "I did not do evil to any man … I did not revile the name of the god, I did not slander the servant in front of his master … I did not murder, I did not cause a death … I did not sin by homosexuality, etc." (ch. 125). The deceased announces that he did not commit ethical offenses or transgressions of the cult, without distinguishing between the two. The list is arranged in a stereotyped manner, but it does contain certain ethical principles. On the other hand, the negative confession is close in purpose to a magical incantation, a kind of amulet which is helpful to every man after death even if he was not righteous during his life.

There is yet another basic concept in Egyptian culture which has, without doubt, ethical significance, namely, the concept of *maʿat* which means truth, justice, honesty, or proper order. It is said that the gods live in *maʿat*; the king who sets aright the order of the country and establishes just rules is setting *maʿat* upon its foundation; the way of an honest man – and especially the way of an official who must judge a just case – is *maʿat*; and also the order according to which nature behaves is *maʿat*.

It is difficult to discuss the meaning of the Egyptian doctrine of ethics, because the Egyptian world view in general is beyond reach; the reason being, in Bonnet's opinion, that the Egyptian ethics was not specifically related to the teachings and practices of the religion. Ethical qualities are not characteristic of the gods, and there are cases where Egyptian religion expresses a viewpoint which is not ethical. In Frankfort's opinion, one should not claim that the Egyptians did not have a highly developed ethical doctrine, but one should deal with what is particular to their outlook. The Egyptian saw his world as secure and orderly and nature as behaving always according to *maʿat*. The duty of man is to act according to the same secure and eternal law, to be congenial, not to be ambitious and bad-tempered, and to enjoy the good things in life without anxiety. The Egyptian does not know the fear of sin because his god does not demand that he observe positive and negative precepts. Instead, he helps those who generally behave according to *maʿat*, and corrects the sinner by means of punishment. According to Frankfort, the confession of the dead is not characteristic of the Egyptian ethical outlook; it originates in fear in the face of death, but does not directly affect the way of life.

Mesopotamia

The Sumerian legislator king Lipit-Ishtar announces in the prologue and epilogue of his law code that he acted lawfully and justly during his kingship and diligently guarded the freedom of the people of Sumer and Akkad, and insured that the father helped his sons and the sons their father. Hammurapi too, in the prologue to his law code, states that he ruled justly in his land, suppressed wickedness and evil, and prevented the strong from oppressing the weak; in his epilogue he commands that justice be done to the orphan and the widow so that the oppressed will find salvation in his just laws and will bless him before the gods. Thus, there was an ethical basis to law in Sumer and Akkad. Babylonian wisdom literature is not as abundant as that of Egypt, but the extant literature contains ethical instructions such as not to requite evil to one's enemy, not to gossip, and the like; there is also a warning not to marry a prostitute because she will not be faithful to her husband. In atonement rites, which were intended to save the sick and atone for injuries likely to be done to one's fellow man, the magico-cultic aspect is more important than the ethical aspect (see *Atonement). A type of ethical instruction is also included in the plentiful "omen" literature. Among the collections of omens of all types, which usually have no ethical content, are also omens which contain ethical teachings such as: "if one renders good, good will be rendered to him." The gods are, to a certain extent, considered to be the guardians of ethics and the dispensers of retribution to the evil. However, there is also a Babylonian document which expresses man's despair over the lack of justice in the rule of the gods. The author of this document clearly sees how society oppresses the just, the honest, and the poor and praises the wicked man who succeeds. Mesopotamian myth shows that the gods of Sumer and Akkad were not ethical. The religious Babylonian believed that man was created so that the gods could benefit from his labor, and was not certain that the rule of the gods was just and beneficent. The fear of sin was well-known to him, but the sin itself – if he sinned, how he sinned, when he sinned – was hidden from him.

Documents devoted to ethical instruction have not been preserved from the remaining civilizations of the ancient Near East, but there is some indirect information on this subject. For example, in *Ugarit it was the king's duty to pursue justice for the widow and to protect the weak (II Keret, 46:50; cf. also II Aqhat, v. 7–8). In Hittite law (188), punishment was decreed for copulation with some animals (Pritchard, Texts, 196), and in this legal collection, as well as several other Mesopotamian ones, there were laws concerning incest.

[Jacob Licht]

IN LATER JEWISH THOUGHT

The Jewish religion has essentially an ethical character. From its biblical origins to its present stage of development, the ethical element has always been central to the Jewish religion, both as a principle and as a goal. However the intimate connection between religion and ethics was differently interpreted in different periods of Jewish thought. At least two principal trends can be distinguished, the first identifying Jewish ethics with moderation (the middle way), the second insisting on the extreme demands of an absolute ethic. Many thinkers emphasize that Judaism transcends the ethical framework of religion, thereby assuming a metaethical character. Examples of this trend are divine demands, made in prophetic revelations, which seem to conflict with moral norms, and the existence of human suffering.

In talmudic literature, legislative concerns are never the last word. Not only does the *aggadah*, by means of moral lessons, complete and temper the autonomy of the *halakhah*, and not only is the tractate *Avot* an anthology of moral thought; but, more obviously, in every conflict between the legal rigidity of the law and the criteria of ethics, the latter hold sway. Fear of God is superior to wisdom; actions surpass ideas; man is called upon to take a stand in favor not of reason but of the good. Ethics appear not as speculative principles but in terms of human experience; the talmudic sages are presented as moral exemplars and the ideal of holiness is identified with a scrupulously honest and pure life.

Medieval and modern literature testify to the dual tendency to formulate an ethic which is both theoretical and practical. Some medieval Jewish philosophers developed systematic formulations of Jewish ethical ideas, as for example *Saadiah Gaon and Solomon ibn *Gabirol, whose *Tikkun Middot ha-Nefesh* is unusual in that it expounds an autonomous ethic which has no connection with religious doctrine. *Maimonides' *Shemonah Perakim* is a classical work of Jewish ethics which shows similarities to the *Ethics* of Aristotle. There is scarcely a Jewish philosopher or exegete of the Middle Ages who does not devote at least some portion of his work to showing that the body of Jewish thought and its biblical or talmudic sources revolved around ethics. This trend continues to modern times when Jewish philosophers, since Moses *Mendelssohn, place ethics at the center of their description of the universe. For example, Moritz *Lazarus and Elijah *Benamozegh, in the 19th century, give this tendency a classical expression, one composing a standard work entitled *Die Ethik des Judentums* ("Ethics of Judaism"), the other by comparing Jewish and Christian ethics (*Morale juive et morale chrétienne*). It would be out of place to mention *Spinoza in this connection, for while his *Tractatus Theologico-Politicus* shows Jewish influences, the same is not true of his *Ethics*.

In addition to the literature mentioned there are a number of works which are important for the development of medieval and modern Jewish ethics because they reflect an individual or collective experience. The Kabbalah and other mystical currents contributed greatly to the emergence of these works. Examples of this type of literature are *Baḥya ibn Paquda's *Ḥovot ha-Levavot*, the *Sefer Ḥasidim* (see *Ethical Literature), and M.Ḥ. *Luzzatto's *Mesillat Yesharim*. These works have become very popular and have been adopted by such opposing Jewish circles as the *Ḥasidim and **Mitnaggedim*. In the 19th century, under the influence of R. Israel *Lipkin (Salanter), the *Musar movement reintroduced the primacy of ethics into the highly intellectual talmudic academies.

The Middle Way and the Absolute

The intimate connection between religion and ethics was interpreted differently in different periods of Jewish life and thought. At least two principal tendencies can be distinguished. In line with the ideal set down in Proverbs and various Psalms, and also in the Jewish Hellenistic writings and Palestinian teachings in the rabbinic period, Jewish ethics strives for moderation. It condemns excess, obviously in the sense of evil but also in the sense of good, and condemns equally greed and waste, debauchery and abstinence, pleasure and asceticism, impiety and bigotry. Maimonides developed this identification of Jewish ethics with the middle way (*Shemonah Perakim;* Yad, De'ot) though, at times, he tends toward a more ascetic position. The majority of medieval and modern Jewish philosophers follow Maimonides' general view and the theme of moderation in Jewish ethics. Consequently, they were opposed to ethical extremism such as that of Christianity, and this view became a commonplace in Jewish apologetics.

Nevertheless, the notion of moderation is not the only facet of Jewish ethics. The biblical books of Job and Ecclesiastes strongly criticize the middle way. In the Book of Job especially, where the middle way is recommended by the friends of Job, this approach is ultimately rejected by God. The Talmud goes further in its declaration that the attitude of moderation is the attitude of Sodom: "He that says, 'What is mine is mine and what is thine is thine' – this is the middle way, and some say that this is the way of Sodom" (Avot 5:13). It is not surprising, therefore, that the Talmud praises well-known sages who, going beyond the strict letter of the law (*li-fenim mi-shurat ha-din*), gave their entire fortune to the poor (R. Yeshevav), practiced celibacy (Ben Azzai), spent many hours of the day and night in prayer (R. Ḥanina b. Dosa), and, altogether, seemed generally to conform to the monastic ideals of the *Essenes. Asceticism is central to the works of Baḥya and Luzzatto, the *Sefer ha-Ḥasidism*, and, in a way even to 18th century Ḥasidism. It is true that in this mystical movement, whose influence is still being felt today, asceticism was transformed into joy, but the ethic of this joy was as extreme and absolute as was the ascetic ethic.

It would therefore be incorrect to associate Jewish ethics with a uniform and moderate attitude. This attitude, which is often presented as a contrast to Christian ethics, is actually only one aspect of Jewish ethics. The other aspect, with its extreme and absolute demands, is equally typical of Jewish thought.

The Ethical and the Metaethical

By the implications of certain of its teachings, Judaism goes beyond the limits of the ethical, and enters the domain of the metaethical, "beyond good and evil." Already in the Bible, the concept of holiness is affirmed much more often as a category which transcends ethical considerations, rather than as an ethical postulate. The transcendence of God elevates holiness above the moral equity guaranteed by the Covenant. The well-known verse of Isaiah, "For My thoughts are not your thoughts, neither are your ways My ways" (55:8), is often employed by medieval and modern Jewish thinkers as a key for interpreting certain problems which escaped all ethical definition, most notably the problems of freedom and suffering.

How should one accept, from the point of view of ethics, the unusual conduct of certain prophets (Hosea's association with a prostitute; the nudity of Isaiah; the celibacy of Jeremiah)? Unless they resorted to allegorical exegesis, the biblical commentators were forced to admit, and they did so willingly, that there operated here a certain arbitrary divine will which transcended ethical categories. Maimonides expounded this theme in stating that God remains the supreme arbiter of the gift of prophecy. Prophecy is not intrinsically bound to ethical qualities. Of course, only an ethical person can become a prophet, but the man of the highest ethical qualities cannot become a prophet without God's charismatic and transcendent will.

Similarly, the midrashic interpretations of the sacrifice of Isaac, of the dramas of Saul or of Job, are much closer to the existentialist point of view of Kierkegaard or of Kafka than to the systems of Maimonides or of Kant. The conflict between Saul and David was not a matter of ethics but of good or bad fortune. Abraham, ultimately, should have disobeyed the divine command to sacrifice his son, which was inspired more by Satan than by God. Job was perfectly innocent, and his inexplicable sufferings could generate nothing but tears. These, and similar themes, which are scattered throughout talmudic and ḥasidic literature, were often taken up by the Jewish existentialists of the 20th century such as Martin *Buber and Franz *Rosenzweig. They culminate in the doctrine of radical insecurity, whose sources one may find in the Bible, but which finds a more cohesive expression in a talmudic formulation: *Kulei hai ve-ulai* ("All this and perhaps?"). Even while the most apparently perfect conditions can be gathered together to weigh the balance in favor of good or evil, there yet remains a coefficient of uncertainty which is beyond good and evil. It is possible that events will follow the ethical expectations. It is also possible, however, that these expectations will not be fulfilled. It is true that this disorder is interpreted as a voluntary (and temporary) weakness of God which permits man to exercise his will. Thus, this metaethical Jewish view remains ultimately ethical and never leads to a passive pessimism. The divine transcendence does not disturb the ethical equilibrium except in order to call upon man to reestablish, together with God, an equilibrium which has been disrupted. The metaethical is the price for the inalienable moral essence of the Covenant.

[Andre Neher]

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ETHIOPIA (**Abyssinia**), Christian kingdom in N.E. Africa. Under Egyptian rule from 2000 B.C.E. to about 1000 B.C.E., Ethiopia (Heb. *Kush*) appears alongside Egypt in the Bible, sharing its prophesied doom (e.g., Isa. 20:3); Tirhakah, the pharaoh, is mentioned as king of Ethiopia during the Assyrian conquest of the Northern kingdom (II Kings 19:9 and Isa. 37:9). The wealth of Ethiopia and Seba are also cited (Isa. 43:3; 45:14). However, Ethiopia figures most prominently as an example of a remote place, cf. Amos 9:7, where God rebukes Israel saying, "Are you not like the Ethiopians to me, O people of Israel?" Independent of Egypt, Ethiopia was ruled by a dynasty of Arabian origin which invaded the country in the second century B.C.E., ruled from the city of Axum, and determined the Semitic quality of the customs and language of the Hamitic people. The kings at Axum called themselves *negus-nagast* ("king of kings"). They traced their descent to Menelik whom they claimed to have been the son of King Solomon and the queen of Sheba. This legend finds expression in the classic Ethiopian chronicle of the 14th century C.E., the *Kebra Negast* ("Glory of Kings"). Among other stories, the latter describes Solomon's seduction of and contract with the queen of Sheba, whose son brought Judaic customs and civil law to Ethiopia. The Holy Ark was also conveyed to Ethiopia to be returned to Zion only when Christ would reappear in Jerusalem and the Ethiopian Christians would reign triumphant in the Holy City. Indeed, the Coptic Monophysite Christianity accepted by the Ethiopians, probably in the fifth century, retained certain Jewish elements derived from the contact and influence of local Jews or from early Christianity itself. It is also possible that they were influenced by South Arabian Jews in pre-Islamic times. In the eighth century, the capital of the kingdom was moved from Axum as a result of Muslim expansion into Ethiopia. The Christian kings of the Zague dynasty who strove to restore their hegemony from the 13th century claimed descent from Solomon and maintained that the Ethiopian aristocracy was taken from Jerusalem to Axum. The lion of Judah has remained the symbol of the emperor of Ethiopia. The literary language of Ethiopia is Ge'ez, a Semitic tongue, which was replaced by Amharic. All holy works are written in Ge'ez, including the Bible (probably translated from Greek or Syriac) and the only complete extant versions of the apocryphal books of Enoch and Jubilees, which were translated from the lost Greek and included in the canon. During the Middle Ages, most works were translated from Arabic, including the major Jewish history, *Josippon*, called in Ge'ez, *Zena Ayhud* ("History of the Jews"), and other Jewish chronicles and religious works gleaned from Arabic sources.

Ethiopian Church in Jerusalem

The Ethiopian Church is one of the oldest churches in the Holy Land. An Ethiopian convert is mentioned in the Acts of the Apostles (8:27–28) and Ethiopian monks and pilgrims are referred to in early pilgrim records. In 1172, in the crusader kingdom of Jerusalem, they possessed altars in the holy places, in the vicinity of which they had established monasteries. Under the Muslim rulers, after the downfall of the crusader kingdom, the Ethiopians obtained more extensive rights. They are mentioned in connection with the Church of the Tomb of the Virgin, and the chapel of St. Mary of Egypt (14th century), and as having chapels in the Church of the Holy Sepulcher (15th century). Toward the end of the 17th century, however, unable to meet the exactions of the Turkish pashas, they lost most of their holdings in the Holy Sepulcher. From an early date until the beginning of the 19th century, the Ethiopians had important rights in the Deir el-Sultan Monastery near the Holy Sepulcher, which have since been claimed by the Coptic Church. The Ethiopians were left with hovels on the roof of the chapel of St. Helena which is part of the church of the Holy Sepulcher. In the New City of Jerusalem there is an Ethiopian church with an adjoining monastery. There are also two monasteries in the Old City and one on the western bank of the Jordan River.

Relations with Israel

Direct contacts between Ethiopia and the *yishuv* started in 1936, when Emperor Haile Selassie, his family, and officers found refuge in Jerusalem after the Italian conquest of Ethiopia. The emperor lived there for about one year, but numerous Ethiopian notables spent the whole period of their exile in Palestine. During World War II, a number of Jewish soldiers from Palestine served with the British forces in the reconquest of Ethiopia, both under the command of Orde *Wingate, whose personal ADC during the Ethiopian campaign was a Palestinian Jewish officer, and in the regular East-African Command, particularly in the commando units that fought in Eritrea. After his return to Addis Ababa the emperor called a number of Palestinian Jews to serve in various capacities within the Ethiopian government. The first beginnings of economic ties between the two countries also developed at that time. Palestinian-manufactured goods reached Ethiopia, and some Jewish experts worked in Ethiopia.

From 1948

Ethiopia abstained in the crucial UN vote on Nov. 29, 1947 on the partition of Palestine, in view of her cautious line of neutrality in most of her dealings with the problems of the Middle East. In 1948 Ethiopia extended only de facto recognition to Israel; however, it continued to maintain its consulate general in West Jerusalem, thereby maintaining close contacts with Israel. In 1955, when an Israeli mission took part in Haile Selassie's Silver Jubilee celebrations in Addis Ababa, an agreement was reached to establish an Israeli consulate general in Addis Ababa, which began to function in the summer of 1956. In September 1961 Ethiopia extended de jure recognition to Israel and diplomatic relations at ambassadorial level were established.

In international forums, Ethiopia maintained her traditional neutrality in the Arab-Israel conflict; repeatedly refused to join anti-Israel initiatives; and tried to urge reconciliation, negotiations, and peace, often in the face of an opposite stand adopted by the Afro-Asian and nonaligned groups in which Ethiopia became an ever more active member. The formal relations between the two countries steadily normalized and bilateral relations began to reflect the relatively close geographical proximity of the two countries. Numerous personalities of both countries paid mutual official and semi-official visits. In 1960 the Empress Menem went on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. In the same year the Israel minister of agriculture, Moshe *Dayan, paid an official visit to Ethiopia. Israel's foreign minister, Golda Meir, visited Addis Ababa in 1962, and her successor Abba *Eban visited there. It was particularly in economic and technical cooperation, however, that mutual ties found expression.

With the opening of the Straits of Tiran to unhampered Israel shipping and the recognition of the Gulf of Akaba as an international waterway following the Sinai Campaign of 1956, Eilat and Massawa, and later on also Assab and Djibouti, became major ports of call for the ships of both nations. With the introduction of more modern ships, the time required for the trip from Eilat to Massawa steadily decreased, so that by 1970 this run was made in just over 48 hours. In 1970 a regular air link between Lydda and Addis Ababa was inaugurated by El Al Airlines, cutting flying time between Israel and Ethiopia to just over three hours. Commerce between the two countries developed steadily, with Israel selling mainly manufactured goods and buying primary products from Ethiopia. Economic cooperation between the two countries started early in the 1950s with the establishment of an Israeli meat-packing plant in Asmara, but it received particular impetus in the 1960s. A large Ethiopian-Israel cotton farm exists in the Awash Valley, an Ethiopian-Israel pharmaceutical plant in Addis Ababa, and a number of other enterprises. During the 1960s Israeli experts served in various fields in Ethiopia, from public transportation through fishing and agriculture to Ethiopian geological surveys. Numerous Ethiopian students studied in various institutions in Israel in widely diverse fields, e.g., agriculture and communications.

Cultural ties occupy a special place in the relations between the two countries, particularly those between the institutions of higher learning. In 1959 the Haifa Technion entered into close relations with the Engineering College in Addis Ababa, which later became part of the Haile Selassie I University, in which Israeli professors subsequently served. In 1970 an agreement was reached between the Haile Selassie I University and the Hebrew University for the joint development of a microbiology institute in Addis Ababa. Close collaboration existed also in medicine, town planning, water development, and related fields.

[Hanan Bar-On]

Starting in the 1960s Israel was a major supplier of military aid to Ethiopia, which continued even after Ethiopia broke off diplomatic relations with Israel in 1973 in the wake of the

Yom Kippur War and also after the Marxist Mengistru regime replaced Haile Selassie in 1974. From the 1980s such assistance was linked to Ethiopia's agreement to allow Ethiopian Jews, the so-called Falashas (see *Beta Israel), to immigrate to Israel, a condition that was fulfilled in two dramatic airlifts in 1984 and 1991. Diplomatic relations were renewed in 1989 at embassy level.

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ETHNARCH (Gr. ἐθνάρχος), title given to John *Hyrcanus II and his sons by official decree of Julius Caesar in 47 B.C.E. in addition to the office of high priest (Jos., Ant., 14:192ff.). The meaning of ethnarch – head of the people – excluded the title or the rights of a king, and Josephus comments that whereas "Pompey restored the high priesthood to Hyrcanus and permitted him to have the leadership of the nation," he nevertheless "forbade him to wear a diadem" (*ibid.*, 20:244). This distinction is apparent again in the description by Josephus of the appointment of Herod's son Archelaus. Augustus "appointed Archelaus not king indeed, but ethnarch of half of the territory that had been subject to Herod, and promised to reward him with the title of king if he really proved able to act in that capacity" (*ibid.*, 17:317).

The title ethnarch was also used to designate the head of the Jewish community at Alexandria. Strabo, quoted by Josephus (*ibid.*, 14:117), describes the Alexandrian ethnarch as one "who governs the people and adjudicates suits and supervises contracts and ordinances, just as if he were the head of a sovereign state." Philo, however, relates that Augustus replaced that ethnarch with a *gerousia* or Council of Elders (*In Flaccum*, 74ff.). Certain scholars have attempted to identify the term Σαραμέλ in I Maccabees 14:28 with ethnarch (see *Asaramel). The term ethnarch was not confined to Jewish rulers. Thus there is mention of an ethnarch at Damascus under the king Aretas (II Cor. 11:32).

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[Isaiah Gafni]

ETIQUETTE (Heb. דֶּרֶךְ־אֶרֶץ, *derekh ereẓ*), the proper conduct of man at home and in society. The sages demanded of the Jew, particularly the scholar, good manners in all his activities. The rules of **derekh ereẓ* are assembled in the tractates *Avot, Derekh Ereẓ Rabbah*, and *Derekh Ereẓ Zuta*, and are scattered throughout the Talmud and the Midrashim. A substantial number of them are set forth in Maimonides' *Mishneh Torah, Hilkhot De'ot*.

The rules of etiquette covered every aspect of man's conduct, including the most seemingly insignificant. Only a few of the most important rules are given here.

Speech

A man should speak pleasantly with everyone (Yoma 86a) and, Maimonides adds: "When speaking he should neither shout nor scream nor raise his voice excessively." When he meets his fellow he should be the first to extend greetings. As an example the Talmud cites the instance of Johanan b. Zakkai, whom no one ever preceded in extending greeting (Ber. 17a). Since, in the heat of argument, a man is liable to interrupt his fellow and stubbornly assert his own opinion, even after being convinced that the other is right, the sages laid down rules for the conduct of an argument: not to speak before one who is greater in wisdom, nor to interrupt the speech of another, not to be hasty in answering, to ask only relevant questions and to answer appropriately, to speak on the first point first and on the last point last, to say "I have not heard" when he has no tradition to that effect, to acknowledge the truth (Avot 5:7).

Walking

A scholar should not carry himself stiffly, with his neck outstretched… nor walk mincingly as do women and haughty people… nor run in a public place like a madman, nor bend his body as if he is a hunchback, but he should look downward, as when standing in prayer, and walk in the street like a man going about his business (Maim., Yad, De'ot 5:8).

Clothing

The Talmud regularizes expenditure on food and clothing by the principle: A man should always spend on food less than his means allow, and clothe himself in accordance with his means (Ḥul. 84b). The sages were most particular that their clothing should be becoming and clean, even to the extent of declaring that any scholar upon whose garment a stain is found is worthy of death (Shab. 114a). Maimonides applies the doctrine of the Golden Mean to clothing: "He should not wear clothes, of gold and purple, for instance, fit for a king, and at which everyone stares, nor clothes worn by the poor that put to shame those wearing them, but he should wear modest dress" (De'ot 5:9).

Eating and Drinking

In eating and drinking, too, he should not indulge in extremes, but content himself with the minimum necessary for health. He should eat only in his own home, at his table, but not in the market place, for "he who eats in the market place is like a dog" (Kid. 40b). A scholar should not eat standing, nor lick his fingers, for this is the way of gluttons (DEZ 5). Gulping one's drink in a single draught is a sign of greediness (Beẓah 25b). One should not drink out of a cup and then give it to his fellow, for not all people are alike, and sensitive people are particular about this (Tosef., Ber. 5:9).

Treatment of Wife and Children

The rabbis were extremely particular about conduct in the family circle. The responsibility for this was placed primarily on the husband and father, to whom they gave the following directives: “A man should always observe the honor due to his wife, because blessings rest on a man’s home only on account of his wife.” “A man should always be careful not to wrong his wife (with words), for being given to tears, she is easily hurt.” He should consult his wife in all matters affecting the home: If your wife is short, bend down and listen to her words (BM 59a). They enjoined the head of the household to be indulgent, not to take offense, and not to terrorize his household, so as to avoid quarrels (Ta’an. 20b; Git. 6b).

Personal Relations

Most controversies are due to the tendency to ascribe bad motives to the words and actions of others. As a result the sages urged: “Let the honor of your neighbor be as dear to you as your own” (Avot 2:10), and “Love all men and honor them, and forgo your will for that of your neighbor” (DEZ 1). Good and worthy intentions may fail if they are implemented at the wrong moment. Hence, the rabbis counseled: “Do not pacify your fellow in the hour of his anger; nor comfort him when his dead one lies before him” (Avot 4:18). One should not present oneself to one’s friend, or even to the members of his household, at an inconvenient time: “Do not enter your own house suddenly, and all the more, your neighbor’s house” (Pes. 112a) counseled Akiva. The concern of the rabbis in this matter is reflected in the statement, “Let all men learn good manners from the Omnipresent, who stood at the entrance to Eden and called out to Adam, as it says, ‘The Lord God called to Adam, saying, “Where art thou”’” (DER 5). Many modern and medieval ethical works praise *Derekh Ereẓ*, adherence to its precepts, and, at the same time, stress the duty of other strictures to those mentioned in the Talmud.

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[Abraham Arzi]

ETROG (Heb. אֶתְרוֹג), citrus fruit among the Four Species used on Sukkot. The Bible describes what is usually rendered as “the fruit of a goodly tree” (*peri eẓ hadar*; Lev. 23:40), traditionally interpreted as being the *etrog* (*Citrus medica).* The word *etrog*, the name by which this fruit is known in talmudic literature, derives, according to one view, from the Persian *torong*, according to another, from the Sanskrit *suranga*, meaning “beautifully colored.” Some maintain that the *etrog* tree, along with its name, reached Ereẓ Israel only during the Second Temple period, even as it was brought to Greece from its native land, India, only after the campaigns of Alexander the Great. Others contend that “the fruit of a goodly tree” is to be identified with the *Pinus* or *Cedrus*, called *dar* in Sanskrit; others say that what is meant is simply any beautiful (*hadur*) fruit. There is evidence that the *etrog* was known in ancient Egypt; its use as one of the Four Species on Sukkot was probably responsible for its wider cultivation in Ereẓ Israel in olden days, for neighboring countries set no great store upon its fruit, which is not particularly good. Indeed, even during the Hasmonean period, which abounds in evidence of its cultivation in Ereẓ Israel, the *etrog* was not grown in Italy and is not mentioned by Pliny (23–79 C.E.) among the products of that country.

The *etrog* was formerly unique among the fruit trees of Ereẓ Israel in requiring constant irrigation for its growth, whereas the others were only occasionally irrigated, and then only to increase their yield of fruit. This fact is adduced among the various proofs that “the fruit of a goodly tree” (*peri eẓ hadar*) is to be identified with the *etrog, eẓ hadar* being interpreted as *eẓ hiddur*, that is, the tree which requires water. Since the *etrog* was the only *citrus known in Ereẓ Israel in the mishnaic and talmudic period, the question of the permissibility of an *etrog* from a grafted tree for the performance of the religious rite did not arise until comparatively recent times.

The *etrog* was a conspicuous ornamental motif among Jews during the Second Temple period, appearing on coins of Simeon and other Hasmoneans, and it is often depicted on the walls of synagogues and in mosaics. When Alexander Yannai once acted contrary to the *halakhah* in the Temple, “all the people pelted him with their *etrogim*” (Suk. 4:9; Tosef., *ibid.* 3:16; Jos., Ant., 13:372). In the mishnaic and talmudic period, when the *etrog* was widely cultivated in Ereẓ Israel, it was comparatively cheap, a large *etrog* selling for two perutot (Me’il. 6:4). An especially beautiful *etrog*, which was in great demand for the festival, cost very much more, at times as much as the price of three meals (TJ, Suk. 3:12, 54a). There were periods (for example during the Hadrianic persecutions) when *etrogim* had to be brought from far-flung places in Ereẓ Israel (Tosef., Dem. 3:14). Various uses were made of the *etrog*; its thick skin was eaten either pickled in vinegar or boiled to a pulp (Suk. 36b; Ma’as. 1:4), and a perfume was extracted from its peel (Suk. 37b), which was also highly valued as an antidote against snake-bite (Shab. 109b).

Today, the *etrog* is not extensively cultivated in the world, and is grown primarily for the citronate that is extracted from its peel. There are many strains of *etrog.* In Israel the small strain is predominant; the large strain was brought to the country by the Yemenites (cf. Suk. 36b, about a large *etrog* which was carried on the shoulder). In addition to the sour *etrog*, there is also the sweet strain (cf. Shab. 109b). With the increase in the species of the genus citrus, the *etrog* was crossed with other citrus plants, which probably accounts for the present difficulty of growing an *etrog* which has not been grafted on a lemon or hushḥash stock, the ungrafted variety being vulnerable to pests and diseases, and its *pittam* (the protuberance, the pistil) usually being atrophied. Whereas in ancient times the *pittam* was a conspicuous mark of the *etrog’s* excellence, there are those today who are particularly anxious to obtain only an ungrafted *etrog*, which usually has no *pittam*. There are several distinguishing signs by which the grafted and the ungrafted *etrog* can be distinguished. The skin of the latter is generally rougher than that of the former, and, according to some halakhic authorities, the seed of the latter lies longitudinally within the fruit, and that of the former, latitudinally. Until the end of the 19th century the center for the cultivation of *etrogim* was the island of *Corfu, from where they were exported to Jewish communities in Europe. Later these began to use the *etrogim* of Ereẓ Israel. Today the *etrog* groves in Israel supply local needs and also export many *etrogim* abroad.

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[Jehuda Feliks]

ETROG, SOREL (1933–), sculptor, painter, poet, filmmaker. Etrog was born in Jassy, Romania. In 1950, he immigrated with his family to Israel. He studied at the Israel Institute of Painting and Sculpture in Tel Aviv (1953–55). From 1955 to 1958, he was a member of the Ein Hod artists' colony. Etrog held his first solo show in Tel Aviv (1958). Awarded a scholarship to the Brooklyn Museum Art School/Institute, he studied in New York in 1958–59 and established a studio there.

In the summer of 1959, Etrog was invited to work in Canada by prominent art collector Samuel Zacks. That year, he held a solo exhibition at Toronto's Gallery Moos and in 1963 he moved permanently to Toronto. From 1964 to 1984 he worked in his studios in both Toronto and Florence, Italy. Etrog was one of three artists representing Canada at the 1966 Venice Biennale, where his reputation as a leading contemporary sculptor was confirmed.

Etrog is best known for his large public sculptures which range from the biomorphic to monumental bronze and steel structures. Marshall McLuhan described his "hinge" and "link" work as a drama of dialogue and interchange that reflects the "transformation of the old machine and its consumer products into new vital images of primal art and perception." Etrog also began as a painter in Israel. His "painted constructions" investigate the interdependency of painting and relief. He also realized a significant body of drawings, including studies and large-scale works on paper and canvas. His art is a process of exploration into the nature of human consciousness and the human condition. A poet himself, Etrog worked collaboratively with writers such as McLuhan, Claudio Aveline, Samuel Beckett, and Eugene *Ionesco.

The subject of numerous exhibitions, Etrog's art is widely represented in major museums and collections around the world, including the Tate Museum, London; the Museum of Modern Art, New York; the Guggenheim Museum, New York; the Hirshhorn Museum, Washington, D.C.; the Israel Museum, Jerusalem; the Kroeller-Mueller Museum, Otterlo; the Musée d'Arte Moderne, Paris; and the National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa. Among his many public and private commissions is *Powersoul*, which he created for the 1988 Olympics in Seoul, Korea. In 1968, Etrog designed the Canadian film award statuette (called "the Etrog" until 1980, when it was renamed the "Genie").

In recognition of his contributions to contemporary art, Etrog was named a Member of the Order of Canada in 1995 and a Chevalier dans l'Ordre des Arts et des Lettres by France in 1996.

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[Joyce Zemans (2nd ed.)]

ETTELSON, HARRY WILLIAM (1883–1975), U.S. Reform rabbi. Ettelson was born in Mobile, Alabama, and received his B.A. with Phi Beta Kappa honors from the University of Cincinnati in 1900, at the age of 17. He was ordained at Hebrew Union College, where he was valedictorian of his class, in 1904. Ettelson earned his M.A. from the University of Chicago while serving as rabbi of Temple Achduth Vesholom in Fort Wayne, Indiana (1904–10), and his Ph.D. from Yale University in 1916 while serving as rabbi of Congregation Beth Israel in Hartford, Connecticut (1911–19). He served as a Navy chaplain at Pelham Bay Training Station during World War I, then became rabbi of Temple Rodeph Shalom in Philadelphia (1919–24), where he also served as president of the Philadelphia Board of Jewish Ministers, vice chancellor of the Jewish Chautauqua Society, and a member of the editorial board of the Jewish Publication Society.

In 1925, he moved to Memphis to assume the pulpit of Congregation Children of Israel (later, Temple Israel), where he remained until his death, serving his final 21 years as rabbi emeritus. He was both a religious and civic leader in Memphis, where he was founder and first president of the Cross-Cut Club, an organization of Memphis clergymen of all faiths that formed the nucleus of that city's chapter of the *National Conference of Christians and Jews (NCCJ). He also instituted several citywide interfaith initiatives, including Peace Heroes Day; Good Will and Brotherhood Day (later expanded by the NCCJ to Brotherhood Week); and non-sectarian Union Civic Thanksgiving Day services.

Ettelson's reputation as both a scholar and an orator reached its zenith in 1932, when he engaged in a public debate on religion with Clarence Darrow, the noted attorney of Scopes trial fame, who traveled around the country debating clergymen. Although there was no official decision as to a winner, according to the *Memphis Press-Scimitar*, "by and large, the majority sided with Dr. Ettelson's masterly approach" to the question, "Is Religion Necessary?" That same year, his congregation awarded him the Joseph Newberger Memorial Cup, in recognition of his service to the Memphis Jewish community. In 1940, Southwestern University awarded him an honorary doctorate.

As chairman of the CCAR-UAHC Joint Commission on Information on Judaism in the 1940s, Ettelson developed the

"Popular Studies in Judaism" program. He also served as president of the Hebrew Union College Alumni Association and was a member of the HUC Board of Governors as well as of the Executive Board of the Central Conference of American Rabbis (1912). A frequent contributor to Jewish literary periodicals and a translator of poetry into Hebrew and Yiddish, he also wrote the book, *The Integrity of I Maccabees* (1925), and published a translation of the epigrams of Shem Tov ben Joseph *Falaquera, a 13th-century Jewish scholar and physician from Spain.

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[Bezalel Gordon (2nd ed.)]

ETTENBERG, SYLVIA CUTLER (1917–), U.S. Jewish educator, particularly within the Conservative movement. Born in Brooklyn, she received a B.A. from Brooklyn College and a Bachelor of Pedagogy from the Jewish Theological Seminary of America (JTS). In 1940 she married Moshe Ettenberg, an engineering professor; the couple had two children.

Although her career was spent almost exclusively at the Jewish Theological Seminary of America, her influence was felt in a wide range of institutions and settings. Ettenberg, the first female senior administrator at JTS, played a leading role in some of the most important and innovative projects of Conservative Jewish education. She was directly involved in the founding of the Seminary's supplementary high school (the Prozdor) in 1951, the creation of the Melton Research Center in 1959, and the eventual establishment of the William Davidson Graduate School of Jewish Education in 1996. She worked on the creation of a joint undergraduate degree program between JTS and Columbia University and helped supervise the Department of Jewish Education at the Seminary as it developed its M.A. and doctoral programs.

Arguably, her most notable achievement was Camp Ramah, a summer educational camping program that grew into an international network of camps. Ramah was first launched in Wisconsin in 1947 by a group of community leaders from Chicago. But it was Ettenberg and Moshe Davis who brought Ramah inside the world of JTS itself, creating an infrastructure for the camping system that developed over time and nurtured the powerful educational vision embodied in the camps. The Ramah camps had a profound impact on Jewish education and provided a large percentage of the future academic, lay, and professional leadership of Conservative Judaism.

Ettenberg received an honorary doctorate from JTS, the Behrman House Books – Jewish Educators Assembly lifetime achievement award, and the Samuel Rothberg Prize in Jewish education from the Hebrew University of Jerusalem.

[Barry W. Holtz (2nd ed.)]

ETTENDORF, township in the Bas-Rhin department, France. Two Jewish families were recorded in the town in 1449. In 1784 the Jewish population of Ettendorf reached its peak of 124, but from the Revolution, it steadily declined; there were 37 Jews there in 1868 and only one family in 1926. The Ettendorf community, though small, possessed two important institutions, which also served about 20 other communities in Lower Alsace: a cemetery opened during the late 15th century and a talmudical school established in the middle of the 18th century.

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[Bernhard Blumenkranz]

ETTING, pioneer Jewish family in Baltimore, Maryland. ELIJAH ETTING (1724–1778), progenitor of the family in the U.S., arrived in the U.S. from Germany in 1758, settling in York, Pennsylvania, where he became an important Indian trader. After his death his widow, SHINAH (née Solomon), moved to Baltimore with five of her seven children. Her two sons Reuben and Solomon also settled there eventually. REUBEN ETTING (1762–1848), Maryland political figure, was born in York, Pa. During a period when Jews still lived in Maryland by license rather than by right, Reuben assumed the duties of a full citizen in 1798 when a war between the United States and France seemed imminent and became captain of a militia company. Reuben was long involved in politics as a Jeffersonian Republican and was appointed U.S. marshal for Maryland in 1801 by President Jefferson. He was thus the first Jew in Maryland to hold public office, a quarter of a century before the Jews gained civic equality in the state. SOLOMON ETTING (1764–1847), businessman, political figure, and Jewish civic rights leader, also born in York, Pa., became a *shoḥet* at the age of 18, the first American Jew to serve in this capacity. At first a hardware storekeeper, Solomon subsequently became a banker, a shipper, a founder of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, and an important businessman. He was prominent in the Baltimore Republican Society, a Jeffersonian political club. He was a leader in the defense of Baltimore against the British in the War of 1812, during which his 18-year-old son Samuel was wounded in the battle at nearby Fort McHenry. Etting was a "manager" of the Maryland State Colonization Society, which sought to promote the resettlement of blacks in Africa. Etting was active in the Baltimore German Society and served as its vice president from 1820 to 1840. Although he was not involved in any Jewish organization in Baltimore, he supported the synagogue of his youth, Mikveh Israel, in Philadelphia. In 1801 he purchased land for a Jewish cemetery in Baltimore. He also led in the struggle for Jewish civic rights, opposing the Maryland law requiring of officeholders a Christian oath. As early as 1797 he appealed to the State Legislature on behalf of a "sect of people called Jews, deprived of invaluable rights of citizenship and praying to be placed on the same footing as other good citizens." This petition initiated a three-decade struggle, which ended successfully in 1826. Soon thereafter, Etting served as a Baltimore councilman. Solomon Etting's second wife was the daughter of the prominent leader Barnard *Gratz.

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[Isaac M. Fein]

ETTINGER, family noted for its scholars and community leaders, originally from *Oettingen, Bavaria, from which the name derives. It is probably related to families named Oettingen or Ettingen: members of its East European branch were prominent in Jewish life in modern times. First of note was Ḥayyim Judah Leib Ettinger who in 1717 moved from Holesov (Holleschau), Moravia, to head a yeshivah in Lemberg, Poland. His brother, JOSEPH, served as a preacher in Glogau, Silesia, and wrote commentaries on the Torah, *Edut bi-Yehosef* (Sulzbach, 1741). Ḥayyim's son AARON (1720–1769), rabbi in Jaworow and Rzeszow, fought the spread of Ḥasidism in Galicia. Well-known in the 19th century were Mordecai Ze'ev *Ettinger and his brother-in-law, Joseph Saul ha-Levi *Nathanson. Mordecai's son, Isaac Aaron Ettinger (1827–1891), served as rabbi in Przemysl and Lemberg. With BARUCH MORDECAI, rabbi of *Bobruisk in *Belorussia for about 50 years until he settled in Ereẓ Israel in 1851, the family assumed a leading position in *Chabad ḥasidic circles; Baruch Mordecai was a close disciple of *Shneur Zalman of Lyady. In the 20th century many members of the family, such as Akiva *Ettinger, took a prominent part in the economic and cultural life of East European Jewry and Ereẓ Israel. SAMUEL ETTINGER (1919–1988), who was born in Kiev, became professor of Jewish history at the Hebrew University, Jerusalem. He wrote *Toledot Yisrael ba-Et ha-Ḥadashah* ("Jewish History in Modern Times," 1970) and edited a volume of essays by H. Graetz in Hebrew (*Darkhei ha-Historiyah ha-Yehudit*, 1969).

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[Yehuda Slutsky]

ETTINGER, AKIVA JACOB (1872–1945), agricultural expert; founder and administrator of Jewish settlements in Ereẓ Israel. Ettinger, born in Vitebsk, Belorussia, came from a distinguished family (his mother was descended from R. Akiva *Eger). He studied agriculture at the University of St. Petersburg and in West European countries. Representing the *Jewish Colonization Association (ICA), he took part in 1898 in an investigation of the situation of Jewish farmers in southern Russia, and was then asked to establish a Jewish model farm in Bessarabia. In 1911 he served as agricultural adviser to ICA in South America. Ettinger, together with *Aḥad Ha-Am, was sent to Ereẓ Israel in 1902 by the *Odessa Committee of Ḥovevei Zion to investigate the state of the Jewish settlements. In 1914 he was asked by the Zionist Organization and the Jewish National Fund to serve as adviser and inspector for Jewish agricultural settlement in Ereẓ Israel, but because of the outbreak of war he went to The Hague, where the Jewish National Fund had its temporary head office. There he wrote a programmatic booklet, *Jewish Colonization in Palestine: Methods, Plans and Capital* (1916^2, published in English, German, and Russian).

During the negotiations over the *Balfour Declaration, Ettinger was invited by Chaim *Weizmann to London as adviser on settlement matters, and composed a comprehensive memorandum, *Palestine after the War: Proposals for Administration and Development* (1918). Ettinger settled in Palestine in 1918, serving as director of the agricultural settlement department of the Zionist Organization until 1924. In 1919, after the purchase of land for *Kiryat Anavim on the rocky Judean hills, he founded the village which became a model for hill settlements. His most important achievement involved the vast settlement project of the Jezreel Valley during 1921–24. From 1924 to 1932 Ettinger played a prominent role on behalf of the Jewish National Fund in the purchase of land and the drafting and implementation of settlement (the kevuẓah, kibbutz, and moshav) and aided their development on a mixed farming basis with emphasis on dairy farming and orchards. He also introduced new afforestation methods. From 1932 until his death Ettinger was adviser to the agricultural Yakhin Company of the Histadrut.

Ettinger wrote many articles on agriculture in Ereẓ Israel. His booklets include *Nahalal* (1924), *Emek Yizre'el* (1926), and *Ha-Karmel* (1931). His memoirs are titled *Im Ḥakla'im Yehudim ba-Tefuẓot* ("With Jewish Farmers in the Diaspora," 1942), and *Im Ḥakla'im Ivriyyim be-Arẓenu* ("With Hebrew Farmers in our Country," 1945).

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[Alexander Bein]

ETTINGER, MORDECAI ZE'EV BEN ISAAC AARON SEGAL (1804–1863), Polish rabbinical scholar, and scion of a long line of rabbis (see *Ettinger family). He studied under Naphtali Hirsch Sohastov, rabbi of Lemberg, and under his own uncle, Jacob *Ornstein. Although renowned for his great scholarship, he never occupied a rabbinical position, his considerable personal fortune rendering him independent. In 1857 he was chosen rabbi of Cracow and its environs and indicated his acceptance but changed his mind. He served as "*nasi* of the Holy Land" of the Austrian *kolel*, an honorable position always given to the greatest of the rabbis. In this capacity he did much to help consolidate the position of the Jewish community in Ereẓ Israel. He studied together with his brother-in-law, Joseph Saul ha-Levi *Nathanson, many joint works resulting from their 25 years of collaboration.

First and foremost of them was *Mefareshei ha-Yam* (Lemberg, 1827), novellae and elucidation appended to the *Yam ha-Talmud* on the tractate *Bava Kamma*, by their uncle, Moses Joshua Heshel Ornstein of Tarnogrod; at the end of this work is included their halakhic correspondence with such contemporaries as Moses *Sofer, Mordecai *Banet, and Akiva *Eger. Their remaining joint works to be noted are *Me'irat Einayim*

(Vilna, 1839), a work in seven sections on the inspection of animals' lungs; *Magen Gibborim*, 1 (Lemberg, 1834), 2 (Zolkieve, 1839); two commentaries on the first 235 chapters of the Shulḥan Arukh, *Oraḥ Ḥayyim;* glosses to and emendations of the glosses of Mordecai *Jaffe on the Talmud (published in the Romm Vilna edition of the Talmud); *Ma'aseh Alfas* (in the Romm Vilna edition of Alfasi), glosses on the *halakhot* of Isaac Alfasi and the Mordecai; *Ner Ma'aravi*. a commentary on the Jerusalem Talmud which includes references under the title *Ein Mishpat* and glosses thereto entitled *Gilyon ha-Shas* (published in the Piotrkow 1859–60 edition of the Jerusalem Talmud).

This fruitful partnership ended in 1859, Ettinger having published in Solomon *Kluger of Brod's booklet *Moda'ah le-Veit Yisrael* (1859), which contained a ban against machine-baked *maẓẓot*, whereupon Nathanson published a contrary opinion in a booklet called *Bittul Moda'ah* (1859). After the rift with his brother-in-law, Ettinger devoted himself to study together with his son Isaac Aaron (*Ma'amar Mordekhai*, no. 58), and decided to publish responsa and novellae independently. To this period belong his important responsa *Ma'amar Mordekhai* (1852), which deal to a great extent with the laws of **agunah*. A collection of his responsa, *Shevet Aḥim*, has remained in manuscript.

His most famous son was ISAAC AARON (1827–1891) who served as rabbi in Przemysl and in 1888 succeeded Ẓevi Hirsch Ornstein as rabbi of Lemberg, remaining there until his death. Like his father, he at first refused all rabbinical offers, including the rabbinate of Przemysl, and like him also served as "*nasi* of the Holy Land." His novellae were published together with his father's *Ma'amar Mordekhai*, and his responsa are found in his *Maharya ha-Levi* (2 vols., 1893), as well as in various works of contemporary rabbis.

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[Itzhak Alfassi]

ETTINGER, SHMUEL (1919–1988), Israeli historian. Born in Kiev, U.S.S.R., Ettinger immigrated to Ereẓ Israel in 1936 and studied at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, where he received his doctorate in 1956 for his study "The Jewish Colonization of the Ukraine, 1569–1648." In 1952, while still a research student, he joined the teaching staff of the Hebrew University, and in 1965 he became professor of modern Jewish history. He was a visiting professor at Oxford University in 1969–70.

Ettinger's major fields of research include Russian Jewish history (from its beginnings until the Soviet era), the attitude of 17th- and 18th-century European thought toward Judaism and Jews, modern Jewish historiography, and the roots and development of modern antisemitism.

His research on the Muscovite state and its attitude toward the Jews and on the Jewish settlement in the Ukraine constituted a basic contribution to the critical study of the history of the Jews in Russia. In his study of the ḥasidic movement and its historical influence he emphasized the role of the ḥasidic leadership as a powerful formative factor in the continued existence of Jewish autonomy under the centralist regimes of Russia and Austria after the partitions of Poland. The importance of his methodical contribution to the study of the origins of modern antisemitism lies in his unmasking the inherent nature of the critical, and even antagonistic attitude toward Judaism in the major trends of modern European social thought: from the English deism and French rationalism of the 17th and 18th centuries to the romanticism, nationalism, social Darwinism, and even liberalism and socialism of the 19th century. As a representative of the Jerusalem school of Jewish studies, Ettinger emphasized a conceptual framework revolving around the unity and continuity of Jewish history. Within this framework he regarded the centrality of the redemptive principle as an historical motive force even in its secular manifestations, especially in the social and national radicalism of modern Jewish history. His research method, in which he regarded himself as continuing along the path of B.Z. Dinur and Y. Baer, was characterized by the tension between a broad teleological view of Jewish history and its central tendencies, and a rare command of critical investigative methods directed toward detailed elements of historical reality in a wide variety of areas.

Ettinger's studies were published mainly in the journals *Zion, He-Avar, Molad, Gesher, Scripta Hierosolymitana, Cahiers d'Histoire Mondiale*, and the publications of the Israel Historical Society. He published two works of a general nature on modern Jewish history: a volume of his university lectures, *Toledot Am Yisrael mi-Yemei ha-Absolutism ad La-Hakamat Medinat Yisrael* ("History of the Jewish People from the Era of Absolutism until the Establishment of the State of Israel," last edition 1968), and *Toledot Am Yisrael ba-Zeman he-Ḥadash* ("History of the Jewish People in Modern Times," 1969), the latter being the third volume of a series on Jewish history by teachers of the Hebrew University. The latter volume is aimed at a broader reading public and deals in greater detail with the period from the 1880s until after the Six-Day War. During the 1960s, a parallel series in Russian was prepared and published under his editorship (*Ocherki po Istorii Yevreiskogo Naroda*, last edition 1972). He also published a volume of theoretical essays, excerpts from the diary and correspondence of the historian Graetz (*Ẓvi Graetz, Darkhei ha-Historiah ha-Yehudit*, 1969), and a history textbook for Israeli high schools.

Ettinger served on the editorial board of *Zion*, the journal for Jewish history (editorial secretary 1955–59, and editor from 1960) and on the executive board of the Israeli Historical Society and the Central Archives for the History of the Jewish People. He was among the initiators and directors of many research projects, among them the Center for Eastern European Jewish Studies, which he headed.

Closely related to his scientific work was his intensive public activity, devoted mainly to two areas: the educational system of Israel, at every level, and the national awakening of the Jews in Soviet Russia and their spiritual and social integration in Israel.

[Otto Dov Kulka]

ETTINGER, SOLOMON (**Shloyme**; 1803–1856), Yiddish poet and dramatist. Born in Warsaw, orphaned, and then raised in Leczna by his paternal uncle, Ettinger moved to Zamosc after marrying Golda, the daughter of magnate Judah Leib Wolf, where he was influenced by the Haskalah. He studied pharmacy and medicine in Lemberg (Lvov) – where he discovered the writer in himself – and practiced medicine, despite difficulties with certification in Poland. Although he knew both Hebrew and German, he chose to write in Yiddish, attempting to create his own literary style. The influence of Lessing, Buerger, and other German writers can be traced in his works, and he was also influenced by the Yiddish comedies of Isaac *Euchel and Aaron *Wolfsohn-Halle. Ettinger wrote satirical and witty ballads, epigrams, poems, and dramas. His fables (*mesholim*) reflect an influence by the Maggid of Dubno (see Jacob ben Wolf *Kranz), who left his imprint on Zamosc with this genre in the early 19th century. Ettinger concentrated on individual problems rather than on the contemporary ones with which Haskalah literature generally concerned itself. He influenced not only Abraham *Goldfaden but also Sholem Yankev *Abramovitsh and later writers. In his play, *Serkele*, he portrays an ambitious woman who pursues wealth and power and gives a vivid picture of the local environment and customs. He starkly outlines the foibles and passions of the fledgling urban Jewish bourgeoisie, foreshadowing his great heir in this genre, Isaac Bashevis *Singer. He also wrote two unfinished plays: *Der Feter fun Amerika* ("The American Uncle") and *Di Freylekhe Yungelayt* ("The Jolly Young People").

Because of censorship, the only piece to appear in his lifetime was a short Hebrew poem (1837); but some of his fables and poems were posthumously published. His son, W. Ettinger, a well-known Russian publisher, brought out his *Mesholim* in St. Petersburg (1889, 1890^2). The definitive edition of his works, *Ale Ksovim fun Dr. Shloyme Ettinger* ("Collected Works of Dr. Shloyme Ettinger"), in two volumes, edited by Max Weinreich, was published in Vilna in 1925; and his *Geklibene Verk* ("Selected Works"), edited by Max Erik, appeared in Kiev in 1935. In 1957 another selection, *Oysgeklibene Shriften* edited by S. Rollanski (Rozhansky), was published in Buenos Aires.

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[Elias Schulman / Jack S. Berger (2nd ed.)]

ETTINGHAUSEN, RICHARD (1906–1979), historian of Islamic art. Ettinghausen was born in Germany and studied in Frankfurt, where he received his doctorate in Islamic studies in 1931, from which time he devoted himself to the study of, and research into, Islamic art. In 1934 he immigrated to the United States. His extensive contributions to Islamic art were in academic teaching, museum activities, and scholarly publications. From 1934 to 1937 he was research associate of the American Institute of Persian Art and Archaeology and from 1938 to 1949 he taught Islamic art at the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor. In 1944, he also began to work in the Near Eastern Section of the Freer Gallery of Art at the Smithsonian Institution, where he acted as head curator from 1961 to 1967. Continuing to combine university and museum work, he taught at the Institute of Fine Arts at New York University from 1961, was appointed Hagop Kevorkian Professor of Islamic Art in 1967, and consultative chairman of the Islamic Department of the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York in 1969, at the same time acting as trustee of various galleries and museums, such as the Phillips Gallery and the Textile Museum, Washington, and was the main promoter of the L.A. Mayer Memorial Institute, dedicated to Islamic art, opened in 1974 in Jerusalem.

He was the author of numerous scholarly publications, covering a very wide range of subjects, but particularly studies dedicated to Islamic painting. These are again extremely varied with much attention paid to Persian, Turkish, Muslim, Indian, and of course Arab, painting. They include studies in Muslim iconography – *The Unicorn* (1950), *Paintings of the Sultans and Emperors of India in American Collections* (1961), *Persian Paintings in the Bernard Berenson Collection* (1961), and *Arab Painting* (1962). He initiated and organized many exhibitions which dealt with problems of Islamic art for which he compiled the catalogs. He was the editor of *Ars Islamica*, the first periodical dedicated to Islamic arts (1938–50); he then became a member of the editorial board of *Ars Orientalis* (1954–67), as well as of *Artibus Asiae*; he was co-editor of *Kunst des Orients*.

[Miriam Rosen-Ayalon]

ETTLINGEN, town in Baden, Germany. The Jews living there at the time of the *Black Death, 1348–49, suffered from persecution. At assemblies of the regional Estates held in 1588, 1589, and 1591, the representatives of Ettlingen pressed for the expulsion of the Jews from the city. There were two Jewish families living in Ettlingen in 1683. In 1729 a "protected" Jew, Mayer (originally from Malsch), had to leave his home near the castle and was permitted to build a house of medium size near the town square. The Jews of Ettlingen paid a protection tax of 16 florins in the 18th century, which was reduced to 8 florins in 1812. A prayer hall was opened in 1812 and a synagogue in 1849; it was replaced by a building in Renaissance style in 1889. The community numbered 33 in 1825 and 70 in 1900. In 1933 there were 48 Jews in the city, joined later by 31 from other locales. About two-thirds emigrated or left for other German cities during the Nazi era and the rest were deported. On Nov. 10, 1939, the synagogue was demolished.

R. Jacob *Ettlinger and other Jews bearing the name probably originated from Ettlingen.

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ETTLINGER, JACOB (1798–1871), German rabbi and champion of neo-Orthodoxy. After receiving preliminary instruction from his father, Aaron Ettlinger, *Klausrabbiner*, a local rabbi in Karlsruhe, Jacob continued his studies under three eminent rabbis: Asher Wallerstein, Abraham Bing, and Wolf Hamburger. He was one of the first Jews admitted to the University of Wuerzburg, but was forced to leave because of an antisemitic outbreak. In 1826, he was appointed *Kreisrabbiner* ("district rabbi") for the districts of Ladenburg and Ingolstadt and settled in Mannheim, where he founded a yeshivah that attracted numerous students including Samson Raphael *Hirsch. Ten years later, he was appointed chief rabbi of Altona, a post which he retained until his death. The yeshivah which he established in that city was attended by Israel (Azriel) *Hildesheimer.

An unswerving traditionalist, Ettlinger reacted to the conference of Reform rabbis in Brunswick (1844) by rallying many of his colleagues in protest against what they considered the gravest threat to Judaism's future. A notable result of this move was Ettlinger's decision to publish works reflecting the stand of Jewish Orthodoxy, among them his pamphlet, *Shelomei Emunei Yisrael*, and *Der Zionswaechter*, a journal of traditionalist thought, with a Hebrew supplement, *Shomer Ẓiyyon ha-Ne'eman*, edited by S.J. Enoch (1845). He was the last rabbi to preside over the Altona *bet din* before its jurisdiction in civil matters was revoked by the Danish authorities in 1863. In the following year, Denmark ceded Altona with Schleswig-Holstein to Prussia and Ettlinger made such a favorable impression on the Prussian king, William, during his visit to Altona in 1865, that the rights previously enjoyed by the Jewish community under the Danes were reconfirmed by royal decree. An outstanding halakhist, Ettlinger published the following works (all printed at Altona, unless otherwise indicated): *Bikkurei Ya'akov*, on the laws concerning the festival of Tabernacles (1836; 2nd ed. with the addition *Tosefot Bikkurim*, 1858); *Arukh la-Ner*, glosses on various talmudic treatises (on *Yevamot* 1850; 2nd ed. Piotrkow 1914; on *Makkot* and *Keritot* 1855; on *Sukkah* 1858; on *Niddah* 1864; on *Rosh ha-Shanah* and *Sanhedrin*, Warsaw, 1873); *Binyan Ẓiyyon*, responsa (1868), and its sequel, *She'elot u-Teshuvot Binyan Ẓiyyon ha-Hadashot* (Vilna, 1874); *Minḥat Ani*, homilies (1874; 2nd ed. Frankfurt, 1924) and a number of sermons in German. A collection of his articles and addresses was published by L.M. Bamberger (Schildberg, 1899). Through Hirsch and Hildesheimer, Ettlinger exerted an incalculable influence on the course of neo-Orthodoxy in Germany. His great modesty is reflected in his will which stipulates that only the barest details be inscribed on his tombstone.

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[Shlomo Eidelberg]

ETTLINGER, MARION (1949–), U.S. photographer. Ettlinger, the daughter of German Jews who fled the Nazis in December 1938, grew up in Queens, N.Y., and was educated at Cooper Union in Manhattan, where she studied painting. She discovered photography then but it was not until 1983, when she got an assignment from *Esquire* magazine, that she found her calling and her career. *Esquire*, celebrating its 50th birthday, asked Ettlinger to photograph authors who had contributed to a special issue of the magazine. Her photograph of the writer Truman Capote, in striking profile, proved memorable, and in more than 20 years Ettlinger photographed more than 600 authors for book jackets. She worked exclusively in black and white, using only natural light. More than 200 of her author photos were collected in *Author Photo: Portraits, 1983–2002*, a coffee-table volume that includes well-known writers as well as her own image. Previously, authors often tended to appear on the covers of their books in relaxed, un-self-conscious moods and settings. But Ettlinger made portraits for the book jackets, the authors posed and orchestrated as objects in their own right, and her name entered the language as a verb. To be "Ettlingered," according to an article in the *New York Times*, means to have imparted to you an aura of distinction and renown. Publishers considered these photos as assets to help sell their books.

[Stewart Kampel (2nd ed.)]

ETZIONI, AMITAI WERNER (1929–), sociologist. Etzioni was born in Cologne, West Germany, but immigrated at an early age to Ereẓ Israel, studying at the Hebrew University and later at the University of California at Berkeley, where he received his doctorate in sociology in 1958. He was on the faculty of Columbia University from 1958, and chairman of the department of sociology from 1969. From 1979 to 1980 he served as senior adviser to the White House and in the latter year was University Professor at George Washington University. In 1987–89, he served as the Thomas Henry Carroll Ford Foundation Professor at the Harvard Business School. In 1989–90 he was the founding president of the International Society for the Advancement of Socio-Economics, and in 1990 he founded the Communitarian Network, a nonprofit, nonpartisan organization dedicated to shoring up the moral, social, and political foundations of society. He was the editor of *The Responsive Community: Rights and Responsibilities*, the organization's quarterly journal, from 1991 to 2004. Etzioni also served as the president of the American Sociological Association in 1994–95. His primary areas of interest are political sociology and organizational analysis. Etzioni is a member of the Science Information Council of the National Science Foundation and a member of the Social Problems Research Committee of the National Institute of Mental Health, as well as a consultant to many organizations, including the President's Advisory Committee on Campus Unrest and Change.

He contributed over 80 articles to various professional journals and books and wrote numerous books, of which the most important is *The Active Society: A Theory of Societal and*

Political Processes (1968). Among the others are *A Diary of a Commando Soldier* (1952), *The Moon-Doogle: Domestic and International Implications of the Space Race* (1964), *Political Unification: A Comparative Study of Leaders and Forces* (1965), *Demonstration Democracy* (1971), *The Moral Dimension: Toward a New Economics* (1988), *The Spirit of Community* (1993), *The New Golden Rule* (1996), *The Limits of Privacy* (1999), *The Monochrome Society* (2001), *My Brother's Keeper: A Memoir and a Message* (2003), and *From Empire to Community: A New Approach to International Relations* (2004).

Etzioni has been the recipient of a Guggenheim Fellowship and the William Mosher Award for the most distinguished academic article in the *Public Administration Review* in 1967. In 2001 he was named one of the top 100 American intellectuals. At the same year he was awarded the John P. McGovern Award in Behavioral Sciences as well as the Officer's Cross of the Order of Merit of the Federal Republic of Germany. He was also the recipient of the Seventh James Wilbur Award for Extraordinary Contributions to the Appreciation and Advancement of Human Values by the Conference on Value Inquiry as well as the Sociological Practice Association's Outstanding Contribution Award.

[Jacob Jay Lindenthal]

EUCHEL, ISAAC ABRAHAM (1756–1804), Hebrew author, Bible commentator, and one of the leaders of the *Haskalah in Germany. Born in Copenhagen, Euchel, having received a traditional education, moved in 1773 to Koenigsberg, where he earned his living as a tutor in the home of the wealthy *Friedlaender family. In 1781 he attended Kant's lectures at the University of Koenigsberg. He was recommended for a lectureship in Hebrew at the university but was rejected because he was Jewish. In 1787, Euchel moved to Berlin, where he managed the printing press of the Juedische Freischule (Ḥinnukh Ne'arim School). Later he worked as a bookkeeper for a commercial firm.

Euchel's literary and communal activity began in 1782 (in Koenigsberg) with the publication of his pamphlet *Sefat Emet*, in which he called for the establishment of a school in Koenigsberg, based on the principles of the Enlightenment. In 1782 he was one of the founders of *Ḥevrat Doreshei Leshon Ever* (The Society of Advocates of the Hebrew Language), which started to publish *Ha-Me'assef*, and, with Menahem Mendel Breslau, published *Naḥal ha-Besor*, the prospectus of *Ha-Me'assef*. He served as one of the editors of *Ha-Me'assef* as long as he was in Koenigsberg (till 1790), and published several articles in that periodical, including the first monograph on Moses Mendelssohn, entitled *Toledot Rabbenu he-Ḥakham Moshe ben Menaḥem* (published in book form in Berlin, 1789). He also prepared a free translation of the prayer book into German (1786) and wrote a commentary on Proverbs, with a German translation in Hebrew characters (Berlin, 1790). In addition, he is credited with the authorship of *Iggerot Meshullam Ben Uriyyah ha-Eshtemo'i* which started to appear in *Ha-Me'assef* in the autumn of 1789, and which seemed in some respects to imitate Montesquieu's *Persian Letters.* In 1797 he published in Breslau a pamphlet (German in Hebrew characters) entitled *Ist nach dem juedischen Gesetze das Uebernachten der Todten wirklieh verboten?* To combat the influence of the Orthodox, Euchel wrote (about 1792) a satirical comedy in colloquial Yiddish, called *Reb Henekh, Oder Vos Tut Men Damit.* No copies are extant of this edition, which apparently was published after Euchel's death. A new edition in Gothic characters (*Reb Henoch; oder Was thut men damit*) appeared in Berlin in 1846; and in 1933, Z. Rejzen republished it in his *Arkhiv far der Geshikhte fun Yidishen Teater un Drama*, from the manuscript preserved in the Rosenthaliana library in Amsterdam. The play, sharply satirical, especially in the portrayal of the Orthodox, reflects the relations between Jews and non-Jews in Prussia during the period of the struggle for emancipation.

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[Gedalyah Elkoshi]

°EUGENIUS, name of four popes. They include the following:

EUGENIUS III (1145–53). At the time of Eugenius' solemn entry into Rome in 1145, the Jews of the city formed part of the procession which welcomed him. Probably as a result of the anti-Jewish persecutions following the preaching of the Second Crusade, Eugenius renewed the *Sicut Judaeis*, Pope Calixtus II's bull of protection for the Jews (see papal *bulls). In doing this, he may have acted on the advice of *Bernard of Clairvaux, his former teacher, with whom he maintained close relations. In one of a series of letters to Pope Eugenius written between 1149 and 1152, Bernard pointed out that the concern of the pope should also go out to the Jews.

EUGENIUS IV (1431–47). The greater part of his reign was especially favorable for the Jews. In 1432, soon after his ascent to the papal throne, Eugenius IV ratified the privileges of the Jewish communities of Lombardy, the Marches, and Sardinia. He retained his predecessor's Jewish personal physician, Elia di Sabato, and in 1433 confirmed his freedom of the city and his salary. On Feb. 6, 1434, he assured the German Jewish communities of his protection, particularly against attempts at forced conversion, any interference with the practice of their religion, and desecration of their cemeteries. Eugenius ordered the lay and ecclesiastical authorities to assist the Jewish communities in the payment of their taxes.

The change in his attitude probably followed on the deliberations of the Council of Basle (1431–37), which also adopted a severe attitude toward Christian heresies. In order not to appear dilatory in his strictness toward the Jews, in 1442 Eugenius forbade Christians in Leon and Castile to have any relationships with them as maids or menservants. The Jews were forbidden to erect any new synagogues, to lend money on interest, and to work on Sundays and Christian holidays;

they were to be excluded from public office and could not testify against Christians. The provisions of this bull were soon extended to Italy, where the Jews were also prohibited from studying any book but the Pentateuch. As a result many Jews left the Papal States, taking refuge especially in Mantua, where the ruler, Giovanni Francesco Gonzaga, offered them fairly liberal conditions. After large sums of money had changed hands, the restrictive measures were rescinded in December 1443. From then on, Eugenius once more extended his protection to the Jews. Only a few days before his death, he issued a bull against forced baptisms in Spain.

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[Bernhard Blumenkranz]

°**EUHEMERUS** (fourth century B.C.E.), writer. In his *Hiera Anagraphe* ("Sacred History"), Euhemerus suggested that the gods had originally been benefactors of mankind who were subsequently worshipped because of their great deeds. Josephus cites him as establishing the antiquity of the Jews (Apion, 1:216).

EULAU, HEINZ (1915–2004), U.S. political scientist. Born in Offenbach, Germany, Eulau went to the U.S. as a young man in 1935. He earned his bachelor's, master's, and doctoral degrees in political science from the University of California-Berkeley from 1937 to 1941. During 1946–47 he was assistant editor of the *New Republic* and then taught at Antioch College. He worked in the Library of Congress in Washington and later in the Department of Justice, and in 1958 became professor of political science at Stanford University and served as chair from 1969–74 and 1981–84. Eulau was one of the leading exponents of the behaviorist trend in American political science, which attempted to transform the study of political science into a scientifically oriented discipline based on empirical research and a wide interdisciplinary frame of reference. A path-breaking scholar in the field of legislative research, he specialized in the theory and practice of political representation and electoral behavior. The behavioral movement, which he brought to Stanford, introduced psychology and sociology to study the linkages between political institutions and citizens. He was also instrumental in creating a new field of research focusing on the systematic quantitative analysis of citizens' attitudes and choices. His thesis was set out in his work *The Behavioral Persuasion in Politics* (1963), which followed *Political Behavior* (1956) and *Legislative Behavior* (1959), both of which he co-authored with J.C. Wahlke. In 1961 he became general editor of the *International Yearbook of Political Behavior Research* and was also associate editor for political science of the *International Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences* (1968).

Eulau was president of the American Political Science Association from 1971 to 1972. In 1976, he helped found *Legislative Studies Quarterly*, a journal published at the University of Iowa. He retired from Stanford in 1986 but remained active as the William Bennett Munro Professor Emeritus of Political Science. He also wrote *The Legislative System* (1962), *Class and Party in the Eisenhower Years* (1962), *Lawyers in Politics* (1964), *Political Science* (1969), *Labyrinths of Democracy* (with K. Prewitt, 1973), *Technology and Civility* (1977), *The Politics of Representation* (1978), *Politics, Self and Society* (1986), and *Micro-Macro Dilemmas in Political Science* (1996). In 1998, he took a light-hearted swipe at university life in *The Politics of Academic Culture: Foibles, Fables and Facts,* and in 2001 co-authored a family history, *The Mishpokhe from Eulau-Jilove*.

In 1986, the American Political Science Association established the Heinz Eulau Award to honor his contributions to political science. In 2002, the Heinz Eulau Political Behavior Fellowship was established by the Stanford Institute for the Quantitative Study of Society. In 1999 he was awarded the Warren E. Miller Award for meritorious service to the social sciences, one of the country's highest honors in the social sciences.

His wife, CLEO MISHKIN EULAU (1923–2004), died five days after her husband. She was the Stanford University adjunct clinical professor in the department of psychiatry and behavioral sciences. In 1994, the Cleo Eulau Center was founded as a service and study center dedicated to developing innovative solutions to helping at-risk children and teens. In 2002, she was the first woman and first non-psychiatrist to receive the Lifetime Achievement Award from Stanford's department of psychiatry.

[Edwin Emanuel Gutmann / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

EULENBURG, ERNST (1847–1926), music publisher. The Musikverlag Eulenburg, founded by Eulenburg in Leipzig in 1874, at first published mainly educational literature, but was gradually extended to include scores and especially miniature scores of orchestral and chamber music. His son KURT transferred the firm to London in 1939. He enlarged the number of miniature scores and also increased the output of modern music. In 1957 the shares of the Eulenburg Edition were taken over by Schott of London.

EULENBURG, ISAAC BEN ABRAHAM MOSES ISRAEL (d. 1657), rabbi and author, also known as Isaac Przybyslawa. Isaac's father, who died in 1605, was the cantor and scribe of the old synagogue of Cracow. Isaac studied under Joel *Sirkes and from 1640 to 1647 served as *dayyan* and preacher in Cracow. Moses Jekuthiel Kaufman, in *Leḥem ha-Panim*, quotes one of his halakhic decisions given during his stay in Cracow. In 1648 Isaac became rabbi of Lissa and, finally, of Leipnik (Moravia), where he died. He is incorrectly held by some to have occupied a rabbinical position in Brest-Litovsk (Brisk), Lithuania, and in Nikolsburg. Eulenburg's novellae on the Shulḥan Arukh, *Even ha-Ezer* and *Ḥoshen Mishpat*, a work on marriage and divorce, and his responsa, have remained in manuscript. He is sometimes identified with the "Isaac ha-Darshan" frequently referred to by Michael Jospes in his *Birkat ha-Mayim* (1861), and has also been identified by several scholars (Zunz and Landshut) with Isaac b. Abraham Moses Israel, the author of a *seliḥah* bewailing the massacre of the Jews of Podolia and Ukraine in 1648–49. Lewin, however, maintains the author to have been a rabbi of Posen who bore the same name.

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[Itzhak Alfassi]

EUNUCH. The Hebrew word *sārīs* (Heb. סָרִיס), a loanword from Akkadian, has two meanings in the Bible: the first and most common is "eunuch" (e.g. II Kings 8:6; 9:32; 20:18 (= Isa. 39:7); Isa. 56:3–5; and Jer. 39:7) (*ʾīš sārīs* and all the instances in the Book of Esther (2:3 passim)); and second, a government official or officer, not necessarily a eunuch (I Sam. 8:14–15; I Kings 22:9). Inasmuch as eunuchs in some cultures were married, it is not impossible that Potiphar (Gen. 37:36; 39:1) was a eunuch, which could account for the notorious actions of his wife (Tadmor, apud Zevit in Bibliography). Daniel and his companions, though not specifically called "eunuchs," are supervised by the chief of the eunuchs (Dan. 1:3, 7, 10, 18), in apparent fulfillment of the prophecy (II Kgs. 20:18 = Isa. 39:7) that some of Hezekiah's offspring would be eunuchs in the palace of the king of Babylonia. As was the case in Assyria (see Grayson in Bibliography, 98), eunuchs could rise to high positions, as shown by the place they occupy in the list in Jeremiah 29:2, where the hierarchical order of the captives is given as the king, his mother, the *sarisim*, the *sarim* ("leaders"), and the craftsmen (but cf. II Kings 24:12, 15). The Akkadian *ša rēši,* elliptical for *ša rēš šarri izuzzū*, "the one who stands by the head of the king," was pronounced *sa rēsi* in Middle and Late Assyrian, resulting in the Hebrew and Aramaic forms with *samekh.* There are clear attestations of Akkadian *ša rēši* in the meaning "eunuch." In court circles the *ša rēši* is sometimes opposed to *ša ziqni*, "the one of the beard." Middle Assyrian royal ordinances regulating women's quarters prescribed examination of the *ša rēši* to assure his status of eunuch, and subsequent castration if he failed the examination. Being turned into a *ša rēši* (*ana ša rēšēn turrû*) was a punishment for adultery in the Middle Assyrian laws (A15) and for sodomy (A20). There are attestations of *ša rēši* that do not demand the sense "eunuch" (See CAD R, 289–97) and that is true for the Hebrew loan as well. The law excluding eunuchs from the Israelite community (Deut. 23:2) describes the eunuch as the one with crushed testicles (the normal form of childhood castration) rather than by the ambivalent term *sārīs.* II Kings 18:17 mentions *Rab-saris* (mistakenly treated by the Hebrew writer as a proper name) together with other high-ranking officials in the Assyrian kingdom. The reference to *Rab-saris* in Jeremiah 39:3, 13 testifies to the existence of this class in the Neo-Babylonian kingdom as well. The date of a bilingual Akkadian-Aramaic inscription from Nineveh is indicated by the *limmu* (i.e., eponym) of a *rab ša rēši.* Since the office of *limmu* was held only by high officials, it is evident that the office of *Rab-saris* was of high rank. Isaiah 56:3–5, comforts the eunuchs who keep the Sabbath and observe the covenant; they are promised "a *yad*, either a memorial stele (Talmon) or a share (Japhet) in the temple precincts, and a name, better than sons and daughters."

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[S. David Sperling (2nd ed.)]

EUPHEMISM AND DYSPHEMISM.

Euphemism

Euphemism is the substitution of an agreeable or inoffensive word or term for one that is indelicate, blasphemous, or taboo. Various types of euphemisms are found in the Bible, including (1) avoidance of direct implication of the speaker – "Should you gouge out these men's eyes" rather than "our eyes" (Num. 16:14; similarly, I Sam. 29:4); (2) avoidance of direct implication in an oath – "God do so to the enemies of David" rather than "my enemies," David being the speaker (I Sam. 25:22; similarly, I Sam. 20:16); (3) avoidance of the expression "to die": several different euphemistic expressions are employed, e.g., (a) "I am about to go the way of all the earth" (I Kings 2:2); (b) "I shall go the way whence I shall not return" (Job 16:22); (c) "Enoch walked with God; then he was no more, for God took him" (Gen. 5:24; cf. II Kings 2:3); and (d) "They shall sleep a perpetual sleep and not wake" (Jer. 51:39, 57); (4) avoidance of "cursing" (or rather, "blaspheming") God: the Hebrew verb *barakh* ברך ("bless" or "praise") is employed (I Kings 21:10, 13; Job 1:5, 11; 2:5, 9), or, instead of the verb, the object is changed from "YHWH" to "the enemies of YHWH" (II Sam. 12:14); and (5) avoidance of indelicate and offensive expressions: (a) the expression "to cover one's legs" (Heb. *hasekh raglayim*) is substituted for "to defecate" (Judg. 3:24; I Sam. 24:3); "the bread he eats" (Gen. 39:6) for "the woman with whom he has sexual relations" (cf. Prov. 30:20); (b) the following are changed by the *keri* (*qeri*) of the masoretic text: the verb *shagal* ("to rape") to *shakhav* (Deut. 28:30; Isa. 13:16; Jer. 3:2; Zech. 14:2); *ʿafolim* ("hemorrhoids") to *teḥorim* (Deut. 28:27; I Sam. 5:6, 9, 12; 6:4, 5); *ḥare(ʾe)hem* ("their excrement") to *ẓoʾatam* (II Kings 18:27;

Isa. 36:12; cf. also II Kings 10:27 where *Le-maḥaraʾot* is read *le-moẓaʾot*); and *sheineihem* ("their urine") to *memei ragleihem* (II Kings 18:27; Isa. 36:12).

Lists of euphemistic expressions in the Bible are found in early tannaitic collections of halakhic Midrash. Eleven examples are given in the *Mekhilta* (Shirah 6) and seven in the *Sifrei* (Num. 84). The technical term employed is *kinnah ha-katuv*, "Scripture used a euphemistic expression." Later collections of Midrash (Tanḥ. Be-Shalah 16; Gen. R. 49:7; Ex. R. 13:1) employed the phrase **tikkun soferim* ("emendation of the scribes") and record additional examples of this phenomenon. Though the difference in terminology reflects two different schools of thought, namely those holding that the Bible itself originally employed euphemistic expressions and those holding that the change was first made by the *soferim*, both agree that the changes were made in deference to the honor of the Lord (Lieberman). Examples of one such list follow: (1) "Abraham remained standing before the Lord" for "The Lord remained standing before Abraham" (Gen. 18:22); (2) "For his sons were blaspheming themselves" for "blaspheming God" (I Sam. 3:13); (3) "But my people have changed their glory for that which does not profit" for "My glory" (Jer. 2:11); (4) "Are you not from everlasting, O Lord my God, my Holy One? We shall not die" for "You shall not die" (Hab. 1:12); and (5) "For he who touches you touches the apple of his eye" for "my eye" (Zech. 2:12). Another kind of substitution resulting from religious scruples is found in the change of the vocalization of the verb *raʾah* (ראה; "to see") from the active to the passive, "to be seen" (Luzzatto). It is used when referring to the three appointed times during the year that the Israelite was obliged to make a pilgrimage to Jerusalem in order "to see," i.e., to be in the presence of God (e.g., Ex. 23:15; 34:20, 23; Deut. 16:16).

Dysphemism

Dysphemism is the substitution of an offensive or disparaging term for an inoffensive one. The biblical examples pertain to idolatry: (1) *ʾElil* ("idol"), whose etymology is uncertain (it may be the diminutive of *ʾel* ("god") or derived from *ʾal* ("nonentity")), means worthlessness, nothingness (e.g., Jer. 14:14; Job 13:4); (2) *shikkuẓ* ("abomination") is found in the expression, "Chemosh, the abomination of Moab and Molech, the abomination of the Ammonites" (I Kings 11:7; cf. also II Kings 23:13; cf. also the dysphemistic use of *shikkuẓ meshomem* ("abomination of desolation"; e.g., Dan. 11:31)). The plurals *shikkuzim* (e.g., Deut. 29:16; II Kings 23:24) and *gillulim* (literally, "dung-pellets"; "fetishes"; e.g., Lev. 26:30), and *toʿevah* ("abomination"; e.g., II Kings 23:13, "Milcom, the abomination of the Ammonites"), are comparable terms; (3) the word *boshet* ("shame") is substituted for *baʿal* ("lord"; originally a title for the God of Israel, but later interpreted as the name of the Canaanite god, Baal, in several personal names: the names of Saul's son, Eshbaal (I Chron. 8:33; 9:39), and grandson (Jonathan's son), Merib-Baal (I Chron. 8:34; 9:40), are changed to Ish-Bosheth (II Sam. 2:8) and Mephibosheth (II Sam. 4:4); the name of the "judge" Jerubbaal (Gideon; Judg. 6:32) later appears as Jerubbesheth (II Sam. 11:21)); (4) the vocalization of "Ashtoreth, the goddess of the Sidonites" may be a dysphemism alluding to *boshet*, "shame" (e.g., I Kings 11:5, 33), Ashtoreth for Ashtereth (cf. Gr. Astarte).

A. Geiger thought the same was true of the pointing of *Molech, the god of the Ammonites (e.g., I Kings 11:7), but since O. Eissfeldt's study of this term, the word *molekh*, which may have originally meant "vow" or "sacrifice," and its pointing, which may be original to a West Semitic dialect, have been subject to debate. Some scholars have also assumed a similar pointing for the Hebrew word, *tofet, tefet* (cf. Gr. Thappeth, Thapheth, Tapheth). The substitution of the place name Beth-Aven ("house of iniquity") for Beth-El ("house of God"; Hos. 4:15; 5:8) is also a kind of dysphemism which was employed because of the idolatrous worship in that place.

[Shalom M. Paul]

In the Talmud

Euphemisms are extensively used in the Talmud and Midrash. The recourse to them is based upon various considerations. The first is the insistence on the need for pure and refined speech and the avoidance of all gross and vulgar expressions. This is explicitly stated in the Talmud: "One should not utter a gross expression" and examples are given of the manner in which the Bible itself employs circumlocutions to avoid the use of the word "unclean." Actual examples are given: two disciples of Rav were discussing how the discourse in the academy had exhausted them. One of them said that he was as exhausted as a pig ("*davar aḥer*," see later), while the other said "as a kid." Rav refused to speak to the former. Similarly it is stated that Hillel foretold of Johanan b. Zakkai (or Judah ha-Nasi of R. Johanan) that he would be an outstanding teacher in Israel because, instead of saying, as his colleague did, "we may gather olives in uncleanness," he said "we may not gather olives in cleanness," and the forecast was fulfilled (Pes. 3b). The rabbis even regard the use of the phrase "eating bread" in Genesis 39:6 (Gen. R. 86:6) and in Exodus 2:20 (Tanḥ. 1:11) as a euphemism for sexual intercourse (that they are probably right with regard to the former seems clear from a comparison between Gen. 39:6 and 9).

This delicacy is particularly evident in the euphemisms used for the privy parts of the body and their functions. The male genital organ is referred to as "the organ" (*ever*: BM 84a) and the female as "that place" (Nid. 20a). The toilet is called "the house of water" (Meg. 3:2) or "the house of the chair" (Tam. 1:1; Ber. 25a). Urine is called "the water of the feet" (Ker. 6a) or "the jet" (*silon*: Ber. 25a) and defecation "having need of his apertures" (Git. 70a) or "turning aside" (*ponim*: Toh. 10:2; *nifneh*: Ber. 62a). Sexual intercourse is "the usage of the bed" (*tashmish ha-mittah*: Yoma 8:1) or simply *tashmish* (Ket. 65b) and so on.

A special euphemism is the use of the phrase *davar aḥer* ("another thing") for anything repulsive. It is generally used for the *pig, but is variously employed also for leprosy (Pes.

76b, 112b), sexual intercourse (Ber. 8b), immorality (Ket. 7:5), and idolatry (Men. 13:10; Shab. 17b).

The second reason for euphemisms is in order to avoid phrases which would wound susceptibilities. The most common euphemism in this category is the phrase *sagi nahor* ("with excess of light," cf. T. Gray on Milton's blindness "but blasted with excess of light") for a blind man (Ber. 56a; TJ, Pe'ah 8:9, 21b) and in fact it is regarded as so characteristic that a euphemism is called "*sagi nahor* language" (TJ, Pe'ah 5:5, 19a; Lev. R. 34:13). Various euphemisms such as "departed" (*niftar:* BB 16b), "his soul rested" (*naḥ nafsho:* MK 25a/b; Ket., 104a), and "left life for the living" (*shavak ḥayyim le-kol ḥai*) are used for death, and a cemetery is called "the house of life" (cf. Eccles. 12:5).

The third reason is based on the injunction "a man should not open his mouth to Satan" (Ber. 19a), i.e., one should not invite misfortune by ominous statements. The rabbis detect such a euphemism in the use of the third person "and it [the people of Israel] shall go up from the land" (Ex. 1:10). According to the Talmud Pharaoh actually meant to say "and we shall [be forced to] go up from the land," and they will possess it, "but it is like a man who curses himself and hangs the curse on someone else" (Sot. 11a). To this category belongs the use of the phrase "the enemies of Israel" for Israel when it speaks of calamity overtaking the Jewish people (Suk. 29a; Lev. R. 25:1) or "the enemies of the Sages" (Ta'an. 7a) and the forecast of calamities is couched in the words "and every trouble which shall *not* come on Israel" (Pes. 117a).

Dysphemisms or cacophysms are usually employed with regard to idolatry and idolatrous sites and practices. The Talmud (Av. Zar. 2a) discusses whether the word *ed* used for the heathen festival (Av. Zar. 1:1) should be written correctly with an *ayyin* ("testimony") or with an *alef* ("calamity") – a dysphemism. Idolatrous worship is called *tumah* ("uncleanness": Tosef. Av. Zar. 7:2), the festive day "a day of repulsion" (*yom nibbul*: Gen. R. 87:7), and the verse "ye shall destroy their name" (Deut. 12:3) is interpreted as meaning that a dysphemistic name is to be given for its correct one: "where its name is Bet Galya ["the house of revelation"] it should be called Bet Karya ["the house of concealment"]; where its name is Ein Kol ["the all-seeing eye"] it should be called Ein Koẓ ["the eye of a thorn"]" (Av. Zar. 46a). It should, however, be pointed out that the rabbis are not always consistent in their avoidance of unpleasant expressions (cf. Lieberman).

During the Middle Ages and until recent times dysphemisms became common in Yiddish when referring to the non-Jewish equivalents of Jewish ceremonies and institutions. They usually took the form of a disparaging, assonantal word. Thus a non-Jewish wedding (*ḥatunnah*, Yid. *khasene*) was contemptuously referred to as a "*hashlereh*'" a word without meaning, and for *bet tefillah* ("a house of prayer"), *bet tiflah* ("a house of abomination") was used. Those phrases, however, belong to the common and even vulgar vernacular.

For euphemisms to avoid using the Divine Name see *Names of God. To those given there may be added a peculiar one which became current in the Middle Ages, the *Kiveyakhol* ("as though to say").

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[Louis Isaac Rabinowitz]

EUPHRATES (Heb. פְּרָת; Dead Sea Scrolls *Pwrt;* from Akk. *Purattu* and Sumerian *Buranun*), the longest river (c. 1,700 mi., 2,700 km.) in Western Asia. In texts from the third millennium B.C.E. from Mari the river occurs as a deity. From its sources in northeast Turkey the river takes a southerly course into northern Syria, where it turns southeast and flows into the Persian Gulf after joining the *Tigris. According to Genesis 2:14, the Euphrates was one of the four branches of the river which rises in Eden to water the *garden of Eden. The Euphrates – also called "The River" or "The Great River" (see below) – forms the northern boundary of the ideal land promised to Israel (Gen. 15:18; Deut. 11:24; Josh. 1:4). The river is also referred to in Jeremiah 51:60–64, when Jeremiah instructed Seraiah upon reaching Babylon to read the prophecies of Jeremiah, bind them with a stone, and cast them into the Euphrates as a sign of the imminent destruction of that city. The Greek name *Mesopotamia, like the Hebrew Aram-Naharaim ("Aram of the [Two] Rivers"; e.g., Gen. 24:10), originally designated only the northwest corner of Mesopotamia which is bordered by the Euphrates on the north, west, and south. Later, however, the name was interpreted as the land between the Tigris and the Euphrates, i.e., Assyria and Babylonia. Since Mesopotamia is poor in rainfall, its inhabitants have always had to depend on the two rivers for irrigation. Water was brought to the individual fields through an elaborate system of canals. Naturally, a great many cities were built on or near the banks of the Euphrates; among the best known are Carchemish, Mari, Babylon, Erech, and Ur, known from biblical and cuneiform sources, and Pumbedita, Nehardea, Mata Meḥasya, and Sura, known from the Babylonian Talmud.

[Raphael Kutscher]

The term "beyond the river" (*ever ha-nahar*) denotes the region along the Euphrates, but the exact region referred to changes according to the geographical viewpoint or to the emerging geopolitical and administrative situation. The term "beyond the river" in Joshua 24:2–3 refers to the region east of the Euphrates, the place of origin of the patriarchs. In contrast, in I Kings 5:4 it describes the empire of Solomon from a viewpoint east of the Euphrates: from Tiphsah (missing in Septuagint and probably a gloss; Greek Thapsakos; modern Dibseh, on the western bend of the Euphrates) to Gaza. The area thus described is designated in Assyrian royal inscriptions and documents by the term *eber nāri*, i.e., Hebrew *ever ha-nahar.* This term in its wider geographical connotation is identical with the geopolitical Hebrew term. Thus Esarhaddon, king of Assyria, includes in the expression "the kings of northern Syria and *eber nāri*" the kings of Tyre, Judah, Edom, Moab, Gaza, Ashkelon, Ekron, Byblos, Arvad, Samsimuruna, Ammon, and Ashdod, and he sums them up as: "12 kings of the sea coast" (I.J. Gelb et al., *The Assyrian Dictionary*, 4 (1958), 8).

In Sumerian and Old Babylonian documents, the Euphrates River was already a geographical demarcation. In the Old Babylonian *Mari documents, two West Semitic terms describe the regions on either side of the river: *aḫarātum* ("the far land") and *aqdamātum* ("the near land"). The first is perhaps "west," and the second "east." At the time of the Persian Empire, a later, second official term for the area was *Athurā* (Assyria), but the original official-geographical term prevailed in Neo- and Late Babylonian documents and in contemporary Hebrew and Aramaic sources (Ezra 8:36 (Heb.); Ezra 4:10, 11 (Aram. *ʿabar naharah*)). The Perath mentioned in Jeremiah 13:4–7 is not the river Euphrates, but most probably Parah (cf. Josh. 18:23), near Anathoth (today ʿAin Farah).

[Pinhas Artzi]

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EUPOLEMUS (Gr. ʾΕνπόλεμος), first significant Greco-Jewish historian. His name, the time when he lived, and the content of the remaining fragments of his work combine to make it likely that he is identical with Eupolemus, son of John, son of Hakkoz, who in 161–60 B.C.E. brought back from Rome a promise of assistance for *Judah Maccabee (I Macc. 8:17–32). His father John is mentioned as having gained concessions for Jerusalem from Antiochus III after the Seleucid conquest of Coele-Syria (II Macc. 4:11). Six passages from Eupolemus' writings survive in the works of Eusebius and Clement of Alexandria, who found them in the monograph *On the Jews* by *Alexander Polyhistor (85–35 B.C.E.). Because of its Samaritan bias and its incompatibility with other remnants, it is customary to label the fragment dealing with Abraham as *Pseudo-Eupolemus.*

Eupolemus entitled his book *On the Kings of Judah.* Another title, *On the Prophecy of Elijah*, is either a subtitle or a chapter of the former. Eupolemus' history covered the period from Moses (perhaps from the creation) to his own day. He reckoned 5,149 years from Adam to the fifth year of Demetrius Soter (158–157 B.C.E.), evidently the year in which he completed his chronicle (Clement, *Stromata* 1. 141, 4).

Fragment 1, though brief, was extensively quoted, because it summed up the Jewish and, later, the Christian response to Greek philosophy and science: "Moses was the first wise man, the first who imparted the alphabet to the Jews; the Phoenicians received it from the Jews, and the Greeks from the Phoenicians; also laws were first written by Moses for the Jews."

Fragment 2 is the longest single remnant of a Greco-Jewish text prior to *Philo. The reigns of Joshua, Samuel, and Saul and his son (*sic*) David are all mentioned briefly. The text becomes more detailed in its description of David's campaign. Eupolemus was a priest himself, and it is natural that he should have chosen as his central theme the Temple of Jerusalem. An angel hovered above to show David the site of the future Temple, which he himself was forbidden to build. When Solomon became king at the age of 12, he ordered the client-kings, Vaphres of Egypt and Suron (Hiram) of Tyre, to supply him with labor, and each sent 80,000 men. The exchange of letters between the kings concocted by Eupolemus is reproduced verbatim. Eupolemus' account of the dimensions of the Temple and its furnishings is, as a rule, inconsistent with that of the Septuagint and the Hebrew Bible. Also, Eupolemus' Temple, the gold surplus of which was sent to Suron, is more gilded than the traditional one (see *Theophilus). Solomon died at the age of 52, after transferring the tabernacle's furnishings from Shiloh with great pomp (cf. LXX, I Kings 2:12; SOR 14). In the last fragment, the authenticity of which is sometimes erroneously questioned, Eupolemus describes the conquest of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar, assisted by the Median king, Astibares, and an allied force of 300,000 men. The invasion followed Jeremiah's discovery that the king was worshipping the golden Baal. The Temple and its furnishings were shipped to Babylon. However, the prophet salvaged the tablets of the Law (II Macc. 2:1ff.).

Eupolemus' history was not a mere restatement of the biblical version. He changed or invented the names of men and locations and dealt freely with other facts. He continued the chronicler's method of rewriting the past in the light of the contemporary scene. Thus he contributes a scarecrow to Solomon's Temple and gives the dimensions of that Temple as similar to those of the Second Temple, which was standing in his day. The Mosaic account of the Tabernacle is a significant element in Eupolemus' description of the Temple. Though his Greek vocabulary is narrow and his syntax atrocious, Eupolemus' texts are valuable as the only confirmed remnants of the Greek used in Jerusalem.

He was indebted to the Septuagint for the Hexateuch, but there is no evidence (contrary to Freudenthal) that Eupolemus made use of the Greek versions of Kings and Chronicles. Technical terms transliterated in the Septuagint are rendered by Eupolemus into Greek. He is the first Jewish historian who borrowed from nonbiblical sources. He drew upon Herodotus, Ctesias, and Greco-Phoenician and Greco-Egyptian historians. There is no evidence that Eupolemus directly influenced Josephus or the rabbinic literature, though parallels, such as the age of Solomon and the king's request for Egyptian workers, need an explanation. In contrast to Eupolemus' devotion to Jerusalem and its Temple, Pseudo-Eupolemus follows a syncretistic Samaritan tradition. According to him, the Tower of Babel was built by the giants who had escaped the flood. Abraham was born in the Babylonian city of Camarina, called by some Urie. This patriarch surpassed all men in nobility and wisdom. He taught astronomy and astrology, first to the Phoenicians, and later to the Egyptians, tipping the balance in favor of the Phoenicians, who were later bested by the invading Armenians. He was then entertained by Melchizedek, the king and priest of the Temple of "*Argarizin*," which may be translated as "Mount of Most High." He mentions the visit Abraham's wife made to the Egyptian king, and mentions the miracle of the king being unable to have intercourse with her (cf. *Genesis Apocryphon* 20:17). After his wife was restored to him, Abraham lived in Heliopolis, where he instructed the Egyptian priests. The discovery of the sciences and astrology is attributed to Enoch, who, according to Pseudo-Eupolemus, was identical with the Greek Atlas. He identifies the Babylonian Belus with Noah, and the father of Ham with Kronos.

A passage dealing with Abraham, attributed by Alexander Polyhistor to an anonymous writer (Eusebius, *Praeparatio Evangelica*, 9:18, 2), is now ascribed by Freudenthal and Jacoby to Pseudo-Eupolemus on the basis of similarity of content. Walter, however, questions the identification. The apparent pro-Seleucid and anti-Egyptian bias of Pseudo-Eupolemus, the link with the Enochite texts, such as the Book of Enoch, Jubilees, and Genesis Apocryphon, and the fact that the passage is evidently criticized in *Sibylline Oracles* (3:218 ff.) suggests a pre-Maccabean dating for Pseudo-Eupolemus. If this dating is warranted, Pseudo-Eupolemus would then be the oldest syncretic presentation of a biblical text.

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[Ben Zion Wacholder]

EUROPA PLAN, code name for a large scale rescue plan to exchange European Jews for money, developed in the autumn of 1942 by the "Working Group" in Slovakia, an unusual alliance between Zionists and ultra-Orthodox Jews headed by a Zionist and a woman, Gisi *Fleishmann, at the suggestion of Rabbi Michael *Weissmandel, the ultra-Orthodox leader who was the son-in-law of the spiritual leader of Slovakian Jewry, Rabbi Samuel David Halevi Ungar, the rabbi of Nitra, and a cousin of Fleishmann. Between March 26 and the end of July 1942 some 50,000 Jews had been deported to Poland. Another 7,000–8,000 Jews had escaped to Hungary, which was an indication that the Jews had internalized their peril even before they had become aware of the *Final Solution. At Weissmandel's initiative but with the group's support an offer was made to Dieter *Wisliceny, Eichmann's emissary to Slovakia, to ransom Jews for money and an initial bribe, whose sum total is still a matter of historical dispute but was between $20,000 and $55,000, was accepted. Soon thereafter the deportation of Slovakian Jews was halted. The Working Group believed that the bribe had brought the deportations to a halt and that larger sums would indeed save a larger number of Jews. They had few options and this desperate action was perceived to be effective. It certainly had the sanction of Jewish tradition with its detailed teachings regarding the redemption of captives. In his posthumous memoirs edited by his brother and disciples Weissmandel bitterly criticizes the Jewish leadership in the West for not being forthcoming with the required sums of money and for their unwillingness to support such unusual, nonlegal actions. It was part of his attack against the Zionists and against assimilated, Westernized, secularized Jews. However, no evidence has been uncovered that link the bribe to the halt in deportations. Contemporary historians agree that internal Slovakian concerns over the impact of the deportation of Jews on the economy was the reason for halting the deportations. Even the Vatican had protested, which had additional impact, since Jozef Tiso, the president of Slovakia, was a priest. Wisliceny was a secondary official and could not have stopped the deportations on his own accord. It is known that Wisliceny, who received an advance payment from the Working Group, forwarded $20,000 to the WVHA (Main Economy Administration Office of the SS). The negotiations dragged on until August 1943 with Himmler's consent, perhaps as a way of feeling out Jewish power, but then broke off on Himmler's order (according to Wisliceny). Why did Germany consent to the halt in deportations? From the German perspective, Slovakia was an ally of Germany and the Slovakian Jews were comparatively small in number and could be dealt with after the massive deportations from Poland were completed. Indeed, they were deported to Auschwitz in 1944.

The financial means, fixed at $2–3 million, were to be provided by Jewish organizations in the free world, and mainly by the *American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (JDC). Saly Mayer, the JDC representative in Geneva, proposed to deposit the money in blocked accounts in Switzerland until the end of the war, according to the transfer regulations of the Allied countries, because the Joint was unwilling to break the Allied transfer regulations and to send money directly to the enemy, which clearly would have jeopardized its legal standing in the United States. The Germans were well aware of the difficulties that the Jews had in raising the promised sums though the Jews did not know that the Germans were informed about their communications with Switzerland. It is assumed that the main idea behind the apparent German willingness to discuss the plan lay in Nazi counterpropaganda. The Europa Plan served later as a basis for the negotiations between *Eichmann and the "Relief and Rescue Committee" headed by

Rezsö *Kasztner in Budapest in the summer of 1944 and the so-called offer of one million Jews for 10,000 trucks.

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[Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

EUROPE.

Antiquity

The earliest contacts of the ancient Hebrews with Europe and Europeans were probably through the Greek traders who were familiar figures all over the eastern Mediterranean littoral as early as the eighth century B.C.E. It must however be borne in mind that the Hebrews were settled mainly in the uplands of Ereẓ Israel away from the coastal area, while the Greeks were at this time almost as much Asiatics as Europeans geographically. It was probably at the time of the First Exile after the fall of Jerusalem in 586 B.C.E. that Jews first penetrated into Europe. The Hebrew prophets, for instance Isaiah, speak more than once of the future redemption of the Jewish exiles from the "isles of the sea," by which presumably the Greek coastlands were implied, and it is likely enough that at this period Greek slave dealers purchased Jewish captives for sale on their domestic markets. Although their absorption in the Persian Empire confirmed the Asiatic nature of the Jewish people for a long period, that empire's expansionist ambitions westward to some extent opened it and its Jewish population to Western and European ideas and influences. After the return from Exile, Greek influences on the trading cities of the Palestinian littoral were becoming strong, and some later books of the Bible (e.g., Ecclesiastes) seem to show a distinct Hellenic coloring. It was, however, the conquests by *Alexander the Great in the fourth century B.C.E. that definitely changed the character of this area. Hitherto, Ereẓ Israel had been part of the Near Eastern Afro-Asiatic nexus, looking to, and influenced by, Syria, Assyria, and Babylonia to the north, the Arabian tribes to the east, and Egypt to the south. Alexander the Great broke down as it were the barrier that had hitherto divided this region from Europe. Henceforth, Ereẓ Israel looked west, not east, and, with the surrounding area, was part of the European nexus and sphere of influence, more or less sharply divided from Asia and the Asiatic powers. Insofar as it continued to be affected by the neighboring land areas, it was by those (Syria, Egypt) that had largely succumbed to Greek influences and could now be regarded almost as extensions of Europe. Although great masses of Jews remained under Partho-Persian rule in *Mesopotamia, the most important settlement outside Ereẓ Israel was in Greek-speaking *Alexandria, which had constant and intimate contacts with the centers of European life. It was here in fact in the ensuing period that the Jews produced their great Hellenistic literature, reaching its climax in *Philo and constituting their first literary expression in the language of European culture. From certain points of view, the *Hasmonean revolt in the second century B.C.E. could be considered a reaction against the tendency that has been described – an attempt to stem the inroads of European culture and to reassert Asiatic values. However, its success was only temporary. The Hasmonean monarchs, while asserting political independence, ultimately succumbed to some extent to European cultural influences. The Roman conquest of 63 B.C.E. brought Ereẓ Israel and its population – still the largest and most creative part of the Jewish people – under European rule and within the European cultural orbit. It is hardly an exaggeration to say that from now on, down to the Arab conquest in 640, Ereẓ Israel and its population constituted in effect part of Europe; and the European influences on the Jewish population there – and hence on Judaism itself – became increasingly strong.

Meanwhile the actual Jewish settlement in Europe was growing. From the third century B.C.E. Jews are mentioned in inscriptions, etc., on the mainland of *Greece. The early Hasmonean rulers had entered into diplomatic relations with *Rome, necessitating the dispatch of envoys thither, and there is a somewhat obscure reference to the expulsion of Jewish religious propagandists thence in 139 B.C.E. Thereafter, the wars of the Romans in Asia Minor and their conquest of Ereẓ Israel inevitably resulted in the arrival on the Roman slave market of Jewish captives (many of whom would win their freedom or else be ransomed by their coreligionists), while the capital of the empire inevitably attracted visitors, emissaries, and merchants. Rabbinic sources, the New Testament, and *Josephus all confirm the impression of a solid Jewish community there in the first century C.E., the subsequent importance of which is attested by several series of *catacombs and hundreds of inscriptions. As early as 59 B.C.E. *Cicero, in his oration in defense of Flaccus who had raided the Jewish temple offerings in the Greek islands, could assert that the Jews were present at the trial in Rome in such numbers as to overawe the court. Jews were also present at this period in many other places throughout *Italy, especially along the trade routes leading to the ports commanding trade with the East. The existence of Jewish settlements all over the Roman Empire in its heyday is recorded in Gaul (see *France), *Spain, Pannonia, even in the Rhineland (see *Germany), and it is probable that there was no Roman province without a Jewish settlement, even if no definite evidence is preserved. The total number involved was far from insignificant. The Jewish population of Rome has been estimated (with some exaggeration) at as many as 50,000, and it has been asserted that they constituted something like one-tenth of the population of the empire as a whole. The Jews of Europe, by the time of the breakup of the Roman Empire, were probably to be reckoned at some hundreds of thousands. On the other hand, their cultural significance was slight. They made barely the slightest contribution to rabbinic or Hebrew culture in the talmudic age, nor is any work of this period extant in Latin which is certainly of Jewish authorship.

Rise of Christianity and Islam

Under the Roman Empire, to the fourth century, the position of the Jews was on the whole good. Although looked down upon, both because of the "superstitions" to which they adhered and their lowly economic status, their religion was tolerated, and from 212 they enjoyed Roman citizenship with all its advantages and responsibilities along with the other free inhabitants of the empire. With the Christianization of the empire, however, their position deteriorated, though at first socially more than juridically, the ground being prepared for their systematic degradation which was to become the rule in Christian Europe in the Middle Ages. The Barbarian invasions probably affected the Jews, as a mainly urban element, more than the rest of the population, so that it seems their numbers were drastically reduced in this period. Moreover, the new rulers, once they adopted Christianity – especially in its Catholic form – were unable to preserve the delicate balance between sufferance and intolerance that had been achieved under the earlier Christian emperors – all the more so since this period witnessed the periodical triumph of religious fanaticism in the *Byzantine Empire, setting a baneful example to the rest of the Western world. Restrictions were imposed by the Church at an early date; from 305 successive *Church Councils repeatedly reissued discriminatory legislation. Hence the period between the fifth and eighth centuries was punctuated all over Europe by religious riots, coercion, compulsory baptisms, and widespread expulsions, culminating in the great disaster to the Jewish community of Spain under the Visigoths, about which we are particularly well informed. The Jewish population of Western Europe was now, it seems, reduced to relative unimportance, except perhaps in some parts of Italy.

Conditions changed for the better in the eighth century. The Arab conquests opened up Spain to new colonization which seems to have attained significant proportions – at first, it is true, in a quasi-Asiatic cultural setting – but this was destined to be temporary, waning with the Reconquest and the expansion of the Christian kingdoms. Simultaneously, and apparently with the sedulous encouragement of the Carolingian rulers in France, Italy, and Germany, Jewish merchants and traders (typified in the *Radanites who had their base in the Rhone delta) became active in Western, then in Central Europe, establishing a fresh nexus of Jewish communities or reinforcing the old. In Eastern Europe – an outlet for their exports of the manufactured products of the West, a source of their purchases of raw materials and slaves – they presumably joined up with older Jewish settlements that had spread northward from the Black Sea and Crimea or along the Danube valley. This period moreover coincided with that of the near-extinction of the old settlement in Ereẓ Israel and the drastic dwindling of that of Mesopotamia and the neighboring lands, due in part to political and in part to economic causes. The result was that in this period, approximately between 800 and 1050, there took place either a mass transference of the Jewish population from East to West, or else a phenomenal expansion of the one and dwindling of the other which had much the same effect. From the 11th century, in any case, the center of Jewry and of Jewish intellectual life was transferred to Europe, where it was to remain for nearly 1,000 years. The new settlers were moreover of a different type in many respects from the old. They (especially those of Northern Europe) might be termed "Talmud Jews" who guided their lives in every respect according to the detailed prescriptions that had become evolved recently in Ereẓ Israel and especially Mesopotamia, and considered that the study of the Talmud was the greatest of religious duties and of personal pleasures. Hence, when the great talmudic academies of Mesopotamia decayed in the 11th century, those of Northern Europe – especially France and the Rhineland – were ready to take their place; and the former rabbinic traditions were perpetuated there for centuries. In the south of Europe, particularly in Spain, a somewhat different intellectual tradition prevailed, literature, belles lettres, philosophy, and poetry attaining new heights. At the same time, the position of the Jews, straddling the Latin-Christian and the Arab-Islamic cultures, qualified them in a unique degree to perform the function of middlemen in intellectual as well as economic activities; and while on the one hand they participated in the scientific and philosophical activities of the Islamic world, on the other they were to a great extent responsible for the transference of the superb fruits of these activities to the 12th-century Christian world, and so helped to bring about the Latin renaissance and the revival of learning in Europe.

Medieval Position

It is possible to exaggerate the well-being of the Jews in Europe in the Dark Ages, but there can be no question as to the great and tragic difference that resulted from the *Crusades. Hitherto, attacks on the Jews had been sporadic and occasional, but from the onslaught on the Jewish communities in France and the Rhineland in 1096 they became commonplace during any period of religious excitement or incitement; not only when the Christian forces marched against the infidels or heretics, but when such preposterous charges as that of the *blood libel (from 1141) or of the desecration of the *Host (after 1215) were brought up against the Jews. The stimulus given to European trade by the Crusades and the expansion of the Italian trading republics undermined the position of the Jewish international merchants. As a result of this, combined with the fact that at this period the Church's attack on the practice of usury reached its climax, the Jews of Northern Europe especially were now driven into the profession of *moneylending – encouraged and protected by their rulers, whose systematic and rapacious system of taxation converted this into a primary source of revenue for themselves. On the other hand, the profession of moneylending, besides affording ample leisure for the talmudic study that had become the all-pervading passion of Northern European Jewry, endowed them temporarily, in the intervals of spoliation, with a remarkable degree of economic well-being, so that the Jews of France, Germany, and *England in the Middle Ages constituted one of the most affluent nonnobiliary societies of the contemporary world. Thus, economic resentment was now added to the ever-increasing religious hatred. It was under the influence of this atmosphere that the fourth *Lateran Council of 1215 codified and reenacted the former anti-Jewish discriminatory legislation with innovations such as the enforcement of the wearing by the Jews of a distinctive humiliating *badge to distinguish them from other men. This henceforth remained a standard of conduct, to be enforced whenever the spirit of reaction triumphed. Such an attitude was increasingly intensified by the constant activity of the Christian mendicant orders, especially the *Dominicans, founded at this period precisely to combat heresy and unbelief. It was partly due to their influence that the Jews were expelled from England in 1290 and from France in 1306, their now diminished utility to the royal treasury being outweighed by the immediate profit of a single confiscatory measure. The Jews were absent from England henceforth until well after the end of the Middle Ages, and feeble attempts at reestablishment in France were unsuccessful.

Most of the refugees from these countries probably found their way ultimately to Germany, where political fragmentation prevented any similar wholesale measure, although the outbreaks of massacre, particularly at the time of the *Black Death of 1348–49, far outdid in scale and horror anything else of the sort known in medieval Jewish history. Hence it was only a feeble remnant that maintained the Jewish connection here unbroken. On the other hand, the greater security, and opportunities for profitable activity in an economically undeveloped area, drew Jews (as well as non-Jews) at this time to *Poland, now struggling for revival after the devastation wrought by Tatar invasions of the 13th century. With the close of the Middle Ages this country became the essential bulwark of Jewish life in Europe, perpetuating the intellectual traditions of France and the Rhineland, still maintaining the colloquial German of their ancestors as their *Yiddish vernacular, and developing in the *Council of the [Four] Lands and the sister-bodies autonomous institutions hardly paralleled elsewhere in Diaspora history. Poland therefore became the center of "*Ashkenazi" Jewry, i.e., those of (Franco-) German origin.

Meanwhile, the condition of the Jews of Spain too, after reaching unprecedented heights of culture as well as of political influence even under the Christian kings, began to deteriorate owing to the constant propaganda of the friars. A wave of massacres in 1391 initiated the problem of the *Conversos or *Marranos or *New Christians, which inexorably led in due course to the establishment of the *Inquisition in 1484, and the Expulsion from Spain in 1492 and from *Portugal (leaving behind however a compact body of Marranos) in 1497. The refugees made their way in great numbers eastward, where they revived the flagging communities that had survived from Byzantine times. Turkey-in-Europe (see *Ottoman Empire; apart from Turkey-in-Asia, where the same occurred) thus became the great center of *Sephardi (or Spanish and Portuguese) Jewry, as Poland was of Ashkenazi Jewry, and the communities in *Constantinople, *Salonika, and other places preserved the ancient traditions of Spanish-speaking Jewry in islands of western Mediterranean culture transplanted to Eastern Europe.

Renaissance and Counter-Reformation

In the first half of the 16th century, the Italian mainland (the Jews had been expelled from *Sicily and *Sardinia, with the rest of the Aragonese dominions, in 1492) had witnessed a remarkable development in Jewish cultural life and activity, in the spirit of the Renaissance. But this was changed by the Counter-Reformation. The Jews were expelled from the Kingdom of *Naples by its Spanish rulers in 1542; the old anti-Jewish code with new extensions was rigidly enforced in northern Italy (especially the papal dominions) from 1555 onward, accompanied by the institution of the *ghetto and heartless enforcement of the ghetto system henceforth invariable in Catholic Europe. Although Jewish communities continued to exist in the famous ghettos of *Rome, *Venice, *Mantua, etc., which, though not numerically large, played a great part in Jewish cultural life, a considerable proportion of Italian Jewry (especially from the center and south of the peninsula) was now absorbed in the Sephardi communities of the Near East. It is important, however, to note that these newly reestablished centers, under Muslim rule, whether or not in the geographical bounds of Europe, were henceforth basically European in culture, outlook, and language: segments as it were of medieval Europe embedded fossilwise in Asiatic or African soil.

The Renaissance and the accompanying movements established for centuries the predominance of Europe in the world politically, culturally, and scientifically. It hence confirmed the predominance of European Jewry over its coreligionists in other continents, most paradoxically, precisely at the time when most of Europe rejected, ejected, and excluded the Jews. Though European Jewry had led in every aspect of Jewish creativity since the beginning of the millennium, there had been solid collaboration hitherto from elements in other continents; from now on, the lead of Europe was overwhelmingly great, and so far as Jewish life in the other continents was concerned it was on the whole as protractions of European Jewish life. The development of *printing confirmed and accentuated this cultural hegemony. For four and a half centuries at least, almost all Hebrew printing was done in Europe – with the inevitable result that the European Hebrew texts in particular were accepted as classical, and new works by European Jewish scholars became universally accepted while others of perhaps equal merit might remain in manuscript and almost unknown in wider circles.

The culmination of the age of degradation was accompanied, however, by the glimmer of a new dawn. Marranos mainly from Portugal rather than Spain, settling at this period in Northern Europe for the sake of business more than freedom of conscience, ventured little by little to throw off the disguise of Christianity. By the end of the 16th century, a number of new Jewish communities, hovering as yet on the borders of clandestinity, began to establish themselves in this area, where for generations no Jews had been known; and by the middle of the 17th century there were at *Amsterdam, *Hamburg, and other cities (a little later in *London also) open Jewish communities of a new "modern" type, socially assimilated to the world around them.

In Eastern Europe, by this time, the Jews had become involved in the hatreds that had been engendered between the Roman Catholic Poles and their persecuted Greek Catholic subjects in the *Ukraine. In consequence, when the latter rose in revolt under the Cossack hetman *Chmielnicki in 1648–49, Jews as well as Poles suffered, the Jews even more than the Poles, the ensuing wave of massacres ending the days of tranquility that had hitherto been the rule there. Henceforth, the tide of emigration set in the reverse direction, from east to west, the communities of Germany, and thereafter of Western Europe, being considerably reinforced. This was intensified as generations passed and the condition of Polish Jewry constantly deteriorated. Conversely, at this period the emergence in Germany after the Peace of Westphalia (1648) of competing states and would-be resplendent courts gave opportunities such as had never existed before for lucrative activities for Jewish factors and *Court Jews, new Jewish communities often developing around them. Thus here too a new type of socially assimilated Jew began to emerge in the 17th century, culminating in the 18th in the remarkable figure of Moses *Mendelssohn, almost the first Jew to play a role of real importance in European cultural life.

Emancipation

Thus by the end of the 18th century a new type of Jew had emerged in Western Europe. After the outbreak of the French Revolution it was hence inevitable that the new doctrine of Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity should be applied, at first reluctantly, to the Jews as well – that is, that they should be given the same rights, receive the same treatment, and have the same duties as other men. Or, to put it another way, they were now formally recognized as Europeans, differentiated from other Europeans by adherence to another faith. These new doctrines were moreover imposed by or imitated from the French almost all over the continent of Europe where Jews were to be found. A reaction followed the fall of Napoleon in 1815; but henceforth Jewish political equality was part of the liberal creed, and it was accepted almost everywhere by the

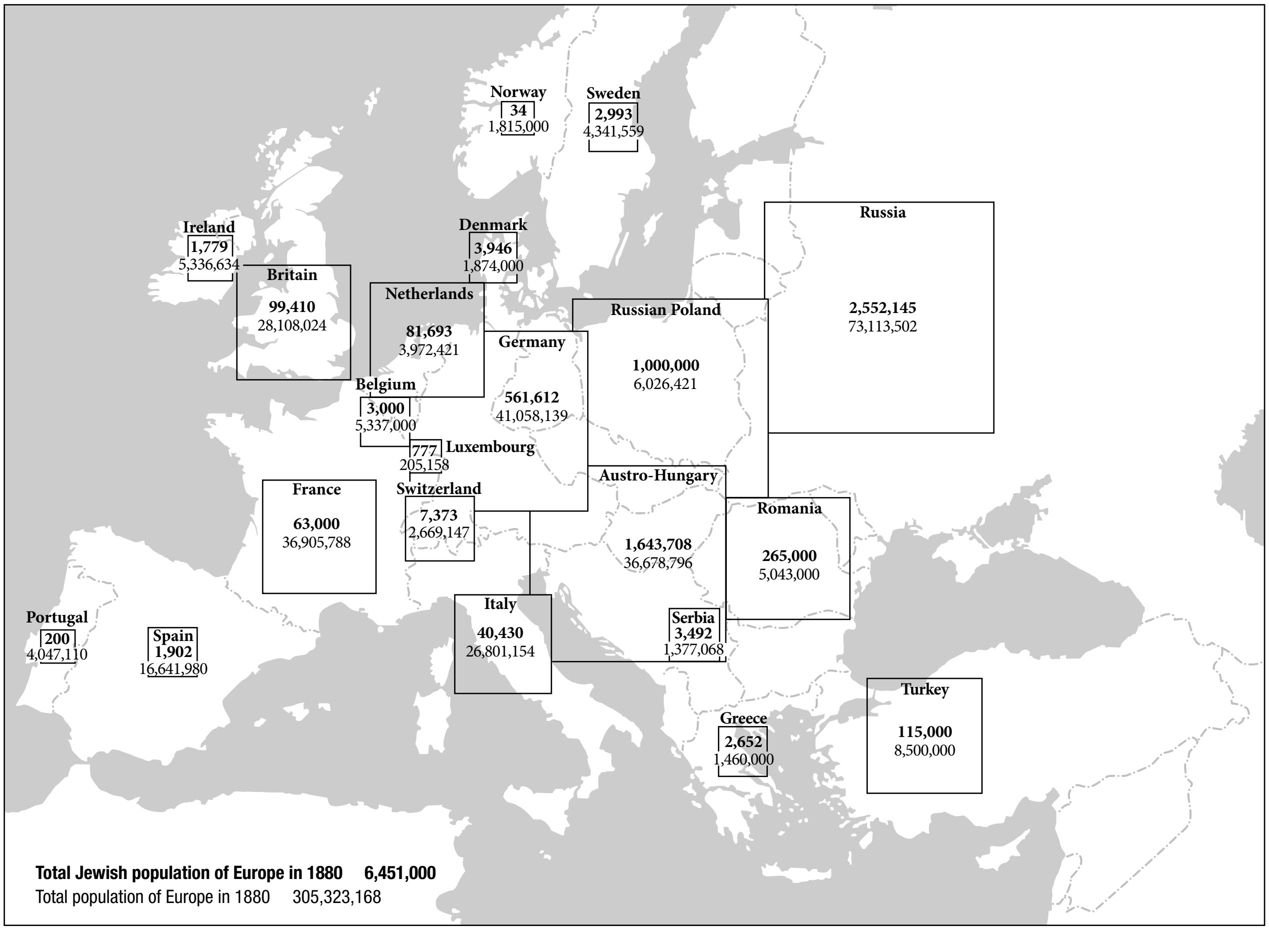

Norway
34
1,815,000
Sweden
2,993
4,341,559
Ireland
1,779
5,336,634
Denmark
3,946
1,874,000
Britain
99,410
28,108,024
Netherlands
81,693
3,972,421
Russia
2,552,145
73,113,502
Russian Poland
1,000,000
6,026,421
Germany
561,612
41,058,139
Belgium
3,000
5,337,000
777
205,158
Luxembourg
Switzerland
7,373
2,669,147
France
63,000
36,905,788
Austro-Hungary
1,643,708
36,678,796
Romania
265,000
5,043,000
Portugal
200
4,047,110
Spain
1,902
16,641,980
Italy
40,430
26,801,154
Serbia
3,492
1,377,068
Turkey
115,000
8,500,000
Greece
2,652
1,460,000
Total Jewish population of Europe in 1880 6,451,000
Total population of Europe in 1880 305,323,168

Jewish population of Europe, 1880. Jewish figures based on American Jewish Yearbook.

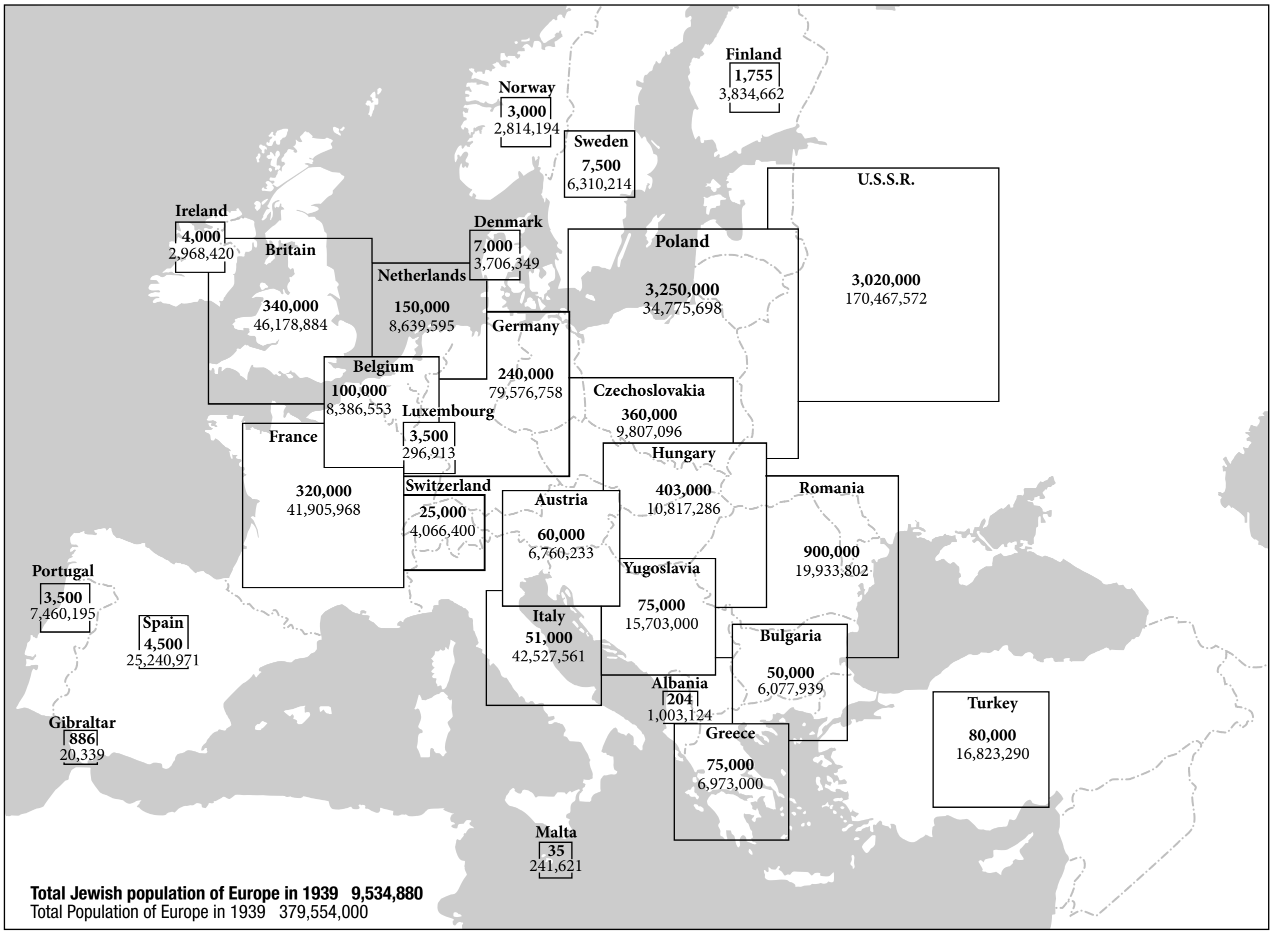
Finland
1,755
3,834,662
Norway
3,000
2,814,194
Sweden
7,500
6,310,214
U.S.S.R.
3,020,000
170,467,572
Ireland
4,000
2,968,420
Britain
340,000
46,178,884
Denmark
7,000
3,706,349
Netherlands
150,000
8,639,595
Poland
3,250,000
34,775,698
Germany
240,000
79,576,758
Belgium
100,000
8,386,553
Luxembourg
3,500
296,913
Czechoslovakia
360,000
9,807,096
France
320,000
41,905,968
Hungary
403,000
10,817,286
Switzerland
25,000
4,066,400
Austria
60,000
6,760,233
Romania
900,000
19,933,802
Portugal
3,500
7,460,195
Spain
4,500
25,240,971
Yugoslavia
75,000
15,703,000
Italy
51,000
42,527,561
Bulgaria
50,000
6,077,939
Albania
204
1,003,124
Gibraltar
886
20,339
Greece
75,000
6,973,000
Turkey
80,000
16,823,290
Malta
35
241,621
Total Jewish population of Europe in 1939 9,534,880
Total Population of Europe in 1939 379,554,000

Population in 1939, before the outbreak of World War II. Jewish figures based on American Jewish Yearbook.

third quarter of the 19th century (the crucial year may be fixed at 1870), Jewish *emancipation being henceforth the rule. Jews now began to play a role of increasing importance in European cultural, literary, scientific, social, and even political activity. At the same time, Jewish *assimilation became accelerated, both in the extreme form of conversion to the dominant faith, and in the more loyal form of the representation of Judaism simply as a divergent European religion – that is, *Reform Judaism, in all its branches and aspects (including *neo-Orthodoxy). The development of a Hebrew secular literature along European models (*Haskalah) and of vernacular literature on Hebrew scholarly themes (Wissenschaft des Judentums) were other aspects of this same tendency.

There was however one area where this new attitude did not apply, and the exception was numerically more important, and in its way more significant, than the rule. In *Russia (where there was no important Jewish settlement until the annexation of those areas of the old Polish kingdom which had the largest Jewish population) these were years not of progress but (with rare intervals) of reaction, and in 1881 a wave of massacres (*pogroms) began on a scale and of a type which recalled the Middle Ages, to be followed by economic and social restrictions of unprecedented scope (the *"May Laws"). A wave of emigration (see *migration) followed on a vast scale. This entirely changed the face of European Jewry within very few years. It greatly reinforced the Jewish communities of Western Europe, in particular that of England, and even changed their character. But far more important than this was the transatlantic migration. Emigration largely from Germany in the first three-quarters of the 19th century had relieved the pressure of population in that country and at the same time greatly developed the Jewish community in the *United States of America. Now, within a few years, as a result of immigration from Eastern Europe, it was to be reinforced in fantastic proportions. The results were all-important. For eight centuries after approximately the year 1000, the essential center of Jewish life and creativity had been in Europe. Outside the European area there had been only relatively unimportant offshoots, and this applied in particular to Ashkenazi Jewry. After the 1880s the United States was to be the second, and in due course the first, center of Jewish life in the world, from the point of view of population, and the relative role of European Jewry correspondingly diminished. From the early Victorian era the Western European Jewish communities had taken the lead in political and charitable activities on behalf of their depressed coreligionists elsewhere. From now on, their preponderance waned, passing in an increasing degree to America. The process of emigration was paralleled in *Romania and *Galicia (then under Austrian rule). Between 1880 and 1914, about two million Jews from Eastern Europe transferred themselves to the New World. It is true that natural increase kept the total population level actually unchanged, but had it not been for the emigration it would have continued to rise enormously.

During this period, the ancient Sephardi communities of the Mediterranean area had been affected by quasi-lethargy. Although under the rule of Turkey and the Balkan successor states their material and political condition was on the whole not adverse, the spirit of creativity that had been so marked in Spain had now passed from them almost entirely.

World War I

World War I marked the beginning of a cataclysm in European Jewish life. The revolutions of 1917 brought the Russian Jews emancipation, but at the same time ushered in the Bolshevik regime which in the long run severed the mass of Russian Jews from their coreligionists abroad, and indeed from Judaism. On the other hand, the removal of the traditional residence restrictions, which had hitherto confined the Jews to the *Pale of Settlement, implied that henceforth they were spread more evenly throughout the vast Russian territories, in Asia as well as Europe. Although the rights of the Jews in the Succession States, which were severed mainly from Russia (especially Poland with a very large Jewish population), were nominally guaranteed by the Versailles treaties, the actuality fell short of this. The ensuing period was hence one of strain and perplexity, and emigration continued – though on a smaller scale than hitherto. Owing to restrictions in North America it was now largely directed to South America, and in part to Ereẓ Israel, as a result of the *Balfour Declaration which was specifically intended to help solve the problems of European Jewry.

Rise of Antisemitism and Nazism

In Germany, the dazzling progress of persons of Jewish extraction after Emancipation had given rise at the close of the 19th century to the new racial *antisemitism. For a long while this had remained an annoyance rather than a menace, although in France the *Dreyfus case from 1894 to 1896 had caused a major political convulsion and convinced Theodor *Herzl that

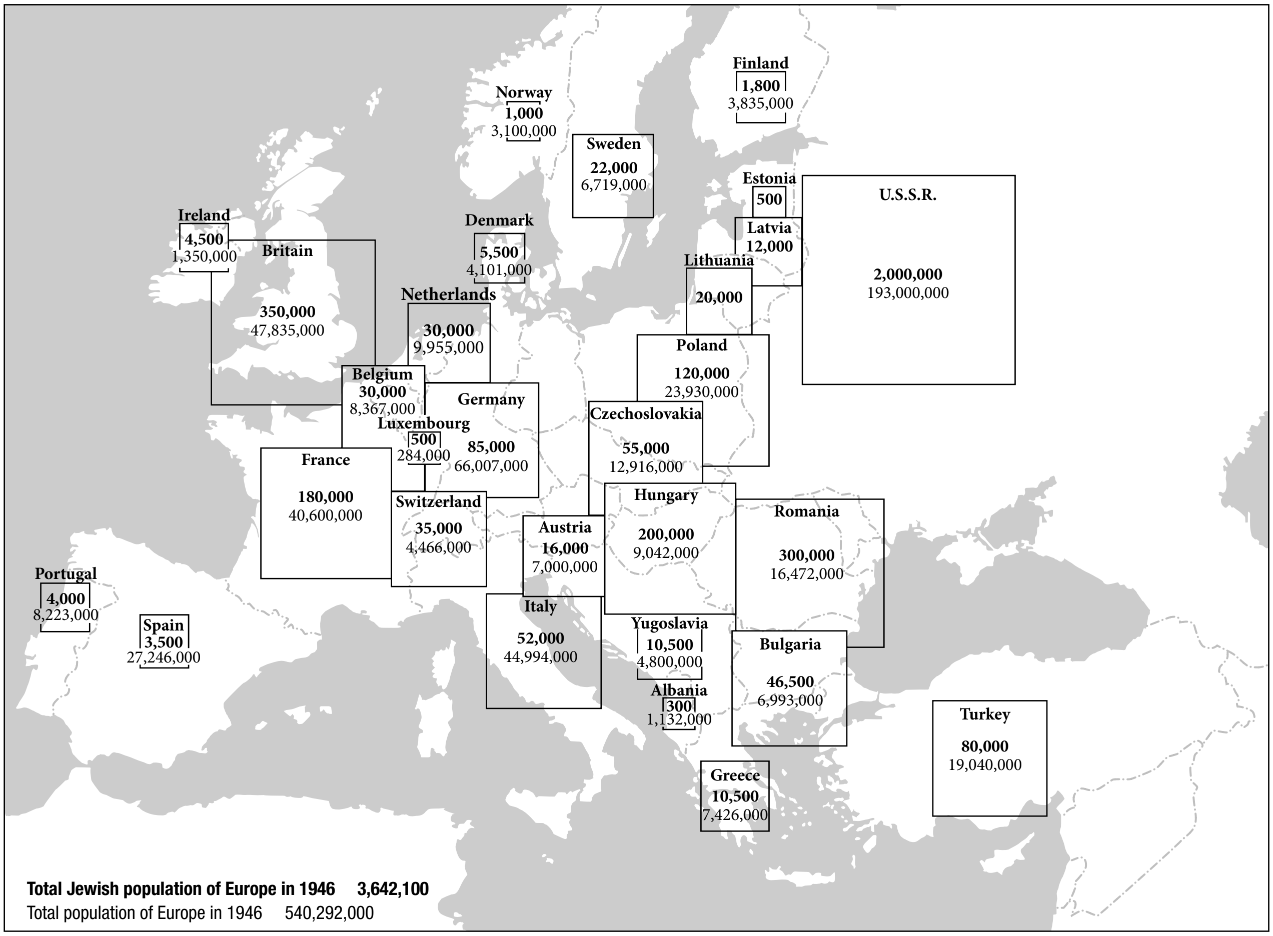
Finland
1,800
3,835,000
Norway
1,000
3,100,000
Sweden
22,000
6,719,000
Estonia
500
U.S.S.R.
2,000,000
193,000,000
Latvia
12,000
Lithuania
20,000
Ireland
4,500
1,350,000
Britain
350,000
47,835,000
Denmark
5,500
4,101,000
Netherlands
30,000
9,955,000
Poland
120,000
23,930,000
Belgium
30,000
8,367,000
Germany
85,000
66,007,000
Luxembourg
500
284,000
Czechoslovakia
55,000
12,916,000
France
180,000
40,600,000
Switzerland
35,000
4,466,000
Hungary
200,000
9,042,000
Romania
300,000
16,472,000
Austria
16,000
7,000,000
Portugal
4,000
8,223,000
Spain
3,500
27,246,000
Italy
52,000
44,994,000
Yugoslavia
10,500
4,800,000
Bulgaria
46,500
6,993,000
Albania
300
1,132,000
Turkey
80,000
19,040,000
Greece
10,500
7,426,000
Total Jewish population of Europe in 1946 3,642,100
Total population of Europe in 1946 540,292,000

Population after World War II. Jewish figures based on American Jewish Yearbook.

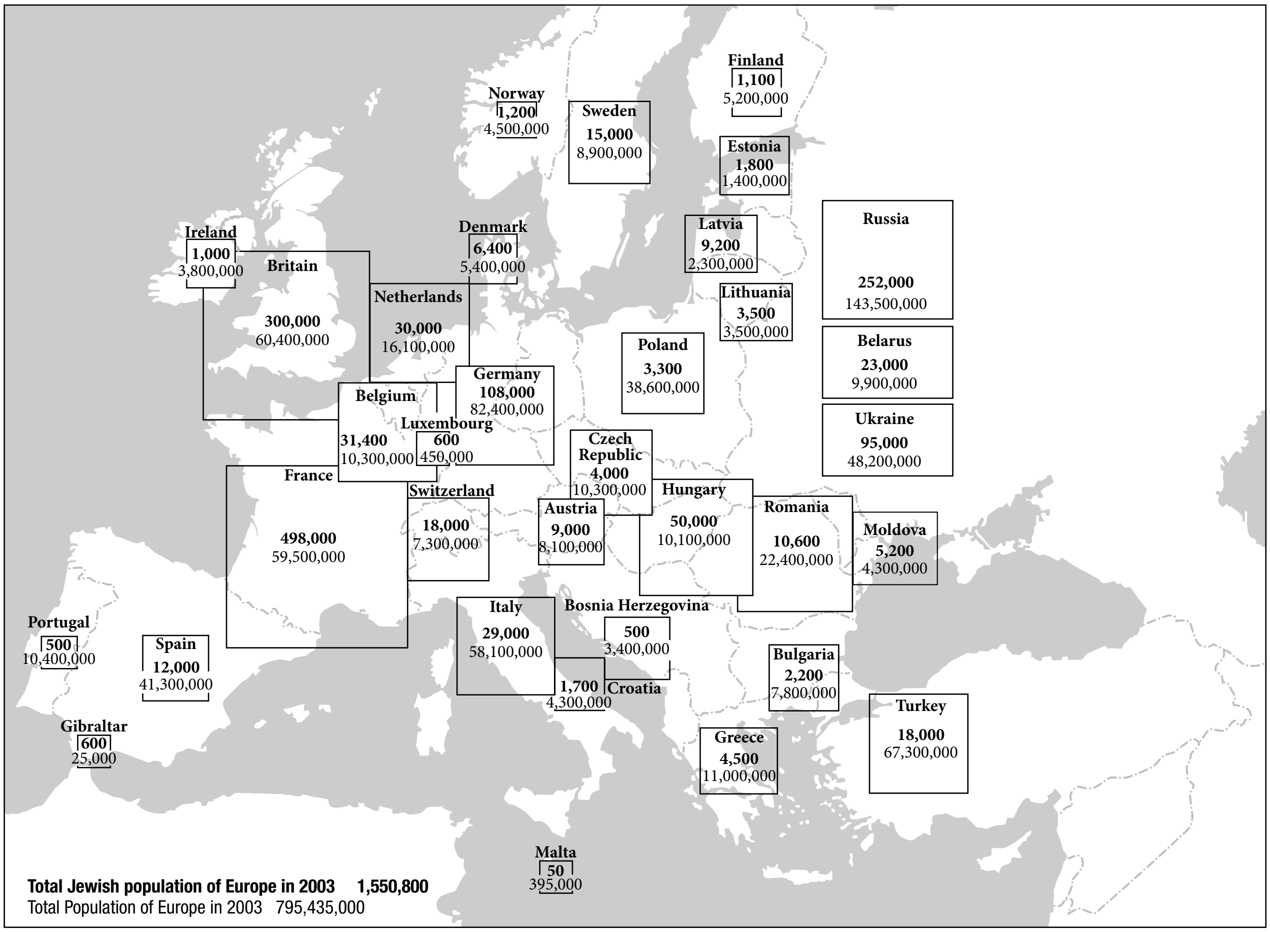
Finland
1,100
5,200,000
Norway
1,200
4,500,000
Sweden
15,000
8,900,000
Estonia
1,800
1,400,000
Russia
252,000
143,500,000
Latvia
9,200
2,300,000
Ireland
1,000
3,800,000
Britain
300,000
60,400,000
Denmark
6,400
5,400,000
Netherlands
30,000
16,100,000
Lithuania
3,500
3,500,000
Poland
3,300
38,600,000
Belarus
23,000
9,900,000
Germany
108,000
82,400,000
Belgium
31,400
10,300,000
Luxembourg
600
450,000
Ukraine
95,000
48,200,000
Czech Republic
4,000
10,300,000
France
498,000
59,500,000
Switzerland
18,000
7,300,000
Austria
9,000
8,100,000
Hungary
50,000
10,100,000
Romania
10,600
22,400,000
Moldova
5,200
4,300,000
Italy
29,000
58,100,000
Bosnia Herzegovina
500
3,400,000
Portugal
500
10,400,000
Spain
12,000
41,300,000
1,700
4,300,000
Croatia
Bulgaria
2,200
7,800,000
Turkey
18,000
67,300,000
Gibraltar
600
25,000
Greece
4,500
11,000,000
Malta
50
395,000
Total Jewish population of Europe in 2003 1,550,800
Total Population of Europe in 2003 795,435,000

Population 2003. Jewish figures based on American Jewish Yearbook.

the solution to the Jewish problem must be sought outside the setting of European life. The German defeat in World War I and the physical as well as moral distress that ensued gave the antisemitic movement in that country an enormous impetus, and it became a cardinal principle of the Nazi Party (see *National Socialism) which attained power in 1933. The persecution that ensued drove very large numbers of Jews from Germany and *Austria into exile, to other parts of Europe, to Ereẓ Israel, and to other continents. This, however, proved to be only a beginning. During World War II, in the course of which the German armies overran almost all those parts of continental Europe in which Jewish communities existed, a systematic campaign of extermination was carried out. By the conclusion of hostilities in 1945, some 6,000,000 had perished in the *Holocaust out of the 9,000,000 who had lived in Europe in 1933, apart from the hundreds of thousands who had gone into exile; most of the greatest Jewish communities of the Continent – *Vienna, *Berlin, *Warsaw, *Lodz – had been annihilated. Many lands – including *Poland, *Yugoslavia, *Czechoslovakia, and even *Holland, as well as Germany and Austria – had become almost empty of Jews, most of the handful of survivors preferring to leave the blood-soaked soil. The great talmudic academies of Eastern Europe had been destroyed, as well as the center of Sephardi culture in the Balkans. Moreover, the Russian Jewish remnant seemed to be cut off from Jewish life even more completely than before, henceforth having no creative role to play.

The proportion of European Jewry in the world Jewish population declined in the course of half a century from 87.2% in 1880 to 58.05% in 1939, and then to 30% in 1968 and 12% in 2003. After approximately a thousand years, the European dominance in Jewish life has ended. It has on the one hand reverted to the ancestral soil in Asia; on the other, been transferred to the New World beyond the Atlantic Ocean.

For bibliography see *History, and individual countries and communities.

[Cecil Roth]

EUROPEAN COMMUNITY, THE.

The Beginning of the European Economic Community

After World War II, Europe was suffering from the wide destruction caused by the war and the deep separation between two different camps: one which had struggled for freedom and the other which had tried to subdue Europe under Nazi dictatorship and coldly organized the massacre of six million Jews.

Winston Churchill, who had been British prime minister during the war, launched an appeal for European unity on September 19, 1946, in Zurich. The first concrete example of European economic integration was the customs union among Belgium, the Netherlands, and Luxembourg, called "Benelux" which started on January 1, 1948.

U.S. Secretary of State George Marshall was ready to promise American aid for the reconstruction of Europe, on condition that European countries would pool their efforts and would agree among themselves on the distribution of American aid. Thus in 1948 was established the first post-war European organization, the OEEC (Organization for European Economic Cooperation). Many other organizations were created, and like NATO, the Atlantic Alliance, in 1949, the Council of Europe in 1949, an instrument of inter-governmental cooperation with no transfer of national sovereignty.

Robert Schuman, the French minister for foreign affairs, declared on May 9, 1950:

> The contribution which an organized and active Europe can make to civilization is indispensable for the maintenance of peaceful relations. Because Europe was not united, we have had war. The uniting of the European nations requires that the age-old opposition between France and Germany be eliminated. The action to be taken must first of all concern France and Germany.

On April 19, 1951, six countries (Belgium, the Federal Republic of Germany, France, Italy, Luxembourg, and the Netherlands) signed the Treaty establishing the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC). It was thought that by pooling coal and steel, two of the most important raw materials for heavy industry, new military conflicts could be avoided and industrialization could be promoted. This sectorial approach very soon proved itself too narrow, and it was decided to make a bold step forward to full economic integration; on March 25, 1957, the six countries signed the Rome Treaty establishing the European Economic Community (EEC), which entered into force on January 1, 1958.

The creation of a vast common market was the first objective with the aim of reaching higher living standards, full employment, and economic expansion. After some years of a transitional period goods were to flow freely among the six member states thanks to the gradual disappearance of tariffs; a common agricultural policy was established as well. The Commission in Brussels was to coordinate the work and prepare specific proposals to be submitted to the Council of Ministers which alone had the power of decision, thus keeping it in the hands of the member countries; the Commission would then have to implement the decisions taken by the Council.

Israel and the EEC

The French scholar Dominique Moisy divides the relations between Israel and Western Europe into three periods: the first 20 years, in the 1950s and 1960s when "Israel was perceived by Europeans as a courageous and small pioneer state symbolized by the kibbutz"; "the virtual ostracism of the 1970s and the turn of the decade, when Israel was seen mainly as an ambitious imperialist power bent on expansion"; and the new third phase "characterized by a more neutral and less emotional approach to Israel."

The ink of the signatures on the Treaty of Rome was not yet dry when the Israeli government tried to establish contacts with the Community. It submitted a memorandum to the Commission of the EEC in Brussels on October 30, 1958, and a year later Israel was the third country to seek the accreditation of an ambassador as Chief of the Israeli Mission to the EEC, the ECSC, and Euratom. On June 20, 1960, David Ben-Gurion, the Israeli prime minister, met at Val Duchesse in Brussels with Prof. Hallstein, president of the Commission, and with Mr. Rey, member of the Commission in charge of external relations. Ben-Gurion expressed the wish of the Israeli government to sign an association agreement with the EEC.

The Commission submitted a detailed questionnaire to Israel and the Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs answered in a memorandum of September 27, 1960, explaining that it was seeking an Association Agreement with the EEC according to Article 238 of the Treaty of Rome; this would entail the creation of a customs union and would lead to the establishment of the clauses for Israeli participation in the framework of the Common Agricultural Policy envisaged by the EEC, as well as the harmonization of the economic and social policies.

During the following years the Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs developed extensive diplomatic activity at the Commission in Brussels and in each of the six capitals of the member states as well as in the European Parliament in Strasbourg.

On July 7, 1961, the diplomatic representatives of Israel brought to the attention of the governments in each of the six member countries an identical Note Verbale in which it asked for the opening of negotiations with the EEC on all the outstanding problems without defining beforehand their possible solution.

The Council of Ministers of the EEC decided on July 28, 1961, to invite the Commission to start a study of the relations between Israel and the EEC. Again the Israeli government, in a memorandum of November 24, 1961 to the Commission, expressed its wish to reach a global and preferential agreement, reiterating the same point of view in a note of February 1962 to the six governments. The first parliamentary delegation of the political groups of the European Parliament, headed by Alain Poher, arrived in Israel in February 1962.

In April 1962 the Council of Ministers of the EEC decided to open exploratory talks with Israel, which started in Brussels in May 1962; following these talks the Council of Ministers decided on September 24, 1962, to open negotiations between the EEC and Israel "in order to seek solutions to problems of commercial relations between Israel and the Community." These negotiations started in Brussels on September 26, 1962; the head of the Israel delegation was Mr. Levi Eshkol, then minister of finance, while M. Jean Rey, member of the Commission, headed the delegation of the EEC.

Israeli representatives explained the repercussions of the Common Agricultural Policy on third-party countries and put forward some original proposals like the idea of "trafic de perfectionnement passif" according to which European raw material included in an Israeli industrial product and re-exported to the EEC should not be subject to the payment of custom duties.

The negotiations were held in three subsequent meetings in Brussels, on November 1962, June 1963, and March–April 1964; they reached a first non-preferential commercial agreement.

The Israeli government had to decide whether to accept this first agreement, limited as it was in its scope, or reject it in order to obtain a larger agreement more suitable to the solution of Israeli foreign trade problems. It was decided to sign the first agreement while at the same time endeavoring to enlarge it. Ambassador Amiel Najar said during the last phase of the negotiations:

> Even if all the considerations which I have expressed bring us necessarily and logically to the need for a global agreement between the European Community and Israel, my Government responding to the friendly advice and suggestions made to it in various capitals, has accepted the request of the EEC to follow what is called a pragmatic way.

Thus the commercial agreement was signed in Brussels by Golda Meir, minister of foreign affairs, on June 4, 1964; it allowed a temporary and partial suspension of the Common External Tariff (CET) on about 20 products of interest to Israel and the removal of quantitative restrictions. Since it was not a preferential agreement, the reduction had to be "erga omnes," i.e., for all members of GATT (the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade); since Israel was not a major supplier to the EEC for any item, it was very difficult to find products which could benefit Israel without causing an excessive loss to the EEC. Generally it was granted a 20% reduction, reaching 40% for grapefruits, 35% for avocados, and 10% only for grapefruit juice; moreover an acceleration of national tariffs to the CET was decided for some other products, providing a concession of temporary and decreasing value since CET had to be progressively implemented anyway.

The economic value of this commercial agreement was very limited, yet it was the first institutional link with the EEC, establishing a joint committee, and had attached to it an important protocol according to which if the EEC were to give any new concession on oranges to any third country in the future, a review of the commercial agreement with Israel would become possible.

This was a very important principle since it was understood that even without naming the North African countries, they were the first ones to be considered. The North African countries enjoyed a privileged status in the Rome Treaty as previous French colonies, and it was of great importance to avoid the discrimination of Israel vis-à-vis these countries, especially Morocco, in the trade of oranges, a major Israeli export at that time to Europe.

The European Parliament was of great help in that period because even if it had no competence, it gave moral support to the Israeli demands; before the Parliament M. Rey said on January 24, 1964 that the commercial agreement would permit the various problems not yet settled in its framework to be reexamined periodically with the Israeli friends; "we will strive thus progressively to strengthen it and enlarge it."

A report was submitted by M. Blaisse in the name of the Commission for the external trade of the EP in 1964, in favor of "a first agreement giving satisfaction to both parties." An official delegation of the European Parliament came to Israel in November 1964 headed by President Duvieusart. The following year, 1965, Mr. G.L. Moro presented a provisional report proposing a resolution, later approved by the EP, in which Article 1 read:

> Reaffirms that only the association of Israel to the European Community, according to Article 238 of the Treaty establishing the EEC, will allow the complete satisfactions of the reciprocal interest.

Thus the principle of an association was reaffirmed by the EP, while Israeli representatives stressed in the meetings of the Mixed Commission in April 1965 and in June 1966 that a global agreement remained the aim of the Israeli government. This goal was stressed in a formal diplomatic note and a memorandum on October 4, 1966, to the Commission and the Governments of the Six in which a demand was put forward to substitute the commercial agreement expiring on July 1, 1967, by an association agreement. In this memorandum it was said inter alia:

> Be it in the domain of commercial exchanges and industrial organization, in that of international cooperation or in that of science and technology, if Europe of the Six would conclude a large association agreement with Israel, it would find in it a loyal and efficient partner.

The Council of Ministers invited the Commission in December 1966 to start exploratory talks with Israel on the problems raised in this note; thus for the first time the Council was authorizing the Commission to discuss a new agreement with Israel.

In June 1967 the Six-Day War started and on June 7, while the Israeli people were engaged in a struggle for their security, the Commission decided to recommend to the Council of Ministers the conclusion of an Association Agreement with Israel, taking into account the special links existing between Europe and Israel. Undoubtedly this was a decision of great political importance even if it could not be implemented without the consent of the Six at the Council.

A special Committee of the Permanent Representatives of the Six in Brussels envisaged in January 1968 either a preferential agreement with Israel for all industrial products at zero custom duty, or a more limited preferential agreement including most industrial products and a reduction of custom duties of 25% to 60% or only an acceleration of the custom reductions due in the framework of the "Kennedy Round," the GATT multilateral negotiation. It seems that at the time only the Federal Republic of Germany and the Netherlands supported the first solution, while Italy, Belgium, and Luxembourg preferred the second and France was against any kind of preferential agreement. In October 1968 the Commission stated again that a preferential agreement was the most suitable means to solve the problem of Israel in its relations with the EEC.

The stand of the member states was divided; in March 1968 the government of the Netherlands declared that the Community should treat in a uniform way all the states of the Mediterranean and therefore they could not accept a preferential agreement with Spain and the North African countries while refusing Israel the same chance. On December 10, 1968, Mr. Luns, then Netherlands minister of foreign affairs, declared:

> The Netherlands can not accept the fact that no progress was accomplished with Israel while important decisions were taken for other Mediterranean countries such as Morocco, Tunisia, Spain.

At the Council meeting of January 27, 1969, Mr. Lahr said that it was necessary to establish a double link in the concessions to be made to the Mediterranean countries: a link in timing concerning the simultaneous conclusion of the agreements and a link concerning the content of these agreements. The idea of parallelism between Israel and the North African countries was raised again in February 1969 at the European Parliament in a resolution in which the Commission was asked to prepare at the same time the association agreements with Tunisia and Morocco and the agreement with Israel.

France, according to the press, in May 1969 still refused to consider a preferential agreement with Israel because of the political situation prevailing in the Middle East. This meant simply that the protests of the Arab states against any further preference to Israel were carefully heard in Paris.

Israel on its side was interested in stronger ties with the EEC both for political and economic reasons; Western Europe was an important market for its exports since its agricultural products were suited to the countries of a continental temperate climate, while its industrial products were most suited for sophisticated countries with a high standard of living. An association would entail a structural change in Israeli industry, probably imposing the closure of the least efficient factories, but the process would enhance productivity and would therefore be a healthy one. One could also hope that the association would encourage European investments in the Israeli economy, which had a level of import of goods similar to that of other Mediterranean countries with a population ten times bigger.

On September 1, 1969, the Commission applied a reduction of 40% on the custom duty on oranges; however, the system of reference prices remained unchanged.

France, probably anxious to make progress with the North African countries, changed its stand and at the meeting of the Council of Ministers of July 22, 1969, Foreign Minister Schuman stated that whoever was in favor of a preferential agreement with Israel must at the same time accept the same principle for any Arab country asking for it as well. This idea was accepted by the other members of the Community and the way was open for a decision. On October 17, 1969, the Council issued the mandate for the negotiations "within the general framework of its Mediterranean policy and in expectation of a balanced development in its relations with the countries of the region."

Finally a preferential agreement with Israel was signed on June 29, 1970, in Luxembourg; on the same day a similar treaty was signed with Spain: the Netherlands would have opposed the signature of an agreement with Spain, because of the Franco regime, and made it conditional on a simultaneous signature with Israel.

An association under Article 238 was refused to Israel mainly on political grounds, but a new interpretation was given to Article 113, on which also this agreement was based, in order to give it a preferential nature. Under the clause of the agreement, which entered into force on October 1, 1970, with a duration of five years, more than 850 Israeli industrial products exported to the EEC benefited from a reduction in custom duties which progressively reached 50%. Some sensitive products were put on a special list and given a smaller reduction or a quota ceiling (cotton fabrics); other Israeli products were totally excluded. It was then that the important principle of some reciprocal treatment was established by Israel for goods originating in the EEC; these goods were divided in four categories and a reduction of between 30% and 10% was granted by Israel. The value of custom reduction given by Israel was equal to 40% of that granted by the EEC to Israel.

Israeli agricultural products were granted a 40% reduction in customs duties for citrus, bananas, and avocados; a 30% reduction for fresh vegetables and 40% on fruit preserves. No modification was introduced in the system of reference price.

Some Arab states opposed the conclusion of the new agreement with Israel fearing that it would weaken the Arab boycott; the secretariat of the Arab League sent a memorandum to the Commission threatening to impose a boycott on the EEC members. There was also a hint that Arab oil producers would reconsider their policy if Israel were to be linked to the Community.

The Enlargement of the Community

The accession of Great Britain, Denmark, and Ireland to the Community on January 1, 1973, created a completely new situation that could deeply affect the Israeli economy. Israel was worried mainly by the changes that would occur in Great Britain because of the great weight of this country in Israeli exports (especially of agricultural products) as well as the fact that the British would raise their custom duties up to the level of CET. The British market had been for years traditionally the most important outlet for Israeli fresh oranges and citrus juices; the British government had a very liberal policy on food imports since its agriculture could not supply more than a small part of local consumption. Entering the Community meant a major change for Great Britain since the Community had a huge surplus of food and the EC would impose the Common Agricultural Policy. Custom duties on fresh oranges and orange juice, for example, would rise steeply; Morocco and Tunisia would enjoy a 4% reduction and therefore there was a danger of diversion of trade in favor of the oranges of these countries against Israeli fruit. Plywood and bromine were among the Israeli industrial products that would have to pay higher custom duties because of the British adhesion to the EEC.

The Mediterranean Policy

On February 9, 1971, the European Parliament adopted a resolution inviting the member states to draw up a common policy towards the Mediterranean countries. At the meeting of the EEC Council of Ministers on June 26–27, 1972, Maurice Schuman, French foreign minister, presented a completely new idea: that a "global solution for manufactured products" be found to solve most of the problems of Spain, Israel, and other Mediterranean countries.

The official Israeli reaction to the French proposal was stated by Foreign Minister Abba Eban in a press conference given on August 7, 1972:

> I was asked about an idea, proposed by M. Schuman, of a Mediterranean free-trade area including Israel. I think it is a positive idea. It responds to Israel's desire to be associated with a large market and a large community into which its exports would have free entry. We must understand, and our industrialists too, that reciprocity is involved. We would have to open our market, which is a large one for Europe, much more widely…

On November 6 and 7, 1972, the Community Council of Ministers set out the guidelines of the global approach which was to include all the countries of the Mediterranean plus Jordan, with the aim of creating free-trade areas progressively covering also the main agricultural products, as well as organizing financial cooperation for some countries.

On January 30, 1973, a protocol was signed by the Community with Israel and a formal promise was given that a new agreement should be negotiated and would enter into force before January 1974, when the first adjustment to CET was due to take place in Great Britain.

The Council gave a first mandate to the Commission on June 25/26, 1973, but it was not possible to respect the timetable and to complete the package deal with Israel, Spain, Morocco, Tunisia, Algeria, and Malta before the end of the year. At the very last moment the British government decided unilaterally to apply a "standstill," not raising duties on imports from the six Mediterranean countries. The danger of a negative repercussion on the Israeli economy deriving from the British adhesion was thus temporarily avoided.

A wide range of opinions appeared once more among the member states of the Community. France gave all its support to Spain and the North African countries and stressed its friendship for the Arab countries. Italy was torn between the necessity of paying for most of the concessions to be made on agricultural products of other Mediterranean countries, often in competition with its own, and the desire to play fully its role of a Mediterranean power. Germany, the main commercial partner of the Mediterranean countries, had a moral obligation to Israel and the will to reach an understanding with the Arab states, while generally helping in removing obstacles in the way of the Israeli agreement. In the Benelux countries the business community was eager for closer links with Spain, while public opinion and Parliaments were against Spain for political reasons and in favor of closer links with Israel. A compromise was found enabling each member state to foster its political and economic goals in accordance with its sympathies and interests. In order to avoid United States' opposition to the Mediterranean policy, Great Britain asked and obtained the assurance that no reverse preferences should be given by the southern Mediterranean countries, with the exception of Israel, to the EEC.

After a first round of negotiations, the Commission sent back its proposals to the Council, accepting most of the Israeli requests, in order to obtain a "supplementary mandate." The Council met again and in its session of July 22/23, 1974, gave the general guidelines for a new mandate.

In December 1974 a new round of negotiations led, after a non-stop meeting from 3 P.M. till 7:25 A.M. next morning, to an agreed text of the new treaty establishing a free trade area for industrial products. The new agreement was signed in Brussels on May 11, 1975, by Foreign Minister Yigal Allon for Israel and by the Irish foreign minister, Garrett Fitzgerald, for the EEC. The agreement, which came into force on July 1, 1975, has no time limit and is therefore still in force; it is of a much wider scope than the two previous ones as it establishes a free trade area although limited to industrial products; Israel gave full reciprocity but with a delay of some years. Thus, while the EEC completed tariff dismantling on Israeli goods already on July 1, 1977, the gradual implementation of the same dismantling by Israel on EEC goods was completed on January 1, 1989, simultaneously to goods originating in the United States thanks to the Free Trade Agreement between Israel and that country.

The Israeli industrialist could now look at the whole Community as its potential market and should be able to produce on a much bigger scale well above the needs of the Israeli domestic market. On the other hand the competition with European goods was now felt inside Israel itself and this implied the need to reach higher productivity, better quality, and in general a more competitive product.

Political Cooperation

The first aim of the EEC was political although at first it was easier to build the economic side; in November 1970 the foreign ministers of the Six discussed for the first time in Munich a common stand on Middle Eastern problems. Immediately after the Yom Kippur War of October 1973, an oil boycott was declared by OAPEC, the Arab Oil Producers Organization, against the Netherlands and Denmark. This provoked the Declaration of the Nine of November 6, 1973, a kind of total surrender to the Arabs in which four principles were established as the basis for the common European policy: the inadmissibility of acquisition of territories by force; the necessity for Israel to end the territorial occupation in place since 1967; the respect for suzerainty, territorial integrity, and independence of every state of the region and their rights to live in peace within secure and recognized borders; the recognition that due account should be taken of the legitimate rights of the Palestinians.

The beginning of the Euro-Arab dialogue at the end of December 1973 in Copenhagen and its subsequent evolution was a factor for a change to a growingly pro-Arab stand. The Declaration of the Nine in Venice was given on June 13, 1980, after the historic meeting of President Anwar Sadat with Prime Minister Menachem Begin in Jerusalem and the subsequent signature of the Peace Treaty between Israel and Egypt in 1979. In December 1979 the Soviet Union invaded Afghanistan. Some believe that the strategic aim of Europe was to use the outraged feelings of Third World countries regarding the invasion in order to reinforce the European presence in the Islamic world. To this purpose the price of supporting the Arab thesis, the PLO, and the right to self-determination of the Palestinians did not seem too high. According to the Venice declaration of June 13, 1980, the countries of the European Community would be ready to participate in "a system of concrete and obligatory guaranties including in the field" (Art. 5), the Palestinian people should be able "to exercise fully its right to self-determination" (Art. 6), the PLO "must be associated with the negotiations" (Art. 7), the Jewish settlements in the administered territories are considered to be illegal and "a grave obstacle to the peace process" (Art. 9), Israel should put an end to its territorial occupation (Art. 9). Israel did not agree to the text and the spirit of the Venice declaration which ignored the Camp David peace treaty between Israel and Egypt and was considered to be unbalanced and pro-Arab.

The Israeli invasion of Lebanon in 1982 brought the relations with the states of the EEC to their lowest ebb; the Ten at Luxembourg in their declaration of June 29, 1982, maintained "their vigorous condemnation of the Israeli invasion of Lebanon," demanded "an immediate withdrawal of Israeli forces," and "a simultaneous withdrawal of the Palestinian forces in West Beirut" and admonished that:

> Israel will not obtain the security to which it has a right by using force and creating "faits accomplis" but it can find this security by satisfying the legitimate aspirations of the Palestinian people, who should have the opportunity to exercise their right to self-determination with all that this implies.

The Council of Ministers also decided to suspend the signature of the second Financial Protocol already initialed. Israel was even accused by Mr. Pisani, member of the EC Commission, to have blocked European humanitarian aid to Lebanon – which had never been sent in the first place.

At the beginning of September 1982 the massacre at Sabra and Shatila provoked the "profound shock and revulsion" of the Ten; they also welcomed the American initiative contained in President Reagan's speech of September 1, 1982, and underlined "the importance of the statement adopted by Arab heads of state and governments at Fez on September 9" calling "for a similar expression of a will of peace on the part of Israel" (Declaration of the Ten of September 20, 1982).

At the European Council of Stuttgart (June 17–19, 1983) the Ten, under the presidency of Germany, took a positive view of the Israeli-Lebanese Peace Treaty and decided to resume normal relations with Israel allowing for the signature of the second financial protocol and the meeting of the Council of Cooperation. In the Dublin summit of December 3–4, 1984, the Ten reiterated that the PLO must be associated with negotiations but refrained from any new Middle Eastern initiative. Bettino Craxi was the first European prime minister to go and meet Yasser Arafat, in Tunisia on December 7, 1984. The Ten had mixed feelings about American initiatives; they considered Arafat as a moderate who could be convinced to state publicly the abandonment of terror; they felt that if Arafat disappeared any successor might be much more radical. The huge economic interest of many European companies in the Arab countries seemed best assured by intimate contact with Arafat.

In the year 1985 two events showed how wide the gap between the Europeans and Israel had remained: the Israeli raid on the PLO headquarters near Tunis on October 1, and the hijacking of the Italian boat *Achille Lauro* some days later. The first was compared by an Italian minister to the Nazi killing of innocent hostages, among them Jews, by the Nazis in Fosse Ardeatine near Rome in March 1944; the second gave rise in the Italian media to the idea that Israel could avoid Palestinian terrorism if it only agreed to make concessions to the PLO.

The Israeli prime minister, Shimon Peres, launched a peace plan at the General Assembly of the United Nations in New York in October 1985, with the idea of an international conference that would accompany direct negotiations among the parties. Peres presented an Israeli scheme for peace at the Council of Cooperation in Brussels in January 1987. The declaration of the Twelve of February 23, 1987, reasserted that a negotiated solution in the Middle East should be based on the Venice Declaration; the Twelve were in favor of an international conference under the auspices of the United Nations and they expressed the wish "to see an improvement in the living conditions of the inhabitants of the occupied territories."

The entrance of Spain and Portugal into the European Community on January 1, 1986, worried Israeli farmers because 70% of their total production is exported and about

70% of total agricultural exports go to the EC countries; their exports could be endangered by preferential treatment given to Spain, their main competitor.

At a very early stage, in 1982, the Israeli Mission in Brussels voiced its concerns about the possible negative repercussions of the entry of Spain; the EC decided that traditional currents of trade should be allowed to continue unhampered. In this spirit a protocol was signed on December 8, 1986, that was aimed at solving some of the problems of Israeli agricultural exports during the transitional period of the Spanish accession. At the end of July 1987 the additional protocols of adaptation between Israel, Spain, and Portugal were initialed.

A problem which gave rise to some tension between Israel and the EC Commission was the sudden decision by the Council of Ministers to unilaterally grant the same preferences enjoyed by Israeli products entering the EC to Palestinian products originating in the territories. The decision was published on December 31, 1986; the Israeli authorities felt that the Twelve had more in mind to help the Palestinian entity evolve into a state than merely economic matters.

After months of negotiations Israel accepted the EC decision for the direct export of agricultural products from the West Bank and Gaza Strip to the EC. Subsequently the Council of Ministers approved on December 15, 1987, the signature of three additional protocols, including one on Israeli agricultural exports, which was long overdue, since it had to give Israel some defense against damages caused by the Spanish adhesion of January 1, 1986. The European Parliament, in an unprecedented move, decided on March 9, 1988, not to approve the ratification of the Protocols because of Israeli repression of the Intifada and the obstruction of Palestinian exports, which had been settled by then. This was a *de facto* political sanction using economic means; eventually the European Parliament ratified the three protocols on October 12, 1988.

On December 30, 1989, there was a demonstration in Jerusalem organized by the Peace Now movement. Excessive force was used by the Israeli police and on January 18, 1990, the European Parliament condemned "the brutal intervention of the Israeli police during the demonstration" and recalled a previous resolution concerning the closing down of Palestinian universities. The EP called on the Commission "to freeze immediately budget heading 7394 allocated to scientific cooperation with Israel." The EC Commission on February 7 quickly complied with this resolution and suspended the scientific cooperation; it took more than a year to restore those joint projects unilaterally brought to an end by the Commission.

Financial aid to the Palestinians started in 1982 with a small sum of 3 million ECU yearly; in the year 1991 after the Gulf War, an emergency aid of 60 millions ECU was decided upon but again the Commission made it conditional on the nomination of its representative for the distribution of this aid in the territories: a request considered by the Israelis to be political.

In a meeting which took place in Paris in June 1991 between Foreign Minister David Levy and the European "troika" a wide agreement was reached: Israel would be admitted to the European Economic Space, the Community would participate in the future Peace Conference on the Middle East, and the Commission would appoint its representative to the territories. No timetable or technical details were given and the entrance of Israel to the European Economic Space was never implemented.

[Sergio I. Minerbi]

Later Developments

Relations between Israel and the European Union (EU) are now formally governed by the Euro-Mediterranean Partnership, established through the EU-Israel Association Agreement and the regional dimension of the Barcelona Process.

Israel was keen on becoming a part of the Barcelona Process, initiated in 1995, between the EU and 12 Mediterranean partners. This initiative was conceived by the EU mainly with a view to the Maghreb countries. These countries, which had historical ties with France, were sending thousands of emigrants to Europe. The EU felt that raising the standard of life in the Maghreb countries and creating new jobs would bring less pressure to immigrate to the EU. The situation was radically different for Israel.

Ten years later, the achievements of the Barcelona Process are rather modest. Mediterranean countries need to create 5 million jobs a year, a target which seems impossible to attain. The EU also hoped that through the Euro-Mediterranean Partnership it would have a say in the Middle East peace process.

The major development which took place since the early 1990s in the relations between Israel and the EU has been the signature of the Association Agreement, which was signed on November 20, 1995, and replaced the earlier Cooperation Agreement of 1975. The Association Agreement went into force on June 1, 2000, following ratification by the 15 Member State Parliaments, the European Parliament, and the Knesset.

The principles outlined in the treaty were not always fully implemented. According to the treaty, regional cooperation should be encouraged, a regular political dialogue should be established, as well as a dialogue on scientific, technological, and cultural matters. The regular political dialogue has taken place on rare occasions, probably because the EU was constantly taking sides in the ongoing conflict between Israel and the Palestinians, in favor of the latter.

The situation has been rather better in the field of economic cooperation. In trade relations, the EU is Israel's major trading partner, with about 40% of Israeli imports coming from the EU and about 33% of Israeli exports directed to the EU. In the year 2004, total imports from the EU reached $16,813 million, while total exports reached $10,721 million. The figures excluding diamonds are respectively $7,611 million for the imports and $7,435 million for the exports. One could jump to the conclusion that the huge deficit of about $4 billion a year is due mainly to the trade in diamonds.

Cooperation has been the best in the field of science and technology. Israel is highly advanced in technological innovation, especially in the electronics industry and biotechnology. Many achievements in the electronics industry are due to fallout from military research.

On March 8, 1999, the Agreement for Scientific and Technical Cooperation between the European Community and Israel went into force. Thus Israel has been fully associated with the 5th Framework Programme (FP^5) for Community RTD (1999–2002). Later, Israel became fully associated in the 6th Framework Programme (2002–06) as of December 16, 2002.

With the access granted to Israel to the Framework Programme for Community RTD, the financial flow was reversed. Instead of the about $20 million a year received by Israeli bodies from the EU, $36.6 million were paid by Israel as its participation fee. Israel's share is calculated on the basis of the percentage of its GNP compared to the total GNP of all contributing countries. Israel's status of "Associated Country" requires financial participation in the FP budget, which reached Euro 150 million for FP5 and Euro 192 million for FP6. In return Israeli organizations, which take part in selected joint EU-Israel projects, can receive a financial contribution from the Commission consisting of the reimbursement of some of the costs incurred. The Israeli contributions are very substantial in comparison with the total expenditure of the Israeli government in support of industrial-scientific research.

The main advantage of working with European bodies is to share risks and costs. On the other hand, about 40 percent of the groups working in the framework program do not envisage any product at all. In September 2003, there were 623 joint research projects associating Israeli groups to the FP5; out of them, 143 were under Israeli coordination. Total estimated European funds to Israeli research reached Euro 163 million in FP5.

At the end of September 2000, the Palestinians started a new Intifada. Five years later, in September 2005, the Palestinians counted more than 3,000 victims, while the Israelis lost more than 1,000 people, mainly civilians. The Palestinians perpetrated many terrorist actions, but obtained no political results, notwithstanding the support they received from the EU.

On April 30, 2003, the U.S. State Department released the text of the "roadmap" to a permanent solution to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. The roadmap specifies the steps for the two parties to take to reach a settlement, and a timeline for doing so, under the auspices of the Quartet – the United States, the European Union, the United Nations, and Russia.

On June 4, 2003, a meeting took place at Aqaba, with President George Bush, King Abdullah of Jordan, Israeli Prime Minister Ariel Sharon, and Palestinian Prime Minister Mahmoud Abbas. In his statement Prime Minister Ariel Sharon referred to the possibility of establishing a Palestinian state within temporary borders, if the conditions for this were met. The Palestinian state will, inter alia, be completely demilitarized. This state will be the home of the Palestinian diaspora; no Palestinian refugees will be permitted to enter the territory of the State of Israel.

On May 1, 2004, the EU was enlarged to 25 Member States and established a new "European Neighborhood Policy" designed to offer its neighbors greater political, security, economic, and cultural cooperation. Policy negotiations with partner countries are meant to bring upon an agreed Action Plan.

On the political level, the discrepancies between the European stand and Israeli policy were most intense during the year 2004 and, sometimes, Israel felt that the Europeans went further than criticizing a policy, but were casting doubt on the legitimacy of the existence of the State of Israel. The European Council of March 25–6, 2004 declared:

> The European Council expressed its deep concern at the situation in the Middle East … following in particular the extra-judicial killing of Hamas leader Sheikh Ahmed Yassin. While having repeatedly condemned terrorist atrocities against Israelis and recognized Israel's right to protect its citizens against terrorist attacks, the European Union has consistently opposed extra-judicial killings, which are contrary to international law.

In July 2004, Javier Solana, the chief representative for foreign policy and security of EU, met Prime Minister Ariel Sharon, who said: "Israel is interested in integrating the international community, mainly Europe, in the peace process with the Palestinians, but without a radical modification of the European stand, mainly regarding the security of Israel and its need of defending itself, it will be very difficult to do so." Solana said on this occasion: "The EU has a role in Middle East peace talks, like it or not."

The EU asked Israel to dismantle its security fence, to freeze the settlements in the territories, to stop extrajudicial executions ("targeted killings"), to guarantee human rights and better living conditions for the Palestinians.

The EU is one of the main contributors of financial aid to the Palestinian Authority and Israel has expressed doubts that a part of its disbursement is not being used for terrorist activities. The European Anti-Fraud Office, OLAF, made an investigation, but did not find enough proof to substantiate the accusation, while at the same time it did not exclude the possibility altogether.

Among the possible causes of the negative stand taken by the EU the following may be indicated: the success of Palestinian propaganda depicting Israel as a demon comparable to the Nazis; the success of the Intifada in influencing public opinion, especially through television; the enormous economic interests of most of the European countries in the Arab countries and their desire to go on selling them huge quantities of arms.

After the death of Yasser Arafat, chairman of the PLO, in November 2004, a new Palestinian leadership agreed to and implemented a kind of truce. Israel, for its part, decided unilaterally to dismantle all 21 of its settlements in the Gaza Strip (*Gush Katif) and from four more settlements in northern

Samaria. Disengagement from the Gaza Strip was completed on September 12, 2005.

The Action Plan with Israel was concluded on December 13, 2004. It allows the possibility for Israel to participate progressively in key aspects of EU policies and programs, to upgrade the scope and intensity of political cooperation, to encourage Israeli legislation as a means to open the EU internal market to Israel, and to achieve greater liberalization of trade, services, and agriculture. The Action Plan identifies, inter alia, as priorities cooperation in the Middle East conflict and other areas, counter-terrorism, non-proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, human rights, improved dialogue between cultures and religions, migration issues, the fight against organized crime and human trafficking and police and judicial cooperation, transport, energy, environment, science and technology, and people-to-people contacts.

On September 15, 2005, Israeli Foreign Minister Silvan Shalom met in New York with Benita Ferrero-Waldner, the European Commissioner for External Relations and European Neighborhood Policy. She said:

> I have also reiterated to Minister Shalom that disengagement has to bring tangible and immediate improvement to the lives of ordinary Palestinians. It has to offer hope to both sides. We are working closely with James Wolfensohn, the Quartet Special Envoy, on ways to revitalize the Palestinian economy. We have offered our help and support to resolve crucial issues such as border crossing, customs and links between West Bank and Gaza.

The Israeli authorities have been very satisfied with the new Action Plan, which extends cooperation to new fields. But it is doubtful that the Israelis really understand that this increased cooperation has a price: to accept the involvement of the EU in the peace process with the Palestinians. Vice Prime Minister Shimon Peres said that eventually a larger Europe will incorporate the Middle East. Then, Israel will certainly ask to be included in the economic network of Europe.

Main Agreements between Israel and the EEC

4 June 1964 Commercial Agreement
29 June 1970 (Preferential) Agreement
11 May 1975 Agreement (Industrial Free Trade Area); *Kitvei Amana*, n. 882.
8 February 1977 Additional Protocol to the Agreement (on Scientific Cooperation); *Kitvei Amana*, n. 924.
18 March 1981 Second Additional Protocol to the Agreement (relating to Greece); *Kitvei Amana*, n. 965.
24 June 1983 Second Financial Protocol, *Kitvei Amana*, n. 966.
18 December 1984 Third Additional Protocol to the Agreement, *Kitvei Amana*, n. 986.
15 December 1987 Fourth Additional Agreement to the Agreement (relating to Portugal and Spain), *Official Journal of the European Communities*, L 327 of 30.11.1988.
15 December 1987 Third Financial Protocol, *Ibidem*.
20 November 1995 Signature of the Association Agreement
1 June 2000 The Association Agreement entered into force
8 March 1999 Agreement for Scientific and Technical Co-operation between the EC and Israel, entered into force
16 December 2002 Israel associated to the 6th Framework Programme
13 December 2004 Action Plan with Israel concluded

[Sergio I. Minerbi (2nd ed.)]

°**EUSEBIUS PAMPHILI** (c. 260–339 C.E.), Church Father and archbishop of Caesarea. Eusebius was born in Caesarea Maritima, where he was a pupil of the priest Pamphilus (c. 240–309), who had studied with Origen. Eusebius was appointed bishop in c. 313. He was associated with imperial court circles and was a devoted admirer of the emperor *Constantine. A scholar in a wide range of fields, Eusebius was a prolific writer on exegesis, history, apologetics, and dogmatics. Especially important is his *Chronicle*, a summary of world history based partly on the Bible. *Historia Ecclesiastica* is a study of Church history in ten volumes (completed in 324) up to the time of the victory of Christianity under Constantine. Important for Church history is his small work on the Christian martyrs of Palestine. He also wrote a biography of Constantine, a panegyric to the emperor who built the first churches in Palestine (notably those at Bethlehem and at Golgotha in Jerusalem).

Eusebius' theological position is reflected in his two great works:

(1) *Praeparatio Evangelica* ("Preparation for Christianity"), in which he proves the Greek views on religion to be baseless, Judaism alone providing the proper foundation for the establishment of religion;

(2) *Demonstratio Evangelica* ("Proof of the Truth of Christianity"), in which he severely criticizes Judaism for failing to perceive that the revelation of God in the Bible was merely a prelude to "the glad tidings [the gospel] of the kingdom of God" and that only in the New Testament do these "glad tidings" appear.

The *Onomasticon* of Eusebius, written between 313 and early 325, contains more than 1,000 place-names mentioned in the Bible and gospels which he arranged alphabetically by books of the Bible, following the Septuagint spelling of the names. The primary aim was for it to be used as a sourcebook to facilitate the reading of the Old Testament with the topography of the Holy Land as its backdrop. At the time of Eusebius, the proper veneration of the places associated with Jesus had still not been fully established and so he would not have deemed it necessary to list such sites in his *Onomasticon*. One assumes that when Eusebius wrote in Greek "one can see this place to this very day…," it meant that he had actually visited the place himself, or that he acquired some reliable first-hand information about it. He was particularly good when it came to places in the hill country and along the coast, but less reliable about far-flung places. There is also information in his work about provinces and administrative districts, about the ethnic makeup of settlements, topography and holy places, and references to roads. The distances, taken from Roman road maps (e.g., the Peutinger Map) and stated in Roman miles, help determine urban boundaries and the course of highways, and they also provide information on the physical geography of the country. Eusebius also consulted the writings of Josephus. He reports that in his time Jews, Christians, and pagans coexisted in the country, with a large number of Jewish villages in his day but only four Christian ones. The *Onomasticon* was also a major source of inspiration for the *Madaba mosaic map of the Holy Land, which is dated to the second half of the sixth century. The mosaicist in some cases even copied Eusebius' mistakes. While this was not in any way a comprehensive listing of all the places in the Bible – a feat Eusebius may very well have intended but never succeeded to do – his work serves as an important source of information on the country in the early fourth century.

In c. 420 the *Onomasticon* was translated into Latin by Jerome who made several additions reflecting the changes that had meanwhile occurred. Extracts from the Syriac version appeared in 1924. Klostermann's edition from 1904 *Das Onomastikon der biblischen Ortsnamen* was until recently the version most frequently referred to by scholars. A translation into Hebrew was made by Ezra Zion Melamed in 1933 and published with a commentary in *Tarbiz* (reprinted as a separate publication in 1966). A translation into English was made by G.S.P. Freeman-Grenville (2003).

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[Michael Avi-Yonah / Shimon Gibson (2nd ed.)]

EUTHANASIA, term denoting "the action of inducing gentle and easy death," first used by the British moral historian W.E.H. Lecky in 1869. Among advocates of this measure to terminate the life of sufferers from incurable or painful disease are many earlier philosophers, Christian as well as pagan, including Plato in his *Republic* (3:405ff.) and Sir Thomas More in his *Utopia* (2:7). The precise Hebrew equivalent for euthanasia, *mitah yafah* ("pleasant death"), occurs several times in the Talmud, though always in connection with the duty to reduce to a minimum the anguish of capital criminals before their execution (e.g., Sanh. 45a), and never in the sense of deliberately hastening the end of persons dying from natural causes. In the Jewish view, life being of infinite worth, any fraction of it is of equally infinite value, and the relief from suffering cannot be purchased at the cost of life itself, whatever other concessions Jewish law may make or urge for the mitigation of pain. Hence, "a patient on his deathbed is considered as a living person in every respect … and it is forbidden to cause him to die quickly … or to move him from his place (lest this hasten his death);… and whoever closes his eyes with the onset of death is regarded as shedding blood" (Sh. Ar., YD 339:1 and gloss). Indeed, killing any innocent person, "whether he is healthy or about to die from natural causes," is legally codified as murder (Maim. Yad, Roẓe'aḥ 2:7). Some recent rabbinical responsa, however, are inclined to sanction the cessation of "heroic" methods to prolong a lingering life without hope of recovery. The withdrawal of treatment under such circumstances might be justified on the basis of the permission to remove from a dying person an extraneous impediment, such as "a clattering noise or salt on his tongue, delaying the departure of his soul" (Sh. Ar., loc. cit., gloss).

The otherwise uncompromising opposition to euthanasia no doubt springs from the life-affirming attitude of Judaism in which, nationally as well as individually, life in misery is to be preferred to death with glory or dignity, a sentiment which stirred the Psalmist to exclaim gratefully: "The Lord hath chastened me sore; but He hath not given me over unto death" (Ps. 118:18). For the same reason, martyrdom is permitted only in the most exceptional circumstances; to lay down one's life, even for the fulfillment of divine laws, when such sacrifice is not required by law, is regarded as a mortal offense (Maim. Yad, Yesodei ha-Torah 5:4).

[Immanuel Jakobovits]

In Nazi Germany

Euthanasia was also a euphemism used by the Nazi regime for the murder of the disabled, a group of human beings defamed as "life unworthy of life." Although Adolf Hitler and his associates talked about "mercy death" their aim was not to shorten the lives of persons with painful terminal diseases but to kill those they considered inferior, who could otherwise have lived for many years.

The belief that mentally and physically disabled human beings should be excluded from a nation's gene pool was a staple argument of the international eugenic movement, in Germany known as racial hygiene, and had led to widespread sterilization of the disabled in various countries, including the United States. The Nazis incorporated the goals of the eugenicists into their racial world view, and on July 14, 1933, only four and a half months after Hitler became chancellor, the German government enacted the Law for the Prevention of Offspring with Hereditary Diseases, the so-called sterilization law mandating the compulsory sterilization of the disabled. This law led to the sterilization of three to four hundred thousand disabled German nationals, representing about 0.5 percent of the German population.

The attack on patients with disabilities in state hospitals and nursing homes during the 1930s had involved sterilization and a reduced standard of care. But this was only the beginning. In 1935 Adolf Hitler told Gerhard Wagner, the Reich physicians' leader, that once war began he would implement the killing of the disabled. As Germany unleashed World War II and Nazi policy became more radical, the regime crossed the line separating traditional eugenic policies from killing operations. Although this radical decision had been initiated by the political leadership, the scientific and medical community did not oppose it, because the idea had circulated since at least 1920, the year the jurist Karl Binding and the psychiatrist Alfred Hoche published *The Authorization for the Destruction of Life Unworthy of Life.*

The first Nazi killing operation was directed against institutionalized disabled patients. It started with the killing of infants and young children born with mental or physical disabilities. Hitler appointed Dr. Karl Brandt, his escorting physician, and Philipp Bouhler, who headed the Chancellery of the Fuehrer (*Kanzlei des Fuehrers*, or KdF), to direct the killing operation, and they in turn designated Viktor Brack, chief of Office II in the KdF, as the person to implement the Fuehrer's order. The so-called children's euthanasia was top-secret and was carried out in various hospitals. There the children were placed in so-called special children's wards; they were killed with an overdose of common barbiturates, and sometimes also through starvation diets.

In September 1939, the killing operation was expanded to include adults. Hitler first appointed Leonardo Conti, state secretary for health in the Reich Ministry of Interior, to direct adult euthanasia, telling him in the presence of Hans Heinrich Lammers and Martin Bormann "that he considered it appropriate that life unfit for living of severely insane patients should be ended by intervention that would result in death." Conti accepted the assignment, but he did not remain in charge long; within a few weeks, Hitler replaced him, turning once again to Brandt and Bouhler as his plenipotentiaries, so that Brack and the KdF could administer adult euthanasia alongside that for children. To avoid implicating the Chancellery, the staff administering the euthanasia killings moved from the KdF into a confiscated Jewish villa at Tiergarten Street number 4 and euthanasia was thus soon known as Operation T4, or simply as T4.

The method used to kill the children could not be used to kill the far larger number of adults. To accomplish its task, T4 therefore constructed killing centers, including gas chambers and crematoria, and developed a killing technique to select, transport, and "process" the victims. And always the killers robbed the corpses of their victims, taking gold teeth and bridge work to enrich the state as well as internal organs to enrich "scientific research." For this purpose, T4 established six killing centers – Brandenburg, Grafeneck, Hartheim, Sonnenstein, Bernburg, and Hadamar – but only four were ever operational at the same time. To hide the killings, T4 used subterfuge to fool the relatives; the killing centers camouflaged as hospitals wrote letters of condolence and issued fraudulent death certificates.

In their 1920 book, Binding and Hoche had argued that euthanasia could only function if the act of this kind of mercy death would be decriminalized, so that physicians would not have to fear prosecution under the murder statute, paragraph 212 of the German penal code, which remained in force throughout the Nazi period. Since Hitler absolutely refused to consider promulgating a euthanasia law, the KdF decided to ask Hitler for written orders, so that they could convince physicians to collaborate. In October 1939, Hitler finally signed a document, more an authorization than an order, that had been prepared by the KdF. But to emphasize that war would not only alter the international status of the Reich but also herald "domestic purification," he predated it to September 1, 1939, the day World War II began. Prepared on Hitler's personal stationery, as if mass murder was his "private affair," but never promulgated or published in any legal gazette, this authorization did not actually have the force of law, but served, nevertheless, as the "legal" basis for the killing operation.

The imposed secrecy did not prevent news of the murder of the disabled to reach the general population. The unrest of victims' relatives posed a danger to the regime, and in August 1941 Hitler therefore ordered a stop to the gassing of the disabled. This order did not, however, end the killing of the disabled; only their gassing in killing centers stopped. Children's euthanasia continued without interruption; adults were murdered in regular hospitals spread throughout the Reich. The T4 killing centers also continued to operate for several years; they were used to kill concentration camp inmates under a killing enterprise known as Operation 14 f13. The Austrian killing center Hartheim near Linz continued in operation until late in 1944 for the killings under 14f13 and later for the murder of prisoners from the nearby Mauthausen concentration camp. Furthermore, a selected number of T4 male staff members were dispatched to Lublin to operate the killing centers of Operation Reinhard: Belzec, Sobibor, and Treblinka. One of those was the Austrian physician Irmfried Eberl, medical director of the T4 killing centers in Brandenburg and Bernburg, who served as the first commandant of Treblinka.

After the war, the perpetrators argued that Jews were never killed in Operation T4, since they did not "deserve" mercy death, and this was believed at the Nuremberg and later trials. But this was not true. Jewish institutionalized disabled patients were included alongside non-Jewish victims from the beginning. In the spring of 1940, however, a decision was made on the highest level to kill Jewish patients as a group. They were concentrated in a number of central institutions, and killed in the closest killing center. But for the Jews there were no letters of condolence; the Jews were supposed to disappear without a trace. In the end, however, T4 did issue fraudulent death certificates long after the victims had been killed; this permitted T4 to extort money for weeks, even months, for upkeep of the already murdered Jewish patients. To accomplish this, T4 claimed the patients had been deported to a non-existent hospital in Cholm in Poland, and issued fraudulent death certificates with that non-existent address.

[Henry Friedlander (2nd ed.)]

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°**EUTROPIUS** (fourth century C.E.), author of a compendium of Roman history. He mentions *Pompey's Judean campaign in 63 B.C.E. and the subjugation of the Jews by *Vespasian (*Breviarium*, 6:14, 16; 7:19).

[Jacob Petroff]

EVANS, ELI (1936–), U.S. administrator and Jewish historian. Evans was born in Durham, North Carolina, where his father served six terms as mayor from 1950 to 1962. His grandmother founded the first southern chapter of the Hadassah organization in the pre-World War I period.

After graduating from the University of North Carolina in 1958, he took a law degree at Yale University in 1963. He worked in various branches of government, state and national, as a speechwriter for President Lyndon Johnson, and as a White House assistant.

In 1973, he published *The Provincials: A Personal History of Jews in the South.* The book provided an insight into the Jewry of the southern United States, which had never been studied in depth previously. One of Evans' most revealing statistics was that more than 45 Jews held mayorships and other leading government positions in southern communities. The book generated a new field of study of southern Jewry.

Turning his focus to philanthropy, in 1977 Evans became the first president of the Revson Foundation, the charitable organization started by Charles Revson, the founder of Revlon. He guided the foundation in four specific areas: urban affairs, with special emphasis on New York City; education; bio-medical research policy; and Jewish philanthropy and education.

In the Jewish field, the foundation made a number of significant gifts. The first major grant helped to underwrite the ten-part television series *Civilization and the Jews*, narrated by Abba Eban. A second gift made possible the production of *Sesame Street* in Hebrew by Israel Education Television. A further large gift was allocated to the Jewish Museum, New York, for its remodeling and expansion to provide an electronics education center on all aspects of Judaism.

In 1988 Evans published a biography of the Civil War secretary of state *Judah P. Benjamin: The Jewish Confederate.* Evans mined previously untapped sources and demonstrated aspects of Benjamin's personality that reflected the continuing strain of his Judaism even though the well-known southerner did not practice his faith. In 1993 he published a collection of essays entitled *The Lonely Days Were Sundays: Reflections of a Jewish Southerner.*

Evans retired from the Revson Foundation in 2003. In 2004 the foundation honored its president emeritus with a substantial financial gift to the Carolina Center for Jewish Studies at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill to establish a program in Evans' name to support outreach activities on campus and in communities across North Carolina. The center, which was established at UNC's College of Arts and Sciences in 2003, engages in teaching and research to explore Jewish history, culture, and religion in the United States and abroad. Involved with the center for Jewish studies since its inception, Evans serves as chairman of the advisory board.

Often referred to as "the poet laureate of southern Jews," Evans has served as the voice, as well as the heart and soul, of both his fellow southerners and fellow Americans.

[David Geffen / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

EVANS, JANE (1907–2004), U.S. Jewish communal leader. Born in New York City, Evans was raised as a Reform Jew in Brooklyn, beginning her lifelong affiliation with the Reform movement. She received her B.A. from Xavier University in Cincinnati and moved to St. Louis in 1928 where she began to work as a designer and taught at the local YM/YWHA. She was recruited from there to become the executive director of the National Federation of Temple Sisterhoods for the *Union of American Hebrew Congregations in 1951. She developed its program on Jewish education and on world peace and through the *World Union of Progressive Judaism expanded the work of the NFTS overseas. She brought the energy and leadership of the NFTS to the Jewish Braille Institute, whose board she had joined in 1933, only two years after it was founded. Under her leadership the Jewish Braille Institute provided resources to the Jewish blind in 40 countries. She eventually became president of the JBI in 1979, three years after her retirement from the UAHC, until 1993 when at the spry age of 86 she stepped down.

A woman of great intellect, integrity, and energy, Evans taught at the New School for Social Research in New York and devoted herself to Jewish and philanthropic causes throughout her long and active life. Widely known as a distinguished national leader, a religious pacifist, and an advocate for human rights, she was a founder and former president of the Jewish Peace Fellowship and former president of the National Peace Conference. She was awarded the Abraham Joshua Heschel Award for peace work in the Jewish tradition. She served on the Commission on Displaced Persons of the American Jewish Conference after World War II.

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[Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

EVANS, ROBERT (1930–), U.S. film producer and actor. Born Robert Shapera in New York, Evans decided to become an actor in elementary school, and at 12 was cast in *Radio Mystery Theater* as a Nazi colonel. At 14 he was a regular talent on the radio program *Let's Pretend*. He changed his name to Evans in middle school, and began to find roles on television. He ventured out to Hollywood, but returned home to work in his brother's women's clothing company, Evan Picone. By 25 he was a millionaire, and at 26 he was rediscovered at a Beverly Hills hotel swimming pool and cast in the Lon Chaney biopic *The Man of a Thousand Faces* (1957) as studio head Irving *Thalberg opposite James Cagney. When the actors, writer, and director disliked working with him on his next film, the adaptation of Earnest Hemingway's *The Sun Also Rises* (1957), 20th Century Fox producer Darryl *Zanuck paid a visit to the Mexican set and said, "The kid stays in the picture. And anybody who doesn't like it can quit!" Evans was inspired by Zanuck's power and decided he wanted to become a producer. He was hired by 20th Century Fox but left Fox before ever making a picture. Tycoon Charles Bludhorn made Evans an offer he couldn't refuse, putting him in charge of Paramount Pictures. Under his leadership, Paramount had a string of hits: *The Odd Couple* (1968), *Rosemary's Baby* (1968), *Goodbye, Columbus* (1969), *Love Story* (1970), and *The Godfather* (1972), which won the Academy Award for best picture. Evans became enamored of actress Ali MacGraw; the couple married in 1969, and had a son, Joshua, before divorcing in 1972 (she left him for Steve McQueen whom she had met on the set of the Evans production *The Getaway*). Evans left Paramount to produce his own films, most notably *Chinatown* (1974), *Marathon Man* (1976), *Black Sunday* (1977), and *Urban Cowboy* (1980). Drug abuse, drug charges, and other scandals as well as two box-office bombs, *The Cotton Club* (1984) and *The Two Jakes* (1990), sunk his career. Broke but unbowed, Evans wrote his memoir *The Kid Stays in the Picture* in 1994, which became a bestseller and a cult favorite audio classic, later adopted by the Library of Congress. Evans was rewarded by a renewed deal at Paramount Studios. In 2003, he provided the voice for an animated cartoon, *Kid Notorious*, based on his exploits. Later film projects include producing the film *How to Lose a Guy in 10 Days* (2003).

[Adam Wills (2nd ed.)]

EVE (Heb. חַוָּה, Ḥavvah), the first woman, wife of *Adam, and mother of the human race. After Adam had reviewed and assigned names to the animals, but had not found a suitable mate among them, God put him to sleep, removed one of his ribs, and formed it into a woman. Adam immediately recognized this being as an integral part of himself, his own bone and flesh, and called her "Woman" (Heb. *ʿishah*) because she was taken "from Man" (Heb. *ʿish*). (Unlike the two English words, the Hebrew ones are completely unrelated etymologically, despite their outward resemblance.) For this reason, a man leaves his father and mother and clings to his wife so that two become one (Gen. 2:23–24).

It was the woman whom the serpent induced to eat the forbidden fruit of the tree of knowledge of good and evil, and she in turn gave some to her husband to eat. It brought them intellectual maturity (some say also sexual awareness, but this was more likely born with the first recognition of physical kinship; see above), and earned for the woman the pain of childbirth and subjection to her husband, and for the man drudgery. After this incident, Adam named his wife Eve Ḥavvah because she was "the Mother of all Living" (Gen. 3:20), an epithet with strong mythical overtones suggesting that Eve was originally a goddess who was demythologized by the biblical writer. The Greek translates the name as *Zōē* ("life"), in keeping with the wordplay. Rabbinic exegesis, however, connected the name with Aramaic *ḥewyā* ("serpent"), and observed that the serpent was her undoing and that she was her husband's "serpent." This etymology has been revived in recent times by the connection of the name with a *ḥwt*, probably Hawwat, a Phoenician deity attested in a stela from Carthage in North Africa, and on urns from Cagliari in Italy. That she was a serpent-goddess is based only on the Aramaic etymology.

In biblical Hebrew (Job 18:12) *ṣēlāʿ* is an epithet meaning "wife." Eve's creation from Adam's rib or side (Heb. *ṣēlāʿ*) provides the epithet with an etiology. The Sumerian Paradise Myth of Enki and Ninḫursag provides another possible sidelight on the role of the rib in the biblical story. When Enki had a pain in his rib, Ninḫursag caused the goddess Nin-ti, "Lady of the Rib," to be born from him. The Sumerian logogram *ti* means both "rib" and "life," and it may be that the Mesopotamian "Rib Lady" lies behind the rib/life motif in the biblical story.

Eve gave birth to Cain and Abel (Gen. 4:1–2), and after Abel was murdered, she gave birth to Seth as a replacement (Gen. 4:25). The etiology of women's sexual subjugation to their husbands (Gen 4:16) is extended in the New Testament. According to I Tim. 2:14, the story of Eve's creation after Adam and the fact that she, not he, was deceived justify female subjection to men and their exclusion from speaking roles in the church. Although nothing further is related of Eve in the Bible, her figure continues to generate an enormous amount of feminist and theological literature.

[Marvin H. Pope / S. David Sperling (2nd ed.)]

In the *Aggadah*

Eve was created from the 13th rib on Adam's right side (Targ. Jon., Gen. 2:21) after Adam's first wife, *Lilith, left him. God chose not to create her from Adam's head, lest she be swell-headed; nor from his eye, lest she be a flirt; nor from his ear, lest she be an eavesdropper; nor from his mouth, lest she be a gossip; nor from his heart, lest she be prone to jealousy; nor from his hand, lest she be thievish; nor from his foot, lest she be a gadabout (Gen. R. 18:2). As soon as Adam beheld Eve, who was exceedingly beautiful (BB 58a), he embraced and kissed her. He called her *Ishah* (אישה), and himself *Ish* (איש), the addition of the letter *yod* to his name and the letter *he* to hers indicating that as long as they walked in a godly path, the Divine Name (Yod-He) would protect them against all harm. However, if they went astray, His Name would be withdrawn, and there would remain only *esh* (אש, "fire"), which would consume them. Ten resplendent bridal canopies, studded with gems, pearls, and gold, were erected for Eve by God, who Himself gave her away in marriage and pronounced the blessings, while angels danced and beat timbrels and stood guard over the bridal chamber (PdRE 12).

*Samael (Satan), prompted by jealousy, chose the serpent to mislead Eve (PdRE 13). According to another tradition, the serpent itself wished to lead Eve to sin since it desired her (Sot. 9b; Shab. 196a). The serpent approached Eve rather than Adam since it knew that women are more readily persuaded (ARN^{1} 1:4). Initially, Eve hesitated to eat the fruit itself, and only did so after touching the tree and discovering that no harm befell her (Yal., Gen. 26). Immediately she saw the Angel of Death before her. Expecting her end to be imminent, she resolved to make Adam also eat of the forbidden fruit lest he take another wife after her death (PdRE 13). Nine curses and death were pronounced on Eve in consequence of her disobedience (PdRE 1). Eve conceived and bore Cain and Abel, according to one view, on the day of her expulsion from Eden (Gen. R. 22:2). Afterward Adam and Eve lived apart for 130 years (Er. 18b). After they were reunited, she bore Seth (Gen. R. 23:5). When Eve died, she was interred beside Adam in the cave of Machpelah in Hebron (PdRE 20).

In Christian Tradition

The New Testament mentions the deception of Eve as a warning to Christians (II Cor. 11:3), and stresses Adam's precedence in support of the view that women ought to be submissive and find their fulfillment in childbearing (I Tim. 2:11–15; cf. I Cor. 11:8–12). While Eve does not figure as a type in the New Testament, Paul's doctrine of the "New Adam" (i.e., Jesus) and his implicit comparison of Eve and the Church (Eph. 5:22–23) anticipate the development of later Christian typology according to which the creation of Eve from Adam's rib represents the emergence of the Church from the open wound in the side of Jesus upon the cross.

Justin, Irenaeus, and other Church Fathers compared and contrasted Eve, the first woman, and Mary, the mother of Jesus. Mary is seen as "new Eve," a title which Paul assigned to the Church collectively. The disobedience and the infidelity of the first (who, like Mary, was married and a virgin at the time of sin) is contrasted with and followed by the obedience and faith of the second. Eve is thus restored to wholeness in the Virgin Mary as Adam is in Jesus. Protestants, in their opposition to the Catholic veneration of Mary, did not develop this typology (see *Adam in Christianity).

In Islam

Eve (Ar. Ḥawwāʾ), the name of Adam's wife, is not mentioned expressly in the Koran; she is called the "spouse" in the tale of their sinning against Allah, having been influenced by Iblīs, the Satan (7:18, 20:115). Nevertheless, this name is found in three poems of the old-Arabic poetry, one of *Umayya ibn Abī-al-Ṣalt and two of ʿAdī ibn Zayd, a Christian living in the times of Muhammad. (The third poem is suspected to be a falsification.)

For Eve in the arts, see *Adam, In the Arts.

[Haïm Z'ew Hirschberg]

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EVENARI, MICHAEL (originally **Walter Schwarz**; 1904–1989), Israel botanist. Born in France, Evenari went to Ereẓ Israel in 1933, having carried out plant research in universities in France, Czechoslovakia, and Germany. He joined the Hebrew University in 1934. During World War II he served in the Jewish Brigade and after returning to civilian life, lectured at several U.S. and South American universities. From 1952 to 1957 Evenari was dean of the faculty of science at the Hebrew University and headed the botany department as professor of plant physiology. He served as vice president of the Hebrew University from 1953 to 1959. Evenari's main fields of research were the study of the influence of red and infra-red light on the germination of seeds, and the determination of the food value of algae for livestock and their large-scale cultivation. With a grant from the Rockefeller Foundation, Evenari carried out research on the methods used by *Nabateans, Romans, and Byzantines to maintain a thriving agricultural existence in the northern Negev in spite of the low annual rainfall of the area. He set up experimental farms at *Shivta and *Avedat based on archaeological findings in the area. Evenari served on several UNESCO bodies, dealing with arid zone development.

EVEN HA-TO'IM (Heb. אֶבֶן הַטּוֹעִים or הַטֹּעַן), a stone in Jerusalem, It is mentioned once in the Mishnah (Ta'an. 3:8) in the story of *Onias (Ḥoni) the circle drawer. When asked to pray that the rains cease, he answered: "Go and see if the *even ha-to'im* has been washed away," indicating that just as it was impossible for it to be washed away so was it impossible to pray for the rain to cease. This picturesque reply is reminiscent of one in the Jerusalem Talmud showing that praying for the cessation of rain is unnecessary (Ta'an. 3:11, 67a). An anonymous Aramaic passage in the Jerusalem Talmud (Ta'anit 3:11, 66d) interprets the *even ha-to'im* as a place where "one who lost an item would receive it from there, and one who found an item would bring it to there." A similar tradition is reflected in a *baraita* found in the Babylonian Talmud (BM 28b) which mentions the *even ha-to'an* in connection with the return of lost property during the Second Temple period. People who had lost or found objects in Jerusalem and on the road to the capital met by the side of this stone: "The one stood and announced his find and the other submitted evidence of ownership and received it." According to these traditions, the name is to be interpreted as "the stone for those wandering," i.e., in search of someone or something. The reading *even ha-to'an* ("the claimant's stone") is faulty (Dik. Sof., *ibid.*), and any conclusions deriving from it are therefore invalid.

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[Jacob Eliahu Ephrathi]

EVEN-OR, MARY (1939–1989), Israeli composer. Even-Or studied at the Music Teachers' Seminary in Tel Aviv in 1959, the Oranim Seminary in 1960–62, and with Yehezkel *Braun. She studied law at Tel Aviv University and music in 1976–80 at the Rubin Academy of Music in Tel Aviv and Tel Aviv University. Even-Or was a member of the Israel Composers' League from 1980; from 1981 she was a member of ACUM and of the International Association of Women Composers. Her works include *Dances* for flute, clarinet, violin, bass, and percussion (1961); *Dreams* for flute, clarinet, and guitar (1977); *Music for Strings* (1979); *Espressioni Musicali* for choir a cappella (1981); *Cardioyada* for brass quintet (1981); *Musikinesis* for symphony orchestra (1983).

[Ury Eppstein (2nd ed.)]

EVEN SHEMUEL (Kaufmann), JUDAH (1886–1976), Israel educator, lexicographer, and writer. Even Shemuel was born in Balta, Ukraine, and received a yeshivah education. He studied in various countries and his thesis at Dropsie College, Philadelphia, "Rabbi Yomtov Lipman Muelhausen…" (1927), contained his edition of *Muelhausen's *Sefer ha-Eshkol.* From 1913 he was active in the Zionist Labor movement in Montreal, Canada, and became the first principal of its teachers training college. As a contributor to *Ha-Toren* and the *Zukunft* and a lecturer on Jewish philosophy and sociology, he gained a reputation as a spiritual guide of the movement. He also tried to reconcile the Hebraists with the Yiddishists.

Even Shemuel settled in Palestine in 1926 at the invitation of the Devir publishing house to edit, with Ḥ.N. *Bialik, I. *Efros, and B. *Silkiner, an English-Hebrew dictionary (1929; 29th and revised repr. 1963). He continued his cultural activities in the Histadrut and became the first general secretary of the Friends of the Hebrew University. When the *Va'ad Le'ummi established a cultural division, Even Shemuel was appointed its head, remaining there until 1947. He received the Israel Prize in Jewish studies in 1973.

His principal scholarly work is a vocalized edition of Maimonides' *Guide of the Perplexed* in Samuel ibn Tibbon's Hebrew translation (3 vols., 1935–60), with introductions, extensive commentary, and notes. A one-volume edition of the whole work with a short introduction appeared in 1946. Even Shemuel also published *Midreshei Ge'ullah* (1943, 1954^{2}), an anthology of messianic and apocalyptic literature from the conclusion of the Talmud to the 13th century. He edited various volumes in fields of Jewish scholarship.

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EVEN SHETIYYAH (Heb. אֶבֶן שְׁתִיָּה), tannaitic term which was understood in two ways in talmudic times: "the rock from which the world was woven, and "the foundation rock." Both meanings presuppose the belief that the world was created from the rock which, placed at the center of the world in the Holy of Holies (*Devir*) of the Temple in Jerusalem, constitutes the focal point of the world. The Holy Ark was placed upon this rock, and during the Second Temple period the high priest rested the fire-pan on it when he entered the Holy of Holies on the Day of Atonement. The Mishnah (Yoma 5:2) states that the rock had been at the site of the *Devir* since "the time of the early prophets" (i.e., David and Solomon); that it was three finger breadths higher than the ground; and that it was called *shetiyyah*. However, R. *Yose b. Halafta (Tosef., Yoma 3:6) explains the term as having cosmogonic significance and the subsequent Midrash is based on this view. The Mishnah clearly dates the placing of the stone to the time of the Temple's construction and ignores the mythological dimension; other tannaitic views similarly deny that the creation was initiated at Zion (Yoma 54b). The mishnaic source may have antedated the cosmogonic belief; it may have postdated it and rejected it; or it may have assumed that it was the cosmogenetic rock that was brought to the Temple site. The later Midrash states that the entire Temple was founded upon the rock, and that the stone was possessed of magical properties.

The relationship of the *even shetiyyah* to the rock presently housed under the Dome of the Rock (the "Mosque of Omar") built on the Temple Mount is not fully clear. Muslim tradition identifies the two, and this is the view most widely held today. The major difficulty here is the size: the rock housed in the Dome of the Rock measures approximately 58 by 51 feet, an area larger than the entire Holy of Holies in which the *even shetiyyah* was found. The later Midrash does state, though, that the entire Temple was based on this rock, which, it implies, merely broke through in the Holy of Holies. In medieval times it was thought that the ground around the rock had been worn away by violence and the erosion of centuries, revealing it in its present magnitude (cf. Radbaz, Responsa, 2 (1882), nos. 639, 691). A second theory states that the rock under the Dome is not the *even shetiyyah* but the foundation-rock of the great altar of holocausts; the cave under the rock would then have served to collect ashes and other sacrificial refuse. In that case, the Holy of Holies would have stood to the west of the present Dome of the Rock, which presents architectural and topographical difficulties.

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[Gerald Y. Blidstein]

EVEN-SHOSHAN, AVRAHAM (1906–1984), Hebrew educator, writer, and editor. His father, Chaim David Rosenstein (1871–1934), was an educator and Zionist leader, who was imprisoned by the Soviet government for his activities. Avraham was born in Minsk, and went to Palestine in 1925. He served as teacher and principal in a number of schools, and from 1954 until 1968 was director of the Bet ha-Kerem Teachers Institute in Jerusalem. His first literary efforts appeared in a children's magazine (*Ittonenu*) which he helped edit (1932–36). Subsequently he published stories, poems, and plays for children, and translated children's books into Hebrew. He is best known for a monumental Hebrew dictionary which he compiled, *Millon Ḥadash Menukkad u-Mezuyyar* ("New Vocalized and Illustrated Dictionary"), which originally appeared in five volumes and a supplementary volume (1947–58); a seven-volume edition subsequently appeared, which is now also available in other formats. His *Concordance to the Bible* listing and explaining the words and expressions of the Bible appeared between 1977 and 1979. Even-Shoshan was awarded the Israel Prize in 1978 and the Bialik Prize in 1981. His brother SHELOMO EVEN-SHOSHAN (1910–) was one of the founders of kibbutz Sedeh Naḥum. He contributed poems, stories, and articles to the labor press and from 1944 was one of the editors at the Kibbutz ha-Me'uḥad publishing house. His books include an appreciation of Yiẓḥak *Katzenelson and translations from Soviet Russian literature.

[Getzel Kressel]

EVENTOV, YAKIR (**Drago Steiner**; 1901–1984), journalist and historian.

Born in Koprivnica, Yugoslavia, he lived and worked in Zagreb until his immigration to Palestine. A Zionist activist from his youth in the Ha-Po'el ha-Ẓa'ir branch in Yugoslavia, he edited the Zionist weekly *Židov* and an "Anthology of Hebrew Literature," to which he contributed his own translations.

Arriving in Palestine in 1934, he spent a year in kibbutz Merḥavyah; the next year he joined the staff of the Haifa Electric Corporation and worked there until his retirement. He devoted all his spare time to the study of Jewish history, producing with the assistance of C. *Rotem a volume entitled "History of the Jews in Yugoslavia" (1979), the first work in Hebrew on the subject.

With his wife, Ethel, he initiated in 1955, and directed from his home in Haifa, an archival collection of documents and materials on Jewish life in all parts of Yugoslavia. It was called the Museum and Historical Section of the Association of Immigrants from Yugoslavia. After the Eventovs' death, the collection was renamed in their honor the Eventov Archives, and in 1986 it was transferred to Jerusalem, where it became part of the Central Archives for the History of the Jewish People.

[Zvi Loker (2nd ed.)]

EVEN YEHUDAH (Heb. אֶבֶן יְהוּדָה), rural settlement in central Israel, 4⅓ mi. (7 km.) southeast of Netanyah. The settlement area consists of 3.2 sq. mi. (8.3 sq. km.). It was founded in 1932 by the members of the *Benei Binyamin movement. Two neighboring villages, Be'er Gannim and Tel Ẓur, later merged with it. In 1950 it received municipal council status. The youth village Hadassim was also included in its boundaries. Citrus orchards constituted the principal branch of its economy. In the early 1970s the settlement began to decline. However, after the Yom Kippur War there was an influx of new residents, so that the population grew from 4,000 in 1968 to 8,480 in 2002, with income much higher than the national average. It is named after Eliezer *Ben-Yehuda.

WEBSITE: www.even-yehuda.mumi.il.

[Efraim Orni / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

EVEN YIẒḤAK (Heb. אֶבֶן יִצְחָק), kibbutz in Israel, in the Manasseh Hills of Samaria, affiliated with Iḥud ha-Kibbutzim, founded on March 11, 1945, by pioneers from Germany, many of whom had been hiding in Holland under Nazi occupation from 1940. They were joined by Jews from other countries.

Farming was based on field crops, fruit, and livestock. The kibbutz owned two factories: a plastics plant in partnership with Kibbutz Mishmar ha-Emek, and a biochemical plant. In 2002 the population was 393. The settlement, named after the South African Zionist Isaac Ochberg, is generally known as "Gal Ed" (Monument"), a memorial to the settlers' comrades who perished in the Holocaust.

WEBSITE: www.megido.org.il.

[Efraim Orni]

EVER HADANI (pseudonym of **Aharon Feldman**; 1899–1972), Hebrew writer. Born near Pinsk, he immigrated to Palestine in 1913, and after serving with the Jewish Legion during World War I, lived in the kibbutzim Maḥanayim and Kefar Giladi. He edited agricultural publications and from 1948 worked in the Israel Ministry of Agriculture. Apart from his publications in many newspapers, he wrote several novels, including *Ẓerif ha-Eẓ* ("The Wood Hut," 1930), an early romantic novel about Israel's pioneers, and the trilogy *Nahalolim* ("Brambles," 1935); but the bulk of his writing was devoted to the history of Jewish settlement in Galilee and Samaria. Among his dozen books on this subject are *Ha-Shomer* (1931) and *Ḥakla'ut ve-Hityashevut be-Yisrael* (1958). His collected works appeared in seven volumes (1968).

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[Getzel Kressel]

EVER MIN HA-HAI (Heb. אֵבֶר מִן הַחַי; "a limb from a living animal"), designation of the biblical injunction against removal of a limb or of a piece of flesh from a living animal and its consumption. Deuteronomy 12:23 states "and thou shalt not eat the life with the flesh." The prohibition forms part of the Jewish *dietary laws and is one of the seven Noachian Laws (derived from Gen. 9:4), which, according to rabbinic view, are incumbent on non-Jews as well (Sanh. 56a–b; see also Ḥul. 101b–102a; Maim., Yad, Ma'akhalot Asurot 5:1–15; Sh. Ar., YD 62).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: ET, 1 (1947), 48–51; Eisenstein, Dinim, 7.

EVIAN CONFERENCE, conference of 32 nations convened but not attended by President Franklin Delano Roosevelt on July 6–14, 1938, at the Hôtel Royal in Evian on the French side of Lake Geneva to consider the plight of refugees – the euphemistic way of referring to the Jewish question. The conference was convened against the backdrop of the German incorporation of Austria in March 1938, which sparked a massive exodus of Jews to any country willing to receive them. Convening the conference was the first American government initiative regarding refugees.

The Evian Conference was conceived by President Roosevelt as a grand gesture in response to mounting pressure in the United States to do something about the refugee problem. The call for the conference was greeted warmly by the American Jewish community but it also triggered a hostile reaction from American isolationist and anti-immigration forces. Thomas Jenkins, one of those who wanted to restrict immigration, accused the president of going "on a visionary excursion into the warm fields of altruism. He forgets the cold winds of poverty and penury that are sweeping over the one third of our people who are ill clothed, ill housed, ill fed." American Jews and their allies were pressing the admission of greater numbers of immigrants. Restrictionist forces kept reminding the president of the Depression, of the domestic agenda, and of the need to put America first. Roosevelt sought to balance both concerns, to assuage but also not to provoke. Walking such a political tightrope hampered any effort to pressure the international community. Internationally, Romania flatly refused to attend; it wanted to get rid of its Jews, not to import new ones, and Switzerland spurned an invitation to host the conference.

The very invitation to the conference gave an indication of its reluctance to act. Attending countries were assured that "no country would be expected to receive more immigrants than were permitted under existing laws." Nor would any government be expected to subsidize refugees: all new programs would have to be funded by private agencies. American isolationists were assuaged by the understanding that U.S. quota system for immigrants would not be touched. Britain was told that Palestine would not be on the agenda. Two days after Roosevelt's announcement of the Evian Conference, Hitler issued a characteristic statement:

> I can only hope that the other world which has such deep sympathy for these criminals [Jews] will at least be generous enough to convert this sympathy into practical aid. We on our part are ready to put all these criminals at the disposal of these countries, for all I care, even on luxury ships.

The United States delegation was not headed by the president or the vice president, nor by Secretary of State Cordell Hull or Undersecretary Summer Welles. Instead, Roosevelt nominated Myron C. Taylor, a businessman who was one of his close friends. Great Britain also sent a special delegation. The other nations used their diplomats in the region. Foreign leaders got the message. The French premier told his British counterpart that the American president was acting to soothe public opinion. Under these circumstances, little was expected or accomplished.

For nine days the delegates met at the Hôtel Royal, along with representatives of 39 private relief agencies, 21 of them Jewish. The world press gave the event extensive coverage.

Delegates from each country rose in turn to profess their sympathy with the plight of the refugees. They also offered plausible excuses for declining to open their countries' doors. Britain had no room on its small island and refused to open Palestine to Jewish refugees. The United States spoke abstractly about "political" refugees, using the euphemism to glide over the fact that most of the refugees were Jewish. It would fill its quota, but do no more.

The Australian delegate was more candid. "We don't have a racial problem and we don't want to import one," he said. For Canada, still in the midst of the Depression, "none was too many." Canada would, however, accept farmers – small comfort for the urbanized Jews seeking to leave Germany. Colombia's delegate could not resign himself to believe "that two thousand years of Christian civilization must lead to this terrible catastrophe." In any case, his country could offer nothing. The Venezuelan delegate was reluctant to disturb the "demographic equilibrium" of his country. No Jewish merchants, peddlers, or intellectuals were wanted in Venezuela.

Holland and Denmark were ready to extend temporary asylum to a few refugees. Only the Dominican Republic made a generous offer to receive Jews. In the end, however, few came. Even though an inter-governmental group was established at Evian to coordinate policy, the tidal wave of refugees soon overwhelmed the few offers of assistance. The German Foreign Office viewed the conference with considerable interest and sensed in it a vindication of its own attitudes toward the Jews:

> Since in many countries it was recently regarded as wholly incomprehensible why Germany did not wish to preserve in its population an element like the Jews … it appears astounding that countries seem in no way anxious to make use of these elements themselves now that the opportunity offers.

At that point in time, the announced policy of Nazi Germany was the emigration – forced or otherwise – of the Jews. The Evian Conference demonstrated that forced emigration would not work since no country – or groups of countries – were willing to receive the Jews in numbers adequate to make Germany "*judenrein*." As events unfolded, the Jewish problem became more acute but four months later when the events of the November pogrom of **Kristallnacht* triggered a tidal wave of Jewish emigration and over the course of the next two years as Germany invaded country after country, more and more Jews came under its control and the problem of what to do with the Jews became ever more acute, ever less solvable by means of emigration.

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[Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

EVIDENCE.

Non-Evidentiary Proceedings in Biblical Law

The revelation of divine law is found not only in legislation but also in adjudication in particular cases (cf. Lev. 24:12–13; Num. 15:32–34; 27:1–8; Deut. 1:17), whether through Moses or judges or priests (Ex. 28:30; Num. 27:21; Deut. 17:9–12; 21:5; 33:8–10), and God requires no evidence: He is all knowing and His decision is infallible (cf. Gen. 31:50). That adjudications without evidence continued to survive in judicial, nondivine proceedings is demonstrated by the report of the trial held by King Solomon between the two women each claiming the same child (I Kings 3:24–25) and by contemporaneous trial reports from other civilizations. Judges appear to have devised their own tests of credibility.

Evidentiary Proceedings in Biblical Law

The existence and availability of human witnesses and other modes of proof seem from earliest times to have been part of judicial proceedings (cf. Ex. 22:9, 12). Witnesses appear to have testified to the facts prior to God being asked to pronounce the law (Num. 15:32–35); and eventually it came about that a person "able to testify, as one who has either seen or known of the matter," was guilty of an offense if he failed to come forward and testify (Lev. 5:1).

Evidence in Criminal Cases

PROOF OF GUILT. Biblical law had already established that in criminal cases the evidence of at least two witnesses is a *sine qua non* of any conviction and punishment (Deut. 17:6; 19:15). This rule appears to have applied both in judicial and in priestly adjudications (cf. Deut. 19:17), and was interpreted as prescribing a minimum burden of proof, from which no later legal development could in any way derogate.

Post-biblical law thus concentrated on devising measures to assure the greatest possible reliability of witnesses' testimony: they were cautioned by the court that they would be rigorously cross-examined, that they must not rely on hearsay or on opinions, and that they must be conscious of their grave responsibility – since a human life was at stake (Sanh. 4:5). They were in fact subjected to cross-examination by the court – each witness separately – and their evidence would not be accepted unless their respective testimonies were found to be consistent with each other in all relevant particulars (Sanh. 5:1–4; Maim. Yad, Sanh. 12:1–3; for particulars of the cross-examination of witnesses and their qualifications, see *Witness).

The further rule was evolved that it was not sufficient for witnesses to testify to the commission of the offense by the accused: they also had to testify that the accused had been warned by them beforehand against committing that particular offense (*hatra'ah*) – that is, that the accused knew that in committing the act he was violating the law (Tosef. Sanh. 11, 1; Sanh. 8b; et al.). Elaborate rules were laid down for the identification of the accused by the witnesses, and where the court was not satisfied beyond any doubt as to such identification, the accused was discharged even before the witnesses were examined on the merits of the case (Maim. *ibid.*). According to some scholars, he was also thus discharged where the victim of the offense had not been identified by the witnesses to the satisfaction of the court (see *Leḥem Mishneh, ibid.*).

EVIDENCE IN DEFENSE. Whereas a witness testifying in a criminal case was not allowed to raise a point in defense of or against the accused (Maim. Yad, Edut 5:8) – a witness being disqualified from performing the function of a judge – when the evidence of the prosecuting witnesses had been found admissible and *prima facie* conclusive, public announcements had to be made inviting any person able to raise a point in favor (*zekhut*) of the accused, to come forward and speak (Sanh. 6:1). While the charge against the accused could be proved only by the *viva voce* evidence of witnesses, any shred of evidence from which a defense could be inferred would be used in his favor (Rashi, Sanh. 42b). For this purpose, a favorable point is not necessarily a rebuttal of the testimony of the prosecuting witnesses, but merely any fact or circumstance likely to arouse in the mind of the court a doubt as to the guilt of the accused; hence such points did not automatically result in an acquittal, but they were sufficient justification for the case to be remitted to the court for reconsideration – even four or five times. There is no explicit presumption of innocence in Jewish law; the requirements of proof of guilt are, however, so stringent and rigorous, and the possibilities of establishing a valid defense so wide and flexible, that a conviction is much more difficult and an acquittal much easier to obtain than under a rebuttable presumption of innocence.

POST-TALMUDIC LAW. In talmudic law the standards of proof required, even in criminal cases, were largely reduced where the jurisdiction rested on considerations of the "emergency" (*hora'at sha'ah;* see *Extraordinary Remedies). After the virtual cessation of jurisdiction in capital cases (see *Capital Punishment), and particularly in post-talmudic law, all criminal jurisdiction rested on considerations of "emergency" to which the provisions relating to the dispensation from the normal rules of evidence and procedure were held to apply. The rules of evidence prevailing in the Sanhedrin were held inapplicable in the courts of the Diaspora, when they were called upon to enforce public order by the imposition of *fines or *flogging (Resp. Rashba, vol. 4, no. 311).

Evidence in Civil Cases

BURDEN OF PROOF. It was in the law of evidence in civil cases in which the genius of the talmudic jurists, unfettered by scriptural restrictions, could develop fully. The obstacle that there was to be "one manner of law" (Lev. 24:22) in criminal and civil cases alike (Sanh. 4:1) was overcome with the assertion that the Torah takes pity on the money (property) of the people of Israel, and if the standards of proof in civil cases were as strict and rigorous as in criminal cases, nobody would lend his neighbor any money anymore, for fear the borrower would deny his debt or the memory of a witness would fail him (TJ, Sanh. 4:1). Accordingly, a balance had to be struck between the exigencies of formal justice which required the burden of proof to be on the initiator of the proceedings (Sif. Deut. 16; BK 46b) and commercial and judicial convenience which required the greatest possible elasticity in handling and discharging that burden.

PRESUMPTION OF RIGHTFUL POSSESSION. The fundamental rule that the plaintiff has the burden of proving his claim (*ha-moẓi mi-ḥavero alav ha-re'ayah*) is based on the presumption (**ḥazakah*) of the rightful possession by the defendant of the chose in action – i.e., the thing (or money) claimed (*ḥezkat mamon*): so long as the defendant's possession was not proved to be unrightful, it will not be disturbed – hence a defendant in possession is always in a better position than the plaintiff (Shevu'ot 46; Maim. Yad, To'en ve-Nitan, 8:1; Sh. Ar., ḤM 133:1). But in order to raise the presumption of title, the possession must be accompanied by a claim of right (BB 3:3 and Codes); where the defendant in possession does not claim a specific right thereto, the burden is shifted to him to prove a right to retain the chose in action. Or where a claim is made according to custom, and the defense (that is, the possession) is contrary to custom, such as in a claim for workmen's wages (TJ, BM 7:1, 11b), the presumption of rightfulness operates in favor of the plaintiff and shifts the burden of proof onto the defendant. In an action between heirs, where the defendant has seized part of the estate, his claim of right is not any better than that of the plaintiff, and he will have to prove that his possession is rightful (Yev. 37b and Tos. *ibid.*). Where a man was seen to take a chattel out of a house, it was held to be on him to prove that he took it rightfully (BB 33b; Hai Gaon, *Sefer ha-Mikkaḥ ve-ha-Mimkar*, ch. 40), presumably because his possession was too recent to give rise to any presumption to that effect. Conversely, past possession which had meanwhile ceased (*ḥezkat mara kamma*) would give rise to a presumption of title only where the other party was not in possession either (BM 100a). These rules do not apply to possession of land and houses but only of money and chattels – for lands and other immovables there must be an uninterrupted possession of three years (BB 3:1), coupled with a claim of right (BB 3:3), in order to give rise to a presumption of title.

PRESUMPTIONS AND QUASI-PRESUMPTIONS OF CONDUCT. In order to mitigate the burden of proof and to simplify the judicial process, the sages have, presumably from their own accumulated judicial experience, established a vast number of quasi-presumptions, rooted in the psychology of human conduct, which apply to every litigant before the court, unless and until the contrary is proved. To give a few examples: a man does not waste his words or his money in vain without good cause (Ket. 58b, 10a); nor will he stand by inactive when his money is taken or his property endangered (Shab. 117b, 120b, 153a; Sanh. 72b) or when a wrong is being done or threatened to him (BB 60a). A man does not pay a debt before it falls due (BB 5a–b); nor does a man tolerate defects in a thing sold to him (Ket. 75b–76a). On the other hand, no man buys a chattel without having first seen and examined it *(ibid.).* A debtor will not easily lie in the face of his creditor (BM 3a), nor a wife in the face of her husband (Ket. 22b), nor anybody in the face of a man who must know the truth (Tos. Ket. 18a; BK 107a). A man is not expected to remember things which do not concern him (Shevu. 34b). A man will not leave his house empty and his household unprovided for (Ket. 107a). However, he is apt to understate his fortune so as not to appear rich (BB 174b–175a), and will rather have one ounce of his own than nine ounces of his neighbor's (BM 38a); nor will he sell and dispose of any of his goods unless he has to (BB 47b). No man commits a wrong unless for his own benefit (BM 5b) and the purpose of an act is its normal consequence ("everybody knows why the bride gets married"; Shab. 33a). No person is lighthearted in the hour of his death (BB 175a), or defrauds the Temple treasury (*hekdesh;* Shevu. 42b; Ar. 23a). Apart from such general presumptions, there are special ones relating to particular contracts or offices, as for example the presumption that an agent has duly performed the duties of his agency (Git. 64a), or that a priest has duly performed the duties of his office (TJ, Shek. 7:2, 50c).

PRESUMPTIONS OF CREDIBILITY (*NE'EMANUT*). Much stronger than these general and special presumptions of conduct are two further categories of presumptions, which are – theoretically at least – irrebuttable (comparable to, but not identical with, the Roman *praesumptiones iuris et de iure*). One is the presumption of credibility (*ne'emanut*) and the other is the presumption of common sense (*umdana mukhaḥat*).

The presumption of credibility is primarily based on the notion that the party or witness concerned has an intimate knowledge of the matter in issue and has no reason to distort it. Thus, where a man says he has divorced his wife, his word is taken as conclusive for the court to permit her remarriage – because the matter is within his own knowledge, and he has no reason to distort it, as he could even now divorce her any time (BB 134b–135a, but see Maim. Gerushin 12:5; Sh. Ar., EH 152:1; see also *Divorce). Or, a woman is believed when she says that her first husband has divorced her – because the matter is within her own knowledge and she need not have disclosed her previous marriage at all (*ha-peh she-asar hu ha-peh she-hittir;* Ket. 2:5). Or, an action will not lie for land which the defendant had told the plaintiff he had bought from the plaintiff's father, although the defendant could not prove the purchase: he will be believed that he bought it, because he need not have disclosed that it had ever belonged to the plaintiff's father in the first place (Ket. 2:2). The law would be different where the ownership of the plaintiff's father could be proved by witnesses (*ibid.*).

Some of these irrebuttable presumptions of credibility are based on Scripture, e.g., where a father says he has given his daughter in marriage (Deut. 22:16: "I gave this man my daughter to wife"; Ket. 22a), or a father's nomination of his firstborn son (BB 127b, following Deut. 21:17). There are, however, also presumptions of credibility which rank in weight with the rebuttable presumptions of conduct – that is, they are capable of being displaced by express evidence to the contrary. A man is presumed not to lie about matters which are easily ascertainable (Yev. 115a); and a man is presumed to remember matters which are extraordinary and astonishing (Hul. 75b). Conversely, a man whose words were proved false on one point, will no longer be believed on other points in the same case; notwithstanding any presumption in his favor, he will be required to adduce express proof for the other points (BM 17a; Maim. Yad, Gerushin 13:1). Credibility is also presumed for statements made for purposes unconnected with the litigation (*mesi'aḥ lefi tummo:* Git. 28b; cf. BK 114f.). A man is believed where his statement (e.g., that he had become a convert on his own, without a *bet din*) disqualifies him (Yev. 47a), but no such statement is accepted as proof of disqualification of anybody else, even his wife or children (*ibid.*).

PRESUMPTIONS OF COMMON SENSE (*UMDANA MUKHAHAT*). The presumption of common sense applies to bring acts or conduct into conformity with reason or propriety: the presumption is that a person acts reasonably and properly, notwithstanding any outward appearance to the contrary; and his acts will therefore be judged not according to appearances, but according to what, in reason and propriety, they ought to have been. Thus, a man is presumed not to give away the whole of his property during his lifetime; hence where a dying person disposed of all his property and then recovered, his act will not be enforced by the courts, and he is regarded as having acted in the mistaken belief that he was going to die (BB 146b). The same applies to transactions made for an ulterior motive; where a woman had given away her property in order to deprive her future husband of his legal rights thereto, and on divorce reclaimed the property, the court is reported to have torn the deed of gift into pieces (Ket. 78b; Maim. Zekhiyyah u-Mattanah 6:12). A husband giving his property to his wife is irrebuttably presumed to have made her only his trustee and not to have deprived himself and his children of all his property (BB 131b; for a list of these presumptions see *Piskei ha-Rosh* Ket. 11:9).

PRESUMPTIONS OF CONDITIONS (*UMDANA BE-GILLUI DA'AT*). While these presumptions apply whether or not the mistake or motive was expressed or admitted, there are other cases in which these or similar presumptions apply only where such mistake or motive can be inferred from express statements made at the time of the transaction (*umdanot be-gillui da'at*). Thus, where a man disposed of his property, mentioning that he had decided to emigrate, and then he did not in fact emigrate, he will be presumed to have disposed of his property only conditional on his emigration (Kid. 49b). Or, where a man had made a will bequeathing his property to strangers, because he had heard that his sons had died, and then it appeared that they had not died, his will was set aside as having been made by mistake (BB 132a). Even where a vendor had stated, at the time of the sale, that he sold in order to have the money for a certain purpose, and that purpose could not afterward be effected, he was held entitled to have the sale set aside (Ket. 97a). It has been said that reservations giving rise to such presumptions must, however, always be reasonable: the man desiring to emigrate, for instance, could have the sale or gift of his landed properties set aside if the emigration did not transpire, but not the sale of his personal effects which he would be assumed to take with him on his emigration (Tos., Ket. 97a).

JUDICIAL NOTICE (*ANAN SAHADEI*). All these presumptions and quasi-presumptions are being taken notice of by the court *ex officio (anan sahadei*; Resp. Rosh 34:1; 81:1), and in this respect they are similar to matters of custom and usage (cf. TJ, Pe'ah 7:6, 20b). Not unlike the concept of "judicial notice" in modern law, they replace formal evidence which would otherwise have to be adduced by the party on whom the burden of proof lies: in the language of the Mishnah, the disputant of a presumption of credibility in a given case would say, "we do not live from his mouth," but he has to adduce proof to verify his words (cf. Ket. 1:6–9). In some cases, especially those involving marital status, courts will take notice also of common repute or rumor (*kol*; Git. 89a; Ket. 36b; et al.; on presumptions see also **Ḥazakah*).

MODES OF PROOF. Where neither presumption nor custom avails the party on whom the burden of proof lies, he may discharge it by adducing evidence, either in the form of an *oath, or in the form of a *shetar*, or in the form of the testimony of *witnesses.

EVALUATION OF EVIDENCE. Notwithstanding the formal and apparent sufficiency of the evidence adduced, however, the court is not bound by it, but has to weigh its reliability and satisfy itself of its truth before deciding the case in accordance therewith: it is a matter for the mind and heart of the individual judge, and no hard-and-fast rules can be laid down (Maim. Yad, Sanh. 24:1–2).

FRAUD ON THE COURT. Where the judge has gained the impression that the case before him, though duly proven, is a fraud (*din merummeh*), Maimonides holds that he ought to disqualify himself and leave the case to be decided by some other judge (*ibid.* 3); but the better opinion appears to be that he ought to dismiss the case there and then (Resp. Rosh 68:20; ḤM 15:3). Where it was the defendant who had deceived the court, judgment would be given in favor of the plaintiff, so as not to let "the sinner reap the fruits of his sin" (Resp. Rosh 107:6). The same rule would apply where a party sought to prevent the court from discovering the whole truth, whether by refusing to submit to cross-examination, or by suppressing evidence, or by any other means (*ibid.*).

ADDITIONAL EVIDENCE. Even though a case has been duly proved and decided, any party claiming that new evidence has been discovered, which might change the outcome of the proceedings, is entitled to have the case reopened (Sanh. 4:1). The only exceptions to this rule are, first, where the court has fixed a time limit for the adducing of additional evidence and that time has expired; and second, where the party has expressly declared in court that there is no additional evidence available to him (Sanh. 3:8) – in these cases it is apprehended that the additional evidence might have been fabricated (Rashi, Sanh. 31a).

FORMAL EVIDENCE (*GILLUI MILTA BE-ALMA*). It is not only by vesting a wide discretion in the judge but also by legislatively relaxing the rules of evidence in proper cases that the law seeks to avoid any possible hardships which may arise from the objective difficulties of obtaining evidence. Such legislative relaxations are to be found particularly in respect of routine matters. Thus no formal evidence is required for the identification of litigants who identify themselves; even a relative or a minor can identify a brother-in-law for the purpose of *ḥaliẓah* (Yev. 39b; see *Levirate Marriage) or the evidence of one witness (who would nowadays be called a "formal" witness) is sufficient to establish matters of physical examination, such as the appearance of signs of puberty or the symptoms of a disease – matters which have to be proved, not because they can be seriously contested but in order "that judgment may be rendered without a stammer" (Rashi, Ket. 28a).

LEGISLATIVE RELAXATION OF RULES OF EVIDENCE. In matters of marital status, there are many situations where the law contents itself with the evidence of a disqualified or a single witness, or hearsay, or other generally inadmissible modes of proof, because, in the language of Maimonides, these are generally matters which can be verified by other means and on which a man will not normally lie, as e.g., the death of another man; "and while the Torah insists on the testimony of two witnesses and all the other rules of evidence in cases which cannot be proved otherwise, as e.g., whether A killed B or A lent money to B, in these matters in which it is unlikely that any witness would lie, have the sages seen fit to relax the rules and to accept the evidence of bondswomen, and in writing, and without cross-examination, so that the daughters of Israel may not lose their remedy" (Gerushin 13, 29).

[Haim Hermann Cohn]

Circumstantial Evidence

The above discussion concerned various *legal* presumptions – based on conduct, on credibility, on common sense, presumptions of the existence of a given condition, and "judicial notice" – all of which involve interpretation of and legal consequences derived from known facts. There remains, however, a basic question, as to whether facts may be determined in reliance on circumstantial evidence. Circumstantial evidence is evidence that does not directly prove the specific fact for which proof is required, but necessitates a deductive process of drawing conclusions to prove that fact.

In *dinei mamonot* (monetary cases), as stated above, it is undisputed that a presumption may be relied upon for the determination of an actor's intent. However, regarding the commission of an act itself or the actor's identity, the *rishonim* take varying approaches: Maimonides (Yad, Sanhedrin 24:1) adopts the view that in such monetary cases facts can be determined on the basis of circumstantial evidence, provided that the evidence offers good and convincing proof. For example, if a person claims that he left a specific article as a deposit with a decedent and presents signs which prove that the article is his, and a judge is persuaded that the article is not the decedent's property – the article will be taken from the heirs and given to the claimant, even if there is no will directing that this be done. An opposite view appears in the responsum of R. Yosef Colon (Responsa Maharik, §129; Italy, 15th century), which provides that a presumption can only be relied upon to determine the intention of an actor, but cannot be used as proof of the actual commission of the act or the actor's identity, regarding which judges only rely on direct evidence.

Regarding personal status, marriages and divorces, testimony that an act of divorce or marriage actually took place is required to confirm its validity; regarding marriage, all authorities agree that circumstantial evidence is sufficient to prove commission of the act. However, with respect to divorce, there is a need for constitutive evidence – supporting witnesses who witnessed the act of divorce – and the authorities are divided as to whether circumstantial evidence is sufficient for this. Rabbenu Tam (Tosafot at Gittin 4a) takes the view that actual witnesses are necessary and that circumstantial evidence is insufficient, while R. Alfasi (TB Gittin 47b–48a and Rabbenu Nissim, ad loc) reasons that circumstantial evidence can take the place of witnesses who confer validity to the *get*.

In penal law as well there are disputes about the status of circumstantial evidence. The accepted view is that capital cases may not be decided and punishments may not be imposed except on the basis of clear and direct proofs (see Maimonides, Yad, Sanhedrin 20:1), and there is a clear distinction in this context between monetary cases and capital cases (*dinei mamonot* and *dinei nefashot*).

However, the Tosafists (Shevuot 34a) take a different view, postulating that a person may also be convicted of murder in reliance on circumstantial evidence, when such evidence is absolute and incontrovertible – just as the same evidence would have substantiated the defendant's liability for monetary damages had he not actually killed the victim but only injured him.

According to some authorities, even Maimonides would agree that the prohibition against reliance on circumstantial evidence applies exclusively to actual capital cases, but that in other types of penal cases, such as *malkot* (lashes), circumstantial evidence can be relied upon in the same manner as in *dinei mamonot* (monetary cases) (Responsum Maharik, Part 87).

An exception to the rule with regard to capital cases is that of adultery, in which the basic rule is that circumstantial evidence is sufficient. The view of the *amora* Samuel in the Talmud (Makkot 7a) is that to convict a man and a woman of adultery, it is sufficient that the witnesses testify that they appeared to be engaged in an act of adultery, and there is no requirement that witnesses testify to having witnessed the actual sexual act. This opinion was accepted as the binding halakhic rule by most authorities (Yad, Issurei Bi'ah 1:19; Sh. Ar., EH 20:1). The main explanation for this divergence from the strict evidentiary requirements of criminal law, especially in capital matters, is that the sages considered it unreasonable to assume that biblical law required witnesses who witnessed the actual sexual act, both because of the technical difficulty and the indecency involved, and they therefore assumed that under biblical law it was sufficient that there be testimony that they were seen behaving "like adulterers" (see *Adultery).

LESSENING THE BURDEN OF PROOF IN CRIMINAL LAW – PUNISHMENT IN DEVIATION FROM THE LAW. Another category of cases which deviates from the rule that capital cases may only be decided in reliance upon direct evidence are those decided in accordance with the doctrine allowing the imposition of punishment in deviation from the strictures of criminal and evidentiary law when the exigencies of the times necessitate such punishment (*le-migdar milta,* i.e., to provide "a fence around the words" of Torah). This category was discussed at length in the Israeli Supreme Court decision in the *Nagar* case (Cr.A. 543/79 *Nagar v. State of Israel*, PD 35(1) 163–170, opinion of Justice Elon). We will review some of this discussion.

> Toward the end of the Tanna'itic era, we read of the establishment of a principle – followed for many years beforehand – which constituted a significant change in Jewish criminal law, with respect to both penal law and the rules of procedure and evidence in criminal trials:
>
> R. Eleazar b. Jacob stated, "I heard that even without any Torah [authority for their rulings], *beth din* may administer flogging and [death] penalties; not, however, for the purpose of transgressing the words of the Torah but in order to make a fence around the Torah" (TB Yevamot 90b; Sanhedrin 46a). In TJ Yerushalmi, Ḥagigah 2.2, the text is "I heard that they administer penalties not in accordance with the *halakhah* and they administer penalties not in accordance with the Torah" (page 165 of the *Nagar* decision).

On the basis of this fundamental provision, which enabled the courts to deviate from the original law of the Torah in criminal and evidentiary law, in accordance with the needs of the time and the place, both the courts and the communal leaders utilized their authority to enact communal regulations (see **Takkanot*):

> Detailed legislation by way of regulations which were enacted during all of the periods against the background of variegated religious, societal, economic and moral circumstances…. This legislation granted broad power to determine criminal penalties and litigation procedures which conformed to the needs of the time and of society, and was accompanied by a serious warning not to infringe a person's stature as a human being, and his dignity more than necessary. After determining the scope of this extended authority given to the halakhic authorities in the area of criminal law Maimonides gives the following summary of the Sages' obligation when exercising these powers: "All these matters are carried out in accordance with what the judge deems necessary under the exigencies of that time, and his acts should always be for the sake of heaven and he should not take a frivolous attitude to human dignity" (Maimonides, Yad., Sanhedrin, ch. 24., 10) (*ibid.*, pp. 165–66).

Formally, such regulations are defined as "temporary provisions," but they have become part of substantive Jewish law in practice. At various times, Jewish courts throughout the Diaspora have exercised this authority even in imposing death sentences without requiring a court of 23, and without the stringent rules of evidence imposed by the original Jewish Law (see Elon, Jewish Law, pp. 515–19, and notes 100, 104–108).

As noted, in its original format, Jewish Law was strict in its requirements for direct evidence. Maimonides makes the following illuminating observations on the strict evidentiary requirements of Jewish Law (*Sefer ha-Mitzvot*, Negative Commandments, §290): "Even if A pursues B with intent to kill, and B takes refuge in a house, and the pursuer follows him, and we enter after them and find B in his last gasp and his enemy, A, standing over him with a knife in his hand, and both of them are covered with blood, the Sanhedrin may not find the pursuer A liable for capital punishment, since there are no direct witnesses who actually saw the murder …" The reason given by Maimonides is that if the court was permitted to convict a suspect of a criminal offense on the basis of other than the unequivocal testimony of witnesses to the actual act, the court might soon find itself convicting of criminal offences on the basis of a "speculative evaluation of the evidence." He completes his comments with the observation, that "it is better and more desirable that a thousand guilty persons go free than that a single innocent person be put to death."

In contrast with the stringency that characterized the original Jewish Law, the authority to impose punishment in a manner that deviated from Torah law enabled the courts in numerous Jewish communities to be content with circumstantial evidence alone, even for purposes of conviction for serious offenses such as murder. R. Isaac b. Sheshet of Perfet (Spain and North Africa; late 14th century) ruled that defendants accused of murder could be convicted relying on circumstantial evidence alone, provided there are convincing proofs and plausible reasons.

> In any event, in order to "create a safeguard," since someone from among you has died, if you decide that the death penalty is called for because a crime has been committed heinously, violently and deliberately (it appears that they lay in wait for him [the victim] at night and during day, and openly brandished weapons against him in the presence of the communal leaders), then you may [impose the death penalty]… even when there are no eyewitnesses, if there are convincing proofs and plausible reasons.

In another responsum, the Ribash ruled that for the same reason it is also possible to rely on the confession of a litigant supplemented by circumstantial evidence (similar to the provision in the law of evidence practiced in the State of Israel, allowing conviction of the accused on the basis of a confession given outside court, with the addition of "something extra"):

> Jewish courts [at this time] impose flogging and punishment not prescribed by the law, for capital jurisdiction was abrogated, but in accordance with the needs of the time, and even without unequivocal testimony, so long as there are clear grounds to show that he [the accused] committed the offense. In such a case, it is the practice to accept the defendant's confession even in a capital case, even where there is no clear proof, in order that what he says, together with some measure of corroboration, may shed light on what happened (*ibid.*, 234).

Not every part of the Jewish Diaspora enjoyed such broad autonomous criminal jurisdiction, and the extent of juridical authority differed according to the period and the location. However, jurisdiction similar to that enjoyed by the Spanish center in the Middle Ages also existed at a later period in the Jewish community of Poland. It was during this period that we hear of Polish communities exercising the power of "imposing punishment not prescribed in the Torah," in order to convict defendants on the basis of circumstantial evidence (*Nagar, ibid.*, pp. 167–169).

It is important to emphasize that, where convictions were based on circumstantial evidence, it was constantly reiterated that such evidence, even if not clear and direct, must be of a kind that the judges "believe to be the truth" (*Resp. Rashba*, attributed to Naḥmanides, §279), and that this kind of adjudication is only possible where "the accusation is proven to be well grounded"; and that "the sole intention is to pursue justice and truth and there is no other motive (*Resp. Zikhron Yehudah* § 79, *Nagar, ibid.* 170).

As noted above, these principles constituted the basis of the ruling of the Israeli Supreme Court in *Nagar*, under which one suspected of murder could be convicted relying on incontrovertible circumstantial evidence, even though the court had no direct evidence of his having committed the offense, and even though the body itself had not been found (see *Capital Punishment).

DOCUMENTS AS EVIDENCE. There is evidence of written documents serving as legally valid proof in the Bible itself: "and written in the books and sealed, and witnesses called" (Jer. 32:44).

The talmudic rule is that deeds constitute valid proof in a court. "Resh Lakish said: If witnesses are signed on a deed it is as if their testimony had been examined in court" (TB Ketubbot 18b). Several reasons are given for this ruling: first, because the deeds are drawn up with the debtor's consent and he has mentally resolved to agree to their contents since he derives some benefit or profit thereby; second, because the texts of the deeds are uniform and everyone understands their import; and third, because people customarily rely on them, since otherwise they would be unable to do business with one another. The *rishonim* therefore ruled that, in order for a deed to be binding, it must be written with the debtor's consent and at his request; a deed which was written by witnesses of their own initiative is not binding (Tosafot, Ketubot 18b; Naḥmanides, Bava Bathra 171a; Hame'iri, Ketubot 20a).

Under biblical law, the authenticity of a deed is presumed, "a person does not dare to forge" (Rashi, at Gittin 3a). However, the changing times and different moral and social attitudes precluded continued adjudication of deeds on the basis of simple authentication by way of the witnesses' signature, on the presumption that this excluded the possibility of forgery. The Rabbis henceforth enacted that all deeds would require substantiation. Thus, a person making a claim based on a deed, or relying on it as evidence, bore the burden of proof of demonstrating that the witnesses' signature was genuine. Substantiating evidence for a deed could consist of additional testimony on the signature, comparison of the signatures to other recognized signatures of the witnesses who signed, or the summoning of the signing witnesses to testify that the signature on the deed was indeed theirs.

Maimonides took a different view regarding the nature of a deed. Maimonides contended (Hilkhot Edut 3:4) that under Biblical law oral testimony is sufficient in all areas of law, including *dinei mamonot* (monetary civil cases). According to Maimonides, the requirement and acceptance of the signature of witnesses as proof of a deed is rooted in a rabbinic regulation, enacted so as not to "lock the door against borrowers" – i.e., economic life would be impossible if it were necessary to confirm every loan by way of oral testimony in court. In Maimonides' view, the requirement of substantiation of a deed is an offshoot of this rabbinic regulation, intended to prevent forgery of deeds.

In addition to requiring that witnesses' signatures be substantiated in order to prevent forgery of a deed, the Talmud prescribes that deeds are not to be written on paper (on which the original text could be erased) or untanned animal skin, because writing on this kind of paper can be easily forged (TB Gittin 21a–22b). Similarly, deeds cannot be written in a manner that enables the forging of their concluding section, or the addition of words that did not appear in the original text; a deed written in such a manner is inadmissible as evidence (Tb BB 160a f.; cf. *Shetar*).

OBJECTION TO EVIDENCE BY RIVAL LITIGANT. The litigants are allowed to make conditions regarding the rules of evidence in a civil case, in which they agree to admit otherwise inadmissible evidence. Nevertheless, so long as a trial has not yet finished, either litigant can object to the hearing of inadmissible evidence (Sh. Ar., ḤM 22:1). Moreover, if the agreement between the parties was not made in the court, the litigant can renege on his consent to accept such evidence even after the trial's conclusion (*Siftei Kohen*., ad loc.). In order for a litigant to submit evidence that is otherwise inadmissible and deny the other litigant the right to object to such, he must make an agreement with the other litigant through an act of *kinyan*.

EVIDENCE THAT INFRINGES PRIVACY AND VIOLATES HUMAN DIGNITY. *Human dignity and the right to privacy are extensively protected in Jewish law. Nevertheless, at times the search for the truth necessitates the violation of a suspect's dignity or privacy. The conflict between the value of determining the truth (even by prohibited means) and that of preserving human dignity was discussed in the Israeli Supreme Court's decision in the rehearing of the Vaknin case (FH 9/83 *Military Appeals Court v. Vaknin*, PD 42(3) 837). In that case, the police obtained incriminating evidence against a defendant suspected of possessing dangerous drugs by forcing him to drink salt water, as a result of which he vomited up the drug packages that he had swallowed. The Court was requested to decide on whether the police action fell within the ambit of section 2 of the Protection of Privacy Law, 5741–1981. An affirmative ruling on this point could disqualify the illegally procured evidence, precluding reliance thereon for a conviction. On the other hand, if the conclusion was that the police action was not proscribed by the Protection of Privacy Law, then, even though the act itself was improper, the evidence obtained thereby would be admissible. (In general, under Israel law only evidence obtained through infringement of privacy as defined by the Protection of Privacy Law is rendered inadmissible.)

The Court ruled that this case did not involve an infringement of privacy, and the evidence was therefore admissible. Justice Elon held that the Protection of Privacy Law should be interpreted in accordance with Jewish law, and therefore adduced sources in Jewish law concerning the prohibition of disclosing secrets, the prohibition on opening another person's letters without permission, and others. Nevertheless, Elon indicated a number of specific cases in which the need to obtain evidence prevails over the need to protect privacy or human dignity – both with regard to penal law and monetary law:

> Eavesdropping is an affirmative precept (*mitzvah*) in certain circumstances as for example in order to obtain evidence in a case involving grave criminal activity (such as incitement). In such a case, "they may hide witnesses [against] him behind a fence" (Mishnah Sanhedrin 7.10), and it is permitted to do so in order to obtain evidence regarding any manner of criminal activity. (See R. Joseph Babad's *Minḥat Ḥinukh* – Commandment §462: "This is evidently not the simple meaning of the Mishnah in Sanhedrin ad loc: 'Witnesses are not hidden against any who are subject to the death penalty according to the Torah law, other than these' – and the matter requires clarification.") Similarly, it was permitted to open a letter addressed to another person where there are grounds for suspecting that the letter's author intends to commit a wrongdoing with the addressee's money and the matter can be clarified by opening the letter and reading it (see Responsa Hikekei Lev, Part I, *Yoreh De'ah*, 49, responsa of R. Hayyim Palache, rabbi of Izmir in the mid-19th century and one of the outstanding respondents during the period of the *aḥaronim*. See also *Responsa Maharik*, n. 110, of R. Joseph *Colon, one of the great halakhic sages in Italy during the 15th century, and Sh. Ar. YD, 228.33 Rema).

In addition to the principles elucidated in the *Vaknin* decision, there is also the issue of investigating the adulterous wife (*sotah*; see *Ordeal). Although this is a procedure based upon the occurrence of a miracle, which is not practiced in our time, it is intended to clarify guilt, and involves the humiliation of the woman being investigated.

An additional case raising the question of the clash between the need for evidence and the right to privacy came before the High Rabbinical Court of Appeals (Appeal 5733/216, R.D. 9, 331). The case concerned a husband who claimed that his wife was mentally ill, and therefore requested that the Court order her to undergo psychological treatment in order to restore "domestic peace." In the event of her refusal, he requested that she be declared "a rebellious wife" (*moredet*). The husband requested to summon her doctor as witness to her mental condition, but the latter conditioned his testimony on the wife's agreement to waiving medical confidentiality, which the wife refused to do. The president of the Court, Rabbi Shlomo Goren, and Rabbi Mordechai Eliyahu both held that the suspicion regarding a mental impairment was firmly based and that the doctor should therefore be compelled to testify to the court. On the other hand, Rabbi Yosef Kafah ruled that the probative value of the doctor's testimony was minimal, as he would only testify on her medical condition as it had been many years back. On the other hand, the testimony was liable to cause her serious damage, given that she was engaged in education and would be derided by her students. Rabbi Kafah therefore ruled that the doctor's testimony should not be required.

ACCEPTING EVIDENCE AFTER THE CONCLUSION OF THE TRIAL. The Mishnah (Sanhedrin 3:8) states that "whenever evidence is brought – it can contradict the ruling." In other words, after the trial's conclusion, even if the obligation ruled upon was discharged, the ruling can be annulled if new evidence was brought before the court. In such a case, a new trial must be held. The *tannaim* (*ibid.)* disputed the issue of whether the Court can place a time limitation on the period during which a litigant can proffer new evidence. The law was decided according to R. Simeon b. Gamaliel – namely, that the court cannot impose a time limit on a litigant's submission of new evidence which, irrespective of when it was submitted, will be accepted. A limitation on the submission of new evidence is only effective if the litigant himself declared that he has no further evidence; in such a case he is prevented from bringing further evidence at a later stage (Maimonides,Yad, Sanhedrin 7:6–9; Sh. Ar., ḤM 20).

[Menachem Elon (2nd ed.)]

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EVIL EYE (Heb. עַיִן הָרָע, *ayin ha-ra*; lit., "the eye of the evil"; Aram. עֵינָא בִּישָׁא, *eina bisha*), a widespread belief that some persons may produce malevolent effects on others by looking at them, based on the supposed power of some eyes to bewitch or harm by glance. In early Jewish literature the acceptance of the existence of the evil eye as fact precluded any theoretical explanation of this phenomenon and discussion of its origin. In post-talmudic literature, however, one of the following two explanations is generally found: (1) the evil eye contains the element of fire, and so spreads destruction (Judah Loew b. Bezalel ("Maharal") in *Netivot Olam*, 107d); (2) the angry glance of a man's eye calls into being an evil angel who takes vengeance on the cause of wrath (Manasseh Ben Israel in *Nishmat Ḥayyim*, 3:27; cf. *Sefer Ḥasidim*, ed. by J. Wistinetzki (1924^2), 242 no. 981).

As both explanations imply magic, folk beliefs governing magic and countermagic are evidenced in beliefs connected with casting and averting the evil eye.

Casting the Evil Eye

Whereas a "good-eyed" person is generous and good-hearted, the "evil eye," in biblical (cf. I Sam. 18:9; Prov. 28:22) and tannaitic (cf. Avot 2:9, 11; 5:13, 19) sources, denotes stinginess, selfishness, and jealousy; in the *aggadah* of Palestinian *amoraim* the evil eye is a prevalent motif. Furthermore, jealousy was linked with magic and with fatal consequences. Hence, talmudic and midrashic elaborations of biblical narratives represent Sarah as casting the evil eye on Hagar (Gen. R. 4.45:5), Joseph's brothers on Joseph (*ibid.* 84:10), Og the giant on Jacob (Ber. 54b). Likewise, the evil eye caused the breaking of the first tablets of the Law (Num. R. 12:4) and the death of Daniel's three companions (Sanh. 93a).

This magical power of the eye was not confined to biblical evildoers; folk heroes, regarded as sacred wonder-workers, were believed to have exercised it as well, but for benevolent purposes. So R. *Simeon b. Yoḥai transforms an evil person into "a heap of bones" by means of his magic endowment (Shab. 34a; PdRK ed. by S. Buber (1868), 90a–b), and, with a look, R. Johanan, the *amora*, kills a man who calumniated

Jerusalem (BB 75a). The magical aspect of the deed is stressed in killing by transformation (Ber. 58a).

Averting the Evil Eye

Folk beliefs and folk customs are especially evident in the attitude toward the aversion of the evil eye. All measures taken against it are either (1) preventive or (2) counteractive.

(1) The belief that the evil eye is activated by arousing the jealousy and malice of the "jettatori" (i.e., the endowed people) calls for preventive measures of self-restraint, e.g., the avoidance of any expression of praise, approbation, and of beauty, domestic or socioeconomic success, or happiness. For this reason Abraham sent his son Isaac home at night after the *Akedah* (Gen. R. 56:11); Jacob advised his handsome and strong sons not to enter the same gate all together "on account of the eye" (*ibid.* 91:6); similarly, Joshua advised Ephraim and Manasseh to hide in a forest (Josh. 17:15; BB 118a–b). Prominent men, beautiful women, and newborn babies – all of whom are likely to attract special attention – are especially susceptible to the evil eye. If, however, the beauty is veiled, riches not exhibited, and a child covered with a dirty bag or given an ugly name, the happy event may pass unnoticed, and the evil eye thus remains passive. Therefore, a costly garment should not be spread over the bed when guests are visiting the house as "it will be burned by the eye of the guests" (BM 30a), and precious glass should be broken at a wedding. The idea that "blessing comes only upon those things which are hidden from the eye" (Ta'an. 8b) is undoubtedly connected with such preventive measures.

(2) Once the evil eye has been activated, and the threat of danger and harm is close to realization, there is no need for preventive measures: only confrontation and war measures based on countermagic which deceive or defeat the evil eye can then save the endangered person. The use of a mirror (ornament) or a specific color (red, blue) may blight its source by reflecting the glance; an obscene gesture or a holy verse (*amulet) may avert the evil eye by frightening it; and an outstretched hand may stop its rays. According to the Talmud (Ber. 55b), whoever is afraid of the evil eye should stick his right thumb in his left hand and his left thumb in his right hand, proclaiming: "I, so and so, son of so and so, am of the seed of Joseph, whom the evil eye may not affect." The gesture (a "fig") – universally used to avert the evil eye by putting it to shame (this original meaning was probably unknown to sages who prescribed it) – took on a Jewish character by the pronouncement of the aggadic sentence that the descendants of Joseph are immune from the evil eye (Ber. 20a).

Other means of fighting and subduing the activated evil eye stem from attempts to absorb the devastating glance, and so to neutralize it. To divert the glance from the intended target, "interesting" objects may be hung between the eyes of the endangered person, e.g., precious stones, or as strange and unexpected an object as a tail of a fox between the eyes of a horse in need of protection (Tosef., Shab. 4:5).

The belief in the evil eye and the various means, both sacred and profane, of averting it, were very prevalent among East European Jews; to this day they exist in many Oriental Jewish communities. In modern times the use of blue paint and a metal amulet in the form of an open palm of the hand are still widespread in Oriental communities, and among Yiddish-speaking Ashkenazi Jews, it is customary to "qualify" any praise with the phrase *keyn ayen hore* ("may there be no evil eye" often shortened to *kaynahora*). The custom of tying a red band around the wrist or neck of a newborn child also derives from a fear of the evil eye. In Yiddish, even the name "evil eye" is euphemistically called *git-oyg* ("good eye"). R. Lilienthal (see bibl.) lists over 80 anti-evil eye practices recorded among East European Jews. The striking resemblance to those listed in monographs on Oriental Jewish communities (cf. Ḥ. Mizraḥi, *Yehudei Paras* (1959), 115–7) can be explained by the universality of the motif of the evil eye, on the one hand, and its particular Jewish expression, on the other.

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[Dov Noy]

EVIL-MERODACH (Heb. אֱוִיל מְרֹדַךְ), son of *Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylonia from 562–560 B.C.E. The Babylonian form of the name is Amēl Marduk ("man of Marduk"). During Evil-Merodach's reign, the stability of the royal court of Babylon was undermined and there appeared the first signs of the decline of the neo-Babylonian Empire. After two years as king, he was assassinated, probably by his brother-in-law Nergal-šar-uṣur (Nergal Sarezer), who succeeded him on the throne (Jer. 39:3, 13). It is related in the Bible (II Kings 25:27–30; Jer. 52:31–34) that Evil-Merodach freed *Jehoiachin, king of Judah, from prison in the 37th year of Jehoiachin's exile in Babylon and that he accorded him a food allotment for life and treated him better than his other vassals. His motives can only be guessed at. He may have contemplated a far-reaching reverse of his father's policies.

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[Bustanay Oded]

EVOLUTION. Although evolutionary ideas are very old, being found in the works of Greek philosophers and echoed in the *aggadah* and the Midrash, the main stimulus to evolutionary thought came from the theory developed at the end of the

18th century, according to which life on earth has existed for millions of years, and not for less than 6,000, as held by the biblical tradition current in the civilized world. The theory of evolution produced a sharp reaction on the part of those intellectuals and scholars who subscribed to the assumption of the stability of the species from the six days of creation. Besides scientists who cast doubts on the validity of the theory, its chief opponents were (and still are) religious people who accept the creation story in Genesis literally. There are, however, religious thinkers who see in the principle of evolution a concept that accords with the idea of divine providence, some of them not only regarding the account of creation in Genesis as a simple explanation "in ordinary language" of the actual process of creation, but seeing in it a deeper significance. Some point to aggadic and midrashic statements which contain allusions to evolution and to the fact that life existed on earth in epochs preceding the accepted reckoning in Judaism. When discussing the Greek philosophers' views on "the eternity of the universe," a similar problem confronted Maimonides, who says (*Guide*, 2:25):

> We do not reject the eternity of the universe because certain passages in Scripture confirm the creation; for such passages are not more numerous than those in which God is represented as a corporeal being. Nor is it impossible or difficult to find for them a suitable interpretation. We might have explained them in the same manner as we did in respect to the incorporeality of God and this might have been easier … However, we have not done so … for the eternity of the universe has not been proved and there is no need of scriptural passages to reject it … If we were to accept the eternity of the universe as taught by Plato, we should not be in opposition to the fundamental principles of our religion … The scriptural text might have been explained accordingly … But there is no necessity for this expedient, so long as the theory has not been proved. As there is no proof sufficient to convince us … we take the text of the Bible literally.

Applying this to the subject under discussion and stating it in contemporary terms, it may be said that if proofs were forthcoming for the theory of evolution (on the assumption that there exists One who directs creation), a way would be found of explaining the biblical passages accordingly.

Although Judah Halevi clearly recognized the need to accept the Scriptures literally, he nevertheless stated in his *Kuzari* (1:67): "If, after all, a believer in the Law finds himself compelled to admit an eternal matter and the existence of many worlds prior to this one, this would not impair his belief." In the latter part of this sentence Judah Halevi alludes to the statement of R. Abbahu (Gen. R. 3:7) that God "created worlds and destroyed them," while according to R. Judah b. Simon there was "a succession of times (days and nights) before that," that is, before the first day of creation (*ibid.*). To this province belong also such statements as: "'And there was evening and there was morning, the sixth day' (Gen. 1:31). R. Simon b. Marta said, 'Up to this point we count according to the reckoning of the world, after it according to another reckoning'" (Gen. R. 9:16), that is, time before the final creation of the world has a different meaning from that after it, which is the reckoning that we follow. The relativity of time in the term "day" is referred to in the statement (Gen. R. 19:8) which distinguishes between the human and the divine day, the latter being a thousand years in duration, as it is said (Ps. 90:4): "For a thousand years in Thy sight are but as yesterday." Alongside these notions there are homiletical interpretations of biblical passages according to which all organisms were fully created in the six days of creation, after which no changes have occurred in them (Hul. 60a). In contrast to those who extended the period of creation, a *tanna* curtailed it by stating that "on the first day the entire world was created," this being the view of R. Nehemiah, who disagreed with R. Judah's opinion that "the world was created in six days" (Tanḥ. B., Gen. 7). All these sages based their views on biblical verses, which could be interpreted either way. In this connection Rabbi A.I. *Kook has remarked that "everyone knows that the creation is one of the mysteries of the Torah, and if all the statements are merely to be taken literally, what mystery is there?" (*Iggerot ha-Re'iyyah* (1961^{2}), no. 91). The literature of the sages is pluralistic in its world outlook, especially in the spheres of cosmology and biology. The *tannaim* and *amoraim* absorbed legends and "factual" stories, the views of Greco-Roman science, and the folklore of ancient peoples. Among these were ideas which have no basis in fact nor any support in biblical passages and are even in conflict with the creation story. There was, for example, the view about the development of living organisms from nonliving substances which, known as spontaneous generation and accepted until the 19th century, penetrated into the *halakhah*. There was also the "assumption that a mouse does not breed" (Sifra, *Shemini*, Parashah 5; Ḥul. 127a), and hence the halakhic discussion on the question of the uncleanness of "a mouse which is half flesh and half earth" (Ḥul. 9:6. As late as in 1652 Helmont, a Dutch chemist, still suggested a method of producing mice by putting rags into a heap of grain). There was similarly the prevailing view that vermin originate from perspiration or from dirt. Thus the Talmud (Shab. 107b) declared that "vermin do not breed," against which an objection was raised from the reference made to "eggs of vermin" (see Ḥul. 9:6). The salamander, too, was thought to originate from a fire which burnt continuously for several years (see Ḥag. 27a). In the belief that some organisms develop on food itself, it was permitted to eat certain foods on which maggots develop.

The folklore of various nations tells of organisms, such as *mandrakes, that are half plant and half human. There was also the belief that some birds grow on trees in the form of fruit, and R. Tam (12th century) was asked whether they require *sheḥitah*, to which he replied that they do (see Loew, Flora, 4 (1934), 348). The *halakhah* mentions an organism called אַבְנֵי הַשָּׂדֶה or אַדְנֵי הַשָּׂדֶה, whose corpse, like that of a human being, communicates uncleanness (Sifra, *Shemini*, ch. 6; Kil. 8:5). Explained by some as referring to the chimpanzee, it is said in the Jerusalem Talmud (Kil. 8:5, 31c) to be "a man of the mountains who lives from his navel; if the navel is severed, he does not live," the reference being to a manlike organism joined by its navel like a plant to the ground. Legends about such an organism were current among various nations (see R. Patai, *Adam ve-Adamah*, 1 (1942), 216ff.). Mermaids, the legendary half-human, half-fish beings, also figure in the *halakhah*, the unclean "living creatures that are in the waters" (Lev. 11:10) being interpreted as "including mermaids," which however, unlike a human corpse, do not communicate uncleanness when dead (Sifra, *Shemini*, Parashah 3). The sages who quoted these *halakhot* or statements were influenced by the leading scientists of the time, such as Aristotle, Galen, and others, who had confirmed these "facts" and to whom there undoubtedly applied the principle that "if someone tells you that there is wisdom among the non-Jews, believe him" (Lam. R. 2:13). As it deals with all spheres of life and with theoretical subjects, the *halakhah* also on occasion incorporated legendary, fictitious ideas. In the field of "science" the sages were ready to accept various views current among their contemporaries (but proved in our day to be without foundation) and did not hesitate to give expression to them even if they were contrary to their accepted views.

To this province belong *halakhot* relating to *mixed species (*kilayim*). Despite the assumption inherent in the Bible that in the six days of creation all organisms were fully formed, statements of the sages in the *aggadah* and the *halakhah* refer to the production of new species by hybridization and grafting. The Tosefta and the Jerusalem Talmud of tractate *Kilayim* cite many "facts" about the formation of a third species by grafting two species of flora, some systematically very remote from each other (see *Biology; it is now evident that no new species can be produced by grafting). Thus, for example, it is asserted that, by sowing together the seeds of an apple and a watermelon a third species, the *melon (called in Greek *melopepon*, the apple-melon), is obtained (TJ, Kil. 1:2, 27a), even as a dangerous creature called *arvad* is produced by mating a snake with a species of *lizard (Ḥul. 127a). Another tradition holds that after Anah the son of Zibeon had produced a *mule, which is a dangerous animal, by crossing a stallion and a she-ass (יֵמִם, a *hemi-onos*, i.e., a half-ass; cf. Gen. 36:24), "the Holy One blessed be He appointed a *ḥakhina* [a poisonous snake] which He mated with a *ḥardon* [a species of lizard] to produce a *ḥavarbar*," a species of noxious animal whose bite proved fatal to Anah (TJ, Ber. 8:6, 12b). This story is mentioned in a discussion on whether mixed species originated during the six days of creation (*ibid.;* Tosef. Ber. 6:11). On this subject there is the view of the *tanna* R. Yose (Pes. 54a) that "two things God originally planned to create on the eve of the Sabbath [of the creation] but were not created until the termination of the Sabbath, and at the termination of the Sabbath the Holy One blessed be He granted Adam knowledge of a kind like the divine, whereupon he took two stones, rubbed them together, and fire issued from them [cf. the tale of Prometheus]; he also took two [heterogeneous] animals and crossed them, and from them came forth the mule." Thus R. Yose held that hybridization represents a remarkable wisdom granted to man, who is prone to produce new organisms, "like the divine creator." Another *aggadah*, which declares that God Himself "changes His world once every seven years," mentions various animals, one of which is replaced by the other (TJ, Shab. 1:3, 3b). The reference here may be to seven years of God, one of whose days is a thousand years (see above; although there is a statement (BK 16b) that "the male hyena (צבוע) becomes a bat after seven years," etc.).

Proofs of Evolution

The existence in prehistoric times of gigantic animals, then extinct, is alluded to in biblical verses referring to the dragon, the *leviathan, the Rahab, and others. Having perhaps found traces of the footprints of primeval animals or remains of their skeletons (footprints of prehistoric reptiles have been discovered near Jerusalem in recent times), the ancients had their imaginations stirred to describe these huge animals and explain the reasons for their extinction.

One of the crucial problems confronting the evolutionists was the question of the transition from ape to man. In the literature of the sages there are allusions to a connection between man and ape. Thus the *amoraim* Rav and Samuel held divergent views on the nature of the rib from which woman was created, the one holding that it was a tail (Ber. 61a). In the opinion of R. Judah: "[God] made him [i.e., man] a tail like an animal and then removed it from him for his honor" (Gen. R. 14:12). Even Adam was not the first man, for "974 generations preceded the creation of the world and they were swept away in a trice because they were evil" (Mid. Ps. to 90:13; cf. Shab. 88b). Nor was Adam anatomically perfect, since he was a hermaphrodite (Gen. R. 8:1); the fingers of his hands were joined together, and it was only from Noah onward that people were born with separated fingers (Mid. *Avkir* to Gen. 5:29; and similarly in Tanh. to *ibid.*). In the days of Enosh there took place a moral degeneration; human beings changed, and "their faces became like apes" (Gen. R. 23:6; cf. Sanh. 109b). All these statements are based on a homiletical interpretation of biblical verses, but underlying them was probably the view of the *tanna* or *amora* which he expressed in this manner. Finally there is a statement that attests to an observation and a conclusion drawn from the realm of comparative anatomy: the *amora* R. Samuel of Cappadocia concluded from a common feature in fishes and birds that the latter, too, were created "out of alluvial mud": this can be proved "from the fact that birds have on their legs scales like those of fishes" (Ḥul. 27b).

At the beginning of the 20th century the naturalist De Vries (1848–1935) drew attention to the fact that in some flora and fauna characteristics suddenly appear which, though not present in their progenitors, are transmitted by heredity to the progeny. These changes, known as mutations, for the most part small and fortuitous, are in the view of scholars the basis of the evolutionary processes. Through the accumulation of these mutations, organisms were separated during millions of years of evolution into strains, species, and higher systematic groups. According to Neo-Darwinism the fortuitous mutations and the operation of natural selection were responsible for evolution, whereas according to Neo-Lamarckism, development cannot be accounted for without assuming that there is something in the living substance which guides it toward development. In this sense there is a statement of the rabbis: "There is no herb which has not a guardian angel in heaven that strikes it and says, Grow!" (Gen. R. 10:6). Other scholars maintain that there are metaphysical factors that guide and direct the existence and development of the organism. This theory, known as teleology, approximates to the religious view of the Creator's providence over His creatures. Some leading evolutionists, although dissociating themselves from the teleological approach, nevertheless agreed that it was impossible to explain evolution on the basis only of known forces. Thus G.L. Stebbins, who made a study of evolution in flora, argued that evolution can be explained by mutations, hybridization, and natural selection directed by a certain force of unknown nature. Certain embryologists, too, assumed that in ontogeny – the development of the individual during the embryonic period – there is an unknown or nonrational force directing it toward its development, and in this there is a parallel between phylogeny, the development of the species, and ontogeny, the development of the individual.

However much these views fall out of fashion as molecular biology progresses and the fossil record is clarified, these assumptions have an indubitable religious significance, and in this connection mention should be made of the words of Rabbi Kook: "The theory of evolution, which is at present increasingly conquering the world, is more in harmony with the mysteries of Kabbalah than all other philosophical theories" (*Orot ha-Kodesh*, ii, 558). On the other hand there are many evolutionists who are not prepared to include in the scheme of creation and evolution a nonrational force and hold that these "unknown" forces, responsible for the evolutionary process, will be revealed and defined as known chemical or physical forces. There are numerous theories to explain the mechanism of evolution, but the doubts exceed the certainties. When Rabbi Kook was asked about the problem of evolution, he summed it up as follows: "Nothing in the Torah is contradicted by any knowledge in the world that emerges from research. But we must not accept hypotheses as certainties, even if there is a wide agreement about them" (*Iggerot ha-Re'iyyah*, no. 91).

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[Jehuda Feliks]

ÉVORA, capital of Alto Alentejo province, S. central Portugal. It had one of the most important Jewish communities in the country. Regulations defining the powers of the *Arraby Moor issued during the reign of King Alfonso III (1248–79) laid down that the chief rabbi of the Jewish communities in Alentejo (Alemtejo) should reside in Évora. In 1360, 1388, and 1434, the Évora community was given privileges by the king defining the limits of its autonomy. In 1325 the Jews of Évora were compelled by a special decree to wear a yellow shield of David on their hats (see Jewish *badge). On several occasions the kings of Portugal intervened in favor of the Jews of Évora who engaged in varied economic activities. In 1392 John I ordered the town authorities to desist from further confiscation of Jewish property in the synagogues of Évora, and in 1408 he granted the Jews a privilege permitting them to enlarge their quarter. The old Jewish quarter can still be visited. On the doorposts of stone-made houses three slots for *mezzuzot* were found. In 1478 the community paid a sum of 264,430 cruzados to the crown. After the decree of expulsion and forced conversions of 1496/7, Évora continued to be an important center of **anusim*. In April 1505 these were set upon by bands of rioters, who manhandled them and set the synagogue on fire. From 1542, the year in which Luis *Dias of Setúbal was burned at the stake there, a tribunal of the Inquisition was active in Évora. Numerous *anusim* were condemned to the stake from the 16th to 18th centuries.

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ÉVREUX, capital of the Eure department, N.W. France. During the Middle Ages, Évreux was renowned as a center of Jewish scholarship. Most famous of its scholars was the tosafist *Samuel (b. Sheneor) of Évreux, known as the "Prince of Évreux"; his elder brother, *Moses of Évreux, was also a tosafist, and his two other brothers, the liturgical poet Judah and the commentator *Isaac of Évreux, are also well known. The Jewish community lived in the "rue aux Juifs," later known as Rue de la Bove. The synagogue was situated on the eastern side of the street. After the expulsion of 1306, no community existed in Évreux. In the 1950s, a community was established by Jews from North Africa. In 1968 it had about 250 members.

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[Bernhard Blumenkranz]

EVRON (Heb. עֶבְרוֹן), kibbutz in the Plain of Acre, Israel, near Nahariyyah, affiliated with Kibbutz Arẓi ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir. Evron was founded in 1945 by immigrants from Poland and Romania. In addition to intensive farming (cotton and avocado plantations), the kibbutz had a factory for irrigation equipment and a quarry. In 2002 the population was 686. Ebron (Evron) was a town of the tribe of Asher (Josh. 19:28).

WEBSITE: www.matte-asher-region.muni.il.

[Efraim Orni]

EVRON, EPHRAIM (1920–1995), Israel diplomat. Evron was born in Haifa and was educated at the Reali High School there, continuing his studies at the Hebrew University, and graduating in history in 1940. He served in the British army during World War II from 1941 to 1946 and in the Israel Defense Forces in 1948. In the same year he entered the Foreign Office, and in 1950 was appointed director, but the following year was transferred to the Office of the Prime Minister. He served as personal assistant to Moshe Sharett, David Ben-Gurion, and Pinḥas Lavon, and his close involvement with the last in the "Lavon Affair" brought him into conflict with Moshe Dayan, then chief of staff, and nearly wrecked his political career. He left government service and took up a position representing the Histadrut in the U.S.A., rejoining the Foreign Office in 1961 when he was appointed counselor, and subsequently minister, at the Israeli Embassy in London.

In 1965 he was appointed minister to the Israeli Embassy in Washington and served in that capacity until 1968 when he was appointed ambassador to Sweden; in 1969 he became ambassador to Canada where he served until 1971. On his return to Israel he was appointed deputy to the director-general of the Foreign Office and in 1977 director-general.

In October 1978 he was appointed ambassador to the U.S., in succession of Simcha *Dinitz, taking up his appointment in December of that year and serving until 1982.

EWALD, HEINRICH GEORG AUGUST (1803–1875), Protestant theologian; scholar of the Bible, Israelite history, and Semitic languages. Ewald was a pupil of J.G. *Eichhorn. He served as professor at Goettingen (1827–37, 1848–67) and Tuebingen (1838–48). He was twice dismissed from his post – once in 1837 for protesting against the abolition of the Hanoverian constitution by the king, and again in 1867 for refusing to swear allegiance to the king of Prussia. Ewald viewed historical criticism not as a religious threat but as a means of reconstructing the process by which divine providence had chosen to reveal the true faith to humanity. He believed that the stories of the patriarchs could be used to reconstruct ancient Israelite tribal history, but that the patriarchs themselves were "ideal types." Ewald was more positive in his historical assessment of Moses. As for the Hebrew prophets, it was through them that God gave the most important truths to humanity. Ewald also did research on Hebrew and Arabic grammar and on the medieval works of Hebrew grammar, which were written in Arabic. He is considered the father of the theory of Hebrew syntax. In his *Kritische Grammatik der hebraeischen Sprache* (1827–80^8; pt. 3 trans. as *Syntax of the Hebrew of the Old Testament*, 1879), he attempted to discover the principles which determine linguistic forms and explain them. J. *Wellhausen, T. *Noeldeke, and *A.Dillmann, were among his pupils. His books include *Die Komposition der Genesis kritisch untersucht* (1823); *Grammatica critica linguae arabicae…* (2 vols., Leipzig, 1831–33); *Die Dichter des Alten Bundes erklaert* (2 vols., 1966–67); *Die Propheten des Alten Bundes erklaert* (3 vols., 1867–68^2); *Geschichte des Volkes Israel bis Christus* (5 vols., 1843–55; 7 vols., 1851–59); *The History of Israel* (8 vols., 1883–), according to H. Graetz a turning point in the treatment of Jewish history by Christian scholars; *Ausfuehrliches Lehrbuch der hebraeischen Sprache des Alten Bundes* (1870); and *Theologie des Alten und Neuen Bundes* (1871–78).

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[Samuel Ephraim Loewenstamm / S. David Sperling (2nd ed.)]

EXCERPTA VALESIANA, historical work, written c. 550 and treating the reigns of Odoacer and Theodoric (474–526). It notes a conflict between Jews and Christians, probably over baptism, at Ravenna, after which the Christians burned the synagogues. The author, bitterly anti-Arian, is sharply critical of Theodoric, the Arian Ostrogoth ruler of Italy, who imposed the contribution of funds necessary to rebuild the synagogues.

[Jacob Petroff]

EXCHEQUER OF THE JEWS, department of medieval English government for Jewish affairs. The squared tablecloth (12th century, Fr. *eschequier*) used like an abacus for counting money in settling the sheriffs' accounts gave its name to the Exchequer, a branch of the royal administration in which accounts were rendered and revenue questions decided. A separate Jewish department (subordinate to the main Exchequer) may have originated in the Exchequer of Aaron, established for the affairs of *Aaron of Lincoln, whose assets passed to the Crown on his death (1186). By 1194 there were already justices or keepers of the Jews. Benedict of Talmont may have served as a Jewish Justice of the Jews in the last years of the 12th century. After 1199 only Christians, varying in number from two to five, were appointed. Other Jewish "officials," the most important being the *archpresbyter (*Presbyter Judeorum*), were associated with the Exchequer of the Jews in the 13th century.

Its functions were both administrative and judicial. It controlled the system of *archae* (or chests), at first six or seven, later over 20, in towns with established Jewish communities: appointing and dismissing their officials, ordering the withdrawal and restoration of chirographs. All moneylending transactions (other than the lending of money against pawned movables) had to be registered in these *archae*. When the debt became due, the Exchequer of the Jews would issue an authorization for the levying of the debt at the request of the creditor; only if the debtor had died would this need to be preceded by legal proceedings. The Exchequer of the Jews also exercised a jurisdiction over cases involving Jewish debts which had passed into the hands of the Crown or had been transferred to other Christian creditors. At certain periods in the 13th century Crown revenue from Jewish sources was handled by the ordinary Exchequer, but in others the Exchequer of the Jews collected such revenue, retained it in a separate treasury, and disbursed it on the king's instructions. The Plea Rolls of the Exchequer of the Jews survive for 1219–20, 1244, 1253, and in a virtually continuous series from 1266 to 1287 (in course of publication).

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[Vivian David Lipman]

EXECUTION (**Civil**), laws concerning methods of recovering a debt.

Definition and Substance of the Concept

In Jewish law, a debt or obligation (*ḥiyyuv*) creates in favor of the creditor not only a personal right of action against the debtor, but also a right *in rem* in the form of a lien over the latter's property (termed *aḥarayut nekhasim*; see *Lien; Law of *Obligation). Hence, many of the laws concerning the methods of satisfying a debt out of the debtor's property also apply to the recovery of a debt with the consent of the debtor, and not merely to recovery of a debt by court action; e.g., such matters as the distinction between the different categories of assets out of which the debt must be satisfied, the distinction between free and "encumbered and alienated assets" (*nekhasim benei ḥorin* and *meshu'badim*, respectively), or the matter of preferential rights as between several creditors, etc.

Recovery of debt will here be dealt with from two main aspects: (1) methods of recovery involving the exercise of constraint against the person or liberty of the debtor; and (2) methods of recovery from the debtor's assets.

Execution in Jewish Law and in Other Legal Systems – Fundamental Principles

There are detailed instructions under biblical law governing the relationship between the lender (creditor) and borrower (debtor; Ex. 22:24–26; Deut. 24:6; 10–13), the essence of which is to enjoin the creditor not to prejudice the debtor's basic necessities of life or his personal honor and freedom. This is in contrast to the right given the creditor in the laws of Hammurapi to enslave the debtor as well as the debtor's wife, children, and slaves (secs. 114–6, 151–2, also 117–9) and in further contrast with similar provisions in the laws of Assyria, Ashnunna, Sumer, etc. (see Elon, *Ḥerut ha-Perat* 3–8). In biblical law the institution of slavery is limited to two cases only: (1) the thief who does not have the means to make restitution and is "sold for his theft" (Ex. 22:2); and (2) the person who voluntarily "sells himself" because of his extreme poverty (Lev. 25:39). Scriptural references indicate, however, that in practice bondage for debt was customary at times (II Kings 4:1; Isa. 50:1 and see I Sam. 22:2) – presumably under the influence of the surrounding legal systems; but the practice was strongly criticized by the prophets (Amos 2:6; 8:4–6; Micah 2:1–2) and after Nehemiah's sharp condemnation of the "nobles and rulers" for indulging in this practice (Neh. 5:1–13) bondage for debt was abolished in practice as well as in theory. The Bible makes no mention of imprisonment for debt and, indeed, Jewish law has given only the most limited recognition to *imprisonment, even in the field of criminal law.

Accordingly, methods of execution in Jewish law were in direct contradistinction to execution procedures under the Roman Twelve Tables. By the *legis actio per manus iniectionem*, the creditor was entitled – on the expiration of the 30 days' grace given the debtor to repay his debt and a further 60 days within which someone could redeem him from imprisonment and pay the debt on his behalf – to put the debtor to death or to sell him "*trans tiberim*"; if there were several creditors, each was entitled to a share of the debtor's corpse. The underlying motive of execution in Roman law was not only to satisfy the creditor's legitimate and material claim, but also to extract vengeance and to punish the debtor for not fulfilling his obligation (see H.F. Jolowicz, *Historical Introduction to the Study of Roman Law* (1952²), 192; Elon, *Ḥerut ha-Perat* 11f.). In the course of time the harshness of these provisions were modified and the creditor's right to sell or to put the debtor to death was abolished by the *Lex Poetelia* in 313 (326?) B.C.E., but it still remained possible to imprison the debtor until he repaid the debt or made adequate compensation for it by his own labor (Elon, *ibid.*). The basic attitude toward the creditor-debtor relationship as laid down in biblical law, with the later further requirement that the debtor make repayment by the due date, has, throughout the ages, remained at the root of the rules of execution in Jewish law (see Yad, Malveh, chs. 1 and 2; Tur and Sh. Ar., ḤM 97–98), although certain changes and modifications were, at various times, introduced in keeping with the social and ethical realities prevailing in the different centers of Jewish life (see below).

Distinguishing between a Pauper and a Man of Means

The biblical passages mentioned above already delineated the basic concept of protecting the poor against the obduracy of their creditors. Talmudic scholars emphasized the distinction in unequivocal terms: "To the poor of your people you shall not be as a creditor, but to the rich" (Mekh., ed. Horowitz-Rabin, Mishpatim; 19, p. 316), and "You shall not be as a creditor to him – do not harass and demand from him when you know he has no means" (Mekh. SbY to 22:24; BM 75b and Codes). In post-talmudic times the distinction acquired a particular significance, especially in relation to imprisonment for debt.

Entry into the Debtor's Home

Entering the home of the debtor, in order to remove his assets in satisfaction of a debt, was prohibited in the Torah (Deut. 24:10–11). According to one opinion, entry for this purpose was forbidden to both the creditor and the debtor – so that the former might not remove assets of the best kind and so that the latter might not take out assets of the worst kind – only the officer of the court being permitted to enter in order to remove assets of a median kind (see below TJ, BM 9:14,12b). The majority of the scholars, however, interpreted the prohibition as directed only against the creditor, to prevent him from violating the borrower's private domain and conspiring against his person or property (TJ, BM 9:14,12b; Git. 50a and Codes). To avoid the danger of this happening to even the slightest degree, some of the scholars were of the opinion that it was also forbidden for the creditor forcibly to seize a pledge from the debtor, even if it was found outside his home and even if the court had sanctioned a distraint on him. According to these scholars it was only permissible for the officer of the court forcibly to extract from the debtor security for his debt (Sif. Deut. 276; Tosef., BM 10:8; BM 31b; 113 a–b). Some scholars expressed the opinion that, in principle, the prohibition against entering the debtor's home only applied to the creditor personally and that the officer of the court was even permitted to enter the debtor's home for the purpose of recovering assets in satisfaction of the debt; other scholars also prohibited the officer of the court from entering the debtor's house and the *halakhah* was so decided (BM 113b and Codes). Similarly, a further dispute between the scholars as to whether the prohibition against entry applied in respect of all debts or only to debts arising from loans, was decided in accordance with the latter view (Sif. Deut. 276; BM 115a and Codes).

The prohibition against entering the debtor's home hindered the effective recovery of a debt if the debtor pleaded that he had no assets and if no assets were found outside his home, since it was impossible to search his home so as to ascertain the truth of his plea. The post-talmudic scholars sought to overcome this difficulty in various ways. For example, Alfasi decided that entry is permissible if the debtor is "given to violent and evil ways and is arrogant" (i.e., in refusing to pay – quoted in *Sefer ha-Terumot*, 1:3), but Maimonides did not accept this view and regarded any permission to enter the debtor's home as against biblical law (Yad, Malveh, 2:2), and other scholars also rejected any permit of this nature (*Sefer ha-Terumot*, 1:3; Resp. Rashba, vol. 1, no. 909; vol. 2, no. 225). Some scholars sought to overcome the problem by giving a restricted interpretation to the biblical prohibition. Thus, for example, Meir ha-Levi *Abulafia argued that the officer of the court is only prohibited from entering the debtor's home when the debt can be recovered from other assets outside his home; if no such other assets are found and the creditor contends – even doubtfully – that the debtor has assets inside his home, the court officer may enter the latter's home and seek assets on which to levy execution (quoted in Tur, ḤM 97:26). Jacob b. Meir Tam and Asher b. Jehiel offered a solution based on the following reasoning: the biblical prohibition refers only to the case of the creditor attempting to take a pledge from the debtor's property as security for repayment of the loan at some time after the debt was created; but not to the case of the creditor seeking entry in order to collect payment of the debt, after the lapse of the due date (see also *Pledge). It follows therefore that entry into the debtor's home in the latter circumstances had never in fact been prohibited and was permissible (*Sefer ha-Yashar*, Nov. no. 602); *Piskei ha-Rosh*, BM 9:46–47), and this distinction was accepted by the majority of the *posekim* (Sh. Ar., ḤM 97:6,15 and standard commentaries); but such entry was nevertheless still restricted to the court officer (Tur, ḤM 97:26; Sh. Ar., ḤM 97:6,15; *Kezot ha-Ḥoshen*, ḤM 97, n. 2; Elon, *Ḥerut ha-Perat* (60, n. 35)). When it is clear that the debtor is impoverished and has no property, entry into his home is prohibited since "this can only cause him shame and suffering" (Sma, ḤM 99–13).

Compulsory Labor

The possibility of compelling satisfaction of a debt by means of the debtor's own labor was recognized in various legal systems during the Middle Ages. This form of compulsion represented a temporizing with the institution of enslavement for debt – all the recognized characteristics of this sometimes being manifest, while at other times and places the debtor was merely required to cover the principal and interest of the debt with his own labor (see Elon, *Ḥerut ha-Perat* 68 ff.).

There was in Jewish law no trace of this kind of compulsion until the 11th century (except for the contents of one of the *aggadot* concerning the destruction of the Temple: Git. 58a). From this time onward, however, the question was discussed in the light of the surrounding legal realities and the need for more efficient methods of debt collection. On the one hand, the halakhic scholars regarded compulsory labor as prejudicial to the debtor's personal liberty – particularly in view of the general attitude of Jewish law toward any kind of labor – hire as a restraint on personal freedom, for which reason it has afforded the laborer special privileges, such as the right of retracing, etc. (BM 10a, 77a; see also *Labor Law). On the other hand, compulsory labor involved no actual deprivation of the debtor's liberty – such as resulted from a sale into slavery – if its object was merely to give the creditor due satisfaction for his debt. Alfasi, and other scholars following him, decided that the debtor should labor – hire himself in order to repay his debt (quoted in Resp. Maharam of Rothenburg, ed. Cremona, no. 146). Some scholars distinguished between different kinds of obligations, and thus, for example, it was decided that in the case of a debt arising from the debtor's obligation to maintain his wife, he could be compelled to work in order to maintain her, since he expressly undertook to do so in the *ketubbah* – a factor not present in any other obligation and thus precluding compulsory labor (Elijah of Paris, Tos., Ket. 63a). Other scholars were of the opinion that compulsory labor was precluded in all cases, including even that of a wife's maintenance (Jacob *Tam quoted in *Haggahot Maimoniyyot;* Yad, Ishut, 12: s.s. 8), and this view was accepted by the majority of the *posekim* (Rosh, Resp. no. 78:2; Tur, EH, 70; Tur, ḤM 97:28–30; 99:18–19; Sh. Ar., EH 70:3; 154:3; HM 97:15), although some of the latter did recognize the exception in respect of a wife's maintenance (*Rema*, EH 70:3; *Ḥelkat Meḥokek*, Beit Shemu'el and *Yeshu'ot Ya'akov*, ibid.). A further opinion that compulsory labor could be imposed in respect of other obligations, if the debtor was accustomed to labor and to hiring himself (the opinion of Radbaz, quoted in *Erekh Lehem*, ḤM 97:15), was later rejected by most of the scholars (*Tal Orot*, Parashat Kedoshim; Mishkenot ha-Ro'im, "Beth," no. 39).

Imprisonment for Debt

In talmudic times and for a long time afterward, Jewish law completely excluded the possibility of imprisonment for debt. In the course of time, however, and because of the surrounding legal realities as well as internal social and economic changes, the question of imprisonment for debt came to the surface in Jewish law, and a number of basic halakhic rules were laid down on this subject. For greater detail see *Imprisonment for Debt.

Execution Procedure

Execution procedure in Jewish law is based upon talmudic and post-talmudic sources and may be briefly summarized as follows: when it is sought to execute a judgment of the court ("if the borrower fails to give of his own accord, payment is levied through the court": Yad, Malveh 18:1), the court will grant a stay of execution – if so requested by the debtor in order to give him the chance of raising money to repay the debt – for a period of 30 days; during this period the debtor is not obliged to provide any pledge or surety, unless the court sees grounds for suspecting that he will place his assets beyond reach or in some other manner evade payment of the debt (Sh. Ar., ḤM 100:1; Resp. Maharik, sec. 14); the period of the stay may be increased or reduced by the court, depending on the circumstances (Tur ḤM 100:1; *Rema* ḤM 100:1), but no stay will be granted in respect of certain debts arising from tort (Yad, Ḥovel u-Mazzik, 2:20; see also Sh. Ar., ḤM 420:27; for further details concerning the stay, see *Arukh ha-Shulḥan*, ḤM 100:2). No stay of execution will be granted when an appeal is lodged against the judgment, unless so warranted by special circumstances (*Rema* ḤM 14:4; *Bah* ḤM 14:4; see also *Takkanot ha-Diyyun be-Vattei ha-Din ha-Rabbaniyyim be-Yisrael*, 5720 – 1959/60, Rule 132, and *Taxation). The creditor may also demand that the court impose a general ban on anyone who has money or chattels and refuses, without reasonable cause, to repay a debt (Yad, Malveh, 22:1; Sh. Ar., ḤM 100:1). Upon the debtor's failure to repay within the period of the stay, the court will issue a writ of *adrakhta* (see below, Yad, *ibid.*; ḤM 100:3), which is followed by various other procedural steps until the actual sale of the debtor's property or the creditor's "going down" to the property (*horadat ba'al ḥov la-nekhasim*), in satisfaction of the debt. If a stay of execution is not sought by the debtor and he declares that he will not pay the debt, the writ of *adrakhta* is issued forthwith (BK 112b; Yad and Sh. Ar., *ibid.*). If the debtor is found to have no property he is "warned" by the court three times – on a consecutive Monday, Thursday, and Monday – and then the lesser ban (*niddui) is pronounced against him until he pays the debt or pleads that he has no means of doing so and delivers a solemn oath accordingly (the oath of *ein li*; see below). If he suffers the ban for 30 days without seeking its retraction, it will be extended for a further 30 days and thereafter the full ban (*ḥerem, "excommunication") is pronounced against him (ḤM, *ibid.*).

Adrakhta and Tirpa

The word *adrakhta* means "to pursue and overtake" (cf. Judg. 20:43; Ket. 60b), hence it is the term used for a document empowering a creditor to "pursue" his debtor's property and levy payment thereon, wherever found (Rashi to BM 16b and 35b). Other scholars gave the term the meaning of the word *dorekh* ("treading upon"), i.e., by virtue of the writ of *adrakhta*, the creditor becomes master over and "treads upon" the debtor's property for the purpose of recovering the debt therefrom (*Rashbam* to BB 169a and see *Yad Ramah*, ibid.). The writ is issued for the recovery payment out of both the free prospect, and the "encumbered and alienated" property (*nekhasim benei ḥorin* and *meshu'badim*; see *lien). The *adrakhta* in respect of free property is written as follows: "X was adjudged to be indebted to Y in such and such an amount and, he not having paid voluntarily, we have written out this *adrakhta* on such and such a field of his." Thereupon the bond of indebtedness is torn up, and according to one opinion, this fact must be stated in the writ of *adrakhta* to prevent any possibility of the creditor recovering a second time on the same bond (Yad, Malveh, 22:13; Sh. Ar., ḤM 98:9–10; Meiri, in: *Shitah Mekubbezet* BK111b).

If the debtor has no free property, the *adrakhta* on the "encumbered and alienated" property is written thus: "X was adjudged to be indebted to Y in such and such an amount by virtue of a bond in the latter's hands; since he has not paid the debt and whereas we have not found any free property of his and have already torn up Y's bond, we therefore give Y the power to investigate and seek out and lay hands on all the property of X that he can find, including all the lands sold by X from such and such a time on, and Y is hereby authorized to recover the debt and levy payment on all such property" (Yad, Malveh, 22:6; Sh. Ar., ḤM 98:9; for the *adrakhta* version as to orphans' property, see Yad, Malveh, 12:9; ḤM 109:2). If the creditor finds any encumbered property which he is entitled to seize for the purpose of recovering payment, he will do so and thereupon the *adrakhta* is torn up (for the same reasons as the bond is torn up) and a writ of *tirpa* ("tearing apart," seizure) is issued (in which the tearing up of the *adrakhta* is recited: for the text see Yad, Malveh, 22:8; Sh. Ar., HM 98:9; for a different order of procedure concerning the *adrakhta* and *tirpa*, see commentaries to BK and BB, *ibid.*). A creditor executing a *tirpa* against encumbered property is required to take a solemn oath that he has not yet recovered payment of the debt, nor granted a release from or sold his claim (Shevu. 45a; Yad, Malveh, 22:10; ḤM 114:4).

Appraisement and Related Procedures

After the creditor finds free property of the debtor and also in the case of recovering payment from encumbered property, following upon a writ of *tirpa*, an appraisement (*shuma*) of the property is made (at the instance of the court) by three persons possessing the necessary expertise (Codes, *ibid.*; according to some scholars the appraisement is made before the *adrakhta* or *tirpa* is written, *Yad Ramah*, BB 169a). The appraisement is made according to the value for which the property can be sold at the particular time and place, without any need for the creditor to sell it somewhere else or wait until the price might rise (HM 101:9). If the appraisers disagree, the majority opinion is accepted and if each gives a different estimate, the average of the three estimates is taken (ḤM 103:1–3). The appraisement document is headed by the words *iggeret shum* ("letter of appraisement"), by which name it is known (MK 3:3, BM 1:8; for other interpretations of the term *iggeret shum* see commentaries on BM 20a and MK 18b).

After the appraisement has been approved by the court, there is a public announcement or advertisement (*hakhrazah*) in which the judges announce: "whoever wishes to buy may come and do so," in order to find the highest bidder. In origin, the law of *hakhrazah* applied in respect of consecrated property and the property of *orphans (Ar. 2lb and Codes), but was extended also to property sold in execution (Ket. 100b; Tos. to Ar. 2lb and Codes). The scholars disputed the question whether the sale of orphans' property should be so advertised for 30 or 60 days and the *halakhah* was decided that the period should be 30 days where the announcement is made daily and 60 days where it is made on Mondays and Thursdays only (Ar. 2lb and Codes.). According to some of the *posekim*, an announcement for 30 days is made even in matters not concerned with orphans' property (*Rema* ḤM 103:1), but another opinion is that in the case of recovering payment out of free property, an announcement is made "as may be deemed necessary, until there are no higher bids" (*ibid.*).

The announcement is made in the morning and evening, when the "workmen set out and return home," and is only made for the sale of land, not for the sale of chattels, nor, if the sale is for urgent purposes, such as maintenance, funeral expenses, or polltax (Ket. 100b and Codes). The property is sold to the person paying the highest price beyond the appraised value or – if there be no one to raise the price – to the person paying the appraised value. The purchaser is given a *shetar hakhrazah* or *iggeret bikkoret* ("letter of examination," Ket. 99b and see Rashi ad loc.; cf. also *Tosefot Yom Tov*, Ket. 11:5; for the text see *Sefer ha-Terumot*, 3:2; Beit Yosef ḤM 103:17; cf. also other interpretations in *A rukh ha-Shalem*, s.v. *iggeret bikkoret*). The creditor is given a preferential right of acquiring the property for himself if no one offers more than the appraised value or if he equals any other offers (Sh. Ar., ḤM 103:1). In this event the creditor is given a *shetar horadah* (i.e., he "goes down" to the property, it is "appraised" to him; for the text see Tur ḤM 103:17 where it is called a *shetar shuma;* cf. BM 16b, where it is called a *shetar aḥaletata* Yad, Malveh, 22:10–11) where it is also called a *shetar horadah* but a different version of the text is given; see also the standard commentaries and Gulak, *ibid.*).

One opinion is that once the *adrakhta* has reached the hands of the creditor, he may also enjoy the fruits of the property, but another opinion is that he may do so only after the appraisement and the announcement (BM 35b) – the *halakhah* was decided in accordance with the latter view (Malveh, 22:12). The execution proceedings are completed when the property is sold and the proceeds paid to the creditor or the property itself transferred to him.

Restoration of Property Transferred to the Creditor
In strict law the creditor to whom the debtor's land is transferred is not thereafter obliged to return the land if the debtor subsequently acquired the means to repay the debt in cash; but the scholars enacted, in a *takkanah* referred to in the Talmud as *shuma hadar* (BM 16b and Codes; cf. Gulak, *Ha-Hiyyuv ve-Shi'budav*, 125, on the use of the term *shuma* in this connection), that this should be done for the sake of "Do what is right and good in the sight of the Lord" (Deut. 6:18 and see *Takkanot). Chattels recovered by the creditor, however, are not returnable to the debtor (*Rema* ḤM 103:9). According to one view, land is returnable to the debtor if he repays the debt within 12 months but the *halakhah* was decided according to the view that land is always returnable to the debtor (i.e., upon repayment of the debt, BM 16b. and 35a, Codes). Land recovered by the creditor and then sold by him, or given in gift, or inherited upon his death, is however not returnable to the debtor (*ibid.*). According to some scholars, the land must always be returned to a debtor, even if given by him voluntarily in satisfaction of the debt and not as a result of execution proceedings; but other scholars hold that his voluntary surrender of the land is a bar to its ever being returned to him against payment of the debt (*ibid.*). Similarly, a stipulation between the creditor and debtor and effected by way of a formal *kinyan* (see *Acquisition, Modes of), to the effect that the former shall not be obliged to return the land to the latter, holds good even when the land is turned over to the creditor as a result of execution proceedings (Sh. Ar., ḤM 103:9).

Categories of Assets for Recovery of Debt
If the debtor owns cash (coins), chattels, and land, he must pay in cash and cannot refer the creditor to other property (Sh. Ar., ḤM 101:1); if the debtor wishes to pay in cash but the creditor wants land or chattels, some scholars give the creditor the right to choose, but the *halakhah* was decided according to the view that the choice is the debtor's (Tur and Sh. Ar., ḤM 101:3). If the debtor owns land only, the creditor may refuse to accept it and choose to wait until the debtor is able to pay him in cash (ḤM 101:4). If the debtor has chattels and land but no cash, the creditor recovers payment out of the chattels, but the debtor has the right to choose the chattels for this purpose (ḤM 101:2); the creditor cannot demand land if the debtor offers chattels in payment.

If the debtor has no chattels or such chattels do not satisfy the debt, payment is extracted from his land (Malveh 22:4 and ḤM 101:10) and – when such land consists of fields of different quality – in this order: a debt arising from tort is satisfied from the *idit* or best land; a wife's jointure (*Ketubbah*) from the *zibburit* (the poorest or worst land); and all other obligations from the *beinonit* or land of medium quality (Git. 48b; Yad, Malveh 19:1; ḤM 102:1). In strict law, according to some scholars, all obligations except those in tort can be satisfied from the *zibburit*, but the scholars prescribed that all obligations except for the wife's jointure should be satisfied from the *beinonit* so as not to close the door before a borrower; other scholars hold the opinion that in strict law, all obligations except those in tort and the wife's jointure must be satisfied from the *beinonit* (Git. 49b and Codes; TJ, Git. 5:1,26c; and see above entry into the debtor's home; above, on the question of levying payment on chattels or land sold by the debtor to a third party see *Lien).

In many places it was customarily stipulated in bond agreements that the debtor had to pay the debt in cash, without putting the creditor to the trouble of execution proceedings and for this purpose the debtor was obliged personally to deal with the sale of his property and to pay the creditor in cash (Resp. Rashba, quoted in *Beit Yosef* ḤM 101:5).

"Arrangement" for the Benefit of Impoverished Debtors (*siddur le-ba'al ḥov*). The Pentateuch lays down various provisions concerning the taking of a pledge from a borrower and the duty to restore it in case the borrower is impoverished and requires the pledge for the elementary necessities of life. The scholars have interpreted these laws as applying to the taking of a pledge other than at the time of the loan and for purposes of securing the loan, but not when it is taken in satisfaction of the loan (see *Pledge). The scholars laid down that when the creditor seeks to levy on the debtor's property – i.e., after due date of payment and in satisfaction of the debt – certain property serving the debtor's elementary needs is to be entirely beyond the reach of the levy. This exclusion of a part of the debtor's property from the creditor's grasp is termed *mesaredin le-va'al ḥov;* i.e., an assessment is made of how much to leave the debtor for his vital necessities (Rashi, BM 113b), or an "arrangement" is made for his necessities, as laid down by the scholars (Rashi to Ned. 65b); the version of some scholars is *mesaredin le-va'al ḥov*, from the word שָׂרִיד = a remnant, i.e., leaving the debtor a shred or remnant (Rashi, 113b).

The basic idea of an "arrangement" is found in a *baraita* which lays down that a creditor may demand that an expensive suit of clothing belonging to the debtor be sold in satisfaction of the debt, but the latter must be left with some other ordinary clothing. In the opinion of R. Ishmael and R. Akiva, "all Israelites are entitled to the same robe," and even an expensive suit must be left to the debtor (BM 113b). However, the detailed laws of "arrangement" laid down by Judah ha-Nasi in the Mishnah (Ar. 6:3), relate only to **arakhin* obligations (to the Temple) and not ordinary debts and only in the *baraita* cited is mention made of "arrangement" in relation to all debts (BM 113b). According to some of the *amoraim*, no "arrangement" of this nature is ever made (BM 114a) and this view is followed by some of the *posekim* (*Sefer ha-Yashar*, Nov. no. 602), but the majority of the *posekim* confirm the institution (Yad, Malveh, 1:7; 2:1–2; Sh. Ar., ḤM 97:6ff, 23). There is also an opinion that "arrangement" is only made in the case of a debt originating from loan (and not, for example, from hire; ḤM 97:29; *Arukh ha-Shulḥan* 97:35).

Within the framework of the arrangement the debtor is left with the following: food for a period of 30 days – according to the normal requirements of the average townsman, even though the debtor may have lived as a pauper; clothing for a period of 12 months ("he does not require to wear silken apparel or a head-covering of gold – these shall be taken from him and he shall be given what is due to him"; see above); a bed and other requirements for sleeping; essential home furniture, such as a table and chair (*Arukh ha-Shulḥan* 97:26); his shoes; an artisan is left with two of each kind of tool used by him (Yad, Malveh 1:7 and ḤM 97:23); according to R. Eliezer a farmer is left with a pair of working animals, and the owner of an ass or a boat is left with the ass or boat respectively, but the majority opinion of the scholars, according to which the *halakhah* was decided, is that these are regular assets and not artisans' utensils (Ar. 23b; and Codes). The debtor retains his **tefillin* but not his books (*ibid.*), but some scholars say that if the debtor is a *talmid ḥakham*, his books are not taken from him (the opinion of Judah Barzillai, quoted in *Sefer ha-Terumot* 1:1,8). An interesting innovation is the decision of Moses *Sofer (at the beginning of 19th century) that a shopkeeper's stock of goods is not to be sold in execution, "since in these times the essence of their livelihood is to buy and sell on credit, it would amount to taking their lives in pledge (Deut. 24:6) if their stock is taken from their shops; therefore the practice is to take payment in installments at fixed times … so that the shopkeeper shall not fail completely" (Nov. Hatam Sofer ḤM 97).

The laws of the "arrangement" are not concerned with the needs of the debtor's wife and children, even though they are the debtor's responsibility (Ar. 6:3f., and Codes). Hai Gaon held the view, however, that the debtor's needs for his household and children, for whose maintenance he is responsible, come within the arrangement – and this was the practice in Kairouan (see Elon, *Ḥerut ha-Perat* 47, n. 43). The creditor does not, however – but for an entirely different reason – levy payment on the clothing of the debtor's wife and children, even if it was bought by the debtor with his own money. In the opinion of some of the *posekim*, this includes their Sabbath and festival garments, even if they are very expensive. The reason is that it is presumed that such garments are given by the debtor to his wife and children with the intention that the garments become their own property and the law precludes the creditor from levying payment on chattels that have passed out of the debtor's ownership (Yad, Malveh, 1:5; ḤM 97:25,26 and Isserles ad loc; and see *Lien). Some scholars hold, on the strength of this view, that a wife's jewelry given to her by her husband, the debtor, is also excluded from the creditor's levy (and see Sma, ḤM 97 n. 62). Garments or jewelry owned by the debtor's wife prior to their marriage or acquired thereafter with her own private funds, as well as garments or jewelry expressly purchased by the husband for his wife, are clearly excluded from the levy (ḤM 97:26 and Sma 63).

Plurality of Creditors – Preferential Rights

In the case of a written obligation (*shetar* or deed), the creditor in whose favor the obligation was first established takes preference in levying payment on the debtor's land, whether still in the latter's possession (i.e., the free property) or whether already acquired from the debtor by a third party (i.e., "encumbered and alienated" property; Ket. 94a; Yad, Malveh, 20:1; Sh. Ar., ḤM 104:1). This preferential right upon recovery of a debt is the result of an attitude of Jewish law which gives the creditor, upon the creation of the debt and over and above his personal right of recourse against the debtor, a lien on the latter's land. This lien, which is in the nature of a right, takes precedence over any similar right acquired by a subsequent creditor. If a later creditor forestalls an earlier one in levying on the debtor's land, some scholars hold that what he succeeds in recovering cannot be taken from him by an earlier creditor despite the right of a creditor by deed to seize a debtor's "encumbered and alienated" assets – since a later creditor still takes precedence over a regular purchaser, so that "the door shall not be bolted before a borrower" (Ket. 94a and Tos. to *ibid.*). Other scholars (*ibid*), followed by the majority of the *posekim* (Alfasi and Asheri to Ket. 94a; and Codes), hold that in these circumstances the levy of the later creditor is not valid and the earlier creditor may seize from the later one whatever the later may have recovered. However, if the later creditor forestalls the earlier one and levies on the beinonit land, but leaves the debtor with *zibburit*, the levy will be valid since the earlier creditor is still able to recover his debt from the *zibburit* (Sh. Ar., ḤM 104:1).

So far as the debtor's chattels are concerned, the earlier creditor takes no precedence in recovering his debt from such chattels, since there is no lien over movable property. In the case of two creditors simultaneously claiming the debtor's chattels, some scholars hold that the earlier creditor takes precedence but the majority opinion of the *posekim* is that there is no preferential right and the debtor's assets are shared between the two creditors (see below; Ket. 94a; and Codes). Even in respect of land there is no preferential right unless the land was in the debtor's possession prior to establishment of the debt; and if the debtor, at the time the debt was established, charges in favor of two or more creditors any land which he may acquire in the future (see *Lien), the earlier creditor will have no preferential right in respect of such land, since when the debtor acquires the land it is automatically charged in favor of both creditors (BB 157b; and Codes).

In the case of a mere oral obligation there is no preferential right between creditors, neither over land nor chattels, and two creditors seeking to levy payment at the same time must share the debtor's property (Rif. Resp. no. 197; see also Sma to Sh. Ar., ḤM 104 no. 3 and 31). According to some scholars, however, there is an order of preference in respect of land in the debtor's possession (ḤM 104:13 and Sma), even in the case of oral debt.

The *posekim* dispute the method of dividing the debtor's property amongst his creditors when there is no preferential right. One opinion is that each creditor takes a share of the property in proportion to the size of his debt, since it would be inequitable to divide the property equally in proportion to the number of creditors (Rabennu Hananel, in Tur ḤM 104:11; Yad, Malveh 20:4 quoting the Geonim); whereas others hold that the debtor's property is shared equally amongst the creditors according to their number, provided that no creditor receives more than the due amount of his debt, since the small creditor is thereby afforded greater protection (Ket. 94a; Alfasi and Rashi ad loc.; and Codes).

Preferential Rights and Insolvency

A consequence of the law of preference as described above is that Jewish law does not recognize some of the laws of insolvency customary in other legal systems. Thus, it does not recognize a concurrence with regard to division of an insolvent estate, whereby all the debtor's assets – save for those specifically charged in favor of a particular creditor or creditors – are divided among his creditors on a concurrent basis in proportion to the size of each creditor's claim. Because of the lien over the debtor's land afforded in Jewish law to each of the creditors, the order of precedence in recovering a debt follows the order of the establishment of the various liens, in similar manner to the order of preference in other legal systems regarding specifically charged assets. Even in cases where there is no prescribed order of preference, for example, in respect of the debtor's chattels or land acquired by him after the establishment of the debt, the assets are distributed amongst the creditors in proportion to the number of creditors and not to the size of each claim.

In post-talmudic times the law was supplemented, within the above-mentioned framework, by a number of rules very similar to the familiar insolvency laws. Some of these rules were aimed at protecting all the creditors. Thus, for example, it was laid down that in cases where the law afforded no preferential right, a proportional share of the debtor's estate had to be reserved for those creditors who had not yet claimed repayment and even for those creditors holding claims that were not yet due for payment. (*Teshuvot Maimoniyyot*, Mishp. no. 41; Rashba, Resp. vol. 1, no. 1111; *Keẓot ha-Ḥoshen* ḤM 104, s.s. 2). It also became customary to announce in public that anyone failing to lodge his claim against a particular insolvent within a specified period would lose his right (Rashba, Resp. vol. 1, no. 893).

In different periods, when economic crises led to an increase in cases of insolvency, various *takkanot* were enacted to deal with the situation (see Elon, *Ḥerut ha-Perat* 172ff.). These provided for the appointment of a trustee (*ne'eman*) over the property of an insolvent (a *bore'aḥ* or "fugitive" as he is called in the halakhic literature and *takkanot* of Poland, Germany, and Lithuania in the 17th and 18th centuries: see Elon, *Ḥerut ha-*

Perat 180, no. 265). The trustee's task was to collect and receive all the debtor's property – which thus became vested in him – and to sell the same and distribute the proceeds amongst the creditors; the *takkanot* prescribed a punishment of a year's imprisonment for a debtor who willfully squandered his property, and could not pay his debts (Halpern, Pinkas Takk. 112, 128; Elon, *Ḥerut ha-Perat* 180–3).

Execution in the Absence of the Debtor

The scholars of the Talmud express conflicting opinions on the question of levying payment on the debtor's property when he is absent and there is no reasonable prospect of reaching him. One opinion is that in these circumstances, payment is not levied, even if the creditor should take an oath that the debt has not yet been paid; another opinion is that a debt is not recovered in the debtor's absence except with regard to a debt on which interest is payable; third opinion is that payment is not levied unless the debtor had faced trial and thereafter taken flight; a further view is that payment is levied in the debtor's absence and the possibility that he may have paid the debt and received a release from his bond is disregarded, in order that "a person shall not take his neighbor's money and then go and sit abroad, which would cause the door to be bolted before borrowers" (Ket. 88a, TJ, Ket. 9:9,33b, 8). Some of the *posekim* follow the third of these opinions (Hai Gaon, quoted in *Sefer ha-Terumot*, 15:1; Rabbenu Ḥananel, quoted by Alfasi, Asheri, and in Tos. to Ket. 88a); the majority of the *posekim*, however, hold the opinion that payment is levied in the debtor's absence, on both his land and chattels, after the creditor has presented his bond of indebtedness and taken an oath that the debt had not yet been paid (Alfasi and Asheri, Ket. 88a; Yad, Malveh, 13:1; Sh. Ar., ḤM 106:1). In the event that the debtor goes abroad before the debt falls due for payment, some scholars hold that by virtue of the presumption that no person pays a debt before its due date, the creditor may levy payment without taking the oath of non-payment – even though the debt may meanwhile have fallen due – since the fact that the creditor holds the bond of indebtedness obviates the fear that the debtor may meanwhile have paid the debt through an agent. Other scholars hold that in these circumstances the creditor is required to take the prescribed oath just because of the fear that the debtor may have paid the debt through an agent (*Sefer ah-Terumot*, 15:1; Tur, ḤM 106:3).

At no time is payment levied in the debtor's absence, unless the latter cannot be reached by an agent in a return journey lasting not more than 30 days (some scholars fix a longer and others a shorter period); if the debtor is somewhere where he can be reached in less than the stated period, the court will dispatch an agent to notify the debtor of the proposed levy on his assets. The expenses involved are paid by the creditor, but these may be recovered in turn from the debtor (Yad, Malveh, 13:1 and ḤM 106:1); expenses incurred by the creditor for his own benefit, such as those connected with the issue of a writ of *adrakhta*, etc. are not recoverable from the debtor (Sma n. 2 and *Siftei Kohen* ḤM 106). Execution in the debtor's absence is conditional upon the prior fulfillment of three requirements by the creditor: (1) probate of the bond of indebtedness held by him; (2) proof that the debtor is abroad and is not available to face trial; and (3) proof that the assets on which it is sought to levy payment belong to the debtor (Malveh 13:2; ḤM 106:2). In order to obviate the difficulties attending an execution in the debtor's absence, the creditor may request the court to restrain the debtor from leaving the country unless he provides a surety for the payment of the debt (Sh. Ar., ḤM 73:10; see also Elon, *Ḥerut ha-Perat* 218, n. 409; PDR 2:65ff.).

Impoverished Debtors and the Plea of Ein li

"It is the law of the Torah that when the lender comes to recover payment of the debt, and it is found that the borrower has property, then an assessment ["arrangement"] for his vital needs is made and the remainder is given to his creditor …; if it is found that the debtor has no property, or that he only has objects which fall within the assessment – the debtor is allowed to go his way (and he is not imprisoned, neither is he asked to produce evidence that he is a pauper, nor is an oath taken from him in the manner that an idolator is adjudged, as it is written: 'you shall not be as a creditor unto him.'" (Yad, Malveh, 2:1). This was the law as it prevailed until geonic times. The advent of the geonic period was accompanied by material changes in the economic life of Babylonian Jewry. Commerce, extending to the North African and other countries, came increasingly to replace agriculture and the crafts as the mainstay of Jewish existence. Whereas formerly loans were taken primarily for the borrower's daily needs, they now came to be employed mainly for profit-making purposes, and the growing capital flow and development of external trade made it difficult to keep a check on the assets of a debtor, all of which encouraged the phenomenon of concealing assets. In the course of time this led to the adoption of far-reaching changes in the means of recovering a debt (see above; and also Imprisonment for *Debt.). These changes only partially asserted themselves in the geonic period, but two developments from this period may be mentioned, both aimed at a more effective process of debt recovery from a debtor pleading a lack of means.

One development was to place the debtor under a strict ban for a predetermined period, as a means of compelling payment. Thus it was decided by Hai Gaon, the first to mention this practice, that because of the adoption of various subterfuges by people of means seeking to evade payment of their debts – including those falsely swearing to their lack of means – any debtor pleading a lack of means to pay a debt shall have the ban imposed on him for a period of 90 days, during which time he is "severed" from Israel – so as to induce the disclosure of his assets and payment of the debt. Upon the expiry of this period he is made to take an oath that he has no means (for the terms of the oath, see below). Only a debtor who is reputed to be a pauper and known as such by the people is exempt from the ban when pleading no means of paying his debt (see A. Harkavy, *Zikkaron la-Rishonim*, no. 182). The ban for 90 days is also mentioned in the Talmud (BK

112b), but there it is imposed on a debtor who has means and pleads in court that the bond of indebtedness is a forgery; if, after being given a respite in order to prove his plea, he fails to appear in court, the ban will be imposed on him for 90 days and thereafter an *adrakhta* issued on his assets. This drastic innovation was not generally accepted as part of Jewish law. It was rejected by Alfasi and Raviah as contrary to the law (their statements quoted by way of the Mordecai in *Baḥ* ḤM 99:5) and it is not mentioned at all by later *posekim*. Only in the 16th and 17th centuries is it mentioned again – in various communal *takkanot* – as the imposition of a ban for a period of three days, thirty days, etc., with reference to a debtor pleading that he has no means (see Elon, *Ḥerut ha-Perat* 44, n. 25).

A second development in the geonic period toward more efficient debt collection was a *takkanah* providing for the administration of the oath of *ein li* ("I have no means") or *shevu'at ha-ḥashad* (oath taken when "suspected" of having means) to a debtor pleading a lack of means to repay his debt: "After the redaction of the *Gemara*, when the early geonim saw the swindlers increase in number and the door bolted before a borrower, they regulated that a solemn oath – having the stringency of biblical law – be taken from a borrower to the effect that he has nothing beyond the assessment that is made for him and that he has not concealed anything with others and has given no returnable gifts; the oath shall include that whatever he may earn or that may come into his hand or possession, in any manner whatever, shall not be used at all to feed or clothe either his wife or children or be given to anyone as a gift, save that he shall take from it sustenance for 30 days and raiment for 12 months – such as is due to him; neither the sustenance of gluttons nor of the nobility nor the raiment of high officials, but such as he has accustomed to – and the remainder he shall give to his creditors, in due order of preference, until the whole of his debt is collected" (Yad, Malveh, 2:2). Unlike the case of the ban imposed for 90 days, the pauper was also subjected to this oath, but was later exempted from it by Maimonides, on the grounds that the oath was designed "to deal with swindlers and not with those generally accepted to be paupers" (Yad, Malveh, 2:4). The administration of this oath, as qualified by Maimonides, was accepted by the *posekim* (Tur and Sh. Ar., ḤM 99:4).

A similar oath can be traced in the legal systems of various European countries, commencing from the 12th century onward; thus for example, in the *Offenbarungseid* of German and Austrian law, the debtor is also committed to make over all his future earnings to his creditor (see Elon, *Ḥerut ha-Perat* 49, n. 52).

The underlying purport of the Jewish laws of execution is to ensure the existence of an effective debt-collection procedure, so as not to "bolt the door before a borrower," while maintaining adequate safeguards against the violation of a debtor's personal freedom and dignity. The pursuit of this twofold objective has ensured that the laws of execution at all times recognize a material distinction between a genuinely impoverished debtor and a debtor of means seeking to evade fulfillment of his obligations towards the creditor, a distinction lucidly enunciated in the statements of Maimonides already cited.

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In the State of Israel

The laws and proceedings for the execution of judgments in the State of Israel in general, particularly with respect to the imprisonment of debtors, were significantly changed by the Supreme Court's decision in the *Perah* case (HCJ 5304/92, *Perah v.* Minister of Justice, 47(4) PD 715). This decision, written by the deputy-president of the Court (Justice Menachem Elon), relied on the position adopted by Jewish law regarding imprisonment for the enforcement of debts. The Perah organization had petitioned the court to nullify one of the regulations that allowed for the excessively easy imprisonment of debtors, without the debtor even having to be brought before the head of the Execution of Judgments Office.

The decision begins by noting that "the central issue of this complaint is the fundamental right of a person to freedom and dignity in the context of imprisonment for debt." In the ruling, Justice Elon presents a detailed description of the position of Jewish law and its development as attested by a broad range of sources dealing with the execution of judgments in general, and imprisonment for debt in particular, from the biblical era through the contemporary period. In focusing on the detailed process that lead to the Knesset enacting the Execution of Judgments Law, he noted that support for the proposed bill was based on principles of Jewish law that reject the view that collection measures also serve as a punishment of the debtor. Justice Elon also relied on the fact that the Basic Law: Human Dignity and Liberty establishes the values of the State of Israel as a Jewish and democratic state.

In wake of this decision, a number of amendments were made to the Execution of Judgments Law, allowing imprisonment for debt only in certain particular instances. (See also the detailed discussion of the decision in the entry *Imprisonment for Debt.)

The *Negola* decision (LCA 7700/95, *Negola v.* Hazan, 50 (1) PD 338) was another Supreme Court decision in which the Court relied upon the "ancient social sources of Jewish law" regarding the rules of execution of judgments. In that case, in the framework of proceedings to enforce collection of a debt, attachment proceedings were instituted for the sale of the petitioners/debtor's residential apartment, and an alternative arrangement was established in accordance with the provisions of the Execution of Judgments Law. These provisions require that, prior to ordering the sale of a residential apartment, the head of the Execution of Judgments Office must be shown that "the debtor and his family members who live with him will have a reasonable place to live, or that there is an alternative arrangement for them." Justice Strassbourg-Cohen's decision discusses the nature of such an "alternative arrangement," and analyzes in detail the criteria and the considerations for striking a balance between the creditor's right to collect his debt, on the one hand, and the special personal circumstances of the creditors, on the other. Justice Tirkel added that the alternative residence must also be appropriate in terms of the time that the debtor is able to stay there. Accordingly, if the debtor had been entitled to live his entire life in the apartment that he owned, he is entitled to an alternative arrangement that assure him a lifelong residence. This determination stems from the interpretation of the law in light of its purpose – namely, that it mandates the protection of the debtor's basic living needs, as expressed in the prohibition against attaching part of a debtor's salary, his clothing, beds, tools, etc. Judge Tirkel pointed out that this arrangement is based on ancient principles of social welfare within Jewish law: "No man shall take the mill or the upper millstone to pledge; for he takes a man's life to pledge," (Deut 24:6); and "And if he be a poor man, thou shall not sleep with his pledge, you shall surely return him the pledge when the sun goes down, that he may sleep in his garment" (Deut 24:12–13), these being concepts that continued to develop over generations. Justice Tal concurred with the opinions of Justices Strassbourg-Cohen and Turkel, but added that in certain cases, where "the debtor … lives in a house that he had built for himself with the money of others," the verse "he who builds his house with unfairness and his upper chambers with injustice" (Jer 22:13) is applicable and he is not entitled to the same protection.

Extensive use of Jewish law was made in this regard in a decision of the Petah Tikvah Magistrate's Court regarding the imposition of liens on a debtor's assets. The Court relied on the writings of the Rosh (*Piskei Ha-Rosh*, BK 1.5) and of Rabbi Israel Isserlein (*Terumat ha-Deshen*, §305), from which it emerged that, prior to imposing a temporary lien on assets in order to prevent the debtor from hiding them, there must also be proof of the grounds of the action, and it must be shown that there is a likelihood that the defendant will attempt to hide these assets. The reason is that the purpose of imposing a lien on the assets is not to punish the defendant, but to prevent a situation which would encumber enforcement of the judgment (Maharshal, *Yam Shel Shlomo*, BK 1.20; Civil Application 4804/02, *NMC v.* Ben Chalouche, Registrar Zvi Weitzmann). The same Court also discussed the issue of what situation is considered to be one that encumbers the execution of judgment and concluded, on the basis of Jewish legal sources (Sh. Ar., HM, 73.10; *Shakh* on Shulhan Arukh, op.cit.; Maharshal, op. cit.), that, in order to obtain temporary relief, it is necessary to prove an active attempt on the part of the defendant to conceal his assets and to frustrate the execution of a judgment, and it is not sufficient to prove his inability to discharge the debt. (Civil Application 2264/04, *Rosenthal v.* Shinterko).

Another decision handed down by the same court, also dealing with liens, reviewed the developments in Jewish law regarding the ability to enter a debtor's house to collect a debt, in accordance with the *Perah* decision, while taking care to maintain the debtor's dignity and not to harm him. In light of this review, the Court examined the proper balance between the defendant's rights and the plaintiff's rights, and the degree of harm that can legitimately be caused to the defendant in order to secure the plaintiff's rights (Civil Petition 2621/04, *Shinterko v.* Rosenthal, Judge Zvi Weitzmann).

Regarding this matter, see also FF 24891/03, *A.N. v.* A.T.; Civil Application 743/02 *G.A. v.* G.A., regarding an injunction against leaving the country; Execution of Judgment File 17-09642-96-8 – re foreclosure on a secured asset.

Concerning the use of Jewish law, see also Civil Petition 18702/02 *Polaski v.* Galaxy Electronics (Haifa District Court, Judge Yakovshvili), regarding an arrangement of the debtor's assets and a lien on sacred objects; and 3403/01 *Ziva v.* Yaako*v*, 5761(1) PDM, 756 (Jerusalem District Court, Judge Moshe Drori), regarding the execution of an act without a signature of the creditor.)

[Menachem Elon (2nd ed.)]

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EXEMPLA OF THE RABBIS, a collection of more than 300 Hebrew stories – the largest collection of its kind compiled in the Middle Ages – so entitled by M. Gaster, who discovered them in manuscript and published them (1924). Most of the stories, especially in the beginning of the book, are similar to, or identical with, those in the talmudic-midrashic literature, although in the latter part, there are some longer, more developed, stories, not found in the Talmud or Midrash. While the manuscript is undoubtedly of medieval times, Gaster maintains that the collection itself is a very early one, predating the Talmud. Furthermore, he tries to prove that for their stories the talmudic sages did not use oral sources, but rather a narrative Hebrew literature, of which the only extant specimen is this collection. This he concludes on the basis of the organization of the work in accordance with literary principles. No proof, however, exists for Gaster's conclusions. It is much more logical to suppose that the compiler of the *Exempla* collected stories from the talmudic-midrashic literature, adding to them medieval stories, with which he became acquainted through oral or written sources. All this material he organized together according to strict literary principles. The existence of two other medieval compilations of this sort –**Mi-*

drash Aseret ha-Dibberot and Rabbenu *Nissim of Kairouan's *Sefer ha-Ma'asiyyot* (which was written in Arabic) – seems to corroborate the theory that Gaster's manuscript belongs to a medieval tradition, according to which later authors tried to provide their contemporaries with a selection of narrative material in the talmudic-midrashic literature. Although the exact date of this collection is unknown, it may be assumed that it was not compiled before the 11th or the 12th century. Literarily the collection presents a unified structure, in that every story opens with either *Ma'aseh* ("A story") or *Tanu rabbanan* ("The sages taught"). More important, however, is the purposeful arrangement of the stories: each is related, in content and ideas, with those preceding and following it, thus forming an interconnected chain of stories. Abraham's search for the true God, for instance, is preceded by the story of his destruction of the idols and subsequent trial by Nimrod and is followed by the account of Hadrian's attempt to present himself as a god. The book, a collection of stories of many types, contains only a few which properly belong to the literary type known as the *exemplum.

See also *Fiction, the Hebrew Story in the Middle Ages.

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[Joseph Dan]

EXEMPLUM, legend or anecdote from the lives of the sages to suggest emulation as instruction. In medieval Hebrew literature it is very difficult to distinguish between the legend and *hagiography, historical fiction, and various kinds of fables. The exemplum is not defined by its own, intrinsic literary character, but rather by the intent of the author which is not always known and not always clearly expressed in the story. An anecdote is an exemplum only if it is known that its purpose was to serve as an ethical model to be followed. To discover this purpose, however, is not always possible.

Talmudic-midrashic literature, for example, preserved hundreds of stories and anecdotes describing the lives of the *tannaim* and the *amoraim*. Many of these were related by pupils in admiration of their teachers after the latter's death; others out of pure historical interest to preserve the fame of the great rabbis for posterity. The rabbis themselves told autobiographical anecdotes and some parables served only to prove a halakhic or midrashic point. The Middle Ages used the corpus of these stories, whatever the original character or intent of the tales, as exempla: that is to say, a pious Jew had to learn how the old sages behaved so that he might emulate them and achieve the same high moral and religious standards. In the late Middle Ages, this process of turning biographies and hagiographies into exempla continued. In the 16th century, the pupils of the kabbalist Isaac *Luria of Safed evolved a cycle of hagiographies about him which became very popular in Eastern Europe in the 17th and 18th centuries, and were included in many ethical and kabbalistic works. When the Ḥasidim evolved their own cycle of legends around their leader *Israel Baal Shem Tov, they used many of the tales woven around Luria, giving them a sometimes factual basis. It is evident, therefore, that both in fact and in popular tradition the Baal Shem Tov used legends about Luria as exempla for emulation, or at least he was described by his pupils as following in the ways of Luria. Medieval literature produced a few works which used talmudic-midrashic narrative material as exempla for their own generations. This was the purpose of collections like *The *Exempla of the Rabbis*, a large collection of talmudic stories and medieval additions, and *Sefer ha-Ma'asiyyot* of R. *Nissim of Kairouan. The latter was originally written in Arabic, in order that the general public, not familiar with talmudic literature, could read the stories and benefit from them. Another example is the early **Midrash Aseret ha-Dibberot* (see *Fiction, the Hebrew Story in the Middle Ages). Most of the stories included in these works, especially in the last one, are not exempla in the ordinary sense. Though their intention is to teach ethical and religious behavior to the average Jew, the examples they set forth are often so extreme that no one would be expected to follow their teachings exactly. In *Midrash Aseret ha-Dibberot*, for instance, a story which is intended to demonstrate the importance of observing the Sabbath relates how a cow that had belonged to a Jew refused to work on the Sabbath, and only when the Jew explained to the cow that gentiles may work on the Sabbath did the animal comply. Another story illustrates the commandment not to give a false oath in the name of God. It describes the misfortunes which befell a man who refused to swear under any circumstances, even to the truth. R. Nissim, in his collection, tells the story of a man who, using most of his income to help the poor, was told by Heaven that he still was not perfect. He then sold his wife into slavery and gave the money to the poor. These tales have an extreme, unrealistic standard of moral behavior which is more closely connected with Muslim fanatic sects than with talmudic Jewish ethics. They are exempla in the sense that they demonstrate the extent to which a saintly person has gone in order to fulfill one of the commandments; they are not exempla intended to teach moderate, everyday behavior to the wider public.

A large body of exempla, short anecdotes, and more developed stories was introduced into Hebrew literature in Spain through Arabic sources, and was included in Jewish philosophical and ethical-philosophical works, as well as in more narrative form in the **maqamat* and romances of the time. Most of these exempla are of Indian origin, transmitted, by way of Persian and Arabic literature, into Jewish works. They are models of wisdom and not only of ethics. There is also a strong Sufi element in those found in the works of *Baḥya ibn Paquda or Shem Tov ibn *Falaquera. Some medieval writings served as exempla without having been written for that purpose, specifically the Jewish martyrologies; "The Ten Martyrs" (A. Jellinek, *Beit ha-Midrash*, 2 (1938^2), 64–72, under the title *Midrash Elleh Ezkerah*), a medieval work describing the death of the *Ten Martyrs in Roman time, became a model of behavior for Jews in the Middle Ages. The corpus of historical chronicles describing the massacres in Germany and northern France during the Crusades, though written primarily as historical works, served for centuries as exempla to any Jewish community under threat of conversion or death. Contemporaries of the expulsion from Spain repeatedly complain of those who did not follow the example set by their Ashkenazi brothers during the Crusades, but preferred conversion to exile. History itself, or historical chronicles, served in this case as exempla in the full sense of the term.

The largest body of exempla in medieval Hebrew literature is to be found in *Sefer Ḥasidim* (see bibliography), the main ethical work of the *Ḥasidei Ashkenaz in the 12th and 13th centuries. The book includes hundreds of exempla; however, where generally the exempla tend to specify men whose undoubted virtue should prompt emulation of their deeds, the exempla in *Sefer Ḥasidim* are always anonymous. Where the name is mentioned (e.g., "a certain Joseph or Mordecai"), it has no associative meaning. Most of the exempla start with: "There was a Jew who…" or "It is told about a Ḥasid who…" The tendency toward anonymity was part of the ethical ideology of *Judah he-Ḥasid, the author of most of the book. The ideology based itself on the concept that if great deeds are told about a person, he, or his family, might take sinful pride in the fact (pride being regarded by the Ḥasidim as one of the cardinal sins). Unlike the exempla influenced by Islam, the exempla of *Sefer Ḥasidim* are concrete, reflecting everyday life and everyday ethical problems. It is possible that many of the episodes actually happened, the author using true anecdotes to illustrate his ethical standards. Many of the exempla describe the behavior of Jews during the persecutions of the Crusades; these served as models of behavior to many communities. Most of the exempla, however, describe the right, ethical way to behave when tempted by pride, by the evil powers lurking in man, how to conduct oneself toward women, gentiles, etc.

In the Ashkenazi ḥasidic exempla there is a class of anecdotes which expound ways of repentance involving the use of extreme self-mortification. Exempla of the same sort are found 300 years later in 16th-century Safed when mystic sages (some of them tried to remain anonymous) used the same type of mortification as a means to repent for their own sins and for the sins of the people of Israel.

In a sense, modern ḥasidic narrative literature served also as exempla, but its purpose was different. The wonderful stories told about the *ẓaddikim* were not models of conduct to be followed implicitly by Ḥasidim. The *ẓaddikim* had a different code of behavior from their believers, and the stories of their behavior were intended to provoke meditation, to bring the ḥasid into deeper understanding of the ways of the *ẓaddikim* and the ways of God, and thereby to some extent to influence the ḥasid's own ethical behavior.

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[Joseph Dan]

EXETER, town in S.W. England. Before the expulsion of the Jews in 1290, Exeter was the most westerly Jewish community in England. The first mention of Jews there is in 1181. Only one Exeter Jew, Amiot, is mentioned as contributing to the *Northampton Donum of 1194, but subsequently Exeter became the seat of one of the **archae* for the registration of Jewish debts. In 1275 the local chirographers, both Jewish and Christian, were accused of forgery but were acquitted. At an ecclesiastical synod held at Exeter in 1287, the church restrictions regarding the Jews were reenacted. On the eve of the expulsion of 1290, the community numbered nearly 40 householders, who possessed considerable debts and a large quantity of corn. At the beginning of the 18th century some Italian Jews were living at Exeter, including Gabriel Treves and Joseph Ottolenghi (later of South Carolina). The conversion of Ottolenghi to Christianity about 1735 caused considerable controversy. Exeter subsequently became a center of peddling activities. The synagogue still standing was built in 1763. In 1968, 20 Jews lived in Exeter, apart from a number of Jewish students at the university. In the mid-1990s and 2000s the Jewish population numbered approximately 150. There is an Orthodox synagogue, which today holds monthly services.

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[Cecil Roth]

EXILARCH (Aram. רֵישׁ גָּלוּתָא, *resh galuta*), lay head of the Jewish community in Babylon. (See Chart: Exilarchs of Parthian and Sasanid Periods and Chart: Babylonian Exilarchs.)

Until the Arab Conquest

The government of Babylonian Jewry for the first 12 centuries C.E. lay in the hands of the exilarch. Rabbinic traditions incorporated in the **Seder Olam Zuta*, trace the origin of the institution to the last years of the exile of Jehoiachin, on the basis of II Kings 25:27. Further data were derived from I Chronicles 3:17ff. Whether such an institution actually existed before Parthian times is not known, and certainty is impossible. Sources on Jewish life in first-century Parthian Babylonia, however, leave little ground to suppose there was an exilarch then. Josephus' account of the Jewish "state" of *Anilaeus and Asinaeus suggests, to the contrary, that no state-sanctioned Jewish government functioned at that time. Whatever the earlier situation, Neusner has put forward the conjecture that the Parthian government under Vologases I (d. 79 C.E.) probably established a feudal regime to govern Jewry as part of its

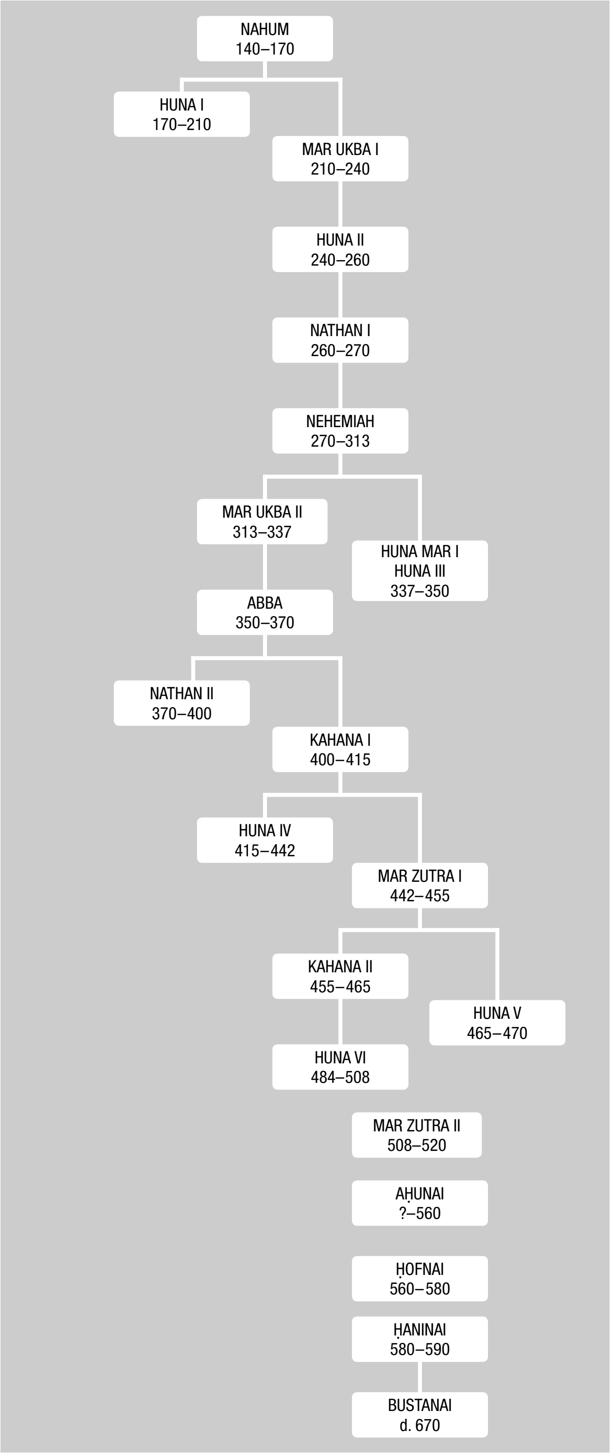

List of exilarchs of the Parthian and Sasanid periods (based on F. Lazarus; see bibl.).

reorganization of the Arsacid administration (see *Babylonia). Jews played an important part in first-century Middle Eastern politics, not only in Palestine, but also in *Armenia, *Adiabene, Charax Spasinu, and Babylonia itself. It was important to organize a loyal administration for Jewry, both for the stability of the empire, and for the purposes of foreign affairs. The Jews, living on both sides of the contested frontier between Rome and Parthia, could prove useful to either party able to enlist their support. Furthermore, the destruction of Jerusalem and, with it, the Temple administration which had formerly issued religious instruction to the Diaspora, necessitated Parthian consideration. The Romans, supporting the new rabbinical authority in Jabneh (see *Johanan b. Zakkai), exerted substantially more control than before.

The Parthians, perhaps earlier contented to allow local Jewry to receive instruction from Jerusalem, certainly took advantage of the change in Palestinian politics and the anti-Roman turn in world Jewish opinion, to establish local control of Jewry under close supervision. The result was highly beneficial. In the next century, Jews were the most loyal supporters of the Parthian cause against *Trajan, Septimius *Severus, and Alexander *Severus. In Palestine, circles of Jewish messianists were prepared to cooperate with the Parthians against Rome.

The first clear evidence of the existence of the exilarch comes in the middle of the second century C.E. Some Jewish authority certainly existed about 145 C.E. when *Hananiah the nephew of Joshua b. Hananiah intercalated the calendar in Babylonia (Eccles. R. 7, 8, no. 4, 7:26, for his exile to Babylonia; Ber. 63a; TJ, Sanh. 1:2, 19a; TJ, Ned. 6:13, 40a, for the intercalation). The accounts of the intercalation contain the name of a local official, given variously as Ahijah and Neḥunyon. At about the same time, moreover, Rabban *Simeon b. Gamaliel II rebuked R. Nathan, of Babylonia, for his part in a conspiracy against the former's rule, saying "Granted that the sash of office (*kamara*) of your father has indeed helped you to become *av bet din*, shall we therefore make you also *nasi?*" (Hor. 13b). Since the *kamara*, mentioned in various Iranian inscriptions, was one of the significations of office in Iran, it stands to reason that R. Nathan was the son of the Jewish ruler of Babylonia. The first talmudic mention of the title of *resh galuta*, however, occurs with reference to Huna the exilarch (TJ, Ket. 12:3, 35a; TJ, Kil. 9:3, 32b; Gen. R. 33:3). *Judah ha-Nasi stated that if Huna were to come to Palestine he would give precedence to him, for Huna was descended from the male line of the Davidic household, while the patriarch, from the female line. Ḥiyya and his nephew *Rav may have been related to the exilarch, for both Babylonians claimed Davidic ancestry. Ḥiyya came from the same town as the exilarch, and called his nephew Rav *bar Paḥti*. The title *paḥat* was used in the Parthian documents from Nisa for satrap, and if Rav was son of a Jewish *paḥat*, then his father must have held high rank within the Parthian feudal structure. Other Jewish authorities, earlier in the same period, were reported by Palestinian rabbinic messengers to have Parthian names, wear Parthian dress, enjoy the perquisites of a retinue, and execute capital punishment, and yet to be knowledgeable in the law (Git. 14a–b; TJ, Kid. 3:4, 64a; TJ, Git. 1:5, 43c–d). So it is reasonable to suppose that a Jewish government did exist through the last century and a half of Parthian rule in Babylonia.

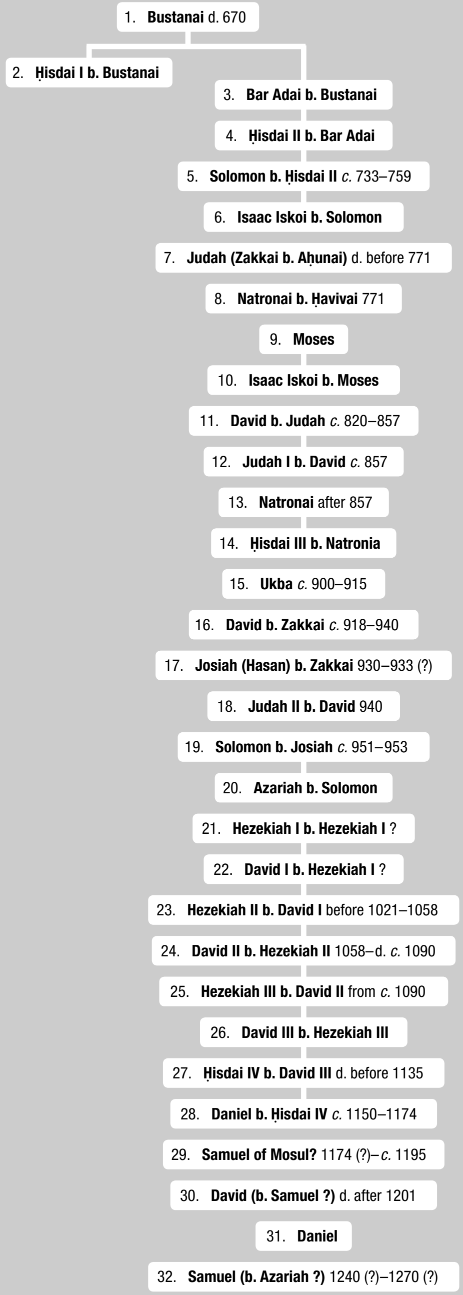
1. Bustanai d. 670
2. Ḥisdai I b. Bustanai
3. Bar Adai b. Bustanai
4. Ḥisdai II b. Bar Adai
5. Solomon b. Ḥisdai II c. 733–759
6. Isaac Iskoi b. Solomon
7. Judah (Zakkai b. Aḥunai) d. before 771
8. Natronai b. Ḥavivai 771
9. Moses
10. Isaac Iskoi b. Moses
11. David b. Judah c. 820–857
12. Judah I b. David c. 857
13. Natronai after 857
14. Ḥisdai III b. Natronia
15. Ukba c. 900–915
16. David b. Zakkai c. 918–940
17. Josiah (Hasan) b. Zakkai 930–933 (?)
18. Judah II b. David 940
19. Solomon b. Josiah c. 951–953
20. Azariah b. Solomon
21. Hezekiah I b. Hezekiah I ?
22. David I b. Hezekiah I ?
23. Hezekiah II b. David I before 1021–1058
24. David II b. Hezekiah II 1058–d. c. 1090
25. Hezekiah III b. David II from c. 1090
26. David III b. Hezekiah III
27. Ḥisdai IV b. David III d. before 1135
28. Daniel b. Ḥisdai IV c. 1150–1174
29. Samuel of Mosul? 1174 (?)–c. 1195
30. David (b. Samuel ?) d. after 1201
31. Daniel
32. Samuel (b. Azariah ?) 1240 (?)–1270 (?)

1, 2–6	H. Tykocinski, in: *Devir*, 1 (1923), 178, 179.
7	*Iggeret Rav Sherira Gaon*, ed. by B.M. Lewin (1921) 104.
8	*ibid.*, L. Ginsberg, Geonica, 1 (1909), 16 ff.
9, 10	A. Harkavy ed. *Teshuvot ha-Geonim* (1887), 378.
11, 12	S. Abramson, *Ba-Merkazim u-va Tefuẓot* (1965), 11–14.
13	Harkavy, loc. cit.
14	Abramson, op. cit., 10.
15, 16	J. Mann, in: *Tarbiẓ*, 5 (1934), 150 ff.
17	*ibid.*, 164; *Iggeret Rav Sherira Gaon*, 117.
18–22	Mann, in: *Sefer Zikkaron... S. Poznański* (1927), 19, 20, 21.
23	*ibid.*, 21–22, S. Assaf, in: *Tarbiẓ*, 11 (1940), 152 ff.
24–25	Mann, in: *Sefer... Poznański*, 22–23.
26	Mann, Texts, 1 (1931), 208.
27	Abramson, in: KS, 26 (1950), 93.
28	*ibid.*, 93, idem, in: *Perakim*, 1 (1967/68), 14.
29–32	Mann, in: *Sefer... Poznański*, 24–25. Abramson, in: *Perakim*, 1 (1967/68), 16.

[Abraham David]

List of Babylonian exilarchs during the Middle Ages.

The advent of the Sassanids, in 226 C.E., necessitated the provision of a new political foundation for Jewish self-government. At first, the Jewish administrators continued as before, hoping to hoodwink the Sassanids and forcibly to keep the Jews in line. R. Shila, for example, administered lashes to a man who had intercourse with a gentile woman; the man informed against him, whereupon a government agent (*parastak*) investigated the case. Shila persuaded the agent that he was loyal, and then murdered the informant (Ber. 58a). But in a similar situation, R. *Kahana had to flee to Palestine (BK 117a), for, Rav told him, "Until now the Greeks [Parthians] were here, who did not punish bloodshed, but now the Persians are here, and they will certainly cry, 'Rebellion, rebellion!'" For their part, the Sassanids under Ardashir I (226–42), who were closely associated with the cult of Ormuzd and Ānahīta, thought they could forcibly convert the various peoples of Babylonia and Mesopotamia to their religion. So for the first two decades of Sassanian rule, no modus vivendi could be reached. *Shapur I (242–272) chose a different, more tolerant policy, encouraging Mani to preach a syncretistic religion of Buddha, Zoroaster, and Jesus (but not Moses!) to appeal to the several major groups of the empire, and seeking to conciliate the Jewish community as well. The Jewish government was given a legitimate role in administering Jewish affairs, when it promised to abide by state law in matters of concern to the state, specifically rules of land tenure and payment of taxes. The agreement of *Samuel and Shapur I, summarized by Samuel's teaching that "the law of the government is law," was closely adhered to by the Jewish regime, which enjoyed a secure position, with few, brief interruptions, for the next four centuries. It is not known what role, if any, the exilarch played in the negotiations preceding this agreement. If there was one Jewish government in Babylonia, as seems plausible, then Samuel must have been acting in its behalf. But rabbinic traditions, which are the only ones to survive, do not mention the participation of the contemporary exilarch, Mar *Ukba I, in the matter.

Rabbinic opinion on the third-century exilarchate was divided. In the early part of the century, it is clear that the leading rabbis were subordinate to the exilarch. Rav was forced by him to administer market prices, which Rav held was not a proper function of the *agoranomos*, or market supervisor. Samuel deferred to the exilarch Mar Ukba. It was, after all, the exilarch who had earlier employed rabbinically trained functionaries in the courts and bureaus of Babylonia in late Arsacid times. He had done so probably to circumvent the local Jewish strongmen, typified by Anilaeus and Asinaeus in the first century, and the Parthianized Jewish nobility referred to above, in the second century. The rabbis appealed to the people on the basis of their knowledge of Mosaic revelation, which, they held, was unique to their schools, and they moreover affirmed the exilarch's claim to Davidic origin. At the outset, therefore, the rabbinate and the exilarchate were closely allied against the centripetal forces of feudal autonomy represented by local Jewish upper-class landholders. By the last third of the third century, however, tension developed between the exilarchate and certain rabbinical circles. The exilarch justified his rule over Jewry as an heir of the Davidic household, just as did the Maccabeans, the Herodians, Jesus, and others who claimed the right to govern "Israel." That claim did not depend upon study in the rabbinical academies or conformity to rabbinical rules. Whether or not the exilarch was a "good Jew" by rabbinic standards is ultimately irrelevant to the issue. The rabbis saw themselves as the sole bearers of Mosaic revelation in its complete, dual form. They alone possessed the Oral Law, which completed the written one and determined its interpretation. About 275, Geniva, a disciple of Rav, caused so much trouble for the exilarch that the latter sought the advice of the Palestinian *Eleazar b. Pedat. He was counseled to forebear. Geniva was shortly thereafter executed by the state. It is not known what Geniva did to irritate the exilarch. The only clue to his doctrine is his teaching that rabbis should be called kings, the proof-text for which was Proverbs 8:15, "By me kings reign." The eighth chapter of Proverbs was consistently interpreted by the rabbis as the message of the Torah personified. If by "me," meaning "Torah," kings rule, then those not qualified by "Torah" should subordinate themselves to those who are, namely the rabbis. If Geniva made such an assertion of rabbinical superiority, the exilarch would wisely have handed him over to the Sassanids, for subversion of the exilarch was subversion, likewise, of the Sassanid system of millet-government. At the end of the century, Judah b. Ezekiel founded the school at Pumbedita and, for the next 50 years, the heads of the school kept a fund for its support, thus attempting to remain independent of the exilarchic treasury. At the same time, leading rabbis asserted that rabbis should not have to pay the *karga*, or head tax, imposed by the Sassanid regime on minority communities. They held that Scriptures, tradition, and even Artaxerxes of Achemenid times, had all freed them of that obligation. Since taxes were apportioned by communities, the exilarch would have had to collect funds from other Jews in order to exempt the rabbis. This he did not attempt, and a further irritant in the relations of the two groups was the consequence. By the middle of the fourth century, the academy at Pumbedita, now headed by Rava, was subject to close exilarchic supervision, and moved to the exilarchic capital at *Maḥoza.

When, under Pērōz (459–84), Jews and Christians were persecuted, the exilarch Huna V was executed, according to the letter of R. Sherira, in the year 470. The office of exilarch remained vacant for some time. The virtual chaos of the reigns before Khusro I (531–79) combined with the anti-Jewish activities of the Mazdakites supported by the throne in the time of Kavadh (488–531), and the economic depression of the period, produced a lapse in orderly government for Jewry as well. For a time (c. 510–20) the exilarch Mar *Zutra II threw off fealty to the throne, probably provoked by Kavadh's support of Mazdak. From Khusro onward, the situation was restored to its former favorable condition.

[Jacob Neusner]

During the Arab Period

The first exilarch of the Arab period was *Bustanai, who founded a new dynasty of exilarchs from the descendants of his Jewish wife and his other wife, the daughter of the king of *Persia who was given to him, according to the sources, by *Omar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb. Some opinions doubt the authenticity of the latter detail, because Omar did not visit *Iraq, but the texts possibly refer to one of his generals. This fact expresses the recognition granted by the Arab rule to the scion of the House of David who stood at the head of the Jewish community. The children of his Jewish wife disqualified the children of the Persian wife from acting as exilarchs with the argument that since the mother had not been converted, her children had the status of non-Jews. The polemics and the halakhic discussion have been preserved in a series of sources. The *ḥakhamim* of the academies decided in favor of the Persian branch. In spite of the protests, which were also voiced after this decision, the descendants of the Persian wife were appointed as exilarchs.

Relations with the *Rashei Yeshivot*

The exilarchs maintained close ties with the heads of the Sura and Pumbedita academies. They also concerned themselves with the incomes of these academies which were raised throughout the Diaspora. One of the exilarchs, *Solomon b. Ḥisdai, the great-grandson of Bustanai from the Jewish branch (reigned 733–59), was himself a scholar and distinguished himself with his concern for the academy of Sura and its aggrandizement. He took Mar Samuel out of the Pumbedita academy and appointed him head of the Sura academy (*Iggeret R. Sherira Ga'on*, ed. by B.M. Lewin (1921), 106). Twenty-six years later he appointed Rav *Yehudai, who was also a disciple of the Pumbedita academy, to the same position. Although the position of exilarch was hereditary, it was not always the firstborn who was chosen, but rather the member of the family who was most suitable and accepted by the academy heads and the important merchants who wielded influence in the court of the caliph. The exilarchs and the heads of the Sura and Pumbedita academies were dependent on each other, because the election of each of them required the confirmation of the other party. Against this background, there were examples of self-assertion. *Anan b. David, the nephew of Solomon b. Ḥisdai, was worthy of being elected as exilarch because of his erudition, but the *ḥakhamim* found a "disqualifying blemish" in him because of his negation of the Oral Law. His younger brother Hananiah was elected in his place. The leaders of the Karaite community, who were known as *nesi'im*, were descended from Anan.

The split between the *Rabbanites and the *Karaites appears to have been the cause of the decline in the status of the exilarchs and the limitation of their authority. Caliph al-Ma'mūn (ruled 813–33) granted the request of the Karaites that their leader be recognized as the *nasi* of their community. In 825 he issued an order according to which any ten men – Jews, Christians, or Zoroastrians – were authorized to organize themselves into an independent community and were at liberty to elect a leader. After the death of the exilarch Iskoy II, there were two rivals to his position, *David b. Judah and Daniel. The dispute was brought before the caliph for arbitration by the supporters of both parties. It is possible that the above-mentioned order was also a result of this situation and R. *Sherira hints that the decline in the status of the exilarchs was due to this contention. From then onward they were compelled to share the spheres of their influence and their incomes with the academy heads. Another change which occurred was that the gatherings of the *ḥakhamim* which took place on fast days and on the Sabbaths of the weekly portion of *Lekh Lekha*, which were known as *Shabbeta de-Rigla* and which had until then been held in the home of the exilarch, were from then on held in the academies. The penalization powers of the exilarch were also restricted.

A dispute over the incomes of the exilarch and the academy head resulted in a crisis in which the latter gained the upper hand. The exilarch *Ukba attempted to appropriate the incomes of Khurāsān from which the Pumbedita academy had until then benefited. According to *Seder Olam Zuta* (Neubauer, Chronicles, 2 (1895), 78), *Kohen Ẓedek, the *gaon* of Pumbedita, was supported by the bankers and merchants *Joseph b. Phinehas, *Aaron b. Amram, and *Netira, and in 913 Ukba was expelled by the caliph al-Muqtadir (908–32), at first to Kermanshah and later to Kairouan, where he was received with much respect and the *Sefer Torah* was lowered before him (see below). The office of exilarch was vacant for three to four years until, under public pressure, *David b. Zakkai, the nephew of Ukba, was elected. David b. Zakkai (918–40) was a powerful personality and he insisted upon his right of appointing the academy head according to his own discretion. His candidate for the position of *gaon* of Pumbedita was Kohen Zedek, while that of his rivals was *Kubashshir b. Kimoi. The latter refused to confirm the appointment of David as exilarch and he ostracized him until they reconciled themselves in 922. David endeavored to raise the status of the Sura academy, and in 928 he appointed R. *Saadiah Gaon as its head, having recognized his vast Torah erudition. When he appointed him, he adjured R. Saadiah Gaon "not to appoint any other exilarch beside himself, not to associate himself with those who plotted against him, and not to deviate from his words in any direction." It appears that R. Saadiah Gaon desired to be independent of the exilarch and also to intervene in secular affairs. The crisis finally erupted between them when R. Saadiah Gaon refused to ratify a legal decision of the exilarch after it had already been ratified by the *gaon* of Pumbedita. David b. Zakkai issued a *ḥerem* ("ban") against R. Saadiah Gaon and appointed *Joseph b. Jacob ibn Satia in his place. R. Saadiah Gaon, in turn, issued a *ḥerem* against David b. Zakkai and appointed Josiah (Hasan), the brother of David b. Zakkai, as exilarch. Masʿūdī relates that the dispute was brought before the vizier ʿAlī ibn ʿIsā. On Purim of 937, an agreement was concluded between the opponents. David b. Zakkai attained a respected position in the court of the Abbasid caliph al-Muqtadir, who supported him against those communities which refused to pay their taxes to him; the caliph also assisted him in his feud with R. Saadiah Gaon.

In general, the separation between the various functions of the exilarchs and the *geonim* was maintained: *Hezekiah (II) b. David, a descendant of David b. Zakkai, was an exception; he combined the exilarchate with the position of academy head. He was exilarch for over 40 years, and from 1038 he succeeded *Hai as head of the Pumbedita academy until his death in 1058. As a result of the conflict between the exilarch *Daniel b. Ḥasdai (1150–74) and the *gaon* *Samuel b. Ali, the exilarch opened an academy in Baghdad which was independent of that of the *gaon*. When he died childless, two candidates of the Josiah b. Zakkai branch, David and Samuel, sought his position. The latter, who benefited from the support of the *gaon* Samuel b. Ali, was compelled to yield several of his powers to the *gaon*. From then onward most of the powers of the exilarchs were transferred to the heads of the academies.

The Induction Ceremony

The appointment of the exilarch was the occasion for a glorious ceremony, the description of which has come down to us from *Nathan b. Isaac ha-Bavli (Neubauer, Chronicles, 2 (1895), 83–85). It was accompanied by a popular festivity, the climax of which was the gathering in the synagogue on the Sabbath, when hymns were recited in honor of the exilarch and he was blessed with special blessings and *piyyutim*. His name was mentioned in the *Kaddish* and he delivered a sermon or authorized the head of the academy to do so. The *ḥazzan* lowered the *Sefer Torah* before him while the congregation stood on its feet. The people sent him presents. The festivities were extended over seven days, during which he was host to the people in his home. The Arab chroniclers who mention this office point out that descent from the House of David was an indispensable condition to election. The aristocratic origin and the heredity of the exilarchate made a strong impression on the Shi'ites already during the early history of Islam, to the point that they compared it to the imamate and their theory on the subject of the legitimate caliphate. In their writings they describe meetings between exilarchs and caliphs and imams as equals, with the former reproving the Muslims. Bīrūnī (d. 1048) and others in his wake regarded the exilarch as the lord of all the world's Jews, who were subordinated to him.

Official Status, Powers, and Functions

The status of the exilarch became one of the subjects in the discussion held between the Muslim researcher of religions Ibn Ḥazm (994–1064) and *Samuel ibn Nagrela ha-Nagid in Spain. The latter pointed out the honor and the powers of the exilarch of the House of David and considered this to be the fulfillment of the verse: "The scepter shall not depart from Judah, Nor the ruler's staff from between his feet" (Gen 49:10). Ibn Ḥazm rejected his words and claimed that the exilarch did not wield any influence, neither over the Jews nor over any others, that he lacked authority, and that his title was merely an honorary one and devoid of any actual meaning. A similar discussion was held in Jerusalem between a Jewish *ḥakham* and a Christian clergyman named Abraham di Tibériade. G. *Vajda, whose writings on this subject are based on a manuscript of 1689, assumes that this event occurred during the tenth century and possibly even later. The Jew points to the existence of the exilarchate as a proof that the sovereignty of the House of David has not been interrupted and that the Messiah has not yet come. He also refers to the above verse of Genesis. The clergyman mocks and denigrates that status of the exilarch who is not endowed with the title of king, lives in an outlying town of Iraq and not in the Promised Land, and lacks any punitive powers.

The Muslim rule granted the exilarch the same recognition as the Katholikos, the head of the Nestorian community. A letter of appointment of the exilarch is not available, but there is reason to assume that his powers and functions were of a similar character. In the letter of appointment which was granted to the Nestorian Katholikos in Baghdad during the 12th century it is said that he is authorized to intervene and mediate in the disputes between the various sects of his community and to dispense justice and that he is also responsible for the supervision of their charitable funds. Anyone disobeying him or interfering in his affairs will be liable to punishment. He shall organize the collection of the poll tax and its transfer to the government which, in exchange, will guarantee the lives of the people of his community and protect its property. The receipt of this letter of appointment was accompanied by a ceremony in which a delegate of the government participated. In addition to the duty of the exilarch to transfer the poll tax of his community to the authorities, he was also responsible for the execution of the Covenant of *Omar, the discriminatory laws which affected protected subjects. The Arab author Ibn al-Jawzī (d. 1200) relates that in 1031 the Katholikos and the Jewish exilarch were requested to assure that the members of their communities wear the special garb of protected subjects.

Benjamin of Tudela, the traveler who visited Baghdad in about 1168, writes of the exilarch Daniel b. Ḥisdai that his function had the confirmation of the caliph, who had ordered both Jews and Muslims to stand in the exilarch's presence. The caliph received him in his palace every Thursday, and on his way his carriage was preceded by horsemen who called for the clearing of the way before the son of David. "He has been invested with authority over all the congregations of Israel at the hands of the Amīr al-Muʾminīn, the Lord of Islam. For thus Muhammad commanded concerning him and his descendants" (*Masot Binyamin*, ed. by M.N. Adler (1902), 39–40, Eng. part). From the end of the 12th century the Baghdad academy heads assumed most of the powers of the exilarchs; from then onward they were the delegates of the community before the government. The letters of appointment which were granted to the academy heads in 1209, 1247, and 1250 by the Abbasid government, and which have been preserved, shed light on the functions of the exilarchs and their powers during this period when their leadership was a real one. These letters state that the members of their communities were to obey the exilarch's instructions and were to pay him the accepted taxes; the exilarch was to judge them and it was his duty to enforce the protection conditions and heed the orders of the caliph.

There is a divergence of opinions among scholars as to the appointment of judges (*dayyanim*) by the exilarch and its dependence on the academy heads. It appears that this matter varied with the authority exerted by the exilarchs. It can be divided into five periods: (a) until the reign of al-Maʾmūn appointments were made by the exilarch; (b) until after David b. Zakkai, when authority was divided between the exilarchs and the academy heads, the appointment by each party was restricted to its own domain; (c) during the days of Hai Gaon appointments were made by the supreme *bet din* of the academy heads; (d) in the 11th and 12th centuries appointments were made by the exilarchs; and (e) after 1175 (the year of the death of the exilarch Daniel) it was only the academy heads who appointed the *dayyanim*. Also, when the exilarchs appointed the *dayyanim*, the *pitka de-dinuta* ("judicial authorization") was granted by the academy heads, while the exilarch merely gave formal permission. The exilarch disposed of a tribunal known as *bet dina de-nasi* ("*bet din* of the *nasi*") or *bava de-maruta* ("gate of the master"). If the exilarch was a *ḥakham*, he headed the *bet din* himself. On most occasions, however, it was a distinguished *ḥakham*, the *dayyana de-bava* ("judge of the gate"), who headed the tribunal. R. Ẓemaḥ b. Solomon is mentioned as head of the tribunal of the exilarch Ḥisdai b. Natronai during the middle of the ninth century.

The exilarch had the following means of penalization at his disposal: bans, fines, imprisonment, and flogging. During the reign of the caliph al-Maʾmūn his penal authority was restricted so that the only remaining instrument was the ban. During a later period his powers were, however, once more extended and R. *Pethahiah of Regensburg, who visited Mosul during the 1170s, relates that the exilarch was authorized to sentence offenders, even if the second party was a Muslim, and that he had a prison in which he detained offenders.

The exilarch participated in the institution of halakhic *takkanot*, such as the one in connection with the collection of debts and the *ketubbah* from movable property instead of from real estate, a *takkanah* which was circulated throughout the Diaspora with the signature of the exilarch in collaboration with his *dayyanim*, the academy heads, and their *battei din*. A letter has been found from the exilarch, dated from 835, concerning the fixation of the intercalation – the exclusive right of the Palestinian academy. His incomes were derived from the taxes which were paid by the communities under his jurisdiction and which received government protection. According to the report of Nathan ha-Bavli (Neubauer, Chronicles, 2 (1895), 85) every Jew aged 20 years or older paid an annual tax of two *zuzim*. Butchers paid ¼ dinar as a fixed annual sum. The exilarch also derived incomes from *ketubbot, gittin* ("divorce bills"), bills, and gifts. These details are also confirmed by an Arab source which adds that the Jews paid him one-fifth of their income, as well as redemption fees for male children and animals. At the close of the 12th century the exilarch of Mosul owned fields and vineyards, in addition to half of the poll tax which he collected from his community for the authorities. The exilarchs bestowed honorary titles upon personalities who supported them. These included: "Friend of the *Nesi'ut* (Exilarchate)," "Favorable to the *Nesi'ut*," and "Supporter of the *Nesi'ut.*"

The Exilarchate Outside Baghdad

From the 11th century, the period of the decline of the Abbasida caliphate when independent governments were formed in Mosul, Damascus, and Aleppo, descendants of the Babylonian exilarch's family also arrived in these places. As a result of their descent from the House of David the communities appointed them as *nesi'im* over themselves, while they also obtained their recognition by the authorities as the delegates of the Jewish community. They appointed officials and *dayyanim*, judged the people, collected the poll tax, and received tithes.

YEMEN. During the 12th century the Jews of Yemen were placed under the formal "authority" of the exilarch of Babylonia and the Palestinian *rosh yeshivah* of Egypt. This was expressed by the fact that the above personalities were mentioned by the *ḥakham* before his sermon, the interpreter before the reading of the Torah, and the person who recited the blessing at meals. In a document of 1134 concerning Maḍmūn b. Japheth Hasan Bendar of Aden (d. 1151) there is the expression: *nagid* of the Jews of Yemen "appointed by the exilarch and the academy heads." It, is however, possible that this refers to members of the Babylonian exilarch's household who came to Yemen. During the 1130s the cousin of the Babylonian exilarch, who had come from Persia, was in Yemen. "He promoted himself to [a leading] position and the local people gave him permission to make decisions in religious law in the synagogues of all Israel" (S.D. Goitein, in *Sinai*, 33 (1953), 232). The latter struck the minister who mentioned the "authority" of *Maẓli'aḥ, the Palestinian *gaon* of Egypt, in his prayer. Benjamin of Tudela relates that in his time the Yemenite community was led by Shalmon ha-Nasi and his brother Hanan, descendants of David, who "divided up" the country between themselves. They corresponded with their relative, the Babylonian exilarch, and addressed their religious questions to him. It should be noted that during subsequent periods the *nesi'im* of Yemen were referred to as *resh galuta*, although they had no connections with the Babylonian exilarch or the House of David.

PALESTINE AND EGYPT. The members of the family of the Babylonian exilarch who came to Palestine and Egypt were received with deference, but their status was merely a formal one without any practical basis in administration. As a result of the abortive rebellion of the exilarch Zutra against the Persian king Kavadh I (488–531) and the hanging of the rebel at the beginning of the sixth century, his wife fled to Palestine. When his son Zutra II, who was born after the death of his father, reached the age of 18, he was appointed *rosh pirka* or head of the Sanhedrin in Tiberias (520 C.E.). Eight or ten generations of his descendants succeeded him in this position. At the close of the tenth and during the 11th centuries members of the Babylonian exilarch's household appeared in Palestine and Egypt. The only one of these who rose to power in Palestine and combined the functions of *nasi* and *gaon* during the years from 1051 to 1062 was *Daniel b. Azariah of the family of Josiah b. Zakkai. He left Babylonia because his family had been deposed by the exilarch *Hezekiah II. Daniel succeeded the *gaon* *Solomon b. Judah and supplanted Joseph b. Solomon ha-Kohen, who was *av bet din* and to whom the position of *gaon* was due. From his seat in Ramleh and Jerusalem he ruled over the whole of Palestine and Syria, where he was the judge; he also appointed *dayyanim.* Even the communities of Egypt were subordinated to him. After his death the position of *gaon* reverted to *Elijah b. Solomon ha-Kohen.

David, the son of Daniel, would not reconcile himself to the loss of the sovereignty of the House of David over Palestine and Egypt. He attempted to undermine the Palestinian academy which had been exiled to Tyre because of the invasion of the Seljuks in 1071. In 1081 he went to Egypt, where he was received with respect and his needs were provided for. However, when he desired to dominate the Egyptian communities and the coastal towns of Palestine, he clashed with Mevorakh ha-Nagid. He imposed taxes and ruled with tyranny. The Fatimid caliph al-Mustanṣir bi-Allah (1036–1094), who claimed descent from the "Prophet" and favored the descendants of David, supported him. David was finally deposed in 1094. The Jews of Egypt accepted the formal authority of the Babylonian exilarch. In 1162 Daniel b. Ḥisdai ordained *Nethanel b. Moses ha-Levi in Baghdad as *gaon* and appointed him to the "*bet din ha-gadol* in all the provinces of Egypt." Even several years later, the name of the exilarch appeared in legal documents which were traditionally written with the "authorization" of the *nasi.* During Maimonides' time a *nasi* named Judah b. Josiah lived in Egypt; he ratified the legal decisions of Maimonides. There were *nesi'im* who demanded judicial powers for themselves, but the community and its leaders rejected these requests.

During the first half of the 13th century the *nasi* Solomon b. Jesse and his brother Hodayah, who had come from Damascus, lived in Egypt. The latter came into conflict with a *dayyan* from France named Joseph b. Gershom, who lived in Alexandria in the days of *Abraham b. David Maimuni (1205–1237), over a question of authority. The *nasi* issued a ban against the *dayyan* and anyone who would materially assist the Frenchman. In the reply of the *nagid* to the appeal of the *dayyan*, which was also ratified by other *ḥakhamim*, the tendency to restrict the authority of the *nasi* and to reduce it to a merely formal ratification is evident. Even though the exilarchs considered themselves as the appointees over the Jews of the lands of dispersion and even though they signed themselves "the head of all Israel's exiles," their intervention was not viewed favorably in all places and practical powers were not entrusted to them. This opposition was particularly outspoken in Palestine, which was not part of the Diaspora, and in those places in the Orient where the Jewish communities were led by *negidim*.

Hulagu, the Mongolian khan who liquidated the Abbasid caliphate with the conquest of Baghdad in 1258, did not harm the Jewish community and its exilarch Samuel b. David. The exilarchs maintained their positions during subsequent years and some opinions assume that their status was improved. There is no information available on their activities and only the names of some of them are known. The exilarchate was brought to an end by Tamerlane in 1401. Until the beginning of the 18th century it was the practice of the governors of the important towns of Iraq to appoint a wealthy Jew as *ṣarrāf bāshī* ("chief banker"); he also acted as *nasi* of the local Jews. His powers were almost identical to those of the Babylonian exilarch during the Middle Ages. The *nasi* of Baghdad was the "*nasi* of the state" and his authority also extended to distant communities. This office was the patrimony of the descendants of the House of David and was passed down from father to son. From the 18th century until 1849 the *nesi'im* who were appointed were not from the House of David. From then onward the functions of *nesi'im* were transferred to the **ḥakhām bāshī*.

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EXILE, ASSYRIAN. The mass deportation of population groups from conquered nations, as a measure to prevent these nations from rebelling, was introduced as a general policy by Tiglath-Pileser III in the second half of the eighth century B.C.E. Although deportation by Assyrian kings is well attested in the ninth century, it was Tiglath-Pileser's innovation to practice deportation on a vast scale and to accompany it with population exchange; a practice continued by his successors in Assyria. (The Babylonians did not accompany deportation with population exchange.) The first deportation of peoples from the northern Israelite kingdom took place when Tiglath-Pileser III campaigned against Syria and Palestine (734–732 B.C.E.), at which time *Pekah son of Remaliah joined the rebellion led by the king of *Aram-Damascus against Assyria. In the course of this campaign the Assyrians conquered Gilead and deported the heads of the Israelite clans that inhabited Transjordan (I Chron. 5:6, 26). One of Tiglath-Pileser III's fragmentary inscriptions lists several thousand captives, apparently only males, whom he exiled from eight cities in Galilee (among which were biblical Hannathon, Jotbah, Rumah, and Merom).

When *Hoshea son of Elah revolted against Assyria, Shalmaneser V besieged and conquered Samaria. His successor, Sargon II, states that 27,290 people (variant 27,280) were exiled from the city of Samaria. In place of the Israelite deportees, Sargon settled residents of other defeated nations in the Assyrian province of Samaria. In this connection the Bible mentions exiles from Babylon, Cuthah, Avva, Hamath, and Sepharvaim (II Kings 17:24), while an inscription of Sargon II specifies members of four Arab tribes who were settled in "Omriland" (Bīt Ḫumri) in 716/5 B.C.E. Finally, according to Ezra 4:1–2, forbears of the later Samaritans were brought into the province of Samaria by Esarhaddon, and, according to Ezra 4:9–10, "the great glorious Asenappar" – probably to be identified with Ashurbanipal – settled people from *Erech, *Babylon, *Shushan, and other localities in the city of Samaria and elsewhere in Syria-Palestine. However, it cannot be determined whether these seventh-century colonists were brought in to replace Israelites, who may have revolted again and been deported. The foreign elements that were brought to Samaria assimilated into the remaining Israelite population; the outcome of this lengthy process was a distinct cultural-national group which became known as the *Samaritans, i.e., the population of the province of Samaria. The Assyrians also exiled inhabitants of Judah (see *Sennacherib, *Hezekiah).

The Israelite exiles were settled mainly in the Assyrian provinces in Upper Mesopotamia (biblical Aram-Naharaim), along the Habor River in the vicinity of Gozan (Tell-Ḥalāf). After 716 when some "cities of the Medes" came under Assyrian control, some Israelites were resettled in Media (II Kings 17:6; 18:11; probably in the province of Ḫarḫar (Diakonoff in Bibliography)). In I Chronicles 5:26 there is the addition "and Hara" (הרא: LXX, Lucian recension *kai harran*, possibly referring to Haran (cf. Isa. 11:11)).

Notwithstanding the manifold legends fabricated about the exile of the so-called "*Ten Lost Tribes," there is no certain information about the fate of the Israelite exiles in Mesopotamia during the Assyrian empire or at a later period. Only a few extant allusions in the Bible and in epigraphic sources testify to their existence. Of the latter sources, the onomastic evidence from Mesopotamia contained in Assyrian documents dated to the end of the eighth and to the seventh centuries is of particular significance, since it presents names which are known from the Bible to be Israelite. However, with the exception of personal names composed of the Israelite theophoric element *yau* (YHWH), it is not always certain that the reference is to Israelite exiles, since these names are common Northwest Semitic ones and may also designate either Phoenicians or Arameans.

The documents dealing with or discovered at Gozan, which is mentioned in the Bible in relation to the exile of Israel (see above), are particularly instructive in this respect. One letter (ABL 633) actually mentions one Ḫalabišu (or less likely, Haldu) from Samaria living in Gozan, although he may not have been an Israelite. The same document, however, names two officials called Palṭiyau and Niriyau (= biblical Pelatiah and Neriah respectively) who almost certainly were. Another Assyrian letter (ABL 1009), dated to the seventh century B.C.E., mentions Samaritans among the troops of the Assyrian king who were serving in Mesopotamia. In a commercial contract from Gozan (JADD 234 = SAA 6:34) dated to the end of the eighth century, the signatory witnesses are two high-ranking officials in the Assyrian administration whose names are Nādbiyau (biblical Nedabiah), who bore the title "chariot driver," and Paqaha (identical with the Israelite royal name Pekah), whose title was "village manager." In a document discovered at Gozan (No. 111) two typical Hebrew names are mentioned – Usi'a (*Hosea) and Dayana (Dinah), as well as Yaseme'il. In B. Mazar's opinion, this document concerns Hosea's redemption of an Israelite woman (Dinah) from an Aramean. In a legal document from Nineveh (SAA 14:50) one Il-yau (= אליהו) sells a girl.

Traces of Israelite captives (and possibly even Judeans) seem to appear from the end of the eighth century at Calah (present-day Nimrud) on the Tigris, then capital of Assyria. An Aramaic ostracon discovered there lists Northwest Semitic personal names, some of which are common in Israel, such as Elisha, Haggai, Hananel, and Menahem. This document possibly concerns a group of Israelites who lived in Calah alongside Phoenician and Aramean elements, and who worked as craftsmen in one of the enterprises of the Assyrian kingdom. Among the Nimrud ivories which bear inscriptions in Phoenician-Aramaic script, one is clearly a Hebrew inscription (ND. 10150). Some bronze bowls also found there were engraved with West Semitic names, such as Yibḥar-ʾel, El-heli, and Aḥiyô (Ahio), the last name being unmistakably Hebrew. It cannot be ascertained how these objects, dating from the second half of the eighth century, reached Calah, but they may have been taken as spoil from Samaria when the city fell.

Various Assyrian documents contain additional names of an ordinary Hebrew type, such as Menahem, Amram, Naboth, and Abram, but it is difficult to determine beyond doubt that they belong to descendants of the Israelite exiles. In an Assyrian administrative document from the second half of the eighth century B.C.E., the name Aḥiyaqāma appears in relation to the Assyrian city of Halah (Ḫalaḫḫa), which is mentioned in the Bible as one of the places to which the Israelite exiles were deported (II Kings 17:6; 18:11). The text could be interpreted as referring to an Israelite deportee named Ahikam. In the view of Tur-Sinai (Torczyner), the inscription on an amulet discovered at Arslan Tash (ancient Hadatta), east of the Euphrates, is written in Hebrew (though this is doubtful; see Sperling in Bibliography), and he attributes it to an Israelite deportee from Samaria. The existence of an Israelite exile is also alluded to in legendary tradition, such as that embodied in the book of Tobit. The hero claims descent from the tribe of Naphtali, supposedly deported in the days of Shalmaneser.

From the documents that presumably refer to the Israelites, or for that matter to any other exiles, it is evident that as a rule they did not possess the status of slaves or of an oppressed population. The exiles were first settled in Mesopotamia as land tenants of the king (cf. the words of Rab-Shakeh in II Kings 18:32), while the craftsmen among them were employed in state enterprises. Eventually, some of the exiles achieved economic and social status and even occupied high-ranking positions in the Assyrian administration. They were given the right to agricultural holdings and to observe the customs of their forefathers, and enjoyed a certain measure of internal autonomy. The striking of roots in Mesopotamian society by a large part of the descendants of the Israelite exiles resulted in their eventual absorption into the foreign milieu. Nevertheless, part of the Israelite community undoubtedly preserved its distinct national character and maintained connections with the homeland (cf. II Kings 17:28), later merging with the Judean exile. The return to Zion apparently included remnants of the ten tribes, as alluded to in the Bible (see the prophecies concerning national unification in Ezek. 16:53ff.; 37:16ff.; and cf. Zech. 8:13; 10:6ff.) and as indicated in the genealogical lists of Ezra and Nehemiah (cf., e.g., Ezra 2:2; Neh. 7:7).

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[Abraham Malamat]

EXILE, BABYLONIAN, exiles of Judah to Babylonia, sixth–fifth centuries B.C.E. Although Babylonia was not the only destination of former Judahites, it was the Babylonian deportees and their descendants whose perspectives inform the Hebrew Bible. Modern scholarship has adopted their perspective in dividing Israelite/Jewish history into "pre-exilic," "exilic," and "post-exilic" periods. The destruction of the Assyrian empire brought only temporary respite to the kingdom of Judah. The newly established Chaldean (Neo-Babylonian) dynasty

(626 B.C.E.), which together with Media and the Umman-manda (Scythians?) destroyed Nineveh (612), quickly established its own rule (604) in "the land of Hatti" (Syro-Palestine). Although the prophet *Nahum rejoiced over Nineveh's fall and Habakkuk was stunned by Babylon's rise (Hab. 1:1ff.), Jeremiah foretold that Babylonian rule would last "70 years" (Jer. 25:12; 29:10) and counseled submission. The setback that Babylon suffered at the hands of Egypt (601), however, encouraged King *Jehoiakim to rebel (II Kings 24:1). The uprising was crushed by Nebuchadnezzar himself (598–597), but the statement that Jehoiakim was led into exile (Dan. 1:1ff.; I Esd. 1:39ff.; cf. II Chron. 36:5–6) is probably unhistorical. It is likely that he died in Jerusalem, reviled by Jeremiah (cf. II Kings 24:6; Jer. 22:13–19; 36:30–31), and that the city was surrendered by his son Jehoiachin on March 16, 597 B.C.E. (II Kings 24:8ff.; II Chron. 36:9ff.). As punishment for the rebellion, Nebuchadnezzar sent into exile the young king and his family, royal officials, warriors, artisans, and other distinguished people from Jerusalem and Judah, and took much spoil from the Temple and palace (II Kings 24:12ff.; Jer. 13:18–19; II Chron. 36:9–10). The number of exiles is reported in round numbers once as 10,000 exclusive of artisans (II Kings 24:14) and once as 7,000 "mighty men" and 1,000 artisans (II Kings 24:16). Probably because Jehoiachin surrendered in time, Nebuchadnezzar did not destroy Jerusalem. He took the exiled king's uncle Mattaniah, made him a vassal king, and changed his name to Zedekiah (II Kings 24:17; Ezek. 17:11ff.). Jehoiachin, however, retained his royal status, and a Babylonian tablet of 592 reports that he and his five sons, along with other exiles, were allotted rations by Nebuchadnezzar. The seal impressions "Eliakim steward of Yaukin," discovered at Tell Beit Mirsim, Beth-Shemesh, and Ramat Raḥel, may indicate that his royal estates were preserved intact.

In the eyes of Jeremiah, the exilic community was, metaphorically, a basket of excellent figs and would ultimately be restored to the land, while the remaining population were bad figs and would experience further destruction (Jer. 24:1–10). Ezekiel, settled among the exiles, provides evidence that events were dated according "to the exile of King Jehoiachin" (Ezek. 1:2). Despite the continuous preaching of Jeremiah and Ezekiel, prophets in Judah such as Hananiah son of Azzur (Jer. 28:1ff.) and in Babylonia such as Ahab son of Kolaiah, Zedekiah son of Maaseiah, and Shemaiah the Nehelamite (Jer. 29:21ff.) encouraged the rump state of Judah to believe that deliverance was at hand. Relying upon Egypt (Jer. 37:5; Ezek. 17:15; 29:6–7), Zedekiah rebelled. This time the city was destroyed (586 or 587) and the Temple burned. For breaking his oath of allegiance Zedekiah was blinded, exiled to Babylon, and his sons were executed. Other leading officials were likewise put to death. The Temple vessels were taken as booty, and all but the poorest were sent into exile (II Kings 25:1–21; Jer. 39:1–10; 52:1–27; II Chron. 36:11–21; cf. also Dan. 5). Whereas excavation shows clear evidence of destruction at this time in several Judahite sites, e.g., Tell Beit Mirsim, Lachish, Beth-Shemesh, Beth-Zur, etc., the evidence thus far is that Benjamin remained untouched. (On the archaeological situation see C. Carter, O. Lipschits, A. Zertal, and J. Zorn, apud Lipschits and Blenkinsopp in Bibliography.) Appointed governor by the conquerors, *Gedaliah son of Ahikam resided in the Benjaminite town of Mizpah until he was assassinated by *Ishmael son of Nethaniah of the royal family (II Kings 25:22–25; Jer. 40:7ff.). The people then fled to Egypt, taking Jeremiah with them (Jer. 41–43), and in 582 a third group was carried off into Babylonian exile (Jer. 52:30). The same source which reports this last small exile of 745 Judahites gives figures of 3,023 and 832 for the exiles of Jehoiachin and Zedekiah respectively (Jer. 52:28–30). It is not clear how these figures are to be reconciled with those cited earlier.

The destruction of the state and the Temple and the exile to Babylonia were traumatic experiences that concomitantly brought forth desires for revenge and stirrings of repentance. Feelings ran strong not only against Babylon (Isa. 47; Jer. 51; Ps. 137) but also against neighboring Edom, which rejoiced at, and benefited from, the destruction (Ezek. 25:12–14; 35:1ff; Obad.; Mal. 1:3–5; Ps. 137:7; Lam. 4:21–22). Although Jeremiah and Ezekiel explained the impending destruction as punishment for moral and cultic sins, the actual destruction was a shock. It aroused strong lament (Book of Lamentations) and regular commemorative fasts (Zech. 7:1ff.; 8:18–19) and a yearning to be reconciled with God and restored to the land of Judah (Ps. 137; Lam. 3:39ff.; 5:19–21). The Sabbath and festivals continued to be observed, and names such as Shabbethai (Ezra 10:15; Neh. 8:7; 11:16; *Murashu Tablets) and *Haggai (the prophet; and a personal name in the Murashu Tablets) made their appearance. The contrast between monotheism and polytheism became sharpened (e.g., Isa. 44:6ff.), and gentiles attracted to the God of Israel were promised a share in the restored Temple if they observed the Sabbath and the Covenant, probably of circumcision (Isa. 65:1ff.). Except for the leaders who had contact with Babylonian officials – *Sheshbazzar/Shenazzar (Ezra 1:8ff.; 5:14; 6:5; I Chron. 3:18), *Zerubbabel son of Shaltiel (Ezra 3:2), Mordecai (Ezra 2:2), Bilshan (Ezra 2:2) – and were therefore given, or adopted, Babylonian names (cf. Esth. 2:5, 7; Dan. 1:5ff.), the majority of exiles in Babylonia, as in Egypt, preserved the practice of giving Hebrew names.

Economically, the exiles did not fare badly, and socially they succeeded in preserving their clan and family structure intact. A prominent position was held by King Jehoiachin, who in 561 was exalted by King Amel-Marduk (*Evil-Merodach) over the other exiled kings. The communal leaders, "the elders of Judah/Israel" (Ezek. 8:1; 14:1; 20:1, 3), maintained their traditional authority and were known as "elders of the exile (Jer. 29:1). Craftsmen and builders were engaged in the royal building projects in Babylon, and clay tablets record rations distributed in 592 to such as Semachiah, Gaddiel, and Urimelech. Many were settled on "mounds" (*tel*), i.e., sites that had formerly been destroyed and needed to be rebuilt, such as Tel-Melah and Tel-Harsha (Ezra 2:59; Neh. 7:61). Ezekiel had a house in Tel-Abib (Akkadian for "mound caused by the deluge"), which lay along the Chebar Canal (Ezek. 1:1; 3:15, 23;

8:1) in the vicinity of Nippur. Jeremiah had encouraged the exiles to settle down, build houses and plant gardens, lead a normal life, and preserve public security (Jer. 29:4ff.). One of the Jews receiving royal rations in 592 was "Shelemiah the gardener." The best evidence of continuity in the cultural sphere is the activity of the prophets Ezekiel, Deutero-Isaiah, Haggai, and *Zechariah. The first was born in Judah and was exiled with Jehoiachin. He relentlessly prophesied the destruction of Temple and state and with equal certainty delineated its reconstruction. The last two, who were doubtlessly born in exile, returned to Judah to inspire the reconstruction. The great unknown prophet who goes by the name Deutero-Isaiah (Isa. 40–66) probably knew only exile and yet foretold the restoration in the most lyric of biblical poetry.

Return from Exile

Just as the greatest tragedy of the destruction of Jerusalem by the Babylonians in 586 B.C.E. was the loss of the Temple, so the first task after the return from exile was its reconstruction. As Cyrus embarked upon his conquest of Babylon, Deutero-Isaiah looked upon him as the Lord's shepherd and anointed, called upon to release the exiled Jews, rebuild the city, and reestablish the Temple (Isa. 44:28; 45:1, 13). A policy of restoration and reconstruction was pursued by Cyrus throughout the conquered territories, and he announced it proudly in his Akkadian-language cylinder inscription (COS 2:314–16). The specific permission granted the Jews was proclaimed orally throughout the Diaspora and put down in writing. As his victories and policy of restoration were attributed to Marduk in the Babylonian inscription, so in the proclamation to the Jews they were attributed to the God of Heaven, the title by which the God of Israel was generally known at that time (cf. Ezra 5:12; 7:12). No decree specifically granting permission to the exiles to return or to rebuild the city of Jerusalem has come down. Permission is granted simply to rebuild the Temple and for the exiles to return to Jerusalem for that purpose. Those not returning are encouraged to assist the repatriates financially (Ezra 1:2–4). An Aramaic memorandum deposited in the treasury archives in Median Ecbatana (Heb. Achmetha; modern Hamadan), Cyrus' summer residence, gives the dimensions and certain architectural features of the Temple, and states that expenses are to be met by the royal treasury (Ezra 6:1–5). The Temple vessels were released by the treasurer Mithredath, at Cyrus' order, to Sheshbazzar/Shenazzar, prince of Judah, who restored them to Jerusalem (Ezra 1:7–11; 5:14–15; 6:5). Sheshbazzar was given the title of governor (*peḥah*) and entrusted with the task of rebuilding the Temple (Ezra 16–17). Although the sources are not clear on the subject, he was apparently succeeded in this assignment by his nephew Zerubbabel, who likewise bore the title "governor" (Ezra 3:1–13; 5:1–23; Haggai 1:1; 2:1–2, 21).

Zerubbabel son of Shealtiel and *Joshua son of Jehozadak, who was descended from a family of high priests, appear at the beginning of a list of 12 leaders, symbolizing the unity of Israel, who headed the groups returning from exile (Neh. 7:7; one name has accidentally been left out from the parallel list in Ezra 2:2). Besides Zerubbabel ("Seed-of-Babylon") at least three other leaders bear non-Hebrew names – Mordecai (related to a name compounded with Marduk), Bilshan (= Bab. Belšunu, "Their Lord"), and Bigvai. The last name is from Persian *bagāvahyah*, "through God, the better," and recurs in the first list of 17 or 18 returning families, along with such unusual names as Pahath-Moab ("Governor of Moab") and Elam (Ezra 2:6–7, 14; Neh. 7:11–12, 19). Perhaps these names refer to Israelites exiled from Transjordan (I Chron. 5:26) and to those who settled in Media (II Kings 17:6), hence the Persian name, and in Elam (Isa. 11:11). Since most, if not all, of the place-names in the second list are located in Benjamin (Ezra 2:20 or 21–35; Neh. 7:25–38), it is likely that these 17 (18) families settled in Judah. Interestingly, exactly 17 settlements are cited for Judah in the time of Nehemiah (Neh. 11:25–30). The subsequent lists enumerate families of priests, levites, singers, gatekeepers, temple servants (*Nethinim*), and "sons of Solomon's servants" (Ezra 2:36–58; Neh. 7:39–60). In addition to these families, whose genealogical records were in order, there were other repatriates whose records were not. The priests among them were disqualified from the priesthood (Ezra 2:59–63; Neh. 7:61–65). At least one of these families, however, that of Hakkoz, was apparently reinstated at a later date (Ezra 8:33; Neh. 3:4). The number of members of each family and town often varies between the two parallel lists, while the total of all the figures falls far below the recorded total sum. While the difference could be made up by adding women and children, it should also be noted that the given totals are schematic numbers, formed of various combinations of seven and three: 42,360 plus 7,337 slaves (Ezra 2:64–65; Neh. 7:66–67). Despite the list's title indicating that it numbers "the members of the province who returned from exile … with Zerubbabel" (Ezra 2:1–2; Neh. 7:6–7), the origin, nature, and purpose of the list has been much debated. The first recorded act of the newly established community was the reinstitution of the regular daily ritual on the first of Tishri, and later the celebration of the festival of Tabernacles "as prescribed in the Torah of Moses." It was at the time of this festival that Solomon's Temple had been dedicated (I Kings 8:62ff.). Like that structure, the Second Temple was to be built with cedars from Lebanon, and at the foundation ceremonies, priestly and levitical choirs chanted psalms of praise and thanksgiving, "according to the order of David" and as was prophesied by Jeremiah (Jer. 33:10–11). The link with tradition is evident from the fact that while the young rejoiced, the elders, who remembered the First Temple, wept (Ezra 3:10–12).

The repatriates' ties with the past took on a strong ethnic coloring. In the neighboring provinces, particularly in Samaria, the Assyrian kings had earlier introduced an alien population which, in the course of time, came to worship the God of Israel (II Kings 17). They now wanted to participate in the erection of the Jerusalem Temple. The repatriates felt no kinship with these elements and claimed that Cyrus' decree was for themselves alone. Rebuffed, these "opponents of Judah and Benjamin," this new "people of the land," succeeded in thwarting by one means or another the efforts of the Jews to rebuild the Temple during the reign of Cyrus and *Cambyses (Ezra 4:1–5). Years of famine followed and a certain demoralization set in. The rebellions and wars that took place in the Persian Empire after the death of Cambyses reverberated in Judah, and the prophets Haggai and Zechariah rose in 520 to encourage the Jewish leaders to resume construction of the Temple. They did so with enthusiasm and Haggai prophesied to Zerubbabel in messianic terms. The son of the same Jehoiachin, whom Jeremiah had likened to a signet which the Lord deliberately pulled off his hand and cast away (Jer. 22:24), would become just such a signet on the Lord's hand (Haggai 2:23), and the righteous Davidic "shoot" foreseen by Jeremiah (Jer. 23:5–6) was to sprout up and rule alongside the high priest (Zech. 6:12–13). The actual building was again called into question, this time by Tattenai, governor of Trans-Euphrates. The Jews could produce no document granting them permission to build the Temple, but they reported that such a document was on file in the royal archives. When the memorandum of Cyrus was located in Ecbatana, Darius reconfirmed the decree with its provision for covering expenses and agreed to pay the expenses of a daily sacrifice on behalf of the royal family. Building subsequently proceeded and the dedication was held on Adar 3, 515, "as prescribed in the Book of Moses"; Passover was then celebrated by all those "who had separated themselves from the impurity of the nations of the land… to seek the Lord God of Israel" (Ezra 5–6). The Temple was rebuilt and the enemies of Judah were foiled, but Zerubbabel did not ascend the throne of David. No more is heard of him, and upon the death of Darius, the opponents of Judah sought to stir up King Xerxes against Judah (Ezra 4:7 ff.). The restored community only became firmly established during the 40-year reign of Artaxerxes I, when *Ezra and *Nehemiah undertook the twin tasks of the codification of the law and the fortification of Jerusalem.

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[Bezalel Porten]

EXISTENTIALISM, a modern philosophical movement, which intends to elucidate concrete human existence. To the movement belong such people as S. Kierkegaard, A. Schopenhauer, M. Heidegger, J.-P. Sartre, G. Marcel, M. Buber, F. Rosenzweig, and J.B. Soloveitchik.

Embracing a number of disparate philosophical positions, existentialism can be described as a reaction to traditional philosophy with its emphasis on the static, the abstract, the objective, and the purely rational. In its reaction, existentialism emphasizes the dynamic, the concrete, the subjective, and the personal. More specifically, existentialism opposes Idealism, which gave priority to the idea over factuality and largely neglected the part of the philosopher himself in the construction of his philosophy. Existentialism stresses personal involvement and "engagement," action, choice, and commitment, and regards the actual situation of the existential subject as the starting point of thought. Revolting against the Cartesian view of the self as a thinking entity, existentialism is concerned with the existential subject in his wholeness and concreteness – the willing, feeling, thinking person, who decides and acts from the perspective of his particular life situation rather than from some universal vantage point provided by reason or history. One of the important influences on existentialism was phenomenology, which attempts to understand the world and man not through causal formulae and analysis, but through openness to the whole range of phenomena that are manifest, without asking whether they are "real" in some metaphysical sense. Yet, whereas E. Husserl's phenomenology investigated human consciousness and its intentionality, existentialists themselves were rather interested in existential situations as insecurity, anguish, depression, shame, tragedy, hope, solidarity, and love. Both Husserl's phenomenology and existentialism did not relate to the Kantian *Ding an sich*, reality in itself, but in the way reality appears to the subject that is open to it: they do not explain phenomena, they rather describe them.

Existentialism in Jewish Thought

Existentialist motifs are central to the writings of many modern Jewish thinkers. One may for instance find existential motifs in the thinking of Rabbi Nahman of Breslav (Meir, 37–54).

According to F. Rosenzweig, Hermann Cohen's thought prepared his own existential thinking (F. Rosenzweig and S.H. Bergman highlighted the dichotomy between the neo-Kantian Cohen of Marburg and the neo-Cohen of Berlin, whereas A. Altmann thought that there was one great continuity in Cohen's neo-Kantian thinking). It was the concern for the individual which led Cohen to accord religion an independent place in his philosophic system. He argued that religion is necessary insofar as it posits the categories of sin, repentance, and salvation to deal with the problems of the individual, which Kantian ethics overlooks in its concern with man in general. Cohen emphasizes the relation between God and man, rather than theoretical speculation concerning God. With his notion of "correlation" Cohen maintains that the relationship between

God and man is characterized by the holy spirit. Through his relation to God and his acknowledging God as the model and source of holiness, man strives to attain holiness for himself. Man and God are partners in bringing the work of creation to completion, i.e., in bringing about the messianic era. Both the deeds of man and the divine grace are necessary for the salvation of mankind.

Jewish existentialism proper begins with Franz Rosenzweig. Following Cohen, Rosenzweig attaches a great importance to the individual. In *Das neue Denken* ("The New Thinking," 1925) he criticizes traditional philosophical categories, instead making the personal experience of the individual the starting point of philosophy. Because God, the world, and man are experienced as three distinct entities, Rosenzweig rejects the approach of philosophy from the pre-Socratics until Hegel which reduced in a monistic manner these three "substances" to one basic essence, to God (in pantheism), to man (in anthropology), or to the world (in materialism). The separation and interrelationship of God, man, and the world is central to his New Thinking. He explains that the relation between God and the world is cognized as creation; between God and man, as revelation; and between man and the world, as redemption. As a result, the I is less a Cartesian *cogito* than a relating being, called upon to respond.

All of Martin Buber's mature thought bears the stamp of a closely similar existentialism of dialogue reflected in his notion of the I-you relationship, and his insistence on the concrete, on the unique, on the everyday, on the situation rather than the "-ism," on response with one's whole being and the personal wholeness that comes into being in that response. At the center of Buber's existentialism stands "holy insecurity" or the "narrow ridge" – the trust that meaning is open and accessible in the lived concrete, that transcendence addresses us in the events of everyday life, that man's true concern is not unraveling the divine mysteries, but the way of man in partnership with God. The partnership with "the eternal You" comes into expression in the meeting and encounter with a you. The living presence of God is felt when one is present to the other and makes the other present.

For Abraham Joshua Heschel religious reality does not begin with the essence of God but with His presence, not with dogma or metaphysics but with that sense of wonder and the ineffable which is experienced by every man. Through this sense of wonder man is led toward that transcendent reality to which each finite thing alludes through its own unique reality. Heschel approaches philosophy of religion as "situational thinking" and "depth theology" which endeavor to "rediscover the questions to which religion is an answer" (A.J. Heschel, *God in Search of Man* [1955], 3).

Basic existentialist themes are also found in the thought of Rabbi Joseph B. Soloveitchik. His thinking is pervaded by such themes as loneliness and alienation, but also heroic readiness of obeying the divine commandments. Soloveitchik's halakhic hero lives through the normative prism of *halakhah*. He is the ideal type who orients his life to halakhic discipline and develops an indifference toward the chaotic, death, and the absurd.

Although the existential Jewish writer F. Kafka has his own anti-hero, who is the object of circumstances, of misunderstandings, and alienation and who possesses a total lack of communication, one may sense Kafka's longing for a fuller life in his description of alienated modern man (Meir, 129–145). In their various writings, all Jewish existentialists proposed that their readers adopt an "authentic" lifestyle, the content of which differed from author to author.

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[Maurice Friedman / Ephraim Meir (2nd ed.)]

EXODUS, BOOK OF (Heb. title) **[וְאֵלֶּה] שְׁמוֹת** "[And these are] the names of" – the first words of the book; Gk. *exodos ton wion Israel ex aigyptou*], "departure [of the children of Israel from Egypt]"; (cf. Sefer *Yeẓi'at Miẓrayim* ("book of the departure from Egypt"), *Dikdukei Te'amim*, 57) the second book of the Pentateuch. The masoretic notice at the end of Exodus (C.D. Ginsburg's edition) gives it 1,209 verses (middle verse: 22:27), 16,713 words, and 33,529 letters; 33 (or 29) triennial sections (*sedarim*), 11 annual ones (*parashiyyot*). According to the traditional chronology, the book's narrative embraces 129 years, from the death of Joseph (A.M. 2320) to the erection of the Tabernacle in the second year after the Exodus (A.M. 2449). The book itself is the end-product of centuries of composition. It has 40 chapters (adopted from the Vulgate in the 14th century).

Book of Exodus – Contents

Chs. 1:1–18:27	**The Liberation.**
1:1–2:25	The enslavement of Israel and the advent of Moses.
3:1–7:13	The call and commissioning of Moses.
7:14–11:10	The plagues.
12:1–13:16	Firstborn plague and Passover rite.
13:17–15:21	The miracle at the sea.
15:22–17:16	Trouble and deliverance on the way to Sinai.
18:1–27	Jethro's visit and the organization of the people.
Chs. 19:1–24:18	**The Covenant.**
19:1–20:21	The theophany at Mt. Sinai and the Decalogue.
20:22–23:33	Rules and admonitions.
24:1–18	The Covenant ceremony.
Chs. 25:1–40:38	**The Tabernacle and the Golden Calf.**
25:1–27:19	Orders to build the Tabernacle.
27:20–31:18	Activities and actors in the Sanctuary.
32:1–34:35	The Golden Calf.
35:1–40:38	Building the Tabernacle.

Structure and Content

Although it is part of a continuous narrative that runs through the *Pentateuch, the Book of Exodus shows signs of having been intended as a distinct unit. (See Table: Analysis of the Book of Exodus.) The opening verses of the book do not continue Genesis 50:26, but briefly recapitulate the genealogy of Genesis 46:8–27 as a background for the story of Israel's proliferation, which sets in motion events leading to the departure from Egypt. Similarly the last verses of the book (40:36ff.) look ahead to (and epitomize) Numbers 9:15–23 to round out the account of the Tabernacle; Exodus 40:35 has its proper sequel only in Leviticus 1:1. Beginning with a backward glance and ending with a forward one, the book gives the appearance of a (to be sure, secondary) literary entity unto itself.

Genesis describes Israel's antecedents and God's promises of progeny and land to the patriarchs. Exodus relates the fulfillment of these promises in three great divisions:

(1) The liberation – God redeems Israel from slavery and demonstrates His faithfulness, His compassion, and His power (Ex. 1–17);

(2) The covenant – God establishes a covenant with Israel and gives them rules to make them His kingdom of priests, a holy nation (Ex. 19–24);

(3) The Tabernacle – God ordains the building of a sanctuary for Himself in the midst of His people, so that He might dwell among them, care for, and guide them (Ex. 25–31, 35–40).

The visit of *Jethro (Ex. 18) shows signs of being out of chronological order (see below). In the third division, the sequence of command and execution is interrupted by the *Golden Calf episode (Ex. 32–34), the people's travesty of God's provision for securing His presence among them.

The contents of the book may be divided as follows:

A. THE ENSLAVEMENT OF ISRAEL AND THE ADVENT OF MOSES (1:1–2:25). Israel's proliferation (described in terms employed in the primeval history (Gen. 1:28; 9:7) and the patriarchal promises (Gen. 17:2, 6; 28:14)) provokes the king of Egypt to employ increasingly brutal measures in an effort to reduce it: forced labor proving to be inadequate, he resorts first to a clandestine, and when that fails to a public, order to put to death all male infants of the Hebrews. In this evil time, a boy is born to Levite parents, and to save him, his mother hides him in the Nile's canebrake. Pharaoh's daughter retrieves the infant and connives with his sister (who stands watch close-by) to restore it to his family. Later the child is brought back to the princess; she names him *Moses (probably of Egyptian derivation; cf. the final element of such royal names as Thutmose "born of [the god] Thut") and adopts him as her son.

Three acts of rescue by the young man Moses (adumbrations of his future role) are related: he rescues a Hebrew from an Egyptian taskmaster, one Hebrew from the unjust attack of another, and finally, as a fugitive in Midian, he rescues the daughters of the local priest from bullies (note the rising scale of disinterest). Moses takes up with the priest and marries his daughter who gives birth to a son. His retreat from the struggle of his people in Egypt is temporary, however, for God has taken note of their misery and resolves to act.

Well-knit as the narrative is, inconsistencies occur, suggesting a separate provenance of its elements; e.g., though prodigiously prolific, the Israelites have only two midwives; and though Moses seems to be the first child of his parents, he turns out to have an older sister (cf. Ex. R. 1:19 according to which the marriage is really a remarriage). The theme of fertility (a veritable refrain in ch. 1) and birth dominates and unites this whole section, giving the impression of a distinct design.

The birth story of Moses has been compared with that of Sargon of Agade (Pritchard, Texts, 119; COS I, 461) and Cyrus (Herodotus, 1:107ff.). However, an Egyptian myth telling how Isis concealed her infant child in a delta papyrus thicket to save him from the predator Seth offers a closer analogue, and points to local Egyptian color in the Moses story (W. Helck).

B. THE CALL AND COMMISSIONING OF MOSES (3:1–7:13). While shepherding his father-in-law's flock deep in the wilderness, Moses comes upon the mountain of God (unknown to him as such). The wonderful apparition of a bush that burns without being burnt draws him into the presence of God, who calls him to lead Israel out of Egypt. Moses' repeated objections of inadequacy finally impel God to appoint his brother *Aaron as his spokesman (an etiology of how Levite-priests became the spokesmen and mediators of prophecy in Israel (Lev. 10:11; Deut. 24:8; 33:10; II Chron. 17:8–9)). The two bring God's message to the grateful people. Speaking to Pharaoh, however, they disguise their demand (upon God's instruction) as a request for leave to worship God in the wilderness at a three-day's march from Egypt. Pharaoh rebuffs them contemptuously: "Who is YHWH that I should heed him and let Israel go – I do not know YHWH, nor will I let Israel go" (Ex. 5:2). He then orders that the Israelites' toil be intensified, which sends Moses back with a bitter complaint to God. God responds with a renewed charge and vow to liberate Israel in fulfillment of His promise to the Patriarchs. However, neither the people nor Pharaoh are moved by Moses' report of this transaction, so God prepares Moses and Aaron to act against the Egyptians.

The *burning bush story includes the revelation of the proper divine name, YHWH, and its interpretation – the enigmatic "I am/shall be what I am/shall be" (3:13–15). Moses' supposition that the people would ask God's name is itself unclear – all the more so since the contingency fails to materialize in the sequel. The coherence of the fragments in 4:18–26 is problematic (Naḥmanides supposes that verses 22–23 belong to the story of the last plague; in the Samaritan Pentateuch they are in fact repeated in 11:4), and the meaning of the night encounter with YHWH in which Zipporah saves the life of one of her family by circumcising her son is wholly obscure (Jacob's nocturnal struggle with a "man" at Jabbok (Gen.

32:25ff.) may be aptly compared to this incident). An adumbration of the plague of the firstborn on the paschal night, from which Israel's firstborn are saved through a blood rite, has been seen here.

The most salient problem of this complex section is the repetition in 6:2–7:13 of the main outline of 3:1–6:1 – the revelation to Moses of God's plan to save Israel; Moses' mission to Pharaoh and Israel; his objection that he is clumsy of speech and the consequent appointment of Aaron as his spokesman; and Pharaoh's rebuff of the brothers. The medieval French exegete Joseph Bekhor Shor suggests that at least part of the second narrative recapitulates the first (at 6:13, 29); in fact, it appears that these are variant narrations of Moses' call and commissioning. The contribution of the second narrative is its stress on God's involvement in Israel's liberation: Pharaoh's rebuff challenges God's reputation, and He must teach the arrogant Egyptian who He is. Thus the major motive of the plague story is introduced (cf. 7:5 with 7:17; 8:6, 18; 9:14, 16, 29).

C. THE PLAGUES (7:14–11:10). After Pharaoh spurns the credentials of Moses and Aaron as God's messengers because his magicians imitated them, the brothers are instructed to bring on *plagues of blood, frogs, and lice. The first two are again imitated by the magicians, but the third is beyond them, and they confess it to be "the finger of God." Six more plagues follow, with Pharaoh oscillating between obduracy and concession. When, with the eighth plague (locusts) he engages in real negotiation with Moses, it is Moses' turn to be difficult. He so exasperates the king that after the ninth plague (darkness) he is expelled from the palace with a warning never to show his face there again. Moses stalks out in a rage after warning Pharaoh of the final plague of the firstborn.

The plague narrative is constructed on a 3.3.3. (plus 1) pattern – reflected in the tannaitic mnemonic *Deẓakh ʿAdash Beʾaḥav* and expressly noted by medieval exegetes (Samuel b. Meir, Levi b. Gershom, Abrabanel). This pattern is imposed on heterogeneous materials whose inconsistencies have troubled readers from earliest times (for details, see *Plagues of Egypt). Despite this, the effect of the narrative is achieved: human arrogance toward God is not only futile; in the end it overmasters its subject and leads him to his destruction.

D. FIRSTBORN PLAGUE AND PASSOVER RITE (12:1–13:16). A fortnight earlier, on the first of the spring month (later, Nisan), God had prescribed the protective rite and sacrificial meal that Israel was to carry out on the night of the final plague – namely, the slaughter of the Pesaḥ (protective/pass-over (Mekh.)) lamb, the daubing of its blood on doorposts and lintels, strict confinement indoors, and consuming of the roast flesh in haste and readiness to leave (see *Passover).

The text moves on to link the Pesaḥ with the future week-long festival of *maẓẓot*, whose onset coincides with the Pesaḥ night (14 Nisan), and whose main feature – unleavened bread – accompanies the Pesaḥ meal as well. The two, evidently distinct, holy days are henceforth to be celebrated as memorials of the Exodus – their coincidence on the same date being the basis of their combination. (Only in 12:39 is an etiology of the *Maẓẓot* Festival associating it directly with the events of the Exodus given – the inability of the Israelites to tarry in Egypt long enough for their dough to rise.)

Moses passes on to the people only the injunction concerning the Pesaḥ. However, his message too has a part that looks to the future. This time the link with the future is the Pesaḥ rite itself: in time to come it is to be reenacted (annually) as a memorial to the sparing of Israel's firstborn during the plague that struck Egypt. (The Samaritan mode of celebrating the rite, preserving all its dramatic and apotropaic features, appears closer to the intention of the text than the Jewish mode, deliberately emptied of them (cf. *National Geographic Magazine*, 37:1 [1920], 34–35, 44–45; Pes. 9:5; Abraham Ibn Ezra on 12:24).

On the fateful night, the bereaved Egyptians press the Israelites to leave. The latter had already fulfilled (*ʿaśu* (12:35), pluperfect) Moses' order to ask the Egyptians for valuables (and thus get some return for their unrequited labor and suffering (Sanh. 91a; Ḥezkuni on 3:21f.; B. Jacob, in: MGWJ, 32 (1924), 285ff.). (The notice (Ex. 3:20) that the valuables are worn by children is probably an etiology of a festive practice of Jews in the Egyptian diaspora of the later first millennium.) Verses 37–42 of chapter 12 are notes on the departure: the first station; the size of the host (conceived as an army: *ragli*, "footmen," *ẓivʾot* YHWH, "the troops of YHWH"); the large admixture of non-Israelites; the etiology of *maẓẓot*; "the night of vigil."

Further regulations concerning the Pesaḥ in verses 43–49 continue verses 1–20, and belong (in the light of verse 50) before verse 29. They appear here owing to their assumption of settled conditions and the presence of foreigners among the celebrants. A passage enjoining the commemoration of the Exodus with the *Maẓẓot* Festival (a variant of verses 15–20) and the dedication of firstlings follows. Notable is the conception of both as pedagogic measures – vehicles for the transmission of God's mighty deeds to future generations. A large agglomeration of ritual materials of quite varied character and provenance has thus been attracted to this point in the narrative. The reason is clearly to link the rites and holy days in question – doubtless pre-Israelite in origin – with their meaning in Israel.

E. THE MIRACLE AT THE SEA (13:17–15:21). A report of God's providential guidance of the departing Israelites is followed by a prose and poetic account of the miracle at the *yam suf*, usually rendered "Sea of Reeds" or "Red Sea." (On the problematic term see Vervenne in Bibliography; location unknown; every body of marsh and water from Lake Sirbonis in the north, across the Isthmus of Suez, to the Gulf of Suez in the south has been proposed.) The theme of teaching Egypt who YHWH is reaches its culmination in God's assertion of authority against Pharaoh and his whole army (14:4). God's design having been abetted by Pharaoh's change of heart and pursuit of Israel, Moses bids the frightened people to "stand fast and see the salvation of YHWH…YHWH will fight for you and you be still!" God displays His sovereign control of the sea, which he first blows apart so that Israel can pass through it on dry land and then allows to close on the pursuing Egyptians. The prose of chapter 14 is elevated: refrain-like clauses (cf. 14:6–7, 9, 17, 23, 26, 28) and phrases (cf. 14:16, 22, 29) summed up in 15:19 and climaxed by a strongly cadenced five-clause coda (14:30–31).

The "Song of the *Sea" – a paean to God the warrior (15:3) – follows. Its junctures are marked by three verses in "staircase parallelism" (a b c d / a b e f) – verses 6, 11, 16b – dividing it into four parts: (a) a declaration of intent to hymn God's victory and a summary of its essence – the drowning of Pharaoh's army; (b) the piling up of waters by God's wind, the greedy pursuit by the enemy, and the drowning of the enemy; (c) God's guidance of the people to His holy abode (the Land of Canaan), inspiring terror in all the neighboring countries; (d) coda: God's implanting His people in His own mountain, His dwelling-place, His sanctuary in the Land of Canaan; acclamation of God as eternal king.

As the celebration of a specific event, the song is comparable only to Deborah's hymn (Judg. 5), although from verse 12 on it moves on to Israel's journey to its land and its settlement therein. A hymn to the victor at the sea has apparently been expanded into a larger celebration of God's deeds for Israel from the Exodus to the settlement, incorporated here because of its first half. The language displays several early features (*-emo* suffixes; retention of radical *y* in *yekhasyumu*; staircase parallelism; echoes of the primeval battle with Yam (the Canaanite god of the sea), cf. Cassuto in bibl.); the mention of Philistia, the references to cavalry, and the sanctuary on God's mountain, however, indicate a date no earlier than the tenth century for the present form of the song.

F. TROUBLE AND DELIVERANCE ON THE WAY TO SINAI (15:22–17:16). The interval between the crossing of the sea and the arrival at Sinai is filled with four episodes relating trials and tribulations (catchwords: *nissah* "try, test" and the assonant *nes* "(en)sign" (15:25; 16:4; 17:2, 7, 15)). (a) Marah, where a miraculous healing of brackish water is connected with an obscure law giving, a trial, and an admonition evocative of epilogues to law collections. (b) The *manna story – an only partly fused composite (note the allusion to quail that has no sequel here) – teaching God's capacity to provide food even in the wilderness. It also illustrates the holiness of the Sabbath: just as God ceased providing manna on the Sabbath, so must Israel rest from procuring and preparing food on that day; 16:35 notes that the manna ceased only when Israel arrived in Canaan (cf. Josh. 5:12). (c) Massah and Meribah: the people complain of thirst, Moses strikes "a rock at Horeb" (but the camp is at Rephidim, a station away from the holy mountain; 17:1 and 19:1–2) and water gushes forth. (d) The encounter with *Amalek: by virtue of Moses' raised hands and the force mustered by Joshua Amalek is defeated; God's oath to wipe out Amalek is memorialized by an altar named "YHWH is my ensign."

These stories are more or less paralleled by post-Sinai narratives: the third story, by the "Waters of Meribah" episode in Numbers 20:2–13, in which Moses and Aaron are denied entry into Canaan; the second, by the story of Numbers 11 – chiefly about the quail – which ends with the people's being punished for their complaint (Joseph Bekhor Shor identifies the Exodus with the Numbers story in his comment to Ex. 16:13); the fourth, by the encounter with Amalek and others in Numbers 14:45, in which Israel is defeated. Nor are they free of occasional post-Sinai allusions: e.g., "before YHWH" of 16:9, a commonplace reference to the tent-sanctuary; the "rock at Horeb" (17:6); the Negebite nomads of Amalek. Notwithstanding their shaky anchorage in time and place, these episodes are thematically fitting here. They display God's providence and His capacity to deliver Israel from distress, thus paving the way for His claim upon them based on their experience of Him ("You have seen what I did to the Egyptians, how I bore you on eagles' wings and brought you to me"; 19:4). Punishment would be out of place here, but not so in the post-Sinai narrative, where the credit established by God and the covenant obligation of loyal devotion to Him count against the people.

G. JETHRO'S VISIT AND THE ORGANIZATION OF THE PEOPLE (EX. 18). Drawn by the wonders done for Israel, and accompanied by Moses' divorced wife, and children (but cf. 4:20), Jethro comes to the encampment at the mountain of God. He confesses YHWH's superiority to all other gods and offers sacrifice to him. On the morrow, seeing how Moses is overwhelmed by the charge of the people, Jethro proposes a division of labor between Moses – who should retain only the functions of mediating between God and the people – and a hierarchy of officers who would care for all other needs. (The text speaks of judicial functions, but the terminology (cf. e.g., I Sam. 8:12; II Sam. 18:1; II Kings 1:9ff.; 11:10) is military, in line with the conception of the Israelites as an army.) Whether Jethro's visit occurred before or after the Sinai law giving has long divided exegetes (see Mekh., Ibn Ezra, Naḥmanides on 18:1). The argument for a later visit is based on (a) the location of the camp at the holy mountain (cf. 19:1–2); (b) the allusion to an already present cult site (18:12); (c) Moses' teaching of God's laws and statutes (18:20); (d) the representation in Deuteronomy 1:9–10 of the administrative organization here ascribed to Jethro as having occurred just before the people left Sinai; and, finally (e) the notice of Numbers 10:29ff. that Moses' father-in-law was in the camp at that time.

Thematically, the episode suits its context: its first half relates a foreigner's appreciation of the great acts of God told in the preceding chapters; its second half foreshadows Moses' mediatory and legislative function – the topic of the rest of the book. Rabbinic exegesis, for its part, found the contrast in attitude to Israel between Amalek and the equally foreign Jethro to be the point of the juxtaposition of chapter 18 to chapter 17 – a contrast whose historical consequences are depicted in I Samuel 15:6 (see at length David Kimḥi on Judg. 1:16).

H. THE THEOPHANY AT MT. SINAI AND THE DECALOGUE (19:1–20:21 (18)). On the first of the third month after the Exodus (i.e., 1 Sivan, in later terms) Israel arrives at Sinai. Moses ascends to the mountaintop where God descends, and messages concerning God's proposal to contract a covenant with Israel are carried by Moses to and from the people. Upon their acceptance in principle of God's proposal, Moses prepares the people for the theophany (divine manifestation). On the third day, amid lightning and thunder, God manifests Himself on the mountain and speaks the *Decalogue. Terrified, the people fall back and beg Moses to be their intermediary with God. Moses approaches the cloud "where God was" to receive the rest of the commandments.

The details and order of the narrative in chapters 19 and 20 are perplexing. Weighty matters crowd together in a barely intelligible sequence. The number of Moses' ascents and descents is unclear. The stated aim of the theophany in 19:9 (to let the people overhear God's dialogue with Moses so that they might believe him forever) has no sequel – except perhaps in the unspecified dialogue alluded to in verse 19b. The people are strictly barred from approaching the mountain – a wholly unnecessary precaution. The order to return with Aaron (verse 24) has no sequel (unless it be 24:1); and what Moses said to the people (19:25) is left unsaid.

The Decalogue – a self-contained entity – is only loosely related to the context (see *Decalogue). The terror of the people (19:18–20) seems to follow upon God's speaking the Decalogue (as in Deut. 5:20ff.), but it has long been felt (especially since no reference to God's speech occurs in the passage) that it belongs properly to the pre-Decalogue situation described in 19:16ff. (cf. Naḥmanides).

The extraordinary complexity is best explained as the result of the interweaving of parallel narrations; the author appears to have been reluctant to exclude any scrap of data relevant to this momentous occasion.

I. RULES AND ADMONITIONS (20:22 (19)–23:33). The further stipulations of the covenant are told to Moses, to be transmitted by him to Israel. These consist of cultic regulations, civil and criminal laws, and socio-moral exhortations, arranged as follows: (a) rules concerning access to God in worship (20:22 (19)–26 (23)); (b) the emancipation of Hebrew slaves (21:1–11); (c) homicide and assault (21:12–27); (d) the homicidal ox (21:28–32); (e) injury to property, i.e., to animals (including theft; 21:33–22:3) and to crops (22:4–5); the responsibility of bailees and borrowers (22:6–14); seduction (22:15–16 – from the vantage point of the father's interest, i.e., the bride-price); (f) a miscellany of religio-moral admonitions and commandments (22:17–23:13); (g) a cultic calendar (23:14–19). Admonitions to obey the accompanying angel of God and to keep strictly apart from the society and worship of the Canaanites serve as the epilogue to the section (contrast Lev. 26 and Deut. 28 with their clear-cut blessings and curses, the formally proper epilogue to a law collection; cf. Hammurapi's Laws, Pritchard, Texts, 178ff; COS II:335–53). These "utterances of YHWH" and "rules" (usually understood as the categorical and casuistic statements, respectively (cf. Ibn Ezra on 21:1)) appear to constitute the "*Book of the Covenant" that Moses is said (24:7) to have written down and read to the people; hence the section is conventionally named "the (larger) Book of the Covenant" (to distinguish it from the "smaller": 34:11–26, on which see below). It is made up of heterogeneous elements, including prior entities – note the title of 21:1; or the interrupted series of participial clauses concerning capital crimes in 21:12, 15–17. Sets of five clauses are discernible: the slave laws, the homicidal ox, theft. A general design is evident: the section begins and ends with cultic-religious admonitions and commands; in between these the impersonal casuistic laws appear (note the transition in 21:2, "If you buy") – their environment bestowing on them its character of a divine address and commandment. A fairly clear principle of association and gradation is discernible from (c) through (e); the precedence given to (b) is conditioned by the situation – limitation of slavery among Hebrews being the chief boon that their liberator conferred upon them. Indeed the very gradation referred to betrays a clear hierarchy of values (contrast the arrangement of laws in the Babylonian collections of Eshnunna and Hammurapi (Pritchard, Texts, 161–177; COS II (332–53)). Notable is the recognition of the slave as a person in his own right in 21:20, 26–27, unparalleled in ancient law (though still holding him less than a free man; cf. 21:21, 32). Ibn Ezra's summary of the section merits quotation:

> The essence [of the laws] is that one should not do violence to or coerce a weaker man. First, subjugation of the person is taken up – namely, enslavement… Assault is dealt with for the sake of the law on injuring slaves… And talion is dealt with in order to distinguish the case of maiming a free man from that of a slave… The goring ox is mentioned to stipulate the rule in the case of the killing of a slave… Violence to property is the next topic. First field and vineyard are taken up, for they constitute the essence of property; next, crops – produced by the earth; and then bailees and the borrower. And next, the seducer who coerces a minor… The resident alien is mentioned because he is helpless, and similarly the widow and orphan and the poor debtor.
>
> Afterward the violence that may be perpetrated covertly is taken up: cursing God, which one would fear to do openly; or delaying payment of the sacred dues of wine and oil… and… purveying false reports… Judges are addressed in the injunction against perverting justice – which is violence that can be done covertly… And the reason for mentioning the fallow year is to declare the yield forfeit to the poor, and the Sabbath, so that servant and alien may rest… The intention of 23:13 is to reinforce the second commandment [against worship of other gods]; and that is the reason for the three pilgrimage festivals, namely, the assemblage of all Israel to worship God…

This ingenious, if somewhat one-sided, view of the continuity of the section has the merit of highlighting the extraordinary preoccupation of the rulings and admonitions with socio-moral values. Especially noteworthy is the fact that although the laws have numerous parallels to other Near Eastern legal collections, the notion of their divine origin appears unique to Israel.

J. THE COVENANT CEREMONY (EX. 24). Moses relates the rules and admonitions to the people, who accept them. He then writes them down, and, after a second reading and acceptance, performs a sacrifice and blood-sprinkling ceremony to conclude the pact. Moses and Israel's notables ascend the mountain for the sacrificial meal, consecrated by a vision of God. Afterward, Moses takes leave of the notables and enters the cloud on the mountaintop to receive the stone tablets and the laws which God is to give him.

The chronology and interrelation of the elements of this chapter have long puzzled exegetes. The first two verses of chapter 24, not picked up until verse 9, are vaguely evocative of 19:24. Some rabbinic opinion places all of the events of 24:1–11 before the pronouncement of the Decalogue (Yoma 4b; Rashi to 24:1) going so far as to identify the people's acceptance reported in 19:8 with that reported in 24:3 (or 7; Saadiah, cited by Ibn Ezra on 20:21). There is discontinuity between 24:11 and 12: in between, Moses and the elders must have descended the mountain. The relation of the six and seven days of 24:16 to prior events is again obscure, rabbinic opinion being divided as to whether they preceded or followed the Decalogue speech (see Rashi). The impression is unavoidable that heterogeneous matter has been combined.

K. ORDERS TO BUILD THE TABERNACLE (TENT OF MEETING, 25:1–27:19). God commands that materials be assembled for making Him a dwelling place amid the people (see *Tabernacle). A vision of the tent-sanctuary that God intends in all its detail is shown to Moses (25:9, 40; 26:30; 27:8; cf. I Chron. 28:12, 19 with reference to Solomon's Temple, and the dream of Gudea, the neo-Sumerian ruler of Lagash, summarized in H. Frankfort, *Kingship and the Gods* (1955^2), 255–8; COS II, 417–33). First in importance and first described is the ark – the receptacle of the "tablets of the pact" that Moses is to receive – and the cherubim on its cover, where God will "meet with" Moses and give him his orders concerning Israel (25:22). Next, the table and lampstand, the furnishings of the outer room of the sanctuary. All these articles are of gold or wood overlaid with gold, as befits the holiest part of the sanctuary.

The inner tent is to be of richest cloths: linen of several plies, and blue, purple, and crimson wool, on which figures of cherubim are woven; gold clasps connect the cloths. A cover of goatskin, on which yet another of ram and dolphin skins lies, protects the inner cloths of the tent.

Planks of acacia wood, set in silver sockets and secured by horizontal poles, form the walls of the Sanctuary – all the wood overlaid with gold. A curtain of finest cloth separates the ark from the outer sanctuary; in the entrance to the latter, a similar curtain (but with embroidered rather than woven designs) is hung.

A square wooden altar overlaid with copper and having copper service vessels stands in the courtyard. The linen curtains forming the rectangular court are attached to poles set in copper sockets. The materials of the sanctuary are clearly graded in accord with the sanctity of the objects made of them (M. Haran).

L. ACTIVITIES AND ACTORS IN THE SANCTUARY (27:20–31:18). Reference to the light which is to be lit nightly in the Tabernacle and tended by Aaron and his sons leads to a description of their investiture. The gorgeous sacred vestments of Aaron, the high priest, are described, then the simpler attire of his sons. There follows a week-long ritual to be carried out by Moses to consecrate Aaron and his sons as priests. Linked to this account of the consecration ritual, through reference to the altar, is a prescription for the modest daily sacrifices that are to be made in the Sanctuary (one sheep in the morning, one in the afternoon). The peroration of this section (29:42b–46) would be a fitting close to the entire description of the Tabernacle and its personnel.

However, there is more to come: a gold-plated wooden incense altar for the outer sanctuary; an injunction to collect a half-shekel personal ransom from each Israelite to protect him ("make expiation for him") against the evil effects of a census – the money to be assigned to the sanctuary; a description of the bronze laver and its use by the priests. The references to the incense altar and the laver include descriptions of the priestly use of them, which may be the reason for their location after the section on the priesthood rather than before it, together with the other furniture. (On the problem see Meyers in Bibliography. The Samaritan text indeed transposes the description of the incense altar to follow 26:35.) Recipes for the anointing oil and the incense conclude the uses for which the materials listed at the start of the section have been collected. God then names the craftsmen responsible for executing all these instructions.

Finally, a Sabbath law, prescribing death for its violation, is promulgated. The link with the foregoing is the term "labor" (31:5), the sense of the juxtaposition (as correctly inferred by the rabbinic exegetes (cf. Rashi, Samuel b. Meir, Ibn Ezra)) being to establish the priority of the Sabbath rest even over the building of the Tabernacle.

SECTIONS K. AND L. are not a natural sequel to 24:12–13, and the notice of 31:18 (God gave Moses the stone tablets when He had finished speaking with him on the mountain) only underscores the foreignness of the Tabernacle sections to the narrative framework that surrounds them. To be sure, there is an associative link between the announcement of a delivery of stone tablets to Moses and the order to prepare an ark to receive them (cf. the identical sequence of ideas in Deut. 10:1–3); and since the ark passage was but a part of the detailed description of the desert sanctuary, its inclusion entailed the rest of the passage. Rashi (following Tanhuma Ki Tissa 31 (181), cf. Elijah Mizrahi's comment to Rashi on 31:18) frankly removes all of 25:1–31:17 from the present order of the narrative, and places it after the golden calf episode, i.e., he makes the story of the execution of the orders to build the Tabernacle follow immediately upon the giving of the orders. As we shall see, however, the present order has its logic.

M. THE *GOLDEN CALF (EX. 32–34). Not knowing how Moses could have survived 40 days on the mountain and fearing the worst, the people implore Aaron to "make them a god" to lead them. Aaron fashions a calf out of their golden earrings, which the people acknowledge as their redeeming god; Aaron then proclaims the morrow a festival for YHWH whom the calf must therefore symbolize; the calf – in essence an unauthorized (indeed a forbidden (20:2ff.) and hence "apostate") means of securing the divine presence – thus travesties the Tabernacle (cf. Judah Halevi's trenchant interpretation in Kuzari, 1:97, and David Kimḥi on the related "apostasy" of Jeroboam, at I Kings 12:28). Meanwhile, on the mountain, God wrathfully dismisses Moses, threatening to destroy the people. Moses' plea on their behalf is successful, and he descends, bearing the stone tablets, to the festive throng. At the sight of their revel, Moses breaks the tablets (signifying the rupture of the covenant, in accord with standard ancient custom), and, having ground the calf into powder, makes the people drink its remains (rabbinic exegetes interpret this, in accord with Num. 5:16ff., as an ordeal to discover the guilty; cf. Av. Zar. 44a; Targ. Jon. on 32:20). The Levites rally to Moses and put to death about 3,000 offenders, in return for which they are consecrated to God's service (an etiology of the tribe's conversion to clerical status). Moses now undertakes to obtain remission of Israel's sin and restoration of the covenant. At first he is ordered to lead the people onward under the guidance of an angel; God's presence amid the stiff-necked people will be too dangerous for them (33:1–5, a reflective gloss on 32:34). There follows a barely integrated passage telling how Moses pitched his tent outside the camp as an oracle site for himself and the people, and how he there held intimate conversations with God; in the present context, this appears as a result of God's refusal to be amid the people. Moses now strives to move God to rescind His decision (He rescinds in 33:14), and at the same time to secure the people against God's wrath should they sin in His presence. Banking on his favor with God, Moses extracts from Him a revelation – both visual ("I will make all My goodness pass before you" (33:19)) and conceptual ("and I will proclaim before you the name of YHWH" (*ibid*)) of His compassionate attributes (34:6–7), whereupon Moses entreats God to show this compassion and forgive offenses of the stiff-necked people He made His own. (Moses again successfully implores God by appealing to His compassionate attributes in his intercession on Israel's behalf after the incident of the spies (Num. 14:18); partial citations of these "thirteen attributes of God," as they are traditionally styled, occur in Joel 2:13; Jonah 4:2; Nah. 1:3; Ps. 86:15; 103:8; 145:8; Neh. 9:17. For the subsequent use of the passage in public intercessory prayers, see RH 17b.)

God's abrupt response is to conclude a covenant – in the present context, to renew the broken covenant (though it is not so expressed) – with stipulations that prove to be a variant repetition of 23:12, 14–33, beginning with the topic dealt with last in the earlier passage. The two main concerns of these stipulations are the prohibition of apostasy and the cultic calendar – against both of which Israel offended when they worshipped the golden calf in an invented festival (Joseph Bekhor Shor). Moses is commanded to write down the covenant terms (34:27). The sequel in verse 28 says that he wrote down "the ten words" on stone tablets (and thus renewed the broken relationship with God). However, this contradicts 34:1, in which God Himself undertakes to rewrite on the new set of tablets the same words that had been on the first set, namely, the Decalogue of chapter 20. The understanding of 34:28 has been traditionally governed by verse one (the subject of "he wrote" being taken as God) no doubt correctly (cf. the unequivocal sense of "the ten words" in Deut. 4:13; 10:4); but this means that in 34: (10–) 27 and 28 two different conceptions of the covenant terms have been crudely juxtaposed (see further, *Decalogue).

A fitting conclusion to this episode in which Moses confronted God resolutely, staking all on the special relationship between them, is the notice (34:29ff.) that Moses' face had become uncannily radiant through his intimate converse with God. The golden calf narrative rivals that of the Sinai theophany in its complexity, and for the same reason: charged with intense significance, both were subject to reflections and elaborations that tradition carefully gathered and preserved.

N. BUILDING THE TABERNACLE (EX. 35–40). Having reconciled God to Israel, Moses can proceed to build His dwelling place amid the people. Starting with the last, first, Moses admonishes the people concerning the Sabbath rest, then collects the materials and appoints the craftsmen, who set about building. The order of execution differs from the order of the commands: degree of sanctity determined the order of items in chapters 25ff., common practice determined the order of construction ("The rule is that a man builds his house first and only afterward brings furniture into it," Ber. 55a; cf. Naḥmanides on 25:1). The tent structure is built first, then its contents, finally the accouterments of the court. An itemization of materials used follows. Then the priests' accouterments are made.

The completed work is presented to Moses, who, at the command of God, sets it up on the first day of the first month of the second year after the Exodus. Immediately the Divine Presence fills it, and its exterior sign, the cloud (fire by night), covers the tent. (Previously, the Presence and the cloud and fire had rested on the top of Mt. Sinai 24:16–17.) Thus, even though Israel should depart from Sinai, the presence of God would accompany them. The book ends with an anticipation of Numbers 9:15–23, relating how the Divine Presence, attached to the Tabernacle, guided Israel throughout its desert sojourn. (See Table: Analysis of the Book of Exodus.)

ANALYSIS OF THE BOOK OF EXODUS (after S.R. Driver, *Introduction* (1913³), 22–42)

P	1–5 7 13–14 23*b*–25		
J	**1** 6 8–12 20*b* **2** 15–23*a*		
E	15–20*a* 21–22 1–14		
P			
J	**3** 2–4*a* 5 7–8 16–18 **4** 1–16 19–20*a*		
E	1 4*b* 6 9–15 19–22 17–18		
P	2–30		
J	22–26 29–31 **5** 3 5–23 **6** 1		
E	20*b*–21 27–28 1–2 4		
P	1–13 19–20*a* 21*b*–22		
J	**7** 14–15*a* 16.17.18 20c–21*a*		
E	15*b* 17 20*b*		
P	1–3 11*b*–15 8–12		
J	23–29 **8** 4–11a 16–28 **9** 1–7 13–21		
E	22–23*a*		
P			
J	23*b* 24*b* 25*b*–34 **10** 1–11 13*b*		
E	24*a* 25*a* 35 12–13*a* 14*a*		
P			
J	14*b*–15*a* 15*c*–19 24–26 28–29		
E	15*b* 20–23 27		
P	9–10 1–20 28 37*a*		
J	**11** 4–8 **12** } 21–27 29–30		
E	1–3 31–36		
P	40–41 1–2 20		
J	**13** } 3–16 21–22		
E	37*b*–39 42*a* 17–19		
P	1–4 8–9 15–18 21*a*		
J	**14** 5–7 10*a* 11–14 19*b*–20 21*b*		
E	10*b* 19*a*		
P	21*c*–23 26–27*a* 28–29		
J	24–25 27*b* 30–31 **15**		
E	1–18		
P	19 1–3 6–24 31–36		
J	22–27 **16** 4–5 25–30		
E	20–21		
P	1*a*		1–2*a*
J	**17** 1*b*–2 7		**18** **19**
E	3–6 8–16		1–27
P			
J	3*b*–9 11*b*–13		18 20–25
E	2*b*–3*a* 10–11*a* 14–17		19
		P	
E	**20–23**	J	**24** 1–2 9–11
		E	3–8 12–14
P	15–18*a*		
J		P	**25–31** 18*a*
E	18*b*		
P			
J	**31** **32** } 9–14 25–34		
E	18b 1–8 15–24 35		
P	29–35		
J	**33** 1–4 12–23 **34** 1–28		
E	5–11		
P	**35–40**		

Text and Composition

Like the rest of the Pentateuch, Exodus is textually among the best preserved books of the Bible. Very few passages appear corrupt (e.g., 17:16a), and the versions offer little improvement over the received Hebrew (though there are hundreds of variants (see the apparatus in *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia*) some of which have appeared in Exodus-fragments of the Dead Sea Scrolls; see bibl.). Remarkable for its extensiveness and appealing in substance is the Samaritan Hebrew and Septuagint insertion in 22:4, indicated by brackets below:

> "If a man uses his field or vineyard for grazing, and lets his beast loose so that it grazes in another man's field [he shall make restitution out of his own field according to the yield expected; but if it consumed the whole field (שלם ישלם משדהו כתבואתה ואם כל השדה יבעה)] he shall make restitution from the best part of his own field or vineyard."

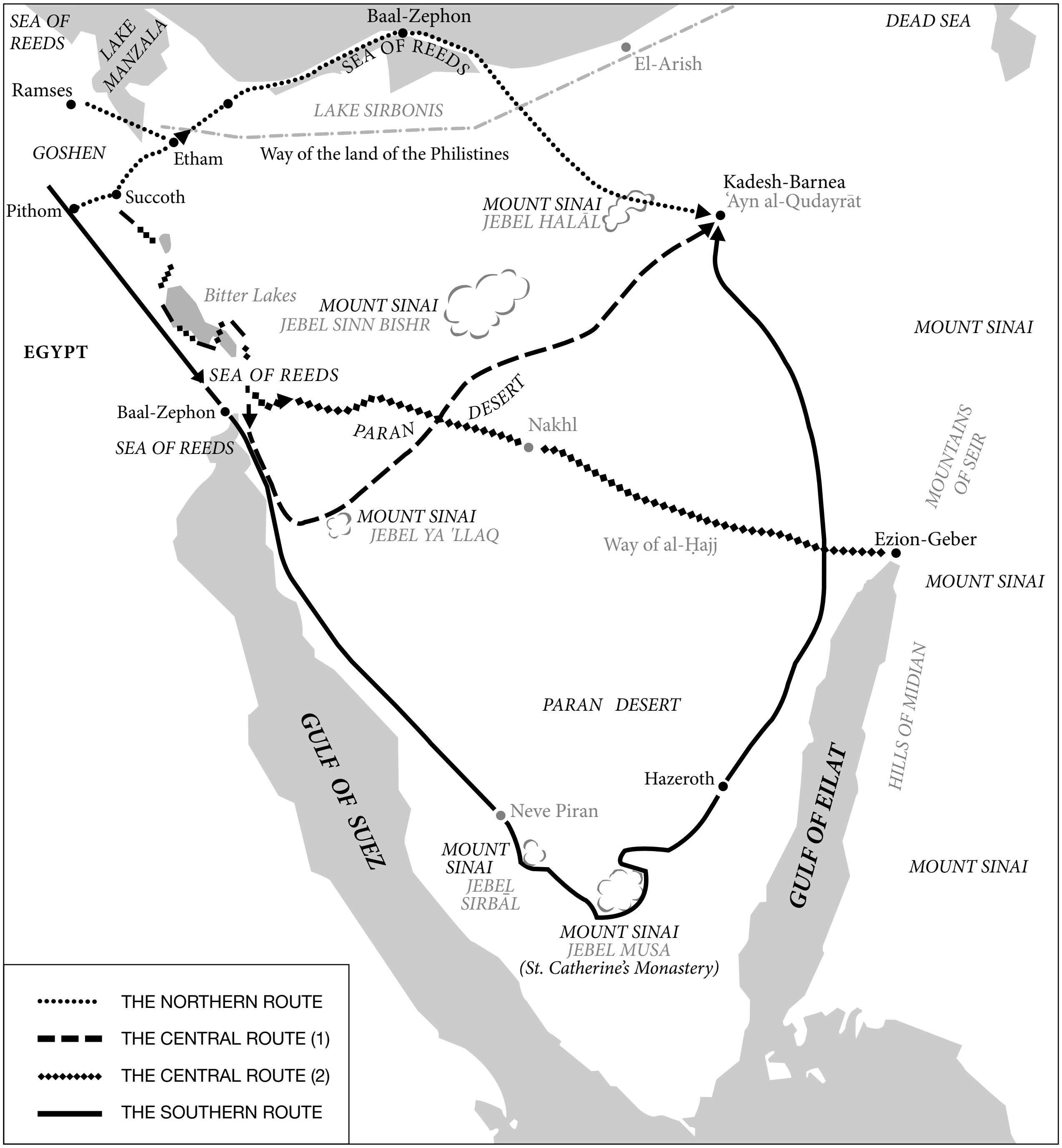
SEA OF REEDS
LAKE MANZALA
Baal-Zephon
SEA OF REEDS
DEAD SEA
El-Arish
Ramses
LAKE SIRBONIS
GOSHEN
Etham
Way of the land of the Philistines
Kadesh-Barnea
ʿAyn al-Qudayrāt
Pithom
Succoth
MOUNT SINAI
JEBEL HALĀL
Bitter Lakes
MOUNT SINAI
JEBEL SINN BISHR
MOUNT SINAI
EGYPT
SEA OF REEDS
DESERT
Baal-Zephon
PARAN
Nakhl
SEA OF REEDS
MOUNTAINS OF SEIR
MOUNT SINAI
JEBEL YA 'LLAQ
Way of al-Ḥajj
Ezion-Geber
MOUNT SINAI
HILLS OF MIDIAN
PARAN DESERT
GULF OF SUEZ
Hazeroth
GULF OF EILAT
Neve Piran
MOUNT SINAI
JEBEL SIRBĀL
MOUNT SINAI
MOUNT SINAI
JEBEL MUSA
(St. Catherine's Monastery)
THE NORTHERN ROUTE
THE CENTRAL ROUTE (1)
THE CENTRAL ROUTE (2)
THE SOUTHERN ROUTE

Map 1. Map illustrating major theories on the Israelites' route from Egypt to Kadesh-Barnea; in addition to the routes the major sites are given according to various theories.

This reading obviates the legal difficulty inherent in the plain sense of the received Hebrew that was troublesome to Rava in BK 6b. The Septuagint of the last six chapters (which virtually repeat the orders for building the Tabernacle merely substituting past tenses for future) is abbreviated in places and follows a different order from the received Hebrew. D.W. Gooding has argued, however, that far from throwing a cloud over the antiquity and primacy of the Hebrew, these changes betray the impatience of the translators and the ineptness of later editors. The Greek's incompleteness and absurdity in spots speaks against its priority over the sensible and consistent account of the Hebrew. That the book is composed of heterogeneous materials of varied provenance is a plausible inference from the repetitions, inconsistencies, and incoherence that have been indicated in the survey of its contents given above. The assumption of a few tradition strands that have been woven together or sometimes merely juxtaposed, recognizable by characteristic conceptual and linguistic constants, has proven to give the most satisfactory solution to the question of the book's composition. Conventional criticism reckons with three such strands, styled J, E, and P (Priestly Source), that were combined in stages by editors. There is much controversy over details, some scholars denying the existence of E, others finding it necessary to postulate yet a fourth strand (variously identified and styled J^{1}, N, or L). More recently, controversy has broken out over the standing of P as an independent document – for details see *Pentateuch and Schwartz in Bibliography. The three conventional strands, however, remain the starting point of critical assessment of the book's composition. They are set forth in the accompanying table according to the analysis of S.R. Driver (1913). It must be borne in mind that such schematic representation cannot do justice to the careful, qualified arguments that underlie the analysis, nor can it indicate where preexistent entities and editorial work are postulated.

Subsequent study has focused on the earlier stages of the tradition, recognizing behind the narrative strands individual tales, or themes, or a ground form of the traditional sequence of events; and behind the law collection, smaller series (e.g., decalogues) of admonitions or categorical statements, or casuistically formulated rules. The ultimate provenance of the material and the manner of its transmission can only be speculated upon. It is reasonable to suppose that the narrative of the liberation from Egypt was utilized in the celebration of the Passover, especially in view of the pedagogic purpose of the celebration (13:8); less secure is the assumption of a covenant festival in which the Sinai law giving and covenant-making were celebrated, or rather dramatized in accord with the "libretto" of chapter 19–20: bereft of any plausible liturgical use is the golden calf episode. As a vehicle of transmission the liturgy may thus have played a considerable, but not exclusive role; as the original well-spring of the traditions, it is wholly inadequate. The theory that the present narrative has a poetic substratum is commended by traces of poetic language, and not infrequent patches of elevated style in which parallelism and refrain appear (e.g., 3:15b; 9:23–24; 14 (see above, E); 19:3–6). That the narrative is to be comprehended as saga – the enthusiastic relation of events under the impact of their significance – has been persuasively put forward by M. Buber.

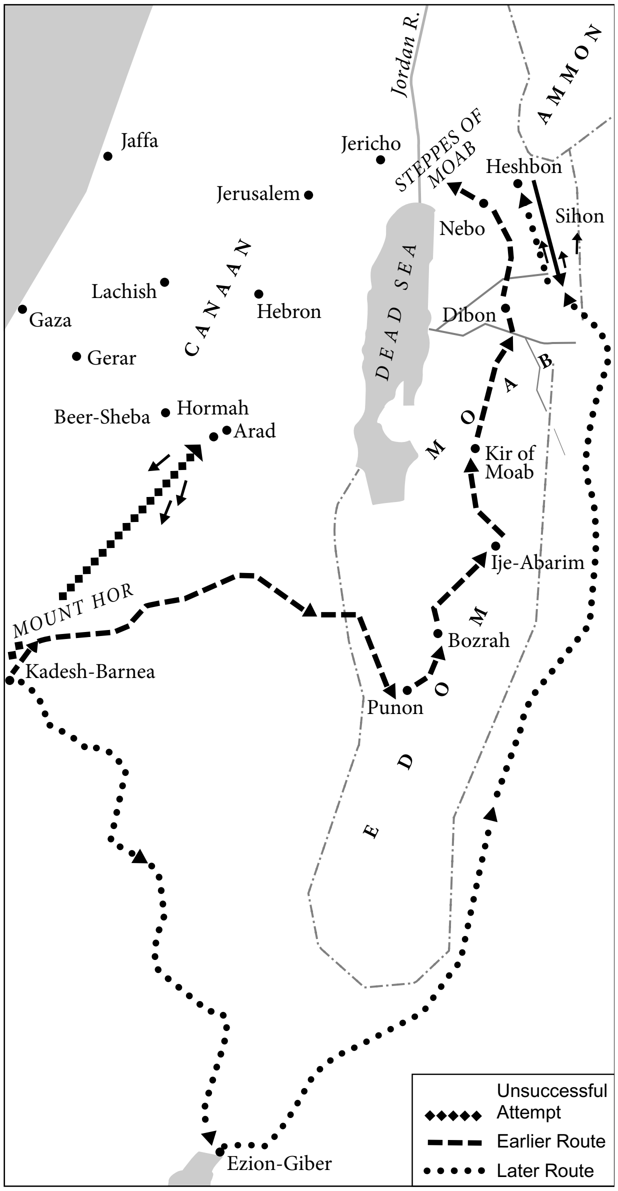

Map 2. Map illustrating earlier and later traditions regarding the route of the Israelites from Kadesh-Barnea to the Moabite Plateau.

Attention is being focused increasingly upon the editorial contribution to the shaping of the traditions. The disposition of the material must have been dictated in the main by the order of events as related in the individual strands. Indications are that all strands shared a common ground form; the variants that appear are, therefore, to be regarded as maximal. Two forms of the covenant document were preserved – "the smaller Book of the Covenant" (the "cultic Decalogue" in 34:10–26) and the other incorporated now in the "Book of the

Covenant" (23:12, 14–33). Two versions of the "accompanying angel" theme were preserved: one in 23:20ff. – non-pejorative, the other in 33:2ff. – pejorative. Widely diverging blocks of material laid claim to having been delivered to Moses on Sinai during his 40-day stay with God; the result is the obscure chronology that frames the "Book of the Covenant" and the block of the Tabernacle plans – the editor(s) being hard put to find a place for all the legitimate claimants. However, alongside the evidence of embarrassment and perplexity stands the grand design of the material and its generally skillful composition as a testimony to the intelligence and spiritual vitality of the editors. Through their labor, at once conservative and creative, the traditions of ancient Israel have reached us in a form richer, more problematic – and therefore more suggestive – than they had ever been in their primary state.

Historical Reflexes

Current scholarly consensus based on archaeology holds the enslavement and exodus traditions to be unhistorical. Indeed, the Book of Exodus itself underlines its unhistoricity by its abundance of miracle tales and by not bothering to name either the Pharaoh of the enslavement or of the exodus. (The popular identification of the oppressor as *Ramses II is based (a) on the mention of the city name *Ramses (2) (Ex. 1:11; 12:37; Num. 33:3, 5) and the "land of Ramses" (Gen. 47:11), but the royal name Ramses itself was borne by 11 pharaohs of the 19th and 20th Egyptian dynasties; (b) on the attestation of a people "Israel" in Asia Minor on the stela of *Merneptah, son of Ramses II.) What may be attempted is the dating of the material of the book, which is bound up with the larger question of the dating of the Pentateuch as a whole. Here, the following indications, taken from the Book of Exodus alone, may be collected:

a) The latter half of the "Song of the Sea," particularly the mention of Philistia, points to a post-settlement date (see E. above).

b) 16:35 is connected with Joshua 5:12 and, like it, has a post-settlement perspective.

c) The laws reflect a non-monarchic, tribal society of villagers living on the soil. Blood revenge and self-help are recognized. Neither the judicial system of the monarchy nor the new categories of crime that arose under it are visible.

d) It has been proposed to see in the Exodus Tabernacle a reflection of the Davidic tent-shrine (II Sam. 6:17), in which the gorgeous cloths and lavish gold overlay would be more credible as well (Cross, in bibl.). Alternatively, the Shiloh sanctuary has been suggested as the ultimate model of the Tabernacle (I Sam. 2:22; Ps. 78:60; cf. esp. II Sam. 7:6 on the pre-Davidic home of YHWH), though the present description shows strong affinities to the plan and furniture of the Solomonic Temple (M. Haran). Most recently, affinities have been sought with the Jewish temple at *Elephantine in Egypt destroyed in the fifth century (Rosenberg in Bibliography).

e) The correspondence between the story of the Golden Calf and that of the two golden calves set up by Jeroboam I in Bethel and Dan (cf. esp. Ex. 32:4b, 8b; I Kings 12:28b) indicates a genetic connection between the two. Since the Jeroboam narrative evidently expresses the view of the Jerusalemite orthodoxy (whose estimate of the calves is not attested in north-Israelite literature before Hosea (8:5f.; 13:2), it may be inferred that the present form of the Golden Calf story reflects their polemic against the calves of the north. It can therefore not be earlier than the division of the monarchy after Solomon's death.

f) Pithom, "house of (the god) Atum," named along with Ramses as one of the two "store cities/garrison cities" built by the Israelites (Ex.. 1:11), does not appear as a city name before the late sixth century B.C.E. As for Ramses, it is now known that the great monuments from this ancient city (Egyptian Piramesse) built at Qantir by the pharaohs of the 18th and 19th dynasties were transported to Tanis and Bubastis centuries later. The addition of these two names to Exodus 1:11 is an attempt by Egyptian Jews in the sixth century or later to relate the enslavement traditions to their own environment (Redford, Wente in Bibliography).

g) In Exodus 28:42 priests are required to wear breeches in order to protect against inadvertent self-exposure at the altar. Breeches or trousers are a Persian invention. The earlier pre-Exilic law (Ex. 20:23) required the more difficult elimination of stepped altars to achieve the same goal of modesty (Sperling in Bibliography).

The lower limits of the historical allusions and the inferable backgrounds of the material in Exodus thus range from post-settlement times to the earlier Persian period (sixth to fifth centuries).

Main Themes

The Book of Exodus contains the final form of Israelite traditions concerning the birth of the nation and the founding of its main institutions (excepting the monarchy).

a. The birth of the nation was a revelation of God's trustworthiness, compassion, and power that was to serve for all time as a ground for hope in Him in time of trouble (Isa. 11:15–16; Micah 7:15; Ps. 77:16ff.). In the burning bush narrative, God's compassion is the sole motive of His rescue of Israel: He heard their cry and took note of their misery. What is peculiar in this instance of rescue is not its motive (cf. the Sodom and Gomorrah story) but its result – the bringing of a people to its promised land. Thus the trustworthiness of God is manifest. In the second commissioning narrative (Ex. 6), God's mindfulness of His promise to the Patriarchs is on a par with His compassion as a motive of His action. His redemption of Israel from Egypt thus attests to His faithfulness. Again, the circumstances of the redemption – God's "taking one nation from the midst of another by prodigious acts" (Deut. 4:34) – show the measureless power at His disposal. Egypt's Pharaoh is the paradigm of heathen might and arrogance. However, the plagues and the drowning of his army in the sea demonstrate the nullity of all earthly power in the face of God (cf. Isa. 31).

The episodes in the wilderness further delineate God's nature: He is revealed as the reliable provider of all His people's vital needs (cf. Deut. 8:3ff.).

b. These deeds establish God's capacity to be the protector of Israel, His right to possess Israel as His redeemed property, and His claim on their obedience and loyalty (cf. the association of ideas in Deut. 6:20–25, and Ibn Ezra thereon). They are the basis of His proposing His covenant to Israel at Sinai.

The Sinai covenant differs essentially from that made with the Patriarchs. The latter is an unconditional promise, the grant of a sovereign to his loyal servants (M. Weinfeld); the former is a sovereign's rule for his subjects, similar in form and spirit to ancient vassal treaties. At Sinai, obligations were laid upon the people, the express will of their lord, the fulfillment of which was the condition of their happiness.

The terms of the covenant – in every form in which they have been transmitted – are couched as an address by God to the people. Their publicity is essential. Since Israel is to be a holy order (19:6), the entire nation must know its sacred regimen. This distinguishes the convenant rules from the laws of other ancient civilizations; they are not ensurers of domestic tranquillity through justice and defense of the weak (e.g., Hammurapi's laws; Pritchard, Texts, 178; COS II, 336) – no system of law so conceived was made the vehicle of public education – but a discipline whereby holiness and righteousness before God are achieved (cf. Ex. 22:30).

c. The people's response to God is a major concern of the book. They have no militant role in their own liberation, but must merely carry out various instructions. At the sea, when they panic, they are commanded to "stand fast and see the salvation of YHWH"; and when it comes "they had faith in YHWH and in Moses His servant" (14:31). This is clearly a spiritual peak.

On the way to Sinai, they repeatedly fall to complaining about their wants, unable to rise above their cares to a quiet trust in God. He supplies their need time and again, giving them every reason to have faith in Him, yet they cannot learn to be trustful. The terror He inspires in them at Sinai is not enough to keep them from recourse to an idol when they despair. Experience of His deliverances fails to instill in them permanently the faith that "nothing is too wonderful for YHWH" (cf. Ps. 78).

d. Exodus depicts the founding of all the main institutions of Israel excepting the monarchy: the human agency through which God acts on and speaks to humanity – the archetype of the prophet; the priest and the consecrated tribe of defenders of the faith, the Levites; the sanctuary – God's dwelling place amid His people, where He is accessible to them for worship and oracle, and by which He guides them along the way; forms of worship – daily sacrifice and annual memorial festivals; and, above all, the covenant, through which God and people are bound to each other: "I will take you to be My people, and I will be your God" – a veritable marriage formula.

These themes remained at the heart of biblical thought. The complex structure of the Book of Exodus, the effect of ages of reflection and elaboration on each of them, bespeaks their continuous vitality throughout the biblical period.

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[Moshe Greenberg / S. David Sperling (2nd ed.)]

EXODUS RABBAH (Heb. שְׁמוֹת רַבָּה, *Shemot Rabbah*), aggadic Midrash on the Book of Exodus (for the designation "*Rabbah*," see **Ruth Rabbah*).

The Structure

Exodus Rabbah, which is divided into 52 sections, consists of two different Midrashim (see *Esther Rabbah*; and *Numbers Rabbah): Exodus Rabbah I* (sections 1–14) and *Exodus Rabbah II* (sections 15–52).

Exodus Rabbah I

An exegetical Midrash to Exodus 1–10, *Exodus Rabbah I* interprets successively, each chapter, verse, and, at times, each word. The division into sections generally follows the early Ereẓ Israel triennial cycle (see *Torah, Reading of the). Each section begins with one or more proems (**Derashah*; **Midrash*), of which there are more than 20 in *Exodus Rabbah*. Except for one which opens with the name of an *amora* and a verse from Isaiah, all the proems are anonymous and begin with a verse from the Hagiographa (mainly from Psalms, Proverbs, and Job). The structure of some proems is defective, particularly in their ending and in their connection with the beginning of the section. The sections have no epilogues. *Exodus Rabbah I* is written for the most part in Hebrew, in part mishnaic, and in part Hebrew of the early Middle Ages. *Aramaic (also Babylonian Aramaic) is only sparingly used and there is a sprinkling of Greek and Latin words. In style and content *Exodus Rabbah I* often resembles later medieval Midrashim and *aggadot*, such as *Sefer ha-Yashar*. The redactor of *Exodus Rabbah* drew upon tannaitic literature, the Jerusalem Talmud, **Genesis Rabbah*, **Leviticus Rabbah*, **Lamentations Rabbah*, and other early aggadic Midrashim of the amoraic period, and he made extensive use of the Babylonian Talmud and of Midrashim of the **Yelammedenu-Tanḥuma* type. Such Midrashim were the chief source of the work, and many of its homilies occur in the various editions of the *Tanḥuma*, mostly in the printed one. The redactor of *Exodus Rabbah* broke the lengthy expositions of the *Yelammedenu-Tanḥuma* type, which included halakhic material as well, linking the shorter units to appropriate biblical verses, at the same time incorporating additional material from numerous other sources. In using legends of the Babylonian Talmud, the redactor tried, often not very successfully, to change their language from Babylonian to Galilean Aramaic. His intention apparently was to compile a Midrash, in continuation of *Genesis Rabbah*, on the Book of Exodus up to the point where the **Mekhilta* begins. The redaction of *Exodus Rabbah I* took place, it seems, not earlier than the tenth century C.E.

Exodus Rabbah II

Exodus 12–40 is a homiletical *Midrash of the *Yelammedenu-Tanḥuma* type. The division into sections is based on the triennial cycle. Introduced by proems characteristic of the *Yelammedenu-Tanḥuma* Midrashim, some of which are quoted in the name of R. *Tanḥuma, the sections frequently conclude with epilogues referring to redemption and the promise of a happier future. *Exodus Rabbah II*, which contains some Greek and Latin words, is mainly in mishnaic Hebrew, with an admixture of Galilean Aramaic – the original language from which some of the *aggadot*, taken from an earlier Midrash, were translated into Hebrew. *Exodus Rabbah II* makes use of tannaitic literature, the Jerusalem Talmud, and early amoraic Midrashim, but not entire themes from the Babylonian Talmud. Many of its homilies also occur in the known editions of the *Tanḥuma*. It contains several halakhic expositions, numerous parables, and some *aggadot* of a comparatively late type. For the most part, however, it exhibits features which place it earlier than *Exodus Rabbah I*, and it was apparently compiled in the ninth century C.E. It is probably the second part of a Midrash, the first part of which, no longer extant, served as the main source of *Exodus Rabbah I*. *Exodus Rabbah I* and *II* were apparently combined by a copyist in the 11th or 12th century C.E. The first scholar known to have been acquainted with the entire work in its present form was *Naḥmanides, who quotes it in his commentary on the Pentateuch.

Editions

Exodus Rabbah was first printed in Constantinople, together with the four other Midrashim on the Pentateuch (see **Genesis Rabbah*) in 1512. This edition, on which all subsequent ones are based, contains many mistakes and often gives only abbreviated texts of other Midrashim where a parallel homily occurs in full. Several manuscripts of the work are extant but have not yet been fully investigated. Until a scholarly edition is published, no thorough study of *Exodus Rabbah* is possible.

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[Moshe David Herr]

EXPULSIONS, The Jews underwent expulsions during the time of the Assyrian and Babylonian kingdoms (see Assyrian *Exile; Babylonian *Exile). Pagan *Rome also adopted on rare occasions a policy of removing the Jews from the capital, considering them an undesirable element: there is some vague information on the expulsion of the Jews from Rome in 139 B.C.E. among the other "Chaldeans." In 19 C.E. Tiberius ordered the expulsion of all the Jews in Italy if they would not abandon their faith. In 50 C.E. Claudius expelled them from Rome. From the end of the Bar Kokhba Revolt (135 C.E.) until the capture of Jerusalem by the Muslims (638), the Jews were prohibited from entering that city and its boundaries. The policy of expelling Jews was however only adopted by victorious Christianity from the fourth century C.E., in implementation of its objectives to separate the Jews from the rest of society, and degrade and oppress them so that they would convert to Christianity. Individual expulsions from Islamic countries, such as the expulsion from *Tlemcen (N. Africa), are also recorded during the tenth century (see J. Miller (ed.), *Teshu-*

vot Ge'onei Mizrahò u-Ma'arav (1888), 31a, no. 133). The phenomenon of expulsions is, however, overwhelmingly found in Christian lands. Some of these were "general expulsions" which removed the Jews from the territory of a whole country for an extended period. The expulsion from *England in 1290 (the number of expelled has been estimated at 16,000) removed the Jews from its borders until after 1650. The expulsions from *France, especially those of 1306 and 1394, evicted the Jews from most of the territory within the borders of France until 1789. The expulsions from *Spain and *Portugal, 1492–97 (where the number of victims has been assessed by historians from 100,000 to several hundreds of thousands), removed the Jews from the Iberian peninsula almost until the present day and brought about a series of expulsions of Jews from lands within the sphere of influence of these countries. At the time of the *Black Death (1348–50), the Jews were expelled from many places in Europe, but in most localities, especially in *Germany, they were readmitted after a short while. The presence of Jews was rigorously prohibited in *Russia from the 15th century until 1772, when masses of Jews accrued to Russia from the annexed Polish-Lithuanian territories. Even after this date, there was an attempt to maintain this prohibition in the form of the *Pale of Settlement until 1917. Within the framework of its enforcement numerous expulsions of both groups of Jews and entire communities from towns and villages which were "out of bounds" (such as the expulsion from *Moscow in 1891) were carried out. There were also expulsions of short duration from the boundaries of entire countries, such as the expulsion from *Lithuania in 1495. Expulsions from specific regions and towns were frequent and regular occurrences in Germany and northern *Italy during the 14th to 16th centuries, but in certain cases they were also ordered down to the 18th century (the expulsion from *Prague, 1744–52). The political fragmentation of these countries during the Middle Ages usually enabled the Jews to settle within the proximity of the baronage or town from which they had been expelled and to return there after a short interval. During World War I, the Russian authorities evacuated about 600,000 Jews from Poland, Lithuania, and the Baltic countries to the interior of Russia, an act regarded as an expulsion.

While the motives for the expulsions fall into differing and variegated categories, the root of them all was hatred of the Jew. This hatred was at times exploited by fiscal considerations of the rulers responsible for the expulsions.

Socio-economic factors contributed to the hostility of the Christian merchants and craftsmen toward their Jewish rivals, the hatred of Christian debtors for the Jewish moneylenders, and, on the other hand, the occasional feeling that there was no need for the Jews as moneylenders for interest and that they did not fulfill any other economic-social function. Tendencies and sentiments of national and political consolidation also played their part. In Spain, the desire to isolate the *New Christians from Jewish influence was also a factor in the expulsion. In an epoch when the menace of death hovered continually over the Jews, especially in places where they had grown accustomed to expulsion and rapid readmission, expulsion was considered the lightest of possible evils. *Judah Loew b. Bezalel (the Maharal of Prague) thought that the era of exile in which he lived was more tolerable because its principal sufferings consisted of expulsions, which he described as the divorce of a woman by her husband. The Jews of *Frankfurt, when they were actually expelled, also felt that "we went in joy and in sorrow; because of the destruction and the disgrace, we grieved for our community and we rejoiced that we had escaped with so many survivors" (poem by R. Elhanan b. Abraham Helin, at end of pt. 3 of *Ẓemaḥ David*, 1692). The general expulsions were however considered disasters, and the expulsion from Spain in particular became a fearful memory for the nation. The expulsions always resulted in losses to property and damage to body and spirit. In addition to the losses caused by forced sales – when the buyer realized that the Jew was compelled to abandon all his real property, and at times many of his movable goods – insecurity and vagrancy left their imprint on the social and economic life of the Jews, especially in the German and Italian states. Highway robberies and losses suffered during the enforced travels also increased the damage to property. Much information is available on attacks and murders committed against expelled Jews who left their country and the protection of the authorities. Even in those expulsions where instructions were given to protect the departing Jews, such as the expulsions from England and Spain, there were numerous attacks. The wanderings were the cause of many diseases and also reduced the natural increase. A shocking description of the sufferings of the exiles from Spain and Portugal is given in the writings of the kabbalist Judah b. Jacob *Ḥayyat. He relates of himself and his companions after they had reached the safety of Muslim Tunis: "We ate the grass of the fields, and every day I ground with my own hands in the house of the Ishmaelites for the thinnest slice of bread not even fit for a dog. During the nights, my stomach was close to the ground – and my belly my cushion. Because of the great cold of the autumn – we had no garments in the frost and no houses to lodge in – we dug trenches in the refuse heaps of the town and put our bodies therein" (introduction to *Minḥat Yehudah* (Mantua, 1558), 3a).

The expulsions left their impress on the entire nation and its history, both materially and spiritually. They maintained and constantly intensified the feeling of foreignness of the Jews in the Diaspora. The consecutive expulsions from England, France, and Spain resulted in a situation where after 1492 there were no Jews living openly on the European coast of the Atlantic Ocean in a period when this had become the center of world traffic. The expulsions of the late 15th century resulted in the return of many Jews to the Islamic countries, in particular to the Ottoman Empire. The Jews were also driven into *Poland-Lithuania. Frequently, the expulsions caused the centers of gravity of Jewish life to be removed from one place to another, the creation of new centers of settlement, messianic movements, and a renewed relationship with Ereẓ Israel; it was no coincidence that the kabbalists of *Safed were Spanish exiles. The expulsions also caused the Jews of Spain to come into contact with those of Italy, the Balkans, Asia Minor, North Africa, and many Middle Eastern countries, where they influenced and fashioned the social-spiritual character of many communities in these regions. The expulsions may be considered one of the decisive factors shaping the map of Jewish settlement and one of the forces which molded the thinking of Jews both in relation to themselves and to the world of nations and states which surrounded them.

For expulsion by the Nazis, see *Holocaust.

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[Haim Hillel Ben-Sasson]

EXTRADITION.

Biblical Sources

EXTRADITION OF SLAVES. The Torah relates directly to the issue of extradition in the context of a slave who flees from his slavery, prohibiting a person from returning to his master an escaped slave who is now in his custody: "Do not deliver to his master a slave who has escaped from his master. He shall dwell in your midst with you, in the place he shall choose in one of your gates, where it is good for him; you shall not oppress him" (Deut 23:16–17). Some Biblical commentators have interpreted this passage on the basis of the context in which it appears, viz. as referring to a slave who during battle escapes from the enemy camp to the Israelite camp, the reason for the prohibition on his extradition being that it is better for the slave to remain in the Israelite camp than to return to worshipping idolatry. An additional reason proposed is a practical one, deriving from the aforesaid battle context – namely, the danger that the slave will "learn the way into the city," so that to return him to his master would constitute a danger to the security of the city (Naḥmanides. *ad loc.*; Ibn Ezra, *ad loc.*). A case in which the question of extraditing a slave at a time of battle arose in I Samuel 30:11–16: David and his men, in pursuit of the Amalekites, found an Egyptian slave who had been forsaken by his Amalekite masters. The slave agreed to show David and his men the location of the Amalekite troop, in return for David's promise that he would not return him to his masters.

According to the Talmud, the prohibition against extradition applies to a Canaanite slave who has fled from Jewish masters outside the Land of Israel into the Land of Israel (Bavli, Gittin 45a; Maim., Yad, Avadim 8.10). Rabbi Judah the Prince is of the opinion that the prohibition applies to a person who purchases a slave on condition that he emancipate him, and later regrets his act and seeks the slave for himself.

EXTRADITION OF AN ESCAPED CRIMINAL. The Torah rejects the possibility that an escaped criminal may acquire refuge from punishment by entering sacred grounds: "If a person shall maliciously kill another with guile, he shall be taken to die (even) from my altar" (Exod 21:14). In this manner, the Torah abrogated the rule, widespread at that time and even later (I Kings 2: 29–32), that entry upon sacred ground can spare a murderer from his just punishment. Biblical commentators emphasized that this law is intended to serve as a contrast to the law of one who committed inadvertent manslaughter, who is given a special place to live and guaranteed protection from persecution by the blood avenger (see *City of Refuge). A murderer with malice aforethought has nowhere to seek refuge, not even the altar. Maimonides (*Guide* 3.39) emphasizes the difference between the Torah's command against delivering an escaped slave, regarding whom we are commanded to have mercy and to grant protection and care for all his needs, and a malicious person, whom we are commanded not to pity and not to protect, and who must be turned over to the officer of justice even if he grasps hold of the altar.

INSTANCES OF EXTRADITION IN THE TORAH. The Book of Judges (15:9–13) relates that, after Samson smote the Philistines, the Philistines retaliated against Israel, in order to capture Samson and to take revenge for his deeds. The men of Judah went to Samson and told him that they had come to take him so as to extradite him to the Philistines. Samson asked the men of Judah to swear to him that they themselves would not harm him but would only extradite him to the Philistines. They duly did so, binding Samson with ropes; however, as soon as he was delivered to the Philistines he flung off the ropes with which he had been bound and once again struck down a thousand Philistines. Some halakhic authorities classified Samson's extradition as performed under duress, for had the men of Judah not given Samson to the Philistines, the Philistines would have killed them (*Or Sameah* on Maim., Yad, Yesodei ha-Torah 5.5). From the commentary of Radak (II Samuel 20:22), it follows that extradition was only possible due to Samson's consent, but that they would not have been entitled to extradite him against his will.

Following the incident involving the concubine at Gibeah (Judges 19–21), during which people from the town of Gibeah in the territory of Benjamin perpetrated an act of rape and murder, the other tribes of Israel gathered together and demanded that the clans of Benjamin turn over the perpetrators of the atrocity, in order to "eliminate the evil from Israel" (*ibid.* 20:12–14). The Benjaminites refused to extradite the men and went to war against the other tribes of Israel. Nahmanides, in his Torah Commentary (Gen. 19:8) states that the Benjaminites were not obligated to deliver the sinners from Gibeah into the hands of the other tribes of Israel, because the responsibility to take action lay exclusively in the hands of the tribal court of Benjamin, each tribe having jurisdiction over its own members.

Another incident relating to extradition appears in I Samuel 23:10–12, when David, fleeing from Saul, together with his followers, came to the aid of the townsfolk of Keilah, saving them from the Philistines. After David had smitten the Philistines at Keilah, Saul heard that David was situated there, and went with his army in order to capture him. David inquired of God, through the ephod (sacred oracle) held by the Abiathar the priest, as to whether the heads of Keilah would deliver him into the hands of Saul. God responded that they would extradite him, whereupon David left the city. The text implies that, in this case as well, the delivery of David into the hands of Saul by the people of Keilah, had it occurred, would have been one of extradition under duress, as had they not turned David over to Saul, Saul would have destroyed the town.

Talmudic Period

Following the era of the Talmud and thereafter, in periods during which Jewish communities found themselves under the suzerainty of a heathen ruler, whether in Israel or in the various Diaspora communities, the issue of extradition was considered from various angles: the criminal justice aspect of the offender's acts; the relationship between Israel and the other nations of the world; the relationship between the Jewish legal system and the non-Jewish legal system; and the relationship of the Jewish community towards its own members who had deviated from the right path. Jewish legal autonomy, while containing a not-insignificant measure of juridical competence even in the field of criminal law, was nevertheless restricted with respect to the majority of cases concerning serious offenses and offenses of interest to the authorities, in which areas the authorities retained the right of adjudication and the right to punish. We will now deal with the main problems and questions discussed in the talmudic literature in this regard.

THE SEIZURE AND EXTRADITION OF JEWISH THIEVES AND ROBBERS. During the talmudic period, the Sages encountered cases in which they were requested by the Roman administration to hand over Jewish criminals. We find differing opinions among the Sages regarding the question as to whether such extradition is prohibited or permitted, or possibly even desirable. The Talmud relates how R. Eleazar b. Simeon seized thieves and robbers on behalf of the Roman administration, and the dispute that arose in this regard with R. Joshua b. Korha. R. Joshua b. Korha reacted to R. Eleazar b. Simeon's acts with the words: "Vinegar son of wine: how long will you continue to deliver the people of God to death?" R. Eleazar b. Simeon answered by way of a parable: "I am eliminating thorns from the vineyard" to which R. Joshua b. Korha retorted: "Let the owner of the vineyard [i.e., God] come and eliminate his thorns" (TB, BM 83b). A further discussion of the same issue appears in the sequel to this talmudic passage, which records that R. Ishmael b. Yose would also apprehend offenders at the bidding of the authorities. These controversies reflect the aversion to turning over a Jew to the Roman government, which was suspected of not conducting fair trials, hostility to Jews, and persecution of their persons and property.

SAVING JEWS SUSPECTED OF SERIOUS CRIMES. An additional incident discussed by the Talmud and its commentaries (Bavli, Niddah 61a) reflects the divergent approaches to the issue of granting asylum to a murderer. In this case, certain persons who were suspected of murder approached R. Tarfon with the request that he hide them from the authorities. R. Tarfon's response was that he could not hide them, for the Sages had stated that one should take heed of an evil rumor, viz. that they were in fact murderers. Talmudic commentators are divided as to the reason for R. Tarfon's refusal to hide them. According to Rashi (*ad loc.*), R. Tarfon suspected there might be truth to the rumor that they had murdered, in which case it would be forbidden to save them. According to R. Aḥa Gaon (*She'iltot de-Rav Aḥa* §129; Tosafot, *ad loc.*), R. Tarfon's suspicion did not emanate from the fact that he was forbidden to save them, but rather from the danger to which he would be exposed were he to save them. R. Asher b. Jehiel (Rosh, on *Niddah* 9.5) adopts the *She'iltot's* explanation and rejects that of Rashi, because, according to his view, it cannot be forbidden to save a person's life merely because of a rumor that he has sinned. From Asheri's words, it follows that, when it is clear that the person has indeed committed a crime, it would be forbidden to save him even according to Rashi's disputants. R. Solomon Luria (*Yam shel Shelomo* on TB Nid. 61a) states unequivocally that a distinction must be made between the case of one who has *definitely* murdered, whom it is forbidden to save and who must be handed over to the authorities to judge, and the case of a rumor, which gives rise to a mere *suspicion*, in which case the individual, who is presumed innocent until proven guilty, must be saved, provided there is no danger to the savior in doing so.

Post-Talmudic Period

Over the centuries during which Jews were in various Diasporas and subject to the whims of foreign rulers, many and varied questions arose concerning the interrelationship between the Jewish community and the Jewish legal system and between the authorities and the local legal system. Within this reality, and in view of the need to grapple with the phenomenon of criminality that existed within the Jewish community, the question often arose as to the need to hand over Jewish criminal offenders to the authorities. In post-ralmudic and responsa literature, various aspects of this topic are considered.

DELIVERING A CRIMINAL WHO ENDANGERS THE COMMUNITY. When a given individual's criminal conduct constituted a danger to the entire Jewish community, such as when the non-Jewish authorities are liable to harm the entire Jewish community on account of the acts of an individual offender, or when only the non-Jewish authorities have the power to prevent the offender continuing in his socially unacceptable conduct, he may be extradited to the non-Jewish authorities. Thus, already in the 13th century it was ruled that the non-Jewish authorities could be informed, and extradition was permissible, in the case of a violent man who regularly assaulted others, or a person whose criminal acts encouraged gentiles to contrive plots against the Jewish community, in order to remove the danger from the entire Jewish community (*Maharah Or Zaru'a*, #142). The Shulḥan Arukh rules (ḤM 388) that a Jew who harasses the community, and not merely one individual, could be delivered into the hands of the non-Jews in order "to beat, imprison or fine him." R. Moshe Isserles adds, in his glosses to the Shulḥan Arukh (*ad loc.*) that even a Jew who is engaged in forgery – if there is a danger that the Jewish community will be harmed by his activities, and he fails to take heed of the warnings made to him – may be delivered to the authorities, in order to demonstrate that only he, the offender, engages in forgery, and no other member of the community does so. Elsewhere, Isserles writes that the permission to deliver such offenders to the non-Jewish authorities is based upon the principle of "*rodef*"– i.e., that any Jew is permitted, if necessary, to kill a person who is pursuing his fellow with the aim of killing him, in order to save the life of the pursued: "One who endangers the community, e.g., if he engages in forgery in a locality where the authorities forbid it, has the status of a *rodef* and it is permitted to deliver him to the authorities" (*Rema*, ḤM 425.1). R. David Halevi, in his commentary *Turei Zahav* on the Shulḥan Arukh (ḤM 157.8) similarly rules that anyone who transgresses and rebels against the local law in a manner that endangers the Jewish community may be turned into the authorities, even if the authorities do not demand that he be handed over.

WHEN THE COMMUNITY IS THREATENED IF THE WANTED PERSON IIS NOT DELIVERED. The Tosefta (*Terumot* 7.20) deals with a case in which non-Jews demanded that a group of Jews hand over one of their number to be killed, or else they would all be killed. The Tosefta rules that it is forbidden to deliver a single Jewish soul; rather, they should all be killed. However, if a specific person was designated to be handed over, they should deliver that individual rather than allow all of them to be killed. The Jerusalem Talmud records an amoraic controversy as to whether such a person can only be delivered if he is in fact deserving of death, as was Sheba son of Bichri who rebelled against King David's rule (2 Samuel 20). In other words the story of Sheba is seen as the source of the ruling by the Tosefta. The alternative view is that he should be handed over request, even if he is not liable to the death penalty. It is noteworthy that the case of the Tosefta does not discuss the issue of extradition – i.e. deliverance of a suspected criminal for the purpose of trying him – but only (translating it into the contemporary context) the case of a terrorist group which threatens to kill many people unless an individual is handed over to them. Nonetheless, the halakhic authorities relied on it in cases where the non-Jewish authorities required the handing over of a specific individual and threatened the lives of other Jews in the event that he was not delivered. Maimonides (Yad, Yesodei ha-Torah 5.5) ruled that, if the wanted person is deserving of death, he may be handed over in order to prevent the killing of the remainder of the group; however, "we avoid ruling this way where possible." In a case brought before R. Joel Sirkis (*Responsa Ba"ḥ ha-Yeshanot* §43), the leaders of the Jewish community were asked to deliver to the Christian authorities for trial a Jew who, according to the authorities, had collaborated in the desecration of Christian religious artifacts. The authorities demanded his extradition, stipulating that, if he was not extradited, the community leaders would have to take his place for any punishment that was decreed. Sirkis ruled that the words of Maimonides – that a person who is liable for the death penalty may be extradited – apply even where the non-Jewish authorities have grounds to kill him under their laws, even if he is not deserving of death according to Jewish law. In such a case, it was not certain that handing over the Jew would result in his death, because the authorities intended to conduct a trial, and the possibility existed that he would be proven innocent. Hence, R. Sirkis ruled that his delivery to the non-Jewish authorities was permitted even *de jure*, in contrast to Maimonides' ruling that we avoid ruling that way where possible. Furthermore, in this case too permission to deliver the accused was given only because there was prima facie evidence of his guilt, and that the grounds for which the non-Jews sought to judge him were thereby substantiated; hence, the accused himself was considered responsible for the allegations made against him.

SAVING JEWS SUSPECTED OF SERIOUS CRIMES FROM THE LAWS OF THE AUTHORITIES. R. Jair Ḥayyim Bacharach (*Resp. Ḥavvot Yair* §146) was asked about a case involving a Jewish youth, a fugitive murderer, who was later caught by the authorities. R. Bacharach rejected the possibility that he could be delivered to the non-Jewish court, even by the relatives of the murder victim (by virtue of the *a fortiori* argument that they could in any event deliver him to the authorities based on the law of the blood avenger; see *Blood Avenger). At the same time, based on Rashi's interpretation of the talmudic passage about R. Tarfon, he rules that it is forbidden to save the youth from the authorities, because of the duty to "eradicate all evil from your midst." He then raises the possibility that, even though it is forbidden to save him, it may be permitted to give him advice on how to escape. In suggesting this possibility, R. Bacharach relies on the words of R. Tarfon in the talmudic story, who told those people who sought refuge with him that they should hide themselves – what may have amounted to advice on the part of R. Tarfon. R. Jacob Emden (*Resp.* She'ilat Ya'avetz II. 9) rejects this possibility out of hand, ruling that it is forbidden to give advice to a murderer on how to evade the judgment against him. In the case brought before him, after one Jew who had murdered another Jew was arrested by the authorities, he was given the possibility of acquitting himself by swearing a solemn oath that another person killed the victim and he was not the murderer. The local rabbi ruled that the murderer should save himself from death by swearing falsely. R. Emden vehemently rejects this advice and states that "it is forbidden to save him from death through any means, even an [otherwise permissible one]," and certainly not through making a false oath.

EXTRADITION BASED ON THE PRINCIPLE THAT "THE LAW OF THE LAND IS LAW". In the rulings of the great halakhic authorities of Spain from the 13th century onward, the authority of the local non-Jewish government is accepted also in matters of penal law, by virtue of the principle that "the law of the land is law" (see **dina de-malkhuta dina*), and not only regarding matters of local administration and civil law. The Rashba, in a responsum cited by the *Beit Yosef* on the Tur (ḤM 388), discusses a case in which the Jewish community was asked by the non-Jewish authorities to determine whether a particular Jew had transgressed a criminal offense; if so, he would be punished by the authorities. The Rashba, relying upon the principle of "*dina de-malkhuta dina*," sets forth the following rule that, when a Jewish court operates under the government's authority, there is no need to insist on all the normal evidential strictures of the Torah – warning, valid witnesses, etc. – even in capital matters for, were the Jewish court to insist on such requirements, the world would be desolate, as murderers and their companions would multiply. The Rashba proceeds to rule, relying on the above-mentioned talmudic cases involving R. Eleazar Simeon and R. Ishmael b. Yose, that anyone who is appointed by the king is permitted to turn in Jewish criminals to the king. The Ritva, a disciple of the Rashba, also explained the acts of the aforesaid *tannaim* on the basis of the principle of "*dina de-malhuta dina*," which applies even in the realm of criminal law (*Ḥiddushei ha-Ritva ha-Ḥadashim*, at BM 83b).

R. Samuel de Modena (Salonika, 16th century; *Resp.* Maharshdam ḤM 55), relying on a responsum of the Rabad, rules, on the basis of the principle of "*dina de-malkhuta dina*" that acts of the government concerning the punishment of criminals are legally binding just as the government has authority to enact laws in the city.

In the 19th century, R. Moses Schick (Resp. *Maharam Schick*, HM 50) utilized the above-cited rulings of Rashba and Ritva in relation to a case in which the Jewish community suspected, albeit without any conclusive evidence, that a woman had murdered her husband. The question was asked whether there was any obligation to report the case to the authorities. Maharam Schick determines, in relation to the legitimacy of governmental enactments in punishing criminals, that "…anything they do whose purpose is to benefit society, their law is law," and that the woman could be reported to the authorities, albeit he concludes that great scholars should not initiate this matter, but rather do nothing – neither save nor extradite the suspect.

The State of Israel

The Extradition Law, 5714 – 1954, determines the ways and means by which a person can be extradited from the State of Israel to another country that requests his extradition. Amongst the provisions set down in the Law, compliance with which is essential to perform the extradition, are the following: the existence of a reciprocal agreement between Israel and the requesting state; that the offense concerned not be of a political nature; that the extradition be to a state, the fairness of whose judicial proceedings the State of Israel acknowledges; and, that no person shall be extradited who has already been brought to trial in the State of Israel for the same offense.

In the Aloni affair (HCJ 852/86 Aloni v. Minister of Justice, PD 41(2)1) the issue of extradition was heard by the Supreme Court of the State of Israel, together with an examination of the existing legal framework in Israel in light of the principles of Jewish law. The Court was asked to decide the issue of whether the State should be ordered to extradite to the French authorities a man who was wanted in France for murder. The accused was declared extraditable according to the Israeli Extradition Law, pursuant to a treaty between the two states, but the justice minister decided not to execute the extradition order, due to fear of danger to the life of the defendant by prisoners in the French prison in the event of his extradition. Justice Menachem Elon analyzed the position of Jewish law on the topic of extradition at length and in great detail, based on the above-cited and other sources. His conclusion was that the provisions of the Extradition Law accord, first and foremost, with the categorical stand of Jewish law, which negates the possibility that a suspect in the commission of an offense evade accountability for his acts, particularly if the alleged crime is murder. Justice Elon relies on the justifications in favor of extradition approved by the great halakhic authorities, even where extradition was forced on the Jewish community by the non-Jewish authorities. These justifications were based either on substantive Jewish law itself, or on the principle of "*dina de-malkhuta dina*" – i.e., in order to establish social order and the rule of law. According to Elon, the sources of Jewish law indicate that throughout Jewish history extradition was permitted in specific cases, even when no supervision of the judicial system or the penalty prescribed was performed by the Jewish community. Therefore, it is all the more justified today when it is executed freely by a sovereign Jewish State, with rights equal to those of the state requesting the extradition, and when the Jewish State has the ability to monitor the integrity of the judicial system in the other state and to annul the extradition treaty with it in the event that the said judicial system lacks such integrity. Elon suggests that this view would be concurred with even by the authorities who opposed cooperation with non-Jewish courts unless the crime posed a danger to the Jewish community. This opposition was based on their fear of a miscarriage of justice being caused by the extradition, a fear that was regarded as more significant than the benefit gained in punishing the criminal. These being the reasons for their opposition to extradition based on cooperation with non-Jewish courts, the same authorities would not object to extradition performed by and with the advantages afforded by a sovereign Jewish State.

From the above-cited rulings of *Ḥavvot Yair* and *She'ilat Ya'avetz*, which set forth a prohibition on shielding the criminal in cases of serious crimes, Justice Elon derives that, in a sovereign Jewish state, their rulings should be understood as indicating a duty to extradite. According to Elon, in a small

Jewish community the argument may be made that, while it is forbidden to conceal the offender from the authorities, there is no obligation to hand him over, and if the authorities so desire they can come and search for him. By contrast, in a sovereign state, it is impossible to simply turn a blind eye, because such is not the way of a Jewish state, which has a duty either to try the offender, if this is possible according to its laws, or to extradite him to a state which has the ability to try him, subject to the restrictions stipulated in the law. According to the aforementioned arguments, when it is impossible to try the offender in Israel, the State of Israel must extradite the offender in order to eliminate the evil from its midst.

In the same judgment, Justice Elon ruled that, in the event of a *reasonable probability* of danger to the life of the accused were he to serve his sentence in a foreign country, he should not be extradited. This was in contradistinction to the majority of the Court, who ruled that extradition should only be avoided in the event of a *high probability* of danger to his life. Justice Elon also ruled that the execution of the extradition be delayed until arrangements are put in place to ensure that the accused's wife will not find herself in a state of abandonment (*iggun*). It should also be noted that, in this judgment, Justice Elon recommended that the Extradition Law be amended so as to allow a criminal sentenced by a foreign court to serve his sentence in an Israeli jail; indeed, in 1999 the law was amended in this spirit.

The position adopted by Justice Elon aroused controversy. Amongst his disputants was R. Shaul Yisraeli (see bibliography), who emphasized the prohibition of litigating before non-Jewish courts. According to R. Yisraeli, the possibility of delivering a Jew to the authorities by virtue of the Law of the King and "*dina de-malkhuta dina*" only exists where there is no autonomous government in Israel and no possibility of trying the criminal under Jewish law. In addition, he states that the authority of government law, by virtue of the principle of "*dina de-malkhuta dina*," only applies to those citizens who live within the borders of that state. It does not extend to validate an extradition agreement between states, and it is therefore forbidden for the State to enter into an extradition treaty which, according to R. Yisraeli, has no validity from the halakhic point of view even *post factum*. R. Yisraeli also emphasizes the merits of the Land of Israel, by whose virtue arguments (for his innocence) may be found in his favor (Makkot 7a). The solution suggested by R. Yisraeli to ensure that the State of Israel does not become a "sanctuary for criminals" is for the State to enact a law according extra-territorial status to Israeli criminal law, enabling all Jewish criminals to be tried in Israel.

It should be noted that the Jerusalem Rabbinical Court, in considering the issue dealt with by the aforesaid Supreme Court judgment, determined that an extradition treaty made by the State of Israel with another state has halakhic validity by virtue of the principle of "*dina de-malkhuta dina*" because "it is a matter of good governance that the State of Israel not become a refuge for Israeli criminals and that we should be able to punish criminals who are located in other countries – in Israel" (File 8384/5747, pp. 27–28, given on 12 Tishrei 5748, 5/10/87).

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[Menachem Elon (2nd ed.)]

EXTRAORDINARY REMEDIES.

Extrajudicial Remedies

As in other ancient civilizations, the earliest method of vindicating violated rights under biblical law was self-redress. A burglar at night may be killed on the spot (Ex. 22:1), life may be taken for life (see *Blood-Avenger) and limb for limb (see *Talion). Even when another man's rights were violated, one was exhorted not to stand idly by, but to interfere actively to vindicate them (Lev. 19:16; and cf. Ex. 23:4–5; Deut. 22:1–4). Again, as in other systems of law, self-redress was largely superseded by judicial redress – firstly because of unavoidable excesses on the part of avengers, secondly because the effectiveness of self-redress always depended upon the injured party being stronger than the wrongdoer and the weak victim was in, the danger of being left without a remedy, and thirdly because an injured party ought not to be the judge in his own cause. The right to self-help survived in the criminal law mainly in the form of self-defense or the defense of others; but in civil law self-redress is in talmudic law much more in evidence than in most other systems, and was a well-established legal remedy.

The biblical license to kill the nocturnal burglar (Ex.) is retained in talmudic law for the reason that such a burglar presumably knows beforehand that, if caught, he might be killed by the irate landlord and is therefore presumed to come with the intention to kill the landlord first, and: "whoever comes to kill you, better forestall him and kill him first" (Yoma 85b; Maim. Yad, Genevah, 9:7–9). There is no restriction in law as to the mode of killing such a burglar: "you may kill him in whatever way you can" (Sanh. 72b). But if the thief is caught alive, no harm may be done to him; nor may the landlord lay hands on him if he knows that the thief comes for money only and has no murderous designs, or where there are people around who would hinder him (*ibid.*; Maim. *ibid.*, 10–12). Similarly, the biblical allusion to the duty of saving the girl in danger (Deut. 22:27) led to the rule that a man was allowed to kill the persecutor in order to save the persecuted girl from death or rape (Maim. Yad, Roẓe'ah u-Shemirat Nefesh, 1:10). While efforts must be made to avert the danger by means other than killing, a man is not to be charged with culpable homicide if he did kill even though the danger could have been averted by other means (*ibid.*, 13). A person is under a duty to save another from death or rape even by killing the offender, and his failure to do so, while not a punishable offense (*ibid.*, 15–16), is considered a grave sin (Lev. 19:16; Deut. 25:12).

The general right of self-redress in civil cases has been stated by Maimonides as follows: "A man may take the law into his own hands, if he had the power to do so, since he acts in conformity with the law and he is not obliged to take the trouble and go to court, even though he would lose nothing by the delay involved in court proceedings; and where his adversary complained and brought him to court, and the court found that he had acted lawfully and had judged for himself truthfully according to law, his act cannot be challenged" (Yad., Sanhedrin, 2:12). This final rule was preceded by a dispute between talmudic jurists, some of whom held that a man may take the law into his own hands only where otherwise, i.e., by going to court, he would suffer monetary damage (BK 27b). This view was rejected because there could be nothing wrong in doing what the law had laid down as right in the first place (*Piskei ha-Rosh* 3:3). The party taking the law into his own hands only took the risk that the court might, on the complaint of the other party, overrule him; so that in cases of any doubt it was always safer to go to court at the outset.

There were, however, cases of doubt as to what the law actually was, and as to where the respective rights of the parties lay – in which instance the court would uphold the title of that party who had already taken the law into his own hands and put the court, so to speak, before a fait accompli (*kol de-allim gaver*: BB 34b). The reason for this rule – "a very startling phenomenon indeed" (Herzog) – is stated by Asheri to be that it would be unreasonable to leave the parties quarreling all the time – one trying to outwit the other – so it was laid down that once one of them had possessed himself of the chose in action, he was to prevail; the presumption being that the better and truer one's right is, the better and more unrelenting effort one will make to vindicate it, while a man with a doubtful right will not go to the trouble of vindicating it at the risk of being again deprived of it in court (*Piskei ha-Rosh* 3:22). This reasoning appears to be both legally and psychologically unsatisfactory; a better explanation might be that where the other party did not establish any better title to the chose in action, he could not succeed as against the party in possession, such possession being for this purpose recognized as accompanied by a claim of right (see *Evidence).

The rule applied not only to land but also to movables and money. Although courts are no longer competent to award *fines, where a person entitled in law to a fine has taken it from the wrongdoer, *tefisah*, he may retain it (BK 15b; Sh. Ar., HM 1:5); and where he had taken more than was due to him, the wrongdoer may sue only for the return of the balance (Tur and *Rema*, *ibid.*). A wife who had succeeded in collecting her *ketubbah* from her husband is allowed to retain it notwithstanding the husband's contention that only half of it is due to her (Ket. 16b). The holder of a bill which was unenforceable because of formal defects may retain the amount of the bill if he succeeded in collecting it (the numerous and rather complicated rules of *tefisah* were compiled by Jacob Lissa and are appended to ch. 25 of the standard editions of Sh. Ar., ḤM). But there is a notable exception to this rule; namely, no creditor may enter the debtor's house against his will, for it is written, "Thou shalt stand without" (Deut. 24:11); nor may the debtor's property be attached or sold in satisfaction of a debt otherwise than by process of the court (BM 9:13). Even where the debtor had agreed, by contract in writing, that the creditor may satisfy himself by seizing the debtor's property in case of default, the creditor was not allowed to do so except where no court was available to award him a legal judgment (Sh. Ar., ḤM 61,6; see *Execution; *Pledge).

Two instances of extrajudicial authority in inflicting punishments for crime may be mentioned. One is the prerogative of the king to kill any person disobeying or slandering him (Maim. Yad., Melakhim, 3:8) – not only is the king not bound by the rules of law and procedure, but he may lawfully execute murderers acquitted for lack of evidence or other formal grounds if he considers it necessary for the public good (*ibid.*, 10). The other is the right of zealots (*kanna'im*) to kill thieves of Temple utensils, idolatrous blasphemers, and men cohabiting with idolatresses, without legal process, if they are caught *inflagrante delicto* (Sanh. 9:6): this rule derives its justification from the praise God heaped on Phinehas for his impassioned act in stabbing the man whom he found cohabiting with the Midianite woman (Num. 25:6–13).

Extralegal Remedies

Instances are already reported in the Bible of punishments being inflicted, mostly drastic and wholesale, and sometimes at the express command of God, but outside the framework of the law and without legal process (e.g., Gen. 34:25–29; Ex. 32:27–28; Judg. 20:13). With the elaboration of talmudic criminal law and procedure and rules of evidence, and the consequential complication of the criminal process, the necessity soon arose for extraordinary procedures in cases of emergency (*Hora'at Sha'ah*): it was in such an emergency that Simeon b. Shetaḥ is reported to have sentenced and executed 80 witches in Ashkelon on one day (Sanh. 6:4). Extralegal punishments such as these were stated to be justified or even mandatory whenever the court considered their infliction necessary for upholding the authority and enforcing the observance of the law (Yev. 90b; TJ, Hag. 2:2,78a). With the lapse of capital jurisdiction (see **bet din*) – but not previously, as some scholars wrongly hold – this emergency power was called in aid to enable courts to administer the criminal law and uphold law and order generally, the very lapsing of the jurisdiction creating the "emergency" which necessitated the recourse to such emergency powers. Thus, courts were empowered to inflict corporal and even capital punishment on offenders who were not, under the law, liable to be so punished (Maim. Yad, Sanhedrin, 24:4); and there are instances already in talmudic times of illegal punishments being administered – such as cutting off the hand of a recidivist offender (Sanh. 58b), or burning an adulteress alive (Sanh. 52b; the Talmud (*ibid.*), however, adds: "That was done because the *bet din* at that time was not learned in the law."), or piercing the eyes of a murderer (Sanh. 27a). In post-talmudic times, new forms of *capital punishment were advisedly introduced, not only for penological reasons but also to demonstrate that these courts were not administering the regular law. Justification for such innovations was found in the biblical reference to "the judges that shall be in those days" (Deut. 17:9), the nature and content of the *Hora'at Sha'ah*, as the term indicates, depending on the circumstances and requirements of the time (*Bet ha-Beḥirah* Sanh. 52b; Resp. Rashba vol. 5, no. 238). The same considerations led to a general dispensation with formal requirements of the law of evidence and *procedure (Resp. Rashba vol. 4, no. 311). Conversely, prior deviations from such law, as, e.g., executions on the strength of *confessions only, were retrospectively explained as exceptional emergencies (Maim., loc. cit. 18:6).

A peculiar instance of an extra-legal remedy is the rule that where a litigant has a dangerously violent man for his adversary, he may be allowed to sue him in non-Jewish courts under non-Jewish law (Maim. *ibid.*, 26:7; Resp.Rosh 6:27; Tur, ḤM 2; see *Judicial Autonomy; **Mishpat Ivri*). In civil cases, courts are vested with proprietary powers so as to be able to do justice and grant remedies even contrary to the letter of the law (Maim. loc. cit., 24:6; and see *Confiscation and Expropriation; **Takkanot*).

[Haim Hermann Cohn]

The fundamental provision referred to above allowed the *Bet Din* to deviate from original Biblical and Talmudic law in matters of evidence, procedure and penal policy, guided by the needs of the time and the place. Based on this provision, both the courts and the communal leaders utilized their authority to enact communal regulations (see entry: **Takkanot ha-Kahal*) with detailed legislation concerning penal policy. Formally, such regulations are defined as "emergency provisions" (*hora'at sha'ah*), but they were in fact incorporated into substantive Jewish law. Indeed, Jewish courts throughout the Jewish Diaspora occasionally exercised their extra-legal punitive powers to adjudicate capital cases, and even to impose death sentences, without requiring a court of 23, and without being bound by the stringent rules of evidence imposed by the original Jewish law.

The Israeli Supreme Court discussed this issue at length in the *Nagar* case (Cr.A 543/79 *Nagar v.* State of Israel 35 (1) PD 113. Based on this principle, Justice Elon ruled that suspects could be convicted for the commission of murder even where the Court had no direct evidence of their commission of the crime, and even where the dead body had not been found.

For a broad discussion of this topic, see entries: *Capital Punishment; *Evidence.

[Menachem Elon (2nd ed.)]

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EYAL (Heb. אֱיָל; "strength"), kibbutz in central Israel, on the eastern border of the Sharon, northeast of the Arab town Qalqilya, affiliated with Ha-Kibbutz ha-Me'uḥad. Eyal was originally founded on July 3, 1947 as a *Palmaḥ outpost near the Syrian border east of Lake Huleh, where it fulfilled a vital function during the Israel War of Independence (1948). After the war, the settlement was transferred (Nov. 1, 1948) to its present site, which was also vulnerable to attack until the Six-Day War of 1967. Its farming was based on field crops, orchards including organic farming and milch cattle. The kibbutz operates two factories: Eyal Microwave for microwave components and one for optical lenses (in partnership with kibbutz *Shamir). In 2002 the population was 385.

WEBSITE: www.eyal.org.il.

[Efraim Orni / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

EYBESCHUETZ, JONATHAN (**ben Nathan Nata**; 1690/95–1764), talmudist and kabbalist. Eybeschuetz, a child prodigy, studied in Poland, Moravia, and Prague. In his youth, after the death of his father, he studied in Prossnitz under Meir Eisenstadt and Eliezer ha-Levi Ettinger, his uncle, and in Vienna under Samson Wertheimer. He married the daughter of Isaac Spira, the *av bet din* of Bunzlau. After traveling for some time he settled in Prague in 1715, and in time became head of the yeshivah and a famous preacher. When he was in Prague he had many contacts with priests and the intelligentsia, debating religious topics and matters of faith with them. He became friendly with Cardinal Hassebauer and also discussed religious questions with him. Through the help of the cardinal, Eybeschuetz received permission to print the Talmud with the omission of all passages contradicting the principles of Christianity. Aroused to anger by this, David *Oppenheim and the rabbis of Frankfurt had the license to print revoked.

The people of Prague held Eybeschuetz in high esteem and he was considered second only to David Oppenheim. In 1725 he was among the Prague rabbis who excommunicated the Shabbatean sect. After the death of David Oppenheim (1736), he was appointed *dayyan* of Prague. Elected rabbi of Metz in 1741, he subsequently became rabbi of the "Three Communities," Altona, Hamburg, and Wandsbek (1750). Both in Metz and in Altona he had many disciples and was considered a great preacher.

His position in the Three Communities, however, was undermined when the dispute broke out concerning his suspected leanings toward Shabbateanism. This controversy accompanied Eybeschuetz throughout his life, and the quarrel had repercussions in every community from Holland to Poland. His main opponent was Jacob *Emden, also a famous talmudist and his rival in the candidature to the rabbinate of the Three Communities. The quarrel developed into a great public dispute which divided the rabbis of the day. While most of the German rabbis opposed Eybeschuetz, his support came from the rabbis of Poland and Moravia. A fruitless attempt at mediation was made by Ezekiel *Landau, rabbi of Prague. Most of Eybeschuetz' own community was loyal to him and confidently accepted his refutation of the charges made by his opponent, but dissension reached such a pitch that both sides appealed to the authorities in Hamburg and the government of Denmark for a judicial ruling. The king favored Eybeschuetz and ordered new elections, which resulted in his reappointment. Yet the literary polemic continued, even prompting several Christian scholars to participate, some of whom, thinking that Eybeschuetz was a secret Christian, came to his defense. After his reelection as rabbi of the Three Communities, some rabbis of Frankfurt, Amsterdam, and Metz challenged him to appear before them to reply to the suspicions raised against him. Eybeschuetz refused, and when the matter was brought before the Council of the Four Lands in 1753, the council issued a ruling in his favor. In 1760 the quarrel broke out once more when some Shabbatean elements were discovered among the students of Eybeschuetz' yeshivah. At the same time his younger son, Wolf, presented himself as a Shabbatean prophet, with the result that the yeshivah was closed. When Moses Mendelssohn was in Hamburg in 1761, Eybeschuetz treated him with great respect, even publishing a letter on him (*Kerem Ḥemed*, 3 (1838), 224–5), incontrovertible testimony to Eybeschuetz' awareness of Mendelssohn's ideological approach.

Eybeschuetz was considered not only one of the greatest preachers of his time but also one of the giants of the Talmud, acclaimed for his acumen and particularly incisive intellect. Thirty of his works in the field of *halakhah* have been published. His method of teaching aroused great enthusiasm among the pilpulists, and his works, *Urim ve-Tummim* on *Ḥoshen Mishpat* (1775–77), *Kereti u-Feleti* on *Yoreh De'ah* (1763), and *Benei Ahuvah* on Maimonides (1819), were considered masterpieces of pilpulistic literature. To the present day they are regarded as classics by students of the Talmud. They are unique in that the many *pilpulim* they include are in most cases based on clear, logical principles that give them their permanent value. His homiletic works, *Ya'arot Devash* (1779–82), *Tiferet Yonatan* (1819), and *Ahavat Yonatan* (1766), also found many admirers. In succeeding generations his reputation was sustained by these works. Since (apart from *Kereti u-Feleti*) his works were not printed in his lifetime, it is clear that his great influence among his contemporaries must have derived from the power of his oral teaching and from his personality, both of which were highly praised by many writers. Of his books on the Kabbalah, only one was printed, *Shem Olam* (1891), but during his lifetime Eybeschuetz was considered a great kabbalist.

Opinions are still divided on the assessment of this striking personality, his supporters and detractors vying with one another with an extraordinary intensity. The great bitterness surrounding the controversies on the question of his secret relationship with the Shabbateans stems precisely from his being recognized as a true master of the Torah. It was hard to believe that a man who had himself signed a *ḥerem* against the Shabbateans could have secretly held their beliefs. Suspicions were aroused against him on two occasions: in 1724, with the appearance of a manuscript entitled *Va-Avo ha-Yom el ha-Ayin*, which the Shabbateans, and also several of his own students, ascribed to him. This book (preserved in Ms.) is indisputably a Shabbatean work. Even after he had signed the *ḥerem* against the Shabbateans, suspicion was not allayed and it prevented his election to the rabbinate of Prague. In 1751, the dispute grew more virulent when some amulets written by Eybeschuetz in Metz and Altona were opened. Jacob Emden deciphered them and found that they contained unmistakable Shabbatean formulae (*Sefat Emet*, 1752). Eybeschuetz denied that the amulets had any continuous logical meaning, maintaining that they consisted simply of "Holy Names" (*Luḥot Edut*, 1755), and he even put forward an interpretation of them based on his system. His opponents retorted that the real interpretation of the amulets could be discovered from the work attributed to him, *Va-Avo ha-Yom el ha-Ayin*, and that they could and should be interpreted as having a meaningful content. Scholarly historical research has advanced three views concerning Eybeschuetz' relationship with Shabbateanism: that he was never a Shabbatean and that suspicions on this score were completely unfounded (Zinz, Mortimer, Cohen, Klemperer); that he was a Shabbatean in his youth but turned his back on the sect around the time of the *ḥerem* of 1725 (Bernhard Baer, Saul Pinhas Rabinowitz); that he was a crypto-Shabbatean from the time he studied in Prossnitz and Prague until the end of his life (Graetz, David Kahana, Scholem, Perlmutter). An interpretation of his kabbalistic beliefs must also depend on his relationship with Shabbateanism. Some believe that the book *Shem Olam*, which deals with the philosophical explanation of the nature of God, is a work whose kabbalistic teaching only confirms generally accepted kabbalistic teaching (Mieses); others consider that the book is undoubtedly Shabbatean in its conception of God (Perlmutter). Still others believe that the work is a forgery or was erroneously attributed to Eybeschuetz (Margulies). Recent research has demonstrated a close relationship between *Shem Olam* and *Va-Avo ha-Yom el ha-Ayin*.

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[Gershom Scholem]

EYDOUX, EMMANUEL, pen name of **Roger Eisinger** (1913–), French author. Descended from Alsatian Jews, he was born in Marseilles, where he engaged in business until 1965. He then abandoned commerce and taught Jewish history and thought in an ORT school. He was active in the cultural life of the Marseilles Jewish community. Eydoux began publishing poems in 1945, under the pen name of "Catapulte." He then wrote plays and books on the history of Judaism. The main poetic works of Eydoux were *Le Chant de l'Exil* (1945–47), *Abraham l'Hébreu et Samuelle Voyant* (1946), *L'Evangile selon les Hébreux* (1954), and *Elégies inachevées* (1959). He wrote a play, *Ghetto à Varsovie* (1960), and a tetralogy including *Pogrom* (1963) and *Eliezer ben Yehouda* (1966). Eydoux was also the author of *Le dernier Pourimspiel des orphelins du docteur Janusz Korczak* (1967), which has its setting in the Warsaw ghetto under the Nazis. His didactic works include *La Science de l'Être* (1949) and *Introduction à l'histoire de la civilisation d'Israël* (1961).

[Moshe Catane]

EYLENBURG, ISSACHAR BAER BEN ISRAEL LEISER PARNAS (1550–1623), talmudist. Eylenburg was born in Posen and studied under Mordecai *Jaffe, *Judah Loew b. Bezalel (the "Maharal") of Prague, and Joshua *Falk. He served as rabbi and *av bet din* of Gorizia, Italy. In his *Be'er Sheva* (Frankfurt, 1709), he attempts to provide *tosafot* for those tractates which do not possess them. His halakhic method is original. Taking the actual talmudic *halakhah* as the basis of his discussion, he adopts a critical attitude to the commentaries of such *rishonim* as Isaac *Alfasi, *Rashi, and *Maimonides, not hesitating to disagree with them or even to reject them. He is opposed to philosophy, condemning Maimonides and others who "arrogated to themselves the right to read the works of sectarians." The work follows to a considerable extent the method of Judah Loew b. Bezalel in *halakhah.* Eylenburg also wrote *Ẓeidah la-Derekh* (Prague, 1623), a supercommentary to Rashi's commentary on the Pentateuch, with glosses to other supercommentaries on Rashi, including that of Elijah *Mizraḥi. His halakhic work was highly regarded by the scholars of Safed, who invited him in 1621 to serve as rabbi of the Ashkenazi community of that city, in place of Moses Da *Castellazzo whom they wished to dismiss. Eylenburg declined the invitation, only to be invited again upon Castellazzo's death, when he accepted. He died in Austerlitz on his way to Safed.

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[Isaac Ze'ev Kahane]

EYNIKEYT ("Unity"), official organ of the Jewish *Anti-Fascist Committee in the Soviet Union. *Eynikeyt* began to appear in Kuibyshev in June 1942 once every ten days under the editorship of Shakhne Epstein. The editorial board consisted of: D. *Bergelson, Y. *Dobrushin, S. *Halkin, S. *Mikhoels, L. Strongin, I. *Fefer, L. *Kvitko, and A. *Kushnirov. After Epstein died, G. Shitz was named chief editor. In July 1943 *Eynikeyt* moved to Moscow and became a weekly magazine. By February 1945 it began to come out three times a week, but publication was stopped on Nov. 20, 1948, with the liquidation of all Jewish cultural institutions in the U.S.S.R. Altogether, about 700 issues of *Eynikeyt* were published, and its contributors included all the Yiddish writers of the Soviet Union. Some of their contributions were first published there, like Fefer's famous poem "Ich bin a Yid" ("I Am a Jew"). The newspaper was devoted entirely to the war effort, carrying stories on the atrocities perpetrated against Jews in the countries occupied by the Germans and emphasizing the contribution and the bravery of Jews in the war against the Nazis. There was a column called "Jewish Life Abroad," with reports on Jewish events outside the U.S.S.R., Jews in the anti-Nazi underground, and also events in the *yishuv* of Palestine. The paper reported the visit of Mikhoels and Fefer to the U.S., Canada, Mexico, and Great Britain, and also the visit of the Americans Goldberg and Novik. These visits later served the KGB in drawing up its accusations of espionage for the West in the case of the Jewish Anti-Fascist Committee. After the war *Eynikeyt* continued to appear under the guidance and supervision of the Soviet authorities. This control was especially noticeable in the paper's editorial policy toward the struggle of the *yishuv* in Palestine. In the first half of 1948, in conformity with official Soviet policy, the paper supported Israel's *War of Independence and the establishment of the State of Israel. But from September 1948 until its dissolution, it published attacks on Zionism. The employees of *Eynikeyt* shared the fate of other Jewish cultural activists.

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[Yehuda Slutsky / Shmuel Spector (2nd ed.)]

EYTAN, RACHEL (1931–1987), Hebrew author. Eytan spent part of her childhood in children's homes and later lived in a kibbutz. She was trained as a teacher and worked with children of new immigrants. Her first novel, *Ha-Raki'a ha-Ḥamishi* (1962; *The Fifth Heaven*, 1985) depicts in realistic style the life of abandoned children living in an orphanage in Ereẓ Israel during World War II. The novel, which was awarded the prestigious Brenner Prize, was one of the early attempts of Israeli literature to deal with the underprivileged "inferior" groups of the new Jewish society. In 1967 Eytan moved to New York and was appointed professor of Hebrew and Yiddish at Hofstra

University. Her second novel, *Shidah ve-Shidot* ("Pleasures of Man," 1974) is the story of a young married woman who has a passionate affair with a member of the Israel Philharmonic Orchestra, told against the background of the urban, hedonistic society of Tel Aviv following the Six-Day War.

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[Anat Feinberg (2nd ed.)]

EYTAN (Ettinghausen), WALTER (1910–2001), Israel diplomat. He was the son of Maurice L. Ettinghausen (1882–1974), bibliophile and antiquarian bookseller. Eytan, born in Munich, was educated in England and taught German language and literature in Oxford from 1934. Eytan served in the British army from 1940 to 1945. Settling in Palestine in 1946, he served as director of the Civil Service and Diplomatic College of the *Jewish Agency in Jerusalem. In this capacity, and particularly as first general director of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs under Moshe *Sharett and Golda *Meir (1948–59), he greatly influenced the structure and character of Israel's foreign service. In 1949 he headed the Israel delegation both to the Rhodes armistice negotiations and to the Lausanne Conference with the Arab states (see State of *Israel: Historical Survey). In 1955 Eytan headed the Israel delegation to the Atomic Energy Conference in Geneva. He served as Israel ambassador to France from 1959 until 1970. In March 1972, Eytan was appointed head of the Board of Governors of the Israel Broadcasting Authority, in succession to Chaim *Yahil, and held the position until his retirement in 1978. He wrote *The First Ten Years: Diplomatic History of Israel* (1958).

[Netanel Lorch]

EZEKIEL, a major prophet who is said to have begun prophesying in the fifth year of Jehoiachin's exile in Babylonia, seven years before the final fall of Jerusalem; his prophecies are recorded in the book that bears his name. The name Ezekiel (Heb. יְחֶזְקֵאל; Gk. *Iezkiēl;* Vulg. *Ezechiel* [cf., in I Chron. 24:16, and for (י)חִזְקִיָּה(וּ)], = יְחִזְקֵאל?) seems to be derived from יְחַזֵּק אֵל "may God strengthen" (namely, "the child" (so Noth, Personennamen, 202; others cf., Ezek. 3:8f., 14)).

LOCATION OF THE BOOK IN THE CANON

The talmudic arrangement of the major prophets is Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and Isaiah, the departure from the true historical order being justified thus: "The Book of Kings ends with doom, Jeremiah is all doom, Ezekiel begins with doom but ends with consolation, while Isaiah is all consolation, so we place doom alongside doom and consolation alongside consolation" (BB 14b). This arrangement appears in some early Bible manuscripts (Ginsburg, *Introduction*, 5), but manuscripts of the Ben Asher tradition (e.g., Leningrad, Aleppo) and the early printings follow the proper chronological order (Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel) as in present texts (cf. Kimḥi's introduction to Jeremiah; *Minḥat Shai's* introduction to Isaiah).

Book of Ezekiel – Contents

Chs. 1:1–3:21	**The call of the prophet.**
Chs. 3:22–24:27	**The doom of Judah and Jerusalem.**
3:22–5:17	House arrest and dramatic representation of siege and punishment.
6:1–7:27	Prophecies against the mountains of Israel and the populations of the land.
8:1–11:25	A visionary transportation to Jerusalem.
12:1–20	Dramatic representation of the exile of Judah and its king.
12:21–14:11	On false prophets and the popular attitude towards prophecy.
14:12–23	No salvation through vicarious merit.
15:1–8	Parable of the vine wood.
16:1–63	Parable of the nymphomaniacal adulteress.
17:1–24	Parable of the two eagles.
18:1–32	God's absolute justice.
19:1–14	A dirge over the monarchy.
20:1–44	The compulsory new exodus.
21:1–37	The punishing sword: three oracles.
22:1–31	Unclean Jerusalem: three oracles.
23:1–49	The dissolute sisters, Oholah and Oholibah.
24:1–14	The filthy pot: a parable of Jerusalem.
24:15–27	Death of the prophet's wife.
Chs. 25:1–32:32	**Dooms against foreign nations.**
25:1–17	Brief dooms against Ammon, Moab, Edom, and Philistia.
26:1–28:26	Doom against Phoenicia.
29:1–32:32	Seven oracles against Egypt.
Ch. 33:1–33	**A miscellany from the time of the fall.**
Chs. 34:1–39:29	**Prophecies of Israel's restoration.**
34:1–31	Renovation of the leadership of Israel.
35:1–36:15	Renovation of the mountains of Israel.
36:16–38	A new heart and spirit: the condition of lasting possession of the land.
37:1–28	The revival of the dead bones of Israel and the unification of its two scepters.
38:1–39:29	The invasion of Gog and his fall.
Chs. 40:1–48:35	**A messianic priestly code.**
40:1–43:12	A visionary transportation to the future temple.
43:13–46:24	Ordinances of the cult and its personnel.
47:1–12	The life-giving stream issuing from the temple.
47:13–48:35	Allocation of the land.

STRUCTURE AND CONTENTS

The talmudic bipartition of the book recalls Josephus' statement that Ezekiel "left behind two books" (Jos., Ant., 10:79) –

The Dates in the Book of Ezekiel

Text	Year	Month	Day	B.C.E.[1]	Event
1:1	30	4	5	Note[2]	Vision of heavenly beings.
1:2f.	5	–	5	July[2] 593	Vision of God's vehicle and call of the prophet.
3:16	A week later				Appointment as lookout.
8:1	6	6	5	Sept. 592	Vision of temple abominations.
20:1	7	5	10	Aug. 591	Prophecy of compulsory exodus.
24:1	9	10	10[3]	Jan. 588	Beginning of Jerusalem's siege.
26:1	11	–	1	587–6	Prophecy of Tyre's destruction.
29:1	10	10	12	Jan. 587	Prophecy of Egypt's destruction.
29:17	27	1	1	April 571	Tyre's doom amended, substituting Egypt therefor.
30:20	11	1	7	April 587	Prophecy of Pharaoh's destruction.
31:1	11	3	1	June 587	Parable of Pharaoh as a fallen tree.
32:1	12[4]	12	1	March 585[4]	Dirge over Pharaoh.
32:17	12	– [5]	15	March 585[5]	Lament over Pharaoh in Sheol.
33:21	12	10	5	Jan. 585	Arrival of fugitive with news of Jerusalem's fall[6].
40:1	25	1/7[7]	10	April/Oct. 573[7]	Vision of future temple.

[1] The year-count in the dates starts from the exile of King Jehoiachin (1:2; 33:21; 40:1), datable by a Babylonian chronicle to 2 Adar (mid-March) 597. However, II Chron. 36:10 has the exile beginning at "the turn of the year" – i.e., the next month, Nisan, the start of Nebuchadnezzar's 8th year (II Kings 24:12). The era of the exile thus began in Nisan (April) 597, and its years, like Babylonian regnal years, ran from Nisan to Adar.

[2] The date formula in vs. 2 is manifestly an editorial gloss on that of vs. 1 (hence the third person and the absence of the month); the era of the 30th year is enigmatic (traditionally: from the discovery of the Torah in Josiah's reign [622 B.C.E.], or the jubilee year [see note 7 below]). Some take 30 to be the age of the prophet at his call (cf. Gen. 8:13).

[3] Not the usual data formula: = II Kings 25:1 and perhaps taken from there.

[4] LXX: 11th year, i.e. 586.

[5] Month to be supplied from 32:1; LXX: 1st month (April 586).

[6] About five months after Jerusalem's fall, in the summer of 586 (Tammuz [July]–Ab [August], Jer. 39:2; 52:6f., 12), the 19th (Nisan–Adar) year of Nebuchadnezzar and the 11th (Tishri–Elul) year of Zedekiah.

[7] Heb. Rosh Ha-Shanah; LXX: first month (Nisan [April]); tradition, comparing Lev. 25:9: seventh month (Tishri [Oct.]). Tradition thus makes the 25th year of exile a jubilee year; since 20 years before is called the 30th year (1:1, taking 1:2 as its gloss), tradition interprets it as counting to a jubilee that coincided with the discovery of the Torah in the reign of Zedekiah (see Targum and Kimḥi at 1:1).

possibly (cf. R. Marcus) a reference to the fact that chapters 1–24 are, on the whole, prophecies of Israel's doom, while chapters 25–48 are prophecies of consolation. The contents of the book may be subsumed under these two major rubrics, with further specification by subject and date. (See Table: Book of Ezekiel – Contents and Table: Dates in the Book of Ezekiel.)

The marking of certain prophecies (or events) by dates possibly signifies their evidential value to the prophet (cf. his concern over being vindicated by events: 2:5; 12:26ff.; 29:21; 33:33) and may adumbrate the Second Isaiah's argument from prophecy (Isa. 41:26f.; 42:9; 44:8; 45:21; 46:10f.; 48:3ff.). First practiced by Jeremiah's biographer, the custom of dating is at its height in Ezekiel, and is followed by Haggai (1:1, 15; 2:1; 10; 20) and Zechariah (1:1; 7:1) – though Ezekiel's formula is unique.

From the prophet's call to the start of Jerusalem's siege the dated prophecies are condemnatory, and this is true of the great bulk of chapters 1–24 (cf. the scroll of "laments and moaning and woe" that the prophet eats in 2:10–3:3). During the siege years and briefly thereafter, the dated prophecies condemn Israel's neighbors – the subjects of chapters 25–32 (note the clustering of dates in the Egypt oracles, perhaps signifying an expectation of Egypt's imminent fall). The news of Jerusalem's fall is embedded in a miscellany of brief oracles related to the first part of the book (ch. 33), and is followed by consolatory prophecies of Israel's restoration (chs. 34–48). The sole dated prophecy among these opens the detailed program of the future theocracy's institutions in chapters 40–48.

The division of the book into pre-fall doom prophecies and post-fall consolations must thus be at once qualified by recognition of the intermediate status of the oracles against foreign nations; both thematically and chronologically they straddle the two major divisions. Moreover, the two divisions are not strictly homogeneous thematically (nor is it likely they ever were). Besides prophecies of doom, the first half of the book contains both calls to repentance (14:6; 18) and a few consolations (e.g., 17:22–24), of which 11:14–21 is palpably pre-fall (though intruded into its present context by association with what precedes it). Similarly, condemnation appears in the post-fall prophecies (e.g., 34:1–10; 36:3ff.) – entirely appropriate to its context. Nor is the block of foreign-nation oracles exhaustive: a veiled anti-Babylonian oracle comes earlier (21:33–37) and an explicit anti-Edomite oracle comes later (ch. 35), both integrated into their contexts. Nor is the dating strictly followed in the face of a good countervailing reason.

Grouping the Egyptian oracles entailed an overlap between the last-dated of them and the arrival of the fugitive from Jerusalem. And the eventual substitution of Egypt for Tyre as Nebuchadnezzar's prey (in the dated appendix to ch. 29) advised setting the Tyrian prophecies ahead of the Egyptian, though the latter set in first.

The book thus shows signs of a deliberate editing and arrangement along thematic-chronological lines. Occasional erratic entities are not enough to destroy this overall impression.

The stylistic consistency of the book is striking. Excepting 1:2ff. (an editorial gloss to 1:1), it is couched in the form of a first-person report by the prophet of God's communications to him or the visions he was shown. Only five statements in the book are his own (4:14; 9:8; 11:13; 21:5). His reactions to popular sayings, even his complaints, are clothed as oracles of encouragement or exhortation (contrast, e.g., 33:30–33 with Jer. 15:10ff.). Oracle-reports begin with: וַיְהִי (הָיָה) דְבר ה׳ אֵלַי ("This word of the Lord came to me"). The prophet is addressed בֶּן אָדָם ("O man!" or "mortal!") often followed by an imperative to say or do something (the prophet rarely reports that he executed the order). The message proper is introduced by כֹּה אָמַר ה׳ ("Thus said the Lord"), whose frequency is explained by 2:4; 10:11; 3:27. Doom-prophecies regularly state the ground of the punishment, introducing it with יַעַן ("inasmuch as"), followed by the sentence of punishment, introduced by לכן ("so then" or "assuredly"). The characteristically Ezekelian concluding phrase is וְיָדְעוּ (וִידַעְתֶּם) כִּי אֲנִי ה׳ ("then they [you] shall know that I am the Lord") – with minor variations. A penchant for formulas is one of several affinities of Ezekiel to the priestly writings of the Pentateuch (see *Holiness Code).

ANALYSIS OF THE CONTENTS

The Call of the Prophet

(1:1–3:21). By the Chebar River (Akk. *nār Kabari*, a large canal that left the Euphrates near Babylon and passed through Nippur), the prophet is accosted and overwhelmed by a cloud-and-fire apparition of the divine vehicle – a wheeled platform, borne by four hybrid creatures – on which was enthroned the fiery Majesty (*kavod*) of the Lord. Fortified to face his defiant audience, the prophet is sent to announce to them God's coming punishment (cf. Jer. 1:7ff.; 18f.). He is fed a scroll on which the doom is inscribed (cf. Jer. 15:16). Afterward a wind bears him to the exile community of Tel Abib (Akk. *til abūbi*, "mound [abandoned since the time] of the Flood"), where he recovers from shock. Again he is addressed and appointed to be a lookout to warn Israel of the catastrophic consequences of their wickedness. This role delimits his responsibility: as a lookout, he is not accountable for the reaction of his audience – an important release for a prophet anticipating an indifferent or hostile reception.

The appearance of the fiery presence of God to stand by his devotees (Ex. 16:10; Num. 14:10; 16:19), and His coming on a cherub to their aid (Ps. 18:8ff.) were elements of tradition. The Chebar River – like the Ulai and the Tigris of Daniel 8:2; 10:4 – may, as a "clean place" of running water (Lev. 14:5), have served as a revelation site (cf. Mekhilta, *Petiḥta*), in which case the theophany was not wholly unexpected. (The presence of prophets among the exiles seems not to have been unusual; cf. Jer. 29:15; Ezek. 13:9.)

Appointment as a lookout recurs in 33:1–21 in association with its natural concomitant, a call to repentance. Such calls are found otherwise only in 14:6 and chapter 18. Hence the common assumption that the role of a lookout calling for repentance belongs to the latter part of the prophet's career is to be rejected as baselessly shifting a theme attested only before the fall to the post-fall prophecy. (Equally baseless is the notion that as a lookout the prophet addressed the individual rather than the nation; cf. the explicit addresses in 18:31; 33:11.) To be sure, the prophet did not have in mind any but the exilic remnant of the "house of Israel" when he called for repentance – the Jerusalemites were inexorably doomed – but he regarded them as a nucleus of a new Israel, not as discrete individuals. Nonetheless, 3: 16b–21 is intrusive in its context; it may well have sprung from the prophet's later reflection upon his role and responsibility toward his audience during the first part of his career, which was dominated by a "negative" message. Its incorporation into the account of the call bespeaks a desire to collect here all the components of the prophet's first (and principal) role.

The Doom of Judah and Jerusalem (3:22–24:27)

HOUSE ARREST AND DRAMATIC REPRESENTATION OF SIEGE AND PUNISHMENT (3:22–5:17). The prophet is ordered to shut himself up, "bound," in his house, and to refrain from speaking and publicly censuring the people (cf. Amos 5:10; Isa. 29:21); he can speak only to deliver God's messages. The prophet's withdrawal is borne out by every notice of his contact with others (8:1; 14:1; 20:1; 33:30ff.). He is visited at home; he is never on the street or in the market, no reflex of daily life outside makes its way into his utterances. "For the most part Ezekiel lives in a separate world. Other people drift in and out of the book, but there is little direct contact" (Freedman). The only conversation recorded with other human beings is by the command of God (24:18ff.). Except for dramatic representations, the prophet does nothing. "Though told in story form, Ezekiel's account is more a spiritual diary of personal experience of God and his inner reaction to it than a record of objective occurrences" (*ibid.*). In accordance with his tendency to extremes, he carries Jeremiah's gloomy unsociability (Jer. 15:17; 16:2, 5, 8) to its last degree (an analogy from Second Temple times occurs in Jos., Wars, 6:300ff.). Release from his "dumbness" came only with the arrival of the fugitive bearing news of Jerusalem's fall (24:26f.; 33:2ff.).

Orders for a complex series of acts representing the coming doom follow: (a) a model of the siege of Jerusalem is to be built and prophesied against; (b) through lying motionless on his sides, the prophet is to "bear the punishment" (cf. Num. 14:34; this is the usual meaning of the phrase, see especially Ezek. 14:6–10) of Judah and Israel for a number of days equivalent to the years of their punishment; (c) he is to consume scant rations of a loaf of mixed grains and water to show the siege-famine; (d) he is to bake a cake (*ʿugah*, in direct contact with fuel or ashes, see *Bread) on human excrement (later exchanged for cattle dung) to symbolize the "unclean" food of exiles (cf. Hos. 9:3f.); (e) he is, finally, to shave his head and dispose of the hair in thirds to symbolize the annihilation of the population (cf. Isa. 7:20; Zech 13:8f.). Act (d) is intrusive and belongs thematically with the acts of chapter 12; it was attracted to this section by the food prescription of 4:10ff.

PROPHECIES DIRECTED AGAINST THE MOUNTAINS (= the land; vs. 1) OF ISRAEL AND THEIR HEATHEN CULT INSTALLATIONS (chs. 6 and 7; cf. Lev. 6:30) AND AGAINST THE POPULATION. Chapter seven proclaims that "the end has come" (Amos 8:2; Gen. 6:13) for all classes of the populace.

A VISIONARY TRANSPORTATION TO JERUSALEM (chs. 8–11). In a trance-vision, the prophet is taken to see the abominations in the Temple (ch. 8) and the destruction of Jerusalem by heavenly executioners (9:1–10:7). While he prophesies against a cabal of 25 leading men, one Pelatiah drops dead. A thematically associated denunciation of the Jerusalemites' design to supplant the exiles and a promise of the latter's restoration follows. In the course of the vision, the stages of the departure of God's Majesty from the Temple and the city are recounted (10:18f. (referring to vs. 4?); 11:22f.). The historical implications of this vision are discussed below.

DRAMATIC REPRESENTATION OF THE EXILE OF JUDAH AND ITS KING (12:1–16). After the event, the original references to the king's disguise in verses 6 and 12 were interpretatively adjusted to conform with the blinding of King Zedekiah (II Kings 25:7). Verses 17–20 order the prophet to represent, as he eats, the fright of the Jerusalemites.

ON PROPHECY (12:21–14:11). Two denunciations of the popular dismissal of doom prophecies precede a long diatribe against false prophets of weal (= Jer. 23:25ff.), and sorceresses. Another oracle declares God inaccessible to the heathenish Israelites for normal oracular consultation (under the dispensation of wrath, only one-way communications from God to man obtained).

NO SALVATION THROUGH VICARIOUS MERIT (14:12–23; against Gen. 18:24, etc.). The legendary worthies Noah, Daniel (apparently akin to the Ugaritic righteous ruler Dnil; Pritchard, Texts, 149ff.; COS I, 343–56), and Job could save themselves alone – not even their own children – from God's judgment. (This theme is related to the intercessory function of prophecy (cf. 13:5 with 22:30) and is thus linked to the preceding oracles.) Yet with Jerusalem, an exception will be made: some unworthies will escape with their children to Babylonia to justify God's dooming the city to Ezekiel's hearers who will thus be able to see for themselves what a depraved lot the Jerusalemites are.

THREE PARABLES (chs. 15–17). Chapter 15 contains the parable of the vine wood. Not the useful vine (Hos. 10:1; Jer. 2:21; Ps. 80:9, 15) but the useless vine wood is the fit image of Israel – good only for fuel, and hence consigned to destruction.

Chapter 16 contains the parable of the nymphomaniacal adulteress. This lurid, even pornographic, parable, immoderate in its language and its historical judgments, combines these elements: the image of marriage for the covenant relation of God and Israel (Hos. 1–3; Jer. 2:2; 3:1); Jerusalem's Jebusite origin – used to argue the genetic depravity of Israel; the view that political alliances (whether voluntary or coerced) are equivalent to apostasy – both expressing reliance on powers other than God. At verse 44, the figure is skewed and loses its form. Jerusalem is unfavorably compared to her "sisters" Samaria and Sodom. Undeserving as she is, God will, out of faithfulness to His ancient covenant, yet redeem her and let her rule her sisters. Then she will be ashamed of her past.

It is likely that verses 44ff. are secondary; but to consider them post-fall because of the concluding promise of restoration is to miss the prevailingly condemnatory context of the promise. Contrast the reversed proportions of the same elements in the restoration prophecy of 36:16 –7.

Chapter 17 concerns the parable of the two eagles (Nebuchadnezzar and Psammetichus II, see below), a cedar (Jehoiachin), and a vine (Zedekiah): a denunciation of Zedekiah for seeking Egyptian aid to rebel against, and thus break his vassal oath to, Nebuchadnezzar. An oath by YHWH is inviolable even if coerced (II Chron. 36:13). A consolatory appendix (vss. 22ff.) predicting the replanting of a sprig of the cedar, and in no way part of the denunciation, evidently stems from the last period of the prophet.

GOD'S ABSOLUTE JUSTICE (ch. 18). In this chapter Ezekiel maintains that there will be no vicarious suffering of one generation for another's sins (vss. 1–20), or condemnation of a presently good man for his wicked past (21–28); hence to repent is to live in God's grace. The argument was provoked by the current epigram (Jer. 31:28): "Fathers have eaten unripe grapes and the children's teeth are set on edge?," charging God with punishing the innocent descendants of wicked forefathers (cf. indeed II Kings 23:26; 24:3f.; Jer. 15:4; Lam. 5:7), an "inequitable" procedure (vss. 25, 29). The prophet is at pains to deny any "vertical" bequeathal of guilt, either between generations (as in Ex. 20:5), or within a single generation. Thus only the guilty are punished, and even they may be reconciled with God by repentance.

The presentation is systematic and couched in casuistic-legal terms – the idiom of abstract expression familiar to the priest-prophet (cf. 14; 33:1–20). For the sake of symmetry, the argument is carried beyond the immediate issue to its obverse – the denial too of "vertical" bequeathal of merit. The form shows theology comprehended as law – specifically, God's rule of justice brought into line with Deuteronomy

24:16's directive to earthly judges. Notable too is Ezekiel's catalogue of righteous traits; its linguistic and substantive affinity with pentateuchal law is highlighted by contrast with other such catalogues in Isaiah 33:15 ff. and Psalms 15.

A DIRGE OVER THE MONARCHY (ch. 19). In this dirge Ezekiel employs two images: that of a lioness and her cubs, and that of a vine and its branches.

THE COMPULSORY NEW EXODUS (ch. 20). This is a review of Israel's past as a series of refusals to accept God's laws and concludes with an affirmation by God to balk its present intention of assimilation to the pagans. God will force His kingship upon them, restore them by force to their land, and there receive their worship.

A plan to normalize the religious life of the exiles by renewing the sacrificial cult in Babylonia has been hypothesized as the provocation of this message. This chapter reveals important aspects of the prophet's theology of history: the predetermination of the exile (cf. Ps. 106:26); Israel's child-sacrifice as a punitive divine ordinance; concern for His reputation among humankind as the primary motive of God's dealings with Israel. The idea that Israel's restoration is a divine necessity which, if need be, will be forced upon Israel is developed less vehemently later in chapter 36.

THE PUNISHING SWORD: THREE ORACLES (ch. 21). The first of these announces the indiscriminate work of God's sword "from the south northward" (such "horizontal" involvement of innocent with guilty contemporaries is not covered in ch. 18; contrast 9:4); the second is a song to a sharpened sword; the third, a dramatic picture of Nebuchadnezzar taking omens at the crossroad to determine whether his sword should strike Rabbath Ammon or Jerusalem. Verses 33 ff., misleadingly addressed to Ammon, warn that ultimately the instrument of God's punishment (Babylonia) would itself be struck down by barbarians (cf. Isa. 10:12 ff.). This is the only anti-Babylonian oracle in the book.

UNCLEAN JERUSALEM: THREE ORACLES (ch. 22). The first is an arraignment of the "bloody city" (Nah. 3:1) – of Nineveh, whose terms recall Leviticus 18–20; the second, a reminiscence of Isaiah 1:20 – once silver, the city is now all dross; the third oracle, a variation of Zephaniah 3:1–8 – all the classes of the city are corrupt. The prophet's avowal that not a soul could be found to redeem the city in God's sight is a hyperbole similar to I Kings 19:14, Jeremiah 5:1 ff., and Lamentations 2:14. It does not mean that Ezekiel and Jeremiah could not have been contemporaries (as Torrey argued).

THE DISSOLUTE SISTERS, OHOLAH (Samaria, i.e., "her own tent") AND OHOLIBAH (Jerusalem, i.e., "my tent is in her") (ch. 23). The relations of the two Israelite kingdoms with Egypt, Assyria, and Babylonia are represented – in the extravagant manner of chapter 16 – as the shameless sexual frenzies of two harlot sisters. From verse 36 on, the apostasy motif of chapter 16 appears in a disordered epilogue.

THE FILTHY POT: A PARABLE OF JERUSALEM (24:1–14; cf. 11:3 ff.), dating to the start of the siege, anticipating its purgation through fire.

THE DEATH OF THE PROPHET'S WIFE (24:15–27). The prophet must dramatically represent, by his abstention from mourning, the paralyzing shock that will engulf the exiles at hearing of the city's fall (cf. Jer. 16:5–7). However, for the prophet, the arrival of that news will end his dumbness (i.e., release him from obsession with Jerusalem's fall).

Doom Pronounced Against Foreign Nations (chs. 25–32)
These chapters consist of prophecies of doom pronounced against seven foreign nations involved in Judah's revolt (Jer. 27:3). Excepting Egypt, they failed to support Judah; they all survived her. The dating of these prophecies shows that their location is approximately chronological. Condemnatory of Israel's enemies, they are a preliminary to prophecies of Israel's restoration.

BRIEF PROPHECIES OF DOOM AGAINST AMMON, MOAB, EDOM, AND PHILISTIA (ch. 25; cf. Jer. 47–49). PROPHECY OF DOOM AGAINST PHOENICIA (chs. 26–28). Four prophecies are directed against Tyre and one last against Sidon. Noteworthy is the representation of the island city as a ship loaded with merchandise (the amazing itemization of which is a prime source of information on east Mediterranean commerce of the time (see Bondi, Bartoloni in Bibliography); Ezekiel might have come by this from Phoenician traders and artisans known to have been pensioners of the Babylonian king; Pritchard, Texts, 308). Also remarkable is the image of the king of Tyre as an expelled denizen of God's garden (28:12–19) – a tantalizingly obscure variant of the Eden myth.

EPILOGUE TO CHAPTERS 25–28 (28:24–26). The epilogue contains the promise that after its restoration, Israel will never again suffer the contempt of these neighbors, since they will all have been destroyed. Excepting Edom and Philistia who are vaguely charged with "taking revenge," the charges against these nations are their hubris and their contempt of Israel (both offensive to God). Why Tyre receives such a measure of wrath is unclear.

SEVEN ORACLES AGAINST EGYPT (chs. 29–32). The unusual clustering of dated prophecies may signify the prophet's expectation of Egypt's imminent fall to Nebuchadnezzar after the defeat of Apries (see below), and his concern for establishing the priority of his prophecies to that event. Egypt's offense is its unreliability as an ally (29:6 = Isa. 36:6), or Pharaoh's hubris. However, because Egypt tried to help Judah, it is promised a restoration (29:13 ff.). The latest passage in the book is an appendix to the first Egyptian oracle. Nebuchadnezzar, having failed to reduce Tyre, is promised Egypt as his wages (on the historical background, see below). The presence of this amendment to the Tyre prophecies alongside the untouched – and by then confuted – original prophecies attests to the inviolate status of Ezekiel's oracles in his own (and subsequent age's) estimation. It is a warning against the easy assumption of later tampering with the prophet's words.

The standpoint of the prophecies against the nations is one of sensitivity to the diminution suffered by God owing to Israel's humiliation. Israel's fall gave occasion to its neighbors to gloat and aggrandize themselves. Heathen arrogance reached its limit; God must now act to assert his authority on earth. This necessarily entails the restoration of Israel, which is indeed anticipated several times in this section (25:14; 28:25; 29:16, 21). The interconnection of the doom of the nations and Israel's restoration is seen also in the sequence of chapters 35–36, on which see below.

A Miscellany From the Time of the Fall (ch. 33)

Verses 1–20: The kernel of this piece is the despairing cry of the people: How can we live, immersed as we are in sin (vs. 10)? It stimulates a clarification of the constructive aspect of the doom prophecy – the prophet's role as a lookout, warning his hearers of the consequence of their sin and urging them to repent and live. Previously isolated elements (3:16b–19; 14:6; 18:21ff.) are woven into a new whole, meeting the need of the hour. As in 18, a legal-casuistic style is the vehicle of doctrinal statement.

Verses 21ff.: The arrival of the fugitive with news of Jerusalem's fall brings an end to the prophet's dumbness – to what effect, remains obscure.

Verses 23–33, in form a single prophecy, comprise two heterogeneous pieces. Verses 23–29 are a scornful rejection of claims on the part of those dwelling in the land of Israel after the fall to retain title to the land despite their fewness (a later, pathetic version of 11:15b). Verses 30–33 promise the prophet that, although he is now no more than an entertainer to the people who flock to hear him, the imminent advent of doom will make them take his words seriously. Why this pre-fall piece is placed here is unclear.

All of chapter 33 belongs to the doom prophecy, but it reflects a situation just before and after the fall – later than that of chapter 24. It is dated later than the first dated foreign-nation prophecies (which themselves straddle the fall). The arrangement of chapter 33 after the block of foreign-nation prophecies is therefore reasonable.

Prophecies of Israel's Restoration (chs. 34–39)

RENOVATION OF THE LEADERSHIP OF ISRAEL (ch. 34). In a new tone of compassion, God inveighs against the bad shepherds who misguided his flock and promises personally to take it in charge (vss. 1–16; cf. Jer. 23:1ff.). The image is then skewed, and bucks and rams within the flock are blamed for having bullied the rest. A new David will be their shepherd, and under him they will enjoy all the covenant blessings of Leviticus 26:4–12.

THE RENOVATION OF THE MOUNTAINS OF ISRAEL (countering ch. 6; 35:1–36:15). For encroaching upon Judah, the hill country of Seir will be desolated (cf. III Ezra 4:50) – along with all others who dared lay hands on God's land (vs. 5). Then the hill country of Israel will prosper as never before, and reproaches of infertility, famine, and "bereaving its inhabitants" (through conquest by foreigners and deportations) will be removed forever.

A NEW HEART AND SPIRIT: THE CONDITION OF LASTING POSSESSION OF THE LAND (36:16–38). With inexorable logic the theology of Israel's career is expounded: exiled for its sins, Israel brought the Lord into disrepute among the nations. In order to establish His authority on earth, God must restore and glorify Israel. But to prevent a repetition of the disaster, God will alter the moral nature of the people, giving them a new heart and spirit and thus insuring that they will be faithful to him (cf. Jer. 32:39 [Ezek. 11:19]; Jer. 31:32f.). That the benefactions to Israel are merely incidental to God's concern for His reputation is repeatedly insisted upon (vss. 22, 32).

Though the gentle conclusion of the prophecy (vss. 33–38) mitigates it somewhat, it emerges as even more thoroughly theocentric than the related doctrine of the compulsory exodus in chapter 20.

THE REVIVAL OF THE DEAD BONES OF ISRAEL AND THE UNIFICATION OF ITS TWO SCEPTERS (ch. 37). Once again a popular saying ("Our bones are dried up, our hope is lost …") provides the stimulus for a prophecy, this time a prophetic vision. With the prophet's participation (as in the vision of Jerusalem's destruction, 11:4–13) "all the house of Israel," by now reduced to "very many and very dry bones," are miraculously reconstituted.

The imagery of the second oracle is related: Ezekiel is ordered to represent symbolically the reunification of the monarchy by joining two sticks, inscribed, respectively, "Judah's" and "Joseph's." The happiness of the future kingdom under God is summed up in four everlasting boons: possession of the promised land, rule by David, God's covenant of well-being, God's presence in His sanctuary among them.

The conclusion of chapter 37 brings to an end the account of Israel's restoration and renovation, and the last verse adumbrates the theme of the program of chapters 40–48. Between the two, however, appear the prophecies on Gog, presupposing the situation arrived at by the end of chapter 37.

THE INVASION OF GOG AND HIS FALL (chs. 38–39). Lured by the prospect of loot, Gog (whose name is modeled on that of King Gyges of Lydia, but who is not, here, a historical personage) and his barbarian allies will march down from the north against defenseless Israel. God, however, will destroy his great host on the mountains of Israel, thus demonstrating to Israel that He is their God, and to the nations that Israel's former misfortune resulted from God's wrath, not His weakness.

Influence of earlier prophecies on this depiction of Gog's fall is acknowledged in 38:17. The menace of a nameless northern nation occurs in Jeremiah 1:14; 4:6; and other passages; and a concerted assault of pagans, in Isaiah 29:1ff.; Micah 8:11ff.

According to Isaiah, Assyria was to perish on the mountains of Israel, not by the sword of man (14:24ff.; 31:8). In pre-exilic prophecy, however, the assault of the heathen was punishment for Israel's sins, and their collapse must precede Israel's redemption. Ezekiel adapted these unfulfilled prophecies to the exilic situation. A heathen assault could come now only against a restored Israel, and it could not be punitive. Inspired by the ancient model of Pharaoh's fall at the sea, Ezekiel conceives the motive of the assault to be the prospect of pillaging a defenseless people (Ex. 15:9); the significance of the heathen's fall is derived from the same model: to shed glory on God (Ex. 14:4; cf. Ezek. 39:13).

A Messianic Priestly Code (Kaufmann; chs. 40–48)

Following the general topical order of the priestly writings in the Pentateuch, a description of the future sanctuary, regulations for the cult and its personnel, and provisions for settlement in the land are set out in detail. Modernization and rectification of past wrongs are pervasive motives.

A VISIONARY TRANSPORTATION TO THE FUTURE TEMPLE (40:1–43:12; a counterpart to chs. 8–11). A blueprint of the Temple area is narrated as a tour through its courts, gates, and rooms, the prophet being guided by an angelic "man" with a measuring rod and line. The design appears to follow the latest form of the Solomonic Temple, with some schematization (e.g., the preference for the number 25; cf. the 25th year, 40:1). The prophet witnesses the return of the divine Majesty through the east gate, by which it had exited in 11:1, into the inner sanctum. Thence an oracle issues, condemning the past contiguity of the palace and the Temple as a defilement of the latter, and banning it for the future.

ORDINANCES OF THE CULT AND ITS PERSONNEL (43:13–46:24). These sections deal with the altar, the reorganization of the clergy (Zadokites alone to remain full priests, the rest to be degraded to menials for having served at the "idolatrous" rural sanctuaries), their regulations and perquisites, the territorial "sacred oblation" which is to be set aside for them and the temple, a brief cultic calendar. Mention of the "oblation" attracts regulations concerning the "chieftain" (king), to whom holdings on each side of the oblation are assigned (in consequence, his ancient right [or abuse] of expropriation (I Sam. 8:14) is abolished). Besides his role in the cult, his responsibility for maintaining justice is touched upon (45:9ff.).

The discontinuity and loose order of this section suggest that it is a composite that took shape piecemeal.

THE LIFE-GIVING STREAM ISSUING FROM THE TEMPLE (47 :1–12). The vision of this marvelous stream, through which the prophet is led by his angelic guide, bridges the topic of the Temple and cult and that of the land, which follows.

THE ALLOCATION OF THE LAND (7:13–48:35). The boundaries of the future Land of Israel are essentially those of Numbers 34:1–12, and consequently exclude Transjordan, historically Israelite. Another rectification is the right extended to permanently resident aliens to share in tribal holdings. Yet another is the equalization of the tribal holdings: all receive equal latitudinal strips of land with some coastal plain, some highlands, and some bit of the Jordan-Dead Sea depression. Jerusalem will bear the new name "YHWH is there" (cf. 37:26–28).

THE TEXT AND ITS INTEGRITY

According to critical scholars, the text of Ezekiel is among the most corrupt of the Bible. That technical passages (e.g., the account of the divine vehicle, the list of Tyre's merchandise, the Temple blueprint) – at best difficult to understand – should have suffered in transmission is not surprising. However, poetry too has been garbled (cf. chs. 7; 21). The Greek ("Septuagint") often provides a remedy, but at the same time raises new questions because of its frequently shorter text. In the light of the Greek, the received Hebrew text appears conflate – i.e., it exhibits variants, synonymous readings, and tags that have been collected from several versions of the prophet's words. The texts of Ezekiel and Jeremiah were peculiarly susceptible to expansion and the addition of tags owing to the fact that they are very formulaic, their idiom being modeled upon the two most highly stylized and formulaic works of early Israelite tradition – the pentateuchal priestly writings and Deuteronomy respectively.

On occasion, allusions to events later than the prophecies that contain them indicate post-event touching up (see, e.g., on ch. 12, above). Since none reflects events later than the last-dated item in the book (see below), the assumption that someone other than the prophet is responsible for them is unnecessary.

Recurrently, a piece will show a juncture at which a breakdown in form (20), a skewing of theme (16; 23; 34), or change of mood (17) appears. Repetitions (see on ch. 33), discontinuities, and erratic blocks (38–39; 40–48) argue against the originality and integrity of a piece. But whether such phenomena point to another hand rather than to later reflections or editorial activity of the prophet himself is a matter of dispute among critics. The common assumption that a circle of disciple-transmitters existed who had a large part in the shaping of the present text and its disjunctures lacks any evidential basis.

LOCALE AND HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Information supplied by contemporary records suffices to test the claim of the book that its contents fall between July 593 and April 571 B.C.E.

Just before breaking off, the Babylonian Chronicle reports that in December 594 Nebuchadnezzar called out his army against Syria – for the first time since his conquest of Jerusalem in 597. It seems hardly coincidental that (a) just at that time a new king, Psammetichus II, came to the throne of Egypt, who showed a lively interest in Syria, and (b) an anti-Babylonian conspiracy of Phoenicians and Palestinians was formed in Jerusalem in Zedekiah's fourth year – 594/3 (Jer. 27).

In the same year Jeremiah had his altercation with Hananiah ben Azzur, who prophesied the imminent fall of Babylon and the return, within two years, of King Jehoiachin and his exiles (Jer. 28).

The situation of the exiles can be gathered from Jeremiah's letter to them, which was sent about this time (Jer. 29). There, too, prophets (whom Jeremiah brands as false) encouraged in the people expectations of a speedy end to their exile – which Jeremiah was at pains to quash. He not only exhorts them to be reconciled to their captivity, he communicates to them an oracle (ch. 24) unconditionally condemning Jerusalem to a horrible end. Hope in the future of Jerusalem is futile and wrong; the future belongs to the exiles from whom the nation will be regenerated (so 24:6f.).

In 591 Psammetichus made a state visit to some shrines on the Syrian coast, probably not without political overtones. About two years later, evidently in collaboration with Egypt and its Palestinian allies, Judah revolted. Nebuchadnezzar called out a powerful army which laid siege to Jerusalem in January 588. Shortly afterward, Psammetichus died, but his successor, Apries, maintained his policy. An Egyptian force marched into Palestine, giving Jerusalem temporary relief (Jer. 37:5; 34:21). But it was soon beaten back, and the siege resumed until famine brought Jerusalem to its knees in the summer of 586.

None of the neighbors of Judah was destroyed in the revolt; Tyre and Egypt are known to have preserved their independence. During or directly after Jerusalem's ordeal, Tyre was besieged by Nebuchadnezzar for 13 years (Jos., Apion, 1.21), the end being reckoned between 575–72. The city came under Babylonian control, but was not sacked. Only in 568/7 did Nebuchadnezzar finally move against Egypt (Pritchard, Texts, 308d); the outcome of that campaign is unknown, but Egypt remained independent until its conquest by Cambyses of Persia in 525.

The whole span of Ezekiel's dates falls within the reign of Nebuchadnezzar (605/4–562). He and he alone appears in the book as the conqueror of Judah and the appointed scourge of God for the nations. Every clear historical allusion in the book is to this, or some preceding, period. Especially significant is the book's ignorance of events later than its last date. Its author lived to see the failure of his Tyre prophecy, and emended it in 571. However he did not know that not Nebuchadnezzar, but Cambyses, would conquer Egypt (525) – which would not then go into a 40-year exile; and that Babylon's end would not be sanguinary and fiery (21:36ff.) but virtually bloodless (539). Persia is mentioned only as an exotic adjunct to the forces of Tyre and Gog – indicating that the author was ignorant of what happened from 550 on, when Cyrus united Media and Persia into the nucleus of the Persian Empire. If the author(s?) of 34–48 lived later than 538, they would have seen the confuting of all their restoration prophecies and programs by events. In sum: no post-571 anachronism has left its mark in the book to necessitate the assumption of another hand than Ezekiel's.

That the locale of the prophecy is Babylonia is said several times (1:1; 3:11; 15; 11:24) and implied by the era of "our exile" (33:21; 40:1). Several prophecies have an explicitly exilic standpoint or audience (11:15ff.; 12:11ff.; 13:9; 14:22; 20:34ff.; 24:21b; note also the peculiarly Ezekelian usage of "on the soil of Israel," unnatural for someone living in the land of Israel, 12:22; 18:2; 21:7; 33:24).

At the same time, the almost exclusive focus on Jerusalem in the doom prophecies and the passionate addresses to her have given rise to the view that at least part of the prophecy originated in Jerusalem – the present exilic cast of the whole being editorial (so Rashi at 1:3, combining statements in the Mekhilta to Ex. 12:1 and 15:9). However, the lack of a convincing explanation for such an alleged editorial transfer of originally Jerusalem prophecies to Babylonia leads one to ask whether the anomaly of Ezekiel's prophecy, given its Babylonian setting, is really so implausible.

Ezekiel fails to discriminate between exiles and homelanders in his diatribes; his audience is an undifferentiated "rebellious house," i.e., they are unconscious of any deep-dyed guilt and expect shortly a turn for the better in their fortunes; and they are encouraged in this by their prophets (ch. 13). The situation corresponds to what is known from Jeremiah to have obtained in Jerusalem the year prior to Ezekiel's call (see above). However, Jeremiah's letter reveals that precisely the same situation obtained among the Babylonian exiles. So much so that Jeremiah's major concern is to create a cleavage between the exiles and the Jerusalemites with regard to their hopes for the immediate future. Both his exhortation to become reconciled to a long captivity and his prediction of an inexorable and total doom for Jerusalem are intended to make the exiles despair of Jerusalem's survival, to tear them from the hopes they attached to the city. Only so could they be brought to repentance and the realization of their destiny as the "good figs" (Jer. 24:7).

The implications of Jerusalem's fate were thus hardly less profound for the exiles than for the Jerusalemites themselves (indeed most of the exiles were from Jerusalem, II Kings 24:14ff.). Had Jeremiah been in Tel Abib he would have found no topic of more absorbing concern to his audience than the future of the city; and his letter shows what the tenor of his message to them would have been: "laments, and moaning, and woe."

An exiled Ezekiel's preoccupation with Jerusalem (not quite exclusive; his calls to repentance are directed at the exiles, cf. Jer. 24:7, end) is unexceptionable. Anomalous among prophets is his continuously addressing an audience that is apparently hundreds of miles away. But the appearance is misleading. Prophecies against foreign nations, an established genre, always involve an incongruity between the ostensible audience (the foreign nations) and the real one – the Israelites for whose ears the prophecies are really meant and for whom they bear a vital message. Similarly an exiled prophet's address to Jerusalem would have been meant for the ears of his immediate environment. Since in fact and spirit that environment was thoroughly Jerusalemite, the prophet would not have sensed any incongruity between his ostensible and his real audience. Whatever anomaly attaches to an exiled Ezekiel's prophecy arises out of the anomalous coexistence of two Jerusalemite communities hundreds of miles apart at this juncture of history.

That Ezekiel was far from Jerusalem during his career as a prophet is the most plausible explanation of his Temple vision in chapters 8–11. This congeries of strange cults and sinister plotting going on all at once at different locations in the temple precinct is evidently a montage whose elements are drawn principally, but not exclusively, from the syncretistic cult fostered by Manasseh and eradicated by Josiah (cf. II Chron. 33:7; II Kings 23:11; we do not know whether Josiah's reforms completely survived his death). As the report of a divine vision, the account had powerful significance even to an audience removed from its scene.

INFLUENCES UPON THE PROPHET

Of the man Ezekiel all that is known is that he was a priest (1:3), married to a woman who died during the siege of Jerusalem (24:15ff.). He was, presumably, among the aristocrats who were deported with King Jehoiachin in 597. By then he had acquired the priestly learning and attitudes that characterize his prophecy: knowledge of the layout of the Temple and its regimen; of the historico-religious traditions of Israel, and of the idiom of priestly writing of the Pentateuch that dominates his prose (critics dispute the direction of the influence: some attributing to Ezekiel the invention of certain priestly idioms; most allowing the influence at least of the Holiness Code (Lev. 17–26) upon the prophet – the issue is a pivot of pentateuchal criticism); and sensitivity to the "clean" and the "unclean" (e.g., his frequent allusion to menstrual uncleanness, *niddah*), and, above all, to the awesome holiness of God.

Passion and a fertile imagination, tending to the baroque, shine through his writings. He is the master of the dramatic, representational action (which has a portentous, mysteriously causal character; in 24:24 the prophet is called a prefiguring "sign," *mofet*). He was famous for his (often lurid) imagery (21:5). His actions and his images are more numerous and more complex than those of any of his predecessors. As a visionary too he has no peer; indeed he innovated a genre: the transportation-and-tour vision, so common in later apocalypse. It is no wonder that people flocked to his "entertainments" (33:32).

Ezekiel was immersed in the whole range of Israel's prophetic tradition. Archaic models inspire him – prophesying under seizure by "the hand of YHWH" (cf. Elijah [I Kings 18:46] and Elisha [II Kings 3:5]), transportation by the "wind of YHWH" (cf. Elijah, I Kings 18:12; II Kings 2:16). He is the only prophet after Moses who not only envisions the future but lays down a blueprint and a law for it. He reflects nothing of the eschatological vision of the unity of humankind under God introduced into Judahite prophecy by Isaiah (2:2ff.; 18:7; 19:24f.; Mic. 4:1ff.; Hab. 2:14; Zeph. 3:9; Jer. 3:17), but holds on to the earlier view that, while God rules over all, His special grace and holiness are, and will be, confined to Israel.

Yet Ezekiel was deeply indebted to classical, literary prophecy as well. Instances of this have been pointed out in the analysis of the contents of the book. It need be remarked here only that by far the most striking affinities of Ezekiel's prophecy are with Jeremiah. The two have in common a vocabulary and a stock of concepts and figures (eating God's words (Jer. 15:16), the harlot sisters (3:6ff.), the bad shepherds (23:1ff.), the lookout (6:17), and many more) beyond what may be explained by mere contemporaneity. That Ezekiel had heard (of) Jeremiah before 597 is to be assumed (cf. Ezek 9:4); that he continued to receive word of his prophecies afterward is likely, since such word did reach the exiles (Jer. 29:24ff.).

EZEKIEL'S MESSAGE AND ITS EFFECTS

For Ezekiel the key to the agony of Judah was to be found in the curses attached to God's covenant (as in Lev. 26; Deut. 28), which, since the age of Manasseh, had cast a pall over Judahite religious thought (cf. II Kings 21:10ff.; 22:19ff.; 24:3). As Ezekiel saw it, the entire history of Israel was one continuous breach of covenant, for which the fall was the just and predicted punishment. In the face of nihilistic cynicism (18:1, 25), he insisted on the justice, the reasonableness, and the regularity of God's dealings with men. That is the ground of his denunciation and of his call to repentance as well.

What was not anticipated in the early curses was the aspersion cast on God's power by their operation. It had been assumed that with punishment would come contrition (Lev. 26:41) and repentance (Deut. 30:1ff.), to be followed by reconciliation and restoration. That seems to be the presupposition of Ezekiel's call (to the exiles) to repent (18:30ff.). But in view of the injury to God's reputation (cf. 36:20, a projection onto others of an inner-Israelite reaction?), the idea took hold of the prophet that Israel's rehabilitation could not depend on the gamble that Israel would indeed repent. Frustrated by the people's obduracy, the prophet announced a compulsory new exodus (20:32ff.), underlying which was the necessity of vindicating God's power. Contrition would come later (20:43; cf. 16:61; 36:31) and was no longer a precondition of redemption. As for repentance, God would see to it that after the people were restored they would remain permanently reconciled with, and obedient to, God; not they, but He would make them a new heart (contrast 36:26 (= 11:19) with 18:31). Then they could enjoy eternal blessedness that would serve as a witness of the power of their God to the world.

The doctrine of God's stake in the preservation and restoration of Israel appears in the Second Isaiah (43:25; 48:9, 11); it must have contributed to the exile's will to resist assimilation to their environment and to their faith in a national future.

The effect of Ezekiel's denunciation may be detected in his audience's acknowledgment of their sin in 33:10 at the time of the fall (contrast 18:1), and even more clearly in the version given by the Chronicler of Zedekiah's reign (II Chron. 36:11ff.). II Kings 24:18ff. knows nothing of the defilement of the temple, nor does it charge the king with violating his vassal oath (Ezek. 8; 17).

Ezekiel's visions and his angelic actors in them inaugurated a literary category that flourished in post-exilic prophecy and apocalyptic (cf. Zech., Dan.). The visionary transportation-tour became the standard vehicle for apocalyptic revelations of the secrets of the cosmos.

The least influential part of Ezekiel's prophecy was his program for the future (chs. 40–48). Medieval exegetes were painfully aware of the contradictions in detail between what Ezekiel laid down and what the community of the Restoration did; they "saved" Ezekiel by declaring his program to be purely messianic (which indeed it is; see, e.g., the conflicting positions of Rashi and Kimḥi on 43:11; cf. Rashi on vss. 21ff. and Kimḥi on vs. 25 and 45:21ff.). The authorities of Second Temple times may also have thought so; in practice, they made the Torah their rule, and ignored Ezekiel's program entirely.

LATER DOUBTS ABOUT THE CIRCULATION OF THE BOOK

The divergence in moral theology between Ezekiel 18:4 and Exodus 20:5b did not embarrass later authorities; it was but one of several matters of doctrine that Moses ordained and a later prophet abrogated (so Mak. 24a). Divergences in law were another matter, and by the first century C.E. the many conflicts between the Torah and laws in Ezekiel's program had become so worrisome that withdrawal of the book from circulation was being considered (*bikkeshu lignoz et Sefer Yeḥezkel*). Only Ḥananiah ben Hezekiah's demonstration that the conflicts could be reconciled kept the book available (Shab. 13b). The possibility was evidently more important than the specific reconciliations, for barely a trace of Ḥananiah's efforts was transmitted (Sifre to Deut. 25:15; cf. Men. 45a).

Another argument for withdrawing the book was the danger surrounding inquiry into the divine vehicle described in chapters 1 and 10. A ramified theosophical doctrine, taught only to a select few, was anchored in that vision (*Ma'aseh Merkavah*; "account of the chariot"; Ḥag. 2:1). The risk inherent in it of overstepping proper bounds is illustrated by a report of a child who "was looking into *ḥashmal* (Ḥag. 13a), when fire leaped forth from *hashmal* and consumed him." Once again the book was saved from withdrawal by Ḥananiah who pointed out that such children were very rare (Ḥag. 13a). The first chapter of the book remained problematic, and the anonymous opinion of the Mishnah is that it is not to be recited as a *haftarah* (Meg. 4:10). There is a similar stricture upon Ezekiel 16, because of its insult to Jerusalem. Neither is normative and chapter 1 is customarily the *haftarah* of (the first day of) Shavuot. Ezekiel is not referred to by name in the New Testament but the influence of the book on the book of Revelation is unmistakable.

[Moshe Greenberg]

EZEKIEL IN THE *AGGADAH*

Four aspects of Ezekiel's prophetic career figure most prominently in rabbinic literature:

(1) The divine chariot revelation (chap. 1), which became the basis not only of Jewish mysticism but also of various kinds of esoteric speculations (see *Merkabah Mysticism), and its study was therefore restricted within the rabbinic school curriculum (Ḥag. 2:1; Tosef., Ḥag. 2:1), and excluded from the synagogue *haftarah* reading (Meg. 4:10); but according to Tosef., Meg. 4:34, it could be recited to the public, though apparently without the Aramaic translation; subsequently it was introduced as the prophetical reading for (the first day of) Shavuot.

(2) The fierce denunciations of Israel which might be exploited by the Church for anti-Jewish polemical purposes and were therefore partly unacceptable to the rabbis.

(3) The resurrection of the dry bones (chap. 37), which was a potentially favorite theme for sectarian speculations and was therefore played down by a number of rabbis.

(4) Ezekiel's vision of the future temple and his priestly laws, which appear to contradict the pentateuchal rules and very nearly led to the exclusion of the Book of Ezekiel from the canon (Shab. 13b, and parallels).

The general popularity of Ezekiel's revelation in non-rabbinic circles was bound to dampen rabbinic enthusiasm. Although many of the leading talmudic scholars, from the first through fourth centuries, continued to study and expound mystical concepts based on Ezekiel's *Ma'aseh Merkavah* (cf. Tosef., Ḥag. 2:1ff.; TJ, Ḥag. 2:1, 77a), there was a sharp reaction in Palestine from the second century onward regarding certain kinds of esoteric speculations of an apocalyptic nature. Of four rabbis who entered the heavenly "garden" only one, R. *Akiva, "ascended in peace and descended in peace." The other three were spiritually harmed by their spiritual adventures, which were henceforth strongly, though not always successfully, discouraged (Tosef., Ḥag. 2:3ff., and parallels; cf. Hag. 2:1). It is interesting to note that Ezekiel's detailed description of the heavenly chariot was contrasted unfavorably not only with the prophecies of Moses and Samuel – "whatever he saw he related; hence Scripture calls him (disparagingly) 'son of man'" (Tanḥ., Ẓav 13) – but also with Isaiah's restrained revelation (Isa. 6:1ff.). Ezekiel was therefore likened to "a villager who saw the king," while Isaiah resembled "a townsman who saw the king" (Ḥag. 13b).

Although the Midrash emphasizes that God had commanded the heavens to open before Ezekiel (Gen. R. 5:5) – perhaps as a counterweight to similar claims on behalf of Jesus – according to R. Eliezer, "a maidservant saw at the [Red] Sea what Ezekiel and all the other prophets never saw" (Mekh., *Shirah*, 3; cf. Mekh., *Yitro, Ba-hodesh*, 3). R. Eliezer, whose early contacts with Jesus' disciples made him especially wary of sectarian ideas (Av. Zar. 16b–17a; et al.), was anxious to emphasize the immense revelation to all Israel rather than to a select few. In line with his "nationalistic" tendency, he prohibited the *haftarah* reading of chapter 16 (on Jerusalem's "abominations"), sharply rebuking a student who had ignored his interdict (Meg. 4:10; Tosef Meg. 4:34; et al.).

R. Eliezer somewhat reduced the significance of Ezekiel's resurrection of the dry bones, pointing out that "the dead whom Ezekiel revived stood up, recited a song [i.e., of praise], and [immediately] died" (Sanh. 92b). R. Judah apparently regarded the story as an allegorical vision; but other rabbis fully accepted the resurrection miracle.

In later midrashic literature, Ezekiel is praised for his love of Israel; hence he was deemed worthy to perform the resuscitation miracle (SER 5:23). He was criticized, however, for his initial doubting of the possibility of such a miracle. Because of his lack of faith, he was doomed to die on foreign soil (PdRE 33).

The *halakhah* of the Book of Ezekiel deviates on a number of points from the Torah. Although attempts were made to reconcile the contradictions (most notably by Hananiah b. Hezekiah who saved the canonicity of the book), a number of cases were left to be "interpreted by Elijah in the future" (Men. 45a, and parallels). R. Yose b. Hanina, a third century *amora*, frankly conceded that Ezekiel's doctrine of personal responsibility (Ezek. 18:3–4) was irreconcilable with Moses' teaching concerning "visiting the iniquity of the father upon the children and upon the children's children" (Ex. 34:7, et al.; Mak. 24a).

According to R. *Simeon b. Yoḥai, Ezekiel was consulted by Ḥananiah, Mishael, and Azariah whether to bow down to Nebuchadnezzar's idol. He referred them to Isaiah 26:20, in effect advising them to hide and flee. They refused to accept his counsel and prepared to die for the sanctification of God's name. Despite Ezekiel's tearful pleading, God refused to promise His aid, though saving them in the end (Song. R. 7:8). The Midrash reflects the conflicting opinions on the preferable Jewish reaction to the Hadrianic persecution. Ezekiel represents' the moderate compromising view such as that of R. Yose b. Kisma (cf. Av. Zar. 18a), while the course of martyrdom followed by R. Akiva and R. Ḥanina b. Teradyon, among others (Ber. 61b; Av. Zar. 18a), was preferred by R. Simeon (a disciple of R. Akiva), who fearlessly braved death when he demanded to be instructed by his imprisoned master (Pes. 112a), and risked his life again when he openly denounced the Romans (Shab. 33b).

[Moses Aberbach / Stephen G. Wald (2nd ed.)]

EZEKIEL'S TOMB

According to a tradition this was located at a village 20 miles (32 km.) south of the town of Ḥilla in central Iraq. The Arabs refer to Ezekiel as to other prophets as "Dhū al-Kifl" (various etymologies have been suggested such as "doubly rewarded"; "guarantor"?) for the responsibility that he bore for the people of Israel. The tomb is mentioned for the first time in the epistle of R. *Sherira Gaon (c. 986), and a detailed description is given by *Benjamin of Tudela about 1170, *Pethahiah of Regensburg (about the same time), and later by other travelers, Jewish and non-Jewish. It is situated in a manmade cave, covered by a cupola. Over the cupola a magnificent outer tomb is built, coinciding in its linear dimensions with the lower tomb, and it is at this outer tomb that the pilgrims pray. In the room adjoining Ezekiel's tomb there are five tombs purported to contain the remains of five *geonim*. Another room, with a window, is referred to as "Elijah's Cave," and a third room contains the tomb of Menahem Ṣāliḥ *Daniel, a well-known philanthropist whose family was entrusted with guarding the tomb. The walls bear various inscriptions, including three poems in the Arab-Spanish meter composed by the Babylonian poet R. Abdallah Khuḍayr and in honor of donors. Pilgrimages to the tomb were usually made in the late spring, especially on Shavuot. A special parchment scroll, "the Scroll of Ezekiel," was read, containing passages from the Book of Ezekiel and written on behalf of the ascent to heaven of the souls of the departed. In 1860 the Muslims made an attempt to wrest ownership of the tomb from the Jews, but a government emissary from Constantinople decided in favor of the Jews.

[Abraham Ben-Yaacob]

IN ISLAM

The name of the prophet Ezekiel (Ḥiẓqīl) is not mentioned in the *Koran. However Sura 2:244 ("Dost thou not look at those who left their homes by thousands, for fear of death; and God said to them 'Die,' and then He quickened them again …") alludes to Ezekiel 37:1–10. According to *Qiṣaṣ al-Anbiyā'* (Legends of the Prophets), the mother of Ḥiẓqīl ibn Būdhī was barren (an allusion to Hannah, the mother of Samuel the prophet), and he is therefore referred to as "the son of the old woman." It was he who resuscitated the dead who were killed by the plague (al-ṭā'ūn).

[Haïm Z'ew Hirschberg]

IN THE ARTS

Ezekiel and his prophetic vision have not inspired many works of literary importance. Apart from Barbara Macandrew's *Ezekiel and Other Poems* (1871), a lyric by Emma *Lazarus, "The New Ezekiel" (in *Songs of a Semite*, 1882), predicting the Jewish people's national revival in Ereẓ Israel, works on the theme include a poem by Franz *Werfel, *Ezechiel, der Prophet* (1953), a tale of the Babylonian captivity by Lieselotte Hoffmann, and Albert *Cohen's one-act play *Ezéchiel* (1933), a dialogue representing the struggle between prophetic vision and reality.

In art the important subjects drawn from the Book of Ezekiel are the apocalyptic visions – the Chariot (Merkavah) with fiery wheels, the resurrection of the dry bones, and the locked gate. There are also some scenes showing Ezekiel undergoing various ordeals – eating a scroll, lying prostrate in expiation of the sins of Israel and Judah, and cutting his hair and beard and weighing them in the balance. The prophet is usually shown with the fiery chariot or the double wheel, taken as a symbol of the two Testaments. Sometimes he also holds a scroll reading "Porta clausa est, non aperietur" (44:2). In the third-century frescoes of the synagogue at *Dura-Europos there is an outstanding cycle of scenes from the Book of Ezekiel. There are representations of the men slaughtering the people of Jerusalem (9:1–6), the prophet taken up by the hair and transported to the Valley of the Dry Bones, and the winds breathing life into the bones. The sixth-century Rabbula Gospels (Laurentiana, Florence) portray Ezekiel in conjunction with Jesus and David. In Oriental art he appears in frescoes in Greece (Hosios David, Salonika, fifth century), and in the church of Bachkovo, Bulgaria (12th century), and frequently in icons in those lands influenced by the Byzantine tradition. In the West, Ezekiel is first encountered in illumination, as in the ninth-century Bible of San Paolo Fuori le Mura. The earliest Western monastic example is the fresco in San Vicenzo de Galliano (c. 1007). There is a 12th-century statue by Benedetto Antelami on the facade of Borgo San Donnino, Fidenza, and a cycle in the lower church of Schwarzheindorf, near Bonn, Germany. Thirteenth-century portrayals in French churches are on the portal of Saint-Firmin, Amiens, on a window, at Bourges, and in La Sainte-Chapelle, Paris. The vision of the divine chariot also appears in Lesnovo, Serbia (14th century), and in the Pitti Palace, Florence. The Valley of the Dry Bones appears in miniature painting from the ninth to the 14th centuries in both East and West; it culminates in the Signorelli fresco in the cathedral of Orvieto and the Tintoretto painting in the Scuola di San Rocco, Venice. Michelangelo's famous representation of Ezekiel among other prophets of Israel appears on the ceiling of the Sistine Chapel (1508–10). In the early 19th century the English poet and artist William *Blake produced a fine engraving and a painting of the prophet.

Ezekiel's vision, in contrast to that of Isaiah, mentions only "sounds" and "voices," but even this unspecific conception would seem to call for some musical embodiment which, however, must inevitably fall short of the sublime suggestions in the biblical source. This is, for example, true of cantorial interpretations of the *Ve-ha-Ofanim* prayer and of the many *ofan* poems (see **Piyyut*). In art music the major composers have generally avoided the subject of Ezekiel's vision, whereas that of Isaiah (with its explicit "tonal" description and established place in Christian liturgy) offers far more promising material to the composer. The two visions, combined in the Prologue to Goethe's *Faust*, have an ambitious setting in the prologue act of Arrigo Boito's *Mefistofele* (1868, 1875^{3}). The Valley of the Dry Bones is described by Franz Liszt in his *Ossa arida* for choir and organ (1879) and a symphonic work, *The Valley of Dry Bones*, was composed by A.W. *Binder (1935). The biblical text has also been set by several Israel composers, generally for choir. In a very different musical tradition the Afro-American spiritual "Ezekiel Saw the Wheel," with its simple rhythmic tune, is interesting for its text: this swiftly turns from the description of "a wheel in a wheel – way up in the middle of the sky" to criticism of the behavior of certain members of the congregation. Another popular spiritual, "Dry Bones," which has often been effectively arranged for vocal or instrumental ensembles, transforms the terrifying biblical scene into a syncopated, jocular description of the gradual joining together of the bones and of their subsequent separation in reverse order.

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EZEKIEL, ABRAHAM EZEKIEL (1757–1806), English artist, son of the silversmith Abraham Ezekiel (d. 1799) who helped to build the synagogue in Exeter in 1763 together with his brother Benjamin. The son, practicing as a silversmith, watchmaker, and scientific optician, was a successful miniature and portrait painter enjoying a high reputation locally. He also engraved portraits by Opie (1783), Reynolds (1795), and others and executed several bookplates.

His son, SOLOMON (Isaac) EZEKIEL (1781–1867), a plumber and tinsmith by trade, settled in Penzance in Cornwall. He founded "The Penzance Hebrew Society for Promoting the Diffusion of Religious Knowledge," printed (1844–47) the lectures on Abraham and Isaac which he gave before it, and published an incisive letter (1820) which prevented the establishment of a Conversionist Society in Penzance.

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[Cecil Roth]

EZEKIEL, APOCRYPHAL BOOKS OF. Josephus (Ant., 10:79) appears to refer to two books of Ezekiel, one of which was presumably an apocryphal work. Reference to such a work is also made in the stichometry of Nicephorus, patriarch of Constantinople (806–15), and the pseudo-Athanasian canon list. Fragments of an Ezekiel book are preserved in various ancient sources. The longest is the story of the blind man and the lame found in Epiphanius (c. 315–402; *Adversus Haereses*, 64:70, 5, ed. Hall). It is a parable designed to prove the resurrection of both body and soul by demonstrating their interdependence. A lame and a blind man conspired together to rob a king's orchard, the blind man using his legs to transport the lame man who guided his steps. An almost identical story serves a similar function in rabbinic sources (Sanh. 91a–b; cf. Mekh. Shirata, 2; Lev. R. 4:5). A second fragment is to be found in Clement of Rome's (Pope Clement I 92?–100) *Epistula ad Corinthios,* 83 (PG, 1 (1886), 226), opening "Repent, House of Israel, of your lawlessnesses." This fragment is of a strongly prophetic character based on the language of biblical prophecy. It is also quoted in part by Church Father Clement of Alexandria (*Paedagogus* 1:91, 2; PG, vol. 7, 357). A third tiny fragment is preserved in Clement of Alexandria's *Quis dives salvetur?* (40:2; PG, 9 (1890), 645) and it may belong to the same "prophetic" Ezekiel apocryphon. It seems to be difficult, however, to conceive of the story of the lame and the blind as belonging to the same work, and either an addition or two Ezekiel apocrypha are involved. Another short sentence attributed to Ezekiel occurs in various forms. In Epiphanius, *Adversus Haereses* (30:30, 1; PG, 41 (1863), 458), the form is found "and the heifer shall bear and they shall say, 'She has not borne.'" This is employed in Christological contexts and it is difficult to discern its original import. Various scholars also assign the above quotation in Clement of Rome *Epistula ad Corinthios* (1:23; PG, vol. 1, p. 260) to an Ezekiel book. Some fragments of a Greek Ezekiel apocryphon were discovered on a papyrus and published by Campbell Bonner in 1940. These fragments include one passage which is quoted by Clement of Alexandria (*Paedagogus*, 1:84, 2–4; PG, 8 (1891), 512) as from Ezekiel, which confirms their identification. This document too bears the prophetic stamp observed in some of the above quotations and it may derive from the same work.

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[Michael E. Stone]

EZEKIEL, JACOB (1812–1899), U.S. communal leader. Ezekiel was born in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, and was apprenticed as a bookbinder. In 1833 he moved to Baltimore, where he helped to establish the Hebrew Benevolent Society. The next year he moved to Richmond, Virginia, where he entered the dry goods business, and became active in Jewish affairs. In 1841 Ezekiel took issue with President Tyler's reference to Americans as a "Christian" people, and Tyler acknowledged Ezekiel's protest as well founded. In 1845 Ezekiel protested local ordinances that severely punished violators of the Sunday blue laws and brought about their repeal. A revised code adopted in Virginia in 1849, as a result of Ezekiel's campaigning, protected citizens who observed the Jewish Sabbath from incurring penalties for violating Sunday laws. Ezekiel was a leading protester against seeming U.S. acquiescence to Swiss anti-Jewish discrimination which helped to bring about a modification of the U.S.-Swiss treaty in 1857. Moving to Cincinnati in 1869, Ezekiel served as secretary to the board of governors of Hebrew Union College from 1876 to 1896. His son was the sculptor Moses Jacob *Ezekiel, whose *Ecce Homo,* a bronze sculpture of a suffering Christ, done about 1899, was included in the exhibition "The Hand and the Spirit; Religious Art in America, 1700–1900," which was shown at the University Art Museum, Berkeley, in 1972.

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EZEKIEL, MORDECAI JOSEPH BRILL (1899–1974), U.S. agricultural economist. Ezekiel, who was born in Richmond, Virginia, received a bachelor of science degree in agriculture from Maryland Agricultural College (1918), a master of science degree from the University of Minnesota (1923), and a Ph.D. in economics from the Robert Brookings Graduate School of Economics and Government (1926).

Ezekiel spent his career in federal government and United Nations service. He was statistical assistant in agriculture to the U.S. Census Bureau from 1919 to 1922, when he joined the farm management division of the Department of Agriculture. From 1930 to 1933 he was assistant chief economist of the Federal Farm Board. In 1932 he formulated the details of what was to become the Agriculture Adjustment Administration and helped prepare a draft of the Agricultural Adjustment Act. Ezekiel was also involved with the founding conferences and early activities of what was to become the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization. From 1933 to 1944 he was economic adviser to the secretary of agriculture. He returned to the Department of Agriculture for two years and then spent 15 years in the economic division of the Food and Agriculture Organization of the UN (1947–62), the final year as assistant director-general. In 1962 he became chief of the UN division of program control staff in the State Department's agency for international development. He retired from the FAO in 1962 to take a position with the United States Agency for International Development. He served as chief of the United Nations Division of this agency until his retirement in 1967. During the last years of his life, Ezekiel took occasional assignments as consultant. In 1969 he worked for several months with the FAO, helping to prepare a report entitled "Indicative Plan for World Agricultural Development."

Ezekiel's major interests besides agricultural economics were economic development and econometrics, subjects on which he contributed many articles to professional periodicals and wrote a number of books. Among his published works are *Methods of Correlation Analysis* (1930, 1941^2); *$2,500 a Year – from Scarcity to Abundance* (1936); *Jobs for All Through Industrial Expansion* (1939); and the F.A.O. publication *Uses of Agricultural Surpluses to Finance Economic Development in Underdeveloped Countries – A Pilot Study in India* (1955). He was also co-author and editor of *Towards World Prosperity* (1947).

[Joachim O. Ronall / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

EZEKIEL, MOSES (1891–1969), Indian botanist. Born in Nagpur, Ezekiel was economic botanist to the government of Gwalior (1918–22), professor of botany at Wilson College, Bombay, and later principal of the College of Science at Nadiad, Gujarat (1947–50). From 1952 he headed the biology department at Petlad College. His works include *Animal Histology* (1927), *A Handbook of Plant Sociology* (1947), and *Three Great Evils – Contamination, Adulteration and Poisoning of Foodstuffs* (1947). Ezekiel, who was active in Jewish life, also *wrote The History and Culture of the Bene-Israel in India* (1948).

[Mordecai L. Gabriel]

EZEKIEL, MOSES JACOB (1844–1917), U.S. sculptor. Ezekiel was born in Richmond, Virginia, and his sculpture is imbued with elements of his Southern and Jewish roots. As a youth he modeled *Cain Receiving the Curse of the Almighty* and *Moses Receiving the Law on Mount Sinai*, both of which are now lost. He attended the Virginia Military Institute, and served in the Confederate army during the American Civil War. After the war, he studied art in Cincinnati and Berlin in the late 1860s.

His bas-relief *Israel* (1873), in which Israel is represented allegorically, won the Michael Beer Prix de Rome. A 1904 replica of the lost original resides at the Skirball Museum Cincinnati at Hebrew Union College. The first foreigner to receive the prize, Ezekiel embarked on two years of study in Rome beginning in 1874, where he then settled permanently. His studio in the Baths of Diocletian became a fashionable gathering place for artisans of all persuasions as well as royalty and politicians. The B'nai B'rith commissioned his enormous marble group *Religious Liberty* for the Centennial Exposition of 1876 (National Museum of American Jewish History, Philadelphia). This was one of the earliest of several monuments he made for the United States as well as for European countries. In 1888 he designed the seal for the recently established Jewish Publication Society of America. Inscribed in the seal, which shows Jerusalem with a Shield of David, is the motto "Israel's mission is peace." He also executed portrait busts, including bronze heads of Robert E. Lee (c. 1886, Virginia Military Institute Museum, Lexington) and Rabbi Isaac Mayer *Wise (1899, Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati). The king of Italy knighted Ezekiel in 1907. Although he lived most of his adult life in Rome, his will specified that his body return to America after his death. He was buried at the foot of a Confederate memorial he designed for Arlington National Cemetery (1914). His autobiography, *Memoirs from the Baths of Diocletian*, was published posthumously in 1975.

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[Samantha Baskind (2nd ed.)]

EZEKIEL, NISSIM (1924–2004), Indian poet, critic, social commentator, and editor. Ezekiel was a member of Bombay's *Bene Israel community. His father was a distinguished editor, professor of botany and zoology at Bombay University, and principal of a number of colleges. Nissim Ezekiel was the father of post-Independence Indian poetry. Born in Bombay (Mumbai) he studied first at Bombay University, taking his M.A. in 1947, and then at Birkbeck College, London. He later worked on *The Illustrated Weekly of India* (1952–54) and later headed the English department of the Bombay College of Arts, where he was professor of English and reader in American literature. Ezekiel published literary reviews and verse collections, including *A Time to Change and Other Poems* (1957), *The Third* (1958), and *The Unfinished Man* (1960). Some of his verse appeared in British poetry journals. He was brought up in a secular milieu and even as a child preferred the poetry of T.S. Eliot, W.B. Yeats, and Ezra Pound to the English poetry being written in India. His poetic engagements paralleled those of Ted Hughes, Philip Larkin, and other postwar British poets but he developed his own voice marked by tenderness and irony. His use of Indian English vernacular after the 1960s gave his poetic language a rich humorous seam to draw on. Ezekiel received the Sahitya Akademi award in 1983 and the Padma-Shri, India's highest civilian honor, in 1988.

[Tudor Parfitt (2nd ed.)]

EZEKIEL BEN REUBEN MANASSEH (d. 1851), Baghdad philanthropist who distributed large amounts of money for charitable purposes in Iraq and Ereẓ Israel. In 1840 Ezekiel established the Baghdad rabbinical academy, named Bet Zilkha and also Midrash Abi Manshi after its benefactor. The yeshivah was first headed by R. Abdallah *Somekh and provided the students with all their needs. Ezekiel also built in Baghdad the "new synagogue" in 1847, the "small synagogue" in 1849, and Kneset Yeḥezkel in Safed, which was named after him (it now bears the name of R. Moses *Alshekh). He also donated half of the construction costs of the Bet Ya'akov synagogue, better known as Hurbat R. Yehudah he-Ḥasid, in the Old City of Jerusalem. After his death, his sons Manasseh and Sason continued his philanthropic work.

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[Abraham Ben-Yaacob]

EZEKIEL FEIVEL BEN ZE'EV WOLF (1755–1833), Lithuanian preacher, known as the "*maggid* of Deretschin." Ezekiel was born in Planaga, Lithuania. In his youth he was appointed preacher in his native town and, subsequently, in Deretschin. At the age of 19 he was an itinerant preacher in the Jewish communities of Galicia, Hungary, and Germany (where he remained for some time in Breslau). In Vilna he made the acquaintance of Elijah b. Solomon (the Gaon of Vilna) and through him, of Solomon Zalman of Volozhin, brother of *Ḥayyim b. Isaac of Volozhin. Solomon made a deep impression upon Ezekiel, who wrote his biography (*Toledot Adam*, in 2 parts (Dyhernfurth, 1801–09); frequently reprinted). This contains details of Solomon's life and his teachings as well as stories current about him, and is a unique work for its period, reflecting the widening of the horizons of Hebrew literature in Lithuania at the end of the 18th century. Ezekiel sharply censures those rabbis who neglect study of the Scriptures as a result of their preoccupation with the Talmud and codes. In 1811 Ezekiel accepted an invitation to become the "*maggid*" (official preacher) of Vilna, a post in which he served until his death.

Other works by Ezekiel are *Musar Haskel* (Dyhernfurth, 1790), an exposition of *Hilkhot De'ot* and *Teshuvah* of Maimonides, and a commentary *Be'urei Maharif* (i.e., Morenu ha-Rav Ezekiel Feivel) on the *Midrash Rabbah* to Genesis, Exodus, and Leviticus, which was published in Vilna together with the text in 1878. A third volume of *Toledot Adam* remains unpublished.

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[Abraham David]

EZEKIEL THE POET, Hellenistic Jewish writer of tragedies. *Eusebius quotes from a unique Greek tragedy on a biblical theme, entitled *Exagoge* ("The Exodus"), written by Ezekiel "the writer of tragedies" (*Praeparatio Evangelica* 9:28), giving *Alexander Polyhistor as his source. The fragments are the only surviving example of a Jewish drama in antiquity that is consciously patterned after Greek drama.

The play begins with a long soliloquy by Moses containing an exposition of the events that have led up to the first scene. Moses tells how the Jews came to Egypt, how they were oppressed, and how Moses was cast into the water and saved by Pharaoh's daughter (1–31). He then tells how he learned about his childhood, avenged a kinsman who was being beaten by an Egyptian, and fled from Egypt for fear of Pharaoh's retaliation (32–58). The action of the play apparently begins with Moses watching the seven fair daughters of Raquel ("Reuel" – Jethro, cf. Ex. 2:18, 18:1) and with Zipporah telling him that he is in the land of Libya, which "is held by Ethiopians" but ruled by her father (59–65). Later, in reply to a question of a certain Chum, Zipporah says that she is wedded to the stranger (66 ff.). Moses tells of a dream in which he saw a kingly person seated on Mount Sinai. In his dream, the throne was offered to Moses and he accepted it (68–82). Moses' father-in-law interprets this dream to mean that Moses will be a leader and a judge, who will know all things past, present, and future (83–89). Moses then sees the burning bush and inquires about it (90–95). God tells Moses to remove his shoes and have no fear, for He is God. He then appoints Moses His messenger to Pharaoh to tell him that he will lead the people of Israel out of Egypt (96–112). Moses complains that he lacks the eloquence for the task (113–5), at which God says that Aaron will speak for him (116–9). God then tells Moses to cast down his rod and turns it into a snake. He tells him to put his hand into his bosom and it (his hand) becomes leprous (120–31). There is a description by God of the plagues that He intends to send on the Egyptians and He tells Moses to instruct the Hebrew people about the Passover (132–92). A messenger relates the destruction of the Egyptians and how the Hebrews were saved (193–242). The last two fragments depict the oasis at Elim with its 12 springs of water and its 70 palm trees (243–53) and the wonderful bird that appeared there (254–69). This latter description is probably in the voice of a messenger sent by Moses to find a resting place.

From this summary it can be seen how closely the author follows the biblical account in the Book of Exodus. The vocabulary, too, reflects the Septuagint. Some elements, however, seem to be original to the author, or else derive from aggadic material, as, for example, the character of Chum in line 66 ff.; the dream of Moses in line 68–82; the details of the destruction of the Egyptians, line 193–242; and the appearance of the bird (the Phoenix?) in lines 254–69.

The 269 verses of iambic trimeters that have been preserved represent a considerable portion of the play. This indicates that the author, influenced directly or indirectly by Euripides, was fluent in Greek and adept at writing verse. Aside from being a late example of ancient Greek tragedy, the play may be seen as an anticipation of the later medieval passion plays. Like these its primary function was probably to exploit the existing profane form as a vehicle toward familiarizing its audience with sacred history. The dependence of the work on the Septuagint means that it was written not earlier than the beginning of the second century B.C.E., while the latest date is the middle of the first century B.C.E., when it is mentioned by Alexander Polyhistor. Eusebius' reference to Ezekiel "the writer of tragedies" (an epithet also found in Clement of Alexandria) suggests the existence of more examples of this genre by the same author.

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[Marshall S. Hurwitz]

EẒ ḤAYYIM, an Orthodox educational institution in Jerusalem, including a kindergarten, a *talmud torah*, a preparatory yeshivah ("*yeshivah ketanah*"), a yeshivah, and a **kolel*. During the Turkish period Eẓ Ḥayyim served as the central Ashkenazi educational institution of the old *yishuv*, particularly for the youth of the Perushim community (the descendants of the disciples of Elijah, Gaon of Vilna), the ḥasidim having established the Ḥayyei Olam Yeshivah.

Ez̦ Ḥayyim was established as a *talmud torah* for orphans in the early 1850s at a meeting held in the women's gallery of the "Menahem Zion" Bet Midrash in the courtyard of the Ḥurvah Synagogue, and reflected the growth of the Ashkenazi community, particularly with regard to children. Its budget was originally entirely dependent upon direct allocations from the Kolel Jerusalem in Vilna and R. Samuel *Salant was appointed its head. In 1855, a "Ḥevrat Talmud Torah" was founded in Jerusalem which assumed responsibility for the institution under the leadership of R. Salant and R. Isaiah *Bardaki. The Ḥevrah imposed indirect taxes on the Ashkenazi community, in the form of a fixed percentage from weddings, circumcisions, and synagogue offerings, to augment those funds which were received from abroad.

The regulations provided inter alia that if a pupil showed no learning ability by the time he reached the age of 13 he was to be taught a trade, the leaders of the *yishuv* thus accepting, at least in principle, the idea of occupational training.

In 1858 there arrived in Jerusalem R. Saul Benjamin Ha-Kohen Radzkowitz, a man of considerable organizational ability and imagination, who took upon himself the task of establishing Ez̦ Ḥayyim on a firm footing and extending its activities. His unconventional activities, however, gave rise to fears on the part of the conservative leadership that the institution might collapse and he was dismissed, a step which gave rise to an unusually violent controversy.

At first the curriculum was strictly confined to religious subjects, which led to considerable criticism, as a result of which two hours daily were devoted to writing and arithmetic, in 1867. The critics were still not satisfied. Ez̦ Ḥayyim came to be regarded as the symbol of old-fashioned conservatism and in response to its opposition to changes in the curriculum the first modern schools in Jerusalem were opened (Lemel, the Alliance Israélite, and Evelina de Rothschild, etc.).

World War I cut off the sources of income from abroad and the British occupation in 1917 found the institution in a perilous state. Funds from the United States were in the hands of the Zionists, who opposed its educational approach in principle. The Committee of Delegates, which had control of the distribution of aid to the Jews of Erez̦ Israel, applied great pressure on Ez̦ Ḥayyim to institute comprehensive reforms in methods and curriculum, including Hebrew as the language of instruction. The pressure was resisted, and after much effort Ez̦ Ḥayyim succeeded in establishing anew its connections with the Diaspora, thus ensuring its continuation.

Up to and including the beginning of the Mandatory period Ez̦ Ḥayyim was one of the three institutions which had the deciding voice in the election of the leadership of the old *yishuv*, the other two being the Kolelim Committee and the Bikkur Ḥolim Hospital. In 1919 it was one of the deciding factors in the election of Rabbi A.I. *Kook as chief rabbi of Jerusalem.

During the Mandatory period the prestige of Ez̦ Ḥayyim diminished even among the old Ashkenazi *yishuv* with the founding of new schools and yeshivot. Nevertheless the energetic leadership of R. Jehiel Michel *Tykocinski ensured not only its survival but even its expansion. In 1929 its center moved to a new and spacious building adjacent to the Maḥaneh Yehudah market while branches were established in all the old suburbs of Jerusalem.

Despite its curriculum certain changes have taken place, the most outstanding of which is the use of Hebrew in the branches in non-religious subjects, although in the main building Yiddish is still the language of instruction even in non-religious subjects.

As of June 2005, Ez̦ Ḥayyim had some 1,000 pupils, ages three to seventeen. Located on three campuses around Jerusalem, including the original building near the Maḥaneh Yehudah market, Ez̦ Ḥayyim also had a *kolel* of approximately 150 young married men (*avrekhim*) who received financial support. It had a dining room, an aid fund for the needy, and a library of some 20,000 volumes.

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[Menachem Friedman]

EZINE, district of Çanakkale, Turkey. Ezine was situated in the vicinity of many important cities like Troy, Neadria, and Alexandria Troas. The Ottoman domination in this region began in the 1350s. Ezine became an important settlement point owing to its fertile land and trade routes. The first Jewish presence in Ezine can be traced back to 1845 when five "alien" (*yabanciyan*) Jews were reported. Overpopulation of the Jews in Çanakkale brought same families to Ezine Centrum as well as to other parts of the district, such as Bayramiç, Kumkale, and Yenişehir in the late 19th century. The Jews lived in a small quarter composed of 40 households and today known as *Yahudi Sokağı*. In 1894 there were 130 Jews in Ezine, 60 in Bayramiç, 24 in Kumkale, and 13 in Yenişehir. During the Gallipoli Campaign of World War I, the Jewish population in Ezine temporarily increased due to mass flight from the battlefields. The Jewish community in Ezine was attached to Çanakkale for religious purposes until the Gallipoli Campaign. Thus, it had neither a synagogue nor a private cemetery. Ezine Jews were engaged in peddling, export of grain, bonito, leather, and cotton, butchery, jewelry, green groceries, money-changing, and viniculture. The Hakim, Kohen, Yuday, Ruso, and Elinda families were the best known Jewish families in Ezine. After the establishment of the Turkish Republic, the Jewish population in Ezine began to diminish. Official records show that in 1927 there were only 31 Jews. The small Jewish presence lasted until the 1960s. Among the Jewish cultural heritage are a few Jewish houses and one synagogue whose building later served as a place to remove seeds from cotton and today is abandoned.

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logical and Topographical Study (1973), 316, 374–82; V. Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, 3 (1894), 696, 763–70.

[M. Mustafa Kulu (2nd ed.)]

EZION-GEBER (Heb. עֶצְיוֹן גָּבֶר (גֶּבֶר)), first mentioned in the Bible as one of the camping sites of the Israelite tribes on their way to Canaan (Num. 33:35–36).

As such, it is mentioned next to Elath in Deuteronomy 2:8. From the biblical narrative of the Exodus (Num. 21:4), it may be deduced that Ezion-Geber was somewhere on the Gulf of Elath. Its location on the Gulf of Elath and function as a port and shipyard during the reign of Solomon is clearly stated in I Kings 9:26. II Chronicles 8:17 indicates that it was not Solomon who founded Ezion-Geber and Elath. According to archaeological evidence it was most probably the Edomites or Midianites as early as the end of the Late Bronze Age (see *Timna). The port and shipyard of Ezion-Geber are again mentioned in connection with the unsuccessful attempt by Jehoshaphat in the ninth century B.C.E. to renew the gold route to Ophir (I Kings 22:49). After this, it disappears from the biblical annals, and in the eighth century B.C.E., there is mention only of the struggle between the kings of Judah and Edom for the possession of the city of Elath.

In 1934 F. Frank discovered Tell al-Khalayfa, a low mound approximately ⅓ mi. (c. 0.6 km.) north of the shores of the Gulf of Elath, between modern Eilat and Akaba, and he identified it with Ezion-Geber. N. Glueck subsequently excavated the site (1938–40) and identified it with Ezion-Geber and Elath, assuming a change of the former name to Elath in the days of the kings of Judah. According to him, the site was not only the Solomonic port, but also an important industrial center for the manufacture of copper and iron tools, which served as export goods for the trading ventures of Solomon. Recent excavations in the Arabah and the discovery of an early Iron Age I port installation in the bay and on the island Jazīrat Farʿūn, 7½ mi. (12 km.) south of modern Eilat, have suggested a reconsideration of the date and character of the ruins of Tell al-Khalayfa, and consequently of the location of Ezion-Geber. It has become clear that the site was fortified, perhaps serving as a caravanserai, and not a copper smelting plant, and an identification with the ancient city of Elath has been suggested. It has been proposed that the port and shipyard of Ezion-Geber should be identified with the island of Jazīrat Farʿūn, the only natural anchorage in the Gulf of Elath. Extensive casemate walls and a well-built port testify to its maritime use in early biblical days. From archaeological discoveries in the southern Arabah (1969), it can be deduced that long before Solomon's ships were assembled at Ezion-Geber–Jazīrat Farʿūn, Egyptian mining expeditions on their way to the Arabah copper mines used Ezion-Geber as their harbor.

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[Beno Rothenberg]

EZOBI, JEHOSEPH BEN HANAN BEN NATHAN (13th century), *paytan*. Ezobi was born and lived in Provence (his name signifies that his family came from the town of Orange, close to Avignon) and probably taught in Perpignan. Abraham *Bedersi praises him as his master and as a talented poet (*Ḥerev ha-Mithappekhet*, verse 148), and Todros b. Judah Abulafia in a hymn in his honor writes: "He is known as Ezov [hyssop]; how pleasant is the hyssop – even the cedars cannot obscure him" (*Gan ha-Meshalim ve-ha-Ḥidot*, 2 pt. 1 (1931), 46). "*Ka'arat ha-Kesef*" ("The Silver Plate"), an educational, ethical, and religious poem, is Ezobi's best-known hymn (printed by Steinschneider, 1860, and in Joseph Ḥayyim ben Elijah al-Ḥakam, *Nifla'im Ma'asekh… Ma'asiyot*, 1989), dedicated to his son on the day of his wedding. The name derives from its 130 verses – equal in numbers to the 130 *shekels, the weight of the silver plates offered by the princes of the tribes to the Tabernacle (Num. 7:13ff.). In this poem, Ezobi appeals to his son to follow the ways of the Torah. He warns him not to be misled by Greek philosophy, and encourages him to learn grammar and poetics, to study the Talmud and its commentators, such as Alfasi and Maimonides, and to follow his own example and become a liturgist. He also enjoins his son not to favor the wealthy over the poor. In an appended note, he requests his son to read this poem every week. The poem was translated into Latin by *Reuchlin (Tuebingen, 1512–14). Another translation was published by Jean Mercier (Paris, 1561). I. Freedman published an English translation (1895/6); M. Forcano translated it into Catalan (1997). Other poems by him include "*Aromem El Ram*," a strophic hymn (*zulat*) for the seventh day of Passover on the splitting of the Red Sea; "*Aggid Ḥasdei ha-El*," a strophic hymn for Shavuot; "*Az me-Rosh Mikdemei Ereẓ*," another *zulat* on the death of Moses, for Simḥat Torah; "*Ezkor Yamim mi-Kedem*," in commemoration of the *Ten Martyrs; a *seliḥah*, "*Ayeh Na Ḥasadekha Adonai?*" (of uncertain authorship), etc. Some of his poems have not been published, for example a *bakkashah* studied by B. Bar-Tikva that includes the letter *mem* in every word. Ezobi plays skillfully with motifs taken from the Midrashim, adding some irony and personal humor. Schirmann compares the qualities of his poems with the best works of the early *paytanim*. *Sefer Millu'im* ("Book of Addenda"), known only from a quotation in the responsa of R. Solomon b. Abraham *Adret (Constantinople, 1516, no. 25), is a homiletic commentary, in prose, on the 613 commandments.

His brother Eleazar, also a poet, exchanged poems with Abraham Bedersi; he was born in Carpentras and lived in Béziers. Another brother, Meshullam, settled in Segovia, Castile, where he wrote in 1279 a short work on Hebrew grammar, *Aguddat Ezob* (Ms. Hebr. 992 of the Bibl. Nat., Paris, unpublished, see C. del Valle, in: *Helmántica*, 163 (2003), 191–205), based in the grammars of Jonah ibn Janaḥ and David Kimḥi.

It is probable that he also wrote the commentary on the Torah, *Sefer ha-Ezobi*, still in manuscript.

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[Angel Sáenz-Badillos (2nd ed.)]

EZRA (Heb. עֶזְרָא; "[YHWH] helps"), priest and scribe who played a major role in the rebuilding of the Temple, after the return from the Babylonian exile.

The Man and His Mission

Ezra whose name means "help" (possibly a shortened form for עֲזַרְיָה "The Lord has helped," the name of two of his ancestors (7:1, 3)) was, along with Nehemiah, one of the two notable figures of the post-exilic community in Judah (sixth–fifth century B.C.E.). His work is known from the last three chapters (7–10) of the book that bears his name, and from chapter 8 of the book of Nehemiah (see *Ezra and Nehemiah, Book of). Ezra was both a priest, whose ancestry is traced back to Aaron (7:1–5), and a scribe "well versed in the law of Moses" (v. 6, 11). Just as another Persian king, *Cyrus, had done in his time (538), so also one of his successors, *Artaxerxes I (465–424), issued a royal edict to Ezra granting permission for Jews to go with him to Jerusalem. Ezra was permitted to bring with him gold and silver donations from other Jews, and regular maintenance expenses of the Temple were to be provided from the royal treasury. Ezra's mission was "to expound the law of the Lord" and "to teach laws and rules to Israel" (v. 10). For this purpose he was granted not only a royal subsidy, but he was also empowered to appoint judges, enforce religious law, and even to apply the death penalty. In response to critics who argue that such a concern by a Persian king for a foreign cult would be unlikely, the Passover papyrus issued by *Darius II in 419/18 to the Jews at Elephantine in Egypt regarding the date and method for celebrating the Passover (Porten) has often been cited. Nevertheless, the question of imperial authorization of Jewish law by the Persian Empire continues to be a subject of debate (Watts).

Date

The date of Ezra is problematic as is his relationship with Nehemiah, because apart from Neh. 8:9, and two other minor references (Neh. 12:26, 36), the two are never mentioned together. According to their respective books, Ezra assumed his mission in the seventh year of Artaxerxes (458) and Nehemiah came in the 20th year of the same king (445). This would mean that Ezra, who came at the express command of Artaxerxes to implement and teach the law, did not conduct his first public reading of the Law until 13 years later. Another problem for the biblical chronology is that Ezra found many people in Jerusalem but, according to Nehemiah, in his time, Jerusalem was unpopulated. For these reasons and others, some scholars believe Ezra came to Jerusalem much later, either in the 37th year of Artaxerxes I (428) or in the seventh year of Artaxerxes II (397) (see discussion in Klein).

His Journey to Jerusalem

Ezra's four month journey to Jerusalem is described by Ezra in a first-person memoir. After listing the names of the leaders returning with him, Ezra discovers there were no Levites in his party so he had to muster up 38 Levites from some Levitical families. Another problem was security. Because Ezra had originally made a declaration of trust in God before the king, he felt it inappropriate to request from him the customary escort. Thus he accounted the party's safe arrival in Jerusalem with all its treasure intact as a mark of divine benevolence.

Ezra's Reaction to Reports of Intermarriage

When Ezra arrived in Jerusalem he was informed that some people, including members of the clergy and aristocracy, had contracted foreign marriages. Immediately upon hearing this news Ezra engaged in mourning rites, tore his garments, and fasted and, on behalf of the people, confessed their sins and uttered a prayer of contrition. At the initiative of one of the leaders of the community Ezra was urged to take immediate action. An emergency national assembly was convened, and Ezra addressed the crowd in a winter rainstorm calling upon the people to divorce their foreign wives. The assembled crowd agreed to Ezra's plea, but because of the heavy rains and the complexity of the matter (Ezra's extension of legal prohibitions of marriages that had previously been permitted), they requested that a commission of investigation be set up. After three months the commission reported back with a list of priests, Levites, and Israelites who had intermarried. It is often thought that Ezra's action insisting on the divorce of foreign wives and their children, together with Nehemiah's concern that the children of these foreign women could not speak the language of Judah (Neh. 13:24), represented a shift in Israelite matrimonial law. Previously offspring of intermarriage was judged patrilineally; now it was to be on the matrilineal principle (for a different view, see Cohen).

The Reading of the Torah

Chapter 8 of the book of Nehemiah records that Ezra publicly read the Torah on the first day of the seventh month (Rosh Ha-Shanah). He stood upon a platform with dignitaries standing on his right and left. The ceremony began with an invocation by Ezra and a response by the people saying "Amen, Amen" (v. 6). During the reading the people stood while the text was made clear to them (or translated for them (into Aramaic)) by the Levites (van der Kooij). The people were emotionally overcome by the occasion and wept. However, they were enjoined not to be sad rather to celebrate the day joyously with eating, drinking, and gift giving. The day after the public reading, a group of priests and Levites continued to study the Torah with Ezra and came across the regulations for observing the feast of Tabernacles on that very month. A proclamation was issued to celebrate the festival which was done with great joy, and the Torah was again read publicly during the entire eight days of the festival.

Significance of Ezra's Torah Reading

Ezra's reading of the Torah inaugurated a new element in Jewish life whereby the Torah was read and explicated on regular occasions in public. This public reading also led to the democratization of knowledge of the Torah among Jews, since prior to this event most parts of the Torah were under the exclusive provenance and control of the priests (Knohl).

[David Marcus (2nd ed.)]

In the *Aggadah*

Ezra was still studying under *Baruch b. Neriah in Babylonia when Daniel and his companions left for Palestine. He regarded the study of the Torah as of greater importance than the task of reconstructing the Temple. Therefore it was only after his master's death that Ezra decided to gather the exiles who had not gone up earlier with Daniel and who desired to return to the Holy Land and rebuild the Temple in Jerusalem (Song R. 5:5). Ezra had another reason for remaining in Babylon after Daniel's departure: he was considerate of the feelings of Joshua the son of Jehozadak, of the high-priestly family of Zadok. Joshua would have been embarrassed by Ezra's presence in the Land of Israel, in view of the latter's greater qualification for the office of high priest. Ezra, therefore, remained in Babylon until Joshua's death. After Ezra went to the Land of Israel, he was appointed high priest. He had carefully worked out his own pedigree before he left Babylonia (BB 15a) and in order to insure the purity of those remaining there he took with him all those of doubtful or impure descent (Kid. 69b). He was so zealous in spreading the Torah, that rabbis said of him, "If Moses had not anticipated him, Ezra would have received the Torah" (Tosef., Sanh. 4:7). He restored and reestablished the Torah that had been almost completely forgotten (Suk. 20a). He ordained that public readings from the Torah take place not only on Sabbaths, but also on Mondays and Thursdays (Meg. 31b; TJ, Meg. 4:1, 75a). He also had the Bible rewritten in "Assyrian" characters, leaving the old Hebrew characters to the Samaritans (Sanh. 21b). He established schools everywhere to fill the existing needs and in the hope that the rivalry between the institutions would redound to the benefit of the pupils (BB 21b–22a). He also enacted the ordinances known as "the ten regulations of Ezra" (see BK 82a–b; TJ, Meg. loc. cit.) and together with five of his companions, compiled the Mishnah (tractate *Kelim*, in A. Jellinek, *Beit ha-Midrash*, 2 (1853), 88). Aside from the book which bears his name, Ezra wrote the genealogies of the Book of Chronicles up to his own time (BB 15a) and had a hand in writing the Book of Psalms (Song R. 4:19). The rabbis identify him with the prophet Malachi (Meg. 15a). He is one of the five men whose piety is especially extolled by the rabbis (Mid. Ps. to 105:2).

In Islam

Muhammad claims (Sura 9:30) that in the opinion of the Jews, ʿUzayr (Ezra) is the son of God. These words are an enigma because no such opinion is to be found among the Jews, even though Ezra was singled out for special appreciation (see Sanh. 21b; Yev. 86b). The Muslim traditionalists attempt to explain the words of Muhammad with a Muslim legend, whose origin appears to stem from IV Ezra 14:18–19. The people of Israel sinned, they were punished by God, the Holy Ark was removed, and the Torah was forgotten. It was due, however, to Ezra's merit that his heart was filled with the Torah of God, which he taught to the people of Israel. When the Holy Ark was returned to them and they compared that which Ezra taught them with the text of the *Sefer Torah* in the Holy Ark, the words they found were identical. They deduced from this that Ezra was the son of Allah. Ṭabarī cites another version of this legend: the Jewish scholars themselves hid the Ark, after they were beaten by the Amalekites. H.Z. Hirschberg proposed another assumption, based on the words of Ibn Ḥazm (I, 99), namely, that the "righteous" who live in Yemen believe that ʿUzayr was indeed the son of Allah. According to other Muslim sources, there were some Yemenite Jews who had converted to Islam who believed that Ezra was the messiah. For Muhammad, Ezra, the apostle (!) of the messiah, can be seen in the same light as the Christians saw Jesus, the messiah, the son of Allah. An allusion to the figure of Ezra as the apostle of the messiah is found in a tale which is widespread among the Jews of Yemen, according to which Ezra requested that they immigrate to Ereẓ Israel, and because they did not, he cursed them. Yemenite Jews have therefore refrained from naming their children Ezra. According to some Muslim commentators, ʿUzayr is the man who passed by the destroyed city (of Jerusalem; Sura 2:261) and did not believe that it could be rebuilt (see *Jeremiah).

[Haïm Z'ew Hirschberg]

Tomb of Ezra

There are a number of traditions concerning the site of Ezra's tomb. According to Josephus it is in Jerusalem; others hold that he was buried in Urta or in Zunzumu on the Tigris; but the general accepted version is that his tomb is situated at ʿUzēr, a village near Basra. This tradition is mentioned by *Benjamin of Tudela, *Pethahiah of Regensburg, Judah *Al-Ḥarizi, and other travelers, Jewish and non-Jewish, who visited Babylonia. The tomb is in a building covered by a cupola and on its walls are written a variety of inscriptions. Nearby, there is a *khan* in which the visitors to the tomb gather, and which also contains shops where Arab and Jewish merchants offered their wares in the period between Passover and Shavuot, the time of pilgrimages to the tomb. The visitors lit candles and made solemn vows. Special prayers were said (e.g., one was that composed by R. *Joseph Ḥayyim Al-Ḥakam, contained in his book *Mamlekhet Kohanim*, Baghdad, 1873). The Muslims fear the tomb and ascribe to it supernatural powers, and many legends are linked to it.

[Abraham Ben-Yaacob]

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EZRA, family prominent in India in the 19th and 20th centuries. JOSEPH BEN EZRA BEN JOSEPH KHLEF (d. 1855), one of the notables of the Jewish community in Baghdad, traveled to India at the beginning of the 19th century. Together with his sons Ezekiel and David, he settled in Calcutta, engaging in commerce and becoming very wealthy. After some time, he returned to Baghdad, where he died. The family was known as Baḥer (Ar. "sea"), possibly because they were among the first to cross the sea to India. The traveler *Benjamin II first mentioned Joseph as among the most distinguished personalities of Calcutta in 1849. Joseph's son DAVID (1797–1882) was president of the Calcutta Jewish community and one of the outstanding Oriental philanthropists. Contributing generously to charitable institutions in India and Iraq, he assisted the Palestinian *sheluḥim* ("emissaries") who often visited India, and also provided funds for the ransoming of captives. A street was named after him in Calcutta, where he built two magnificent synagogues: Neweh Shalom (1856) and Bet El (1870).

His son ELIAS DAVID (1830–1886) was also a wealthy philanthropist. In 1882 he opened a school for the poor in Calcutta and in 1883/84 built a synagogue named Maghen David after his father. He contributed 12,000 rupees toward the establishment of a zoological garden which became known as "Ezra House." In 1870, he married Mozelle (Mazal-Tov; 1850–1921), the daughter of Sir Albert *Sassoon. She founded a large hospital for the poor in Calcutta, named Ezra Hospital after her husband, and two yeshivot: Mazal Ẓome'aḥ and Knesset Eliahu in Jerusalem. Their son SIR DAVID (1871–1947), president of the Jewish community of Calcutta, was also a noted philanthropist. In 1912 he married Rachel (1877–1952), daughter of Solomon David Sassoon. Both were active in many spheres of public life: David was president of a scientific society for the study of nature in India; Rachel founded the League of Jewish Women in 1913 and administered two hospitals. In recognition of their services to India, David was knighted in 1927. During World War II, they gave generous relief to refugees from Europe.

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[Abraham Ben-Yaacob]

EZRA, APOCALYPSE OF (also known as **Ezra IV**), book of visions ascribed to Ezra the Scribe, written between 95–100 C.E., probably in Ereẓ Israel. It is extant in some Greek fragments, Latin, Syriac, Ethiopic, two separate Arabic versions, Armenian, Georgian, and a Coptic fragment.

The book is composed of seven visions. The first three, in the form of dialogues between Ezra and the angel Uriel, deal primarily with the destruction of the Temple and Jerusalem and with theodicy. Each of these three visions concludes with a brief eschatological revelation. The fourth vision is of a weeping, bereaved woman who is transformed into the heavenly Jerusalem, the promise of redemption for Zion. Next, Ezra sees an eagle with 12 wings, eight "little wings," and three heads. This, he is told, is the fourth beast which appeared to Daniel (Dan. 7), the fourth wicked world empire, its heads and wings representing kings and emperors. Ezra witnesses its judgment and destruction at the hands of a lion, a symbol of the Messiah, after which the righteous rejoice in the messianic kingdom. The sixth vision sees one "as the form of a man," rising from the sea, who is attacked by innumerable hosts, which he destroys to be greeted by a joyous multitude – another vision of the Messiah's victory over the evil nations. In the last vision, Ezra receives the Torah, the 24 books of the Bible, and the 70 books of secret, apocalyptic lore, and then prepares for his assumption to heaven.

IV Ezra is considered one of the high points of Jewish apocalyptic literature, combining sensitive perception with profound and daring analysis. The author is deeply concerned with the theological problems arising from the destruction of Jerusalem: "Is Israel any worse than Babylon, that they rule over us?" he asks (IV Ezra 3:27ff.). This question brings him to grips with some basic problems concerning the nature of man. How could God create man with an "evil heart" and, when giving him the Torah, not remove this evil heart, which causes him to transgress its laws? Further, why is man given understanding, so that sinning, he knows that he sins and is destined for Gehenna? To these and other such questions raised in the first three visions, no real solution is offered. Ultimately, the angel can only say that God's ways are inscrutable, that He rejoices in the righteous few, and that Ezra and those like him are assured of their salvation. But the author's real answer is perhaps to be sought elsewhere, in the eschatological sections which conclude each of these visions, and in the three eschatological visions which follow, the solution to these problems residing in the eschatological occurrences themselves.

The book is preserved in the Latin Church and is included by Protestants in the Apocrypha. It did not survive in the Eastern Church, however, and except for a few patristic quotations (e.g., Clement of Alexandria, *Stromata*, 3:16, 10) and the reuse of the text in the late "Esdras Apocalypse," the Greek text is no longer extant. There is much debate as to whether the original was Hebrew or Aramaic, the former seeming the more likely possibility. In the Latin, two additional chapters (sometimes called III Ezra and V Ezra respectively; see Greek Book of *Ezra) occur at the beginning and at the end of the book. The book is included in many Ethiopic and Armenian biblical manuscripts, but has survived in only one Syriac manuscript (Cod. Ambrosianus) and in two incomplete Georgian copies.

A large portion of ch. 7 does not appear in the Vulgate Latin manuscripts, the publication of which in 1875 from *Codex Ambianensis* by R. Bensly was followed by the discovery of a series of Latin codices containing this section. Kabisch, with the subsequent support of de Faye and Box, maintained the book to be composed of a series of five separate source documents: a Salathiel apocalypse (cf. IV Ezra 3:2) covering substantially the first four visions; the Eagle vision (A); the Son of Man vision (M); the final Ezra vision (E^1); and a second Ezra source which included the apocalyptic sections of Visions 1–4. This hypothesis was strongly attacked by Clemen and Gunkel, who were followed by Violet and, later, Keulers. These emphasize the basic structural unity of the work, pointing to its division into seven visions separated by prayer and fast, the appearance of the same technical terminology throughout, and the questionable nature of many of the so-called "inconsistencies" or "contradictions" between the sources. They thus accept the basic unity of the work, at the same time not denying the possibility that the author employed existing written or oral sources. The book contains no traces of sectarian or Essene ideas and sometimes follows the line of traditional rabbinic exegesis (cf. IV Ezra 6:7–10 and Gen. R. 63:9, Mid. Hag. to Gen. 25:26 et al.). It also includes a fragment of a Midrash on the 13 Attributes (IV Ezra 123 ff.) and similar material. The date is established primarily by the identification of the three heads of the eagle in chapters 11–12 with the Flavian emperors.

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[Michael E. Stone]

EZRA, DEREK, BARON (1919–), British industrial administrator. Ezra was educated at Magdalene College, Cambridge, and served in the British army during World War II, being appointed a member of the Order of the British Empire and awarded the United States Bronze Star. In 1947 he joined the newly nationalized coal industry. After holding posts in sales and marketing on the National Coal Board, he became a member of the board in 1965 and deputy chairman in 1967, and was chairman, the highest position in the industry, from 1971 to 1982. His period of office included the 1974 miners' strike, but he was generally characterized by a conciliatory attitude in industrial relations. Ezra was knighted in 1974 and created a life peer in 1983. After retirement from the coal board, he joined the Social Democratic Party in the House of Lords and held numerous British and European directorships and advisory posts in industry and commerce. He was appointed a Grand Officer of the Italian Order of Merit and held French and Luxembourg decorations.

[Vivian David Lipman]

EZRA, GREEK BOOK OF (also called the **Apocryphal Ezra**, **First Esdras**, or **Third Esdras**), a Greek translation of the last two chapters of II Chronicles, the entire Book of Ezra (except for 1:6), and Nehemiah 7:73–8:13. It differs from the canonical version in that a section of Ezra is transposed, Nehemiah I does not follow Ezra, and a noncanonical story is introduced. The following summary illustrates these changes.

The first chapter corresponds to II Chronicles 35 and 36 (omitting the last two verses since they appear in Ezra 1:1 and 2, which corresponds to Greek Ezra 2:1 and 2); Josiah celebrates Passover, battles with the Egyptians, and dies of his wounds; his successors; the sack of Jerusalem; the destruction of the Temple; the Babylonian exile. Chapter 2 corresponds to Ezra 1; 4:7 to end of 4 (2–4:6 being transposed to chapter 5); Cyrus permits the Jews to return and rebuild the Temple; the Temple vessels are returned; the correspondence between a certain Artaxerxes and the Jews' antagonists (Jos., Ant., 11:26, changes this to, or understands it as, Cambyses); interruption of the construction of the Temple until the reign of Darius. Chapters 3 and 4: each of three guardsmen of Darius suggests what is most powerful – wine, royal power, or womankind – and the third, Zerubbabel, answers "womankind" but adds "truth," thereby winning the contest; as a reward he requests permission to rebuild the Temple; Darius complies. Chapters 5:1–6: preparations for Zerubbabel's expedition. Chapters 5:6–9:36 correspond to Ezra 2:1–4:5 and to Ezra 6 to the end: catalog of those who returned; erection of the Altar; reference to the earlier troubles from Cyrus' reign to Darius' second year; the Temple rebuilt; Ezra's expedition. Chapter 9:37 to end, corresponding to Nehemiah 7:73–8:13: Ezra reads the Torah at a public gathering.

The canonical version tells of Zerubbabel's return, breaks off the narrative at the halt of the Temple construction, records letters between the Jews' enemies and the king, and returns to the narrative. By noting that the interruption lasted until the time of Darius before the correspondence (4:5) and at its close, the author indicates that, for him, the documents are earlier than Darius' reign. The Greek Ezra, placing these documents after Cyrus' proclamation, before Zerubbabel's return, conveys this same picture of a poison-pen correspondence prior to Darius (Kaufmann Y., Toledot, 4 (1956), 522–7 upholds this view, as do Josephus and traditional commentators). It differs from the canonical version in that Zerubbabel's expedition occurs under Darius rather than Cyrus.

Josephus used the work as a source for his discussion of the post-Exilic Return (Ant., 11:1–56); little else can be said about it with assurance. To some the work is complete and the concluding conjunction and verb – "and they were gathered" – are a formal close. If the work is a unit, the Nehemiah passage may have been introduced to underscore Ezra's emphasis on the Law. Others see the conjunction-verb endings as evidence that the work is incomplete; it belongs to the next verse (Neh. 8:14). If the author's starting point and closing are unknown, so is his purpose. The translated material has been seen as a version based on the Septuagint, a revision of a translation older than the Septuagint, or an independent translation from the Hebrew and Aramaic. And the "guardsmen" episode has been variously labeled as a Greek, Oriental, or more specifically, Aramaic or Persian folk-tale. The story may be an originally non-Jewish story that was reworked. Scholars think the answer "Truth" is an addition and the contest was limited to one answer per guardsman. Furthermore, Truth is praised; the force of the other elements is proved by example. However, womankind's power is shown in two ways. Woman is presented as the life-giving mother and clother of man (an important ancillary function of woman in antiquity). Without a mother there can be no king or vine-cultivator to produce wine. This sufficiently proves womankind's superiority over the others. At this point a new motif is introduced – woman as temptress for whose favor man dares all; here biblical sounding phrases appear – "beautiful to look at," 4:18 (cf. Gen. 29:17); and "leave one's father and cleave to one's wife," 4:20 (cf. Gen. 2:24) – which may reflect Jewish influence. The guardsman mentions an incident showing Darius' subservience to a concubine. Darius and his nobles exchange glances (shocked at the temerity?); immediately Truth is eulogized. This second motif on woman provides an opening for introducing Truth and placing an *aggadah*-like moral lesson within the framework of the Return.

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[Jacob Petroff]

EZRA AND NEHEMIAH, BOOKS OF, two books in the Hagiographa (i.e., the Book of Ezra and the Book of Nehemiah), which were originally a single work.

The Masoretic tradition regarded the books of Ezra and Nehemiah as one book and referred to it as the Book of Ezra. This was also the Greek tradition, and the same Greek name, Esdras, was given to both books (see below). The division into separate books does not occur until the time of Origen (fourth century C.E.) and this division was transferred into the Vulgate where the books are called I Esdras (Ezra) and II Esdras (Nehemiah). It was not until the 15th century that Hebrew manuscripts, and subsequently all modern printed Hebrew editions, followed this practice of dividing the books. However, there are good reasons (linguistic, literary, and thematic) for the argument that the two books were originally separate works (Kraemer), which were brought together by a later compiler, and are now to be read as a single unit (Grabbe).

Place in the Canon

There are two traditions regarding the place of Ezra-Nehemiah in the Hebrew Bible. The more dominant Babylonian tradition, which is followed by all modern printed editions, places Ezra-Nehemiah immediately before Chronicles, the last book of the Writings. However, the Palestinian tradition, which is found in major Tiberian manuscripts, such as Aleppo and Leningrad, places Chronicles first in the Writings (before the Psalms), and places Ezra-Nehemiah last. In the Protestant Old Testament (e.g., the NRSV version), Ezra-Nehemiah is placed among the historical books, after Chronicles and before Esther. In the Roman Catholic Old Testament (e.g., the Douay-Rheims version), the books are similarly placed after Chronicles but before Tobit, Judith, and Esther.

Text and Versions

Some Hebrew fragments from the Book of Ezra (4QEzra) were found in Cave 4 at Qumran (Ulrich). The fragments contain part of the text of Ezra 4:2–6, 9–11, and 5:17–6:5 and exhibit two orthographic variants (e.g., at Ezra 4:10, 4QEzra reads נַהֲרָא for MT's נַהֲרָה), and two minor grammatical variants concerning singular and plural forms of verbs (e.g., at Ezra 6:1 where 4QEzra reads the singular ובקר "he searched" for MT's וּבַקַּרוּ "they searched"). The Greek tradition knew of two versions of Ezra-Nehemiah, one of which is known as II Esdras, and is a very literal translation of the Hebrew. This version numbers Ezra-Nehemiah consecutively so that chapters 1–10 of II Esdras represent the Book of Ezra, and chapters 11–23 represent the Book of Nehemiah. However, the other version, known as I Esdras, is wholly concerned with Ezra and not Nehemiah. It offers a rendering of the entire Book of Ezra but translates only that portion of the Book of Nehemiah (7:72–8:13) which deals with Ezra. This additional section is attached directly to what is chapter 10 in the Masoretic version.

Languages of the Books

The language of Ezra-Nehemiah is late biblical Hebrew (Polzin) and the text exhibits features which are characteristic of this later language. These include use of the -ו consecutive with the cohortative (וָאֶשְׁלְחָה), increased use of pronominal suffixes to the verb (וַיִּתְּנֵם) and of הָיָה with the participle (הָיוּ אֹמְרִים), many Akkadian and Persian loan words (such as אִגֶּרֶת "letter" = Akk. *egirtu*; פַּרְדֵּס "garden" = Pers. *pairidaeza*), and many Aramaisms (Naveh and Greenfield). Parts of Ezra are written in Aramaic (4:8–6:18, 7:11–26), and it has been suggested that originally the entire book of Ezra-Nehemiah was written in Aramaic and was subsequently translated (Marcus). In support of this theory is the fact that there is no extant Targum for Ezra-Nehemiah.

Book of Ezra: Outline

(1) Edict of Cyrus and rebuilding of the Temple (chapters 1–6)
Edict of Cyrus (1:1–11) List of those returning with Zerubbabel (2:1–3:1) Restoration of worship and laying foundations of the Temple (3:2–13) Opposition to the Temple building (4:1–24) Appeal to Darius and favorable response (5:1–6:14) Completion of the Temple (6:15–22)
(2) Work of Ezra (chapters 7–10)
Edict of Artaxerxes to Ezra (7:1–28) List of those going back with Ezra (8:1–14) Return to Jerusalem (8:15–36) Ezra reaction to news of intermarriage (9:1–10:14) List of those who had intermarried (10:15–44)

Book of Nehemiah: Outline

(1) Nehemiah's mission (chapters 1–7)
Nehemiah's response to news from Jerusalem (1:1–11) Permission to go to Jerusalem granted (2:1–9) Arrival at Jerusalem and secret inspection of walls at night (2:10–20) Reconstruction of the city's wall (3:1–38) Threats against the workers (4:1–17) Economic problems (5:1–13) Nehemiah's administration (5:14–19) Intrigues against Nehemiah (6:1–19) More defensive measures (7:1–4) List of the exiles with Zerubbabel (7:5–8:1a = Ezra 2:1–3:1)
(2) Ezra's reading of the Torah and religious celebrations (chapters 8–9)
The reading of the Torah (8:1b-12) Celebration of the Feast of Tabernacles (8:13–18) Day of penance and prayer of the Levites (9:1–37)
(3) Nehemiah's reforms (chapters 10–13)
Code of Nehemiah (10:1–40) The population of Jerusalem and Judah (11:1–36) Clerical genealogies (12:1–26) Dedication of the wall (12:27–43) Provision made for Temple services (12:44–47) Expulsion of foreigners (13:1–9) Renewal of Levitical support (13:10–14) Enforcing Sabbath regulations (13:15–22) Problem of mixed marriages (13:23–29) Summary of other reforms (13:30–31)

Authorship and Date

The question of the authorship of Ezra-Nehemiah is bound up with its relation with the book of Chronicles. Since the time of Zunz (1832), the consensus of modern scholarship has been that the author of Chronicles was also the author of Ezra-Nehemiah, and this view still has its adherents (Blenkinsopp, Clines (1984)). Arguments for joint authorship include common vocabulary, style, uniformity of theological conceptions, similar description of religious ceremonies, penchant for occupational and genealogical lists, and, most importantly, the fact that the first few verses of Ezra (1:1–3a) are identical to the last two verses of Chronicles (II Chron 36:22–23), thus indicating that Chronicles leads in by means of catchlines to the following Book of Ezra (Haran). The position of Ezra-Nehemiah before Chronicles in the Protestant and Catholic Old Testament canons would seem to lend support for this point of view. In recent times, however, the independent authorship of both works has been argued on the basis of the following perceived contrasts: that Chronicles glorifies David, highly regards prophecy, has a conciliatory view of Northerners, and a miraculous view of history, whereas Ezra-Nehemiah emphasizes Moses and the Exodus, is forceful about its opposition to the Northerners (Samaritans), and has a different view of history. Ezra-Nehemiah ought then to be dated to the end of the fifth century B.C.E. whereas Chronicles is a later book composed at the end of the fourth century B.C.E. (Japhet). The catchlines at the end of Chronicles were borrowed from Ezra to give the book of Chronicles an "upbeat" ending heralding Cyrus' decree, and so not ending with the exile of the people in Babylon (Williamson).

Contents of the Books

Ezra-Nehemiah deals with the period of the restoration of the Jewish community in Judah, then the Persian province of Yehud, in the sixth–fifth centuries B.C.E. during the approximately 100 years between the time of the edict of *Cyrus (538) permitting the Jews to go back to Jerusalem and the 32nd year of the reign of *Artaxerxes I (433). Three different periods are represented in the books, each with different leaders and different royal missions. The first period (Ezra, chaps. 1–6) goes from the time of the edict of Cyrus (538) until the rebuilding of the temple (516), when the leaders of the Jews were Sheshbazzar and Zerubbabel. The second period (Ezra, chaps. 7–10 and Neh., chap. 8) commences in the seventh year of the reign of Artaxerxes (458), when Ezra is given a royal mandate to lead a group of exiles back to Jerusalem. The third period (Neh., chaps. 1–7 and 9–13) encompasses a 12-year period from the 20th year of the reign of Artaxerxes (445) until his 32nd year (433), and deals with the work of Nehemiah.

THE FIRST PERIOD (EZRA, CHAPS. 1–6). The first period, embracing 22 years from 538 to 516, includes an account of (1) the edict of Cyrus; (2) a list of the first returnees; (3) restoration of worship and laying foundations of the Temple; (4) opposition to the Temple building; (5) the appeal to *Darius and his favorable response; and (6) the completion of the Temple. In this period the leaders were *Sheshbazzar and *Zerubbabel. Sheshbazzar is thought to be identical with Senanazzar (the fourth son of Jeconiah (Jehoiachin), I Chron. 3:18), and is termed both prince (נָשִׂיא) and governor (פֶּחָה). Zerubbabel is one of the leaders of the first émigrés (2:2), and probably succeeded Sheshbazzar (4:2), though both are said to have laid foundations of the Temple (Sheshbazzar in Ezra 5:16 and Zerubbabel in Zech. 4:9).

The Edict of Cyrus (1:1–11). There are two accounts given in the Book of Ezra of the edict of Cyrus: a Jewish version in Hebrew, and a Persian version in Aramaic. The Jewish/Hebrew version has Cyrus declare that God has given him "all the kingdoms of the earth," that He has ordered the reconstruction of the Temple, and that any of God's people who so wish may return to assist in the carrying out of the order (1:1–3). The Persian/Aramaic version gives extra details detailing the specifications of the Temple to be built (e.g., its height and width should be 60 cubits, emulating the Temple destroyed by the Babylonians), that expenses for the Temple will be paid by the state, and that precious utensils captured by *Nebuchadnezzar and brought to Babylon will be returned (6:3–5). This last fact is actually mentioned in the first chapter of Ezra (v. 7). Cyrus released the cult objects and delivered them to Sheshbazzar, the governor of Judah, via Mithredath, the state treasurer. The Cyrus cylinder records similar acts of amnesty and favor shown to the peoples and deities of other countries following his conquest of Babylon in 539 (Cogan).

A List of the First Returnees (2:1–3:1). The list of the returning exiles with Zerubbabel is itemized by family, place of origin, occupation (e.g., priests, Levites, singers, gatekeepers, etc.). Because this list is repeated in its entirety in Nehemiah (Neh. 7:6–8:1a) there has been much discussion of the list's purpose, and where the list originally belonged. Most likely, the writer in the Book of Ezra was using a later list compiled for other uses, and its purpose at the beginning of Ezra is to magnify the first response of the exiles to Cyrus' edict. However, in the Book of Nehemiah, the list is used for a different purpose, as a starting point of a campaign to induce those who had settled elsewhere in Judah to move to Jerusalem, which needed repopulation.

Restoration of Worship and Laying Foundations of the Temple (3:2–13). Among the first activities of the returning exiles in 538 were to erect an altar on the site of the Temple, renew sacrificial worship, and celebrate the festival of Tabernacles. Preparations were then made for the rebuilding of the Temple, parallel to the preparations made for Solomon's Temple. The laying of the foundations was performed with a special service: prayer and song. The people's response was enthusiastic and they wept out of joy. However, there were a number of the returned exiles who had seen the first Temple, and these people wept in memory of this destroyed Temple to such an extent that the weeping for joy could not be distinguished from those weeping in memory of the destroyed Temple.

Opposition to the Temple Building (4:1–24). Work on the Temple did not proceed smoothly and, although it was started in the second year after the return (537), work was not continued on it until the second year of Darius I (521). The long delay of some 21 years between the laying of the Temple's foundations in 537 and its completion in 516 is explained as due to opposition by the local population. The opposition arose primarily as a result of the exclusionary policy of the returnees about permitting the indigenous population to participate in the rebuilding effort. The returnees believed that they were the true representatives of the people of God who had gone into exile, and that those who had not gone into exile but remained in the land, or were descendants of displaced peoples who had subsequently adopted Israel's religion, were not entitled to join in this project. The opponents are called צָרֵי יְהוּדָה וּבִנְיָמִן "adversaries of Judah and Benjamin" and עַם־הָאָרֶץ "people of the land," and they attempted to thwart the rebuilding effort by various means including writing accusatory letters to the Persian kings. These accusatory letters contained in 4:6–23 are problematic on two counts: first, because they do not deal with the rebuilding of the Temple but with the rebuilding of the city, and second because these letters are addressed to Persian kings who reigned long after the Temple was actually completed (516). These letters are sent to *Xerxes I (486–465) and *Artaxerxes I (465–424). That the section containing these letters is misplaced is clear from the fact that it is put in a different place in I Esdras, where these letters occur in chapter 2, and not in chapter 4 as in the Masoretic text.

Appeal to Darius and Favorable Response (5:1–6:14). The end of chapter 4 reverts back to the proper chronology, that of the second year of Darius (521), at which time the prophets *Haggai and *Zechariah encouraged the Jews to persist in the building of the Temple. The renewed activity led to an investigation by local Persian authorities, and a letter of inquiry (not a complaint like the preceding communications) was sent to Darius. The Persian authorities reported that they had gone to Jerusalem, observed the state of building operations, and had requested information on the authorization of the project. They were informed by the Jewish leaders of the edict of Cyrus granting the Jews permission to rebuild the Temple, and the letter asked the king to verify whether or not Cyrus did issue this edict. Darius then ordered a search in the royal archives, and the edict was found and is reproduced in his reply to the local authorities (see above). Darius issues instruction that the Cyrus decree be honored, and that expenses for the project be defrayed from the tax income accruing to the royal treasury from the province. Moreover, provisions were to be made for daily religious observances so that prayers could be made for the welfare of the king and his family. The aforementioned Cyrus Cylinder is often pointed to as an example of a Persian monarch who requested prayer from other peoples for his own and his son's welfare.

Completion of the Temple (6:15–22). The reconstruction on the Temple was completed in the sixth year of the reign of Darius I (516); the work had taken 21 years since the foundation was laid in the second year of Cyrus (537). A joyful dedication ceremony took place with enormous amounts of sacrifices, "one hundred bulls, two hundred rams, four hundred lambs, and twelve goats." Shortly afterwards the returned exiles celebrated the Passover, together with those of the indigenous population who had "separated themselves from the uncleanliness of the nations of the lands," a hint that the returnees were open to permitting others into their fold (see also Neh. 10:29).

THE SECOND PERIOD (EZRA, CHAPS. 7–10 AND NEH., CHAPS. 8–9). The second period dated in the seventh year of the reign of Artaxerxes I (458) deals with the work of *Ezra, after whom the book was named, and includes (1) the edict of Artaxerxes to Ezra; (2) Ezra's return to Jerusalem; (3) his reaction to news of intermarriage; (4) his reading of the Torah; and (5) a day of penance and a prayer of the Levites. In this period, the leader is Ezra, a priest whose ancestry is traced back to Aaron (7:1–5), and a scribe "well versed in the law of Moses" (7:6, 11). The date of Ezra is problematic as is his relationship with *Nehemiah, because apart from Nehemiah 8:9, and two other minor references (Neh. 12:26, 36), the two are never mentioned together. According to their respective books, Ezra assumed his mission in the seventh year of Artaxerxes (458) and Nehemiah came in the 20th year of the same king (445). This would mean that Ezra, who came at the express command of Artaxerxes to implement and teach the law, did not conduct his first public reading of the Law until 13 years later. Another problem for the biblical chronology is that Ezra found many people in Jerusalem but, according to Nehemiah, in his time, Jerusalem was unpopulated. For these reasons and others, some scholars believe Ezra came to Jerusalem much later, either in the 37th year of Artaxerxes I (428) or in the seventh year of Artaxerxes II (397) (see discussion in Klein).

The Edict of Artaxerxes to Ezra (7:1–28). In the seventh year of his reign (458), Artaxerxes I (465–424) issued a royal edict granting permission for Jews to go to Jerusalem with Ezra. Ezra was permitted to bring with him gold and silver donations from other Jews. Regular maintenance expenses of the Temple were to be provided from the royal treasury and there was to be release of taxes for Temple personnel. Ezra's mission was "to expound the law of the Lord" and "to teach laws and rules to Israel" (v. 10). For this purpose he was granted, not only a royal subsidy, but he was also empowered to appoint judges, enforce religious law, and even to apply the death penalty. In response to critics who argue that such a concern by a Persian king for a foreign cult would be unlikely, the Passover papyrus issued by Darius II in 419/18 to the Jews at Elephantine in Egypt regarding the date and method for celebrating the Passover (Porten) has often been cited. Nevertheless, the question of imperial authorization of Jewish law by the Persian Empire continues to be a subject of debate (Watts).

Ezra's Return to Jerusalem (8:1–36). Ezra's four-month journey to Jerusalem is described by Ezra in a first-person memoir. After listing the names of the leaders returning with him, Ezra discovers there were no *Levites in his party so he had to muster up 38 Levites from some Levitical families. Another problem was security. Because Ezra had originally made a declaration of trust in God before the king, he felt it inappropriate to request from him the customary escort. Thus he accounted the party's safe arrival in Jerusalem with all its treasure intact as a mark of divine benevolence.

Ezra's Reaction to News of Intermarriage (9:1–10:44). When Ezra arrived in Jerusalem he was informed that some people, including members of the clergy and aristocracy, had contracted foreign marriages. Immediately upon hearing this news Ezra engaged in mourning rites, tore his garments and fasted, and, on behalf of the people, confessed their sins and uttered a prayer of contrition. He is joined by a group of supporters who are also disturbed by this news. At the initiative of a certain Shecaniah son of Jehiel, Ezra was urged to take immediate action. An emergency national assembly was convened, and Ezra addressed the crowd in a winter rainstorm calling upon the people to divorce their foreign wives. The assembled crowd agreed to Ezra's plea, but because of the heavy rains and the complexity of the matter (Ezra's extension of legal prohibitions of marriages that had previously been permitted), they requested that a commission of investigation be set up. After three months the commission reported back with a list of priests, Levites, and Israelites who had intermarried.

Ezra's Reading of the Torah (Neh 8:1–12). Seemingly out of order, Ezra reappears in chapter 8 of the Book of Nehemiah where it is recounted that he publicly read the Torah on the first day of the seventh month (Rosh Ha-Shanah). He stood upon a platform with dignitaries standing on his right and left. The ceremony began with an invocation by Ezra and a response by the people saying "Amen, Amen." During the reading the people stood while the text was made clear to them (or translated for them (into Aramaic)) by the Levites (van der Kooij). The people were emotionally overcome by the occasion and wept. However, they were enjoined not to be sad, rather to celebrate the day joyously with eating, drinking, and gift giving. The day after the public reading, a group of priests and Levites continued to study the Torah with Ezra and came across the regulations for observing the feast of Tabernacles on that very month. A proclamation was issued to celebrate the festival which was done with great joy, and the Torah was again read publicly during the entire eight days of the festival. It has often been pointed out that the feast of Tabernacles which is described as being discovered anew from the Torah reading and had not been observed since the days of Joshua, had already been observed not too much earlier by the first returnees (Ezra 3:4). Furthermore, the materials said to be collected for the festival (branches of olive, pine, myrtle, palm, and leafy trees) differ from those mandated for the festival in Leviticus 23:40 (where the materials are the fruit of הָדָר trees (later interpreted as the citron), willows of the brook, palms, and bough of leafy trees (later interpreted as the myrtle)). Most strikingly, these materials are said to be used to construct סֻכֹּת "tabernacles," and not to be used for making of the לוּלָב and אֶתְרוֹג in accordance with the later rabbinic interpretation.

Day of Penance and Prayer of the Levites (Neh. 9:1–37). On the 24th day of the month, immediately after the celebration of the feast of Tabernacles, a fast day was announced. The identification and purpose of this fast day is unknown. Most commentators believe that this fast and following prayer of the Levites should come after the events described in Ezra 10, which was concerned with problems of intermarriage. The long prayer of the Levites (v. 5–37) is akin to one of the historical hymns in the Psalter (cf., Ps. 105, 106, 135, 136) (Fensham). The hymn contains stereotypical Psalm language, and contains references to the creation, the covenant with Abraham, the acts of God in Egypt, the wanderings in the desert, Sinai, the conquest, the Judges, and to later periods. Many of the sections are divided by the independent pronoun וְאַתָּה (v. 6, 7, 19, 27, 33). The hymn is noteworthy in not mentioning David and Solomon, two of Judah's glorious rulers, nor is there any mention of the exile and the current restoration, events central to Ezra and Nehemiah. Verses 6–11 of this hymn are included in the Jewish morning prayer service (פְּסוּקֵי דְזִמְרָא).

THE THIRD PERIOD (NEH., CHAPS. 1–7 AND 9–13). The third period encompasses 12 years from the 20th year of the reign of Artaxerxes I (445) until his 32nd year (433), and deals with the work of Nehemiah, who had held an important office (termed a "cupbearer") in the royal household of the Persian king Artaxerxes I (465–424). The work of Nehemiah described in the form of a first-person memoir includes his rebuilding of the walls of Jerusalem and his economic and religious reforms. One of the characteristics of Nehemiah's memoirs is that he intersperses short direct prayers within his narrative usually starting with זָכְרָה לִּי אֱלֹהַי or with slight variations (5:19, 6:14, 13:14, 22, 29, 31) but once with שְׁמַע אֱלֹהֵינוּ (3:36–37). In particular, this period deals with (1) Nehemiah's response to the news from Jerusalem; (2) Nehemiah's efforts at reconstructing and fortifying Jerusalem; (3) intrigues against Nehemiah; (4) the dedication of the wall; (5) Nehemiah's resolution of economic problems; (6) Nehemiah's religious reforms.

Nehemiah's Response to News from Jerusalem (1:1–2:9). In the 20th year of the Persian king Artaxerxes I (445), a delegation of Jews arrived from Jerusalem at Susa, the king's winter residence, and informed Nehemiah of the deteriorating conditions back in Judah. The walls of Jerusalem were in a precarious state and repairs could not be undertaken (since they were specifically forbidden by an earlier decree of the same Artaxerxes (Ezra 4:21)). The news about Jerusalem upset Nehemiah, and he sought and was granted permission from the king to go to Jerusalem as governor and rebuild the city. This change in Persian policy is thought to have come after the Egyptian revolt of 448 when it was believed that a relatively strong and friendly Judah could better serve Persia's strategic interests (Myers). Nehemiah was also granted much material assistance including supplies of wood for the rebuilding effort. However, unlike Ezra, Nehemiah requested a military escort for safe conduct throughout the provinces of the western satrapies.

Nehemiah's Efforts at Reconstructing and Fortifying Jerusalem (2:10–4:17, 7:1–4). A short time after his arrival in Jerusalem Nehemiah made a nocturnal inspection tour of the city walls riding on a donkey. He relates that he could not continue riding, but had to dismount, because of the massive stones left by the overthrow of the city by the Babylonians. After his tour of inspection, Nehemiah disclosed to the local Jewish officials his mission to rebuild the walls. Nehemiah set to the task of rebuilding the wall by dividing the work into some 40 sections. Nearly all social classes (priests, Levites, Temple functionaries, and laypeople) participated in the building effort. Throughout the time of the building, Nehemiah encountered opposition and harassment from the leaders of the Persian provinces, who had previously administered the affairs of Judah, especially from one *Sanballat, a Horonite (from Beth Horon), also termed the Samarian/Samaritan. Sanballat resorted to mockery and ridicule, stating: "that stone wall they are building – if a fox climbed it he would breach it" (3:33–35). To counter the opposition, Nehemiah provided a guard for the workmen, and the masons and their helpers also carried swords. Because of the magnitude of the project, the workmen were separated from each other by large distances, so a trumpeter was provided ready to sound the alarm, the idea being that should one group be attacked the others would come to their aid. Nehemiah ordered the workers to remain in Jerusalem partly for self-protection and partly to assist in guarding the city. After the wall was rebuilt, Nehemiah appointed Hanani his brother and a similar-named individual, Hananiah, to be in charge of security. He also gave an order that the gates to the city should be closed before the guards went off duty and that they should be opened only when the sun was high (at midmorning). In addition to the security police, there was a citizen patrol whose duty it was to keep watch around their own houses. The central problem was the small population of Jerusalem: the city was extensive and spacious, but the people it in were few, and the houses were not yet built. Nehemiah decided to bring one of ten people from the surrounding population into Jerusalem (11:1–2).

Intrigues against Nehemiah (6:1–19). One of Nehemiah's enemies, Tobiah, an Ammonite, had intermarried with a prominent family in Judah. He had tried unsuccessfully to subvert Nehemiah's work by enlisting their aid, but without success. Since Nehemiah's enemies could not prevent the rebuilding and fortification of the city they made desperate attempts to capture him. One plan was to lure him away from Jerusalem to some unspecified place. Four times they attempted to invite him to "meetings," and each time Nehemiah, knowing their harmful intentions, refused their invitation. When these attempts failed, a fifth attempt was made to hurt Nehemiah by framing him before the Persian authorities with a false report that he planned to have himself proclaimed king in Judah. A sixth attempt to damage Nehemiah was to pay a false prophet, Shemaiah, to lure Nehemiah into the Temple, but Nehemiah, realizing that this was a plot, refused to go. Despite these threats, Nehemiah reports that the wall was completed in just 52 days, which seems to be an incredibly short time for such a monumental task. According to Josephus, the project took two years and four months.

Dedication of the Wall (12:27–43). A large gathering of priests, Levites, musicians, and notables assembled from all over Judah for the dedication of the wall in Jerusalem. Nehemiah divided the participants into two processions each commencing from the same point; one procession marched south towards the Dung Gate and then around the right side of the wall, the other marched north along the top of the left side, and both groups joined up together at the Temple square. Each procession was led by a choir, and musicians with trumpets, cymbals, harps, and lyres brought up the rear. Ezra is said to have marched in one procession (though his presence in the text is probably an editorial addition), and Nehemiah in the other. The two joyful processions met up in the Temple square where the dedication was concluded with many sacrifices.

Nehemiah's Resolution of Economic Problems (5:1–19). During the period of the rebuilding, the people complained about the scarcity of food and the burden of high taxes. To meet their basic needs, the poor were required to pledge their possessions, even to sell sons and daughters into slavery. Nehemiah reacted angrily against the creditors accusing them of violating the covenant of brotherhood. When his appeal to the creditors voluntarily to take remedial action failed, Nehemiah forced them to take an oath, reinforced by a symbolic act of shaking out his garment, to restore property taken in pledge, as well as to forgive claims for loans. Nehemiah himself alleviated the people's tax burden by refusing to accept the very liberal household allowance for his official retinue which amounted to some 40 shekels of silver a day.

Nehemiah's Religious Reforms (10:1–40, 12:44–47, 13:1–29). Nehemiah's religious reforms are found (a) in the so-called Code of Nehemiah; and (b) in the regulations he enacted upon embarking on his second term as governor in the 32nd year of Artaxerxes I (433).

Code of Nehemiah (10:1–40). The Code of Nehemiah represents pledges made by the community to observe the Torah, its commandments and regulations. It is preceded by a list of signers including Nehemiah, his officials, the priests, Levites, and prominent family members (1–28). In the Code, the community promised to do seven things: (1) to avoid mixed marriages with the peoples of the land; (2) not to buy from foreigners on Sabbaths and holy days; (3) to observe the sabbatical year; (4) to pay a new annual third shekel temple tax; (5) to supply offerings for the services and wood for the Temple altar; (6) to supply the first fruits, firstlings, tithes, and other contributions to the Temple; (7) to bring the tithes due to the priests and Levites to local storehouses.

Regulations Enacted by Nehemiah during his Second Term as Governor (13:1–31). Expulsion of Foreigners (13:1–9). In their continued reading of the Torah the community came across a law (possibly referring to Deut 23:4–6) that Ammonites and Moabites were prohibited from becoming Israelites, and so they resolved to separate from foreigners (עֵרֶב). When Nehemiah returned from an official visit to the Persian court in the 32nd year of Artaxerxes (433) he discovered that the high priest Eliashib had given living quarters in a former storage room of the Temple to one of his old enemies Tobiah, the Ammonite (see above). When Nehemiah returned he evicted Tobiah, discarded all his belongings, and had the chambers purified and restored to their original use.

Renewal of Levitical Support (13:10–14). Another consequence of Nehemiah's absence at the Persian court was that the people had stopped giving tithes to the Levites forcing them to return to their villages. Nehemiah took steps to bring back the Levites to Jerusalem by ensuring that outstanding payments, which had not been collected during his absence, would be paid and that future tithes would be regularly given.

Enforcing Sabbath Regulations (13:15–22). Nehemiah reports that in his day the Sabbath had been utterly commercialized. People were working in vineyards and on the farms, and Phoenician traders set up shops in Jerusalem on the Sabbath. Nehemiah attempted to put a stop to this Sabbath activity by ordering the gates of the city closed during the Sabbath. Despite his orders, the Phoenician traders camped outside the walls hoping to entice customers to come outside.

Problem of Mixed Marriages (13:23–29). As in Ezra's day, Nehemiah had to deal with problems arising from marriages with foreign women. A major concern of his was the fact that the children of these marriages could no longer speak the language of Judah. Nehemiah ordered an end to further intermarriage, but he did not go as far as Ezra who demanded divorce from foreign wives.

Significance of the Books for Later Judaism

Ezra and Nehemiah's actions and decrees may be seen as the beginning of an ongoing reinterpretation of tradition in its application to changing circumstances (Talmon). Ezra's reading of the Torah inaugurated a new element in Jewish life whereby the Torah was read and explicated on regular occasions in public. This public reading also led to the democratization of knowledge of the Torah among Jews, since prior to this event most parts of the Torah were under the exclusive provenance and control of the priests (Knohl). The differences between the formulation of regulations in the Book of Nehemiah and their counterparts in the Torah illustrate the process of legal elaboration necessary to meet contemporary exigencies (Clines, 1981). These differences can be seen in at least three areas: contributions to the Temple, regulations regarding Sabbath observance, and new intermarriage prohibitions.

TEMPLE CONTRIBUTIONS. Some examples of modifications to Pentateuchal laws introduced in the Code of Nehemiah involve upkeep of the Temple. In Exodus 30:11–16, mention is made of a one-time half-shekel tax. The Code of Nehemiah, however, establishes an annual Temple tax, that of one-third of a shekel. In Leviticus 6:1–6, it is stated that fire should burn continuously on the altar but it does not prescribe the mechanism by which this ought to be done. The Code of Nehemiah does this by stipulating how the wood for the altar is to be obtained. In Deuteronomy 14:23–26, it is enjoined that tithes for the Levites are to be brought to the Temple. The Code of Nehemiah modifies this regulation by permitting an alternate collection system in provincial depots. All these stipulations for the Temple maintenance represent an innovation in ancient Israel, since now the upkeep of the Temple is made the responsibility of the entire community, not just of the king or the governor (Eskenazi).

SABBATH OBSERVANCE. In the Pentateuch, the Sabbath law enjoins rest from work (e.g., Ex. 20:8–11; 23:12; and *passim*), but nowhere defines buying food as work, yet buying food from foreigners on the Sabbath is prohibited in the Code of Nehemiah. According to Amos 8:5, pre-exilic Israelites did not trade on the Sabbath, but the new conditions in Nehemiah's time of foreign merchants coming into Jerusalem on the Sabbath led to this new interpretation of the law.

NEW INTERMARRIAGE PROHIBITIONS. The stipulations against intermarriage in Exodus 34:11–16 and Deuteronomy 7:1–4 prohibit intermarriage with Canaanites (Hittites, Perizzites, Hivites, and Jebusites). Both Ezra and Nehemiah redefine these old Canaanites (who had long disappeared) as the new Canaanites, the current Ashdodites, Ammonites, and Moabites. It is often thought that Ezra's action insisting on the divorce of foreign wives and their children, together with Nehemiah's concern that the children of these foreign women could not speak the language of Judah, represented a shift in Israelite matrimonial law. Previously offspring of intermarriage was judged patrilineally; now it was to be on the matrilineal principle (for a different view, see Cohen).

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[David Marcus (2nd ed.)]

EZRA BEN ABRAHAM BEN MAZHIR (c. 12th century), *rosh yeshivah* in *Damascus. *Benjamin of Tudela, who met Ezra, lists the officials of the yeshivah, the leader being Ezra's brother Sar Shalom, who bore the title of "father" of the yeshivah. Like his father, who had preceded him, Ezra assumed the title of *gaon* and laid claim to all the privileges which had previously been accorded to the yeshivah in Ereẓ Israel, of which the Damascus yeshivah was regarded as a continuation. These claims were disputed by the heads of the Fostat Yeshivah, and the controversy between the two institutions developed into a rivalry between the strongminded R. *Samuel b. Ali, head of the Baghdad Yeshivah, who supported Ezra, and *Daniel b. Hasdai, the Babylonian exilarch, who championed Fostat. The rivalry continued for many years.

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[Eliyahu Ashtor]

EZRA BEN EZEKIEL HA-BAVLI (1660–after 1742), rabbi and poet in *Baghdad. Ezra was vehement in his criticism of the Jews of Baghdad. In his *Tokheḥot Musar* ("Moral Reproofs," 1735), written in rhymed prose, both in Hebrew and Aramaic, he severely took them to task for their low moral standards. He reproved them for wasting time on drink and frivolity, for their lack of support of the poor, and for their disregard of Torah. The sharpness of his criticism led to his persecution by the community and he was either imprisoned or expelled from the community. Ezra also wrote *Netivot Shalom* (1742), homilies on the Pentateuch.

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EZRA BEN NISAN (1595–1666), *Karaite scholar and physician, leader of the community of Troki, Lithuania. In 1634 he fulfilled the duties of *dayyan*, and in 1640–43 held the position of *shofet* (judge). Ezra came in contact with the famous Jewish scholar and kabbalist Joseph Solomon *Delmedigo of Candia, who spent five years in Lithuania as a physician of Prince Krzysztof Radziwiłł. It may be that Delmedigo imparted his knowledge of medicine to him, but he probably taught him Rashi's commentary to the Pentateuch with Elijah *Mizraḥi's and *Ibn Ezra's commentaries. Ezra had a large library, which supposedly was burnt in the course of the Russian invasion in 1655. According to A. *Firkovich, Delmedigo taught him medicine, introduced him to the prince, and even to King Jan Casimir (1648–68), and Ezra occupied Delmedigo's position after he left. Accordingly, Ezra cured a daughter of the king, who granted him lands in Troki that were seized after his demise by local Dominicans, because Ezra had only two daughters who never married. There is no evidence from other sources confirming this information. Ezra also became a hero of Karaite folklore. Ezra composed some liturgical poems, some of them included in the Karaite *Siddur* (IV, Vilna 1890).

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[Golda Akhiezer (2nd ed.)]

EZRA BEN SOLOMON (d. 1238 or 1245), one of the leading kabbalists of his day in Gerona, Spain. For a long time scholars thought him identical with *Azriel b. Menahem of Gerona, since various authors attributed to Azriel works written by Ezra and vice versa. However, the poems of Meshullam b. Solomon da *Piera, a contemporary of the two and also a native of Gerona, make it possible definitely to determine that Ezra and Azriel were two different individuals who lived in Gerona at the same time. This fact is also confirmed by testimonies of kabbalists from the late 13th and early 14th centuries. G. *Scholem's discovery of several of their works and I. Tishby's studies have established that the two men represented different kabbalistic trends.

According to Abraham *Abulafia, Ezra wrote a commentary to the *Sefer *Yezirah* (see A. *Jellinek, *Beit ha-Midrash*, 3 (1938), 43) which has not survived. His commentary on the Song of Songs, attributed to *Naḥmanides, was first published in Altona in 1764, with many errors repeated in all subsequent editions. It was republished by H.D. Chavel in *Kitvei Rabbenu Moshe ben Naḥman* (2, 1964, 474–548), but this edition too contains all the errors of its predecessors. It has been translated into French and commented upon by G. Vajda (see bibl.). Both Ezra and Azriel wrote commentaries on talmudic legends. Several fragments of Ezra's commentary appear in *Likkutei Shikhḥah u-Fe'ah* (Ferrara, 1556); however, the publisher, Abraham b. Judah Elmaleh, concealed the author's name. The work exists in several manuscripts, especially Vatican 441. Two of Ezra's letters which have survived were published by G. Scholem (in *Sefer Bialik* (1934), 155–62).

Ezra's works show the influence of his teacher *Isaac the Blind. In his turn, Ezra greatly influenced his contemporaries and the kabbalists of the 13th and 14th centuries. His colleague and contemporary Jacob b. Sheshet *Gerondi, who cites him several times, sometimes in agreement and often in dispute, in *Meshiv Devarim Nekhoḥim* and *Ha-Emunah ve-ha-Bittaḥon*, calls him "the sage (*ha-ḥakham*) Rabbi Ezra." Azriel follows in Ezra's footsteps in his commentary on talmudic legends, although he changes the meaning and the outlook. The greatest scholar of the period, Naḥmanides, cites Ezra's writings on at least one occasion. As noted by I. Tishby, his influence can also be discerned in the works of other noteworthy personalities, especially *Baḥya b. Asher, who mentions him by name only twice but uses his writings many times; Joshua *Ibn Shu'ayb, who cites Ezra on many occasions in his *Derashot al ha-Torah* (the printed copy often confuses Ezra with Abraham *Ibn Ezra); and *Isaac b. Samuel of Acre, who cites Ezra in his book *Me'irat Einayim* (in Ms.). Traces of Ezra's commentary on the Song of Songs appear in the *Zohar.

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[Efraim Gottlieb]

EZRA OF MONTCONTOUR (late 12th and early 13th century), French tosafist. Ezra studied under *Judah b. Isaac Sir Leon of Paris. *Meir b. Baruch of Rothenburg studied under Ezra (see his responsum, Cremona, 312). Ezra was head of a yeshivah at Montcontour. He was generally referred to as "the prophet" by the *rishonim* and this is how he is mentioned in the *tosafot* (Git. 88a; Shev. 25a; Tos. R. Perez to BK 23b, etc.). However, mention of "Ezra" without any title might also refer to him. The epithet might stem from his connections with the kabbalists. Traditions handed down by his contemporaries relate that Ezra, like his friend *Jacob of Marvege, attained an "ascent of the soul." There is no evidence, however, that he himself was a kabbalist. According to these same traditions, Ezra was the grandson of Abraham *Ibn Ezra.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Weiss, in: HHY, 5 (1921), 46–47; Marx, *ibid.*, 197; Scholem, in: *Tarbiz*, 2 (1930/31), 244f., 514; Fried, *ibid.*, 514; Urbach, Tosafot, 278f.

[Israel Moses Ta-Shma]

EZRIN, HERSHELL (1947–), Canadian diplomat, public servant, businessman, Jewish community leader. Ezrin was born in Toronto to Sydney and Marcia Ezrin, both the children of immigrants from Russia and Poland. After graduating from Hebrew day school, he earned his B.A. and M.A. degrees in history from the University of Toronto and Carleton University before joining the Canadian Department of External Affairs in 1969, shortly after Pierre Elliot Trudeau was elected Canada's prime minister. Ezrin's foreign postings included Los Angeles, New York, and New Delhi. During the 1980s he served in high positions in the federal and Ontario governments before entering the private sector in 1988. Subsequently Ezrin held a series of top executive posts, including chairman and CEO of GPC Canada, a public affairs and strategic communications firm. He also served as a senior counselor and political adviser to several government officials.

Ezrin was active on behalf of a number of Toronto Jewish organizations, including the Holy Blossom Temple Foundation, the Baycrest Centre for Geriatric Care, and Mount Sinai Hospital. He also served as an adviser to both the State of Israel Bonds and the Canada-Israel Committee. He also served the broader community in numerous capacities, most notably as chair of the Board of the Toronto Symphony Orchestra, and wrote widely on public affairs.

In 2004 Ezrin became CEO of the Canadian Council for Israel and Jewish Advocacy (CIJA), an organization established by the Jewish federations in 2004 to lobby on behalf of the organized Jewish community on both domestic and Israel-related matters. As the first CEO of CIJA, which includes oversight of both the Canada-Israel Committee and the Canadian Jewish Congress, Ezrin had the task of giving the Canadian Jewish community effective direction and a strong and effective voice in the larger Canadian community.

[Harold M. Waller (2nd ed.)]

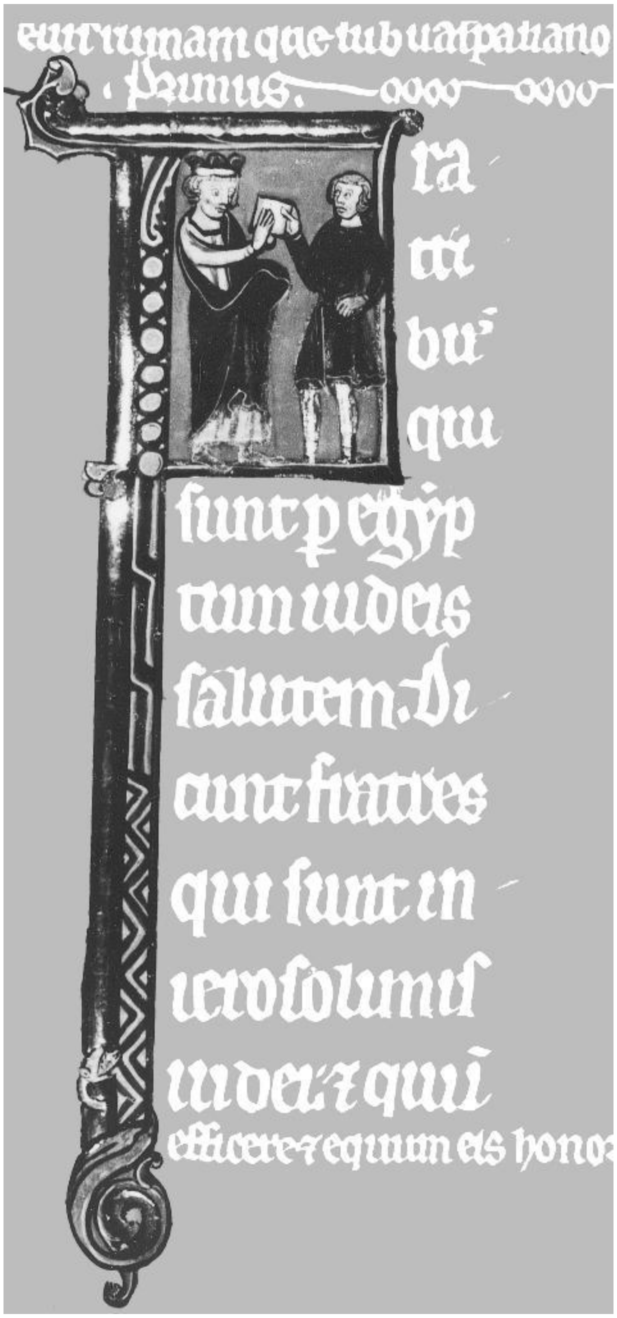
ruinam que ſub uaſpaſiano
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Historiated initial letter "F" of the word Fratribus *at the beginning of II Maccabees in a 12th-century manuscript from France. It illustrates the sending of the letter from the Jews of Jerusalem to their brethren in Egypt calling on them to observe the feast of Ḥannukah. Bordeaux, Bibliothèque Municipale, Ms. 21, fol. 256v.*

FA–FEU

FABIUS, LAURENT (1946–), French politician – the youngest premier in the history of the Republic. Fabius was born in France to a Jewish family which converted to Catholicism during World War II. After completing his studies in political science and humanities, he became active in the Socialist party. In 1978 he was elected deputé to the French Assembly. When François Mitterrand was elected president of the Republic in 1981, Fabius joined the government, first as minister in charge of the budget (1981–83) and then as minister for industry and research (1983–84). In 1984, with the collapse of the alliance between the Socialists and the Communists and the generally poor showing of the government in the public opinion polls, Mitterrand called in Fabius, as a representative of the new technocratic trend in the Socialist party, to lead the new government. With the appointment of the young, articulate politician, polls took an upswing. "Modernization and unity – these will be the priorities of my government," stated Fabius when taking office.

In 1986 the Socialists were ousted by a right-wing government and Fabius ceased to be prime minister. When the Socialists returned to power in 1988, Fabius was elected president of the National Assembly, a position he held until he became first secretary of the Socialist party in 1992. He had the difficult task of pulling the party out of a slump but support for the Socialists continued to plummet. At the end of 1992, the party agreed to send him and two former health ministers to trial for their ministerial responsibility for a 1985 scandal when HIV-contaminated blood had been knowingly distributed by high officials; over 1,000 people had acquired the HIV virus and 200 died. The National Assembly and the Senate endorsed the decision to send the three to trial. Fabius had asked to be brought to trial, saying to the Senate "Innocent and recognized as such, I come before you to ask you to charge me with errors I did not commit," and was eventually found not guilty. Reelected a member of the National Assembly in 1993, he became, its president for the second time two years later when the left came back to power. In 2000 he was appointed minister of economy, finances and industry in the government led by Socialist premier Lionel Jospin, but the electoral defeat of the left in the 2002 general elections sent him back to the opposition benches of the National Assembly. In 2004 Fabius took a strong stand against the European constitutional treaty, a rather unexpected move that surprised political commentators, who viewed him as a moderate, center-to-left politician. Defying the leadership of the Socialist Party, which endorsed the constitutional treaty, Fabius followed the mood of the public, which overwhelmingly dismissed the treaty in the referendum of May 2005, thereby conceivably improving his chances in the presidential elections of 2007.

Fabius wrote *La France inégale* (1975), *Le cœur du futur* (1985), *C'est en allant vers la mer* (1990), *Les blessures de la vérité* (1995), *Cela commence par une ballade* (2003), and *Une certaine idée de l'Europe* (2004).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: J.-G. Fredet, *Fabius, les brûlures d'une ambition* (2001).

[Gideon Kouts / Dror Franck Sullaper (2nd ed.)]

FABLE, an animal tale (according to the most general and hence most widely accepted definition), i.e., a tale in which the characters are animals, and which contains a moral lesson. The genre also includes tales in which plants or inanimate objects act and talk.

Introduction

Definitions vary according to the importance ascribed to the thematic factor (the animal story) or the functional factor (its didactic tendency). As a literary creation, the fable developed out of oral folklore, and it can thus be asserted that the thematic element is closely related to those popular origins, while the didactic quality is the product of a more sophisticated cultural level, usually of an individual whose specific aim is to educate (e.g., the Greek pedagogues, the rabbis of the Mishnah and the Talmud, the *darshanim*, and the priests of the various churches during the Middle Ages). Because the earliest sources of the European literary fable and the oldest known collection are connected with the name of the Greek Aesop, the animal fable has often been called the Aesopian fable.

While the animal society of the fable operates very similarly to its human analogue, the activity, in general, remains exclusively within the realm of the animal world. Some fables, however, do depict interaction between humans and animals. A similarity between the fable and the fairy tale (*maerchen*, Heb. *ma'asiyyah*) is seen in this fanciful conception of animals functioning as human beings. Yet within the fable itself, the plot is usually realistic and seldom contains magical elements, such as metamorphoses, revivals of the dead, and ghosts. The fable further differs from the fairy tale in its being mono-episodic. A series of episodes related or written together have developed into the beast epic, but each of those episodes can be isolated from its wider context. Like the fairy tale, though, the fable too uses universal motifs and stock characters. The latter are either stereotyped or endowed with conventional functions within the animal society.

The source of the fable lies in the observation of animals in their natural setting, and the tale often remains etiological. More sophisticated plots and the didactic application of the concrete story to the realm of ethics result from the tendency to draw obvious parallels and to develop potential analogies. In these cases, the two possible narrative forms are the metaphorical and generalizing fables.

Among various conjectures as to the origin of the fable, the 19th-century scholar, Julius Landsberger, maintained that the fable originated with the Jews (*Hebraeer*), pointing out the similarity between the names Aesop and Asaph. While this theory has been contradicted (by Joseph *Jacobs and others), some of the Hebrew fables are nevertheless among the most ancient that are extant in literary form. These are traced back to the 15th–14th centuries B.C.E., and a still earlier oral tradition can be assumed.

The Hebrew term for fable, *mashal* (מָשָׁל), is linked, in popular etymology, to the two homonymic roots *mshl*, meaning respectively "to liken," and "to rule." This is explained by the fact that *meshalim* were narrated by rulers or related to future rulers in order to instruct them in just ways.

In the Bible

The biblical term refers to the proverb, aphorism, and to allegorical prophecy. Later interpretation applied the term to allegory (Ezek. 17:3–12), to the parable (II Sam. 12:1–4), and to the fable. Of the latter there are two prime examples: Jotham's fable told to the citizens of Shechem on Mount Gerizim (Judg. 9:8–15), in which he likens their king, Abimelech, to the bramble which became the king of the trees; and the fable of the thistle and the cedar of Lebanon in the answer given by Jehoash, the king of Israel, to Amaziah, the king of

Judah (II Kings 14:9; II Chron. 25:18). One interpretation of I Kings 5:13 (where Solomon is said to have spoken of trees and animals) is that it refers to Solomon's writing of fables, a field in which the Semitic wise man (e.g., *Ahikar) characteristically engaged.

In the Talmud and Midrash

A much richer source of fables is the talmudic-midrashic literature, which mentions several outstanding fabulists, notably *Hillel (Sof. 16:7), and his pupil, *Johanan b. Zakkai (Suk. 28a; BB 134a; Sof. 16:6). Johanan mastered three genres: fox tales, palm tales (lit., "the talk of palm trees"), and washerman tales. (The last, *mishlei kovesim*, has been interpreted by Landsberger (see bibl.) as referring to the first century C.E. Libyan fabulist, Kybisses, a view rejected by D. Noy (see bibl. *Maḥanayim*, 91), and others.) According to the Talmud, the most prolific of the fabulists was R. *Meir, a *tanna* in the last generation (Sanh. 38b–39b); he was reputed to have known 300 fables, but only three were transmitted to his students. (The numbers are formulistic and perhaps exaggerated.) It is even said that when he died "the composers of fables ceased" (Sot. 49a). J.L. *Gordon argues that R. Meir's fables were Aesopian and that he had heard them from his teacher, *Elisha b. Avuyah, who was acquainted with Greek culture. *Bar Kappara, in the following generation, is said to have known as many fables as R. Meir (Eccles. R. 1:3). It is interesting to note that the fox, the hero of a great number of European fables, is a central figure in the talmudic tradition of animal fables. In the Midrash, the fox himself is depicted as a teller of fables (Gen. R. 78:7).

The same period reflects an increased affinity with the Aesopian tradition and the Indian animal tales (as they are known from the Jatakas and the *Panchatantra*). According to Jacobs, of 30 talmudic fables only six lack Greek or Indian parallels; many show both. I. *Ziegler maintains that the fables as taught by the rabbis were adapted to their audience more than their Greek counterparts: the insistence on moral and theological teaching is stronger with the rabbis, as seen in the following comparison of *epimythia* (i.e., the proverb-like statements concluding the narrative). In the fable of the fox who ate too many grapes and was required to fast before he was able to leave the vineyard, the Aesopian version concludes that time takes care of everything, whereas *Ecclesiastes Rabbah* brings a moralizing quotation from Ecclesiastes (5:14): "As he came forth of his mother's womb, naked shall he return."

In the Middle Ages

THE ALPHABET OF *BEN SIRA. Among the stories in this work are the fable of Leviathan and the fox, an etiological fable about the enmity between cat and mouse; and other stories containing motifs from international folklore and possibly based on folktales. The 1698 Amsterdam edition was printed with "*Musar al-pi ha-Ḥidah*," a fragment of a collection of fables, printed in the early 16th century under the name *Ḥidot Isopeto.* ("The Riddles of Isopet"). The name Isopeto, for Aesop, appears in other Jewish writings, and parallels the name Ysopet in the Romance languages.

ḤIBBUR YAFEH MIN HA-YESHU'AH ("The Book of Redemption"). In the 11th century Rabbenu Nissim, from Kairouan (see *Nissim b. Jacob b. Nissim ibn Shahin), wrote this book of tales, which also includes two fables. The work, originally written in Arabic, was discovered in 1896; prior to that, only the Hebrew translation (*Ma'asiyyot she-ba-Talmud*, Constantinople, 1519) was known.

KALILA AND DIMNA. Translated into Latin as *Directorium Vitae by* the apostate *John of Capua, this composition was of great importance to European fable literature; it became the basis of all translations. According to A.S. Rappoport, the Greek translation of *Kalila and Dimna* (ed. by J. Derenbourg, 1881) was also made by a Jew, Simeon, in 1080. The original is to be traced back through the eighth-century Arabic translation to an origin in the Indian *Panchatantra.* This line of influence from India nourished the prose fiction of the Jews of Muslim and later of Christian Spain and of Provence.

SEFER SHA'ASHU'IM ("Book of Delights"). Written at the end of the 12th century by Joseph b. Meir *Ibn Zabara – whose cultural environment was clearly Muslim – this work bears some relation to the *Taḥkemoni* of Judah *Al-Ḥarizi, and to the *maqamat* of the Arabic poet Al-Ḥariri. It contains a fable which deals with a conflict between the strong leopard and the sly fox and which in turn forms the framework for another fable and for four other stories, describing faithless women (one of them the widow of Ephesus, which also appears in Petronius' *Satyricon*). One of the stories is a version of the fable of the fox in the vineyard, completely devoid, however, of the homiletic bent of the Midrash. The book shows traces of Arabic, Greek, and Indian culture, and has parallels in collections of medieval exempla literature. It was translated into English by M. Hadas as *The Book of Delight* (1960).

BEN HA-MELEKH VE-HA-NAZIR ("The Prince and the Hermit"). Translated into Hebrew by Abraham ibn Ḥisdai in Spain at the end of the 12th or beginning of the 13th century (first printed edition, Constantinople, 1518), this work was discovered by Steinschneider to be a translation and adaptation of the Greek "Barlaam and Joasaph." Indian in origin (c. eighth century), it is a typical example of Indian wisdom literature, in which the stories are told by a wise man as he tutors a young prince.

MISHLEI SHU'ALIM ("Fox Fables"). This work was written by R. *Berechiah b. Natronai ha-Nakdan who lived during the creative period of Jewish fable literature (end of the 12th and beginning of the 13th century), and was printed in Mantua in 1557. The use of the name *Mishlei Shu'alim*, identical with a genre of fables mentioned in the Talmud (Suk. 28a; Sanh. 38b), is explained on the title page by the statement that the fox is the most cunning of animals, and therefore the cleverest. The number of fables included in this collection varies between 107 and 115 with the different manuscripts. They are written in the form of *maqamat*, in a clear, lively style; structurally each has an *epimythium*, the first two lines of which comprise the *pro-*

mythium as well (i.e., a proverb-like statement at the opening of the narrative). The religious tendency of the Midrash, totally absent in *Sefer Sha'ashu'im*, appears vaguely in Berechiah's composition. Its tone is clearly Jewish: biblical references are numerous, other sources are echoed in it, mythological creatures are changed to men. A talmudic reference to R. *Akiva (Ber. 61) is the source of Berechiah's story of the fox and the fish. On the other hand, the work also displays many parallels to the West-European Aesopian tradition, including the Old-French compilation of Marie de France and the *Directorium Vitae.* Some parallels also appear in the popular late-medieval beast epic *Roman de Renart* (High German, *Reinhart Fuchs*; Low German, *Reynke de Vos*). It is possible that Marie de France and Berechiah had common sources in the West European Isopet traditions, in which case the title and the printer's remark can be explained by the immense popularity of fox fables at that period.

Mishlei Shu'alim became part of European Jewish culture: a Yiddish translation by Jacob Koppelman appeared as early as 1588 in Freiburg, and was reprinted several times in Prague, Vilna, and Warsaw, Several reprints in Hebrew were also rendered in different parts of Europe. Popular among non-Jews as well, it appeared in a Latin translation by Melchior Hanel (Prague, 1661), and the German author, G.E. Lessing, translated seven of the fables into German (*Abhandlung ueber die Fabel*, 1759). M. Hadas published an English translation, *Fables of a Jewish Aesop* (1967).

MESHAL HA-KADMONI ("The Fable of the Ancient"). The Spanish Hebrew writer, Isaac ben Solomon ibn *Sahula, aspired to create a Hebrew fable independent of foreign influences, and titled his book *Meshal ha-Kadmoni*, so as to stress the fact that its sources were in the Talmud and Midrash. In fact, however, he did not succeed in completely eliminating foreign influences. Written in the form of a *maqama*, the fables are cast in dialogue. Their moral lessons are Jewish, and the animals, well versed in Jewish learning: the deer is an expert in Talmud, the rooster, a Bible scholar, and the hare knows the *posekim*. They are also knowledgeable in such fields as logic, grammar, and biology. Neither characterization nor plots are fabular in the popular or traditional sense, which, according to Heller, renders Sahula's fables less important than those of Ibn Zabara or of Berechiah. *Meshal ha-Kadmoni* was first printed in 1480. The Venetian edition of 1546 is amply and imaginatively illustrated with pictures of the disputing animals. The book, which gained popularity, was translated into Yiddish by Gershon Wiener (Frankfurt, 1693).

SEFER HA-MESHALIM ("The Book of Riddles"). The 13th-century kabbalist Joseph *Gikatilla compiled this non-kabbalistic collection of approximately 140 riddles, essentially didactic in nature, and often lacking the ingenuity of a genuine riddle. (Some manuscripts, however, include only about half the number of riddles.) The basis of comparison in these riddles varies among plants, animals, and inanimate objects. It was published by I. Davidson in 1927.

IGGERET BA'ALEI ḤAYYIM ("The Animals' Collection"). A translation by *Kalonymus b. Kalonymus (Arles, 1316, in seven days) of the end of the 25th book of a Muslim encyclopedia, its first printed edition appeared in Mantua in 1557 (ed. by J. Landsberger, 1882). Its sources include Greek and Arabic but are primarily Indian. Several elements of this work are not characteristic of the fable: the animals, for instance, dispute throughout the book with human beings before the king of ghosts, and the plot is not mono-episodic. On the other hand, the context of law courts and the depiction of animals functioning like human beings do resemble the fable. The Jewish element in the translation is the addition of a Jew to the Muslim who represents men in the trial. There is clearly a relationship between *Iggeret Ba'alei Ḥayyim* and the Bidpai literature, and parallels to some of its "characters" are found in *Kalila and Dimna.* The popularity of this work is evidenced by the fact that it was printed several times and translated into Yiddish.

MISHLEI SENDABAR ("The Tales of Sendabar," Sindbad). Translated into Hebrew the same year as *Iggeret Ba'alei Ḥayyim* (1316), these tales exist in eight Oriental versions (Greek, Syriac, Old Spanish, three Persian ones, Arabic, and Hebrew), all under the same name. (In all the major Western languages they appear as *The Seven Sages.*) M. Epstein suggests the possibility of a Hebrew origin on the basis of a similarity to Vashti the Queen in the Book of Esther. The wickedness of women is the central theme of both the frame tale and those told by the sages. One of the sages of the Hebrew version, Lokman, is, according to tradition, the Arabic Aesop. The distinctive feature of the Hebrew *Mishlei Sendabar* is the freeing of the woman at the end; in other versions she is killed or otherwise severely punished. The intermediary between the Indian and the Arabic versions is generally held to be Pahlevi. Epstein points out, however, that the Hebrew alone bears some features which distinguish the Western from the Eastern version. According to others, the bridge is either the Byzantine Empire or the Crusaders. A.M. *Habermann's view is that the book was translated to Hebrew from Arabic, although this has not been proved to be the only possibility. Modern editions include M. Epstein's (*Tales of Sendebar,* 1967) and A.M. Habermann's (*Mishlei Sindbad*, 1946). (See *Sindabar.)

MISHLEI IRASTO ("Tales of Irasto"). Translated by the early 16th century rabbi of Amsterdam, Isaac *Uziel, this work is very similar to *Mishlei Sindabar,* but the coarse elements have been excluded. It was translated, according to Habermann, from Italian; according to A. *Elmaleh (editor of *Mishlei Irasto*, 1945), from Latin.

In the Post-Medieval Period

THE KUHBUCH. This most popular collection of Yiddish fables in Europe is known only in Moses Wallich's edition (Frankfurt, 1687). Its name is taken from an earlier compilation of the same name, no longer extant, which was printed in 1555 by Abraham b. Mattathias. While it apparently included parts of *Mishlei Shu'alim* and *Meshal ha-Kadmoni*, its fables are not direct translations; it also includes stories in the typical Renaissance style of Decameron. A modern German translation by R. Beatus was published by A. Freimann in 1926.

DARSHANIM. The various ideological schools of medieval Jewry employed fables as religious exempla. The rationalists, the Hasidei Ashkenaz, and the representatives of the Kabbalah in its various stages all used fables allegorically or metaphorically to support and to exemplify their ideas. It is quite likely that fables were used by *darshanim* after the Middle Ages as well, although few examples are extant. Fables with a clear homiletical tendency appear among the *meshalim* of Jacob of Dubno (Jacob *Kranz, better known as the Dubno Maggid), one of the outstanding *darshanim* of the Musar Movement. It is somewhat exaggerated, however, to call him "the Jewish Aesop," as M. *Mendelssohn did, since he drew the background material for his fables primarily from everyday life; as H. Glatt (*He Spoke in Parables*, 1957) has said, "he was more of a parablist than a fabler." One of his fables is the Aesopian "One Donkey for Two People." Other classical fables in his repertoire include "The Crafty Woodcock" (i.e., the Aesopian "The Fox, the Cock, and the Dog") and "The Utensils that Gave Birth" (cf. *Kalila and Dimna* and *Panchatantra*). The stories in his commentary to *Pirkei Avot* also contain fables.

In Modern Hebrew Literature

EARLY PERIOD. Modern Hebrew literature, highly didactic in its early stages (late 18th–early 19th centuries), found the fable a useful literary device. Isaac ha-Levi *Satanow wrote the pseudepigraphic *Mishlei Asaf* (2 vols., Berlin, 1788–91). Imaginatively attributed to Asaph b. Berechiah (I Chron. 6:24), the work is stylistically imitative of Proverbs and the Wisdom of *Ben Sira. Its animal fables, which tend to be allegorical, are composed in the talmudic and the Aesopian traditions. In the same period, such writers as Joel *Loewe and Isaac Euchel dealt with the fable from a theoretical standpoint.

Shalom ben Jacob *Cohen's *Mishlei Agur* (Berlin, 1799; 1911) includes verses and verse-dramas, which sometimes have fabular characteristics. The Yiddish satirist Solomon *Ettinger, who associated with the Zamosc *maskilim*, differed from most of his contemporaries in stressing style more than ideology. Influenced by German drama and fable literature (Lessing, Gellert), Ettinger added Jewish content to the foreign themes. Many of his fables are essentially epigrammatic.

LATE 19TH CENTURY. Later in the 19th century, the poet J.L. Gordon published *Mishlei Yehudah* (1860), a collection mainly of translations of La Fontaine's fables. In the preface to this work, he gave a history of the Hebrew fable. *Gam Elleh Mishlei Yehudah*, another collection of fables, appeared in 1871. While Gordon essentially collected and transmitted fables from the European tradition to Hebrew, A. *Paperna wrote a book of fables *Mishlei ha-Zeman* (1894), essentially a long discourse among various animals on the question of who was the happiest of them all. Irony is the dominating tone of the work, and amusement apparently its primary purpose, although it may also have some practical implications. In verging on the comic, this work resembles the 18th-century German fables. In 1893 Joshua *Steinberg published his *Mishlei Yehoshu'a* which are mainly epigrams. Collections of East European Jewish fables such as these were published as far east as Baghdad.

HEBREW TRANSLATIONS OF FABLES. A number of (Hebrew) translations of fables appeared in the 19th century, including: I.L. *Jeiteles' translation of Lessing's fables; Solomon Pundy's (b. 1812) of the German folklorist Pfeffel's fables; Benjamin Kewall's (1806–1880) adaptation of 52 of Aesop's fables *Pirḥei Kedem* (1843). The Italian Jewish writer S.D. *Luzzatto in *Kinnor Na'im* (Vienna, 1825), translated fables by Aesop and Lessing. Krylov's fables were translated by Meir Wolf Singer (1885) and by Chayim Susskind (1891). In the beginning of the 20th century a new translation of Lessing's fables was made by Moses *Reicherson (1902), and a translation of Krylov by S.L. *Gordon (1907). More than 400 years after its translation into Hebrew, *Kalila and Dimna* was retranslated by Elmaleh (1926).

THE 20TH CENTURY. Few literary fables have been written in the 20th century. Among Jewish works, the most important is probably that written by Eliezer *Steinbarg and published in Romania (*Shriftn*, 2 vols., 1932–33), shortly after the death of the author. The two volumes, written in rich, rhythmic Yiddish verse, include 150 fables of animals and inanimate objects alike. (His fables were published earlier (1928) with wood-cuts by A. *Kolnik.) Some of the fables have *epimythia*; others convey the moral lesson through the tale itself.

Hananiah Reichman, who translated the fables of Krylov (1950), includes in his epigrammatic collections much fabular material, adapted to his own concise and ironic verse form. His books include *Mi-Mishlei ha-Ammim u-mi-Pi Ḥakhamim* (1941), *Pitgamim u-Mikhtamim* (1955), and *Devash va-Okeẓ* (1960). He also translated Steinbarg's fables into Hebrew (1954). An interesting contribution is E. *Fleischer's *Meshalim* (1957), a book of fables which was sent to Ereẓ Israel from a prison camp in Eastern Europe. The author used the pseudonym Bar-Abba. Written basically in the classical vein of La Fontaine and Krylov, these fables have new themes and combine humor with bitter social satire.

The religious fables (a minority among parables, as *Yalkut Meshalim* (ed. S. Sheinfold) generally in the case of exempla) of the Ḥafez Ḥayyim (R. *Israel Meir ha-Kohen from Radin) were published in Tel Aviv in 1952. From the oral tradition, Naphtali Gross' *Mayselekh un Mesholim* (1955, 1968^2) shows a low percentage of fables in the East European Jewish tradition. Less than five percent (27 of the 540 fables) in the collection are fables. H. Schwarzbaum's commentary shows that these few have a great affinity to both the European Aesopian tradition and to the traditional Jewish sources. The percentage of animal fables is still lower (less than two percent) in the collections of the Israel Folktale Archives.

Summary

The fable in general, and Jewish fable in particular, has almost disappeared from the oral tradition. The largest number of Jewish fables is found in the talmudic-midrashic literature in the Near East, and in the medieval European Jewish collections. Foreign influences upon these fables are decisive, but it is clear to both reader and scholar that some of the early stages of the history of the fable, as far as it can be reconstructed at the present, point to Ereẓ Israel.

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[Galit Hasan-Rockem]

°FABRI, FELIX (15th century), Dominican monk in Ulm (Germany). In 1480 he accompanied the German noble Georg von Stein on a pilgrimage to Palestine. Landing at Jaffa, Fabri proceeded by way of Ramleh to Jerusalem. From there he visited Jericho and Bethlehem, and a longer journey took him through Hebron and Gaza to Mount Sinai. He returned to Ulm in 1483. Fabri noted many remarkable details in the countries he visited and wrote an account of his travels that has been translated in the Palestine Pilgrims' Texts.

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[Michael Avi-Yonah]

FABRICANT, SOLOMON (1906–1989), U.S. economist. Fabricant, who was born in Brooklyn, New York, received his B.A. from New York University and his M.A. (1930) and Ph.D. in economics from Columbia University (1938). In 1930 he joined the National Bureau of Economic Research as a research assistant. He was connected with the Bureau throughout his career, and from 1953 to 1965 was director of research. In 1947, after World War II service with the War Production Board and the European regional office of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Agency (UNRRA), he became an associate professor of economics at New York University and a year later a full professor. In 1955 he became a member of the NBER board of directors, and a director emeritus in 1981. During his 50 years with the Bureau, he produced research on such topics as manufacturing output and employment, business cycles, government employment, and changes in productivity.

Regarded as the world authority on the characteristics of business cycles and the "father" of current productivity measures, Fabricant devoted himself to research and writing on developmental economics, business fluctuations, and macroeconomic theory.

His numerous publications include *Output of Manufacturing Industries, 1899–1937* (1940), *Employment in Manufacturing, 1899–1939* (1942), *The Trend of Government Activity in the United States since 1900* (1952), *Basic Facts on Productivity Change* (1959), *Measurement of Technological Change* (1965), *A Primer on Productivity* (1969), *Five Monographs on Business Income* (with C. Warburton, 1973), and *The Economic Growth of the United States: Perspective and Prospective* (1979).

[Joachim O. Ronall / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

FACING HISTORY AND OURSELVES, Holocaust education program begun in 1976 just as consciousness of the Holocaust was moving beyond the survivor community, when two Brookline, Massachusetts, teachers integrated a unit on the Holocaust and Human Behavior into their 8th grade social studies course. Throughout the next decade, it expanded its outreach, first in Massachusetts with support from that state's Department of Education, and then across the country as one of the model programs designated by the National Diffusion Network of the Office of Education.

In 1990, Facing History opened its first regional office in Chicago, to be followed by offices in six other regions and one in Europe. The organization has now evolved into a program of teacher training, resource preparation, and ongoing research and development that now reaches more than 21,000 educators and over 1.6 million students in 90 countries around the world.

Faithful to its name, there are two dimensions to Facing History and Ourselves, the historical material and the individual student – the self. Facing History's intellectual and pedagogic framework was built upon a synthesis of history and ethics for effective history education. It included a language and a vocabulary for studying difficult and complicated history. It conveyed an understanding that such history did not have to happen but instead was the culmination of a series of ongoing choices (or lack of choosing) and decisions at every level of society. It further engaged students with a sense of the connection of that history to their present and future worlds. The model was interdisciplinary, and built upon the methods of the humanities – inquiry, analysis, interpretation, and judgment. Facing History engaged students in confronting, as distinct from simply studying, the past. Its pedagogy insisted on going beyond the simple answer and response to grapple with complexity and uncertainty in order to come to informed choice which recognized an ethical imperative while rejecting helpless relativism.

From the beginning the core case study of Facing History and Ourselves has been an in-depth study of the failure of democracy in Germany and the events leading to the Holocaust. Studying the unique and universal lessons of the Holocaust helps students to think morally about their own behavior and to reflect on the moral nature of the decisions they have made. By examining the circumstances of this piece of history, students explore fundamental issues of citizenship, responsibility, and decision-making in a democracy.

In Facing History classrooms, middle and high school students learn to think about individual decision-making and to exercise the faculty of making judgments. By illuminating common themes of justice, law, and morality in the past and present, Facing History offers students a framework and a vocabulary for examining the meaning and responsibility of citizenship and the tools to recognize bigotry and indifference in their own worlds. Through a rigorous examination of the steps and events that led to the Holocaust, along with other case studies of collective violence and genocide, Facing History teaches one of the most significant and necessary lessons for adolescents to understand: prevention of collective violence is possible. The mass violence and genocide in the past were not inevitable but rather were shaped by choices made by individuals and groups – choices that at the time may have seemed ordinary and unimportant, but taken together, led to extraordinary, unimaginable consequences.

Facing History encourages adolescents to draw connections among events in the past, choices in the present, and the possibilities of the future. It began with the study of the Holocaust and the Armenian Genocide but it gradually expanded its concerns. The Facing History program offers teachers and students vocabulary, concepts, and materials to confront the mass violations of human rights and human dignity in recent history, whether they be in the breakdown of democracy in Germany in the 1920s and 1930s, or in South Africa, or the Armenian Genocide, or the more recent genocides in Rwanda, Bosnia, or the Sudan.

Students learn to recognize universal themes of prejudice, discrimination, and de-humanization, as well as courage, caring, responsible participation, and steps that can be taken toward prevention.

The Facing History framework is also built upon the notion that democracies are fragile enterprises and can only remain vital through the active, thoughtful, and responsible participation of its citizens. Education for democratic citizenship means encouraging students to recognize that participation can make a difference and is integral to the ethical choices and decisions that we all face. Very often, those decisions are influenced by labeling and stereotyping, and by how we define group identities and who belongs and who does not. Facing History courses embody a sequence of study which begins with identity – first individual identity and then group identities with their definitions of membership. From there the study examines the failure of democracy and the steps leading to the Holocaust – the most documented case of 20th century indifference, de-humanization, hatred, racism, and antisemitism. It goes on to explore difficult questions of judgment, memory, and legacy, and the necessity for responsible participation to prevent injustice. The program ends with a section called "Choosing to Participate" with examples of individuals who have taken small steps to build just and inclusive communities and whose stories illuminate the courage and compassion that is needed to protect democracy today and in generations to come.

Facing History is often described as a journey, back and forth between past, present, and future. Its language and vocabulary are tools for entry into history – terms like perpetrator, victim, defender, bystander, rescuer, collaborator, and opportunist. Students learn that terms like identity, membership, legacy, denial, memory, and judgment can help them understand complicated history, but that an authentic use of that language needs to be rooted in the constellation of individual and group choices, decisions, and behaviors that Facing History has called "Ourselves."

The Facing History journey further embraces a pedagogy that is rooted in the concerns and issues of adolescence: the overarching interest in individual and group identity; in acceptance or rejection, in conformity or non-conformity, in labeling, ostracism, loyalty, fairness, and peer group pressure. It speaks to the adolescent's newly discovered ideas of subjectivity, competing truths, and differing perspectives, along with the growing capacity to think hypothetically and the inclination to find personal meaning in newly introduced phenomena.

The elements of Facing History pedagogy have been demonstrated in hundreds of institutes and workshops and have characterized teaching and learning in thousands of classrooms. These institutes are given in both face-to-face and online environments, and include an online campus with modules and lesson plans to extend the program. Since the examination of difficult and complex issues of human behavior in critical moments in past and present requires careful thinking and reflection, Facing History teachers employ effective strategies to encourage students to listen, to take another's perspective, to understand differing points of view, and to undertake intellectual risks in their analysis and discussion. Meaningful intellectual growth is a process of confronting imbalance and dissonance as students grapple with new ideas and different perspectives that contradict unexamined premises, so these teachers carefully challenge generalizations and push for clear distinctions in language and explication. Building upon the increasing ability to think hypothetically and imagine options, Facing History teachers stretch the historical imagination by urging delineation of what might have been done, choices that could have been made, and alternative scenarios that could have come about.

Equally important, Facing History pedagogy embodies teaching the skills of in-depth historical thinking and understanding. These include knowledge of chronology, causality, and point of view; along with the ability to analyze evidence, take different perspectives, make distinctions and understand relationships. Facing History teachers make these skills explicit and provide opportunities for continual demonstration and practice. They further believe that all students are capable of attaining the high standards necessary to engage deeply in the resource materials of the program. Yet students learn differently, so it is essential to use multiple assessments in their classrooms to honor the complexity of their thinking.

Evaluation of Facing History has been a priority of the program since its inception. Researchers have studied the impact of the program in such areas as adolescent psychosocial and moral development and education, violence and violence prevention, historical understanding, citizenship education, empathy, self-concept and social interest, academic achievement, teacher professional development, and school climate. In a major study funded by the Carnegie Corporation of New York, Facing History classes were shown to be significantly successful in expanding adolescents' capacities for interpersonal understanding, and in enhancing the ability to reflect upon the personal meaning of issues of social justice.

As Facing History completes three decades of teaching about the Holocaust and other examples of collective violence and looks ahead to the 21st century, its impetus is to go beyond memory and legacy and ask how those perspectives can lead to prevention. Its content and pedagogy is helping students become more global and giving them tools and concepts to build bridges and relationships for global understanding and participation. Thus, the global outreach to educators has become critical. Through its website (www.facinghistory.org) Facing History has facilitated online forums for scholars and educators on such issues as the impact of religion on identity, the nature of transitional justice in societies which have undergone mass violence, and the role of education in creating a civil society. Through its power to engage teachers and students, Facing History can facilitate thoughtful and positive change in a school community and convey that while participation can make a difference in sustaining democracy. Such participation, including judgments of right and wrong, needs to be informed, as opposed to constrained by history.

Major Facing History Publications

Included are *Facing History and Ourselves: Holocaust and Human Behavior* (primary resource book); *Crime Against Humanity and Civilization: The Genocide of the Armenians; I Promised I Would Tell* (Holocaust Survivor Memoir); *Elements of Time* (companion guide to Facing History's videotape collection of Holocaust survivor testimonies); *Facing History and Ourselves: Jews of Poland; Race and Membership in American History; The Eugenics Movement*.

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[Martin Sleeper (2nd ed.)]

FACKENHEIM, EMIL (1916–2003), philosopher. Fackenheim was born in Halle, Germany. After graduating from the Stadtgymnasium in 1935, and despite the encouragement of his classics teacher, Adolph Loercher, to study classical philology, he chose to move to Berlin and enter the rabbinical program at the Hochschule fuer die Wissenschaft des Judentums. For three years, he studied Midrash, Bible, history, and philosophy; he also began a degree in philosophy at the University of Halle. His academic career in Germany was interrupted by *Kristallnacht* and internment for several months in Sachsenhausen. In the spring of 1940 he fled to Aberdeen, Scotland, and matriculated in a degree program in philosophy at the university. A year later, he and other refugees were gathered in camps and dispersed throughout the British Empire. Fackenheim traveled by ship to Canada, was interned in a camp in Sherbrooke, Ontario, and eventually released. He was accepted into the doctoral program in philosophy at the University of Toronto and received his degree in 1945 with a dissertation on Medieval Arabic philosophy and its classical antecedents. From 1943 to 1948 he served as rabbi for congregation Anshe Shalom in Hamilton, Ontario. Invited to teach philosophy at the University of Toronto in 1948, he remained there until 1983, when he retired as university professor. He and his family immigrated to Israel in 1983. He taught at the Institute for Contemporary Jewry at the Hebrew University for several years. In the 1980s he taught German theological students in Israel and in the 1990s traveled several times to Germany, receiving various degrees and honors.

In the postwar period Fackenheim pursued two intellectual interests. First, he examined the tension between faith and reason from Kant to Kierkegaard, writing important essays on Kant on evil and on history and essays on Schelling. Second, he explored the role of revelation in modern culture, in particular Jewish faith, autonomy, the challenge of naturalism and secularism, and the defense of revelation in the thought of Martin Buber and Franz Rosenzweig. Fackenheim developed an existential account of historically situated agency and self-constitution, which he articulated and defended in his short book, *Metaphysics and Historicity*, based on his Aquinas Lecture at Marquette University. His philosophical project on faith and reason, for which he received a Guggenheim Fellowship in 1956–57, became a book on Hegel, *The Religious Dimension in Hegel's Thought*, published in 1968. In the course of the decade that he worked on Hegel, Fackenheim's existential thinking took the shape of a distinctly dialectical style of argumentation and analysis, indebted to his interpretive work on Hegel and to his understanding of the early works of Kierkegaard.

Until 1966 Fackenheim had largely avoided dealing with the Nazi assault on Jews and Judaism and the atrocities of the death camps. In the summer of 1966 he delivered a paper on the "death of God" movement and the "self-exposure of faith to the modern secular world," in which he ended by acknowledging the centrality of facing the horrors of Auschwitz. At the end of that paper, he acknowledged the role that Elie *Wiesel's autobiographical, fictional reflections might play in showing how Jewish faith could be exposed to those horrors and yet survive. The next spring, on March 24, 1967, at a symposium convened by the American Jewish Committee and organized by the editor of its journal *Judaism*, Steven Schwarzchild, "Jewish Values in a Post-Holocaust Future," Fackenheim first formulated and presented his imperative for authentic Jewish response to the Holocaust, what he called the 614th commandment, "Jews are forbidden to give Hitler any posthumous victories." He elaborated the reasoning that led to this imperative and its hermeneutical content in "Jewish Faith and the Holocaust," which appeared in *Commentary* and, in a slightly different form, in the introduction to his book of essays, *Quest for Past and Future*. Its argument received its most developed form in the third chapter of *God's Presence in History*, published in 1970 and based on his 1968 Deems Lectures at New York University.

In these central writings, Fackenheim argued that no intellectual understanding – historical, political, theological, or psychological – of the evil of Auschwitz is possible; the event has no "meaning" or "purpose." Even the most comprehensive philosophical systems, the Hegelian system most of all, founder on the rock of radical evil. But while no such intellectual comprehension is satisfying and hence no intellectual response acceptable, an existential response is necessary. No theoretical, philosophical, or theological source, however, is capable of framing what a genuine response should be. At this point, thought must go to school with life; one can and must turn to actual lived experience, during and after the event, to grasp how Jews have responded and hence how one ought to respond. Ongoing Jewish life, Fackenheim claims, can be interpreted as a response to a sense of obligation or duty, and this duty is a duty to oppose all that Nazism sought to accomplish in its hatred of Jews and Judaism and in its rejection of human dignity and worth. While for secular Jews, such a duty has no ground but is accepted as binding without one, for believing Jews, the only ground that is possible is the Voice of a Commanding God. Hence, for them, it has the status of a divine command, alongside but not superseding the other, traditional 613 Biblical commandments. It is, in his famous formulation, a 614th commandment.

Fackenheim had arrived at this imperative of resistance to Nazi purposes, this duty of genuine post-Holocaust Jewish existence, alongside an ongoing reflection on revelation and modernity and as an expression of a newly appreciated necessity of exposing faith and obligation to a post-Holocaust situation. His journey had capitalized on several crucial insights. One was that after Auschwitz, as he put it, even Hegel would not be a Hegelian, i.e., that Auschwitz was a case of evil for evil's sake and was therefore unassimilable to any prior conceptual system. Even the most systematic philosophic thought was historically situated and was ruptured by the horrors of the death camps. Second was the commitment to existential-dialectical thinking about the human condition and to its hermeneutical character. Third was the recognition that while Auschwitz threatened all prior systems, ways of life, and beliefs, Judaism must and could survive exposure to it. The work of Elie Wiesel and Wiesel's life itself confirmed this hope and this realization.

In the 1970s Fackenheim's thought extended the lines of thinking that we have summarized. First, in his book *Encounters Between Judaism and Modern Philosophy* he explored how modern philosophy had ignored or distorted Judaism and had exposed its own inadequacies in so doing. Second, he applied the framework just described to a variety of themes – most notably to the State of Israel, its reestablishment and defense, but also to the belief in God, the relationship between Jews and Christians, and the necessity of struggling against all attempts to diminish human dignity and the value of human life. These efforts continued throughout his life and in effect amount to a ramification of the interpretation of the 614th commandment, for Jews, Christians, philosophers, historians, Germans, and others. Finally, he turned to important philosophical problems with his existential and hermeneutical argument. The crucial problem had to do with the possibility of performing the imperative of resistance or, as one might put it, the possibility of confronting the radical threat of rupture and not giving way to total despair. This was to become the central problem of his magnum opus, *To Mend the World*, published in 1983 (with new introductory material in 1987 and again in 1993).

In the earlier period, culminating in 1970, Fackenheim had argued from the necessity of the commandment or imperative to its possibility, either on Kantian grounds, that duty entails the freedom to perform it, or on Rosenzweigian grounds, that along with the commandments that God grants in an act of grace, He also gives humankind out of the same love the freedom to perform them. By the late 1970s Fackenheim had come to see the extent to which both responses failed to respect the victims of the Nazi horrors. In the crucial chapter of *To Mend the World*, he systematically and dialectically explores the agency of evil and its victims, in order to arrive at a moment when the victim's lucid understanding grasps the whole of horror, and yet reacts to it and in opposition to it with surprise. He confirms this intellectual grasp with an emblematic case of victims of the camps and the atrocities, who both see clearly what they are being subjected to, what the evil is, and sense a duty to oppose it in their life. He then goes on to claim that this episode constitutes an ontological ground of resistance, and that Judaism, through the idea of a cosmic rupture and a human act that respects and yet opposes it, what is called in the Jewish mystical tradition (Kabbalah) *tikkun olam*, provides philosophy with a concept essential to grasp the possibility of genuine post-Holocaust life. *To Mend the World* proceeds to apply these lessons in three domains – philosophy, Christianity, and Jewish existence, in each case locating an emblematic case of *tikkun* (mending or repair) that respects the evil of Auschwitz as a total and unqualified rupture and yet finds a route to hope and recovery. Hegel, he remarks, had said that the wounds of Spirit heal without leaving scars. Hegel was wrong – while healing is necessary (and hence recovery as a hermeneutical and existential activity), the scars of the Holocaust will and must remain.

This line of argument was not without its difficulties, and challenges have been made to it. Fackenheim, in the last two decades of his life, once more extended its lines – with a book on the Bible and how it ought to be read by Jews and Christians, together, in a post-Holocaust world, with a survey of Jewish belief and practice in the 1980s, and with a number of essays on the State of Israel as a paradigmatically genuine response to the Nazi assault, i.e., as a unique blending of religious purposes and secular self-reliance, combining a commitment to a homeland for Jews against the most extreme assault and to its defense. Philosophically, in his last years, Fackenheim focused on two issues that were connected in his mind, one the radicality of the Nazi evil and the question "why they did it," and secondly the character of the type of victim called the *Musselmanner*, which Primo Levi famously called the "drowned" and identified as the characteristic product of the death camps. These two issues also continue themes of Fackenheim's earlier work, the nature of the radical evil that was Auschwitz and the question whether there is not a type of victim of the Nazi horrors that must be respected and not dishonored, and yet that is outside the bounds of the ontological ground of resistance itself.

Fackenheim's philosophical commitments were deeply immersed in existential and concrete realities, most notably the historicity of philosophical and religious thought, the hermeneutical and situated character of human existence, and the unprecedented evil of Nazis and the death camps. Auschwitz led him to expose philosophy, culture, and religion unconditionally to historical refutation; yet his deepest yearnings were to find continued hope and to avoid despair, to appreciate the necessity of Jewish life and the defense of human value and dignity. These dispositions, however, were what we might call "rationally defended yearnings" and hence necessities (duties and obligations) only in a deeply contextual sense. He wanted them to be objective and absolute duties, but in the context of his developed thinking, after the 1960s, there are no such duties, or, if we think there are, they are ones that carry no global or general authority. What force they bear must be defended one by one and situation by situation, within the larger context of a commitment to face the utter rupture of Auschwitz and still go on with life, to heal and recover while nonetheless not expecting the scars of history to disappear.

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[Michael L. Morgan (2nd ed.)]

FACTOR, MAX (1877–1938), U.S. cosmetics manufacturer. Factor was born in Lodz, Poland, where at the age of eight he served an apprenticeship to a dentist-pharmacist. Years of mixing potions instilled in him a fascination with the human form. Factor opened his own shop in Moscow, where he sold hand-made rouges, creams, fragrances, and wigs. A traveling theatrical troupe wore Factor's makeup while performing for Russian nobility. Appreciating his handiwork, the Russian aristocrats appointed Factor the official cosmetic expert for the royal family and the Imperial Russian Grand Opera. Factor emigrated to the United States in 1904, and opened a cosmetics booth at the World's Fair in St. Louis. He moved his family to Los Angeles, where, in 1909, he opened a cosmetics and perfume shop in the center of the city's theatrical district. The business subsequently developed into Max Factor & Co., the largest cosmetics firm in California for decades.

In 1914, Factor created a makeup specifically for movie actors which, unlike theatrical makeup, would not crack or cake. Film stars rushed to his makeup studio, anxious to try out his "flexible greasepaint," while producers headed for the wigs that Factor made from human hair. In 1938 he developed pancake makeup, a new type of material to be used by actors in Technicolor films, which soon became the standard makeup for all color motion pictures.

In the 1920s Factor introduced cosmetics to the public, promoting the idea that every girl could look like a movie star by using Max Factor Makeup. When pancake was launched, it became one of the fastest-growing, largest-selling, single makeup items in the history of cosmetics. Factor was responsible for countless other cosmetic innovations, including the word "makeup" itself, which he coined. He and his company created such mainstays as lip gloss, the eyebrow pencil, false eyelashes, waterproof makeup, and the concept of cosmetic "color harmony." He also developed numerous makeup techniques for movie special effects, as well as personal application.

Much of his work has been preserved at the Hollywood History Museum in Hollywood, California. The exhibits include the lobby and various makeup rooms from his studio, as well as thousands of rare Hollywood costumes, props, sets, and memorabilia.

Factor co-authored the book *The Technique of Stage Make-up: A Practical Manual for the Use of Max Factor's Theatrical Make-up* (with J. Knapp, 1942).

Each of his four sons joined the business. DAVIS FACTOR (1902–1991), who was born in Russia, became chairman of the board. MAX FACTOR, JR. (1904–1996), born in St. Louis, became vice chairman of the board. A specialist in cosmetic chemistry, he received awards from the motion picture and television industry for designing special makeup to go before the cameras. LOUIS FACTOR (1907–1975), also born in St. Louis, became vice president and assistant secretary of the firm. Los Angeles-born SIDNEY FACTOR (1916–) was a member of the board. Max Factor's son-in-law, MAX FIRESTEIN (1894–?) of Denver, became chairman of the board's executive committee. Active in Jewish organizational life, he was president of the Los Angeles Jewish Community Council and served on the national campaign cabinet of the United Jewish Appeal. His sons ALFRED FIRESTEIN (1924–) and CHESTER FIRESTEIN (1930–) became president and executive vice president, respectively, of Max Factor Co. DAVIS FACTOR (1935–) of the third generation was director of marketing in the international division. By the end of the 1960s Max Factor had become the third-largest U.S. cosmetics manufacturer, and the largest in the international field.

Max Factor became a division of Procter & Gamble in Hunt Valley, Maryland.

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[Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

FADENHECHT, YEHOSHUA (1846–1910), religious Zionist and a founder of the *Mizrachi movement in Galicia. Born in Berezhany, Galicia, he moved to Kolomea, where he was registrar of births and deaths for the local Jewish community throughout his life. In the early 1880s, he founded one of the first Zionist associations in Galicia, and struggled against extremely Orthodox anti-Zionist circles. One of Herzl's earliest religious supporters, Fadenhecht published suggestions regarding *aliyah* to Ereẓ Israel in the second issue of the newspaper *Die Welt*. For many years he contributed articles on current affairs to the Hebrew press in Galicia. After the First Zionist Congress at Basle (1897), he published *Yizre'el*, intended to be a Hebrew periodical; its sole issue was entirely filled with his own contributions devoted to explaining political Zionism, Herzl's beliefs, and the value of the Zionist Congress – all in the frame of reference of his controversy with ultra-Orthodox opponents.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Ha-Miẓpeh*, 7 no. 2 (1910); *Ba-Mishor*, 5 no. 203 (1944).

[Getzel Kressel]

FADIMAN, CLIFTON (1904–1999), U.S. literary critic. Fadiman was born in New York and graduated from Columbia University in 1925. He became editor in chief at Simon & Schuster and then book editor of the *New Yorker* (1933–43) and was widely known for his weekly radio program *Information Please* (1938–48). His collected essays were published in *Party of One: Selected Writings* (1955). He was a familiar figure offering suggestions to readers in the Book-of-the Month Club and guiding the selections of The Reader's Club. An editor and anthologist, he helped put together the multivolume *Great Books of the Western World* (1990) and also edited *The Treasury of the Encyclopedia Britannica* (1992). He was awarded, in 1993, the National Book Foundation Medal for Distinguished Contribution to American Letters. He was remembered by Carolyn Heilbrun in *When Men Were the Only Models We Had: My Teachers Barzun, Fadiman, and Trilling* (2002).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: R. Severo, "Clifton Fadiman," in: *New York Times* (June 21, 1999).

[Lewis Fried (2nd ed.)]

°FADUS, CUSPIUS, Roman procurator of Judea 44–46 C.E. Fadus was appointed by the emperor Claudius after the short period of Jewish government which ended with the death of *Agrippa I. He had specific instructions to punish the inhabitants of Caesarea and Sebaste, mostly soldiers, who had shown disrespect to the dead king. Upon arrival he found the Jews in Perea in Transjordan engaged in a border dispute with the inhabitants of Philadelphia (Rabbath Ammon). The Jews asserted themselves and killed many of their opponents, thereby arousing the anger of Fadus, who sentenced one of their leaders to death and banished two others. He also took action against the false prophet *Theudas (Acts 5:36), whom he killed together with many of his followers. According to Josephus, one of his major concerns was to rid Judea of its many robbers. In matters not involving state security he apparently ruled with moderation and generally did not interfere with Jewish customs. In one instance, however, he demanded that the sacred vestments of the high priest be handed over to the Romans for safekeeping, a practice once before adopted by the Romans but abandoned a few years earlier. The Jews protested and obtained his leave to send an embassy to Rome. Claudius, influenced in part by the intervention of the young Agrippa II, revoked the decision. Fadus was succeeded by *Tiberius Julius Alexander.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Jos., Ant., 15:406; 19:363–4; 20:2–14, 97–100; Jos., Wars, 2:220; Schuerer, Gesch, 1 (1901), 565–6; Pauly-Wissowa, 8 (1901), 1895, no. 2.

[Lea Roth]

FAENZA, city in N. central Italy. In the 14th century the Jews of Faenza were moneylenders. As a result of the sermons of *Bernardino da Feltre, the celebrated physician Lazzaro da Pavia was expelled from the city in c. 1480. The liturgical poet Raphael ben Isaac da Faenza also lived in the city in the mid-15th century. There is also documented evidence of the presence of a rabbinate of Faenza in the same years. Isaac *Azulai, who manufactured majolica *seder* plates, worked here in 1575. From the 16th century until the Napoleon era there is no evidence that Jews lived in Faenza.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Milano, Italia, 127, 358; Roth, Italy, 199, 202, 445. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** G. Caravita, *Ebrei in Romagna: 1938–1945: dalle leggi razziali allo sterminio* (1991); L. Picciotto, *Il libro della memoria: gli ebrei deportati dall'Italia, 1943–1945* (2001).

[Attilio Milano / Federica Francesconi (2nd ed.)]

FAGARAS (Rom. **Făgăraş**; Hung. **Fogaras**), town in Transylvania, Romania; until 1918 in Hungary. Jews were not permitted to settle there until the beginning of the 19th century. In the 17th century, however, they occasionally visited the fortress at Fagaras to present petitions to the prince of Transylvania. The settlement of Jews 12 miles (20 km.) from the town in the village of Porumbak, today known by the Romanian name of Porumbacul de Sus, was of special interest. From the judicial aspect, this village belonged to the owners of the town Fagaras. In 1697, two Sephardi Jews, Avigdor b. Abraham and Naphtali b. Abraham, leased a workshop there for the manufacture of glass articles. They signed the contract of tenancy in Hebrew characters; this document is preserved in the community archives in Budapest. They were followed by other lessees as well as by Jews who leased the local tavern. A community was organized and a cemetery acquired in Fagaras in 1827. At the beginning of the community's existence its members used mostly the German language, only later going over to Hungarian. After 1919 many of them started to teach their children the language of the new country – Romanian. The synagogue was erected in 1859. There were 286 Jews living in Fagaras in 1856; 485 in 1891; 514 in 1910; 457 in 1920; 390 in 1930; and 267 in 1941. The Jewish contribution to the economic development of the town and the region was very important during the entire existence of the local community. A Jewish school was founded in 1867; the language of instruction was German until 1903, Hungarian until the end of World War I, and subsequently Romanian. It was closed down in 1938. The community joined the neologist organization (see *Neology) in 1869 and became Orthodox in 1926. The rabbi of Fagaras, Adolf Keleman (1861–1917), visited Ereẓ Israel in 1905 and subsequently published his impressions of the journey in Hungarian.

For long periods of time the relations between the Jews and the Romanian and Hungarian population of the region was more or less normal, with relatively few antisemitic incidents.

During the Romanian Fascist regime (1940–44), Jewish possessions and communal property were confiscated. Some of the men were conscripted for forced labor and others (mostly those accused for Communist activities) were deported to *Transnistria. The Jews from the surrounding villages were concentrated in the town. There were 360 Jews living in Fagaras in 1947. Subsequently many left, first for the bigger cities in Romania, and after that abroad (mostly to Israel), and 20 remained by 1970.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Sitzungs-Protokoll fuer die Beschluesse der Fogaraser israelitischen Kultusgemeinde*, 1861–1874; *Grundbuch der Sitze und deren Inhaber in Fogaraser Tempel*, in: the Central Archives for the History of the Jewish People (RM 189); *Pinkas Ḥevrah Kaddisha 1827–61* (*ibid.*, RM 190); MHJ, 5 pt. 1 (1959), no. 716, 808, 864, 868, 887; 8 (1965), no. 360; *Magyar Zsid Lexikon* (1929), 284.

[Yehouda Marton / Paul Schveiger (2nd ed.)]

°**FAGIUS, PAULUS** (**Paul Buechelin**; 1504–1549), Hebraist. Born at Rheinzabern, in the Rhineland-Palatinate, Germany, he was professor of theology at Strasbourg and later of Hebrew at Cambridge. He studied Hebrew with Wolfgang Capito and with Elijah Levita, whom he invited to supervise the Hebrew press he established in Isny (Bavaria). He translated the following Hebrew books into Latin: Elijah Levita's *Tishbi* (Isny, 1541; Basle, 1557) and *Meturgeman* (Isny, 1542); the Talmud tractate *Avot* (Isny, 1541). He edited a Hebrew version of the book of Tobit with a Latin translation (Isny, 1542); the *Alphabet of Ben Sira* (Isny, 1542), and David Kimhi's commentary to Psalms 1–10 (Constance, 1544). He edited several chapters of Targum Onkelos (Strasbourg, 1546) and wrote an exegetic treatise on the first four chapters of Genesis. ("*Exegesis sive expositio dictionum hebraicarum literalis et simplex in quatuor capita Geneseos*," Isny, 1542). He was the author of an elementary Hebrew grammar (Constance, 1543) and translated an anonymous booklet by a converted Jew, who endeavored, with reference to Jewish sources, to prove the truth of Christianity (*Liber Fidei*, Isny, 1542; a short extract, under the title *Parvus Tractatulus*, appeared in the same year in the Hebrew Prayers edited by Fagius). Some parts of the same text had been already published and translated by Sebastian Münster in 1537. He began the republication of a revised edition of the concordance *Me'ir Nativ*. After his migration to England, where he died, this work was completed by Antonius Reuchlin (Basle, 1556).

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[Giulio Busi (2nd ed.)]

FAHN, ABRAHAM (1916–), botanist. Fahn was born in Vienna but grew up in Halicz and went to school there and in Stanislawow (Poland). He immigrated to Ereẓ Israel in 1935. Fahn studied biology at the Hebrew University, where he obtained his doctorate in 1948. In 1952–53 he did research at the Jodrell Laboratory, Kew, and in the school of Botany at Cambridge, England. In 1956 he was a research fellow at Harvard University and in 1965 he was appointed full professor at the Hebrew University. Fahn published a number of scientific books: *Plant Anatomy* (in Hebrew, 1962; translated into English, Spanish, Indonesian, and Chinese); *Secretory Tissues in Plants* (in English, 1979); and, with coauthors, *Wood Anatomy and the Identification of Trees and Shrubs of Israel and Adjacent Regions* (in English, 1986); *Xerophytes* (in English, 1992); and *The Cultivated Plants of Israel* (in Hebrew, 1998). Fahn was dean of the Faculty of Science in 1963–66. He is an honorary member of leading scientific societies, foreign member of the Linnaean Society of London, and corresponding member of the Botanical Society of America. He was awarded the Israel Prize for science in 1963.

[Bracha Rager (2nd ed.)]

FAHN, REUBEN (1878–1939?), Hebrew writer and investigator of Karaism. Born in eastern Galicia, he became a prosperous merchant in Halicz and developed an interest in the town's Karaites. He settled in Stanislav in 1918 and became secretary of the National Council of Galician Jewry in the short-lived West Ukrainian Republic (1918–19). On the outbreak of World War II he was put on trial by the Russians for Zionist activities and taken to Russia where he disappeared without trace. A regular contributor to the Hebrew press from his youth, Fahn wrote poetry, articles, and stories, particularly on the Karaites, and studies of Haskalah literature. Two volumes of his collected works were published: *Sefer ha-Kara'im* (1929) and *Pirkei Haskalah* (1937). A book of his essays, *Massot*, appeared in Jerusalem in 1943 (preface by Dov Sadan). His *Mivḥar Ketavim* (selected works), ed. by N. Govrin, appeared in 1969.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Genazim*, 1 (1961), 115–8, includes bibliography; Kressel, Leksikon, 2 (1967), 571f.; *Arim ve-Immahot be-Yisrael; Stanislav*, 5 (1952), s.v.

[Getzel Kressel]

FAIN, SAMMY (1902–1989), U.S. songwriter. Born in New York and named Samuel Feinberg, Fain was a trained pianist who worked in vaudeville and in the music-publishing business before achieving success as a composer in the mid-1920s. In a six-decade career, he wrote the music for such well-loved popular songs as "I'll Be Seeing You," "That Old Feeling," "Secret Love," and "Love Is a Many-Splendored Thing." He won Academy Awards for the latter two and his songs received eight other Academy Award nominations. Among his other major songs were "I Can Dream, Can't I?" with his frequent lyricist-partner, Irving Kahal, "Dear Hearts and Gentle People," and the title song from the film *April Love*. Earlier, he had hits with "Let a Smile Be Your Umbrella on a Rainy (Rainy) Day," "Wedding Bells Are Breaking Up That Old Gang of Mine," and "When I Take My Sugar to Tea." Called to Hollywood, the team of Fain and Kahal wrote songs for a number of movie musicals. One of their most successful movie songs, "You Brought a New Kind of Love to Me," was introduced by Maurice Chevalier. "That Old Feeling," one of the great torch ballads, was introduced in the movie *Vogues of 1938*. Perhaps his most famous song was "I'll Be Seeing You," which was popularized in nightclubs in the 1940s and went on to become one of the most romantic signature songs of World War II. During the 1950s, with the lyricist Bob Hilliard, Fain composed the songs for the 1951 Disney film *Alice in Wonderland*, including "I'm Late." With Paul Francis Webster, he wrote the music for the films *A Certain Smile* (1958) and *Tender Is the Night* (1961). Some of the other movies for which he wrote the music include *Call Me Mister* (1951) and a remake of *The Jazz Singer* (1953).

[Stewart Kampel (2nd ed.)]

FAIRSTEIN, LINDA A. (1943–), U.S. prosecutor and author. Fairstein grew up in Mount Vernon, N.Y., a suburb of New York City. She went to Vassar College and the University of Virginia Law School. In 1972 she began working in the office of Frank Hogan, the Manhattan district attorney. At the time, the office had seven women among 170 prosecutors. By 2001, when she left, half of the office's 600 prosecutors were women. In a 30-year career of major cases, legislative reforms, and best-selling books that explored the legal and emotional realities of rape, Fairstein became the nation's best-known prosecutor of sex crimes. She became chief of the sex-crimes unit in 1976, two years after it was created as the first such unit in the country. It had four prosecutors at the time; when she left it had 40. In 1977 Fairstein was a principal advocate of New York's so-called rape shield law, which prohibited, in most cases, what had long been a common defense practice in rape and sexual assault cases: exploring the sexual history of victims to suggest promiscuity. Later she lobbied successfully for a similar law in rape-homicide prosecutions. Fairstein was also credited with a major role in the passage of a law in 1983 that struck down a requirement that victims of rape and other sex crimes prove that they had offered "earnest resistance." She also was a principal advocate of the Sexual Assault Reform Act of 2001, which facilitated the prosecution of date rape and of rapes involving the use of drugs.

As chief of the sex-crimes unit in the district attorney's office, she oversaw the disposition of 500 to 700 cases a year involving rape and other sexual abuses. Between 125 and 175 of those cases were prosecuted as felonies. Fairstein played a key role in a notorious 1986 case involving Robert E. Chambers Jr., who killed Jennifer Levin in Central Park after an evening in a "preppie bar." Fairstein doggedly prosecuted the case and used the defense's own witness to demonstrate that Chambers's choke hold on the victim could have been intentionally lethal.

Fairstein served as the model for several no-nonsense prosecutors in the movies *Farrell for the People* (1982) and *Presumed Innocent* (2001). The author Robert Daley dedicated his 1985 novel, *Hands of a Stranger,* to Fairstein, and fictionalized many of her well-known cases. It was made into a television movie.

In 1996, Fairstein published her first novel, *Final Jeopardy,* which introduced the character Alexandra Cooper, who bore a striking resemblance to the author. The book was a critical and commercial success and was followed the next year by *Likely to Die*, which was an international bestseller. By 2005 she had published six novels. Her nonfiction book, *Sexual Violence: Our War Against Rape,* published in 1994, was a *New York Times* notable book.

[Stewart Kampel (2nd ed.)]

FAÏTLOVITCH, JACQUES (1881–1955), Orientalist, devoted to *Beta Israel (Falasha) research and relief work. Faïtlovitch was born in Lodz. He studied Oriental languages at the Ecole des Hautes Etudes in Paris, particularly Ethiopic and Amharic under Joseph *Halévy, who aroused his interest in the Beta Israel. He made 11 missions to Ethiopia (1904–5, 1908–9, 1913, 1920–21, 1923–24, 1926, 1928–29, 1934, 1942–43, 1943–44, 1946). In 1904 he went to Ethiopia for the first time and spent 18 months among the Beta Israel, studying their beliefs and customs. The results were published in his *Notes d'un voyage chez les Falachas* (1905). In his view the Beta Israel were Jews needing help to resist Christian missionary activity, which threatened their survival as a Jewish community. He promised them to enlist world Jewry on their behalf and took two young Beta Israel with him to Europe to be educated as future teachers. Having failed to win the support of the Alliance Israélite Universelle, he organized "pro-Falasha" committees in Italy and Germany to raise funds for Jewish education for the Beta Israel in Abyssinia and abroad. In 1908–09 Faïtlovitch spent 15 months in Abyssinia; he was received by Emperor Menelik II and pleaded for equitable treatment for the Beta Israel. This voyage is described in his book *Quer durch Abessinien* (1910; *Massa el ha-Falashim*, 1959). Finally, he established one school in Dembea during his third voyage in 1913. After World War I Faïtlovitch, who had lectured at Geneva University (1915–19), transferred the center of pro-Falasha activity to the United States, and with the aid of the New York Committee a boarding school for Beta Israel children was opened in Addis Ababa in May 1923. Starting from 1927 Faïtlovitch settled in Tel Aviv but he had a nomadic life and spent many years in the United States. The Italian conquest in 1935–36 hampered the expanding activity and World War II stopped it entirely. After the establishment of the State of Israel he was able to persuade the Jewish Agency to take up educational work among the Beta Israel. Faïtlovich was an indefatigable lecturer, everywhere trying to stir active interest in the "Black Jews of Abyssinia." He considered the Beta Israel ethnologically the descendants of genuine Jews and an integral part of the Jewish people. An observant Jew himself, he felt that it was not enough to study the Beta Israel, but that it was an obligation to save them from extinction and lead them through education into the fold of traditional Judaism. He took out of Ethiopia to study in Europe, Egypt and Palestine 25 young boys. He was interested in the quest for the *nidḥei Israel* and in *proselytism; he created committees for the conversion of people from Asia and Africa. In addition to the books mentioned above, he published *Mota Mus* (Heb., Fr., 1906), *Proverbes Abyssins* (1907), "Nouveaux Proverbes Abyssins" (in *Rivista degli Studi Orientali*, 2 (1909), 757–66), *Les Falachas d'après les Explorateurs* (1907), *Versi Abissini* (It., 1910), and *Falascha-Briefe* (1913). He wrote numerous articles and pamphlets and a series of tracts in Amharic intended for distribution among the Beta Israel. The only article that he wrote in English is entitled "Falashas" (in AJYB, 22 (1920), 80–100). Faïtlovitch bequeathed his valuable library to the Tel Aviv Municipality, with the collection now located in Tel Aviv University.

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[Max Wurmbrand / Emanuela Trevisan Semi (2nd ed.)]

FAITUSI, JACOB BEN ABRAHAM (d. 1812), Jerusalem emissary and talmudist. Faitusi was born in *Tunis and immigrated to *Jerusalem around 1800. In 1806 he became an emissary of Jerusalem to *Tripoli, *Tunisia, and *Algeria. He published: *Berit Ya'akov* (Leghorn, 1800), including the *Shitah Mekubbeẓet* of Bezalel *Ashkenazi to tractate *Sotah*, the *Likkutei Ge'onim* of various authors on tractates *Nedarim* and *Nazir*, and *Likkutim* on tractate *Nazir* by Abraham ibn Musa, to which he appended *Sha'arei Ẓedek* by *Levi b. Gershom on the 13 hermeneutical principles and an original work on the subject entitled *Yagel Ya'akov; Mizbaḥ Kapparah* (*ibid.*, 1810), containing the *Shitah Mekubbeẓet* to *Menaḥot, Zevaḥim*, and *Bekhorot*, novellae on *Ḥullin* attributed to *Naḥmanides and *Ronu le-Ya'akov*, his own commentary on tractates *Ḥullin* and *Temurah*. Appended to the work are homilies in praise of the Land of Israel; *Mareh ha-Ofanim* (*ibid.*, 1810) including the novellae of *Asher b. Jehiel on *Sotah* and his own commentary, *Yagel Ya'akov*, on *Pesaḥim, Beẓah, Rosh Ha-Shanah, Avodah Zarah*, and *Makkot*. Faitusi died in Algeria, while on a mission there. His son, ḤAYYIM DAVID, published Jacob's *Yerekh Ya'akov (ibid.*, 1842), homilies on the Pentateuch and the Five Scrolls, together with *Kokhav mi-Ya'akov*, novellae on the Talmud and responsa.

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[Simon Marcus]

FAIVOVICH HITZCOVICH, ANGEL (1901–1990), Chilean politician. Born in Santiago, he received the title of agronomical engineer in 1922 and was appointed assistant in the zootechnic section of the University of Chile. In 1930 he graduated in law and in 1935 was elected councilor of the Municipality of Santiago. In 1937 he was elected from the Radical Party as a member of Parliament for Santiago and in 1945 as senator. He served several terms. Faivovich was professor of International Law and Juridic and Social Studies at the University of Chile. He was president of the Radical Party between 1946 and 1952, during the administration of Gabriel Gonzalez Videla, exercising considerable political influence in government circles. He opposed the candidacy of Allende, dividing the Radical Party and founding the Party of Radical Democracy. He bequeathed his fortune to beneficial causes in Chile and Israel, particularly to the Weizmann Institute of Science in Reḥovot.

[Moshe Nes El (2nd ed.)]

FAIYŪM (**Fayyūm**), district and city in Upper Egypt, southwest of *Cairo. In the early Middle Ages flourishing Jewish communities seem to have existed there, since *Saadiah Gaon was born there, in approximately 882, received his basic education in the city of Dilas of the Faiyūm district, and wrote his first two books there. Benjamin of Tudela, the 12th-century traveler, found 200 Jews there according to one of his manuscripts, and 20 Jews according to another. Since the former number appears in most of his writings, it would be possible to assume that the figure applies to the Jewish population of the entire district. In any case, the number of the Jews in the Faiyūm district declined in that period as the whole of its population decreased formidably; its depopulation was progressive. Jacob *Saphir, the 19th-century traveler, reported in his book (*Even Sappir* (1866), 259) that only a single Jew lived in Faiyūm, and that he was a newcomer to the town. In 1907 there were 43 Jews in the town and district, but the community later dissolved.

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[Eliyahu Ashtor]

FAJANS, KASIMIR (1887–1975), U.S. physical chemist who did pioneering work on radioactivity and isotopes. Fajans was born in Warsaw, and after studying in Leipzig, Heidelberg, and Zurich, worked with Rutherford in Manchester. After a period on the staff of the Technische Hochschule at Karlsruhe, Fajans went to the University of Munich, where in 1923 he became full professor of physical chemistry. In 1932 he secured support from the Rockefeller Foundation for the establishment of an institute of physical chemistry in Munich, of which he became director, but in 1935 he was forced by the Nazis to leave the institute. He emigrated to the U.S. and in 1936 became professor of chemistry at the University of Michigan at Ann Arbor. Fajans, with Goehring, discovered the element 91 (uranium X2 or brevium), the more stable isotope of which (called protoactinium) was discovered independently a little later by Hahn and Meitner and also by Soddy and Cranston. Of Fajans' contributions to scientific journals, many are concerned with brevium, other work on radioactive transformations, and the chemistry of the radioactive elements. But he was also active in numerous other fields of physical chemistry. For some time he was coeditor of *Zeitschrift für Kristallographie* and associate editor of the *Journal of Physical and Colloid Chemistry*. He wrote *Radioaktivität und die neueste Entwicklung der Lehre von den chemischen Elementen* (1920^2), *Physikalisch-chemisches Praktikum* (1929, with J. Wuest), *Radioelements and Isotopes; Chemical Forces and Optical Properties of Substances* (1931), and *Quanticule Theory of Chemical Bonding* (1960).

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[Samuel Aaron Miller]

FALAISE, town in the Calvados department, France. During the 12th and 13th centuries there was a Jewish community in Falaise, which was still remembered until 1890 in the name "Rue aux Juifs." Among the scholars there were the tosafists *Samson b. Joseph of Falaise and *Samuel b. Solomon of Falaise (also known as Sir Morel), who was one of the leading French tosafists and also a successful financier. He took part in the *disputation on the Talmud in 1240, but appears to have died before 1247. His son Jean may have been converted to Christianity.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Gross, Gal Jud 476–83; P.G. Langevin, *Recherches Historiques sur Falaise* (1814), 39; L. Musset in: *Bulletin de la Société Antiquaire de Normandie*, 50 (1946), 305ff.

[Bernhard Blumenkranz]

FALAQUERA (also **Falaguera**, **Falaquero**, **Palquera**), family in Spain; one of the most aristocratic and wealthy families of the Jewish community of *Tudela. The Falaqueras ranked among "the great of the community," i.e., the eight families in whose hands the administration of the community was concentrated, according to the communal regulations of 1305, and whose consent and signatures were required to authorize every such regulation. A certain R. Joseph b. Shem Tov ibn Falaquera was appointed in 1287 head of the *dayyanim* empowered to try informers. Other members of this family, Joseph b. Judah, Joseph b. Isaac, and Solomon b. Moses, are mentioned as *muqaddimūn* (leaders) of the community of Tudela at the close of the 13th and early 14th century. Nathan b. Falaquera (also mentioned by the name Naçan del Gabay) held important positions in the financial administration of Navarre at the close of the 14th century. The philosopher and poet Shem Tov b. Joseph ibn *Falaquera was also a member of this family. A branch of the Falaquera family lived in the town of Huesca.

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[Joseph Kaplan]

FALAQUERA, NATHAN BEN JOEL (late 13th century), Spanish physician. He may be identical with Nathan of Montpellier, the teacher of the anonymous author of *Sefer ha-Yashar*. Falaquera is the author of a book on medicine, *Ẓori ha-Guf* ("Balm for the Body"), written in Hebrew; however, although he uses medical and botanic terms taken from talmudic literature, his sources are mainly Arabic. The opinions of Hippocrates, Galen, Averroes, Avicenna, and Maimonides are given. Three manuscripts of the book are still extant and it was quoted by Joseph b. Eliezer ha-Sephardi, author of *Ohel Yosef* on Abraham ibn Ezra's commentary on the Torah.

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[David Margalith]

FALAQUERA, SHEM TOV BEN JOSEPH IBN (1223/8–after 1290), philosopher, translator, commentator, poet, and encyclopedist. Falaquera was born in Spain between 1223 and 1228; his last known work refers to events in 1290. Various etymologies have been suggested for his name, which was the name of a prominent Jewish family in Tudela. Hebrew spellings include פלקירא, פלקירה, פלכרה, בלקירה, פלאקיר, פלקריי.

European spellings include Falaquera, Palquera, Palaquera, Palquira, Palqira, Palkira, Palkera, Phalkira, Phalchera.

Most of Falaquera's prose works survive, many in multiple editions or manuscripts, but Falaquera testifies that half of his prolific youthful poetry (totaling some 20,000 verses) was lost, and in later life, although he abandoned his poetic career, he continued to intersperse poetry with his prose works. Some of this poetry was humorous. "Time said to the fool: Be a doctor / You can kill people and take their money / You'll have an advantage over the angels of death / For they kill a man, but for free." His prose is also marked by occasional humor. His last known work, in defense of *Maimonides' *Guide of the Perplexed*, plays on the name of the philosopher's opponent Solomon Petit and calls him *peti* (fool).

We do not know how Falaquera supported himself. Repeated references to poverty in some of his writings may indicate personal indigence. We also have no evidence whether he ever married or had a family. With only a few exceptions, Falaquera's references to women were generally quite negative and even misogynist. In one of his poems he aims his barbs at women: "Let your soul not trust in a woman / A woman is a spread net and pit (Proverbs 1:17, 22:14) / How can we still believe that she is honest [straight] / For woman was taken from a rib?" If the "Seeker" in his *Book of the Seeker* represents Falaquera himself (since the Seeker's curriculum would have made him approximately Falaquera's age at the time he composed the book), and if the "Seeker" is patterned after the character Kalkol in his earlier *Epistle on Ethics*, we may be able to infer from Kalkol's never marrying (because he did not want to waste his time or strength on women, or to become entrapped by them) that Falaquera himself never married for similar reasons.

Modern scholarly interest in Falaquera, going back to the early stages of **Wissenschaft des Judentums*, began with Leopold *Zunz's doctoral disseration, "De Schemtob Palkira" (Halle University, December 21, 1820) on the life, times, and doctrines of Falaquera. In 1857 Solomon *Munk published Falaquera's Hebrew paraphrase of selections from the lost Arabic original of the *Fons Vitae*, on the basis of which Munk determined that the previously unknown and presumably Arab author was actually the Hebrew poet and philosopher Solomon ibn *Gabirol. Over the next century most of Falaquera's works were published (some with translations into European languages). The latter decades of the 20th century saw a resurgence of interest in Falaquera, with books, major studies, and doctoral dissertations by R.K. Barkan, G. Dahan, S. Harvey, M.H. Levine, A. Melamed, D. Schwartz, Y. Shiffman, L. Stitskin, M. Zonta. R. Jospe's *Torah and Sophia: The Life and Thought of Shem Tov ibn Falaquera* (Cincinnati, 1988) includes a biography, descriptions of Falaquera's works, and systematic survey of his philosophy, with a special study of his psychology.

Works

We know of eighteen works by Falaquera, all written in Hebrew, in line with Falaquera's aim of spreading philosophy among the Jewish people. Based on internal evidence, in their probable chronological order they are the following:

1. *Battei Hanhagat ha-Nefesh – Batei Hanhagat Guf ha-Bari* (Verses on the Regimen of the Healthy Body and Soul), a composite of two works on health and ethics, published by S. Munter (Tel Aviv, 1950).

2. *Iggeret ha-Musar* (Epistle on Ethics), a **maqama* (prose narrative interspersed with verse), replete with Jewish and Arabic ethical maxims, recounting the adventures of a youth, Kalkol, in search of wisdom. Edited by A.M. Haberman (Jerusalem, 1936), this early work forms a model for Falaquera's later and larger *Book of the Seeker.*

3. *Ẓori ha-Yagon* (The Balm for Sorrow), also a *maqama*, containing rabbinic and philosophic consolations, in several editions; critical edition with annotated English translation and a survey of the consolation genre of literature by R.K. Barkan (Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia University, 1971).

4. *Megillat ha-Zikkaron* (The Scroll of Remembrance). The work, of which Falaquera says elsewhere "in which I discuss times past, for at this time hordes of troubles come upon us daily," probably chronicling Jewish sufferings, is not extant.

5. *Iggeret ha-Vikku'aḥ* (The Epistle of the Debate). The subtitle of the book is *Be-Ve'ur ha-Haskamah asher bein ha-Torah ve-ha-Ḥokhmah* (Explaining the Harmony Between the Torah and Philosophy). A popular work, much of it written in rhymed prose, the book describes a debate between a *ḥasid,* a pious traditionalist Jew and a *ḥakham,* a philosopher, and is deeply indebted to Ibn Rushd's *Faṣl al-Maqal* (Decisive Treatise). S. Harvey's *Falaquera's Epistle of the Debate: An Introduction to Jewish Philosophy* (Cambridge, MA, 1987; Italian: Genova, 2005) includes a critical edition of the Hebrew text with annotated English translation and valuable appendices. Harvey (1992) has also suggested persuasively that the debate is patterned on the Maimonidean controversy of the 1230s. A Latin translation of the *Epistle* with French notes and introduction was published by G. Dahan (in *Sefarad,* 39 (1979), 1–112).

6. *Reshit Ḥokhmah* (The Beginning of Wisdom), an encyclopedic introduction to the sciences in three parts: I – On the moral qualities necessary for the study of science; II – The enumeration of the sciences; III – The necessity of philosophy for the attainment of felicity; the philosophy of Plato and the philosophy of Aristotle. Major portions of the book, which was edited by M. David (Berlin, 1902), are paraphrases of Arabic philosophers, especially Al-Farabi.

7. *Sefer ha-Ma'alot* (The Book of Degrees), an ethical work describing the corporeal, spiritual, and divine degrees of human perfection. The term *ma'alot*, degrees, also means virtues. Those of the divine rank are the most perfect people, namely the prophets, who no longer exist. Those of the spiritual rank are the true philosophers. Most people are of the corporeal rank, enslaved to their bodily needs. The book, a sequel to *Reshit Ḥokhmah*, but unlike the former an original work of Falaquera's own ideas, was one of three Hebrew books in the

library of the 15th century Italian Christian philosopher Pico della Mirandola. Leopold *Zunz first wished to publish this book, but found only one manuscript, and it was eventually published by L. Venetianer (Berlin, 1894).

8. *Sefer ha-Mevakkesh* (The Book of the Seeker). The book was composed in Ḥeshvan, 5024 (= Oct.–Nov. 1263) when Falaquera was past 35 and approaching 40 years of age. A *maqama* expanding on the theme of the youthful seeker of wisdom (like his earlier *Epistle on Ethics*), the book surveys the arts and professions, as well as the sciences (only the sciences had been presented in his *Reshit Ḥokhmah*), culminating in philosophy. Several 19th- and early 20th-century editions of the book exist. M.H. Levine prepared a critical edition and translation of Part I in his Ph.D. thesis (Columbia University, 1954), and his translation was revised and published separately (New York, 1976).

9. *De'ot ha-Philosofim* (The Opinions of the Philosophers). This voluminous work, only minor sections of which have been published, is a major encyclopedia of the sciences, extending over some 600 pages in ms. Parma – De Rossi 164 (= Jewish National and Hebrew University Library microfilm 13897) and ms. Leyden 20 (= Jewish National and Hebrew University Library microfilm 17368). It was written to propagate philosophy and science among the Jews, and quotes extensively from Arabic sources. R. Jospe (1988) published a table of contents of the work, aspects of which were analyzed by S. Harvey, G. Freudenthal, A. Ivry, and M. Zonta in *The Medieval Hebrew Encyclopedias of Science and Philosophy*, ed. S. Harvey, (Dordrecht, 2000). Falaquera states that his purpose in composing the work was to teach true philosophy to the Jews, distinguishing true opinions from those which have not been demonstrated and are mere conjecture; and to provide a convenient and systematic collection of the opinions of the philosophers in accurate Hebrew translation, which would also serve as "a review book for me in old age."

10. *Sefer ha-Nefesh* (The Book of the Soul). The first systematic Hebrew work of psychology, the book was published in several 19th- and early 20th-century editions. A critical edition with annotated English translation and extensive discussion was published by R. Jospe (1988). The book, which frequently reviews material earlier discussed in *De'ot ha-Philosophim*, reflects (and in places paraphrases) classical and Arabic sources, prominent among them Ibn Rushd, Ibn Sina, and Isḥaq ibn Ḥunain.

11. *Shelemut ha-Ma`asim* (The Perfection of Actions). An annotated edition of this work on ethics in ten chapters was published by R. Jospe (1988). The first six chapters of the book, as B. Chiesa has shown (in A. Vivian, ed., *Biblische und judaistische Studien, Festschrift fuer Paolo Sacchi* [Frankfurt am Main, 1990], 583–612), are for the most part an abridged translation of the *Summa Alexandrinorum*, an epitome of Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics*. The last four chapters reflect Arabic ethical literature, especially Ḥunain ibn Isḥaq's *Adab al-Falasifah* (Aphorisms of the Philosophers). Typically, Falaquera translated anew or paraphrased those Arabic passages he was interested in citing – as he also did in his other works – and did not take advantage of existing Hebrew translations, such as Judah Al-Ḥarizi's translation of the *Adab*, the *Musarei ha-Filosofim*.

12. *Iggeret ha-Ḥalom* (The Treatise of the Dream). Edited by H. Malter (in JQR, n.s. 1, 1910/11, 451–501), this treatise does not deal with dreams (as some scholars thought), but derives its name from a superscription by a copyist about the author: "He said that he saw in a dream that he was composing this treatise, and when he awoke, he engaged in it, and this is its beginning." The treatise begins: "A treatise [literally: epistle] collecting words of peace and truth." Maimonides had understood Zechariah 8:19 ("Love truth and peace") as referring to intellectual and moral perfection, and Falaquera's division of Part I (Peace), dealing with physical and spiritual well-being, and Part II (Truth), dealing with truth in speech and actions, and speculative truth, reflects Maimonides' interpretation.

13. *Sefer ha-Derash* (The Book of Interpretation). The work is not extant. It was probably a rationalistic commentary on aggadic passages in the Talmud or Midrash. Fragmentary citations in later authors (published by R. Jospe and D. Schwartz, 1993) may be taken from this work. (See below, *Perush*).

14. *Perush* (Bible Commentary). Falaquera's Bible Commentary is no longer extant. However, Samuel ibn Seneh Zarza's commentary on the Torah, *Mekor Ḥayyim*, which frequently deals with the commentaries of Abraham Ibn Ezra, also cites Falaquera in twenty-six passages; these citations, presumably taken from Falaquera's Bible commentary, were published with English translation by R. Jospe (1988). Nineteen additional citations to Falaquera are found in Zarza's *Mikhlol Yofi*, a commentary to rabbinic *derashot* (homilies) and *aggadot* (lore). Of these nineteen, seven are identical with passages cited in *Mekor Ḥayyim*. Since the *Mikhlol Yofi* is a commentary on rabbinic texts, and since eight of the remaining twelve citations make no reference to a biblical verse, it may well be that the twelve, or at least these eight, citations are not from Falaquera's Bible Commentary but from his Book of Interpretation. The twelve passages in question were published with English translation and discussion by R. Jospe and D. Schwartz (1993). The surviving fragmentary citations support the view that both commentaries, on the Bible and on rabbinic texts, were frequently philosophical in approach.

15. *Moreh ha-Moreh* (The Guide to the Guide). One of the very first commentaries to Maimonides' *Guide of the Perplexed*, Falaquera's work is unusual in its philosophic precision and breadth; in its extensive citations of Arabic sources and comparisons of Maimonides' opinions with those sources; and in its new and precise translation of those sections of the *Guide* discussed by Falaquera. The title is usually understood as a play on the title of Maimonides' book, but based on Falaquera's own explanation of the name in the Introduction, it could also be called "The Guide of the Rebellious," namely as correcting the opinions of those who oppose and misinterpret Maimonides' *Guide*. It was first published by M.S. Bis-

liches (Pressburg, 1837); an annotated, critical edition with commentary and extensive research into Falaquera's Arabic sources was published by Y. Shiffman (Jerusalem, 2001). Falaquera cites Ibn Rushd so frequently throughout the book that he does not refer to him by name, but simply refers to him as *ha-ḥakham ha-nizkar* ("the mentioned philosopher"). The third appendix to the book entails a detailed and careful critique of Samuel ibn Tibbon's Hebrew translation of the *Guide of the Perplexed*.

16. *Likkutim mi-Sefer Mekor Ḥayyim* (Selections from [Solomon ibn Gabirol's] *Fons Vitae*). This text is extant in two manuscripts. The Paris manuscript was published with an annotated French translation by S. Munk in his *Mélanges de Philosophie Juive et Arabe* (Paris, 1857; reprinted 1927); the Parma manuscript was edited with an annotated Italian translation by R. Gatti (Genova, 2001). The Selections eliminate the dialogical form of Solomon ibn Gabirol's original, and may reflect agreement with Abraham ibn Daud's criticism that Gabirol's "words could be included in less than one tenth of that book," and that he had substituted many untrue arguments for one true demonstration. The Selections also occasionally rearrange the order of the original, perhaps in accordance with what Gabirol himself said (3:1), that he had not followed any specific order and that the student should reorder the arguments as appropriate. Occasionally the Selections are nearly identical with the original, and sometimes even longer, including examples or illustrations not found in Gabirol's work.

17. *Likkutim mi-Sefer ha-Aẓamim ha-Ḥamishah* (Selections from the Book of the Five Substances). Also an abridged Hebrew translation or paraphrase of passages from a Neo-Platonic, Pseudo-Empedoclean work, this work was published by David Kaufmann in *Studien ueber Salomon ibn Gabirol* (Budapest, 1899).

18. *Mikhtav al Devar ha-Moreh* (Letter Concerning the *Guide* [*of the Perplexed*]). Falaquera's last known work, the letter in defense of Maimonides' *Guide of the Perplexed* against opponents of philosophy was written in 5050 (= 1290 C.E.). Falaquera mocks Maimonides' opponents, comparing them to Korah's rebellion against Moses. Part of the problem results from the anti-rationalists' ignorance of philosophy and Arabic, and the inadequacy of the two Hebrew translations of the *Guide*, especially the second translation, by Judah Al-Harizi. The letter is included anonymously at the end of Abba Mari ben Moses Ha-Yarḥi's *Minḥat Kena'ot*, ed. M.L. Bisliches (Pressburg, 1838), pp. 182–185, and at the end of *Iggerot Kena'ot*, pp. 23–24 (Part 3 of *Kovez Teshuvot ha-Rambam ve-Iggerotav*, 1859).

Philosophy

Since Falaquera considered philosophy to be necessary for attaining ultimate human felicity, and believed in the harmony of revealed and rational truth, he wrote many of his works with the explicit aim of propagating the study of philosophy among the Jewish people by making it available in Hebrew translation. These works, which can be characterized as text-books, encyclopedic surveys or introductions to philosophy, were often replete with new Hebrew translations or paraphrases (typically abridged) from Arabic philosophical literature, even in cases like the *Guide of the Perplexed* and the *Aphorisms of the Philosophers* for which Hebrew translations already existed, because of Falaquera's insistence on accuracy, terminological consistency and stylistic clarity.

His competence in philosophy and his critical sense for nuance led him to juxtapose, compare and contrast diverse philosophical opinions. Since true human perfection is intellectual, dissemination of philosophy in Hebrew and rebuttal of its opponents serve a religious as well as a cultural need.

A consistent theme in Falaquera's works is the harmony of faith and reason. The Torah and philosophy, when both are properly understood, are "sisters" and "twins." The rabbinic saying, "Rabbi Meir found a pomegranate; he ate what was within and discarded the peel" (BT Ḥagigah 15b) means that one should accept in philosophy what is true and in accord with the Torah. Reason can verify religious truth, and faith perfects reason.

To reject philosophy because some philosophers have erred is (in an image borrowed from Ibn Rushd) like denying water to a person dying of thirst, just because some people have drowned. A Jew should learn the truth from any source, as one takes honey from a bee. For "all nations share in the sciences; they are not peculiar to one people;" and "Accept the truth from whoever utters it; look at the content, not at the speaker" (*Sefer ha-Ma'alot*).

Falaquera's rationalism is manifest throughout his works, including his Bible exegesis and his specific treatises. He equates the Platonic doctrine of creation with that of Genesis, and he reads his intellectualism into Biblical ethics, to derive an extreme asceticism with misogynic overtones. Falaquera's position (*Shelemut ha-Ma'asim*, ch. 6, following the *Summa Alexandrinorum*, an epitome of Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics*) emphasizing the priority of contemplation and rejecting ethics as the ultimate human end, is more extreme than that of Aristotle himself, for whom the external causes or goods required for ethics can become an impediment to perfection and contemplation (*theoria*), whereas for Falaquera the ethical involvement and social commitments themselves impede contemplation (Hebrew: *ezah*; Arabic: *ra'y*). Despite Falaquera's clear concern for the philosophic education of his people, he believed that genuine felicity is attained by the "solitary" (*mitboded*) individual, who is isolated not physically but spiritually from the external distractions of society and the internal interference of the appetites.

Knowledge of God begins, for Falaquera, with self-knowledge, i.e., knowledge of one's soul. We find throughout his works statements reflecting the Delphic Maxim, "Know yourself." Thus: "Know your soul, O Man, and you will know your Creator." By the science of psychology, a person "will know his soul and his Creator." Psychology is, therefore, prior to all the other sciences: "Knowledge of the soul is prior to the knowledge of God, and … is the most excellent form of knowledge after the knowledge of God" (*Sefer ha-Nefesh*, Introduction; *De'ot ha-Philosofim* VI:A:1).

Falaquera was not an original thinker of the first order, nor did he claim to be original; but the breadth and depth of his knowledge of Judaism, philosophy, and science make him an important figure in the history of Jewish philosophy. The pioneering philosophical efforts of earlier luminaries attained an enduring impact through their consolidation and popularization by philosophers like Falaquera, whose contribution is no less important for the fact that their light was often a reflected one.

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[Raphael Jospe (2nd ed.)]

FALCO, MARIO (1884–1943), Italian jurist. Born in Turin, Falco specialized in canon and ecclesiastical law. He became lecturer in law at the universities of Macerata (1910) and Parma (1912) and was appointed to the chair at the University of Milan on its foundation in 1924. He held this post until the promulgation of the antisemitic laws in 1938. Most of Falco's extensive legal writings are concerned with canon law. They include *Il Concetto Giuridico di Separazione della Chiesa dallo Stato* (1913), *La Codificazione del Diritto Canonico* (1921), and *Corso di Diritto Ecclesiastico* (1938). An active Zionist, he participated in Jewish affairs both locally and nationally and was a member of a government committee which prepared the draft law on the Italian Jewish community in 1930.

[Giorgio Romano]

FALESHTY (Rom. **Fălești**), town in Bessarabia, today Republic of Moldova. In 1817, the community numbered 176 families (out of a total of 364 families) and 4,518 persons (68% of the total population) in 1897. As the czarist legislation restricting Jewish settlement in border areas (see *Russia) applied to Faleshty, the Jews were frequently expelled from the town on the grounds that they were living there illegally. In 1887 a society for settlement in Ereẓ Israel was established in Faleshty, and with the assistance of funds provided by Baron Edmond de *Rothschild, 25 families settled in 1887 in Kastina (*Be'er Toviyyah). In 1925, 106 Jewish families in Faleshty were occupied in agriculture, farming an area of 1,025 hectares. The Jewish population numbered 3,258 in 1930 (51.7% of the total).

Holocaust Period

The Romanian withdrawal in 1940 took place without incident. The incoming Soviet authorities established a Yiddish-language secondary school, but on June 19, 1941, exiled all Zionists and businessmen to Siberia. Most of the exiles survived the war; some returned and settled in the larger towns or went to Israel, while others remained in Siberia.

An aerial bombardment at the beginning of the war (June 21, 1941) caused the first Jewish casualties. Those who had horses at their disposal quickly fled the town, while others followed on foot. A few succeeded in crossing the Dniester with Russian help and escaped from there into the interior of the U.S.S.R. Most of the fleeing Jews, however, were caught on the way by Romanian-German forces and put to death. On June 27 Faleshty was taken over by German troops, who were also joined by Italian forces. The local population and peasants from the surrounding villages collaborated with the occupying forces in robbing and burning Jewish property and murdering the Jews. Romanian troops arrived at a later date and stepped up the murderous campaign. The Jews were concentrated in a ghetto raised at the town's entrance, to which the Jews of other places in the vicinity were brought. The young people were put on forced labor; at night they were imprisoned in the great synagogue and there German and Romanian troops assaulted the women among them. The others were driven out of the ghetto and forced to walk to a nearby village, Limbenii Noui, where many died of disease and starvation. In September the survivors were again deported, this time to the Mărculești camp. In October those who were still able to walk were expelled to *Transnistria, where practically all of them either succumbed to the inhuman conditions or were murdered by soldiers. One group of Faleshty Jews, including the town's rabbi, Ihiel Flam, were taken to a river in mid-winter, forced to break the ice, strip, and throw themselves into the freezing waters. Only a very small number of Faleshty's Jews survived the war.

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[Jean Ancel]

FALK, family of U.S. industrialists and philanthropists. MAURICE FALK (1866–1946) was born in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, where his father worked as a tailor. At the age of 27 he obtained a controlling interest in a small smelting concern, the Duquesne Reduction Company, which in subsequent years expanded its operations to include many sizeable steel and refining holdings. One of the founders of the Federation of Jewish Philanthropies in Pittsburgh, he and his younger brother Leon gave ten million dollars in 1929 to establish the Maurice and Laura Falk Foundation, whose beneficiaries have included many educational institutions. A branch foundation, the Maurice Falk Institute for Economic Research in Israel, was established at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem. The bulk of his large estate was willed to the Foundation for the purpose of studying social problems "for the benefit of mankind."

LEON FALK (1870–1928) was associated with his brother in most of his business and charitable undertakings, joining with him in 1928 to establish the Falk Medical Clinic at the University of Pittsburgh. He also served as director of the Pittsburgh Federation of Jewish Philanthropies and donated considerable sums to Pittsburgh's Montefiore Hospital and YM-YWHA. His son, LEON FALK JR. (1901–1988), served as president of the Federation of Jewish Philanthropies in Pittsburgh and in 1939 as vice chairman of the *American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee. When Maurice Falk granted money in 1939–40 to study the possibility of resettling Jewish refugees in the Caribbean, Leon Jr. traveled to the Dominican Republic to investigate conditions there and acted as chairman of the Dominican Republic Settlement Association. He became treasurer of Falk and Company in 1928 and was chairman of the board from 1948 to 1952.

The Falk Medical Fund is a grant-making foundation incorporated in 1960 as an outgrowth of the Maurice and Laura Falk Foundation.. The fund focuses on social policy related to mental health, community health, and civil rights and minorities issues. Since its inception, the fund has awarded grants targeted to the elimination of racism and the creation of programs that combine research in psychiatry and mental health with issues of racism, prejudice, violence, and bigotry. The Falk Foundation was a major contributor to the Brookings Institution, one of Washington's oldest think tanks, which named its auditorium after the Falk family.

SIGO FALK served as chairman of the Maurice Falk Fund as well as the Leon Falk Family Trust. He was also a director of Duquesne Light Holdings, Allegheny Land Trust, and the Pittsburgh Symphony. He was a trustee of Chatham College, where he served as board chair from 1995 to 2002, and the Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania. Falk was formerly the associate director of Health Systems Agency of Southwestern Pennsylvania and president of Cranberry Emergency and Diagnostic Center. In 2001, he was honored as the Outstanding Philanthropist by the Association of Fund-raising Professionals.

[Hillel Halkin / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

FALK, BERNARD (1882–1960), British author. Falk began his career on the *Daily Dispatch* in his home town, Manchester, and went to London to become news editor of the *Evening News*. He edited the weekly *Reynolds News* and the *Sunday Dispatch* (1919–32). He then retired from newspapers and wrote books on life in Fleet Street. He also wrote *The Naked Lady* (1934), a life of Adah Isaacs *Menken: *Rachel the Immortal* (1936), the life of the famous French actress *Rachel; *The Way of the Montagues* (1947); and books on Turner and Rowlandson. Falk published an autobiography, *He Laughed in Fleet Street* (1933).

FALK, JACOB JOSHUA BEN ẒEVI HIRSCH (1680–1756), rabbi and halakhic authority. Falk was born in Cracow and was a descendant of Joshua Heschel b. Joseph of *Cracow, the author of *Meginnei Shelomo*. He studied in Polish yeshivot and took up residence in Lemberg after his marriage to the daughter of Solomon Segal Landau, an important member of that community. There he was appointed inspector of the *talmud torah*. He became wealthy and was a leader of the community. In 1702 his wife, daughter, mother-in-law, and her father were killed by the explosion of a gunpowder storehouse, and he himself was miraculously saved. As a result he vowed "to apply himself diligently to the study of the Talmud and the Codes" (Introduction to the *Penei Yehoshu'a*). He left Lemberg and served as rabbi in the communities of Tarlow, Kurow, and Lesko (Lisko) successively. In 1717 he was invited to become rabbi of Lemberg, succeeding Ẓevi Hirsch Ashkenazi (the Ḥakham Ẓevi). His yeshivah became the central yeshivah of Poland. Falk was one of the most extreme opponents of the *Shabbatean movement, then gaining ground in Poland, and he excommunicated the Shabbateans in 1722. In consequence of the opposition he had aroused, he was compelled to leave Lemberg in 1724 and went to Buczacz where he lived for some years. Between 1730 and 1734 he served as rabbi of Berlin. He then accepted an invitation to succeed Jacob *Reischer as rabbi of Metz and remained there until 1741.

From Metz he went to Frankfurt where he was rabbi until 1751. The hostile attitude of the town authorities and internal communal quarrels following his intervention in the controversy around Jonathan *Eybeschuetz, in which he sided with Jacob *Emden, caused his resignation and departure from the city, and he lived for a time in Mannheim and Worms. He continued his campaign against Eybeschuetz, sending him a letter entitled "the final warning" on Sivan 11, 1751 and in 1752 excommunicated him. In response to the demands of the Altona community that he rescind the ban, Falk demanded that Eybeschuetz appear before a *bet din* of three ordained rabbis to answer for his actions. Ḥ.J.D. *Azulai, who repeatedly praised Falk's wide knowledge (as well as that of his second wife), visited him in Worms in 1754. Falk told him some "dismaying details" about the affair, and Azulai expressed his shock at the "desecration of the Torah and the defamation of the Divine Name" as a result of the publication of the dispute between the Jewish scholars. From Worms Falk went to Offenbach, where he died. He was buried in Frankfurt and although he requested that no eulogy should be said after his death he was eulogized by Ezekiel *Landau (see Frankfurt Memorbuch, National Library, Jerusalem).

Falk became renowned through his *Penei Yehoshu'a*, regarded as one of the outstanding works of novellae on the Talmud. Since Falk's grandfather published responsa under the same title ("The Face of Joshua"), the grandson called his work *Appei Zutrei* ("The Small Face") to distinguish it from *Ravrevei* ("The Large Face") of his grandfather. The work is distinguished by its penetrating explanation of difficult talmudic themes. Originally published in separate parts – *Berakhot* and the order *Mo'ed* (Frankfurt, 1752); *Ketubbot, Gittin*, and *Kiddushin*, with *Kunteres Aḥaron* (Amsterdam, 1739); *Bava Kamma* and *Bava Meẓia* (Frankfurt, 1756), *Ḥullin, Makkot*, and *Shevu'ot* and a second edition on *Mo'ed* and the Tur, *Ḥoshen Mishpat* (Fuerth, 1780) – it was published together for the first time in Lemberg in 1809. Among his other works still in manuscript the following may be noted: *Sefer Minḥat Ani*, novellae to *Eruvin, Niddah*, and *Yevamot; Kelal Gadol*, on the problem of "*rov* and **ḥazakah*" (i.e., where the principle of following the majority, *rov,* conflicts with that of a previous presumption, *ḥazakah*), and responsa. Only a few of his responsa have been published (in various collections). His purpose was "to explain most of the difficulties raised by the tosafists on Rashi's commentary … as well as such points as the tosafists leave unsolved, or for which they admit that their solution is unsatisfactory, or where their answer appears forced." In his introduction to the *Penei Yehoshu'a* he asserts that he always took care that his conclusions should be in conformity with the *halakhah* of the Talmud and the Codes and was careful not to commit to writing any novellae which did not conform with the truth, "but whenever something new occurred to me on a talmudic topic or in explanation of Rashi and *tosafot* and it appeared to me to approximate to the truth, according to the method of our predecessors and teachers, I accepted it." He also stresses that his sole purpose was "to stimulate the scholar and to bring about a more profound analysis on the part of those who already know how to arrive at halakhic decisions." These features of the work explain its constant popularity among students, and its frequent reprints. He emphasizes that Kabbalah is sometimes of help in explaining the *aggadot*; but despite his reliance on the Zohar and on the works of kabbalists (*Penei Yehoshu'a* to Ber. 10a) he declares "we have no dealings with esoteric lore."

Falk had three sons, two of whom are mainly of note. ISSACHAR DOV (1712–1744), who was born at Lesko, Galicia, studied under his father and Ẓevi Hirsch Ashkenazi of Halberstadt. He became the rabbi of Podhajce, Galicia, and in 1744 he was appointed head of the yeshivah at Metz, but died on the way there, in Berlin, before being able to take up the appointment. Four of his responsa were published in *Kiryat Ḥannah* of R. Gershon b. Isaac Moses Coblenz (Metz, 1785; nos. 41–44). His decision in the case of a *get* (bill of divorce), in which he disagreed with R. Jacob Yokel *Horowitz, is preserved in *She'elat Ḥakham*, and was published at the end of the responsa of R. Ḥayyim Kohen Rapoport (1957, pp. 243–4). Issachar Dov's novellae appear under the title of *Ḥezkat Avahata* in the book *Tesha Shitot* (1800, pp. 53b–80b) of his son Ẓevi Hirsch Rosanes.

His brother ARYEH LEIB (1715–1789) accompanied his father to Germany. He was appointed *rosh yeshivah* in Frankfurt during his father's incumbency, and held the position from 1745 to 1750. When his father left Frankfurt, Aryeh Leib was appointed rabbi of Sokal, then in Poland. In 1754 he signed the excommunication against the *Frankists in Brody. From 1761 to 1789 he was rabbi of Hanover. In the affair of the Cleves *get he supported Israel *Lipschuetz. He published the fourth part of his father's *Penei Yehoshu'a*, adding to it his own novellae to *Bava Kamma* under the title *Penei Aryeh* (Fuerth, 1780). He was succeeded as rabbi of Hanover by his son ISSACHAR BERISH (1747–1807). Issachar's son, SAMUEL, was appointed rabbi of Groningen, Holland, in 1802. After about seven years he succeeded his brother-in-law, Jehiel Aryeh Leib *Loewenstamm, as rabbi of Leeuwarden, Holland. In 1815 he succeeded his father-in-law as rabbi of the Ashkenazi community of Amsterdam, and finally served as rabbi of Amersfoort. He supported the *Haskalah movement among the Jews of Holland, approved the translation of the Bible into Dutch, and was the first rabbi in Holland to preach in the vernacular. Moses *Sofer refers to him in respectful terms (*Ḥatam Sofer*, pt. 2, EH, no. 139). He also encouraged the foundation of a general fund known as *Kolel Hod*, i.e., "H-olland and (Heb. ו) D-eutschland (Germany)," for the support of the poor of the Holy Land. Samuel's son ISSACHAR BAER BERENSTEIN (1808–1893) was born in Leeuwarden and died in The Hague. From the death of his father until 1848 he served in Amsterdam as a *dayyan*. He was then appointed chief rabbi of The Hague, succeeding Joseph Asher Lehmann, and served there 45 years. He was highly esteemed by the Dutch government for his activities in organizing various communal institutions.

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[Yehoshua Horowitz]

FALK, JOSHUA (1799–1864), U.S. Orthodox rabbi, scholar, and author. Joshua ben Mordechai Hakohen Falk was born in Poland and immigrated to America in 1854. He served as rabbi of two communities in New York, Newburgh and Poughkeepsie, before becoming an itinerant preacher and then retiring from the active rabbinate. Known as "the father of American

Hebrew literature," Falk wrote the first book in the Hebrew language to be published in America (aside from the Bible and prayer books): *Avnei Yehoshua* ("The Stones of Joshua"), a commentary on the Ethics of the Fathers (1860). The interesting colophon to the book reads: "I give thanks that it was my good fortune to be the typesetter of this scholarly book, the first of its kind in America. Blessed be the God of Israel, who surely will not deny us the Redeemer." Falk also wrote *Binyan Yehoshua* ("The Edifice of Joshua"), novellæ on the Talmud, and *Homat Yehoshua* ("The Wall of Joshua"), an anthology of sermons.

WEBSITE: The Jewish Virtual Library; Jewish Encyclopedia.com.

[Bezalel Gordon (2nd ed.)]

FALK, JOSHUA BEN ALEXANDER HA-KOHEN (c. 1555–1614), Polish yeshivah head and halakhist commonly referred to as "Sma" from the initials of the title of his major work. Falk was born in Lublin and studied under Moses Isserles and Solomon Luria, but refused to serve as rabbi of the community. He devoted his life to teaching, receiving financial support from his father-in-law, Israel b. Joseph Edels, the communal leader of Lemberg, who also maintained the yeshivah conducted by Falk. The yeshivah attracted many pupils, some of whom later achieved fame as rabbis. Famed as a halakhic authority, Falk took an active part in the Council of the Four Lands and was one of the signatories in 1587 to the decree against purchasing rabbinical positions. In 1607 he presided over a session of the Council which passed a decree on the subject of interest, which the intensified financial activity among East European Jewry had rendered an urgent halakhic problem. Falk's resolute refusal to change his view on a *get* ("bill of divorce") which he had issued for a seriously ill man, and which Meir ben Gedaliah *Lublin and Mordecai *Jaffe had declared invalid, led to a vehement clash of opinions among contemporary rabbis, Falk being upheld by those assembled at Jaroslaw in 1611.

Falk's most celebrated work is *Sefer Me'irat Einayim*, a commentary on the Shulḥan Arukh, *Ḥoshen Mishpat*, published in all editions of the Shulḥan Arukh. He was moved to write the commentary because of the large number of halakhists and exponents of the laws who, in his opinion, "have rent the Torah, which is our garment, into 12 pieces, and because of the many scholars who, content to base their halakhic decisions on the Shulḥan Arukh alone without investigating the sources (especially *Jacob b. Asher's Tur together with Joseph *Caro's *Beit Yosef* and Moses Isserles' *Darkhei Moshe*), remained ignorant of the sources and rationale of the law and rendered incorrect halakhic decisions."

Sefer Me'irat Einayim is the fourth part of a more extensive commentary on the Tur and Shulḥan Arukh, the first three parts entitled *Perishah, Derishah*, and *Be'urim*. The whole commentary is entitled *Beit Yisrael* (after Falk's father-in-law). Because *Me'irat Einayim* was based on the first three parts of his commentary, it was essential for the reader first to study the Tur and the other three parts of his commentary. Though Falk apparently intended to write a work on the whole Shulḥan Arukh, he succeeded in covering only the *Ḥoshen Mishpat*. The *Me'irat Einayim* is an extensive exposition and elaboration upon that work, especially upon Moses Isserles' glosses, Falk often acting as the intermediary between Joseph Caro and Isserles where they disagreed. Falk's work contributed greatly in making the Shulḥan Arukh an authoritative source of codified Jewish law. Falk also wrote *Kunteres al ha-Ribbit* (1692) on the laws of interest promulgated by the Council of the Four Lands in 1607. Several of his numerous responsa have been published in various collections (*Ge'onei Batra'ei, Bayit Ḥadash, Masot Binyamin*). He wrote novellae on 14 tractates of Isaac Alfasi (the Rif) and on the commentary to it by Nissim b. Reuben Gerondi (the Ran), expositions on the Kabbalah and philosophy, and several other works, all of which were destroyed in a fire in Lemberg.

[Shlomo Eidelberg]

His great grandson ḤAYYIM (ABRAHAM) BEN SAMUEL FEIVUSH (PHOEBUS; late 17th century), was also a rabbi. After the expulsion of the Jews from Vienna (1670), Ḥayyim went to Jerusalem with his father, author of *Leket Shemu'el* and *Derush Shemu'el*, and in his old age he settled in Hebron, where he died. He wrote a commentary to the Book of Psalms, under the title *Ereẓ ha-Ḥayyim* (Constantinople, 1750?). Ḥ.J.D. Azulai mentions Ḥayyim's commentary to nearly all of the Bible.

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FALK, KAUFMAN GEORGE (1880–1953), U.S. physical chemist and biochemist. Born in New York, Falk taught physical chemistry at Columbia University. He wrote on ignition temperatures, refractive index, chemical equilibria, the electronic theory of valency, and on biochemical topics. His books were *Chemical Reactions, their Theory and Mechanism* (1920), *Chemistry of Enzyme Action* (1921), and *Catalytic Action* (1922). He was president of the Hebrew Technical Institute in New York from 1924.

FALK, MARCIA (1946–), U.S. poet, translator, and liturgist. Falk was born in New York City and grew up in New Hyde Park, N.Y. During her childhood, she began painting (becoming a life member of the Art Students League in Manhattan), writing poetry, and studying Hebrew. She received her B.A. in philosophy, *magna cum laude*, Phi Beta Kappa, from Brandeis University and both her M.A. in English and her Ph.D. in English and comparative literature from Stanford University. Falk was a Fulbright Scholar and a postdoctoral fellow in Bible and Hebrew literature at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, and has taught at Stanford, the State University of New York at Binghamton, and the Claremont Colleges. In

2001 she held the Priesand Chair in Jewish Women's Studies at HUC-JIR in Cincinnati.

Falk won international acclaim for her translation of the Song of Songs, originally published in 1977 and subsequently released in several editions, most recently as *The Song of Songs: Love Lyrics from the Bible* (2004). Her translation, which made lavish use of assonance and alliteration and interpreted obscure images for modern readers, represented a radical departure from earlier translations. In 1996 Falk published *The Book of Blessings: New Jewish Prayers for Daily Life, the Sabbath, and the New Moon Festival*, a groundbreaking prayer book. *The Book of Blessings* contains new, egalitarian Hebrew and English blessings, along with poems and meditations, as alternatives to the traditional Jewish liturgy. Falk offers nongendered non-anthropomorphic epithets of the divine, such as "source of life" and "breath of all living things."

Falk translated the Yiddish poet Malka *Tussman, *With Teeth in the Earth: Selected Poems of Malka Heifetz Tussman* (1992), and the Israeli mystical poet *Zelda, *The Spectacular Difference* (2004). Falk's own vision, characterized by clarity and quietude, is evident in her two published poetry collections, *It Is July in Virginia: A Poem Sequence* (1985) and *This Year in Jerusalem* (1986).

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[Lucille Lang Day (2nd ed.)]

FALK, MIKSA (1828–1908), Hungarian journalist and politician. Born in Budapest, Falk contributed early in his life to leading newspapers. From 1858 he was one of Count Széchenyi's close friends – in spite of the fact that this Hungarian statesman was antisemitic – and Falk published Széchenyi's political writings. In 1861 Falk was prosecuted for printing an article demanding the restoration of the Hungarian constitution and was sentenced to six months imprisonment. In the same year Falk was sponsored by the liberal leader Ferenc Deák for membership in the National Academy of Sciences. In 1866 he became a tutor in Magyar of the empress Elizabeth, wife of Francis Joseph. After the "compromise" of 1867 in which he had played a considerable part, and by which Hungary recovered its independence within the Hapsburg monarchy, Falk became chief editor of the government German-language newspaper *Pester Lloyd*. Falk converted to Christianity, sat in parliament for ten years, and wrote on Hungarian history.

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[Baruch Yaron]

FALK, PETER (1927–), U.S. actor. Born in New York, Falk worked for the Budget Bureau of the state of Connecticut as an efficiency expert after receiving his M.B.A. in public administration in 1953. Bored with his job, he turned first to theater and television and then to film, eventually receiving Oscar nominations for his performances in *Murder Inc.* (1960) and *Pocketful of Miracles* (1961). In the 1970s Falk made a convincing impression in the films *Husbands* and *A Woman under the Influence* and starred in his own popular television detective series *Columbo*, new episodes of which were filmed after more than a 20-year break. As perhaps an illustration of the concept that life imitates art, his daughter Catherine Falk became a private detective.

In 1972 he appeared on Broadway in *The Prisoner of Second Avenue.* In 1987, he starred in Wim Wenders' Cannes Award-winning film *Der Himmel ueber Berlin/Wings of Desire*, and Rob Reiner's *The Princess Bride.* Other film roles include *The Balcony* (1963), *Robin and the 7 Hoods* (1964), *The Great Race* (1965), *Luv* (1967), *Mikey and Nicky* (1976), *Murder by Death* (1976), *The Cheap Detective* (1978), *The In-Laws* (1979), *Big Trouble* (1986), *Happy New Year* (1987), *In the Spirit* (1990), *Roommates* (1995), *Lakeboat* (2000), *Enemies of Laughter* (2001), *Corky Romano* (2001), *Three Days of Rain* (2002), *Undisputed* (2002), *The Thing about My Folks* (2004), and *Checking Out* (2004).

In addition to winning five Emmy awards, Falk has been nominated for seven other Emmys for his television performances. His memorable TV portrayals have also earned him a Golden Globe award and eight other GG nominations.

[Jonathan Licht / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

FALK, SAMUEL JACOB ḤAYYIM (c. 1710–1782), kabbalist and adventurer, known as the "Ba'al Shem of London." Falk, who was born in Galicia, was intimately connected with leaders of the Shabbatean sectarians for many years, e.g., Moses David of Podhajce. He became known early as a magician, escaped burning as a sorcerer in Westphalia, was banished by the archbishop elector of Cologne, and about 1742 made his way to England. Here he achieved notoriety in both Jewish and non-Jewish circles for his kabbalistic practices based on the use of the mysterious Name of God, hence becoming known as a *Ba'al Shem ("Master of the [Divine] Name"). He had a private synagogue in his house in Wellclose Square, and also established a kabbalistic laboratory on London Bridge where he carried out alchemical experiments which aroused some notice. Among those who were attracted to him, was the international adventurer Theodore De Stein, who claimed to be king of Corsica and hoped to obtain through Falk's alchemical experiments sufficient gold to enable him to "regain" his throne. He was also in touch with, among others, the Duke of Orleans, the Polish Prince Czartoryski, and the Marquise de la Croix. On one occasion, Falk is said to have saved the Great Synagogue from destruction by fire by means of a magical inscription which he inscribed on the doorposts. On the other hand, he was denounced as a Shabbatean heretic and fraud by his embittered contemporary Jacob *Emden. He was, at the outset, on the worst possible terms with the official London community. However, in the end he became reconciled with it and received the support of the Goldsmid family. As a result of this, or possibly of success in a lottery, he died in relatively affluent circumstances, leaving a considerable legacy to Jewish charities and an annual payment for the upkeep of the chief rabbinate in London. Much light is thrown on his personality and activities in the semi-literate diary of his henchman Hirsch Kalish, preserved in manuscript in the Adler Collection in the Jewish Theological Seminary of America, N.Y.; one of his own kabbalistic notebooks is in the library of the *bet ha-midrash* in London. Toward the end of his life, his portrait was painted by the distinguished Anglo-American artist John Copley. This is now frequently reproduced erroneously as the portrait of the famous *Israel Ba'al Shem Tov, founder of Ḥasidism.

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[Cecil Roth]

FALKOWITSCH, JOEL BAERISCH (19th century), Hebrew and Yiddish essayist. Falkowitsch was born in Dubno and lived in Odessa. In addition to a free Hebrew translation of Lessing's *Philotas* under the title *Amminadav* (1868), he published two successfully produced plays in Yiddish: *Reb Khayml der Kotsin* ("Reb Khayml the Judge," 1866) and *Rokhele di Zingerin* ("Rokhele the Singer," 1868). Although baptized a few years before his death, he remained well disposed to Judaism. Falkowitsch appeared at blood-libel trials where he argued against the antisemitic charges. When anti-Jewish attacks appeared in the Warsaw Russian newspaper, *Varshavsky Dnevnik*, he wrote a defense in German, called *Wort zur Zeit* ("A Timely Word," Hebrew transl. "*Davar be-Itto*" in the weekly Ha-Kol (1877), 8–21).

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[Jefim (Hayyim) Schirmann / Marc Miller (2nd ed.)]

FALL, LEO (1873–1925), composer. Born in Olomouc, Moravia, Fall, the son of a military bandmaster, was educated at the Vienna Conservatory and served as a theater conductor. His first three successful operettas, *Der fidele Bauer* (1907), *Die Dollarprinzessin* (1907), and *Die geschiedene Frau* (1908), placed him among the masters of the "second period of the operetta," with Franz Lehar and Oscar *Straus. His most popular works were *Die Rose von Stambul* (1916) and *Madame Pompadour* (1922). Fall's music was distinguished for its charm of melody and clever orchestration.

FALL RIVER, city in S.E. Massachusetts near Rhode Island border. The Jewish population of Fall River has been declining for the past 35 years and now numbers less than 1,000, a decrease from the 1970 population of 4,000 Jews. Attracted by the early cotton-manufacturing industries, the first Jews settled in Fall River during the 1860s and 1870s. Formal religious services were first held in 1874. These first settlers were German Jews; the community and its religious, social, and welfare institutions were soon changed considerably by the influx of Russian immigrants in the 1880s and 1890s. Two of the three congregations serving the community in 1970 – American Brothers of Israel and Congregation Adas Israel – were established in this era. Adas Israel, originally the Adas Israel Society, was founded in 1885; dissidents from Adas Israel established the American Brothers of Israel about 1892. At the beginning of the 20th century a third synagogue, Aguda B'nai Jacob, was founded. Abraham Lipshitz began ministering to these three congregations, which made up the Orthodox community, about 1910, serving them for over 30 years. In the decade 1910–20 Congregation Beth David was founded, Hebrew schools were established, and in 1924 a Conservative synagogue, Temple Beth El, was founded. Morton Goldberg served the congregation from 1925 to 1937, when Jacob Freedman replaced him as spiritual leader. Rabbi Freedman helped found the Fall River Jewish Community Council (1938), which in 1970 included about 25 societies and organizations. The other major communal institution is the Fall River United Jewish Appeal.

Jews prominent in Fall River life have included David L. Gourse, clothier and commissioner of public welfare; Albert Rubin, a state legislator for many years; H. William Radovsky, finance commissioner; and Rabbi Samuel Ruderman, long considered the spokesman for the Jewish community. David H. Radovsky and Moses Entin both played important roles in fraternal organizations and in the Zionist movement. Two nationally known businessmen and philanthropists, Jacob Ziskind and Albert A. List, were from Fall River. Another resident, Dr. Irving Fradkin, inaugurated Dollars for Scholars, an educational funding program which has been adopted by communities throughout the United States.

From their arrival in Fall River, Jews were involved in peddling and in operating small retail establishments. Many Jewish-owned businesses suffered as a result of the 1904 textile strike. Later, large furniture and retail clothing stores were established, and Jews engaged in finance and in operating textile mills. Although textile production has decreased, many Jews are involved in garment contracting; others are professionals, small retailers, and landlords. The declining Jewish population in Fall River can be attributed to a high rate of intermarriage as well as to increased social and physical mobility; Somerset and Highlands are new areas of Jewish residence.

[Bernard Wax]

FALTICENI (Rom. **Fălticeni**), town in Moldavia, N.E. Romania. The first Jews settled there between 1772 and 1774, and an organized community existed from 1780, when the town was officially founded under the name of Şoldăneşti, later changed to Fălticeni, as a commercial center between Austrian Bukovina and Moldavia. In 1781 the landowner permitted the building of a synagogue in the form of a regular house and put a plot for a cemetery at the disposal of the community. Many of the Jews were Sadgora ḥasidim or belonged to Chabad. Several leaders of the community were killed by Greek revolutionaries in 1821, because the Jews were unable to pay them the money they demanded. The community numbered 1,500 in 1803, 5,767 in 1859 (63.5% of the total), 5.499 in 1899, 4,751 in 1910 and 4,216 in 1930 (36.6%). Up to World War I the majority of the Jews in Falticeni were occupied in crafts, and the rest in commerce. Jewish traders held an annual fair there. The community had a hospital, an old age home, 11 synagogues, a *talmud* torah and two schools (for boys and girls). Among the rabbis were Joshua Falik (1835–1915), author of Torah studies; Aryeh Leib Rosen (d. 1950), author of responsa published in *Eitan Aryeh*; and Alter Dorf. The Jewish scholar Solomon Zalman *Schechter also lived in Falticeni, where he studied Torah. Other prominent figures were the Hebrew writer Mattityahu Simḥah Rabener, director of the Israelite-Romanian school (in the 1860s and 1870s); the traveler Israel Joseph Benjamin (*Benjamin II); the painter Rubin Zelicovici (Reuven *Rubin; later emigrated to Israel); the mathematician David Rimer (later emigrated to Israel); and the journalist Ḥayyim Rimer, former director of the Jewish periodical of Romania *Revista Cultului Mozaic* (1980–94) At the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th centuries a Zionist organization led by Shulem Mayer was active. After World War I, when Bukovina was incorporated within Romania, Falticeni ceased to be a border town and the economic situation of the Jews deteriorated. In the 1930s members of the antisemitic parties organized the looting of Jewish shops and forcibly prevented Jews from attending the annual fair.

Holocaust Period

There were 4,020 Jews living in Falticeni in 1941, about one-third of the total population. Under the Fascist regime (September 1940–January 1941) a "Green House" was set up in the center of town, where Jewish merchants were brought and tortured until they agreed to pay for their release. On the eve of war with the Soviet Union (June 1941), a German headquarters was set up in the town and the synagogues were expropriated to be used as military barracks. All male Jews were concentrated in camps, from which 1,000 were sent on to Bessarabia for forced labor; those wealthy enough were able to ransom themselves. More Jews were sent on forced labor far from their homes, where a number perished in the harsh conditions. Falticeni was evacuated in the spring of 1944, at the approach of the Soviet Army. The Jews took refuge in Suceava and Botosani and returned six months later to find their houses stripped of all their possessions. By the time the other inhabitants had returned, the Jews had succeeded in restoring public services both in the town itself and throughout the district.

The Jewish population numbered 4,700 in 1947, but decreased to 3,000 in 1950. In 1944–48 a Jewish secondary school functioned. In 1969 there were about 150 families with one synagogue. In 1994, 51 Jews lived in Falticeni. In Israel there is an organization of Jews from Falticeni.

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[Theodor Lavi / Lucian-Zeev Herscovici (2nd ed.)]

FALUDY, GYÖRGY (1913–2006), Hungarian poet and author; born in Budapest. He translated François Villon's poetry into Hungarian (*Villon balladái*, 1937). In 1939 Faludy fled to France and eventually settled in the United States, where he volunteered for service in the U.S. Army. He returned to Hungary in 1946 and devoted himself to writing and journalism. Five years later he was arrested on a political charge, and was released from prison in 1953. Faludy then joined the editorial board of the literary journal *Irodalmi Ujság*. It was in this paper that in 1956 he published a poem about his experiences in prison. At the time, the publication of the poem was regarded as an indication of the liberalization of the regime. Almost immediately, however, the failure of the revolution forced him to flee the country once again. This time he went to England, where he resumed publication of *Irodalmi Ujság*. Faludy's works include *A pompéji strázsán* ("On the Guard at Pompei," 1938); *Európai költők antológiája* ("An Anthology of European Poets," 1938); and the prose works *Tragoedie eines Volkes* (1958) and *Emlékkönyv a rót Bizáncról* ("Memories of Red Byzantium," 1961). In 1962 he published his autobiography, *My Happy Days in Hell*, in English. Faludy's works in Hungarian were burned by the Nazis and in later years confiscated by the Communists.

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[Baruch Yaron]

FAMILIANTS LAWS (*Familiantengesetze*; Heb. *Gezerat ha-Sheniyyot* in allusion to Yev. 2:4 (20a)), legislation regulating the number of Jews in Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia entitled to found families. The laws were introduced by *Charles VI in 1726–27 to curtail the number of the Jewish population. The number of families fixed was 8,451 for Bohemia, 5,106 for Moravia, and 119 for Silesia. The laws were expressly confirmed, with certain modifications (see below), by Joseph II in his Toleranzpatent of 1781. The structure of the Familiants system was basically the same for all three regions. In Bohemia the apportionment of the number of families was allotted to the *Kreis* (district) authorities, while in Moravia the communities themselves, which were more compact and exercised a relatively strong autonomy, had more influence in the apportionment. The regulations remained, with some alleviations, in force until 1848. According to this system no Jew could marry and found a family unless he possessed one of the "family numbers" (*Familiennummern*). This could only be transferred to the eldest son (at the age of 24) after the death of the Familiant. A younger son (but not a daughter) could inherit the number only after the death of an older brother. The family numbers were carefully registered by the district authorities in the *Familiantenbuch* (register of Familiants), and candidates for obtaining one in the *Kompetentenbuch*. If a Familiant had daughters only, his Familiant "number" (*Familiantenstelle*) expired. In addition, Jews were permitted to reside only in places to which they had been admitted before 1726, and within these they were limited to special quarters, streets, and even houses (*Judenhaeuser-židovny*). Violations of the regulations could be punished by flogging and expulsion.

The Toleranzpatents and other laws, such as the Systemalpatent (see *Bohemia) of 1797, introduced various changes in the Familiants system. The numbers were increased to 8,600 for Bohemia and 5,400 for Moravia. Alleviations were introduced which tended to favor the upper or professional strata in Jewish society, marriage permits being granted for second or third sons against high payments. On request for a marriage permit the applicant had to prove that he possessed 300 florins (in Prague 500). From 1786 a certificate to prove that he had attended a German or Jewish-German school was required, and from 1812 he had to take an examination in the catechism *Benei Ẓiyyon*, drawn up by Naphtali Herz *Homberg. Marriage permits could also be given to those taking up agriculture or a guild craft, or after military service. Communal employees were generally permitted to marry as "supernumeraries," but they were not allowed to transfer their permits to their eldest sons.

The Familiants system forced many Jews to marry secretly ("*Bodenchassines*," "attic weddings") or "*pod pokličkou*" ("under cover"). The children of such couples were considered illegitimate by the authorities and had to bear their mothers' names. It was not until 1847 that the fathers were permitted to acknowledge their fatherhood in the records and thus a quasi-legitimacy was established. In one instance, in Prostejov (Prossnitz) in 1841, some women who had "illegitimate" children were sentenced to forced labor and only released by special favor.

Because of the Familiants system a large number of Jews were not able to settle anywhere permanently; they wandered about the country, and contributed largely to developing a Jewish beggar group (see *Begging and Beggars). People in this category lived virtually outside the law, deprived of any economic status or regular means of livelihood. The system gave rise to conflicts within the communities, and led to tensions in Jewish society, which had before been relatively homogeneous despite the social differences. Lawsuits before secular authorities, denunciations, bribery, and sale of expired family numbers to higher bidders from outside the community instead of transfer to candidates within it were frequent occurrences. In disrupting Jewish family life the Familiants system became one of the causes of *assimilation. It also led to large-scale emigration from these areas. Many of the communities in Hungary (Slovakia) were founded by the younger sons of Moravian Jewish families.

It is significant that although in movements of Jewish enlightenment (see *Haskalah) the Familiants Laws were occasionally referred to as "pharaonic laws," no attempts were made to protest against them, and only in the 1840s, and even then anonymously, were thoughts in that strain raised in journals and poems.

With the March Revolution of 1848 the Familiants system ceased to be effective, although formal abolition was only decreed in 1859. The numerus clausus on marriage and closure of areas to Jews ceased. The corpus of legal enactments on Jews in Bohemia and Moravia is collected in H. Kopetz, *Versuch einer systematischen Darstellung der in Boehmen bezueglich der Juden bestehenden Gesetze und Verordnungen* (1846) and H. Scari, *Systematische Darstellung der in Betreff der Juden in Maehren und im K.K. Antheile Schlesiens erlassenen Gesetze und Verordnungen* (1835), index; see also *Bavaria and *Prussia.

Echoes of the Familiants system are found in belletristic writings by Jewish authors, such as Leopold *Kompert's "*Ohne Bewilligung*" ("Without Permit") and Vojtěch *Rakous' *Na rozcesti* ("On the Crossroads").

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[Ruth Kestenberg-Gladstein]

FAMILY.

In the Bible

An accurate sociological description of the family and its legal status in biblical times is virtually impossible because the relevant evidence is not of a strictly socio-descriptive nature.

SOURCES. Some of the most often quoted examples of family life and its functions come from literary passages in the epic tradition. Thus, one finds considerable attention given to the interaction of various members in the patriarchal community. The history of the Israelite people is predicated on the Divine promise made to its eponymous ancestor Israel and his progenitors. The different branches of the tribal league are traced back to the sons born to Israel by his four wives, and neighboring peoples are judged according to their ancestral relationship to the Hebrew patriarchs. The framework of these relationships is literary, taking the form of stories about the family life of Abraham and his descendants. Other important figures such as Moses and Aaron are also identified by their family ties with the Levitical tribe. Another focal point for tales of family life is the period of occupation and settlement in the land. Family glimpses are afforded of such heroic figures as Caleb and his daughter, Gideon, and Samson. The prophet Samuel and the first Israelite monarchs are also cast in vivid family portraits.

The lack of suitable documents dealing with everyday life (see below) makes it necessary to utilize these literary allusions to family life in developing a picture of the family in biblical times. It should be noted, however, that there are sometimes discrepancies between the situation reflected in biblical narratives and that reflected in legal texts (e.g., marriage to a half-sister, while forbidden in Lev. 18:9, 20:17, and Deut. 27:22, is recorded in Gen. 20:12, in connection with Abraham and Sarah, and the possibility is indicated in II Sam. 13:13, in connection with Amnon and Tamar). A gap between law and practice would not be surprising, and perhaps it is this which is reflected in the divergence between the legal and narrative traditions.

A second source of information is genealogies, found especially in Genesis (pertaining to the patriarchs and other ancient figures) and in I Chronicles (giving the family trees of the main tribal leaders and groups), but also scattered throughout the epic passages of the Pentateuch (e.g., the genealogies of Moses and Aaron).

In poetical compositions, too, one sometimes finds allusions to marriage or to marital relationships (e.g., the prophetic allegory of Ezek. 16 and the depiction of the ideal wife in Prov. 31:10–31).

Strictly legislative materials are unfortunately few and of limited scope. Leviticus 18 and 20 gives the "forbidden degrees," i.e., a list of those relationships which are consanguineous and therefore make marriage forbidden (see below). Numbers 5:11–31 describes the ritual process for testing a woman suspected by her husband of infidelity. A case in the epic tradition is cited as a precedent for the inheritance rights of daughters in the absence of sons (Num. 26:28–34; 27:1–11; 36:10–12; Josh. 17:1–6). Social legislation pertaining specifically to the family is found primarily in Deuteronomy. The legal responsibility of the bride to be a virgin (if advertised as such) when entering into marriage and certain subsidiary matters, such as intercourse with a marriageable girl before marriage, are dealt with in Deuteronomy 22:13–23:1. The process of *divorce is outlined (in only the briefest form) in Deuteronomy 24:1–4, while military exemption for a new bridegroom is prescribed in verse 5 of the same chapter. The laws relating to *levirate marriage appear in Deuteronomy 25:5–10. Apart from scattered verses on miscellaneous aspects of family status, these are the main legal passages on the subject of family law. It is obvious from this brief survey that many basic themes are neglected entirely.

Unlike the discoveries from other cultures in the ancient Near East, the discoveries from ancient Israel have yielded no strictly legal documents pertaining to marriage. Mesopotamia has yielded hundreds of contracts and other types of documents, many of which are marriage arrangements. Much has been learned from such documents found at Nuzi, and the *Elephantine papyri include a marriage contract. That such documents were used by the Israelites is clear: it is known, for example, that a marriage was dissolved by giving the wife a *sefer keritut* ("writ of separation," Deut. 24:1, 3; Isa. 50:1; Jer. 3:8). The earliest direct reference to a Jewish marriage contract (apart from the one in the Elephantine papyri) is in the apocryphal Book of Tobit, where it is written that Raguel "… took a scroll and wrote out the contract and they affixed their seals to it" (Tob. 7:14). These scattered allusions seem to confirm that marriage contracts were used in ancient Israel; the lack of direct evidence is apparently accidental.

THE FAMILY UNIT. The Israelite family as reflected in all genealogical and narrative sources is patriarchical. Attempts have been made to find traces of matriarchy and fratriarchy in the earliest stages of Israel's history, but none of the arguments is convincing (see below).

The family was aptly termed *bet av* ("house of a father"; e.g., Gen. 24:38; 46:31). To found a family was "to build a house" (Deut. 25:10). The *bayit* ("house") was a subdivision of the *mishpaḥah* ("clan, family [in the larger sense]," Josh. 7:14). The criterion for membership in a family (in the wider sense) was blood relationship, legal ties (e.g., marriage), or geographical proximity. The genealogies of I Chronicles sometimes speak of the clan leader as the "father" of a town, or towns, in his district (e.g., I Chron. 2:51, 52). A common livelihood or profession was probably a major factor in family and clan solidarity. Besides those families who engaged primarily in agriculture (conducted on their own lands), there were others who practiced some specific trade (e.g., they were linen workers, I Chron. 4:21, or potters, I Chron. 4:23). The sacerdotal functions of the Levites and the sons of Aaron are the most striking case in point.

Family solidarity is reflected in customs such as blood revenge (Num. 35:9–34; Deut. 19:1–13). Not only was this vengeance exacted upon members of another clan who had killed a kinsman (II Sam. 3:22–27, 30), but even within the framework of a clan, the members of a particular family were responsible for exacting the death penalty when another member of their family was killed in an intra-family murder (II Sam. 14:4–11). The avenger (*go'el*) also had other responsibilities. A near kinsman was required to redeem a relative who had been forced by penury to sell himself into slavery (Lev. 25:47–49). The same obligation held true for family property that had been sold because of poverty (Lev. 25:25; cf. Jer. 32:7). The Book of Ruth refers to this custom but is complicated by the requirement that the surviving widow also be taken (more or less in line with the Levirate practice (Deut. 15:5–10)). The family was a religious as well as a social unit (Ex. 12:3; I Sam. 20:6, 29; Job. 1:5; see *Education).

CONSANGUINITY. The ties of blood relationship that forbade sexual relations are spelled out in order to prevent ritual violations (Lev. 18:6–18; 20:11–14, 17, 19–21). One's consanguineous relatives, "near kin" (*she'er besaro*), as thus defined, were the father (*av*), mother (*em*), father's wife (*eshet av*), sister (*aḥot*) –

whether the daughter of the father or the mother, granddaughter – whether the daughter of a son or of a daughter, daughter of the wife of one's father (*bat-eshet av*), the father's sister, the mother's sister, the father's brother and his wife – the aunt (*dodah*), the son's wife (*kallah*) – in biblical terms, the "bride" in relation to the parents of her husband, and the brother's wife (*eshet a*). It was forbidden to take a woman and her daughter (Lev. 18:17; stated conversely, a woman and her mother, Lev. 20:14) or granddaughter; likewise a man was prohibited from taking his wife's sister (called *ẓarah*, a "rival") while his wife was still alive (Lev. 18:18; contrast Jacob's marriage to Leah and Rachel).

FUNCTIONS OF FAMILY MEMBERS. The respective functions and status of these persons are reflected in scattered passages. The father was the head of the family unit and owner of its property (Num. 26:54–55). He was the chief authority and, as such, is portrayed as commanding (Gen. 50:16; Jer. 35:6–10; Prov. 6:20) and rebuking (Gen. 37:10; Num. 12:14). Ideally he was expected to be benevolent, to show love to his family (Gen. 25:28; 37:4; 44:20) and also pity (Ps. 103:13). The patriarchal blessing (Gen. 27) evidently carried legal force with regard to the distribution of the patrimony and other attendant privileges.

The mother, if she were the senior wife of a harem or the sole wife of a monogamous marriage, occupied a place of honor and authority in spite of her subordination to her husband (see below). At his death she might become the actual, and probably the legal, head of the household (II Kings 8:1–6) if there were no sons of responsible age. As a widow, she was especially vulnerable to oppression; concern for her welfare was deemed a measure of good government and wholesome society (e.g., Deut. 24:17). The influence of famous mothers in epic tradition, e.g., Sarah (Gen. 21:12) and the wife of Manoah (Judg. 13:23), is illustrative of the significance attached to their role. Not all of their power was exercised openly; often the motherly stratagem is deemed worthy of special notice in the epic tradition, e.g., the stratagems of Rebekah (Gen. 27:5–17), Leah (Gen. 30:16), and Rachel (Gen. 31:34). The mother naturally displayed care and love (Gen. 25:28; Isa. 49:15; 66:13; Prov. 4:3).

The role of the queen mother (*gevirah*) stands out in several instances (e.g., I Kings 2:19; 15:13; cf. II Chron. 15:16). The almost uniform practice of naming the mother of the newly crowned Judahite king (e.g., I Kings 14:21) may be a reflection of her special status, but not necessarily. The biblical narrative was evidently concerned with keeping track of the royal heirs by this means, perhaps in order to stress the particular family or region whose daughter had gained the distinction of having her son rise to the throne (cf. II Kings 21:19 and 23:36 where the Galilean origin of the kings' mothers is indicated). It is not certain that in every case the son of the chief wife gained the succession.

The greatest misfortune that could befall a woman was childlessness (Gen. 30:23; I Sam. 1). Children were a blessing from the Almighty (Ps. 127:3–5); they assured the continuance of the family name (Num. 27:4, 8; 36:8b). The mother was more directly involved in the early training of the children than was the father (Prov. 1:8). When the children grew older, the father assumed responsibility for instructing the son (Gen. 18:19; Ex. 12:26–27; 13:8, 14, 15; Deut. 6:7), while the mother evidently kept charge of the daughter until marriage (Micah 7:6). Children were exhorted to honor both parents (Ex. 20:12; Deut. 5:16), and the inclusion of this command in the Decalogue probably accounts for the threatened death penalty to offenders (Ex. 21:15; Lev. 20:9; Deut. 27:16). The decline in respect for parents was symptomatic of the dissolution of society (Ezek. 22:7; Micah 7:6; Prov. 20:20). The demonstration of this respect was primarily through obedience (Gen. 28:7; Lev. 19:3; Deut. 21:18–21; Prov. 1:8; 30:17). Parental control included the right to sell daughters in marriage, although there were limitations on selling her into slavery (Ex. 21:7–11; cf. 22:15–16; Neh. 5:5), and an absolute ban on selling her for prostitution (Lev. 19:29). The father could annul his daughter's vows (Num. 30:4–6), and damages were paid to him for a wrong done to her (Ex. 22:15–16; Deut. 22:28–29). A daughter who was widowed or divorced might return to her father's household (Gen. 38:11, Lev. 22:13; Ruth 1:15).

The terms "brother" (*aḥ*) and "sister" (*aḥot*) applied both to offspring of the same father and mother (Gen. 4:2) as well as to offspring who had only one common parent, either a father (Gen. 20:12) or mother (Gen. 43:7; Lev. 18:9; 20:17). Attempts have been made to find traces of a fratriarchal system in the most ancient Israelite traditions; e.g., in Laban's role (Gen. 24) as head of the family when his sister Rebekah was sent to marry Isaac. Laban's role, however, can be explained without recourse to fratriarchy; Laban, as the direct descendant of Nahor (Gen. 24:15, 29; 29:5), certainly was slated to become head of the family after his own father's demise. Another biblical incident, the concern of Jacob's sons after the humiliation of their sister, whom they called their "daughter" (Gen. 34:17), can also be understood in this way.

Brotherly solidarity is frequently stressed (e.g., Prov. 17:17), and harmony among brothers was held up as an ideal (Ps. 133:1). Brothers were obligated to avenge each other's murder (II Sam. 3:27) as part of their duty as *go'el* ("defender" or "redeemer"; Num. 35:19–28; Deut. 19:6; Josh. 20:3; II Sam. 14:11). Another aspect of this responsibility was the requirement that one ransom a brother who had been taken captive or had gone into servitude as the result of financial adversity (Lev. 25:48; Ps. 49:8; cf. Neh. 5:8).

The term "brother" is often extended to more distant relatives, e.g., nephews (e.g., Gen. 13:8; 14:14), fellow tribesmen (Lev. 21:10), and others (Deut. 2:4, 8; 23:8).

Other members of the immediate family were the paternal uncle (*dod*; e.g., Lev. 10:4; 20:20) and the paternal aunt (*dodah*; the father's sister, Ex. 6:20; and the wife of the father's brother, Lev. 18:14; 20:20); also cousins (male, *ben-dod*, Lev. 25:49; Num. 36:11; female, *bat-dod*, Esth. 2:7).

MARRIAGE AND ADOPTION. Though a man left his parents when he married (Gen. 2:24), he normally remained a member of his father's family. In relation to his wife, he was "master" (*ba'al*; e.g., Gen. 20:3; Ex. 21:3, 22; Lev. 21:4; Deut. 24:4). He "took" her from her parents, or she was "given" to him by her father, or by her master or mistress, if she was a slave (Gen. 2:22; 16:3; 34:9, 21). The marriage agreement, which, judging from neighboring cultures, was probably set down in a written contract, was made between the husband and either the bride's father alone (Gen. 29; 34:16; Ex. 22:16; Deut. 22:29; Ruth 4:10) or both her parents (Gen. 21:21; 24). The marriage negotiations might result from an attraction that had already developed between two young people (e.g., Samson and the Philistine girl, Judg. 14), but generally the father must have taken the initiative since evidently he had the right to determine who would be his daughter's spouse (Caleb, Josh. 15:16; Saul, I Sam. 18:17, 19, 21, 27; 25:44). If a man seduced a virgin, he had to pay her bride-price to her father, who could, at his own discretion, give his daughter to this man in marriage or withhold her from him (Ex. 22:15). However, if he forced her, he was obligated to marry her and pay her price, and had no right ever to divorce her (Deut. 22:28–29).

Generally, prior to the consummation of the marriage a *betrothal was entered into; under this arrangement the bride-price (*mohar*) was established (Gen. 34:12; Ex. 22:16; I Sam. 18:25), accompanied by a gift (*mattan*; Gen. 34:12). A time limit was set by which the payments were to be completed and the marriage put into effect (I Sam. 18:17–19, 26:27). The engagement was a legal transaction in the fullest sense. An engaged man was exempt from military service (Deut. 20:7). The legal status of a betrothed virgin was such that she was prohibited to other men. If someone besides her fiancé had intercourse with her, she was held guilty of adultery. If the act took place in town, where she could have cried for help, the woman was equally guilty; but if it happened in the country she was exonerated by the benefit of the doubt – perhaps she did cry out and was not heard (Deut. 22:23–27).

The essence of the *marriage ceremony seems to have been the transfer of the bride to the house of the groom. He would don a turban (Isa. 61:10) and proceed with his companions to the house of the bride. There the bride, richly attired (Isa. 61:10; Ps. 45:14–15) and veiled (Song 4:1, 3; 6:7; cf. Gen. 24:65; 29:23–25), awaited him. She was then conducted to the house of the bridegroom (Gen. 24:67; Ps. 45:15–16). The festivities included songs extolling the virtues of the bridal pair (Jer. 16:9) – Psalms 45 and Song of Songs evidently represent such compositions – and a feast of seven days (Gen. 29:22–27; Judg. 14:10–12) or even a fortnight (Tob. 8:20). Unusual circumstances might require that the feast be at the home of the bride's parents, but under normal circumstances it must have taken place at the home of the groom. The marriage was consummated on the first night (Gen. 29:23), and the bride's nuptial attire (*simlah*) was kept afterward as evidence of her virginity (*betulim*; Deut. 22:13–21).

The modern definitions of *monogamy and polygamy are not strictly applicable to the ancient world. It was normal for the head of a household to have only one legal, full-fledged wife (Heb. *ishshah*; Akk. *aššatu*); if she were barren, the husband had the right to take a concubine who was often the handmaiden of his wife (Gen. 16:1–2; 29:15–30; 30:1ff.). However, a man might take two wives of equal standing (Gen. 26:34; 28:9; 29:15–30; 36:2–5; I Sam. 1:2). In that case the law forbade his depriving his firstborn son of his legitimate double portion in the interests of the son of the other wife, should she be the favorite (Deut. 21:15–17). Royal polygamy (Deut. 17:17; I Kings 11:1–8) was partly a reflection of foreign policy, each new addition to the harem representing a new or renewed treaty relationship. Heroic leaders would also be expected to have numerous wives and to father many offspring (Judg. 8:30–31; I Sam. 25:42–43).

Living with her husband, the wife was normally close to her husband's father (*ḥam*; I Sam. 4:19, 21) and mother (*ḥamot*; Ruth passim; Micah 7:6). Occasions when the groom stayed with the bride's parents (*ḥoten*, e.g., Ex. 18:1; *ḥotenet*, Deut. 27:23) are noted in the Bible precisely because they were not the norm. Heroic figures such as Moses and Jacob (cf. also Sinuhe, the hero of an Egyptian historical novel) were forced because of unusual circumstances to spend long periods with their in-laws.

When her father died, a woman's brother would perform all the duties of the *ḥoten* (Gen. 24:50, 55). Brothers- and sisters-in-law were considered too closely related to marry (Lev. 18:16, 18; 20:21), except in the case of the husband's brother (*yavam*), who was expected to fulfill the Levirate responsibility.

*Adoption is clearly demonstrated in the case of Jacob's accepting Manasseh and Ephraim as sons (Gen. 48:5); parallels from other ancient Near Eastern cultures have been noted. The absorption of various clans, e.g., the *Calebites and Jerahmeelites into the tribe of Judah, suggests that adoption may have been more widespread in Israelite society. Divine adoption of the king seems to be reflected in certain passages (II Sam. 7:14; Ps. 2:7). It has been suggested, on the basis of parallel customs from Nuzi, that Abraham had adopted Eliezer, his chief servant (Gen. 15:2), and that Laban had also adopted Jacob before sons of his own were born (Gen. 31:1–2). The evidence is too scanty for firm conclusions, but one would be surprised if no adoption whatever was practiced (cf. the metaphorical use of adoption symbolism (Ezek. 16:1–7; Hos. 11:1–4)).

[Anson Rainey]

Post-Biblical

The subject of the family in the post-biblical period is considered here under two aspects:

(a) family in its wider sense of individuals related by marriage or consanguinity, and

(b) the smaller unit consisting of parents and children.

THE LARGER FAMILY UNIT. There is no doubt that the word "family" was used in this sense, i.e., the descendants of an eponymous ancestor, and various families are referred to in the Talmud, such as the families of Bet Zerifa (Kid. 71a), Bet Zevaim and Bet Kupai (Yev. 15b), and Bet Dorkati (Ket. 10b). Among the priestly families, a completely pure and unsullied genealogy was rigidly insisted upon. It took the most extreme forms, and it was laid down that "they set a higher standard in matters of priestly descent" (Ket. 13a). Josephus, who prided himself on his priestly descent (Life, 1:1), states that the genealogies of the priests were carefully preserved in the archives of the Temple. The attempt of the Pharisees to remove John Hyrcanus (I) from his office of high priesthood (Kid. 66a; cf. Jos., Ant., 13:10, 288–92) and the pathetic incident of R. Zechariah b. ha-Kaẓav, a priest, who was forced to divorce his wife, despite his oath that he had not left her for a moment during their capture by enemy soldiery (Ket. 2:9), are both based on the law that a woman who had been taken captive by non-Jewish soldiers was forbidden to marry a *kohen*.

What was obligatory and mandatory for priestly families was regarded as desirable for non-priestly families. Most of the last chapter of the talmudic tractate *Kiddushin* deals with this question, with the aim of ensuring the purity of the family. Both purity of descent and eugenic considerations were regarded as important: "A man should not marry into a family which has a recurrent history of epilepsy or leprosy" (Yev. 64b). The responsibility of the individual member of a family toward the good name of the family as a whole is constantly stressed: "A family is like a heap of stones. Remove one, and the whole structure can collapse" (Gen. R. 100:7). "Woe unto him who sullies his children and his family" (Kid. 70a) and "whosoever brings disrepute upon himself brings disrepute upon his whole family" (Num. R. 21:3). This regard for the good name of the family as a whole gave rise to the impressive ceremony of **Keẓaẓah* in which "all the members of the family" participated when one of them "married a woman who was not worthy of them" (Ket. 28b).

There were "aristocratic families of Israel" on whom alone "the Holy One, blessed be He, causes his Divine Spirit to rest" (Kid. 70b). They alone were regarded as worthy of marrying into the priestly families. The status of certain families as "pure and impure" and as "sullied and unsullied" was well known (Ket. 28b.). It was regarded as a meritorious act to marry the daughter of a scholar (Pes. 49a), and genealogical lists were drawn up, and carefully preserved (Pes. 62b; Yev. 49b). The last *mishnah* of Ta'anit (4:8) records an ancient custom that on the 15th of Av and on the Day of Atonement the young men of Jerusalem used to go out in the vineyards to choose their brides, and the maidens adjured them saying; "Young man, lift up thine eyes and see what thou art choosing for thyself. Set not thine eyes on beauty; set thine eyes on family." On the other hand, a blind eye was turned to a family in which it was known that there had been an undesirable admixture which could not be traced (Kid. 71a). During the talmudic period, the marked tendency of descendants to continue the calling or the profession of their forebears is referred to in a statement justifying the fact that retribution is taken in the case of the worshiper of Moloch "from the man and his family" (Lev. 20:5). "If he sinned, in what did his family sin? Because there is not a family containing a publican of which all the members are not publicans or containing a thief in which they are not all thieves" (Shev. 39a). Mention is also made of "families of scribes, which produce scribes, of scholars who produce scholars, and of plutocrats who produce plutocrats" (Eccl. R. 4:9). This emphasis on the worthiness of the families as a prime consideration in choosing one's life partner has persisted throughout the social life of the Jews. It was commonplace among East European Jews for the parents of the potential bride or bridegroom to ensure that the parents should be such as "one could sit down with them at table." It is an interesting fact that in Hebrew and in Yiddish there is a word (*mechutan*) to designate the relationship established between the parents of the bride and the parents of the bridegroom, or between the respective families.

THE SMALLER FAMILY UNIT. In Jewish social life and tradition the family constitutes perhaps the most closely knit unit in any society. All members of the family, husband and wife, parents and children, are bound by mutual ties of responsibility.

Although in theory polygamy is permitted by both Bible and Talmud, the ideal set forward is always of husband, wife, and children forming one unit. The passage from Psalms, "it shall be well with thee, thy wife shall be a fruitful vine in the innermost part of thy house; thy children like olive plants round about thy table" (Ps. 128:2–3), formed the basis of innumerable homilies on the part of the rabbis extolling the virtue of domestic bliss (cf. Tanh. Va-Yishlaḥ; ser 18, etc.). The family was regarded as the smallest social unit through which the cultural and religious heritage of Judaism can be transmitted.

Where Christianity glorified celibacy and monasticism as the highest ideal and a means of extolling the virtue of chastity, Judaism extolled the institution of marriage and the family. It is significant of the difference in outlook that whereas Paul regarded celibacy as the highest virtue and only reluctantly gave permission to marry, "But if they cannot contain, let them marry; for it is better to marry than burn" (i.e., incur the death penalty of burning for incest and adultery; I Cor. 7:9), a Midrash attributes the death of Nadab and Abihu, the two sons of Aaron, "from a fire from the Lord" (Lev. 10:2) to the fact that in their arrogance they refused to marry (Lev. R. 20:10). The rabbis pointed to the verse "He created it [the world] not a waste, he formed it to be inhabited" (Is. 45:18) as a justification for the religious duty not only of marrying but of setting up a family. R. Eliezer went so far as to regard the man who does not marry and shirks the duty of rearing children as equivalent to a murderer (Tosef., Yev. 8:4). The Mishnah (Yev. 6:6) lays it down as a duty to procreate, in accordance with Gen. 1:28 "Be fruitful and multiply," the minimum number of children for its fulfillment being two (according to Bet Shammai two male children; according to Bet Hillel one male and one female). So essentially was this regarded as the purpose of marriage that according to the same Mishnah not only was a man permitted, but even enjoined, to divorce his wife after ten years of barrenness.

The discussion in the Babylonian Talmud to this Mishnah (60b–63a) is replete with statements emphasizing the sacred nature of this duty and the joy, beauty, and sanctity of the Jewish home. It includes such statements as "He who has no wife lives without joy, without blessing, and without goodness"; "of that man who loves his wife as himself, honors her more than himself, who guides his sons and daughters in the right way, and arranges for their early marriage, Scripture says 'and thou shalt know that thy tent is peace' (Job. 5:24)."

The family unit was regarded as a closed one. The spontaneous blessing of Balaam "How goodly are thy tents, O Jacob" (Num. 24:5) was inspired by the fact that he saw that "the doors [of their houses] were not opened opposite those of their neighbors" (cf. Rashi *ad loc.*). The wife was supposed largely to confine herself to her household duties and strangers were somewhat discouraged, despite the emphasis placed upon the duty of hospitality. The wife and mother was the undisputed mistress of the home.

Children are a divine trust (cf. the story of the death of R. Meir's two children, Yal. Prov. 964). It was the father's duty to teach his child religion, to teach him a trade, even to teach him to swim (Kid. 40a), and it was strictly forbidden to a parent to show favoritism to any of his children (Shab. 10b). No duty ranked higher than the fifth commandment, "honor thy father and thy mother" (Ex. 20:12). Domestic harmony was enjoined in the injunction "a man should spend less than his means on food, up to his means on clothes, beyond his means in honoring wife and children, because they are dependent on him" (Ḥul. 84b).

This constant insistence upon the value of the family as a social unit for the propagation of domestic and religious virtues and the significant fact that the accepted Hebrew word for marriage is *kiddushin*, "sanctification," had the result of making the Jewish home the most vital factor in the survival of Judaism and the preservation of the Jewish way of life, much more than the synagogue or school. It was also a major factor for moral purity.

The traditional Jewish home exemplified the maxim "where there is peace and harmony between husband and wife the **Shekhinah* dwells between them." A religious spirit of practical observance pervades it, from the **mezuzah* on the doorpost to the strict observance of the dietary laws in the kitchen. The home was the center of religious practice and ceremonial. Its outstanding expression was the festive meal on Sabbaths and festivals with the kindled candles on the table, the **Kiddush*, **Zemirot*, and Grace before and after Meals. The outstanding such occasion is the *seder* on Passover eve. But there was also the *Sukkah, the morning and night prayers, the blessing of the children by their father on the eve of Sabbath and Festivals, and the blessing of the parents (significantly called "my father, my teacher," and "my mother, my teacher") in the Grace after Meals.

Nor were the social and humane virtues overlooked. The placing of a coin in the charity box (usually for the poor of the Holy Land, the "Meir Ba'al Ha-Nes Fund") initiated the duty of charity; Deut. 11:15 was interpreted to mean that one should feed one's domestic animals before sitting down to one's meal.

Perhaps in nothing was the strength of the family bond more seen than in the paradox that whereas in theory divorce among Jews is the easiest of all processes, in practice it was, until recent times, a comparative and even absolute rarity. The powerful bond which united parents and children in one bond with mutual responsibilities and mutual consideration made it a bulwark of Judaism able to withstand all stresses from without and from within.

See also: Marriage, Husband and Wife, Parent and Child.

[Louis Isaac Rabinowitz]

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FAMILY, AMERICAN JEWISH.

Introduction

Any discussion of American Jewish family life as an institution must view it within the context of contemporary American social, economic, and political life. All contemporary American Jews are "Jews by choice" in that their relationship with the Jewish people, Judaism, and its institutions is voluntary. They have freedom and feel part of mainstream American life.

The experience of the Jewish family in the United States over the past century has been one of acculturation and accommodation to the norms and values of American society. The diversity within Jewish life precludes a description of an archetypal contemporary American Jewish family. In contrast, according to Glatzer the historic Jewish family – at least in theory (1959) – was (1) patriarchal, (2) three generational, (3) home oriented, (4) pious, and (5) devoted to study, particularly the Bible, Talmud and other Jewish texts. As in all other modern Jewish societies, the majority of Jewish families in the United States today, and perhaps the majority of Jewish families in the typology suggested bear scant resemblance to Glatzer's model of the premodern European Jewish family.

Many Jewish families still share certain distinctive socioeconomic characteristics, i.e., they are middle or upper middle class, are politically to the left of center, and socialize often with other Jews. But many, from day to day, are hardly distinguishable from their non-Jewish neighbors. In a profound way, the religion most practiced by American Jewish families has been America itself, its freedoms, democracy, openness, and unprecedented opportunities.

The transition from tradition and self-segregation characterizes the development of the American Jewish family in the United States. These processes affected virtually every aspect of family life, from size and residential patterns to marriage and career choices. There are some who see this process as having weakened the Jewish family, leading it in the direction of ultimate extinction as a distinctive type; others see evidence of surprising strength and the maintenance of tradition in a world of dramatic change. Often citing the same evidence, they perceive the Jewish family as having successfully transformed itself in response to the conditions of its environment, requiring, perhaps, only some redefinition. The process of change which the Jewish family underwent in America may be divided into four eras: (1) the years defined by mass immigration or its consequences, beginning in 1881 and lasting until the late 1920s, (2) the mid-century era, lasting from about 1930 to the mid-1960s, (3) the decades of the 1970s and 1980s, and (4) the end of the 20th century and the beginning of the 21st.

Immigration

The majority of Jews living in the United States today are third-, fourth-, and fifth-generation descendants of the families of some 2,650,000 immigrants who arrived in America between the last two decades of the 19th century and the first quarter of the 20th century as part of the mass transplantation of peoples from Eastern and Southern Europe. Howe (1976) points out that for Jews, more than for any other European group, this historic migration was a movement of families, signified by the great proportion of females and children who took part in it. Mass migration, which is usually set in motion by an economic or political crisis, war, or natural disaster, disrupts the normal development of family life. "Yet, it was the ferocious loyalty of the Jews to the idea of the family as they knew it, the family both as locus of experience and as fulfillment of their obligation to perpetuate their line, that enabled them to survive (the immigration experience)" (p. 20). However, immigration put an enormous strain on the family. The older generation was often left behind, never to be seen again. Husbands came before their wives and children thus beginning the process of Americanization earlier. Family reunions were often joyous but seldom without problems as both husband and wife had changed in the intervening years; the husband had become more American, the wife had become used to handling family matters. There were also problems of abandonment, of husbands who had disappeared into the great abyss of America.

The majority of Eastern European Jewish families who came to the United States were nominally Orthodox; they were not, though, among the most learned or pious of that generation. Those who were well established in Europe stayed in Europe. "There is little recognition [today] of the fact that a significant group of the post-1905 immigrants had [already] moved away from Jewish culture …" (Sklare, 1971, p. 17). Nevertheless, they held on to a distinctive Jewish ethos and way of life brought from their towns and villages. Within their world, molded by centuries of Jewish tradition, arranged marriages were common, and large families were desirable, if not always achievable. With a high infant mortality rate and the death of young children by disease, for some children to survive, many more had to be born. The husband was the dominant spouse, the primary breadwinner, and the master of the house, at least in theory. Yet, quite often, the wife was forced to work or in business both husband and wife often worked together. The needs of the group, especially one's family, generally took precedence over any one of its members. Personal achievement of boys and men was encouraged, knowing that the rewards would benefit the entire family. The boundaries of family loyalty and commitment generally extended beyond the immediate household to include a wider circle of relatives.

During this period, economic survival was the immediate concern of each family. "Between 1900 and 1920, it can be argued, more American Jews were engaged in a really difficult struggle for existence than at any time before or since" (Glazer, 1965, p. 23). Despite this, when family members assisted one another the difficulties of resettlement were eased. Countless veteran families legally undertook responsibility for new immigrant relatives, helping them find housing and employment, and, when necessary, sharing food, shelter, and clothing, until the newest arrivals were securely settled.

The many hardships of starting life in a new society put great pressures on the functioning of the family. For example, in the lore of the old country the Jewish father was the natural and unchallenged head of the household, respected and feared by all family members. The Jewish mother was revered for her dedication to her husband and the responsibility she assumed for her young children. Upon reaching America these relationships often changed. The difficulty of adult immigrants in parting with the ways of the old country, in learning to read English and speak it without an accent, in finding gainful employment, and in general, mastering the new environment, in many cases led to the reversal of roles between parents and children. "'Green' parents turned to their Americanized children for succor. Parents became children, and children were unwillingly pressed into the role of parents" (Feingold, 1992, p. 38). Young children learned English more readily and it was not uncommon for them to serve as family spokesman when dealing with the school teacher, principal, policemen and other non-Jewish authorities. In addition, thousands of children were removed from school to work in sweatshops or to perform other menial labor in order to guarantee their family's subsistence income. Inevitably, many children, feeling more American than their parents, were embarrassed by the latter's foreignness and derided them for being "greenhorns" – and then often felt guilty for it. Many immigrant families, perhaps those who were initially less stable, experienced various levels of dysfunction in response to these pressures.

A primary source that reflects the struggles and vicissitudes of first generation Jewish families in America is the letters to the editor column of the then popular Yiddish daily, the *Forverts*, a collection known as *A Bintel Brief.* The thousands of letters sent to this column by immigrants, beginning in 1906, bear testimony to the family arguments, difficulties with raising children, infidelity, divorce, and particularly, cases of paternal desertion experienced by many Jewish families. "The number of [Jewish] men who left their families became so great at one time that the *Forverts*, in cooperation with the National Desertion Bureau, established a special column to trace them" (Metzker, 1972, p. 10).

Another source on Jewish family life from this period, *The Jewish Communal Register* (1918), is a compendium of socio-economic and demographic data on approximately a million and a half New York Jews, one-half of all the Jews in the United States at that time. One table, covering the period from 1901 to 1916, compiled by the United Hebrew Charities, indicates a steady decrease, from 11,447 to 6,014, in the number of Jewish families receiving community assistance. As Morris Waldman, at the time the executive director of the Federated Jewish Charities of Boston, pointed out:

> [T]he striking thing is, that in spite of the rapid increase of the Jewish population, due to immigration as well as to natural causes, the number of dependent families has steadily diminished year by year, not only proportionately, but actually… This is particularly gratifying in the light of the fact that the number of dependent families among other elements in the city, judging by the experience of other private relief agencies, has increased in proportion to the increase of their population. This proves that the Jews from eastern European countries are not willing dependents. On the contrary, they make every effort to care for themselves and thus remain self-respecting as well as self-supporting (pp. 991–92).

These words portend the successful social and economic integration of the American Jewish family into American society during the coming decades. America was expanding, jobs were available and workers were needed.

The Mid-Century

Although the challenges of resettlement seemed overwhelming at the time, the Jewish family, in retrospect, stood up to them rather well. The evidence for this is the remarkably rapid social mobility of second-generation American Jews whose parents, in spite of their struggles, saw to their education and general welfare. This second era encompasses approximately 40 years divisible, into two periods. The first began roughly around 1925 and lasted until 1945; the second commenced with the end of World War II and continued until the mid-1960s. During the first 20 years immigrant Jewish families underwent a remarkable social metamorphosis. After World War II they emerged thoroughly Americanized and ready to reap the benefits of the country's post-war economic upsurge.

Quota legislation adopted by Congress in 1921 and 1924, known as the Johnson Acts, effectively ended 40 years of continuous immigration to the United States. With the abatement of mass immigration, the problems of resettlement faded, and the tenor of Jewish community life changed. Those who came in the 1880s and 1890s had been here for decades; their children were American born and American educated. After the mid-1920s, integration into the American mainstream became the most important issue on the Jewish community's agenda.

With impressive speed, masses of Jewish families in cities throughout the United States found the means to relocate from the area of first settlement to a second, more desirable, community. As early as 1925, for example, Brownsville had become the largest center of Jewish population in all of New York City, more populous than the Lower East Side of Manhattan, which many of its inhabitants had left in search of cleaner, healthier, and more spacious living (Landesman, 1969). Geographic mobility, usually the move from a small apartment in an older, run down quarter, to a larger apartment or home in a newer, more prestigious section, was the by-product of social and economic success. The *Menorah Journal* of April 1928 points out:

> In the United States the benefits of equality have now been attained for all practical purposes. Every number of every Jewish weekly in the land points with pride to some Jewish judge or governor, to Jewish bankers, real estate operators and merchants, to members of the faith who are actors and authors and editors, or who have been honored for some success dear to the hearts of their fellow Americans (*ibid.*, p. 361).

Ironically, the process of becoming established took place against a backdrop of significant antisemitism and discrimination which only peaked towards the end of the 1930s. During these years, "gangs attacked Jews on the streets of Brooklyn and other eastern cities with little interference from the police, while organizations calling themselves the Christian Front of the Christian Mobilizers conducted 'Buy Christian' campaigns, cheered the Fuehrer and denounced prominent American Jews" (O'Brien, 1967, p. 271). If nothing else, the effect of antisemitic street violence was reason enough for Jewish families to leave the working class neighborhoods of the Lower East Side of Manhattan, the Bronx, and Brooklyn where older Jewish enclaves bordered the neighborhoods of other immigrant groups. Both intergroup conflict and increasing prosperity stimulated geographic mobility.

By 1920, first-generation Jewish immigrants were outnumbered by their American-born Jewish children who began "asserting themselves in the Jewish community" (Hutchinson, 1956). "As members of the second generation began to strive for the values of the dominant society, they introduced the seeds of conflict into the … community" (Kramer and Leventman, 1961). By the beginning of the 1940s, it was clear that younger Jewish families, by then virtually all second generation Americans, bore the values and cultural patterns of their native land. One observer from that era writes: "Today in America, Jewry, like a chameleon, has taken on the color of its new surroundings. Its soul remains divided between the memory of its Eastern heritage – of traditions nursed through centuries of ghetto life – and the interests of the community, which has received it. Its thought has been cast increasingly in the American vernacular …" (*ibid.*). Typically, second-generation families attenuated the Orthodox rituals, which were the only form of religious Judaism their parents and grandparents had known in Eastern Europe, even if these had not been consistently observed. Kramer and Leventman note that upon becoming adults, the children of immigrants "acquired a middle-class inclination to make distinctions between the sacred and the secular unknown in the ghetto … What the second generation required were religious institutions adapted to the norms of its new status" (*ibid*., p. 11). Sklare (1972) thus attributes the success of Conservative Judaism during the period 1920–1950 to "its appeal to young marrieds who were in the process of establishing independent households and developing a pattern of Jewish living that would be distinctive to their generation.… Younger Jews who wished to retain continuity with their past and at the same time integrate into American middle-class culture found Conservative Judaism to be the perfect solution to their dilemma" (Sklare, *ibid*.). Both Conservative and Reform Judaism represented a restructuring of European Orthodox religious patterns that appealed more to American Jewish sensibilities. In particular, they sanctioned shorter, mixed-pew Sabbath worship services with greater decorum. For families of both movements, the weekly synagogue service became the main, and for many the only, even if infrequent, family religious activity, with the exception of the Passover seder, Hanukkah candles, or celebrating a family life cycle event, such as a bar or bat mitzvah. The synagogue was used for life cycle events: birth and bar-mitzvah, marriage and death, times of crisis and illness as well as on the High Holidays. One observer spoke of it as a Judaism of "hatch em, match em, patch em and dispatch em."

To be sure, many family traditions brought from Europe endured and were passed on to the first American-born generation. "Certain deeply felt attitudes, well adapted to the conditions of the *shtetl*, were brought … by East European immigrants and transplanted in American soil. If this soil had been completely uncongenial to them, they would be dead and forgotten by now; but the soil was partly congenial, partly inimical" (Yaffe, p. 278). Jewish families saw in the pluralistic nature of American society a tolerance for non-native customs that did not exist in the more highly structured and traditional societies of Europe. This openness helped foster a kind of biculturalism – Jewish and American. Even while seeking to emulate the ways of their new surroundings, most immigrants could not divest themselves of their old country values and norms. As a result, many never felt fully at home in America. By contrast, their children, born in the United States, though only one generation removed from Eastern Europe, saw themselves as American in all respects.

Structural acculturation among second generation Jewish families began as early as the 1920s, says Feingold, and was expressed through:

> A loosening of the ties of kinship, and ultimately the large extended family was replaced by a small nuclear one. Family clans that had settled in the same neighborhood dispersed. The nuclear family was compelled to bear alone the stress of rapid change or decline in fortune. Occasionally families cracked under the strain, but most often the changed Jewish family survived and continued to live as before – or as much as was possible (*ibid*., p. 37).

The dispersion to which Feingold refers was not universal. Second generation families, in fact, often continued to live in the same community, and sometimes even in the same apartment building or complex. This was also true in certain cities more than others. Pittsburgh for example, has had a stable Jewish upper-middle-class neighborhood since the 1930s and is still using the infrastructure created more than three quarters of a century ago. During this era, three generation households, consisting of grandparents, parents, and children, were not as uncommon as they were to become. Grandparents often maintained an active role in managing the family. No doubt this helped many young couples by reducing their child-rearing responsibilities, affording them additional time for work or schooling. In spite of discrimination, many children of immigrants succeeded in entering American colleges and universities. They trained for the "free" professions of law, medicine, dentistry, pharmacy and accounting (Glazer 1965, p. 33). It was during this period that large numbers of American Jewish families improved their socio-economic status, becoming solidly middle class.

According to Glazer, in the mid-1930s almost one-half of young Jewish adults came from homes where their fathers were blue-collar workers, and about one-third from homes where their fathers owned their own businesses or were managers and officials in other enterprises. In one-tenth of the homes the fathers were clerks, and in fewer than one-twentieth they were professionals. In contrast, some 60 percent of the younger generation was engaged in "clerical and kindred" work, and many headed for an independent business career or profession. In smaller cities during the 1930s, such as Detroit, Buffalo, and San Francisco, an even larger percentage of young Jews, including women, were becoming teachers, white-collar clerks, and salespeople (*ibid*., pp. 30–32). Their solid penetration of the middle class during this period set the stage for even greater socio-economic advancement during the next two decades.

Even before reaching the middle class economically, American Jewish families displayed many of the social patterns of this group. A prime example of this is the decline in the birth rate. "The process of family limitation among American Jews," says Sklare, "has its roots in the fertility behavior of the first generation. But it was not until the second generation that newer conceptions of family size made deep inroads" (*ibid*., 1971, p. 79). In 11 community-wide studies carried out between 1930 and 1940 Seligman (see Glazer, p. 34) reports on Jewish fertility ratios (the proportion of children under 5 per 1,000 persons aged 20–54) ranging from 81 to 122. Among non-Jewish Caucasians in 1940 from across the United States, the ratio is 154. Glazer comments that "in the late 'Thirties, it seem[s] fair to conclude that a modicum of relative prosperity had been accompanied by a very rapid drop in the size of the Jewish family" (*ibid*., p. 35). "By 1938," notes Feingold, "50 percent of Jewish families produced two or fewer children. Jews were on their way to becoming America's most efficient contraceptors" (p. 48). Sociologists and others at that time who were sensitive to these trends predicted a decline in the size of the American Jewish community.

By 1940 American Jews had adopted the model of the middle-class American family more successfully than any other immigrant group. This status is portrayed in a number of popular wartime- and postwar-period novels, including *A Tree Grows in Brooklyn* (Betty Smith, 1943), *A Walker in the City* (Alfred Kazin, 1951), *Marjorie Morningstar* (Herman Wouk, 1955), and *Good-bye Columbus* (Philip Roth, 1959). Jewish families portrayed in earlier works, such as Abraham Cahan's *The Rise of David Levinsky* (1917) and Henry Roth's *Call It Sleep* (1934), are, by comparison, preoccupied with the more fundamental issues of resettlement and becoming "real" Americans. After 1940, these themes are no longer relevant. Fictional Jewish families as portrayed by Jewish authors in the 1940s are unmistakably, middle-class American families who also happen to be Jewish.

Glazer asserts that "the fifteen years of prosperity from the end of the thirties to the mid-fifties … wrought great changes, and created the Jewish community we know today.… This community of businessmen and professional men is better educated and wealthier than most of the population – probably as well educated and as wealthy as some of the oldest and longest established elements in the United States" (*ibid*., p. 3). Glazer attributes this success to the fact that Jews, more than other immigrant groups, had for generations engaged in various urban, middle-class occupations, and in spirit had long belonged to the middle class.

Upon its rise to the middle class, the Jewish family began exhibiting additional signs of modernization. Strodbeck (1957) offers evidence which demonstrates that after World War II, Jews, as compared to Italians, place less stress on "familism," i.e., they are more willing to leave home and live independently. This suggests that certain values, which helped American Jews achieve higher social rank, might have had a negative impact on family solidarity. Balswick (1966) concludes on the basis of "writings and research material of the last twenty years," that "the American Jewish family is closely knit. It is more closely knit than non-Jewish families with which it has been compared" (p. 166). However, this conclusion is challenged by Westerman (1967), who cites various methodological problems with Balswick's analysis, particularly a failure to compare contemporary Jewish families with those of previous generations.

America's economic boom following World War II helped to usher in a golden age for the American Jewish family. The G.I. Bill of Rights helped American Jewish veterans get an education and universities expanded to meet growing needs. Veterans' benefits also enabled them to purchase homes. Social integration was advanced by the relocation of second- and third-generation Jewish families from urban areas of second settlement to the periphery of the city and its suburbs. This migration brought about a paradigm shift in American Jewish life whose effect on the family, in particular, was fundamental and far reaching.

Shapiro (1992) cites the reasons for the unprecedented growth of the suburbs after 1945 as follows, including:

> the increased use of automobiles, postwar prosperity, the pent-up demand for housing created by the depression and the war, the desire of veterans to resume a normal family life after the dislocations of wartime, the baby boom of the late 1940s and 1950s, government programs that encouraged the building and purchase of houses by veterans … (p. 43)

Many Jewish families found the means to abandon the crowded and deteriorating conditions of the city for the newness and openness of the suburbs. Gordon (1959) specifically cites the shortage of urban living space as a key factor in their migration.

> The depression years of the 1930s were followed closely by World War II. During that fifteen-year period, few, if any, new homes were built, and even fewer families could afford to purchase them, whatever their cost. Families "doubled up": sons or daughters who were recently married moved in with their parents until conditions improved.… The builders of mass-produced homes, such as those in Levittown, provided "low-cost housing." Prices were reasonable enough to satisfy young people who were determined to establish their own family life, independent of parents and in-laws.

But not all young, upwardly mobile Jewish families in the period were so determined, and pockets of urban Jewish life remained. Dawidowicz describes one postwar group that chose to stay in the city.

> After years of housing starvation (during the Depression and the war years), many young families in New York found that the great Queens building boom of 1948–1951 offered them a wide choice of modest apartments at modest monthly rentals from $75 to $140. Besides wanting a place to live at rents they could afford, these young people were fleeing from the changes in their old neighborhoods in Manhattan, the Bronx, and Brooklyn. They were looking for an inexpensive facsimile of the suburbs a half hour from Times Square. (p. 68)

The experience of suburban living influenced the dynamics of Jewish family life. The new environment engendered a process of social change reminiscent of the experience of immigrant families two generations earlier. This is described by Mary Antin in her autobiography *The Promised Land* (1912), in which she notes how:

> In Polotzk we had been trained and watched, our days had been regulated, our conduct prescribed. In America, suddenly we were let loose on the street. Why? Because my father having renounced his faith, and my mother being uncertain of hers, they had no particular creed to hold us to… My parents knew only that they desired us to be like American children; and seeing how their neighbors gave their children boundless liberty, they turned us also loose, never doubting but that the American way was the best way (pp. 270–1).

Gordon (1959) observes that "the suburb is helping to produce marked changes in the basic structures of the Jewish family and its educational, political, religious, cultural and social life" (p. 19). Life in suburbia was so different from life in the city that changes in family life were inevitable.

One important consequence of these changes was the virtual full acceptance and social integration of the Jewish family into American society. This development was discussed in Will Herberg's classic book *Protestant, Catholic, Jew: A Study in Religious Sociology* (1955), one of the most influential works in the postwar sociology of American religion. Herberg posits that by the mid-twentieth century, Judaism was no longer considered marginal to American society. Affiliation with a major religious faith was important to Americans, and Judaism, as the seminal creed of America's Judeo-Christian tradition, duly qualified. Jews, as individuals, might still encounter discrimination, but the Jewish tradition, especially as manifest within the home and family, was seen as consonant with the highest of American values (Herberg, *ibid*., and Kramer and Levantman, p. 153). In Herberg's typology Jews, who were three percent of the American population, constituted one third of its religious experience. Of course, the Judaism of the suburbs was not the pseudo-Orthodoxy of the immigrant generation. Reform, Reconstructionist, and Conservative Judaism, at least until the 1970s, were the only streams of Judaism to successfully take root there. The modern and often lavish temples and synagogues erected in the 1950s and 1960s conveyed the message that the Jewish family felt self-assured and at home in America (Sklare and Greenblum, 1967). Some were designed by prominent architects, Jewish and non-Jewish – they manifested the sense that Jews had arrived and were taking root.

Synagogue affiliation was altogether a different experience in the suburbs. The distances characteristic of suburban living made regular synagogue participation, for those so inclined, more difficult. Whereas in the city, the synagogue was classically a neighborhood institution, in the suburbs it served a widely dispersed population often accessible only by car. Thus, synagogue attendance could no longer be an informal and spontaneous affair. The increased distance between home and synagogue was but one of the postwar changes in Jewish family life. The Conservative movement responded by permitting travel to and from synagogue by car on the Sabbath. Orthodoxy, which continued to prohibit travel felt more at home in the city or turned a blind eye to those who traveled to synagogue. Living within walking distance of the synagogue was later to be a boon to the sense of community among Orthodox and traditional Jews.

The transplanting of Jewish community life from the city to the suburbs contributed to (1) the long range decline of the Jewish neighborhood, (2) an increase in formal affiliation as a means of community attachment, (3) the child-centered family, (4) the transformation of gender roles, and (5) increased geographic mobility.

According to Shapiro:

> The diffusion of Jewish population into the suburbs and exurbs diluted Jewish identity. In the compacted Jewish neighborhoods of the cities, Jewish identity was absorbed through osmosis. In suburbia, it had to be nurtured. Jewish suburbanites lived [mostly] in localities where, in contrast to the city, most of the people were not Jews, the local store did not sell Jewish [especially Yiddish language] newspapers, there were no kosher butchers, synagogues were not numerous, and corned beef sandwiches were not readily available. (p. 147)

In the old neighborhood, grandchildren often lived within proximity of their grandparents, which naturally facilitated more frequent contact. This intimacy made it more likely that family traditions were passed on. Suburban living distanced these generations. The Yiddish of immigrant grandparents, which was understood and spoken, albeit typically unused, by the second generation, seemed foreign and arcane to their suburban grandchildren. A Sunday visit to *bubbie* and *zaidie* in the city might take in shopping at the Jewish bakery, bookstore, or kosher butcher. Such casual activities were the most intensive Jewish cultural encounters some third- and fourth-generation children would experience.

While this scenario partly reflects an overall distancing from tradition, it also points to the diminuition of intense Jewish family activity in the suburbs. Such activity is a source of mimetic norms, i.e., knowledge that is "imbibed from parents and friends, and patterned on conduct regularly observed in home and street, synagogue and school" (Soloveitchik, 1994). This form of learning emerges naturally in the traditional Jewish neighborhood. The Jewish neighborhood, much like the *shtetl* of prewar Europe, is an example of *gemeinschaft*, an informal, corporate form of community life. In contrast, suburban Jewish life is likened to *gesellschaft*, a form of community organization wherein social interaction is more disparate and the transmission of culture more formalized. It has become more common for suburban Jewish families who do not live near one another to meet and interact only within the context of formal activities. These scheduled Jewish experiences, such as attendance at synagogue services, school meetings, youth group programs, adult learning courses, holiday celebrations and cultural events, compete for time with a miscellany of other activities. (See Sklare; Gans; Blau; Gordon; and Kramer and Leventman, *op. cit.*)

The suburban synagogue is the central, even if not the sole, focus of public Jewish life. Synagogue membership entitles a family, or any one of its members: to celebrate the Jewish holidays as part of the congregation; to the services of the rabbi and his assistant; to attend synagogue-run classes and lectures; to receive Jewish news and information through the in-house newsletter, and to use the synagogue's facilities for the celebration of family life-cycle events. For the newly suburbanized Jews, this reflected the dependency of the family on the Jewish skills and knowledge of community professionals. In many instances for that generation, even such classic family rites as lighting Hanukkah candles or participating in a

Passover *seder* no longer took place at home, but in the synagogue, under the direction of a rabbi, or teacher.

Observers note the extent to which the contemporary American Jewish family, particularly in suburbia, became child centered. While concern for the well-being and education of children is basic to Jewish tradition, the child-oriented behavior of American Jewish families is a more recent phenomenon. This generation of American Jews was often characterized by a Judaism that was for the young – children attending Hebrew school at least until bar and bat mitzvah – and the old – grandparents attending regularly as a routine part of their lives.

Having acquired the economic means to provide more than basic food, clothing and shelter, Jewish parents developed a tendency to indulge their children with a surfeit of material goods. This behavior is reflected, says Sklare (1971, p. 88), in the expression "'they gave their son everything.' 'Everything' means the best of everything from the necessities to the luxuries: it includes clothing, medical attention, entertainment, vacations, schools and myriad other items." In this same context, observed Gordon, "The financial burdens that Jewish parents in suburbia gladly bear for what they regard as the best interests of their children is often astonishing [and sometimes disturbing] to persons who are aware of the sacrifices these entail" (Gordon, *ibid.*, p. 65). Many second- and third-generation American Jewish parents acknowledged that the very move to suburbia was "for the sake of the children."

Another example of child-focused family behavior was reflected in the attitude towards ritual observance and Jewish education. According to Sklare, any ritual that is centered on the child is more likely to be retained by the family (*ibid.*, pp. 115, 116). This means that (1) the ritual activity must provide an opportunity to directly involve the child, and (2) it should convey "optimism, fun, and gratification." The Passover *seder* and the lighting of candles at Hanukkah are two often-cited examples. Toward the end of the 20th century, Sukkot experienced an increase in the percentage of observance as Jews had land and backyards where they could build a *sukkah* and it was a family centered, do-it-yourself activity, a perfect suburban project. This understanding of ritual correlates religious practice with the interests of children. Consequently, within the year of their youngest child's bar or bat mitzvah, many parents discontinued their child's formal Jewish education, choosing not to renew their synagogue membership, to curtail their other Jewish communal activities, and sometimes to reduce the family's observance of home rituals.

In their respective analyses of Jewish suburban life, Gans (*ibid.*, p. 233) and Gordon (*ibid.*, pp. 19, 59–60) discuss changes in the family that developed with respect to both males and females in the mid 20th Century. According to Gans:

> In the suburb… the men's daytime absence shifts a much greater role in its affairs to the women, except in functions requiring business skills, and aspirations such as power…[Women's'] concern with Jewish education seems also to be stronger than that of the men…This is a major shift from the traditional Jewish family organization in which the father, as religious leader of the household, supervised the children's education for an adult community in which he himself was playing a role.

In response to their husbands' preoccupation with earning a living, claims Gordon, suburban Jewish women in the postwar era began to take responsibility for matters for which their husbands were once considered the sole authority in theory if not in practice. This mirrored the responsibility that other American women assumed for the transmission of culture.

> My observation…, and particularly this intensive study of suburban Jewish family life, leads to the conclusion that.… "all major decisions are made by the husband while all the minor ones are made by the wife." The major decisions… deal with such matters as war and peace, sputnik and satellites. The minor issues include rearing the children and choosing their schools, the particular synagogue with which to affiliate, the neighborhood into which to move and the kind of home to buy.
>
> The Jewish woman has acquired her new position of… leadership by default… So completely engrossed in business affairs… [the husband] generally gives little attention to spiritual and cultural matters that involve his home and family. The husband's failure has led inevitably to the wife's new status.

The geographic mobility among Jewish families in the postwar era primarily reflects their relocation to the local suburbs, not inter-state or cross country migration. It is true that from the 1950s it became increasingly common for the corporate breadwinner to be transferred great distances. However, since many Jews remained excluded from the corporate sector during these years, the voluntary move to the nearby suburbs was far more common. Jewish families moved not only from the city to the suburbs, but in time they also moved within and between suburbs. As its income rose, it was not uncommon for a family to sell its home in a less expensive section of one suburb and move to a higher status area within the same suburb. Naturally, families also moved from lower to higher status suburbs. Kramer and Levantman note that the "securely American status of the third generation and its increasing mobility have released it from old ties and community sentiments…."

The Mid-1960s to the 1980s

By the middle of the 1960s Jewish family life in America appeared to have reached the zenith of prosperity and security. From a historical perspective, few, if any other Jewish communities could claim to feel so well integrated into surrounding society. Sklare (1971) contends that this very success resulted in "[a] paucity of substantial research studies on the American-Jewish family…The Jewish family constellation has not created social problems in the general society. In fact it has done just the opposite: the Jewish family seems to have solved problems rather than caused them" (p. 73).

But all was not perfect. Acculturation and integration came with a price. "As upward mobility pushed immigrants' children to the suburbs, their parents were linked to memories of dark stairways, stale smells, cramped apartments, loud voices, and barbarous accents. In comparison, blending into a bland mainstream was a big step forward. With so much discarded, little remained to give their distinctiveness purpose except sentimental leftovers fed by kitsch, Broadway shows, and self-righteousness…This mix of ethnic remnants and carbon-copy assimilation left such parents little to pass on" (Rubin, 1995, pp. 93–94). The poignancy of this transformation became more evident towards the end of the 1960s when traditional notions about family life were confronted by the popularization of values that were more liberal and individual oriented. Many of the assumptions regarding what constitutes a "sound and healthy" family were challenged. Questions were raised about the structure and purpose of the family, as well as the obligations of family members towards each other. "Since 1970, or thereabouts," says Cohen (1983, pp. 114–15) "the American family has undergone such dramatic changes as to spark a popular and scholarly debate about whether it is in fact disintegrating."

The mythic portrayal of the American family is prevalent in the way Jewish institutions are structured. The family is defined as two parents and children. A fixed division of labor is presumed and children are seen as the focus of the family. Membership costs are often defined by family. Synagogue membership is usually stated in family units. Meeting are scheduled as if the family defined above is the norm; so too, programming and fees. These institutions have been slow to change even as women have become officers, major donors and decision makers. It is as if the sisterhood continued to serve Friday evening tea at the *Oneg Shabbat* even though the rabbi, cantor, president and principal supporters may now be women.

Rela Mintz Geffen reports that according to the 1990 National Jewish Population Survey the most common household in the Jewish community comprises one adult Jew living alone; the next most common is two adults Jews; and only then two adult Jews with at least one child under the age of 18 living at home. Only 14% of Jewish households in the survey were comprised of two Jewish adults and with at least one child under 18 living at home. In contemporary parlance, the "conventional Jewish family" is two Jews, one male, one female – whether born Jewish or not – with one child under the age of 18 living at home.

Contemporary Jews live not only in the traditional family but also as singles of all ages; empty nest couples whose children have left home and will not again return; senior adults living alone or in communities and facilities, widowed or married; dual-career spouses; single parents, whether by death of one's spouse, loss or divorce; and non-traditional couples, gay men and lesbian women. These people, constituting a majority of all Jews, often feel unacknowledged by contemporary American Jewish institutions. Programming and normative language of the community often excludes them and many respond accordingly. There may be an asymmetry between the definition of family embodied in community institutions and the actual configuration of the way Jews in America live.

"For American Jews," says Fishman (1994), "as for other Americans today, there is no one model of 'the family.' Jewish families reflect, in somewhat less extreme profile, an America in which less than 15 percent of households conform to the model of father, mother-at-home, and children living together…[Thus t]he 'typical' American Jewish household today is more likely than not to be atypical in some way. Proportions of older, single, divorced, remarried, or dual-career households make up more of the Jewish population than intact young families with children" (pp. 5, 33). As a result of these changes, social scientists no longer study American families, per se; instead, surveys are conducted among "households," such as in the Council of Jewish Federations (CJF) 1990 National Jewish Population Survey (p. 33). The term "household" accommodates a more flexible and wider range of domestic living arrangements than those associated with the conventional western family.

Trends which first emerged some 25–30 years ago continue to have an impact upon Jewish family life. These include: a decrease in the rate of marriage; the postponement of first time marriage; an increase in the number of marriages that end in divorce; an increase in the rate of intermarriage, particularly non-conversionary marriages; a decrease in the birth rate to a level lower than replacement; an increase in geographic mobility; an increase in cohabitation, and single motherhood; and an increase in substance abuse. Some have argued that there is an increase in domestic violence and in homosexuality but they may be mistaken. It is certainly the case that there is an increase in *acknowledgement* of domestic violence and or homosexuality. It was commonplace to link these phenomena with a decrease in Jewish education and the practice of Jewish ritual, but the evidence is mixed. The number of children receiving a day school education is at all-time high and the measurement of Jewish ritual observance does not necessarily indicate a decline. There is no doubt that Jewish values must compete in the open marketplace of ideas in a multicultural United States, where exposure to other value systems is commonplace.

Fishman (*ibid.*) examines a number of these trends by comparing data from the 1970 National Jewish Population Study (NJPS) and the CJF 1990 National Jewish Population Study with data drawn throughout the 1980s from some two dozen Jewish communities. Regarding marriage, her analysis indicates that while in 1970 nearly four-fifths of all adult American Jews were married, by 1990 this figure had decreased to about two-thirds. A parallel decrease was recorded for all adults in the United States. Over the last 30 years being single in America has developed into a lifestyle. Whereas in 1970–1 17 percent of Jewish men were still single at ages 25–34, this figure increased to about 50 percent in 1990. An even greater increase applies to Jewish women ages 25–34; only 10 percent of this group was not married in 1970–1, in comparison to about half in 1990. By age 45, however, over 90 percent of all Jews are reported to have been married at least one time.

"The delay or avoidance of marriage is but one of many factors which may lower Jewish birthrates" (Cohen, 1983, p. 117). Still, another factor is higher education; the more education a couple has completed, the less likely it is to produce more than one or two children. It is understandable then, that Jewish couples, who in comparison with the rest of the population complete more years of education and also marry late, often raise smaller families. This tendency was observed among Jewish families by Seligman and Antonovsky, even in the midst of America's baby boom. Orthodox Jews are the exception. Seligman and Antonovsku cautioned that "[t]he high proportion of two-person and three-person [Jewish] families may be indicative of a declining reproductive rate…" (in Sklare, 1958, p. 66). The impact of this trend was noted over a decade later. "[I]n the second generation," says Sklare, "the birth rate dropped so precipitously as to have serious implications for Jewish population size as well as for group continuity" (1971, p. 79).

A low birth rate has continued into the third and fourth generations. In 1990, 93 percent of Jewish women ages 18 to 24 and 55 percent of those ages 25 to 34 had not yet had children (Fishman, *ibid*., p. 31). As a result, with the exception of the Orthodox community, the Jewish birth rate in America presently stands at significant less than replacement level of 2.1. Averting the presumed consequences of what appears to be a looming demographic crisis currently occupies a high position on the organized Jewish community's national agenda. A significantly attenuated Jewish population would weaken the Jewish community's standing at large, including its ability to act on behalf of its own interests. It would jeopardize the existence of a range of local Jewish institutions, from family services to community centers and schools, as well as the Jewish community's fundraising efforts on behalf of Israel and distressed Jews in other countries. Finally, some have presumed that it would sap the vitality of American Jewish culture and creativity. Others who study American Judaism believe that the intensity of Jewish life and the freedom of Jews to create as Jews, to act publicly as Jews and feel free even in their seemingly secular pursuits to act as Jews will offset the loss of numbers. Many who point to the problem of intermarriage are slow to acknowledge the tremendous contribution, energy and vitality brought to all institutions and all denominations of Judaism by Jews by choice, those not born as Jews.

The significance of this low birth rate is compounded by the high outmarriage rate – the rate is subject to dispute ranging between 45–52%. Just as the intermarriage [rate] has increased dramatically among younger American Jews, rates of conversion have fallen, especially after the introduction by Reform Judaism's acceptance of patrilineal descent. Mixed marriage is five times higher among Jews 18 to 34 than it is among those over age 55" (Fishman in Bayme and Rosen, p. 26). Ironically, the rise in intermarriage is not unrelated to a decline in antisemitism. Jews are now regarded as acceptable partners for non-Jews and the opposition from the non-Jewish family has declined markedly. Intermarriage also has less to do with one's Jewish identity and allegiance to the Jewish people than it did a generation or two ago. During the mid-1950s, according to Rosenthal (1963), the overall community intermarriage rate for the Greater Washington, D.C., area, a mid-sized yet highly cosmopolitan Jewish community, was 13 percent. In larger Jewish communities, the rate was between 6–10 percent. By the 1970s, intermarriage rates in many American communities had risen to approximately 30 percent. Whereas, according to Medding, et al. (1992), Jewish identification tends to be passed on to the next generation in conversionary marriages, especially Orthodox and Conservative conversionary marriages, this is not true of mixed marriages. "Jewish identification in mixed marriages is accompanied by the presence of symbols of Christian identification, resulting in dual-identity households at all levels of Jewish identification" (p. 39). Daniel Elazar called this the permeability of contemporary boundaries. So long as mixed marriages constitute the great majority of outmarriages, intermarriage poses a major challenge to transmission of Judaism through Jewish family life in America.

Divorce, like outmarriage, was once relatively rare among American Jews. This is no longer the case. Divorce, especially that which results in long-term single parent households, has increased over the last three decades. Data from the CJF 1990 NJPS reveals "18 divorces for every 100 ever-married men and 19 for every 100 ever-married women [indicating that] divorce has become relatively common among American Jews." "Rising rates of divorce," says Fishman, "have created a situation in which one-third of Jewish children live in homes which have been touched by divorce: about ten percent of Jewish children live in single parent homes and twenty percent live in households in which at least one spouse has been divorced" (1994, p. 34). Clearly, the traditional notion of a two parent family with mother and father raising their own children together is not the only form that contemporary Jewish family life has taken.

Active extended kin relations continued to characterize American Jewish family life until the 1970s. Yet there too the picture may be a bit overdone. Children left for college and left for jobs; grandparents migrated to the South and also to the West. It was presumed that grandparents would be the major repository of Jewish values and yet in the contemporary family it is often the grandparents who are most removed from Jewish education. And because of immigration, because of the Holocaust, many grandparents grew up without grandparents and do not have an image of what grandparenting involved. And American culture, which does not revere the elderly, certainly offers few models to teach them.

On the other hand, the increase in geographic mobility during the last quarter century has enhanced extended family ties. Greater family resources, the ease of travel, the lowering of long distance phone rates, and ubiquity of the internet have increased the involvement of grandparents with their grandchildren. At the same time divorce and intermarriage pose unique challenges. Especially perplexing is the relationship of grandparents to their grandchildren when the custodial parent is not their child. According to the CJF 1990 NJPS, between the years 1985–1990, 25 percent of adults surveyed changed residence, at least once, between cities within the same state. Another 24 percent changed residence, at least once, between states. Frequent mobility makes it more difficult to develop long-term social relationships within a community. Three generation relationships, as well as active ties between cousins, have become rarer but also more cherished in recent years. There is a tendency for extended family events to be limited to infrequent holiday gatherings or major lifecycle celebrations.

No doubt an added challenge to Jewish family life has been the development of the dual career family. According to the CJF 1990 NJPS about three-fourths of women aged 25–44 and two-thirds of women aged 45–64 are members of the labor force. "Today the labor force participation of Jewish women departs radically from patterns of the recent past. In most cities the majority of Jewish mothers continue to work even while their children are quite young. In Boston, Baltimore, San Francisco, and Washington, three out of every five Jewish mothers with pre-school children are working" (Fishman, *ibid*., p. 17). Nearly 40 percent of working Jewish women under the age of 44 in 1990 are reported to work in some professional capacity, as compared to 24 percent in 1970. In 1957, says Goldstein, only about 30 percent of Jewish women aged 25–44 were employed at all (*ibid*., p. 113). Remaining at home to raise children was a more common practice. The increased availability of professional day care services, many under Jewish auspices, aided the growth of dual career families in recent decades. It also should be noted that contrary to many historical recollections women in the traditional Jewish home often worked outside of the home; their labor was necessary for the survival of the family. When the husband studied the wife was responsible for providing for the family and in the immigrant family, the working mother was also essential for survival. Stay at home mothers may have reflected the mid-century American middle class ideal rather than actual practice. In fact, the wife not having to work was a status symbol in mid-century America. The empowerment of women, the increasing professionalization of and opportunity for women pose challenges to the Jewish family but is not unprecedented in the Jewish experience. Substance abuse, domestic violence and incest, pathologies long considered to exist at strictly marginal levels among Jewish families, began to receive increased attention in the 1970s. It is not clear whether earlier instances of these problems were more common but went largely unreported, or whether more acculturated third- and fourth-generation Jewish families in fact have been more susceptible. The training of *mikveh* ladies to recognize signs of physical abuse by a husband is a clear indication that these problems are not confined to the secular family alone.

As late as the end of the 1960s, alcoholism was not seen as a problem that affected many Jewish families. Franzblau (1967) cited findings by the Yale Center of Alcoholic Studies indicating that first-time admissions to New York State Hospitals are fifty times as numerous among Irish as among Jews, fifteen times as numerous among Scandinavians, ten times as numerous among Italians, nine times as numerous among the English and eight times as numerous among the Germans. According to Franzblau, Jewish families of the period compared favorably to non-Jewish families "whether the factual material presented be on juvenile delinquency, adult criminality, prison populations, family desertion and non-support, separation and divorce rates, commitments to mental hospitals for the tertiary manifestations of syphilis…" (p. 59). He suggested then that "Jewish home and Jewish family life are…endowed with some mysterious extra safeguards against the disintegrative forces of the environment" (*ibid*.).

More recent estimates of alcoholism among Jewish adults range from five to fifteen percent. Since about 92 percent of all Jews marry by age 45, alcoholism among Jews is both a family and a personal problem. Increased recognition of alcoholism and drug addiction within the Jewish community has led to the establishment of Jewish support groups as alternatives to groups like Alcoholics Anonymous which have a Christian orientation.

Domestic violence, including the sexual abuse of children, was considered, for all intents and purposes, absent from the consciousness among American Jews during the middle part of the century, but certainly not during the immigrant experience. The winter 1991–2 *Journal of Jewish Communal Service*, poignantly entitled "Family Violence IS a Jewish Issue," offers five articles that examine both spousal and elderly abuse, as well as describe abuse treatment programs operated by various local Jewish communal agencies. The April 1990 issue of *Moment* features an article entitled "Confronting Sexual Abuse in Jewish Families" in which the author describes her own and others' victimization and offers other victims' advice. She rejects "[t]he myth that Jewish families and incestuous families are a contradiction in terms…" and confronts an issue formerly never associated with Jews.

Conventional family values have been decidedly challenged by the liberal atmosphere which prevails on most American university campuses. In the 1960s, questions about the typical western family, a topic generally relegated to sociology and anthropology lectures, spilled over from the lecture hall to the streets. The counterculture experience, in which so many young Jews participated, encouraged alternative family forms and lifestyles. This partially explains the disproportionate number of Jews who affiliated with communes and cults. Although the experiment with communal living more or less ended by the mid-1970s, Jewish involvement in cults has continued to this day but is now regarded as a much more marginal phenomenon, except to those whose children are within the cults. The Baal Teshuvah movement, in which children become more observant than their parents – and often unable to eat in their homes or to spend Shabbat and holidays with them – is also a challenge to the family structure. It is also present within Orthodoxy where Modern Orthodox parents have *ḥaredi* children who find their parents' Orthodoxy not sufficiently devout. The attractiveness of cults to young Jews is explained by some observers as a reaction to low self-esteem among those who cannot meet the high expectations of their parents or community. Others see it as a response to the spiritual emptiness found in so many contemporary Jewish families and synagogues. The ḥavurah and programs that educate the Jewish family, both of which initially gained wider popularity in the early 1970s, reflect the efforts of the Jewish community to combat these problems.

The community ḥavurah is modeled after the student organized Havurah that "originated in the late 1960s [in New York and Boston] with young Jews who were unhappy with the Conservative and Reform congregations in which they had been raised. Influenced by the counterculture, they were dissatisfied with contemporary Jewish institutions, both religious and communal, which they regarded as "sterile, impersonal, hierarchical, and divorced from Jewish tradition" (Weissler, p. 200). Both the independent ḥavurah, which is unaffiliated with any community institution, and the synagogue or community center ḥavurah, whose participants are generally affiliated with these institutions, typically consists of a small number (10–20) of singles, couples, or sometimes both. The typical ḥavurah holds Sabbath and holiday services, celebrates life-cycle events, organizes study groups, and undertakes one or more social action causes. The particular activities of each ḥavurah reflect the interests of its membership. It is an attempt to establish community and to retain a personal dimension to institutional Jewish life.

The small and intimate setting of the ḥavurah compares favorably to the vast and formal surroundings of many American synagogues to those seeking fellowship and spirituality in their worship. The ḥavurah experience is an "opportunity to have a continuing intimate association – to feel a sense of belonging, to be linked with people they know personally and who care about them, and to have people with whom to share happiness and sorrow – bar mitzvahs, Passover *seders*, sickness, death, etc." (Reisman, p. 207). The ḥavurah experience is used by many singles, couples, and families, as a substitute for the natural family and community network that was once much more prevalent within American Jewish life.

Economic considerations also play a role in Jewish affiliation. The higher one's economic status, the more likely one is to affiliate with the Jewish community and the less likely one is to intermarry. Rates of intermarriage are consistently higher among those of lesser socioeconomic achievement as measured by education, occupation and income, especially for those under 45. In 1990 one in two of those Jews with an income of more than $100,000 were Jewishly affiliated; the rate of affiliation was one in three for those earning less than $60,000. Lower income Jews also feel disaffiliated from Jewish life.

Jewish education programs for families have existed in the United States for decades, but it is only since the 1970s that this approach has been developed as a sub-specialty (Schiff, p. 262). Jewish family education is based on the premise that, although "the attitudes and behavior patterns [of most American Jewish families presently]…resemble those of the non-Jewish, white middle-class (Rosenman, p. 153)," a percentage of these families are willing, or can be induced, to be tutored in basic Jewish knowledge, skills and values and helped to integrate these into their lives." Programs in Jewish family education exist at the local level where they are sponsored by community centers, synagogues, day schools, [and] family service agencies. At the national level, the William Petschek National Jewish Family Center established in 1981 by the American Jewish Committee, the Whizin Institute for Jewish Family Life at the University of Judaism in Los Angeles, Brandeis University in Waltham, MA, Yeshiva University in New York, and other universities, are among those institutions that offer research opportunities, professional and lay seminars, personnel training, and produce and disseminate educational materials. Although the proliferation of these institutions reflects the growing importance of this field in the eyes of community educators and leaders, it is also indicative of the sense of urgency which surrounds the present condition of the American Jewish family.

Two important studies in the 1970s (Himmelfarb, 1974 and Bock, 1976) found that the most salient influence on adult Jewish identification was the family. Yet, most synagogues, schools and community centers focused their programming exclusively on children, leaving the family to its own devices. Wolfson (1983) called the family's reliance on the institution to provide opportunities for Jewish celebration a "dependency cycle." He called on synagogues and schools to empower families with the skills and resources to create a home filled with Jewish celebration, content and values. In 1989, Wolfson gathered a group of pioneering Jewish family educators to establish the Whizin Institute for Jewish Family Life to further the field of practice in Jewish family education. Hundreds of Jewish professionals and laity attended Whizin seminars to learn the latest strategies for "reaching and teaching" the Jewish family. By the end of the century, virtually every synagogue, school and JCC had a full range of Jewish family education programming (Wolfson and Bank, 1998).

End of the 20th Century

At the end of the 20th century, the American Jewish family more strongly resembled its non-Jewish neighbor than its own forebear of a hundred years ago. Goldstein and other "survivalists" insist that Jewish families continue to maintain sufficient distinctive collectivist socio-economic and socio-cultural characteristics to guarantee continuity, at least for the foreseeable future. Cohen (1994) argues that current intermarriage and birth rates will result in a smaller, but qualitatively stronger American Jewish community "[O]n the family level, rather than the group level, for the vast majority of families, intermarriage eventually severs the link of future generations with the Jewish people." While Cohen remains optimistic about the overall long range survival of the American Jewish community, he foresees the disappearance of many presently existing Jewish family lines.

The only variance to the observations above lies within the Orthodox sector. Orthodox families, who constitute some ten percent of the American Jewish population, do not reflect the trends of the wider Jewish community. Although domestic problems of all stripes do occur within Orthodox circles, their incidence appears limited because it is less reported and certainly less acknowledged. Characteristically, the more religiously observant the family and the more segregated it is from the general society, the less likely it is to experience intermarriage, a low birth rate, and other elements accompanying assimilation.

Among the main purposes and functions of the family, says Bayme (1989), is the transmission of culture and heritage, the basis of group identity. In the middle decades of the past century, this task, he contends, has been transferred to the Jewish school. "We today ask of Jewish schools not only to transmit knowledge and cultural literacy of Judaism but also to transmit Jewish identity and consciousness. Conversely, research has demonstrated that without the cooperation and involvement of families Jewish schools can achieve very little." Recent trends in education emphasize family participation and recent life cycle and calendar ritual behavior also demonstrate an increase in activities that are family centered, albeit with a broadened definition of family.

Can Jewish families continue to fulfill their historical function? Can the definition of Jewish family accommodate all alternative household forms, including cohabiting couples and groups, singles, lesbians and gays, and still guarantee long range Jewish survival? These serious questions are currently being asked by individuals, such as Bayme, as well as other concerned academicians and social scientists, community lay leaders and professionals. The Jewish family is not about to disappear from the American scene; however, it clearly will have undergone significant transformations.

Social policy planners and senior educators who wish to strengthen the Jewish family are presently busy at both the national and community level. Among their objectives is to guarantee the affordability of quality Jewish family education, for children as well as adults, and affordable rates for community center, synagogue, and summer camp participation. For those who chose maximal Jewish life, day school education, Jewish summer camps and synagogue membership along with their ancillary activities pose a heavy financial burden. (One important commentator has joked that day school tuition is "Jewish birth control.") They stress that programming for the Jewish family should be appealing, of high quality, marketed vigorously, and supported by community funds. Maximum and efficient use of communal resources, they contend, would help provide affordable day care and other vital services to assist dual income and financially distressed families. A cogent community strategy can help minimize the additional costs of Jewish living, making affiliation and participation affordable to many more families.

The family is the nexus between the individual and society. The welfare of both is dependent upon the success of the family as an institution in fulfilling its primary goals of socializing and educating its members. Similarly, individual Jewish identity and the viability of Jewish communal life in the United States are tied to the cultural integrity of the American Jewish family. The historic Jewish family, in various countries and in various periods, has demonstrated great resilience in the face of physical, spiritual and economic pressures. Ironically, it is the relative absence of these pressures in America, which presents a challenge to Jewish survival. External antisemitism is not forcing Jews to remain together. They are comfortably accepted and acceptable within American culture. A low birth rate, high intermarriage, and the diverse forms of family life present new and different challenges to the American Jewish family. "Given the inexorably integrative forces of American society and the resultant parallel trends among Jews," note Lipset and Rabb (1995) "it is reasonable to predict that the Jewish community as a whole will be severely reduced in numbers by the middle of the next century." In an attempt to forestall this outcome, the organized Jewish community is developing policies and programs aimed at supporting and strengthening the family. The next few decades are sure to reveal the results of these efforts.

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[Arden J. Geldman and Rela Mintz Geffen (2nd ed.)]

FAMINE AND DROUGHT. Agriculture in Ereẓ Israel was dependent on irregular rainfall, but drought and consequent famine were of frequent occurrence. The paradoxical appreciation by Deuteronomy 11:10ff. of this disadvantage (as involving God in constant attention to the land) puts a good face upon what Ezekiel 36:30 bluntly calls the land's "reproach among the nations for its famine." Kimḥi comments on this as follows: "The land of Israel stands in greater need of rain than other lands [being mountainous in contrast, e.g., to the great river valleys of Mesopotamia and Egypt]; hence famine is more common in it than elsewhere. And when one has to leave his land for another because of famine – as witness Abraham, Isaac, and Elimelech – it is a reproach to it." Another cause of famine through natural causes was the failure of the crop through pests and disease. In addition to these two "acts of God," famine was caused by siege in time of war. Of the famines in Ereẓ Israel mentioned in the Bible (the most famous, the seven years' famine predicted by Joseph in Egypt, included also the Land of Israel – Gen. 41:54, 43:1) most were due to drought (Gen. 12:10; 26:1; 41:54; Ruth 1:1; II Sam. 21:1; I Kings 18:1–2; II Kings 8:1; and apparently Amos 4:6 (cf. verses 7ff.), two to the result of siege – that of Samaria by Ben-Hadad (II Kings 6:24–29) and of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar (*ibid.* 25:3) – and one the result of a visitation of locusts (Joel 1:4–20). A vivid description of the effects of drought occurs in Jeremiah 14:1–6. The same conditions, both natural and manmade (cf. Jos., Wars, 5:424–35), continued during the period of the Second Temple, but to them were added famine, or at least shortage of food, which resulted from the strict adherence to the law requiring that land should remain untilled during the Sabbatical year, to which there is no historical reference in the Bible. The frequency of famine is reflected in the fact that of the seven calamities said in the Mishnah to afflict the world because of sin, three are famines of various degrees of intensity: the "famine of drought," which does not affect the whole population, the "famine of panic," which affects all, and the "famine of utter destruction" (Avot 5:8). The traditional triad of major catastrophes consists of "pestilence, sword, and famine" (cf. Jer. 14:12; 21:7, 9; 24:10; Ezek. 6:11, etc.; compare the *Hashkivenu* and the *Avinu Malkenu* prayers). The fact that, given a choice of one of these three, David chose pestilence suggests that it was the least of them (II Sam. 24:14f.). Lamentations gives a preference in the scale of suffering to famine over the sword (4:9). This would indicate that famine was the greatest evil of all: it is in fact difficult to envisage the terrible suffering endured through famine in ancient times. The grim picture, given by R. Johanan, imaginative though it is, of the consequences of the seven-year famine predicted by *Elisha (II Kings 8:1) – that in the fourth year people would be reduced to eating unclean animals, in the fifth reptiles and insects, in the sixth their children, and in the seventh their own flesh (Ta'an. 5a) – is probably not so exaggerated as may appear. Both during the famine caused by the siege of Samaria by *Ben-Hadad and of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar, the eating of human flesh is mentioned (II Kings 6:29; Lam. 2:20–31; 4:10). Ashurbanipal, king of Assyria (669–27) claims that the Babylonians under siege by him ate their children. Similarly, Assyrian treaties threaten potential violators that they will be reduced to eating their children. Josephus mentions the eating of children in Jerusalem during the Roman War (Wars 6:201–13, cf. I Bar. 2:2ff.). A pathetic story is told of one of the wealthiest women of Jerusalem picking out grain from animal dung after the Roman War (Git. 56a). There are at least three historical references to famine caused by the observance of the Sabbatical year, one during the siege of Jerusalem by the forces of Antiochus IV (Ant. 12:378 = I Macc. 6:49–54), one in the war of Herod against Antigonus (*ibid.*, 14:476) and one during Herod's reign (*ibid.*, 15:7 – see also *Shemittah). The Midrash (Ruth Rabbah 1:4) enumerates ten famines which visited the world. It includes only seven of those mentioned in the Bible as due to drought, and makes up the complement by one ascribed to the time of Adam, one to the time of Lamech and a spiritual famine for lack of God's word (Amos 8:11, usually taken as eschatological). This midrashic passage also differentiates between the famine of Elijah which was a sporadic "famine of drought" and that of Elisha which was one "of [economic] panic." One of the three things "which the Holy One, blessed be He, proclaims in person" (Ber. 55a), famine was regarded as the direct result of transgressions. This is, of course, specifically mentioned in the Bible where the rule is that famine and drought are either threatened (Lev. 26:19f., 26; Deut. 11:17; 28:23; I Kings 17:1; Zech. 14:17) or suffered for sins. Amos (4:6ff.) interprets occurrences of these calamities as prods to repentance – warning notices of God's wrath aimed to bring the people to contrition and thus avert final destruction. The tendency of the rabbis was to make famine the punishment for specific transgressions – the failure to give the tithes and other dues from one's produce, as a kind of quid pro quo (Avot 5:8; Shab. 32b; for the contrary promise of abundance as a reward for bringing tithes – cf. Mal. 3:10–11). As a result, fasting and supplicatory prayers and fasts were instituted (see *Fasting and *Ta'anit – for biblical examples cf. Jer. 14:12 and Joel 2:14–15 for famine caused through pestilence) and the prayers of both pious individuals and people possessing special virtues were regarded as effective in bringing the drought to an end (BM 85b; TJ, Ta'an. 1:2, 65b). The rabbis permitted emigration from Ereẓ Israel in the case of famine, but only when it reached serious proportions (BB 91b; Gen. R. 25 end). Basing themselves on Genesis 41:50 the rabbis (Taan. 11a) forbade procreation during the years of famine.

See also *Rain.

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[Louis Isaac Rabinowitz]

FANO, town on the Adriatic coast of Italy. Jews lived in Fano from the 14th century under special protection. In 1332 they were prosperous enough to lend 1,000 ducats to the lord of the city, Galeotto Malatesta. When all heretics were exiled in 1367, the Jewish community was unaffected. Besides moneylenders, it included customs farmers, physicians, and merchants and the Jews are said to have paid half the town taxes. In 1464 the Jewish *badge was imposed. In 1492 a friar raised a *blood libel against the Jews but the municipal council protected them. Between 1502 and 1517 Gershom *Soncino set up his press in Fano, printing books in Hebrew as well as in other languages. Altogether 15 Hebrew books came from his press here, the earliest being the *Me'ah Berakhot* after the Roman rite (1503), and possibly *Ibn Sahula's *Mashal ha-Kadmoni* (second edition with illustrations) which Soncino may have begun before 1500 while still in Brescia. Later appeared the *Roke'aḥ*, a *maḥzor* according to the Roman rite, a *siddur* in *Judeo-Italian, the *Kuzari*, and Albo's *Sefer ha-Ikkarim*. After his return from Pesaro in 1516, he printed during that year and the next the *Arba'ah Turim* of Jacob ben Asher. In 1542 Fano received many of the Jews who had fled from Sicily. With the expulsion from the Papal States, to which Fano now belonged, the Jews had to leave it; 25 loan bankers returned temporarily in 1587/88 in consequence of the liberal policies of Pope Sixtus V, but with the reaction of 1593 the community ceased to exist. In 1901 only three Jews lived in Fano.

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[Attilio Milano]

FANO, Italian family name, in use from about 1400. Noted are AVIGDOR FANO (second half of 15th century), poet. His short poem *Ozer Nashim* was composed in reply to *Sone ha-Nashim*, an attack on the feminine sex by Abraham of Sarteano; MENAHEM AZARIAH DA *FANO, rabbi and kabbalist; Ezra BEN ISAAC FANO (16th–17th centuries), scribe, rabbi, and kabbalist living in Venice and Mantua. The last copied and owned valuable Hebrew manuscripts, some of which he personally annotated and published. He probably visited Safed in the 1580s, and together with his friends and students R. Mordechai Dato and Menahem Azariah da Fano and his Safed teacher R. Israel Saruk helped disseminate the Safed Kabbalah in Italy. He also wrote works on Kabbalah; JACOB BEN JOAB ELIJAH DA FANO (16th century), scholar and poet in Cento, Ferrara, and Bologna. He composed an elegy on the Marrano martyrs of Ancona of 1555, which he published somewhat incongruously with a satire against women in his *Shiltei ha-Gibborim* (Ferrara, 1556). On papal instructions, the duke of Ferrara ordered the punishment of the author and burning of the volume, which is now very rare. Fano also wrote *Petaḥ Tikvah* on the Ten Commandments, being the first part of a work *Zokher ha-Berit* (unpublished); JOSEPH (Ippolito) DA FANO (c. 1550–1630), communal leader. A notable figure in the Jewish community, he was on familiar terms with the dukes of Mantua and of Ferrara and was sometimes employed by them as an intermediary. Some time before 1628, he is said to have been raised to the rank of Marquis of Villimpenta, in which case he was the first Jew to be ennobled in Europe. The facts, however, require further elucidation; ISAAC BERECHIAH BEN JUDAH ARYEH FANO (17th century), rabbi and kabbalist in Lugo. He composed liturgical poems and homilies.

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[Attilio Milano / Moti Benmelech (2nd ed.)]

FANO, GUIDO ALBERTO (1875–1961), composer, pianist, conductor, teacher, and writer on music. Fano studied in Padua with Vittorio Orefice and Cesare Pollini (piano). He took a composition diploma at the Bologna Liceo Musicale (1897) and a law degree at the university (1901). He taught piano at the Liceo Musicale in Bologna and became director of the conservatories of Parma (1905–11), Naples (1912–16), and Palermo (1916–22). He ended his career at the Milan Conservatory (1922–38, 1945–47) as a piano teacher. His works include an opera, *Iuturna* (1903), *La tentazione di Gesù* (1909), and *Impressioni sinfoniche da Napoleone* (1949) for orchestra; *Andante appassionato* for violin and piano (1908); piano music: Sonatina op.5 (1906) and four fantasies, op.6 (1906), Sonata, E (1920), *Imago, Solitudo* (1933) and *Rimembranze* (1950); and songs. Among his writings are *Pensieri sulla musica* (Bologna, 1903), *I regi istituti musicali d'Italia e il disegno di ruolo per il Conservatorio di Milano* (Parma, 1908), *Le Studio del Pianoforte* (3 vols., 1923–24), and Introduction to F. Fano: *Giuseppe Martucci: saggio biografico-critico* (Milan, 1950), 7–13.

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[Israela Stein (2nd ed.)]

FANO, MENAHEM AZARIAH DA (1548–1620), Italian rabbi and kabbalist. The scion of a wealthy family and a prolific author, he was a recognized authority on rabbinic law and the foremost exponent in the West of the kabbalistic system of Moses *Cordovero. Under the influence of Israel *Sarug, who during his stay in Italy spread the knowledge of the mystical system of Isaac *Luria, Menahem Azariah became an admirer of the latter, though without departing from the system of Moses Cordovero. A pupil of R. Ishmael Ḥanina of Valmontone in Ferrara, he was active in Ferrara, Venice, Reggio, and Mantua. Together with his brothers he aided the victims of the earthquake of 1570. He was a patron of Jewish learning, contributing funds for the publication of such works as Cordovero's *Pardes Rimmonim* (Salonika, 1584) and Joseph Caro's commentary *Kesef Mishneh* (Venice, 1574–76) on Maimonides' *Code*.

Fano's fame as a talmudist is borne out by the collection of 130 responsa bearing his name which was published in 1600 in Venice and in 1788 in Dyhernfurth. His style of writing was precise and he displayed considerable originality in the views he expressed. He enjoyed great popularity as a teacher, attracting students from far and wide, from Germany as well as Italy. One of his disciples compared him to an angel of God in appearance. His gentleness and humility showed themselves in his refusal to answer adverse criticism leveled against him by a contemporary scholar on account of certain statements he made with regard to the ritual of the *lulav* on the festival of Tabernacles. Amadeo Recanati dedicated to him his Italian translation of Maimonides' *Guide of the Perplexed*; Isaiah *Horowitz praised his theological treatise *Yonat Elem* (Amsterdam, 1648) saying of it, "the overwhelming majority of his words, and perhaps all of them, are true, and his Torah is true" (introduction to *Novelot Ḥokhmah* (Basle, 1631) by Joseph *Delmedigo). Seventeen of his works have been published. These include a summary of the legal decisions of Isaac *Alfasi and his own major work on the Kabbalah, entitled *Asarah Ma'amarot* (only parts have been printed, Venice, 1597); *Kanfei Yonah* (Korzec, 1786), a kabbalistic work on prayer; and *Gilgulei Neshamot* (Prague, 1688) on the transmigration of the soul. Many of his kabbalistic interpretations must have been made for the first time in the course of sermons delivered by him. Extant in manuscript are liturgical poems, elegies, comments on the teachings of Isaac Luria, and a voluminous correspondence. He died in Mantua.

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[Samuel Rosenblatt]

°FĀRĀBĪ, ABŪ NAṢR MUḤAMMAD, AL- (c. 870–c. 950), one of the greatest philosophers of the medieval Islamic world. Al-Fārābī had considerable influence on Jewish philosophers, particularly *Maimonides. Having spent most of his life in *Baghdad, he became associated in 942 with the illustrious court of Sayf al-Dawla, the Ḥamdānid ruler of Syria, residing mainly in *Aleppo.

Al-Fārābī played a major role in the dissemination of ancient philosophy in the Islamic world. His teacher was the Nestorian Yuḥannā ibn Ḥaylān (see M. Meyerhof, *Von Alexandrien nach Bagdad* (1930), 405, 414, 416 ff.). He was thus familiar with the Christian tradition of Aristotelian studies initially cultivated in *Alexandria and transmitted by Syriac-speaking Christians to the Islamic world. While in Baghdad, al-Fārābī apparently had contacts with the Christian Baghdad school of Aristotelian studies, the leading member of which was Mattā ibn Yūnus. Aristotle was studied together with his commentators, *Alexander of Aphrodisias and *Themistius, as well as with commentators of the neoplatonic school of Alexandria (Ammonius son of Hermias and his pupils). The paramount philosophical task al-Fārābī faced was to naturalize the pagan philosophic tradition of antiquity within the confines of a society structured by a revealed law.

His Philosophy

The bulk of al-Fārābī's teaching and writing was devoted to interpreting Aristotle, particularly the logical works. He wrote commentaries and paraphrases on the entire *Organon*. In natural philosophy he followed the *Physics* closely. His metaphysics is a blend of the *Metaphysics* and neoplatonism. Creation is viewed by him as an atemporal process of emanation which flows from the unique, unqualified First Being. Al-Fārābī combines the neoplatonic theory of emanation with the Aristotelian-Ptolemaic *cosmology which posits a system of celestial spheres and their intelligences encompassing the sublunar world. The intelligence of the last sphere (the moon) presides over the sublunar world and is called the active *intellect. Al-Fārābī thus follows that interpretation of the *nous poietikós* ("active intellect"; *De anima*, 3), which regards it as a cosmic entity. The active intellect is "the Giver of Forms" (*wāhib al-ṣuwar*; *dator formarum*): it conveys forms to the world, thus constituting the rational structure of the universe. It also actualizes the potential intellect of the individual. Al-Fārābī's theory of intellection is complicated and his various discussions of the subject, mainly in the treatises "On the Intellect" and *Arāʾ Ahl al-Madīna al-Fāḍila* ("The Opinion of the Citizens of the Virtuous City," ed. by A. Nader, 1959) are not entirely consistent. The individual potential (or material) intellect, influenced by the active intellect, becomes the intellect in act. When it achieves perfection, it becomes what is termed the acquired intellect, which is said to be close to the active intellect. The one who achieves this perfection thereby becomes intelligizer (*ʿāqil*), intelligized (*maʿqūl*), and intellect (*ʿaql*), free from matter, and "divine" (see *al-Siyāsa al-Madaniyya* ("The Political Regime," ed. by F. Najjar (1964), 36). In "The Virtuous City" (p. 31), this threefold identity is posited of God.

Al-Fārābī equates intellectual perfection with supreme happiness. The individual who achieves this perfection and happiness is considered to be the philosopher or sage. If such a person has the additional quality of a perfect imagination, so that intelligible forms flow from the intellect to the imagination becoming embodied in sensible forms, he is more than a sage: he is a *prophet. The process by which the forms flow from the First Being through the active intellect to the particular intellect and then the imagination is called "revelation" (*waḥī*). To become a statesman, in addition to being a prophet, he needs also the power of persuasion in order to lead men to the correct actions that bring happiness ("The Virtuous City," 104). The prophet is thus essentially a philosopher, one who is capable of conveying philosophical truth (theoretical and practical) to the unreflective masses on the level of the imagination, in myths and symbols. The philosopher, lawgiver (i.e., prophet), and imām (head of the community) are ideally one and the same person (*Taḥṣīl al-Saʿāda*, "The Attainment of Happiness," tr. by M. Mahdi, in *Alfarabi's Philosophy of Plato and Aristotle* (1962), paras. 57, 58). Religion is thus "an imitation of philosophy" (*ibid.*, para. 55). This concept of prophecy is traced by R. Walzer to certain ideas in middle Platonism (*Greek into Arabic* (1962), 206 ff.). The identity of the philosopher and ruler is, of course, rooted ultimately in Plato's concept of the philosopher-king in the *Republic*.

Political Theory

Al-Fārābī's political theory depends mainly on Plato, principally on the *Republic* and *Laws*. The *Republic* inspired his typology of the corrupt and perfect political regimes in "The Virtuous City" and "The Political Regime." The elaboration of a theory concerning the perfect city, the perfect nation, and the perfect world state in the whole of the inhabited world (*maʿmūra; oikoumene*) is traced by Walzer to middle Platonic developments (see *Oriens*, 16 (1963), 46 ff.). Plato's *Laws* was of crucial importance for al-Fārābī (and Islamic philosophy in general), for it envisioned a society based on a single divine law comprehending both religious and civil aspects of life (see L. Strauss, in REJ, 100 (1936), 2). Aristotle's dictum, "man is by nature a political animal," played an important role in al-Fārābī's political theory, but he apparently did not utilize the *Politics* to an appreciable extent. Al-Fārābī's choice of Plato's political philosophy had a determining effect upon the later development of Islamic, as well as Jewish philosophy. In ethical theory Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics* was of decisive influence (along with Porphyry's now lost commentary).

Al-Fārābī's political theory thus posits a fundamental distinction in society between the elite (the sages who know by reason) and the masses (the believers who apprehend by imagination). Philosophical truth is universal. It is adapted by the prophets to the requirements of various groups and nations in the guise of religion. There are many religions; each is an approximation (of greater or lesser validity) of the single truth of reason (see, e.g., "The Political Regime," 85 ff.). While giving priority to philosophy, al-Fārābī recognized the role of religion in human life as an instrument for the welfare of society and the edification of the unphilosophical masses. He was interested in preserving the masses from the possible pernicious effects of the truths of reason. Consequently, he wrote esoterically so as not to disturb unreflective commitment to religion and morality, as well as to evade persecution by religious and state authorities (L. Strauss, in *Louis Ginzberg Jubilee Volume*, 1 (1945), 357 ff.).

Influence on Jewish Thought

Al-Fārābī's impact on medieval Jewish thought was considerable. In Hebrew texts he is called either by his Arabic name (Abū Naṣr or al-Fārābī) or by the Hebrew equivalent of the former (Abū Yeshaʿ). Abū Bakr is sometimes erroneously substituted for Abū Naṣr.

Strauss (loc. cit.) first demonstrated the dominating influence of al-Fārābī's political philosophy on *Maimonides. Maimonides' esteem for al-Fārābī, which no doubt encouraged the acceptance of the latter within Jewish philosophical circles, is clear from a letter he wrote to Samuel ibn Tibbon (see JQR, 25 (1934/35), 379). Maimonides recommended exclusively al-Fārābī's works on logic and praised all his writings, especially "The Book of Principles" ("The Political Regime"), as impeccably excellent and worthy of study, adding, "for he is a great man." In the introduction to his translation of *The Guide of the Perplexed* (1963), S. Pines states that in theoretical and political science Maimonides followed al-Fārābī on all points (p. lxxviii). The main lines of influence are traced by Pines: Maimonides' esoteric style and the tendency to embed "outrageously unorthodox statements" in a cryptic, veiled context are fashioned according to the model of al-Fārābī (see also Strauss, in *Essays on Maimonides*, ed. by S.W. Baron (1941), 37 ff.). Maimonides was also influenced by al-Fārābī's negative assessment of the Kalām, as well as his treatment of such crucial issues as creation, intellection, prophecy, and providence.

Extensive quotations in Maimonides' *Shemonah Perakim* are taken from al-Fārābī's *Fuṣūl al-Madanī* (*Aphorisms of the Statesman*, ed. and tr. by D.M. Dunlop, 1961), as was shown by H. Davidson (in PAAJR, 31 (1963), 33–50). Al-Fārābī's influence may also be discerned in Maimonides' code of Jewish law. A passage in *Mishneh Torah* (Deʿot, 6:1), to the effect that one who lives in an evil city should immigrate to a place where the people are righteous or, if this is impossible, live in isolation, seems to reflect a similar statement in al-Fārābī's *Aphorisms of the Statesman* (para. 88). The comparison of those who are physically infirm, and whose sense of taste is consequently impaired, with those who are psychologically infirm and morally corrupt (Deʿot, 2:1) is virtually a verbatim translation of a similar comparison by al-Fārābī in "The Political Regime" (p. 83). It is possible that al-Fārābī's specification and ordering of the ideas that should be taught in the virtuous religious community (*al-milla al-fāḍila*) influenced the choice of subjects treated and their sequence in *Mishneh Torah* (Yesodei ha-Torah; cf. *Kitāb al-Milla*, "The Book of Religion," ed. by M. Mahdi (1968), 44ff.).

Hebrew Translations

Many of al-Fārābī's works were translated into Hebrew. M. Steinschneider (Uebersetzungen, para. 158) lists eight. The microfilm collection of the Institute of Hebrew Manuscripts at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem contains about 25 works, including some interesting logical works not mentioned by Steinschneider. A partial translation of the tripartite work that comprises "The Attainment of Happiness," "The Philosophy of Plato," and "The Philosophy of Aristotle," together with the music part of *Iḥṣāʾ al-ʿUlūm* ("The Register of the Sciences"), is contained in Shem Tov ibn *Falaquera's *Reshit Ḥokhmah* (see M. Steinschneider, *Al-Farabi* (1896), 176ff., 224ff.; Strauss, in MGWJ, 80 (1936), 96ff.). "The Political Regime" was translated in part under the title *Sefer ha-Hatḥalot* (ed. by Z. Filipowski in *Sefer ha-Asif*, 1849). Falaquera often cites al-Fārābī in his commentary on the *Guide, Moreh ha-Moreh*. According to S.O. Heller-Wilensky, Isaac ibn *Latīf quotes two whole chapters of "The Virtuous City" in his *Shaʿar ha-Shamayim* (in *Jewish Medieval and Renaissance Studies*, ed. by A. Altmann (1967), 196).

[Joel Kraemer]

As Musician

Al-Fārābī was one of the outstanding theorists of Arabic music and several Arabic sources extol his musical talent and his excellence as an *ʿūd* player. He wrote several treatises on music of which the most famous are *Kitāb al-Mūsīqī al-Kabīr* ("The Grand Book of Music") and *Iḥṣāʾ al-ʿUlūm* ("The Classification of the Sciences") in which he enumerates all the known sciences and defines their nature and object; part of the third chapter deals with the science of music. This work became known in Medieval Europe through its several Latin translations (see H.G. Farmer, *Arabic-Latin Writings on Music*, 1934) and was translated into Hebrew by Kalonymus b. Kalonymus of Arles in 1314 under the title: *Ma'amar be-Mispar ha-Ḥokhmot* (see A. Shiloah, *Yuval,* 2 (1971), 115–27). Among Jewish writers who used the section on music in their works are Shem Tov ibn *Falaquera in his *Reshit Ḥokhma* and Joseph ibn *Aknin in chapter VII of his *Ṭibb al-Nufūs*. The section on music as well as several passages compiled in the "Grand Book of Music" is included in the Hebrew version of Ibn Salt's treatise on music and occurs in a Genizah fragment (British Museum, Ms. Or.5565c).

[Amnon Shiloah (2nd ed.)]

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FARAJ, MURAD (1866–1956), Egyptian Karaite author and theologian. Born in *Cairo and trained as a lawyer, Faraj was a government official during the reign of the khedive ʿAbbās Ḥilmī (1892–1914). He took a keen interest in the problems of the Egyptian Jewish community and was particularly active among the *Karaites, whom he served for a time as *dayyan*. After resigning this post, he practiced law until 1932, when he turned exclusively to literary pursuits.

Faraj, who wrote in Hebrew and Arabic, published some 30 volumes of poetry, religious works, and books on law. Two books of verse, highly praised by the great Egyptian poet Aḥmad Shawqī, were *Dīwān Murād* ("Murad's Poetical Works," 5 vols., 1912–29) and *Al-Shuʿarāʾ al-Yahūd al-ʿArab* ("The Jewish Poets in Arabic," 1929; 1939^2). He also published *Shir ʿIvri mi-Meshorer ʿAravi* ("A Hebrew Song of an Arab Poet," 1945) in both Hebrew and Arabic. In his verse he was a meticulous craftsman with a fondness for difficult and unusual expressions.

All but one of Faraj's theological works were written in Arabic. They include *Al-Qarāʾūn wa-al-Rabbānūn* ("The Karaites and the Rabbanites," 1918); *Al-Yahūdiyya* ("Judaism," 1920); *Tafsīr al-Tawrā* ("Torah Commentary," 1928); *Al-Qudsiyyāt* ("Holy Offerings," translated into Hebrew by the author in 1923); *Amthāl Sulaimān* ("The Proverbs of Solomon," 1938), an Arabic translation of and commentary on the Book of Proverbs; and *Ayyūb* ("Job," 1950), an Arabic translation of several chapters of the Book of Job. Two books on linguistics were *Ustādh al-ʿIbriyya* ("The Hebrew Teacher," 1925) and *Multaqā al-Lughatayn al-ʿIbriyya wa-al-ʿArabiyya* ("The Crossroads of the Hebrew and Arabic Languages," 5 vols., 1930–50). Faraj also wrote *Al-Furūq al-Qānūniyya* ("On Legal Differences," 1917) which, from 1928, became a standard textbook at Cairo University. In addition to all of these works, Faraj published several legal dissertations and many articles and reviews. In 1936 he was elected a member of the Egyptian Academy for the Arabic Language.

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[Hayyim J. Cohen]

FARAJ (Moses) BEN SOLOMON DA AGRIGENTO (Girgenti), also known as **Ferragut** and **Faraj ben Salim** (13th century), physician, translator, and author. Faraj was personal physician and official translator to Charles I of Anjou, king of Sicily, for whom he translated several medical treatises from Arabic into Latin. Among these are *Liber Continens* (Ar. *Al-Ḥāwī*), a medical encyclopedia in 20 parts by Rhazes (al-Rāzī), which he finished translating in 1279 and which was printed five times between 1486 and 1542; *Tacuini Aegritudinum ac Morborum Corporis*…, a translation made in 1280 of the *Taqwīm al-Abdān* by Abū ʿAlī ibn Jazla; and *De Medicis Expertis* by Pseudo-Galen. Faraj's authorship of other books cannot definitely be authenticated. However, if, as seems likely, Faraj is the same person as Moses b. Solomon of Salerno, he is also the author of a commentary on the *Guide* by *Maimonides. A picture of Faraj receiving the *Al-Ḥāwī* for translation from Charles I appears in a 13th-century illuminated manuscript.

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[Attilio Milano]

FARBAND, American Jewish Labor Zionist fraternal order. The establishment of the Farband was first conceived in Philadelphia in 1908 by a small group headed by Meyer L. Brown which sought to build a fraternal order in which Labor Zionists would feel at home – one that would combine fraternal benefits and mutual aid with a Labor Zionist outlook and program. In the succeeding two years groups were formed in several cities, and on June 10–16 a founding conference of the national Farband took place in Rochester, New York. It adopted the name Yiddish Natzionaler Arbeiter Farband (Jewish National Workers Alliance) and formulated the following program:

The JNWA strives to organize all Jewish workers on the following principles:

1. Mutual help in case of need, sickness, and death.

2. Education of Jewish workers to full awareness of their national and social interests.

3. Support of all endeavors which lead to the national liberation and renascence of the Jewish people… support of all activities which lead to the strengthening and liberation of the working class.

With the then existing Jewish fraternal orders largely devoid of ideological content, and with the only other Jewish workers order – the *Workmen's Circle (Arbeiter Ring) – adopting an anti-Zionist position, Farband, with its socialist-Zionist viewpoint and program in Israel and America, grew in number from 1,000 in 1911 to 25,000 in 1946 and 40,000 in 1972.

In 1911 Farband developed the first modern insurance and mutual benefit system for Jewish workers. The organization received its official charter, licensing it to sell various insurance and medical plans, from the State of New York on January 6, 1913, and from Canada in 1921. The main mutual benefits of Farband include: life, accident, health, hospitalization, and juvenile insurance; a major medical plan; and savings and loan groups.

From its inception Farband was involved in Jewish communal affairs at home and abroad. In 1913 it fought against the "literacy test" given to immigrants and protested against the *Beilis Trial. During World War I Farband participated in the establishment of the American Jewish Congress and the People's Relief Committee, and sent many volunteers to fight in the ranks of the Jewish Legion. During World War II Farband campaigned actively to raise funds for the Labor Zionist Committee for Relief and Rehabilitation. It also energetically supported the founding of the American Jewish Conference in 1944. Farband has also been active in the civil rights struggle and has espoused many other liberal causes both in the United States and Canada.

Farband concentrates much of its energies on cultural activities. In addition to maintaining a network of day and evening schools, Farband established "educational bureaus" in the 1920s to encourage Jewish cultural activities by promoting "Onegei Shabbat," musical and drama presentations, seminars, study groups, and lectures throughout the United States and Canada. Farband encourages its members to use Hebrew and Yiddish and in cooperation with the Hillel Foundation has since 1966 promoted the study of the Yiddish language and literature on many campuses throughout the United States. Farband supports the Jewish Teachers' Seminary, the People's University in New York, the Farband Book Publishing Association, and a number of newspapers and periodicals in Yiddish, Hebrew, and English. It provides educational programs during the summer months through its network of summer camps: in 1926 Unser Camp (for adults) and Kinderwelt (for youth) were created in New York. The educational and financial success of these camps stimulated the creation of similar camps throughout the United States and Canada. Habonim is the youth movement of the Farband, as well as of Po'alei Zion and Pioneer Women.

As a Labor Zionist organization Farband has always maintained strong ties with Ereẓ Israel and the State of Israel, especially the workers' groups there. At its founding conference, it resolved to institute obligatory taxes for the benefit of workers in Ereẓ Israel. Important Israeli leaders, among them David Ben-Gurion, Izhak Ben-Zvi, Golda Meir, and Zalman Shazar, have frequently come to the United States to address its conventions and leaders. In 1919 Farband opened a branch in Ereẓ Israel, and during the Mandatory period and after World War II it campaigned energetically and assisted with funds and manpower in the creation of the Jewish State. After the birth of Israel, Farband continued its work on behalf of the cooperative, pioneering sector through support of the Histadrut. It consistently invested a part of its insurance funds in bodies which promote its ideals and today is the largest investor in Ampal, the American investment arm associated with the Histadrut.

Since the 1930s the possibility of the unification of Po'alei Zion and Farband has been discussed frequently, since both share the same Labor Zionist philosophy, the same goals in America and Israel, and have cooperated on the most important national and international projects. In 1954, during Farband's Montreal convention, Zalman Shazar, subsequently president of the State of Israel, personally offered his services in this direction. However, only after the New York convention in 1967 did Farband seriously negotiate the unification of Labor Zionist forces in America. The 22nd national convention, held in New York December 23–26, 1971, finally brought this about by bringing into the legal framework of Farband the members and branches of Poalei Zion and the American Habonim Association, the latter comprising the alumni of the Labor Zionist youth movement. The name was changed to Labor Zionist Alliance. The national offices are in Farband House, New York City, and regional offices are maintained in principal cities throughout the United States and Canada.

[Jehuda Reinharz]

The 22nd national convention, held in New York December 232–6, 1971, finally brought about the merger of Farband, Poalei Zion, and the American Habonim Association, comprising the alumni of the Labor Zionist youth movement. The name was changed to Labor Zionist Alliance and was changed once again in 2004 to Ameinu.

[Daniel Mann (2nd ed.)]

FARBER, MARVIN (1901–1980), U.S. philosopher, founder of the International Phenomenological Society in 1939 and editor of the journal *Philosophy and Phenomenological Research* from 1940 and, from 1951, *American Lectures in Philosophy*. Farber was born in Buffalo, New York, and educated at Harvard University and in Germany. He taught at Ohio State University, State University of New York at Buffalo, and at the University of Pennsylvania. Starting as an instructor in philosophy at the University of Buffalo in 1927, he became successively assistant professor, professor, department chairman, acting dean of the graduate school, distinguished professor and, in 1964, distinguished service professor.

Farber was the first to bring Husserl's phenomenology to the attention of American philosophers. In 1928 he published *Phenomenology as a Method and as a Philosophical Discipline*, and in 1943 *The Foundation of Phenomenology*. He edited *Philosophical Essays in Memory of Edmund Husserl* (1940). Though Farber was a follower of Husserl and expositor of contemporary German and French thought, he criticized the anti-scientific attitude of Husserl, Max Scheler, and others, as well as the anti-rationalist tendencies in other contemporary European thinkers such as Heidegger. His views tended toward naturalism and pragmatism, as expressed in his volume *Naturalism and Subjectivism* (1959) and in his many articles.

Other books by Farber include *The Aims of Phenomenology: The Motives, Methods, and Impact of Husserl's Thought* (1966), *Phenomenology and Existence: Toward a Philosophy within Nature* (1967), *Foundation of Phenomenology: Edmund Husserl & the Quest for a Rigorous Science of Philosophy* (1967), *Basic Issues of Philosophy: Experience, Reality, and Human Values* (1968), and *The Search for an Alternative: Philosophical Perspectives of Subjectivism & Marxism* (with R. Chisholm, 1984).

Farber was a member of philosophy societies around the world, such as the Institut Philosophe, Paris; International Phenomenological Society (past president); American Philosophical Association (president of the Eastern Division), C.S. Pierce Society, Symbolic Logic Association (executive committee), and American Association of University Professors, Phi Beta Kappa.

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[Richard H. Popkin / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

FARBER, VIOLA (1931–1998), U.S. dancer, choreographer, and teacher. Of German birth, Farber arrived in the U.S. at the age of seven and became a citizen in 1944. She studied modern dance with Katherine Litz, and Merce Cunningham and also took ballet classes with Alfredo Corvino. In 1953, she became a founding member of Cunningham's company as a dancer and choreographed some of its works until 1968. Among her works from this period are *Crises, Paired*, and *Nocturne*. To the Cunningham technique Farber, as a passionate dancer, added her personal contribution of human warmth. Dense, demanding movement and a humorous, bounding enthusiasm characterized her style. In 1968, she founded her own company and began choreographing her own works. Most of her work has been either set to original music or danced in silence. However, in one case her *Dune and Nightshade* was choreographed to Beethoven's Moonlight Sonata. She also taught in Salt Lake City and Columbus, Ohio, and served on the faculty of the New York School of the Arts. In 1981–82, the French government appointed her director of the Centre National de Danse Contemporaine at Angers, for which she created nine works, including *Nuage* and *Oiseaux-Pierres*, continuing to maintain close ties to France. Her choreographed piece *Ainsi de suite* was performed at the Avignon Festival.

[Amnon Shiloah (2nd ed.)]

FARBSTEIN, DAVID ẒEVI (1868–1953), Zionist Swiss politician. Farbstein was born in Warsaw and grew up in a traditional family. He worked at a bank in Warsaw to finance his studies, distancing himself from his Orthodox upbringing. During his studies in Berlin (1892–94) he joined the Russian Jewish Scientific Association and met with N. *Syrkin. He continued his studies at the universities of Zurich and Berne (1894–97), graduating with a thesis on "the legal status of the free and unfree worker in talmudic law." In 1897 he received Swiss citizenship, became a member of the Cultusgemeinde and joined the Social Democratic Party. He protested against the expulsion of Russian-Jewish peddlers from Zurich (1905/06) and led the opposition in the Cultusgemeinde against the well-to-do Swiss-Jewish establishment. As a lawyer, he defended women who had had abortions. In 1902 he was elected to the cantonal parliament, after 1904 to the city parliament. Here he fought against the introduction of a 15-

year waiting period for Orthodox East European Jews to apply for Swiss citizenship, but he did not convince the bourgeois majority (1920). He was the first Jewish member of the Swiss parliament (the Nationalrat," 1922–38). As a Zionist, he helped *Herzl set up the First Zionist Congress in Basle and drafted the statutes of the *Jewish National Fund (Keren Kayemet le-Israel). Already in 1897 he founded the first Zionist group in Zurich. After 1933 he fought Swiss fascism and opposed the policies of the leaders of the Swiss Federation of Jewish Communities as too compromising. He was instrumental in the resignation of Saly Mayer from the presidency of the federation in 1943. He refuted the anti-Jewish allegations of Zurich pastor Walter Hoch.

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[Uri Kaufmann (2nd ed.)]

FARBSTEIN, JOSHUA HESCHEL (1870–1948), leader of the *Mizrachi movement, head of the Warsaw Jewish community, and of the Jewish Community Council (Va'ad ha-Kehillah) in Jerusalem (see Israel, Communal *Governance). Born in Warsaw, Farbstein was active in the Ḥibbat Zion movement, and, with the emergence of Herzl, joined the political Zionist movement. Together with his brother, David Ẓevi *Farbstein, he attended the First Zionist Congress and was the first to discuss the religious problems of the Zionist movement in pre-Congress talks with Herzl. Farbstein participated in subsequent Congresses, representing Mizrachi after its formation in 1902. He was president of the Zionist Organization in Poland from 1915 to 1918 and was active during these years in obtaining extensive aid for war victims. A founder of Mizrachi in Poland, he was its president between 1918 and 1931, president of the Keren Hayesod in Poland, a member of the Polish Sejm and of the city council of Warsaw, and, between 1926 and 1931, president of the Warsaw Jewish community. Farbstein settled in Jerusalem in 1931 and was a member of the Zionist Executive between 1931 and 1933. Together with Emanuel *Neumann, he devised the abortive plan to lease 70,000 dunams in Transjordan for Jewish settlement. In Jerusalem he was active in the Community Council, which he headed between 1938 and 1945 (ultimately, as honorary president). Throughout his life he held leading posts in the world Mizrachi movement.

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[Getzel Kressel]

FARḤI, family of financiers in *Damascus of Sephardi origin during the 18th and 19th centuries. The family arrived at Damascus from *Aleppo in mid-18th century. Members of this family held the position of **ṣarrāf* ("banker") in the province of Damascus during the 1740s and possibly even earlier. It appears that members of this family also served as officials in the financial administration of the province and during the 1790s the bookkeeping of the provincial treasury was entrusted to them. The status and power of this family reached its climax during the 19th century, when the responsibility for the affairs of the treasury of the provinces of Damascus and Sidon – the center of which was in *Acre – was handed over to one of its members. The family could then undertake the financing of large-scale projects, including participation in the financing of the *ḥajj* (pilgrimage to Mecca) expenses, which was within the domain of the governor of the Damascus Province as the organizer of the *ḥajj* caravan.

The first member of this family to consolidate his position in Damascus was SAUL (Shihada) FARḤI who lived there in the second half of the 18th century. His position in the financial administration of the province enabled him to intervene with the governor of Damascus in favor of the Christians. In 1770 he was a very wealthy man and had good connections with prominent people in Istanbul. Solomon Farḥi, probably the father of Saul, died after torture in 1794.

The sons of Saul were RAPHAEL (died in Damascus, 1845), MOSES (died in Damascus, c. 1830), MENAḤEM (died in Damascus, c. 1830), JOSEPH (died in Damascus, c. 1830), and ḤAYYIM (died in Acre, 1820). RAPHAEL and JOSEPH inherited his position in Damascus and their cousin SOLOMON (Salmon) FARḤI also shared their importance. The third son, ḤAYYIM, entered the service of Aḥmad al-Jazzār Pasha, the governor of the province of Sidon who had fixed his residence in Acre in about 1790. He held the position of *ṣarrāf* and was responsible for the treasury affairs during most of al-Jazzār's rule (until 1804). He distinguished himself during the stand of Acre against Napoleon's armies in 1799. His brother MOSES was his assistant. In 1804 Ḥayyim was imprisoned, but on the death of al-Jazzār he was set free. He immediately joined in the struggle for al-Jazzār's succession as a supporter of Suleiman Pasha. Suleiman achieved the position of governor in 1805 due to the assistance of Ḥayyim who intervened in his favor in Constantinople. Suleiman had complete confidence in Ḥayyim, and he gave him a free hand in the administration and its finances. The Suleiman period (until 1818) was one of consolidation for Ḥayyim and the family in general, especially after Suleiman was also appointed governor of Damascus. Ḥayyim Farḥi also chose Suleiman Pasha's successor, ʿAbdallah Pasha, whom he had helped rise to the position of *ketkhudā* (or **kaḥya*; administrative director) under Suleiman from 1814. In practice, Ḥayyim was the governor of the province from 1818. However, the thirst for power of ʿAbdallah and the presence of men who slandered Ḥayyim before ʿAbdallah brought about his downfall and he was executed (1820) at the height of his glory. This was the first blow to strike the family. Ḥayyim's brothers attempted to avenge him and they participated in the war waged against ʿAbdallah by the governor of Damascus. Because of its financial power, the family nevertheless continued to hold on to its firm position in Damascus, and Raphael Farḥi was the chief sherif in Damascus. Raphael's children were David (died in Damascus, 1907), Aslan (born in 1828), Polica, and Meir. Meir had three sons: Moses, Solomon, and Jacob. The son of Aslan was Joseph Farḥi who died in Beirut in 1840. There is a letter from the Farḥi family to Moses *Montefiore from 1849 signed by Menaḥem Farhi; Judah, Meir, and David, the sons of Raphael Farḥi; Ezekiel, Nathaniel, and Aaron, the sons of Joseph Farḥi; and Solomon, the son of Joseph Farḥi. In that year Montefiore lodged in the house of Isaac Ḥayyim Farḥi. The Egyptian conquest of Syria at the beginning of the 1830s struck a decisive blow at the family, both in relation to its financial matters and its influence in the town. In 1834 the family lost its positions in the financial administration and that of *ṣarrāf*, and only a few of its members remained on the staff of the treasury and in the leadership of the Jewish millet. However, with the return of Ottoman rule in Syria in 1840, one of the members was again appointed to the direction of the treasury administration, even though the family could not regain its former financial power. During the 18th and 19th centuries the family members were the rivals and opponents of powerful Christian families and sometimes found themselves in a perilous situation because Muslim governors wanted to dismiss them from their positions. The new rivals of the Farḥi family in Damascus were the members of Albaḥri family. At the time of the *Damascus Affair the family lost its political influence and some of its members were imprisoned. Aslan Farḥi confessed because he was afraid of torture.

As was the case with other wealthy Jewish families, the Farḥis also played a role in fostering spiritual life and financial support of the needy. Ḥayyim Farḥi was a particularly generous donor to synagogues both in Damascus and in Acre. He owned the magnificent *Farḥi Bible*, which was named after him. After his execution it came into the possession of the British consul in Damascus, and it was only restored to the family nearly a century later. They established family religious trusts for the benefit of yeshivot and *kolelim*, supported scholars, assisted the needy, and arranged for employment in their offices. They also initiated relations between the Jews of Damascus and Palestine and those of Constantinople. As for the relations between the Jews and the government, there is no definite evidence of their intervention, except for some vague evidence concerning a tax exemption for the Jews of *Safed. After the death of Ḥayyim, there was a quarrel over his estate in the Farḥi family, which began in 1833 and continued for many years. The struggle was between the sons of Raphael and their cousins Joseph Hai and Nissim Farḥi, the sons of Menaḥem. Rabbi Jacob Antebi, the chief rabbi of Damascus, wrote a decision in 1833, but Moses, the brother of Hayyim Farhi, and, after the death of Moses, who lived in Acre, his sons Mordecai and Menaḥem rejected the decision. They were supported by Rabbi Ḥayyim Nissim *Abulafia of Tiberias. Rabbi Abraham Ḥayyim *Gagin, the chief rabbi of Jerusalem, defended the decision of Rabbi Antebi. Moses Montefiore and Ẓevi Hirsch Lehren also intervened. In 1847 the rabbis of Damascus wrote about the activity of Judah and David, the sons of Raphael Farḥi, against Isaac Ḥayyim Farḥi, the son of Solomon, who was the translator of the French consul in Damascus. His relative David Farḥi became the Turkish scribe of the French consul, and Nathaniel Farḥi was the treasurer of the consulate. Meir, the brother of Ḥayyim Farḥi, was murdered in 1822. He had married his second wife in 1818 and she bore him his only son, Isaac Ḥayyim. The interior of the house of the Farḥi family in Damascus was very elegant. In later generations the Farḥi family settled in Beirut, Paris, Italy, South America, and Israel. In 1854 Meir Farḥi was appointed sherif in Damascus, but was later dismissed. Also in 1854 Nissan Farḥi was appointed the representative of the Jews in the Mejlis of Damascus.

[Aryeh Shmuelevitz/ Leah Bornstein-Makovetsky (2nd ed.)]

HILLEL BEN JACOB FARHI (1868–1940) poet, translator, and physician, also belonged to this family. Farḥi, who was born in Damascus, studied medicine in *Beirut and London and became a government doctor in *Cairo. In his spare time, he pursued research into Hebrew and Arabic and translated many Jewish religious works into Arabic. These include his *Siddur Farḥi* (1917), which contains an introduction to the history of prayer; *Al-Urjūzah al-Fārḥiyah* ("Farḥi's Poem," 1914), comprising the 613 *Commandments in the form of an Arabic poem; and *Majmūʿat Farḥi* ("Farḥi's Collection," 1922), which contains the Passover *Haggadah, the *Pirkei *Avot*, and the *Azharot* of Solomon ibn *Gabirol. Farḥi's verse translations and his own poetry are marked by lucidity and simplicity. He published a Hebrew version of the *Rubáiyát* of Omar Khayyām (1931) and, with Nissim Mallul, produced an Arabic translation of the *Zikhronot le-Beit David* by A.S. *Friedberg.

A well-known member of this family was ISAAC B. SOLOMON FARḤI, the author of *Tuv Yerushalayim* (Jerusalem, 1842), *Zekhut ha-Rabbim* (Constantinople, 1829), *Imrei Binah* (Belgrade, 1837), *Zekhut u-Mishor* (Smyrna, 1850), *Ẓuf Devash* (Leghorn, 1849), *Shevet Mishor* (Belgrade, 1837), *Matok la-Nefesh* (Constantinople, 1828), *Marpe la-Eẓem* (Constantinople, 1830), *Matok mi-Devash* (Jerusalem, 1842), *Musar Haskel* (Constantinople, 1830), and *Minei Metikah* (Leghorn, 1848), sermons for the Sabbath. NURI FARḤI, a native of Damascus, settled in *Alexandria after having studied in Paris. In Alexandria he engaged in commerce and wrote a history of the Jews in the town from its foundation until his own time, *La Communauté Juive d'Alexandrie de l'Antiquité à nos Jours* (1945). Another member of this family, JOSEPH DAVID FARḤI (1878–1945), became the president of the Jewish community of Beirut.

[Hayyim J. Cohen]

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FARHI, DANIEL (1941–), French reform rabbi. Farhi was born in Paris to a Jewish family of Turkish descent. He was hidden and protected by a Protestant family during the war, began rabbinical studies in 1959, and was ordained a rabbi in 1966. He chose to join the reform Union Libérale Israélite de France, France's first liberal Jewish congregation, located in Paris and known as "rue Copernic," the street where its main synagogue is located. In 1970, he became first rabbi at the Copernic synagogue, a position that he left in 1977 to create a new liberal movement, the Mouvement Juif Libéral de France (MJLF), originally comprised of just 50 families and subsequently growing to a few hundred. Dedicated to the promotion of Reform Judaism, Farhi also emphasized in his rabbinical activity the importance of inter-religious dialogue, especially with Islam and Christianity. Another main axis of Farhi's concerns was the memory of the Shoah and its transmission, being himself an "*enfant caché*" (hidden child). Farhi was the first to introduce in France the celebration of Yom Ha-Shoah in 1990, with a 24-hour-long recitation of the names of French Jewish deportees and Holocaust victims. He worked in close association with Serge and Beate *Klarsfeld to foster public awareness of the Shoah. Farhi was imprisoned in Germany for trying to pursue Nazi criminals but managed to organize a number of pilgrimages to Auschwitz. He was eventually able to merge his two main concerns – religious dialogue and transmission of the Shoah – when he joined the inter-religious pilgrimage set up by Emile Shoufani, an Arab-Israeli priest from Nazareth, which brought together at Auschwitz Muslims, Christians, and Jews, Israeli and French. Farhi wrote several books on Israel and the transmission of Judaism (*Parler aux enfants d'Israël*), the problematics of liberal Judaism (*Un judaïsme dans le siècle*), and the Shoah (*Au dernier survivant*), as well as two prayer books for Reform communities, *Siddour Taher Libénou* and *Mahzor Anénou*. Fahri also served on the editorial board of the MJLF review, *Tenou'a-Le Mouvement*. He was awarded several prestigious honors, including *chevalier de l'ordre national du Mérite* and *chevalier de l'ordre national de la Légion d'honneur,* a distinction that he received in 1993 from Simone *Veil, state minister and Holocaust survivor.

[Dror Franck Sullaper (2nd ed.)]

FARHI, GABRIEL (1968–), French reform rabbi. Son of leading reform rabbi, Daniel *Farhi, Gabriel completed liberal rabbinical studies in London (Leo Baeck College), where he was ordained in 1996. Subsequently he was the rabbi of the MJLF-Est synagogue, an offshoot of the movement's main congregation. An advisor to the BBC for Jewish affairs, Farhi also serves as the Israelite chaplain at the Georges Pompidou European hospital and headed there a think tank on medical ethics. He was the first non-Orthodox rabbi to be appointed as a chaplain in a French hospital. His keen interest for bioethics, his intimate knowledge of the medical world, and his proximity to the sick and suffering also led him to promote a liberal Jewish viewpoint on bioethics as a teacher at the Faculties of Medicine in Reims and Paris.

[Dror Franck Sullaper (2nd ed.)]

FARHI, MORIS (1935–), writer, poet, and artist. Born in *Ankara, Farhi graduated from Robert College in *Istanbul in 1954 and from the Royal Academy of Dramatic Art in London in 1956. A British subject since 1964, he pursued an acting career for several years and began writing in the 1960s. Between 1960 and 1983 he worked primarily in television, writing numerous scripts for both the BBC and ITV. Many of his poems have appeared in various U.S. and international publications. He became a member of English PEN in the mid-1970s and joined its Writers in Prison Committee in 1988. In 2001 he was made a member of the Order of the British Empire in the Queen's Birthday Honours List for "services to literature." In November 2001 he was elected a vice president of International PEN. He is a fellow of both the Royal Society of Literature and the Royal Geographical Society. His published works include *The Pleasure of Your Death* (1972); *The Last of Days* (1983), a thriller played out in the Middle East against the backdrop of Arab terrorism; *Journey Through the Wilderness* (1989), dealing with a Holocaust survivor's search in South America for the Nazi who murdered his father; *Children of the Rainbow* (1999), about a gypsy survivor of Auschwitz; and *Young Turk* (2004), a series of interrelated stories set in *Turkey.

[Rifat Bali (2nd ed.)]

FARIA, FRANCISCO DE (b. c. 1650), Marrano adventurer. Faria, who was born in Brazil, lived subsequently in Antwerp as an artist, in Holland as an officer in the army, and in England as an interpreter to the Portuguese embassy. In 1680, at the time of the so-called "Popish Plot," he made some startling but unfounded disclosures accusing the Portuguese ambassador of having attempted to bribe him to murder the Earl of Shaftesbury and others. He was rewarded for his revelations, but subsequently disappeared from view.

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[Cecil Roth]

°FARINACCI, ROBERTO (1892–1945), leading antisemite in the Italian Fascist regime. A socialist until 1914, Farinacci became one of the founders of the Fascist movement in March 1919. He served as a member of the Gran Consiglio del Fascismo, as a member of parliament, and, between 1925 and 1926, as Fascist Party secretary. Farinacci represented the fanatic and extremist element in the Fascist leadership. In 1921 he founded a daily newspaper, *Cremona Nuova*, later renamed *Il Regime Fascista*, which he edited until 1945. In this newspaper he advocated a strong line against the opponents of the regime, closer relations with Nazi Germany, and the adoption of a racist, antisemitic policy. From 1938 he was one of those who directed the Fascist government's racist policy. His antisemitic book, *La Chiesa e gli Ebrei*, was published in 1938. He also wrote *Storia della rivoluzione fascista* (3 vols., 1940). In July 1943 he fled to Germany, but later returned to Italy, where he was executed by Italian partisans in April 1945.

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[Daniel Carpi]

FARISSOL, ABRAHAM BEN MORDECAI (c. 1451–c. 1525), Bible commentator, geographer, and polemicist. Born in Avignon, Abraham spent most of his life in Ferrara, Italy, where he did most of his work, and in Mantua. He served as a cantor, and for many years as a copyist, a task he performed with great devotion and care. It seems that he was highly regarded by the Jews of Ferrara, for they chose him to represent Judaism before the duke of Ferrara in a religious dispute with two Dominican monks. Farissol's main works are (1) *Pirḥei Shoshannim*, a short commentary on the Torah, which was never printed but is extant in manuscript; a commentary on Ecclesiastes, also in manuscript; and a commentary on the Book of Job, printed in the Bomberg Bible (Venice 1516–17). (2) *Magen Avraham*, a work dedicated to the defense of Judaism in religious disputes, and containing in two separate chapters, polemical attacks against Christianity and Islam. Most of the work is based upon the writings of earlier medieval Hebrew polemicists, but parts were influenced by the author's own experience in the dispute in Ferrara. The work is still extant in manuscript. (3) *Iggeret Orḥot Olam*, his most famous and most important work, is the first modern Hebrew work on geography (Ferrara 1524; Venice 1586; and many subsequent printings). Each of its 30 chapters deals with a certain geographical area or subject. In addition, many cosmological and historical matters are also treated. The author collected all the evidence he could regarding Jewish settlements in each country. The inclusion of a description of the New World makes Farissol the first Hebrew writer to deal in detail with the newly-discovered America. The 14th chapter of *Iggeret Orḥot Olam*, which deals mainly with the settlements of the *Ten Lost Tribes, is of special interest. According to Farissol's introduction to this chapter, it is clear that what moved him to undertake this investigation was the appearance in Italy in 1523 of David *Reuveni, many of whose descriptions are included in this work.

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FARISSOL, JACOB BEN ḤAYYIM (Comprat [Comprado], Vidal Farissol; b. 1405?), Provençal Hebrew poet and philosophical commentator. At the age of 17 Farissol wrote *Beit Ya'akov* (Ms.), a commentary to Judah Halevi's *Kuzari*, based on the lectures of his teacher Solomon b. Menahem Frat Maimon; this commentary is in many ways similar to those of his fellow students, Solomon b. Judah (Solomon Vivas) and Nethanel Caspi. His commentary, like those of his fellow students, is important for the understanding and establishing of the Hebrew text of the *Kuzari*. In the summer of 1453 Farissol was in Avignon and is apparently identical with the poet Jacob who, in a *piyyut* (*Mi Kamokha*) for *Hoshana Rabba*, tells of a thwarted Jewish persecution on Sept. 15, 1443. He also is the author of a liturgical poem (*Tamid*) for the eve of the Day of Atonement.

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[Jefim (Hayyim) Schirmann]

FARJEON, BENJAMIN LEOPOLD (1838–1903), English novelist. Farjeon, who was born in London into an Orthodox family of North African origin, went to Australia at the age of 17. He eventually became editor and part owner of the first daily newspaper in New Zealand, the *Otago Daily Times*. Returning to England in 1868, he published his first novel, *Grif* (1870), a story of Australian life, which became his best-known work. Farjeon modeled his work on Dickens and later on Wilkie Collins, first writing Christmas pieces and then mystery stories. His 40 novels included several with Jewish subjects, among them *Solomon Isaacs* (1877), *Fair Jewess* and *Aaron the Jew* (1894), *Miriam Rozella* (1897), and *Pride of Race* (1900). He portrayed Jews sympathetically, but was inclined to sentimentality. Farjeon married Margaret Jefferson, daughter of a famous American actor, and three of their children – who had no connection with the Jewish community – were well-known writers. JOSEPH JEFFERSON FARJEON (1883–1955) wrote novels, plays, and *The Compleat Smuggler* (1938). HERBERT FARJEON (1887–1945) was drama critic for several London papers and wrote light verse and revues. ELEANOR FARJEON (1881–1965) wrote fiction, verse for children and, with her brother Herbert, a comedy, *The Two Bouquets* (1936). She was the author of the famous hymn, "Morning Has Broken," which has in recent years become a popular hit song. Her depiction of her early life, *A Nursery in the Nineties,* gives a warm portrayal of her father. On her death, the Children's Book Circle of England established an annual award in her honor. Her brother, HARRY FARJEON (1878–1948), was a well-known composer of light classical music.

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FARKAS, LADISLAUS (Wilhelm; 1904–1948), Israel physical chemist. Farkas was born in Dunaszerdahely, Slovakia, the son of a pharmacist. From 1928 he worked at the Kaiser

Wilhelm Institute for Physical Chemistry in Berlin-Dahlem as assistant to Fritz Haber. On the advent of Nazism in 1933, Farkas moved to Cambridge and in 1934 joined the staff of the Sieff Institute in Reḥovot and of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, where he was subsequently appointed professor of physical chemistry. He was killed in an air crash while on his way to the U.S. to buy scientific equipment. He left his mark on a generation of students who were later among Israel's outstanding chemists. Farkas' research covered photochemistry, gas reactions, combustion, the chemistry of parahydrogen and heavy hydrogen, and the recovery of bromine and the reactions of its compounds. During World War II, he acted as secretary of the Scientific Advisory Committee of the Palestine War Supply Board and was instrumental in developing local production methods for essential chemicals from the resources of the Dead Sea. He laid the foundations for the establishment of the Research Council of Israel.

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[Samuel Aaron Miller]

FARKAS, RUTH (née **Lewis**; 1906–1996), U.S. sociologist and diplomat. Farkas was born in New York and gained degrees in education from New York University (B.A. and Ed.D.) and Columbia (M.A. in sociology, 1932). She was a sociology instructor at the New York University School of Education from 1945 to 1955, and in 1962, she was appointed director of the William Allison White Psychoanalytical Institute, and became chairman of President's Advisory Council of the New York University Graduate School of Social Work.

As a sociologist and educator she came to the attention of Secretary of State Dean Rusk and was appointed a member of the Executive Committee of the U.S. National Commission for UNESCO and of the Department of State Foreign Service Selection Board. She was also consultant sociologist to the U.S. delegations to the International Conference on Eradication of Illiteracy in Iran (1965) and the International Conference of the Status and Rights of Women in Helsinki (1967). She served as chief delegate to the Conference of the Pan-Pacific Southeast Asia Women's Association in Australia in 1961 and in New Zealand in 1972. Farkas was a member of the President's Special Education committee for Dissemination of Human Rights and of the President's Committee for the Handicapped. She served on Governor Rockefeller's New York State Women's Advisory Council and on the Council of the Child Study Association of America, and was the recipient of a number of awards for work with the handicapped and the aged. From 1965 she served as Consultant for Personnel and Public Relations of Alexander's Incorporated, founded by her husband, George Farkas.

She was involved in many philanthropic activities through the Role Foundation, which she established in 1967. Farkas served as United States ambassador to Luxembourg from 1973 to 1976. In 1982 she was honored by Columbia University's Teachers College with a Distinguished Alumni Award.

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FARMERS' FEDERATION OF ISRAEL (Hitaḥadut ha-Ikkarim be-Yisrael), an association of private farmers in Israel. It grew out of the Union of Moshavot in Judea and Samaria, which was founded in 1920 with a membership of seven villages. The Federation is concerned with the professional, economic, cultural and social problems of its members and represents them vis-à-vis government agencies on marketing, taxation, transportation, and similar questions. By 1970 it had local branches in the form of agricultural committees or cooperatives in 42 villages, and members in some 60 other villages were assisted through its institutions; its total membership was over 8,000 families. The Federation worked through 14 associations for specific branches of agriculture and a number of affiliated companies, including mortgage and benefit funds, and companies for supply, marketing, and transportation. Also affiliated were 80 agricultural, 10 citrus-growing, and 11 transportation cooperatives, the Pardess citrus-growers' syndicate and the wine-growers' association of Rishon le-Zion and Zikhron Ya'akov. The Federation maintained an agricultural secondary school at Pardes Ḥannah and supported youth and sports clubs. It was among the founders of Kuppat Ḥolim Ammamit (People's Sick Fund; now Kuppat Ḥolim Me'uḥedet) which provides medical care for its members. It took the initiative in expanding a number of older moshavot through the absorption of new settlers and assisted in founding several new moshavim.

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[Gedalyah Elkoshi]

FARO, city in S. Portugal, Algrave province. Jews were organized there as a community in the 15th century. The first book to be printed in Portugal, the Hebrew Pentateuch, in square type and vocalized, was published in Faro in 1487 by Don Samuel Porteira (see *Incunabula). By 1494 (or 1496?) the Porteiras had printed at least 14 Talmud tractates, of which fragments only have survived. At the expulsion from Portugal in 1497 David Porteira went to Pesaro (Italy) where he continued printing Talmud tractates. Traces of the Farense type can also be found in Fez. Members of a Faro family (Marranos?) lived in Bayonne, London, Dublin, and Jamaica in the 17th and 18th centuries. At the beginning of the 19th century Jews again settled in Faro; a cemetery was opened in 1820, and a synagogue in 1850. Early in the 20th century the community comprised about 50 families. In 1970 there were no more than five Jews living in the whole province, and the two synagogues were in disuse.

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FASSŪTA, Christian-Arab village in western Upper Galilee, Israel, 3 mi. (5 km.) northeast of Maʿalot, identified with Mifshata where the priestly family of Harim settled after the destruction of the Second Temple. In the Middle Ages, the village is mentioned by the poet Eliezer ha-Kallir. Cave tombs, parts of ancient buildings, and cisterns have been found at the site. Its inhabitants, most of whom belong to the Greek-Catholic (Uniate) faith, are engaged principally in growing olives, deciduous fruit, and tobacco. The village's jurisdiction extends over 0.3 sq. mi. (0.785 sq. km.). In 2002 its population was 2,860.

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[Efraim Orni]

FAST, HOWARD MELVIN (1914–2003), U.S. author, best known for his imaginative historical novels as well as detective fiction published under the name E.V. Cunningham. *Fallen Angel* (1951) was published under the name of Walter Ericson. Born and educated in New York City, Fast spent the Depression years of the 1930s working in many parts of the U.S. at various jobs. Some early novels had no success, but in 1937 his story *The Children* attracted favorable notice when it appeared in *Story* magazine. When his *Place in the City* was published in the same year, Fast quickly gained recognition. A number of his works deal with American history, notably *Conceived in Liberty* (1939), *The Unvanquished* (1942), *Citizen Tom Paine* (1943), *Freedom Road* (1944), and *April Morning* (1961). Fast also wrote on themes involving injustice, as in *The Passion of Sacco and Vanzetti* (1953), and on oppression as in *The Last Frontier* (1942), an epic account of an American Indian tribe's attempted flight to Canada and in *Spartacus* (1952). During the years 1943–56 Fast was an active member of the American Communist Party, and in 1950 he was jailed for contempt of Congress. One of the leading American leftist writers of the 1950s, he was awarded the Stalin Peace Prize in 1953. The later excesses of the Stalin regime disillusioned him, however, and he explained his break with Communism in *The Naked God* (1957). Despite his political activities, Fast wrote a number of books on Jewish themes, including *Haym Salomon: Son of Liberty* (1941), a young people's biography of the American Revolution's financier. Two other historical works were *Romance of a People* (1941) and a *Picture-Book History of the Jews* (1942), written in collaboration with his wife. *My Glorious Brothers* (1949), generally considered one of Fast's outstanding novels, retells the story of the Maccabean revolt, while *Moses, Prince of Egypt* (1958) was planned as the first of a series of works on the life of the great lawgiver. In his "Immigrants" novels, Fast studies, against a vast sweep of modern American history, beginning with the last part of the 19th century, the interweaving destinies and social mobility of immigrant families, one of them being the Levy progeny. Fast's television scriptwriting resulted in his receiving an Emmy award from the U.S. National Academy of Television Arts and Sciences in 1977. His autobiography, *Being Red*, appeared in 1990. His novel *The Bridge Builder's Story* (1995) traces a young gentile man's acceptance of his own life as he finds understanding through identification with both the suffering and survival of Jews in the Holocaust. Scott Waring's maturation, achieved through analysis, is a liberation from the past and an ability to create a life that comports with this new-found freedom.

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[Harold U. Ribalow / Rohan Saxena and Lewis Fried (2nd ed.)]

FASTING AND FAST DAYS, the precept (or custom) of refraining from eating and drinking.

In the Bible

Although the origins of the ritual of fasting are obscure, several current theories claim that it originated as (1) a spiritual preparation for partaking of a sacred meal (W.R. Smith); (2) a method for inducing a state of susceptibility to visions (E.B. Tylor); and (3) a means of providing new vitality during periods of human or natural infertility (T.H. Gaster). Scriptural citations have been adduced to support all these theories, but fasting in the Bible clearly emerged in response to more spiritual needs. The Hebrew root for fasting, *ẓwm* (צום), can be used both as a verb and a noun, e.g., "David fasted a fast" (II Sam. 12:16), a meaning verified in the next verse: "he ate no food." A synonymous idiom *ʿinnah nefesh* (lit. "afflict the body") includes fasting as part of a general regimen of abstinence, a broader meaning confirmed by the following:

(a) laws annulling women's vows and oaths that contain the phrase "all self-denying oaths to afflict her body" (Num. 30:14, cf. verses 3, 7, 10–13), referring to all forms of abstinence, not just fasting; (b) Daniel, who expressly "afflicts himself" (Dan. 10:12) not only by abstaining from choice food, meat, and wine (in biblical terminology, he is not actually fasting) but also from anointing himself (10:3); and (c) the example of King David, who, in addition to fasting, sleeps on the ground, does not change his clothes, and refrains from anointing and washing (II Sam. 12:16–20, though the term *ʿinnah nefesh* is absent). In biblical poetry *ẓwm* and *ʿinnah nefesh* are parallel but not synonymous. Indeed, one verse (Isa. 58:5) indicates that it is rather the root *ẓwm* which has taken on the broader sense of *ʿinnah nefesh*: "…that a man should bow his head like a bulrush and make his bed on sackcloth and ashes, is this what you call a fast…?" Thus, the rabbis declare that *ʿinnah nefesh*, enjoined for the *Day of Atonement (Lev. 16:29, 31; 23:27–32), consists not only of fasting but of other forms of self-denial such as abstention from "washing, anointing, wearing shoes, and cohabitation" (Yoma 8:1; cf. Targ. Jon., Lev. 16:29).

Fasting is attested in the oldest strata of biblical literature and there can be no doubt that spontaneous fasting was widespread from earliest times both among individuals and groups. In the ritual practiced in the First Temple, fasting was clearly a permanent feature (Isa. 1:13, LXX; Jer. 36:9, "before the Lord"; cf. Joel 1:14; 2:15–17). The death of a national leader (e.g., King Saul) could initiate a day-long fast (II Sam. 1:12), or, alternatively, the fast might be observed for seven days (I Sam. 31:13). The authority to proclaim a public fast was vested in the elders of the local community, who, however, could be pressured by the royal palace to proclaim a fast (e.g., for Naboth's undoing, I Kings 21:8–12).

The purposes of fasting are various. Its most widely attested function, for the community as well as the individual, is to avert or terminate a calamity by eliciting God's compassion. For example, God mitigates Ahab's punishment because he fasted and humbled himself (I Kings 21:27–29). King David fasted in the hope that "the Lord will be gracious to me and the boy will live. But now that he is dead why should I fast?" (II Sam. 12:22–23). Many other passages also indicate the use of fasting as a means of winning divine forgiveness (e.g., Ps. 35:13; 69:11; Ezra 10:6), implying that fasting is basically an act of penance, a ritual expression of remorse, submission, and supplication.

Fasting was practiced as a preparation for communing with the spirits of the dead or with the Deity, as when Saul fasted the day before the appearance of Samuel's apparition (I Sam. 28:20). To be vouchsafed a theophany, Moses fasted for as long as 40 days (Ex. 34:28 [twice, according to Deut. 9:9, 18]; Elijah, I Kings 19:8). On the two occasions when Daniel's prayers were answered by means of a vision (Dan. 9:20ff.; 10:7ff.), his preparatory rituals included fasting (Dan. 9:3; 10:3). That death occasioned a fast is implied by the couriers' surprise when King David refused to fast after the death of the infant son born to him by Bath-Sheba (II Sam. 12:21).

When a calamity, human or natural, threatened or struck a whole community, a public fast was proclaimed. Thus, Israel observed fasts in its wars against Benjamin (Judg. 20:26), the Philistines (I Sam. 7:6; 14:24), and its Transjordanian enemies (II Chron. 20:3); similarly fasts were observed in the hope of averting annihilation by the Babylonians (Jer. 36:3, 9; see below) and by the Persians (Esth. 4:3, 16). The purpose of fasts during wartime was to seek God's direct intervention (e.g., I Sam. 7:9ff.) or advice as transmitted through an oracle (e.g., Judg. 20:26–28). Fasting served as a means of supplicating God to end a famine caused by a plague of locusts (Joel 1:14; 2:12, 15), and to alleviate the oppression of foreign rule (Neh. 9:1). As a preventive or intercessory measure, fasting was used to avert the threat of divine punishment, exemplified by the fast declared for Naboth's alleged cursing of God (I Kings 21:9) and after Jonah's prophecy of Nineveh's doom (3:5).

The biblical evidence thus far cited indicates that fasting, both individual and collective, was a spontaneous reaction to exigencies. In the pre-exilic period there is no record of specific fast days in the annual calendar (except the Day of Atonement), although some Bible critics even conjecture that this, too, was originally an emergency rite and was fixed on the tenth of Tishri only at the end of the First Temple. There is a record of a fast day in Jeremiah's time (Jer. 36:3ff.), but this too originated as an emergency rite ("a fast day was proclaimed," verse 9) and was not repeated. That portion of Deutero-Isaiah which describes a fast (Isa. 58:3ff.) became the *haftarah* reading for the Day of Atonement morning service, but the text can hardly be speaking of an observance of the Day of Atonement (cf. v. 4).

Fixed fast days are first mentioned by the post-Exilic prophet Zechariah who proclaims the word of the Lord thus: "The fast of the fourth month, the fast of the fifth, the fast of the seventh and the fast of the tenth…" (Zech. 8:19; cf. 7:3, 5). Jewish tradition has it that these fasts commemorate the critical events which culminated in the destruction of the Temple: the tenth of Tevet (the tenth month), the beginning of the siege of Jerusalem; the 17th of Tammuz (the fourth month), the breaching of the walls; the ninth of Av (the fifth month), when the Temple was destroyed; and the third of Tishri (the seventh month), when Gedaliah, the Babylonian-appointed governor of Judah, was assassinated. Some scholars maintain that these fast days are much older, marking the beginning of a Lenten period which preceded the seasonal festivals, and to which only later tradition affixed the events of the national catastrophe. It is argued that the historical basis for the four fast days coinciding with the events ascribed to them is weak in the light of present knowledge. Jeremiah dates the destruction of the First Temple to the tenth of Av (52:12ff.), whereas II Kings claims the seventh (25:8ff.); there is, however, no biblical witness for the ninth. It is surprising that a permanent fast day was proclaimed for the murder of Gedaliah, who was a Babylonian puppet and not a member of the House of David. Lastly, there is no scriptural authority for the 17th of Tammuz as the date for the breaching of the walls of Jerusalem.

Nevertheless, the claim of the Book of Zechariah (e.g., 7:5) that the four fasts were instituted upon the destruction of the state cannot be discounted. If, as it is now suggested, the fast recorded in Jeremiah was prompted by the sacking of Ashkelon (November/December 604 B.C.E.) and by the similar fate which threatened Jerusalem, it is then conceivable that four different fast days sprang up simultaneously as a reaction to the trauma of destruction and exile. Moreover, would Zechariah have been asked whether the fasts should be abolished if the historical reality of the Second Temple had not rendered them meaningless? Indeed, the people consulted the prophet Zechariah about abolishing the fasts only when the Second Temple was approaching completion (Zech. 7:1; cf. Ezra 6:15), a time which coincided with the end of the 70 years of exile predicted by Jeremiah (Zech. 7:5; cf. Jer. 25:12). There is no need to look for other reasons to account for the proclamation of the fasts than the destruction of Jerusalem and the Temple.

Thus, fasting, a spontaneous phenomenon in the days of the First Temple, may have entered the calendar as a regular and recurring event only after the exile. Finally, fasting as a discipline, a routine for the pious, is attested only in post-biblical times in the Apocrypha, Pseudepigrapha, and Qumran literature.

[Jacob Milgrom]

Second Temple Period

During the Second Temple period, daily or biweekly fastings were practiced for reasons of *asceticism, especially among women (Judith 8:6; Luke 2:37; TJ, Ḥag 2:2, 77d), but also among men (Luke 18:12; Mark 2:18), or in preparation for an apocalyptic revelation (Dan. 10:3, 12; ii Bar. 12:5; 20:5–21:1; 43:3; iv Ezra 5:13–20; 6:35; Sanh. 65b; TJ, Kil. 9:4, 32b). The Jewish literature of the Second Temple period also advocates fasting as a way of atonement for sins committed either unintentionally (Ps. of Sol. 3:9) or even deliberately (Test. Patr., Sim. 3:4), or to prevent them (*ibid.*, Joseph 3:4; 4:8; 10:1–2). These reasons for fasting were strengthened by the destruction of the Second Temple and even more by the repression of the *Bar Kokhba revolt and the subsequent religious persecutions.

Fasting Laws and Customs

The laws of fasting detailed in talmudic literature and by halakhic authorities (Maim. Yad, Ta'aniyyot, 4; Tur and Sh. Ar., OḤ, 579) have basically not changed from the biblical period. Founded on very ancient popular and spontaneous customs, they were, in the main, like the reasons for fasting, not peculiar to the Jewish people, but current in the whole of the ancient Near East. The description of a public fast held by the Phoenicians of Carthage, at the end of the second century b.c.e. (Tertullian, *De jejuniis* 16), is almost identical to descriptions of fasts in the Bible, in Second Temple literature, and in rabbinic sources.

The fast was accompanied by prayer (during the First Temple period sacrifices were offered) and confession of sins (Judg. 20:26; I Sam. 7:6; Ezra 10:1). From the Second Temple period onward, the public fast was also accompanied by the reading of the Torah (Neh. 9:3). On solemn fasts (Ta'an. 4:1; Tosef. Ta'an. 4:1), four prayers – *Shaḥarit, Ḥaẓot* ("noon"), *Minḥah*, and *Ne'ilat She'arim* – were recited as well as *Ma'ariv.* The *Amidah of the fast day consisted of 24 benedictions – "the eighteen of every day, to which another six were added" (Ta'an. 2:2–4; *Ḥemdah Genuzah* (1863), nos. 160–1; Tur, OḤ, 579) – and the liturgy was elaborated with special passages of supplication (*Anenu* – "Answer us!," Ta'an. 14a), *seliḥot*, and prayers for mercy. The central part of the service was the sounding of the *shofar* (Joel 2:1) or the *ḥaẓoẓerot* ("trumpets"; I Macc. 3:54), trumpets (as main instruments) accompanied by horns (RH 3:4; Tosef. to RH 3:3). The blowing of *shofarot* and trumpets was performed in a different manner in the Temple and on the Temple Mount from the other localities (RH 27a; Ta'an. 16b); the exact procedure, however, is not known. (According to one opinion, there was no blowing outside the Temple area at all; see Ta'an. 2:4–5.) During the Middle Ages, in some Jewish communities, *shofarot* were sounded, in others, trumpets (see Beit Yosef to Tur, OḤ, 579).

Prayers were generally held in the open (II Chron. 20:5; Judith 4:11) and all the people humiliated themselves publicly by tearing their clothes, wearing sackcloth (I Kings 21:27; Joel 2:13; Ps. 35:13; Judith 4:10, 8:5), and putting ashes or earth on their heads (Isa. 58:5; Neh. 9:1; *Joseph and Asenath*, 10). The cemetery was also visited. (For the various ways in which these customs were understood see TJ, Ta'an. 2:1, 65a; Ta'an. 16a.) The humiliation was applied even to the most holy objects; at times also the priests (Joel 1:13; Judith 4:14–15), the king (Jonah 3:6), or the *nasi* (Ta'an. 2:1) wore sackcloth and ashes. There were those who covered even the altar with sackcloth (Judith 4:12), and the ark, containing the Torah scrolls, was taken into the street and covered with ashes (Ta'an. 2:1). During the mass assembly (Joel 2:16; Judith 4:11), one of the elders would rebuke the people and the affairs of the community were investigated in order to determine who was the cause of the evil (I Kings 21:9–13; Ta'an. 2:1; Ta'an. 12b).

In many places young children and animals were obliged to fast – a practice which prevailed not only among other nations (Jonah 3:5, 7; TJ, Ta'an. 2:1, 65b) but even in Israel (Judith 4:9–11; Pseudo-Philo's *Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum* 30:4–5; concerning the participation of the young children cf. II Chron. 20:13; Joel 2:16). The sages, however, exempted young children (and animals), the sick, those obliged to preserve their strength, and, in most cases, pregnant and nursing women (Tosef. to Ta'an. 2:12; 3:2).

There is some similarity, especially in the case of the solemn fasts, between the customs of fasting and those of *mourning. On ordinary fast days only food and drink were prohibited, while on the important ones washing (for pleasure), anointing, the wearing of shoes (for pleasure), and cohabitation were also forbidden. People also refrained from work on these days (some, who were stricter, considered work to be absolutely prohibited (TJ, Ta'an. 1:6, 64c)) and shops were closed (Ta'an. 1:5–6). It was also customary for some to sleep on the ground (II Sam. 12:16).

Ordinary fast days lasted for the duration of the daylight hours; the important fasts were a full 24 hours. Fasts were held either for one day or sometimes for a series of three or seven days; occasionally even daily for a continued period. (Ta'an. 1:5–6; cf. also e.g., Judith 4:13). In exceptional cases, fasts were also held on the Sabbath and the festivals, but it was usually forbidden to fast on those days; some authorities also forbade fasting on the eve of the Sabbath, of festivals, and of the New Moon. In order not to mar the celebration of joyful events in Jewish history, Hananiah b. Hezekiah b. Garon (first century C.E.) compiled the **Megillat Ta'anit* ("Scroll of Fasting") which lists 35 commemorative dates on which a public fast could not be proclaimed. In time, however, the *Megillat Ta'anit* was abrogated. It was customary to hold public fast days on Mondays and Thursdays (Tosef. to Ta'an. 2:4); individuals, however, especially after the destruction of the Temple, took upon themselves to fast every Monday and Thursday (Ta'an. 12a).

The *halakhah* is that in such cases the individual, in contrast to the community, has to commit himself to fast during the afternoon of the preceding day (*ibid.*). It was also possible to fast for a specific number of hours (Ta'an. 11b–12a). On some occasions, the fast was not a total one, but people refrained only from meat, wine, anointment with oil, and other pleasures (Cowley, Aramaic, no. 30; Dan. 10:3; Test. Patr., Reu. 1:10; Judah 15:4; iv Ezra 9:24; as well as generally in talmudic literature and in that of the Middle Ages).

The Purpose and Conception of Fasting

In the ancient Near East, prayer and fasting were advocated as a means to have one's requests fulfilled by the gods (Ahikar, Armenian version, 2:49, from where, it appears, the idea was derived in Tobit, short version, 2:8; cf. also Test. Patr., Ben. 1:4). The Bible emphasizes that the fast is not an end in itself but only a means through which man can humble his heart and repent for his sins; his repentance must manifest itself in his deeds (Joel 2:13; Jonah 3:8). The idea is especially stressed in Isaiah (58:3ff.) where the contrast is made between a fast which is not accompanied by any real repentance, and which is therefore unacceptable to God, and the true fast which leads to God's merciful forgiveness: "Is not this the fast that I have chosen? To loose the fetters of wickedness, To undo the bands of the yoke, and to let the oppressed go free… Is it not to deal thy bread to the hungry, and that thou bring the poor that are cast out to thy house? When thou seest the naked, that thou cover him… Then shalt thou call, and the Lord will answer."

The Second Temple period literature also stressed that a fast without sincere repentance is valueless and senseless (Test. Patr., Ash. 2:8; 4:3; cf. *ibid.*, Joseph 3:5 – in addition to the fast, Joseph gave his food to the poor and the sick). In the Second Temple period fasting was also seen as an "ascetic exercise" which serves to purify man and bring him closer to God. This appears to have been the original significance of the fasts of the members of the **ma'amadot* (Ta'an. 4:2–3 (supplement); cf. *Theophrastus on the Jews who fasted during the offering of the sacrifices, and Philo on the Day of Atonement). This conception of fasting closely resembles the concept of complete abstinence and asceticism whose purpose is to induce ecstasy and apocalyptic visions and is found not only in the apocalyptic literature of the Second Temple period (the *Qumran sect seems to have held a "fast" day of which little is known), but also among certain circles of talmudic rabbis, especially after the destruction of the Temple. This "philosophy" led to an exaggerated propagation of fasting which, in turn, aroused a sharp counteraction in general rabbinic literature; the rabbis condemned ascetic women, especially widows and "fasting maids" (TJ, Sot. 3:4, 19a). R. *Yose even went further and declared: "The individual has no right to afflict himself by fasting, lest he become a burden on the community which will then have to provide for him" (Tosef. Ta'an. 2:12); as did *Samuel, according to whose opinion "Whoever fasts is called a sinner" (Ta'an. 11a).

The study of the Torah is of greater importance than fasting and therefore "a scholar has no right to fast because, in doing so, he decreases the work of heaven" (Ta'an. 11a–b). This led to a trend in the *halakhah* which sought to limit even public fasts and their severity, emphasizing however at the same time the original significance of fasting – good deeds and repentance. It found expression in *Saadiah Gaon's opinion (*Ketav ha-Tokhehah ve-ha-Hazharah* – "Letter of Reproach and Warning") that rather than keep a voluntary (or vowed) fast, it is preferable for a person to desist from committing a sin. Fasting was widely practiced by the mystics and the kabbalists, especially by *Ḥasidei Ashkenaz, but the latter-day Ḥasidim were opposed to the idea.

In modern times, except for the Day of Atonement and the Ninth of *Av, which are the two major fast days, other statutory fasts seem to lack general appeal. Orthodox authorities have, therefore, tried to reinvest some fast days with more relevant meaning (e.g., declaring the Tenth of *Tevet as a fast day to commemorate those who perished during the Nazi persecutions and whose *yahrzeit is unknown) but to no great avail. The extension of Jewish sovereignty over the entire city of Jerusalem (1967) has increased the tendency to abolish the fast days of the Third of Tishri (Fast of Gedaliah), the Tenth of Tevet, and the 17th of *Tammuz (but not the Ninth of *Av). Reform Judaism recognizes only one mandatory fast – the Day of Atonement. Its general attitude toward other fast days (public or private) is negative, based upon Isaiah 58:3–8.

[Moshe David Herr]

Classification of Fasts

Fast days fall into three main categories: (1) fasts decreed in the Bible or instituted to commemorate biblical events; (2) fasts decreed by the rabbis; (3) private fasts.

(1) FASTS DECREED OR MENTIONED IN THE BIBLE. The Day of Atonement (Yom Kippur) on which it is commanded "Ye shall afflict your souls" so that the individual may be cleansed from sins (Lev. 16:29–31; 23:27–32; Num. 29:7ff.); this is the only fast ordained in the Pentateuch.

The Ninth of Av (*Tishah be-Av*), a day of mourning for the destruction of the First and Second Temples (see Jer. 52:12–13 where, however, the date is given as the Tenth), and other calamitous occasions.

The 17th of Tammuz, in commemoration of the breaching of the walls of Jerusalem in the First Temple period (Jer. 39:2 where the date is the 9th) and *Titus breaching the walls of Jerusalem, and of other calamities which befell the Jewish people (Ta'an. 4:6, Ta'an. 28b, also Sh. Ar., OḤ, 549:2).

The Tenth of Tevet, in memory of the siege of Jerusalem by *Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon (II Kings 25:1–2, Jer. 52:4ff.; Ezek. 24:1–2).

The Third of Tishri, called *Ẓom Gedalyah* (the Fast of Gedaliah), in memory of the slaying of Gedaliah and his associates (Jer. 41:1–2; II Kings 25:25).

The Fast of *Esther (*Ta'anit Ester*) on the 13th of Adar, the day before *Purim (Esth. 4:16).

Besides the Day of Atonement, which is a pentateuchal fast, the other four fast days were also already observed in the period of the Second Temple. *Zechariah prophesied that they would be transformed into days of joy and gladness (Zech. 8:19).

On the Day of Atonement and on the Ninth of Av, fasting is observed by total abstention from food and drink from sunset until nightfall of the following day; on the other fast days, the fast lasts only from before dawn until nightfall of the same day. All fasts may be broken if danger to health is involved. Pregnant and nursing women are, under certain circumstances, exempt from observance (Sh. Ar., OḤ, 50:1 (Isserles) and 554:5).

If one of the above occurs on a Sabbath, the fasting is delayed until Sunday (Meg. 1:3 and Meg. 5a); only in the case of the Day of Atonement is the fast observed even on Sabbath. In the case of the Fast of Esther, observance is on the preceding Thursday (Sh. Ar., OḤ, 686:2).

(2) FASTS DECREED BY THE RABBIS. It has become customary for the especially pious to fast from morning until evening on the following days:

During the Ten Days of *Penitence (i.e., between Rosh Ha-Shanah and the Day of Atonement) and as many days as possible during the month of Elul (Sh. Ar., OḤ, 581:2).

The first Monday and Thursday, and the following Monday after *Passover and *Sukkot (Tur and Sh. Ar., OḤ, 492). This fast was interpreted as an atonement for possible sins committed while in a state of drunkenness and gluttony during the holidays (see Tos. to Kid. 81a s.v. *Sekava*).

*ShOVaVIM TaT (initial letters of eight consecutive weekly Pentateuch portions starting with *Shemot* which are eight Thursdays of the winter months of an intercalated year).

During the *Three Weeks of Mourning between the 17th of Tammuz and the Ninth of Av (Tur. and Sh. Ar., OḤ, 551:16). This fast was motivated by a profound grief for the destruction of Jerusalem.

The Seventh of *Adar, traditional date of the death of Moses observed in many communities by the members of the **ḥevra kaddisha* ("burial society") who fasted prior to their annual banquet held on the evening of that same day.

Yom Kippur Katan ("Minor Yom Kippur"), the last day of each month, on which many communities fasted and recited a special liturgy.

The eve of Passover, firstborn males' fast. This fast is a symbol of the sanctification of the Jewish firstborn who were saved during the tenth plague in Egypt (Ex. 13:1ff.). It is also kept in order to stimulate the appetite for the **maẓẓah* ("unleavened bread") at the festive meal (Sof. 21:3).

Days commemorating disastrous events in Jewish history (full list in Tur and Sh. Ar., OḤ, 580:2).

PRIVATE FASTS. In addition to the fixed days listed above, fasts are held on the following private occasions:

The anniversary (**yahrzeit*) of a parent's death or of that of a teacher (Ned. 12a).

The groom and the bride fast on their wedding day until the ceremony (Isserles to Sh. Ar., EH, 61:1), unless it is Rosh Ḥodesh (Isserles to Sh. Ar., OḤ, 573:1).

To avert the evil consequences of nightmares (*Ta'anit Ḥalom*). In talmudic times, it was believed that bad dreams could have pernicious effects (Shab. 11a). This fast was regarded as of such urgency that the rabbis permitted it even on the Sabbath, but advocated fasting on a weekday as well as a repentance for having dishonored the Sabbath joy through fasting (Ta'an. 12b; Ber. 31b). In later centuries, however, the obligatory nature of this fast was mitigated by halakhic authorities (see Sh. Ar., OḤ, 288, 5).

If a Torah scroll is dropped, it is customary for those present to fast a day.

In the mishnaic period, the members of the *Sanhedrin fasted on the day on which they sentenced a person to death (Sanh. 63a).

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FASTLICHT, ADOLFO (1905–1964), Mexican Zionist leader. Born in Galicia, then part of Austria, he studied in traditional and public schools there. He was also active in the Zionist youth organizations. In 1925 he emigrated to Mexico, where he opened a dental workshop together with his brother. He continued his studies and graduated as a dentist. Fastlicht was involved in the establishment of the Organización Sionista Unida "Kadima" (the Zionist Federation) in 1925 and acted as its vice president in 1929. In 1933 he traveled to Ereẓ Israel, where he stayed a year. After his return he served as president of B'nai B'rith, Maccabi, the Zionist Federation, the Anti Defamation League, and the Comité Central – the umbrella organization of the Jewish community that acted as its political representative. Fastlicht was the first honorary consul of the State of Israel in Mexico, promoted the organization of the Instituto de Intercambio Cultural México-Israel, and was the honorary president of the Israeli-Mexican Commerce Chamber.

[Efraim Zadoff (2nd ed.)]

FATIMIDS, Shi'ite Muslim dynasty which ruled in *Egypt (969–1171), and in other parts of North Africa (*Tunisia, 909–

1051), and the Near East (*Syria, 969–1076 and *Palestine, 969–1099). The Fatimids traced their ancestry to Fāṭima, the daughter of Muhammad, and ʿAlī, her husband, who, in their opinion, was his only rightful successor. The Jews enjoyed a reasonable degree of tolerance, security, and prosperity during their reign.

The establishment of the Fatimid dynasty resulted from the efforts of the Ismāʿīli branch of the Shi'a, which sought to restore the caliphate to the direct descendants of the Prophet and to reconcile Islamic religion, based on divine revelation, with Greek philosophy, in order that the ideas of other religions could merge with their own. Hence, the members of this Islamic sect were inclined to be tolerant. Their liberal attitude toward non-Muslim subjects also stemmed from the fact that the great majority of their Muslim subjects remained faithful to orthodox Sunni Islam and hostile to the Shi'ite caliphs who therefore were forced to appoint Christian and Jewish intellectuals as officials and ministers. Christians could build new churches without difficulty and celebrate their holidays with solemn processions, sometimes attended by the caliphs themselves. The second Fatimid caliph of Egypt, al-ʿAzīz (975–996), appointed two brothers of his Christian wife to the posts of patriarch of *Jerusalem and *Alexandria respectively. While Jews did not attain such exalted positions, they mostly enjoyed religious freedom and their civil rights were not curtailed. Usually the authorities did not enforce the repressive laws of the Covenant of *Omar, which demanded that distinctive signs be worn by non-Muslims, and the duties of Jewish merchants were less than those required by Islamic law. Recent research on **genizah* documents has revealed considerable data on non-Jews, some from Christian countries, who went to Egypt in the 11th century in order to convert to Judaism (see N. Golb, in *Sefunot*, 8 (1964), 85 ff.; E. Ashtor, in *Zion*, 30 (1965), 69 ff.)

The third caliph, al-Ḥākim (996–1020), however, persecuted non-Muslims during the latter part of his reign. In 1012, he took decisive action to humiliate non-Muslims and segregate them from the "true believers" – the two aims of the Covenant of Omar. Jews and Christians were forbidden to ride horses and to keep Muslim servants. Christian sources indicate that many churches were destroyed, including the Church of the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem. Many Christians and some Jews embraced Islam or left the country to escape the persecutions. Al-Ḥākim's measures served as the model for Muslim zealots in the future. His successor al-Ẓāhir (1020–34) and the later Fatimids returned to the traditional policy of tolerance. But *genizah* documents show that on occasion Jews were victims of the hatred of viziers and other dignitaries. Some were Christians who attempted to harass the Jews and bring about their dismissal from government posts. The Jewish officials, called *sar* ("commander") in Hebrew documents, protected their coreligionists, appointed them to various posts, and gave them government commissariat orders. They never rose to the position of vizier, as some Christians did, but some held important posts at court, thus enhancing the social standing of the community. The first of these dignitaries was the Jewish court physician of Caliph al-Muʿizz, the first Fatimid of Egypt. Some scholars have identified him with the general Jawhar or with Yaʿqūb *Ibn Killis, a Jewish convert to Islam, who became vizier in Cairo. However, B. *Lewis has proved that the Italian Jew Paltiel of Oria who appears in *Megillat Aḥima'aẓ* was Mūsā b. Eleazar, the court physician of al-Muʿizz. In about 994, Manasseh b. Ibrāhīm al-Qazzāz, praised as a benefactor of Syrian Jewry in Hebrew poems found in the *genizah*, became head of the administration in Syria when the Christian ʿĪsā b. Nestorius was appointed vizier of the caliph al-ʿAzīz. The brothers Abū Saʿd and Abū Naṣr (Hebr. Abraham and Ḥesed) b. Sahl (Yashar; possibly Karaites) who were merchants from *Tustar, southwestern Persia, and influential at the court in *Cairo in the second quarter of the 11th century, were murdered in 1047. In the early 12th century, the Jew Abu al-Munajjā Shaʿyā, chief minister of agriculture, ordered the digging of a canal which still bears his name.

For various reasons, the economic policy of the Fatimids was very advantageous for the Jews. The caliphs' interest in increasing trade between Egypt and other countries stemmed partly from a belief that they could thus win converts to their religious persuasion. They succeeded in diverting the trade between India and the Near East from the Persian Gulf to the Red Sea which became the main artery of a great international trade. Many Jewish merchants, of varying degrees of wealth, participated in the India trade, as the Fatimids neither created monopolies nor harassed small merchants and industrialists in other ways in the manner of other Muslim rulers.

The Jewish communities of Egypt and Syria were headed by a *nagid*, who was appointed by the Fatimid caliph (see *Nagid).

Medieval Jewish tradition ascribes the creation of this position to the Fatimids' desire to remove the influence of the *exilarch on Egyptian Jewry. This view has been accepted by modern scholars. S.D. *Goitein, however, holds that the office of the *nagid* developed independent of the aspirations and the policies of the Fatimids. Apparently the first of the *negidim* was Paltiel of Oria. Later on other court physicians held this post, including Judah b. Saadiah (1065–79), his brother Mevorakh (1079–1110), and *Samuel b. Hananiah (c. 1140–59).

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[Eliyahu Ashtor]

FEARING, KENNETH (1902–1961), U.S. poet and novelist. Fearing was born in Chicago and graduated from the University of Wisconsin and later settled in New York. He is regarded as a significant voice in 20th-century American poetry. His verse, mainly satirical, was written in the vernacular and gave expression to the nightmarish quality of urban life during the late 1930s and 1940s. His first volume of poetry, *Angel Arms*, was published in 1929. This was followed by *Poems* (1935), *Dead Reckoning* (1938), *Collected Poems* (1940), *Afternoon of a Pawnbroker* (1943), *Stranger at Coney Island* (1948), and *New and Selected Poems* (1956). The movies, newspapers, comic strips, radio, and advertising were all targets for his mordant attacks, as was the American faith in success and wealth. Fearing's effects are achieved by a mastery of objective presentation, which anticipated the surrealist manner, pop poetry, and concrete trends of a later generation of American poets. Fearing's first novel, *The Hospital* (1939) was followed by *The Dagger in the Mind* (1941); *Clark Gifford's Body* (1942); *The Big Clock* (1946), the story of a manhunt; *The Loneliest Girl in the World* (1951); *The Generous Heart* (1954); and *The Crozart Story* (1960).

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[David Ignatow]

FEAR OF GOD (Heb. *yirat elohim*, but in the Talmud *yirat shamayim*, lit. "fear of Heaven"), ethical religious concept, sometimes confused with *yirat ḥet*, "the fear of sin," but in fact quite distinct from it. The daily private prayer of Rav (Ber. 16a), which has been incorporated in the Ashkenazi liturgy in the Blessing for the New Moon, speaks of "a life of fear of Heaven and of fear of sin." In the latter, "fear" is to be understood in the sense of apprehension of the consequences of sin but in the former in the sense of "reverence"; as such it refers to an ethical outlook and a religious attitude, which is distinct from the actual performance of the commandments. "Fear of God" frequently occurs in the Bible, particularly with regard to Abraham's willingness to sacrifice Isaac (Gen. 22:12), and it is mentioned as that which God primarily desires of man (Deut. 10:12). Nevertheless it does not seem to have an exact connotation in the Bible (see *Love and Fear of God), and it was the rabbis who formulated the doctrine of Fear of God with some precision. Basing itself on Leviticus 19:14 (and similar verses, e.g., 19:32, 25:17, 36:43), the *Sifra* (in loc. cf. Kid. 32b) maintains that the phrase "thou shalt fear thy God" is used only for those commandments which "are known to the heart" ("the sin is known to the heart of the person who commits it, but other men cannot detect it" – Rashi in loc.) i.e., there are no social sanctions attached to it, and the impulse behind its performance is reverence for God. This is, in fact, reflected in Exodus 1:17 and it is emphasized, from a slightly different aspect, in the famous maxim of Antigonus of *Sokho, "Be as servants who serve their master without thought of reward, but let the fear of heaven be upon thee" (Avot 1:3). It was spelled out by Johanan b. Zakkai, when on his deathbed he enjoined his disciples: "Let the fear of Heaven be upon you as the fear of flesh and blood." In answer to their surprised query "and not more?" he answered, "If only it were as much! When a person wishes to commit a transgression he says, 'I hope no man will see me'" (Ber. 28b). The characteristic of the God-fearing man is that he "speaketh truth in his heart" (Ps. 15:2; BB 88a).

The fear of God complements knowledge of the Torah. According to one opinion it is only through fear of heaven that one can arrive at true knowledge of the Torah: "He who possesses learning without the fear of heaven is like a treasurer who is entrusted with the inner keys but not with the outer. How is he to enter?" Another opinion is: "Woe to him who has no courtyard yet makes a gate for it," since it is through knowledge that one attains fear of God (Shab. 31a–b). Since fear of God is a state of mind and an ethical attitude, it can best be acquired by considering and following the example of one's teacher by waiting on him, with the result that one of the consequences of depriving a disciple of the privilege of waiting upon his master is that he deprives him of the fear of God (Ket. 96a). The quality and practice of fear of God depend upon man alone. The statement upon which is based the fundamental Jewish doctrine of the absolute free *will of man is couched in the words "Everything is in the hands of heaven except the fear of heaven." The proof verse for this statement is "what doth the Lord thy God require of thee, but to fear the Lord" (Deut. 10:12), and, countering this, the Talmud asks, "Is then fear of heaven such a small thing?" answering that it was only Moses who so regarded it (Ber. 33b).

For the relationship between fear of God and love of God see *Love and Fear of God.

[Louis Isaac Rabinowitz]

The traditional attitude toward the fear (*yir'ah*) of God was thus ambivalent: it was highly valued, but at the same time was regarded as inferior to the love of God. (Cf. "Love and Fear of God; see TB Sota 31a). Later Jewish thought attempted to resolve this ambivalence by positing the fear of God as an equivocal term. *Bahya ibn Paquda (11th century), in his *Duties of the Heart* 10:6, characterized two different types of fear as a lower "fear of punishment" and a higher "fear of [divine] glory." Abraham *Ibn Daud (early 12th century) differentiated between "fear of harm" (analogous to the fear of a snake bite or of a king's punishment) and "fear of greatness," analogous to respect for an exalted person, such as a prophet, who would not harm a person (*The Exalted Faith* VI). Maimonides (late 12th century) categorized the fear of God as a positive commandment. Nevertheless, the halakhic status he accorded to the fear of God did not prevent it from being presented in diverse ways. In his *Book of the Commandments* (commandment #4), Maimonides characterized it as "the fear of punishment," whereas in his *Code* he characterized it as the feeling of human insignificance deriving from contemplation of God's "great and wonderful actions and creations" (Foundations of the Torah 2:1). Nevertheless, later in the *Code* Maimonides presents "service based on fear" as a religiously inferior type of behavior of "the ignorant (*'amei ha-arez*), women and children," deriving from their hope for reward and fear of punishment (Laws of Repentance 10:1). At the end of his *Guide of the*

Perplexed (3:52), Maimonides characterizes fear as resulting from the entire system of commandments, and as expressing a sense of shame in the presence of God. Isaac Arama (15th century) differentiates among three types of fear in his *Binding of Isaac* (ch. 92): in addition to the sublime fear of greatness and inferior "fear not for its own sake" he posits a fear which is the fruit of belief in the divine will, which makes possible undetermined events. In another work (*Ḥazut Kashah*, ch. 3) Arama characterizes this third type of fear as a supra-philosophical rank, because, in his view, although the philosophers recognized God's supreme greatness, they did not fear God, since in their view God could not harm people.

The fear of God was also characterized in diverse ways in the Kabbalah by means of the different **sefirot*: fear was symbolized by the *sefirot* "wisdom" (*ḥokhmah*) (based on Job 28:28), "understanding (*binah*) (based on Proverbs 1:7), "power" (*gevurah*), which has the same *gematria* (numerical value) as *yir'ah* (fear), or "kingdom" (*malkhut*) (based on Mishnah Sanhedrin 2:5).

[Hannah Kasher (2nd ed.)]

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FEATHER, LEONARD (1914–1994), jazz critic, producer, composer, lyricist, and instrumentalist. Feather was born into an upper-middle-class Jewish family in the London suburbs and was supposed to follow his father into the family garment business, but after a friend played Louis Armstrong's "West Side Blues" for him in a local record store, young Leonard decided on another career path. He had already been studying piano and clarinet, so his musical knowledge was greater than many of his early competitors. At the urging of the American record producer and critic John Hammond, Feather made his way to the United States in 1935 and never looked back. He quickly became an influential critic at *Esquire* and *Metronome*, eventually landing the job of jazz critic at the *Los Angeles Times*. More important, Feather was a prolific author, responsible for several key texts including *The Encyclopedia of Jazz* (co-edited with Ira Gitler) and the pioneering volume *Inside Bebop* (1949), his first book, and countless liner notes. From his pulpit at the *LA Times*, Feather was also a tireless opponent of segregation and racism in jazz at a time when few regular jobs were open to African-American musicians.

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[George Robinson (2nd ed.)]

FEDER, ERNST (**Ernesto A.**, pseudonym: **Spectator**; 1881–1964), German lawyer and journalist. Born into a liberal German-Jewish family in Berlin, Feder studied law, economics, and history, completing his Ph.D. with a prize-winning thesis (*Verantwortlichkeit fuer fremdes Verschulden nach dem Buergerlichen Gesetzbuche*) at Berlin University in 1902. From 1907, he worked as an independent lawyer in Berlin, joined by Arthur Loewe in 1911. He also contributed to several legal and economic journals. In 1918, together with Theodor *Wolff and others, he founded the German Democratic Party (DDP) and was elected its chairman. From 1919 to 1931, he was domestic politics editor of the *Berliner Tageblatt*, the leading democratic-liberal paper of the Weimar Republic (edited by Wolff from 1907 to 1933). Owing to a dispute with the publisher, Feder resigned in 1931 and resumed private law practice besides working as a freelance writer and journalist. He was elected a member of several press associations and judicial bodies, including the Tribunal d'Honneur International des Journalists in The Hague (1931–33). An ardent supporter of post-imperial democratic Germany, Feder rejected Zionism and was active in Jewish communal organizations like the *Central-Verein. He was a close friend of leading German-Jewish figures like Paul *Nathan and James *Simon (cf. LBI YB, 10 (1965), 3–23).

In 1933, Feder managed to flee via Switzerland to Paris where he gave lectures at the Collège libre des Sciences Sociales and the Institut de Droit International, contributed to various papers like *Mass und Wert* (est. by Thomas *Mann) and *Aufbau*, and frequently traveled to Denmark, Finland, and Tunisia. After being interned at the Camp de la Braconne, he fled to Brazil in July 1941. In Rio de Janeiro, he continued lecturing and writing well over 40 papers in Brazil and abroad. After he was awarded the *Bundesverdienstkreuz* in 1952, he was personally invited by Theodor Heuss and others to return to West Berlin, where he lived from 1957 until his death in 1964. His literary papers were donated to the Leo Baeck Institute New York. Among his published works are numerous legal and economic studies (cf. ABJ, 6 (1998), 509–513), several biographies, and historical studies: *Theodor Barth und der demokratische Gedanke* (1919); *Hugo Preuss. Ein Lebensbild* (1926); *Politik und Humanitaet. Paul Nathan. Ein Lebensbild* (1929; cf. LBI YB, 3 (1958), 60–80); *Bismarcks grosses Spiel. Die geheimen Tagebuecher Ludwig Bambergers* (1932); and *Les Huguenots en Allemagne* (1935). Feder's memoirs, *Encontros / Encuentros* (1944/45), originally appeared in Portuguese and Spanish (German edition: *Begegnungen. Die Großen der Welt im Zwiegespräch*, 1950). His diaries were first published by A. Paucker, "Searchlight on the Decline of the Weimar Republic – The Diaries of Ernst Feder," in: LBI YB, 13 (1968), 161–234; *Heute sprach ich mit … Tagebuecher eines Berliner Publizisten 1926–1932*, ed. C. Lowenthal-Hensel / A. Paucker (1971).

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[Johannes Valentin Schwarz (2nd ed.)]

FEDER, RICHARD (1875–1970), Czech rabbi; from 1953 chief rabbi of Moravia residing in Brno, and from 1961 also chief rabbi of Bohemia. After graduating at the Vienna rabbinical seminary, he officiated in Kojetin and other communities, where the preaching was conducted in Czech (Louny, Roudnice nad Labem, and Kolin). During the war he was sent to the concentration camp of Theresienstadt where he was active as a rabbi. A prolific writer, Feder wrote popular works on Jewish lore and conducted research on the history of the communities of Roudnice nad Labem and Kolin. His main works are *Židovská tragedie* ("Jewish Tragedy," 1947), one of the first books published on the Holocaust; *Židovské besídky* ("Jewish Tales"; several volumes) for children; *Hebrejská učebnice* (1923), a textbook of Hebrew, also in German; *Židé a kreštáné* ("Jews and Christians," 1919); *Židovství a židé* ("Jews and Judaism," 1955); and *Sinai* (1955), a textbook of Jewish religious instruction. In 1965 the state conferred on Feder a medal in recognition of his part in reconstruction and his "uncompromising stand in the fight against fascism and for peace."

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FEDER, TOBIAS (pseudonym of **Tobias Gutman**; c. 1760–1817), Haskalah writer, poet, and grammarian, born in Przedborz, near Cracow. Supporting himself by teaching, proofreading, and commerce, he wandered through Galicia, Poland, and Russia. In Galicia he associated himself with the leading Haskalah writers, differing from them in his sharp polemic style directed against all those whose views on science and literature differed from his own. He was a versatile writer and wrote plays, satires, and studies in linguistics and grammar, seeking to synthesize Haskalah and tradition. However, the major part of his work was apparently lost and only a small fraction ever published, most of it posthumously. His works include: *Kol Nehi* (Warsaw, 1798), an elegy on *Elijah b. Solomon, the Vilna Gaon – and *Shem u-She'erit* (first published in Lemberg, 1877), a collection of poems. He also wrote poems in honor of Czar Alexander I's victory over Napoleon, *Shir Hazlaḥat Aleksander be-Ḥazoto et Mitkomemav* (1814) and *Simḥah ve-Sason la-Yehudim* (Berdichev, 1814). Several of his smaller works were published in the Hebrew newspaper *Ḥavaẓẓelet*. His early grammatical work *Beit Toviyyah* (no longer extant) formed the basis for the introduction to Hebrew grammar in his *Mevasser Tov* (Mohilev, 1820?), which included a work on the Masorah, *Menorat Shelomo* of R. Phoebus of Dubrovno, as well as poems and novellae. Feder was also the author of the first anti-Yiddish polemic work in Hebrew *Kol Meḥaẓeẓim* (Berdichev, 1816; Lemberg, 1853) which was directed against Mendel *Levin's Yiddish translation of the biblical book of Proverbs. Publication of this polemic was, however, withheld, at the request of Levin's friends, until after the death of both men.

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[Getzel Kressel]

FEDERATIONS OF COMMUNITIES, TERRITORIAL. Throughout the Middle Ages and early modern times individual Jewish communities, though jealous of their independence, formed on occasion federations on a district, regional, or countrywide basis. These were prompted in the Middle Ages in many instances by external needs, principally the obligation imposed by the government to collect state and other taxes on a corporate basis, and in others by internal need and trends. Such consolidations were largely sporadic and came into being for a specific purpose. In some countries, however, they were of long duration. *Synods in France and other countries brought communities together to consult on matters of mutual interest and to adopt regulations, mainly on the internal social, moral, judicial, and political affairs of the communities. Frequently conferences were convened for such purposes.

In Aragon communities of entire districts formed into *collecta* for tax collection. In other countries also the insistence of the state authorities to bargain on taxes with the communities of the entire domain, or at least of a wide region, resulted in the formation of federations, some ephemeral, and some more lasting; some were formed on Jewish initiative and others ordered by the state. Many of these federations of communities, once engaged in a common enterprise, utilized their mutual contacts to further their internal needs. Such were the *Councils of the Lands of Poland-Lithuania, and Bohemia and Moravia in the late Middle Ages as well as the *Landjudenschaft of German principalities up to the 18th century.

In modern times much of the organization of the new-type Orthodox, Conservative, and Reform congregations has been based on territorial federation. Freed from the task of tax collection they serve on a voluntary basis the religious requirements, social needs, and aims of the trend to which they adhere within the boundaries of the state. The formation of such federations received considerable stimulus through the growing sense of patriotism to the state, the break-up of the old local community, the wish of opponent religious camps to secure a countrywide framework to strengthen their positions, and the rapid development of modern communications systems. The movements to *autonomism and the implementation of *minority rights also considerably influenced the formation of federations between the two world wars.

See also history of individual countries in Europe; *United States; *Va'ad Le'ummi, *Takkanot.

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[Isaac Levitats]

FEDERBUSCH, SIMON (1892–1969), rabbi, author, and Zionist leader. Federbusch was born in Narol, Galicia. He was ordained by prominent rabbis in Poland before World War I and also received a rabbinical degree from the Vienna *Israelitisch-Theologische Lehranstalt in 1923. He settled in Lvov (Lemberg) and was a member of the Polish Sejm (parliament) from 1922 to 1928, and vigorously supported legislation for Jewish education and for the rehabilitation of Jewish war victims. Active in the Mizrachi movement from his student days, Federbusch helped found Ha-Po'el ha-Mizrachi and was president of the Mizrachi Organization of Galicia from 1924 to 1930. During those years he edited *Gilyonot*, a Hebrew weekly, and *Mizraḥah*, a Hebrew monthly. In 1930 he became rabbi of the United Hebrew Congregation of Helsinki, Finland, and the following year was elected chief rabbi of Finland. In this position he promoted interfaith understanding, helped defeat a bill banning *sheḥitah*, and helped secure Finnish entry visas for many Jewish refugees from Nazi Germany.

In 1940 he moved to New York City, where he was rabbi and principal of the Yeshiva Rabbi Israel Salanter (Bronx), a position he held until his death. He was president of Ha-Po'el Ha-Mizrachi of America from 1942 to 1948. From 1944 he was chairman of the *Histadrut Ivrit. He was a member of the executive of *Brit Ivrit Olamit ("The World Hebrew Union"), the executive of the World Jewish Congress, the World Zionist Actions Committee, the World Mizrachi Council, and the presidium of the World Federation of Polish Jews.

Federbusch was the author of many articles and scholarly works in Hebrew, German, Yiddish, English, Polish, and Swedish on rabbinical literature, Jewish philosophy and ethics, and religious Zionist thought. He tried to clarify contemporary problems in the light of classical Jewish sources. Among his works are *Shelemut ha-Yahadut* (1929), *Iyyunim* (1929), *Ha-Musar ve-ha-Mishpat be-Yisrael* (1943, 1947^2), *Mishpat ha-Melukhah be-Yisrael* (1952), *Ha-Lashon ha-Ivrit be-Yisrael u-ve-Ammim* (1967), *World Jewry Today* (1959), and *Ḥikrei Yahadut* (1965). He also edited a number of books, such as *Maimonides, His Teachings and Personality* (1956), *Rashi, His Teachings and Personality* (1958), and *Ḥokhmat Yisrael be-Ma'arav Eiropah* (3 vols., 1958–1965; vol. 3 entitled *Ḥokhmat Yisrael be-Eiropah*) on modern European Jewish scholars.

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[Gershon Hadas]

FEDERMAN, MAX (1902–1991), Canadian labor leader and Zionist. Federman was born in Dzialoszyce, Poland, and in 1920 joined his father, who had previously immigrated to Toronto. Federman found work in the fur industry and became active in the International Union of Fur and Leather Workers. A committed Socialist and strident anti-Communist, he spent 20 years battling Communist infiltration of his union and was regularly denounced as a class renegade in the *Vochenblatt*, the Yiddish Communist weekly in Toronto. In 1935, his union split along ideological lines and finally dissolved in 1955. The union's members joined the Amalgamated Meat Cutters of the AFL/CIO. Federman eventually became manager of the union's Fur and Leather Department in Toronto.

Federman was also active on behalf of the Toronto Jewish community. In the aftermath of World War II he helped win labor support for the reopening of Canadian immigration and, especially, the removal of barriers to Jewish immigration. He represented labor in fur industry negotiations with the Canadian government regarding the postwar admission of Jewish furriers to Canada from Europe. When the government agreed to the admission of 500 fur workers and their families, Federman was part of the Canadian team that visited Displaced Persons camps in Germany, Austria, and Italy to select the workers.

An ardent Zionist, Federman was chairman of *Aḥdut ha-Avodah-Poalei Zion and instrumental in establishing a vocational training school in Upper Galilee in 1961. In addition, he was active in numerous labor and communal organizations in Toronto, including the Trades and Labour Council, the Executive Trade Union Committee, the Histadrut, the Jewish Labour Committee, the Borochov School, the Co-Operative Commonwealth Federation (CCF) and its successor, the New Democratic Party. Following an upsurge in antisemitic hate activity in Toronto in the early 1960s, Federman joined the Community Anti-Nazi Committee of the Canadian Jewish Congress.

[Frank Bialystok (2nd ed.)]

FEDERN, PAUL (1871–1950), Austrian psychoanalyst. Federn, the son of a distinguished Viennese physician, graduated from the medical school in Vienna. In 1904 he joined Freud's inner circle, being preceded only by three physicians: Adler, Stekel, and Reitler. His initial studies and publications combined the viewpoints of biology and psychology. In 1912 he contributed papers on sexual subjects and night fears and in 1913–14 papers on sadism, masochism, and dream interpretation, stressing the ego psychological point of view. He also wrote on telepathy and extrasensory perception. During World War I he was a doctor in the Austrian army. Federn devoted himself to the training of analysts and was the chairman of the education committee of the Vienna Society. His interest in social psychology led to a major work, a study of the psychology of revolution, *Zur Psychologie der Revolution: Die vaterlose Gesellschaft* (1919). In the 1920s he wrote papers on many psychoanalytic issues. After Freud's illness in 1924 Federn became his deputy, and continued that function until 1938, when he immigrated to the United States. Federn's most original findings were in the field of ego psychology and the psychoses. He contributed greatly to the understanding of the manifestations of the ego, the sources of its feeling, and the nature of its attachments to objects. His study of the ego, especially in dreams, neuroses, and schizophrenia, permitted him to develop important concepts – at times at variance with those of Freud – which came to be applied in new methods to the therapy of the psychoses. From 1940 the dynamics of the psychosis became clearer to him, and he published papers on the analysis of psychosis (1943) and on the psychotherapy of latent schizophrenia (1949). In his will, Federn entrusted Eduardo Weiss with editing his works on ego psychology, which appeared as *Ego Psychology and the Psychoses* (1953).

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[Louis Miller]

FEFER, ITZIK (1900–1952), Soviet Yiddish poet. Fefer was born in the Ukrainian *shtetl* of Shpola. He first joined the Jewish Labor Bund but, in 1919, became a member of the Communist Party. Soon after his debut as a Yiddish poet (1920), he became prominent in Soviet-Yiddish literature. In 1922 he formulated his literary credo of *proste reyd* ("simple speech"). By nature lyrical and even sentimental, his Yiddish was rich and idiomatic and his verses rhythmic and musical. He harnessed himself to the party line, and played a central role in the Soviet-Yiddish literary hierarchy. His works, which appeared in Soviet-Yiddish magazines, were often collected and published. Though he wrote the well-known poem "Stalin," he also wrote "*Ikh bin a Yid*" ("I Am a Jew") during World War II when the party permitted such poems. His poems *Shotens fun Varshever Geto* ("Shadows of the Warsaw Ghetto") are a valuable contribution to the literature of the Holocaust. He also wrote poems about Birobidzhan, the Jewish autonomous region in the Russian Far East, as well as nature poetry and poems for children.

In 1943 Fefer visited the U.S., Canada, Mexico, and the U.K. with Shloyme *Mikhoels, as a representative of the Jewish *Anti-Fascist Committee. Arrested in the Stalinist anti-Jewish purges in 1948, he was killed on August 12, 1952. In the 1990s, the publication of archival materials revealed his role as an informer for the Soviet secret police.

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[Melech Ravitch / Gennady Estraikh (2nd ed.)]

FEIBELMAN, JULIAN BECK (1897–1980), U.S. Reform rabbi. Feibelman was born in Jackson, Mississippi. After serving in the army during World War I, he was ordained at Hebrew Union College (1926). Feibelman served as assistant rabbi of Reform Congregation Keneseth Israel in Philadelphia, and from 1936 he was rabbi of Temple Sinai in New Orleans, Louisiana. Active in New Orleans community life, he was the spokesman for the Jewish community and a central figure in ecumenism in the area. Feibelman was a lecturer at Tulane University. He served as president of the Louisiana Society for Social Hygiene and the New Orleans Family Service Society. His book *The Making of a Rabbi* appeared in 1980.

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[Abram Vossen Goodman]

FEIBUSCH, HANS (1898–1998), English painter, sculptor, and lithographer. Born in Frankfurt, Germany, the son of a dentist, he served in World War I and in 1930 was awarded the German state prize for painters. His early work was destroyed by the Nazis. Feibusch came to England in 1933 and was naturalized in 1940. He is especially well known for his murals in churches – including Chichester Cathedral – public buildings, and private houses. These depict classical mythology as well as religious subjects. Emphasizing the human figure, they are elegant and decorative, with a feeling for gesture and rhythm. He also executed colored lithographs and wrote *Mural Painting* and *The Revelation of St. John* (both 1946), and produced Old Testament figures as well for Stern Hall, London. For much of his life in Britain Feibusch was closely associated with Anglicanism; at the end of his long life he returned to Judaism, and died three weeks short of his hundredth birthday.

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FEIDMAN, GIORA (1936–) clarinetist, fourth generation of a klezmer dynasty. Born in Argentina, he studied clarinet with his father, a well-known Klezmer, and from age 14 played with his father at Jewish weddings. He studied at the Buenos Aires conservatory and at 18 was leading clarinetist of the Colon theater orchestra. On the recommendation of Paul *Kletzki, Feidman joined the Israel Philharmonic Orchestra in 1957, playing with it until 1974. During this period he taught at the Tel Aviv Academy of Music and participated in radio recordings of Israeli folk music. Feidman turned to Klezmer music only in the mid-1960s. When recording for Kol Israel, he decided spontaneously to record the popular tune "Silk Pyjamas" in Klezmer style; it was received so well that Feidman repeated his initiative several times. Feidman concluded that "this is what the Israeli public yearns for."

In 1969 Feidman was a soloist at the first ḥasidic music festival. There he met the well-known, self-taught Klezmer Moshe (Musa) Berlin, who invited him to play at Meron, where Giora was introduced to Israeli Klezmers and encountered a repertoire influenced by Greek, Turkish and Arab music, new to him. From the outset his playing was distinguished by two styles of performance: one, the familiar eastern European enriched by Feidman's restrained, gentle style with which he performed Ḥasidic tunes, and improvisatory pieces which he termed "*tefillah*" (prayer); the other, his innovative use of a bass-clarinet in addition to clarinet, in the course of a single tune. He toured abroad popularizing Klezmer music among Jewish and non-Jewish audiences, bringing it to concert halls and even to churches and monasteries. His Master classes in Israel and abroad helped entice young musicians, Jewish and gentile, to this type of music and Klezmer bands began to sprout in Israel and Europe. Feidman did not hesitate to infuse his "Klezmer music" (which included traditional Ḥasidic *niggunim*, Yiddish songs and a few select Israeli tunes) with artistic music, both classical and modern, fitting Klezmer's openness. Feidman's publications include dozens of recorded albums and about fifteen anthologies from his repertoire. His music was featured in many films, among them *Schindler's List* and *Love Story*.

His father LEVI FEIDMAN (1903–1980) was born in Kishinev, to a Klezmorim family. His father Gedaliah and his grandfather both played the trombone. Gedaliah's band, which included Gypsy musicians, played at both Jewish and non-Jewish events, with a repertoire based mainly on Jewish material and its style Jewish-Bessarabian, with Gypsy influences. After World War I, Levi moved to Argentina. In Buenos Aires he supported himself playing the saxophone but also learned the clarinet and bass-clarinet. By 21 he had already mastered the clarinets, all the saxophones, flute and piccolo and played with different bands. After immigrating to Israel in 1965, he quickly integrated into the Israeli music scene, playing in the opera orchestra and at weddings with various Klezmorim. The Klezmer convention in his memory led to the annual convention at Elkana led by the Klezmer Musa Berlin.

[Y. Mazor]

FEIERBERG, MORDECAI ZE'EV (1874–1899), Hebrew writer. Born in Novograd-Volynsk (Volhynia, Russia) into a family of devout Ḥasidim, Feierberg spent his childhood in a village, where he was tutored by his father, a *shoḥet*. The family returned to the city when Feierberg was about ten. His studies, while concentrating mainly on *Gemara* and *posekim*, since he was expected to become a *shoḥet*, also included medieval religious philosophy (*Maimonides, *Judah Halevi), Kabbalah, and ḥasidic works. Subsequently, he came under the influence of the Haskalah and began reading the Bible and modern Hebrew literature. His secular studies led to a serious conflict between him and his strict father who beat him mercilessly and repeatedly drove him out of the house. Feierberg, however, was not deterred. In a final attempt to bring him back to the traditional fold, his father betrothed him to the daughter of the *shoḥet* of an adjoining town and set him up as a grocer. The store however, became a center for the *maskilim* and Ḥovevei Zion of Novograd-Volynsk and the engagement was broken because Feierberg, always sickly, contracted tuberculosis. Feierberg's literary career began in 1896 when he went to Warsaw, then a center of the Hebrew press and modern Hebrew literature, and submitted a collection of poems and stories to Nahum *Sokolow, the editor of *Ha-Ẓefirah. Sokolow advised the novice writer to give up poetry and concentrate on fiction. His first story, "*Ya'akov ha-Shomer*" ("Jacob the Watchman," in: *Ha-Ẓefirah*, 1897), appeared a year later. His other five short stories were published in 1897 and 1898; three of them – "*Ha-Egel*" ("The Calf," 1899), "*Ha-Kame'a*" ("The Amulet," 1897), and "*Ba-Erev*" ("In the Evening," 1898) – in the prestigious monthly *Ha-Shilo'aḥ*, founded by *Aḥad Ha-Am; and the other two – "*Ha-Ẓelalim*" ("The Shadows") and "*Leil Aviv*" ("A Spring Night") – in *Lu'aḥ Aḥi'asaf* (1898). Turning to journalism for a short period, Feierberg also wrote feature articles on Jewish life in Novograd-Volynsk for the daily *Ha-Meliẓ*. Aḥad Ha-Am, who had befriended and thought highly of him, obtained a stipend for him from the well-known tea merchant K. *Wissotzky. Free from economic dependence on his hostile father, Feierberg, at long last, could give vent to his creative powers. They found expression in his major work "*Le'an?*" ("Whither?"). While it was being prepared for press in *Ha-Shilo'aḥ* (Aḥad Ha-Am made substantial alterations with the author's assent), Feierberg was planning to compose an extensive historical narrative on Israel Ba'al Shem Tov, the founder of Ḥasidism. The work, as well as other of his literary projects, was never written. He died of tuberculosis in the spring of 1899, before "*Le'an?*" appeared in print. Two polemical articles on Hebrew literature and on the contemporaneous Jewish intelligentsia were printed posthumously. The first edition of his collected works appeared in 1904. Further editions have appeared since; the most extensive one was edited by E. Steinman (Tel Aviv, 1941).

Feierberg's stories, articles, journalistic reports, and letters barely comprise a single thin volume and while most of his works lack artistic maturity, his contemporaries and modern critics have recognized in him an original literary mind. His stories, among the most important landmarks in modern Hebrew fiction, express the spiritual-cultural conflict between adherence to traditional Jewish life and the aspiration toward a secular, modern, "European" cultural existence. The theme, expressed earlier by Haskalah authors who considered it their duty to inculcate secular-humanistic values into Jewish life in the 1890s, with such writers as Feierberg, Ḥ.N. *Bialik, and M.J. *Berdyczewski, was exposed in all its tragic depth.

Feierberg's greatness as a writer can be attributed not only to his sensitive aesthetic intuitiveness but, in spite of his youth and inexperience, to an original literary ideology whose basic principles he crystallized. Feierberg thought that the function of Hebrew literature was to describe authentically "the image of our (Jewish) innermost world"; that is, to express the particular outlook of the contemporary East European Jew as conditioned by his education, traditions, and environment. He also believed in a particular Jewish "view of the world," stating that "The air a Jew breathes, the sky he sees, the earth he treads, and all the external sights revealed to him acquire a different form and shape in his soul from what they really are or how they are perceived by other people." Though he conceded that this special "form and shape" stemmed from a distortion of the national Jewish life by the "poison" that had tainted the national existence of the Jewish people for generations, he demanded that the Hebrew author (and he for one fulfilled this demand) express it. Only in this way could Hebrew literature make a valuable contribution to world literature. "Indeed the Hebrew tragedy can drown out the tumult of Rome." Feierberg felt that Hebrew literature should have remained rooted within the East European Jewish ghetto; it should not have tried to detach its themes and physical, as well as mental landscapes, from their environment; and should not have turned toward the "wide world" of Europe, as was the cry of many contemporaneous influential Hebrew authors. It should not depict the Jewish world from the outside, nor criticize its defects in the light of foreign values, nor emphasize the physical-external aspects of Jewish life specifying its economic and cultural structure; but through the artistic and aesthetic power of the narrative as such, Hebrew literature should directly express the "Jewish situation" from within. To develop this literary art, the young Feierberg had to break with the tradition of the Hebrew fiction, especially the literature of the Haskalah and the trend followed by most of the contemporaneous Hebrew writers of his day. He had to evolve the genre of the lyrical story which focuses on personal situations, usually of a distressing nature, that are symbolic of the "Jewish condition" as a whole. Feierberg thus introduced into Hebrew fiction the genre of the confessional lyrical short story in which the deep personal distress of an individual becomes a symbol. The genre also greatly influenced Berdyczewski, Brenner, and Gnessin and became a basic literary form of 20th-century Hebrew fiction.

Feierberg was but a trailblazer in a genre whose development demanded rigid literary and mental discipline. His tendency toward the use of affected language, hyperboles, and sentimental clichés was one of a number of his shortcomings. Another was his failure at times to achieve a viable synthesis between form and content and the idea to be expressed, i.e., direct lyrical expression of his turbulent world and the literary-descriptive frameworks in which he wanted to cast it. The artistic quality of his works is in direct relation to the success with which he achieved this synthesis.

"*Ya'akov ha-Shomer,*" a weak groping toward this aesthetic synthesis, has for protagonist a Jewish soldier of the days of Czar Nicholas II who had been impressed into the Russian Army. Taken from his parents' home at a tender age he returns to the margins of Jewish society after years in a distant gentile environment. The life of such a Jew (then extensively described in Hebrew and Yiddish literature) symbolized for Feierberg the theme that was to form the core of all his works: the relationship ("the border-state") between life in the traditional Jewish community and life outside of it, between loyalty to the spiritual ascetic tradition and the yearning for nature and the life of the senses. He saw himself and his generation torn between these opposing polarities. In "*Ya'akov ha-Shomer*" the tension in Feierberg the man in giving personal expression to his innermost belief prevented the writer from portraying the protagonist convincingly. A certain discrepancy also exists between the significance with which Feierberg invested the hero's experience and the experience as such. Estrangement from Judaism was forced on Ya'akov the watchman externally and his experience is therefore not a valid representation of the spiritual state of the Jew wavering between two worlds. The Jewish czarist soldier, too weak a vehicle to carry the symbol, only partly answers the author's needs of emotional and mental expression and the synthesis between content and self-expression is therefore not realized.

In two of his later stories, "*Ha-Ẓelalim*" and "*Leil Aviv,*" Feierberg broke almost completely with the traditional concepts of plot and character and composed poetic-prose fragments through which he gave direct, bare, and discursive-lyrical expression to the "border-state." Despite the literary sincerity and passages of great beauty and power (especially in "*Leil Aviv*"), the desired synthesis is only partially achieved. In the absence of the rigors of a narrative framework, the stories became infused with sentimentalism expressed in undisciplined language.

The three short stories, "*Ba-Erev,*" "*Ha-Kame'a,*" and "*Ha-Egel,*" were written as childhood reminiscences of Ḥofni Ba'al-Dimyon ("Hophni the Imaginative"), the hero-narrator. As Feierberg had written to Aḥad Ha-Am, in the Ḥofni stories he intended to create a "complete world of the Jew" who would be a kind of "hero of the times." He wanted to develop the idea and proceed from Ḥofni's childhood to later periods in his life. He died, however, before he had time to complete the project. In the tales of Ḥofni's childhood, Feierberg used a narrative-reminiscing expository style which, while restraining his language and his sentimental temperament, fully expressed his personality. Artistically, "*Ba-Erev*" is considered his best work. The story is divided into two parts: in the first, Ḥofni reminisces about his *ḥeder* studies during the long winter nights; in the second, he reconstructs a legend told by his mother on coming home from the *ḥeder.* A seemingly popular ḥasidic tale, the legend serves Feierberg as a symbol through which he could clearly and most effectively express the spiritual "border state" in which Ḥofni would have found himself as a young man. Both parts form a single "world" of oppression and gloom conveying a struggle between loyalty to an ancient and ascetic culture, absolute in its demands of adherence, and a powerful yearning toward a different world. Life in this world of great tension is an endless "trial"; failure lurks everywhere and the burden of responsibility oppresses to the breaking point.

In "*Ha-Kame'a,*" in which Ḥofni recalls his childhood nightmares, this view is sharply expressed, though in a more discursive and less narrative symbolic manner. During these nights of terror he senses the distress and tension that lay in store for him. The talisman, a "weapon" with which Ḥofni's father and the old kabbalist from the *Klaus* equipped him, is from the start seen as insufficient protection and too light an arm for the fierce battle ahead of him. In "*Ha-Egel*" Feierberg deviates from his regular themes. Ḥofni reminisces on his love for a calf. The description of the child's terrible shock at his parents' indifference toward the young calf they intended for slaughter portends the depression and isolation of a man whose moral sensitivity would make him lose his sense of identity with his environment. It presages the "border state" of suspension between being within and without, belonging and revolt.

In *"Le'an?"* Feierberg dwells in minute detail on the sensitive, thinking individual who detaches himself and is cut off from the historical Jewish community. The hero, Naḥman, is the leader prototype, but he has lost contact with his community. His character and education makes him an "aristocrat", an "elected" Jew. The scion of a rabbinical dynasty, his father educates him to be a "soldier" (the same idea also appears in *"Ha-Kame'a"*) and to assume a life of responsibility in the unceasing battle to protect Judaism from secular inroads. His detachment from the community begins at a very early age when he was taught to regard the "normal" Jewish existence around him as a frivolity which he himself morally could not afford to lead. At this stage one type of alienation is apparent – a detachment between the community and its representative, between the public and the individual who is able to personify ideally the values in which all believe. Naḥman, the ideal, wants to perform great deeds: he wants to heal the historical schism in the fate of the Jewish people by hastening the coming of the Messiah. In his search for a way, he steeps himself in the holy books; years pass and he despairs of messianic redemption. He then becomes interested in the Haskalah, thus alienating himself completely. Naḥman's loss of faith in Divine Providence is sudden and swift and his position in the Jewish community becomes a "border state" of unbearable tension which finds concrete expression in the synagogue on the Ninth of *Av: "The whole congregation is praying, it has one heart now, and he – the other heart – is lonely and separated from the community, cut off from his people … And how he would have liked to rejoin his people! He would have given his life for the bond. But how could he? No, he had undone the knot of his own free will and could not tie it again …." This sense of separation is like a hidden disease within Naḥman, but at last the rift between him and his father and the community breaks out in the open with his symbolic act of extinguishing the candle in the synagogue on the Day of Atonement. Naḥman now lapses into a mental state which the community interprets as madness. Toward the end of the story he makes a final attempt at rejoining his people. In a speech at a Ḥibbat Zion gathering, he propounds the idea of national renaissance and a return to the East. This speech is Naḥman's last call and outcry, he then fades away and dies.

Structurally weak, because Feierberg tried to incorporate the Naḥman story into a narrative of reminiscences (as a continuation of the Ḥofni stories), *"Le'an?"* is nevertheless one of the great literary achievements in Hebrew fiction. The tragic proportions of its hero have been attained by few figures in Hebrew literature. The story gives full expression to the torment of the Jew who is torn between the temporal historical moment and his sense of responsibility toward the Jewish heritage of the ages and toward Jewish history. By grappling sincerely and honestly with the tragic problem of the Diaspora Jew in a modern world, Feierberg left an indelible imprint on modern Hebrew literature.

An English translation of *Whither and Other Stories* appeared in 1973 and *"The Calf"* was included in G. Abramson (ed.), *The Oxford Book of Hebrew Short Stories* (1996). For other works which have been translated into English see Goell, Bibliography.

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[Dan Miron]

FEIERSTEIN, RICARDO (1942–), Argentinian writer. Feierstein was born in Buenos Aires. In his youth he joined Zionist and socialist movements; later he lived for some years on a kibbutz. His literary writings, his achievements as editor of the journal *Raíces* and director of the Milá and Acervo Cultural publishing houses, and his contributions to periodicals reflect his continuous involvement with Jewish cultural life in Argentina. In his writing, Feierstein seeks to close the gap between ideologically oriented and aesthetic literature. His poetry, narratives, and essays seek to build a harmonious individual identity as an Argentinian, a Jew, and a socialist, and the successes and failures of such attempts lie at the core of his writing. His poem "Nosotros, la generación del desierto" ("We, the Generation of the Wilderness," 1984, tr. 1989) speaks for a whole generation that lives between historical events and conflicting trends, unable to establish its own ground. The trilogy of novels *Sinfonía inocente* exposes the unrealized coming-of-age of an Argentinian Jew from adolescence (*Entre la izquierda y la pared*, 1983), to his kibbutz experience (*El caramelo descompuesto*, 1979), to his search for reintegration in a politically shattered Argentina (*Escala uno en cincuenta*. 1984). In *Mestizo* (1988; tr. 2000), a murder mystery frames the search for a fullly realized Argentinian-Jewish identity, while his later novel, *La logia del umbral* (2002), exposes the painful collective failure of such a project (especially in the shadow of the AMIA terrorist bombing in 1994). His views of Argentinian Jewry and their existential experience as a dynamic cultural *mestizaje* (a term meaning racial but also cultural mix in Latin America) are discussed in his books *Judaísmo 2000* (1988) and *Contraexilio y mestizaje: Ser judío en la Argentina* (1990). He also edited *Historia de los judíos argentinos* (1993); *Cuentos judíos latinoamericanos* (1989); *Cien años de narrativa judeo-argentina 1889–1989* (1990). His poems and stories have been translated into English, French, German, and Hebrew. Feierstein was visiting lecturer at American and German universities, and received awards in Argentina and Mexico.

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[Florinda Goldberg (2nd ed.)]

FEIFFER, JULES (1929–), U.S. cartoonist and writer. Born in the Bronx, New York, Feiffer studied at James Monroe High School and entered the Art Students' League. From 1947 to 1951 he studied at the Pratt Institute while working as an assistant on the comic *The Spirit*. Growing up, he had always assumed that *The Spirit* was Jewish. In 1949 he created his first Sunday cartoon page feature, *Clifford.* He served in the U.S. Army from 1951 to 1953, working with a cartoon animation unit. Upon leaving the army, Feiffer worked in a number of jobs until in 1956, the New York weekly magazine *The Village Voice* began to publish his cartoons. His comic strip, which was simply called *Feiffer*, was an immediate success and appeared regularly in *The Village Voice* and was also internationally syndicated. His satirical cartoons made moral and political statements on a wide range of contemporary issues, both political and personal – from nuclear holocaust, the arms race, and presidential politics to male-female relationships and human fears, and neuroses – and were characterized by the revelation of the private thoughts of his characters. After appearing weekly for 43 years, Feiffer's last syndicated cartoon strip was published on June 18, 2000.

Although known primarily for his cartoons, Feiffer has also achieved success as a playwright, screenwriter, and novelist. His plays of the late 1960s, *Little Murders* (1967), *God Bless* (1968), and *The White House Murder Case* (1969), were all highly political. *Little Murders,* which depicted the horrors of urban life, was later made into a film. In 1963, he came out against the Vietnam War, subsequently speaking at peace demonstrations in Washington.

His screenplay for the 1971 movie *Carnal Knowledge* and his play *Knock Knock* (1976) dealt with more personal issues, the former with middle-age crisis and the latter with social values. His play *Grownups* (1981) focused on interfamily relationships and conflicts. He also wrote the screenplay for the film comedy *I Want to Go Home* (1989), directed by Alan Resnais and starring Adolph Green, as well as the script for the 1991 TV series *The Nudnik Show.*

In 1986 Feiffer received the Pulitzer Prize in editorial cartooning, and in 2004 was honored with the Ian McLellan Hunter Award by the Writers Guild of America.

Among Feiffer's many published works are *Sick Sick Sick: A Guide to Non-Confident Living* (1958); *Great Comic Book Heroes* (1965), a critical history of the comic book super-heroes of the late 1930s and early 1940s; *Jules Feiffer's America, from Eisenhower to Reagan* (1982); *Marriage Is an invasion of Privacy, and Other Dangerous Views* (1984); *Ronald Reagan in Movie America: A Jules Feiffer Production* (1988); and *President Bill: A Graphic Epic* (with W. Brown, 1990). Some of his many books for children include *The Man in the Ceiling* (1993); *A Barrel of Laughs, a Vale of Tears* (1995); *Tantrum* (1997); *Meanwhile* (1997); *I Lost My Bear* (1998); and *Bark, George* (1999).

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[Susan Strul / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

FEIGEL, SIGI (1921–2004), Swiss Jewish community leader. Born into a Russian-Jewish family, Feigel grew up in the central Swiss Catholic village of Hergiswil (Nidwalden), isolated from any organized Jewish community. In his youth, he experienced much Catholic anti-Judaism. After serving in the Swiss army (1939–45), he studied law at Zurich University and graduated with a doctoral degree in law. He entered the textile firm of his father-in-law, serving as its director until 1977. He was president of the Jewish community of Zurich in 1972–86, initiating a program of lectures by prominent figures and thus getting the Jewish community much publicity. Among the lecturers were Bruno *Kreisky, Axel Springer, and Willy *Brandt. He fought for the enlargement of the Jewish Oberer Friesenberg cemetery in Zurich, meeting opposition in right-wing circles. As a prominent media figure, he helped win popular support for the Anti-Racism Law (1993). With his colleague Rolf *Bloch, he tried to mediate between American-Jewish demands and Swiss politicians and bankers in the 1995–96 Swiss bank account affair. He seems to have coined the phrase, "Justice for the victims, fairness for Switzerland." He founded several foundations to fight racism, xenophobia, and antisemitism, and for the housing of homeless young people. He also initiated the re-writing of textbooks on Jewish history and religion in Switzerland. After selling the textile firm (1977), he returned to law studies and received the Zurich lawyer's diploma at the age of 62. He wrote the standard commentary on the Swiss Anti-Racism Law. The Jewish community chose him as its honorary president.

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[Uri Kaufmann (2nd ed.)]

FEIGENBAUM, ARYEH (1885–1981), Israel ophthalmologist. Born in Lemberg, Feigenbaum trained in Vienna and emigrated to Ereẓ Israel in 1913. He became head of the eye department of the Straus Health Center, Jerusalem, and conducted a vigorous campaign against trachoma, serving hundreds of Arabs and Jews a day in his clinics. In 1914 he organized a trachoma conference, the first of its kind, in Palestine and wrote and published the report and recommendations.

From 1922 to 1954 Feigenbaum was head of the ophthalmological department of the Hadassah Hospital and in 1938 first chairman of the pre-faculty of medicine. He was a founder and editor of the first Hebrew medical journal *Harefuah* (1920) and of *Acta Medica Orientalia* (1942). In 1927 he wrote the first Hebrew textbook on ophthalmology, *Ha-Ayin*.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Harefuah*, 70 (1966), 473–7.

[Lucien Harris]

FEIGENBAUM, BENJAMIN (1860–1932), Yiddish journalist, essayist, editor, and pamphleteer. Born in Warsaw, the son of ḥasidic parents, he rejected the religious traditions in which he had been brought up and developed into a militant atheist and agitator for socialism. Leaving home, he proceeded in 1884 to Antwerp, in 1887 to London, where he wrote for Yiddish and Hebrew periodicals and published pamphlets on socialism, reaching the United States in 1891. In America, he joined the United Hebrew Trades, writing tracts to win the support of Jewish laborers for socialism and atheism. He also wrote for the *Forverts* and *Arbeter-Tsaytung*, and for the literary monthly *Tsukunft*, of which he was editor for a time. He wrote his essays under several pseudonyms including Shabbes, Shabsovitch, and Sh. Peshes. In 1900 he became general secretary of the newly formed Arbeter Ring (*Workmen's Circle), which he established firmly before resigning in 1903. In 1909 he served as chairman of the mass meeting which sanctioned the general strike of the waist and dress trade, the so-called "uprising of 20,000." His publications include *Vi Kumt a Yid tsu Sotsyalizmus* (1889); *Kosher un Treyfe un Andere Mitsves* (1909); *Yidishkayt un Sotsyalizm* (1942).

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[Melvyn Dubofsky / Marc Miller (2nd ed.)]

FEIGENBAUM, ISAAC HA-KOHEN (1826–1911), Polish rabbi and *posek*. Feigenbaum studied under R. Isaac Meir Alter of Gur (*Gora Kalwaria). In 1893 he founded the first periodical devoted to rabbinic studies, the monthly *Sha'arei Torah*, to which leading contemporary rabbis contributed, and in which he himself wrote the leading article. The journal was continued after his death by his son, Israel Isser Feigenbaum, and ceased publication only at the outbreak of World War II. Among Feigenbaum's works are a critical edition of the *Urim ve-Tummim* of Jonathan *Eybeschuetz with his own commentary (Warsaw, 1881). Feigenbaum was one of the few Polish rabbis, particularly among the Ḥasidim (he was an adherent of the *Kotsk dynasty), who was an ardent supporter of the Ḥibbat Zion movement. He was a member of the Menuḥah ve-Naḥalah Society of Warsaw which founded *Reḥovot, and he himself purchased land under the aegis of the society.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: J.J. Feigenbaum, *Or Penei Yiẓḥak* (1939, reprint 1966).

[Louis Isaac Rabinowitz]

FEIGENBERG, MEÏR (1923–), Danish theater manager. After academic studies in Stockholm and practical theater work in Copenhagen, Feigenberg became director of the Riddersalen Theater from 1947 to 1950 and of the Frederiksberg Theatre (now Dr. Dantes Aveny) in 1950–52 with a repertoire ranging from Ibsen and Chekhov to Kjell Abell and Tennessee Williams. Feigenberg was director of the New Theatre in 1966–69 and the Danish Theater in 1974–91, which he led with a sure sense of balance between the highbrow and the popular, between the classical and the modern, sometimes in collaboration with the Royal Theater.

[Bent Lexner (2nd ed.)]

FEIGIN, DOV (1907–2000), Israel sculptor. Feigin was born in Lugansk, Russia, and immigrated to Palestine in 1927. He studied in Paris between 1933 and 1937, and in 1947–48 was one of the founders of the New Horizons Group which tried to introduce modernism to Israel art. In 1962, he created a monumental sculpture in stone at Mizpeh Ramon in the Negev. Before 1950, Feigin worked in stone and concrete, and produced massive human forms, in post-cubist style. An example is the monument at Reḥovot *In Memory of Our Warriors*, a relief characterized by its sharply defined contours. His later work became abstract and he composed linear forms in bronze, copper, and iron. Feigin won several prizes: in 1945–46 the Dizengoff prize, in 1953 the Haifa Municipality prize, and in 1985 the Sandberg prize from the Israel Museum.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: B. Tammuz and M. Wykes-Joyce, *Art in Israel* (1966), 152–3; H. Gamzu, *Painting and Sculpture in Israel* (1951), 113–5.

[Yona Fischer]

FEIGIN, SAMUEL ISAAC (1893–1950), Orientalist and biblical scholar. Feigin was born in Krichev. As a youth he went to Palestine; he completed his studies at the Hebrew Teachers' College in Jerusalem and fought in the Ottoman Army during World War I. Feigin emigrated to the United States in 1920 and studied at Yale University until 1923. He held several teaching posts and then in 1932 joined the staff of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago. He also taught at the College of Jewish Studies and the Hebrew Theological College (both in Chicago). Feigin's main interest was ancient Babylonian civilization and its relation to biblical life and literature. He wrote *Mi-Sitrei he-ʿAvar* ("From the Secrets of the Past," 1943), a collection of scholarly studies on biblical themes, and *Anshei Sefer* (1950), a collection of biographical essays. He also contributed important articles to scholarly journals.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Irwin, in: JNES, 9 (1950), 121–3.

[Samuel Sandmel]

FEIGL, BEDRICH (**Friedrich**; 1884–1966), Czech painter and graphic artist. In 1907, he was a founder of the Osma group

("The Eight") which, with Emil Filla as its leading personality, marked the break of Czech art with traditional classicism. This break profoundly influenced modern Czech painting. Feigl created the best work of his expressionistic period with his landscapes of Copenhagen, Berlin, and the fishing villages on the French Riviera. He is, however, best known for his sketches of Prague ghetto life. Feigl also did book illustrations (H. Politzer, ed., *Sippurim*, 1937). After escaping from Nazi-occupied Prague, Feigl spent World War II in London. Here, he prepared the plates for the first Czechoslovak postwar banknotes.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: G. Marzynski, *Friedrich Feigl* (Ger., 1921); *Příruční slovník naučný*, 1 (1962), 711.

[Avigdor Dagan]

FEIGL, FRITZ (1891–1971), analytical chemist and a leader of the Brazilian Jewish community. Feigl was born in Vienna and served as an officer in the Austrian Army in World War I. He joined the staff of the Technische Hochschule in Vienna in the early 1920s and became professor of chemistry there in 1935. The *Anschluss* of 1938 forced him out of his position and he emigrated to Brazil, where in 1941 he became head of the Ministry of Agriculture's mineral production laboratory. In 1953 he was appointed professor of chemistry at the University of Brazil. In his work on chemical analysis and microanalysis Feigl specialized mainly in spot tests, on which he became a world authority. He was the main pioneer of new procedures in this field. His books include *Spot Test Analysis* (2 vols., 1934), *Theory, Practice, and Uses of Spot Tests in Qualitative Analysis* (1938), *Laboratory Manual of Spot Tests* (1944), and *Chemistry of Specific Selective and Sensitive Reactions* (1949). Feigl was active in communal and Zionist activities in Brazil, where he served as president of the Confederation of Jewish Federations. In 1951 he became a member of the world executive of the World Jewish Congress. He was a member of the board of governors of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem and of the Weizmann Institute of Science in Reḥovot.

[Samuel Aaron Miller]

FEIGL, HERBERT (1902–1988), U.S. philosopher and one of the founders of the Vienna Circle discussion group, which espoused the doctrine of logical positivism. He was born in Reichenberg, Bohemia. In 1922, antisemitism in German universities led Feigl to the University of Vienna, where he received his Ph.D. in philosophy in 1927. At the university Feigl, influenced by Moritz Schlick, became interested in philosophical problems in the foundations of physics. In 1924, with Schlick and Friedrich Waissman, he assembled a discussion group that was later called the "Vienna Circle."

Feigl emigrated to the United States late in 1930 on an International Rockefeller Fellowship and spent nine months at Harvard University, whose faculty he regarded as the American equivalent of the Vienna Circle. He taught at the University of Iowa (1931–40), and in 1940 became professor of philosophy at the University of Minnesota, where he remained until he retired in 1971. He was appointed regents professor of the University of Minnesota in 1967.

In 1949 he and his colleague Wilfrid Sellars edited *Readings in Philosophical Analysis*, which became a standard text of analytic philosophy and logical empiricism. That year they and several other colleagues founded the *Philosophical Studies* journal. In 1953 he and May Brodbeck edited *Readings in the Philosophy of Science*, which became the standard anthology in the field.

In 1953 Feigl obtained a grant to establish the Minnesota Center for Philosophy of Science. The first such institution of its kind in the country, if not the world, it drew philosophers of science from around the globe to participate in workshops and collaborative research.

Feigl served on the governing board of the Philosophy of Science Association and was a founding member (1934) of the editorial board of *Philosophy of Science*, which later became the official journal of the Association. He was president of the Western Division of the American Philosophical Association (1961–62). His first book, *Theorie und Erfahrung in der Physik* ("Theory and Experience in Physics"), was published in 1929. In his writings, Feigl attempted to formulate and defend the principles of the doctrine of logical positivism (also called "consistent empiricism" and "logical empiricism" – the latter name by Feigl). The main tenet of this theory is that meaningful statements must be empirically verified. Feigl gradually moved away from a strict interpretation of this principle to a position that allows for different categories of meaningfulness.

Other books by Feigl include *The "Mental" and the "Physical": The Essay and a Postscript* (1967) and *The Foundations of Science and the Concepts of Psychology and Psychoanalysis* (with M. Scriven, 1976). He also edited *Concepts, Theories & the Mind-Body Problem* (1972).

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[Avrum Stroll / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

FEILER, ARTHUR (1879–1942), economist. Born in Breslau, he was a contributor to the financial section of the *Frankfurter Zeitung*, from 1903 to 1910, and from 1910 to 1930 was a senior editor of the paper. He taught at the University of Frankfurt for some time during the late 1920s, and at the Graduate Business School in Koenigsberg from 1932 to 1933. In 1933 he emigrated to the United States where he worked at the graduate faculty of the New School for Social Research in New York. His numerous publications include *Die Konjunkturperiode 1907–13 in Deutschland* (1914); *Amerika-Europa: Erfahrungen einer Reise* (1926); *America Seen Through German Eyes* (1928); *Das Experiment des Bolschewismus* (1930^3); and (with M. Ascoli) *Fascism for Whom?* (1938).

[Edith Hirsch]

FEINBERG, family of pioneer settlers in Ereẓ Israel.

YOSEF FEINBERG (1855–1902) was born in Simferopol in the Crimea, the son of wealthy parents, and studied chemistry at Swiss and German universities. Aroused by the 1881 pogroms, he went to Ereẓ Israel in the spring of 1882, taking a large sum of money. He joined Zalman *Levontin in founding *Rishon le-Zion on land which he helped to buy. Feinberg went to Western Europe and succeeded in gaining Baron Edmond de *Rothschild's support for the idea of Jewish settlement in Ereẓ Israel. However, Feinberg opposed the Baron's paternalistic system of management, and after a dispute in 1887 with the Baron's representative, Yehoshua *Ossowetzky, he was forced to sell his property and leave the settlement, together with other founding members. He bought an oil press in Lydda, but was forced to sell it because of financial straits. He then opened a pharmacy in Jaffa. He was among those who received Theodor *Herzl in Ereẓ Israel in 1898.

ISRAEL ("Lotik"; 1865–1911) younger brother of Yosef, was born in Sebastopol, Crimea. In the early 1880s Israel settled in Rishon le-Zion, where he married Fania Belkind, a member of *Bilu. Leaving Rishon le-Zion with his brother, Feinberg settled in Gederah, where he was one of the settlement's first watchmen (1891) and organized the planting of eucalyptus groves to drain the swamps. In 1898 he moved with his family to *Ḥaderah, but, contracting malaria, was forced to move to Jerusalem. The family returned to Ḥaderah a few years later, and Feinberg tried to reestablish his farm there but died as a result of the debilitating effects of malaria and hard labor.

AVSHALOM (1889–1917) cofounder of *Nili, son of Israel. He was born in Gederah and as a young man he studied in France. Upon his return he worked at the agricultural station set up by Aharon *Aaronsohn at Athlit. A few months after the outbreak of World War I, he and Aaronsohn founded the anti-Turkish intelligence network, Nili. In 1915 Feinberg reached Egypt on an American ship, establishing contact with British naval intelligence, who returned him to Athlit. When Aaronsohn went to England to negotiate with the government, Feinberg, Sarah *Aaronsohn, and Joseph *Lishansky continued to develop the intelligence ring, impatiently awaiting the results of Aaronsohn's mission. In 1917 Feinberg again set out for Egypt, this time on foot, along with Lishansky, but was shot and killed by Bedouin near the British front in Sinai. In 1967, after the Six-Day War, Feinberg's remains were discovered near Rafa under a palm tree which had sprung from date seeds he carried with him on his journey. He was reburied on Mount Herzl in Jerusalem and given a state funeral. Feinberg was one of the romantic figures of his time. His letters and memoirs, preserved in the Nili archives at *Zikhron Ya'akov, offer an insight into the world of the first generation born in the new Jewish settlements. His letters and memoirs were published under the title *Avshalom* (1971) by A. Amir.

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[Yehuda Slutsky]

FEINBERG, ABRAHAM (1908–1998), U.S. businessman and organization leader. Feinberg, who was born in New York City, received his law degrees from Fordham and New York University. He occupied a number of prominent executive positions, among them chairmanship of the board of the Kayser-Roth Corporation until 1964 and chairmanship of the executive committee of the American Bank and Trust Company. He served for several years on the New York City Board of Education. Feinberg was highly active in American Jewish life and on behalf of the State of Israel. He helped to organize Jewish support for Democratic presidential candidates (e.g., John F. Kennedy). He had a long relationship with Brandeis University, serving as a trustee in 1953; chairman of the board of trustees from 1954 to 1961; a Brandeis Fellow in 1953; and was awarded an honorary doctorate in 1961. And through his generous donation, the International Center for Ethics, Justice and Public Life was established at Brandeis University. Feinberg and his family also endowed the Feinberg Graduate School at the Weizmann Institute in Israel.

Feinberg was the founder and first president of Americans for Haganah, a group formed in the early 1940s to help provide arms and other critical materials to the *yishuv* in Palestine. He offered his home to Zionist leaders who were trying to gain support of the U.S. government, and he aided European Jews seeking refuge. He accompanied Chaim *Weizmann, Israel's first president, to his first meeting with President Harry Truman. Active in American politics, Feinberg worked informally with the United States and Israeli governments during Middle East crises, led many Democratic fundraisers, and served as a confidant to U.S. presidents Harry Truman, John Kennedy, and Lyndon Johnson.

In 1960 Feinberg was named B'nai B'rith's Man of the Year, an event that was attended by Harry Truman.

Feinberg served as president of the Development Corporation for Israel, which conducts the worldwide sale of Israel Bonds, and as president of the American Committee for the Weizmann Institute of Science. In 1966 he led a syndicate of American Jewish businessmen that successfully bid for a franchise to produce and sell Coca-Cola in Israel, thus breaking the company's long-standing acquiescence to the Arab boycott.

In 1983 Feinberg established three scholarships at the Weizmann Institute (The Belle and Philip Feinberg Scholarship; The Lillian Feinberg Scholarship; and The Shirley and Judge Wilfred Feinberg Scholarship). Feinberg also supported numerous medical causes, including schizophrenia research in both New York and Israel. He endowed the psychiatric wing at Schneider Children's Medical Center for Israel.

[Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

FEINBERG, ABRAHAM L. (1899–1986), Reform rabbi and activist. Feinberg was born in Bellaire, Ohio, to immigrant parents from Grinkishok (Grinkiskis), Lithuania, which Feinberg referred to as "the birthplace of my spirit." He earned a B.A. from the University of Cincinnati and was ordained at Hebrew Union College in 1924. After ordination he served in a number of American pulpits but left the rabbinate in 1929 to embark on a singing career as Arthur Frome. He returned to the pulpit in 1935 in response to Hitler's growing strength and attacks on the Jews. In 1943 he accepted a position at Toronto's Holy Blossom Temple, the premier Reform congregation in Canada. During his tenure, the Holy Blossom grew rapidly, a testimony to Feinberg's skills as religious leader, and especially as a preacher. He extended his influence by being a highly successful radio orator.

A firm believer in the prophetic ethic as emphasized in Reform Judaism, Feinberg had supported various left-wing causes while in the United States, and threw himself into the Canadian scene with energy. Holding that Canada should be free of all forms of prejudice, he spoke out against antisemitism and racism including Canada's wartime treatment of the Japanese and discrimination against blacks in Canada. He was a crucial presence on the Joint Public Relations Committee of the Canadian Jewish Congress and B'nai B'rith, pressing the committee to protest mandatory prayers and Christmas carols in Ontario public schools and to lobby for fair employment and housing practices in Ontario. Feinberg became an outspoken advocate of nuclear disarmament and chaired the Toronto Committee for Disarmament while he continued his advocacy of civil rights as the vice president of the Toronto Association for Civil Rights. Feinberg's political activism led to surveillance by Royal Canadian Mounted Police intelligence officers. An RCMP file eventually released to his daughter contained 1,100 pages, with even more devoured by the RCMP's shredder.

Feinberg retired from Holy Blossom in 1961 and was named rabbi emeritus. He continued his activism, protesting the war in Vietnam, and in late 1966 and early 1967 led a delegation to meet with Ho Chi Minh. In 1972 he moved to Berkeley, California, to be near his son Jonathan but relocated across the Bay to be the rabbi for Glide Memorial Church, which catered to "the outcasts of our social system." He also became a spokesman for "gray lib," fighting oppression of the elderly. He subsequently moved to Reno, Nevada, where he continued his advocacy for the elderly. At age 70 Feinberg resumed his singing career and released 10 songs, but his most famous performance was singing "Give Peace a Chance," with John Lennon and Yoko Ono in their Montreal hotel room in 1969.

Feinberg was the author of three books, *Storm the Gates of Jericho* (1964); *Rabbi Feinberg's Hanoi Diary* (1968); *Sex and the Pulpit* (1981). He also wrote numerous magazine and newspaper articles.

[Richard Menkis (2nd ed.)]

FEINBERG, DAVID (1840–1916), Russian communal leader. Born in Kovno (Kaunas), Lithuania, Feinberg studied law at St. Petersburg University. While in his twenties he attained a responsible position in the St. Petersburg-Warsaw railroad company and was active in promoting the organization of a community in St. Petersburg. Feinberg was instrumental in obtaining, with the support of Baron Horace Guenzburg, Samuel *Poliakoff, and others, authorization for building the first synagogue as well as for the establishment of a Jewish cemetery there. He enlisted the support of Adolphe Crémieux, Baron Maurice de Hirsch, and Sir Moses Montefiore in the struggle of Russian Jewry for rights. When the *Jewish Colonization Association (ICA) was founded in 1891 Feinberg became its secretary-general and was active in promoting Jewish agricultural settlement in *Argentina, where one of the settlements was named after him. During World War I he did much to relieve the sufferings of refugees.

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FEINBERG, KENNETH (1945–), U.S. attorney, expert in mediation and alternative dispute resolution. Born and raised in Brockton, Mass., Feinberg graduated cum laude from the University of Massachusetts in 1967 and from New York University School of Law, where he was articles editor of the *Law Review*, in 1970. He served as law clerk to Chief Judge Stanley H. Fuld, New York State Court of Appeals, from 1970 to 1972. He was assistant U.S. attorney, Southern District of New York, from 1972 to 1975 and special counsel, U.S. Senate Committee on the Judiciary, from 1975 to 1980. Feinberg served as administrative assistant to Senator Edward M. Kennedy from 1977 to 1979. He was a partner in the firm of Kaye, Scholer, Fierman, Hays & Handler from 1980 to 1992, then founded The Feinberg Group in Washington, D.C., in 1993. He was also a lecturer at the University of Pennsylvania Law School, New York University School of Law, University of Virginia Law School, and Columbia Law School.

Feinberg served as mediator and arbiter in thousands of disputes, involving such issues as breach of contract, product liability, civil fraud, and various environmental matters. He served as court-appointed special settlement master in several high-profile cases, including the Agent Orange product liability litigation, the RICO class action concerning the Shoreham Nuclear Facility, and many asbestos personal injury litigations. He was the first trustee of the Dalkon Shield Claimants' Trust. Feinberg was one of three arbitrators chosen to determine the fair market value of the Zapruder film of the John F. Kennedy assassination, and he was one of two arbitrators selected to determine the allocation of legal fees in the Holocaust slave labor litigation.

In 2001 Feinberg was appointed Special Master of the Federal September 11th Victim Compensation Fund by Attorney General John Ashcroft. The Fund was created by federal legislation to compensate victims and families of victims injured or killed in the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, provided they relinquished their right to sue. Working for 33 months entirely pro bono, Feinberg developed the preliminary regulations governing the administration of the fund and solicited comments and criticism, which were often harsh. He held more than two dozen "town hall meetings" with families, in addition to personal meetings. Feinberg administered all aspects of the program, which awarded $7 billion. Families who were dissatisfied with an award could appeal through an informal hearing; Feinberg personally presided over more than 900 of the 1,600 hearings. At the end of the process, he won the admiration of many of his former critics, who praised his fairness and his willingness to adjust some aspects of both the procedure and the awards.

In 2005 Feinberg published his book *What Is Life Worth? The Unprecedented Effort to Compensate the Victims of 9/11*, in which he details the immense challenges and difficult emotional components of his work with victims' families. A member of the National Judicial Panel and the recipient of numerous honors, he was named Lawyer of the Year by the *National Law Journal* in 2004.

[Dorothy Bauhoff (2nd ed.)]

FEINBERG, LEON (Yehude-Arye-Leyb / Leonid Grebniov; 1897–1969), Yiddish journalist, novelist, and poet. Born in Kodyma (Ukraine), he studied at the University of Moscow, fought as a Red Guard in the Civil War, immigrated to Palestine, and traveled the world as a sailor, before settling in the U.S. His first volume of Russian poetry (1914) was influenced by Symbolism. Although he continued writing in Russian (further volumes 1919, 1923, 1947), he also began writing in Yiddish. He was on the staff of the Yiddish daily *Frayhayt*, and the monthly *Der Hamer.* A feature writer (and later city editor) for *Der Tog*, he served as president of the New York Yiddish PEN Club. His fifteen novels include the verse novels *Der Farmishpeter Dor* ("The Condemned Generation," 1954) and *Der Gebentshter Dor* ("The Blessed Generation," 1962) which depict the lives of two generations of Jews who were caught in the net of the Russian Revolution but succeeded in immigrating to America and Palestine. *Der Khorever Dor* ("The Ruined Generation," 1967) describes the lives of those who remained in Russia and faced the realities of Soviet life. English translations of his work are to be found in J. Leftwich, *The Golden Peacock* (1940), and J.B. Cooperman, *America in Yiddish Poetry* (1967).

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[Israel Ch. Biletzky / Jerold C. Frakes (2nd ed.)]

FEINBERG, LOUIS (1887–1949), U.S. Conservative rabbi and community leader. Born in Rossieny, Lithuania, Feinberg was brought to the United States in 1903. He was educated in the public schools of Philadelphia and graduated from the University of Pennsylvania with a B.A. His Jewish education was received at the Talmud Torah, Gratz and Dropsie Colleges, and Yeshivah Mishkan Israel. He entered the Jewish Theological Seminary, was ordained in 1916, graduating with honors and serving as valedictorian of his class. He served two years as rabbi of Congregation Ohel Jacob in Philadelphia. In 1918, he came to Cincinnati as rabbi of Adath Israel (organized in 1847). He was the first of the modern American rabbis to come to Cincinnati. He emphasized the Saturday morning service, introducing weekly sermons in English and congregational singing. He organized the Adathean Society to involve young men and women in congregational activity. He established a congregational school when it became apparent that many members' children were not attending the local Talmud Torah schools. In 1933, he introduced a combined graduation and confirmation service and thus, for the first time in a traditional synagogue, girls became eligible for confirmation. In 1947, the congregation adopted an amendment to the constitution which provided for representation of women on the Board of Trustees.

As the congregation grew, he advocated for the enlargement of the synagogue, eventually undertaking a significant building fund campaign. In 1927, a magnificent stone building was erected at a cost of $450,000. Several of its features exhibited Rabbi Feinberg's influence: the interior decoration developed by Dr. Boris *Schatz of the *Bezalel School of Arts and Crafts in Palestine, and the monumental dome comprising the ceiling of the sanctuary, its rim inscribed with Hebrew inscriptions from the Pentateuch, prophets, medieval philosophers, and the modern poet Ḥayyim Naḥman *Bialik, selected and arranged by Rabbi Feinberg.

In addition to his activity within the congregation, Feinberg took a prominent role in the larger community. He served as president of the local Board of Rabbis and on the boards of the Bureau of Jewish Education, United Jewish Social Agencies, and Jewish Community Council. He was active in Mizrachi and in the Zionist Organization of America. A passionate Zionist, he helped establish a Palestine Scholarship Program in the community, which enabled five young members of his congregation to spend an entire year in Israel. He was a founder of the *Young Judea movement, and an editor of *Our Jewish Youth* which later became *Young Judean.* In 1937, at the age of 50, he visited Palestine himself for the first time. He called Zionism "the newest development of the Messianic idea."

Feinberg was a member of the Law Committee of the Jewish Theological Seminary and was a founder of the Menorah Society at the University of Pennsylvania. He translated the Laws of Charity from the *Shulḥan Arukh* for the New York School of Philanthropy, published articles on Jewish law in Hebrew, Yiddish, and English, and wrote short stories about Jewish life under the pseudonym Yishuvnik. A graduate fellowship at JTS was created in his memory, and the congregation sponsored the publication of a posthumous collection of his essays, *The Spiritual Foundations of Judaism,* edited by Emanual Gamoran.

[Nancy Klein (2nd ed.)]

FEINBERG, NATHAN (1895–?), international jurist. Born in Kovno (Kaunas), Lithuania, Feinberg studied international law in Zurich and Geneva. In 1919–21 he was departmental head of the Ministry of Jewish Affairs in Lithuania; 1922–24 secretary of the *Comité des Délégations Juives at Paris; and he conducted a private law practice in Palestine in 1925–27 and again in 1934–35. From 1931–33 he lectured at Geneva University. In 1945 he was appointed lecturer in international relations at the Hebrew University, in 1947 also in international law, and professor in 1949; he was the first dean of the university's Faculty of Law (1949–51). Feinberg served from 1962 as one of Israel's representatives on the International Court of Arbitration in the Hague. His published work is mainly concerned with Jewish minority status in post-World War I Europe (*La question des minorités à la Conférence de la Paix 1919–20*, 1929); with the Palestine mandate in international law (*Some Problems of the Palestine Mandate*, 1936; *Ereẓ Yisrael bi-Tekufat ha-Mandat u-Medinat Yisrael*, 1963); with the Jewish defense against Hitler and the Nazis (*Ha-Ma'arakhah ha-Yehudit neged Hitler…*, 1957); as well as with the Arab-Jewish conflict (*Arab-Israel Conflict in International Law*, 1970). Feinberg was co-editor of the *Jewish Year Book of International Law* (1949) and edited a volume of studies in public international law in memory of Sir Hersh Lauterpacht (1962).

FEINBERG, ROBERT (1912–1975), U.S. labor lawyer and arbitrator. He was labor counsel of the United Jewish Appeal, the Federation of Jewish Philanthropies of New York, the National Jewish Welfare Board, the Development Corporation for Israel, the Jewish Child Care Association of New York, the Jewish Board of Guardians, the National Council of Jewish Women, the Jewish Family Service, the Jewish Association for Service, and other philanthropic agencies and organizations. Feinberg was senior partner in the law firm of Guggenheimer and Untermyer, and held positions with the National War Labor Board and the National Wage Stabilization Board.

[Milton Ridvas Konvitz]

FEINBERG, SAMUEL YEVGENYEVICH (1890–1962), pianist and composer. Born in Odessa, Feinberg graduated from the Moscow Conservatory in 1911 (as a pianist, class of Goldenveizer) and was appointed professor of piano (from 1922) and director of the piano faculty from 1936 until his death. As a composer he studied with Zhilyaev and was a member of the ASM (Association of Contemporary Music). His music was modernist and influenced by Scriabin, although it frequently contained folklore elements. Among his compositions were three piano concertos: 1931, 1944 (awarded the Stalin Prize), and 1947; 12 piano sonatas; and a sonata for violin and piano. He wrote *Sudba muzykalnoy formy* ("The Future Musical Form," 1968) and *Pianizm kak iskusstvo* ("The Art of Piano Playing," 1968).

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[Marina Rizarev (2nd ed.)]

FEINBRUN-DOTHAN, NAOMI (1900–1995), Israel botanist. Born in Moscow and raised in Kishinev, Feinbrun-Dothan immigrated to Palestine in 1924. Working with Alexander *Eig, she helped gather the plants which formed the basis for the Hebrew University's herbarium. She was part of the Hebrew University from its establishment, becoming a full professor in botany in 1966. She was instrumental in preparation and publishing of *Flora Palaestina.* In 1991 she was awarded the Israel Prize for knowledge of the Land of Israel.

[Fern Lee Seckbach (2nd ed.)]

FEINGOLD, DAVID SIDNEY (1922–), chemist. Feingold was born in the United States and studied at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and the University of Zurich. He immigrated to Israel in 1949 and obtained his Ph.D. at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem before joining the department of microbiological chemistry at the Hadassah Medical School. He received the Israel Prize for exact sciences (1957) jointly with his colleagues Gad Avigad and Shlomo Hestrin. He returned to the University of California (1956) and was appointed professor of microbiology at the University of Pittsburgh School of Medicine (1966). Feingold's research concerned sugar metabolism in bacteria and the bean sprout *phaseolus aureus* and in particular the synthesis of polysaccharides in bacterial cell walls. He also studied the implications for clinical infections, particularly by pseudomonas, and anti-bacterial chemotherapy.

FEINGOLD, RUSSELL (1953–), U.S. senator. Feingold was born in Janeville, Wisc., which had a small Jewish community and no synagogue, so Feingold and his sister were taken on a 90-mile round trip to attend Hebrew school at a Reform congregation. As a high school student he won the state debating championship and then went on to earn his B.A. with honors from the University of Wisconsin in Madison, where he was elected to Phi Betta Kappa. He then attended Oxford on a Rhodes Scholarship (1976) and then Harvard Law School (LL.B., 1979). His interest in politics was intense and after a few years in private practice, at the age of 29 he was elected to the Wisconsin State Senate, where he served for 10 years, earning his spurs as chair of the Committee on Aging, Banking, and Communication.

He challenged incumbent Senator Robert Kasten (R-WI) who had heavy support from the Jewish community because of his chairmanship of the influential Foreign Operations Sub-Committee of the Appropriations Committee, the sub-committee where foreign aid is allocated. Despite Feingold's clear Jewish identity, under the incumbency rule, pro-Israel PACS and politically active Jews supported Kasten. If an incumbent had a strong pro-Israel record, Jewish political activists continued their support regardless of whom the challenger was. Thus, Feingold was widely outspent. Characteristically, he made light of his lack of Jewish support, expressing shock that his support for Israel and Jewish bona-fides were called into question. "I am the only candidate for the Senate whose sister is a rabbi living in Israel," he would say. Feingold made his modest support a badge of honor. He won a surprising victory.

In the Senate Feingold was a fiscal hawk, attacking unwarranted expenditures in the federal budget. His national prominence came from his co-sponsorship with Senator John McCain of the McCain-Feingold bill that attempted to limit campaign spending and soft-money contributions. They did not succeed in passing their bill during his first term. Feingold placed stringent restrictions on his own fundraising for reelection. Caught in a close race, he refused an offer of $500,000 from the Democratic National Committee and voters gave him a narrow victory. McCain-Feingold finally became law early in the Bush Administration. And once again in his reelection bid of 2004, Feingold held fast to his own standards despite serious political opposition.

His positions were generally liberal. Feingold voted against an antiterrorism measure because he objected to its provisions regarding inmates on death row. He fought a constitutional amendment to prohibit flag burning in keeping with Wisconsin's progressive tradition. He was an early and consistent opponent of the war in Iraq, believing that it diverted attention from the fight against terrorism. Though Wisconsin had fewer than 30,000 Jews it was represented by a second Jewish senator as well, Herbert *Kohl.

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[Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

FEINMAN, SIGMUND (1862–1909), Yiddish actor-manager. Born near Kishinev, Feinman acted in Bessarabia and Romania, went to New York in 1886, and worked with *Adler, *Mogulesko, and *Kessler, doing his best work in Jacob Gordin's plays. Returning to Europe in 1906, he and his wife Dinah (formerly married to Jacob Adler) established a reputation in London and on the Continent. He played Othello in Romania, 1909, and died while rehearsing in Lodz. Manuscripts of Feinman's own plays and translations were acquired by the *YIVO Institute. His wife DINAH FEINMAN (1862–1946) acted in *A Doll's House, Mirele Efros*, and *La Dame aux Camélias*.

FEINSINGER, JOSHUA (**Shaye**; 1839–1872), Russian *ḥazzan*. Born in Lithuania, Feinsinger was taught singing by his father, himself a *ḥazzan*. After completing his musical training, he became chief *ḥazzan* in the Polish town of Leczyca. In 1868 he was appointed chief *ḥazzan* in Vilna. Possessing a phenomenal voice and originality of expression, Feinsinger became famous as one of the greatest *ḥazzanim* of the mid-19th century. His most notable compositions were for the *Yoẓer prayers for the *Sefirah* Sabbaths.

FEINSTEIN, ARYEH LOEB (1821–1903), Lithuanian scholar and writer. Feinstein was born in Damachev near Brest-Litovsk. He was a successful businessman in that city, active in communal affairs, and wrote a history of its Jewish community, *Ir Tehillah* (1886, repr. 1968). He also published a Passover *Haggadah* with commentary, *Talpiyyot* (1870), and a commentary on Psalms under the same title (1896). Among his other works are *Migdal David* (1895), on talmudic discussions of David and his dynasty; *Divrei Ḥakhamim ve-Ḥidotam* (1895), on the *Rabbah b. Bar Ḥana tales; and *Elef ha-Magen* (1900), linguistic studies.

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FEINSTEIN, DIANNE GOLDMAN (1933–), U.S. Democratic senator from California. Feinstein was a centrist legislator and a pioneering politician. She was the first woman to be elected president of San Francisco's Board of Supervisors (1969), mayor of San Francisco (1978), nominated by a major party for governor of California (1990), elected U.S. senator from California (1992), and appointed to the Senate Judiciary Committee (1993).

The daughter of Dr. Leon Goldman, a prominent surgeon, and his wife Betty (Rosenburg), Feinstein started a public service career at a young age. Born and raised in San Francisco, she attended Stanford University where she won her first election as vice president of the Student Body. Upon graduation in 1955 she was awarded a Coro Foundation fellowship to study public policy. Five years later the governor appointed her to the California Women's Board of Terms and Parole, where she served until 1966. Elected to the San Francisco Board of Supervisors in 1969, Feinstein served for nine years, five years as Board president. She was serving in this capacity in 1978 when Mayor George Moscone was assassinated in his city hall office. Feinstein became the acting mayor. A year later, she was elected in her own right, serving the city from 1978 to 1988 when term limits forced her from office. In 1990 the Democratic Party nominated Feinstein for governor, she was narrowly defeated. Two years later, California voters sent her to the U.S. Senate to fill two years of a vacated seat; she was subsequently elected to full six-year terms in 1994 and 2000.

For much of her career Feinstein focused on crime prevention. As mayor of San Francisco she cut the crime rate 27 percent. A successful advocate for victims of crime and crime prevention, she was instrumental in passing the Gun-Free Schools Act (1994); the Hate Crimes Sentencing Enforcement Act (1993); the Comprehensive Methamphetamine Control Act (1996); and the Assault Weapons Ban 1994–2004. Supportive of the Jewish community, Feinstein was a member of Congregation Emanu-El in San Francisco, California, where she was confirmed.

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[Ava F. Kahn (2nd ed.)]

FEINSTEIN, ELAINE (1930–), English novelist, poet, and translator. Born in Bootle, Feinstein was educated at Cambridge University. She has worked as an editor for the Cambridge University Press and lectured in English at Bishop's Stortford Training College and the University of Essex until 1970. She is now a full-time writer. Feinstein published her first novel, *The Circle,* in 1970. She also translated *The Selected Poems of Marina Tsvetayeva* (1971) and *Three Russian Poets: Margarita Aliger, Yunna Moritz, Bella Akhmadulina,* (1978). As an editor she chose the *Selected Poems of John Clare* (1968) and, with Fay Weldon, *New Stories 4* (1979). She has also published volumes of short stories and plays, *Breath* (1975) and *Echoes* (1980). The Holocaust is central to *Children of the Rose* (1975) and *The Border* (1984). She also wrote a book on the blues singer Bessie Smith (1985).

Her prodigious literary output includes volumes of poetry such as *The Magic Apple Tree* (1971), *At The Edge* (1972) and *The Celebrants and Other Poems* (1973). Feinstein is regarded as an important English novelist. She has described her early fiction as an "extension" of her poetry as her novels combine the poetic with a larger historical canvas. Her fiction, therefore, has ranged through European history and, at the same time, has retained a poetic use of language and myth. With remarkable economy, several of Feinstein's novels, *Children of the Rose* (1975), *The Ecstasy of Dr. Miriam Garner* (1976), *The Shadow Master* (1978), and *The Border* (1984), incorporate the violence, fanaticism, and pseudoapocalyptic character of modern history. The ever-present themes of exile and betrayal in Feinstein's novels are given a wider historical dimension which shapes the lives of her cosmopolitan characters. *The Survivors* (1982), an autobiographical novel, has an exclusively English setting and uses the compressed form of a conventional family saga. Feinstein is also a biographer of note, having written lives of Pushkin (1998), Ted Hughes (2001), and *Lawrence's Women* (1993), about the love life of D.H. Lawrence.

Feinstein consciously writes in a Central European literary tradition. She is the first post-war English-Jewish novelist to successfully eschew the parochial concerns and forms of expression of the Anglo-Jewish novel and has located her sense of Jewishness in a wider European context. *The Border* is a representative example of Feinstein's ability to express in an exciting love story a multifarious vision of the world made up of history and autobiography, poetry and myth, literature and science. In this way, Feinstein has managed to broaden the concerns of the Anglo-Jewish novel and develop a lasting poetic voice in a distinct and imaginative manner.

[Bryan Cheyette]

FEINSTEIN, ḤAYYIM JACOB HA-KOHEN (second half of the 19th century), emissary from Safed who visited the Jewish communities in the Orient, including Aden, Yemen, and India. He was in the last country three times, in 1866, 1873, and 1887. While in Calcutta, he noted disapprovingly the practice of the Jews of using the trolley on the Sabbath, and wrote a treatise, *Imrei Shabbat* (1874), in which he vehemently opposed this custom. He published *Torat Immekha* (1886), in which he opposed other practices of Baghdadi Jews. In *Cochin (which he visited twice) he took the side of the "Non-White Jews," as he called the "Black Jews," and fought for their emancipation, maintaining that they were actually the early settlers while the "White Jews" were newcomers. He expressed these views in his *Mashbit Milḥamot* (1889) which he submitted to the Cochin Jews and to the chief rabbi of Jerusalem, Meir Panigel. His report appeared as a supplement to the second edition of his *Imrei Shabbat* (1889).

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[Walter Joseph Fischel]

FEINSTEIN, MEIR (1927–1947), Jew condemned to death by the British in Palestine. Feinstein was born in the Old City of Jerusalem. In his youth he went to work in the kibbutz of Negbah, where he joined the *Palmaḥ, and at the age of 16 volunteered for service in the British army. In 1946 he joined the I.Ẓ.L. and on Oct. 30 took part in an attack on the railway station of Jerusalem. During his get-away, fire was opened on him from a passing car and he was badly wounded in his left hand. As a result, whereas his companions managed to escape, he took refuge in a house and the bloodstains enabled his pursuers to find him. After his left hand was amputated he was put on trial and sentenced to death on Apr. 3, 1947. He shared the condemned cell with Moshe *Barazani, and the date of their execution was fixed for the morning of the 21st. At 9 P.M. on the previous evening, they placed an explosive charge, which had been smuggled into the cell, between their hearts and set it off, thus cheating the gallows.

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FEINSTEIN, MOSES (1895–1986), rabbi and leader of American Orthodoxy. Feinstein was born in Uzda, near Minsk, Belorussia, where his father, from whom he received his early education, was rabbi. In 1921 he became rabbi of Luban, near Minsk, where he served until he immigrated to the United States in 1937. There Feinstein was appointed *rosh yeshivah* of New York's Metivta Tiferet Jerusalem. Under his guidance, it became one of the leading American yeshivot. Feinstein arrived in America with three children: Faye Gittel, who married a distinguished rabbi, Moses Shisgal; Shifra, who married Rabbi Dr. Moses Tendler, long-time rabbi in Monsey, New York, as well as teacher of Talmud and professor of biology at Yeshiva University; and David, who succeeded his father as the head of Metivta Tiferet Jerusalem. A son, Reuven, was born in America. He became the head of the Metivta Tiferet Jerusalem branch in Staten Island, New York City.

After World War II, Feinstein became one of the leading figures in Orthodox Jewry in America. After the death of the *rosh yeshivah* of the Lakewood Yeshiva, Rabbi Aaron *Kotler, Feinstein became the acknowledged leader of Orthodoxy. While he did address broader, communal issues throughout his lifetime, his major impact was in the realm of Halakhah. His reputation grew rapidly to the point that his rulings were accepted as authoritative by Orthodox Jews throughout the world. Feinstein's responsa are entitled *Iggerot Moshe*, the first four volumes follow the Shulḥan Arukh: *Oraḥ Ḥayyim* (1959), *Yoreh De'ah* (1959), *Even ha-Ezer* (1961), and *Ḥoshen Mishpat* (1963), while subsequent volumes (1973, 2 vols. in 1981, 1996) contain responsa from different sections of the Shulḥan Arukh. A detailed index to *Iggerot Moshe*, entitled *Yad Moshe* was published in 1987. He also published his talmudic novellae entitled *Dibrot Moshe* to *Bava Kamma* in two volumes (1946, 1953), to *Bava Meẓia* (1966), to *Shabbat* in two volumes (1971, 1976), to *Kiddushin* and *Yevamot* (1979), to *Gittin* (1982), to *Ḥulin* and *Nedarim* (1983), and to *Ketubbot* and *Pesaḥim* (1984). *Darash Moshe*, his sermons on the weekly Torah reading and the holidays, were published posthumously in 1988.

Feinstein's world view encompassed the world of Torah. "My entire world view," he wrote (*Iggerot Moshe* 2:11), "stems only from knowledge of Torah without any mixture of outside ideas, whose judgment is truth whether it is strict or lenient. Arguments derived from foreign outlooks or false opinions of the heart are nothing." Nevertheless, Feinstein was keenly aware of the world around him, constantly applying the principles of Torah law to new situations and circumstances. Indeed, when he dealt with medical problems, he always consulted with leading physicians, often asking for a second opinion. He demanded to understand the medical issues in depth. Feinstein served as the *posek* (halakhic decisor) for many medical students and doctors as well as for the Association of Orthodox Jewish Scientists.

Feinstein's responsa deal with a very broad range of issues and topics. He devoted a great deal of time to grappling with problems in Jewish education. He had little tolerance for the teaching of secular studies; however, he permitted it because of government regulations (ibid. 3:83). He demanded that science textbooks agree with the idea that God created the world (ibid. 3:73). He was unyielding in his opposition to coed classes, but he did allow women to teach boys, acknowledging the reality of the educational world in America. He required fathers to pay for the tuition for their daughters' education.

The Modern Orthodox community in America also looked to Rabbi Feinstein for halakhic guidance. At times, his answers to their questions exhibited a flexibility he did not show to the ultra-Orthodox community. For instance, Feinstein permitted fathers to be present at school performances where girls under the age of 11 sang, even though he frowned upon the practice (ibid. 1:26).

Other topics that received his attention include the height of the *meḥiẓah* (partition) in the synagogue, the use of glass in constructing a *meḥiẓah*, renting a hotel ballroom for High Holy Day services, allowing an American owner of an Israeli factory to keep his factory open on the second day of Yom Tov, the status of children conceived through artificial insemination, and allowing *shoḥatim* (ritual slaughterers) to form their own union.

Feinstein, highly regarded for his dedication and selflessness, was elected to positions of importance in the Orthodox Jewish world. He was president of the *Union of Orthodox Rabbis and chairman of the American branch of the Mo'eẓet Gedolei ha-Torah of Agudat Israel. He was also active in guiding and obtaining support for Orthodox Israeli educational institutions, particularly the Ḥinnukh Aẓma'i school system of Agudat Israel. Despite his public, communal involvement and his role as the leading *posek* of the second half of the 20th century, Feinstein was renowned for his simple lifestyle, his piety, and his humility.

Feinstein passed away during the night before the Fast of Esther, March 23, 1986. Over 150,000 people attended the funeral services in New York. Eulogies were given by rabbis from the entire spectrum of Orthodoxy, from a representative of the Satmar ḥasidic community to two speakers from Yeshiva University. He was buried three days later in Jerusalem. An obituary notice appeared in the "Milestones" section of *Time* magazine (April 7, 1986, p. 42). Perhaps the most telling indication of his impact on Orthodox Jewry in the 20th century is the saying that every rabbi receiving Orthodox ordination in America needed two things upon graduation: A *lu'aḥ*, a calendar that lists all the changes in the prayer services, and Rabbi Moses Feinstein's telephone number.

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[David Derovan (2nd ed.)]

FEINSTEIN, MOSES (1896–1964), Hebrew poet and educator. Born in Russia, Feinstein arrived in the United States in 1912. He devoted his life to Herzliah – the Hebrew Academy and Teachers' Institute which he founded in New York in 1921. His volumes of poetry are the lyrical *Shirim ve-Sonettot* ("Poems and Sonnets," 1935); *Ḥalom ve-Goral* ("Dream and Destiny," 1937), a description of a journey to Palestine; and *Abraham Abulafia* (1957), a philosophical poem about the 13th-century mystic. Feinstein's collected poems appeared posthumously in a volume called *Al Saf ha-Sof* ("At the Threshold of the End," 1964).

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[Eisig Silberschlag]

FEINSTONE, MORRIS (1878–1945), U.S. labor leader. Feinstone, born in Warsaw, was trained as a woodcarver there. After completing school he emigrated to England where he became president of a woodcarvers' union in London (1895). Later in Birmingham he was active in the beginnings of the British Labour Party. In 1910 Feinstone emigrated to the U.S. where he found employment in various skilled trades, securing permanent work in the umbrella industry. He soon became an official of the Umbrella Handle and Stick Makers' Union and an important figure in the United Hebrew Trades, an organization which sheltered the smaller and weaker American Jewish trade unions. Feinstone was a close associate of the organization's outstanding leader, Max Pine, whom he succeeded as United Hebrew Trades' secretary in 1928. Feinstone continued Pine's policy of supporting the socialist labor sector in Jewish Palestine through the Histadrut. He also represented the United Hebrew Trades on the executive board of the Central Trades and Labor Council of Greater New York, wrote articles in the New York *Call* and the Yiddish *Jewish Daily Forward* endorsing socialism and labor Zionism, and worked for the establishment of an independent labor party. With the advent of the New Deal, Feinstone's socialist teachings were incorporated by the American Labor Party, which satisfied his desire for a working class political organization. Thereafter, until his death he concentrated on obtaining support for Jewish labor in Palestine.

[Melvyn Dubofsky]

FEIS, HERBERT (1893–1972), U.S. economic historian. Feis, who was born in New York City, was an instructor in economics at Harvard (1920–21), associate professor at the University of Kansas (1922–25), and professor and head of the department of economics at the University of Cincinnati (1926–29). Between 1922 and 1927 he was U.S. adviser to the International Labor Office of the League of Nations. In 1930, he became a member of the staff of the Council on Foreign Relations, in 1931 economic adviser to the U.S. State Department, and from 1937 to 1943 he was adviser on international economics.

Feis was a special adviser to the U.S. secretary of war from 1944 to 1946, and during that period was chief technical adviser to the World Economic and Monetary Conference in London. From 1948 he was a member of the Institute for Advanced Study at Princeton. His many publications include *Europe, The World's Banker 1870–1914* (1930, 1965^3), *The Spanish Story* (1948, 1966^2), *The Road to Pearl Harbor* (1950, 1964^2), *The Diplomacy of the Dollar* (1950, 1965^2), *The China Tangle* (1953, 1965^3), *Churchill, Roosevelt, Stalin* (1957, 1966^2), *Between War and Peace – the Potsdam Conference* (1960, 1967^2), *Japan Subdued* (1961), *Foreign Aid and Foreign Policy* (1964, 1966^2), *1933: Characters in Crisis* (1966), *The Atomic Bomb & the End of World War II* (1966), and *The Birth of Israel: The Tousled Diplomatic Bed* (1969). Feis was awarded the Pulitzer Prize in 1961 for *Between War and Peace*, which dealt with the origins of the Cold War.

In 1982 the American Historical Association established the Herbert Feis Award, which is offered annually to recognize the scholarly interests of historians outside academe and the importance of the work of independent scholars in the United States.

Feis' wife, Ruth, was the granddaughter of James Garfield, the 20th president of the United States.

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[Joachim O. Ronall / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

FEITELSON, MENAHEM MENDEL (1870–1912), Hebrew writer and critic. Feitelson, who was born in Mikhailovka, Crimea, taught in Melitopol, and was active in the Hebrew Language Association in that city. A contributor to the Hebrew press from his youth, he later published articles of topical interest and literary criticism. He wrote for *Ha-Meliẓ* (a comprehensive study of Mendele Mokher Seforim), *Ha-Ẓefirah*, and other journals. After publishing *Meḥkarim be-Korot Yisrael* (1890), he gave up writing for a time, taught in Sebastopol, and at the turn of the century settled in Yekaterinoslav. There he wrote a series of articles on Hebrew writers for *Ha-Shilo'aḥ* and also contributed to other periodicals. Unable to find employment in the literary centers of Eastern Europe, he grew increasingly depressed and committed suicide in 1912. The immediate reason for Feitelson's suicide is believed to be Mendele's insulting remarks to him regarding the essay he had written on Mendele. I. Cohen edited a collection of Feitelson's prose, *Beḥinot ve-Ha'arakhot* (1970), which includes an essay on the writer by A.B. Jaffe.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: F. Lachower, in: M.M. Feitelson, *Ketavim* (1914); N. Goren, *Mevakkerim be-Sifrutenu* (1944), 59–68; Waxman, Literature, 4 (1960^2), 412–3; J. Barzilai, *Ha-Shilo'aḥ* 1896–1927 (1964), [index to *Ha-Shilo'aḥ*], 41.

[Getzel Kressel]

FEITH, DOUGLAS J. (1953–), U.S. government adviser. Born and reared in Philadelphia, where his father, Dalck Feith, a Holocaust survivor, was a prominent businessman and philanthropist. Feith was educated at Harvard College (*magna cum laude* 1975) and Georgetown University Law Center (*magna cum laude* 1978). He began his public career in 1975, working as an intern on Senator Henry M. ("Scoop") Jackson's Subcommittee on Investigations. Feith then served in the Reagan Administration as a National Security Council Middle East specialist and as Richard Perle's deputy at the Pentagon. Throughout the 1990s, he advised Republican members of Congress on a range of national security matters, including the Gulf War, arms control, and Bosnia. Feith has written numerous newspaper and journal articles on national security issues such as terrorism, missile defenses, chemical weapons, U.S.-Soviet relations, and the Middle East

In July 2001 Feith was appointed by President George W. Bush as under secretary of defense for policy, effectively the third-ranking civilian position in the U.S. Department of Defense. Following the September 11, 2001, attack on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon, Feith played an important role in developing U.S. government strategy for the war on terrorism, advising Secretary of Defense Rumsfeld on policy issues relating to Afghanistan, Iraq, and other aspects of the war. Feith was instrumental also in other defense initiatives, including realigning the U.S. global defense posture, adding new members to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and reforming NATO's military and civilian structures, creating new U.S. defense ties in South Asia, launching of the Global Peace Operations Initiative to increase the capacity of various countries to send forces abroad to keep or enforce the peace and negotiating with Russia the Moscow Treaty on offensive nuclear weapons.

Like a number of Jewish intellectuals who grew up in liberal, pro-Franklin Delano Roosevelt homes, Feith came to identify himself with a group of "neo-conservatives" serving in or supporting the Reagan Administration who viewed the Cold War as a clash of basic philosophical principles, not just a great power contest. Feith also staked out contrarian views on such issues as the "oil weapon" (he thought its power exaggerated and the financial costs would be high for whatever state tried to use it), arms control treaties (he thought their benefits were illusory), and the Oslo peace process (he predicted it would fail as a result of Arafat's deficient statesmanship and lack of commitment to peace). Those views generated controversy and helped make him a lightning rod later for critics of the Iraq War of 2003. While rejecting the label of Wilsonian idealism, Feith, along with Natan *Sharansky and Paul Wolfowitz, has helped elaborate the idea, which President George W. Bush has made central to U.S. foreign policy, that democratic institutions are the route to peace and prosperity and that peoples in the Middle East, as elsewhere, will choose freedom and democratic political institutions if given the chance.

Feith's community work included service as president of the Charles E. Smith Jewish Day School.

[Mark Feldman (2nd ed.)]

FEIWEL, BERTHOLD (1875–1937), Zionist leader and poet. Born in Pohrlitz, Moravia, Feiwel began his higher education in Brno, where he founded the Zionist student organization Veritas. In 1893 he studied law at Vienna University and became Herzl's close associate, helping to organize the First Zionist Congress in 1897. He contributed to the central organ of the Zionist Organization, *Die Welt*, and became its editor-in-chief in 1901. In his articles he emphasized that Zionism cannot content itself with the political and diplomatic activity of its leaders; it must also bring about the renewal of Jewish spiritual and social life in the Diaspora. At the first Conference of Austrian Zionists at Olmuetz (1901), Feiwel introduced a program of Zionist Diaspora activity, arguing that Zionism means not only the Jewish people seeking refuge in Ereẓ Israel, but also preparing itself (in the Diaspora) for its future commonwealth. Diaspora work covered the whole range of Jewish life in the countries of dispersion: political, economic, cultural, and sporting activities. When his program was rejected by the Zionist Executive, Feiwel resigned as editor of *Die Welt* and, together with Martin Buber, Chaim Weizmann, and others, created the Democratic Fraction as an opposition group at the Fifth Zionist Congress. Together with Martin Buber, Davis Trietsch, and the painter E.M. Lilien, Feiwel founded the *Juedischer Verlag, a publishing house that distributed mainly German translations of Hebrew and Yiddish literature.

In 1903, after the *Kishinev pogrom, Feiwel published *Die Judenmassacres in Kischinew* under the pseudonym Told. Based on an on-the-spot investigation, this book shocked public opinion. Feiwel had close contacts with Jewish authors in Eastern Europe and became a gifted translator of their works. In the book *Junge Harfen* (1914) he presented their modern poetry. The *Juedischer Almanach* (1902), an anthology edited by Feiwel, as well as *Lieder des Ghetto* (1902, 1920), translations of poems of the Yiddish poet Morris Rosenfeld with drawings by E.M. Lilien, also had considerable literary influence. After World War I (1919), Feiwel's friend Weizmann summoned him to London to become his political and economic adviser. When Keren Hayesod was founded (1920), Feiwel became one of its first directors. In 1933 he settled in Jerusalem.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Berthold Feiwel ha-Ish u-Fo'alo* (1959); Ch. Weizmann, *Trial and Error* (1949), index. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** A. Schenker, *Der juedische Verlag 1902–1938 – Zwischen Aufbruch, Bluete und Vernichtung* (2003).

[Samuel Hugo Bergman]

FEJÉR, LEOPOLD (1880–1959), Hungarian mathematician. Fejér was educated in Budapest and Berlin. He spent a year in Berlin where he met H.A. Schwarz who had a decisive influence on his mathematical career. He was appointed professor at Budapest in 1911 and elected to full membership in the Hungarian Academy of Sciences in 1930. After being dismissed from his chair during World War II he narrowly escaped being killed by the fascist regime. Fejér's Ph.D. thesis contained the classic result now known as Fejér's theorem that "a Fourier series is Cesàro summable (C,1) to the value of the function at each point of continuity." This key result gave great impetus to further developments in Fourier and divergent series. A complete list of his publications is given in *Matematikai Lapok* (vol. 1 (1950), 267–72).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: G. Pólya, in: *Journal of the London Mathematical Society*, 36 (1961), 501–6.

[Barry Spain]

FEJTÖ, FRANÇOIS (Ferenc; 1906–), author, critic, and journalist. Fejtö was born in Zagreb. Together with P. Ignotus and A. József, he was a founder of the Hungarian literary journal *Szép Szó* (Budapest, 1935). In 1938 he was accused by the Budapest police of being a Communist and fled from Hungary, settling in Paris. An expert on Eastern European politics, Fejtö was a prominent socialist and an independent thinker. Both in his political writings and in his fiction he was preoccupied with the Jewish question, particularly the relationship of Jews and Communists. His works include *Érzelmes utazás* ("Sentimental Journey," 1937), *Chine–URSS, la fin d'une hégémonie* (1964), *Henri Heine* (1946), and *Le printemps des peuples dans les pays communistes* (1960).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Magyar Irodalmi Lexikon*, 1 (1963), 341.

[Baruch Yaron]

FEKETE, MICHAEL (1886–1957), Israel mathematician. Born at Zenta, Hungary, Fekete was associated with the Hungarian School of Mathematics and was assistant at Budapest University from 1912 to 1919. In 1928 he accepted a position as lecturer at the Institute of Mathematics in the Hebrew University, Jerusalem, becoming professor in the following year. From 1946 to 1948 he was rector of the university. A dedicated teacher, he laid the foundations of mathematical studies and research there, and played an important part in the development of his department.

Fekete's many and varied contributions included the theory of numbers, algebraic equations, and above all the theory of functions. He considered his greatest achievement to have been the discovery of the transfinite diameter, which won him the Israel Prize for the exact sciences in 1955.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: J.C. Poggendorf, *Biographisch-literarisches Handwoerterbuch*, 2 (1937), s.v. (incls. list of his works).

[David Maisel]

FELD, ISAAC (1862–1922), poet who wrote in German. Born in Lvov, Feld studied and practiced law, in addition to teaching throughout his life. One of the members of Ḥovevei Zion in Galicia, his *Dort wo die Zeder* was a very popular Zionist song. It first appeared in the journal *Selbstemanzipation* in the early 1880s, and was later included in many German, Yiddish, and Hebrew anthologies of Jewish songs. It was published with music in the *Blauweiss Liederbuch* (1914).

ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY: N.M. Gelber, *Toledot ha-Tenu'ah ha-Ẓiyyonit be-Galicia,* index.

[Getzel Kressel]

FELD, JACOB (1899–1975), U.S. civil engineer. Born in Austria, Feld was taken to the U.S. in 1906. He was a graduate of City College, N.Y., and got his Ph.D. from the University of Cincinnati. His engineering designs and constructions include the New York Coliseum, Guggenheim Museum, Yonkers Raceway, Sixth Avenue Subway of N.Y.C., airfields, and a naval training station. He was a special consultant to the U.S. Air Force and in 1959 became chairman of the engineering division, New York Academy of Science and later became president of the academy and a fellow of the American Society of Civil Engineers (ASCE), which cited him in 1969 as Metropolitan Engineer of the Year. Feld was active in Jewish community affairs.

FELDBERG, LEON (1910–), South African newspaper publisher and editor. Son of the rabbi of Krok, Lithuania, he went to yeshivot in Ponevezh and Slobodka, and received a rabbinical diploma. He started his journalistic career in Riga, working for Yiddish newspapers. In 1929, he emigrated to South Africa and, after serving as a minister and teacher, went into business. In 1936 he established the weekly *South African Jewish Times*, which he edited until 1969. He also set up a printing and publishing plant and issued the *South African Jewish Year Book* (1960, 1961) and *South African Jewry* (1965, 1967).

[Lewis Sowden]

FELDER, GEDALIA (1921/2–1991), Canadian rabbi and halakhic authority. Felder was born in Iczuki-dolne in Galicia and studied in the local yeshivah and with other rabbis in Poland, including Yeshivat Keter Torah Radomsk in Cracow. His father, Hersch, immigrated to Canada in 1930, living briefly in Winnipeg and then in Montreal before bringing his family to Canada in 1937. Felder continued his studies in Montreal and then in Toronto under Rabbi Abraham Price at his Yeshivat Torat Chaim. Felder received his ordination from Price in 1940.

Between 1940 and 1949 Felder served as rabbi for several small Jewish communities in southern Ontario: Sarnia (1941–43), Belleville (1943–45), and Brantford (1945–49). One of his students in the last town spoke of the *menschlichkeit* of Felder and the warm reception students received in his household. Between 1943 and 1945 Felder was a part-time chaplain with the Royal Canadian Air Force for Trenton and District. In 1949 Felder moved to Toronto, where he remained for the rest of his life. Upon his arrival, Felder assumed the pulpit of Shomrei Shabbos, a synagogue founded by Galician Jews in the late 19th century. He taught at Price's Yeshivat Torat Chaim and was a staunch supporter of the Eitz Chaim Talmud Torah, the school established by Polish Jews several decades earlier. In Toronto, he also served for years as the chairman of the Va'ad ha-Kashrut of the Central Region (i.e., Ontario) of the Canadian Jewish Congress, and was a supporter of the Mizrachi organization. Felder did not cut himself off from non-Orthodox Jews, participating in the Toronto Rabbinical Fellowship, which brought together for discussion rabbis of various denominations, including, among others, Walter Wurzberger (Orthodox), Stuart *Rosenberg (Conservative), and Gunther *Plaut (Reform).

Felder achieved an international reputation on the basis of his halakhic works: the *Yesodei Yeshurun* (6 vols., 1954–70), which deals with laws regarding the liturgy, the Sabbath, and Passover; the two-volume *Naḥalat Ẓevi* (1952–72) in which he grapples with the thorny issues of adoption, proselytes, and divorce; some of his early responsa are collected in *She'elot u-Teshuvot She'elat Yeshurun* (1964); and in 1977 Felder published an edition of *Sefer Tanya Rabbati*, a work attributed to Jehiel ben Jekuthiel ha-Rofe Anav of 13th century Italy. Felder also published in a host of journals devoted to halakhic issues. In recognition of Felder's erudition, he was appointed one of the five members of the Beth Din of the Rabbinical Council of America.

[Richard Menkis (2nd ed.)]

FELDHEIM, PHILIPP (1901–1990), U.S. publisher of sacred books and translations in English translation. Born in Vienna, Feldheim was sent away to a series of yeshivot in Europe where he studied under the direction of Rabbi Joseph Ẓevi *Duschinksy. He returned to Vienna, where he was active in communal affairs, most especially Agudat Israel. Arrested on **Kristallnacht* Feldheim resolved to leave Austria and immigrated to the United States with thirty dollars in his pocket. He settled in Williamsburg, where he first sold books from his apartment and received shipments of Jewish sacred books from Europe. From his apartment he moved to rented quarters and then decided to publish books instead of only importing them.

He was involved in printing the first Talmud to be printed in the United States. He moved to Washington Heights in 1950, where he came under the influence of Rabbi Joseph *Breuer, who encouraged him to translate important Jewish books into English, much as the community in Germany had made sacred works available in German. Feldheim undertook the publication of the English translation of the writings of Rabbi Samson Raphael Hirsch and Rabbi Elie Monk, and such works as *The Path of the Just* and the *Gates of Repentance* and Irving Bunim's *Ethics from Sinai*. He was both a distributor and publisher and spearheaded the creation of an English-language ultra-Orthodox corpus of works, essential for reaching a new generation of Jews comfortable in the English language.

[Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

FELDMAN, ABRAHAM JEHIEL (1893–1977), U.S. Reform rabbi and a Zionist leader. Feldman was born in Kiev, Ukraine, immigrating to New York in 1906 and settling in the lower East Side. He went to college at the University of Cincinatti where he received his B.A. (1917) and he was ordained at Hebrew Union College (1918). He then served in pulpits at the Free Synagogue in Flushing, the Congregation Children of Israel in Athens, Georgia, and Keneseth Israel in Philadelphia, where the illness of the senior rabbi forced him to assume responsibilities ordinarily not given to a younger rabbi. In 1925, he moved to Beth Israel of Hartford, Conn., where he served as rabbi until his retirement in 1968, setting a tradition of longevity that was to mark the religious leadership of Connecticut's capital. In the New Deal, he served as education director for the National Recovery Administration in Connecticut and later was State Chairman of the National Recovery Administration Adjustment Board. He was a founder with Samuel Neusner of the *Connecticut Jewish Ledger* and served as editor until 1977. He was a master orator, who felt that the sermon may not only inform the mind but shape the heart. He perceived himself as the Jewish ambassador to the non-Jewish world and taught a course at the Hartford Theological Seminary. A distinguished leader in state and communal affairs, he has also been prominent in rabbinical circles and was president of the Central Conference of American Rabbis during 1947–49, President of the interdenominational Synagogue Council of America (1955–57). A prolific author and journalist, activist rabbi and communal Rabbi Feldman wrote 26 books and many scholarly articles as well as literally thousands of journalistic pieces. Among his books are *Why I am a Zionist* (1945) and *American Reform Rabbi* (1965), as well as many articles.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: L. Karol, "Rabbinic Leadership in the Reform Movement as Reflected in the Life and Writings of Abraham Jehiel Feldman" (Rabbinic Thesis, Hebrew Union College); A.J. Feldman, *The American Jew* (1964).

[Abram Vossen Goodman]

FELDMAN, HERMAN (1889–1969), U.S. army officer. Born in New York, Feldman joined the army as a private in the field artillery. During World War I he was sent to France and was commissioned in the field artillery. During World War II Feldman again served in the quartermaster corps, eventually being promoted to major general. At the end of the war, Feldman was awarded the Legion of Merit for outstanding services in England and North Africa. A second Legion of Merit was awarded by Admiral Nimitz for outstanding service in the Pacific. He also earned the Distinguished Service Medal and Army Commendation Medal for his service in World War II. In 1949 Feldman was nominated by President Truman as quartermaster general. He retired in 1951 after a distinguished 43-year army career.

[Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

FELDMAN, IRVING (1928–), U.S. poet. Feldman taught at Kenyon College from 1958 to 1964, and subsequently at the New York State University in Buffalo. His poetry, including *The Pripet Marshes* (1965), is frequently on Jewish themes. In his reading of Feldman's poetry, found in *The Hollins Critic* of February 1997, David Slavitt has called the poem "The Pripet Marches" "one of the dozen or so most interesting and powerful poems of our generation." Feldman's poems are found, as well, in his *Collected Poems, 1954–2004* (2004).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: H. Schweizer (ed.), *The Poetry of Irving Feldman* (1992).

[Lewis Fried (2nd ed.)]

FELDMAN, LOUIS H. (1926–), U.S. professor of classics and literature. Born in Hartford, Connecticut, Feldman received his undergraduate degree from Trinity College in 1946, and his master's degree in 1947; his doctoral degree in classical philology is from Harvard University (1951). He was a teaching fellow at Trinity in 1951 and 1952, then an instructor in classics in 1952 and 1953. He was an instructor at Hobart and William Smith Colleges from 1953 to 1955, then joined Yeshiva University of New York as an instructor in humanities and history. He was an assistant professor at Yeshiva University from 1956 to 1961, an associate professor from 1961, and he was appointed a professor of classics in 1966. He subsequently became the

Abraham Wouk Family Professor of Classics and Literature. Feldman served as associate editor of *Classical Weekly* from 1955 to 1957 and as managing editor of *Classical World* from 1957 to 1959.

Feldman is renowned as a scholar of Hellenistic civilization, specifically of the works of Josephus. A fellow of the American Academy for Jewish Research, he received numerous fellowships and awards, including a Ford Foundation fellowship (1951–52), a Guggenheim fellowship (1963), a grant from the Memorial Foundation for Jewish Culture (1969), and a grant from the American Philosophical Association (1972). He was named a senior fellow of the American Council of Learned Societies in 1971, a Littauer Foundation fellow in 1973, and a Wurzweiler Foundation fellow in 1974.

Feldman's works include *Scholarship on Philo and Josephus, 1937–1962* (1963), *Josephus and Modern Scholarship, 1937–1980* (1984), *Jew and Gentile in the Ancient World: Attitudes and Interactions from Alexander to Justinian* (1993), *Studies in Hellenistic Judaism* (1998), and *Studies in Josephus' Rewritten Bible* (1998). He was editor and translator of *Jewish Antiquities, Books 18–20* (1965) and editor of *Jewish Life and Thought among Greeks and Romans: Primary Readings* (1996). He coedited, with Gohei Hata, *Josephus, Judaism, and Christianity* (1987) and *Josephus, the Bible, and History* (1989). Feldman contributed extensively to journals in his field, and he was departmental editor of Hellenistic literature for the first edition of the *Encyclopaedia Judaica* and a contributor to the *Encyclopaedia Brittanica*.

[Dorothy Bauhoff (2nd ed.)]

FELDMAN, MARTIN ("Marty"; 1934–1982), British comedian and scriptwriter. Born in London to Orthodox Jewish parents, Marty Feldman left school at 15 and, in 1957, joined the BBC as a staff writer, continuing for ten years as a television and radio comedy scriptwriter for such shows as BBC radio's *Round the Horne*. From 1967 he was chiefly an actor, his trademark bulging eyes and gangling frame being instantly recognizable. He became internationally famous in the five years after he moved to Hollywood in 1974, co-starring with Gene *Wilder in such cult comedies as *Young Frankenstein* (1974), in which he played "Igor," and *Silent Movie* (1976). Like many clowns, in private life Feldman was a sad, unhappy man. His bulging eyes were caused by a chronic thyroid deficiency, and his manic-depressive personality led to dependence on drugs and alcohol. He died of a heart attack at the age of 48.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: ODNB.

[William D. Rubinstein (2nd ed.)]

FELDMAN, MIROSLAV (1899–1976), Yugoslav poet and playwright. A practicing physician, Feldman was born in Virovitica. His first poems appeared in 1920. Later collections included *Ratna lirika* ("War Lyrics," 1947) and *Pitat će kako je bilo* ("They Will Ask How It Was," 1959). Among his successful dramas were *Zec* ("Rabbit," 1932), *Profesor Žić* (1934), *U pozadini* ("Behind the Lines," 1939, 1953^2), and *Doći će dan* ("The Day Will Come," 1951). Feldman, who dealt mainly with war and love themes, was president of the Croatian Writers' Association (1955). He also wrote theatrical pieces and in 1976 was awarded the AVNOJ prize (the highest literary award). At first a Zionist, he later embraced Communism.

FELDMAN, MORTON (1926–1987), U.S. composer. Born in New York City, Feldman began studying the piano with Vera Maurina-Press at the age of 12 (the work *Madame Press Died Last Week at Ninety* was written in 1970 in her memory), and later studied composition and counterpoint with Wallingford Riegger and Stefan *Wolpe. With composers John Cage, Earle Brown, and Christian Wolff and pianist David Tudor, he became part of an American avant-garde group interested in bringing to music the same aesthetic concepts of art and expression that had marked the abstract expressionist American painters (such as de Kooning and Pollock) of the early 1950s. His earliest works, *Projections* (1950–51), explored the field of indeterminacy in music and the use of graphic notation. Although Feldman later varied and combined his methods of notating works, he was always concerned with examining the extreme limits of slowness (in durations and tempi) and softness (of dynamic range) of which music is capable, and with timbres created by non-traditional methods, e.g., piano sounds produced without traditional forms of attack. His output was large: many piano pieces for soloist and combinations of two and three pianos, notably *Last Pieces*; and orchestral and ensemble works – *Numbers*, for nine instruments; *Atlantis* (1958); *Structures for Orchestra* (1960–62); *Out of Last Pieces; For Franz Kline*, for soprano and four other players; *Rabbi Akiba*, for soprano and ten instruments; *On Time and the Instrumental Factor*, for small orchestra (1969); and the series of pieces for solo viola and various groupings of accompanying instruments entitled *The Viola in My Life*. He worked on films, and collaborated on the ballet *Summerspace* (1966) with choreographer Merce Cunningham and painter Robert Rauschenberg. In 1971 Feldman wrote *Rothko Chapel* for soloists, chorus, and instrumental ensemble which was commissioned as a tribute to the painter, who had died a year before. Some of the composer's late works reflected his interest in the woven patterns in Anatolian rugs and in Jasper John's crosshatch paintings (*Why Patterns*, 1978, *Crippled Symmetry*, 1983). *Coptic Light* (1986), Feldman's last orchestral work, was inspired by the early Coptic textiles at the Louvre. Feldman defended his aesthetics in a number of essays (*Essays*, ed. W. Zimmermann, Kerpen, 1985).

ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY: NG^2; MGG^2; T. DeLio (ed.), *The Music of Morton Feldman* (1985).

[Max Loppert / Yulia Kreinin (2nd ed.)]

FELDMAN, SANDRA (1939–2005), U.S. teacher, trade union activist, and labor union executive. Born in New York City to Milton and Frances Abramowitz, Feldman earned an M.A. degree in English literature from New York University. Active in the civil rights movement of the 1960s, she also taught elementary school on the Lower East Side of Manhattan. In 1966 Feldman became a full-time field representative for New York City's United Federation of Teachers. She worked her way through the ranks following in the footsteps of her mentor, Albert *Shanker. In 1986, she became the first woman president of the largest local union in the United States. She served until 1997, when on May 6, the national American Federation of Teacher's executive council unanimously elected her the 15th president of the national organization. In the same month, she was also elected a vice president of the American Federation of Labor-Congress of Industrial Organizations (AFL-CIO).

As a public school educator, Feldman devoted herself to improving the working conditions of teachers, promoting higher educational standards for students, and strengthening curricula in the schools. During her tenure as president of the American Federation of Teachers, the organization experienced record growth, representing more than one million educators, healthcare professionals, public employees, and retirees. Feldman's second husband was Arthur Barnes, former president of the New York Urban Coalition.

Feldman supported the rights and concerns of children, women, and workers on local, national, and global levels through her association with the Council on Competitiveness, the International Rescue Committee, the A. Philip Randolph Institute, the Jewish Labor Committee, the Coalition of Labor Women, the New York Urban League, Women's Forum, Women's Committee on Refugee Children, Child Labor Coalition, the United States Committee for UNICEF, and the National Council of Americans to Prevent Handgun Violence.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: R. Holub. "Feldman, Sandra," in: P.E. Hyman and D. Dash Moore (eds.), *Jewish Women in America: An Historical Encyclopedia*, vol. 1 (1997), 404–5; "Feldman, Sandra," in: *Who's Who in America 2004*, vol. 1, 1568–69. **WEBSITE:** www.aft.org.

[Peggy K. Pearlstein (2nd ed.)]

FELDMAN, SHIMSHON SIMON (1909–1995), leader of the Jewish Ashkenazi community of Mexico. He was born in Skvira, Ukraine, and studied in a *talmud torah*, and in a Russian public school. His mother died before his 13th birthday, and in 1924 he immigrated alone to Mexico. During his first years there he worked as a peddler. In 1928 he opened his first shop and brought his father and brothers to Mexico. In the 1930s he prospered and at the end of World War II owned a number of factories. In 1942 he joined the Board of the Ashkenazi Nidhei Isroel congregation. In 1942 he became its president – a position he held for 50 years. In this role he dedicated himself to the strengthening of Jewish education and to the development of Jewish schools, to religious community life, to supplying Jewish and non-Jewish needs, and to giving moral and material support to the State of Israel.

[Efraim Zadoff (2nd ed.)]

FELDMAN, WILHELM (1868–1919), Polish author and critic. Born in Zbaraz, Galicia, he was of ḥasidic origin, but advocated assimilation and was in fact converted before his death. As editor of the Cracow monthly *Krytyka* (1901–14) and as a literary critic, Feldman was prominent in the progressive literary movement, Mloda Polska ("Young Poland"). His critical works include *Współczesna literatura polska* ("Contemporary Polish Literature," 1903, 1930^{8}), a study which roused considerable controversy owing to his radical opinions; and *Współczesna krytyka literacka w Polsce* ("Contemporary Literary Criticism in Poland," 1905). Among Feldman's political books are *Stronnictwa i programy polityczne w Galicji, 1846–1906* ("Political Parties and Programs in Galicia 1846–1906," 2 vols., 1907); and *Dzieje polskiej myśli politycznej w okresie porozbiorowym* ("History of Polish Political Thought since the Partitions," 3 vols., 1920). Although Feldman wrote novels on Jewish themes, his unsympathetic attitude became increasingly evident. Two works on Jewish problems were *Asymilatorzy syoniści i polacy* ("Assimilationists, Zionists and Poles," 1893); and *Stosunek Adama Mickiewicza do Żydów* ("Mickiewicz's Attitude to the Jews," 1890).

Wilhelm Feldman's son JÓZEF (1899–1946), historian, was professor at the Jagellonian University of Cracow. His books include *Polska i sprawa wschodnia 1709–1714* ("Poland and the Eastern Question 1709–1714," 1926) and *Problem polsko-niemiecki w dziejach* (1946, tr. of previous version *Polish-German Antagonism in History*, 1935).

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[Moshe Altbauer]

FELDSHUH, TOVAH (1952–), U.S. actress. Born Terri Sue Feldshuh in New York, she attended Scarsdale High School, Sarah Lawrence College, and the University of Minnesota, studying drama under Uta Hagen. She switched to using her Hebrew name Tovah when a boyfriend in college complained that Terri Sue sounded too Southern, in marked contrast to generations of Jewish actors who changed their names. She made her stage debut in July 1971 playing small parts in *Cyrano de Bergerac* at the Guthrie in Minneapolis. Her Broadway debut followed in 1973, when she played two parts in the musical *Cyrano*. In 1974 Feldshuh appeared as Myriam in the comedy *Dreyfus in Rehearsal* on Broadway, in the title role in *Yentl* at the Brooklyn Academy of Music Playhouse, and in the musical revue *Rodgers & Hart* at the beginning of 1975. In October 1975, she reprised her role in *Yentl* on Broadway at the Eugene O'Neill Theater, which earned her a Tony nomination and a Theater World Award. Feldshuh's extensive and acclaimed film and television career includes appearances on the soap opera *Ryan's Hope* (1975) and in the made-for-TV movie *The Amazing Howard Hughes* (1977) as Katharine Hepburn, followed by her role as Czech freedom fighter Helena Slomova in the 1978 TV mini-series *Holocaust*. Years later, Feldshuh would also narrate the film testimony at the U.S. Holocaust Museum. From 1991, she had a repeat role as defense attorney Danielle Melnick on the crime drama *Law & Order*. Her feature film roles include *The Idolmaker* (1980), *Daniel* (1983), *Brewster's Millions* (1985), *Saying Kaddish* (1991), *Citizen Cohn* (1992), *A Walk On the Moon* (1999), and *Kissing Jessica Stein* (2001). In 1989, Feldshuh returned to Broadway as Maria in *Lend Me a Tenor* at the Royale Theater, which earned her a third Tony nomination. Her fourth Tony nomination came in 2004 for her one-woman show about the life of Golda Meir, *Golda's Balcony*. Other awards and nominations include four Drama Desk awards, four Outer Critics Circle awards, the Obie, the Emmy, the Eleanor Roosevelt Humanities Award, Hadassah's Myrtle Wreath, and the Israel Peace Medal. Married to attorney Andrew Harris-Levy, Feldshuh has two children. Pulitzer Prize-nominated playwright David Feldshuh is her brother.

[Adam Wills (2nd ed.)]

FELEKY, GÉZA (1890–1936), Hungarian journalist, author, and art critic. Born in Budapest, he wrote on art for *Nyugat* ("West") and later joined the liberal newspapers, *Pesti Napló* ("Budapest Daily") and *Világ* ("World"). He was editor in chief of *Világ* (1920–25), and later became a director of *Magyar Hirlap* ("Hungarian News"). He strove to regain Jewish rights lost under the Horthy regency and was author of historical essays, including *Kaiser und Krieg* (1933).

°FELIX, ANTONIUS, procurator of Judea 52–60 C.E. He was a brother of the freedman Pallas, who was influential in Rome. Felix, appointed to the procuratorship by the emperor Claudius, married Drusilla, daughter of Agrippa I (cf. Acts 24:24). Felix's period of office was one of constant unrest. Tacitus (Historiae 5:9; Annales 12:54) states scathingly that "with all manner of cruelty and lust he exercised royal function in the spirit of a slave." Immediately on his arrival in Judea he seized Eleazar b. Dinai, the leader of the *Sicarii, together with a number of his men, and sent them in chains to Rome; he crucified many more. Taking advantage of the hostility of the Sicarii toward certain classes among the Jews, Felix encouraged them to assassinate the high priest Jonathan, who had presumed to advise him on how to conduct affairs in Judea. He ruthlessly crushed any real or imaginary attempt at rebellion. Believing an exhortation by a prophet to go into the wilderness to be an incitement to insurrection, he dispatched a force which killed many who had been persuaded to go there (Jos., Ant., 20:166). An Egyptian prophet promised to demonstrate to the masses his power to make the walls of Jerusalem fall at a simple command. When he arrived at the Mount of Olives with his followers, Felix attacked them and killed many, although the prophet himself escaped (cf. Acts 21:38). In Caesarea, the residence of the procurator, a civic dispute between the Syrians and the Jews erupted into violence. When the Jews refused to desist, Felix sent soldiers against them. During Felix's term of office, the apostle Paul was imprisoned. According to the New Testament, he was kept in custody to please the Jews (Acts 23:24; 24:27), but this motive is difficult to accept in view of all that transpired during Felix's procuratorship. The more probable explanation is that Paul's being a Roman citizen prevented Felix from treating him as he had others. In 60 C.E. Felix was succeeded by *Festus Porcius, under whom the conflict in Caesarea continued.

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[Lea Roth]

FELIX LIBERTATE (Lat. "Happy through Freedom"), name of a society founded in Amsterdam in February 1795 with the object of attaining Jewish emancipation in the Netherlands and spreading enlightened ideas among Amsterdam Jewry. The society was sponsored by a number of prominent – mainly Ashkenazi – Jews, including M.S. *Asser and Dr. H. de H. Lemon, who wanted to enlist opinion both inside and outside the Jewish community for obtaining full civic rights for the Jews. Leaders of Amsterdam Jewry, who did not allow them to spread their views in the synagogue, opposed their activities. Contrary to the Orangist majority of the Jewish community, the members of Felix Libertate were sympathizers of the party of the Radical Patriots. Attempts by the municipal council to intervene in the dispute were unsuccessful. One of the first acts of Felix Libertate was the translation of the Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Citizen into Yiddish. Felix Libertate failed to win general approval from other revolutionary societies, although one-third of the membership was not Jewish. They therefore conducted an active campaign both verbally and in print to have their resolution for Jewish emancipation accepted. Pamphlets were published by M.S. Asser and David *Friedrichsfeld, among others, stressing the competence of Jews as active citizens and a republican universalist outlook. On September 2, 1796, the National Assembly declared complete emancipation. Subsequently, Felix Libertate demanded a revision of the statutes of the Amsterdam Ashkenazi community, especially those regulating its governing body and care of the poor. When the *parnasim* rejected these claims, 21 members seceded from the community and founded the Adath Jessurun congregation, whose members were excommunicated by the existing *parnasim*. The two communities engaged in bitter controversy and both published a Yiddish journal entitled "Discourse" (Yid. דישקוהרש), one issued by the older body, the so-called "*Alte Kehile*" and the other by the "*Naye Kehile*" (1797–98). When two members of Felix Libertate, Bromet and Lemon, were elected to the National Assembly, they dismissed the *parnasim* with the help of the government in March 1798. However, the *parnasim* succeeded in having the dismissal annulled when a less extreme group came to power (June 1798). Subsequently, Felix Libertate discontinued its activities. The Adath Jessurun congregation existed until it was reunited with the old *kehillah* by a decree of King Louis Bonaparte in 1808.

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[Jozeph Michman (Melkman) / Bart Wallet (2nd ed.)]

FELLER, ABRAHAM HOWARD (1905–1952), U.S. lawyer and government official. Feller was born in New York City. He taught at Harvard from 1931 to 1934, specializing in international law. Entering government service in Washington, Feller worked in a variety of federal agencies for the next 12 years, as special assistant to the U.S. Attorney General's Office, as legal consultant to the Office of Lend-Lease Administration, and during World War II as general counsel of the Office of War Information and general counsel of the UN Relief and Rehabilitation Administration. In 1946 he was appointed general counsel to the United Nations, a position in which he functioned as chief legal adviser to Secretary-General Trygve Lie. Several days after Lie's resignation in 1952, Feller leaped to his death from his New York apartment. Although he himself had made no such declaration, his suicide was widely interpreted both nationally and internationally as a protest against the Senate Internal Security Committee's investigation of alleged "Communist penetration" of the American delegation to the UN. His book *The United Nations and the World Community* (1952) appeared shortly before his death.

FELLER, SHNEYUR ZALMAN (1913–), lawyer. He was born in Botosani (North Moldavia) and studied law at the University of Jassy. In 1944, as a refugee in the Soviet Union, Feller was appointed public prosecutor in Kishinev. He returned to Romania in 1946 and worked as a lawyer in Botosani where he was also deputy mayor and president of the Jewish community. From 1948 he was successively judge and public prosecutor. He held other high offices in the Ministry of Justice and in 1951 was appointed professor of jurisprudence at the University of Bucharest. Between 1949 and 1961 he published many articles and notes on criminal law and drafted the Romanian penal code. Feller, who emigrated to Israel in 1963, joined the Hebrew University in 1965, and became professor of criminal law in 1968. In 1971 he was named dean of the Law Faculty and in 1972 he became a full professor. In 1981 he retired from the Hebrew University, but continued to teach voluntarily at the Faculty and at the Ramat Gan Law College. In 1994 he was awarded the Israel Prize.

FELLNER, WILLIAM JOHN (1905–1983), U.S. economist. Fellner was born in Budapest and studied at the university there. Fellner's main interests lay in economic analysis and monetary policies. He was a partner in an industrial enterprise and lectured in economics in Budapest before going to the U.S. in 1938. He taught economics first at the University of California at Berkeley and, beginning in 1952, at Yale University, where he was appointed professor of economics and subsequently chairman of the department. Regarded as one of America's premier economists, Fellner served the United States government as consulting expert to the U.S. Treasury Department and the National Securities Board. In 1973 he was appointed by President Nixon to the U.S. Council of Economic Advisers. That year he was also appointed one of the first resident scholars of the American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research. He also served as a policy adviser to the *European Community.

His major publications include a treatise on *War Inflation* (1942), *Monetary Policies and Full Employment* (1946), *Competition among the Few* (1949), *Trends and Cycles in Economic Activity* (1956), *Emergence and Content of Modern Economic Analysis* (1960), *Probability and Profit* (1965), *Maintaining and Restoring Balance in International Payments* (1966), *Ten Economic Studies in the Tradition of Irving Fisher* (1967), *Towards a Reconstruction of Macroeconomics* (1976), *Contemporary Economic Problems* (1978–81), and *Economic Theory Amidst Political Currents: The Spreading Interest in Monetarism and in the Theory of Market* (1982).

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[Joachim O. Ronall / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

FELMAN, AHARON LEIB (1867–1893), pioneer in citrus culture in Ereẓ Israel and author of the first Hebrew book on the subject. Felman was born in Mezhirech and in 1884 he settled in Ereẓ Israel with his family. He worked in his father's orchard near Jaffa, learning citrus culture from the Arabs. Felman saw the future of Jewish settlement in Ereẓ Israel in the planting of groves on the Coastal Plain, and to train future settlers he wrote a short book on citrus culture entitled *Ma'yan Gannim* ("Spring of the Gardens"), printed in Jerusalem in 1891. It is written in the language of the Mishnah and deals with many aspects of citrus culture, from the purchase of land to the planting of trees, their care, and the cure for various diseases. He died in Petaḥ Tikvah.

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[Avraham Yaari]

FELS, U.S. family of manufacturers and philanthropists.

JOSEPH FELS (1853–1914) was born in Halifax County, Virginia. After living in North Carolina, the Fels family moved to Baltimore, where Joseph left school at 15 to join his father's soap manufacturing business. In 1875 he went into the soap business on his own in Philadelphia. He began manufacturing soap and washing powders by the naphtha process in 1893, and by 1896 the Fels-Naphtha Company's products were so successful that Fels was able to devote most of his time to philanthropic causes. He came to believe that his fortune had been amassed by robbing society, and sought to spend it on causes that would end the unregulated free enterprise system which allowed some men to accumulate great wealth at the expense of others. In 1905 he was converted to Henry George's "single tax" philosophy, which Fels preferred to call "Christianity." Fels believed that God had given land to all the people of the earth, and tax on the unearned increments of landowners would enable all society's members to share the land's bounties. Substantial financial contributions by Fels helped the single tax movement throughout the world, especially in England, where he and his wife lived during 1901–11. He proselytized for the single tax wherever he traveled, as well as for various political reform movements. Fels financed colonies in the United States and England that provided work for the unemployed; he supported the women's suffrage movement in the Western world, and helped social welfare agencies in England. Fels organized the first mass deputation of English women to present petitions to Parliament describing the plight of the poor in London's East End. He was one of the first American manufacturers to institute profit sharing for his workers. Fels backed the Zionist movement and was active in the Jewish Territorial Organization.

MARY FELS (1863–1953). a distant cousin of her husband Joseph, was born in Sembach, Bavaria, and was taken to the U.S. in 1869. She helped her husband with his projects until his death, after which she concentrated her efforts on Zionist activities. She organized the Joseph Fels Foundation in 1925 to advance human welfare through education and to promote the exchange of culture and ideas, especially between the United States and Ereẓ Israel. Mary Fels edited the magazine *The Public* (1917–19) and wrote a biography of her husband (1916).

SAMUEL SIMEON FELS (1869–1950), Joseph's younger brother, was born in Yanceyville, N.C. A partner in the Fels-Naphtha Company, he funded the Fels Planetarium in Philadelphia (1934). In 1936 he established the Samuel S. Fels Fund to promote research in the natural and physical sciences. He also created the Fels Institute of Local and State Government at the University of Pennsylvania.

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[Robert Asher]

FELSENTHAL, BERNHARD (1822–1908), U.S. Reform rabbi. Felsenthal was born in Munchweile, Germany. He intended to enter the Bavarian civil service, but seeing no prospect of being admitted, he attended a teachers' seminary at *Kaiserslautern and taught in Jewish schools before settling in the U.S. in 1854. There Felsenthal served a congregation in Madison, Indiana, as officiant and teacher; then in 1858 he moved to Chicago as clerk in a banking house, while also devoting himself to rabbinical and theological study. Deeply influenced by David *Einhorn, Felsenthal became one of the first protagonists of Reform Judaism in the Midwest. He was a strong opponent of slavery and refused to accept a pulpit in Mobile, Alabama. He was a founder and secretary of the Chicago Juedisches Reformverein. A statement of Reform views which he published in 1859, *Kol Kore ba-Midbar: Ueber Juedische Reform*, attracted some attention, and when the Reformverein developed into the Sinai Congregation, he became its first rabbi (1861). He was ordained by Einhorn and Samuel Adler. In 1864 Felsenthal became rabbi of the newly formed Zion Congregation, which he headed until his retirement in 1887. Felsenthal was a constant student and, though he wrote no books, wielded a ready pen. When questions on ritual came to him, he generally took an advanced Reform view. In several instances he dissented from the proposals of Isaac M. *Wise. Thus, he strongly opposed the establishment of a rabbinical seminary, believing that conditions in America did not provide a satisfactory foundation. On the other hand, he advocated Jewish day schools. In 1879 he declined a professorship at Hebrew Union College. In later years Felsenthal became concerned with the threat to the Jews in America posed by religious indifference, and feeling that the course taken by Reform was preparing a "beautiful death" for Judaism, became an enthusiastic supporter of the Zionist movement. Felsenthal was a founder of the Jewish Publication Society of America and of the American Jewish Historical Society.

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[Sefton D. Temkin]

FELZENBAUM, MICHAEL (**Mikhoel**; 1951–), Yiddish writer. Born in Vassilkoe (Ukraine), Felzenbaum studied drama in Leningrad (1968–74) and then founded the Yiddish Cultural Society in Belz, where he was active in the theater and the Pedagogical Institute (1974–88). In 1991 he immigrated to Israel. As co-founder and later editor of the annual *Naye Vegn* (1992), executive director of the Yiddish Culture Center in Tel Aviv, and head of the H. Leyvik Publishing House, he won the Dovid Hofshteyn Prize (1999) for his multifaceted and socially provocative work. His dramatic and narrative œuvre, which unites the Jewish, modern Yiddish, and European and American literary traditions, is marked by a postmodern, "post-Yiddish" character. An antithetical process operates in his improvised intertextual world that strives toward primordial chaos, where nothing begins at the beginning, but everything is revealed in its grotesque and absurd dimensions. Traditional myths and fairy tales function as empty, anachronistic vessels without creative-metaphorical significance in the post-Holocaust world. While the prose works display earthy and mordant qualities, his poems exhibit a sensitivity and thoroughly developed spontaneity characteristic of folk songs. His works appeared in the most important Yiddish literary journals; his book publications are *Es Kumt der Tog* ("Day Arrives," 1992), *A Libe Regn* ("Rain of Love," 1994), *Der Nakht-Malekh* ("Angel of the Night," 1997), *Un Itst Ikh Bin Dayn Nign* ("And Now I Am Your Melody," 1998), and *Shabesdike Shvebelekh* ("Sabbath Matches," 2003).

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[Astrid Starck (2nd ed.)]

FEMINISM, both a political movement seeking social equities for women and an ideological movement analyzing a wide range of phenomena in terms of gender politics. Jewish feminism in the modern era has played a significant and transformative role in virtually every area of Jewish religious, social, and intellectual life.

Jewish Feminism and its Impact Prior to the 1960s

Although modern Jewish feminist movements were inspired in large measure by Enlightenment claims regarding human equality and dignity, proto-feminist efforts to raise women's social and religious position can be found in many Jewish communities prior to the 19th century. Tracing shifts in gender ideology and in women's actual status is difficult, however, because of the paucity of sources written by women prior to the 17th-century memoir by *Glueckel of Hameln. References to women in male-authored documents, particularly responsa literature and legal documents, give some evidence of sporadic agitations for change in women's status in Jewish communal life and religious life. For example, numerous sources indicate that in Germany and France between 1000 and 1300, a time of high economic and social status for Jewish women, women demanded increased involvement in religious life, including the voluntary assumption of commandments from which they were exempt in talmudic Judaism (Grossman).

Critical evaluation of the position of women within Judaism also appears as part of Christian traditions of anti-Judaism. In the *Nizzaḥon Vetus*, an anthology of 12th- and 13th-century Jewish-Christian polemic in northern France and Germany, Christians criticized Jews for not including women within the covenant: "We baptize both males and females and in that way we accept our faith, but in your case only men and not women can be circumcised." In the *Juden Buchlein* (1519), Victor von Karben mocks the refusal of Jews to include women in a prayer quorum. This critique continued in the notorious anti-Jewish text, Johann Eisenmenger's *Entdecktes Judentum* (1700), and women's inferior status within Judaism became a major theme among German (and some American) Protestant (and some Catholic) theologians in the 19th and early 20th centuries (J. Plaskow, K. von Kellenbach, S. Heschel). The inferior status of women within Judaism was presented in order to denigrate Judaism as "Oriental" and "primitive" and to challenge whether Jews should be accorded emancipation into European society. Jewish women's inferiority was also cited in Christian theological writings to argue that Jesus treated women as equals whereas other rabbis of his day did not, a claim with little historical grounding. Jewish apologetic responses to such charges began in 19th-century Germany with arguments that Judaism honors and elevates women's status in the home and community by exempting them from the religious obligations of study and public prayer incumbent on men. The nature of these charges and counter-charges made it difficult to articulate Jewish feminist criticisms of sexism.

Jewish enlightenment and, later, socialist critics of Jewish communal and religious structures often fought for women's rights, but feminists did not always ally themselves with secularism and against religion as a means to improve women's status. With modern pressures to reshape both gender roles and the status of minority groups, Jewish women had to await emancipation as both Jews and as women to enter secular society. While Jews were permitted entry into German universities in the early 19th century, women were excluded until the 1890s. At the same time, some European feminist organizations did not admit Jews. Rather, early efforts at redressing gender imbalance attempted to enhance women's educational opportunities and position within the Jewish community, creating social service and charitable organizations run by women. The *Juedischer Frauenbund (Jewish Women's Organization) was founded in Germany in 1904 by Bertha *Pappenheim and strove to win voting rights for women within Jewish communal affairs. Within the United States, Rebecca *Gratz founded the 19th-century Sunday school movement that created new roles for women in Jewish education. The tradition of Jewish women's *salons was significant not only as a new, neutral space for Christians and Jews to meet, but as an emerging culture of conversation and reflection on gender and Jewish identity. Indeed, Jewish women intellectuals, from the 18th to the 20th centuries, frequently found greater resonance within Christian society, and were sometimes only reluctantly admitted to Jewish intellectual circles; Martin *Buber, for example, initially did not want to admit women to the Juedisches Lehrhaus, the adult Jewish educational center he founded in Frankfurt am Main in 1920 (Friedman).

Changes in women's status within the synagogue came slowly. In mid-19th century Germany, teenage girls were given ceremonies of *confirmation along with boys in Reform congregations, similar to ceremonies prevalent in churches, but women still sat separately from men in the synagogue. Mixed seating in the synagogue was first introduced in the United States in 1851 in Albany, New York, and in 1854 at Temple Emanu-El in New York City. It became common in the United States after 1869 when many new post-Civil War synagogues opened but did not spread to European Reform synagogues until much later and then only tentatively (Goldman).

Conversely, modernity also saw the distinct spheres of women's traditional expressions of Judaism minimized or eliminated by non-Orthodox Jews, such as **mikveh* observance (immersion in the ritual bath following menstruation and childbirth), which declined radically in the modern era, though revived in the late 20th century. Since the *mikveh* served as a gathering place for women to socialize and also to exert authority in the absence of men, its decline undermined women's opportunities to assemble away from male presence. Further, the falloff in adherence to Jewish law weakened women's status as sources of domestic and gendered legal expertise, particularly concerning laws of *kashrut*. Traditionally entrusted with responsibility for the laws of **niddah* and *kashrut*, women had been viewed with the moral trust, intellectual ability, and religious commitment necessary for their strict adherence to those often complex laws. Still, male authorities, whether fathers, husbands, or rabbis, always retained ultimate control over adherence to laws within women's domain.

The modern era opened new public and communal religious and educational opportunities for women. Pressure from the changes in secular society that encouraged women and men to take advantage of equalizing educational and vocational opportunities affected the Jewish world, too. Educational reforms in the Orthodox and ḥasidic communities of Eastern Europe in the early 20th century, led by Sara *Schnirer, established a network of schools for religious girls, *Beth Jacob, and the liberal rabbinical seminaries established in Europe and the United States in the late 19th century permitted some women to attend courses, although not to receive rabbinic ordination.

The United States had a small and relatively uneducated Jewish community prior to the 1880s. Women received only minimal Jewish education and were not voting members of the community. The demography quickly shifted at the turn of the century, as over two million Jews from Eastern Europe arrived as immigrants between 1881 and 1924. They included women who had been exposed to political organizing and analysis, and who soon became major forces in the nascent labor, socialist, anarchist, and communist movements in New York and other cities in the early years of the 20th century. Rose *Schneiderman, for example, was a leader of the *Women's Trade Union League, the campaign for women's suffrage, and the *International Ladies Garment Workers Union. However, once those movements were institutionalized – as labor unions and political parties – women were removed from leadership positions. Separate women's organizations also played an important role within Jewish communal life in the United States; the *National Council of Jewish Women, founded by Hannah Greenebaum *Solomon at the 1893 World Parliament of Religions in Chicago, initially provided educational and vocational training for immigrants through a series of *"settlement houses" established in impoverished urban areas.

The Impact of Feminism Since the 1960s

Jewish women, including Betty *Friedan, Gloria *Steinem, and Letty Cottin *Pogrebin, have been in the forefront of the Second Wave feminist movement in the United States that began in the late 1960s. The re-emergence of a Jewish feminist movement, as part of the Second Feminist wave, led to major changes in women's status in Judaism and to a flourishing of Jewish feminist scholarship and theology. The most dramatic change in Judaism for many centuries came with the equality of women in synagogue worship, a movement led by American Jewish feminists and which has gradually extended to Jewish communities elsewhere in the world. The public honoring of young women in the synagogue, the Bat Mitzvah, became widespread by the late 1960s, followed by decisions by Reform, Reconstructionist, and Conservative denominations of Judaism to include women in the prayer quorum, call women to the Torah, and allow women to lead synagogue worship services. Perhaps the most striking transformation from previous Jewish practice has been the ordination of women as rabbis (see **Semikhah*).

The first ordination of a woman as a Reform rabbi took place in Germany in 1935; she was Regina *Jonas, murdered at Auschwitz in 1944. Ordination of women as rabbis and cantors was initiated in the United States in the 1970s by Reform Judaism (1972) and was subsequently adopted by the Reconstructionist (1974) and Conservative (1984 for rabbis, 1986 for cantors) movements. Several hundred women rabbis and cantors have been ordained thus far in the United States, and in Britain. Commissions within the Reform, Reconstructionist, and Conservative movements have revised the prayer book *liturgy to use inclusive or gender-neutral language and include references to the biblical matriarchs as well as patriarchs. Feminist biblical commentaries, written from a range of religious perspectives, have also been published (Frankel; Goldstein; Kates and Reimer). Numerous collections of feminist rituals and blessings to mark occasions in women's lives have been developed, including feminist Passover liturgies, prayers for the birth and weaning of a baby, and ceremonies for naming baby girls (see *Birth), egalitarian wedding services for hetero- and homosexual couples (see *Marriage), and celebration of *Rosh Ḥodesh, the New Moon, as a women's holiday.

Within Orthodoxy at the beginning of the 21st century, women now have opportunities for studying rabbinic texts, heretofore limited to men. With training in particular areas of Jewish law, women serve as legal advisors to Orthodox women regarding issues connected with divorce and *niddah* observance. Orthodox women have established women-only prayer groups and institutions for studying rabbinic texts, and a few Orthodox synagogues have started to permit women to read from the Torah under certain circumstances and conditions, deliver a sermon, and even lead the service. Several clauses have been proposed for inclusion in the **ketubbah* (religious marriage contract) that would provide recourse for a woman whose husband refuses to grant her a Jewish divorce, though none has yet attained universal approval by Orthodox rabbis. The problem of the **agunah* remains a central issue for Orthodox feminists, particularly in Israel, where the Orthodox rabbinate has exclusive control over Jewish marriage and divorce. Organizations of Orthodox women attempting to address the problem of the *agunah* include the Jewish Orthodox Feminist Alliance, and Getting Equitable Treatment.

By contrast, the Reform movement has entirely eliminated the *get, the divorce decree given by a man to his wife, while the Conservative movement has developed a clause that can be inserted into a *ketubbah* that allows a *bet din* (court of Jewish law) to issue a *get* to a woman if her husband refuses to do so. Since 1980, the Reconstructionist movement has used an egalitarian *get* that can be issued by either spouse.

Feminism, Zionism, and the State of Israel

During its early years, the political Zionist movement, centered in Europe in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, harbored considerable ambivalence toward women. Although *Zionism presented itself as an emancipatory movement for Jews, positions of political leadership were firmly maintained in men's hands. The Zionist negation of the Diaspora was linked to a negation of piety, and overcoming the Diaspora meant "becoming a man" (*le-hitgaber*). During the early waves of immigration to Palestine prior to statehood, women worked alongside men in the cultivation of farmland; they have also served with men in Jewish self-defense forces prior to and after the foundation of the state. Yet with the establishment of the State of Israel, women were not granted proportional roles of power within the government, even though Israel's Declaration of Independence proclaimed full equality (Herzog; Hazelton). Instead, a myth of gender equality within the State was promoted to disguise the reality of women's subservience. Thus, while women held traditionally male positions within the kibbutz system, few men took on traditionally female positions, such as childcare, and while women are drafted into the Israeli army, they are generally assigned subordinate tasks and are not given combat duty. Most problematic, since the Orthodox rabbinate holds full legal control over marriage and divorce, women's freedom to initiate and control marital relationships is impeded and women rabbis are disempowered. Women are also prohibited from public communal prayer at Jewish holy sites, such as the Western Wall in Jerusalem, despite years of court challenges by feminist groups.

Although a woman, Golda *Meir served as Israel's prime minister from 1969 to 1974; few women have held senior positions within the Israeli cabinet or parliament. Given the central role of army service in establishing careers within the political and financial arenas, the unequal position of women in the Israeli military has had long-term career consequences. Racial discrimination within Israel against Jews from non-European backgrounds and the Israeli emphasis on large families has also affected women's ability to acquire an education, escape poverty, and achieve career success. Nevertheless, women are increasingly educated and constitute a high percentage of the Israeli workforce. The Israel Women's Network, founded by Alice Shalvi in 1984, is an advocacy group for women's rights that concentrates on legislative and political efforts to overcome discrimination against women in the workplace, military, religious courts, and in the healthcare and educational arenas. With particular attention to violence and sexual harassment, the IWN helped secure passage in 1998 of legislation criminalizing sexual harassment and holding both the harasser and employer responsible for civil damages.

Throughout the modern era women managed to retain some influence in Zionist social service organizations within the Jewish communities of North America and Europe, collecting and distributing funds and goods, and running schools and vocational training programs. Those activities, a central feature of maintaining Jewish communal cohesion, became the basis for modern women's organizations, such as *Hadassah, the National Council of Jewish Women, *WIZO, *Na'amat, and Women's *ORT (Organization for Rehabilitation and Training), which became wealthy and powerful institutions during the course of the 20th century.

In the aftermath of the 1967 Arab-Israeli war that left Israel with control of the West Bank and Gaza, several feminist organizations emerged that called for return of the occupied territories to Palestinian control, and condemned the violence and impoverishment in those territories. Women in Black, founded in 1988 to hold weekly silent vigils of Israeli and Palestinian women calling for an end to the occupation, soon became an international peace network and has been nominated for the Nobel Peace Prize. New Profile is a feminist organization that seeks to change Israel from a militarized to a peace-seeking culture, and works especially on educating children for peace (see essays in Fuchs, *Israeli Women's Studies*).

Feminist Scholarship

Historical study of Jews, which began in the 19th century, was initially seen as a manly endeavor and women's lives and contributions were virtually ignored in chronicles of the Jewish experience. The growth of the field of women's studies, particularly in the United States, helped establish a counterpart within Jewish Studies. Feminist analysis has criticized masculinist biases in describing the Jewish past, but has also used historicism to justify feminist innovations (see *Historians, Women). Feminist analyses of rabbinic literature have uncovered legal precedents for changing halakhic prescriptions regarding women (Hauptman) and interpretive patterns of leniency in establishing Jewish law (Biale), as well as patterns of gendered rhetoric in rabbinic literature that create the masculinity of men and of God (Boyarin; Baskin; Eilberg-Schwartz).

Feminist attention to gender has also exposed the male biases in describing Jewish experience (Koltun; Heschel; Rutenberg). Modernity has been elevated as rational, progressive, and male by describing pre-modern Judaism via tropes of nostalgia using female metaphors. Modern Judaism was described as both positively masculine, in seeking political and religious emancipation, and negatively feminine, as in Haskalah literature in which leaving the Jewish fold and associating with Christians was described as a kind of prostitution (Feiner). In early 20th century debates over which language was more appropriate for Jews, Yiddish or Hebrew, the former was viewed as an effeminate, women's language, while Hebrew was valorized as male. Few women writing modern Hebrew or Yiddish literature were accorded the same recognition for their work as their male colleagues by a literary establishment dominated by men, and few writings by women have been included in the "canon" (Seidman; Fuchs).

In the early years of women's studies, the task seemed to be fairly straightforward. Textual expressions of misogyny and male-centeredness were demonstrated, and even if the thinker had been dead for centuries, his influence was generally said to continue to this day, as part of a long chain of patriarchal tradition. More recently, however, feminist scholars have developed more complex analyses, demonstrating ambivalences toward women within the same thinker and text, and also turning to metaphorical uses of masculine and feminine imagery in matters not explicitly related to men and women. Male privilege is not always a straightforward matter. For instance, classical and modern Jewish texts evoke an identification between men and the male God, yet undermine that identification by depicting all Jews, including men, as female in relationship to God.

Feminists differ in how to interpret women's experience and power in patriarchal structures. Some find ways in which women turned their exclusion from aspects of Judaism into a positive experience. C. Weissler has discovered numerous prayers traditionally recited by early modern women as they undertook various domestic duties, such as baking *ḥallah* and kindling Sabbath lights (*Voices of the Matriarchs* (1998); see **Tkhines*; *Liturgy). S. Sered has found that women respond to the male-oriented religious system by becoming ritual experts within the female sphere, sacralizing and holding authority over the domestic sphere and the laws of *niddah* and *mikveh*. Excluded from the realm of men, she argues, women redefine their realm as normative and meaningful. J. Bahloul's study of Algerian Jewish women delineated a strong social network of women. Still other feminists argue that finding women's empowerment in female spheres mandated by men undermines arguments for gender equality and may romanticize women's experience unjustifiably.

Perhaps the most controversial field of feminist scholarship is study of gender and the Holocaust (Ofer and Weitzman, eds.). Women were more likely than men to be chosen by the Judenraete for deportation from ghettos to death camps, and women were more likely than men to be selected for immediate gassing upon arrival at the death camps. J. Ringelheim suggests that women and children made up 60 to 70 percent of those gassed in the initial selections. Based on deportation and death figures as well as the numbers of Jews in DP camps at the end of the war, Ringelheim concludes that more Jewish women were deported and killed than Jewish men, a disparity due to Nazi policies of killing pregnant women and those who arrived at camps with children, as well as the far larger percentage of elderly women than men among Jewish deportees.

Feminist Analyses of Judaism

During the 1970s feminist critics began to expose the absence of women's voices within the male-dominated structures promoted by Judaism's exclusively male-authored texts. Feminists also strove to reconstruct the lost voices of women, trying to recover evidence of women's history and self-understanding that would allow a more diversified picture of the multiple Judaisms that have flourished throughout the Jewish past. While Judaism traditionally defines itself as a divinely revealed religion, its beliefs and practices have been interpreted and regulated almost exclusively by male authorities until the modern period. Feminist analysis has pointed out that men have created the legal systems articulated in the Mishnah, Talmud, and codes of Jewish law, and acted as supreme arbiters of its interpretation by reserving the rabbinate for men. Courts of Jewish law were historically run by male rabbis, and women were excluded as witnesses in most court cases. In rabbinic law, men may contract a marriage or divorce a wife, but women can neither acquire a husband nor divorce him. Women enter into rabbinic discourse as objects of discussion, when their ritual purity, sexual control, or marital status impinges upon men's lives.

Many Jewish feminists have suggested that the insistence on overwhelmingly male imagery for God was a deliberate effort to strengthen the male-dominated institutional arrangements of Jewish life and undergird male authority over women in the religious and societal realms. As a result, feminist analysis views Jewish texts with suspicion for their collusion with societal patriarchy in silencing women's voices, or, even worse, as creating patriarchal oppression and endowing it with the aura of divine sanction. At the same time, some feminists have culled biblical and rabbinic texts to find counter-patriarchal traditions that support principles of justice and equality, or voices of trickster women seeking to correct halakhic inequities (Pardes; Adler). Even as D. Setel argued that the prophet Hosea's metaphor of Israel as God's adulterous wife was pornographic, R. Adler noted that God's reunion with the adulterous Israel, which violates Deuteronomic law (20:4) mandating a husband's divorce of an adulterous wife, might be understood as a "constructive violation" of Jewish law – "the metaphor that preserves the covenant breaks the law" (Adler, 163–64).

By the 1980s, Jewish feminist theology (see *Theology, Feminist) began redefining classical, male-authored Jewish understandings of God, as well as associated concepts, such as revelation, the problem of evil, and the nature of prayer. Basing their critique of Judaism on the premise that all experience is gender-based, theologians like J. Plaskow and R. Adler demanded a reconsideration of theological and ethical categories assumed to be universal, but which, they argued, reify men's experience and have little relevance to women. Jewish feminist theology flourished in particular in the United States, supported by the growth of the academic field of women's studies at American universities and by the theoretical insights of Christian feminist theology.

Under the influence of postmodernism, feminist thought has attempted to denaturalize assumptions regarding women, emphasizing the social rather than biological creation of "woman" and the attendant assumptions regarding heteronormativity. An ideology of compulsory heterosexuality, not innate inclination, feminists argue, has pressured women into marriage with men and defined homosexuality as sinful. Feminist analysis has noted that in contrast to male homosexuality, lesbianism was never clearly defined in biblical literature, and never condemned with the severity of male homosexuality in rabbinic literature. Similarly, the condemnation of male masturbation in rabbinic texts finds no female counterpart, and the genital self-examination by women that is mandated in rabbinic laws regulating the laws of *niddah* replicates masturbatory acts. Freedom of sexual expression for women and men is considered central to women's rights but also essential to reclaiming women's control over their bodies after centuries in which fathers, husbands, and male rabbis regulated women's lives (Schneer and Aviv; Magonet).

*Lesbian Jewish identity as both homosocial and homosexual has been marginalized in the recent efflorescence of queer Jewish studies and its attention to the (male) body as a site of Jewish cultural, sexual, and religious identity. Lesbian thinkers have emphasized the body as a source of the spiritual, celebrating manifestations of women's sexuality and arguing the centrality of eroticism to religiosity (Plaskow, *Standing Again at Sinai*). Although numerous gay and lesbian synagogues, as well as a World Congregation of Gay and Lesbian Jewish Organizations have been founded in recent decades, only the Reform and Reconstructionist rabbinical seminaries ordain openly gay and lesbian rabbis (R. Alpart, S.L. Elwell, and S. Idelson, eds. *Lesbian Rabbis: The First Generation* (2001)).

Adler has argued that the traditional male-only environments of rabbinic study not only fostered homoeroticism, but was dominated by a "methodolatry" that revolved around male concerns, omitting those of women. Responding to a husband's post-World War II query, asking a rabbi if he is halakhically obligated to divorce his wife because her incarceration in a concentration camp may have included forced intercourse, Adler notes that only the man's requirements form the question and not those of his wife. In responding to the absence of women from the formative practices and exegeses of rabbinic Judaism, Plaskow insists that women as well as men stood at Sinai and received God's revelation, and that their experiences and interpretations should be included as equally normative as the rabbinic law developed by men in response to the revelation.

Other feminist analyses of *halakhah* proceed differently. Both R. Biale and Hauptman have pointed to halakhic interpretations that have been favorable to women, and to sociological processes of analyzing *halakhah* that result in lenient conclusions. These scholars explain certain traditional practices, such as excluding women from being called to the Torah for an *aliyah*, as reflections of particular social settings, not as eternal legal dicta.

Changes in Feminist Theory

Postmodernism, which has had a strong influence on feminist theory, has changed the modes of understanding power and analyzing language. Instead of viewing power solely as hierarchical domination, feminist theory, influenced by M. Foucault, has come to understand power as capillary, a disciplinary regime maintaining its force not only through conventional sources of domination, but also through the unconventional, including language itself. Complementing Foucault's understanding of the exercise of power are studies by Gramsci and Althusser of the consent of the disempowered to regimens that maintain their subjugation. Changing the understanding of power opens new ways to interpret women's position within Judaism. T. El-Or's study of *ḥaredi* (ultra-Orthodox) women demonstrates that their education is designed to keep them in a state of ignorance and subordination to men. By contrast, Sered's studies argue that women's piety and rituals create a sense of personal self-worth and permit female religious leadership within women-only domains, such as the *mikveh* and *ezrat nashim*. L. Levitt has challenged classical liberalism as a tool of feminist empowerment, and M. Peskowitz has called for greater attention to the ideological function of rabbinic texts in creating power structures and the adherence to them. Surprisingly little attention has been given by Jewish feminism to theorizing race and class, in contrast to other feminisms. E. Shohat has written on Arab-Jewish identity and the biases toward Europe in Jewish self-understanding, and K. Brodkin has described *How Jews Became White Folks* (1999) in the United States. Feminist efforts to address antisemitism as part of a larger critique of racism are notable within a multicultural atmosphere that has tended to ignore Jewish experience (Biale, Galchinsky, and Heschel, eds.; M. Brettschneider, ed.; Bulkin, Pratt, and Smith, eds.).

Contemporary attention to the ways Jewish women's experiences have differed from those of men has led to both internal and external critiques of Judaism. While countless Jewish theologians in previous generations proclaimed the moral superiority of Jewish law, most disregarded the ethical significance of the inferior status of women in Jewish law. Written in apologetic terms for a wider Christian readership, traditional Jewish theology tended to defend the traditional, subordinate role of women as an expression of respect for a femininity that is considered intrinsic and not culturally produced. Jewish feminism has struggled with the fine line between its critique of Judaism's sexism and antisemitic attacks on Judaism.

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[Susannah Heschel (2nd ed.)]

FENICHEL, OTTO (1897–1946), Austrian psychoanalyst. Born in Vienna, he moved to Berlin in 1922 and studied at the Psycho-Analytic Institute under Max *Eitingon and in 1926 joined the staff. With the coming of the Nazi regime he left Berlin in 1933 and went to Norway and Prague, where he taught. In 1938 he went to the U.S. and taught in Los Angeles. He wrote two important textbooks on psychoanalysis, *The Outline of Clinical Psychoanalysis* (1934) and *The Psychoanalytic Theory of Neurosis* (1945). Some of these contributions have become classics in their field, for example, "Elements of a psychoanalytic theory of anti-Semitism" in which he tried to trace the sources of anti-Jewish prejudice. *The Psychoanalytic Theory of Neurosis* is a systematic, comprehensive, and detailed study of every major form of neurosis from a psychoanalytic point of view. The theoretical formulations are painstakingly worked out along with old, new, and controversial points of view. Freud's thinking is followed historically on each issue, along with the major contributions of Karl Abraham, Sándor Ferenczi, and Ernest Jones. In addition, there is an encyclopedic bibliography containing more than 1,600 items. Fenichel also wrote a short monograph, *Problems of Psychoanalytic Technique* (1941), which is a classic in its systematic clarity and scientific discipline. His collected papers were published in two series in 1953–54.

[Hilel Klein]

FENICHEL, SAMUEL (d. 1893), Hungarian scientific explorer. Fenichel was born in Nagyenyed. Although he was a frail young man, he had by the age of 20 explored the Dobruja swamps of Romania for zoological specimens. Then, in spite of his health, he spent 14 months exploring New Guinea, where he collected hundreds of specimens of birds, many of them unknown species. He also gathered more than 10,000 specimens of butterflies. The variety of his collection and its careful documentation make it of special scientific significance. He died in New Guinea.

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FENNEL (Heb. קֶצַח, *keẓaḥ*), an herb, the sowing and threshing of which are described by Isaiah (28:25, 27). Fennel is the plant *Nigella sativa,* whose black seeds are used as a condiment. It was used as a condiment in talmudic times, being sprinkled on dough before it was baked (Tosef., TY 1:2; Men. 23b). Different views were expressed on its medicinal and nutritional value, one being that it is good for the heart (Ber. 40a), another that too much of it is injurious to the heart (Kal., ch. 1), and yet another that its pungent smell is harmful (Ber., *ibid*). Galen, and following him Asaph ha-Rofe, recommended fennel for nasal inflammation (L. Venetianer, *Asaf Judaeus*, 1 (1915), 172). In Israel three species of fennel grow wild, a cultivated species being raised to a limited extent for use as a condiment.

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[Jehuda Feliks]

FÉNYES, ADOLF (1867–1945), Hungarian painter. He was born in Budapest, where he studied law and painting. Fényes participated in the establishment of the Hungarian association of painters and sculptors. In his early work there is evidence of the influence of naturalism, but later there is a strong impressionist influence, especially in his somber scenes of poverty. His work reflects his considerable development and includes biblical subjects. Fényes painted monumental scenes from nature. He represented Hungarian painting in many international exhibitions and his name was well known outside Hungary. He died in Budapest of starvation and suffering shortly after the Holocaust.

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[Baruch Yaron]

FENYŐ, LÁSZLÓ (1902–1945), Hungarian poet. Born into poverty, Fenyő wrote pessimistic verse protesting against the cruelty of the world. His first collection, *Épites orgonája* ("Organ of the Building," 1922), was banned, and a volume of selected poems, *Elitélt* ("The Judged," 1959), appeared 14 years after his murder by the Nazis.

FENYŐ (formerly **Fleischman**), **MIKSA** (1877–1972), Hungarian author and literary critic. Fenyő, who was born in

Mélykút, was secretary of the Union of Industrialists for 40 years until he left Hungary for New York in 1948. Fenyő was a founder and an editor of the periodical *Nyugat*. He sought to raise the standards of Hungarian literature and education to those of Western Europe, and his scholarly researches and essays did much to contribute to such an improvement. Fenyő became a convert to Christianity. However, in his memoirs, he includes an important description of contemporary Jewish society. He did the same in the diary *Az elsodort ország* ("The Destroyed Country," 1964), written secretly during the Holocaust while hiding among "Aryans" in Hungary. His main works are *Casanova* (1912); *Bethlen István* ("Count István Bethlen," 1937); and his recollections of *Nyugat, Följegyzések a "Nyugat" folyóiratról és környékéről* (1960).

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[Baruch Yaron]

FEODOSIYA (**Theodosia**; Black Sea port in Crimea, Ukraine; one of the most ancient towns). Founded during the Hellenistic period as the Greek colony of Theodosia, it was called Kaffa (Caffa) until the Russian conquest (1783). The Jewish settlement was also one of the oldest on Russian territory, its beginnings dating from the Hellenistic period. The old synagogue of Feodosiya, thought to be the most ancient in Russia, had an inscription which testified to its construction in 909. Under the rule of the Republic of Genoa from 1266, Feodosiya became the center of the Genoese colonies on the Black Sea. In order to attract merchants from all nations there, freedom of religion was granted for all Christian sects, Muslims, and Jews. The traveler Schiltberg, who visited Feodosiya at the beginning of the 15th century, relates of the existence of two communities in the town – a *Rabbanite and a *Karaite one. The Jews engaged in commerce and maintained relations with the Near East and Poland. The constitution of the town, proclaimed in Genoa in 1449, called on the consul and city elders to protect the Jews as all members of other religions, "from any robbery, from scheming against their property when one of them died intestate, and from other molestations of the bishop."

The situation of the Jews remained unchanged when the government of the town was transferred to the Bank of San Giorgio, a powerful financial company that administered the eastern colonies of Genoa (1453–75). The community continued to develop under Turkish rule also (1475–1783). At the beginning of the 16th century *Moses b. Jacob of Kiev, of Lithuanian origin, held rabbinical office in Feodosiya. He composed a uniform *siddur* for all the Jews of Crimea (the Kaffa rite) and instituted 18 *takkanot* for the community.

After annexation by Russia, Feodosiya was incorporated in the *Pale of Settlement. In 1897 there were 3,109 Jews in the town (12.9% of the total population), mainly Ashkenazim who had emigrated from Lithuania and Ukraine. On Oct. 17, 1905, pogroms accompanied by murder and looting broke out. The Jewish population of Feodosiya numbered 3,248 (11.3% of the total) in 1926 and 2,922 (6.5%) in 1939. After the February Revolution (1917) three Jews (Zionists) served on the local council. Between the wars there was a Yiddish school and a Jewish section in the local Teachers College. Feodosiya was occupied by the Germans on November 2, 1941. A ghetto was organized, and on December 4, 1941 *Einsatzkommando 10b* murdered 1,700 Jews (according to another document, 2,500). In February-May 1942 the last 200 Jews were killed. In 1970 the Jewish population of Feodosiya consisted of Crimean and Russian Jews and Karaites. There was no synagogue. Many left during the mass emigration of the 1990s.

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[Yehuda Slutsky / Shmuel Spector (2nd ed.)]

FERARU, LEON (originally **Otto Enselberg**; 1887–1961), Romanian poet. Born in Braila, Feraru took his penname from his father's occupation as a blacksmith (Rom. *fierar*). As a schoolboy he was a Jewish socialist. Upon completing high school he began to study medicine in Bucharest, but had to leave because of antisemitic persecution. In 1907 he emigrated to France, where he studied literature in Montpellier, receiving a degree in 1913, when he emigrated to the United States. Before emigrating, Feraru published poems on social themes (among them the fate of the working woman) and articles in Romanian literary periodicals, among them *Viata Romaneasca* (Romanian Life) and the Jewish periodicals *Lumea Israelita* and *Egalitatea*. After emigrating to the U.S. he continued to compose Romanian verse on social themes, on the landscape of his native country, and on his Jewish family. He published two volumes of poems in Romanian, both in Bucharest, *Maghernita veche si alte versuri din anii tineri* ("The Old Hovel and Other Poems of My Youth," 1926) and *Arabescuri* ("Arabesques," 1937), being considered a universalist poet. Feraru taught Romanian language and literature at Canadian and American universities: Toronto; Columbia (1917–26); Long Island (1927–47). He also published scholarly studies in English, among them *The Development of Romanian Poetry* (1929) and edited the periodicals *Romanian Literary News* and *The Romanian Review*.

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[Lucian-Zeev Herscovici (2nd ed.)]

FERBER, EDNA (1887–1968), U.S. novelist and playwright. She was born into a middle-class family in Kalamazoo, Michigan, and at the age of 17 became a newspaper reporter in Appleton, Wisconsin. Later she went to the *Milwaukee Journal* and the *Chicago Tribune*. Her first novel, *Dawn O'Hara*, appeared in 1911, but it was a series of short stories collected under the title *Emma Mc-Chesney and Co.* (1915) that established her as a professional writer. Edna Ferber wrote more than a score of novels, some superficial, some serious, but all smoothly and persuasively written. They deal with the life of ordinary Americans and in many the central character is a woman. *Fanny Herself* (1917) is the story of a small-town Jewish girl; *So Big* (1924), the story of a woman's struggle for independence, won the Pulitzer Prize in 1924. *Show Boat* (1926) became a successful musical; *Cimarron* (1930), *Saratoga Trunk* (1941), and *Giant* (1952) were all best-selling novels which were made into motion pictures. *Dinner at Eight* (1932) and *Stage Door* (1936), both written in collaboration with George S. *Kaufman, were her best-known plays. Edna Ferber wrote comparatively little about Jews and Judaism, but in her first autobiography, *A Peculiar Treasure* (1939), she depicted with humor and understanding her life in a small Jewish community, and she identified herself closely with the Jewish plight during the Nazi years. Her second autobiography, *A Kind of Magic* (1963), includes her impressions of the State of Israel.

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[Harold U. Ribalow]

FERBER, HERBERT (**Silvers**; 1906–1991), U.S. sculptor and painter. A native of New York City, Ferber was born Herbert Ferber Silvers. While studying at the City University of New York and Columbia University, where he received a B.S. (1927) and a D.D.S. (1930), Ferber also took classes at the Beaux Arts Institute of Design (1927–30) and the National Academy of Design (1930).

His early direct carvings in wood from the 1930s employed techniques similar to William *Zorach's and Jo *Davidson's. These small figurative sculptures engaged social justice themes, popular with painters such as Raphael *Soyer and Ben *Shahn. The Midtown Galleries mounted Ferber's first solo exhibition in December 1937. In the late 1940s, Ferber eschewed figuration and began welding bronze, lead, copper, and brass as he developed his mature open-form abstract style of sculpture. Akin to Abstract Expressionist painters, Ferber derived inspiration from Surrealist imagery and ancient myth.

Ferber's work was commissioned by B'nai Israel Synagogue, Millburn, New Jersey (1951); Temple Anshe Chesed, Cleveland, Ohio (1956); and Temple of Aaron, St. Paul, Minnesota (1956). An eight by twelve foot abstractly rendered burning bush made of jagged lead-coated copper adorns a wedge-shaped panel projecting from the facade of the B'nai Israel congregation. Titled *And the Bush Was Not Consumed*, this symbolic representation evokes the impression of flames through an open biomorphic style that incorporates snaking vertical and spiral forms. Ferber's textured sculpture identifies the building and serves as a metaphor for the Jewish people. Indeed, the rabbi of the congregation felt that like the Jewish people, the bush was burned but not consumed. This commission was the impetus for several other sculptures designed specifically for walls.

During the 1960s Ferber began a series titled *Homage to Piranesi* in which he enclosed rhythmic forms in wire cages. In March 1961 Ferber's *Sculpture as Environment* was installed in a room at the Whitney Museum of American Art. One of the first sculptures designed to encompass indoor space on a large scale, the work helped to stimulate a larger movement of installation art in the early 1970s. A year later Ferber's first major retrospective was shown at the Walker Art Gallery in Minneapolis. Houston's Museum of Fine Arts held a retrospective in 1981.

Lesser known are Ferber's canvases and works on paper. These abstract images typically show the influence of color field painting, as exemplified by Marc *Rothko and Barnett *Newman.

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[Samantha Baskind (2nd ed.)]

FERBER, ẒEVI HIRSCH (1879–1966), English rabbi. Ferber was born in Kovno and studied in Lithuanian yeshivot. In 1911 he settled in England and after teaching Talmud in Manchester was appointed rabbi of the West End Talmud Torah Synagogue in London, where he remained until his retirement in 1954. His congregation had its own cemetery, and a number of other small congregations were associated with his, mainly for the benefits of burial. As a result Ferber was able to be independent of the official religious organizations, a situation of which he took full advantage. He was a witty and eloquent preacher in the style of the old-fashioned Lithuanian *maggidim*. Ferber was a prolific writer, mainly on homiletic but also on halakhic subjects; most of his publications were in the form of pamphlets. His most important work was *Kerem ha-Ẓevi*, a halakhic and aggadic commentary on the Pentateuch (1920–38). He also wrote a commentary on the Passover *Haggadah* under the same title (1958).

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[Louis Isaac Rabinowitz]

°FERDINAND, name of three Holy Roman emperors.

FERDINAND I ruler of Austria; emperor, 1556–64. On his accession to the Austrian throne in 1527 Ferdinand I confirmed the customary Jewish privileges. He opposed the expulsion of *Prague Jewry in 1541, permitting the Jew Hermann to print Hebrew books there and punished the ringleaders of anti-Jewish outbursts in *Litomerice and *Zatec. In 1551 he ordered the Jews within his realm to wear a yellow *badge. Many of his expulsion decrees for Lower Austria, Silesia, Prague, and Vienna, issued in the 1540s and 1550s, were averted or only partially applied after payments by the Jews. In 1557 he canceled the safe conducts granted to Bohemian Jews, granting them later in exceptional cases. He authorized the Jesuits of Prague in 1561 to undertake the *censorship of Hebrew books and forced the Jews to attend their sermons. As emperor he confirmed the privileges accorded to the Jews within the empire.

Ferdinand II king of Bohemia from 1617 and of Hungary from 1621; emperor, 1619–37. A fanatic Catholic and protagonist of the Counter-Reformation in his domains, Ferdinand II was preoccupied for most of his reign with combating Protestantism. The first emperor to employ *court Jews, he was dependent on Jewish financiers, mainly Jacob Bassevi *Treuenberg. For his protection during the Thirty Years' War, the Jews of Bohemia had to pay onerous taxes. Ferdinand ignored the petitions of the city council of *Vienna to expel the Jews, instead granting them successively more favorable privileges (that of 1624 was granted "in perpetuity"). He secured the return of the communities expelled from *Hanau and *Mantua. He allowed the Vienna community to build a synagogue in 1624 (insisting that they settle in a separate quarter), permitted the enlargement of the *Prague Jewish quarter in 1627, and commuted the death sentence on Yom Tov Lippmann *Heller to a heavy fine. For all these benefits, however, the Jews had to pay large emoluments.

Ferdinand III emperor, 1637–57; son of Ferdinand II. Immediately after his accession the Vienna city council urgently petitioned him to expel the Jews; though refusing to do this, Ferdinand III placed them under the jurisdiction of the municipality until 1641, and did not confirm their privileges until Nov. 5, 1638. These were renewed and expanded in 1645 in return for substantial payment. An expulsion order was averted in 1652 on payment of 35,000 florins, and Ferdinand granted the Vienna community broader privileges and internal jurisdiction in return for thrice that sum. In 1650 he ordered that Jews be allowed to remain only in places where they had been in residence in 1618. He gave his court Jew, Hirschel *Mayer, widespread power over the Vienna community.

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[Henry Wasserman]

FERDINAND, PHILIP (1556–1599), English Hebraist. Ferdinand, who was born in Poland as a Jew, lived for some time in Constantinople. He became in turn a Roman Catholic and a Protestant, and then went to England, where he taught Hebrew first at Oxford and then at Cambridge. In 1597 he published in Cambridge *Haec sunt verba Dei*, a Latin translation of the 613 Commandments and of other excerpts from rabbinical literature. In 1598 he went to teach Hebrew at Leiden, where the Christian historian and philologist Joseph Scaliger was one of his pupils. He died soon afterwards.

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[Cecil Roth]

°**FERDINAND** (1452–1516) and **ISABELLA** (1451–1504), the monarchs whose marriage created the union of Castile and Aragon which formed the Kingdom of *Spain. Because of their religious zeal, they became known as the "Catholic monarchs." A popular tradition, partly corroborated by documents, credits Jewish and *Converso courtiers with a primary role in arranging the marriage contract concluded in 1469 between Isabella, heiress to the crown of Castile, and Ferdinand, prince of Aragon. On the death of Henry IV in 1474, Isabella and Ferdinand began to reign in Castile, then with the accession of Ferdinand to the throne of Aragon in 1479, the two realms were united.

In its first phase their policy adhered to the tradition of relative tolerance which characterized the attitude of the kings of Christian Spain. Generally, this was expressed in their willingness to extend their protection to Jewish communities or individuals whenever they were subjected to outbursts of mob hatred and fury instigated by monks. At the same time the Catholic monarchs employed Jews like Abraham *Seneor, Meir *Melamed, Isaac and Joseph *Abrabanel, and Conversos like Alfonso de la *Cavalleria, Gabriel *Sánchez, and Luis de *Santangel in the administration of the state.

The first sign of deterioration in their attitude toward the Jews can be detected when, at a session of the Cortes held in April 1476 at Madrigal, the monarchs promulgated sweeping edicts for judicial and administrative reforms, including revocation of all the rights of the **aljamas* ("communities") to exercise criminal jurisdiction. Resolving that unified Spain should also be united in faith, they determined to eradicate the sin of heresy which had spread amid the Conversos, namely the tendency to revert to Judaism. In this they were clearly influenced by their desire to win the support of both the clergy and the burghers, who demanded that extreme measures be taken against the Conversos. The outcome of all these pressures was the establishment of the Spanish *Inquisition in 1480. Traditionally, Isabella has been regarded as the living symbol of the religious awakening in Spain, but an examination of the letters exchanged between the king and the queen shows that they acted in perfect accord, moved by the same fanatical urge.

As the Inquisition's investigations in the 1480s proved that the Conversos did indeed tend to revert to Judaism in large numbers, the monarchs concluded that, owing to the close relations between Jews and Conversos, the latter would persist in their heresy. The decision to expel the Jews may have been foreshadowed by the eviction from Andalusia in 1483, but the general expulsion order was promulgated on March 31, 1492. During the three months given to the Jews of Spain to prepare their departure, the royal couple endeavored to ensure that the expulsion took place in accordance with their instructions, lest the Jews be robbed of their property; but this was often to no avail. On July 30, 1493, they issued a letter of protection to all Jewish exiles returning to Spain from Portugal to be baptized, pledging that their property would then be restored to them without loss. It seems that in their decision to expel the Jews from Spain, Ferdinand and Isabella were motivated principally by arguments of a political and religious nature, for the sake of which they were willing to sacrifice every other practical consideration.

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FERENCZI (Fraenkel), SÁNDOR (1873–1933), Hungarian psychoanalyst and psychiatrist. Born in Miskolc, Hungary, Ferenczi became interested in hypnosis and in 1900 began the practice of neurology and psychiatry in Budapest. Ferenczi was the closest friend of *Freud, whom he first met in 1908, and they exchanged more than 1,000 letters. An inspiring lecturer on psychoanalysis and an outstanding therapist, Ferenczi was the senior member of Freud's group. In 1909 he accompanied Freud to the United States and became a central figure in the psychoanalytic movement. Ferenczi's initial papers (1908) were on psychosexual disturbances, and in papers issued in 1911 he set out for the first time the difference between active and passive homosexuality and its relation to paranoia. In 1913 Ferenczi wrote his classic essay, *Entwicklungsstufen des Wirklichkeitssinnes*, in which he described, on the basis of his analytical experience and observation of children, the child's view of his own omnipotence and the development of his sense of reality. In the works written in this period Ferenczi expanded and checked Freud's findings and indicated new applications and approaches. In 1924 he published a creative and theoretical book: *Versuch einer Genitaltheorie* (*Thalassa: A Theory of Genitality*, 1938). Here he correlated biology with psychology and invented the method of "bioanalysis," relating sexual drives to the act of returning to the womb. Ferenczi developed a technique of active therapy, requesting the patient to act or behave in a certain way. He discussed this technique in an essay (1921) and reviewed it in 1925 with his *Kontraindikazionen der aktiven psychoanalitischen Technik*. In 1926 he published *Further Contributions to the Theory and Technique of Psychoanalysis*, a work which elaborated and systematized his technique and also contained many clinical essays, such as those on hysteria and tics. He was the first to emphasize the great importance of loving bodily contact with the mother for the child's development, as well as the dangers of too intense stimulation of the baby by adults. Freud became highly critical of some of Ferenczi's experiments in technique and by 1931 Ferenczi began to revise some of his methods, as they had not achieved the anticipated results. However, his ideas on the early object relations of the infant and their impact on personality development, and his ideas about the deeper functions of the ego dealt with areas which preoccupy analytical thinking and have produced a number of controversial theories.

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[Louis Miller]

FERKAUF, EUGENE (1921–), U.S. businessman and philanthropist. Born in Brooklyn, N.Y., Ferkauf learned the retailing business from his father, who owned two luggage stores in Manhattan. After serving in World War II, he began his own business career in 1948 with a modest retail discount store in New York. This grew into the E.J. Korvette chain of discount stores, which at the height of its success included 45 department stores and 60 supermarkets. At one point in the early 1960s Korvette was opening one big new store every seven weeks. In 1962 Ferkauf appeared on the cover of *Time* magazine with the banner headline "Discounting Gets Respectable" and a feature story entitled "Everybody Loves a Bargain" (July 6). However, Ferkauf and his executives found it difficult to administer the chain as it grew larger. In 1968 Korvette's merged with Spartans Industries, which abandoned the discount model. Ferkauf resigned from the combine shortly afterward. Five years later the firm was sold to Arlen Realty. Arlen later sold it to a French firm. In 1980, Korvette's ceased operations altogether.

Ferkauf was a prominent contributor to Jewish educational funds in the U.S. and Israel, and endowed a graduate school of social services at Yeshiva University, New York, a high school at Or Yehudah, Israel, and four hospitals to serve underprivileged communities in South America. Ferkauf was also a patron of the arts, as shown by his support of New York's Metropolitan Museum of Modern Art and the Lincoln Center of the Performing Arts. In Israel, he and his wife, Estelle, sponsored the Administration Wing of the Bezalel Academy of Art and Design. Ferkauf was also the main promoter of Atid, a commercial organization set up to stimulate Israel exports to the U.S. He was made an honorary life member of the Board of Governors of the Technion in Haifa. Ferkauf wrote the book *Going into Business: How to Do It, by the Man Who Did It* (1977).

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[Joachim O. Ronall / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)

FERNANDES VILLAREAL, MANOEL (1608–1652), Portuguese soldier, diplomat, and author. He was a prominent businessman and writer. Born in Lisbon of *Marrano descent, Fernandes Villareal became a captain in the Portuguese Army. He eventually went to live in France, settling in Rouen in about 1638. An agent of the House of Braganza, he was for a time Portuguese consul general in Paris, where he entered the circle of Cardinal Richelieu. Under Richelieu, France welcomed Iberian refugees, many of whom were New Christians. He supported Portugal's efforts to achieve independence and in 1642 he became a close advisor of the Portuguese ambassador, Dom Vasco Luis da Gama. He headed two centers which were in charge of Portuguese propaganda in support of Portuguese independence. As a reward for his services he was appointed to the post of regulating trade between Portugal and France. He prepared some economic programs for the welfare of the newly reestablished Portuguese kingdom and hoped to curtail the power of the Inquisition. He planned the return to Portugal of New Christian merchants. Under his influence an attempt was made to abolish any distinction between Old and New Christians and a pardon was granted in February 1649 to all Portuguese who would return from exile. It was then that Fernandes de Villareal decided to return to Portugal for a visit. While visiting Lisbon in 1649–50, Fernandes Villareal was denounced as a Judaizer by a friar who was a literary rival. The Inquisition uncovered his "New Christian" origin and secret adherence to Judaism, and Fernandes Villareal was condemned to death. He was garroted on Dec. 1, 1652. A few years after his death, some of his relatives officially reverted to Judaism in Leghorn. Fernandes Villareal wrote, in Portuguese and Spanish, works on history, politics, and military techniques. These include his *Epítome genealógico del Duque de Richelieu y discursos políticos* (Pamplona, 1641), a panegyric dedicated to Richelieu. The title of the 1642 edition was *El político cristianíssimo o dicursos políticos sobre algunas acciones de la vida del … Duque de Richelieu.* He was inspired by Machiavelli's *Discorsi* and *Principe.* He also wrote the poem *El color verde a la divina Celia* (Madrid, 1637) and a play, *El Príncipe Vendido* (Paris, 1643). He was destined, however, to be remembered more as a tragic victim of the Inquisition than as a writer. While his works had no influence in Spain, in Portugal they were received with great interest.

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[Kenneth R. Scholberg / Yom Tov Assis (2nd ed.)]

FERNBERGER, SAMUEL (1887–1956), U.S. psychologist. Born in Pennsylvania, Fernberger received his Ph.D. in psychology from the University of Pennsylvania in 1912. He served as professor at Clark University for eight years, and then at the University of Pennsylvania from 1920. He is best known for his work in psychophysics, sensation, perception, and the history of psychology.

Fernberger wrote an article detailing the early history of the American Psychological Association (APA), a professional organization for psychologists founded in 1892 and incorporated in 1925. Considered a classic in the history of psychology, the article, entitled "The American Psychological Association: A Historical Summary, 1892–1930," was first published in the *Psychological Bulletin* in 1932. In 1937 Fernberger published *Elementary General Psychology.*

[Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

FERNHOF, ISAAC (1868–1919), Hebrew author, editor, and poet. Born in Buchach, Galicia, he was a teacher all his life, first in his native town, then in Zlochow, and finally in Stanislav. During World War I he went to Bohemia, where he taught Galician refugee children. In 1918 he returned to Stanislav, then under Ukrainian rule, and suffered dire poverty and famine. He died there soon after. Fernhof began writing poetry and articles in the late 1880s, and later published *Sifrei Sha'ashu'im* (1896–99), a small literary periodical to which leading writers such as Tchernichowsky, Peretz, Brainin, Klausner, and others contributed. Subsequently he tried unsuccessfully to publish literary journals (*Ha-Ẓa'ir, Ha-Yarden*). A book of his stories, *Me-Aggadot ha-Ḥayyim*, appeared in 1908. He left a series of stories depicting *Mitnaggedim* which were published long after his death as *Sefer ha-Mitnaggedim* (ed. Israel Cohen, 1952). This includes an article published after the appearance of Herzl's *Jewish State* in which Fernhof prophetically refers to the utopian state by the name of "Israel."

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[Getzel Kressel]

FERRARA, city in N. central Italy, with an ancient and renowned Jewish community. An inscription dating from Roman times and a document of 1088 may relate to local Jewish life. Privileges enjoyed by Jews were recorded in 1275. In the same century two tosafists both named R. Moses b. Meir lived in Ferrara, and perhaps also the philosopher *Hillel b. Samuel of Verona. In the early years of the 14th century some Jews were heavily fined by the Inquisition. Two sonnets by Francesco di Vannozzo (1376) reflect the popular resentment against certain Jews. About 1435 *Elijah of Ferrara settled in Jerusalem. From the middle of the 15th century a period of prosperity began for the community, thanks to the protection of the House of Este. In 1448, on Lionello d' Este's request, Pope Nicholas V curbed the anti-Jewish sermons of the friars; in 1451 Duke Borso declared that he would protect the Jews who entered his lands; in 1473 Ercole I, in opposition to papal demands, protected his Jewish subjects, particularly the moneylenders. In 1481 he authorized Samuel Melli of Rome to buy a mansion in Ferrara and turn it into a synagogue, which is still used. At this time the geographer Abraham Farissol lived in Ferrara, as well as Abraham Sarfati, teacher of Hebrew at the University of Ferrara, and, in 1477, the printer Abraham b. Ḥayyim the Dyer (dei Tintori) of Pesaro (see below).

The policy of giving refuge to persecuted Jews, especially those who could prove useful, was continued by all successive Este dukes. In 1492, when the first refugees from Spain appeared in Italy, Ercole I allowed some of them to settle in Ferrara, promising to let them have their own leaders and judges, permitting them to practice commerce and medicine, and granting them tax reductions. This was the beginning of the Spanish community in Ferrara, which set up its own synagogue and separate administration. In 1532 Ercole II issued another permit allowing Jews from Bohemia and other countries in Central Europe to come and settle in Ferrara. This was the origin of the German group in Ferrara which also established its own synagogue. In 1524 and 1538 the same duke gave encouragement to the Marranos and in 1553 they were specifically allowed to return to the Jewish faith. In 1540 an invitation to settle in Ferrara was extended to the harassed Jews of Milan and one year later to those banished from the kingdom of Naples. In 1569, when the Jews were expelled from the Papal States (except Rome and Ancona), many from Bologna settled in Ferrara. In the middle of the 16th century there were ten synagogues in Ferrara. However, although the dukes spared their Jews from Church oppression, they allowed the Talmud to be burned in 1553. In 1554 a congress of delegates from the Italian communities was held in Ferrara to decide on precautionary measures, including the precensorship of Hebrew books.

Among the outstanding personalities in Ferrara at that time were Don Samuel *Abrabanel, the last leader of Neapolitan Jewry, the Marrano Gracia *Nasi, *Amatus Lusitanus, who taught medicine at the University of Ferrara, the *Usque family, and the engineer Abraham Colorni. In the sphere of Jewish learning there were the poets Jacob *Fano and Abraham dei Galicchi *Jagel, the physicians Moses and Azriel *Alatino, the chronicler Samuel Usque, his kinsman the printer Abraham Usque (see below), and the polymath Azariah dei *Rossi.

[Alexander Carlebach]

When Ferrara passed under the rule of the Church in 1598, the condition of the Jews grew much worse. In the same year the Jewish *badge was introduced. In the following year all real estate had to be sold, synagogues were limited to three, one for each rite, and the loan banks were closed; however this last decree was repealed a short time later, the banks being finally closed only in 1683. In 1624 the construction of a ghetto was decreed and two years later the Jews were confined to it. The Jews were forced to be present at conversionist sermons and Jewish physicians were forbidden to attend to Christians. A similar state of affairs persisted throughout the 17th and 18th centuries; from time to time the situation was exacerbated by mob attacks on the ghetto (1648, 1651, 1705, 1747, 1754) and by a *blood libel charge in 1721. In spite of this the life of Jews in Ferrara was far more tolerable than in Rome.

The Jewish population numbered 1,500 persons in 1601, was at much the same level in 1703 (328 families), and rose to 2,000 in the 19th century. Outstanding personalities included the rabbi and physician Isaac *Lampronti, author of the talmudic encyclopedia *Paḥad Yiẓḥak*, and the rabbis Jacob Daniel *Olmo, poet, and Solomon *Finzi, author of an introduction to the Talmud. In 1796, after the French occupation, Jews were granted equal civil rights and in 1797 the ghetto's gates were removed. The successive alternations in Ferrara of Austrian, French, and finally, in 1814, papal rule were reflected in the vicissitudes of Jewish life. In 1826 the Jews were locked up in the ghetto once more, but in 1859–60 they finally obtained their freedom when Ferrara became part of the Italian kingdom. For the next 80 years there was a new period of prosperity, Jews being appointed to high public offices in the town's administration and taking a prominent part in the affairs of the Italian Jewish community. Renzo Ravenna was *sindaco* ("mayor") before the Fascist crisis, and Felice Ravenna was president of the Union of Jewish Communities from 1933 to 1937. In spite of this the Jewish population dwindled because of steady emigration.

[Attilio Milano]

The Holocaust Period and After

In 1936 the community of Ferrara had 760 members. On Sept. 24, 1941, the synagogue was devastated by the fascists. During the autumn-winter 1943 about 200 Jews were sent to extermination camps, of whom only five returned. Three more Jews were killed in the streets on Nov. 14–15, 1943. The Jewish population in Ferrara was reduced to 200 at the end of the war. The population further dropped to 150 in 1970 and 100 at the beginning of the 21st century.

[Sergio DellaPergola]

Hebrew Printing in Ferrara

Under the enlightened rule of the House of Este, Hebrew printing flourished twice for short periods in Ferrara in the 15th and 16th centuries. In 1477 *Abraham b. Ḥayyim the Dyer (dei Tintori; מִן הַצּוֹבְעִים; *min ha-ẓove'im*), of Pesaro, using Abraham *Conat's type, printed here Levi b. Gerson's commentary on Job, and finished printing the edition of Tur, *Yoreh De'ah* which Conat had begun in Mantua. The second somewhat longer period extended from 1551 to 1558, when first Samuel ibn Askara Ẓarefati of Pesaro and then Abraham Usque, partly with the former's assistance, printed well over 30 books in Ferrara. Among the first was Isaac Abrabanel's *Ma'yenei ha-Yeshu'ah* and Jedaiah ha-Penini's *Beḥinat Olam*. Under Usque, halakhic, theological, and liturgical items were printed, among them the first editions of Menahem ibn Ẓeraḥ's *Ẓedah la-Derekh* (1554), Ḥasdai Crescas' *Or Adonai* (1556), Jonah Gerondi's *Issur ve-Hetter,* and Jacob Fano's *Shiltei ha-Gibborim* (including an elegy on the Marrano martyrs of Ancona), 1556. Apparently complaints by the Church about this publication led to the closing of the press. Usque also printed a number of works mainly, but not exclusively, of Jewish significance in Spanish and Portuguese, including the Ferrara Bible (1553) and the "Consolation for the Tribulations of Israel" by Samuel Usque (1553). Toward the end of the 17th century an attempt at reviving Hebrew printing at Ferrara was made by the non-Jewish printer Girolamo Filoni, who printed in 1693 a handsome small prayer book (*Siddur mi-Berakhah*), compiled by J. Nisim and Abraham Ḥayyim da Fano, printers from Mantua. Filoni also issued a broadsheet primer with the Hebrew alphabet and some basic prayers. Shortly after, Filoni melted down his Hebrew type and converted it into a Latin font. The *takkanot* of the Ferrara community of 1767 provided for less gifted pupils of the Jewish school (*Talmud Torah*) to attend the workshop of the printer Salvador Serri to learn the craft of Hebrew printing, both for their own good and for the preservation of this important craft (see Asaf, *Mekorot* 2 (1930), 206–8). No other evidence of Hebrew printing in Ferrara at that period is available.

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°**FERRER, VICENTE** (c. 1350–1419), Dominican friar, canonized by the Catholic Church. Some scholars consider that he was directly responsible for the anti-Jewish persecutions in Spain of 1391. However, it seems that he was on his way to Avignon at the time. In a Lenten sermon delivered in Valencia after the disorders, he condemned the behavior of the rioters. Ferrer advocated conversion to Christianity from conviction and emphasized more than once the Jewish origin of Jesus. Nevertheless his appearances provoked mass demonstrations accompanied by anti-Jewish outbursts. These took place in particular in the first and second decades of the 15th century. The conversion of *Solomon ha-Levi, rabbi of Burgos, and possibly that of Don Samuel *Abrabanel of Seville, are attributable to Ferrer's direct influence.

After the 1391 persecutions, when the problem of *Conversos arose, Ferrer initiated the policy toward the Jews adopted by the antipope Benedict XIII, by Ferdinand I of Aragon for whose choice as king in 1409 Ferrer was responsible, and by the queen mother Catalina, regent of Castile. This policy was embodied in social and communal, economic and legal restrictions in Aragon and Castile. In 1412, Ferrer collaborated with Pablo de Santa María in formulating the laws of Valladolid directed against the Jews. He used his influence to implement a program to evict the Jews from their quarters lest they should have a bad influence on the Christians, i.e., the Conversos, who still lived in their former homes.

Throughout this period, Ferrer went from place to place preaching. As a result of his sermons, the populace more than once refused to sell the Jews food supplies and other necessities. The Jews of Tamarite de Litera complained to Ferdinand I that they were afraid that anti-Jewish riots would occur as a result of Ferrer's sermons, and the king ordered the city officials to protect them (May 25, 1414). The Jews of Aynsa moved out of town when they heard that Ferrer was coming to preach there, and returned only after he had left (1414). Ferdinand compelled the Jews and Moors to listen to Ferrer's sermons and imposed heavy fines upon those who were absent. At the height of the disputation of *Tortosa (November 1413) Ferdinand wrote to Ferrer in Majorca, asking him to go to Tortosa in order to bring about the conversion of the Jews assembled there. From there he was to proceed to Saragossa, where the conversion of numerous Jews was also anticipated. A vessel was placed at the friar's disposal for this purpose. In May 1414 Ferdinand wrote to Ferrer rejoicing over the conversion of 122 Jews in Guadalajara. Ferrer evidently attempted to persuade the Jews to come to the baptismal font by all means except physical force. In 1408 he was in Italy where *Bernardino da Siena heard him preach in Alessandria and was thereby stimulated to imitate him.

Ferrer wrote several theological tracts but his sermons, numbering over 6,000, form his principal work. These he delivered in Catalan and they were then summarized in Latin.

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[Haim Beinart and Zvi Avneri]

FERRIS, IRIS (1910–1970), Indian educator and social worker. Iris Ferris, who was born in Calcutta, became headmistress of one of the city's secondary schools while still in her twenties. She was active in the local Jewish Women's League. A member of the Girl Guide movement from childhood, she rose to become commissioner for training in West Bengal. In 1953 she settled in London and joined the staff of the world bureau of the Girl Guide movement of which she soon became general secretary.

[Flower Elias]

FERRIZUEL, JOSEPH HA-NASI (called **Cidellus**: "**Little Cid**" or "**Chief**"; d.c. 1145), physician of Alfonso VI of Castile. He was allotted property in and around Toledo after its capture in 1085 during the Christian reconquest. Ferrizuel was active on behalf of the Jews of Guadalajara when this town was occupied the same year. His position at court is indicated by the part he played in proposing a marriage for the king's daughter Urraca on behalf of the Castilian nobles. When the proposal was rejected by Alfonso, Ferrizuel lost favor. Ferrizuel gave assistance to the Jews who fled from areas under Muslim rule in Spain to the Christian kingdoms in the north. However, Abraham ibn Daud relates that he treated the Karaites ruthlessly and expelled them from all the citadels in Castile. Judah Halevi dedicated several poems to him and to his nephew Solomon b. Ferrizuel, who was murdered on his return from a successful political mission abroad, and subsequently mourned by the poet. In 1110, a year after Alfonso's death, Ferrizuel was one of the witnesses and signatories to a charter of immunities granted by Queen Urraca. Nothing about Ferrizuel is known after this date. He had probably died by 1145, when Alfonso VII gave his property to the Cathedral of Toledo.

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[Haim Beinart]

FESELA (**Federación Sefaradí Latinoamericana**), roof organization of the Sephardi communities of Latin America, affiliated to the World Sephardi Federation as well as to the World Zionist Organization. FESELA was founded in 1972 in Lima (Peru) during the Conference of Jewish Communities in Latin America by a group of young Sephardi leaders representing the new leadership of Sephardim born in Latin America. They were seeking representation in the World Zionist Organization not through political parties but on the basis of their ethnic identity – as Sephardim.

The executive of FESELA is rotated: every two years a different president and secretary – from a different country – must be elected, and the seat of FESELA moves to their respective country. Membership in FESELA is institutional and not personal, and each country is entitled to one vote. In addition to Argentina, Brazil, Colombia, Chile, Guatemala, Mexico, Panama, Peru, Uruguay, and Venezuela, the Cuban Sephardi community of Miami is also active on the board.

The main objectives of FESELA are to represent the Sephardi communities of Latin America, to strengthen Sephardi identity, to combat assimilation, to promote the Zionist cause. and to support the State of Israel. FESELA promotes cultural activities of Sephardim in Latin America and supports the publication of *Sefardica*, a journal published by CIDICSEF – Centro de Investigación y Difusión de la Cultura Sefaradí (Center for the Study and Diffusion of Sephardi Culture) in Buenos Aires.

[Margalit Bejarano (2nd ed.)]

FESTIVALS (Heb. חַג, *ḥag*; מוֹעֵד, *mo'ed*; or יוֹם טוֹב, *yom tov*).

Introduction

The root of חַג is חָגֹג *ḥagog*, to celebrate, or possibly חוּג *ḥug*, to go round. It is related to the Arabic *ḥajja* which means to go on a pilgrimage from which comes ḥajj, the pilgrimage to Mecca. The term *mo'ed* means an appointed place, time, or season.

The festivals can be divided into two main categories each of which can be subdivided: (1) those commanded by the Pentateuch, and (2) those added later.

The Pentateuchal festivals are (a) the *Sabbath (not strictly a festival), (b) the three pilgrim festivals, *Passover, *Shavuot, and *Sukkot, with Shemini Aẓret which is considered in some respects a festival in its own right, (c) the New Year (*Rosh Ha-Shanah) and the Day of *Atonement, (d) *Rosh Ḥodesh, the first day of the lunar month. These divisions can however be still further divided. Rosh Ha-Shanah and the Day of Atonement, while obviously belonging to a single pattern, nevertheless differ from each other completely. The three *pilgrim festivals, too, although similar in many aspects differ in detail. There is, furthermore, a decided difference between the first and last festival days and the middle days termed *ḥol ha-mo'ed* (see below). The second category too can be subdivided: *Purim and *Ḥanukkah; the first being biblical (Book of Esther) and the second from the Hasmonean period; memorial days such as *Lag ba-Omer (medieval) and the 15th of *Av (mishnaic) to which may be added *Tu bi-Shevat; thirdly, certain festival days added in modern times to mark historic events of Jewish importance. Apart from the above are also festival days of individuals or communities to record salvation or a similar event.

A festival is characterized by three factors: (1) rejoicing, which mostly takes the form of ceremonial meals (with the exception of the Day of Atonement), and, on the more important biblical festivals, the prohibition of work; (2) the liturgy (or in Temple times, the special sacrificial service); and (3) special ceremonials of the festival, such as eating of *mazzot* on Passover (biblical injunction), lighting of the candles of Ḥannukah (talmudic), and the planting of saplings on Tu bi-Shevat (custom).

The liturgy is in effect dictated by the type of festival. The main changes from everyday prayer are mainly in (a) the *Amidah, (b) the addition of *Hallel, (c) the reading of the *Torah, (d) the *Musaf service representing the special sacrifices of the day (for details, see below – Liturgy). It can generally be stated that the less important the festival, the less changes are made in the liturgy. On Sabbath, the pilgrim festivals, and the high holidays, it is customary for the woman to light *candles accompanied by a special benediction, and (except Sabbath) also by the *she-heḥeyanu*, whereas the man makes sanctification (*Kiddush*) over wine (except on the Day of Atonement). It is interesting to note that the national day of mourning, Ninth of *Av, is also regarded in a sense as a festival, as it is termed "*mo'ed*" in Lamentations (1:15), and, according to tradition, will be the greatest festival in the time to come (with reference to Jer. 31:13).

In the Bible

The festivals mentioned in the Pentateuch as "feasts" (חַגִּים *ḥaggim*) are Passover (Ex. 12:14), also called "the feast of unleavened bread"; Shavuot, otherwise "the feast of harvest" (Ex. 23:16) or the "day of the first fruits"; and *Sukkot, also known as "the feast of ingathering" (*ibid.*) and sometimes called simply "feast" (*ḥag*) in the Bible. The sages, too, mostly use the term *ḥag* by itself to refer to Sukkot. Common to all three festivals is the pilgrimage to Jerusalem from which the term (שָׁלֹשׁ רְגָלִים "the three pilgrim festivals") is derived. The term "appointed seasons" (*mo'adim*) in the Pentateuch, however, includes also Rosh Ha-Shanah and the Day of Atonement, as in the verse "These are the appointed seasons of the Lord, even holy convocations, which ye shall proclaim in their appointed season" (Lev. 23:4). At times the term "appointed seasons" is used for all the days which are "holy convocations," including the Sabbath. Rosh Ḥodesh, on which work is not forbidden by biblical injunction and which is not mentioned at all with the festivals in Leviticus, is nevertheless included among "the appointed seasons" in the section on sacrifices (Num. 28:11). It seems that the prophets, too, sometimes use "appointed seasons" to refer to the Sabbath and Rosh Ḥodesh though mostly these days are not indicated. In one instance only the three pilgrim festivals are included "on the appointed seasons, three times in the year" (II Chron. 8:13). Thus the term "season" generally has a wider meaning in the Bible than "feast" because only the three pilgrim festivals are called "feast," whereas "season" usually comprises also Rosh Ha-Shanah and the Day of Atonement. A day of feasting and joy, whether fixed by individuals or established by the whole people to be observed by succeeding generations, which does not entail special sacrifices, is called *yom tov* (I Sam. 25:8; Esth. 8:17).

The festivals, like the Sabbath, have their origin in Divine commandments. Leviticus commands not only "it is a Sabbath unto the Lord" (23:3) and "the Sabbaths of the Lord," but also "the appointed seasons of the Lord" (23:4, 44). In the Bible the common expression "feast of the Lord" (see Hos. 9:5) or "a feast to the Lord" refers to Passover as well as to Shavuot and to Sukkot. Similarly, the festival which the children of Israel were to celebrate with sacrifices to the Lord in the wilderness is termed "feast." Aaron, too, at the incident of the golden calf, proclaims "Tomorrow shall be a feast to the Lord" (Ex. 32:5).

The Source of the Festivals

In the pagan religions of the ancient East, the festivals were established by man in order to find favor with the deity and prevent disasters. It was against this concept that the prophets militated (cf. *Sacrifices). The biblical concept, on the other hand, is the exact antithesis, for not only are the festivals commanded by God but the service on these days as well. The festival sacrifices (*Musaf*) are not offered for any material reward, but in obedience to the Divine command. Among the sins of *Jeroboam is mentioned his ordainment of a feast "like unto the feast that is in Judah" on the 15th of the eighth month "in the month which he had devised of his own heart," and his bringing sacrifices on it (I Kings 12:32–33). Apart from this incident, there is no mention in the Bible of alterations to the festivals as stated in the Pentateuch or the creation of new ones; "the feast of the Lord from year to year in Shiloh" (Judg. 21:19) is seemingly one of the festivals mentioned in the Pentateuch. In the Bible various reasons are given for the festivals. Some are specifically connected with the exodus from Egypt. Passover, the feast of unleavened bread, is celebrated on the anniversary of the day that God led the children of Israel out of Egypt. The paschal lamb was commanded for all generations to commemorate "that He passed over the houses of the children of Israel in Egypt" (Ex. 12:27) and the unleavened bread is in memory of the haste with which the Israelites left Egypt. Similarly, the reason for dwelling in tabernacles on Sukkot is "that your generations may know that I made the children of Israel to dwell in booths when I brought them out of the land of Egypt" (Lev. 23:43); and even for Shavuot it is said, "And thou shalt remember that thou wast a bondman in Egypt; and thou shalt observe and do these statutes" (Deut. 16:12; cf. Naḥmanides ad loc.; cf. Deut. 5:15 on Sabbath). The recital on the offering of the first fruits also testifies to the exodus from Egypt (Deut. 26:5–10). Together with their theological-historical sources, the festivals are also connected with the annual agricultural cycle. Shavuot is the festival "of the first fruits of wheat harvest" (Ex. 34:22) on which two loaves made from the new wheat crop were offered; hence its names: "the harvest feast" and "the day of the first fruits." Sukkot is "the feast of the ingathering" at the end of the agricultural year when the ingathering from the threshing floor and the winepress is completed. Even Passover, in the spring, apart from the commemoration of the exodus, has an agricultural basis. The *Omer* sacrifice of the new barley was offered on the second day of the festival and permitted the partaking of the new grain crop.

The festivals thus seem to be rooted in two distinct sources which, according to some scholars, are independent of each other. They claim that the agricultural festivals antedate their theological-historical source, specifically pointing to the fact that Passover and Sukkot are celebrated in seasons when night and day are roughly of equal length. Their contention, however, is unacceptable since each festival in the Pentateuch is based on two distinct types of reasons stated sometimes even in the same paragraph. In the case of Passover, the agricultural motif is added to the clearly historical aspect of the festival, while with Sukkot, the historical aspect of the festival is added to the agricultural although this historical aspect is not specifically connected with the time of the year of Sukkot. At any rate the distinction between "the ancient folk festivals" and the later "theological festivals" is doubtful. Contrary to the three pilgrim festivals which are mentioned in the Bible together with their double motifs, no reason, save it being a Divine precept, is given for the day of "memorial proclaimed with the blast of horns" (i.e., the later Rosh Ha-Shanah), celebrated on the first day of the seventh month. The Day of Atonement, however, was inaugurated for the atonement of sins.

Celebration of the Festival

The Pentateuch cites two specific commandments in connection with the "seasons of the Lord, holy convocations": work is forbidden and, as a remembrance, sacrifices are to be brought to the accompaniment of trumpet blowing before the Lord (Num. 10:10). The Bible also specifically commands rejoicing on Shavuot (Deut. 16:11) and especially on Sukkot (Lev. 23:40; Deut. 16:14–15; cf. Neh. 8:17). Such commandments, however, were common to all the festivals, as is proven for instance by

TISHRI	HESHVAN	KISLEV	TEVET	SHEVAT	ADAR	NISAN	IYYAR	SIVAN	TAMMUZ	AV	ELUL
1 ROSH HASHANAH (New Year)			1 🕯🕯🕯🕯🕯🕯🕯				16	45			○
2 ROSH HASHANAH (New Year)			2 🕯🕯🕯🕯🕯🕯🕯🕯				17	46			○
3 Fast of Gedaliah							18	47			○
							19	48		Nine Days	○
							5 YOM HA'AẒMA'UT (Independence Day)	49			○
Ten Days of Penitence							21	6 SHAVUOT (Pentecost) 🌿			○
							22	7			○
							23				○
							24			9 Fast of Tishah be-Avi	○
10 YOM KIPPUR (Day of Atornement)			10 Fast of Tenth of Tevet				25				○
							26				○
							27				○
					13 Fast of Esther		28				○
					14 PURIM	14 Fast of the Firstborn	29				○
15 SUKKOT (Tabernacles) 🌿				15 Tu bi-Shevat	15 Shushan Purim	15 PESAḤ (Passover) 🌿	30			15 Fifteenth of Av	○
16						16 ✸	31				○
17 ḥol ha-mo'ed						17 ḥol ha-mo'ed 2	32		17 Fast of Seventeenth of Tamuz		○
18						18 3	18 Lag ba-Omer 33				○
19						19	34				○
20						20 5	35				○
21 Hoshanah Rabba						21 PESAḤ Last Day 6	36				○
22 SHEMINI AZERET SIMḤAT TORAH[1]						22 7	37				○
23 SIMḤAT TORAH						8	38		Three Weeks of Mourning		○
						9	39				○
		25 ḤANUKKAH 🕯				10	40				○
		26 🕯🕯				11	41				○
		27 🕯🕯🕯				27 Yom ha-Sho'ah (Day of Holocaust) 12	42				○
		28 🕯🕯🕯🕯				13	43				○
		29 🕯🕯🕯🕯🕯				14	44				○
		30 🕯🕯🕯🕯🕯🕯				15					

▨ JEWISH HOLIDAY ☐ MINOR HOLIDAY ▒ Second day holiday in Diaspora only 🌿 Pilgrimage festivals ✸ Counting of the Omer (Sefiraḥ period) begins ○ Seliḥot prayer [1] Simḥat Torah in Israel only

Calendar of festivals and fasts of the Jewish year (for Sephardi and Ashkenazi dates of *Seliḥot* prayer see *Seliḥot).

the great rejoicings on Passover (Ezra 6:22; II Chron. 30:21ff.) and those "on the first day of the seventh month" (Neh. 8:2, 9ff.). These celebrations, especially when the people gathered in the Temple, are testified to by Isaiah: "Ye shall have a song as in the night when a feast is hallowed; And gladness of heart, as when one goeth with a pipe to come into the mountain of the Lord to the Rock of Israel" (30:29). The festivals are therefore referred to as days of mirth, gladness, and joy. It seems that the rejoicing of the people at the golden calf – "[they] offered burnt offerings, and brought peace offerings and the people sat down to eat and drink and rose up to make merry" (Ex. 32:6) – was typical of all festive celebrations, in which the huge feast as well as dancing occupied a prominent place. The celebrations were, however, limited by the sanctity of the festival, and there is no hint in the Bible of the orgies, wildness, and promiscuous abandon connected with the pagan festivals in the ancient Near East. The Pentateuch even stresses the fact that the rejoicings are of the whole community, including slaves, and commands not to forget the levite, the proselyte, the orphan, or the widow (Deut. 16:11, 14). During the early Second Temple period it was customary to send presents to the needy on the festivals (Neh. 8:10–12).

In the Apocrypha and Hellenistic Jewish Literature

During the early Second Temple period the laws of the Sabbath and festivals came to be very strictly observed. The festivals were celebrated with great rejoicings and it was customary to invite the poor to the feasting (Tob. 2:1–2). Many would go up to Jerusalem on all the festivals. During the persecutions of Antiochus, observance of the Sabbath and festivals was forbidden. *Demetrius, however, declared the Sabbaths, New Moons, and festivals, including three days before and after, to be holidays for all Jews in the Seleucid kingdom (testified to in his letter to Jonathan the Maccabee; I Macc. 10:34).

In contrast to the Greek and Roman festival celebrations which were accompanied by gluttonous, drunken, and bacchanalian revelries, Hellenistic Jewish writers stressed the uniqueness of the Jewish festivals. *Philo claims that the cessation of work on the festival was a possible danger since eating and drinking arouse lust and other low instincts. Giving vent to these feelings without restriction could lead to vice and limitless evil since the festival would serve as a protective means against retribution. The lawgiver therefore did not permit his people to celebrate their festivals in the way of other nations but commanded them first to purify themselves through the restriction of their desires for pleasure at the very time of their celebrations. Then they were to gather at the Temple to participate in the hymns, prayers, and sacrifices so that the place, the sight, and the service would influence their finer senses – sight and hearing – with a spirit of piety. Last but not least, by commanding the sacrifice of a sin-offering, he warned the people to stop sinning; for it seems that a person would not transgress at the very time he asks for forgiveness. Those gathered for the festive banquet do not come to stuff themselves with meat and wine like other nations, but through prayers and psalms follow the tradition of their forefathers. Therefore the Day of Atonement is also a festival though the partaking of food is forbidden and there is no wild rejoicing, merrymaking, and dancing accompanied by song and music which arouse uncontrollable desires. Ignorance of the nature of true happiness leads people to assume that on the festivals joy is to be achieved through physical indulgences (Philo, Spec. 2:193–4). Philo further states that the true significance of the festival is to find pleasure and enjoyment through meditation about the world and the harmony existing in it (*ibid.*, 2:52). Were man's virtue constantly to rule his desires, his whole life, from his birth to the day he dies, would be one long festival (*ibid.*, 2:42).

In Talmudic Literature

The term *ḥaggim*, as referring to Jewish festivals, hardly occurs in rabbinical literature (except in prayers which are in an archaic language). Instead, the festivals mentioned in the Bible are called *mo'adot. Mo'ed* (though not *ha-mo'ed*) in the singular is mostly applied to the intermediate days, especially to distinguish them from festival days on which no work at all is allowed. These are usually called *yom tov.* As in the Bible, *yom tov* was also applied in rabbinic literature to days of rejoicing (general or private) not mentioned in the Pentateuch, and on which work was allowed. These were either new festivals ordained for all times or days of rejoicing for certain events. It is doubtful whether the Day of Atonement was included in the term *yom tov* (but see Ta'an. 4:8).

The commandment concerning the feast of unleavened bread, that "… no manner of work shall be done in them…, save that which every man must eat, that only may be done by you" (Ex. 12:16), was interpreted by the sages to mean that work, for purposes of eating, is allowed on all those festivals (Sif. Num. 147) on which "servile work" is prohibited by the Pentateuch. (In contrast to the Sabbath and the Day of Atonement where it is ordained "ye shall do no work.") The types of work forbidden on the Sabbath but allowed on *yom tov* for the purpose of eating (Beẓah 5:2) are kneading, baking, slaughtering, skinning, salting, cutting, burning, and carrying (the last two are also permitted for purposes other than eating; Beẓah 12a–b). Hunting, reaping, sheaf binding, threshing, winnowing, selecting, and grinding are forbidden (as to sifting, opinion is divided). Types of work for the indirect preparation of food (מכשירי אוכל נפש) are permitted. The differentiation between the types of work allowed and those forbidden is apparently based on customs prevalent at the time. Except for the work permitted for the sake of food and some other minor allowances made (see Beẓah 5:1), everything forbidden on the Sabbath is also forbidden on the festivals. Moreover, the prohibition of handling *mukẓeh (non-usable) objects is stricter on the festivals than on the Sabbath so that the festival prohibitions should not be taken lightly (Beẓah 2a–b).

The festivals are also similar to the Sabbath in rejoicing and in honoring the day. All halakhic Midrashim interpret the term "holy convocation" to mean that the festivals are to be sanctified "with food and drink and clean clothes" and "the Day of Atonement, on which there is no food or drink, the Torah states that one must honor it with clean clothes" (Shab. 119a). It was usual to cut one's hair before the festivals. Similarly, it was the custom, later incorporated in the *halakhah*, not to work or eat in the late afternoon preceding the festival. In the Middle Ages, it became customary to light a candle on the eve of the festival and to recite a blessing, as on the Sabbath. Rejoicing on the festival involved eating and drinking (concerning the prohibition of fasting see Judith 8:6; TJ, Ta'an. 2:12) and giving presents to the women and children. During the tannaitic period the sages disputed the question as to how a person should spend the festival: "R. Eliezer says that a person should either eat and drink or sit and study on the festival; R. Joshua declares that a person's time should be divided between eating and drinking and the house of learning." R. Johanan, the *amora*, found support in the Scriptures for both opinions (Pes. 68b; cf. Beẓah 15b; Sif. Deut. 135, is similar to R. Joshua's opinion). The *amoraim* also disagreed on the similar question as to whether the festivals were meant for the study of Torah, or whether eating and drinking was the main reason and permission to study the Torah on them but a secondary consideration (TJ, Shab. 15:3). According to the sources, it seems that it was customary to go to the *bet ha-midrash* both on the eve of the festival as well as in the morning. Prayers, however, were shortened because of the festive meal. The sages, while stating that "the festivals were given to Israel only for their own pleasure" (S. Buber (ed.), *Midrash Tanḥuma* (1885), Mid. Tanḥuma Gen. 4), nevertheless noted the difference between Israel and the nations: "You grant the nations many festivals and they eat, drink, and are wanton, they go to the theater, the circus, and anger You by word and deed; but Israel is not so. You grant them festivals and they eat, drink, and rejoice, and go to the synagogues and *battei midrash* ("houses of learning") and multiply their prayers, their festival offerings, and their sacrifices" (PdRK 340–1). It seems that R. Joshua's opinion ("half to the Lord and half for yourselves") was practiced and became *halakhah*. However, practices of drunkenness and licentiousness are also mentioned (Beẓah 4a; Kid. 81a); R. Abba bar Memel, a Palestinian *amora*, states, "Did they not forbid work on the intermediate days only in order that people should eat, drink, and diligently study the Torah? But they eat, drink, and are wanton" (TJ, MK 2:3) – exactly as the Midrash describes the gentile nations.

Paul opposed the observance of the Sabbath and the festivals (Gal. 4:10; Col. 2:16). Traces of the Jewish-Christian dispute concerning the festivals are found in the Midrash (S. Buber (ed.), *Midrash Tanḥuma* (1885), *Pinḥas*, para. 17). The sharp condemnation by the sages of "he who despises the festivals" (Avot 3:12; Pes. 118a) is probably directed against the Christian heretics, and probably because of them the observance of the Sabbath and the festivals was stressed so strongly in Ereẓ Israel. Later, in the Middle Ages, Judah Halevi states that the festivals were the main factor which upheld Israel in its exile (*Kuzari* 3:10).

The Intermediate Days

Apart from the laws governing the *musaf* sacrifices on the festivals, nothing is stated about the festival days following the first day of Passover and Sukkot, respectively, which the sages called *ḥolo shel mo'ed* or just *mo'ed*. They taught that these days are also to be considered as days of "holy convocation." Only partial work is permitted on them for "the Torah gave the sages the power of determining on which day it is forbidden to do work and on which day it is allowed; which work is forbidden and which allowed" (Sif. Deut. 135). Generally, work which prevents deterioration or loss is permitted on the intermediate days; where this is not the case, work is forbidden. It is forbidden to delay work in order to do it on the intermediate days except for public works. In Ereẓ Israel stringent laws were imposed whereby no work at all was done, even if it was required for the festival itself. The *halakhah*, however, conformed to the Babylonian practice which allowed some work (as mentioned above). All must rejoice on the intermediate days; thus marriage is not permitted on these days as rejoicing should not be mixed, *ein me'arevim simḥah be-simḥah* (MK 8b).

[Moshe David Herr]

Second Days of Festivals

In the Diaspora an extra day (in Heb. *yom tov sheni shel galuyyot*) is added to each of the biblical festival days, except for *ḥol ha-mo'ed* and the Day of Atonement. The practice originated because of the uncertainty in the Diaspora of the day on which the Sanhedrin announced the New Moon. Later, when astronomical calculations were relied upon, the sages declared that the custom should nevertheless be accepted as permanent. Although the Day of Atonement was an exception, as a double fast day was considered too difficult, there were individuals who observed two days. Rosh Ha-Shanah, on the other hand, gradually came to be observed as a two-day festival even in Ereẓ Israel; beginnings of the custom here, too, are to be found in the Second Temple period (RH 4:4), although it became universal only in the Middle Ages. With regard to Passover and Sukkot, the first day of *ḥol ha-mo'ed* was observed as a full festival day in the Diaspora while an additional day was added at the end. Thus on Passover a second *seder* is held on the second night and an eighth day is added. The day following Shemini Aẓeret at the completion of Sukkot became known as Simḥat Torah, the "Rejoicing of the Law." As long as the new moon was determined by visual evidence, there was no fixed date for Shavuot, so that the day of the festival was not in any doubt as it was always on the 50th day counting from the second day of Passover, which day would have been ratified in good time by the Sanhedrin messengers. Despite this, a second day was observed in the Diaspora for Shavuot as well. It would appear that certain sources regard the second day as a punishment and that for its observance no reward is to be expected (TJ, Eruv. 3:9). The only difference in observance between the additional days and regular festival days is in the practice concerning burial, the use of medicine (Sh. Ar., OḤ, 496:2), and laws regarding *nolad* (the appearance or creation of something not previously in existence). An egg, for instance, which was laid on the first day of the festival remains forbidden all that day but may be eaten on the second day (*ibid.* 513:5). On the second day of Rosh Ha-Shanah, however, *nolad* is not permitted to be used because the two days are considered one long day. Certain trends in Conservative Judaism have made the second festival day optional, while the Reform has abolished it altogether, even for Rosh Ha-Shanah.

A person from Ereẓ Israel who temporarily visits the Diaspora has to observe the additional day when in company, so as not to arouse controversy (*ibid.* 496:3, cf. Pes. 4:1; see *Domicile). A visitor to Ereẓ Israel, however, observes only one day if he has any intention of staying. According to Ẓevi Hirsch *Ashkenazi, even without such intention he observes one day only (*Ḥakham Ẓevi*, resp. no. 167).

Liturgy

On the three pilgrim festivals and on the high holidays a special *Amidah is recited while on Rosh Ḥodesh and *ḥol ha-mo'ed* the ordinary weekday *Amidah* is said. In both, the *ya'aleh ve-yavo prayer is included, as also in the Grace after Meals. On Ḥanukkah and Purim *al ha-nissim, recounting the miracles of the particular festival, is said in both *Amidah* and Grace. The *Amidah* is followed by *Hallel, preceded and completed by a benediction. On Shavuot, Sukkot (including *ḥol ha'mo'ed*), Shemini Aẓeret, and Ḥanukkah, *Hallel* is recited in its complete form. On Passover full *Hallel* is recited on the first day(s) only but not on *ḥol ha-mo'ed* or on the last festival day(s) when only "half" *Hallel* is recited. Full *Hallel* is also recited during the *seder* and in many congregations also at the conclusion of the evening service on Passover eve. On Rosh Ha-Shanah and the Day of Atonement, *Hallel* is deleted as these are days of judgment. On Purim, too, *Hallel* is not recited. On Rosh Ḥodesh "half" *Hallel* is recited (a Babylonian custom). The Torah reading on the festivals is from two scrolls: the first portion always contains a reference to the festivals, while the second is from Numbers 28–29 concerning the special sacrifice of the day. On Simḥat Torah three scrolls are read: in the first the Pentateuch is concluded; in the second it is begun again; while from the third the reading is of the sacrifices of the day. Unlike on the Sabbath, there is no reading at the afternoon service, except on the Day of Atonement. On the other hand, in many congregations the Torah is read on Simḥat Torah eve. It is customary to read the Song of Songs on the Sabbath during Passover and Ecclesiastes on the Sabbath of Sukkot. On Shavuot the Book of Ruth is read and on Purim the Book of Esther. Lamentations is read on the Ninth of Av. On all the Pentateuchal festivals, including *ḥol ha-mo'ed* and Rosh Ḥodesh, the **Musaf Amidah* is recited which corresponds to the special sacrifices of the day. On Rosh Ḥodesh the *tefillin are taken off before *Musaf,* while on *ḥol ha-mo'ed tefillin* are not used except according to Ashkenazi practice in the Diaspora, when they are taken off before *Hallel*. In contrast to Ereẓ Israel, the priests recite the *priestly blessing in the Diaspora only during the *Musaf* service of the festivals (excluding Rosh Ḥodesh). When one of the festival days is followed by the Sabbath, a procedure known as **eruv tavshilin* permits the preparation of food on the festival for the Sabbath, which would otherwise be prohibited.

The "good days" mentioned in **Megillat Ta'anit*, of which some are also mentioned in other sources, were all established in the Second Temple period. Save for Ḥanukkah and Purim all have long disappeared, the last one being Nicanor's Day (13th Adar) which was still observed in Ereẓ Israel in the seventh to ninth centuries. During the Middle Ages and in modern times other days became commonly accepted as "good days," some without any official standing. These are Lag ba-Omer, the 15th of Av, and Tu bi-Shevat, and lately Israel *Independence Day, which is also celebrated as a holiday with special prayers and *Hallel.*

Women and the Festivals

Women are responsible for obeying all of Judaism's negative commandments and for observing most of the positive commandments. These positive precepts include celebrating the Sabbath and all of the holy days and festivals of the Jewish year (TB Pes. 109a). However, women are exempt from the following positive *mitzvot* linked to festivals and holy days: hearing the *shofar* on Rosh ha-Shanah, dwelling in a *sukkah* during the Sukkot festival, waving the *lulav* on Sukkot, and counting the *omer.* Since these are all commandments that are to be performed at fixed times of the year, they conform to the exemption of women from time-bound *mitzvot* prescribed in Kid. 1:7. Yet, the Talmud specifically obligates women to other time-bound festival observances, generally rituals that take place in the home. These include *kiddush* (sanctification of wine) on the Sabbath (Ber. 20b), and, according to most authorities, on the festivals as well; kindling Sabbath and festival lights and the Hanukkah lamp (Shab. 23a); listening to the reading of the *megillah* (Scroll of Esther) on Purim (Meg. 4a); and eating *mazzah* (Pes. 43b) and drinking four cups of wine at the Passover *seder* (Pes.108a).

A number of rabbinic authorities have held that a woman's voluntary performance of those festival *mitzvot* from which she is halakhically exempt should be understood as a praiseworthy personal *minhag* (custom) or permitted as a fulfillment of an individual *neder* (vow). Authorities have been divided over whether one who observes an optional *mitzvah* may recite the benediction that usually accompanies the performance of that precept. R. Moses *Isserles (the Rema, 1525 or 1530–1572) maintained that a woman could recite the blessing in this case (Sh. Ar., *Oraḥ Ḥayyim* 589:6) and this became the custom among Ashkenazi Jews. Thus, a woman may choose to listen to the *shofar* or may sound it herself, and she may recite the appropriate blessing (OḤ 589:6). A woman may not sound the *shofar* on behalf of others, according to the principle that only one who is obligated to perform a precept may perform it for others (OḤ 589:1).

Two of the three commandments specifically associated with women in rabbinic tradition are connected with Sabbath observance (Shab. 2:6). These are the kindling of Sabbath lights before sunset (*hadlakah*) and removing some of the dough from the Sabbath loaf and burning it in the oven in remembrance of Temple sacrifice (*ḥallah*). These two obligations may also be performed by a man if no woman is present; however, the Shulḥan Arukh rules that a woman takes precedence over a man in kindling the Sabbath lights for her household (OḤ 263:2, 3).

Women, like men, are required to fast and afflict themselves in various ways on the Day of Atonement and to refrain from doing any work (Suk. 28b); they are also obligated to observe all other mandated fast days. Pregnant women are expected to fast (OḤ 617:1). If a pregnant woman says she must eat, she may be given incremental amounts of liquid and then food until she is satisfied (OḤ 617:1). A woman in childbirth, from the onset of labor until three days after the birth of her child, must eat normally (OḤ 617:4). A nursing mother should fast unless her fasting will jeopardize her child's health.

Men have traditionally observed Simḥat Torah with festive celebration, particularly circular processions (*hakafot*) around the synagogue, and joyous dancing, with the Torah scrolls. In recent years many women have initiated separate women's *hakafot* with the Torah scrolls. There is no halakhic objection to this practice since a woman, like a man, is permitted to touch and hold the Torah scroll at all times (YD 282:9). Some contemporary Orthodox authorities, however, oppose this innovation because they link it with their perceptions of feminism as a threat to traditional Jewish life.

Rosh Ḥodesh, the festival marking the New Moon and the start of each month, is strongly associated with women in Jewish tradition. In some eras in the Jewish past, women's abstention from work on *Rosh Ḥodesh* was encouraged; the Shulḥan Arukh says women may work on *Rosh Ḥodesh* but praises Jewish women who refrain from doing so (OḤ 417:1). Women are forbidden to fast on *Rosh Ḥodesh* (OḤ 418:1) and it is a *mitzvah* for them to feast (OḤ 419:1). However, women are exempt from the obligation to bless the New Moon on its appearance, since this is a time-bound positive precept (*Halikhot Betah* 16:10). In recent decades, many Jewish women have reclaimed their traditional association with this day, forming *Rosh Ḥodesh* groups for study and fellowship.

[Judith R. Baskin (2nd ed.)]

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FESTSCHRIFTEN (from German; lit. "festival writings"). A Festschrift is usually a volume of articles by several authors for a celebration, especially a volume of learned essays, by students, colleagues, and admirers to honor a scholar on a special anniversary. The custom of publishing Festschriften became popular in academic circles in Germany in the 19th century and was eagerly adopted by the Jewish scholarly community as well, particularly to honor the birthdays or memory of prominent rabbis, teachers at rabbinical seminaries, and private scholars. An institution, such as a rabbinical seminary, a Jewish school, or a society could also be honored. The contents of these books usually consist of a brief dedication or biographical sketch of the person honored, a list of his writings, and a series of scholarly contributions in the field of his interest.

Early examples of this genre were published in Central Europe when modern Jewish scholarship was striving to achieve recognition within the general community of scholars. At that time formal recognition of scholarship in Jewish subjects was generally denied, except for Bible scholarship; even that field, however, was conceived as an exclusively theological discipline reserved for Christian scholars. Thus the Festschriften served the apologetic tendency prevalent in the early period of modern Jewish learning. With the spread of the methods of modern Jewish scholarship from Germany to other countries, Festschriften also became popular, and this type of literature continues to be published in Israel and the Diaspora. Generally, the main subject of a Festschrift is not the honoree, but in some cases memorial volumes may consist primarily of the literary remains of the person. A related development is the publication of hundreds of memorial volumes dedicated to the Jewish communities that were destroyed during the Holocaust; usually they take the form of reminiscences of the survivors.

Lists and Indexes

A list of Festschriften, "Jubilee, Memorial, and Tribute Volumes" (in: *Universal Jewish Encyclopedia*, 1941), enumerates over a hundred titles for the period 1864–1941. The bibliographical quarterly *Kirjath Sepher* regularly published a list of works under the heading *Kevaẓim* ("collections"), from which a fairly complete bibliography of Jewish Festschriften can be derived. Nearly a hundred Festschriften honoring Jewish educational institutions and published from 1834 on are listed by Leah Y. Mishkin (in: SBB, 5 (1961), 92–101). Many of these, however, have the institutions as their principal subject.

An analytical Festschrift is *An Index to Jewish Festschriften* (1937) by J.R. Marcus and A. Bilgray, which analyzes

54 works by author, title, and subject. A general index to Festschriften that analyzes a substantial number of works of Jewish interest is *Articles on Antiquity in Festschriften, and Index; the Ancient Near East, the Old Testament, Greece, Rome, Roman Law, Byzantium* (1962) by Dorothy Rounds.

I. Joel's *Reshimat Ma'amarim be-Madda'ei ha-Yahadut* (1969, "List of Articles on Jewish Studies"), the first volume of a projected series, analyzes periodicals and collections, including Festschriften published in 1966.

Index to Festschriften in Jewish Studies (1971), compiled and edited by Charles Berlin, gives a comprehensive list of 243 Festschriften with an alphabetical list of authors and articles, and a detailed index. It excludes the Festschriften indexed by Marcus and Bilgray.

[Theodore Wiener]

°**FESTUS, PORCIUS**, Roman procurator of Judea 60–62 C.E. Under his rule the sect of Jewish patriots known as the *Sicarii greatly increased in number, although, according to Josephus, the procurator made every effort to curb their activity. Festus sent his troops to suppress a "deceiver" who led the people into the wilderness promising them victory, and many of them were killed (Jos., Ant., 20:188). Soon after his appointment Nero decided the dispute in *Caesarea between the Syrians and the Jews in such a way as to make the Syrians the masters of the city; this aroused considerable unrest among the Jewish population. Another legacy of the procuratorship of Felix was the trial of the apostle Paul, whom Festus sent to Rome to be tried after a number of hearings. During his procuratorship Agrippa II added an upper story to the former Hasmonean palace in order to be able to overlook the Temple court. The priests countered by erecting a wall screening the Temple from the palace. For military reasons Festus ordered this wall to be demolished but nevertheless permitted the priests to send a delegation to Rome to appeal his decision. Nero was persuaded by his wife, *Poppaea Sabina, to decide in their favor and the wall was allowed to stand. Festus died suddenly in Ereẓ Israel in 62 C.E. and was later succeeded by *Albinus.

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[Lea Roth]

°**FETTMILCH, VINCENT** (d. 1616), anti-Jewish guild leader in *Frankfurt. In 1612 he presented a petition to the emperor accusing the senate of Frankfurt of corruption and favoring Jews. Though the petition was ignored, he exploited the economic crisis and religious strife to agitate against the senate and the Jews. The populace disregarded two imperial warnings and were unappeased by the expulsion of 60 poor Jewish families. On Aug. 5, 1614, they attacked the ghetto gates, which were forced open after five hours. The Jewish defenders rushed to join their women and children, who were hiding in the cemetery. Two Jews and one Gentile lost their lives and the pillage continued until noon. The cemetery was surrounded by Fettmilch, the self-styled "new Haman," and his followers, and the whole community was forced to leave the city. Meanwhile the emperor had issued an order for Fettmilch's arrest. On March 10, 1616, he and six associates were hanged and quartered; after its return the community commemorated the date annually as the "Purim Winz" ("Purim of Vincent") with the reading of the *Megillat Vinẓ* composed by Elhanan b. Abraham Helin in Hebrew and Yiddish (publ. Frankfurt, 1616).

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FEUCHTWANG, DAVID (1864–1936), rabbi and scholar. After studying in Vienna and Berlin, Feuchtwang succeeded his father Meir as rabbi in *Mikulov, Moravia, in 1892. In 1903 he became rabbi in Vienna and succeeded H.P. *Chajes as chief rabbi (1927). Feuchtwang contributed numerous articles to both Jewish and non-Jewish scholarly journals. Among his published work are *Nachum im Lichte der Assyriologie* (1888), *Das Wasseropfer und die damit verbundenen Zeremonien* (1911), *Der Tierkreis in der Tradition und im synagogalen Ritus* (1913), and *Studien zum Buche Ruth* (1925). He also wrote a study of the Hebrew tombstone inscriptions of Mikulov. Several volumes of his sermons and lectures were published.

FEUCHTWANGER, LION (1884–1958), German historical novelist. Feuchtwanger was born into a Bavarian-Jewish family. Coming from the Jewish community of Fuerth the Feuchtwangers settled in Munich in the mid-1840s, established a successful private bank and a factory for margarine, and were very active in the Orthodox *Synagogenverein Ohel Jakob.* Lion Feuchtwanger studied philosophy at Berlin and Munich; in 1907 he received his doctorate from the University of Munich for a thesis on Heine's *Rabbi of Bacherach.* As a young man he was mainly interested in drama. He wrote about a dozen plays, three of them in collaboration with Brecht. It was after World War I that Feuchtwanger's name first became known. His greatest success came with *Jud Suess* (1925; English edition *Jew Suess*, 1926; U.S. edition *Power*, 1927), a novel about Joseph Suess *Oppenheimer, the 18th-century court Jew, which he had originally written as a play. In 1939 this world best seller, which had already been made into a motion picture in Britain, was used by the Nazis as the basis for a viciously antisemitic film. Feuchtwanger's other big success of the 1920s was *Die haessliche Herzogin Margarete Maultasch* (1923; *The Ugly Duchess*, 1927), a psychological study of an Austrian historical figure. *Erfolg* (1930; *Success*, 1930) daringly exposed the moral corruption of postwar Germany. It was during this period that he began writing his *Josephus trilogy – *Der juedische Krieg* (1932; *Josephus*, 1932), *Die Soehne* (1935; *The Jew of Rome*, 1936), and *Der Tag wird kommen* (1941; *The Day Will Come*, 1942). Lion Feuchtwanger's brother Ludwig was a well-known figure in the cultural life of the Weimar Republic. Until 1933 he was the editor of the Duncker & Humblot publishing house in Munich.

Feuchtwanger spent the winter of 1932/33 on a lecture tour of the U.S. and was there when Hitler came to power. He never returned to Germany, but settled in the south of France. After the French collapse in June 1940, the Vichy regime put him into a concentration camp. With the help of American friends he managed to escape over the Pyrenees and, as a result of the intervention of President Roosevelt, was able to enter the U.S., where he spent the rest of his life. The novel *Die Geschwister Oppenheim* (1933; *The Oppermanns*, 1934) deals with the fate of a German-Jewish family in the early days of Nazi rule. A trip to the U.S.S.R. produced *Moskau 1937*, which included an historic interview with Stalin. The years of exile in France inspired several novels, including *Simone* (1944; Eng. tr., 1944), *Exil* (1939; *Paris Gazette*, 1940), and *Unholdes Frankreich* (1942; *The Devil in France*, 1941). When he was living in Pacific Palisades, California, Feuchtwanger wrote more best sellers, including *Waffen fuer America* (2 vols, 1947–48; *Proud Destiny*, 1947), the story of Benjamin Franklin's activities in France; *Goya* (1951; *This Is the Hour*, 1952); *Narrenweisheit, oder Tod und Verklaerung des Jean-Jacques Rousseau* (1952; *'tis Folly to be Wise…* 1953); *Spanische Ballade* (1955, also published 1955 under the title *Die Juedin von Toledo*; *Raquel the Jewess of Toledo*, 1956), and *Jefta und seine Tochter* (1957; *Jephta and his Daughter*, 1958). Many of these books were translated into more than 30 languages. Feuchtwanger's play *Wahn, oder der Teufel in Boston* (1946) is a penetrating study of Cotton Mather and his times. The 30,000-volume Feuchtwanger Memorial Library, bequeathed to the University of Southern California, was the novelist's third collection; previous libraries were lost in Nazi Germany and occupied France. After World War II, Feuchtwanger received awards and honors from both West and East Germany.

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[Harry Zohn / Heike Specht (2nd ed.)]

FEUER, HENRY (1912–), U.S. organic chemist. Born in the Ukraine, Feuer went to U.S. in 1941. He joined Toledo Hospital, Ohio, and subsequently became a faculty member at Purdue University (1946). He was appointed professor of chemistry there in 1961 and professor emeritus in 1979. In 1964–71 he was visiting professor at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem; in 1971 he was visiting professor at the Indian Institute of Technology and in 1979 at the Beijing Institute of Technology. His contributions to scientific journals deal with organic nitrogen compounds, viscosity, absorption of gases, and rocket propellants. From 1962 to 1989 he was president of Organic Electronic Spectral Data, Inc. and managing editor of the Organic Nitro Chemistry Series, Wiley-VCH. He is also a fellow of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, the American Chemical Society, and the Royal Society of Chemistry.

[Sharon Zrachya (2nd ed.)]

FEUER, LEON ISRAEL (1903–1984), U.S. Reform rabbi, orator, and Zionist leader. Feuer was born in Hazleton, Pennsylvania, and ordained at Hebrew Union College in 1927. He received his B.A. from the University of Cincinnati in 1925, an honorary D.D. from HUC-JIR in 1955, and an honorary doctorate from Bowling Green University in 1975. He served his entire rabbinic career in Ohio, first at Temple Tifereth Israel in Cleveland (1927–34) and then at the Collingwood Avenue Temple, Congregation Shomer Emunim in Toledo (1934–74), where he also lectured at the University of Toledo. He gained a reputation as an eloquent and outspoken supporter of liberal social legislation to end racial inequality as well as to protect the rights of workers, the unemployed, women, and children. During the 1930s, Feuer joined forces with Unitarian Minister Rev. Walter Cole to combat the antisemitic radio diatribes of Father Charles Coughlin, raising secret financing to purchase airtime and ghostwriting rebuttal speeches for Cole to broadcast.

Feuer rose to his greatest prominence as an early and influential leader of the Zionist movement in the United States. His book *Why a Jewish State?*, published in 1942, was the first in the English language to advocate an independent Jewish commonwealth in Palestine. In 1943, he became director of the Washington bureau of the American Zionist Emergency Council, obtaining a year's leave of absence from his congregation to head the effort to persuade U.S. political leaders to support the idea of a sovereign Jewish nation. A consummate lobbyist, Feuer convinced representatives and senators in Congress not only to oppose Britain's White Paper restricting Jewish immigration to Palestine but also to pass resolutions calling for the creation of a Jewish state in Palestine after World War II. In 1945, Feuer was elected vice president of the Zionist Organization of America and attended the following year's World Zionist Congress in Basel, Switzerland; as the ZOA delegation's floor whip, he was effective at instilling unity of purpose in achieving the goals of this assembly at such a critical juncture in history.

With the establishment of the State of Israel as the Jewish homeland, Feuer returned to active leadership roles in his community and the Reform movement. He was the organizing chairman of the Jewish Welfare Federation of Toledo and served successively as president of the Toledo Zionist District, the Toledo Lodge of B'nai B'rith, the Jewish Community Council, the United Jewish Fund, and the Toledo United Nations Association. After holding several key CCAR positions, including chairman of the Committee on Justice and Peace and the CCAR-UAHC Joint Social Action Commission, and vice president (1961–63), Feuer was elected president of the *Central Conference of American Rabbis in 1963. He was a proponent of stronger Jewish education requirements in the Reform movement, particularly with regard to customs, ceremonies, and Hebrew. Following his term of office (1963–65), he was appointed a public member of the executive of the American section of the Jewish Agency, the governing body of the World Zionist Organization (1966–71). He also served on an International Commission to study revising the WZO. Upon his retirement from the pulpit in 1974, Feuer joined the faculty of Emory University as a visiting professor. He also coauthored two scholarly works: *The Jew and His Religion* (1935) and *Jewish Literature since the Bible* (2 vols., 1937, 1941).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: K.M. Olitzky, L.J. Sussman, and M.H. Stern, *Reform Judaism in America: A Biographical Dictionary and Sourcebook* (1993).

[Bezalel Gordon (2nd ed.)]

FEUER, LEWIS SAMUEL (1912–2002), U.S. educator. Feuer was born in New York. He taught philosophy and social sciences at City College of New York, Vassar, the University of Vermont, and the University of California at Berkeley from 1957 to 1966. In 1966 he was appointed professor of sociology at the University of Toronto, where he taught sociological theory until 1976. He is the author of *Psychoanalysis and Ethics* (1955), *Spinoza and the Rise of Liberalism* (1958), *The Scientific Intellectual: The Psychological & Sociological Origins of Modern Science* (1963), *The Conflict of Generations*: *The Character and Significance of Student Movements* (1968), and *Marx and the Intellectuals* (1969). He edited *Marx and Engels: Basic Writings on Politics and Philosophy* (1959). His special interest was in the sociology of ideas. In his study of Spinoza, he related the philosopher's thought to the political and economic currents of his time. In *The Conflict of Generations* and other works, he studied the psychoanalytical and personal factors in social and political thought. He also criticized the theory that the rise of Protestantism has been mainly responsible for scientific inquiry and development. Later books by Feuer include *Einstein and the Generations of Science (1974), Ideology and the Ideologists* (1975), *Philosophy, History, and Social Action: Essays in Honor of Lewis Feuer: With an Autobiographical Essay by Lewis Feuer* (1988), and *Varieties of Scientific Experience: Emotive Aims in Scientific Hypotheses* (1995).

[Ben G. Kayfetz / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)

FEUERLICHT, MORRIS MARCUS (1879–1959), U.S. Reform rabbi. Feuerlicht was born in Hungary and ordained at *Hebrew Union College in 1901. He spent his entire rabbinic career in Indiana, first as rabbi of Temple Israel in Lafayette (1901–4) and then of Indianapolis Hebrew Congregation in Indianapolis (1904–51), where he also was a member of the faculty of Butler University. Feuerlicht espoused the philosophy that Judaism's spiritual heritage could contribute much to American life and translated this into respected social activism, to the extent that *The Indianapolis Times* hailed him as "a man in whom the qualities of greatness transcend all the little differences of creed, nationality and sect that divide us." The paper went on to call Feuerlicht "…one of the true assets of the State of Indiana… [a] violent foe of the Ku Klux Klan… [an] orator who bested the famed attorney Clarence Darrow in a [public] debate… [and an effective mediator] who settled many strikes."

In 1927, Feuerlicht was one of the founders of the National Conference of Christians and Jews (renamed the National Conference for Community and Justice in the 1990s). Locally, he was one of the founders of the Marion County chapter of the American Red Cross, as well as the founder and first director of the Indianapolis Family Welfare Society. He served successive terms as president of a number of civic organizations, including the Indiana Conference of Social Work, the Children's Aid Association of Indianapolis, and the Indiana Library and Historical Board. He also served as a civilian chaplain at Fort Benjamin Harrison.

In the realm of scholarship, Feuerlicht, a member of the American Oriental Society, was a contributor to the *Universal Jewish Encyclopedia* and wrote *Judaism's Contribution to the Founding of the Republic,* published by the Jewish Tract Commission.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: K.M. Olitzky, L.J. Sussman, and M.H. Stern, *Reform Judaism in America: A Biographical Dictionary and Sourcebook* (1993).

[Bezalel Gordon (2nd ed.)]

FEUERMANN, EMANUEL (1902–1942), cellist. Born in Kolomea, Galicia, and taken to Vienna at the age of seven, Feuermann gave his first public recitals in 1913. He was a teacher at Cologne Conservatory from 1918 until 1923 and became well known as a soloist. He was on the staff of the Berlin Hochschule fuer Musik (1929–33), but emigrated to the United States in 1938. There he performed as a soloist and made notable appearances in trios with Jascha Heifetz and Artur Rubinstein, and was acclaimed as one of the great cellists of his time.

FEUERRING, MAXIMILIAN (1896–1985), painter. Feuerring worked as an art teacher and art critic in various countries. In World War II he served with the Polish Army and was taken prisoner. In 1948, he organized in Munich the Painters in Exile exhibition, in which he participated with fellow Jewish P.O.W.S. A prolific artist, his paintings reflect the continuous search for problems and conflicts of spiritual or emotional origin. He struggled to integrate the known and the unknown, the formed and the unformed into an organic unity. Feuerring, who lived in Sydney from 1950, twice represented Australia at the São Paulo Biennial and was awarded the Albury Art Prize. He is sometimes known by his Polish surname of Feurring-Emefowicza.

FEUERSTEIN, family of leaders of U.S. Orthodoxy. The Feuersteins, who made their fortune in textiles in Massachusetts, trace their history in the United States to the 1893 arrival in New York of HENRY (Naftali) from Hungary. Instilled with the unyielding Orthodoxy that nurtured such rabbis as Moshe *Teitelbaum, founder of the Satmar ḥasidic dynasty who hailed from the same town, Feuerstein went beyond his modest beginnings as a peddler who plied his wares throughout New York's Hudson Valley to found a sweater mill in Malden, Massachusetts. Soon he became one of a handful of prosperous American businessmen who remained staunchly Orthodox and as such an important supporter of Orthodox institutions. In the 1920s Henry traveled to Palestine, meeting with both Rabbis Abraham I. *Kook, who backed the religious Zionist idea of the emergent "New Yishuv," and Joseph Ḥayyim *Sonnenfeld, the staunchly anti-Zionist leader of Orthodoxy in Jerusalem. He helped sustain Jerusalem's Hungarian community, of which his mother became a member.

SAMUEL (1892–1983), eldest of Henry's three children, all of whom were American-born, expanded both the family concern for Orthodox community needs and the family business, which by the end of World War I as Malden Knitting Mills was worth a then extraordinary million dollars. In the late 1930s and even more after the Holocaust as Orthodoxy in America grew exponentially, the Feuersteins became key figures in helping sustain an expanding number of its institutions – locally, nationally, and internationally. As such they were linked with most of the movement's prominent rabbinic leaders in the 20th century, who looked to them for counsel and economic aid. Feuerstein was close to such rabbis as Leo *Jung, supporting the Vaad Hatzalah (Rescue Committee) in its efforts to save refugees from the Nazis, and Joseph B. *Soloveitchik, helping to found Maimonides, a coeducational Modern Orthodox Jewish day school in Boston (of which he served as board chair). Samuel also helped Shraga Feivel *Mendelowitz found Torah Umesorah (the National Society for Hebrew Day Schools) and served as its president. In 1953 he founded the Young Israel of Brookline, and was instrumental in hiring as its first permanent rabbi, Irving "Yitz" *Greenberg.

MOSES (1916–), eldest of Samuel's five children and educated in Ascher's Institute (Switzerland), Yeshiva College (B.A. 1936), and the Harvard Business School, took on many of the Orthodox communal leadership roles in the next generation. Like his father, he acted as an important link between the traditionalist and modernist wings of Orthodoxy. Most prominently he served as chairman of Torah Umesorah as well as president of the *Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations of America. Under his presidency from 1954 to 1966, the Union became the largest Orthodox Jewish umbrella organization in the United States. Its certification of foods as kosher as a not-for-profit public service, totally free of the element of personal gain and private vestment, became decisive in making such guarantees reliable and kosher foods widely available. Once the OU seal became the national standard of *kashrut*, companies of high standing seeking acceptance of their products by Jewish consumers began, spontaneously, to turn to the Orthodox Union for that purpose. Moses also mediated between native and European-educated elements in American Orthodoxy, easing tensions between immigrants, who were swelling its ranks, and those who had constituted it in the past.

After Moses' mother, Janette (Kaplan), died, his father married Mitzi Landau. The eldest of their three children, AARON (1926-), educated at Boston Latin School and later Yeshiva College (B.A. 1947), became CEO of the family business. He expanded its products and presided over its growth into a multimillion dollar textile corporation, now called Malden Mills. Famous for the production of the immensely popular and innovative fleece insulation fabrics under the trademark Polartec, Aaron oversaw the opening of new headquarters in Lawrence, Massachusetts. The success of the company helped the family increase its support for countless Jewish institutions. While other textile manufacturers relocated to the Southern United States and later to Latin America or the Far East in search of lower labor costs and higher profits, Malden Mills, under Aaron's leadership, alone remained in the Northeast, loyal to its workers and unwilling to abandon its roots. In December 1995, the Lawrence mill suffered a devastating fire. Confounding expectations that he would relocate where the labor was cheaper, Aaron chose at a cost of $1.5 million per week to continue to pay his idle workers with full benefits for over three months, while he struggled to rebuild and battled with insurance companies who were slow to cover his losses. Explaining his motivation as coming from his Judaism, which taught him that good ethics was good business, Feuerstein often quoted Jeremiah (9:22): "Let the rich man not glory in his riches," but rather show kindness, justice, and righteousness in his actions. He became a national hero, receiving numerous awards and honors as well as an invitation to a joint session of the U.S. Congress. He succeeded in rebuilding, and in 2004 Congress approved $21 million for Polartec garments for the U.S. military in the 2005 Defense Spending Bill.

[Samuel C. Heilman (2nd ed.)]

FEUERSTEIN, BEDŘICH (1892–1934), Czech architect and stage designer. He was responsible for introducing elements of futurism and cubism in Czechoslovakia after World War I, demonstrated in his design for the Institute of Military Geography in Prague (1924). In 1925–27 he was in Tokyo, studying Japanese architecture. His stage designs for many plays produced in the National Theater in Prague, the satirical theater *Osvobozené Divadlo*, and other leading Czech theaters, showed great originality. Best known were his designs for Čapek's *R.U.R.* (1920).

[Avigdor Dagan]

FEUERSTEIN, REUVEN (1921–2005), Israeli psychologist. Born in Botosani, Romania, Feuerstein studied at the University of Geneva under such mentors as Jean Piaget and received his Ph.D. in developmental psychology at the Sorbonne. After qualifying as a teacher, he helped set up a special school for the children of Jews taken to Nazi labor camps. After settling in Israel in 1944, he taught child survivors of the Holocaust and directed Youth Aliyah's psychological service. After directing the psychological services of Youth Aliyah in Europe (1951–55), he was appointed director of the Youth Aliyah child guidance clinic and the Canadian Hadassah-WIZO Research Institute in Jerusalem. His work is set forth in his book (with M. Richelle and the collaboration of Z. Rey) *Children of the Mellah* (*Yaldei ha-Melaḥ*; Jerusalem, 1963).

Feuerstein believes that every human being can be modified to reach a higher level of functioning irrespective of age and regardless of the cause of a problem or the severity of a condition. In 1965 he established his Jerusalem research institute, which has become a mecca for families with problem children. Two of the items he developed are particularly well known: the Learning Potential Assessment Devices, for evaluating learning potential; and the Instrumental Enrichment Program, for improving an individual's way of thinking and functioning. Worldwide, there are more than 1,000 research projects that implement his work, involving all age groups from infants to the elderly, and every ability level from the severely retarded to the highly gifted.

From 1970 Feuerstein served as professor in the School of Education at Bar-Ilan University in Israel. He was director of the Hadassah-WIZO-Canada Research Institute in Jerusalem as well as the Center for Development of Human Potential in Jerusalem. In 1990, France's president François Mitterand honored Feuerstein for his work in training French workers, managers, and executives in the skills of intelligence. In 1992 he was awarded the Israel Prize in social sciences.

Books by Feuerstein include *The Dynamic Assessment of Retarded Performers: The Learning Potential Assessment Device, Theory, Instruments, and Techniques* (with Y. Rand and M. Hoffman, 1979), *Instrumental Enrichment: An Intervention Program for Cognitive Modifiability* (1980), and *Don't Accept Me As I Am: Helping "Retarded" People to Excel* (with Y. Rand and J. Rynders, 1988).

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[Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

Shavuot—festival of the first fruits—celebrated in a kibbutz in Israel with the presentation of first fruits. In the Temple period, Shavuot was the time when the individual farmer would set out with his neighbors in joyous procession to Jerusalem, bringing a selection of his ripe first fruits (*bikkurim*) as a thanksgiving offering. *Photo: Z. Radovan, Jerusalem.*

The Jewish holy days and festivals fall into two categories: those commanded by the Pentateuch, such as Sabbath, Rosh Ha-Shanah, Day of Atonement (Yom Kippur), and the Pilgrim Festivals (Passover, Shavuot, and Sukkot), and those added later, such as Purim (1st–2nd century c.e.) and Ḥanukkah (2nd century). All these are observed in various ways by Jews around the world.

SABBATH AND FESTIVALS

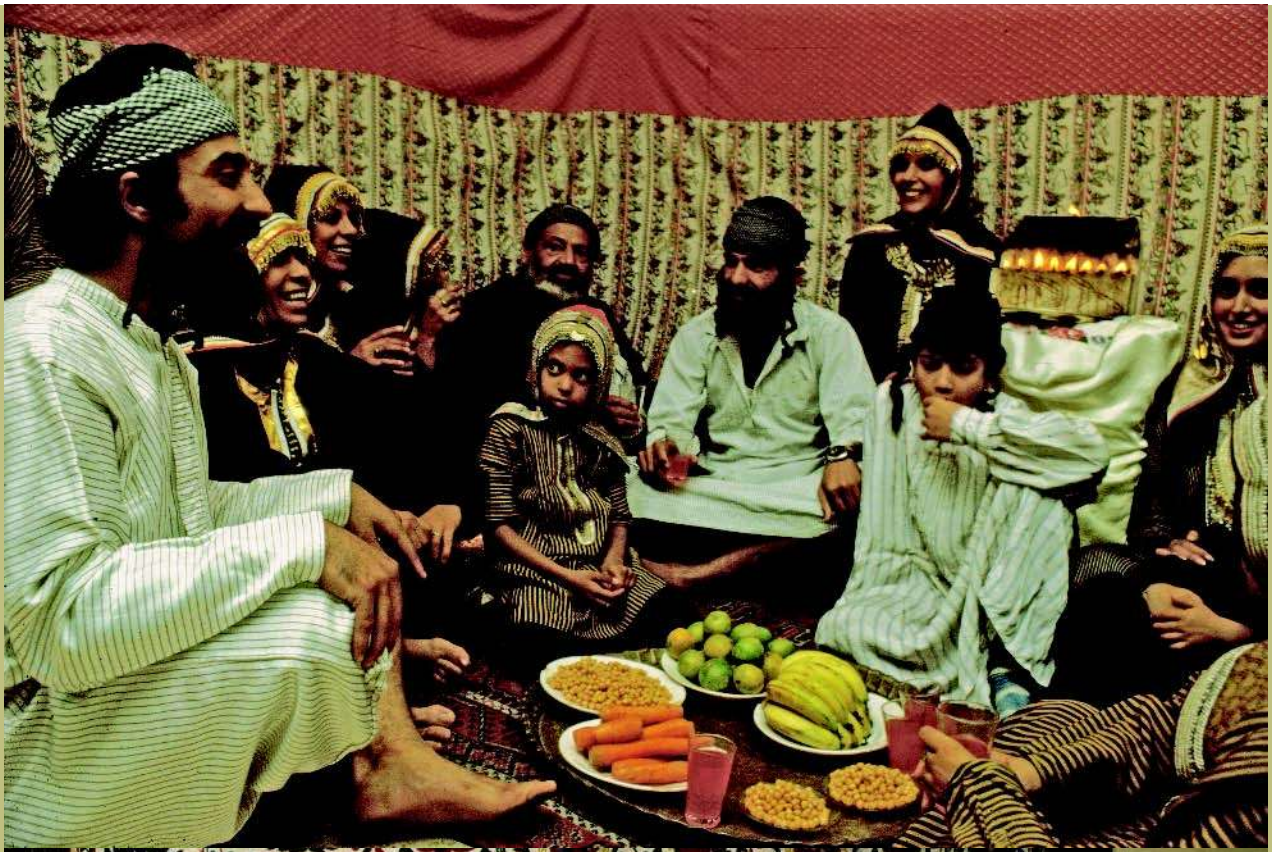

(opposite page) TOP: **Yemenite Jews celebrate the last day of Ḥanukkah. The traditional stone-made *hanukkiyyah*, also called a *menorah*, is fully lit.** *Photo: Z. Radovan, Jerusalem.*

(opposite page) BOTTOM: **A Jewish family from Bukhara celebrating their first Ḥanukkah in Israel.** *Photo: Z. Radovan, Jerusalem.*

(this page): **Three young children practice Sabbath candle lighting at a day school in Berlin.** *© David H. Wells/Corbis.*

ABOVE: **An Israeli man and his daughters burn food containing leavening as part of their preparation for Passover.** *© Ronen Zvulun/Reuters/Corbis.*

RIGHT: **A young boy pats down the soil around a sapling he has just planted for the Tu Bi-Shevat holiday—the "New Year for Trees"—Herzliyya, Israel, 2000.** *© Hanan Isachar/Corbis.*

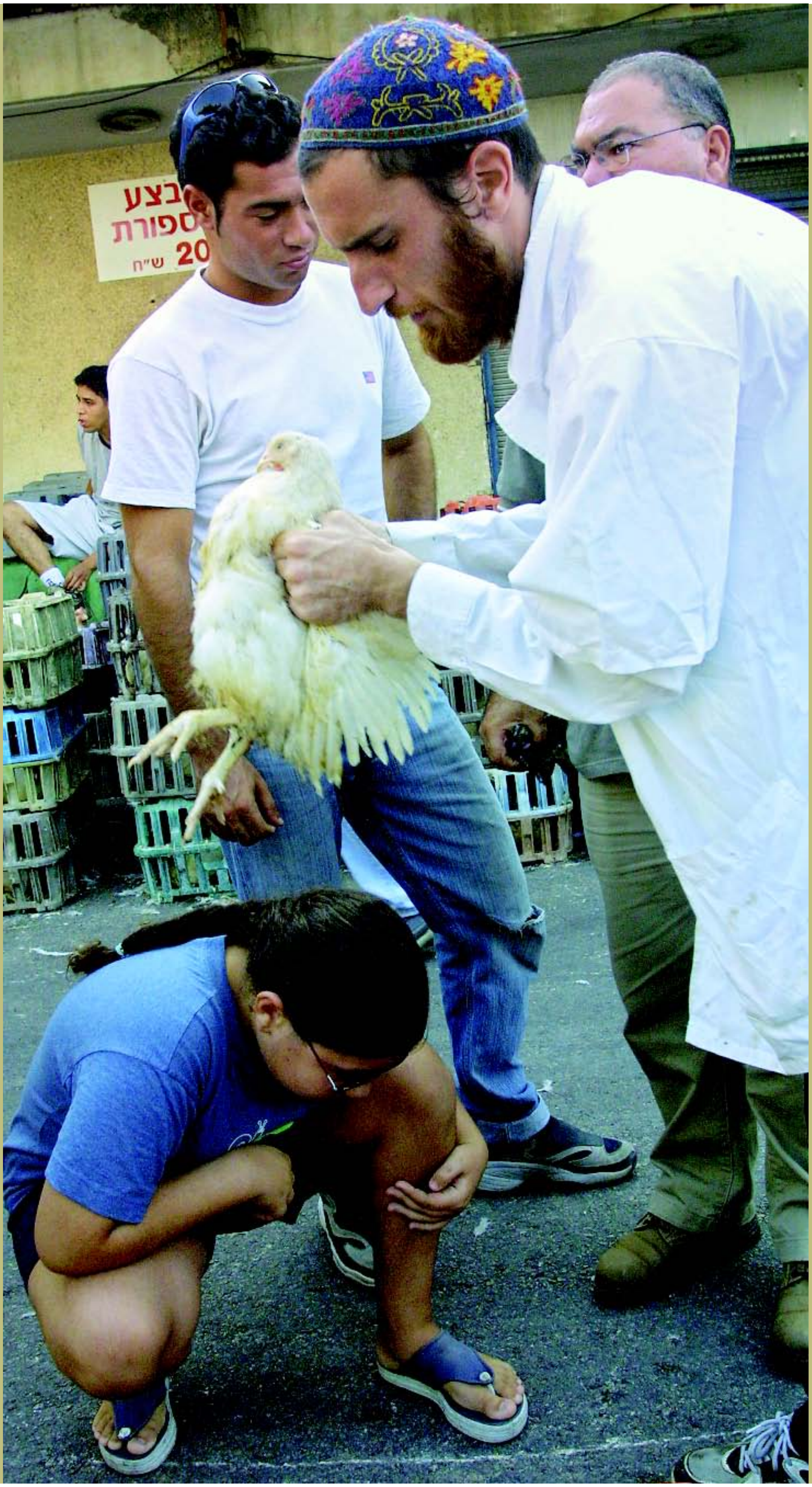

An Israeli girl kneels as a man waves a chicken over her head during a *kaparot* ceremony in Bnei Brak, Israel, 2005. *Kaparot* is performed before Yom Kippur, and it is believed that sins from the past year are transferred to the chicken. The bird is then slaughtered and given to the poor. *Photo by David Silverman/Getty Images.*

ABOVE: **Laden table at the Maimuna festival—a celebration held by all Maghrebi Jews and many Eastern communities after the closing of the last day of Passover, which, according to tradition, is the anniversary of the death of Maimonides' father Maimon ben Joseph.** *Photo: Nathan Alpert, Israel Government Press Office.*

(opposite page): **The Deller Family Sukkah. Permanently at the Israel Museum Jerusalem, painted wood with traditional symbolic pictures, Fischach, Southern Germany, c. 1837. Wood, oil paint. 196/1.** *Gift of the Deller family with the help of Dr. Heinrich Feuchtwanger. Photo © The Israel Museum, Jerusalem, by Avraham Hay.*

Israeli youth carry a Torah scroll during the celebration of Simḥat Torah (Rejoicing over the Law) at Rabin's square in Tel Aviv, 2005. © *Eyal Ofer/Corbis.*

Purim, Adloyada festival, Tel Aviv. *Photo: David Harris.*

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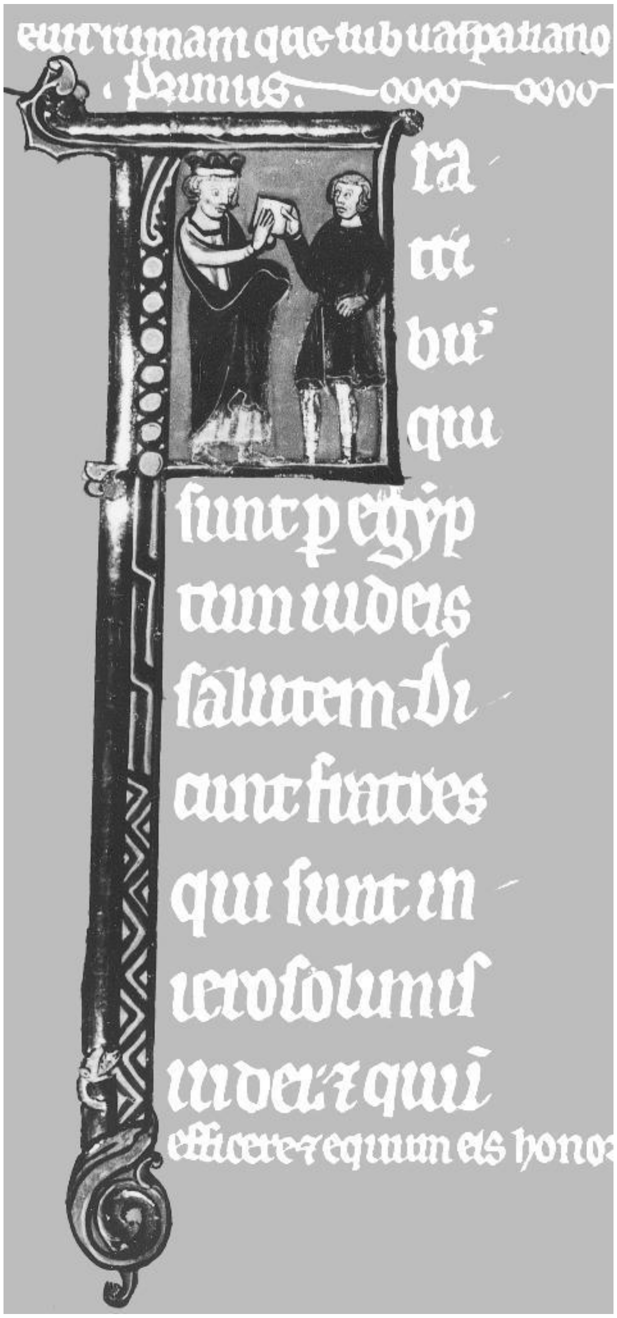

Historiated initial letter "F" of the word Fratibus *at the beginning of II Maccabees in a 12th-century manuscript from France. It illustrates the sending of the letter from the Jews of Jerusalem to their brethren in Egypt calling on them to observe the feast of Ḥannukah. Bordeaux, Bibliothèque Municipale, Ms. 21, fol. 256v.*

FEY–FU

FEYGENBERG (Imri), RAKHEL (1885–1972), Yiddish and Hebrew author, translator, and journalist. Rakhel Feygenberg was born in Luban, Minsk Province, Belorussia. She wrote about Russian-Jewish life, notably in her books on the 1919 pogroms, *A Pinkes fun a Toyter Shtot* ("Record Book of a Dead Town," 1926); *Oyf di Bregn fun Dnyester* ("On the Shores of the Dniester," 1925).). Her Shomer-influenced *Di Kinder-Yohren* (*Dos Naye Leben*, 1905; Warsaw, 1910) is an impressive achievement for a 20-year old. Her novel *Tekhter* ("Daughters") was serialized in Warsaw's *Moment* in 1913. She went to Palestine in 1924 for the first time, left in 1926, returned and settled in 1933, and under the name of Rakhel Imri came to write exclusively in Hebrew. A resident of Tel Aviv, she translated most of her Yiddish works into Hebrew, notably her *magnum opus, Megilot Yehudey Rusya: 1905–1964* ("Scrolls of Russian Jewry: 1905–1964," 1965).

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[Leonard Prager (2nd ed.)]

FEYNMAN, RICHARD PHILLIPS (1918–1988), U.S. theoretical physicist. Born in New York City, Feynman was the son of an immigrant garment salesman and frustrated scientist whose curiosity and understanding of natural phenomena was a lifelong inspiration to his son. Educated at Massachusetts Institute of Technology (B.S. 1939; he had originally preferred Columbia but was apparently kept out by the Jewish quota) and Princeton (Ph.D. 1942), Feynman worked on the Manhattan (atomic bomb) Project from 1942 to 1946 in Princeton and at Los Alamos, New Mexico, where he was a computational group leader. He taught physics at Cornell University from 1946 to 1950 and at the California Institute of Technology from 1951 until his death.

Feynman won the Nobel Prize for physics in 1965 (jointly, with Julian Schwinger and Shinichiro Tomonaga) for the fundamental theoretical work that led to the development of quantum electrodynamics (from the quantum mechanics of the 1920s and 1930s). In the course of this work he also developed "Feynman diagrams," a widely used visual analytical technique. He also did important work on superconductivity and, in collaboration with his Cal Tech colleague (and rival) Murray *Gell-Mann, on quarks and other subatomic particles.

Near the end of his life Feynman served on the commission investigating the *Challenger* space shuttle disaster in 1986, creating a public sensation when he conducted, at a public hearing, a simple experiment that revealed the cause of the explosion. He also exposed the institutional management deficiencies that had made the disaster possible.

Feynman was early recognized as one of the most brilliant physicists of his generation and was widely respected as a teacher as well. His published lectures on physics are regarded as classics. He also had a reputation as a "character" – he was famous for his bongo drumming, his womanizing, and his general unconventional demeanor – and for his extreme individualism (said Gell-Mann, "I found that he had difficulty thinking in terms of 'us'"). In addition to publications in journals, he was the author of several popular books. Among his published works, both professional (mainly transcribed and edited lectures) and popular, are *The Theory of Fundamental Processes* (1961), *Quantum Electrodynamics* (1961), *The Feynman Lectures on Physics* (3 vols., 1963–65, with Robert B. Leighton and Matthew Sands), *The Character of Physical Law* (1965), *Quantum Mechanics and Path Integrals* (1965, with A.R. Hibbs), *Photon-Hadron Interactions* (1972), *QED: The Strange Theory of Light and Matter* (1985), *"Surely You're Joking, Mr. Feynman!": Adventures of a Curious Character* (1985, with Ralph Leighton), *Elementary Particles and the Laws of Physics: the 1986 Dirac Memorial Lecture* (1987, with Steven *Weinberg), and *"What Do You Care What Other People Think?": Further Adventures of a Curious Character* (1988, with Ralph Leighton). A biography, *Genius: The Life and Science of Richard Feynman* (1992, by James Gleick); *Selected Papers of Richard Feynman, with Commentary* (2000, edited by Laurie M. Brown); and a collection of letters, *Perfectly Reasonable Deviations from the Beaten Track* (2005, edited by his daughter Michelle Feynman), have been published. Feynman's life has inspired countless memoirs, a film, and two plays.

[Drew Silver (2nd ed.)]

FEZ, city in *Morocco, one of the most important in the Islamic world; founded by Idrīs I in 789, it became the capital of the kingdom in 808 under Idrīs II. The first inhabitants of Fez were pagan Berber\s, but it also included Christians and Jews. Idrīs II then admitted a large number of Jews who paid him an annual tax of 30,000 dinars. He assigned them a quarter, the al-Funduk al-Yahūdī. This community rapidly became influential and respected. Thus, when the ruler Yaḥyā – as it is told – became infatuated with a Jewess and forced his way into the public baths where she was at the time, there was an uprising in the town (c. 860).

A center of civilization, Fez also became a commercial center of prime importance, largely the result of the presence of the Jews, who from there traveled widely. Its position also encouraged a considerable development of the intellectual and religious life of the community: its yeshivot attracted such scholars as Judah *Ibn Quraysh in the 9th century. During the 10th–11th centuries its rabbis maintained a regular correspondence with *Sura and *Pumbedita. To Palestine went scholars such as David b. Abraham *Alfasi, author of a dictionary, R. Solomon b. Judah (d. 1051), who became head of the Jerusalem Academy, and to Spain grammarians of the stature of *Dunash b. Labrat and Judah Hayyūj. R. Isaac *Alfasi's (c. 1015–1105) most extended period of teaching was in Fez, where he wrote his long summary of the Talmud and answered queries on *halakhah* addressed to him from all over the world. Only in his old age did he arrive in Spain. During this golden era, which lasted several centuries, three grave events occurred: a section of the community was deported to Ashir (*Algeria) in about 987; 6,000 Jews were massacred in May 1035 by a fanatic who conquered Fez; and the town was ruthlessly sacked in 1068 by the *Almoravides. In about 1127 a pseudo-messiah, Moses Dari, brought some afflictions upon the community. In 1165 the official recognition of a new *Almohad monarch resulted in severe changes which went as far as forced conversion. Refusing to submit to this, the *dayyan* R. Judah ha-Kohen ibn Shushan was burnt alive and *Maimonides and his family, who had been living in Fez as refugees from Spain for five years, permanently left the country for *Egypt. In 1244 the Merinides established themselves in Fez, which once more became the capital of the kingdom. In 1275, there was an insurrection against the Jews, who were particularly well treated by the new masters, and it was the Merinide sultan himself who saved the community. The community lived in freedom and prosperity; its commerce, especially with Aragon, was of considerable importance; learning and science flourished. However, with the decline of the Merinides and the revival of fanaticism, the Jews were compelled in 1438 to live in a special *Jewish quarter situated on the site known as *mellah in New Fez. It was the first Jewish quarter in Morocco. Still, in order to straighten out public finances, Sultan ʿAbd al-Ḥagg turned to the Jews of Fez and one of them, Hārūn, became his prime minister. Subsequently, the town rose in revolt, the sultan and his minister were assassinated, and most of the Jews were massacred (1465). The community did not recover from this catastrophe until after 1492 with the arrival of the Spanish refugees; their numbers included some eminent personalities, but several, such as Jacob *Berab, later left for *Palestine.

One of the first Hebrew presses was set up in Fez, by Samuel b. Isaac Nedivot and his son Isaac who had learned their Hebrew printing in Lisbon. From 1516 (?) to 1524 they printed 15 Hebrew books.

The community, which numbered about 10,000, consisted of "Spanish exiles" (*megorashim*) and "natives" (*toshavim*). The former, by issuing *takkanot* based on Judeo-Spanish custom, became entirely detached from the latter; serious friction broke out between these two elements, but the *megorashim* finally gained the upper hand. Their descendants instituted the *Purim de Los Christianos* to commemorate the defeat of the Portuguese at the battle of al-Qaṣr al-Kabīr in 1578; they held the office of **nagid*, established in Fez at the beginning of the 16th century, and their yeshivot were headed by scholars including Naḥman b. Sunbal (d. after 1556), Samuel Ḥagiz (d. after 1596), Judah Uzziel (d. 1603), and Saul Serrero (d. after 1622). Their high standard was maintained over a lengthy period due to such personalities as Samuel Sarfaty (d. 1713), Judah ibn *Atar, and Ḥayyim ibn *Atar of *Salé. Scholars of the mellah recorded accounts of the events which they had witnessed. These. are valuable for the study of Moroccan history, and provide an insight into the psychology of the Jewish masses of the town living in a closed society.

During the same period many scholarly works were written in the mellah. Rabbis of Fez went to teach in communities abroad and became their spiritual leaders; this was the case, for example, with Isaac b. Abraham Uzziel, Aaron *Ibn Ḥayyim, and Jacob *Ḥagiz. Certain families, such as the Ibn Danāns, were the leading *dayyanim* of Fez for several generations and their authority was recognized by the Jews of the whole country. The preeminence of Fez only ended after the death of Jacob *Ibn Zur in 1753. Rabbis of Fez found refuge, whenever their communities were struck by a calamity, in the small town of Sefrou, near Fez. During the 18th and 19th centuries, rabbis of the Hota, Abitbol, and Elbaz families attracted many disciples from other parts of Morocco. A short while after its conquest by the Saʿdī Sharīfs (in 1550), Fez lost its political and economic importance. As a result, the Jewish community was deserted by its wealthiest and most influential elements and gradually fell into poverty. To secure Fez, where he was enthroned (in 1665), Moulay Rashīd, the founder of the Alawīte dynasty, entered the town by way of the mellah, where the Jews enabled him to spend the night. Having destroyed the bastion of the power of his enemies, the Zāwiya of Dila, this sultan in 1668 transferred the rich Jewish community of Dila with all its belongings to Fez: these 1,300 families changed the composition of the mellah, which lost its Spanish character and became more prosperous. In the period of anarchy, between 1720 and 1750, a few of them barely managed to obtain monopolies, e.g., over tobacco or the minting of coins; many of them continued to practice such traditional crafts as goldsmithing, the manufacture of gold thread, lace making, embroidery, and tailoring. But the community mostly lived in a state of spiritual and intellectual seclusion. In 1790 Moulay Yazīd destroyed its synagogues, ordered the plunder of the mellah, and expelled its inhabitants. The return of the Jews was authorized in 1792 by Moulay Suleiman, but the mellah was reduced to a quarter of its former size. Moreover, the Udayas stationed in New Fez (Fez al-Jadīd) persecuted the Jews; however, when these soldiers rebelled the sharif did not hesitate to bombard New Fez and the defeated Udayas were dispersed (1832). In commemoration of this deliverance the community instituted the "*Purim del Kor*" ("of the cannonballs"), celebrated every year on Kislev 22. Life in the mellah improved and the interest in studies was reawakened by such remarkable men as Abner Sarfaty (d. 1884) and Isaac ibn Danān (d. 1900). The community possessed many schools, five yeshivot, and an important benevolent society. A French school, which received the financial support of the notables of the community, was founded in 1884 by the Alliance Israélite Universelle.

In 1912, two weeks after the establishment of the French Protectorate, a revolt broke out in Fez. The mellah with a population of 12,000 was completely ransacked and set on fire by the mob; about 45 were killed and 27 were wounded. Under the pretext of munitions smuggling, the French military authorities had previously confiscated all the weapons of the Jews, who were left defenseless. The Sharīf received them within the precincts of the palace and ordered the distribution of food and clothes among them. From 1925 many Jews established themselves in the new town of Fez, together with the Europeans; it was only the poor and some Orthodox families who remained in the mellah where in 1942 the Vichy laws sought to reintegrate all those who had left it. In 1947 there were 22,484 Jews living in Fez and its surroundings. These included several physicians, lawyers, industrialists, and owners of agricultural estates. The traditional occupations disappeared with modernization, and commerce came under Muslim domination, with the exception of the precious metals and cereals businesses in which the Jews retained the leading role.

[David Corcos]

Zionist Activity

The Zionist association Ḥibbat Zion was created before the establishment of the French protectorate, at the end of 1908. It was the only Zionist association which the famous Rabbi Shaul Ibn Danān headed. The reactions of Jews in Fez and other communities in the region to the Balfour Declaration and the end of the war was mass immigration to Ereẓ Israel, but most of the Jews returned to Fez. We do not know the reasons for the failure of the immigration; however, its impact was very clear: Jews did not emigrate again from the region until the end of World War II.

After World War I a new Zionist association was created, Kol Mevasser, and Josef Halevy was its head. From 1924 Zionist activity almost ceased because of French opposition and the influence of the *Alliance on Jewish youth. Unofficially, Jews from Fez participated in Zionist conferences which took place at Casablanca. Eight delegates represented Fez in 1936, four in 1937, five in 1938, two in 1939, and seven in 1946. After World War II all Zionist parties and ideologies were represented in Morocco, including Fez.

Fez was a center of book printing in Morocco. The first printing house was established before 1922, named Imprimerie Allard. Nine printing houses are known in Fez, most of which were active in the 1920s.

[Haim Saadoun (2nd ed.)]

Contemporary Period

The Jewish population in Fez was about 10,000 in 1912, 14,000 in 1951, and 12,194 in 1961, comprising 7.5% of the Jewish population of Morroco. Most families had no more than six children. Most Jews left Fez in 1961–68. Until the community was dissolved, the town had many Jewish educational institutions run by the Alliance lsraélite Universelle, by Oẓar ha-Torah (which had 700 pupils in 1961), and Em ha-Banim. In 1961 these and other Jewish schools had a total of 2,823 pupils. Before the emigration in the 1950s and 1960s, there were also general Jewish organizations, such as the Zionist Bnei Akiva, a Ḥovevei ha-Safah for the study of Hebrew, several social welfare organizations, branches of WIZO, and a branch of the World Jewish Congress. Most of the Jews who left Fez made their way to Israel; others went to France and Canada. In 1969 there were only about 1,000 Jews in Fez.

[Ḥayyim J. Cohen]

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FICHMAN, JACOB (**Ya'akov**; 1881–1958), Hebrew poet, critic and literary editor. Born in Belz, Bessarabia, Fichman left home at the age of 14 and subsequently resided in various cities of czarist Russia and Western Europe, among which were Warsaw, Vilna, and Berlin, finally settling in Ereẓ Israel (1912).

He revisited Europe several times to carry out various editorial assignments, After spending World War I in Odessa, he returned to Ereẓ Israel in 1919 and then left again in 1922 for Warsaw on the invitation of the Stybel publishing house. From there he made his way back to Bessarabia in 1924, returning to Tel Aviv the next year. His occupations included teaching, the producing of textbooks, and working for the Tushiah and Moriah publishing houses. He was on the staff of the Warsaw paper *Ha-Ẓofeh.* In Palestine he edited the journals *Moledet* and *Ma'abarot* and, in collaboration with Joseph *Klausner, *Ha-Shilo'aḥ.* From 1936 to 1942 he was editor of *Moznayim*, the organ of the Hebrew Writers Association.

His first book of poems, *Givolim*, was published in Warsaw in 1911, and his first collection of essays, *Bavu'ot*, in Odessa in 1911. Fichman, a younger member of what is usually described as Bialik's school, is generally dubbed impressionist, both for the manner in which he handles his natural themes and images, and for his highly subjective and delicately intuitive criticism, which lacks theoretical interests and varies its criteria to fit the particular work under discussion. Such labels, and the affinities they imply, should however be treated circumspectly, in view of the gap separating the renascent Hebrew literature from the full-blown European context, as well as the often indirect and fragmentary nature of the influences involved. Fichman's criticism itself is an unwitting example of the dangers of facile generalization, as when it lumps together writers, poets, and philosophers of different periods and cultures, and contrasting temperaments. Thus his "imaginary museum" includes Emerson, Carlyle, Taine, Renan, Pisarev and Lessing, Goethe and Hoelderlin, Pushkin, Fet, Baudelaire, and Stefan George. Such lists attest to Fichman's strong desire to bring Hebrew criticism closer to European ideas and individual works. They also reflect, however, the eclectic and impressionistic approach for which he found it necessary to apologize in his essay, *Al ha-Bikkoret ha-Yoẓeret.*

Here he defines his role as that of a friend-critic who writes out of gratitude toward the poet for the moments of joy and the insight he has granted him. The task of such criticism is not to find fault, nor even to discriminate according to merit. In contrast to the "hostile critic" who criticizes that which is not – the flaws and shortcomings of the work of art – his task is to present that which is: to discover the center of a writer's "world" and manifest its uniqueness. The creative critic is thus able to appreciate writers of different, and even opposing, characteristics. Fichman does not shrink from subjectivity. Echoing Anatole France, he maintains that "in talking about the artist I am talking also about myself." Objectivity, he claims, may be a mere obstacle, while the subjective interrelation of critic and artist, and a close attention to the effect of the work on the sensitive reader, reveal its true power.

His point of departure, particularly in his essays on his contemporaries, is the impression which a writer or a particular work have made on him, or on those close to him. Positing a collective "we," he identifies his own sensibility and responses with those of his generation. At least once, however, he asserted his independence by welcoming the militant modernism of Shlonsky and his followers, notwithstanding that it was mainly directed against his own circle. It was only natural that a criticism as tolerant and eclectic as his would have little to do with the more innovatory trends of 20th-century Hebrew literature. It also refrained from questioning established reputations or calling attention to forgotten writers. Nor was its influence always salutary. Fichman's main merits – the charm of his vignettes, his broad-mindedness, and his desire to establish a "creative community" between writer and critic – were often disregarded by his more militant successors. His florid, cliché-ridden style had a definitely adverse effect on later "impressionists," lacking the strength of his tastes.

Fichman's poetry includes prose poems, folk poems, idylls and sonnets, dramatic poems, and verse on national and biblical themes. Like other contemporaries of his, such as Ya'akov Kahan, Zalman Shneour, Ya'akov Steinberg, and David Shimoni, he too underwent Bialik's formidable influence. But he was equally susceptible to the influence of the new Palestinian poetry led by Shlonsky, particularly in his later *Pe'at Sadeh* (1944). To the latter he is indebted for the Sephardi prosody, the structuring of the rhyme, and a somewhat harder image. Fichman was among the first of the Bialikites to renounce the-at the time almost compulsory-"prophetic mask," and concentrate on the smaller forms of artistic-conscious craftsmanship.

His more impressive achievements are attained in his symbolic nature-sketches, and in a series of pensive little lyrical poems, all composed in a minor key. The landscape is represented with an eye to its natural coloring and the interplay of light and shade. The moods are often derived from the familiar romantic and sentimental repertoire. Here, too, as in his criticism, there is no genuine originality, no daring, and little inventiveness. There is however the same respect for good craftsmanship.

Even in these later poems, Fichman's penchant for elevated language often causes him to resort to archaisms, abstractions, hackneyed metaphors, and words or phrases used solely to meet structural and rhythmic needs. He inclines to prefer the often trite poeticism to the concrete rendering of a physical reality. There is hardly a hint in his work of the new, more colloquial idiom which was gaining entry into Hebrew poetry; nor of other qualities usually associated with modern poetry, such as poetic irony and ambiguity. Particularly in his longer poems, it becomes clear that the poet was not capable of sustaining a longer work.

After his immigration to Palestine, Fichman became increasingly absorbed with the Palestinian landscape. Here too he is a member of a transitional generation. His attitude toward the new landscape is basically secular; he does not view it through the biblical-Zionist romanticism of Shimoni and other contemporaries. In this, too, he is a forerunner of the changes in Hebrew poetry, some of which he witnessed in his own lifetime.

For translations of his works into English, see Goell, Bibliography.

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[Natan Zach]

°FICHTE, JOHANN GOTTLIEB (1762–1814), German philosopher. Fichte was the founder of ethical idealism, a philosophy which may be described as idealism in that it denies the independent existence of the world, and as ethical in that the reality of the world is determined by man's moral purpose. In his courageous *Reden an die deutsche Nation* (Berlin, 1808; trans. into Eng. as *Addresses to the German Nation*, 1922), originally delivered in Berlin then occupied by the French, he demanded that the foundation of the German national state be based on moral convictions. To achieve this goal, all Germans must be made aware of their moral obligations. These addresses some years later engendered the enthusiasm for the fight against Napoleon, and influenced the European national movements of the 19th century, including Zionism. Fichte's attitude toward Jews and Judaism was complex. Manifesting a reverent attitude toward the Bible, Fichte, in his *Grundlage der gesamten Wissenschaftslehre* (Leipzig, 1794), calls the biblical story of creation "an ancient document, worthy of respect, which contains profound and exalted wisdom and reaches conclusions to which all of philosophy must finally return." By contrast he completely rejected the Jewish religion. The Talmud contains, as he states in his *Kritik aller Offenbarung* (Koenigsberg, 1792), "ludicrously childish conceptions of God." Fichte was against awarding the rights of citizenship to Jews as long as the Jews manifested a strong resistance to the general love of mankind, and as long as they (so he held) believed in two sets of moral laws, one for Jews and another for non-Jews. Distinguishing between human rights and rights of citizenship, he held that "human rights must be granted to them [Jews] even though they do not grant them to us, for they are human beings and their injustice does not give us the right to be like them; but they must be denied the rights of citizens as long as even one Jewish idea remains with them" (for full text see *Beitrag zur Berechtigung des Urteils ueber die franzoesische Revolution*, Berlin, 1793).

This negative attitude toward Jews in general must be distinguished from his attitude toward individual Jewish philosophers, particularly Solomon *Maimon. In his *Ueber den Begriff der Wissenschaftslehre* (Leipzig, 1794), Fichte acknowledges the influence which Maimon's writings had exercised on his own philosophy, describing Maimon as "one of the greatest thinkers of our period."

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[Samuel Hugo Bergman]

FICTION, HEBREW.

The Story in Talmudic-Midrashic Literature

Narrative creative writing has been a constant in Hebrew literature and can be found in every period of Jewish culture. The earliest biblical texts include stories, and the telling and retelling of stories continued in every age of Hebrew literature. The long talmudic-midrashic period, however, from the first *tannaim* to the first *geonim* is different from previous or later periods in that the Hebrew story was not regarded as an independent form of expression, nor were stories written as separate works; they formed part of the midrashic literary form, and were subordinate to its didactic and moralistic purposes. No collections of stories as such were published in that epoch. The Hebrew narrative of this period, as it reached medieval Jewish culture, was an integral part of the vast talmudic-midrashic literature with no special or specific literary standing. A great part of the narratives preserved in the Midrash developed the biblical story to conform to the exegetical purposes of the talmudic scholars. Frequently, the stories are biographies of early sages to serve as exempla to expound some moral, ethical, or halakhic doctrine. Other stories were included because of nothing more than a vague association with the problem under discussion; this connection, however flimsy it might be, was the only justification for their inclusion.

The subordinate status of the story did not, however, prevent a wealth of narrative material from being included in the talmudic-midrashic literature. L. Ginzberg has shown that this literature contains a complete retelling (in more than one version) of the biblical narrative from the creation to Ezra and Nehemiah; detailed, though sporadic, biographies; stories connected with most of the more important *tannaim* and *amoraim*; stories based on historical facts and legends covering the period of the Second Temple to the *Bar Kokhba War and after; and hundreds of popular stories (usually written in Aramaic, the vernacular of the time). Thus, while the literary aspect of the narrative was insignificant during this period, the narrative creative impulse did not disappear – it only lacked intellectual status as a separate, independent vehicle of expression. The Hebrew story in the Middle Ages opens, therefore, with the slow process of the genre achieving these aims: a separate status and an independent literary form.

The Development of Separate Stories Based on Midrashic Motifs

In the early centuries of the Middle Ages, a large group of independent Hebrew stories based, to some extent, on motifs included in the earlier midrashic literature emerged. Their literary form and content, however, developed independently of that tradition. While talmudic literature merely described the death of some tannaitic martyrs at the hands of the Romans, the medieval narrative "*Aggadat Aseret Harugei Malkhut*" ("The Legend of the Ten Martyrs," also known as "Midrash Elleh Ezkerah" in A. Jellinek, *Beit ha-Midrash*, 1 (1938^{2}), 64–72) used the talmudic stories about R. *Akiva's death and that of other martyrs, and developed a new type of story: the *exemplum for Jewish martyrs in the Middle Ages. Historical truth, evident to some extent in the talmudic stories, was absolutely disregarded here, and the death of the ten *tannaim*, who had lived and died in different periods, was described as taking place at the same time.

Talmudic eschatology nursed the idea of two Messiahs, one the son of Ephraim and the other, the final deliverer, a descendant of the House of David. Sefer *Zerubbavel (*ibid.*, 54–57), a medieval tale, developed this idea into an apocalyptic eschatology. It describes, in biblical language, the visions of the last ruler of the House of David who was shown by an angel what is going to happen at the end of time. The main characters in the narrative are the Messiah's mother Ḥefẓi-Bah and Satan, called *Armilus, described as the son of a beautiful stone statue. These are literary figures unknown to talmudic legends. The writing shows independence of form (it is a separate work dedicated to one visionary story) and of content (the addition of new figures and new heroes not mentioned in older tradition).

Another example of this process is found in the tales told by *Eldad ha-Dani (*ibid.*, 2 (1938^{2}), 102–13; 3 (1938^{2}), 6–11; 5 (1938^{2}), 17–21), who, at the end of the ninth century, traveled through Babylonia, North Africa, and Spain, telling strange stories about his travels and adventures. He described his native land, supposedly the home of four of the Lost *Ten Tribes, and his travel to the land of the other six tribes. Out of a few scattered remarks found in talmudic literature, Eldad spun a coherent and organic picture of the life of these tribes: their number, purity, wisdom, and military power. His description of the pure and holy life of the sons of Moses (the Levites), who live beyond the river *Sambatyon, is drawn both from Jewish and Moslem sources. A minor midrashic motif was here turned into a detailed and well-developed story which has been preserved in 17 different versions, some of them old and authentic, others including many later additions. This is an instance of a Hebrew medieval story coming into its own, achieving a new form, and developing an old theme in a new way. Eldad's stories about the Lost Ten Tribes later became part of the messianic eschatology when the belief developed (for which Eldad was not directly responsible) that the tribes were going to come with the Messiah and serve as his armies in the apocalyptic wars at the End of Days.

Using talmudic motifs, the medieval writers also developed the arts of biography and hagiography. They took material from the Talmud about some of the great sages and wove around them new legends, independent in form from their original talmudic setting (see *Hagiography).

The Retelling of Bible Stories

Medieval storytellers continued in the tradition that every period in Jewish culture retells the biblical story according to its own beliefs, views, and literary convention. This was also done in the first centuries of the Middle Ages when many anonymous writers freed the biblical story from its close connection with the exegetical Midrash and developed an independent literary form. The process took two directions: the telling of a short biblical episode as a fully developed independent short story whose plot revolved about a biblical hero or a biblical event; and attempts to retell great portions of the Bible in a new medieval manner.

To the first category belong "*Ma'aseh Avraham Avinu*" (*ibid.*, 1 (1938^2), 25–34), a legend about Abraham; "*Divrei ha-Yamin shel Moshe Rabbenu*" ("The Chronicles of Moses," *ibid.*, 2 (1938^2), 1–11); "*Midrash Va-Yisse'u*" (*ibid.* 3 (1938^2), 1–5), a story about the battles of the sons of Jacob. Each of these is a short story using most, or even all, of the pertinent material in the Bible and in the Midrash, but reshaping it into a coherent independent plot, and usually adding many details with no source other than the author's imagination. In "*Midrash Va-Yisse'u*," biblical and fictional wars fought by Jacob and his sons in the area of Shechem are depicted in terms of medieval war strategy and medieval military practices. The valor of the sons of Jacob is characterized by medieval chivalry and knighthood concepts.

Other authors attempted to retell the biblical story in wider scope. The author of *Josippon (tenth century, Italy) dedicated most of his work to the war against the Romans and the destruction of the Second Temple. The work, however, starts with a short recapitulation of Jewish history, told in a medieval, fictional style. The more ambitious author of *Sefer ha-Yashar* (probably 11th century, Spain) retells, at great length, the story from the creation to the time of the Judges, i.e., the whole story of the Pentateuch. It is the most complete example of this type of medieval writing using biblical motifs, aggadic material, and fictional innovations to weave a new and captivating story. The literary scope of the work was unequaled by any later medieval writing.

The authors of *Josippon* and *Sefer ha-Yashar* added another aspect to the medieval story about biblical times: they attempted, and frequently succeeded, to incorporate non-Jewish legends, history, and mythology (especially Greek and Roman) into the biblical story. The Jews of the Byzantine Empire, Italy, and Spain accepted the legends and history of the people among whom they lived as being part of the history of the world, and argued that as such they form part of the Bible which was believed to include all the important events in human history. These authors, and others, therefore, developed a system of synchronization and analogy to establish a connection between non-Jewish stories and biblical heroes and chronology. The medieval Hebrew narrative, therefore, broke away from its cultural isolation which had prevailed, to a large extent, in the midrashic story, and it became an open form which accepted and drew on the wealth of non-Jewish stories that had become available to the scattered Jewish communities in the East and in Europe.

The Reawakening of the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha

One of the most significant differences between talmudic-midrashic literature on the one hand, and Second Temple literature and medieval Hebrew literature on the other, is the attitude toward the literature of the Second Temple, which was not included in the biblical canon. This literature was preserved in Greek, Latin, and other languages, and only recently have some Hebrew originals been found. During the long centuries of the development of the talmudic-midrashic literature, this material was almost completely ignored. The themes, ideas, and stories in the Book of *Jubilees, in the different versions of the Book of *Enoch, in *Tobit, in *Judith, and even in the historical Books of the *Maccabees are hardly mentioned.

After seven centuries of neglect, these works were again incorporated into the framework of Jewish culture by the Hebrew medieval writers. The process began in the early seventh century with **Pirkei de-Rabbi Eliezer,* which includes subjects from the Apocrypha. The author also used the Satan motif from the books of Enoch and Jubilees; his adaptation of the Bible story is deeply influenced by this long-disregarded or suppressed literature.

Early medieval Hebrew writers created different versions of the stories of Judith and Tobit usually stylistically influenced by popular folktales, and of stories based on the Books of the Maccabees, especially the story of the mother and her seven sons who were martyred by Antiochus. The story of the fallen angels, vividly told in the Book of Enoch, became the story of Uzza and Azael in the Middle Ages; it was transformed into a folktale, and used as a theological motif by kabbalists.

It is very doubtful whether the Hebrew medieval authors of these works had before them the Hebrew originals of the Second Temple literature, though it is not impossible. It would seem, however, that they used the Christian versions of the

Septuagint and the Vulgate. It is also probable that some of the writers had no direct knowledge of the Greek and Latin versions either, but heard the stories from their non-Jewish friends, since there are some significant variations between the originals and the medieval versions. Whatever the origin from which medieval writers drew their material, an important source of Jewish narrative literature, closed during the talmudic-midrashic period, became a living part of Hebrew medieval writing.

The First Collections of Stories

In the early Middle Ages another new literary form emerged, unknown to Hebrew literature, and scarcely found in other literatures of the time: collected stories in book form. The phenomenon indicates that the Hebrew story had taken its rightful place in Jewish literature. Books, devoted entirely or mainly to stories, began to be written. Four major works of this type were written between the 8th and 12th centuries:

(1) *Midrash Aseret ha-Dibberot* (in A. Jellinek, op. cit., 1 (1938^2), 62–90; "Midrash of the Ten Commandments"), which is not a Midrash at all but a collection of about 50 stories (in different redactions the number varies) loosely associated with the Ten Commandments. The stories are interspersed with some midrashic aphorisms, but, their importance is clearly secondary. The Hebrew story thus completely reversed the previous situation. The literary aspect of the story, secondary and unimportant in talmudic-midrashic literature, became the main purpose, while the midrashic elements became merely ornamental.

Some of the stories included in the collection were taken from talmudic literature; others are based on the Apocrypha; many of them are new and were written for the first time in Hebrew, though they might have been previously told as folktales. The narratives are meant to serve as exempla, but do so in a peculiar way. There is no intention of teaching man to fulfill the Ten Commandments; this is so elementary, that it is obviously not the purpose. The aim of the work is to demonstrate the extremes of obedience demanded by the commandments. The moral expounded is usually excessive, without any practical didactic value. This tendency shows the first influence of Moslem ethics in Hebrew literature.

(2) "*Alfa Beta of Ben Sira*" ed. by M. Steinschneider (1858), a pseudepigraphical work attributed to *Ben Sira, which is in fact a medieval (ninth century?) collection of stories and epigrams. The aim of the work is a protest against accepted norms of Judaism. The stories ridicule some of the biblical figures, like David and Jeremiah, and parody the rabbinic way of learning. Some of the stories carry a bitter note, protesting against the way God conducts the world. These lively humorous tales structurally attained the highest artistic form to be found in early medieval Hebrew storytelling.

(3) *Sefer ha-Maasiyyot* ("Book of Stories," also *Ḥibbur Yafeh me-ha-Yeshu'ah*, ed. by H.Z. Hirschberg, 1954) by *Nissim b. Jacob of Kairouan (11th century), was originally written in Arabic. The Arabic original was forgotten; however, early Hebrew translations made the collection a part of Hebrew medieval literature. R. Nissim used mainly talmudic-midrashic stories and episodes, but added many medieval folktales, some of which had their origin in Judaism, others in Moslem and Arabic sources. His declared purpose was to strengthen the faith in God of a friend who had suffered some misfortune. The body of the collection, however, is not devoted only to this aim. The stories fall into all of the main categories of medieval popular narratives, such as stories about good and bad women, about witches and evil powers, about lust and repentance. In later Hebrew medieval writings, R. Nissim's stories had a life of their own, independent of their thematic and plot value in the original collection. They were told separately, and were included individually in many later collections.

(4) *The Exempla of the Rabbis*, a collection of stories published from a manuscript by M. Gaster (1924; 1968^2), by far the largest to be compiled in the Middle Ages. It includes more than 200 tales. Most of them are talmudic, but many, especially in the second half of the collection, are medieval Hebrew folktales told in a captivating manner, Gaster claims that the collection is extremely old, and even suggests – without basis – that it was a source for the Talmud. The collection was most probably compiled in the 11th or 12th century, and shows that some artistic effort had been made to turn it into an organic and unified literary work by arranging the stories into different sequences, each connected to the other through the ending of the preceding narrative.

These four early collections of Hebrew stories mark the beginning of the medieval Hebrew story as a separate literary form, independent of the Midrash, and claiming its own place in Jewish culture.

Stories Included in Hebrew Historiographical Works

Simultaneous with the emergence of the Hebrew story as an independent literary form, Hebrew historiography evolved separately and in the process helped to preserve many Hebrew stories. The dividing line between history and legend, not clearly defined by the medieval historiographer, led to the literary genre of "fictional history" which tried to describe the history of a period, but succeeded mainly in collecting the major stories of it. A classical example is Megillat *Aḥima'aẓ ("The Chronicle of Ahimaaz," ed. by B. Klar, 1945), which was written in rhymed verse in Italy and describes the history of the Jews in southern Italy from the 8th to the 11th centuries. Most of the work is devoted to stories, which might have some historical foundation, but the writer was mainly interested in telling fables of wonder and mystery connected with the period: Abu Aaron, an eastern mystic living then in Italy, is the hero of a collection of these stories in which such things as his supernatural powers are described.

In Abraham *Ibn Daud's *Sefer ha-Kabbalah*, a more serious attempt to distinguish between history and legend is made. Some legends and tales are, however, included: e.g., the story of the four captives from Babylonia who, after they had been rescued, spread Jewish culture in many communities;

and the legendary material interwoven in the descriptions of the beginnings of Jewish culture in Spain. The same situation is found in many other and later historiographical works. A later example of this kind of "fictional history" is to be found in Gedaliah b. Joseph *Ibn Yaḥya's *Shalshelet ha-Kabbalah* ("The Chain of Tradition"), written in and influenced by Renaissance Italy. It is mainly a collection of stories, hagiographies, and exempla about great medieval scholars, including many demonological and supernatural tales.

The same lack of distinction between fact and fiction is to be found in another literary genre which developed in the Middle Ages: the peregrinations of great travelers, who had returned home full of wonderful and strange tales about faraway countries. Though these travel writings have much important historical data, most of the writers found special pleasure in telling fabulous stories (e.g., those by *Benjamin of Tudela, *Pethahiah of Regensburg, and Ḥayyim Joseph David *Azulai). Historiography and itineraries, therefore, formed part of the development of the Hebrew story in the Middle Ages.

The Romance in Hebrew Literature

From the 12th century, Hebrew literature began to include many detailed, long, and well-developed romantic stories. Most of the romances do not have their origin in Hebrew culture, but belong to the general medieval stock of fiction. Some are direct translations from Latin, Arabic, or other languages, while others show special Jewish adaptation as they passed from the original language into Hebrew. Most of the romances have more than one Hebrew rendition, and the Jewish elements in them, therefore, vary from one version to another.

Among the direct translations, to which very few or no Jewish motifs were added, are the 13th-century Hebrew version of the romance of King Arthur (Artus) and the Round Table (see *Arthurian Legend), and the *Tales of Sendebar* (ed. by M. Epstein, 1967), the classic cycle of stories about the faithfulness and unfaithfulness of women and sons, known in the West as the romance of "The Seven Sages of Rome." Whereas only one Hebrew version of the Arthurian legends is known, the *Tales of Sendebar* is found in many manuscripts and in several versions of various length and number of legends included.

The classic romance, "*The Gests of Alexander of Macedonia*" (*The Book of the Gests of Alexander of Macedon*, ed. and translated into English, by I.J. Kazis, 1962), exists in Hebrew in no less than five versions; four of them are based on Latin and Arabic sources in which some Jewish elements were added, the fifth seems to be an almost totally original work, bearing little affinity to the original classic Greek. The Jewish elements fuse well into the legends mainly because in the Greek original there are already a few anecdotes which associate Alexander with the Jews, and in the talmudic-midrashic tradition there are nearly a dozen stories about Alexander. It is not surprising, therefore, that in the Jewish version of the romance, Alexander even encounters the Lost Ten Tribes, is circumcised, and comes to believe in the God of the Jews.

Another medieval cycle of fables, *Kalila and Dimna (ed. by J. Derenbourg, 1881), which probably originated in India and was transmitted into European literature via Persian and Arabic writings, has two medieval Hebrew versions, one translated by a certain R. Joel (probably in the 12th century) and the other by R. Jacob b. Eleazar, a little later. *Ma'aseh Yerushalmi* ("The Story of the Jerusalemite," ed. by J.L. Zlotnik (1946)), a romance about a man who through a miracle had come to the land of the demons and was there forced to marry *Asmodeus' daughter, is only known from the Jewish original, though the motif exists both in Arabic and Latin literatures. Six Hebrew versions written from the 13th to the 17th centuries are found in Eastern and Western Jewish literatures. The differences in the texts are substantial; many, however, can be explained as a result of the development of the legend within Jewish literature and thought, and not because of non-Jewish literary influences. This is an example of a romance, which was probably first written down in 12th-century Europe, and was preserved, as well as developed, within Jewish culture, becoming one of the standard stories in every Hebrew collection.

The Hebrew view of Jesus' life found full expression in a well-developed and detailed medieval Hebrew romance. The legend, which is the Jewish answer to Christian versions about the birth, life, and death of Jesus, is of an earlier date; in the Middle Ages, however, it had grown into an independent, detailed work, Sefer *Toledot Yeshu. Mary is not unfavorably portrayed, and the author also shows some understanding of Jesus' deeds. It seems that hate itself could not support the development of the story, and when it became a romance, some sympathy had to be shown toward the main characters. Other medieval romances, mainly those originating in the East, reflecting Indian, Persian, and Arabic influences, were incorporated into Hebrew literature as tales in verse, mainly in the *maqama form, which in Hebrew is usually regarded as a poetic rather than a prose genre. The full acceptance of the medieval romance into Hebrew literature, both in its various forms and independent development, signifies that from the 12th century onward Hebrew fictional prose writing became a part of general medieval fiction. It used the stock heroes and plots of medieval fiction, but infused them with special Jewish motifs.

The Story in Hebrew Ethical Literature

With the development of Jewish ethical literature in the 11th century, the story found another major outlet, as well as a wide field for its development. Writers of ethical works, trying to reach as wide a public as possible and educate it according to their own ethical ideology, used every literary form which would popularize their works. This desire for a wider public made the use of stories, fables, legends, exempla, hagiographies, anecdotes, epigrams, imperative within the framework of ethical literature. As a result, many ethical works became treasure houses of all sorts of Hebrew fictional writings as well as the different literary genres devoted to the story exclusively.

Jewish philosophy, the first movement to develop Hebrew ethical literature (written mainly in Arabic and later translated into Hebrew), contributed little to the development of the story. Its authors were hostile toward narrative literary forms, going so far as to voice contempt for the narratives in the Bible itself. *Baḥya b. Joseph ibn Paquda in the preface to his *Ḥovot ha-Levavot* ("Duties of the Heart"), one of the most famous and influential philosophical-ethical works, explains that the narratives in the Bible were included by God to distinguish between the wise who will disregard them and study the wisdom in the Bible, and the fools, who will follow the narratives and thus reveal themselves as fools. The attitude was widely held by many Jewish medieval intellectuals, and even the *Zohar used the same fable that Baḥya did to demonstrate his contempt of the biblical narratives and narrative literature in general.

Despite their hostile attitude, the medieval philosophers did use the story, mainly in the form of long and well-developed fables and short anecdotes; philosophical-ethical writings, therefore, became another means through which the body of Jewish literature was enriched with anecdotes, epigrams, and fables. Many of them were taken from Arab philosophical and moralistic writings whose origin, as often as not, was in Indian literature. Views, too radical to be plainly stated, were often couched in fables; the wide disparity between the fable and the author's explanation served as an indication of the real views of the radical thinker. Baḥya himself often used this method in his work.

While philosophical-ethical literature did not contribute a great deal to the development of the Hebrew story, the two other main schools of Jewish medieval thought, the Ḥasidei Ashkenaz and the kabbalists, in their theological and their ethical works, were the main outlet for the fictional narrative which was to become inherent in popular Jewish culture.

The Story in Ashkenazi-Ḥasidic Literature

The writings of R. *Judah b. Samuel he-Ḥasid (d. 1217) and his disciples, both theological and ethical, are one of the main sources of the Hebrew narrative in the Middle Ages. The reason for this is at least partially theological. The Ḥasidei Ashkenaz believed that God's will and presence were not to be found in common phenomena of the everyday world and in laws of nature, but in miraculous wonderful happenings, If a Ḥasid, therefore, wanted to learn God's ways and essence, he had to look for unusual phenomena and deduce God's power from them. This attitude, naturally, caused the Ḥasidei Ashkenaz to write down and preserve stories and anecdotes about the exceptional, which was to them theological truth.

Most of these stories have some demonological elements and many describe meetings between men and witches, werewolves, demons, spirits, and ghosts. These supernatural powers did not represent any evil to the Ḥasidim; they regarded them as a part, though a dangerous and mysterious one, of the world created by God. Their theology made the Ḥasidim look for "true" stories which they could believe had actually happened. This is the reason that the literary element was neglected and most of the stories are "eyewitness" anecdotes. Consequently also 12th- and 13th-century German demonology is depicted and not traditional Jewish demonology and superstition. Many of the stories, told by the Ḥasidim as short anecdotes in the 12th century, were collected and developed 700 years later by the Grimm brothers as main stories of German mythology and folklore.

The second motive for the use of the story in Ashkenazi-ḥasidic literature was the ethical fanaticism of the Ḥasidim, as it is reflected in *Sefer Ḥasidim*, the major ethical work of Ḥasidei Ashkenaz. The extreme demands made by the Ashkenazi Ḥasidim on their followers were demonstrated in hundreds of exempla in which stories are told about men who succeeded in achieving the nigh impossible ethical standards set by the ḥasidic teachers. The latter, in turn, became heroes of cycles of legends (see *Legend; *Hagiography), written in the 13th, 15th, and 16th centuries and translated into Yiddish, in which supernatural deeds are attributed to them. Some of the later hagiographical legends sprang from original Ashkenazi-ḥasidic stories in which the heroes were anonymous.

Ashkenazi-ḥasidic ethical literature was one of the main influences on later Jewish ethics whose exponents made extensive use of *Sefer Ḥasidim* and other Ashkenazi-ḥasidic writings. The narratives of the Ḥasidei Ashkenaz were thus preserved long after the movement had died out (late 13th century), and this body of stories became one of the standard sources of later Hebrew fictional writing.

The Narrative in the Kabbalah

The Kabbalah, which flourished in Provence and Spain in the 12th century (reaching its maturity at the end of the 13th century), developed the medieval Hebrew narrative in three different forms:

(1) The hagiography. The teachers of the Kabbalah were treated by their disciples and followers as men of God who possessed secret knowledge and supernatural powers. Contemporaries of these sages and the following generations created hagiographical cycles of stories about them. The kabbalistic sages themselves also wrote hagiographies, often attributing their works to tannaitic sources, and describing the *tannaim* hagiographically. Works like the *Zohar, Sefer ha-*Kanah, and others include countless stories about the early sages.

(2) The mythological story. By introducing mythological elements into Jewish theology, the kabbalists opened many new possibilities to the Hebrew story (see *Kabbalah). The idea that processes in the divine spheres and the war between the divine powers of good and evil could be told in a narrative manner led the kabbalistic imagination to endow the saintly being with power to intervene in the divine spheres. The literary genre of the mythological story came to the fore only in later centuries, e.g., the story of R. *Joseph Della Reina (first recorded in 1519, published in 1913), and the stories and legends about *Shabbetai Ẓevi, who was regarded as having divine power by his believers.

(3) The mystical story. Mystical elements in the Kabbalah led kabbalists to describe their divine revelations and visions, through which they acquired mystical knowledge, in narrative form (see *Visions). The characteristics of the narrative were influenced by the individual kabbalist author: how he viewed his experience and his attitude to the form, Kabbalistic mysticism thus developed the aspect of the individual visions in the story.

The Kabbalah, between the 12th and 15th centuries, did not try to reach a wide public, and its exponents usually kept their knowledge and revelations a secret. Only at the end of the 15th and in the 16th centuries did the Kabbalah begin to reach wider and wider circles in the various Jewish communities and, therefore, it is in the later Middle Ages that the influence of the Kabbalah on the Hebrew narrative became predominant. It is in 16th-century Jerusalem, Safed, and Italy, and 17th-century Eastern Europe that the kabbalistic story came into its own.

The Hebrew Story in the Italian Renaissance

The Hebrew story in 16th-century Italy was influenced not only by the spirit of Italian Renaissance art and literature, but also by the catastrophe of the expulsion of the Jews from Spain and Portugal at the end of the 15th century. The combination of these two influences is reflected, for instance, in the dialogues found in *Shevet Yehudah*, a fictional-historical work by Solomon *Ibn Verga. It is devoted mainly to historical descriptions of the various catastrophes which befell the Jewish people since the destruction of the Temple. The originality of the work lies in the fictional dialogues between Christian kings, bishops, and scholars, sometimes also involving Jewish scholars and ordinary persons. Ibn Verga's views as to the causes of the catastrophes are unusual for his time. He states that the Jews themselves are to blame for their misfortunes which occurred because of their arrogance, fanaticism, and intolerance. The shock of the expulsion is fused here with the spirit of tolerance of the Renaissance to produce a work whose views were not again to come to the fore before the 19th-century Reform movement in Judaism.

The shock of the disaster of Spanish Jewry gave birth to messianic literature; the most famous examples are the autobiography of David *Re'uveni who styled himself as an emissary of the Lost Ten Tribes to the Pope and kings of Europe, and the autobiographical sketches and kabbalistic visions of Solomon *Molcho who felt that it was his destiny to announce the coming of the Messiah. Many more messianic stories were written in that period.

One of the most important literary contributions of the period to the Hebrew story was the art of autobiography (see *Biography and Autobiography). *Ḥayyei Yehudah by* Leone *Modena is one of the most intimate and revealing autobiographies written in Hebrew during the Middle Ages. Abraham *Jagel (Caliko) in one of the stories in *Gei Ḥizzayon* ("The Valley of Vision") relates how the spirit of his dead father visited him in prison and took him to the heavenly spheres. On their way, father and son met many spirits, good and wicked, who told their stories, and Abraham also told what had happened to him after his father's death. This literary form bears the mark of the Italian novella of that age, and the stories themselves were only slightly Judaized.

This period is marked by two conflicting developments in the Hebrew narrative. On the one hand, there is a closer connection and mutual influence between Hebrew and Italian cultures which benefited the Hebrew story. On the other hand, the Jewish situation of the time caused the Hebrew story to reflect the growing messianic hopes, resulting in a tendency toward isolation from outer influences. The Hebrew story thus came to express the emotions and tensions of a people torn between catastrophe and messianic hope.

The Hebrew Story in Palestine in the 16th Century

Concurrent with the Hebrew renaissance in literature in Italy, there was a Jewish literary and mystic renaissance in Palestine, especially in Safed. Kabbalistic thought, which prevailed in Safed at the time, filled the hearts of almost all the Jewish scholars with messianic expectations. At the beginning of the 16th century, from Jerusalem, came the first version of the story of Joseph Della Reina who tried to bring about the redemption through magic and Kabbalah. Here attention was focused on *Nevu'at ha-Yeled* ("The Prophecy of the Child" in Jacob Ḥayyim Ẓemaḥ's *Nagid u-Meẓavveh*, Constantinople, 1726), a story about a wonder child who revealed in obscure Aramaic prophecies the time of the redemption.

In Safed, stories were told about various sages who had performed unusual deeds and undergone all kinds of torture, in order to repent for the sins of all Israel, and in this way hasten the coming of the Messiah. In Safed also appeared R. Isaac *Luria whose teachings revolutionized the Kabbalah and gave it messianic direction; there the first body of hagiographical stories, preserved in various versions (see *Hagiography, *Toledot ha-Ari), was created around Isaac Luria and his school; and there Luria's foremost pupil, R. Ḥayyim *Vital, wrote his *Sefer ha-Ḥezyonot* ("Book of Visions") in which he describes his dreams of glory, believing Luria to be the Messiah who was to be a descendant of Joseph, and himself, the Messiah who was to be a descendant of David.

Many other kabbalists and non-kabbalists contributed to the development of the Hebrew story in Palestine at this period, At the beginning of the 17th century, their works began to spread to Eastern Europe, where most of the Jews and most of the more important communities were then located. Unlike the Hebrew literature of the Italian Renaissance, the literature of Safed had an enormous influence in shaping the culture of the Jewish communities in Eastern Europe. Therefore, the further development of the Hebrew story in the 17th and 18th centuries was a direct continuation of the Safed revival and not of the new forms supplied by the Hebrew renaissance literature in Italy.

The Hebrew Story in the 17th and 18th Centuries

Two major processes paved the way for the development of the Hebrew narrative in this period. The first was the spreading of the Lurianic Kabbalah throughout the Jewish world; the hagiographical cycle of stories woven around Luria was repeated in many versions, in many works, with similar stories told about other sages, most of them kabbalists. The second was the Shabbatean movement, which, although it did not produce much narrative literature, did lay the foundations for a new kind of legend: the messianic legend about Shabbetai Ẓevi who had styled himself as the Messiah. Some legendary biographies of Shabbetai Ẓevi and his prophet, Nathan of Gaza, were preserved, but there was probably much more narrative material which was either lost or suppressed by the opponents of Shabbeteanism. This had some delayed influence on ḥasidic literature.

Another change marking the development of the Hebrew story in Eastern Europe in this period was the wider use of Yiddish which had become the spoken, and often the written, language of the Jews. While sacred works in the field of *halakhah* and Kabbalah were always written in Hebrew, popular works, like stories and ethical literature, were either written only in Yiddish, or in Hebrew with a Yiddish translation. From this period on, it is impossible to distinguish between the development of Hebrew and Yiddish stories. Many originally Hebrew stories were written down in Yiddish, and many popular stories, which were told in Yiddish, were written down in Hebrew.

The wide use of printing also affected the field of narrative literature, and old and new stories were collected and published in small booklets and sometimes in larger collections. Attempts to collect medieval stories have been made by scholars in the East and West. Ḥayyim Joseph David Azulai, an eastern rabbi, wrote down and compiled the stories he had heard throughout his long life and wide travels. Unfortunately, he usually gave only a short description of the story and seldom went into details. Other eastern rabbis in the 18th and early 19th centuries collected hundreds of medieval stories; these, however, have remained in manuscripts until this very day. In the West, collections of stories were published more often; the largest and most important of them being the *Oseh Pele* ("Wonder Worker"). Modern scholars have taken an interest in this rich mine of narrative literature, and the greatest modern collection, which includes also a full bibliography of earlier collections, is M.J. Berdyczewski's *Mi-Mekor Yisrael* (1966^2).

The Ḥasidic Story

The Hebrew narrative in its medieval form continued to develop in the modern period. Haskalah literature did not serve as a substitute for continued creative effort in the old types and forms of Hebrew narrative writing; on the contrary – the Hebrew story, in its medieval form, reached its zenith with the emergence of Haskalah literature. This phenomenon is due to the modern ḥasidic movement, founded by *Israel Ba'al Shem Tov (late 18th century) from which the medieval narrative drew new life.

Though Ḥasidism began much earlier, ḥasidic narrative literature as a written art came to the fore only at the beginning of the 19th century when *Shivḥei ha-Besht and the stories of R. *Naḥman of Bratslav were published (Berdichev, 1815). Later, hundreds of ḥasidic tales were compiled and published. They very often included not only ḥasidic material but also stories about medieval sages. The sanctity accorded to the story in ḥasidic life and ideology helped to preserve not only the ḥasidic story itself, but countless medieval narratives which would have been lost had the authors of ḥasidic narrative anthologies not looked for them and saved them from oblivion. The ḥasidic narrative and the medieval stories that were drawn into the body of ḥasidic literature did not use the wide range of literary forms which came into being in the Middle Ages and have been described above. The modern form almost exclusively belongs to the field of hagiography, and the stories were sometimes used as exempla. The other literary forms ceased to be a vehicle of expression; their place and possible development in Hebrew literature form part of the history of modern Hebrew literature, and not ḥasidic literature. For later developments see *Hebrew Literature.

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[Joseph Dan]

FIEDLER, ARTHUR (1894–1979), conductor and violinist. Fiedler was born in Boston, where his father was a violinist with the Boston Symphony Orchestra. Violinists or "fiedlers" had been in the family for three generations. As a boy, he studied the violin, the piano, and conducting at the Hochschule fuer Musik, Berlin. He made his debut there at 17 as a violinist, but returned to the U.S. on the outbreak of World War I and joined the Boston Symphony Orchestra as a viola player. In 1924 he founded the Boston Sinfonietta, an orchestra of 22 players. From 1929 he organized the successful outdoor series of Esplanade Concerts at Boston. A year later (1930), he was appointed conductor of the Boston Pops Orchestra, which he directed until his death. Fiedler extended the orchestral repertory to include show-tune medleys and arrangements of popular songs in a variety of styles, which brought him a wide reputation at home and abroad. From 1957 he also made international appearances as a guest conductor.

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[Israela Stein (2nd ed.)]

FIEDLER, LESLIE AARON (1917–2003), U.S. author and critic. Born in Newark, New Jersey, Fiedler taught at the University of Montana (1941–64) and, from 1965, was professor of English at the State University of New York at Buffalo. He wrote books of short stories, such as *Pull Down Vanity* (1962), and novels, including *The Second Stone* (1963), *Back to China* (1965), and *The Last Jew in America* (1966). He is however, best known for his literary studies and critical essays, which include a contribution to *Leaves of Grass: 100 Years After* (ed. by M. Hindus, 1955), in honor of Walt Whitman; an edition of Simone *Weil's *Waiting for God* (1959); *The Art of the Essay* (1969); *Love and Death in the American Novel* (1960); a contribution to *The Continuing Debate* (1964); and various articles in *Encounter, Preuves*, and *Partisan Review.* Fiedler tended to regard a literary work as the expression of an author's psychosexual desires, minimizing the importance of its structure and linguistic texture. Though not at first prominent in his works, Jewish themes played an increasing part in Fiedler's writing, notably in his *Image of the Jew in American Fiction* (1959) and *The Jew in the American Novel* (1966^2), where he saw the Jew as the eternal alien and dissenter. *Fiedler on the Roof: Essays on Literature and Jewish Identity* appeared in 1991. *Nude Croquet* (1969), a volume of collected stories, is a bleak, guilt-ridden anthology, including much of Jewish interest. Fiedler was active in American-Jewish life.

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[Milton Henry Hindus]

FIELDS, DOROTHY (1904–1974), U.S. lyricist and librettist. Born in Allenhurst, New Jersey, Fields was the youngest of four children of the famous comedian Lew Fields. She and her two brothers, Herbert and Joseph, became writers in the entertainment field. In the 1920s Fields began a songwriting partnership with composer Jimmy McHugh that lasted almost a decade. Their first songs were written for shows performed at the famous Harlem night spot, the Cotton Club. Their greatest stage hit was *Blackbirds of 1928*, one of the longest-running Broadway shows with an all-black cast. In 1929 Fields and McHugh moved to Hollywood. Their most popular songs included "I Can't Give You Anything But Love" and "On the Sunny Side of the Street," both written for Broadway revues, and "Don't Blame Me" and "I'm In the Mood for Love," written for Hollywood films. In Hollywood in the 1930s Fields began working with other composers including Oscar *Levant and Fritz *Kreisler. Her favorite collaborator, and close friend, was Jerome *Kern. Kern and Fields wrote the scores for *The Joy of Living*, *I Dream Too Much*, and her best movie musical, *Swingtime*, which included the song, "The Way You Look Tonight," for which Kern and Fields won an Academy Award in 1936. In the 1940s, in collaboration with her brother Henry, Fields produced the books for four Broadway hits, *Let's Face It*, *Something for the Boys*, and *Mexican Hayride*, which had songs by Cole Porter, and *Annie Get Your Gun*, which had songs by Irving Berlin. Other composers with whom she worked included Sigmund *Romberg, Arthur Schwartz, Morton *Gould, Albert Hague, Harold *Arlen, and Harry Warren. After the deaths of her husband and her brother Herbert in 1958, Fields stopped writing for more than five years. She bounced back with one of her most popular stage plays, *Sweet Charity*, written with Cy *Coleman in 1966. Her final work, also written with Coleman, was *Seesaw.*

Fields won the Antoinette Perry (Tony) Award in 1959 for her work on *Redhead* and was elected as an inaugural member of the Songwriters Hall of Fame in 1971. Unlike earlier female lyricists, who worked in the field of operetta and tended to write songs of elevated sentiments, Dorothy Fields showed from the start a gift for the vernacular and an ear for the most up-to-date speech and slang. She is admired for her meticulous craftsmanship and her ability to combine clear-eyed sentiment with humor.

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[Charlotte Greenspan (2nd ed.)]

FIELDS, JACKIE (Jacob (Yonkel) Finkelstein; 1908–1987), U.S. welterweight boxing champion 1929–30 and 1932–33, featherweight Olympic Gold Medal winner, member of the Boxing Hall of Fame. Fields was born and raised in a Jewish neighborhood in Chicago, "where you had to fight your way to the swimming pool because the Italians, the Polish, the Irish, the Lithuanians were there." He began fighting at 14 at the Henry Booth Settlement House under the tutelage of one-time featherweight fighter Marty Fields, whose name he eventually adopted. After Fields' father, Morris, a butcher, contracted tuberculosis, the family moved to Los Angeles. Fields won 51 of 54 amateur bouts, and captured the Olympic Featherweight Gold medal at the 1924 Olympic Games at age 16, the youngest man ever to win an Olympic boxing crown. His first pro fight was February 2, 1925, and seven fights later, on November 12, 1925, Hall of Famer Jimmy McLarnin knocked him out in the second round, the only time Fields was stopped by a KO.

Fields won the National Boxing Association (NBA) Welterweight Championship on March 25, 1929, with a decision over Young Jack Thompson. Four months later, on July 25, he captured the unified world championship against Joe Dundee. The defending champion was knocked down five times in the second round, and was then disqualified after crawling on his hands and knees across the ring and punching Fields full-force in the groin, knocking him out. Thus Fields became the only fighter to ever win a title while flat on his back.

Fields lost the world title to Thompson on May 9, 1930, but regained it a second time on January 28, 1932, with a decision over Lou Brouillard, who had taken the crown from Thompson. He lost the title to Young Corbett III on February 22, 1933, and retired after one more fight, having lost his vision in one eye in an automobile accident a year earlier. Widely regarded as scientific boxer with tremendous stamina and a solid punch, Fields' record was 72 (30 KO's)–9–2. In 1965, Fields coached the U.S. boxing team at the Maccabiah Games in Israel.

[Elli Wohlgelernter (2nd ed.)]

FIG (Heb. תְּאֵנָה, *te'enah*), one of the seven species with which Ereẓ Israel was blessed (Deut. 8:8). It is mentioned in the Bible 16 times together with the vine as the most important of the country's fruit. The saying "every man under his vine and under his fig tree" depicts an era of peace and security in the past and the vision of an ideal future (I Kings 5:5; Micah 4:4; cf. Joel 2:22). On the other hand the prophets repeatedly warn against the destruction of the vines and the fig trees (Jer. 5:17; 8:13; Hos. 2:12; Hab. 3:17). The fig is also mentioned as a curative. A fig compress (*develah*) was used by Isaiah in the cure of King Hezekiah (II Kings 20:7; Isa. 38:21).

The cultivation of the fig in Ereẓ Israel goes back to very early times. Excavations at Gezer have uncovered remains of dried figs from the Neolithic Age, while an ancient Egyptian inscription refers to the destruction of the country's fig trees by its conquerors (Jeremias, Alte Test, 139). The spread of the fig in Ereẓ Israel is attested by place-names associated with the word *te'enah* or *develah.* The fig served as a basic food, possessing a high nutritional value, largely by virtue of its honey. The expressions "honey out of the crag" (Deut. 32:13) and "honey out of the rock" (Ps. 81:17) apparently refer to the honey of figs, the trees of which grow in rocky places (cf. Yal., Va-Era, 184). Similarly, the sages identify "honey" in the passage "a land flowing with milk and honey" with the honey of figs (Ket. 111b).

The fig tree sheds its leaves in winter, at the end of which, even before the tree is covered with leaves, the *paggim* ("green figs," Song 2:13) begin to develop in the form of small fruits, which are really tiny flowers covered with a soft skin, and which continue to grow during the summer months. Hosea (9:10) compared the young nation of Israel in the heyday of its glory to *bakkurot* ("first-ripe figs"), which are delicious and eagerly sought after (Isa. 28:4; Jer, 24:2). Not all the *paggim* reach the ripened stage, some falling off or withering (Isa. 34:4). Figs that ripen at the end of summer have an inferior taste (Micah 7:1), as do those that burst when overripe (Jer. 29:17). Figs were dried in the sun and were either left whole or cut up and pressed (*develah*, I Sam., 25:18; I Chron. 12:40). The word *kayiẓ* (II Sam. 16:1–2; Jer., 40:10, 12), which may refer to summer fruits as a whole, signifies primarily dried figs (cf. Isa. 16:9; Tosef., Ned. 4:1–2).

The importance of the fig in mishnaic and talmudic times is evidenced by the fact that more than 70 expressions connected with the fig occur in the literature of the period. Various strains of fig are mentioned: white and black (Ter. 4:8); those that ripen early and those that ripen late (*ibid.*, 4:6; Shev, 9:4), The *paggim* of certain strains were pierced or smeared with oil to make them ripen early (*ibid.*, 2:5). Other strains required caprification: to ensure the pollination of the fruit, branches bearing the fruit of the wild fig (*Ficus carica caprificus*) were hung up on the trees. These were infested with insects, which alone can pollinate the fruit of the cultivated fig (*Ficus carica domestica;* cf. Tosef., *ibid.*, 1:9; TJ, *ibid.*, 4:4, 35b).

At present, fig trees are cultivated in Ereẓ Israel mainly by Arabs, their economic value being limited in modern Jewish agriculture in that their fruit, not ripening simultaneously, must be picked almost daily by many hands (Num. R. 12:9). The fig tree has many branches, large leaves, and widely spread boughs. Large, shady fig trees are to be found in Israel, especially on the banks of streams and near springs, and are among the most beautiful trees in the country. The fig figures prominently in the *aggadah*, the consensus, on the basis of Genesis 3:7, being that the Tree of the Knowledge of Good and Evil was a fig tree (Ber. 40a; Gen, R. 15:7).

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[Jehuda Feliks]

FIGO (Picho), AZARIAH (1579–1647), Italian rabbi and preacher, born in Venice. In his youth he devoted himself largely to secular studies, but later, regretting the time he had spent "loving the handmaiden" and "neglecting the mistress," he applied himself wholly to rabbinic studies. At the age of 28, he was appointed rabbi of Pisa. There he wrote *Giddulei Terumah* (Venice, 1643), a casuistic commentary on the *Sefer ha-Terumot* of Samuel *Sardi. After the burning of the Talmud in 1553, copies were very scarce, and when Figo wrote his book he possessed only the tractates *Bava Kamma, Shevu'ot*, and *Nazir* and had to borrow the other tractates from the neighboring communities. He completed the book in Venice, where he returned in 1627, and became preacher to the Sephardi community. Figo leaned toward a strict interpretation of Jewish law. He opposed the establishment of a theater in the ghetto of Venice and criticized the members of his community for usury, flaunting their wealth, internecine wrangling, laxity in ritual observances, and sexual irregularities, Figo was active in redeeming Jewish captives, and defended the Marranos, declaring them to be Jews. His most important work is his *Binah le-Ittim* (Venice (?), 1648), a collection of sermons delivered in Venice. They are based on the festivals and fasts of the Jewish calendar, and also include sermons based on *Avot* on such topics as charity and education. Since its first publication it has been reprinted 50 times. Some of his responsa are found in the *Devar Shemu'el* (1702) of Samuel Aboab. Figo died in Rovigo.

On his homiletical works, see *Homiletics.

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[Chayim Reuven Rabinowitz]

FILDERMAN, WILHELM (1882–1963), Romanian Jewish leader. Born in Bucharest, in 1909 Filderman became a doctor of law in Paris. He returned to Romania and after teaching for two years at the high school of the Jewish community of Bucharest, started his law practice in 1912. In 1913 he was elected to the central committee of the Union of Romanian Jews. Filderman was an officer in the Romanian army during World War I and after the war became the acting leader of the Union of Romanian Jews. At the Versailles Peace Conference he was a member of the *Comité des Délégations Juives. He demanded the total emancipation of the Jews as an inalienable right and the inclusion of this principle in the peace treaty with Romania.

In 1920 Filderman became the representative of the *American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (JDC) in Romania and in 1923 was elected president of the Union of Romanian Jews. Between the two world wars, he fought antisemitism, and worked for the effective realization of full citizenship for the Jews. Filderman also published a number of books against antisemitism. He was opposed to a national Jewish policy and a separate Jewish party. In 1927 Filderman was elected a member of the Romanian parliament on the Liberal Party list. He was also the president of the Jewish community of Bucharest (1931–33), and in the same period he became president of the Federation of Jewish Communities. In 1937, during the period of King Carol II's dictatorial reign, when all political groups were dissolved, the Federation of Communities also took over the functions of the political representation of the Jews, When the enlarged *Jewish Agency was constituted (1929), he was elected by the Federation of Communities as a non-Zionist delegate to its founding congress in Zurich.

After September 1940, when Ion *Antonescu took over the leadership of the country, Filderman intervened with him as a representative of the Federation, several times obtaining the revocation of serious measures, such as the wearing of the yellow badge, the deportation of Romanian Jews to Nazi camps in Poland, etc. At the beginning of 1942 the Federation of Communities was dissolved. Although Filderman no longer had an official status, he continued to address personal memoranda to the Romanian authorities denouncing the racial measures. He was a member of the underground Jewish Council, formed of representatives of the principal Jewish trends, When he expressed his opposition to the special tax of four billion lei demanded of Romanian Jewry by the Antonescu regime, he was sent to *Transnistria (March 1943), returning after three months through the intervention of the papal nuncio and the Swiss and Swedish ambassadors. Back in Bucharest, he immediately reported to the Romanian government on the terrible situation of the deportees in Transnistria and asked for their return, which was obtained at the end of the same year.

After the war, he again became president of the Federation of Communities and of the Union of Romanian Jews and representative of the JDC, Soon afterward, however, he came into conflict with the Jewish Communists, who wanted the Jewish institutions to affiliate with their party's policy. As a result of their instigations, Filderman was arrested in 1945 and liberated only after a five-day hunger strike. Afterward he was kept under house arrest for three weeks. He was increasingly attacked in the Communist press. In 1948 he secretly left Romania, after being informed that he would once again be arrested (this time on charges of spying for Britain), and settled in Paris. According to his will, his archives were transferred to Yad Vashem.

Filderman wrote *Adevŭrul asupra problemei Evreeşti din România, în lumina textelor religioase şi a stasticii* ("The Truth on the Jewish Problem in Romania, in the Light of Religious Texts and Statistics," 1925), *Le problème du travail national et la crise du barreau en Roumanie* (1937), and *Manuila Sabin; Regional Development of the Jewish Population in Rumania* (1957).

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[Theodor Lavi]

FILENE, family of entrepreneurs, social reformers, and philanthropists in Boston. Progenitor of the family in America was WILLIAM FILENE (1830–?) who emigrated to the United States after the German revolution of 1848, and became owner of two stores in Lynn, Mass. In 1881 William Filene founded William Filene's Sons Company, a department store, in Boston. He turned over control of his stores to his sons in 1890, and together they built a multimillion-dollar merchandising empire. EDWARD ALBERT. (1860–1937) and A. LINCOLN FILENE (1865–1957) were innovators in merchandising techniques and employer-employee relations. They introduced the idea of the "bargain basement" where goods were sold at reduced prices. They pioneered in establishing minimum wage scales for female employees, employee welfare plans, paid winter vacations for employees, employee purchasing discounts, profit sharing, health clinics, insurance programs, and credit unions, Filene's was the first department store in Boston to establish a five-day, 40-hour week.

Edward Filene was born in Salem, Mass. Entering his father's dry goods business in 1880, he became president of Filene's department store in 1908. He was a leading member of the Boston Chamber of Commerce, which he helped organize; later he was a founder of the United States Chamber of Commerce and the International Chamber of Commerce. As chairman of Boston's Committee on Industrial Relations, Edward played a pivotal role in the passage of Massachusetts' first workmen's compensation law in 1911, the first form of institutionalized social insurance in the United States. Edward believed that cooperative private enterprise and higher wages were necessary to raise consumer purchasing power and thereby avert economic depressions. He favored paying workers a "buying" wage instead of a near-subsistence "living" wage, In 1909 he secured enactment of the first credit union law in America in Massachusetts. In 1934 he organized the Credit Union National Association and donated $1,000,000 for its work, He also gave $1,000,000 to the Consumers Distribution Corporation to organize a national chain of cooperative retail stores. Throughout his life Edward took an active part in the world peace movement. In 1915 he joined the League to Enforce the Peace. After World War I he backed the League of Nations. In 1919 he founded the Twentieth Century Fund, which conducts investigations of social and economic problems with an emphasis on finding solutions. He wrote *Speaking of Change* (1939).

A. Lincoln Filene was born in Boston. He became treasurer and chairman of the board of Filene's in 1941, and was long active in civic and communal affairs, Lincoln believed that mass purchasing by department stores, and research to improve their efficiency, would benefit the consumer by allowing lower prices. He himself was a leader in the development of scientific methods of retail store management. In 1937 he established the Lincoln and Therese Filene Foundation, which funded the first educational television station in Boston in 1955. Lincoln Filene wrote *Merchants' Horizon* (1924).

Both brothers were social reformers who believed that capitalism had to operate more efficiently to avert radical reforms and advance the welfare of the individual. Both Edward and Lincoln Filene actively backed President Franklin D. Roosevelt's New Deal. At a time when most American employers attacked Roosevelt for being too radical, the Filene brothers helped prevent a complete split between the president and the business community.

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[Robert Asher]

FILIPOWSKI, ẒEVI HIRSCH (**Herschell Philip**; 1816–1872), Hebraist, editor, actuary, and mathematician. Born in Virbalis, Lithuania, Filipowski was instructed secretly by a Polish schoolteacher in mathematics and languages. In 1839 he emigrated to London, where he taught at a Jewish school while continuing his studies. Filipowski's first work, *Mo'ed Mo'adim* (1846), deals with the various calendars of the Jews, Karaites, Christians, and Muslims. He was the editor of the Hebrew annual *Ha-Asif* (2 vols., London, Leipzig, 1847–49), to which he contributed essays on Hebrew literature and mathematics. Later Filipowski, while working as an actuary in Edinburgh, pursued his interest in mathematics, publishing *Anti-Logarithms* in 1849. In addition, he translated Napier's *Canon of Logarithms* from Latin into English (1857) and edited Baily's *Doctrine of Life Annuities and Assurance* (1864–66). In 1851 Filipowski founded a Jewish antiquarian society, "Me'orerei Yeshenim" (a forerunner of the *Mekiẓe Nirdamim), for the purpose of publishing medieval Hebrew texts. Among the important works which he edited and published for the society (in type designed by himself) are Solomon ibn Gabirol's *Mivḥar ha-Peninim*, Abraham b. Ḥiyya's *Sod ha-Ibbur* (1851), Azariah dei Rossi's *Maẓref la-Kesef* (from the author's own manuscript), Menahem ibn Saruq's *Maḥberet* (1854), Dunash b. Labrat's criticism of Saruq's work (1855), and Abraham Zacuto's *Sefer Yuḥasin ha-Shalem* (1857). This edition of the *Yuḥasin* is still the best available; it was reissued by A. Freimann with an introduction, indices, etc. (Frankfurt, 1924; Jerusalem, 1963). In 1862 Filipowski printed a pocket edition of the prayer book, including his own English translation, for which he designed a special Hebrew type in which the vocalization is attached to the letters. In 1867 he founded the *Hebrew National*, but the journal ceased publication after six months. His last work was a pamphlet called *Biblical Prophecies* (1870) discussing the Jewish view of prophecy and messianism.

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FILLER, LOUIS (1911–1998), U.S. historian. Born in Cincinnati, Ohio, Filler served as a research historian for the American Council of Learned Societies (1942–44), and as a historian for the War Department (1944–46). He joined the faculty of Antioch College, where he was appointed professor of American civilization in 1946. He was a fellow of the Social Science Research Council and American Council of Learned Societies (1953–54).

Filler's major work was in the field of American reform movements and cultural developments. Among his works are *Crusaders for American Liberalism* (1939, 1964), *Randolph Bourne* (1943), *The Crusade against Slavery, 1830–1860* (1960), *A Dictionary of American Social Reform* (1963), *The Unknown Edwin Markham* (1967), *Appointment at Armageddon: Muckraking & Progressivism in American Life* (1976), *Vanguards & Followers: Youth in the American Tradition* (1978),*The Rise & Fall of Slavery in America* (1980), *A Dictionary of American Social Change* (1982), *Dictionary of American Conservatism* (1987), *Distinguished Shades: Americans Whose Lives Live On* (1992), *The Muckrakers* (1993), *American Anxieties: A Collective Portrait of the 1930s* (1993), *Muckraking and Progressivism in the American Tradition* (1996), and *Slavery in the United States* (1998). In 1961 he received the Ohioana Book Award in nonfiction for *Crusade against Slavery.*

[Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

FIMA (Reuytenberg)**, EFRAIM** (1916–), painter. Fima was born into a Russian Jewish family in Harbin, China. His father, Alexander, had left Russia in 1904 with his wife, Sofia

Fishman. In 1934 Fima moved to Shanghai, where he started to learn painting in IZO, a Russian Academy of Art. He also began to study Chinese calligraphy and became passionately interested in Chinese philosophy. Fima immigrated to Israel in 1949. The revelation of the other side of the world and the exposure to Israel induced a period of doubt. Fima destroyed most of the canvases he had created up to that point. As with immigrants, he experienced difficulties. His working conditions were poor and he painted during the night. He married twice and in both cases the marriage ended in divorce. In 1958, after some one-man exhibitions in Israel, he began to sign his name Fima, shortening his Russian first name Yafim. In 1961 Fima and his wife Rama settled in Paris, coming to visit in Israel from time to time. After Rama's death he married Kaarina Jokinen in 1967. He had many exhibitions in Israel and in the United States and he taught at Haifa University. He lived and worked in Jerusalem and Paris.

The typical style of Fima was Abstraction. His paintings recall Abstract Expressionism and the Geometric Abstract but a closer examination of his works reveals that Fima is not interested in intellectual analysis. His outlines are not sharply defined, but are rather soft, misty, hazy and fluid. It seems to have been influenced by Chinese Taoism (*Red Calligraphy*, 1962, Israel Museum, Jerusalem).

When Fima focused on an object, whether it was a portrait, a flower, or beards, he described it in a general way with a background of one color. Nonetheless, the objects are vivid and appear in characteristic attitudes (*Self Portrait*, 1980, private collection).

The international influence on Fima's painting overshadows his Israeli Identity. Fima pointed out that only when he traveled on the canvas did he feel at home.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Haifa, Mané-Katz Museum, *Fima – Shanghai Jerusalem Paris Jerusalem Works on Paper 1930–1990* (1998); Tel Aviv, Bineth Gallery, *Fima* (1990).

[Ronit Steinberg (2nd ed.)]

FINALE EMILIA, town near Modena, north-central Italy. Jews settled there in 1541 or even earlier; at first they were moneylenders but later they engaged in commerce in brandy and feed or in small industry, one of them producing mercury chloride from 1678. A first synagogue already existed in 1600 and another one was erected in 1630 (restored in 1839), and in the 1620s there was already an active Gemilut Ḥasadim confraternity. It was only in 1736 that the Jews were confined in a ghetto, where 201 Jews lived in 1799. Although there were 162 Jews still living in Finale in 1854, the community as such gradually dissolved between the 19th and 20th centuries. In the 1880s the commercial importance of Finale diminished and many families left and moved to other cities. The community was revived as a private association in 1878, but by then numbered only 50 members and before long ceased to exist. In the 1920s eight families lived in Finale and the Jewish community was attached to the Jewish community of Modena. In 1932 the synagogue was closed. The community of Finale died out completely in the second half of 20th century. In the 1990s the ancient cemetery with the most ancient tombstone from 1584 was completely restored by the Municipality and the Jewish community of Modena.

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[Attilio Milano / Federica Francesconi (2nd ed.)]

FINAL SOLUTION (**of the Jewish question**; Ger. "**Endlösung der Judenfrage**"), the Nazi plan for the extermination of the Jews. Rooted in 19th-century antisemitic discourse on the "Jewish question," "Final Solution" as a Nazi cover term denotes the last stage in the evolution of the Third Reich's anti-Jewish policies from persecution to physical annihilation on a European scale. Currently, Final Solution is used interchangeably with other, broader terms that refer to German extermination policies during World War II (Holocaust, Shoah), as well as more specifically to describe German intent and the decision-making process leading up to the beginning of systematic mass murder.

While the Nazi Party program adopted in February 1920 did not contain direct or indirect reference to the term, Nazi propaganda presented a radical elimination of anything deemed Jewish from all aspects of German life as prerequisite for national recovery. After Hitler's rise to power, party activists and bureaucrats competed in transforming the broad-based consensus that something had to be done about the "Jewish question" into government policy aimed at varying degrees of segregation, expropriation, and physical removal. In the process, applying force became increasingly attractive; however, use of the term in German documents produced prior to 1941 should be understood less as an expression of a preconceived blueprint for genocide than as an expression of radical, as yet unspecified intent.

With the beginning of war and the organized murder of "undesirable" non-Jewish groups among the German population in the so-called *Euthanasia program, hazy declarations of intent and expectation from the top leadership – most prominently Hitler's Reichstag statement of January 30, 1939, that a new world war would bring about "the annihilation of the Jewish race in Europe" – provided legitimization and incentive for violent, on occasion already murderous measures adopted at the periphery that would in turn radicalize decision making in Berlin. Heydrich's *Schnellbrief* to the *Einsatzgruppen* commanders in Poland dated September 21, 1939, on the "Jewish question" refers to secret "planned total measures" (thus the final aim) ("*die geplanten Gesamtmaßnahmen* (*also das Endziel*")); nevertheless, most Holocaust historians today agree that at the time this solution was still perceived in terms of repression and removal, not annihilation. The more frequent use of the term Final Solution in German documents beginning in 1941 indicates gradual movement toward the idea of physical elimination in the context of shattered plans for large-scale population resettlement (including the "Madagascar plan") and megalomanic hopes of imperial aggrandizement in Eastern Europe. American scholar Christopher Browning notes that "a 'big bang' theory" fails to adequately describe German decision making; instead, the process was prolonged and incremental, driven by "a vague vision of implied genocide."

If there was a caesura towards the implementation of the Final Solution through mass murder, it is marked by the German "war of destruction" waged against the Soviet Union from June 22, 1941. Provided with instructions that called for the rapid pacification of conquered areas and that stressed the "sub-human" nature of broad strata of the population as well as the need for drastic measures to fight the deadly threat posed by "Judeo-Bolshevism" to the Nazi grand design, German soldiers, SS-men, and policemen murdered Jews from the first days of the campaign. Regionally different patterns of persecution unfolded until the end of 1941; its most prominent feature – the broadening scope of the killings from male Jews of military age (Heydrich's notorious letter to the higher SS- and Police heads in the occupied Soviet Union dated July 2, 1941, listed "Jews in party and state positions" and "other radical elements" among those to be executed) to women and children – underscores the absence of a central order and the preference of the Berlin authorities for controlled escalation.

The murderous events in the occupied Soviet Union had – as envisaged in a directive by Alfred Rosenberg's Reich Ministry for the Occupied Eastern Territories – provided the German leadership with experiences on how to arrive at a "solution to the overall problem" ("*für die Loesung des Gesamt-Problems richtungsweisend*") that could be applied elsewhere. On July 31, 1941, Goering signed a document that charged Heydrich with "making all necessary preparations with regard to organizational, practical and material aspects for an overall solution ("*Gesamtloesung*") of the Jewish question in the German sphere of influence in Europe" and to draw up a plan "for the implementation of the intended final solution ("*Endloesung*") of the Jewish question." By the time of the *Wannsee Conference held on January 20, 1942, the term Final Solution had become a common phrase among German government and party officials. Now reduced in its actual meaning to mass murder, its geographical scope expanded beyond German-dominated Europe: the protocol of the conference listed 11 million Jews in different countries to be engulfed in the "Final Solution of the European Jewish question," including England and neutrals like Sweden and Switzerland. The culmination of the Final Solution in mass deportations from various parts of Europe to the killing centers and death camps in Eastern Europe resulted, like earlier stages of the process, not from one single top-level decision, but from a complex mix of factors, with the Berlin center reacting as much as it was actively shaping events.

Its historical significance makes the term Final Solution the most important example of the ability of Nazi language to integrate potentially different if not divergent approaches towards the so-called Jewish question into a conceptual frame of reference that helped facilitate systematic mass murder and to hide the Third Reich's genocidal policies behind technocratic abstractions, thus providing legitimization for perpetrators and enabling bystanders to claim not to know what was going on. Despite its inherent problems, most notably in evoking the illusion of coordinated planning and systematic implementation, the term Final Solution remains crucial for recognizing the process character of the Holocaust as a key element in a broader history of state-sponsored mass murder during the Nazi era.

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[Jürgen Matthäus (2nd ed.)]

FINALY CASE, a cause célèbre after World War II in the struggle for the return to Judaism of two Jewish children rescued by non-Jews. A young Viennese Jewish doctor, Fritz Finaly, had fled to France with his wife after the 1938 *Anschluss* and settled in Grenoble, where they had two sons, Robert and Gerald, born in 1941 and 1942, respectively. Their father circumcised the boys on their birth. When the deportation of French Jews commenced, the Finalys entrusted the children to the care of a municipal school in Grenoble, in order to hide them from the Nazis. In February 1944 the parents were deported to Eastern Europe; they did not return. Friends of the family handed the children over to Notre Dame de Sion, a Catholic institution, which in turn put them in the hands of Antoinette Brun, the director of a municipal children's home in Grenoble. After the war, she wanted to keep the orphaned Finaly boys in her custody.

Fritz Finaly was survived by three sisters who made attempts to ascertain the fate of their brother and his family. The eldest sister succeeded in tracing the children to Brun and on contacting her, she was informed that the children were well and were being raised as Jews. At the same time, Brun obtained from the French authorities formal custody of the children and arranged for their conversion to Catholicism. The sisters, who were not aware of this development, agreed among themselves that the children should be brought up by the youngest, Hedwig Rosner, a resident of Gederah in Israel. In 1948, having failed in their attempts to obtain the children from Brun, the sisters resorted to legal action. The case lasted for five years, during which the children were moved from place to place and from one Catholic institution to another. The trial aroused great interest in France and abroad, and the arousing of public opinion, especially among teachers and intellectuals, had a great influence on the eventual outcome. A minority of the Catholic public in France accused the Jews of ingratitude and argued that the children were French citizens so that their transfer to Israel would be tantamount to kidnapping. However, even Catholic opinion was divided. François Mauriac, the author, initially took an anti-Jewish stand on the issue, but subsequently reversed it. At the height of the controversy the boys were smuggled out of France and handed over to Basque monks, and for a while their whereabouts remained unknown. In June 1953 France's highest court rejected Brun's claim; in July, the children were brought back to France and delivered to their aunt, who took them to Israel to be raised in her home.

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[Chaim Yahil]

FINANCES, AUTONOMOUS JEWISH.

Internal Taxation

The public finances of the autonomous Jewish *community in the Middle Ages and early modern times were conditioned by the need to support communal institutions as well as to meet sudden and often huge demands for money in order to defend communities or individuals against attacks and libels (see also *Blood Libel; Desecration of the *Host). The provision of *charity by the communal purse also became urgent following massacres and expulsions. The methods of internal taxation adopted were often influenced, for better or worse, by the fact that the community was held collectively responsible for the collection and apportionment of taxes levied on Jews by the state, this being one of the main features of Jewish communal *autonomy. They were also shaped to a large extent by the methods of taxation of the gentile town where the community was located.

Under the **geonim* and **negidim* in the eastern countries and in Muslim Spain, up to the end of the 11th century and even beyond, local tax levies and allocations were mostly directed by the central leadership through local appointees. The finances of the Babylonian academies and the court of the *exilarch were regulated and their expenditure was covered by the levy of fixed imposts on the Jewish population, as well as by voluntary donations and income from landed property owned by these institutions.

In countries and periods in which the leadership was less centralistic, various methods of financial management were developed. *Takkanot* ascribed to *Gershom b. Judah, but in reality drawn up around the 12th century, envisage a case where "if the *kahalhas* established an ordinance to help the poor… with the agreement of the majority, the minority may not refuse to obey it" (L. Finkelstein, *Jewish Self-Government in the Middle Ages* (1924), 132); this is the first overt indication of a local system of taxation for charity within the framework of the medieval community.

In *takkanot of* Jacob b. Meir *Tam of the 12th century the period of residence before having to contribute to the charity fund is laid down: "to come under the *ḥerem* to 'bring the tithe to the treasure house' [Mal. 3:10] one must be but one month in the city. Members of a community who cannot give charity may compel others who can afford to give" (op. cit., 185–6; see also 209–10). This concept of the tithe (*ma'aser*) as a contribution to charity-whether enforced or voluntary-was to be one of the financial pillars of Ashkenazi communities. Thus certain medieval forms of internal Jewish taxes were based on and defined by ancient terminology and ideology.

In Christian Spain the communities largely covered their needs by an indirect consumption tax mainly on wine and meat, but combining this with direct taxation in the *cisa* system, subject to changes and variations of time and place.

In Poland-Lithuania, the intensive internal taxation and spending (cf. the various *takkanot* and budgets in the *Pinkas Medinat Lita* and *Pinkas Va'ad Arba Araẓot;* and see *Councils of the Lands) were not sufficient to cover needs, in particular as the harsh and irregular exactions of state dignitaries and the despotic nobility mounted. Eventually the Councils of the Lands as well as individual communities had to rely increasingly on loans, As their debts increased, higher interest rates were charged by Christian noblemen and churchmen, as well as by Jews. In several Polish communities of the 18th century the cost of defrayment of debts amounted to 40% of their annual budgets. In some instances these loans were of 150 years' standing. Separate collections were often made for the salaries of rabbis and preachers. The financial problems and methods of expenditure of a large community with a relatively secure

Poznan Jewry Budget, 1637–38

	Zlotys	percent
Taxes, etc.	12,000	37.1
King	200	0.6
Palatin	2,000	6.2
Vice-Palatin	1,000	3.1
Vice-Palatin's Secretary	150	0.5
The General	1,000	3.1
The General's Secretary	150	0.5
Other officials	250	0.8
Bishop	200	0.6
Clergy and monks	785	2.4
Town taxes and expenses	523	1.6
Officials in Gnessen	200	0.6
Other expenses	3,800	11.8
Various expenses at the fairs	1,400	4.3
Relief	4,809	14.8
Education (Talmud Torah)	692.20	2.1
The Palestine	303.20	1.0
Poor brides	150	0.5
Others	500	1.5
Salaries for rabbis, physicians and others	1,892	5.8
Guards	258	0.8
Various	95	0.3
Total	32,357.40	100.0

B.D. Weinryb, in PAJJR, 19 (1950), 50.

and legal position are shown in the budget of Poznan Jewry for 1637–38. (See Table: Poznan Jewry Budget.)

The much more detailed original Hebrew text of the budget (*ibid.*, no. 138, Heb. pagin. 57–60) shows very interesting items of expenditure. The highest-paid official of the community was the *shtadlan* who received 300 zlotys a year, while the rabbi was paid only 130 zlotys in salary and an allowance of 100 zlotys for living expenses. The main preacher was paid 156 zlotys while a separate collection for this purpose would bring in "approximately 107 zlotys." Six Jewish guards received 150 zlotys among them, while three Christian guards were paid 108 zlotys for the winter period only. Expenses for water pipes amounted to 400 zlotys. The main Christian dignitaries and the various Christian religious orders not only received fixed amounts of money but also spices and carpets on credit. To its foreseen outlay the community had to expend within the period 1637–38 to 1641–42 two payments on "tumults" and "all this in addition to various expenses amounting to thousands of zlotys given to the wojewoda [provincial governor], the general, and other dignitaries."

From about the middle of the 17th century local communities of Poland-Lithuania developed the **korobka* (basket tax), a system of indirect consumption tax frequently collected in dues for *sheḥitah.* It was later broadened under Russian and Austrian rule mainly in the form of a *candle tax (on candles for Sabbath and the like). Synagogues also gained an income from pew-selling. Scholars and the very poor were exempt in principle from most taxation.

With the advance of emancipation, the power of tax enforcement was gradually removed from communal jurisdiction, and all internal needs had subsequently to be financed on a voluntary basis.

The gap between the medieval *kehillah* and the modern fund-raising agencies was filled by the **ḥevrah* which assumed the function of activating voluntary giving as well as operating the social welfare and other institutions of the community. The most viable among these associations was the **ḥevra kaddisha*, the burial society, which by its monopolistic and lucrative ownership of the community's cemetery plots was sufficiently solvent not only to operate many social welfare, cultural, and educational enterprises, but also to help other associations maintain their services, As late as the 20th century, the dues of Central and South American burial societies financed communal activities. Sometimes the *ḥevra kaddisha* there assumed the functions of a *kahal* (e.g., in *Buenos Aires), In the 20th century the stupendous needs created by two world wars, the Nazi Holocaust, and the restoration of Israel prompted Jewish communities in Western countries to develop highly efficient fund-raising techniques. Thus the medieval system of compulsory financing was effectively converted into voluntary giving in modern times.

Methods of Tax Collection for the State

When having to act as collectors or farmers of state tax, the individual communities, Councils of the Lands, *federations of communities, **Landesjudenschaften*, or government-appointed rabbis (see *Kazionny Ravin) each had to develop their own methods of tax collection and apportionment according to circumstances as well as to try diplomatic means at negotiating an equitable tax load as far as possible, State imposition was usually mechanical. Taxes were generally imposed *per capita*, or according to the estimated combined wealth of the Jews of the given unit, The communal or other appointees in the Jewish leadership usually tried to calculate a just and equitable distribution of this burden among its members. Thus to assess the means of members they appointed special officers (Heb. *shamma'im*), and committees whose composition gave rise to class tensions in the larger and socially variegated communities. The assessment of taxes also involved problems of social justice and definitions of services and duties. In Christian Spain and Poland-Lithuania especially, the methods employed and principles involved were frequently called in question. An instructive example of application of these principles in Christian Spain is summed up by Y.F. Baer: The tax statute of the aljama [Jewish community] Huesca of the year 1340 opens with a paragraph dealing with the poll tax and exemptions from it. Among the groups exempted were members of the community whose wealth amounted to less than 50 sueldos, scholars 'who study day and night, having no other occupation,' the poor supported by charity, and servants. The communal leaders were authorized to exempt certain needy members from payment of this tax, provided the total sum involved in these exemptions would not exceed a certain specified figure. Then there followed a complex system of taxes of varying rates, levied upon both property and business transactions. A tax of one-half of one percent (½%) was levied on the value of houses and gardens adjoining them: and another, of one percent (1%) on fields, vineyards, and gardens not adjoining the owner's house. There was a tax of one and one half percent (1½%) on the amounts of direct loans of money and of commercial credits (*commendae*) in kind-grain, oil, honey, textiles, etc.-extended to Christians and Muslims. The tax on loans to fellow Jews was much lower, only five-twelfths of one percent (5⁄12%), since these bore no interest. Loans extended to aljamas, servants, and students and the sums involved in betrothal and marriage contracts and in wills went untaxed. There were taxes on mortgaged real estate, on rented homes and stores, on the purchase and sale of land, textiles, grain, foodstuffs, gold and silver, furs and other merchandise, as well as on the purchase of clothes and various other necessities. Finally the daily earnings of an artisan, if they were above a certain amount, were taxed. Teachers and the readers and sextons of the synagogues were exempted (Baer, Spain, 1 (1966), 206–7).

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[Isaac Levitats]

FINBERT, ÉLIAN-J. (1899–1977), Jaffa-born author. Originally a camel driver and Nile boatman, Finbert published an anti-military novel, *Sous le règne de la Licorne et du Lion* (1925), for which Herni Barbusse wrote a preface. *Un homme vient de l'orient* (1930), the prizewinning *Le fou de Dieu* (1933), and *Le destin difficile* (1937) are novels on Jewish problems. Finbert edited a volume of essays, *Aspects du génie d'Israël* (1950) and wrote *Israël* (1955), a travel guide, and *Pionniers d'Israël* (1956).

°FINCH, SIR HENRY (1558–1625), English philo-Semite and precursor of Zionism. Finch was a member of parliament and distinguished jurist whose legal writings were studied for two centuries after his death. He was also an accomplished Hebraist and profoundly interested in theology. His *Explanation of the Song of Songs* (London, 1615) discussed the New Jerusalem. In his anonymous *The World's Great Restauration, or Calling of the Jews* (London, 1621) – one of the classics of Christian pro-Zionist literature – he invited the Jews to reassert their claim to the Promised Land, and Christian monarchs to pay homage to them. Although this was to be accompanied by the conversion of the Jews to Christianity, his views aroused much criticism. James I resented the suggestion that he should pay fealty to the Jews and the work was suppressed as derogatory to royal dignity. The author and the publisher were imprisoned until they expressed contrition for this "unadvised" writing.

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[Cecil Roth]

FINCI, ELI (1911–1980). Yugoslav editor and author. Born in Sarajevo, Bosnia, Finci first wrote for the literary magazine *Knijźevnost.* He founded and published a review, *Brazda,* in 1935, and translated literary works from French into Serbian. Later, in Belgrade, he served as department head in the publishing house "Geca Kon" and as a director of the Yugoslav Dramatic Theater. His published books include *Dva lika* ("Two Profiles," 1950) and *Više I manje yivota* ("More and Less than Life," 1954), *Stvarnost i iluzije* ("Reality or illusions," 1957). He also translated from French and published a study on Diderot. He was also prominent as a theatre critic.

FINE, REUBEN (1914–1992), U.S. chess master and psychoanalyst. Fine was born in New York City, where he studied at City College. Growing up in the East Bronx in a poor Russian-Jewish family, he first learned to play chess from an uncle at the age of eight. After winning several American tournaments as a youth, he turned to international competition. His important victories took place at Zandvoort, Amsterdam (1936), where he won an equal first prize with Flohr; Stockholm (1937); Moscow and Leningrad (1937); and Margate (1937). In the two top tournaments in the U.S.S.R., he was the first foreigner ever to come in first. At Nottingham in 1936 he was a joint third behind Capablanca and *Botvinnik. In the Avro Tournament of 1938, Fine tied for first place with Keres, and came in ahead of Capablanca, Alekhine, Botvinnik, Euwe, *Reshevsky, and *Flohr. Considered the second greatest American chess player, second to former world champion Bobby *Fischer, Fine competed in several U.S. championships but never won. But such international chess greats as Capablanca, Flohr, and Botvinnik could not beat him. Fine's chess style was logical, precise, and energetic, and he was equally at ease both strategically and tactically. According to most players, Fine's only weakness was his volatile temperament.

Soon after World War II, unable to properly support his family as a chess professional, Fine abandoned tournament chess to study psychology at the University of Southern California. He served with the United States Veterans Administration from 1948 to 1950 and at the Post-Graduate Center for Psychotherapy. He was professor of psychology at City College of New York from 1953 to 1958. Despite his preoccupation with his professional work, Fine continued to excel in "lightning" chess and won prizes in the American championships.

He wrote in both his fields of interest. On psychology, he wrote the following: *The Psychology of the Asthmatic Child* (1948), *Freud, A Critical Re-evaluation of his Theories* (1962), *History of Psychoanalysis* (1979), *The Intimate Hour* (1979), *The Healing of the Mind* (1982), *The Meaning of Love in Human Experience* (1985), *Narcissism, the Self, and Society* (1986), *The Forgotten Man* (1987), *Psychoanalysis around the World* (1987), *Troubled Men* (1988), *Love and Work* (1990), and *Troubled Women* (1992).

On the game of chess, he wrote: *My Best Games of Chess* (2 vols., 1927–38), *Basic Chess Endings* (1941), *Chess, the Easy Way* (1942), *Ideas behind the Chess Openings* (1943), *The World's a Chessboard* (1948), *The World's Great Chess Games* (1951), *Lessons from My Games* (1958), *Great Moments in Modern Chess* (1965), *The Psychology of the Chess Player* (1967), *Practical Chess Openings* (1973), *Bobby Fischer's Conquest of the World's Chess Championship* (1973), *Fifty Chess Masterpieces, 1941–1944* (1977), and *Reuben Fine's Best Games* (2002).

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[Gerald Abrahams / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

FINE, SIDNEY (1920–), U.S. historian. After serving as a Japanese language officer in the Navy (1942–46), Fine received his Ph.D. from the University of Michigan in 1948. That year, the university offered him a teaching position; he was appointed professor of history in 1959. His fields of research were the intellectual regions of 20th-century American reform and the automobile industry. Fine was active in Jewish communal affairs.

He retired in 2001 as the Andrew Dickenson White Professor Emeritus, History, College of Literature, Science, & the Arts. Having taught for 53 years, Fine is credited with having the longest active teaching career at the university and for leaving a lasting impression on his students. Recognized as an outstanding educator and historian, Fine was awarded the highest faculty honor, the University of Michigan's Henry Russel Lectureship, as well as the Golden Apple Award. Students select the Golden Apple recipient for excellence in teaching; the faculty chooses the Russel winner for national distinction in research and publication. Fine is the first professor to have received both these awards. He also received three honorary degrees; was named Professor of the Year for the state of Michigan in 1986 by the Council for Advancement and Support of Education; was named an International Man of the Year for 2000–1 by the International Biographical Centre of Cambridge, England; and eight of his books have won awards.

Over the years, Fine's work has involved the study of labor law and organized labor, trade unions, race relations, racial discrimination, and political history in Michigan. His books include *Laissez-Faire and the General Welfare of the State 1865–1901* (1956), *The Automobile under the Blue Eagle* (1963), *Sit-Down: The General Motors Strike of 1936–1937* (1969), *Frank Murphy: The Detroit Years* (1975), *Frank Murphy: The New Deal Years* (1979), *Violence in the Model City: The Cavanagh Administration, Race Relations, and the Detroit Riot of 1967* (1989), *Frank Murphy: the New Deal Years* (1993), *Without Blare of Trumpets: Walter Drew, The National Erectors' Association, and the Open Shop Movement* (1995), and *Expanding the Frontiers of Civil Rights: Michigan, 1948–1968* (2000). In the latter book he documents the fact that Michigan, as a leader among the states in civil rights legislation, embraced not only African-Americans but also women, the elderly, Native Americans, migrant workers, and the physically handicapped.

[Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

FINEBERG, SOLOMON ANDHIL (1896–1990), U.S. rabbi and communal leader. Born in Pittsburgh, Penn., Fineberg served in the U.S. Marine Corps during World War I and then entered the University of Cincinnati and the Hebrew Union College, where he was ordained in 1920 along with Joseph L. *Baron, Bernard *Heller, and Jacob Rader *Marcus, a distinguished graduating class. He received his Ph.D. from Columbia University and later was honored with a D.D. from Hebrew Union College.

His first career was as a rabbi, serving congregations in Niagara Falls, N.Y. (1920–24), and then returning to Pittsburgh (1924–26). He moved to White Plains, N.Y. (1926–29), and then to Temple Sinai in nearby Mt. Vernon (1929–37), and for half that time simultaneously served as national chaplain of the Jewish War Veterans before joining the American Jewish Committee as National Community Relations Consultant. There he became, in the words of a colleague Isaiah Terman, "the foremost theoretician, strategist, practitioner, and adviser to Jewish community and intergroup organizations and to government agencies in the United States and abroad."

He is the author of several books including *Biblical Myth and Legend in Jewish Education* (1932) and *Overcoming Antisemitism* (1943), written at a critical time in the American Jewish experience. He wrote *Punishment without Crime* (1949), which both explores the sources of prejudice and suggests preventative programs to strengthen human relations. He took issue with the then current efforts of the American Jewish community to answer the charges of antisemitism, suggesting that they spread the libel. Instead he proposed an affirmative portrayal of the Jews. An anticommunist, he published *The Rosenberg Case* (1953), which demonstrated their guilt and suggested that the Jewish community not defend them, positions deeply unpopular with rank and file Jews. His work *Religion behind the Iron Curtain* brought attention to the plight of Soviet Jewry.

After formal retirement from the American Jewish Committee, he became a consultant to the National Conference of Christians and Jews for more than a dozen years (1965–78), working assiduously on race relations in New York at a time of great tension.

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[Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

FINEMAN, HAYYIM (1886–1959), U.S. educator and Zionist worker. Fineman, who was born in Russia, was taken to the United States by his parents in 1890. He became head of the English department at Temple University in Philadelphia in 1911. Throughout his life Fineman was active in *Po'alei Zion. He was one of the founders of the American organization in 1904. In 1919–20 he was secretary of the Po'ale Zion Commission sent to investigate conditions in Palestine, and on his return he became president of the organization. In 1929 Fineman took up a teaching position in Palestine, resuming his professorship at Temple University in 1933. He helped to establish the *Jewish Frontier* (1934), of which he was an editor. At a time when the majority of the leaders and members of Po'ale Zion belonged to the Yiddish-speaking community, it was Fineman's special role to present its standpoint to English-speaking Jews, particularly in the academic world. His son DANIEL (1915–) settled in Israel in 1953 and after teaching in the English department at the Hebrew University, Jerusalem, was appointed head of the English department at Tel Aviv University (1964–69) and was dean of the Faculty of Arts from 1966–69.

FINEMAN, IRVING (1893–1976), U.S. novelist. Born in New York, Fineman served in the navy during World War I, and worked as an engineer until 1929, when he turned to writing. His first two novels, *This Pure Young Man* (1930) and *Lovers Must Learn* (1932), dealt with American themes. His third, *Hear, Ye Sons* (1933), recreated the past from which his ḥasidic parents had come; *Doctor Addams* (1939) dealt with the dilemma of a successful scientist who is completely ineffective in dealing with personal and social problems. Of his later novels, *Jacob* (1941) and *Ruth* (1949) had biblical subjects, His biography of Henrietta *Szold, *Woman of Valor* (1961), aroused controversy because of its frank portrayal of a revered figure.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: S. Liptzin, *Jew in American Literature* (1966), 209–10.

[Sol Liptzin]

FINER, HERMAN (1898–1969), U.S. political scientist. Born in Herța (Gersta) Bessarabia, Finer was taken to England as a child and graduated from the London School of Economics where he lectured on public administration from 1920 to 1942. He was actively involved in Labour Party politics and London local government work as a member of the London School of Economics group of academics centered around Sidney and Beatrice Webb and Harold *Laski. From 1946 to 1963 he was professor of political science at the University of Chicago. Finer was one of the first to introduce comparative politics and public administration as academic subjects in universities. His massive *Theory and Practice of Modern Government* (1932) was a model for textbooks on comparative politics and served as an introduction to a generation of political scientists. He acquired fame by his *Road to Reaction* (1945), a polemical answer to Hayek's *Road to Serfdom.* Written in Finer's characteristically pungent style, this book defended national planning and the welfare state as not inconsistent with democracy. His other works include *English Local Government* (1935), *The Presidency: Crisis and Regeneration* (1960), and *Dulles Over Suez* (1964).

[Edwin Emanuel Gutmann]

FINES (Heb. קְנָסוֹת, *kenasot*) are distinguishable from *damages in that they are not commensurate with the actual amount of damage suffered, whether such damage has been sustained by tortious act or by breach of contract or by an offense (see also *Obligation, Law of; *Torts). However, in cases where for a particular tort only half of the sustained damage is recoverable, or where the law prescribes more than the full damage to be paid (e.g., in case of theft: Ex. 21:37), such payment is classified as a fine (Maim. Yad, Nizkei Mamon 2:7–8). Of the four instances of fines prescribed in biblical law, three are liquidated amounts (30 shekels of silver: Ex. 21:32; 100 shekels of silver: Deut. 22:19; 50 shekels of silver: Deut. 22:29), and one is unliquidated ("silver in proportion to the bride price for virgins": Ex, 22:16), The Talmud asserts that while the payment of damages commensurate to the damage caused is rational by law (*min ha-din*) the imposition of fines was something novel (*ḥadash*) decreed by heaven (Ket, 38a, Rashi *ibid.*), so that fines are not to be regarded as law proper but rather as royal (divine) commands (*ibid.*). Not being the normal compensation for the actual damage suffered, fines have a quasi-penal character ("penalties"), and hence can only be recovered on the evidence of two witnesses, and not on the *admission or *confession of the defendant (Ket, 42b–43a; Shev. 38b; Yad, loc. cit. and Genevah 3:8). Another consequence of the quasi-penal character of the fine is that it is merged in any graver penalty prescribed for the same act since not more than one penalty can be inflicted for the same offense; where *capital punishment or *flogging are prescribed for any offense, these alone will be inflicted and no fine imposed (Mak, 4b; Ket. 32b, 37a; BK 83b), The only exception to this rule is the case of wounding, where the payment of a fine and damages is to be preferred to any other punishment (Yad, Ḥovel u-Mazzik 4:9).

In talmudic law, the sanction of fines was introduced for a multitude of causes: e.g., where the damage is not visible to the eye (as where A ritually defiled B's food) and is not liable according to the law of the Torah (Git. 53a; Yad, loc. cit. 7:1–3); where it is doubtful which of several claimants is entitled to stolen goods (Yev. 118b; Yad, Gezelah ve-Avedah 4:9); for the alienation of immovables which cannot be the subject of theft (TJ, BK 10:6,7c); for selling slaves or cattle to heathens (Git. 44a); for *slander (BK 9 la; Yad, Ḥovel u-Mazzik 3:5–7); where a tortfeasor is not liable in damages because of a supervening act of a third party (TJ, Kil. 7:3, 3 la; see *Gerama* and *Garme*); et al. In some cases, the amount of the fine is fixed by law (e.g., in certain cases of slander and assault: TJ, BK 8:8, 6c; BK 8:6; for rape: Deut. 22:29; Ket. 3:1); in most cases, however, it is left to the discretion of the court in the exercise of its expropriatory powers (see *confiscation; MK 16a; Yad, Sanhedrin, 24:6; ḤM 2:1 and *Rema* ad loc.). Even where the amount had been fixed by law, instances are recorded in which the courts imposed heavier fines, e.g., on recidivists (BK 96b). Fixed tariffs have the advantage of assuring equality before the law (Ket. 3:7); and even where the amount of the fine was to be assessed according to the dignity and standing of the person injured, a great jurist held that all persons were to be presumed to be of equal rank and status (BK 8:6).

Contractual fines (see *contract) which a person undertook to forfeit in the event of his default were enforceable unless tainted by **asmakhta* (BB 168a). While formal jurisdiction for the imposition of fines ceased with the destruction of the Temple (see **bet din*), it was in post-talmudic law that fines became the standard sanction for minor (i.e., most) criminal offenses. Opinions are divided as to whether the present jurisdiction extends only to fines not fixed in the Bible or in the Talmud (Hagra to ḤM ln. 1) or whether fines fixed in the Talmud are included in this jurisdiction (*Piskei ha-Rosh* to Git. 4:41; Rema to HM 1:5); but there is general consensus that in matters not covered by biblical and talmudic law, courts have an unfettered discretion to impose fines (cf. Resp. Rosh 101:1) – a talmudic authority being invoked to the effect that fines may be imposed not only by virtue of law but also by virtue of custom (TJ, Pes. 4:3,30d).

A few examples of the many newly created offenses for which fines were imposed are: resisting rabbinical authority (Resp. Rosh 21:8–9); accepting a bribe for changing one's testimony (ibid. 58:4); refusing to let others use one's books (*ibid.*

93:3); instituting proceedings in non-Jewish courts (Resp. Maharam of Rothenburg quoted in *Mordekhai*, BK 195); frequenting theaters and other places of public entertainment, as well as *gambling (S. Assaf, *Ha-Onshin Aḥarei Ḥatimat ha-Talmud*, 116 no. 126); taking a dog into a synagogue (ibid., 95, no. 12); and many similar contraventions. But fines were also imposed for receiving stolen goods (ibid., 137, no. 163), fraudulent business transactions (ibid., 133 no, 157), and unfair competition (*ibid.*, 127, no. 141). Fines were also the alternative punishment for floggings, where these could not be imposed or executed (Rema to ḤM 2:1; *Darkhei Moshe* ad loc., n. 5; resp. Ḥatam Sofer ḤM, 181), as, conversely, flogging was imposed where a fine could not be recovered – although the standard sanction for the nonpayment of fines was *imprisonment (*Zikhron Yehudah* 36).

The greatest reform in post-talmudic law in respect of fines however concerned the nature of the payee. While both in biblical and talmudic law it was the person injured (or, in the case of a minor girl, her father) who was entitled to the fine and no fines were payable into any public fund, later courts ordered fines to be paid to the injured person only where he insisted (*Yam shel Shelomo* BK 8:49), but normally would order fines to be paid to public charities, at times giving the injured person a choice of the particular charity to be benefited (Resp. Maharyu 147). More often than not, the charity was left undefined, and the fine was then recovered from the debtor by the community treasurers in charge of collecting for general charities (cf. YD 256:1). But there are also instances of fines being imposed for named charities, such as the study of the Torah (Resp. Rosh 13:4); the maintenance of Torah students (*haspakah; Takkanot Medinat Mehrin*, 46 (no. 139), 47 (no. 140)); the poor of Jerusalem or of the Holy Land (*ibid.* 39, no. 117). A frequent destination of part of all fines recovered was the governor or government of the city or country in which the Jewish court was sitting. In many such cities or countries, the privilege of internal jurisdiction was granted to Jewish courts only on condition that part of all fines recovered would be paid into the official treasury (*ibid.* 39, no. 117; Resp. Rosh, 21:8–9). Whatever the destination was, however, it was the strict rule that the courts or judges were not allowed to appropriate any fines to themselves (Assaf. loc. cit., p. 43); and there are detailed provisions for accounts to be kept and published of the disposition of all fines imposed, recovered, and distributed (*Takkanot Medinat Mehrin*, 24, no. 74). Whether or not the fine was paid to the injured person, the court always insisted that the defendant did everything in his power to pacify him-even to the extent of proclaiming a **ḥerem* on him until he did so (Rif, *Halakhot* BK 187; *Piskei ha-Rosh* BK 2; Yad, Sanhedrin 5:17; *Sha'arei Ẓedek* 4:1,19). This rule applied even where the fine was irrecoverable owing to lack of jurisdiction; and where a man had possessed himself of a fine he could not recover in the courts, he was held entitled to retain it (BK 15b).

See also *Extraordinary Remedies.

[Haim Hermann Cohn]

Middle Ages and Early Modern Times

The power to fine – an important feature of Jewish *autonomy – was exercised by the *Councils of the Lands and *synods, the local *community, the law court, or the **ḥevrah*. According to talmudic law (i.e., before the fifth century when *ordination ceased), only a court of fully ordained judges was empowered to impose the fines prescribed for bodily injury. However, the principle was gradually established that the Jewish community had the right to decide fines and confiscate property as a deterrent or punishment. The proceeds of these monetary penalties went variously to *charity, the *kahal* heads, the *court*, the association, the guild, or the injured party, several of these very often sharing the sum. Fines were frequently imposed with other sanctions, or as a consequence of them, for instance, as the corollary of a **ḥerem*.

To prevent self-seeking by judges, the Lithuanian Council (see *Council of the Lands) adopted a resolution in 1662 that "no rabbi shall share in any way in the revenue from amercements he will impose himself or jointly with the leaders of the community." In some countries a portion or all of the fines were set aside for the royal or seigniorial treasury, either by demand or in order to act as a powerful impetus to their enforcement. From the 10th or 11th century there is reference to fines imposed by a *guild; it is stated: "each and every one of us [the injured members] will be free to give this fine to any ruler or official of his choice" (*Judah b. Barzillai al-Bargeloni, *Sefer ha-Shetarot*, no. 57). In the 13th century a synod of the Rhine communities decided; "Whoever transgresses any of these **takkanot* shall be under the excommunication of all the communities, and if he remains obdurate for a month, his property may be denounced to the king" (Finkelstein, Middle Ages, 249). The minute books of the many organs of self-government abound in statutory and penal fines of all kinds, imposed for various reasons, serious or petty. In 1563 the Lithuanian Council threatened the heads of the communities with heavy fines for the benefit of the poor of Ereẓ Israel, since they had failed to make proper collections for this fund. The Moravian Council in 1650 set an amount to be paid into the regional treasury by anyone whose appointment to a community office was secured on the order of the feudal lord. Fines imposed by Sephardi communities in the West on members refusing to undertake communal duties led in early modern time to desertion from the community, as in the case of Isaac *D'Israeli. The *ḥevrot* were particularly prone to controlling their members through a system of statutory fines for violation of the rules – a Mishnah *ḥevrah* in a Russian township adopted an ordinance that "if a member is in town and does not report to a class, he is to be fined one Polish *grosz* per day, unless he has an adequate reason." Guilds were equally strict with their members and exacted money payments for charity for violation of rules.

[Isaac Levitats]

Fines during the Period When There Is No Ordained Bet Din (Semikhah)

The fines established as punishments for various offenses detailed above were imposed by virtue of the authority invested in the court (*bet din*) or in community leaders to impose monetary punishments, whether by expropriation of an individual's assets on behalf of the community or by requiring payment of a fine to the injured party. By contrast, as stated above, these courts were not authorized to impose the fines stipulated by the Torah or those established in talmudic or geonic times. This point requires further detail.

The rule cited in the Babylonian Talmud is that cases involving the imposition of fines may not be adjudicated by anyone other than judges who have been ordained as judges (*semikhah*) (see **Bet Din*). During the period of the Babylonian Talmud, there were still some remaining sages in the Land of Israel who had received *semikhah*, whereas in Babylonia they no longer received it. Thus, in cases involving the requirement to impose a fine to be paid for damages caused by one party to another person, such as cases of "half-damages" (see *torts*), the courts in Babylonia could not adjudicate or impose the appropriate fine. There were two solutions to this problem. One was for the injured party to bring suit against the tortfeasor in Ereẓ Israel and, if the defendant failed to appear in court, a ban would be imposed on him (see **ḥerem*). The second solution was for the injured party to seize some of the tortfeasor's assets, and the court would refrain from confiscating them from him (BK 15b). The significance of the seizure remedy is based on a dispute among decisors and commentators in the post-Geonic era. According to Rabbenu *Tam (Tos. to BK 15b), the injured party may only seize the particular asset of the tortfeasor used by him to inflict the injury, but if he were to seize any other of the tortfeasor's assets, the court should wrest it from him. Rabbenu *Asher, however, was of the opinion that the injured party could seize any of the tortfeasor's assets, and if the property seized was of greater value than his losses, the court, after adjudication, could require the injured party to forfeit the additional amount. The rationale for this is that the seizure itself is a rabbinic enactment; accordingly, judicial deliberation regarding the value of seized property vis-à-vis the value of the damage does not constitute adjudication of a fine, but adjudication of a seizure under the terms of a **takkanah*. The Rif goes even further. In his opinion, the court may adjudicate the original suit for damages and assess the value of the damage, without any requirement to wait until after the aggrieved party's seizure of the other's property.

In practice, during the post-talmudic period, when there were no judges with *semikhah* even in the Land of Israel, the *geonim* enacted that, even though fines could not be collected in Babylonia, a tortfeasor could be subjected to a ban (see **ḥerem*) until he settled accounts with his victim, whether by payment or by agreement, or until he repaid the value of the damage (Rif on BK 30b). The rationale is that "a sinner should not be rewarded, nor damage-doing rampant among Israel" (Piskei ha-Rosh, BK 8.3, in the name of Rav Natronai Gaon).

*Maimonides ruled that the imposition of a ban is not only in order to exert pressure to pay for damages, but also to encourage the tortfeasor to go with the injured party to Ereẓ Israel for adjudication, as specified in the above-cited talmudic passage (Yad, Sanhedrin 5.16). In Maimonides' day, unlike the talmudic period, there were no longer ordained judges. Consequently, there are those who explained Maimonides' statement to mean that because, in his opinion, the *semikhah* of judges could theoretically be reinstituted at any ordination time, this is sufficient to argue that a court is empowered to order the banning of the tortfeasor should he refuse to litigate the case in court, thereby pressuring him to indemnify the injured party (Bet Yosef, Tur, ḤM, 295). By contrast, Rabbi Eliezer Waldenberg, one of the outstanding decisors of our times, rules on the basis of Maimonides' statement that, even in our day, courts in the Land of Israel may adjudicate cases in which the punishment is a fine, despite *semikhah* having fallen into desuetude (*Resp. Ẓiẓ* Eliezer 15.69).

Rabbi Joseph *Caro, in Shulḥan Arukh ḤM. 420.41), provides a detailed list of standardized payments for bodily damages, all of which are fines. Further on, he cites the monetary values of those payments in the currency of his time. It may be inferred from this that, even though in his opinion one cannot adjudicate cases requiring the payment of fines in the absence of judges with *semikhah* in Ereẓ Israel, a court is not entitled to refrain from adjudicating cases in which questions of damage arise for which recourse is the imposition of a fine, but must instead impose a ban until the tortfeasor pays the injured party the appropriate amount, or allow the seizure of the former's property by the injured party (Sh. Ar, ḤM, 1.5).

[Menachem Elon (2nd ed.)]

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FINESHRIBER, WILLIAM HOWARD (1878–1968), U.S. Reform rabbi. Fineshriber was born in St. Louis, Missouri.

After ordination from Hebrew Union College in 1900, he was rabbi in Davenport, Iowa, for 11 years, and then served in Memphis, Tennessee, for 13 years. In 1924 Fineshriber was called to Philadelphia as rabbi of Reform Congregation Keneseth Israel and became rabbi emeritus in 1949. Fineshriber served on various community and government committees and was active in the American Council for Judaism, among other organizations.

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[Abram Vossen Goodman]

FINESTEIN, ISRAEL (1921–), British judge, historian, and communal leader. Born in Hull, Finestein had a distinguished career at the bar, serving as a county court judge in 1972–78. He combined this with an extraordinary array of senior communal positions, serving as president of the Board of Deputies of British Jews from 1991 to 1994 and as vice president of the World Jewish Congress during the same years. Finestein is at least as well known as an historian of the Anglo-Jewish community, serving as president of the Jewish Historical Society of England in 1973–75 and 1993–94. His prolific output on the history of the Jews in Britain, especially in Victorian times, includes *Anglo-Jewry in Changing Times: Studies in Diversity, 1840–1914* (1999) and *Scenes and Personalities in Anglo-Jewish Life, 1800–2000* (2002).

[William D. Rubinstein (2nd ed.)]

FINESTONE, SHEILA (1927–), Canadian politician and Jewish community worker. Finestone was born in Montreal, Quebec, daughter to Minnie and Monroe Abbey, a lawyer and former president of the Canadian Jewish Congress. Finestone earned a bachelor of science degree from McGill University, but it was human need not the study of science that was her passion. She began a long career in public service by volunteering in the Montreal Jewish community. By the mid-1970s she was actively engaged by issues in the larger public forum. Among her many community positions, Firestone was a founding member of the Alliance Quebec and from 1977 to 1980 she served as first Anglophone president of the 130,000-member Fédération des Femmes du Quebec. Deeply concerned with issues of community development and women's and minority rights, she was a member of the Board of Trustees of the Allied Jewish Community Services of Montreal and was outspoken on a wide range of social fronts.

She first entered the political arena in 1979 when she joined the Yvette Movement, the women's movement dedicated to keeping Quebec in Canada. She was the only woman to serve on the "No" Committee during the Quebec sovereignty referendum of 1980. In 1984 Firestone was elected to the federal Parliament for the Liberal Party in Montreal's heavily Jewish riding of Mount Royal, Pierre Trudeau's former seat. She was re-elected in each of the next three federal elections. In 1993 Firestone was appointed to the federal Cabinet as secretary of state for multiculturalism and the status of women. In this capacity she led the Canadian delegation to the 1995 United Nations World Conference on Women in Beijing. Leaving electoral politics, she was appointed to the Canadian Senate in 1999 where, along with her support for Israel, she took a special interest in the campaign to eliminate the use of landmines. Sheila Finestone retired for the Senate when she turned 75, the Senate's mandatory retirement age.

[Richard Menkis (2nd ed.)]

FINGERMAN, GREGORIO (1890–1976), Argentinean psychologist. Born in Bogopol, Russia, and taken to Argentina as an infant, Fingerman trained in medicine and then turned to education and finally to psychology. He was head of the National Institute for Secondary Education in Buenos Aires, and in 1934 was appointed director of the Institute for Professional Orientation. He also served as professor of psychology at the Escuela Superior de Comercio de la Nación. Among his several books are *Lecciones de Lógica* and *Lecciones de Psicología.* He was drama critic for *La Nación* and was a frequent contributor to the Jewish press in Buenos Aires.

FININBERG, EZRA (1889–1946), Soviet Yiddish poet. Ukrainian-born Fininberg made his literary debut in 1920, when his first poems were published in a Kiev Yiddish daily. His first volume of poems, *Otem* ("Breath," 1922), attracted immediate attention, and his second, *Lider* ("Poems," 1925), strengthened his position as one of the most popular Soviet Yiddish poets. While his early poems expressed a great deal of Jewish feeling and an appreciation of Jewish values, he later closely adhered to the Communist Party line. In his play *Yungen* ("Youngsters"), produced in Kharkov in 1927, he dramatized a number of important events of the Russian revolutionary movement; in his book *Galop* ("Gallop," 1926) he described the civil war in the Ukraine. Jewish themes recurred in his World War II poems, which were also filled with patriotism. In 1926–27 Fininberg belonged to the *Boy* ("Construction") literary group, which was later accused of Trotskyism. At a conference of the Yiddish writers of the Ukraine held in Kharkov in April 1931, this group was denounced and Fininberg alleged his ignorance of its having been organized by Trotskyites. He died in Moscow of wounds received in World War II. Among the major literary works which Fininberg translated into Yiddish are Victor Hugo's *The Year '93* and Goethe's *Faust.* His own works include *Fun Shlakht-feld* ("From the Battlefield," 1943); *In Rizikn Fayer* ("In the Great Fire"); *Geklibene Lider* ("Selected Poems," 1948).

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[Elias Schulman]

FINK, JOSEPH LIONEL (1895–1964), U.S. Reform rabbi. Fink was born in Springfield, Ohio, and ordained at Hebrew Union College in 1919, which also awarded him an honorary D.D. in 1949. He earned his B.A. from the University of Cincinnati in 1915, his M.A. from the University of Chicago in 1918, and his Ph.D. from Niagara University in 1919. He served first as rabbi of United Hebrew Congregation in Terre Haute, Indiana (1919–24), where as a civic leader, he incurred the wrath of the Ku Klux Klan, which at one point abducted him; he made such an impression on his captors, however, that after they released him and donated $1,800 to the local Community Chest, of which Fink was chairman.

In 1924, Fink was en route to Germany to pursue graduate studies when he stopped over in Buffalo, N.Y., and was instead persuaded to remain as rabbi of Temple Beth Zion. Over the course of the subsequent 40 years (34 as rabbi and six as rabbi emeritus, until his death), Fink was to become known as the leading spokesman for that city's Jewish community, as well as a radio personality and community affairs activist. His weekly broadcast, "The Humanitarian Hour," was a popular show for more than a generation of listeners (1930–56). He initiated interfaith dialogue with Catholic and Protestant clergy, served as chaplain of the Buffalo police force and fire department, and was called in as a mediator of civil disputes. Fink founded the local Board of Jewish Education, was president of the Buffalo B'nai B'rith Lodge, and a board member of many civic bodies, including the Community Chest, the Board of Community Relations, and the University of Buffalo. He was appointed to state commissions by the governor of New York, and engaged in public debates with Eugene V. Debs and Clarence Darrow.

A strong proponent of the separation of church and state, Fink for many years chaired the CCAR's Committee on Church and State and wrote position papers on religion and state for the rabbinic organization. He served on no fewer than 12 CCAR committees, chairing four of them. After having served as corresponding secretary (1928), member of the Executive Board (1948–50), member of the Liberal Judaism Education Board (1950), and vice president (1950–52), Fink was elected president of the *Central Conference of American Rabbis (1952–54). During his tenure as president, he initiated the publication of the *CCAR Journal: A Reform Jewish Quarterly*, and strengthened the ties between the recently merged *Hebrew Union College – Jewish Institute of Religion. Immediately after his term of office, he was elected president of the *World Union for Progressive Judaism (1952). He identified as a Zionist and encouraged Arab-Jewish dialogue early on in the history of the State of Israel.

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[Bezalel Gordon (2nd ed.)]

FINK, THEODORE (1855–1942), Australian press magnate, lawyer, and politician. Fink was born at Guernsey in the Channel Islands and was brought up in Melbourne. He built up a large practice in company and mercantile law. From 1894 to 1904 he sat in the Legislative Assembly of Victoria, and in 1899 was minister without portfolio. In 1902 he acquired a controlling interest in Herald Newspapers, which under his direction became the largest publishing house in the southern hemisphere. Fink presided over commissions on university, technical, and public education and in 1904 was thanked by Parliament for his services. It was to Fink that Australia largely owed the development of her news communications with the West. In politics, Fink evolved from progressive liberalism to right-wing conservatism. In 1998 a comprehensive biography of Fink was published by Don Garden, *Theodore Fink: A Talent for Ubiquity.*

ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Australian Dictionary of Biography*; H.L. Rubinstein, Australia I, 389–90.

[William D. Rubinstein (2nd ed.)]

FINKEL, ELIEZER JUDAH (1879–1965), Lithuanian *rosh yeshivah.* Finkel received his early education from his father Nathan Ẓevi *Finkel, known as the "*Sabba* ["grand old man"] of Slobodka." He continued his studies at some of the famous Lithuanian yeshivot, including Slobodka, Radin, and Mir. He married the daughter of Elijah Baruch Kamai, head of Mir yeshivah, who appointed him his deputy, and in 1907 he succeeded him. He devoted himself completely to the dissemination of Torah in his own yeshivah and elsewhere, revealing a talent as teacher, spiritual guide, and administrator. His great abilities were particularly manifest when the yeshivah was destroyed by fire in 1911. Within a short time he succeeded in rebuilding and extending it. His preaching and influence reached people in all sections of society. On the outbreak of World War I, he had to leave Mir and wandered throughout Russia, everywhere gathering students around him. In 1922 he accepted an invitation from the heads of the Mir yeshivah to return as its chief spiritual director. Thousands of students flocked there, making it one of the greatest in the world. When World War II broke out, he again was obliged to move from place to place with his students, finally settling in Jerusalem. There he was active in "Mir" and "Hebron" yeshivot and was esteemed as the "*zekan rashei yeshivot*" (the senior *rosh yeshivah*). The leading rabbis of his generation, including the Ḥafeẓ Ḥayyim and Ḥayyim Ozer *Grodzinski, gave him every support and encouragement. His monumental work *Divrei Eli'ezer* (1963) on the Talmud made an impression in scholarly circles.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: O.Z. Rand, *Toledot Anshei Shem*, 1 (1950), 98–99.

[Mordechai Hacohen]

FINKEL, JOSHUA (1904–1983), U.S. Orientalist and scholar. Finkel was born in Warsaw, Poland, and was taken to the United States in 1913. He was ordained at the Jewish Theological Seminary. He studied the relationship of Islam to Judaism. Part of his research included Persian, Egyptian, and Arabic texts in manuscript. He spent the years 1924–26 in research in *Egypt, where he procured the manuscripts of the three Arabic epistles of al-Jāḥiẓ (c. 776–868), a celebrated Muslim polygraph, which he published in *Cairo in 1926. From 1937 he taught Semitic languages at Yeshiva University. His later interest in psychoanalysis produced some studies in which he applied psychoanalytic theories to Jewish cultural phenomena.

Among his published works are *Three Essays of … al-Jahiz* (1926); "Jewish, Christian, and Samaritan Influences on Arabia" (in *The Mac-Donald (Duncan Black) Presentation Volume* (1933), 145–66); "Maimonides' Treatise on Resurrection" (in PAAJR, 9 (1938/39), 57–105); "Old Israelitish Tradition in Koran" (*ibid.,* 2 (1931), 7–21); and "The Arabic Story of Abraham" (in HUCA, 12–13 (1938), 387–409).

ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY: S. Hoenig Sidney (ed.), *Joshua Finkel Festschrift* (1974).

[Abraham Solomon Halkin]

FINKEL, NATHAN ẒEVI BEN MOSES (1849–1927), *rosh yeshivah* and one of the leaders of the *Musar movement. Born in Raseiniai, Lithuania, Finkel was orphaned at an early age and brought up in his uncle's home in Vilna. At the age of 15 he was already acknowledged as a rabbinic scholar. A chance meeting in 1871 with Simḥah Zissel b. Israel *Broida, known as the "*Sabba* [grandfather] of Kelme" and one of the outstanding disciples of Israel *Lipkin (Salanter), founder of the Musar movement, had a profound effect upon Finkel. He was so struck by the forcefulness of Simḥah Broida's personality that he became his most devoted follower, dedicating his life to the dissemination of the doctrine of *musar.* Finkel first assisted Broida in directing his well-known yeshivah, Bet Talmud, which had recently transferred from Kelme to Grobina and aimed at combining the traditional method of Talmud study with that of *musar.* Because of a difference in views, however, Finkel left the yeshivah and established a *kolel for young married men, the first of its kind in *Slobodka. He also exerted a spiritual influence over the *kolel *perushim* of Kovno, established in 1879 and directed by Isaac Elhanan *Spektor, rabbi of the city. In addition to these activities Finkel was the overseer of the yeshivah Or ha-Ḥayyim.

In 1882 Finkel established in Slobodka his own independent yeshivah, Keneset lsrael, where hundreds of rabbis and talmudic scholars were educated. Finkel himself refused to accept any salary from the yeshivah. Supported from the proceeds of a small store managed by his wife, he was able to live with his students. In 1897 Finkel set up a branch of his yeshivah in Slutsk and also assisted in the founding of yeshivot in Telz, Bransk, Stutsin, Shklov, Lodz, and Grodno, as well as many minor yeshivot. At the outbreak of World War I the yeshivah of Slobodka was moved to Minsk and in 1916 to Kremenchug in the Ukraine, where it remained until 1920. In 1921 Finkel reestablished a *kolel*, Bet Yisrael, with 20 young married students, in Slobodka, and entrusted its administration to his son-in-law, Eisik Scherr. When in 1924 it was decided to establish a branch of the yeshivah in Ereẓ Israel, in Hebron, Finkel followed in 1925 and played a prominent role in its spiritual leadership. As a mark of the deep admiration which his students felt for him they dubbed him the "*Sabba* from Slobodka" in the manner of the title previously given to his own teacher, and it was thus that Finkel was best known.

Finkel, an outstanding pedagogue and educator, based his ethical system upon the eminence of man. "A soldier," he said, "who does not aspire to the rank of general is not even a soldier." He stressed the need for perfection and love of truth and for spirituality in one's daily life to justify the fact that "everything created was created for the sake of man." In 1881 he anonymously published *Eẓ Peri*, containing essays by Israel Lipkin and Isaac Elhanan Spector, with an introduction by Israel Meir ha-Kohen, author of the *Ḥafeẓ Ḥayyim*. In his regular talks with his pupils he stressed the greatness of man and the profound compassion of God toward His creatures, which demands a similar compassion on their part. Man's purpose in the world is to attain such perfection that he imitates the characteristics and ways of God.

Finkel left no manuscripts. His discourses and way of life were summarized after his death in the *Or ha-Ẓafun* (1928, 1959–68^2), arranged according to the weekly portions of the Book of Exodus. These discourses were compiled from copies of the "*musar* talks" he delivered in Slobodka and Hebron. In most cases those who noted them did so in the manner in which they were delivered. At times, however, the editors expanded the contents and put the ideas in a more acceptable literary form. A collection of his discourses, *Siḥot ha-Sabba mi-Slobodka*, was published by Z. Kaplan (1955). At present there exist numerous yeshivot founded by his disciples where his system is studied. Of his sons, Moses was principal of the Hebron yeshivah, Eliezer Judah of the Mir yeshivah, and Samuel one of the promoters of the Grodno yeshivah.

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[Itzhak Alfassi]

FINKEL, SHIMON (1905–1999), actor. Finkel was born in Grodno, Belorussia. He appeared on the local stage as a boy and later joined a Yiddish theatrical group. In 1922 he proceeded to Berlin, where he was accepted in the Max Reinhardt School of Dramatic Art. In 1923 he joined a group of actors who came from Ereẓ Israel to complete their studies in Berlin, with the aim of establishing a Hebrew theater in Ereẓ Israel. His first appearance in Hebrew was as Daniel in Menahem Gnessin's production of *Belshazzar* in Berlin in 1924. Emigrating to Ereẓ Israel in that year, he appeared in various productions of the Israel theater founded at the end of the year, and in 1927 joined Habimah, his first appearance being as Menashe in *The Dybbuk.* He toured in many countries and represented the Israel theater at various congresses of the International Theatrical Institute (ITI). In 1961–62 and 1971–75 he was artistic director of Habimah. In all, he wrote 11 books about the theater. He was awarded the Israel Prize for arts in 1969.

FINKELSTEIN, ARTHUR (1945–), U.S. political consultant and campaign director. Born in Brookyn to East European immigrant parents, Finkelstein was a graduate of Queens College. He served as a demographic analyst in Richard Nixon's 1972 reelection campaign and worked as a political consultant exclusively for Republican candidates, ranging from Jesse Helms, who in 1978 won a brutal race where the religion of his Jewish opponent was at issue, to Alfonse *D'Amato.

Finkelstein worked in the 1980 presidential campaigns of Ronald Reagan and Senator Robert Dole. Finkelstein's campaigns have a style all their own. He avoids the limelight, never giving interviews or press conferences, seldom if ever being photographed. He tries to tag the political opponent as liberal. His own Jewish identity and pro-Israeli leanings do not restrain him from pointing out the non-Christian religious beliefs of political opponents. He helped orchestrate Alfonse D'Amato's successful primary victory over veteran liberal Republican Senator Jacob *Javits in New York, where he successfully exploited Javits ill health – he had a degenerative muscular disease – without alienating voters or creating sympathy for the hitherto popular senator. He then skillfully positioned D'Amato to win the Senate seat in a three-way contest against two Jews, Representative Liz Holtzman and Javits, who stayed in the race as the Liberal Party candidate. He was to repeat his giant-killing ability in 1994 when he advised George Pataki in his race against three-term incumbent Mario Cuomo for governor of New York.

With the Americanization of Israel in the 1990s, this style of campaigning was introduced into Israeli politics by both the left and right. Labor candidates imported Democratic pollsters and strategists such as James Carville and the Likud, most especially Binyamin *Netanyahu, called in Arthur Finkelstein. He helped orchestrate Netanyahu's come-from-behind victory over Shimon *Peres. His string of victories was broken in 1998 when Senator D'Amato lost his reelection bid to Charles *Schumer and Senator Launch Faircloth of North Carolina lost to John Edwards. In anticipation of the 2006 reelection bid of Senator Hillary Clinton, he was the mastermind behind a Stop Her Now Political Action Committee seeking to weaken an expected 2008 Presidential bid.

Deeply private, even reclusive, about his personal life, Finkelstein surprised many Conservative admirers by marrying his long-time male companion in Massachusetts, the only state where such unions are permitted. They have adopted two children.

[Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

FINKELSTEIN, CHAIM (1911–2000), educator and Zionist leader in Argentina. Born in Brest Litovsk (Brisk), Poland, he studied in a secular Jewish school of CYSHO and in a secondary Tarbut school. Member of the Borochov youth movement, at 17 he became its local secretary. Without pedagogical training he started to teach children and gave evening courses for young people. Failing to obtain a certificate of immigration to Palestine, he immigrated in 1930 to Argentina. In 1931 he started to work as a teacher in one of the Borochov schools in Buenos Aires.

When in 1932 the Federal Police closed the Borochov schools that were suspected of communism, Finkelstein was arrested together with other teachers and activists. After being released from jail he started to promote the establishing of an organization of modern Jewish secular, left and Zionist schools. In January 1934, TZVISHO – Tzentral Veltlech Yiddishe Shul Organizatzie was founded as a new central secular and Zionist school organization. TVISHO and the schools Sholem Aleichem that it established, identified with Left Po'alei Zion.

At the end of the 1930s Finkelstein convinced the school activists that a new and modern building was needed for the school. With the economic support of large Jewish sectors and of the Hevra Kadisha (the Ashkenazi Community), they built a new school that was inaugurated in 1942 – the first modern Jewish school in Buenos Aires with its own new building. Finkelstein opened a teacher-training course with officially accredited teachers and formed a team that elaborated a new study program in Yiddish. Finkelstein introduced the study of Hebrew in 1947 in the upper classes of the primary school, and it gradually expanded to all the grades. In the 1960s it became the main language for Jewish studies. Finkelstein and his colleagues established as part of TZVISHO a summer camp, Kinderland; student clubs; and other enrichment programs. In the 1960s they also established the first TZVISHO day school – Ramat Shalom.

Finkelstein was secretary general of the Aḥdut ha-Avodad – Po'alei Zion party in Argentina. From 1946 he participated in the Zionist Congresses and from 1950 he was member of its Va'ad Ha-Poel (General Council). Following his election as head of the Department of Education and Culture in the Diaspora and the Executive of the World Zionist Organization (1968–1978) he settled in Israel. He also headed the Beit ha-Tanakh Ha-Olami (World Bible House, 1978–1994) in Jerusalem and Beit Rishonei Po'alei Zion in Tel Aviv.

[Efraim Zadoff (2nd ed.)]

FINKELSTEIN, HEINRICH (1865–1942), German pediatrician. Finkelstein was born in Leipzig where he studied medicine. From 1894 to 1901 he was assistant at the children's clinic of the Charité Hospital in Berlin. In 1901 he took over the management of the Berlin City Orphanage and in 1918 became director of the Kaiser und Kaiserin Friedrich children's hospital. He held this position until the Hitler regime forced him to emigrate. He went to Chile, where he died. As head of the Berlin orphanage, Finkelstein made a detailed study of the causes of diarrhea in newborn babies and came to the conclusion that many infant alimentary disorders are due to metabolic disturbances rather than to bacteria. This led him on to research which resulted in the discovery that carbohydrate and salt in milk are the principal causes of diarrhea in babies. He introduced "albumin milk," and thereby succeeded in substantially reducing infant mortality at the orphanage. Finkelstein proceeded to make a new clinical classification of alimentary disorders based on metabolic disturbances, dyspepsia, and alimentary toxication. He made studies of several other children's diseases, particularly those connected with the skin. His *Lehrbuch der Saeuglingskrankheiten* (1905) covered his findings in this field. He also published *Hautkrankheiten und Syphilis im Saeuglings-und Kindesalter* (1924).

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[Suessmann Muntner]

FINKELSTEIN, ISRAEL (1949–). Israeli archaeologist, specializing in the Bronze and Iron Ages. Born in Tel Aviv, Finkelstein received his high school education in Petaḥ Tikva, before serving in the army. He undertook his graduate studies at Tel Aviv University in Archaeology and Near Eastern Studies, and in Geography, completing his M.A. in 1978, and writing a Ph.D. on the Izbet Sartah excavations in 1983. Finkelstein began teaching in various institutions from the late 1970s, serving as an associate professor at Bar-Ilan University (1987–90) and at the University of Chicago (1987), before taking up a full-time position at Tel Aviv University in 1990 and as a full professor (from 1992), becoming the director of the Sonia and Marco Nadler Institute of Archaeology between 1996 and 2003 and the incumbent of the Jacob M. Alkow Chair in the Archaeology of Israel in the Bronze and Iron Ages from 2002. Finkelstein has been the mentor and guide for many of the younger generations of Israeli archaeologists.

Having participated from the early 1970s in major archaeological excavations at Tel Beer Sheva, Tel Aphek and in surveys in Sinai, Finkelstein became the field director of the Izbet Sartah excavations between 1976–78, and later the director of excavations at Shiloh (1981–84), the director of the Southern Samaria Survey (1980–87), and more recently a co-director (together with D. Ussishkin and B. Halpern) of the important excavations at Megiddo. Finkelstein is a prolific writer with more than 130 articles to his credit, and numerous books, notably *The Archaeology of the Israelite Settlement* (1988) and *Living on the Fringe: The Archaeology and History of the Negev, Sinai and Neighbouring Regions in the Bronze and Iron Ages* (1995). In a key article published in 1996 titled "The Archaeology of the United Monarchy: An Alternative View" (*Levant* 28: 177–87), Finkelstein suggested lowering the conventional dates for the Early Iron Age by 75–100 years, thereby sparking off an important debate amongst scholars on matters relating to the absolute chronology of the Iron Age. Finkelstein's controversial views were summed up in his book *The Bible Unearthed: Archaeology's New Vision of Ancient Israel and the Origin of its Sacred Texts* (2001; co-authored with N.A. Silberman).

In 2005 Finkelstein was made laureate of the prestigious Dan David Prize in the Past Dimension – Archaeology.

[Shimon Gibson (2nd ed.)]

FINKELSTEIN, JACOB JOEL (1922–1974), U.S. Assyriologist, specializing in cuneiform law. Born in New York to Orthodox Jewish parents his early education included yeshivah training, but Finkelstein himself later moved far away from Orthodoxy. Though he graduated with honors from high school, full-time college was not within his means and he went to work as a presser. In World War II he served in the U.S. Army Air Corps, and at the war's end resumed his studies at Brooklyn College (B.A., 1948), and then at the University of Pennsylvania (Ph.D. 1953) where he was strongly influenced by his teacher, E.A. Speiser. After graduating, he was a research assistant with A. Goetze in the Near Eastern Languages Dept. at Yale University from 1953 to 1955. From 1956 to 1965 he taught Assyriology at the University of California in Berkeley, and in 1965 was appointed professor of Assyriology and Babylonian Literature at Yale University.

Finkelstein was the author of studies in Mesopotamian history, historiography, and law, but his interest focused increasingly on the last. At the time of his premature death of heart failure, he was preparing a fuller exposition of the contrast between biblical and Mesopotamian law based on an analysis of the "goring-ox rules" (cf. p. 269, n. 308 of "The Goring Ox" in the *Temple Law Quarterly,* 46:2 (1973), 169f.), which is a programmatic fragment of the intended work. His lasting contribution, however, will likely be his numerous copies of cuneiform texts, mainly from the collections of the British Museum and Yale University, which testify to his skill as an interpreter of tablets.

Among his studies are "Cuneiform Texts from Tell Billa," *Journal of Cuneiform Studies*, 7 (1953), 111f.; "Mesopotamian Historiography," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society,* 107 (1963), 461f.; "The Genealogy of the Hammurapi Dynasty," *Journal of Cuneiform Studies*, 20 (1966), 95f.; "Sex Offenses in Sumerian Law," *Journal of the American Oriental Society,* 86 (1966), 355f.; *Old Babylonian Legal Documents* (1968); "The Laws of Ur Nammu," *Journal of Cuneiform Studies,* 22 (1968), 66f.; "An Old Babylonian Herding Contract and Genesis 31:38f.," *Journal of the American Oriental Society,* 88 (1968), 30; "*Ha-Mishpat ba-Mizraḥ ha-Kadmon*," *Enẓiklopediya Mikra'it,* 5 (1968), 588f.; translations in J. Pritchard (ed.), *Ancient Near Eastern Texts* (1969): "Collections of Laws from Mesopotamia and Asia Minor," 523f., "Documents from the Practice of Law," 542f., *Late Old Babylonian Documents and Letters* (1972).

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[Aaron Shaffer]

FINKELSTEIN, LOUIS (1895–1991), U.S. Conservative rabbi, scholar, and educator. Finkelstein was born in Cincinnati. His father, an Orthodox rabbi, supervised his early Jewish education. He graduated from the College of the City of New York

(1915) and took his Ph.D. at Columbia University (1918). Ordained at the *Jewish Theological Seminary in 1919, Finkelstein served for more than ten years as rabbi of Congregation Kehilath Israel in New York City, but his close association with the seminary continued. A year after his ordination he began teaching Talmud there, and in 1924 he began teaching theology; from 1931 he was professor of theology. He rose to prominence early. He was president of the *Rabbinical Assembly from 1928 to 1930 at the age of 33. He was groomed by Cyrus Adler as his successor. He also assumed more and more administrative responsibility, as assistant to the president (1934), provost (1937), president (1940), and chancellor (from 1951–1972).

Under his leadership the seminary attained national prominence in both Jewish and interfaith activities, expanding its academic scope by initiating the Institute for Religious and Social Studies, for example, and its public education work through the *Jewish Museum and the radio and television program *The Eternal Light*, among other innovations.

Finkelstein was generally acknowledged to be the leading personality in the Conservative wing of Judaism and put his stamp on the movement, in general vigorously supporting more traditionalist segments, often over the initial opposition of the Seminary's alumni. The only other leader of Conservative Judaism who ever wielded such power and influence was Solomon *Schecter, but then the movement was small and its resources meager. In the Finkelstein era, the Conservative movement was the largest religious movement in American Judaism and the Seminary was the home of great scholars such as Louis *Ginzberg and Saul *Lieberman in Talmud and H.L. *Ginzberg in Bible. He recruited Abraham Joshua *Heschel to the Seminary Faculty in 1945 after Hebrew Union College had saved him from the Holocaust by sponsoring his immigration to the United States in 1939. The Seminary was a place of diverse views and differing ideologies. Kaplan and Heschel, Lieberman and Finkelstein coexisted and struggled for the loyalty of the students. Talmudic knowledge was most revered of all. The professors were described as cardinals, secure in their learning and stature, at a distance from their students and from the rabbis they had ordained.

Finkelstein oversaw attempts to create a Conservative movement-trained leadership and not to rely on recruiting the sons of Orthodox Judaism who sought entry into a wider American world. Leadership Training Fellowship was begun in 1946; Camp Ramah was inaugurated in 1947 and provided the leadership of the Conservative Movement for the next two generations.

Finkelstein became one of the most famous Jewish leaders of his age, at home with presidents and prime ministers. President Roosevelt in 1940 appointed him presidential adviser for Judaism on steps toward world peace; Finkelstein pronounced the prayers at the inauguration of President Eisenhower; President Kennedy appointed him to the U.S. delegation to the coronation of Pope Paul VI in 1963; President Nixon invited him to preach at special religious services in the White House. He was on the cover of *Time* Magazine.

At his core, Finkelstein remained a working scholar. He rose early and studied daily. He wrote and edited many books and articles on general problems in religion, sociology, culture, and ethics. He edited the widely used *Jews: Their History, Culture, and Religion* (1949, 1960^3) as well as many of the publications of the seminary's Conference on Science, Philosophy and Religion and the seminary's Institute of Religious and Social Studies. He not only stimulated and assisted the research of other scholars but continued his own primary research and publication. Despite his manifold administrative and communal obligations, Finkelstein's central preoccupation remained what it was in his student days: study and research in the history and literature of classical Judaism. He published more than a hundred critical investigations of fundamental documents of Judaism, exploring the historical and social conditions reflected in liturgical texts, for example in the prayers *Shema*, *Amidah*, *Birkat ha-Mazon*, *Hallel*, and proving their antiquity, dating some of them very early, possibly as biblical; exploring the composition of several of the tannaitic Midrashim; and investigating the principal teachings and doctrines of Pharisaism, His social and economic studies of the Pharisees, especially his *Pharisees* (2 vols., 1938, 1966^3), roused controversy because of his assertions that economic and social conditions influenced the formation of Pharisaic ideology. These studies lifted the discussion of historical problems from the parochial or purely doctrinal to the broad plane of social history. Finkelstein's *Jewish Self-Government in the Middle Ages* (1924, 1964^2) remained an important source for medievalists and students of post-talmudic *halakhah* and institutions. He also edited *Commentary of David Kimhi on Isaiah* (1926, repr. 1969) and wrote *Akiba – Scholar, Saint, Martyr* (1936, 1962); *Ha-Perushim ve-Anshei Keneset ha-Gedolah* ("Pharisees and the Great Synagogue," 1950), which carried on in depth the investigation of his *Pharisees;* and *New Light from the Prophets* (1969), in which he traced certain Pharisaic emphases and sayings in the early Midrashim to the time of the prophets. He was drawn to the early classical treatises, which gave him insight into some of the earliest halakhic trends in Jewish Palestine. He also published the *Assemani Codex Manuscript of the Sifra* (1956, reissued 1970); *Sifrei* (1939, repr. 1969); and *Mavo le-Massekhtot Avot ve-Avot de-Rabbi Natan* (1950), an introduction to these talmudic treatises.

In all his scholarly work Finkelstein exhibited a fastidious attention to detail, particularly to textual variants in manuscripts, early printed editions, and citations in geonic and post-geonic literary works, and an awareness of what is central in each period. In both his scholarly and his administrative activities, he made enormous contributions to the understanding and acceptance of the values and insights of talmudic-rabbinic Judaism.

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Sklare, *Conservative Judaism* (1955); AJYB, 45 (1943/44), 63; Liebman, *ibid.*, 69 (1968), 3–112.

[Judah Goldin / Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

FINKELSTEIN, NOAH (1871–1946), Zionist leader and Yiddish newspaper publisher, born in Brest-Litovsk. An active Zionist from the time of the first Zionist Congresses, at first in Brest-Litovsk and later in Warsaw, Finkelstein was among the supporters of the *Uganda project, and later became a *Territorialist. He belonged to the *Benei Zion circle of Zionist intelligentsia connected with the Sha'arei Zion Synagogue in Warsaw, which became a center of the Territorialists. In 1906, with his brother Nehemiah and his friend Samuel Jacob Jackan, Finkelstein began publication of *Yidishes Tagblat*, a newspaper which gained readers from groups who until then had not been attracted to the Hebrew or Yiddish press. Two years later, in 1908, they founded the daily *Haynt*, which became the most popular Zionist newspaper in Poland. Although Finkelstein was responsible for administration, he considerably influenced editorial policy. In 1912, during the elections to the Fourth *Duma, he was one of the most energetic organizers of Jewish defense against the violent antisemitic propaganda and *boycott proclaimed by the Polish right wing against the Jews in Warsaw, whose vote for the socialist candidate had caused the defeat of the right-wing nominee, After the amalgamation of *Haynt* with the Zionist organ *Dos Yidishe Folk*, Finkelstein left for Paris. From 1926 to 1940, also with the same partners, he began to publish the newspaper *Der Parizer Haynt*, which had to contend against opposition from Bundist and Communist immigrants who had arrived in France from Eastern Europe.

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[Moshe Landau]

FINKELSTEIN, SHIMON (1861–1947), U.S. rabbi and author. Born in Slobodka, Lithuania. Finkelstein was recognized as a child as a brilliant talmudist by some of the great scholars of his learned city. After his bar mitzvah, he studied at the Kovno Yeshivah. At the age of 17 he came under the influence of a *maskil*, who encouraged him to leave his rabbinic studies and travel. This led his father to insist that he study a bit more, and he moved to Rumsheshok, where he was exposed to the teachings of the *Musar movement. He studied with a major disciple of Rabbi Israel *Salanter, Rabbi Isaac Blazer, and was ordained in 1882 by Rabbi Judah Meshil ha-Kohen, and one year later by Rabbi Isaac Elchanan *Spector.

With Spector's approval he immigrated to the United States in 1887, serving for three years in Baltimore and then from 1890 to 1896 in Cincinnati, where he was rabbi to Congregation Beth Tephila. In Cincinnati he was exposed to Reform Judaism and apparently even offered a position at Hebrew Union College, which he declined. He did, however, recognize that Reform Judaism was keeping some Jews Jewish who were unmoved by Orthodoxy and might otherwise have left Judaism. The salaries of Orthodox rabbis were quite low and Finkelstein got into some legal trouble while officiating at a divorce and was sued in secular court. He also for a time tried to produce kosher food products in competition with Manischewitz, a company that became synonymous with kosher food products in the United States. In 1896 he moved to Syracuse, New York, and six years later to Congregation Ohev Shalom in Brownsville, Brooklyn, New York, which had a rapidly growing Jewish community. He remained there for some four decades.

Finkelstein was a scholar and an authority on Jewish law. Among his books are *Reshut Bikkuri* (1889), *Bikkurei Anavim* (1899), and *Bet Yiẓḥak* (1923). Among his eight children was Louis *Finkelstein, a rabbinic scholar who became chancellor of the Jewish Theological Seminary and who, like his father, was personally punctilious in his observance while being open to and indeed changing Judaism for a changing world.

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[Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

FINKIELKRAUT, ALAIN (1949–), French author and thinker. After a short academic career in which he taught in France and the United States, Finkielkraut devoted himself to writing books, articles, and radio programs, many of which deal with issues of contemporary Jewry. His books delineated the problems of the Jew in the Diaspora from the cultural and social aspects as well as the problem of his link to Jewish history and to Israel as a central issue (*Le Juif imaginaire*, 1980; *The Imaginary Jew*, 1994). He has dealt with antisemitism, the revisionist historians who have distorted the history of World War II (*L'avenir d'une negation*; 1982; *The Future of a Negation: Reflections on the Question of Genocide*, 1998), and incitement against the State of Israel (*La réprobation d'Israël*; 1983), using a system close to that of the "New Philosophers" of France. His thought was also influenced by that of the Jewish philosopher Emmanuel *Levinas: *La sagesse de l'amour* (1984; *The Wisdom of Love*, 1997) gave a tangible dimension to Levinas' concept of the relationship to otherness as the constituent element of humanity.

In 1986 Finkielkraut became the youngest recipient of the prestigious prize of French Jewry, the Prix de la Fondation du Judaisme Français. In *La défaite de la pensée* (1987; *The Defeat of the Mind,* 1995), Finkielkraut sharply denounced the rise of relativism in Western liberal societies. The book had a great impact and got him labeled a "conservative" thinker. Two years later he published his reflections on the collective memory of the Jewish genocide and on the idea of crimes against humanity in the context of the Klaus Barbie trial (*La mémoire vaine, du crime contre l'humanité*, 1989; *Remembering in Vain: The Klaus Barbie Trial and Crimes against Humanity,* 1992). In 1992, after an intellectual portrait of early 20th century French author Charles Peguy (*Le mécontemporain: Charles Pe-*

guy, lecteur du monde moderne), he published a selection of his writings relating to the Yugoslavian fighting of the early 1990s, during which he had supported the Croatians (*Comment peut-on être croate?*, 1992; *Dispatches from the Balkan War and Other Writings*, 1999). In 2002, the Second Intifada in the Palestinian-Israeli conflict and the rise of new forms of antisemitism led him to broadcast a weekly program on a Jewish radio station. While supporting a two-state solution and criticizing some aspects of Israeli policy, Finkielkraut took a strong stand against the penchant of intellectuals to call into question the legitimacy of Zionism and of Israel as the state of the Jewish people. In his 2002 chronicles (*L'imparfait du présent*) and his 2003 essay *Au nom de l'autre, sur l'antisémitisme qui vient*, he described how current hatred of Jews has adopted the fashionable Western dogma of radical universalism. Jews, asserts Finkielkraut, are no longer criticized for their cosmopolitanism: they are conversely accused of having replaced their supposed universal fate with what these new progenitors of antisemitism perceive as anachronistic and harmful efforts to persist as a specific human group, either as communities or in the framework of a nation-state. Finkielkraut came to be considered the most significant of young French thinkers who deal with current issues of Jewish existence.

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[Gideon Kouts / Dror Franck Sullaper (2nd ed.)]

FINLAND (Finnish Suomi) republic in N. Europe. Until 1809 it was part of the kingdom of Sweden, where Jews had been prohibited from settling within its borders. When in 1809 Finland became a grand duchy in the Russian Empire, Czar Alexander I declared that he would not change any of the existing Swedish laws, and the prohibition on Jewish settlement in Finland therefore continued. The first Jews to settle in Finland were *Cantonists who served in the garrisons in Helsinki (in the Sveaborg fort) and in Vyborg for up to 25 years, and were permitted when discharged to remain in Finland. Every residence permit issued to them, however, was bitterly opposed by the local authorities. When the Finnish authorities failed to have the permits given by the Russians canceled, they instead endeavored to undermine the position of the Jews by a series of severe restrictions, limiting their places of residence, curtailing their freedom of movement in the province, and limiting the occupations open to them. Jews were subject to constant control by the Finnish police, who required them to renew their residence permits every three months. They were permitted to deal in second-hand clothes only and forbidden to leave their city of residence or attend the fairs. The slightest violation of any of these limitations served as a ground for expulsion from Finland. Children were allowed to live with their parents only until coming of age. Jews conscripted to the army and transferred to Russia were not allowed to return to Finland after their discharge. For relief from these disabilities the Jews could only turn to the military governor in St. Petersburg who was responsible for the Jewish soldiers.

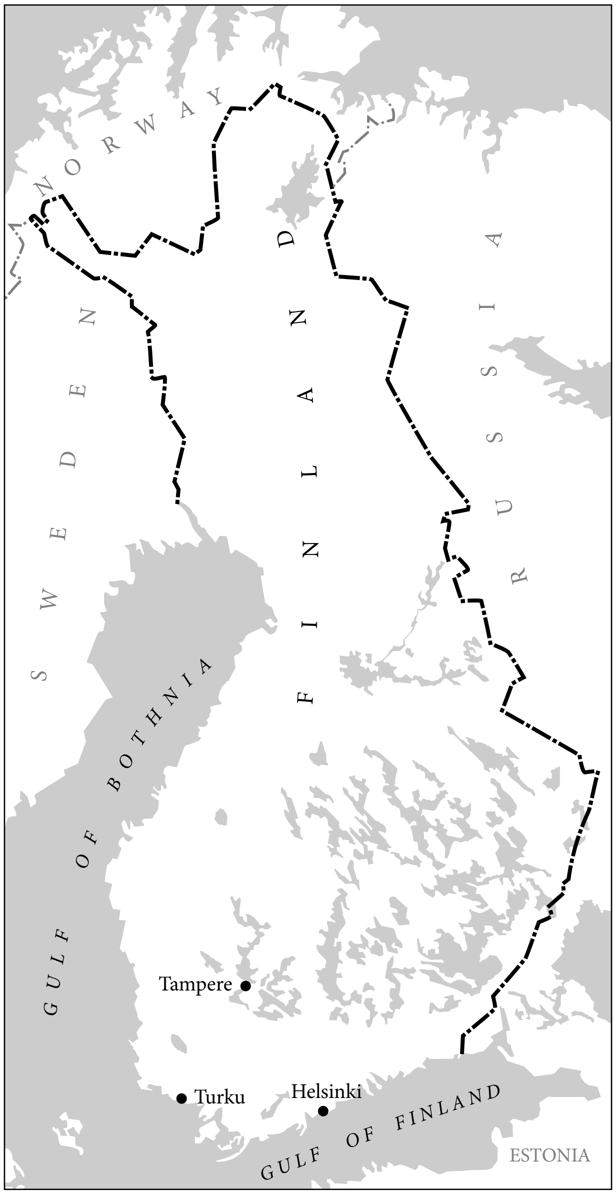

Major centers of Jewish population in Finland.

The struggle for equal rights for Jews continued for many decades and was taken up in the Finnish and Swedish press and in debates in the Finnish *diet* (*parliament*). Opposition came mainly from the clergy, while many landowners were sympathetic toward the Jewish problem. In 1872 two members of the *sejm*, Leo Mechelin and Antti Puhakka, called for the removal of some of these limitations on the Jews as the "people of the Book" but the *sejm* rejected the proposal. Toward the late 1870s Jews began to deal in new clothes which they produced or imported from factories in St. Petersburg. The debate on Jewish emancipation continued in the press during the 1880s. While the Swedish intelligentsia demanded reforms, the reactionary Finnish press obstinately opposed any change in the status of the Jews. The antisemites Meurman and Kihlman were opposed by Prof. Runeberg, son of the celebrated Finnish poet, by Bishop Alopaeus and by Barons Alfthan and Wrede. A law authorizing Jews to reside in the cities of Helsinki, Turku, and Vyborg was enacted in 1889. At that time there were 1,000 Jews resident in Finland.

At the beginning of the 20th century, mainly after the Russian revolution of 1905, signs of sympathy toward Jews were manifested by the nascent socialist movement in Finland. However in 1908 the restrictions still remained in force. The Danish-Jewish author Georg *Brandes, who went on a lecture tour in Finland that year, stated ironically in an interview with the Finnish press before he left: "I have committed three serious sins here. As a Jew, I was permitted to stay in your country for only three days, however I have stayed here for four consecutive days; as a Jew, I was permitted only to trade in rags, however here I lectured on world literature; and as a Jew, it is forbidden for me to marry here, but in spite of all this no one prohibited me from courting in your country…." In 1906 the third convention of Russian Zionists met in Helsinki and adopted the Helsingfors *Program. In 1909 the liberal elements in the Finnish parliament overcame the opposition of the extreme conservatives and by a majority of 112 to 48 a law was accepted abolishing the restrictions. However, the Russian government delayed its ratification and the Jews did not receive full civil rights until 1917 when Finland became independent.

Between the two world wars the Jewish population increased to 2,000 as a result of emigration from Russia during the early period of the revolution. Many of the Jewish youth studied in universities, and Jews entered the liberal professions as physicians, lawyers, and engineers. Others turned to industry and forestry, but the majority continued in the textile and clothing business. With a few isolated exceptions the Jews did not take part in internal party politics or join any political movement. The author and Mizrachi leader Simon *Federbusch officiated as chief rabbi of Finland from 1930 to 1940.

During the Finnish-Russian War of 1939–40, Jews fought alongside the Finns. When Viipuri (Vyborg) was annexed to the Soviet Union, the Jews (about 300 persons) evacuated the city along with the Finns. During World War II (1941–44) Finland fought on the German side against the Soviet Union, but, despite strong German pressure, the Finnish authorities, headed by Field Marshal Mannerheim refused to enforce anti-Jewish legislation. 160 Jews who did not possess Finnish nationality found refuge in neutral Sweden. At one stage the Finns yielded and allowed the Gestapo to deport 50 Jews from Finland who had arrived as refugees from Austria and the Baltic countries before the Nazi invasion. However, after the dispatch of the first transport of eight of the refugees, only one of whom survived, Mannerheim and the Finnish authorities refused to continue the operation. The peace treaty between the Allies and Finland prohibited racial discrimination and thereafter Jews again enjoyed full civil rights.

The Jewish community in Finland has always been deeply conscious of its Jewish traditions, and Yiddish is still used to some extent by the older generation. In 1968 the Jewish population numbered 1,750 (approximately 1,330 in Helsinki, 350 in Turku, and 50 in Tampere), dropping to around 1,100 at the turn of the century. The community was represented by a community council of 32 members. In Helsinki, a Jewish kindergarten (founded in 1953) and a comprehensive Jewish school (1918) with nearly 100 students were in operation, along with a full range of religious, cultural, and social services and active Zionist organizations. The rate of intermarriage was high. Twenty-nine Jewish youths from Finland fought in the Israel War of Independence, and over 100 Finnish Jews settled in the State of Israel, mostly in the agricultural sector. In 1979, Ben Zyskowicz became the first Finnish Jew to be elected to Parliament.

[Yehuda Gaulan]

Relations with Israel

In 1948 formal relations were established between Finland and Israel, first by reciprocal appointment of honorary consuls. In February 1951, Israel appointed Abraham Nissan, its minister in Sweden, as its nonresident minister in Helsinki. In 1953 a regular Israel legation was established in Helsinki, headed by a chargé d'affaires. In 1960 with the expansion of political and cultural ties between the two countries, a resident Israel minister was appointed in Finland and a Finnish minister in Israel. In 1962 both missions were elevated to the ambassadorial level. At that time Prime Minister David Ben-Gurion visited Finland on the invitation of its government, as part of his tour of Scandinavian countries, and was warmly received by the public and government officials. In May 1967 the prime minister of Finland, Raphael Paasio, reciprocated with an official visit to Israel. In 1968 Foreign Minister Abba Eban visited Helsinki on the invitation of the Finnish foreign minister.

The Six-Day War (1967) aroused great emotion in all sectors of the Finnish people. There were numerous expressions of support for and identification with Israel as a small nation fighting against great odds, reminiscent of the experience of the Finnish nation. Internationally its neutral status and proximity to the former U.S.S.R. dictated a cautious approach; its policy with regard to Israel has been neutral but sympathetic.

Cultural ties have developed between Finland and Israel. Many years ago a movement was established, mainly religiously based, called "Carmel," aimed at bringing to Israel annually a group of youngsters for a few months' training in the Hebrew language and acquaintance with Israeli life. Tourism from Finland to Israel increased, especially from 1968. In 1954 a League for Finnish-Israel friendship was established, with past Prime Minister K.A. Fagerholm as president. Finland's trade with Israel has increased steadily over the decades. The first trade agreement was signed in 1950, involving $7,000,000 in both directions. The major Israeli export to Finland was citrus and textiles, while Finnish exports to Israel comprised paper, cellulose, and paper products. In 1955 mutual trade reached $17,000,000. At the beginning the balance was in Israel's favor but later it shifted to Finland's favor. In 2003 bilateral trade between Finland and Israel amounted to €268 million. Whether for political-economic or other reasons, many Finnish products were shipped to Israel through a third country and therefore registered as trade with that country and thus unrecorded in the balance of trade between the two.

[Moshe Avidan]

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FINLAY-FREUNDLICH, ERWIN (1885–1964), astronomer. Born in Biebrich, Rhineland, Finlay-Freundlich became professor at the University of St. Andrews, Scotland. Prior to his activities as director of the St. Andrews University Observatory (1939–59), which he built up, he held the directorships of new institutes at Potsdam (1924–33), Istanbul (1933–36), and Prague (1936–39). Finlay-Freundlich was a versatile scientist and pursued research in celestial mechanics, stellar astronomy, theoretical physics, theory of relativity, solar research, and instrumental design. He equipped and directed several successful solar-eclipse expeditions, including two to Sumatra, in a determined effort to provide empirical tests of the theory of relativity through an exact verification of the minute effects of the gravitational light-deflection and the red-shift of spectral lines. He was one of the first pioneers in propagating the astronomical importance of Albert Einstein's concepts.

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[Arthur Beer]

FINLEY, SIR MOSES (1912–1986), American-born British historian. Born Moses Finkelstein in New York, Sir Moses was educated at Syracuse and Columbia Universities and changed his name to "Finley" in 1936. In 1954, fearful of McCarthyism, he migrated to England, becoming a British subject in 1962. There, his distinguished academic career was spent at Cambridge, where he was professor of ancient history from 1970 to 1979. Finley was one of the most productive and highly regarded historians of the ancient world of his time, whose interests centered especially on the economy and society of ancient Greece. Among his best-known works are *The World of Odysses* (1956) and *The Ancient Economy* (1973). Finley received many academic honors and was knighted in 1979.

[William D. Rubinstein (2nd ed.)]

°**FINN, JAMES** (1806–1872), English philo-Semite, served as British consul in Jerusalem from 1845 to 1862. A pioneer for the resettlement of the Jews in Ereẓ Israel, Finn was a devoted friend of the Jews and often protected them from the Ottoman authorities. He was also active in promoting the idea of labor and agricultural development, and even invested funds in experiments to help organize his projects. After some time he went bankrupt. At the same time Finn engaged in missionary activities and tried to settle some Jewish converts to Christianity in the village of Artas (the biblical En-Etam) near Bethlehem, but this project was abandoned in 1864. When his appointment as consul ended, the leaders of the Jerusalem Jewish community and others addressed messages of appreciation and admiration to the British Government and to Finn himself for his services to the Jewish population. In assisting the Jews of Jerusalem, he had sometimes overlooked the instructions of his superiors and it has been suggested that this precipitated the end of his service in Ereẓ Israel.

After his death, his wife, Elizabeth Anne (née McCaul, 1825–1921), edited and published his book *Stirring Times* (1878), which contains detailed descriptions of the situation of the Jews in Ereẓ Israel at that time. Finn was also a pioneer in bringing to the knowledge of the Western world the Jews of *Kai Feng in his two works *Jews of China* (1849) and *The Orphan Colony of the Jews of China* (1872). Apart from this he wrote a superficial work on the *Sephardim* (1841). His wife assisted him in all his activities on behalf of the Jewish population of Ereẓ Israel. She wrote three books on Ereẓ Israel as well as memoirs on her life in Ereẓ Israel, under the title of *Reminiscences of Mrs. Finn* (1929), published posthumously.

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[Abraham David]

FINNISTON, SIR HAROLD MONTAGUE (**Monty**; 1912–1991), British metallurgist and industrial administrator. Finniston was born in Glasgow (whose accent he retained), educated at Glasgow University, and became a lecturer at the Royal College of Science and Technology, Glasgow. He then became a metallurgist in industry and served in the Royal Naval Scientific Service during World War II. He was chief metallurgist at the United Kingdom Atomic Energy Authority, Harwell, from 1948 to 1958, and managing director of the International Research and Development Company from 1959 to 1967. He joined the board of the recently renationalized steel industry (British Steel Corporation) as deputy chairman (technical) in 1967, becoming chief executive in 1971 and chairman from 1973 to 1976. From 1976 he was active as chairman or director of industrial companies and from 1980 as a business consultant. Finniston was involved in many fields of research and in the Jewish community. He was chairman of the independent "think tank" of the Policies Institute from 1975 to 1984, chancellor of Stirling University, and pro-chancellor of the University of Surrey. He was knighted in 1975, had 15 honorary doctorates conferred upon him, and in 1969 was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society, of which he was later vice president in 1971–72. Sir Wally MacFarlane, the nationalized industry chairman portrayed in the popular British television comedy *Yes, Minister,* was based on Finniston.

ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY: ODNB online.

[Vivian David Lipman]

FINZI, Italian family which can be traced back to the second half of the 13th century; the origin of the name is unknown, The first recorded members were loan bankers in Padua. Subsequently, the family spread to many other towns; some of them added the name of their city of origin to their family name (Finzi of Ancona, of Recanati, of Bologna, of Mantua, of Ferrara, of Reggio-Heb, ארייו – not Arezzo as usually transcribed). In Venice some of them became known as Tedesco-Finzi to emphasize their German origin. Other Finzis may be traced in the Balkans and in Jerusalem and later in England. Some of the most noteworthy members follow in chronological order.

MORDECAI (ANGELO) B. ABRAHAM (d. 1476), a versatile scientist, physician, and banker, who lived in Bologna and Mantua. He was known mainly for his mathematical and astronomical works, which included *Luḥot*, tables on the length of days (publ. Mantua, c. 1479, by Abraham Conat), and an astronomical work entitled *Netiv Ḥokhmah* (unpublished), He translated into Hebrew three important works by the Arab mathematician Abū Kāmil (850–930). He also translated into Hebrew various works on astronomy and geometry and wrote commentaries on some of them, described and explained recently invented astronomical instruments, and wrote treatises on grammar and mnemonics. SOLOMON B. ELIAKIM, rabbi in Forli (1536) and Bologna (1552). He wrote a methodological work, *Mafte'aḥ ha-Gemara* (Venice, 1622). It was reprinted in 1697 in Helmstedt with a Latin translation and notes by C.H. Ritmeier, and again reprinted in *Clavis Talmudica Maxima* (Hanau, 1714, 1740). GUR ARYEH HA-LEVI, rabbi in Mantua in 1665. He wrote a remarkable commentary on the Shulḥan Arukh, published (Mantua, 1721–23) by his great-nephew, Gur Aryeh b. Benjamin (d. 1754). SAMUEL (d. 1791), pupil of Isaac Lampronti, was a famous preacher and rabbi at Ferrara. His homilies are collected in *Imrei Emet* (1841^2). ISAAC RAPHAEL B. ELISHA (1728–1812), of Ferrara, was a widely esteemed preacher, some of whose sermons were published. He was a member of the French Sanhedrin in 1806 and was elected its vice president. JOSEPH (1815–1886), born in Mantua, was a patriot of the Italian Risorgimento. A confidant of Mazzini, Garibaldi, and Cavour, he took an active part in the risings against Austria from 1848 to 1853 and was entrusted with the funds for the Garibaldi's expedition to Sicily in 1860. From 1860 onward, he was a member of parliament for about twenty-five years and he was elected senator in 1886. The jurist MARIO (1913–1943) from Bologna was active in the Italian Resistance during World War II and he assisted Italian and German Jews from 1938; he was captured in 1943 during an attempt to help a Jew. GERALD (1901–1956), English musician and professor of composition at the Royal Academy of Music, wrote choral, orchestral, and chamber music.

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[Attilio Milano / Federica Francesconi (2nd ed.)]

FINZI, GIUSEPPE (1815–1886), Italian patriot and parliamentarian. Finzi studied in Padua from 1831 to 1835. In 1834 he joined the secret organization Giovane Italia. In 1844, he met with Giuseppe Mazzini in London, who entrusted him with the nationalist propaganda in both Switzerland and Lombardy. In 1848, Finzi fought behind the barricades in Milan. After serving for a time in the army of Charles Albert, he organized a regiment consisting of Mantuans. He first fought in Novara against Austria, and afterward in Rome against the papal troops. Having been taken prisoner, as a close friend of Mazzini, he was brought before an Austrian court-martial in Mantua. While many of his friends were condemned to the gallows, he was sentenced to 18 years imprisonment at Thereisenstadt and Josephstadt but an amnesty of 1856 set him free.

When Lombardy was freed from Austrian domination, Finzi was appointed royal commissary for the province of Mantua. He became the confidante of Giuseppe Garibaldi and was entrusted with the funds for the expedition to Sicily. The voluntary contributions not being sufficient, Finzi appealed to Count Camillo Benso di Cavour for more funding. Cavour supplied him with funds from the state treasury, under the strictest secrecy. Cavour urged Finzi to revolutionize Naples while Garibaldi was in Sicily. Accordingly, Finzi made his way there with others but had little success. He nevertheless paved the way for Garibaldi s entry later. Ill health compelled Finzi to resign the office of director general of public safety for the southern provinces, to which he had been appointed. He sometimes mediated between Garibaldi and Cavour, when their relations became strained. For about 25 years – from 1860 on – Finzi was a member of the Lower House, and highly esteemed by all parties. He was a man of unflagging energy but was not an orator. On June 7, 1886, he was made a senator, but died shortly thereafter.

FINZI-NORSA CONTROVERSY, Italian Jewish cause célèbre in the early part of the 16th century. Immanuel Norsa of Ferrara, reputed to be the second wealthiest Jew in Italy, was partner in a loan bank with Abraham Raphael Finzi of Bologna, who had suffered serious reverses in his other business interests. Although relations between the two men were strengthened by marriages between their children, it was still charged by Finzi's friends that directly or indirectly, Norsa had caused Finzi the loss of 5,000 gold florins. Since his partnership with Norsa was Finzi's only asset, he was compelled to dispose of it to satisfy his creditors. The wealthy Samuel da Pisa, Norsa's brother-in-law, agreed to buy out Finzi's share. However, due to Norsa's opposition, he reneged on the proposed transaction.

The creditors continued to press Finzi, who realized that Norsa would thwart any advantageous sale; Finzi was forced to accede to Norsa's conditions and let him have all the partnership rights at his own price. It is claimed that Norsa paid him only one-sixth the actual value. However, before Finzi went to Ravenna to conclude the sale, he made a *moda'ah* ("declaration") at Bologna before witnesses, on February 28, 1507, that he was only selling to Norsa under duress, and that all the statements he would make to Norsa to the effect that the sale was carried out with good will and without compulsion were in consequence null and void. He also retained all rights to sue his former partner in court at a more opportune time. About 12 years later, this document was submitted to a court of three rabbinical judges in Bologna. Finzi brought five witnesses to prove the power of Norsa in Ferrara and the impossibility of getting judgment against him in the latter's home town. The court granted him a change of venue and decided that the case should be tried before an impartial court outside Ferrara. Norsa refused to abide by this decision and insisted upon having the litigation in his city.

A vehement and vituperative controversy soon ensued solely on the validity of venue granted to Finzi. Norsa was supported by his local rabbis, particularly David Pizzighettone and by Abraham *Minz; Finzi was supported by almost all the Italian rabbinate, including Bendit Axelrod b. Eleazar, the head of the Venetian rabbinate, Israel b. Jehiel Isserlein of Rome, and Jehiel Trabotto b. Azriel of Pesaro. Above all, the famed Jacob *Pollak of Poland backed Finzi and finally excommunicated Abraham Minz for his role in aggravating the controversy. Finally, Norsa had to yield and appeared before an outside impartial court. No record of the decision reached on the monetary issue has been preserved.

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[Aaron Rothkoff]

FIOGHI (Fiocchi), FABIANO (16th century), Roman Catholic theologian. Born a Jew in Monte Salvino, Fioghi was baptized in Rome, where he was active as teacher and catechist of the Jewish candidates for conversion at the House of *Catechumens, Fioghi published a missionary tract in Italian, entitled *Dialogo fra il Cathecumino et il Padre catechizante…* (Rome, 1582); a second edition, *Introduttione alla Fede fatta in forma di Dialogo*, appeared in Rome in 1628. Even 200 years later R. Joshua Benzion *Segre attacked the anti-Jewish introductory and concluding poems of this book. A Hebrew poem by Fioghi, addressed to Pope Gregory XIII, is to be found in the Vatican Library, together with a Latin translation.

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[Jefim (Hayyim) Schirmann]

FIORENTINO, SALOMONE (1743–1815), Italian poet. Fiorentino was born at Monte San Savino, a village in Tuscany where the Jewish presence went back at least to 1421. Son of a merchant, he studied traditional Jewish subjects in Siena, attending at the same time – as an external student – a Catholic school, where he distinguished himself. He had a shop selling cloth in Cortona and read Italian poetry and works of philosophy intensively. Starting to compose verse, he kept up a correspondence with outstanding Italian poets like Metastasio, Cesarotti, Monti, and Alfieri. The premature death of his beloved wife in 1789 was a turning point both in his private life and in his literary career; the three elegies he composed on this occasion won him a certain celebrity, so that Fiorentino was admitted to the important Accademia Fiorentina and named by the Grand Duke of Tuscany "poet laureate." In 1799, during the French occupation, the violence of the populace against the Jews (seen as Allies of the "heretic" French) forced Fiorentino, like many of his coreligionists, to leave his small villages and live in Siena, then in Florence; as a consequence of the riots, he lost all his property in Cortona and Monte San Savino. From 1800 to 1815, with the return of the French army, he could devote himself to literary activity and wrote moral poems, epithalamiums, poems in praise of the Habsburg emperors, as well as an Italian translation of the Sephardi prayer book of Livorno (Leghorn). His collected poems were printed several times. From 1801 to 1808, Fiorentino lived in Livorno, earning his living as a teacher of Italian in the local Jewish community; from 1808 to 1815, stricken by paralysis, he lived again in Florence, where he died. His poetry, though belonging to the Italian literary tradition, shows many Jewish elements: biblical references, a deep religiosity drawn from Jewish sources, even the centrality of family affection that had no poetical importance at the time. Fiorentino probably influenced the Italian poet Giacomo Leopardi, who inserted two of his elegies in his important anthology *Crestomazia italiana.*

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[Alessandro Guetta (2nd ed.)]

FIQH, the science of Islamic law. In the course of the eighth century, the term, which originally meant "knowledge" or "understanding," took on the meaning of Islamic jurisprudence on its two levels: certain knowledge, transmitted by the text of the Koran or a tradition relating to the Prophet (*sunna*); and legal conclusions derived by legal reasoning. The purpose of legal reasoning (*ra'y*), generally through analogy (*qiyās*), is to determine the *ratio legis* (motivation) for a legal rule. Consensus (*ijmā'*), the fourth source of Islamic law (after Koran, *sunna*, and *qiyās*), purports to ensure the truth of a rule or conclusion derived from textual sources. Those lawyers who deal with *fiqh* are known as *fuqahā*.

While *sharīca* is a general term for the totality of instructions and regulations in Islamic law, *fiqh* concentrates more on the legal aspect, though it too encompasses all areas of human behavior, religious as well as both private and public law. Accordingly, Islamic law recognizes five religious-ethical categories of human behavior (*al-ahakām al-khamsa*), ranging from obligatory (*farḍ*) to forbidden (*haarām*), with three intermediate categories: recommended (*mandūb*), reprehensible (*makrūh*), and indifferent (and permitted; *mubāha*). Parallel to this scale of religious-ethical qualifications is a scale of legal, rather than religious, validity of an action. While in theory the rules of *fiqh*, known as branches (*furūc*), are derived from the sources of Islamic law (*usūal-fiqh*) by the methodology prescribed in the *usūlal-fiqh* literature, some such rules actually stem from the customary law of pre-Islamic times (*jāhiliyya*) or the influence of other legal systems (Persian, Greek, Roman, Byzantine) or religions (Judaism, Christianity), whose full impact on Islamic law and its development have yet to be fully determined. Islamic law assimilated such influences in various ways, but not by way of custom (*curf, cāda*), which Islamic law in its initial phase did not recognize as an independent source of law; such recognition came at a later phase in the development of Islamic law.

One of the most salient characteristics of *fiqh* is its development by religious scholars (*fuqahā*, *culamā*) rather than judges. This at times led to divergences between theory and reality, with which the *fuqahā* had to deal by the application of, inter alia, legal devices and evasions (*ḥiyal*), as well as other legal principles, such as *istihsān* (discretionary decisions), or *istislāh* (consideration of the public interest). In some cases a special legal effort (*ijtihād*) was necessary to rule the law on the basis of the roots of the law, frequently by means of legal pronouncements (*fatāwā*, sing. *fatwa*) by high-ranking lawyers (*muftī*) – a phenomenon characteristic of the casuistic nature of Islamic law. In the mid-eighth century (758), ᶜAbdullah ibn al-Muqaffaᶜ proposed to the Caliph Al-Mansūr to draw up a codification of Islamic law, but his plan never came to fruition.

The legal oeuvre of the *fiqh* began to develop in the second half of the eighth century, beginning with the *fiqh* literature in all its variety, soon followed by the *usūl al-fiqh* literature. In addition to treatises devoted to detailed descriptions of specific areas of law, ranging from *cabādat* (ritual) to *mucāmalat* (pecuniary transactions), other literary genres of *fiqh* literature included works on differences between jurists and schools (*ikhtilāf*), which were a constant feature of Islamic law from its beginnings; legal formularies (*shurūt*); and works on legal devices (*ḥiyal*). The earliest work of *usūl al-fiqh* was the *Risāla* (that is, "epistle") of Idrīs Shāfiʿī (820), generally considered the founder of Muslim legal theory, which defined its terms and set its limits against the background of a controversy that broke out in the early Middle Ages between two currents of opinion: supporters of legal tradition (*ahl al-ḥadīth*) and supporters of legal reasoning (*ahl al-ra'y*). The first work of *fiqh* was the *Muwaṭṭa'* ("paved path") of Mālik b. Anas. In parallel to the official system of Islamic law, a secondary system of criminal law, known as *al-naẓar fī'l-maẓālim* ("investigation of complaints") developed as an alternative to the rigid system of evidence and procedure of official Islamic law.

Islamic law recognizes the existence of different opinions, granting them equal status. Accordingly, several different legal schools emerged in the main centers of Islamic law: Medina, Kufa, and Syria. Through the second half of the ninth century and the early tenth century, these ultimately became the main legal schools (*madhhab*), each named for prominent early scholars of the law: The Ḥānafī school, after Abū Ḥānafa (767); the Mālikī school, after Mālik b. Anas (795); the Shāfiʿī school, after Muḥammad ibn Idrīs al-Shāfiᶜī (820); and the Ḥanbalī school, after Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal (855). A few other schools were formed but did not survive. Some of the differences between these schools reflect the legal traditions of a specific locality and time as well as prevailing social conditions (mainly the Malikī and Ḥanafī schools); others reflect a different attitude to the sources of law or to other legal principles. Each school created its own *fiqh* literature and summarized its legal outlook in a work known as *Mukhtaṣar* ("compendium"). Each school dominated a certain geographical region of the Muslim world. There may have been some connection between the formation of the schools and the anthologization of *ḥadīth*s (the documentation of the *sunna*) and development of the science of *ḥadīth* criticism, since the two developments are related in subject matter and contiguous in time: The anthologies were drawn up during the ninth century, and soon after them came the consolidation of the schools. Probably also the transition from *ijtihād* (legal struggle or effort) to *taqlīd* is related to the appearance of the schools, since the *taqlīd* (reliance on legal tradition) expresses loyalty to the legal heritage of a particular school and its leader. The evolution of legal terminology may also have been influenced by the emergence of the schools, since it expressed a certain hierarchy of opinions and in a way functioned as a substitute for legal decision rules, which Islamic law lacks. Common to the schools was their acceptance of the legal theory of *usūl al-fiqh*, but this did not prevent the schisms of the seventh century, when the Shīᶜa split from the Sunna and the Khawārij seceded from mainstream Islam.

Muslim recognition of legal pluralism and the equal status accorded the legal schools created a degree of flexibility in Islamic law; thus, litigants were even permitted to shift from one school to another in a court composed of judges representing the four schools, and a judge could appeal to the ruling of a school other than his own. In modern times, Islam permits legislators to combine doctrines of more than one school in relation to specific clauses of the law (*takhayyur*), mainly in the context of protection of women's rights; this phenomenon blurs differences between the schools and promotes the unification of Islamic law.

Some characteristics of *fiqh* influenced Jewish law during and after the period of the *geonim*, in such areas as literary creativity, borrowing of legal terminology, and assimilation of legal principles and sometimes even of specific laws.

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[Gideon Libson (2nd ed.)]

FIRE (Heb. אֵשׁ).

In the Bible

Once humans discovered that fire could be maintained and exploited for their needs, it became one of their most important assets. Fire was used for light, warmth, cooking, roasting, baking, in waging war, and in various crafts, for sending messages, and for ritual purposes. Greek myth relates that fire was originally restricted to the gods before it was stolen by Prometheus and given to humans. Fire is one of the central elements of theophany. At the covenant with Abraham "a smoking oven and a flaming torch," representing the divine presence passed between the halves of the animals (Gen. 15:17). God appeared to Moses from the burning bush (Ex. 3:2); He went before Israel in a pillar of fire to guide them by night on their way out of Egypt (Ex. 13:21–22; 14:24; Num. 9:15–16 et al.); on the occasion of the giving of the Tablets of the Law, Mount Sinai is described as being covered in smoke, "for the Lord had come down upon it in fire" (Ex. 19:18). In Deuteronomy 9:3 Yahweh is described as "consuming fire." Yahweh breaths smoke, flames, and fire (II Sam. 22:9 [= Ps. 18:9]; Isa. 30:27, 33; 65:5). In cultic practice special importance was attributed to fire as a means of purification and cleansing: "any article that can withstand fire-these you shall pass through fire and they shall be clean" (Num. 31:23). Fire was used in several ways in worship: (1) a fire was lit daily in the temple (Ex. 27:20; Lev. 24:2; (2) a perpetual fire for burning sacrifices was maintained on the altar (Lev. 6:5, 6); (3) a fire was used for roasting sacrifices for human consumption; (4) a fire for burning incense was placed so that the smoke diffused throughout the shrine (Ex. 29:18; Lev. 16:13; et al.; see *Sacrifice). The power of fire both as a positive and destructive force is expressed in the poetic portions of the Bible: "and you call on the name of your god and I will call on the name of the Lord, and the God who answers by fire He is the God" (I Kings 18:24). God punishes the wicked by sending down fire from heaven: "the Lord rained upon Sodom and Gomorrah sulfurous fire from the Lord out of heaven" (Gen. 19:24). Fire is also an expression of great anger: "for a fire has flared in my wrath and burned to the bottom of Sheol, has consumed the earth and its increase, eaten down to the base of the hills" (Deut. 32:22).

[Ze'ev Yeivin / S. David Sperling (2nd ed.)]

In Talmudic Literature

Fire figures prominently both in the *halakhah* and the *aggadah*. In the former it occupies a central place in civil law as one of the four tortfeasors, the four principal categories of damage (see **Avot Nezikin*). It also occupies a special role with regard to the Sabbath; although kindling a fire is one of the main 39 categories of work forbidden on the Sabbath (Shab. 7:2), it is also specifically mentioned as a separate prohibition: "Ye shall kindle no fire throughout your habitations on the Sabbath day" (Ex. 35:3). There is a difference of opinion in the Talmud as to the reason for this distinctive mention. According to one opinion the reason is to make this particular prohibition a mere negative commandment, incurring the punishment of flogging, whereas violation of the others invokes *karet*. According to the other opinion it is specifically mentioned to establish the rule that a person is liable separately for each and every infringement of the prohibitions of the Sabbath (Shab. 70a). The rabbis, in contradistinction to the Sadducees (and later the Karaites) interpreted the verse to apply only to the actual kindling of a fire on the Sabbath but not to its existence. Therefore a fire lit before the Sabbath is permitted to continue to burn on that day (if no fuel is added during the day), permitting the distinctive feature of the home celebrations of Sabbath, the Sabbath lights on the table. This fire, according to some opinions, could be used to keep pre-cooked food warm on the Sabbath, and according to other opinions, it could also be used to allow partially cooked foods to continue cooking by themselves on the Sabbath itself. Among the forms of work forbidden on Sabbath and permitted on festivals, lighting a fire is one of only two such forms (along with carrying) which is permitted even if one does not use the fire to prepare food, in line with the principle that "once it was permitted for the need [of cooking] it was permitted when there is no such need" (Beẓah 12b).

Fire is extensively referred to in the *aggadah*. According to one account it was created on the second day of creation (PdRE 4) but according to another, it was created after the conclusion of the Sabbath, by Adam through the friction of two stones (Pes. 54a; TJ, Ber. 8:6, 12b). The fire of the altar came down from heaven (cf. Yoma 21b) and remained burning from the time of Moses until it was transferred to the Temple of Solomon (Zev. 61b), and it continued to burn until the reign of Manasseh (Yalkut, Kings 187). On the other hand the fire in the Second Temple was human fire (Yoma loc. cit.); nevertheless that fire was never extinguished by the rain. The "strange fire" which Nadab and Abihu, the sons of Aaron, offered up on the altar (Lev. 10:1) was "common" or human fire (Num. R. 2:23). Indeed, all that which is regarded as coming directly from God is said to have been given in fire. The Torah was given in a frame of white fire and the letters were engraved in black fire (TJ, Shek. 6:1, 48d). When God told Moses to institute the half-shekel, He showed him "a coin of fire" (*ibid.*, 1:6, 46b). Simultaneously with earthly fire was created the fire of Gehinnom, and earthly fire is one-sixtieth of that fire (Ber. 57b). Out of primordial fire was created light: "The fire became pregnant and gave birth to light" (Ex. R. 15:22).

Six kinds of fire are enumerated (Yoma 21b) and some such division is responsible for the formula of the blessing over light at the **Havdalah* ceremony. According to the school of Shammai the formula should be, "Who created the light of the fire." The school of Hillel, however, maintained that since there are many colors of fire, it was necessary to say, "Who created the lights of fire" in the plural (Ber. 52a) and the *halakhah* was established accordingly. The rabbis accepted the legend that the salamander was created out of fire (Ḥag. 27a; Tanh. *Va-Yeshev* 3, Ex. R. 15:28) and that its blood protected a person from the ill effects of fire. Fire beacons placed on the mountaintops were used to announce the arrival of the New Moon (RH 2:2–4).

[Louis Isaac Rabinowitz]

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FIRKOVICH, ABRAHAM (**Even Reshef**; 1787–1874), Karaite public figure in Eastern Europe. Firkovich was born in Luck (Lutsk), Poland. After his marriage in 1808 he worked as a miller. In 1813 he began to study Torah with the Karaite scholar Morekhai *Sultanski. In 1822 he moved from Lutsk to Evpatoria (Crimea) and was appointed *ḥazzan* of the local community. In 1825 he submitted a memorandum to the Russian government in which he suggested resettling Rabbanite Jews from the border areas in order to prevent them from smuggling and force them into agriculture.

In 1830 the Karaite *ḥakham* Simḥah *Babovich hired him as a tutor for his children and as his secretary to accompany him in his pilgrimage to the Land of Israel. During their visit to Jerusalem, Hebron, and Cairo Firkovich bought and copied many ancient books. In 1831–32 he moved to Istanbul, where he served as *ḥazzan*, *shoḥet,* and *melammed*. Following a conflict with the community there he returned to Evpatoria (Gozlow), where he organized a society for the publication of Karaite books. In 1834 he was appointed head of the Karaite publishing house there and published his biting anti-rabbinic book *Ḥotam Tokhnit*, accusing Rabbanites of crucifying Jesus and killing *Anan ben David.

In 1839 M. Vorontsov, the governor general of the Novorossya region and the Crimea, addressed a series of six questions to Babovich, who had become head of the Karaite Spiritual Council. These dealt with the origins of the Karaites and the time of their settlement in the Crimea, their character traits, occupations, important personalities, historical sources about their origins, time of their separation from the Rabbanites, and the differences between them. Babovich then recommended Firkovich investigate these questions and the latter initiated his archaeological and other expeditions in the Crimea and the Caucasus, uncovering ancient tombstones and manuscripts in order to produce an account of Karaite history. His main work, *Avnei Zikkaron* (1872) describes his travels and contains a collection of tombstone inscriptions with several pictures of these tombstones appended. In the course of his work Firkovich created a new concept of the origins of the Crimean Karaites, according to which they settled in the Crimea in 6 B.C.E.; therefore they could not share the responsibility for the crucifixion of Jesus. Firkovich wished to convince the authorities that the Karaites were a separate nation which differed historically, culturally, and anthropologically from the Rabbanites. He was the first Karaite author to apply a "scientific" research methodology to ameliorate the legal status of his congregation. To substantiate his claims Firkovich fabricated colophons and falsified some of the tombstone inscriptions. He changed the real dates on the tombs to earlier ones. He also "invented" some great figures of Karaite history, such as Isaac Sangari (identified in a late medieval source as the sage ("ḥaver") who in Judah *Halevi's account in the *Kuzari* converted the king of the *Khazars to Judaism). In Firkovich's version, Sangari converted the Khazars to the Karaite version of Judaism and died in Chufut-Qaleh.

Yet within a year of Firkovich's death, a controversy raged over the authenticity of the Firkovich material. Such prominent scholars as A. Harkavy, H. Strack, P.F. Frankl, and A. Kunik claimed that Firkovich's collections abounded in forgeries and fabrications. Even D. Chwolson, his most sympathetic critic, had to admit the general unreliability of Firkovich's manuscripts. Nevertheless, the manuscripts that he amassed were used or published by several well-known scholars in their studies about the Karaites. (S. Pinsker's *Likkutei Kadmoniyot* (1860) was based on Firkovich's materials; Fuerst and Graetz also unhesitatingly used this material.) Discussions of the authenticity of his materials stimulated the development of Jewish studies in Russia and Western Europe.

His manuscript collection is considered to be one of the most valuable collections of Hebrew manuscripts worldwide. Firkovich sold his first collection containing over a thousand Rabbanite, Karaite, and Samaritan manuscripts and Torah scrolls from the Crimea, Caucasus, and Middle East to the Imperial Library in St. Petersburg in 1862 and in 1870. His second collection, containing over 15,000 items, was sold after his death (1876). Most items originated in the Genizah of the Karaite synagogue in Cairo, which Firkovich visited in 1864. It is the largest collection of its kind in the world. These collections and his private archive, which are housed in the Russian National Library in St. Petersburg, were opened to researchers only after the breakup of the Soviet Union. Most of the material is available in microfilm at the Jewish National and University Library in Jerusalem.

Firkovich had six sons and five daughters. He died in Chufut-Qaleh and was buried in the cemetery in the Jehoshaphat valley.

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[Haggai Ben-Shammai (2nd ed.)]

FIRSTBORN.

In the Bible

Primogeniture is a persistent and widespread institution whose legal, social, and religious features were reflected in the norms of ancient Israelite society. Biblical legislation gave the firstborn male a special status with respect to inheritance rights and certain cultic regulations, The latter, a part of a complex of cultic requirements, also applied to the first issue of the herds and the flocks, which, in the popular consciousness, were considered particularly desirable as sacrifices. Abel pleased God by offering Him firstlings of his flock (Gen. 4:4). The requirements of the cultic codes were based on the notion that the God of Israel had a claim on the first offspring of man and beast, which were to be devoted to Him in some manner. This notion also governed the prescriptions regarding the offering of the first fruits (see *First Fruits).

In biblical Hebrew usage the term *bekhor*, "firstborn [male]," and its derivatives, are somewhat ambiguous. The characterization of the human *bekhor* as *reshit on*, "the first fruit of vigor" (Gen. 49:3; Deut. 21:17; cf. Ps. 78:51; 105:36), stresses the relation to the father and adumbrates the firstborn's status of principal heir and successor of his father as head of the family. At the same time, the specification that the *bekhor* be "the first issue of the womb" (*peter reḥem*; Ex. 13:2, 12, 15, etc.; cf. Num. 8:16), which reflects the religious significance of the first products of the procreative process in human and animal life, stresses the biological link to the mother. Whereas it was usually possible to ascertain the paternity of human beings, this clearly did not hold true of animals, and there was never any attempt to base animal cultic regulations on considerations of specific paternity.

Two rather distinct conceptions can be made out: a socio-legal one, which assigned exceptional status to the first male in the paternal line; and a cultic one which assigned special status to the first male issue of the maternal line. The socio-legal conception was preserved in legislation governing inheritance. In cultic legislation, the *bekhor* of the legal tradition was required – in order for the cultic regulations to apply – to be also the first issue of his mother's womb.

According to Deuteronomy 21:15–17, a father was obliged to acknowledge his firstborn son as his principal heir, and to grant him a double portion of his estate as inheritance. (*Pi-shenayim* means "two-thirds" [see Zech. 13:8], but the intention of the text is that the firstborn shall get whatever fraction a double portion may come to; in the case posited in the text, where there are only two sons, it is two-thirds, but where there are three sons, it is one-half, and so on; cf. the correct inference drawn in BB 123a from I Chron. 5:1ff., which expressly terms Joseph's status as "firstborn" – Joseph received twice the portion of any of his brothers [Gen. 48:5, 22; ef. Rashbam to BB 123a].) This obligation was to apply irrespective of the status of the son's mother in a polygamous family. This inheritance right is termed *mishpat ha-bekhorah*, "the rule of the birthright" (Deut. 21:17), and the legal process by which the firstborn son was so designated is expressed by the verb *yakkir* "he shall acknowledge." Undoubtedly the acknowledgment involved certain formal, legal acts which are not indicated in biblical literature. In a different context, God acknowledged Israel as his firstborn (Ex. 4:22; ef. Jer. 31:8). A son, addressing his father, might also refer to his own status as firstborn son (Gen. 27:19, 32).

It is evident from the composition of biblical genealogies that the status of *bekhor* was a pervasive feature of Israelite life. In many such lists there is a formula which specifies the status of the first-listed son. For example, Numbers 1:20: "The sons of Reuben, the firstborn of Israel, were…" (cf. e.g., Gen. 35:23; 36:15; Ex. 6:14, and frequently in the genealogies of I Chron.). Even in genealogies which do not specifically indicate the status of the first son listed, it is clear that he is the firstborn. There are suggestions in the Bible that primogeniture carried certain duties and privileges in addition to the estate rights (see Gen. 27; 48:13; Judg. 8:20; I Chron. 26:10, etc.). The second in line was termed *ha-mishneh* (I Sam. 17:13; II Sam. 3:3; I Chron. 5:12).

The status of the firstborn in royal succession is not clearly defined. The Israelite kings were often polygamous, and the relative status of several royal wives figured in determining a succession, making the Deuteronomic law cited above appear more like an ideal than a reality so far as the king was concerned. A king might, for a variety of reasons, also be disposed to officially reject one of his sons, Accordingly, there were instances where the first in the royal line of succession did not, in fact, succeed his father. It is not known whether the firstborn in families of the high priests had a special status. From the exception noted in I Chronicles 26:10 it is inferable that the firstborn of a levitical clan was normally placed in charge of his brothers. There is some evidence that the firstborn daughter (*bekhirah*) was customarily married off before her younger sisters (Gen. 29:16ff.; I Sam. 18:17ff.).

In the Genesis narrative one sees how primogeniture was disregarded in the clan of Abraham. The son most suited to carry on the line of Abraham – with its attendant responsibility for transmitting the clan's unique religious belief – was acknowledged as the head of the family even if it meant passing by the firstborn; indeed even if it entailed banishing him from the household (Isaac was preferred to Ishmael, ch. 21: Jacob to Esau, ch. 27).

The terminology employed in Genesis, when compared to that of Deuteronomy 21:17, is problematic, and allowance for a degree of inconsistency in technical usage must be made. In Genesis, Jacob contends with Esau over two matters: first, the *bekhorah*, which Jacob secured from Esau, who despised it, in exchange for a cooked meal (Gen. 25:29–34); and second, the *berakhah* ("blessing") which Jacob secured by deceiving his elderly father into thinking that he was blessing Esau (Gen. 27). Of the two terms, the *berakhah* counted for more, probably because pronouncing the blessing was considered to be the act formally acknowledging the firstborn as the principal heir. *Berakhah* connotes both the blessing which is to be pronounced and the effects of the blessing, i.e., the wealth transmitted as inheritance. In Deuteronomy 21:17 the term *bekhorah* refers specifically to the estate rights.

Owing to his favored status, the firstborn was considered the most desirable sacrifice to a deity where human sacrifice was practiced. On the verge of a defeat, Mesha, king of Moab, sacrificed his eldest son and acknowledged successor (II Kings 3:27). In a prophetic passage, the sacrifice of the firstborn is singled out as that offering which might be supposed the most efficacious for expiation (Micah 6:7). The importance of the *bekhor* is dramatized in the saga of the ten plagues God inflicted upon the Egyptians, the last of which struck down their firstborn (e.g., Ex. 11:5; 12:12). This serves as the etiology of the legal-cultic requirement that the male firstborn of man and beast in Israel were to be devoted to God. The Lord acquired title to Israel's firstborn, human and animal, by having spared them when he struck the firstborn of the Egyptians (Num. 3:13).

The priestly tradition goes on to explain that the Levites, as a group, were devoted to cultic service in substitution for all the firstborn Israelites (Num. 3:12). This would seem to be the historicization of a situation that in fact obtained independently of the particular events surrounding the Exodus. The laws governing the redemption of the firstborn (Ex. 13:15; 34:19, Deut, 15:19) presumably derived from a cultic matrix. At one time firstborn sons were actually devoted to cultic service as temple slaves, Nazirites, and the like; subsequently other arrangements were made for supplying cultic personnel while the erstwhile sanctity of the firstborn was lifted through redemption (cf. Lev. 27:1–8, and see below). This underlies the priestly traditions of the history of the levites and their selection for cultic service.

In the case of animals, male firstlings unfit for sacrificial use because they bore *blemishes or were of types considered impure could be redeemed by paying the assessed value of the animal, plus one-fifth (Lev, 27:26–27; cf. verses 9–13; Ex. 34:20; Deut. 15:19). The restriction of the requirement to male firstlings may reflect on economic consideration: very few males were needed for breeding purposes. This consideration may also figure in the predominance of male animals as sacrificial victims generally. Devoting firstlings to the cultic establishment served as a means of providing it with revenue (Num, 18:15–18; compare Deut. 15:19–23).

[Baruch A. Levine]

Redemption of the Firstborn

Rabbinic sources discuss at length methods of exchange and redemption (Mishnah, *Bekhorot* and *Temurah*). Neither kohanim nor levites need redeem their firstborn (Bek. 2:1). However, the firstborn son of a marriage between a kohen and a woman forbidden to him (e.g., a divorcee) does not have priestly rank and must be redeemed (Sh. Ar., YD 305:19), although the father may, in this case, keep the redemption money himself (R. Asher to Bek. 47b). In all cases the criterion is primogeniture from the mother's womb. A child is not regarded as a firstborn if his mother previously miscarried a fetus more than 40 days old (Sh. Ar., YD 305:23). Ordinary Jews whose wives are the daughters of kohanim or levites need not redeem their firstborn, but the son of a kohen's daughter and a non-Jew must be redeemed because his mother has forfeited her status. The firstborn son of a levite's daughter born under the same circumstances does not need to be redeemed (Bek. 47a). If there is a doubt regarding the primogeniture of a child, the child need not be redeemed (Sh. Ar., YD 305:22–25). The duty of redeeming the firstborn falls in the first instance upon the father. If he neglects to do so or if the child is an orphan, the son redeems himself when he reaches maturity (Kid. 29a). At one time a small medallion bearing the inscription *ben bekhor* was hung around the neck of such a child (Isserles to Sh. Ar., YD 305:15). It later became customary, however, for either the rabbinical court (*bet din*) or one of the child's male relatives to redeem him.

The Bible fixes the redemption fee at five silver shekels (Num. 18:16), and the father may choose any kohen to perform the ceremony by paying him this sum (in medieval times two Reichsthaler, today five U.S. dollars). It must be given in coins, but not money equivalents, such as securities, shares, etc. (Sh. Ar., YD 305:4). Special "redemption coins" are now minted in Israel for this purpose by the Bank of Israel and distributed by the Israel Government Coins and Medals Corporation. The kohen may return the money to the child's father (as did some rabbis in talmudic times, Bek. 51b), although the practice is condoned only when the father is very poor (Sh. Ar., TD, 305:8). On the other hand, the choice of a poor kohen (so as simultaneously to fulfill the *mitzvah* of charity) is approved.

The redemption ceremony (*pidyon ha-ben*) is held in the presence of the kohen and invited guests, and takes place on the 31st day after the birth. This is due to the fact that the child is not considered as fully viable until he survives the first 30 days of his life. Even if circumcision has not yet been performed (e.g., for health reasons), there should be no delay. Only if the 31st day is a Sabbath or festival is the ceremony postponed to the following weekday (*ibid.*, 305:11). During the ceremony, the father presents his son, often on a specially embellished tray, to the kohen who asks him, in an ancient Aramaic formula, whether he wishes to redeem the child or to leave him to the kohen. In some sources the formula is given in Hebrew. The father, in reply, expresses the desire to keep his son, hands the redemption money to the kohen, and recites one benediction for the fulfillment of the commandment of redemption, and another of thanksgiving (*She-Heḥeyanu*). The kohen, three times pronouncing "your son is redeemed," returns the child to the father, This dialogue is purely symbolic. A declaration by the father that he prefers the money to the child would have no legal validity. Finally, the kohen recites a benediction over a cup of wine, pronounces the priestly blessing on the child, and joins the invited guests at a festive banquet (*ibid.* 305:10 and Isserles ad loc.).

According to *halakhah* the biblical laws commanding the sacrifice of firstborn "clean" animals and the redemption of firstborn he-asses (Ex. 13:2,12–15; 34:19–20) should also be observed today. However, because of the suspension of the sacrificial system after the destruction of the Temple, the firstborn clean animals have to be given to a kohen after they have attained the age of 30 days (for sheep or goats) or 50 days (for large cattle). He keeps them, without deriving any benefit from them, either until they die a natural death – when the carcass may be used – or until they suffer a blemish which would have made them unfit as a sacrifice – when they may be eaten or used for any other purpose (Tur and Sh. Ar., YD 313:20). It is, however, forbidden to inflict a blemish deliberately (Sh. Ar., YD 313. 1). A firstborn he-ass should be redeemed from the kohen by giving him a sheep or its equivalent value in money (Tur and Sh. Ar., YD 321).

Fast of the Firstborn

Fast of the Firstborn (Heb. תַּעֲנִית בְּכוֹרִים, *ta'anit bekhorim*), fast observed by primogenital males on the 14th of Nisan i.e., the day before *Passover. This traditional custom seems to stem from the desire to express gratitude for the saving of the firstborn Israelites during the tenth plague in Egypt (Ex. 13:1ff.). According to talmudic sources (*Soferim*, ed. by M. Higger (1937), 21:1) the custom was already observed in mishnaic times. Another source mentions that R. Judah ha-Nasi fasted on this day; his fasting, however, is explained by some as a wish to stimulate his appetite for the *maẓẓah* (unleavened bread) at the *seder* meal (TJ, Pes. 10:1,37b and compare *Soferim*, loc. cit.). The fast became an accepted traditional custom obliging all males whether firstborn to their father or only to their mother, and in some opinions even firstborn women, to fast (Sh. Ar., OḤ 470:1). If a child is too young to fast (under the age of 13), his father fasts instead of him; if the father is firstborn, the child's mother fasts in lieu of the child (Isserles to OḤ 470:2). Should the first day of Passover be on a Sabbath, the fast is observed on the preceding Thursday; according to a more lenient ruling, it is suspended (*ibid.*). However, since one is permitted to break this fast in order to partake of a *se'udat mitzvah* (a meal accompanying a religious celebration, such as a circumcision) it was laid down that the celebration of the *hadran* constituted such a meal. The custom thus evolved to finish the study of a Talmud tractate on the morning before Passover, at which occasion a festive banquet is arranged in the synagogue, at which firstborns participate, and they need not therefore fast. Through this device, the Fast of the Firstborn is practically in desuetude (see *Fasting and Fastdays).

Legal Aspects Concerning the Firstborn

DEFINITION OF PRIMOGENITURE. The sole difference in the status of the firstborn son as compared with that of his brothers is his right to a greater share in their father's inheritance. This status is known as *bekhor le-naḥalah* (firstborn or primogeniture as to inheritance) and derives from the verse "he must acknowledge the firstborn the son of the unloved one, and allot to him a double portion of all he possesses; since he is the first fruit of his vigor, the birthright is his due" (Deut. 21:15–17). The firstborn in this context is the first son born to the father, even if not so to the mother, since it is written, "the first fruits of his vigor" (Bek. 8:1 and see commentators). Even if such a son is born of a prohibited union, e.g., the son of a priest and a divorced woman, or a *mamzer* born as first son to his father – he is included, on the strength of the words "he must acknowledge the firstborn, the son of the unloved one" (Deut., loc. cit.), the term a "loved" or an "unloved" wife being interpreted as relating only to the question whether the wife's marriage was "loved" or "unloved," i.e., permitted or prohibited (Yev. 23a and see Rashi and *Posekim* ad loc.). The prerogative of the firstborn never extends to a daughter, not even in a case where she has a right of inheritance (Sif. Deut. 215; see *Inheritance). A son born to a proselyte to Judaism, who had sons before he became a proselyte, does not enjoy the prerogative of a *bekhor le-naḥalah*, since he is not "the first fruits of his vigor" (Yev. 62a; Bek. 47a; *Posekim* ad loc.); on the other hand, if an Israelite had a son by a non-Jewish woman and thereafter has a son by a Jewish woman, the latter son does enjoy the prerogative, since the former is called her, and not his, son (Maim. Yad, Naḥalot 2:12). A first son who is born after his father's death, viz., if the mother gives birth to twins, is not considered a *bekhor le-naḥalah* since it is written "he must acknowledge" (Deut. 21:17) and the father is no longer alive to do so (BB 142b; Rashbam and *Posekim* ad loc.).

PROOF OF PRIMOGENITURE. In determining the fact of primogeniture reliance is placed upon the statements of three persons – the midwife, the mother, and the father. That the midwife is relied upon immediately after the son's birth (where twins are born) is derived from Genesis 38:28 (see TJ, Kid. 4:2,65d); the mother is relied on during the first seven days after childbirth, since the father has not yet succeeded in "accepting" or recognizing the child, as he does not pass out of his mother's hands until the circumcision; thereafter the father's determination is accepted at all times, since he "must acknowledge his son" – i.e., recognize the child as his firstborn son personally and before others. The father's determination is relied upon even if he thereby assails the status of his other sons, as may happen if he acknowledges as his firstborn the youngest of several sons borne by his wife after they married each other – thus characterizing the other sons as *mamzerim* (Yev. 47a; Kid. 74a and *Posekim* ad Lec.; see also *Mamzer*). However, the father is not believed in this last-mentioned case if the disqualified son already has children of his own, as the disqualification would also affect their status – for which purpose the law does not authorize reliance on his words (Yev. 47a and *Posekim; Ozar ha-Posekim*, EH, 1 (1955), 192, sec. 4:137).

4TH BIRTHRIGHT PREROGATIVE. The firstborn is entitled to a "double portion," that is, he takes twice the portion due to each of his brothers from their father's inheritance. Thus if the father has left a firstborn and two other sons, the former takes one-half and the latter one-quarter each of the estate (BB 122b–123a and *Posekim*). The prerogative does not extend to the mother's estate (BB 111b, 122b and Codes).

The firstborn takes a double portion only of the present and not of the contingent assets, i.e., only of the assets in the father's possession at the time of his death and not such as were due to come into his possession thereafter. Thus, if the father predeceased any of his own legators, the father's share in their estate passes through him to his own heirs, the firstborn taking only the share of an ordinary heir. This rule embraces debt still owing to the father at his death, even if under deed or bond, since the debt is considered an asset still to fall due and not yet in possession. If, however, the loan was secured by a pledge, or mortgage, the firstborn takes a double portion since in Jewish law the creditor acquires a right over the pledged property (Git. 37a) and a loan thus secured is therefore considered as an asset in possession (see generally Bek. 51b–52a; BB 125b; commentators and *Posekim* ad loc.). For the same reasons the firstborn does not take a double portion of improvements or increments from which the father's estate has benefited after his death, except with regard to natural increments – as for instance in the case of a sapling which has become full-grown (*ibid.*).

OBSERVANCE OF PREROGATIVE-PEREMPTORY ON THE FATHER. The above-mentioned underlying biblical injunction precludes the father from depriving the firstborn of his particular right of inheritance. Consequently, any form of testamentary disposition (see *Wills) by a father purporting to bequeath to the firstborn less than his prescribed double portion of the inheritance is null and void. This rule only applies, however, where the father has clearly adopted the language of a testator, since a father cannot change the laws of inheritance as such (Maim., Yad, Naḥalot 6:1). Consequently, if the father has expressed himself in terms of making a gift, his disposition will stand (although "the spirit of the sages takes no delight therein," BB 133b and see *Posekim*), since he may freely dispose of his assets by way of gift. Since the exercise of the birthright involves a corresponding greater liability for the debts of the estate, the firstborn may escape such additional liability by way of renouncing his prerogative before the division of the estate (BB 124a; Sh. Ar., ḤM 278:10).

STATE OF ISRAEL LAW. The Law of Inheritance 5725 – 1965 of the State of Israel does not include any prerogative of the firstborn.

[Ben-Zion (Benno) Schereschewsky]

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FIRST FRUITS, that portion of the fruits of each year's harvest that following the biblical injunction was to be taken to the Temple in Jerusalem.

In the Bible

The Hebrew term *bikkurim* and related terms for the "first fruits" derive from the same root as *bekhor*, "firstborn (see *Firstborn). On the same general principle that the firstborn of man and beast belonged to the God of Israel and were to be devoted to Him, the first fruits, including the first grains to ripen each season, were to be brought as an offering to God. Every Israelite who possessed the means of agricultural productivity was under this obligation (Ex. 23:19; 34:26, Num. 15:17–21; 18:12–13; Deut. 26:1–11). A frequent synonym for *bikkurim* is *reshit*, "the first [fruits]."

Deuteronomy 26:1–11 contains detailed procedures for the offering of the first fruits, including the text of a liturgical recitation incumbent upon any who offered their first fruits in the sanctuary. The manner of oblation prescribed in that passage represents a distinctive mode, whereby the substances involved were not burnt on the altar but were merely displayed, and later assigned to the priests as part of their cultic income (cf. Num. 18:12–13; Deut. 18:3–5). On the other hand, Leviticus 2:14 speaks of *minḥat bikkurim*, "a grain offering of first fruits," prescribing that part of it be burnt on the altar. It would seem, therefore, that at least some of the grain brought as first fruits was disposed of in that manner, although the prescription of Leviticus may reflect the tendency to accommodate older forms of sacrifice to the particularly Israelite practice of the burnt offering. It is difficult to identify this *minḥah* within the context of first fruit offerings. It has been identified with the "grain offering of fresh grain" (*minḥah ḥadashah*) of Leviticus 23:16; but that poses a problem, since the rule was that no leavened dough could be brought up on the altar, and the offering of fresh grain mentioned in that passage was to be baked from leavened dough. The offerings of first fruits were both an individual obligation and a part of public festival celebrations, particularly the celebration of *Shavuot, also called *Ḥag ha-Bikkurim*, "the first fruits festival" (Ex. 23:16; 34:22; Lev. 23:16–17; Num. 28:26).

A sheaf of the new barley harvest (*ʿomer*) was offered on the second day of the Passover festival (Lev. 23:10–11, 15–16). According to the Mishnah (Bik. 1:3, 6, 9), in Second Temple times the pilgrimage to the Temple for the purpose of offering the first fruits could be undertaken anytime between Shavuot, in the late spring, and *Sukkot, in the fall (but see below), but the festival of Shavuot was the first date for this offering. A rite notionally related to the offering of first fruits was the bringing of the fruit of trees during their fourth year of fruit bearing (Lev. 19:23–25). In both cases, an offering was required to release the fruit, as it were, for consumption by its owners. According to Leviticus 23:17, the offering of fresh grain was to be presented in the form of two loaves of baked, leavened bread.

There are no specifications as to the amounts or percentages of seasonal yield required for the offering of first fruits, but there does exist, on the other hand, a text for the recitation which was to accompany the offering, in Deuteronomy 26:5–10. A part of it has been incorporated in the Passover *Haggadah.* It consists of a review of Israel's early history, tracing Israelite origins to the pre-Egyptian period, and expressing gratitude to God for the redemption from Egypt. It culminates in an acknowledgment that as an Israelite, the one reciting the declaration is thankful for having been brought to the rich Promised Land, in recognition of which he is offering the first fruits of the land as a sacrifice. Only a few such recitations are preserved in the Torah, another being designated for the bringing of a type of tithe (Deut. 26:13–15).

Typologically, the offering of first fruits would seem to represent a very ancient practice, and yet it is not referred to in the historical books of the Bible, in descriptions of cultic activity, and most references are limited to the Pentateuch, post-Exilic literature and the Book of Ezekiel. The celebration mentioned in Judges 9:27, in connection with the grape harvest, may be related to the offering of first fruits, and a possible reference may be 1 Samuel 2:29. The Book of Proverbs (3:9) refers to the practice as a prerequisite to securing God's material blessings. As noted above, certain problems remain in reconciling the codes of Leviticus and Deuteronomy, and generally speaking, the biblical evidence leaves some gaps in understanding precisely how the rites connected with the first fruits operated.

[Baruch A. Levine]

In Halakhah

According to rabbinic interpretation the duty of bringing first fruits was confined to the seven distinct species growing in Ereẓ Israel, i.e., wheat, barley, grapes, figs, pomegranates, olive oil, and dates ("honey"). The fruits were given to the priests after the donor had recited the confession (Deut. 26; 1–11) acknowledging God as the one who redeemed the Israelites from the Egyptian bondage, and expressing gratitude to God who brought them to the Promised Land. The *bikkurim* were brought between Shavuot (hence its designation as *Ḥag ha-Bikkurim* – "the first fruits festival") and Sukkot. They could be brought as late as *Ḥanukkah, but after Sukkot no declaration was made.

If the fruits were stolen or became unclean or unfit for consumption, others had to be brought. A proselyte also had to offer the first fruits but he did not recite the confession as he could not say "which the Lord swore unto our fathers to give us" (Deut. 26:3). An Israelite (i.e., one who was not a priest or levite) was strictly forbidden to eat the first fruits; if he consumed them in error, a fifth of their worth in money had to be added as restitution (penalty). The Mishnah (Bik. 3:2–9) gives a vivid account of the first fruit offering ceremony in the period of the Second Temple. In the early morning hours, the people gathered in the open squares of the district towns and started their journey to Jerusalem, singing "Arise ye and let us go up to Zion, unto the Lord our God." The people walked in procession headed by an ox whose horns were wreathed with gold and silver, and his head with olive branches. The pilgrims were accompanied by musicians playing the flute. Rich people took the first fruits in baskets of silver and gold, while the poor carried them in wicker baskets made of peeled willow branches (which they gave to the priests together with the first fruits). The baskets contained the choicest fruits and had pigeons perched on top; these were sacrificed at the Temple. At the outskirts of Jerusalem, the procession was met by the Temple prefects and treasurers, and the pilgrims were escorted amid the cheers of the populace to the Temple Mount. There the choir of the levites welcomed them with the chanting of Psalm 30. Originally, everyone who could recite the confession did so by himself. However, in order not to shame those who did not know the text (and might, therefore, refrain from offering the first fruit) it was ordained that all people repeat the confession as it was read to them by the priest.

Those who lived close to Jerusalem brought fresh fruit and those who lived far, dried fruits. The minimum quantity of first fruits that could be offered was 1⁄60 of the harvest. The first fruit had to be brought only from the harvest of the soil of historic *Ereẓ Israel. According to rabbinic law, however, this included also sore parts of Transjordan and southern Syria.

The first-fruit offering was accompanied by other *shelamim* ("peace offerings") and the pilgrims were bound, out of respect for the Temple, to stay in Jerusalem overnight before returning to their villages (Deut. 16:7). Like all *terumah* ("heave offerings"), the first fruits were consumed by the priests. A priest in mourning for a relative was, however, forbidden to eat them. With the destruction of the Temple, the duty of first-fruit offerings was suspended. The description of the first-fruit offering in the Mishnah *Bikkurim* is corroborated by Philo (Spec. 2:215–222).

In modern Israel, the kibbutzim hold *bikkurim* celebrations on Shavuot which are evocative of the ancient Temple ritual. The children participate in a procession in which agricultural products are carried and donations are made to the Jewish National Fund for land reclamation.

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FIRT (Fuerth), JULIUS (1897–1979), Czech journalist and publisher. Born in Sestrouň near Sedlčany (Bohemia), he became director of the Borový and Lidové Noviny publishing houses in 1936 and during the 1920s and 1930s attended the *Pátečníci* gatherings (see *Fischer, Otokar). He escaped from Czechoslovakia to England, where he worked for the Czechoslovak government-in-exile. Back home, from 1945 to 1948 he served as a deputy in Parliament and was in charge of the Melantrich publishing house. During his second exile, after 1948, he was director of Radio Free Europe in Munich.

Firt became well known for his book *Knihy a osudy* ("Books and Fates") published in exile and smuggled into Czechoslovakia, where it was published only in 1991. It presents a picture of the spiritual and cultural atmosphere of Masaryk's First Republic as well as a wealth of information about Czech writers, poets, and journalists such as Josef and Karel Čapek, Ferdinand Peroutka, Karel *Poláček, Ivan *Olbracht, Vítězslav Nezval, Karel Teige, Bedřich Fučík, the actor Hugo Haas, etc. Firt also contributed two articles about the role of Jews in the First Republic to *Die Burg* (1973–74; "The Castle"). His *Záznamy* (1985; "Notes") appeared posthumously describing Czechoslovakia's political situation in 1948 and his exile in London during World War II.

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[Milos Pojar (2nd ed.)]

FĪRŪZ, Karaite family, probably of Persian origin, prominent from the 12th to 19th centuries. Its members were authors, physicians, poets, envoys, copyists, and bibliophiles. Approximately 50 members of the family can be traced. They include: AL-SHAMS AL-KARĪM IBN, head of the Karaites in Cairo in 1465 and court banker; and MOSES BEN ISAIAH, Karaite scholar active in Damascus, 1630–45. An engraver by profession, Moses b. Isaiah is referred to as "Yerushalmi," indicating that he had made a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. Possibly he should be identified with Moses b. Isaiah Fīrūz, the *ḥazzan* in Damascus, a translator from Arabic into Hebrew, mentioned in the itinerary of the Karaite *Samuel b. David. His son DANIEL BEN MOSES, author and physician, active 1663–1700, wrote *Kitāb al-Murshid*, an Arabic compendium of the *Duties of the Heart* of *Baḥya b. Joseph ibn Paquda. Fīrūz included in this a Karaite chain of tradition. He is probably the author of an Arabic introduction to the Karaite prayer book according to the Damascus rite published by Margoliouth. Poznański listed Fīrūz' liturgical poetry and also published his polemical poems directed against *Shabbetai Ẓevi and *Nathan of Gaza.

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[Isaak Dov Ber Markon]

FIRZOGERIN, Yiddish word for "foresayer" or "precentor"; also *zogerke*. It came to refer to the woman who led prayers in the women's section of the synagogue. Since women were separated from men during worship, sometimes in a separate room, they needed a leader to help them follow the proper order of the service. This leader, reciting vernacular translations, enabled less educated women, who did not know Hebrew and often were illiterate, to pray in their own language. The *firzogerin* was probably not an official position in the Jewish community until late in the 16th century, and it was not firmly established as an East European institution until the 18th century. However, there is evidence that women functioned in that capacity during medieval times, especially in Germany. According to a poetic eulogy written by her husband, *Eleazar ben Judah of Worms, in the late 12th century, *Dulcea of Worms was said to know "the order of the morning and evening prayers…. In all the cities she taught women, enabling their pleasant intoning of songs." The 13th-century Richenza of Nürenberg is described in a contemporaneous martyrology book as a leader in the women's synagogue, and the gravestone of Urania of Worms, a cantor's daughter, calls her a prayer leader who "officiated before the women to whom she sang the hymnal portions." In the 14th century, Guta bat Nathan was "… the important young woman who prayed for the women in her gentle prayers." Ashkenazi Jews migrating into Italy in the 15th century may have brought this custom with them. Sixteenth-century documents describe Anna d'Arpino leading women's prayers in the synagogue in Rome on Saturdays and holidays, a job for which she was paid (although this was not always the case). The poet Deborah *Ascarelli, a Sephardi woman living in Rome, may also have been a prayer leader. She knew Hebrew and translated many parts of the Sephardi service into Italian, especially for women.

As Jews moved into Eastern Europe, the female precentor became an accepted institution. Often, the *firzogerin* was the rabbi's wife or daughter; she was likely to be the most learned woman in the community and often had some knowledge of Hebrew. Some later *firzogerins* wrote their own Yiddish translations of the psalms and prayers, sometimes adding heartfelt appeals that related to women's lives. Beginning in the 17th century, many of these prayers had kabbalistic overtones and some revealed a high level of Jewish scholarship.

By the 18th century, a number of well-educated women were serving as *firzogerins*; some wrote petitionary prayers called *tkhines* for women to recite both in the synagogue and at home. The 18th-century pseudonymous Sarah *Bas-Tovim was a prolific writer of *tkhines*. After her death male writers appropriated her name to ensure the popularity of their own vernacular prayers. The figure of the *firzogerin* or *zogerke* continued into the 20th century; she is described in the anthropological study of the shtetl, *Life Is With People*, as a woman who "unlike most of them, is able to read and understand Hebrew. She reads the prayers and they repeat it after her, following each syllable and intonation…" A few of these women prayer leaders immigrated to the United States in the large migration of Jews that began in the 1880s, but by the second half of the 20th century, the *firzogerin* had disappeared in both Europe and the Americas, made obsolete by the Sho'ah and an almost universal standard of literacy for women.

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[Emily Taitz (2nd ed.)]

FISCH, HAROLD (**Aharon Harel Fisch**; 1923–), author and critic. Fisch was born in Birmingham, England, where his father was rabbi. He studied at the University of Sheffield and at Oxford and in 1947 was appointed lecturer in English at Leeds University. In 1957, he immigrated to Israel, where he was appointed associate professor of English Literature and head of the English department at Bar-Ilan University. He became full professor in 1964 and served as rector of the university from 1968 to 1971. He served as the *Encyclopaedia Judaica* departmental editor for English literature. His publications include *The Dual Image: The Figure of the Jew in English and American Literature* (1959, 1971^2), *Jerusalem and Albion: the Hebraic Factor in Seventeenth-Century Literature* (1964), *Hamlet and the Word: The Covenant Pattern in Shakespeare* (1971), *S.Y. Agnon* (1975), and *The Zionist Revolution* (1978).

He has also translated a number of works, including the Jerusalem Bible (1969). Fisch has been prominent in the Land of Israel Movement (*Ha-Tenu'ah le-Ma'an Ereẓ Israel ha-Shelemah). In 1971, he founded the Institute for Judaism and Contemporary Thought, of which he is chairman. This institute holds an international colloquium each year and conducts study groups on aspects of contemporary Jewish experience.

FISCHEL, ARNOLD (1830–1894), religious leader, historian, and advocate for the American Jewish chaplaincy. Born in Holland, Fischel began his career in 1849 as a speaker on Hebrew literature in Brighton and Portsmouth, England. He published essays on such themes as "The Cosmogony of Moses" and "The Laws of Israel as Represented by the Greeks and Romans," and translated Maimonides' *Moreh Nevukhim* (*Guide for the Perplexed*) from the Arabic original. In 1851, he was engaged as lecturer by the Old Hebrew Congregation of Liverpool.

In 1856, Fischel accepted the invitation of Shearith Israel of New York City, the oldest Jewish congregation in America, to become its first permanent lecturer. He was welcomed by both the Orthodox and Reform press, and was active in the Hebrew Benevolent Society, Chevra Bikur Cholim VeKadesh, and Touro Literary Institute, among others. His synagogue sermons stressed Orthodox beliefs and praised the United States as a haven for Jewish freedom. In his Thanksgiving Day sermon of 1860, he supported the Union in the Civil War as more sympathetic to the Jews than the individual states.

Fischel sought to give positive portrayals of Jewish history to Christian audiences, commencing with his address on the Holy Land to the American Geographical and Statistical Society in 1858. He established his reputation as a pioneering historian of American Jewry with his address on "the history of the Jews in America" at the New York Historical Society in 1859 and again in 1861. He correctly authenticated Medieval Spanish Jewish coins discovered in Ohio in his 1861 talk at the American Ethnographical Society.

In 1861, Congress had enacted a law requiring that all military chaplains be Christian ministers, and the first Jew to be elected a chaplain, Michael Allen, was forced to resign. As a challenge to the law, Fischel applied for a chaplaincy and was refused because of his religion. With the authorization of the (Orthodox) Board of Delegates of American Israelites, Fischel traveled to Washington, D.C., to lobby for a change in the law while serving as a civilian chaplain for Jewish soldiers in the region.

Fischel secured a meeting with President Lincoln on December 11, 1861, gained the president's support, and proceeded to lobby members of Congress. Christian views were divided between advocates of religious pluralism and Christian fundamentalists. After a broad public debate, the law was amended by Congress in July 1862 to accept chaplains of all religious denominations.

The Board of Delegates applied for a chaplaincy for Fischel, but the request was denied as unnecessary for the small number of Jewish soldiers in his region. Discouraged by this, and by a lack of support for other projects he envisioned on behalf of Jewish soldiers, Fischel returned permanently to Holland in 1864.

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[Mark L. Smith (2nd ed.)]

FISCHEL, HARRY (1865–1948), U.S. businessman and philanthropist. Fischel was born in Meretz, Russia, and emigrated in 1885 to the United States, settling in New York City. There he entered the construction and real estate business and built up a sizable company employing largely Jewish builders, to whom he granted both Saturday and Sunday as paid days off at a time when the six-day week was universal in the trade. Fischel also soon became involved in Jewish communal affairs, concentrating on a number of institutions with which he remained associated in various capacities for the remainder of his life, particularly the Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society (after 1890), Beth Israel Hospital (after 1900), and the American Jewish Committee (after 1906). Shortly after the Balfour Declaration, he was active in the establishment of a number of development companies in Palestine. In 1932 he retired from business and devoted himself entirely to his philanthropic endeavors, which included the endowment of the Harry Fischel Foundation for Research in Talmud in Palestine (1933), and large donations to Yeshiva University during the depression of the 1930s. His attempts to get the New York Sabbath laws to recognize Saturday as the official Jewish day of rest are recorded in the biography of him by his son-in-law, Herbert Samuel *Goldstein, *Forty Years of Struggle for a Principle* (1928). Fischel died in Jerusalem, where he spent the final year of his life.

FISCHEL, WALTER JOSEPH (1902–1973), scholar of Oriental Jewry. Fischel was born in Frankfurt on the Main. From 1926 to 1945 he was a member of the faculty of Oriental studies in the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, taking part in several expeditions to all countries of the Near and Middle East and India. From 1945 he was professor of Semitic languages and literature at the University of California, Berkeley. After his retirement in 1970 he was appointed professor of Jewish studies and history at the Santa Cruz campus of the University of California. Fischel's publications centered around two major research areas: medieval Islamic civilization and Jewish civilization. In the former field, his major publications include *Ibn Khaldun and Tamerlane-Their Dramatic Meeting in Damascus in 1401* (1952), *Ibn Khaldun in Egypt* (1967), and *Jews in the Economic and Political Life of Medieval Islam* (1937; reissued with an essay as *The Court Jew in the Islamic World*, 1969). He wrote on economic aspects of medieval Islam. In his research on Jewish civilization, he stressed the history and literature of the Jewish Diaspora in the Orient, especially *Iraq, *Kurdistan, *Persia, *Afghanistan, *Bukhara, and *India. He discovered many significant documents in Dutch, Portuguese, and Indian archives. His works on Persia include *The Bible in Persian Translation*, *Israel in Iran–A Survey of the Judeo-Persian Literature*, and *History of the Jews in Persia and Central Asia and Their Literature*. On the Jews of India he wrote many monographs including a comprehensive work in Hebrew, *Ha-Yehudim be-Hodu* (1960). Fischel served as departmental editor of the *Encyclopaedia Judaica* for the history of the Jews in Persia, Afghanistan, Central Asia, and India.

FISCHELS, MEIR BEN EPHRAIM (also known as **Meir Fischels**; 1703–1769/70), rabbi and talmudist. He was born in Bunzlau, and was a descendant of Judah Leib b. Bezalel ("the Maharal") of Prague and a contemporary of Ezekiel Landau. His father is mentioned under the name Ephraim b. Meir Bums (Bimes) Margolioth of Bunzlau. Meir Fischels served for 40 years as head of the *bet din* and the yeshivah in Prague until his death. Of his work nothing has remained apart from a few responsa collected by his son and by his contemporary Eleazar Fleckeles, all his manuscripts having been burnt in the great fire that swept Prague in 1754, except for his novellae on *Bava Batra* and *Berakhot* that were still extant in 1905. He was a signatory of the ruling given in 1754 of the *Allufei ha-Kehillah* ("leaders of the community") with regard to the settlement of the disputes that arose in consequence of the conflagration. His name appears as Mayer Feischel Buntzl in the list of those who suffered loss through the fire. Ezekiel Landau refers to him as "enlightening me as well as halakhic scholars" (responsa *Noda bi-Yhudah*, YD, no, 82), makes appreciative reference to his erudition and capacity (no. 72), and mentions his halakhic decisions (nos.81, 83, 89).

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[Yehoshua Horowitz]

FISCHER, Czech family. MOSES (1759–1833), son of Meir *Fischels, was active in the *Haskalah movement in Prague. Fischer signed with Raphael *Joel a petition (1790) to allow Jews to serve in the army, stating that fulfillment of military service was more important than the meticulous observance of religious commandments. He corresponded with Moses *Mendelssohn on his commentary on the Pentateuch, among other subjects, and was a member of the *Gesellschaft der jungen Hebraeer. Later he became Orthodox and from 1816 served as rabbi in Vienna and as *kashrut* supervisor. In 1829 he settled in Eisenstadt.

Moses' son MARCUS (Meir, Maier; 1788–1858) moved from Vienna to Prague around 1810 and became a clerk in the Bohemian Jewish tax administration. Influenced by Baruch and Ignaz *Jeiteles, Marcus began to write in both Hebrew and German on historical themes. In 1812 he published two parts of a history of Rome in Hebrew, *Korot Yemei Kedem* (the published parts covering the period until the fifth century B.C.E.), which he stated could teach devotion to duty, heroism, and patriotism. In 1817 Fischer published in Hebrew a history of Moroccan Jewry between the seventh and the ninth centuries based on historical material written in several languages.

Marcus falsified a manuscript, the so-called Ramshak or Wallerstein chronicle. He put German "translations" from the Aramaic and Yiddish sections that it allegedly contained at the disposal of Moses Wolf *Jeiteles who incorporated them in *Zikkaron le-Yom Aharon* (1828). These quotations show that there were good relations between Jews and gentiles during the *Hussite period, and attest to the existence of customs which the Prague *maskilim* were then intending to introduce. Fischer's falsification was apparently influenced by the nascent Czech national ideologies, which led the Czech patriot priest Wenceslas Hanka around the same time to falsify old manuscripts in order to demonstrate the antiquity of Czech literature. Fischer also published the *Historisches Taschenbuch fuer Israeliten und Israelitinnen* (1811), as well as a collection of poems, and several articles in *Sulamit.* His writings reflect his sympathies for republicanism, his appreciation of *Joseph II, and his opposition to the French Revolution.

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[Meir Lamed]

FISCHER, ANNIE (1914–1995), Hungarian pianist. Born in Budapest, Fisher studied in the Liszt Academy of Music with Arnold Szekely and Dohnani, and made her début in 1922, playing Beethoven's First Concerto. In 1922 she made her European début playing in Zurich. Fischer won the Franz Liszt international Competition in Budapest in 1933 with a mature and brilliant performance of Liszt's B minor sonata. She embarked on an international career, interrupted by the war years, which she spent mainly in Sweden. She made her American début in 1961 and appeared at the Salzburg festival in 1964. Although she toured throughout the world as concert pianist and recitalist, she remained essentially a European-based artist.

In 1949, 1955, and 1965 Fischer received the Kossuth prize, Hungary's highest cultural award. In 1965 she was made honorary professor at Budapest's Academy of Music and in 1974 received the Red Banner Order of Labor. Fischer established a reputation as a pianist of unique and visionary intensity. Her range of keyboard color was wide, from a tender crystal sound in Mozart, through a restrained and colorful Schumann, to a stormy and vigorous rendition of the Beethoven sonatas. As a profound pianist her interpretation was noble and intelligent, with a formidable command of structure. Fischer played music from Bach to Bartók. Mozart, Beethoven, and Schumann were central to her repertory, but she could equally master Chopin, Schubert, and Brahms. Inspirational and unpredictable, she made few recordings.

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[Naama Ramot (2nd ed.)]

FISCHER, BERNARD (b. 1821), Austrian rabbi and author. Fischer was born in the village of Budikau, in Bohemia. He received his Ph.D. degree from the University of Prague in 1850. Fischer served as the rabbi of various small congregations in the district of Eger. He prepared new editions of Buxtorf's rabbinic lexicon (1873) and Wiener's Chaldaic grammar (1882). He also edited *Bikkurei Ha-Ittim*, an illustrated Hebrew monthly, in Leipzig in 1863.

°**FISCHER, CAROLUS** (**Karl**; 1755–1844), Christian Hebraist. Fischer was librarian of Prague University and served as government-appointed censor of Hebrew books and translator in Prague from 1788 (see *Censorship), the first layman to serve in this capacity. Fischer was on friendly terms with Eleazar *Fleckeles. His query about the validity of a Jew's oath to a gentile appears in Fleckeles' *Teshuvah me-Ahavah* (no. 26). He wrote notes to Moses *Landau's Aramaic-German dictionary and an introduction to Leopold *Dukes' German translation of Rashi's commentary on the Pentateuch. In 1813 he submitted to the authorities a memorandum concerning the use of the term *nokhri* in talmudic literature; he left a summary of his opinions on Jewish problems based on his experiences in censorship (dated 1814). Fischer's *Gutmeinung ueber den Talmud der Hebraeer* (completed in 1802) was published by Emanuel *Baumgarten in 1883 as a contribution to the *Bloch-*Rohling controversy over the Talmud. Two manuscript volumes mainly containing Fischer's Hebrew correspondence with Eleazar Fleckeles, Bezalel *Ranschburg, and other scholars, as well as paragraphs he had deleted from books, are in the Prague University library. Fischer was in personal contact with members of the *Gesellschaft der jungen Hebraeer, and permitted Israel *Landau and Meir (Marcus) *Fischer to use the university library, closed until then to Jews.

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FISCHER, EDMOND (1920–), U.S. biochemist. Fischer was born in Shanghai and from age seven was educated in Switzerland where he graduated in biology and chemistry from the University of Geneva and obtained his D.Sc. in chemistry under the direction of Kurt Meyer. After research appointments at the Rockefeller Institute, New York, and the California Institute of Technology, Pasadena, he joined the department of biochemistry of the University of Washington, Seattle (1953), where he was appointed professor (1961) and professor emeritus from 1990. Fischer's main research discoveries relate to protein phosphorylation, the process involved in vital metabolic activities such as providing energy from stored sugar in active muscles. He and his colleagues helped to elucidate the enzymes controlling phosphorylation and the regulation of these enzymes. He was awarded the Nobel Prize in Physiology or Medicine (1992) jointly with Edwin Krebs. Subsequently he made important contributions to elucidating the way in which protein phosphatases help to orchestrate the response of cells to external stimuli. His many honors include the Werner Medal of the Swiss Chemical Society, the Senior Passano Award, and election to the American Academy of Arts and Sciences (1972) and the U.S. National Academy of Sciences (1973). He is an accomplished pianist who contemplated a career in music before turning to chemistry.

[Michael Denman (2nd ed.)]

FISCHER, GYULA (**Julius**; 1861–1944), Hungarian scholar and rabbi, Born in Sárkeresztur, Fischer studied at the Budapest rabbinical seminary and was appointed rabbi of Györ (Raab) in 1887, Prague in 1898, and Budapest (1905) where he was chief rabbi (1921–43). In 1905 he became lecturer in rabbinic literature and Midrash at the rabbinical seminary, and for a time was acting director of the seminary. A man of wide Jewish and general erudition, Fischer wrote a monograph on Judah ibn Tibbon (1885) and translated into Hungarian Philo's *Life of Moses* (1925). He contributed many articles and essays in German and Hungarian to Jewish and general periodicals. Fischer was a gifted orator and one of the first Hungarian Neolog rabbis to support the rebuilding of Ereẓ Israel.

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[Baruch Yaron]

FISCHER, JEAN (1871–1929), Zionist leader in Belgium. Born in Cracow, Fischer emigrated to Belgium in his youth and became a prominent diamond merchant. He was an active supporter of Herzl's political Zionism. During World War I he initiated the transfer of the *Jewish National Fund office to the Hague and, together with Jaeobus *Kann, Nehemiah *de Lieme, and Julius *Simon, was a member of the committee established to run the activities of the Zionist Organization. Active in all spheres of Jewish public life in Belgium, Fischer headed the Zionist Federation for many years. In addition to many articles on Zionist matters, he published *Das heutige Palaestina* (1908), a book about his 1907 visit to Ereẓ Israel. The moshavah Kefar Yonah in the Plain of Sharon is named after him.

[Getzel Kressel]

His son MAURICE (1903–1965) was an Israeli diplomat. Born in Antwerp, he settled in Palestine in 1930 and was a founder of Kefar Yonah. In 1931 he founded the Matta'ei ha-Sharon Agricultural Development Company. During World War II he served as an officer in the Free French Army and was twice decorated. In the crucial years of 1947–48 Fischer, then in France, served as official delegate of the Jewish Agency Political Department. Later he served in France as Israel's diplomatic representative, and eventually ambassador, until 1953. At the same time he headed the Israel delegation to UNESCO. In 1948 he was cosignatory of the Fischer-Chauvel Agreement, which defined the status of French institutions in the newly founded State of Israel. From 1953 to 1957 he was minister to Turkey, and from 1960 until his death ambassador to Italy.

[Netanel Lorch]

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Tidhar, 2 (1961), 3750–51; *Haolam* (1929), 1037; (1930), 15.

FISCHER, JOSEF (1871–1949), rabbi, historian of Danish Jewry. Born in Hungary, Fischer served as *dayyan* and librarian of the Copenhagen Jewish community from 1893, and was in charge of its welfare work from 1901 to 1932. He was a leading member of the Mizrachi movement in Denmark. Fischer wrote extensively on the genealogy of Jewish families in Denmark and the history of Danish Jewry in general; some of his studies were translated into English and German. He edited the *Tidsskrift for Jødisk Historie og Litteratur* ("Journal for Jewish History and Literature") in 1917–25 and contributed to the *Dansk Biografisk Leksikon.* His son LEO became president of the Copenhagen Jewish community in 1964.

[Bent Melchior]

FISCHER, LOUIS (1896–1970), U.S. author and journalist, authority on Soviet Russia. Fischer, who was born in Philadelphia, worked first as a teacher. In 1917 he enlisted in the Jewish Legion recruited by the British in World War I to fight in Palestine. The war was over by the time he arrived in Palestine, but he stayed on to familiarize himself with the country and to become acquainted with Jewish leaders. In 1922 he went to Russia where he remained for 14 years. No foreign journalist then or later came to know so many of the top leaders of the Revolution. *Oil Imperialism* (1926) was Fischer's first book on the Soviet Union. Permitted by the Foreign Commissariat to study their archives, he wrote the highly authoritative two-volume study, *The Soviets in World Affairs* (1930). With the Stalinist purges in the mid-thirties, when many of his close friends were sent to concentration camps or shot, Fischer left the Soviet Union and went to Spain. There he enlisted in the International Brigades and, after the collapse of the Republican regime, went on a tour round the world. He took a particular interest in India, where he became a close friend of Mahatma *Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru. Later Fischer became disillusioned with Communism and he participated in *The God that Failed* (1950), a symposium of noted writers who had abandoned their belief in Communism. His books include: *Why Recognize Russia?* (1933); *Soviet Journey* (1935); *The War in Spain* (1937); *Stalin and Hitler* (1940); an autobiography, *Men and Politics* (1941); *Dawn of Victory* (1942); *Gandhi and Stalin* (1947); *The Life of Mahatma Gandhi* (1950); *The Life and Death of Stalin* (1952)*; Russia, America and the World* (1961); and *The Life of Lenin* (1964). In 1959 he became a member of the Institute of Advanced Study at Princeton University, and later a research associate and lecturer at the Woodrow Wilson School of the university.

[Maurice Gerschon Hindus]

FISCHER, MORITZ VON (1800–1900), Hungarian porcelain manufacturer. Fischer's porcelain company in Herend, Hungarian, rendered distinguished service to the country's industry and art. He was compelled to struggle against innumerable difficulties before he succeeded in developing his small factory in 1839. Because of the company s skills and talent, it became a veritable art institute, comparing favorably with the established porcelain establishments such as those in Berlin and Meissen. The company was represented at a large number of international exhibitions, and invariably was awarded first prizes. In recognition of his services, Fischer's grandson, Eugène von Fischer, was raised to the nobility by Emperor Francis Joseph I in 1869.

FISCHER, OTOKAR (1883–1938), Czech writer, poet, playwright, translator, and critic. Fischer, who was born into an assimilated Jewish family in Kolín, Bohemia, became professor of German literature at Prague's Czech university. He edited the literary reviews *Kritika* and *Jeviště*, contributed to other important Czech periodicals, and served as the director of the Prague National Theater. One of the outstanding exponents of Czech culture between the two world wars, Fischer was a prolific writer. His voluminous series of essays and monographs include two volumes on Heine, studies of Kleist and Nietzsche, and two collections of essays entitled *Duše a slovo* ("The Soul and the Word," 1929), and *Slovo a svět* ("The Word and the World," 1937). His works include more than a dozen volumes of poetry. In spite of his assimilated background, Fischer was always conscious of his Jewish spiritual roots and was tortured by a perpetual need for self-analysis. His second book of poems, *Ozářená okna* ("Lit Windows," 1916), proclaims his origin, and in the collection *Léto* ("The Summer," 1919), he again sees himself as a descendant of the *Wandering Jew. It was, however, only in the verse collection *Hlasy* ("Voices," 1923), which marks his maturity as a poet, that Fischer accepted the inescapability of his Jewish heritage. It was indeed no mere chance that Fischer's work on Heine (1922–24) was written at the same time as *Hlasy;* and in his translation of the *Poèmes juifs* of André *Spire, Fischer included a letter from Spire in which a parallel is drawn between the two poets. While both Heine and Fischer began writing not only in the language but also in the spirit of their environment, Spire notes, they could not in the end help returning to the Jewishness so deeply lodged in their souls. A number of Fischer's dramas – notably *Přemyslovci* ("The Přemysl Dynasty," 1918), *Herakles* (1919), and *Otroci* ("The Slaves," 1925) – were Czech stage successes. His outstanding translation from German literature is his version of Goethe's *Faust.* He also translated Heine, Kleist, Nietzsche, Schiller, Bruekner, Hofmannsthal, and Wedekind, as well as many other world-famous authors. He attended the informal *Pátečníci* gatherings ("Friday's visitors") which convened regularly every Friday on the initiative of the Czech writer Karel Čapek in the years 1924–1937, including President T.G. Masaryk and Foreign Minister E. Beneš. Fischer's younger brother JOSEF FISCHER (1891–1945), philosopher and sociologist, was executed by the Nazis.

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[Avigdor Dagan / Milos Pojar (2nd ed.)]

FISCHER, RUTH (née **Eisler**, also known as **Elfriede Golke** or **Friedlaender**; 1895–1961), Austrian Communist. Born in Leipzig, Ruth Fischer studied philosophy, politics, and economics at the University of Vienna where her father, Rudolph *Eisler, was a professor of philosophy. She was a sister of Gerhardt *Eisler and Hans *Eisler. She became co-founder of the Communist Party of Austria in November, 1918 and settled in Berlin during the following year. A leading figure in the German Communist Party, she was a member of the presidium of the Communist International and was elected to the Reichstag in 1924. In 1926 she was suspended from the party but continued to sit in the Reichstag until 1933, when she fled to Paris; she also remained a member of the Reichsrat from 1924 to 1928. In 1941 she immigrated to the United States, where she developed a more critical stance regarding Stalinism. After 1955 she returned to Paris, where she died in 1961. Ruth Fischer published several works on international Communism including: *Stalin and German Communism* (1948), *Von Lenin zu Mao; Kommunismus in der Bandung-Aera* (1956), and *Die Umformung der Sow etgesellschaft, Chronik der Reformen 1953–1958* (1958).

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FISCHER, SAMUEL (1859–1934), German publisher, Fischer, who was born in Liptószentmiklós, Slovakia, went to Berlin in 1881 and began trading there as a bookseller. In 1886 he founded the Fischer Verlag, specializing in the publication of foreign naturalist literature and of as yet little-known German authors. From 1898 onward, the character of the publishing house was largely determined by Moritz *Heimann, who was later succeeded as literary adviser by the poet Oskar Loerke. Fischer lent enthusiastic support to the "Freie Buehne," which sought to revitalize the German theater, and in 1889 began publishing its mouthpiece, the monthly *Die Neue Rundschau.* Until the Nazi seizure of power in 1933 the Fischer Verlag was Germany's leading literary publishing house. Fischer himself encouraged successive generations of aspiring young authors and secured the rights to publication of books by an impressive array of major writers, including Thomas *Mann, Arthur *Schnitzler, Jacob *Wassermann, Hugo von *Hofmannsthal, and Sigmund *Freud. Loerke, a staunch anti-Nazi, tried vainly to save the company under Hitler, and courageously delivered Fischer's funeral oration in 1934. Two years later, however, the publishing house was forced to move to Vienna and from there it was subsequently transferred to Stockholm (1938) and then to New York (1940). Gottfried Bermann-Fischer, the founder's son-in-law, assumed control of the firm in 1934 and maintained its activity abroad. In 1972 Gottfried Bermann-Fischer and his wife Brigitte, the daughter of Samuel Fischer, resigned from the Board of the Fischer Verlag and retired from all publishing activities.

In 1950 the Fischer Verlag resumed its publishing operations in Frankfurt. The well-known Fischer Buecherei, which specializes in paperback editions, was founded in 1952. *S. Fischer und sein Verlag* by Peter De Mendelssohn, giving a complete history of the publishing house, appeared in 1972.

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FISCHER, STANLEY (1943–), international economist and governor of the Bank of Israel. Born in Lusaka, Zambia, Fischer came to the United States in 1966 and was naturalized in 1976. He received both a bachelor and masters degree of science in economics from the London School of Economics and a Ph.D. in economics from MIT (Massachusetts Institute of Technology). He served as assistant professor of economics at the University of Chicago until 1973, after which he served as associate professor and finally professor at MIT's Department of Economics. During this time he was a visiting professor at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem and the Hoover Institution at Stanford. His ties to Israel are deep.

Fischer moved into international finance and economy in the business world in 1988 as vice president, development economics, and chief economist at the World Bank, then becoming the first deputy managing director of the International Monetary Fund from September 1994 through August 2001. Fischer then held several positions at Citigroup beginning in February 2002. In January 2005 Fischer agreed to become the next governor of the Bank of Israel after nomination by Prime Minister Ariel *Sharon and Finance Minister Binyamin *Netanyahu and a recommendation by the Israeli cabinet. He was appointed to the five-year term on May 1, 2005. While some criticized the appointment of a non-Israeli to the position, Finance Minister Netanyahu defended the decision, stating that Fischer is knowledgeable about Israeli economy and society. "The fact that a man like him is ready to finish his affairs at Citigroup, immigrate to Israel, and become the central bank governor here is a golden opportunity for the Israeli economy," Prime Minister Sharon said in a statement. Fischer's appointment meant a substantial pay cut, a long-distance move, and the necessity to become immersed in learning more of the Hebrew language, which he already spoke fairly well.

A Guggenheim Fellow, Fischer is also a Fellow of the Econometric Society and the American Academy of Arts and Sciences. His memberships include the Council on Foreign Relations, the G-30, the Trilateral Commission, and designation as research associate of the National Bureau of Economic Research. He served on boards for the Institute for International Economics, the International Crisis Group, Women's World Banking, and the International Advisory Board of the New Economic School in Moscow.

Fischer's lengthy list of published works includes extensive writings for scholarly and economic journals. He also held positions as associate editor, editor, and member of editorial advisor boards for a number of economic journals. Books authored or edited by Fischer include *Macroeconomics*, (co-author, 2004^{9}); *IMF Essays from a Time of Crisis: The International Financial System, Stabilization, and Development* (2004); *The Economics of Middle East Peace* (co-editor, 1994).

[Lisa DeShantz-Cook (2nd ed.)]

FISCHHOFF, ADOLF (1816–1893), Austrian politician; one of the leaders of the 1848 revolution. As the first to suggest solutions to the problems of the Hapsburg monarchy by placing its various nationalities on an equal footing, he influenced the formulation of Jewish *Autonomism. Born in Budapest, Fischhoff went to Vienna in 1836 to study medicine. After the outbreak of the revolution, he became head of its highest governing body, the security council (*Sicherheitsausschuss*) and was active in various administrative capacities and in parliament. Fischhoff remained to face trial after the failure of the revolution. Acquitted in 1849, he was nonetheless deprived of political rights which were not restored to him until 1867. He practiced medicine in Vienna, but lost his assets in the stock-market crash of 1873. Subsequently he settled in Emmersdorf, Carinthia, where Austrian politicians came to consult the "sage of Emmersdorf." In collaboration with Joseph *Unger, he published anonymously Zur *Loesung der ungarischen Frage* (1861) outlining the compromise reached in 1867. In *Oesterreich und die Buergschaften seines Bestandes* (1869) he suggested the introduction of municipal autonomy, decentralization, and representative institutions, in conjunction with a conciliatory attitude toward the nationalities and their rights, a nationality law, and a court of national arbitration. In 1875 he published a pamphlet in favor of disarmament, *Zur Reduktion der kontinentalen Heere.* He was unsuccessful in an attempt in 1882 to found a Deutsche Volkspartei to rally liberals from all nationalities, the chief opposition coming from the Jewish leaders of the Vienna German liberals. Fischhoff's ideas were fundamental to the development of Jewish national policy in the Hapsburg domains. Joseph Samuel *Bloch tried to apply Fischhoff's ideas on relationships in the multi-national Austro-Hungarian Empire for the benefit of Galician Jewry. The *Juedische Volkspartei formulated its program along the lines of Fischhoff's Deutsche Volkspartei. Fischhoff was rarely active in Jewish affairs, but in 1851 he drew up, at the request of Leo *Herzberg-Fraenkel, a statute of association for Jewish agricultural colonization in Galicia. He signed the request to permit the founding of a *Kultusverein in Klagenfurt. He corresponded with some of his friends in Hebrew script. It was Fischhoff's express wish to be buried in the Jewish cemetery.

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[Meir Lamed]

FISCHHOFF, JOSEPH (1804–1857), Austrian pianist and composer. In 1813, Fischhoff began to study at the lyceum in

Brünn, at the same time receiving instruction in music from the pianist Jahelka and the bandmaster Rieger. After completing his studies at the lyceum, he went to the University of Vienna to study philosophy and medicine.

The sudden death of his father in 1827 changed Fischoff's career. He decided to devote himself from that time entirely to his art, and in 1833 became professor at the conservatory of music in Vienna. He was one of the most popular pianists in the Austrian capital, distinguishing himself particularly by his rendition of the compositions of Bach, Beethoven, Mendelssohn, and Chopin. He published a string quartet, many piano pieces, variations for the flute, and songs.

FISCHLER, STAN (1932–), U.S. author, sportscaster, leading authority on ice hockey. Born in Brooklyn, New York, and educated at Brooklyn College, Fischler covered hockey for over 50 years, beginning as a publicist for the New York Rangers. He wrote for the *Brooklyn Eagle*, the *New York Journal-American*, and the *Toronto Star* from 1955 through 1977, and then began his broadcasting career in Boston as an analyst for the New England Whalers of the WHA in 1973–74. Fischler joined SportsChannel New York (later FOX Sports Net) at its inception in 1975, for which he continued covering New York metropolitan area NHL teams. Known as "The Hockey Maven," Fischler with the help of his wife, Shirley, authored or co-authored more than 90 books on hockey, including *Fischler's Hockey Encyclopedia* (1975), *Great Book of Hockey: More Than 100 Years of Fires on Ice* (1991), and *Cracked Ice: An Insiders Look at the NHL* (1995). He wrote for various publications, including *The New York Times, The Sporting News, Sports Illustrated, Sport, Newsweek* and the *Hockey Digest*, and later became a columnist for *The Hockey News.* Fischler's other passions are subway systems and their history, and he has written a number of books on the subject, including *Uptown, Downtown: A Trip Through Time on New York's Subways* (1976), *Moving Millions: An Inside Look at Mass Transit* (1979), and *Next Stop Grand Central: A Trip Through Time on New York's Metropolitan Area Commuter Railroads* (1986). His writings have been included in *Best American Sports Writing of the Century* (1999).

[Elli Wohlgelernter (2nd ed.)]

FISCHMANN, NAḤMAN ISAAC (c. 1809–1878), Hebrew writer. A member of the young Haskalah group in Lemberg, Fischmann published his first book of poetry, *Eshkol Anavim*, in 1827. He was one of the group which published the *Ha-Ro'eh* pamphlets that sharply criticized the studies by Italian (Reggio and S.D. Luzzatto) and Galician (mainly S.J. Rapoport) scholars with the stated purpose of defending "Jewish traditions." Fischmann wrote two didactic biblical plays, *Sisera* (1841) and *Kesher Shevna* (1870), and published a second volume of poetry, *Ha-Et ve-ha-Meshorer*, in 1870. He left many unpublished poems and talmudic studies, some of which appeared later in various periodicals.

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[Getzel Kressel]

FISCUS JUDAICUS, a fund of the Roman Empire into which was paid the money from the special tax levied on the Jews by *Vespasian after the destruction of the Temple (Jos., Wars 7:218; Dio Cassius 66:7,2). This imposition, a poll tax of two drachmae, was officially paid to Jupiter Capitolinus and took the place of the half-*shekel which the Jews throughout the world had contributed to the Temple while it stood. There is evidence to show that this tax was levied in Egypt from 71–72 C.E. onward. In these documents it is called "the Jewish tax" and a great deal is known about it, particularly from ostraca from Edfu. It is clear that in Egypt even women and children as young as three were liable, although they had been exempt from the half-shekel. The tax was probably paid in Egypt only until the age of 62. In Rome itself a special procurator called *procurator ad capitularia Judaeorum* was in charge of the fiscus (H. Dessau (ed.), *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, 1 (1892), 330, no. 1519). In addition to the financial burden it imposed, the tax was humiliating for the Jews. During the reign of Domitian (81–96) the methods of collecting the tax were strengthened and apparently the Roman authorities became much more vigorous in determining who was liable for taxation. It was imposed on those who had been born Jews as well as those who concealed the fact that they were Jews, and on proselytes to Judaism. In various ways this opened the door to possibilities of calumny, causing suffering to many residents in Rome, and possibly beyond. Suetonius (*Vita Domitiani*, 12) relates that when he was young an old man of 90 was examined to see whether he was circumcised, which shows that during this period the tax was levied even on those above the age of 62. After the murder of Domitian in 96, the atmosphere changed for the better as is seen from the coins of Nerva which bear the inscription *fisci Judaici calumnia sublata.* However, the levy of the tax continued. The latest documentary evidence is a papyrus from the village of Karanis in Faiyum, upper Egypt (Tcherikover, Corpus, 3 (1964), 17–18, no. 460, line 7, dated 146 C.E. or 168 C.E.). Literary sources indicate that the tax was still in existence in the first half of the third century (Origen, *Ad Africanum*, 14). It is not known when the tax came to an end, but some attribute a decisive role in its abolition to *Julian the Apostate.

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[Menahem Stern]

FISH, HAREL (**Harold**; 1923–), literary scholar specializing in general literature and the mutual relationship between

Jewish and non-Jewish culture in literature. Fish was born in Birmingham, served as an officer in the British army, and fought in World War II. He graduated in 1946 from Sheffield University, and in 1948 he received his B.Litt. from Oxford University, doing research on Bishop Josef Hall. From 1947 to 1957 he was a lecturer at Leeds University. In 1957 he immigrated to Israel and joined the faculty of Bar-Illan University, becoming a professor there in 1964. In 1968 he was named the rector of the university, a position he held until 1971. In 1971 he founded the David and Batya Kotler's Institute for Judaism and Contemporary Thought. From 1981 to 1987 he was chairman of the Lechter Institute for Literary Research. He published hundreds of articles and eight books, including (in Hebrew) *The Biblical Presence in Shakespeare, Milton and Blake* and *New-Old Stories: Biblical Patterns in the Novel from Fielding to Kafka*. In 2000 he was awarded the Israel Prize for literature.

[Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

FISH, STANLEY (1938–), U.S. literary theorist. Born in Providence, Rhode Island, Fish earned his doctoral degree in English literature from Yale University in 1962. He taught at the University of California, Berkeley, and at Johns Hopkins University, before becoming professor of English and of law at Duke University (1985–98). He also served as the executive director of the Duke University Press from 1993 to 1998. Fish was then dean of arts and sciences at the University of Illinois at Chicago from 1999 to 2004.

Considered a leading scholar on John Milton, Fish is a well-known and sometimes controversial literary theorist. His first published work, *John Skelton's Poetry*, appeared in 1965, but he rose to prominence with the publication of his second book, *Surprised by Sin: The Reader in "Paradise Lost"* (1967). Here Fish first presented his theory of "reader-response criticism," in which he argues that reading is a temporal phenomenon and that the meaning of a literary work is located within the reader's experience of the text. His *Self-consuming Artifacts* (1972) elaborated and developed the notion of reader response into a theory of interpretive communities, in which a reader's interpretation of a text depends on the reader's membership in one or more communities that share a set of assumptions. *Is There a Text in This Class? The Authority of Interpretive Communities* (1980), a collection of Fish's essays, established his position as one of the most influential literary theorists of his day.

In his later works, Fish extended literary theory into the arenas of politics and law, writing on the politics of the university, the nature of free speech, and connections between literary theory and legal theory. These works include *Doing What Comes Naturally: Change, Rhetoric, and the Practice of Theory in Literary and Legal Studies* (1989), *There's No Such Thing as Free Speech, and It's a Good Thing, Too* (1994), *Professional Correctness: Literary Studies and Political Change* (1995), and *The Trouble with Principle* (1999). *There's No Such Thing as Free Speech*, seen by some as a critique of liberalism, generated much debate. In *The Trouble with Principle*, Fish suggests that the application of principles impedes democracy, and he examines affirmative action as a case in point, again sparking wide-ranging critique. In 2005 Fish was named the Davidson-Kahn Distinguished University Professor of Humanities and Law at Florida International University, with a principal appointment in the College of Law and a role as lecturer in the College of Arts and Sciences.

[Dorothy Bauhoff (2nd ed.)]

FISH AND FISHING.

In the Bible and Talmud

The Bible says that humans are to exercise dominion over the fish as well as over all other subhuman life (Gen. 1:28). Fish are divided into clean and unclean by biblical dietary laws: "These you may eat, of all that are in the waters. Everything in the waters that has fins and scales … you may eat. But anything in the seas or the rivers that has not fins and scales … is an abomination to you" (Lev. 11:9–11). Water creatures lacking fins and scales are an abomination because they move like land animals, transgressing the boundaries of creation (Douglas in Bibliography). Similarly, certain fish were avoided because they looked like snakes (Firmage in Bibliography). When the Hebrews complain to Moses about their diet of manna, they recall the fish of Egypt, which they refer to as "meat" (Num. 11:4–5). Egypt was known for its abundance of fish, and as such they are mentioned as victims of the first plague (Ex. 7:18, 21). The likeness of any fish is included in the general prohibition of graven images in Deuteronomy 4:15–18. In the ancient period fishing served as a significant means of support and as an important economic factor both in Egypt and Babylonia, but probably less so in Israel. For most of the biblical period the southern Mediterranean coast was controlled by the Philistines and the north by Phoenicians. Natives of Israel would have fished in the Jordan and the Sea of Galilee (Firmage in Bibliography). Whereas *Hammurapi's laws 26–32 are devoted to fishermen in royal service (COS II, 338–39), no regulation of fishermen is found in biblical law. While Ashurnasirpal's banquet served 10,000 fishes (Wiseman in Bibliography), fish are absent from the delicacies of Solomon's table (I Kings 5:2–3). The Bible mentions "the Fish Gate" in Jerusalem (Zeph. 1:10; Neh. 3:3; II Chron. 33:14), which was named after the fish market nearby. Tyrian fish merchants selling their wares on the Sabbath in Jerusalem are mentioned in Nehemiah 13:16. The abundance of *halakhot* and *aggadot* about fishing and fishermen in both the Babylonian and Palestinian Talmuds and in various Midrashim indicates a considerable fishing industry in the periods of the Second Temple and the Talmud. This is also evident from the Gospels, as the first disciples of Jesus were fishermen on the Sea of Galilee. Josephus frequently refers to Jews engaged in that livelihood, as well as to a fleet of fishing vessels on the

Sea of Galilee. A Greek inscription from the second century C.E. about a family or band of Jewish fishermen has been found in Jaffa.

Although the Bible does not provide the name of any specific fish, it does mention many fishing implements: rod (Isa. 19:8), net (*ibid.*, and Hab. 1:15), trap (Eccles. 9:12), fishing net (Ezek. 26:5), spear (Job 40:31), and small fishing boats (Amos 4:2, according to the Targum). The word *reshet* ("net"), frequent in the Bible in other contexts, appears only once as a device to catch fish (Ezek. 32:3).

The Bible's most famous fish is the large one that swallowed Jonah and kept him in his belly for three days and nights (Jonah 2:1), and who, according to the New Testament, foreshadowed the underworld in which Jesus would spend three days and nights.

The Babylonian and Jerusalem Talmuds both mention the fishing rod and a variety of traps and nets (*akon*, from the Greek *o(n)gkīnos*, "hook," Kel. 23:5; *kefifa*, Tosef., Makhsh. 3:12; *pitos*, from the Greek *pithos*, TJ, Shab. 13:5, 14a; *leḥi, kokarei ve-oharei* in Shab. 18a, Git. 60b–61a, MK 11a; *ḥarmei*, the net-fishers of Tiberias, TJ Pes. 4:1, 30d). From the different fishing devices (such as snares in Kel. 23:5), it is possible to learn about other methods of fishing at that time (see Kid. 72a and BM 12b). The Midrash makes a reference to fishermen repairing their nets (Tanḥ., Va-Yelekh 2). According to the Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs, Zebulun "who shall dwell at the shore of the sea" (Gen. 49:13) was the first fisherman, and a detailed description of fishing is put into his mouth (Test. Patr., Zeb. 5:5–6, 8).

Fishing in the Halakhah

According to the Talmud the granting of fishing rights to all of the tribes around the Sea of Galilee was included in the "Ten *takkanot* of Joshua, the son of Nun," enacted by Joshua on the conquest of the land, even though that body of water was completely within the boundary of the tribe of Naphtali. "It is permitted to fish with an angle in the Sea of Galilee provided that no sail is spread, as this would detain boats" (BK 81a–b). Fish in the sea are considered ownerless property and whoever catches them has the right to keep them. It is stated that according to biblical law, this applies even to those fish already netted as long as the net has not been drawn from the water. "In the interests of peace," however, the rabbis ruled that the fish belong to the owner of the net (Git. 5:8). Details are given with regard to the prohibition of fishing on Sabbaths and festivals including the spreading of nets and the regulations concerning fishing on the intermediate days of festivals (Bezah 3:1–2; TJ, Pes. 4:1, 30d; Shab. 17b; Yoma 84b; MK 11a).

Fish in the Halakhah

In Jewish tradition only fish that have scales and fins are permitted for consumption (see *Dietary Laws). They need not be slaughtered ritually (*shehitah) and their blood is not prohibited. According to a belief held in talmudic times, the eating of fish together with meat was considered harmful and predisposed the body to leprosy. In accordance with the rule that considerations of health are as important as ritual prohibitions, the rabbis consequently forbade the cooking or eating of fish together with meat (Pes. 76b). No interval before eating meat, however, is necessary (Sh. Ar., YD 116:2–3); it is enough to rinse the mouth or to chew something after eating fish. Fish are *parve* (considered to be neither meat nor milk). It may be consumed or cooked with milk. Fish, as a favorite dish for Shabbat, is mentioned in the Talmud (Shab. 118b) and by the Roman poet Persius Flaccus (*Satires*, 5, 180 ff.). The abundance of fish in the Babylonian rivers and canals, making it a food available to the poor, may be one possible reason. A more homiletical reason is found in the words "and God blessed them" which occur in the biblical account of the creation of fish on the fifth day (Gen. 1:22), as well as in the subsequent account of the sixth day (Gen. 1:28) and the Sabbath (Gen. 2:3). Fish, man, and the Sabbath are thus connected in a threefold blessing. Moreover, the Sabbath is said to be an anticipation of the messianic era which will be inaugurated by the eating of the legendary fish *Leviathan. Fishing from a river or pond is forbidden on Sabbath and on holidays; however, fish kept in a storage pond may be taken out (Bezah 3:1–2). Fish were thought to bring good luck because they are the zodiac signs of Adar, the month of Purim. Representations of fish are widespread in the Orient as amulets, and in Eastern Europe some boys were called Fishl as a good omen against the evil eye (see Ber. 20a; cf. Jacob's blessing of his grandchildren, Gen. 48:16). Fish was a favorite Sabbath food for Eastern European Jews living in poor economic conditions. This was presumably due to the abundance and cheapness of fish and to the special tax on kosher meat Jews had to pay to the government in the 18th century. Cooked, smoked, or salted fish was served as the main dish at the Third Meal (*Se'udah Shelishit) on Saturday afternoon, at the farewell meal (*Melavveh Malkah) on Saturday night at the end of the Sabbath and at communal dinners (see *Se'udah and *Siyyum). (See also *Food.)

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FISHBANE, MICHAEL (1943–), U.S. scholar of Bible and Midrash. Born in Cambridge, Massachusetts, after early studies in philosophy and Jewish thought in America and Israel he became a student of Nahum M. *Sarna and Nahum N. *Glatzer and earned his M.A. and Ph.D. degrees from Brandeis University (1967 and 1971). He held a number of academic appointments in the Department of Near Eastern and Judaic

Studies at Brandeis University (1969–90). He served as the Nathan Cummings Professor of Jewish Studies in the Divinity School, the Committee on Jewish Studies, and the College of the University of Chicago (from 1990), where he was also a lecturer in the Law School.

Fishbane's initial work deals with literary and intertextual themes from the Hebrew Bible. In *Text and Texture: Studies in Biblical Literature* (1979), he demonstrates how biblical authors and redactors utilize stylistic and compositional devices in narratives and narrative units in speeches and prayers and in themes and motifs in order to convey the historical, cultural, and theological message of the Bible. In *Biblical Interpretation in Ancient Israel* (1985) Fishbane explores the existence and function of diverse forms of exegesis and interpretation in the Bible itself (scribal, legal, theological, prophetic-oracular). He thereby shows that not only is Hebrew Scripture the primary document for the exegetical tradition of Judaism and Christianity, but that it is an exegetical work in its own right. His *Biblical Myth and Rabbinic Mythmaking* (2003) is a study of myth in the Hebrew Bible and mythmaking in classical rabbinic literature and medieval Jewish mysticism. He demonstrates that certain types of myth are endemic in Jewish theology and are not contradictory to aspects of monotheism, diametrically opposing the contention that there was no myth in the rabbinic age (Ephraim E. Urbach), and that it is a late and foreign implant in medieval Spanish Kabbalah (Gershom *Scholem).

Fishbane's point that textual interpretation explicates the plain-sense of primary sources in their original cultural, historical, and social settings, while also generating new values and explications in subsequent eras, is found in his *The Garments of Torah: Essays in Biblical Hermeneutics* (1989). This interpretative process informing Jewish religious thought also illuminates his *The Exegetical Imagination: On Jewish Thought and Theology* (1998), a series of essays dealing with the role Scriptural exegesis plays in Jewish speculative theology as well as ritual practice. His *The Kiss of God: Mythical and Spiritual Death in Judaism* (1994), awarded the National Jewish Book Award for Jewish Thought, explores selected rabbinic, philosophic, and mystical texts on the passion for religious perfection expressed as the love of God unto death itself, including acts of martyrdom and ritual replacements for actual death. Fishbane is also the author of the first full-length commentary on the Sabbath and festival *Haftarot* (2002).

Fishbane's published articles and reviews in scholarly books and journals range from ancient biblical thought to the existential theology of Martin *Buber and Franz *Rosenzweig; and show how Jewish culture is permeated and regenerated by exegetical creativity. He served as editor-in-chief of the Jewish Publication Society Bible Commentary (for Prophets and Writings). Fishbane's life's work in tilling sacred texts and tracing subsurface traditions has led him to new explorations in the history of exegesis and theology and to projects involving cultural pedagogy and interreligious dialogue.

[Zev Garber (2nd ed.)]

FISHBEIN, MORRIS (1889–1976), U.S. physician, editor, and author. Fishbein, who was born in St. Louis, Mo., received his M.D. from Rush Medical College in 1912. He edited the *Journal of the American Medical Association* from 1924 to 1949, and was editor and coeditor of numerous other journals. Fishbein built the *Journal* into the world's largest medical periodical. He was considered the official mouthpiece of U.S. medicine. Fishbein also edited numerous reports, pamphlets, and books and wrote daily health columns for various American newspapers. Fishbein, in the course of his career, was also a vigorous opponent of chiropractors and medical quacks and faddists. His books include *Frontiers of Medicine* (1933); *Modern Home Medical Adviser* (1935); *Popular Medical Encyclopaedia* (1946); *History of the American Medical Association* (1947); *Medical Writing: The Technic and the Art* (1938); *New Advances in Medicine* (1956); *Modern Home Remedies and How to Use Them* (1966). From 1960 Fishbein was editor of *Medical World News*, and also medical editor of Britannica Book of the Year. He wrote an autobiography, *Morris Fishbein, M.D.* (1969).

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[Fred Rosner]

FISHBERG, MAURICE (1872–1934), U.S. physician and physical anthropologist. Born in Russia, Fishberg emigrated to the U.S. in 1889. He became clinical professor of medicine at the New York University and Bellevue Hospital Medical College. He served as chief physician and director of the tuberculosis service of the Montefiore Hospital and other institutions, and as medical examiner of the United Hebrew Charities of New York City. Fishberg became a recognized authority on pulmonary tuberculosis, and wrote a standard textbook on this subject, *Pulmonary Tuberculosis* (1916; 2 vols., 1932^4). He was a pioneer in the use of pneumothorax treatment for this disease, and helped to stimulate a campaign for the prevention of the malady by his demonstration of its high incidence among New York City schoolchildren. The other focus of his intellectual concern was the scientific study of the anthropology and pathology of Jews, in which field he made extensive investigations not only in the United States but also in Europe and North Africa. His various investigations culminated in the summary volume *The Jews; A Study of Race and Environment* (1911), in which he maintained the heterogeneity in racial composition of modern Jews. As anthropological consultant to the Bureau of Immigration and on behalf of a U.S. Congressional Committee, he visited Europe in 1905 and 1907 to study aspects of the immigration problem. His report was published by the U.S. government at the direction of President Theodore Roosevelt. He also served as chairman of the anthropology and psychology section of New York Academy of Science and as vice president of the Academy (1909–11).

[Ephraim Fischoff]

FISHEL (**Fischel**), wealthy family prominent in Jewish society in *Cracow-Kazimierz, Poland, at the close of the 15th and first half of the 16th century; named after EPHRAIM FISHEL with whom the family arrived in Cracow from Bohemia. He and his four sons had commercial dealings with the Polish nobility. After initial friction with earlier-established Cracow Jews, the Fishel family took a leading place in the community, and two of its members were among the signatories of an agreement between the community leaders and the municipal council in Cracow in 1485. By 1475 Ephraim Fishel senior had died and his extensive business had been taken over by his sons. Of them MOSES (d. c. 1504), a banker and one of the community leaders, mentioned first in 1477, was principally engaged in the lease of customs duties and other royal revenues. In 1499 he was accused of extortion in collecting the poll tax from the Jews of the region of *Gniezno. In 1503, with his brother Jacob, Moses leased the royal customs revenues in the provinces of Great Poland and Masovia for an annual payment of 2,500 Hungarian florins, 24 kg. of saffron and 120 kg. of black pepper. His wife RACHEL (Raszka Moyżeszowa) engaged independently in moneylending from 1483. She was in contact with the courts of kings Casimir IV, John Albert, and Alexander. As creditor of Polish kings, she received compensation in an interesting way from King Alexander. In 1504 he annulled the crown debts due to her and her late husband and ordered the mint to mint coins from her silver bars; the coins were worth 1600 florins more than the bars, being 1000 as repayment of principal and 600 for interest. Of their daughters, Esther married Jacob *Pollak, Hendel married the kabbalist Asher Lemel, rabbi of Kazimierz, and Sarah married David Zehner of Buda, at the age of 12. Another son of Ephraim, STEPHAN (d. after 1532), a banker, converted to Christianity with his sons Jan and Stanislaw (their adopted Christian names), probably after the expulsion of the Jews from Cracow in 1494. His Jewish wife and their other children did not become baptized. Stephan continued to engage in finance and in 1503 leased the rights of collection of the Jewish poll taxes of Great Poland for a period of four years. In 1507 he and his two sons were adopted by the vice chancellor Jan Laski, into whose family he married, and he was ennobled, taking the name Powidzki. His descendants, still known as Powidzki, owned large landed estates in the 18th century. The relations between Stephan Powidzki and his Jewish kinsmen were strained, and on several occasions resulted in lawsuits. In about 1510, he befriended the notorious apostate Johannes *Pfefferkorn.

Moses' son, EPHRAIM FISHEL (late 15th and early 16th century), known as Franczek, a banker, tax and customs farmer, and communal leader, also engaged in many financial transactions with the Polish aristocracy. He was the first agent of Elizabeth (wife of Frederiek, prince of Silesia), the sister of King Sigismund I (1506–1548). In about 1512, he was appointed by the king, with *Abraham Judaeus Bohemus, as chief collector (*exactor*) of Jewish taxes throughout the kingdom, and was directly active in Little Poland and the province of "Russia," an appointment that gave him a central role in Jewish communal life there. His exceptional status was strongly opposed by the leaders of the communities and he had serious difficulties in collecting the taxes. In 1515 his failure to perform these offices became evident and he left Poland for a while. After a number of years, he returned to Cracow, and in 1524, with his wife Chwałka (Falka), he was appointed *servus regis* to Sigismund I and Queen Bona.

The son of Ephraim (Franczek) and Chwałka, MOSES died as a martyr in 1542. He was a pupil of Jacob *Pollak and studied medicine at Padua. After his return to Cracow, he practiced medicine as his sole occupation, achieving fame and becoming physician to state dignitaries. In consideration of his competence and achievements, the king exempted him from the payment of Jewish taxes in 1520. That year he signed the *ḥerem* ("ban") issued by Jacob Pollak against Abraham *Mintz. In 1532, on the death of Asher Lemel, Moses was appointed rabbi of the Polish community of Cracow (to be distinguished from that of the Bohemian Jews). At the end of 1541, in accordance with the Jewish policy of King Sigismund I, Moses was appointed, with *Shalom Shakhna b. Joseph of Lublin, as leader of the Jews (*senior generalis*) for Little Poland with authority extending over one quarter of the territory. The Jews, however, regarded this as an infringement of their autonomy and opposed the appointment. In 1541 Moses became involved in a false charge and appeared in a harsh trial concerning proselytes to Judaism. He was imprisoned and died soon afterward.

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[Arthur Cygielman]

FISHELS, ROIZL OF CRACOW (16th century), printer/publisher. In 1586 Fishels printed a book of Psalms translated from Hebrew into Yiddish by R. Moshe Standl; this volume also included her own autobiographical Yiddish poem, which was printed at the front of the book. In this poem, the principle source of information about her life, she indicates the date of the printing and relates part of her genealogy as the granddaughter of Yuda Levy, who ran a yeshivah in Ludomir for 50 years. She modestly describes her father, Yosef Halevi, as having "not a bad reputation among the *levi'im*," but her husband, whom she calls simply R. Fishels, is only named twice, without any description of his activities or accomplishments. All the male relatives she mentions were already deceased in 1586. At the end of the book Fishels again gave the date of completion and signed her name as "Roizl the Widow, daughter of R. Yosef Halevi."

Fishels offers no further personal details in her poem, but she does write that she "taught [the psalms] to all who wanted to know / Until they began to come, one and all, to me." This suggests that Roizl Fishels was a teacher, most likely of girls and women. Another line of the poem, "Here in the holy city of Hanover I donated [the psalms]" implies that she funded the printing of this Yiddish book so that it would be available "in our own mother tongue." Based on the frequency of Hebrew words in her writing, and her allusions to biblical characters, it is clear that she had at least some knowledge of Hebrew and was educated in Bible.

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[Emily Taitz (2nd ed.)]

FISHER, CARRIE FRANCES (1956–), U.S. actress and author. Born in Beverly Hills, Calif., to singer Eddie *Fisher and actress Debbie Reynolds and raised by her mother and shoe retailer Harry Karl following her parents' highly publicized divorce, Fischer attended the Professional Children's School in Los Angeles. She dropped out of Hollywood High School to join the Broadway musical *Irene* (1972) and made her film debut in *Shampoo* (1975), opposite Warren Beatty. She went on to study at the Central School of Speech and Drama in London for 18 months. After an audition with George *Lucas, Fisher landed the leading role of Princess Leia in the blockbuster film *Star Wars* (1977) as well as the next two films in the series, *The Empire Strikes Back* (1980) and *Return of the Jedi* (1983). Her connection to the original cast of the comedy TV show *Saturday Night Live* led her to take a small part as the jilted girlfriend of John Belushi's character in *The Blues Brothers* (1980) and a role as Chevy Chase's love interest in *Under the Rainbow* (1981). She appeared in smaller roles in such films as *The Man with One Red Shoe* (1985), *Hannah and Her Sisters* (1986), and *When Harry Met Sally* (1989). Fisher married singer Paul *Simon in 1983 after a seven-year relationship, but the couple divorced 11 months later in 1984. In 1985, Fisher nearly overdosed after wrestling with a Percodan addiction. At that time she entered a detox clinic and has remained drug-free since. The experience would later turn up in her 1987 bestselling novel *Postcards from the Edge*, which won the Los Angeles Pen Award and was adapted as a feature film in 1990 by director Mike *Nichols and starred Meryl Streep and Shirley MacLaine. *Postcards* was followed by the novels *Surrender the Pink* (1990), *Delusions of Grandma* (1994), and *The Best Awful There Is* (2004). Fisher continued to work in Hollywood as a script doctor and took on small parts in such films as *Austin Powers: International Man of Mystery* (1997), *Scream 3* (2000), and *Charlie's Angels: Full Throttle* (2003). In 2004, Fisher launched *Conversations with Carrie Fisher*, a cable TV talk show on the Oxygen network.

[Adam Wills (2nd ed.)]

FISHER, DONALD (1928–), U.S. entrepreneur, merchant. Fisher, a native Californian, was a real estate developer until he was 41. Then, frustrated at not finding a pair of jeans that fit properly, he and his wife, Doris, decided to open their own clothing store in San Francisco. That was the beginning of Gap Inc., a company that grew into the biggest specialty store chain in the U.S., with thousands of units in North America, Europe, and Japan. After earning a B.S. from the University of California in 1950, Fisher went into real estate development. He found his true calling in 1969 when, dissatisfied with the jeans he purchased, he launched his own business. The then popular phrase "generation gap" inspired the company name. At first, Gap sold only Levi's jeans as well as discounted record albums and tapes to lure younger customers. By the mid-1970s, Gap – which then had about 200 outlets – began adding private label merchandise, as did many other retailers. The company continued to open more stores, but it was apparent to Fisher that he needed someone with a merchant's eye to make the stores more compelling. In 1983, he hired Millard S. *Drexler as his deputy and Gap's fortunes began to soar. The same year, Fisher acquired Banana Republic, a chain of clothing stores specializing in safari looks. When that concept fell out of fashion, Banana Republic was restructured. In 1994, Gap launched another division, Old Navy, a discount chain that became an instant hit. The following year, Fisher stepped down as Gap's chief executive officer and gave the post to Drexler, whose merchandising acumen had propelled the company to unprecedented heights. A soft economy and increased competition hurt Gap's performance in the late 1990s and at the beginning of the new millennium, but a turnaround started in 2002. Fisher remained chairman until December 2003, relinquishing the title to his son Robert, a former Gap executive. At the time, Gap was a 3,070-unit retailing giant with annual sales of some $15 billion, and the Fishers' initial investment of $63,000 in 1969 had made them billionaires several times over. Fisher was named to the California Board of Education in 2001.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Fortune* (Aug. 1998).

[Mort Sheinman (2nd ed)]

FISHER, DUDU (1951–), Israeli singer and cantor. Fisher was born in Petaḥ Tikvah. He displayed his singing prowess at a very early age when he would entertain his fellow yeshivah high school students at parties with hits from abroad with the original English language lyrics replaced by a text of a far more religion-friendly nature. He spent his military tour of duty as a soloist in the choir of the IDF Chief Rabbinate and, after his release, began to work as a cantor in the Great Synagogue in Ramat Gan and Tel Aviv. He subsequently took his cantorial talents to South Africa and began to perform regularly for Jewish communities around the world. Alongside his cantorial duties, Fisher began to perform a wide range of material in Yiddish. The venture proved highly popular and he recorded his first album of Yiddish songs, *Goldener Lieder – Die Beste Yiddische Lieder* (Golden Songs – The Best Yiddish Songs) in 1986. The following year he competed unsuccessfully for the right to represent Israel in the Eurovision Song Contest. Fisher's contribution to Yiddish, ḥasidic, and cantorial music – both his recordings, such as *Mammamanyo*, and his numerous concerts around the world – were recognized by his award of the Shalom Aleichem Prize.

In 1987 Fisher auditioned for the Cameri Theater's Hebrew version of the musical *Les Miserables*. Despite the fact that the theater managers preferred a big name for the lead part of Jean Valjean, both the director and the producer of the show opted for Fisher, who was yet to become a star. The gamble proved successful and the show was a hit. Meanwhile, Fisher's recording work continued unabated and, in September 1988, he released two albums of ḥasidic and Yiddish songs. Fisher's international career really took off in 1993 when he starred in the English-language version of the Broadway production of *Les Miserables*, later playing the lead role when the production went to London's West End, where he performed in the presence of the Queen of England.

In 1989 Fisher performed in a show called *Over the Rainbow*, which included favorites from well-known musicals such as *Porgy and Bess, The Wizard of Oz*, and *Cats*. He subsequently released an album with material taken from the show. Fisher followed this with a production called *Steps to Heaven* in which he sang original and Hebrew-language versions of romantic hits performed in the 1960s by the likes of Paul Anka and Elvis Presley. Around this time Fisher cemented his lofty international status when he recorded an album of hits from musicals with the London Symphony Orchestra.

As an observant Jew, Fisher managed to keep his lead role in *Les Miserables* despite not taking part in the Friday evening or Saturday performances. In 1999 Fisher solved that logistical problem his own way when he put on a successful one-man off-Broadway show, aptly entitled *Never on Friday*.

[Barry Davis (2nd ed.)]

FISHER, EDDIE (**Edwin Jack Fisher**; 1928–), U.S. singer. Born in Philadelphia, the son of Russian Jewish immigrants, Fisher learned to sing in a synagogue. On tour in the Catskill Mountains in 1949, the young Fisher caught the attention of singer *Eddie Cantor. Fisher got his first wide exposure as a frequent guest performer on Cantor's early-1950s TV broadcasts. Within a year, he was idolized throughout the country. He gave considerable assistance to Jewish charities.

In 1953 Fisher was given his own 15-minute TV show, *Coke Time*, sponsored by Coca-Cola (1953–57). The show was so popular that the soft-drink company offered him an unprecedented one-million-dollar contract to be their national spokesperson. By 1954 Fisher had become one of the most popular singers in America. During that period he was, along with Perry Como and Elvis Presley, RCA Victor's top-selling pop vocalist. His many hits include "Anytime"; "Oh, My Papa"; "Wish You Were Here"; "I Need You Now"; "Dungaree Doll"; "I'm Walking Behind You"; "Heart"; "Games That Lovers Play"; "Somebody Like You"; "Thinking of You"; "Turn Back the Hands of Time;" "Tell Me Why"; "I'm Yours"; "Lady of Spain"; "Count Your Blessings"; and "Cindy, Oh Cindy."

In 1955 Eddie Fisher married actress Debbie Reynolds, but he divorced her and married Elizabeth *Taylor in 1959 after a highly publicized affair that damaged his career. His third wife was singer-actress Connie Stevens.

In addition to his many TV guest appearances, Fisher performed in three movies. He had a small part in the classic film *All about Eve* (1950). In 1956 he co-starred with Debbie Reynolds in the romantic comedy *Bundle of Joy*; and in 1960 he appeared in the drama *Butterfield 8* with Liz Taylor, a film that won her an Academy Award.

In 1963 Fisher recorded the live album *Eddie Fisher at the Winter Garden* for his own label, Ramrod. He returned to RCA in the mid-1960s to record the albums *Games That Lovers Play; People Like You*; and *You Ain't Heard Nothin' Yet.* He did not record much during the rest of his career, but he continued to perform on concert stages and in nightclubs around America.

Married five times, Fisher has four children, all of whom are in show business: Carrie Fisher and Todd Fisher (with Debbie Reynolds); and Tricia Leigh Fisher and Joely Fisher (with Connie Stevens).

Fisher has written two autobiographies, namely *Eddie: My Life, My Loves* (1981), and *Been There, Done That* (1999).

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[Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

FISHER, MAX M. (1908–2005), U.S. industrialist and community leader. Fisher was born to Russian immigrant parents in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, and was raised in Salem, Ohio. He attended Ohio State University on a football scholarship, but after an injury he worked his way through college and graduated in 1930 with a degree in business administration. He then moved to Detroit, where he entered the oil business. He was a pioneer in the development of Michigan's oil industry and in the successful introduction of new oil-refining processes in the 1930s and 1940s. Fisher helped found the Aurora Gasoline Company and was chairman of the board until 1957. He also dealt in finance and real estate and was a board member of various prominent corporations.

In 1954 he made his first visit to Israel. From then on, he spent much of his life raising money for the Jewish state. He was also credited with leading and reorganizing every major Jewish organization in the U.S. Fisher raised hundreds of millions of dollars for Israel as well as for many charities, the city of Detroit, and the Republican Party.

A leading figure in the Republican Party in Michigan, Fisher was also a member of the Republican National Committee. Long interested in urban affairs, he was chosen chairman of New Detroit, Inc., a commission drawn from the city's industrial and business leadership to cope with the problems exposed by the 1967 summer riots. Soon after President Nixon's election (1968), he was appointed special presidential advisor on urban and community affairs. Fisher was active in Jewish life, serving as president of Detroit's Jewish Welfare Federation and chairman of its Allied Jewish Campaign, as general chairman of the United Jewish Appeal (1965–67), and its president (1967–71). He was chairman of the national executive of the American Jewish Committee (1968–72). He also served as chairman of the board of governors of the Jewish Agency from 1971. During the era of the Six-Day and Yom Kippur wars in Israel in the late 1960s and early 1970s, he urged military support for Israel and discouraged imposed peace plans. Later, he lobbied on behalf of Russian Jews who wished to immigrate to Israel.

In 1993, Ohio State's business college was named the Max M. Fisher College of Business. Regarded as one of the premier management institutions in the country, the business college's campus was largely endowed by Fisher.

In 1999 the board of the L.A. Pincus Fund for Jewish Education in the Diaspora established the Max M. Fisher Prize for Jewish education in the Diaspora in honor of Fisher's 90th birthday and in recognition of his role in supporting the advancement of Jewish education around the world. Established in 1977, the Jerusalem-based Pincus Fund works to strengthen Jewish education in the Diaspora through support for new and innovative programs. Fisher served as the fund's chairman since its inception.

In 2004 the Detroit Symphony Orchestra opened the Max M. Fisher Music Center performing arts complex. Fisher donated $10 million to the building, which is nicknamed "The Max." At age 96, Fisher was listed by *Forbes* magazine in 2004 as the oldest member of the Forbes 400, the list of the 400 wealthiest people in America.

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[Hillel Halkin / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

FISHER, SAMUEL, BARON FISHER OF CAMDEN (1905–1979), English communal worker. Samuel Fisher was born in London and from his youth was active both in Jewish communal affairs and in local politics. In 1953 he was elected mayor of the Borough of Stoke Newington, the first Jew to hold the office, and in 1965 of the newly created borough of Camden. His many public offices included chairmanship of the Metropolitan Water Board and of the Association of Labor Mayors. In the Jewish community he was one of the leading figures of the Jewish Friendly Society Movement, and in 1973–79 served as president of the Board of Deputies of British Jews. He was created a life peer in 1974 as Baron Fisher of Camden.

Fisher was an outstanding example of the new generation of Jewish communal leaders, whose roots were in the East End of London and who rose to the pinnacle of Jewish communal leadership without the advantage of birth or wealth but by hard work and a genuine concern for their fellows.

[Michael Wallach]

FISHER, SIR WOOLF (1912–1975), New Zealand industrialist and philanthropist. Born in Paraparaumu, he founded with his brother-in-law, M. Paykel, the firm of Fishel and Paykel, which developed into one of the largest manufacturers of refrigerators and home appliances in New Zealand. Fisher became one of the Dominion's leading industrialists. In 1959 he was appointed by the government to lead the New Zealand trade mission to Australia. From 1960 he headed New Zealand Steel Ltd., a vast enterprise, manufacturing steel from iron sands. Fisher helped to found the New Zealand Outward Bound Movement for the physical and moral training of youth. Among his other philanthropic undertakings was the establishment of the Woolf Fisher Scholarship Trust enabling New Zealand teachers to travel overseas. He was also a bloodstock breeder and owner of some of New Zealand's finest racehorses. Fisher was knighted in 1964 for his contributions to business life and philanthropy.

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[Alexander Astor]

FISHMAN, JACOB (1878–1946), Yiddish editor and U.S. Zionist leader. Fishman was born in Poland and emigrated to the United States where he became active in pre-Herzl Zionist societies and later helped found the Zionist Organization of America. He wrote for and coedited the New York Yiddish dailies *Tageblat* (1893–1914) and *Varhayt* (1914–16), and from 1916 made his impact on the American Jewish scene as columnist and managing editor of the *Jewish Morning Journal.*

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[Sol Liptzin]

FISHMAN, JOSHUA AARON (1926–), U.S. educator, social psychologist, and sociolinguist. Born in Philadelphia, Fishman received his Ph.D. in social psychology from Columbia University in 1953. He was professor of social sciences at Yeshiva University (New York) from 1966. Fishman served as dean of the Ferkauf Graduate School of Humanities from 1960 to 1966 and as Yeshiva University's vice president of academic affairs from 1973 to 1975. He then served as the distinguished university research professor emeritus of social sciences of Yeshiva University.

An international leader in his field, Foreman did pioneering research in sociolinguistics, which explores the social concomitants of language behavior and behavior toward language. Within this field, he specialized in national language planning and in determining the circumstances of language maintenance and shift, and established techniques for measuring and describing patterns of societal bilingualism. He was also an internationally recognized authority on language policy in developing countries. Fishman's book *Language Loyalty in the United States* (1966) is a monumental work on the language maintenance efforts of non-English-speaking immigrants. His *Yiddish in America* (1965) is a significant study describing the efforts of American Jews of Eastern European origin to maintain their vernacular. In 1973 Fishman founded and became the ongoing general editor of the *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*. He also served as the editor of *YIVO-Bleter* from 1975 to 1977. He was appointed a Fellow of the Institute for Advanced Study at Princeton in 1975.

Among other books published by Fishman, the following have some Jewish content: *Language and Nationalism* (1972); *Language in Sociocultural Change* (1972); *Bilingual Education* (1976); *Language Planning Processes* (1977); *Advances in the Study of Societal Multilingualism* (1978); and *Advances in the Creation and Revision of Writing Systems* (1979), while *Studies on Polish Jewry: 1919–1939* (1973) and *Never Say Die: A Thousand Years of Yiddish in Jewish Life and Letters* (of which he was editor, 1980) are entirely of Jewish content. Subsequent books by Fishman include *Ethnicity in Action* (with M. and R. Gertner, 1985), *Readings in the Sociology of Jewish Languages* (1985), *Ideology, Society & Language: The Odyssey of Nathan Birnbaum* (1987), *The Influence of Language on Culture and Thought* (1991), *In Praise of the Beloved Language* (1996), *Can Threatened Languages Be Saved?* (2001), and *Reversing Language Shift* (2001).

Fishman was active in Yiddish cultural efforts. As a founding member and first chairman of the Research Planning Committee of the *YIVO Institute for Jewish Research in New York, he helped to develop a program for training new scholars in the social sciences and humanities as they relate to the Jewish field.

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[Leybl Kahn / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

FISHMAN, WILLIAM (1921–), British historian. Born to Russian immigrant parents in London's East End, Fishman left school at 14 to become a clerk and was involved in the *"Battle of Cable Street" in 1936. After World War II he received a degree from the London School of Economics and became probably the first British professionally trained historian of immigrant background to study the Jewish East End. From 1972 Fishman was Barnett Shine Senior Research Fellow at Queen Mary College. His best-known work, *East End Jewish Radicals,* appeared in 1975, and he has also written several other pioneering studies of the East End working class. Fishman has been very influential in broadening the traditional "meliorist" focus of Anglo-Jewish history from its elites to the inclusion of post-1880 immigrants and of radical groups. A Festschrift for Fishman, *Outsiders and Outcasts: Essays in Honour of William Fishman*, edited by Geoffrey Alderman and Colin Holmes, appeared in 1993.

[William D. Rubinstein (2nd ed.)

FISHMAN, WILLIAM HAROLD (1914–2001), biochemist. Fishman was born in Winnipeg, Canada, and became a U.S. citizen c. 1942. He graduated from the University of Saskatchewan (1935) and got his Ph.D. in biochemistry from the University of Toronto (1939). After postdoctoral research at the University of Edinburgh (1940) and Cornell University Medical School (1941), he joined the Bowman-Gray School of Medicine in Winston-Salem, North Carolina, followed by the University of Chicago (1945) and Tufts University, Boston (1948–76), where he became professor of pathology and first director of the Tufts Cancer Research Center (1971). In 1976 he and his wife and colleague Lillian Fishman founded the La Jolla Cancer Research Foundation (now the Burnham Institute), where he worked for the rest of his life. Fishman's research concerned the relationship between normal cell development and cancer (oncodevelopmental biology), and identifying markers for diagnosing cancer. His honors included the annual award from the International Society for Oncodevelopmental Biology and Medicine (1994), which recognized his pioneering role in this field.

[Michael Denman (2nd ed.)]

FITCH (Feiczewicz), LOUIS (1889–1956), Canadian Zionist. Born in Suceava, Bukovina, Fitch was taken to Canada in 1891 by his parents, who settled in Quebec. He was associated with Samuel W. Jacobs, who became a member of the Canadian parliament in 1917, in the Ortenberg trial. In this trial Jewish citizens of Quebec laid charges of libel against antisemitic agitators who had stated that the Talmud permits Jews to harm Christians. In 1919 he was one of the founders of the Canadian Jewish Congress, of which he was the first secretary. In the early 1920s he was chairman of the schools committee of the Montreal Jewish Community Council, which was fighting for a separate Jewish school system in Quebec; the case reached the Privy Council in London. He later became president of the Canadian ORT. In 1938 he was elected to the Quebec Provincial legislature, representing the Union Nationale Party, but was defeated the following year. Fitch published a number of historical works. He traveled extensively in Spain, North Africa, Mexico and Central America to research various aspects of the history of the Jews in Spanish-speaking countries, and made a special study of the Golden Age of Hebrew Literature in Spain.

Fitch remained an active Zionist throughout his life. He was vice president of the Zionist Organization of Canada from 1921 to 1940.

FITELBERG, GRZEGORZ (Gregor; 1879–1953), conductor and composer. Born in Dvinsk, Latvia, Fitelberg became conductor of the Warsaw Philharmonic Orchestra (1906–11), the Vienna Opera (1912–13), and, between 1914 and 1920, the Petrograd Musikalnya Drama Orchestra, the Moscow Bolshoi, and Diaghilev Ballet orchestras. He then returned to the Warsaw Philharmonic and formed the Polish radio's symphony orchestra. He spent World War II mainly in the U.S., and returned to the same orchestra, which he conducted until his death. Fitelberg's compositions include two symphonies (1905 and 1907), two overtures (1905 and 1906), and two orchestral rhapsodies. His son, JERZY FITELBERG (1903–1951), also a composer, was born in Warsaw and died in New York. He wrote mainly chamber and orchestral music in a neoclassical style, sometimes using Polish folk idioms.

FITERMAN, CHARLES (1933–), French politician. Born in Saint Etienne, France, Fiterman, a qualified electrician by trade, made his way to the number two position in the French Communist party, the second largest communist party in the Western world. In the first Mitterrand administration (1981–1984) he was one of the four communist ministers and was in charge of transport. Fiterman is a cool, moderate politician who follows traditional party lines.

His unsuccessful challenge to the leadership of the Communist party by Georges Marchais led to his exclusion from central positions in the party and he became one of the leaders of the "reformers" wing demanding reform and modernization of the remaining traditional communist parties in the world.

[Gideon Kouts]

FIVE SPECIES, the varieties of seed to which the *halakhot* concerning the agricultural produce of Ereẓ Israel apply. The Mishnah lists the five species as *ḥittim, se'orim, kusmin, shibbolet shu'al*, and *shippon* (Ḥal. 1:1). They are known in literature by the generic names *tevu'ah* ("produce," "increase"; Ḥal. 1:2) and *dagan* ("corn," i.e. grain). In the Bible, however, both terms have a wider meaning; *tevu'ah* denotes the "increase" of the threshing floor and the winepress (Num. 18:30), the vineyard (Deut. 22:9), and the corn (II Chron. 32:28); and *dagan* (often juxtaposed to "wine" and "oil") denotes the blessings of the earth. The term *bar* occurs only in the Bible, and applies to corn from which the chaff has been winnowed (Jer. 23:28; et al.). The exact definition of the five species is problematical. Feliks maintains that three of the five are species of the genus *Triticum* ("*wheat*"), and identifies (1) *ḥittim* as hard and bread wheat (*Triticum durum* and *vulgare*); (2) *kusmin* as rice wheat (*Triticum dicoccum*); (3) *shippon* as spelt wheat (*Triticum spelta*); the last two are species of the genus *Horedeum* ("barley"); (4) se'orim is six- and four-rowed barley (*Hordeum sativum* and *vulgare*); and (5) *shibbolet shu'al* is two-rowed barley (*Hordeum distichum*). All five species grew in Ereẓ Israel in ancient times, as was not the case with oats (the usual translation of *shibbolet shu'al*) or rye (that of *shippon*).

According to the *halakhah* these five species are subject to the laws relating to the blessings said before and after meals (see *Grace after Meals), to *ḥallah* (the separation of a portion of dough to the priests; Ḥal, 1:1), to the laws concerning leavened and unleavened bread on Passover (Ḥal. 1:2), and to the prohibition against harvesting or eating produce until the *omer* has been offered (Ḥal, 1:1). With respect to the law of *kilayim* (the prohibition on mixing heterogeneous plants in a field), *kusmin* and *shippon* are regarded as one species, and *se'orim* and *shibbolet shu'al* as another (Kil. 1:1). As regards combining different doughs to form the minimum quantity liable to *ḥallah*, in which taste is the determining factor, *ḥittim* and *kusmin* are reckoned as one species (Pes. 35a).

The Talmud records an important dispute between Johanan b. Nuri and the sages. The former maintained that rice, too, was a species of grain and, like the five species mentioned above, was subject to the laws of Grace after Meals, *ḥallah*, and unleavened bread. He also included as liable to *ḥallah, karmit* (Pes, 35a), apparently a plant of the order *Gramineae* which grows in swamps – the *Glyceria fluitans.* Although Johanan b. Nuri's view was not accepted as *halakhah*, there were places in Babylonia where *ḥallah* was separated from dough made of rice, since it was their staple food (Pes. 50b–51a). However, since rice is usually sown after Passover and does not ripen until the end of summer, Johanan b. Nuri is not reported as claiming that the laws of *omer* apply to it, since this would mean that it could not be eaten until the following spring.

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[Jehuda Feliks]

°FLACCUS, AVILLIUS AULUS, prefect of Egypt 32–38 C.E. Until the death in 37 of Tiberius, to whom he owed his appointment, Flaccus discharged his duties with devotion and ability. However, with the accession of Caligula and the consequent uncertainty of his position, his attitude toward the Jews of Alexandria changed for the worse. He withheld their expression of homage to Caligula on the latter's accession, permitted the mob to jeer at the Jewish king Agrippa when he visited Alexandria, allowed them to place idols in the local synagogues, and issued an edict declaring the Jews to be aliens. He arrested and maltreated members of the *gerousia* (the local community council) and ordered Jewish homes to be searched and any weapons found to be confiscated. When the Jews were attacked and many of them killed by the Alexandrians, Flaccus made no attempt to restrain the mob. Suddenly arrested, he was sent to Rome and there banished to Andros, and later executed. Philo, who describes the entire episode in his *In Flaccum*, saw in his fate the hand of Providence.

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[Lea Roth]

°FLACCUS, VALERIUS, Latin writer of the Flavian period, author of the *Argonautica*, describing the voyage of Jason and his companions. Only in the proem to the *Argonautica* does he touch upon matters pertaining to the Jews. It consists of a laudatory address to the emperor Vespasian, in which he refers to Titus' claim to military glory, the conquest of Jerusalem. The conquest of Judea (which he calls Idumea) and the burning of the Temple he describes in the words, "Thy son (i.e., Domitian) shall tell of the overthrow of Idumea – for well he can – of his brotherhood with the dust of Solyma, as he hurls the brands and spreads havoc in every tower." It is noteworthy that unlike *Josephus, who states that the Temple was destroyed against the wishes of Titus, Valerius Flaccus extols its destruction (although he refers generally to Jerusalem and not specifically to the Temple); this suggests that Josephus' description is an attempt to minimize the initiative taken by Titus in the destruction of the Temple. There is no reason to assume that the proem was composed immediately after the destruction or even during the reign of Vespasian; the conquest of Jerusalem was well remembered for many years. Scholars differ as to the date of the proem, some placing it in the reign of Titus, and others in that of Domitian.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: J. Bernays, *Ueber die Chronik des Sulpicius Severus* (1861), 48ff.; Syme, in: *Classical Quarterly*, 23 (1929), 135–7; V. Ussani, *Studio su Valerio Flacco* (1955); Smallwood, in: *Mnemosyne*, 4th series, 15 (1962), 170–2; Pauly-Wissowa, 2nd series, 15 (1955), 10, no. 170.

[Menahem Stern]

FLAG. There are indications that banners or emblems were in use among the Israelites even in biblical times (see *Banner). The expression אֹתֹת לְבֵית אֲבֹתָם – "the banner (or ensign) or their patriarchal house" (Num. 2:2) – appears to denote the physical emblem of a tribe, a patriarchal house, or a family, and it was thus understood in the Midrash (Num. R, 2:7), which gives the following description of the flags of the 12 tribes, with proof verses where the reason is not immediately obvious:

> There were distinguishing signs for each prince; each had a flag (*mappah*) and a different color for every flag, corresponding to the precious stones on the breastplate (lit. "heart") of Aaron. It was from these that governments learned to provide themselves with flags of various colors. Each tribe had its own prince and its flag whose color corresponded to the color of its stone. Reuben's stone was ruby, the color of his flag was red, and embroidered thereon were mandrakes. Simeon's was topaz and his flag was green, with the town of Shechem embroidered thereon. Levi's was smaragd (= emerald) and the color of his flag was a third white, a third black, and a third red; embroidered thereon were the Urim and Thummim. Judah's was a carbuncle and the color of his flag resembled that of the heavens; embroidered on it was a lion. lssachar's was a sapphire and the color of his flag was black like stibium; embroidered thereon were the sun and moon. Zebulun's was an emerald and the color of his flag was white, with a ship embroidered thereon. Dan's was jacinth and the color of his flag was similar to sapphire; embroidered on it was a serpent. Gad's was an agate and the color of his flag was neither white not black but a blend of black and white; on it was embroidered a camp. Naphtali's was an amethyst and the color of his flag was like clarified wine of a not very deep red; on it was embroidered a hind. Asher's was a beryl and the color of his flag was like the precious stone with which women adorn themselves; embroidered thereon was an olive tree. Joseph's was an onyx and the color of his flag was jet black; the embroidered design thereon for both princes, Ephraim and Manasseh, was Egypt because they were born there. A bullock was embroidered on the flag of Ephraim. A wild ox was embroidered on the flag of the tribe of Manasseh. Benjamin's stone was a jasper and the color of his flag was a combination of all the twelve colors; embroidered thereon was a wolf.

The word *nes*, mentioned in the Prophets (Isa. 5:26; 62:10; Jer. 4:6; Ps. 60:6), is also close to the modern "flag," standing as it does for a signal which may flutter in the breeze raised on a high place. It is also used to denote a sail (Isa. 33:23, also in the Mishna, BB 5a). Murals depicting Jewish ships, as found in Bet She'arim tombs and "Jason's tomb" in the Reḥaviah quarter of Jerusalem, reveal that the ships bore emblems. From Targum Jonathan to Numbers 2:3 it becomes apparent (see Num. R. 2:7; *Midrash Aggadah* (Buber ed. 79) *Arugat ha-Bosem* (Urbach ed.) A, 287/8) that during the time of the Targum colored flags, made of silk, were already known.

The term *degel* used in the Bible, especially in the description of the order in which the people of Israel pitched their tents and their battle array (Num. 2:1–3, 10–18, 25), was thought to have its present-day meaning – "flag." In fact, the term as employed there denotes a division of the people's army. This is the sense of Akkadian *diglu* (from *dagālu*; "to see," "behold,"), Aramaic *degel* of the fifth century B.C.E. *Elephantine papyri, and this is also the sense in which the term is mentioned in the Midrash (e.g., Num. R. 2:7; Song R. 6, 10); the Arabic word *dajjala* also means a very large group of men. Rashi (to Num. 2:2) explains *degel* in accordance with the examples he saw among the military formations of his time – a colored symbol identifying a military unit.

In the Dead Sea Scrolls – e.g., the "War of the Sons of Light with the Sons of Darkness" – the term *degel* is used in its biblical sense: an organizational unit, a battalion (*ibid.*, ed. Yadin 1955, p. 274; for other attestations DCH II, 415). The same scroll, however, devotes two chapters (*ibid.*, pp. 274–282, 284), to a description of the *otot* סֶרֶךְ אוֹתוֹת כּוֹל הָעֵדָה ("the customary symbols of the entire community"), which appear to have been actual flags. These symbols were of considerable sizes, depending on the size of the unit which they served, and contained various inscriptions: עַם אֵל ("the People of God"); שֵׁם יִשְׂרָאֵל וְאַהֲרֹן וּשְׁמוֹת שְׁנֵים עָשָׂר שִׁבְטֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל כְּתוֹלְדוֹתָם ("the name of Israel and Aaron and the names of the twelve tribes of Israel in the order of their birth"); נֵס אֵל (the pennant of God); שֵׁם נְשִׂיא הַשֵּׁבֶט (the name of the prince of the tribe); etc. To those who went into battle an order was issued "to inscribe on their symbols, as they went forth to war" further inscriptions, and, "when they returned from war" as victors, to add appropriate inscriptions (see DCH II, 166). If the scroll is not a literary fiction but reflects reality, there is here a description of the important role, very similar to that of the modern flag, ascribed to physical symbols in the organization of the community.

In the Diaspora, where there was no Jewish army or panoply of state, there was no room for flags in Jewish public life. In the late Middle Ages instances are known of the award of flags to individual Jews of communities by the secular rulers. In 1254 the emperor Charles IV granted a flag to the Jews of Prague; it was red in color and displayed the six-pronged star, which later became known as Shield of David. In 1592 R. Mordechai Meisel, also of Prague, was given permission to display in his synagogue "the flag of King David, similar to the flag in the Great Synagogue." In 1648 the Jews of Prague were again awarded a flag – still to be found in the Prague synagogue, the Altneuschul – in recognition of their part in the defense of the city against the Swedes; the flag is red and in the middle there is a yellow Shield of David with a Swedish star in its center. When the Jews of Ofen (= Buda) in Hungary welcomed King Matthias Corvinus in 1460, they carried a red flag containing two Shields of David and two other stars.

Jewish flags as an expression of national awakening appeared in the campaign of David *Reubeni among the Jews and the Christian rulers. His deportment was that of a prince and he used flags extensively as an expression of Jewish sovereignty. His flags were white, with the Ten Commandments or verses and names (according to one version, the letters of the word "Maccabee") embroidered on them in gold. Reubeni carried a flag of this kind when he appeared with Solomon *Molcho before Charles v in Regensburg in 1532. Molcho also signed his letters and writings by drawing a flag above his name (see illustrations under *Autographs).

The Shield of David acquired its status as a recognized Jewish symbol only as late as the middle of the 17th century. Official use of it was first made by the heads of the Jewish communities of Prague and Vienna, spreading from these places all over the world. The aristocratic Jewish families of Rothschild and Montefiore incorporated it in their family arms. The early *Ḥibbat Zion societies used it as a national emblem (e.g., in their official seals), generally inscribing the word *Ẓiyyon* in it.

Theodor Herzl, who was not aware of the emblems used by the Ḥibbat Zion movement, made the following entry in his diary (June 12, 1895): "The flag that I am thinking of – perhaps a white flag with seven gold stars. The white background stands for our new and pure life; the seven stars are the seven working hours: we shall enter the Promised Land in the sign of work." This was also the flag that he proposed in *The Jewish State* (1896). Under the influence of the Zionist societies he accepted the shield of David as the emblem of the movement, but he insisted that the six stars should be placed on the six angles of the shield of David, and the seventh above it. In this form, with the inscription "*Aryeh Yehudah*" (the Lion of Judah) in the middle, the Shield of David became the first emblem of the Zionist Organization.

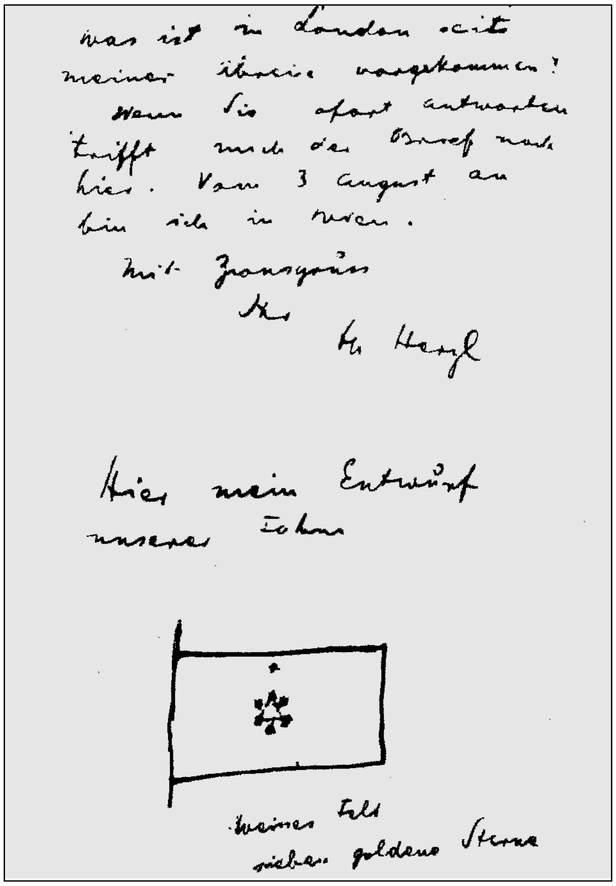

was ist in London seit
meiner Abreise vorgekommen?
Wenn Sie sofort antworten
trifft mich der Brief noch
hier. Vom 3 August an
bin ich in Wien.

Mit Zionsgruss
Ihr
Th Herzl

Hier mein Entwurf
unserer Fahne

weisses Feld
sieben goldene Sterne

Herzl's design for a Jewish flag, seven gold stars on a white field, sketched at the end of a letter to Jacob de Haas, probably 1896. The seven stars were intended to symbolize a seven-hour working day. From J. de Haas, Theodor Herzl, *1927.*

The combination blue and white as the colors of the Jewish flag is first mentioned in the latter part of the 19th century. In his poem "*Ẓivei Ereẓ Yehudah*," written about 1860, the poet L.A. *Frankl declaims:

> All that is sacred will appear in these colors:
> White – as the radiance of great faith
> Blue – like the appearance of the firmament.

The Zionist flag in its present form – two blue stripes on white background with a Shield of David in the center – was first displayed in Rishon le-Zion in 1885. This, however, was not known to the delegates of the First Zionist Congress, and it was David Wolfsohn who created the flag of Zion on the model of the **tallit*, which, as he pointed out, was the traditional flag of the Jewish people, adding the Shield of David. In 1933, the 18th Zionist Congress decided that "by long tradition, the blue-and-white flag is the flag of the Zionist Organization and the Jewish people," This was also the flag which, by a special order issued by Winston Churchill, became the official flag of the Jewish Brigade Group in World War ii.

Flags of the State of Israel

As soon as the State of Israel was established, the question of its flags and emblems arose. Public opinion was unanimous in favor of proclaiming the flag of the Zionist movement as the state flag, but there was some apprehension lest this might cause problems to foreign members of the movement. The Provisional Council of State therefore decided only on flags of the navy and the merchant marine, and it was not until six months after the state had been proclaimed that the form of the national flag was officially determined; it was to be the flag of the Zionist movement, consisting of a white rectangle, with two blue stripes along its entire length and a Shield of David in the center made up of six stripes forming two equilateral triangles. In the original resolution, the color of the stripes and the Shield of David was described as "dark sky-blue," but this was later changed to "blue" for better visibility at sea.

The flag of the Israel navy is a dark blue rectangle, with a white isosceles triangle, with the vertex in the center of the rectangle and the base coinciding with its inner side, and a blue Shield of David inside the triangle. The flag of the Merchant Marine is a blue rectangle with a white oval with a blue Shield of David in its center.

The official emblem of the State, which was decided on in 1949, is the *menorah*, or candelabrum, the ancient symbol of the Jewish people, in the form seen in relief on the arch of Titus in Rome. The *menorah* is surrounded by olive branches, linked at the bottom by the inscription "Israel." The president's pennant is a square blue flag, with the state emblem in silver inside a silver frame. In the course of time more flags and pennants have been adopted: the flag of the Customs and Excise, a blue rectangle, with the national flag in its upper quarter and the inscription מֶכֶס וּבְלוֹ (Customs & Excise) inside a circle in the lower outer quarter.; the flag of the Israel Defense Forces, a blue rectangle with a thin gold stripe along three of its sides and in the lower outer quarter the badge of the IDF, consisting of a Shield of David in outline with a sword entwined with olive leaves inside it, and a strip bearing the inscription "צבא הגנה לישראל" (Israel Defense Army) at the bottom; the prime minister's pennant, a blue rectangle with the national flag in its upper inside quarter and the state emblem, superimposed on the IDF badge, in gold, in the lower outer quarter; the defense minister's pennant, similar to the prime minister's, but smaller by a quarter, and with the emblem in silver; the pennant of the chief of staff, the *allufim* (generals), the commander of the navy, the senior officer in a flotilla; the active service pennant, hoisted on naval vessels on active service; the flag of the air force; and the civil aviation pennant.

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[Michael Simon]

FLAM, HERB (1928–), U.S. tennis player. Born in Brooklyn, New York, and raised in California, Flam started playing at the age of 10 under the tutelage of his father and won his first tournament at 12. He first gained attention in 1943, when he won the U.S. Lawn Tennis Association (USLTA) Singles Championship as a 15 year old. As a Beverly Hills High School junior in 1945, he captured the USLTA Interscholastic titles in Singles and Doubles, with Hugh Stewart. The pair repeated their Doubles success in 1946. Flam earned national prominence in 1948, when as an undergraduate at UCLA, he entered the USLTA Singles Championships unseeded and reached the semifinals, earning him a No. 9 U.S. ranking. He won the USLTA Intercollegiate Singles and Doubles with Gene Garrett in 1950, and then reached the finals of the U.S. Singles championship, becoming the first Jewish tennis player ever to advance to those finals. Flam won the U.S. National Clay Court Singles that year, and teamed with Art Larsen to win the Clay Court Doubles crown as well. He reached the final eight of the Wimbledon Singles three times, and the semifinals in 1952. Flam also reached the quarterfinals of the U.S. Singles six times. After serving in the Navy in 1953–54, Flam won the 1955 U.S. Hard Court Championship, and in 1956 he won his second U.S. Clay Court title. He competed for the United States in Davis Cup matches starting in 1951, winning 12 of 14 matches through his final appearance in 1957. He was ranked No. 6 in the world in 1951, No. 10 in 1952, No. 7 in 1956, No. 5 in 1957 by World Tennis Magazine, and No. 4 in 1957 by the dean of British tennis writers, Lance Tingay. His U.S. rankings were as high as No. 2 in 1950, 1956, and 1957. Up until his time, Flam earned more world rankings than any other Jewish player.

[Elli Wohlgelernter (2nd ed.)]

FLANAGAN, BUD (1896–1968), British comedian. Born Chaim Reuben Weintrop, Flanagan teamed up with Chesney Allen after World War I. "Flanagan and Allen" toured the world and came to prominence in 1930 in George Black's "crazy" show at the London Pavilion. After World War II they were part of the "Crazy Gang," whose shows ran for many years at the Victoria Palace. Flanagan led the gang until it broke up in 1962. Most famous of Flanagan and Allen's song hits was "Underneath the Arches," a song of the depression of the 1930s. Flanagan sang the title song of the popular British television series *Dad's Army.* He wrote an autobiography, *My Crazy Life* (1962).

ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY: ODNB online.

°FLAVIUS, CLEMENS (d. 95 C.E.), son of *Vespasian's elder brother, T. Flavius Sabinus. His sons were designated as successors to the childless emperor Domitian. In 95 C.E. he served as consul together with the emperor. Domitian, however, formally accused Clemens and his wife DOMITILLA, herself a granddaughter of Vespasian and a niece of *Titus and Domitian, of atheism (ἀθεοτης) which resulted in the execution of Clemens and the banishment of Domitilla. The earliest source, Dio Cassius (67:14, 1–2), expressly describes this heresy as a conversion to Judaism. Some scholars connect Flavius' conversion with the journey to Rome of R. *Gamaliel and his followers while others have depicted the couple as Christian martyrs.

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[Isaiah Gafni and Uriel Rappaport]

FLAX (Heb. פִּשְׁתָּה, *pishtah*, in the Bible; פִּשְׁתָּן, *pishtan*, in talmudic literature), plant cultivated in Ereẓ Israel. It is mentioned only once in the Bible. The "stalks of flax" mentioned in Joshua 2:6 are undressed flax fibers. Evidence of the cultivation of flax in Ereẓ Israel at the beginning of the period of the kingdom is to be found in the *Gezer Calendar, which mentions ירח עצד פשת, that is, "the month of the uprooting of flax," which is followed by "the month of the barley harvest." In the Bible there is frequent reference to flax products.

The cultivation of flax played an important role in ancient Egypt. The Bible states that during the plague of hail in Egypt, flax (which ripens early) was damaged (Ex. 9:31). Isaiah (19:5–9) describes the havoc caused to the Egyptian economy by the drying up of the Nile, the consequent withering of the flax, and the resulting ruin of the industries associated with it. Flax was, together with wool, one of the necessities of life (Hos. 2:7, 11), The Torah prohibited the wearing of a garment spun of both materials (Deut, 22:11; see *Shaatnez), a prohibition which the Midrash (PdRE 21) connects with the episode of Cain and Abel, the former having brought an offering of flax seeds, the latter of wool. Some contend that the prohibition reflects the antagonism between the farmer and the shepherd.

The Akkadian for flax is *kitannu*, from which are derived the biblical *ketonet* and the talmudic *kitna.* The sages differed on the interpretation of the phrase "garments (*kotnot*) of skins," with which Adam and Eve were clothed, one view being that it referred to flax "from which the [human] skin derives pleasure," another that it referred to wool, that "grows from skin" (Sot. 14a). Linen from c. 135 C.E. was discovered in Nahal Ḥever.

There are many references in talmudic literature to the growth and cultivation of flax. The quantity of flax produced was apparently subject to considerable fluctuations, there having been times when it was necessary to import hempen garments (Kil. 9:2), These, however, were no longer in demand in the amoraic period when flax was extensively grown (TJ, Kil. 9:5, 32d), Flax was attacked by plant diseases, and public prayers were offered up for their riddance (TJ, Ta'an 3:6, 66d), but after Hiyya and his sons came from Babylonia (to Ereẓ Israel), flax was free from disease (TJ, Ma'as. Sh. 5:8, 56d). Flax was regarded as a crop that impoverishes the soil and so was planted in the same field only once every three or seven years (BM 9:9; Tosef., BM 9:31). It bears beautiful blue flowers, which are followed after a few days by pods (Num. R. 7:4). Although grown mainly for its fiber, it was also cultivated for its seed, which was used as food and for medicinal purposes (BB 93a–b).

The Mishnah and the Talmud give many details about flaxen products and different kinds of cloth. A garment made of flax was usually a popular, strong, and very cheap form of clothing. When R. Judah ha-Nasi II, wearing a flaxen garment, came out to meet R. Johanan, he was told that it was more proper for a patriarch to wear clothes made of wool (TJ, Sanh. 2:8, 20c). There were, however, also fine, excellent clothes made of flax, a wealthy high priest having worn a flaxen garment which cost 20,000 zuzim (TJ, Yoma 3:6,40d). Although expensive flax material was imported (BM 29b), a high quality flaxen cloth was produced in Ereẓ Israel at Beth-Shean (Gen. R. 20:12); that made at Arbela was of a cheaper quality (*ibid.* 19:1 beginning). The flax in the Bible and in talmudic literature was the cultivated variety, *Linum usitatissimum*, of which there are many strains, some used in the manufacture of fiber, others for the extraction of oil from their seeds. Flax is hardly grown in Israel, but the wild flax of the species *Linum angustifolium*, which some regard as the original of the cultivated flax, grows extensively.

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[Jehuda Feliks]

FLEA (Heb. פַּרְעֹשׁ, *parosh*). The flea symbolizes an insignificant, loathsome creature (I Sam. 24:15; 26:20). Nevertheless, the ancients did not refrain from calling themselves "parosh," and this was the name of a Judahite family that came with Ezra to Ereẓ Israel from Babylonia (Ezra 2:3), as well as of a Moabite prince (Neh. 10:15). The common flea, *Pulex irritans*, is a parasite living on human beings and other mammals. Another species is the *Chenopsylla cheopsis*, which attaches itself to rats. The flea is mentioned several times in talmudic literature where it is stated that contrary to several insects regarded as formed through spontaneous generation, its propagation is sexual (Shab. 107b). In modern times the flea has disappeared almost entirely from the inhabited regions of Israel.

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[Jehuda Feliks]

FLECHTHEIM, ALFRED (1878–1937), German art collector, art dealer, and publisher. Flechtheim was born in Muenster/Westphalia into a prosperous family of grain dealers. After leaving school, he went to Geneva and Paris to complete his education. While working in the family business, he already engaged in collecting and participated in an art exhibition in Duesseldorf in 1906. Flechtheim was a co-founder of the Duesseldorf Sonderbund in 1909, which assisted young contemporary artists by offering them the possibility of exhibiting their works. Today, the fourth exhibition of the Sonderbund in Cologne in 1912, which had a direct impact on the New York Armory Show of 1913, is considered the most important presentation of European modern art prior to World War I. In the same year, Flechtheim opened his own gallery in Duesseldorf. Drafted into the army in 1914, Flechtheim had to dispose of his gallery and parts of his collection. However, he reopened it in 1919 and managed to open a second gallery in Berlin in 1921 and a third in Frankfurt-on-the-Main in 1922. Flechtheim sought out the works of contemporary French artists like Georges Braque, André Derain, Juan Gris, Pablo Picasso, and Maurice de Vlaminck but matched them with the works of contemporary German artists like Wilhelm Lehmbruck, Paul Klee, George Grosz, and Karl Hofer. As a dealer who introduced avant-garde art in Germany, he was in close contact with his colleague Daniel-Henry Kahnweiler in Paris, who was specialized mainly in the trade in Cubism, especially Picasso. In 1921, they joined forces and together became the most important art dealers and art patrons of the Weimar Republic. Many of his portraits, among them the famous one by Otto Dix (1926, Neue Nationalgalerie Berlin), offer vivid testimony of Flechtheim's leading position in the art world. Flechtheim was forced to close his galleries in 1933 and took refuge in London, where he continued to arrange exhibitions of modern art until his death in 1937.

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[Philipp Zschommler (2nd ed.)]

FLECK, BELA (1958–), U.S. banjo player, guitarist. The New York-born Fleck caught the banjo bug from hearing Homer and Jethro's theme for TV's *The Beverly Hillbillies* and acquired his first banjo at 15, although he was training as a French horn player at the High School of Music and Art. He spent his evenings playing with a bluegrass band, and it was in that musical genre that he first came to prominence as part of Newgrass Revival, a band that pioneered a fusion of bluegrass, jazz, rock, and country. In 1989 he joined with harmonica player/keyboardist Howard Levy, bassist Victor Lemonte Wooten, and "synth axe drumitar" player Roy "Futureman" Wooten to form the Flecktones, the band he continued to lead. The Flecktones, whose sound owes more to their leader's enthusiasm for Charlie Parker and John Coltrane than to Doc Watson and Bill Monroe, won numerous Grammy awards and made frequent national TV appearances.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: S. Hindin, "Bela Fleck," in *Down Beat Magazine* archives at: www.downbeat.com; N. Torkington, "Interview with Bela, April 21, 1996," at: http://prometheus.frii.com.

[George Robinson (2nd ed.)]

FLECKELES, ELEAZAR BEN DAVID (1754–1826), rabbi and author. Born in Prague, Fleckeles studied under Meir Fischeles (Bumsla), Moses Cohen-Rofe, and Ezekiel *Landau, In 1779 he was appointed rabbi of Kojetin in Moravia, but in 1783 returned to Prague, where he served as a member of the *bet din* of Ezekiel Landau and also headed a large yeshivah. After Landau's death, Fleckeles was appointed Oberjurist ("president") of the three-man rabbinate council which also included Samuel Landau, the son of Ezekiel. When the Frankists made their appearance in the city in 1800, Fleckeles headed the opposition to them. He was denounced by an informer and imprisoned, and on his release he wrote a pamphlet of thanksgiving entitled *Azkir Tehillot.* Fleckeles' fame rests on his volume of collected sermons, *Olat Hodesh* (4 parts, Prague, 1785–1800). It contains both halakhic and aggadic themes. Part II, *Olat Ẓibbur.* includes a sermon attacking Moses Mendelssohn's German translation of the Bible. In Part IV, *Ahavat David*, there are also included sermons against the Shabbateans and the Frankists. In these sermons, that reflect his outstanding ability as a preacher, Fleckeles expressed his vigorous opposition to various reforms resulting from the spread of the *Haskalah movement, warning on the one hand against excessive pursuit of secular studies and on the other concurring in the study of Kabbalah, but only on the basis of a sound knowledge of Talmud. Of his other books the following are noteworthy: *Teshuvah me-Ahavah*, a collection of 450 responsa (3 parts, Prague, 1809–21), in which he employed a new method of arranging the responsa according to the order of the Shulḥan Arukh, and at the same time adding his own comments on, and supplements to, other responsa; *Melekhet ha-Kodesh* (*ibid.*, 1812), a guide for scribes of *Sifrei Torah, tefillin*, and *mezuzot;* and *Hazon la-Mo'ed* (*ibid.*, 1824), 14 sermons for the month of Tishri. In the introductions to his works, he emphasizes the brotherhood of man and the duty of the Jews toward the Gentiles. In connection with the question put by the censor Karl Fischer, "whether there is any distinction between an Israelite swearing to his fellow Israelite and swearing to a Gentile," Fleckeles replied "that the force of an oath is great, and no distinction can be made between taking an oath to an Israelite and to a non-Jew" (*Teshuvah me-Ahavah*, pt. 1, no. 26). He was opposed to the hairsplitting methods of *pilpul* and to "labored solutions," and emphasized that he was not prone to stringency in his rulings (ibid., pt. 3, no. 325), He was careful to make allowance for traditional customs and gave information in his responsa about special customs that existed in various communities (*ibid.*, pt. 1, no. 90; pt. 2, no. 229).

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[Yehoshua Horowitz]

FLEG, EDMOND (originally Flegenheimer; 1874–1963), French poet, playwright, and essayist, whose outstanding works deal with Judaism and the Jewish people. Fleg's parents were prosperous and moderately observant Genevan Jews, but their religious compromises, together with his own secular studies, soon combined to weaken young Fleg's Jewish allegiances. He went to live in Paris, where he became a theater critic and a successful playwright. His plays included *Le Message* (1904), *La Bête* (1910), and *Le Trouble-fête* (1913), and French versions of Goethe's *Faust* (1937) and Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar* (1938). He also wrote the libretti for Ernest Bloch's *Macbeth* (1910) and Georges Enesco's *Oedipus* (1936). Fleg's dramatic return to Judaism, in the full sense, dates from the spiritual turmoil engendered by the *Dreyfus Affair (1894–1906), and the first three Zionist Congresses (1897–99), He was also impressed by the English author Israel *Zangwill, an early supporter of Zionism. Abandoning the path of easy success, he devoted himself to the study of Jewish history and thought, seeking reasons for the modern intellectual's remaining Jewish. His task was interrupted by World War I, in which he served in the French Foreign Legion. Thereafter, throughout 40 years of untiring activity, Fleg presented to the French reader the manifold aspects of Judaism in a style that shifts effortlessly from simple narrative to lyrical grandeur or brilliant psychological analysis. One of the most significant works was his *Anthologie juive des origines à nos jours* (1921, 1961; *The Jewish Anthology*, 1925). This discriminating and wide-ranging selection of Jewish writing down the ages constitutes a valuable introduction to Judaism.

Edmond Fleg's writing may be divided into three main categories: religious poetry, biographical works, and autobiographical and other essays on Jewish themes. He is perhaps best remembered for his verse cycle *Ecoute Israël*, a Jewish counterpart to Victor Hugo's *Légende des siècles.* The cycle comprises *Ecoute Israël* (1913–21), *L'Eternel est Notre Dieu* (1940), *L'Eternel est Un* (1945), and *Et Tu aimeras l'Eternel* (1948), the titles of which were taken from Deuteronomy 6:4. In 1954 the four parts were collected in one volume, starting with the creation and spanning the whole of Jewish history down to the era of the reborn Jewish State. Fleg's lyrical themes include the Jewish people's mission, messianic yearnings, and unswerving faith in humanity despite atrocities and persecution. From the Midrash, which he knew mainly from German translations, Fleg drew material for his legendary biographies *Moïse raconté par les Sages* (1928; *The Life of Moses*, 1928) and *Salomon* (1930; *The Life of Solomon*, 1929). Moved by ambivalent emotions of fascination and fear stemming from his childhood, Fleg also wrote *Jésus, raconté par le Juif Errant* (1933; *Jesus, Told by the Wandering Jew*, 1934), using quotations from the Hebrew Bible, talmudic literature, and the Gospels. Although Fleg presented a Jesus who was neither God nor Messiah, his sympathetic treatment of the Christian savior made a dubious impression on the Jewish reader. Of his essays, the most remarkable is probably *Pourquoi je suis Juif* (1928; *Why I am a Jew*, 1929), which was translated into English also by Victor Gollancz in 1943. A subtle and moving analysis of a young agnostic's spiritual progress and eventual return to Judaism, it also demonstrates Fleg's belief that the French genius owes much to the inspiration of Israel. The portrait of Fleg himself in *Pourquoi je suis Juif* may be regarded as a continuation of the one he painted in *L'Enfant prophète* (1926; *The Boy Prophet*, 1928). This romanticized account of a boy estranged from Judaism and rejected by Christian society tells how the child glimpses through the gloom of the Church a Jesus who is at once victim and persecutor, and how he at last seeks to revive his old faith through messianic expectation. Messianism also provided the theme of two early plays, *La Maison du Bon Dieu* (1920) and *Le Juif du Pape* (1925), the latter based on the encounter of Clement VII and Solomon Molcho. It continued to be a keynote of Fleg's writing over the years, as in *Ma Palestine* (1932; *The Land of Promise*, 1933) and *Nous de l'Esperance* (1949), which, together with *Pourquoi je suis Juif*, was collected in *Vers le Monde qui vient* (1960). In *La Terre que Dieu habite* (1953; *The Land in which God Dwells*, 1955) Fleg recorded the saga of the Zionist pioneers and his hopes for Israel's spiritual revival in the new Jewish State. His other works include translations of Shalom Aleichem and the Passover Haggadah (1925) and selections from Maimonides' *Guide* and from the Zohar. Fleg was an active member of the Alliance Israélite Universelle and of the French section of the World Jewish Congress. In Israel, a forest was dedicated in his honor in 1952.

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[Jean Poliatchek]

FLEISCHER, CHARLES (1871–1942). U.S. rabbi. Fleischer, who began his career as a Reform rabbi articulating the ideal that American Jews could be both Americans and Jews, later developed a new American religion based upon the ideals of democracy. Born in Breslau, Germany, in 1871, Fleischer came to America at the age of nine. He moved to the Lower East Side, received his B.A. from the City College of New York in 1888, and advanced degrees from Hebrew Union College and the University of Cincinnati in 1893. He served as an assistant rabbi in Philadelphia until 1894, when he was named rabbi of Temple Israel in Boston. He remained at this post until 1911, and the following year founded the nonsectarian Sunday Commons, which he led from 1912 to 1918. Fleischer moved to New York in 1922, where he served as a newspaper editor, radio commentator, writer, and lecturer. During his tenure at Temple Israel, Fleischer introduced Sunday services (1906), and shared his pulpit with Unitarians, Trinitarians, and social reformers. He believed that ethics should be based on reason, rather than the fear of God, and that Judaism should strive to combat social problems. He often spoke to New England's Jewish and non-Jewish groups about Jewish-Gentile relations. Throughout his career, Fleischer struggled with his Jewish and American identities. Early on he possessed a pluralistic vision, believing that American Jews could be both Jews and Americans at the same time. But as early as 1902, Fleischer began to suggest that America should move beyond religious sectarianism, and that democracy itself was "potentially a universal spiritual principle, aye, a religion." In 1908 he advocated intermarriage, and when he left Temple Israel in 1911, he declared, "I am henceforth beyond… sectarianism."

True to his word, Fleischer founded the nonsectarian group Sunday Commons. He now argued that Jewish and Christian worship ran counter to universal values, and American religion should be based upon the values of heroes like Abraham Lincoln and texts such as the Declaration of Independence. Seventeen hundred people attended his services in their early years, where "aspirations" became a substitute for prayer.

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[Michael Cohen (2nd ed.)]

FLEISCHER, JUDAH LOEB (**Leopold**, **Lipot**; 1886–1955), Hungarian scholar. Fleischer was born in Ersekujvar and founded a religious elementary school in Temesvar in 1918. He taught there and directed it until it was closed by the Communist regime in 1948. He wrote scholarly articles on Abraham Ibn Ezra, particularly the Bible commentaries, which appeared from 1912 onward in *Ha-Ẓofeh le-Ḥokhmat Yisrael, Sinai*, and other journals. Among his editions of Abraham Ibn Ezra are *Sefer ha-Ta'amim* (1951), *Sefer ha-Me'orot* (1933), *Sefer ha-Olam* (1937), and *Ibn Ezra le-Sefer Shemot* (1926). Some of his important works remain in manuscript.

His son Ezra FLEISCHER (1928–), Hebrew poet and scholar, was born in Temesvar (Timisoara), Transylvania. He was imprisoned after World War II by the Romanian authorities as a result of his activities on behalf of Bnei Akiva. In 1960 he immigrated to Israel, studied at the Hebrew University, became a lecturer on medieval Hebrew literature at Bar-Ilan University, and then at the Hebrew University. His poem, "*Massa Gog*" ("The Burden of Gog"), written during his imprisonment and published in the Israeli literary journal *Moznayim* (Nisan–Iyyar, 1959) under the pseudonym Y. Goleh, caused a literary sensation and won him the Israel Prize for 1959. He published poetry (under various pseudonyms) in the Hebrew press from 1956 and also two volumes, *Meshalim* (1957) and *Be-Heḥalek Laylah* (1961). Other important works include *Ha-Yoẓrot be-Hithavutam ve-Hitpatḥutam* (1984); a study of Hebrew poetry in the Middle Ages, *Shirat ha-Kodesh ha-Ivrit bi-Yemei ha-Beinayim* (1975); *Tefilah u-Minhagei Tefillah Ereẓ Yisraeliyim bi-Tekufat ha-Genizah* (1988).

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[Getzel Kressel]

FLEISCHER, MAX (1883–1972), cartoonist and producer. Born in Vienna, Austria, Fleischer immigrated with his family to New York City at an early age, studying art at Cooper Union and the Art Students League. He worked as a commercial artist and cartoonist, but his interest in mechanics led him to animation. With his brothers Dave and Joe, he founded Fleischer Studios, one of the first animation studios. They turned out some of the most inventive films of the period.

Looking to find a method to produce animation more efficiently and economically, the brothers invented the rotoscope, a device used to trace movement from live-action film. With Dave working as his live model, Max Fleischer inaugurated his own cartoon series, officially titled "Out of the Inkwell" but more popularly known as "Koko the Clown." These short cartoons ingeniously combined animation with live action, usually in the form of an on-screen Fleischer drawing Ko-Ko before the viewers' eyes. Another innovation of Fleischer's was the sing-along cartoon. By "following the bouncing ball," theater audiences sang popular tunes together as they read the printed lyrics on the screen.

When the movie industry evolved from silent films to talking pictures, the Fleischer Studio was one of the few animation producers to survive the transition. When "the talkies" were permanently established in 1929, Fleischer began releasing his cartoons through Paramount Pictures, an association that continued for more than a decade.

At the end of the 1920s, the studio's top artist Grim Natwick came up with a new, seductive female character, Betty Boop. Fleischer also created Popeye the Sailorman and other popular cartoon characters. In 1941, Max and Dave launched the expensive Superman cartoon series. However, when the box office did not respond well, the two split up, and their animation staff was taken over by Paramount. Dave went to work at Columbia Pictures, while Max went into the industrial cartoon field.

During his career, Max Fleischer produced more than 600 cartoons and held 15 patents that were used in the motion picture industry. His feature cartoons include *Gulliver's Travels* (1939) and *Mr. Bug Goes to Town* (1941). Books by Fleischer are *Noah's Shoes* (1944), *Betty Boop* (1975), *Betty Boop's Hollywood Chronicles* (released in 1990), and *Betty Boop's Sunday Best: The Complete Color Comics, 1934–1936* (reprinted 1995).

His son is film director RICHARD FLEISCHER (1916–).

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[Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

FLEISCHER, MICHAEL (1908–1998), U.S. geochemist. Born in Bridgeport, Connecticut, to parents who emigrated from Germany, he received his B.S. in chemistry (1930) and Ph.D. (1933) from Yale University. From 1933 to 1936 he was a research associate, Department of Chemistry, Yale University, Fleischer joined the Geophysical Laboratory of the Carnegie Institute in Washington in 1936, and from 1939 to 1978 was with the United States Geological Survey. From 1978 to 1995, he was research associate, Department of Mineral Sciences, Smithsonian Institution. He was professorial lecturer (1957–65) at the George Washington University, assistant editor of *Chemical Abstracts* from 1940, and an associate editor of the *American Mineralogist*. He served as president of the Mineralogical Society of America, of the Geochemistry Commission of the International Union of Pure and Applied Chemistry, and as vice president of the Geological Society of America. In 1959 he was appointed president of the Commission on New Minerals and Mineral Names of the International Mineralogical Association.

Fleischer contributed many papers to scientific journals, dealing with chemical and analytical mineralogy, specific minerals (particularly of manganese), and the abundance of the individual elements in the earth's crust.

[Samuel Aaron Miller / Bracha Rager (2nd ed.)]

FLEISCHER, NATHANIEL STANLEY (**Nat**; 1887–1972), U.S. boxing historian, journalist, author, and member of the International Boxing Hall of Fame. Born on New York's Lower East Side, Fleischer first developed his love of boxing at age eight, when his father gave him photographs of boxers that were sold with cigarettes. He saw his first professional fight at age 11 on September 12, 1899, a bantamweight championship fight that saw Terrible Terry McGovern knock out Pedlar Palmer. It was the first time a championship bout ended in a first-round KO, and Fleischer was hooked on the sport. Standing only 5′ 2″ and weighing 122 pounds, Fleischer wanted to be a prizefighter himself, but he was knocked out in the first round of an amateur match when he was 15, and that ended his boxing ambitions.

Fleischer first wrote about sports for P.S. 15's monthly newspaper, and after graduating Townsend Harris High School, he was campus correspondent for two New York City newspapers while attending the City College of New York, where he organized with Dan *Daniel the school's first varsity basketball team in 1906. After graduating in 1908, Fleischer taught at P.S. 7, then took a commercial chemistry course at NYU and a forestry course at Yale, but soon realized that sports was his calling. He became sports editor at the *New York Press*, and continued when it merged with the *Morning Sun* in 1914. Fleischer proceeded to become sports editor at the *Morning Herald*, the *Mail-Telegram*, and the *Evening Telegraph*, but in 1929 he decided instead to devote himself entirely to a boxing magazine, *The Ring*, which he had co-founded with three associates in February 1922. It became the most influential publication in boxing history, earning Fleischer the moniker "Mr. Boxing." He refereed and judged more than 1,000 fights, established the Boxing Hall of Fame and Museum, initiated boxing's rating system, encouraged television coverage to maintain the public's interest, and helped establish boxing commissions around the world. Fleischer was the world's leading ring historian and the most prolific boxing writer of all time, publishing more than 60 books – an estimated 40 million words – including his autobiography, *Fifty Years at Ringside* (1958). His best-known work was the annual *Ring Record Book and Boxing Encyclopedia,* first published in 1941, which was considered the sports' authoritative source book. Fleischer was elected to the International Boxing Hall of Fame in 1990.

[Elli Wohlgelernter (2nd ed.)]

FLEISCHER, TSIPPI (**Tsipporah Dolgopolsky**; 1946–), Israeli composer and music education specialist, one of the Israeli women composers well known outside the country

Fleischer earned multiple bachelor's degrees (ranging from music theory to Arabic language, literature, and history), an M.A. in music education (NYU, 1975), and a Ph.D. in musicology (Bar-Ilan University, 1995). Initially interested in popular Israeli songs, especially the Hebrew canonic folk songs by composers such as Alexander *Argov, Moshe *Wilensky, and Naomi *Shemer, by the early 2000s, she had become an established composer of Western music (or, some would argue, composer of her unique version of World music) with a distinguished Middle-Eastern quality. She also revisited her research into the history of Israeli song in the past 120 years. From the late 1960s she taught at the Lewinsky Teachers College. Her book for music teachers, *Harmonization of Songs* (Hebrew), appeared in 2005.

From the 1980s she was committed to the ideology of Israeli style, first established by the founders of Israeli art music such as Paul *Ben-Haim and Mordecai *Seter. A perspective best conceptualized by Alexander *Boskovich, who held that an Israeli style can evolve only through the synthesis of ethnic local traits of Jewish and Arab music with techniques of Western classical music. In a 1986 interview she argued that her music is equally balanced between these traditions: not swaying toward the Western, with the Middle-Eastern source only an exotic flavor; nor toward the Eastern sources, when a work might not be fully artistic in Western terms.

Fleischer is a prolific composer. Her list of works includes her often-performed song-set *Girl-Butterfly-Girl* (1977, revised several times until the early 2000s); the cantata *Like Two Branches* (1989); the *Oratorio 1492–1992*; the collection *Ethnic Silhouettes* that includes four multimedia plays (1993–95, in Biblical Hebrew, Ugaritic, Old Babylonian, and Coptic); a collection of original miniatures; five short symphonies (1995–2004, illustrative symphonic poems and an ethnic collage); and two chamber operas, *Medea* (1995) and *Cain & Abel* (2002). Her music is inspired by the improvisatory quality of Arab oral traditions in music, and some of her melodies, both Arabic and Israeli, are compelling, as in her short toccata for strings, *Strings – Bow and Arrow* (1995).

Fleischer's works, especially of the 1980s and 1990s, synthesizing Arabic and Hebrew texts and musical modes with Western classical instrumentation, earned her a unique name as an established Middle-Eastern woman composer. Indeed, most of her earlier works reflected a local-regional, non-religious identity, smoothly mixing Mizrahi-Jewish and Arab elements, with a marked preference to the surrounding Arab character. She is perhaps the only Western woman composer in the Middle East whose music appeared on some sixteen commercial CDs, international Israeli.

In 2004, she wrote for the first time an explicitly Jewish work: the Fifth Symphony: *Israeli-Jewish Collage* for tape and accompanying orchestra, based on some of the most obvious Jewish identity markers – the *shofar* calls and the *Kol Nidrei* prayer.

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[Ronit Seter]

FLEISCHMANN, GISI (1897–1944), Zionist women's leader in Bratislava who played a prominent part in rescue operations during the Holocaust. At the outbreak of World War II, she was in London and returned home to be with her family, which included a husband and two daughters as well as an ailing mother. She sent her two daughters to Palestine, but she herself remained in Bratislava, perhaps primarily for personal reasons and involved herself intensely in efforts to help the community. First she acted within the Ústredňa Židov (Jewish Council) as chief of the *Hicem department for emigration. In the summer of 1942 she became the guiding spirit of the "Working Group," a secret rescue organization for Jews that included herself and an ultra-Orthodox rabbi, Michael Weissmandel, who was related to her as a second cousin by marriage. It was rare, perhaps unprecedented, for an ultra-Orthodox rabbi and a woman Zionist to cooperate fully, and even more rare for the Zionist woman to assume the primarily leadership role. As a member of the Slovak Central Refugee Committee, she cooperated, albeit not without considerable tension, with Joseph Blum of the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee, who later left for Hungary, and Fleischmann then became for all intents and purposes the Joint's person in Bratislava.

Fleischmann maintained a secret correspondence written in code with Jewish organizations in the free world, mainly with the He-Ḥalutz center at Geneva and with representatives of the *Jewish Agency in Istanbul. She reported on the condition of European Jewry under German occupation and she also traveled to Hungary to collect funds for rescue activities from the Hungarian Jewish communities. It was under her leadership though at Rabbi Weissmandel's initiative that a plan was devised to bribe Eichmann's representative in Slovakia, Dieter Wisliceny, to halt the deportation of the Jews. When an initial bribe and the promise of more funds to come seemed to work and the deportations of Slovakian Jewry were halted for a time, the working group devised a bold scheme, the *Europa Plan, to rescue the remaining Jews. Historians now know that is was not the bribe to Nazi officials but to Slovakian officials that halted the deportations and the chances of any success for the Europa plan were far-fetched. In 1943 she directed rescue operations of survivors of Polish ghettos, including groups of orphans, across the Polish-Slovak-Hungarian borders. In the spring of 1944 she conveyed the first eyewitness testimony on the death camps when the Auschwitz report was compiled by two men, Rudolf Vr'ba and Alfred Wetzler, who had escaped from Auschwitz on April 7, 1944, and reconfirmed by two later escapees, Arnost Rosin and Czeslaw Mordowicz, who reached Slovkia in June 1944. During the mass deportations in the autumn of 1944, she was arrested by the Germans and sent to Auschwitz with a special instruction, *RU-Rueckkehr unerwuenscht* ("return undesirable"), and on arrival in Auschwitz she was immediately killed. Fleishmann was described as a woman of organizational talent, intellectual ability, emotional involvement, and political savvy.

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[Livia Rothkirchen / Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

FLEISCHMANN, JULIUS (1872–1925), U.S. businessman and politician. Fleischmann was born in Cincinnati, Ohio, where his father, Charles Fleischmann, an immigrant from Hungary, had established a large concern for the manufacture of compressed yeast cakes. Fleischmann entered his father's business soon after leaving school.

Upon his father's death in 1897, he and his brother took over the business, which he ran by himself from 1905 on. Fleischmann's activity in local Republican politics led to his nomination for mayor in 1900. He was elected to the office and reelected in 1902. Though he declined to run for a third term, he served as Cincinnati's commissioner of parks during 1905–12, also attending several national Republican conventions as an Ohio delegate. An avid sportsman and breeder of horses, Fleischmann collapsed and died while playing in a polo game, leaving a large fortune. His financial speculations were so large that the stock market in Chicago suffered a sharp decline upon news of his sudden death.

FLEISHER, Philadelphia family originating in Memelsdorf, Germany. Members of this family and the related Liveright family arrived in the United States in the 1830s, and ultimately established prosperous yarn and clothing manufacturing businesses. Many descendants of BENJAMIN WOLF FLEISHER (1810–1845) and HANNAH TUCHNOR (1810–1903), who settled in Meadville, Pennsylvania, before moving on to Philadelphia, became leaders in Philadelphia Jewish and general affairs. Their sons SIMON B. (1840–1919) and MOYER (1842–1924) were partners in a yarn business in Philadelphia. They were both active in the Hebrew Education Society, and Moyer succeeded Moses A. Dropsie as its president in 1892. A son of Simon, BENJAMIN WILFRED (1870–1946), achieved distinction in Japan where he spent 40 years, becoming dean of American journalists there before the outbreak of World War II. SAMUEL STUART (1871–1944), brother of Benjamin Wilfred, was the founder and sole supporter, beginning in 1899, of the Graphic Sketch Club. Willed to the Philadelphia Museum of Art, the club nurtured the artistic talents of more than 40,000 young people. In 1923 Samuel became the first Jewish recipient of the prestigious Edward Bok Philadelphia Award. EDWIN ADLER (1877–1959), another brother, founded the Symphony Club of Philadelphia in 1909 and created a world-famed collection of music. The collection, eventually numbering over 11,000 pieces, was donated to the Free Library of Philadelphia, of which Edwin was a trustee. He had bought a large proportion of the scores on trips to Europe in which he scoured publishers' warehouses for long-neglected compositions. The Philadelphia Orchestra and the city's music academies have frequently used the collection. Samuel and Edwin, both members of Reform Congregation Knesseth Israel, were generous contributors to Jewish philanthropies, as was their cousin, ALFRED W. (1878–1928), prominent Philadelphia realtor. A partner in the firm of Mastbaum Brothers and Fleisher, Alfred was at least once the largest individual contributor to the Federation of Jewish Charities campaign. He was best known for his leadership in the field of progressive penology. For five years, beginning in 1923, he was president of the Board of Trustees of Eastern State Penitentiary and personally guided the construction of the prison at Gratersford. Edwin's nephew, STUART F. LOUCHHEIM, carried on the family tradition as president of the Academy of Music, which he rescued from potential bankruptcy and demolition. Louchheim was not a practicing Jew.

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[Bertram Wallace Korn]

FLEISHER, LARRY (1930–1989), head of the NBA players union from 1962 to 1988, member of NBA Hall of Fame. Born in the Bronx, New York, Fleisher graduated from DeWitt Clinton High School in 1946, New York University in 1950, and Harvard Law School in 1953, before serving in the U.S. Army from 1953 to 1955. His work as head of the NBA Players Association paved the way for pensions, minimum salaries, severance pay, and disability payments, among other benefits, and increased average yearly player's salary from $9,400 in 1967 to $600,000, without a strike. Fleisher was involved in the eventual merger of the ABA with the NBA, and was instrumental in developing the free agent system in 1976, known as the "Oscar Robertson Settlement" and allowing players to move more freely from team to team. In addition, he helped establish an Anti-Drug Agreement in 1983, the first such policy in pro sports, which provided for counseling and severe penalties for players involved in the use of hard drugs. Fleisher also negotiated the agreement that established the NBA salary cap system.

[Elli Wohlgelernter (2nd ed.)]

FLEISHER, LEON (1928–), U.S. pianist and conductor. Fleisher was born in San Francisco to Russian parents. He gave his first public recital at the age of six. From 1938 until 1948 he studied with Arthur *Schnabel in Italy and in New York. He made his New York debut at the age of 16, with Monteux, who also taught him conducting. Fleisher was the first American to win a major piano competition – the Queen Elisabeth International in Brussels (1952); he made several European tours and played highly successful recitals in South America. He gave the first performance of Leon Kirchner's Second Piano Concerto (1963), performed many modern works, and made numerous recordings. At his peak his playing combined intellectual power, warmth of feeling, grace, taste, and sensuous beauty.

In 1964 Fleisher began to suffer from cramps in the right hand, as a result of which he became incapable of regular playing. He began to conduct and to play the piano repertory for the left hand. Fleisher became conductor of the Annapolis Symphony Orchestra (1970), was associate conductor of the Baltimore Symphony Orchestra (1973–77), and made guest conducting appearances with major U.S. orchestras. In 1982, after surgery and many treatments, Fleisher returned gradually to the standard piano literature. He was appointed artistic director of the Tanglewood Music Center (1985–97), where in 1994 he gave the première of *Foss's Piano Concerto for left hand. From 1959 he was professor of piano at the Peabody Conservatory, Baltimore, where he later held the Andrew W. Mellon Chair in piano; he was also a visiting professor at the Rubin Academy of Music in Jerusalem.

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[Max Loppert / Naama Ramot (2nd ed.)]

FLESCH, family widely distributed throughout Central Europe. It originated in Frankfurt where a house named "Zur Flasche" ("The Flask") was built by Jacob of Prague in 1530. His son, AKIVA BEN JACOB FRANKFURTER (d. 1597), was a liturgical poet, and rabbi and preacher of the Frankfurt community. Another son, ABRAHAM VON SCHLESINGEN, with his sons, continued to live in the "Zur Flasche" house. Later descendants were merchants, *ḥazzanim*, and teachers in Frankfurt; they were also named Birnbaum and Flesch-Birnbaum.

A grandson of Akiva, the scholar ABRAHAM FLESCH (c. 1560–1640), was the first to bear the name in Austria, settling in Vienna in 1620. His descendants were scattered after the 1670 expulsion from Vienna.

MORDECAI (GUMPEL) FLESCH settled in Neu Raussnitz (Rousinov), Moravia, after 1670. One of his descendants, PHILIP (SOLOMON) FLESCH (1780–1852), founded a tannery in Brno (Bruenn). The descendants of Philip's 16 children were active in commerce and the professions; some settled in Brno. One of them, ADOLPH (1813–1879), continued the leather business and made it highly successful. Mordecai's great-grandson, ABRAHAM (1755–1828), was rabbi in Raussnitz, Moravia, and studied under Ezekiel *Landau. Abraham's son, JOSEPH (1781–1841), a merchant in Neu Raussnitz, was a pupil of Baruch Jeiteles, and among those who spread Haskalah into Moravia. He translated several of Philo's works into Hebrew and published exegetical and philological notes to Scripture (in *Bikkurei ha-Ittim*, 7, 9, and 11). He also provided the edition of the Bible published by M. *Landau with a list of Jewish exegetes and philologists, including modern scholars. Another member of the family was HEINRICH FLESCH (1875–1942), historian of Moravian Jewry. A native of Mattersdorf (now Mattersburg, in Burgenland, Austria), he was rabbi of Dolni Kounice, Moravia, from 1894 until his death. After World War I he was in charge also of the communities of Ivancice and Moravsky Krumlov. He published many articles on Moravian Jewry both in the local Jewish press and in learned journals, also editing the *takkanot* and records of several communities. He was a coeditor of Hugo *Gold's books on the communities of Moravia (1929), of Bratislava (1932), and Bohemia (1934). His archives are preserved in the Jewish State Museum in Prague. He also wrote a family history *Die Familie Flesch* (1914). His son JOSEPH had a Jewish bookstore and publishing house in Prague (the only one opened after 1918). Joseph perished in Auschwitz.

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FLESCH, CARL (1873–1944), violinist and teacher. Born in Moson, Hungary, Flesch studied in Vienna and Paris and made his debut in Vienna in 1895. After teaching at the conservatories of Bucharest (1897–1902) and Amsterdam (1903–08), he settled in Berlin, where his renown as a violin pedagogue came to equal his status as a virtuoso. From 1924 to 1928 he taught at the Curtis Institute in Philadelphia, and in 1933 left Germany, ultimately settling in Lucerne, Switzerland. He wrote the pedagogical works *Urstudien* (1910) and *Die Kunst des Violinspiels* (2 vols., 1923, 1928; Eng. trans. 1930 as well as translations into many other languages), and edited Kreutzer's and Paganini's études, the major violin concertos, and Mozart's violin sonatas (with Arthur *Schnabel). His memoirs were published posthumously by his son Carl Flesch, Jr. (Eng., 1957; Ger., 1960).

FLESH (Heb. בָּשָׂר, *basar*), a word used both in the Bible and Talmud for mortal man and for the flesh of animals (for the latter aspect, see *Meat). Eve is called by Adam "bone of my bones and flesh of my flesh" (Gen. 2:23), i.e., "my close relative" (cf. Gen. 29:4). In Genesis 6:3: The *basar* of humans is contrasted with *ru'aḥ* of God, which animates them. "My breath shall not abide (?) in the human forever, for that he is also flesh; therefore shall his days be a hundred and twenty years." Whereas God's breath is eternal, flesh is mortal. At death the flesh returns to the dust whence it came while the eternal breath returns to God (Gen 2:7; Eccl.. 12:7.) In Psalms 84:3 – "my heart and my flesh sing for joy unto the living God" – it designates the whole physical part of man. In Isaiah 66:16 "all flesh" is used as a synonym for mankind as a whole, while in the *Alenu* prayer "the sons of flesh" is used with the same connotation. In Talmud and Midrash the more comprehensive phrase *basar va-dam* ("flesh and blood") is used, largely to indicate the mortality of man as against the eternity of God, particularly in the contrast between the frailty and ephemerality of a mortal king compared with the "supreme King of kings, the Holy One blessed be He."

The corruptibility of flesh in the grave is constantly referred to. "The more flesh, the more worms" (Avot 2:7); "Know … whither thou art going, to a place of dust, worms and maggot" (*ibid.* 3:1); and the word *basar* is regarded as an acronym of *bushah* ("shame"), *seruḥah* ("putrefaction") or *she'ol* ("the grave"), and *rimmah* ("worm"; Sot. 5a). At the same time, it is regarded metaphorically as the symbol of softness and pliancy in contrast with the hardness of bone (*ibid.*).

[Louis Isaac Rabinowitz / S. David Sperling (2nd ed.)]

FLEXNER, U.S. family. SIMON FLEXNER (1863–1946), U.S. physician and medical scientist, was born in Louisville, Ken., son of Morris Flexner, a Bohemian immigrant. He was the author of more than 350 scientific papers and monographs and joint author with his son, James Thomas Flexner, of the biography *William Henry Welch and the Heroic Age of American Medicine* (1941).

BERNARD FLEXNER (1865–1945) U.S. lawyer and Zionist leader, was born in Louisville, Ken., brother of Simon. After receiving a law degree from the University of Louisville (1898) and doing postgraduate work at the University of Virginia, he practiced law in Kentucky, later moving to Chicago (1911) and then to New York (1919). Throughout his career Flexner was much concerned with social welfare and labor problems. He was chairman of the Juvenile Court Board in Louisville and helped establish the first juvenile court in Chicago. Active in the National Probation Association, he served as president (1912–13) and as a committee member until his death. As a member of an American Red Cross mission to Romania in 1917, Flexner became convinced that Zionism was the solution to the problems of European Jewry. He entered actively into the U.S. Zionist movement and was counsel to the Zionist delegation at the Paris Peace Conference in 1919. When the *Palestine Economic Corporation was organized in 1925, Flexner became its first president, later serving as chairman of the board until 1944. He was also associated with many institutions, banks, and companies fostering the growth of the Jewish economy in Palestine. Among his other activities were membership on the executive committees of the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee and the Jewish Agency for Palestine. Flexner was joint author of *Juvenile Courts and Probation* (1914) and *Legal Aspects of the Juvenile Court* (1922).

ABRAHAM *FLEXNER, U.S. educator, was a brother of Simon and Bernard. WASHINGTON FLEXNER (1896–1942), U.S. printer, was born in Louisville, Ken., brother of Simon, Bernard, and Abraham. In 1915 Washington Flexner organized the Lincoln Printing Company in Chicago, which became the largest financial printing company in the United States. JENNIE MAAS FLEXNER (1882–1944), U.S. librarian, was born in Louisville, Ken., daughter of Jacob Flexner. One of the pioneers of modern American librarianship, Jennie Flexner served as reader's adviser at the New York Public Library, and was author of *Circulation Work in Public Libraries* (1927) and *Making Books Work, a Guide to the Use of Libraries* (1943). JAMES THOMAS FLEXNER (1908–2003), U.S. author, son of Simon Flexner. James Thomas Flexner was the author of approximately 30 popular works on American art and civilization, including: *Doctors on Horseback: Pioneers of American Medicine* (1937), *America's Old Masters* (1939), *Short History of American Painting* (1950), and *American Painting: The Light of the Distant Skies* (1954). He also wrote a highly acclaimed four-volume biography of George Washington. (1965–72). His autobiography, *Maverick's Progress*, appeared in 1996.

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[Morton Rosenstock]

FLEXNER, ABRAHAM (1866–1959), U.S. scholar, and one of America's most creative educators. Flexner, who was born in Louisville, Kentucky, studied classics at Johns Hopkins University, and graduated in 1886. After teaching Latin and Greek at the Louisville High School (1886–90), he founded a unique college preparatory school which dispensed with rules, examinations, records, and reports. In 1905 he turned from the successful operation of his school to continue his studies at Harvard in psychology, philosophy, and science, with special reference to their bearing upon educational problems. During 1905–06, he studied the anatomy of the brain at the Rockefeller Institute for Medical Research, New York. He spent 1906–07 studying psychology and philosophy at the University of Berlin, where he came under the influence of Friedrich Paulsen, philosopher, pedagogue, and historian of German higher education. His review of higher education, *The American College*, published in 1908, attracted the attention of President Henry S. Pritchett of the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, who commissioned Flexner to survey medical schools in the United States. The subsequent report, published in 1910 as *Medical Education in the United States and Canada*, was a critical analysis of 154 medical schools, seven of them Canadian. Although not a physician, Flexner was able to bring about a fundamental reform in all aspects of medical education in the United States. This was followed by an analysis of European medical schools during 1910–11 and the publication of *Medical Education in Europe* (1912). Another important study was *Prostitution in Europe* (1914). As a staff member and secretary of the General Education Board, 1912–28, Flexner undertook various educational inquiries and published, with F.P. Bachman as collaborator, *Public Education in Maryland* (1916) and *The Gary Schools* (1918). His *A Modern College* (1923) contained influential educational ideas and suggestions for the reform of secondary and higher education. His *Universities: American, English, German* (1930) was a severe criticism of functionalism in American higher institutions. His last major achievement was the founding, organization, and direction (1930–39) of the Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton. His other writings include: *Do Americans Really Value Education?* (1927); *Henry S. Pritchett: A Biography* (1943); *Daniel Coit Gilman, Creator of the American Type of University* (1946); and *Funds and Foundations* (1952). His autobiography, *I Remember* (1940), was revised, updated, and posthumously published as *Abraham Flexner: An Autobiography* (1960).

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[William W. Brickman]

FLOGGING, punishment by beating or whipping. This at all times has been the instinctive way to inflict disciplinary *punishment: a parent "disciplines" his son by beating him (cf. Deut. 8:5; 21:18; Prov. 19:18; 23:13–14; 29:17) as does a master his slave (Ex. 21:20,26). More than any other punishment, flogging is a means of correction rather than retribution, and, being a substitute for the capital punishment which, in the rabbinic view, every violator of God's word properly deserves, it reflects God's infinite mercy (cf. Sanh. 10a, Rashi *ibid.*).

In Biblical Law

It appears that, where no other punishment was expressly prescribed, flogging was in biblical law the standard punishment for all offenses (Deut. 25:2). The exegetical difficulties which arose in view of the preceding verse (25:1) gave rise to such restrictive interpretations as that the law of flogging applied only in limited cases of assault (Ibn Ezra, *ibid.*) or perjury (cf. Mak. 2b); but there need not necessarily be any connection between the two verses – the former being construed as a self-contained exhortation to do justice in civil cases as well as in cases of mutual criminal accusations (cf. Mid. Tan. to 25:1). It is noteworthy that flogging is the only punishment mentioned in the Bible as a general rule, and not in relation to any particular offense (but cf. Deut. 21:22 regarding postmortem hangings; see also *Capital Punishment), the only exception being the flogging prescribed, in addition to a *fine, for the slanderer of a virgin (Deut. 22:18).

The maximum number of strokes to be administered in any one case is 40 (Deut. 25:3), "lest being flogged further, to excess, your brother is degraded before your eyes" (*ibid.*). While this number was later understood as the standard, fixed number of strokes to be administered in each case (less one), there is no valid reason to assume that it was not in fact intended and regarded as a maximum limit – the preceding words, "as his guilt warrants" (25:2) indicating that the number of strokes was to be determined in each individual case according to the gravity of the offense, provided only they did not exceed the prescribed maximum. The scriptural intention to prevent any "degradation" of the human person is served by the fact that no discretion was allowed to the judges, who may tend to harshness or cruelty (Ibn Ezra, *ibid.*). There is no record of the manner in which floggings were administered in biblical times. Various instruments of beating are mentioned in the Bible (Judg. 8:7, 16; Prov. 10:13; 26:3; I Kings 12:11, 14; et al.), but any conclusion that they (or any of them) were the instruments used in judicial floggings is unwarranted.

In Talmudic Law

Talmudic law not only made detailed provision for the manner in which floggings were to be carried out, but also altered the concept of the biblical punishment; the maximum of 40 lashes was reduced to 39 (Mak. 22a), so as to avoid the danger of exceeding 40 even by mistake; and the offenses which carried the punishment of flogging were exactly defined, depriving it of its character as a residuary and omnibus punishment. The number of 39 lashes became the standard rather than the maximum number; but in order to prevent death by flogging – which would amount to a violation of the biblical injunction of "not more" than flogging – the person to be flogged was first physically examined in order to determine the number of lashes that could safely be administered to him (Mak. 3:11). Where, as a result of such examination, less than 39 lashes were administered, and it then turned out that the offender could well bear more, the previous estimate would be allowed to stand and the offender discharged (Maim. Yad, Sanhedrin 17:2). But the offender would also be discharged where physical symptoms manifested themselves during the course of the flogging, so that he would not be able to stand any more lashes, even though on previous examination he had been found fit to stand more (*ibid.* 17:5). It also happened that as a result of such examination, floggings were postponed for another day or later, until the offender was fit to undergo them (*ibid.* 17:3).

Offenses Punishable by this Method

The offenses carrying the punishment of flogging are, firstly, all those for which the *divine punishment of *karet* is prescribed; secondly, all violations by overt act of negative biblical injunctions (*ibid.* 18:1). However speech is not, as such, considered an overt act: thus, a person insulting the deaf or going about as a talebearer among the people in violation of express negative injunctions (Lev. 19:14–16) would not be liable to be flogged (Yad, loc. cit.). It is only when speech is tantamount to an act, as in vows substituting another animal for a sacred animal (Lev. 27:10), that flogging is inflicted (Tem. 3b); as it is also for swearing falsely by, or taking in vain, the name of God – "for the Lord will not clear one who swears falsely by His name" (Ex. 20:7; Deut. 5:11), but the court will, by flogging him (Tem. 3a). Flogging is also prescribed for cursing, i.e., wickedly using the name of God – because failure "to revere this honored and awesome Name" is expressly given as the cause of the infliction of *makkot*, a term meaning lashes as well as plagues (Deut. 28:58–59). Even though the offense is committed not just by speech but also by an overt act, it does not always result in a flogging: thus, where reparation must be made by money, as for the crime of stealing (Ex. 20:13; Deut. 5:17), the payment of *damages and fines is preferred to flogging; and as two punishments may not be inflicted for the same offense, the rule is that he who pays is not flogged (Mak. 1:2; 4b; Ket, 32a). For the same reason, no flogging can be inflicted where the offense carries capital (as distinguished from divine) punishment (Tosef., Mak. 5:17). Where the negative injunction is coupled with a positive one, as for instance: "thou shalt not take the dam with the young, thou shalt let the dam go, but the young thou mayest take" (Deut. 22:6–7), liability to be flogged only ensues if the negative injunction is violated and the positive disobeyed as well (Mak. 3:4; Ḥul. 12:4).

Floggings were administered with a whip made of calfskin on the bare upper body of the offender – one third of the lashes being given on the breast and the other two thirds on the back. The offender stood in a bowed position with the one administering the beating on a stone above him and the blows were accompanied by the recital of admonitory and consolatory verses from Scripture (Mak. 3:12–14; Yad, loc. cit. 16:8–11). If death ensued, even though the flogging was administered according to law, the executioner was not liable; but if the law had not been faithfully observed by him, he would be obliged to resort to a city of *refuge as in the case of any other accidental homicide (Yad, loc. cit. 16:12).

Disciplinary Floggings

There are reports in the Talmud of several extralegal floggings being prescribed (see *Extraordinary Remedies), for example, for having marital intercourse in public (Yev. 90b). In many cases, the flogging appears to have been sanctioned as a legal punishment, even though not falling within the categories set out above; for example, where a man and a woman seclude themselves (Kid. 81a), or for taking unreasonable vows (TJ, Suk. 5:2, 55b), or for falling asleep during watch duty in the Temple (Mid. 1:2); but these cases may also be regarded as instances of disciplinary rather than punitive measures, Disciplinary flogging (*makkat mardut*) was an innovation of the talmudic jurists. While the violation of a negative injunction calls for punishment, the act of violation being a matter of the past, the failure to obey a positive command calls for coercive measures calculated to enforce such obedience. Accordingly, while punitive floggings may (indeed, must) be restricted to a maximum number of blows, disciplinary floggings must be unrestricted – to be continued until the offender performs his duty. The maximum number of 40 lashes applies only where there has been a violation of a negative injunction, but in the case of positive commands, "as when they say to him: build a *sukkah* – and he refuses, or: take a *lulav* – and he refuses – he is flogged until his soul departs" (Ket. 86a–b). In the case of payment of a civil debt, which is also a positive command imposed by law, the question arose whether such payment could be enforced by a disciplinary flogging (*ibid.*); the better opinion appears to be that it could not, at any rate for so long as the debtor had any property attachable in execution proceedings or if he claimed to have no property only when he was attempting to avoid payment (*Piskei ha-Rosh*, Ket. 9, 13).

Disciplinary floggings were also resorted to where an offender was not liable to punishment for formal reasons, for example for lack of previous warning (Yad, loc. cit., 18:5). It was this innovation of the idea of a disciplinary flogging that enabled the courts, in post-talmudic times, to make use of the penalty of flogging for the maintenance of law and order and for the observance of religion. It is found to have been applied in an unlimited variety of cases and in different modes of execution. The flogging was mostly carried out in public, so as to have a deterrent effect: sometimes in the courthouse (Hai Gaon, comm. to Kel. 22, s.v. *safsal*), sometimes in the synagogue (*Yam shel Shelomoh*, BK 8:48, and Resp. Maharshal 28; Resp. Maharam of Lublin 46), and sometimes in the square outside the synagogue or in other public thoroughfares (Resp.

Ribash 351). Although because of jurisdictional doubts (see *Bet Din*), the application of a disciplinary, as opposed to that of punitive, flogging was preferred, the courts did not normally adopt the rule that disciplinary floggings ought not to be restricted, but ordered floggings to be limited to a certain amount of lashes – some holding that the biblical maximum applied *a fortiori* (*Yam shel Shelomo, ibid.*), some leaving the extent of the flogging in each individual case to the discretion of the court (*Sha'arei Ẓedek* 4:7, 39; *Halakhot Pesukot min ha-Geonim* 89; *Sha'arei Teshuvah* 181). The argument that such discretionary floggings constituted a much severer punishment for many much lighter offenses than the biblical flogging was countered with the assertion that the execution of the flogging should be so humane as to counterbalance the increased measure of strokes (Resp. Ribash 90). Indeed, it appears that the lashes were not normally inflicted on the bare body, nor with a leather whip, nor on the breast or back, but rather on less vulnerable parts. Following a talmudic dictum that a flogging is to be administered where an offense is reported but not proved (*malkin al lo tovah ha-shemu'ah:* Kid. 81a), post-talmudic courts introduced the punishment of flogging where an offense was threatened or commenced but not completed (Resp. Maharam of Rothenburg, ed. Prague 383; and cf. *Darkhei Moshe*, ḤM 421:35 n. 7); but mere suspicion alone was held insufficient to warrant flogging (*Halakhot Pesukot min ha-Ge'onim* 94), unless substantiated by at least one witness or by common repute (*Sha'arei Ẓedek* 3:6, 38). In many places, notables were exempt from floggings, and people were normally allowed to pay a fine instead (cf. *Yam shel Shelomo*, BK 8:49). Corporal punishment was abolished in Israel by the Punishment of Whipping (Abolition) Law 5710 – 1950. See entry *Punishment.

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[Haim Hermann Cohn]

FLOHR, SALO (**Solomon Mikhailovitch**; 1908–1983), Russian chess prodigy. Flohr, who was born in the Ukraine, escaped from a pogrom at an early age and found refuge in Czechoslovakia, which he represented in chess matches. He won several masters' tournaments between 1929 and 1939, went to Moscow during World War II, and became one of the leading Soviet grand masters and a chess writer of distinction. As he developed his game he changed his style from a brilliant incisive to a cautious one, and became a "drawing-master." Regarded at one time as the likely successor to Alekhine, Flohr was eventually displaced, notably by Botvinnik.

[Gerald Abrahams]

FLOOD, THE, deluge (Heb. *mabbul*) described in the Book of Genesis and brought by God to destroy humankind because of its sinfulness. Outside of the Noah tales in Genesis *mabbul* occurs only in Psalm 29:10. In Isaiah 54:9 the great flood is called "waters of Noah."

The Biblical Narrative (Gen. 6:5–9:17)

As punishment for the corruption and injustice rife on earth, God decided to bring a universal inundation to wipe out civilization. Alone of humankind, a blameless and righteous man named *Noah, together with his family, was to be saved. God informed him of His decision and gave him detailed instructions for the building of an ark and its provisioning (see *Ark of Noah). Noah was to take aboard the members of his family, together with male and female representatives of the animals, birds, and creeping things. When all the preparations were completed, the flood waters inundated the earth, blotting out all earthly existence, and lifting the ark above the highest mountain peaks. Then the rains ceased, the waters subsided and the ark came to rest on the mountains of *Ararat. Noah waited forty days and then sent out a raven, which, however, returned to the ark. Seven days later he released a dove, which came back bearing an olive leaf. After a further delay of seven days, he again dispatched the dove which did not return, and Noah knew it was safe to disembark. This he did on receiving instructions from God, and he thereupon offered sacrifices to Him. God, in turn, promised to restore the rhythm of the times and seasons and undertook never again to destroy humankind, setting his (war)bow in the sky as an everlasting symbol of this promise. He blessed Noah, his offspring, and everything on earth.

Extra-Biblical Accounts

Legends of a great inundation submerging much or all of the earth's surface are found in the traditions of a number of peoples. They are especially common among the Indians of the Western Hemisphere, the Aborigines of Australia, and the islanders of the Central and Southern Pacific, and also abound in the southern regions of Asia. Chinese and Japanese versions exist, but with the deluge circumscribed in extent. A few legends are found in Europe; that of Iceland depicts a flood of catastrophic proportions produced by blood gushing from the wounds of a giant. However, the accounts closest to that of the Bible are those emanating from southern Mesopotamia. The ancient Greek flood stories also may have been influenced by the earlier Mesopotamian diluvial traditions. There are no grounds for assuming that all or most of the widespread legends are related. It is apparent that many of them are rooted ultimately in man's fear, based on terrifying experiences, of being annihilated by violently surging water. Most of them developed quite naturally from memories of unusually disastrous floods. The alluvial plain of southern Mesopotamia was vulnerable to widespread flooding. In the Old Babylonian period in particular, catastrophic flooding was frequent, so that the myth of the ancient flood (*abūbu*) had special significance (Cole and Gash apud George, 509). Ancient memory blended with contemporary experience to produce tales of universal inundation. None of the flood accounts has received wider distribution than the biblical story. At the time it was incorporated into Jewish traditions, however, it was already countless centuries old. The earliest extant version of this tradition is known from a Sumerian clay tablet discovered at Nippur, the holy city of ancient Sumer. Unfortunately, only the lower third of the tablet has survived. Since the publication of the text by Arno Poebel in 1914, no additional fragments of the Sumerian flood story have come to light. Although the Sumerian text is badly broken, enough remains to give inklings of the content of the missing portions. The text, now known as "The Eridu Genesis" (COS I, 513–15) as a whole seems to provide a general history of humankind, in which the main episode is the deluge. Among the subjects touched are the creation of humans, the rise of kingship, and the establishment of cities. One of the deities declares his intentions of saving humankind from a destruction decreed by the gods. The coming of the flood is made known to King Ziusudra, who was noted for his receptiveness to divine revelations: "A flood will sweep over the temples. The decision, the declaration of the assembly of the gods, is to destroy the seed of humankind." The next section of the composition is missing but most likely contained instructions for Ziusudra to build an immense ship by which he might rescue himself from a watery grave. The lacuna is followed by a description of the inundation and the eventual reappearance of Utu the sun god, to whom Ziusudra offers sacrifices: "All the tempests attacked as one, very powerful. Simultaneously the deluge sweeps over the temples, After the flood had swept over the land for seven days and seven nights and the huge boat had been tossed about by the windstorms on the expansive waters, Utu the sun god who illumines heaven and earth came out. Ziusudra opened a window of the ship and heroic Utu shone into the great vessel. Before Utu, King Ziusudra prostrated himself; the king kills a steer and slaughters a sheep." Again there is a gap in the text, after which it is told that the king was granted eternal life and given a place of abode in a land called Dilmun, where the sun god rises. There the hero was to share immortality with his gods. The hero's name survived as Xisuthros in the flood story as retold in Greek by the Babylonian priest Berossus in the third century B.C.E.

The Sumerian account inspired a similar history of humankind written in the Old Babylonian dialect of Akkadian on three clay tablets, dated to around 1700 B.C.E., with fragments of two other versions inscribed about a thousand years later. The composition is now called the Epic of Atrahasis (COS I, 450–53) after its hero, whose name means "Exceeding Wise."

The first tablet begins in primordial times when the lesser gods were so burdened with toil that they engaged in the first-ever documented work-stoppage, and demonstrated against the great god Enlil. The dispute was resolved when it was decided that the midwife of the gods, Mami (also known as Nintu, Belet-ili, and Aruru), would create humans to work in place of the gods. One of the lesser gods was sacrificed and from an admixture of earth with his blood and flesh, humankind was brought into being. The second tablet relates that the world's population had increased so substantially that humans had become a nuisance to the head of the pantheon, Enlil. Provoked by the disruption of celestial serenity, Enlil announced before a divine convocation his intention to retaliate against human beings with a series of plagues, including a drought and famine. Obviously not satisfied with the results of these measures, the chief god then decided to destroy humanity by means of a flood. Humankind had a friend, however, in the wise god Enki (= Ea), who was permitted to be in charge of the inundation. The third tablet relates how Enki warned King Atrahasis. He spoke to the wall of the monarch's residence, rather than directly to the ruler, perhaps to avoid the appearance of revealing the gods' secrets to a human. Atrahasis was told to destroy his house and build a ship by which he would be able to save his life. Although much of the tablet is broken, the building of the ship, the loading of the animals, and the flood itself are documented. The gods ultimately decide that a more effective method of population control than a great flood is to create categories of women who cannot bear, and demonic baby-snatchers.

Parallels between the Epic of Atrahasis and the biblical Flood narrative may be cited, but even greater similarities to the Genesis account are present in another Babylonian epic whose hero bears the name Gilgamesh. (Thanks to the biblical similarities, the publication of this work in the late 19th century created a great stir in religious circles.) This epic skillfully and creatively blends several borrowed Sumerian literary motifs into what has come to be regarded as one of the masterpieces of world literature. lt most likely came into existence around the beginning of the second millennium. Important sections written in classical (or Old) Babylonian are extant today, as are later rescensions extending over a millennium.

The Epic of Gilgamesh is divided into eleven tablets to which a twelfth, consisting of a literal translation from a Sumerian source, has been added. The fragments so far pieced together leave relatively few gaps in the epic. Tablet XI, in which the immortalized hero of the flood, usually called Utanapishtim ("He-Found-Life"), though occasionally also Atrahasis, relates the story of the flood to his mortal descendant Gilgamesh, is virtually intact, thus providing the most complete version of the deluge story in cuneiform script, The flood narrative in the Gilgamesh Epic is not part of a history of the world, as is the case in the epics of Ziusudra and Atrahasis. It is introduced rather as a story told to a hero obsessed with his quest for immortality.

Much of the epic is devoted to the heroic expeditions of Gilgamesh and his companion Enkidu. These episodes lead ultimately to the central theme, *viz.*, the inevitability of death. Enkidu's demise by divine decree, after the two adventurers had insulted the gods, brings Gilgamesh face to face with the one factor before which every person must yield. He then devotes himself completely to seeking a way to escape the destiny of all flesh. It is this confrontation with death that impels Gilgamesh to make his way to the person who was the Babylonian counterpart of the biblical Noah, a man named Utanapishtim, who, with his wife, had been blessed by the gods with immortality after surviving the diluvial catastrophe. From him Gilgamesh hopes to gain the secret of eternal life. After an arduous and perilous journey, Gilgamesh reaches the distant Utanapishtim and asks how he had obtained life without end. In reply, the ancient man recounts in detail the story of the deluge.

Utanapishtim relates to Gilgamesh how he was residing in Shuruppak, an urban center on the bank of the Euphrates, when he was warned of an impending disaster. For no stated reason, the gods, under the leadership of the warlike Enlil, felt compelled to bring a deluge of proportions sufficient to wipe out the human race. However, the god Ea, counterpart of the Sumerian Enki, made known the supernal counsel by speaking to the wall of the reed house in which Utanapishtim lived. Utanapishtim was told to tear down his house and build a ship, into which he must bring representatives of all living creatures, The boat was to be equal in width and length, with a covering over the top. At once, Utanapishtim confessed his desire to comply with the god's wishes, but also asked how he should explain his actions to the people of his community. Ea advised him to say that he has learned that he was to be the object of Enlil's hatred and, lest his presence in their midst bring disaster upon them, he must go into exile, journeying to Ea's dwelling-place in the marshlands near the Persian Gulf. (Cf. the explanation given by Jonah to his shipmates (Jonah 1:10) that his sea voyage is in flight from YHWH.) It was by this ruse that Utanapishtim obtained the assistance of the people of Shuruppak in constructing the ship. The finished vessel, a perfect cube of 120 cubits, had seven levels, each divided into nine compartments. Supplies were loaded onto it, including whatever silver and gold Utanapishtim had in his possession. His family and relatives came aboard and animals, craftsmen, and a boatman joined the company. When all was ready, the onset of the tempest was heralded by an evening of rain, Utanapishtim studied the storm apprehensively, then entered the ship and closed the door. At daybreak on the following morning, a black cloud rose from the horizon and subsequently darkness enveloped the landscape. The storm raged so fiercely that even the gods cowered in fear. For six days and nights the tempest assailed the earth, but on the seventh day it ceased and the tossing sea grew calm. Utanapishtim opened a window, and upon seeing the scene of death, wept. After the storm, the ship approached a peak called Mount Nimush (or Nisir) as it emerged from the subsiding water. The ship ran aground and could not free itself from its resting place. Six days elapsed and on the seventh day, Utanapishtim tested the situation by releasing a dove, It flew away and then returned without finding a place to land. A swallow was next let loose, but with the same result. Subsequently, a raven was released and did not return, for the water had abated. Utanapishtim interpreted this as a sign that the flood was over, He prepared a sacrificial offering "on top of the mountain", and burned incense to the gods, who, attracted by the sweet odor, "gathered like flies." Enlil arrived later than the others and was filled with rage when he saw that mortals had survived, but Ea soothed his wrath, explaining that it was through a dream that Utanapishtim had learned the secret plan of the gods, Thereupon Enlil boarded the ship, took the man and his wife on board, and, touching their foreheads as they knelt on either side of him, formally conferred immortality on them.

The Biblical-Mesopotamian Parallels

No parallels between the biblical and extra-canonical accounts are more remarkable and impressive than those between Utanapishtim's story and that of Genesis. At the same time, there are important and basic differences between the two sources.

In the Genesis story the flood marks a turning point in history. While this does not figure in the Gilgamesh Epic, the concept is apparent in other Mesopotamian sources, which divide epochs into "before the flood" and "after the flood" (cf. Ps. 29:10; see Cohen and Hallo in Bibliography.). In both accounts the flood is a result of divine decision and one individual, a deity's favorite, is chosen to be saved by constructing a large vessel, whose dimensions, together with building instructions, are divinely communicated. In each case the vessel is calked inside and out with a tar-like substance to render it seaworthy. Animals and birds are taken aboard in both narratives. Both traditions describe the utter devastation of the flood, and both have the ship coming to rest on a mountain peak, with the hero shortly thereafter sending forth birds to determine if the earth was again hospitable. Finally, in both narratives the hero offers sacrifices on emerging from his vessel, and receives a divine blessing.

In spite of these unmistakable and striking parallels, many details are not shared by the two accounts. Some of the dissimilarities are obviously due to the fundamental difference in religious orientation. The Book of Genesis is essentially monotheistic, while the Gilgamesh Epic and its predecessors are consistently polytheistic in outlook. Utanapishtim is elevated to the status of a god, while Noah remains human. In further contrast, the God of the Bible establishes a covenant with all humankind after the deluge, a concept alien to Mesopotamia.

While Noah is not identified with a particular city, Utanapishtim is said to be a citizen of Shuruppak. The former is told explicitly and directly that the flood will come, while Utanapishtim must deduce the course of events from a carefully worded warning obliquely delivered to the wall of a reed hut. Furthermore, Ea's warning is given without the knowledge of Enlil, who had insisted on destroying all humankind without exception. In the monotheistic framework of the Bible, however, the author of the Flood intentionally provides for a surviving remnant, though unlike the Babylonian version in which a considerable number of people were spared (Utanapishtim's relatives and a crew), in the Genesis story only Noah and his wife, sons, and daughters-in-law enter the ark. The ships in which Noah and his Babylonian counterpart ride out the storm differ considerably in size and shape, the craft of Utanapishtim having a displacement about five times that of Noah's vessel. It is highly significant that the Mesopotamian hero needed a boatman to navigate his ship, while that of Noah needed neither rudder nor sail nor any other navigational aid. The building of an ark, rather than a ship, is intended to attribute Noah's deliverance solely to the will of God, and not to any human skill.

In the Gilgamesh Epic there is no indication of when the deluge began and ended, but in one of the sections of the biblical account precise dates are given. As for the duration of the storm, the accounts are widely divergent: six days in the Gilgamesh Epic as against forty according to one of the figures in Genesis, and no fewer than 150 according to another. The site at which the biblical ark came to rest after the Flood is identified as Ararat, a range northeast of Lake Van near the 40th parallel. Utanapishtim's ship, however, grounded far to the south on Mount Nimush/Nisir, near the 35th parallel. From the latter vessel a dove, a swallow, and a raven, in that order, were released, whereas Noah first turned a raven loose and then twice sent out a dove.

In Genesis there is no doubt that the reason for the Flood is divine punishment for human injustice, lawlessness, and social unrighteousness, and that the salvation of Noah is solely conditioned by his moral worthiness. The same notion is not fully articulated in the Gilgamesh epic, but is, nonetheless, implicit in the god Ea's criticism of the god Enlil. Ea insists that only sinners should suffer for their crimes, whereas the flood caused by Enlil had punished the innocent as well. (Gilg XI, 181–95). The situation in the Mesopotamian narratives, however, is not at all clear in respect to the choice of the hero, whose deliverance involved the deception of one god by another.

Sacrifice is significant in both stories to the point of striking verbal similarity. According to Genesis 8:21, YHWH smelled the pleasing odor of the sacrifice, while Gilgamesh XI, 161 reads: "The gods smelled the savor, the gods smelled the sweet savor." The writer continues with "the gods gathered likes flies around the sacrificer," a formulation that the biblical writer could hardly have tolerated." Nor could he have described the biblical god in terms of a swarm of hungry flies. At the same time, the biblical story goes so far as to credit sacrifice with maintaining what would later be called the world (*olam*) a view still held, if attenuated in the Mishnah (Avot 1:2).

While it is clear that the biblical account is dependent on the much earlier Mesopotamian material, the numerous differences between the two versions may be due either to Israelite reworking of earlier sources or to an intermediary recension. The text was widely known even outside Mesopotamia, including Akkadian fragments from *Emar in upper Syria, *Megiddo in Israel and Hattušaš, the Hittite capital in Turkey. Hattušaš has also yielded Hittite and Hurrian adaptations.

When the deluge story became part of the Hebrew repertory, it was developed in more than a single tradition. Subsequently the products were carefully interwoven, but without eliminating some contradictions and duplications. The biblical narrative emerges, nonetheless, as a consistent moral indictment of the human race, designed to reveal the character of Israel's God and His ethical demands. It is this aspect of the Genesis diluvial presentation which makes it significantly different from its Mesopotamian analogues.

[Dwight Young / S. David Sperling (2nd ed.)]

In the *Aggadah*

God mourned for seven days for the world that He had created before He sent the Flood (Gen. R. 32:7). One view is expressed that the Flood did not cover the Land of Israel (Zeb. 113a). On the other hand, it is stated that the olive tree from which the dove took the leaf that provided evidence that the Flood had subsided was from a tree on the Mount of Olives (Har ha-Mishḥa); it is also stated that when the Canaanites heard of the exodus of the Children of Israel, they adopted a "scorched earth" policy and cut down all the trees (Ex. R. 20:16) which were, however, ancient and gnarled, since they had been planted after the Flood (Eccles. R. 3:11. no. 2.). The gigantic *Og, king of Bashan, survived the Flood (Nid. 61a).

[Louis Isaac Rabinowitz]

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FLORENCE (It. Firenze) city in Tuscany, central Italy. There is no evidence of a Jewish community in the Roman City of Florentia. Early medieval documents preserved in the Florence Archives mention names that can be Jewish. The first evidence of a Jewish presence is dated to the 13th century. However, only in 1396 did the Commune of Florence allowed Jews to practice banking in the city and therefore to settle there.

Representatives of the Jewish communities in Italy, assembled in Florence in 1428, obtained a letter of protection from Pope Martin v. In 1430 the municipal authorities invited Jewish bankers to set up shop, as they believed that they would be easier to control than their Christian counterparts. The first loan license was granted in 1437. Soon various Jewish families, such as the Da Pisas, Da Rietis, and Da Tivolis settled in Florence. Generally, the Jews met with hostility from the populace, while the aristocracy, especially the Medici family, protected them. The obligation to wear the Jewish *badge was frequently enforced and then suspended. Jews lived mainly on the other side of the Arno. A Via dei Giudei still exists in the area. There, until World War II, was possible to see the remains of a synagogue. The Jewish cemetery, within the city walls, was situated on the present Lungarno della Zecca. There were anti-Jewish demonstrations in 1458 and 1471. Further threats of violence were restrained with difficulty when Bernardino da *Feltre preached in Florence in 1488, and he was escorted from the city. However, the Medici often protected the Jews. In 1477 Lorenzo the Magnificent successfully stopped an attempt to expel the Jews from the city. On Lorenzo's death in 1492, the Jews of Florence faced new difficult times under the Republic. After the triumph of Savonarola a Monte di *Pietà was established, the Jewish bankers were compelled to transfer there their loan-bank licences. Later the Jews were expelled. In 1493 a Jew, falsely accused of having damaged the face of Giovanni Tedesco's statue of the Virgin in Orsanmichele Church, was brutally executed.

The Medici returned to Florence in 1512, and in 1514 Jewish moneylenders were recalled. In 1527 the Medici were again banished, and the Jews received orders to leave, their expulsion being delayed. On the accession of Alessandro de Medici as duke (1531), the anti-Jewish enactments were abolished. However, only with Cosimo I (1537–74) and his wife Eleonora of Toledo, who were on friendly terms with the *Abrabanel family of Naples (afterward of Ferrara), did the Jews of Florence enjoy a long period of peace. It was on Jacob Abrabanel's advice that the duke authorized an appeal, directed primarily to Jews, promising wide privileges to merchants willing to settle in Florence. In 1551 Cosimo made an official proclamation which granted various concessions to Levantine Jews. However, years later Cosimo consented to the burning of the Talmud in the cities within the duchy (1553). On the other hand, he offered refuge to many Jews who left the papal states as a result of Pope Paul *IV's repressive measures, which he refused to implement in Florence. Cosimo modified his attitude when seeking to obtain the pope's agreement to his assumption of the title of grand duke. Under Pius *V, he introduced the badge (1567) and established a ghetto (1571), both in Florence and Siena, the only two cities where Jews were authorized to live. The ghetto of Florence was planned by no less a personage than Bernardo Buontalenti, the Grand Duke's architect. It occupied a square area bounded to the east by Via dei Succhiellinai (Via Roma), to the south by Piazza del Mercato Vecchio, to the west by Via dei Rigattieri (Via Brunelleschi). In the central square stood two synagogues, serving the Spanish-Levantine and the Italian communities, respectively.

So far the development of Jewish intellectual life corresponded to the rich attainments of Florentine culture. Jewish men of letters were highly esteemed at the court of Lorenzo de' Medici (1449–92) by contemporary scholars and writers. Elijah *Delmedigo, Johanan *Alemanno, and Abraham *Farissol were closely connected with these circles of scholars and humanists. The banker Jehiel b. Isaac of *Pisa has been termed the "Lorenzo the Magnificent" of the Jewish community, and eminent scholars assembled at his home. Christians such as Giannozzo *Manetti, Marsilio *Ficino, Girolamo Benivieni, and Pico della *Mirandola were thus introduced to Hebrew language, literature, and philosophy. The 15th and 16th centuries were a fruitful period for Jewish literature and poetry, and other branches of Jewish learning, even though the community did not number much more than 100 families. The establishment of the ghetto terminated this renaissance. The number of Jews in Florence substantially increased, however, as they were forced to leave the provincial towns of the duchy and reside in the capital.

The legislation of 1571 restricted Jewish trade to second-hand goods and strictly enforced the ghetto system. Ferdinand I, the successor of Cosimo I, who became Grand Duke in 1587, granted a series of privileges to Levantine Jews and they were allowed to live outside the ghetto. Italian Jews, however, were not only confined to the borders of the ghetto but were also excluded from the city's guilds. In 1670 a fire destroyed the northern area of the ghetto. The damaged Italian synagogue was partly rebuilt. Under the rule of Cosimo III, the ghetto was extended to accommodate a growing population. In general the position of the Jews was more favorable than their legal status warranted.

In 1737 the Habsburg-Lorraine inherited the Grand Duchy of Tuscany from the defunct dynasty of the Medici. The situation of the Jews soon changed for better. Thus in 1750 the community was allowed to purchase the two buildings housing the synagogues. Certain civic rights were conferred on the Jews by the Grand Duke Leopold I (1765–90), one of the champions of the Enlightment in Europe, including the right to vote for the municipal council (1778). The first solely Hebrew printing press in Florence operated from 1734 to 1736, when Francesco Mouecke published a number of liturgical items. Isaac b. Moses di Pas printed there from 1744 to 1755. G. Campiagi printed a number of Hebrew books between 1778 and 1838, as did Rabbi G.V.A. Coën around 1828. When widespread popular disturbances broke out in 1790 against the reforms introduced by the ruler, the ghetto was attacked.

The Jews of Florence received their complete emancipation with the entry of the French Revolutionary army (March 25, 1799), which was subsequently forced to depart. In 1800 the French returned and the Jews regained their freedom. Florence, as well as Tuscany was annexed to Napoleonic France. Thus in 1808 a decree established consistories to govern the life of the Jewish communities in Tuscany, as in neighboring France.

After the restoration of the grand dukes (1814), Jews continued to enjoy wide toleration, albeit with some discrimination. Jews were permitted to own real estate and to work as physicians and pharmacists, but were barred from the legal profession and were excluded from military service. In this period various Jews, mainly from the Pontifical States, immigrated to the more tolerant Florence. Florence Jews as well as the Jews of the rest of Tuscany attained equality in 1848 under the constitution granted by Grand Duke Leopold II. Finally, in 1859, when Tuscany was incorporated in the Kingdom of Sardinia (from 1861 the Kingdom of Italy), the Jews were recognized as equal citizens of the new kingdom. In 1859 two Jews, the D'*Ancona brothers, held prominent positions in the provisional government of Farini before Tuscany was annexed to the Kingdom of Italy.

In 1864 Florence became the capital of Italy (until 1870). This probably influenced the community's decision to build a new synagogue. The building was erected in 1872, in the new district of the Mattonaia, in Via Farini 4. It was a building in the Moorish style, crowned by a huge dome. The original planner was the architect Marco Treves, later joined by Mariano Falcini and Vincenzo Micheli. The synagogue was twice visited by royalty: by Umberto I in 1887 and by Vittorio Emanuele III in 1911. Not all of Florence's Jews lived in the area. Thus in 1882 two small synagogues were opened in Via delle Oche 4. In 1899 the Collegio Rabbinico Italiano was transferred from Rome to Florence and placed under the guidance of Samuel Hirsch *Margulies. Through him and his pupils the community became the center of Hebrew culture in Italy. In 1931, 2,730 Jews lived in the community.

Hebrew Printing

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[Umberto (Moses David) Cassuto / Josef Levi (2nd ed.)]

Holocaust Period

The German occupation of Florence occurred on September 11, 1943. The perilous situation of the Jews immediately caused Rabbi Nathan Cassuto, son of the famous scholar Umberto *Cassuto, to seek assistance from the local clergy, and especially from the archbishop of Florence, Cardinal Elia Dalla Costa. Cassuto was concerned not only for the Florentine Jews but also for those refugees, mostly of East European origin, who after the announcement of the armistice between the Italians and the Allies on September 8, had followed the Italian Fourth Army occupying southeastern France on its retreat back into Italy. Many of the refugees were women and children. The Jewish-Christian relief committee that was born following the contacts between Cassuto and Dalla Costa became operative at the end of September 1943. This relief committee consisted of Cassuto himself; Father Cipriano Ricotti, prior of the Monastery of San Marco; Don Leto Casini, priest of Varlungo; Matilde Cassin (Rabbi Cassuto's young assistant, who attended to the contacts with the Florence monasteries and convents where the Jewish refugees were lodged); Eugenio Artom, a lawyer; Giuseppe Castiglioni, a lawyer; Guido De Angelis; Prof. Aldo Neppi Modona; and Giuliano Treves. Vital support to the relief committee was provided by Raffaele *Cantoni, who was in Florence following the dismissal of Mussolini as prime minister on July 25, 1943. Cantoni provided the committee with money, food, and clothing that were later distributed among the Jewish refugees lodged in the monasteries and convents. Giorgio La Pira, mayor of Florence after World War II, helped greatly in the search for monasteries and convents willing to take in the Jewish refugees.

The refugee committee was active for two months, from the second half of September to the second half of November 1943. The German raids against Jews in Tuscany began early in November 1943. On November 5 they took place in Siena and Montecatini. On November 6 the SS broke into the synagogue in Florence, seizing the custodian and a few refugees just arrived from France. They were deported to Auschwitz on November 9. On the evening of November 26, the SS invaded the premises of the Azione Cattolica, an Italian Catholic organization situated in Via dei Pucci, where a meeting of the Jewish-Christian relief committee was taking place, seizing Nathan Cassuto and other committee members. That same night, an SS unit with the active cooperation of a squad of Fascist soldiers invaded three monasteries in Florence: the convent of the Franciscan Missionary Sisters of Maria in the Piazza Carmine, where they seized 30 women and many children; the monastery of the Ricreatorio di San Giuseppe in Via Domenico Cirillo, where they arrested about 20 men; and the convent of the Sisters dell'Apparizione in via Gioberti, where they seized additional women and children. On the evening of November 29, as a result of betrayal, the Nazis apprehended, in the Piazza della Signoria, Anna Cassuto, the rabbi's wife; Saul Campagnano, Cassuto's brother-in-law; and Raffaele Cantoni. Most of the Jews arrested during the raids of late November 1943 were taken to the San Vittore prison in Milan, from where, on January 30, 1944, they were deported to Auschwitz. Cantoni managed to escape from the train, but the others arrived on February 6, 1944.

The relief activities of the Jewish-Christian committee continued clandestinely, but on a reduced scale, until the liberation of Florence in August 1944. About 243 Jews were deported from Florence, of whom only 13 returned. Eight Jews were murdered in circumstances related to their arrest, and four died while fighting with the partisans.

[Massimo Longo Adorno (2nd ed.)]

Contemporary Period

At the end of the war, 1,600 Jews were left in Florence. This number was reduced by 1965 to 1,276 out of a total of 455,000 inhabitants as a result of the constant excess of deaths over births. In 1962 the two oratories in Via delle Oche were sold. In 1970 there were approximately 1,250 Jews in Florence, including some in the surrounding area. By the turn of the century the number had dropped to around 1,000. In the floods of 1966, the muddy waters of the Arno River inundated the beautiful synagogue, causing great damage to the sacred objects and library. Today the synagogue is of the Sephardi rite, but there is also an Ashkenazi prayer house. The community had a kindergarten, an elementary school, and a high school as well as a rest home for elderly people, and a kosher restaurant. A review, *Ebrei d'Europa*, is published irregularly.

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FLORENTIN, MEVORAH (1895–1963), Venezuelan pioneer in the education of the blind. Florentin was born in Salonika, Greece. He lost the sight of one eye at the age of seven and his sight gradually deteriorated. In 1923, he settled in Caracas, Venezuela, and devoted himself to the study of Spanish until 1934 when, convinced that he would soon go completely blind, he turned to the study of Braille and the welfare of the blind. In 1936, he founded the Society for the Friends of the Blind, and after passing examinations in Braille and in typhlology (the scientific study of blindness) in Paris, he established a printing press for the publication of scholarly texts in Braille. In 1959, he founded the Eye Bank of the Venezuelan Institute for the Blind and the first School of Telephonists for the blind. In recognition of his services he was decorated four times by the Venezuelan Government, including the Order of Francisco de Miranda. After Florentin's death, the street in which the institute for the blind is located was named in his memory, and different educational institutions for the blind carry his name.

FLORETA CA NOGA, 14th-century Spanish physician. A document from 1381 indicating that Na Floreta Ca Noga of St. Coloma de Queralt was paid fifteen gold florins for her successful treatment of Sibila, Queen of Aragon, is among several records of royal payments for her services. She is one of a number of known female physicians of the medieval period, many of whom specialized in diseases of the eyes.

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[Judith R. Baskin (2nd ed.)]

FLORIDA, most southeasterly U.S. state, with a warm climate and long coastlines on the Atlantic Ocean and Gulf of Mexico. This combination creates a desirable quality of life that has attracted large numbers of people of all ages, among them many Jews. Florida (in 2005) boasted more than 17 million residents and had diversified its economy to become an important center of tourism, beef cattle, citrus, and space technology. Much of the growth in the Sunshine State since the end of World War II has been in its southern portions and South Florida had the third largest concentration of Jews in the U.S. after the New York and Los Angeles metropolitan areas.

Florida was discovered by Ponce de Leon for Spain in 1513 (21 years after the Spanish Inquisition) and some *Conversos may have come with him, as they did with Columbus. America's first permanent settlement was in St. Augustine in 1565. There are Sephardi names among those who lived there and evidence suggests that Pedro Menendez Marques, the third Spanish governor of Florida (1577–89) may have been a Converso. The perception that Jews were late arrivals in Florida parallels the belief that ascribes the founding of the U.S. to the pilgrims of Plymouth Rock. Current documentation shows that Jews have been *allowed* to live in Florida for nearly 250 years.

Until the mid-18th century Florida was for Catholics only. The Treaty of Paris (1762), which concluded the French and Indian War, gave Florida to the British and Louisiana to the Spanish. Jews living in Louisiana had to move. In 1763 three Sephardi Jews came from New Orleans to Pensacola: Samuel Israel, Joseph de Palacios, and Alexander Salomon. (Alexander Salomon may have been related to Haym *Salomon, who helped finance the American Revolution.)

Although Florida was returned to Spain following the American Revolution (1783), the Spanish needed settlers in the territory, so they tolerated a tiny Jewish presence. From the mid-18th century until Florida achieved statehood in 1845, Jews continued to trickle into northern Florida. The "Architect of Statehood" was a Jew, David Levy *Yulee, a son of pioneer Moses *Levy.

Eighty-one years before the First Zionist Congress in Basel, Switzerland (1897), Sephardi Jew Moses Elias Levy embarked on his own "Zion" plan to resettle oppressed European Jews in Florida. Born in Morocco in 1782, Moses Levy was descended from one of the many Jewish families who, having been expelled from the Iberian Peninsula at the end of the 15th century, found refuge in northern Africa. Raised in Gibraltar, Levy made his way to St. Thomas, V.I., in 1800. There he worked in the lumber business, accumulating a considerable fortune. He became interested in Florida and, in 1819, purchased 92,000 acres in the north central region.

Envisioning a haven for persecuted Jews, Levy called his settlement in Micanopy "Pilgrimage Plantation." He hired Frederick *Warburg, a member of the noted German Jewish banking family, to help him recruit Jewish settlers. Young Warburg, along with at least five other German Jewish families, lived on the Plantation. Included among them was Levy's son David, who became Florida's first U.S. senator. Moses Levy built a plantation house and houses for the settlers' families, as well as a blacksmith shop, stable, sugar mill, sawmill, and corn house. He brought in sugar cane, fruit trees, and seeds. In an effort to create a utopian Jewish settlement, Levy included among his projects a plan for the abolition of slavery, public schools, and a Jewish school.

The 1,000-acre plantation lasted from 1822 to 1835, when it was burned down by the Seminoles at the outbreak of the Second Seminole Indian War. Sustaining the plantation had been a challenge; in early 19th century Florida, it was virtually in the middle of nowhere. And the urban backgrounds of most of the Jewish settlers made adaptation to a rural outback difficult. As Levy said, "It is not easy to transform old clothes men into practical farmers."

Moses Levy left Florida a lasting legacy. Divorced, he had brought with him to Florida two of his four children, Elias and David. Elias was sent to Harvard; David boarded with the Moses Meyer family in Norfolk to get his Jewish education and then came to Florida by 1827 to manage some of his father's properties. He pursued law and was admitted to the Florida bar in 1832. David Levy became extremely active in politics. He helped draft Florida's constitution and eventually was sent to the U.S. Congress as the representative of the Territory of Florida (1841), where he argued for statehood. Being the first Jew to serve in the U.S. Congress, Levy faced discrimination when John Quincy Adams referred to him as the "alien Jew delegate."

With less than one hundred Jews in the state, David Levy was elected to the U.S. Senate when Florida became a state in 1845. He officially added the name of his father's Sephardi ancestry, Yulee. Yulee operated a 5,000-acre sugar plantation on the Homosassa River and another in Alachua County. He established a residence in Fernandina, where, in the 1850s, he organized and planned Florida's first railroad linking the Atlantic and Gulf coasts. On March 1, 1861, the first cross-state train of the Atlantic & Gulf Railroad left Fernandina at 7:15 A.M. and reached the outskirts of Cedar Key at 4 P.M., with eight stops in between.

Yulee resigned from the Senate when Florida seceded from the Union in early 1861. During the Civil War he served in the Confederate Congress. The war took a heavy personal toll. Union forces burned Yulee's plantation in Homosassa, his railroad lay in ruins, and, after the war, he was briefly imprisoned by the Union. Following his release, Yulee rebuilt his railroad, its operation continuing until the 1930s. Yulee moved to Washington, D.C., in 1880. He died six years later and is buried in Washington. Scholars contend there is no evidence that David Levy Yulee converted from Judaism, even though he married a Christian. Florida's Levy County and the town of Yulee (Nassau County) are among the places in Florida named for him.

Until 1822, Jews who lived in Florida came from somewhere else. The earliest known Jewish births are a girl (Virginia Myers) in Pensacola in 1822 and a boy (George Dzialynski) in Jacksonville in 1857. In that same year (1857), also in Jacksonville, Jews built the first Jewish cemetery in Florida. And in 1874 B'nai B'rith had a chapter in Pensacola.

Florida's first synagogue was constructed in Pensacola in 1876. By the end of the 19th century, there were six Jewish congregations and five Jewish cemeteries in Florida. Floridian Jews served on both sides of the Civil War. Following the Civil War, Jews began migrating south, settling in Tampa, *Orlando, Ocala, and even Key West. The west coast city of *Ft. Myers, founded in 1886, was named for a Jew – Abraham C. Myers, a West Point graduate and a descendant of the first rabbi of Charleston, South Carolina. Myers had served as quartermaster during the Second Seminole Indian War.

In 1879 German Jew Henry Brash was elected mayor of Marianna in north Florida, the first known of more than 150 Jews to serve their communities in this capacity. David Sholtz, a Russian Jew, became Florida's governor in 1933. Miami's Richard *Stone became the state's second Jewish U.S. senator in 1974 after serving as Florida's secretary of state. Scores of Jews have served in the state legislature and in the U.S. Congress. In 2005 Florida was represented in Washington by Debbie Wasserman Schultz and Robert *Wexler. More than 250 Jews have served as judges in Florida.

In 1915 Jacksonville Jew Ben Chepenik wrote his relatives in Massachusetts, "Sell everything; come quickly to Florida, the land of milk and honey; you can walk down the streets and pick citrus." And many did come. For Jews, Florida offered a variety of occupational opportunities. Some transferred their traditional dry goods businesses to Florida; others used the state's resources to develop or expand new ideas. In Florida, Jews became ranchers, farmers, cigar makers, architects, developers, hoteliers, artists, writers, scientists, retailers, educators, doctors, lawyers, civic leaders, and more.

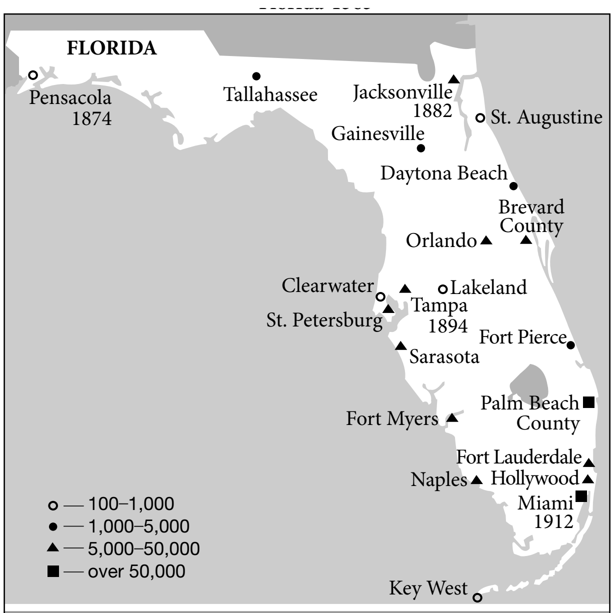

Total Jewish population of Florida (estimate)	620,000
% of Jews in general population of Florida	3.9
% of Florida Jews in Jewish population of U.S.	10.0

Jewish communities in Florida, with earliest dates of establishment. Population figures for 2001.

Jews owned the largest shade tobacco-packing factory in Quincy, near Tallahassee. Saul Snyder, a Russian Jew who immigrated to St. Augustine in 1904, founded the Florida Cattlemen's Association at a time when cattle was the state's major industry. The first Miss Florida was Jewish (1885). Much more recently, Marshall *Nirenberg of Orlando was awarded the Nobel Prize in medicine and physiology for breaking the genetic code (1968) and Isaac *Bashevis Singer – routinely associated with New York City but a Florida resident as well – received the Nobel Prize in literature in 1978. Four Jews have served on the Supreme Court of Florida, including as chief justice: Ray Ehrlich, Arthur England, Gerald Kogan, and Barbara Pariente.

Prior to the 20th century, most Jewish settlement in Florida was in the north or Key West (Key West was a port of entry for some European immigrants). But the development of railroads made accessible southern regions, and Jews headed south. Jewish migration throughout the state increased, but numbers increased exponentially after World War II, especially in Miami-Dade County. Air conditioning made Florida comfortable for year-round life.

The first South Florida community to host Jews was probably West Palm Beach, where Jews settled in 1892 when the railroad arrived there. Growth was slow at first; as late as 1940, the Jewish population in *Palm Beach County was only 1,000. In 2005 the Jewish population in Palm Beach County was the second largest in the state at about 220,000; the Boca Raton metropolitan area was more than 50% Jewish.

Many of the Jews who first settled in West Palm Beach were among the earliest settlers of *Miami. Miami, founded in 1896, was difficult to reach until Henry Flagler extended his railroad southward. But by the mid-1890s, the railroad rendered Miami and sites south accessible and Jews migrated accordingly. Other Jews migrated from Key West to Miami in the 1890s when a peddler's tax was imposed there. Some stayed after serving in the Spanish-American War. The first Jews settled on Miami Beach in 1913. After reaching its Jewish population zenith in 1975 (250,000), Miami-Dade County declined to about 113,000 in 2005 as elderly Jewish residents died and more recent retirees moved north, partly due to "white flight." At present, *Broward County, not Miami-Dade, has the largest number of Jews. Just as the center of the Jewish population moved south from *Jacksonville in the 1930s, it is now moving north.

Jews came to escape persecution in Europe, for economic opportunity, to join family members, to enjoy the climate, for their health, and to retire. In the 21st century, South Florida was an area stretching from Palm Beach to Miami where 15% of the population was Jewish. Most Jews came from other places in the United States, with considerable subsequent migration from Latin America as Jews were impacted by politics and economics. Jews have contributed in multiple ways to the development of the state, striving to maintain Jewish culture and institutions even as they've adjusted to the special nature of the place.

Sixteen percent of the American Jewish community lived in Florida in 2005. In the 1890s the Florida Jewish population was about 2,500; by the 1950s, the population had grown to 70,000; in 2005 it was nearly 850,000, about 5% of the general population, and still growing. Outside of South Florida, communities with noteworthy Jewish populations include Orlando, 35,000; Tampa, 25,000; St. Petersburg-Clearwater, 20,000; Sarasota, 17,000; Jacksonville, 13,000; Ft. Myers, 8,000; Naples, 6,000; Cocoa, Rockledge, Titusville, 6,000; Daytona, Ormond and environs, 5,500; Tallahassee, 4,400; Pensacola, 900 and Key West, 550. (See separate entries on other Jewish communities.)

In 2005 there were more than 350 congregations, 14 Federations that raised $82 million annually, 15 Jewish community centers, six university Judaic Studies programs, five Jewish homes for the aged, and eight Jewish newspapers. In Miami Beach were the Jewish Museum of Florida, a nationally recognized Jewish hospital (Mt. Sinai), and a major Holocaust Memorial. There was Florida Holocaust Museum in St. Petersburg as well as other Holocaust memorials and documentation and education centers around the state. The March of the Living and the Alexander Muss High School in Israel, two programs with international implications, began and are based in South Florida. There were nearly 100 kosher restaurants. And there was the full array of Jewish organizations, from the American Jewish Committee to the Zionist Organization of America. Few would deny that this was a significant American Jewish community.

[Marcia Jo Zerivitz (2nd ed.)]

°**FLORUS OF LYONS** (c. 860), successively secretary to the bishops *Agobard and *Amulo. Florus supplied no more than the literary material for the two bishops' anti-Jewish writings, which have often been wrongly attributed to him. However, he alone was responsible for two anti-Jewish compilations. The first, *De coertione Iudaeorum* ("On Forcing the Jews," c. 820), was in defense of Agobard, who was accused of using force in bringing Jewish children to baptism. The second, *De fugiendis contagiis Iuaeorum* ("On the Avoidance of Jewish Pollution," before 826), was included in a memorandum addressed to the emperor by Agobard and some of his colleagues.

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[Bernhard Blumenkranz]

FLOSS, village in Bavaria, Germany. In 1685 a group of Jewish cloth merchants received a charter to settle and build on an unoccupied hill. Four houses were built in 1687 and the Jewish "colony" (juedische Kolonie), as it was called then, had 12 houses by 1712. In 1721 a synagogue was built. The community (referred to as "Judenberg" by contemporaries) retained its rights of self-government and jurisdiction well into the 19th century. When the government in 1819 ordered the incorporation of the Jewish community within the village according to the 1813 Bavarian edict (see *Bavaria), the Christian villagers protested, and in 1824 the Jewish community was again separated. It was totally incorporated in the village in 1869. There were 200 Jews living in Floss in 1799, 391 in 1840, 205 in 1871, and 19 in 1933. Floss served as a religious center for the Jews of the neighboring villages. On *Kristallnacht* (November 1938) the synagogue (consecrated in 1817) was burned down and the rabbi's house and communal center were ransacked. No Jews returned after the war. Yehoseph *Schwarz, pioneer Jewish geographer of Ereẓ Israel, was born in Floss.

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FLOWERS. Almost all the very rich and variegated flora of Ereẓ Israel are flowering plants (*Phanerogamae*), and most of them have an attractively colored corolla. In Israel flowers bloom all year, in the cold and rainy season as well as in the burning heat of summer, but mainly during the spring. In this respect Israel differs from those countries where plants almost entirely cease blooming in winter and burst forth in spring in a blaze of flowers and greenery. The biblical "month of *Abib*" ("spring"; Ex. 13:4; et al.) refers to the time when the grains of corn in the ear are still tender. In point of fact, there are two seasons of the year in Israel: "Cold and heat, summer and winter" (Gen. 8:22); "Thou hast made summer and winter" (Ps. 74:17). The winter season begins after the early rains have fallen (October–November). Shortly afterward the ground is covered with a blanket of green grass. Appearing soon after the early rains, the first flowers bloom, mainly those of bulbous plants such as species of colchicum with their pinkish-white flowers and the crocus and saffron with their white ones. Masses of yellow dandelions and calendula appear a few weeks later. Once more the color of the fields changes, this time to the bright pink of the thousands of silene. In January the fields are covered with the blood-red flowers of the anemone, other colors of it – white, pink, and violet – growing in Galilee and on the Carmel. Their red is replaced shortly after by the fiery red flowers of the ranunculus, and here and there are to be seen the beautiful red blooms of the tulip, which in the 1930s and 1940s dominated the landscape of the Sharon and the mountains but have been greatly diminished as a result of ruthless picking. The red species of poppy, however, which bring the season of abundant flowering to a close, have not been affected in this way.

Such is the main cycle of the landscape's changing hues in Israel's Mediterranean areas until the arrival of summer. In addition to these there are hundreds of species of other flowers, some of them the most beautiful in the country, as well as several endemic species that are among the prettiest in the world, such as the cyclamen, conspicuous by its delicate flowers and picturesque leaves, which appears among the rocks as early as December. The fragrant narcissus is found in the valleys and prominent in March–May are many species of terrestrial orchids, not inferior in beauty despite their small flowers to their congener, the tropical epiphytic orchids. This period is rich in the blooming of floral species of the Iridaceae family, such as those of the gladiolus and iris, as well as flowers of the Liliaceae family, to which the *Lilium candidum* belong. Because of expanding agricultural settlement and the intensive picking of blooms, the areas of these beautiful flowers have been greatly reduced, but their number has been increasing year by year since the passing of the State of Israel's nature protection laws.

In the desert areas of Israel – the Negev and Aravah – flowering begins after the first rain and here also are many splendid flowers, particularly of the Liliaceae and Iridaceae families as well as species of the *Salvia* and crucifers. To the last belongs the desert *Mantur* which in winter covers the rocky hammada with a purple carpet of millions of flowers. The flowering period of the desert flora is short. Annuals have a brief existence, the entire life cycle of some – sprouting, growing, flowering, and seeding – lasting no more than ten weeks. In this way desert flora ensure their survival before the advent of the long, dry summer months. The Mediterranean single-season flora, too, have a brief span of life. Taking advantage of the rainy season, they grow rapidly, and flower for a few days, only to disappear suddenly with the coming of the first hot *sharav* ("sirocco") winds of spring. This phenomenon has found expression in many metaphors, such as those describing the end of man's life: "The grass withereth, the flower fadeth" (Isa. 40:7), and his short life: "In the morning it flourisheth, and groweth up; in the evening it is cut down, and withereth" (Ps. 90:6). The wicked, too, are likened to masses of single-season flowers that suddenly flourish in all their brilliance but with the coming of the hot *sharav* wind disappear without a trace (*ibid.* 92:8).

Besides wild annuals or bulbous and tuberous flora, there are many wild perennials – beautiful flowering shrubs and trees. Cyclical changes mirrored in the blossoms' hues on the dominant shrubs and trees can be distinguished in the color of the landscape. The first tree to bloom in Israel, when forest trees are still shedding their leaves is the *almond, covered with a white mantle of blossoms (some strains of the cultivated almond have pinkish flowers). Shortly after, in January, with the blossoming of the *Calycotome* shrub, the prevailing color of the woods changes to yellow. Next the rockrose (*Cistus*) shrubs bloom with their large pink and white flowers. The purple flowers of the Judas tree (*Cercis*) are conspicuous in the woods in March. Then yellow, the color of the spartium shrubs, once again becomes the predominant hue, to be replaced by the white of the flowers of the styrax and the hawthorn (*Crataegus*). The great majority of the country's shrubs and trees blossom in winter and spring, and only a few of them in the dry summer – the season when the eucalyptus flowers. Soon after the rains the various species of *citrus bloom, and the air is filled with the scent of their blossoms. The end of summer, with the approach of the rainy season, sees a revival in some species of flora known as "the harbingers of winter"; prominent among these is the *squill with its white flower, like an erect candle, which comes out of the bulb during the last months of summer. The *Pancriatum* – "lily of Sharon" – blooms in this season, its large, fragrant flowers visible from afar in the desolate landscape. Two species of the colchicum flourish at the end of summer. lt is, at first sight, surprising that the Bible and talmudic literature seldom refer to the use of flowers for decorative purposes, but in ancient times the emphasis was laid on aromatic flora, and it is their fragrance which is emphasized. The picking of flowers is referred to in the Bible only once: "My beloved is gone down to his garden, to the beds of spices, to feed in the gardens, and to gather lilies" (Song 6:2). The Mishnah, too, speaks of the picking of lilies, but in a cemetery (Toh. 3:7). Mention is made of a "rose garden" which existed in Jerusalem since the days of the prophets (BK 82b). According to the Mishnah, figs grew there (Ma'as 2:5). But here, too, it is doubtful whether this garden was for decorative purposes or whether the fragrant roses were not used in the preparation of perfumes (see *Rose). The flowers mentioned in the Talmud, such as the saffron, jasmin, and narcissus, are chiefly mentioned as aromatic and medicinal flora.

The flower was a common motif in ancient Hebrew art: the ornamentation of the candlestick was in the form of "a calyx and petals" (Ex. 25:33). On the brim of the "sea" in the Temple were embellishments "like the brim of a cup, like the flower of a lily" (I Kings 7:26), while the boards of cedar in it were "carved with knops and open flowers" (*ibid.* 6:18). Josephus tells that the crown worn by the high priest was in the form of the calyx of the *Hyoscyamus* flower. Apparently the passage, "Woe to the crown of pride of the drunkards of Ephraim, and to the fading flower of his glorious beauty" (Isa. 28:1), alludes to floral wreaths. In apocalyptic literature it is stated that virgins wore floral chaplets, as did those celebrating Tabernacles and the victor in battle (Il Bar. 10:13; Jub. 16:30; IV Macc. 17:15). The Talmud refers several times to chaplets of roses (Shab. 152a; BM 84a). It is also related that bridegrooms wore wreaths of roses and myrtle (Sot. 9:14; Tosef. 15:8) and that non-Jews garlanded the idols on their festivals with crowns of roses and corn (Av. Zar. 4:2; TJ, Av. Zar. 4:2, 43d).

Flowers of the Bible

Only three flowers are mentioned by name in the Bible, the *shoshan* or *shoshannah* ("lily" or "rose"), *shoshannat ha-amakim* (*shoshannah* "of the valleys"), and *ḥavaẓẓelet ha-Sharon* ("rose" or "lily" of the Sharon (Valley)). The complex question of the identification of the *shoshan* or *shoshannah* has provoked more studies than any other flora mentioned in the Bible, there being scarcely a beautiful flower found in lsrael (and even beyond its borders) that has not been suggested. Symbolizing in the Bible beauty and fragrance, it is most probably to be identified with the *Lilium candidum* – the white (madonna) lily. Abraham Ibn Ezra (in his commentary on Song 2:1) had this flower in mind when he stated that *shoshan, shoshannah* is derived from *shesh* ("six"), "since it always has six white petals as well as a pistil and long stamens which likewise number six." On the basis of this identification and doubtless also because of its delightful smell, Ibn Ezra declared, contrary to the generally accepted view, that the expression "his lips are as lilies" (*ibid.* 5:13) refers "to scent and not to appearance," that is, not to the red color of the lips but to their sweet odor. The other descriptions of the word in the Bible fit in with "lily" (Song 6:2–3; 4:5; 5:13; 7:3). Previously doubt was cast on this identification on the grounds that it was not proved that in ancient times the lily grew wild in Ereẓ Israel, but this large, beautiful, and scented bloom is to be found in woods in the Carmel and Galilee areas. To see the lily's lovely fragrant flowers blooming at the beginning of summer among the various thorns that then dominate the landscape is an enchanting experience, and hence "as a lily among thorns, so is my love among the daughters" (Song 2:1–2). It is this passage that was responsible for the incorrect identification of *shoshannah* as a rose, having been explained as referring to a rose amid its thorny stems. The rose was not found in Ereẓ Israel in biblical times, however, and although two species of rose grow wild in the country, they are neither beautiful nor fragrant, nor do the name *shoshan* and its biblical description fit the rose. It must, however, be pointed out that its identification as a rose already appears in the Midrash which speaks of the "red *shoshannah*" and of "a *shoshannah* of a rose" (Lev. R. 23:3; Song R. 7:3, no. 2).

Although the identification of *shoshan/shoshannah* as a lily is almost certain, it is difficult to identify the *shoshannat ha-amakim* mentioned with it in the Song of Songs since the white lily does not grow specifically in valleys. Of the many suggestions put forward in identifying it, the most likely appears to be the narcissus (*Narcissus tazetta*), a fragrant flower with six enveloping petals that flourishes particularly in valleys with a heavy soil. *Ḥavaẓẓelet ha-Sharon* is mentioned in the same verse (Song 2:1) and also in the vision of the flowering of the desolate land which shall "blossom as the *ḥavaẓẓelet*" and to which "the excellency of Carmel and Sharon" shall be given (Isa. 35:1–2). The *ḥavaẓẓelet*, as also the *shoshannah*, is identified by the Septuagint as *κρίνον,* that is, a lily. The Targum on Song of Songs identifies it with a narcissus, while various exegetes have identified it with the country's beautiful flowers, such as the iris or rose (Ibn Ezra), the colchicum (Loew), the tulip, as well as other flowers of bulbous plants, since the word is very probably connected with *baẓal* ("bulb"). It is generally accepted that *ḥavazzelet ha-Sharon* is to be identified with the *Pancratium maritimum*, a bulbous plant with white, highly scented flowers which blooms at the end of summer in the coastal lowland; thus it appropriately symbolizes the flowering of the desolate land and its transformation into "the excellency of Carmel and Sharon."

[Jehuda Feliks]

Ceremonial Use

Man's awareness of the fragrance of flowers is an occasion for him to say the blessing, "Blessed art Thou, O Lord … who createst fragrant plants" (Ber. 43b). Yet flowers and plants were not generally used in synagogal or Jewish home ceremonies. On *Shavuot, however, it is customary to decorate the synagogue with fragrant grass, flowers, and branches. A threefold reason is given for this custom: the branches are a reminder that Shavuot is also the "Day of Judgment" for trees (RH 1:2); the fragrant grass is symbolic of the people of Israel assembled around Mount Sinai for the giving of the Torah (Ex. 34:3); and the flowers are a symbol for the betrothal of Israel to the Torah. The decorating of synagogues with flowers on Shavuot was opposed by some authorities on grounds of its similarity to the Christian practice (see *Ḥukkat ha-Goi). In modern times on Shavuot, synagogues are sometimes also adorned with sheaves of wheat, etc., symbolic of Shavuot as the festival of the wheat harvest and the offering of the *first fruits (*bikkurim*; see also Bik. 3:3). In the U.S. the custom has grown of having flowers at most family events, On Simḥat Torah in some congregations, a *ḥuppah* ("bridal canopy") made of plants and flowers is placed on the *bimah* ("platform"), and on Sukkot, the *sukkah* is embellished with fruits, flowers, and plants. Traditional Jewish mourning customs admit neither wreaths nor flowers at funerals or on tombstones (although in modern times, this custom is frequently disregarded). The planting of trees and shrubs around the synagogue building was the cause of heated debates a century and a half ago. Orthodox rabbinical authorities strongly objected to the landscaping of synagogue grounds, based on Deuteronomy 16:21 (see also Maim. Yad, Avodat Kokhavim 6:9). This objection, motivated by fear of innovation and reform, subsided in the course of time and yielded to the desire for an aesthetically appropriate setting for the synagogue.

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FLUSSER, DAVID (1917–2000), scholar of comparative religion; professor at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem beginning in 1962. Flusser's researches were devoted to Christianity, with a special interest in the New Testament; to Judaism of the Second Temple Period, and in particular to the *Dead Sea Scrolls; to the *Josippon Chronicle, and certain associated areas. Of great prominence were his researches into the Dead Sea Scrolls and the sect which produced them, especially as the Scrolls relate to the New Testament. His article "The Dead Sea Sect and Pre-Pauline Christianity" (*Scripta Hierosolymitana*, 1958) is central to any consideration of these problems. He has published over 1,000 articles in Hebrew, English, German, and other languages, distinguished by a great sensitivity to currents and types of religious thought as well as by their philological analysis. His published work also includes "Blessed are the Poor in Spirit," in: IEJ, 10 (1960), 1–12; *Die konsequente Philologie und die Worte Jesu* (1963); *De joodse oorsprong van het Christendom* (1964); *Yosippon: Kunteres le-Dugma* (1947); *Jesus in Selbstzeugnissen und Bilddokumenten* (1968) and *Jesus* (1969, 2001^{3}); and translations into French and Dutch as well as "Jesus in the Context of History" (in: *The Crucible of Christianity* (1969), 225–34, ed. A. Toynbee). Later books include *Judaism and the Origins of Christianity* (1988) and *Judaism of the Second Temple Period* (2 vols., 2002). In 1980 he was awarded the Israel Prize for Jewish studies.

FLY (Heb. זְבוּב), which occurs in an analogous form in other Semitic languages, refers mainly to the housefly (*Musca domestica*) A dead fly turns foul anything it falls into (Eccles. 10:1). Among the visitations against which public prayer was offered up was a plague of flies (Ta'an. 14a). The Palestinian *amora*, Johanan, warned against flies as carriers of disease (Ket. 77b). One measure of a man's fastidiousness is how he reacts when a fly falls into his drink (Tosef., Sot. 5:9). One of the miracles that occurred in the Temple was that "no fly was seen in the slaughter house" (Avot 5:5). Rav reported from observation that "no fly is a year old"; in other words, that it does not live more than six months (cf. Deut, R. 5:2). Despite the repulsiveness of the fly, its existence was considered important in the balance of nature (TJ, Ber. 9:3, 13c). The people of Ekron worshipped an idol called Baal Zebub ("lord of the fly," see *Baal), perhaps regarded as a protector against the plague of flies (II Kings 1:2). Besides the housefly, there are to be found in Israel stinging, blood-sucking flies, as well as carrion and fruit flies. Carrion flies (*Lucillia*) lay their eggs in carcasses. From the eggs hatch maggots (referred to in biblical passages as *rimmah ve-tole'ah*), which cause the decomposition of the corpse (Isa. 14:11; et al.). The maggots of fruit flies (*Drosophila*) feed on fruit and sweet food (cf. Ex. 16:24); the olive fly (*Dacus olea*) causes the fruit to fall from the olive (Deut. 28:40).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Tristram, Nat Hist, 327f.; J. Feliks, *Animal World of the Bible* (1962), 123f. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** Feliks, Ha-Ẓome'aḥ, 224.

[Jehuda Feliks]

FOA (generally **Foà** in Italy), Italian family well-known from the 15th century; in the 18th century it became established also in Amsterdam, Constantinople, and France, where the forms Foi or Foy were adopted in due course. The origin of the name is unknown, but it may derive from Foix in southern France, where there was a Jewish community in the Middle Ages. A. Yaari (*Meḥkerei Sefer* (1958), 325–44) assembled the names of 100 distinguished members of the family. The family badge shows the Shield of David over a palm tree flanked by two lions. This was used as their distinctive *printers' mark by successive members of the Foa family from the middle of the 16th to the 19th century (see below).

ELIEZER NAHMAN (d. after 1641), rabbi and kabbalist, a disciple of Menahem Azariah da *Fano. He lived at Reggio Emilia where he became chief rabbi of the duchy of Modena. He was at the head of the pious association Ḥevrat ha-Aluvim which sponsored the printing of the commentary on the Passover *Haggadah, Midrash be-Ḥiddush* (Venice, 1641; complete ed. Leghorn, 1809). He also left a diffuse philosophic and kabbalistic commentary on the Pentateuch, *Goren Ornan* (Ms. in Mortara, Almanzi, and Ghirondi collections). MOSES BENJAMIN (1729–1822), bibliophile and bookseller of Reggio Emilia, supplied books to the ducal library at Modena and later became one of the most celebrated booksellers in Italy. He purchased the library of Israel Benjamin *Bassano, which he later presented to the Jewish community at Reggio. He wrote a Hebrew grammar and copied expertly several Hebrew manuscripts. ELIA EMANUEL (d. 1796) founded a Jewish school in Vercelli which attained a high standard and continued to flourish for over a century.

In more recent times, the following should be mentioned: CESARE (1833–1907), born at Sabbioneta and later rabbi in Soragna. He translated into Italian works by *Judah Halevi, Moses *Zacuto, and Jacob Daniel *Olmo. PIO (1848–1923), a pathologist, was born in Sabbioneta. He became a professor at the universities of Modena and Turin, and wrote a standard treatise on pathological anatomy. An ardent Italian patriot and in his youth a follower of Garibaldi, he was made a senator of the kingdom. His son CARLO (1878–n.a.), a physiologist, worked on the function of the glands of internal secretion, and was lecturer at various Italian universities. He was prize winner and later member of the Accademia dei Lincei. A member of another branch of this family was SALVATORE (1885–1962), born in Turin, who wrote several monographs on the history of the Jews in Piedmont. The French branch of the family produced well-known explorers, writers, and philanthropists. One of these, EDOUARD (1862–1901), explored the interior of Dahomey in 1886 and in 1894–97 crossed Africa from the mouth of the Zambesi on the Indian Ocean to Libreville in Gabon on the Atlantic Ocean, His books include *Le Dahomey* (1895) and *De l'Océan Indien à l'Océan Atlantique* (1900), and *Résultats scientifiques des voyages en Afrique d'Edouard Foa* (published posthumously, 1908).

[Giorgio Romano]

One section of the family devoted itself to Hebrew printing. TOBIAS BEN ELIEZER (16th century) set up a Hebrew printing press in his house in *Sabbioneta in 1551. In its last years, Tobias' sons ELIEZER and MORDECAI headed this enterprise, which had to close after difficulties with the censor, the last works on the press being finished in *Cremona and *Mantua. Tobias started the fashion of printing special copies, often on parchment, for wealthy patrons. NATHANEL BEN JEHIEL began his printing activity as a hobby in Amsterdam in 1702, prompted by his uncle and brother-in-law Joseph Ẓarefati. Most of the works he issued (12 up to 1715) were written by emissaries from Ereẓ Israel or were manuscripts which they had brought with them. ISAAC BEN GAD (b. c. 1700), physician and one of the leaders of the Venice Jewish community, ventured into Hebrew printing about the time of the birth of his son GAD (1730–1811) and produced mainly liturgical items until 1739. From 1741 Isaac was in the book trade proper. In 1742 he entered into partnership with his kinsman SAMUEL, who was also father of a son GAD, the two Gads later taking over the business. Gad b. Samuel appears as the sole printer between 1775 and 1778; he moved to *Pisa in 1796, producing 13 books at his own press or at that of David Cesna. His last major production, in association with Eliezer Saadun, was a handsome Hebrew Bible of 1803. Gad b. Isaac resumed printing in Venice in 1792 until 1809. Among the few major works produced by the Foas of Venice are the first four volumes of Isaac Lampronti's talmudic encyclopedia Paḥad *Yizḥak.*

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FOA, ESTHER EUGÉNIE REBECCA (1799–1853), French author. Born in Bordeaux, Esther Foa was the first Jewess to make her name as a French writer. Under various pen names, including Edmond de Fontanes, she wrote novels and stories on Jewish themes for juveniles. Among them are *Le Kiddouchim ou l'anneau nuptial des Hébreux* (4 vols., 1830), *La Juive, histoire du temps de la Régence* (1835), and *Le vieux Paris, contes historiques* (1840). She later abandoned Judaism.

FOA, RAIMONDO (1877–1940), Italian army officer. Born in Casale Monferrato, Foa was commissioned in 1899 and fought in the Italo-Turkish War (1911–12). He was an artillery commander in World War I and in 1919 worked in the technical service of the artillery. Foa became director of the Terni Ordnance Arms factory in 1927. He was promoted to the rank of lieutenant general in 1937.

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FOCSANI (Rom. **Focșani**) town in E. Romania founded in the 17th century. Jewish settlement there dates from the second half of the 17th century; there were 20 tax-paying families by 1820. The community numbered 736 in 1838, 1,855 in 1859 (19.2% of the total), and 5,954 in 1899 (25.2% of the total), 4,301 in 1930 (13.2 % of the total), and 4,935 in 1941 (10.5% of the total). Since this was a wine-growing area many of the Jews were vintners. Focsani was a center of anti-Jewish hostility. The oath "More Judaico" was introduced there for the first time in 1838. In 1859 there was a case of blood libel soon exposed as crime committed for gain. The antisemitic newspaper *Paznicul* was published in Focsani from 1900. The Romanians' Union, an association founded in 1910, proclaimed a boycott of the Jewish merchants. In March 1925 the trial was opened in Focsani of Corneliu Zelea Codreanu, head of the Iron Guard, accused of murdering the chief of the police in Jassy. Antisemitic gangs took the opportunity to pillage 300 Jewish houses, among them the school and the great synagogue. On the eve of World War II the community had eight synagogues, the oldest dating from the 18th century, two primary schools, a kindergarten, a medical dispensary, and three cemeteries. Focsani was a center of early Zionist activity, and the first conference of the Yishuv Erez Israel movement took place there on Jan. 11–12, 1882, with representatives from 32 localities. Rabbis of Focsani include the Hebrew author Jacob Nacht (1872–d. in Israel 1959), who officiated there from 1900 to 1919, and through whose influence Focsani became the center of Zionist cultural activity in Romania. The Hebrew writer Israel Teller, teacher at the Jewish school, also lived in Focsani. Solomon Zalman *Schechter, discoverer of the Cairo **Genizah*, was born in Focsani. Avram Moise Schwartz, known as *Cilibi Moïse, the first Jewish writer in the Romanian language, was also born in Focsani.

Holocaust Period

In 1941 there were 3,953 Jews living in Focsani out of a total population of approximately 37,000. At the beginning of the *Antonescu regime, the Jewish merchants were forced to hand over their shops to the Iron Guard; those who refused were sent to concentration camps at Târgo-Jiu and Caracal. Three of the synagogues were blown up by military engineers on the pretext that the earthquake of November 1940 had damaged their foundations, making them dangerous constructions.

When the war with the Soviet Union broke out (June 1941), all Jewish males aged between 16 and 60 were imprisoned. A few weeks later they were released, except for 65 hostages including the rabbi and community leaders. Three months later the number of hostages was reduced to ten; each was held for a while and then relieved by other Jews. The number of Jews in Focsani increased considerably with the arrival of Jews who had been driven out of the villages and towns in the district, as well as Jews from *Ploesti. They were cared for by the local community which also aided a group of 400 Jews from southern Transylvania who had been brought to the district as forced labor. A number of Jews from Focsani were also sent away on forced labor. In the spring of 1944, 210 Jewish orphans from *Transnistria were brought to Focsani and put under the care of the local community. On May 12, 1944, the local military commander mobilized all male and female Jews aged between 15 and 55, to dig anti-tank ditches for the defense of the town against the approaching Soviet forces.

In the postwar period the Jewish population, which numbered 6,080 in 1947, decreased to 3,500 by 1950 as a result of emigration. By 1970 continued emigration had reduced the number further to about 150 families. One synagogue remained open. In 1994, 80 Jews lived in Focsani, dropping to 70 in 2004.

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[Theodor Lavi / Lucian-Zeev Herscovici (2nd ed.)]

FODDER (Heb. מִסְפּוֹא, *mispo*, AV, JPS, "provender"), most often mentioned together with *teven* ("chaff," AV, JPS, "straw") as feed for camels and asses (Gen. 24:25; 43:24; Judg. 19:19). *Teven*, which was the most important food of domestic animals, was made from the bits of straw left after threshing. To it was usually added grain or pulse to produce *belil* (AV, JPS, "provender"), much loved by animals (Isa. 30:24; Job 6:5). The principal fodder, as also the customary ingredient of *belil*, was barley, which is suitable as feed for single-hoofed animals, horses, asses, and mules, and is mentioned as such for the horses and swift steeds in Solomon's stables (I Kings 5:8). Barley was unsuitable for ruminants, yet the Tosefta (BK 1:8) speaks of "an ass that ate barley and a cow that ate bitter vetch (*Vicia ervilia*)." The latter species is not mentioned in the Bible, but was clearly an ancient crop, seeds of it having been found in excavations at *Gezer dating from the beginning of the monarchy in Judah. The *carob, although similarly not mentioned in the Bible, was likewise used as fodder in ancient times, particularly for goats (Shab. 155a, et al.).

In addition to the fodder consisting mainly of grains or pulse, animals were given dry hay or green grass (*ḥaẓir*) that grows in winter in uncultivated fields (Ps. 147:8–9) and in summer alongside sources of water (I Kings 18:5; Isa. 44:4). In places where there is no water the grass dries up in spring (Isa. 37:27, et al.). In the rainy season animals graze in fields and eat natural grass. Sometimes the owner of a field cuts the green cereal and feeds it to his animals, and the cereal continues to grow "and does not diminish its grain" (Sif. Deut. 43, on the verse: "And I will give grass in thy fields for thy cattle"). Most often the grass was cut and dried as fodder (cf. I Kings 18:5), the usual talmudic term for green fodder being *shaḥat* (Pe'ah 2:1, et al.), and for dried *amir* ("a sheaf," in the Bible). For the latter, two species of legumes were specially sown, fenugreek (*Trigonella foenumgraecum;* see *Sifra, 7:1), and more particularly cowpea (*Vigna sinensis*) for its green pods and dry seeds, or for dry fodder (Shev. 2:8; et al.). To a limited extent vetch (*Vicia sativa*) was grown for fodder. In Babylonia, alfalfa (*Medicago*) was also sown.

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[Jehuda Feliks]

FODOR, ANDOR (1884–1968), Israeli biochemist. Fodor was born in Budapest, Hungary, and in 1922 became professor of biochemistry at the University of Halle, Germany. In 1923, at the invitation of Chaim *Weizmann, he went to Palestine to establish a department of chemistry for the projected Hebrew University of Jerusalem. Before leaving Europe, he purchased the equipment and apparatus for this project, and himself supervised the actual building of the Institute of Chemistry on Mount Scopus. Fodor was the first professor appointed to the university, and held the chair of biochemistry and colloid chemistry for 28 years. Elected first dean of the faculty of science, he was responsible for training an entire generation of Israeli scientists. He did experimental research into protein structure and the action of enzymes, and was the author of *Dispersoidchemie* (1925) and *Das Fermentproblem* (1922, 1929).

[Samuel Aaron Miller]

FOERDER, YESHAYAHU (**Herbert**; 1901–1970), Israeli economist and banker. Foerder, born in Berlin, studied law and joined the Zionist student organization, *Kartell juedischer Verbindungen.* He was secretary of the German Zionist Organization from 1924 to 1926. Settling in Palestine in 1933, he was one of the founders of the Rassco Rural and Suburban Settlement Company (see *Israel, Housing), serving as its managing director until 1957. During the Mandate period Foerder represented Aliyah Ḥadashah, a party consisting mainly of German immigrants, in the Va'ad Leummi. In 1949 he was elected to the Knesset by the Progressive Party, which he represented until 1957. From 1957 he was chairman of the board of directors of Bank Leumi le-Israel and of the General Mortgage Bank. Foerder was the author of numerous publications on Zionism and on economic problems.

[Kurt Loewenstein]

FOGELBERG, DAN (1951–), U.S. composer and recording artist. Born in Peoria, Illinois, Fogelberg studied the piano from the age of 14, switched to guitar and played at local coffeehouses while majoring in art at the University of Illinois. Fogelberg's first album, *Home-free* (1972), attracted little attention. His second album, *Souvenirs* (1974), however, proved to be one of the finest collections of songs written in the 1970s. In 1975 Fogelberg was chosen as pop music's newcomer of the year and since then has recorded a number of best-selling albums including *Captured Angel* (1975), *Twin Sons of Different Mothers* (1979) with Tim Weisberg, *Phoenix* (1980), and *The Innocent Age* (1981). During the 1980s, none of his albums were platinum, but they continued to sell well among hardcore fans. During the 1990s he made several albums: *River of Souls* (1993), *No Resemblance Whatsoever*, a collaboration with Tim Weisberg (1995), *First Christmas Morning* (1999), and *Something Old New Borrowed and Some Blues* (2000).

[Jonathan Licht / Israela Stein (2nd ed.)]

FOIGHEL, ISI (1927–), German-born conservative politician. Foighel came to Denmark in 1932 and became a professor of law at Copenhagen University in 1964. From 1965 to 1971 he was president of the Danish Refugee Help organization and had considerable influence on refugee-related legislation. In 1972–73 he was president of the Jewish Community and subsequently head of the commission that prepared home rule for Greenland. In 1982–87 he was minister of taxation in the Danish government and in 1984–87 a member of Parliament. In 1988–98 Foighel was a judge at the European Court of Human Rights in Strasbourg, and in addition, in 1991–95, he was chairman of the board of Denmark's National Radio.

[Bent Lexner (2nd ed.)]

FOIX, formerly independent county, now part of Ariège department, southern France, with a capital town of the same name. During the Middle Ages there were Jews living in several localities of the county, notably in Foix itself, in Mazères, *Pamiers, and Troye-d'Ariège. In 1292, Roger-Bernard, count of Foix, obtained the agreement of Philip the Fair to exempt the Jews of the county from paying the royal poll tax. The count may also have protected the Jews in his domains from the French decree of expulsion of 1306. In 1321, several new Jewish communities are mentioned there which appear to have escaped the *Pastoureaux massacres. In 1394, the count refused to implement the decree of expulsion issued by Charles VI and at least succeeded in delaying its execution. At the end of the 14th century, four or five Jews figured among over 600 taxable inhabitants of the town of Foix.

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[Bernhard Blumenkranz]

FÖLDES, JOLÁN (1903–1963), Hungarian author. After leaving Hungary in the 1920s, Jolán Földes published the novel *Mária jól érett* (1932; *Prelude to Love*, c. 1938), but was forced to earn her living in menial occupations. She achieved fame with her prize-winning novel *A halászó macska utcája* ("The Street of the Fishing Cat," 1936), which portrayed the life of émigrés in Paris. She died in London.

°FOLEY, FRANCIS (1885–1958), British army officer and Righteous Among the Nations. British lieutenant Francis (commonly known as Frank) Foley arrived in Berlin in 1919 as an intelligence officer to check out the activities of Communist-led organizations. As a cover for his spy work, his official capacity was Chief Passport Control Officer in the British embassy, where he was given wide latitude to decide on the admission of foreigners into areas of the British Empire. With the Nazi rise to power in 1933, Foley's attention shifted to the rearmament of Germany, and he simultaneously began to be more preoccupied with helping Jews emigrate from Germany, a need which became urgent after the Nazi-staged pogrom of November 9–10, 1938, known as **Kristallnacht* ("Night of the Broken Glass"). Foley utilized legal means whenever possible, or exploited loopholes in British immigration laws. British regulations at the time forbade the issuance of entry visas to persons liable to compete with professional workers in England, as well as to the very old, the sick and handicapped, and persons associated with the Communist Party. As for entry to Palestine, £1,000 in hand was required to get a "capitalist" visa. This was a sizable sum at the time, and unavailable to many Jews whose bank and other assets had been frozen by the Nazi authorities. In the case of Elisheva Lernau (born Elsbeth Kahn), who could produce only £10, Foley decided that the balance of £990 would be available to her the minute she landed in Haifa, and on the strength of this issued her a visa for Palestine. Foley similarly bent the rules very liberally in the case of Wolfgang Meyer-Michael, accepting his cousin's guarantee in writing that the sum would be available once Wolfgang had crossed the border into the Netherlands. In this work, Foley was co-opted by Hubert Pollack, a Jewish community worker who brought to Foley's attention persons in desperate need of help to leave the country. In the case of Gunter Powitzer, jailed in Sachsenhausen for violation of the Nuremberg laws and having intimate relations with a non-Jewish girl, which produced a child, Foley personally went to Sachsenhausen to hand him an exit visa for Palestine, which included Gunter's semi-Jewish son, and both left Germany in February 1939. In the matter of a 20-year-old woman imprisoned because of her membership in the outlawed Community Party, Foley ruled that since she was 18 years old at the time of her arrest, her membership in the Party was to be viewed simply as "youthful fervor" and he granted her a visa. Others who gave accounts of being helped by Foley include Zeev Estrecher, Willi Preis, Heinz Romberg, Adele Wertheimer, and David Arian's aged mother. After the war, Pollack testified that "the number of Jews who were saved in Germany would have been ten thousand times – yes, ten thousand – less, if a 'competent official' had occupied that post instead of Captain Foley." Benno Cohn, head of the Zionist Federation in Germany, testified at the Eichmann trial in 1960 that immediately after *Kristallnacht*, he frantically called his superiors in Jerusalem to find ways to save the Jews of Germany, adding: "Nevertheless we succeeded in getting a sizable number of Jews to Palestine. That was thanks to a man who is to my mind to be counted among the Righteous Gentiles … Captain Foley [who] did all he could to enable Jews to immigrate to Palestine.… One may say that he saved thousands of Jews from death." Foley's wife, Katharine, also related that during the *Kristallnacht* pogrom period, Jews were temporarily hidden in their Berlin home. During World War II, Foley's intelligence work included the interrogation of Rudolf Hess, Hitler's close aide who landed in Scotland in May 1941 hoping to strike a deal between Germany and Britain. In 1999, Yad Vashem awarded the late Francis Foley the title of Righteous Among the Nations.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Yad Vashem Archives M31–8378; M. Smith, *Foley: the Spy Who Saved 10,000 Jews* (1999); M. Paldiel, *Saving the Jews* (2000), 53–60.

[Mordecai Paldiel (2nd ed.)]

FOLIGNO, HANANEL (Da), apostate and anti-Jewish agitator in Rome in mid-16th century; his name after baptism was Alessandro Franceschi. Foligno was one of three apostates whose slandering of the Talmud to Pope *Julius III resulted in its burning in 1553. When in 1555 the Jews of Rome were accused of a ritual murder (*Blood libel), Foligno insisted on their guilt. After a public confrontation between him and representatives of the Jewish community, Pope Marcellus ordered the reconsideration of the charge. In due course, the true culprit was discovered and punished.

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[Umberto (Moses David) Cassuto]

FOLKLORE.

This entry is arranged according to the following outline:

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INTRODUCTION

Jewish folklore can be defined as the creative spiritual and cultural heritage of the Jewish people handed down, mainly by oral tradition, from generation to generation by the various Jewish communities. The process of oral transmission took place alongside the development of normative, written literature.

Jewish folklore may be classified according to the three main vehicles of transmission:

(1) Audio-oral, including the various branches of folk literature and folk music (discussed in the article on *Music);

(2) Visual, including arts, crafts, costumes, ornaments, and other material expression of folk culture;

(3) Cogitative, including popular beliefs, most of which find their expression in customs and practices.

The science of folklore ("folkloristics") is a discipline which studies the historic-geographic origin and diffusion of folklore institutions, their social backgrounds, functions, intercultural affinities, influences, changes, and acculturation processes and examines the meanings and interpretations of the institutions' individual components.

Folklore is not transmitted through a single medium. Most folklore combines the three categories, one of which, however, usually predominates. Thus, for example, the cogitative background of the commemoration of the Exodus from Egypt is expressed through rites, customs, and manners within the framework of the Passover festival. The main literal expression of the festival, however, the Passover *Haggadah*, is intertwined with audio-oral songs and legends and is recited at the *seder* which calls for special garb and ritual vessels, e.g., the cup of *Elijah. These constitute the visual elements of the Passover ritual which is comprised of many folk components.

The national cultural heritages of the gentile neighbors among whom the Jewish people has lived throughout its wanderings and dispersions have been assimilated into Jewish folklore. While mutual intercultural contacts are evident in many realms, Jewish folklore has certain specific features common to Eastern and Western Jews which are characteristic of the creative folk ego of the Jewish people. The Judaization and adaptation of universal traditions bear witness to the qualities, trends, and hopes of the Jewish transformers. Through a comparative study of neighboring cultures, normative Jewish religion, and folk evidence which is substantiated by the transmission of many generations and culture areas inhabited by Jews, the special character of Jewish folk tradition may be apprehended. This article is written from the viewpoint of comparative folklore, which frequently reaches conclusions and interpretations at variance with those traditionally held.

AUDIO-ORAL TRANSMISSION (FOLK LITERATURE)

Jewish oral literature (in Hebrew and in the various Jewish languages: Aramaic, Yiddish, Ladino, etc.) has been transmitted alongside the written literature, and both have exercised a mutual influence. Biblical literature (including the narrative tales in the Pentateuch, the legends interwoven into the fabric of the historical books, independent short stories such as the Books of Esther and Ruth, the gnomic (wisdom) literature, and the poetic literature) imbibed much from the oral heritage of the entire Near Eastern culture area. In sanctioning a written document (the Holy Scriptures), the sages differentiated between the holy writings and traditions which were regarded as *Oral Law. Exodus 34:27, "… for after the tenor of these words I have made a covenant with thee… ," was interpreted as (Git. 60b): "That which is by word of mouth, thou shalt not commit to writing." It was only with the failure of the Bar Kokhba revolt (135 C.E.), and the authoritative decision taken in the generation of Rabbi Akiva and his pupils, that the prohibition of committing to writing the oral traditions was revoked. The talmudic-midrashic literature of the *tannaim* and the *amoraim* is a mine of information of ancient Jewish folklore (mainly in Aramaic, which was then the spoken language of the people) handed down by word of mouth for hundreds of years before it was formulated. Rich folkloric material has also been preserved in postbiblical literature which was not transmitted in Hebrew: the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha, the works of Philo and Josephus, the New Testament, and the writings of the Church Fathers.

The various genres of Jewish folk literature are (1) folk narrative, including folktales, legends, jokes, and anecdotes transmitted mainly by word of mouth; (2) folk songs, usually performed or directed by a folk singer, whose music or musical interpretation has the approval and social sanction of the audience and whose text, music, and often gestures (handclapping) and folk dance movements constitute an integral whole between whose components it is hard to distinguish;

(3) proverbs and folk sayings which are part of gnomic (wisdom) literature and are perpetuated by a large section of the population, including the common people, in their daily speech; (4) riddles, usually woven into the fabric of a prose narrative (folktale), but constituting an independent literary genre; (5) folk dramas, performed on an improvised stage on specific (festive) occasions by either professional or amateur groups, and composed of several literary folk genres (listed above: stories, songs, etc.), but constituting a genre in themselves, evaluated according to folk transmission techniques.

Folk Narrative

The main kinds of universal folk narratives are also extant in the Jewish oral tradition, though the quantitative proportion between the various kinds differs in comparison with the respective proportion in the neighboring non-Jewish cultural areas. Thus the didactic story, and not the magic tale, is dominant in the Jewish folk narrative; similarly the legend in Jewish lore is a much more popular vehicle of expression than in general folklore.

Folk narrative research in recent decades has, by and large, solved the main classification problems through index systems subscribed to by folklorists. Those systems are general and ethnic (local): type indices and motif indices which are appended to the folktale (*Maerchen*), legend (*Sage*), myth, and humorous lore of various cultural areas. Thus the genres of Jewish folk narrative should be defined and described according to the accepted general division, mainly based on Aarne-Thompson's (AT) Type-Index and on Stith Thompson's Motif-Index:

MYTH ("A" MOTIFS). Myths constitute the imaginative answers to man's queries about the universe (cosmogony and cosmology), the creation and ordering of human and animal life, his own past, etc. They are basically etiological folktales which try to explain various life and nature phenomena and their plot is set in the remote past, at the beginning of creation. The main heroes are supernatural beings (gods, demigods, and cultural heroes) who perform supernatural deeds.

Most of the biblical narratives may, by this definition, be regarded as ancient Hebrew myths which, even after they became part of the "Written Law," continued to influence Jewish legendary lore, although most of the etiological elements were suppressed or omitted by normative monotheistic Judaism. The narrative elements in the Bible should be analyzed in the light of the rich repertoire of ancient Near Eastern mythological texts. Archaeological discoveries, text collections, and studies on the ancient cultures and religions of the Near East (T.H. Gaster, S.H. Hooke, E.O. James, S. N, Kramer, J.B. Pritchard, G. Widengren, and others) have shed fresh light not only on ancient Hebrew oral literature, its transmission through storytelling, and on the prebiblical dissemination of its narrative elements, but on ancient Hebrew folk religion, folk life, folk culture, and on the diffusion of their components.

C.H. Gordon's thesis that "Greek and Hebrew civilizations are parallel structures built upon the same Eastern Mediterranean foundation," stressing the Mediterranean diffusion by different oral vehicles, has not been accepted by biblical scholarship. The premise of general oral relationships between the Jewish and the Greco-Roman oral lore during the Hellenistic and talmudic periods serves as a basis for any comparative approach to the myths as preserved in the apocryphal, pseudepigraphic, and talmudic-midrashic literatures. Many etiological motifs in later Jewish folktales are remnants of ancient myths. In most cases they sanction newly invented or imported and Judaized customs, by stressing their antiquity and dating their origin and first observance to the creation, Noah's ark, the patriarchs, etc. Thus, for example, a midrashic etiological tale (PdRE 20) relates the custom of looking at the fingernails during the *Havdalah* ceremony (Sh. Ar., OḤ 298:3) to Adam, who, endowed with God-like wisdom, brought down fire and light from heaven. The resemblance between this legend and Greek (Prometheus) and cognate myths on the origin of fire (Motif A 1414) by means of theft – a culture hero steals it from its owner (Motif A 1415) – is evident (Ginzberg, Legends, vol. 5,113 n. 104). Similarly, most of the prevailing Jewish etiological stories explaining the origins of fascinating and strange phenomena and of established customs lacking authoritative, written explanations, are elaborated biblical narratives which are based on universal mythical concepts. The process is also manifest in European folklore. Thus the original midrashic story (Tanḥ, Noaḥ 13; Gen. R. 36:3–4; cf. Ginzberg, loc. cit., 190 n. 58) of Noah planting the vineyard with the help of Satan was transformed in European folklore into a typical etiological tale explaining the characteristics of wine (Motif A 2851). Its four qualities, as well as those of the drunken man, stem from the characteristic traits of the four animals sacrificed by Satan while planting the vineyard: the lamb, the lion, the monkey, and the pig. In Jewish and non-Jewish variants of the story some of the above animals are replaced by the peacock, the billy goat, etc. Unlike most of the non-Jewish variants, which are of an etiological character and not of a moralistic nature, the Jewish variants are didactic, severely condemning intoxication – the cause of all sins and the ruin of individuals.

ANIMAL TALE (AT 1–199). Many of the literary and oral Jewish fables were originally actual animal tales which reflected imaginative contemporaneous views on animal and plant life. (Animal tales which serve to illustrate daily life and to solve actual contemporary problems are transformed into moral fables by the added moral lesson.) The animal tale as an independent narrative genre is at present alive only among Jewish Oriental raconteurs, but even there it is based on the talmudic-midrashic fable and the beasts represent human traits. The main heroes are the lion and the serpent; usually human beings are also involved. The fox from whom the talmudic-midrashic name of the genre, "fox fables," is derived, does not play an important role.

ORDINARY TALE (AT 300–749). These stories are centered around supernatural beings who possess extraordinary knowledge and qualities enabling them to perform magic transformations and to rule the powers of nature, They are set neither in time nor in place, Folktales served as entertainment during all stages of Jewish history. Motifs characteristic of folktales (cf. Gunkel) are found in many of the biblical stories: Samson, David and Goliath, Jephthah's vow (Motif S 241), but especially in the aggadic lore of the Palestinian rabbis who adopted them from oral local (Greek) tradition.

Jewish raconteurs were both writers and disseminators of folktales:

Writers. Some of the best-known universal folktales are assumed to be of Jewish origin. Folktales were derived from Jewish written sources: thus the story of King Solomon's judgment (I Kings 3:16–28) influenced the cycle of folk stories about clever acts and words (AT 920–929) and the Tobias story influenced the "Grateful Dead" cycle (AT 505–508). In many cases the Jewish origin at first is not obvious and has been suggested only after penetrating analysis (Anderson, Goebel), for example (a) AT 331, "The Spirit in the Bottle": a man frees an evil spirit imprisoned in a bottle, but instead of receiving the promised reward he is endangered by the spirit whom he then tricks back into the bottle (cf. Grimm no. 99); (b) AT 332, "Godfather Death": Death endows a poor man, or his son, with the power to forecast how a sick person will fare according to the position of Death at the bedside, whether he is standing at the head or foot of the bed; Death is tricked, but avenges himself (cf. Grimm no. 44); (c) AT 922, "The King and the Abbot": a shepherd substitutes for the priest and answers the king's questions (cf. Grimm no. 152); and many other tales focusing on religious problems (see below, Religious Tale); on cleverness: wit ("outwitting the witty"), humor, answering riddles, performing great feats, and being put to severe tests; and on wise conduct.

Disseminators. The main Jewish contribution to the folktale was in the diffusion and dissemination of narratives from the East to the West. According to Thompson (cf. *The Folktale*, p. 17) the stories were brought by Jewish merchants from the East to Europe and became known first to the Jewish communities scattered throughout Europe.

Disciplina Clericalis (about 1110), a Latin work by Petrus Alphonsi, contains the earliest Eastern folktales in Western literature. Alphonsi, whose Hebrew name before his conversion to Christianity was Moshe Sefardi, was well versed in Eastern and Jewish traditional lore. The motifs in his work are found not only in medieval European folklore, but also in international narrative folklore (still extant today).

Medieval Jewish scholars translated **Kalila and Dimna* and *Sindbad* into European languages, the oral translations for narrating purposes preceding the literary written translations (see *Fiction). According to B.E. Perry the *Book of Sindbad* (*Sindabar) originated in Persia from which it passed to India and was assimilated into the rich Hindu folk literature. Leading folklorists of the 19th century (following Benfey) considered India to be the home of the European folktale. Modern scholarship however has shown that a direct chain of oral and written transmission links the Middle (including Persia) and Near East with Europe and that Jewish translators and storytellers were the main transmitters of Eastern (Islamic) culture to the Christian world. In modern scholarship there is full agreement between scholars of literature, both Jews (Epstein, Flusser, Peri, Schwarzbaum) and non-Jews (Holbek, Maeso, Quinn, Thompson), that Near Eastern folklore may have reached Europe directly through Jewish intermediaries and was not transmitted via India.

RELIGIOUS TALE (AT 750–849). Playing a most important role among Jewish folktales, the two main themes of the religious tale are theodicy ("God's justice vindicated") and reward and punishment. Several of the widespread universal religious folktales are of Jewish origin; among the best known are AT 759, "The Angel and the Hermit," which is representative of the theodician tale, and AT 757, "The King's Haughtiness Punished" or "The King in the Bath," which exemplifies the reward and punishment theme. In AT 759 an angel commits many seemingly unjust acts which arouse deep astonishment and strong words of protest from his companion the hermit; the hermit, however, upon learning the truth is convinced that each of the strange deeds was just. In many Jewish "legendarized" versions of AT 759 God, or the Prophet Elijah, plays the role of the angel, whereas the companion who learns his lesson ("The Rock, His work is perfect, for all His ways are justice," Deut. 32:4) is a hero in Jewish legend concerned with social justice: Moses (cf., Moses addressing God in Ex. 32:32 "Blot me, I pray Thee, out of Thy book"), *Joshua b. Levi, or Abraham *Ibn Ezra. Folktales starting with the hero's (a ḥasidic rabbi) enigmatic smile, whose significance is revealed as the plot unravels, also belong to this pattern of theodician tales.

In AT 757 a supernatural being (demon, angel, Elijah) takes the boasting king's place (or form) either by depriving him (in the bath) of his clothes or through other means. The wandering king (Solomon, Roderigo, Jovinian) is humiliated and rejected by all as a crazy liar; he is restored to the throne only when he repents of his haughtiness. According to Varnhagen this folktale is of Hindu origin, but the talmudic-midrashic Asmodeus-Solomon legend (Git. 68b; TJ, Sanh. 2:6, 20c; PdRK 169a) has influenced most of the Jewish oral versions.

The anonymous, often innocent, simpleton, around whom many religious tales originally centered, tends to be replaced by a historical, famous (talmudic, medieval, or local) sage, martyr, or scholar. The tales thus became part of the Jewish hagiographic lore. In their transitory stage many of the folktales are about one of the **Lamed-Vav Ẓaddikim*, the 36 anonymous and mysterious pious men, to whose humility, just deeds, and virtues the world owes its continued existence.

THE NOVELLA OR ROMANTIC FOLKTALE (AT 850–999). The novella in Jewish lore stresses the problem of fate. As marriages are decided in heaven (Gen. R. 68:3–4; Lev. R. 8:1), even before the bride and bridegroom were born, the question arises: Is this heavenly decision irrevocable or can it be changed? Thus the universal stories about heroes finding their way to each other, after overcoming often insurmountable obstacles, tend to become an integral part of Jewish matrimonial lore.

REALISTIC TALE (AT 1200–1999). Best known and the most widespread among the Jewish folklore genres, the realistic tale is mostly comprised of jokes and anecdotes depicting the comic aspects of life, especially as seen through Jewish eyes. The main heroes are fools, wits, misers, liars, beggars, tricksters, and representatives of various professions. The point of the Jewish joke, seemingly concluding it, is often followed by a "hyperpoint" – some clever and sophisticated addition to the humorous story, stressing a new, often specific Jewish aspect. Though the humorous motifs are universal, there is less of visual (situational) humor in Jewish jokes than in universal jests, and there is more of verbal humor, consisting of clever retorts, wordplay, "learned" interpretations of words and sentences, jests, and witty noodle stories. In most Jewish jokes the realistic background is typically Jewish, as are the heroes – well-known local wags (Hershele *Ostropoler, Motke Ḥabad, Froyim Greydinger, Jukha, etc.) whose fame has spread far beyond the border of their original place of activity. There are also "wise" places as, for example, *Chelm in Poland, Linsk (Lesko) in Galicia, etc., whose "wise" inhabitants (in fact, fools) perform the same deeds as their "wise" colleagues – the inhabitants of Abdera (Greece), Schildburg (Germany), Gotham (England), and other "cities of the wise."

Among the droll characters of the Jewish jokes, typical "Jewish" professions and types of socioeconomic failures are well represented: *schnorrers* ("beggars"), *shadḥanim* ("matchmakers"), cantors, preachers, but mostly *schlemiels* and *schlimazels.* Social misfits, their gawkishness, clumsy actions, and inability to cope with any situation in life make the listener enjoy his own superior cleverness (the feeling is often subconscious). A witty folk-saying distinguishes between the two characters: "A *schlemiel* is a man who spills a bowl of hot soup on a *schlimazel.*" Whereas the word *schlimazel* seems to be a combination of the German word *schlimm* ("bad") and the Hebrew word *mazal* ("luck"), the origin of *schlemiel* is obscure and has given rise to many German-Yiddish folk etymologies. It is first mentioned outside of Yiddish in Adalbert von Chamisso's famous German story *Peter Schlemihls wundersame Geschichte* (1813) whose hero sold his shadow to the devil. Many Jewish stories try to identify these types; stories are thus told about Moyshe Kapoyr ("Moses Upside-Down") – the hero of a comic strip in U.S. Yiddish newspapers in the early 1920s – and about similar heroes who are placed in a definite geographic-historical framework. Many of Shalom Aleichem's folk types, Tevye the Milkman and Menahem Mendel, have been given the traits of an irrepressible daydreaming *schlimazel*. Benyamin the Third, a character out of the world of Mendele Mokher Seforim, is similarly portrayed.

The undertone of sadness and frustration underlining many Jewish jokes is probably rooted in the ceaseless struggle for survival in an anti-Jewish society; the laughter is thus often through tears. While the jokes and anecdotes carry a note of satirical (sometimes even biting) self-criticism, they are a means of consolation as well, either through minimizing troubles and hoping for a happy end ("a Jew will find his way out"; "the troubles of many are half a consolation"), or by relating stories about rich, successful, and influential Jews (the Rothschilds, Baron Hirsch, and Jewish dignitaries "a (person) close to the (royal) court," etc.), with whom the poor Jewish listeners identify.

JEWISH LEGEND. Many Jewish folktales bear an exclusively Jewish national religious character, and their plot has no parallel in general folklore. They include stories about the Ten Lost Tribes living in their own Jewish independent kingdom on the other side of the miraculous river *Sambatyon, and about travelers who have been there (*Eldad Ha-Dani, David *Reuveni, etc.); stories of attempts to find the Ten Lost Tribes and to identify them in remote parts of the world, especially among strange Jewish communities (the *Bene Israel, *Beta Israel, *Khazars); tales of blood libels and other false anti-Jewish accusations; imaginative descriptions of the Messianic age and attempts to hasten the coming of the Redeemer (through kabbalistic means, by prompting Elijah the Prophet to herald the Messiah); stories about the eternal longing for and aspiration to get to the Promised Land (through a miraculous subterranean passage, by "the jump of the way," etc.); tales about proselytes and the extraordinary circumstances of their conversion to Judaism.

The legendary plot, which usually takes place in a definite period and in a specified place, dominates Jewish folk fiction. Besides an extension of the biblical and the talmudic midrashic story, mainly through translating it in terms of contemporaneous circumstances of the storytelling society (by means of many anachronisms), this type includes many local legends. Its heroes are universal-Jewish characters (biblical, talmudic, and medieval: Elijah the Prophet, King Solomon, Rabbi Akiva, Maimonides, and Rashi) and local figures (*Judah Loew b. Bezalel (the Maharal) of Prague, R. Ḥayyim Pinto of Morocco, Abdallah Somekh of Baghdad, R. Shalem Shabazi of Yemen, etc.). The dominant narrative motif is supernatural: the miraculous salvation of a Jewish community by the folk hero who is a sage not only versed in the Bible, Talmud, and Jewish law, but can also perform miracles and is learned in practical Kabbalah. Over the past few generations, some of the local heroes have become universal Jewish heroes, such as R. *Israel b. Eliezer Baal Shem Tov, the founder of the ḥasidic movement, who initially was legendary in Eastern Europe only; and R. Ḥayyim b, Attar ("*Or ha-Ḥayyim*"), whose legend originated in Morocco where he was born, and about whom legends were also woven in Jerusalem where he died. Certain heroes have become narrative stereotypes: King Solomon is the wise judge; Hershele Ostropoler, "the learned wag" who finds clever solutions for every problem and trial; Jukha, the innocent simpleton; and so forth. Many legends of the neighboring culture areas, revolving around non-Jewish figures (Harun al-Rashīd, Nāsir al-Dīn, Baron Muenchhausen, etc.) became a setting for Jewish heroes. Gentile characters in Jewish legends are mostly anonymous and referred to by title: king, vizier, etc. If named, they form a historical substantiation to the supernatural motifs. There are, however, non-Jewish heroes who play a dominant role in legends stressing the Jewish-gentile confrontation and conflict. One of them is Napoleon who recurs in about 150 Yiddish legends, folk songs, sayings, etc. (cf. Pipe).

The Jewish legendary folk hero is depicted as a pious and righteous man who "does justly and loves kindness" (cf. Micah 6:8) and his folk biography thus follows the international pattern (miraculous birth, dangerous exposure, growth in an alien environment, unintentional revelation of divine qualities, etc.). There are many common motifs between Jewish folk legends and tales revolving around biblical and aggadic exemplary heroes: Abraham, Joseph, Moses. The hero's good and "hearty" intention (*kavvanah*) are of utmost importance ("God requires the heart"), and he is therefore "holy" enough to perform (even willingly) miracles for the sake of the needy and oppressed. Many medieval legends which originated in Jewish oral tradition, as for example tales about a Jewish pope (Elhanan), or the *Golem of Prague, etc., have not survived in this medium, but since the end of the 19th century have been incorporated in chapbooks. On the other hand, many ḥasidic wonder tales which were first written found their way to raconteurs and became an integral part of Jewish oral literature.

Folk Song (Lyrics)

Songs whose lyrics are in Jewish languages and were transmitted orally from generation to generation are defined as Jewish folk songs. The classification may be according to (1) the folk language of the culture area in which the song was written (Yiddish of East Europe, Ladino of the Mediterranean area, etc.); (2) its musical style (Western, Oriental, etc.); (3) the text (contents). Most of the Jewish folk song collections and studies have adopted the last classification, yet the text of the folk song and its music are so intrinsically intertwined in Jewish folklore that no clear-cut division can be made.

RELIGIOUS FOLK SONGS AND FOLK MUSIC. The biblical books, especially the psalms and their "musical directions," influenced Jewish music, song, and dance and stressed their divine origin. The biblical names and actions associated with singing and playing music (Jubal, David playing before Saul, and his miraculous self-playing harp in the aggadah, Elisha feeling God's hand upon him while the minstrel played, the playing and singing prophets and levites, etc.) generally have a pleasant, positive connotation; thus the song (lyrics and melody) has always been part of the Jewish ritual. Throughout the ages this religious role has been extended from the limited realm of the synagogue (prayer melodies, biblical cantillation, etc.) to all aspects of Jewish religious and sociocultural life. The singing of the whole assembly strengthened the feeling of unity and of the values which were the common heritage of all Jews. Most songs of a religious nature stem from written Hebrew liturgical texts of the *siddur* or *maḥzor.* Many of them are, however, either bilingual (combining the Hebrew text and the Jewish vernacular) or sung in the vernacular only. Often the folk song expands or interprets the liturgical text. Thus, for example, the Hebrew verses of *Yismaḥ Moshe* are interspersed with Yiddish queries, and the song becomes a Hebrew-Yiddish dialogue whose lyrics are *Yismaḥ Moshe be-mattenat ḥelko. Vi hot men em gerufn? Ki eved ne'eman karata lo. Ven iz dos gevezn? Be-omedo lefaneikha al har Sinai*, etc. ("Let Moses rejoice over the gift of his portion. How did they call him – A faithful servant You called him. When did this happen? When he stood before You on Mount Sinai …"). The difference between the refrain (*Yismaḥ Moshe*), repeated by the audience, and the single strophes, sung by individuals, is emphasized by their melodic distinction. Many of the religious and devotional folk songs, sung as a part of the **zemirot* home ritual, became table songs for festive ritual meals at weddings, circumcisions, etc. They stress the close relationship between God, His Chosen People, the Torah and its precepts, and the Sabbath and festivals. As these were sung in the vernacular, all – the learned and the uneducated, young and old, women and children – could actively participate.

Although the melody of the religious folk song is strongly influenced by the artistic idiom of the **ḥazzan*, the folk singers and the audience that often joined them considered the lyrics the main feature of the song. On the other hand, many sophisticated groups (especially among the Ḥasidim) regarded the words (even when in Hebrew) a limitation of the divine nature of the song and stressed the value of the "pure" (without text) *niggun* (see *Ḥasidism, Musical Tradition). Many of the melodies, showing traces of local non-Jewish folk tunes, in their Jewish adaptation are characterized by a meditative mood. Traditional biblical cantillation motifs and later Oriental Jewish liturgies led to considerable changes in the adapted and "Judaized" folk tune, and this process was similar to that which had influenced the words.

SECULAR FOLK SONG. In spite of the negative attitude of normative rabbinic Judaism toward communal secular singing by both sexes, stemming from the talmudic saying *kol be-ishah ervah* ("a woman's voice is a sexual incitement"), the secular folk song was part of the life of the individual, the family, and the society on many occasions. The lyrics are very diverse and cover all aspects of Jewish life: the biblical past, the Messianic future, the year cycle, the lifespan ("from the cradle to the grave"), problems of livelihood, work and frustration, social protest, national hope, love, separation, luck, and misfortune.

Texts of the East European (Yiddish) folk song have been collected (An-Ski, Beregovski, Cahan, Ginzburg-Marek, Idelsohn, Prilutski, Rubin, Skuditski), popularized (Kipnis, Rubin), studied, and analyzed (Cahan, Idelsohn, Mlotek, Weinreich) more than any other Jewish folklore genre. Recent annotated collections (Cahan, ed. Weinreich; Pipe, ed. Noy), as well as attempts at scholarly synthesis (see in bibl. Cahan's *Studies*; Rubin's *Voices*; Mlotek), see the Yiddish folk song as a well-defined artistic folk genre, both in its melodic (cf. Idelsohn, Sekuletz) and in its poetical form and contents. The lyrics are emotional, tender, and introspective, even if some of them, especially children's rhymes, are at times coarse, satirical, and comic. The melody is, almost always, in a minor key infusing the most joyous and even frivolous words with a touch of tenderness and sadness. According to Y.L. Cahan, the oldest among the Yiddish folk songs, going probably back to the European Renaissance period, are love and dance songs. Older Hebrew influences, stemming mainly from the Song of Songs and from remnants of love songs as preserved in talmudic literature (cf. Ta'an. 4:8–15th of Av song; Ket. 17a – a song "Before the Bride in the West," Palestine) are also evident.

Only a few collections and studies deal with the non-Yiddish, Oriental-Jewish folk song. Comparatively great attention has been paid to the folk song of the Yemenite Jews (Idelsohn, Ratzhabi, Spector) and to the romance and the *copla* (Spanish ballad or popular song) as sung in Ladino-speaking Sephardi communities dispersed all over the world: Tetuan, Spanish Morocco (Alvar, Armistead-Silverman, Palacin); Salonika, Greece (Attias); Atlanta, Georgia, U.S. (MacCurdy-Stanley); etc. (cf. also Avenary, Ben-Jacob, Gerson-Kiwi, Molho, Pelayo, Shiloah). The study of the Judeo-Spanish *romancero* ("a collection of ballads or romances"; Katz), is a very young branch of Jewish ethnomusicology (cf. *Ladino Literature).

Modern Palestinian and Israel folk songs are currently alive in Jewish folklore. The Holocaust put a tragic end to the Yiddish folk song which has become a subject for social-historical (Dvorkin), linguistic (Hrushovski), and folkloristic (Mlotek, Noy) studies, but no longer exists as a living tradition. The assimilation and emigration of Oriental Jewish communities, uprooted from their places of birth and traditional folkways, led to a similar process with regard to the Oriental-Jewish folk song transmitted in Ladino, Aramaic (by Kurdistan Jews; cf., Rivlin), and Judeo-Arabic dialects. Even if these non-Hebrew Jewish languages are still spoken by some young Jews, they are not their sole language of expression. Thus it would seem that only the Hebrew Jewish folk song, alive in a Hebrew-speaking society, is likely to survive.

The Palestinian folk song is characterized by two main traits: (1) the Hebrew lyrics; (2) the main theme, which is national. The central idea in the folk song focuses on the return of the Jewish people to their old-new homeland. The hope for the return is variously expressed and the trials and tribulations undergone are as diverse as the songs. Most of the songs were written by Palestinian authors and composers between the two world wars. Many others, dating back to the beginnings of the Jewish national revival and to the rise of the Zionist movement in 19th-century Russia, are strongly influenced by the songs of composers and bards like A. *Goldfaden and E. *Zunser. Some of the themes are: the yearning for Zion, the virtues of physical labor, self-defense, and pioneering in order to rebuild the land into a national home for the wandering Jew.

The Palestinian folk song celebrates the struggles of the young and ardent *ḥalutz* in his homeland: defense and standing guard (*haganah* and Trumpeldor songs); road building ("*Hakh Pattish*"); and agricultural work (*Sabba Panah Oref*) and love songs (*Saḥaki Saḥaki Al ha-Halomot*) were imbued with idealistic pathos alluding to national duties and hopes. Many of the Palestinian folk songs served as accompaniment (with or without words) to the various folk dances, The main musical influences on Palestinian folk songs (and folk dances) have been ḥasidic-Slavic, Oriental-Sephardi, Palestinian-Arabic, and Jewish-Yemenite (*Music in Ereẓ Israel.).

The destruction of the East European Jewish communities, the establishment of the State of Israel, the War of Independence, the 1967 Six-Day War, and other heroic deeds and achievements inspired many songs, but it is doubtful whether most of these will survive either orally or in folk memory during the coming generations. The songs (see Katsherginski in bibl.) written and sung in the ghettos and extermination camps during World War II were disseminated by oral transmission over wide areas, but their lifespan was limited. In the light of the above definition of a folk song, all songs composed and popular in Israel would be called *chansons* or folk-styled songs (*pizmonim*). On the other hand, many Yiddish, Ladino, and other Jewish folk songs, which were adapted for use in Ereẓ Israel (the text translated verbally or with modifications and the music also adapted), started a new folk lifespan in their Hebrew garb.

The establishment of musical research institutes by universities in Israel and the development of the study of liturgical poetry and music into scholarly disciplines, mainly in the training centers for cantors of the Jewish Theological Seminary, the Hebrew Union College, and the Israel Institute for Religious Music led to the study, analysis, and elaboration of many aspects of music and song in folk traditions. Data are collected and research is being continued in the field of East European Jewish musical folklore, stressing the role of folk musicians (*klezmerim*) and folk jesters (*badḥanim*). Other aspects emphasized are the social role of folk music, the interrelationship between sacred, liturgical, and ḥasidic music and religious folk songs (Geshuri, Vinaver), the music of the various Oriental-Jewish ethnic groups and the interrelationship of Jewish and non-Jewish folk music (Gerson-Kiwi; Idelsohn's *Thesaurus*; Tunisia-Lachman; Sephardi-Algazi; L. Levy). Many works on Jewish music and musicians (Avenary, Gradenwitz, Fater, Holde, Idelsohn, Rabinovitch, Werner) include studies on the lyrics of the folk song and on folk music.

The influence of Jewish folk songs on Jewish and non-Jewish modern composers is still to be investigated. Jews are among the most important composers of American jazz and the Jewish folk heritage might have had a considerable effect on their compositions. Many Yiddish folk songs entered the main popular musical stream of the U.S. and are sung by leading performers and millions of people (*Bei Mir Bist Du Schein, Joseph-Joseph*, etc.): through their penetration into a foreign setting, they have become alienated and disconnected from their original Jewish tradition (see also Music and Musical Life in Israel in *Music, and the various articles on the different ethnic communities).

Folk Proverb

A gnomic statement current in tradition, the folk proverb usually suggests a course of action or passes judgment on a situation. Originally, "the wit of one," it becomes in oral folklore "the wisdom of many" and thus is part of the didactic oral folk heritage. The folk saying is genetically related to proverbial lore. Most of the Jewish proverbs have been handed down (since the Book of Proverbs and other Hebrew wisdom literature) in written collections, and in many cases the oral character of the transmitted verse is doubtful. There are however more than one hundred talmudic-midrashic proverbs (cf. Sever) which begin with the statement: *haynu deamerei inshei* ("this is what people say"), indicating that the saying had prevailed in oral tradition. Proverbial lore was also deeply rooted in ancient Israel and the ancient Near East and there are many parallels of single biblical proverbs found in cuneiform proverbial texts (cf. Gordon, pp. 552 f.); in the Egyptian gnomic literature attributed to Amen-em-Opet; in the story (teachings) of *Ahikar; and in others which testify to the wide diffusion and the oral transmission of many biblical proverbs.

Most of the Jewish proverb collections are compilations of single statements, aphorisms, and dicta, excerpted from the talmudic-midrashic and medieval literatures, or from specific post-biblical gnomic treatises, which have been transmitted in writing. The tannaitic *Avot*, for example, inspired many similar compilations. The classification and arrangement of the material is mostly in alphabetic order following the first word or the "catch word" rather than the subject matter. Only in recent decades have genuine collections of folk proverbs, committed to writing from the living oral tradition of the various Jewish communities, been published. The most comprehensive among them is I. Bernstein's collection of Yiddish proverbs, followed later by paroemiological collections and studies of Ayalti, Beem (Jewish-Dutch), Einhorn, Hurwitz, Kaplan (World War II death camps and ghettos), Landau, Mark, Rivkind, Stutshkov, and Yoffie. Other culture areas and ethnic groups represented in the various proverb collections and studies are: Judeo-Arabic (Yahuda); Judeo-Spanish (Besso, Kayserling, Luna, Saporta y Beja (Salonika) Uziel, Yahuda); Bukharan (Pinhasi); Neo-Aramaic from Iraqi Kurdistan (Rivlin, Segal); North African (Attal); Samaritan (Gaster); Yemenite (Goitein, Nahum, Ratzhabi, Shealtiel); Palestinian-Hebrew as current in the new kibbutzim and villages (Halter).

Jewish paroemiology has mainly been concerned with the written proverb, especially the Jewish and Arabic sources of the medieval collections and compositions of gnomic folklore as, for example, the 14th-century rhymed *Proverbios Morales* compiled by R. Shem Tov b. Isaac (*Santob de Carrion de los Condes) for King Pedro the Cruel of Castile (1350–1369); Solomon ibn *Gabirol's *Mivḥar ha-Peninim* ("Choice of Pearls"), and *Samuel Ha-Nagid's *Ben Mishlei* (cf. the studies of Ashkenazi, Braun, Davidson, Habermann, Ratzhabi). Only a few monographic studies have been devoted to particular proverbs, folk sayings, definite (Jewish) themes (Attal, Avida, Galante, Jellinek, Ratzhabi), and to proverbial lore in the writings of famous authors as, for example, in the work of Agnon and Shalom Aleichem (Toder). Any collection of Jewish proverbs and sayings in oral tradition shows strong biblical and talmudic-midrashic influences. Thus many Hebrew and even Aramaic literary proverbs and sayings penetrated the oral lore of the Yiddish and Ladino-speaking Jew. In many proverbs, extant in the vernacular, the Jewish allusions and references are so dominant that the proverb cannot be understood by a gentile without adequate explanation. Universal proverbs in their Hebrew form often acquired an original "Jewish touch." The Hebraization of the maxim "in vino veritas" (*nikhnas yayin yaẓa sod*, "wine entered, secret left") is based on the numerical value (*gematria*) of the words "secret" and "wine" (*yayin*, יין = (*sod*) 70 = סוד). Several recent Hebrew proverb compilations have used a comparative approach in their study of Jewish and foreign proverbs on the same theme (Blankstein, Cohen, Sharfstein).

Riddle

In ancient Jewish literature the riddle formed part of the narrative plot, as Samson's riddle in Judges 14:14 (Noy, Tur-Sinai, Wuensche), as well as the midrashic riddles through which the Queen of Sheba "came to test Solomon" (I Kings 10:1ff.; cf. Ginzberg, Legends, 4 (1913), 145ff.; Schechter). In medieval Hebrew literature the riddle is however an independent genre and the riddles of Abraham Ibn Ezra, *Judah Halevi, and Judah *Al-Ḥarizi are sophisticated aphorisms which were never part of the living oral tradition. Side by side with the tradition of literary riddles which were often rhymed and multistrophed, there were short and simple oral folk riddles. In the folk riddle proper the story in the question was always paralleled by the same or another relevant tale in the answer (solution), and the two parts could have existed independently. "Catch" questions and witty queries cannot be regarded by the folklorist as folk riddles, although informants and collectors often tend to term them as such.

There are only a few collections of Jewish riddles stemming from oral tradition in East Europe (An-Ski, Bastomski, Einhorn) and Yemen (Ratzhabi), as the genre was never popular with Jewish adults in those culture areas. Many of the riddles refer to biblical events and demand a knowledge of Hebrew and Jewish law and lore of the solver.

Folk Drama

Before World War II Jewish folk players put on folk dramas in many East European towns and villages, especially on Purim, or during the whole month of Adar. In most places, including yeshivot and *klaus*, the taboo on playing, decorations, and masks (cf., second commandment) was lifted during the Purim period to allow for merrymaking through stage performances. Playing in the open before a general and unselected audience was however often opposed by the local religious authorities who prohibited the performing of feminine roles by men. The *Purim-Shpil were therefore acted by youngsters of the lower social classes: tailor apprentices and workers.

There are many manuscripts, and printed copies, and descriptions in different works of various Purim *shpils.* Only one fourth of them dramatize the story of the Book of Esther. Most of them adapted such Pentateuchal stories as the sacrifice of Isaac (see **Akedah*) and the sale of Joseph in the light of the midrashic elaborations and interpretations of the original biblical narrative and according to folk fantasy.

Several folk plays depict postbiblical and even contemporary plots, among them the personal tragedy of Rabbenu Gershom b. Judah (Cahan, pp. 246–257), explaining why he imposed the ban on polygamy, and confrontations between Jews (merchant, innocent girl) and non-Jews (robber; cf. Lahad nos, 23–24).

VISUAL FOLKLORE

Folk arts and folk crafts comprise the realm of Jewish visual folklore, most of it belonging to ceremonial art. Though the second commandment ("Thou shalt not make unto thee a graven image …," Ex. 20:4; Deut. 5:8) imposed a taboo on plastic arts, associated in the ancient Near East mainly with idols and idol worship, it did not influence the aesthetic view of normative Judaism (see *Art). Throughout the ages Jews, in their homeland and in the Diaspora, have created beautiful vessels, dresses, and other artifacts for the performance of the Torah commandments.

Folk art objects are closely connected with (1) the ceremonial life cycle (from the cradle to the grave); (2) the ceremonial Jewish year cycle (Sabbath and the festivals); (3) *varia*, including the synagogue, the Jewish home, and other nonceremonial artifacts.

Ceremonial Life Cycle

Of the four main festive occasions in the life cycle of a Jew, the wedding is the most picturesque: the marriage contract (**ketubbah*) which is frequently a parchment, the bridal canopy (*ḥuppah*), the "good-luck" wedding goblets ("cups of blessing"), the special wedding clothes and jewelry (amulets, rings, etc.) were richly wrought with Jewish and universal love and fertility symbols, traditional images, and biblical verses. The other three life cycle ceremonies are also represented in Jewish folk art:

(1) birth, by childbirth amulets, circumcision plates, and richly ornamented circumcision objects, particularly the handle of the knife, *Elijah's chair, embroidered cushions;

(2) *bar mitzvah, through frequently engraved and decorated cases (*battim*) for the phylacteries and the embroidered bag for the *tallit*;

(3) death, through traditional attire and various special objects of the **ḥevra kaddisha* including wine cups for the society's traditional annual festive meal (Seventh of Adar).

Ceremonial Jewish Year Cycle

Most of Jewish ceremonial art centers around the occasions of the *Sabbath and the festivals.

SABBATH. The kindling of the Sabbath lights inaugurates the Sabbath in the Jewish home. In Western Europe star-shaped hanging oil lamps were used; these became so typical for the Jewish home that they were called *Judenstern* ("Jewish star"), Since the 18th century, the suspended oil lamps have been replaced by candles and candlesticks and candelabra which have become precious family heirlooms.

The holiness of the Sabbath is proclaimed by the ancient *Kiddush* benediction (dating back to the Second Temple period) which is made over a cup of wine. The cup thus became a symbol of holiness, solemnity, and happiness in family life and is frequently made of silver, though it may be of other metals and even of glass. Usually in the form of an inverted dome, preferably with a stem and base, it became customary to inscribe the *Kiddush* cup with biblical quotations referring to the Sabbath, the festivals, light (Isa. 24:15; Prov. 6:23; 20:27), and the wine blessing. Special tablecloths, plates, and embroidered covers for the two Sabbath loaves are used. The *Havdalah* ceremony which concludes the Sabath and each festival includes wine, spices (*besamim*), and a twisted candle. The spice container, *hadas*, one of the most popular ceremonial artifacts ("no other ritual object shows as many variations," Kayser, p. 89), has many forms. The most common, the tower, originated among West European Jewish communities. It is reminiscent of the city hall tower where, in medieval times, spices and aromatic plants, which were then very precious, were stored. Other forms are: pear-shaped containers, turrets, boxes, fruits, windmills (Holland), fish (North Africa).

PASSOVER SEDER. The most important domestic event among all the Jewish festivals is the Passover *seder.* The table is festively set following certain prescriptive requirements: symbolic food (**maẓẓot, *maror,* etc., recalling the fate of the people of Israel in Egypt and their meal on the eve of their liberation) which are served on special plates and dishes; a cloth-covered tray, or a three-tiered plate for the three *matzah* symbolizing the priests, levites, and common Jews; the wine cups of glass or silver used for the drinking of the obligatory four cups during the Passover meal; and a special cup, usually the most precious, the cup of Elijah. The plates and other vessels are richly wrought with floral patterns, formulistic ornaments, and biblical scenes.

The *Haggadah*, the ceremonial text of the *seder* night, since it is only used in the home and not in the synagogue, was not subject to normative scrutiny and therefore has become the most illuminated of all Hebrew ceremonial prayer books. Most of the illustrations are traditional, transmitted from generation to generation by folk artists, copyists, and printers. Other Passover ceremonial items include an inscriptively embroidered cover for the *maẓẓot* and decorated **omer* scrolls used in the synagogue for counting the 49 days (seven weeks) between the second day of Passover and Shavuot (cf. Lev. 23:15–16).

SHAVUOT. The paper cuts used for window decorations are the folk art characteristics of Shavuot. As most of them have designs of roses, symbolizing Israel (cf. Song 2:2,16, and the exegetical Midrashim thereto), they are called by the Yiddish folk term *reyzele* ("little rose").

HIGH HOLIDAYS. The main ceremonial object of the High Holidays, the **shofar* has many interpretations in Jewish ritual, the most common being its role as a reminder of the sacrifice of Isaac. It also calls man to repentance and spiritual regeneration. As the horn of any animal of the sheep or goat family may be used for the *shofar,* it has various shapes depending upon the local fauna. While it is forbidden to embellish the *shofar,* either through painting, or by covering its mouthpiece with metal, it may be carved and on several old specimens inscriptions (biblical sentences referring to the *shofar,* Ps. 81:4, 5; 98:6, etc,) were found.

The traditional garb for the High Holidays is the *kitel*, a loose garment of white linen, reminiscent of the shroud and reminding the congregation of death and the last judgment. It is held together at the waist with a belt whose silver buckle is inscribed with a biblical verse relevant to the occasion or a quotation from the *Day of Atonement service.

SUKKOT. The only significant ritualistic object used during the *Sukkot festival is the box in which the *etrog* is kept. Generally assuming the shape of the fruit, there are also other forms. Another kind of folk art, especially folk painting, concentrates on the decoration of the *sukkah.* Besides fruits, vegetables, and the seven "kinds" the Holy Land has been blessed with, the *sukkah* is also embellished with pictures, verses and proverbs, trimmings, cutouts, and other ornaments.

ḤANUKKAH. The main ritual characteristic of the eight-day Ḥanukkah festival is the kindling of lights. The Ḥanukkah lamp, containing eight oil burners or candlesticks (the *shammash* – the auxiliary candle – is not counted), developed in the West from a simple Roman oil lamp into very elaborate forms. Two definite types can be distinguished: (1) "the bench type," which is usually small, has a back wall, and is often richly and symbolically ornamented; (2) the standing form (candelabrum) which developed during the Middle Ages and is reminiscent of the *menorah* in the Temple, with the main difference that instead of seven branches, the Ḥanukkah lamp has eight (with the *shammash* making up the ninth). In the synagogue, the Ḥanukkah *menorah* is placed to the right of the ark, corresponding to the location of the golden *menorah* in the Temple. The smaller Ḥanukkah *menorah* for the Jewish home was developed from the seven-branch standing candelabrum in the synagogue, since the 18th century also adapted for the use of candles.

Many of the motifs of the richly wrought Ḥanukkah lamp are associated with the miracle of the festival: the victory of Judah the Maccabee over the Syrians ("Greeks") in 165 B.C.E, and the burning of the sacred oil in the Temple seven days longer than its actual measure, which was sufficient for one day only. The ornaments are mostly lions (symbol of Judah), the figure of Judith holding the sword and the head of the slain Holofernes, Judah the Maccabee, cherubim, and eagles. The most common inscriptions are biblical, such as Exodus 25:37 and Proverbs 6:23, associated with the Ḥanukkah benedictions and prayers, and verses from the hymn *Ma'oz Ẓur* ("Mighty Rock of my Salvation").

The long nights of Ḥanukkah were ideal for games and play which, prohibited during the year (the main reason: they were a waste of time which should be devoted to the study of the Torah), were allowed on this occasion. The most popular game, especially with children, was *trendl* (*dreidl*, a top; in modern Hebrew *sevivon*) whose four sides were inscribed with the Hebrew letters נ, ג, ה, ש, standing for the words: נס גדול היה שם (*nes gadol hayah sham*, "a great miracle occurred there"; in Israel the ש is replaced by פ, the initial of פה (poh, "here")). The *dreidl* is an example of how foreign material was ingeniously Judaized: the original medieval dice used in Germany by gamblers was inscribed with the four letters: *N, G, H*, and *S*, which are the initials of *nichts* ("nothing"), *ganz* ("all"), *halb* ("half"), and *stellein* ("put in"). The four Hebrew parallel letters of the dice which became sanctified have the same numerical value as that of the word "Messiah" (מָשִׁיחַ = נגהש = 358) and appropriate conclusions were consequently reached. Cards were also Judaized and special "Jewish" card sets, inscribed with Hebrew letters and illustrated with "Jewish" pictures, were used.

PURIM. The Book of Esther is read in the synagogue from a parchment scroll (*megillah*) in a traditional chant. It has one roller, as distinct from the Torah scroll, which has two. Since the word for God does not appear in the Book of Esther artists felt free to illustrate it and it is thus the only biblical book in Judaism whose text, while in the form of a scroll, is traditionally illuminated. The cylindrical containers for the manuscript scroll, frequently of silver, are also richly ornamented. The main themes in the Scroll of Esther illustrations are scenes from the story: Haman leading Mordecai while Haman's wife (Zeresh) looks on; Haman and his ten sons on the gallows, etc.; all of them express the wishful thinking of the Jewish minority, oppressed and humiliated by many Hamans throughout the ages.

As Purim is dedicated to remembering the poor, charity, and "sending portions" (Esth. 9:19) and gifts to friends (*mishlo'ah manot* or Yid., *shalakh munes*), special plates, often made of pewter, are used for these purposes. Usually quotations from the Book of Esther are inscribed on the plates as well as scenes from the narrative. Here too the triumph of Mordecai is the most popular motif.

Varia: Synagogal and Home Ceremonial and Non-Ceremonial Objects.

Many ceremonial objects, whose origin (secular or religious) is often very vague, center around the synagogue and the Jewish home. The *mezuzah* (doorpost, cf, Deut. 6:9; 11:20), for example, is undoubtedly a Jewish home ceremonial object. A parchment scroll on which are sacred Pentateuchal portions, it is placed in a special metal or wood container and fixed on the upper part of the right doorpost of the house or occupied room (cf. Landsberger). The *mezuzah* has however many of the characteristics of the *amulet intended for protection. Most of the Jewish sages and rabbinic authorities did not approve of amulets being worn for purposes of protection against sickness, the "evil eye," and misfortune, and condemned the "magic" texts placed inside the amulet as non-Jewish superstition. The amulet could however be worn as an ornament, and it was particularly common among the Jewish population of the Mediterranean countries and of the Islamic culture areas. The ornaments on these amulets were often of a purely religious nature (priestly crowns, the tablets of the law, seven-branched candlestick) which did not hint at the protective qualities of the ornament.

PRAYER BOOK. The prayer book links the Jewish home, where it is usually kept as a family treasure, and the synagogue, where it is mainly used. The covers and bindings, often made of silver, gilded, or engraved, and inscribed with a biblical quotation and the owner's name or initials, are the prayer book's main adornments.

DECORATIONS IN THE SYNAGOGUE. The main synagogal ornaments and ritual objects are often part of the synagogue's architecture, Thus, for example, the laver (particularly used by the kohanim before the ceremony of blessing the congregation), often decorated, is built into the wall of the synagogue at the entrance, while the *shivviti* (the first word in Ps, 16:8: "I have set the Lord always before me") and *mizraḥ* ("East," designating the direction of prayer) are movable objects (plates or paper cutouts) hung on the wall facing Jerusalem or put on the cantor's stand which also serves as a sounding board.

The religious-ceremonial center of the synagogue is the holy *ark containing the Torah scrolls. Since the synagogue is compared to "… a little sanctuary in the countries" (Ezek. 11:16), the holy ark is reminiscent of the Holy of Holies (*Kodesh ha-Kodashim*) in the Temple. All objects associated with the Temple and the Torah were particularly cherished: the ark is ornamented with the two tablets of the Law, often wrought with inscriptions, rampant lions, and priestly (blessing) hands, etc.; the ark's curtain is made of costly brocade, velvet, or silk, frequently inscriptively embroidered (silver and gold) with the names of the donors; the wooden or metal (silver) case in which the Torah is kept among Eastern Jews, and the Torah mantle among Western Jews, are adorned with biblical and liturgical quotations surrounded by formulistic, traditional designs (floral or the seven "kinds" the Land of Israel is blessed with).

The *Torah ornaments consist of a crown (silver, often partly gilded and set with precious stones) wrought with biblical scenes and inscribed with donors' dedications; two finials ("*rimmonim*," pomegranates) to which small bells are attached; the silver pointer used in the Torah reading so that the parchment is not touched by hand; a richly decorated and inscribed *breastplate denoting the occasion of the usage of the Torah for congregational reading (Sabbath, a specific festival). The two columns of the sacred portal of the ark (*Jachin and Boaz) are the main symbol that associates the ark with the ancient Temple (cf., Goldman).

FOLK DRESS AND COSTUME. The Jewish folk dress and costume are part of the secular folk culture, if it is assumed that the origin of dress has its roots in man's desire to adorn himself. According to the Midrash (Tanḥ. B., Lev. 76) "God's glory is man and man's glory (ornament) is his clothes" (cf. Shab. 113a, 145b; Ex. R. 18; 5; A. Jellinek, *Bet ha-Midrash*, vol. 4, p. 86); thus all Jewish ethnic groups have concentrated on a particular type of dress. Most data about Jewish costumes of the past were gleaned from illustrated *minhagim* books or illuminated *Haggadot*, anti-Jewish Christian pamphlets, and travelers' accounts. Ethnographical fieldwork on extant folk dresses of Jewish communities is a very young discipline in the realm of Jewish ethnography and folkloristics (see *Dress).

Until the establishment of the State of Israel and the "ingathering of the exiles" from the various culture areas, the main interest of Jewish art "scholars" centered around ceremonial art and European specimens. Thus the first Jewish museums established in Germany (end of the 19th century) contained less than one percent of non-European material. With the growth of Jewish ethnography, the intensive study of folklore, sociology, and acculturation of the "tribes of Israel," and the establishment of specific ethnographic and folklore museums in Haifa and Tel Aviv there has been a rapid increase of interest in secular Jewish folk art in general, and in that of the non-European Jewish communities in particular. While pre-World War II folk art scholarship was mainly interested in historical roots (influence of Temple objects and symbols on the *Dura Europos synagogue and on later synagogue art; relation between traditional literary sources and ceremonial art, etc.), modern ethnographers are more interested in material culture in general (including secular folk art) and in ethnocultural and geographical comparisons. The folk museum collections and their various inventory and exhibition catalogs are still the most important source of knowledge of Jewish folk art in the past. These are often verified and substantiated by the testimonies of eyewitnesses or recollections of those who can delve into their own past or have memories of what they were told.

COGITATIVE FOLKLORE

Folk beliefs and customs constitute one creative complex. Belief, stemming from subconscious fears and desires and from a longing for psychological security, generates the wish to fight the causes of those fears which are man's hidden enemies. The strategies and tactics of man's warfare against his own fears which proved their "efficiency" and were transmitted (usually approved by social convention) from one generation to the next became folk customs. The customs continued to exist even after the beliefs that served as their basis had long been forgotten. Sometimes beliefs which have become detached from the customs that grew out of them, or from the phenomena which they explain, are regarded by the "progressive" society as "superstitions," due to changes in the society's view of the world and to a new interpretation of the phenomena in question. The novel explanation is in tune with the technological era whose society is fighting the old "superstitions" and "etiological folktales" lacking empirical proof.

Any period of transition, whether renewal and change of status in the cycle of the year (the summer and winter solstices, the vernal and autumnal equinoxes, etc.) or in the human life cycle (passage from embryo to child, from life to death, the first menstrual period, etc.) is always fraught with sociopsychological "crises" around which fears, anxieties, and inhibitions concentrate. These crises give rise to customs and rites which evolve in order to overcome the evil forces hostile to mankind that these crises seemed to set into motion. Thus ritual complexes, ceremonies, and festivals develop.

According to this interpretation the Jewish rites of passage in the life and year cycles manifest an interaction between universal beliefs, stemming from the realm of nature, and Jewish religious and national beliefs originating in the sphere of Jewish thinking and culture. The customs revolving around these rites would thus be rooted mainly in sympathetic magic which gradually adopted its Jewish character, mainly from the historical traditions related to the period of the nation's consolidation. Folkloristic research into Jewish customs and the folk beliefs underlying them therefore involves a study of their universal "prehistory" and their "Judaized" history. In universal practice the pouring of water on a stone, a sympathetic magic device to ensure rain and with it the fertility of the earth, animals, and mankind, is paralleled by a ritual performance of the sexual act. Judaized, the water libation rite as found in the Jewish normative books of laws and customs is a sacred ritual which was an integral part of the Sukkot celebrations (Simḥat Beit ha-Sho'evah, Feast of Water Drawing) in the Temple.

Most of the folk beliefs and customs concentrate on the life and year cycles and are usually considered according to these two groupings. Another category includes beliefs and customs not associated directly with one of the cycles – folk medicine, social beliefs, and social customs. The beliefs and customs which center around the Jew's life cycle, constituting the Jewish rites of passage, and around the general year cycle, comprising the Sabbath and the festivals, have throughout the ages undergone the same process of adoption and adaptation as other aspects of Jewish folklore. Thus the life-cycle "crises" in Judaism have universal-biological (*birth, coming of age, *marriage, menopause, death) and corresponding Jewish ritualistic (*circumcision, *bar mitzvah, *wedding, *burial) implications, as have the Jewish festivals and commemorative days.

The customs and their underlying folk beliefs discussed below are considered mostly from the point of view of their origin and function. The classification is according to their primary nature and to their similarity to the practices of hostile confrontation extant in prehistoric societies and in primitive intertribal warfare. Hostile confrontation may thus be divided into three main types: (1) direct (face-to-face) combat; (2) compromise (agreement and treaty); (3) deceptive stratagem.

Common to the three types of warfare is the belief that a person endowed with occult powers can, at propitious moments, compel and overcome supernatural, hostile, and harmful powers (*demons, *mazzikim*) and force their submission. Jewish literature never associates (*ta'amei minhagim*) Jewish folk customs and normative customs with their primitive and universal origin which gave rise to the magical elements inherent in them. Only customs of other peoples, usually pagan – neighboring culture or those rejected and fought against – are called magical and superstitions (*darkhei Emori*, "the Ways of the Amorites"). However, despite the legitimation of Jewish practices through association with biblical verses, hermeneutically explained or Judaized by other means, the belief in evil spirits (see *Demons) has remained basic to Judaism, and in many folk customs their magic nature is still clearly evident. As the existence of demons was presupposed, even in Jewish normative legislation (cf. *ru'aḥ* in Shab. 2:5; Er. 4:1, etc.), belief in them was not limited to the uneducated classes. This holds especially true in culture areas where the belief in evil spirits, which are hostile to mankind, was deeply rooted among the non-Jewish neighbors.

Direct (Face-to-Face) Combat

Some of the means with which spirits may be combated are specific colors (white, red) light, sound, and objects (iron, salt).

Demons usually dwell in dark places, ruined buildings (Ber. 3a, b), at the bottom of wells (Lev, R. 24:3), caves, dark and shadowy recesses (cf., the word צַלְמָוֶת *zalmavet*, originally meaning "darkness," as for example in Jer, 13:16; or in Job 12:22, interpreted as צֵל מָוֶת *zel mavet* "shadow of death"). They shun the light and therefore act at night. The Talmud (cf. Ber. 43b) commands that a person should not walk unaccompanied in the dark, but by the light of a torch or by moonlight. Similarly, the wedding, as well as other festive processions, was accompanied with torches and candles because of envying and hostile spirits. The Jewish traditional explanation (cf., A.I. Sperling, *Ta'amei ha-Minhagim* (1957), p. 407, no. 959) gives it an exclusively Jewish character: the *gematria* value of the two candles carried by the two best men is 500 (double *n[e]r* נֵר + נֵר), which is equal to the numerical value of God's first blessing to Adam and Eve פְּרוּ וּרְבוּ (*peru u-revu*, "be fruitful and multiply" = 500), Another explanation (*ibid.* no. 960) associates the wedding candles and torches with "the thunderings and the lightnings" at the revelation at Mount Sinai (Ex. 20:18), comparing the earthly ties of the human pair with the eternal bond of God and the Torah. A national modification of this wedding custom may be seen in the Jewish-Italian custom recorded at Pesaro and Modena (cf. D. Kaufmann, in REJ, 24 (1892), 289; Gaster, *The Holy and the Profane*, 110) where the bridegroom used to be accompanied by a man carrying a torch to which were attached six more lights, three on each side of the main flame. The allusion is to the seven-branched *menorah* in the Tabernacle and Temple, giving the wedding a Jewish-national character.

Spirits may be confronted with a white object since the color white frightens them away. This notion gave rise to many customs; for example, the white garments of the bride and bridegroom. The Jewish explanatory tradition, which regards the white nuptial attire as a symbol of innocence and penitence (cf. Isa. 1:18), since the espoused are on the threshold of a new "chapter in life," is a relatively late and sophisticated explanation (cf. Sperling, no. 957) of the universal white, as the statutory color of festive attire (cf. Cicero, *De Legibus*, 2:18–45: "White is the color most acceptable to gods"). The Roman custom harks back to the more ancient folk belief. The Jewish explanation associating the wedding day, a day of joy, with that of death, when the deceased is buried in white shrouds, is also a late interpretation (*Kolbo* no. 75). The custom of dressing the dead in white was common in ancient Greece (cf. Pausanias 4:1341), but there the white was to guard the dead against the powers of darkness and not a means of purification and a sign of penitence. The universality of the usage (Gaster, op, cit., 11–12), however, indicates that only powers who live under the cover of darkness may be subdued by light.

Spirits may be frightened away by sound. Their abodes cloaked in eternal silence (cf. Ps. 115:17, where the dead are paralleled with "those who go down into silence"), the demons themselves are mute creatures who are scared by such an alien element as noise. Much of the ritual and secular music performed at the various "crises" in a man's life cycle and in the natural year cycle stem from the belief that sound is a magic means to ward off demons (cf. also the common expression *le-arbev ha-Satan* ("to confuse Satan") associated with the blowing of the *shofar* on the High Holidays; RH 9b). Even some of the nonsense words in Jewish children's rhymes (cf., An-Ski, Pipe, ed. by Noy) and folk songs (as, for example, "lu-lu" in the refrains of cradle songs) may go back to the ancient, non-Jewish magic incantations, pointing to the functional character of this kind of folk poetry.

Another universal weapon directed against demons is iron. Spirits were thought to live in caves, mountains, and under stones, which "are cut by iron" (cf. BB 10a). Pieces of iron (sometimes even a real weapon – a sword, a dagger, or a simple knife) are thus placed in the bed or under the pillow of a woman in confinement and later in the child's cradle. In P.C. Kirchner's childbed scenes in *Juedisches Ceremoniel* (1734), a sword is prominently displayed beside the bed.

The circumcision knife especially is regarded as an effective weapon against demons. According to folk belief the night before the circumcision is the most critical for a mother and child, and a vigil, a "night of watching" (Yiddish: *vakhnakht*), is usually observed. Children of the *ḥeder*, accompanied by their *rebbe*, keep watch at the bedchamber and chorally chant prayers, mainly *Keri'at* **Shema* and Jacob's blessing to Ephraim and Manasseh (Gen. 48:16). The circumcision knife is often kept under the mother's pillow throughout the night.

The common usage of the sword as a real weapon against invisible demons (Gaster, op. cit., 3–11) led to many compendia of spells and magical formulae being entitled "the Sword" plus the name of a famous hero and wizard. *Ḥarba de-Moshe* ("The Sword of Moses," ed. M. Gaster, 1896) is one of the most famous and oldest Jewish collections of inscriptions of charms. In the folktales of Kurdistan Jews and in other Central Asian Jewish legends, the heroes go on quests to find the sword of Moses with which the redemption may be hastened (cf. D. Noy, *Sippurim mi-Pi Yehudei Kurdistan* (1968), 44–47, 59–60 and the aggadic details on the magic sword of Methuselah, in Ginzberg, Legends, 5 (1947), 165f.). In Afghanistan the iron sword is replaced by a cane called "Elijah's staff," (cf. *Yeda-Am*, 25 (1962), 64) not only because the Jews were forbidden to use swords but also to give a Jewish character to universal magic objects.

Iron is also used as a direct weapon to combat demons during the *tekufah* (the solstice or the equinox) when, according to folk belief, the waters may be poisoned by a drop of blood spilt by evil spirits from above (cf. Trachtenberg, *Jewish Magic and Superstition* (1961), 313, no. 12). Pieces of iron are placed on all vessels containing water and kept in the house to avert this danger. In Jewish lore the use of iron (Sperling, loc. cit., no. 900) is associated with the **notarikon* of the Hebrew word for iron בַּרְזֶל (BaRZeL), standing for the four mothers of the 12 tribes: Bilhah, Rachel, Zilpah, and Leah, who (and not the iron) avert all danger. Another explanation (*Yesod Emunah*, p. 384) changes the original text of Deuteronomy 8:9 from אֶרֶץ אֲשֶׁר אֲבָנֶיהָ בַרְזֶל to אֶרֶץ שֶׁבַּרְזֶל אֲבָנֶיהָ, thus adding to the *notarikon* the letter ש to include the two other matriarchs, Sarah and Rebekah (the ר standing both for Rachel and Rebekah).

Salt, a symbol of mortality, is also an effective "weapon with which demons may be repulsed" (cf. Ezek. 16:4; Shab. 129b). Other means to ward off demons and evil spirits are such symbols of life, health, and regeneration as herbs, honey, and oil. These usually play an important role as magic objects in folktales (cf. Thompson *Motif Index*, vol. 6, s.v.) and as helpful remedies in folk medicine.

Some of the demons are identified by name. Thus the child-snatching witch in Jewish folklore, *Lilith (often regarded as Satan's wife), seizes newborn babies and kills or injures their mothers. She also represents the "dream girl" who consorts with men in their sleep; because she is not impregnated through the sexual dream, the embittered and frustrated spirit takes her revenge upon the lawful wife and mother. In Jewish legend she was the first wife of Adam but after a quarrel deserted him. She was, however, overpowered by three angels (Sinoi, Sinsinoi, Samengelof) sent by God to bring her back, and she never enters a house in which their names are written. This story, with its emphasis on the three names, is found in most of the written or printed Hebrew amulets (known in Western countries as the *kimpettsetl* (corruption of the German *Kindbettzettel*, "childbed-charm")) which were hung in the lying-in chamber. Another kind of *kimpettsetl* is called *Shir ha-Ma'alot* ("Song of Ascents"), because it contains Psalm 121 (including verse 6, "The sun shall not smite thee by day, neither the moon by night"), which is one of the verses of the *Shir ha-Ma'alot* of the Book of Psalms (chhs. 120–134).

Compromise (Agreement and Treaty)

Many Jewish customs go back to the notion that the vital and essential can be preserved by giving up the marginal and less important. In many cases the original offering (sacrifice), intended to appease demons, became highly institutionalized religious customs and rites in which God's or his representatives' holiness and superiority is acclaimed and exalted (cf. *circumcision, which is a direct "sign treaty" between God and man; tributes to the priests, **terumot*, and to the levites, *ma'aserot*; etc.).

Similarly, the custom of shaving a bride's head may also be explained as a sacrifice of a part in order to keep and to protect the whole. In many cultures, hair is regarded as a life index (Thompson, *Motif Index*, D 991, E 174, 12) which possesses an independent soul and is the seat of the vital spirit (cf. the Samson story). The belief in the magic power of hair as the seat of man's "life force" may have given rise to the taboos on cutting hair during the first year (or three years) of an infant's life, and the shearing of *pe'ot* (sidecurls). According to ritual ("*ḥalaqa*") the hair is cut after a year or three and is burned; in Jewish folklore the ritual takes place usually on *Lag ba-Omer, at the grave of Rabbi Simeon bar Yoḥai in Meron.

Deceptive Stratagem

Many customs stem from the notion that a wise and learned man can deceive the demons, who are stronger but more stupid than mankind, and thus gain the upper hand in a struggle with them. Various customs are therefore aimed at effecting an artificial change in a man's identity so that he may not be recognized by evil spirits or their representatives and messengers (the *Angel of Death). While in most customs the change is merely that of the name, this may exercise a profound influence on the person's ego, personality, character, and destiny. Meaningful changes of name often foreshadow the course of human destiny and reflect cosmic changes, evidence of which is already found in the Bible (Abraham and Sarah, Gen. 17:5; Jacob, Gen. 32:29; Joshua, Num. 13:16). In a talmudic story (Yoma 83b) Rabbi Meir refused to pass the night in an inn because the innkeeper's name, Kidor, was homonymic to a "negative" verse in the Bible (Deut. 32:20: כִּי דוֹר תַּהְפֻּכֹת הֵמָּה, *ki dor tahpukhot hemmah* – for they are a very forward generation, children in whom is no faith) and thus forebode trouble. A divine decree may be altered by changing a person's name. The well-attested custom of changing a sick person's name in order to bring about his speedy recovery (cf. *Sefer Ḥasidim* (1957), 245) is still a common practice among all Jewish ethnic groups. The evil forces may also be deceived by "selling" sick children to others so that they assume the buyer's name (see MGJV, 5 (1900), 18). The naming of the newborn child after a strong beast, a lion (*aryeh*) or a bear (*dov*), or a harmful animal, the bee (*devorah*), is also in many ways meant to deceive the evil spirit who is thus frightened away. Many of the naming practices (bestowing theophoric names or the name of a relative who passed away, so that the original name bearer may protect the newborn) stem both from the deceptive and from the compromising concepts. The compromise basis to the custom denotes homage to the supernatural forces as an inducement for their protection and to pacify and appease them through tributes.

Customs relating to sympathetic magic and contagious magic stem from a combination of the compromise and the deceptive trends. Thus by imitating the deeds of a supernatural power man admits its superiority and through his imitation pays tribute to the spirit. At the same time man incites the evil forces to act in his favor by challenging their power of action. The foolish spirits in trying to prove themselves play into man's hands.

Compromise and deceptive elements are also basic to the use of magic objects through which attempts are made to cause transformations in nature or in man. Man in using an object (part of an animal, plant, etc.) which the spirits have endowed with magic power imitates the evil powers and thereby shows his humility and submissiveness. On the other hand, he often uses his newly acquired power to combat the spirits from whom his own power now emanates. Many devices have thus been invented to overcome sterility and barrenness presumably imposed on man by malevolent supernatural forces who are strong enough to prevent sexual intercourse from resulting in conception. Plants or animals which were thought to have fertilizing properties were commonly used as aids to conception. Among the plants eaten were mandrakes and apples; the most popular animals were cocks and fish. Remedies such as touching a woman already with child, swallowing the foreskin of a newly circumcised infant, drinking the water with which a corpse has been washed (thereby transferring to the womb some of the life which has departed from the dead), and crawling under a gestating mare are based on contagious magic. They presuppose man's admission of the superiority of the object which originates from supernatural forces. These cures for barrenness (collected from Jewish informants, cf. Patai, "Jewish Folk-cures for Barrenness" in *Folklore*, vol. 4, p. 248; idem, "Birth in Popular Custom," in *Talpioth*, 9 (1965), 238–260; Gaster, op. cit., p. 4), which are not attested in normative Jewish *halakhah*, but are strongly opposed by it, still reflect general usage. In general folk culture and beliefs, the mandrake, for example, is regarded as a peculiarly potent aphrodisiac and, as such, it is referred to in the Bible (Gen. 30:14ff.; Song 7:14), probably because its root strikingly resembles the human form. Similarly the meat of fish was thought to induce fertility because of its pronounced philoprogenitive tendencies (cf. Gen. 48:16). Crawling under a mare was a means through which a woman could absorb some of the fertility of the mare which gestates for ten months.

Besides Judaized explanations and interpretations, there are many magic objects which are peculiarly Jewish. The sight of the ritual circumcision knife or a bowl of water placed under Elijah's chair at the circumcision ceremony drives spirits away. In folk medicine water in which the *kohanim* washed their hands before blessing the congregation, especially on the Day of Atonement, is a powerful cure for barrenness and other misfortunes. A uniquely Jewish practice or its explanation may sometimes have linguistic origins. Thus, for example, willow leaves which form part of the Hoshana Rabba rite induce conception not only because of their sympathetic magic qualities, paralleling the fertility of nature (prayer for rain) with human fertility, but because the willow (עֲרָבָה – *aravah*) and the word seed (זֶרַע – *zera*) have the same numerical value (277).

Many general practices are Judaized merely by the use of Hebrew (usually biblical verses), the holy tongue, which is believed to be the language of the Creator and the heavenly hosts and as such is a potent weapon against demons. It is often used by Christians and Arabs in their incantations.

A Jewish folk ceremony usually combines with many local non-Jewish magic practices and objects. Thus, for example, among German-speaking Jews a child is given a secular name on the fourth Sabbath after birth at the *Hollekreisch* ceremony. The invited guests, men in the case of a male birth and women in that of a female, range themselves in a circle (German *Kreis*) around the cradle. The baby is lifted thrice into the air while the guests call out each time *Holle! Kreisch!* and while appropriate biblical verses are recited. The magic circle wards off Frau Holle, a succubus in German mythology who attacks children. (Jewish folk etymology associates the word *Kreis* either with קרא, "call" or קרע, "tear.") The lifting is a survival of the concept that newborn babies must also be delivered from the womb of Mother Earth who gave birth to Adam, the first man (Gen. 2:7) and from which, according to folk legends, children emerge (cf. Midrashim and Rashi to Job 5:23 and Ginzberg Legends, vol. 5, page 50 note 148). It is also reminiscent of the concept that infants are symbolically sacrificed to the heavenly powers. On the other hand the biblical verses from Ecclesiastes 5:14 ("As he came forth of his mother's womb, naked shall he go back as he came") and Job 1:21 ("Naked came I out of my mother's womb and naked shall I return thither") endow the lifting custom with symbolic and ethical meaning through its counterpart practice, to deposit the dead in the ground soon after death.

A Jewish adaptation of a universal custom often also comprehends the national character of the Jewish people, stressing the everlasting bond between the nation and the Land of Israel. To plant a tree at the birth of a child (a cedar for a boy and a pine for a girl) is a Jewish birth custom which fell into desuetude, perhaps because the people became alienated from the soil and the Land of Israel. The two trees were cut down at marriage and used in the construction of the *ḥuppah* or bridal bower (cf. Git. 57a). The original universal custom stems from the general concept of the "external soul" (Thompson, Motif E. 710) which associates the life of man with some far-away object. This is a deceptive means whereby the hostility of the spirits may be diverted from their real targets. The Jewish interpretation stresses the Jew's roots in the Holy Land.

The specific Jewish character is also evident in the practice of placing a sachet of earth from the Land of Israel into the coffin of a Jew. The sachet serves as a substitute for actual burial in the Holy Land and ensures the earlier awakening of the dead on the Day of Resurrection. Since the resurrection will start in Zion, the buried need not roll to Zion before being resurrected. The dead are nevertheless buried with their feet toward the East so that they may be immediately on their way to the Land of Israel after resurrection. (This custom is also rooted in the basic concept of deception in which a part sanctifies the whole – *pars pro toto.*)

Judaizing tendencies exist especially with regard to customs and folk beliefs which are fundamentally contradictory to Jewish ethical teaching and thus threaten the Jewish ethnic ego. The pronounced Jewish character of betrothal and wedding ceremonies resulted from their refinement of the purely sexual relationships between man and woman. Nevertheless the Jewish rites of marriage have throughout the ages in all the culture areas where Jews have lived been accompanied by popular general practices aiming to ward off the evil spirits who envy man and want to abort his propagation (see *Lilith). The customs were, however, not adopted mechanically, but imbued with distinctive Jewish characteristics by incorporating Scriptures into the audio-oral prayers accompanying the rite, and in the Judaized explanation of the origin of the customs. Thus, for example, the bride and bridegroom must wear special wedding dresses and ornaments which originally were intended to protect them against evil spirits who abhor specific colors (white) and specific objects (iron). These have however acquired symbolic and aesthetic values. The clothes worn at the wedding are usually new and appropriate to the new phase of life; the bride's veil is not meant to hide her but is reminiscent of Rebekah who "took a veil and covered herself with it" (Gen. 24:65) when she first met Isaac, and is a sign of modesty. The customs of shaving the bride's head before going to the *ḥuppah* (and wearing a *sheitl* (wig)), and of her limping like an animal so as to seem blemished were originally intended to deceive the jealous spirits by showing them an ugly person not worth fighting for. Explanatory literature, however, invested these practices with deep ethical meaning:

man should not pay attention to outer form but inner value. Similarly, the customs of strewing ashes on the bridegroom's head and the breaking the glass at the wedding ceremony, which also have origins in general folklore, were interpreted as "reminder(s) of the destruction of the Temple." They were also meant to remind man of his vanity (*memento mori*).

In Israel, modern social life, especially in the secular sector and in kibbutz society, has stimulated the formation of new customs and the adaptation of religious ceremonies to a secular society which wants to keep the traditional, national folkways. This is evident, for example, in the bar mitzvah ceremony whose religious significance in a secular society is reduced but not eliminated. Since non-observant Jews do not "lay *tefillin*," which is the most outward sign of the bar mitzvah ceremony and the Jewish initiation rite, regarding them as a remnant of an ancient religious object (a kind of amulet containing scriptural verses), attempts have been made to revitalize the rite with other external symbols and the concept of *tefillin* has been completely eliminated. Under the initial impetus of the Reform movement, the individual ceremony has been substituted by a collective "confirmation" ceremony similar to that of the Christian rite. This takes place at the *Shavuot festival, chosen because it is the traditional date of the giving of the law on Mount Sinai, and consequently the proper season for adolescent boys and girls to celebrate their initiation into full Jewish adulthood. As the Shavuot festival coincides with the end of the school year, the ceremony, at times, bears the character of a graduation. In Israel the collective bar mitzvah has been introduced in nonreligious kibbutzim. The ceremony takes place after the children have performed some task, usually socioeducational, imposed upon each individual child (or pair) by the community, school, or youth movement (e.g., a week's stay in a new settlement with a newcomer's family in order to help them; or in a religious yeshivah in order to learn Jewish ways strange to them). The bar mitzvah child then has to write a composition on his experiences. He further relates his adventures during the performance of the task at the "confirmation" and the lessons derived therefrom are discussed by the whole assembly. These attempts, as well as the endeavors to introduce new agricultural festivals of a secular nature: Ḥag ha-Gez ("the Feast of Sheepshearing"), Ḥag ha-Keramim ("the Feast of the Vineyard," a "renewal" of the ancient Tu be-Av festival) have not been functioning long enough to become an integral and crystallized part of renewed or newly invented Jewish socio-cultural folkways, even in a limited segment of Jewish society. The artificial character of the new folk customs, as well as that of modern Israeli dances and folk music, is still evident.

Varia: Beliefs and Customs not Related to Cycles

A small proportion of Jewish customs and their underlying folk beliefs are not directly connected with the annual life cycle or with the crises of passage in man's life. Among these the Jewish customs pertaining to diet, nutrition, and food (including the biblical distinction between kosher and nonkosher food; the taboos of eating meat and milk together) and folk medicine practices are the two most important clusters of customs. Attempts have been made to relate them, to regard the dietary laws as part of ancient hygiene prescription, and to consider folk medicine and food customs as means of overcoming anxieties and fears.

FOLK MEDICINE. Folk beliefs and practices (remedies) for the prevention and cure of diseases have been transmitted by Jewish communities from generation to generation, even where there were normative medicine and physicians. The Bible recommends the use of the mandrake to produce fertility (Gen. 30:14). No decisive differentiation existed between the various ways of ensuring health and fertility and of combating disease and death: asking the doctor's advice, praying, and using folk remedies were all curative means emanating from God, the only healer (cf. Ex. 15:26). In Tobit (6:78) smoked liver, heart, and the gall of a fish are recommended as a cure for casting out a demon or evil spirit. Similar practices still prevail among Kurdish and Persian Jews and are indicative of the antiquity of many of the accepted folk cures.

Evidence of the widespread use of folk medicine in Palestine and Babylonia during the early centuries C.E. can be found in talmudic-midrashic literature. Magic practices and amulets received a Jewish "touch" through the use of biblical verses and by stressing the efficacy of relevant psalms. The tertian fever, for example, was to be cured with an amulet consisting of seven sets of seven articles hung around the neck (Shab. 67a). Amulets were also used against epilepsy (Shab. 61a); these were later sanctified and Judaized through biblical inscriptions. The concept that a cure may be effected by transferring the disease to animals, found so frequently in general folk medicine, is also present in Jewish folk medicine. According to talmudic sources the patient was recommended to go to a crossroad, pick up the first ant with a burden that he saw, and place it in a copper tube which was to be covered with lead and sealed. The tube should then be shaken and an incantation chanted: "What thou carriest on me, that I carry on thee" (Shab. 66b). Although practices of this kind were disapproved of by rabbinic authorities who regarded them as "Amorite rites" (folk practices alien to the spirit of Judaism), they persisted; most of them are based on principles of sympathetic magic. In the Middle Ages there is evidence of a more widespread use of folk medicine among Jews. There are many folk prescriptions in the *Sefer Ḥasidim* (13th century), most of them derived from the contiguous Christian culture. The remedy against premature birth was for a wife to wear a piece of her husband's stockings or waistband (a practice of contagious magic found in German folk medicine).

There are many folk medicine manuscripts extant from the late Middle Ages (16th–18th centuries) which contain prescriptions against fever and epilepsy. The mysterious nature of these diseases seems to have attracted the special attention of folk doctors in various culture areas. Some prescriptions deal with the improvement of family life, inducing love and fertility. Blood, a frequent element in general folk medicine, is rarely, if ever, used among Jews except in the case of nosebleeding where the actual blood lost is sometimes baked into a cake and, following the principle prevailing in sympathetic magic, is given to a pig (*Sefer Refu'ot*, 14b).

Besides folk medicine, only a few customs are unrelated to any of the two main cycles of the Jewish year and life. Most of them have a distinctive Jewish character and have been based on Jewish legends and traditions. Thus, for example, feeding the birds in Eastern Europe on the winter Sabbath when the section on manna is read (Ex. 16) is associated with the legend that birds helped Moses defeat his opponents who wanted to prove that the Lawgiver had told a lie about manna. The same legend (cf. Ginzberg, Legends, 3 (1953), 46–47) also gave rise to the custom in Eastern Europe to feed birds on *Shabbat Shirah* when the section containing the Song of Moses (Ex. 15) was read in the synagogue.

Another social custom prevalent among Jews is to say "God bless you" (the exclamation *asuta* meaning "health") to anyone who sneezes. This custom is associated with the legend that in antiquity sneezing was a sign which forebode the sneezer's forthcoming death, but which no longer prevailed after the time of Jacob (cf. Ginzberg, Legends, vol. 5, 364, note 357). The origin of the custom, however, is not confined to Jews (Trachtenberg (1939), 306).

Jewish folklore and Jewish religion have always influenced each other. Often adapted from foreign sources, Jewish folklore was profoundly imbued with the Jewish religious spirit but in turn left its mark on Jewish religion. The religious practices extant in the various Jewish communities long ago freed themselves from their underlying superstitious beliefs and bear the character of monotheistic Judaism. However, in Jewish communities removed from the centers of learning and from religious leaders well versed in *halakhah* there still exist, side by side with the normative religion, complexes of popular beliefs and superstitions. Contrary to the explicit command of the Torah (Lev. 19:26; Deut. 18:9–14), beliefs in divination, the prognostic arts, interpretations of dreams, and astrology are still rooted in Jewish communities (cf. the still popular reprints of folk books like *Goralot Aḥitofel* ("Lots of Ahitophel," Jerusalem, 1965); *Sefer Ḥokhmat ha-Yad ha-Shalem* ("The Wisdom of Chiromancy," Jerusalem, 1966); *Sefer Ḥokhmatha-Parẓuf* ("Divination According to Features," Jerusalem, 1967) which are widely read and used by ethnic groups). Rabbinic authorities have tried to suppress customs which they regard not of Jewish origin, but in many cases they have not succeeded. Thus, for example, the customs of *kapparot* (propitiatory rite performed on the eve of the Day of *Atonement) and *tashlikh* (symbolic casting off of sins during *Rosh Ha-Shanah) are entirely foreign and considered by many Jewish authorities as pagan practices diametrically opposed to Judaism (cf. Rappoport, *The Folklore of the Jews*, p. 112–117); however, they are still commonly practiced in Jewish communities.

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(founded by Dov Noy) houses 25,000 narrative texts. An archive for proverbs at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem (founded by Galit Hasan-Rokem) houses 7,500 sayings. The Institute for Jewish Studies at the Hebrew University publishes the journal *Jerusalem Studies in Folklore*.

[Dov Noy]

FOLKMAN, JUDAH (1933–), U.S. medical scientist. Folkman was born in Cleveland, Ohio, and graduated with a B.A. from Ohio State University (1953) and an M.D. from Harvard Medical School (1957). His interest in research began while he was still an undergraduate with the development of a novel pacemaker. After training in surgery at Massachusetts General Hospital (1957–65), including service with the U.S. Navy (1960–62), he joined the staff of Harvard Medical School, where his subsequent senior appointments included professor of surgery (1967), pediatric surgery (1979), and cell biology (1994), and chief surgeon at Boston Children's Hospital. Folkman initiated research on the importance of new blood vessels (angiogenesis) to the growth and spread of cancers. This research showed that angiogenesis is stimulated by factors produced chiefly by the specialized cells (endothelial cells) lining the interior of the blood vessels of normal individuals and by cancer cells. It also promotes inflammation in many other diseases. Angiogenesis is inhibited by naturally occurring factors and by drugs such as endostatin and angiostatin designed as the result of this basic research. He has postulated that natural anti-angiogenesis factors are an important anti-cancer defense mechanism. Anti-angiogenesis drugs have proved effective in controlling experimental cancers but their relevance to clinical medicine awaits the outcome of the many clinical trials founded on this research. His achievements have been recognized by many honors, including election to the U.S. National Academy of Sciences (1990), the Gairdner Award (1991), the Wolf Prize (1992), and the Benjamin Franklin Award (2001). In 1999 he became a member of the International Scientific Board of the Israel Cancer Association.

[Michael Denman (2nd ed.)]

FOLKSPARTEI (**Poland**), "Yidishe Folkspartei in Polyn" (popularly known as **Folkist Party**), Jewish populist party in Poland organized during World War I and active in the interwar period; followed the ideology of the Russian *Folkspartei. The Folkist Party achieved its first successes among broad sectors of the Jewish electorate during the elections to the Warsaw municipal council of 1916. An agreement on the distribution of seats had then been signed between the united Jewish bloc – which comprised the Zionists, the Orthodox, and the assimilationists – and the Polish parties in order to break the tension existing between Poles and Jews since the proclamation of the anti-Jewish boycott in 1912. In opposition to this agreement a "People's Committee" (Folks Komitet) was formed on the initiative of a group of Yiddish authors and journalists led by the lawyer Noah *Prylucki. This presented a separate list calling for independent Jewish politics, cultural autonomy, and full political equality. As a result of the dissatisfaction among the small tradesmen and artisan class, the list won four seats.

The founding convention of the Folkspartei was held in November 1918. It drew up a program in general similar to that of the Russian Folkspartei but with the exclusive emphasis on Yiddish as the traditional language. In social outlook, the party was Democrat-Radical oriented, opposing the class struggle and aiming at productivization. Culture and education were to be of a secular character. The Folkspartei was headed by intellectuals and communal leaders who had left the Zionist and labor ranks (especially the Bund) like its principal leader, Noah Prylucki, the folklorist and Yiddish philologist, Samuel *Hirschhorn, Hillel *Zeitlin, H.D. *Nomberg, Lazar Cohen (Kahan), S. Stupnicki, and Ẓemaḥ *Shabad. The main centers of the movement were Warsaw, Lodz, and Vilna. Its organizational and ideological framework was not overly rigid, and its leaders achieved popularity through the Yiddish press and their efforts on behalf of individual causes.

In the elections to the Sejm (parliament) of 1919, the Folkists returned two members (Prylucki and Hirschhorn), but in the elections of 1922 were unsuccessful in the campaign against the minorities bloc, which attracted the decisive majority of the Jewish vote. Prylucki, who was elected as the party's sole representative to the Sejm, did not join the circle of other Jewish deputies. After this decline in the party's popularity, a split occurred in 1926 with the separation of the Vilna section, which proclaimed itself an independent faction ("Populist-Democrat") under the leadership of Shabad. In 1928, within the framework of the new political regime established in Poland after Pilsudski's coup, the supporters of Prylucki, in conjunction with Agudat Israel and the Merchants' Organization, joined forces with the list supported by the government against the second minorities bloc led by Yiẓḥak *Gruenbaum. This affiliation with the Polish government camp did not enhance the status of the Folkist Party among the Jewish public. In 1929, an attempt was made to reunite the Folkspartei, and a national convention was held in 1931. During 1932–33 it published a monthly, *Folkistishe Heftn*, in order to explain the party ideology. All these efforts, however, were unable to compete with the growing Zionist and radical movements, especially the Bund, with which the Folkist Party collaborated in the fields of culture and Yiddish education.

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[Moshe Landau]

FOLKSPARTEI (**Russia**), populist party; Jewish political party influential in most of Eastern Europe and active from 1906 to 1939. Its founder and mentor was Simon *Dubnow, who formulated with associates the party program on the basis of his ideology of *autonomism. According to this, the Jewish communal organization would serve as the secular cell of Jewish national existence and autonomy, to be administered on democratic lines. It was to establish Jewish schools whose language of instruction would be determined according to circumstances and the parents – Hebrew, Yiddish, or the language of the country – but the spirit and aims of this education should be Jewish. The local communities were to band together in a council on the lines of the *Councils of the Lands to represent the Jews vis-à-vis the authorities, whereby the state would grant it the right to collect taxes for internal Jewish requirements. The council would establish central institutions (rabbinical seminaries, teachers' training colleges, etc.), supervise the Jewish schools, and deal with economic and social matters (cooperatives, emigration, and welfare). On a higher plane, Dubnow visualized a world Jewish congress that would deal with problems concerning the whole of the nation in the Diaspora, such as the struggle for *emancipation in countries where it had not yet been achieved, and care for emigration and settlement in Ereẓ Israel and other countries. In 1911 a group of Autonomists-Socialists joined the Folkspartei. The party was led, in addition to S. Dubnow, by M. *Kreinin, I. *Yefroykin, S. *An-Ski, J.W. *Latzky-Bertholdi, Nahum *Shtif, and Joseph Tschernikhov.

After the Russian Revolution of February 1917, the party organized openly. It played a role in the political struggle among Jews during this period but made no headway against the Jewish socialist parties, the Zionists, and the Orthodox groups: in the elections to the Ukrainian Jewish Council of 1918, only four of its delegates were returned out of 125. Latzky-Bertholdi served as minister for Jewish affairs in the Ukrainian government for a short while in 1918. When the Soviets gained control of Ukraine and Belorussia, the activities of the party in these areas were brought to a halt. With the granting of *minority rights in international treaties, the Folkspartei considered that its program had been given international sanction.

In Poland the founding congress of the Folkspartei met in November 1918. The program adopted resembled the Russian one, differing in that it proclaimed Yiddish the sole language for the cooperative movement and for secular education and culture. Among the leaders of the party were: N. Prylucki, S. *Hirschhorn, J. *Zeitlin, H.D. *Nomberg, and others. In the elections to the Polish parlament (Sejm) two were elected: Prylucki and Hirschhorn; in the 1922 only Prylucki, but he did not join the Jewish Circle and the minorities bloc. In 1928 he joined forces with Agudat Israel and the government and not the second minorities bloc headed by Yiẓḥak *Gruenbaum. During the 1920s and 1930s, the party continued its activities in Poland and the Baltic countries. Its members took part in community affairs, and in conjunction with the Jewish leftist parties promoted secular Jewish schools with instruction in Yiddish (CYSHO [Central Yiddish School Organization]), and supported the Jewish cooperative movement and relief institutions (*ORT, *OSE). The party drew most of its adherents from the intelligentsia, small tradesmen, and artisans. While operating only in limited circles, it had some influence in communal life (see *Folkspartei, Poland). In the Baltic countries, the Folkspartei continued to exist until the rise of the dictatorial regimes and the abolition of Jewish autonomy. With the growing antisemitism and nationalism in the late 1930s, the party gradually disintegrated. Many of its members and leaders abandoned it, some joining the Zionists (such as Latzky-Bertholdi), and others the Territorialists (Tschernikhov).

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[Yehuda Slutsky]

FOMIN, YEFIM MOISEYEVICH (d. 1941), Soviet soldier. In 1941 Fomin was a captain and commissar of a regiment during the Brest-Litovsk campaign. When the Germans broke through the Russian lines, Fomin conducted the defense of the Brest-Litovsk fortress for weeks after the rest of the front had retreated. Severely wounded, he was captured with the fall of the fortress and because he was a Jew, he was executed. He was posthumously made a Hero of the Soviet Union and a factory and a street in Brest-Litovsk were named after him.

FONDANE (Fundoianu), BENJAMIN (Barbu; 1898–1944), French and Romanian poet. Born in Jassy, Romania, Fondane studied law, then turned to literature, publishing some Romanian verse collections under his original name, Barbu Fondoianu. In 1923 he settled in France, where in common with other Romanian Jewish immigrants, such as Tristan *Tzara and Ilarie *Voronca, he made his name as a French writer. Unlike them, however, Fondane always remained a Jewish author, deeply conscious of his identity and painfully aware of the Jew's condition as an exile. Although he wrote philosophical essays which betray the influence of Kierkegaard, Fondane is primarily remembered as a visionary poet. In the vast lyrical frescos of *Ulysse* (1933) and *Titanic* (1937) he developed the theme of the *Wandering Jew, with pathetic descriptions of the wanderer's existence or of weary yet hopeful emigrants on the way to their Promised Land. Fondane's poetic testament, *L'Exode; superflumina Babylonis* (1965; written 1934–42), is more restrained and taut in tone. In this semiautobiographical work the author resigns himself to the inevitable, and in bitter words prophesies the ultimate catastrophe. Even as the darkness of Nazism descended on Jewry, Fondane continued to believe in the ultimate triumph of freedom. He was deported to the concentration camp at Birkenau (Auschwitz), where he was murdered.

[Wladimir Rabi]

FONDILLER, WILLIAM (1885–1975), U.S. electrical engineer. Born in Russia, Fondiller was taken to the U.S. He made his career with Western Electric Company (1909–25) and Bell Telephone Laboratories, of which he became vice president and treasurer. He was a research associate at Columbia University school of engineering from 1935 to 1950, and took out patents for loading coils, transformers, cables, etc. Fondiller was active in Jewish and Zionist affairs and was honorary president of the American Technion Society (1950).

FONSECA, ALVARO DA (c. 1657–1742), English merchant. Da Fonseca, known in synagogue as Jacob Jessurun Alvarez, arrived with his family in England in about 1670 from Nevis in the West Indies, became a successful merchant, and was active in synagogue affairs. About 1682 he left for India. In 1683 he and two other Portuguese-Jewish merchants, Bartholomew Rodriguez and Domingo do Porto, were authorized, though they were originally interlopers, to settle in Fort St. George (Madras). During the 17 years that he was in India (1683–1700) Da Fonseca served the English East India Company in a variety of functions. In 1690 he was appointed alderman of the Madras Corporation, representing the Jewish merchant group of Fort St. George. He built a vast commercial empire in collaboration with other Jewish merchants and opened up new markets in Asia for the English trade. He invested great sums in commercial transactions to China, Burma, and Bengal. The major commodities in which he dealt were diamonds and precious stones, textiles, and timber, frequently transported on his own ships. In March 1700 he returned with a large fortune to London, where he acted on behalf of the Madras governor Thomas Pitt in the appraisal and sale of the famous Pitt diamond.

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[Walter Joseph Fischel]

FONSECA, DANIEL DE (1672–c. 1740), Marrano physician and diplomat from Oporto (Porto), Portugal. His grandfather had been burned at the stake by the Inquisition; his father had escaped the same fate only by flight. Left behind in Portugal, his son was brought up as a priest. This did not prevent him from adhering to Judaism in secret. The secret reached the ears of the Inquisition and like his father he had to flee for his life, crossing the border into France. He studied medicine in Bordeaux, resided for a time in Paris, and then made his way to Constantinople, where he arrived in 1702. Once there, he openly embraced Judaism. Through his medical skill, De Fonseca soon became known in the Turkish capital, obtaining the confidence of many high officials. He showed himself an accomplished diplomat, consistently espousing the cause of France and thereby earning the dislike of the Court of Austria. He was appointed a physician to the French embassy, in which he occupied the position of confidential adviser. Subsequently, he became medical attendant to Prince Mavrocordato at Bucharest. On his return to Constantinople, he became physician to the sultan, continuing to occupy this office till 1730; and he was of great assistance to Charles XII of Sweden in his intrigues at the Sublime Porte against Russia and Poland. Finally he settled in Paris, where he mingled with the highest society of his age and earned the respect of Voltaire, who regarded him as "the only philosopher of his people."

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[Abraham Haim]

FONTAINEBLEAU, town in the Seine-et-Marne department, approximately 37 mi. (about 60 km.) S. of Paris, France. The Jewish community in Fontainebleau dates from 1799. During the 19th century, two important porcelain factories there were owned by Jews: Jacob Petit and Baruch Weil. At the time of the 1941 census, there were 58 Jews in Fontainebleau.

Holocaust and Postwar Periods

During the German occupation of World War II, Fontainebleau's synagogue, dating from 1857, was looted and destroyed; its eight-branch candelabrum, made of blue Sèvres porcelain and donated by Napoleon III to the Jewish community, was also smashed. After the war, a new Jewish community, composed mostly of North African Jews, settled there, numbering about 400 persons in 1969. The synagogue was rebuilt in 1965 and a new candelabrum was contributed by Allied (SHAPE) officers stationed in the town.

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[Bernhard Blumenkranz]

FOOD.

The Biblical Period

Diet in Ereẓ Israel during the biblical period was dependent mostly on the food supply of the closed agricultural economy. Most agricultural produce came from permanent settlements, and some wild plants were gathered, while meat was mainly supplied by cattle and sheep-raising nomads. Grain constituted the bulk of agricultural produce consumed and most meat was mutton. The Bible, in speaking of the produce of Ereẓ Israel, mentions three types of food: *dagan, tirosh*, and *yiẓhar* (Deut. 7:13; II Kings 18:32). *Dagan* ("corn" or "grain") represents the various agricultural crops, *tirosh* ("new wine")-wine, and *yiẓhar-oil.*

Food was made fit for eating by baking, boiling, frying, or roasting (see *Fire), or by a combination of these. Grain was prepared in two ways: roasting the kernels in order to break down their starches and soften them (Heb. *kali, qali*; "parched corn"; I Sam. 25:18; II Sam. 17:28; Ruth 2:14), or grinding and baking the item (see also *Bread). Cooked food was a mixture of meat and vegetables which were combined while heating (Heb. *marak*; "broth"; Judg. 6:19, 20; Isa. 65:4). Stew (Heb. *nazid*; Gen. 25:29; II Kings 4:38; et al.) was apparently a food cooked for a long time in water, most of which was boiled off. Fried foods, especially meat, were cooked in large quantities of boiling oil. Meat was also roasted over an open flame, which seared and softened it.

FORBIDDEN FOODS. The usual diet consisted of foods prepared from grain, wild and cultivated plants, and the meat of sheep, cattle, fowl, fish, and even certain insects. The Torah limited the meat a Jew could eat, both in terms of the animals permissible for eating, and the manner of their preparation (see also *Dietary Laws). Meat taken from a still living animal or from one found dead, and the drinking of blood were prohibited (see *Blood). Only animals specifically slaughtered for food or for use in the sacrificial service could be eaten. These animals had to have two characteristics: they chewed the cud and had cloven hoofs. An animal possessing neither or only one of these characteristics was forbidden. Some types of birds were permitted and the exceptions were specifically named (Lev. 11:13–19). The consumption of fish was limited to those possessing scales and fins. As to insects, only locusts (Heb. *ʾarbeh*) could be eaten.

THE FORM OF THE MEAL. The Bible uses several terms to describe meals. *ʾAruḥah* (from the root *ʾrḥ*, "to lodge") appears to refer to the usual daily meal, as in "a regular allowance [*ʾaruḥah*] was given him …" (II Kings 25:30; Jer. 52:34). It may also indicate a more modest meal, as in "Better is a dinner of herbs where love is, than a fatted ox and hatred with it" (Prov. 15:17). *Zevaḥ* (from the root *zbḥ*, "to sacrifice") generally indicates a meat meal connected with the religious worship, or with some other festive occasion (I Sam. 20:29). *Kerah* was a festive meal with many participants (II Kings 6:23). The verb *sʿd* ("to support") is frequently used to indicate eating: "Come home with me, and refresh thyself" (I Kings 13:7). *Leḥem* ("*bread") frequently refers to food or to a meal in general. Meat meals were not usual: the *kerah* or *zevaḥ*, as noted above, was part of some festive occasion such as a general holiday or special tribal or family occasion. Many people participated in a meat meal, of which nothing would be left over in order to prevent spoilage. Such meat meals were consecrated in order to enlist God's aid in human ventures, as a sign of thanks, or as a propitiatory offering (see also *Sacrifice). The everyday meal was eaten by the family either in the house or in the field. It was generally prepared by the woman, while the *zevaḥ* and *kerah* were prepared by both men and women, thus emphasizing the importance of these social events. A meal was an occasion for pleasure and enjoyment. It was eaten while seated and the established customs and manners were observed before and after the meal. The upper classes might sing and propose riddles during the mealtimes.

VEGETABLES. Cereals, such as wheat (Heb. *ḥiṭṭah*) and barley (Heb. *seʿorah*), *were cultivated* crops. Stew made of lentils (Heb. *ʿadashim*) or beans (Heb. *polim*) was common and was eaten after being softened by cooking. Other vegetable dishes were uncommon, most vegetables being picked wild as needed and then cooked for the daily meal. Wild melons (Heb. *ʾavaṭṭiʾaḥ*) and cucumbers (Heb. קשוא, *qeshu*) were among the wild vegetables eaten in Ereẓ Israel. In Egypt there were plots for the cultivation of melons and cucumbers. Sesame seeds (Heb. *shumshum*), also gathered wild, were used in the preparation of oil, or were eaten raw, in stews or in some other fashion. Garlic (Heb. *shum*) and onions (Heb. *baẓal*) grew wild in Ereẓ Israel and served as food, while in Egypt they were cultivated. They were cultivated in Ereẓ Israel only in the post-biblical period.

FRUITS. The seven types of produce mentioned in Deuteronomy 8:8 include most of the fruit eaten in Ereẓ Israel. The vine (Heb. *gefen*) is mentioned after wheat and barley. Grapes (Heb. *ʿanavim*) were used mainly in the production of wine, although they were also eaten fresh. Grapes were dried in the sun to produce raisins (Heb. *ẓimmukim, ẓimmuqim*), which were preserved for substantial periods of time. Grapes were also used to produce a thick liquid like honey, called the grape honey (Heb. *devash ʿanavim*). Even today, grape honey (Ar. *dibes*) is produced in parts of Israel. Grape honey was made by treading in special vats: the liquid produced was not left to ferment, but was boiled in order to evaporate the water content, leaving behind a thick liquid resembling honey. Figs (Heb. *teʾenah*) were also common and were eaten either fresh when ripe, or dried, the dried figs (Heb. *develah*) being strung into a chain or made into a hard cake. This cake was made of figs stuck together and dried as a block. After sufficient drying, the fig block was sliced and eaten like bread. Pomegranates (Heb. *rimmonim*) were usually eaten fresh, although occasionally they were used in the preparation of wine for medicinal uses. Dates (Heb. *temarim*), too, were eaten fresh or were sun-dried. Like grapes, dates were made into a sweet, thick drink called date honey (Heb. *devash temarim*). This was prepared by soaking the fruit in water for some time during which it would disintegrate. The liquid was cooked down until thick and sweet. Olives (Heb. *zeitim*) were usually used to make oil (see below), although some were eaten after being preserved in tasty and fragrant spices, which removed their natural bitter flavor. The Bible also mentions nuts (Heb. *ʾegozim*), apples (Heb. *tappuḥim*), pistachios (Heb. *botnim*), and almonds (Heb. *shekedim, sheqedim*). Nuts were common in Ereẓ Israel, particularly in the post-biblical period. Apples, pistachios, and almonds were not cultivated, but grew wild. They were picked for occasional home use when they were available, although most were imported as a delicacy.

SPICES. The most common spice was salt (Heb. *melaḥ;* Job 6:6), there being hardly any food which was not seasoned with it. Salt served the additional function of symbolizing the making of a covenant (II Chron. 13:5), or the destruction of a city (Judg. 9:45). It was obtained in two ways: the most common method was mining, as at Sodom, although it was also produced by evaporating sea water and removing the salts from the sediment. The raw salt was rinsed in fresh water, purified, and then crushed until fine, in which form it was used for seasoning food and for other purposes. The flavor of food was also enhanced by spices derived from plants. Garlic and onions, as well as being eaten as vegetables, were used to season cooked foods. Other spices mentioned in the Bible are coriander (Heb. *gad*), cumin (Heb. *kammon*), and black cumin

(Heb. *keẓaḥ, qeẓaḥ).* More delicate spices for special feasts were imported from Arabia and India, and were considered merchandise of the highest value. Among such spices were various types of pepper (Heb. *pilpel*), and ginger.

FOODS PRODUCED BY ANIMALS. During the biblical period, wild bee honey and eggs, especially birds' eggs, were eaten.

DAIRY FOODS. Most dairy items were produced from sheep or goat milk, since cattle were scarce in the country. The use of cow's milk is attested by Mesopotamian and Egyptian sources, such as the "Banner of Ur" and various Egyptian steles, as early as the fourth millennium B.C.E. In Ur, cows were milked from behind and in Egypt from in front of the udder, with their rear legs tied together. Milk, connected as it was with the miracle of reproduction, was used in pagan cults, in which a kid would be cooked in its mother's milk. This practice was forbidden for the Israelites (Ex. 23:19; et al.).

Milk was one the characteristic products of Ereẓ Israel (Ex. 3:8; 33:3; Joel 4:18). A nourishing food, it was frequently drunk cold or was cooked with other foods, as well as serving in other forms for medicinal purposes and ointments. Due to its importance, milk and its by-products served as offerings to gods and kings. The Bible mentions butter and various cheeses as milk-derived products. Butter was made by churning milk in vessels made especially for this purpose. Examples of these churns (Heb. *mahbeẓah*) have been found at Beersheba and elsewhere. The butterfat was separated as a result of the churning, and the excess liquid was evaporated in order to produce butter. In this concentrated form, it was used principally for cooking and frying. Cheese was made from soured milk. Milk was poured into special moulds in which it soured into hard lumps. These cheese lumps were dried in the sun or evaporated by cooking, producing curds (Job 10:10). A softer cheese was made in cloth bags filled with soured milk. The thin liquid filtered through the cloth while the soft cheese remained in the bag. The Hittites used cheese as an offering in their cult.

WINE. Most wine was produced from grapes. The vintage was brought to a winepress which was usually rock-cut. The grapes were spread on the broad upper surface of the press and tread upon by foot, in order to squeeze the liquid from them. This liquid (Heb. *tirosh*, "new wine") flowed down through a drainage channel into a vat in which the precipitates settled. From there it flowed to a second vat where it was collected. The drainage system was constructed so that the liquid flowed into the collecting vat only when the precipitation vat was filled. Thus, the heavier sediments such as waste matter, seeds, and skins had time to settle at the bottom of the vat, while the juice flowed into the collecting vat. The new wine was then transferred to vessels which were sealed and placed in a cool place to stand until the juice fermented by the action of the yeast in the fruit, becoming wine. There were several types of wine, some of which are mentioned in the Bible: a sparkling or foaming wine (Ps. 75:9); the wine of Helbon (Ezek. 27:18); spiced wine (Song 8:2); the wine of Lebanon (Hos. 14:8). The type of wine was determined by the grapes from which it was pressed, the time allowed for fermentation, and the age of the wine. Spices were added to improve the aroma and taste. The color was improved by steeping crushed grape skins in it. Sometimes wine was given an aroma by rubbing the winepress with wood resin. Wine was also made from raisins, dates, figs, and pomegranates.

Wine was considered the choicest of drinks. It was used in libations before gods, as payment of taxes to kings, and was highly regarded as an item of trade. It was measured by liquid measure: the *bat* (II Chron. 2:9) and the *hin* (Ex. 29:40; Samaria ostraca). Wine was hoarded in vessels of uniform size in the treasuries of the royal and the wealthy. Ereẓ Israel was known for its fine wines and advanced methods of production. Some indication of this may be gained from the widespread occurrence of presses in archaeological excavations throughout the country. A good example of a rock-cut winepress from the biblical period found at Gibeon has a broad surface for treading the grapes and several collecting vats. Wine was an intoxicant with a stimulating effect upon the human disposition. One who had taken Nazirite vows was therefore not permitted to drink it or to make any use of vine-derived products. The Bible mentions houses which were visited for the purpose of drinking and becoming intoxicated (Song 2:4). Another vine product was vinegar, which was produced by extra fermentation of new wine. It was used for seasoning foods, pickling vegetables, and medicinal purposes.

OIL. Oil was produced mainly from olives in olive presses designed for this purpose. There were three stages in its production. First, the hard olives were crushed into a soft paste. This was then squeezed, the crude oil flowing out as a result of the pressure. Finally, the crude oil was stored in vessels or vats for some time, in which the sediments and water from the olives settled and the pure oil rose to the surface. The oil was then collected in vessels for storage or use. Archaeological excavations have revealed numerous olive presses dating to the Hellenistic period. The earliest press excavated in the country was found at Tirat Yehudah near Lydda. This press has been reconstructed and transferred to the garden of the Israel Museum.

Oil was used as a condiment for various dishes, to fry foods, especially meats, and as a component in certain dishes. Specially purified oils mixed with spices were used as ointments or for medicinal purposes. Sesame oil, produced in a similar way, was particularly fine. Like wine, oil was used as an offering to the gods and for payment of taxes to kings. Oil production was advanced in Ereẓ Israel, as is attested by much documentary evidence, and the discovery of many olive presses in various locations.

[Ze'ev Yeivin]

Post-Biblical Period

CHARACTERISTICS OF JEWISH COOKERY. In their dispersion throughout the world Jews have adopted many dishes of the countries in which they found themselves, adapting them to conform to the requirements of the dietary laws. Economic factors have also played their part in the culinary sphere. Sometimes glamorous dishes have been created by enhancing poverty foods, influenced by local flavors and products.

The laws regarding use of animal food and its preparation require that all meat and poultry, having been killed in accordance with the laws of *sheḥitah, must be entirely drained of *blood. Observance of the dietary laws precludes the mixing or cooking of meat with milk; the Jewish cook is therefore debarred from using dairy products – butter, milk, or cream, etc. – in pastries, desserts, or other dishes which are to be eaten in conjunction with meat. *Parveh* (neutral) foods made with neither milk nor meat may be eaten with both. These include eggs, fish, vegetables, fruit, and liquors. A *parveh* substitute for milk or cream has been introduced into the modern kitchen.

The two main categories of Jewish cooking may be characterized as Oriental (broadly referred to as Sephardi) and Occidental (broadly referred to as Ashkenazi). While Sephardi cookery makes much use of spices, olive oil, rice, pulses, and lamb, Ashkenazi favors beef and bland vegetables, whose flavors are brought out by fats, sugar, and onions. Both feature many similar fowl and pastry dishes, and dishes having similar historical and religious significance. Because of this latter significance there has developed in modern times a sort of "culinary Judaism," by which many people identify with the Jewish religion mainly through this preference for traditional Jewish dishes. Indeed, assimilated Jewry in the orbit of the Hapsburg Empire from as early as the second half of the 19th century knew the conception of "*Fressfroemmigkeit*" for somebody whose devoutness finds its expression mainly or entirely in his eating the proper customary dishes on each holiday.

SEPHARDI AND ASHKENAZI TRADITION. Most of the foods of the Bible maintained their hold in the homes of the communities of the Mediterranean and Middle East where the same products are still grown. Grapes, dates, olives, melons, figs, mulberries, pomegranates, nuts, carobs, citrons, apricots, are still basically used in and around the Holy Land, not only as fresh fruits but as preserves such as dried apricot sheets, carob syrup (*dibbs*), and citron confiture. Pulses and cereals such as beans, lentils, cracked wheat (*burghul*), and spelt (rye) are used for Sephardi dishes as much as potatoes are in the West. The vegetables recorded in the Bible such as leeks, squash (also cucumbers of this family), and onions permeate Middle East cookery both for flavoring and as main dishes stuffed with meat. Cucumbers are preserved with dill, a herb that grows wild in Ereẓ Israel. Mint is used for flavoring many dishes, particularly vegetable salads. Frequently used spices and herbs include garlic in meat, saffron and cumin in cakes, coriander in coffee, and cinnamon not only in desserts but in meat and poultry dishes. Lamb fat and olive oil, so popular in the Bible, continue as the main fats used in Oriental Jewish cooking. The meat of goats and sheep is still eaten in the Middle East rather than beef and poultry. Pastries – usually deep fried – are dipped in honey or syrup among Eastern communities. Some Oriental groups – such as the Yemenites – even bake the bread (called *lakho'akh* or *ḥubs*) as in biblical days on the wall of a primitive earthen oven heated with embers, the fire being put out before baking, or bake it like a griddle cake on a rounded iron over embers. Bread is customarily put on the table for every meal, and also salt, symbolizing the covenant (see above).

In Eastern Europe among Ashkenazi communities milk foods and vegetables were the main fare during weekdays owing to impoverished circumstances and the shortage of *kasher* meat. Animals were generally slaughtered for food only for Sabbaths or festivals, or for celebrations. Figuring largely in the diet were *lokshen* (noodles) or other farinaceous food, potatoes, barley, peas, and beans. From time to time these were supplemented by fish. For celebrations of a circumcision or a wedding it was customary to provide fish and meat meals, and to bake festival bread and buns from cake dough, as well as sponge cake, sandwich cake, *fluden* (*fladen*), *strudel*, and egg cookies. In honor of the bride and bridegroom *gilderne yoikh* ("golden broth" of chicken soup) was served. During the summer in Eastern Europe, jams and confections would be prepared from the local fruits, which were added to tea, offered to guests, or served for the Sabbath or on festivals. The juice of raspberries, cherries, and other berries was also preserved. Preserves were made from plums and mushrooms, cucumbers were pickled, and sufficient sauerkraut was prepared for the whole year. In present-day Israel, Jewish cooking has been altered and adapted by each entry of new immigrants in the melting pot process of integration between East and West. This and the introduction of new products, such as avocado, formerly rarely known, has resulted in new trends in Jewish cooking.

Festival Cookery

SABBATH DISHES. For Sabbath and other holidays all sorts and shapes of *ḥallah* breads (called also *barkhes* or *tatsheres*) are baked. In most countries the Sabbath loaves are braided. The loaves are frequently sprinkled with (poppy or sesame) seeds to represent manna. Two loaves represent the double portion of manna gathered in the wilderness before the Sabbath. One of the two *ḥallot* on the tables of Ḥasidim is made of 12 rolls representing the 12 tribes, the loaf being referred to as *yud-bet* (= the number 12; Lev. 24:5–6). Fish is a standard food for Sabbath. The Talmud advises: "When may those who possess less than 50 shekels have the dish of vegetables and fish? Every Friday night of the Sabbath." In Eastern Europe, where fish was costly, the Jewish housewife made *gefilte* (filled) *fish* a popular dish. For *gefilte fish* the flesh is ground up, and bread, egg, onion, sugar, and pepper are added: after the fish is refilled it is stewed in onions. Carp and/or other types of fish may be used. Bukharan Jews eat fried fish dipped in garlic sauce with garlic bread.

A typical Sabbath dish popular in every community because it can be prepared beforehand and cooked overnight is *cholent* (Ashkenazi) – Oriental *ḥamin* – generally made with beans, fat meat, and potatoes. It is placed in a well-heated oven on Friday afternoon and allowed to cook slowly or simmer overnight until ready for the Sabbath meal. Ashkenazim may accompany the *cholent* with *kugel* (boiled pudding), stuffed *helzl* (neck skin), or *kishke* (stuffed derma), or a *lokshen* (noodle) pudding, sometimes made of leaf pastry, or a rice and raisin pudding. Bukharan Jews serve a rice cholent called *baḥsh*, layered with meat, liver, and vegetables, with rice and spices cooked in a bag in water: the liquid is not used. It was customary for gentiles to wait near the synagogue before prayers with kettles of boiling water; they would be given the *baḥsh* bag for cooking and return it after prayers. Bukharan Jews also bake *mamossa* (meat or fruit pie) for Sabbath, and eat cold meat (*yachni*) or *kabab-pieces* of meat and onion, dipped in salt and roasted on a spit before Sabbath. *Kishke* (Ashkenazi stuffed derma) is often eaten as a main dish for Sabbath, its Oriental equivalent being *nakahoris.* Ashkenazim use an onion and flour filling, and eastern communities fill the derma with ground meat, pine nuts, cinnamon, and sharp pepper. Persian Jews eat rice foods (*pilaw*) and a sort of meat pudding called *gipa* (stomach filled with rice). Often served as an appetizer on Sabbath is *pitcha* (also called *cholodny, pilsa, fisnoga, drelyes;* Heb. *regel* kerushah) – jellied calf's foot or jellied chicken with garlic and spices. In Yemen it is called *kurʾi*. Other appetizers are chopped (*gehakte*) herring, chopped egg and onion, or chopped liver (Ashkenazi). A traditional accompaniment to the Sabbath meal in Ashkenazi homes is poultry soup – usually served with deep-fried pastas called *mandeln* ("almonds") to symbolize the manna of the Bible. Side dishes include *tsimes* (Ashkenazi), a stew made usually of carrots, parsnips, or plums with potatoes. The Lithuanian *rutabaga* is turnip *tsimes.* Compotes of dried fruits, such as flohmen *kompot* made with the addition of blanched almonds and honey, are a traditional East European Sabbath dessert. *Torten*-sponge cakes, *mandelbrot* – almond cookies – and *strudels*-filled rolled pastries, are of Central European origin. Yemenite Jews serve a traditional Sabbath pastry, similar to *kugel*, cooked overnight, sometimes with cottage cheese, called *ghininūn*, or an overnight baked yeast cake, *kubaneh*. *Pestelas* (sesame-seed-topped pastry filled with pine nuts, meat, onion, and delicately flavored) also called *burekas*, are often served in Sephardi homes after the Sabbath service. So as to be able to pronounce the blessings: *bore peri ha-eẓ*; *ha-gefen*; *ha-adamah*; *mezonot*, before the Sabbath repast and after, Yemenite Jews eat gaʾle-roast peanuts, raisins, almonds, fruit, and candy. For *melavveh malkah* on Saturday night Ḥasidim eat a specially cooked barley soup with meat. Wine is drunk at the Sabbath meals, and brandy. Eastern Jews drink arak.

PASSOVER. Passover foods vary in Sephardi and Ashkenazi communities. Ashkenazim exclude rice, while it is served by Sephardim. Most Ashkenazim avoid the use of pepper because it is sometimes mixed with flour and crumbs by traders. Ḥasidim do not eat soaked matzah on Passover except on the last day (in the Diaspora).

The several varieties of *matzah* include *matzah shemurah*, egg *matzah*, and sugar *matzah.* The exclusion of leaven from the home has resulted in a rich menu of *matzah* meal and potato foods for Passover, such as dumplings and pancakes. Popular are the dumplings known as *kneydl* (Ashkenazi) of various types made from either *matzah* meal or broken up *matzah*. Some are filled with meat or liver or fruits, used for soups or side dishes or desserts. Potato flour is largely used in cakes along with finely ground *matzah* meal and nuts. Popular Ashkenazi dishes are *matzah brie* (fried crumbled *matzah* with grated onion), *matzah latkes* (pancakes) and *khremzlakh* (also called *crimsel* or *gres elies; matzah* meal fritters). Wined *matzah kugels* (puddings) have been introduced into modern Jewish cooking. For thickening soups and sauces at Passover fine *matzah* meal or potato flour is used instead of flour: for frying fish or cutlets, a coating of *matzah* meal and egg, and for stuffings, potatoes instead of soaked bread. "Noodles" may be made by making pancakes with beaten eggs and *matzah* meal which, when cooked, are rolled up and cut into strips. They may be dropped into soup before serving. *Matzah kleys* – dumplings – are small balls made from suet mixed with chopped fried onions, chopped parsley, beaten egg, and seasonings, dropped into soup and cooked. In Oriental countries and in old Jerusalem sheep-tail fat was prepared for Passover. Oriental Passover dishes are *fahthūt* (Yemenite) – a soup stew made with *matzah* meal – and Turkish *minas* and *mahmuras* – layers of *matzah* with fillings of cheese, vegetables, or meats. In Sephardi homes *ḥaroset* is served as a treat and not just as a taste. The *khreyn* – horseradish relish – originating as an Ashkenazi Passover dish – is popular all the year round. The radish *eyngemakhts*, still retained as a confiture among Ashkenazim, may have had its culinary beginnings in talmudic days when the radish was referred to as an elixir of life. A Passover beverage is mead, instead of beer, which includes leaven. Raisin wine is also used for the Four Cups at the *Seder.* A *kasher* liquor from potatoes was brewed in Eastern Europe.

SHAVUOT. Serving of dairy dishes on Shavuot is customary among Jews everywhere. In celebration of the giving of the Law from Sinai, Mount-Sinai-shaped sweets and cakes are served in many Eastern and Western communities. Ashkenazi Jews bake saffron bread, butter cookies with cheese, cheese twist or cheese *ḥallah* (in Germany called *kauletsch*, specially for those who have observed the sefirah-counting of the Omer). Popular Shavuot dishes are *blintses* (pancakes) filled with meat or cheese and sour cream, *kreplakh* (dough filled with cheese, meat, groats or fruit, shaped into triangles or hearts and boiled), *strudels* (Germany), cheese cakes (Poland), cheese pies (United States), and *knishes* (yeast dough filled with meat and/or potatoes, cheese or fruit and baked (Lithuania). A dairy beet *borsht* with sour cream, or a cold *chlodnik* (cucumber soup) or *shtshav* (cold sorrel soup) is also served on Shavuot. Some Sephardim bake a Seven Heavens cake to symbolize the "seven heavens" which God rent at the giving of the Torah. Sephardi Jews use ewe's salted cheese and make savory dairy dishes like *shpongous* (a cheese-spinach bake), Cottage cheese, popular everywhere, is associated with legends such as the Israelites' late return to the camp after receiving the Commandments from Mount Sinai when the milk had already soured.

AV. During the Nine Days between the First and Ninth of Av, no wine or meat is eaten (except on the Sabbath) as a sign of mourning for the destruction of the Temple. Both Ashkenazim and Sephardim eat farinaceous and other pastry food baked or boiled, and accompanied with cheese. The fast of the Ninth of Av is observed after a milk meal which includes a *bagel* – a crusty doughnut-shaped bun – or an egg dipped in ashes.

ROSH HA-SHANAH. On Rosh Ha-Shanah the *ḥallah* loaf is baked round or coin-shaped to signify blessings all the year round. All communities eat sweet fruits to evoke a sweet year, and honey for sweetness is added to many dishes. Until after Sukkot, bread is dipped in honey for the benediction instead of the usual salt in order to symbolize a sweet year. On the second night of New Year apples are eaten dipped in honey, also white grapes and watermelons. The *leykaḥ* honey cake is traditional among Ashkenazim, since *lekaḥ* means "portion" and the cake signifies the prayer "Give them a goodly portion."

Sweetened fish dishes with raisins and honey *lebkukhen*, *leibkuchen*, are primarily eaten in Western homes (originating in Switzerland). A head of a fish served without a tail (or the head of a lamb in Oriental homes) symbolizes, according to the Shulḥan Arukh, "being at the head and not the tail." In many Sephardi homes it is served to the father of the family.

All sorts of fruits and vegetables are selected for eating on Rosh Ha-Shanah because of their symbolic associations and endless possibilities of word play. Sephardim place on the table a *traskal* – a covered basket of fruit and vegetables – and as the father of the family takes out some fruit, those present repeat a suitable verse, as for the pomegranate, "May our merits multiply like pomegranate seeds." Carrot *tsimes* symbolizes prosperity because the slices are coin-shaped and golden in color and is also linked with an involved play of words in German. Ḥasidim use beetroots or beet leaves (*selek*) in the blessings *she-yistalleku oyeveinu* "to get rid of our enemies"; *bkeila*, a dish of this green leaf and beans, is popular among Tunisian Jewry. The Yemenite *hilbeh* (fenugreek sauce) is called *rubiya* in Hebrew and therefore eaten to signify *sheh-yirbu* ("to multiply").

EVE OF AND END OF DAY OF ATONEMENT. On the eve of the Day of Atonement Ashkenazim eat ladder-or bird-trimmed bread so that prayers should rise quicker to Heaven. In the morning many communities would distribute the loaves free at the entrance to the graveyard where people visited the graves of their forefathers, and honey cakes with a glass of wine. Before the fast, atonement (*kapparah*) meat is generally eaten. Ashkenazi homes usually serve *kreplakh* in the soup of the boiled *kapparah chicken* (though in many families the chicken is given to the poor). The white-feathered bird, symbolic of purity, assumes the role of the scapegoat slaughtered as a sin offering.

The fast is broken in Central European communities by eating *barkes*, or *shneken* – buns with cinnamon and nuts and/or raisins. To restock the body with salt, herring dishes such as chopped herring, pickled herring, or *zise-zoyre* (sweet and sour) pickled jellied fish are taken. Many Sephardi communities break the fast with spiced coffee-cinnamon (Dutch), cardamon (Syrian and Egyptian), and ginger with these spices (Yemen). Some Middle Eastern communities – Turkish, Greek, Iraqi – break the fast with a snow-white almond or other seed drink called *mizzo* or *soubiya* or *soumada*, the white color symbolizing purity. lraqi Jews eat *chadjoobadah* cardamon cakes. Italians serve *dolce Rebecca* (spiced mocha cake), and many Oriental groups eat sesame (*sumsum*) cakelets. *Bamya* (okra) in tomato sauce is an Iraqi end of Day of Atonement dish.

SUKKOT. Dishes traditional to Sukkot are adopted from the lands of the Diaspora, mostly because they proved convenient for serving in the *sukkah.* These include cabbage-meat *borsht* (Russian origin), Hungarian *goulash* – meat stew with paprika and onions: *kibbeh* – a Middle Eastern *burghul*-coated deep-fried meat dish served with various fillings; *kasher* Greek *moussaka* – eggplant meat casserole; *holeptses* also called *praakes, galuptzes* – rice and ground meat rolled in cabbage leaves – and *sarmis* – vine leaves filled with rice, pine nuts, and chopped meat filling. Still popular is the *fluden* (also known as *fladen*) – a layered dessert of dough and fruits symbolic of the harvested crops referred to in Judeo-German cooking records of the 12th century. For Hoshana Rabba, the seventh day of Sukkot, the *ḥallah* loaf is sometimes marked with a hand, symbolic of reaching for blessings, or key-shaped, that the door of heaven may be opened to admit prayers.

SIMḤAT TORAH AND SABBATH BERESHIT. For Simḥat Torah a round carrot sandwich (or slices) with honey symbolizes gold coins and the worth of the Torah. Sabbath *Bereshit* was formerly known in Vilna as the "honey Sabbath." The wives of religious functionaries baked honey cake with the honey their husbands received as a gift from the synagogue wardens for the festivals, and sold them. The proceeds enabled them to stock up with food and timber for the winter months.

HANUKKAH. For Ḥanukkah, Jews of all communities eat pastry and potato preparations fried in oil as a reminder of the miracle of the cruse of oil at the rededication of the Temple. Ashkenazim called them *latkes*, or *fasputshes*, or *pontshkes*. They are called *zalaviyye* (Yemen), *dushpire* (Bukhara), *ata-if* (Iraq), *spanzes* (Tripoli), and by Sephardim in general *birmenailes*. Hence the Israel *sufganiyyot* – doughnuts – of Ḥanukkah and the *levivot* (*latkes* – potato cakes) have a long tradition. A popular East European salad of this festival is the *retekh salat* of radish, turnip, olives, and onions fried in goose fat with *gribenes* or *grivn* (cracklings), all the ingredients being popular in the Maccabean era. As fat for Ḥanukkah is rendered from the goose used for Passover, this poultry (and related game like the Dutch *ganzebord*) is a popular Ḥanukkah dish, and *grivn* are often served with the latkes. In Czechoslovakia a shortbread cookie is made of goose cracklings (*grameln*) for this holiday. Yemen Jews eat *laḥis gizar* on Ḥanukkah, a sort of carrot stew, carrots being the vegetable in season.

TU BI-SHEVAT. As Sabbath Be-Shalaḥ falls only a few days before Tu bi-Shevat (the Fifteenth of Shevat) many foods for this day are linked to the New Year of Trees. Dutch Jews make *Be-Shallaḥ* calling it *kugel met waatz* to symbolize the manna and sauce for the Red Sea where the Egyptians were drowned pursuing the Israelites. Swiss French and some groups from Germany serve a wheat garnish in broth for this reason. Italians make a dish called *ruota di faraone* (Pharaoh's wheel). *Pomerantsen* – candied citrus fruits – are popular on this day.

Fresh and dried fruits are served to symbolize the harvests of the trees planted on Tu bi-Shevat in the Holy Land. The *bokser* – carob fruit (St. John's bread) – has found its way around the world for this festival. In Switzerland and other places 15 fruits to coincide with *Tu* (= 15) are eaten. Rich dried fruit *strudels* are often served on Tu bi-Shevat as harvest symbols.

In many Sephardi communities a home service is held at the table where blessings are pronounced over wheat, barley, grapes, figs, pomegranates, olives, and honey. Sephardim would distribute *ma'ot perot* ("fruit money"). At "white-red wine" parties each child is presented with a *bolsa de frutas* ("bag of fruit"). Ḥasidic groups arrange large fruit parties for which in the Diaspora they try to obtain fruit from Ereẓ Israel.

PURIM. The Purim festival has a long culinary history. Recorded in the humorous tractate *Massekhet Purim* written by Kalonymus b. Kalonymus is the Purim menu listing 27 different meat dishes. All communities make pastries representing Haman's hats, Haman's pockets, or Haman's ears, They are known by different names but similarly filled with poppyseed (Ger. *mohn* – a sound resembling "Haman"). Some Ashkenazi groups also fill them with *povidl* – plum jam – to commemorate the rescue of Jews in Bohemia about 250 years ago when a plum merchant was saved from persecution. In Italy *ciambella di Purim* is a popular pastry, as are *Hamantashen* in Eastern Europe and *mohn plaetzen* – poppyseed cookies – in Western Europe. Haman's ears (Heb. *oznei haman*) – a fried pastry sprinkled with sugar are called *Hamansoren* (Holland), *Hamman-Muetzen* (Germany), *Schunzuchen* (Switzerland and French-Lorraine), *Heizenblauzen* (Austria), *diples* (Greece), *shamleya* (Turkey), and *orecchie de Aman* (Italy). According to folk tradition the custom originates from the punishment of criminals whose ears were cut off before hanging. *Hamantashen* are symbolic of Haman's pockets stuffed with bribe money. The Purim *ḥallah* loaf (given the Russian name *keylitsh*) is giant-sized and braided, representing the long ropes used to hang Haman. Sephardim fill similar pastries with meat, vegetables, or fruit. For *mishlo'aḥ-manot* ("sending of presents") on Purim, women in Eastern communities make sugar-starch fingers in various colors, and non-Jews in Eastern lands call Purim *ʾīd al-sukar*, the sugar festival. It was customary in Persia to distribute, after the reading of the Book of Esther, *ha'alva kashka*, a pleasantly spiced dessert. All Sephardi and Eastern communities bake sweet cakes filled with almonds or other nuts, all sorts of marzipan, special *puralis* cake containing a whole egg, and various sorts of pancakes called in Iraq *zingula*. In Salonika and Istanbul, women baked *kulimas, barikas*, or *sambusach-khavsh* – dough filled with meat.

See also *Cookbooks.

[Molly Lyons Bar-David and Yom-Tov Lewinski]

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FORCALQUIERS, village in the Basses-Alpes department, S.E. France, approximately 50 mi. (about 80 km.) east of Avignon. The medieval Jewish community, which existed at least from 1275, occupied a separate quarter and owned a synagogue. The ledger of a single merchant of Forcalquiers records 20 Jews as his customers between 1330 and 1332. In 1351, possibly still in the aftermath of the *Black Death, anti-Jewish disorders broke out in Forcalquiers in which the population of the surrounding villages also took part. It is reported that in 1424 several inhabitants of Forcalquiers and Manosque formed a plot to kill all the Jews in the town. In 1472, a citizen of Forcalquiers was appointed guardian (*conservateur*) of all the Jews of Provence. The community in Forcalquiers was among the first to feel the effects of the definitive decrees of expulsion of 1486. Toward the end of the 18th century, some Jewish merchants, originating from the *Comtat Venaissin, attempted to settle in Forcalquiers but were expelled in 1775. In 1940 there were 72 Jews in the labor camp which had been set up in the district. About 14 Jewish families, mostly assisted by refugees' organization, were registered in Forcalquiers in 1942.

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[Bernhard Blumenkranz]

FORCED (Slave) LABOR. The term forced labor (*Zwangsarbeit*) is not well defined. Forced labor is commonly understood as an employment relationship of a member of a persecuted political or a specific ideological (*weltanschauliche*) grouping, or an ethnic group, or a people, a relationship arisen by force, and indissoluble, that did not consider the abilities, age, or sex of the forced laborer, that meant defenselessness concerning legal rights and a high rate of mortality due to bad living and working conditions as well as National Socialistic persecution. In Anglo-Saxon usage the term forced labor is distinguished from slave labor that ghetto and concentration camp prisoners and Jews in specific Forced Labor Camps (FLC) had to perform. Among other things slave labor is characterized by a considerably higher rate of mortality. In German-speaking usage the term slave labor has not become common, because slaves were without rights and they were exploited, but unlike SS and other NS organizations, the slaveholder ordinarily was interested in keeping the slave alive.

In the German Reich after January 30, 1933, at first prisoners of the early concentration camps were recruited to forced labor, for instance, politically persecuted Social Democrats or Communists. It was then already that murder was involved. From the end of 1938 on, German Jews were next and forced labor became an element of their persecution by the NS state. It was not until the outbreak of World War II, and the occupation of Poland, that forced laborers were recruited in vast numbers, when hundreds of thousands of Polish people were deported to the Reich. Also in the occupied Polish territory itself many forced laborers were deployed. From October 1939, the Jewish residents there became liable to work, later having a general duty of forced labor. Within the Reich forced laborers worked in agriculture, mining, and industry, as well as to enlarge military infrastructure.

The significant importance of forced labor for the Reich and its warfare becomes obvious regarding German agriculture. Without approximately 2 million foreign laborers, by the end of 1940, sufficient production of food to supply all the inhabitants would have become impossible. From autumn 1941 on the German wartime economy depended without other options on foreign labor. Since not enough foreigners came voluntarily, more and more forced recruitment was utilized, especially from spring 1942 on by Fritz Sauckel, general plenipotentiary for the employment of labor (*Generalbevollmaechtigter fuer den Arbeitseinsatz*). The largest number of foreign laborers in the area of the Reich was registered in August 1944 at 7,615,970. Among these were about 1.9 million prisoners of war and 5.7 million civilians. Of the 7.6 million, 2.8 million were from the Soviet Union, 1.7 million from Poland, and 1.3 million from France. Altogether, during World War II, up to 13.5 million men, women, and children were brought to the Reich and forced to labor.

With the expansion of the war and the successive occupation of a wider territory in Europe, forced laborers were displaced from those areas into the Reich, from 1942 onwards mainly inhabitants of the occupied Soviet Union. In addition, more and more forced labor was deployed within the occupied territories themselves. Likewise, in countries allied to the Reich, specific ethnic groups and other groupings were forced to labor. For example, in Bulgaria from 1941 onwards, there were Jewish labor battalions as well as Turkish and Greek ones. All of them worked particularly for the expansion of an infrastructure essential for the war. In Hungary, in addition to the Jews, also Serbs and Romanians were recruited for labor battalions. The importance of the Jewish labor battalions for Hungary becomes apparent, when it is observed that in October 1943 more than 112,000 Jews had to labor for the Hungarian army, and in October 1944 approximately 180,000. In Vichy-France as well, where from October 1940 there had been a special labor service for foreigners, among them many Jews who had fled from Germany and Austria and who, in the Groupements des Travailleurs Étrangers (GTE), were forced to carry out many kinds of labor. Also in Fascist Italy, in Croatia, Romania, and Slovakia, to a variable extent, people were obliged to do forced labor, among them, many Jews.

In the Reich there were considerable differences concerning the treatment of forced laborers. Subject to the most brutal conditions were the prisoners of concentration camps, including their subcamps (*Aussenlager*). The actual living conditions of the other forced laborers depended on the following factors:

1) Their ranking according to National Socialist race doctrine: Norwegians and Dutch were regarded as "Aryan" and "Germanic" and put on top of the hierarchy. Therefore they had to cope with less discrimination. People from the Soviet Union (but not people from the still independent Baltic States until 1940) were regarded as members of an inferior race and therefore were treated most brutally.

2) Country of origin: While people from the disintegrated states like Poland and Yugoslavia (insofar as Serbs and Slovenians were concerned) had no protection from their governments, French, Croatians, and Norwegians could at least hope for intervention by their governments, even though they were dependent on the Reich. People from allied countries, such as Bulgaria and Hungary, had conditions most similar to German workers. However, even these could not return home freely, at the earliest from 1943 onwards, and were exposed to discrimination in their German domiciles and their workplaces.

3) The work location: There were great differences depending on whether a forced laborer was deployed in rural areas or in the cities. In the country, surveillance and persecution by the NS authorities were less comprehensive and basic food was easier to come by. In the cities not only resources essential for survival like foodstuffs and clothing were hard to

get, also the oppression machinery was better developed and the threat of air raids was much more serious.

4) The firm: The larger the company and the more impersonal the contact between Germans and foreigners became, the more probable were brutal living and labor conditions. In big companies, where Germans and foreigners hardly interacted at all, bad living and labor conditions were more than likely.

There were roughly three phases of forced labor:

The first phase was the prewar period. Between 1933 and 1939 forced labor was of marginal importance. It was mainly used as a way to oppress political dissidents, and, from 1938 onwards, for the persecution of German Jews.

Phase Two began with the German aggression against Poland and ended with the turn of the year 1942. At that time, forced labor became a mass phenomenon. With the occupation of a wider territory many people came under the sway of the NS leaders. Therefore, even in Libya and Tunisia, Jews had to work for the German forces (*Wehrmacht*). At the same time, against the European Jews, forced labor was used as an element of mass murder. A similar attitude can also be observed in countries allied to the German Reich.

With the territorial changes, the Hungarians obtained control over parts of Slovakia, Romania, and Yugoslavia, including non-Hungarian parts of the population. In addition, forced labor tasks for Hungarian Jews were gradually increased and intensified. After the occupation of Yugoslavian and Greek territories, Bulgaria acted on a similar basis. Here, besides the Jews and Turks, forced labor was directed mainly against Greeks, not the Macedonian population, as the parts of Macedonia occupied in April 1941 (Vardar-Macedonia) were seen as an integral part of the state by the Bulgarian leaders, the core, of medieval Bulgaria.

The third and last phase began in 1943 and ended with the surrender of the Reich in May 1945. With the change of the war situation also the character of forced labor changed distinctly. On the one hand, discrimination against East Europeans with regard to labor laws and social rights were de jure gradually toned down. On the other hand, the threat to existence, from the security forces of the NS state, became more and more grave. In particular the change in jurisdiction concerning offenses by forced laborers from the judiciary to the *Reichssicherheitshauptamt* (RSHA) resulted in considerably more brutal persecution for even the slightest infraction. The RSHA sent many Poles and Soviet citizens (*Ostarbeiter*) to concentration camps, where most of them were murdered. During the last months of the war, arbitrary measures increased and grew to real mass murder; mainly East Europeans were the victims.

Jews and Forced Labor

The situation of Jewish forced laborers under German rule was different from all other cases. For them, in the occupied territories, there was special jurisdiction. At the latest from summer 1941 onwards, the National Socialist leaders had only one aim: the murder of all Jews. Accordingly, the phases of forced labor that involved Jews differ from the general kind of forced labor. For example, judicial reforms, especially for the East Europeans, did not concern Jews. Furthermore, certain factors did not affect their living conditions: within the Reich Jews were not designated to work in agriculture. Some of the allied countries, like Bulgaria and Croatia, were not interested in saving their Jewish citizens who were living in the German sphere of influence, and therefore they exposed them to death.

The German and Austrian Jews were the first to be systematically used for forced labor. From December 1938, all unemployed Jews and those on welfare were subjected to "locked-up labor" (*geschlossener Arbeitseinsatz*), organized by the employment offices. Their employees were instructed to put them in separate platoons or camps. All Jews, regardless of their educational background, were employed and remunerated as unskilled workers. In July 1939, already 20,000 Jews were in labor service working in road construction and underground engineering, in the construction of canals, and in dam projects, as well as on waste deposit sites.

After the war had begun, also more and more Jewish women were seized for forced labor. From autumn 1940 onwards, all Jewish men and women fit for work were conscripted and forced to work at various jobs, mostly in industry. In summer 1941, over 51,000 people were working as forced laborers, which represented about 30 per cent of the approximately 167,000 Jews still living in the territory of the Reich. These had to wear a special armband for identification. By January 1943, because of the deportation of many to the exterminations camps, their number was reduced to around 20,000. After the end of the so-called *Fabrikaktion*, in February 1943, another 12,000 were deported, and the remaining Jews (mostly "protected" by their intermarriage status) were forced to work until the end of the war. In autumn 1944, also so-called half-Jews (*Mischlinge*) had to work in "locked-up labor" for the Organisation Todt (OT), and were deployed in the Reich or in France.

In occupied Poland, the so-called *Generalgouvernement*, from October 1939 on, male Jews were on labor duty between the age 14 and 60, and later also women. This labor duty, however, did not yet lead to universal confinement of Jews in labor camps. There were numerous free de facto working relationships. Unlike the situation in the Reich, ghettos for the Jewish population were installed in many Polish cities. Some of the Jews detained there had to work outside, others were deployed in ghetto workshops. They worked for municipal institutions, for the ghetto administration, and for private firms based in and around the ghettos.

Besides the ghettos, a system of FLCs was developed. In summer 1942 up to 1.5 million Jews were in detention, and about half of them were in forced labor. The FLC were expanded especially from July 1942 on, after Heinrich *Himmler ordered the annihilation of all Polish Jews by the end of the year. Only those who performed forced labor in the arms industry were to be kept alive. These FLCs were run by the SS, and therefore the living and internment conditions were comparable to those in concentration camps. But even Jews from the FLCs and from the ghettos performing essential war labor were deported to the exterminations camps and murdered, or brought to concentration camps and forced to work there. The conditions were so bad that many Jews died of exhaustion after only a few weeks or months, if not selected out as "unfit for work" (*arbeitsunfaehig*) and murdered.

In the occupied territories of the Soviet Union, after the mass shootings in 1941, similar conditions existed. The Jews there were put into labor platoons and facilities, forced to work, e.g., for the *Wehrmacht*, and they, as well, were detained in ghettos and FLCs. Also the majority of these Jews, even if engaged in essential war work, were murdered, and only a few were deported to concentration camps to further exploit their productive capacity.

The conditions of the Jews doing forced labor in countries allied to the Reich varied greatly. The Hungarian Jewish labor battalions, especially the ones deployed on the eastern front or at mines in Bor, Serbia, as well as the Romanian labor battalions doing road and railway construction work and the Bulgarian labor battalions that were used for the expansion of the infrastructure, some of them also working for the OT, had to suffer from horrendous living and internment conditions similar to those in the concentrations camps of the SS. However, the circumstances of Italian Jews, in forced labor from 1942 on, were better. In Italy; probably none of the Jews died there, whereas in the Hungarian labor battalions tens of thousands were killed.

In spring 1944 the Nazis again changed their policy toward the Jewish forced laborers. Even though, until then, there was no provision made for the deployment of Jewish KZ prisoners in the Reich outside the concentration camp complex of Auschwitz, now, because of lack of workers, up to 100,000 Hungarian Jews were selected in Auschwitz for labor service in the territory of the Reich. Those Jews had to labor almost exclusively in the arms industry and for the construction of production facilities underground. Due to the disastrous conditions there and the very hard labor, the death rate was enormous.

After the end of World War II forced labor was not taken into account by the compensation laws decreed by the Federal Republic of Germany between 1953 and 1965. Only the imprisonment in ghettos, FLCs, and concentration camps was compensated, but only for a select circle of survivors. Most of the surviving forced laborers originated from Eastern Europe and returned to their home countries after the war. They did not receive any compensation because West Germany refused to made payments into Eastern Bloc countries.

The German Democratic Republic refused, on principle, to pay former East European forced laborers any benefits for the crimes of the National Socialists. The New York-based *Conference on Jewish Material Claims Against the German Nation, between the 1950s and the 1960s, succeeded in getting payments for former forced laborers in a handful of West German firms, such as I.G. Farbenindustrie, AEG/Telefunken, and Siemens. However, the majority of the forced laborers could not receive any compensation payments until the creation of the "Remembrance, Responsibility and Future" Foundation in 2000. From the year 2001 on approximately 1.6 million people received up to DM15,000 from the Foundation.

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[Jens Hoppe (2nd ed.)]

FORD, ALEXANDER (1908–1984), Polish film producer. Born in Lodz, Ford worked in Palestine in 1933 with a Polish unit making a story-documentary, *Sabra*. His *Droga Młodych* ("Road of the Young," 1936), banned in Poland, was exhibited in Paris. He became the director of Film Polski in 1945. He gained recognition for *Ulica Graniczna* ("Border Street," Venice gold medal, 1948), which dealt with the Warsaw ghetto. *Młodość Chopina* ("Youth of Chopin," 1952), *Piaétka z Ulicy Barskiej* ("Five Boys of Barski Street," Cannes Festival Prize, 1954); and *Krzyzacy* ("Crusader," 1960). Prevented from making a film on Janusz *Korczak, Ford left Poland in 1968 and settled in Israel in 1970.

FORD, HARRISON, (1942–), U.S. actor. Born in Chicago, Illinois, the son of a Russian Jewish mother and an Irish father, Ford's first career was as a professional carpenter. Dabbling as a film actor, he was noticed in a small role in George Lucas' *American Graffiti* (1973). Four years later, Lucas picked Ford for the lead role of Han Solo in his mega-blockbuster *Star Wars*, and Ford became an "instant" star. Steven Spielberg subsequently chose Ford for the leading role in his Indiana Jones cinematic trilogy.

Ford's other films include *The Conversation* (1974), *Heroes* (1977), *Force 10 from Navarone* (1978), *Hanover Street* (1979), *Apocalypse Now* (1979), *The Frisco Kid* (1979), *Star Wars: The Empire Strikes Back* (1980), *Blade Runner* (1982), *Star Wars: Return of the Jedi* (1983), *Witness* (1985), *The Mosquito Coast* (1986), *Working Girl* (1988), *Frantic* (1988), *Presumed Innocent* (1990), *Regarding Henry* (1991), *Patriot Games* (1992), *The Fugitive* (1993), *Clear and Present Danger* (1994), *Sabrina* (1995), *The Devil's Own* (1997), *Air Force One* (1997), *Six Days Seven Nights* (1998), *Random Hearts* (1999), *What Lies Beneath* (2000), *K-19: The Widowmaker* (2002), and *Hollywood Homicide* (2003).

In 1986 he was nominated for an Academy Award for Best Actor in the dramatic film *Witness*. In 1996 the U.S. Academy of Science Fiction, Fantasy, and Horror Films awarded him a Lifetime Achievement Award. In 1998, 1999, and 2000 he won the People's Choice Award for Favorite Movie Actor. And in 2002, Ford was presented with the Golden Globe's Cecil B. DeMille Award, which honors a performer's outstanding contribution to the entertainment field. In 1997 he was chosen by *People Magazine* as one of the 50 Most Beautiful People in the World, and in 1998 the magazine dubbed him "The Sexiest Man Alive." Ford is credited with having the highest worldwide box-office grosses of any actor in history.

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[Jonathan Licht / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

°**FOREIRO (Forerius, Forerio), FRANCISCO** (1510–1581), Portuguese Dominican and Hebrew scholar. Foreiro evinced a marked linguistic ability at an early age and was sent to Paris to study Greek and Hebrew. He represented King Sebastian of Portugal at the Council of Trent, where he was jointly responsible for preparing the *Index librorum prohibitorum* (Rome, 1564). His Latin translation of Isaiah from the Hebrew, *Isaiae prophetae vetus et nova ex hebraico versio, cum commentario*, was published in Venice in 1563, and he prepared a Hebrew lexicon as well as commentaries to the Prophets, Job, Psalms, and the biblical books ascribed to Solomon; all these remained unprinted.

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[Raphael Loewe]

FOREMAN, CARL (1914–1984), U.S. writer, producer, and director. Born in Chicago, Foreman saw army service during World War II, after which he began movie scriptwriting and prepared the scenarios for films such as *So This Is New York* (1948), *Champion* (1949), *Home of the Brave* (1949), *The Clay Pigeon* (1949), *Young Man with a Horn* (1950), *The Men* (1950), *Cyrano de Bergerac* (1950), *High Noon* (1952), *The Sleeping Tiger* (1954), *A Hatful of Rain* (1957), and *Bridge on the River Kwai* (1957). Called before a congressional committee during the McCarthy era, he declined to testify on whether he was a member of the Communist Party on the grounds of the Fifth Amendment; in 1956 he himself chose to testify before Congress, and was given what he described as "a clean bill of political health."

From the early 1950s he lived and worked in London, and headed his own production company there. He wrote and produced *Guns of Navarone* (1961); wrote, produced, and directed *Victors* (1963); produced *Born Free* (1965), *MacKenna's Gold* (1969), *The Virgin Soldiers* (1969), *Living Free* (1972); wrote and produced *Young Winston* (1972). He served as president of the Writer's Guild in England (1968), board member of the British Film Institute, and honorary president of the Screen Writers Guild of Israel (where he conducted a course in screenwriting).

Foreman returned to the U.S. in 1975, where he wrote such films as *Force 10 from Navarone* (1978); *EB* (1980); and *When Time Rain Out* (1980). In 1958 he was a winner of the Academy Award for Best Screenplay Based on Material from Another Medium for *Bridge on the River Kwai.* However, as he had been blacklisted at the time and received no screen credit, the Oscar was awarded to him posthumously in 1984. In his lifetime, Foreman earned five other screenwriting Oscar nominations and a Golden Globe nomination. As a producer, he was nominated six times for a Laurel Award.

[Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

FOREMAN, MILTON J. (1862–1935), U.S. public official and army officer. Foreman was born in Chicago and was admitted to the bar in 1899. For the next 12 years he served on the Chicago City Council and held a number of other municipal positions. His interests, however, centered increasingly on his career in the Illinois National Guard, in which he first enlisted in 1895. Foreman served as a captain in the Spanish-American War, saw action along the Mexican border in 1916, and was a colonel with the field artillery in Europe during World War I. After the war he continued to rise in rank, retiring as lieutenant general in 1931. A prominent figure in the founding of the American Legion in 1919, Foreman was chairman of its first executive committee and later served as its national commander.

FORGERIES. Since the essential characteristic of a forgery is its intent to deceive, the pseudo-epigraphical literature, which consists of religious admonitions and prophecies ascribed to the biblical patriarchs in order to give them greater spiritual force (and similar writings found among the *Dead Sea Scrolls of the same period), are not in this category. There has been much controversy over the midrashic christological excerpts included by Raymond *Martini (13th century) in his *Pugio Fidei:* S. *Lieberman maintains that they derive from originals now lost; Y. *Baer, that they are fabrications. In the course of the scholarly discussions that followed the archaeological discoveries of the 19th and 20th centuries, many of them, e.g., the *Moabite Stone and the Dead Sea Scrolls, were denounced by some skeptics as forgeries. In 1883 M.W. Shapira attempted to sell to the British Museum for a fabulous sum certain Hebrew manuscript fragments of the Bible, purportedly from an ancient scroll of the book of Deuteronomy of the 9th or 10th century B.C.E. He was denounced at the time as a forger, but since the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls, some scholars have maintained that they may not have been forgeries. However, much material that passed through Shapira's hands as a dealer was certainly fabricated or altered. The Karaite scholar Abraham *Firkovich (1785–1874), in his attempts to prove the antiquity of the Karaites and, in particular, their settlement in the Crimea, published a number of obviously forged tombstone inscriptions and manuscript colophons. In addition, in view of his sectarian enthusiasm, a certain suspicion may be entertained about the details in any of the codices that passed through his hands (as also in the case of Shapira). At the first rumblings of the Reform movement in Judaism, Saul *Berlin (1740–1794), the brilliant son of Hirschel *Levin and rabbi of Berlin, produced a collection, *Besamim Rosh* (1793), purporting to be responsa by the medieval scholar R. Asher of Toledo, which ostensibly favored the new tendencies; when this was discovered, Berlin was driven into retirement (see R. Margoliot, in: *Aresheth*, 1 (1959), 424–5, no. 1737). In 1907–1909 S.J. *Friedlander published a substantial part of the fifth order of the Jerusalem Talmud from a Spanish manuscript dated 1212, which he claimed to have discovered in Turkey. It was, however, no more than a mosaic of passages from other parts of the Talmud, and after some initial excitement the work was dismissed as a fabrication.

Eliakim *Carmoly (1802–1875), rabbi of Brussels, published in profusion documents which he claimed to have in his rich library, but since some of them were obvious fabrications and some "improved," he undermined all confidence in what might have been genuine. B.H. *Auerbach's (1808–1872) edition of the *Sefer ha-Eshkol* (1868–69) by Abraham of Narbonne was also subjected to attack as a forgery. L. *Goldschmidt (1871–1950) admitted that in his youth he forged the book *Baraita de-Ma'aseh Bereshit* (cf. E.S. Rimalt, in: *Aresheth*, 1 (1959), 484–5). On the other hand, Goldschmidt leveled accusations of forgery against collectors of Hebrew printed books who made them appear as if they were incunabula (cf. L. Goldschmidt, *Hebrew Incunables* (1948)). H. Lieberman (b. 1892), the bibliographer, also deals with forged title pages (KS, 31 (1955/56) 397–8). G. *Scholem and his students discovered a number of forgeries in kabbalistic literature. In recent years with the increase in collectors of Jewish ritual art, very large numbers of forgeries in this sphere have been placed on the market, many of them very ingenious. Among the favorite methods are the appending of purportedly old inscriptions to modern objects, or the skillful adaptation of secular bric-à-brac to ostensibly Jewish purposes. Forged shekels (some of them bearing modern Hebrew lettering!) have been in circulation since the Renaissance period, having a special sentimental appeal to both Jews and Christians.

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[Cecil Roth]

FORGERY. Forgery of documents is not, either in biblical or in talmudic law, a criminal offense: it may be an instrument for the perpetration of *fraud and come within the general prohibition of fraudulent acts (Lev. 19:35; Deut. 25:13–16) or fraudulent words (Lev. 25:14). Nevertheless, it is a recognized evil which the law is called upon to prevent, and there are detailed provisions in the Talmud for the making of legally binding documents in such a manner that they cannot be forged: thus, documents must be written on and with material that cannot be effaced (Git. 19a et al.) and is enduring (Git. 22b, 23a); precautions must be taken that no space be left between the text of the document and the signatures, so that nothing could be inserted after signing (BB 162–7). The rule evolved that a document (*Shetar*) was valid only if executed in the manner of unforgeable bills (*Ke-Tikkun Shitrei Yisrael she-Einan Yekholin le-Hizdayyef*) to which nothing could be added and from which nothing could be erased (Maim. Yad, Malveh ve-Loveh 27:1).

Where a document appeared on the face of it to have been tampered with or added to, so that a suspicion of forgery arose in the eyes of the court, recourse was had to compulsory measures in order to induce the plaintiff to confess that he was suing on a false document (BB 167a). It is not clear what these compulsory measures were: literally translated, the reports say that the plaintiff was "bound, and then admitted the document to be false" (the word used for "binding" is the same as that used for the binding of a person to be flogged (cf. Mak. 3:12), as distinguished from and preliminary to the *flogging itself (Mak. 3:13); or for the functions of non-judicial officers attached to the courts, who "bind and flog people on orders of the court"; Rashi to Deut. 1:15). The binding (*koftin*) was later interpreted to mean compelling (*kofin*; Meir ha-Levi Abulafia, quoted in *Beit Yosef*, ḤM 42 n. 3–5), and the compulsion was authorized to be carried out by floggings (Tur and Sh. Ar., ḤM 42:3). It is, however, to be noted that these floggings – or any other compulsory measures – were not sanctions or punishments imposed for forging the documents, but only means to extort confessions of forgery: when a forgery was admitted or proved, the only sanction was that the claim based upon any such forged document was dismissed. It was only in much later times that forgers were punished by the courts, or more often – presumably because of the private law character of forgery in Jewish law – delivered for trial and punishment to the gentile courts (Assaf in bibliography, nos. 16, 112, 144). Even the notion that forgers of documents could be disqualified on that account from testifying or taking an oath was dismissed as unwarranted (*Ḥatam Sofer*, ḥm 39; *Pitḥei Teshuvah*, ḥm 34:7, n. 17).

In order to have a claim based on a document dismissed, it was not always necessary to prove that it was false – in certain circumstances it sufficed that it was reputed to be false (Ket. 36b; Maim. Yad, Edut 22:5). On the other hand, even the admitted forgery of a document would not necessarily vitiate a claim, as where a true document had been in existence and lost (bb 32b; Yad, To'en ve-Nitan 15:9). A man ought not to lend out his seal, so as not to tempt others to use it without his authority (bm 27b; Yev. 120b); his seal appearing (e.g., on a barrel of wine), it is presumed not to have been tampered with (Av. Zar. 69b). In the State of Israel, the Criminal Law Amendment (Offenses of Fraud, Extraction and Exploitation) Law 5723 – 1963 replaced the Criminal Code Ordinance 1936 mitigating the previous penalties for forgery (other than forgery of bank notes).

[Haim Hermann Cohn]

The offence of forgery was included in the Penal Code, 5737-1977. Sections 421-418 impose punishments of imprisonment for the forgery of documents or intentional use of a forged document. The law allows the imposition of severe punishments on a public servant who forges a document related to the area of his public responsibility for the purposes of obtaining a benefit; the offence of forgery includes the forgery of coins, deeds and stamps, and the forgery of documents for the purposes of stealing a car.

[Menachem Elon (2nd ed.)]

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FORGIVENESS, the act of absolving or pardoning; the state of being pardoned.

In the Bible

The biblical concept of forgiveness presumes, in its oldest strata, that sin is a malefic force that adheres to the sinner and that forgiveness is the divine means for removing it. This is demonstrated by the vocabulary of forgiveness which, in the main, stems from the cultic terminology of cleansing, e.g., *tiher* ("purify"; Jer. 33:8); *maḥah* ("wipe"; lsa. 43:25); *kibbes, raḥaẓ* ("wash"; Isa. 1:16; Ps. 51:4, 9); *kipper* ("purge"; Ezek. 16:63; Ps. 78:38). Even the most common verb for forgiveness, *salaḥ*, probably derives from the Mesopotamian cult where it connotes sprinkling in purification rites. More significantly, the most prominent epithet of God in His role of forgiver is *nose' 'avon/ ḥeṭ/ pesha'* (lit. he who "lifts off sin"; e.g., Ex. 34:7; Num. 14:18; Hos. 14:3; Micah 7:18; Ps. 32:5).

In the religion of ancient Israel, in contrast to that of its neighbors, rituals are not inherently efficacious. This point is underscored by the sacrificial formula of forgiveness. Whereas the required ritual is carried out by the priest, its desired end, forgiveness, is granted solely by God, e.g., "the priest shall make atonement for him for his sin and he shall be forgiven," i.e., by God (Lev. 4:26, and passim). Another limitation placed upon sacrificial means of obtaining forgiveness is that it can only apply to inadvertent errors (Num. 15:22–29). Blatant contempt of God cannot be expiated by sacrifice (Num. 15:30–31; i Sam. 3:14) or any other means (Ex. 23:21; Josh. 24:19). Moreover, contrition and compassion are indispensable coefficients of all rituals of forgiveness, whether they be expiatory sacrifices (Lev. 5:5–6; 16:21; Num. 5:6–7) or litanies for fasting (Joel 2:12–14; i Sam. 7:5–6).

Indeed, man's involvement both in conscience and deed is a *sine qua non* for securing divine forgiveness. It is not enough to hope and pray for pardon: man must humble himself, acknowledge his wrong, and resolve to depart from sin (e.g., David, ii Sam. 12:13ff.; Ahab, i Kings 21:27–29). The psalms provide ample evidence that penitence and confession are integral components of all prayers for forgiveness (Ps. 32:5; 38:19; 41:5; Lam. 3:40ff.). The many synonyms for contrition testify to its primacy in the human effort to restore the desired relationship with God, e.g., seek the Lord (ii Sam. 12:16; 21:1), search for Him (Amos 5:4), humble oneself before Him (Lev. 26:41), direct the heart to Him (i Sam. 7:3), and lay to heart (ii Kings 22:19). The rituals of penitence, such as weeping, fasting, rending clothes, and donning sackcloth and ashes (ii Sam. 12:16; Joel 1:13; Ezra 9:3ff.; 10:1, 6), are unqualifiedly condemned by the prophets if they do not correspond with, and give expression to the involvement of the heart (lsa, 1:10ff.; 29:13; Hos. 7:14; Joel 2:13).

At the same time, inner contrition must be followed by outward acts; remorse must be translated into deeds. Two substages are involved in this process: first, the negative one of ceasing to do evil (Isa. 33:15; Ps. 15; 24:4) and then, the positive step of doing good (Isa. 1:17; 58:5ff.; Jer. 7:3; 26:13; Amos 5:14–15; Ps. 34:15–16; 37:27). Again, the richness of the biblical language used to describe man's active role in the process testifies to its centrality, e.g., incline the heart to the Lord (Josh. 24:23), make oneself a new heart (Ezek. 18:31), circumcise the heart (Jer. 4:4), wash the heart (Jer. 4:14), and break one's fallow ground (Hos. 10:) However, all these expressions are subsumed and summarized by one verb which dominates the penitential literature of the Bible, שוב (*shuv, shwv;* "to turn; to return") which develops ultimately into the rabbinic doctrine of *teshuvah* ("repentance"). This doctrine implies that man has been endowed by God with the power of "turning." He can turn from evil to the good, and the very act of turning will activate God's concern and lead to forgiveness.

What is the source of the biblical optimism that man's turning will generate divine movement to pardon him? This confidence resides in a number of assumptions concerning the nature of God, as presumed by the unique relationship between God and Israel, the bond of the *covenant. Covenant implies mutuality of obligation, that Israel's fidelity to God's demands will be matched by God's response to Israel's needs, particularly in his attitude of forgiveness (e.g., ii Sam. 24:14, 17; cf. Ps. 25:10–11; 80; 103:17–18; 106:45). That is why in the wilderness traditions, Moses can continue to plead with God despite the lapses of his people, because of his certainty that God's forgiveness is a constant of his nature (Num. 14:18–20; Ex. 32:11ff.; 34:6ff,). Again, the profusion of idioms expressing divine forgiveness (in addition to the cultic expressions, mentioned above), e.g., overlook sin (Micah 7:18), not reckon it (Ps. 32:2), not remember it (Ps. 25:7), hide his face from it (Ps. 51:11), suppress it, remove it (Ps. 103:12), throw it behind his back (Isa. 38:17) or into the sea (Micah 7:19), points to the centrality of this concept.

Another covenant image which invokes God's attitude of forgiveness is his role of Father and Shepherd. A father's love for his children (Ex. 4:22; Num. 11:12; Deut. 32:6, 19; lsa. 64:7) can lead them to hope that their sins will be forgiven (Jer. 3:19; 31:19; Hos. 11:1ff.). Furthermore, this parental relationship shows that Israel's suffering is not inflicted as retribution for their sins but as corrective discipline – "afflictions of love" so that Israel may correct its way (Deut. 8:5; Prov. 3:12).

Another component of the covenant is that God will accept the mediation of an intercessor. He is not bound to comply – in contradistinction to the coercive claims of the pagan magician – for God will reject even the mediation of the most righteous when Israel's sins have exceeded the limit of His forbearance (Jer. 15:1; Ezek. 14:13–20). Intercession is, first and foremost, the function of Israel's prophets. Indeed, the only time Abraham is called a prophet is at the precise moment when his intercessory powers are invoked (Gen. 20:7). Moses' main concern, to judge by the narratives of the Exodus and the wandering in the wilderness, is to intervene on behalf of others (e.g., Ex. 9:27ff.; 10:16ff.; 34:8–9; Num. 12:11ff.; 21:7ff.; Deut. 9:16–10:10; Jer. 15:1). The psalmist singles this out in his eulogy of Moses: "He (God) said He would have destroyed them, had not Moses, the chosen one, stood in the breach before Him" (Ps. 106:23). To "stand in the breach" is for Ezekiel the main function of the prophet (Ezek. 13:5; 22:30).

An equally significant concomitant of God's covenant is His promise to the forefathers that the people of Israel) will exist forever and that they will be in eternal possession of Ereẓ Israel. This aspect of the covenant is constantly invoked in pleas for forgiveness (Ex. 2:24; 3:6; 15–16; 4:5; 6:3–5; Lev. 26:42; Deut. 4:31, 37; 7:8, 12; 8:18; 9:5, 27; 13:18; 29:12; Josh. 18:3; 21:44; I Kings 18:36ff.; II Kings 13:23; Isa. 41:8; 51:2; Micah 7:20; Ps. 105:9; Neh. 9:7; II Chron. 30:6).

This promise to the forefathers bears a final corollary. Because of the covenant, God's honor is at stake in the world. Israel's woes will not be comprehended by the nations as divine punishment for its covenant violations but as God's inability to fulfill His covenant obligations. This argument features prominently in Moses' intercession (Ex. 32:12; Num. 14:13–16) and is mentioned repeatedly in subsequent prayers for Israel's pardon (Josh. 7:9; Ps. 74:10, 18; 83:3, 19; 92:9–10; 109:27; 143:11–12). Conversely, the argument continues, it is important for God to redeem Israel for the glorification and sanctification of His name throughout the world (Ps. 79:6; 102:16; 115:1; 138:3–5) even if Israel itself is undeserving of forgiveness (Isa. 48:9–11; Ezek. 36:22ff.).

See also *Repentance.

[Jacob Milgrom]

In Talmud and Jewish Thought

DIVINE FORGIVENESS. The theme of God's forgiveness for man's sins is recurrent in talmudic and midrashic literature and reappears in later rabbinic writings and the synagogue liturgy. Its main theological purport is to counterbalance, and indeed outweigh, the strongly entrenched rabbinic belief in the inevitable punishment of sin. The rabbinic outlook on the subject may be most simply expressed as "God is just"; He rewards the righteous and punishes the wicked (Principle number 11 of Maimonides' 13 principles of the Jewish faith). Only the unrepentant sinner incurs His wrath; the sinner who repents is always forgiven. Thus the Talmud states, "He who sins and regrets his act is at once forgiven" (Ḥag. 5a; Ber. 12b) and the Midrash states, "Says the Holy One, even if they [your sins] should reach to Heaven, if you repent I will forgive" (Pes. Rab. 44:185a; see Yal. Ps. 835). The Tosefta even gives a statistical figure to the matter, basing itself on Exodus 34:6–7, and says that God's quality of forgiveness is five hundred fold that of His wrath (Tosef., Sot 4:1).

The idea is more picturesquely expressed in the talmudic image of God praying to Himself that His mercy should prevail over His anger and that He should deal with His children *"li-fenim mi-shurat ha-din,"* i.e., that He should forgive them even though strict justice would demand their punishment (Ber. 7a). The whole of Jewish thought on the subject stems from the forgiving character of God depicted in the 13 Divine attributes as revealed to Moses (Ex. 34:6–7). The rabbinic mind embroiders the fundamental biblical idea in a homiletic way, thus giving encouragement and hope to the sinner who would turn to God but is troubled by the burden of his past deeds. The liturgy of the *Day of Atonement, and indeed its very role, bear eminent testimony to the central role that the idea of God's forgiveness plays within Jewish religious practice.

Maimonides formulates the breadth of the Jewish attitude on Divine forgiveness thus: "Even if a man has sinned his whole life and repents on the day of his death, all his sins are forgiven him" (Yad, Teshuvah 2:1). Though this forgiveness is always ultimately forthcoming, for various categories of sin it only comes into effect when the Day of Atonement, or the sinner's death, or both have finalized the atonement (Yoma 85bff.; Yad, loc. cit., 1:4).

In later rabbinic literature, ideas about God's forgiveness are variations on the original theme outlined above, though now and again, the emphasis is changed. In ḥasidic writings, for example, where the dominant notion of God is that of a merciful father, there is a tendency to overstress His quality of forgiveness at the expense of His quality of justice. Naḥman of Bratslav, one of the early ḥasidic leaders, writes: "There is no sin that will not be forgiven by sincere repentance. Every saying to the contrary in the Talmud and the Zohar is not to be understood literally" (*Likkutei Eẓot ha-Shalem* (1913), 119). R. Naḥman is adverting here to certain categories of sinners who, it is claimed, will never be forgiven because of the nature of their crimes, however genuine their repentance. Among those said to be excluded from God's grace are those whose sins involved a desecration of God's name or caused an evil repute to fall on their fellow, or even those who indulged in evil language in general (TJ, BK 8:10, 6c; ARN[1] 39, 116; Zohar, Num. 16la). But R. Naḥman's interpretation is according to the tradition that no sinner was ever absolutely excluded from the sphere of God's forgiveness (see Yad, Teshuvah, 1:4; RH 18a; S. Schechter, *Some Aspects of Rabbinic Theology,* ch. 18 and references cited). The intention of those texts that do seem to exclude certain classes of sinner can be interpreted as a way of emphasizing the gravity of the sins involved.

There are two further general points. Rabbinic literature is on the whole concerned with God's forgiveness for the individual sinner, rather than for Israel as a nation (the latter is more characteristic of the prophetic ethos than the rabbinic, for during most of the creative period of rabbinic thought, Israel had ceased to exist as a cohesive national entity). Forgiveness is always and only consequent on repentance (the idea of an arbitrary grace is almost totally absent; but see Ber. 7a on Ex. 33:19). Similarly the doctrine of the merit of the fathers, *zekhut avot*, was given an ethical interpretation (Sanh. 27b.).

The place of a forgiving God within the Jewish *Weltanschauung* has been of interest in modern times and is discussed by both Jewish and Christian scholars. The immediate causes of this interest were partly a desire to uncover the rabbinic roots of New Testament theology and partly an attempt to rectify the widespread but distorted image of the Jewish conception of God, according to which the Jewish God was seen as a legalistic and strict overlord who rewards and punishes according to man's deeds, and the Jew was thus thought to inhabit a somber religious world devoid of Divine compassion. A more thorough acquaintance with the sources shows how wrong such a picture was.

HUMAN FORGIVENESS. God's forgiveness, however extensive, only encompasses those sins which man commits directly against Him, "*bein adam la-Makom*"; those in which an injury is caused to one's fellow man, "*bein adam le-ḥavero*" are not forgiven until the injured party has himself forgiven the perpetrator. Hence the custom of seeking forgiveness from those one may have wronged on the eve of the Day of Atonement, without which proper atonement cannot be made (Yoma 8:9, basing itself on Lev. 16:30 "… all your sins before the Lord," i.e., and not to man; Yad, loc. cit., 2:9; Sh. Ar., OḤ, 605:1; see also RH 17b; Sifra, Aḥarei Mot, *Perek* 8).

The law regarding physical injury, for example, is explicit in that even after the various compensatory payments have been made, the inflicter of the damage must seek the forgiveness of the injured party for the suffering caused (BK 92a; Yad, Ḥovel u-Mazzik 5:9; Sh. Ar., ḤM, 422). Not only must he who sins against his fellow seek forgiveness from him, but the one sinned against is duty bound to forgive. "Man should be pliant as a reed, not hard like the cedar" in granting forgiveness (Ta'an. 20a). As the Talmud puts it: "All who act mercifully (i.e., forgivingly) toward their fellow creatures will be treated mercifully by Heaven, and all who do not act mercifully toward their fellow creatures will not be treated mercifully by Heaven" (Shab. 151b; see also RH, 17a; Meg. 28a). If the injured party refuses to forgive even when the sinner has come before him three times in the presence of others and asked for forgiveness, then he is in turn deemed to have sinned (see Tanh. Hukkat 19). He is called *akhzari* ("cruel"). The unforgiving man is not of the seed of Abraham (Beẓ. 32b), since one of the distinguishing marks of all of Abraham's descendants is that they are forgiving. The quality of forgiveness was one of the gifts God bestowed on Abraham and his seed (Yer. 79a; Num. R. 8:4; Yad, Teshuvah 2:10).

The rabbis go even further in the ethical demands made upon the injured party, for not only must he be ready to forgive his injurer, he should also pray that God forgive the sinner before he has come to beg forgiveness (Yad, loc. cit.; Tosef., BK 9:29; *Sefer Ḥasidim* ed. by R. Margalioth 1957, 267 no. 360). This demand is based on the example of Abraham, who prayed to God to forgive Abimelech (Gen. 20:17). The reasons the injured party should be ready to forgive the injurer are mixed. On the one hand is the self-regarding consideration, already mentioned, that forgiveness to one's fellow wins forgiveness from Heaven. As Philo states: "If you ask pardon for your sins, do you also forgive those who have trespassed against you? For remission is granted for remission" (ed. by Mangey, 2 (1742), 670; see also Yoma 23a). On the other hand there is the purer motive of *imitatio dei.* Just as it is in the nature of God to be merciful to His creatures, so man in attempting to imitate the ways of God should be forgiving toward those who have injured him (Shab. 133b; see Lev. 19:2). R. Naḥman combines both motives when he says: "Imitate God by being compassionate and forgiving. He will in turn have compassion on you, and pardon your offenses" (op. cit. 81–91).

[Alan Unterman]

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FORLÌ, city in N. central Italy. The philosopher *Hillel b. Samuel of Verona wrote his *Tagmulei ha-Nefesh* there about 1280. By the 14th century a number of Jewish loan bankers were established in the city and in 1373 Bonaventura Consiglio and a partner lent 8,000 ducats to Amadeo, count of Savoy, on the security of his crown and other valuables. Representatives of the communities of central and northern Italy met in Forlì in 1418 to discuss the raising of a fund for self-defense; they also passed a series of sumptuary regulations to limit shows of luxury and extravagance. Their action was probably decisive in obtaining the protection of Pope *Martin V, which he extended in the bull of Jan. 31, 1419. From the late 14th and through the 15th century several Jewish physicians lived in Forlì and a number of Hebrew manuscripts were copied there. In 1488 anti-Jewish disorders broke out: the Jewish loan banks were sacked and the loan bankers were forced to leave the city. Subsequently, however, their activities were resumed. At the beginning of the 16th century the papal government assumed the administration of the city, and in 1569 the community in Forlì ceased to exist with the expulsion of the Jews from the towns of the Papal States, though some craftsmen also lived there during the 16th and 17th centuries. A Jewish presence in the area of Romagna, and also in Forlì, is documented from the Napoleonic era. In 1938, 15 families in Forlì and 98 people in the entire province were considered Jewish. During the Nazi occupation, from 1943 until the liberation of November 13, 1944, a concentration camp operated in Forlì, where the majority of prisoners were Jews from the area or from Rome. In September 1944 the Nazis massacred 33 people at the airport of Forlì, including 19 Jews.

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[Attilio Milano / Federica Francesconi (2nd ed.)]

FORMAN, MILOS (1932–), Czech-American film director. Forman's early years were spent in a town near Prague, where his father was a teacher. Both his parents, including his non-Jewish mother, were murdered in Auschwitz. In 1963 he made *Black Peter,* in 1964, *Loves of a Blonde*, a film distributed and internationally acclaimed. *The Fireman's Ball* (1968), a wry treatment of Czech bureaucracy, effected its own irony when it caused 40,000 fireman to quit after Novotny released the film. All were appeased when Forman offered his own critical interpretation (a parody in itself) of the film as broad allegory. Forman moved to Hollywood in 1970 and subsequently directed such films as *Taking Off* (1971), *One Flew over the Cuckoo's Nest* (1975), which was only the second film in cinema history to win all five major Academy Awards, *Hair* (1979), *Ragtime* (1981), *Amadeus* (1984), which again won Forman Oscars for Best Picture and Best Director, and *Valmont* (1989). Later films include *The People vs. Larry Flynt* (1996) and *Man on the Moon* (1999).

[Jonathan Licht]

FORMAN, PHILLIP (1895–1978), U.S. judge. Born in New York City, Forman was admitted to the bar in 1917. He attended the Temple University School of Law, where he received his LL.B. in 1919. During World War I he served in the United States Navy (1917–19). He had a private law practice in Trenton, New Jersey. In 1923 he was appointed assistant U.S. attorney for the southern district of New Jersey, and in 1928 district attorney. Forman became a district court judge in 1932, and in 1951 chief judge. Subsequently, in 1959, he was elevated to the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Third Circuit. He assumed senior status in 1961 and served in that capacity until his death.

Active in Jewish affairs, Forman was a founder of the Jewish Federation of Trenton, New Jersey, and a prominent figure in the *American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee, the *Jewish Welfare Board, and the *American Jewish Committee. He was also a member of the American Judicature Society and the American Legion. In 1940 Forman had the distinction of presenting Albert Einstein with his certificate of American citizenship.

[Morris M. Schnitzer / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

FORM AND MATTER (Heb. צוּרָה, *ẓurah*, and חֹמֶר, *ḥomer*), according to Aristotle, the two constituents of every physical substance, form being that which makes the substance what it is, and matter being the substratum underlying the form. In substantial change the form is that which is changed, while the matter remains constant throughout the change. Matter is defined by Aristotle as "that which in itself is not a this," form, as "that which is precisely in virtue of which a thing is called a this" (*De Anima* 2:1). Insofar as form makes the object what it is, it is equated with actuality, while matter is equated with potentiality. Insofar as form determines the nature of a substance it is likened to the species, while matter is likened to the genus.

*Plotinus, the first of the neoplatonists, accepting the Aristotelian notion of form as species and matter as genus, maintained that immaterial substances, since they can be defined in terms of genus and species, are also composed of matter and form. There exists, he maintained, a spiritual matter out of which incorporeal substances are formed. Only God is not composed of matter and form.

Among Jewish philosophers those who tended toward Aristotelianism generally followed the Aristotelian notion of form and matter, while those who tended towards neoplatonism, followed the Plotinian notion.

Solomon ibn *Gabirol devoted his major work, *Mekor Ḥayyim* (*Fons Vitae*), to a discussion of form and matter. He accepted the view that form and matter are constituent elements of corporeal and incorporeal beings alike. However, while Plotinus believed that there exist two types of matter, spiritual and corporeal, Gabirol held that matter is in itself incorporeal, and is common to corporeal and incorporeal substances. Gabirol, regarding form and matter as more than just the component parts of individual substances, saw them as cosmic forces – the two primary elements, which constitute intelligence, the highest of the emanated substances. Ibn

Gabirol is not clear concerning the origin of matter and form. At times he holds that matter emanates from God, and form, from an intermediary being, known as the divine will, while at other times he holds that both form and matter emanate from the divine will.

Joseph ibn *Ẓaddik, while he generally follows Aristotle in his natural philosophy, differs from Aristotle in his definition of matter and form. Matter, since it bears the form, is, for Ibn Ẓaddik, the one real substance, while form, insofar as it inheres in something else, has the same status as accidents (*Olam Katan* 1:2). For Aristotle, matter is that "which in itself is not a this."

Abraham *ibn Daud, the first of the Jewish Aristotelians, in his discussion of the concepts of form and matter, presents the example of a golden scepter, which is changed into a golden coin, then into a ring, and finally into a nose ring. He points out that gold is the matter underlying all these objects, while the scepter, the coin, the ring, and the nose ring are different forms that are imposed on the same matter. He deduces the existence of first matter and form from the reciprocal transmutation of the four basic elements. Having shown how the various elements are changed into one another he writes: "We thus know by observation that these elements are changed into one another… But it is inconceivable that the form, after passing away, should become the recipient… Hence we infer that they have a common underlying matter, which matter we call first matter" (*Emunah Ramah* 1:2). First matter is not in itself the matter out of which the four elements are formed, but rather first matter conjoined with the corporeal form. Maimonides, following Aristotle, maintains that "every physical body is necessarily composed of two things,… form and matter…" (*Guide* 2, intr., prop. 22). He maintains, further, that all privation and destruction of physical objects results from matter and not from form: "All bodies subject to generation and corruption are attained by corruption only because of their matter" (3:8; see also, 1:17). In the case of man, body is the matter and soul, form. It is the body, therefore, which is subject to destruction, and only the soul, which can attain immortality.

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[Alfred L. Ivry]

FORMIGGINI, ANGELO FORTUNATO (1878–1938), Italian publisher, editor, and writer. He was born in Modena, where his family had been court jewelers for generations and maintained their private synagogue. He was a publisher first in Modena (1908–11) and then in Genoa (1911–15) and Bologna; in 1916 he moved to Rome, where he won prominence for his innovations in publishing and the quality of his books.

Among his noteworthy publications the most important are *Classici del ridere*, a series of 106 volumes published from 1913 to 1938, including the best works of humorists from all countries (i.e., Giovanni Boccaccio, François Rabelais, Voltaire, Honoré de Balzac, Jonathan Swift, William Thackeray, Shalom Aleichem), and *Profili*, a series of 129 numbers, published from 1909 to 1937, which included brief essays on contemporary authors. Besides editing *Chi è, dizionario degli Italiani d'oggi,* the Italian *Who's Who* (first edition 1929–30), a dictionary of contemporary Italians, Formiggini served as managing editor of *L'Italia che scrive*, a monthly review of Italian literary and artistic activities, bibliography, and intellectual debate. In 1923 he published in the *Classici del Ridere* his *La ficozza filosofica sul Fascismo e la Marcia sulla Leonardo*, an ironic study of contemporary society and a defense of himself against the intellectual luminary Giovanni Gentile.

Between 1919 and 1921 he founded the Italian Institute for Cultural Propaganda Abroad and in 1929 he planned and organized the World Congress of Libraries and Bibliography. When the antisemitic laws of 1938 were promulgated, he committed suicide by jumping off the tower of Ghirlandina in Modena as an act of extreme protest and rebellion. His spiritual testament *Parole in libertà* was published posthumously (1945).

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[Irving Rosenthal / Federica Francesconi (2nd ed.)]

FORMSTECHER, SOLOMON (1808–1889), German philosopher and rabbi. Formstecher was born in Offenbach. He studied philosophy, philology and theology at the University of Giesen, and served as the rabbi of the Offenbach community from 1842 until his death. He took an active part in the Reform movement and edited the periodicals *Der Freitagabend* and *Die Israelitische Wochenschrift*.

In his systematic work *Die Religion des Geistes – Wissenschaftliche Darstellung des Judentums nach seinem Charakter, Enwicklungsgaeng und Berufe in der Welt* (Frankfurt, 1841) Formstecher attempted to present a theoretical basis for the aims of the emancipation and Reform. Judaism is presented primarily as an idea, anchored in historical revelation and the full value of which is revealed through the gradual, progressive development of humanity. Formstecher used the philosophical categories of the German idealists Schelling and, to a lesser extent, Hegel in developing this concept.

The three central concepts of Formstecher's system are revelation, spirit, and nature. By revelation, which is the source of the ethical monotheism of Judaism, he means the divine communication concerning the true nature of good and evil. It is not the knowledge of God's existence that represents the true ideal, but the identification of God as a pure moral being. The God of Israel is not a supreme concept reached through philosophic understanding, but a supreme being transcending both spiritual and earthly nature. Therefore, Judaism as an idea is not a philosophic religion, but the manifestation of the true absolute revelation. The classical representatives of this idea were the prophets of Israel. They understood the truth of the original revelation – based on God's covenants with Noah and his *chosen people, symbolized by the Sinai covenant – through knowledge of the objective source of the absolute values, which was revealed to them by an immediate feeling.

Like Hegel, Formstecher meant by "spirit" the concretization of the absolute in the historic-conscious level of mankind. If, as he believed, religion in general is man's aspiration for a universe of values, then the religion of the spirit is the aspiration for the embodiment of an absolute moral idea, the source of which is divine revelation. Judaism as a phenomenon, i.e., historical Judaism, although subject to historical circumstances, clings to the aspiration of embodying the moral idea on earth.

This aspiration distinguished Judaism from all other religions, which are fundamentally religions of nature, or physical monotheism. Following Schelling, Formstecher defined the religion of nature (paganism) as the aspiration for universal life, in which the spirit is manifested as the "soul of the world". The philosophic pantheistic concepts, as well as speculative metaphysical thought, are therefore, the refined form of the pagan view of life. In proposing his argument Formstecher foreshadowed some of the anti-metaphysical trends in modern Jewish theology, represented by Rosenzweig and Buber, for example.

Judaism and paganism are polar phenomena, which by their very nature cannot coexist. Therefore, Formstecher rejected the concept of the mission of the Jews as the fundamental and direct heritage of Judaism. Within the framework of the dominant paganism, the isolation of Judaism among the nations is a direct result of its metaphysical nature. Nevertheless, Judaism does fulfill its mission among the nations, although not directly: it fulfills its mission through Christianity and Islam. These historical religions, in which pagan and spiritual elements are mingled, fulfill the requirement that paganism be overcome by the embodiment of the absolute moral value of the divine spirit. As the growth of the spirit and culture in modern times seemed to indicate, insofar as the human consciousness is aware of the moral source of all being, the universal human spirit will develop, and it will of itself bring about the removal of the barriers between the nations. Formstecher sincerely believed that the Emancipation was the social-political manifestation of this internal, spiritual process in the history of humanity.

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[Moshe Schwarcz / Yehoyada Amir (2nd ed.)]

°FORSTER (Foester, Vorster, Forsthemius), JOHANN (1495–1556), German theologian and Hebraist. Forster studied under Reuchlin at Ingolstadt and later with Luther in Wittenberg. In 1539 he became professor of Hebrew at Tübingen and, ten years later, at the University of Wittenberg. He published a pioneering Hebrew-Latin lexicon, *Dictionarium hebraicum novum* (Basle, 1557; 1564^2), which revealed the animosity of its author, a diligent Hebraist, toward the Jews. The lexicon's subtitle stressed that it was "not based on the commentaries of the rabbis or on those of our own scholars, with a foolish imitation … but derived from the treasures of the Bible." He was quite critical of Christian interpreters of the Kabbalah as well. Forster also published *Meditationes hebraicae in artem grammaticam* (Cologne, 1558). He attempted to derive the word *sibyl* ("oracle," "prophetess") from "kabula" (i.e., Kabbalah).

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[Giulio Busi (2nd ed.)]

FORTAS, ABE (1910–1982), U.S. lawyer and Supreme Court justice. Fortas was born in Memphis, Tennessee, son of a cabinetmaker. A brilliant student, he graduated from Southwestern College (1930) and Yale Law School (1933), where he was *Law Journal* editor. Upon graduation, he was appointed to the Yale law faculty. Fortas married Carolyn Agger, who also became a distinguished lawyer. In 1937 he entered full-time government service with the Securities Exchange Commission and was general counsel for the Public Works Administration. From 1942 to 1946 he served as undersecretary of the interior and also was an adviser in 1945 to the American delegation at the San Francisco Conference which founded the United Nations. During this period Fortas became friendly with Lyndon B. Johnson, the future president.

In 1946 Fortas entered private legal practice. His firm, Arnold, Fortas & Porter, became one of the most prominent and wealthy in Washington, representing many important corporations. As counsel for Lyndon Johnson, Fortas successfully countered the challenge to the validity of Johnson's election to the U.S. Senate in 1948. In the 1950s Fortas and his firm became involved in civil liberties cases. He successfully defended Owen Lattimore, a victim of the McCarthy era communist charges. Some of his criminal cases became legal landmarks. In the Durham case, he persuaded the Federal District Court to adopt a new standard for criminal insanity, determining that an accused is not criminally responsible if his unlawful act was a product of mental disease or defect. In yet another, Fortas successfully argued that states should be required to provide free legal counsel for indigent defendants charged with major crimes. When President Johnson assumed office in 1963, Fortas became a key presidential aide and adviser. He worked out a complicated trust agreement for the

Johnson family, handled two sensitive administration scandals, aided the president in the Dominican crisis, and advised him on issues ranging from racial problems to the Vietnam War. In July 1965 Johnson appointed Fortas to the Supreme Court. As an associate justice, Fortas was known for his penetrating mind, skillful legal writing, and concern for individual rights. He generally joined the Court's libertarian, activist majority. One of the most significant of his opinions was in the Galt case, which extended the constitutional rights to due process of law to juveniles being tried in special juvenile courts. Fortas firmly believed in the protection of personal privacy, and opposed the widespread use of civil disobedience to attain political ends. His pamphlet *Concerning Dissent and Civil Disobedience* (1968) presented a rational yet passionate plea for the rejection of political violence and for respect for law and the democratic process.

In the summer of 1968 Johnson nominated Fortas to succeed retiring Chief Justice Warren. Opponents of the nomination succeeded in blocking Fortas' confirmation; they charged that he was too liberal and too close an adviser to President Johnson, and that the new appointment should be deferred until after the approaching presidential election. Moreover, while on the Court Fortas had accepted a fee for serving as lifetime consultant to the charitable Wolfson Family Foundation. When its founder, Louis E. Wolfson, was indicted for stock manipulation, Fortas returned the fee and severed his connection with the Foundation; but the disclosure of the association now aroused bitter public controversy. Fortas maintained that he had done no wrong; nevertheless, in May 1969 he resigned from the Court under heavy pressure and returned to private practice.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Rodell, in: *New York Times Magazine* (July 28, 1968), 12–13, 63–68; Graham, *ibid.* (June 4, 1967), 26, 86–96; United States 90th Congress, 2nd Session, Senate; *Executive Report No. 8* (1968); 89th Congress, 1st Session, Senate Committee on the Judiciary, *Hearings* (Aug. 5, 1965).

[Barton G. Lee]

FORTES, MEYER (1906–1983), British social anthropologist. Born in South Africa, he settled in England. From 1934 to 1938 he was a research fellow of the International African Institute, London; he lectured at the London School of Economics, and at Oxford University (1939–41); was head of the department of sociology, West African Institute, Accra, Gold Coast (Ghana), from 1944 to 1946; and from 1950 until 1973 was professor of social anthropology at Cambridge University. Fortes conducted field research in Central and West Africa and initiated modern ethnographical research in Ghana. He studied ancestor worship, the development of a generalized theory of primitive social structure, and the demographical method in preliterate societies. With Evans-Pritchard he developed the modern theory of primitive political systems, and conducted research on the theory of kinship and social organizations in primitive societies. On the basis of his expertise in this realm, he analyzed structuralist theory and methodology. Among his books were *Dynamics of Clanship among the Tallensi* (1945) and *Oedipus and Job in West African Religion* (1959); he edited *African Political Systems* (1940, 1950^{2}). Later he wrote *Kinship and the Social Order* (1969) and *Time and Social Structure* (1970).

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[Ephraim Fischoff]

FORTI, BARUCH UZZIEL BEN BARUCH (d. 1571), also called **Hazketto** (a Hebraized form of his name: *ḥazak* (*forte*, פורטי, "strong") and *-etto*, a diminutive ending), Italian rabbi. Forti was ordained rabbi in 1564 in Mantua, and later served as head of a yeshivah in Ferrara. In 1554 he took part in the conference of Italian Jewish communities in Ferrara. He intervened in the affair of the Venturozzo-Tamari divorce (see Moses b. Abraham *Provencale), taking the side of Tamari. He edited Isaac *Abrabanel's *Ma'yenei ha-Yeshu'ah* (Ferrara, 1551), and included his biography of Abrabanel. In this he expresses his thanks to Joseph and Samuel, Abrabanel's sons, then resident in Ferrara, for providing him with the necessary information. He also edited Moses *Alashkar's *Hassagot* on Shem Tov b. Shem Tov's *Sefer ha-Emunot* (*ibid.*, 1556) with an introduction. A responsum by Forti of 1565 is included in the responsa of Moses Isserles (Resp. Rema 36), while others are extant in the Mortara collection (at present in the Kaufmann Library of Budapest; M. Weisz, *Katalog … D. Kaufmann* (1906), nos. 152,157,160) and in a manuscript in the collection of Zadok Kahn (Paris). An alphabetical index of Maimonides' *Mishneh Torah* from a manuscript in Forti's possession was appended to the Venice 1574/76 edition.

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[Umberto (Moses David) Cassuto]

FORTI (Heb. **Hazak**), **JACOB RAPHAEL HEZEKIAH BEN ABRAHAM ISRAEL** (1689–1782), Italian kabbalist. Forti studied under Mordecai *Bassani in Verona and later under Moses Ḥayyim *Luzzatto in Padua. He became chief rabbi of Padua, and Shabbetai Medini and Ariel Alatino were among his pupils. His glosses to the four *Turim* of *Jacob b. Asher and commentary to the Shulḥan Arukh as well as a methodology of the Talmud and the *posekim* and a collection of sermons survived in manuscript form. Some of his many responsa were published in the works of others. The records of his halakhic dispute with the rabbis of Venice regarding the business methods of its merchants are brought together in the *Mishpat Shalom* (in manuscript) of Isaac b. Asher Pacifico. Forti died in Padua.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Ghirondi-Neppi, 148, 150.

[Samuel Abba Horodezky]

FORTIS (Heb. **Hazak**), **ABRAHAM ISAAC** (d. c. 1731), physician and communal leader in Poland. He is recorded in Poland around 1690, having come from Italy as a young man (*baḥur*). Moses *Zacuto, in the same year in Mantua, praised his wide knowledge in "Torah learning," in addition to his distinction in medicine. A clergyman who later became acquainted with him in Poland was amazed at his erudition in Christian theological literature. Fortis settled in the province of "Russia," living in Lvov, Jaroslaw, and Rzeszów (from 1706), and served as physician to Prince Lubomirski in Rzeszów, and to Count Potocki in Lezajsk, who tried to convert him. In 1710 he and another Jewish physician, who had also completed his studies in Italy, were summoned in connection with their qualifications before the crown tribunal of Lublin. Fortis also concerned himself with Jewish affairs. For many years he took part in the leadership of the Jews of the province (*galil*), and between 1726 and 1730 served as *parnas* of the *Council of Four Lands. He had several sons who became rabbis or physicians.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Halpern, Pinkas, index, s.v. *Iẓḥak ben Shemu'el Ẓeynvil Rofe Ḥazak Fortis.*

[Israel Halpern]

FORTUNOFF VIDEO ARCHIVE FOR HOLOCAUST TESTIMONY. The archive began in New Haven, Connecticut, in 1979 when Laurel Vlock, a television journalist, and Dr. Dori Laub, a Holocaust survivor and psychiatrist met and recorded Dr. Laub's testimony. This initial effort led to the Holocaust Survivors' Film Project, Inc, a grassroots organization, created to videotape local Holocaust survivors and witnesses. The project was based on the belief that every survivor has a unique story to tell, that there was a diminishing window of opportunity to record their testimonies, and that video would be an effective vehicle for capturing Holocaust survivors' experiences. This initial effort recorded nearly 200 testimonies. These tapes were donated to Yale University in 1981, and in 1982 the Video Archive was established at the university's Sterling Memorial Library. Sterling Professor Geoffrey Hartmann, who had written extensively about Holocaust memory and testimony, became the faculty advisor and project director and a driving force in its development.

The archival collection has grown to over 4,300 items. These testimonies reflect the diversity of the witnesses and include accounts by Holocaust survivors, liberators, resisters, and bystanders. The tapes are catalogued and cross-referenced and are available to educators, researchers, and the public.

The Archive is an ongoing effort to preserve Holocaust memory. It works with affiliated video-testimony projects around the United States, Europe, Israel, and South America and has undertaken joint projects with the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museums. Interviewers in affiliated projects are trained in its methodology and both the Archive and the affiliate receive a copy of the recorded testimony for their collections.

When the Video Archive was established it's interviewing philosophy was a departure from other oral history projects because it stressed the role of the witness rather than the interviewer in leading the interview. The interview is deliberately unstructured and open-ended; its content and direction determined by the witness rather than the interviewer. The latter asks questions primarily for clarification of time and place or for elaboration on a subject that the witness has already raised.

The Video Archive has an intensive training program. It is designed to prepare its interviewers both in methodology and in the background to the witnesses' experiences. The participants read and attend lectures on history, observe taped interviews, and discuss the Archive's interviewing techniques. The Archive has lent its expertise to other Holocaust organizations as well as international groups concerned preserving the memory of other genocides in the 20th century.

Education is a key to the goals of the Archive. In order to further the use of witness accounts in the classroom, it has created a library of edited video testimonies that are available to teachers and community groups. The Archive has also collaborated with educational organizations that have developed study guides using testimony. In addition, it sponsors academic conferences on Holocaust education and research.

The Fortunoff Archive for Holocaust Testimonies encourages use of its collection to the widest audience possible through its website: www.library.yale.edu. It has produced a television documentary of its own and spurred educational films.

[Beth Cohen (2nd ed.)]

FOSS (Fuchs), LUKAS (1922–), U.S. composer, pianist, and conductor. Born in Berlin, he immigrated to the U.S. in 1937. He was pianist with the Boston Symphony Orchestra from 1944 to 1950. He was the youngest composer to receive a Guggenheim Fellowship (1945), appeared as soloist in his own piano concertos with a number of orchestras in the U.S. and Europe, and conducted his first symphony in Pittsburgh in 1945. He taught composition at the Berkshire Music Center and at the University of California, Los Angeles. In 1963 he was appointed conductor and music director of the Buffalo Philharmonic Orchestra where he remained until 1970, when he became a freelance conductor and was visiting professor at Harvard University. He was chief conductor and advisor of the Israel Broadcasting Authority's Jerusalem Symphony Orchestra from 1972 until 1975. A precocious talent, he had some pieces published at the age of 15. His early works are neo-romantic in nature. Among them the most important are the cantata *The Prairie* (1942), the cantata *Song of Songs* (1947), an opera after Mark Twain *The Jumping Frog of Calaveras County* (1950), the cantata *A Parable of Death* (1953), the television opera *Griffelkin* (1955), and *Time Cycle* for soprano and orchestra (1960). Then Foss turned to ultramodernism using the extreme procedures of the avant-garde, including aleatory devices of "controlled improvisation." To this period belong his *Echoi* for instruments (1963) and *Elytres* for chamber orchestra (1964). His *Phorion* for strings, electronic organ, and amplified harpsichord and harp (1967) is a metamorphosis of a Bach prelude. In his later works Foss strove to combine his earlier, sometimes more conservative and sometimes specifically American, style with experiments of his modernist period (*American Cantata,* 1976; *Renaissance Concerto for Flute and Orchestra,* 1985). As a conductor, Foss always sought to popularize new music; in 1973 in Brooklyn he began "Meet the Moderns," a series of new music concerts as well as discussions with composers.

ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY: NG^2; MGG^2; K.J. Perone, *Lukas Foss: A Bio-Bibliography* (1991).

[Nicolas Slonimsky / Yulia Kreinin (2nd ed.)]

FOSSANO, town in N.W. Italy. Fossano was one of the three communities, with Asti and Moncalvo, which preserved the special liturgy of French origin known as the *Apam rite. Jewish bankers in Fossano are first mentioned in the 1670s. A ghetto was established in 1724. There were then approximately 100 Jews living in Fossano. The "miraculous" escape of the Jews from a riot on the fourth night of Passover during the French revolutionary wars (1796) was long commemorated by a local Purim. The community ceased to exist before World War II.

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[Daniel Carpi]

FOSSOLI, internment camp for British prisoners of war in the village of Fossoli, on the outskirts of the town of Carpi, in the province of Modena (Emilia), created by the Italian army in 1942. Opening in July, the camp consisted primarily of tents housing 1,800 British internees and 350 Italian guards under the command of Col. Giuseppe Ferraresi. In September a second section was opened and work began to substitute the tents with barracks. Living conditions for the prisoners were in accordance with international law, and representatives of the Red Cross visited regularly. By the summer of 1943, the two sections of the camp held about 4,000 prisoners.

After the Italian armistice with the Allies announced on September 8, 1943, the Germans began their long-planned occupation of Italy. Fossoli was under German control by the 9th. All Allied prisoners were deported to German camps, primarily Bergen-Belsen, during the second half of September.

At the end of November 1943, police order number 5 of the Ministry of the Interior of the Italian Social Republic announced that all properties of Jews were to be confiscated and that the Jews themselves should be arrested and detained. On December 5, the second section of the Fossoli camp was designated for Jewish prisoners and placed under the authority of the prefect of Modena, Bruno Calzolari. Within a few weeks, almost 1,000 Jews were detained in the camp. On March 15, the Germans officially took over the second section, which they had unofficially occupied since February, and placed it under the authority of the *Befehlshaber der Sipo-SD*, Wilhelm Harster, who resided in Verona. The second section then became a *Polizei- und Durchgangslager* controlled directly by the German SS and used as a base for the deportation of Jews and political prisoners to the East. The Italians continued to control the other section of the camp, where prisoners not destined for deportation were held. SS Untersturmfuehrer Karl Titho, aided by SS Hauptscharfueher Hans Haage, were awarded the direct command of the German section of Fossoli. Under them was a small group of SS, some Ukrainian volunteers, and some Italians from the Social Republic. Italians arrested for political or racial reasons, mainly in the northwestern region of the country, were sent to Fossoli. Deportations began on February 19, 1944, and ended on August 1 of that year, when the advancing Allies forced the Germans to retreat farther north. At that point, the Germans established their camp for political and racial prisoners at Bolzano-Gries. Altogether, about 5,000 prisoners were deported from Fossoli, of whom 2,461 were Jews.

Between autumn 1945 and the second half of the 1960s, Fossoli hosted various kinds of refugees: foreigners residing temporarily in Italy in the first postwar years as well as, after 1952, Italians fleeing from Dalmatia, controlled by Tito. The camp was then abandoned for several years. In 1973, the mayor of Carpi asked the Italian government for authority to turn Fossoli into a site of special remembrance. This was done in 1984. In 1996, a cultural foundation at the former camp was created for the purpose of educating new generations and nurturing the memory of the suffering that had occurred there. A study center dedicated to the memory of Primo *Levi, the great Italian Jewish writer who was deported to Auschwitz from the camp on February 22, 1944, was also created there.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: M. Sarfatti, *Gli Ebrei nell Italia fascista: Vicende, identità, persecuzione* (2001); C.S. Capogreco, *I Campi del Duce.* (2004).

[Guri Schwarz (2nd ed.)]

FOULD, family of French bankers and politicians. The Fould-Oppenheim banking house was founded by BER LEON FOULD (1767–1855) and expanded by his eldest son BENOÎT (Benedict; 1792–1858), who succeeded his father as manager. In 1827 he was made a judge of the commercial court and from 1834 to 1842 sat in the Chamber of Deputies as conservative member for St. Quentin. An expert on financial matters, Fould was active in Jewish communal affairs and spoke in parliament in connection with the *Damascus Affair, protesting against the fact that the French consul had permitted the use of torture. ACHILLE (1800–1867), second son of Ber Leon, shared the management of the bank with his brother Benoît, before entering public life as a member of the General Council of the Hautes Pyrénées. In 1842 he was elected to the Chamber of Deputies where he supported the conservative financial policies of the chief minister, Francois Guizot. When Guizot went into exile following the outbreak of the 1848 revolution, Fould withdrew from politics and wrote three pamphlets attacking the new government's financial policies. In the following year, he retired from the banking house to devote himself to politics and was made minister of finance by Louis Napoleon. He was responsible for the reform of the postal service, the abolition of income tax, and the initiation of old-age pensions. Fould was twice dismissed and twice recalled to the government; in 1852 he was made a minister of state, and was the first Jew to be appointed a senator. In 1861 Fould was appointed minister of finance for the third time to check the rising national deficit and in 1863 he reduced the floating debt by negotiating a loan of 300,000,000 francs. He retired in 1867. Though he remained a Jew, Fould married into a Protestant family and his children were brought up as Christians. Two sons ERNEST ADOLPHE (1824–1875) and EDOUARD MATHURIN (1834–1881) both sat in the Chamber of Deputies, as did his grandson ACHILLE CHARLES (1861–?). His third son GUSTAVE EUGÈNE (1836–1884) was a successful playwright and producer.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: P. Emden, *Money Powers of Europe* (1938), index, includes bibliography.

FOUNDATIONS. The earliest period for which there are records of Jews having established foundations is the Middle Ages. In particular, Joseph Ephraim ha-Levi of Ecija, Castile, is known to have endowed the school of the Jewish community in 1332. In the modern period Jonas *Fraenkel (1773–1846) bequeathed the greater part of his fortune to establish a seminary, which eventually opened in Breslau. In 1866 Moses *Montefiore set up an endowment to maintain a synagogue and college near his home at Ramsgate. On his death, control passed to the elders of the London Congregation of Spanish and Portuguese Jews. The philanthropy of Maurice de *Hirsch, apart from the Jewish Colonization Association, included substantial gifts of a permanent character, e.g., 12 million gold francs for the education of Jews in Austria (1888) and the Baron de Hirsch Fund, New York (1891).

[Dan S. Rosenberg and Sefton D. Temkin]

The evolution of much of Jewish philanthropy from a communal base to an entrepreneurial market-driven base is one of the important subtexts of late 20th century Jewish America. To understand contemporary American Jewry, one must explore the growth of Jewish foundations, their impact on communal structures, various models of foundation partnership and collaboration, and some projections for future development.

In the 1830s Alexis de Tocqueville described one of the unique attributes of American life: voluntarism. Whether due to mistrust of government or an emergence of a richer civic society, Americans strongly identified with the creation of voluntary associations aimed at improving quality of life along with fulfilling various affinity needs of the population. By the late 19th century this emerged into a serious third sector: a nongovernmental, not-for-profit sector whose existence was to improve the common good and as the 20th century tax structure developed this sector grew exponentially in recognition of the unique societal role this sector was playing.

At about the same time, led by figures such as Andrew Carnegie, John D. Rockefeller, and Henry Ford the creation of charitable foundations (many of which were to exist in perpetuity) to enhance the public good in the name of and as part of the legacy of entrepreneurs also became a component of the American scene. Philanthropy became serious business and even with increased regulations brought about by the 1969 Tax Reform Act, became a business of enormous growth. By the end of the 20th century more than 80,000 grantmakers, of which 60,000 were in the form of foundations, making over 500,000 grants, existed within the United States with assets in excess of a quarter of a trillion dollars. It is estimated that 10,000 of these are Jewish family foundations, an overrepresentation by more than eight times the Jewish representation in the population.

There are serious definitional problems in creating a taxonomy for Jewish foundations resulting in a paucity of reliable data as to both numbers, dollar values, and impact of these foundations. Among these issues are those that have to do with the definition of a Jewish foundation. Is it a foundation whose principal is/was Jewish? Whose board is primarily Jewish? Is it a foundation whose historic giving patterns were primarily to the Jewish community? Exclusively? Somewhat? Must its charter specify a Jewish purpose? Is a foundation Jewish if founded by a Jewish principal whose distributions throughout the first generation were for the benefit of Jewish causes but today is governed by the heirs who are no longer Jewish and who no longer support Jewish causes? What if that foundation gives exclusively to Israel causes? What if those Israel causes are to support the 18% of the Israeli population that is Arab?

Further, organizational definition problems also create a barrier to full understanding. Should we consider as Jewish foundations those donor-advised funds that sit either at Federations, Federation-supported community foundations, or general community foundations? These donor-advised funds are no longer the assets of an entity controlled by the donor. They are the assets of the community foundation. However, the foundation has indicated that it will generally follow the advisory role given to the donor (or his/her designees). With Federation-related foundation assets approaching $4 billion, the relevance of these questions becomes clear as one wants to understand the depth and breadth of the field.

The first two-thirds of the 20th century saw the development of the North American Federation system as the New World's replication of the European *kehillah.* While vastly different from the European model and far more voluntarily driven, the Federation became the community's address for collective responsibility of Jews one to another. Its fundraising prowess grew dramatically through the first half of the century and culminated in unprecedented support of the *United Jewish Appeal, the central overseas arm of this movement, in 1948. On an inflation-adjusted basis, this was the most powerful fundraising year in mature communities either before or since. For the birth of the State of Israel was the ultimate Jewish act of collective responsibility and even those who did not physically participate were prepared to fiscally contribute. The UJA/Federation campaigns were especially relevant at the most critical moments of Israel's life. The years 1956, 1967, 1973, 1982, and 1990 were significant blips on a long term donation curve showing the powerful relationship between *amkha* and an Israel in trouble (or in the case of 1990 with the coming Soviet *aliyah* of one million people in a moment of extraordinary opportunity). Non-donors became donors and lapsed donors gave again. Yet on an inflation-adjusted basis, the decline in the UJA/Federation annual campaign revenues is clear and evident with both a real dollar decline of almost one-third every decade and a market share decline of an equally significant proportion. Outside of times of crisis, federations engaged in serious planning processes aimed at determining how best to serve the need of Jews locally and around the world as community-driven, consensus-sensitive organizations. The processes required to govern called for serious and extensive involvement. Immediate and rapid decisions could not be made. Rarely, could an individual feel like (s)he as an individual, was determining the course of the future.

In many ways this corporate culture was antithetical to the successful entrepreneurs who built their businesses by making decisions and unilaterally determining the future. While the major Jewish philanthropists continued to financially support the UJA/Federation movement as well as many of the other Jewish organizational entities which emerged in North American life, many decided that they wanted more personal hands on involvement in their philanthropy and, often, shaping the Jewish world. At the same time their legal and tax advisors were encouraging them to set aside funds to meet their philanthropic obligations so as to take advantage of generous American (and less so, Canadian) tax policies in which they could forgo substantial taxes and only be required to annually spend five percent of the funds set aside in these tax exempt private foundations. By the 1990s, many of these foundations (Abraham, Bronfman, Crown, Goldman,Haas, Marcus, Schusterman, Spielberg, Steinhardt, Weinberg, Wexner) became household names in the organized Jewish world. They were the supporters of many initiatives of Jewish life.

An interesting dynamic began to occur at this time. The first was a planned initiative that was created so as to have many of these "mega" philanthropists in the Jewish community get to know one another. Following the very successful launch of Operation Exodus, the campaign to support the *aliyah* of Soviet Jews to Israel accompanying the opening of the Soviet Union, at which $54 million was raised at a breakfast of just a few major donors, the then-CEO of United Jewish Appeal recognized that these generous individuals did not know one another. He organized a Study Group of major foundation principals from North America and elsewhere, which came together twice a year to study together issues of contemporary Jewish life. Much of the time of the Study Group was devoted to its various members getting to know one another and to learn of each other's interests. Not surprisingly, a number of initiatives emerged in which members of the group partnered to change Jewish life. First among these was the rescue and resuscitation of Hillel, the American Jewish entity responsible for Jewish life on university and college campuses. Other initiatives which emerged came from the energy and vision of the various Group members. The Partnership for Excellence in Jewish Education (PEJE) developed as a partnership of a number of philanthropists (and one federation) initiated by a half dozen of the Study Group members. Within a year after two of its members launched Birthright Israel, eight Group members became founders with initial donations of $5 million each, unprecedented in the scope of non capital project related startups. This effort attracted both the government of Israel and the communities of the world through the Federations, Keren Hayesod, and the Jewish Agency for Israel as partners, resulting in more than 70,000 young adults from 36 countries having their first living and learning experience in Israel.

This emerging trend did not come without concerns with entrepreneurial unilateral decision-making becoming more prevalent. Would federations be expected to pick up the pieces after foundations became fatigued while funding a program (even if worthwhile) for several years? Have we created new ethical dilemmas replacing a democratic, open Federation model with an autocratic, closed one? In smaller communities what role would emerge from local foundations whose assets and annual revenues greatly exceeded that of the community's structures? While there was a century worth of experience in the general world of foundations, the world of Jewish foundations tends to be significantly younger, especially those with assets in excess of $100 million.

Further, the general infrastructure of Jewish family foundations is yet underdeveloped. The Jewish Funders Network, founded in 1991, became a membership organization that was designed to respond to the needs of individual Jewish funders and foundations. Its annual meeting which attracts close to three hundred has subjects ranging from a fifth generation Rockefeller's guidance on philanthropy to the Israeli-Palestinian situation with major speakers in a variety of areas and includes donors of as little as $25,000 a year to those who are responsible for distributing as much as $50 million a year. In recent years federation endowment funds and affiliated foundations are among those who have participated in Jewish Funders Network meetings and there has been serious engagement on the many ethical and planning issues with regard to the relationship between the funders, the independent funders, and their communal organizational brethren. As the Jewish Funders Network becomes a more sophisticated setting, it is developing affinity groups with interest in areas such as Jewish education, the needy in Israel, etc.

As with American foundations in general, the overwhelming majority of Jewish family foundations have no staff and are managed by the principals, with assistance from families and or businesses. Nevertheless, 24% give away more than $250,000 a year and, increasingly, professional assistance is being sought to facilitate the management thereof. As with all American foundations, increasing attention is being paid to philanthropic impact including the evaluation of programs and projects supported by these foundations and in some cases the external evaluation of the foundation's own performance. In the late 1990s a group was established in London which brought together European, Israeli, and North American foundations who operated multinationally. These tended to be larger foundations and the objective of the group was to create a setting where principals and/or chief professionals in the Jewish funding arena could engage in exchanges that better met the needs of these larger multinational foundations.

The federation communal structure, in recognition of these trends, began a number of initiatives aimed at providing donors with collaborative models for giving, distinct from the historical annual campaign in which the distribution of all available funds was determined by a volunteer-driven planning and allocations process. Beginning in Washington, and then moving on to Toronto, New York, and Los Angeles Jewish venture philanthropy funds were established to engage younger donors in collaborative funding. While many of these funds did not meet the technical terms of "venture philanthropy" they became important experiments in creating funding collaboratives within the Federation structure yet outside of the formal allocations process. Similarly, several federations created Jewish women's foundations, which brought together a different affinity group with some of the same attributes. It is highly likely that the next phase of Jewish philanthropic development will find various permutations of individual entrepreneurial and communal philanthropy as communities and donors learn from these experiences.

In addition to the challenge of maintaining the collective strength, which so highlighted the effectiveness of Jewish philanthropy, Jewish life is challenged in maintaining the interest of the most generous donors. In a study of American gifts of more than $10 million between 1995 and 2000, Jewish donors represented 18% of these "mega" gifts and 23% of the total giving in this category while being only 2% of the total population. Only 6% of this support went to Jewish causes.

In the early 21st century, Jewish American foundations will see the greatest transfer of wealth in history as those who earned great fortunes in the mid- to late-20th century bequeath their fortunes, thus creating a new generation of young philanthropists. This occurs at the same time there is a decentralization of Jewish philanthropy, moving away from the federation "central address" in favor of donor-driven programming. Simultaneously, philanthropy is becoming more hands-on with donor involvement beyond writing out checks. Donors are holding their own foundations and the community to higher standards of accountability. They seek not only greater involvement in decision-making as to the use of their support but also want to monitor the impact and effectiveness of its use. These dynamics will continue to create conflicts between systems of collective responsibility and the emerging entrepreneurial foundation generation. The evaluation of Jewish family foundations is early in its development, but already has radically altered the Jewish philanthropic scene.

See also *Philanthropy.

[Jeffrey R. Solomon (2nd ed.)]

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FOUR CAPTIVES, THE, story circulated in Spain in the Middle Ages on the subject of four rabbis who were taken captive. According to this story, which is preserved in Abraham *Ibn Daud's *Sefer ha-Kabbalah* (*The Book of Tradition*, ed. by G.D. Cohen (1967), 46–49, 63–67), a Muslim sea raider from Cordoba, Spain (probably Ibn Rumaḥis, 974) captured a ship which had set sail from Bari in southern Italy. On it were four rabbis who were on a mission (it is conjectured on behalf of the Babylonian academy) to raise funds for the dowries of poor brides. These rabbis were redeemed by Jewish communities: R. *Shemariah b. Elhanan in Alexandria, Egypt; R. *Ḥushi'el was sold in "Africa" (i.e., Tunisia) and became the leader of the Kairouan rabbis; R. *Moses b. Ḥanokh and his son *Hanokh were redeemed in Cordoba. The identity of the fourth captive and the place where he was redeemed was not stated.

There are various opinions among researchers as to the authenticity of this story. The principal argument against its veracity is to be found in a letter written by R. Ḥushi'el to R. Shemariah b. Elhanan and his son Elhanan, from which it is evident that he left his country (perhaps ltaly) voluntarily in order to travel to Egypt, but remained in Kairouan to await the arrival of his son Elhanan. It also appears that R. Shemariah b. Elhanan was already in Egypt, as his father was the leader of Egyptian Jewry. Another objection is chronological. On the one hand, Ibn Daud writes (*ibid.*, 66/48) that the appointment of R. Moses b. Ḥanokh occurred during the lifetime of R. *Sherira Gaon in about 990, while on the other hand, it appears from his account that his appointment, as well as that of his son Ḥanokh several years later, occurred during the lifetime of *Ḥisdai ibn Shaprut, who died in about 990 (*ibid.*, 67). The story of Ibn Daud reflects the popular tradition which was current among the Jews of Andalusia during the generation after R. Moses Ḥanokh's arrival in Spain. A proof for the relative antiquity of the tradition is the fact that David *Conforte, in his *Kore ha-Dorot* (1846, 5a), recounts it on the authority of *Samuel ha-Nagid (993–1056). By this story Ibn Daud presumably wanted to demonstrate the historical fact of the disintegration of the spiritual center in Babylonia, its gradual removal to Spain from the beginning of the tenth century, and the end of the dependence of the Spanish rabbis on Babylonia. From the time of the arrival of R. Moses b. Ḥanokh in Spain the Spanish scholars became independent. Indeed, the story of R. Moses B. Ḥanokh's appointment to the position of chief *dayyan* in Cordoba in the place of the *dayyan R.* Nathan, who surrendered his position to R. Moses b. Ḥanokh when he became aware of the latter's erudition, is an ancient motif which already existed in talmudic literature (in the story of *Hillel and the *Benei Bathyra, Pes. 66a). It appears that Abraham Ibn Daud and the author of *Midrash Tanḥuma*, who brings a similar motif (Tanh. Ex. 277), drew this idea from an ancient source.

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[Abraham David]

°FOURIER, FRANÇOIS MARIE CHARLES (1772–1837), French philosopher and social reformer who inspired the Fourierist or Phalansterian school. Somewhat like Rousseau, Fourier pursued his aim – cure for social evils – with passionate dogmatism and intolerance. His dream of a better world went hand in hand with a phobia against foreigners, and above all Jews. For him commerce was "the source of all evil" and Jews were "the incarnation of commerce." In his earlier writings, Fourier leveled every accusation possible against the Jews. He believed that their economic activities were parasitic and rapacious and declared that there had never been "a nation more despicable than the Hebrews" (*Théorie des quatre mouvements et des destinées générales* (1808), 61, 253), the emancipation of slaves and Jews having been effected too suddenly. Yet, either because he saw the Jews as a nation or because he wanted them out of France, Fourier became a kind of Zionist. In his last book, *La fausse industrie* (1836), he no longer gave vent to antisemitic remarks and advocated the reconstitution of the Hebrew nation in Palestine around a model Jewish "*phalanstère*" – Fourier's own idea, a form of social organization in which goods and services were held in common – financed by Rothschild. However, Fourier's "Zionist" project remained unknown while his antisemitism was taken up by several of his followers, particularly A. *Toussenel. At the time of the Dreyfus case, the Fourierist newspaper edited by Adolphe Alhaïza was virulently antisemitic.

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FOUR SPECIES (Heb. אַרְבָּעָה מִינִים, *arba'ah minim*), the four different plants which form an obligatory part of the rite of Sukkot according to the biblical commandment "And ye shall take you on the first day [of Sukkot] the fruit of goodly trees, branches of palm trees, and boughs of thick trees, and willows of the brook, and ye shall rejoice before the Lord your God seven days" (Lev. 23:40). "Ye shall dwell in booths for seven days" (Lev. 23:42) is also enjoined. Despite the fact that it would appear that in the time of Nehemiah, the plants in the first verse were regarded as referring to the materials from which the *sukkah* (see: *Sukkot), mentioned in the second verse, was to be constructed (Neh. 8:15), the traditional interpretation sees it as a commandment separate and distinct from the injunction of the *sukkah.*

Two of the species are given explicitly: the "branches of palm trees" are the *lulav*, and the "willows of the brook," the *aravot*. Tradition has universally identified the "fruits of goodly trees" with the *etrog* and the "boughs of thick trees" with *hadassim* ("myrtle"; Suk. 32b–33 but see the remarkable passage in Lev. R. 30:15). The four species are made up of three sprigs of myrtle and two of willow, which are bound to the *lulav* with strips of palm, the former on the right and the latter on the left of the *lulav.* They are held in the right hand and the *etrog* is held separately in the left (Suk. 37b).

During the Temple period the main ceremonial of the four species took place in the Temple. They were taken and waved during the seven days of Sukkot whereas elsewhere, the rite was confined to the first day only (Suk. 3:12). They were waved in a prescribed manner: toward the east, south, west, north, upward, and downward, in acknowledgment of the divine rule over nature (Suk. 37b). This took place during the recitation of Psalms 118:1–2 and 25 in the *Hallel.* After the Musaf sacrifice of the day had been offered, the four species were again taken, this time in procession around the altar while Psalms 118:25, or the words *ani va-hu hoshi'ah na, a* popular version of that verse, were chanted. On the first six days, only one circuit of the altar was made; on the seventh day, seven circuits. After the destruction of the Temple, R. *Johanan b. Zakkai ordained the Temple ceremonial as universal practice "in remembrance of the Temple" (Suk. 3:12); all the features of the Temple rite were included in the synagogue service (see: Sukkot, *Hoshana Rabba).

The popularity of the ceremony during the period of the Second Temple is reflected in the fact that *Ḥanukkah was celebrated by the Maccabees as a second Feast of Tabernacles, as well as in the incident in which the vast throng of worshipers in the Temple pelted King Alexander *Yannai with their *etrogim* during the festival, in protest against his disregard of the Feast of Water Drawing (see *Sukkot) (Jos., Ant., 13:372; cf. Suk. 4:9). The remarkable hold which the four species had on the sentiments of the people during the Second Temple period, and immediately afterward, is evidenced by the fact that even during the rigors of war, Bar Kokhba took special care to see that his warriors were supplied with them (see Yadin, in BJPES, 25 (1961), 60–62).

In the Bible no attempt is made to explain the symbolism of the four species. They probably symbolized the fertility of the land as evidenced in the harvest just concluded, and as desired for the coming season, especially with a view to the fact that the rains are due immediately after Sukkot. The Midrash gives a number of moral and homiletic interpretations (see Lev. R. 30:9–12); the most popular (*ibid.*, 30:12) is based on the qualities of the four trees. The *etrog* has both "taste and odor," the date (palm) only taste, the myrtle only odor, the willow none. "taste and odor" symbolize "Torah and good works"; respectively the four species represent four categories of Jews insofar as they possess both, one, or none of these virtues. But Israel is regarded as a whole, and the failings of one are compensated for by the virtues of the others.

Another interpretation depends upon the shape of the species. The *lulav* resembles the spine, the *etrog* the heart, the myrtle leaves the eye, and the willow leaves the mouth. Therefore one should submit these organs, and all the others, to the service of God, in accordance with Psalms 35:10, "All my bones shall say, Lord, who is like unto Thee" (Lev. R. 30:14). It has also been suggested that the four species represent the four agricultural areas of Israel: the *lulav*, the lowland; the *aravot*, the river; the *hadassim*, the mountains; and the *etrog*, the irrigated areas. Kabbalistic symbolism interprets the four species in terms of the doctrine of the *Sefirot.*

[Louis Isaac Rabinowitz]

FOX (Heb. שׁוּעָל), the *Vulpes vulpes.* The biblical name is *shu'al*, as in the passage: "Take us the foxes, the little foxes that spoil the vineyards" (Song 2:15). The comparison in Ezekiel 13:4 of the false prophets to foxes may be a reference to their craftiness or to their habit of frequenting ruins. Parables about the fox's cunning are contained in the folklore of various nations; R. Meir is said to have compiled 300 fox fables (Sanh. 38b). The word *shu'al* however is also used for the jackal, and the other biblical passages in which it occurs, e.g., the one in which Samson is said to have caught 300 *shu'alim* (Judg. 15:4), probably refer to it. The place-name Shaalbim (Judg. 1:35) or Shaalabbin (Josh. 19:42) is probably the etymon (in the plural) of the Arabic and Akkadian words for "fox," – *tha'lab* and *sēlibu*, respectively.

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[Jehuda Feliks]

FOX, BERNARD JOSHUA (1885–1978), Northern Irish judge. Born in Belfast, Fox was admitted to the Irish bar in 1914 and was legal adviser to the government of Northern Ireland from 1939 to 1944 when he was given a judgeship as Recorder of Belfast. He was chairman of several government committees including the wartime Price Regulation Committee for Northern Ireland. He retired in 1960.

FOX, CHAIM-LEIB (**Fuks/Fuchs**; 1897–1984), Yiddish author and journalist. Born in Lodz, Fox was at the center of its Yiddish literary life, which he described in a number of essays (e.g., "Dos Yidishe Literarishe Lodzh" ("Yiddish Literary Lodz"), in: *Fun Noentn Over,* 3 (1957), 189–284) and in his monograph *Lodzh shel Mayle* ("Heavenly Lodz," 1972). During World War I Fox was a labor conscript in Germany. After a brief period in the *Bund, he joined the Labor Zionist movement and, in Palestine (1936–38), the Haganah. During World War II he was in the Soviet Union (1940–46) and thereafter lived in Lodz, Paris (1948–53), and New York. He wrote for many periodicals and contributed over 3,000 articles to the *Leksikon fun der Nayer Yidisher Literatur.* A poet of intense religious and national feeling, he published seven volumes of poetry (1926–82) and wrote the historical novel *Gyoras Letster Veg* ("Giora's Final Road," 1939) and *100 Yor Yidishe un Hebreishe Prese in Kanade* ("100 Years of Yiddish and Hebrew Press in Canada," 1980).

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[Leonard Prager / Tamar Lewinsky (2nd ed.)]

FOX, CHARLES (1876–1964), British psychologist. Born in London, Fox lectured at the Westminster Hospital Medical School and at the Cambridge University Training College for Schoolmasters. In 1919 he was appointed principal of the Training College and director of training at Cambridge University, serving through 1939. A specialist in the field of educational psychology, his important books are *Practical Psychology* (1928), *Educational Psychology* (1925, 1950^4), and *The Mind and Its Body* (1931). His basic approach was to extract the practical features from each of the conflicting theoretical schools – such as the Freudian and the Gestalt – and to coordinate them so that they could be incorporated into an expanding science of learning.

FOX, EMANUEL PHILIPS (1864–1915), Australian artist, generally known as E. Philips Fox. Born in Melbourne, Fox studied in Paris from 1886 to 1892, but returned to his birthplace, where he spent most of the rest of his life. His paintings, which include many commissioned portraits, are highly regarded and well-represented in Australia's galleries. Fox is probably the best-known Australian Jewish artist.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Australian Dictionary of Biography; H.L. Rubinstein, Australia I, 446–47.

[William D. Rubinstein (2nd ed.)]

FOX, EYTAN (1964–), Israeli film director whose films often focus on homosexuals in Israel. His film *Yossi & Jagger* (2002) broke taboos in its depiction of a romance between two male IDF soldiers and won a Best Actor Award at the Tribeca Film Festival in New York for leading man Ohad Knoller. Fox followed it up with *Walk on Water* (2004), the story of a Mossad agent assigned to spy on the homosexual grandson of a notorious Nazi. *Walk on Water* was the first Israeli film ever selected to open the Panorama section of the Berlin Film Festival. Born in New York, Fox moved to Israel as a child and made his name directing *Florentine*, a popular television show in the 1990s about young people in Tel Aviv. His other directing credits include the films *Gotta Have Heart* (1997) and *Song of the Siren* (1994).

[Hannah Brown (2nd ed.)]

FOX (Fuchs), JACOB SAMUEL (1868–1938), journalist and educator. Born in Bialystok, Russia, he obtained his rabbinical diploma at the Berlin Rabbinical Seminary and pursued his secular studies at Berlin and Berne. Turning to journalism, he edited *Ha-Maggid he-Ḥadash* (1891–98) and (together with A. Guenzig) *Ha-Eshkol* (1898–1912). A research trip prompted his final move to England in 1902, after which Fox decided to foster Jewish education in Liverpool by founding a Hebrew higher grade school. He supported the establishment of the British Mizrachi and became principal of Aria College in Brighton. He was author of a monograph on Judah *Ibn Bal'am. His son, ISAAC SOLOMON FOX (1896–1971), practiced as a physician, was mayor of Chester (1932–33) and chairman of the British Zionist Federation (1955–56).

FOX, SIR JOHN JACOB (1874–1944), British chemist. Fox, who was born in London, studied at the Royal College of Science and entered government service in 1896. He was appointed government chemist in 1936 and retained this post until his death. In organic chemistry Fox obtained noteworthy results with hydroxyazo compounds. Later he turned to the application of physical methods to the solution of chemical problems and to analysis. He applied ultraviolet and infrared spectroscopy to the study of elements, and his work on diamonds was monumental. Fox was adept at improving both the procedures and the apparatus for analytical work, a major concern of the government's laboratory during both world wars. He was president of the Institute of Chemistry from 1940 to 1942 and in 1943 was elected a fellow of the Royal Society.

[Samuel Aaron Miller]

FOX, MARVIN (1922–1996), American Jewish educator. Born in Chicago, Fox received his B.A. in philosophy from Northwestern University in 1942, and his M.A. in the same field in 1946, obtained his doctorate from the University of Chicago in 1950, and completed his rabbinic studies at the Hebrew Theological College in that city. He served as a Jewish chaplain in the U.S. Army Air Force during World War II (1942–46). He taught at Ohio State University from 1948 through 1974, rising from instructor to professor of philosophy. He was appointed acting chairman of the department of philosophy from 1963 to 1964. He was a visiting professor of philosophy at the Hebrew University and Bar-Ilan University (1970–71).

In 1974 he was appointed director of the Lown School of Near Eastern and Judaic Studies at Brandeis University, chairman of the department, and in 1976 became the Philip W. Lown Professor of Jewish Philosophy. He was a founder and member of the executive committee of the Institute for Judaism and Contemporary Thought in Israel, a member of the Academic Board of the Melton Research Center of the Jewish Theological Seminary, and a member of the board of directors of the Library of Living Philosophers.

For many years Fox was active in the Hebrew Day School movement in the United States under the aegis of Torah Umesorah.

He received numerous academic awards, lectured widely at universities and at national and international academic conferences, and served as member of the National Endowment for the Humanities National Board of Consultants for new programs at colleges and universities.

A prolific writer, he was a consulting editor of the *Journal of the History of Philosophy* and was the author of more than 100 articles, which have appeared in scholarly journals, as well as in such general publications as *Commentary, Tradition*, and *Judaism*. Among Fox's important works are *Kant's Fundamental Principles of the Metaphysics of Morals* (1975), *Modern Jewish Ethics and Practice* (1975), *From Ancient Israel to Modern Judaism: Intellect in Quest of Understanding, Volume I* (1989), *Interpreting Maimonides: Studies in Methodology, Metaphysics, and Moral Philosophy* (1994), *Collected Essays on Philosophy and on Judaism, Volume One: Greek Philosophy, Maimonides* (ed. J. Neusner, published in 2003), *Collected Essays on Philosophy and on Judaism, Volume Two: Some Philosophers* (2003), and *Collected Essays on Philosophy and on Judaism, Volume Three: Ethics, Reflections* (2003).

In 1996, Dr. June Fox donated her late husband's book collections to the library of the University of Chicago. The Marvin Fox Memorial Book Collection of Philosophy and Judaica is an invaluable resource on Judaism, secularism, and textual interpretation.

[Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

FOX (Fuchs), WILLIAM (1879–1952), U.S. film producer. Born in Tulchva, Hungary, Fox worked in his youth in New York's garment center. In 1904 he bought his first nickelodeon, installed a motion picture machine, opened a chain of movie theaters in the U.S. and abroad, and started a career that led him in 1915 to the presidency of Fox Film and Fox Theater Corporations. Dissatisfied with the quality of films distributed, he began to make his own films in a rented barn. In 1917 he built studios in Hollywood. By the 1920s he had created a multimillion-dollar empire that controlled a large portion of the exhibition, distribution, and production of film facilities during the era of silent film. Fox introduced organ accompaniment to the silent films shown in his theaters and was a pioneer in designing movie theaters for the comfort of its patrons. Through a well-orchestrated use of publicity, he developed Theda Bara into the first screen vamp and the first film star. Even during the Great Depression, Fox had the foresight and the wherewithal to outfit more than a thousand theaters with equipment to make possible the advent of talking pictures. In 1927 he developed the first commercially successful sound film, the news series *Movietone News.*

The stock market crash of 1929 and the entry of Wall Street into the film industry involved him in years of litigation and eventual loss of money and power. Charges of stock manipulation were filed against him in 1932, and he told a Senate subcommittee he was the target of a "bankers' conspiracy." He declared bankruptcy in 1936, and in 1942 served five months in prison on charges of obstructing justice in his bankruptcy claim. The Fox Film Corporation was the antecedent of Twentieth Century Fox.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Americana Annual 1953.* (1953), 259; J. Laurie, *Vaudeville* (1953), 410–1.

[Linda Gutstein / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

FOXMAN, ABRAHAM (1940–), Anti-Defamation League (ADL) executive. Born in Poland in 1940, Foxman survived the Holocaust when his parents entrusted him to their Catholic nursemaid, who baptized him and raised him as her own son. After the war, which Foxman's parents, Helen and Joseph, miraculously survived, they returned to claim him but faced several custody battles, which they ultimately won. Following their safe passage to a Displaced Person's Camp in the American Zone in Austria, the family eventually moved to the United States in January 1950.

Three imperatives that have shaped his life are the legacy of the Holocaust, particularly his experience as a hidden child, and his belief in the necessity of working to insure the security of the State of Israel and the safety of Jews to live freely as Jews everywhere, especially the United States.

Foxman's first assignment at the ADL was as assistant director of the Law Department, where he worked under the guidance of the legendary Arnold Forster and the leadership of the late national director Benjamin R. Epstein. His ascension through ADL's professional staff ranks mirrored the growth of the organization itself. As the first director of national leadership, Foxman created the annual Washington Leadership Conference. He founded and directed ADL's International Affairs Division, launching an Israel missions program that, at one point, had brought nearly one-third of all members of Congress on their first visit. When Nathan Perlmutter succumbed to cancer in July 1987, Foxman was appointed national director.

Foxman elevated the profile of ADL through a combination of passion, intuition, and intellect. Two seminal and defining events would propel him to a mantle of moral authority: the first was ADL's response to the virulently antisemitic, anti-Catholic, and anti-white diatribe delivered in November 1993 at New Jersey's Kean College by the Nation of Islam Lieutenant Khalid Abdul Mohammed. Among other rants, Mohammed wondered what was under the Pope's skirt, mocking the aging John Paul II and infuriating American Catholics. ADL's public rebuke of the NOI leader in a full-page *New York Times* ad triggered a hailstorm of condemnation, from the halls of Congress to pulpits across the country. By meeting such hate head-on, Foxman placed ADL on a stage that transcended the perceived boundaries of the organization's public advocacy.

Shortly thereafter, ADL released its benchmark survey on the growing influence of the Christian right. Titled *The Religious Right: the Assault on Tolerance and Pluralism in America*, this book-length report, intended to be a factual and critical assessment of some of the individuals and groups within the movement and their efforts to chip away at the wall of separation between church and state, was met with near universal hostility from those whom it addressed. Nonetheless, the resulting public hue and cry, and the "summit meetings" that would follow, established Foxman as the linchpin in a major national debate, which continued into the first decade of the 21st century, of the role of religion in American national life.

In 2000, Foxman rebuked Democratic vice presidential candidate Senator Joseph *Lieberman, who spoke of the need for religious values in American life, for injecting religion into the public square. Foxman did not repeat this call during the 2004 election, when religion again entered the public square, for he was still regaining his balance after a nearly year-long controversy over Mel Gibson's controversial film *The Passion of the Christ.* Foxman's initial private and respectful inquiries to Gibson went unanswered. Instead of following the customary American protocol and meeting with Jewish leaders in the hope of finding common ground, Gibson and his followers turned the tables and accused their accusers of being anti-Christian, a charge reiterated so often on cable television shows, in conservative newspapers, and among web "bloggers" that it became the dominant story. Some in the Jewish community would come to accuse Foxman of generating more interest in the film than it might have otherwise garnered.

[Richard S. Hirschhaut (2nd ed.)]

FRAENCKEL, LIEPMANN (1774–1857), miniature painter. Born in Germany, Fraenckel settled in Copenhagen in 1792. During a stay in Sweden from 1802 to 1805 he painted several members of the Swedish nobility. From 1814 he worked for the Danish court painting King Frederick VI and members of his family. Two hundred miniatures were made before 1830. In 1826 he founded a wallpaper factory, which still exists.

FRAENKEL (also **Frankel**, **Fraenckel**, **Frankl**, etc.), family widely scattered throughout Central and Eastern Europe. The name first appears in non-Jewish records as a designation for those who had immigrated to Vienna from "Frankenland," in the West. The family is traced back to two scholars in the Swabian town of Wallerstein in the 16th century, Moses ha-Levi Heller and Aaron Heller. Moses was the ancestor of Koppel Fraenkel ha-Levi "the rich" of Vienna (see below). Members of the family married into the patrician Teomim (called Munk in non-Jewish sources), Mirels, and Spiro families of Vienna and Prague. The name begins in Jewish use in the late 17th century, and after the expulsion of the Jews from Vienna (1670) is found throughout Central and Eastern Europe. KOPPEL FRAENKEL HA-LEVI (d. 1670), born in Baiersdorf, settled in Vienna around 1635 and became the richest man in the community. His sons DAVID ISAAC (Seckel), ISRAEL, and ENOCH (Hoenig) wound up the affairs of the Vienna community after the expulsion of 1670, giving 20,000 florins and the crown jewels of the principality of Moldavia (pawned to Koppel in 1665) as a security for the outstanding Jewish debts. They paid the city 4,000 florins for maintenance of the Jewish cemetery. With good conduct certificates, signed by Leopold I, they moved to Fuerth, where David Isaac became head of the community. Israel subsequently officiated as rabbi in Holesov, Uhersky Brod, Pinsk, and Wuerzburg. Enoch taught Hebrew to Johann Christoph *Wagenseil, and in 1683 sent him a letter stressing the importance of tolerance. Sons of Enoch were the ill-fated Ansbach Court Jews Elkan *Fraenkel and his brother Ẓevi Hirsch. GABRIEL and ZACHARIAS FRAENKEL, wealthy Court Jews to various south German principalities, resided in Fuerth but were not directly related to the Austrian levite branch. A son of David Isaac, ISSACHAR BERMAN (d. 1708), became chief rabbi of Schnaittach, Bavaria, **Landesrabbiner* of Ansbach, and rabbi of Brandenburg. Two of his sons, JUDAH LOEB and AARON LEVI, who published a collection of *seliḥot*, settled in Worms, where they and their descendants were prominent in communal life. The most noted of his numerous descendants was the founder of the Breslau seminary, Zacharias *Frankel. ISAAC SECKEL *FRAENKEL, the exponent of extreme Reform Judaism, was probably a descendant, as was L.A. *Frankl, the Austrian writer. Members of the family were among the Jews originally expelled from Vienna who settled in Berlin and Brandenburg, one of whom was appointed leader (*Obervorsteher*) of all the newly arrived Jews. BAERMANN FRAENKEL, another prominent communal leader, was fined 20 talers in 1705 for conducting a too-raucous Purim festival. The most famous of the Berlin Fraenkels was David ben Naphtali Hirsch *Fraenkel, teacher of Moses *Mendelssohn and rabbi of Berlin. His grandson JONAS FRAENCKEL (1773–1846), a wealthy Breslau merchant and philanthropist, donated the funds for the Breslau seminary. David Fraenkel's brothers, ABRAHAM and MOSES, were partners of V.H. *Ephraim in supplying precious metals to the mint. DAVID BEN MOSES FRAENKEL (d. 1865), director of the Dessau Franzschule and editor of **Sulamith*, was a grandnephew of David Fraenkel; the wife of Leopold *Zunz was his grandniece. The Fraenkel family belonged to the upper stratum of Jewish society and through intermarriage was connected with numerous scholars and community leaders including Avigdor *Kara, Yom Tov Lippmann *Heller, Jacob *Emden, and Baruch *Fraenkel Teomim. All Jews currently named Fraenkel may be descendants of the original Vienna family, though the exact relationship is no longer traceable.

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FRAENKEL, ABRAHAM ADOLF (1891–1965), Israeli mathematician. Born in Munich, Fraenkel received a thorough education in talmudic and Jewish studies in addition to mathematics. He held chairs of mathematics at Marburg (from 1922) and Kiel (1928). From 1929 to 1931 he was visiting professor at the Hebrew University, Jerusalem, and accepted a permanent chair there in 1933. Fraenkel made important contributions to set theory. His publications are listed in *Essays on the Foundations of Mathematics Dedicated to A.A. Fraenkel on His Seventieth Birthday*, ed. by Y. Bar Hillel (1966).

FRAENKEL, DAVID BEN NAPHTALI HIRSCH (1707–1762), German rabbi and commentator on the Jerusalem Talmud. Fraenkel was born in Berlin. He was descended from the Mirels family that originated in Vienna and was also known as David Mirels. He studied under his father who was a *dayyan* in Berlin and under Jacob b. Benjamin ha-Kohen *Poppers, author of *Shav Ya'akov*. After living for a time in Hamburg, in 1737 he was appointed rabbi of Dessau, where Moses *Mendelssohn was one of his pupils. In 1739–42 his father Naphtali and his brother Solomon undertook the printing of Maimonides' *Mishneh Torah* on his initiative. In 1743 he was appointed chief rabbi of Berlin. Mendelssohn followed him to Berlin and continued to study under him (particularly Maimonides' *Guide of the Perplexed*) and also provided for his material needs. In Fraenkel's letter of appointment it was expressly stipulated that he was not to act as judge or give rulings in cases where members of his family, of whom there was a great number in Berlin, were involved. Fraenkel's jurisdiction extended to the districts of Brandenburg and Pomerania.

Fraenkel's main achievement is his commentary to the Jerusalem Talmud which constitutes his life work. It is divided into two parts: the first part, *Korban ha-Edah*, following Rashi's commentary to the Babylonian Talmud, is a running commentary aimed at elucidating the plain meaning of the text; the second part, *Shirei Korban*, in the manner of the *tosafot*, gives novellae and various notes to reconcile contradictions in the *Gemara* and correct the errors and inaccuracies that had accumulated in the text. At times his explanations in this commentary differ from those in *Korban ha-Edah*. The commentary appeared in parts: part one (Dessau, 1743) on *Mo'ed*, part two (Berlin, 1757) on *Nashim*, and part three (*ibid.*, 1760–62) on *Nezikin*. He commenced with *Mo'ed* because for *Zera'im* there already existed the commentary of Elijah b. Judah Leib of Fulda published in 1710. His commentary has become one of the two standard commentaries to the Jerusalem Talmud. He wrote Hebrew poems following various events in Prussia – the end of the Silesian wars (1745) and the victory of Prussia in the Seven Years' War (1757) – and published sermons that were translated, in part by Mendelssohn, into German.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: E.L. Landshuth, *Toledot Anshei ha-Shem u-Fe'ullatam be-Adat Berlin* (1884), 35–60; M. Kayserling, *Moses Mendelssohn* (1862), 8ff.; M. Freudenthal, *Aus der Heimat Mendelssohns* (1900), 214ff., 229ff.; Z. Horowitz, in: *Oẓar ha-Ḥayyim*, 6 (1930), 188; Waxman, Literature, 3 (1960^{2}) 708ff.; E. Wolbe, *Geschichte der Juden in Berlin* (1937), 177, 188, 191; L. Ginzberg, *Perushim ve-Ḥiddushim ba-Yerushalmi*, 1 (1941), 55f. (Eng. introd.); J. Meisl, in: *Arim ve-Immahot be-Yisrael*, 1 (1946), 103; idem (ed.), *Pinkas Kehillat Berlin* (1962), index.

[Yehoshua Horowitz]

FRAENKEL, ELKAN (c. 1655–1720), *Court Jew in Ansbach. His father became rabbi in Fuerth and Bamberg after the expulsion of the Jews from Vienna in 1670. However Elkan antagonized the Fuerth community by advocating the interests of the margrave of Ansbach against the prelate of Bamberg, the traditional guardian of Fuerth Jewry. In 1703, Fraenkel became Court Jew of the margrave displacing the *Model family in this post, who thus became his bitter enemies. In 1704, he became an elder (*parnas*) of Fuerth and Ansbach Jewry. Although he could exercise magnanimity, reducing a fine of 30,000 florins imposed on the community for usurious practices to 20,000 florins, he was in general despotic and aroused much opposition. In 1712 he was denounced by Essaja (Jesse) Fraenkel, the spendthrift son of a Fuerth printer and a convert to Christianity, and falsely accused of 16 charges including witchcraft, lèse-majesté, debauchery, possession of blasphemous books, and hindering the confiscation of Hebrew books in Fuerth in 1702. He was sentenced to a public whipping and life imprisonment. His possessions were confiscated and his wife and daughter expelled. His brother ẒEVI HIRSCH (d. 1723), appointed *Landesrabbiner* in 1709, was accused of witchcraft and use of kabbalistic devices to further Elkan's career. He received the same sentence and died in prison.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: S. Stern, *The Court Jew* (1950), 193–4, 237–8, 244, 256–7; H. Schnee, *Die Hoffinanz und der Moderne Staat*, 4 (1963), 26–28; Ziemlich, in: MGWJ, 46 (1902), 88–93; idem, in: *Gedenkbuch D. Kaufmann* (1901), 457–86; Weinberg, in: MGWJ, 50 (1906), 94–99; S. Haenle, *Geschichte der Juden im ehemaligen Fuerstenthum Ansbach* (1867), 72–86; D.Y. Cohen, *Irgunei "Benei ha-Medinah" be-Ashkenaz…*, 1 (1968), 141ff.; 2 (1968), 135–7 (mimeographed dissertation; English summary).

FRAENKEL, FAIWEL (**Bar Tuviah**; 1875?–1933), Hebrew author and publicist. He was born in Vasilkov, in the district of Kiev. In 1893 he published his first article on Polish Jewish history in *Ha-Meliẓ*. He moved to Kiev, and in 1899 published a Hebrew translation of Pinsker's *Autoemancipation*, and a Hebrew translation and adaptation of Edward Bellamy's *Looking Backward* titled *Be-Od Me'ah Shanah* ("One Hundred Years Hence"). An active socialist, he was forced to leave Russia in 1901. He went to Switzerland, studied at the University of Berne, and received his doctorate in 1906 for his dissertation *Buckle und seine Geschichtsphilosophie* (Berner Studien, 1906). He lived in Geneva (1906–12), San Remo (1912–17), and Nice. Bar-Tuviah published many articles in Hebrew literary-scholarly periodicals, including *Ha-Dor, Ha-Me'orer, Ha-Olam, He-Atid, Ha-Tekufah, Miklat*, and *Hadoar*. They deal primarily with social science, Jewish studies, and socialist theory. He was the first Hebrew writer to discuss social sciences in depth. In the field of Jewish studies he investigated the economic background of the formation of sects and parties in ancient Israel. His noteworthy contribution to this subject is his unfinished *Sefer ha-Nezirim*, a two-part history of asceticism among the Jews (1910). His more popular articles took up, in the main, questions of socialism and nationalism, and called for the negation of the Diaspora. His selected writings were published in 1964 by G. Elkoshi, accompanied by an evaluative biographical essay (9–40) and an annotated bibliography (729–808).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Waxman, Literature, 4 (1960), 419ff.

[Gedalyah Elkoshi]

FRAENKEL, ISAAC SECKEL (1765–1835), Hebrew translator and banker. Fraenkel, who was born in Parchim, Germany, was self-educated. He acquired extensive knowledge of religious and secular subjects and of ancient and modern languages. In 1798 he moved to Hamburg where he engaged in banking and became one of the community leaders, particularly in its Reform congregation. Together with M.I. *Bresselau, Fraenkel edited a prayer book for the Hamburg Reform Temple (1818), which he defended in a German tract (*Schutzschrift des zu Hamburg erschienenen Israelitischen Gebetbuches*, 1819) when strong opposition against the new liturgy emerged among the traditionalists. Fraenkel's main literary project was the translation of the Apocrypha from Greek into Hebrew, entitled *Ketuvim Aḥaronim*. This work has frequently been reprinted since its first appearance in Leipzig (1830), its most recent edition appearing in Jerusalem in 1966. A bibliophile edition of the Books of the Maccabees, *Sefer ha-Ḥashmona'im*, appeared in Fraenkel's translation in 1964.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Kitvei Menahem Mibashan ha-Ḥadashim* (1937), 145–58; S. Bernfeld, *Toledot ha-Reformazyon ha-Datit be-Yisrael* (1923), 72–73 and appendix B (excerpts from the prayer book). **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** M.A. Meyer, *Response to Modernity* (1988), 54–60.

[Getzel Kressel]

FRAENKEL, JONAS (1879–1965), Swiss literary historian. Fraenkel was born in Cracow, Poland, studied at the Universities of Vienna and Berne, and became a lecturer at the latter in 1908 (professor extraordinary, 1921). He devoted himself to the investigation of German-Swiss literature and was the editor of the works of Gottfried Keller (17 vols., 1926–39). Other Swiss authors who engaged Fraenkel's attention were C.F. Meyer and his friend Carl Spitteler, whose unpublished works were bequeathed to Fraenkel for publication (*Spitteler – Huldigungen und Begegnungen*, 1945). In German literature Goethe and Heine were among his chief interests, and he published a new edition of Heine's poems (3 vols., 1911–13). Several of his essays were collected in *Dichtung und Wissenschaft* (1954).

ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY: J. Schütt, *Germanistikm und Politik – Schweizer Literaturwissenschaft in der Zeit des Nationalsozialismus* (1996).

[Ludwig W. Kahn]

FRAENKEL, LEVI BEN SAUL (**Schaulsohn**; 1761–1815), apostate member of the rabbinical *Fraenkel family. In 1806 he was nominated by the authorities assistant of the *Breslau *bet din* and *Oberlandesrabbiner* for Silesia (excluding Breslau), despite local objections. A year later he left the city, addressing an open letter to the community in which he acclaimed the French *Sanhedrin, advocated the unification of all religions, and expressed messianic hopes centered around *Napoleon. His letter caused consternation. In the same year in Paris he embraced Catholicism and thereafter wandered throughout Europe, until his death in extreme poverty and neglect in a Jewish hospital in Frankfurt. He wrote a few mystical works.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: M. Brann, in: *Jubelschrift … H. Graetz* (1887), 266–76; A. Freimann, in: ZHB, 4 (1900), 159. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** *Biographisches Handbuch der Rabbiner,* 1 (2004), 323.

FRAENKEL, LOUIS (1851–1911), Swedish financier. Born in Germany, Fraenkel moved to Stockholm in 1874, where in 1880 he established a successful banking firm. In 1893 he became executive manager of the Stockholm Handelsbank (now Svenska Handelsbanken), which he developed into one of the largest financial institutions in the country. Fraenkel's activity was characterized by the personal manner in which he controlled his bank at a time when bureaucratic methods were becoming increasingly prevalent.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Svenska män och kvinnor,* 2 (1944).

[Hugo Mauritz Valentin]

FRAENKEL, OSMOND K. (1888–1983), U.S. constitutional lawyer. Fraenkel was the general counsel to the American Civil Liberties Union from 1955. He argued cases before the U.S. Supreme Court, seeking protection for political and religious groups, aliens, individuals holding dissident opinions, or persons convicted on the basis of improperly obtained confessions. He assisted in the Scottsboro case in the Alabama and Supreme Court hearings. In 1931 he wrote *The Sacco-Vanzetti Case*, arguing the innocence of the accused and the unfairness of the legal proceedings. He was the author of books on civil liberties, including *The Supreme Court and Civil Liberties* (1941, 1960^6); *Our Civil Liberties* (1944); *The Rights We Have* (1971); and *Georgetown Law Journal: Media and the First Amendment in a Free Society* (1973).

FRAENKEL-TEOMIM, BARUCH BEN JOSHUA EZEKIEL FEIWEL (1760–1828), rabbi in Poland and Moravia. Frankel-Teomim studied under Liber Korngold of Cracow, known as "Liber Ḥarif," and *David Tevele of Lissa. On the death in 1778 of Naphtali Herz Margolies, the *av bet din* of Wisznice, he was appointed his successor and served in this office until 1802. In that year he was appointed rabbi of Leipnik (Moravia), remaining there until his death. In Leipnik he founded a yeshivah which became renowned. Among his pupils were Ezekiel Panet, author of the *Mareh Yeḥezkel*, and Ḥayyim *Halberstamm, later his son-in-law (resp. *Ateret Ḥakhamim*, EH no. 9). During Fraenkel-Teomim's younger years *Ḥasidism began to spread in Poland and Galicia; at first he belonged to the circle of its opponents but later his opposition gradually diminished. Among the outstanding scholars with whom he was in contact may be mentioned Moses *Sofer (*ibid.*, ḤM nos. 12–15), with whom he was on intimate terms, David *Deutsch (*ibid.*, OḤ nos. 2,3), Ephraim Zalman *Margolioth (*ibid.*, EH no. 21), and Mordecai *Banet of Nikolsburg.

Fraenkel-Teomim saw his main task in the strengthening of his yeshivah and the education of many pupils. He did not devote himself to the same extent to the writing of books, for fear of dissipating his time. Only individual pamphlets by him are extant. These were written by his pupils, who noted down his novellae and homilies. Among the first to collect his teachings and publish them were his son Joshua Hoeschel and Ḥayyim Halberstamm. They published his *Barukh Ta'am* (1841), a selection of his novellae to which Halberstamm added glosses. Fraenkel is often referred to by the name of this book. Among his other works may be mentioned: (1) *Ateret Ḥakhamim* (1866) in two parts: pt. 1, responsa on the four sections of the *Shulḥan Arukh*; pt. 2, novellae and *pilpulim on talmudic themes; (2) *Margenita de-Rav* (1883; 2nd ed. with additions, 1957), a work on *aggadah* arranged in the order of the weekly scriptural readings, published by Menahem Eliezer Mahler from a manuscript in the possession of the author's grandchildren; (3) *Barukh she-Amar* (1905, 1966^2), novellae on many tractates and talmudic themes.

Fraenkel-Teomim left glosses written in the margin of his books of the *rishonim* and *aḥaronim*, and there is a list of 53 such works. His numerous glosses on the Shulḥan Arukh (OḤ, 1836; ḤM, 1860; YD, 1865; EH, 1904) under the title *Imrei Barukh* are highly regarded. His glosses to the Babylonian Talmud were published first in the Lemberg edition of the Talmud of 1862 and thereafter in all later editions; to the Jerusalem Talmud in Vilna in 1922; and to the Mishnah under the name *Mishnot Rav* in Lemberg in 1862. His *Derushei Barukh Ta'am* (edited by B.S. Schneersohn and E. Heilprin, 1963) contains homilies for the festivals, and eulogies. Other works remain in manuscript.

His responsa and *pilpulim* on talmudic themes are based on the *rishonim*, and penetrating deeply into their meaning he arrives at the *halakhah*. Although he indulged in *pilpul*, a simple answer was more important to him than casuistic exercises. Even though he showed himself in his responsa to be a great authority he mentions in various places that he "fears to give directives" (*Ateret Ḥakhamim*, EH 18, 22). In certain cases he did not wish to rely on his own opinion and sought the consent of other outstanding scholars for his view, stressing: "I am afraid to give expression to new ideas" (*ibid.*, YD 2:24).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: S.M. Chones, *Toledot ha-Posekim* (1910), 123; J.A. Kammelhar, *Dor De'ah* (1935), 143–9; J. Eibeschuetz, *Ohel Barukh* (1933); J.L. Maimon, in: *Sinai*, 44 (1959), 117–26, 204–12, 408–19; 45 (1959), 16–22, 97–106, 275–83; idem, *Middei Ḥodesh be-Ḥodsho*, 5 (1959), 49–57; Z. Horowitz, *Le-Korot ha-Kehillot be-Polanyah* (1969), 216f.; B. Fraenkel-Teomim, *Barukh she-Amar* (1966^2), introd. 13–28 (biography).

[Josef Horovitz]

FRAGA, city in Aragon, N.E. Spain; information concerning Jews there dates to the 13th century. The privileges which the Jews enjoyed, later confirmed by Alfonso IV of Aragon (1327–36), include the usual definition of civil rights. The maximum annual tax payable by the community was specified. The Jews were given the right to elect their representatives, who were granted a limited jurisdiction and the right to impose levies for communal purposes. They were permitted to maintain a synagogue, cemetery, and slaughterhouse, and were given the right of defending themselves against attacks. The Jews were promised that their quarter would be protected and its autonomy respected. In the 1380s there were 40 Jewish families living in Fraga. During the 1391 persecutions the synagogue was destroyed; many Jews left the town and others became converted to Christianity. In 1398 Queen Maria ordered 36 former members of the community to return to Fraga within a month, since they had undertaken not to leave without paying their share of the communal taxes. The most prominent member of the Fraga community, the physician and poet Astruc Rimoch, embraced Christianity in 1414 as Franciscus de Sant Jordi. In September 1414 Ferdinand I ordered a number of converts to pay the tax they owed before their conversion. By 1415 the Jewish community of Fraga had disappeared following the conversion of all its members. In 1436 John II permitted Jews to establish a new settlement in Fraga and Alfonso V promised privileges to Jews who would settle in Fraga. We have some information on the Jews in Fraga in 1451 and 1457 which suggests that the community apparently continued to exist until the expulsion in 1492.

The Jewish quarter was in the Collada, comprising one big street and several small byways leading to it.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Baer, Urkunden, index; Baer, Spain, index; Salarrullana, in: *Revista de archivos, bibliotecas, museos*, 40 (1919), 69, 183, 431; Romano, in: *Sefarad*, 13 (1953), 75, 78. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** J. Goñi Gaztambide, in: *Hispania Sacra,* 25 (1960), 205–6.

FRAM, DAVID (1903–1988), South African Yiddish poet. Born in Panevezys, Lithuania, he was a refugee with his parents in Russia during World War I, and returned to Lithuania in 1921. From 1923 he published poems in the Kaunas Yiddish press and in 1927 immigrated to South Africa, where he issued *Lider un Poemes* ("Songs and Poems," Vilna, 1931), nostalgic idylls of Jewish life in Lithuania, as well as South African poems. His later poetry dealt with South African themes, but remained rooted in Lithuanian Jewish tradition: "All the major actors on the South African stage step boldly forward in Fram's verse" (Sherman). His writings are marked by a deep compassion for the underdog and a sensitive lyrical quality. Outstanding examples are two long 1947 poems, "*Efsher*" ("Perhaps"), largely autobiographical, and "*Dos Letste Kapitl*" ("The Last Chapter"), an elegy on his destroyed Lithuanian homeland. Between the wars, Fram was active in Yiddish cultural circles in Johannesburg, a contributor to all Yiddish publications in South Africa, and wrote the libretti for two Yiddish operettas staged in Johannesburg. His later verse is anthologized in *A Shvalb oyfn Dakh* ("A Swallow on the Roof," 1984).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: LNYL, 7 (1968), 439. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** J. Sherman, in: *The Mendele Review* (Jan. 14, 2004).

[Gustav Saron and Louis Hotz / Leonard Prager (2nd ed.)]

FRANCE (Heb. פְּרַאנְצִיָּה and צָרְפַת), country in Western Europe. This entry is arranged according to the following outline:

- **From the First Settlements unil the Revolution**
  - THE ROMAN AND MEROVINGIAN PERIODS
  - FROM THE CAROLINGIANS UNTIL THE EVE OF THE FIRST CRUSADE
  - FROM THE FIRST CRUSADE UNTIL THE GENERAL EXPULSION FROM PROVENCE (1096–1501)
  - THE COMMUNITIES IN MEDIEVAL FRANCE
  - SCHOLARSHIP IN THE MIDDLE AGES
  - FROM THE EXPULSION FROM PROVENCE TO THE EVE OF THE REVOLUTION
- **The Modern Period**
  - THE REVOLUTION
  - MEASURES OF NAPOLEON
  - THE CONSISTORIAL SYSTEM
  - OFFICIAL RECOGNITION
  - ASSIMILATION
  - ABOLITION OF THE "JEWISH OATH"
  - WELFARE AND EDUCATION
  - PROTECTION OF JEWISH RIGHTS
  - SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC ADVANCES
  - NEW TRENDS IN JUDAISM
  - ALLIANCE ISRAÉLITE UNIVERSELLE
  - ALSACE-LORRAINE AND ALGERIA
  - ANTISEMITISM
  - SEPARATION OF CHURCH AND STATE
  - DEMOGRAPHIC CHANGES
  - WORLD WAR I
  - INTER-WAR YEARS
  - ECONOMIC, CULTURAL, AND SOCIAL POSITION
- **Holocaust Period**
  - ANTI-JEWISH MEASURES AND ADMINISTRATION
  - DEPORTATIONS AND FORCED LABOR
  - RESCUE AND RESISTANCE
- **Early Postwar Period**
  - NATIVE POPULATION AND WAVES OF IMMIGRATION
  - GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION
  - ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL STATUS
  - COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION
  - CULTURAL LIFE
- **Later Developments**
  - DEMOGRAPHY
  - EDUCATION AND CULTURE
  - COMMUNITY
  - ANTISEMITISM
  - ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL SITUATION
- **Relations with Israel**

This article deals with the history of the Jews living within the territory corresponding to present-day France; the territories beyond the present frontiers (more particularly those of the north and southwest) which were subjected to the authority of the kings of France for short periods are not considered here. The provinces neighboring on the kingdom of France or enclosed within it before their incorporation within the kingdom (in particular *Brittany, Normandy, *Anjou, *Champagne, *Lorraine, *Alsace, *Franche-Comté, *Burgundy, *Savoy, *Dauphiné, the county of *Nice, *Provence, *Comtat Venaissin, *Languedoc, *Auvergne, Guienne, *Poitou) are dealt with. Those areas which formed part of these provinces, but which are today beyond the borders of France, are not included.

From the First Settlements until the Revolution

THE ROMAN AND MEROVINGIAN PERIODS. The earliest evidence of a Jewish presence in France concerns an isolated individual, perhaps accompanied by a few servants; he was *Archelaus, the ethnarch of Judea, who was banished by Augustus in the year 6 C.E. to *Vienne (in the present department of Isère), where he died in 16 C.E. Similarly, his younger brother Herod *Antipas, tetrarch of Galilee and Perea, was exiled to *Lyons (if not to a place also called Lugdunum on the French side of the Pyrenees) by Caligula in 39. A story taken as legend (intended to explain the origin of the prayer *Ve-Hu Raḥum*) states that after the conquest of Jerusalem, the Romans filled three ships with Jewish captives, which arrived in *Bordeaux, *Arles, and Lyons. Recent archaeological findings tend to find a basis for this legend. Objects identified as Jewish because of the *menorah* portrayed on them have been discovered around Arles (first, fourth, and early fifth centuries), and in Bordeaux and the neighboring region (third and early fourth centuries). Written sources, previously treated with some reserve, affirm that during the Roman period Jews had been present in *Metz (mid-fourth century), *Poitiers (late fourth century), *Avignon (late fourth century), and Arles (mid-fifth century).

Evidence is abundant from 465 onward. There were then Jews in Vannes (Brittany), a few years later in *Clermont-Ferrand and *Narbonne, in *Agde in 506, in *Valence in 524, and in *Orléans in 533. After Clovis I (481–511), founder of the Merovingian dynasty, became converted to Catholicism (496), the Christian population increasingly adopted Catholic doctrine. From 574 there were attempts to compel the Jews to accept the prevailing faith. In 576 Bishop *Avitus of Clermont-Ferrand offered the Jews of his town (who numbered over 500) the alternative of baptism or expulsion. His example was followed in 582 by Chilperic I, king of Neustria (the western part of the Frankish kingdom). In *Marseilles, where Jews from both these areas found refuge, there was also an attempt at forced conversion. Little information is available on a similar attempt made by Dagobert I between 631 and 639; had this been successful, the Jews would have been excluded from almost the whole of present-day France. However, this seems to have been far from the case; though documents make no mention of Jews for some time, there is a similar lack of information about other social and ethnic groups. Little is known of the Jews of Septimania (in southwest Gaul, then a Spanish province). The Jews there were spared the forced conversions and subsequent violent persecutions which befell their coreligionists in Visigothic *Spain.

During this period the number of Jews in France increased rapidly, initially through immigration, first from Italy and the eastern part of the Roman Empire and then from Spain, especially after Sisebut's persecutions, which began in 612. However, the increase in numbers was also due to Jewish proselytism, which found adherents mostly among the poorest classes and in particular among slaves.

At that time the Jews were mainly engaged in commerce, but there were already physicians and even sailors. In the absence of written Jewish sources, archaeological evidence once more provides information on the France of this early period. On a seal from Avignon (fourth century) the *menorah* is reproduced, although only with five branches. The same motif appears on the inscription of Narbonne (687/8), which also points to a scanty knowledge of Hebrew at the time; the whole text is in Latin with the exception of three words, *Shalom al Yisrael*, which are incorrectly spelled. Nothing at all is known of the internal organization of these Jewish groups, except for the presence of synagogues (*Paris 582; Orléans before 585), but it is known that there were contacts between them. The Marseilles community maintained relations with those of Clermont-Ferrand and Paris and even, beyond the borders, with that of Rome.

In spite of the attempts at forced conversion, relations between the Jewish and Christian populations seem to have been free, a state of affairs demonstrated by the repeated efforts of the church authorities to prohibit these relations. The main prohibition, frequently repeated, was on Jews and Christians taking meals together (Vannes, 465; Agde, 506; Épone, 517; etc.); another, aimed at separating the population further, forbade the Jews to go out-of-doors during the Easter holidays (Orléans, 538; Mâcon, 583; etc.); and finally – a measure designed to prevent Jewish proselytism – possession of not only Christian but also pagan slaves by the Jews was restricted or forbidden (Orléans, 541: Clichy, 626 or 627; etc.). Further, though at first sight negative, proof of good relations between Christians and Jews is provided by the frequent religious *disputations, discussions which were characterized by the great freedom in argument accorded to the Jews (particularly between King Chilperic I (561–84) and his Jewish purveyor *Priscus, 581). Another positive testimony – though this may be largely a pious invention – is to be found in the participation of the Jews in the obsequies of church dignitaries (Arles, 459 and 543; Clermont-Ferrand, 554).

FROM THE CAROLINGIANS UNTIL THE EVE OF THE FIRST CRUSADE. The reign of the Carolingians was the most favorable period for the Jews in the kingdom of France. *Agobard's attempted forced conversion of Jewish children in Lyons and

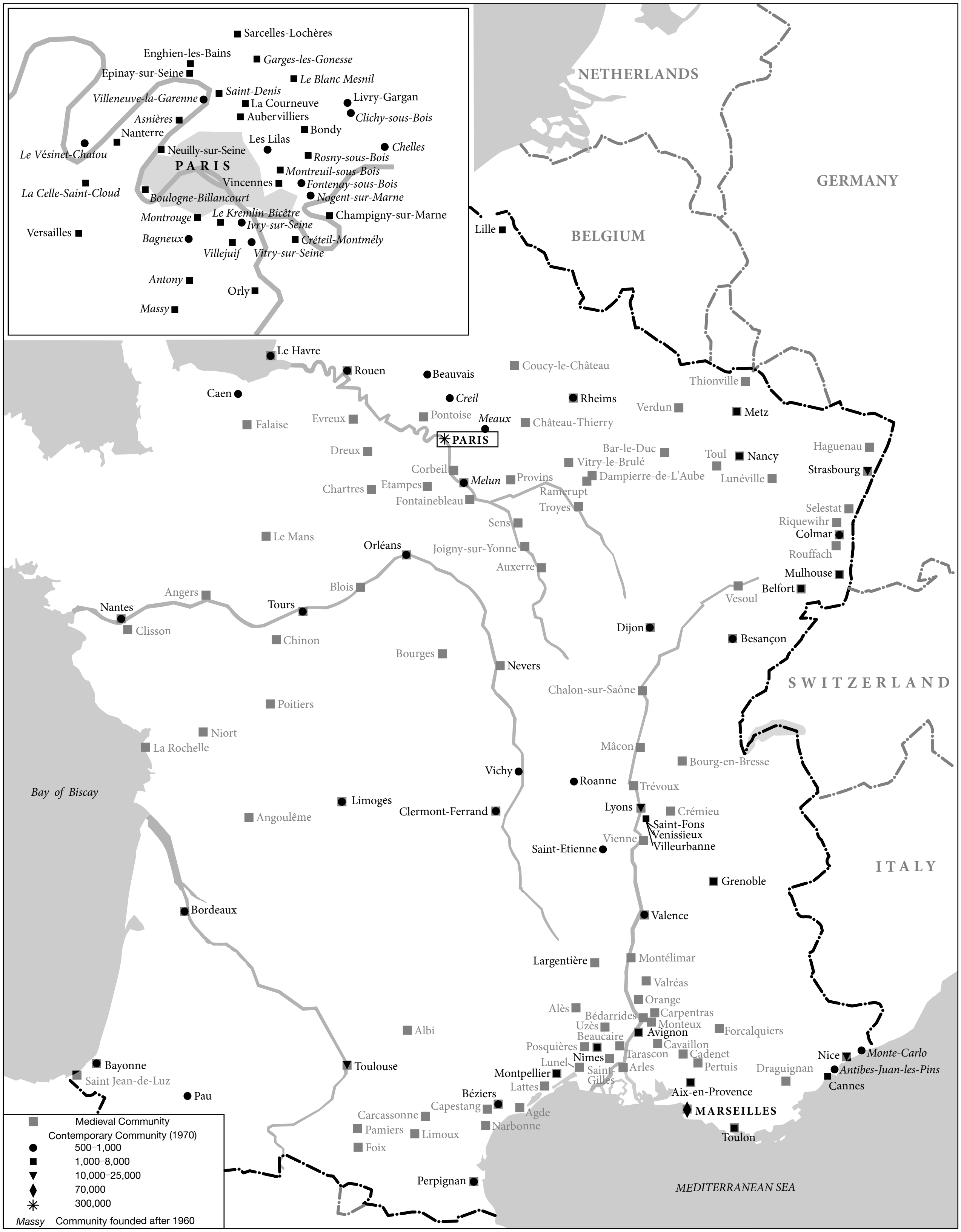
Sarcelles-Lochères
Enghien-les-Bains
Garges-les-Gonesse
Epinay-sur-Seine
Le Blanc Mesnil
Saint-Denis
Villeneuve-la-Garenne
La Courneuve
Livry-Gargan
Aubervilliers
Clichy-sous-Bois
Asnières
Nanterre
Bondy
Les Lilas
Chelles
Le Vésinet-Chatou
Neuilly-sur-Seine
Rosny-sous-Bois
PARIS
Montreuil-sous-Bois
Vincennes
Fontenay-sous-Bois
La Celle-Saint-Cloud
Boulogne-Billancourt
Nogent-sur-Marne
Le Kremlin-Bicêtre
Montrouge
Champigny-sur-Marne
Ivry-sur-Seine
Versailles
Bagneux
Créteil-Montmély
Villejuif
Vitry-sur-Seine
Antony
Orly
Massy
NETHERLANDS
GERMANY
BELGIUM
Lille
Le Havre
Rouen
Beauvais
Coucy-le-Château
Thionville
Caen
Creil
Rheims
Verdun
Metz
Falaise
Evreux
Pontoise
Meaux
Château-Thierry
PARIS
Dreux
Bar-le-Duc
Toul
Nancy
Haguenau
Vitry-le-Brulé
Corbeil
Strasbourg
Melun
Provins
Dampierre-de-L'Aube
Lunéville
Chartres
Etampes
Ramerupt
Fontainebleau
Troyes
Selestat
Riquewihr
Sens
Colmar
Le Mans
Orléans
Joigny-sur-Yonne
Rouffach
Auxerre
Mulhouse
Blois
Belfort
Angers
Vesoul
Nantes
Tours
Clisson
Dijon
Chinon
Besançon
Bourges
Nevers
SWITZERLAND
Chalon-sur-Saône
Poitiers
Niort
La Rochelle
Mâcon
Bourg-en-Bresse
Vichy
Roanne
Bay of Biscay
Trévoux
Limoges
Lyons
Crémieu
Clermont-Ferrand
Angoulême
Saint-Fons
Venissieux
Vienne
Villeurbanne
Saint-Etienne
ITALY
Grenoble
Bordeaux
Valence
Largentière
Montélimar
Valréas
Orange
Alès
Bédarrides
Carpentras
Uzès
Monteux
Albi
Beaucaire
Avignon
Forcalquiers
Posquières
Cavaillon
Tarascon
Cadenet
Nîmes
Nice
Monte-Carlo
Lunel
Bayonne
Toulouse
Montpellier
Saint Gilles
Arles
Pertuis
Draguignan
Antibes-Juan-les-Pins
Saint Jean-de-Luz
Lattes
Cannes
Pau
Béziers
Aix-en-Provence
Capestang
Carcassonne
Agde
MARSEILLES
Pamiers
Limoux
Narbonne
Toulon
Foix
Perpignan
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
■ Medieval Community
Contemporary Community (1970)
● 500–1,000
■ 1,000–8,000
▼ 10,000–25,000
♦ 70,000
✳ 300,000
Massy Community founded after 1960

Main Jewish communities in France in the Middle Ages and in the latter 20th century. Insert shows detail of region surrounding Paris.

the district around 820 brought the bishop into disfavor with Louis the Pious (814–840).

The important Jewish settlement in the Rhone Valley, which had been in existence during the Roman and Merovingian periods, increased and expanded through the Saône Valley. Continued immigration from Italy and Spain was a source of demographic growth, as was proselytism affecting also the higher social classes; the best-known example is *Bodo, deacon of Louis the Pious, who converted to Judaism in Muslim Spain. From the second half of the tenth century and, at the latest, from the second half of the 11th century, there was also a trend toward migration to England.

The most intensive economic activity of the Jews of France, especially in the commercial field, belongs to this period. Some were accredited purveyors to the imperial court and others administered the affairs of Catholic religious institutions. Privileges granted to the Jews by the Carolingian emperors became the model for those coveted by other merchants. Their great concentration in agriculture and especially viticulture enabled them practically to monopolize the market; even the wine for Mass was bought from Jews. The few cases of moneylending known from this period were in fact connected with this agricultural activity; they were related to deferred purchases of agricultural estates intended to round off existing Jewish estates. In view of the wealth of general information available on the Jews of this period, the paucity of evidence concerning physicians suggests that there was a great decrease of interest in this profession. In the public services, Jews were employed both in the subordinate position of tax collector and in the most respected office of imperial ambassador (*Isaac for *Charlemagne; Judah for Charles the Bald).

The personal privileges and ordinances granted by the Carolingians assured the Jews complete judicial equality. Moreover, any attempt to entice away their pagan slaves by converting them to Catholicism was penalized; their right to employ salaried Christian personnel was explicitly guaranteed; any offense against their persons or property was punishable by enormous fines. Even more, the Jews enjoyed a preferential status, because they were not subjected to the ordeals ("judgments of God") which normally formed part of the judicial process. An imperial official, the *magister Judaeorum*, who ranked among the *missi dominici*, supervised the meticulous enforcement of all these privileges.

The activities of the church councils had little effect during this period. The Councils of Meaux and Paris (845–6) sought to legislate on the subject of the Jews, and a series of hostile canons concerning them were drawn up; these were in fact a kind of canonical collection and the work of *Amulo, Agobard's successor to the see of Lyons, and the deacon *Florus of Lyons, faithful secretary of both bishops. However, Charles the Bald (840–77) refused to ratify these canons. Another center of intensive Jewish settlement and powerful anti-Jewish reaction was *Chartres, where at the beginning of the 11th century, Bishop *Fulbert delivered a series of sermons to refute the Jewish assertion that, since there might yet be Jewish kings in distant lands, the Messiah had not yet come. Toward the close of the same century, *Ivo of Chartres inserted a series of violently anti-Jewish texts in his canonical collection. All of these, however, precisely by their concern to combat Jewish influences on the Christian faithful, emphasize the cordiality of the relations prevailing between Jews and Christians.

The so-called "Carolingian Renaissance" in the intellectual sphere had no counterpart on the Jewish scene, but strangely enough, subsequent tradition also attributes the impetus of Jewish learning in the West to Charlemagne (768–814). Just as he actually brought scholarly Irish monks to France, he is said to have brought the Jewish scholar Machir from Babylon. What is known of Hebrew works circulating in France derives from the testimony of Agobard, but, being a polemist, he mentions only those works he criticizes: a very ancient version of **Toledot Yeshu*, a parody of the Gospels, and **Shi'ur Komah*, a mystic work. The real upsurge of Jewish learning in France began during the 11th century. In the middle of the century, Joseph b. Samuel *Bonfils (Tov Elem) was active in Limoges, Moses ha-Darshan in Narbonne, and, a little later, *Rashi in Troyes. From the outset, the scholars' works comprised the principal fields of Jewish learning: liturgic poetry, biblical and talmudic commentaries, rabbinic decisions, grammar, and philology. The glory of Limoges and central France in general was shortlived, but Narbonne and Troyes heralded the great schools of Jewish scholars in both the extreme south and the extreme north of the country. The radical change in the situation resulted from the general upheaval which swept across the Christian West from the beginning of the 11th century and paved the way for the Crusades. Two local persecutions, in *Limoges at the end of the tenth and in the early 11th century, may be connected with the general persecution which raged through France from 1007 for at least five years. Launched by the clergy, it was rapidly supported by King Robert II the Pious (996–1031), then propagated by the general Christian population. The pretext for the riots was the accusation that the Jews of Orléans had joined in a plot against Christians with Sultan al-Ḥākim, who had indeed destroyed the Church of the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem. Thus the object of universal hatred, the Jews of France were then, if the sources are correct, either expelled from the towns, put to the sword, drowned in the rivers, or put to death in some other fashion, the only exceptions being those who accepted baptism. When one of the Jewish notables of France, Jacob b. Jekuthiel, intervened with Pope John XVIII (1004–09), the latter sent a legate to France to put a stop to the persecutions. Those Jews who had been forced to accept baptism immediately returned to Judaism. A similar situation arose in 1063: the "Spanish crusaders," who had set out to fight the Muslims, began by persecuting the Jews of southern France. On this occasion, however, they met with the opposition of the princes and the bishops, who were congratulated by Pope *Alexander II for their stand.

FROM THE FIRST CRUSADE UNTIL THE GENERAL EXPULSION FROM PROVENCE (1096–1501). The First Crusade (1096–99) had little immediate effect on the situation of the Jews, but it was in France that the first murderous persecutions occurred, accompanied by forced conversions in *Rouen and Metz (but not in southern France, as some scholars have asserted recently). Although the brunt of the brutalities was borne by the Jews of Germany, it was in Rouen that the crusaders justified their persecutions of the Jews: "If it is our desire [so they said] to attack the enemies of God after having covered lengthy distances toward the Orient while before our eyes we have the Jews, a nation whose enmity to God is unequaled, we will then follow a path which leads us backward." The first written legal act of a king of France which is extant is *Louis VII's decree of 1144 in which he banished from his kingdom those Jews who had been converted to Christianity and later returned to Judaism, that is those who – from the Christian point of view – had "relapsed into heresy." The Second Crusade (1147–49) gave rise to a controversy between *Bernard of Clairvaux and *Peter of Cluny on the question of the Jews; although they were spared the confiscation of all their belongings, as the abbot of Cluny had recommended in order to finance this expedition, they were nevertheless compelled to make a considerable financial contribution.

France's first *blood libel occurred in *Blois in 1171, when 31 Jews – men, women, and children – were burned at the stake after a parody of a trial, and in spite of the fact that not even a body was produced as proof of the murder. A series of similar accusations followed in Loches, *Pontoise, Joinville, and Épernay. Although Louis VII declared to the leaders of the Jewish community of Paris when they appealed to him that he regarded the ritual murder accusation as pure invention and promised to prevent the renewed outbreaks of similar persecutions, popular rumors continued to indict the Jews. According to his biographer, King *Philip Augustus (1180–1223), when only six years old, learned from his playmates that the Jews were in the habit of killing Christian children. The hatred thus nurtured prevailed, and he acted upon it soon after his accession to the throne. In 1181 he had all the wealthy Jews of Paris thrown into prison and freed them only in return for a huge ransom. In the following year (1182) he decreed their expulsion from the kingdom and the confiscation of their real estate. If the number of Jews affected by this measure was comparatively small, this was the result of the small size of the actual kingdom of France and the lack of royal authority over the nobles of the neighboring provinces, where the exiles found immediate refuge. Such a haven, however, was not always safe from the tenacious hatred of the king of France. Thus, in 1190, he pursued the Jews in Champagne (in *Bray-sur-Seine or in Brie-Comte-Robert) and exterminated a whole community which had the temerity to condemn one of his subjects to death for assassinating a Jew.

Driven by financial considerations, Philip Augustus authorized the return of the Jews to his kingdom in 1198, extorting from them what profit he could. Possibly another concern was also involved: from 1182 Philip Augustus had considerably expanded his territory. In all the lands incorporated within the kingdom, he found Jews living among a population which raised no objection to their presence, and he might have seriously angered the populace by expelling the Jews. Since he tolerated the Jews in the newly acquired parts of his kingdom, their banishment from its heart was no longer justified. Two months after their readmission, the king reached an agreement with Thibaut II, count of Champagne, on the division of their respective rights over the Jews living in their territories.

The Third Crusade (1189–92), which had such grave consequences for the Jews of England, did not affect those of France, but the crusade against the *Albigenses in southern France also spelled ruin to the Jewish communities. That of *Béziers, in particular, mourned many victims when the town was taken in 1209; the survivors crossed the Pyrenees and reestablished their community in *Gerona.

During the reign of *Louis IX (1226–70), severe anti-Jewish persecutions took place in 1236 in the western provinces, in Brittany, Anjou, and Poitou, which were not subject to the direct authority of the monarch. In 1240 Duke Jean le Roux expelled the Jews from Brittany. During the same year the famous disputation on the Talmud took place in Paris. Properly speaking, it was a trial of the Talmud inspired by a bull issued by *Gregory IX in 1239. The verdict had already been given in advance: the Talmud was to be destroyed by fire, a sentence which was carried out in 1242. In Dauphiné, which was still independent of the kingdom, ten Jews were burned at the stake in *Valréas in 1247 following a blood libel. Anti-Jewish agitation which resulted in the imprisonment of Jews and the confiscation of their belongings spread to several places in Dauphiné. There is no reason to believe that Louis IX had intended to expel the Jews or that he had even issued an order to this effect. Yet his brother, *Alphonse of Poitiers, to whom the king had ceded the government of several provinces, ordered the expulsion of the Jews from Poitou in July 1249. However, the order was not rigorously applied or it took effect for a brief period only. Nevertheless, the territory governed by Alphonse was the scene of the first local expulsion: from Moissac in 1271. Louis IX and Alphonse of Poitiers rivaled one another in their brutal methods of extorting money from the Jews. The king, ostentatiously scrupulous of benefiting from money earned through the sin of usury, dedicated it to the financing of the Crusade. With the same pious motive Alphonse of Poitiers incarcerated all the Jews of his provinces so that he could lay his hands on their possessions with greater ease. *Philip III the Bold, who reigned from 1270, was responsible for a widespread migration of the Jews when he forbade them, in 1283, to live in the small rural localities. The accession of *Philip IV the Fair (1285) was ushered in by the massacre of *Troyes, once more following on a blood libel; several notables of the community were condemned and burned at the stake in 1288. In 1289, first *Gascony (which was an English possession) and then Anjou (governed by the brother of the king of France) expelled the Jews. In 1291, Philip the Fair hastily published an ordinance prohibiting the Jews expelled from Gascony and England from settling in France.

Although Philip the Fair denied the clergy in general (1288) and the inquisitors in particular (1302) any judicial rights over the Jews, this was not the better to protect them but merely because he objected to sharing his authority in any way. It was therefore probably royal judges who tried the first *host desecration cases brought against several Jews of Paris in 1290. In order to guarantee the greatest financial gain from the expulsion order of 1306, Philip the Fair issued oral instructions only. After the imprisonment of all the Jews (July 22, 1306) and the seizure of their belongings, numerous written ordinances were issued by the royal chancellery in order to secure for the king, if possible, the sum total of the spoils. Over this very question of the Jews, the resurgent royal authority was revealed; indeed, the expulsion order won the successive support of an ever-growing number of lords until its provisions even spread to the territories of those lords who had not been consulted. As well as in the provinces which still evaded royal authority – Lorraine, Alsace, Franche-Comté, Savoy, Dauphiné, Provence with the principality of *Orange and Comtat Venaissin, the counties of *Roussillon and Cerdagne (Cerdaña) – the Jews banished from France found asylum in the present territories of Belgium, Germany, Italy, and Spain. Philip the Fair granted safe-conducts to a number of Jews to enable them to stay in his kingdom or return to it; they were to assist him in collecting the debts which had been seized. In 1311 they too were "permanently" expelled. Although the expulsion itself encountered scarcely any objections on the part of the lords, this was far from the case when the king tried to seize all the booty for himself: bitter disagreements often followed, as in Montpellier.

The recovery of all the spoils was still far from complete when *Louis x the Quarreler (1314–16), son and successor of Philip the Fair, considered allowing the Jews to return (May 17, 1315), which actually came into effect before July 28, 1315. A decree of that date, repudiating the "evil advisers" who had incited his father to expel the Jews and justifying Louis' decision to recall them because of the "general clamor of the people," defined the conditions of Jewish residence for a 12-year period. Under Philip v the Tall (1316–22) anti-Jewish massacres were perpetrated by the *Pastoureaux in 1320, and the Jews of *Toulouse and areas to the west of the town suffered heavily. There the king, his officers, and the church authorities combined in efforts to suppress the movement, principally because it was a serious threat to the social order. Popular mania against lepers spread to the Jews in several places in 1321, particularly in *Tours, *Chinon, and Bourges (or elsewhere in Berry). Without even a legal pretext, Jews were put to death in all these places, 160 in Chinon alone. As well as the confiscation of the belongings of the Jews thus "brought to justice," an immense fine was imposed on the whole of French Jewry. The expulsion – no text of the decree ordaining it remains – took place between April 7 and Aug. 27, 1322.

In 1338 and 1347 over 25 Jewish communities of Alsace were the victims of persecutions which were limited to the eastern regions. On the other hand, the massacres connected with the *Black Death (1348 and 1349), struck Jewish communities throughout the eastern and southeastern regions, notably in Provence, Savoy, Dauphiné, Franche-Comté, and Alsace. It was only due to the intervention of the pope that the Jews of Avignon and Comtat Venaissin were spared a similar fate. In Franche-Comté, after they had been accused of spreading the plague, the Jews were imprisoned for long periods and their possessions confiscated; they were expelled in 1349, although they reappeared there at the latest in 1355. In that same year Dauphiné was practically incorporated within the kingdom of France, yet the Jews of this province continued to enjoy their former freedoms and immunities.

The crown never revealed the financial motive behind the readmission of the Jews so blatantly as in 1359. *Charles v (1364–80), regent for his father John ii the Good who was held prisoner in England, then authorized their return for a period of 20 years simply in order to use the taxes to enable him to pay his father's ransom. Following the example of Louis the Quarreler, he allowed the Jews to reside in France for limited periods only, although in his case the residence periods which had been granted were more faithfully abided by. In 1360 John the Good (1350–64) ratified the authorization granted by his son.

When Charles v succeeded to the throne, he confirmed, in May 1364, the 20 years which were initially granted and prolonged the period by six years, then by a further ten years in October 1374. When *Charles vi (1380–1422) took over the government himself, in February 1388 and March 1389, he ratified the prolongations granted by Charles v; he did not ratify either the five or the six years accorded by Louis of Anjou, acting as regent for him (1380–88). Thus, after the decree of Sept. 17, 1394, stipulating that thenceforward the Jews would no longer be tolerated in the kingdom of France, the departure of the Jews became effective in 1395 (between January 15 and March 18), 36 years after the first concession for a new residence period granted by Charles v. Properly speaking, this was not actually an expulsion but rather a refusal to renew the right of residence. However, obviously it resulted in the departure of the Jews from the kingdom of France.

From 1380 the Jews were the victims of bloody persecutions, which followed in the wake of popular risings in several towns of the kingdom, especially in Paris and Nantes. There was a similar occurrence in 1382. Although the king exempted the Jews from returning the pawns which had been stolen from them on this occasion, he also granted a hasty pardon to the rioters. In 1389 the king allowed the town of Eyrieu the right of deciding for itself whether it would admit the Jews or not; although such a prerogative was subsequently granted to the towns of Alsace in general, this was at that time an exception within the kingdom. There was, however, no reason to regard this as a harbinger of the forthcoming generalized departure of the Jews. On the contrary, as late as July 15, 1394, the king issued a reasonably favorable decree to the Jews of Languedoc. When Charles VI terminated the residence of the Jews in his kingdom on September 17, he claimed that there had been "several grave complaints and outcries" concerning "the excesses and misdemeanors which the said Jews had committed and they continued to act in this manner every day against the Christians." He added that investigations had confirmed that the Jews had "committed and perpetrated several crimes, excesses, and offenses," particularly against the Christian faith, but such a justification for his action does not seem plausible. However, on this occasion there was no financial motive behind the expulsion, for it was not accompanied by confiscations. The move therefore remains inexplicable. This time the Jews of Franche-Comté shared the fate of their brothers in the kingdom, although the province did not then belong to the king of France.

From the second half of the 14th century, the voluntary movement of Jews from Dauphiné assumed ever greater proportions. The dauphin attempted to coax them back by offering fiscal advantages, but without success. By the early 16th century no more Jews lived in Dauphiné. In Savoy the situation of the Jews deteriorated throughout the 15th century: Jewish books were seized in 1417; there was a local expulsion from Châtillon-les-Dombes in 1429, a bloody persecution in 1466, and a general expulsion decree in 1492. In Provence, the greater part of the 15th century, especially during the reign of René I the Good (1431–80), was a favorable period for the Jews, aside from a few local incidents, for example in *Aix-en-Provence in 1430. Conditions changed from 1475 on when, for the first time since the Black Death, there were anti-Jewish outbreaks in several places. Between 1484 and 1486 attacks against the Jews occurred in numerous localities (notably in Aix, Marseilles, and Arles). After Provence was incorporated in France (1481), town after town demanded the expulsion of the Jews until the last remaining Jews were hit by a general expulsion order in 1498 which was completely enforced by 1501. There were therefore practically no Jews left within the present borders of France, with the exception of Alsace and Lorraine, Avignon, Comtat Venaissin, and the county of Nice.

THE COMMUNITIES IN MEDIEVAL FRANCE. Benjamin of Tudela records valuable details on the southern communities of the third quarter of the 12th century. According to his figures – confirmed for Narbonne by other contemporary sources – in six communities there were 1,240 heads of families, that is more than 6,000 souls. Another document of the same period, the list of the martyrs of *Blois, notes there were about 30 families or about 150 souls in this community, which would have been totally unknown if it had not been for the tragedy which befell it. The greatest number and widest dispersion of Jews in France was attained during the third quarter of the 13th century. There were about 150 localities inhabited by Jews in Île-de-France and Champagne, about 50 in the duchy of Burgundy, about 30 in Barrois – in spite of its small area – and many others. From 1283, as a result of the prohibition on residing in small places, the communities in the towns grew larger. The total number of Jews continued to increase, and some have estimated that about 100,000 Jews were affected by the expulsion of 1306. Migration resulting from this banishment and the losses during the Black Death – both by the plague itself and in the persecutions which it sparked off – considerably reduced the Jewish population until the middle of the 14th century. There was a slight increase from then on, especially after the authorization to return in 1359. However, after the 1394/95 expulsion from the kingdom of France and the subsequent expulsions from the other provinces or voluntary departures due to hostile pressure combined with ever greater fiscal extortions, only about 25,000 Jews at the most remained during the 15th century. By 1501 they numbered a few thousand only. If Catholic missionary activity did achieve some tangible results – due mostly to coercion if not outright violence – this was the least factor in the demographic decline of the Jewish community.

From the 12th century onward, moneylending became increasingly prominent as a Jewish occupation. It was particularly pronounced – to the point of being sometimes their sole activity – in the places where the Jews settled at a later date or after the readmissions to the kingdom of France. In the main, these were private loans, with a multitude of creditors and a small turnover. In the east and southeast the Jews were principally traders in agricultural produce and livestock. Throughout the south, particularly in Provence, there were a relatively large number of physicians who, in addition to practicing among Jews, were sometimes also appointed by the towns to take care of the Christian population. The agriculture, and especially viticulture, subsisting mainly outside the kingdom, supplied the needs of the Jewish population and only exceptionally the general market. Petty public officials, watchmen, toll-gatherers, etc., were found especially in the south, but rarely after the 13th century (one of the few exceptions was the principality of Orange). Halfway between commerce and public office was the activity of broker, often found in Provence.

The regulations of the Fourth *Lateran Council (1215), interpreted as the compulsory wearing of the Jewish *badge, were at first imposed in Languedoc, Normandy, and Provence (by councils held in 1227, 1231, and 1234); a royal decree enforcing this in the kingdom of France was not promulgated until 1269. However, compulsory residence in a Jewish quarter dates from 1294 in the kingdom of France, although only from the end of the first half of the 14th century in Provence. Although the French crown often sought to protect the Jews from Church jurisdiction – especially that of the inquisitors – it imposed the legal disabilities or measures of social segregation which had been first advocated by the church itself. Following the example of the *magister Judaeorum* of the Carolingian period, "guardians" of the Jews were often appointed; in the kingdom of France there was one for the Languedoc and another for the Langue d'Oïl which included approximately the regions situated to the north of the River Loire. Their authority extended to all legal suits in which Jews were one of the parties. Jewish internal jurisdiction was increasingly limited; thus in Provence even simple administrative matters in the synagogue were brought before the public tribunal. A special form of oath (see *Oath, more judaico) was laid down for Jews who were witnesses or parties to a trial.

In the 13th century Christian polemical writings increased considerably: in practice Judeo-Christian disputations were relatively free and still quite frequent. After early warnings, followed by the explicit church prohibition on the participation of laymen in such discussions, they became increasingly rare. The Jews lost none of their sharpness in these confrontations: the most outstanding examples are the *Sefer ha-Mekanne* and the polemic treatise which goaded *Nicholas of Lyra into a reply.

The Jewish communities organized themselves with increasing efficiency. Although the earliest confirmation of internal statutes dates from 1413 (Avignon), these were certainly current practice long before then. As well as these statutes – which regulated internal administration through elected officials (actual power lay in the hands of the wealthiest), financial contributions toward communal expenses, and religious obligations – sumptuary regulations were often laid down, intended to limit the ostentatious display of riches. The first synods (gatherings of communal representatives) are known from the middle of the 12th century. At the synod of Troyes in 1150, the representatives of the French communities were joined by officials from German communities. The 1160 synod, also held in Troyes, convened only representatives from the kingdom of France, Normandy, and Poitou. Therefore it is evident that this was not a firmly established institution convened at regular intervals. If, as seems apparent, these synods normally involved the attendance only of communities directly concerned, it is astonishing that the synod of *Saint-Gilles (1215) convened the representatives of the communities between Narbonne and Marseilles only to discuss a problem of the greatest importance for the whole of Jewry living in Christian countries: how to prevent the promulgation of the projected anti-Jewish canons by the Fourth Lateran Council. With the proliferation and increase of Jewish taxes, the civil authorities rapidly realized that a Jewish inter-communal organization covering the area under their authority served their interests; it became the task of this organization to assess and to collect all the taxes levied on the Jews. Although some communities tried to make use of this arrangement to reach a direct, and more advantageous, agreement with the authorities, when misfortune struck an isolated community, others often spontaneously revealed their active solidarity. Thus, at the time of the tragedy of Blois, the communities of Orléans and Paris brought relief to the persecuted.

SCHOLARSHIP IN THE MIDDLE AGES. The leading centers of Jewish scholarship were found in Île-de-France (principally Paris, then *Dreux, *Melun, Pontoise, *Corbeil, Coucy-le-Château, and Chartres) and in Champagne (led by Troyes, then *Dampierre-sur-Aube, *Vitry-le-Brulé, *Joigny-sur-Yonne, Joinville, *Château-Thierry, and *Ramerupt); there was also a concentration of centers of learning in the Loire Valley (Orléans, Tours, and Chinon). As well as this, there were a number of schools in Languedoc (headed by Narbonne, then Argentière, *Beaucaire, *Béziers, Lattes, *Lunel, *Montpellier, *Nîmes, *Posquières, *Capestang, and *Carcassonne) and in Provence (with Arles, Trinquetaille, and Marseilles, then Salon and Aix-en-Provence). A few other provinces were also active, though on a much more modest scale; in the wake of Ile-de-France came Normandy (with *Evreux and *Falaise and possibly also Rouen) and Brittany (Clisson); in the wake of Champagne, Burgundy (with *Dijon); following Provence, Comtat Venaissin (with Monteux and *Carpentras), as well as Orange and Avignon; and after Languedoc, Roussillon (with *Perpignan). Lorraine (with *Verdun, *Toul, and Metz) and Alsace (with *Strasbourg and *Sélestat) assured a link between northern France and the Rhineland. By contrast, Dauphiné (with only Vienne), and especially Franche-Comté and Savoy, hardly played any part in this intellectual ferment.

The north was principally the home of talmudic and biblical commentaries, anti-Christian polemics, and liturgical poetry. In the south scholarly activities extended to grammatical, linguistic, philosophical, and scientific studies, and innumerable translations (mostly from Arabic, but also from Latin). Of particular importance were the mystic circles which gave an impetus to the kabbalist movement. Both north and south produced decorated and even richly illuminated manuscripts.

FROM THE EXPULSION FROM PROVENCE TO THE EVE OF THE REVOLUTION. As soon as the Jews had left the southeast or been converted to Christianity and thus become permanently absorbed within the general population, the southwest witnessed the arrival of secret Jews, the *Conversos. From 1550, these "Portuguese merchants" or "New Christians" were granted letters patent by Henry II, who authorized them to live in France "wherever they desired." They settled mainly in Bordeaux and in Saint-Esprit, near *Bayonne. They were subsequently to be found in small places nearby: *Peyrehorade, *Bidache, and Labastide-Clairence, and toward the north in La *Rochelle, Nantes, and Rouen. However, of all the Marranos who arrived in France from the beginning of the 16th century, only a tiny minority remained faithful to Judaism. Since they sought to evade detection by externally practicing Catholicism while maintaining their Iberian language and customs, they were suspected in Bordeaux in 1596 of attempting to deliver the town into the hands of the Spaniards, and in 1625 their possessions were confiscated as a reprisal for the confiscation of French belongings by the king of Spain. They were also subjected to particularly severe taxes, which rose to 100,000 livres in 1723 in exchange for new letters patent; for the first time these recognized them as Jews, although they did not grant them the right to practice their religion openly. The Jews of Comtat Venaissin had taken in some Spanish refugees on a temporary basis only, as was the case with the parents of *Joseph ha-Kohen, the author of *Emek ha-Bakha*, who was born in Avignon but lived there only during his early years. The communities of Comtat Venaissin were themselves threatened with expulsion on several occasions. These decrees were not finally enforced, but the Jews were nevertheless compelled to leave all towns in the Comtat with the exception of Avignon, Carpentras, *Cavaillon, and *L'Isle-sur-la-Sorgue. Even there, the quarters assigned to them were constantly reduced in area so as to limit the Jewish population.

Jews seem to have lived in Lorraine without interruption although in small numbers only. After the French crown had occupied the region, progressively greater facilities were offered to the Jews to induce them to settle there. From three families in Metz in 1565, their number increased to 96 families in 1657. In the meantime, as a result of the Treaty of Westphalia (1648), the three towns and bishoprics of Metz, Toul, and Verdun were formally ceded to France. Although theoretically the expulsion order against the Jews of the kingdom still remained in force – and it was even reiterated in 1615 – the Jews in those parts of Lorraine which had become French were allowed to remain.

This was the first time since 1394 that Jews found themselves legally living in the kingdom of France. However, they were still confined to the town, or at best to the province, in which they lived. Considerable areas of Alsace were also incorporated within the kingdom of France by the Treaty of Westphalia. There also a firmly established Jewish population was not put in jeopardy by the new French administration; on the contrary, it was more effectively protected than in the past. In 1651, Jews from Holland settled in *Charleville, which belonged to the Gonzaga dukes (they had already admitted Dutch Jews for the first time from 1609 to 1633). Jews fleeing from the *Chmielnicki massacres in the Ukraine and Poland in 1648 arrived in Alsace and Lorraine. The general demographic decline which was a result of the Thirty Years' War (1618–48) explains the tolerance they encountered. Jews also arrived in the extreme southeast of France, where the duke of Savoy, to whom the county of Nice belonged, issued in 1648 an edict making Nice and *Villefranche de-Conflent free ports. Once more this was an indirect result of the Thirty Years' War, a search for an effective method of filling the economic vacuum it had created. Jews from Italy and North Africa immediately profited from the settlement facilities offered by this edict, strengthening the old Jewish community which had existed without interruption from the Middle Ages. However, Italian Jews who hoped to benefit from the apparently similar facilities offered in Marseilles by the edict of *Louis XIV in 1669 were disappointed; they were compelled to leave after a few years.

From the 17th century, the Jews of Avignon and Comtat Venaissin extended their commercial activity: besides frequenting the fairs and markets, mainly in Languedoc and Provence, they also attempted to remain in those towns and even to settle there. Following complaints from local merchants, the stewards of the king intervened on every occasion to remove them and restrict their presence at the fairs and markets as much as possible. With greater success, some Jews of Avignon and Comtat Venaissin – soon followed by Jews of Alsace – exploited the facilities granted to the "Portuguese" Jews, and from the beginning of the 18th century settled in Bordeaux. There they traded in the town or its environs, principally in textiles and to a lesser degree in livestock and old clothes.

From the beginning of the 18th century, some Jews began to settle in Paris, arriving not only from Alsace, Metz, and Lorraine, from Bordeaux, and from Avignon and Comtat Venaissin, but also from beyond the borders of France, mainly Germany and Holland. They were tolerated in Paris but no more. Even though they had benefited from most civil rights in their provinces of origin, they enjoyed no such privileges in the capital. In theory, if a Jew died in Paris his estate was confiscated in favor of the king and his burial had to be quasi-clandestine. In order to protect their rights and, initially, to obtain their own cemeteries, the Jews organized themselves into two distinct groups: southern Jews from Bordeaux, Avignon, and Comtat Venaissin, and Ashkenazim from Alsace, Lorraine, and a few other places. This was an early manifestation of the split which was later evident during the struggle for emancipation and afterward.

Just before the whole of Lorraine became part of France (1766), the request of some Jews of Lorraine to be admitted to the guilds gave rise to a lawsuit in which the advocate of Nancy, Pierre Louis de Lacretelle (1756–1824), called for their recognition as Frenchmen with rights equal to those of other citizens (1775). Although this suit was lost, nevertheless it left a powerful impression on the public who, from the beginning of the century, had become aware of the Jewish problem through the pronouncements of the great thinkers of the century, beginning with *Montesquieu. In 1781, Herz *Cerfberr, the representative of the Jews of Alsace, had the work of Christian Wilhelm von *Dohm (1751–1820), *Ueber die buergerliche Verbesserung der Juden* ("On the Civic Amelioration of the Jews"), translated into French. The first concrete result was Louis XVI's edict, drawn up in 1783 and published in January 1784, abolishing the humiliating "body tax" which for centuries had likened the Jews to cattle. In 1785 a competition by the Metz Société Royale des Arts et Sciences on the subject "Is there any way of rendering the Jews more useful and happier in France?" reflected this new trend of opinion, while strengthening it even further. The competition was initiated by P.L. *Roederer, a member of the *parlement* of Metz, and the best answers were submitted by the royal librarian Zalkind *Hourwitz (who defined himself as a "Polish Jew"), the advocate Thierry, and Abbé *Grégoire. Finally, in 1788, the minister *Malesherbes, who had successfully headed the commission charged with arranging civic rights for Protestants, was entrusted by Louis XVI with a similar mission with regard to the Jews.

[Bernhard Blumenkranz]

The Modern Period

THE REVOLUTION. On the eve of the French Revolution some 40,000 Jews were living in France. Those of the "German nation" were mainly concentrated in Alsace-Lorraine or Paris, while the "Spanish, Portuguese, or Avignonese" Jews were chiefly concentrated in the south. The former who, excepting residents of Nancy, almost exclusively spoke or wrote in Yiddish, formed the vast majority (84%) of French Jewry while the latter were closer to French language and culture, less observant in religious practice, and more nearly integrated within local society. These various groups would no doubt have been fairly satisfied to obtain civic rights provided that they were consonant with the continuation of their internal communal autonomy. After much petitioning and long-drawn-out parliamentary and public discussion, the Jews of France finally became French citizens, the Portuguese Jews on Jan. 28, 1790, and the Ashkenazim on Sept. 27, 1791. The law of 1791, however, although conferring civic rights on Jews as individuals, was coupled with the abolition of their group privileges, i.e., their religious-legal autonomy.

Later the communities in France suffered from the Reign of Terror (1793–94) in company with the other religious denominations. Synagogues were closed down and the communal organization abolished as a consequence of the general tendency to suppress all religious institutions. When the synagogues reopened their doors, the character of the former communities had already greatly changed. The opening up of the ghettos and the abolition of restrictions on residence encouraged many Jews to leave their former areas of residence and to reject, either entirely or partly, the discipline imposed by their erstwhile community.

MEASURES OF NAPOLEON. This anarchy, which led to complaints by former creditors of the dissolved Jewish communities, strengthened *Napoleon Bonaparte's determination to provide the Jews of France with a central organization supervised by the state and loyal to it, following the example of the arrangements he had already introduced for the other religions. Napoleon wished to create a Jewish "church organization" and at the same time to "reform" the Jewish way of life and Judaism, toward which he had an attitude of barely controlled hostility. Napoleon considered that the Jews were a "nation within a nation," and their emancipation had not produced the anticipated results. The Jews would therefore have to be corrected and regenerated; in particular a solution had to be found to solve the problem of usury, still a major Jewish occupation, especially in Alsace. With this in view, therefore, in 1806 he convened an assembly to serve as the "States General of French Judaism" (the *Assembly of Jewish Notables). Its first session was held on July 26. The Assembly had to reply to 12 questions put to it by the commissioners appointed by the government who were instructed to verify whether Jewish religious law held any principle contrary to the civil law. Having been informed of the deliberations of the Assembly and the answers it delivered, Napoleon determined on having them formulated into a type of religious code. He decided to convoke a Grand *Sanhedrin – a gesture which was also within the framework of his European ambitions – whose religious authority could not be called in question. The Sanhedrin, composed of 45 rabbis and 26 laymen, met on Feb. 9, 1807, and dispersed two months later on March 9, having fulfilled its role by codifying "religious" decisions in the spirit of the answers to the 12 questions delivered by the Assembly of Notables. The Sanhedrin then gave way to the Notables, who continued their task with the intention of proposing the establishment of an organization of the Jewish religion and measures to control Jewish economic activities.

THE CONSISTORIAL SYSTEM. The proposed regulation was amended by the Conseil d'Etat and promulgated by imperial edict in 1808, inaugurating what is usually called the consistorial system. This provided that a *consistory should be established for each department of France having a Jewish population of at least 2,000. Each consistory was constituted of a council composed of a *grand rabbin*, another rabbi, and three laymen elected by a small number of "notables." A central consistory composed of three *grand rabbins* and two laymen was to have its seat in Paris. Contrary to the provisions governing the organizations for the other recognized religions, expenses for religious purposes were still to be met by Jews. Thus, the new Jewish bodies were obliged, *ipso facto*, as inheritors, to repay the debts contracted by the former Jewish communities, whereas the other religions had been relieved of this burden. The consistorial system partially re-created the Jewish communities, and provided them with a means of action. It also constituted the recognition of Judaism as a religion, centralizing its organization, and placing it under strict government control. While the consistory was empowered to exercise absolute and exclusive authority in Jewish affairs, it mainly concerned itself with the strictly religious aspects. The consistory was supported by the rabbinate, which according to law was responsible for teaching the Jewish religion and the decisions of the Sanhedrin, promoting obedience to the civil laws, preaching in synagogue, and offering prayers for the imperial family. Although the authority of the rabbis was limited entirely to the religious sphere, it was nevertheless channeled into the service of the state.

These administrative measures were accompanied by complementary economic regulations. A decree abrogating a postponement previously granted on May 30, 1806, to persons owing money to Jews was issued, but it also laid down a mass of restrictive regulations. All debts contracted with Jews were to be annulled or liable to be annulled, reduced, or postponed by legal means (1808). As a result, a large section of the Jewish population of France, already in difficult circumstances, was brought to the verge of ruin. Any Jew who wished to engage in trade or commerce had to obtain a license to be renewed annually by the prefect of the department in which he resided. Further measures were issued in an attempt to compel the

Jews of France to assimilate into French society by regulating their place of residence. Thus a Jew who had not previously been resident in Alsace was prohibited from settling there. A Jew might settle in other departments only if he exercised a profession regarded as useful. In order to preserve the educational value in performing military service in company with their non-Jewish compatriots, Jews drafted for the army were prohibited from procuring substitutes. Another decree which, however, confirmed an existing situation, made it obligatory for Jews to adopt surnames in the presence of an official of the registry. The central consistory was set up on July 17, 1808. Its three *grand rabbins* were the president and two vice-presidents of the Sanhedrin, David *Sinzheim, Joshua Benzion Segré, who died shortly afterward and was replaced by Emanuel *Deutz, rabbi of Coblenz, and Abraham Vita *Cologna, rabbi of Mantua. After the death of Sinzheim in 1812 and the resignation of Cologna in 1826, Deutz remained the only *grand rabbin* in the central consistory until his death in 1842. Subsequently only one *grand rabbin* served for the whole of French Jewry.

OFFICIAL RECOGNITION. The Restoration was not received with hostility by the Jews of France. The Napoleonic regulations, while having the merit of organizing communal affairs, had nevertheless represented a step backward in revolutionary ideals. Without major difficulties they were able to ensure that the Napoleonic decree determining their activities and means of livelihood, commonly referred to by Jews as the *décret infâme*, was not renewed after the expiry of its ten-year time limit (1818). Soon the need for new rabbis became a matter for concern. Until the Revolution rabbis for the Ashkenazi communities had been trained in the yeshivah in Metz, in the small local yeshivot of Alsace, or otherwise drawn from abroad. The Sephardi communities in the south generally recognized the authority of the Dutch or Italian Sephardi rabbinates. The closing of the Metz yeshivah under the Revolution had greatly curtailed the recruitment of rabbis. Thus, from 1820 numerous attempts were made to obtain permission for the opening of a rabbinical school in Metz to supply the needs of all sectors of French Jewry. In 1829 the Ministry of Religions authorized the opening of a central rabbinical seminary in Metz. It was transferred to Paris in 1859, where it continues to function. Judaism was placed on the same footing as the other recognized religions when the chamber of peers passed a law making the Treasury responsible for paying the salaries of ministers of the Jewish religion (from Jan. 1, 1831). Thus almost the last sign of anti-Jewish discriminatory legislation in France disappeared.

ASSIMILATION. These political successes did not conceal the profound crisis through which French Jewry was passing. Many Jews born after the grant of emancipation were unprepared for the new world they were now facing. A wave of conversions followed, in which members of the most firmly established families left Judaism. Deutz's own son, notorious for his role in the arrest of the duchess of Berry, and his son-in-law David *Drach, who had pursued rabbinical studies and directed the Jewish school in Paris, both embraced Christianity, the latter even taking orders. The eldest son of the president of the Bas-Rhin Consistory, Marie-Theodore *Ratisbonne, became converted in 1826. He subsequently took orders and in celebration of the conversion of his youngest brother founded the order of Notre Dame de Sion to be devoted to missionary work among the Jews. The brother, who was an active member of the order, later built a monastery in Jerusalem. Although the lower ranks of the Jewish population were hardly affected by these conversions, such cases were numerous among their leaders.

The disappearance of the generation which had known the Revolution and taken part in the work of the Sanhedrin, coupled with the new spirit of liberal democracy, and the pressure in the new communities by arrivals from the rural areas of Alsace and Lorraine now necessitated a reform of the consistorial system. By an order in council of May 25, 1844, French Jewry continued to be directed by the central consistory, which was henceforth composed of the *grand rabbin* and a lay member from each departmental consistory. The electoral college was enlarged in 1844 and 1848, when every Jewish male aged over 25 obtained the right to take part in the elections of the departmental consistories. The Paris consistory finally obtained an increase in the number of its representatives on the central consistory because it had a large population under its jurisdiction. This system continued, apart from some minor modifications, until 1905, with the separation of church and state (see below).

ABOLITION OF THE "JEWISH OATH". The final obstacle to complete equality for Jewish citizens was removed with the abolition of the humiliating oath *more judaico*. The various courts that had been called upon to decide whether it was necessary for Jews to take the oath in that form had rendered conflicting decisions. It was only on the advice given to the rabbis by Adolphe *Crémieux, who became a member of the central consistory in 1831, to refuse to take the oath in this form that some progress was made. The Supreme Court of Appeal decided on its abolition in 1846. In the same period the debts of the former Jewish communities were finally settled by partial repayments effected by the successor communities.

WELFARE AND EDUCATION. While French Jewry was concerned with defense of its rights and its religious organization, it also promoted charitable and educational activities. The local charitable committees were generally offshoots of the traditional Jewish mutual aid societies or of the *ḥevrot* (see **ḥevrah*), which did not surrender their independence without hesitation or declared hostility. In the educational sphere, the first real development took place under the Restoration with the opening of Jewish primary schools. From 1818 schools were opened in Metz, Strasbourg, and Colmar. A boys' school had been functioning in Bordeaux from 1817 and a girls' school from 1831. In Paris the first Jewish boys' school was established in 1819 and the first girls' school in 1821. Parallel to these primary schools, the community also opened technical schools, at first in order to prepare their pupils for apprenticeship and later providing direct specialized training. The first Jewish trades school (Ecole de Travail) opened its doors in Strasbourg in 1825, and was followed by that of Mulhouse in 1842, and of Paris in 1865. This network grew in importance until the law making primary education compulsory was passed in 1882, and the church and state were separated in 1905, thus depriving it of state financial support.

PROTECTION OF JEWISH RIGHTS. The Jewish community in France was shocked into action to protect Jewish rights by the *Damascus Affair in 1840 and subsequently by the outbreak of anti-Jewish disorders in 1848. The hostile attitude shown by the French government and also by French public opinion when Jews in Damascus were accused of ritual murder, as well as the complicity of the French consul there, deeply stirred French Jewry. Crémieux therefore joined Sir Moses *Montefiore from England in a mission to Alexandria to intercede with *Muhammad Ali on behalf of the Damascus Jews. In February 1848, the peasants in Sundgau in Alsace took advantage of the general unrest to attack the Jews, some of whom managed to escape to Switzerland. The incidents spread northward, Jewish houses were pillaged, and the army was called out to restore order. Both this and the Damascus Affair strengthened the feeling among Jews in France that in certain situations they could rely only on self-defense. The formation of the provisional government, which included two Jews, Michel *Goudchaux and Crémieux, dispelled some of these anxieties, but Jewish concern was again heightened with the election of Prince Louis Napoleon to the presidency of the republic, and later his accession to the imperial title, since many feared that he would restore the discriminatory measures introduced by his uncle.

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC ADVANCES. These fears proved unfounded. The Second Empire was a calm period for the Jews of France. Instances of anti-Jewish discrimination were the result of the influence of the Catholic circles surrounding the empress rather than of a determined will to start an antisemitic campaign. Jews, like other "nonbelievers," were often excluded from the universities. The social rise of the French Jews which had begun under the Restoration also continued under the Second Empire. In 1834 Achille *Fould became the first Jew to sit in the Chamber of Deputies, soon to be followed by Crémieux. The greatest and most rapid achievements were often through the civil service, candidates for which generally had to pass tests and competitive examinations. In 1836 Jacques *Halévy was elected a member of the Academy of Fine Arts. *Rachel, one of the greatest actresses of her time, never concealed her Jewish origin. In the commercial sphere, it was a period of success for the *Rothschild family and its head, Baron James, as well as for the *Pereire brothers to whom the Rothschilds were later violently opposed. Practically every career, including the army, was open to Jews.

NEW TRENDS IN JUDAISM. Events did not proceed without provoking the same unrest within the French community as had gripped German Jewry. The problem arose of maintaining Judaism in an open, modern society, and the influence of the *Reform movements from across the Rhine soon made itself felt. The French rabbinate was of a generally conservative frame of mind. Its members, who almost entirely hailed from the small towns of Alsace and Lorraine, were scarcely enthusiastic over the new ideas and the rabbinate found itself in retreat before the layman. A meeting of *grand rabbins* was held in Paris from May 13–21, 1856, to establish a common policy with which to confront the growing trend away from Judaism. The camps were clearly divided well before the meeting: the Alsatian communities, which were the most numerous, opposed the introduction of substantive reforms, for which they felt no necessity. However, since each consistory was represented by only one delegate, the majority of the representatives tended to opt for modifications. To prevent a breach, it was resolved that decisions would be taken according to a simple majority, but that the question of their application would be held in abeyance. The assembly decided to limit the number of *piyyutim*, to organize synagogue services for the blessing of newborn infants, to conduct the funeral service with more ceremonial, and to instruct rabbis and officiating ministers to wear a garb resembling that worn by the Catholic clergy. It was also resolved to make greater use of the sermon in synagogue, to reduce the length of services which were to be conducted in a more dignified manner, and to introduce the ceremony of religious initiation, particularly for girls, whose religious instruction was to be inspected and approved. The assembly also called for the transfer of the rabbinical seminary to Paris. Regarding the controversy which had arisen over the use of the organ in synagogue, it was decided that its use on Sabbath and festivals was lawful provided that it was played by a non-Jew. Its introduction would be subject to the authorization of the *grand rabbin* of the department concerned, at the request of the local rabbi. A breach in the community was therefore avoided at the price of compromises and half-measures. The different elements in French Jewry continued on good terms since the doctrinal independence of the local rabbi remained intact. Subsequently more ambitious attempts at reform were cut short by the Franco-German war of 1870–71. The French defeat cast an odium, a priori, on anything that smacked of German importation. As a result, French Jewry found itself in a state of arrested reform. Although moving away from Orthodoxy it remained firmly attached to the idea of an integrated community. To this day French consistorial Judaism has maintained great religious diversity, a situation which has always curbed the few attempts to establish dissident, Reform or Orthodox, communities. This flexibility later enabled the integration of immigrants from North Africa. The leading role still played in French communal affairs by the

Rothschild family also helped to give the community a large measure of stability.

ALLIANCE ISRAÉLITE UNIVERSELLE. The *Mortara case in 1858 once again brought up the question of freedom of conscience and reminded French Jewry of the Damascus Affair and the troubles of 1848. It again demonstrated the importance of organizing Jewish self-defense, this time on an international scale. The French Jews, who had been convinced that they had succeeded in assimilation by reconciling fidelity to Judaism with the gains achieved by democracy, felt compelled to react. However, it was typical of the existing situation that action was taken outside the framework of the central consistory which had by then withdrawn into a religious and representational role. In 1860, a group of young Jewish liberals founded the *Alliance Israélite Universelle with a central committee permanently based in Paris. The activities of this body were mainly directed to helping communities outside France and it had the great merit of again demonstrating that Jewish solidarity extended beyond modern nationalism.

ALSACE-LORRAINE AND ALGERIA. The 1870 war not only revived Franco-German hostility and put an end to many of the hopes for greater unity, but cut off from French Jewry its vital sources in Alsace and Lorraine. There was also the problem of integrating the Alsatian Jews who had opted to stay in France. This immigration considerably increased the importance of the communities in Paris and that part of Lorraine which had remained French. It also led to the creation of new consistories in Vesoul, Lille, and Besancon. The effects of the war also speeded up the naturalization of the Jews of *Algeria, where at the time of the French conquest there were a number of old-established communities. The French authorities took their existing arrangements into account but limited the powers of the "head of the Jewish nation" by attaching to him a "Hebrew council." The powers of the rabbinical courts were also restricted. However the Jews of Algeria officially remained part of the indigenous population with a personal status which was variously interpreted. In 1870, on the eve of the war with Prussia, and following numerous petitions by the Jews in Algeria, the imperial government was on the point of declaring the collective naturalization of Algerian Jewry.

The Government of National Defense sitting at Tours, at the pressing insistence of Crémieux, then minister of justice, proclaimed this naturalization by a decree issued on Oct. 24, 1870. Having become French citizens, the Jews of Algeria gave up their personal status and were on the same footing as the Jews of France. The consistorial system, which had been introduced in Algeria in 1845, was modified to permit a more active participation of the members of the Algerian community in the consistorial elections. The appointment of rabbis and *grand rabbins* was made by the central consistory.

ANTISEMITISM. Withdrawn into itself but enriched by the Algerian accession, the Jewish community of France soon had to face a formidable test. The advent of the Third Republic was not received by Jews with unmixed enthusiasm. Concerned at the progress of secularism and of movements demanding reform, royalist and clerical circles in France attempted to create an anti-Jewish diversion. Antisemitic newspapers began to appear. In 1883 the Assumptionists established the daily *La *Croix* which, with other publications, set out to prove that the Revolution had been the work of the Jews allied with the Freemasons. This trend was strengthened by the socialist antisemitism of the followers of *Fourier and *Proudhon. The various shades of antisemitism converged in Edouard *Drumont's *La France Juive* (1886), which became a bestseller. After the collapse of the Union Générale, a leading Catholic bank, the Jews in France provided a convenient scapegoat. In 1889 Drumont's ideas culminated in the formation of the French National Antisemitic League (see *Antisemitism: Antisemitic Political Parties and Organizations). In 1891, 32 deputies demanded that the Jews be expelled from France. In 1892 Drumont was able, with Jesuit support, to found his daily *La Libre Parole* which immediately launched a defamation campaign against Jewish officers who were accused of having plotted treason and of trafficking in secrets of the national defense. It also blamed Jews for the crash of the Panama Canal Company, creating a scandal which greatly increased its circulation. It was in this climate that Captain Alfred *Dreyfus was arrested on Oct. 15, 1894, on the charge of having spied in the interests of Germany. Many aspects of the affair are still unclear, although Dreyfus' innocence has been fully recognized. In any event, the affair went beyond the individual case of the unfortunate captain to rock the whole of France and Jews throughout the world.

In France the matter at stake was not the survival of the Jewish community: even its most virulent adversaries did not desire its physical disappearance, although cries of "death to the Jews" were uttered time and again by Paris crowds. On its part, the Catholic and right-wing press, and especially Drumont's *La Libre Parole*, frequently published "facts" about the machinations of a "World Jewish Syndicate" aimed at world domination. The Dreyfus case hastened the crystallization of the ideas of Theodor *Herzl, then press correspondent in Paris and a bewildered witness of the unleashing of antisemitism in a country reputed to be the most enlightened in Europe. The affair, by opposing the general trends of public opinion in France, led to a crisis of conscience rarely equaled in intensity. Its repercussions caused an upheaval in French political life with similar consequences for Jewish life.

SEPARATION OF CHURCH AND STATE. The disproportion between the origin of the affair and its consequences does not fail to astonish. In 1905, as a result of the victory of Dreyfus' supporters, a law was passed separating church and state. With the other recognized religions, the Jewish religion lost its official status, and state financial support was withdrawn with the abolition of state participation in religious expenses. Like the Protestants, but in contradistinction to the Catholics, the Jews accepted this resolution with goodwill. It would also have been difficult for them to oppose those who had supported

Dreyfus. At the same time *Grand Rabbin* Zadoc *Kahn died. His strong personality had dominated Jewish life since his election to the chief rabbinate of Paris in 1869 and a few years later to the chief rabbinate of France. His astonishing activity had revived French Judaism after the truncation of Alsatian Jewry, and he had interested Baron Edmond de *Rothschild in the colonization of Ereẓ Israel. The central consistory, disorientated after the passing of the 1905 act, thus had to transform itself while preserving its former framework as far as possible. Synagogues built with public subsidies were nationalized, but were immediately placed at the disposal of the successor religious associations. The central consistory became the Union des Associations Cultuelles de France et d'Algérie ("Union of the Religious Associations of France and Algeria"), and its office adopted the name Central Consistory. The regional consistories disappeared, but the large communities were changed into consistorial or religious associations. Practically all the departmental consistories remained in existence when the offices of the successor associations adopted the name consistory. The internal hierarchy, sanctioned by a century of tradition, continued. The perpetuation of the system, however, did not alter the fact that the organization of the Jewish community of France rested purely on a voluntary basis and on the recognition of a central authority freely accepted. In fact the French Jewish community became a federation of local communities which maintained a few joint central services, such as the chief rabbinate of France and the rabbinical seminary. Although this system increased the possibilities of fragmentation and disruption, the force of tradition maintained the moral authority of the various consistories, which became the principal, but not the exclusive, representation of a community undergoing a fundamental demographic transformation.

DEMOGRAPHIC CHANGES. During the 19th century, the relative importance of the Avignon communities had greatly decreased. The four Comtat communities had dispersed, their members moving to Marseilles and the large towns in southern France. The Bordeaux and Bayonne elements had never been very numerous. The extension of the French borders toward the north and east had opened up the country to a large Jewish immigration from Holland and the Rhineland. The Jewish population of Paris in 1789 numbered 500, out of the total French Jewish population of 40,000 to 50,000. There were 30,000 Jews living in Paris in 1869, out of a total of 80,000 for the whole of France. In 1880, following the loss of Alsace and Lorraine, 40,000 out of a total of 60,000 French Jews were living in Paris. This proportion has remained substantially unchanged. The pogroms in Russia of 1881 gave rise to a wave of Jewish emigration to the free countries and marked the beginning of the Russian, Polish, and Romanian immigration into France. A second wave of immigration took place after the abortive 1905 Russian revolution. From 1881 to 1914 over 25,000 Jewish immigrants arrived in France. The Russian element was in the minority. From 1908 a large Jewish influx also began from the Ottoman countries, chiefly from Salonika, Constantinople, and Smyrna. However, for a large number of immigrants, France served as a country of transit and not of refuge.

WORLD WAR I. The advent of World War I halted this immigration. In uniting all the forces of the nation, the war also put a stop to the antisemitic campaigns. The necessity for maintaining a common front (*union sacrée*) brought all the religions together. For some Jewish soldiers the war was to be a means of rejoining their families after the reconquest of Alsace and Lorraine. The victory restored to French Jewry these most vital communities. They had preserved their former consistorial organization since they had been in German territory in 1905 when the law separating church and state was passed. The French government, following a policy of pacification and taking into consideration the strong religious attachment of the population, did not apply the law to the regained territories. Thus religious life there continued to be organized on the old system.

INTER-WAR YEARS. After the war, Jewish immigration from the former Ottoman countries was resumed with greater intensity. The Jews from Turkey and Greece settled chiefly in Paris and in the large cities of the south. However, the largest immigration came from Eastern Europe in the wake of the Ukrainian and Polish pogroms. Romania also provided a significant number of Jews. Once again the Russian and Lithuanian elements were not numerous. This trend increased after 1924 following the prohibition of free immigration into the United States. From 1933 many Jewish refugees from Nazi Germany passed through France en route for America or Palestine. The number remaining in France was relatively insignificant. It is estimated that there were 180,000 Jews resident in Paris in 1939, one-third of them belonging to the old French Jewish community. By then the use of Yiddish had become widespread and the "Ashkenazation" of the community had increased. The freedom of religious organization, which the law separating church and state had ratified by abolishing the official organization of religion, had enabled the different groups of immigrants to organize an appropriate framework for their religious and social life. Thus in 1923 the Fédération des Sociétés Juives de France (FSJF), a body which united the majority of Landsmanschaften, was created. However, these organizations did not impair the prestige of the old-established French Jewish communal bodies. The new bodies lost much of their meaningfulness as their members assimilated into French life, and with the progress of social security which deprived them of much of their usefulness. Many of their members subsequently joined the ranks of the established community.

ECONOMIC, CULTURAL, AND SOCIAL POSITION. In the economic sphere, the position of French Jewry continued to improve. After 1850, the number of Jews engaged in crafts increased considerably, and many Jews entered the technical professions. Few were attracted to agriculture. In the period before World War I Jewish painters and sculptors had made the Paris school famous (see *Paris School of Art). Among a brilliant galaxy, the names of *Pissaro, *Soutine, *Pascin, *Kisling, *Chagall, and *Modigliani are well known. Sarah *Bernhardt, who was eventually baptized, brought luster to the French theater. Outstanding in literature and philosophy were Adolphe *Franck, Salomon *Munk, Henri *Bergson, Emile *Durkheim, Lucien *Lévy-Bruhl, Marcel *Proust, and André *Maurois.

Purely Jewish studies were not abandoned. From 1880 the *Société des Etudes Juives regularly published a learned periodical, *Revue des Etudes Juives*, and was responsible for the publication of the classic works of Heinrich *Gross (*Gallia Judaica*, 1897) and T. *Reinach (*Textes d'auteurs Grecs et Romains relatifs au Judaïsme*, 1895), and a modern translation of the works of Josephus. The French rabbinate published a magnificent translation of the Bible. On the other hand, talmudic studies in France ceased. The process of social assimilation continued, and in 1936 Léon *Blum became the first Jewish premier of France.

[Simon R. Schwarzfuchs]

Holocaust Period

On May 10, 1940, the Germans invaded France. *Paris fell on June 14. The armistice, which was signed two weeks later, divided France into an Unoccupied Zone in the South, and an Occupied Zone (subdivided into "general" and "forbidden" zones and several restricted areas) in the northern half of the country. The departments of Nord and Pas-de-Calais were attached to German military administration based in Brussels, while Alsace-Lorraine was annexed to the Reich. A new regime, based in Vichy, under the leadership of the World War I hero Marshal Philippe Pétain, took over the reigns of government. No official figures exist on the number of Jews living in France at the beginning of the war, since Jews were not singled out in the census and the documents on official and illegal entry or departure of refugees are unreliable. It is estimated that there were about 300,000 Jews in France prior to the invasion. During World War II, the Jews in France suffered from the combined impact of the Nazi "*Final Solution" and from traditional French antisemitism. By and large, French antisemitism did not tend toward physical extermination, but its existence unquestionably helped the Nazis in carrying out their scheme. A small coterie of French racist ideologues, largely in the Occupied Zone, expounded radical anti-Jewish sentiments. Most importantly, indifference to the fate of the Jews on the part of both Vichy government officials and French citizens led to callousness and disregard for the Jewish plight.

ANTI-JEWISH MEASURES AND ADMINISTRATION. Recent scholarship has demonstrated that the Vichy regime initiated many of its anti-Jewish policies and laws without any direct orders from and often in opposition to the German occupying powers. Much of the groundwork had been laid by laws passed by the Third Republic in its last years of existence restricting and controlling foreigners. With the defeat of France in June 1940, the Vichy government took the initiative to deal with the "Jewish question." In August 1940, it repealed the Marchandeau law, originally passed in April 1939, which had effectively outlawed antisemitic attacks in the press. The *Statut des juifs*, first enacted in October 1940 and then revised in June 1941, closed off top governmental positions to Jews. Its definition of Jews proved to be even more restrictive than those imposed by Nazis in Germany. Additional laws soon followed that effectively eliminated Jews from the liberal professions, commerce, the crafts, and industry. The Vichy regime also instituted a census in the Unoccupied Zone, and empowered the State to place all Jewish property in the hands of non-Jewish trustees. By late 1940, it is estimated that some 40,000 people were interned in camps, the vast majority of whom were foreign-born Jews. At the same time, German officials introduced various anti-Jewish measures in the Occupied Zone. The first *Verordnung* (ordinance) of Sept. 27, 1940, ordered a census of the Jews. Other ordinances soon followed, which placed Jewish property in the hands of so-called provisional administrators; extended the discriminatory category of "Jew" to individuals of Jewish origin who were not of the Jewish faith, and prohibited a number of economic activities. A proclamation issued by the German military authorities in December 1941 announced inter alia a fine of one million francs to be paid by the Jewish population, the execution of 53 Jewish members of the Resistance, and the deportation of 1,000 Jews (in fact, 1,100 Jews were actually deported on March 27, 1942, as a result of the proclamation). In 1942, German authorities established a curfew for Jews between 8 P.M. and 6 A.M., prohibited them from changing residence, and enlarged still further the scope of the definition of "the Jews." An ordinance of May 29, 1942, ordered all Jews to wear a yellow *badge. It was soon followed by a prohibition against Jews using public places, squares, gardens, and sports grounds Jews in the Occupied Zone were also restricted to one hour a day to make their purchases in shops and food markets.

The German *Verordnungen* were valid only in the Occupied Zone. Even after the Germans took control of all of France in November 1942, they were not extended to the newly occupied areas. Thus, for instance, the yellow badge never became compulsory in southern France. The statutes, laws, and ordinances of the Vichy government, on the other hand, were valid throughout the country, as was the rubber stamp *Juif* ("Jew") on identity cards. Whereas German measures were directed without exception against all Jews, the Vichy measures mainly affected Jews who were either foreign nationals or stateless, and later Jewish immigrants who had recently become French nationals. French Jews of long standing were generally spared, sometimes by means of the exceptions made in favor of ex-servicemen and individuals of outstanding merit. At the same time, the various discriminatory laws strongly suggest that the Vichy regime wished to consign all Jews to a subservient role and to subject them to severe restrictions.

With an eye to coordinating policies in the two Zones, the Gestapo and specifically the Paris branch of *Eichmann's IV B under the leadership of SS-Hauptsturmfuehrer Theodor Dannecker set about to create both a French government agency for anti-Jewish affairs and a *Judenrat, which would act as the French counterparts of the German IV B branch and the *Reichsvereinigung der Juden in Deutschland. With only minimal prompting and without prior submission to the German military administration, in March 1941 the Vichy government set up the Commissariat Général aux Questions Juives (CGQJ), headed by Xavier *Vallat, an extreme-right member of parliament. Vallat was a French politician and an antisemite in the French tradition, who believed that Jews were responsible for the very existence of democracy and the Third Republic, which had undermined France. After serving a year, he was dismissed after German authorities decided that he was too lax in carrying out anti-Jewish measures. Vallat was succeeded by the rabid antisemite Darquier de *Pellepoix. Under Darquier, the CGQJ accelerated the pace of "aryanization" of Jewish property and and forged stronger links with the German authorities. The Vichy government also created an official body called the *Union Générale des Israélites de France (UGIF) in November 1941 to represent French Jewry during the German occupation. It had two divisions – one in the Occupied Zone and one in the free one. The role of the UGIF continues to be the subject of much controversy. While helping to save many children and providing material aid to Jews in French internment camps, it generally proved unwilling to actively confront either German or Vichy authorities. Until at least 1942, leaders of the UGIF were convinced that government authorities would never betray the basic principles that allegedly underlie French society.

DEPORTATIONS AND FORCED LABOR. As the Germans accelerated their anti-Jewish activities in France after the *Wannsee Conference, held in January 1942, they recognized that though Vichy authorities were prepared to enforce the regulations to persecute "foreign" Jews, they were often reluctant to act against French Jews. For that reason, it was decided that any action taken against native Jews would be carried out by the Gestapo itself, whereas the French police would be responsible for the roundups of immigrant and foreign Jews. In June 1942, the Third Reich decided that France would supply 100,000 Jews, to be taken from both zones, for extermination. A series of roundups ("*rafles*" in French, "*Aktionen*" in German) soon followed. The most notorious roundup took place on July 16–17, 1942, in Paris and its suburbs, Carried out by French policemen and sanctioned by Premier Pierre Laval, it led to the arrest of 12,884 men, women, and children, most of whom were interned in the Velodrome d'Hiver, a large indoor sports arena in the south of Paris. Many more "*rafles*" took place both before and after the so-called "Grand Rafle" of the "Vel d'Hiv," as it became known. A major roundup of foreign Jews in the Unoccupied Zone took place between August 26 and 28. The great majority of the victims had settled in the southern part of France, where they had joined several thousand French Jews who had also fled from the Germans. The cities of Toulouse, Marseilles, Lyons, and Nice thus had large concentrations of Jews. Smaller towns, such as Limoges and Périgueux, also sheltered hundreds of Jews.

With the exception of a small number of wealthy individuals, the refugees from abroad were interned either in detention camps, such as Saint-Cyprien, Gurs, Vernet, Argelès-sur-Mer, Barcarès, Agde, Nexon, Fort-Barraux, and Les Milles, or in smaller so-called *Détachements de prestataires de travail*, i.e., forced labor detachments. Thousands of foreign Jews who had volunteered in 1939–40 for the French army were not demobilized after the armistice, but kept for a time in similar forced labor battalions, both in France and in North Africa (Djerada, Djelfa, and on the Mediterranean-Niger railway project). Their living and work conditions were similar to those of criminals sentenced to hard labor.

Jews generally were sent from internment camps to concentration camps in preparation for their deportations east. There were two main concentration camps for foreign Jews, Pithiviers and Beaune-la-Rolande near Paris, and a few smaller ones. *Drancy, a northern suburb, was the main transit camp to *Auschwitz. Some Jews were also deported from the Compiègne camp and a few deportation trains left from Pithiviers, Beaune-la-Rolande, and such towns as Angers, Lyons, and Toulouse. Deportation came in several waves, beginning on March 27, 1942, and was largely handled by the military administration. The second deportation during the summer and fall of 1942 followed the main roundup throughout the country. A third wave during the spring of 1943 came after the clearance and destruction of the Vieux-Port quarter of Marseilles. After the Germans occupied the former Italian zone in southeast France in the fall of 1943, many Jews who had found sanctuary there after German authorities took control of all of France in November 1942 were arrested. In Nice alone, about 6,000 Jews (out of 25,000) were deported. The first deportations of foreign Jews to Auschwitz occurred in March 1942. A convoy of French Jews soon followed them. Beginning in June 1942, the deportations were accelerated, and they continued almost without interruption throughout 1943. The unification of the two zones meant that the implementation of the Final Solution could now proceed without interruption and without differentiation between foreign-born and French Jews. The last convoy departed France in August 1944. An estimated 85,000–90,000 Jews, two-thirds of whom were immigrant and non-citizens, were deported in 100 convoys, largely to Auschwitz. Barely 3,000 of these survived. In addition, a few thousand Jews were deported or executed for political and resistance activities.

RESCUE AND RESISTANCE. Jewish institutions, such as *HICEM, helped a few of the foreign Jews to emigrate overseas. The fact that that the Vichy regime never officially prohibited emigration even after the occupation of the south meant there were opportunities for Jews to escape across the

Pyrenees and the Swiss border. Traditional religious and philanthropic Jewish organizations such as the largely native Consistoire israélite de France and the immigrant Fédération des sociétés juives de France continued their activities, mainly in southern France. The French rabbinate also arranged for religious and social assistance, which carried out in part by rabbis active in the resistance movement, such as René Kappel. Other institutions cared for the social and physical well-being of the internees. As persecution became more severe and as the pace of deportations increased, mutual-aid organizations such as the Fédération des sociétés juives increasingly combined their material aid with resistance activities, such as the falsification of identity and ration cards, and of addresses; and aid to those who had escaped deportation.

The Jews of France played an important role in the resistance to Nazism, both in French movements across the political spectrum – from Gaullist to Communist and Trotskyist groups – and in specifically Jewish groups, such as those organized by the Zionists and the Communists. The active role of the Zionists and the Communists in resistance gained them entry into the established Jewish community. The Zionist youth movements established a united Mouvement de la Jeunesse sioniste and later the Armée juive. Initially, the French-Jewish scout movement, the Eclaireurs israélites de France (EIF), was attracted to the ideology of the Vichy regime and particularly to the myth of Marshal Pétain. With the onset of deportations in 1942, however, the Scouts increasingly turned to active resistance, first aiding in the hiding of hundreds of children, and then engaging in armed struggle. Together with the Armée Juive, they established the OJC (Organisation Juive de Combat) Robert Gamzon (Castor), the national director of the Jewish Boy Scouts of France, largely contributed to this evolution. Other groups that were active in aiding Jews, especially children, were the Oeuvre de secours aux enfants (*OSE), and the Women's International Zionist Organization's (*WIZO) office in the Paris area. Jewish Communist groups, such as the Mouvement National contre le Racisme (MNCR), created in 1942, which benefited from the support of the French Communist Party, also played an active role in resistance. In contrast to other groups, which emphasized Jewish self-defense, they tended to view Jewish resistance to Nazism as part of the general struggle against Fascism.

During the course of the war, the attitude and behavior of the majority of French citizens toward Jews gradually shifted from open hostility or apathy to sympathy and support. At first, most Frenchmen approved of the discriminatory laws, especially against foreign-born Jews, as part of their general approval of Marshal Pétain's program of national revival. In time, however, the increasing brutality of the Vichy and Nazi policies beginning in 1942, which included the deportations of native-born Jews including women and children, and the fact that roundups were no longer limited to German-occupied areas, led to growing opposition to and resentment against the regime's anti-Jewish policies. Many individual Frenchmen hid children and adults, often at the risk of their own lives. For the first time, there were statements of opposition from established leaders. Before 1942, the French Catholic Church had remained silent in the face of Vichy's anti-Jewish pronouncements and policies. Alerted by Jewish religious authorities, a number of Catholic prelates, such as Monsignors Jules-Gérard Saliège and Pierre-Marie Théas, now strongly condemned the deportations of the Jews from their pulpits. In local areas, convents and monasteries offered shelter to Jews, particularly to children. For the most part, the Church hierarchy did not attempt to proselytize the Jewish children under their care, though some families did convert those whom they had taken in. The Protestant churches, numerically very small in France, were even more actively opposed to the persecution of Jews. Pastor Marc Boegner, president of the National Protestant Federation, denounced the Statut des juifs and the expropriation of Jewish-owned property in the Unoccupied Zone. The largely Protestant areas of the Haute-Loire, Hautes-Alpes, and the Tarnin in Central France became centers for active rescue of Jews. Of special note was the village of Le Chambon-sur-Lignon, whose efforts to hide Jews have been chronicled in numerous film documentaries and films.

[Lucien Steinberg / David Weinberg (2nd ed.)]

Early Postwar Period

NATIVE POPULATION AND WAVES OF IMMIGRATION. France was the only country in Europe to which Jews immigrated in significant numbers after World War II. In 1945, there were some 180 000 Jews in France. The community was composed of established Jewish families and immigrants from Central and Eastern Europe and Mediterranean countries. In 25 years the Jewish population tripled. Between 1945 and 1951 many Displaced Persons passed through France, and some settled there. In 1951 there were 250 000 Jews in the country. Between 1954 and 1961, approximately 100,000 Jews moved to France from Tunisia, Morocco, Egypt (1956), and Algeria. After the Bizerta incidents (in Tunisia) and the independence of Algeria (1962), immigration increased. By 1963, almost the entire Jewish community of Algeria (110,000 persons, all French citizens) had moved to France. Moroccan and Tunisian Jews continued to arrive in the late 1960s with a last peak following the Six-Day War (from the summer of 1967 to the summer of 1968, 16,000 Jews from Tunisia and Morocco sought sanctuary in France). French-speaking Jewry had undergone a new geographical distribution, diversification in occupations and social status, a change in community structure, and a fundamental reorientation in religious, ideological, and cultural trends.

Approximately 50% of the Jews who left North Africa settled in France, so that by 1968 the Sephardim were in the majority in the French Jewish community.

GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION. In 1939 the Jewish population was concentrated in Paris and the surrounding region, Alsace-Lorraine, and several large towns. In 1968 about 60% of the Jewish population lived in Paris and its surroundings, about 25% in the Midi, and the rest were scattered throughout

France. Five provincial towns supported important communities: Marseilles (65,000), Lyons (20,000), Toulouse (18,000), Nice (16,000), and Strasbourg (12,000). Between 1957 and 1966 the number of localities in which Jews lived rose from 128 to 293. The dispersal of the immigrants from North Africa, which answered the need to absorb them into the economy, resulted in the establishment of Jewish communities throughout the country. In 1968, 76 rather isolated communities contained fewer than 100 Jews, and 174 communities numbered less than 1,000 (such communities were particularly numerous in the Paris district).

ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL STATUS. French Jewry succeeded in normalizing its economic status during the first two or three years following the liberation. Each successive wave of immigration, however, included a large group of impoverished persons who were forced to make recourse to social services run by the community or the state. Among both Ashkenazim and Sephardim, rapid and important changes in social status took place. Artisans from Eastern Europe or North Africa abandoned their traditional occupations in the second, if not in the first, generation in order to find jobs in modern industry, where the need for technical skills was great and through which a rapid rise on the social scale was possible. This trend was encouraged by the education offered in the seven *ORT schools, whose pupils were mainly from immigrant families. About 80% of North African Jews continued in the same occupation they had pursued in their countries of origin, and their influx into France slightly modified the distribution of occupations and social status of French Jewry. An estimated 15% of Algerian Jews were clerks employed at all levels of public administration; these were absorbed into urban administrations. Despite the resettlement loans granted by the government to repatriated citizens, some small businessmen and artisans had to abandon their previous status as self-employed persons and become salaried employees. Social advancement was rapid among North African Jews who were French nationals, as racial barriers that had seriously handicapped their advancement under colonial rule did not exist in France. Their settlement there opened new prospects for them, and many made their way in the liberal professions, commerce, and industry. The economic absorption of Moroccan or Tunisian Jews was more difficult. Nevertheless, they also chose France as their new country of residence as a result of their varying degrees of assimilation into French culture in their native countries. The social status and occupational distribution of French Jewry resembled the principal traits of the Diaspora in the West, i.e., a preponderance of members of the liberal professions, white-collar workers, businessmen, and artisans.

COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION. The period from 1945 to the end of the 1960s was a one of reconstruction of the community organization. The Consistoire Central Israélite de France et d'Algérie, the major religious organization, had to face numerous demands. Orthodox in orientation, it was the official representative of French Judaism, responsible for the training, nomination, and appointment of rabbis, religious instruction for young people, the supervision of *kashrut*, and the application of religious law in matters of personal status. In order to answer the new needs related to the sharp increase in the Jewish population, the Consistoire set up a program of new synagogue building projects (les Chantiers du Consistoire) and had to accompany the development of a more intense religious life (organizing the network of *sheḥita* and *hashgaḥah*, supplying more rabbis and *talmud torah* to teachers…). While in the 1950s the consistory synagogues generally practiced Ashkenazi rites (and a few the Portuguese or North African rituals), by the end of the 1960s a majority of the consistory synagogues had switched to North African rites. North African Jews often formed their own communal organizations, but were represented in all the consistorial organizations. After 1945, most of the pupils of the Ecole Rabbinique and the rabbinical seminary, the Séminaire Israélite de France, were of Egyptian and North African origin. The Union Libérale Israélite, affiliated to the World Union for Progressive Judaism, was no less active. It had greater influence in more assimilated circles of established and North African families and trained its ministers at the Institut International d'Etudes Hébraïques. Lastly, there were the independent religious bodies, including Sephardi and North African communities practicing their various local rites, Poles, and ḥasidim and kabbalists. Despite the amount of effort expended, only a small minority of French Jewry practiced their religion. There were, however, hundreds of associations and institutions of a cultural, social, or philanthropic nature. From 1945 efforts made to coordinate and channel the rather anarchic development of such organizations met with a measure of success. On a political level, the Conseil Représentatif des Juifs de France (CRIF), founded in 1944, was an example of such an effort. Created clandestinely during the war, it meant to illustrate the unity of the French Jewish community through its various trends, religious and non-religious, old established natives and newer immigrants, etc. In 1968, it was composed of 27 important organizations of diverse trends, including religious, Zionist, Bundist, and even Communist bodies. According to its statutes, the Council's aim was "to protect the rights of the Jewish community in France"; it also played an active role in fighting antisemitism. On the social and cultural level, the Fonds Social Juif Unifié (FSJU), founded in 1949 to centralize the various efforts of the community, rapidly became the central organizational body of French Jewry. It coordinated, supervised, and planned the community's major social, cultural, and educational enterprises, which it financed through its unified fund-raising campaign and the contributions of the *Joint Distribution Committee. Its community services played an important role in the integration of Jewish immigrants, and its numerous community centers aimed at involving peripheral elements without religious affiliations in community life. After the Six-Day War, the FSJU and the Appel Unifié pour Israël (United Israel Appeal) coordinated their activities and formed the Appel Unifié Juif de France, a joint fund-raising venture. Varied ideological and political orientations, from the assimilationists to the Zionists and from the left wing to the right, were freely expressed in the French Jewish community. Although the Landsmanschaften of Eastern European immigrants gradually died out, associations of immigrants from North African countries multiplied.

CULTURAL LIFE. The diverse cultural trends of French Jewry were expressed by its 40 or so weekly and monthly publications. In 1968, there were ten daily, weekly, or monthly publications in Yiddish. After 1945, due to the activities of the *Conference on Jewish Material Claims, many books on Jewish and Israeli subjects were published annually by large French publishing houses; there was also a weekly Jewish radio broadcast and a regular television program. Most French Jews preferred to provide their children with a secular state education. Less than 5% of Jewish schoolchildren studied in the Jewish day schools at all levels, but the numerous youth movements and organizations tried to attract as many young people as possible. Under an agreement between the French and Israel governments, Hebrew could be taught as a foreign language in the *lycées* (state high schools). Ten universities included Hebrew in their curriculum, the universities of Paris and Strasbourg taught Jewish history, literature, and sociology. All the major Zionist youth movements were represented in France. The French Zionist Federation included various Zionist parties; however, it was decimated by internal feuds and its influence was weak. Nevertheless, more and more French Jews expressed their solidarity with Israel.

Despite a certain latent but rarely virulent antisemitism (research conducted by the Institut Français de l'Opinion Publique in December 1966 showed that about 20% of the French public held seriously antisemitic opinions), Jews felt well integrated into French society. The efforts of numerous Jewish organizations did not retard the rate of assimilation. After the Six-Day War (1967), the explicit anti-Israel stance of de Gaulle and his government (see below), came as a shock to French Jewry. The feeling of uneasiness increased when the anti-Israel utterances of de Gaulle, his officials and commentators assumed a half-disguised, sophisticated antisemitic quality, particularly through hints at the Jews' "double loyalty." It reached its peak when de Gaulle, at a press conference (Nov. 27, 1967), defined the Jews as "*un peuple d'élite*, sûr de lui-même et dominateur" ("an elite people, self-assured and domineering"), thus giving a great impetus to overt expressions of latent antisemitism. This dictum aroused a wide public controversy in France and abroad. The chief rabbi, Jacob Kaplan, voiced his protest, reaffirming Jewish attachment to Israel and stressing that it did not contradict in any way the fact that the Jews of France are loyal Frenchmen. De Gaulle later told the chief rabbi that his words were not meant to be disparaging. At the same time, from the other extreme of the political scene, came the violently aggressive anti-Israel propaganda of the *New Left and of the "students' revolution" of May 1968, who supported Arab-Palestinian terrorism against Israel, though many of the movement's leaders were themselves young Jews (Daniel Cohn-Bendit, Marc Kravetz, Alain Krivine, and others). This agitation was the cause of embarrassment to most French Jews, not only because of its enmity toward Israel but also because of its extremist ideology of violence (Trotskyism, Maoism, anarchism, etc.), which could have easily aroused an antisemitic reaction in the mainly conservative French middle class, to whom most Jews belong. Physical clashes between Jews and Arabs in certain quarters of Paris, mostly provoked by pro-Palestinian North Africans, added to the malaise. As a result, migration from France to Israel, by both French and Algerian Jews, considerably increased in the late 1960s.

[Doris Bensimon-Donath]

Later Developments

DEMOGRAPHY. The Jews of France maintained a stable population variously estimated at 500,000–550,000 from the late 1960s to the early years of the 21st century (the former figure being the 2002 estimate based on a study by the Israeli sociologist Erik Cohen). Another 75,000 non-Jews were estimated in 2002 to be living in Jewish households. Following the decolonization of the former French possessions in North Africa, the Jewish population of France doubled between 1955 and 1965. Afterwards immigration was numerically insignificant. However, French Jewry changed from having an Ashkenazi majority to a Sephardi one (70 percent in 2002). France has taken in only a limited number of Jews who, since 1989, have left the former Soviet Union.

By the early 1990s the second as well as the third generation was French-born and educated. They were, of course, French, but maintained a conscious Jewish identity. The demographic trends among the Jewish population of France are similar to those of most other Diaspora countries: aging, low birth rates along with significant changes of the family units. Mixed marriages are an accepted fact and there are also increased numbers of couples living together and of divorces.

Some 50 percent of French Jews lived in Paris and its suburbs. Among the provincial communities the largest were those of Marseilles, Nice, Toulouse, and Montpellier in the south, Lyons and Grenoble in the southeast, and Strasbourg in Alsace. Jews also lived scattered throughout the country while having a tendency to congregate in middle-sized cities owing to the attraction of a better organized community life. In all, 72 percent of French Jews lived in just nine of its 30 départements

French Jewry constitutes the largest Jewish community in Europe. After the breakup of the Soviet Union and the mass emigration of Jews from there, France, in 1995, became the second largest Diaspora community (after the United States). Representing about 1 percent of the total French population, the Jews are only the third largest religious group: their number is greatly exceeded by the approximately 5 million Muslims, some stemming from the former French colonies, others French citizens. "Feujs" (young second and third generation Jews) and "Beurs" (young second and third generation Muslims) live in certain sections of the large cities and their suburbs, where at times they clash and at times live amicably.

EDUCATION AND CULTURE. During the 1970s there were significant developments in the sphere of all-day Jewish education. Both in Paris and in the provinces numerous primary and secondary schools, as well as kindergartens were opened. Parallel to the network controlled by the FSJU there were schools operating in accordance with the most Orthodox currents, such as the Otzar Hathora. In 1976 the FSJU and the Jewish Agency created the Fonds d'Investissement pour l'Education (FIPE), which, with the support and participation of a number of religious organizations, led to a significant expansion of the network of Jewish day schools. By 1979, approximately 10,000 children attended all-day Jewish schools, the most important of them having concluded agreements with the government whereby it covered the fees of the teachers who give general education.

According to a study made by Erik Cohen in 1986/88 (see bibliography), the number of full-time Jewish educational institutions – from nursery school to high schools – doubled from 44 in 1976 to 88 in 1986/87, at which time, 16,000 children and teenagers attended full-time Jewish schools. This trend has continued: by 1992, 20–25 percent of school-age Jews attended full-time Jewish schools. If one adds the *talmud Torahs* (preparatory courses for bar mitzvah and bat mitzvah), the youth movements, and other Jewish recreational organizations, 75 percent of Jewish youth have some more or less long term formal Jewish education.

Non-practicing Jewish families had, in the 1980s, a more favorable attitude than in the past to full-time Jewish education, but, more than the others, the religious circles have the maximum commitment to Jewish education. According to Cohen's study, in 1986/87, about one-third of the Jewish day schools were affiliated with organizations such as Lubavitch, Otzar Ha-Torah, or Or Yossef. In 1994, the FSJU opened the André Neher Institute intended to train educators who wish to work in the Jewish educational networks. This new institute stressed the recruitment of teachers of Jewish subjects who receive at the same time training in the university and pedagogical system charged with training teachers in France.

The majority of Jewish youth, however, study in public schools whose underlying principle is secularism, having as its objective the education of children and young people of every religion and every origin, with mutual tolerance. For over a century, the free, secular school has played an essential role in the integration of children born to every wave of immigration in French society. Still, the evolution of the French society by the end of the 20th century also echoed in the realm of the state schools. From the end of the 1980s, a broad public debate took place on the question of "conspicuous" religious signs worn by a few schoolchildren (mainly the Islamic veil for girls). The majority of those Jews who expressed themselves on the question strongly supported traditional French secularism as a protection for all minorities against certain over-assertive groups; nevertheless, some Jews – and among them the Consistoire Central, although for a very short period – were tempted by the idea of getting some exemptions made official, such as the exemption from school for observant Jewish children on Saturday. However, in 2004 a law finally banned all religious symbols from schools.

In the public school system, Hebrew was taught at a number of high schools as a foreign language which fulfills the matriculation requirement. In the universities, the study of Hebrew, Jewish languages, and Jewish civilization is now well represented.

The year 1992 was for the Jews of France the 50th anniversary of the beginning of the mass deportations: the Holocaust is at the heart of Jewish memory. During this decade, there was a significant increase in research studies into the responsibility of the Vichy government for the persecution of the Jews. President Mitterrand was called upon to admit officially France's responsibility for this persecution.

The year 1994 was the 600th anniversary of the expulsion of the Jews from France by Charles VI. A scientific colloquium presented information on this tragic period of the Jewish people.

The years 1994 and 1995 were marked above all by the celebrations of the 50th anniversary first of the Liberation of France and then of the extermination camps and finally of the victory of the Allies over Nazi Germany. While President Mitterrand had kept in 1992 the date of July 16th (the day of the big roundup of Jews in Paris in July 1942) as the official anniversary of the persecution of the Jews in France, President Chirac pronounced in 1995 a memorable speech acknowledging the responsibility of the French state in the tragic fate of the Jews. Jews and Jewish organizations were obviously associated with these national and international celebrations. Remembrance of the Holocaust is broadly presented and disseminated by the media. The Jews stress not only the persecution, but also the Resistance. There are increasing numbers of works dealing with what transpired and, more specifically, survivor accounts. The *Centre de Documentation Juive Contemporaine (CDJC) participates in an international project launched by Steven Spielberg, director of *Schindler's List*, for collecting Holocaust survivors' videotaped testimony.

The intellectual and cultural vitality of French Jewry is attested by artistic, literary, and scientific output. Each year, 200 to 300 works on Jewish themes are published in France. They cover the gamut of the field of Jewish studies, from the translation and interpretation of traditional texts of Jewish thought to the study of contemporary Jewish issues. At the same time, novels with Jewish themes are published and plays, movies, and works in the plastic arts are produced. The interest in Judaism and its culture is shared by the Jewish and non-Jewish public.

COMMUNITY. The Six-Day War was to a large extent a turning point for the French Jewish community. After 1967, the role played by Israel in the Jewish self-identification became even more central in France whereas Jewish institutions became increasingly involved in Jewish world politics. From 1970, the Conseil Representatif des Juifs de France (CRIF, which changed its name to the more precise one of Conseil Représentatif des Institutions Juives de France), expanded its range of activities. In the wake of the 1967 and 1973 wars in Israel, it took a new impulse under the dynamic leadership of Professor Ady *Steg. It played an important part in the struggle against antisemitism and was active in support of Soviet Jewry. While by 1970 the number of affiliated organizations reached34, the CRIF became more and more active in the public life, representing the Jews as a sort of sociological – and not purely religious – group. The impulse of the 1970s was confirmed in the three following decades, with the development of a regular dialogue with the authorities, symbolized since the 1980s by the yearly dinner at which the CRIF receives the French Premier. The last third of the century was also a period of enhanced development for the Fonds Social Juif Unifié, (FSJU), the main community organization in France, which collects and distributes funds for Jewish welfare and cultural activities. After the intense effort of the post-war reconstruction and the integration of a heavy immigration in the 1960s and 1970s, the FSJU had to adjust to the end of the support it had been granted by American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee while investing heavily in the development of formal education through Jewish schools and going on playing a major part in the organization and planning of the community social services in times which were not of full economic prosperity. At the same time, the FSJU statutes underwent a reform in favor of more democratic representation. In the religious sphere the most important event of the 1980s was the retirement of the chief rabbi, Jacob Kaplan, and the election for a seven-year period of Rabbi René Samuel *Sirat as his successor in June 1980. Born in Bone (Algeria), Sirat was a Sephardi and a university graduate; he placed the main stress on Jewish education and the spiritual renewal of French Jewry. This renewal took different forms. Whereas for some it consisted of a return to religious practice, in the case of others it meant the search for Jewish identity and a renewal of Sephardi and Yiddish culture. Together they embraced a significant number of individuals and an intense renewed literary activity is manifest.

In the 1980s organized community life was characterized by the rise of ever-increasing numbers of Sephardi Jews to positions of leadership and by a certain return to religion in strong opposition to humanistic and secular initiatives. The organization of the Jewish community of France continued to reflect the ideological heterogeneity of its members.

The consistories, which are in charge of the organization of Jewish religious worship and observances, tended to extend their spheres of activities.

In 1988, Joseph Sitruk, born in Tunisia, was elected chief rabbi after René Samuel Sirat and continued in that position into the 21st century. Jean-Paul Elkann was president of the Central Consistory in the 1980s. In June 1992, Jean-Pierre Bansard was elected. Born in 1940 in Oran, Algeria, and president of a financial company, Bansard represented a new Jewish leadership. In 1995 Jean *Kahn took over.

A most significant change, however, took place in the 1990s in the Board of the Association Cultuelle Israélite de Paris (ACIP), which is the most important regional consistory in France. A new team of a stricter Orthodoxy than its predecessor, headed by Benny Cohen, was elected, calling vigorously for a return to religious practice. This new tendency is strongly opposed by some of their coreligionists who affirm their Jewish identity only in a cultural mode. There are also more Orthodox Jews: in Paris, as in other cities, ultra-Orthodox groups and notably the Lubavitch Ḥasidim took root during the 1980s. They have established their neighborhoods and made their Judaism "visible" through billboard campaigns at Jewish holiday times and through lighting Ḥanukkah candles in large public places in Paris.

At the end of 1992, the new team of the ACIP changed some of the rules governing their association. As voted on December 20, 1992, the ACIP, which became the "consistory of Paris and the Ile de France," sought to reinforce its position as the heart of the central consistory organization and increase its powers with an eye on stricter observance of the *halakhah*. This transformation met with lively opposition on the part of representatives of more liberal tendencies within the consistory spheres themselves. Between 1992 and mid-1994 the debate was harsh between the more or less orthodox trends and finally a new president, Moïse Cohen, was elected who attempted to refocus the ACIP around its religious mission in a spirit open to the different trends in Judaism.

By the end of the 20th century, the CRIF had confirmed the trends that had affected it since the 1970s. It encompassed some 60 Jewish organizations, among them the most important in the country. After Alain de Rothschild, its presidents were Théo *Klein, Jean *Kahn, Henri Hajdenberg, and Roger Cukierman (from 2001). CRIF not only fought against antisemitism but also expanded its activities in the sphere of defense of human rights. In 2002 it organized a massive rally in Paris under the banner "Against Antisemitism. For Israel." Moreover, since 1986, first Theo Klein and then Jean Kahn served as president of the European Jewish Congress (CJE) created at the initiative of the World Jewish Congress. Since 1989 CJE has developed activities involving French Jewry, directly or indirectly, on behalf of Jewish communities in the ex-communist bloc. In 1992, Jean Kahn, within the framework of his functions, took part in humanitarian actions in the territory of former Yugoslavia.

The Fonds Social Juif Unifié (FSJU) celebrated in 2001 its 50th anniversary. This is the most important organization supporting and coordinating French Jewry's social, educational, and cultural activities. From 1982 David de Rothschild was its president.

Among the large Jewish organizations in France the Alliance Israélite Universelle (AIU), founded in 1860, plays an important role in the cultural domain. Prof. Ady Steg became its president in 1985. In September 1989 the AIU inaugurated a new library which is now the largest Jewish library in Europe. It also has a College of Jewish Studies focusing its activities on in-depth study of Jewish thought in its various expressions. The year 2000 brought a major development in the picture of institutions in France with the creation of the Fondation pour la Mémoire de la Shoah (the Endowment for the Memory of the Shoah, FMS). Although one cannot strictly consider the FMS as a Jewish community institution, it has started to play a major role in most important fields of the Jewish life. The FMS has been granted an inalienable endowment of some 393 million euros, a sum that corresponds to the wealth left in banks, insurance companies, etc. by the Jewish families who did not survive the Shoah in France. Only the product of the endowment is to be spent. In the first years of its existence, the FMS, whose president is Simone *Veil, started an impressive program which encompasses the transformation of the Jewish Shoah Memorial in Paris into an international museum, archive and research center on the Holocaust, social programs for survivors, support to cultural initiatives such as the House of Yiddish in Paris, training programs on Judaism for teachers in state schools, and more.

This overview of the large organizations gives only a partial picture of actual Jewish life in France. There are several hundred Jewish organizations in France, some with thousands of members, others with only a few dozen. Moreover, despite the impressive number of organizations, only 30–40 percent of the Jews have relations with the so-called organized community.

Since the end of the 1980s on, some Jewish secular and humanist movements have been organized, at least among the Ashkenazi Jews, and more recently, also among Sephardim.

It may be asked if one may speak of "a Jewish community" in the case of France. Heterogeneous in origins and orientations, embedded in a social, cultural, and political environment which offer aspirations different from those presented by Judaism, the French Diaspora does not constitute a community, in the strict sense. To be sure, at the local level or as voluntary societies based on origin or ideological sector, communities can come into being; they provide a firm foundation on which to affirm one's quest for Jewish identity. But this search exhibits different facets, even though, in France today, Jewish life is essentially crystallized around three poles: religion; culture; and the attitude to the State of Israel.

ANTISEMITISM. From 1978 the extreme right increased its racist and antisemitic attacks, including the desecration of monuments and Jewish cemeteries, hostile antisemitic inscriptions, and generally xenophobia in the context of economic crisis. Those responsible were extremely small groups who openly proclaim fascist doctrines. On Friday October 3, 1980, a bomb which exploded outside the synagogue on Rue Copernic, just before the conclusion of the services, killed three persons. Although this outrage was attributed at first to the French extreme right, it became clear after a while that the source was to be found in the Middle East. The reaction was immediate. Both in Paris and in the provinces public protest meetings took place in which Frenchmen of all the political trends and opinions participated. Middle Eastern terrorism struck again two years later, in August 1982, at the popular Jewish restaurant Goldenberg. Apart from the terrorist alarms coming from the Middle East, the 1980–1990 period was also marked by different events and trends that raised the issue of a possible renewal of antisemitism in France. Apart from the well-known antisemitism of the far-right, the development of the differencialist racialism of the Nouvelle Droite drew quite a lot of attention. The 1982 war in Lebanon favored some far-leftist, "anti-zionist" discourse that was on the verge of antisemitism. In the same period a wave of so-called revisionist works and publications questioning the Holocaust, produced by the far-right, the far-left, and pro-Palestinian circles, aroused very strong emotion. Despite the strength of the legal anti-racist apparatus in France, it was brought to further completion in 1990 by the Gayssot law which repressed the questioning of the existence of crimes against humanity and the publication and distribution of racist anti Semitic and revisionist writings. Some revisionist university workers were found guilty of questioning the Holocaust, but the suppression of antisemitic writings was insufficient.

Terrorism and antisemitic incidents marked the 1980s. At the beginning of the 1980s, a wave of terrorism raged with the bloodiest attack against Jews carried out in August 1982 against the Jo Goldenberg restaurant. At the end of the 1980s and in the early 1990s, desecrations of synagogues and, above all, cemeteries were prevalent. The most serious incident took place in Carpentras in 1990. At the end of 1992, the desecrations increased, particularly in Alsace where German Neo-Nazism and the French extreme-right cooperate. Only rarely have those guilty of these attacks been apprehended.

Other incidents were connected to the Holocaust past. In 1987 the trial against Klaus Barbie had widespread publicity. Sentenced to life imprisonment, Barbie died in prison on September 25, 1991. (See *Barbie Trial.)

Barbie was German, but the case of French Paul Touvier is more complicated. Touvier, head of the Lyon militia and Gestapo collaborator, was arrested in May 1989. On July 11, 1991, the Paris court (Chambre d'accusation) decided to release him. On April 13, 1992, this same court gave Touvier a general acquittal. This decision was accompanied by an interpretation of the Vichy role in the persecution of the Jews, considering it as totally subordinate to German authority. This decision unleashed fierce emotion in France and was repealed, at least in part, on November 27, 1992, by the Paris High Court of Appeal. The trial against Touvier, for the murder of seven Jews in June 1944 proceeded and in 1994 he was convicted and condemned to life imprisonment.

In November 1991 the media announced that the card file of the census of the Jews made in 1940 by the Vichy police had been found by the lawyer Serge Klarsfeld in the Ministry of Veteran Affairs. For 50 years historians have searched for this card file which had been said to have been destroyed. The file was transferred to the National Archives where it was studied by a commission of historians. On December 31, 1992, the Ministry of Culture made public the results of its study: this card file deals only with those Jews arrested and/or deported. The census made under the Vichy government seems to have been in fact destroyed in 1948 or 1949.

There was a decrease in terms of major antisemitic events in the 1990s, although the phenomenon of the profaning of graves continued (but not only in Jewish graveyards). But by the end of the 1990s one became aware of a new disturbing situation in schools among very young people. Against the French tradition of assimilation, there seems to have developed a "community attitude" in some schools in certain areas, with an increase of violence – first verbal and a strong trend to antisemitism. With the second Intifada in Israel, an ethnic type of anti-Jewish violence seemed to be on its way, carried out by people who perceived themselves as the "true" victims, both of history (colonization, slavery) and the present (poverty, racism).

ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL SITUATION. French Jews continued actively to support Israel.

The results of the Israeli elections of May 1977, which returned Menaḥem Begin, caused considerable dismay. Begin was considered the classical representative of the ultra-nationalism of the extreme right, so extreme and uncompromising that his coming to power was likely to bring about a new conflict in the Middle East. Daniel Mayer, a former Socialist minister and ex-president of the League of Human Rights, ceased to write his regular column in the Zionist periodical *La Terre Retrouvée*, which he had contributed for many years, on the grounds that from now on his socialist convictions would make it impossible for him to defend the Israeli cause under the new regime.

The visit of President Sadat to Jerusalem, however, and the Camp David agreement improved the image of Begin. Many French Jews, while expressing their sympathy with the State and concern for its survival, nevertheless criticize both the internal and foreign policies of the Israel government.

The French economy went through great changes from the 1980s to the 1990s. It became information oriented and automated, with a considerable increase in its production capacity. The battle against inflation succeeded and the currency was stabilized. The economy played an important and influential role in the creation of the European Economic Community whose borders opened on January 1, 1993, to free movement of goods among the 12 member-countries. European political union is more difficult to put into effect: in France, the September 20, 1992, referendum on the treaty of the European Union, called the Maastricht treaty, barely received a majority (51 percent); voting in favor was supported by several Jewish personalities.

This modernization of the economy had a corollary in increased unemployment. At the end of 1992, the threshold of three million unemployed was reached. Jews, too, were affected by this calamity, and social cases and problems reappeared. Poverty was also found among the Jews; in December 1992, Jewish social services launched an appeal called Tsedaka to collect funds to bring relief to 25,000 needy Jews.

From 1981 to 1995 France's president was François Mitterrand and its various governments had a socialist majority (except for the period of "cohabitation" from 1986 to 1988 during which the right-wing government was led by Jacques Chirac). From 1995 Jacques Chirac was president. Elections at different levels of political life are held frequently in France, and Jewish voters are regularly solicited by the political parties. Following an old tradition, the main Jewish organizations do not give any directions on how to vote. Nevertheless, some of them warn against voting for the FN. Jews constitute about 1 percent of the French electorate. Their votes can only play an important role in specific localities such as Paris and Marseilles. On the basis of analyses of voting behavior, it is known that the Jewish vote is spread among all parties, while within the machinery of every party Jews are active.

With the Mitterrand era coming to an end, his final "confessions" greatly troubled Jewish society which, first and foremost, appreciated his friendly relations with the Jews and the State of Israel. In fall of 1994, the book by Piere Péan, *Une Jeunesse française*. François Mitterrand 1924–*1947*, confirms rumors about relations between Mitterrand and the Vichy regime after his rejoining the Resistance and especially about certain meetings up to 1986 with René Bousquet, secretary general of the police in the Vichy government, who played an important role in the deportation of French Jews in 1942. Initially condemned by the High Court of Justice in 1949, Bousquet was immediately exempted from the sentences imposed on him by this same judicial body; he reintegrated into his political and financial milieu. Accused of crimes against humanity in 1991, René Bousquet was assassinated in June 1993. The ongoing relations between Mitterrand and Bousquet became an "affair" disseminated largely by the media. Yet, President Mitterrand expressed no regrets over his meetings with Bousquet, despite the exertion of pressure on him by several well-known individuals such as Elie Wiesel. Some Jews were embittered by this "affair." They were well disposed towards the new president, Jacques Chirac, who when mayor of Paris was known for his good relations with Jews, but they also recalled his former friendship with Saddam Hussein.

[Doris Bensimon-Donath / Nelly Hannson (2nd ed.)]

Relations with Israel

France played a major role on the Middle Eastern scene especially from World War I (see *Zionism; *Sykes-Picot; *Lebanon; *Syria; *Israel, State of: Historical Survey) until 1948. However, between the two world wars, France played a relatively minor role in Zionist policy, since the Zionist movement naturally directed its major political efforts toward London and Washington. Closer ties were established between the *yishuv* and Gaullist "Free France" during World War II, against the background of the Nazi conquests and on the basis of contact between the *yishuv* and the Free French in the Middle East. After the war, these ties were reinforced by their joint opposition to British policy. During the early post-war period, various French leaders provided moral and material support for the legal and "illegal" immigration of Jewish refugees to Palestine. France supported the UN partition resolution of Nov. 29, 1947, and played a decisive role in the internationalization of Jerusalem and its surroundings (mainly in order to protect the Holy sites and Christian religious institutions). France recognized the State of Israel de facto in January 1949 and de jure in May of the same year when Israel became a member of the UN. In the mid-1950s, developments paved the way for a closer cooperation between Israel and France. The tireless efforts of Shimon Peres, then director general of the Ministry of Defense, led to the conclusion in 1954 of arms agreements (tanks, artillery, aircraft) which were both beneficial for Israel's defense needs and for France's arm industries. The uprising against French colonial rule in Algeria (November 1954) gave a new impulse to the cooperation between both countries. It reached its climax with the Sinai Campaign (1956) when France, in partnership with Great Britain, coordinated their attack against Nasserite Egypt. Both countries shared a common interest in trying to weaken Egypt, because Nasser supported both the Algerian fellaghas and the Palestinian fedayins. Although the Suez campaign was a political failure, Franco-Israel friendship blossomed. France became Israel's major supplier of arms during that period, and remained so until the Six-Day War (1967). In 1957, France began to help Israel build the nuclear reactor in Dimona (Negev). A whole range of technical and scientific cooperation agreements were signed which enhanced cultural relations between the two countries. They included the establishment of chairs in French language and literature at Israeli universities and in Hebrew language and literature at a score of French universities; the teaching of French as a third language in Israeli secondary schools; exchanges of scientists, students and artists, and joint scientific projects. The advent to power of the General de Gaulle (1958) did not mark an abrupt break with previous policy. Only the close cooperation in nuclear matters and between the general staffs was phased out. French arms continued to be sold to Israel which was seen by de Gaulle as a strategic asset against Soviet expansion in the Middle East. Economic links were strong. In 1966, French exports to Israel amounted to $35,000,000 (imports did not exceed $19,000,000). Tourism from France to Israel reached the figure of 40,000. The reconsideration of French policy began slowly. On the occasion of Ben-Gurion's visits to France in 1960 and 1961, de Gaulle, who called Ben-Gurion "the greatest statesman of this century," hailed Israel as "our friend and ally." However, he firmly rejected a formal military alliance which Ben-Gurion wanted to conclude in 1963. At that time, de Gaulle has already begun a rapprochement with the Arab countries. After Algeria gained independence, the French president thought it was high time to resume diplomatic relations with Arab countries. Although there was a gradual shift in foreign policy, nothing foretold the about-face position taken by de Gaulle during the crisis which ended up with the Six-Day War (June 1967). In mid-May 1967 after the withdrawal of the UN truce observers at the request of Egypt and the closing of the Straits of Tiran to all shipping to Eilat, de Gaulle stated clearly to Abba Eban, minister of foreign affairs, that the situation was not a casus belli and that Israel should not take the initiative to go to war. To prevent the outbreak of a war, France announced an embargo on arms deliveries to "all Middle Eastern states," a decision which in practice hurt only Israel. This unilateral cancellation of French commitment towards Israel was seen in the Jewish state as a betrayal. De Gaulle justified his stand by arguing that Israel was militarily stronger and that the war would have long term destabilizing effects. He deeply resented the fact that Israel did not heed his advice on the eve of the 1967 war and went so far as to describe Israel in a famous press conference in November 1967 as a "warrior State determined to become larger." The Six-Day war was a breaking point in Israeli-French relations and put an end to a close cooperation which lasted almost 15 years. This abrupt change was misunderstood by many French people in the press, among politicians (even some Gaullists), among public opinion and, of course, in the Jewish community. It even aroused certain uneasiness when de Gaulle called the Jews "an elite people, self-assured and domineering…." After 1967, French-Israeli relations steadily deteriorated. De Gaulle's resignation in 1969 did not change much. Under Georges Pompidou's presidency (1969–1974), France drew nearer to the Arab world. The growing dependence on Arab oil and the attempts to penetrate the Arab markets economically (including through arm sales) moved France further way from Israel. Pompidou stated that Israel had the right to live in peace within secure and recognized borders but was also one of the first Western leaders to speak of the "rights of the Palestinian people" and used the nascent European political cooperation to promote the French position in the EEC. Valery Giscard d'Estaing made some positive gestures towards Israel: lifting of the arms embargo, official visit of the French foreign minister to Israel…. However, these moves cannot conceal the fact that France had clear pro-Arab leanings. A PLO office was opened in Paris (1975), and France was instrumental in the adoption by the Europeans of the Venice declaration (1980) which spoke of the Palestinian right to self-determination and called for PLO participation in the peace negotiations. At the same time, France had deep reservations regarding the Camp David accords because they were seen as leading towards a separate peace between Egypt and Israel, not to a global settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict. These political stands strained relations with Israel. The election of Francois Mitterrand as president of France in May 1981 brought with it the hope that there might be a change favorable to Israel in French Middle East policy, because Mitterrand had a liking for the Jewish people and spoke in positive terms of Israel. The official visit he undertook in Israel in March 1982 – the first ever of a French president – was highly symbolic of his attachment to "Israel's unshakeable right to live" as he said during his speech at the Knesset. He welcomed also the Israeli president Haim Herzog for an official visit in 1988. However, this more cordial attitude towards the Jewish state went hand in hand with a deepening of French defense of the right of self-determination of the Palestinian people which had the right to have its own state, alongside Israel. President Mitterrand invited Yasser Arafat, in May 1989, for an official visit in Paris which aroused the opposition of the French Jewish institutions. He became more explicitly critical of Israel after the start of the first Intifada (1987) but returned a second time in Israel in November 1992. After the signing of the Oslo accords (1993), political relations improved notably. Paris became even a meeting point between Israelis and Palestinians. The economic part of the Israeli-Palestinian Interim Agreement was signed in Paris in April 1994. However, the lull was only temporary. Relations once again became strained after the advent to power of Binyamin Netanyahu in 1996 and, later on, with the start of the second Intifada in 2000. On the one hand, France denounced the re-occupation of Palestinian territories by the Israeli army and the confinement of Yasser Arafat; on the other hand, Israel denounced the alleged passivity of French authorities towards antisemitic actions undertaken, at least partially, under the false pretext of "solidarity with the Palestinians." The uneasy situation of the French Jewish community, French foreign policy and Israeli policies in the West Bank and Gaza intermingled dangerously. The new French government (right wing), set up in 2002, tried to improve relations with Israel, with such actions as the creation of a high council for research and scientific cooperation (2003) and official visits to France by Moshe Katzav and Ariel Sharon. These measures have bettered the general atmosphere between both countries which, on the economic level, have sustained relations (economic exchanges went up from €1.2 billion in 1992 to €1.8 billion in 2003).

[Alain Dieckhoff (2nd ed.)]

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FRANCES, IMMANUEL BEN DAVID (1618–c. 1710), Hebrew poet. Born in Leghorn, he was educated by his father David, his brother Jacob *Frances, and especially by R. Joseph Fermo. Immanuel's life was filled with difficulties; not only was he forced to wander from one town to another to earn a living, but a succession of misfortunes befell him. His beloved father died in 1640, and his wife and two children in 1654. In

1657, he married Miriam, the daughter of R. Mordecai Visino, but both she and the son she bore him died in 1667. The same year saw the death of his brother, Jacob, to whom Immanuel was deeply attached, and together with whom he had fought against the supporters of Kabbalah. In his solitude, he devoted himself entirely to his literary work and to his activities as rabbi in Florence. In these he found his sole consolation for the remainder of his life.

His poetic work may be divided into three periods. The first extends from 1643 to 1660, when he was under the influence of two of Italy's most popular poets, Tasso and Guarini. At this time he wrote his love poems and his debates on women (*Vikku'aḥ Itti'el ve-Ukhal*), and rabbis (*Vikku'aḥ Rekhav u-Va'anah*), to which he appended satirical epigrams. The dramatic form he employed suited the literary style he had adopted to attack the corruption in contemporary Jewish society. From a traditional point of view he censured poets like Immanuel of Rome who introduced in their works frivolities and "prurient poems." During the second period, from 1664 to 1667, Immanuel, together with his brother Jacob, waged a literary war against Shabbetai Ẓevi, Nathan of Gaza, and their messianic movement, in which he saw a threat to the Jewish people: mysticism was in their opinion taking the place of the Halakhah. His book of satirical poems, *Ẓevi Muddaḥ* ("The Banished Gazelle [*Ẓevi*]"), belongs to this period and is the choicest of his literary work. The poems were published by M. Mortara (in *Kobez al jad*, 1 (1885), 99–131). A few poems have been translated into English: see Simonsohn (1977), 609–10, and Carmi (1981), 500–4. In the final period, from 1670 until after 1685, the poet adapted his religious poetry for use in synagogue services, giving it a dramatic and recitative character. He even wrote some poems in Latin that have not been preserved. While the poet preferred to use the Spanish-Arabic meter, he also introduced into his Hebrew poetry the *terza rima* and the *ottava rima* of Italian prosody. His poetic works were edited by S. Bernstein in 1932 under the title *Divan le-R. Immanu'el b. David Frances*. His work *Metek Sefatayim*, written in 1667 during a period of residence in Algiers, deals with various aspects of poetry and rhetoric. It was published in 1892 by H. Brody and deserves a new critical edition including all the new material that is known today; most of it has been translated into Spanish (del Valle, 1988).

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[Yonah David]

FRANCES, ISAAC (18th century), preacher and the author of a collection of sermons, *Penei Yiẓḥak* (Salonika, 1753). No details are known of his life or where he lived. The sermons are based on the weekly portions of the Pentateuch, but there is usually more than one sermon for each portion, indicative of the author's long preaching career. Although Frances was influenced by the Kabbalah, often quoting and discussing kabbalistic sources in his sermons, he was not exclusively a kabbalist. He used both contemporary and ancient rabbinic sources extensively and even made some use of medieval philosophical writings, demonstrating the eclectic attitude common among 18th-century preachers. Frances's sermons are didactic, sometimes tending toward theological discourses, but more usually they are designed to foster the ethical improvement of his community, laying great emphasis on decent social behavior.

[Joseph Dan]

FRANCES, JACOB BEN DAVID (1615–1667), poet; elder brother of Immanuel *Frances. Born in Mantua, Jacob, a highly educated man, mastered not only Hebrew and Aramaic, but Latin, Italian, and Portuguese as well. The two brothers collaborated in their literary work, and in his book of poetics *Metek Sefatayim* Immanuel shows great esteem for his elder brother's talent, quoting his verses and calling him by the surname *Ha-harif*, "the sharp one." After Jacob's death, Immanuel corrected and completed some of his poems, to which he occasionally even attached additions of his own. Copyists inserted these additions into the poems without always noting that they were composed by Immanuel. At times they also attributed Immanuel's poems to Jacob, and vice-versa, because of the similarity in style, form, and content. There is still no definitive means of determining the true authorship of some of the poems; 54 sonnets, however, can almost certainly be ascribed to Jacob. In the manner of his contemporary poets, Jacob wrote on all subjects, including friendship, polemics, ethics, love, and marriage. As was customary in poetry at that time, some of his poems have a flavor of eroticism. Jacob quarreled fiercely with members of his community, chiefly attacking the sect of Shabbetai *Ẓevi that arose during his time, as well as the kabbalists who were closely associated with it. He and his brother regarded them as detrimental to Judaism and considered themselves duty-bound to stop them. In this struggle he aroused the opposition of Mantua's rabbis, who condemned a poem he published in 1660 or 1661 against the vulgarization of kabbalistic studies and destroyed almost all the copies of it (the poem was reprinted in 1704 by Samson Morpurgo at the end of his book *Eẓ ha-Da'at*, and again provoked the opposition of kabbalists like Solomon Aviad Basilea, who many years later condemned Morpurgo for having published it). Unlike his brother, Jacob held no communal post but engaged in business. He died in Florence, after having left Mantua because of his quarrel with the kabbalists. Only isolated poems were published during his lifetime. A collection of all his poems from manuscripts and printed works was published by Peninah Naveh (see bibliography). This publication has considerably changed the critical evaluation of his work, and Jacob is now considered by many scholars as one of the very outstanding Hebrew poets of his time, if not the greatest of them. D. *Pagis wrote that he is one of the most interesting poets in the entire Hebrew-Italian school of poetry, and that his work is rich in forms, genres, and psychological moods, and fascinating by virtue of its rhythmical flexibility and stylistic innovations; T. *Carmi defined him "the last major poet before the modern period" and translated some poems into English. Jacob's poetry clearly reveals his mastery of both the Hebrew language and Hebrew literary tradition, as well as his acquaintance with contemporary European literature. As some scholars have remarked, his poems (especially the love poems) are sometimes influenced by the style, the imagery, and the themes of Baroque poetry, and in a long poem written in ottava rima he anticipates the pastoral theme that later became very popular in both Italian and Hebrew literature of the 18th century.

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[Abraham Meir Habermann /Ariel Rathaus (2nd ed.)]

FRANCHE-COMTÉ, region and former province in E. France, comprising the present departments of Haute-Saône, Doubs, and Jura. Since a document of 1220 mentions a Jewish quarter (*vicus Judaeorum*) in *Lons-le-Saunier, the Jews must first have come to Franche-Comté at a much earlier date, probably after the expulsion from the kingdom of France in 1182. From the middle of the 13th century, there is increased evidence of the presence of the Jews and the 40 or more places they had settled, including Baume-les-Dames, *Besançon, Lons-le-Saunier, and *Vesoul. Because they were a valuable source of income, the Jews were eagerly welcomed by various local lords, who granted them advantageous privileges, but they were not admitted to the Church domains. From a detailed list of the fiscal contributions of the Jews drawn up in 1296, it is apparent that by then several localities no longer permitted Jewish residence; those remaining paid an annual tax of 975 livres. Though Franche-Comté was temporarily under the control of the French kingdom at the time, the Jews were not affected by the expulsion order of 1306; however, they were included in that of 1322, though possibly it was not rigorously enforced. From 1332–33 at the latest, new immigrants joined those who had been able to remain in their homes; in a census of 86 Jewish families, 32 are described as recent arrivals. As during the 13th century, their principal occupation was moneylending.

During the *Black Death persecutions in 1348, the count appointed two commissioners, who promptly arrested the Jews and seized their belongings. They were imprisoned for many months (those of Vesoul for nearly ten months), some of them in Gray and the others in Vesoul. In spite of confessions extracted under torture, none was condemned to death but all were banished, and the regent, Jeanne de Boulogne, promised that Jews would no longer be tolerated in Franche-Comté. However, from 1355, there were Jews in the province once more, especially in Bracon and Salins-les-Bains, where a Christian loan bank was set up in 1363 so that there need be no recourse to Jewish moneylenders; the Jews were subsequently expelled from the town in 1374. In 1384, shortly after Franche-Comté was reunited with Burgundy, the duke authorized many Jewish families to settle there, but they did not escape the general expulsion from Burgundy ten years later. Many of them found refuge in Besançon, from where one Jew returned to settle in Champlitte. Driven out in 1409, he was the last Jew to live in Franche-Comté before the French Revolution.

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[Bernhard Blumenkranz]

FRANCHETTI, RAIMONDO (1890–1935), Italian explorer. In 1910 Franchetti traveled alone through Indo-China and Malaysia. After World War I he explored the Sudan, East Africa, and Ethiopia. In *Nella Dancàlia Etiopica* (1935) he described the Danakil region of northeastern Ethiopia. His sympathetic understanding encouraged many of the Ethiopian tribal chiefs to join an alliance with Italy before hostilities began in 1934. Franchetti was killed in a plane explosion near Cairo airport.

FRANCIA, FRANCIS (b. 1675), English conspirator. He was the grandson of Domingo Rodrigues Isaac Francia, an ex-Marrano of Vila Real (Portugal) who arrived in London from Bordeaux in 1655 and became a leading member of the London community. Francis himself was born in Bordeaux and dealt in wine. He subsequently went to London where in 1717 he was tried on a charge of treasonable correspondence with adherents of the exiled Old Pretender James. Despite the weighty evidence against him, he was acquitted. He then apparently became a government agent and betrayed his former associates.

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[Cecil Roth]

°FRANCIS I, Austrian emperor 1792–1835, last Holy Roman Emperor (as Francis II) until 1806. In 1792 Francis ordered the *Judenamt* (office for Jewish affairs) to enforce the numerous restrictions on Jewish settlement in *Vienna and raised the *Bolleten* (tax paid by a Jew each time he entered the city). The preamble to his 1797 patent granted to Bohemian Jewry (see *Bohemia), proclaiming equality as its ultimate aim, raised expectations which remained unfulfilled. Most of the petitions for improvement of the status of the Jews addressed to him by representatives of the Jews in the empire were unanswered, though in 1798 Francis authorized the existence of 52 communities in *Moravia. He agreed to the official use of "Mr." instead of "Jew" in reference to Jewish citizens. During the Congress of *Vienna a petition requesting partial equality presented by B. *Eskeles, N.A. *Arnstein, and L. *Herz met with no success (see also *Metternich). In Francis' Italian provinces, however, *emancipation measures were not revoked. In Galicia, Francis supported Naphtali Herz *Homberg; knowledge of his catechism *Benei Zion* was made compulsory in 1810 for all Jewish couples registering their marriages. While regularly making use of Jewish finance and financial advice, Francis unhesitatingly blamed Jewish financiers for all the economic ills of the empire.

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FRANCISCANS, Roman Catholic Order. The presence in the Middle East of the Franciscan Friars, the Order founded by Francis of Assisi (Italy), officially approved by the Pope in 1221, started in the same year. The province of Terrae Sanctae (the Holy Land), or Siriae or the Promised Land, was founded in the year 1217. The first provincial or superior was Brother Elia from Assisi. In the year 1219 the founder himself visited the region in order to preach the Gospel to the Muslims, seen as brothers and not enemies. The mission resulted in a meeting with the sultan of Egypt, Malik al-Kamil, who was surprised by his unusual behavior. The Franciscan Province of the East extended to Cyprus, Syria, Lebanon, and the Holy Land. Before the taking over of Acre (on May 18, 1291), Franciscan friaries were present at Acre, Sidon, Antioch, Tripoli, Jaffa, and Jerusalem.

From Cyprus, where they took refuge at the end of the Latin Kingdom, the Franciscans started planning a return to Jerusalem, given the good political relations between the Christian governments and the Mamluk sultans of Egypt. Around the year 1333 the French friar Roger Guerin succeeded in buying the Cenacle on Mount Zion and some land to build a monastery nearby for the friars, using funds provided by the king and queen of Naples. With two papal bullae, *Gratias Agimus* and *Nuper Carissimae*, dated in Avignon, November 21, 1342, Pope Clement VI approved and created the new entity which would be known as the Franciscan Custody of the Holy Land (Custodia Terrae Sanctae).

The friars, coming from any of the Order's provinces, under the jurisdiction of the father guardian (superior) of the monastery on Mount Zion, were present in Jerusalem, in the Cenacle, in the church of the Holy Sepulcher, and in the Basilica of the Nativity at Bethlehem. Their principal activity was to ensure liturgical life in these Christian sanctuaries and to give spiritual assistance to the pilgrims coming from the West, to European merchants resident or passing through the main cities of Egypt, Syria, and Lebanon, and to have a direct and authorized relation with the Christian Oriental communities.

The monastery on Mount Zion was used by Brother Alberto da Sarteano for his papal mission for the union of the Oriental Christians (Greeks, Copts, and Ethiopians) with Rome during the Council of Florence (1440). For the same reason the party guided by Brother Giovanni di Calabria halted in Jerusalem on his way to meet the Christian Negus of Ethiopia (1482).

In 1551 the Friars were expelled by the Turkish Muslim Authority from the Cenacle and from their adjoining monastery. However, they were granted permission to purchase a Georgian monastery of nuns in the northwest quarter of the city, which became the new center of the Custody in Jerusalem and developed into the Latin Convent of Saint Savior (known as Dayr al-Latin).

In 1620 the Franciscans received in Galilee, from Fakhr ed-Din, the Druze amir of Sidon, Mount Tabor and the venerated Grotto of the Annunciation in Nazareth. In the following year they could partly rebuild the church of St. John the Baptist at *Ein Kerem on the mountain of Judea, where they opened a new friary.

New churches and monasteries were built in various, already venerated sites in the 19th century above the ruins of an older church: the Chapel of the Flagellation along the Via Dolorosa in Jerusalem in 1838; a chapel at Emmaus-Qubeibah in 1872; the church at Cana (Kefer Kanna) in 1880, and a chapel in the village of Naim; a chapel at Bethfage in 1883, and a chapel at the "Dominus Flevit" in 1891, both on the Mount of Olives.

New basilicas were built at Emmaus-Qubeibah in 1901 and at Nazareth – the so-called Church of Nutrition – in 1914; the Basilica of the Agony at Gethsemane in 1919–24; the Basilica of the Transfiguration on Mount Tabor in 1921–24, followed by the Chapel of the Good Shepherd in Jericho in 1924; the chapel on the west bank of the Jordan River in 1934; the Chapel of Primacy at Tabgha on the shore of the Sea of Galilee; the Church of the Visitation at Ein Keren in 1938–40; a new church at Bethany in 1952–54; a chapel in the Shepherds Field outside the village of Beit Sahur-Bethlehem; and a new chapel at "Dominus Flevit" in 1955. The new great Basilica of the Annunciation in Nazareth started in 1955 was consecrated in 1969. The Memorial of Saint Peter at Capernaum was completed in 1990. In Transjordan, the Memorial of Moses on Mount Nebo is managed by the Franciscans.

Historically, the Franciscan presence in the Holy Land resulted in a continuity with the keeping and recording of local Christian traditions. Over the centuries, in fact, the Franciscans published several important books in different languages supplying, revising, and updating a wealth of information useful for the guidance of pilgrims, as a result of first-hand experiences.

During the long period which officially started in the year 1342, they functioned as custodians of the Christian shrines on behalf of the Catholic Church, guides of the Christian pilgrims to the Holy Land, and consequently as authors of many publications about Palestinian subjects written with the intention of improving the knowledge of the Holy Land among the Christians of Europe.

Works such as *Il Libro d'Oltramare* ("A Voyage beyond the Seas") by Fra Niccolò da Poggibonsi, published in 1346; *Trattato di Terra Santa* ("Treatise on the Holy Land") by Fr. Francesco Suriano, written in 1485; *Piante dei Sacri Edifici* ("Plans of the Sacred Edifices of the Holy Land) by Fr. Bernardino Amico, which came out in 1609; and the work in two volumes of Fr. Francesco Quaresmi, *Elucidatio Terrae Sanctae* ("The Illustration of the Holy Land"), which appeared in 1626, bear witness to this activity.

The restoration and the rebuilding of the sanctuaries owned by the Custody of the Holy Land during the last century resulted in the archaeological exploration of the sites and their occupational history. The scientific work was entrusted to the archaeologists of the Studium Biblicum Franciscanum (SBF), an institute founded in Jerusalem in 1923.

As a scientific institution, the Studium Biblicum Franciscanum is closely related to the history of the Franciscan presence in the Holy Land. It was officially founded as a continuation of the work done by the Franciscan Fathers during the previous centuries. The Studium Biblicum Franciscanum is today a Roman Catholic faculty of biblical and archaeological studies in the Holy Land sponsored by the Franciscan Custody of Terrasanta. It is located in the Old City of Jerusalem, in the Flagellation monastery at the Second Station of the Via Dolorosa.

As a research center, the SBF specializes in the rediscovery and exploration of New Testament sites, as well as in the study of the local early Christian Church in the Holy Land, by means of both literary sources and excavations.

Reports on excavations are published annually in the review *Liber Annuus* and in the series *Collectio Maior* and *Collectio Minor*. Exegetical studies on the Bible are published in the series *Analecta*. The archaeological collections of the SBF are illustrated in the series *Museum*.

As a learning center, the SBF is presently authorized to confer pontifical academic degrees of Baccalaureate, Licentiate, and Doctorate in Biblical Sciences and Archaeology.

Added to the SBF is an archaeological museum opened in 1902 in the monastery of Saint Saviour. This original nucleus of the museum was transferred to the Monastery of the Flagellation in 1931. Findings from the SBF excavations, along with liturgical Latin codices of the 14th–15th centuries, a treasure trove of liturgical medieval objects from the Basilica of the Nativity in Bethlehem, and the 18th century pots of the pharmacy of the Franciscan monastery of Saint Saviour are displayed in the museum. The collection includes a numismatic section specializing in the city-coins of Palestine, Decapolis, and Provincia Arabia.

As a center of archaeological research, therefore, the Studium Biblicum specializes in the study of the Christian presence in the Holy Land in the sanctuaries of the Late Roman, Byzantine, and Crusader periods. Historically important for the geography of the Gospel are the discoveries of the localities of Nazareth, Capharnaum, Magdala, and Bethany.

The excavations in Nazareth, started by Fr. Prosper Viaud at the beginning of the 20th century, were resumed by Fr. Bellarmino Bagatti in 1954. Along with the discovery of the ancient village, he found the first signs of the Christian presence as evidenced by the Christian graffiti scratched on plaster found under the Crusader and Byzantine Basilica of the Annunciation.

At Capharnaum, the excavations started by Fr. Gaudenzio Orfali in the synagogue in 1921 were taken up again in 1968 and have been continued into the 21st century by Frs. Virgilio Corbo and Stanislao Loffreda. They have discovered among the ruins of the houses of the ancient village the *insula sacra* (the sacred insula) with the *domus-ecclesia* (house-church) of St. Peter under the Byzantine octagonal basilica. At the same time, they have unearthed under the Jewish synagogue, structures dating to the Late Roman period.

For the first century, which is the setting of the New Testament, one may mention the excavations of the Herodion palace near Bethlehem. This work was carried out by Fr. V. Corbo during the years 1962–67. The same archaeologist directed the excavations of the Herodian fortress of Machaerous in Jordan, in which, according to Josephus Flavius, *John the Baptist was jailed and murdered.

One of the main excavation and restoration projects undertaken by the Institute is the one at Mount Nebo in Jordan. The project started in 1933 under the direction of Fr. Sylvester Saller. The work was focused mainly on the Memorial Church of Moses, Prophet and Man of God. This memorial was built by the Christians of the region in the fourth century on the western peak of Siyagha. Around it a monastery developed in the Byzantine period.

Excavations were expanded to the nearby ruins of Khirbet el-Mukhayyat on the southern peak of Mount Nebo, where the Iron Age fortress and the Roman-Byzantine village identified with Nebo are located. Since 1984, the Studium has been excavating two Byzantine churches in the ʿUyoun Mousa valley, north of the mountain. At the same time, the Studium is cooperating with the Jordanian Department of Antiquities in excavating several monuments of the city of Madaba, such as the Church of the Virgin, the Hippolythus Hall, the Cathedral, and the Burnt Palace.

In the summer of 1986 work started at Umm er-Rasas, important ruins located in the steppe 20 miles (30 km.) southeast of Madaba, with the rediscovery of the ancient name of the ruins, Kastron Mefaa, in the inscriptions in the rich mosaic floor of the Church of St. Stephen built in the Umayyad period, with the biblical implications of this discovery. Moreover, a city plan of Kastron Mefaa was found along with these inscriptions. In the summer of 1989 a second plan of the city of Kastron Mefaa depicted in the mosaic floor of the church of the Lions was unearthed.

At Umm er-Rasas, as at Mount Nebo, Madaba, and other sites of the Holy Land, archaeological and historical research in the Roman-Byzantine and Arab periods (the main field of the scientific interest of the Studium) has proven to have deep historical implications with regard to the biblical world of both the Old and the New Testament, based on the continuity of life in the same land by the same populations, Jews, Christians, and Muslims.

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[Michele Piccirillo (2nd ed.)]

°**FRANCIS JOSEPH I OF HAPSBURG** (1830–1916), emperor of Austria 1848–1916. During his long reign he won popularity among all strata of Jewry in his empire and abroad. When he died the executive of the Austrian Zionists credited him with the betterment of the lot of the Jews in the empire, describing him as the "donor of civil rights and equality before the law, and their ever benevolent protector" (*Blochs Wochenschrift*, 33 (1916), 784). Antisemites nicknamed him "Judenkaiser." The Jewish masses referred to him as הקיר"ה (*ha-keisar, yarum hodo*: "the emperor, may his Majesty be exalted"), and many folklorist tales were told of him, among them that the prophet Elijah had promised him a long life. The synagogues were always full for the services held on his birthday, which were also attended by gentile dignitaries. Francis Joseph appreciated the role of the Jews as a sector of the population both devoted to and dependent on the monarchy at a time of growing internal national tensions. On the question of Jewish emancipation he assented to the liberal attitude of the 1848 Revolution (see also *Austria). In 1849 he granted the long-withheld recognition to the Vienna community simply by addressing its delegation as its representative (A.F. Pribram (ed.), *Urkunden und Akten…*, 2 (1918), 549). He intervened on behalf of the Jewish side in the *Mortara case. Francis Joseph signed the decree canceling restrictions on Jewish occupations and ownership of real estate (1860), and the Fundamental Law, which made Jews full citizens of the state (1867). In 1869 he met Jewish representatives in Jerusalem and gave a contribution to enable completion of the Nisan Bak Synagogue (Tiferet Yisrael). When visiting synagogues and other Jewish institutions he would assure Jews of his favor and praise their virtues, such as their devotion to family life and charity. He several times expressed his dislike of antisemitism, and in the Lower Austrian Diet called attacks on Jewish physicians a "scandal and disgrace in the eyes of the world" (1892). He twice refused to confirm the antisemite Karl *Lueger as mayor of Vienna, and on the day he finally did so conferred an order on Moritz *Guedemann, the chief rabbi of Vienna. He ennobled 20 Jews during his reign. After World War I many Jews of the former Hapsburg dominions looked back nostalgically to the reign of Francis Joseph as a golden age.

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FRANCK, ADOLPHE (**Jacob**; 1809–1893), French philosopher and writer. Franck, who was born at Liocourt, studied Talmud under Marchand Ennery, and later studied medicine and philosophy. He taught philosophy at several *lycées* (from 1840 in Paris) and lectured at the Sorbonne. In 1844 he was elected to the French Académie des Sciences Morales et Politiques, later being appointed to the Collège de France as extraordinary professor of ancient philosophy (1849–52) and professor of natural and international law (1854–86). In 1850 he represented the Jewish faith on the Conseil Supérieur de l'Instruction Publique. He was vice president of the Consistoire Israélite and later president of the Alliance Israélite Universelle. Franck took part in the activities of the French society for the translation of the Bible and the Societé des Etudes Juives (whose chairman he became in 1888). In 1870 he interceded in Bucharest with Prince Carol in favor of the Romanian Jews. Franck, who defended Judaism in several works, conceived of it as an idealistic expression of monotheism and vigorously opposed pantheism, atheism, materialism, and communism. He established and managed the journal of the anti-atheistic league, *La Paix Sociale*, and was coeditor of the *Journal des Savants*, and contributor to the *Journal des Débats* and the *Archives Israélites*. His works on general philosophy and the history of philosophy include *Esquisse d'une histoire de la logique* (1838); *Le communisme jugé par l'histoire* (1848); *Philosophie de droit pénal* (1864), in which Franck and others advanced the case against capital punishment; *Philosophie du droit ecclésiastique* (1864); *La philosophie mystique en France à la fin du XVIII*^{e} *siècle* (1866); *Philosophie et religion* (1857); and *Philosophes modernes* (1879); he also edited the *Dictionnaire des sciences philosophiques* (6 vols., 1844–52; 1885^{3}).

Franck's chief work is in the field of Jewish studies: *La Kabbale ou philosophie religieuse des hébreux* (Paris, 1843; 1892^{3}; *The Kabbalah; or the Religious Philosophy of the Hebrews*, 1926). This is the first attempt at a comprehensive, scientific description of the beginnings and contents of the Kabbalah in popular form. In the last (third) part Franck examines the religious and philosophic doctrines with which the Kabbalah has some traits in common (Platonism, the Alexandrinian school, the teachings of Philo, Christianity, the religions of the Chaldeans and the Persians). Two discussions on the Ḥasidim and the Frankists are appended. Franck's premises and hypotheses (early date for the beginnings of the Kabbalah; authenticity of Sefer *Yeẓirah; Persian influence) were strongly opposed (by Steinschneider, Jellinek, Jost, and Joel, among others). Other works of his of Jewish scholarly content are *Sur les sectes juives avant le christianisme* (1853); *La religion et la science dans le judaisme* (1882); and *Le panthéisme oriental et le monothéisme hébreu* (1889). His articles on Jewish subjects (all of which appeared in *Archives Israélites*) include: "*De la Création*" (1845); "*Le rôle des juives dans la civilisation*" (1855); and "*Le péché original et la femme*" (1885).

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[Joseph Elijah Heller]

FRANCK, HENRI (1888–1912), French poet. A great-grandson of Arnaud Aron (1807–1890), chief rabbi of Strasbourg, Franck was born into a well-to-do Parisian family. He studied under Henri Bergson and became one of the circle of young French intellectuals who, in the aftermath of the *Dreyfus affair, opposed the rising tide of nationalism and sought a new national and metaphysical ideal that would save France from fanatical individualism. Endowed with a consuming ardor for life and learning, Franck refused to spare himself and died of tuberculosis at the age of 24. His works include philosophical essays and literary criticism, but his major achievement was a magnificent 2,000-verse poem, *La Danse devant l'Arche* (1912), which secured his reputation as one of the most gifted French poets of his generation. Encouraged by his close friend André *Spire, Franck sought to harmonize biblical inspiration with the French Cartesian tradition and saw himself as a new David dancing before the Ark of the Covenant. His poem concludes on a note of disillusion because of the refusal of his fellow Jews, so proud of their attenuated Judaism and atheistic French culture, to join him. Franck's spiritual conflict inspired his old friend and classmate, Jacques de *Lacretelle, to use him as a model for the tragic hero of his novel *Silbermann*.

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[M.J. Gottfarstein]

FRANCK, JAMES (1882–1964), physicist and Nobel prize winner. Franck, who was born in Hamburg, studied chemistry at Heidelberg and Berlin. He then devoted himself mainly to physics. In 1920 he became a professor of experimental physics, directing the second Physical Institute at Goettingen. In 1925 he and Gustav *Hertz jointly received a Nobel prize for their discovery of the laws governing the impact of an electron on an atom, corroborating Bohr's "obstacle" theory of spectra, according to which atoms cannot absorb any energy below a certain level. In 1933, after the Nazi regime was established, Franck moved to the United States. He became a faculty member of Johns Hopkins University and the University of Chicago and made further investigations into the structure of matter, especially the kinetics of electrons. He also developed brilliant optical methods for determining the dissociation temperatures of chemical combinations from molecular spectra, and confirmed the assumptions on which modern atomic theory rests. In addition, he carried out important investigations in photochemistry.

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[J. Edwin Holmstrom]

FRANCO, English family. In the 18th century, JACOB DE MOSES FRANCO (d. 1777) settled in London and amassed a large fortune in the coral trade in conjunction with his brothers RAPHAEL in Leghorn and SOLOMON (see below) in Fort St. George, Madras. He played a prominent part in the affairs of the London Sephardi community and was a member of the original Board of Deputies of British Jews in 1760. In that year, the College of Heralds accepted as evidence for his coat of arms the family badge which figured in the Leghorn synagogue. His brother SOLOMON (d. 1763) arrived in Bombay about 1743 under an agreement with the English East India Company as a "free merchant," moving to Madras in 1749. Described in his epitaph as "an eminent Hebrew merchant of Madras," he had huge interests in the coral and diamond trade. RALPH FRANCO (1788–1854), the great-grandson of Jacob, adopted the name of *Lopes, and was the ancestor of the barons Roborough.

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[Cecil Roth]

FRANCO, AVRAHAM (1894–1993), Sephardi leader. Franco was born and raised in Hebron where his father was a religious leader. He had a traditional religious education and succeeded his father as *shoḥet* of the Sephardi community. In Hebron he taught Arabic at the New Talmud Torah but went on to study pharmacy, becoming the pharmacist of the Hebron municipality.

In World War I he served in the Turkish army, and after the war was a pharmacist at the Rothschild Hospital (which became the Hadassah Hospital) in Jerusalem. He then entered government service as a translator and became secretary of the Jerusalem municipality. As secretary of the Sephardi Federation, he introduced organizational changes in Jerusalem's Sephardi Public Council.

After the 1929 Hebron riots, he was active on behalf of the Hebron refugees, in aid of whom he went to London where he raised money, enabling some of the families to return to Hebron.

In 1947, Franco, as a Jewish employee of the Jerusalem municipality, was a target for assassination by Arabs. Sometime after escaping a bombing attempt aimed against the Jewish employees, two Arabs saved him from being stabbed by a potential assassin who entered the municipality specifically to kill him.

As secretary of the municipal council, he served as a bridge between Jews and Arabs. His experiences growing up in Hebron and living with Arabs helped him considerably in making friendships and initiating Jewish-Arab cooperation.

[Yitzhak Kerem]

FRANCO, GAD (1881–1954), Turkish lawyer. Franco was born in Milas, the son of Dardanelles Jewish community's chief rabbi and cousin of the journalist David *Fresco. He taught Turkish and French in 1901–02 at the Milas Jewish school. He started to publish his articles in the *Izmir newspapers *Ahenk* and *Hizmet.* In 1902 he moved from Milas to Izmir and started publishing the newspaper *El Nouvellista* with his cousin Hizkia Franco. Gad Franco was a fervent admirer of the Committee of Union and Progress and believed in the Ottomanization of the Jews. He graduated in 1909 from the Law School of Istanbul University and then went to Paris, where he graduated as a doctor of law from the Paris Faculty of Law. He returned to *Istanbul in 1923 and opened a law office together with two other Jewish lawyers, Henri Geron and Salamon Adato. Franco was a member of the Secular Council of Turkey's Chief Rabbinate and enjoyed very close relations with the Turkish Republic's leadership. In 1942, during the enforcement of the harsh capital tax law, he was unable to pay it and was sent to the labor camp of Aşkale. His works are *Muallimlere İrfan ve Terbiye Bahisleri* (1910), *Yunan-ı Kadimde Terbiye Nazariyeleri* (1910), *Conférence Faite par Maître Gad Franco au Local de l'Ecole de l'Alliance à Smyrne* (1910), *Tetebbüat* (1911), *Jan Jak Ruso'nun Terbiye Nazariyeleri* (1913), and *Développements Constitutionnels en Turquie* (1925).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: R.N. Bali, *Devlet'in Yahudileri ve "Öteki" Yahudi* (2004), 109–160.

[Rifat Bali (2nd ed.)]

FRANCO, MOSES (1837–1918), chief rabbi of Rhodes and later Rishon le-Zion, chief Sephardi rabbi of Ereẓ Israel from 1913 to 1916. He was born in Rhodes and brought back at the age of 45 from Milas, where he was working as a clerk, to become chief rabbi of Rhodes, which at the time was divided into factions over issues of finances and honor. In 1906, it was decided that he would serve as chief rabbi permanently. He occupied the post until 1911, when he decided to move to Ereẓ Israel. After the death of Rabbi Naḥman Batito, he was appointed acting-chief abbi (*ḥakham bashi*) of Jerusalem. Shortly afterwards, in 1913, the Ottoman authorities recognized his appointment. He endured the famine and misery of the period in Ereẓ Israel when Ottoman Turkey was at war with England in World War I. When the Ottoman Empire closed the borders to Ereẓ Israel and the inhabitants were restricted in their movements, and he himself was at an advanced age and unable to function in his position, he resigned, remaining in Jerusalem until he died.

His first cousin was RAHAMIM FRANCO, the "Harif," chief rabbi of Livorno, *av bet din* in Jerusalem, and chief rabbi of Hebron. His children included HIZKIYA, journalist and president of the Jewish community of Rhodes in the 1930s, and Elise Amateau of Izmir, father of Albert Jean *Amateau.

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[Yitzchak Kerem (2nd ed.)]

FRANCO-MENDES, DAVID (Hofshi-Mendes; 1713–1792), Hebrew poet of the early Haskalah period. Born into an esteemed and affluent Portuguese family in Amsterdam, he received an excellent education and had a command of six languages besides Hebrew. In honor of his marriage to Rachel da Fonseca in 1750, his friend Benjamin Raphael Dias Brandon composed *"Keter Torah,"* an epithalamium. Franco-Mendes was considered an outstanding talmudic scholar and often handed down halakhic decisions. He was a leading Hebrew poet of his time and was greatly influenced by M.Ḥ. *Luzzatto during his stay in Amsterdam (from 1735). A central figure among a group of Dutch Hebrew poets even prior to the appearance of **Ha-Me'assef* in 1784, he became a member of Amadores das Musas, a Jewish literary society in 1769, and conducted an extensive correspondence with many Jewish literary personalities abroad. In the same year, he was also appointed honorary secretary of the Sephardi community of Amsterdam. A businessman, he was reduced to poverty in 1778, and compelled from then on to earn his living copying manuscripts. Franco-Mendes was one of the most zealous collaborators in the publication of *Ha-Me'assef*; *"Ahavat David"* (*Ha-Me'assef* (1785), 48), an article detailing a project for an encyclopedia in Hebrew, is one of his most noteworthy contributions to the periodical.

Franco-Mendes was a prolific writer. Among his dramas, most of them written in poetic form, his best-known work, *Gemul Atalyah* (Amsterdam, 1770), is reminiscent of Racine's tragedy *Athalie*. Many of his biographies of famous Sephardi Jews were published in *Ha-Me'assef* (1785ff.), and posthumously in *Ha-Maggid* (1860–66); some of his poems were also published in *Ha-Me'assef*, but the bulk survives in manuscript form. *Nir-le-David*, responsa from the years 1735 to 1792, was partly published in *She'elot u-Teshuvot* of the yeshivah Ets Ḥayyim. *Sefer Tikkunim* is a critical work on some of the writings of Maimonides. His works on the Portuguese and Spanish Jews of Amsterdam (still in manuscript) are of historical value.

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FRANCOS (pl. of **Franco**, the Ladino equivalent of Arabic **Franji**, **Ifranji**), term used in Muslim countries of the Eastern Mediterranean to designate all Europeans. *Benjamin of Tudela (12th century) used the term in the same sense (*Massa'ot*, ed. by M.N. Adler (1907), 19, 23). Since the time of the *capitulations treaties between France and the Ottoman Empire (1535), the term has been generally used for the protected (Christian) merchants who came from European countries. In later times Jewish merchants from Europe were also protected under the capitulations treaties. Consequently, one finds the name Franco in Sephardi rabbinic literature from the 16th century onward as a term for European Jews. In Eastern Europe it first came to mean a Jew who was a Turkish subject, and then a Sephardi, Ladino-speaking Jew. In modern Hebrew slang the term *Franji* is used with the same meaning.

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[Haïm Z'ew Hirschberg]

FRANK, ALBERT RUDOLPH (1872–1965), German chemical engineer and industrial chemist. Born in Stassfurt, the son of Adolph Frank, he joined his father's company, the Cyanidgesellschaft, in 1899, and was its president from 1901 to 1908. In 1905 he also joined Stickstoffwerke A.G., succeeding his father as head of this company in 1916. With his father, Nikodem *Caro, and Linde, Frank worked on the production of sulfites and of hydrogen, and particularly on calcium carbide. Frank tried to make cyanides (then wanted for a process for extracting gold) from calcium carbide and atmospheric nitrogen, but instead he got calcium cyanamide, which he deduced could be used as a fertilizer. In 1914, when Germany was cut off from supplies of Chile saltpeter, calcium cyanamide became of vital importance to the country's agriculture, and it remains of some importance to this day. Frank also investigated the use of calcium cyanamide as a chemical intermediate, and later found a way of converting it into cyanides. Frank also worked on other uses for calcium carbide (such as making acetylene black for dry batteries). He held many patents and made numerous contributions to scientific literature. The advent of the Nazis compelled him to leave Germany in 1938. He immigrated to the U.S., working for over 20 years with the American Cyanamide Company.

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[Samuel Aaron Miller]

FRANK, ANNE (1929–1945), teenage Holocaust victim who won fame following the posthumous publication of her now famous diary. Through the pages of this book, which she composed during more than two years of hiding from her Nazi persecutors, she has emerged as the preeminent symbol of the innocent but cruelly victimized Jewish child.

Anneliese Marie Frank was born in Frankfurt-am-Main. In the summer of 1933, following Hitler's accession to power, she left her native city with her parents and elder sister, Margot. After a stay of some months in Aachen, they settled in Amsterdam, where her father, Otto, had a business. Her early years in Amsterdam were relatively normal, but after Germany's invasion of the Netherlands on May 10, 1940, and especially after a series of harsh anti-Jewish decrees introduced in the following months, the situation of the Jews in the country worsened considerably. The Frank family sought safety by concealing themselves in several rooms in Otto Frank's office building. With four other Jews, they lived in this "Secret Annex" from July 6, 1942, until August 4, 1944, when they were betrayed and arrested. Sent first to Westerbork, a transit camp in Drente, in the north of Holland, they were deported a few weeks later to Auschwitz, the major Nazi death camp in Poland. After a little less than two months in this camp, Anne and Margot were then sent to Bergen-Belsen, in northern Germany, where, disease-ridden and emaciated, they died sometime in the early spring of 1945. Of the eight Jews in hiding in the "Secret Annex," only Otto Frank survived.

Anne's diary, parts of which were discovered and preserved by loyal co-workers of Otto Frank, was first published in Dutch in 1947. French and German translations appeared in 1950, and an English translation followed in 1952. Since then, the diary has been translated into some 60 languages and circulated in perhaps as many as 25 million copies. A highly popular stage version, written by Frances Goodrich and Albert Hackett, appeared in 1955, and a much acclaimed film version by famed director George Stevens followed in 1959. In subsequent years, Anne Frank's story has also been the focus of a number of other films and television programs, ballets, operas, other musical productions, paintings, drawings, works of sculpture, scholarly and popular books, postage stamps, commemorative coins, videotapes, CD-ROMS, and more. In addition to her presence in virtually all of the media of popular culture, Anne Frank's image has been enshrined in Otto Frank's former office building on the Prinsengracht, in central Amsterdam, which for years now has been one of Europe's most frequently visited memory sites, drawing very large crowds annually. As a result, Anne Frank's story has become familiar to millions of people throughout the world, so much so that she may be the best-known child of the 20th century.

On one level, the diary chronicles the trials and adventures, yearnings and frustrations, of its precociously bright and gifted author. Yet, while it has been prized chiefly as the personal confessions of an idealistic teenager doing her best to maintain her spirits and a measure of independence in confined and severely trying circumstances, the diary is also an important historical document. For it presents, often in vivid detail, the daily reflections of a highly intelligent and keenly observant young Jew struggling against the encroaching threats of the Nazi menace. Thus, the book has both universalistic and particularistic elements, and it can be and has been read in various ways.

The Goodrich and Hackett stage version of the diary elevated what Otto Frank himself energetically promoted as his daughter's "universal message" of goodness and hope and subordinated its darker and more specifically Jewish dimensions. Like the Hollywood film that followed it, the play features an Anne Frank who is basically cheerful, high-spirited, and ever optimistic. Its overarching "message" is summed up in words that have been broadly taken to constitute Anne Frank's signature line: "In spite of everything, I still believe that people are really good at heart."

The writer Meyer *Levin, who wrote an early adaptation of the diary for the theater, strongly objected to this interpretation of Anne Frank's story and fought for years to correct what he saw as an ideological distortion and political manipulation of the diary. He was largely unsuccessful, and his stage version has rarely been performed. More recently, however, the playwright Wendy Kesselman has adapted the Goodrich and Hackett stage play and given greater emphasis to the Jewish features of Anne Frank's story. Her version is in broader circulation today than Levin's ever was, and it may, over time, alter popular perceptions of her heroine's fate. In addition, new biographical, bibliographical, historical, and literary studies of Anne Frank's life and writings have appeared over the past two decades, and these have shown both the diary and its youthful author to be even more complex, interesting, and compelling than was earlier believed. At their best, these works have helped to demythologize the image of Anne Frank and to connect her more closely to the historical contexts in which she lived, wrote, and died. The meanings of Anne Frank's book no doubt will continue to be contested for years to come, including by those on the far-right revisionist fringe who have long denounced it as a "Jewish fabrication" and a "Zionist hoax," but the diary's place in the canon of 20th century literature is by now assured.

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[Alvin H. Rosenfeld (2nd ed.)]

FRANK, BARNEY (1940–), U.S. congressman. Frank was born in Bayonne, N.J., to a politically active family. His sister, Anne Lewis, was a long-term Democratic Party activist, serving both in the Carter and the Clinton White House. Frank received his undergraduate and graduate education at Harvard and his political initiation from Allard Lowenstein. He worked as coordinator at Harvard for the Mississippi Freedom Summer of 1964, a cornerstone of the Civil Rights Movement, recruiting college black and white students – the whites overwhelmingly Jewish – to go down South. He was the chief assistant to Boston Mayor Kevin White (1967–71) and later on the staff of Michael Harrington, a liberal Boston congressman. Frank then sought office on his own, serving in the Massachusetts House of Representatives from 1973 to 1981. He excelled in the House and was an important early liberal voice on women's and homosexual rights.

He first ran for Congress in 1981 in an open district and won a narrow victory. In Congress, Frank was known for his liberal views. He was widely admired by the Asian community for his services as chair of the subcommittee that oversaw the bill granting compensation to Japanese-American for their internment during World War II. In the mid-1980s, the frumpish, overweight Frank gradually changed his appearance, losing 75 pounds and suddenly dressing stylishly. He came out of the closet after another congressman died of AIDS. He was thus the first openly gay congressman in the United States. He rose to the defense of others when they were attacked for their purported sexual practices. He often warded off attacks by threatening to "out" those who were hypocritical, attacking gay rights while secretly pursuing their homosexual lives. He would not attack those who chose to keep their behavior private as long as they did not engage in gay bashing.

Scandal struck when Frank was accused of employing a former male prostitute and fixing parking tickets on his behest. Local newspapers and even national columnists called for his resignation. Frank admitted that he had been suckered and asked the House Ethics Committee to investigate. Some urged expulsion or censure. In the end Frank apologized and was reprimanded. He was reelected in 1990 by a two to one margin.

Frank advised President Clinton on the issue of gays in the military; suggesting a middle way, commonly known as "Don't ask and don't tell." His compromise satisfied neither side. He was a staunch defender of President Clinton during the impeachment hearings where his wit often diffused tension. Political professionals rated him an outstanding legislator.

[Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

FRANK, BRUNO (1887–1945), German novelist and playwright. Born in Stuttgart, Frank studied philosophy and law at several German universities and then became a free-lance writer in Munich. After living for several years in Switzerland, he immigrated to the United States when the Nazis came to power. Frank began by writing lyric poetry, but his first published success was the novel *Die Fuerstin* (1915), a faithful portrait of contemporary society. He was at his best in recreating real or historical figures, as in *Tage des Koenigs* (1925), *Trenck* (1926), and *Politische Novelle* (1928), and in the plays *Die Schwestern und der Fremde* (1918) and *Zwoelftausend* (1927). In his last novel, *Die Tochter* (1943), one of the leading characters was a thinly veiled portrait of his mother-in-law, Fritzi Massary, the light-opera soubrette. It was in his novels rather than his plays that Frank's artistry and vivid imagination showed to their best advantage, but between the two world wars he was one of the most successful German dramatists.

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[Rudolf Kayser]

FRANK, ELI (1874–1959), U.S. jurist. Frank was born in Baltimore. He taught law at the University of Maryland from 1900 on. In 1922, after serving on several state commissions, he was appointed judge on the Baltimore Supreme Bench. He held both positions until his retirement from public life in 1944. An authority on real estate law and the author of several books on the subject, Frank was highly active in Baltimore civic life and also in local Jewish activities. He served as president of the Hebrew Hospital and the Baltimore Federated Jewish Charities, was chairman of the American Jewish Relief Fund, and was a member of the executive committee of the American Jewish Committee. In 1929 he was appointed as one of the 44 non-Zionist American delegates to the Council of the Jewish Agency for Palestine.

FRANK, EVA (1754–1816), daughter of the charismatic Shabbatean leader Jacob *Frank (1726–1791) and Hannah Kohen, his wife. Eva was born in Nikopol, Bulgaria, then part of the *Ottoman Empire, into the Jewish-Muslim community of the *Doenmeh. Jacob Frank was a proponent of an antinomian anarchist approach that rejected all the prohibitions and restrictions of Jewish law, including the laws of incest. This annulment was inspired by medieval mystical traditions that the foremost expression of the messianic future would be the establishment of a new code, "the era of mercy," replacing the halakhah and the "era of harsh judgment." Frank, who brought his family to Poland in December 1755, was charged by the Jewish community of Brody, Galicia, with instigating illicit practices. He was tried, imprisoned, and excommunicated along with his followers in June 1756. Originally named Rachel, after Jacob Frank's mother, Rachel Herschel of Reischa, Eva is referred to in Frankist writings as the Lady, the Virgin, or *Matronita*, the Aramaic name of the mystical female entity *Shekhinah*. She became known as Eva following the conversion of her family to Christianity c. 1760. This conversion protected the Shabbatean group, which was being persecuted by Jewish communities in Galicia and Podolia for heretical views and unacceptable sexual behavior, and enabled the members to preserve their secret rituals based on messianism and anarchy in all aspects of life. The historian Peter *Beer knew Eva Frank and discussed the evolution of her names and her family's conversion in his work on Jewish sects (1823).

Jacob Frank's autobiographical writings, preserved in Frankist circles, included a Polish text entitled "The Sayings of the Master." This document set forth a mystical-mythical new reality in which Frank portrayed himself as a messianic figure, related to the biblical patriarch Jacob and associated with the kabbalistic entity of the divine male, *Tiferet* (divine glory). In this formulation, Frank's consort is portrayed as the biblical matriarch Rachel and is also associated with the mystical entity of the divine female, *Shekhinah*. Frank's wife Hannah, who was forced by her husband to play the public role of his mystical partner, the *Matronita*, died in great dismay at the beginning of 1770 when their daughter Eva was 16 years old. Frank did not allow his daughter to leave him or to marry, a prohibition he enforced on all his followers; they constituted a messianic community based on a communal sexual life with no incest restrictions or respect for marriage vows. He also demanded that Eva remain with him in prison when he was incarcerated between 1760 and 1772. Until his death in 1791, Eva played the roles of Rachel, the beloved of Jacob, and the *Shekhinah-Matronita*, the spouse of *Tiferet*-Ya'akov. Her father referred to his daughter with a citation from the *Zohar* describing the agonized *Shekhinah* who responds to her lover as "a beautiful maiden who has no eyes" (*Zohar*, Mishpatim).

Jacob Frank saw himself as the eternal messiah and told his followers that Eva-Rachel should be recognized as the mystical royal figure of the *Shekhinah* who would lead them as a messianic redeemer while he was temporarily absent. Ultimately, Frank claimed, he would be reborn and united with his daughter in "the unity of Messiah and *Shekhinah*." In the last decade of his life, Frank lived in Brno (Bruenn, then Austria) and in Offenbach in Germany with his daughter; he discussed Eva's messianic nature in inner Frankist circles while spreading the rumor in public that she was an illegitimate child of the Russian Empress Catherine of the house of Romanov. In 1777 Frank took Eva to Vienna where both were received at the royal palace. In that year he had portraits of his daughter sent to Frankist communities in Hamburg and Altona together with pronouncements of her messianic nature. After Jacob Frank's death in 1791, understood by his followers as a temporary disappearance, Eva led the Frankist court in Offenbach with her two younger brothers.

In 1800 Eva sent letters to hundreds of Jewish communities encouraging conversion to Christianity and enlistment in the Frankist movement (see Brawer, *Galicia*, pp. 270–75). Her request for financial help was supported by quotations from her father's teachings and promises of approaching messianic redemption. In 1803 the Offenbach court dismantled and the Frankists returned to Poland, where Eva conducted herself as a Romanov princess and lived as the Shabbatean-Frankist leader until her death in 1816. The anarchic aspect of the Frankist community, liberated from all restrictions imposed by tradition and taboo, did not survive her death. However, many Frankist families continued to keep a miniature of Eva Frank and honored her as a saintly woman who was falsely reviled.

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[Rachel Elior (2nd ed.)]

°**FRANK, HANS MICHAEL** (1900–1946), Nazi politician and lawyer responsible for the mass murder of Polish Jewry. A member of the Nazi Party from its inception, Frank participated in the Munich putsch of 1923. He fled to Austria for a time and then returned to Germany to finish his doctorate at the University of Kiel (1924). He left the Nazi Party for a time to protest Hitler's moderation, namely his willingness to renounce German claims over South Tyrol. During the last years of the Weimar republic, Frank was the Nazis' leading lawyer, defending hundreds of party members accused of political crimes and Hitler in his many libel cases. He also handled some other difficult assignments for Hitler, including researching his possible Jewish roots. With Hitler's accession to power, Frank proved less useful and was given seemingly important titles but little independent power. He was appointed head of the association of lawyers who were members of the Nazi party, and charged with the unification of the judiciary system of the Third Reich. His stature was reflective of two conflicting realities: his veteran status in the Nazi Party and Hitler's general aversion to law and to any limitations on his power. After the German conquest of Poland in the autumn of 1939, Frank was named governor general of the German-occupied Polish territories under the General Government. He was primarily responsible for the persecution of the population of Poland, the plundering of the country, and the murder of its Jews. Frank exhorted the Nazi leadership first of all to exterminate the Jews living in Poland. He was thus responsible for greatly hastening the program of the death camps in the East. Frank succeeded in depriving the Jews of the benefits and protection of the laws, beginning with his promulgation of a law on Oct. 27, 1939, ordering forced labor by the Jewish population and culminating in a law on Oct. 15, 1941, by which Jews were forbidden to leave their special districts under penalty of death. He confiscated their goods, forced them to wear a special insignia (the yellow badge), and concentrated them into ghettos, where they starved. His quest for power put him in conflict with the military occupation and with Hermann Goering regarding the economic use of Poles and Jews, as well as the SS. He never exercised control over the SS but did reach an accommodation with Goering and the military. His approach to the Poles general-government alternated between pragmatic stability and harsh brutality. He was stripped of his control of racial and police matters in March 1942 – prior to the deportation of the Jews from the ghettos – which were controlled by Himmler and Friedrich Wilhelm Kruger. Thus, as the major deportations began, Frank was a figurehead, deprived of all power. Hitler kept him that way, refusing all letters of resignation.

During his rule over Poland, until January 1945, Frank kept a diary in which he noted every speech and official engagement. He never concealed his plans for the "Final Solution" for Polish Jewry. Condemned to death by the International Military Tribunal at Nuremberg, after admitting his own guilt and that of Nazi Germany as a whole, Frank was hanged on Oct. 16, 1946.

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[Yehuda Reshef / Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

FRANK, ILYA MIKHAILOVICH (1908–1990), Russian Nobel laureate in physics. Frank, whose father was Jewish, was born in St. Petersburg (formerly Leningrad), graduated from Moscow State University in 1930, and received his doctorate in physico-mathematical sciences in 1935. He worked in the State Optical Institute in St. Petersburg (1931–34), followed by the P.N. Lebedev Institute of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences. From 1941 he was in charge of the Atomic Nucleus Laboratory, becoming professor in 1944, and in 1957 he also became director of the Neutron Laboratory of the Joint Institute of Nuclear Investigations. He was a specialist in physical optics and his early interests concerned photoluminescence and photochemistry. He was awarded the Nobel Prize in 1958 (jointly with Pavel Alekseyevich Cherenkov and Igor Yevgenyevich Tamm) for his work on the Vavilov-Cherenkov effect, which concerns light emission by radioactive compounds. Solving the physical basis for this "glow" has had important applications in plasma physics, astrophysics, and radio wave generation. His later work concerned neutron physics.

[Michael Denman (2nd ed.)]

FRANK, JACOB, AND THE FRANKISTS. Jacob Frank (1726–1791) was the founder of a Jewish sect named after him which comprised the last stage in the development of the Shabbatean movement. He was born Jacob b. Judah Leib in Korolowka (Korolevo), a small town in Podolia. His family was middle class, and his father was a contractor and merchant, apparently well respected. His grandfather lived for a time in Kalisz, and his mother came from Rzesow. Although Frank's claim before the Inquisition that his father used to serve as a rabbi appears to have no foundation there is reason to believe that he did conduct services in Czernowitz, where he moved in the early 1730s. His father is depicted as a scrupulously observant Jew. At the same time, it is very likely that he already had certain connections with the Shabbatean sect, which had taken root in many communities in Podolia, Bukovina, and Walachia. Frank was educated in Czernowitz and Sniatyn, and lived for several years in Bucharest. Although he went to *ḥeder*, he gained no knowledge of Talmud, and in later years boasted of this ignorance and of the qualities he possessed as a *prostak* ("simple man"). His self-characterization as an ignoramus (*am ha-areẓ*) must be seen in the context of the contemporary usage of the word to mean a man who knows Bible and the *aggadah*, but who is not skilled in *Gemara*. In his memoirs he makes much of the pranks and bold adventures of his childhood and adolescence. In Bucharest he began to earn his living as a dealer in cloth, precious stones, and whatever came to hand. Between 1745 and 1755 his trade took him through the Balkans and as far as Smyrna.

Early Associations with the Shabbateans

Frank's accounts of his earliest associations with the Sabbateans are full of contradictions, but there is no doubt that these contacts go back to his youth. Apparently his teacher in Czernowitz belonged to the sect and had promised that Frank would be initiated into their faith after marriage, as was often customary among Shabbateans. He began to study the Zohar, making a name in Shabbatean circles as a man possessed of special powers and inspiration. When in 1752 he married Hannah, the daughter of a respected Ashkenazi merchant in Nikopol (Bulgaria), two Shabbatean emissaries from Podolia were at the wedding. Shabbatean scholars like these, some of whom Frank mentions in his stories, accompanied him on his travels, and initiated him into the mysteries of "the faith." There is no doubt that these men were representatives of the extremist wing formed by the disciples of Barukhyah Russo (d. 1720), one of the leaders of the *Doenmeh in Salonika. It was in the company of these teachers, themselves Ashkenazim, that Frank visited Salonika for the first time in 1753, and became involved with the Barukhyah group of the Doenmeh, but he followed the practice of the Polish disciples and did not convert to Islam. After his marriage it seems that trading became secondary to his role as a Shabbatean "prophet," and as part of his mission he journeyed to the grave of *Nathan of Gaza, Adrianople, and Smyrna, and again spent a good deal of time in Salonika in 1755. Through their letters, his Shabbatean teachers and companions from Poland spread the news of the emergence of a new leader in Podolia, and finally persuaded him to return to his early home. Frank, who was a man of unbridled ambition, domineering to the point of despotism, had a low opinion of the contemporary Barukhyah sect in Salonika, calling it "an empty house"; whereas, as the leader of the Shabbateans in Poland, he envisaged a great future for himself. Although in the circle of his close friends he was given the Sephardi appellation *Ḥakham Ya'akov*, at the same time he was considered to be a new transmigration or a reincarnation of the divine soul which had previously resided in *Shabbetai Ẓevi and Barukhyah, to whom Frank used to refer as the "First" and the "Second." At the end of the 18th century, the story that Frank had gone to Poland on an explicit mission from the Barukhyah sect was still circulating in Doenmeh sects in Salonika. In the first years of his activity he did in fact follow the basic principles of this sect, both its teaching and its customs.

Frank in Podolia

On Dec. 3, 1755, Frank, accompanied by R. Mordecai and R. Naḥman, crossed the Dniester River and spent some time with his relatives in Korolewka. After this he passed in solemn state through the communities in Podolia which contained Shabbatean cells. He was enthusiastically received by "the believers," and in the general Jewish community the news spread of the appearance of a suspected *frenk*, which was the usual Yiddish term for a Sephardi. Frank, who had spent about 25 years in the Balkans and was thought to be a Turkish subject, actually conducted himself like a Sephardi and spoke Ladino when he appeared in public. Subsequently he assumed the appellation "Frank" as his family name. His appearance in Lanskroun (Landskron) at the end of January 1756 led to a great scandal, when he was discovered conducting a Shabbatean ritual with his followers in a locked house. The opponents of the Shabbateans claimed that they surprised the sectarians in the midst of a heretical religious orgy, similar to rites which were actually practiced by members of the Barukhyah sect, especially in Podolia. Later Frank claimed that he had deliberately opened the windows of the house in order to compel the "believers" to show themselves publicly instead of concealing their actions as they had done for decades. Frank's followers were imprisoned but he himself went scot-free because the local authorities believed him to be a Turkish citizen. At the request of the rabbis an enquiry was instituted at the *bet din* in Satanow, the seat of the Podolia district rabbinate, which examined the practices and principles of the Shabbateans. Frank crossed the Turkish frontier; returning once more to his followers, he was arrested in March 1756 in Kopyczynce (Kopichintsy) but was again allowed to go free. After this he remained for at least three years in Turkey, first in Khotin on the Dniester, and afterward mainly in Giorgievo on the Danube. There, early in 1757, he became officially a convert to Islam, and was greatly honored for this by the Turkish authorities. In June and August 1757 he made secret visits to Rogatyn, in Podolia, in order to confer with his followers. During this period, he went to Salonika a number of times, and also paid one visit to Constantinople.

When Frank appeared in Poland he became the central figure for the vast majority of the Shabbateans, particularly those in Galicia, the Ukraine, and Hungary. It would appear that most of the Moravian Shabbateans also acknowledged his leadership. An inquiry of the *bet din* in Satanow had to a large extent uncovered the Shabbatean network of Barukhyah's followers, which had existed underground in Podolia. A considerable portion of the Satanow findings was published by Jacob *Emden. From this it is clear that the suspicions concerning the antinomian character of the sect were justified, and that "the believers," who conformed outwardly to Jewish legal precepts, did in fact transgress them, including the sexual prohibitions of the Torah, with the stated intention of upholding the higher form of the Torah, which they called *Torah de-aẓilut* ("the Torah of emanation"), meaning the spiritual Torah in contradistinction to the actual Torah of the *halakhah*, which was called the *Torah de-beri'ah* ("the Torah of creation"). The results of the inquiry were laid before a rabbinical assembly at Brody in June 1756, and confirmed at a session of the Council of the Four Lands held in Konstantynow in September. In Brody a *ḥerem* ("excommunication") was proclaimed against the members of the sect, which laid them open to persecution and also sought to restrict study of the Zohar and Kabbalah before a certain age (40 years in the case of Isaac *Luria's writings).

When printed and dispatched throughout the communities, the *ḥerem* provoked a wave of persecution against the members of the sect, particularly in Podolia. The Polish rabbis turned to Jacob Emden, well-known as a fierce antagonist of the Shabbateans, who advised them to seek help from the Catholic ecclesiastical authorities based on the argument that the Shabbatean faith, being a mixture of the principles of all the other religions, constituted a new religion, and as such was forbidden by canon law. However, the results of his advice were the opposite of what had been intended, as Frank's followers, who had been severely harassed, adopted the strategy of putting themselves under the protection of Bishop Dembowski of Kamieniec-Podolski, in whose diocese many of the Shabbatean communities were concentrated. If before they had acted in a two-faced manner with regard to Judaism, appearing to be outwardly Orthodox while being secretly heretical, they now decided, apparently on Frank's advice, to emphasize and even to exaggerate what beliefs they held in common with the basic principles of Christianity, in order to curry favor with the Catholic priesthood, although in fact their secret Shabbatean faith had not changed at all. Proclaiming themselves "contra-talmudists," they sought the protection of the Church from their persecutors, who, they claimed, had been angered precisely because of the sympathy shown by "the believers" toward some of the important tenets of Christianity. This extremely successful maneuver enabled them to find refuge with the ecclesiastical authorities, who saw in them potential candidates for mass conversion from Judaism to Christianity. In the meantime, however, members of the sect were constantly being impelled against their will by their protectors to assist in the preparation of anti-Jewish propaganda, and to formulate declarations which were intended to wreak destruction upon Polish Jewry. These developments strengthened mutual hostility and had dire consequences. Throughout these events Frank took great care not to draw attention to himself, except to appear as a spiritual guide showing his followers the way, as it were, to draw nearer to Christianity. It should be noted that the name "Frankists" was not used at this time, becoming current only in the 19th century. As far as the mass of Jews and rabbis were concerned there was no difference at all between the earlier Shabbateans and the Shabbateans in this new guise, and they continued to call them "the sect of Shabbetai Ẓevi." Even Frank's followers, when talking to one another, continued, to refer to themselves by the usual term *ma'aminim* ("believers").

Disputations

In the events that followed, it is difficult to differentiate precisely between the steps taken by Frank's adherents and those that were initiated by the Church and resulted from ecclesiastical coercion, although there is no doubt that M. Balaban (see bibliography) is right in laying greater stress on the latter. Shortly after the *ḥerem* at Brody the Frankists asked Bishop Dembowski to hold a new enquiry into the Lanskroun affair, and they petitioned for a public disputation between themselves and the rabbis. On Aug. 2, 1756 they presented nine principles of their faith for debate. Formulated in a most ambiguous fashion, their declaration of faith asserted in brief: (1) belief in the Torah of Moses; (2) that the Torah and the Prophets were obscure books, which had to be interpreted with the aid of God's light from above, and not simply by the light of human intelligence; (3) that the interpretation of the Torah to be found in the Talmud contained nonsense and falsehood, hostile to the Torah of the Lord; (4) belief that God is one and that all the worlds were created by Him; (5) belief in the trinity of the three equal "faces" within the one God, without there being any division within Him; (6) that God manifested Himself in corporeal form, like other human beings, but without sin; (7) that Jerusalem would not be rebuilt until the end of time; (8) that Jews waited in vain for the Messiah to come and raise them above the whole world; and (9) that, instead, God would Himself be clothed in human form and atone for all the sins for which the world had been cursed, and that at His coming the world would be pardoned and cleansed of all iniquity. These principles reflect the belief of the antinomian followers of Barukhyah, but they were formulated in such a way that they seemed to refer to Jesus of Nazareth instead of to Shabbetai Ẓevi and Barukhyah. They constitute a blatant plan to deceive the Church which the priests did not understand, and which, quite naturally, they were not interested in understanding.

The rabbis managed to avoid accepting the invitation to the disputation for nearly a year. However, after great pressure from the bishop, the disputation finally took place at Kamieniec, from June 20 to 28, 1757. Nineteen opponents of the Talmud (then called Zoharites) took part, together with a handful of rabbis from communities in the area. The spokesmen for the Shabbateans were also learned men, some of them being officiating rabbis who had secret Shabbatean tendencies. The arguments in the accusations and the defense of the rabbis were presented in writing, and were later published in a Latin protocol in Lvov in 1758. On Oct. 17, 1757, Bishop Dembowski issued his decision in favor of the Frankists, imposing a number of penalties upon the rabbis, chief of which was a condemnation of the Talmud as worthless and corrupt, with an order that it be burned in the city square. All Jewish homes were to be searched for copies of the Talmud. According to some contemporary accounts many cartloads of editions of the Talmud were in fact burned in Kamieniec, Lvov, Brody, Zolkiew, and other places. The "burning of the Torah" had a crushing effect on the Jewish community and the rabbis declared a fast in memory of the event. Jews who had influence with the authorities tried to stop the burnings, which took place mainly in November 1757.

A sudden reversal of fortune, in favor of the "talmudists" and to the detriment of the sectarians, resulted from the sudden death of Bishop Dembowski on November 9, at the very time of the burnings. News of the event, in which Jews saw the finger of God, spread like wildfire. Persecutions of the sect were renewed with even greater vehemence, and many of them fled across the Dniester to Turkey. There several converted to Islam, and one group even joined the Doenmeh in Salonika, where they were known as "the Poles." Meanwhile the spokesmen for the "contra-talmudists" turned to the political and ecclesiastical authorities and sought the implementation of the privilege which had been promised them by Dembowski, who allowed them to follow their own faith. They also sought the return of their looted property and permission for the refugees to come back to their homes. After some internal disagreements among the Polish authorities, King Augustus III issued a privilege on June 16, 1758, which accorded the sectarians royal protection as men "who were near to the [Christian] acknowledgment of God." Most of the refugees returned to Podolia at the end of September, and gathered mainly in and around the small town of Iwanie (near Khotin). In December, or the beginning of January 1759, Frank himself also left Turkey and arrived in Iwanie. Many of "the believers" scattered throughout eastern Galicia were summoned there.

Iwanie

In fact, the Frankists constituted themselves as a special sect with a distinctive character only during those months when "the believers" lived in Iwanie, an episode which became engraved on their memory as a quasi-revelatory event. Here it was that Frank finally revealed himself as the living embodiment of God's power who had come to complete the mission of Shabbetai Ẓevi and Barukhyah, and as "the true Jacob," comparing himself to the patriarch Jacob who had completed the work of his predecessors Abraham and Isaac. It was here that he unfolded his teaching before his followers in short statements and parables, and introduced a specific order into the ritual of the sect. There is no doubt that it was here that he prepared them to face the necessity of adopting Christianity outwardly, in order to keep their true faith in secret, just as the Doenmeh had done with regard to Islam. He declared that all religions were only stages through which "the believers" had to pass – like a man putting on different suits of clothes – and then to discard as of no worth compared with the true hidden faith. Frank's originality at this time consisted in his brazen rejection of the Shabbatean theology which was well-known to "the believers" from the writings of Nathan of Gaza and from the writings which were based on the extreme Shabbatean Kabbalah in Barukhyah's version. He asked them to forget all this, proposing in its place a kind of mythology freed from all traces of kabbalistic terminology, although in fact it was no more than a popular and homiletical reworking of kabbalistic teaching. In place of the customary Shabbatean trinity of the "three knots of faith," i.e., *Attika Kaddisha, Malka Kaddisha*, and the *Shekhinah*, which are all united in the Divinity (see *Shabbetai Ẓevi), Frank went so far as to say that the true and good God was hidden and divested of any link with creation, and particularly with this insignificant world. It is He who conceals Himself behind "the King of Kings," whom Frank also calls "the Great Brother" or "He who stands before God." He is the God of true faith whom one must strive to approach and, in doing so, break the domination of the three "leaders of the world," who rule the earth at this moment, imposing upon it an unfitting system of law. The position of "the Great Brother" is connected in some way with the *Shekhinah*, which becomes in Frank's terminology the "maiden" (*almah*) or "virgin" (*betulah*). It is obvious that he tried consciously to make this concept conform as closely as possible to the Christian concept of the virgin. Just as the extreme Shabbateans from the sect of Barukhyah saw in Shabbetai Ẓevi and Barukhyah an incarnation of *Malka Kaddisha*, who is the "God of Israel," so frank referred to himself as the messenger of "the Great Brother." According to him, all the great religious leaders, from the patriarchs to Shabbetai Ẓevi and Barukhyah, had endeavored to find the way to his God, but had not succeeded.

In order that God and the virgin be revealed, it would be necessary to embark upon a completely new road, untrodden as yet by the people of Israel: this road Frank called "the way to Esau." In this context, Esau or Edom symbolizes the unbridled flow of life which liberates man because its force and power are not subject to any law. The patriarch Jacob promised (Gen. 33:14) to visit his brother Esau in Seir, but Scripture does not mention that he fulfilled his promise, because the way was too difficult for him. Now the time had come to set out on this way, which leads to the "true life," a central idea which in Frank's system carries with it the specific connotation of freedom and licentiousness. This path was the road to consistent religious anarchy: "The place to which we are going is not subject to any law, because all that is on the side of death; but we are going to life." In order to achieve this goal it was necessary to abolish and destroy the laws, teachings, and practices which constrict the power of life, but this must be done in secret; in order to accomplish it, it was essential outwardly to assume the garb of the corporeal Edom, i.e., Christianity. The "believers," or at least their vanguard, had already passed through Judaism and Islam, and they now had to complete their journey by assuming the Christian faith, using it and its ideas in order to conceal the real core of their belief in Frank as the true Messiah and the living God for whom their Christian protestations were really intended.

The motto which Frank adopted here was *massa dumah* (from Isa. 21:11), taken to mean "the burden of silence"; that is, it was necessary to bear the heavy burden of the hidden faith in the abolition of all law in utter silence, and it was forbidden to reveal anything to those outside the fold. Jesus of Nazareth was no more than the husk preceding and concealing the fruit, who was Frank himself. Although it was necessary to ensure an outward demonstration of Christian allegiance, it was forbidden to mix with Christians or to intermarry with them, for in the final analysis Frank's vision was of a Jewish future, albeit in a rebellious and revolutionary form, presented here as a messianic dream.

The concepts employed by Frank were popular and anecdotal, and the rejection of the traditional kabbalistic symbolic terminology, which was beyond the comprehension of simple people, called into play the imaginative faculty. Frank therefore prepared his followers in Iwanie to accept baptism as the final step which would open before them, in a real physical sense, the way to Esau, to the world of the gentiles. Even in the organization of this sect Frank imitated the evangelical tradition: he appointed in Iwanie twelve emissaries (apostles) or "brothers," who were considered his chief disciples. But at the same time he appointed twelve "sisters," whose main distinction was to serve as Frank's concubines. Continuing the tradition of Barukhyah's sect, Frank also instituted licentious sexual practices among the "believers," at least among his more intimate "brothers" and "sisters." His followers who had been used to acting in this way did not see anything blameworthy in it, but they did not take kindly to this request that they eradicate from their midst all kabbalistic books, which had been superseded by Frank's teaching, and many of them continued to use ideas from Shabbatean Kabbalah, mixing them up in their writings with Frank's new symbols.

The group remained in Iwanie for several months until the spring of 1759. Frank established there a common fund, apparently in emulation of the New Testament account of the early Christian community. During this time, when they came into close contact with Frank, people were overcome and dominated by his powerful personality, which was compounded of limitless ambition and cunning, together with a facility of expression and marked imaginative faculty which even had a tinge of poetry. Perhaps it can be said of Frank that he was a mixture of despotic ruler, popular prophet, and cunning impostor.

The Disputation in Lvov

As events unfolded, an intermingling of two tendencies became manifest. On the one hand, it became clear to Frank and his disciples that they could not remain halfway between Judaism and Christianity. If they wished to restore their position after the severe persecutions they had suffered, baptism was the only course left open to them. They were even prepared to make a public demonstration of their conversion to Christianity, as the priests required as the price for their protection. On the other hand, there were quite different interests among important sections of the Church in Poland who from the very beginning did not associate themselves with the Frankist cause.

At this time there were several instances of the *blood libel in Poland, which were supported by some influential bishops and leading clergy. The Council of the Four Lands, Polish Jewry's supreme organized authority, was trying to act indirectly through different mediators with the ecclesiastical authorities in Rome, laying grave charges of deceit and insolence against those responsible for the promulgation of the blood libel. Their words did not go unheeded in Rome. It would appear that some priests in the bishoprics of Kamieniec and Lvov saw a good chance of strengthening their position with regard to the question of the blood libel, if Jews who represented a whole group could be found to come forward and verify this unfounded accusation. At the end of February 1759, when their position at Iwanie was at its peak, Frank's disciples requested Archbishop Lubieński in Lvov to receive them into the Church, claiming to speak in the name of "the Jews of Poland, Hungary, Turkey, Moldavia, Italy, etc." They asked to be given a second opportunity to dispute publicly with the rabbinic Jews, devotees of the Talmud, and promised to demonstrate the truth not only of the tenets of Christianity but also of the blood libel. Without doubt, the text of this request was composed after consultation with priestly circles and was formulated by the Polish nobleman Moliwda (Ignacy Kossakowski, who had once been head of the Philippovan sect), who was Frank's adviser in all these negotiations, right up to the actual baptism. Lubieński himself was not able to deal with the affair, since he was appointed archbishop of Gniezno and primate of the Polish Church. He handed over the conduct of the case to his administrator in Lvov, Mikulski, a priest who became extremely active in the preparation of the great disputation in Lvov, which was planned to end in mass baptism and verification of the blood libel.

In the months that followed, the Frankists continued to send various petitions to the king of Poland and to the ecclesiastical authorities in order to clarify their intentions, and to ask for specific favors even after their conversion. They claimed that 5,000 of their adherents were prepared to accept baptism, but at the same time requested that they be allowed to lead a separate existence as Christians of Jewish identity: they should not be compelled to shave their "sideburns" (*pe'ot*); they should be allowed to wear traditional Jewish garb even after conversion, and to call themselves by Jewish names in addition to their new Christian names; they should not be forced to eat pork; they should be allowed to rest on Saturday as well as on Sunday; and they should be permitted to retain the books of the Zohar and other kabbalistic writings. In addition to all this, they should be allowed to marry only among themselves and not with anyone else. In return for being allowed to constitute this quasi-Jewish unit, they expressed their willingness to submit to the other demands of the Church. In other petitions they added the request that they should be assigned a special area of settlement in Eastern Galicia, including the cities of Busk and Glinyany, most of whose Jewish inhabitants were members of the sect. In this territory they promised to maintain the life of their own community, and to establish their own communal life, setting up a "productivization" in contrast to the economic structure of the usual Jewish community. Some of these petitions, printed by the priests in Lvov in 1795, circulated very widely and were translated from Polish into French, Spanish, Latin, and Portuguese; they were also reprinted in Spain and Mexico and went through several editions there. The very presentation of these requests proves that Frank's followers had no thought of assimilating or of mixing with true Christians, but sought to gain for themselves a special recognized position, like that of the Doenmeh in Salonika, under the protection of both Church and State. It is obvious that they looked upon themselves as a new type of Jew and had no intention of renouncing their national Jewish identity. These petitions also show that the more extreme pronouncements of Frank within the closed circle of his followers had not wholly taken root in their hearts and they were not prepared to follow him in every detail. The prohibition against intermarriage with gentiles reiterates Frank's own words in Iwanie, yet on other matters there was apparently lively dispute between Frank and his followers. However, these isolated requests constituted only a transitional stage in the struggle which preceded the disputation in Lvov; and the spokesmen of the sect received a negative reply. The requirement of the Church was baptism without any precondition, although at this time the priests were convinced that the Frankists' intention was sincere, since they paid no heed to Jewish representatives who warned them continually about the secret Shabbatean beliefs of those who were offering themselves for baptism. The enormous publicity given to these events after the disputation at Kamieniec stimulated missionary activity on the part of some Protestant groups. Count Zinzendorf, head of "the Fellowship of the Brethren" (later the Moravian Church) in Germany, sent the convert David Kirchhof in 1758 on a special mission to "the believers" in Podolia in order to preach to them his version of "pure Christianity" (*Judaica*, 19 (1963), 240). Among the mass of Jews, the idea spread that Frank was in reality a great sorcerer with far-reaching demonic powers, prompting the growth of various legends, which had wide repercussions, concerning his magic deeds and his success.

The Frankists tried to postpone the disputation until January 1760, when many of the nobility and merchants would gather for religious ceremonies and for the great fair at Lvov. Apparently they hoped for considerable financial help because their economic situation had suffered as a result of persecution. The authorities in Rome and Warsaw did not regard the proposed disputation favorably and, for reasons of their own, sided with the Jewish arguments against a disputation, especially one which was likely to provoke disturbances and unrest as a result of the section on the blood libel. The raising of this subject, with all the inherent risk of organized and unbridled incitement against rabbinic Judaism, was equally sure to plunge the Polish Jewish authorities into profound anxiety. In this conflict of interests between the higher authorities, who wanted the straightforward conversion of Frank's followers without any disputation, and those groups who were concerned mainly with the success of the blood libel, Mikulski acted according to his own views and sided with the latter. He therefore fixed an early date for the disputation, July 16, 1759, to be held in Lvov Cathedral, and he obliged the rabbis of his diocese to attend.

The disputation opened on July 17, attended by crowds of Poles, and was conducted intermittently at several sessions until September 10. The arguments of both sides, the theses of the "contra-talmudists" and the answers of the rabbis, were presented in writing, but in addition vehement oral disputes took place. About 30 men appeared for the rabbis, and 10–20 for the sectarians. However, the number of the actual participants was smaller. The chief spokesman, and the man who bore the main responsibility on the Jewish side, was R. Ḥayyim Kohen Rapoport, the leading rabbi of Lvov, a highly respected man of great spiritual stature. Supporting him were the rabbis of Bohorodczany and Stanislawow. The tradition which sprang up in popular accounts circulating years later that *Israel b. Eliezer Ba'al Shem Tov, the founder of Ḥasidism, was also a participant, has no historical foundation. Frank himself took part only in the last session of the disputation when the blood libel question was debated. The sect's spokesmen were three scholars who had previously been active in Podolia among the followers of Barukhyah: Leib b. Nathan Krisa from Nodwarna, R. Naḥman from Krzywicze, and Solomon b. Elisha Shor from Rohatyn. After each session, consultations took place between the rabbis and the *parnasim*, who drafted written replies. They were joined by a wine merchant from Lvov, Baer *Birkenthal of Bolechov, who, unlike the rabbis, spoke fluent Polish, and he prepared the Polish text of their replies. His memoirs of the disputation in *Sefer Divrei Binah* fill in the background of the official protocol which was drawn up in Polish by the priest Gaudenty Pikulsi, and printed in Lvov in 1760 with the title *Złość Żydowska* ("The Jewish Evil"). In Lvov the Frankists' arguments were presented in a form accommodated as far as possible to the tenets of Christianity, to an even greater extent than at the earlier disputation. However, even then, they avoided any explicit reference to Jesus of Nazareth, and there is no doubt that this silence served the express purpose of harmonizing their secret faith in Frank as God and Messiah in a corporeal form with their official support of Christianity. Indeed, according to Frank himself, Christianity was no more than a screen (*pargod*) behind which lay hidden the true faith, which he proclaimed to be "the sacred religion of Edom."

Seven main propositions were disputed: (1) all the biblical prophecies concerning the coming of the Messiah have already been fulfilled; (2) the Messiah is the true God who became incarnate in human form in order to suffer for the sake of our redemption; (3) since the advent of the true Messiah, the sacrifices and the ceremonial laws of the Torah have been abolished; (4) everyone must follow the religion of the Messiah and his teaching, for within it lies the salvation of the soul; (5) the cross is the sign of the divine trinity and the seal of the Messiah; (6) only through baptism can a man arrive at true faith in the Messiah; and (7) the Talmud teaches that the Jews need Christian blood, and whoever believes in the Talmud is bound to use it.

The rabbis refused to reply to some of these theses for fear of being offensive to the Christian faith in their answers. The disputation began at the behest of the Frankists with a statement by their protector Moliwda Kossadowski. The rabbis replied only to the first and second of the theological arguments. It was obvious from the outset that the main attention would be centered on the seventh proposition, whose effects were potentially highly dangerous for the whole of Jewry. This particular argument came up for discussion on August 27. In the preceding weeks Frank had left Iwanie and passed through the cities of Galicia, visiting his followers. He then waited a long time in Busk, near Lvov, where he was joined by his wife and children. The Frankist arguments in support of the blood libel are a mixture of quotations from books by earlier Polish apostates, and absurd arguments and nonsensical discussions based on statements in rabbinic literature containing only the slightest mention of "blood" or "red." According to Baer Birkenthal the rabbis too did not refrain from using literary stratagems in order to strengthen the impression that their replies would have on the Catholic priests, and in the oral debates they all rejected all Polish translations from talmudic and rabbinic literature without exception, which resulted in some violent verbal exchanges. Behind the scenes of the disputation, contacts continued between the rabbinic representatives and Mikulski, who began to waver, both because of the opposition of the higher church authorities to the blood libel and also as a result of rabbinic arguments concerning Frankist duplicity. The debate on this point was continued in the last session on September 10, when Rabbi Rapoport made a stringent attack on the blood libel. As the disputation came to an end, one of the Frankists approached the rabbi and said: "You have declared our blood permitted – this is your 'blood for blood.'" The confused ratiocinations of the Frankists did not achieve the desired effect, and, in the end, Mikulski resolved to ask the rabbis for a detailed written answer in Polish to the Frankists' charges. However, the time for their reply was postponed until after the end of the disputation. In the meantime nothing concrete emerged from all the upheaval about the blood libel.

On the other hand, the conversion of many of the Frankists did actually take place. Frank himself was received with extraordinary honor in Lvov, and he dispatched his flock to the baptismal font. He himself was the first to be baptized on Sept. 17, 1759. There is some disagreement about the number of sectarians who were converted. In Lvov alone more than 500 Frankists (including women and children) had been baptized by the end of 1760, nearly all of them from Podolia but some from Hungary and the European provinces of Turkey. The exact numbers of converts in other places are not known, but there are details of a considerable number of baptisms in Warsaw, where Frank and his wife were baptized a second time, under the patronage of the king of Poland, in a royal ceremony, on Nov. 18, 1759; from then on he is named Josef Frank in documents. According to oral tradition in Frankist families in Poland, the number of converts was far greater than that attested by known documents, and it speaks of several thousands. On the other hand, it is known that most of the sectarians in Podolia, and in other countries, did not follow Frank all the way, but remained in the Jewish fold, although they still recognized his leadership. It would appear that all his followers in Bohemia and Moravia, and most of those in Hungary and Romania, remained Jews and continued to lead a double life, outwardly Jews and secretly "believers." Even in Galicia there remained many cells of "believers" in an appreciable number of communities, from Podhajce (Podgaytsy) in the east to Cracow in the west.

The Social Structure of the Sect

Contradictory evidence exists concerning the social and spiritual makeup of the sectarians, both of the apostates and of those who remained within the Jewish fold, but perhaps the two types of evidence are really complementary. Many sources, particularly from the Jewish side, show that a sizeable proportion of them were knowledgeable and literate, and even rabbis of small communities. Frank's closest associates among the apostates were doubtless in this category. As far as their social status was concerned, some were wealthy and owners of property, merchants and, craftsmen such as silver- and goldsmiths; some were the children of community leaders. On the other hand, a considerable number of them were distillers and innkeepers, simple people and members of the poorer classes. In Moravia and Bohemia they included a number of wealthy and aristocratic families, important merchants and state monopoly leaseholders, while in the responsa of contemporary rabbis (and also in the ḥasidic *Shivḥei ha-Besht*) incidents are related concerning scribes and *shoḥatim* who were also members of the sect. In Sziget, Hungary, a "judge of the Jews" (*Judenrichter*) is numbered among them, as well as several important members of the community.

The uncovering of the sect, which had hitherto practiced in secret, and the mass apostasy which had taken place in several of the Polish communities, received wide publicity and had various repercussions. The attitude of the Jewish spiritual leaders was not uniform, many rabbis taking the view that their separation from the Jewish community and their defection to Christianity were in fact desirable for the good of the Jewish people as a whole (A. Yaari in *Sinai*, 35 (1954), 170–82). They hoped that all the members of the sect would leave the Jewish fold, but their hopes were not realized. A different view was expressed by Israel Ba'al Shem Tov after the disputation at Lvov, namely, that "the *Shekhinah* bewails the sect of the apostates, for while the limb is joined to the body there is hope of a cure, but once the limb is amputated, there can be no possible remedy, for every Jew is a limb of the *Shekhinah*." Naḥman of Bratslav, a great-grandson of the Ba'al Shem Tov, said that his great-grandfather died of the grief inflicted by the sect and their apostasy. In many Polish communities traditions were preserved concerning Frankist families who had not apostasized, while those who were particular about family honor took care not to marry into these families because of the suspicion of illegitimacy (see **mamzer*) which attached to them through their transgression of the sexual prohibitions.

Frank's Arrest

Frank's journey to Warsaw in great pomp in October 1759 provoked a number of scandalous incidents, particularly in Lublin. Even after their apostasy Frank's followers were continually watched by the priests who had doubts about their reliability and the sincerity of their conversion. Records vary of the evidence given to the ecclesiastical authorities of their real faith, and it is possible that these did in fact emanate from different sources. It was G. Pikulski in particular who in December 1759 obtained separate confessions from six of the "brethren" who had remained in Lvov, and it became apparent from these that the real object of their devotion was Frank, as the living incarnation of God. When this information reached Warsaw, Frank was arrested, on Feb. 6, 1760, and for three weeks he was subjected to a detailed investigation by the ecclesiastical court, which also confronted with many of the "believers" who had accompanied him to Warsaw. Frank's testimony before the inquiry was a mixture of lies and half-truths. The court's decision was to exile him for an unlimited period to the fortress of Czestochowa which was under the highest jurisdiction of the Church, "in order to prevent him having any possible influence on the views of his followers." These latter were set free and ordered to adopt Christianity in true faith, and to forsake their leader – a result which was not achieved. Nevertheless, the "treachery" of his followers in revealing their true beliefs rankled bitterly with Frank until the end of his days. The court also issued a printed proclamation on the results of the inquiry. At the end of February Frank was exiled and remained in "honorable" captivity for 13 years. At first he was utterly deserted, but he quickly found ways of reestablishing contact between himself and his "camp." At this time the apostates were scattered in several small towns and on estates owned by the nobility. They suffered a good deal until they finally settled down, mainly in Warsaw, with the remainder in other Polish towns like Cracow and Krasnystaw, and organized themselves into a secret sectarian society, whose members were careful to observe outwardly all the tenets of the Catholic faith. They also took advantage of the unstable political situation in Poland at the end of its independence, and several of the more important families demanded noble status for themselves, with some degree of success, on the basis of old statutes which accorded such privileges to Jewish converts.

Frank in Czestochowa

From the end of 1760 emissaries from the "believers" began to visit Frank and transmit his instructions. Following these, they became once more involved in a blood libel case in the town of Wojsłwiec in 1761, as the result of which many Jews were slaughtered. Their reappearance as accusers of the Jewish people aroused great bitterness among the Jews of Poland, who saw in it a new act of vengeance. The conditions of Frank's imprisonment were gradually relaxed and from 1762 his wife was allowed to join him, while a whole group of his chief followers, both men and women, were allowed to settle near the fortress, and even to practice secret religious rites of a typical sexual orgiastic nature inside the fortress. When talking to this circle Frank added a specifically Christian interpretation to his view of the virgin as the *Shekhinah*, under the influence of the worship of the virgin which, in Poland, was actually centered on Czestochowa.

In 1765, when it was apparent that the country was about to break up, Frank planned to forge links with the Russian Orthodox Church and with the Russian government through a Russian ambassador in Poland, Prince Repnin. A Frankist delegation went to Smolensk and Moscow at the end of the year and promised to instigate some pro-Russian activity among the Jews, but the details are not known. It is possible that clandestine links between the Frankist camp and the Russian authorities date from this time. These plans became known to the Jews of Warsaw, and in 1767 a counterdelegation was sent to St. Petersburg in order to inform the Russians of the Frankists' true character. From then on, Frankist propaganda spread once more through the communities of Galicia, Hungary, Moravia, and Bohemia, by means of letters and emissaries from among the learned members of the sect. Links were also formed with secret Shabbateans in Germany. One of these emissaries, Aaron Isaac Te'omim from Horodenka, appeared in Altona in 1764. In 1768–69 there were two Frankist agents in Prague and Possnitz, the Shabbatean center in Moravia, and there they were even allowed to preach in the synagogue. At the beginning of 1770 Frank's wife died, and thenceforth the worship of "the lady" (*gevirah*), which was accorded her during her lifetime, was transferred to Frank's daughter Eva (previously Rachel), who stayed with him even when practically all of his "believers" had left the fortress and gone to Warsaw. When Czestochowa was captured by the Russians in August 1772, after the first partition of Poland, Frank was freed by the commander in chief and left the town early in 1773, going with his daughter to Warsaw. From there, in March 1773, he journeyed with 18 of his associates disguised as the servants of a wealthy merchant to Bruenn (Brno) in Moravia, to the home of his cousin Schoendel *Dobruschka, the wife of a rich and influential Jew.

Frank in Bruenn and Offenbach

Frank remained in Bruenn until 1786, obtaining the protection of the authorities, both as a respected man of means with many connections and also as a man pledged to work for the propagation of Christianity among his numerous associates in the communities of Moravia. He established a semi-military regime in his retinue, where the men wore military uniform and went through a set training. Frank's court attracted many Shabbateans in Moravia, whose families preserved for generations the swords that they wore while serving at his court. Frank went with his daughter to Vienna in March 1775 and was received in audience by the empress and her son, later Joseph II. Some maintain that Frank promised the empress the assistance of his followers in a campaign to conquer parts of Turkey, and in fact over a period of time several Frankist emissaries were sent to Turkey, working hand in glove with the Doenmeh, and perhaps as political agents or spies in the service of the Austrian government. During this period Frank spoke a great deal about a general revolution which would overthrow kingdoms, and the Catholic Church in particular, and he also dreamed of the conquest of some territory in the wars at the end of time which would be the Frankist dominion. For this, military training would be a deliberate preparation. Where Frank obtained the money for the upkeep of his court was a constant source of wonder and speculation and the matter was never resolved; doubtless some system of taxation was organized among the members of the sect. Stories circulated about the arrival of barrels of gold sent, some say, by his followers, but according to others, by his foreign political "employers." At one particular period there were in Bruenn several hundred sectarians who followed no profession or trade, and whose sole and absolute master was Frank, who ruled with a rod of iron. In 1784 his financial resources failed temporarily and he found himself in great straits, but his situation subsequently improved. During his stay in Bruenn the greater part of his teachings, his recollections, and his tales were taken down by his chief associates. In 1786 or 1787 he left Bruenn, and, after bargaining with the prince of Ysenburg, established himself in Offenbach, near Frankfurt.

In Bruenn and Offenbach, Frank and his three children played a part, which was unusually successful for a long time, in order to throw dust in the eyes of both the inhabitants and the authorities. While pretending to follow the practices of the Catholic Church, at the same time they put on a show of strange practices, deliberately "Eastern" in nature, in order to emphasize their exotic character. In his last years Frank began to spread even among his close associates the notion that his daughter Eva was in reality the illegitimate daughter of the empress Catherine of the house of Romanov, and that he was no more than her guardian. Outwardly, the Frankists shrank from social contact with Jews, so much so that many of those who had business or other dealings with the latter refused absolutely to believe Jewish charges concerning the true nature of the community as a secret Jewish sect. Even in the printed proclamations issued in Offenbach, Frank's children based their authority on their strong ties with the Russian royal house. There is some reliable evidence to show that even the prince of Ysenburg's administration believed that Eva should be regarded as a Romanov princess.

The last center of the sect was set up in Offenbach, where members sent their sons and daughters to serve at the court, following the pattern that had been established in Bruenn. Frank had several apoplectic fits, dying on Dec. 10, 1791. His funeral was organized as a glorious demonstration by hundreds of his "believers." Frank had preserved to the end his double way of life and sustained the legendary Oriental atmosphere with which his life was imbued in the sight of both Jews and Christians.

In the period between Frank's apostasy and his death the converts strengthened their economic position, particularly in Warsaw where many of them built factories and were also active in masonic organizations. A group of about 50 Frankist families, led by Anton Czerniewski, one of Frank's chief disciples, settled in Bukovina after his death and were known there as the sect of Abrahamites; their descendants were still living a separate life there about 125 years later. Several families in Moravia and Bohemia, who had remained within the Jewish fold, also improved their social status, had close connections with the *Haskalah movement, and began to combine revolutionary mystical kabbalistic ideas with the rationalistic view of the Enlightenment. Some of those who had converted in these countries under Frank's influence were accepted in the higher administration and the Austrian aristocracy, but they preserved a few Frankist traditions and customs, so that a stratum was created in which the boundaries between Judaism and Christianity became blurred, irrespective of whether the members had converted or retained their links with Judaism.

Only rarely did whole groups of Frankists convert to Christianity, as in Prossnitz in 1773, but a considerable proportion of the younger members who were sent to Offenbach were baptized there. Enlightening examples of family histories from the intermediate stratum mentioned above are those of the Hoenig (see *Hoenigsberg) and Dobruschka families in Austria. Some of the Hoenig family remained Frankist Jews even after their elevation to the nobility, and some of them were connected with the upper bourgeoisie and the higher Austrian administration (the families of Von Hoenigsberg, Von Hoenigstein, Von Bienefeld), while members of the Dobruschka family converted practically en bloc and several of them served as officers in the army. Moses, the son of Schoendel Dobruschka, Frank's cousin, who was known in many circles as his nephew, was the outstanding figure in the last generation of the Frankists, being known also as Franz Thomas von Schoenfeld (a German writer and organizer of a mystical order of a Jewish Christian kabbalistic character) and later as Junius Frey (a Jacobin revolutionary in France).

Apparently he was offered the leadership of the sect after Frank's death, and, when he refused, Eva, together with her two younger brothers, Josef and Rochus, assumed responsibility for the direction of the court. Many people continued to go up to Offenbach, to "*Gottes Haus*" as the "believers" called it. However, Frank's daughter and her brothers had neither the stature nor the strength of personality required, and their fortunes quickly declined. The only independent activity that emerged from Offenbach was the dispatch of the "Red Letters" to hundreds of Jewish communities in Europe in 1799 relating to the beginning of the 19th century. In these letters the Jews were requested for the last time to enter "The holy religion of Edom." By 1803 Offenbach was almost completely deserted by the camp of the "believers," hundreds of whom had returned to Poland, while Frank's children were reduced to poverty. Josef and Rochus died in 1807 and 1813 respectively, without heirs, and Eva Frank died in 1816, leaving enormous debts. In Eva's last years a few members of the most respected families in the sect, who were supported from Warsaw, remained with her. In the last 15 years of her life she acted as if she were a royal princess of the house of Romanov, and several circles tended to believe the stories circulating in support of this.

The sect's exclusive organization continued to survive in this period through agents who went from place to place, through secret gatherings and separate religious rites, and through the dissemination of a specifically Frankist literature. The "believers" endeavored to marry only among themselves, and a wide network of inter-family relationships was created among the Frankists, even among those who had remained within the Jewish fold. Later Frankism was to a large extent the religion of families who had given their children the appropriate education. The Frankists of Germany, Bohemia, and Moravia usually held secret gatherings in Carlsbad in summer round about the Ninth of Av.

Frankist Literature

The literary activity of the sect began at the end of Frank's life, and was centered at first at Offenbach in the hands of three learned "elders," who were among his chief disciples: the two brothers Franciszek and Michael Wołowski (from the well-known rabbinic family, Shor) and Andreas Dembowski (Yeruḥam Lippmann from Czernowitz). At the end of the 18th century they compiled a collection of Frank's teachings and reminiscences, containing nearly 2,300 sayings and stories, gathered together in the book *Slowa Pańskie* ("The words of the Master"; Heb. *Divrei ha-Adon*), which was sent to circles of believers. The book was apparently written originally in Hebrew since it was quoted in this language by the Frankists of Prague. In order to meet the needs of the converts in Poland, whose children no longer learned Hebrew, it was translated, apparently in Offenbach, into very poor Polish which needed later revisions to give it a more polished style. This comprehensive book illuminates Frank's true spiritual world, as well as his relationship with Judaism, Christianity, and the members of his sect. A few complete manuscripts were preserved in a number of families in Poland, and some were acquired by public libraries and consulted by the historians Kraushar and Balaban. These manuscripts were destroyed or lost during the Holocaust, and now only two imperfect manuscripts in Cracow University Library are known, comprising about two-thirds of the complete text. Also in Offenbach, a detailed chronicle was compiled of events in the life of Frank, which gave far more reliable information than all other documents, in which Frank did not refrain from telling lies. It also contained a detailed and undisguised description of the sexual rites practiced by Frank. This manuscript was lent to Kraushar by a Frankist family, but since then it has vanished without trace. The work of an anonymous Frankist, written in Polish about 1800 and called "The Prophecy of Isaiah," which puts the metaphors of the biblical book to Frankist use, gives a reliable record of the revolutionary and utopian expectations of the members of the sect. This manuscript, parts of which were published in Kraushar's book, was in the library of the Warsaw Jewish community until the Holocaust. A book was recorded in Offenbach which listed the dreams and revelations of which Eva Frank and her brothers boasted, but when two younger members of the Porges family in Prague, who had been sent to the court and been disillusioned with what they saw, fled from Offenbach, they took the book with them and handed it over to the rabbinical court in Fuerth, who apparently destroyed it.

The Frankists in Prague

Another center of intensive literary activity emerged in Prague, where an important Frankist group had established itself. At its head were several members of the distinguished Wehle and *Bondi families, whose forebears had belonged to the secret Shabbatean movement for some generations. They had strong connections with "the believers" in other communities in Bohemia and Moravia. Their spiritual leader, Jonas Wehle (1752–1823), was aided by his brothers, who were fervent Frankists, and his son-in-law Loew von Hoenigsberg (d. 1811), who committed to writing many of the teachings of the circle. This group acted with great prudence for a long time, particularly during the lifetime of R. Ezekiel *Landau, and its members denied in his presence that they belonged to the sect. However, after his death they became more conspicuous. In 1799 R. Eleazar *Fleckeles, Landau's successor, preached some fiercely polemical sermons against them, causing riotous disturbances in the Prague synagogue, and leading to the publication of libelous attacks on the group, as well as to both denunciations and defense of its members before the civil authorities. A great deal of evidence, extracted from "penitent" members of the sect in Kolin and other places, remains from this period. The important file on the Frankists in the Prague community archives was removed by the president of the community at the end of the 19th century, out of respect for the families implicated in it. The disturbances connected with the appearance of the "Red Letters" (written in red ink, as a symbol of the religion of Edom) helped to maintain a small, distinct Frankist group in Prague for years, and some of its members, or their children, were later among the founders of the first Reform temple in Prague (c. 1832). A similar distinct group existed for a long time in Prossnitz. Some of the literature of the Prague circle survived, namely, a commentary on the *aggadot* of *Ein Ya'akov* and a large collection of letters on details of the faith, as well as commentaries on various biblical passages written in German mixed with Yiddish and Hebrew by Loew Hoenigsberg in the early 19th century. Aaron Jellinek possessed various Frankist writings in German, but they disappeared after his death.

On Eva Frank's death the organization weakened, although in 1823 Elias Kaplinski, a member of Frank's wife's family, still tried to summon a conference of the sectarians, which took place in Carlsbad. After this the sect broke up, and messengers were sent to collect together the various writings from the scattered families. This deliberate concealment of Frankist literature is one of the main reasons for the ignorance concerning its internal history, allied to the decided reluctance of most of the sectarians' descendants to promote any investigation into their affairs. The only one of "the believers" who left any memoirs of his early days was Moses Porges (later Von Portheim). These he had recorded in his old age. A whole group of Frankist families from Bohemia and Moravia migrated to the United States in 1848–49. In his last will and testament, Gottlieb Wehle of New York, 1867, a nephew of Jonas Wehle, expresses a deep feeling of identity with his Frankist forebears, who appeared to him to be the first fighters for progress in the ghetto, a view held by many of the descendants of "the believers." The connection between the Frankists' heretical Kabbalah and the ideas of the new Enlightenment is evident both in surviving manuscripts from Prague, and in the traditions of some of these families in Bohemia and Moravia (where there were adherents of the sect, outside Prague, in Kolin, Horschitz (Horice), Holleschau (Holesov), and Kojetin).

There continued to be strong ties between the neophyte families in Poland, who had risen considerably in the social scale in the 19th century, and there may have been some kind of organization among them. In the first three generations after the apostasy of 1759-60 most of them married only among themselves, preserving their Jewish character in several ways, and only a very few intermarried with true Catholics. Copies of "the Words of the Master" were still being produced in the 1820s, and apparently it had its readers. The Frankists were active as fervent Polish patriots and took part in the rebellions of 1793, 1830, and 1863. Nevertheless the whole time they were under suspicion of Jewish sectarian separatism. In Warsaw in the 1830s most of the lawyers were descendants of the Frankists, many of whom were also businessmen, writers, and musicians. It was only in the middle of the 19th century that mixed marriages increased between them and the Poles, and most of them moved from the liberal wing of Polish society to the nationalist conservative wing. However, there still remained a number of families who continued to marry only among themselves. For a long time this circle maintained secret contacts with the Doenmeh in Salonika. An unresolved controversy still exists concerning the Frankist affiliation of Adam *Mickiewicz, the greatest Polish poet. There is clear evidence of this from the poet himself (on his mother's side), but in Poland this evidence is resolutely misinterpreted. Mickiewicz's Frankist origins were well-known to the Warsaw Jewish community as early as 1838 (according to evidence in the azdj of that year, p. 362). The parents of the poet's wife also came from Frankist families.

The crystallization of the Frankist sect is one of the most marked indications of the crisis which struck the Jewish society in the mid-18th century. Frank's personality reveals clear signs of the adventurer, motivated by a blend of religious impulses and a lust for power. By contrast, his "believers" were on the whole men of deep faith and moral integrity as far as this did not conflict with the vicious demands made on them by Frank. In all that remains of their original literature whether in German, Polish or Hebrew, there is absolutely no reference to those matters, like the blood libel, which so aroused the Jewish community against them. They were fascinated by the words of their leader and his vision of a unique fusion between Judaism and Christianity, but they easily combined this with more modest hopes which led them to become protagonists of liberal-bourgeois ideals. Their nihilist Shabbatean faith served as a transition to a new world beyond the ghetto. They quickly forgot their licentious practices and acquired a reputation of being men of the highest moral conduct. Many Frankist families kept a miniature of Eva Frank which used to be sent to the most prominent households, and to this day some families honor her as a saintly woman who was falsely reviled.

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[Gershom Scholem]

FRANK, JEROME NEW (1889–1957), U.S. jurist and legal philosopher. Frank, who was born in New York City, practiced law in Chicago and New York City before being appointed general counsel to the Agricultural Adjustment Administration by President Franklin D. Roosevelt in 1933. Subsequently, he was appointed to important executive positions with the Federal Surplus Relief Corporation, the Reconstruction Finance Commission, and the Public Works Administration. As one of the more imaginative and articulate administrators of the New Deal program of President Roosevelt, he was often embroiled in argument and litigation in its defense, especially in the use of public power. Retiring to private practice in 1937, he was recalled by President Roosevelt in 1939 as commissioner and then chairman of the Securities and Exchange Commission. There, he played an important role in reorganizing the New York Stock Exchange. He also instituted new programs for public-utility holding companies under the 1935 Act. President Roosevelt named him to the U.S. Court of Appeals for the 2nd Circuit in 1941. He remained on the bench, and lectured at Yale Law School as well, until his death.

Basically a "legal realist," Frank developed the juristic concept of fact-skepticism, or the continuous questioning of factual assumptions to expose the realities of the judicial process. Legal philosophers, he insisted, should not think only in terms of law to determine whether justice prevails in any given case, but rather to concentrate on the processes by which facts are found and judged. Fact-skepticism led him to infer that the jury was an inept institution and that it ought to be abolished. He also warned against relying on jury verdicts to inflict capital punishment. Frank sought through fact-skepticism to liberalize and reform the trial process. He developed his thoughts in challenging and provocative books entitled *Law and the Modern Mind* (1930) and *Courts on Trial* (1949), as well as in many law review articles. In 1945 he wrote *Fate and Freedom*, in which he attacked Freud's deterministic psychology, Marxism, and natural-law doctrines as endangering individual freedom and moral responsibility. In *If Men Were Angels* (1942), Frank replied to critics of the new administrative agencies of the New Deal. In *Not Guilty* (1957), written with his daughter, he commented on a number of cases in which innocent people were convicted of crimes.

[Julius J. Marcke]

FRANK, JOSEF (1885–?), Austrian architect. Born in Baden, Frank was a progressive architect working in Austria after World War I and was best known for the Karl Marx Hof (Vienna, 1930), an ambitious workers' housing scheme which he designed with Oskar Wlach. In 1932 be emigrated to Sweden. Frank also taught at the New School of Social Research, New York (1941–44). He wrote *Architektur als Symbol* (1930).

°FRANK, KARL HERMANN (1898–1946), Sudeten German Nazi politician, leader of the radical wing of the Sudeten German Party and close associate of *Himmler. An Austrian army veteran of World War I, he became a bookseller in his native Karlsbad. In 1933 he entered local politics as propaganda chief to Konrad Henelein and later a Sudenten German Parliamentary delegate. In March 1939 he was appointed secretary of state to *Reichsprotektor* Constantin von Neurath in the Protectorate of Bohemia-Moravia. After the assassination of *Heydrich in 1942, Frank unleashed a wave of repression against the population of the Protectorate of Bohemia-Moravia that culminated in the destruction of the town of Lidice. One hundred ninety-two men and boys and 71 women had been murdered. The surviving women were sent to concentration camps. The children were dispersed, some to concentration camps, although a few who were considered sufficiently Aryan were sent to Germany. The SS then razed the town and tried to eradicate its memory. The name of Lidice was expunged from all official records. With the appointment of Wilhelm Frick as *Reichsprotektor,* Frank was nominated minister of state (1943) and became the virtual dictator of the Protectorate (see *Czechoslovakia). As SS and police officer with the rank of lieutenant-general, he was one of the persons mainly responsible for the annihilation of the Protectorate's Jewish population. Frank was hanged after the war (1946) by the verdict of a Czechoslovak court.

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[Yehuda Reshef / Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

FRANK, LEO MAX (1884–1915), engineer and the only Jew ever to have been murdered by a lynch mob in the United States. Frank, who was born in Cuero, Texas, of an immigrant German family, was raised in Brooklyn, and studied mechanical engineering. In 1907 he moved to Atlanta, Georgia, where his uncle, Moses Frank, owner of the National Pencil Company, offered him a job as plant superintendent. Here he became president of the local chapter of B'nai B'rith. On April 27, 1913, a 14-year-old employee of Frank's, Mary Phagan, was found murdered in the factory basement. Frank was arrested the next day and charged with the crime. The chief witness for the prosecution at his trial, which lasted for nearly two months, was a black employee of the factory, James Conley, who was suspected by many observers both at the time and subsequently of having been the true culprit. Despite the flimsy nature of the evidence, the dubious character of many of the prosecution's witnesses and Frank's own eloquent testimony on Aug. 23, 1913, the jury returned a verdict of guilty.

The issue of Frank's Jewishness was first raised at his trial by his own lawyers, who claimed that he was a victim of prejudice, a charge that the prosecution vigorously denied. Whether or not this denial was sincere, it became clear as the trial progressed that the mobs in and out of the courtroom that continually called for Frank's blood were inspired by antisemitic passions, which undoubtedly influenced the decision of the jury. It was only when the case was already being appealed, however, that a vicious antisemitic campaign was launched around it by the ex-populist and racist politician Tom Watson, who in his weekly *Jeffersonian Magazine* repeatedly demanded the execution of "the filthy, perverted Jew of New York." Watson helped found the "Knights of Mary Phagan," an antisemitic society which sought to organize a boycott of Jewish stores and businesses throughout Georgia.

Frank's lawyers fought his case all the way to the United States Supreme Court on the grounds that he had not been given a fair trial, and it became a cause célébre which enlisted the support of prominent Jews and gentiles. On May 18, 1915, however, the Court turned down Frank's final appeal. On June 21, shortly before his scheduled execution, his sentence was commuted to a life term by Governor John Slaton, who was personally convinced of his innocence. Slaton's decision, which was to cost him his political career, inflamed emotions in Georgia and did not save Frank's life for long: he was dragged from jail by a mob on Aug. 16, 1915, and lynched. There can be little doubt that Frank was innocent or that he would never have been brought to trial in the first place, much less convicted, had he not been a Jew.

In March 1986 Leo Frank was pardoned by the governor of Georgia.

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[Harry Golden]

FRANK, MENAHEM MENDEL (late 15th–first half of 16th century), rabbi. He at first served as *av bet din* in Poznan, Poland, and from 1529 was rabbi of Brest-Litovsk, Lithuania. Frank was granted judicial authority by the king to assist Michael Ezofovich in tax collection but met with opposition in Brest-Litovsk. In 1531, when Frank complained of the matter, the Jews under his jurisdiction were ordered by King Sigismund I to obey him and submit to any *ḥerem* he imposed, being forbidden to appeal against his decisions to a non-Jewish tribunal. Encountering opposition by members of the nobility and state courts, possibly incited by Frank's Jewish opponents, in 1532 he sought the protection of Queen Bona. Upon her recommendation, the king prohibited royal officials and judges from intervening in the rabbi's affairs and declared that Frank could not be summoned to account before the throne. Decisions by Frank appertaining to divorce bills and contracts are mentioned by *Shalom Shakhna b. Joseph of Lublin. According to some records Frank ended his days in Jerusalem.

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[Arthur Cygielman]

FRANK, PHILIPP (1884–1966), philosopher and physicist. Born in Vienna, he was appointed professor of theoretical physics at the German University of Prague at 28, replacing Einstein. In 1938, he moved to the United States and taught mathematics and physics at Harvard. He established his reputation in physics by publishing with Richard von Mises, *Die Differential-und Integralgleichungen der Mechanik und Physik* (1925). Frank's most famous work was on philosophy of science. Following Duhem, Poincaré, Mach, and Einstein, Frank tried to clarify the philosophical foundations of the natural sciences. Frank's view is close to the positivism of the "Vienna Circle." He opposed the compartmentalization of individual sciences, stressing the unity of science. He also pointed out the neglected spheres between the individual sciences. Frank was a personal friend of Einstein and in 1947 wrote *Einstein: His Life and Times*. Frank opposed Mach's limited form of logical positivism and emphasized instead, relying on Einstein, that the principles of physics are the product of free human imagination and that they are symbols. These symbols are not arbitrary, but "true" ones, i.e., one should derive from them, by logical consequences, conclusions which are confirmed by experiment. This means that despite the emphasis on the empirical factor there still remains room for the researcher's productive activity. In his later years, he was especially interested in the sociological, historical, cultural, and psychological aspects of the natural sciences. Frank was a brilliant teacher and a lucid writer. A volume of *Boston Studies in the Philosophy of Science* (1965) was dedicated to him on his 80th birthday.

Frank's writings are an important source for the history of logical positivism and empiricism in the 20th century. They include *Das Kausalgesetz und seine Grenzen* (1932), *Théorie de la connaissance et physique moderne* (1934), *Das Ende der mechanistischen Physik* (1935), *Interpretations and Misinterpretations of Modern Physics* (1938), *Between Physics and Philosophy* (1941), *Modern Science and Its Philosophy* (1949), *Relativity: A Richer Truth* (1950), and *Philosophy of Science: The Link Between Science and Philosophy* (1957).

[Samuel Hugo Bergman]

FRANK, RAY (1861–1948), U.S. journalist and religious leader, the first Jewish woman to preach from a North American pulpit. Born in San Francisco (according to some sources in 1864 or 1865) to Leah and Bernard Frank, and raised in a "deeply religious home," she graduated from Sacramento High School in 1879, taught in Nevada for six years, and subsequently rejoined her family in Oakland, California. To support herself, Frank gave private lessons, wrote for several periodicals, and taught at First Hebrew Congregation, becoming superintendent of its religious school.

During the 1890s, Frank traveled throughout the Pacific Northwest as a correspondent for several Oakland and San Francisco newspapers. Arriving in Spokane, Washington (then Spokane Falls), in September 1890, just before the Jewish New Year, she found a small Jewish community torn apart by religious dissension. When she discovered that there was neither a synagogue nor planned religious services, she offered to deliver the sermon if a *minyan* could be assembled. As reported in a special edition of the *Spokane Falls Gazette*, Frank preached at the Opera House that evening, with one thousand Jews and Christians in attendance. She also spoke the next morning and on Yom Kippur. Moved by her plea that her coreligionists unite to form a congregation, a "Christian gentleman" offered to donate land on which to build a synagogue. Frank's call for communal cooperation was so successful that she healed congregational squabbles and helped create Orthodox and Reform congregations throughout the western and northwestern United States.

Hailed as a "latter-day Deborah" and erroneously labeled a "Lady Rabbi," she came to the attention of Isaac Mayer *Wise, who encouraged her to study at *Hebrew Union College. Enrolling in January 1893, she left after one semester, later maintaining that her intention was to study philosophy, not to become a rabbi. Wise, however, had earlier written that Frank's avowed purpose was to enter the "Jewish ministry," and he applauded her zeal and moral courage in breaking down "the last remains of the barriers erected in the synagogue against women." In September 1893 Frank delivered the opening prayer and a formal address on "Woman in the Synagogue" at the first Jewish Women's Congress, held in conjunction with the Parliament of World Religions at the Chicago World's Fair. She later spoke at synagogues and churches throughout North America and officiated in 1895 at High Holy Day services in an Orthodox synagogue in Victoria, British Columbia. She declined a Chicago Reform congregation's offer to become its full-time spiritual leader.

Frank's public career ended after her 1901 marriage to economics professor, Simon Litman. She remained active in local Jewish organizations and institutions in Urbana, Illinois, led a study group, and occasionally lectured in the community and throughout the Midwest. Her papers are housed at the American Jewish Historical Society.

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[Ellen M. Umansky (2nd ed.)]

FRANK, ROBERT (1924–), photographer. Born into a wealthy family in Zurich, Switzerland, Frank was 15 when war broke out across Europe. While his family was unharmed and sat out the war in neutral Switzerland, Frank later said that "being Jewish and living with the threat of Hitler must have been a very big part of my understanding of people that were put down or who were held back." Frank took up photography as a way of breaking away from his family and Switzerland. At 16 he apprenticed himself to the photographer Hermann Segesser, who lived in the same apartment building as the Franks. He moved to New York in 1947 and soon began traveling the world, taking pictures for publications like *Harper's Bazaar* and the *New York Times*. After several years, Frank felt constrained. Encouraged by Walker Evans, he won Guggenheim Fellowships in 1955 and 1956, which allowed him the freedom to travel throughout the United States. He set off in a car loaned to him by Peggy *Guggenheim with his wife, Mary, and their two sons to document a culture that was uniquely American. He returned a year later with 28,000 black-and-white images, 83 of which became the photographs in his monumental and now-famous book called *The Americans*, first published in 1958. His style was as uninhibited and innovative as Jack Kerouac's and Allen *Ginsberg's, and his images, to many, came to epitomize the Beat Generation. In the book, which had an introduction by Kerouac, Frank's pictures dwelt on the disenfranchised, the lonely, the disconnected, and the insecure. The images that propelled him to prominence were his signature achievement, and the photographs, taken with a small Leica, retained their impact many years later. The images rejected the assumptions of the Eisenhower era, and one critic (Michael Kimmelman in the *New York Times*) wrote, "Frank discovered for himself a vast nation of empty highways and empty symbols, a country whose most notable rift was not the picturesque Grand Canyon but the one that divided the races." The photographs are considered classics of iconoclasm. They have an irreverence and a dark humor, Kimmelman wrote, whether it was the mysterious gleaming mass of a shrouded car in California or the glow of a jukebox in New York City. At the time, critics condemned his work as dark and depressing, made worse by their grainy, out-of-focus effects. In reality, they redefined street photography for a generation of American photographers.

Frank switched from photography to films in the late 1950s. His first film, the 1959 Beat classic, *Pull My Daisy*, was made to look improvised, but it was carefully plotted and scripted by Kerouac. His 1985 autobiographical video, *Home Improvements*, was a melancholy work. He returned to photography in the 1970s, but in a different style, somewhat like sculpture. He made collages combining photographs and words scratched roughly into them. To some, this work shows his grappling with tragedies in his life: the death of his daughter in a plane crash and the mental illness of his son, who eventually committed suicide. In later years, he divided his time between Nova Scotia and New York, where he lived from 1971 with the artist June Leaf after parting from his wife two years earlier. In 1990, Frank donated his vast archive to the National Gallery in Washington; it was the first time the museum ever collected the work of a living photographer.

[Stewart Kampel (2nd ed.)]

FRANK, SEMYON LYUDVIGOVICH (1877–1950), Russian philosopher. Frank was born in Moscow. He became an enthusiastic Marxist in P.B. Struve's group, but later rejected Marx and in 1912 joined the Orthodox Church. He lectured at St. Petersburg from 1912 to 1917, was professor at Saratov (1917–21), and was then appointed to Moscow University working with Berdyaev. The Soviets banished him in 1922 and he went to Germany. In 1937 he had to flee, spending eight years in France, before moving to England. A leading philosophical theologian, he contended that the world must be conceived as a "total-unity." He tried to give Christianity cosmic significance and to develop a religious humanism, seeing the glory of God in human creativity. His chief work, *Predmet Znaniya* ("The Object of Knowledge," 1915), appeared in French in 1937 as *La connaissance et l'être*. Two later works, *Nepostizhimoye* (1939; *God With Us*, 1946) and *Realnost i chelovek* (1956; *Reality and Man*, 1965), have appeared in English.

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[Richard H. Popkin]

FRANK, WALDO DAVID (1889–1967), U.S. novelist, critic, and philosopher. Born in Long Branch, New Jersey, Frank was educated in Europe and at Yale. His early travels also took him to Latin America (where his books later enjoyed particular success). His father, an American-born son of German immigrants, was a wealthy and assimilated lawyer but Waldo Frank underwent a mystical reconversion to Judaism in 1920. His first published book was a novel, *The Unwelcome Man* (1917). He later made several outstanding experiments in poetic prose, such as *Rahab* (1922), *City Block* (1922), and *Holiday* (1923), the last a study of race relations in the South. A man of intellectual energy and literary skill, Frank wrote many books and essays evaluating American culture, notably *Our America* (1919), *The Re-Discovery of America* (1929), and *In the American Jungle* (1937). His books on other cultures include *Virgin Spain* (1926), *America Hispana* (1931), *Dawn in Russia* (1932), and *Cuba, Prophetic Island* (1961). As editor of the important, although short-lived, magazine *Seven Arts* (1916–17), which he founded with James Oppenheim, and of *The New Republic* (1925–40), Frank profoundly influenced American liberalism. His later writings were imbued with a prophetic and mystical philosophy that demanded the rejection of materialism and atheistic rationalism and the recognition of an immanent God. Frank also urged that private life should be guided by the ethical tenets of the Judeo-Christian tradition, enriched by the concepts of Marx and Freud. *The Bridegroom Cometh* (1938), a Marxist novel paradoxically inspired by Frank's religious beliefs, illustrates the author's conviction that the fundamental problem of the time was "how to transform the great traditional religious energies of Western civilization into modern social action." Two works by Frank on Jewish subjects are *The Jew in Our Day* (1944) and *Bridgehead: The Drama of Israel* (1957). The latter insisted on Messianism as the purpose of Jewish survival and on Jewry's mission of world redemption through the prophet Micah's principles of justice, mercy, and humility before God.

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[Brom Weber]

FRANK, ẒEVI PESAḤ (1873–1960), chief rabbi of Jerusalem and halakhic authority. Frank was born in Kovno, Lithuania. His father, Judah Leib, was one of the leaders of the "Ḥaderah" society in Kovno which founded the village of *Ḥaderah in Ereẓ Israel. Frank studied under Eliezer *Gordon at Telz and under Isaac Rabinowitz at Slobodka. He attended the **musar* discourses of Israel *Lipkin of Salant. In 1893 he proceeded to Jerusalem where he continued his studies at the yeshivot of Eẓ Ḥayyim and Torat Ḥayyim. He acquired an outstanding reputation, combining a profound knowledge of the Talmud with sound common sense. Despite his youth, he was encouraged by Samuel *Salant, the rabbi of Jerusalem, who consulted with him in his halakhic decisions. In 1895 he married Gitah-Malkah, granddaughter of Ḥayyim Jacob Spira, head of the Jerusalem *bet din*. Subsequently he taught at a number of Jerusalem yeshivot. In 1902 he moved to Jaffa in order to be able to devote himself entirely to study. Rabbi A.I. *Kook had already taken up his appointment there, and later he and Frank associated in the efforts to establish the rabbinate of Israel.

In 1907 Frank was appointed by Salant and the scholars of Jerusalem as a member of the *Bet Din Gadol* in the Ḥurvah synagogue. Although he was its youngest member, the burden of the *bet din*, and the religious affairs of the city fell mainly upon his shoulders. He conducted single-handedly the spiritual administration of the city in the difficult days of World War I. The Turks tried to send him into exile in Egypt, but he hid in an attic from where he directed the rabbinical affairs of the city until the entry of the British (December 1917). The rabbinate was in a perilous state and Frank made strenuous efforts to raise its status, both materially and spiritually. He understood the importance of founding a central rabbinical organization, and immediately after the British occupation, took steps to found "The Council of Rabbis of Jerusalem." This organization, however, was short lived. Later, however, he established the "Rabbinate Office," which became the nucleus of the chief rabbinate of Israel, and on his suggestion A.I. Kook was invited to become chief rabbi of Palestine in 1921. In the violent controversy which resulted, fomented by the extreme religious section which saw no halakhic precedent for such an appointment, Frank brought proof to bear. In 1936 he was elected chief rabbi of Jerusalem. In consequence of his preeminence as a halakhist, the appointment was accepted by all parties, including those who opposed him on political grounds.

Frank was a rare Torah personality. He was approached on all difficult halakhic problems in Israel or in the Jewish world, and unhesitatingly gave his ruling. He was especially concerned about *agunot* (see **Agunah*) and the laws pertaining to the Land of Israel. Immediately after the *Balfour Declaration (1917) he expressed the opinion: "we have been worthy to see approaching signs of the redemption"; he began to clarify the laws of the Temple and sacrifices, and also headed the Midrash Benei Zion, an institute established for the clarification of the laws of the Land of Israel. He devised no novel procedure in halakhic ruling, but followed in the tradition of the renowned **posekim* Isaac Elhanan *Spektor and Samuel Salant. He fought against the military conscription of women and yeshivah students, exclusively secular education, and the desecration of the Sabbath. His statements sometimes raised a storm, but they were always received with respect. Together with Rabbi Isaac *Herzog he entered into an agreement with Hadassah Hospital on the circumstances under which autopsies could be performed according to the *halakhah*. He left many manuscripts, in particular responsa, constituting some 20 large volumes from which *Har Ẓevi* (1964), on *Yoreh De'ah; Mikdash Melekh* (1968); and *Har Ẓevi* (1969) on *Oraḥ Ḥayyim* were published.

[Shabbetai Devir]

The second part of Rabbi Frank's responsa on *Oraḥ Ḥayyim, Har Ẓevi*, has now been published, edited by R. Shabbetai Ẓevi Rosenthal under the auspices of the Makhon ha-Rav Frank. The volume consists of 132 responsa. Some of the responsa reflect the author's attitude toward the State of Israel. For instance, he regards those areas acquired in the War of Liberation as Israeli territory in every respect, legally acquired by Israel, with the result that the laws of *terumah* and *ma'aser* apply to it and vessels captured from the enemy are liable to *tevilah*, since they are to be regarded as legally belonging to Jews.

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FRANKAU, English literary family. JULIA FRANKAU (1859–1916), novelist and critic, was a sister of the playwright James Davis (Owen Hall). Born in Dublin, she used the pseudonym "Frank Danby" for her fiction, and her first novel, *Dr Phillips, a Maida Vale Idyl* (1887), was a story of London Jewish life. Julia Frankau was an uneven craftsman, with an exuberant style. This is best shown in *Pigs in Clover* (1903), which deals with South Africans, *Uitlanders*, and Jews, all portrayed in lurid detail. In later life she held afternoon literary salons attended by many luminaries, including Max Beerbohm and Somerset Maugham. Her son GILBERT (1884–1952) maintained no connection with Judaism. He introduced Jews into his novels, treating them mostly in theatrical style. *The Love Story of Aliette Brunton* (1922) is a plea for the liberalization of English divorce law. Gilbert Frankau wrote two topical novelettes in verse, *One of Them* (1918) and *One of Us* (1919). He believed that the best antidote to the common antisemitic depiction of the Jews was Jewish patriotism, and was himself a strong right-winger. Frankau was one of the most popular British novelists of the interwar period. He wrote an autobiographical novel, *Self-Portrait* (1940). His daughter PAMELA (1908–1967), who became a Catholic in 1942, was also a well-known novelist and magazine writer.

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[William D. Rubinstein (2nd ed.)]

FRANKEL, BENJAMIN (1906–1973), British composer. Born in London, the son of a synagogue beadle too poor to give him a musical education, Frankel left school to work as a watchmaker's apprentice. Although largely self-educated, he managed to gain six months of piano study with Victor Benham in Berlin and Cologne as part of the exchange program after World War I. At the age of 17, he returned to London to earn his living as a piano teacher, café pianist, and jazz violinist, studying during the day at the Guildhall School of Music and eventually winning a composition scholarship there; in 1946 he returned to the Guildhall School as a composition teacher. He was a theater conductor (in, for example, Noel Coward revues) and orchestrator until 1931, when he completed his first film score; thereafter he was to write more than 100 scores for documentaries and stories such as *The Man in the White Suit, The Importance of Being Earnest*, and *The Battle of the Bulge*. As if in reaction, his "serious" works were written in a very different style from his commercial music, often being uncompromising in idiom. He wrote a violin concerto (1951) for Max Rostal in memory of "the Six Million," eight symphonies (all in the last 14 years of his life), and four string quartets. In the *String Trio No. 2* (1958) he seemed to have found a convincing solution to the problems of serialism that had interested him; thereafter most of his works showed the use of the 12-note technique. Frankel's other works include sonatas for unaccompanied violin and cello; *Sonata ebraica*, for cello and harp; *Élégie juive*, for cello and piano; *The Aftermath*, for tenor, trumpet, and strings; *Passacaglia*, for two pianos; and many other piano pieces. He was at work on the opera *Marching Song* (commissioned by the Stuyvesant Foundation) at the time of his death.

[Max Loppert (2nd ed.)]

FRANKEL, HEINRICH WALTER (1879–1945), German metallurgist. Frankel worked at universities of Heidelberg, Goettingen, and Zurich before joining the Frankfurt Institute of Physical Chemistry (1913). In 1919 he became professor of metallurgy at University of Frankfurt. Nazi accession to power forced him to migrate in the early 1930s to the U.S, where he became a researcher for American Smelting and Refining Company, Barber, New Jersey. He was the author of *Metallurgie: physikalisch-chemische Grundlagen* (1922).

FRANKEL, HIRAM D. (1882–1931), U.S. lawyer and community leader. Frankel, who was born in Mayfield, Ohio, served in appointive local and state government posts and was a member of the Minnesota Board of Regents. Frankel was also involved in journalistic and theatrical enterprises. He served as president of Mount Zion Hebrew Congregation in St. Paul, Minnesota, and of the Jewish Home for the Aged of the Northwest. He was a district president of B'nai B'rith, later director of the Canadian district, distinguishing himself in helping to break down barriers within the organization with Jews of East European origin. Frankel's large and meticulously preserved personal correspondence covering Jewish life in Minnesota and throughout the U.S. in the World War I period is housed in the Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul.

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[W. Gunther Plaut]

FRANKEL, LEE KAUFER (1867–1931), social worker and insurance executive. Kaufer was born in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, and during the 1890s taught chemistry at the University of Pennsylvania and also worked as a consulting chemist. Frankel's friendship with Rabbi Henry *Berkowitz helped arouse his interest in Jewish community affairs and social work. Frankel went to New York City in 1899 as manager of the United Hebrew Charities. A brilliant administrator, he helped introduce professional social work standards into Jewish philanthropy. He stressed the importance of adequate relief geared to rehabilitation, the development of a pension program for such dependents as widowed mothers, and a program of assisted migration to reduce the concentration of the Jewish population in New York City. He became interested in the potential contribution of social insurance to the prevention and relief of poverty. The Russell Sage Foundation appointed him a special investigator in 1908; this led in 1910 to the publication of *Workmen's Insurance in Europe* which he wrote in cooperation with Miles M. Dawson and Louis I. Dublin. In 1909 Frankel became manager of the industrial department of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company; he eventually advanced to the position of second vice president. At Metropolitan, Frankel pioneered the development of social and health programs under private insurance auspices. These included the distribution of many pamphlets on communicable diseases and personal hygiene, the organization of public health nursing services, and community health demonstrations. Throughout his career Frankel retained an interest in Jewish affairs. He served on the board of the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee, and in 1927 was chairman of the commission that surveyed Palestine for the Jewish Agency. Frankel published many articles on health and welfare issues and was the coauthor of several books, including *The Human Factor in Industry* (1920), *A Popular Encyclopedia of Health* (1926), and *Health of the Worker, How to Safeguard It* (1924).

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[Roy Lubove]

FRANKEL, LEO (1844–1896), Hungarian socialist. Born in Ó-Buda (now part of Budapest), Frankel was a goldsmith by trade. After living for a short time in Austria and Germany, he settled in Paris in 1867, where he became an active socialist. He was imprisoned by the French Imperial government for his political activities but was released on the outbreak of revolution in 1870 and helped to organize the uprising in the Paris Commune. In March 1871 Frankel was made minister of labor of the Commune, and on its overthrow two months later fled to London, where he became a member of the council of the Socialist International. In 1875 Frankel left for Austria, where he participated in the workers' conference at Wiener-Neustadt. He was arrested by the Austrian authorities and extradited to Hungary. He was imprisoned from 1876 to 1878, when he went back to Paris as Engels' assistant in the Socialist International. In 1889 he represented the Hungarian Social Democrats at the inaugural conference of the Second Socialist International.

Frankel was in constant correspondence with Karl Marx, whom he much admired, but also became interested in Zionism as a result of meeting Theodor Herzl. After his death in Paris, French workers organized a campaign to raise funds for a memorial in his name. In 1951 his portrait was used on a Hungarian stamp and in 1968 his remains were transferred to Budapest for reburial in the Workers' Pantheon.

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[Yehouda Marton]

FRANKEL, MARVIN EARL (1920–2002), U.S. jurist. Frankel was born in New York City. After service in World War II, he studied law at Columbia, graduating in 1949. He served as an assistant to the solicitor general of the United States (1949–56) and then joined the New York firm of Proskauer, Rose, Goetz, & Mendelsohn, remaining until 1962 when he joined the faculty of the Columbia Law School.

In 1965 President Lyndon B. Johnson nominated Frankel to serve on the U.S. District Court for the Southern District of New York. Frankel quickly developed a reputation for great skill in handling complex federal civil litigation. He also became a leader in analysis of the administration of criminal justice. In 1974 he published *Criminal Sentences: Law without Order*, a landmark study of disparities in criminal sentencing. In 1977 he published *Grand Jury: An Institution on Trial*, a critical analysis of the history of the grand jury and abuse of the system for political ends.

He resigned from the court in 1978 and returned to the Proskauer, Rose firm for five years. In 1983 he joined the firm of Kramer, Levin, Naftalis, & Frankel, where he was the litigation director until his death in 2002. He became a champion of international humanitarian law, serving as chairman of the board of the Lawyers Committee for Human Rights. He criticized the repression of Soviet Jews, the mistreatment of political prisoners by the State of Israel, apartheid in South

Africa, and kidnappings and murders by military regimes in Argentina and Zaire.

In the last decade of his life Frankel wrote and litigated about religious liberty in the United States, but this phase of his work was not as distinguished as his advocacy for human rights. In 1994 he published an extended essay on religious freedom, arguing persuasively that officially established or preferred religion is never neutral and always entails preferences for one religious belief over another. Just before he died in 2002, Frankel argued his last case in the Supreme Court, urging the Court to invalidate a program of educational vouchers that included religious schools in Cleveland. The Court sustained this program by a vote of 5–4.

[Edward McGlynn Gaffney, Jr. (2nd ed.)]

FRANKEL, MAX (1930–), U.S. journalist; one of the most influential journalists of the 20th century as editorial page editor and executive editor of *The New York Times*. Frankel was born in Gera, Germany, but he and his family were forced to leave Nazi Germany in 1938. They crossed into the Soviet Union, where Jacob Frankel, his father, was arrested on suspicion of being a German spy and was given the choice of Soviet citizenship or a sentence of hard labor in Siberia. Because the family's intention was to reach the United States, Jacob refused citizenship and was sent to Siberia. Mary Frankel and her son Max arrived in the United States in 1940 and settled in New York City, where Jacob joined them after the war. Max had decided on a journalism career by the time he entered Columbia College, where he became editor of *The Spectator,* the student newspaper, and campus correspondent for *The Times*. He graduated from Columbia as a member of Phi Beta Kappa, the honorary society, in 1952 and earned a master's degree in American government from Columbia the following year.

Although he was hired as a full-time reporter for *The New York Times* in 1952, he served in the United States Army from 1953 to 1955. Upon his return, he worked as a reporter and rewrite man. In 1956 he attracted notice with his quick and impressive article, capturing the desperation and drama of the sinking of the Italian ocean liner *Andrea Dorea* off Nantucket Lightship after a collision with the Swedish ship *Stockholm*. Later that year he was sent overseas to cover stories arising from the Polish and Hungarian uprisings against Communism. From 1957 to 1960 he was a correspondent based in Moscow, where he wrote memorably about the international piano competition won by Van Cliburn, an American. He also wrote a series of colorful articles on Siberia that were described in the Soviet government newspaper *Izvestia* as coming "quite close to objectivity." After returning to the Western Hemisphere, he covered the United Nations and the Caribbean area, including Cuba, for a year before moving to Washington in 1961 as diplomatic correspondent. He won the Overseas Press Club award for foreign reporting in 1965 and the following year became White House correspondent. From 1968 to 1973 Frankel was chief Washington correspondent and then bureau chief.

As chief of the Washington bureau, Frankel paid more attention to bureau management than his immediate predecessors, in addition to writing analyses of Washington and foreign affairs. He won the George Polk Memorial Award for "best daily newspaper interpretation" of foreign affairs in 1970, and in 1972 he accompanied President Richard M. *Nixon on his historic trip to China. He filed 24 stories and won the Pulitzer Prize in 1973 for international reporting.

In Washington, Frankel was close to many high government officials, including Secretary of State Henry A. *Kissinger, but he resisted Kissinger's attempt to persuade him to suppress coverage of the American bombing of North Vietnam. In 1972, when some of his superiors and their lawyers at *The Times* balked at publication of the Pentagon Papers, the purloined Defense Department documents of the secret history of United States involvement in Vietnam, Frankel wrote a memorandum that helped change their minds. In the *Times*'s successful defense of its publication of the papers before the United States Supreme Court, Frankel's memo was an important affidavit. But in contrast to its aggressive publication of the Pentagon Papers, the Washington bureau, under Frankel, lagged behind the *Washington Post* in its coverage of the Nixon administration's involvement in the Watergate scandal.

He moved to New York in 1976 to serve as Sunday editor when the newspaper's daily and Sunday staffs were merged. The Sunday edition then had a circulation of 1.4 million copies and accounted for half of the paper's annual advertising linage. As Sunday editor, he had control over the Book Review, the magazine, the Arts and Leisure and Travel sections. Frankel is credited with restyling and enlivening the Sunday edition.

He did similar restructuring when he became editorial page editor in 1977. He had a lighter and more pragmatic touch than his predecessor, John B. *Oakes, and was less doctrinaire. As editor, Frankel supervised 10 to 12 editorial writers and worked closely with the publisher, Arthur Ochs *Sulzberger, and then his son, Arthur Jr. In 1986, when A.M. *Rosenthal, nearing the mandatory retirement age of 65, stepped down as executive editor of *The Times*, the highest-ranking news position, Frankel succeeded him. Under Frankel's leadership, the *Times* retained its position in the top ranks of journalism, winning Pulitzer Prizes in each of his years at the helm. In 1994, when he was approaching 65, Frankel turned the reigns over the Joseph *Lelyveld, and became a columnist for the *Times* Sunday magazine, writing on communications and the media. After he relinquished the column, Frankel wrote several books, including a memoir, *The Times of My Life and My Life With The Times* in 1999, which was a bestseller, and *High Noon in the Cold War: Kennedy, Khrushchev and the Cuban Missile Crisis* in 2004.

[Stewart Kampel (2nd ed.)]

FRANKEL, NAOMI (1920–), Israeli novelist. Born in Berlin into a wealthy, assimilated German-Jewish family, she joined Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir at an early age and went to Palestine in 1933. She studied Jewish history and Kabbalah, served in the

Palmaḥ during Israel's War of Independence, and later became a member of kibbutz Bet Alfa. Her panoramic trilogy, *Sha'ul ve-Yohannah* ("Saul and Joanna," 1956–67), describes the fate of German Jewry up to Nazi times, as reflected in the life of three generations of an assimilated Jewish family, whose granddaughter finds her way to a Zionist youth movement, and revolts against family tradition. Along with books for children, Frankel is the author of the novels *Dodi ve-Re'i* (1976), *Ẓemaḥ Bar* ("Wild Flower," 1981), and *Barkai* (1998). In 2004 she published *Predah,* a novel about Jerusalem in the 1950s, focusing on the relationship between Malkiel, a survivor of the pogrom in Hebron, and Yoske, his commander in the Palmaḥ. An ardent supporter of a Greater Israel, she moved to *Kiryat Arba in 1982 and later to Hebron.

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[Getzel Kressel]

FRANKEL, SALLY HERBERT (1903–1996), South African economist. He was born and educated in Johannesburg, where he was professor of economics at Witwatersrand University from 1931 to 1946. He did research in maize marketing and government railway policy in South Africa, compiled calculations of the national income for the South African treasury (1941–48), and was a member of the Treasury Advisory Council (1941–45). Frankel investigated the railway system (1942) and mining industry (1945) for the Rhodesian government. In 1946 he was appointed professor of the economics of underdeveloped countries at Oxford. From 1953 to 1955 he was a member of the East African Royal Commission, and from 1957 to 1958 adviser to South Rhodesia's Urban African Affairs Commission. Frankel's publications include *Africa in the Re-Making* (1932), *Capital Investment in Africa* (1938), *Concept of Colonization* (1949), *Economic Impact on Underdeveloped Societies* (1953), *Some Conceptual Aspects of International Economic Development of Underdeveloped Territories* (1952), and *Investment and the Return to Equity Capital in the South African Gold Mining Industry, 1887–1965* (1967).

FRANKEL, SAMUEL BENJAMIN (1905–1996), U.S. naval officer. Born in Cincinnati, Ohio, Frankel graduated from the U.S. Naval Academy in 1929. He served on various U.S. warships in Nicaragua and in the Asiatic fleet between 1929 and 1936 before being sent to Riga, Latvia, to study Russian. During World War II he was assistant naval attaché at the United States embassy in Moscow and later assistant naval attaché for air in Murmansk-Archangel until 1944. He was sent to Pearl Harbor in 1945 to serve on the staff of the commander-in-chief of the United States Pacific Fleet and as officer in charge of the Joint Intelligence Center, Pacific Ocean Areas. In 1946 he served in the Office of the Chief of Naval Operations (Intelligence Division), assigned to the Central Intelligence Agency in Washington until 1948. He then served as naval attaché in Nanking, China. He remained in his post for a year after the Communist revolution before returning to the United States in 1950 to become director of the naval intelligence school. From 1953 to 1956 he was assistant head of naval intelligence in the Pacific fleet and was later a senior intelligence officer in the Navy Department in Washington, and promoted to rear admiral. In May 1960 Frankel became deputy director of naval intelligence and in the following year was appointed chief of staff of the Defense Intelligence Agency, a post he retained until his retirement in 1964.

Frankel was awarded the Distinguished Service Medal for his "exceptionally meritorious service" as assistant naval attaché in the U.S.S.R., in 1941–42; directing the repair and salvaging of damaged U.S. vessels; and helping in the rescue and repatriation of survivors of sunken ships. For several years Frankel served on the board of the Tolstoy Foundation, a New York-based organization dedicated to assisting displaced persons of Russian origin. In 1972 he retired to California, where he lectured on China and Russia at San Diego State University's Continuing Education Center of Rancho Bernardo.

[Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

FRANKEL, WILLIAM (1917–), editor of the weekly **Jewish Chronicle*, published in London. Born in London, Frankel began his professional life as secretary of the British Mizrachi Federation. He was subsequently called to the Bar as a Member of the Middle Temple and practiced in London and on the South Eastern Circuit. In 1955 he was appointed the general manager of the *Jewish Chronicle* and two years later became its editor, a post he held until 1977. After his retirement, he remained a member of the Board of Directors of the *Jewish Chronicle* and became chairman in 1991. In 1971 he was appointed by the queen a commander of the Order of the British Empire. He wrote *Israel Observed* (1980) and was the editor of the annual *Survey of Jewish Affairs* from 1982 through 1992. Frankel also edited *Friday Nights* (1973), an anthology of important news as reported in the *Jewish Chronicle* from 1841 until 1971.

FRANKEL, YA'AKOV (1943–), Israeli economist. Frankel was born in Tel Aviv. In 1966 he received his B.A. degree in economics and political science from the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. He then received his M.A. in 1969 and Ph.D. in 1970 from the University of Chicago, both in economics. In 1971 he joined Tel Aviv University as a lecturer and in 1991 he became full professor. From 1994 he held the Wisefield Cathedra for Peace Economy and International Relations. From 1987 to 1991 he was chief economist and research director of the International Exchange Fund. He dealt with the debt problem of the developing countries and assisted states making the transition from a centralized to a market economy. In 1988 he joined the G-30 and from 2000 served as their chairman. In 1991 he was named governor of the Bank of Israel, a position he held until 2000. As governor he steered Israel into the global economy, liberalizing local money markets. He helped Israel stop inflation and achieve price stability, again making the country an attractive venue for investors. In 1991 he also joined the council of the G-7 and in 1992 he became a member of Ben-Gurion University's board. During 1995–96 he was the chairman of the board of governors of the American Bank for Rehabilitation and Development, while in 1999 he became deputy chairman of the board of governors of the European Bank for Rehabilitation and Development. From 2000 he was president of Merril Lynch and served as a member in the boards of Bar-Ilan and the Hebrew University. Frankel published over 300 articles and 18 books, including *The Monetary Approach to the Balance of Payments* (ed. with H.G. Johnson, 1976); *Exchange Rates and International Macroeconomics* (ed., 1983); *Fiscal Policies and the World Economy* (with A. Razin, 1987); *International Aspects of Fiscal Policies* (ed., 1988); and *The International Monetary System: Key Analytical Issues* (ed. with M. Goldstein, 1996). In 2003 he received the Israel Prize for his contribution in the field of economics.

WEBSITE: http://www.education.gov.il/pras-israel.

[Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

FRANKEL, ZACHARIAS (1801–1875), rabbi and scholar. Frankel was born in Prague. After receiving a talmudic education under Bezalel *Ronsburg, he studied philosophy, natural sciences, and philology in Budapest (1825–30). In 1831 the Austrian government appointed him district rabbi (*Keiserrabbiner*) of Leitmeritz (Litomerice) and he settled in Teppliz (Teplice) where he was elected local rabbi. He was one of the first rabbis to preach in German and express by that his positive attitude towards modernity and social integration of Jews within general society and culture. In 1836 he was called by the Saxon government to *Dresden to act as chief rabbi. The publication of his study on the Jewish *oath (see below) led to its abolition in several German states. He declined a call to Berlin in 1843, mainly because the Prussian government would not meet his stipulations (complete legal recognition of the Jewish faith – until then merely "tolerated"; denial to support to missionary activities among Jews, etc.). In 1845 he attended the second conference of Liberal rabbis in Frankfurt and advocated there a much more moderate-conservative approach than most of the participants to the issue of required reform in Judaism. He withdrew from the conference and broke his ties with Liberal rabbis once his direction was rejected and the conference adopted the idea of promoting both prayers and sermons in German rather than in Hebrew. In 1854, after having actively advocated its establishment, Frankel became director of the newly founded Juedisch-Theologisches Seminar (Jewish Theological Seminary) at Breslau, where he remained until his death.

Religious Outlook

As a theologian Frankel aimed at a synthesis between the traditional notion of Judaism as linear continuity anchored in divine revelation and based on Jewish law (*halakhah*) on the one hand and response to contemporary fundamental changes in the Jewish life on the other hand. He viewed Judaism as a dynamic balance between the Divine will, as expressed in the Torah, and the human response of the Jewish people, as manifested in the history of the Jewish people. This balance was articulated in the title he gave to the new denomination he established within Jewish life, namely "positive-historical" Judaism. The positive pole of this formulation referred both to the revealed-legalistic nature of Judaism and to its objective eternal and unchangeable content. The historic pole expressed the role Frankel ascribed to the human, ever-changing, and contextually dependent response of the Jewish community to this Divine content. Only the combination of these two poles determines what Judaism is and what is truly a *mitzvah*. The duty of the rabbis, as he understood it, was to combine loyalty to *halakhah* with sensitivity to the voice of *kelal yisrael* (the entire community or people of Israel). Frankel's approach thus led him to a rejection of both Reform and Orthodox notions of Judaism. In the Reform movement, led by Abraham *Geiger he saw both a negation of loyalty to Jewish law and the lack of genuine dialogue with the Jewish masses. The Reform rabbis mistakenly believed that they had the authority to determine Jewish dogma by themselves without taking popular sentiment and their way of life seriously into consideration. The Orthodox rabbis, led by S.R. *Hirsch, were criticized by him for not taking in account the historic dynamics and evolution of Judaism, and the need to free Judaism from its frozen state and irrelevance to current Jewish life. Both Reform and Orthodox ignored the very life of the *Volk*, the real source of authority for the work of the rabbi. It should be noted, that though Frankel wished to place himself at the "center," his critique of the Reform wing was much sharper and aggressive than that of Orthodoxy. The former were accused of transgressing Judaism altogether; the latter only of not properly relating to the current needs and concerns of the Jews. This imbalance represents the fact that it was Orthodoxy that designed for him the criteria for Jewish life, while his Reform counterparts were perceived as representing a much less urgent and acute challenge. Frankel promoted these ideas in his professional life in the way he designed the program of the Breslau seminary as well as in the kind of tendencies he developed within academic Jewish research (Wissenschaft des Jusentums). The Breslau seminary was the first modern institute for rabbinical education, combining clear emphasis on rabbinical studies – mainly in a traditional manner – with the study of the wider range of Jewish studies in connection with the local university. The unique nature of the Breslau seminary was questioned by Samson Raphael *Hirsch, who challenged Frankel, upon the seminary's opening, to state the religious principles that would guide instruction there. At the same time, Abraham Geiger criticized the seminary's classic method of talmudic instruction.

As a scholar Frankel focused on the study of rabbinic literature, presenting it as a human activity, reflecting its historical context, and hence a dynamic and open process of hermeneutics and adaptation of the Torah. By that he presented the rabbinic discourse and authority as the center of Jewish history and essence, in contrary to the Reform theologians and scholars who emphasized the Bible and theological discourse. At the same time Frankel presented the rabbis as the creators of Jewish legal tradition, in contrary to the traditional and Orthodox understanding of them as the carriers of the Divine oral law, revealed at Sinai. The "positive-historical" ("Breslau") school influenced later the *Conservative movement in the United States and served as its theoretical basis. In the controversy over the Hamburg prayer book (1841) and in his subsequent reply to the circular of the Hamburg preacher, Gotthold *Salomon (*Litteratur des Orients*, 3 (1842), nos. 23–24), he declared that only changes that were not in conflict with the spirit of historical Judaism should be permitted in the traditional ritual. He believed that the messianic belief, which expressed the "pious wish for the independence of the Jewish people" was of importance for the survival and development of Judaism, and that it brought a new spirit and vigor into the life of German Jews, even though "they already had fatherland which they would not leave." This statement and others express Frankel's deep devotion to Jewish peoplehood and national existence, a devotion not shared by Hirsch's neo-Orthodoxy or by contemporary Reform, but which was, in some ways, a precursor of later national Jewish thought. Frankel's monthly review, *Zeitschrift fuer die religioesen Interessen des Judentums* (1844–46), was a platform for his opinions. Frankel's view aroused opposition in both Reform and Orthodox quarters.

Works

Frankel's first work, on the Jewish oath, *Die Eidesleistung bei den Juden* (1840), arose out of a practical political need and was at the same time a pioneering attempt at scientific analysis of halakhic problems using the method of comparative jurisprudence. He further examined the question in *Der gerichtette Beweis nach talmdischem Rechte* (1846), a study of legal evidence according to talmudic law, and again in a series of articles in various periodicals: MGWJ, 2 (1853), 289–304, 329–47; 9 (1860), 321–31, 365–80, 406–16, 445–54; 16 (1857), 24–26, 70–72; and *Jahresbericht des Juedisch-Theologischen Seminars* (1860). Several of his works deal with the history of the oral tradition: in his first studies on the Septuagint, *Vorstudien zu der Septuaginta* (1841), he tried to show that traces of the Palestinian *halakhah* could be found in the Greek translation of the Bible; on this he based a further work on the influence of Palestinian exegesis on Alexandrian hermeneutics, *Ueber den Einfluss der palestinischen Exegese auf die Alexandrische Hermeutik* (1851). He published his research into the methodology of the Mishnah and the Talmud in *Darkhei ha-Mishnah* (1859; with supplement and index, 1867; new ed. 1923), which exercised a decisive influence on further research on the Mishnah. On the publication of that book Hirsch attacked him in his periodical *Jeschurun* in a series of critical essays in which he demanded that Frankel give a precise exposition of his views on rabbinical tradition and the revelation at Mount Sinai, an attack that was supported by a long line of other Orthodox rabbis. Confining himself to a brief statement in his journal, *Monatschrift fuer Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums* (vol. 10 (1861), 159–60), Frankel stressed that it was not his purpose to dispute the worth of rabbinical tradition or to deny its antiquity, adding that the question as to which of its halakhic elements were to be considered of Mosaic origin was not yet resolved. Further scholarly works of Frankel are his *Mevo ha-Yerushalmi* (1870), an introduction to the Jerusalem Talmud. He also wrote *Ahavat Ziyyon*, a commentary to several tractates of the Jerusalem Talmud (*Berakhot*, *Pe'ah* 1847; *Demai* 1875), and *Entwurf einer Geschichte des Literatur der nachtalmudschen Responsen* (1865), the outline for a history of post-talmudic responsa literature. In 1851 he founded the scholarly journal *Monatschrift fuer Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums*, editing it for 17 years and publishing numerous articles on Jewish cultural history. In the Breslau seminary, Frankel set the standards for modern rabbinical training, and his curriculum of study and the qualifications he established for both students and lecturers were adopted by all similar institutions.

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[Joseph Elijah Heller / Yehoyada Amir (2nd ed.)]

FRANKEN, ROSE DOROTHY LEWIN (1895–1988), U.S. playwright, director, fiction writer, and screenwriter. Franken was born in Gainesville, Texas, but grew up in New York City. The 450 performances of her play, *Another Language,* set a record for a first play. Burns Mantle, editor of the authoritative *Best Plays* yearbook, selected *Another Language* as one of the ten best of the 1931–32 season. Three more of Franken's plays subsequently won that distinction: *Claudia* (1940–41), *Outrageous Fortune* (1943–44), and *Soldier's Wife* (1944–45).

Franken was best known for the *Claudia* stories. Launched in 1939 as a series in *Redbook Magazine,* Claudia became the subject of seven novels, a radio series, two films, and a play. Directed by the author, it had a run of 722 performances in 1941–43. Claudia is a naïve young woman who only after marriage begins to recognize her ability to cope with adult responsibilities and adversities. *Claudia*'s subtitle, "The Story of a Marriage," points to Franken's predominant concerns. Her work captures the rapidly shifting mores of American society in the World War II years, seen through the eyes of women looking anew at their capabilities and desire for independence.

Another Language is the story of a rebellious woman in a family dominated by an authoritarian mother who keeps her sons and all but one of her obedient daughters-in-law on a short leash. Although the ethnicity of the Hallam family is unspecified, their ethnocentricity, gender roles, male professions, women's pastimes, and the materfamilias' attitudes about eating strongly suggest that they are middle-class Jews. Franken is more specific in *Outrageous Fortune*. This work, daring for its time, protests antisemitism and homophobia and deals forthrightly with the discontent spawned within middle-class Jewish clannishness. In the aptly titled *Soldier's Wife,* the eponym quite unintentionally becomes a successful writer during her husband's absence. Upon his return from military service, she chooses to give up her new career in deference to the domestic lifestyle of a conventional marriage, while acknowledging that "there's going to be a lot of money and success and independence in women that there's never been before."

Franken's work reflects her personal struggle with traditional gender roles and her ambivalence about balancing domestic and career commitments. Although her heroine in *Doctors Disagree* (1943) overcomes both her male colleagues' anti-feminism and other women's anti-professionalism, Franken confided in her autobiography a preference for "a traditional physician of the masculine sex." She often denied harboring any interests more urgent or fulfilling than home, husband, and her three sons, and claimed she wrote only for something to do while the children napped and a cake baked. She relinquished an opportunity for a Barnard College education in 1913 to marry Dr. Sigmund Franken, a dentist, who actively encouraged her writing. After his death in 1932, she pursued her writing career in Hollywood. In 1947, she married William Brown Meloney, a writer who produced her plays and collaborated with her on several serialized stories in popular magazines.

Not all of Franken's nine plays were produced. In addition to her eight novels and film scripts for Twentieth Century Fox and Samuel Goldwyn, she wrote her autobiography, *When All Is Said and Done* (1963).

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[Ellen Schiff (2nd ed.)]

FRANKENBURGER, WOLF (1827–1889), lawyer and politician in Germany. Born at Obbach in Bavaria and educated in Wuerzburg, where he took an active part in the 1848 agitation. He settled in Nuremberg in 1861 to practice law. Frankenburger was first elected to the Bavarian diet in 1869 and remained a member until the end of his life. From 1874 to 1878 he was also the representative for Nuremberg in the German Reichstag. The first motion he proposed in the assembly was for freedom of the press and freedom of sale of literature. Frankenburger managed to obtain the abolition of the Jewish taxes then still in force in Bavaria and also obtained a salary increase for the poorly endowed rabbinical posts. Frankenburger was an eloquent advocate of the union of Bavaria with the German Empire and received from the Bavarian king the Class 1 Michaelisorden for his activities.

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[B. Mordechai Ansbacher / Bjoern Siegel (2nd ed.)]

FRANKENHEIMER, JOHN MICHAEL (1930–2002), U.S. director. Born in New York City of Catholic-Jewish parentage, Frankenheimer graduated from La Salle Military Academy (1947). He wanted to be an actor, but when he was accepted into the Motion Picture Squadron of the Air Force, he discovered that his real skill lay behind the camera. He was a director for CBS television (1953–60), producing, among other programs, *The Turn of the Screw* and *Days of Wine and Roses*. He directed a total of 152 live television shows between 1954 and 1960, including such series as *Climax!* and *Playhouse 90*. Frankenheimer, who thoroughly enjoyed directing live television, was one of the first TV directors to use multiple camera angles, a moving camera, quick editing, and close-ups.

Ultimately, however, he became a successful director of feature films on the big screen. Through his movies, he used the opportunity to express his views on significant social and philosophical issues. Frankenheimer's films include *The Young Stranger* (1957); *The Young Savages* (1961); *All Fall Down* (1962); *Birdman of Alcatraz* (1962); *The Manchurian Candidate* (1962); *The Train* (1964); *Seven Days in May* (1964); *Grand Prix* (1966); *The Fixer* (1968); *The Gypsy Moths* (1969); *The Horsemen* (1971); *The Iceman Cometh* (1973); *The French Connection II* (1975); *Black Sunday* (1977); *Year of the Gun* (1991); *The Island of Dr. Moreau* (1996); *Ronin* (1998); *Reindeer Games* (2000); and *The Hire: Ambush* (2001). At the same time he produced and directed such TV fare as *The Rainmaker* (1982); *The Burning Season* (1994); *Andersonville* (1996); *George Wallace* (1997); and *Paths to War* (2002). During his career, he won four Emmy awards and was nominated for nine others.

In 2002 he was inducted into the Television Hall of Fame.

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[Jonathan Licht / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

FRANKENSTEIN, CARL (1905–1990), Israeli psychologist and educator. Born in Berlin, he founded the Aid Society for Jewish Scientists, Artists, and Writers in Germany in 1928. Settling in Palestine in 1935, Frankenstein worked as probation officer of the Mandatory government until 1946. From 1948 to 1953 he was director of the Henrietta Szold Institute for Child Welfare, where he also founded and edited the education quarterly, *Megammot*. In 1951 Frankenstein began to teach at the Hebrew University first as a lecturer and later as professor of special education. He served on many government, municipal, and other public committees dealing with problems of welfare and education. In 1968 he was awarded the Israel Prize for education. He wrote books and essays in Hebrew, English, and German on depth psychology, juvenile delinquency, poverty, and impaired intelligence, including *Azuvat ha-No'ar* ("Neglected Youth," 1947), *Psychopathy* (1959), *Persoenlichkeitswandel durch Fuersorge, Erziehung und Therapie* (1964), *The Roots of the Ego* (1966), *Psychodynamics of Externalization* (1968), *Varieties of Juvenile Delinquency* (1970), *They Think Again: Restoring Cognitive Abilities through Teaching* (1981), and *Between Philosophy and Psychotherapy* (1987).

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[Zvi Lamm]

FRANKENTHAL, KÄTE (1889–1976), German physician and socialist politician. Born in Kiel, Frankenthal attended university against her parents' wishes. After passing her Abitur examination at the age of 20, she matriculated at the University of Kiel, and then studied in Heidelberg, Erlangen, Munich, and Vienna, before completing her doctorate in medicine in Freiburg in 1914. After the war broke out, she accepted a residency at a large Berlin hospital, but soon decided to take a position as a rural doctor, replacing a man who had been drafted into the army. Frankenthal applied for a job as a military physician; since the German army accepted women only as nurses, she volunteered for the Austrian army instead and served in the Carpathian Mountains and then on the Balkan front, where she was the only woman in the barracks. Towards the end of the war, Frankenthal returned to Berlin, where she worked at the Charité Hospital as an unpaid research assistant at the Institute for Cancer Research and as a resident directing a women's ward and treating tuberculosis patients in a clinic. In 1924, when women physicians were dismissed from their positions at the Charité to make room for war veterans, Frankenthal continued to do research in the Pathological Institute and to work in the University Women's Clinic as well as run a private practice.

An active member of the Social Democratic Party, Frankenthal ran a first aid station helping the injured in the 1919 civil war, working with other medics under a Red Cross flag. She campaigned for sex reform legislation in Germany, advocating rescinding the laws against abortion and homosexuality and promoting the establishment of marital counseling bureaus to provide sex education and birth control advice. In 1928, she gave up her busy medical practice to become the municipal physician for the working-class district of Berlin-Neukoelln. Frankenthal played a prominent role in both the Federation of Women Physicians and the Association of Socialist Physicians in Germany. She served as a Social Democratic municipal deputy representing the Tiergarten district in the Berlin City Council from 1925 to 1931 and was elected to the Prussian Landtag in 1930. In 1931, she left the German Social Democratic Party and joined the more leftist Socialist Workers Party, briefly serving on its executive board. Dismissed from her job in March 1933, Frankenthal escaped arrest for her political activities by fleeing to Prague, and later to Switzerland and Paris, before immigrating to the United States in 1936. After requalifying as a physician and training as a psychoanalyst, she eventually set up a private psychoanalytic practice in New York, specializing in marriage counseling and family therapy. In 1974, the City of Berlin honored Käte Frankenthal on the occasion of her 85th birthday. Her autobiography, *Der dreifache Fluch: Juedin, Intellektuelle, Sozialistin*, was published in 1981.

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[Harriet Pass Freidenreich (2nd ed.)]

FRANKENTHALER, GEORGE (1886–1968), U.S. lawyer and arbitrator, Frankenthaler practiced law with his brother ALFRED (1881–1940) and in 1944 served for one year as justice in the New York Supreme Court. From 1948 to 1956 he was surrogate of New York County, the first Jew to hold this office and the first and last Republican ever elected to that position. He achieved distinction as an arbitrator in a strike of New York elevator operators and became a permanent arbitrator for that industry.

FRANKENTHALER, HELEN (1928–), U.S. painter and printmaker. Known as one of the most important artists of the second generation of Abstract Expressionists, New York-born Helen Frankenthaler earned a B.A. from Bennington College (1946–49), after which she returned to New York City. For three weeks in the summer of 1950, she studied with the avant-garde painter and teacher Hans Hoffman in Provincetown, Massachusetts. She first won public recognition after the influential art critic Clement *Greenberg selected her for a New Talent Show at the Kootz Gallery in December 1950. She had a small solo exhibition at the Tibor de Nagy Gallery the following year.

Employing thinned-down oil paint on an unprimed canvas, *Mountains and Sea* (1952) found Frankenthaler's signature style when she was only 23 years old after several years of experimenting with Cubist- and Surrealist-inspired imagery. Influenced by Jackson Pollock, Frankenthaler eschewed the paintbrush and the easel, instead placing a canvas on the floor and pouring pigment from coffee cans on the canvas. Known as stain painting, this watercolor-like technique emphasized the flat canvas while suggesting moods that are often described as lyrical. The importance of *Mountain and Sea* transcends Frankenthaler's own development as the canvas is well known for influencing Morris *Louis and Kenneth Noland; after seeing the painting in 1953 both artists adopted a staining technique. Although her paintings are abstract, they often find inspiration from reality; she painted *Mountains and Sea*, for example, after seeing the cliffs of Nova Scotia on a trip with Greenberg.

Her first retrospective exhibition was held at the Jewish Museum in 1960. Among the paintings shown there was *Jacob's Ladder* (1957, Museum of Modern Art, New York), a 9½ by nearly 6-foot abstract canvas soaked with floating colors that won first prize at the First Biennale de Paris in 1959. Among other venues, retrospectives have been held at the Whitney Museum of American Art (1969) and New York's Museum of Modern Art (1989).

In addition to painting, Frankenthaler has illustrated books, welded steel sculpture and made prints. Indeed, printmaking plays a significant yet underrated role in Frankenthaler's oeuvre. As innovative a printmaker as a painter, Frankenthaler made lithographs, screenprints, etchings, and woodcuts. From her first published print in 1961, a lithograph appropriately titled *First Stone*, Frankenthaler integrated abstraction, mostly through fluid lines rather than the rigid marks typical of printmakers, with her vital use of color to create 235 prints between 1961 and 1995.

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[Samantha Baskind (2nd ed.)]

FRANKFORT, HENRI (1897–1954), excavator, teacher, and author in the field of Near Eastern archaeology. Frankfort, who was born in Amsterdam, was concerned with the archaeology, culture, and religion of the entire Middle East. His wide-ranging scholarship enabled him to comprehend the ancient Near Eastern cultures in their totality, with a special awareness of their common features as well as the peculiarities of each. After studying in England with the great archaeologist W.M. Flinders *Petrie, Frankfort returned to Holland and received his Ph.D. at Leiden. He seems to have flirted briefly with Zionism but was generally uninterested in Judaism. (His mother perished in the Holocaust.) Frankfort participated in excavations at el-Amarna, Abydos, and Armant in Egypt, and at Tell Asmar, Khafaje, and Khorsabad in Mesopotamia. From 1932 to 1938 he was also professor at the University of Amsterdam and from 1939 to 1949 he was professor at the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago. In the last phase of his career, Frankfort produced "cultural syntheses," namely, *The Intellectual Adventure of Ancient Man, An Essay on Speculative Thought in the Ancient Near East* (with others, 1946; abridged by the elimination of the chapter on the Hebrews, republished as *Before Philosophy*, 1951). Frankfort's wife, Henriette Groenwegen Frankfort, collaborated with him in this project.; *Kingship and the Gods, A Study of Ancient Near Eastern Religion as the Integration of Society and Nature* (1948, 1955^2); *The Birth of Civilisation in the Near East* (1951); and *The Art and Architecture of the Ancient Orient* (1954). During this phase he returned to Europe and became director of the Warburg Institute and professor of pre-classical antiquity at the University of London. Thus, Frankfort's development began with the treatment of excavated materials, progressed to classification and interpretation of Near Eastern archaeological remains (the *Cylinder Seals…*, 1939), and culminated in a cultural-historical-archaeological interpretation of these early civilizations.

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[Penuel P. Kahane / S. David Sperling (2nd ed.)]

FRANKFURTER, DAVID (1909–1982), student of medicine who shot a Nazi official in protest against the persecution of Jews under the Nazi regime. The son of a rabbi, Frankfurter was born in Daruvar, Croatia (Yugoslavia). While studying in Germany, he witnessed the Nazi advent to power and the initiation of anti-Jewish measures. He left Germany and continued his studies in Switzerland. On Feb. 4, 1936, he shot and killed Wilhelm Gustloff, the leader of the Swiss branch of the Nazi party. A local court sentenced him to 18 years imprisonment, of which he served nearly nine. He was pardoned after the Nazi defeat but was banished forever from Switzerland. He settled in Israel and published a book about his experience, *Nakam* ("Vengeance," 1948). In 1969 the banishment order was rescinded and Frankfurter visited Switzerland. In Israel he worked for the Ministry of Defense.

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[Yehuda Reshef]

FRANKFURTER, FELIX (1882–1965), U.S. jurist. Frankfurter, who was born in Vienna, was taken to the United States at the age of 12. His parents settled on the Lower East Side of New York, where his father, scion of a long line of rabbis, was a modest tradesman.

Early Years

Frankfurter graduated with distinction from the College of the City of New York in 1902; his real education, however, as he liked to recount, was derived from the books and newspapers that he devoured at the Public Library, Cooper Union, and the coffee shops of the city. Throughout his life he had a compulsive passion for reading, and he regularly scanned the newspapers of several continents. These he absorbed in no merely passive spirit; he came to have a wide acquaintance among journalists and publishers, and frequently he would pepper them with notes of compliment or rebuke. At Harvard Law School, from which he received his degree in 1906, Frankfurter developed his deep, indeed reverent, attachment to the values of the Anglo-American system of government under law, and as the leading student in his class found new horizons of achievement opened to him. On the recommendation of Dean Ames of Harvard Law School, he was invited by Henry L. Stimson, then United States Attorney in New York, to become an assistant in that office. Henceforth his professional life was divided between public service and teaching. The association with Stimson was one of the most significant experiences in Frankfurter's life, constituting living proof for him that the effective enforcement of the criminal law need not compromise the scrupulous standards of procedural decency that are encompassed in the guarantee of due process of law. When Stimson was appointed secretary of war in the administration of President Taft, Frankfurter became his personal assistant, with special responsibility for the legal affairs of overseas territories of the United States and the conservation of water resources. At this time his friendship began with Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes of the Supreme Court, which became a deep intellectual discipleship despite their disparity in background and temperament. Frankfurter admired not merely the style of Holmes – learning worn with grace – but his fastidiousness of mind and disinterestedness of judgment; and they shared an ardent love of country, instilled in the one by arduous service in the Civil War, in the other by the experience of seeing the vistas of opportunity opened to a gifted immigrant boy.

Professor and Public Servant

In 1914 Frankfurter accepted an appointment to a professorship at Harvard Law School, which he held until his appointment to the Supreme Court 25 years later. As a teacher and scholar he concentrated on the procedural aspects of law – the administration of criminal justice, the jurisdiction of the federal courts, the process of administrative tribunals, and the ill-starred use of the injunction in labor disputes. He earned a reputation as a radical reformer, but his concern was for the integrity of the law's processes, upon which a reasoned approach to the maintenance of a just society depended. Misunderstanding of his concern – its mistaken identification with the particular causes that motivated the victims of injustice – led some observers to conclude that Frankfurter was a radical who became a conservative on the bench. During World War I Frankfurter was called to Washington as legal officer of the President's Mediation Commission, charged with investigating and resolving serious labor disturbances. In that capacity he inquired into the vigilante action against strikers in the Arizona copper mines, finding that the companies' refusal to accept unionism was the root cause of the troubles, and he investigated the conviction of Tom Mooney on a bombing charge in California, finding that the trial had been vitiated by improper tactics of the prosecution. These were a forerunner of Frankfurter's involvement in the Sacco-Vanzetti murder case in Boston, the most bitter experience in his life, in which he fought unsuccessfully to have the verdict set aside on grounds of prejudicial conduct by the trial judge and prosecuting attorney, and thereby provoked against himself the burning hostility of the entrenched interests in the community. He was one of the founders of the American Civil Liberties Union, a legal adviser to the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and counsel to the National Consumers' League.

Zionist

Frankfurter became closely associated with Louis D. *Brandeis, who practiced law in Boston until his appointment to the Supreme Court in 1916. This association brought Frankfurter deeply into the Zionist movement, and in 1919 he went to Paris with the Zionist delegation to the peace conference. Through T.E. Lawrence he met Emir Feisal, head of the Arab delegation, and in consequence of their talks he received from Feisal the historic letter of 1st March, 1919, stating that the Arab delegation regarded the Zionist proposal as "moderate and proper," that they "will wish the Jews a most hearty welcome home," and that the "two movements complete one another" and "neither can be a real success without the other." In 1921 Frankfurter withdrew from formal participation in the Zionist movement, when the Brandeis-Mack-Szold group seceded over issues of organization and fiscal autonomy for American Zionism. Thereafter, nevertheless, he maintained his active interest in the upbuilding of the Jewish national home in Palestine, and in 1931, disturbed by the tendency of Britain to shirk its responsibility as the mandatory power, he published a notable and much-cited critical article in *Foreign Affairs* (9 (1931), 409–34), entitled "The Palestine Situation Restated." Despite the break with the formal Zionist organization, his relations with Weizmann remained cordial.

In Politics

In politics Frankfurter was more concerned with men and policies than with party labels. He served under Stimson in a Republican administration, was an admirer of Theodore Roosevelt, and in 1924 supported Robert M. La-Follette, the Progressive third-party candidate, for the presidency. In 1928 he campaigned for Alfred E. Smith, to whom he had been an informal adviser on problems of public-utility regulation when Smith was governor of New York. In 1932, quite predictably, he warmly supported Franklin D. Roosevelt. Roosevelt, as assistant secretary of the Navy, served with Frankfurter on an interdepartmental board concerned with wartime labor relations. When Roosevelt became governor of New York, he called on Frankfurter for counsel, and upon his election as president, Roosevelt asked Frankfurter to become solicitor general, intimating that if he held this post it would be easier to appoint him in due course to the Supreme Court. Frankfurter declined, however, on the ground that he could be more useful to the President's program without an official place in the administration. He continued to teach at Harvard while advising Roosevelt on certain appointments and lending a hand in speech writing and in the drafting of legislation, notably in relation to the regulation of securities and the stock exchange. When, in 1938, Justice Benjamin N. *Cardozo died, there was widespread sentiment that by virtue of intellect and philosophy – not for reasons of religion – Frankfurter was the rightful successor to this chair, which had been occupied before Cardozo by Justice Holmes. Disregarding the advice of some timorous Jewish friends who pointed to the fact that Justice Brandeis was still on the Court, Roosevelt made the nomination, which was confirmed on January 17, 1939.

Supreme Court Justice

Upon assuming judicial office, Frankfurter's roving commission in law and public affairs was ended, but the gravity of the world situation made it impossible for him to become a judicial recluse. He had recognized the menace of Hitler before most of his compatriots, and when war came, his insight, experience, and judgment were drawn upon. Perhaps his most notable service in this regard was his recommendation of his old mentor, Henry L. Stimson, to be secretary of war. As a judge Frankfurter conceived his role to be more complex than that of a teacher or publicist, since a judge on the Supreme Court must subordinate his merely personal views when judging the validity of the acts of a coordinate branch of government. He rejected the claims of absolutism for even the most cherished liberties of speech, assembly, and religious belief, maintaining that they must be weighed against the legitimate concerns of society expressed through government. When those concerns were relatively tenuous or could be satisfied in a less intrusive way, the liberty of the individual must prevail. Thus when a state attorney general conducted an investigation into the teaching of a college lecturer, Frankfurter wrote a powerful opinion upholding the sanctity of the university classroom against the threat of domination by the state (*Sweezy* v. *New Hampshire*, 354 U.S. 234 (1957)). When a school board introduced released-time instruction in religion in the public schools, on a voluntary basis, Frankfurter joined in condemning the program as a breach of the "wall of separation" between church and state (*Mc-Collum v. Board of Education*, 333 U.S. 203 (1948)). But when a compulsory flag-salute exercise in the public schools was resisted by Jehovah's Witnesses as a profanation of their religious tenets, Frankfurter concluded that the government had not gone beyond permissible bounds in seeking to inculcate loyalty and national pride in schoolchildren (*West Virginia State Board of Education* v. *Barnette*, 319 U.S. 624 (1943)). His dissenting opinion begins with his most explicit and deeply felt statement of his judicial philosophy in the troubled area of individual freedom:

> One who belongs to the most vilified and persecuted minority in history is not likely to be insensible to the freedom guaranteed by our Constitution. Were my purely personal attitude relevant I should wholeheartedly associate myself with the general libertarian views in the Court's opinion, representing as they do the thought and action of a lifetime.

But as judges we are neither Jew nor gentile, neither Catholic nor agnostic. We owe equal attachment to the Constitution and are equally bound by our judicial obligations whether we derive our citizenship from the earliest or the latest immigrants to these shores. As a member of this Court I am not justified in writing my private notions of policy into the Constitution, no matter how deeply I may cherish them or how mischievous I may deem their disregard…. The only opinion of our own even looking in that direction that is material is our opinion whether legislators could in reason have enacted such a law.

He joined wholeheartedly in the decisions holding legally segregated public schools to be a denial of equal protection of the laws (*Cooper* v. *Aaron*, 358 U.S. 1 (1958)). But in another pathbreaking action of the Court, upsetting malapportionment in legislatures, he dissented vigorously, on the ground that the courts were entering a "political thicket" that would enmesh them in party politics (*Baker* v. *Carr*, 369 U.S. 186 (1962)).

Retrospect

In 1962 Frankfurter suffered a stroke, and resigned from the Court. Though invalided, he was able the following year to receive the Presidential Medal of Freedom, the highest civilian honor within the bestowal of the President. The citation read: "Jurist, scholar, counselor, conversationalist, he has brought to all his roles a zest and a wisdom which has made him teacher to his time." The citation suggested the many-sided liveliness of the man, but could not capture the full measure of what he liked to call the Blue Danube side of his nature: the bouncy step, the love of argumentation, the steely grip on his interlocutor's elbow, the roars of laughter, what Dean Acheson called affectionately the "general noisiness" of the man. Nor could the citation capture his astonishing range of friendships, which embraced statesmen, scholars, artists, former students, and writers around the world. His correspondence was prodigious. He was refreshed by uninhibited communication as others are refreshed by solitude. Although not an observing Jew ("a believing unbeliever," he called himself), he retained a familiarity with Jewish lore, and toward the end of his life he felt drawn closer to his heritage.

Writings

Frankfurter's own talk and writings of interest to the general reader include: *Felix Frankfurter Reminisces* (1960); *Law and Politics* (1939); *Of Law and Men* (1956); *Of Law and Life* (1965); *Roosevelt and Frankfurter; their Correspondence 1928–1945; Felix Frankfurter on the Supreme Court* (1970).

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Freund, *On Law and Justice* (1968), 146–62; For further bibliography see R. Dahl and C. Bolden (eds.), *American Judge* (1968), nos. 4274–92 and 6366–437; P.B. Kurland, *Felix Frankfurter on the Supreme Court* (1970). **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** J.D. Hockett, R.E. Morgan, and G.J. Jacobsohn (eds.), *New Deal Justice: The Constitutional Jurisprudence of Hugo L. Black, Felix Frankfurter, and Robert H. Jackson* (1996); J.F. Simon, *Antagonists: Hugo Black, Felix Frankfurter and Civil Liberties in Modern America* (1989); N.L. Dawson, *Louis D. Brandeis, Felix Frankfurter and the New Deal* (1980; M.I. Urofsky, *Felix Frankfurter: Judicial Restraint and Individual Liberties* (1991).

[Paul A. Freund]

FRANKFURTER, MOSES (1672–1762), author, *dayyan*, and printer in Amsterdam. Moses, the son of Simeon, established a printing press in 1721 from which he issued books both in Hebrew and Yiddish. He later moved to Frankfurt where he died. Frankfurter wrote *Nefesh Yehudah* (1701), a commentary on Isaac Aboab's *Menorat ha-Ma'or* with a Yiddish translation of the text. This very popular tract was often reprinted, as was *Sheva Petilot* (1721), an abbreviated version of the same work. Frankfurter translated into Yiddish and published his father's *Sefer ha-Ḥayyim* (1712). From it he compiled *Sha'ar Shimon* (1714), prayers for the sick, in two parts, the second in Yiddish. He also wrote *Zeh Yenaḥamenu* (1712), a commentary on the *Mekhilta de-R. Ishmael*. When Frankfurter was in serious distress he sought comfort in dedicating himself to the laborious task of correcting the text and commenting upon it. He also wrote *Tov Lekhet*, notes to the law of mourning of the Shulḥan Arukh, *Yoreh De'ah* (1746); *Ba'er Heitev*, glosses to the Shulḥan Arukh; *Ḥoshen Mishpat* (1749), patterned after Judah b. Simeon Ashkenazi's *Ba'er Heitev* (1736–42) on the other three parts of the Shulḥan Arukh. Frankfurter edited several works, the most important being a new edition of the rabbinic Bible *Mikra'ot Gedolot* (4 vols., Amsterdam, 1724–27), adding 16 previously unpublished commentaries on the various books of the Bible including his own commentary under the title *Kehillat Moshe*; another group of this compilation interpreting the whole Bible is *Komeẓ Minḥah, Minḥah Ketannah, Minḥah Gedolah*, and *Minḥat Erev*.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: M. Horovitz, *Frankfurter Rabbinen*, 2 (1883), 74f.

[Jacob Hirsch Haberman]

FRANKFURTER, SOLOMON FRIEDRICH (1856–1941), Austrian librarian, pedagogue, and classical philologist. Frankfurter was born in Pressburg and moved with his family to Vienna in 1859. In 1881 he began working as a volunteer at the University of Vienna library, where from 1919 to 1923 he served as director. In 1909 he was been appointed the first Jewish consultant on Jewish community questions to the Austrian Ministry of Culture and Education. Frankfurter was president of the Society for the Collection and Investigation of Jewish Historic Monuments, president of the B'nai B'rith, and member or consultant of many boards responsible for Jewish education and religion. He served briefly as director of the Vienna Jewish Museum, but also acted as an advisor. From 1934 to 1938 he was the only Jewish member of the Austrian Bundes-Kulturrat (Federal Board for Cultural Questions). When the Nazis invaded Austria (1938), he was arrested, but was released shortly afterwards.

Frankfurter's publications deal with archaeology; education, particularly the important role of a classical gymnasium education; biographies; and Jewish subjects. His works include *Unrichtige Buechertitel mit einem Exkurs ueber hebraeische Buechertitel* (1906); *Das altjuedische Erziehungs-und Unterrichtswesen im Lichte moderner Bestrebungen* (1910); *Josef Unger 1828–1857* (1917), dealing with Unger's youth; and *Zwei neugefundene mittelalterliche hebraeische Grabsteine in Wien* (1918).

U.S. Supreme Court Justice Felix *Frankfurter was his nephew.

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FRANKFURT ON THE MAIN (Heb. פרנקפורט דמיין; abbr. פפד"מ), city in Germany with an ancient and important community.

Early History

Reports and legends about Jews residing in Frankfurt go back to the earliest period in the city's history. Frankfurt was an important trading center, and Jewish merchants probably visited its annual fall fairs. In 1074 Emperor Henry IV mentions Frankfurt among the towns where the Jews of *Worms were permitted to trade without having to pay customs dues. During the 12th century Frankfurt had an organized and flourishing community, though still numerically small. Financial transactions and tax payments by Frankfurt Jews at that time are frequently mentioned: *Eliezer b. Nathan of Mainz makes repeated reference to the presence of Jewish merchants in Frankfurt. In 1241 the Jewish houses were demolished by the populace and over three-quarters of the approximately 200 Jews of Frankfurt were massacred. Among the victims were three rabbis, including the *ḥazzan*; many of the survivors accepted baptism. A special prayer for the martyrs has been retained in the liturgy for the Ninth of Av of the West German congregations. Subsequently Frederick II appointed a commission of inquiry, since the outbreak was an infringement of his imperial prerogative and interests. It apparently originated in a dispute over the forced conversion of a Jew. The city of Frankfurt was ultimately granted a royal pardon. The safety of the Frankfurt Jews was guaranteed and heavy penalties were ordered against Jew-baiters.

By around 1270 Frankfurt had again become a busy center of Jewish life. Two Jewish tombstones dated 1284 were found under the altar of the cathedral in 1952. During the following decades all the customary Jewish institutions developed in Frankfurt. The medieval community had a central synagogue ("Altschul"), a cemetery, a bathhouse, hospitals for local Jews and migrants, a "dance house" for weddings and other social events, and educational and welfare institutions. During the first half of the 14th century the financial burden on the Frankfurt community, exploited by both the city and the crown, grew steadily greater, but the profit derived from the Jews protected them against the current waves of persecution. However, the surge of bloodthirsty hatred aroused by the *Black Death engulfed them along with almost all the other communities in Europe. In 1349, shortly after Emperor *Charles IV had transferred his "Jewish rights" to the city against a substantial consideration, the community was completely wiped out, many of its members setting fire to their own homes rather than meet death by the mob. In 1360 Frankfurt reopened its gates to Jews. Their economic function was still vital to the flourishing city of merchants and craftsmen. However, the terms of resettlement imposed drastic changes. Jews had to apply individually for the privilege of residence, which usually had to be renewed annually in return for payment of heavy taxes and other dues. A set of statutes (*Staettigkeit*) regulated relations between the city and the community. Rabbis and communal leaders of note in the 14th century included Suesskind Wimpfen, who redeemed the body of *Meir b. Baruch of Rothenburg for ritual burial; and *Alexander Susslin ha-Kohen.

15th to 17th Centuries

During the first half of the 15th century, the Jewish community consisted of no more than 12 tax-paying families on the average. The expulsion of the Jews, or their relocation to a remote part of the city, was considered by the city council from the 1430s. From the 1450s the Jews were forced to wear a distinctive badge, and Christians were forbidden to visit Jewish festivities. After repeated interventions on the part of the emperor, and despite their strong resistance, the Jews of Frankfurt were finally forced to settle in a specially constructed street (*Judengasse*) outside the old city ramparts in 1462. Although existence in this ghetto entailed severe physical and social hardship to the community, its inner life developed even more intensively. There were 110 registered inhabitants of the ghetto in 1463, 250 in 1520, 900 in 1569, 1,200 in 1580, 2,200 in 1600, and about 3,000 in 1610. Since the ghetto was never permitted to expand beyond its original area, the existing houses were subdivided, and back premises and additional storeys were erected. The communal organization became stronger and more diversified. Religious and lay leaders (*Hochmeister* and *Baumeister*) were elected by the Jewish taxpayers, and a continual flow of *takkanot* laid the basis for powerful and jealously guarded local traditions in all spheres of religious, social, and economic life. Outstanding among the rabbis of the 15th century was Nathan Epstein. Johannes *Pfefferkorn confiscated some 1,500 Hebrew books from Frankfurt Jews. The Peasants' War and religious wars of the 16th century repeatedly endangered the community, and the guilds made serious inroads into their economic activities. Nevertheless, conditions were favorable to commercial enterprise, and by means of heavy financial contributions and skillful diplomacy the Frankfurt Jews managed to safeguard their privileges. By the end of the 16th century the community reached a peak period of prosperity. It had become a center of Jewish learning, and students from far away flocked to the yeshivot of Eliezer Treves and Akiva b. Jacob Frankfurter. The Frankfurt rabbinate and rabbinical court had become one of the foremost religious authorities in Germany. Decisions were made by the presiding rabbi in conjunction with the "members of the yeshivah" (*dayyanim*). General *synods of rabbinic and lay leaders were held at Frankfurt in 1562, 1582, and 1603.

However, economic and social antagonisms had long been simmering between the wealthy patrician families of the city and the guild craftsmen and petty traders, many of whom were in debt to Jews. The struggle flared into open rebellion when in 1614 the rabble, led by Vincent *Fettmilch, stormed the ghetto and gave vent to their anger by plundering the Jewish houses. The Jews were all expelled from the city, but the emperor outlawed the rebels, and their leaders were arrested and put to death (1616). Subsequently the Jews were ceremoniously returned to the ghetto, an event annually commemorated on Adar 20th by the Frankfurt community as the "Purim Winz" ("Purim of Vincent"). Possibly a group of wealthy Frankfurt Jews, among them Simeon Wolf, father of the celebrated Court Jew Samuel *Oppenheimer, used their influence at the imperial court to bring about this result. Among those who did not return to Frankfurt after the Fettmilch rebellion was Isaiah *Horowitz, the celebrated author of *Shenei Luḥot ha-Berit*, who had occupied the rabbinate from 1606. Other leading rabbis of the period included his son Shabbetai *Horowitz, Ḥayyim Cohen, grandson of *Judah Loew (the Maharal) of Prague, and Meir b. Jacob ha-Kohen *Schiff, a native of Frankfurt. Joseph Yuspa *Hahn recorded the ritual customs of the Frankfurt community in his *Yosif Omeẓ*. These were a source of special pride to the Frankfurt Jews, known for their local patriotism. Joseph Solomon *Delmedigo was for some years employed as communal physician. Aaron Samuel *Koidonover and his son Ẓevi Hirsh *Koidonover were also members of the Frankfurt rabbinate. The community did not grow numerically during the 17th century owing to the unhealthy conditions of their overpopulated quarter and the excessive taxes imposed upon them during the Thirty Years' War. In addition, the terms of residence were designed to keep their number stationary, allowing a maximum of 500 families and 12 marriage licenses annually. At the end of the 17th century the community made successful efforts to prevent Johann *Eisenmenger from publishing his anti-Jewish book.

18th Century

In 1711 almost the entire Jewish quarter was destroyed by a fire which broke out in the house of the chief rabbi, Naphtali b. Isaac *Katz. The inhabitants found refuge in gentile homes, but had to return to the ghetto after it had been rebuilt. J.J. *Schudt gave a detailed account of Jewish life at Frankfurt in this period. The importance of the Frankfurt Jewish community of that era is indicated by the official recognition of its representatives (*"Residenten"*) in Vienna from 1718. The penetration of Enlightenment found the community in a state of unrest and social strife. Communal life had long been dominated by a few ancient patrician families, some of whom were known by signs hanging outside their houses, like the *Rothschild ("Red Shield"), Schwarzschild, Kann, and Schiff families. The impoverished majority challenged the traditional privileges of the wealthy oligarchy, and the city council repeatedly acted as arbitrator between the rival parties. Controversies on religious and personal matters such as the *Eybeschuetz-*Emden dispute further weakened unity in the community. Nevertheless, there was no decline in intellectual activity, and the yeshivot of Samuel Schotten and Jacob Joshua b. Ẓevi Hirsch *Falk attracted many students. The movement for the reformation of Jewish education fostered by the circle of Moses *Mendelssohn in Berlin found many sympathizers in Frankfurt, especially among the well-to-do class who welcomed it as a step toward *emancipation. Forty-nine prominent members of the community subscribed for Mendelssohn's German translation of the Bible (1782), but the chief rabbi, Phinehas *Horowitz, attacked the book from the pulpit. When in 1797 a project was advocated for a school with an extensive program of secular studies, Horowitz pronounced a ban on it. He was supported by most of the communal leaders, though many had their children taught non-Jewish subjects privately. The ban had to be withdrawn by order of the magistrate. Some years previously, Horowitz had acted similarly against the kabbalist Nathan *Adler. Meanwhile the French revolutionary wars had made their first liberating impact on Frankfurt Jewry. In 1796 a bombardment destroyed the greater part of the ghetto walls, and in 1798 the prohibition on leaving the ghetto on Sundays and holidays was abolished.

19th and 20th Centuries

The incorporation of Frankfurt in Napoleon's Confederation of the Rhine (1806) and the constitution of the grand duchy of Frankfurt (1810) gradually changed the status of the Frankfurt Jews, bringing them nearer emancipation. In 1811 the ghetto was finally abolished, and a declaration of equal rights for all citizens expressly included the Jews, a capital payment of 440,000 florins having been made by the community. However, the reaction following Napoleon's downfall brought bitter disappointment. The senate of the newly constituted Free City tried to abolish Jewish emancipation and thwarted the efforts made by a community delegation to the Congress of *Vienna. After prolonged negotiations, marked by the "*Hep-Hep" anti-Jewish disorders in 1819, the senate finally promulgated an enactment granting equality to the Jews in all civil matters, although reinstating many of the old discriminatory laws (1824). The composition and activities of the community board remained subject to supervision and confirmation by the senate. Meanwhile the religious rift in the community had widened considerably. Phinehas Horowitz's son and successor, Ẓevi Hirsch *Horowitz, was powerless in face of the increasing pressure for social and educational reforms. He did in fact renew his father's approbation of Benjamin Wolf *Heidenheim's edition of the prayer book which included a German translation and a learned commentary. However, this first stirring of *Wissenschaft des Judentums could not satisfy those in the community desiring reform and assimilation. In 1804 they founded a school, the Philanthropin, with a markedly secular and assimilationist program. This institution became a major center for reform in Judaism. From 1807 it organized reformed Jewish services for the pupils and their parents. In the same year a Jewish lodge of *Freemasons was established, whose members actively furthered the causes of reform and secularization in the community. From 1817 to 1832 the board of the community was exclusively composed of members of the lodge. In 1819 the Orthodox *ḥeder* institutions were closed by the police, and the board prevented the establishment of a school for both religious and general studies. Attendance at the yeshivah, which in 1793 still had 60 students, dwindled. In 1842 the number of Orthodox families was estimated to account for less than 10% of the community. In that year, a Reform Association demanded the abolition of all "talmudic" laws, circumcision, and the messianic faith. The aged rabbi, Solomon Abraham Trier, who had been one of the two delegates from Frankfurt to the Paris *Sanhedrin in 1807, published a collection of responsa from contemporary rabbis and scholars in German on the fundamental significance of circumcision in Judaism (1844). A year later a conference of rabbis sympathizing with reform was held in Frankfurt. A leading member of this group was Abraham *Geiger, a native of Frankfurt, and communal rabbi from 1863 to 1870. The revolutionary movement of 1848 hastened the emancipation of the Frankfurt Jews, which was finally achieved in 1864. The autocratic regime of the community board weakened considerably. A small group of Orthodox members then seized the opportunity to form a religious association within the community, the "Israelitische Religionsgesellschaft," and elected Samson Raphael *Hirsch as their rabbi in 1851. The Rothschild family made a large donation toward the erection of a new Orthodox synagogue. When the community board persisted in turning a deaf ear to the demands of the Orthodox minority, the association seceded from the community and set up a separate congregation (1876). After some Orthodox members, supported by the Wuerzburg rabbi, Seligmann Baer *Bamberger, had refused to take this course, the community board made certain concessions, enabling them to remain within the community. A communal Orthodox rabbi, Marcus *Horovitz, was installed and a new Orthodox synagogue was erected with communal funds. From then on the Frankfurt Orthodox community, its pattern of life and educational institutions, became the paradigm of German Orthodoxy. The Jewish population of Frankfurt numbered 3,298 in 1817 (7.9% of the total), 10,009 in 1871 (11%), 21,974 in 1900 (7.5%), and 29,385 in 1925 (6.3%). During the 19th century many Jews from the rural districts were attracted to the city whose economic boom owed much to Jewish financial and commercial enterprise. The comparative wealth of the Frankfurt Jews is shown by the fact that, in 1900, 5,946 Jewish citizens paid 2,540,812 marks in taxes, while 34,900 non-Jews paid 3,611,815 marks. Many civic institutions, including hospitals, libraries and museums, were established by Jewish donations, especially from the Rothschild family. The Jew Leopold *Sonnemann was the founder of the liberal daily *Frankfurter Zeitung*, and the establishment of the Frankfurt university (1912) was also largely financed by Jews. Jewish communal institutions and organizations included two hospitals, three schools (the Philanthropin and the elementary and secondary schools founded by S.R. Hirsch), a yeshivah (founded by Hirsch's son-in-law and successor Solomon *Breuer), religious classes for pupils attending city schools, an orphanage, a home for the aged, many welfare institutions, and two cemeteries (the ancient cemetery was closed in 1828). Frankfurt Jews were active in voluntary societies devoted to universal Jewish causes, such as emigrant relief and financial support for the Jews in the Holy Land (donations from Western Europe to the Holy Land had been channeled through Frankfurt from the 16th century). The yearbook of the Juedisch-Literarische Gesellschaft was published in Frankfurt, and the Orthodox weekly *Der Israelit* (founded in 1860) was published in Frankfurt from 1906. The Jewish department of the municipal library, headed before World War II by the scholar A. Freimann, had a rare collection of Hebraica and Judaica. During the first decade of the 20th century additional synagogues were erected, among them a splendid one situated at Friedberger Anlage. In 1920 Franz *Rosenzweig set up an institute for Jewish studies, where Martin *Buber, then professor at the Frankfurt university, gave popular lectures. Two additional yeshivot were established, one by Jacob Hoffman, who in 1922 succeeded Nehemiah Anton *Nobel in the Orthodox rabbinate of the community. Others prominent in Frankfurt Jewish life include the writer Ludwig *Boerne; the historian I.M. *Jost; the artists Moritz *Oppenheim and Benno *Elkan; the biochemist Paul *Ehrlich; the economist and sociologist Franz *Oppenheimer; rabbis Jacob *Horowitz and Joseph *Horowitz (Orthodox); Leopold Stein, Nehemiah Bruell, Caesar *Seligmann (Reform); and the Orthodox leaders Jacob *Rosenheim and Isaac *Breuer.

[Mordechai Breuer / Stefan Rohrbacher (2nd ed.)

Holocaust Period

After a number of attacks on individual Jews and the occupation of the famous Institut fuer Sozialforschung on March 5, 1933, the official Nazi action against the Jews began on April 1, 1933, with a boycott of Jewish businesses and professionals, followed on April 7 by the dismissal of Jewish white-collar workers, university teachers, actors, and musicians. State and party pressure subsequently resulted in the closing or "aryanization" of almost all Jewish-owned firms, while local SA units and Nazi students terrorized Jewish citizens. Though originally prohibited, these arbitrary actions were in later years legalized by the Reich government which helped to organize and coordinate them. The Jewish community reacted by expanding existing services, establishing new agencies for economic aid, reemployment, occupational training, schooling, adult education, and emigration. All institutions were under strict surveillance by the Gestapo.

On Nov. 10–11, 1938, the big synagogues of the two Jewish communities, situated at Friedberger Anlage, Dominikanerplatz (formerly Boerneplatz), Grosser Wollgraben (formerly Boernestrasse), and Freiherr-vom-Stein-Strasse were burned down. Community buildings including the Jewish Museum (Museum juedischer Altertuemer), the Jewish homes, and stores were stormed and looted by the SA, the SS, and mobs they had incited. More than 2,600 Jewish men were arrested and sent to the *Buchenwald concentration camp and around 530 to the *Dachau concentration camp. Members of the Orthodox Religionsgesellschaft were compelled to combine with the general community to form a single community organization which the Nazis named Juedische Gemeinde. In 1939 this autonomous community was forcibly merged into the state-supervised Reichsvereinigung. Jewish leaders were compelled to enter into Judenvertraege, transferring communal property to municipal ownership. Welfare foundations taken over by the municipal authorities in December 1938 were placed under direct Gestapo control in May 1940. Gestapo Officer Ernst Holland, who was also a city official, supervised until 1943 Jewish welfare and emigration, later organizing labor recruitment and "orderly proceedings" before deportation.

The Frankfurt community decreased by emigration from 26,158 in 1933, to 10,803 in June 1941, although there was an influx of Jewish families from the countryside. Deportations to Lodz began on October 19, 1941, and were followed by deportations to *Minsk, *Majdanek, *Kovno (Kaunas), *Theresienstadt, and other camps. In September 1943, after large-scale deportations stopped, the Jewish population in Frankfurt totaled 602, including half-Jews. The last deportation to Theresienstadt took place on March 15, 1945, only two weeks before the U.S. army occupied the city and liberated around 150 Jews and so-called Mischlinge.

[Eleanor Sterling-Oppenheimer / Jens Hoppe (2nd ed.)

After World War II

After the war, a new community was organized, consisting of those who had outlived the war in Frankfurt, survivors from concentration camps, and displaced persons, totaling 1,104 in 1952. They were joined by a number of pensioners and Israelis, and the community increased to 2,566 by 1959 and 4,350 by 1970, to become the largest in West Germany (excepting that of Berlin); the average age of its members was 45.4, and two thirds were aged over 40. One of the large synagogues was rebuilt, and by 1970 five prayer rooms were also in use. The first postwar Jewish elementary school in Germany was opened there in 1965, and a communal periodical *Frankfurter juedisches Gemeindeblatt* commenced publication in March 1968. A 200-bed home for the aged was opened in 1968. Due mainly to the immigration of Jews from the former Soviet Union, the number of community members rose from 4,842 in 1989 to 7,063 in 2003. The community has four synagogues. The Philanthropin was reopened as an elementary school in 2004. A Jewish museum was inaugurated in 1988 in the former palatial residence of the Rothschild family, with a branch opened in 1992 on the site of the Judengasse. The Frankfurt municipal and university library holds one of the most important collections of Judaica books and manuscripts in Germany.

[Henry Wasserman]

Printing

The book fairs of Frankfurt were visited by Jewish printers and booksellers as early as 1535. Some Hebrew printing was carried on in Frankfurt as early as the 16th century; in 1512 the brothers Murner published "Grace after Meals." Hebrew printing seriously developed in Frankfurt in the 17th century. The earliest work, *Megillat Vinẓ* (Fettmilch), was published by Isaac Langenbuch after the Fettmilch riots (see above). From 1657 to 1707 Balthasar Christian Wust and later his son (?) Johann issued a great number of Hebrew books. For this part of their work they employed Jewish printers and other Jewish personnel, and found Jewish financial backing. (As Jews could not obtain printing licenses, they used Christian firms as a front.) They printed mainly liturgical items, but also a Pentateuch with a German glossary (1662), and bibles (1677, 1694); and Wallich's Yiddish *Kuhbuch* (1672). Several other Hebrew printers published books in the late 17th and early 18th centuries. An important publisher was Johann Koellner, who in 20 years of printing was responsible for about half of the books issued in Frankfurt. Among his more important publications were the *Arba'ah Turim* (5 vols., 1712–16), and an excellent Talmud edition (1770–23). Soon after the completion of the latter, the whole edition was confiscated and was only released 30 years later. In the first half of the 19th century the names of seven non-Jewish printing houses are known. Subsequently Jewish printers emerged for the first time. Among them were J.H. Golda (1881–1920), E. Slobotzki (from 1855), and the bookseller J. Kauffmann, who took over the *Roedelheim press of M. Lehrberger in 1899. Hebrew printers were active in places like *Homburg, *Offenbach, *Sulzbach, Roedelheim, and others in the neighborhood of Frankfurt, because Jewish printers were unable to establish themselves in Frankfurt.

Music

The liturgical music and **ḥazzanut* of the Frankfurt community represent the archetype of the western Ashkenazi tradition. It can be traced to the 15th-century codifier Jacob *Moellin (Maharil), and is marked by an adherence to tradition which made any deviation from the customary melodies (some of which were credited with divine origin, "**mi-Sinai*") a religious offense. Thus the principal qualification required of cantors was a precise acquaintance with the details of musical custom (*minhag*). Liturgical poems (*piyyutim*) had a place of prime importance, especially as some of them were linked with the history of the community, and little scope was given to the cantor's capacity for musical invention or improvization. When at the beginning of the 16th century, the Sabbath hymn *Lekhah Dodi* came into vogue in many communities, it caused sharp controversy among Frankfurt Jews, and though finally accepted, it had to be chanted for many years by an assistant cantor in order to stress its non-compulsory character. Every special event in the Jewish year was marked by a festive, solemn, or plaintive tune, as the occasion demanded. Every month and every festival had an appropriate melody of its own, which was intoned by the cantor at the Blessing of the New Moon. Thus the liturgical music served as a "musical calendar." When a festival or New Moon fell on a Sabbath, the cantor had to give each its musical share ("*me-inyono*"). This was achieved mainly by mingling variants of the Kaddish melodies, of which there existed more than 25. On Simḥat Torah the "Year's Kaddish" recapitulated the whole range of the "musical calendar." Great stress was laid on correct reading and cantillation of the Bible, and many verses of special importance were chanted to particularly solemn tunes. In spite of the strict traditionalism, many Frankfurt melodies show the influence of German folksong; the one employed for the *Priestly blessing on the High Holidays is derived from the popular Frankfurt "Fassbaenderlied" (Coopers' song). The melody sung in the synagogue on the annual celebration of Purim Winz (see above) was derived from the march tune of the military escort that led the Jews back to the Frankfurt ghetto after the riots of 1616. In the 19th century the Reform movement installed an organ in the main Frankfurt synagogue, whereupon the Orthodox congregation introduced a male choir in their own synagogue with I.M. *Japhet as musical director.

[Mordechai Breuer]

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S.Z. Geiger, *Divrei Kehillot* (1862); S. Scheuermann, *Die gottesdienstlichen Gesaenge der Israeliten fuer das ganze Jahr* (1912); F. Ogutsch, *Der Frankfurter Kantor* (1930).

FRANKFURT ON THE ODER, city in Brandenburg, Germany. Jews were living in Frankfurt before 1294, when a dispute between Jews and the slaughterers' guild there was settled. The Jews were not permitted to own houses, and lived in rented dwellings, referred to as *Judenbuden*. They mainly engaged in small trading and moneylending. In 1399 the community relinquished its cemetery for a larger one. From the second half of the 15th century the local merchants made continual complaints about economic competition by the Jews and the rate of interest they charged. In 1506 the synagogue was demolished and the new university was erected on the site. The Jews of Frankfurt were expelled with the rest of *Brandenburg Jewry in 1510. They later returned, and in 1564 there were nine Jewish familes living in Frankfurt, and 11 in 1567. They were again expelled in 1573. When a number of Jews were admitted to Brandenburg in 1671, a new community grew up in Frankfurt. The university there was the first in Germany to admit Jews. The first two Jewish students registered at the faculty of medicine in 1678, and others followed from all over Europe and even Jerusalem. Between 1739 and 1810 about 130 Jews studied there, and between 1721 and 1794, 29 graduated in medicine. The community numbered 592 in 1801; 399 in 1817; around 800 in the 1840s; and 891 in 1880. Subsequently it declined to 747 around 1900; 669 in 1925; and 586 in 1933.

In the 18th century many Jews from Poland attended the fairs in Frankfurt. In 1763 a conference of Polish rabbis headed by Gershon of Frankfurt settled a dispute between the printing houses of Amsterdam and Sulzbach concerning the publication of the Talmud.

Following the spread of the *Reform movement in the first half of the 19th century, the Orthodox members in Frankfurt seceded from the liberals and opened a prayer hall of their own. Samuel *Holdheim served as rabbi in Frankfurt from 1836 to 1840. In 1861 the first society for the colonization of Ereẓ Israel was founded in Frankfurt by Ḥayyim *Lorje. The scholar Judah *Bergmann officiated as rabbi there at the beginning of the 20th century, and the leader of liberal Judaism in Germany, Ignaz *Maybaum, was rabbi of the community between 1928 and 1936. In 1933 the community had a synagogue, a cemetery, three charitable societies, local chapters of the "Reichsbund Juedischer Frontsoldaten" and a *B'nai B'rith lodge. The Orthodox members rejoined the main community in 1934.

Under the Nazis the Frankfurt Jews suffered the same fate as those in the rest of Germany. Rabbi Maybaum was arrested and confined to the notorious Colombia prison in Berlin; later the charges against him were suspended. In the November pogrom known as Kristallnacht the synagogue was burned, Jewish businesses were destroyed, and several Jewish men were sent to Sachsenhausen. By May 1939 there were 184 Jews and 122 Mischlinge in the city. Jews were deported before the outbreak of World War II and eventually transported to Lublin Reservation. Twenty-four Jews from Frankfurt were deported to *Theresienstadt on Aug. 27, 1942, and three on June 16, 1943. The Jewish community was reestablished after the war and numbered 200 in 1958 but declined thereafter until the arrival of Jews from the former Soviet Union, who refounded the community in 1998. It numbered 222 in 2005. A memorial site (inaugurated in 1988) commemorates the destroyed synagogue. As Frankfurt on the Oder was divided after 1945 the Jewish cemetery is located in Slubice, Poland.

Printing

The earliest Hebrew book printed in Frankfurt on the Oder was a Pentateuch printed by J. and F. Hartman in 1595. Eighty years later J.C. Beckman, professor of theology at the local university, obtained a license to extend the privilege to print in Hebrew, and a Pentateuch with *haftarot* and the Five Scrolls, as well as other books, were published in 1677.

The most important work published there was a new edition of the Talmud (1697–99). The Court Jew Berend *Lehmann of Halberstadt invested in it and presented a large number of the 2,000 sets printed to various communities, *battei midrash*, and yeshivot. Further editions were printed in 1715–22 and 1736–39. Michael Gottschalk succeeded Beckman as manager and before 1740 Professor Grillo bought Gottschalk's press. It continued in his family until the end of the century, and in the hands of his successor, C.F. Elsner, until 1813. Grillos' turnover in trade of Hebrew books reached 80,000 Reichsthaler annually – a measure of the importance of the press for Germany and Eastern Europe. The main midrashim, *Yalkut Shimoni*, the Zohar, and other important rabbinic works were printed in Frankfurt on the Oder. As the result of the Prussian legislation of 1812, it was possible in 1813 for Hirsch Baschwitz, a Jew, to acquire the Hebrew printing press from Elsner. In turn, he sold the business in 1826 to Trebitsch & Son of Berlin.

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[Chasia Turtel]

FRANKINCENSE (Heb. לְבוֹנָה), the chief ingredient of the Temple *incense. It is mentioned a number of times among the treasures of the Temple (Neh. 13:5; I Chron. 9:29). It was burnt with the sacrifice of meal offering (Lev. 2:1) and placed upon the rows of showbread (Lev. 24:7). The frankincense on the meal offering along with a handful of the rest of its ingredients were scooped up by the priest as the "token portion" (*azkarah*) of the offering which he deposited on the altar to go up in smoke as a "soothing odor" offered to the Lord (Lev. 6:8; cf. Isa. 66:3). Pure frankincense was one of the four ingredients of the incense of the Tabernacle (Ex. 30:34; and cf. Ecclus. 24:15). It was brought to Ereẓ Israel from Sheba (Jer. 6:20). The maiden in the Song of Songs (3:6) came from the wilderness perfumed with myrrh and frankincense; in the erotic imagery of the Song of Songs, the lover refers to the body of his mistress as "the mountain of myrrh" and "the hill of frankincense" (Song 4:6), while the beloved is compared to "an enclosed garden" in which grow exotic perfumes including "all trees of frankincense" (Song 4:14–15). Ben Sira emphasizes its aromatic scent (Ecclus. 39:14; 50:9). Frankincense is frequently mentioned in rabbinic literature in connection with the laws of meal offerings, where it was used in the form of globules or grains (Men. 1:2). A potion of wine and frankincense was prepared for those condemned to death, "that they should not suffer pain" (Sem. 2:9; cf. Sanh. 43a). The name *levonah* is common in Semitic languages. It has its origin in the white color of the fresh sap, "pure frankincense." From the Semitic the name passed also into the Greek *libanos*.

Frankincense was extracted from trees of the genus *Boswellia*, of which there are two species: *Boswellia sacra Flückiger* (also known as *Boswellia Carterii*) found on the Arabian Peninsula and in North Somalia, and *Boswellia frereana Birdwood* found in North Somalia. These trees are still the source for the frankincense used as incense in the Catholic Church. In ancient Egypt, as in other countries of the east, frankincense was very important, and it seems that efforts were made to plant it locally. The bringing of pots of frankincense for planting in Egypt is depicted in ancient Egyptian drawings.

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[Jehuda Feliks]

FRANKL, ADOLF (1859–1936), rabbi, banker, and communal leader in Hungary. Born in Debrecen, he studied in various yeshivot and received his rabbinical ordination at the yeshivah of Pressburg. From 1888 Frankl was *nasi* of the Hungarian *kolel* of Jerusalem. In 1905 he was elected president of the organization of Orthodox communities and honorary president of the Orthodox community of Budapest. After the death of Koppel *Reich, Frankl was elected chief rabbi of the Orthodox community in Budapest, and sat as the delegate of Orthodox Jewry in the Hungarian Upper House (1930). He won esteem in all circles of the Jewish population of Hungary.

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[Baruch Yaron]

FRANKL, LUDWIG AUGUST (1810–1894), Austrian poet, secretary of the Vienna Jewish community, and founder of the Laemel School in Jerusalem. Born in Chrast, Bohemia, Frankl was one of the first Jews to attend a Bohemian secondary school. He also received a sound Jewish education under his relative, Zacharias *Frankel. Although he studied medicine at Vienna and Padua, he devoted himself mainly to literature. The patriotic flavor of Frankl's first collection of ballads, *Das Habsburgerlied* (1832), brought him a reward from Emperor Francis I. It was followed by *Morgenlaendische Sagen* (1834), a volume of poems on Jewish themes, and by the epic *Christoforo Colombo* (1836), for which he was made an honorary citizen of Genoa, the explorer's birthplace. In 1838 Frankl was appointed secretary and archivist of the Vienna Jewish community. The post enabled him to publish various works of Jewish interest, including a history of the Jews in Vienna (1853), but he really made his name as editor, from 1842, of the *Sonntagsblaetter,* which brought him into the circle of Austria's literary elite. In later years he was to publish studies of such of his new acquaintances as the dramatist Franz Grillparzer and the poet Nikolaus Lenau, but he also encouraged new writers, notably Moritz *Hartmann and Leopold *Kompert. His use of the elegant *Sonntagsblaetter* in support of the 1848 Revolution led to the paper's eventual suppression. During the Revolution Frankl served as an officer in the students' legion and achieved fame with his revolutionary lyric *Die Universitaet*, the first uncensored Austrian publication, which was circulated in half-a-million copies and was set to music no less than 28 different times: Frankl later edited the works of the revolutionary writer Anastasius Gruen (1877), and their correspondence was published by Frankl's son, Lothar. As the representative of Elisa Herz, Frankl went to *Jerusalem in 1856 and, in memory of her father, founded the Laemel School, which offered Jewish children a secular, as well as a religious, education. This aroused violent opposition on the part of the ultra-Orthodox Ashkenazi community, whose rabbinate placed Frankl under the ban of excommunication. He described his experiences in Ereẓ Israel in *Nach Jerusalem* (2 vols., 1858–60), which gives a valuable picture of the Jewish inhabitants of Jerusalem in the mid-19th century. The book was translated into Hebrew and other languages, and appeared in English as *The Jews in the East* (1859). A third volume, *Nach Aegypten*, appeared in 1860. Other works of Jewish interest are Frankl's *Elegien* (1842), *Rachel* (1842), *Libanon* (1855), and *Ahnenbilder* (1864). In 1876 he founded the Vienna Jewish Institute for the Blind, his philanthropic endeavors being rewarded with ennoblement as Ritter von Frankl-Hochwart. His memoirs appeared posthumously in 1910. His son LOTHAR (1862–1914) became professor of neurology at the University of Vienna in 1897.

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FRANKL, PINKUS (Pinhas) FRITZ (1848–1887), German rabbi and scholar. Born in Uhersky Brod, Moravia, Frankl succeeded Geiger as rabbi of the Berlin community in 1877 and became lecturer in religious philosophy, medieval Hebrew literature, and homiletics at the Hochschule (Lehranstalt) fuer die Wissenschaft des Judentums in 1882. With Graetz he was coeditor of the journal **Monatsschrift fuer Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums* (MGWJ). His studies were mainly about the Karaites: *Karaeische Studien* (1876); *Beitraege zur Literaturgeschichte der Karaeer* (1887); and articles in the Etsch-Gruber encyclopedia, MGWJ, and others. Frankl edited some *piyyutim* by Eleazar Kallir (in *Jubelschrift… L. Zunz*, 1884). A collection of his sermons, *Fest-und Gelegenheits-Predigten 1877–87*, was published posthumously (1888). In 1884 Frankl was one of the initiators of a "General Assembly of German Rabbis."

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FRANKL, VIKTOR EMIL (1905–1997), Austrian psychiatrist and founder of the school of existential psychotherapy known as logotherapy (or the Third Viennese School). Already as a student, Frankl was in touch with Sigmund Freud. Later on he became an adherent of Alfred Adler's school of psychoanalysis; however, he soon became a dissident here as well. In the following years he worked as a specialist in neurology and psychiatry at the Viennese Am Steinhof Psychiatric Clinic and from 1940 to 1942 he was head of the Rothschild hospital. Then, Frankl was sent to Dachau and Auschwitz for three years. During this period he gained new insights into human nature, which he later developed into his philosophy and theory of logotherapy. In contradistinction to the Freudian theories that analyzed human behavior in terms of determinism, the sex drives, and the repressed experiences of the past, and contrary to the Adlerian school which based explanations on the human desire for power and self-assertion, Frankl's philosophy focused on the human need for purpose, self-fulfillment, and the need to attain a higher meaning in life. By observing the behavior of the Auschwitz inmates he came to the conclusion that, "The prisoner who had lost faith in the future – his future – was doomed. With his loss of belief in the future, he also lost his spiritual hold; he let himself decline and became subject to mental and physical decay." Having survived the Holocaust, Frankl returned to Vienna and was in charge of the neurologic Policlinic in Vienna from 1946 to 1970. Frankl's books include *Ein Psychologe erlebt das Konzentrationslager* (1946, 2005; *From Death Camp to Existentialism*, 1959; republished as *Man's Search for Meaning*, 1964), and *Aerztliche Seelsorge* (1946, 2005; *The Doctor and the Soul*, 1955, 1965).

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[Marcus Pyka (2nd ed.)]

FRANKL-GRUEN, ADOLF ABRAHAM (1847–1916), rabbi and historian in Moravia. Born in Uhersky Brod, Moravia, he officiated as rabbi of Kromeriz (Kremsier) from 1877 to 1911. Frankl-Gruen published many articles on biblical exegesis (see Gesamtindex of MGWJ (1966), 18) and homiletics, and a polemic against the antisemite H.S. *Chamberlain (1901). In 1903 he completed *Juedische Zeitgeschichte und Zeitgenossen*, on the contemporary Jewish scene. His three-volume *Geschichte der Juden in Kremsier* (1896–1901) and *Geschichte der Juden in Ungarisch-Brod* (1905), based mainly on documents previously unpublished, remain essential texts for the student of Jewish history in Moravia. In 1889 he became involved in a *blood libel in Kromeriz when a rumor was spread before Passover that a box containing the body of a Christian girl had been sent to him by railway.

His son OSCAR BENJAMIN FRANKL (1881–1955) studied philology at Vienna University. In 1918 he founded in Prague the German Urania Institute for adult education which he headed until 1938. He was appointed chief of the German department of the Czechoslovakian government radio and became an international authority on broadcasting. In 1939 he managed to escape to the United States through France. There he served as a researcher for Columbia University (1942–55) and was appointed lecturer at the Rand School of Social Science. His *Der Jude in den deutschen Dichtungen des 15., 16., und 17. Jahrhunderts…*, on the image of the Jew in German literature of the 15th to 17th centuries, and *Friedrich Schiller in seinen Beziehungen zu den Juden und zum Judentum*, on Friedrich Schiller's relations to Jews and Judaism (both published in 1905), are noteworthy.

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FRANKLIN, English family active in communal, public, and economic life. BENJAMIN WOLF FRANKLIN (1740–1785), a teacher of Hebrew, went to England from Breslau about 1763. His youngest son, ABRAHAM (1784–1854), after spending his early life in Portsmouth, settled in Manchester and traded with the West Indies. Of Abraham's 12 children, three gained prominence: BENJAMIN (1811–1888) was a merchant in Jamaica where he was active in public and communal life. JACOB (1809–1877), first an optician and then a West Indies merchant, was a mathematician, accountant, and writer on accountancy. A staunch advocate of religious Orthodoxy, he founded and edited the *Voice of Jacob* as a mouthpiece against Reform (it was later merged with the *Jewish Chronicle*, to which he contributed as "She'erit Ya'akov"). Active in many communal organizations, he left the bulk of his fortune for educational projects, including the publication of Jewish textbooks. ELLIS ABRAHAM (1822–1909) moved from Manchester to London in 1842 and joined a banking house. Friendship with Samuel *Montagu, whose sister he married in 1856, led to his joining the firm established by Montagu and his brother in 1852. A patriarchal figure, he took an active interest in many communal organizations.

Ellis' daughter BEATRICE married Herbert *Samuel. His son, SIR LEONARD (1862–1944), senior partner in the family banking firm A. Keyser and Company, was a Liberal member of parliament, and was also active in synagogal administration. Another of his sons, ARTHUR ELLIS (1857–1938), besides his banking interests, was chairman of the Routledge publishing firm, president of the Jewish Religious Education Board, vice president of the Board of Guardians, and vice principal of the Working Men's College. He assembled a memorable collection of Jewish ritual art, now in the Jewish Museum, London. His son ELLIS (1894–1964) was similarly active in Anglo-Jewish communal life. Ellis' daughter, Rosalind *Franklin (1920–1958) was a distinguished chemist, particularly noted for her work on deoxyribonucleic acid (DNA). She died tragically young, just as the importance of her research was being noted. Her life has attracted a great deal of attention in recent years as an eminent woman scientist cut off in her prime, and who was arguably denied her full credit through the sexism of the time. A commemorative plaque was placed on the building where she lived in Chelsea, London.

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[Vivian David Lipman]

FRANKLIN, LEO MORRIS (1870–1948), U.S. Reform rabbi. Franklin was born in Cambridge City, Indiana and spent his youth in Cincinnati. Upon ordination at Hebrew Union College (1892), he served in Omaha, Nebraska, for seven years, then became rabbi of Temple Beth El, Detroit, in 1899, where he was a skilled organizational leader. Franklin was a proponent of classical Reform Judaism. He was president of the Central Conference of American Rabbis (1919–21). He organized the United Jewish Charities (1899) and was a founder of the Jewish Welfare Federation (1926). He led the first fight in the United States for open seating in synagogues instead of assigned seating and also fought to have his congregation provide Jewish education to all children regardless of their parents' ability to pay, which took on added importance during the Depression era. He tackled some important local issues of antisemitism with national implications, including efforts to expose the antisemitism of Father Charles Coughlin, and he maintained relations cordial and not so cordial with Henry Ford, whose influence in Detroit was major and whose support of antisemitism was significant. Franklin held many civic positions and was active in interfaith activities in Detroit. He belonged to the anti-Zionist American Council for Judaism until 1948, when he resigned and endorsed the State of Israel. He was one of the first rabbis to reach out to campus students, working with the Jewish students association at the University of Michigan, a forerunner of Hillel. Despite the formal policies and prevalent practices of the CCAR, Franklin officiated at intermarriages. He helped found smaller congregations throughout Michigan and worked with a movement to spur Jewish farmers in Michigan. He wrote *Rabbi, the Man and His Message* (1938) and many articles.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Leo M. Franklin Section, Michigan Historical Collections, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan.

[Irving I. Katz]

FRANKLIN, ROSALIND ELSIE (1920–1958), British biophysicist. Franklin was born in London, England, into an upper middle class Jewish family whose ancestors had come to England from Breslau in 1763. Her uncle, Sir Herbert *Samuel, was the first British High Commissioner to Palestine. In 1938 she was accepted to Newnham College Cambridge where she completed her studies in chemistry and physics and received her Ph.D. from Cambridge in the physical chemistry of carbon and graphite micro-structures (1945). During the war years she focused her research efforts on the analysis of high-strength carbon fibers, working at the British Coal Utilization Research Association (BCURA), work that later found use in the construction of carbon rods in modern nuclear power plants. She moved to Paris and lived there from 1947 to 1951, joining the Central Government Laboratory for Chemistry. Working under Jacques Mering she became proficient in X-ray diffraction analysis of coal structure. During this time, in addition to her science she perfected her French and culinary arts, embraced French fashion, and generally enjoyed the freedom and respect as a scientist and colleague, devoid of the prejudice women had to endure in England. Nonetheless, as a foreigner in France, she understood that it would be hard for her to establish herself as an independent researcher and so she returned to England and joined Kings College in London under Sir John Randall. It was here that she produced the essential basic data that paved the way for James Watson and Francis Crick of Cambridge University to propose the double helix structure of DNA, the molecule that genes are made of. At Kings College she and Maurice Wilkins independently studied DNA structure. Franklin perfected the X-ray diffraction equipment and technology to produce highly focused X-ray beams to study the fine DNA fibers she was able to extract. She soon discovered that DNA could assume two forms, which she called A and B. Through painstaking work and extreme care and patience in sample preparation she produced photographs of both A and B forms that led her to conclude that DNA was a double helical molecule in which the phosphate atoms must be on the outside of the structure and the nitrogen bases facing inside. These conclusions and Franklin's X-ray photographs enabled Watson and Crick to propose their double helix model of DNA in which base pairing created the bonds necessary to hold the anti-parallel strands of DNA together. In 1953, she moved to Birkbeck College to establish a new laboratory dedicated to the study of nucleic-acid protein complexes (when she left Kings College Sir Randall demanded that she stop working on DNA!). Franklin turned to the study of Tobacco Mosaic Virus (TMV) and with a young investigator, Aaron *Klug, discovered that TMV was an extended tube in which its proteins were arranged in helical fashion with RNA (ribonucleic acid) embedded amongst the protein molecules.

She made pivotal contributions in three areas of science; the analysis of the structure of carbon and coal, the elucidation of the structure of DNA, and the new field of structural virology as a pioneer. In 1956 she was diagnosed with ovarian cancer. Despite three operations and experimental chemotherapy she courageously continued her work on TMV and polio virus until her dying day. Four years later, Francis Crick, James Watson, and Maurice Wilkins received the Nobel Prize in medicine and physiology for their discoveries concerning the structure of DNA. In 1982 Sir Aaron Klug was awarded the Nobel Prize in chemistry for his structural elucidation of biologically important nucleic acid-protein complexes. It is not by chance that such profound science was so intimately associated with Rosalind Franklin. At the age of 37 she died of ovarian cancer, with little recognition of her monumental contributions to modern biophysics.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: B. Maddox, *Rosalind Franklin: The Dark Lady of DNA* (2002); A. Piper, "Light on a Dark Lady," in: *Trends in Biochem. Sci.* 23 (1998), 151–54; J.D. Watson, *The Double Helix* (1968).

[Jonathan Gershoni (2nd ed.)]

FRANKLIN, SELIM (1814–1883), Canadian politician. Born in Liverpool, England, Franklin was the son of a banker and acquired considerable wealth as a financier. He went to California during the gold rush of 1849 and in 1858 he and his brother, LUMLEY (1812–1873), were among the first Jews to settle in British Columbia. As British citizens, they were able to open a real estate auctioneering business in Victoria, conducting several government land sales of historical importance. In 1860 Selim was elected to the second Vancouver Island legislative assembly, despite allegations of ballot manipulation. Further trouble arose over his eligibility to take his seat because of the oath "on the true faith of a Christian," but the debate was ended by a ruling citing the British legal precedents of Jews and other non-Christians swearing oaths. With the right to assume his position in government recognized, Selim was a member of the assembly from 1860 to 1863 and from 1864 to 1866, when he returned to San Francisco. In 1865 Lumley Franklin became the first Jewish mayor in British North America when he was elected mayor of Victoria, taking an enthusiastic stance in favor of a political union with the mainland of British Columbia. Together, the two brothers played a prominent part in the social and cultural life of both the general and the Jewish community of Victoria. Both were gifted musicians and officers of the local Philharmonic Society. A river running into the Alberni Canal on Vancouver Island and a street in Victoria were named after Selim Franklin.

[Ben G. Kayfetz / Barbara Schober (2nd ed.)]

FRANKLIN, SIDNEY (**Frumkin**; 1903–1976), U.S. bullfighter. Born in Brooklyn, New York, to Russian Jewish immigrants, Franklin was the fifth of nine children. He graduated from Commercial High School and then attended Columbia University, where he studied commercial art. He opened a silk-screen poster business, but one day, after an argument with his father, he decided to go to Mexico to study Mayan history, setting sail on June 8, 1922, for Veracruz. There he opened another poster business, but after seeing his first bullfight, he was drawn to the sport and found his life's calling. Franklin debuted on September 23, 1923, losing his balance twice but killing the bull. The American was not given much of a chance in the Latin sport, but he became an admired matador, first in Mexico and then in Spain, where he moved in 1929 to become he first American ever to fight in that country. He later befriended Ernest Hemingway, who wrote in *Death in the Afternoon,* "Franklin is brave with a cold, serene and intelligent valor but instead of being awkward and ignorant he is one of the most skillful, graceful and slow manipulators of a cape fighting today … He is a better, more scientific, more intelligent, and more finished matador than all but about six of the full matadors in Spain today [1932] and the bullfighters know it and have the utmost respect for him…. You will find no Spaniard who ever saw him fight who will deny his artistry with a cape."

In his autobiography, *Bullfighter from Brooklyn: An Autobiography of Sidney Franklin* (1952), he wrote: "I have often been asked how I came to be a bullfighter; what there was in my background that led me into such a unique profession. Frankly, when I try to review my early life I am puzzled to find an answer to that riddle. To me, at the time, the journey from Jackson Place in Brooklyn to the Plaza de Toros Monumental in Madrid was an entirely natural though exciting one. One thing followed another and, instead of selling insurance or filling someone's teeth, I fought bulls."

[Elli Wohlgelernter (2nd ed.)]

FRANKS, English family, with an important branch in America. BENJAMIN FRANKS (c. 1649–c. 1716), son of an Ashkenazi merchant from Bavaria, was born in London but moved to the West Indies in the last decade of the 17th century. His checkered career took him to New York and Bombay where he made a deposition which was used in the piracy trial of Captain Kidd. He returned to London in 1698 and seems to have stayed there until his death. ABRAHAM (NAPHTALI HART)

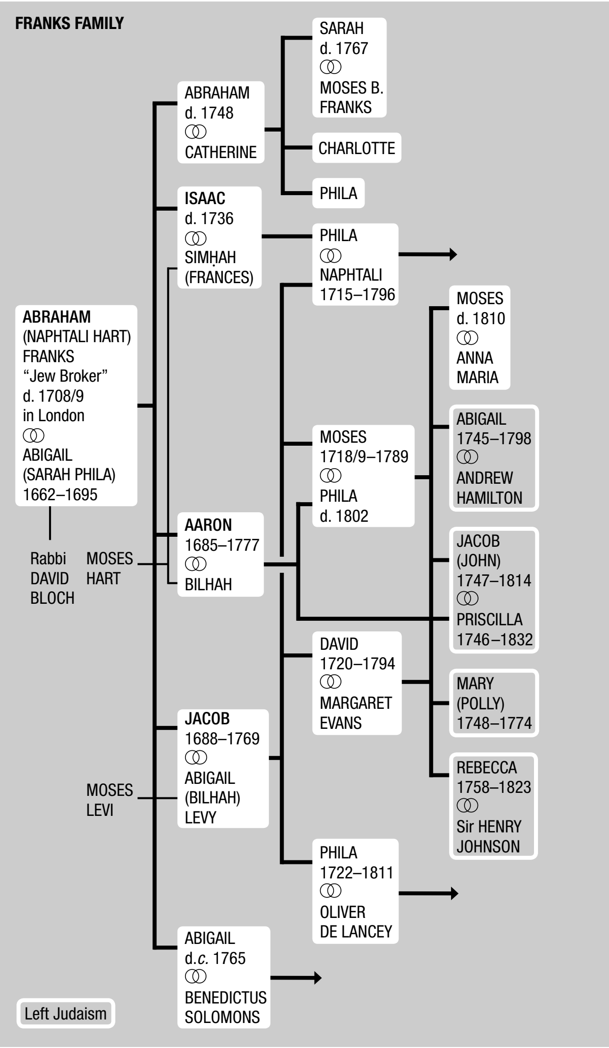
FRANKS FAMILY
ABRAHAM (NAPHTALI HART) FRANKS "Jew Broker" d. 1708/9 in London ⚭ ABIGAIL (SARAH PHILA) 1662–1695
Rabbi DAVID BLOCH
MOSES HART
MOSES LEVI
ABRAHAM d. 1748 ⚭ CATHERINE
ISAAC d. 1736 ⚭ SIMḤAH (FRANCES)
AARON 1685–1777 ⚭ BILHAH
JACOB 1688–1769 ⚭ ABIGAIL (BILHAH) LEVY
ABIGAIL d.c. 1765 ⚭ BENEDICTUS SOLOMONS
SARAH d. 1767 ⚭ MOSES B. FRANKS
CHARLOTTE
PHILA
PHILA ⚭ NAPHTALI 1715–1796
MOSES 1718/9–1789 ⚭ PHILA d. 1802
DAVID 1720–1794 ⚭ MARGARET EVANS
PHILA 1722–1811 ⚭ OLIVER DE LANCEY
MOSES d. 1810 ⚭ ANNA MARIA
ABIGAIL 1745–1798 ⚭ ANDREW HAMILTON
JACOB (JOHN) 1747–1814 ⚭ PRISCILLA 1746–1832
MARY (POLLY) 1748–1774
REBECCA 1758–1823 ⚭ Sir HENRY JOHNSON
Left Judaism

FRANKS (d. 1708–09) was a founder of the London Ashkenazi community admitted to the Royal Exchange in 1697. His son AARON (1685 or 1692–1777) attained great wealth as a jeweler, and was said to have distributed £5,000 yearly in charity without distinction of race or creed. At his country house in Isleworth near London he gave musical receptions and entertained members of the aristocracy. Like other members of the family, he was closely associated with the affairs of the Great Synagogue. He took the lead in 1745 in the attempt to secure the intervention of the English court on behalf of the Jews expelled from Prague. His brother JACOB *FRANKS (1688–1769) was head of the American branch of the family, some members of which in due course returned to England and played a part in communal and public life. (See the chart, "Franks Family.")

BIBLIOGRAPHY: C. Roth, *The Great Synagogue, 1690–1940* (1950), passim; Oppenheim, in: AJHSP, 31 (1928), 229–34; L. Hershkowitz and I.S. Meyer (eds.), *Letters of the Franks Family, 1733–48* (1968). **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** T. Endelman, *Jews in Georgian England*, index; Katz, England, 220–23, index.

[Cecil Roth]

FRANKS, BILHAH ABIGAIL LEVY (1696?–1756), Jewish letter writer. Franks was born in London; the sources are inconclusive about the exact date, just as they are unclear about when the Levy family migrated to New York City. Some documents demonstrate that her father, Moses Levy, a merchant, was there by 1703. At a young age, Franks shed the name Bilhah and signed herself Abigaill, which she always spelled with a double *l*. She is best known because of her surviving correspondence to her eldest son, Naphtali, who was sent to London in 1733 to learn the family business from his uncles. Abigail Franks' letters, among the earliest of any woman in the British colonies, are the oldest surviving communications by a Jewish woman in North America.

Little is known about Franks' youth. She had four brothers with whom she maintained close relations throughout their lives. Her mother died when she was 11 years old, and her father, as was customary, remarried a much younger woman, who in turn gave birth to eight more children. At the age of 16, Abigail married Jacob Franks, a young merchant who also had migrated from London and lived in the Levy household. Naphtali was born in 1715, followed by at least six other children.

Thirty-five letters survive, written between 1733 and 1748. Despite minimal spelling and punctuation skills, the letters reveal that she read broadly in literature and history. Naphtali sent her works of fiction and poetry, some classics, such as Alexander Pope, as well as popular literature. When she disapproved of a book, she chastised him for sending her "trash." She requested a two-volume history of Poland. Her letters demonstrate, as well, her interest in local government and serve as a source of information about early New York's fractious politics. She gossiped with her son about people known to them both, often with a tart tongue. Her observations about Judaism are sharp and critical, but she admonished her son to maintain the dietary laws as well as his daily devotions. While Franks fails to mention some important events in her life, including the deaths of two of her children, she reveals her own personality and much more. She never saw her son again, and none of his letters to her survive.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: E.B. Gelles (ed.), *The Letters of Abigaill Levy Franks (1733–1748)* (2004); L. Hershkowitz and I.S. Meyer, eds. *Letters of the Franks Family (1733–1748)* (1968); M.H. Stern. *First American Jewish Families: 600 Genealogies, 1654–1988* (1991).

[Edith B. Gelles (2nd ed.)]

FRANKS, DAVID (1720–1794), Colonial American merchant and Loyalist. Franks, who was born in New York, began his extensive mercantile career with his arrival in Philadelphia in 1738. In 1742 he entered a partnership with his uncle Nathan Levy. The following year he married a Christian and their children were baptized in Christ Church, Philadelphia. Franks, who had extensive holdings in Western lands, became an agent for the British Army in North America by 1754, along with his father. During the Revolution, Franks was deputy commissary of (British) prisoners for the Americas. However, because of dealings with his brother Moses and with England, he was relieved of his duties. In 1780, after several trials and a good deal of publicity, he was ordered out of Pennsylvania. Exiled to England, Franks vainly sought relief from the crown for his loyalty.

[Leo Hershkowitz]

FRANKS, DAVID SALISBURY (c. 1743–1793), U.S. merchant, a Revolutionary War officer, and patriot. Franks was born in Philadelphia. Three years after his registration in 1760 at the Philadelphia Academy (University of Pennsylvania), he went to Montreal as a merchant. He returned in 1776 after aiding the invading army of generals Richard Montgomery and Benedict Arnold in their unsuccessful attack on Quebec. He became an aide to Arnold, serving in the Pennsylvania line as a major. Exonerated of complicity in the Arnold treason in 1780, Franks was promoted to the rank of lieutenant colonel. In 1781 he was sent to bring government dispatches and advice to John Jay in Madrid and to Benjamin Franklin in Paris. He served as courier, consular official, and confidant to Thomas Jefferson, Robert R. Livingston, and John Adams at various times in Europe until 1787. In 1790 he was appointed assistant cashier to the Bank of the United States. Franks had served as *parnas* of the Congregation Shearith Israel in Montreal in 1775 and was a contributor to Mikveh Israel in Philadelphia.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Rosenbloom, Biog Dict, 39.

[Leo Hershkowitz]

FRANKS, JACOB (1688–1769), New York City merchant and founder of a prominent mercantile family. Franks, born in London, arrived in New York in 1708 or 1709. He became a freeman of New York in 1711. A year later he married Abigail Bilhah Levy, daughter of Moses *Levy, one of New York's wealthiest Jews. The couple had nine children, three of whom – Moses, David, and Naphtali – became successful merchants in England and the provinces. A daughter, Phila, married Oliver De Lancey in 1742, thus linking the family with New York aristocracy. Franks' vast trade activities, engaged in part with Moses Levy and Nathan Simpson, as well as his sons, included dry goods, liquor, and slaves. Other partners in trade were members of the Van Cortlandt, Philipse, and Livingston families. Franks was elected constable of the Dock Ward in New York City in 1720, but declined to serve. He did serve in the militia during the French and Indian Wars. Franks contributed to the building of the steeple on Trinity Church in 1711. Much involved in the congregational affairs of Shearith Israel in New York, he served in a variety of offices, including that of president (1729). He was a founder of the congregation's Mill Street synagogue, and also helped to purchase the congregation burial ground off present-day Chatham Square. Frank's interest in religious affairs was not continued by his descendants, and the family disappeared as Jews by the end of the 18th century.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: L. Hershkowitz and I.S. Meyer (eds.), *Letters of the Franks Family (1733–1748)* (1968).

[Leo Hershkowitz]

FRANKS, JACOB (c. 1766–c. 1823), merchant and civic leader in Wisconsin and Michigan. Franks, who was born in England, was a nephew of David Salisbury *Franks. He immigrated to Montreal and in 1792 was sent to Green Bay, Wisconsin, as an agent for a Montreal firm. He soon purchased a large tract of land, opened his own trading post, and became one of the influential residents of the settlement, contributing much toward the development of the area. Franks moved to Mackinac, Michigan, in 1805 or earlier. During the War of 1812 Franks fought on the British side and aided in the capture of Mackinac. In 1815 he was listed as one of the "magistrates, merchants, traders and principal inhabitants of Michilimackinac and St. Josephs." When the British withdrew from Mackinac to Drummond Island, Michigan, in 1815, the Americans destroyed Franks' house at Mackinac. He returned to Montreal, where he became an army purveyor and was also a business associate of Henry Joseph, member of a leading Canadian Jewish family.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: I. Katz, *The Beth El Story* (1955), index; B. Sack, *History of the Jews in Canada* (1945), index; *Wisconsin Historial Collections*, 19 (1903–11), 292.

[Irving I. Katz]

FRANZBLAU, ABRAHAM NORMAN (1901–1982), U.S. educator and psychiatrist. Franzblau was born in New York. He began a long association with Hebrew Union College in 1923 as principal of its school for teachers in New York, serving until 1931, when he became professor of education and pastoral psychiatry at the College at Cincinnati. Franzblau received a Ph.D. in education from Columbia (1935), and then took up the study of medicine, receiving his M.D. in 1937. During World War II he was attached to the Surgeon General's Office as colonel. Franzblau returned to New York in 1946 as professor of pastoral psychology and dean of the Jewish Institute of Religion school of education. In 1948 he became associated with the psychiatric department of Mount Sinai Hospital and in 1958 retired from Hebrew Union College to devote himself entirely to psychiatry. A pioneer in the application of psychiatric knowledge to the work of the ministry, Franzblau lectured in this field at many seminaries. Besides texts, monographs, and research studies, he wrote *Religious Belief and Character Among Jewish Adolescents* (1934); *Road to Sexual Maturity* (1954); *Primer of Statistics for Non-Statisticians* (1958); and (with his wife Rose Franzblau) *Sane and Happy Life* (1963).

His wife ROSE NADLER FRANZBLAU (1905–1979) was a psychologist and columnist. She was born in Vienna and wrote human relations columns for the *New York Post* from 1947 and discussed psychological problems submitted by listeners to her daily radio program. She wrote *Race Differences in Mental and Physical Traits* (1935) and co-authored *Final Report, National Youth Administration* (1944) and *Tensions Affecting International Understanding* (1950). She also wrote *The Middle Generation* (1971).

ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY: F. Fierman, "Abraham N. Franzblau: Revolutionary Jewish Educator," in: *El Paso Historical Review* (1988).

[Sefton D. Temkin / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

FRANZOS, KARL EMIL (1848–1904), Austrian novelist and journalist. Franzos' oeuvre reflects the identity crisis of emancipated European Jewry. His writings stage this crisis as a conflict between Western and Eastern Jews, between the Haskalah ideal of a transgressive "culture" and the inbred religious traditions of the shtetl. Born in the Galician town of Czortkow and raised in Czernowitz, he was brought up within a multi-ethnic and multi-religious society. After studying law in Vienna and Graz he returned to Galicia only a few years later – as a correspondent for the influential Viennese paper *Neue Freie Presse*. Defining his task as "to accompany the spirit of 'Bildung' and of progress in its war in the east as a humble, but honest correspondent," Franzos fleshed out various scenes of this "cultural war" in several tales and reports from the land of "darkness," which were published in two volumes under the title *Aus Halb-Asien* ("From Half-Asia") in 1876. His writings targeted Ḥasidism, considering it a harsh and brutal dictatorship of ignorance that prevented Eastern Jewry from leaving the halakhic paths and joining the process of Jewish acculturation and emancipation. On the other hand, it was Franzos' intention to produce a detailed impression of shtetl life and therefore his descriptions are also imbued with compassion and belie his fascination with the world whose structures are supposed to be struck down by the Enlightenment. Within these constellations, Franzos created his own particular kind of narrative within the genre of the so-called "ghetto novella," which he demonstrated first in his story collection *Die Juden von Barnow* (1877). The center of these novellas could be seen in the conflict between two laws (i.e., *torot*), between *halakhah* – as a law that has become insufficient to solve the daily problems of *galut* existence – and culture – as a new and superior law that is capable of making decisions that do not contradict ethical and moral values in order to find justice. The tragedy of this conflict is shaped in Franzos' novels *Moschko von Parm* (1880), *Judith Trachtenberg* (1889), and his famous *Der Pojaz* (published posthumously in 1905), which tells the story of the young Eastern Jew Sender Glatteis, who tries to get on the track of German culture in order to become an actor but who is finally not able to surmount the barriers of shtetl society with its restrictions.

For a long time the double-edged sense of Franzos' writings was overlooked, but in recent years it has become more and more clear that the crisis of Eastern Jewry diagnosed by his oeuvre mirrors the crisis of Western Jewry. The success of Franzos' writings at the end of the 19th century therefore points to the ambivalent status of German and Austrian Jewish society at the peak of the emancipation process: the enthusiastic reception of Franzos becomes a paradigm for the secular interpretation of Judaism as representing a longing for stabile cultural patterns of "Jewishness" as well.

Regarding his non-Jewish readers, Franzos saw himself always in the position of a mediator, whose mission was to explain the circumstances and conditions of East Jewish socialization, the effort it took for an Eastern Jew to bridge the gap between religious traditions and the sphere of the big humanist project which he identified with German culture. His ideal of a forthcoming German-Jewish symbiosis made him a sedulous fighter against any form of antisemitism. Franzos himself proved the value of Jewish participation in German cultural life – in 1879 he published the first edition of Georg Buechner's collected works.

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[Philipp Theisohn (2nd ed.)]

FRATERNAL SOCIETIES, organizations for mutual aid, fellowship, life insurance, relief of distress, and sick and death benefits, frequently modeled on the *Freemason pattern. Jewish fraternal societies originated in the 19th century. In England the Order Achei Brith and Shield of Abraham was organized in 1888, Ancient Maccabeans in 1891, Achei Ameth in 1897, Grand Order Sons of Jacob in 1900, followed by many others. In 1915 an Association of Jewish Friendly Societies was established there. In South and Central America these societies were organized as *Landsmannschaften, e.g., the Galician Farband or Bessarabian Landsleit Farein. The main society in the United States is the Independent Order *Bnai B'rith. Other bodies are the True Sisters (1846), the *Free Sons of Israel (1849), *Brith Abraham (1859), the Independent Order Brith Abraham (1887), and the defunct Order Kesher Shel Barzel (1860). Many others originated as *Landsmannschaften*. Many small-scale *Landsmannschaften* later enrolled in general orders, some of which were formed along political lines: the *Workmen's Circle (1900) stressed socialism; the Jewish National Workers' Alliance (1910) combined Zionism with socialism; the International Workers' Order (1930), later renamed Jewish People's Fraternal Order, was controlled by Communists. They established elementary and high schools with instruction in Yiddish and Hebrew and promoted adult education. With the growing popularity of commercial insurance, the commercialization of the mortuary business, and leisure time activities, the membership of fraternal orders rapidly declined.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Baron, Community, index, s.v. *Landsmannschaften*; Weinryb, in: JSOS, 8 (1946), 219–44; AJYB, 39 (1938), 123–4; 50 (1949), 34–37; Levitats, in: *Essays on Jewish Life and Thought* (1959), 333–49.

[Isaac Levitats]

FRAUD, the prohibition against wronging another in selling or buying property (Lev. 25:14) is one of civil (see **Ona'ah*) rather than criminal law – although, since it is a negative injunction, its violation by any overt act may result in the punishment of *flogging (Tos. and *Penei Yehoshu'a* to BM 61a; cf. Maim. Yad, Sanhedrin 18:1). Where reparation can be made by the payment of money, no such punishment may be inflicted in addition (cf. Yad, loc. cit., 2 and Mekhirah 12:1; Ket.

32a; Mak. 4b, 16a). The express repetition, "And ye shall not wrong one another, but thou shalt fear thy God" (Lev. 25:17), was interpreted to prohibit the "wronging" of another not only in commercial transactions but also in noncommercial intercourse: the prohibition extends to "wronging by words" as distinguished from wronging by fraudulent deeds and devices; and wronging by words includes pestering people in vain as well as offending or ridiculing them (BM 4:10). It is said that wronging by words is even more reprehensible than wronging by fraudulent deeds, because while the latter is an offense against property only and can be redressed by the payment of money, the former is an offense against the person and his reputation, for which money will not normally be an adequate compensation (BM 58b; Yad, Mekhirah 14:12–18; see *Slander). However, though not constituting a cause of action for damages, wronging by words is not punishable by flogging either, because the mere utterance of words is not considered such an overt act of violation as may be punished in this way (cf. Yad, Sanhedrin 18:2). The admonition "but thou shalt fear thy God" (Lev. 25:17) is said to indicate that even though the offender may escape human punishment, divine retribution is certain to follow (Yad, Mekhirah 14:18; Ibn Ezra to Lev. 26:17).

The fact that fraud, even in the civil law meaning of the term, was in biblical times regarded as eminently criminal in character is well illustrated in Ezekiel's discourse on individual criminal responsibility: the same responsibility attaches for wronging the poor and needy, converting property, and not restoring pledges, as for murder, robbery, and adultery (Ezek. 18:10–13), and for all those misdeeds the same capital punishment is threatened (*ibid.*). Fraud and *oppression are usually found in the same context as *usury (Ex. 22:20, 24; Lev. 25:14, 17, 37; Deut. 23:17, 20; Ezek. 7–8; 12–13, 17). Fraud has also been held as tantamount to larceny (see *Theft and Robbery; Tur, ḤM 227). As fraud and oppression go hand in hand, their victims are often the weak and the underprivileged; hence there are particular prohibitions on fraud against strangers (Ex. 22:20), widows and orphans (Ex. 21), and slaves (Deut. 23:17). Wronging widows and orphans is so repulsive in the eyes of God that "if they cry at all unto Me… My wrath shall wax hot and I will kill you with the sword, and your wives shall be widows and your children fatherless" (Ex. 22:22–23). Wronging and vexing the poor and the stranger draws forth God's wrath (Ezek. 22:29–31 et al.) and is a cause of national disaster (Jer. 22:3–6).

In post-talmudic times, fraudulent business practices often resulted in the courts barring or suspending the offender from carrying on business. While isolated instances of fraud would be dealt with as civil matters, repeated and notorious fraudulent business practices might be punished by the sequestration of the offender's business, depriving him of his livelihood (S. Assaf, *Ha-Onshin Aḥarei Ḥatimat ha-Talmud* (1922), 43). On other aspects of fraud see also **Gerama*.

In the State of Israel, the criminal law on fraud and kindred offenses has been reformed and expanded by the Penal Law Amendment (Deceit, Blackmail and Extortion) Law, 5723–1963. Fraud is there defined as any representation of fact – past, present, or future – made in writing, by word of mouth, or by conduct, which the maker knew to be false or did not believe to be true. It is made a criminal offense not only to obtain anything by such fraud, but also to obtain anything by any trick not amounting to fraud or by the exploitation of another's mistake or ignorance. Particular instances of fraud mentioned in the Act are pretenses of sorcery or fortune-telling; forgeries and unauthorized alterations of documents and the use or uttering of the same; the fraudulent suppression or concealment of any document or chattel, and the fraudulent incitement of others to make, alter, or conceal documents; as well as the issue of a check where the drawer knew that the banker on whom it was drawn was not bound to honor it.

[Haim Hermann Cohn]

The Penal Code 5737–1977 included the contents of the legislated sections referred to above, pertaining to fraud in general. It also included sections establishing special offences for fraudulent acts in the context of corporations (sections 426–414 of the Law). Furthermore, section 576 of the Companies Ordinance [New Version] 5743–1983 deals with offenses committed by position holders in companies.

Regarding fraudulent betrothal (*kiddushin*), see *Marriage. Regarding a fraudulent judgment, see *Practice and Procedure

[Menachem Elon (2nd ed.)]

BIBLIOGRAPHY: ET, 1 (1951^3), 160f.; 2 (1949), 18f.; EM, 1 (1950), 149f. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** M. Elon, *Ha-Mishpat ha-Ivri* (1988), 1:536, 537, 576, 604, 622, 720; idem, *Jewish Law*, (1994) 2:652, 710, 748, 769, 888.

FRAUENSTAEDT, JULIUS (Christian Martin; 1813–1879), philosopher. Frauenstaedt, who was born in Bojanowo, Posen, became a Christian at 20. He studied theology and philosophy at Berlin. Originally a Hegelian, he met Schopenhauer in 1846 and became a student and follower of his. Frauenstaedt published the first complete edition of Schopenhauer's works in 6 volumes (1873–74) and was his literary executor, publishing his posthumous writings. He differed with Schopenhauer on various aspects of his philosophy, especially regarding his voluntarism and pessimism. Frauenstaedt wrote extensively on religion and ethics. His best-known works are *Aesthetische Fragen* (1853), *Der Materialismus* (1856), and *Blicke in die intellektuelle, physische und moralische Welt* (1869). He also wrote a *Schopenhauer-Lexikon* (1871), *Briefe ueber die Schopenhauer'sche Philosophie* (1854), and *Neue Briefe* (1876).

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[Richard H. Popkin]

°FREDERICK I (1826–1907), grand duke of Baden, son-in-law of Kaiser William I, and uncle by marriage of Kaiser William II. Frederick ruled Baden from 1852 until his death and carried out many reforms in the school and voting system based on liberal ideas and was the first and almost the only influential political figure to help *Herzl wholeheartedly. When he learned of Herzl and *Der Judenstaat* from his sons' tutor, the Reverend William *Hechler, he followed Herzl's progress with deep sympathy. It was he who arranged the meeting between the German kaiser and Herzl when the former visited Ereẓ Israel in 1898, and he sent enthusiastic memoranda on political Zionism to the Russian czar. His efforts to arrange meetings between Herzl, the czar, and the king of England were unsuccessful, but the czar sent him a letter in support of political Zionism. Frederick received Herzl several times and they conducted an extremely friendly correspondence. The grand duke's picture, which he sent to Herzl, adorned the latter's study (and can be seen in the reconstruction of this room at the Herzl Museum, Jerusalem). After failures and disappointments in the diplomatic sphere, Herzl was greatly encouraged by his personal contacts with Frederick. The Zionist Organization sent a delegation (including David *Wolfsohn and Nahum *Sokolow) to Frederick's funeral in Karlsruhe.

The grand duke's correspondence with Herzl, the kaiser, the czar, and others in German, English, and French was found in 1959 by H. and B. Ellern, who published a facsimile edition in 1961. Later all the letters were published in the *Herzl Year Book*, 4 (1961–62), 207–70 by H. Zohn, together with an English translation of the letters in German and French.

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[Getzel Kressel / Bjoern Siegel (2nd ed.)]

°FREDERICK II ("the Great"), king of Prussia 1740–86. Like his predecessors, Frederick II followed the policy of allowing into the kingdom only fixed numbers of **Schutzjuden* ("protected Jews"), and took pains to ensure that these remained within defined limits. In keeping with this policy, the General Regulation he issued in 1750 distinguished between "ordinary" and "extraordinary" protected Jews; hereditary residential rights – to which only one child could succeed – were granted to the former alone while the rights of the "extraordinary" Jews lapsed with their death. Prussia's severe tax burden weighed more heavily on the Jews than other citizens. Apart from fixed "protection" money and the taxes levied in lieu of military service, they were also made responsible for the export of the state's manufactured products, and had to purchase a specified quantity of porcelain – the so-called *Judenporzellan* – from the royal factory. The trades and occupations they could follow were restricted, and the oath *more Judaico* was reimposed in 1747. Although freethinking and a lover of art and literature, the king was prepared only after much persuasion to extend to Moses *Mendelssohn the privilege of *Schutzjude* – and an "extraordinary" one, at that.

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[Reuven Michael]

°FREDERICK II ("the Belligerent") OF BABENBERG, duke of Austria 1230–1246. In 1244 he granted to Jews the privilege known as the "Fridericianum," following the basic lines of the charters granted by Emperor *Frederick II of Hohenstaufen in Germany in 1236, and to the city of Vienna in 1238. The "Fridericianum," regarded by the historian J.E. Scherer as a "sparkling star in a dark night," served as the model for privileges granted to Jews in *Hungary in 1251, in *Bohemia in 1254, in *Poland in 1264, and in *Silesia in 1294. *Rudolf of Hapsburg confirmed it in 1278 in his capacity of Holy Roman Emperor. The charter remained valid in the territory of Austria proper, until the expulsion of the Jews in 1420 (see *Albert II; *Wiener Gesera). The "Fridericianum" granted the Jews autonomy and equality with Christians in civil law and equal rights for trading in wines, dyes, and medicaments. It prohibited forcible conversion and exempted Jews from having persons arbitrarily billeted in their houses. Jurisdiction over the Jews was transferred from the imperial to the ducal chamber. Security of their life and property was guaranteed including defense of their cemeteries and synagogues. Freedom of transit throughout Austria was permitted, including transportation of corpses for burial without paying tolls. In lawsuits between themselves Jews were entitled to judgment by their own *bet din*, while for settling disputes between Jews and gentiles the post of **Iudex Judaeorum* was created. If a gentile was suspected of murdering a Jew but the charge could not be substantiated, the duke was ready to supply a champion to fight him on behalf of the Jew. The transition of Jewish occupations from commerce to moneylending is reflected by the fact that 22 paragraphs out of 30 in the charter deal with matters connected with moneylending, fixing a weekly interest rate of eight pfennigs on one mark, i.e., 173.33% yearly. The "Fridericianum" took over the concept of accepting the statement of a Jew on oath that he had taken a pledge bona fide if it was proved to have been stolen or lost though not through his fault, thus continuing to give the moneylender protection against malicious claims.

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°FREDERICK II OF HOHENSTAUFEN (1194–1250), king of Sicily (with Apulia) from 1198; Holy Roman Emperor from 1215. He was in continuous and bitter conflict with the papacy, and was considered an arch-heretic by his opponents, who even termed him anti-Christ for his pamphlet *De tribus impostoribus* ("On the Three Impostors," i.e., Moses, Jesus, and Mohammed). However he had a lofty, if unusual, conception of the Christian religion, and of the royal duty to serve it. In his attitude toward the Jews and his reactions to them Frederick's complicated and powerful personality displayed an individual approach. In Sicily and in south Italy he confirmed the privileges accorded to the Jews by his Norman predecessors. He also had the dyeing and silk-weaving industries in south Italy, which were crown monopolies, administered by Jewish agents, as had the Norman rulers before him, who also employed Jewish artisans in the textile manufacture. In 1221, however, the Emperor decreed that Jews must be distinguished from Christians by their clothes and their appearance, thus conforming to the decisions of the Fourth Lateran Council (1215). The Jews of Sicily were ordered to wear blue coats over their clothes and grow beards, and the women to wear a blue stripe on their cloaks and head covering to distinguish them from the Christians; but there is no evidence that these strictures were actually enforced. Frederick finalized the legal definition governing the concept of Jewish servitude, which had evolved during the 12th century, describing the Jews in grants of privileges he issued in 1236 and 1237 as "*servi camerae *nostrae,*" which applied to all of his domains. In Sicily, the status of the Jews, formerly modeled by the Normans on the status of the **Dhimmis* in the lands of Islam, underwent a significant change as they became *servi camerae* and the monarch's property. Muslims living in Frederick's domains were accorded similar status.

Frederick invited Jewish translators and scholars to his court: Judah b. Solomon ha-Kohen (*Matkah), Samuel Ibn *Tibbon, and Jacob *Anatoli, who took part in its lively and variegated intellectual life, discussing philosophy and disputing diverse issues with Christian scholars. The emperor also took part in these discussions: in his introduction to *Malmad ha-Talmidim* ("A Goad to Scholars"), Jacob Anatoli referred to the emperor's own attempts at biblical interpretation.

The originality and force of Frederick's personality clearly emerged in the action he took in connection with the blood *libel. When the bodies of children alleged to have been murdered by the Jews in *Fulda (1236) were brought before him, he determined that he would finally settle the question. Frederick read about the problem himself and became convinced that the Jews were innocent of the charge. Being unable to obtain a clear-cut opinion or decision from the Church authorities or nobility, he had the original idea of convening a council of apostates, who as former Jews and devout Christians should be able to give a definitive answer. Frederick subsequently published their unequivocal refutation of the blood libel and prohibited the libel's circulation throughout his domains.

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[Reuven Michael /Nadia Zeldes (2nd ed.)]

°**FREDERICK III OF HAPSBURG**, duke of Austria (as Frederick V), and king of Germany (as Francis IV, 1440–86); Holy Roman Emperor 1452–93. Frederick III favored the Jews, whose enemies described him as "more a Jewish than a Holy Roman Emperor." The general charter he granted to Carinthia in 1444 contained provisions for the protection of the Jews there. He resettled the Jews in *Austria (though not in Vienna) after their expulsion in 1421, for which he obtained a *bull from Pope Nicholas V in 1451 permitting their return since this would provide for the "Jews' livelihood and the Christians' benefit." He confirmed this permission when emperor. Frederick resisted the frequent protests by the Estates against admitting Jews (1458–63). As emperor he intervened on behalf of Israel *Bruna who was accused in a *blood libel in 1474, although earlier he had him imprisoned as a hostage to extort payment of a coronation tax. Frederick also intervened on behalf of the Jews in the blood libel cases of *Endingen (1470), *Trent (1476), and *Regensburg (1478). He persuaded Pope Paul II to issue a bull in 1469 ordering priests not to deny religious sacraments to officials who upheld the rights of the Jews. Jacob b. Jehiel Loans was physician to Frederick III for many years, and according to tradition there was personal friendship between patient and physician. Frederick's attitude to the Jews was motivated both by the need to overcome his financial difficulties and to uphold the imperial authority including his jurisdictions over the Jews.

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°**FREDERICK WILLIAM** (Ger. **Friedrich Wilhelm**), name of several kings of Prussia.

FREDERICK WILLIAM III was king of Prussia from 1797 to 1840. The defeats in the Napoloenic Wars at Jena and Auerstädt and the peace treaty of Tilsit (1807) brought Prussia heavy territorial losses but opened the way to reform in the state system. The liberal-inspired 1812 edict (see *Prussia) concerning the civil status of the Jews was issued by Frederick William III, it had been forced on him by the statesmen *Hardenberg and *Humboldt. The king himself made determined efforts to exclude the Jews from participation in army service: when, after the Napoleonic wars, Jewish war veterans and invalids applied for pensions and posts, he denied even the rights of those who had received decorations. The king explicitly ordered that conversion to Christianity should be made a condition for employment in state posts, including those in universities. Frederick William gave official support to a Prussian society for propagating Christianity among the Jews, and declared conversion to Judaism illegal. He opposed the *Reform movement and had the private prayer rooms of I. *Jacobson closed down. It was with reluctance that he awarded regular advancements and decorations to Meno Burg, the first Jewish career officer in the Prussian army.

His son, FREDERICK WILLIAM IV, was king of Prussia from 1840 to 1861. Jewish hopes that he would follow a more liberal policy were soon disappointed. Imbued with a romantic-medieval concept of a Christian state, he proved even more reactionary than his father. He considered that Judaism was not a religion, but the remnant of a political constitution (see the ideas of Moses *Mendelssohn). Frederick William determined to reorganize the Jews as an independent corporation on medieval lines, alongside but not within the Prussian body. In December 1841, he ordered that the term "civil rights" should be replaced by "rights accorded by the 1812 edict," a preliminary for a new Jewish constitution under which the Jews were to have rights within their own community only. G. *Riesser, L. *Philippson, Johann *Jacoby, and Moritz *Veit led the struggle against the royal policy, supported by various Christian liberals as well as by the provincial estates, who were in favor of general and Jewish service in the army and full application of the 1812 edict. The king's most important supporters were F.J. *Stahl and *Bismarck. Despite vigorous opposition, he carried through his Jewish constitution in 1847 with only minor revisions. The king's "corporationist" plans were made obsolete by the 1848 revolution, but on the basis of the 1847 constitution the Prussian state recognized only individual Jewish communities. In 1849 he refused the offer of the parliament of Frankfurt to be emperor of Germany because he did not wish to have any connection with the revolution.

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FREED, ALAN (1922–1965), U.S. disc jockey. Born in Salem, Ohio, Freed spent two years at Ohio State University, where he played the trombone and led the Sultans of Swing, a band named after a famous group in Harlem. After two years in the Army, Freed started a career in radio playing classical music. It was a far cry from his later years as the most important figure in the early years of rock 'n' roll, an outgrowth of rhythm and blues usually associated with "race" music and black audiences. In 1950, Leo Mintz, the owner of a Cleveland record store, lured Freed to be host of a program on a station geared to young white listeners after he discovered that many white suburban youths were going to his store to buy recordings by black artists. Freed played those records on the show and he and the music became sensations. He called himself Moondog and in 1952, at the Moondog Coronation Ball, considered the first rock concert, 20,000 fans crashed the 10,000-seat capacity Cleveland Arena. The dance was canceled.

Moving to New York in 1954, Freed's career took off, even as he tangled with radio stations, television networks, and the music business over playing the so-called black music. He brought rock 'n' roll into mainstream American society, a biographer wrote, "and he made a lot of enemies because of that. Here was this white guy bringing blacks and whites together to dance in the 1950s. It was unheard of." Freed's popularity over the air was matched on stage during school holidays, when he took over large movie palaces in Brooklyn and elsewhere and presented rock 'n' roll performers to mobs of youngsters. One such show, in Boston in 1958, resulted in Freed's arrest for anarchy and inciting to riot. The charges were later dropped. But Freed's "big beat" music was considerably less welcome afterward and a number of cities banned him altogether.

Freed's downfall came a few years later, when television quiz show scandals brought the subject of payola – the payment of fees by record producers to have their songs played on the air – into public view. Freed was charged with having taken bribes totaling $30,650 from six record companies for playing and promoting their releases on his program. In 1962 he pleaded guilty to part of the charge and received a six-month sentence, which was suspended, and a $300 fine. He then moved to the West Coast, where he lived quietly.

In 1986, at the inaugural ceremonies for the Rock and Roll Hall of Fame, Freed was inducted posthumously. It was not an accident that the hall was built in Cleveland.

[Stewart Kampel (2nd ed.)]

FREED (originally **Grossman**), **ARTHUR** (1894–1973), U.S. popular lyricist and producer of motion picture musicals. Freed was born in Charleston, S.C., and grew up in Seattle, Wash. He was a piano player for the music publishers Waterman, Berlin, and Snyder (see Irving *Berlin), toured the Chicago area with the *Marx brothers for several months, and later with Gus Edwards' vaudeville circuit for a year and a half. After army service in 1917–19, Freed wrote his first popular song hit, "I Cried for You, Now It's Your Turn to Cry over Me," with music by his partner, Nacio Herb Brown. He and Brown produced revues at the Orange Grove Theater using their own songs. Freed's work in motion pictures began when he and Brown wrote the songs for Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer's and Hollywood's first musical, *Broadway Melody of 1929*. In 1939 Freed produced, for MGM, *Babes in Arms*, the first of about 50 musicals, including *Strike Up the Band* (1940), *Cabin in the Sky* (1943), *Meet Me in St. Louis* (1944), *On the Town* (1949), *American in Paris* (1951), and *Singin' in the Rain* (1952), the title of the last being a Freed song originally performed in MGM's second musical, *Hollywood Revue*.

FREED, ISADORE (1900–1960), composer. Born in Brest-Litovsk, Russia, Freed was taken to the United States as an infant. He studied with Ernest *Bloch there and with Vincent d'Indy in Paris. Returning to the United States in 1934, he engaged in teaching, and was chairman of the music department of the Hart College of Music in Hartford, Connecticut, from 1944 until his death. He wrote two symphonies; violin and cello concertos; and an opera, *The Princess and the Vagabond* (1948); chamber music; and choral works. His works were of a moderately modernistic idiom, with some use of American folk themes, as in his *Appalachian Symphonic Sketches* (1946). His synagogal compositions include *Sabbath Morning Service* (1950), *Ḥasidic Service* (1954), Psalm settings, and a selection from Salamone de *Rossi's *Ha-shirim asher li-Shelomo* arranged as a service for cantor, chorus, and organ (1954).

FREED, JAMES INGO (1930–), U.S. architect. Born in Essen, Freed fled from Germany to France in 1938 and immigrated to the United States with his younger sister in 1939. He rose to become one America's most distinguished architects, winning a long list of awards such as the 1997 Award for Outstanding Achievement in Design for the Government of the United States. He received his bachelor's degree in architecture from the Illinois Institute of Architecture (1953), where he returned as dean of architecture two decades later. After serving with the U.S. Corps of Engineers and then working as an architect and planner in Chicago, Freed joined Mies Van der Rohe in New York in 1955. In 1956 he joined I.M. Pei and Partners, later known as Pei Cobb Freed and Partners. Freed taught architecture at every major architectural school in the United States. As an active participant in the public sphere, he was director of the Regional Plan Association of New York–New Jersey–Connecticut and from 1983 to 1991 served as architectural commissioner of the Arts Commission of New York City. In 1988 Freed was elected to the American Academy of Design. He was also a member of the American Academy of Arts and Letters and a fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences. Among Freed's major building designs are the Jacob Javits Exposition and Convention Center in New York City (1986) and the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington, D.C. (completed in 1993). To prepare himself for the design of the Holocaust Museum, Freed visited the sites of the Nazi concentration camps in Europe and memorials in Israel. He studied films, tapes, and books, keeping a bound volume of photographs in his office of what he had seen. "It has been the most moving experience of my life," he said. "It couldn't be just another government building.… We want walls to speak, to impart a certain discomfort, a certain pressure, a certain evocation." Freed decided that his design would be outside current architectural dialogues and outside questions of style The main issue, Freed explained, was how people can be made to understand the Holocaust and keep it from happening again. Certain construction details in the building are evocative of the camps: the design of the lighting, the brick work, and cracked concrete walls. The museum is organized around a long, descending walk through the exhibits and ends in a Hall of Remembrance. In 1996 Freed designed the San Francisco Main Public Library. In 2001 he designed the reorganization of the Israel Museum complex, which includes buildings devoted to archaeology, art, sculpture, and the Shrine of the Book.

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[Betty R. Rubenstein (2nd ed.)]

FREEDMAN, BARNETT (1901–1958), British artist and book illustrator. Freedman, who was born in the East End of London, the son of a tailor, was bedridden from the age of 9 to 12 years. He then became a draftsman for monumental masons and attended evening classes in art. In 1922 he obtained a small annual grant and admittance to the Royal College of Art. In 1940 he was appointed an official war artist to the British Army, and later to the admiralty. His most important artistic achievement was as a book illustrator. In 1927 he illustrated Laurence Binyon's poem *The Wonder Night*, followed two years later by an edition of *Memoirs of an Infantry Officer* by Siegfried *Sassoon. In 1935 he designed the commemorative stamp for the Jubilee of King George V. He illustrated a series of classics published by Limited Editions Club and the Heritage Club of America. His paintings of street scenes and itinerant musicians were influenced by memories of his childhood in the Jewish working-class area.

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[Charles Samuel Spencer]

FREEDMAN, HARRY (1922–), composer, English hornist. Born Henryk Frydmann in Lodz, Poland, Freedman was raised in Medicine Hat, Alberta, from 1925, and from 1931 in Winnipeg, where he studied painting and clarinet and became involved in big band jazz. After service in the Royal Canadian Air Force in World War II, he settled in Toronto, studying composition with John Weinzweig at the Royal Conservatory (1945–51) and with Olivier Messiaen and Aaron *Copland at Tanglewood (1949) and Ernst Krenek in Toronto (1953). From 1945 he studied oboe with Perry Bauman and played English horn in the Toronto Symphony in 1946–70. The Toronto Symphony's first composer-in-residence (1969–70), Freedman taught and was also composer-in-residence at the Courtenay Youth Music Centre, 1972–81. In 1989–91, he taught composition and orchestration at the University of Toronto – in 1990–91 as the Jean A. Chalmers Visiting Professor of Canadian Music.

Exceptional for his prolific output in a wide variety of musical idioms and genres, Freedman has written several works for film, theater, and ballet, including the electronic music for *The Shining People of Leonard Cohen* (1970). Also representative of his breadth are *Psalm 137: Al Naharot Bavel* (1974) for tenor and organ, *Celebration: Concerto for Gerry Mulligan* (1977), *And Now It Is Today Oh Yes* (1982), a musical entertainment for soprano and chamber players based on Gertrude Stein's *Everybody's Autobiography,* and *A Time Is Coming* (1982) for chorus based on Amos 9:13ff.

In 1970 he won an Etrog Award for best music in a Canadian feature film (*Act of the Heart* starring Donald Sutherland and Geneviève Bujold). The Canadian Music Council named Freedman Composer of the Year in 1980 and he was installed as an Officer of the Order of Canada in 1984. The recording of his 1989 *Touchings* by the Esprit Orchestra and the Nexus percussion ensemble won a Juno Award in 1996, and his *Borealis* for four choirs and orchestra was cited for "freshness of ideas and beauty of sound" at the 1998 International Rostrum of Composers in Paris. In 1998 he also received the Canada Council's Victor Martyn Lynch-Staunton Award.

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[Jay Rahn (2nd ed.)]

FREEDMAN, JAMES O. (1935–), scholar of administrative law. Freedman was born in Manchester, New Hampshire. He received his bachelor of arts degree from Harvard in 1957 and graduated cum laude from Yale Law School in 1962. He served as a law clerk to Justice Thurgood Marshall, and then practiced law with a New York firm before joining the faculty of the University of Pennsylvania Law School in 1964. He became university provost in 1978 and dean of the law school in 1979. Freedman served as president of the University of Iowa from 1982 to 1987, then as president of Dartmouth College from 1987 to 1998, the second Jew to serve in that position. Dartmouth, which is the most rural and conservative of the Ivy League campuses, had their second Jewish president well before some of the other, more Jewish populated Ivy League colleges had their first.

A prominent scholar, Freedman published *Crisis and Legitimacy: The Administrative Process and American Government* in 1978. He wrote numerous articles and reviews for academic journals, including *Iowa Law Review*, *University of Pennsylvania Law Review*, *Administrative Law Review*, and others. In his writing, as well as in his role as university president, he was an outspoken supporter of liberal arts education and its role in moral leadership. His 1996 work *Idealism and Liberal Education* sets forth the importance of a liberal arts education in preparing students for leadership. Freedman cites Czech playwright Vaclav Havel as an example of an engaged intellectual involved with social and political concerns.

In "Ghosts of the Past: Anti-Semitism at Elite Colleges," an article written for *The Chronicle of Higher Education* in 2000, Freedman discusses his decision in 1997 to address the issue of antisemitism while presiding over the dedication of the Roth Center for Jewish Life at Dartmouth. His speech, which cited documents from the archives of Dartmouth and other institutions, chronicled the existence of a Jewish quota during the 1920s, 1930s, and 1940s. Freedman called for "a continuing vigilance about discrimination" against ethnic and religious groups. The speech generated widespread interest and praise.

Freedman was actively involved with the American Jewish Committee and served on the board of Brandeis University. In 2000 he was elected the forty-second president of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences. As president, he expressed a wish that the Academy address social concerns and inequality. In 2003 Freedman was named a member of Hebrew College's National Board.

[Dorothy Bauhoff (2nd ed.)]

FREEDMAN, SAMUEL (1908–1993), Canadian lawyer, community leader, chief justice of Manitoba. To a student who asked Samuel Freedman whether he should be addressed as "milord" or "Mr. Justice," Freedman replied: "Call me Sam." Sam Freedman was born in the Ukraine, the fifth of seven children. At age three he came to Canada with his family, settling in Winnipeg's immigrant North End. He graduated from the University of Manitoba with honors in classics in 1929 and went on to law school, where he became an accomplished debater. He graduated in 1933 and entered law practice, served four years as editor of the *Manitoba Bar News*, and was president of the Manitoba Bar Association in 1951–52. He was named to the Manitoba Court of Queens Bench in 1952; in 1954–55 he headed a commission investigating railroad labor problems; during 1959–68 he served as chancellor of the University of Manitoba. In 1960 Freedman was elevated to the Court of Appeal and in 1971 was appointed chief justice of Manitoba, a position he held until 1993. On his appointment as an Officer of the Order of Canada in 1984, the governor general of Canada cited his "discriminating mind and glowing humanity [as resulting] in brilliant legal judgements…."

Freedman was also much involved in the community. During his student years he was active in the Menorah Society and later in the YMHA and B'nai B'rith. A founder of the Winnipeg Chapter of the Canadian Friends of the Hebrew University, he served as a member of the organization's national board of governors. During 1955–58 he was division co-chair of the Canadian Council of Christians and Jews and in 1957–58 was campaign chairman for the Manitoba Heart Foundation. He was in great demand as a public speaker in Winnipeg and other centers in Canada and the United States.

His son Martin Freedman sat as a member of the Manitoba Court of Appeal in the seat once occupied by his father.

[Abraham Arnold (2nd ed.)]

FREEDOM. The concept of freedom in the Bible is found in the injunction that on the advent of the *Jubilee, "liberty was proclaimed throughout the land unto all the inhabitants thereof … and ye shall return every man unto his family" (Lev. 25:10). Thus the freedom envisaged encompassed not only the emancipation of slaves, but the return to one's ancestral lands which had been alienated by sale. This concept is extended in Jeremiah 34, in which the prophet denounces the people for later disregarding the order given by Zedekiah "that every man should let his man-servant and every man his maid-servant, being a Hebrew man or a Hebrew woman, go free; that none should make bondsmen of them, even of a Jew his brother" (34:9). Although the Talmud also uses the word freedom in antithesis to slavery (BK 15a), in general it employs the word in a wider sense as denoting absence of subservience, and the concept that it was morally and legally wrong under any circumstances for a Jew to be dependent upon or subservient to another Jew became one of the fundamental principles of the rabbis, but to the evil of the denial of freedom to Jew by his fellow Jew was added that of the subservience of the Jew to foreign rule.

The concept of that freedom was unique in the insistence on the freedom of the individual in order that he might be free to devote himself utterly and without restraint to the service of God and the fulfillment of His will. The locus classicus of this conception is the rabbinical interpretation given to the verse "For unto Me are the children of Israel servants," which is emphasized by the repetition "they are My servants" (Lev. 25:55), upon which the rabbis comment: "they are My servants, but not the servants of My servants." It is the basis of the reason given by Johanan b. Zakkai for the law that a Hebrew slave who chose to remain in slavery when the time came for his emancipation had to have his ear bored (Ex. 21:6), an interpretation which is called "a species of *ḥomer*" (probably "an important ethical principle") "Why the ear of all the organs of the body? God said: Because it was the ear which heard Me say upon Mount Sinai 'Unto Me are the children of Israel servants, but not servants to My servants,' yet its owner went and acquired a [human] master for himself, therefore let that ear be bored" (Kid. 22b; in the *Mekhilta* to Ex. 21:6 Simeon b. Judah ha-Nasi derives the same ethical lesson from the fact that the ear had to be placed against the doorpost).

It was in accordance with this principle of freedom from man in order to be free for the service of God that R. Joshua b. Levi stated, "No man is free but he who labors in the Torah" (Avot 6:2), which may be a protest against those who thought of freedom in purely physical or rational terms. This principle was enshrined to such an extent that the Talmud actually asks how, in view of this interpretation, it is permitted for a Jew even to be the employee of another Jew and replies that the right of the laborer to withdraw his labor at any time preserves his essential liberty (see *Labor). This conception of the right of the Jew to individual freedom was extended to include national freedom from foreign rule. R. Judah interprets the freedom which comes from the study of the Torah as "freedom from exile" (Ex. R. 32:1), and the theme that failure to exercise this freedom brings in its train political servitude was a favorite theme of the rabbis in the period immediately following the destruction of the Temple, when foreign rule became a grim fact. Thus Johanan b. Zakkai homiletically interprets Song of Songs 1:8, "You were unwilling to subject yourselves to heaven; as a result you are subjected to the nations of the world"; and his contemporary Neḥunya b. ha-Kanah states, "He who accepts the yoke of Torah will have the yoke of foreign rule removed from him, and he who casts off the yoke of Torah, upon him will be laid the yoke of foreign rule" (Avot 3:5). The striking statement of Samuel in the Talmud (Sanh. 91b et al.) that the only difference between the present world and the Messianic age is subjection to foreign rule is actually accepted as the *halakhah* by Maimonides in the last chapter of the *Mishneh Torah*, but he also emphasizes that the "sages and prophets did not long for the days of the Messiah that Israel might exercise dominion over the world, or rule over the heathens, or be exalted by the nations, or that it might eat, drink, and be merry. Their aspiration was that Israel be free to devote itself to the Torah and its wisdom, with none to oppress or disturb it" (Yad, Melakhim 12:4).

Most extreme in their passion for liberty were the members of the "Fourth Philosophy," the *Zealots or *Sicarii as the case may be. Josephus states of them that "this school agrees in all other respects with the opinions of the Pharisees, except that they have a passion for liberty that is almost unconquerable, since they are convinced that God alone is their leader and master. They think little of submitting to death, if only they may avoid calling any man master" (Ant. 18:23), a principle which they carried into practice with their mass suicide at *Masada rather than submit to the Romans. It has been suggested that the differences between them and the Pharisees with regard to the love of freedom was that whereas the Pharisees, while extolling the importance of liberty, did not include it among the cardinal principles for which one should suffer martyrdom rather than transgress, those members of the "Fourth Philosophy" did include it. The ideal of freedom was kept alive in the Jewish consciousness throughout the period of exile. The four cups of wine obligatory on the **seder* night of Passover, the festival of freedom (Pes. 108b), are the symbol of freedom, and in the daily liturgy in the evening prayer, the Exodus from Egypt is referred to as the emergence of the children of Israel to "everlasting freedom."

[Louis Isaac Rabinowitz]

Freedom of Thought

Because there never was a single body of official doctrine, Jewish tradition not only permitted, but even encouraged freedom of thought. Speculation about the fundamentals of faith was held to be a desirable and meritorious activity. *Baḥya ibn Paquda, the 11th century moralist and philosopher, states explicitly that, "On the question whether we are under an obligation to investigate the doctrine of God's unity or not, I assert that anyone capable of investigating this and similar philosophical themes by rational methods is bound to do so according to his powers and capacities… Anyone who neglects to institute such an inquiry is blameworthy and is accounted as belonging to the class of those who fall short in wisdom and conduct" (*Ḥovot ha-Levavot*, *"Sha'ar ha-Yiḥud,"* ch. 3). Maimonides echoes this view, as do many other major Jewish thinkers. The last major Jewish philosopher of the Middle Ages, Joseph *Albo, summarized this tradition of freedom of thought: "It is clear now that every intelligent person is permitted to investigate the fundamental principles of religion and to interpret the biblical texts in accordance with the truth as it seems to him" (*Sefer ha-Ikkarim*, pt. 1, ch. 2). This freedom is evident in the lack of any one official Jewish creed. Proposed creeds vary in content, principles, and number of articles. From antiquity to the present Judaism has found room for almost every conception of God known to civilized man so long as it is consistent with the principle of God's unity.

Alongside this tradition of freedom of thought there was also a restrictive drive which sought to limit what Jews might think and even what they might read. A Mishnah teaches that certain categories of Jews forfeit their share in the world to come, either because they hold erroneous beliefs or because they read forbidden books (Sanh. 10:1). This repressive aspect of the tradition receives its most extreme form in the codified rule that certain kinds of heretics may, or even must be put to death (Av. Zar. 26b; Sh. Ar., YD 158; 2). There is, however, little evidence that such a rule was ever put into practice. David *Hoffmann argued that this rule was codified at a time of extreme Christian religious zealotry, and was intended to show that Jews were also devoted to their faith. He denied that this rule was ever intended to be enforced, adding that in modern times such a rule is a profanation of God's name. Restrictions were also enacted against the study of certain subjects. The Mishnah records the decree that "no man should teach his son Greek" which is interpreted to mean the study of Greek philosophy (Sot. 9:14; 49b). The study of mystic traditions as well was restricted. The Talmud relates that only one of the four sages who "entered the Garden" (i.e., engaged in esoteric speculation) departed unhurt (Ḥag. 14b). In codifying these laws Moses Isserles stated, "It is only permitted to 'enter the Garden' after one has satiated himself with meat and wine," i.e., the study of mysticism is only allowed for he who is thoroughly grounded in the study of *halakhah* and the details of the commandments (Sh. Ar., YD 246:4). In the Middle Ages bans were also imposed on the premature study of philosophy and sciences. Solomon b. Abraham *Adret proclaimed in his ban of 1305 that physics and metaphysics could be studied from the age of 25, but laid no restriction on the study of astronomy and medicine (other communities in southern France banned the study of philosophy until the age of 30; see *Maimonidean Controversy).

Freedom of thought was also threatened by those who banned or burned books which they found offensive. An almost continuous line leads from the talmudic prohibitions against certain works to the 20th-century zealot who burned a nonorthodox prayer book in New York in 1944. Over the centuries there were bans on and burnings of the works of some *Karaites, Maimonides' *Guide*, the *Me'or Einayim* of Azariah de *Rossi, and even of some books of M.Ḥ. *Luzzatto. The rise of *Ḥasidism and of the *Haskalah generated such intense efforts to suppress their literatures that one writer asserts that "there was no period in Jewish history in which so large a number of books … were banned or burned."

Such practical restrictions on freedom of thought came to an end in the 19th century. They can still be found only among some minor sects of the extreme orthodox right wing, but have no effect on the life and thought of the vast majority of Jews. In a peculiar way these restrictive elements in the Jewish tradition evoked a basic commitment to freedom of thought. Those who imposed bans on books could only enforce them locally, since there was no central authority. Such bans usually evoked counter-bans so that a book proscribed in one community found vigorous defenders in another. However great the stature of those who sought to prevent a book from being read, there were always men of equal stature who came to its defense and made it available. In this way, even when subjected to severe strains, freedom of thought was preserved and protected.

[Marvin Fox]

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FREEHOF, SOLOMON BENNETT (1892–1990), U.S. Reform rabbi, scholar, liturgist. Freehof, born in London, was taken to the United States in 1903 by his parents, who settled in Baltimore. The Freehof family name is derived from Freda, the daughter of Rabbi Shneur Zalman of Liady, the founder of Habad Hasidism. He graduated from the University of Cincinnati (1914) and a year later was ordained at Hebrew Union College, whose faculty he then joined. After serving as a chaplain with the American forces in Europe during World War I, Freehof became professor of liturgy at Hebrew Union College. In 1924 he became rabbi of Congregation Kehillath Anshe Maarav in Chicago, and in 1934 he was appointed rabbi of Congregation Rodef Shalom in Pittsburgh. He remained at Rodef Shalom until his retirement in 1966.

Freehof's scholarly endeavors were largely in two fields. The first was Jewish liturgy. In 1930 he was appointed chairman of the Reform Committee on Liturgy of the Central Conference of American Rabbis, whose work led to the publication of the two-volume *Union Prayer Book* (1940–45) and the *Union Home Prayer Book* (1951), both of which stressed relevance to modern life and the inclusion of contemporary material in the service. He served as President of the CCAR from 1943 to 1945. His second main interest was the development of Jewish law as displayed in the literature of the responsa and its bearing on modern Jewish practice. He was appointed head of the Responsa Committee of the Central Conference of American Rabbis in 1955. He wrote *Stormers of Heaven* (1931); *The Book of Psalms: A Commentary* (1938); *Modern Jewish Preaching* (1941); *The Small Sanctuary: Judaism in the Prayer Book* (1942); *In the House of the Lord* (1942); *Reform Jewish Practice* *and its Rabbinic Background* (1944); *Preface to Scripture* (1950); *The Responsa Literature* (1955); *The Book of Job: A Commentary* (1958); *Recent Reform Responsa* (1963); *A Treasury of Responsa* (1963); and *Current Reform Responsa* (1969). The last Responsa collection was *New Reform Responsa* published in 1980 at the age of 88.

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[Hillel Halkin]

FREEMAN, JOSEPH (1897–1965), U.S. author, critic, and journalist. Freeman was taken to the U.S. from the Ukraine as a boy of seven. After his graduation in 1919, he joined the editorial staff of Harper's *Illustrated History of the World War,* but in the following year moved to Paris, where he worked for the *Chicago Tribune*, subsequently representing both the *Tribune* and the New York *Daily News* in London. In 1922 he returned to New York, where he used his journalistic talents in support of socialism, working first for *The Liberator* and later also for the *Partisan Review.* In 1926 he helped to found the monthly *New Masses*. He first represented the periodical in Moscow, and at various times during the 1930s was its editor. Freeman and Michael *Gold were the two outstanding American writers of the Left during the years preceding World War II. Freeman's works include *Dollar Diplomacy: A Study in American Imperialism* (1925), a radical assessment of U.S. foreign policy written in collaboration with S. Nearing; *Voices of October: Art and Literature in Soviet Russia* (1930), with J. Kunitz and L. Lozowick; and *The Soviet Worker* (1932). His autobiography, *An American Testament: A Narrative of Rebels and Romantics* (1936), is one of the most valuable source books on the radical literary politics of his time. Under the stress of the Nazi-Soviet pact of 1939 Freeman finally broke with the Communists. He later published two novels, *Never Call Retreat* (1943), which dealt with the frustrations of a political refugee, and *The Long Pursuit* (1947), set in postwar occupied Germany.

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[Milton Henry Hindus]

FREEMASONS, members of a secret society which developed out of craftmen's associations, originally consisting of masons proper. From the 17th century the society existed mainly as a social organization and cultivated a tradition of doctrines, passwords, and symbols, a ritual which is supposed to derive from the building of the First Temple in Jerusalem. The coat of arms of the English lodges is said to have been adapted from one painted by Jacob Judah Leon *Templo. Modern Freemasonry began in England around 1717; in 1723 the London Grand Lodge adopted a constitution formulated by the Reverend James Anderson, based on some older traditions. A printed constitution facilitated the foundation of new lodges on the basis of a recognized authority. During the next decades the lodges spread, in Britain, France, Holland, Germany, and many other countries. All the lodges regarded themselves as belonging to the same fraternity, and a Freemason appearing at any lodge with a certificate of membership was admitted to the work of the lodge and entitled to hospitality and help in case of need. The first paragraph of the constitution stated that anyone found to be true and honest, of whatever denomination or persuasion, was to be admitted. The constitution obliged the member only to hold "to that religion in which all men agree, leaving their particular opinions to themselves," a declaration of religious tolerance based on the current Deist trend, which postulated a Supreme Being who could be conceived of by any rational being. It is not known whether the possible aspiration of Jews to be accepted in the lodges influenced the wording of the constitution; yet it is formulated in a way that includes Jews as possible members. Thus, when a Jew asked for admission in 1732, one of the London lodges accepted him. The doors of the English lodges remained open to Jews in principle, although in practice there was some discrimination.

The Deistic declaration in the constitution did not remove some traces of Christian practice, including the New Testament, playing a part in the lodges. Nevertheless in the middle of the 18th century Jews joined the lodges, not only in England but also in Holland, France, and Germany. A Jewish lodge, the Lodge of Israel, was established in London in 1793.

Masonic tolerance weakened as a result of attacks made on it by the traditional sectors of all religions, who feared its all-embracing intentions. The Catholic Church banned – and still bans – Freemasonry in a bull promulgated by Pope Clement XII in 1738. The Deism of Freemasonry was clearly contrary to Church doctrines, and conservative Protestants and Jews also felt that its rituals were in conflict with their religious beliefs. To the objection of the Churches and other conservative elements in society, the Masons reacted by an apology which, in the main, tried to prove that Freemasonry was not an un-Christian institution, an argument supported by the fact that the Masonic fraternity consisted exclusively of Christians: Jews, Muslims, and pagans were not and should not be accepted. However, in England and Holland no objection in principle to Jewish applicants existed and in France the objections were swept away with the Revolution. Here Freemasonry became a kind of secular church in which Jews could participate freely. Adolphe *Crémieux was not only a Freemason from his early youth but in 1869 became the Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of the Scottish Rite in Paris.

In Germany objection to Jewish membership persisted, remaining a matter of controversy for generations. Until the 1780s only a few German Jews were admitted to Masonry. About this time Jewish applications for admission to the Masonic lodges became frequent. Though there were some attempts to open the lodges to Jews, no German Freemason of any standing at that time advocated Jewish admittance. Some German Jews became Freemasons when traveling abroad in England, Holland, and, particularly, in post-revolutionary France. In Germany itself French or French-initiated lodges were established during the Napoleonic occupation. A Jewish lodge, L'Aurore Naissante, was founded in Frankfurt, authorized in 1808 by the Grand Orient in Paris. These ventures, however, hardened the resistance of the indigenous lodges in Frankfurt and in other German towns, and some Masonic fraternities introduced amended constitutions specifically excluding Jews.

In the 1830s German intellectuals who were Freemasons protested against this exclusion, joined by Masons from Holland, England, France, and even by a lodge in New York, who resented the fact that their Jewish members were refused entrance to German lodges. By 1848 some lodges admitted Jews, if not as full members at least as visitors. The years of the 1848 Revolution swept away some of the paragraphs excluding Jews, and the Frankfurt Jewish lodges were now acknowledged by their Christian counterparts. The exceptions were the Prussian lodges, controlled by law from 1798 by the mother lodges from Berlin. In 1840 there were 164 Prussian lodges with a membership of 13,000. No Jew could ever be admitted to these, not even as a visitor, but many members, and sometimes entire lodges, wanted to reintroduce the original English constitution which excluded the attachment of Freemasonry to any specific religion. By the early 1870s most branches admitted Jews as visitors, sometimes even as permanent visitors, and in one of the branches of the Prussian lodges the restrictive paragraph was removed in 1872. A new wave of antisemitism, however, soon swept over the Bismarckian Reich, and by 1876 the lodges were already adopting an antisemitic tone. Those Jews who had been accepted by Prussian lodges left during the antisemitic outbreaks, followed by some liberal-minded Christians who were shocked by the behavior of a society ostensibly committed to the ideal of brotherhood.

Some Freemasons genuinely believed that confessing the Jewish faith was a disqualification for Freemasonry, which they regarded as a Christian institution, a view contested by those who adhered to the original English constitution and called themselves humanistic Freemasons. The struggle between the two trends continued during the 19th century.

In Germany in the 1860s Jews and Freemasons began to be identified as twin agencies responsible for undermining traditional society. This combined criticism of the two groups was transplanted to France, where a succession of books stressed "*le peril judéo-maçonnique*." The notion of a sinister alliance between the two played a conspicuous part in the *Dreyfus Affair and it became an antisemitic commonplace. The Protocols of the *Elders of Zion (first published in Russia in 1904) included the idea of a Jewish-Masonic plot to control the world. In Germany up to this time, Freemasonry was still thought of as a conservative and partly antisemitic association. When the *Protocols* were translated into German and English in the 1920s, Jews and Freemasons were identified as the sinister agents of the outbreak of World War I and of the German defeat. The slogan *Juden und Freimaurer* became a battle cry of the German right wing, and was utilized by Hitler in his rise to power. During World War II, Freemasons together with "Bolsheviks and Jews" were persecuted by the Nazis.

[*Encyclopaedia Hebraica*]

In the U.S.

Jewish names appear among the founders of Freemasonry in colonial America, and in fact it is probable that Jews were the first to introduce the movement into the country. Tradition connects Mordecai Campanall, of Newport, Rhode Island, with the supposed establishment of a lodge there in 1658. In Georgia four Jews appear to have been among the founders of the first lodge, organized in Savannah in 1734. Moses Michael Hays, identified with the introduction of the Scottish Rite into the United States, was appointed deputy inspector general of Masonry for North America in about 1768. In 1769 Hays organized the King David's Lodge in New York, moving it to Newport in 1780. He was Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of Massachusetts from 1788 to 1792. Moses *Seixas was prominent among those who established the Grand Lodge of Rhode Island, and was Grand Master from 1802 to 1809. A contemporary of Hays, Solomon *Bush, was deputy inspector general of Masonry for Pennsylvania, and in 1781 Jews were influential in the Sublime Lodge of Perfection in Philadelphia which played an important part in the early history of Freemasonry in America. Other early leaders of the movement included: Isaac da *Costa (d. 1783), whose name is found among the members of King Solomon's Lodge, Charleston, in 1753; Abraham Forst, of Philadelphia, deputy inspector general for Virginia in 1781; and Joseph Myers, who held the same office, first for Maryland, and later for South Carolina. In 1793 the cornerstone ceremony for the new synagogue in Charleston, South Carolina, was conducted according to the rites of Freemasonry.

The later history of Freemasonry in the United States shows a number of prominent Jewish names, but nothing corresponding to their influence in the earlier period. In 1843 the Grand Lodge in New York addressed a letter to the *Mutterloge* in Berlin complaining against the refusal of German lodges to accept registered Masons of the American Lodge because they were Jewish. Nonsectarianism in matters of religion has always characterized American Freemasonry, and regulations excluding Jews have not been part of their constitutions, though whether admissions policies have ever been restrictive would be difficult to establish. The apparatus of secrecy, ritual, and regalia which was a feature of *B'nai B'rith in its early years no doubt reflected the influence of Masonic practice as well as a desire to offer a substitute within the Jewish community.

[Sefton D. Temkin]

In Israel

In the Masonic world Jerusalem has always been regarded as the birthplace of Freemasonry; according to its tradition, there were Masonic lodges in the Holy Land at the time of the erection of King Solomon's Temple. Lodges are known there from the middle of the 19th century. During the Ottoman regime, six lodges were established in the country. The first regular one was founded in Jerusalem in May 1873, under the jurisdiction of the Grand Lodge of Canada. In 1891 another was established in Jaffa under the National Grand Lodge of Egypt. During the years 1910–11 the Grand Lodge of Scotland founded three lodges. During the British mandatory regime, Freemasonry flourished under several jurisdictions, in the main those of the Grand Lodges of Palestine and of Scotland. In 1932, four lodges in Jerusalem, holding under the National Grand Lodge of Egypt, constituted themselves into the National Grand Lodge of Palestine. Later, three of other jurisdictions joined it.

With the establishment of the State of Israel, a number of changes occurred: the lodges holding under the Grand Lodge of England and one holding under the Grand Lodge of Scotland moved out of the area. The remaining lodges of foreign origin and the five holding under the German Symbolic Grand Lodge in Exile joined the National Grand Lodge of Palestine. The five remaining lodges holding under the Grand Lodge of Scotland started to negotiate with their Grand Lodge to consecrate a Sovereign Grand Lodge of the State of Israel, which would encompass all the Masonic lodges in the country. The United Grand Lodge of the State of Israel was constituted in 1953 and since its consecration is the only sovereign grand lodge in Israel. In 1970 it consisted of 64 lodges, with some 3,500 active members drawn from all communities; Jews, Muslims, Christians, and Druze. The activities of the Grand Lodge and its several lodges included a mutual insurance fund; the Masonic old age home at Nahariyyah; Masonic temples all over the country; and a museum and library. By the early 21st century the number of lodges had increased to over 80.

[Abraham Fellman]

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FREE SONS OF ISRAEL, U.S. Jewish fraternal order. The organization was founded by nine men in New York City on January 18, 1849. Its purpose was to seek the deletion of clauses in the New York City charter that restricted the appropriation of land for burial purposes, in order to obtain ground for a Jewish cemetery. The order long consisted primarily of German Jews. By 1970 the Free Sons of Israel consisted of 46 self-governing lodges throughout the U.S., with approximately 10,000 men and women members. Each lodge provided membership benefits, which usually included burial, medical, and other benefits. The order consisted of an Insurance Fund and Fraternal Division and was headquartered in New York City. The order maintained a toy distribution program for handicapped children; a scholarship fund for the benefit of members and their families; a Federal Credit Union, which by September 1969, had disbursed $2,000,000 in loans; an insurance fund; travel service; blood bank; athletic association; and a newspaper, *The Free Sons of Israel Reporter.* Since that time it was the first organization of its kind to donate money to the Holocaust Museum in Washington., D.C., and has also contributed thousands of toys during the holidays to needy children in hospitals and care centers. On its 150th anniversary in 1999 it was commended by Rep. Carolyn McCarthy of New York in the House of Representatives.

FREE WILL, a philosophic and theological notion referring initially to the observation that man is able to choose between a number of possible courses of action, becoming, through his choice, the cause of the action which he selects. Among philosophers some accepted this observation as the true account of how men act, while others held that though man appears to be free to choose, his actions are, in fact, compelled, either by God or by laws of nature. While there were some Jewish philosophers who inclined toward a deterministic position, the majority affirmed that man, through choice, is the author of his own actions. Jewish philosophers generally considered a doctrine of free will as indispensable for accounting for man's moral responsibility for his own actions, and they considered it necessary for explaining God's justice in punishing evil-doers. Closely related to the notion of free will are those of divine *providence and divine omniscience.

In Jewish Philosophy

PHILO. The question of the freedom of man's will is discussed in a number of places in the writings of *Philo, but his position on this matter is not sufficiently defined. On the one hand, he clearly posits the freedom of man's will, i.e., the ability to choose between good and evil out of a knowledge of the difference between the two. On the other hand, he expresses the notion that man's choosing between good and evil is predetermined by the struggle between his inclinations and by the influence of external forces. Thus it cannot be said that Philo rejected determinism, since he did assume that all the occurrences in the world are a result of a necessary chain of causes and effects. Again, Philo in a number of places points to the similarity between man's free choice, which was granted to him by God, and the free will of God himself. It is evident that this refers to voluntary action, which is independent of the previously mentioned causal chain. Moreover, Philo's notion of man's free will contains a certain innovation in contrast to traditional Greek philosophy, since Aristotelians, for example, tended to view man's free choice as a defect and deficiency, contingent on his material being. On this point too, however, Philo is not consistent, for he also expresses the opinion that all the activities of created beings, including man, are actually caused by God. Philo's attempts to bridge this contradiction are artificial.

In some places in his writings Philo expresses the opinion that it is impossible to attribute to God's will those sins which are committed intentionally, while sins against fellowmen which are committed unintentionally sometimes result from natural order, and sometimes are instruments of divine punishment for the sins of the victim. In performing his good deeds, man needs God's help and divine grace, and he cannot ascribe his virtues to himself.

SAADIAH GAON. It appears that according to Philo, there is almost no connection between the notion of man's free will and the problem of divine justice. In contrast, *Saadiah, who was heavily influenced by Mu'tazilite philosophy (see *Kalām), maintains that the idea of God's justice necessarily implies the freedom of man's will. According to Saadiah, it is impossible to think that God could compel a man to do something for which he would later punish him. Furthermore, if man has no freedom of choice, both the righteous and the wicked should be rewarded equally since they would be equally fulfilling God's will. Saadiah brings another proof for free will: man feels that he can speak or be silent, that he can take something or leave it. Similarly, he feels that there is no one to deter him from doing as he wishes (*Book of Beliefs and Opinions*, ch. 4). Therefore, Saadiah states, in accordance with Mu'tazilite teachings, that every activity is preceded in time by the ability to carry it out or to refrain from doing so. This ability can be viewed as having a real existence, and its being prior to every action is what underlies free choice. Refraining from performing a certain action is also to be counted as an action in this respect.

Since the notion of man's free will as held by Saadiah results, wholly or in part, from his need to justify God's actions, it necessarily rests on the assumption that man's primary conceptions of good and evil are fundamentally identical with those of God. God, too, acts and is bound to act in accordance with these conceptions and, contrary to the Aristotelians, Saadiah maintains that it is one of the major functions of the human intellect to apprehend these conceptions directly (without any intermediary aid).

Thus it follows that the human intellect is permitted to question God's actions, especially with regard to sins which serve as punishment, such as Absalom's rebellion against David. On the one hand, Absalom sinned in rebelling against his father, and this sin originated in his free will. On the other hand, Absalom's attempted seizure of his father's throne served as punishment for David's sins.

In contrast to the more extreme Mu'tazilites, Saadiah does not see any contradiction between man's freedom of activity and God's prior knowledge of what man will choose to do. This foreknowledge, according to Saadiah, does not limit man's freedom, since it does not cause his actions.

BAHYA IBN PAQUDA. Baḥya ibn Paquda (*Ḥovot ha-Levavot*, ch. 3) briefly presents the ideas of those who believe that all of man's actions are predetermined by God, as well as opposing views, which maintain that man's will is free. He reaches the conclusion that whoever delves into this question must necessarily fall into error. Therefore, man must both conduct himself like one who believes that his actions are in his own hands (i.e., that he has freedom of choice), and at the same time trust in God like one who is certain that all his actions are predetermined. This view, which rejects a theoretical solution to the problem, stems from a desire to reconcile Saadiah's theodicy with total devotion to God (including the renunciation of one's freedom of action), which is characteristic of the Muslim *Sufis by whom Baḥya was influenced.

JUDAH HALEVI. Like Saadiah, *Judah Halevi accepts the notion of the freedom of man's will, which he supports by means of various proofs, some of which are similar to Saadiah's. One such proof is that a man feels that he can speak or be silent, act or refrain from acting. A proof of the existence of free will is found by Judah Halevi in the fact that only those actions which proceed from free choice are considered to be praiseworthy or culpable. Unlike Saadiah, however, he develops, in his discussion of free will, a classification of causes, in which he is strongly influenced by the Aristotelian school of thought.

The first cause of everything, according to Judah Halevi, is God, who produces the intermediary causes, according to which all actions and occurrences are either natural (i.e., resulting from natural order), accidental, or voluntary (resulting from human choice). Even the first two classes are not entirely brought about by necessity, but only free choice belongs completely to the realm of the possible; before the actual deed there is no necessity that it should be done.

Like Saadiah, Judah Halevi also maintains that there is no contradiction between the notion of free choice and the view that God knows in advance what will happen. Like Saadiah, he also maintains that God's foreknowledge cannot be regarded as a cause which brings about the event. Nevertheless, Judah Halevi states that his definition of free will as an intermediary cause, which is produced by the first cause, makes it necessary to see the voluntary acts as being under the influence of divine decree.

Man must conduct himself to the best of his ability. Exaggerated dependence on God may bring him into danger, thus, the warning; "Do not try the Lord." Sometimes, however, God acts without recourse to the intermediary causes, thereby bringing about miracles, such as Moses' being saved from starvation during the 40 days he was on Mount Sinai, or the defeat of Sennacherib.

ABRAHAM IBN DAUD. Abraham *Ibn Daud stated that he wrote his book *Ha-Emunah ha-Ramah* for the sole purpose of discussing the question of free will. Nonetheless, only a small section of the book (second treatise, 6:2, ed. by S. Weil, 93ff.) is devoted to this problem. Ibn Daud's position with regard to free will is similar to that of Judah Halevi. He classifies causes into divine, natural, accidental, and voluntary. There are some people, he says, in whom good or evil habits are so deeply ingrained that they are actually never required to exercise their free choice; but the majority of people are between these two extremes, and must therefore choose between good and evil. When they choose the good they become worthy of divine providence, while he who chooses evil is abandoned to his own resources. Ibn Daud is convinced that the existence of the possible in the world – and thus the non-existence of absolute determinism – is a defect. However, it should be pointed out, in this respect Ibn Daud departs from the teachings of his master, *Avicenna, whom he usually follows, since Avicenna believed that everything, including voluntary acts, is predetermined.

MAIMONIDES. In his *Guide of the Perplexed* *Maimonides deals with the question of free will in connection with providence (3:17). He distinguishes between five doctrines of providence, the last of which, that of the Torah, states that man can do everything according to his free choice. The question is whether Maimonides was convinced that man's choice and will are determined by prior causes, as was held by Muslim philosophers such as Avicenna, or whether he viewed the choice and voluntary activity of man as being uninfluenced by absolute determinism. There are various passages in the *Guide* which attest to his having followed the second opinion.

God's knowledge, which is only homonymous with human knowledge, controls each and every event, for God knows, "according to the view of our Torah," which of the possible outcomes will ultimately be actualized. This knowledge does not remove the things which are known, including human actions, from the realm of the possible. In his *Mishneh Torah*, which unlike the *Guide*, was intended for a popular audience, Maimonides takes a clearer position with regard to free will: every person may choose to be good or evil. God does not determine in advance whether a particular man will be righteous or wicked. A man can carry out any action, be it good or bad. If this were not so, the entire Torah would be purposeless; the wicked person could not be punished for his sins, nor the righteous be rewarded for his good deeds. In the same way that God instituted order in the universe, so it is His will that man be responsible for his own actions, by which he will be judged. Against the argument that God knows in advance whether a person will be righteous or wicked, Maimonides states that God's knowledge, being so unlike man's, cannot be apprehended by the human intellect. What is known beyond a shadow of a doubt is that man is responsible for his own deeds, and that God neither influences nor decrees that he should act in a certain manner. This is proven not only by religious tradition, but by clear arguments of reason (Yad, Teshuvah ch. 5).

Here, as in Saadiah, there is a clear connection between free will and the notion of God's justice. Unlike Saadiah and Judah Halevi, however, Maimonides does not avoid the difficulty involved in reconciling the idea of free will with the notion of God's omniscience. Contrary to some of his successors, he does not attempt to solve this difficulty, since he believes that its solution lies outside the scope of human understanding.

LEVI BEN GERSHOM. The post-Maimonidean Aristotelians placed great emphasis on the contradiction between God's all-inclusive foreknowledge and the idea of free will. *Levi b. Gershom accepts the notion of free will (*Milḥamot Adonai* 3:6), but offers his own solution to the difficulty by his interpretation of God's knowledge. According to him, God knows not only his own essence, but also (as does the active intellect) the general categories, i.e., the order of the universe, which is determined by the position of the stars. It is not necessary, however, that all events actually occurring in the world should correspond to his general order. By virtue of his free will man may act in contradiction to what has been predestined for him by the position of the stars. Thus, the knowledge of God and of the active intellect does not encompass those events which actually come into being, but they know only what should occur. Thus in his notion of free will Gersonides is following both the tradition of Jewish philosophy and Aristotelian Greek philosophy, which did not see absolute determinism as operating in the sublunar world.

HASDAI CRESCAS. A similar determinism underlies the idea of free will of Hasdai *Crescas (Or Adonai 2:5), which in some ways reverts to the Muslim philosophical tradition which held, following Avicenna, that man's choice is absolutely predetermined by a chain of prior causes: internal causes, based in man's character, and external causes, which are the factors influencing him. As Y. Baer has shown (in Tarbiz, 11 (1940), 188–206), Crescas was strongly influenced in this notion by *Abner of Burgos.

Crescas' notion, which is similar to that of Avicenna, is that voluntary actions are possible in themselves, but are necessary in terms of their causes. Crescas regards these actions as being necessary since they are known to God before their execution. He thinks, however, that this idea should not be made known to the masses who might use it as a justification for doing evil, since they will think that the punishment follows the sin in a causal chain of events. Despite this view, however, Crescas distinguishes between voluntary actions and acts carried out under compulsion. It is only proper, according to him, that only the former type should be subject to reward and punishment, and only in relation to this type of action can the commandments and prohibitions of the Torah act as a deterrent. Nevertheless, in this capacity, the commandments and prohibitions do not limit the activity of absolute determinism. On the other hand, man's beliefs and opinions do not depend on his own will and he should therefore not be rewarded or punished for them.

[Shlomo Pines]

In Talmud and Midrash

The doctrine of free will, expressed in the idea that man is free to choose between good and evil, was at the core of the Pharisaic outlook. Josephus indeed characterizes the differences between the Pharisees and their Sadducean and Essene opponents as between those who accepted both the freedom of man and divine providence (the Pharisees), those who ascribed everything to chance, denying providential guidance (the Sadducees), and those who denied human freedom, maintaining a doctrine of predestination (the Essenes; Wars 2:162ff; Ant. 13:171; 18:12f.). Though some doubt has been cast on Josephus' account because of his tendency to explain matters in terms of Greek philosophical schools (see G.F. Moore, *Judaism* vol. 3 p. 139), there seems no grounds for rejecting the main outlines of his characterization (Urbach, *Ḥazal: Pirkei Emunot ve-De'ot* (1969), 227).

Though both the doctrine of man's freedom and that of divine providence were adhered to by the rabbis as central to their faith, they do not seem to have been integrated in any systematic way in the talmudic texts which deal with the subject. On the one hand, one finds constant reference to the notion that nothing happens in this world which is not in some way determined from on high: "No man can touch that which has been prepared in advance for his friend" (Yoma 38b); "No man injures his finger here below unless it has been decreed for him on high" (Ḥul. 7b); "Never does a snake bite … or a lion tear [its prey] … or a government interfere in men's lives unless incited to do so from on high" (Eccles. R. 10:11); "Everything is in the hands [i.e., control] of heaven except cold and heat" (Ket. 30a); "Forty days before a child is formed a heavenly voice decrees so-and-so's daughter shall marry so-and-so" (Sot. 2a). On the other hand the whole rabbinic theological structure of reward and punishment turns on the idea that man is free to do evil or good (see Deut. 30:15–19; and Sif. Deut. 53–54). As Josephus mentions, the rabbis wished to maintain both doctrines despite the tension between them, though they were aware of this tension. Before conception the angel appointed over conception takes a seminal drop and asks God: "What is to become of this drop? Is it to develop into a person strong or weak, wise or foolish, rich or poor?" (Nid. 16b). But no mention is made of its becoming wicked or righteous, because "Everything is in the hands of heaven except the fear of heaven" (*ibid.*).

The combination of these two doctrines within rabbinic theology may be understood, not so much from the philosophical point of view, but rather from the practical point of view which underlies all rabbinic thinking. On the one hand it is necessary to think of the world as under the complete surveillance and control of heaven, a thought which adds to the confidence and trust of the Jew in God, and on the other the individual needs to make his choices and decisions on the assumption that evil and good are both within his grasp. The conceptual integration of these two ideas did not enter rabbinic thought forms. The philosophical problems surrounding God's foreknowledge and man's free will are dealt with in an equally cursory way in the texts. The most striking is the saying of Akiva, "Everything is foreseen, but freedom of choice is given" (Avot 3:15). This has been taken by some commentators – Maimonides, for example – to be a statement of the position that though God has foreknowledge of all our acts, still this does not limit our freedom (Maimonides, commentary to the Mishnah, Avot 3:15). Though such a doctrine – that God's foreknowledge is such as not to be philosophically irreconcilable with human freedom – may have been held in some inchoate form by the rabbis, the saying of Akiva has been interpreted as an assertion that God sees all man's acts, even those performed in the privacy of his room (see Rashi on Avot 3:15; Urbach, op. cit., 229–30).

In Modern Jewish Thought

For Hermann *Cohen, freedom of the will – in the sense of being unaffected by mechanical causes – does not exist. However, while he relates causation to the individual man, Cohen holds that freedom of the will does exist in the ethical realm when applied to the goal of mankind. We must assume an independent ethical realm of being in which man can make his own decisions in accord with the rules of that realm. The freedom of the individual depends on how far the individual acts in accord with the goal of mankind. Real freedom will exist only in the future – in the ideal society which is mankind's goal; as of now, freedom is not given but a task to be worked at (*Juedische Schriften*, 1 (1924), 28).

For Martin *Buber free will is given even though in the realm I–It, causality rules. But in the realm of relation, I–Thou – real decision can, indeed must, take place: "if there were a devil it would not be one who decided against God, but one who, in eternity, came to no decision" (*I and Thou* (1958), 52, cf. 51f.). For Buber the main problem is not whether there is choice (in the realm of I–Thou), but the quality of the choices made – for good or evil. Since man is free to choose evil he is also free to overcome evil. Modern man because of prevalent ideologies based on scientific materialism or its counterparts (e. g., dialectical materialism) is even more of a believer in blind fate than pagan man. However, according to Buber, man is really free in his depths, and his destiny is not decreed by fate but is his true fulfillment when met in free will: "… the free man has no purpose here and means there, which he fetches for his purpose: he has only the one thing, his repeated decision to approach his destiny" (*I and Thou*, 60). Free man is not without influences from outside himself, but only he can really respond to outside events and perceive the unique in each event. External events are preconditioned for his action, not determining factors in his character. The free man responds where others react. Man's freedom lies not in the absence of external limitations but in the ability, despite them, to enter into dialogue, i.e., I–Thou relation.

A.J. *Heschel makes a distinction in external happenings, dividing them into what he calls "process," a regular pattern, and "event," an extraordinary, or unique thing. The essence of man's freedom is his ability to surpass himself. To a certain extent man is enslaved by his environment, society, and character, but man can think, will, and take decisions beyond these limitations. If men are treated as "processes" freedom is destroyed. Man is free at rare moments; freedom is an "event." Everyone has the potentiality for freedom, but only rarely achieves it. Free will, the ability to choose between two alternatives, is not the same as freedom, for though the latter includes choice, its achievement lies in the fact that one goes beyond oneself, and disregards the self as its own end. Thus man must choose, although he can choose even to ignore freedom – which would be to choose evil (see *God in Search of Man* (1955), 409–13; *Man is not Alone* (1951), 142, 146).

Mordecai *Kaplan believes that the idea of free will as it was formulated in the past is out of step with the spirit of the present which looks for causality in everything. He therefore interprets the doctrine of free will as the expression of the idea that there can be no responsibility without freedom. The problem of freedom therefore becomes a spiritual one having to do with the significance of individuality and selfhood on the one hand, and liberation of personality from self-worship and desire for power, on the other (see *Meaning of God in Modern Jewish Religion* (1937), 270–296).

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FREHA BAT AVRAHAM, 18th century Hebrew writer. A member of the prominent Moroccan Bar Adiba family, Freha moved to *Tunis with her father and brother to escape anti-Jewish persecutions in *Morocco, probably some time in the 1730s. Unusually learned for a woman of her time and place, Freha was said to have been well versed in Torah and to have composed essays and poetry in Hebrew. Some of her poems survive and were first published in Tunis in the 1930s. Freha died in 1756 during the conquest of Tunis by Algerians. Her father built a synagogue in her memory and it became a place of pilgrimage for Tunisian Jewish women who revered Freha as a holy person (*kedoshah*) and invoked her name in times of distress. The synagogue stood until its destruction in 1936 when it was replaced by a new structure that also preserved Freha's name.

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[Judith R. Baskin (2nd ed.)]

FREIBERG, U.S. family, prominent from the mid-1800s to the 1930s. JULIUS FREIBERG (1823–1905), who was born in Neu Leiningen, Germany, arrived in Cincinnati in 1847. In 1855 he established a distillery with Levi J. Workum. The business, which became quite successful, continued under family management until the passage of the Prohibition Amendment in 1918 forced it to close. Freiberg served as president of the Bene Israel (Orthodox) congregation for 25 years. Yet, when Isaac M. *Wise of Bene Jeshurun founded the Union of American Hebrew Congregations in 1873 and the Hebrew Union College two years later, Freiberg enthusiastically supported him. He served as vice president of the UAHC from 1873 to 1889, and as president from 1889 to 1903. Freiberg was a member of the Board of Governors of the HUC from 1875 to 1904, and a vice chairman for 26 years. He was a delegate to the Ohio Constitutional Convention of 1873 and held numerous other positions of public trust. In 1856 he had married Duffie Workum, the first Jewish female child born west of the Alleghenies. They helped found and support a number of Jewish charitable agencies.

His son JULIUS WALTER FREIBERG (1858–1921) also served as president of UAHC and served on the Cincinnati Charter Commission and several national Jewish organizations. His wife STELLA (née Heinsheimer; 1862–1962) was one of the nine founders in 1894 of the Cincinnati Symphony Orchestra. One of the founders of the National Federation of Temple Sisterhoods, she served as its president from 1923 to 1929. J. Walter's brother MAURICE J. FREIBERG (1861–1936), who was president of the family business from 1905 to 1918, was also known as a philanthropist and public servant. He donated the maternity wing of Cincinnati's Jewish Hospital in memory of his wife, served as vice president of the HUC Board of Governors, president of the Chamber of Commerce, and in many other Jewish and civic offices. ALBERT HENRY FREIBERG (1868–1940) and his son JOSEPH A. FREIBERG (b. 1898) were noted orthopedic surgeons and served as faculty members of the University of Cincinnati College of Medicine.

[Kenneth D. Roseman]

FREIBERGER, MIROSLAV/ ŠALOM (1903–1943), last rabbi of Zagreb, Yugoslavia, before the Holocaust. Born in Osijek (Croatia). During his youth he lived in Zagreb, actively participated in Zionist groups, and was a founding member of Aḥdut ha-Olim and the Federation of Jewish Youth Organizations. He studied at the Hochschule fuer Juedische Wissenschaften in Berlin, acquiring a Ph.D. in philosophy, and was ordained a rabbi.

On his return to Yugoslavia, he was appointed assistant rabbi in Osijek, then rabbi in Zagreb. He was the first locally born rabbi of the latter city. He published a new prayer book with Croatian translations and published various articles in the Jewish press, particularly in the Zionist weekly *Zidov*.

During the Holocaust, he refused to flee, not leaving his post as deportations and persecutions continued; he kept in touch with the Catholic archbishop, Stepinac (later cardinal), who promised to protect him. He was, however, deported on May 5, 1943, to Auschwitz, together with his wife and the last president of the community, Dr. Hugo Kon, all of them dying there. According to some testimonies, the archbishop tried to intervene, making telephone calls to the Croatian Ustashe police, but to no avail. In the reestablished Zagreb community the cultural association has been named after him.

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[Zvi Loker (2nd ed.)]

FREIBURG IM BREISGAU, city in Baden, Germany. Jews were imprisoned there in 1230 by the town's overlord, and released by King Henry VII. Rudolf I of *Hapsburg levied taxes from the Jews there in 1281. In 1300 the counts of Freiburg ratified the ancient rights of Freiburg Jewry. The rights to their taxes, which had been given for a short time to a Basle burgher, were restored in 1310 to the counts' authority, who granted the Jews a privilege in 1338. About this time the Jews owned 15 houses, near the synagogue and in other streets, shared by several families. The community, except pregnant women and children, was massacred by burning after one month's imprisonment, during the Black Death (January 1349). Emperor *Charles IV permitted the counts to resettle Jews in Freiburg in 1359. In 1373 a physician, master Gutleben, was admitted. In 1394 the Austrian overlord ordered that Jews should wear a special garb, with a coat and cap in dull shades; prohibited them from leaving their houses during Holy Week and from watching the religious procession; and set the weekly interest rate at 0.83%. In 1401 the Jews were expelled from the city although individual Jews were admitted from 1411 to 1423; the expulsion became final in 1424 but Jews continued to live in the nearby villages and towns. In 1453 they were prohibited from doing business in the city.

Some Hebrew works were printed in Freiburg in the 16th century as the result of difficulties with Hebrew printing in Basle. Israel *Ẓifroni printed a number of Hebrew books for Ambrosius Froben, among them Benjamin of Tudela's *Massa'ot* (1583), Jacob b. Samuel Koppelman's *Ohel Ya'akov*, and the first edition of Aaron of Pesaro's *Toledot Aharon* (1583–84). In 1503 and 1504, editions were issued of Gregorius Reisch's *Margarita Philosophica* including a page with the Hebrew alphabet in woodcut.

By the early 17th century Jews were able to enter Freiburg on business, accompanied by a constable. The first Jew received a medical degree from Freiburg University in 1791. There were 20 Jews living in Freiburg in 1846. Following the Baden emancipation law of 1862 a congregation was formed in Freiburg in 1863, and a synagogue was consecrated in 1885. It was burned down under the Nazis in 1938. The first rabbi, Adolf *Lewin, the historian of Baden Jewry, was succeeded by Max *Eschelbacher and Julius Zimmels. The legal historian Heinrich Rosen (1855–1927) was active in Jewish community life. Also of note at Freiburg University were the philosopher Edmund *Husserl, the economist Robert Liefmann, the jurist Otto Lenel, Fritz Pringsheim, the classical papyrologist, and the biochemist Siegfried Tannhauser. From 1933 to 1935, along with six other professors, they were dismissed (Pringsheim returned from England in 1945). The Jewish population numbered 1,013 in 1903; 1,320 in 1910 (1.58% of the total), 1,399 in 1925 (1.44%), and 1,138 in June 1933 (1.5%).

After the Nazi rise to power many Jews left the city. All 21 Jewish members of the faculty at the university were dismissed from their positions in 1933–35. Among those dismissed were Hans Adolf *Krebs, who later won the Nobel Prize for medicine in 1953. Jewish students were reduced in number from 183 to 54. Most Jewish businesses were Aryanized by November 1938. Polish Jews were expelled to the Polish border in October 1938 and on *Kristallnacht* the synagogue was destroyed and 100 Jewish men were sent to Dachau. In May 1939, 474 Jews remained. In 1940, 350 Jews were expelled from Germany and interned by the French in the *Gurs camp; another 30 were deported to Theresienstadt on August 23, 1942, as were almost all survivors from Gurs. After the war 15 survivors returned to Freiburg, and 78 displaced persons lived there in 1945. There were 58 Jews living in Freiburg in 1950, 111 in 1960, and 225 in 1968. A new prayer hall was consecrated in 1953. The university acquired the grounds where the synagogue once stood; it is commemorated by a memorial plaque. The *Freiburger Rundbrief*, a journal dedicated to Christian-Jewish understanding, was published in Freiburg. A new community center with a synagogue and a *mikveh* was inaugurated in 1987. A door from the old synagogue was integrated into the building, which was sponsored by the City of Freiburg and the Land (federal state) of Baden-Wuerttemberg. The community numbered 214 in 1989. Owing to the immigration of Jews from the former Soviet Union it increased to 700 in 2005. In 1998 the egalitarian Jewish Chawurah Gescher was founded in Freiburg. It was a member of the Union of Progressive Jews in Germany from 2004. Its membership numbered 30 in 2004.

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[Toni Oelsner / Michael Berenbaum
and Larissa Daemmig (2nd ed.)]

FREIDLINA, RAKHIL KHATSKELEVNA (1906–1986), Russian organic chemist. She graduated from Moscow University in 1930 and worked until 1934 at the Scientific Research Institute of Insectofungicides. In 1935–39 and 1941–45, she served at the Institute of Organic Chemistry of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences; in the intervening period she was at the Moscow Institute of Fine Chemical Technology. In 1945 she was appointed chief of the laboratory of the Institute of Organometallic Compounds of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences, and in 1958 became a corresponding member of the Academy. She contributed many papers to Soviet scientific journals. Some dealt with homolytic isomerization of organic compounds in solution, and her work on telomerization led to the development of the chemical precursors of some of the synthetic fibers now being made in Russia. Most of her work was with organometallic compounds. She was the author of *Sinteticheskiye metody v oblasti metalloorganicheskikh soyedineniy myshyaka* ("Synthetic methods … Organoarsenic Compounds," 1945) and coauthor of *Khimiya kvazikompleksnykh metalloorganicheskikh soyedineniy iyavleniya tautomerii* ("Chemistry of Quasicomplex Organometallic Compounds …," 1947).

[Samuel Aaron Miller]

FREIDUS, ABRAHAM SOLOMON (1867–1923), U.S. librarian and bibliographer. Freidus was born in Riga, Latvia. He lived in Paris, in the Palestinian agricultural settlement of Zikhron Ya'akov, and in London before going to New York in 1889. Freidus completed a course in librarianship at Pratt Institute in 1894 and began working as a cataloger. In 1897 he was appointed first chief of the Jewish Division of the New York Public Library, where he developed the classification scheme used for Judaica; it was adopted for many other large American Judaica collections as well. Because of his remarkable bibliographical knowledge, Freidus was an indispensable guide to scholars in locating materials. The editors of the 12-volume *Jewish Encyclopedia* (1901–06) were especially indebted to him.

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[Simcha Kruger]

FREIER (née **Schweitzer**), **RECHA** (1892–1984), founder of *Youth Aliyah. Recha Freier was born in Nordeney, Germany, and became a teacher and scholar of folklore. In 1932 she conceived the idea of Youth Aliyah and founded the first organization for the resettlement and agricultural training of young people in Palestine. After Hitler's rise to power, the idea was endorsed by the Zionist Congress of 1933, and the movement became a large-scale operation. After settling in Palestine in 1941, she founded the Agricultural Training Center for Israel Children for the education of underprivileged children in kibbutz boarding schools. She founded the Israel Composers' Fund in 1958 to foster original musical compositions, and, in 1966, established the Testimonium Scheme, a project aimed at recording major episodes in Jewish history in words and music based on authentic texts. In 1981 she was awarded the Israel Prize. She wrote the texts for two oratorios, *Massadah* and *Yerushalayim*. Her book *Let the Children Come: The Early History of Youth Aliyah* was published in 1961.

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[Arye Lipshitz]

FREIFELD, ABRAHAM (1921–), Chilean sculptor. Born in Romania, Freifeld immigrated to Chile in 1930 where he graduated in engineering and art. As a sculptor he preferred to work in metal, which he felt allowed him to express the inner tension he strove to achieve in each piece of sculpture. In 1960 he was appointed professor of sculpture at the Fine Art School of the University of Chile. In 1969 he was named director of the Institute for the Extension of Fine Arts at the University of Chile.

FREILICH, MAX MELECH (1893–1986), Australian manufacturer and communal leader. Born in Lesko, Poland, Freilich went to Australia in 1927. From 1932 he was managing director of the Safre Paper industry in Sydney. An active Zionist, he was president of the Australian Zionist Federation (1953–57) and of the Australian Keren Hayesod (1942–57). He was also vice president of the New South Wales Jewish Board of Deputies and chairman of the board of governors of the King David school. He published *Twenty-Five Years of Keren Hayesod* (1946).

ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY: I. Porush, *The House of Israel* (1977), index; S. Rutland, *Edge of the Diaspora* (1988), index; H.L. Rubinstein, Australia I, index.

FREIMAN, Canadian family. MOSES BILSKY (1831–1923) was a Canadian pioneer figure and an ancestor of the Freiman family by way of his daughter Lillian. He was born in Kovno and at the age of 14 went to Montreal with his father, moving to Ottawa in 1857. In the years 1861–67 he traveled throughout North and Central America, going to the Caribou gold fields in British Columbia overland by way of the isthmus of Panama, and enlisting in the Union forces in the U.S. Civil War. He returned to Ottawa and entered the jewelry business. There he founded the Adath Jeshurun synagogue in 1895, helped found the city's first Zionist Society in 1899, and led in community activity.

LILLIAN (1885–1940) was born in Mattawa, Ontario. In 1903 she married Archibald J. Freiman (see below) of Ottawa. She was identified closely with Zionist work in Canada all her life and attended the third Canadian Zionist convention in Montreal at the age of 17. From 1919 to her death she was president of Canadian Hadassah. She took the initiative in 1920–21 in bringing 150 Jewish pogrom orphans to Canada and touring her native country to raise funds and recruit foster parents. In 1918, at the time of the great influenza epidemic, the mayor of Ottawa placed her in charge of efforts to combat the disease. She played a prominent and stimulating role in a wide range of activities of a nonsectarian and Jewish nature, involving relief and succor to others, locally and overseas, Jew and gentile.

ARCHIBALD JACOB FREIMAN (1880–1944) was a Canadian merchant and Zionist leader. He was born in Wirballen, Lithuania, and went to Hamilton, Ontario with his parents in 1893. In 1902 he settled in Ottawa, where he established a department store. He was president of the Adath Jeshurun synagogue from 1903 to 1929 and from 1920 to his death was national president of the Zionist Organization of Canada.

Their son LAWRENCE FREIMAN (1909–1986), a merchant, was born in Ottawa. He served twice as president of the Zionist Organization of Canada, and was honorary president of the Federated Zionist Organization of Canada, and was a member of the board of governors of the Weizmann Institute of Science at Reḥovot. Freiman played a leading role in cultural activities in Canada, and was a director of the Ottawa Philharmonic Orchestra, the Canadian Festival of Arts, and the National Arts Center in Ottawa.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: H.M. Caiserman, *Two Canadian Personalities* (1948); C.E. Hart: *The Jew in Canada* (1926); Bernard Figler, *Lillian and Archie Freiman: Biographies* (1961).

[Ben G. Kayfetz]

FREIMANN, family of rabbis and scholars, ISAAC FREIMANN (d. 1886), who was born in Cracow, edited from a manuscript Abraham b. Ḥiyya's *Hegyon ha-Nefesh ha-Aẓuvah* (1860). His son ISRAEL MEIR FREIMANN (1830–1884) served as rabbi at Filehne (Wielen) and Ostrowo (Ostrow-Wielkopolski, both in Poznania), and declined an invitation to succeed Z. Frankel as head of the Breslau Jewish Theological Seminary. He prepared a critical edition of *Midrash Ve-Hizhir* (1875–80), and responsa of his were published in *Binyan Ẓiyyon* (1868), the responsa collection of his father-in-law Jacob Ettlinger, and elsewhere. His son was Aron *Freimann, his nephew and son-in-law was Jacob *Freimann, and Abraham (Alfred) *Freimann was his grandson.

FREIMANN, ABRAHAM ḤAYYIM (**Alfred**; 1889–1948), jurist and rabbinical scholar. Freimann, born in Holleschau (Holesov), Moravia, the son of Jacob *Freimann, studied rabbinics with his father and law in Frankfurt on the Main and Marburg. He served as a magistrate at Koenigsberg and county judge at nearby Braunsberg until the Nazis took power, when he immigrated to Palestine. There he at first worked for an insurance company, but in 1944 he began lecturing on Jewish law at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem. In 1947 Freimann was appointed head of an advisory committee for Jewish law concerning personal status in the proposed State of Israel. He was murdered by Arabs who attacked a convoy taking university staff to Mount Scopus.

Freimann's scholarly work was concerned with medieval rabbinics; later he devoted his efforts to the adaptation of Jewish law to modern conditions in a Jewish state. He was about twenty when he published two important studies on *Asher b. Jehiel and his descendants (in: JJLG, 12 (1918), 237–317; 13 (1920), 142–254). He edited a series of important responsa collections by Maimonides and members of his family: *Teshuvot ha-Rambam* (1934); *Teshuvot R. Maimon ha-Dayyan Avi ha-Rambam* (1935); *Teshuvot Rabbenu Avraham ben ha-Rambam* (1938); *Teshuvot ha-R. Yehoshu'a ha-Naggid mi-Benei Banav shel ha-Rambam* (1940); and *Teshuvot ha-Rambam le-R. Yosef ha-Ma'aravi Talmido* (1940); and one by Rashi, *Teshuvot Rashi* (1941). Freimann also prepared a second edition of Filipowski's edition of *Sefer Yuḥasin* by Abraham *Zacuto with an introduction and indexes (1925, repr. 1963). His major work *Seder Kiddushin ve-Nissu'in Aḥarei Ḥatimat ha-Talmud* (1945; repr. 1964), deals with changes in Jewish marriage laws after the talmudic period.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: E.E. Urbach, in: KS, 25 (1948/49), 105–8 (with full bibl.); idem, in: *Yavneh*, 3 (1949), 125–7, 225–36; P. Dickstein, in: *Ha-Peraklit*, 5 (1948), 67–70; M. Elon, in: ILR, 3 (1968), 443ff., 448ff.

FREIMANN, ARON (1871–1948), German scholar, historian, and bibliographer. Freimann was born in Filehne (Wielen), Poznan, the son of the local rabbi, Israel Meir Freimann. In 1898 he began working at the municipal library in Frankfurt, and under his direction the library in Frankfurt assembled one of the richest collections of Judaica and Hebraica in the world. He retired in 1933 when the Nazis came to power and immigrated to the United States in 1938. Between 1939 and 1945 he served as consultant in bibliography to the New York Public Library.

An industrious and erudite scholar, Freimann was the author or editor of scores of books and articles. In the field of bibliography one of his most important works is a systematic catalog of the Judaica collection of the Stadtbibliothek in Frankfurt on the Main, *Stadtbibliothek Frankfurt a. M. Katalog der Judaica und Hebraica* (vol. 1: Judaica, 1932); unfortunately, he was unable to complete the second part of the catalog, which was to have included the Hebraica collection. In *Thesaurus Typographiae Hebraicae Seculi XV* (1924–31), Freimann provided a complete collection of samples of facsimiles of all known Hebrew incunabula; this work also remained incomplete, missing the introduction and the discussion of the facsimiles. A most useful bibliographical reference tool is his *A Gazetteer of Hebrew Printing* (1946), in which he listed all the cities where Hebrew books were known to have been printed. For many years Freimann was working on a union catalog of all Hebrew manuscripts, but this work also remained incomplete. Freimann's handwritten cards, representing the material culled from all major and minor collections of Hebrew manuscripts, were photographically reproduced after his death as *Union Catalog of Hebrew Manuscripts and Their Location* (1964). Between 1900 and 1922 Freimann was the editor of the journal *Zeitschrift fuer Hebraische Bibliographie*, in which many of his bibliographical articles appeared.

Among Freimann's important historical works are *Geschichte der Israelitischen Gemeinde Ostrowo* (1896); a history of the Jews of Frankfurt in collaboration with I. Kracauer, *Frankfort* (Eng., 1929); an edition of Ḥ.J.D. Azulai's diary, *Ma'gal Tov ha-Shalem* (1921–34); and a collection of texts relating to Shabbetai Ẓevi, *Inyanei Shabbetai Ẓevi* (1912; index 1931). He was coeditor of *Germania Judaica*, a collection of monographs on medieval German Jewish communities (2 vols., 1917–34, 1963–68). From 1929 to the Nazi take-over he was also one of the editors of *Zeitschrift fuer die Geschichte der Juden in Deutschland*. Of his works in other fields his edition of L. Zunz's *Die synagogale Poesie der Juden* (1920) is particularly valuable. Freimann supplied many references and indexes to this classic work, making it much more useful than it had been previously. He also edited several Festschriften in honor of scholars, such as *Berliner Festschrift* (1903), *Brann-Festschrift* (1919), and *Simonsen-Festschrift* (1923).

In addition to his scholarly activities Freimann was active in Jewish communal life and in Jewish educational institutions. He was affiliated with the *Mekizei Nirdamim society from 1909 to his death, serving as president and board member. He owned a private collection of rare Hebraica and Judaica, part of which he sold to the library of Hebrew Union College in Cincinatti. On the occasion of his sixtieth birthday a Festschrift was edited in his honor by A. Marx and H. Meyer (publ. 1935), which included a short poem by Ḥ.N. Bialik and contained a complete bibliography of his writings to that time.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: A. Marx and B. Cohen, in: PAAJR, 17 (1947–48), xxiii–xxviii; S.D. Goitein, in: KS, 25 (1948/49), 109–12.

[Menahem Schmelzer]

FREIMANN, JACOB (1866–1937), German rabbi, scholar, and editor. Freimann studied under Simon Sofer (see *Sofer) and Akiva Kornitzer in his native Cracow, and under his uncle Israel Meir *Freimann at Ostrowo, as well as at Berlin and Tuebingen. He married Israel Meir Freimann's daughter. Jacob Freimann served as rabbi in Moravia at Kanitz (Dolni Kounice) and Holleschau from 1890 to 1913. In 1913 he succeeded Wolff Feilchenfeld as chief rabbi of Posen. In 1928 he joined the rabbinate of the Berlin Jewish community. Freimann was a member of the board of *Mekizei Nirdamim, editor of the department of rabbinics for the Eshkol encyclopaedias of Judaica in German and Hebrew, and lecturer on rabbinics and Jewish history at the Berlin Rabbinical Seminary. Freimann's scholarly interest was medieval rabbinical literature. Particularly important in this field are his editions of Joseph b. Moses' *Leket Yosher* (1903–04), Nathan b. Judah's *Sefer Maḥkim* (1909), *Ma'aseh ha-Ge'onim* (1909), and *Siddur Rashi* (1911) which was prepared by S. *Buber but completed by Freimann. He also contributed an introduction and indexes to the second edition of Wistinetzki's edition of *Sefer Ḥasidim* (1924).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: H. Levy (ed.), *Festschrift… Jacob Freimann* (1937), introd. 6–16 (includes bibliography); H. Gold. (ed.), *Juden und Judengemeinden Maehrens in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart* (1929), 233, 240, 270, 278; N. Lebovi, in: S. Federbush (ed.), *Ḥokhmat Yisrael be-Ma'arav Eiropah*, 2 (1959), 211–3.

[Hirsch Jacob Zimmels / Jacob Joshua Ross]

FRELENG, ISADORE "FRIZ" (also known as "**I.J.**"; 1905–1995), U.S. animator, cartoonist, director. Born in Kansas City, Missouri, Freleng began his career in animation in his hometown, working for fellow Kansas City native Walt Disney. When Disney moved to Hollywood, Freleng followed, teaming up with experienced cartoonists Hugh Harman and Rudy Ising. The three concocted the cartoon character Bosko, a Mickey Mouse-like hero, who became a star in Warner Brothers' new animated series *Looney Tunes*. When Harman and Ising left Warner Brothers in 1933, Freleng remained and was promoted to director. In the film *I Haven't Got a Hat* (1935), Freleng introduced Porky Pig to the world, one of the first cartoon characters to have a distinctive personality. Except for a brief stint at MGM in the late 1930s, Freleng remained with Warner Brothers for the next decades of his career. Best known perhaps for redesigning and introducing such immortal Warner Brothers' characters as Yosemite Sam and Speedy Gonzalez, Freleng also made the beloved short film *You Oughta Be in Pictures* (1940) in which Daffy Duck convinces Porky Pig to quit Warner Brothers and find work elsewhere. Freleng himself followed Daffy Duck's advice when Warner Brother's closed its doors in 1964 and Freleng and animator Dave DePatie opened their own operation in the San Fernando Valley, where they were commissioned to create the opening sequence of *The Pink Panther.* Freleng and DePatie came up with the iconic cool cat, whom they were able to transfer successfully to television in the years that followed.

[Casey Schwartz (2nd ed.)]

FRENCH LITERATURE.

Biblical and Hebraic Influences

The influence of the Hebrew Bible and other Jewish writings on early French literature is limited. With the exception of the 12th-century *Jeu d'Adam*, an Anglo-Norman verse-play, and the 15th-century *Mistère du Viel Testament*, only New Testament themes appear in medieval French plays, poetry, and stories. However, there was one interesting case of "infiltration": the *Midrash and **aggadah* became important sources for the French *fabliaux*. Fables, parables, and didactic tales were not rare in talmudic literature, and they remained part of the Jewish literary heritage throughout the Middle Ages. Indian tales and Aesop's fables mingled with talmudic "Fox Fables" (*Mishlei Shu'alim*), as is testified by compilations of Jewish writers such as *Berechiah b. Natronai ha-Nakdan and Isaac b. Joseph of *Corbeil. These compilations, translated into Latin by baptized Jews such as *Petrus Alfonsi and *John of Capua, thus passed into the French heritage in the form of the *fabliaux*. Literary transpositions also occurred, the medievalist Gustave Cohen being the first to note that the midrashic tale of the blind man and the lame (Sanh. 91a; Lev. R. 4:5) – which has a parallel in Aesop – had become the French story of St. Martin. The "Three Rings" tale was the source of the anonymous 13th-century *Dit du Vrai Aniel*, a Christian author transforming the old fable into propaganda for the Crusades. This tradition elsewhere influenced *Boccaccio and, later still, *Lessing.

In the Middle Ages biblical knowledge was primarily the preserve of the clergy, and it was through churchmen that Hebrew words, biblical expressions, idioms, and proverbs found their way into the French language from the 12th century right up to the 17th. As elsewhere in Europe, various Hebrew terms were absorbed by way of Greek and Latin. Certain French borrowings from Hebrew extend or modify the original meaning: *tohu-bohu* (chaos, disorder); *capharnaüm* (lumber room); *jérémiade* (lament); *moïse* (wicker cradle); *sabbat* (tumult, uproar); and *cabale* (conspiracy, intrigue). Hebrew idioms from the Bible found their way into French, as into other European languages: *trouver grâce* (find favor), *amis de Job* (Job's comforters), *bouc émissaire* (scapegoat). The inclusion of Hebraisms was given a new impetus with two versions of the Bible: the *Bible Complète* of the University of Paris (c. 1235) and the *Bible Historiale* of Guyart des Moulins (c. 1295) which was not a literal translation. Until the Reformation, these were the only full versions of the Scriptures in French.

THE RENAISSANCE. Apart from some stray references in the works of François Villon (c. 1431 – c. 1463), biblical subjects only make an appearance in French literature in the 16th century, under the combined impact of the Renaissance and the Reformation. At the same time there sprang up a widespread interest in the Hebrew language and the original biblical text. In 1530, Francis I established the Collège des Trois Langues (later renamed Collège de France) as a center of learning independent of the intolerant Sorbonne. Readers in mathematics and in Latin, Greek, and Hebrew were appointed in accordance with the humanistic principles of the Renaissance, and such was the liberalism of the era that the chair of Hebrew was first offered to a professing Jew, Elijah (Baḥur) *Levita, who declined the honor because of the exclusion of his fellow-Jews from the French realm. The post was not in fact given to a Jew until the late 19th century.

Humanism blazed a trail that was also followed by the new religious trends of the 16th century – early liberal Evangelism and Calvinism. The "return to the sources" inspired new Bible translations by Jacques Lefèvre d'Etaples (1523–30), Robert Olivétan (1535), a relative of John *Calvin and Sébastien Châteillon (1551). The Protestant poet Clément Marot composed beautiful metrical renderings of 50 of the Psalms (1545, and much reprinted), which John Calvin later accepted in his reformed hymnal, and which inspired many later imitations. François Rabelais placed considerable store on the study of the holy tongue and of the "thalmudistes et cabalistes," although he himself probably knew no Hebrew.

Later in the same century, Hebrew studies were pursued in a more systematic manner, by both Catholics and Protestants. Pontus de Tyard, a neoplatonist poet and later a bishop, published a French translation, *De l'Amour* (1551), of the *Dialoghi d'Amore* by Judah *Abrabanel (Leone Ebreo). Some leading French Christian Hebraists were Guillaume *Postel; Gilbert *Génébrard; Blaise de *Vignère; and Guy *Le Fèvre de la Boderie, a Bible scholar who wrote epic French verse full of kabbalistic references and Franco-Hebraic conceits. Two outstanding Protestant poets whose works owe much to biblical inspiration were Salluste *Du Bartas and Agrippa d'Aubigné, a militant Calvinist whose dramatic and satirical epic, *Les Tragiques* (1577–94), describes the sufferings of the French Protestants in a series of apocalyptic visions. Likening his coreligionists to the Children of Israel, d'Aubigné prophesies God's final vengeance on their persecutors.

Biblical drama also makes its appearance in the 16th century. *Saül le Furieux* (1572) by Jean de la Taille presents the theme of man's inability to understand the mysterious designs of Providence. Against God's command, Saul has spared the life of Agag, king of Amalek, and must be punished. This was a direct precursor of the classic French tragedy. In *Sédécie*, ou les Juives (1583), a drama in the Greek style by Robert Garnier, man's disobedience is again punished by God. Ignoring Jeremiah's injunction, Sédécie (Zedekiah) has sought an alliance with Egypt. The country and the Temple are destroyed, the king taken into captivity and blinded. Sédécie recognizes his sins and acknowledges God's justice. The chorus of Jewish women echoes the king's lament in strains reminiscent of Jeremiah. Minor biblical dramas of the period include: *Abraham Sacrifiant* (1576) by Théodore de Bèze; *Jephté* (1567) by Florent Chrestien, translated from the earlier Latin *Jephtes* (1554) by George Buchanan ("the Humanist"); and *Aman* and *David* (both 1601) by the talented Huguenot playwright and economist Antoine de Montchrestien.

THE CLASSICAL AGE. The 17th century manifests a dual character: classical and Christian. Naturally enough, biblical or post-biblical influences are felt primarily among writers of Christian inspiration; others return to the sources of classical antiquity. Among the great dramatists, Jean *Racine, deeply influenced by his Jansenist training and sympathies, was the only one for whom the Bible provided both subject matter and poetic inspiration. Racine's two biblical tragedies, *Esther* (1689) and *Athalie* (1691), rank among the great masterpieces of French drama. Two great French Christian writers of the century, Jacques-Bénigne Bossuet and Blaise *Pascal, were exceptionally aware of the importance of the biblical heritage. Bossuet, in his *Discours sur l'Histoire Universelle* (1681), presents a spiritual perspective of history in which the paths are traced by a mysterious but wise Providence. Here Israel is chosen for a particular mission to the world, and other nations of antiquity, however powerful and important they might appear in relation to the Jews, are but tools used by God to chastise or protect His chosen people. Israel is thus seen as the cornerstone of world history. Bossuet's biblical leanings are apparent in the lyrical and grandiose eloquence of his literary style; not only did biblical rhythm and imagery strongly influence all his works (including the sermons and the *Oraisons Funèbres*, 1663): he consciously transposed biblical passages and adapted them to contemporary circumstances. Pascal too, in his passionate search for God, saw in the Jews an exceptional and mysterious people, appointed by Providence to preside over human destiny. The Bible was to be read, studied, and interpreted symbolically, and Pascal drew heavily on the Midrash, which he considered a key to the understanding of the Scriptures. In his Platonic *Dialogues sur l'Éloquence* (1718), Fénelon regarded the Bible as a primary source of poetic inspiration and praised Judaism's religious purity.

In the 18th century, the "Age of Enlightenment," men like Denis *Diderot found it convenient to ridicule both the Bible and the Jewish people as an indirect method of attacking Christianity. Equally if not more virulent was *Voltaire, whose attitude was also more complex. Personally unfriendly toward the Jews, Voltaire, in his *Dictionnaire Philosophique* (1764), simultaneously attacked their alleged religious fanaticism and argued that Christians ought logically to practice Judaism, "because Jesus was born a Jew, lived a Jew, died a Jew, and said expressly that he was fulfilling the Jewish religion." Voltaire also condemned anti-Jewish persecution in his *Sermon du Rabin Akib* (1764). Another 18th-century writer, the atheistic Baron d'Holbach, strove in his *Esprit du Judaïsme* (1770) to prove that the Law of Moses was basically immoral, serving only to justify Jewish political ambitions. Although some other writers of the period, notably *Montesquieu and *Rousseau, made sympathetic references to Jews, they were not especially inspired by biblical or later Hebrew literature.

THE ROMANTIC AGE. The 19th-century Romantic movement brought with it a revival of interest in, and sympathy for, religion and Christian values. French poets displayed a noticeable reverence for the Bible and found inspiration in the Holy Land. Thus, François René de Chateaubriand praised the Bible's uniqueness and universality in his *Génie du Christianisme* (1802). In *Itinéraire de Paris à Jérusalem* (1811), he wrote a highly romanticized account of his journey to the Orient extolling the Jews' will to survive and their tenacious adherence to their heritage. Alphonse de Lamartine, a leading Romantic poet, acknowledged his debt to the Psalms and wrote a biblical drama, *Saül* (1818). After a grand tour which included Palestine, his *Souvenirs*, Impressions… Pendant un Voyage en Orient (1835) looked prophetically to the future: "Such a land, resettled by a new Jewish nation, tilled and watered by intelligent hands… would still be the Promised Land of our day, if only Providence were to give it back its people, and the tide of world events bring it peace and liberty."

Two other great French poets who were profoundly influenced by the Bible were Alfred de Vigny and Victor Hugo. Vigny, who knew the Bible by heart, based one-fifth of his poems on biblical themes and filled them with Hebrew images and expressions. They include "Moïse," "La fille de Jephté" (in *Poèmes Antiques et Modernes*, 1826) and "La colère de Samson" (in *Les Destinées*, 1864). Like all Vigny's heroes, the biblical figures are universal symbols – men of genius whose greatness condemns them to eternal solitude. Hugo was the preeminent biblical poet among the French Romantics. Despite his estrangement from Christian orthodoxy, Hugo constantly turns to biblical themes in such poems as "La Conscience," "Booz endormi," and "Salomon" (in *La Légende des Siècles*, 1859–83); "Le Glaive" (*Fin de Satan*, 1887); and "L'Aigle" (*Dieu*, 1891). He eulogized Isaiah and Ezekiel in *William Shakespeare* (1864); sought biblical support for his campaign against Napoleon III; and injected some basic knowledge of the Kabbalah (probably gained from his Jewish admirer, Alexandre *Weill) into *Les Contemplations* (1856).

Of the prominent 19th-century French novelists, Gustave Flaubert, another great traveler, recreated in his last work, *Hérodias* (the third of his *Trois Contes*, 1877), the Judea of the Roman era, the Dead Sea fortress of Machaerus, and the dramatic story of John the Baptist. Pierre Loti, a writer of Huguenot descent, wrote two travel books, *Jérusalem* (1895) and *La Galilée* (1896).

THE 20TH CENTURY. In more recent French literature, from the late 19th century onward, biblical and Christian inspiration again go hand in hand. Catholic writers such as Charles *Péguy, Léon *Bloy, and Paul *Claudel meditate on the Scriptures, and their poetic works (whether written in prose or verse) often take on a prophetic tone as they apply the biblical prophecies to contemporary events. Two biblically inspired dramas by Jean Giraudoux are his *Judith* (1932), a psychological tragedy; and *Sodome et Gomorrhe* (in *Théâtre complet*, vol. 10, 1947). In a class of his own stands the novelist and playwright André Gide, whose drama *Saül* (1898, publ. 1922) strips all heroism from its central character.

Some French Jewish poets of the early 20th century who rediscovered the Bible as a source of inspiration were Edmond *Fleg (*Ecoute Israël*, 1913, 1935), André *Spire (*Poèmes juifs*, 1919), Henri *Franck (*La danse devant l'Arche*, 1912), Albert *Cohen (*Paroles juives*, 1921), Gustave *Kahn (*Images bibliques*, 1929), and Benjamin *Fondane (*L'Exode*). Two important poets of the post-World War II era, both Catholic, both intoxicated with the Bible, were Pierre Emmanuel and Jean Grosjean. Emmanuel's mystical lyrics, reminiscent of Agrippa d'Aubigné and Victor Hugo, draw their images from the biblical text, and his vision (cf. *Babel*, 1951), like theirs, is prophetic, sometimes apocalyptic. Grosjean borrows almost all his themes from the Bible and the Kabbalah. The titles of his verse collections are eloquent: *Le livre du juste* (1952), *Fils de l'homme* (1953), and *Apocalypse* (1962). Other Jewish writers who sought inspiration in Jewish sources were Emmanuel *Eydoux, Arnold *Mandel, Armand *Lunel, Élie *Wiesel, and in Israel, three poets writing in French: Joseph *Milbauer, Jean *Loewenson, and Claude *Vigée.

The Image of the Jew

The appearance of Jewish characters in French literature is determined by the socio-historical role of the Jews in France, where they lived from Roman times until the expulsion of 1394. In medieval French literature, Jews generally appear in an unfavorable light. This attitude changes when they convert. Thus, in the 12th-century *Pèlerinage de Charlemagne a Jérusalem*, the Jew is presented like other "infidels" as a candidate for baptism. Confronted with the noble figure of the emperor, he readily accepts Jesus. In the 13th-century *Desputaison de la Synagogue et de la Saincte Eglise*, a play by Clopin which may reflect the Paris disputation of 1240, the representative of the Synagogue (i.e., the Jews) is a skillful woman debater who stubbornly refuses to acknowledge the superiority of the Church. A rare exception among medieval writers is Peter *Abelard (1079–1142), who composed a dialogue between a Jewish and a Christian philosopher which was quite favorable to Judaism.

The Jew's first appearance as a figure in French society in the 13th century is reflected in the literature of the period. The satirical poet Gautier de Coincy is particularly virulent against Jews, portraying them as not merely stubborn and blind, but also as rich oppressors of the poor. Two miracle plays, *Le Juif et le Chevalier* and *Le Miracle d'un Marchand et d'un Juif*, present a stereotyped Jew, crudely anticipating *Shakespeare's Shylock. In later mystery plays, the Pharisees represent the "hypocritical Jews," the "Christ-killers," filled with hatred and inspired by Satan. The performance of these plays in Paris was finally banned in 1548.

Throughout the 16th and 17th centuries the Jew is, by and large, absent from the French scene, and is virtually ignored by writers of that period. Even the liberal Michel de Montaigne (see below), a writer of partly Jewish descent who had personal contact with Jews in Italy, makes only a few random allusions to them in his *Essays*. Racine, however, defended the Jews in his drama *Esther*, where the heroine pleads their cause. The Jews, declares Racine, are peace loving, humble, and loyal to God and the king. Pascal also expresses his admiration for a Jewish people miraculously preserved through the ages and unique among nations for its unswerving loyalty to God, for its sincerity, and for its courageous devotion to the Law of Moses. Bossuet, too, marvels at Israel's miraculous survival. During his 17 years in Metz, whose Jewish community enjoyed royal protection, he met Jews and attempted to convert some of their youth. His unorthodox opponent in biblical controversies, the Hebraist Richard *Simon, was more enlightened. In 1690, he championed the Jews in the celebrated ritual murder trial of a Metz Jew, Raphaël Lévy, and in order to fight antisemitic prejudice, translated into French Leone *Modena's *Historia dei Riti Ebraici* (*Cérémonies et coustumes… parmi les Juifs*, Paris, 1674, 1681^2).

THE 18TH-CENTURY PHILOSOPHERS. The few writers of the 18th century who were not blinded by anti-religious hatred expressed enlightened opinions about Jews and Judaism. Thus Montesquieu, who devotes no. 60 of his *Lettres Persanes* (1721) to the Jews, speaks of their passionate devotion to a religion which was the mother of Christianity and Islam. He then makes a plea for tolerance, repeated in the "Très humble remontrance aux Inquisiteurs d'Espagne et de Portugal" (*L'Esprit des Lois* (1748), 25:13), where the advocate of justice and humanity is a Portuguese Jew whose reasonableness makes a striking contrast to the violence of Christian fanatics. Among the many "Oriental" works inspired by the *Lettres Persanes* were the *Lettres Juives* (1736) of the Marquis d'Argens, which present an exceptionally favorable image of Jewish values and morality.

Voltaire and the Encyclopedists, on the other hand, presented a generally unsympathetic image of the Jews, whom they held to be as guilty of religious fanaticism as the Christians. Diderot, in his *Encyclopédie* article "Juifs," also reflects the prejudices of his time, but in his novel *Le Neveu de Rameau* (written c. 1774) he introduces a gullible and cowardly Jew who is, for once, neither vicious nor evil. In the fourth book of his *Emile* (1762), Rousseau, though scarcely better informed than his contemporaries, makes a remarkable plea for a more objective and sympathetic understanding of the Jews. "We shall never know the inner motives of the Jews," he says prophetically, "until the day they have their own free state, schools, and universities, where they can speak and argue without fear. Then, and only then, shall we know what they really have to say."

THE JEW IN FICTION. Throughout the 19th century the Jew's growing importance in French society found its reflection in literature, but the image of the Jew in plays and novels generally lacks nuance. George Sand, in her drama *Les Mississipiens* (1866; originally *Le Château des Désertes*, 1851), introduces a Jewish capitalist, Samuel Bourset, who is merely a Shylock in modern dress. Jews like Gobseck and Elie Magus in the giant (17 volumes) cycle, *La Comédie Humaine*, of Honoré de Balzac, are largely stereotypes: bankers and art collectors, generally crafty, rapacious, and miserly, who only partially redeem themselves by their devotion to their womenfolk. Only Balzac's "beau Juif," Naphtaly, is a figure of chivalrous virtue. In *Manette Salomon* (1867), a novel by the Gon-court brothers Edmond and Jules, the Jewish heroine is unsympathetically treated. She is the corrupting influence who forces the artist Caridis to abandon his ideals. *Les Rois en exil* (1879), by Alphonse Daudet, is a variation on the same theme.

In his dramas, Victor Hugo at first sacrificed truth to popular prejudice. The Great Protector's agent in *Cromwell* (1827) is a grotesque travesty of the historical *Manasseh Ben Israel, and another despicable Jewish usurer appears in *Marie Tudor* (prod. 1833; publ. 1834). Yet Hugo's last great play, *Torquemada* (1882), reveals the author's real sympathy for the Jewish victims of treachery and oppression – a sympathy he demonstrated publicly by presiding at a Paris rally on May 31, 1882, to protest against czarist persecution of Russian Jewry. Unpleasant Jewish types continued to make their appearance in the novels *Cosmopolis* (1893; Eng. tr. 1893) by Paul Bourget, *Mont-Oriol* (1887) by Guy de Maupassant, and *L'argent* (1891), part of the Rougon-Macquart novel cycle by Emile *Zola. Zola, however, by placing the Jewish Gundermann opposite a far more despicable Christian character, does succeed in restoring some sense of balance.

THE DREYFUS CASE. Some frankly antisemitic novels appeared at the turn of the century, reflecting the wave of ultranationalist feeling aroused by the *Dreyfus case. Such, for example, are *L'essence du soleil* (1890) by Paul Adam, Léon Cladel's *Juive-errante* (1897), and Léon *Daudet's *Le pays des* *parlementeurs* (1901) and *La lutte* (1907). In all these novels the Jew or Jewess is a rapacious intriguer, endangering the security of the nation and corrupting morals. A play in the same vein is *Le retour de Jérusalem* (1904) by Maurice Donnay. Bourget's *L'Etape* (1902) portraying an idealistic Jew, is a happy exception. Though often cast in the role of a prostitute, the Jewess in the short stories of Maupassant is treated sympathetically and proves herself more noble than her non-Jewish associates. Thus in *Mademoiselle Fifi* (1883), the Jewess Rachel alone resists the offensive Prussian officer, emerging as a symbol of French patriotism and courage. And in *La femme de Claude* (1873), a drama by Alexandre Dumas *fils*, it is the Jewess Rebecca who symbolizes feminine virtue and purity in a decadent and selfish society. The brothers J.-H. and S.-J. Rosny present a fierce and proud Jewess in *La Juive* (1907). The ambivalent Jewish characterization in the Erckmann-Chatrian novels of life in Alsace such as *L'ami Fritz* (1864; *Friend Fritz*, 1873), *Le blocus* (1867; *The Blockade*, 1869), and "Le Juif polonais" (in *Contes populaires*, 1866; *The Polish-Jew*, 1884) stems from their joint authorship: Emile Erckmann was a pro-Jewish Protestant, and Alexandre Chatrian a Catholic antisemite. Their best-known hero, Rabbi David Sichel (in *L'ami Fritz*), is a wholly admirable figure.

The Dreyfus case inspired not only a spate of nationalistic and antisemitic novels, but also some important works of an exactly opposite type by three great French writers. Zola's *Vérité* (1903) describes the "Affaire Simon," a romanticized Dreyfus case in which justice and secularism triumph over prejudice and clericalism. In *L'anneau d'améthyste* (1899), Anatole France presents a liberal who opposes bigotry, antisemitism, and racism, but it is in his charming *L'île des pingouins* (1908) that the *Affaire* is parodied with the most incisive wit. Society, eager to persecute the defenseless Jew Pyrot, is depicted in all its cowardice and greed. Anatole France also presents a likeable Jewish philologist, Schmoll, in *Le lys rouge* (1894). In *Jean Barois* (1913), Roger Martin Du Gard approaches the *Affaire* from a more philosophical standpoint. The central figure, a liberal journalist in search of truth and justice, speaks out on behalf of Dreyfus, under the influence of an admirable Jewish friend, Woldsmuth.

The *Affaire* also directed the attention of two great Catholic writers toward Jewry. Charles Péguy and Léon Bloy both devoted poems and meditations to the Jewish people, its destiny and mission. Paul Claudel did so too, in his drama *Le Père humilié* (1916), where the central figure is a blind Jewess, Pensée, who personifies the people of God. Two other writers of the period introduced Jewish figures. One was the poet Guillaume Apollinaire, who was fascinated by the figure of the *wandering Jew and used the Jew in his poems (particularly *Alcools*, 1913) and short stories as a symbol of exile and misfortune. The other was Marcel *Proust who, in the particular universe which he created, gave an important place to Jewish characters, including his own alter ego, the half-Jew Charles Swann.

WORLD WAR I AND AFTER. World War I marked a turning point in the treatment of Jewish characters in French literature, and they became increasingly numerous, varied, and interesting. Writers were preoccupied with the search for new social and moral values for a society shattered by war, and tended to give greater recognition to the Jew's specific identity. The Jew was no longer merely a persecuted human being to be defended for the sake of justice, but the bearer of a cultural and spiritual tradition worthy of a place in the broader French or European heritage. Such was the view of the former anti-Dreyfusard Maurice Barrès who, despite his ultranationalism and dislike of the Jew, assigned him in *Les diverses familles spirituelles de la France* (1917) a role akin to that of the Breton or Alsatian among the "families" constituting the French nation. With the brothers Jérôme and Jean *Tharaud, interest in the authentic Jew was transmuted into a search for the picturesque and the exotic in Jewish tradition. Even Zionism inspired a novel: *Le puits de Jacob* (1925) by Pierre Benoît, which deals with early pioneering in Ereẓ Israel. But it was Romain Rolland who, even before World War I, had given Jewish values a broad and universal meaning for modern civilization. Not only had the Jew his own traditions to contribute to the French heritage, he also had a special vocation in the western world, being the bearer of "Justice for all, of universal Right." The Jewish characters in Rolland's serial novel, *Jean Christophe*, are distinguished by their selfless devotion, their passion for improving the world, their boundless energy, and determination.

The first fully developed Jewish hero of 20th-century French literature was Silbermann, in the novel of that name by Jacques de *Lacretelle (1922). This deals with the friendship between two schoolboys, one a Christian and the other a Jew. The persecution of the brilliant and idealistic Silbermann by his antisemitic schoolmates forms the background to the story. The theme was taken up by André Gide in *Geneviève* (1936), which portrays a similar friendship between two girls. Henri de Montherlant, who otherwise dealt little with Jewish themes, wrote a "counterpart to Silbermann" in his autobiographical short story of World War I, "Un petit Juif à la guerre" (in *Mors et Vita*, 1932). The author, educated in a reactionary, antisemitic milieu, describes how he is attracted by a sensitive and intelligent young Jew whom he meets in the trenches. Georges Duhamel, in his serial novel *La chronique des Pasquier* (1933–41), presents a finely drawn Jew in Justin Weill, the loyal and idealistic friend of the storyteller-hero. Although the liberal Duhamel makes his Jewish hero an admirable figure, he is nevertheless presented as the perpetual stranger, alienated from both the French and the Jewish traditions. Throughout the *Chronicles* it is this fundamental alienation that accounts for the unsuccessful search for a Franco-Jewish synthesis. The same theme is given a slightly different interpretation by Paul Nizan in *La conspiration* (1938). Here the hero, Bernard Rosenthal, failing to involve the girl he loves in his own philosophical preoccupations, commits suicide. In all these works the Jewish hero has a central role, yet he is always analyzed in terms of the non-Jew's reactions.

To clarify the non-Jew's attitude toward the Jew, some French novelists have created minor, but striking, Jewish characters. Roger Martin Du Gard devotes *La belle saison* (1923), the third volume of his family cycle *Les Thibault*, to the story of Antoine Thibault, a young doctor, and Rachel, his Jewish mistress, who becomes intensely real although she is only seen through the eyes of her lover. Another interesting marginal character appears in *Thérèse Desqueyroux* (1927) by François Mauriac. It is a young Jew, Jean Azévédo, who brings a breath of fresh air into the stuffy atmosphere of a bigoted small town and precipitates Thérèse's revolt.

THE IMPACT OF NAZISM. The rise of racialism and Nazism between the two world wars led to the appearance of such antisemitic works as *Voyage au bout de la nuit* (1922; *Journey to the End of the Night*, 1959) by Louis-Ferdinand Céline and *Gilles* (1939) by Pierre Drieu La Rochelle – both writers who would compromise themselves in antisemitic politics under German occupation and Vichy government. On the other hand, in 1941, Antoine de Saint Exupéry wrote to his Jewish friend, Léon Werth, the *Lettre à un otage* (New York, 1943) which was a unique message of comfort and encouragement from a French Gentile to a Jew. Saint Exupéry's meditative *Citadelle* (1948) contains mystical thinking of Jewish interest.

World War II and Nazi persecution inspired few Jewish characters among French writers. Some exceptions were *La marche à l'étoile* (1943) by *Vercors; some minor characters in works like *La mort dans l'âme* (1949) by Jean-Paul Sartre; and *Le sang du ciel* (1961) by the Polish refugee Piotr Rawicz, a novel with a Jewish hero about the Nazi occupation of the Ukraine. The leading French writers of the postwar period did not introduce Jewish figures into their works, perhaps because of the irreparable mental shock caused by the war. Essays and theoretical writings on the Jewish question (by Sartre for example) were not rare, but Jewish characters and heroes became the exclusive concern of French Jewish writers.

The Jewish Contribution

Although Jews made no specific contribution to French literature before the 13th century, their links with French culture are more ancient. During the Middle Ages French Jews spoke Old French, which modified their pronunciation of Hebrew, and the somewhat Hebraized French dialect which they wrote in Hebrew characters is known as *Judeo-French. A parallel dialect in the south of France was *Judeo-Provençal. The *la'azim (glosses) which *Rashi and other Jewish commentators used to explain difficult Hebrew terms are an immensely valuable source for philologists and Romance specialists. Even Hebrew-Old French dictionaries have survived. In the 13th century, liturgical poems and a festival prayer book (the fragmentary Heidelberg *maḥzor*) were composed in Old French, using Hebrew orthography. The most important document of the period is another fragment, the *Complainte de Troyes*, commemorating the martyrs of the *Troyes massacre of 1288 (text in: E. Fleg, *Anthologie juive* (1951), 281). Its author was probably Jacob ben Judah de Lotra, who is known to have written a Hebrew *kinah* (elegy) on the same theme. Jews also began to write secular French verse: two 13th-century Provençal Jewish troubadours, Bonfils de Narbonne and Charlot le Juif, are mentioned and attacked in works by non-Jews; while some fragments have survived of poems by the convert Mathieu le Juif, a *trouvère* of Arras. With the expulsion of the Jews from France in 1394 this literary activity came to an end, although Alsace, and occasionally Provence, remained havens for Jewish refugees.

After a gap of nearly 200 years, writers of Jewish origin again made their appearance on the French literary scene. Outstanding among them were the celebrated astrologer and physician *Nostradamus (Michel de Nostre-Dame) and the great essayist Michel de Montaigne (1533–1592). The latter's mother, Antoinette de Louppes de Villeneuve, was a Christian descendant of Mayer Paçagon (Pazagón) of Calatayud who, after his forcible conversion at the beginning of the 15th century, took the baptismal name of Juan López de Villanueva. A skeptical humanist, more deistic than Christian, Montaigne in his *Essays* reveals a tolerant abhorrence of the Inquisition in Portugal, but only an outsider's interest in Jewish survival. In the revived Jewish community of Provence, *Purim plays had an honored place, a classic example being the dialect verse-drama *La Reine Esther*, written by Rabbi Mardochée Astruc and revised by Jacob de *Lunel, which was performed at Carpentras in 1774. But in French literature proper, Jews played no major literary role until the era of Louis Philippe (1830–48). Two early writers were the minor novelist Esther Foa and the prolific biographer, critic, and kabbalist Alexandre *Weill.

THE 19TH AND 20TH CENTURIES. Few of the many Jewish writers who rose to eminence in 19th-century France showed any real interest in Jewish themes. One rare exception was the poet and educator Eugène Manuel (1823–1901), author of *Pages intimes* (1866) and some very successful plays, who was a founder of the *Alliance Israélite Universelle. Other writers of this period were the poet and playwright Catulle *Mendès, the poet Ephraïm Mikhaël (1866–1890), the essayist and short-story writer Marcel *Schwob, and a host of playwrights and librettists – Adolphe Philippe d'Ennery (Dennery, 1811–1899); Hector Jonathan Crémieux (1828–1892) and his collaborator, Ludovic *Halévy; Georges de *Porto-Riche; Tristan *Bernard; and the stylish comedy writer Edmond Sée (1875–1959). By the beginning of the 20th century the number of Jewish playwrights had grown considerably. Notable among them were Fernand Nozière (pseud. of F. Weyl; 1874–1931) and Alfred Savoir (1883–1934), who collaborated in the writing of successful comedies and farces; André Pascal (Henri de Rothschild; 1872–1947), whose innovations at the Théâtre Pigalle included the revolving stage; the Belgians, Henry Hubert Kistemaeckers (1872–1938) and Francis de Croisset (1877–1937); Pierre Wolff

(1865–1944) and Romain Coolus (1868–1952), two writers of popular comedies; and Jean Jacques *Bernard, son of the more distinguished Tristan Bernard, who became a Catholic. Overshadowing most of these were the social dramatist Henry *Bernstein and the converted literary critic Gustave Cohen. Prominent writers in other literary spheres were the essayists André *Suarès, Julien *Benda, and Benjamin *Crémieux. Maurice *Sachs, a depraved but talented writer, was a World War II collaborator; and the eminent biographer André *Maurois at first supported Pétain. Outstanding poets of the early 20th century include the convert Max *Jacob, who died in a Nazi concentration camp; the half-Jew Oscar *Milosz, an esoteric writer detached from contemporary trends; and Yvan and Claire *Goll.

Almost all these authors, with the exception of Henry Bernstein, were Frenchmen who also happened to be Jews; but the Dreyfus case had a profound influence in reshaping the ideas of French Jewish writers. The publicists Victor *Basch and Bernard *Lazare were both roused to action by the affair. Even the half-Jew, Marcel *Proust, prevailed on Anatole France to intervene in Dreyfus' favor and, reassessing his own position in French society, gave a place of importance to Jewish characters in his great novel cycle *A la recherche du temps perdu*.

Two leading poets who rediscovered their Judaism were the symbolist Gustave *Kahn, who became an enthusiastic Zionist, and his even more militant contemporary, André *Spire, who inaugurated an entirely new Jewish and Zionist current in French literature. They were followed by Henri *Franck and Edmond *Fleg, the poet, playwright, and anthologist, whose rekindled devotion to Judaism led him to seek a symbiosis between the French and Jewish traditions.

In the 20th century the conflict of identity preoccupied several writers, including the novelists Jean-Richard *Bloch and Albert *Cohen. Their general approach was, however, very different. Bloch, a Communist, assigned to the Jew the role of "revolutionary ferment" in his adopted society; while Cohen, a Corfu-born poet and mystic, was strongly influenced by his Mediterranean background. The regional element is also important in the works of Armand *Lunel, who dealt primarily with Provençal culture, and Joseph *Kessel, who wrote some novels set in Israel. While Henri *Hertz, a leading French Zionist, devoted much of his attention to Jewish problems, other writers asserted their Jewishness mainly in their protests against antisemitism. Jean Finot (born Finkelstein, 1858–1922), a Warsaw-born lawyer, author of *Le préjugé des races* (1905; *Race Prejudice*, 1906), Emmanuel Berl (1892–1976), and Pierre Morhange (1901–1972) all belong to this category. So does Pierre Abraham (1892–1975), the brother of Jean-Richard Bloch, who directed the leftist monthly, *Europe*, and only recalled his Jewish identity in response to the Dreyfus case and, some 30 years later, to Hitler. A rare example of Jewish antisemitism was René Schwob (1895–1946), a convert to Catholicism, who wrote a series of unpleasant apologies, including *Moi*, juif (1928), *Ni grec ni juit* (1931), and *Itinéraire d'un juif vers l'église* (1940).

On the other hand, the themes of certain 20th-century writers, the problems they analyzed, the characters they depicted, the settings they chose were exclusively Jewish. Such were Myriam *Harry; Lily Jean-Javal (1882–1958), a novelist and poet; Michel Matvéev (b.1893), who evoked in novels such as *Ailleurs*, autrefois (1959) the tragic fate of the exiled and the persecuted; Pierre *Paraf; Josué Jéhouda; Pierre Neyrac; Joseph Schulsinger; Moïse Twersky, author of *L'épopée de Menasché Foïgel* (3 vols., 1927–28, with André Billy), the story of a Russian immigrant in France; and Irène Némirowsky (1903–1940), recently rediscovered – whose characters, however, seem to have been influenced by antisemitic stereotypes of the time. Two other figures of note who dealt with the religious implications of Judaism were Raïssa *Maritain, a Russian Jewess who became a Catholic, and Aimé *Pallière, a Catholic who became a liberal pro-Jewish propagandist.

A phenomenon worth consideration is the large number of Romanian-born Jews who either began or resumed their literary career in France. They include the novelist and playwright Adolphe Orna (1882–1925); Tristan *Tzara; the political poet Claude Sernet (1902–1968, born Ernst Spirt); Ilarie *Voronca; Eugène *Ionesco; and Isidore Isou. Another French poet of Romanian origin was the visionary Benjamin *Fondane (1898–1944), who came to France in the 1920s and then published *Ulysse* (1933), *Rimbaud le voyou* (1933), and *La conscience malheureuse* (1936) before being arrested and deported to Nazi camps.

Edmond *Jabès (1908–1991) has attracted considerable attention since the 1960s. His Le Livre des Questions has become the first of a series of works which consist of persistent questioning, sometimes in the form of narratives or dialogues, sometimes in the form of apocryphal talmudic discussions between imaginary rabbis or kabbalistic letter games. The condition of the Jew is for Jabès identified with that of the poet: both the creative writer and the Jew can exist only in the state of exile. The term is of course taken in a spiritual sense and has no political meaning. The title of the first volume is also the title of the whole series; the others are *Le Livre de Yukel* (1964), *Le Retour au Livre* (1965), *Yaël* (1967), *Elya* (1969), *Aely* (1972) and *El* (1973), which is the conclusion of a search for the unity of Judaism and literary creation, and at the same time a ceaseless questioning of the relevance of language His two-volume *Livre des Ressemblances* (1976–78) is in the same hermetic, broken poetic language as was his *Book of Questions*. In this new poetic work it is language itself which is being questioned. But the reader or the critic may query the deceptive dress of rabbinic discussion and kabbalistic tradition assumed by Jabès' writing. However, the glaringly inauthentic garment does not contradict the strikingly Jewish tone of this endless meditation, especially apparent in the author's philosophical essay: *L'ineffable*, L'inaperçu (1980). *Un étranger avec*, sous le bras, un livre de petit format (A Stranger Holding a Little Book under his Arm, 1989) seeks to characterize the stranger and to describe his role. The book is also a self-portrait. Jabès launches on a description of the central figure, stressing his Jewish specificity and his peculiar relation to the Book: "The Jew is a stranger because the Word in the Book, which adheres tightly to his Jewishness, is his." Yet this relationship of the Jew with the Word poses many questions. The Word is always imperfect since it cannot totally express our own inner self, even less our relationship to God. On the metaphysical level, the question remains unanswered. But the human quality of the Stranger and his function in our midst is more clearly defined. "The Stranger enables *you* to be yourself, when it turns you into a stranger." "You are the Stranger. And I? I am, for you, the Stranger. And *you*? The star always separated from the star. What brings them closer is only their will to shine together." The Stranger appears near-sighted, he is there and not there, present and absent, close and far away. "He lives in the margins of an inexhaustible book." Jabès concludes: "The writer is the Stranger *par excellence*," an eternal exile, like the Jew, who is "the hope and the wearing out of a book which he will never exhaust." In short, "in order to be himself, he must be alone." This is of course an old theme, on which Jabès had often touched, but it becomes the core of a very personal Jewish book and extends into the realm of the universal.

Jabès had, in a sense, prepared the way with an impressive collection of poems, *La mémoire et l'oubli* (To remember and to forget, 1987), a book which gathers a number of poetic texts composed between 1974 and 1980, some of which are directly or allusively tied to the Holocaust. *Le livre du partage* (The Book of Shares, 1990) appeared in English translation as the inaugural volume of a new series on religion and post-modernism at the University of Chicago Press. Whether this latest work indeed marks a new departure remains to be seen. The stricter conceptual essay form Jabès turns to is, at this juncture, dotted with apologies for the author's inadequacies and personal self-conscious remarks, such as: "Forgive my works. They have the excuse of despair."

THE MEMORY OF THE HOLOCAUST. A number of French Jewish authors wrote about the Hitler era and the Holocaust of European Jewry. Evoking the past was the main purpose of Roger *Ikor in *Les eau mêlées* (1955) as well as in *Pour une fois écoute mon enfant* (1975). Manes *Sperber with his trilogies *Ces temps* là (1976) and *Lele buisson devint cendre* (1948/1990) and other novels or essays such as *Etre juif* (1994) advocated for a "religion of memory." Anna *Langfus, in her semiautobiographical novels, described characters who, despite Nazi brutality ("I saw a man who stood up on another man who led on the earth"), succeeded in retaining their human dignity and moral values. One may quote *Le sel et le soufre* ("Salt and Sulfur," 1960) or *Les bagages de sable* ("Sandy Luggage," 1962). André *Schwarz-Bart, in the international bestseller, *Le dernier des justes* (1959; *The Last of the Just*, 1960), produced an epic on the age-old Jewish tragedy, while Elie *Wiesel, who was awarded the Nobel Prize in 1986, wrote a series of haunting novels on the Holocaust and its aftermath.

Wiesel, in *Entre deux soleils* (1970), unifies his vision of man through narrations, dialogues and legends, and emphasizes his role as witness. After two volumes of portraits and legends, *La Célébration hassidique* (1976) and *Célébration biblique* (1977) and a play, *Le procès de Shamgorod* (1979), very much in the tradition of the Yiddish theater, mixing irony and pathos, Elie Wiesel brought out a major novel, *Le Testament d'un poète juif assassiné* (1980), which bears witness to the agony and rebirth of Jewish consciousness among the young generation of Soviet writers. The book is couched in the form of a testament, written in a Soviet jail, by a Jewish poet accused of high treason and counterrevolutionary activities. Although the hero Paltiel Kossover is an imaginary figure, his itinerary closely resembles that of many a Jewish dissident. The son of a kind and pious father, he spent his youth in a Romanian shtetl. His messianic fervor took on the garb of revolutionary faith, claiming to bring salvation to mankind and Jews alike. The new Leninist religion, widely followed by young Russian Jews in the thirties, was to bring the hero to clandestine action in Nazi Germany and Palestine, and to fighting in the Spanish Civil War and the Red Army. But Paltiel, though a rebel against traditional Judaism, kept an obscure feeling of loyalty to his father, whose voice often calls out to him in the depth of night. Hardly knowing why, Paltiel carried his *tefillin* with him throughout. On the Russian front he meets Raïssa, seemingly a hardboiled communist. Though her role remains somewhat ambiguous, they will together uncover the sinister imposture of the Russian regime, and gradually Paltiel's poetry becomes the song of his people. Together they flee with their small son, Grisha, secretly circumcised by his father. The Soviet police submit the hero to its most refined physical and moral tortures, the chief result being to strengthen and elevate the spirit of the victim, who on the threshold of death writes a poignant spiritual autobiography as a legacy to his son. Grisha, the still unknowing child, instinctively feels the presence of a potential enemy: wanting to evade the questioning of a neighbor, a supposedly well-meaning doctor and father figure, he bites off his tongue and will remain mute. A strange witness of Paltiel's martyrdom and death is the clerk of the court, a Jew himself caught in the system, who carries the message to the mute son of the poet. Grisha will eventually reach Israel with a group of refuseniks, expecting his mother to follow. But will she ever come? The reader is carried into a dreamlike world of introspection, into the shadowy recesses of the psyche. Wiesel's book is an emotional and convincing statement of Jewish self-assertion.

The book *L'oublié* (1989) tells the story of a father and son and moves from Auschwitz to Israel. Its characters are convincing, while the search for a buried past is the motivation and the core of the book. The concluding message is clear: Israel, the land of the prophets, will be and must be the place where memory is kept intact, the land of truth and life, the land of Jewish hope. Elhanan Rosenbaum, born in a shetl of the Carpathian mountains, survives the Holocaust and discovers Palestine. In besieged Jerusalem he falls in love with Talia and a son, Malkiel, is born. In New York, where he settles with Malkiel, Elhanan preserves the memory of the terrible years. But Malkiel, already an American, although close to his father, has no link with Elhanan's past. One thing only is certain: his mother Talia died in bringing him into the world. Elhanan, who has been unable to reveal his treasured nightmare to his son, becomes ill and loses the ability to speak or to remember. Soon the past will be lost forever. Elhanan will have nothing to bequeath to his son who, in turn, will be unable to know the roots of his deepest convictions and to share them with his friend Tamar. The shipwreck of memory is averted in a dramatic manner: the father suddenly starts to tell the story of his tumultuous past, thus feeding his son's memory, while his own will finally be relieved of its intolerable burden. As the old man finally sinks into the night, forgetting all, his son, strengthened by the link regained, discovers the land of his ancestors. This marks his second birth and the revelation of his deeper self. He will conquer his truth with the help of his father's truth. Will Malkiel, in turn, be able to triumph over the indifference of a world devoid of memory? Will he remember his father's deepest hope? Elhanan's most fervent prayer had been never to forget. Indeed "to forget is to abandon, to betray." "Without memory, truth becomes a lie, a mere masking of the truth." A Jew must bear witness, both to joy and distress.

Wiesel also published his memoirs: *Tous les fleuves vont à la mer* (1994; All the Rivers Run to the Sea, 1995) and *Et la mer n'est pas remplie* (1996; *And the Sea Is Never Full*, 1999).

A writer whose reputation had continued to grow into the 21st century is Georges *Perec (1936–1982), whose stylistically dazzling masterpiece, *La Vie: mode d'emploi* (1978), was translated into English in 1987 as *Life: A User's Manual*. Called by Italo Calvino "the last great event in the history of the novel," it takes the reader into a Paris apartment house, examining the interlocking lives and possessions of its tenants as part of a shifting mosaic of signs and symbols. Until the end of his life he nurtured a profound memory of his parents, who died during World War II: "I am a writer because they left their indelible mark. Their tracks are writing, writing is the memory of their death and the assertion of my life." On these themes, Perec published *W ou le souvenir d'enfance* (1975), *Je me souviens* (1978) and *Récits d'Ellis Island* (1980), which he made into a film with Robert Bober.

In Quoi de neuf sur la guerre (1993), Robert *Bober evokes the post-war period and the survivors' painful personal process of rebuilding. *Berg & Beck* is the story of two young Jewish boys who one day have to put a yellow star on their coats while walking together to school. Beck is arrested and murdered in a Nazi camp. After the war, Berg regularly writes to him: "It's not because you never answer that History can do without you."

Two dramatists of outstanding talent, Liliane Atlan and Jean-Claude Grumberg merit attention. Liliane Atlan (1932–), born in Southern France to a Jewish family from Salonica, felt deeply the trauma of Nazi occupation. At the age of 17 she attended a Jewish communal school and after earning a diploma in philosophy, she started writing for the theater. Her early plays were Monsieur Fugue, staged in Paris in 1967 and in Israel in 1972 under the title Mar Slick; *Les Messies* (1969); *La Petite Voiture de Flammes et de Voix* (The Small Car of Flames and Voices), presented at the Avignon Festival in 1971. She also wrote three volumes of poetry in this period: *Les Mains Coupeuses de Mémoire* (Hands-Cutters of Memory, 1969), *Le Maître-Mur* (1964) and *Lapsus* (1971). The same themes recur both in her poems and in her plays. The first leitmotif is the difficulty in living, borne out by the awareness of the human condition: man, trapped by evil, contracts the incurable Earth-Sickness Le Mal de terre (the phrase serves as subtitle to the first two plays.) In Monsieur Fugue the author borrows elements from reality, yet the play is no documentary. Four Jewish children are being taken in a truck in the fog to Rotten Town, or the Valley of Dry Bones. Their guards are soldiers clad in green. One of them, Monsieur Fugue, decides to accompany the children, and during the journey he tells them stories and they enter the game. They live in imagination the life which they will never know in reality: adolescence, love, marriage, old age and natural death; at which point they are killed. But the imaginary has replaced the hideous reality. Dream here is no escape, but rather the only reality; and joy can thus spring forth out of despair. Joy is the recurrent countertheme. In *Les Messies*, Earth Sickness is no longer viewed from within, but from the outside or from higher up. All realistic elements have disappeared. A group of messiahs, set on an imaginary planet and representing all the ideals and hopes ever invented by mankind, await the moment to jump down and save the earth. But overtaken by dizziness caused by the Earth Sickness, they wait too long and fail. The myths of salvation are deceitful. Consolation lies not in the content of myths, as in *Monsieur Fugue*, but in the ability to invent them: after a dismal failure the messiahs will continue to pray and hope. *La petite voiture* represents a passage into subjective theater, set in a fantastic, apocalyptic universe. The two characters, Louise, an invalid in a wheel-chair pushed by Louli, are a projection of the author's split consciousness. How to live in an evil world is the agonizing question pursued in an obstinate, sometimes frenzied, dialogue-monologue. In the end Louli-Louise, facing an apocalyptic destruction, proclaims with all her meager might: joy will be for our descendants if not for us, an inner sun will shine and that's enough to smile for from tonight on. The Holocaust is still prevalent in Liliane Atlan's recent works, as may be seen in *Un opéra pour Terezin* (1997), which tells the true story of Jewish inmates in the Theresienstadt camp who decided to found an orchestra to play Verdi's Requiem; or in *Les Mers rouges* (1999), which collects survivors' testimonies, songs, and tales from the Salonika Jewish community mostly exterminated in gas chambers.

Jean-Claude Grumberg (1937–) was born in Paris, the grandson of a Yiddish-speaking immigrant from Cracow. Like Atlan, he felt the wound of Nazi oppression… For him too, the resulting anguish had to be exorcised in dramatic creations. But the tone is different: aggressiveness and humor are the dominant colors. Among his significant plays are *Amorphe d'Ottenburg* and *En revenant de l'Expo*, and above all *Dreyfus* (1974), unanimously hailed as a masterpiece. Grumberg seeks to reconcile History, and its seeming absurdity, with Man, trapped in his contradictions. History is invoked frequently, yet often treated with contempt. Man alone, in his human individual quality, really matters, with all his shortcomings. *Dreyfus* presents a potentially comical and pathetic situation. In a Vilna suburb in 1930, a group of townspeople rehearses a play about the Dreyfus Affair, written by Maurice, a young Jewish intellectual, who dreams of representing the Truth of History, of drawing a moral from past events and of creating genuine popular theater. But as the simple townspeople themselves see it, there is no historical truth; the only truth is what we see and recreate. If Maurice wants a moral, a lecture is preferable. As to popular theater, it has nothing to do with distant, foreign historical events. It must spring from experience and tradition. Michel, the cobbler, feels nothing in common with the French captain; he cannot play the role and remains wooden at rehearsals. Arnold, the barber, who plays the part of Zola, finds his text long and pompous; he would prefer a gay little Yiddish song. Motel, the tailor, sees no reason to make a blue uniform for Dreyfus, like in the pictures: he has a big reserve of red cloth. Zina, Arnold's wife, has to cross the stage, shouting Death to the Jews; she would rather be the captain's mother – a good *Yiddische mama*! – etc. In short, the townspeople, authentically alive, refuse the lifeless construction of the dreamy intellectual. The clash creates hilarious scenes. At times, emotion and even grandeur take over, as in the scene of the drunken Poles' attack, courageously repelled by the Jew, or the tale of the saintly ḥasidic rabbi who rose higher than God Himself. And finally in the last scene a taste of irony and tragic humor dominates: after the play's failure, Maurice goes to Warsaw and joins the Polish communist party. In a letter to his friends, one savors the bitter flavor of ideologies espoused by Jewish intellectuals whether communists of the 1930s or leftists of today. As a tragic echo comes a letter from Berlin, where two of the young actors have gone to seek their fortune: Germany is after all a civilized country, where one can build a future! Irony and humor, tempered by tenderness and sadness, contrive to make *Dreyfus* a great Jewish play and a masterpiece of comedy. His play, *L'Atelier* (1979) dwells, with typical tender Yiddish humor, on the sad life of the Holocaust survivors. After achieving great success, too, with *Zone libre* in 1990, he recalls the daily life of a Jewish immigrant family from Poland during the 1930s in *Conversations avec mon père* (2002) and in *Mon père*, inventaire (2003).

Among the writers of this generation, Emile Ajar (a pseudonym of Romain *Gary) has gained the greatest recognition with his two novels: *La vie devant soi* (1975) and *L'angoisse du roi Salomon* (1979). The first book, which created a sensation and won the much coveted Goncourt literary prize, presents a vivid picture of the Parisian Belleville slum, where Jews, Arabs, Blacks and other minorities live in close and generally friendly contact. The author chose to have his story narrated by a 14-year-old Arab boy, Momo, who, along with other semi-abandoned children of prostitutes, was raised by a Jewish mama, Madame Rosa, herself an ex-prostitute. Although the relationship between the kind and generous Madame Rosa and her precious and affectionate son appears to be an authentic and touching love story between mother and child, above and beyond racial and cultural barriers, the book has a very unreal quality. The numerous characters, perhaps with the exception of the old Jewish neighborhood doctor, seem to have walked out of a book of fables, including Momo, a cross between an innocent small boy and a knowledgeable social critic, and Madame Rosa herself, a victim of society and persecution on the one hand and a monumental monstrous delirious figure of terrorized womanhood on the other. Madame Rosa's Jewish cellar, which symbolically portrays an underground refuge in a hostile world, serves as the last retrenchment when death and madness overtake Madame Rosa's soul and body. In spite of the repeated Jewish references the central figure, Madame Rosa, could belong to any oppressed ethnic group: as the author himself admits, everyone is entitled to a secret hiding place. And if Momo, the little Arab, can grasp this, it is because Arab or Jew, where is the difference? *L'angoisse du roi Salomon* is also a kind of fable, where mythical representation and social realism are constantly intertwined. It is based on the story of an old noble-looking Jew, Mr. Salomon Rubinstein, former king of ready-to-wear fashion turned philanthropist devoted to helping lonely souls. The role of son and narrator is held by a young Paris taxi driver who, just as Momo did with Madame Rosa, finds in the old Jewish paternal figure the epitome of human compassion and kindness. King Salomon, who spent four years hidden in a cellar during the Nazi occupation, is scarred by pain and solitude. Like Madame Rosa he has sublimated the anguish by becoming a benevolent dispenser of kindness all around him. Ajar's style in both novels reproduces the language of the man in the street, savory, slangy, full of verve and irony, yet barely concealing a feeling of malaise and suffocation. In several books published under his own name, Gary tackles the memory of the Holocaust – for instance in *Education européenne* (1945), *La danse de Gengis Cohn* (1967), or *Chien blanc* (1970).

The post-war generation's need to find its Jewish roots has expressed itself in still other genres, spiritual or intellectual diaries, where remembrances either are mixed with religious, philosophical or political reflections or frankly give way to an essay commenting on insistent preoccupation with the Jewish condition in our age. In the category of essays one must mention the attempt by Alain Finkielkraut (1949–) to analyze the state of mind of his generation in *Le Juif imaginaire* (1980). Disappointed with leftist politics, tired of resisting his parents' recurrent "Jewish leitmotiv," he rediscovered for himself the significance of the Jewish message. Although he is well-read, his statement is based solely on his own intuitive subjective feeling. The impact felt by the works of a group of young philosophers appears to be a more lasting one. André Glucksmann (1937–) in *Les Maîtres penseurs* (1977) and Bernard-Henry *Lévy (1948–) in *La Barbarie à visage humain* (1977) and *Le Testament de Dieu* (1979) opened the way to a philosophical search of a Jewish view of man and God. They denounced not only fascism and marxism, but, in a rather sweeping manner, their Western masters (maîtres penseurs), guilty of politicizing all debates on life and history, basically because they were the heirs of platonic philosophy. What emerges here is the indictment of Athens in the name of Jerusalem. Bernard Chouraqui's (1943–) message in *Le Scandale juif ou la subversion de la mort* (1979) is more flamboyant and more mystical in its condemnation of Western rationalism. The latter is accused of having stifled the limitless freedom of man's spirit and more specifically the Jewish spirit. If permitted to fulfill its true vocation, Judaism can overcome death itself. The statement is often too grandiloquent to be totally convincing. Shmuel *Trigano (1948–) in *Le retour de la disparue* (1977) and *La nouvelle question juive* (1979) adopted a more restrained tone in dealing with the problem of Jewish identity. He too challenged the European humanism and rationalism, but in so doing he also condemned "Western oriented" Ashkenazi Judaism and Zionism itself. In the name of Kabbalistic tradition and Sephardi predominance he advocated a kind of revivalist Judaism, far from the Haskalah tradition. All these young thinkers, Glucksmann, Lévy, Chouraqui, Trigano, claim allegiance to the teachings of Emmanuel *Lévinas, the great Jewish philosopher.

Most of these prolific authors were disillusioned leftists. One of the most interesting was Pierre Goldman (1944–1979), a son of Polish immigrants who, after revolutionary activities, was accused of murder. He discovered his Jewishness in jail and started to study Judaism seriously. He wrote his first and best book in prison. After his release he was murdered under mysterious circumstances. In 1975 he composed *Souvenirs d'un Juif polonais né en France* ("Memories of a Polish Jew Born in Poland"), a rather remarkable testimony of the discovery of his Jewish consciousness. He proclaimed himself a Jewish revolutionary, who, in anguished self-concern, expressed his identification with his people through his revolutionary convictions. His Jewish self-identification remained divorced from either religious or Zionist feelings. A second book, *L'ordinaire mésaventure d'Archibald Rapoport* (1977) keeps up the same strident, ironic and desperate tone and attains the limit of poetic and metaphysical exasperation. The theme is couched in the form of a legend: the hero fulfills an angelic mission, that of exterminating all officialdom, because it represents a civilization responsible for Auschwitz.

A nostalgic feeling for the 1930s and the prewar period is also felt in Cyrille Fleischman's short tales, which always take place in the Pletzl, the Jewish quarter in Paris, from *Rendez-vous au métro Saint-Paul* (1992) to *Une rencontre près de l'Hôtel de ville* (2003).

Henri Raczymow's (1948–) *Contes d'exil et d'oubli* ("Tales of Exile and Oblivion," 1979) are an imaginary dialogue between a grandson in search of his Jewish self and a Polish grandfather transplanted to the Paris ghetto of Belleville. The tales contained in this short volume beautifully bring to life the charm and faith of the shtetl. *Un cri sans voix* (1985) tells the story of Esther who was totally obsessed with the memory of the Warsaw ghetto and committed suicide in the 1970s. Of note also is *Bloom & Bloch* (1993).

Raczymow also published an intriguing essay. He turned his attention, like others before him, to Swann, the half-Jewish Proustian hero. But the approach is new. The title of the book, *Le cygne de Proust* (1989), gives a clue of the direction chosen. Referring himself to one of the known models for Swann, namely Charles Haas, a dandy of the day (a German Jew), the essay pinpoints what links Swann to him and what separates Swann from his presumed model. The author's starting point is the translation from Haas to Swann. Haas (hare in German) was both too plebeian and too German for Proust's taste. Passing over to the English (more to the snobs' liking) he coined the new name Swann, only subtly reminiscent to the French reader of its translation (swan – and not Swann – evoking in English the noble and mythical bird: "le cygnet"). Such is the starting point for the essay. The author then answers the secret: how did the idea suggest itself? He observed in a painting representing a brilliant social circle, that Charles Haas was standing "near the door, facing the others, though on the side, as if he hesitated to mingle with them and penetrate inside the circle." Observing how Haas was "part of the circle, but remained on the periphery," the author told himself: "Haas was Jewish, had no title of nobility, no prestigious heredity, no tremendous fortune." From then on, that noble "cygne" (Swann) became less distant, almost a familiar, intimate person. One can see in this study a literary illustration of social marranism. Raczymow continued his study of Marcel Proust in *Le Paris retrouvé de Marcel Proust* (2005). On the other hand, he looks into his own boyhood in Avant *le déluge: Belleville années 50* (2005) and in *Reliques* (2005); in 2003, with *Le plus tard possible*, he evaluates his life, and "[his] experience of absolute loneliness."

Myriam Anissimov, born in 1943 in a refugee camp, wrote a Kafkaesque novel, *Rue de Nuit* (1977), the bizarre story of a couple accused of some unknown crime. In *La soie et les cendres* (Silk and ashes, 1989), Hannah, obsessed with the weight of her people's tragic past, deceives herself into believing that she has found the truth about herself and her link with the Holocaust. She has found an original "profession" for herself: she sells *shmattes* (old clothes) at the flea market. In so doing, she fantasizes that she is one with the pitiful remains (the "silk") of the victims at Auschwitz (the "ashes"). The book tells the sad and perverse nightmare of a Jewish girl, who eventually faces up to the essential duty of living creatively. She will find salvation through music, doubtless a finer memorial to the victims. Anissimov, who also published two successful biographies (on Primo Levi, 1998, and Romain Gary, 2004), wrote in *Dans la plus stricte intimité* (1992) about her childhood in a broken Jewish family after the war, from Lyon to Metz; and she also published a kind of autobiography, *Sa Majesté la Mort* (1999).

The difficult dialogue between a mother and her daughter is the original subject *L'immense fatigue des pierres* (1996) by of Régine Robin (1939–), but according to the author, the trauma of the Holocaust is at the root of linguistic hybridism and the plurality of identities. Robin had already devoted *Le deuil de l'origine* (1993) to the influence of their Jewish roots and the loss of their language (Yiddish or Ladino) on the works of several writers, such as Kafka, Celan, Freud, Canetti, and Perec. In her critical essay *La mémoire saturée* (2003) she questioned the function of the recent and widespread uses of commemoration of the past.

The memory of the Holocaust remains at the heart of some young writers' books. The first novel of Norbert Czarny deals with the problem of memory, or rather the ability to keep alive and convey the reality of the past. In *Les valises* (1989) the narrator's parents and grandparents, unlike the father in Wiesel's book, have been feeding the child endless stories of their past. But the child, threatened with suffocation, by the burden of those recollections, transforms, almost magically, a hard and somber tale into a legend full of poetic charm. Stephanie Janicot wrote her first novel, *Les Matriochkas* (1996), about the relationship between a young German and the Jewish family he lives with in Paris in the 1980s. Gila Lustiger (1963–), who grew up in Germany, published *L'inventaire* (1998) and *Nous sommes* (2005), telling the story of her family. In *Un amour sans résistance (*2004), Gilles Rozier (1963–) tells the story of a Gestapo translator in Paris who saves a young Jew, and more recently, in 2005, he published *La Promesse d'Oslo* centering on the will to life of an Orthodox Jerusalem woman whose son is murdered by a terrorist; after several months, she decides to have another child through artificial insemination, with her rabbi's consent. Cécile Wajsbrot (1954–) is increasingly obsessed with the Holocaust and its traumatic effects on succeeding generations, as evidenced by *Beaune-la-Rolande* (2004), *La trahison* (2005), and *Mémorial* (2005).

Although of Sephardi origin, Patrick *Modiano (1947–) is quite obsessed by the memory of the Holocaust. He is the author of successful novels – *La place de l'Étoile* (1968), *La ronde de nuit* (1969), *Les boulevards de ceinture* (1972), *Villa triste* (1975) and *Rue des boutiques obscures* (1978) – as well as an autobiography, *Livret de famille* (1977). The German occupation, which the author never experienced, is the recurrent and obsessive theme. A search for his true identity and for the meaning of his Jewish condition runs through the first novel, where the hero lives in fantasy through a thousand lives and identities. As a Jew, he sees himself sometimes as a king, sometimes a martyr. The same quest continues in the other books, down to the haunting search for the father in the last novel. The father is a pathetic, repulsive, ghost-like figure, victim and partner of a shady gang who lives it up under Nazi occupation. The ultimate question remains: is one ever free to choose or are we nothing but puppets in the hands of blind fate? The notion of Jewish identity has lost all moral or historic meaning. It has been reduced to an almost organic search for roots. The strained narratives are put forth in deliberately flat style, conveying tragic situations in a painfully grotesque manner. Modiano was awarded the Goncourt Prize in 1978. In the 1980s, Modiano deliberately turned to writing children's books. They included *Catherine Certitude* (1988), the charming story of a little girl who lives with her "papa" in a northern Parisian neighborhood close to Montmartre, part of a cosmopolitan world of little people who struggle as best they can, slightly out of the "real" French world. They find refuge in a world of dreams. Catherine will later realize that even the French sometimes have to escape a glittering, but cruel, reality. In fact, the "not quite French" depicted here are, in an implicit but clear fashion, Jewish immigrants, who always remain "out of it," even when they take on a new French name. The irony of Catherine's French surname resides in the fact that Catherine's father has been renamed by an employee of the city registrar, unable to read or spell the immigrant's foreign sounding name. "Certitude" had seemed to him clear and perfectly suitable! Catherine and her father eventually leave for New York, where Catherine's American mother now lives. Later Catherine, herself a mother, will realize that something in her parents' persistent estrangement from themselves and the world is part of their essential humanity. In this new vein of writing, Modiano, though still dealing with the hero's search to elucidate the darker of his parents' past, has found a lighter touch, devoid of bitterness and sarcasm. The mood is whimsical, sometimes ironic, but never cynical or nightmarish. The "happy ending" is suited to a delightful and moving children's book.

In *Dora Bruder* (1997) Modiano attempts to pick up the trail of a teenager who was deported from Paris in 1942, but "I will never know what she was doing all day long, where she was hiding, who she was with during Winter, then Spring …. It's her secret. Her poor and precious secret that torturers, camps, History could never rob her of…." In Un pedigree (2005) he gave the reader the biographical keys to his work.

THE SEPHARDI IDENTITY. Albert *Cohen (1895–1981) was still vigorously creative at 85, and after completing the saga of the Solals with a fourth novel, *Les Valeureux* (1969), a companion piece to *Mangeclous*, wrote what might be called his testament, a little book, which borrows its title from Villon's famous ballad: *O vous frères humains* ("O Ye, Human Brothers," 1972). Though the themes in Cohen's work – meditation on death, the universality and absurdity of human destiny, the tragic nobility of the Jewish condition – are not new, they reach to the heart of the Jewish writer's experience. A Jewish child encounters the implacable, stupid, cruel hatred of antisemitism and this banal and terrifying incident, prototype of all genocide, makes of him a Jew, an adult, and a poet. The bearer of this unified triple identity will have but one mission: to state the place of the Jew among the nations and send a cry of alarm to a mad world bent on hating, when love alone can save. In a poignant volume of diaries, *Carnets* (1978), the elderly writer returned to his timeless meditation. His style lost none of his brilliance, variety, sharpness, and opulence.

A group of writers, mostly Sephardi, has gradually emerged, characterized by books situated midway between the novel and the autobiography. Albert *Memmi's own search for identity takes on a radically different coloring. Cast in a sunny and intriguing decor, his two novels, *Le Scorpion* (1969) and *Le Désert* (1977), are full of old world wisdom and fancy, elegant pieces of French prose, a mixed genre between story-telling, autobiography and historical inquiry. Whereas, *Le Scorpion* is a sort of imaginary confession, depicting picturesque North African Jewish folk towards the end of the French protectorate, *Le Désert* presents a kind of Oriental tale, partly set in feudal Arab society, partly in desert Berber country (like many old Jewish Tunisian families. Memmi claims to have some Berber ancestry). Both books, no matter how remote from plain realism, have a remarkable, convincing ring of truth. In *La Statue de sel* (1953) Memmi confronted the question of his own Jewish identity.

To the same group belongs Jacques Zibi, who in *Ma* (1971) pays tribute to his mother. He tenderly and deftly evokes the mother's simple gestures, the intimacy of the Arab Jewish dialect of her native Tunisia, the purity and peace of the Jewish home. In a more humorous vein, Elie-Georges Berreby in *Le singe du Prophète* ("The Prophet's Monkey," 1972) takes up the Jonah theme. The modern reluctant prophet is forcibly pulled out of a quiet existence to denounce the sinful town, i.e., the nuclear city. Lucien Elia offers a painful experience of a real talent, presenting a degrading picture of his people.

In *Les ratés de la Diaspora*, where he depicts the ghettoes of Syria and Lebanon, the simple Oriental Jews are treated with caustic humor and contempt, though the villains are ostensibly the Arabs. In a second novel, *Fer blanc* (1973), he presents a downright antisemitic caricature of Israel. Jacques Sabbath, in *Le Bruit des autres* (1974), appears as a talented short-story writer.

Naim Kattan (born in Iraq in 1928) and Albert Bensoussan (born in Algeria in1935) similarly revive with great talent the land of their past. The first tells us of his youth in Baghdad, the second recalls Jewish life in Algiers. Kattan's *Adieu Babylone* (1975) portrays the life of a young Baghdad Jew in the modern age. Still part of an ancient Jewish tradition, he is exposed to Western modes when the arrival of British troops during the Second World War breaks into the unchanged quiet of the Oriental community. The hero is then caught between several alternatives: remaining within the bounds of traditional Jewish living, becoming an enlightened Westerner, identifying with the Arab nationalist struggle (in the guise of progressive politics) or with the Zionist pioneering ideal. Kattan is also the author of *La mémoire et la promesse* (1979) and *Le rivage* (1981). Bensoussan's two novels: *Frimaldjezar* (1976) and *Au nadir* (1978) do not deal so much with ideological choices as with the nostalgic feeling of a happy and sunny past, when an Algerian Jewish child could live in the cheerful fervent, popular milieu of a settled community. French colonial power then appeared as a permanent shield against all possible abuse on the part of the Arabs. The style, both lyrical and highly colorful, conveys the love of native surroundings where historical change was never to intrude. Around the turn of the century Bensoussan published several books, both prose and poetry, about the warm relationships between Jews, Arabs, and Christians in colonial Algeria, filling his books with colorful characters: *L'Oeil de la sultane* (1996), *Pour une poignée de dattes* (2001), and *L'Échelle algérienne. Voix juives* (2001).

In describing Jewish circles in Tunisia before independence or Jewish immigrants to Paris, Nine Moati (1937–) often focuses on women. In *Deux femmes à Paris* (1998), she describes the daily life of two neighbors in Paris, one is a young immigrant from Tunisia and the other a coquette whose lover is an extreme right-wing militant. In *Villa Week-end* (2003) she analyzes the evolutionary relationship between a young Jewish girl and her French friend in Tunisia in the 1930s, then under German occupation; and *L'Orientale* (2005) tells the story of Hannah, Duke Nessim's daughter from Leghorn, who becomes a "queen" in fashionable Paris before falling in love with an antisemitic French aristocrat.

The need to portray the life of now extinct Sephardi and Oriental communities also inspires a group of much younger writers, several of them women, who attempt to give a specific literary coloring to their childhood recollections. In the *Mémoire illettrée d'une fillette d'Afrique du nord à l'époque coloniale* (1979), Katia Rubinstein portrayed the life of a Tunis quarter where traditional Jews lived side by side with various other ethnic groups. The author chose an illiterate little girl as a narrator, gifting her with a colorful and truculent language, where French is interspersed with Jewish Arab, Jewish Italian and Jewish Spanish dialects.

Paula Jacques (born in Egypt in 1949) also focuses on women in her novels about Egyptian Jewry: *Lumière de l'œil* (1980) and *L'Héritage de tante Carlotta* (1987). *Les Femmes avec leur amour* (1997) describes the deep friendship between a young Jewish girl and her Muslim maid in Egypt, a few months before the Suez War in 1956; expelled by Nasser in 1957, like most of the Egyptian Jews, the heroine of *Gilda Stambouli souffre et se plaint* (Gilda 2001) sets up house in Paris, full of vigor, excesses, and insincerity, while at the same time her daughter tries to leave her kibbutz on the Syrian border.

In *Les herbes amères* (The Bitter Herbs, 1989), Chochana Boukhobza (1954–) has the heroine, Jane, who has made a clean break with her past, meditates on distant events and their true meaning. Marc, her beloved, is dead. Her mother, whom Jane always hated, committed suicide. Though she was a camp survivor, Jane never granted her even "a few minutes of loving grace." As for Marc, Jane knows that illness alone did not bring on his untimely end. Death has come into her world because a dark and tragic past could neither be spoken of nor allusively approached. Jane's inner self had created a deep gap with that past, which belonged to those closest to her. Memories must now be reconquered, if life is to go on. Still interested in women's approach, Boukhobza describes in *Un été à Jérusalem* (1999) the conflicting relationship of a young woman with Jewish tradition and with her father's rigorous authority.

The younger Karine Tuil (1967–) is not only interested in Jewish themes, but in her third novel, *Du sexe féminin* (2002), she describes tragi-comically the powerful influence of Jewish mothers on their children.

POEMS IN PROSE AND VERSE. Emmanuel Lévinas himself, though a philosopher in the strict traditional sense, has also written some interesting literary studies and poetic meditations. *Noms propres.* Sur M. Blanchot ("Surnames," 1976) is a series of short essays on writers as far apart as Agnon, Buber, Jabès, Proust and others. *Difficile liberté* ("Difficult Freedom," 1977) is a collection of fragments (meditations, exegesis, prose poems) dealing with Jewish existence, ethics and religion. The author rejects both mysticism and pathos, and always displays a sense of the profound nature of Jewish spiritual being.

Vigée's *Le soleil sous la mer* (The Sun under the Sea, 1972) consists of a collection of all his previous poetry, but it is preceded by an account of childhood recollections in Alsace – "the emergence… of a luminous beginning… the opening of life" – and followed by the poetic work, *L'acte du bélier* (The Act of the Ram). In his *Délivrance du souffle* (1977) the reader penetrates into the authentic realm of poetry, narration and reflection. Vigée deliberately mingles the three levels of writing, for he views poetic language as a fitting expression of his Jewish existential meditation and the narration of historic and personal experience as an indispensable adjunct to his reflection of life and Jewish destiny. The first part of this work is composed of poems which are not only inspired by Jewish themes and biblical subjects, but whose very poetic material (imagery, coloring, rhythms and sound) springs forth directly from an intimate knowledge and experience of the Hebrew language. Vigée has succeeded in creating his own poetic style, not by transposing biblical verse into typically French meter; but by speaking or rather breathing in accord with biblical poetry. In his "Diaspora Choral," the poet deplores the fact that the French language in its "subtle flavor" and sophisticated refinement inhibits the authentic "naked word" which in Hebrew "springs forth like fire between the teeth on the living tongue." The second part of *Délivrance du souffle* contains a moving diary of the Yom Kippur War. In sober and restrained tone in the midst of the peril threatening the nation, Vigée reflects on the meaning of Jewish destiny and of its presence in the Land. The third part of the book, "Motifs et variations," celebrates the beauty of Eretz Israel, an eerie beauty so penetrated with history and spiritual tradition as to wash it clean of all pagan seduction. Vigée's clear literary commitment to his Jewish heritage does not inhibit his rich contribution to Western culture, as his volume of critical essays, *L'Art et le Demonique* (1979), testifies.

The latest books of Arnold *Mandel and Claude Vigée should be noted, all representing a sum of their creation. Mandel's works display a decided leaning towards Kabbalah and ḥasidism. They deal, now as before, with the theme of Jewish vocation, destiny and character, whether it be in narrative form (*Le périple* ("The Journey"), 1972; *La Vierge au bandeau* ("The Virgin with a Blindfold"), 1974; *Tikoun*, 1980), in descriptive form (*La vie quotidienne des Juifs hassidiques* ("The Ḥasidims' Daily Life," 1977) or in essay form (*Nous autres juifs*, 1978). *Le périple*, a semi-autobiographical novel, shows a narrator through a long meandering journey, a sort of symbol of the Wandering Jew, who ends up in Israel. The end is a beginning. Israel is indeed the place of new beginnings, the only one where the Jew feels the West his very existence is questioned; for the Jews and non-Jews alike perceive that Jewishness is no contingent attribute, but an essential necessity of being. *La Vierge au bandeau* is a sequel in parable form to Mandel's earlier autobiographical novel *Le périple*. The author imagines the blindfolded figure of the Synagogue (the well-known gothic statue of the Strasbourg cathedral) having left her assigned place and becoming a modern Jewish girl named Myriam, who sets out to follow her lover Jacques Landau, hero of *Le Périple*, on his journey to Israel. But whereas Jacques will remain permanently in Jerusalem, Myriam will return to her traditional place in the Diaspora, where she still has a role to play. But is it a petrified one? *Nous autres Juifs* is a collection of essays dealing with the ambiguities of Jewish existence, its delights and trials. It is also an indictment of a sort of neutral Judaism, cut off from its religious and cultural tradition, or, worse still, the Jewish identification with revolutionary mythologies, in particular bolshevism. The chief title to fame of contemporary Jewry is, in the author's opinion, the rebirth of the Hebrew language and the creation of an original Hebrew culture in Israel. With *Tikoun*, an impressive novel bearing a Hebrew title, Mandel returns to his old favorite theme, i.e., the long circuitous journey of an exiled Jew in search of his true destination. But the setting has become broader, the tone one of gravity. The novel includes a large variety of imaginary characters, as well as historical figures, as far apart as Chaplin and Maimonides. This vast array of people and social situations is treated sometimes with biting satire, sometimes with kind humor. Postwar existentialism and the May 1968 abortive revolution are dealt with in the most ironic fashion. The story starts at the time of the Nazi occupation and culminates some 30 years later in Jerusalem, where the hero Ary Safran, a Hebrew teacher and writer, son of an angelic rabbi, finds comfort for his relative failures in life. The kabbalistic idea of *tikkun* is here applied to the hope that all quest for unity can some day somewhere be fulfilled.

Claude *Vigée, on the other hand, has persevered in the way he chose in recent years, namely the use of Judeo-Alsatian dialect to convey the true meaning of human existence. In *Le feu d'une nuit d'hiver* ("The Fire of a Winter Night," 1989), he went further. This poetic work is divided in two parts, the first of which is based on a volume written in dialect form in 1984. Composed in Jerusalem, it is a meditation on the somber past of our generation, which now faces new unknown perils. These perils are portrayed in an Alsatian epic, tender and ironic, burlesque and sinister, which unfolds in the guise of a country fair in the fall. The dual levels of expression in this dramatic tale bring forth our dual fate, revealing our earthly world which stands under the bright clarity of the eternal upper world. The poet says: "We have a good place elsewhere a trust well kept: in a welcoming 'elsewhere' the green vesperal light dies and flourishes anew in a muted spring."

This folk epic constitutes the prelude of the book, which in fact is more than half of the work: thirteen poems in all. Only a few bear titles, at once melancholy and whimsical: *La complainte du Tsigane Sékula*, *La foire d'arrière saison*, *Le chant d'après-minuit*. The last one, *L'amandier de Jérusalem*, marks a turning-point in locale, tone and spirit, serving as the transition for the "Jerusalem poems" of the second part. The very symbolic almond tree prepares the reader for the theme of renewed hope and youth. The poet addresses the beloved city: "Yes, though he threatens you, the Angel of Death, against him you stand in spite of all, in spite of all, you remain for me the summer bride my ever young, ever beautiful ever new Jerusalem."

Hebrew quotes from the liturgy abound in both parts of this volume.

The "10 Jerusalem poems," which constitute the second part, were composed between 1984 and 1988, with the exception of the first poem, "Chanson funèbre" (1982) where the poet echoes the "voice of the young soldiers" who died in the Lebanon War. The titles, as well as the content, bear the mark of the serious, sometimes solemn, but confident mood of the mature Jewish artist. Examples are "L'intime langue étrangère," "L'an futur," "Les trois portes de Jérusalem," "Passage du vivant," "La Bal des pénitents au Mont des Oliviers," and "La surface des choses." The title of the last poem, a final tribute to Jerusalem, is its first verse. "La demeure est le secret dont l'exil fut la quête." ("The dwelling is the secret. Exile was its quest," 1988).

In the mid-1990s and the early 21st century, Vigée described his family life in Alsace in his autobiography *Un panier de houblon*: *La Verte enfance du monde* (1994 and *L'Arrachement* (1995) and his refuge in the center of France during the 1940s in *La Lune d'hiver* (2002).

The poet Henny Kleiner, whose works had been little noticed, deserves mention. Born in Vienna, she lived in Israel during the war years, then settled in Paris in 1952 and thereafter wrote in French. Her most striking volumes of poems are *Mes cendres encore chair en terre* ("My ashes are still flesh down under the earth," 1979), followed by *Syllabaire de la gazelle*, and *Des ailleurs de toutes les couleurs* ("Elsewhere in many ways and colors," 1984). The recurrent themes of nature, tenderness, childhood, motherhood, mourning, beauty are characteristic of universal nostalgic lyricism. But the poet's gift for pictorial evocations and the musical quality of the verse make the poems special. The Jewish element is especially evident in *Mes cendres encore chair en terre*, and even more in its extension, *Syllabaire de la gazelle*. The poet often enters a biblical universe ("Moïse au Mont Nebo," "Jericho") or is in close contact with the Land of Israel ("Sel du désert," "Tiferet"). The poet also brings reminiscences of a grandmother on Sabbath Eve and moving allusions to the Holocaust.

One should also note an important translation into French of Paul Celan's *Pavot et mémoire* (1987). The great Jewish poet, born in 1920 in Bukovina, whose family was massacred by the Nazis, lived in Paris, but remained condemned to write in German, his only language. He lamented: how can I write in the language of my mother's murderers? Haunted by the tragic feeling of being a Jew without a people, without a country, without a home, he committed suicide in Paris in 1970. His poetry dwelt on many themes, but this particular volume is, in a way, a Jewish testament. In lyrical incantation Celan evokes the death of the Jews in the gas chambers, compelling the reader to the most serious meditation on the unspeakable evil of all evils. His poem "Fugue de mort" ("Todesfuge") is especially noteworthy.

There is a recurrent dispute about whether one can speak about a literary school of French-speaking Jewish writers, beyond their common language and – unequal – recognition by the Jewish community. Although it remains quite impossible to give an indisputable answer to this question, as can be seen above there are common themes that have concerned Jewish writers throughout the 20th century

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[Denise R. Goitein / Anne Grynberg (2nd ed.)]

FRENCH REVOLUTION.

Position of the Jews before the Revolution

The nature, status, and rights of the Jews became an issue of public consequence in *France in the last two decades before the outbreak of the Revolution in 1789. The Jewish population was then divided into some 3,500 Sephardim, concentrated mostly in southwestern France, and perhaps 30,000 Ashkenazim in eastern France. The Sephardim had arrived there after 1500 as *Marranos. By 1776, when the last *lettres patentes* in their favor had been issued by the crown, they had succeeded, step by step, in establishing their status as a merchant guild, avowedly Jewish, with at least the right to live anywhere within the authority of the *parlement* of *Bordeaux. The leading families of the Sephardim engaged in international trade. They were sufficiently assimilated to behave like bourgeois, and some were *Deists or nonbelievers before the Revolution. The Ashkenazim in eastern France were foreign and un-French in their total demeanor. This community spoke Yiddish and was almost totally obedient to the inherited ways of life. The power of the community over the individual was much larger among the Ashkenazim than among the Sephardim, for rabbinic courts were, in Metz and in Alsace, the court of first jurisdiction for all matters involving Jews. With the exception of a few rich army purveyors and bankers, Jews in eastern France made their living from petty trade, often in pursuits forbidden to them; by dealing in cattle; and from petty moneylending. More than any other, this last occupation embroiled the Jews in conflict with the poorest elements in the local population, the peasants.

Another economic quarrel involved the Jews in several places in France, and especially in Paris, with the traditional merchant guilds. In March 1767 a royal decree was issued creating new positions in the guilds and making these new posts freely accessible to purchase by foreigners. Jews managed to enter the guilds in a few places in eastern France, and to bid for entry in Bayonne. These efforts were fought in lawsuits everywhere. The new, Physiocratic insistence on productive labor had also helped sharpen the issue of "productivization" of the Jews in these years before the Revolution.

In the intellectual realm the Jews became a visible issue of some consequence in the 1770s and 1780s for a variety of reasons. The attack of the men of the Enlightenment on biblical religion inevitably involved these thinkers in negative discussion of the ancient Jews and, at least to some degree, of the modern ones. All of the newer spirits agreed that religious fanaticism, whether created by religion or directed against deviant faiths, needed to end. The Jews were thus an issue both as the inventors of "biblical fanaticism" and as the object of the hatred of the *Inquisition. Some of the great figures of the Enlightenment, with *Voltaire in the lead, argued that the Jews had an ineradicably different nature, which few, if any, could escape. The more prevalent, less ideological opinions were those of men such as the Marquis de *Mirabeau (the younger) and the Abbé *Grégoire, that the defects of the Jews had been created by their persecutors, who had excluded them from society and limited them to the most debasing of economic pursuits, leaving them entirely under the sway of their own leaders and their narrow tradition. With an increase in rights and better conditions, the Jews would improve.

Propaganda and pressure by Jewish leadership in eastern France, led by Herz *Cerfberr, the leading army purveyor in the region, had resulted in 1784 in the two last acts of the old order concerning Jews. In January 1784, Louis XVI, speaking in the accents of contemporary enlightened absolutism, forbade the humiliating body tax (see *Taxation) on Jews in all places subject to his jurisdiction, regardless of any local traditions to the contrary. In July of that year a much more general decree was published which attempted a comprehensive law for the Jews in Alsace. It was a retrograde act. A few increased opportunities were afforded the rich but no Jew could henceforth contract any marriage without royal permission and the traditional Jewish pursuits in Alsace, the trade in grain, cattle, and moneylending, were surrounded with new restrictions. The rich were given new scope for banking, large-scale commerce, and the creation of factories in textiles, iron, glass, and pottery. The Jewish leaders in Alsace fought against this decree, and especially against that part of it which ordered a census in preparation of the expulsion of all those who could not prove their legal right to be in the province. This census was indeed taken and its results were published in 1785. Nonetheless, Jews continued to stave off the decree of expulsion until this issue was overtaken by the events of the Revolution. These quarrels and the granting of public rights to Protestants in 1787 kept the question of the Jews before the central government in Paris. Under the leadership of Chrétien Guillaume de Lamoignon de *Malesherbes, the question was again discussed by the royal government in 1788. Delegations of both the Sephardi and the Ashkenazi communities were lobbying in Paris during these deliberations. The prime concern of the Sephardim was to see to it that no overall legislation for Jews resulted in which their rights would be diminished by making them part of a larger body which included the Ashkenazim. The representatives of the Jews from eastern France followed their traditional policy of asking for increased economic rights and of defending the authority of the autonomous Jewish community.

The Era of Revolution

In the era of the Revolution the Jews did not receive their equality automatically. The Declaration of the Rights of Man which was voted into law by the National Assembly on Aug. 27, 1789, was interpreted as not including the Jews in the new equality. The issue of Jewish rights was first debated in three sessions, Dec. 21–24, 1789, and even the Comte de *Mirabeau, one of their chief proponents, had to move to table the question, because he saw that there were not enough votes with which to pass a decree of emancipation. A month later, in a very difficult session on Jan. 28, 1790, the "Portuguese," "Spanish," and "Avignonese" Jews were given their equality. The main argument, made by Talleyrand, was that these Jews were culturally and socially already not alien. The issue of the Ashkenazim remained unresolved. It was debated repeatedly in the next two years but a direct vote could never be mustered for their emancipation. It was only in the closing days of the National Assembly, on Sept. 27, 1791, that a decree of complete emancipation was finally passed, on the ground that the Jews had to be given equality in order to complete the Revolution, for it was impossible to have a society in which all men of whatever condition were given equal rights and status, except a relative handful of Jews. Even so, the parliament on the very next day passed a decree of exception under which the debts owed the Jews in eastern France were to be put under special and governmental supervision. This was a sop to anti-Jewish opinion, which had kept complaining of the rapacity of the Jews. The Jews refused to comply with this act, for they said that it was contrary to the logic of a decree of equality. Opinion thus had remained divided even in the last days, when Jews were being given their liberty.

This division of opinion about the status of the Jews was, to some degree, based on traditional premises. Such defenders of the old order as Abbé Jean Sieffrein Maury and Anne Louis Henry de la Fare, the bishop of Nancy, remained in opposition, arguing that the Jews were made by their religion into an alien nation which could not possibly have any attachment to the land of France. The more modern of the two, Maury, went further, to quote Voltaire to help prove that the Jews were bad because of their innate character and that changes of even the most radical kind in their external situation would not completely eradicate what was inherent in their nature. De la Fare was from eastern France, and he was joined in the opposition to the increase of Jewish rights by almost all of the deputies from that region regardless of their party. That this would occur had already been apparent in the *cahiers* from eastern France which, with the exception of one writer under the influence of Abbé Grégoire, were almost uniformly anti-Jewish. The most notable of the left-wing figures from Alsace in the revolutionary parliament, Jean François Rewbell, remained an uncompromising opponent. He held that it was necessary to defend "a numerous, industrious, and honest class of my unfortunate compatriots who are oppressed and ground down by these cruel hordes of Africans who have infested my region." To give the Jews equality was tantamount to handing the poor of eastern France over to counterrevolutionary forces, for the peasant backbone of the Revolution in that region would see the new era as one of increased dangers for them. The only organized body in eastern France which was publicly in favor of increased rights for the Jews was the moderate, revolutionary Société des Amis de la Constitution in Strasbourg, with which the family of Cerfberr had close connections. This group argued that the peasants were being artificially whipped up and that their hatred of the Jews would eventually vanish. A policy of economic opportunity would allow the Jews to enter productive occupations and become an economic boon to the whole region. It was along this general line that the Jews, if they were regenerated to be less clannish and more French and if they were dispersed in manufacture and on the land, would be good citizens, that their friends argued for Jewish emancipation. In the first debate on the "Jewish Question" on Sept. 28, 1789, when the Jews of Metz asked for protection against the threat of mob outbreaks (there had been outbursts in Alsace that summer and some Jews had fled to Basle), Stanislas de *Clermont-Tonnerre, a liberal noble from Paris, had agreed that the existing Jews did merit the hatred against them but ascribed what was wrong with the Jews to the effects of oppression. The Jews themselves could not maintain any separatism, for "there cannot be a nation within a nation." The emancipation of the Jews in France eventually took place on the basis sketched out by him: "The Jews should be denied everything as a nation but granted everything as individuals …" Such views were argued in the revolutionary years by the Jacobins of Paris, who were pro-Jewish (almost all the others and especially those in eastern France were anti-Jewish) and by the main body of moderate revolutionaries, who ultimately made their feeling prevail, that emancipation was a moral necessity, its purpose being to improve the Jews so that they could be part of a regenerated society.

The final decree of Sept. 27, 1791, did not end the tensions in eastern France. The structure of the Jewish community remained, and in some places in eastern France local civil powers continued, at least briefly, to enforce the taxation imposed by the *parnasim* for the support of the Jewish community. It soon became apparent that the revolutionary government itself needed to keep some kind of Jewish organization in being. The decree of nationalization of the property of the Church and of the émigrés (Nov. 2, 1789) had contained a provision for the assumption of the debts of the churches by the government, but it refused to assume responsibility for the debts contracted by the Jewish communities. The one in Metz was heavily in debt, largely to Christian creditors, and the issue of the payment of these debts remained a source of irritation and of repeated legal acts well into the middle of the 19th century. Those who had lived in Metz before 1789 and their descendants who had moved far away, even those who had converted from the faith, were held to be liable.

Throughout the era of the Revolution there was recurring concern about the patriotism of the Jews (their *civisme*) and about the channeling of their young into "productive occupations" and making them into good soldiers of the Republic; that is, whether the Jews were indeed "transforming" themselves as their emancipators had envisaged. During the first decade of the Revolution some economic changes were taking place. Jews did participate in the buying of nationalized property, and in particular lent money to the peasants in Alsace, who thus acquired their own farms. This splitting of the estates of the Church and of the émigré nobility into small farms gave the peasantry a stake in the Revolution, but the contribution of Jewish creditors and speculators to this trade (it was significant though not dominant) earned them no gratitude. It remained a fixed opinion, especially among Jacobins, that the Jews were usurers and that they were using the new opportunities of the Revolution to become even more obnoxious. In general, the occupational structure of the Jews changed very little in the 1790s. They continued mostly to be middlemen or peddlers; very few were beginning to work in factories or even to own land, despite much propaganda and occasional pressure on them to take up agriculture. There were some difficulties about their joining the armies of the Revolution. In many places the

National Guard refused to accept Jews; sometimes it even attacked them and made minor pogroms, and it was regarded as a matter of unusual public importance that Max Cerfberr was accepted in Strasbourg in 1790. On the other hand, most Jews tried to avoid military service because of the problems of Sabbath and holiday observance which this created for them. A few of the sons of the richest families did become officers in the army as early as the 1790s, but the major military contribution of the Jews during the Republican period was in their traditional role as *contractors to the army. Jewish financiers were actually of minor importance, even here, but their visibility remained high and they were attacked with particular vehemence. Jews were involved in the military purchasing directory which was created in 1792, with Max Cerfberr as one of its directors. This body lasted just a few months, but it was at the center of much controversy during its existence, and thereafter. The Jews who were involved were subject to bitter criticism, but in this affair none was put to death for economic crimes or for treason.

The older Jewish leadership continued to dominate the Jewish community in the 1790s, but some newer forces were also arising. In southern France a group of Jewish Jacobins, whose club was named after Rousseau, became in 1793–94 the revolutionary government of Saint Esprit, the largely Jewish suburb of Bayonne. There were a few instances among both the Sephardim and the Ashkenazim of individual Jews who participated in the Religion of Reason. The overwhelming majority, however, both in the French Jewish communities and in those of the papal possessions, *Avignon and *Comtat Venaissin, which had been annexed to France in 1791, kept their religious traditions alive as best they could. No Jew was guillotined during the Terror (July 1793–July 1794) on the ground that his religious obduracy had made him an enemy of society, though such rhetoric was used by some of the Jacobins of eastern France in outraged reaction to the continuing practice of such traditions as Jewish burial. This was termed severely antisocial and a further expression of the supposed Jewish trait of hating the entire human race. During the Terror many synagogues and other Jewish properties were, indeed, nationalized and synagogue silver was either surrendered or hidden, as were books and Torah Scrolls. In some situations, such as in Carpentras in 1794, the Jews finally "willingly" gave their synagogue to the authorities. Nonetheless, religious services continued in hiding everywhere and after the Terror Jews were able not only to reopen many of their former synagogues but also to establish new conventicles in communities such as Strasbourg in which they had not had the right to live before the Revolution. As early as Aug. 4, 1794, within a few days after the fall of Robespierre, the Jews demanded the right to open a synagogue in Fontainebleau. There were a few cases of mixed marriage, though these remained very much the exception in the 1790s and did not become a trend of any significance until after the end of the century. The whole question of the status of Jewish acts in law remained confused, with many jurisdictions still continuing to restrict the personal freedom of Jews and the French courts still continuing to recognize Jewish law as determinant for Jews on matters of personal status, and especially marriage.

Anti-Jewish acts did not stop entirely with the end of the Terror. In November 1794, two Metz Jews were fined for carrying out Jewish burials and four years later five Jews were sentenced in Nice for building tabernacles for the Sukkot holiday. Thermidor was, however, regarded by Jews as a period in which religious persecution had ended. The problems of this period were mostly economic, for the civic tax rolls in various communities bore down heavily on Jews. From the very beginning of the Thermidor the central government ordered the protection of the Jews against agitation in eastern France. Occasional outbreaks continued and there were even some attacks on Jews for being in league, supposedly, with what remained of the Jacobins. Some angers that had been evoked by the emancipation of the Jews, and their involvement in the events of the first days of the Revolution, were evident during these days of reaction, but crucial was the fact that no change took place in the legal status of the Jews. Their emancipation was a fact and remained so; so was the economic conflict caused especially by their moneylending; so was the continued existence of their religious tradition and of their considerable communal apartness, even though the legal status of the community had been ended; so was the need of the central power to deal with the Jewish community in an organized way for many of its own purposes. All these questions, and an underlying concern about the "reform" of the Jewish religion and Jewish habits to accommodate the needs of the state, were deeded on to the next era, the period of *Napoleon.

Effects Outside France

The French Revolution brought legal equality to the Jews who dwelt in territories which were directly annexed by France. In addition to its operation in the papal possessions, Avignon and Comtat Venaissin, which were reunited with France in September 1791, just a few days before the final decree of emancipation for all of French Jewry, this legislation was applied to such border territories as Nice, which was conquered in 1792.

The German regions on the west bank of the Rhine were acquired by conquest in that same year, and the French conqueror, General A.P. de Custine, announced as his troops were entering the Rhineland that winter, that equality for Jews was one of his intentions. The formal enactments did not take place until 1797, when the supposedly independent Cisrhénane Republic was created. In the intervening years Jews who had begun by being suspicious of the new regime had become partisans of the Revolution.

In the *Netherlands there was a revolution in 1795, with help from the French army, and the Batavian Republic was proclaimed. A group of "enlightened" Jews had been among the prime organizers in Amsterdam of a body called *Felix Libertate. This association had as its purpose the furtherance of the ideas of "freedom and equality." There was substantial opposition in Holland even among some of the makers of the Revolution to the granting of full citizenship for Jews. The leaders of the official Jewish community were also opposed, for they fought bitterly against the disappearance of a Jewish separatist organization in a new regime of personal rights. There was a substantial debate, which culminated in eight days of discussion (Aug. 22–30, 1796), at the first session of the new revolutionary parliament. This debate was on a higher level than those held some years before in France; it resulted in the decision that Jews were to be given equal rights as individuals but that they had no rights as a people. The view of Clermont-Tonnerre in France in 1789 was thus upheld in Holland. In law this equality remained for the Jews in the Netherlands even after the fall of the Batavian Republic in 1806.

There were almost immediate echoes in *Italy of the French Revolution, but these stirrings were repressed in all of its various principalities. In the spring of 1790 the Jews were suspect of being partisans of the Revolution, and there were anti-Jewish outbreaks in both Leghorn and Florence; a comparable riot took place in Rome in 1793. There was almost no truth in all of these suspicions. A small handful of "enlightened" individuals were for the Revolution, but the organized Jewish communities looked forward only to some alleviations of their status by the existing regimes in Italy. Radical changes did take place toward the end of the decade, in 1796–98, when Napoleon Bonaparte conquered most of northern and central Italy, including the papal territories, in the course of two years of war. Everywhere the conquering French troops announced the end of the ghetto and equality for the Jews. In Italy the physical walls behind which Jews dwelt still existed in many places and the advent of the French armies gave the signal for the actual physical breaking down of these barriers by Jews and other partisans of the new order. Trees of liberty were planted in many places, especially in the Jewish quarters. Brief and even bloody revenge was taken on the Jews during Napoleon's absence in 1798–99 on his campaign in Egypt, as counterrevolutionary forces did battle against "Gauls, Jacobins, and Jews." In 1800 Napoleon, now as first consul, reconquered northern and central Italy and annexed it to France, ultimately to serve as the kernel of his future Kingdom of Italy. Jewish equality was secure in Italy until Napoleon's fall in 1815.

Elsewhere in Europe, the events of the French Revolution had enormous effects, but they did not lead to equality for the Jews. The French-inspired revolutionary Swiss regime of 1798 did not, even during its brief life, show any real desire to give the few Jews in Switzerland legal equality. In the Austrian Empire, the government was fearful of the Revolution and little was done in the 1790s that went beyond the several decrees of toleration that had been enacted in the spirit of enlightened absolutism by *Joseph II in 1781–82. The early years of the French Revolution coincided with the death agonies of independent Poland, leading to its partition and the end of Polish independence in 1795. Austria, Prussia, and Russia, among whom Poland was divided, were all either actively or passively arrayed against France throughout the 1790s. The influence of the French example, therefore, had no effect on their policy when these countries acquired among them the largest Jewish community, numbering some 800,000, in all of Europe. There was no change during the 1790s in the legal status of the Jews in any of the independent German principalities, not even those which sided with France in war. In the most important of the German states, *Prussia, despite notable and ongoing acculturation by members of the Jewish bourgeoisie in Berlin, the government refused to make any substantial changes in the regime of exclusion. A new decree that was issued at the beginning of 1790 spoke only of some future time, perhaps in three generations, when "regenerated Jews" might be admitted to civic equality. David *Friedlander answered on behalf of the leaders of Berlin Jewry that no changes at all were better than this "new imposition of chains"; what Jews wanted, he boldly added, was that such chains "be completely removed." To be sure, he and his circle were not insisting that equality be attained immediately by all Jews. Like the more successful Sephardim of France at that moment, the men whom David Friedlander led were interested almost entirely in their own rights. They proclaimed that the Jews in Berlin had already become culturally and intellectually the equal of the highest of German society, and they were, therefore, to be treated differently from their brethren in Bohemia or Poland, who were yet to wait until they had suitably prepared themselves by westernization for freedom.

The news from France was reported extensively and with exaltation in *Ha-Me'assef* for 1790, the Hebrew annual that was supported by this Berlin circle and by like-minded men on both sides of the Rhine and in Central Europe. These accents were soon suppressed in the name of patriotism, as Prussia went to war against France, but the example of equality in France, and of the United States Constitution of 1787, remained an ideal. For Jews everywhere in the next century after the French Revolution, the battle for emancipation became the central issue of their lives. Everywhere disabilities and exclusions were measured by the standards of France after 1791. In relation to the Jewish question Napoleon was the heir of the Revolution, and his victories after 1800 only extended the sphere of the emancipation. When he fell in 1815 the legal equality of Jews ended in much of his former empire, except in France and in Holland – and in Prussia, emancipation of 1812 had been a domestic decision, not forced upon Prussia by Napoleon. Nonetheless, the memory of the equality that Jews once held remained. Even in the many countries where nothing favorable to Jews had happened between 1789 and 1815, the example of the French Revolution was a dominant political force. Despite attempts at reaction in the 19th century the states of Europe had increasingly to contemplate full legal equality for all of their citizens, including Jews, as a central element of their entering modernity.

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[Arthur Hertzberg]

FRENK, BEER (**Issachar Dov**; 1770–1845), Hungarian rabbinic author and painter. His father emigrated from Turkey – hence the name Frenk, which was the appellation used for Ashkenazi Jews in Turkey – and went to Pressburg. Frenk studied under Moses *Sofer, who gave his approbation to a number of Frenk's works. He served as *shoḥet* and beadle of the Pressburg community for 41 years. He possessed literary talent and was a skilled painter, especially of miniatures. Among the portraits he painted was one of Moses Sofer, which was done without his knowledge, and Sofer rebuked him for it. His books, all written in German with Hebrew characters, were popular presentations of religious duties, such as the salting of meat, *niddah*, Sabbath lights, recitation of the *Shema*, etc.

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[Naphtali Ben-Menahem]

FRENK, EZRIEL (or **Azriel**) **NATHAN** (1863–1924), Polish journalist and historian. Frenk was born in Wodzislaw to a ḥasidic family, but he was influenced by the Haskalah at an early age. In 1884 in Warsaw he began to write for the Jewish press, both in Hebrew and in Yiddish, and this remained his lifelong career. He published articles about current events, stories about ḥasidic life, and extensive studies on various subjects, mainly past and present problems of Poland's Jewry. Some of his historical writings, which had originally appeared in the daily press, were subsequently published in book form, notably, *Yehudei Polin bi-Ymei Milḥamot Napoleon* ("Jews of Poland in the Time of Napoleon," 1912), *Ha-Ironim ve-ha-Yehudim be-Polin* ("The Burghers and Jews in Poland," 1921), and *Meshumodim in Poyln in Nayntsn Yorhundert* ("Apostates in Poland in the 19th century," 2 vols., 1923–24). However, the bulk of his writing, including important studies of Polish Jewish life in the first half of the 19th century, remains scattered in various Hebrew and Yiddish newspapers and periodicals. Frenk also undertook translations, e.g., H. Sienkiewicz's *Ogniem i mieczem (Ba-Esh u-va-Ḥerev*, 4 vols., 1919–21).

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[Israel Halpern]

FRENKEL (**Frenel**), **ITZḤAK** (1898–1981), Israeli painter. Frenkel was born in Ukraine, where he studied at the National Academy. He immigrated to Ereẓ Israel in 1919 but from 1920 to 1925 studied at the Académie des Beaux-Arts in Paris. In 1926 he became director of the Histadrut studio of painting in Tel Aviv. From 1929 to 1934 he was again in Paris, but returned to Ereẓ Israel and settled in Tel Aviv, where he devoted himself to painting stage settings. Frenkel was one of the formative forces of expressionism in painting in Israel. He painted the world surrounding him, especially Safed, but also Acre and Jerusalem – their landscapes and their synagogues, Jews at prayer, and typical people of the land. Rejecting unnecessary details and working with paint strokes, he created simple shapes bounded by heavy lines, and there is a spirit of mysticism in his canvases. A museum containing 100 of his works is located in Safed.

[Judith Spitzer]

FRENKEL, IẒḤAK YEDIDIAH (1913–), Ashkenazi chief rabbi of Tel Aviv-Jaffa. Frenkel was born in Luntshits (Leczyca), Poland, and studied in Warsaw under Rabbi Menahem *Zemba, in whose home he stayed and whose works he prepared for publication. In 1935, he immigrated to Ereẓ Israel and was appointed rabbi of the poor Florentin area of Tel Aviv, mostly inhabited by Jews of Oriental origin. During the nearly 40 years that he held this position, he gained a reputation and endeared himself to the community as the "people's rabbi," entering into the lives of his community and exerting himself to the utmost in dealing with their many problems. His humble home was open to all. Frenkel was responsible for the institution of the Second Hakafot on the night after Simḥat Torah, which has become one of the major popular religious features of modern Israel. In 1973 he was elected unopposed as Ashkenazi chief rabbi of Tel Aviv in succession to Rabbi Shlomo *Goren.

FRENKEL, JACOB ILICH (1894–1952), Soviet physicist. Frenkel became an instructor at the University of the Crimea. From 1921 Frenkel lived in Leningrad. At first, he combined research work at the Physico-Technical Institute with lecturing at the Polytechnical Institute, where he headed the theoretical physics department for 30 years. He became a corresponding member of the Soviet Academy of Sciences in 1929. Frenkel's research was related to the physics of the atmosphere (particularly atmospheric electricity), terrestrial magnetism, biophysics, astrophysics, quantum theory, and the motion of electrons in metals. He laid foundations for the understanding of ferromagnetism and presented a theory of dielectric excitation, along with important ideas relating to defects in crystal lattices. He drew attention to certain similarities between liquid and solid structures, engaged in important research on the liquid state, and presented his conclusions in his book on the kinetic theory of liquids (1945). Soon after the first artificial splitting of the uranium atom, Frenkel advanced a theory to account for the phenomenon of fission, which provided a basis for practical applications of nuclear energy. He was a pioneer in the writing of original Russian handbooks on modern theoretical physics.

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[J. Edwin Holmstrom]

FRENKEL, VERA (1938–), Canadian multidisciplinary artist, video producer, poet, writer, educator. Frenkel was born in Bratislava, Czechoslovakia (now Slovakia). To escape the Nazis, her family fled to England and subsequently immigrated to Canada. Frenkel studied fine arts at McGill University and with Arthur Lismer at the Montreal Museum School of Fine Arts.

Already internationally recognized as a printmaker and sculptor, Frenkel began exploring video in 1974. At the forefront of contemporary Canadian art, Frenkel's interest in new media led her to produce video, web-based work and multimedia installations. Deeply concerned with human dilemmas, her art has examined the tyranny of received ideas, the mythological properties of popular culture, the impact of censorship, and the bureaucratization of experience. *…from the Transit Bar* (1992) explores the effects of cultural and geographic displacement. The *Body Missing Project* (1994 and ongoing), an interactive Internet site, originated with Frenkel's research on the cultural policy of the Third Reich and the proposed *Fuehrermuseum* in Linz, Austria. As in all of her work, *The Institute™: Or What We Do for Love* (2003 and ongoing) is an acerbic commentary on the institutionalization of contemporary society that plays documentary and fictional realities against each other.

Frenkel's work has been exhibited in major galleries throughout Canada, Europe, and Asia. She participated in the Venice Biennale (1972, 1997, and 1999), and represented Canada in *documenta IX* in Kassel, Germany (1992). Her work is internationally collected by, among others, the National Gallery of Canada, the Museum of Modern Art, New York, and the Ydessa Hendeles Art Foundation.

An innovative and inspiring teacher, Frenkel taught at the University of Toronto (1970–72) and at York University, Toronto (1972–95). Among many honors, she was awarded the Canada Council Molson Prize for the Arts (1989), the Toronto Arts Foundation's Visual Arts Award (1991), the Gershon Iskowitz Prize (1994), the Bell Canada Award (2001), and the CCCA Art Award (2004). Her writings have appeared in a range of Canadian and international journals and anthologies.

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[Joyce Zemans (2nd ed.)]

FRENSDORFF, FERDINAND (1833–1931), German legal historian. Born in Hanover, Frensdorff was professor of law at the University of Goettingen and became known as an authority on medieval German law. His numerous writings include *Beitraege zur Geschichte und Erklaerung deutscher Rechtsbuecher* (1888–94), *Das statutarische Recht der deutschen Kaufleute in Novgorod* (1886), and *Das Wiedererstehen des deutschen Rechts* (1908).

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FRENSDORFF, SOLOMON (1803–1880), German masoretic scholar. Frensdorff was born in Hamburg, the son of a rabbi. He studied with Isaac *Bernays and later at the University of Bonn, where he took up Semitic languages. A. *Geiger and S.R. *Hirsch were his contemporaries and friends. Between 1834 and 1837 he was assistant rabbi in Frankfurt; from 1837 he taught at the religious school in Hanover; and from 1848 he was head of the newly founded Teachers' Training College there. Frensdorff's major contribution to Jewish learning consists of a series of still valuable works on the masorah. He edited *Darkhei ha-Nikkud ve-ha-Neginot* (1847), ascribed to Moses ha-Nakdan, and the masoretic work *Okhlah ve-Okhlah* (1864, repr. 1969) from a Paris manuscript; the latter work had been published previously in a different version appended to rabbinic Bibles. Of a planned edition of *Die Massora Magna*, only the first part, an introduction, *Massoretisches Woerterbuch* (1876, repr. 1967), with a prolegomenon by G.E. Weil, appeared; the masorah notes are arranged alphabetically according to key words, giving the Bible passages where they occur. Part of Frensdorff's library is in the Jewish National and University Library in Jerusalem.

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FRESCO, DAVID (1853–1936), Turkish journalist. Fresco started his journalistic activities in Yeheskal (Isaac) Gabay's *El Telegrafo*, where he worked for two years. He then moved to *El Tyempo* and became its last owner. *El Tyempo,* published in Ladino, soon became the most influential newspaper of its time, with a circulation of up to 10,000. After the Young Turk Revolt of 1908 it took a strong pro-Ottoman stance and reflected Fresco's anti-Zionist views. He closed the newspaper on March 27, 1930, and moved to Nice, where he spent his last years together with his sons. His books include *Le Sionisme* (1909) and *Lecture Edifiante de Morale Juive* (1929).

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[Rifat Bali (2nd ed.)]

FREUD, ANNA (1895–1982), psychoanalyst. Anna Freud was the youngest daughter of Sigmund *Freud, and was his companion on his vacation trips and his nurse during his prolonged illnesses. Her devotion to her father brought her into increasing contact with the developing thought and practice of psychoanalysis and she grew interested in child psychology. Between 1915 and 1920 she worked in her profession as a primary school teacher, deepened her knowledge in psychoanalysis, and started analysis as her father's patient. At the age of 28 she opened her own psychoanalytic practice, right across Sigmund Freud's treatment room in Berggasse 19. In 1927 she published a paper *Einfuehrung in die Technik der Kinderanalyse* (*Introduction to the Technique of Child Analysis*, 1928), in which she set out the analytical technique she had evolved. In 1936 she published *Das Ich und die Abwehrmechanismen* (*The Ego and the Mechanisms of Defence*, 1937) which described the ways by which painful ideas and emotions are warded off from consciousness and direct expression, e.g., by repression and replacement by the opposite idea. This book was a pioneer contribution to ego psychology and in understanding the adolescent.

She escaped from Austria with her father in 1938 and went with him to London, where Sigmund Freud died in 1939 and she continued to live until the end of her life. During World War II, together with her friend Dorothy Burlingham, she built up the Hampstead nurseries, where they took care of children separated from their families. In three books the two colleagues documented their experiences there, describing the treatment of children under conditions of war stress. They also described the development of children from narcissism to socialization, and set out the problems in the emotional life of institutional children despite their receiving advantages in physical care. These books were *Young Children in Wartime* (1942); *Infants without Families* (1943); and *War and Children* (1943).

The Hampstead nurseries closed in 1945. In 1947, with the help of Kate *Friedlander, Freud founded the Child Therapy Course. In 1951 she became director of the clinic which was opened in conjunction with the course. Freud's book *Normality and Pathology in Childhood* (1965) is a comprehensive summation of her thought. Freud's contribution to child analytic therapy and child psychology was fundamental. She was able to demonstrate the validity of the reconstructions made by Sigmund Freud of child development and pathology through his analysis of adults. Moreover she was able to add considerably to the information by her methods of direct observation of children. Of special interest was her employment of psychological understanding in the education of children and in preventive work with the child through its parents and educators. Her contribution to the knowledge of the reaction of young children separated from their parents and deprived of emotional relationships, particularly in institutions, has had a wide effect in social policy and direct child care. From 1968 her collected works appeared under the title *The Writings of Anna Freud*.

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[Louis Miller / Mirjam Triendl (2nd ed.)]

FREUD, LUCIAN (1922–), English painter, grandson of Sigmund *Freud. Freud, who was born in Berlin, the son of an architect, was brought to London in 1933 with his parents. He was naturalized in 1939 and began to work full time as an artist after being discharged from the merchant navy in 1942. His *Interior at Paddington* won a prize at the Festival of Britain, putting him on the artistic map. In 1954 he represented Britain at the Venice Biennale. His work was often German in its influence and style, and closely resembled the later German expressionists in the Gothic intensity of his portraiture. His subject matter was largely portraits, nudes, and interiors. Freud is widely regarded as one of the greatest figurative artists of recent times, and is one of the best-known artists in contemporary Britain; his work was represented at most major galleries of modern art. He was made a Companion of Honour (CH) in 1993 and a member of the Order of Merit (OM) in 2002. He produced a book about his own work, *Lucian Freud,* in 1996.

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FREUD, SIGMUND (1856–1939), Austrian psychiatrist and creator of psychoanalysis. Freud was born in the small town of Freiberg, Moravia (now part of the Czech Republic). When he was four his family moved to Vienna, where he graduated with distinction from gymnasium and then entered university as a medical student. As a Jewish student he encountered certain barriers, but he found a haven from the antisemitism of the university community in Ernst Bruecke's physiological laboratory. He worked productively in research with Bruecke from 1876 to 1882, and studied philosophy with Franz Brentano and biology with Carl Claus, a follower of Darwin.

In 1882 Freud became engaged to Martha Bernays. Though his interest was primarily in research, he decided to enter clinical practice as a resident at the Vienna General Hospital in order to establish himself sufficiently to be able to marry. While working as a clinician at the hospital, he continued to pursue his neurological research as an assistant to the brain anatomist T.H. Meynert.

The work with chronic nervous illnesses of the French neurologist Jean Charcot attracted Freud's interest, and he began to study the clinical manifestations of diseases of the nervous system. In 1885 he was awarded a traveling fellowship, which he spent studying with Charcot at the Salpetrière mental hospital in Paris. Charcot's demonstration that ideas could cause physical symptoms strengthened Freud's determination to investigate hysterical paralyses and anesthesias. In 1886 he married, resigned from the General Hospital, and set up a private practice in nervous diseases so that he could support his new wife.

Freud had already formed a friendship with the Viennese physician Josef *Breuer, who had stumbled upon an innovative treatment for hysteria. In 1880 Breuer had begun treating a young woman who suffered from severe hysterical symptoms – the patient made famous as Anna O. in Freud and Breuer's 1895 epoch-making collaboration *Studies in Hysteria*. Their work set out for the first time the theory that the unconscious damming up of emotions could produce symptoms of hysterical illness, and its corollary: that if, with the aid of hypnosis or some other method, patients could express this suppressed emotion and the fantasies that accompanied it, their symptoms would disappear.

Breuer was a well-established and respected general practitioner who had experimented with a new way of relieving neurotic symptoms with his patient Anna O. (what she called "the talking cure" or "chimney sweeping"). But as the treatment progressed, Breuer felt increasingly overwhelmed by the sexual nature of her behavior and symptoms; and he could not accept Freud's growing conviction that disturbances in sexual life were fundamental causal factors in neurosis and hysteria. A year after publishing *Studies in Hysteria*, Freud and Breuer parted company.

Now working on his own, Freud gave up hypnosis and the method of cathartic discharge for a new therapeutic technique. He asked his patients to relinquish self-censorship and to tell him whatever came into their minds. This process, which he called free association, is sometimes referred to as the fundamental rule of psychoanalysis. It allowed the patients to recall forgotten events and experiences, and so helped Freud uncover what he believed lay behind their symptoms. He soon concluded that an unacceptable impulse, feeling, or fantasy and the resistance that it engendered resulted in a special order of intra-psychic conflict. While the unacceptable impulse would (unconsciously) be repudiated and disavowed, less threatening methods of gratifying it in a disguised form would be pursued. The struggle to both thwart and pursue the impulse could manifest itself in mental or physical symptoms. The task of therapy was to uncover the repression and allow the repudiated impulse into consciousness, where it could be judged, and accepted or rejected; the result of this process was that the unconscious modes of regulation that had produced the symptom were no longer necessary and lost their force. Freud called this form of therapy psychoanalysis.

In 1896, almost immediately after his father's death, Freud began the difficult task of working through his own unconscious by analyzing his dreams. He came to the conclusion that a dream-thought is always related to a disavowed infantile (sexual) wish that emerges in the context of the dream only after passing through a mental censorship and distortion that camouflages the wish to such an extent that its expression can be tolerated. The dream thus serves as an exemplary model of the process whereby the repressed achieves expression in a disguised form. Freud articulated this theory in *The Interpretation of Dreams*, published in 1900, which he considered his most important work. He identified himself with the biblical character of Joseph, the dream-interpreter, and observed that "the interpretation of dreams is the royal road to a knowledge of the unconscious activities of the mind" (this sentence was added in 1909 to the second edition).

In 1904 Freud published *The Psychopathology of Everyday Life*, in which he showed that the numerous unconscious slips and mistakes that people make in everyday life are also the outcome of intra-psychic struggle; and that they are not merely accidental occurrences, but like dreams and neurotic symptoms have a meaning that can be discovered through psychoanalysis. In 1905 Freud's theories on the importance, from earliest infancy, of bodily experience, desire, and the Oedipus complex were elaborated and brought together in his *Three Essays on the Theory of Sex*. From this point on he continued to develop his notions of repression, symptom formation and sexuality.

Freud's sexual theories were no more acceptable to the medical profession at large than they had been to Breuer, and for almost a decade he was virtually ostracized by the establishment. But a small circle of colleagues interested in Freud's work slowly collected around him, and his professional isolation finally came to an end. He became concerned that attracting non-Jews to the psychoanalytic enterprise was necessary to avoid its becoming a "Jewish national affair" and encouraged non-Jews to take a prominent role in the newly formed International Psychoanalytic Association. In 1906 he heard that a group of psychiatrists in Zurich, one of whom was C.G. Jung (1875–1961), was interested in psychoanalysis. Freud and Jung met in the following year, and the Swiss psychiatrist became his foremost disciple.

Freud applied his psychological theories to primitive cultures, and to mythology and religion. In 1907 he suggested a relationship between obsessive acts and religious rituals. In 1913 in *Totem and Taboo* he concluded that the dread of incest was universal.

In 1909 Freud and Jung traveled together to the United States and gave a week of lectures at Clark University in Worcester, Mass. During that visit, Freud delivered his "Five Lectures on Psychoanalysis" (American Journal of Psychology, 21 (1910), 181–218). Their association lasted until 1912, when Jung went on to found his own school after advancing theories that Freud considered incompatible with psychoanalysis. Jung stressed the importance of universal archetypes in place of the infantile sexual wishes that were at the basis of Freud's view of the unconscious. In 1912 another prominent associate, the Austrian psychiatrist Alfred *Adler, also withdrew from psychoanalysis. Adler, like Jung, also repudiated infantile sexuality; but Adler thought it was the desire for power that was at the basis of character and neurosis.

Freud proposed that infancy is dominated by the pleasure principle, which later, during maturation, is modified and at least partially displaced by the reality principle. Under the regime of the pleasure principle immediate fulfillment and discharge of tension is demanded; while the reality principle operates in realistic terms, takes external conditions into account, includes delay and compromise, and allows the pursuit of gratification by pragmatic means. In 1911 he published "Formulations Regarding the Two Principles in Mental Functioning," which elaborated his view of these two basic principles. Meanwhile, between 1915 and 1917, he was attempting to construct a "metapsychology" by which he hoped to articulate and clarify the principal ideas of psychoanalysis. He explored these ideas in a series of influential papers that included "Instincts and their Vicissitudes" (1915), "The Unconscious" (1915), "Repression" (1915), and "Mourning and Melancholia" (1917).

After World War I Freud gave full scope to his speculative tendencies. In 1920 he published *Beyond the Pleasure Principle*; in 1921, *Group Psychology and the Analysis of the Ego*; and in 1923, *The Ego and the Id*. In *Beyond the Pleasure Principle* he brought the instincts for the preservation of the self and the species under the concept of Eros, a basic impulse toward life, love, and growth. He contrasted this with Thanatos, a death instinct. Many of his colleagues felt that the concept of a death instinct was purely speculative and not adequately grounded in empirical observation; it only found wide acceptance in the work of the later psychoanalyst Melanie Klein and her followers, who felt that the death instinct accounted for some of the self-destructiveness that seems to be part of human nature. In *The Ego and the Id*, Freud divided the mental apparatus into an ego, an id, and a superego: the ego supporting reason and reality, the id containing the passions, and the superego representing the internalized ethical standards of the parents.

Freud's work in understanding human psychology and mental disturbance is without parallel in history. He turned psychology's attention in a new direction. He made systematic contributions in three separate but related areas: human development (especially in childhood); the workings of the mind; and the treatment and cure of mental illness. A concern with biological and bodily processes, especially sexuality, underlay his developmental psychology. But Freud's perspective as a natural scientist was balanced by an emphasis on subjective experience and the formative relationships of childhood. Freud stressed the fundamental importance and dynamic nature of unconscious mental processes in everyday life and symptom formation: the centrality of the role of anxiety, the mechanisms of defense, and the functions of repression, sublimation, denial, and regression.

Freud's work has been faulted by many for its emphasis on sexuality and, in particular, for his belief in the universality of the Oedipal drama; on the other hand, there is no question that one of his major contributions was to open up the topic of sexuality for reexamination. Though Freud had a critical understanding of the role of culture and his psychology emphasized its importance in human development, his work has been extensively criticized for being limited by the assumptions of 19th-century science and of his Victorian social milieu. The development of psychoanalysis since Freud's death has involved the elaboration of many of his core ideas; his positions regarding the psychology of women and the contributions of the analyst to the psychoanalytic interaction are among those which have been challenged and significantly modified.

Freud's theories have had a wide and far reaching influence on our society. His contributions to other fields are almost as extensive as his contributions to clinical and theoretical psychoanalysis; and the nature of the wider impact his theories have had on our world has aroused as much interest and controversy as his psychology.

Freud and his daughter Anna *Freud, the child psychoanalyst, were hurried out of Vienna by his colleagues after the German-occupation in 1938. His other children and their families had already left; his sisters, who were old and infirm, refused to leave, and died in Auschwitz. Freud died the following year in London after a long and courageous battle with cancer.

Freud's complete psychological works in English were edited in 23 volumes by J. Strachey and others (1953–66), and his letters were published by E.L. Freud in 1961 (originally published in German 1960).

Freud's Jewish Identity

Sigmund Freud (born Sigismund Schlomo Freud) referred to himself as a "Godless Jew." He was a passionate atheist with a commitment to an ethical way of life and an aversion to religious ritual. At the same time, his Jewishness was a significant part of his identity, and throughout his life he felt a strong connection with the Jewish people. Both of his parents came from Orthodox homes in Galicia in the eastern part of the Austro-Hungarian empire. After Freud's birth, when the family moved to Vienna, they settled initially in the Jewish district of Leopoldstadt. It is likely that they celebrated the major Jewish holidays, and we know that Jakob Freud taught his son Bible stories; still, from the beginning, Sigmund Freud's life was also suffused with the liberal humanistic Jewish ideals of 19th century Vienna.

His gymnasium taught the classics-based curriculum of the German Enlightenment, although Jews in the school also studied the Bible and Jewish history and ethics. At a time when Austrian society allowed assimilated Jews to advance in society, Freud considered himself part of the wider German culture and, like many of his contemporaries, was ashamed of the "Ostjuden" (East European immigrants) who moved into his neighborhood in great numbers in the 1860s.

Although antisemitism was relatively quiescent in Vienna during his youth, a story his father told him of being humiliated as a young man by an antisemite left a lasting impression on the son. Freud recalled this story in his book *The Interpretation of Dreams*, along with his own disappointment in his father's passive response to the insult. The resurgence of antisemitism in Vienna, by the time Freud entered medical school, shattered his hopes of living a life of equality with non-Jews. When the option of assimilation was no longer available, Freud chose to express pride in his Jewishness, thus subtly defying those who sought to marginalize, and later to annihilate, him.

Freud chose to remain a Jew at a time when conversion was the only route to career advancement; as a result his promotion at the University of Vienna to full professor was delayed by more than 20 years. In 1897 he banded together with fellow Jews in the newly formed Jewish humanitarian organization *B'nai B'rith. He presented his developing ideas about psychoanalysis in that forum at a time when he felt excluded by the academic and medical community. At the 70th birthday party that his B'nai B'rith brothers prepared for him, he made that choice clear: "That you are Jews could only be welcome to me, for I was a Jew myself, and it had always seemed to me not only undignified, but quite nonsensical to deny it."

Freud never lost his emotional connection with Jewish culture. In private he used Jewish jokes and Yiddish folk tales and phrases to communicate with his friends and colleagues. In 1930 he accepted membership, along with Albert *Einstein and others, in the honorary praesidium of the *YIVO Institute (known in English as the Yiddish Scientific Institute) in Vilna, which was founded as a Jewish national academy in 1925 for the purpose of collecting, preserving, and studying Jewish culture and the Yiddish language.

Freud was sympathetic to the goals of Zionism, which his contemporary, Theodore *Herzl, was pursuing as a response to antisemitism. In 1930, in a letter to Einstein, he expressed pessimism over the possibility of a Jewish homeland in the Middle East. However, by 1935 he was to write a letter of support to the president of the *Keren Hayesod (the financial part of the World Zionist Organization) for his work "to establish a new home in the ancient land of our fathers." Freud approved when his sons joined Kadima, the Zionist student association at the University of Vienna, and at the age of 80 he asked to become an honorary member himself. He was particularly proud of the Hebrew University in Jerusalem, and served on its first Board of Governors, chaired by the university's founding father, Dr. Chaim *Weizmann.

Freud thought that religion was essentially a defensive fantasy: a primitive expression of infantile needs (*Future of an Illusion*, 1927) and unconscious guilt (*Totem and Taboo*, 1913). Although science and religion were often seen as battling for dominance in the late 19th century, Freud had contemporaries, such as the philosopher and psychologist William James, who held a much more nuanced understanding of religion. Interestingly, Freud married an Orthodox Jewish woman – Martha Bernays, the granddaughter of Rabbi Isaac *Bernays, who was the chief rabbi of Hamburg. Their marriage was a loving one, but Freud would not allow her to observe even the most basic Jewish ritual of lighting Sabbath candles.

In Freud's final years, he wrote *Moses and Monotheism* (1939), an exploration of issues that had long concerned him. Although he had often expressed pride in his Jewishness, he had always had difficulty defining what, in fact, connected him so strongly to the Jewish people, and what it meant to be a Jew. In *Moses and Monotheism*, he speculated on the nature and transmission of Jewish identity, and the origins of antisemitism. His account of the beginnings of the Jewish people breaks radically with tradition. In it, Moses was not a Jew but an Egyptian who taught an ancient Egyptian monotheistic religion to a semitic tribe. In the desert, the tribe rebelled against Moses and murdered him.

Freud had introduced the theme of the murdered father-figure in *Totem and Taboo*, hypothesizing that it was at the heart of all religion. In his account in *Moses and Monotheism*, the suppressed memory of this murder became so powerful that it served as the source of a tenacious religion, in this case, Judaism. The adoption of monotheism, Freud claimed, made the Jews a highly ethical and intellectual people, qualities that he identified as integral to Jewishness. He also associated the murder of Christ with the murder of Moses, and developed a case for this parallel being at the heart of antisemitism. This strange book, with its many complex twists of plot, offended Jews and Christians alike. Anthropologists, historians, and biblical scholars rejected its premises. With the passage of time, however, it has been interpreted more positively, with greater emphasis on what it reveals about its author. Upon dissolving the Vienna Psychoanalytic Society in 1938 and advising its members to flee the Nazi threat, Freud had invoked the memory of Rabbi *Johanan ben Zakkai, who was able to continue the Jewish tradition elsewhere after the destruction of the Temple in Jerusalem. Freud had tremendous respect for the power of knowledge, and although he was not interested in the continuation of ancient traditions, he may have hoped that publishing *Moses and Monotheism* from his new home in London, would ensure the survival of two crucial components of his life: psychoanalysis and the Jewish people.

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[Janice Halpern, Arnold Richards,
and Sheldon Goodman (2nd ed.)]

FREUDEMANN, SIMḤAH (Ephraim ben Gershon ha-Kohen; c. 1622–1669), talmudist and author. Born in Belgrade, Freudemann studied under Judah Lerma II, the Sephardi rabbi of the Belgrade community, whom, despite his Ashkenazi descent, he succeeded as rabbi. In 1660 he was appointed rabbi of Ofen (Buda) in Hungary, but a dispute soon arose in the town on the grounds of his having relatives in the community, a disqualifying factor for the appointment of a rabbi under the terms of a ban included in the *takkanot* of the *dayyan* Aryeh Shraga Feivish of Vienna. In consequence, he left Ofen after a few months and returned to Belgrade where he remained until his death.

In 1647 he published Lerma's responsa, *Peletat Beit Yehudah* (Venice). Ten years later, there appeared in Venice his most important work, *Sefer Shemot* (referred to also as *Shemot ha-Gittin*), based on unpublished material of earlier Ashkenazi and Sephardi authorities, giving the correct Hebrew spelling of Jewish personal names of Hebrew, Latin, Spanish, and German origin, as well as the orthography of rivers and place-names for use in drawing up Jewish bills of divorce and other public documents in which accuracy was essential.

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[Samuel Rosenblatt]

FREUDENTHAL, ALFRED MARTIN (1906–1977), civil engineer. Born in Poland, his degrees in civil engineering were awarded in Prague (1929) and Lwow (1932). He worked as a structural designer in Prague and Warsaw before immigrating to Palestine and becoming resident engineer and then chief structural engineer of the Port of Tel Aviv (1935–45). For ten years he served on the faculty of Haifa Technion as professor of civil engineering. In 1947 he moved to the United States and in 1949 became professor of civil engineering at Columbia University. He later joined George Washington University's engineering department where he taught until his death. His specialties included metal fatigue and the theory of plasticity. He wrote *Verbundstuetzen fuer hohe Lasten* (1933) and *Inelastic Behavior of Engineering Materials and Structures* (1950). In honor of Freudenthal's exceptional contributions to research, in 1975 the American Society of Civil Engineers instituted the Alfred M. Freudenthal Medal, awarded to individuals in recognition of distinguished achievement in safety and reliability studies in civil engineering.

WEBSITE: www.asce.org/pressroom/honors.

[Ruth Rossing (2nd ed.)]

FREUDENTHAL, JACOB (1839–1907), German philosopher. His scholarly investigations were in the areas of Greek and Judeo-Hellenistic philosophy and the philosophy of Spinoza. Freudenthal was born in Hanover. In 1863 he taught at the Samson School in Wolfenbuettel and from 1864 lectured on classical languages and the history of religious philosophy at the Jewish Theological Seminary in Breslau. From 1875 he also taught at the Breslau University. He married a daughter of Michael *Sachs, the famous Berlin preacher and scholar.

Freudenthal was a foremost authority on Aristotle and published a series of works on his philosophy. In his studies of Xenophanes Freudenthal opposed the then prevalent opinion that Xenophanes was a consistent monotheist. His writings include *Hellenistische Studien* (1875–79); *Flavius Josephus beigelegte Schrift: Ueber die Herrschaft der Vernunft* (1869); *Zur Geschichte der Anschauungen ueber die juedisch-hellenistische Religionsphilosophie* (1869); "Spinoza und die Scholastik," in: E. Zeller, *Philosophische Aufsaetze* (1887), 85–138; *Die Lebensgeschichte Spinoza's in Quellenschriften…* (1899); *Spinoza, sein Leben und seine Lehre*, vol. 1 (1904), vol. 2 (1927).

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[Joseph Elijah Heller]

FREUDENTHAL, MAX (1868–1937), German liberal rabbi and writer. Freudenthal, who served as rabbi in Dessau, 1893–1900, Danzig, 1900–07, and Nuremberg, 1907–35, was one of the most resolute exponents of religious liberalism in Germany. His contributions to Jewish scholarship covered both philosophy and history. In philosophy he published *Die Erkenntnislehre Philos von Alexandrien* (1891): in history, *Aus der Heimat Moses Mendelssohns* (1900); *Die Familie Gomperz* (in collaboration with D. Kaufmann, 1907); *Die israelitische Kultusgemeinde Nuernberg*, 1874–1924 (1925), which includes his autobiography; and *Leipziger Messegaeste* (1928). Freudenthal contributed a wealth of basic material to the study of modern Jewish history in Germany. He wrote for various learned publications, and was coeditor of the *Zeitschrift fuer die Geschichte der Juden in Deutschland*.

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FREUND, ERNST (1864–1932), U.S. jurist and legislative authority. Born in New York, Freund was educated in Germany and the United States. Freund practiced law in New York from 1886 to 1894, but was drawn to the teaching profession, concentrating on political and social sciences. As a professor at the University of Chicago from 1902, he made significant contributions to the field of public law, particularly in administrative law and legislation. Freund stressed the importance of social science in the legislative process. He served as a member of the National Conference of Commissioners on Uniform State Law from 1908 until his death and took part in the drafting of uniform state laws relating to marriage and divorce, the guardianship of children, child labor, narcotics, and the improvement of the legal position of illegitimate children. Two important books among his writings are *The Police Power, Public Policy and Constitutional Rights* (1904) and *Standards of American Legislation* (1917).

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[Julius J. Marcke]

FREUND, GISÈLE (1908–2000), German photographer and reporter. Freund was born in Berlin and became acquainted with photography at an early age when her father presented her with a Leica after she finished school. She studied sociology in Freiburg and Frankfurt/Main under Theodor W. Adorno, Karl Mannheim, and Norbert Elias. After the National Socialist takeover in 1933 she fled to Paris, where she continued her studies at the Sorbonne. In her doctoral thesis she described the impact of photography on society in the 19th century. In Paris, she acquired French citizenship and started working as a professional photographer, portraying famous authors and artists. Freund used the newly developed 35-mm Technicolor film for her portraits of Walter Benjamin (1938), James Joyce (1939), Virginia Woolf (1939), and Jean-Paul Sartre (1939). In addition, she produced photojournalism for magazines like *Weekly Illustrated* and *Life*. After the German occupation she fled to Southern France in 1940 and two years later she settled in Argentina. She continued working as photographer and photojournalist and was active in the development of cultural relations between Argentina and France. After the war, Freund returned to France and went to work for the Magnum photo agency. She made several trips to America, reporting from there and lecturing on contemporary literature. After she did a piece on Evita Perón, she was banned for life from entering Argentina. The United States similarly refused her entry in 1954 on the grounds that she was a Communist sympathizer. In 1970 she published her autobiography, *Le monde et ma caméra*. In the 1980s she received several honors, such as the Chevalier de la Légion d'Honneur and the Officier du Mérite, both awarded by the French Republic. Late in life she received international recognition for her work, which was exhibited in such places as the Paris Musée d'art moderne (1968) and repeatedly in Germany, as in Bonn in 1977 (Rheinisches Landesmueum) and Berlin in 1988 (Werkbund-Archiv).

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[Philipp Zschommler (2nd ed.)]

FREUND, MARTIN (1863–1920), German organic chemist, born in Neisse. Freund became professor at Akademie fuer Sozial-und Handelswissenschaften (1905) and was rector there (1907–09). He was appointed head of the Chemical Institute of the newly founded Frankfurt University (1914). Some of his synthetic products became therapeutic pharmaceuticals.

FREUND, PAUL ABRAHAM (1908–1992), U.S. constitutional lawyer, educator, and author. Freund, who was born in St. Louis, Missouri, was appointed law clerk to Justice *Brandeis for the 1932–33 term of the U.S. Supreme Court, and served on the legal staffs of the Treasury Department and the Reconstruction Finance Corporation (1933–35), and was special assistant to the solicitor general (1934–39) and to the attorney general of the U.S. (1942–46). Freund lectured at the Harvard Law School from 1939 (named professor in 1940). He served as legal adviser to President Kennedy and to the State Department, and from 1957 as adviser to the American Law Institute on the drafting of the Restatement of the Conflict of Laws. A recognized authority on constitutional law, Freund believed that the U.S. Supreme Court in a federation has the responsibility of maintaining the supremacy of the Constitution and promoting the uniformity of law. He served as the president of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences in Cambridge, Massachusetts, from 1964 to 1967. His writings include *On Understanding the Supreme Court* (1949); *The Supreme Court of the U.S.* (1961); *On Law and Justice* (1968); *Experimentation with Human Subjects* (1970); and *Constitutional Law: Cases and Other Problems* (with A. Sutherland, 1977).

[Julius J. Marcke]

FREUND, SAMUEL BEN ISSACHAR BAER (1794–1881), rabbi and author of commentaries and glosses on the Mishnah and halakhic works. Born in Touskov, Bohemia, Freund was a pupil of Baruch Fraenkel-Teomim of Leipnik and Bezalel Ranschburg (Rosenbaum) of Prague. He served as rabbi in Lobositz, and afterward in Prague (1834–79), where he succeeded Samuel b. Ezekiel Landau as *dayyan*, or "Oberjurist." Freund initiated the founding of the "*Afike Jehuda" society for Jewish science in Prague (1869). He died in Prague.

Among his works are *Zera Kodesh* (pt. 1, 1827); novellae and expositions of the tractates *Berakhot, Pe'ah* and *Demai; Musar Av* (Vienna, 1839), a commentary on Proverbs; *Teshuvat Keren Shemu'el* (Prague, 1841), a responsum on the subject of eating legumes, rice, and millet during Passover, his conclusion being that they cannot be permitted; *Et le-Ḥannenah* (1850), glosses on the order *Mo'ed; Ir ha-Ẓedek* (1863), an abridgment of the *Sefer Mitzvot Gadol (Semag)* of Moses of Coucy, with glosses, novellae, and expositions; and *Amarot Tehorot* (1867), glosses to, and corrections of the works of commentators on the order *Tohorot*, together with his own *Ketem Paz* (1870), a commentary on *Avot*, and an appendix of glosses and novellae to *Berakhot*.

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[Samuel Rosenblatt]

FREUND, VILMOS (1846–1920), Hungarian architect. He studied architecture in Zurich. Builder of three Jewish hospitals in Budapest, his works also include the New York Palace (1892) and the "Adria" building in Fiume (Rijeka, Yugoslavia). He favored historicizing neo-Baroque and neo-Renaissance styles.

[Eva Kondor]

FREUNDLICH, OTTO (1878–1943), German painter, sculptor, graphic artist, and teacher. Born into a Jewish family in Pomerania. Freundlich was educated by a foster mother in the Protestant tradition after the death of his mother. He studied history of art, then art; he traveled to Italy and Paris. From 1909, the year of his first exhibition, to 1914 he had a studio in Montmartre, where he worked with Picasso, Herbin, and Gris. Beside sculpture he was interested in the art of modern stained glass. He returned to Germany at the outbreak of World War I. Strongly sympathetic to the Left, Freundlich was a contributor to *Die Aktion*, a revolutionary anti-war publication in Berlin. Its September 1918 issue was dedicated to him and was illustrated with his drawings and woodcuts. After the war, he joined the short-lived *November Group*, which vainly endeavored to narrow the gap between the masses and the artists. Later he exerted a strong influence on the Dada movement. He returned to Paris in 1924 and took part in the exhibitions of the Abstraction-Creation group from 1932 to 1935. In 1936 he tried to establish a private academy but without success. In Nazi Germany, his works featured in the "Degenerate Art" show in 1937/38, and his near-abstract sculpture *Homme Nouveau* (1912) was singled out as an example of "Bolshevik-Jewish" art. When France was invaded in 1940, he fled to the Pyrenees but was caught by the Nazis and deported to Majdanek, where he perished. His works – sculpture, paintings, drawings, mosaics – were either close to pure abstraction or completely nonfigurative. The sculptures, often related to architecture, consist of rolling, cloud-like masses, joined together with great subtlety.

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[Alfred Werner / Sonja Beyer (2nd ed.)]

FREUND-ROSENTHAL, MIRIAM KOTTLER (1907–1999), U.S. Hadassah leader. Born in New York City, she received her Ph.D. in American history from New York University, with a specialty in American Jewish history. She taught in the New York public high schools until 1944. From 1940, Freund-Rosenthal was a member of the National Board of Hadassah and held major positions in the organization. She was Youth Aliyah chairman (1953–56) and Hadassah national president from 1956 to 1960. She was instrumental in obtaining the services of Marc Chagall as creator of the twelve stained-glass windows in the synagogue at the Hadassah Medical Center.

Freund-Rosenthal edited the *Hadassah Magazine* from 1966 to 1971. She served as national education chairman, national vocational education chairman, national Youth Aliyah chairman, and national Zionist affairs chairman. Following her Hadassah presidency, she served as national Bond chairman, chairman for the Chagall exhibit, and chairman of the 1965 and 1977 national youth survey committee.

In appreciation for the work she did for Youth Aliyah to help North African Jewish children in Morocco, Youth Aliyah's Ohel Miriam in the synagogue in Ramat Hadassah Szold was named in her honor.

Freund-Rosenthal was also a founder of the Inter-Collegiate Zionist Youth Federation of America and a founding director of the Brandeis Youth Foundation. She was a national officer of the Jewish National Fund, as well as a national vice president of the Women's Division of Brandeis University. She also served as national associate chairman for the Women's Division of State of Israel Bonds. In 1991 she was elected an American regent of the International Center for University Teaching of Jewish Civilization. She also served as national chairman of library projects, as Hadassah's national historian, and as Hadassah's United Nations non-government representative

She wrote *Jewish Merchants in Colonial America* (1939), *Jewels for a Crown* (1963), and *In My Lifetime: Family, Community, Zion* (1989), as well as articles on Zionism and American history. She also compiled and edited the book *A Tapestry of Hadassah Memories* (1994). Later in life she settled in Jerusalem.

[Gladys Rosen / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

°FREY, JEAN BAPTISTE (1878–1939), French priest and archaeological scholar. In 1925 Frey was appointed secretary of the papal Bible commission and in 1933 rector-consultor of the Congregation "De propaganda fide" ("For Propagating the Faith"). His most important publication, though incomplete, is the two-volume *Corpus Inscriptionum Judaicarum* (entitled in French *Recueil des inscriptions juives du troisième siècle avant au septième siècle après J.C.*, vol. 1, *Europe*, 1936; vol. 2, *Asie-Afrique*, 1952). The second volume, despite its title, deals with *Egypt only. His other works include *La théologie juive aux temps de Jésus-Christ…* (1910), *Une ancienne synagogue de Galilée récemment découverte* (1933), and *Il delfino col tridente nella catacomba giudaica di Via Nomentana* (1931). Frey also contributed numerous articles to learned periodicals, chiefly on Judaism in the time of Jesus and on Semitic epigraphy.

FRIBOURG (Ger. **Freiburg**), capital of the Swiss canton of that name. Jews lived in the area before 1348 in Murten/Morat (1294/99). On the outbreak of the Black Death (1348–49), the Jews in the area, like those in the rest of Europe, were accused of causing the epidemic by spreading poison. After 1356 a number of Jews received permission to settle in the city of Fribourg as citizens and to engage in moneylending. As elsewhere in Switzerland, they lived in their own part of the town, although not confined to a ghetto. The decrees of expulsion of 1428 and 1463 were not permanent. Jews were subsequently granted the right to buy houses. Until at least 1481 Jews could live in the city. In that same year, Fribourg entered the Swiss Confederation. Eight Jewish doctors resided in Fribourg and others in the town of Murten, the most famous being Ackin de Vesoul.

The next mention of a Jewish presence in Fribourg dates from 1678, but Jews may have been present earlier. Jewish cattle dealers and peddlers were permitted to visit the city's open market, but the ban on Jewish commerce issued by nearby *Berne in 1787 also affected Fribourg until 1798. Restrictions against the settlement of Jews remained in force until 1864, though some privileged Jews received residence permits after 1843.

The present community was founded in 1895 by Alsatian Jews. In 2000, Jews in the canton of Fribourg numbered

138 persons; 66 were members of the community. The community built a synagogue in 1904 and acquired a cemetery. It was given official status in 1990/2001. The leading Nordmann family opened department stores. Jean Nordmann, president of the Jewish Community Association in 1973–80, was one of the first Jewish colonels in the Swiss army. Jewish subjects are taught at the local Catholic university.

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[Uri Kaufmann (2nd ed.)]

FRIDMAN, GAL (1975–), Israeli windsurfer; first Israeli ever to win an Olympic gold medal and the first Israeli to win two Olympic medals. Born in the Israeli moshav of Karkur, near Haderah, Fridman – whose first name, Gal, means "wave" in Hebrew – began windsurfing when he was six years old and competing at age 11, under the coaching of his father, Uri. Young Fridman competed in international competitions in the youth categories in 1989 and 1991 while attending the ORT Ha-Shomron High School in Binyaminah. Fridman won the silver medal at the 1995 and 1996 World Championships and placed second in the European Championships both years. He then won a bronze medal at the Atlanta 1996 Summer Olympics, Israel's third medal-winner, and was named Israel's Sportsman of the Year. Fridman won a bronze in the European Championship in 1997; silver in the European Championship in 2002; gold at the Mistral World Championship in 2002; and a bronze at the World Championship in 2003. His winning the Olympic gold medal in Athens in 2004 was an historic moment in Israeli sports history. After crossing the finish line, Fridman pumped his fist, took a victory dip and then wrapped himself in an Israeli flag when he emerged from the water. "I am happy you all got to see the race live on television," he said to Israeli viewers in an interview. "I simply felt the entire country pushing me forward." It was the first time the national anthem Hatikvah was played at the Olympics. President Moshe Katzav, Prime Minister Ariel Sharon, and other senior Israeli officials and politicians called Fridman to congratulate him.

[Elli Wohlgelernter (2nd ed.)]

FRIED, AARON (1812–1891), Hungarian rabbi. Born in Hajduböszörmény, Fried studied under R. Moses Sofer in Pressburg from 1828 to 1831. In 1833 he married the daughter of Eleazar Loew (author of *Shemen Roke'aḥ*), the rabbi of Abaujszántó, and took up residence with him there until 1837. In the latter year, he was appointed rabbi of Mezöcsát where he remained until 1844. While there, all his possessions including his books and writings were lost in a fire. From 1844 to 1860 he was rabbi of Hajdusámson; he was then appointed to Hajduböszörmény. where he remained for the rest of his life. Fried took a prominent part in the establishment of the organization of the Hungarian Orthodox Jewish community, and in conducting their affairs. He is the author of: *Omer le-Ẓiyyon* (1872), talmudic novellae; *Ẓel ha-Kesef* (1878), 24 aggadic excursuses (no. 21 contains interesting references to the Hungarian Jewish congress held in 1868/69); *Responsa Maharaf*, including a long aggadic introduction with some interesting autobiographical data entitled *Todat Aharon*, as well as a commentary on the Mishnayot of the order *Zera'im* and tractate *Mikva'ot*, entitled *Ḥallat Aharon* (1893); and *Zekan Aharon*, homilies (1904). The two latter books were published posthumously by Fried's son Eleazar (Lazar).

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[Abraham Schischa]

FRIED, ALFRED HERMANN (1864–1921), Austrian publicist and Nobel peace prize winner. Born in Vienna, Fried served as an Austrian diplomat for a short time but became discouraged and went to Berlin where he became a bookdealer and publisher. After 1891 he devoted himself to pacifist propaganda and founded and edited a number of journals for this purpose, among them *Die Waffen Nieder* which was owned by the famous Austrian pacifist-propagandist, Baroness von Suttner. Fried was the author of more than 70 books and pamphlets devoted to the advancement of peace and of nearly 2,000 newspaper articles. A member of the Berne Bureau and the International Institute for Peace, he was also European secretary of the Conciliation Internationale, secretary general of the Union Internationale de la Presse pour la Paix, and founder of the German and Austrian peace societies. Fried won the Nobel Prize for Peace in 1911. At the time of the Hague peace conferences (1899–1907) Fried was in constant touch with Ivan *Bliokh, the man who persuaded the czar to convene the conferences. His pacifist approach led to his being accused of treason; he left Austria on the outbreak of World War I and spent the war years in Switzerland. He was a prominent figure at the international workers meeting in Berne which fought to prepare a formula for a negotiated peace. After the war he advocated a European union of states similar to the Pan-American system. Fried's publications include *Handbuch der Friedensbewegung* (1905); *Die Grundlagen des revolutionaeren Pacifismus* (1908); *Der Kaiser und der Weltfrieden* (1910), a defense of Kaiser William II's policies; and *Der Weltprotest gegen den Versailler Frieden* (1920), an attack on the Versailles peace settlement.

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[Josef J. Lador-Lederer]

FRIED, ERICH (1921–1988), Austrian poet. Born in Vienna into an assimilated Jewish family, Fried was forced to flee to Great Britain after the annexation of Austria by Germany in 1938 and spent the remainder of his life in an English-speaking environment. In the late 1940s Fried worked intermittently for BBC radio until in 1952 he got full-time employment as a political commentator. Simultaneously he made various translations into German of English literature, including texts by John Donne, John Milton, Thomas Hardy, Rudyard Kipling, and T.S. Eliot, arousing the interest of German publishers and leading to the appearance of his own work. He published his first political poems in the collection called *Die Vertriebenen* (1941) and broached the subject of guilt in the poems of *Deutschland* (1944). The poems of *Oesterreich* (1945) followed in the formal footsteps of expressionistic antiwar verse. From the 1960s Fried also focused on European Jewry. He wrote poems about the Holocaust in *Anfechtungen* (1967) and *Warngedichte* (1964). These poems reflect the poet's attempts to come to terms with the Holocaust and his fear of another war. His only novel, *Ein Soldat und ein Maedchen* (1960), is a provocative love story involving an Allied soldier and a young female camp warden and reflects his harsh criticism of postwar Germany. In the following years Fried focused on contemporary social problems. *Vietnam und* (1966) contains shocking political poems using satirical elements and newspaper clippings to arouse the reader. In *Höre, Israel* (1967), a collection of anti-Zionist poems, Fried extended his political criticism to Israel and provoked heated discussion, as was the case with *So kam ich unter die Deutschen* (1977), which sought understanding for the motives of the German Red Army Faction terrorist group (Baader-Meinhof). Fried's collection of love poems, *Liebesgedichte* (1979), was very popular. Among his short prose works *Kinder und Narren* (1965) and *Das Unmass aller Dinge* (1982) are worthy of mention. Formal recognition came late in Fried's life. In 1973 he received the Austrian *Wuerdigungspreis fuer Literatur* and in 1980 the *Preis der Stadt Wien fuer Literatur.* Recognition from the Federal Republic of Germany came in the 1980s with the most prestigious West German literary award, the *Georg-Buechner-Preis* for his poetry and for his Shakespeare translations. Fried was a member of the German PEN Center and from 1986 on corresponding member of the *Deutsche Akademie fuer Sprache und Dichtung.*

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[Ann-Kristin Koch (2nd ed.)]

FRIED, LAZAR (1888–1944), Yiddish actor. Born in Minsk, Fried sang with Cantor *Sirota in Vilna and later appeared in German-Yiddish operettas in Vitebsk. In 1908 he joined *Hirschbein's company in Odessa. Boris *Thomashefsky took Fried to New York in 1913 and there he created the stage type *Moishe der Greener* ("Moishe the Greenhorn"). From 1919 he played serious parts, joined Schwartz's Jewish Art Theater in 1923, and played leading roles in New York and on tour.

FRIED (-Biss), MIRIAM (1946–), Israeli violinist. Born in Romania, Fried was brought to Israel at the age of two. She studied with Alice Fenives-Rosenberg at the Tel Aviv Rubin Academy, and pursued her training with Gingold at Indiana University (1966–67), and with Galamian at the Juilliard School (1967–69). Fried won the Paganini Geneval Competition in 1968 and the Queen Elisabeth of Belgium International Competition in Brussels in 1971. She is noted for her maturity of approach and vibrant expression, intelligent and perceptive musicianship as well as spirited brilliance of technique. She appeared as a soloist with many of the principle world orchestras, as a recitalist, and as a chamber music artist. She is a member of the Mendelssohn String Quartet and has collaborated with such distinguished artists as Isaac *Stern, Pinchas *Zukerman, Garrick Ohlsson, and her husband, violinist/violist Paul Biss. In 1986 she joined the faculty of Indiana University. From 1993 she served as artistic director of the Ravinia Institute, one of the leading summer programs for young musicians.

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[Uri (Erich) Toeplitz and Yohanan Boehm /
Naama Ramot (2nd ed.)]

FRIED, MORTON HERBERT (1923–1986), U.S. anthropologist. Born and educated in New York City, Fried received his B.S. from the City College of New York in 1942. He served in the U.S. Army (1943–46) and, under the Army Specialized Training Program, studied Chinese at Harvard, graduating in 1944. He did his graduate work at Columbia University, where he earned a Ph.D. in anthropology in 1951. He taught sociology and anthropology at New York City College (1949–50). He then became an instructor in the department of anthropology at Columbia University from 1950 to 1953; he was associate professor from 1957 to 1961 and then became a professor, teaching at Columbia for the next two and a half decades. He also served as chairman of the anthropology department (1966 –69).

Fried specialized in Asian studies and studied the Chinese in the Caribbean and Guianas (cf. his *Fabric of Chinese Society* (1953, 1968^2), a study of the social life of a Chinese county seat). His other research interests included social kinship and social stratification in primitive society, especially China; evolution; and social and political organization, and evolution of the state. He was co-editor of *Readings in Anthropology* (2 vols., 1959, 1968^2) and *Evolution of Political Society* (1967).

In 1981 he was invited by the People's Republic of China to act as a consultant to high government officials on implementing exchanges of scholars and students between the U.S. and China.

Fried's other books include *The Classification of Corporate Unilineal Descent Groups* (1957), *On the Evolution of Social Stratification and the State* (1957), *State: The Institution* (1968), *The Study of Anthropology* (1972), *Explorations in Anthropology: Readings in Culture, Man, and Nature* (1973), and *The Notion of Tribe* (1975).

[Ephraim Fischoff / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

FRIEDAN, BETTY (1921–2006), U.S. writer and feminist. Born Naomi Goldstein in Peoria, Illinois, she received her B.A. in psychology from Smith College in 1942. She then held a research fellowship in psychology at the University of California at Berkeley, assisted in early group dynamics at the University of Iowa, and worked as a clinical psychologist and in applied social research. She also turned to freelance writing, contributing to various magazines.

After her marriage in 1947, her main efforts were devoted to raising her three children. In 1963 she published *The Feminine Mystique*, which focused on the plight of women and their lack of equality with men. An immediate and controversial bestseller, it is now regarded as one of the most influential American books of the 20th century. This represented the start of the women's movement in the United States.

Friedan was the founder of the National Organization of Women (NOW) and served as its president from 1966 to 1970. The organization aimed at bringing women into full equal participation in American society, exercising all privileges and responsibilities. In 1970, she organized a march of 50,000 women through New York City. She was also a founder of the *National Women's Political Caucus* (1971) and the National Abortion Rights Action League (NARAL). In 1973 she became director of the First Women's Bank and Trust Company.

In 1978 Friedan chaired the Emergency Project for Equal Rights and the following year the National Assembly on the Future of the Family. Her second book, *The Second Stage* (1981), outlined new directions for the women's movement based on shared female experience. Friedan was seen in the 1980s as one of America's senior statespersons in the struggle for equal rights and was outspoken over what was perceived as backsliding on the issue of women's rights under the Reagan administration. During the span of her career she became more closely identified with Jewish issues and served on the board of *Present Tense – the Magazine of World Jewish Affairs.* She also denounced antisemitism and anti-Zionism at the UN.

Friedan traveled and lectured all over the world and wrote for such diverse publications as *McCall's, Harper's, The New York Times, The New Republic,* and *The New Yorker.* She was a Visiting Distinguished Professor at the University of Southern California, New York University, and George Mason University, an adjunct scholar at the Wilson International Center for Scholars at the Smithsonian, and Distinguished Professor of Social Evolution at Mount Vernon College.

In 1993 she was inducted into the National Women's Hall of Fame.

Other books by Friedan include *It Changed My Life: Writings on the Women's Movement* (1976); *The Fountain of Age* (1993), based on 10 years of research on changing sex roles and the aging process; *Beyond Gender: The New Politics of Work and Family* (1997); and *Life So Far: A Memoir* (2000).

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[Susan Strul / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

FRIEDBERG, town in Hesse, Germany. A community existed there by 1260 when a Gothic-style *mikveh* was constructed. About this time the community had a well-developed organization and tax system (Responsa of Meir b. Baruch of Rothenburg (1891), no. 187, pp. 204–6). In 1275 Rudolf I of Hapsburg granted a charter to the Friedberg community. The Jews there suffered persecution in 1338 and following the Black Death in 1349, the property of those who had been killed or fled was sold to the city by the imperial bailiff in 1350–54. Jews had been readmitted to Friedberg by 1360. The charter of 1275 was confirmed by successive German emperors. The right of the Jews in Friedberg to engage in the retail trade was upheld by the burgrave in 1623. In 1603 the Friedberg *bet din* was declared one of the five central Jewish courts. Between 1588 and 1640 the community was administered by six to ten *parnasim* and from 1652 the community elected an electoral committee of nine from which the *parnasim* and a taxation committee were elected. The Jews of Friedberg lived in an enclosed quarter near a square below the castle. In the late 18th century the gates were closed on Sundays. Jewish residence in Friedberg was subject to permission from both the burgrave and the community, and by around 1600 was restricted to persons owning 1,500 guilders. Exemptions were made during the Thirty Years' War, and after the expulsion of the Jews from the towns of Upper Hesse in 1662. In 1540 the Jewries of 14 villages and towns formed the community of the *Land* (*Kehillat* Friedberg). Its rabbinate had jurisdiction over Upper Hesse and the adjoining principalities as far as Westphalia, and over Hesse-Kassel from 1625 to 1656. *Ḥayyim b. Bezalel, the brother of *Judah b. Bezalel Loeb of Prague, was rabbi there in 1566. Elijah b. Moses *Loanz (d. 1636) also officiated there. A *ḥevrat gemilut ḥasadim* (charitable institution) was founded in 1687. There were about 16 Jewish families in 1536, 32 in 1550, 107 in 1609, 99 in 1617–24, 72 in 1729, 42 families in 1805, 506 persons in 1892, 491 in 1910 (5.17% of the total population), 380 in 1925 (3.44%), and 305 in 1933. The community had a very active cultural and orthodox religious life. The synagogue was burned in November 1938 and the Nazis initiated a pogrom. By summer 1939 only 58

Jews were living in Friedberg; those who did not subsequently emigrate were deported. In 1967 there were 21 Jews in Friedberg. The medieval bathhouse was restored by the municipality in 1957–58, as a historical monument, and various memorial plaques were put up in the town in subsequent years.

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[Toni Oelsner]

FRIEDBERG, ABRAHAM SHALOM (1838–1902), Hebrew author, editor, and translator. Born in Grodno, he received a traditional education and also studied watchmaking. After wandering from town to town in southern Russia, he returned to Grodno in 1858. His first book *Emek ha-Arazim* (adapted from *Vale of Cedars* by Grace Aguilar) was published in 1876 and enjoyed great popularity. After the pogroms of 1881 he joined the Ḥibbat Zion movement. In 1883 he went to St. Petersburg and became associate editor of **Ha-Meliẓ* and was influential in directing its editorial policy toward Zionism. He contributed numerous articles to the journal under the heading *Me-Inyanei de-Yoma* ("On Current Events"), which were signed H. Sh. for *Har Shalom*, the Hebrew translation of Friedberg. Failing to obtain a permit to remain in St. Petersburg, he left *Ha-Meliẓ* in 1886 and went to Warsaw, where he contributed to *Ha-Ẓefirah* and *Ha-Asif* and translated many books into Hebrew. He was an editor of the first Hebrew encyclopedia, *Ha-Eshkol* (1888), and was employed by the Aḥi'asaf publishing house. He wrote *Toledot ha-Yehudim bi-Sefarad* ("History of the Jews in Spain," 1893) based on Graetz, Kayserling, and others, translated into Hebrew M. Guedemann's *Geschichte des Erziehungswesens und der Kultur der abendlaendischen Juden*, 1880–88 (*Sefer ha-Torah ve-ha-Ḥayyim*, 1897–99), published *Sefer ha-Zikhronot* ("Book of Memoirs," 1899), a collection of literary articles and letters of well-known people, and edited the *Aḥi'asaf* yearbook (vols. 1–6). He also wrote for *Der Yid* and other Yiddish publications. His memoirs, which appeared in Sokolow's *Sefer ha-Shanah* (vols. 1 and 3) and in *Lu'aḥ Aḥi'asaf* (vol. 9), are important for the literary history of the period. His popular reputation was earned by his book *Zikhronot le-Veit David* ("Memoirs of the House of David," 1893–99), a series of stories embracing Jewish history from the destruction of the first Temple to the beginning of the Haskalah period in Germany. The first two volumes are an adaptation of *Geheimnisse der Juden* ("Secrets of the Jews") by H. Reckendorf, but the two remaining volumes were written by Friedberg himself. It was frequently republished and was translated into Arabic and Persian.

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[Yehuda Slutsky]

FRIEDBERG, BERNARD (**Bernhard, Ḥayyim Dov**; 1876–1961), scholar and bibliographer. Friedberg was born in Cracow, and in 1900 moved to Frankfurt, where he worked for the publisher and bookseller Isaac *Kauffmann. In 1904 he set up his own firm and by 1906 had published two catalogs; in the same year he and J. Saenger founded the publishing house of Saenger and Friedberg. In 1910 the partnership broke up, and Friedberg entered the diamond trade, moving to Antwerp. When the Nazis occupied Belgium, he lost his valuable library and all his papers. In 1946 he settled in Tel Aviv, continuing to deal in diamonds but with his heart in books and his bibliographical and genealogical research.

Beginning in 1896, Friedberg published in Hebrew a number of biographies, e.g., on Joseph Caro (1896), Shabbetai Kohen (1898), and Nathan Spira (1899); family histories, e.g., Schor (1901), Landau (1905), and Horowitz (1911, 1928^{2}); and a study on the old Jewish cemetery of Cracow, *Luḥot Zikkaron* (1897, 1904^{2}, 1969). Friedberg's first bibliographical effort was a history of Hebrew printing in Cracow, *Ha-Defus ha-Ivri be-Cracow* (1900), followed by a similar study on Lublin, *Le-Toledot ha-Defus ha-Ivri be-Lublin* (1901). In 1932 he began publishing a series of works on the history of Hebrew printing, *Toledot ha-Defus ha-Ivri*; the series included volumes on Poland (1932, 1950^{2}); on Italy, Spain, Portugal, Turkey, and the Orient (1934, 1956^{2}); on Central Europe (1935); and on Western Europe (1937). His greatest achievement was his bibliographical lexicon *Beit Eked Sefarim* (1 vol., 1928–31; 4 vols., 1951–56^{2}, the second edition listing Hebrew books published by 1950). Though Friedberg's works are not always accurate, they are indispensable bibliographical reference books.

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[Naphtali Ben-Menahem]

FRIEDE, SHALOM (1783–1854), Dutch *ḥazzan*. Born in Amsterdam, he served as *ḥazzan* from 1809 until his death. His collection of about 200 melodies for various prayers, preserved in manuscript form at the Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati, added considerably to the knowledge of Polish cantoral and ḥasidic music. Of this collection, 15 melodies were published by A.Z. Idelsohn in *Oẓar Neginot Yisrael*. His preference for Polish and ḥasidic chants is reflected in his own compositions.

FRIEDELL, EGON, pseudonym of **Egon Friedmann** (1878–1938), Austrian playwright and cultural historian. Born in Vienna, Friedell studied there and at Heidelberg. A witty and versatile bohemian, he not only wrote plays but often acted in them, particularly at Max Reinhardt's theaters in Berlin and Vienna. Among the plays he wrote was *Die Judastragoedie* (1920). Beside his occupation as drama critic, theater director, and cabaret artist, he wrote essays and satires for popular dailies as well as Karl Kraus' *Fackel*, the *Schaubühne* and the *Neue Wiener Journal*. Friedell's magnum opus was the three-volume *Kulturgeschichte der Neuzeit* (1927; *A Cultural History of the Modern Age*, 1931–32). Ranging from the Reformation to World War I, this highly original work is no solemn historical study but a brilliant, aphoristic, and sometimes ironic survey of world history and culture. He also wrote *Kulturgeschichte des Altertums* (2 vols., 1936–49) and *Das Jesusproblem* (1921). Friedell, who converted to Protestantism at the age of 19, continuously displayed controversial attitudes toward Judaism until the Nazi rise to power in Germany. Refusing to emigrate, he stayed in Austria until 1938. On March 16 he committed suicide by jumping out of a window, when the SA came to arrest him a few days after the arrival of the German troops in Vienna.

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[Harry Zohn / Mirjam Triendl (2nd ed.)]

FRIEDEMANN, ADOLF (1871–1932), one of Herzl's first supporters. Born in Berlin, Friedemann was a founder of the Juedische Humanitaetsgesellschaft in Berlin (1893), which later developed into the Jewish Student Zionist Organization in Germany (1895). When Herzl became active in Jewish affairs, Friedemann was his faithful companion, carrying out various missions on his behalf and accompanying him on his trip to Egypt in connection with the El-Arish Project (1902). He was a member of the Zionist General Council from 1903 to 1920, and after the Keren Hayesod was established, worked in its behalf in several countries. Friedemann published numerous articles and books on Zionism and Ereẓ Israel. His book *Das Leben Theodor Herzls* (1914) was the first biography of the founder of political Zionism to be published in book form. Other books are *Was will der Zionismus* (1903), *Reisebilder aus Palaestina* (1904, with illustrations by H. Struck), and a biography *David Wolffsohn* (1916). He was also the chief editor of the first lexicon of Zionism, *Zionistisches ABC Buch* (1908). He died in Amsterdam.

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[Getzel Kressel]

FRIEDEMANN, ULRICH (1877–1949), German bacteriologist who made a significant contribution to the study of scarlet fever. Friedemann, who was born in Berlin, worked for two years as assistant to Paul Ehrlich, and then became professor of hygiene at Berlin University and head of the department of bacteriology at the Moabit city hospital in Berlin. He was also a member of the Robert Koch Institute. Friedemann left Germany soon after Hitler came to power in 1933 and, after three years as research worker at the National Institute for Medical Research in London, went to the United States. There he became chief of the division of bacteriology at the Jewish Hospital of Brooklyn, N.Y. In addition to his studies on scarlet fever, its causes and its effects, Friedemann did research on tetanus, virus diseases, latent infections and their significance to epidemiology, and the theory of anaphylactic shock.

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[Suessmann Muntner]

FRIEDENBERG, ALBERT MARX (1881–1942), U.S. lawyer and historian. Friedenberg was born in New York City. At the age of 19, he joined the *American Jewish Historical Society and became one of its leading members; he was largely responsible for the issuance of 17 volumes of the *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society* (AJHSP, nos. 18–34). Friedenberg wrote numerous papers and articles on the early history of Jews in America, immigration, historical aspects of Zionism, Jews in Masonry, and the Jewish periodical press, and also on local German Jewish history, literature, and biography. He acted as the New York correspondent of the Baltimore *Jewish Comment* (1902–10) and the Chicago *Reform Advocate* (1905–31), and as contributing editor of the New York *Hebrew Standard* (1907–23).

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[Isidore S. Meyer]

FRIEDENBERG, SAMUEL (1886–1957), U.S. collector of medals. Brought to New York from Poland at the age of seven, Friedenberg later built up a fortune in the textile business and then in real estate, and became active in philanthropic and cultural work. Beginning with the purchase of a small collection of medals in 1935 from a German refugee, he established what became the most complete collection of Jewish medals in existence. He commissioned from artists such as I. Sors, Benno *Elkan, Paul Vincze, F. Kormis, a supplementary series of portrait medals, mainly of contemporaries. He left the collection to the New York Jewish Museum, where his son, Daniel M. Friedenberg, who wrote widely on the subject, became honorary curator of coins and medals.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: D.M. Friedenberg (ed.), *Great Jewish Portraits in Metal* (1963).

[Cecil Roth]

FRIEDENWALD, U.S. family of ophthalmologists and Jewish communal leaders.

JONAS FRIEDENWALD (1803–1893), a German immigrant who settled in Baltimore in 1831, was a businessman and one of the founders of the Hebrew Orphan Asylum and Chizuk Emunah Orthodox Congregation. His youngest son AARON FRIEDENWALD (1836–1902) was born in Baltimore and studied medicine at the University of Maryland. A distinguished ophthalmologist, he was the first president of the Medical and Chirurgical Faculty of Maryland and a prominent member of medical societies. In 1890 he organized the Association of American Medical Colleges. He was an active worker in local and national Jewish organizations, including the Baltimore Hebrew Orphan Asylum, Jewish Theological Seminary of America, Federation of American Zionists, and American Jewish Historical Society. He also published articles of Jewish and general medical interest.

HARRY FRIEDENWALD (1864–1950), eldest of Aaron's five sons, was born in Baltimore. He excelled in studies at Johns Hopkins University, and after two years at the Baltimore College of Physicians and Surgeons, spent two years traveling and studying ophthalmology in Berlin. He returned to Baltimore in 1891 and began his practice, teaching ophthalmology at the Baltimore College of Physicians and Surgeons (1894–1929). Harry Friedenwald was a member of Hevras Zion in Baltimore, probably the first American Zionist society, and was president of the Federation of American Zionists, 1904–18. In 1911 and 1914 he went to Palestine, where he served as a consultant for eye diseases in several Jerusalem hospitals. He was a member of the Provisional Committee of Zionist Affairs during World War I, and in 1919 he was chairman of the Zionist Commission to Palestine, where he spent the year.

Friedenwald wrote on medical history with special emphasis on medieval Jewish doctors and the use of the Hebrew language in medical literature; he also lectured frequently on Jews in medicine. In 1944 his collected and expanded historico-medical writings, *The Jews and Medicine* (2 vols.), were published. He wrote *Jewish Luminaries in Medical History* (1946). His son JONAS FRIEDENWALD (1897–1955) was also an ophthalmologist.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: L. Levin, *Vision: the Story of Dr. Harry Friedenwald of Baltimore* (1964); G. Rosen, in: H. Friedenwald, *Jews and Medicine* (1967).

[Gladys Rosen]

FRIEDER, ARMIN (1911–1946), Slovakian rabbi in the *status quo community at Zvolen and the *Neolog community of Nove Mesto had Vahom (from 1938), and an active Zionist. In 1942 he became a member of the underground "Working Group" (see *Slovakia, Holocaust) in Bratislava, set up to save the remaining Jews in Slovakia, and served as the underground's contact with Slovak government circles. Under his influence, the Ohel David Home for the Aged at Nove Mesto became a refuge before deportations. Following the suppression of the Slovak Uprising in the autumn of 1944, Frieder found refuge in a Catholic monastery. After the war he was chief rabbi of the Jewish communities of Slovakia.

[Livia Rothkirchen]

FRIEDERMAN, ZALMAN JACOB (c. 1865–1936), U.S. rabbi. Friederman was born in Meretch (Merkine), Lithuania, in 1865 or 1866. He studied at several yeshivot in Vilna and possibly in Kovno (Kaunas) and Eishishok (Eishishkes), but the most influential rabbinic figure in his formative years was Rabbi Judah Halevi Lifshitz of Meretch. In 1890 Friederman married Dora, daughter of Jacob Halevi Lifshitz, who was the secretary of Rabbi Isaac Elhanan *Spektor and Judah Lifshitz's brother. Shortly thereafter he was ordained as a rabbi, and during the same year, 1890, he relocated to Amsterdam to serve as a rabbi. His dissatisfaction with this job led him to immigrate to America in 1892, joining his sisters and their husbands who had immigrated earlier.

After spending a few months in New York as rabbi of congregation Kol Yisrael Anshe Polin, Friederman accepted an offer to serve as rabbi of congregation Anshe Vilkomir of Boston, to which he relocated in early 1893, notwithstanding the opposition of another local Orthodox rabbi, Moses S. *Margolies. In 1896 Margolies left Boston, and shortly thereafter Friederman was appointed as the rabbi the Union of Orthodox Congregations of Greater Boston. In addition, he was a member of the Union of Orthodox Rabbis of the United States and Canada, as well as Va'ad Harabanim of Massachusetts, founded a *talmud torah* in Boston, and over the years served as rabbi in several additional local congregations, such as Anshe Stonir, Anshe Zhitomir, and Sha'arei Zedek.

Friederman maintained close contacts with Rabbi Abraham I. *Kook and helped raise money for Jewish settlers in Palestine. In 1935 Friederman visited Palestine, where he died, being buried on the Mount of Olives, Jerusalem, close to Rabbi Kook.

Friederman wrote several polemic and homiletics books, all of which appeared during his lifetime: *Emet Ve-Emunah* (1895), *Minḥat Ya'akov* (1901), *Naḥalat Ya'akov* (1914), and *Shoshanat Ya'akov* (1927). In addition, he published many articles in East European and American Jewish newspapers, some of which relate to halakhic issues and others to contemporary aspects of American Jewry and Judaism, and contributed several entries to Judah *Eisenstein's encyclopedia, *Oẓar Yisrael*.

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[Kimmy Caplan (2nd ed.)

FRIEDJUNG, HEINRICH (1851–1920), Austrian historian. Friedjung became professor of history in 1873 at Wiener Handelsakademie and participated in Georg von *Schoenerer's pan-German movement but parted with Schoenerer because of the latter's antisemitism. Dismissed from his post by the Education Ministry in 1881 for his radical political publicity, Friedjung entered upon a journalistic career. He founded and edited *Deutsche Wochenschrift* (1883–86) and became editor-in-chief of *Deutsche Zeitung*, the main publication of the Deutschnationale Partei. From 1891 to 1895, Friedjung was a member of the Vienna City Council. Because of growing antisemitism he had to leave the party and subsequently focused on scholarly works on the German Confederation, the Second German Empire, and the era of Francis Joseph. His *Der Kampf um die Vorherrschaft in Deutschland 1859–1869* (2 vols., 1907) went through 10 editions and spread his fame beyond the frontiers of Austria. His other works were *Benedeks Nachgelassene Papiere* (1904), *Oesterreich 1848–1860* (unfinished, 1907–12), and *Krimkrieg und die oesterreichische Politik* (1911^2). His scholarly *Das Zeitalter des Imperialismus* (3 vols., 1919–22) was completed after his death by A.F. Pribram. Friedjung's Jewish origin barred him from a post at Vienna University, and, while he had little interest in Jewish affairs, he considered it undignified to buy a career through conversion.

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[Herbert A. Strauss]

FRIEDKIN, WILLIAM (1935–), U.S. director. Born in Chicago, Illinois, Friedkin never went to college, instead going to work at WGN TV in Chicago just after finishing high school. There he directed hundreds of live television shows and documentaries. He then moved up to network television, but only after ten years did Friedkin have the opportunity to direct a feature film, *Good Times* (1967), with Sonny and Cher. He swiftly advanced to major motion pictures with *The Night They Raided Minsky's* (1968), and then directed a number of successful, critically acclaimed films, including *The Boys in the Band* (1970), a landmark film that introcuded gay life to a mainstream audience. He directed *The French Connection* (1971), which won five academy awards, including Best Picture and Best Director. Friedkin, then 32 years old, became the youngest person to win the Oscar for directing. Friedkin followed up this triumph with *The Exorcist* (1973), revolutionizing the horror genre. His other films include *Sorcerer* (1977), *The Brink's Job* (1978), *Cruising* (1980), *To Live and Die in L.A.* (1985), *The Guardian* (1990), *Blue Chips* (1994), *Jade* (1995), *Rules of Engagement* (2000), and *The Hunted* (2003). In 1998 he was nominated for an Emmy award for Outstanding Direction for the TV movie adaptation of *12 Angry Men*. Friedkin was married to actresses Jeanne Moreau, Lesley-Anne Down, and Kelly Lange. In 1991 he married actress/producer Sherry *Lansing.

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[Jonathan Licht / Casey Schwartz (2nd ed.)]

FRIEDLAENDER, DAVID (1750–1834), communal leader and author in Berlin, a pioneer of the practice and ideology of *assimilation and a forerunner of *Reform Judaism. Born in Koenigsberg, the son of a "protected Jew," Joachim Moses Friedlaender, a wholesale merchant, David settled in Berlin in 1770, and in 1776 established a silk factory there. As an expert in his field he was appointed counselor of the state commission of inquiry into the textile industry. In 1791 he forwarded a memorandum in the name of the manufacturers, advocating changes in the economic system against excessive government supervision over industry and the granting of protective tariffs to individual manufacturers. However, his interests ranged far beyond his business activities. Entering Moses *Mendelssohn's circle at the age of 21, Friedlaender absorbed Mendelssohn's ideas and became prominent among his followers. Through his marriage in 1772 with Blümchen Itzig, daughter of the banker Daniel *Itzig, he entered one of the wealthiest and most distinguished families of *Court Jews in Prussia.

In 1799 Friedlaender sent his famous *Sendschreiben* ("Open Letter") to Pastor Teller in which he expressed, "in the name of some Jewish householders," a deistic conception of religion. For this reason he rejected Christian dogma as well as the retention of Jewish ritual precepts. According to him the eternal truths around which enlightened Jews and Protestants should unite were synonymous with the pure teachings of Moses, i.e., with original Jewish monotheism. Throughout his life Friedlaender regarded Mosaic monotheism as an ideal to be followed; it was apparently the positive factor in his decision (in which he differed from many of his circle) against conversion to Christianity. "We are destined from time immemorial to guard and teach by example the pure doctrine of the unity and sanctity of God, previously unknown to any other people," Friedlaender wrote in 1815 in his *Reden der Erbauung* ("Edifying Speeches"). In his respect for biblical Judaism he was a faithful disciple of Mendelssohn, although Kant, who exercised an influence on Friedlaender, disparaged biblical Judaism. Friedlaender shared the educational ideals and belief in liturgical reform current among representatives of the Jewish enlightenment in Berlin after Mendelssohn, giving expression to these ideas in his writings.

After the issue of the 1812 edict in Prussia he published a paper on the reforms which he deemed necessary as a result of the new organization of the Jews in Prussia (reform of the divine service in the synagogues, of teaching institutions and subjects taught, and of their manner of education in general). Above all, he proposed substituting in the prayer in place of the expression of messianic hopes: "I stand here before God. I pray for blessing and prosperity for my compatriots, for myself and my family, not for the return to Jerusalem, not for the restoration of the Temple and the sacrifices. I do not harbor these wishes in my heart." He proposed that study of talmudic law should be replaced by study of the laws of the country. Friedlaender even wanted to enlist the help of the government in his endeavors for reform. In part as a result of his efforts, a "Jewish free school" was established in 1778; Friedlaender became the organizer and supervisor of the school, which he directed for almost 20 years, with his brother-in-law Isaac Daniel Itzig, along with the Hebrew press and bookshop associated with it. The institution aimed at putting into practice the ideals of enlightened education.

From 1783 to 1812 Friedlaender, as the representative of Prussian Jewry, fought assiduously for the implementation of its demands for equal rights. He headed the "general deputies" of the Jewish communities of Prussia who assembled in Berlin in order to submit their requests to the commission set up by Frederick William II in 1787. Under Friedlaender's leadership, the deputies rejected the unsatisfactory "Plan for Reform" proposed by the commission. In 1793 he published the documents pertaining to these negotiations under the title *Acktenstücke, die Reform der jüdischen. Kolonien in den preussischen Staaten betreffend*. In 1809 Friedlaender was the first Jew elected to sit in the municipal council. Continuing the struggle for emancipation, in 1810 he requested an audience with the Prussian chancellor, Carl August von *Hardenberg; as an argument in favor of granting emancipation he pointed to the "wave of baptisms" which indicated the degree of assimilation of Prussian Jewry. Friedlaender's efforts for the emancipation of Prussian Jews are especially important since in them are reflected the main dilemma of Jewish life in Prussia in the first generation after Mendelssohn: how to hold fast to a Jewish identity within a society based on universalist principles.

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[Michael J. Graetz]

FRIEDLAENDER, ISRAEL (1876–1920), scholar, Zionist, community activist. Friedlander was born In Kovel, Poland, and raised In Praga-Warsaw. After proving his ability at an early age to master biblical and rabbinic texts, he moved, like many promising scholars of his generation, to Berlin, where he enrolled in the Hildesheimer Rabbinical Seminary. Matriculating at the University of Berlin, he then transferred to the new German University of Strasbourg, where he earned a Ph.D. in Semitic languages under Theodor Noeldeke. In his dissertation, he argued for the purity of the Arabic language in Maimonides's *Guide to the Perplexed*.

Denied a German University post because of antisemitism, in 1903, Friedlaender welcomed an invitation by Solomon *Schechter to join the faculty of the reorganized Jewish Theological Seminary as a professor of Bible. Two years later, he married Lilian Ruth Bentwich, daughter of the prominent British Zionist Herbert *Bentwich.

Friedlaender's scholarly *oeuvre* was, in large part, devoted to drawing previously ignored connections between medieval Arabic and Jewish cultures, focusing upon their similarities in the areas of messianism, sectarian heterodoxy, and folklore. His writings include "The Heterodoxies of the Shiites in the Presentation of Ibn Hazm," in: *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 27 and 29 (1907–8); "Shiitic Elements in Jewish Sectarianim," in: *Jewish Quarterly Review*, n.s. 1, 2, 3 (1910–1913); and *Die Chadirlegende und der Alexanderroman* (1913).

From Berlin the young Friedlaender had contacted the Jewish philosopher *Ahad Ha-Am and the historian Simon *Dubnow. He translated their writings throughout his career, and after 1905 transmitted their ideas in essays and public lectures delivered in many North American cities.

Friedlaender developed his social thought along lines laid out by Ahad Ha-Am. His view of the diaspora was influenced by Dubnow. While his Seminary colleagues remained ensconced in their ivory tower, Friedlaender also took part in communal activity. He and his friends Harry Friedenwald, Henrietta *Szold, and Judah *Magnes kept the FAZ (Federation of American Zionists) afloat in the lean years before World War I. His explications of Zionist history and ideology helped to convince Louis D. *Brandeis to seize the helm of the movement during the Great War.

Friedlaender aided Judah Magnes in founding the New York Kehillah and chaired its Bureau of Jewish Education. He founded together with Mordecai *Kaplan the first Young Israel synagogue where the sermon was given in English. Friedlaender was a trustee of the Educational Alliance, which helped Americanize immigrants. There he became a gadfly, advising the secularists who controlled the organization to schedule clubs, classes, and lectures with Jewish content.

The shock of war in 1914 turned Friedlaender's attention to Jewish suffering in Eastern Europe. In 1915, he published a short popular history of that community. His translation of Dubnow's *History of the Jews of Russia and Poland* appeared in three volumes between 1916 and 1920. Dubnow himself never published this work, so the English translation is the only available version. A collection of Friedlaender's essays entitled *Past and Present*, was published in 1919 and reprinted in part in 1961.

Two crises marked Friedlaender's final years. In 1918 he was appointed the Jewish representative on a Red Cross expedition to Palestine. As he was preparing to depart, New York newspapers published letters by prominent Zionists Stephen S. Wise and Richard Gottheil. Unfairly citing Friedlaender's previous ties to Germany, they recommended his removal from the commission on the grounds of disloyalty. In anger and sadness, Friedlaender resigned his place in the expedition.

To assuage the disappointment, the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (JDC) appointed Friedlaender to a commission formed to aid Jews in Ukraine, where postwar national frustrations and historic enmity had erupted into ferocious pogroms. In July 1920, Friedlaender and Rabbi Bernard *Cantor ventured into a battle-torn area near Kamenetz-Podolski. They were murdered on a lonely road and left naked in the mud. Despite careful investigation, neither the motive nor the identity of the killers was discovered. The Jewish community of Yarmolyntsi, the nearest town, buried the bodies and put up a crude monument.

Denied access to the cemetery from 1922 onward until Ukrainian independence, in 2001, at the request of Friedlaender's Jerusalem family, his body was exhumed and found its final resting place in the land of his dreams.

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[Baila Round Shargel (2nd ed.)]

FRIEDLAENDER, JOHNNY (1912–1992), French painter and printmaker. Friedlaender studied in Breslau, but after Hitler came to power, managed to immigrate to Czechoslovakia (1935) and from there to Paris (1937), where he fought with the Resistance. In 1945 Friedlaender returned to Paris and represented France in various international exhibitions. Friedlaender was particularly noted for his color etchings. His poetic and occasionally whimsical etchings are extremely decorative.

FRIEDLAENDER, MAX (1852–1934), musicologist. Born in Brieg, Silesia, Friedlaender became a noted bass singer, but after 1883 devoted himself to musicology. He accepted a teaching post at Berlin University in 1894 where he became professor. Friedlaender was an authority on German song. He discovered more than 100 lost songs by Schubert and published them in his complete edition of Schubert's songs. He also edited songs by Mozart, Beethoven, and Mendelssohn, and collections of German folk songs. His writings include the basic *Das deutsche Lied im 18. Jahrhundert* (3 vols., 1902) and *Franz Schubert: Skizze seines Lebens und Wirkens* (1928).

FRIEDLAENDER, MICHAEL (1833–1910), Orientalist, educator, and author. Born in Jutrosin (Posen province), Friedlaender served first as head of the *talmud torah* school in Berlin (from 1862), and from 1865 as principal of *Jews' College, London, Anglo-Jewry's rabbinical seminary, which under his leadership first became a fully developed rabbinical seminary. He remained in this position for 45 years, and exercised a great influence on generations of graduates. He published a German translation (with commentary) of the Song of Songs (*Das Hohelied*, 1867). His illustrated *Jewish Family Bible* (Hebrew and English, 1881, 1884, repr. 1953) became very popular, as did his standard work *Jewish Religion* (1891, 1913^3) and its companion volume *Textbook of the Jewish Religion* (1891), which was also reprinted in many editions. Both represent a strictly traditionalist view.

He took an active part in the Society for the Diffusion of Jewish Literature under whose aegis he published his works on *Ibn Ezra and *Maimonides. The first was an edition of Abraham Ibn Ezra's commentary on Isaiah with an English translation together with the English translation of Isaiah, revised in accordance with Ibn Ezra's commentary, as well as a volume of essays on the latter's writings (4 vols., 1873–77; vols. 1 and 3 repr. 1964). His translation into English (with annotations) of Maimonides' *Guide of the Perplexed* (3 vols., 1881–85; repr. 1953) was an edition which owed much to S. Munk's Arabic text and translation (1856–66). A revised one-volume edition of the English translation (without the notes, 1904 and many reprints) was long the standard English version of the *Guide*. He took an active part in the communal and cultural life of Anglo-Jewry. His knowledge of mathematics and astronomy made him an expert on the Jewish calendar. Moses *Gaster was his son-in-law.

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FRIEDLAENDER, MORITZ (1844–1919), writer, educator, and communal worker. Friedlaender, who was born in Hungary, studied for the rabbinate, but did not adopt it because of his liberal views. In 1875 he became secretary of the Israelitische Allianz, the Austro-Hungarian counterpart of the Alliance Israélite Universelle, and on behalf of both organizations visited Galicia to assist the immigration of Russian Jews to the United States. With the help of Baron Maurice de Hirsch and later of his widow, Friedlaender established and supervised more than 50 modern schools for boys, as well as vocational schools for girls in Galicia.

Friedlaender's scholarly interests lay in the direction of Hellenistic philosophy and the origins of Christianity. Among his published works are *Ueber den Einfluss der griechischen Philosophie auf das Judentum und Christentum* (1872); *Patristische und talmudische Studien* (1878); *Philo's Philantropie des juedischen Gesetzes*, translation and commentary (1889); *Apion, ein Kulturbild* (1882); *Zur Entstehungsgeschichte des Christentums* (1894); *Der vorchristliche juedische Gnostizismus* (1898); *Geschichte der juedischen Apologetik* (1903); *Die religio-*

ese Bewegung innerhalb des Judentums im Zeitalter Jesu (1906); *Der Kreuzestod Jesu* (1906). Friedlaender also wrote on his experiences in Galicia: *Fuenf Wochen in Brody* (1882) and *Reiseerinnerungen aus Galizien* (1900). He used the pseudonyms M. Freimann, Marek Firkowitsch, and Paul Frieda.

FRIEDLAENDER, OSKAR EWALD (1881–1940), Austrian philosopher. Friedlaender, who was born in Slovakia, taught in Vienna. Writing under the name "Ewald," he dealt with Kantianism, history of philosophy, and philosophy of religion. He opposed ethical relativism and empiricism. Friedlaender dealt with the relationship of romanticism to contemporary philosophy as well as offering an interpretation of Kant. In later writings, he sought to develop an undogmatic religion of humanity. His main works are *Richard Avenarius als Begruender des Empiriokritizismus* (1905), *Die Probleme der Romantik als Grundfragen der Gegenwart* (1904), *Kants kritischer Idealismus als Grundlage von Erkenntnistheorie und Ethik* (1908), *Die Religion des Lebens* (1925), and *Freidenkertum und Religion* (1927).

[Richard H. Popkin]

FRIEDLAENDER, SAUL (1932–), Israeli historian of the Third Reich and Holocaust. Born in Prague, Friedlaender fled with his family to France in 1939, where he was hidden in a Catholic boarding school following the German invasion of 1940. While in hiding, he developed a keen interest in Catholicism and even considered the priesthood. But when he was informed by one of his Catholic teachers about the Nazi genocide at the war's end, Friedlaender decided to reembrace his Jewish roots and moved to Israel in 1948, where he eventually embarked on a career as a historian.

Friedlaender long split his time as a historian between Europe, Israel, and the United States. From 1964 to 1987, he taught at the Institut des Hautes Etudes Internationales in Geneva, at first as a senior lecturer and after 1967 as professor. In that same year, he accepted a visiting professorship at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem and in 1969 was appointed professor of history and international relations. Friedlander remained in Jerusalem until 1975 at which point he moved to Tel Aviv University, where he was named Maxwell Cummings Chair of European History. In 1987 Friedlander was appointed to the 1939 Club Chair in Holocaust Studies at the University of California at Los Angeles, a position that he shared with his Tel Aviv post until retiring from the latter in 2000.

Friedlaender applied innovative methodologies to the study and writing of history. He began his academic career as a diplomatic historian, producing two incisive works in the mid-1960s: *Hitler et les Etats-Unis 1939–41* (1963; *Prelude to Downfall: Hitler and the United States*, 1967) and *Pie XII et le IIIe Reich* (1964; *Pius XII and the Third Reich*, 1966). The first study examined the diplomatic relations between Nazi Germany and the administration of Franklin D. *Roosevelt, while the second critically analyzed Pope *Pius XII's response to the Holocaust.

Friedlaender then turned towards psychology. His book *Kurt Gerstein, l'ambiguité du bien* (1967; *Kurt Gerstein; the Ambiguity of Good*, 1969), examined the complex motivations of a German SS officer who was involved in the Nazi Final Solution but later turned against it by attempting to inform neutral and Church figures of the gassing of Jews. His study *L'Histoire et psychoanalyse* (1975; *History and Psychoanalysis*, 1978) directly explored the virtues and limitations of psychoanalysis for historical inquiry.

Friedlaender's interest in psychology naturally led him to the study of historical memory. Friedlaender investigated the dynamics of remembrance at the individual level in his powerful autobiographical work, *Quand vient le souvenir* (1978; *When Memory Comes*, 1979), which focused on his own traumatic childhood in German-occupied France. Thereafter, he turned his attention to the study of cultural memory in *Reflets du nazisme* (1982; *Reflections of Nazism: A Study of Kitsch and Death*, 1984), which examined the lingering psychological appeal of Nazi imagery in works of contemporary European film and literature. Friedlaender expressed the concern that the memory of the Third Reich was becoming normalized within western consciousness and defined less by moral outrage than lurid fascination. By the late 1980s, he voiced these fears in a famous debate with the German historian, Martin Broszat over the "historicization" of the Nazi era. At a time in which conservative German historians were attempting to relativize the Nazis' crimes in an effort to create a normal sense of German national identity (the "Historians' Debate"), Friedlaender insisted that the singular nature of the Nazis' genocidal crimes against the Jews should prevent historians from viewing the 12 years of the Third Reich as they would any other era of German history.

In the 1990s, Friedlaender continued to explore theoretical issues while simultaneously returning to the empirically grounded and narrative-centered history of his early career. His 1992 volume *Probing the Limits of Representation* (based on a 1990 conference held at UCLA) explored the relevance of postmodern thought for the representation of the Final Solution. Sparked in part by American historian Hayden White's relativistic observations about the truth claims of all historical writing, Friedlander became deeply interested in the question of whether all methods of portraying the Holocaust were equally valid. His ensuing work of historical synthesis, published in 1997, *Nazi Germany and the Jews, Volume I: The Years of Persecution, 1933–1939*, examined the origins of the Final Solution from the interwoven perspective of the Nazi perpetrators as well as their Jewish victims, a pathbreaking approach that brought together narrative vantage points that had been kept apart by most previous historians. From the end of the 1990s, Friedlaender was busy completing the final volume of his two-volume study.

Friedlaender was involved in numerous other historical enterprises. Early in his career he worked closely with Nahum *Goldmann of the World Jewish Congress and with Shimon *Peres. He helped found the influential journal *His-*

tory & Memory in 1989. He served on the commission that examined the activities of the Bertelsmann publishing concern during the Third Reich and chaired the Independent Experts Commission that in 1999 issued a highly critical report on the policies of the Swiss government towards Jewish refugees during World War II. He was involved in Israeli-Palestinian dialogues and with leading Palestinian intellectuals such as Edward Said. For his outstanding scholarly achievements, Friedlaender was honored with the Israel Prize for history in 1983, the Geschwister-Scholl-Prize from the city of Munich in 1998, and a MacArthur Foundation "genius" Award in 1999.

[Gavriel Rosenfeld (2nd ed.)]

FRIEDLAENDER (Friedland), SOLOMON JUDAH (c. 1860–c. 1923), author and literary forger. Friedlaender gave contradictory biographical accounts of his life, claiming at various times to have been born in Hungary, Turkey, and Romania, but in all probability he was born in Beshenkovichi near Vitebsk, Belorussia. He supposedly studied at the yeshivah in Volozhin and afterward wandered throughout Europe. He was in Czernowitz (1880–1882), Mainz (1884), Frankfurt on the Main (1885), Mulhouse (c. 1888–c. 1895), Waitzen (1900–1902), Naszod (1902–1906), and finally in Szatmar, from 1906 onward. It seems that he died in Vienna. Friedlaender published a number of works of doubtful authenticity or pure forgeries. Among these were (1) *Ha-Tikkun*, published under the name of L. Friedland in Czernowitz in 1881. It pretends to be an authentic manual of ḥasidic customs, while in fact it is a crude and obscene parody of Ḥasidism in general and *Ḥabad Ḥasidism in particular; (2) *Tosefta, Seder Zera'im* and *Seder Nashim*, published in Pressburg in 1889 and 1890, with his commentary entitled *Ḥosak Shelomo*. He claimed to have edited a critical edition of the Tosefta text from an unpublished manuscript, but this was disputed by Adolf Schwarz and Rabbi Jacob Yanovsky of Kiev. Friedlaender responded to Schwarz's strictures in a pamphlet entitled *Kesher Bogedim* (Pressburg, 1891), replete with irrelevant matters and squalid abuse of his critics; (3) an edition of the tractate *Yevamot* of the Jerusalem Talmud, supposedly from a manuscript, along with a twofold commentary, *Ḥeshek Shelomo*, in Szinervaralja in 1905.

Friedlaender's most important forgery, however, was his pretended *Seder Kodashim* of the Jerusalem Talmud. Friedlaender proclaimed his fortunate discovery of an ancient Spanish manuscript, dated Barcelona 1212, which contained this long lost and most important talmudic text. He published *Zevaḥim* and *Arakhin* in 1907, and *Ḥullin* and *Bekhorot* in 1909, with his commentary *Ḥeshek Shelomo*. With these publications, he reached the summit of his audacity, claiming to be of pure Sephardi descent (*Sephardi tahor*) from the well-known Algazi family and a native of Smyrna. He asserted that he was assisted in the acquisition of the manuscript by his brother, Elijah Algazi, and a business associate of the latter, both citizens of Smyrna. Some of the leading scholars of this period, such as Solomon *Buber, Solomon *Shechter, and Shalom Mordecai *Schwadron of Brzezany accepted his story. However, the majority of scholars gave no credence to his tales, and B. Ritter of Rotterdam conclusively proved the fallaciousness of Friedlaender's claims. On the basis of internal evidence, Ritter showed that the text was an overt forgery. Ritter's conclusions were supported by many experts, including V. *Aptowitzer, W. *Bacher, D.B. Ratner and Meir Dan *Plotzki. The controversy continued for the next few years, and as late as 1913, Friedlaender still published booklets on this issue. He also edited a periodical entitled *Ha-Gan*, using the name of Judah Aryeh Friedland. It seems that only one issue appeared in Frankfurt in 1885. After his death, his son, M. Friedlaender, published his *Mavo la-Tosefta*, in Tirnovo, 1930. Friedlaender claimed at various times to have published, among others, a critical and annotated edition of the entire Tosefta, the *She'iltot* of Rav Aḥai Gaon, and the Sifra. No bibliographical evidence can be found to support these claims.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: B. Ritter, in: *Der Israelit*, 1907 and 1908; D.B. Ratner, in: *Haolam*, 1 (1907), 26ff.; *Tel-Talpioth*, 1907 and 1908.

[Abraham Schischa]

FRIEDLAND, East European family originating in Bohemia, presumably from the Bohemian town Friedland (Frydlant). During the 17th century NATHAN FRIEDLAND was known as the "head of the community and head of the province of Bohemia." During the 19th century, members of the family are found in Russia. MESHULLAM FEIVEL (1804–1854), a wealthy merchant of Slutsk, moved to Dvinsk in 1846 and was often among the delegates representing the communities of Lithuania before the authorities. His sons MEIR (d. 1902) and MOSES ARYEH LEIB (1826–1899) moved to St. Petersburg, where they ranked among the wealthiest Jews and philanthropists in the community. Moses for more than 30 years was general army contractor for the Russian government. He founded a Jewish orphanage with a school of handicrafts in St. Petersburg, and erected an old-age home in Jerusalem. In 1892 he presented his collection of about 13,000 Hebrew books (including 32 incunabula) and 300 manuscripts which he had assembled over many years to the Asiatic Museum in St. Petersburg (now the Leningrad Institute for Oriental Studies). The thousands of Hebrew books already in the museum were combined with his collection, given the name of Bibliotheca Friedlandiana. The bibliographer S. *Wiener catalogued these books (up to the letter *lamed*) in *Kohelet Moshe* (8 pts., 1893–1936). The genealogy and some of the history of the family is given by I.T. Eisenstadt and S. Wiener in *Da'at Kedoshim* (1897).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: S. Wiener, *Kohelet Moshe*, pt. 2 (1895), vii–xi.

[Yehuda Slutsky]

FRIEDLAND, ABRAHAM HYMAN (Ḥayyim Abraham; 1891–1939), poet, short-story writer, and educator. Friedland, who was born in Hordok, near Vilna, immigrated to America at the age of 15. In 1911 he founded the National Hebrew School in New York. In 1921 he assumed the post of superintendent of the Cleveland Hebrew Schools, and in 1924 was also appointed the first director of the Cleveland Bureau of Jewish Education. He was a leading member of the Jewish community in Cleveland and a champion of the community Jewish school which featured an intensive Hebraic curriculum and included a strong emphasis on the Zionist ideal. He wrote poems, short stories, and articles, edited educational texts, and published essays in Hebrew, English, and Yiddish on Hebrew literature. His poems and stories were collected in two volumes at the end of his life, *Sonettot* ("Sonnets," 1939), and *Sippurim* ("Stories," 1939), and in a posthumous volume of poems, *Shirim* ("Poems," 1940). His *Sippurim Yafim*, stories designed for children, were reissued in three volumes by the Cleveland Bureau of Jewish Education (1962). His narrative sonnets deal with the pathetic side of life, and his stories mainly portray American Jewish types.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: A. Epstein, *Soferim Ivrim be-Amerikah*, 2 (1952), 311–23; Waxman, Literature, 4 (1960), 1251–55; A. Ben-Or, *Toledot ha-Sifrut ha-Ivrit be-Dorenu*, 1 (1954), 139–41; *Sefer Zikhronot le-Ḥ.A. Friedland* (1940).

[Eisig Silberschlag]

FRIEDLAND, NATAN (1808–1883), rabbi, precursor of the *Ḥibbat Zion movement. Born in Taurage, Lithuania, Friedland studied in various Lithuanian yeshivot. The *Damascus Affair (1840) made a deep impression on him. He believed that the redemption of the Jewish people could be realized gradually, as a natural process, and periods of liberalism and progress should be used to achieve this. The miraculous redemption would ultimately occur with the arrival of the Messiah. Friedland was unaware that some of his contemporaries held similar views (e.g., Judah *Alkalai), and he spread his ideas verbally in Belorussia, Lithuania, and Germany, where he met Ẓevi *Kalischer. In 1859 he published two parts of his work *Kos Yeshu'ah u-Neḥamah* ("Cup of Salvation and Comfort"), in which he expounded his theories. Friedland met Adolphe *Crémieux and Albert *Cohen in Paris, and presented petitions from Kalischer and himself to Napoleon III, who granted him an audience. Sir Moses *Montefiore, whom he met in London, refused to cooperate with him. Friedland published a new edition of Kalischer's work *Derishat Ẓiyyon*, adding his own notes and essays. Friedland was an emissary of Ḥevrah le-Yishuv Ereẓ Israel ("Society for the Settlement of Ereẓ Israel"), established by Kalischer, and collected funds for it in Germany. During his visit to Holland, he handed the Dutch government a petition requesting their support for the restoration of Ereẓ Israel to the Jews. His greatest work, *Yosef Ḥen*, expounding his views, was published in a shortened version (1879). At the end of his life, he witnessed the beginnings of *aliyah* to Ereẓ Israel from Romania and Russia. In 1882 he went to Ereẓ Israel from London and died in Jerusalem.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Klausner, in: *Ha-Ummah*, 18 (1967), 227–45.

[Israel Klausner]

FRIEDLANDER, ISAAC (1823–1878), U.S. businessman. Friedlander, born in Oldenburg, Germany, was taken to the U.S. as a child. After working in New York City and then in Savannah, Georgia, he went to San Francisco in 1849 to mine gold. Turning to business, Friedlander soon came to dominate the California flour market and in 1854 erected the Eureka Flour Mills, the largest in the state. He earned the title "Grain King" while speculating in the wheat market and by 1872 controlled nearly all California grain exported to foreign ports. A struggle by the California farmers' organization to circumvent him and export grain independently was unsuccessful. Friedlander also financed grain elevators and an irrigation project. He was one of the first regents of the University of California and was president of the San Francisco Chamber of Commerce.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Paul, in: *Pacific Historical Review*, 27 (1958), 331–49; Anon, in: *California Mail Bag*, 9 (June 1876), 17–19; Reissner, in: YLBI, 10 (1965), 78.

FRIEDLANDER, KATE (1902–1949), criminologist and psychiatrist. After having completed her general medical studies in her native Innsbruck, she moved to Berlin where she specialized in mental and nervous diseases. She also trained as a psychoanalyst and worked as a specialist at the juvenile court in Berlin. In 1933 she migrated to London along with another prominent Jewish psychoanalyst, Paula Heimann (1899–1982), who later became a prominent child psychiatrist in London. Friedlander's main achievements were in the application of psychoanalysis to the theoretical and practical problems of dissocial character formation. Her book *The Psycho-Analytical Approach to Juvenile Delinquency* (1947, 1959^2) is an important contribution to the understanding and treatment of juvenile delinquents. One of her principal interests, to which she devoted much of her life, was child guidance work for the elimination of unhappiness among children (in cooperation with Anna *Freud). She wrote many papers, most of which dealt with the emotional development of the child and were aimed at preventing juvenile delinquency and antisocial wayward behavior in general.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Hoffer, in: *International Journal of Psycho-Analysis*, 30 (1949), 138–9; Jacobs, in: *New Era*, 30 (1949), 101–3.

[Zvi Hermon]

FRIEDLANDER, LEE (1934–), U.S. photographer. Born in Aberdeen, Wash., Friedlander took up photography at 14 and moved to California after graduation from high school. In 1956, he went to New York, where he became friendly with photographers like Robert *Frank, Walker Evans, Diane *Arbus, and Helen Levitt, and where he supported himself by taking pictures of jazz, blues, and gospel performers for various recording companies. He seems to have been greatly influenced by Frank, whose book *The Americans*, came out in 1958. Like Frank's photographs, Friedlander's were interpreted as a mirror of American society. His images were less emotional, however.

He got his first solo exhibition in the George Eastman House in Rochester, N.Y. in 1963. He always worked in series:

street images, flowers, trees, nudes, the industrial and postindustrial environment, portraits, and self-portraits. Among the important series he produced in the late 1970s and early 1980s was a reportage of forgotten memorials to events in American history, portraits of North American industrial areas threatened with unemployment, and photographs of computer operators. He thus gave shape to the banality of daily life and recorded the complexity of the American social landscape from a strong appreciation of the importance of formal values. His street scenes appear to be casual but are complicated compositions. The nudes reflect an almost obsessive attempt to capture the naked female body as it really is. He did not use models, but normal, reasonably well-shaped women marked by acne, bruises, fat, etc. He was also considered a master of the frame; his photographs nearly always include more details, telling or not, than the viewer expects. He used a viewfinder 35-millimeter camera and photographed in black and white. He received three Guggenheim fellowships, five grants from the National Endowment for the Arts and was awarded a MacArthur Foundation "genius" grant in 1990. More than a dozen books of his works have been published. He had one-man shows at the Museum of Modern Art in New York in 1972, 1974, and 1991. In 2001 MOMA acquired more than 1,000 of Friedlander's prints, spanning his entire career from the 1950s to work that had not yet been made public. It was the museum photography department's biggest purchase ever of works by a living artist.

[Stewart Kampel (2nd ed.)]

FRIEDLANDER, WALTER (1891–1984), U.S. social welfare expert and educator, born in Berlin. Friedlander was trained in law, began his career as a welfare worker among children, and later served as a juvenile court judge in Berlin. From 1931 to 1933 he was president of the German Child Welfare League. Moving to Paris in 1933, he served three years as the director of the Legal and Social Services for Refugees. Immigrating to the U.S., he lectured at the University of Chicago from 1936 to 1943 and then went to the University of California, Berkeley. Starting off at Berkeley as a lecturer in social welfare, he became an associate professor in 1948, then professor (1955) and professor emeritus (1959). After his retirement, he continued to teach as a visiting professor, first at Michigan State University (1959–60) and then at the University of Minnesota (1963–64).

Friedlander wrote a number of textbooks on social welfare, including *Youth in Distress* (1922) and *Introduction to Social Welfare* (1955). The latter has been republished in five editions, the last in 1980 (with Dr. Robert Apte as co-author). It has been translated into 10 languages and is considered to be the most widely used introductory text in undergraduate colleges and professional schools in the U.S. and abroad. Friedlander also wrote *Individualism and Social Welfare* (1962) and *International Social Welfare* (1975), and edited *Concepts and Methods of Social Work* (1958).

Friedlander was a founder of the International Conference of Social Welfare and was a member of the International Association of Schools of Social Work. He also served as chair of the Commission on International Social Work of the local chapter of the National Association of Social Workers.

Among his many honors, he received a Fullbright Teaching Fellowship at the Free University of West Berlin (1956); he won the Social Worker of the Year Award of the National Association of Social Workers, Golden Gate Chapter (1971); he was awarded the Great Cross of Merit, as well as the Marie Juchacz Medal (1976), from the German Federal Republic, for his contributions to the development of German social services; and he received the Outstanding Social Worker citation of the Oakland (California) City Council (1978). In 1984 Friedlander's friends and colleagues created the Walter Friedlander Fund to Promote Education in International Social Welfare.

[Joseph Neipris / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

FRIEDMAN, BENJAMIN (**Benny**; 1905–1982), U.S. football player. Friedman was born in Cleveland, Ohio, the fourth of six children to Russian immigrants Mimi (Atlevonik) and Lewis, a ladies furrier and tailor. In 1923, he graduated from Glenville High School ranked as its top student, president of his senior class, and was chosen to deliver the commencement address. He starred in football, baseball, and basketball, leading the school to the 1922 Cleveland city championship and to the mythical national high school championship over Chicago's Oak Park High School.

The 5′8″, 172-pound Friedman then starred at the University of Michigan his last two and a half years as the consummate triple threat man – runner, passer, and kicker – who led the team to an 18–3 record in the games he was the starting quarterback. In his junior year the 1925 team outscored its opponents 227–3. The Wolverines finished the season ranked No. 2 in the nation, and Friedman was named a consensus first team All-American. In his senior year Friedman was named team captain, the first Jew to be so honored, as well as Big Ten Most Valuable Player and an All-American.

Friedman began playing professional football upon graduation in 1927, and immediately established himself as the game's first great passer, one who would throw anytime, and anywhere, to anybody. His multiple talents had a singular impact on the evolution of the sport, changing football from a straightforward running contest to the modern pass-and-run game.

Friedman played his first season with the Cleveland Bulldogs, for whom he threw a league-record 11 touchdown passes as a rookie, and while with the Detroit Wolverines the following season, he led the league in scoring, extra points, and rushing – to this day the only player in NFL history ever to lead the league in passing and rushing in a single season. The New York Giants then purchased the entire Detroit franchise in order to acquire the contract of Friedman, paying him a $10,000 salary as the highest-paid player in the pro ranks of his day, when most players were getting $100 a game. Friedman's first season with New York in 1929 saw him throw a record 20 touchdown passes – the next highest total was six – considered one of the greatest feats in NFL history, considering the passing rules in effect at the time and the watermelon shape of the ball. Friedman led the league in passing yards and touchdowns (11, 9, 20, and 13) his first four seasons, he was named All-Pro all four years, and his 66 career TD passes were an NFL record until 1944. He moved from the Giants to the Brooklyn Dodgers in 1932, but only played part-time for two more seasons as he began college coaching, first at Yale, and then from 1934 through 1941 as head football coach at City College of New York, compiling a 27–31–4 record. After serving as a lieutenant commander in the U.S. Navy in WWII, Friedman served as athletic director at Brandeis University from 1949 to 1963, as well as head coach of the school's football team from 1951 through 1959, when they discontinued the sport. His record was 34–32–4.

Ill health late in life left him despondent, and in 1982 he was found in his New York apartment dead of a self-inflicted gunshot wound.

Friedman attributed his good fortune to his mother's faith in Judaism and her practice of putting 18 cents in her *pushke* (charity box) every Saturday on his behalf. Friedman was never injured throughout his high school, college, and pro career. "I never questioned whether it was my ability that kept me aloof from injury. I let it go that it was *chai* working for me."

Friedman was elected as a charter member of the College Football Hall of Fame in 1951, and was elected to the Pro Hall of Fame in 2005. He is the author of *The Passing Game* (1931).

[Elli Wohlgelernter (2nd ed.)]

FRIEDMAN, BRUCE JAY (1930–), U.S. novelist and playwright. Friedman was regarded as one of the leaders of the school of "black humor." He was a frequent contributor to *Esquire*, the *Saturday Evening Post*, and the *New York Times Book Review.* His fiction includes *Stern* (1962), *Far from the City of Class* (1963), *A Mother's Kisses* (1964), *Black Angels* (1966), and *A Father's Kisses* (1996). The last edition of *The Collected Short Fiction of Bruce Jay Friedman* was published in 2000. His first play, the notable comedy *Scuba Duba* (1967), had a long run in New York.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: M. Schulz, *Bruce Jay Friedman* (1974).

FRIEDMAN, DEBORAH LYNN (1951–), singer and songwriter of late 20th century American Jewish liturgical and popular music. Beginning in the early 1970s, Friedman, a native of Utica, N.Y., produced 19 recordings and seven song books of contemporary Hebrew and English music. Her compositions combined traditional Jewish texts and liturgy with newly written lyrics and melodies influenced by both American and Israeli popular music. By the beginning of the 21st century, her liturgical music had "crossed over" from its initial origins in Reform Judaism's youth movement to Conservative and modern Orthodox congregations as well as to educational and camp settings. Many Christian groups also adopted some of her English religious songs. Friedman, who moved to New York City in 1995, gave a concert at Carnegie Hall in 1996 to commemorate 25 years of singing and song writing. Despite a terrible blizzard, thousands turned out to see her performance. That year she also won the Covenant Foundation Award for her impact in Jewish education and the ASCAP Annual Popular Awards.

Friedman's recordings included *Ani Ma'amin* (1976), *If Not Now, When* (1980), *And the Youths Shall See Visions* (1981), *And You Shall Be a Blessing* (1989), *Live at the Dell* (1990), *The World of Your Dreams* (1993), *Renewal of Spirit (1995), Debbie Friedman at Carnegie Hall* (1996), *It's You* (1998), *The Water in the Well* (2001), and *Light These Lights* (2001). Her song *Misheberach*, which she called a "sermon in song," became an anthem of the Jewish healing movement. Friedman's close association with feminist circles involved her in creating songs and settings for traditional and new Passover texts for the *Ma'yan Haggadah,* written in collaboration with Tamar Cohen, for use at women's seders.

Friedman's music caused controversy in the Jewish community. Many standard bearers of *ḥazzanut* opposed the entry of her music into the synagogue, claiming that it, lacked *nusaḥ* or any Jewish rootedness. However, the greater American Jewish community widely recognized her achievements: the National Federation of Temple Youth made her a lifetime member, and she was awarded the Jewish Fund for Justice Woman of Valor Award (1997). She was honored by the Jewish Women's Archive; received the Jewish Cultural Achievement Award in Performing Arts from the National Foundation for Jewish Culture in 2002; and received the Lion of Judah Award in 2004, among many other accolades.

[Judith S. Pinnolis (2nd ed.)]

FRIEDMAN, DÉNES (1903–1944), Hungarian rabbi and scholar. In 1927 he succeeded L. *Venetianer as rabbi of Ujpest, and in 1935 joined the staff of the Budapest rabbinical seminary. While still a student he edited, with D.S. *Loewinger, a manuscript of the *Alphabet of Ben Sira* (in *Ve-Zot li-Yhudah*, 1926). He wrote *A zsidó irodalom főrányai* ("The Main Trends of Jewish Literature," 1928). He prepared *Bibliographie der Schriften Ludwig Blaus* (1926; enlargement of Hg. ed., 1926), and biobibliographies of graduates of the Budapest rabbinical seminary (in *Magyar Zsidó Szemle*, 44 (1927), 340–68). When the Nazis invaded Hungary in 1944, Friedman was deported to his death after witnessing the murder of his only son.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: J. Wassermann (ed.), *Dr. Friedman Dénes irodalmi munkássága* (1943); List of his works; I. Hahn, *Az Országos Rabbiképzö Intézet Évkönyve…* (1946), 23–24.

[Baruch Yaron]

FRIEDMAN, HERBERT A. (1918–), U.S. rabbi, executive chairman of the national United Jewish Appeal for over 20 years. Born in New Haven, Conn., to immigrant parents, Friedman graduated from Yale University (B.A.) in 1938, attended Columbia University Graduate School of Business Administration, and graduated from the Jewish Institute of Religion with a M.H.L. degree. He was ordained as a rabbi in 1944. He served as a chaplain with the Ninth Infantry Division in Germany and after World War II spearheaded efforts to help Jewish survivors of the Nazi death camps, including work with *Beriḥah, while ministering to the needs of American soldiers. Later he served as assistant advisor on Jewish affairs to General Lucius D. Clay, commander of U.S. Occupation Forces in Germany, working with Rabbi Philip *Bernstein. His efforts included a visit to Kielce immediately after the July 4, 1946, pogrom that resulted in the decision to open the American sector to Jews fleeing Poland. During that period, he was secretly recruited into the *Haganah and worked in the *illegal immigration operation called "Aliyah Bet." He was subsequently decorated by the State of Israel for that service.

While serving an anti-Zionist congregation in Denver, he was active in clandestinely securing desperately needed arms for Israel. He was one of the founders of the Israel Bond organization, invited by David Ben-Gurion to the formation meeting in Jerusalem in September 1950. In 1955, he became the executive vice chairman of the UJA national campaign and executive chairman in 1970.

Throughout three decades he was present at critical moments in the life of Jewish communities in many countries: pogroms in Morocco in 1955; flight of Hungarian and Egyptian refugees in 1956; exodus from Romania in 1957. He also studied conditions in Iran, Poland, and Tunisia. Just before the outbreak of the Six-Day War in 1967, he was in Israel for talks with Jewish Agency and government leaders, which resulted in the historic Israel Emergency Fund that raised millions of dollars for Israel in the fearful days preceding the war and the immediate post-war euphoria.

He created the UJA Young Leadership Cabinet, bringing together young men and women from all over the country and instilling within them a philosophy of Judaism and a sense of commitment. He also created a peer network among the most Jewishly philanthropic young Jews. He developed the UJA Overseas Mission concept, which has escorted scores of thousands of American Jews to Israel, and many thousands to the sites of the Nazi camps. He established the Israel Education Fund, which built high schools, libraries, and kindergartens throughout the country. Friedman and his family settled in Jerusalem in 1971.

Upon returning to the U.S. in 1978, Friedman assumed the position of president of the American Friends of Tel Aviv University. At an age when many would retire, he entered an even more creative phase. He was co-founder with Leslie Wexner in 1985 of the Wexner Heritage Foundation, dedicated to the education of leadership groups in Jewish communities throughout the United States, training cadres of young and promising affluent and highly positioned Jews in a two-year seminar in Jewish history and tradition so that they are prepared to assume leadership roles.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: H.A. Friedman, *Roots to the Future* (1999).

[Lori Baron (2nd ed.)]

FRIEDMAN, JACOB (1910–1972), Yiddish poet. Born in Mielnica, Galicia, Friedman lived after World War I in Czernowitz, except for the years 1929–32, which he spent in Warsaw. In 1941 the Romanian authorities deported him to the Bershad camp in Transnistria. Liberated in March 1944, he eventually came to Bucharest and was active in the revival of Jewish cultural life there until 1947. He tried to make his way to Palestine, but reached Israel only in February 1949 after spending a year interned in Cyprus. His poetry, which he began publishing in 1927, is often filled with religious fervor. It acquired new depth due to his experience during and after the Holocaust. His lyrical and dramatic poems, first published in various journals, were included in several collections, among them: *Pastekher in Yisroel* ("Shepherds in Israel," 1953), *Libshaft* ("Love," 1967) and the posthumous *Lider un Poemes* ("Poems," 3 vols., 1974); four volumes appeared in Hebrew translation (1970, 1972, 1977, 1983).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: S. Bickel, *Shrayber fun Mayn Dor* (1958), 175–81. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** LNYL, 7 (1968), 478–80; E. Sela-Saldinger, *A Torn Chord Trembling in the Dark*, 2 vols. (1996); idem, *From Transnistria to Israel* (2003).

FRIEDMAN, JEROME ISAAC (1930–), physicist. Friedman studied at the University of Chicago from which he received his A.B. (1950), his M.A. (1953), and his Ph.D. (1956) in physics. After working as a research associate there and at Stanford University, he joined the faculty of MIT in 1960, becoming a professor in 1967 and an institute professor in 1991. At MIT he was also the director of the laboratory for nuclear science (1980–83) and head of the physics department (1983–88). In addition, he served as president of the American Physical Society in 1999. He was co-recipient of the 1990 Nobel Prize in physics with Richard Taylor and Henry Kendall for work they had done at the Stanford Linear Acceleration Center 1967–73, which showed that protons and neutrons were composed of quarks rather than being fundamental particles. In doing so, they also proved the existence of quarks which had been regarded until then as theoretical and highly implausible by most of the physics community. Their work also established the experimental foundations for the development of quantum chromodynamics, the theory of the so-called strong force, which is responsible for binding quarks together to form all hadronic matter.

FRIEDMAN, KINKY (**Richard F.**; 1944–), U.S. country singer, novelist, political activist. Friedman was born in Chicago to Minnie and Tom, who had flown 35 bombing missions over Germany during World War II. The family moved to Texas, where Friedman's father was a speech therapist and an educational psychology professor at the University of Texas. The Friedmans also ran their own summer camp for children in the Texas hill country, called Echo Hill Ranch. It was there that young Richard Friedman began life as an entertainer, originating ideas for comedy routines on camp skit nights, and writing the winning songs for bunk song night.

Friedman founded his first band while at the University of Texas, King Arthur & the Carrots, a group that poked fun at surf music and recorded one single, "Schwinn 24" / "Beach Party Boo Boo" in 1966. After graduation, Friedman served in the Peace Corps from 1966 to 1968 in the jungles of Borneo.

In 1971, Friedman founded his second band, Kinky Friedman & the Texas Jewboys, an irreverent group reflected in their name as well as in their songs, which included "The Ballad of Charles Whitman," about the Texas sniper; satirical responses to antisemitism called "We Reserve the Right To Refuse Service To You" and "They Ain't Making Jews Like Jesus Anymore"; "Ride 'Em Jewboy," the only country song written about the Holocaust; and the politically incorrect, "Get Your Biscuits in the Oven & Your Buns in the Bed." Many Jewish-owned chain stores thought the name of the band was antisemitic or self-hating, and refused to carry the group's first album, *Sold American.* The group also elicited bomb threats from the Jewish Defense League.

In 1976, Friedman and his band toured with Bob Dylan & the Rolling Thunder Revue. That same year he made his third album, *Lasso from El Paso*, featuring Dylan and Eric Clapton. Three years later the Texas Jewboys disbanded and Friedman moved to New York, where he often appeared solo at the Lone Star Café sporting a yellow Star of David on his guitar strap. He also began writing mystery thrillers, featuring a Jewish country singer turned Greenwich Village private eye named Kinky Friedman, who, like his creator, always wore a black Stetson and smoked Cuban cigars. To everyone's surprise, Friedman's fiction was well received and a new career was born, resulting in 17 books in the detective series and five million books sold – including *Greenwich Killing Time* (1986), *Elvis, Jesus and Coca-Cola* (1993), *God Bless John Wayne* (1995), and *The Mile High Club* (2000); a non-fiction work, *Kinky Friedman's Guide to Texas Etiquette: Or How to Get to Heaven or Hell Without Going Through Dallas-Fort Worth* (2001); and a novel, *Ten Little New Yorkers* (2005), which Friedman announced would be his final literary effort.

In 1999, singers Willie Nelson, Dwight Yoakam, Tom Waits, and Lyle Lovett covered Friedman's music on the tribute album, *Pearls in the Snow: The Songs of Kinky Friedman.* In 2002 a documentary was made about Friedman by Simone de Vries called *Proud to Be an Asshole from El Paso.*

In March 2005, Friedman announced his independent candidacy for governor of Texas in 2006, with slogans such as "How Hard Could It Be?" and "Why the Hell Not?" and a campaign promise: "If you elect me the first Jewish governor, I'll reduce the speed limit to 54.95."

[Elli Wohlgelernter (2nd ed.)]

FRIEDMAN, LEE MAX (1871–1957), U.S. lawyer, historian, and patron of learning. Friedman was born in Memphis, Tennessee, of German Jewish descent. He became a noted trial attorney in Boston and a teacher and scholar of law. He was vice president and professor of law at Portia Law School, Boston, contributing learned articles to law journals. Friedman was deeply interested in American Jewish history, and in 1903 he began his association with the American Jewish Historical Society, eventually serving as president (1948–53) and honorary president (1953–57). In 1905 he was chairman of the celebration in Boston of the 250th anniversary of Jewish settlement in the United States, and half a century later he was the main speaker at Symphony Hall, Boston, on the occasion of the tercentenary. As a historian, Friedman contributed many articles and notes to the *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society*, covering a wide range of subjects that included Judah Monis, Cotton Mather, and Aaron Lopez. The volumes he published in the field of Jewish history included some of European Jewish interest: *Robert Grosseteste and the Jews* (1934), and *Zola and the Dreyfus Case: His Defense of Liberty and Its Enduring Significance* (1937); and others on American Jewish themes: *Early American Jews* (1934), *Rabbi Haim Isaac Carigal: His Newport Sermon and His Yale Portrait* (1940), *Jewish Pioneers and Patriots* (1942), and *Pilgrims in a New Land* (1948). He presented books and manuscripts to the American Jewish Historical Society, and a bequest in his will enabled the Society to establish its own headquarters adjoining Brandeis University.

Friedman's approach to cultural, philanthropic, civic, and communal endeavors was conservative. He served in leading positions with the Boston Art Museum, Harvard College Library, General Theological Library, and Boston Public Library. He was active in Boston Jewish life and was prominent in such national bodies as the Union of American Hebrew Congregations and the World Union for Progressive Judaism.

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[Isidore S. Meyer]

FRIEDMAN, MILTON (1912–), U.S. economist. Friedman, who was born in Rahway, New Jersey, received his B.A. from Rutgers University in 1932, his M.A. from the University of Chicago in 1933, and his Ph.D. from Columbia University in 1946. He began working for the U.S. government in 1935 and taught at several American universities before becoming professor of economics at the University of Chicago (1946–76). There, he acquired an international reputation and served as consultant to national and international institutions. He also acted as adviser to President Nixon. Friedman became the leader of the "Chicago school" of economic thought, opposed to those following the generally accepted theories of John Maynard Keynes. He argued that the U.S. government relied too much on changes in taxation and government spending instead of controlling the money supply, in order to regulate the economy. In addition, he maintained that the

U.S. Federal Reserve Board repeatedly erred in the rate at which it changed the money supply and, as a result, intensified the fluctuations in economic growth. Friedman favored a simplified taxation system, floating exchange rates, and the demonetization of gold. He also advocated the abolition of the social welfare system, which he considered paternalistic, ineffective, and inefficient. In its place he wanted a "negative income tax," which would provide ready cash for the poor to pay for their basic needs.

Friedman was awarded the Nobel Prize for economics in 1976 for "his achievements in the field of consumption analysis, monetary history and theory, and for his demonstration of the complexity of stabilization policy." By that time he had become one of the most influential and high-profile economic theorists of his day. His theory of monetarism – which related increases in the money supply to inflation – was adopted by the English Conservative party under Margaret Thatcher, which followed his prescriptions for reducing the money supply during the early years of the 1980s.

Friedman was a member of the research staff of the National Bureau of Economic Research (1937–81). He also served on the President's Economic Policy Advisory Board during President *Reagan's administration in the 1980s.

After retiring from the University of Chicago in 1977, Friedman became Paul Snowden Russell Distinguished Service Professor Emeritus of Economics at the University of Chicago and a senior research fellow at the Hoover Institution at Stanford University. In 2002 the Cato Institute in Washington established the Milton Friedman Prize for Advancing Liberty, a cash prize awarded every second year to a person who has made a significant contribution to the advancement of freedom.

A prolific writer, Friedman was the author of *A Monetary History of the United States* (1963; with Anna Schwarz), a major work on economic history in which he showed that declines in the supply of money have led to nearly every recession in the U.S. economy in the last hundred years. Among his other writings are *A Theory of Consumption Function* (1957), *A Program for Monetary Stability* (1960), *Price Theory* (1962), *Essays in Positive Economics* (1966), *Capitalism and Freedom* (1967), *A Theoretical Framework for Monetary Analysis* (1971), *There's No Such Thing as a Free Lunch* (1975), *Tax Limitation, Inflation and the Role of Government* (1978), *Bright Promises, Dismal Performance: An Economist's Protest* (1983), *The Essence of Friedman* (with K. Leube, ed., 1992), *Why Government Is the Problem* (1993), *Foreign Economic Aid: Means and Objectives* (1995), *A Choice for Our Children: Curing the Crisis in America's Schools* (with A. Bonsteel and S. Sugarman, 1997), and *Two Lucky People: Memoirs* (with Rose Friedman, 1998).

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[Joachim O. Ronall and Rohan Saxena / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

FRIEDMAN, NAPHTALI (1863–1921), Jewish deputy to the Russian *Duma (parliament). Born in Shaulai (Shavli), Lithuania, after graduating in law at the University of St. Petersburg Friedman practiced in Ponevezh, Lithuania. In 1907 he was elected to the Third Duma for the district of Kovno. He joined the Kadets (Russian Constitutional Democratic Party), taking an active part in the committees of the Duma, and with the other Jewish delegate L. *Nisselovich several times defended the Jews from attacks by the antisemitic deputies. Many Jews and non-Jews were impressed by his defense of the Jewish victims of the pogroms at the end of the 1880s. Friedman was also elected to the Fourth Duma (1912) where he continued to represent the interests of Russian Jewry with the two other Jewish delegates, M. Bomash and E. Gurewich. After the outbreak of World War I, Friedman joined with the representatives of the other national minorities in declaring that the Jews were ready to fight alongside the rest of the Russian peoples for victory. Friedman combated the allegations of Jewish treason trumped up by military circles in an attempt to cover up their defeats at the front. After the February Revolution of 1917 he cooperated for a while with the provisional government, but after the October Revolution he returned to Lithuania and practiced law in Panevezys. He was elected to the founding Parliament of independent Lithuania. He died in a health resort in Germany.

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[Yehuda Slutsky / Shmuel Spector (2nd ed.)]

FRIEDMAN, PHILIP (1901–1960), Polish-Jewish historian. Friedman studied at the universities of Lvov and Vienna, and obtained his doctorate for a thesis on *Die Galizischen Juden im Kampfe um ihre Gleichberechtigung (1848–1868)*, 1929. In further research on the history of Polish Jewry, mainly in the 19th century, Friedman described changes in the economic structure and the growth of the great Jewish center at Lodz. He took part in editing periodicals in Hebrew, Yiddish, and Polish, and contributed to *Miesiecznik Żydowski* ("The Jewish Monthly"). Friedman published Hebrew textbooks for Jewish high schools, and taught Jewish history at the Jewish High School in Lodz and at the Institute of Jewish Studies in Warsaw. During World War II he went into hiding in Lvov. After the liberation, Friedman moved to Lublin, where he organized the Central Jewish Historical Commission, later the Jewish Historical Institute, in Warsaw, which undertook extensive documentation on the fate of Polish Jewry. In 1946 Friedman was appointed to organize an educational project for the Holocaust survivors in the American zone of occupation in Germany. In 1948, after the displaced persons camps were closed, Friedman immigrated to the United States, where he directed the Jewish Teachers' Institute in New York. He also lectured on Jewish history at Columbia University. Friedman was a member of the YIVO staff and director of the bibliographical series of the Joint Documentary Projects of YIVO and Yad Vashem. Almost all Friedman's postwar publications dealt with the Holocaust period, on which he became a leading expert. His writings up to 1955 are listed in *Writings of Philip Friedman. A Bibliography* (1955). His later works include *Martyrs and Fighters* (1954), a collection of sources on the Warsaw Ghetto uprising; and *Their Brothers' Keepers* (1957), about non-Jews who saved Jewish lives in occupied countries. The bibliographies of the Holocaust which he edited are *Guide to Jewish History under Nazi Impact* (coeditor J. Robinson, 1960), *Bibliography of Books in Hebrew on the Jewish Catastrophe and Heroism in Europe* (1960), and *Bibliography of Yiddish Books on the Catastrophe and Heroism* (coeditor J. Gar, 1962).

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[Shaul Esh]

FRIEDMAN, SHAMMA (1937–), Talmud scholar. His publications over several decades constitute an important contribution to our understanding of the Babylonian Talmud and related literature. He was the first to provide clear and objective criteria for differentiating between different literary and historical strata within the text of the Babylonian Talmud, subsequently applying these criteria systematically in the form of a continuous commentary to an entire chapter of the Babylonian Talmud (Yevamot X, with a General Introduction to the Critical Study of the Talmudic Sugya (1978)). The insight that many of the difficulties which have baffled generations of interpreters of the Talmud are rooted in the tensions which exist between these different literary and historical levels led Friedman to a more fundamental and (for some) revolutionary conclusion: that these tensions and difficulties are not the result of errors in transmission, or confusion in the interpretation of earlier tradition, but rather the result of a conscious process of synthetic creative reinterpretation which inheres in every level of talmudic literature, from the earliest tannaitic sources, through the statements of the amoraim, and down to the latest commentaries and additions of the savoraim. While continuing to develop and refine the methodolgy for analyzing and interpreting the different redactional levels within the talmudic text, Friedman went on to apply the notions of "development" and "evolution" to two other scholarly issues: the origin and significance of variant readings (especially in the manuscript tradition of the Babylonian Talmud), and the so-called "synoptic problem," i.e., the existence of and relation among alternative versions of a given textual tradition preserved in different talmudic and midrashic works. The notion that later talmudic sages often self-consciously reinterpreted and reformulated earlier versions of a given tradition has proved to be a powerful tool in solving many formerly intractable problems in the history of talmudic halakhah and aggadah. In addition to the many scholarly articles in which these ideas and methods were developed – including numerous studies in the field of Hebrew and Aramaic linguistics – Friedman's major publications in recent years have included *Talmud Arukh, Bava Metzi'a vi: Critical Edition with Comprehensive Commentary* (1990 and 1996), published by JTS press, and *Tosefta Atikta, Synoptic Parallels of Mishna and Tosefta Analyzed, with a Methodological Introduction* (2002), published by Bar-Ilan University.

The comprehensive critical methodology which has emerged from Friedman's literary efforts has provided the foundation for a number of important scholarly projects in which he has played a leading role. In 1985, Friedman founded the Saul Lieberman Institute of Talmudic Research at the Jewish Theological Seminary of America, which encourages innovative Talmud scholarship and provides sophisticated tools for its implementation. The Institute today, under Friedman's direction, distributes a computerized database containing the text of almost all surviving Talmud manuscripts, first printed editions and fragments, as well as a computerized page-by-page bibliography of hundreds of books dealing with talmudic literature. The product of decades of work, these resources are aimed at opening new horizons in the field of Talmud Study. In the early 1990s, Friedman established the Society for the Interpretation of the Talmud, a collaborative venture in which a group of scholars has undertaken the preparation of an edition of the Babylonian Talmud with commentary based on scholarly standards and aimed to a wide reading audience. A preliminary volume containing representative analyses of selected talmudic sugyot (*Five Sugyot from the Babylonian Talmud*) was published in 2002, and the first three volumes covering entire chapters of the Talmud are currently in the press, with preparations for more extensive publications well under way. Friedman also directs an Internet site at Bar Ilan University (developed together with Prof. Leib Moscovitz) devoted to bringing together all the primary textual witnesses of Tannaitic literature, with Tosefta and halakhic midrashim currently represented.

Friedman is the Benjamin and Minna Reeves Professor of Talmud and Rabbinics at the Jewish Theological Seminary and teaches in the Talmud Department at Bar Ilan University. He was born in Philadelphia in 1937 and settled in Jerusalem in 1973. He has held a variety of positions at the Seminary, including acting librarian, and editor of Hebrew publications of the Schocken Institute. During the 1970s and 1980s, Friedman was the dean and director of JTS's Jerusalem campus, now known as the Schechter Institute of Jewish Studies, where he teaches. In addition to his professorship at JTS and Bar Ilan, Friedman has taught at several universities, including Harvard, the Hebrew University, and Tel Aviv University, and has sponsored more than 25 graduate students in advanced degrees. He was elected to the Israel Academy of the Hebrew Language and the American Academy of Jewish Research, is Talmud division editor of the *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, and is a member of the editorial board of *Jewish Studies*, an Internet journal.

[Stephen G. Wald (2nd ed)]

FRIEDMAN, THEODORE (1908–1992), U.S. Conservative rabbi and scholar. Friedman was born in Stamford, Conn. He was a graduate of the City College of New York (1929) and was ordained at the Jewish Theological Seminary (1931). He received his Ph.D. two decades later from Columbia University (1952). As was common in the rabbinate of his day, Friedman moved from congregation to congregation before finding his permanent prestigious pulpit. He served as rabbi of Beth El in North Bergen, N.J. (1931–42), Beth David in Bufflalo (1942–44), the Jewish Center of Jackson Heights, N.Y., during 1944–54, and from 1954 until his retirement in 1970 of Beth El of South Orange, N.J., then a growing suburb of Newark during the first great wave of suburbanization. He then moved to Jerusalem. A leader of the centrist group within Conservative Judaism, which advocates controlled change within Jewish law, Friedman served as chairman of the Law Committee, where he worked with the Jewish Theological Seminary on solving the problem of the **agunah.* The result was a joint Law Conference of the Seminary. He was co-chair of the Steering Committee and secretary of its *bet din* and of the Rabbinical Assembly for matters dealing with marriage and divorce and was president of the Rabbinical Assembly in 1962–64. During turbulent times he embraced the cause of civil rights and was an early participant in the effort to rescue Soviet Jewry. He coauthored with Morris *Adler and Jacob *Agus the responsum permitting the use of electricity on the Sabbath and allowing congregants to drive to synagogue on the Sabbath.

He was managing editor of *Judaism*, a journal of Jewish thought, during 1953–61. He was coeditor with Robert Gordis of *Jewish Life in America* (1955), and wrote *Letters to Jewish College Students* (1965), relating Jewish teachings to the concerns of contemporary college students, and of *Judgment and Destiny* (1956), sermons. From Jerusalem, he wrote a "Letter from Jerusalem" published in *Conservative Judaism.*

[Jack Reimer / Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)

FRIEDMAN, THOMAS L. (1953–), U.S. journalist. Born in Minneapolis, Minn., Friedman earned a bachelor's degree summa cum laude from Brandeis University with a specialty in Mediterranean studies, which helped prepare him for a career in writing and reporting on foreign affairs. He became known for advocating a compromise peace between Israel and the Palestinians, for modernization of the Arab world, and for globalization and laissez-faire capitalism.

During his undergraduate years, Friedman spent semesters abroad at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem and the American University in Cairo. He then attended St. Antony's College, Oxford University, on a Marshall scholarship and received a master's degree in modern Middle East studies. He joined the London bureau of United Press International and spent a year there as a general assignment reporter before being assigned to Beirut. He reported from Beirut from 1979 to 1981, and then was hired by the *New York Times*, which sent him to Beirut as bureau chief in 1982, six weeks before the Israeli invasion. Fluent in Arabic and Hebrew, he reported extensively on the war and won the Pulitzer Prize for international reporting, particularly for his articles on the Sabra and Shatilla massacres. In June 1984 Friedman became the *Times*'s bureau chief in Israel, the first Jew to serve in that position, and worked in Jerusalem until 1988. He won another Pulitzer Prize for his reporting of the first Palestinian Intifada. He chronicled his assignment in the Middle East in the book *From Beirut to Jerusalem*, published in 1989. It was on the *New York Times* bestseller list for nearly 12 months and won the National Book Award for nonfiction and the Overseas Press Club Award for Best Book on Foreign Policy. The book has been published in 10 languages, including Japanese and Chinese, and is used as a basic textbook on the Middle East in many high schools and universities. Friedman has been attacked by right-wing Jewish organzations and individuals for his reporting from Beirut and for his support of a two-state solution a decade before the Oslo agreements. Given his background and his manifest commitments to Judaism and to Israel, they had considerable difficulty portraying him as a self-hating Jew, however much they tried.

In January 1989 Friedman was posted to Washington as the *Times*'s chief diplomatic correspondent. For the next four years he traveled 500,000 miles, covering Secretary of State James A. Baker and the end of the Cold War. When Bill Clinton became president, he was named White House correspondent and in 1994 his assignment became the intersection of foreign policy and economics. In 1995 he became a foreign affairs columnist for *The Times*.

Initially, Friedman focused on the intersection of globalization and finance, and summarized his views in *The Lexus and the Olive Tree* (1999). It, too, became a bestseller. The two objects in the title symbolized the interaction between globalization and local tradition. The book also discussed the role of new technology in reshaping global politics and argued that nations must sacrifice a degree of economic sovereignty to institutions like the International Monetary Fund to achieve Western-style prosperity. After the attacks of September 11, 2001, Friedman's columns concentrated on the threat of terrorism, and he won the 2002 Pulitzer Prize for commentary. He supported the invasion of Iraq in 2003, although he had grave misgivings about the way the Bush administration waged it. Friedman also wrote *Longitudes and Attitudes* (2002) and *The World is Flat* (2005).

When the *Times* developed a television channel, it engaged Friedman to draw on his extensive contacts to report and write documentaries about the Middle East and other parts of the world. As such, he became a familiar figure in American homes. He also appeared frequently on television panels and spoke often at colleges and public forums. He was a member of the board of trustees of Brandeis and of the advisory board of the Marshall Scholarship Commission.

[Stewart Kampel (2nd ed.)]

FRIEDMANN, ABRAHAM (d. 1879), chief rabbi of Transylvania. Among the first rabbis there to introduce the preaching of sermons in the synagogue in Hungarian, he encountered strong opposition from Orthodox rabbis. When officiating in Simánd (province of Arad) in 1845 he preached in Hungarian on the occasion of the birthday of King Ferdinand I. The address, entitled *Egyházi beszéd*, was published the same year. Previously Friedmann published a pamphlet, also in Hungarian, in defense of Jewish rights entitled *Az izraelita nemzetnek védelmére* (1844). In 1845 the council of electors of the Jews of Transylvania, convened by the Catholic bishop of *Alba-Iulia, elected him chief rabbi of the grand principality. He subsequently settled in the capital, Alba-Iulia. During his period of office he also played a political role as representative of Transylvanian Jewry and became involved in bitter disputes and polemics. In 1872 his opponents obtained his removal from office. He was the last chief rabbi to hold office for the whole of Transylvania. One of his main opponents was Hillel *Lichtenstein.

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[Yehouda Marton]

FRIEDMANN, ARON (1855–1936), German *ḥazzan*. Born in Szaki, Lithuania, Friedmann studied in Berlin and in 1882 was appointed chief *ḥazzan* of the Old Synagogue of the Berlin community, a post he held until 1923. He received the title of Koeniglicher Musikdirektor, Royal Academy of Art, Berlin, 1907. In 1901, he published *Shir li-Shelomoh*, a collection of cantorial music in traditional style for the prayers of the year. He also wrote *Der synagogale Gesang* (1904) and *Lebensbilder beruehmter Kantoren* (3 vols., 1918–27), containing biographies of 19th-century *ḥazzanim*.

FRIEDMANN, DANIEL (1936–), Israeli professor of law. Born in Israel, Friedman studied law at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem prior to his army service. He is a professor of law at Tel Aviv University, where he was also dean of the Law Faculty, 1974–78. Friedmann was a member of the Commission of Inquiry (chaired by Justice M. Beiski) appointed by the president of the Supreme Court to investigate the price manipulation of bank shares. He as a member of a number of legislative advisory committees and the Advisory Committee for the Codification of Civil Law in Israel (chaired by Chief Justice A. *Barak) appointed by the minister of justice. He also served as an adviser to the Restatement (Third) of the Law of Restitution. Friedmann participated in the establishment of the Cegla Institute for Comparative and Private International Law at Tel Aviv University and was its first director. He also participated in establishing the Law School of the College of Management and was its first dean. He published numerous books on various spheres of law: insurance, contract, damages, and other topics. In 1991 he received the Israel Prize for social sciences.

FRIEDMANN, DAVID ARYEH (1889–1957), Hebrew critic and editor. After studying medicine at Moscow University, he emigrated in 1925 to Palestine, where he was a practicing ophthalmologist and active member of the medical association. Friedmann wrote many articles in the Hebrew press on medicine, literature, and the arts, most of which were published posthumously in two volumes: *Iyyunei Shirah* (1964), and *Iyyunei Prozah* (1966). He was an editor of Ayanot Publishing Co. as well as of *En Hakore* (1923); he also edited the Medical Association's journal, *Ha-Refu'ah,* from 1929.

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[Getzel Kressel]

FRIEDMANN, DAVID BEN SAMUEL (also called **"Dovidel" Karliner**; 1828–1917), Lithuanian rabbi and *posek*. Friedmann was born in Biala and lived for a time in Brest-Litovsk after 1836. On the advice of Leib Katzenellenbogen he moved to Kamenets-Litovsk where he studied under the supervision of his older brother Joseph until 1841. In that year he made the acquaintance of the philanthropist Shemariah Luria of Mohilev, who entrusted to him the education of his brother-in-law Zalman Rivlin of Shklov. Friedmann later married Luria's daughter. From 1846 to 1866 he devoted himself to concentrated study in the house of his father-in-law, where he compiled his *Piskei Halakhot*. After the death of his father-in-law in 1866 he accepted the rabbinate of Karlin near Pinsk (in 1868) where he remained until his death.

Friedmann's renown rests upon his *Piskei Halakhot* (pt. 1, 1898; pt. 2, 1901), an exposition and summary of matrimonial law, with a commentary entitled *Yad David*, an appendix entitled *She'ilat David* containing responsa on the laws of *mikva'ot ("ritual baths"). The text of the *Piskei Halakhot* follows that of Maimonides. In his comprehensive exposition, Friedmann endeavors to establish clear-cut decisions. His work is distinguished by the fact that he relies to an overwhelming extent on the Babylonian and Jerusalem Talmuds and on the *rishonim, disregarding the *aḥaronim. He eschewed casuistry and tried to penetrate to the essence of the *halakhah* by a logical approach. Among the rabbis who turned to him with their problems were Menahem Mendel *Schneersohn, the head of the Lubavitch (Chabad) dynasty, and David *Luria. When religious extremists in Jerusalem excommunicated the *bet midrash* of his brother-in-law, Jehiel Michael *Pines, because he supported the establishment in Jerusalem of an orphanage "where they would also learn a foreign language," Friedmann attacked them in his *Emek Berakhah* (1881). It consists of four essays in which he discusses the question of a ban and the regulations and conditions under which it should be imposed, emphasizing that a handful of rabbis of Jerusalem had no right to impose such a ban. Pines wrote a long introduction to the book. Even though he tended to view with favor secular knowledge and the study of languages, Friedmann was opposed to compromise with regard to Torah education and the character of the traditional *ḥeder* and in 1913 vehemently opposed the plan of the society Mefiẓei Haskalah be-Rusyah ("Disseminators of Secular Education in Russia") to change the accepted curriculum of the *ḥeder.*

During a certain period of his life, Friedmann participated actively in the Ḥibbat Zion movement. From 1863 he published articles in the *Levanon* which reflect his favorable attitude towards this movement, and he thus influenced many observant Jews to join it. He debated with Ẓ.H. *Kalischer on the problems of the movement and, together with L. *Pinsker and Samuel *Mohilever, participated in the *Kattowitz conference of 1885 as a delegate of the Pinsk branch of the Ḥovevei Zion. In a letter to A.J. Slucki he stressed that the noble idea of the nationalist movement deserves to become dear to "our brethren who are anxious for the word of God," and he testifies of himself that "the fire of love for our holy land burns in my heart" (ed. by A.J. Slucki, *Shivat Ẓiyyon*, 1 (1891), 18–19. In the course of time, however, he changed his attitude and following the decision of Zionist parties to include national secular education among their activities became an opponent of the Zionist idea. His grandson SHMUEL ELIASHIV (Friedmann, 1899–1955), jurist and author, served as first ambassador of the State of Israel to the U.S.S.R.

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[Yehoshua Horowitz]

FRIEDMANN, DESIDER (1880–1944), lawyer and Zionist leader. Born in Boskovice, Moravia, he was an active Zionist from 1898. When Vienna became the first great Jewish community in the West with a Zionist majority, Friedmann was elected vice president of its Israelitische Kultusgemeinde (Jewish community; 1920–24) and from January 1933 its president. In May 1934 Friedmann was appointed a member of the Austrian Council of State (*Staatsrat*). He was a courageous fighter for Jewish rights and enlarged the cultural, educational, and social activities of the Kultusgemeinde. The Austrian chancellor Schuschnigg dispatched him abroad in 1938, a few weeks before the annexation of Austria to Nazi Germany (the *Anschluss*), to negotiate support for Austrian currency. Immediately after the *Anschluss*, the Nazis arrested him, allegedly for his financial aid to the Schuschnigg government. On April 1, 1938, he was deported to the Dachau concentration camp with the so-called *Prominententransport* (transport of prominent people) and later to other concentration camps. In the autumn of 1944 he, his wife, and other Zionist leaders of Vienna were transferred from Theresienstadt to the gas chambers at Auschwitz.

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[Josef Fraenkel / Bjoern Siegel (2nd ed.)]

FRIEDMANN, GEORGES (1902–1977), French sociologist, born in Paris, educated at the Ecole Normale Supérieure and the University of Paris. During World War II he organized the resistance movement in the Toulouse region. Friedmann, an expert in vocational education and the sociology of work and industry, was appointed inspector general of technical education in France in 1945 and participated in the work of the commission for educational reform. Friedmann became professor for the history of labor at the Conservatoire des Arts et des Métiers in 1946 and director of studies at the Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes at the Sorbonne in 1948; he was administrator of the Centre d'Etudes Sociologiques, 1949–51. In 1956 he was president of the International Sociological Association. His position in industrial sociology is that the psycho-physiological problems of labor in industry must be considered not only within the individual enterprise, but also in the context of the larger social structure and cannot be solved without comprehensive changes in the social order. Among his major works are *Problémes du machinisme en U.R.S.S. et dans les pays capitalistes* (1934), *La crise du progrès: Esquisse d'histoire des idées (1895–1935)* (1936), *De la Sainte Russie à l'U.R.S.S.* (1938), *Leibniz et Spinoza* (1946), *Les problèmes humains du machinisme industriel* (1946), *Humanisme du travail et humanités* (1950), *Où va le travail humain?* (1951), and *Le travail en miettes; spécialisation et loisirs* (1956). Friedmann was editor and coeditor of *L'Homme et la machine and of Annales des Economies, Sociétés, Civilisations* and author of numerous articles on human and technological problems in industrial development. Several of his works were translated into English and German. In 1965, after an extended stay in Israel, Friedmann published *La Fin du peuple Juif*? (1965; *The End of the Jewish People*?, 1967). In this book he dealt with the present problems and future prospects of the State of Israel and the Jewish people. He held that the decline of religious orthodoxy, the growth of cultural assimilation in Israel and elsewhere, and the rise of a secular Israel nationalism will endanger the continued existence of the Jewish people in the Diaspora, as well as the Jewishness of Israelis.

[Werner J. Cahnman]

FRIEDMANN, JANE (1931–), Swedish actress. She appeared in Stockholm at Dramatiska Teatern, the national theater of Sweden, and at the Stockholm City Theater. Her first great success was in the title role of *The Diary of Anne Frank* (1956). She also acted in *L'Ecole des femmes* by Molière; *Three Knives from Wei*, a Chinese story by the Swedish poet, Harry Martinson; and the modern English polemical play *Oh, What a Lovely War!* (1963). She also has a number of contemporary Swedish roles to her credit, such as in *Between the Summers* (1995) and *The Prompter* (1999).

FRIEDMANN, MEIR (pen name **Ish-Shalom**; 1831–1908), rabbinic scholar. Friedmann was born in Horost, Slovakia. From 1843 to 1848 he studied in Ungvar at the yeshivah of his relative Meir Asch. Between 1848 and 1858 he underwent several crises and changes. Successively, he lived as an ascetic Ḥasid preparing for immigration to Ereẓ Israel, temporarily came under the influence of the Haskalah, returned to the study of the Talmud and was ordained, married, and became a farmer; his wife died, he was impoverished, and he became a *maggid*. In 1858 he settled in Vienna and attended the university as a non-matriculated student. From 1864 on he served as librarian, Bible teacher to adults, and Talmud teacher to the young at the *bet midrash* in Vienna. After 1894 he also taught at the rabbinical seminary there. Among his students were V. *Aptowitzer, Z.P. *Chajes, and S. *Schechter.

In his lifetime Friedmann was known for his studies of and lectures on *aggadah*, and even earned the title *mara de-aggadeta* ("master of *aggadah*"). His most important contributions are concerned with the halakhic Midrashim. He discovered lost sources, determined correct versions, and illuminated difficult passages; his writing is exceptionally erudite, profound, logical, and elegant of expression. His influence on Jewish scholarship was considerable. Many of the commentaries and interpretations of later talmudic scholars and researchers originated in his work. Friedmann maintained that "the Talmud is the foundation of Judaism and whoever abandons it is abandoning life"; this conviction affected all his creative work and activities. At the height of the Haskalah Friedmann was calling for traditional education, even drawing up plans for traditional Jewish secondary schools and universities. He was also active in the Zionist movement and founded the Association for the Dissemination of the Hebrew Language.

Friedmann edited midrashic texts with introductions and commentaries, the commentaries entitled *Me'ir Ayin*. The halakhic Midrashim include *Mekhilta* (1870), *Baraita de-Melekhet ha-Mishkan* (1908), and *Sifrei* (1864); a part of the *Sifra*, which he had begun editing, was published posthumously (1915). He published *Pesikta Rabbati* (1880) and *Tanna de-vei Eliyahu* (1902), aggadic texts; *Talmud Bavli: Massekhet Makkot* (1888) with a short interpretation as an example of a scientific edition of the Talmud; and a pamphlet about translating the Talmud, *Davar al Odot ha-Talmud* (1885). He published many works on the literature of *halakhah* and *aggadah*, its characteristics and principles, as well as books and articles on other Jewish subjects, including Bible, particularly commentaries on the Pentateuch, Judges, Samuel, Isaiah, Hosea, and Psalms; and the Targums of Onkelos and Aquila; the Holy Land; and Jewish prayer and poetry. He produced a number of sample textbooks on the Talmud and Mishnah for schools, and several of his lectures and sermons were published, although most of them can only be found incorporated into the works of his contemporaries. With I.H. Weiss Friedmann edited the periodical *Beit ha-Talmud* (1881–89). Most of his articles appeared in that and other publications under his pen name "Ish Shalom."

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[Binyamin Zeev Benedikt]

FRIEDMANN, MORITZ (1823–1891), Hungarian *ḥazzan*. Born in Hraboc, Friedmann was a noted boy soprano. When he went to Budapest as a youth, the *ḥazzan* David Broder accepted him in his choir. Later he went to Oedenburg (Sopron) and obtained a post as assistant cantor and Hebrew teacher in a nearby congregation. In 1857 he was appointed chief *ḥazzan* in Budapest, where he conducted services in the *Sulzer style, with a large choir and set psalms and prayers to music for solo and choir. His collection of Jewish synagogue songs, *Izráelita vallásos énekek…* (1875), was used in the synagogues of most Hungarian communities. He also edited the paper *Ungarische Israelitische Kultusbeamtenzeitung* (1883–97), in which he published articles on cantorial music.

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[Joshua Leib Ne'eman]

FRIEDMANN, PAUL (1840–?), philanthropist and author, initiator of a settlement scheme for Jews in Midian. A Protestant of Jewish descent, Friedmann was born in Koenigsberg, Prussia, but the place and year of his death are unknown. After accumulating a vast fortune, he traveled over Europe to gather material for his works, *Les Dépêches de G. Michiel, Ambassadeur de Venise en Angleterre pendant les années 1554 à 1557* (1896) and *Anne Boleyn – A Chapter of English History 1527–1535*, 2 vols. (1885^2). In 1891 he privately published *Das Land Madian* (Arabic for Midian), in which he described the possibilities of colonizing this land without mentioning Jews as the prospective settlers. Influenced by the Russian pogroms of the 1880s, he envisioned the unpopulated land of Midian as a haven for the victims of such persecution, and ultimately even as a Jewish state. With the assent of Sir Evelyn Baring (later Lord Cromer), Britain's representative in *Egypt, Friedmann opened negotiations with the British authorities. He simultaneously set out to enlist the first settlers and was finally able to persuade a group of 17 men, 6 women, and 4 children from Austrian Galicia to join his expedition. He acquired a yacht, which he called "*Israel*," that reached Suez on December 1, 1893, with a total of 46 persons. The Prussian officer in command exercised strictest discipline, which proved unbearable, and 18 persons left the group. After one of them was found dead in the Sinai desert, Friedmann was blamed for the "murder." Leaving the women and children in *Cairo, the group finally reached the Sinai Peninsula and prepared to cross the Red Sea to Midian. News reached them, however, that the Turks had occupied the Midianite city of Dhaba and that in accordance with Turkish law no non-

Muslim was permitted to settle in this area, which is part of the Hejaz.

A number of Friedmann's group deserted the camp and arrived in Cairo, spreading gruesome stories about the enterprise. As Friedmann's scheme had been favored by Baring, it was branded in the local press as a British attempt to occupy Midian, and bitter controversies arose between the British and Turkish authorities. Finally Friedmann was compelled to abandon his efforts. He was then a broken man, financially as well as spiritually, and although he brought successful court actions against a number of newspapers that attacked him, the litigation took many years and was, ultimately, of no avail.

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[Oskar K. Rabinowicz]

FRIEDRICHSFELD, DAVID (c. 1755–1810), German author. Friedrichsfeld was born in Berlin, where he was inflluenced by the Jewish Enlightenment movement. In 1781 he settled in Amsterdam, where he became one of the leaders in the fight for Jewish emancipation. After Amsterdam was occupied by the French revolutionary forces, he became one of the leaders of the *Felix Libertate society. A follower of Moses Mendelssohn, he expounded his views in works such as *Beleuchtung… in Betreff des Buergerrecht der Juden* (Amsterdam, 1795), *De Messias der Jooden…* (The Hague, 1796), *Appell an die Staende Hollands* (Amsterdam, 1797), and *Kol Mevasser* (Amsterdam, 1802). He also wrote a work on Hebrew phonetics, *Ma'aneh Rakh* (Amsterdam, 1808), and contributed short articles and poems to *Ha-Me'assef.*

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FRIEDSAM, MICHAEL (1858–1931), U.S. businessman, public servant, philanthropist, and art collector. Friedsam, who was born in New York, began working for the B. Altman & Company department store at the age of 17. He became a company partner in 1900 and a vice president in 1909. Upon the death of company president Benjamin Altman in 1913, Friedsam became president of the company and of the Altman Foundation, established to disburse the bulk of Altman's fortune for charitable and educational purposes. During World War I Friedsam, as a New York State representative of the Federal Food Administration, participated in government efforts to regulate consumption and check profiteering. He also held the rank of colonel in the New York State National Guard. In 1925 Friedsam chaired the committee appointed by Governor Al Smith that recommended increased New York State financial aid to public schools. Friedsam willed portions of his extensive fine arts collection to the New York Metropolitan Museum of Art and the Brooklyn Institute of Arts and Sciences. In 1932, under the terms of his will, the Friedsam Foundation was established, for assisting the young and aged and for educational purposes.

[Richard Skolnik]

FRIEND, CHARLOTTE (1921–1987), U.S. oncologist, microbiologist. Friend was born in New York City to parents who immigrated from Russia. She finished her undergraduate studies at Hunter College, New York, and upon graduating in 1943 she served in the U.S. Navy during World War II and was second in command of the hematology laboratory at the naval hospital in Shoemaker, California. In 1950, she received her Ph.D. from Yale University. After graduation she was hired by the director of the then new Sloan Kettering Institute and was an associate professor of microbiology until 1966 when she moved to Mount Sinai School of Medicine and was appointed professor of microbiology. She remained there until she died in 1987. Friend made many important contributions to cancer research. Her first discovery was that a leukemia could be induced experimentally by a virus now known as the Friend Leukemia Virus (FLV), which at the time was received with skepticism and hostility because until then there had been no known link between viruses and cancer. Friend paved the way for a great many avenues of research. Her demonstration of inducible differentiation of leukemic cells by DMSO has served as an inspiration for evaluating the potential of therapeutic effects of differentiation-inducing agents in human cancer. Friend was a woman of strong convictions and a fighter. She openly supported the blacklisted academics and dissidents even in the McCarthy and Nixon era. She believed in the State of Israel and was a fervent supporter of the women's movement. Charlotte Friend received many prizes and awards. In 1976 she was elected to the National Academy of Sciences.

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[Bracha Rager (2nd ed.)]

FRIEND, HUGO MORRIS (1882–1966), U.S. lawyer and judge. Friend, who was born in Prague, was brought to the United States when he was two. In his youth he distinguished himself as an athlete and was a member of the U.S. team at the 1906 Olympic Games. In 1908 he was admitted to the Illinois bar and started to practice in Chicago. Friend was made a master in chancery for Cook County, and in 1920 was appointed to fill a vacancy in the circuit court. He was reelected to office until 1930, when he was appointed to the appellate court for the first district. Friend took some part in the charitable work of the Jewish community. In 1917–18 he was president of the Young Men's Jewish Charities; he was a vice president of the Jewish Home Finding Society, board member of Mount Sinai Hospital, president of the Jewish Children's Bureau (1945–48), and a director of the Jewish Charities of Chicago.

[Sefton D. Temkin]

FRIENDLY, FRED W. (**Fred Wachenheimer**; 1915–1998), U.S. television writer and director. Born in Providence, Rhode Island, Friendly began his career as a radio announcer in 1937. During World War II he was a correspondent for army publications, and in 1948 joined the National Broadcasting Company. He collaborated with veteran journalist Edward R. Murrow in the *Hear It Now* radio series. These were followed by several years of producing *CBS Reports* (1959–64) for the Columbia Broadcasting System. Friendly was president of CBS News from 1964 to 1966. He produced the innovative investigative TV news series *See It Now*, hosted by Murrow; it was the first TV program to be broadcast coast to coast across America (1951–57). He also produced the TV series *Back That Fact* (1953); the documentary film *Satchmo the Great* about legendary jazz musician Louis Armstrong (1958); and the CBS News documentary *Harvest of Shame* (1960), which dealt with the plight of migrant farmworkers in America.

In 1966 Friendly resigned from CBS when his decision to carry the live U.S. Senate hearings on Vietnam was overruled and the network chose to air reruns of *I Love Lucy* instead. Friendly then became a television adviser to the Ford Foundation, where he developed the Public Broadcast Laboratory, and was a professor of journalism at Columbia University.

Recognizing that animosity was growing between journalists and the judiciary in America, in 1974 Friendly collaborated with some of the country's leading lawyers, journalists, and politicians to create a series of debates centered on society and the media. Now known as the Fred Friendly Seminars, broadcasts of these programs became highly popular fare on the Public Broadcasting Service.

Among his many honors and accolades, Friendly garnered 35 major awards for *See It Now*; 40 major awards for *CBS Reports*; and 10 Peabody Awards for TV production. In 1994 he was inducted into the Academy of Television Arts and Sciences' Hall of Fame.

Books written by Friendly include *"I Can Hear It Now" 1933–45* (with E.R. Murrow, 1948); *Due to Circumstances Beyond Our Control* (1967); *The Good Guys, the Bad Guys, and the First Amendment: Free Speech vs. Fairness in Broadcasting* (1976); *Minnesota Rag: The Dramatic Story of the Landmark Supreme Court Case That Gave New Meaning to Freedom of the Press* (1981); and *The Constitution: That Delicate Balance* (1984).

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[Barth Healey / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

FRIENDLY, HENRY JACOB (1903–1986), U.S. judge. Considered by lawyers, judges, and legal scholars as one of the ablest lawyers of his generation and the preeminent federal appellate judge of his time, Friendly made a legendary record as a student at Harvard Law School. He became law clerk to Justice Louis D. Brandeis. He turned down an offer to teach at Harvard Law School and joined the prestigious law firm of Root, Clark, Buckner, and Ballantine, of which he became a partner in 1937. In 1946 he formed his own law firm; he was vice president, director, and general counsel of Pan-American Airways System. Thus, for over 30 years he was in private law practice with no involvement in public activities. In 1959 he was appointed judge of the United States Court of Appeals for the Second Circuit, in which he served until his death in March 1986. In the estimation of the legal profession, Friendly deserved to be coupled with Learned Hand for judicial competence and eminence. Felix Frankfurter in 1963 considered him the best judge writing judicial opinions. Professor Paul Freund wrote that Friendly "combined massive documentation and sharply critical, often astringent, analysis with invariably constructive, or reconstructive, proposals." He was especially expert in administrative law, federal jurisdiction, criminal procedure, trademark, railroad, and commercial law. He was chief judge of his court for two years, and from 1974 to the time of his death he was also presiding judge of the special court set up by an act of Congress on railroad reorganization.

Judge Friendly served on the Council of the American Law Institute, on the board of overseers of Harvard University, and was the author of several books, including *Benchmarks* (1967) and *Federal Jurisdiction: a General View* (1973). In 1977 he was awarded the Presidential Medal of Freedom, and in the following year the Thomas Jefferson Memorial Award in Law.

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[Milton Ridvas Konvitz]

FRIENDSHIP, a relationship between people arising from mutual respect and affection. The ideal of friendship in the Western world is largely derived from classical Greece. Not only do the myths and legends point to friendship as one of the great human achievements, but the philosophers make it one of the primary virtues of existence. The Romans continued this exaltation of friendship, as is evident in Cicero's essay on the topic, *De amicitia*. Biblical tradition seems to take friendship, as it does so many other general values, for granted and accords it respect; yet it never raises the close relationship between one person and a chosen companion to the status of a major ideal. There can be no question that the significance of true friendship is recognized in the Bible. A friend (*re'a*) is defined, almost accidentally, in Deuteronomy 13:7 as "one who is like your very self"; in Proverbs 18:24 a friend (*ohev*) is one "who sticks closer than a brother." There are few depictions of friendship in the Bible; the most notable examples are those of David and Jonathan (I Sam. 20), David and Barzillai (II Sam.17:27–29, 19:32–40), and Ruth and Naomi (Ruth 1:7–3:17). When Jephthah's daughter goes off to bewail her fate she asks permission to do so with her companions (Judg. 11:37). The Bible seems to emphasize proper concern for one's neighbor as a means for the creation of a sacred society, rather than intense person-to-person relationships. This may be a safeguard against homosexuality, which was so much a part of the Greek conception of friendship.

Typical of the Bible's ethical concern in human relations is the frequent reference to false friendship in the book of Proverbs. As the worthy friend is he who stands by you, so the bad friend is he who deserts you when you are in need. Thus the warning is issued that the rich, not the poor, have many friends (14:20); that friends flock to the gift giver (19:6); and that he who has many friends has reason to worry (18:24). The rabbinic tradition, like the biblical, shows appreciation of friendship. The friendship of David and Jonathan is held up as the supreme example of altruistic love (Avot 5:19). It does not consider it a major concern, however, though the good *ḥaver* (associate or colleague, *ibid.*, 1:6; 2:13) and the good neighbor (2:13) are mentioned as ideals to be sought. The *amora* Rav is reported to have praised the friends of Job for going to see him when they learned of his suffering, even though they lived at a great distance from him. In response to Rav, Rabbah quoted the popular saying "Either a friend like the friends of Job or death" (BB 16b). The Talmud reports that Rabbi Zera showed friendship even to some lawless men who lived near him. It chides some of the other sages who did not do so for their hardness of heart but praises them for their repentance (Sanh. 37a). Modern Jewish thought, responding to the ethical implications of the concept of friendship, has shown a renewed interest in this subject, exemplified in the writings of Martin *Buber (*I and Thou*, 1952^2, passim) and Hermann *Cohen (*Religion der Vernunft* (1929^2), 510).

[Eugene B. Borowitz]

FRIENDSHIP LEAGUES WITH ISRAEL. Societies established in various countries for the promotion of friendly and cultural relations between their countries and Israel. Listed below are the countries where such societies exist. They have a total membership of about 30,000. Although a number of them were formed immediately after the establishment of the State in 1948, the majority were formed after 1965.

The leading members of these societies include distinguished citizens from all walks of life. The societies organize lectures, seminars, Israeli art exhibitions and concerts, and receptions for Israeli personalities. Some of them also organize annual study tours to Israel for their members. They publish pamphlets, quarterlies, and books on life in Israel. In Latin America, these organizations take the form of "cultural institutes."

Though a few societies tend to be of a more political nature, the majority concentrate on cultural relations. They are composed mainly of non-Jews, but in some countries Jewish community leaders are also active as officers or members. In addition to the friendship leagues, there are a number of pro-Israel parliamentary groups e.g., in Great Britain, West Germany, and France. In Britain three such groups, Conservative Friends of Israel, Labour Friends of Israel, and Liberal Friends of Israel, are active mainly in political circles.

In Israel, corresponding societies promote friendship with 27 countries, while the Israel-Asia Friendship Council and the Israel-Africa Friendship Association are roof organizations to promote relations with the two continents as a whole, and the Central Cultural Institute in Jerusalem coordinates the work done for Spanish- and Portuguese-speaking countries.

The Council of Israel Friendship Leagues coordinates all these activities, which include the spreading of information of the respective countries and their cultures, contacts with sister societies abroad, entertaining visitors, and arranging concerts and exhibitions.

In their respective countries the friendship societies cooperate with the local Zionist federations and with other Jewish bodies, receiving support from the External Relations Department of the World Zionist Organization.

By the late 1970s the countries with Friendship Leagues and Cultural Institutes were as follows: Australia, Mauritius, New Zealand; in Europe – Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Finland, France, Greece, Holland, Ireland, Italy, Norway, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, the United Kingdom, and Germany; in North America – Canada and the U.S.; in Asia – India, Japan, Nepal, Philippines, South Korea; Latin America (Cultural Institutes) Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Ecuador, El Salvador, Guatemala; Honduras, Mexico, Nicaragua, Panama, Peru, Uruguay, and Venezuela; Australia. Through its Youth Ambassador Student Exchange program for secondary school students, the America-Israel Friendship League, founded in 1971, has brought together over 5,000 students.

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[Benjamin Jaffe]

°FRIES, JAKOB FRIEDRICH (1773–1843), German antisemitic philosopher. He lectured in Jena and Heidelberg and published authoritative works on philosophy and psychology. On the one hand, Fries was an advocate of enlightenment, civil and constitutional rights and the equality of man. On the other hand he propagated a cultural, religious, and *voelkisch* conception of a homogeneous German nation excluding Jews as an ethnic and religious minority. In his pamphlet *Ueber die Gefaehrdung des Wohlstandes und Charakters der Deutschen durch die Juden* (Heidelberg, 1816), Fries accused the Jews of "physical separation" from the German people and demanded an enforced integration by the complete adoption of German culture and values and the destruction of Judaism and Jewish traditions: "We do not declare war on the Jews, our brothers, but on Jewry" (*Judenschaft*). Immediately after the Napoleonic wars, Fries took part in the nationalistic student agitation and was the only member of the professional staff present at the 1817 Wartburg demonstration. His popularity with the students contributed to the success of his anti-Jewish writings. Under his influence, the Burschenschaft (students' associations) decided not to accept Jews as members. Although Fries' antisemitic attitude was not principally racist, his rabid language and the frequent use of the words "destruction" and "annihilation" in particular paved the way for radical forms of racial antisemitism.

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[Leon Poliakov]

FRIGEIS, LAZARO DE (16th century), physician. Scholars disagree on whether he was a native of Hungary or Holland. When Andrea Vesalius (1514–1564), the great anatomist, came to Padua, Frigeis became a member of his close circle of friends. He furnished Vesalius with the Hebrew names for some of the anatomic structures described in Vesalius' epoch-making work *De Humani Corporis Fabrica* and possibly also those appearing in *Tabulae Anatomicae*. The Hebrew anatomical terms used are for the most part taken from the Hebrew translation of the *Canon* of Avicenna and in some cases directly from the Talmud.

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[Suessmann Muntner]

FRISCH, DANIEL (1897–1950), U.S. Zionist leader. Frisch, who was born in Ereẓ Israel, was taken by his family to Romania when he was one year old. He immigrated to the U.S. in 1921, settled in Indianapolis, Indiana, and eventually became an investment broker and the head of a large salvage firm. In 1934 Frisch, a militant General Zionist from his youth, became a member of the Zionist Organization of America's (ZOA) Administrative Council. In the course of the next 25 years he held numerous other Zionist posts before being elected ZOA president in 1949. In that same year, largely through Frisch's efforts, the ZOA, the Jewish Agency, and the World Confederation of Zionists reached agreement for financing various projects in Israel. Frisch's approach to Zionism was reflected in his belief that Israel's growth and welfare were dependent upon the strength of the General Zionist movement and in the need for the development of a strong private sector in the Israeli economy. A collection of his essays, sketches, and letters was published as *On the Road to Zion* (1950).

FRISCH, EFRAIM (1873–1942), Austrian author and journalist. Born at Stry in the Ukraine, Frisch was a member of an Orthodox family. Following the success of his novel *Das Verloebnis* (1902), he worked at Max *Reinhardt's Deutsches Theater in Berlin as director of drama from 1904 to 1908. In 1902 his writing was also included in the first volume published by the Jüdischer Verlag, the *Jüdischer Almanach*, among contributions from Stefan Zweig and Max Liebermann. His views on the stage are contained in *Von der Kunst des Theaters* (1910). After some years with a Munich publishing house, Frisch co-edited with Wilhelm Hausenstein *Der Neue Merkur* (1914–1925), a literary and political monthly whose contributors included Gottfried Benn, Bertholt Brecht, Martin Buber, André Gide, Yvan Goll, Bernard Shaw, and Arnold Zweig. He also published translations from the French (Giraudoux, Cocteau), English (Priestley), Polish, and Yiddish (Mendele Mokher Seforim).

Zenobi (1927), a brilliantly written novel generally considered Frisch's masterpiece, shows how a gentle, impractical, and naïve fool becomes the touchstone for a depersonalized and corrupt world of materialism, militarism, and technology. Frisch's positive attitude toward Judaism is clear from the frequent and sympathetic presentation of the East-European Jewish milieu in his fiction. He once published a special Jewish issue of *Der Neue Merkur* and in 1935 delivered four public lectures on Judaism at Ascona, Switzerland, where he later died.

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[Harry Zohn]

FRISCH, EPHRAIM (1880–1957), U.S. Reform rabbi. An outspoken rabbi who held pulpits in Arkansas, New York, and Texas, Frisch stirred controversy throughout his career by praising communism, denouncing the poll tax, criticizing Zionism as a "menace," and ridiculing legislators who banned evolution texts from the schools.

A native of Shubocz, Lithuania, Frisch was the son of Rabbi David and Hannah Baskowitz Frisch. He immigrated to the United States in 1888 through the Great Lakes port of Duluth, Minn. Religious scholarship and political liberalism were prevalent in his family tree. His maternal great-grandfather, Rabbi Alexander Sender, who was hailed as a *gaon*, wrote the talmudic commentary, *Hatarat Nedarim* (1880), discussing contracts and vows. Frisch's cousin, Leonard Frisch (1890–1984), was a national Zionist leader and the editor of *American Jewish World*, a Twin Cities weekly.

Frisch grew up in Minneapolis and was ordained in 1904 from Hebrew Union College, where he was founding editor of the college annual. At his first pulpit, Anshe Emeth (1904–1912) in Pine Bluff, Ark., he launched the state's first county tuberculosis association, supported an African American minister who hosted biracial gatherings, and criticized the governor for referring to Jesus in a Thanksgiving Day proclamation. In 1912, Frisch moved to Temple Israel in Far Rockaway, Queens. There he established a temple social service department that created Children's Haven of Far Rockaway for temporary care of indigent youngsters.

In the spring of 1915 Frisch founded the New Synagogue, a Manhattan congregation whose credo stressed humanitarian deeds, social action, flexible rituals, and liturgy augmented with secular readings. The following year, he married Ruth Cohen (1890–1934), a pianist and writer and the daughter of Galveston's Rabbi Henry Cohen (1863–1952). Her connections and congeniality drew people to the budding congregation. The *New York Evening Post* hailed Frisch and his congregation as "post/Darwin." By 1918, however, Frisch's opposition to the Balfour Declaration and his characterization of Zionism as a "menace" led to rebuffs from colleagues, disenchantment among congregants, and a line in the *American Hebrew* denigrating him as an "obscure rabbi."

In 1923 Frisch became rabbi of Temple Beth-El in San Antonio. In the conservative South, Frisch was a lightning rod for controversy. He criticized compulsory Bible reading in the schools, urged an American boycott of the Berlin Olympics, sympathized with the city's underpaid pecan shellers, and denounced the city's squalid slums. Jewish youth, inspired by Frisch's idealism, gravitated to the rabbi and his wife, who launched a young adult group that staged plays, dances, book reviews, and political debates. Older congregants were less enamored of the rabbi. During sermons favoring the New Deal and Filipino independence, some congregants walked out or spoke up in opposition. In June 1942, despite two years left on Frisch's contract, the congregation voted the rabbi into retirement. For a short time he directed the Social Justice Commission of the Central Conference of American Rabbis, then quit over administrative matters. Embittered and now a widower, he spent his remaining years living alone in New York.

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[Hollace Ava Weiner (2nd ed.)]

FRISCH, OTTO ROBERT (1904–1979) physicist, nephew of the physicist Lise *Meitner. Frisch was born in Vienna but was naturalized as a British citizen (1943). After gaining his D.Phil. in physics from the University of Vienna (1926) he worked at the national physics laboratory in Berlin (1927–30) and with the Nobel physics laureate Otto *Stern in Hamburg (1930–33). With the coming of the Nazis, he left Germany in 1933 to work in Patrick Blackett's laboratory in Birkbeck College, London, before joining Niels *Bohr's laboratory in Copenhagen (1934–38). With the threat of war and invasion, Frisch moved to Mark Oliphant's laboratory in Birmingham, England (1939–40) but joined James Chadwick's laboratory in Liverpool as this was more appropriate for his work. With the merging of U.K. and U.S. research on nuclear weapons he moved to Los Alamos (1943–46), returning to England in 1946 as head of the nuclear physics division at the Atomic Energy Establishment in Harwell. In 1947 he was appointed Jacksonian Professor of natural philosophy at Cambridge University and a fellow of Trinity College, working in the Cavendish Laboratory. He retired in 1972. His initial research in Germany concerned the physical properties of nuclear particles, including the discovery of the magnetic moment of protons. In Copenhagen he studied radioactive isotopes and the outcome of collisions between neutrons and nuclei. At the end of 1938 he and Lise Meitner calculated the enormous energy which could potentially be released by what they termed "fission," the process just described by Otto Hahn and Fritz Strassman whereby uranium nuclei are split by colliding neutrons. He rapidly identified the fission products experimentally in Bohr's laboratory. Frisch was early to recognize the practical implications of sustained fission and, in collaboration with Rudolf Peierls, he calculated that neutrons could induce a chain reaction in a small enough quantity of pure uranium 235 to make a bomb feasible. In Los Alamos he worked in considerable personal danger on the chain reactions in pure uranium 235 and plutonium underlying the first fission bombs. In Cambridge he developed devices for tracking particles, one of which was marketed successfully under his chairmanship. He was also deeply interested in science education and he wrote many well received books for general readers. He continued his commercial and literary interests in retirement. He was elected a fellow of the Royal Society in 1948.

[Michael Denman (2nd ed.)]

FRISCHMANN, DAVID (1859–1922), one of the first major writers in modern Hebrew literature. Versatile and prolific in his literary creativity, Frischmann was an innovator in style and in the treatment of his subject, especially in the Hebrew short story, the ballad, the essay, criticism, and the lyric-satiric feuilleton. He also distinguished himself as a translator of world literature, and as an editor. In introducing Western aestheticism into Hebrew literature, Frischmann was a major influence in the development of Hebrew literature according to the aesthetic concepts of the world.

Early Career

He was born in Zgierz, near Lodz, into a well-to-do mercantile family which, although traditional, approved of the Haskalah. His education included Hebrew religious studies as well as humanities. At a young age, Frischmann already showed signs of literary talent and was considered a prodigy. At 15, his first writings were published – the sonnet "*Yesh Tikvah,*" a translation of Heine's "Don Ramiro," and "*Tarnegol ve-Tarnegolet,*" an original short story (*Ha-Boker Or*, 1874). He published satirical writings in *Ha-Shaḥar, whose editor, *Smolenskin, hailed him as a "brilliant star that has risen in our literary spheres – Boerne and Heine in German and Frischmann in Hebrew."

Short Stories

Frischmann's early satirical narratives, with their inherent social criticism, influenced by the writings of J.L. *Gordon and

K.E. *Franzos, gave way to the short story whose purpose was mainly aesthetic. Jewish life was now portrayed more objectively. Frequently, the main characters were Jews who had come into direct conflict with the mores of the traditional society in which they lived and who, because of these conflicts, had either become estranged from it, or were rejected by it. In "*Yom ha-Kippurim*" (1881), a Jewish girl attracted to the world of music becomes a famous singer but abandons her people and traditions. At a recital in the church of her native town, on the Day of Atonement, she meets her death at the hand of her widowed mother who, out of shame and pain, has become demented. In "*Ha-Ish u-Miktarto,*" a famous rabbi is so addicted to smoking that he is forced to violate the Sabbath, first furtively, and later publicly; as a result, he is excommunicated. Frischmann empathizes with these protagonists who succumb to human weaknesses and describes them with compassion and understanding.

Ba-Midbar (1923), a series of fictional biblical tales, alluding to biblical motifs and written in a biblical style and language, are original both in their choice of subject and in form. Set in the desert, immediately after the exodus of the Israelites from Egypt, the characters are torn between the half-pagan primitive habits and lusts that they still cling to, and the new moral life preached by Moses as the word of God. Their leaders and priests, responsible for the observance and teaching of the new precepts, are themselves not always faithful to them. These stories, while evoking nostalgia for the ancient era, also reflect universal themes relevant to Frischmann and his time: the conflict between religion as an act of faith and as law, and instinct.

Literary Critic

Frischmann frequently was a scathing literary critic. Thus in an article, "*Mi-Misterei Sifrutenu*" (*Ha-Boker Or*, 1880), he violently admonished P. Smolenskin, the leading authority in Hebrew literature at that time, whom he accused of plagiarizing from M. *Hess's *Rome and Jerusalem*. In *Tohu va-Vohu* (1883), he mocks and scorns the Hebrew literary journalism of his day because of its inefficiency and provincialism. In due course, Frischmann became an authoritative arbiter of good taste and a champion of literary writing for art's sake. He defended J.L. Gordon against the attacks of M.L. *Lilienblum – who had accused Gordon of not being sufficiently nationalistic in his writings (in a critical article published in **Ha-Asif*, 1894). His admiration for Gordon did not, however, prevent him from criticizing Gordon on another matter. He claimed that Gordon, after joining the editorial board of **Ha-Meliz*, had abandoned those liberal views which he had expounded for 30 years previously.

An Iconoclast Poet

Frischmann's literary nonconformism, expressed in two of his earliest poems "*Lo Elekh Immam*" and "*Elilim,*" were to become the motto of his life and his literary credo. In "*Lo Elekh Immam,*" he voices his refusal to follow the old path and expresses his fearless criticism:

> I shall not go with them, I shall not go; their ways are not mine,
> I cannot bear their prattle, their expressions, their talk or their conversation.
> I cannot tolerate their ways, their manners, or their thoughts,
> Their prophets are not my prophets, their angels are not my angels.
> Thoughts repel me, thoughts without minds,
> I detest feelings, feelings without hearts.

"*Elilim*" points to Frischmann the iconoclast; the poem harks back to the patriarch Abraham whom he sees as the first iconoclast. The poet claims that Abraham in smashing the idols had not completed the act, since the largest of the idols still survived. He calls upon the patriarch to endow him with his ancient venerated spirit, so that he might smite surviving idols.

A non-observant Jew, Frischmann rejected as futile and impractical the attempts at religious reforms in the 19th century, whose purpose was the adaptation of Judaism to the spirit of the times. In "*Ani va-Avi Zekeni,*" Frischmann argues that the grandfathers who cling to Judaism would not assent to any reform of the *mitzvot* which, in their view, were all "given to Moses at Sinai," whereas the younger generation, with which the author identifies, does not need the sanction of tradition to act according to its conscience.

Frischmann and European Culture

Like many of his contemporaries, Frischmann's introduction to European culture was by way of German, a language he had studied in his youth. Two German-Jewish authors, *Heine and *Boerne, exercised a profound influence upon his writing. Frischmann visited Germany several times, and during his 1882 stay, became personally acquainted with a number of authors and scientists, among them B. Auerbach, a German-Jewish writer, and A. *Bernstein, whose large popular scientific work, *Knowledge of Nature*, Frischmann was to translate in part. Between 1890 and 1895, he studied philology, philosophy, and the history of art at the University of Breslau. He returned to Warsaw in 1895, and until 1910, translation became his regular occupation. The works he rendered from German, Russian, and English into Hebrew during that period include J. Lippert's *The History of the Perfection of Man* (1894–1908), George Eliot's *Daniel Deronda* (1893), legends and tales of Hans Christian Andersen (1896), selected poems of Alexander Pushkin (1899), Byron's *Cain* (1900), and Nietzsche's *Also sprach Zarathustra* (1900). Frischmann devoted his entire life to literature and avoided all public office or public involvements. His many opponents accused him of anti-Zionism. In actuality, it was his rejection of the use of art for ideological or propagandistic purposes that caused him to refrain from advocating social or political views.

Frischmann as a Hebrew Journalist

In the 19th century, the dividing line between belles lettres and journalism had not been clearly defined, and most authors engaged in both disciplines without differentiating between them. Frischmann published a series of short stories, *Otiyyot Poreḥot* (1893), a series of book reviews, and a series of feuilletons on practical subjects, called "*Ba-Kol-mi-Kol-Kol*" in *Ha-Asif.* His adversaries often dismissed him as "merely a feuilletonist." Frischmann, who did not accept the old forms, and left on all the genres he employed his mark as innovator – in style, structure, choice of content and its treatment – saw the feuilleton as a new form of poetry whose range extended far beyond that of any other type of poetry. In his eulogy of Theodor *Herzl, Frischmann wrote:

> I knew him as an artist in his field long before he became famous as the father of Zionism. My enthusiasm for Herzl, the feuilletonist, was so great, that for a time I almost hated Zionism because it had robbed me of his poetic powers and transformed a great poet into a man of public affairs concerned with petty politics. However immense his contribution to Zionism may have been, the loss to literature is immeasurable.

Frischmann had a special affinity for political leaders who had literary talents. He wrote with enthusiasm about the diary of Ferdinand *Lassalle, and about the private letters of Rosa *Luxemburg.

Editor and Publisher of Journals

Frischmann published several short stories in the German literary monthly *Salon* (Leipzig, in 1885), in *Ha-Meliẓ* (whose editor, J.L. Gordon, invited him to join its editorial board in 1896); and in *Ha-Yom*, the first Hebrew daily. Frischmann preferred *Ha-Yom* because it was an independent journal and its editor and principal contributors, among them J.L. *Kantor, and J.L. Katznelson, shared the same liberal outlook as he. Frischmann served as assistant editor and published his feuilletons almost daily; the series "Letters Concerning Literature" became one of the foundation stones of modern Hebrew criticism.

In 1901 Frischmann became editor of *Ha-Dor*, a literary weekly whose high literary standard attracted the most talented writers of the day. After one year it was forced to close down, due to its small circulation. Frischmann tried to revive it three years later, but failed after publishing 38 additional issues. Zalman *Shneour, describing the *Ha-Dor* period in his memoirs, says: "Frischmann was generally considered a quarrelsome man; his antagonists considered him a cynic. In truth, he was a mild, pleasant man who loved talented and promising young people."

In 1903 Frischmann became editor of the literary supplement of the Vilna daily newspaper *Ha-Zeman*, in 1909, in Warsaw, of the short-lived *Ha-Boker*; between 1908 and 1910 of the literary collections *Sifrut* (1909–10); and of *Reshafim* (1909–10; pocket-sized literary anthologies) in which he published, in serial form, his translation of *Also sprach Zarathustra*.

Frischmann in Yiddish

Hebrew was Frischmann's literary vehicle of expression, and he was faithful to biblical Hebrew, which he had mastered probably better than any contemporary author, rejecting the "synthetic" Hebrew developed by *Mendele Mokher Seforim and his school. Occasionally, however, he also wrote in Yiddish and in German. The few poems that he composed in Yiddish are lyrical in tone. He also wrote short stories and feuilletons in that language. His first Yiddish articles were published in *Shalom Aleichem's *Yudishe Folksbibliothek* (1888–89), but he also contributed Yiddish poems and articles to the literary annual *Hoys-Fraynd*, the weekly *Der Yud*, and the daily *Fraynd*. From 1908, he was a regular contributor of weekly feuilletons to the Warsaw Yiddish daily *Haynt*. His collected Yiddish stories were published in two volumes by the Lodz Pedagogue editions, and his Yiddish articles on drama and literature were published by the Warsaw Progress editions. These collected works are only a small part of Frischmann's Yiddish writings, most of which are still uncollected.

Frischmann's Visits to Palestine

Frischmann visited Palestine twice, in 1911 and 1912, each time with groups organized by *Haynt*, in which he published his travel impressions. These he also published in Hebrew in a small book entitled *Ba-Areẓ* (1913). Overwhelmed by his experiences, he wrote emotionally about the holy places he had visited, the landscape, his meetings with the pioneers, and the beginnings of the revival of Hebrew. His initial skepticism gave way to enthusiasm, and he candidly and openly retracted his reservations about the rebirth of Hebrew as a vernacular.

Frischmann in Russia During World War I and the Revolution

At the outbreak of World War I, Frischmann was on a visit in Berlin, where he was interned as an enemy alien. Eventually, he was set free and allowed to return to Poland. When the conquering German army neared Warsaw, he left for Odessa where he remained until the Russian Revolution. While in Odessa, he wrote some of his most beautiful lyrical poems, translated *The Conversations of the Grimm Brothers* for the Moriah editions of Bialik-Rawnitzki and the poetry of the Indian poet Rabindranath Tagore. Frischmann's translation of Tagore's poetry is a masterpiece. The translation, together with several original poems, and a series of literary obituaries, were published in *Keneset* (1917), edited by *Bialik. During his stay in Odessa, he also contributed weekly feuilletons to the Odessa Yiddish newspaper *Undzer Lebn*, until the Russian authorities closed down the paper.

After the revolution of February 1917, a Hebrew literary center was formed in Moscow, and Frischmann was invited to be the chairman of the editorial board of the A.J. Stybel publications. He was named editor of *Ha-Tekufah, the quarterly published by Stybel. There he published his translations of Goethe, Heine, Byron, Oscar Wilde, Anatole France, and Tagore. He also continued his biblical stories of the *Ba-Midbar* series. Stybel's generous support enabled him, as well as many other authors, to devote themselves entirely to writing. The publication program of the house was outlined by Frischmann in his address on "Belles Lettres" at the second Hebrew Language and Culture congress in Vienna (1913).

In 1919 the Stybel publishing house was closed down in Moscow, and reestablished in Warsaw, where Frischmann continued in his capacity of editor. There he also published a series of "New Letters Concerning Literature" in the monthly *Miklat* (another Stybel project, edited by Y.D. *Berkowitz in New York), and translated the "Legends" (*Aggadot*) of Max Nordau (1923^2) and Shakespeare's *Coriolanus* (published in 1924). Grave illness compelled him to travel to Berlin to seek medical treatment; there he died and was buried.

Frischmann's Conversations and Letters

Besides his great literary prolificacy, perseverance in pursuing an idea or belief, and his immense contributions to the different branches of literature, Frischmann's talent also revealed itself in his letters to friends (few unfortunately survive), and in conversation. Some of his conversations were written down later, from memory, by his admirers: J. *Fichmann, E. *Steinman, and Z. *Shneour. His letters to his contemporaries, rarely personal, are a valuable source of information on Frischmann and on the history of the Hebrew literature of his period. Eleven of his letters, *Iggerot David Frischmann* ed. by E.R. Malachi, were collected and published in New York (1927); others were published in different periodicals.

Collected writings of Frischmann have been published in various editions: (1) *Ketavim Nivḥarim* (4 vols., Piotrokow-Warsaw, 1899–1905), a selection of his writings with an introduction by Y.L. Kantor; (2) *Ketavim Ḥadashim* (5 vols., Warsaw, 1909–12); (3) *Kol Kitvei David Frischmann u-Mivḥar Tirgumav* (16 vols., Warsaw, 1922^2), his complete writings and a selection of his translations, as well as an additional volume (vol. 17) of his articles; (4) *Kol Kitvei Frischmann* (8 vols., Warsaw-New York, 1939), his complete writings; (5) *Kol Kitvei Frischmann* (8 vols. published until 1968), his complete works; (6) *Tirgumim* (1954), a collection of all his literary translations. Four books of Frischmann's collected Yiddish writings were published by the Pedagogue editions (1909) in Lodz, and the Progress editions (1911) in Warsaw. Many of Frischmann's writings in Hebrew, as well as in Yiddish and German, have not yet been collected in book form and are still scattered in different periodicals. For English translations, see Goell, Bibliography, 674–81, 2046–91, 2794–95.

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[Aharon Zeev Ben-Yishai]

°FRITSCH, THEODOR (1852–1933), German antisemitic publicist and politician. One of the leading early racists, in 1886 he joined the Deutsche Anti-semitische Vereinigung (see *Antisemitism) which strove to repeal the emancipation law. In 1887 he published the *Antisemiten-Katechismus …* (1887) as a catalog of "Jewish misdeeds." Later renamed *Handbuch der Judenfrage*, it went through 49 editions until 1944. In 1902 Fritsch established the periodical *Hammer* as a forum for antisemitic authors of the *voelkisch* movement in Germany. In the following years Fritsch played a leading role in the foundation of antisemitic and *voelkisch* organizations like the *Reichshammerbund* (founded in 1912), the *Deutschvölkische Schutz- und Trutzbund* (founded 1919), a mass organization with more than 200,000 members, and the *Deutschvölkische Freiheitspartei* (founded 1922, in 1924 Fritsch become one of its Reichstag members). The Nazis honored Fritsch as their *Altmeister*, and Hitler characterized the *Handbuch der Judenfrage* as important contribution that "paved the way for the National Socialist antisemitic movement."

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FRITTA (**Friedrich Taussig**; 1909–1944), Czech painter and graphic artist. In 1942 he was deported to the concentration camp at *Theresienstadt. Here, together with fellow artists Leo *Haas, Otto Ungar, Friedrich Bloch (an Austrian painter), and later Karel Fleischmann, he formed a group of painters who assigned themselves the task of creating a pictorial record of the last days of men facing death. Fritta's contribution to this unique documentary was probably the largest. Their works were smuggled out of Theresienstadt over a two-year period. In July 1944 the Nazis discovered some of Fritta's works depicting shocking scenes of ghetto life. Fritta was imprisoned and deported to Auschwitz, where he died after undergoing torture. About 150 of his Theresienstadt drawings, buried in a tin case, were unearthed after the war, together with the works of other Theresienstadt artists. They are in the Jewish Museum in Prague.

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[Avigdor Dagan]

FRIULI–VENEZIA GIULIA, northeastern region of Italy. Jews were already settled in antiquity at Aquileia in Friuli. Between 1028 and 1420 the patriarch of Aquileia ruled over Friuli. Under his protection, Jewish merchants and moneylenders settled in *Cividale, Cormons (1340), Gemona (1395), Pordenone and Porcia (1399), San *Daniele, *Trieste (1348), Udine (1387), and Venzone (1333). Within a brief period, prosperous Jewish communities formed around them. When Friuli was annexed by the Republic of Venice in 1420, there was no essential change in the status of the Jews. However, at the end of the 15th and during the 16th centuries the preaching of friars and the Counter-Reformation movement led to deterioration in the situation of the Jews and the expulsion from Udine in 1556 and Cividale in 1572. The situation of the Jews living in Habsburg territory also deteriorated. However, in the middle of the 17th century Jews still lived at Gorizia and there was a new settlement at Gradisca. Jews were then segregated in ghettos, including Trieste in 1696.

In 1777, Jews were expelled from all the settlement in the territory of the Republic of Venice. However, for Jews living in Habsburg territory, the 18th century was a period of growth in both Gorizia and Trieste. With Joseph II's reforms, Habsburg Trieste became the center of attraction for Jews in Friuli. While in the course of the 19th century, all the other Jewish communities, with the exception of Gorizia, begun a steady decline, Trieste grew to become one of the most prosperous communities of the Habsburg Empire.

The end of World War I, and the passage of the whole region to Italy, as well as the deterioration of the economic situation, produced a decline in the Jewish population in Friuli. The Holocaust weighed heavily on Friuli's Jews, concentrated in Trieste. In the early 21st century, in all of Friuli, Jews lived only in Trieste.

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[Daniel Carpi / Samuele Rocca (2nd ed.)]

FRIZZI, BENEDETTO (**Benzion Raphael Kohen**; 1756–1844), Italian physician, engineer, and scholar from Ostiano near Mantova. He graduated from Pavia and practiced in Trieste. In 1790 he founded the first Italian medical journal and published six *Dissertazioni di polizia medica sul Pentateuco* (Pavia and Cremona, 1787–90) on precepts of the Law, presenting them in a modern scientific and apologetic manner. He also wrote *Difesa contro gli attacchi fatti alla nazione ebrea nel libro intitolato dell'influenza del ghetto nello Stato* (Pavia, 1784), an apologetic and polemical work, which intended to disprove the accusations by a contemporary Italian – Giovan Battista D'Arco from Mantua, author of *Dell'influenza del Ghetto nello Stato* (Venice, 1782) that Jews hated Christians and that their economic activities tended to impoverish the countries they lived in. He described Jewish theology, philosophy, and ethics and then analyzed in great detail and with many examples the economic role of Jews in Europe, particularly in Italy. He outlined the valuable functions they fulfilled historically and attributed their success as merchants to attention to details and quality, realistically low prices, avoidance of borrowing at interest, and trade in perennially useful products rather than luxury items for which demand varies. Frizzi enumerated markets and services opened and developed by Jews and described their business methods at length.

In *Dissertazione in cui si esaminano gli usi ed abusi degli ebrei nei luoghi ed effetti sacri e si propone la maniera di renderli utili in società* (Milan, 1789), he analyzed contemporary Judaism from a critical point of view, focusing in the first part on the inappropriate luxury of the synagogues and the tendency of rabbis to become preachers instead of scholars and doctors of theology; and in the second part on the prayers in general (Psalms, *Amidah*, etc.) and on the need to behave properly during the services. Finally, in the third part, he criticized bad sermons with their threatening manner and grammatical errors and also dealt with public and private charity.

He wrote his Hebrew work, *Petaḥ Enayyim*, in 3 vols. (Leghorn, 1815–25), to demonstrate that the rabbis' teachings were based on scientific knowledge, expounding the book *Ein Ya'akov Ein Yisrael* (Frankfurt am Main, 1723) of Ya'aov Kabyb, a masterpiece of the religious and normative culture of Italian Jewish communities. He hoped both to increase his contemporaries' respect for Torah and to attack traditionalists who saw Jewish law as untouchable and untouched by the modern spirit.

In addition, Frizzi published *Giornale medico e letterario di Trieste*, (4 vols., Trieste, 1790–91), *Opuscoli filosofici e medici* in (4 vols., Trieste, 1791–92), *Accademia letteraria sul metodo degli studi ebraici nella logica e altri filosofici rami* (Trieste, 1791), *Dissertazione sulla lebbra degli ebrei* (Trieste, 1795), and *Dissertazione di biografia musicale* (Trieste, 1803). A man of great learning and wide renown, Frizzi was considered one of the outstanding Jewish scholars of the Enlightenment in Western Europe.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Nissim, in: RMI, 34 (1968), 279–91; Dinaburg, in: *Tarbiz*, 20 (1948/49), 241–64.

[David Niv / Federica Francesconi (2nd ed.)]

FROEHLICH, ALFRED (1871–1953), pharmacologist. He was born in Vienna and became professor of pharmacology and toxicology at the University of Vienna in 1912. In 1939 he settled in the U.S. and became associated with the Jewish

Hospital in Cincinnati. He was the first to describe in 1901 adiposo-genital dystrophy, a form of obesity which is associated with a tumor in the pituitary gland and deficient development of the sex organs. He collaborated with Otto *Loewi on the pharmacology of the autonomous nervous system, and as a result of their discoveries, the use of a combination of adrenalin and cocaine was established in medical practice. Together with the neurologist L.F. Hochward, Froehlich recommended the use of hypoglysin during delivery, a practice that became universally accepted. He and H.H. Mayer investigated the contracture of striated muscle fibers under influence of tetanus toxin. He carried out experimental research in increasing the effect of certain drugs and made extensive investigations into the effect of theophylline.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: S.A. Kagan, *Jewish Medicine* (1952), 209–12.

[Suessmann Muntner]

FROG (Heb. צְפַרְדֵּעַ; *ẓefardeʿa*). One of the ten plagues visited upon Egypt was that of frogs (Ex. 7:29; Ps. 78:45; 105:30). They apparently made life intolerable for the Egyptians by their shrill croaking and by contaminating food with their moist bodies. The frog, *Rana esculenta*, is found in Israel near bodies of water. The word *ẓefardeʿa* may also refer to the toad (*Bufo*). While the frog is, according to the laws of the Torah, prohibited as food, it is not included among the swarming things which, by contact, make man, vessels, and food unclean (cf. Lev. 11:29–30; Toh. 5:4).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Tristram, Nat Hist, 280f.; J. Feliks, *Animal World of the Bible* (1962), 112. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** Feliks, Ha-Ẓomeʾaḥ, 272.

[Jehuda Feliks]

FROHLICH, HERBERT (1905–1991), British physicist. Frohlich was born in Rexingen, Germany, in 1905. He earned his doctorate from the University of Munich at the age of 24 and lectured at Freiburg University before immigrating to England in 1933. There he was a research physicist, lecturer, and reader in theoretical physics at the University of Bristol (1935–1948), after which he became professor of theoretical physics at Liverpool. His varied research included electrical conductivity and he contributed to the microscopic theory of superconductivity. He held a number of visiting professorships, including one at Purdue University in the U.S.

In 1951 Frohlich was elected a fellow of the Royal Society. He was the recipient of numerous awards and honors, including the prestigious Max Planck Medal. His publications over a half century include two books and more than 140 original papers and review articles.

[Ruth Rossing (2nd ed.)]

FROHMAN, U.S. family of theatrical figures, born in Sandusky, Ohio. DANIEL (1851–1940), theater manager and producer, began his career as a journalist, but later turned to theater management. In 1880 he became business manager of the Madison Square Theater. Later he bought the Lyceum Theater (1885) and appointed David *Belasco as stage manager. He staged plays by Belasco, A.W. Pinero, V. Sardou, and H.A. Jones, and such stars as William Faversham, Henry Miller, and E.H. Sothern acted under his management. He also managed Daly's Theater (1899–1903) and, after the Lyceum closed, opened the New Lyceum (1903). Later he went into film production and became a director of the Paramount Company. In 1933 he returned to Broadway to produce an English version of the Yiddish drama *Yoshe Kalb* at the National Theater, but the play closed after four performances. Daniel was president of the Actors' Fund of America from 1903 until his death and remained a revered figure of the American stage. He recalled his career in *Memories of a Manager* (1911), *Daniel Frohman Presents* (1935), and *Encore* (1937).

His brother, GUSTAVE (1855–1930), a theater manager, interested Charles (see below) in the theater and persuaded Daniel to leave journalism.

A third brother, CHARLES (1860–1915), theater manager and producer, was for some years a booking agent with connections throughout the United States. Later he helped organize a theatrical syndicate which controlled U.S. theaters for several years. Frohman acquired the Empire Theater in New York and had controlling shares in others. He also had interests in five theaters in England. As a producer, he scored his first real success with *Shenandoah* (1889). He was the first U.S. producer to become famous outside the country and produced some 125 plays in London. Charles managed and developed many stars of the stage of his day, some of the best known being Maude Adams, Ethel Barrymore, John Drew, William Gillette, and Otis Skinner. He also introduced Oscar Wilde and Somerset Maugham to the American public. Frohman dominated the U.S. stage in his time and with his death, on the torpedoed *Lusitania*, an era ended.

[Jo Ranson]

FROHMAN, DOV (1939–), Israeli engineer. Born in Amsterdam, Frohman reached Israel with Youth Aliyah; his parents were murdered in the Holocaust. He received his B.Sc. from the Haifa Technion and his M.Sc. and Ph.D. degrees in electrical engineering and computer science from the University of California, Berkeley. Much of his work was devoted to the development of semi-conductor memories, and he developed the first EPROM products. Joining the staff of the Hebrew University in 1974, he headed the School for Applied Science and Technology there (1975–80), during which time he established a laboratory for the development of semi-conductor devices as a basis for applied research on memory devices. In 1981 he began to direct Intel activity in Israel, eventually becoming its general manager in Israel. In 1991 he received the Israel Prize for engineering and technology.

FROLKIS, VLADIMIR VENIAMINOVICH (1924–1999), Ukrainian physiologist and gerontologist. Frolkis was born in the Ukraine (Zhitomir). He was one of the founders of the Institute of Gerontology in Kiev, where he headed the Department of Biology of Aging and the Laboratory of Physiology. His research interests covered all major fields of experimental gerontology with particular emphasis on neurohormonal mechanisms of aging and longevity. He developed the adaptive-regulatory theory of aging. He was the author of more than 700 works, including 25 monographs and 15 handbooks. Among them is a fundamental work on *Life Span Prolongation* (1991). Frolkis was a full member of the National Academy of Sciences and vice president of the Academy of Medical Sciences of the Ukraine, a member of the International Parliament of Humanitarians, and a Merited Professor of the International Science Foundation. He received many awards, including a State Prize in Science and Technology, the A.A. Bogomolets Award and the I.I. Mechnikov Award from the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, and the Fritz Verzar Medal.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: V.V. Bezrukov, in: *Gerontology* (1999), 239–40.

[Vadim Fraifeld (2nd ed.)]

FROMAN, IAN (1937–), Israeli tennis developer. Born in Johannesburg, South Africa, Froman received his degree in dentistry in 1961 from the University of Witwatersrand. In 1964 he immigrated to Israel. A tennis player from his youth, he represented South Africa in the Wimbledon championship in 1961, participated in Maccabiahs as a South African and as an Israeli, was captain of the Israeli Davis Cup team and trainer of the national tennis team. He left dentistry in 1974 to devote himself full time to advancing a tennis center for Israeli youth which opened in 1976. There are now eight such tennis centers throughout Israel with thousands of young people participating in the sport. In 1989 he was awarded the Israel Prize for sport and physical culture. In 2004 he was chosen to be the chairmen of the Israeli tennis association, and was one of the torch carriers during the independence ceremony.

[Fern Lee Seckbach]

FROMM, ERICH (1900–1980), U.S. psychoanalyst, social philosopher, and author. Fromm, who was born in Frankfurt of rabbinic descent, studied at German universities and received his professional training at the Psychoanalytic Institute of Berlin. He worked at the Institute for Social Research in Frankfurt from 1929 to 1932, but immigrated to the U.S. when Hitler came to power in Germany. His first appointment in America was at the International Institute for Social Research in New York City (1934–39). He was on the faculty of Bennington College, Vermont, from 1941 to 1950. In 1951 he was appointed professor at the National University of Mexico. He was also professor at Michigan State University (1957–61) and New York University (1962). In 1974 he settled in Switzerland. A theoretician of the neo-Freudian school, he pursued an independent road in the application of psychoanalysis to the problems of culture and society. His psychological studies on the meaning of freedom for modern man have had a wide influence on western thought.

A student of the Bible and the Talmud, "brought up in a religious family where the Old Testament touched me and exhilarated me more than anything else I was exposed to," Fromm was a disciple of Ludwig Krause and Nehemia Nobel, and was greatly influenced by Hermann Cohen. Fromm believed that everyone has a religious need and that religion is "the formalized and elaborate answer to man's existence." He postulated two major kinds of religion: the authoritarian and the humanistic. He rejected the former, for here man is utterly powerless, and adopted the humanistic religion in which man experiences oneness with the All, achieving his greatest strength and self-realization, as in the Jewish prophets, where their doctrines have an underlying humanity and where freedom is the aim of life. He differed from Freud, and considered "the religious cult as vastly superior to neurosis, because man shares his feelings, his oneness, security, and stability with his fellow men, which the neurotic person lacks in his isolation."

Fromm claimed that Judaism is an "untheological religion, where the stress is on the underlying substratum of human experience." Making extensive use of Judaic texts and practices, he demonstrated their contemporary relevance to the human condition, showing, in a nontheological way, how the idea of God is a permanent challenge to all kinds of idolatry. In Fromm's view, alienation, which is identical to idolatry in the Bible, is the sum and substance of human misery in our society. To save Western man from "depersonalization," society must recognize the sovereignty of the individual. In contrast to Freudian orthodoxy, Fromm emphasized the need for a social and cultural orientation in psychoanalysis.

Fromm's belief in the need for a society which recognizes man as a responsible individual is expounded in *The Sane Society* (1955). This society he regarded as the best antidote to the totalitarianism that he denounces in *Escape from Freedom* (1941). His other studies deal with the interrelation of psychology and ethics, psychoanalysis and social history, myth and religion, and dream symbolism. These books include: *Man for Himself* (1947); *Psychoanalysis and Religion* (1950); *The Forgotten Language* (1952); *The Art of Loving* (1956); and *You Shall Be as Gods* (1967), a psychiatric commentary on the biblical view of God in which he declares that the "Old Testament is a revolutionary book because its theme is the liberation of man."

Fromm's first wife was Frieda *Fromm-Reichman, whom he married in 1926.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: J.S. Glen, *Erich Fromm: a Protestant Critique* (1966); Friedenberg, in: *Commentary*, 34 (1962), 305–13.

[Menachem M. Brayer]

FROMM, HERBERT (1905–1995), German-born American organist, conductor, and composer. Born in Kitzingen on the Main, Bavaria, Fromm studied at the Academy of Music in Munich with Paul Hindemith. He worked as a theater conductor in Bielefeld (1930) and Wuerzburg (1931–33). In 1937 the Nazis forced him out of Germany and he went to the United States. There he became organist and director of music at

Temple Beth Zion, Buffalo, and from 1941 until 1973 at Temple Israel in Boston. He composed many works for the synagogue, and also a number of secular works. His synagogue compositions include *Adath Israel*, a service for Friday evening (1952); *Song of Miriam*, for women's choir, organ, or piano (1945); *Six Madrigals* (1951), for Sabbath and festivals; *Avodat Shabbat* (1960); *Psalm Cantata*, for mixed voices, organ, trumpet, viola, flute, and timpani (1963); *Ḥemdat Yamin*, a service for Sabbath morning (1964); *Chamber Cantata* (text by Judah Halevi), for mixed voices and eight instruments (1966); *Ḥag ha-Matzot*, suite on Passover melodies for harpsichord, flute, and cello (1967); and numerous anthems and organ compositions. In addition to his articles and essays in various journals and newspapers, he wrote *The Key of See: Travel Journey of a Composer* (1967), *Seven Pockets* (1977), and *On Jewish Music: A Composer's View* (1979). Fromm received the Ernest Bloch Award in 1945).

ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY: Baker's Biographical Dictionary (1997); N.M. Steinberger and E. Kahn, An Inventory of the Herbert Fromm Collection (1995).

FROMM-REICHMANN, FRIEDA (1889–1957), U.S. pioneer of psychoanalytic psychiatry and psychotherapeutic teaching and research. Born in Karlsruhe, Germany, Frieda Fromm-Reichmann studied medicine, practiced in several German cities, and founded the South West German Psychoanalytic Institute. She worked at the "Weisser Hirsch" Sanatorium in Dresden, which was a crossroads of psychoanalysis, social reform, Jewish orthodoxy, and existentialist philosophy. With the advent of Nazism she left Germany in 1933 and went to the U.S., where she joined the Washington Psychoanalytic Society in 1935, worked at the William Alanson White Institute in New York, and at Chestnut Lodge in Rockville, Maryland. She believed in the voluntary acceptance of life's commitments and in acquiring the strength to accept criticism. She was also fearlessly critical, for instance, of Freud's concept of narcissistic neurosis, a psychotic withdrawal which he held to be inaccessible to treatment. She stimulated the application of linguistic and communications research to psychoanalysis, when participating in 1955 and 1957 at the Center for Advanced Studies in the Behavioral Sciences, Stanford, California. She influenced a wide circle of pupils. The popular fictional work *I Never Promised You a Rose Garden* (1964), written by Joanne Greenberg, a former patient, presented her therapeutic technique.

Her major books include *Principles of Intensive Psychotherapy* (1950) and *Psychoanalysis and Psychotherapy* (1959, with full bibliography).

She was married to Erich *Fromm for four years from 1926.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: A. Grinstein, *Index of Psychoanalytic Writings*, 2 (1957), 701–3; 6 (1964), 3256–58; *Journal of the American Medical Association*, 164 (Aug. 3, 1957), 1601. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** Gail A. Hornstein, *To Redeem One Person Is to Redeem the World: The Life of Frieda Fromm-Reichmann* (2000.)

[Janos A. Schossberger]

°**FRONTO, MARCUS CORNELIUS** (c. 100–175), Roman rhetorician. Addressing his former pupil, Marcus *Aurelius, he refers to numerous casualties (not recorded elsewhere) inflicted on Roman armies by the Jews during Hadrian's reign.

[Jacob Petroff]

FROST, MARTIN (1942–), U.S. congressman. Frost was born in California but raised in Fort Worth, Texas. As a youngster he was deeply involved in the National Federation of Temple Youth, the Reform Youth Movement where he was a regional and national officer. He went to the University of Missouri, where he received a bachelor of journalism degree. He then worked for a Delaware newspaper and later for the *Congressional Quarterly* while he trained to be a lawyer at Georgetown University Law Center. Upon graduation, he clerked for Judge Sarah T. Hughes until 1972. He was also a legal commentator on Dallas television.

He first ran for Congress in 1974 and was defeated in a primary against a very popular TV weatherman. He sat out the next campaign while he ran Jimmy Carter's presidential campaign in North Texas. His district was more than one-third African American and 15 percent Hispanic, not necessarily an ideal political base for a Jewish candidate. Yet, with perseverance and organization, two traits that were to characterize his political career, he ran again in 1978 in the Democratic primary against the same incumbent weatherman and in a very big upset, prevailed.

Upon entering Congress Frost allied himself with then-Majority Leader James Wright, a fellow Texan who rewarded the freshman with a seat on the powerful House Rules Committee. He was an ally to Wright and his fortunes rose when Wright became speaker of the House. They dipped after Wright was forced to resign, but he rose again to leadership as chairman of the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee and then as chairman of the Democratic Caucus, the third most important position in the House.

Frost was a successful fundraiser and very savvy political strategist and organizer; he headed the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee in both the 1996 and 1998 cycles. In the 106th Congress he became chair of the Democratic Caucus, the first Jew ever to hold that position. His wife, Kathryn George Frost, retired as a major general and former adjutant general of the United States Army. She was the highest-ranking female in the United States Army. Frost raised three daughters, one of whom became a rabbi and one a chef.

Entering Congress in 1978, Frost served for 13 terms until he was defeated in the 2004 election after the mid-decade reapportionment bill, orchestrated by fellow Texan, House Majority Leader Tom Delay, passed the Texas Legislature. His district, which was once primarily a minority district was transformed by absorbing Republican strongholds, and what had been a secure seat was lost to the Republicans. When he was retired, he was one of the most senior Democrats in the House, in the South, and of the Jewish delegation.

He remained in Washington but also taught at the Kennedy School of Government at Harvard and served as a commentator for Fox News.

[Marshall Brachman (2nd ed.)]

FRUG, SHIMON SHMUEL (1860–1916), Russian poet. Frug was born in a Jewish agricultural colony in Kherson province, Russia; he was self-educated. He began his poetic career writing in Russian, published three volumes of verse, and was the first poet to treat Jewish themes in Russian verse. His poem "The Goblet," written under the impact of the pogroms of 1881, was translated into Yiddish as "*Der Kos*" by I.L. Peretz and sung by Jews the world over. Soon Frug himself began to write in Yiddish, but his first collection of Yiddish songs and ballads did not appear until 1896. A complete edition in three volumes followed in 1904 and again, with additions, in 1910. His Yiddish national songs were keyed to the needs of his generation. In his popular song "*Zamd un Shtern*" ("Sand and Stars") he argues with God, asking why He had only fulfilled half His promise to Abraham, making Jews as numerous as sand: but "where are the stars?" The song "*Hot Rakhmones*" ("Have Pity"), composed after the Kishinev Pogrom of 1903, bore the refrain "Have pity, give shrouds for the dead and for the living – bread." It was recited and sung at mass meetings protesting against Czarist oppression of Jews. In his socialist and Zionist lyrics, he pleaded for a return of the Jews to productive labor on their ancestral soil. His songs inspired the early Zionist pioneers. He also composed ballads based on Jewish folklore, of which the best known is "*Dem Shames Tokhter*," "The Sexton's Daughter," a Jewish parallel to the Greek tale of Admetus and Alcestis. Frug, who suffered from poverty, misfortune, illness, and family troubles in his last years in Odessa, characterized himself as a poet who wept all his life.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Rejzen, Leksikon, 3 (1929), 138–62; Feinberg, in: JBA, 17 (1959/60), 65–72; Singer, *ibid.*, 24 (1966/67), 87–90; S. Liptzin, *Flowering of Yiddish Literature* (1963), 65–72; E.H. Jeshurin, *S. Frug, Bibliografye* (1960); L. Wiener, *History of Yiddish Literature* (1899).

[Melech Ravitch]

FRUM, Canadian family. BARBARA ROSENBERG FRUM (1937–1992), radio and TV journalist, was born in Niagara Falls, New York, and educated at the University of Toronto. She wrote for numerous magazines and performed on TV and radio, but was best known for hosting CBC Radio's popular current affairs show *As It Happens*. From 1982 until her death she was a host of *The Journal*, CBC-TV's nightly current-affairs program. Barbara Frum received the Order of Canada in 1979 and the National Press Club of Canada Award for Outstanding Contribution to Canadian Journalism in 1975. Following her death from leukemia in 1992, she was awarded an honorary degree from the University of Toronto and the Academy of Canadian Cinema and Television John Drainie Award for Distinguished Contributions to Broadcasting.

Her husband, MURRAY FRUM (1931–), was a real estate developer and arts patron. He was born in Toronto, Ontario, and received his degree in dentistry from the University of Toronto in 1956. He began his career in property development soon after graduation and became chairman and CEO of the Frum Development Group. A long-time patron of the arts, Frum chaired the Ontario Arts Council Foundation and the Ontario Cultural Attractions Fund, and was a trustee of the Art Gallery of Ontario. The Frum Collection of Primitive Art and Sculpture has been exhibited at such prestigious institutions in Canada and the U.S. as the National Gallery in Ottawa, the Art Gallery of Ontario in Toronto, the Museum of Modern Art and the Guggenheim Museum in New York, the Smithsonian Institute and the National Gallery of Art in Washington, D.C., and the Baltimore Museum of Art. Frum was awarded the Order of Canada in 2001.

Their son DAVID FRUM (1960–), author, journalist, and political pundit, was born in Toronto, Ontario. He received simultaneous B.A. and M.A. degrees in history from Yale in 1982 and graduated cum laude from the Harvard Law School in 1987. Between 1994 and 2001, he was a senior fellow at the Manhattan Institute for Public Policy Research, and from January 2001 to February 2002, was economic speechwriter for President George W. Bush. He wrote for *The Wall Street Journal, Forbes, The Weekly Standard, The New York Times*, and Canada's *National Post*, and published five books. Frum was the Reader's Digest resident fellow at the American Enterprise Institute and a contributing editor for *National Review*, writing a daily column for National Review Online. He regularly appeared on National Public Radio and contributed to Britain's *Daily Telegraph*.

Barbara and Murray Frum's daughter LINDA FRUM (1963–), author and journalist, was also born in Toronto, Ontario. In 1984 she earned a B.A. in arts from McGill University. Her work appeared in many Canadian publications, particularly the *National Post*, and she published two books, including a memoir of her late mother, *Barbara Frum: A Daughter's Memoir* (1996). She was appointed chair of UJA Federation's Women's Campaign & Advocacy and was a member of the board of directors of the Canada-Israel Committee.

[Andrea Knight (2nd ed.)]

FRUMKIN, ALEKSANDR NAUMOVICH (1895–1976), Russian physical chemist. He graduated from the University of Odessa in 1915, where he taught 1920–22. In 1928–29 he was a lecturer on colloid chemistry at the University of Wisconsin, and from 1930 professor of electrochemistry at the University of Moscow. Frumkin was director of the Institute of Physical Chemistry of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences 1939–49, and from 1958 of the Academy's Institute of Electrochemistry. He became an academician in 1932, and was awarded the Lenin Prize in 1931 and the Stalin Prize in 1941. He wrote on surface phenomena, the theory of electrochemical processes, the electric double layer, diffusion processes in solution under the influence of electric fields, and other topics. His work was applied in the U.S.S.R. to the generation of electricity by chemical means, the wetting of metals by electrolytes, flotation, and heterogenous catalysis. He was the author of *Elektrokapillyarnye yavleniya i elektrodnye potentsialy* ("Electrocapillary Effects and Electrode Potentials," 1919) and a coauthor of *Kinetika elektrodnykh protsessov* ("Kinetics of Electrode Processes," 1952).

[Samuel Aaron Miller]

FRUMKIN, ARYEH LEIB (1845–1916), rabbinical scholar and writer; pioneer of Jewish settlement in Ereẓ Israel. Frumkin studied rabbinics in his native Kelme, Lithuania, and at the Slobodka Yeshivah. He visited Ereẓ Israel in 1867, and after two years in Odessa, returned to Jerusalem in 1871. There he began research for a history of the rabbis and scholars of Jerusalem, *Toledot Ḥakhmei Yerushalayim* (Vilna, 1874; ed. by E. Rivlin, Jerusalem, 1928–30, repr. 1969, with biography and index). Frumkin's account of his first visit to Jerusalem, *Massa Even Shemu'el* (1871), gives important source material on conditions in Ereẓ Israel at the time. Returning to Lithuania, Frumkin was ordained a rabbi and took a rabbinical post at Ilukste, Latvia. After the 1881 pogroms, Frumkin participated, representing Ḥovevei Zion, in the consultations held in Germany to consider the plight of Russian Jewry. There he advocated settlement in Ereẓ Israel as a solution, opposing emigration to the United States. With the financial support of Emil Lachman, a wealthy Berlin Jew, he bought land in *Petaḥ Tikvah, built the first house there, and began a heroic ten-year period as a farmer-scholar, braving malaria and other dangers, establishing a *talmud torah* and a small yeshivah, and persuading more settlers to move there from *Yehud. Lachman eventually refused to continue endowing the enterprise and Frumkin was compelled to leave the settlement. In 1894 he went to London and was active in Jewish life in the East End. He established a wine business, using the income to return to Ereẓ Israel in 1911, where he lived first in Jerusalem and then returned to Petaḥ Tikvah.

Apart from *Toledot Ḥakhmei Yerushalayim*, Frumkin's main contribution to Jewish scholarship is his edition of *Seder Rav Amram* (of *Amram ben Sheshna) which he published as a large *siddur* (from an Oxford Ms.), with a commentary and notes (Jerusalem, 1910–12). He also published a biographical sketch of his uncle, Elias b. Jacob, called *Toledot Eliyahu* (1900), a Passover *Haggadah* (with *Gei Ḥizzayon* commentary, 1913), and an edition of the Book of Esther with two commentaries (1893).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: M. Harizman and J. Poleskin, *Sefer ha-Yovel le-Fetaḥ Tikvah* (1929), 321–51; E. Rivlin, in: A.L. Frumkin, *Toledot Ḥakhmei Yerushalayim*, 1 (1928), 11–56, first pagin.; A.I. Trywaks and E. Steinman, *Sefer Me'ah Shanah* (1938), 399–410.

FRUMKIN, BORIS MARKOVICH (1872–after 1939), pioneer of the *Bund and among its most prominent publicists; first historian of the Jewish labor movement in Russia. He graduated from Geneva University. From the middle 1890s, Frumkin ranked among the leading ideologists of the Jewish Social Democrat circles in Minsk. He was the editor of the *Arbayter Bletel* of Minsk (1897), the first periodical published by the Jewish Social Democrats in Russia. He helped to organize the Bund in Lodz, where he was imprisoned in 1898 for revolutionary activity. In 1906 he left Russia and became a member of the "Committee Abroad" of the Bund and secretary of the Organization of Workers' Societies and Relief Groups for the Bund Abroad. After his return to Russia, he was again active in Lodz and edited (1913–14) the principal legalized organ of the Bund in St. Petersburg, *Di Tsayt, Undzer Tsayt*. After the February 1917 Revolution, Frumkin wrote for the Bundist press. During the split in the Bund in 1920–21 he joined the Combund (the faction that later joined the Communist Party). He was seen in Moscow in the mid-1930s. Later, he disappeared from the literary and public scene. He appears to have been still alive on the eve of World War II, but there is no information available on his end.

Frumkin's historiographical writings include: "*Iz istorii revolyutsionnogo dvizheniya sredi yevreyev v 1870-kh godakh*" ("From the History of the Revolutionary Movement among the Jews in the 1870s"), in: *Yevreyskaya Starina*, 4 (1911), 221–48, 513–40; "*Ocherki iz istorii yevreyskogo rabochego dvizheniya v Rossii 1885–1897*" ("From the History of the Jewish Labor Movement in Russia 1885–1897"), *ibid.*, 6 (1913), 108–22, 245–63; and "*Zubatovshchina i yevreyskoye rabocheye dvizheniye*" ("The Zubatov Movement and the Jewish Labor Movement"), in: *Perezhitoye*, 3 (1911), 199–223. Over the signature of "B. Gorenberg" he wrote the Bund's report on the problem of emigration, *Zur Emigrationsfrage* (also Yid., *Emigratsye un Imigratsye*) for the Stuttgart congress of the Second International (1907). He was coauthor of "*Der 'Bund' in der Revolutsye fun 1905–06*" ("The 'Bund' in the Revolution of 1905–06," 1930), which also appeared in *Archiv fuer Sozialwissenschaft und Sozialpolitik*.

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[Moshe Mishkinsky]

FRUMKIN, ISRAEL DOV (1850–1914), pioneer journalist in Ereẓ Israel. Frumkin was born in Dubrovno, Belorussia and was taken to Jerusalem when he was nine. In 1870 he started contributing to the weekly *Ḥavaẓẓelet* founded by his father-in-law, Israel *Bak. Frumkin soon became its publisher and editor, and turned it into a militant paper that attacked financial corruption in the Jerusalem community. His enemies caused the sporadic banning of his paper and even his imprisonment. In *Ḥavaẓẓelet* he advocated the consolidation of the separate communities in Jerusalem, higher standards in education, and the inclusion of secular studies and vocational training in the schools. His early support of agricultural settlement in Ereẓ Israel turned to adamant opposition as its secular character became apparent. Frumkin was especially hostile to Aḥad Ha-Am, the Ḥovevei Zion, and the Herzl brand of Zionsim in Ereẓ Israel. He also fiercely opposed missionary activities. *Ḥavaẓẓelet* declined after the turn of the century and ceased publication in 1910.

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[Yehuda Slutsky]

°**FRY, VARIAN** (1907–1967), U.S. journalist and Righteous Among the Nations. On hearing of the fall of France to the Germans, in June 1940, a group of intellectuals, headed by Frank Kingdon, met at the Commodore Hotel in New York and decided to create an Emergency Rescue Committee in order to spirit out of the country well-known artists and intellectuals as well as German and Austrian socialist leaders – mostly Jews – who because of their past activities and anti-Nazi stance stood in danger of being turned over to the Germans under clause 19 of the Franco-German armistice, which obliged France "to surrender on demand all persons under German jurisdiction named by the German government." The committee chose Varian Fry, a Harvard graduate and editor of several liberal journals, as its emissary to Vichy France. He was given $3,000, and instructed to explore rescue possibilities for the individuals on his list. He was to leave on August 4, 1940, and return within a month, with a possible extension of two more months. Arriving in Marseilles, he began writing letters from his hotel room to all those on his 200-name list whose addresses were known. The resultant stampede of people to his hotel room led him to open an office called the Centre Américain de Secours. He discovered that some intellectuals were afraid to disclose their whereabouts or, as in the case of Walter *Benjamin, had preferred to end their life. As the job was beyond the capacity of one man, he assembled a staff of trustworthy people to help him in what would become a vast rescue operation, including Albert Hirschman, Mary Jane Gold, former French police officer Daniel Bénédite, Miriam Davenport-Ebel, Willi Spira (a Viennese cartoonist who helped to falsify credentials), Marcel Verzeano, and Johannes (Hans) and Lisa Fittko. The aim now was to get as many people as possible out of the country, in whatever way possible. In Fry's words, "I had come to think of illegal emigration as the normal, if not the only way to go." The escape routes included Route A: from Marseilles to Lisbon through Spain, via the French border town of Banyuls; B: to Spain over the Pyrenees; C: with authentic-looking forged papers, from Pau (France) to Saragossa (Spain); D: Cuban visas on questionable passports; E: from Marseilles by boat to Oran (Algeria); F: an alternate crossing into Spain: G: from Marseilles to the French colony of Martinique. By May 1941, the office had handled more than 15,000 requests, of which 1,800 fell within the scope of Fry's direct work, representing some 4,000 people. Altogether 1,000 were sent out of the country, and support and allowances were distributed to 560 others. Many others were referred to separate welfare agencies. Persons helped to leave France included novelists Franz *Werfel and Lion *Feuchtwanger, painter Marc *Chagall, sculptor Jacques *Lipchitz, political scientist Hannah *Arendt, physiologist Otto *Meyerhof, and many others. The French lodged protests with the American consul in Marseilles over Fry's illegal emigration methods, and the police several times raided Fry's offices in search of incriminating documents. The French wanted him out of the country, as did U.S. diplomats in Vichy France (including the consul-general in Marseilles, Hugh S. Fullerton, and the U.S. ambassador, Admiral William Leahy), who felt that Fry's methods were hurting the good relations existing then between the U.S. and Vichy France. In Washington D.C., the U.S. State Department complained that Fry's "continued presence was an embarrassment to everybody." Fry was continuously followed by French secret agents, "part of a campaign to frighten me into leaving France of my own free will." In a June 1941 letter to his wife, Eileen, Fry wrote, "If I leave, I abandon those human beings, many of whom I have come to know and to like very much, and most of whom have come to depend on me." Finally, in August 1941, Fry was arrested and given an hour to pack, driven to the Spanish border, and told that his expulsion had been ordered by the Ministry of the Interior, "with the approval of the American embassy." Fry's office continued to function, headed by his French aide Bénédite, until the office was closed by the authorities on June 2, 1942. After his forced return to the U.S., Fry criticized the State Department's immigration policy. As a result, he was placed under FBI surveillance as a subversive agent on the orders of J. Edgar Hoover. In a piece called "The Massacre of the Jews," published in *The New Republic* in December 1942, Fry called upon the Allied governments to immediately set up tribunals to begin to collect evidence on the Nazi massacres of Jews, while at the same time open their doors to any refugees fleeing the Holocaust, and for the Pope to threaten with excommunication all Catholics who in any way participated in these frightful crimes.

In 1967, a few months before his death, France, which had expelled him in 1941, conferred upon him the Chevalier de Légion honor. In a ceremony at Yad Vashem, on February 2, 1996, U.S. Secretary of State Warren Christopher apologized on behalf of the State Department for its earlier abusive treatment of Fry and underlined the pride of the U.S. that a man of such high moral caliber was now honored as a great humanitarian under the Yad Vashem-sponsored "Righteous Among the Nations" program. Fry is the only American ever to receive the Righteous Among the Nations Award.

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[Mordecai Paldiel (2nd ed.)]

FRÝD, NORBERT (**Fried**, also **Nora F.**, 1913–1976), Czech writer and journalist. Born in České Budějovice (Bohemia) into a mixed Czech-German family, he studied law and modern literature at Charles University in Prague. He was active in left-wing culture and influenced by surrealism. His professional career as a scriptwriter, as well as his personal life, was interrupted by the Nazi occupation of Czechoslovakia. He was sent to the Theresienstadt, Auschwitz, and Dachau concentration camps and was the only member of his family to survive. He recorded his experiences from the Holocaust in his novel *Krabice živých* (1956; "A Box of Living People"). The Protectorate's atmosphere is depicted in the story *Kat nepočká* (1958; "The Hangman Will Not Wait"). After the war, Frýd entered the Czechoslovak Foreign Service and spent several years in Mexico. His stay there inspired him to write the journalistic pieces *Mexiko je v Americe* (1952; "Mexico Is in America") and *Usměvavá Guatemala* (1955; "Smiling Guatemala"), the novels *Studna supů* (1953; "The Well of Vultures"), *Prales* (1965; "The Primeval Forest"), and *Císařovna* (1972; "The Empress") and some other works of prose. Beginning in the late 1960s Frýd published a fictionalized trilogy chronicling the life of his family and its fate. The first volume, *Vzorek bez ceny a pan biskup* (1966; "Sample without Value and Mister Bishop"), and the second, *Hedvábné starosti* (1968; "Silken Worries") deal with the time of his grandparents and parents, i.e., Bohemian Jewry in the second half of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century; the third volume *Lahvová pošta* (1971; "The Bottle Post"), is a testimony of the 1930s in Prague and of Frýd's stay at the Theresienstadt ghetto and other concentration camps.

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[Milos Pojar (2nd ed.)]

FRYMER-KENSKY, TIKVA, scholar of biblical studies. She received her bachelor's degree from City College of New York in 1965 and her doctorate from Yale University in 1977. She was a visiting associate professor at the University of Michigan and the Jewish Theological Seminary before becoming the director of biblical studies at Reconstructionist Rabbinical College in 1988. In 1995 she joined the faculty of the University of Chicago Divinity School as professor of Hebrew Bible and the history of Judaism.

Frymer-Kensky's areas of specialization include, in addition to Bible studies, Assyriology and Sumerology, Jewish studies, and women and religion. Her 1992 work, *In the Wake of the Goddesses: Women, Culture, and the Biblical Transformation of Pagan Myth*, attracted widespread attention and critical acclaim. The work traces the shift in the Middle East from polytheism, which included the worship of goddesses, to monotheism; it examines changes in the role of women and questions whether religious experience would be different for women were the deity defined as female.

Motherprayer: The Pregnant Woman's Spiritual Companion (1995) is a collection of biblical interpretations, prayers, ancient Sumerian incantations, and meditations that draw from more recent Jewish and Christian tradition. Intended as a spiritual guide for mothers-to-be, the work follows the stages of pregnancy through birth. Though rooted in Frymer-Kensky's scholarly research, it found a wide audience outside academia.

Frymer-Kensky received the Koret Jewish Book Award in 2002 and a National Jewish Book Award in 2003 for *Reading the Women of the Bible* (2002). Noting that a text from a patriarchal society would not be expected to contain so many stories about women, she examines four female groups: victors, victims, virgins, and "voice." She suggests that the stories of women as both victors and victims originate during an absence of central power, coming before the rise of the Israelite monarchy and after its fall, and she relates the understanding of these stories to an Israeli conception of their subjugation by other groups.

Frymer-Kensky was editor, with David Novak, Peter Ochs, David Fox Sandmel, and Michael A. Signer, of *Christianity in Jewish Terms* (2000). This collection of essays examines aspects of Christianity that renounce antisemitism and that view Judaism as a spiritual path compatible with that of Christianity. She also served as editor, with Victor H. Matthews and Bernard M. Levinson, of *Gender and Law in the Hebrew Bible and the Ancient Near East* (1998). Her later work involves a commentary on Ruth and further investigation of biblical theology. She is a fellow of the American Academy for Jewish Research.

[Dorothy Bauhoff (2nd ed.)]

FUBINI, GUIDO (1879–1943), Italian mathematician. Fubini was professor of mathematics at Catania in 1901, at Genoa in 1906, and at Turin from 1908 until the Fascist anti-Jewish laws resulted in his dismissal in 1938. He immigrated the following year to the United States and worked successively at the Institute of Advanced Studies, Princeton, and New York University. Fubini, who was a member of the Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, made important contributions to projective differential geometry, theory of Lie groups and analysis. His collected works in three volumes entitled *Opere Scelte* (1957–62) were published in Rome. The first book of this edition contains a record of his publications together with a biographical introduction.

[Barry Spain]

FUBINI, MARIO (1900–1977), Italian literary historian and critic. Born in Turin, Fubini belonged to the group that gathered around the young liberal intellectual Piero Gobetti (killed by the Fascists in 1926). Fubini was first a schoolteacher and later a professor of Italian literature at the universities of Palermo (1937–39), from which he was removed owing to the antisemitic laws promulgated by the the Fascist regime, Trieste (1945–49), Milan (1949–67), and Pisa at the prestigious Scuola normale superiore (1967–77). He took an early interest in French literature, publishing two monographs, *Alfred de Vigny* (1922) and *Jean Racine e la critica delle sue tragedie* (1925), but subsequently concentrated on Italian literature, particularly that of the Renaissance and Romantic periods. He wrote a number of studies of fundamental importance including *Ugo Foscolo* (1928); *Studi sulla critica letteraria del Settecento* (1934); *Vittorio Alfieri: il pensiero – la tragedia* (1937, 1960^3); *Dal Muratori al Baretti* (1946); *Foscolo Minore* (1949); *Ritratto dell' Alfieri e altri studi alfieriani* (1951, 1963^2); *Romanticismo italiano* (1953); and *La cultura illuministica in Italia* (1957). Stressing the indissolubility of the connection between culture and literature, Fubini formulated various modifications of Croce's aesthetics, to which he basically adhered. The results of Fubini's research on linguistic problems are contained in *Stile e umanità di Giambattista Vico* (1946), *Studi sulla letteratura del Rinascimento* (1947), and *Metrica e poesia* (1962). An authority on Dante, Fubini also published a collection of essays, *Il peccato di Ulisse e altri studi danteschi* (1966). He was editor of the *Giornale Storico della Letteratura Italiana*, and he promoted and directed the publication of several classical Italian texts, to which he appended important introductions and notes.

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[Louisa Cuomo / Alessandro Guetta (2nd ed.)]

FUCHS, ABRAHAM MOSHE (**Fuks**; 1890–1974), Yiddish short story writer and journalist. Born in Ozerna, East Galicia (now Ukraine), Fuchs lived in Lemberg (Lvov), where he formed part of the literary group "Yung-Galitsye" before immigrating to New York in 1912. During World War I he lived in Vienna as a journalist. In 1938 he fled from the Nazis and went to London. In 1950 he settled in Israel. Fuchs began to publish short stories in 1911 and served as correspondent of the New York *Forverts* (1921–45). His books are *Eynzame* ("Loners," 1912), *Oyfn Bergl* ("On the Hill," 1924), *Unter der Brik* ("Under the Bridge," 1924), *Di Nakht un der Tog* ("Night and Day," 1961), and *Dertseylungen* ("Tales," 1976). Fuchs' protagonists are poor Galician Jewish villagers, whose natural surroundings he describes. His later tales are set in Israel. Some of his works have been translated into Hebrew, Polish, German, and English.

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[Jon Silkin / Tamar Lewinsky (2nd ed.)]

FUCHS, ALFRED (1892–1941), Czech journalist, publicist, translator and author. Born in Prague, Fuchs was a Zionist in his youth, but later he became an assimilationist and edited publications of the organized assimilationist movement of Czech Jews (see *Čechů Židů, Svaz). One of his first works was *O židovské otázce* ("On the Jewish Question," 1919). Above all he translated Heine's works. Ultimately he was baptized and became one of the leading Catholic publicists in Czechoslovakia. He learned Hebrew in order to read kabbalistic literature (together with his friend, the Hasidic poet Jiří Mordechai *Langer), but found greater affinity in the Catholic mystic philosophers. After a career with the Catholic press, he became chief of the press department of the prime minister's office. He was a leading expert on canon law and published a number of penetrating studies on Vatican policy. Fuchs described his road to Catholicism in an autobiographical novel *Oltář a rotačka* ("Altar and Printing Press," 1930). He never concealed his Jewish origin, and at the peak of the antisemitic wave under Hitler, he wrote that if he were forced to wear the yellow star of David, he would wear that and his Vatican decorations with equal pride. In 1941 he was taken by the Gestapo from a monastery where he had found refuge and was tortured to death in the Dachau concentration camp.

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[Avigdor Dagan / Milos Pojar (2nd ed.)]

FUCHS, DANIEL (1909–1993), U.S. novelist and screenwriter. Raised in the Williamsburg section of Brooklyn, Fuchs wrote three naturalistic novels based upon his experiences there: *Summer in Williamsburg* (1934), *Homage to Blenholt* (1936), and *Low Company* (1937). These were later published as one volume in 1961. The stories he wrote for the *Saturday Evening Post* led him to Hollywood, where he wrote a number of successful scripts for motion pictures. *West of the Rockies* was published in 1971. *The Apathetic Bookie Joint* appeared in 1979; *The Golden West: Hollywood Stories* was published in 2005.

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FUCHS, LILLIAN (1901–1995), U.S. violist and one of the first women to perform as a permanent member of a string quartet in America. Her musical family included her father, Philip, an amateur violinist; and brothers JOSEPH (1899–1997), a well-known violinist, and HARRY (1908–1986), a cellist. After early study of the piano, Lillian switched to the violin, studying with Louis Svencenski (1862–1926). She enrolled in the Institute of Musical Art (now Juilliard) and studied violin with Franz Kneisel (1865–1926) and composition with Percy Goetschius (1853–1943). In 1924, she earned the silver medal for highest honors, the Morris Loeb Prize, and the Seligman Prize in composition. Fuchs married Ludwig Stein, a business man and amateur musician in 1930. They had twin daughters, Carol Stein (Amado), a violinist, and Barbara Stein (Mallow), a cellist, born in 1935.

Fuchs's debut concert as a violinist took place in 1926. That same year, invited by Marianne Kneisel to join an all-female string quartet, she switched to viola. In 1927, Lillian joined the Perolé String Quartet as violist. In addition to live concerts, the Perolé Quartet was featured on regular Sunday radio broadcasts over WOR in New York City. Fuchs performed with them for 15 years and went on to play with the Budapest String Quartet as a second violist, which gave her acceptance in the highest ranks of chamber music.

In 1940 she began to concertize with her brother Joseph Fuchs. Their highly acclaimed performances of the Mozart *Sinfonia Concertante*, helped bring this and other classic duos to new life. Fuchs also enjoyed a career as a soloist with major symphony orchestras. Fuchs championed contemporary music and several composers created works written especially for her, including Bohuslav Martinu, *Three Madrigals* (*Madrigaly*, 1947) and *Sonata for Viola and Piano* (1955); Quincy Porter, *Duo for Viola and Harp* (1957); and Jacques de Menasce, *Sonata for Viola and Piano* (1955). Fuchs adapted many works for viola, such as Bach's *Six Suites for Unaccompanied Cello*; she was the first violist to record all six Bach suites, which she did on Decca records. She composed some of her own music, including *Jota*, for violin and piano, and wrote a number of works devoted to the development of viola technique.

In her long career, Fuchs taught and coached other chamber music performers, including Isaac *Stern and Pinchas *Zukerman. In 1962, the Manhattan School of Music engaged her to coach chamber music. She accepted a post at Juilliard in 1971 and in 1989, she joined the faculty at Mannes College of Music, teaching at both institutions until 1993.

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[Judith S. Pinnolis (2nd ed.)]

FUCHS, MOSES ẒEVI (1843–1911), Hungarian rabbi. He was born in Lovasbereny, where his father, Benjamin Ze'ev Wolf, was rabbi, and Moses succeeded him in 1873. In 1882 he moved to Grosswardein (now Oradea), Romania, where he served until his death. His *Yad Ramah* (1940) includes important halakhic responsa, many of which reflect the problems facing European Jewry in his time.

Fuchs saw in Ḥasidism an antidote to Haskalah and assimilation, stating in one of his responsa: "The love of God and His Torah is the essence and source of Ḥasidism. When economic circumstances permit, one should occupy oneself in the study of Torah with deep deliberation and spiritual joy. It is also important to visit the *ẓaddik* from time to time, in order to learn from his ways. The wise man should learn from the *ẓaddikim* and their true disciples but pay no attention to the masses who go running after them."

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[Naphtali Ben-Menahem]

FUCHSBERG, JACOB D. (1913–1995), U.S. jurist. For many years, Fuchsberg was a leading trial lawyer. He argued many cases before the U.S. Supreme Court, hundreds of cases before the New York State Court of Appeals and other appellate courts, and thousands of trials covering almost every facet of litigation. Some of the precedent-setting or socially significant cases he participated in as trial and appellate counsel were *Oliver v. Postel*, keeping the courts open to the press and public under the Sixth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution; the *Knights of Pythias* case, attacking color discrimination in fraternal organizations; the *De Martino* "Baby Lenore" case, which led to reform of New York adoption statutes and raised important questions of full faith and credit under the U.S. Constitution and a number of tort cases setting precedents in the award of adequate damages.

Fuchsberg served as president of the Association of Trial Lawyers of America (1963–64). In 1974 he was elected judge in the highest appellate court of the State of New York – the New York State Court of Appeal. He retired from the Court of Appeals in 1983 and founded the Jacob D. Fuchsberg law firm.

Fuchsberg wrote *Examination of Witnesses* (with L. Harolds and J. Kelner, 1965) and compiled *Class Actions Primer* (1973). He edited and authored a number of books on the law of damages and trial advocacy and wrote many articles on a variety of legal subjects for professional periodicals. He founded and edited *Trial* Magazine.

Fuchsberg was active in many Jewish causes and served as vice president of the Zionist Organization of America. He represented the New York Conference on Soviet Jewry.

[Julius J. Marcke]

FUENN, SAMUEL JOSEPH (1818–1890), Hebrew writer of the more traditional wing of the Russian Haskalah and an early member of Ḥovevei Zion. Fuenn, who was born in Vilna, received a traditional Jewish education, and afterward joined the circle of Haskalah supporters there. He was a founder of the first Jewish school in the city (1841) where he taught Bible and Hebrew. Together with L. Hurwitz he published the literary magazine *Pirḥei Ẓafon* (1841–44), the first such Hebrew work to appear in Russia. When the government rabbinical school opened in Vilna in 1847 he joined it as a teacher of Bible and Hebrew language. In 1856 he was appointed inspector of the government Jewish schools in the Vilna District. In 1863 he opened a Hebrew printing press in Vilna. He edited and published *Ha-Karmel* (1860–81) which appeared first as a weekly and then as a monthly. Fuenn wrote extensively in Hebrew and Russian for this periodical, and his articles included studies of the history of Russian Jewry and literary criticism, as well as the first chapters of his autobiography, *Dor ve-Doreshav*. Because of his moderate views on the Haskalah, his traditional way of life, and his financial independence, Fuenn achieved a prominent role in the leadership of the Vilna Jewish community. He was also highly respected by the civilian authorities and was the recipient of government medals. When the Ḥibbat Zion movement began, he helped establish a society in Vilna and headed it, together with L. Levanda. He was later elected to the central committee in Russia. In his later years Fuenn devoted himself to two important works. The first was a biographical lexicon of notable Jews, *Keneset Yisrael* (1886–90). The second was an extensive Hebrew dictionary, *Ha-Oẓar*, which was the first in the history of Hebrew lexicography to cover the Bible, Mishnah, Talmud, the Hebrew poets, and medieval philosophers; the dictionary also included a translation of terms into Russian and German. Only the first volume, comprising the first seven letters *alef* to *zayin*, appeared in the author's lifetime; the remaining three volumes were completed from Fuenn's notes by S.P. *Rabbinowitz (1900–03). For the meaning of Hebrew words Fuenn relies upon the works of the medieval grammarians, especially Ibn Janaḥ and David Kimḥi, as well as modern lexicographers. His Hebrew dictionary is a summary of the knowledge available in his generation, which still lacks systematic etymological insight. Its strong point is the collection of references to the sources, the Mishnah, the Jerusalem Talmud, and liturgical and Aramaic texts. He died in Vilna. Fuenn's other works include a history of the Second Temple, *Divrei ha-Yamim li-Venei Yisrael* (Vilna, 1871–77), *Kiryah Ne'emanah* (Vilna, 1860), a monograph on the Vilna community, and a number of textbooks and translations of juvenile historical novels and short stories.

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[Yehuda Slutsky]

FUERST, JULIUS (pseudonym **Alsari**, 1805–1873), Polish Hebraist, bibliographer, and historian. Fuerst was born in Zerkow, Poland, the son of a *darshan* ("expounder" of the Bible). He studied at the University of Berlin, where Hegel was one of his teachers, and at the universities of Breslau and Halle, where he was the pupil of *Gesenius. He settled in Leipzig and taught Hebrew, Syriac, Aramaic grammar and literature, Bible exegesis, and other subjects at the university there (professor, 1864).

Fuerst owes his reputation to his monumental bibliographical work *Bibliotheca Judaica* (2 vols., 1849–51, 2 vols. in 3, 1863^2, reprint 1960). The work is based solely on his findings without taking into account the important research done in the field by his contemporary M. *Steinschneider. His history of the Karaites, *Geschichte des Karaeerthums* (3 vols., 1862–69), was superseded by later works, even by the time of its publication. Fuerst also wrote *Lehrgebaeude der aramaeischen Idiome* (1835), *Ḥaruzei Peninim* (1836), *Oẓar Leshon ha-Kodesh* (1837–40), a revision of *Buxtorf's Bible concordance in collaboration with Franz *Delitzsch, and *Hebraeisches und Chaldaeisches Handwoerterbuch ueber das Alte Testament* (2 vols., 1851–61), with the supplement *Zur Geschichte der Hebraeischen Lexicographie* (1867^3; translated into English by S. Davidson, *A Hebrew and Chaldee Lexicon to the Old Testament*). He translated Saadiah Gaon's *Emunot ve-De'ot* into German (1845), and wrote a comprehensive history of Hebrew literature, *Geschichte der juedischen Literatur und des juedisch-hellenistischen Schrifttums* (2 vols., 1867–70); *Der Kanon des Alten Testaments nach den Ueberlieferungen in Talmud und Midrasch* (1868); and several Hebrew–Aramaic dictionaries and grammars. He collaborated with L. *Zunz and also worked on the publication of an edition of the Bible, *Illustrierte Prachtbibel* (1874), comprising 24 books with German translation and explanatory notes. He was a close friend of Franz Delitzsch, whom he assisted in writing his work on the history of Jewish poetry.

Fuerst founded and edited the weekly magazine *Orient* (1840–52), in whose scientific supplement *Literaturblatt des Orients* many of his scientific articles were published. Although most of Fuerst's works are by now obsolete, he is thought to be one of the forerunners of scientific research in all branches of Judaic studies. His library was bequeathed to the *Hochschule fuer die Wissenschaft des Judentums in Berlin.

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FUERSTENBERG, CARL (1850–1933), German banker. Born in Danzig, Fuerstenberg worked for the Berlin banking house of S. *Bleichroeder from 1871 to 1883, when he left to join the Berliner Handels-Gesellschaft, another prominent issuing and investment bank. Under Fuerstenberg's guidance the Berliner Handels-Gesellschaft became one of the leading financial institutions of late Imperial Germany operating in global business. It developed especially close connections with German heavy and electrical industries, and introduced Russian and United States securities to the Berlin Stock Exchange. Fuerstenberg also established firm relations with the New York firm of *Hallgarten and Company which were useful after World War I, when Germany needed foreign credit. Fuerstenberg married a Jewish woman whose family came from Poland. His attitude towards his Jewishness was strongly influenced by the idea of acculturation. His son Hans was educated as a Protestant. Fuerstenberg was known for his caustic wit. He refused all offers of titles and decorations. His memoirs were published by his son Hans.

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[Joachim O. Ronall / Christian Schoelzel (2nd ed.)]

FUERTH (Heb. פירד, פיורדא), city in Bavaria, Germany. Jewish moneylenders are mentioned there in 1440. They were later expelled, but in 1528 Jews were allowed to resettle in the town. There were 200 Jewish residents in 1582. A rabbi is mentioned in 1607. The Jews were represented on the municipal council by two of their *parnasim*. The community dispersed during the Thirty Years' War (1618–48). In 1670 refugees from Vienna augmented the Jewish community, which was concentrated around the Geleitsgasse. The "old synagogue" (near Koenig-strasse) was built in 1617, a new one in 1697, and that of the *Fraenkel family in 1707. The first cemetery dates from 1607 and the hospital (*hekdesh*) from 1653.

In 1719 the status of the community (consisting of 400 households) was regulated by the bishop. In return for annual payments, the Jews were promised protection for their lives and property; they were allowed to build synagogues and to employ a cantor, beadle (*Schulklopfer*), and gravedigger; cases between Jews were to be tried by a Jewish court, while litigation between Jews and gentiles came under the jurisdiction of the cathedral court. The Fuerth community regulated its internal affairs by a series of *takkanot* in 1728. The first Jewish orphanage in Germany was established in Fuerth in 1763 and from the 17th century until 1824 there was an important yeshivah in the town. An Orthodox elementary school was established in 1862 and officially recognized as a secondary school in 1899. In 1811 Elkan *Henle of Fuerth published a pamphlet calling for emancipation of the Jews in Bavaria; Gruensfeld of Fuerth became the first Jewish lawyer in Bavaria (1843), David Morgenstern, the first Jewish deputy to the Landtag (1849), and Solomon Berolzheimer, the first Jewish judge (1863). Fuerth Jews contributed much to the economic, cultural, and political development of the city.

Hebrew printing was begun in Fuerth in 1691 by S.S. Schneur and his sons Joseph and Abraham and son-in-law Isaac Bing. From 1691 to 1698 they issued 35 works, including *Sifra with commentaries. Hirsch Frankfurter opened a press which issued nine books, between 1691 and 1701. Confiscations of Hebrew books from 1702 onward account for a pause in printing until it was resumed by the Schneur family from 1722 to 1730. Between 1737 and 1774, Ḥayyim b. Hirsch of Wilhermsdorf published 80 works and his press continued in the family until 1868; their non-Jewish successor issued a Pentateuch with *haftarot* as late as 1876. Between 1760 and 1792 Isaac b. Loeb Buchbinder (not Bamberg) printed 73 Hebrew books. Joseph Petschau and his son Mendel Beer printed 17 books between 1762 and 1769. S.B. Gusdorfer was active as a printer from 1852 to 1867.

The Jewish population numbered 1,500 in 1720; 2,434 in 1816 (19% of the total); 3,336 in 1880; and 2,000 (2.6% of the total) in 1933. In 1933–1941 1,400 Jews mangaged to leave Fuerth, mainly to the United States and Shanghai. Among those leaving was Henry Kissenger, the first Jewish secretary of state of the United States, who came to New York together with his brother and parents. Kissenger said: "By the time we left Germany it took no foresight, merely opportunity." On Nov. 10, 1938, the main synagogue was burned down; the other six synagogues and innumerable Jewish shops and homes were demolished. One hundred and fifty men were sent to Dachau. By May 17, 1939, only 785 Jews remained; the community was destroyed in three stages. On November 28, 1941, 83 Jews were deported to Riga. On March 24, 1942, 224 Jews, almost all Jews under the age of 65 were deported to Izbica, a way station to Belzec and on September 10, 1942, 153 Jews, mainly the elderly and children in an orphanage were deported to Theresienstadt. After the war some 40 Jews returned. The synagogue was restored and consecrated. There were 200 Jews living in Fuerth in 1970. In 1989 the community numbered 179. The membership increased to 587 in 2003. About 98% of them were immigrants from the former Soviet Union. Fuerth (together with Schnaittach) is one of the sites of the Jewish Museum of Franconia. The museum in Fuerth – which was founded in 1997 – is dedicated to the history and culture of the Jews in Fuerth and Franconia and to the present and future life of the Jewish community.

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[Ze'ev Wilhem Falk / Michael Berenbaum
and Larissa Daemmig (2nd ed.)]

FUERTH, HENRIETTE (1861–1938), German social worker. Fuerth was born in Katzenstein, Germany. Herself the mother of 11 children, she was one of the founders of the Mother's Welfare Movement, an organization which concerned itself with family and health problems affecting mothers and their families. She established and directed the Organization for the Prevention of Venereal Diseases. Interested in politics as a means of achieving her welfare goals, she served for nine years as a socialist member of the Frankfurt City Council.

She wrote a great number of books and articles on social welfare, especially in relation to working women, sexual problems in society, and population policy. Among her works are *Staat und Sittlichkeit* (1912), *Die soziale Bedeutung der Kaeufersitten* (1917), *Kulturideale und Frauentum* (1906).

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[Joseph Neipris]

FUKS, ALEXANDER (1917–1978), Israeli historian. Fuks was born in Wloclawiek, Poland, and joined the history faculty of the Hebrew University in 1949, being appointed professor of ancient history and classics in 1957. Fuks was the author of numerous scholarly articles, including studies of political life in classical Athens, and social revolution in Sparta in the Hellenistic period. His books include *The Ancestral Constitution: Four Studies in Athenian Party Politics at the End of the Fifth Century B.C.E.* (1971) and *Social Conflict in Ancient Greece* (1984). In the field of Jewish history, he wrote "Aspects of the Jewish Revolt in A.D. 115–117" (*Journal of Roman Studies*, 51 (1961), 98–104) and "The Jewish Revolt in Egypt (C.E. 115–117) in the Light of the Papyri" (*Aegyptus*, 33 (1953), 131–58). He collaborated with Victor *Tcherikover on the *Corpus Papyrorum Judaicorum* (3 vols., 1957–69), a collection of papyri written in Greek relating to Jews and Jewish affairs.

[Irwin L. Merker]

FUKS, LAJB (1908–1990), librarian and Yiddish scholar. Born in Poland, Fuks immigrated to Holland in 1934. In 1946 he became assistant librarian of the Bibliotheca Rosenthaliana, the Hebraica and Judaica Department of the Amsterdam University Library (see Jewish *Libraries), and was its librarian from 1949 until his retirement in 1973. He lectured in Modern Hebrew and Yiddish at the University of Amsterdam from 1964. His main scholarly interest was the history of Old Yiddish language and literature. He edited *The Oldest Known Literary Document of Yiddish Literature (c. 1382)*, 2 vols. (1957); and wrote *Die hebräischen und aramäischen Quellen des altjiddischen Epos Melokîm-Bûk* (1964). His other works deal with the history of Dutch Jewry, especially the history of Hebrew printing and bibliography in Holland. Together with R.G. Fuks-Mansfeld he edited *Hebrew and Judaic Manuscripts in Amsterdam Public Collections*, 2 vols. (1973–75), and *Hebrew Typography in the Northern Netherlands 1585–1815*, 2 vols. (1984–87). He was the editor of and frequent contributor to the *Studia Rosenthaliana* from its founding in 1967.

[Henriette Boas / Shlomo Z. Berger (2nd ed.)]

°FULBERT OF CHARTRES (d. 1028 or 1030), bishop of Chartres (France). In 1009, Fulbert delivered a series of three sermons based on Genesis 49:10: "The scepter shall not depart from Judah." They dealt with Jewish objections to the Christian argument that since royalty no longer existed among the Jews, the Messiah had already come and that he was Jesus. The Jews claimed that their present distress was only temporary, as had been their captivity in Babylon; moreover, there might be Jewish kings in other parts of the world and there were still wise and powerful Jews who enjoyed an almost royal power.

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[Bernhard Blumenkranz]

FULD, AARON BEN MOSES (1790–1847), defender of Orthodoxy and communal worker in his native Frankfurt. Fuld in his early youth met R. Phinehas ha-Levy Horowitz, author of the *Hafla'ah*, and was close to the circle of his son, Ẓevi Hirsch Horowitz. He was also a pupil of Solomon Zalman Trier who headed the Frankfurt *bet din*, and to whom he used to refer as: "my esteemed teacher, the high priest." Fuld engaged in business and never held any rabbinical post. Although opposed to the Reform movement, he strove for the inclusion of secular subjects in the curriculum of Jewish schools. In a letter to Akiva *Eger, Fuld asked for the approval of a curriculum in which secular subjects were included, stressing that the rabbis of "every city and province should strive with all their might that there be no slackening of the study of these subjects, essential nowadays so as not to provide an opening for the criticism of those who have risen against us" (*Beit Aharon*, Introd., V–VI). In another letter, of 1843, written on behalf of the Frankfurt rabbinate, he protested strongly against the desecration of the Sabbath and the abolition of circumcision, attendant upon the strengthening of the Reform movement. On one occasion, when Fuld was rebuked by Moses *Sofer (Schreiber) for having, according to his informant Akiva b. Abraham Moses *Lehren, permitted shaving during the intermediate days of a festival, he wrote a letter of vindication, stating, "Those who said I permitted shaving during the intermediate days have spoken falsely about me, for such a thing never entered my mind" (*Beit Aharon*, introd., II). At the same time, Sofer mentions Fuld with respect in his responsa as "the sharp-witted, learned rabbi" (responsa *Ḥatam Sofer*, YD (1841), nos. 88, 224, 319, 323).

Fuld's work, *Beit Aharon*, comprises five sections: (1) *Meshivei Milḥamah Sha'rah*, 17 responsa written between 1823 and 1830; (2) glosses to the Talmud; (3) glosses to the Arukh (also published as an appendix to the 1959 edition of Arukh); (4) *Haggahot ha-Tishbi* to the *Sefer ha-Tishbi* (Isry, 1541) of Elijah b. Asher ha-Levi Baḥur; (5) *Haggahot ha-Meturgeman* to the *Sefer ha-Meturgeman (ibid.*, 1541) of Elijah b. Asher ha-Levi Baḥur. Fuld's notes to the *Shem ha-Gedolim* of Ḥ. J.D. Azulai were published at the end of volume two of the Frankfurt edition (1847).

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[Yehoshua Horowitz]

FULD, STANLEY HOWELLS (1903–2003), U.S. attorney. Born in New York, Fuld received his LL.B. from Columbia University in 1926. After occupying a number of state legal offices in New York, Fuld was appointed to the New York Court of Appeals in 1946. In 1966 he was elected chief judge of the Court of Appeals in the State of New York, serving until 1973. Fuld defended personal rights against what he believed was infringement by the state, often dissenting in cases such as eavesdropping, public school prayers, and the Fifth Amendment. He was a member of the New York County Republican Committee and was active in communal and Jewish affairs. He was chairman of the law division of the Joint Defense Appeal (1945–46), the National Hillel Commission (1947–56), and the board of the Jewish Theological Seminary from 1966. He was a member of the American Bar Association, B'nai B'rith, and the Knights of Pythias. He also served for many years as a director of the Atlantic Legal Foundation. The State Bar Association's Section on Commercial and Federal Litigation has created the Stanley H. Fuld Award for Outstanding Contributions to Commercial Law and Litigation.

[Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

FULDA, city in Hesse, Germany. Jews are first mentioned there in 1235, when 34 martyrs were burned to death following a blood *libel. Emperor Frederick *II, after inquiries, refuted the charge in his judgment of the case. The martyrs were commemorated by Pesaḥ ha-Kohen, a relative and friend of some of the victims, in three *seliḥot*. In 1301 King Albert I pledged the taxes of the Jews of the diocese to the abbot of Fulda. In 1310 Henry VII transferred full authority over them to the abbot. In 1349 they fell victim to the Black *Death persecutions. Jews had been readmitted to Fulda by 1399. By the 16th century Fulda became the seat of a rabbinate which extended its jurisdiction over the entire region, for some time as far as *Kassel. At the Frankfurt *synod of 1603 Fulda was made the seat of one of the five Jewish district courts in Germany. Aaron Samuel b. Moses Shalom of *Kremenets taught at the yeshivah from 1615 to 1620, and Meir b. Jacob ha-Kohen *Schiff (Maharam Schiff) from 1622 to 1640. Judah b. Samuel Mehler, who studied in Fulda and left the city in 1629 at the age of 20, wrote an informative autobiography. Jews of Fulda dealt in wine-retailing but were opposed by the burghers. Regulations restricting Jewish trade were issued in 1699, 1739, 1788, and 1792. There were 75 Jewish families living in Fulda in 1633 (compared with 292 Christian households). The whole community, apart from five families, was expelled in 1677. By 1708 their number had increased to 19 taxpayers. The community had a well, and owned houses, homesteads, and stables in the Jews' street (first mentioned in 1367); by 1740 some lived outside this area. The synagogue and bathhouse were located on the "Jews' Hill" near the community's hospital, and the cemetery in a suburb. A Jewish school was established in 1784. The community numbered 321 in 1860; 675 in 1905; 957 in 1913 (4.26% of the total population); 1,137 in 1925 (4.44%); and 1,058 in June 1933 (3.8%). Under its rabbi, Michael Cahn (1849–1919), Fulda was a center of Orthodoxy. Its yeshivah remained open until 1939. The synagogue was set on fire in November 1938, destroying its Memorbuch, which dated back to 1550, and reducing the synagogue to rubble. In 1940 the cemetery was destroyed. Four hundred and fifteen Jews remained in Fulda on May 17, 1939; 131 of those unable to leave were deported to Riga on December 12, 1941, 36 were sent to the Lublin district, and an additional 76 in September 1942 to *Theresienstadt and unknown destinations in the East. The few Jews who survived the Holocaust and returned to Fulda after the war turned their cemetery into a paved courtyard to protest against the frequent desecrations there. There were 17 Jews living in Fulda in 1967. The new Jewish community center and synagogue was inaugurated in 1987. As a result of the immigration of Jews from the former Soviet Union the number of Jews increased to 500 in 2005. Almost all activities of the community werre focused on the new immigrants. There are commemorative plaques at the former and new Jewish cemetery and near the site of the destroyed synagogue.

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[Toni Oelsner / Larissa Daemmig (2nd ed.)]

FULDA, LUDWIG (1862–1939), German playwright. Born in Frankfurt, Fulda's early interest was the German baroque poets; he received his Ph.D. in Heidelberg with a dissertation on Christian Weise (1883) and this was followed by an edition *Die Gegner der zweiten schlesischen Schule* in the series of Kürschners *National-Literatur* (1883). Fulda then came under the influence of Sudermann's Naturalism in Berlin, became an Ibsen enthusiast, and in 1889 helped to found the *Freie Buehne*. During this period he wrote plays of a sociological nature, such as *Das verlorene Paradies* (1892) and *Die Sklavin* (1892), remarkable for their clever stage effects and insight into social problems, but lacking in great depth or style. Fulda's greatest success came with his change to a neo-romantic mood in *Der Talisman* (1892). This comedy on the theme of the fairy tale "The Emperor's New Clothes," was awarded the Schiller Prize, but its performance was banned by the kaiser. *Die Zwillingsschwester* (1901) displayed his talent for writing graceful verse. Fulda published translations of Molière's *Meisterwerke* (1892), Beaumarchais' *Figaro* (1897), Rostand's *Cyrano de Bergerac* (1898), Shakespeare's *Sonnets* (1913), Ibsen's poems and *Peer Gynt* (1916), and the Spanish dramatists' *Meisterlustspiele der Spanier,* 2 vols. (1925). In 1928 he was elected president of the Prussian Academy. He was dismissed after Hitler's rise to power and lived in retirement until the Nazis stripped him of his most prized possessions. He then committed suicide.

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steller. Eine mentalitätsgeschichtlich orientierte Interpretation populärdramatischer Texte (1998).

[Samuel L. Sumberg]

FULLER, SAMUEL MICHAEL (1912–1997), U.S. film writer-director. Born in Worcester, Mass., to a Polish Jewish mother and Russian Jewish father, Fuller said that his father dropped the Rabinovitch family name and took Fuller from the *Mayflower* passenger registry. Samuel Fuller started out as a journalist, beginning his career at the age of 12 as a copyboy at the *New York Evening Journal*; by 17, he was the newspaper's crime reporter. He would go on to write for the *New York Evening Graphic* and the *San Diego Sun*, among other newspapers. From 1942 to 1945 he served in the U.S. Army's First Infantry Division in Europe and North Africa, earning the Silver Star and Bronze Star. Fuller toiled in Hollywood for 11 years before he directed his first film, the western *I Shot Jesse James* (1949). He drew upon his war experiences for the insightful films *The Steel Helmet* (1951) and *Fixed Bayonets* (1951), both of which were set in and released during the Korean War. He next wrote and directed *Park Row* (1952) and co-wrote *Scandal Sheet* (1952), based on his acclaimed 1944 novel *The Dark Page*. His 1963 film *Shock Corridor* features a journalist seeking a Pulitzer for solving a murder in an insane asylum. He followed this with the crime drama *The Naked Kiss* (1964). In the late 1970s, with financing from Lorimar Productions and United Artists, Fuller was able to direct the film he had wanted to make about his own experiences in World War II, *The Big Red One* (1980), which was partially shot in Israel. The film fell flat at the box office, and Fuller went to Europe to find backing for projects in the 1980s and 1990s.

[Adam Wills (2nd ed.)]

FULVIA (1st century C.E.), Roman proselyte. A lady of high rank, she was attracted to Judaism and entered the Jewish faith. She was then persuaded by a certain Jew, who had come from Ereẓ Israel, to send presents of purple and gold to the Temple in Jerusalem. The gifts, deposited with this Jew and his three confederates, were never delivered. Fulvia urged her husband to report the matter to Emperor Tiberius. The latter thereupon expelled all the Jews from Rome (19 C.E.). Four thousand young Jews were drafted into military service and sent to fight the brigands in the island of Sardinia. The expulsion is mentioned by the Roman historians, Suetonius, Tacitus, and Dio Cassius, all of whom connect the incident in some manner with proselytism.

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[Isaiah Gafni]

FUNES, town in Navarre, northern Spain. A charter granted to Funes and the neighboring town of Viguera at the beginning of the 12th century also regulated relations between Jews and Christians, including the mode of establishing evidence in litigation. Ordeal by battle between Jews and Christians was prohibited and a high blood price was fixed for the murder of a Jew. Jewish landowners were required to pay tithes to the church. In 1171 King Sancho VI extended the same privileges to the Jews of Funes as those he had granted to the Jews of *Tudela in 1170, based on the *fuero* ("municipal charter") of Nájera. The Jews were freed from other dues in return for undertaking maintenance of the citadel of Funes, and they were not to be held responsible for the death of a Christian killed by them during an attack on the citadel, where they were living. In 1328, following the death of Carlos IV, the Jews of Funes were attacked. Many Jews were killed. The Jewish community had its own executive official, the *bedinus*. Much may be learned of life in the community in the 13th century from the list of fines imposed on members who had transgressed the law. Little of importance is known of the Jews in Funes from the 14th century onward.

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FUNK, CASIMIR (1884–1967), U.S. biochemist, originator of the word "vitamin." He was born in Warsaw and obtained his doctorate at the University of Berne in 1904. In 1910 he went to the Lister Institute in London where he studied beriberi, a deficiency disease in rice eaters. He found a substance in rice shavings (and also in yeast and milk) which prevented the disease, and called it "vitamine." This was vitamin B, later known to be a complex of several vitamins. He worked as head of the department of chemistry at the Cancer Hospital Research Institute until he went to America in 1915. With the support of the Rockefeller Foundation, he went back to Warsaw as head of biochemistry at the School of Hygiene (1923–27). During 1928–39 he operated his own Casa Biochemica at Rueil-Malmaison, France, also serving as consultant from 1936 to the U.S. Vitamin Corporation. During World War II he returned to America, and from 1948 was president of the Funk Foundation for Medical Research. Funk contributed numerous papers to scientific periodicals on various matters of synthetic organic chemistry and on other biochemical topics such as internal secretions, diabetes, and cancer. He wrote the book *Die Vitamine* (1914; *The Vitamins*, 1922). Funk's hypotheses on the importance of vitamins A, B5, C, and D to normal growth and development stimulated other investigators in the field of nutrition and laid the foundation for rational child nutrition and modern dietetics in general.

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[Samuel Aaron Miller]

FUNK, SOLOMON (1867–1928), rabbi and scholar. Funk was born in Hungary and served as rabbi at Sarajevo, Bosnia, Boskovice, Czechoslovakia, and in Vienna. Among his published works are *Die haggadischen Elemente in den Homelien des persischen Weisen Aphraates* (1891); *Die Juden in Babylo-*

nien 200–500 (2 vols., 1902–08); *Grundprinzip des biblischen Strafrechts…* (1904), a comparative discussion of the Bible and the Hammurapi Code; *Entstehung des Talmuds* (1919^2); and *Talmudproben* (1921^2). The last two small but well-presented volumes, which appeared as volumes 479 and 583 in the popular Goeschen series, did much to convey a balanced view of the world of the Talmud to non-Jewish readers. Other publications of Funk were *Die Hygiene des Talmuds* (1912); "Bibel und Babel" (in *Monumenta Talmudica*, 1913); and a pro-Zionist tract, *Der Kampf um Zion…* (1921).

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[Naphtali Ben-Menahem]

FUNKENSTEIN, AMOS (1937–1995), scholar. Born in Tel Aviv, he was educated in Palestine and Berlin where he got his doctorate in 1965. While in Berlin, he was active in smuggling refugees from east to west Berlin. He was professor of history and philosophy of science at Tel Aviv University, the scientific revolution, and Bible commentary in medieval and modern times. Among his books was *Theology and the Scientific Imagination from the Middle Ages to the 17th Century.* He wrote on Maimonides and his views on messianism, on the connection between the thought of Maimonides and Thomas Aquinas, and on contemporary Jewish religious movements and their messianic ideology. In his writings he challenged the traditional view of the contradiction between science and religion and noted the contribution of Christian theology to the development of the new scientific outlook, from 1980. He also founded the departments for Jewish history at UCLA and at Stanford and Berkeley, California. In Berkeley he was professor of Jewish history and culture. He specialized in many fields of research including Jewish thought and culture, general intellectual history. In 1995 he was awarded the Israel Prize for historical research.

FUNT, ALLEN (1914–1999), U.S. radio and television personality. Born in Brooklyn, New York, Funt studied at Pratt Institute before earning a bachelor's degree in fine arts from Cornell University. While working at an advertising agency, he became an idea man who dreamed up gimmicks for radio programs. In World War II he used his radio experience in the Army Signal Corps, learning to handle a portable wire recorder, predecessor of the tape recorder, and began to experiment with concealment techniques. After the war, Funt created *Candid Microphone*, which had its premiere on the ABC radio network in 1947, using hidden microphones to snare the unwary. The format, though embarrassing to many of the prey, proved highly popular. The program moved to television in 1948 and was renamed *Candid Camera* a year later. As creator, producer, director, and editor of *Candid Camera*, Funt was part humorist, part psychologist, and part con artist, catching unsuspecting people in "the act of being themselves," as he put it. In a typical stunt, passers-by were startled by a talking mailbox or by a hand reaching out of a sewer grating, angling for a hat just out of reach. In New York, many people just handed the hat to the hand and walked on. Funt, who sometimes participated in disguise as a dentist or garage mechanic, ended the ploy by saying "Smile! You're on *Candid Camera*."

[Stewart Kampel (2nd ed.)]

FURAYDIS, AL-, Arab village in Israel at the foot of Mt. Carmel, near *Zikhron Ya'akov. The village of al-Furaydis and the nearby Jewish settlers developed close economic and social ties, which date back to the founding of Zikhron Ya'akov. During the *War of Independence (1948), the Arab village did not participate in the attacks on Jewish traffic in the vicinity. It was the only Arab village of the region which remained fully populated and unchanged after Israel's independence (1948). In 1952 it received municipal status. Al-Furaydis, with 2,810 inhabitants in 1969, engaged in intensive farming. By 2002 the population had increased to 9,350 inhabitants. Like the Hebrew word "Pardes," the village's name is assumed to be derived from the Greek "paradeisos" (the origin also of "paradise").

[Efraim Orni]

FURCHGOTT, ROBERT F. (1916–), U.S. pharmacologist and Nobel Laureate in medicine. Furchgott was born in Charleston, South Carolina, and received his B.S. in chemistry at the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill (1937), and his Ph.D. in biochemistry at Northwestern University, Chicago (1940). His first postdoctoral appointment was at Cornell University Medical School (1940–49), where he studied mediators of shock. He was assistant professor in the pharmacology department of Washington University, St Louis (1949–56), where he developed his lifelong interest in drug-receptor interactions, particularly in the adrenergic system which regulates blood vessel flow and smooth muscle tone. His experimental methods were largely based on rabbit aorta preparations. He was chairman of the new department of pharmacology at the State University of New York (now called the SUNY Health Science Center at Brooklyn; 1956–82), where his research work centered on the anomalous response of rabbit aortic preparations to drug and other stimuli, which often produced relaxation of the vessel instead of the expected contraction. This was attributable to the unsuspected release of a factor from the cells lining the internal surface of the preparation (called endothelial cells), which later proved to be nitric oxide (NO). This discovery followed meticulous analysis of a serendipitous observation and led to the award of the Nobel Prize (1994, jointly with Louis J. Ignarro and Ferid Murad). Wider roles for NO have now been identified, including defense against infection and blood pressure regulation. After retirement in 1989 Furchgott maintained active contacts in teaching and research with his former department and the pharmacology department of the University of Miami School of Medicine. His honors include the Gairdner Award (1991) and the Lasker Award for basic medical research.

[Michael Denman (2nd ed.)]

FURIE, SIDNEY J. (1933–), Canadian film producer-director-writer. Toronto-born Furie traces his career inspiration back to *Captains Courageous*, which he saw in 1937 at the age of four. He went to Pittsburgh to train in directing and scriptwriting at the Carnegie Institute of Technology, and in 1954 joined the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation as a writer and director, creating the series *Hudson's Bay.* His first feature efforts, *A Dangerous Age* (1957) and *A Cool Sound from Hell* (1958), were teenage rebellion films. Furie immigrated to England in 1960 and first tried his hand at horror films, *Dr. Blood's Coffin* (1961) and *The Snake Woman* (1961). Furie experienced his first box-office hit with the teenage musical *The Young Ones* (1961), which helped launch Cliff Richard. His success led to the cult film *The Leather Boys* (1964). In 1965, Furie was hired to direct the Len Deighton spy thriller *The Ipcress File*, starring Michael Caine. He followed with the western *The Appaloosa* (1966), and *The Naked Runner* (1967), starring Frank Sinatra. Furie turned to Hollywood when Paramount Pictures offered the director a four-picture deal, which included *The Lawyer* (1970), *Little Fauss and Big Halsy* (1970), *Lady Sings the Blues* (1972), and *Hit* (1973). His next film was *Sheila Levine Is Dead and Living in New York* (1975), a romantic comedy of unrequited Jewish love. After the Vietnam-era love story *Purple Hearts* (1984) fell flat, Furie turned to directing action films, including *Superman IV* (1987), the *Iron Eagle* series (1986, 1988, 1995), and *The Taking of Beverly Hills* (1991). In 1994, Furie returned to Canada to direct the pilot episode of the *Lonesome Dove* series. He continued to shoot made-for-television films, as well as direct-to-video features.

[Adam Wills (2nd ed.)]

FURMAN, YISROEL (**Israel Fuhrmann**; 1890 or 1887–1967), Romanian-born Yiddish folklorist. Born in Sereth, Furman lived in Czernowicz from 1920 to 1939 and after World War II in Bakau, Transylvania. A doctor of jurisprudence (University of Vienna), he worked as an attorney and was also a Yiddish poet and a key supporter of Yiddish schools in Bukovina but is best known as a Yiddish folklorist. He settled in Jerusalem in 1965 and worked intensively on his magnum opus, *Yidishe Shprikhverter un Rednsartn: Gezamlt in Rumenye – Besarabye, Bukovine, Moldeve un Transilvanye* ("Yiddish Proverbs and Expressions: Collected in Romania – Bessarabia, Bukovina, Moldovia and Transylvania," Tel Aviv, 1968), based on expressions actually heard in, or from natives of, these regions; he also published a study of the terminology of bakers (*Yidishe Shprakh*, 33 (1974), 32–37). In his later years he turned to writing poems, which were published only on a website devoted to his poetry (http://home.interlog.com/~jfuhrman).

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[Leonard Prager (2nd ed.)]

FURST (**Fürst**), **MORITZ** (1782–1840), early U.S. medalist. Furst was born near Pressburg, and after immigrating to the United States in 1807, he worked as an engraver for the United States Mint in Philadelphia from 1812 to 1839. He received quick recognition, and 33 of his patriotic commemoratives and portraits are still issued by this mint; his best-known work was struck commemorating the War of 1812. He also did the first recorded American Jewish medal, the homage paid to the patriot and religious leader Gershom Mendes Seixas on his death in 1816. Official portraits were struck by him for presidents James Monroe, John Quincy Adams, Andrew Jackson, and Martin Van Buren.

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[Daniel M. Friedenberg]

FURSTENBERG, HILLEL (**Harry**) (1935–), Israeli mathematician. Furstenberg was born in Berlin but immigrated to the United States and studied at Yeshiva University, New York, obtaining both his B.A. and his M.Sc. in 1955, and his doctorate from Princeton in 1958. In the same year he was appointed instructor at Princeton and at MIT from 1959 to 1961; assistant professor at the University of Minnesota (1961–63); and full professor (1964–65). He relocated to Israel in 1965 on his appointment as professor of mathematics at the Hebrew University. Furstenberg works in the area of probability theory and dynamics and their applications to combinatorics and group theory. He was awarded the Rothschild Prize in 1978 and the Israel and Harvey Prizes in 1993. He is a member of the Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities, the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, and the U.S. National Academy of Sciences.

FURTADO, ABRAHAM (1756–1817), politician and communal leader in France. His parents originally lived in Portugal as Marranos, but after his father's death in the Lisbon earthquake (1755), his mother moved to London, where Abraham was born, and returned to Judaism. In 1756 she settled in Bayonne. They later moved to Bordeaux, where Furtado was educated. His dealings in property eventually enabled him to devote himself to literature, philosophy, and history, and to enter politics. In 1788 he and David *Gradis were invited to sit on the *Malesherbes commission for considering proposals for the amelioration of the Jewish position, as representatives for southern France. Furtado became a municipal counselor in Bordeaux shortly before the French Revolution. A sympathizer with the federalist-minded Girondins, Furtado was proscribed with them in 1793. After the downfall of Robespierre, however, he was reinstated in civic office in Bordeaux. He was elected president of the *Assembly of Jewish Notables (1806–07) convened by Napoleon and acted as secretary of the Paris *Sanhedrin (1807). Furtado, who knew Napoleon personally, traveled to Tilsit in June 1807 to present a memorandum to the emperor in the hope of preventing restrictive measures against the Jewish community. His efforts were only partially successful. In 1808 he published in Paris his *Mémoire d'Abraham Furtado sur l'Etat des Juifs en France jusqu'* *à la Révolution*. After Napoleon's return from Elba, Furtado refused the appointment of vice-mayor of Bordeaux, but accepted it from Louis XVIII when the monarchy was restored for a second time.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: M. Berr, *Eloge de M. Abraham Furtado* (1817); AI, 2 (1841), 361–8 (biography); R. Anchel, *Napoléon et les Juifs* (1928), index.

FUR TRADE AND INDUSTRY. Jews arrived at the fur trade and industry through their commerce between the Mediterranean littoral and Continental Europe, in particular Eastern Europe. Their active participation in the central European fairs enabled them to play an important role in the development of the fur trade. During the ninth century the Jewish merchants known as Radanites were among the principal agents in the international fur trade. They may have purchased the furs at the northern end of their European itinerary, but more likely bought them in the land of the *Khazars, since pelts could be obtained there cheaply, and secured for the Khazar kingdom a central position in the international trade (taxes there were occasionally collected in furs). The report of Ibrahim ibn *Yaʿqub in the tenth century shows that Jewish and Muslim merchants in Prague dealt in furs and hides of various kinds, among other goods. The fur trade must have remained an important part of the business of Jewish merchants visiting Russia (*holkhei Russia*) in the 11th and 12th centuries. Furs were among the wares of the 11th-century Mediterranean merchant Naharay b. Nissim. The extent to which the fur trade and payment in furs figured in Jewish life and imagination is shown in a 13th-century tale about "a Jew who went afar and saw in his dreams a Jew whom exalted ones were weighing in a balance, and his sins were found to weigh heavier; they said: as his sins are heavier he will have no part in the world to come. [Then] others came and said: you did not weigh fairly, and they put pelts and other furs on the man, and he was heavier; they said: he shall enter the world to come.… And they said: those furs they put on him were furs he paid in tax" (*Sefer Ḥasidim*, ed. R. Margalioth (1924), no. 654, p. 421).

In the 13th century Jewish merchants imported furs from Hungary into Little Poland. The Jews of Volhynia and Red Russia, especially at the close of the 14th and beginning of the 15th centuries, held a prominent place among the merchants who imported Oriental goods and traded at the fairs of Lvov and Kiev – these imported, among other articles, furs and horses. During the second half of the 15th century, and especially after 1454, following the extension of Polish rule to *Gdansk (Danzig), participation of Jews in the northern trade intensified; among the cargoes rafted down the rivers there were hides and furs. Furs held an important place among the goods supplied by Jews to the courts of the Polish kings. Sebastian *Miczyński (1618) tells that "there are two Israelite brothers who, upon arriving in Lvov where various goods arrive from Turkey… took into their possession almost all the furs … and this is not all.… They [the Jews], despite existing laws and privileges, import from Bohemia, Moravia, and Germany finished goods and prepared furs, fox furs made from the hide of the belly." Throughout the 17th century, the Jewish merchants of Poland played a main role in the overland export of hides and furs. The regulations of the furriers' guild of Cracow of 1613 show that its members were, in fact, fur merchants. In Bohemia during the 15th to 16th centuries the Jews were prominent in the fur retail trade. In 1515, when the municipal councillors of Prague sought to reduce Jewish competition in trade, they prohibited them, among other things, from preparing or selling cloths and new furs. On the other hand, they were authorized to sell used clothes and furs at the fairs. During the 17th and 18th centuries the Jews of Amsterdam also engaged in the trade of furs, which they imported from Frankfurt. The city of *Leipzig was an important center of the fur trade. Here, the Jewish merchants of Austria, Germany, and Russia played a pioneering role through their participation in the fairs of the city from the beginning of the 16th century. In recognition of their contribution toward the import of raw materials for the hide and fur industries, the Jews of Poland and Russia were authorized in 1747 to settle in Leipzig without paying taxes. Jewish merchants from Brody, Lissa (Leszno), and Shklov were among the most active fur traders at the fairs of Leipzig. During this period, the other principal centers of the fur trade in Germany were Breslau and Gross-Glogau (for furs imported from Russia, from the region of Crimea), as well as Luebeck and Hamburg (for furs from Siberia and the Scandinavian countries).

In North America the Jews played an important role in the fur trade during the colonial period. George Croghan, a prominent fur trader in the second half of the 18th century, was assisted by many Jewish suppliers. In 1765 the brothers Barnard and Michael *Gratz established an extensive commercial partnership with non-Jewish merchants and their activities included trade in furs. Other important fur traders in the colonial period were Hayman *Levy, Joseph *Simon, Salomon Simson, and David *Franks. In Canada, the town of Trois Rivières became the center of the fur trade, in which Aaron *Hart and Samuel *Judah, who exported furs to England, played a considerable role. The sales of the American-Russian Fur Company were handled by the J.M. Oppenheim firm, London's largest fur house. Before the purchase of Alaska by the United States in 1867 the Russian firm began selling furs to independent fur traders of San Francisco, many of whom were Jews, eager to penetrate the lucrative seal islands of Alaska. Indeed the negotiations of Hutchinson, Kohn, and Co. for purchasing the Alaskan fur monopoly influenced the decision to purchase the territory. The Russian company's rights and assets were subsequently bought by this firm. Californian Jews were prominent in the "fur rush" to Alaska. The Alaska Commercial Company, headed by Lewis *Gerstle and Louis Sloss, continued to dominate the fur trade after Alaska was purchased by the United States. On the east coast a number of German-Jewish firms sprung up for the processing of fur products, the largest being A. Hollander and Sons of Newark, New Jersey.

The year 1815 was the start of a prosperous period for the fur trade of Leipzig as a result of which a local fur industry was established. The first Jewish company, founded by Marcus Harmelin in 1830, existed until 1939. With the unification of Germany in 1871, the Jewish fur industry of Leipzig received new momentum when Jewish fur merchants of Berlin, Breslau, Brody, Frankfurt, Fuerth, and Hamburg settled there or opened branches of their businesses. Even the new Jewish companies then beginning trade in New York, such as Ullmann and Boskovitz, opened branches there. The fur trade between Russia and Germany remained at a peak level until World War I, and the important Jewish furriers of Leipzig took part annually in the large fairs of Russia. According to the census of 1897, Jews formed 90% of the fur merchants in Congress Poland, and according to the census of 1900 in Galicia they formed 80% of the hide and fur merchants. Even though World War I brought a crisis to the fur trade, the principal companies in Germany recuperated immediately afterward, when trade relations with the United States intensified. In 1921 the trade was also renewed with the Soviet Union. It has been estimated that in 1929 there were about 1,228 fur industry enterprises in Leipzig of which at least 513 were owned by Jews. Of the 794 fur merchants then living there, 460 were Jews. Before Hitler's rise to power, the Leipzig fur industry saw a period of prosperity during which many Jewish companies began to open branches in other places. Subsequently the Jewish fur industry throughout Germany was brought to an end. The centers of the Jewish fur industry were then transferred to other places, with refugees who had succeeded in escaping Nazi Germany occasionally occupying leading positions.

Though the fur-working industry in the United States in the 19th century was largely in the hands of Germans, the large Jewish emigration from Eastern Europe from the 1880s on had brought a flood of Jewish workers into the profession, many of whom were forced to labor under sweatshop conditions. In 1912 an estimated 7,000 out of 10,000 fur workers in the United States were Jewish, the great majority concentrated in New York, Philadelphia, and Chicago. A Jewish Furriers Union was organized in 1906 but soon dissolved. In 1913 the International Fur Workers Union came into being, the leadership and rank and file of which were both heavily Jewish. Under the leadership of Benjamin *Gold, the Furriers International was for years among the most politically radical unions in America.

A study undertaken in 1937 indicated that approximately 80% of the employees in the fur industry in the United States, and over 90% of the employers, were Jewish. The largest of these Jewish fur firms was Eitington-Schild of New York City, whose president, Motty Eitington, was a leading figure for many years in the Associated Fur Manufacturers, as was another large Jewish fur dealer, Samuel N. Samuels. In Canada, Jews became prominent in this branch, notably in Montreal, Toronto, Winnipeg, and Vancouver. A census held in 1931 shows that 48.65% of the employers and directors and 31.82% of the workers in this industry were Jews. Most had acquired their professional knowledge in their countries of origin in Eastern Europe, and they contributed largely to promoting the industry in Canada.

In London Jewish companies were estimated in the 1960s to constitute about two-thirds of the city's fur enterprises. They contributed considerably toward the development and improvement of methods employed in the fur industry, such as the preparation and dyeing of furs. In Argentina in the same period about 80% of the fur enterprises were owned by Jews who organized a trade association, the Sociedad Mercantil de Peleteros. In Israel the fur trade and industry employed in 1969 about 500 workers in 70 firms specializing mainly in broadtail and karakul. Production, primarily aimed at export, earned approximately $1,000,000 in 1963 and over $3,500,000 in 1969. A small number of minks and chinchillas were reared on farms. In subsequent years Jewish participation in the trade declined with the general decline in the wearing of fur and the hostility of pro-animal protestors, not to mention the movement of Jews away from traditional trades. Israel joined nearly 100 other countries in banning the use of traps. In 2003 Israel exported just $1 million worth of leather products and dressed furskins.

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FURTUNĂ, ENRIC (pseudonym of **Henry Peckelmann**) (1881–1965), Romanian poet. Born in Boţ̦şani, Furtună practiced as a physician in Jassy. He spent much of his time writing poetry which he published both in Jewish periodicals, such as *Ha-Tikvah* and *Adam*, and in general Romanian journals. Two important verse collections were *De pe Stâncă* ("From the Rock," 1922) and *Poemele resemnării* ("Poems of Resignation," 1940). Many of Furtună's poems had Jewish themes and he showed particular concern for the tragic homelessness of the Jewish people, for which the only remedy he saw was a return to Zion. Some of his poems are on biblical themes, the last being *Abíşag*, a dramatic work published in Tel Aviv in 1963 when Furtună was over 80. There are other poems which show a biblical influence. Furtună also wrote plays and translated Hebrew poetry, especially that of Ḥ.N. Bialik and David Shimoni, and Yiddish writers, notably Itzik Manger and Halper Leivick. Furtună emigrated to Ereẓ Israel in 1944 but he left after two years and returned to Romania. In 1958 he settled in Brazil where he died in São Paulo.

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[Abraham Feller]

FUST (Fuerst), MILÁN (1888–1967), author and poet. A descendant of the court Jew Jacob Bassevi von *Treuenberg, Füst wrote verse remarkable for its ghostly atmosphere and preoccupation with death. He also wrote novels – notably *A feleségem története* ("The Story of My Wife," 1942) and *Látomás és indulat a müvészetben* ("Vision and Impulse in Art," 1948) – and various plays and short stories.

FUTORANSKY, LUISA (1939–), Argentinian writer, Futoransky was born in Buenos Aires. From 1971 she lived in Spain, Italy, Japan, and China, and settled in Paris in 1981, where she worked as a journalist. She conducted poetry workshops in U.S. universities and visited Israel frequently. In her poetry and prose, an uncommonly sharp and painful insight into feelings and circumstances is reinforced by an equally sharp humor, all of which is conveyed in a rich style that combines high language and everyday idiom. Love, voyage, exile, and womanhood are her basic themes in addition to explicit Jewish and Israeli motifs concerning Jewish identity and experience. An anthology published in 2002 (*Antología*, Buenos Aires) includes a selection of previous books such as *Partir, digo* (1982); *La sanguina* (1987); *La parca, enfrente* (1995); *Cortezas y fulgores* (1997); and *De dónde son las palabras* (1998). Her novels include *Son cuentos chinos* (1986); *De Pe a Pa* (1986); and *Urracas* (1992). Her essays appear in *Pelos* (1990) and *Lunas de miel* (1996). She has received awards in Argentina and Spain. Her works have been translated into several languages.

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[Florinda Goldberg (2nd ed.)

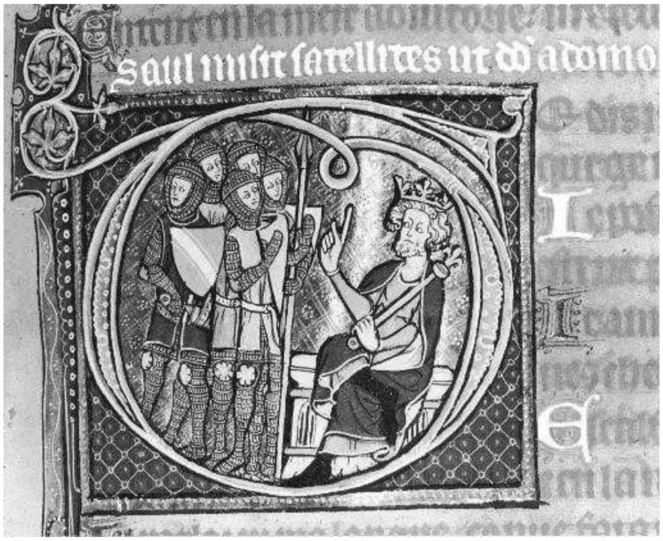

Initial letter "G" of the word "Ge" ("I" in old French) at the opening of a paraphrase of and commentary on I Sam. 19:11 in Old French and Latin. The historiated initial in this 13th-century manuscript depicts Saul sending messengers after David. Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cod. gall. 16, fol. 36r.

GA–GOR

GAAL (Heb. גַּעַל), the son of Ebed, head of a band that fought *Abimelech son of Gideon (Judg. 9:26–41), who, with the help of mercenaries, had imposed his rule over Mt. Ephraim. Gaal's band is reminiscent of those that accompanied Jephthah (Judg. 11:10) and David (1 Sam. 22:2; 23:1–13). During Abimelech's absence from Shechem, Gaal incited the inhabitants to revolt and took advantage of the social, and possibly also of the racial, tension prevailing among the various sections of the town's population. It appears that Gaal conspired with the ancient nobility in the locality, which claimed descent from Hamor the father of Shechem (9:28) and which apparently belonged to the Canaanite population hostile to Abimelech. The immediate cause of the friction was the highway robbery conducted by the Shechemites (9:25). Apparently, the ruling families seized control of the roads and interfered with Israelite commerce. Informed by Zebul, the city prefect, Abimelech quickly returned and, by a clever stratagem, crushed the revolt. Gaal was driven from the city (9:30–41) and was not heard of again.

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GA'ATON (Heb. גַּעְתוֹן), kibbutz in the hills of northern lsrael, east of *Nahariyyah, affiliated with Kibbutz Arẓi Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir. It was founded in October 1948 while under fire from nearby Arab positions. The founding group of settlers hailed from Hungary; later, Israeli-born members and immigrants from Egypt and other countries formed the majority. Kibbutz factories manufacture cardboard and medical equipment. A boarding school for the performing arts, mainly dance, is located in the kibbutz. In 2002 the population was 422.

The name is historical, mentioned (Tosef., Shev. 4:11) as an enclave on the northern border of the area occupied by the returning exiles from Babylonia, having been preserved in the Arabic names of the nearby ruin Khirbat Jaʿtūn and the Ga'aton brook, which runs down from there to its outlet in Nahariyyah.

[Efraim Orni]

GABBAI, family of Hebrew printers. ISAAC BEN SOLOMON (b. second half of 16th century) lived in Leghorn and was the author of the Mishnah commentary *Kaf Naḥat* (appended to Mishnah, ed. Venice, 1614). Early in the 17th century he worked as a typesetter for *Bragadini in Venice. His son JEDIDIAH acquired the Bragadini type and decorations and set up the first Hebrew press in *Leghorn, which was active there from 1650 to 1660, issuing a number of important works. With part of the equipment and staff of this press, Jedidiah's son ABRAHAM in 1657 established a printing house in Smyrna, which existed until 1675. Abraham himself moved to Constantinople in 1660, where he was a printer for a number of years. His corrector (proofreader) was SOLOMON BEN DAVID GABBAI – probably not of the same family – author of the kabbalistic work *Me'irat Einayim* (between 1660 and 1665) and a theological work *Ta'alumot Ḥokhmah* (Bodleian Library, Ms. Opp. 602).

GABBAI, family with many branches in *Baghdad and India. Noteworthy members include ISAAC BEN DAVID BEN YESHU'AH (d. 1773), known as Sheikh Isḥāq Pasha because he ruled with the firmness of a pasha from 1745 to 1773 as *nasi* of the Jewish community and as **ṣarrāf bāshī* ("chief banker") for the governor of Baghdad. On the other hand, his contemporaries praised his good deeds, especially his efforts to encourage R. Ẓedakah Ḥusin who was very active in propagating the study of the Torah among Iraqi Jewry. He died together with his three sons in the plague of 1773. EZEKIEL BEN JOSEPH NISSIM MENAHEM GABBAI (d. 1826), also known as Baghdadli, was a prominent banker in Baghdad. With his assistance, Talʿat Effendi succeeded, in 1811, in suppressing the rebellion of Suleiman Pasha, the governor of Baghdad. Gabbai was called to Istanbul, where he became a favorite of Khālid Effendi, the secretary to the Sultan. He was introduced to the court of the sultan and appointed *ṣarrāf bāshī*. In this position he revealed exceptional talents and wielded tremendous unofficial influence; many honors were bestowed upon him, and he succeeded in displacing the Armenian faction from the court. He exploited his position for the benefit of his coreligionists and family in the leadership of the Baghdad community. The *nasi* Sasson ibn Ṣāliḥ was replaced by his brother Ezra who held the position from 1817 until 1824. When the Armenian faction regained its influence, Ezekiel was exiled, and both brothers were later executed as a result of libels brought against them. EZEKIEL GABBAI (1825–1898), a grandson of Ezekiel b. Joseph, was the first Jew to hold office in the Ottoman Ministry of Education. He was also an active member of the Istanbul community. In 1860, he founded a Ladino newspaper, *El Zhurnal lzraelit*, in which he fought for reforms within the Jewish community. He also summarized the laws of the Ottoman State in regard to the Jews. His son ISAAC published until 1930 the newspaper *El Telegrafo*, which followed a similar policy to that of his father. EZEKIEL BEN JOSHUA GABBAI (1824–1896), the disciple and nephew of R. Abdallah *Somekh of Baghdad, traveled in 1842 to India, where he became wealthy. He was accustomed to set aside *ma'aser* ("a tenth") of his income for charities in India, Iraq, and Ereẓ Israel. He extended his business to China in 1843, becoming one of the first Baghdadis to trade there. In 1853, he married ʿAzīza (d. 1897), the daughter of Sir Albert (Abdallah) *Sassoon. The traveler Jacob *Saphir wrote of him in 1860 that he was a distinguished scholar, sharp-witted and shrewd, cultured and industrious. His five sons and five daughters included Flora (Farḥa), the wife of Sir Solomon *Sassoon, David, president of the Jewish community in Shanghai, and one son who became a judge in Bombay. EZEKIEL BEN ṢĀLĪḤ GABBAI (1812–1887) traveled in 1842 from Baghdad to India, where he was "*gabbai* ("treasurer") of the Four Lands" (Jerusalem, Hebron, Tiberias, and Safed) for 40 years. Under his direction, large sums were collected for Ereẓ Israel. In 1870, the traveler Solomon *Reinmann (*Masot Shelomo*, 182) stated that Ezekiel possessed a fortune amounting to several million francs. He later lost most of his wealth and became the manager for David Sassoon and Company in Calcutta.

AARON (d. 1888) and Elijah (d. 1892), sons of Shalom Gabbai, were born in Baghdad. In 1840, they journeyed to Calcutta and amassed a fortune in the opium trade between India and China. Outstanding philanthropists, they contributed generously to charitable causes in India, Iraq, and Ereẓ Israel. Elijah lived in China for a time and later returned to Calcutta, where he became a member of the municipal council and an agent for David Sassoon and Company. RAPHAEL BEN AARON GABBAI (d. 1923) was also born in Baghdad and later settled in Calcutta. Another noted philanthropist, he left a bequest of £100,000 to be distributed among charitable institutions in Ereẓ Israel, Baghdad, Calcutta, and London. SASSON BEN EZEKIEL MORDECAI GABBAI, "*gabbai* of the Four Lands" in Bombay during the 19th century, raised considerable funds for charities in Ereẓ Israel. JOSHUA BEN SIMEON GABBAI (1828–1898) settled in Calcutta in 1851, where he was a communal worker and *gabbai* of the Maghen David Synagogue.

[Abraham Ben-Yaacob]

SOLOMON SALIH GABBAI (1897–1961), poet and educator in Iraq. After having taught for many years in Baghdad, he became rabbi of Amara (1943–44) and later rabbi of the Iraqi community in Teheran. He wrote many poems in Hebrew and collected them in two booklets entitled *Shirei ha-Kerem* (Baghdad, 1925–26); some of these are poems on Zion. He also wrote an elegy on the massacre of the Jews in Baghdad during June 1941. He settled in Israel in 1951.

[Haim J. Cohen]

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GABBAI (Heb. גַּבַּאי, גַּבַּי), lay communal official. Derived from the Hebrew *gavah* (גָּבָה – to exact payment), the word is actually part of the complete title *gabbai ẓedakah* (charity warden) and all the relevant regulations, such as that individuals could not act as a *gabbai*, but collectors had to work in pairs, refer to this charity collector. In the Middle Ages, however, the meaning of the word was extended to include other communal officials. The original meaning of collector of taxes or treasurer merged in the usage of the medieval community with the parallel ancient meanings of collector for charities or administrator of them, and also came to connote supervisor and executive leader. The executive officer of a *ḥevrah or *guild was named *gabbai*. He was an unpaid lay-elected officer who administered the affairs of the particular association, whether burial, sick care, or the host of other purposes served by these groups. Very large societies had as many as 12 *gabba'im*, each serving one month in the year, when he was *gabbai ḥodesh*. Smaller organizations elected only one or more executives. Where the work was plentiful, the *gabbai* had the services of a beadle and other paid employees. In the small association the *gabbai* usually did all the work himself. In the communal administration the *gabbai* was an officer in charge of a particular committee or activity. In the Cracow community there were officers termed exalted, *gabba'im gevohim*. Some served as *gabba'im* in the synagogue, managing its affairs and distributing honors, especially at the Reading of the Torah. There were also *gabba'ei Ereẓ Yisrael*. In 1749, for example, at the Jaroslaw session of the Polish *Council of Four Lands, such officers were appointed in local or regional communities to make collections for the maintenance of the poor in Ereẓ Israel. In modern times there were also *gabba'im* of the *kolelim* (see also *ḥalukkah). The manager and supervisor of the affairs of a ḥasidic rabbi was also named *gabbai*. Female heads of associational activities were called *gabbaites*. The elected heads of the synagogues, mainly among Ashkenazi Jewry, were titled *gabbai*. British Jews employed the term *parnas in a congregational context instead of *gabbai*, using the latter for the warden of the synagogue; the president is called *parnas* in Hebrew.

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[Isaac Levitats]

GABBAI, MEIR BEN EZEKIEL IBN (1480–after 1540), kabbalist of the generation of Spanish exiles. The details of his life are not known. Apparently he lived in Turkey and possibly died in Ereẓ Israel. He wrote three books dealing with the principal problems of Kabbalah. They are *Tola'at Ya'akov* (written in 1507 and first printed in Constantinople, 1560), on the prayers; *Derekh Emunah* (written in 1539 and first printed in Constantinople, 1560), an explanation of the doctrine of the *sefirot* in the form of questions and answers, based on *Sha'ar ha-Sho'el* by *Azriel of Gerona and incorporating views of the *Zohar; and *Avodat ha-Kodesh*, on the entire doctrine of the Kabbalah, in four parts – on the unity of God, the worship of God, the purpose of man in the universe, and an explanation of esoteric aspects of the Torah – an important work which he wrote from 1523 to 1531. The last is the most comprehensive and organized summary of the doctrine of the Kabbalah prior to the Safed period and was one of the most popular books on Kabbalah even with recent generations. It was first printed in 1566–68 under the name *Marot Elohim*. Gabbai was one of the leading proponents of the view that the *Sefirot* are the essence of divinity.

[Gershom Scholem]

Ibn Gabbai is also one of the most important exponents of the theurgical approach in Kabbalah, which found its elaborate and complex expressions in both *Tola'at Ya'akov* and *Avodat ha-Kodesh*.

[Moshe Idel (2nd ed.)]

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GABBAI, MOSES BEN SHEM-TOV (d. c. 1443), scholar of Spain and North Africa. He lived for a time in Calatayud and then moved to Teruel where he served as rabbi. He settled in Majorca (before 1387) but during the riots of 1391 escaped to North Africa and was appointed rabbi of Honein. Gabbai was closely connected with the royal Spanish court and King John I of Aragon granted him freedom of passage between Spain and Majorca to attend to his affairs in Majorca (from a document dated 1394). His sister was the wife of Simeon b. Ẓemaḥ *Duran; Gabbai corresponded with the latter and with *Isaac b. Sheshet Perfet, both of whom he greatly respected. The poet Solomon b. Meshullam *Da Piera praised him in several of his poems. The latest mention of his name is in a responsum of Duran (*Tashbeẓ*, 2:99) addressed to him at Honein. From its contents it is clear that it was written in 1443, and not in 1427, as has been erroneously stated by his biographers. His extant writings are a supercommentary (written in 1421) on the commentary of Rashi on the Pentateuch (in manuscript); and a *bakkashah* (petitional prayer) which is also in manuscript.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: I. Epstein, *The Responsa of Rabbi Simon ben Ẓemaḥ Duran* (1903), index; A. Hershman, *Rabbi Isaac bar Sheshet Perfet and His Times* (1943); Baer, Urkunden, 1 (1929), 720f.

[Israel Moses Ta-Shma]

GABBAI IZIDRO (Ysidro), ABRAHAM (d. 1755), Sephardi rabbi. A Spanish Marrano, his wife was tried by the Inquisition while he escaped to London and reentered Judaism. He studied later with David Israel *Attias in Amsterdam and published in 1724 a sermon containing some interesting autobiographical details. Thereafter he was rabbi in *Surinam and then *Barbados. In old age, he returned to London where he died. He left in manuscript a kabbalistic verse commentary, *Yad Avraham* on the *Azharot, which was published (Amsterdam, 1758) by his widow, who had settled in Bayonne.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Kayserling, Bibl, 48; JHSAP, 29 (1925), 13.

[Cecil Roth]

GABEL, MAX (1877–1952), Yiddish actor and playwright. He is credited with having written 114 plays, mostly melodramas and adaptations of Broadway successes. His first play was *The Sea King*, 1895, performed in New York. Later he managed Gabel's Star Theater and other New York playhouses. He wrote and produced plays for his wife, actress/singer/writer/producer JENNIE GOLDSTEIN (1896–1960), whom he married when she was 16. These plays included *Girl with a Past* and *Everything for Love*. The couple starred together in his plays, and Gabel's productions enjoyed extended runs. He toured with his wife until they divorced in 1930 and he retired to California.

[Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

GABÈS (Ar. **Qābis**; the ancient **Tacapae**), maritime town in *Tunisia, situated in a luxuriant palm forest. Gabès was an important commercial and industrial center. Under Arab rule the Jews were farmers and manufacturers, who wove silk and exported – mainly precious cloth; they gained considerable wealth as a result of their trade with Sicily, the Orient, and the interior of Africa. Some of them were merchants of worldwide importance. In Gabès many Jews devoted themselves to poetry and music, and their intellectual leaders, such as the Ibn Jamaʿ family, succeeded in converting their academy into a religious center whose importance was comparable to that of *Kairouan. These rabbinical scholars maintained contact with *Sura and *Pumbedita, where the *gaon* Abraham al-Qābisi (i.e., of Gabès) had already settled at the beginning of the ninth century. During the 12th century they frequently communicated with the Jews of *Spain; Abraham *Ibn Ezra stayed in Gabès. After incursions by the Normans of *Sicily (1117, 1147) the community was destroyed by the *Almohads in 1159. Once reconstituted, the community did not return to its former importance. During the following centuries, the Jews of Gabès generally lived in peace. Many of them were engaged in commerce. The weaving of cloth and the wood and jewelry trades were principally Jewish crafts. The community, which numbered about 3,200 before World War II, suffered extensively under the German occupation of 1942–43. From 1948 its members immigrated to France and Israel. Only about 200 families of wealthy Jewish landowners still lived in Gabès in 1970.

[David Corcos]

During the Hafisit period Gabès was an economic and administrative center of its region. We do not have any real information about Jewish life in Gabès before the middle of the 19th century. In 1858 Benjamin the Jewish traveler found out about 100 families in Gabès but this is the only information about the Jewish community. A French explorer of the Sahara and the Tuareg, Henri Duveyrier (1840–1892), visited Tunisia in 1860, and his observations on the Jewish community of Gabès were of great importance. Jews lived in both parts of the ancient town, Menzel and Jara. Some Jews came from Leghorn and integrated into the autochthonous community. Their economic life was based on the Trans-Sahara trade, maritime commerce, and agriculture. Some Jews enjoyed European citizenship.

During the French protectorate the Jewish community grew to 1,271 in 1909 and more than 3,300 in 1946. Thus the community became one of the largest in south Tunisia. Most Jews came from *Djerba and the south. The French developed the port, the industry, and the minerals in the region of Gabès. Jews took part in those new economic opportunities. The Jewish community of Gabès was based on Djerba rabbinical authority. The rabbis came from Djerba and were committed to *takkanot* from Djerba. Gabès became the northern frontier of the Djerba periphery. For example, owing to its French nature, the Alliance Israélite Universelle could not open a school in Gabès. The rabbis in Djerba strongly opposed the Alliance initiative. Moreover, Rabbi Haim Khuri, the most famous sage in the 20th century, was born in Djerba and immigrated to Gabès, where his influence on Jewish life in Gabès was of great importance. He was the author of the books *Bene Moshe*, *Derekh Haim*, and *Maẓa Hayyim*. He was buried in Beersheba, and his grave became a holy place at which his sons organize a *hillula* every year. In 1909 the French created the communal committee, La Caisse de Secours et de Bienfaisance, as in all other large towns in Tunisia. Simon Seror was the president of the committee between the two World Wars and Haouti Zana was president after World War II. Jews sent their children to *talmud torah*s and some of them even to French schools, which provided the only modern education.

The only Zionist activity in Gabès was the creation of the Zionist association Ḥerut Zion just after World War I but Jews contributed to the national funds. As far as we know, Jews lived in coexistence with the Muslims. For example, at the fish factory of the Journo family, Arabs and Jews worked together in friendly relations. The only exception was the riot of May 20, 1941, in which seven Jews were killed and about 20 were wounded. After World War II and as a result of the German occupation, Zionist activity was stronger than before the war. All political trends took part in Zionist activity: Betar, Ẓeʿirei Ẓion (a Marxist group), Torah va-Avodah, and others. Even a self-defense group was created but had little importance.

[Haim Saadoun (2nd ed.)]

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GABIN (Pol. **Gąbin**; Rus. **Gombin**), small town in Warszawa province, central Poland. Of the 352 houses there in 1564, seven were owned by Jews. The wooden synagogue was erected in 1710. The community numbered 365 in 1765, 2,539 in 1897, and 2,564 in 1921 (out of a total population of 5,777). R. Abraham Abele *Gombiner author of *Magen Avraham*, was born there. Yehuda Leib *Avida (Zlotnik) was rabbi of Gabin from 1911 to 1919. Between the wars the Jews suffered economic hardship but community life flourished. Following the Nazi occupation in September 1939, some were sent to forced labor camps; the rest were ghettoized in early 1940. In May 1942 the Jews were deported to Chelmno; around 180 survived the war, most of them subsequently immigrating to Israel.

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°GABINIUS, AULUS, Roman governor of Syria from 57 to 55 B.C.E. He was granted extensive authority, and his system of rule was characteristic of Roman imperialistic methods toward the end of the period of the republic. He put into effect Pompey's decision to diminish the area of the territory of Judea, deprived Hyrcanus of the title ethnarch, divided the country into five districts, and rehabilitated the Greek cities which the Hasmoneans had destroyed. He defeated the efforts of Aristobulus II and his son Alexander to seize power in Judea.

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GABIROL, SOLOMON BEN JUDAH, IBN (c. 1021–c. 1057; Ar. Abu Ayyub Sulayman ibn Yahya ibn Gabirul; Lat. Avicebron), Spanish poet and philosopher.

His Life

The main source of information on Ibn Gabirol's life is his poems, although frequently they offer no more than hints. A number of details can be found in the works of *Ibn Saʿīd and in the *Kitab al-Muhadara wal-Mudhakara* by Moses *Ibn Ezra (published by A. Halkin (1975), 36b, 37a, etc.), and some information can be deduced from Ibn Gabirol's introduction to his ethical work, *Tikkun Middot ha-Nefesh* (Constantinople, 1550). His family left Córdoba in the unsafe years of the beginning of the 11th century, and he was very likely born in Malaga – or at any rate he lived there and regarded it as his native city, signing a number of his poems "Malaki," i.e., from Malaga – but as a child he was taken to Saragossa, where he acquired an extensive education. Orphaned at an early age, he wrote a number of elegies on the death of his father; on his mother's death in 1045, he mourned both his parents in "*Niḥar be-Kore'i*" (14). Ibn Gabirol complained in his poems of his weak physique, small stature, and ugliness, and if we understand his words literally, he was frequently ill from his childhood on, suffering particularly from a serious skin disease that he seems to describe in his strange and terrifying poem "*Ha-Lo Ezdak*." Being unusually mature for his age, he began to write poetry at a very young age, at the latest 16 when he wrote *Azharot* (Venice, 1572). Ibn Gabirol likened himself to a 16-year-old with the heart of an 80-year-old ("*Ani ha-Sar*," 8). According to his contemporaries, his character, at times verging on arrogance, brought him into frequent conflict with influential men of his day, whom he attacked virulently, and with society in general. Since he wanted to devote his life to philosophy and poetry, he was dependent on the support of wealthy patrons, a subservience against which he rebelled from time to time. In 1038 Ibn Gabirol wrote a number of elegies on the death of *Hai b. Sherira Gaon. One of his more important supporters was Jekuthiel b. Isaac ibn Ḥasan, whom he praised in a number of poems for his knowledge of the Talmud and the sciences, his interest in poetry, and his generosity ("*Ve-At Yonah*"). When Jekuthiel was killed in 1039 as a result of court intrigues, Ibn Gabirol wrote two elegies, one of which ("*Bi-Ymei Yekuti'el Asher Nigmaru*") is regarded as one of the greatest of Jewish medieval secular poems. With the loss of his patron, Ibn Gabirol's financial status and social standing were drastically lowered and his incessant squabbling with the town nobles caused him considerable suffering. At the age of 19, he completed his great didactic poem, "*Anak*." It is thought that he wrote *Tikkun Middot ha-Nefesh* ("The Improvement of the Moral Qualities") in 1045, and soon afterward he seems to have left Saragossa; from then on few details are available on his life and work. Some scholars believe that he lived for some time in Granada, where his patron was *Samuel ha-Nagid, with whom he later quarreled as a result of his criticisms of Samuel's poems. Ibn Gabirol appears to have spent the year 1048–49 under the patronage of *Nissim b. Jacob ibn Shahin, but it is doubtful if he ever was actually Nissim's student. He was on friendly terms with Isaac ibn Khalfun and Isaac ibn Kapron. According to Moshe Ibn Ezra, Ibn Gabirol died in Valencia at the age of 30, while Abraham Ibn Daud states that he died in 1070, when he was approximately 50. However, the most exact date seems to be that given by Ibn Saʿīd: 450 A.H. or 1057–58, when he was between 36 and 38. The many legends surrounding his life attest to the awe in which the man and his works were held after his death. One legend (found in the commentary to *Sefer Yeẓirah* (publ. Mantua, 1562), attributed to Saadiah Gaon) relates how Ibn Gabirol made a female *golem* out of wood; another (in *Shalshelet ha-Kabbalah* by Gedaliah ibn Yaḥyā, Venice, 1587) tells how he was murdered by an Arab.

Works

In one of his poems, Ibn Gabirol boasts of having written 20 books, but only two are extant that can certainly be attributed to him: *Mekor Ḥayyim* and *Tikkun Middot ha-Nefesh*. Both are written in Judeo-Arabic. *Sefer Al ha-Nefesh* (*Liber de Anima*), which has been preserved in Latin, and *Mivḥar Peninim* (Venice, 1546) are frequently attributed to Ibn Gabirol, but in both cases there is insufficient proof of his authorship. In their commentaries on the Bible, Abraham ibn Ezra and David Kimḥi quote some of his interpretations, mostly allegorical, but it is not known if he composed a complete commentary of his own. The difficult task of recovering and identifying Ibn Gabirol's poems, which were scattered in prayer books, anthologies, and single pages dispersed in many libraries, was first undertaken in the 19th century by J.L. Dukes, S.D. Luzzatto, S. Sachs, and H. Brody, who brought out the first collection of his verse. The discovery in the *Genizah* in the early part of the 20th century of an ancient index of poems by Ibn Gabirol, Ibn Ezra, and Judah Halevi proved that there had been a very early collection of Ibn Gabirol's poems, and later a complete *divan* was found in manuscript (Schocken 37). Bialik and Ravnitzky did not regard their seven-volume edition of Ibn Gabirol's collected works (1924–32) as complete. Brody and Schirmann published a scientific edition of his secular poems in 1974. D. Jarden collected and annotated the secular (1975) and liturgical (1976) poems in four volumes. Ibn Gabirol's poems have been translated into most Western languages (I. Goldberg, 1998). There is a good English translation of many of his poems by P. Cole (2001); a German translation by F. Bargebuhr (1976); E. Romero translated into Spanish a large selection of his secular poems (1978), and M.J. Cano translated his secular poetry (1987) and a significant part of his liturgical poems (1992).

Poetry

In his poetic works Ibn Gabirol displays his great knowledge of biblical Hebrew and his linguistic virtuosity, while avoiding the complexity of many of his predecessors, including Samuel ha-Nagid. Employing images and idioms from Arabic poetry, he fuses them into an original style, with brilliant intellectual metaphors. He can be a formalist in some conventional genres, but he also attains lyrical heights that are unusual in the Middle Ages, with deep reflections on his own life and his search for wisdom. While he wrote in biblical Hebrew, like all Andalusian poets, he was not a purist, and allowed himself some neologisms that provoked the censure of his most intransigent critics. In spiritual tone his poetry is shaped by Bible and talmudic literature as well as by early mystical Midrashim. In its mystical tendencies, his work is sometimes described as closely akin to Sufi poetry. Both his scientific knowledge, especially of astronomy, and his neoplatonic leanings are evident in his poems.

SECULAR POETRY. In accordance with contemporary tradition, most of Ibn Gabirol's secular poetry was composed in honor of patrons whom he describes in extravagant panegyric. As he employs the full range of the Hebreo-Arabic rhetoric of the time in poems of praise and poems of friendship, it is often difficult to differentiate between the two. In the tone of the Arabic poems of self-praise, he refers to himself as a "violin unto all singers and musicians" ("*Ani ha-Sar*") before whom are opened the "doors of wisdom" that are closed to the rest of his nation ("*Ha-Tilag le-Enosh*"). Following convention, especially that of the great Arab pessimistic poets, he emphasizes the contrast between himself and the society in which he lives, frequently voicing complaints against time, i.e., fate, and his inability to find his place among his fellows, involved as they are in mundane matters and temporal successes. Nonetheless, he was alive to the impulses of youth and while he composed few love poems those few are powerful lyrics. An erotic note is sounded in his description of his relation to poetry, which he portrays as a desirable young girl. In his most personal poetry, he expresses the internal tensions of his own search for knowledge, his solitude and his confrontation with destiny and with the men of his time, his bitterness and despair, mourning his inability to enjoy the pleasures of the world and of love, and finding refuge in wisdom and in God.

In his "wisdom poetry" he depicts himself as devoting his life to knowledge in order to prepare his soul to rejoin the "Source of Life" on its release from its bodily prison. Knowledge has two aspects consisting both of the effort of the intellect to scale the heights of the heavenly spheres and of the soul's introspection. At first pleading with God to let him live, the poet soon begins to deride the world and time, regarding them as valueless and insignificant obstacles on the way to eternity. From the height of his identification with the infinity of the Godhead and of eternity, he regards with disgust the trials of the world below, the illusions of the senses, and the weakness of the flesh.

In accordance with the rules of rhetoric, some of Ibn Gabirol's extensive nature poetry seems to have served as an introduction to his laudatory verse, for the patron's generosity was often likened to the ordained plenitude of nature. It is clear from his nature poetry that he was influenced by the Islamic culture prevalent in Spain at the time, but within this traditional framework, the fine descriptions are accurately observed. Some of his winter poems ("autumn" according to the poet) include a few of his finest creations, e.g., "*Avei Sheḥakim*," and "*Yeshallem ha-Setav Nidro*."

A part of Ibn Gabirol's poetry reflects his lack of social adaptation and his pessimistic view of the society of his time. His response is to complain in a harsh, satirical tone. If his contemporaries are not able to recognize his qualities, he pays them back with contempt, fustigating their ignorance and their wretchedness.

In another large section of Ibn Gabirol's work, his ethical poems, he addresses the reader directly, propounding an ethic based upon individual introspection. These poems deal with the transience of life and the worthlessness of bodily existence in all its aspects as opposed to the eternal values of spiritual life and the immortality of the soul. Ibn Gabirol's didactic tendency also finds expression in the many riddles he composed, which were possibly appended to letters, and it is also apparent in the dialogue form in which many of the longer poems were written. This style, developed in medieval Arabic poetry, was also used to introduce variety into the long poems which otherwise tended to be monotonous as a result of the identical rhyming of all the stanzas. The only secular verse he wrote in a strophic form is "*Ki-Khelot Yeini*" – a humorous poem that became a popular Purim song.

RELIGIOUS POETRY. Through his combination of pure Hebrew with the varied meters of Arabic poetry, Ibn Gabirol enhanced his poetic stature in the estimation of his contemporaries. Today, however, these qualities are dimmed by the great wealth of complex strophic forms he employed in his religious poetry. Stylistically, liturgical poets were always the elite of medieval Jewish poetry and Ibn Gabirol's works in this genre are the apogee of the tradition. Ibn Gabirol composed a substantial number of religious poems in the difficult style of the early school of liturgical poets, possibly because they were commissioned by various communities or synagogues. Despite this, the freshness and vivacity of his imagery is striking. Many of these liturgical poems have been preserved, not only in Sephardi and Ashkenazi prayer books but also in those of the Karaites. It is on the basis of these poems that Ibn Gabirol is regarded as the major religious poet of Spanish Jewry, and many of them, such as "*Reshut*" and "*Shaḥar Avakkeshkha*," are outstanding lyrical-religious creations even outside this particular context. In contrast to the long compositions of the classical *piyyut* Ibn Gabirol writes many short poems that reflect the feelings and predilections of the Andalusian believer in his relation with God. At the same time, he introduces many elements of secular poetry in the liturgical poems. Although his God is a personal deity, to whom he may turn in confession or supplication, Ibn Gabirol, unlike Judah Halevi, does not describe his great love for God as the relationship between the lover and the beloved. The poet, who in his secular verse is strong-willed and contemptuous of the base world about him, becomes humble in his religious poetry as he begins to understand himself and man in general. When addressing God, he realizes his insignificance and his inability either to combat desire or to understand the essential evil of the senses for which there is no succor except in the compassion of God ("*Adonai, Mah Adam*," "*Shokhenei Battei Ḥomer*"). At times, these expressions of longing and of profound love for God are akin to the emotions expressed in the love poems ("*Shaḥar Aleh Elai Dodi*").

As it was customary to compose liturgical poems according to a system of acrostics, most of the religious poems begin with the letter *shin* (S). In his shorter poems, Ibn Gabirol set out his own name "Shelomo" in the first letters of each verse, whereas in the longer ones he duplicated this name a number of times, combining it with that of his father Judah ibn (or ben) Gabirol. Other poems were composed according to an alphabetical sequence, but even in these he wove his own name, at times beginning an alphabetically arranged poem with a verse containing his name. Although surpassed by Judah Halevi's poems in the same vein, Ibn Gabirol's national poetry overshadows the modest efforts of Samuel ha-Nagid and should be regarded as a link between the two. This poetry emerged from a combination of the traditional longing for deliverance and the particular fate of Spanish Jewry. Political events, the fate of Jekuthiel, and the murder of an anonymous Jewish statesman by Christians in the forests along the border ("*Asher Teshev Shekhulah*"; "*Lekhu Bo'u ve-Hikkaveẓu*") must have reinforced Ibn Gabirol's awareness of the dangers of exile. In "*Ge'ullot*" and "*Ahavot*" the people of Israel speak to their God as a woman to her lover, telling of her sorrows, while her lover comforts her with promises of her deliverance. In these poems fear of the final destruction and of the end of the prophetic vision mingle with a fervent belief in the advent of the Messiah. *Rashuyyot*, a collection of limpid short poems, is marked by extreme yearning for the savior. According to Abraham ibn Ezra, Ibn Gabirol was among those who tried to predict the Day of Judgment and this tendency is apparent in his poetry. The concepts and visions in Ibn Gabirol's mystical poems are very difficult to reconcile with the philosophical concepts expressed in his other works. In these poems, knowledge of the Divinity can be apprehended only by the elect who have plumbed the mysteries of creation through which God manifests Himself. The very names of God are endowed with mystical significance, becoming potent symbols of the power of the Creator and the wonders of His creation. The account of the creation is similar to that which appears in *Sefer Yeẓirah*. Many midrashic elements, as well as God's reply out of the whirlwind in Job, join to form a dynamic, mystery-shrouded account of creation breaking forth from the turmoil of primordial chaos into reality and form. There are detailed descriptions of the upper spheres, the curtain of the heavens, and the abodes of the angels, written in the spirit of **heikhalot* literature and the *Pirkei de-Rabbi Eliezer*. The close relationship between imagery and content in some of these poems, e.g., "*Ha-Ra'ash ha-Gadol*," and "*Shinanim Sha'ananim*," suggests that they may have been written in moments of ecstasy. *Ha-Anak* is a didactic poem apparently intended to teach the basic rules of Hebrew. According to Abraham ibn Ezra (introduction to *Moznayim*, 1809), the poem contained 400 stanzas, of which only 88 are extant, and was based upon a series of acrostics. An introduction on the superiority of the Hebrew language is followed by an explanation of how the words in the language are related to 22 letters of the alphabet in the same way that form is related to matter. "*Ha-Anak*," which Ibn Gabirol called *Iggeret* and *Maḥberet*, is written in plain, flowing language, and was apparently designed for study, perhaps for teachers. The book was greatly admired by Abraham ibn Ezra, who regarded it as an important contribution to the understanding of the Hebrew language. The peak of Ibn Gabirol's poetic achievement is *Keter Malkhut*, a long composition in rhymed prose dealing in high style with the essence of God, the work of the creation, with a description of the "spheres," and a confession of the low condition of man, prone to sin (see below). The many editions, manuscripts, translations, and imitations (most important by David ibn Zimra) of the work bear witness to the widespread and continuing admiration it has aroused.

Judah *Al-Ḥarizi has the highest praise for Ibn Gabirol's poetry: "All the poets of his age were worthless and false in comparison… He alone trod the highest reaches of poetry, and rhetoric gave birth to him in the lap of wisdom… all the poets before him were as nothing and after him none rose to equal him. All those who followed learned and received the use of poetry from him" (*Tahkemoni*, "Third Gate").

[*Encyclopaedia Hebraica* / Angel Sáenz-Badillos (2nd ed.)]

Philosophy

METAPHYSICS. Gabirol presents his philosophic views in his major work, *Mekor Ḥayyim* ("The Source of Life"). Written in Arabic, but no longer extant in that language, the full work has been preserved in a medieval Latin translation under the title *Fons Vitae*. A Hebrew translation of several extracts by Shem Tov ibn Falaquera (13th century), who claimed that it contained all of Gabirol's thought, is also extant under the title *Likkutim mi-Sefer Mekor Ḥayyim*. In studying *Mekor Ḥayyim*, however, the loss of the Arabic original makes it difficult to explain certain terms.

Mekor Ḥayyim is written in the form of a dialogue between master and pupil, a style also current in Arabic philosophic literature of that period. However, it is not a typical Platonic dialogue, in which the student discovers true opinions for himself through discussion with the master; instead, the student's questions serve to enable the master to expound his views. *Mekor Ḥayyim*, divided into five treatises, is devoted primarily to a discussion of the principles of matter and form. The first treatise is a preliminary clarification of the notions of universal matter and form, a discussion of matter and form as they exist in objects of sense perception, and a discussion of the corporeal matter underlying qualities. The second treatise contains a description of the spiritual matter that underlies corporeal form. The third is devoted to demonstrating the existence of simple substances. The fourth deals with the form and matter of simple substances, and the fifth, with universal form and matter as they exist in themselves. The doctrine of matter and form is, in Gabirol's view (*Mekor Ḥayyim*, 1:7), the first of the three branches of science, the other two being, in ascending order, the science of (God's) will and the science of the First Essence, God. Gabirol states (5:40) that he has written a special book devoted to God's will, but no further evidence of such a book is available.

Gabirol's cosmological system generally has a neoplatonic structure but with modifications of his own. The first principle is the First Essence, which can be identified with God. Next in order of being are the divine will, universal matter and form, then the simple substances – intellect, soul, and nature, and finally the corporeal world and its parts. Gabirol holds that all substances in the world, both spiritual and corporeal, are composed of two elements, form and matter. This duality produces the differences between various substances, but, according to some passages, it is specifically the forms that distinguish one substance from the other, while according to others, it is matter. Matter is the substratum underlying the forms; forms inhere in it. All distinctions between matter and form in the various substances stem from the distinction between universal matter and universal form, the most general kinds of matter and form, which, according to Gabirol's account of being, are the first created beings. However, Gabirol presents conflicting accounts of their creation. According to one account (5:42), universal matter comes from the essence of God, and form, from the divine will, but according to another (5:36–38), both of these principles were created by the divine will. In some passages Gabirol holds that universal matter exists by itself (2:8, 5:32), which deviates from the Aristotelian account of matter, but in other passages he states, in accord with Aristotle's view, that matter is akin to privation, and form to being, and that matter exists only in potentiality (5:36).

All forms, in addition to appearing in various levels of being, are also contained in universal form. Matter and form do not exist by themselves; their first compound is intellect, the first of the spiritual substances, from which the soul emanates, it, too, being composed of matter and form. Hence, as opposed to the Aristotelian views, spiritual matter exists, and it is found in all incorporeal substances. All spiritual, or simple, substances emanate forces that bestow existence upon substances below them in the order of being. Thus, soul is emanated from intellect. There are three kinds of soul, rational, animate, and vegetative, which, besides being cosmic principles, also exist in man. In contrast to the opinion of the Aristotelians, nature as a cosmic principle emanates from the vegetative soul. Nature is the last of the simple substances, and from it emanates corporeal substance, which is below nature in the order of being. Corporeal substance is the substratum underlying nine of the ten Aristotelian *categories. The tenth category, substance, is universal matter as it appears in the corporeal world, and the nine other categories are universal form as it appears in the corporeal world.

For soul to be joined to body a mediating principle is required. The mediating principle joining the universal soul to the corporeal world is the heavens; the mediating principle joining the rational soul of man to the body is the animal spirit. The relation of man's body to his soul is also said to be like the relation between form and matter (a parallel which is difficult to reconcile with Gabirol's account of these two principles). The soul comprehends the forms but not matter, since the latter principle is unintelligible. In order to comprehend sensible forms the soul must use the senses, because these forms do not exist in the soul as they are in the corporeal world. The forms which always exist in the soul are the intelligible forms. However, since the soul was deprived of its knowledge as a result of its union with the body, these forms exist in the soul only potentially, not actually. Therefore, God created the world and provided senses for the soul, by means of which it may conceive tangible forms and patterns. It is through this comprehension of the sensible forms and patterns that the soul also comprehends ideas, which in the soul emerge from potentiality to actuality (5:41).

All forms exist in intellect, also, but in a more subtle and simple manner than in soul. Furthermore, in intellect they do not have separate existence, but are conjoined with it in a spiritual union. "The form of the intellect includes all the forms, and they are contained in it" (4:14). Intellect, which is composed of universal form and matter, is below these two principles, and therefore can conceive them only with great difficulty.

Above the knowledge of form and matter there is a far more sublime knowledge: that of the divine will, which is identical with divine wisdom and divine logos. This will in itself, if considered apart from its activity, may be thought of as identical with the Divine Essence, but when considered with respect to its activity, it is separate from divine essence. Will according to its essence is infinite, but with respect to its action is finite. It is the intermediary between divine essence and matter and form, but it also penetrates all things. In its function as the efficient cause of everything, it unites form with matter. The will, which causes all movement, be it spiritual or corporeal, is in itself at rest. The will acts differently on different substances, this difference depending upon the particular matter, not upon the will (5:37). The First Essence, i.e., God, cannot be known because it is infinite and because it lacks any similarity to the soul. Nevertheless, its existence can be demonstrated.

The goal to which all men should aspire is defined in *Mekor Ḥayyim* (1:1, 2:1) as knowledge of the purpose for which they were created, i.e., knowledge of the divine world (5:43). There are two ways to achieve this goal: through knowledge of the will as it extends into all matter and form and through knowledge of the will as it exists in itself apart from matter and form. This knowledge brings release from death and attachment to "the source of life."

SOURCES. On a number of points, Gabirol's philosophy is close to the neoplatonic system current in medieval thought, for example, the concept of emanation that explains the derivation of simple substances and the concept of the parallel correspondence between different grades of being. Nevertheless, it differs on two very important points from the Muslim neoplatonism: the concept of form and matter (especially the latter) and the concept of will.

Gabirol's concept of matter is not internally coherent. On the one hand, it reflects distinct Aristotelian influence, but on the other, the occasional identification of matter with essence (*substantia*) suggests a Stoic influence, possibly the result of Gabirol's reading of the Greek physician Galen (second century). A concept that particularly characterizes Gabirol's system is spiritual matter. One possible source of this concept is the neoplatonist Plotinus (205?–270) in his *Enneads* (2:4), but there is no known Arabic translation of the latter's text (see *Neoplatonism). Theorem 72 of Proclus' *Elements of Theology*, which was translated into Arabic, sets forth a view of matter akin to Gabirol's. Like Gabirol, Plotinus and the Greek neoplatonist Proclus (c. 410?–485) regard matter as the basis of all unity in the spiritual world as well as in the physical. However, they do not maintain that universal form and matter are the first simple substances after God and His will. Pseudo-Empedoclean writings set forth the view that matter (Heb. *yesod*) and form are the first created beings and are prior to intellect. Ibn Falaquera states explicitly that Gabirol followed the views expressed by "Empedocles," that is, in the Pseudo-Empedoclean writings. It is even more likely that Gabirol's views on form and matter were influenced by certain texts of the tenth-century philosopher Isaac *Israeli or by a pseudo-Aristotelian text (see J. Schlanger, *La philosophie de Salomon Ibn Gabirol* (1968), 57–70) that appear to have influenced the latter as well as other authors.

In the identification of divine will and the logos and in the concept of the omnipresence of will, Gabirol's concept of will finds a parallel in *Saadiah Gaon's commentary to *Sefer Yeẓirah*. There is also a partial similarity of Gabirol's teachings to those of the Muslim Ismaili sect. In the text of *Mekor Ḥayyim* Plato is the only philosopher mentioned.

INFLUENCE OF MEKOR ḤAYYIM. *Mekor Ḥayyim* is unique in the body of Jewish philosophical-religious literature of the Middle Ages, because it expounds a complete philosophical-religious system wholly lacking in specifically Jewish content and terminology. The author does not mention biblical persons or events and does not quote the Bible, Talmud, or Midrash. To some extent this feature of the work determined its unusual destiny. Among Jewish philosophers *Mekor Ḥayyim* is quoted by Moses ibn Ezra in his *Arugat ha-Bosem*. Abraham ibn Ezra was apparently influenced by it, although he makes no direct reference to the work, and Joseph ibn Ẓaddik, the author of *Ha-Olam ha-Katan* ("The Microcosm"), also drew on it. There is also a clear similarity between the views of the Spanish philosopher and kabbalist Isaac ibn *Latif and those of *Mekor Ḥayyim*. Traces of Gabirol's ideas and terminology appear in the Kabbalah as well.

On the other hand, *Mekor Ḥayyim* was severely attacked by Abraham *Ibn Daud, an Aristotelian, in his book *Emunah Ramah*. Despite these influences, however, *Mekor Ḥayyim* was slowly forgotten among Jews. In its own time it was not translated into Hebrew, and the original Arabic text was lost.

In the 12th century *Mekor Ḥayyim* was translated into Latin by Johannes Hispalensus (Hispanus) and Dominicus Gundissalinus. Hispalensus, also known as Aven Dauth, may possibly have been the same Ibn Daud who criticized Gabirol. Gabirol's name was corrupted to Avicebron, and he was generally regarded a Muslim, although some Christians thought he was a Christian. Some Christian thinkers were greatly influenced by *Mekor Ḥayyim*. Aristotelians, such as Thomas *Aquinas, sharply criticized Gabirol's views, but the Franciscan philosophers, who favored Augustine, accepted some of them. The Jewish philosophers Isaac *Abrabanel and his son Judah *Abrabanel, better known as Leone Ebreo, seem to have been familiar with some of Gabirol's works. Leone Ebreo, who quotes him by the name Albenzubron, regards him as a Jew, and states his own belief in Gabirol's views. It was only in the 19th century, 350 years after the Abrabanels, that Solomon *Munk, the French scholar, rediscovered the Falaquera extracts and through them identified Avicebron as Solomon ibn Gabirol, a Jew. Among modern philosophers, Schopenhauer noted a certain similarity between his own system and that of Gabirol.

ETHICAL WORK. *Tikkun Middot ha-Nefesh.* ("The Improvement of the Moral Qualities"), Gabirol's book on ethics, was written around 1045 and has been preserved in the original Arabic as *Kitāb Iṣlāḥ al-Akhlāq* and in Hebrew by Judah ibn Tibbon's Hebrew translation (1167). In this work Gabirol discusses the parallel between the universe, the macrocosmos, and man, the microcosmos. There is no mention in the book of the four cardinal virtues of the soul, a Platonic doctrine which was popular in Arabic ethical writings. Gabirol developed an original theory, in which each of 20 personal traits is assigned to one of the five senses: pride, meekness, modesty, and impudence are related to the sense of sight; love, mercy, hate, and cruelty, to the sense of hearing; anger, goodwill, envy, and diligence, to the sense of smell; joy, anxiety, contentedness, and regret, to the sense of taste; and generosity, stinginess, courage, and cowardice, to the sense of touch. Gabirol also describes the relation between the virtues and the four qualities: heat, cold, moistness, and dryness, which are incorporated in pairs in each of the four elements of which the earth is composed: earth, air, water, and fire.

PHILOSOPHICAL POETRY. Gabirol gives poetic expression to the philosophical thought of *Mekor Ḥayyim* in the first part of his poem *Keter Malkhut* (*The Kingly Crown*, tr. by B. Lewis, 1961). Although the conceptual framework of *Keter Malkhut* is not identical in every detail to that of *Mekor Ḥayyim*, the differences are in many cases only of phrasing or emphasis.

The conceptual variations reflect the contradictions apparent in *Mekor Ḥayyim* itself. *Keter Malkhut* opens with praise for the Creator and an account of His attributes: His unity, existence, eternity, and life and His greatness, power, and divinity. God is also described as "Light," according to the neoplatonic image of the deity, "Thou art the supreme light and the eyes of the pure soul shall see thee" (tr. Lewis, 31). Nevertheless, Gabirol stresses that God and his attributes are not distinguishable: we refer to attributes only because of the limited means of human expression.

The next section speaks of divine "Wisdom" and the "predestined Will" (*ha-Ḥefeẓ ha-Mezumman*), which together parallel the single concept of will (*Raẓon*) in *Mekor Ḥayyim*. "Thou art wise, and from Thy wisdom Thou didst send forth a predestined will, and made it as an artisan and a craftsman, to draw the stream of being from the void…" (*ibid.*, 33). His description of the creative activity of the predestined will corresponds with the concept of will in *Mekor Ḥayyim*, but despite the close ties between them, wisdom and will are not as closely identified with each other in *Keter Malkhut* as in *Mekor Ḥayyim*. In *Mekor Ḥayyim* Wisdom is seated upon the Throne, which is the first matter; in *Keter Malkhut* the link between these two substances is not clearly stated: "Who can come to Thy dwelling place, when Thou didst raise up above the sphere of intelligence the throne of glory, in which is the abode of mystery and majesty, in which is the secret and the foundation to which the intelligence reaches…" (*ibid.*, 47). Apparently, in *Keter Malkhut* the foundation or element (*ha-Yesod*) is the first matter.

The will is the instrument and the means of creation; after the description of the will the poet goes on to describe the structure of the world according to Ptolemaic cosmology. The earth, "half water, half land," is surrounded by a "sphere of air," above which there is a "sphere of fire." The world of the four elements is circumscribed by the spheres of the moon, Mercury, Venus, the sun, Mars, Jupiter, Saturn, the zodiac, and the diurnal sphere, "which surrounds all other spheres." The distance of these spheres from the world, the length of their orbit, the magnitude of the heavenly bodies found within them, and, particularly, their forces and their influence upon nature, worldly events, and the fate of man are all described according to Ptolemaic and Muslim astronomy. However, beyond the nine spheres there is yet another, which is the result of philosophical abstraction: "… the sphere of the Intelligence, 'the temple before it,'" from whose luster emanates the "radiance of souls and lofty spirits … messengers of Thy Will" (*ibid.*, 45). Above this sphere is "the throne of glory, in the abode of mystery and majesty," and beneath it is "the abode of the pure souls" (*ibid.*, 47). In this exalted sphere, also, the punishment of sinful souls will be meted out. This part of the poem ends with a description of the soul that descends from the upper spheres to reside temporarily in matter, the source of sin, from which the soul can escape only by "the power of knowledge which inheres" in it (*ibid.*, 50). The concluding section of the poem contains a confession of sins (*viddui*), and for that reason *Keter Malkhut* was included in the Day of Atonement prayer book of some Jewish rites.

Among the translations and editions of Gabirol's philosophical works are: the Hebrew text of Ibn Falaquera's *Likkutim mi-Sefer Mekor Ḥayyim*, with a French translation by S. Munk, in the latter's *Mélanges de philosophie juive et arabe* (1859, 1927^2); a German edition by C. Baemker of the Latin translation by Johannes Hispanus (Hispalensus) and Dominicus Gundissalinus (1895); *Fountain of Life*, a partial translation by H.E. Wedeck with an introduction by E. James (1962); *La Source de Vie, Livre III*, translated with introduction, notes, and bibliography by F. Brunner (1950); *Sefer Mekor Ḥayyim*, a modern Hebrew translation by J. Bluwstein (1926); *Fountain of Life* in an English tranlation by A.B. Jacob (1987); *Improvement of the Moral Qualities*, including the Hebrew text, translated with an introduction by S. Wise (1901); *Keter ha-Malkhut*, edited by I.A. Zeidman (1950).

[Shlomo Pines]

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GABLER, MILTON (1911–2001), U.S. jazz impresario. Born in Harlem in New York City, Gabler said he fell in love with jazz at his family's summer cottage in Throgs Neck, the Bronx. While a student in high school, he worked at his father's hardware store and then transferred to another shop his father owned nearby, the Commodore Radio Corporation, a popular supply store. Gabler hooked up a loudspeaker over the door and tuned in a local radio station. Customers kept asking if the store sold records. It didn't, but it soon did. By 1934, the renamed Commodore Music Shop became the country's most important source of records and a meeting ground for fans and musicians. The store later had three addresses on East 42nd Street and had a branch on 52nd Street, where the jazz clubs were clustered. Also in 1934, Gabler began buying boxes of out-of-print jazz recordings from major record companies that had no plans to re-release them. Gabler then became the first person to sell re-issued records and was the first to print the names of all participating musicians on jazz records. In 1939, Gabler recorded Billie Holiday's chilling and now-classic ballad about lynching, "Strange Fruit," after her record producer refused for fear of losing sales in the South. On Commodore Records, Holiday sang, "Southern trees bear a strange fruit. Blood on the leaves and blood at the root." Throughout the 1930s and 1940s, Commodore issued almost 90 recordings, using more than 150 musicians and singers. In 1941, Gabler was hired by Decca Records, although he continued to produce records for Commodore until 1950. He produced records for Peggy Lee, the Weavers, and the Ink Spots, among many others. He was the first to pair Louis Armstrong and Ella Fitzgerald on record and, as a lyricist, he wrote the words for "In a Mellow Tone" for Duke Ellington and "Love" for Nat King Cole. Gabler was one of the first to make recordings of Broadway shows and was a midwife at the birth of rock 'n' roll. In 1954, he signed Bill Haley and the Comets to Decca. They were scheduled to record two songs. The first, "13 Women," was considered more promising. The other was "Rock Around the Clock." The group rehearsed one quick verse to set sound levels and recorded the song live in one take. Sound engineers were said to be alarmed at the high sound levels, but the song soon energized the market for the new sound of rock 'n' roll. Gabler was the uncle of entertainer Billy *Crystal.

[Stewart Kampel (2nd ed.)]

GÁBOR (Greiner), ANDOR (1884–1953), Hungarian poet and journalist. Gábor first wrote for the Jewish press, publishing violent attacks on Hungarian antisemitism. He wrote a prize-winning translation of Frédéric Mistral's Provençal epic, *Mirélo*, and was a founder of and writer for Hungary's political cabaret. After the failure of Béla *Kun's Communist regime. Gábor was an exile in Vienna and Moscow, but returned to Budapest after World War II and edited a satirical paper.

GABOR, DENNIS (1900–1979), British physicist and electrical engineer of Hungarian birth. Gabor wrote on electrical transients, gas discharges, electron dynamics, communication theory, and physical optics. He was also greatly concerned with the impact of science and technology upon society. Gabor taught at the University of Berlin-Charlottenburg as an assistant for two years. From 1926 to 1933 he worked first for the German research association for high voltage equipment and then as a research engineer in an engineering company. Gabor settled in England in 1933. Gabor theorized about a process of photographic recording which he named holography (1947). In the 1960s with the invention of laser beams the theory was realized, permitting cameraless three-dimensional full color photographic images. He was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society of London in 1956 and became professor of applied electron physics at the Imperial College of Science and Technology, University of London, two years later. Gabor was awarded the Nobel Prize for physics in 1971.

[J. Edwin Holmstrom]

GÁBOR (originally **Lederer**)**, IGNÁC** (1868–1944), Hungarian philologist. Born in Abaujkomlos, Gábor studied at the Budapest rabbinical seminary and at the universities of Budapest and Paris, where he specialized in Semitic and Indo-European philology. His research was confined mainly to the theory of rhythm, and he translated medieval Hebrew poetry and various Sanskrit, Norse, French, Italian, Dutch, and other works into Hungarian. He initiated the "Popular Jewish Library," and edited a French-language newspaper, *Le Progrès* (1896–99). His works include a translation into Hungarian of the 13th-century Icelandic *Poetic Edda* (1905); *Manoello élete és költészete* ("Poems and Life of Imanuel of Rome," 1922); *A magyar ritmus problémája* ("The Problem of Rhythm in Hungarian," 1925); and *Der hebraeische Urrhytmus* (1929). Gábor and most of his family died in the Holocaust at the end of 1944.

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[Baruch Yaron]

GABOR, JOLIE (1894–1997), **MAGDA** (1914–1997), **ZSA ZSA** (1917–), and **EVA** (1919–1995). The three Gabor sisters (Magda, Zsa Zsa, and Eva) and their mother, Jolie, were among the first celebrities in post-World War II America to be famous for being famous. Although renowned for their beauty, glamour, and quick wit, the Gabors were also notorious for their many marriages to wealthy men. In truth the Gabors were smart business women whose fortunes were all self-made and who, more often than not, suffered broken hearts. Matriarch Jolie was born Jansci Tilleman in Budapest, Hungary, and married Vilmos Gabor, father of her daughters Magda, Sári (Zsa Zsa), and Eva. Zsa Zsa, already a beauty in Budapest, married the Turkish consul at 16 (she is rumored to have had an affair with Kemal Attaturk). By 1939 Eva was already in Hollywood, launching her acting career. During the war Magda was active in resistance activities in Budapest. Her reported relationship with the Portuguese consul afforded her the protection to escape to the border and to also have her parents escape from Hungary. After the war, Zsa Zsa, by then Mrs. Conrad Hilton, was able to appeal to Secretary of State Cordell Hull to have her parents admitted to the United States. Zsa Zsa's career was launched in 1951 when she became a regular on the TV show *Bachelor's Haven*, displaying her razor-sharp wit. Movie roles followed in such films as *Moulin Rouge* (1952), *Lilli* (1953), and *Touch of Evil* (1958). She married eight times, and had one daughter, Constance Francesca Hilton. For many years Zsa Zsa made a considerable income from department store appearances and other endorsements. Zsa Zsa gained a new measure of infamy for a 1989 trial after she slapped a police officer in Beverly Hills. Eva, the most serious actress of the three sisters, appeared in such films as *A Royal Scandal* (1945), *The Last Time I Saw Paris* (1954), and *Don't Go Near the Water* (1957). She is best known for her role as the socialite wife of Eddie Albert in the 1960s CBS sitcom *Green Acres*. She is also known to countless generations of children as the voice of "Duchess" in the animated film *The Aristocats*. She married five times, all of which ended in divorce. For many years, Eva maintained a very successful wig business.

[Adam Wills (2nd ed.)]

GABRIEL, GILBERT W. (1890–1952), U.S. drama critic and author. Born in Brooklyn, New York, Gabriel graduated from Williams College in 1912. He worked at first as a reporter on the *New York Evening Sun*, then became literary editor (1915–17), music critic (1917–24), and drama critic (1925–29). He subsequently worked for *The New York American* (1929–37). He also wrote articles, drama criticism, and stories for such magazines as *Vanity Fair, The New Yorker, Town and Country, The Stage, Harper's Bazaar,* and *Collier's.* He lectured on drama and criticism at New York University and created the *New Yorker* "Profile" department. During World War II, Gabriel was second lieutenant in the Army and served two years in Alaska. In 1944 he went to London as deputy chief of publications. He left the service later that year with the rank of lieutenant colonel. Gabriel became drama critic for *Theatre Arts* magazine and in 1949 began to work for *Cue* magazine. Gabriel's books include *The Seven-Branched Candlestick* (1916), *Jiminy* (1922), *Brownstone Front* (1928), *Famous Pianists and Composers* (1928), *Great Fortune* (1933), *Love from London* (1946), and *I Thee Wed* (1948).

[Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

GABRIELOVITCH, OSIP SOLOMONOVICH (1878–1936), pianist and conductor. Born in St. Petersburg, Gabrielovitch studied there with Anton *Rubinstein, Liadov, and Glazunov, and later with Leschetizky in Vienna. After 1896 he toured Europe and the United States as an internationally renowned concert pianist and conductor. In 1918 he was appointed conductor of the Detroit Symphony Orchestra. Ten years later he became, additionally, joint conductor of the Philadelphia Orchestra with Leopold Stokowski. He was also known for his series of historical concerts illustrating the development of keyboard music from Bach to his own day. He married the contralto Clara Clemens, the daughter of Mark Twain.

GAD (Heb. גָּד, "fortune"; cf. Gen. 30:11), a deity of fortune, equivalent in function and meaning to the Greek Tyché and Latin Fortuna. In Isaiah 65:11 Gad is mentioned together with Meni as the beneficiary of a food offering: "Who prepare a table for Gad, and who give Meni a full drink offering." Although the name appears here (according to the masoretic pointing) preceded by the definite article, it refers to the deity (and see below). The Septuagint translates "for Gad" as *tō daimoniō*, "for the demon"; while Vulgate renders both Gad and Meni by Fortuna. The rite described has elements in common with the Roman lectisternium in which food was spread on a table before an image of the deity. The Roman ceremony was meant to propitiate gods and repel pestilence and enemies. The rite condemned by the prophet may have served a similar function. This is the only unequivocal mention of the deity in the Bible. There are other references, however, which might be connected with the deity. Thus a place named Baal-Gad, "Lord of fortune," is mentioned as the extreme northern limit of Joshua's conquest (e.g., Josh. 11:17); Migdal-Gad, "Tower of Gad," appears as a place in the southwest lowlands of Judah (Josh. 15:37). The word *gad* also occurs in proper names, but probably as the appellative meaning "(good) fortune" rather than as the name of a god, e.g., Gaddi (Num. 13:11), Gaddiel (Num. 13:10), and Azgad (Ezra 2:12). This is almost certainly the case in the name Gaddiyo ("YHWH is my fortune"), which occurs on one of the Samaria ostraca. The character of the element *gad* in the names Gad Melekh and Gad-Marom, on seals from the fifth to fourth centuries B.C.E. and an earlier period respectively, found in Jerusalem, is uncertain.

Gad also appears in other Semitic religions as an element in names. Though the meaning cannot always be determined, in many cases it is possible to interpret the element *gad* as an appellative meaning "fortune." Thus in a number of Palmyrene inscriptions the word occurs in combinations where the second element is the name of Nabū, Bel, and other Babylonian deities. One Palmyrene inscription found at a sacred spring (Efka), reading "Gadda," clearly points to a deity to whom the spring was sacred. A bilingual inscription of the second century CE equates Palmyrene Gad with Greek Tyché. In Phoenicia the word is found as an element in personal names (e.g., גדי, גדעזיז). A Punic (overseas Phoenician) inscription of the 4th–3rd century B.C.E. from Sardinia reads: *lrbt ltnt pn bʿl wgd*, "for the Lady, for Tinit Face-of-Baal and Gad." An early second century B.C.E. Punic inscription from Spain (KAI 72) reads: *lrbt ltnt ʾdrt whgd*, "For the Lady, for mighty Tinit and the Gad" (cf. the definite article used with Gad in Isa. 65:11). It appears also as an element in Nabatean (e.g., גדטב), Aramaic (e.g., גדיא), and South Arabian (e.g., עמגד) names. As a heterogram, GDE survived into Middle Persian, where it is read as *xwarrah*, "fortune." Babylonian talmudic גדא refers to the god/genius of fortune and serves as well as the common noun "luck."

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[Yuval Kamrat / S. David Sperling (2nd ed.)]

GAD (Heb. גָּד), one of the 12 tribes of Israel, tracing its descent to Gad, a son of Jacob, borne to him by Zilpah, the maidservant of Leah (Gen. 30:10–11). The tribe was comprised of seven large families, the Zephonites, Haggites, Shunites, Oznites, Erites, Arodites, and Arelites, named after the seven sons of Gad (Num. 26:15–17; with slight differences in Gen. 46:16). During the period of the Conquest of Canaan, Gad's fighting men numbered 40,500 (Num. 26:18). According to Jacob's blessing, "Gad shall be raided by raiders; but he shall overcome at last" (Gen. 49:19). Moses declared: "Poised is he like a lion to tear off arm and scalp" (Deut. 33:20), showing that Gad was a tribe of fighting warriors. Indeed, in the era of the monarchy, the Gadites are described as "expert in war," as having faces "like the faces of lions," and as being "as swift as gazelles upon the mountains" (I Chron. 5:18; 12:9).

Its Territory

When Transjordan was conquered by Israel in the time of Moses, the Gadites (together with the Reubenites and half of Manasseh) requested permission to settle in the pasture lands east of the Jordan because of their abundant cattle. Moses acceded to their request, but stipulated that they first cross the Jordan and participate fully with all the tribes in the wars of conquest (Num. 32; Deut. 3:12–20; Josh. 1:12–18; 22:1ff.). Accordingly, the Gadites settled in Gilead, which was in the center of Transjordan, between the territory of Reuben in the south and that of the half tribe of Manasseh in the north. In the east their territory bordered that of the Ammonites and that of various nomadic desert tribes. On the west was the Jordan, from the Sea of Chinnereth to the Dead Sea; in the south, the vicinity of Heshbon and the northern tip of the Dead Sea; in the north the border passed by way of Mahanaim (Khirbet Mahna south of Nahal-Jabesh) and Lidbir (probably Lo-Debar (II Sam. 9:4), south of Naḥal-Arav) to the edge of the Sea of Chinnereth. The eastern border apparently receded westward to the region of Rabbath-Ammon, and then extended northeastward to the region of the upper Yarmuk whence it turned to Mahanaim. This description of the territory of Gad in accordance with the Book of Joshua (13:24–28; 20:8; 21:36–37) certainly reflects the reality of a definite period; however, some hold it to be very early and, like most of the borders of the Book of Joshua, merely theoretical and ideal. Political develop-

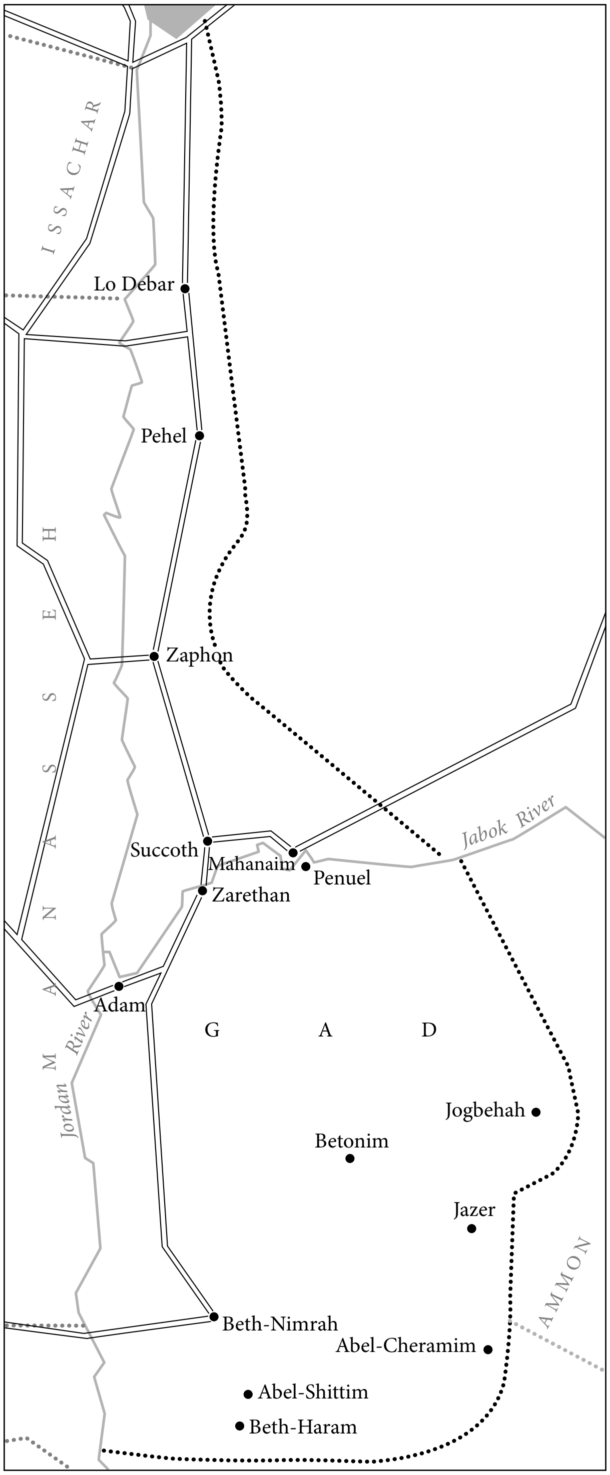

Territory of the tribe of Gad. After Y. Aharoni in Lexicon Biblicum, *Dvir, Tel Aviv, 1965.*

ments subsequently caused changes in the region of the tribe's settlement, sometimes for the worse (e.g., I Kings 22:3; II Kings 10:33) and sometimes for the better (e.g., I Chron. 5:11).

Its History

The history of the tribe consists of a succession of wars with Ammon and Moab in the south, with the Kedemites, the Hagrites, and nomadic tribes in the east, and with Arameans in the north. During the era of the Judges, the submission of the people of Succoth and Penuel to the Midianites and the Kedemites led them into a fratricidal war with *Gideon (Judg. 8; cf. verse 5; Josh. 13:27). The Gileadites as a whole were saved from the Ammonites by Jephthah (Judg. 11). At this time the Gileadites (= Gad) and the Benjamites entered into marital ties and a fraternal alliance (Judg. 21). In addition, the reign of the Benjamite Saul was a period of relief and respite for the tribes of Transjordan (I Sam. 11; I Chron. 5). Hence, the notable act of loyalty of the Gileadites to the slain Saul (I Sam. 31:11–13) and to his family. The capital of Saul's son Ish-Bosheth was Mahanaim (II Sam. 2:8–9). Saul's grandson Mephibosheth took refuge in Lo-Debar (II Sam. 9:4–5), but this, in northern Gilead, was probably not Gadite but Manassite.

David's wars with Aram, Ammon, and Moab greatly strengthened the position of Israelite Transjordan. In consequence the Gileadites supported David, and Mahanaim became his base, in his war against Absalom (II Sam. 17:24–27; 19:33). Mahanaim later became the station of one of Solomon's 12 commissioners (I Kings 4:14). In the era of the divided kingdom, Gad belonged to the kingdom of Samaria. Elijah the prophet was a native of Gilead (I Kings 17:1). When King Mesha of Moab rebelled against Israel, he dealt harshly with the Gadites of Ataroth (*Mesha Stele*, 10–13, in: Pritchard, Texts, 320). The Gileadites suffered greatly from the Arameans and the Ammonites during Israel's weakness in the first half of the rule of the House of Jehu (see *Jehu, *Jehoahaz; cf. Amos 1:3, 13); but Gilead was reconquered by Jeroboam II (cf. Amos 6:13; Lo-Dabar and Karnaim = Lo-Debar and Ashteroth-Karnaim). The reign of Jeroboam son of Joash seems to have been a period of respite in their history (II Kings 14:28; cf. I Chron. 5:17). There are allusions to some sort of ties between Gilead and the kingdom of Judah during the reign of Jotham king of Judah, on the eve of the destruction of Gilead (I Chron. 5:17; II Chron. 27:5). In 732 B.C.E. the territory of Gad was laid waste by Tiglath Pileser III, and most of its inhabitants were exiled from their land (II Kings 15:29), which was then invaded by the Ammonites (Jer. 49:1). However, there are indications that a remnant of the Gadites remained in southern Gilead, and it is possible that the Tobiads known at the beginning of the Second Temple period derived from them. The Gadite remnant and the Judean refugees in Ammon (Jer. 41) formed the foundation of the Jewish community that developed in Transjordan in the days of the Second Temple.

[Yehuda Elitzur]

In the *Aggadah*

Gad was born on the tenth of Ḥeshvan and lived to the age of 125 (Yal. Ex. 162). He was born circumcised (Rashi to Gen. 30:11). His name "Gad" was a portent of the manna (which was "like coriander seed," Heb. *gad*, Ex. 16:31; Ex. R. 1:5). He was among the brothers whom Joseph did not present to Pharaoh, lest Pharaoh, when he saw their strength, would enlist them in his bodyguard (Gen. R. 95:4). Gad was ultimately buried in Ramia, in the portion of his tribe, on the east bank of the Jordan (*Sefer ha-Yashar*, end). According to some, Elijah was a descendant of Gad (Gen. R. 71:8).

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GAD (Heb. גָּד), the seer (Heb. *ḥozeh*); one of the three prophets during the days of King *David. Gad joined David when the latter fled from Saul to Adullam and he persuaded him to return to Judah (I Sam. 22:5). He also instructed David to purchase the threshing floor of *Araunah the Jebusite and to build an altar there (II Sam. 24:18ff.); this later became the site of Solomon's Temple (I Chron. 22:1). It is known that he remained in the court of David when the latter reigned in Jerusalem (II Sam. 24:11–14; I Chron. 21:9–30). He was also one of the organizers of the levitical service in the Temple (II Chron. 29:25) and, according to Chronicles, one of the chroniclers of the history of David (I Chron. 29:29). An anonymous opinion in the Babylonian Talmud (BB 15a) credits Gad along with the prophet Nathan with completing the Book of Samuel following Samuel's death.

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[Josef Segal]

GAD, DEVORAH (1914–), architect and interior decorator. Gad was born in Bukovina and studied architecture and construction engineering in Vienna. Immigrating to Ereẓ Israel in 1936 she first worked with Professor Oskar Kaufmann but later opened her own office together with her husband Yeḥezkel Gad. Among other commissions the firm designed the first buildings of the Israel embassies abroad, the residence of the foreign minister, the offices of El Al and Zim in New York, London, and Paris, and together with Professor Alfred Mansfeld the interiors of nine passenger ships, including the *Shalom*. Together with her partner L. Noy she also designed the interior of the Knesset in Jerusalem. She was awarded the Israel Prize for arts in 1966.

GADARA, ancient city of Gilead. It is first mentioned as a Hellenistic settlement in the description of the conquest of Ereẓ Israel by *Antiochus III (Polybius, 5:71, 3). Although the name is of Semitic origin, the new settlers called it Gadara after a Macedonian city. It was among the cities captured by Alexander *Yannai, but *Pompey took it from the Jews and included it in the *Decapolis. It was part of *Herod's domain in the Roman period and later became autonomous with the right of minting coins. An important center of Hellenistic culture, it was the birthplace of the poets *Meleager and Menippus and the philosopher *Philodemus. Jews lived there both during and after the Jewish War (60–70/73). In the days of R. Gamaliel and R. Akiva there is a reference to "Shizpar, the head of Geder" (RH 22a); the philosopher Oenomaus of Gadara (called "ha-Gardi" in the Talmud) was a friend of R. Meir (Lam. R., Proem 2; cf. Ḥag. 15b). In the Byzantine period, bishops of Geder are mentioned up to the sixth century. Under Arab rule the city declined and is the present-day village of Muqays (Umm Qeis) situated at a height of 1,194 ft. (364 m.) with a splendid view of the Sea of Galilee, the Jordan Valley, Galilee, and Mt. Hermon. First identified by Seetzen in 1806, the site has been frequently explored and excavated, especially since 1974 with the work of the German Evangelical Institute for the Archaeology of the Holy Land. The site contains many traces of ancient habitation: paved colonnaded streets; two temples, a fortified acropolis, baths, two theaters, a stadium; ruins of houses; tombs with sarcophagi, inscriptions, and statues, etc. The Jewish presence at Gadara is represented by the discovery of two blocks carved with a wreath containing a *menorah* flanked by a *shofar* and a palm branch; these may have come from a synagogue. On the bank of the Yarmuk are hot springs known as *Ḥammat Gader. The city's area may have extended to the Sea of Galilee as indicated in the New Testament story of the "Gadarene swine" but variants of the text mention different cities, e.g., Gerasa (Matt. 8:28; Mark 5:1; Luke 8:26).

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[Michael Avi-Yonah / Shimon Gibson (2nd ed.)]

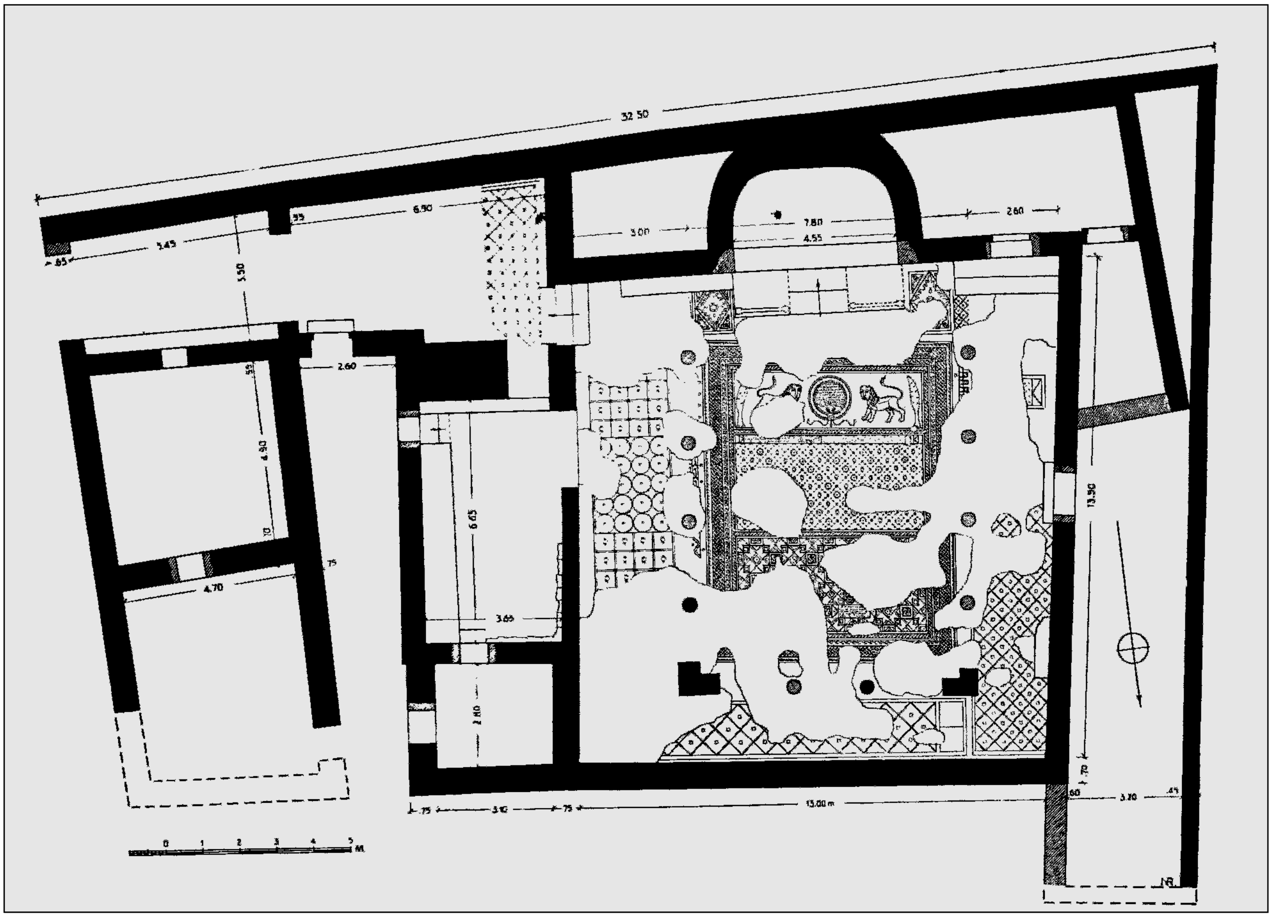

Ground plan of the synagogue of Ḥammat Geder (Gadara), fifth century C.E., showing the excavated floor mosaics. From Journal of the Palestine Oriental Sociey, *Vol. XV, 1935.*

GADNA (Heb. גַּדְנַ"ע; abbr. for גְּדוּדֵי נֹעַר, *Gedudei No'ar*; "Youth Corps"), Israel government youth movement for training 13- to 18-year-olds in defense and national service. Gadna, whose membership is voluntary, functions in high schools and youth clubs. It trains its members in firsthand knowledge of Israel's geography and topography, physical fitness, marksmanship, scouting, field exercises, comradeship, teamwork, and mutual aid. It is administered by the Gadna Command which functions in the framework of the Israel Defense Forces and the Ministry of Defense and cooperates with the Ministry of Education and Culture. The corps may be activated in an emergency by special permission of the chief of staff.

In addition to regular training, Gadna organizes route marches for 16-year-olds, sharpshooting clubs with nationwide contests on Lag ba-Omer, and an international Bible contest for youth. In its air section (Gadna-Avir) youngsters construct model planes, study aviation, and practice gliding, under the direction of Air Force officers. In the naval section (Gadna-Yam) naval officers teach swimming, rowing, sailing, navigation, diving, and underwater fishing. There is a Gadna orchestra, which has played abroad. During vacations third-year high school students go to Gadna work and training camps in border settlements and immigrant villages, or participate in national service projects in landscape improvement, archaeological excavation, and assistance in hospitals. The corps also helps to reeducate and reintegrate delinquent youth.

Gadna, established in 1948, was the successor to Ḥagam (*Ḥinnukh Gufani Murḥav*; "Extended Physical Training"), which was founded in 1939, and Alummim, a general organization for the 14- to 18-year-old group. Its purpose, defined by Prime Minister Ben-Gurion in 1949, was "training for peace and not for war." In 1951 a Gadna training farm was set up at *Be'er Orah in the Negev, followed by others at Nurit in the Gilboa Hills, and at *Sedeh Boker and Keẓiot in the Negev. In the early 1950s Gadna youngsters went out to help newcomers in immigrant villages and introduce them to Israeli life through Hebrew lessons, Israel songs, and games. Gadna's work has been of interest to visitors from African and Asian countries, and a Gadna delegation traveled to Ghana, Nigeria, and Liberia in 1959. The first Gadna course for youth from Africa and Asia was organized in 1961, and Gadna instructors were later sent to various countries. In 1968 a Gadna unit was organized for *Druze youth. The corps published a monthly newspaper *Be-Maḥaneh Gadna* ("In the Gadna Camp").

During the Sinai Campaign of 1956 and the Six-Day War of 1967, Gadna youngsters effectively replaced personnel in the postal system, civil defense, schools, hospitals, industry, and agriculture. Subsequently Gadna operated mainly in school frameworks. In some schools, Gadna is part of the curriculum, while others send students for a week to Gadna military camps that prepare them for military service, including weapons training and discipline. Different military branches run their own Gadna groups, such as the Air Force and Navy.

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[David Coren]

GADOL, MOISE S. (1874–1941), U.S. founder and editor of *La America*. Gadol was born in Rostchuck, Bulgaria. At the age of 14 he was offered an opportunity to study in the Alliance School in Paris but felt compelled instead to assist his family who were of modest means. His early career was varied: a clerk in a law office, a salesman, and army service, among other jobs. He continued to study and organized the first Zionist society in Rostchuck.

He came to the United States for a visit and was drawn to the Sephardi community of New York whom he felt lacked any sense of self-identity and was ignored by the far more numerous Ashkenazim. His tool was the first Judeo-Spanish newspaper and he became a publisher, adding to the rich variety of local newspapers prevalent among the immigrant populations of New York. He entitled his publication *La America*. According to historian Marc *Angel, Gadol convinced the leaders of the Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society to establish an Oriental Bureau in order to help the "Oriental" Jews. Gadol himself served as the secretary of the Oriental Bureau, initially as a volunteer, and spent many hours helping newly arrived Sephardi immigrants get through the immigration procedures. He also helped many find jobs and keep their jobs. In the pages of *La America*, he printed a glossary in order to teach Sephardim English. Interestingly, he also included Yiddish definitions, believing that since many Sephardim worked for Yiddish-speaking employers, Sephardim needed to know Yiddish in order to advance in America.

The newspaper included news items about Sephardi communities in the U.S. and abroad. It included poetry and some literary work. Gadol was a forceful spokesman for Zionism, which caused resentment among some Sephardim of Turkish origin, who were cautious about endangering Turkish-Jewish relations. Like other immigrant newspapers, he pushed for the advancement of workers and for individual initiative. Gadol printed several articles by a person who signed her name simply as Miss A, which argued for the equality of women.

Gadol's successes, however, did not last. His publication went under in 1925 and he tried his hand at business without success, eventually serving as a supplier of leather to shoe stores. The death of his wife in 1933 shattered him and only the intervention of a fellow Rostchuck native brought him back from the brink of despair. Once again he attempted to start his publication and he did write and publish a pamphlet *Christopher Columbus Was a Spanish Jew.*

He died a broken man and only the intervention of his former mentor saved him from potter's field. Still, even in death he remains controversial. A historical article by Marc Angel led to a vehement denunciation by Albert *Amateau, who, at the age of 101, wrote an angry recollection of his dealings with Gadol.

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[Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

GADYACH, city in Poltava district, Ukraine. From the beginning of the 19th century, the city had a small Jewish community and was renowned as the burial place of the founder of Chabad Ḥasidism, R. *Shneur Zalman of Lyady. He died in 1813 while fleeing from the armies of Napoleon and was brought to Gadyach, where a monument was built over his tomb. The Jewish community numbered 883 in 1847, and by 1897 had increased to 1,853 (24% of the total population). With the outbreak of pogroms in October 1905, Jewish property was looted. Under the Soviet regime the Jewish population declined as many left for the larger towns. In 1926 Gadyach had 1,764 Jews (17.3% of the total), dropping to 633 (5,8%) in 1939. Gadyach was occupied by the Germans on September 27, 1941, and the remaining Jews there were soon murdered. The life of the Jews under German occupation is described in *Esh ha-Tamid* by A. Ẓefoni (Ẓvi Preigerzon) (1966). In 1970 the number of Jews in Gadyach was estimated at about 75 (15 families). From the 1990s hundreds of ḥasidim from all over the Ukraine gathered annually in the town to pray at Shneur Zalman's grave.

[Yehuda Slutsky / Shmuel Spector (2nd ed.)]

GAER, FELICE D. (1946–), international human rights activist. Born in Englewood, N.J., to Beatrice and Abraham Gaer and educated at Wellesley College and Columbia University (receiving a master's in political science, 1974), Gaer became a program officer of the International Division of the Ford Foundation in 1974, focusing on Soviet and East European programs, including advocating emigration rights and refugee assistance for Soviet Jewish refuseniks. From 1982 to 1991, she served as executive director of the International League for Human Rights, where she pressed for information about the whereabouts of Soviet dissident Andrei Sakharov. She also encouraged the Carter administration to ratify international human rights treaties and successfully lobbied the U.N. Sub-Commission on the Prevention of Discrimination and the Protection of Minorities to adopt the first U.N. resolution critical of China after the Tiananmen Square massacre in 1989. Beginning in 1993, Gaer directed the Jacob Blaustein Institute for the Advancement of Human Rights of the American Jewish Committee. From 1999, she served as the first American and first woman on the U.N. Committee Against Torture. In 2001, she was appointed by then House Minority Leader Richard Gephardt to the U.S. Commission on International Religious Freedom, serving as its chair (2002–03) and vice chair (from 2003); she was reappointed by House Minority Leader Nancy Pelosi in 2004.

Between 1993 and 1999, Gaer was appointed to nine U.S. delegations, six to the U.N. Commission on Human Rights and three to U.N.-sponsored world conferences, and she served on numerous boards. She was the chair of the Steering Committee of the National Coalition on the 50th Anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1997–99), a member of the board of directors of the Andrei Sakharov Foundation (from 1993), a member of the Steering Committee of Human Rights Watch/Europe and Asia (from 1996), vice president and a member of the board of governors of the International League for Human Rights (from 1991), and a member of the Council on Foreign Relations (from 1991).

Gaer advocated for repeal of the infamous U.N. "Zionism = Racism" resolution of Nov. 10, 1975, a goal which was achieved in 1991, and she played the key role in ensuring passage by consensus of the U.N. General Assembly's first-ever condemnation of antisemitism on Dec. 9, 1998, the 50th anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Later she worked with the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe on regional measures to combat antisemitism. In her address to the first U.N. conference on antisemitism on June 21, 2004, at U.N. headquarters in New York, she argued that antisemitic incidents are a form of human rights abuse and should be treated as such by U.N. bodies. Gaer was also the architect of many initiatives linking women's rights to human rights. After the Srebenica massacres in the Bosnia conflict, Gaer helped craft a joint statement of 27 NGOs arguing that rape and other gender-specific crimes must be prosecuted by international war crimes tribunals

[Michael Galchinsky (2nd ed.)]

GAETA, town N.W. of Naples. According to the Chronicle of *Ahimaaz (1054), *Aaron of Baghdad lived for a time in Gaeta in the ninth century, teaching his mystical and esoteric doctrines. The main occupation of the Jews of Gaeta in the 12th century was dyeing, on which they had to pay a special tax. From the 15th century Jewish loan-bankers and pawnbrokers were also active there. In 1468 the city requested the permission of King Ferrante I to expel a Jewish moneylender for usurious practices and to limit the sale of pawned goods. In 1471 the city again demanded that the Jews living in Gaeta should not be permitted to give loans at interest (with the exception of a certain Salomon), and that the sale of objects given in pawn should be regulated by the royal court. In 1492–93 a number of refugees from Sicily and Spain settled there. In 1495 the city resisted the invasion of Charles VIII of France and many of its inhabitants were killed, including a number of Jews. The expulsion of 1510–11 did not bring the Gaeta community to an end, and in 1521 there were still Jewish moneylenders living there as attested by the deliberations of the city council that once again demanded the regulation of such activities. The Jews were finally expelled from Gaeta in 1541 in the general expulsion from the kingdom of Naples. A few Jewish families came to Gaeta in the 18th century, probably attracted by the favorable policy of Charles III of Bourbon who in the edicts of 1728 and 1740 invited Jews to live and trade in the kingdom of the Two Sicilies, but these attempts encountered strong political opposition and in July 1747 the Jews were again expelled from the whole kingdom. Jews returned to Gaeta in the 19th century. After World War II ships carrying Jewish illegal immigrants to Ereẓ Israel passed through the port of Gaeta.

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[Ariel Toaff / Nadia Zeldes 2nd ed.]

°**GAFFAREL, JACQUES** (1601–1681), French Catholic theologian and Hebrew scholar. Gaffarel, who was particularly interested in kabbalistic literature, published a description of the manuscripts used by *Pico della Mirandola (Paris, 1651). Gaffarel's writings include: (1) *Les tristes pensées de la fille de Sion sur les rives de l'Euphrate* (*ibid.*, 1624); (2) *Abdita divinae cabalae mysteria contra sophistarum logomachiam defensa (ibid.*, 1625; translated into French by Samuel b. Ḥesed as *Les profonds mystères de la Cabale divine*, Paris, 1912); and *Jom JHWH, Dies Domini* (*ibid.*, 1629; according to *Steinschneider the fictitious author's name Elḥa b. David was invented by Gaffarel). He also published, with an introduction – without the author's consent – the *Historia de gli riti Hebraici* by Leon *Modena, whom he had met in Venice in 1633. His *Curiosités inouyés sur la sculpture talismanique des Persans; Horoscope des Patriarches et lecture des estoilles* (first published in 1632 or 1637) was published in a Latin translation with an extensive commentary by M.G. Michaelis (Hamburg, 1676).

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[Joseph Elijah Heller]

GAGIN, ḤAYYIM (b. circa 1450), Moroccan rabbi and poet, first known member of a family which produced many talmudic scholars. Gagin was born in Fez, but when still young, probably at the time of the massacre of the Jews of Fez in 1465, he left for Spain. There he studied under R. Isaac Aboab, the last *gaon* of Castile, and the talmudist R. Joseph Uzziel. Having acquired a vast and profound knowledge, he returned to Fez where he was appointed *av bet din* of the native-born community to which his family belonged. Disputes often broke out between this community and the newly constituted one of the Spanish and Portuguese refugees, both over economic questions and differences in customs. Gagin was a staunch defender of the customs of the native Jews and of their manner of interpreting the laws. His intransigence on the subject of the insufflation of the lungs of slaughtered animals was the origin of the lengthiest and most severe controversy in which his community came into conflict with that of the Spanish Jews who had settled in Fez. It was only in 1535, after 10 years of disputes in which the Muslim authorities were also involved, that this struggle, first of a purely religious character but which had degenerated into a social conflict, ended with the victory of the viewpoint of the Spanish Jews. The vicissitudes which resulted from this dispute were described by Gagin in *Eẓ Ḥayyim*, lengthy extracts of which were published by J.M. Toledano in his *Ner ha-Ma'arav* (1911). He also wrote numerous *kinot*, particularly on the Spanish expulsion. Nothing is known of his descendants until the 18th century, when they immigrated to Jerusalem, where the Gagin family produced a number of talmudic scholars, among whom was R. ḤAYYIM ABRAHAM *GAGIN, the first *ḥakham bashi* of Ereẓ Israel.

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[David Corcos]

GAGIN, ḤAYYIM ABRAHAM BEN MOSES (1787–1848), chief rabbi of Jerusalem. Gagin was born in Constantinople. He became *rishon le-Zion* (Sephardi chief rabbi) in 1842 and was the first to bear the official title of *ḥakham bashi*. Gagin was responsible for the taxes of the Jews to the government, and was granted authority to impose taxation within the community on meat ('gabela'), *mazzot*, wine, etc. He lived in the Old City of Jerusalem in the courtyard of his grandfather, Shalom *Sharabi, the kabbalist, and the government placed a guard of ten soldiers near his dwelling to protect the Jewish quarter. In his time a violent dispute broke out among the rabbis of Jerusalem with reference to the *Kolelim and the distribution of the funds for them which arrived from abroad. The following of his works were published: *Minḥah Tehorah* (Salonika, n. d. c. 1825–36), *Ḥukkei Ḥayyim* (1843); *Ḥayyim mi-Yrushalayim* (1882); and *Yeri'ot ha-Ohel* (2 pts., 1886–1904).

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[Abraham Ben-Yaacob]

GAGIN, SHALOM MOSES BEN ḤAYYIM ABRAHAM (d. 1883), talmudist and emissary of Ereẓ Israel. He was the son of Ḥayyim Abraham *Gagin, from whom he inherited a large library, of which *Frumkin made use in his *Toledot Ḥakhmei Yerushalayim*. Shalom was a member of the kabbalist circle of scholars at the yeshivah "Bet El" in Jerusalem. From 1862–65, as an emissary of Jerusalem, he visited Tripoli and Algeria, as well as Tunis, where he influenced Caid Nissim Shamama to bequeath a large sum of money to Ereẓ Israel. In 1870, on a second mission, Shalom spent some time in Rome. He died in Jerusalem.

His works, most of whose titles include the word *Samaḥ* (from the initials of his name), include (1) *Yismaḥ Lev*, responsa, pt. 1 (1878), pt. 2 (1888); (2) *Yismaḥ Moshe* (1878), rulings relevant to the testament of Nissim Shamama; (3) *Samaḥ Libbi* (1884), homilies; (4) *Saviv ha-Ohel* pt. 1 (1886), pt. 2 (1904), on the tent of meeting, consisting of additions to *Yeri'ot ha-Ohel*, the commentary of Ḥayyim Abraham Gagin (Agan) on the *Ohel Mo'ed* of Samuel b. Meshullam *Gerondi; (5)

Samaḥ Nefesh (1903), on the laws of blessings. Shalom also arranged the publication of *Sha'ar ha-Pesukim* (1863) of Ḥayyim Vital, and *Ḥayyim mi-Yrushalayim* (1888), a collection of his father's sermons. Some of his poems were published in *Devar Adonai mi-Yrushalayim* (1873) of Aaron b. Isaac Pereira.

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[Simon Marcus]

GAḤAL (acronym for Hebrew *Gush Ḥerut Liberalim* (Ḥerut-Liberal Bloc)). Israeli parliamentary group established towards the end of the term of the Fifth Knesset in 1965 by two opposition parties, the *Ḥerut Movement and the Israel Liberal Party. The two parties agreed that while maintaining separate political organizations, they would act as a single parliamentary group and run in a single list in the elections to the Sixth Knesset, with Menaḥem *Begin as its leader. The new alignment moved the Ḥerut Movement, which for 17 years had been Israel's most extreme right-wing party and had existed more or less in total political isolation, to the center of the political spectrum, providing it with legitimization in wider parts of the population. Not all the members of the Liberal Party joined Gaḥal, as its members who had previously belonged to the Progressive Party preferred to form a new parliamentary group and party under the name *Independent Liberal Party. Within Gaḥal, as within the *Likud later on, the Liberal Party component advanced the line of economic liberalism. At the end of the Fifth Knesset the Gaḥal parliamentary group had 27 seats. In the elections to the Sixth Knesset in 1965 it received 26 seats, losing four in the course of the Knesset's term. Upon the outbreak of the Six-Day War Gaḥal joined the coalition under Levi *Eshkol with two of its members, Menaḥem Begin and Yosef *Sapir, becoming ministers without portfolio. In the elections to the Seventh Knesset in 1969 Gaḥal received 26 seats, also increasing its strength in the municipal elections and in the elections to the *Histadrut conference. In the new government formed after the elections by Golda *Meir, Gaḥal was represented by six ministers, of whom two, Begin and Arie *Dulzin, were without portfolio. Gaḥal resigned from the coalition in August 1970 after the Meir government expressed willingness to accept the Rogers Plan, which was based on the principle of territories for peace. Prior to the elections to the Eighth Knesset the Ḥerut Movement and Liberal Party decided to establish a new list together with several other parties and groups, which was called the *Likud.

[Susan Hattis Rolef (2nd ed.)]

GAINES, WILLIAM M. (1922–1992), U.S. magazine publisher. Gaines, the publisher of the wildly satirical *Mad* magazine, was the son of Max Gaines, publisher of the All-American Comics division of DC Comics and also an influential figure in the history of comics, having tested the idea of selling comics on newsstands, inspiring the creation of the character Wonder Woman. A veteran of the U.S. Army, William attended New York University. Upon his father's death, he inherited a faltering comic-book empire in the late 1940s and turned it into a huge success with science fiction, fantasy, and realistic war comics. His horror comics were subtle satiric approaches to horror with genuine dilemmas and startling outcomes, often drawn from classic authors like Edgar Allan Poe and H.P. Lovecraft. His fantasy titles dealt with adult issues such as racism and the meaning of progress and had stories adapted from the work of Ray Bradbury and others. The books featured artists who came to be among the most prominent commercial illustrators of the 20th century, including Will *Elder.

The first issue of *Mad* reached the newsstands in 1952 and had sharp sendups of movies, advertising celebrities, and comic strips: Mickey Mouse became Mickey Rodent and Superman was Superduperman. To the delight of its largely teenage audience, it brought satire into the mainstream, along with up-to-the minute New York humor sprinkled with Yiddish, nonsense, and non sequiturs. The cover featured a goofy-faced, gap-toothed boy named Alfred E. Neuman with the caption "What? Me worry?" It was an image and slogan that proved iconic, and the character appeared on the cover of virtually every issue of *Mad* and was picked up and satirized in other national publications.

Gaines's comics may have appealed to adults, but the general public considered comic books to be aimed at children. With the publication of Dr. Fredric Wertham's *The Seduction of the Innocent*, which found damaging material in the comics, comic books in the Gaines style drew the attention of the U.S. Congress and other moralists. Under questioning by a Congressional committee, Gaines defended his magazine. "The truth is that delinquency is the product of the real environment in which the child lives," Gaines told the committee in voluntary testimony, "and not of the fiction he reads." But the Comics Code Authority, modeled on motion-picture production rules, banned bloodthirsty material and Gaines suspended publication of his horror comics. He reissued *Mad* as a magazine in 1955 to skirt the code.

[Stewart Kampel (2nd ed.)]

GAISIN (**Gaysin**), city in Vinnitsa district, Ukraine, formerly within Poland. There were 65 Jews living in the town in 1765. After it passed to Russia Gaisin became a district capital. The Jewish population numbered 2,018 in 1847, 4,321 (46% of the population) in 1897, and 5,190 (34%) in 1926. It dropped to 4,109 (27.7%) in 1939. Gaisin was occupied by the Germans on July 25, 1941. Some of the Jews were murdered in the first months of occupation. Others were put to work building Highway Number 4, from Lvov to Stalino (Donetsk). Because of the terrible conditions, many died or were killed, so in 1942 Jewish deportees from Bessrabia and Bukovina were brought in from Transnistria. Most of the new Jewish workers also died or were "liquidated" in "selections" and "*Aktionen.*" Only a few survived to the day of liberation on March 13, 1944.

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[Yehuda Slutsky / Shmuel Spector (2nd ed.)]

GÁL, FEDOR (1945–), Slovak publicist, political scientist, sociologist, and publisher, born of Slovak parents in the Terezín concentration camp. He attained a master's degree in chemistry and doctorates in both sociology and economics and worked in the field of prognostics. In 1989 he was a founder and chairman of the political movement the Public against Violence, which won the elections in Slovakia in 1990. Due to internal disagreements in the movement and antisemitism aimed at him, he left Slovakia. From 1991 he lived in Prague. Gál is active in numerous civic non-governmental organizations; he issued an animated TV series for children; and co-produced a CD ROM, *Franz Kafka Lived in Prague* (in three languages).

He published the following works: a futurologist monograph *Možnosť a skutečnosť* ("Possibility and Reality," 1990); a reflection of events in Slovakia after 1989 *Z prvej ruky* ("From the First Hand," 1991); a study of the identity of Jews and Romas *O jinakosti* ("On Diversity," 1998); a series of essays *Vízie a ilúzie* ("Visions and Illusions," 2000); essays on the identity of the human being *Lidský úděl* ("The Human Fate," 2004); and *1 + 1* (2004).

[Milos Pojar (2nd ed.)]

°**GALACTION, GALA** (literary pen name of the priest Grigore Pişculescu; 1879–1961), Romanian novelist and writer. Galaction was one of Romania's outstanding literary figures, and his humanitarian outlook made him a great friend of the Jews. Jewish types abound in his novels and stories, and their high moral character is contrasted with their bitter struggle for survival. He attributed this survival to a divine miracle. In two novels, *Roxana* (1930) and *Papucii lui Mahmud* ("Muhammad's Slippers," 1932), he makes a plea for understanding between Christians, Muslims, and Jews. As a result of his friendship with Jewish intellectuals Galaction used to deliver lectures to Jewish organizations, and he also wrote articles on Jewish festivals and religious lore for Romanian-Jewish periodicals.

An admirer of Theodor Herzl, whom he considered a successor to the biblical prophets, Galaction wrote many pro-Zionist essays which were collected in *Sionismul la prieteni* ("Zionism among Friends," in *Herzl*, 1929). A visit to Palestine (1926) inspired a series of articles in *Adam* (1929) and the novel *Scrisori către Simforoza: In pământul făgăduinţei* ("Letters to Simforoza: In the Promised Land," 1930). Galaction exerted a notable influence by his literary translation of the Bible (1938; in collaboration with Vasile Radu). His translations of the Song of Songs and the Book of Psalms are particularly remarkable. It is significant that, even at the height of World War II, Galaction courageously maintained his close ties with the Jewish community of Romania, and when the Jews were forced to clear the streets of snow, he insisted on joining them.

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[Dora Litani-Littman]

GALAI, BINYAMIN (1921–), Hebrew writer and poet. Born in Vladivostok, Siberia, his family went to Palestine in 1926. He lived in Tel Aviv for many years, then moved to Haifa where he served as press adviser to the municipality. Among his volumes of poetry are *Im ha-Ru'aḥ* (1946); *Armonim* (1949); *Shivah Shelishit* (1953); his collected poems, *Al Ḥof ha-Raḥamim* (1958) and *Massa Ẓafonah* (1968); *Mi-Yam le-Yam* (1985); and *Shirim Aḥaronim* (1995). He also published volumes of plays, *Sedom Siti* ("Sodom City," 1952) and *Shotim u-Melakhim* ("Fools and Kings," 1971); a selection of sketches, *Al Kafeh Hafukh* ("Over White Coffee," 1960); radio plays, *Mayim Genuvim* (1964); and two volumes of children's stories. Galai wrote *Sippur ha-Aḥ ha-Niddaḥ, o Via Dolorozah* (1983) and a historical novel, *Ha-Mavet ha-Shaḥor o Divrei Yemei Gemini* (1976). A list of his works translated into English appears in Goell, Bibliography, 23f.

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[Getzel Kressel]

GALANT, ELIAHU (Ilya) VLADIMIROVICH (1868–after 1929), historian of Ukrainian Jewry. Galant, who was born in Nezhin, Ukraine, taught Jewish religion in high schools in Kiev. His studies of the persecution of Ukrainian Jewry from the 17th to the 19th centuries, particularly the blood-libels charged against them, appeared in *Yevreyskaya Starina* and other Russian-Jewish papers. In 1919 Galant was associated with the establishment of a Jewish Historical-Archeographical Commission, known as the "Galant Commission," founded under the auspices of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences. The commission's task was to conduct research on the history of Ukrainian Jewry based on government archival material, which was not accessible under the czarist regime. The commission's work was interrupted by the ensuing civil war and it was not revived until 1924 with Galant as secretary. He edited the first two volumes of its proceedings, *Zbirnyk prats Zhydivskoy istorychno-arkheografichnoy komisiyi* (1928–29). Shortly afterward, Galant became suspect to the *Yevsektsia, which criticized his work, and was forced to discontinue his scholarly activities in 1929.

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[Yehuda Slutsky]

GALANTA, town in N.W. Slovakia. Until 1992 Czechoslovak Republic, since Slovak Republic. Jews started to settle in Galanta by the end of the 17th century. The earliest document is from 1729, when Count Ferdinand Eszterhazy granted the

Jewish community a room for prayer and ground for a cemetery. In 1830, 556 Jews lived in Galanta (31.2% of the total); in 1840 there were 430; and in 1850 there were 670 Jews in the town. In 1880 they numbered 714 (32.8%) and in 1900 there were 937. The second Czechoslovak census of 1930 reported 1,274 Jews.

The first rabbi was Wolf Duces (1757), during whose leadership the first synagogue was built. In 1760 the Jewish community of west Slovakia protested against Empress *Maria Teresa's Toleration Tax (*Toleranz Steuer*) that Jews were forced to pay. The community benefited from the legislation of Emperor Josef II (1780–90), which permitted Jews to engage in agriculture and a variety of commercial activities. At that time, the community had a *talmud torah*, a *mikveh*, and a cemetery. In the mid-1860s a yeshivah was established, which became renowned not only in Hungary but also abroad, and students flocked there from many European countries. It was recognized by the Czechoslovak authorities as an institute of higher education. In 1889 Samuel Neufeld opened a printing shop that produced rabbinical literature, including two printings of the Talmud. The shop existed under a variety of names until 1944. During the Spring of Nations, the Magyar national movement was supported by many local Jews. In 1918 Galanta, along with many other cities in Slovakia, was subjected to pogroms and looting of Jewish property.

After the Hungarian Jewish Congress of 1868, the Galanta Jewish community chose the Orthodox path. In 1891 a major dispute erupted over who should inherit the rabbinical seat. This led to a rift within the Jewish community and the establishment of two Orthodox congregations. The community split in 1893; the authorities made an uncharacteristic decision and recognized both congregations. Each chose its own rabbi, had a synagogue, a *talmud torah*, and other religious institutions. The dispute drew attention in Hungary and abroad, and received international press coverage. The Czechoslovak authorities also recognized both congregations. It was uncommon to have two Orthodox congregations in a single community.

Between the wars, Jewish communal life thrived in Galanta. Agudat Israel was the main political force there, but the Zionist movement existed as well. The Galanta Jewish community was renowned for the religious-folkloric celebration of the (alleged) birth and death of Moses, on the seventh of Adar. The ceremony is still observed today.

The Award of Vienna, October 2, 1938, assigned southern Slovakia to Hungary, including Galanta. The anti-Jewish legislation in Hungary was applied to the conquered territories. By the beginning of 1940, Jews – including those of Galanta – were recruited to special forced labor army units (*munkaszolgalat*), where many perished. On March 19, German troops occupied Hungary; shortly thereafter, they began to deport Jews to Auschwitz. In May 1944, the Jews of Galanta and its environs were assembled in the Kurzweil brick factory in *Nove Zamky. About 1,560 were deported on June 26, 1944; several survived.

In 1947 there were 272 Jews in Galanta. The Jewish community repaired one of the synagogues and the *mikveh*, and a kosher public kitchen provided meals until the survivors could adjust themselves. The *ḥevra kaddisha* was revived, and regular prayers resumed. In March 1985 the ancient small synagogue was torn down under the pretext that the space was needed for an apartment building. The congregation was given an apartment in which to hold its services. This, too, was replaced with another building in September 1983.

In 1947, upon their return from the concentration camps, members of the community founded a successful carpentry cooperative which, at its peak, had 250 workers. The communist regime, which followed the February 1948 coup d'état, nationalized the factory, and the Jews lost all their investment, including the money and the tools invested by the JDC. For years after the migration of 1948–49, Galanta served the Jews of southern Slovakia as a meeting point to celebrate the seventh of Adar as well as for bar-mitzvahs for youngsters from the entire region. The community was still active in 2005.

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[Sarlota Rachmuth-Gerstl / Yeshayahu Jelinek (2nd ed.)]

GALANTE, family of Spanish origin which produced a large number of scholars. An ancestor of the family was MORDECAI GALANTE, who was among the Spanish exiles of 1492 and lived in Rome during the first half of the 16th century, dying there after 1541. His original family name was Angello. Because of his handsome appearance and his dignified behavior he was nicknamed by the Roman nobility *galant' uomo*, from which was derived the surname Galante adopted by his descendants. Both of his sons, Moses *Galante and Abraham *Galante, migrated to Safed. The former had three sons: JONATHAN (d. 1678), who became a rabbi in Jerusalem, Jedidiah *Galante, the author of *Ḥiddushei Galante* (Willhermsdorf, 1716), and ABRAHAM, who served as *dayyan* in the *bet din* of Damascus. Moses *Galante II, the son of Jonathan, succeeded his father in Jerusalem. Around the year 1700 a certain JOSEPH GALANTE functioned as rabbi in Tyre. During the latter half of the 18th century another MORDECAI GALANTE (d. 1781), who was a scion of the same family, was rabbi and head of a yeshivah in Damascus. He corresponded about matters of Jewish law with the foremost Sephardi rabbinical authorities of his time. A number of his halakhic dissertations are contained in the responsa *Berekhot Mayim* by Mordecai *Meyuḥas (Salonika, 1789), Solomon *Laniado (Constantinople, 1775) and *Bigdei Yesha* of Isaiah *Attia (1853). A collection of his sermons was published in Leghorn under the heading of *Divrei Mordekhai*. To these were appended responsa by him entitled *Gedullat Mordekhai* as well as homilies by his son Moses under the title of *Kolo shel Moshe*. Mordecai Galante of Damascus was succeeded by his son MOSES (d. 1806). The latter also wrote responsa, which were published in Leghorn in 1809 under the name of *Berakh Moshe*. Attached to the volume was an appendix entitled *Zikkaron la-Rishonim*. It included also glosses on Joseph Caro's Shulḥan Arukh *Ḥoshen Mishpat* by Moses b. Mordecai (I) Galante, as well as notes by Ḥayyim *Modai on Shulḥan Arukh *Oraḥ Ḥayyim* and *Yoreh De'ah*, and on *Hezekiah da Silva's *Peri Hadash*, and Ḥayyim *Benveniste's *Keneset ha-Gedolah*. Moses Galante died in Damascus. Abraham *Galanté, the historian, also belonged to this family.

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[Samuel Rosenblatt]

GALANTÉ, ABRAHAM (1873–1961), Turkish politician, scholar, and historian born in Bodrum, Turkey. Galanté was a teacher and inspector in the Jewish and Turkish schools of Rhodes and Smyrna. He protested the misrule of Sultan Abdūlhamid II and partly in consequence of this he left for Egypt, where from 1905 to 1908 he edited the Ladino newspaper *La Vara* and also contributed to Arabic, French, and Turkish newspapers and periodicals. He encouraged the acculturation of Turkish Jewry to its homeland, and conducted an active campaign for the adoption of the Turkish language by the Jews. At the same time he fought vigorously for Jewish rights. After the revolution of the Young Turks, Galanté returned to Istanbul, at whose university he was appointed professor of Semitic languages in 1914 and later professor of the history of the Ancient Orient. Galanté was a delegate to the first Turkish National Assembly after World War I and also a member of the Parliament which met in 1943. His principal field of scholarly activity was the study of Jewish history in Turkey, but he also wrote against the adoption of Latin characters for the Hebrew alphabet. His works (mainly in French) include *Don Joseph Nassi, Duc de Naxos* (1913), *Esther Kyra* (1926), *Documents officiels turcs concernant les Juifs de Turquie* (collections, 1931–54), *Nouveaux documents sur Sabbetai Sevi* (1935), *Histoire des Juifs d'Anatolie* (1937–39; appendix 1948), and *Histoire des Juifs d'Istanbul* (1941–42). In the 1990s his collected works were published by the Isis Press in Istanbul.

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[Martin Meir Plessner / Jacob M. Landau (2nd ed.)]

GALANTE, ABRAHAM BEN MORDECAI (second half 16th century), kabbalist in Safed. He was the brother and a pupil of Moses b. Mordecai *Galante and a disciple of Moses *Cordovero. Galante, who was known as a distinguished and modest Ḥasid, received the title, "*Ha-Kadosh*" ("the saint"). He was the first to cite Joseph Caro's *Maggid Meisharim*. His works include (1) *Yare'aḥ Yakar*, a commentary on the *Zohar (extant in manuscripts, to Exodus-*Terumah* 140:2). The work was abridged by Abraham Azulai, entitled *Zohorei Ḥammah*, and published in Venice (1655, and later in Piotrkow, 1881); (2) *Kinat Setarim*, a kabbalistic commentary on Lamentations (publ. by R.I. Gershon in the work *Kol Bokhim*, Venice, 1589); (3) *Zekhut Avot*, a kabbalistic commentary on the tractate *Avot* (in the work *Beit Avot*, Bilgoraj, 1911); and (4) *Minhagei Ḥasidut*, published by S. Schechter (1908). Ḥ.J.D. *Azulai relates that Galante built the court of Meron where the graves of *Simeon b. Yoḥai and his son Eleazar are located.

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[David Tamar]

GALANTE, JEDIDIAH BEN MOSES (17th century), scholar and emissary. From 1607 to 1613 Galante visited the Italian communities as an emissary of Safed, possibly on behalf of its Italian community to which his family belonged. During his travels he wrote several halakhic responsa in reply to problems addressed to him and relayed the remarkable deeds attributed to Isaac *Luria (the Ari). In 1608 he published in Venice the responsa of his father, Moses *Galante. When some Italian Jews, who objected to one of Jedidiah's rulings on a subject that divided the rabbis of Italy, accused him of embezzling the donations for Ereẓ Israel, he took dramatic action. On a Sabbath in Elul 1609, after his sermon to a large Venetian congregation before which he had been invited to preach, he took a Scroll of the Law from the Ark and in the presence of the whole congregation swore to his complete innocence. The incident, which made a profound impression, was publicized by the lay leaders and rabbis of Venice in a specially printed notice circulated among the Italian communities.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Sonne, in: *Koveẓ-al-Yad*, 5 (1950), 205–12; Yaari, Sheluḥei, 152, 247, 842–3.

[Avraham Yaari]

GALANTE, MOSES BEN JONATHAN (II) (1620–1689), Jerusalem rabbi. Galante was called "*Ha-Rav ha-Magen*" after his major work *Elef ha-Magen* which includes one thousand responsa and cases (unpublished). He was the grandson of Moses b. Mordecai *Galante (I). He studied in Safed and later moved to Jerusalem where he became a leading rabbi and headed the yeshiva Bet Ya'akov. His students included *Hezekiah b. David Da Silva, author of *Peri Hadash*, Israel Jacob Ḥagiz, his son-in-law (the father of Moses *Ḥagiz), and Abraham Yiẓḥaki, the rabbi of Jerusalem. He and other scholars instituted an ordinance (*takkanah*) that the scholars of Jerusalem would not use the title "rabbi" (in order that one scholar would not have authority over another). From 1667–68 he served as an emissary of Jerusalem to the cities of Turkey and Hungary. In 1673 he was again in Jerusalem. Galante was influenced by the Shabbatean movement for a time. In 1665 he and other rabbis from Jerusalem went to Gaza in order to seek purification of the soul from *Nathan of Gaza. At the end of 1665 or early in 1666 Galante was in Aleppo where he was among the leading Shabbatean "prophets." According to the testimony in a letter from Aleppo (in Ms. Epstein, Vienna, Jewish Community Library 141[8]), Galante was the "*ḥakham* Moses Galante" who accompanied Shabbetai Ẓevi to Smyrna at the end of 1665 and was appointed by him "King Yehoshaphat." He also accompanied Shabbetai Ẓevi to Constantinople. R. Abraham Yiẓḥaki testified that Galante said "Although I would not believe in Shabbetai Ẓevi, I would not deprecate him. But after I saw that in writing to one of his followers here, he signed himself 'I the Lord your God' [i.e., he wrote the Tetragrammaton in his own handwriting], I excommunicate him daily." His published works include *Zevaḥ ha-Shelamim*, commentaries on the Torah with the glosses of Galante's grandson Moses Ḥagiz (Amsterdam, 1708), and *Korban Ḥagigah*, sermons for the Three Festivals and novellae on the tractate *Ḥagigah* and on Maimonides' *Yad ha-Ḥazakah* (Venice, 1704, 1709).

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[David Tamar]

GALANTE, MOSES BEN MORDECAI (I) (fl. 16th century), talmudist and kabbalist, one of the scholars ordained in Safed in the second half of the 16th century. Galante, who was born in Rome, was the brother of Abraham b. Mordecai *Galante. He was well acquainted with Ḥayyim *Vital's disciples. Galante was a disciple of Joseph *Caro who ordained him at the age of 22 (Responsa of Moses Galante, par. 124). His teacher in the field of Kabbalah was Moses *Cordovero. From 1580 he served as *av bet din* in Safed as the successor of Moses di Trani. He lived to be over 90 and apparently died after 1612. His works include: (1) responsa, only partly published (124 paragraphs) by his son Jedidiah, with the addition of his novellae (Venice, 1608); (2) *Mafte'aḥ ha-Zohar*, an index of the biblical passages interpreted in the Zohar (incomplete; Venice, 1566); and (3) *Kohelet Ya'akov*, a partly homiletic and partly kabbalistic commentary on Ecclesiastes (Safed, 1578).

Some of his sermons were published in the commentary on Ruth of Obadiah of Bertinoro (Venice, 1585).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: G. Scholem, *Bibliographia Kabbalistica* (Ger. 1927), 195; Benayahu, in: *Sinai*, 35 (1954), 60; Tamar, in: *Tarbiz*, 27 (1958), 111–6.

[David Tamar]

GALATI (Rom. **Galați**; Ger. **Galatz**), port on the River Danube, in Moldavia, eastern Romania, first mentioned in the 15th century. Jews first settled there at the end of the 16th century. A cemetery which has not been preserved, was probably established in 1629; another, recently restored, was established in 1774. In 1803, 72 Jews paid taxes. Until the beginning of the 19th century the *ḥevra kaddisha* was responsible for the communal administration. Following a *blood libel in 1796, outrages were perpetrated against the Jews. In 1821 Greek revolutionaries who entered the town set fire to several synagogues, and in 1842 there were renewed attacks on the community by local Greeks. In 1846 anti-Jewish outbreaks again occurred in which synagogues were looted and Jewish houses and shops were destroyed. In 1859, in a similar attack, many Jews were killed. In 1867 a number of Jews among those expelled from the country drowned in the Danube near Galati: the catastrophe provoked a storm of protest throughout Europe. The Jewish bakers were expelled from Galati for refusing to break the strike of their fellow workers and party members in 1893. The Jewish population numbered around 7,000 in 1841, 14,500 in 1894, 12,000 in 1910 (22% of the total), 19,912 in 1930 (20%), and 13,000 in 1942. Jewish artisans and merchants contributed considerably to the city's economic and commercial development. In 1895 a community association with legal recognition (1906) was founded. The Zionist Baruch Zosmer was elected deputy mayor in 1928. Among the rabbis who functioned between the two world wars and after World War II were Abraham Jacob Derbaremdigher, Jacob Margulies, and Isaac Schapira. Ḥasidic courts such as that of Rabbi Abraham Joshua Heschel Friedman also functioned in Galati. Before World War II the community had 22 synagogues, a secondary school, two elementary schools for boys and one for girls, a kindergarten, a trade school, a hospital, an orphanage, an old-age home, and two ritual bathhouses. In 1881–1919 Galati was the center of the Zionist movement in Romania. In 1926, the Zionist Revisionist Organization of Romania was founded in Galati. There was also a cultural-religious society, a Zionist society, a youth organization Ẓe'irei Zion, and a "culture" club. The Jews in Galati were subjected to constant persecution by the pro-Nazi authorities during World War II. The community was not destroyed during the Holocaust, but subsequently diminished through emigration. It numbered 13,000 in 1947, 9,000 in 1950, and 450 families in 1969, with two synagogues. In 2005, 252 Jews lived in Galati, with a synagogue, a kosher restaurant and a cemetery.

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[Haim Karl Blum / Lucian-Zeev Hersovici (2nd ed.)]

GALATIA, district in Asia Minor, which became a Roman province in 25 B.C.E. Evidence of the existence of Jews in Galatia is scanty, but it is likely that Jewish settlement began with the establishment of Jewish military colonies by Antiochus III in adjoining Phrygia and Lydia (Jos., Ant. 12:147ff.) toward the end of the third century B.C.E. Jews lived in the neighboring countries of *Pergamum, *Cappadocia (I Macc. 15:22), and *Bithynia (Philo, *Embassy to Gaius*, 281) in the second century B.C.E., and the first century C.E. Josephus tells of an edict of Augustus published in Ancyra, capital of Galatia, granting the Jews, among other privileges, the right to practice their ancestral traditions, and to transfer funds to Jerusalem (Ant. 16:162–5). However, "Ancyra" is a correction proposed by Scaliger from a faulty text which cannot be absolutely relied upon. Clearer evidence is available from accounts of the missionary activities of the apostle Paul among the various communities in the first century (I Cor. 16:1; Acts 16:6; 18:23), in particular his *Epistle to the Galatians*. Jewish names in inscriptions found in the precincts of Galatia include "Esther" and "Jacob," appearing on a tomb at Germa, southwest of Ancyra (Frey, Corpus, 2 (1952), 48, no. 796) and "Levi," inscribed elsewhere (Henderson, in *Journal of Hellenistic Studies*, 19 (1899), 285, no. 178). The word "Galia," recurring a number of times in talmudic literature, is in some instances considered to refer to Galatia, e.g., the journey of R. Akiva to "Galia" (RH 26a). It is similarly thought that Nahum or Menahem of "Galia" came from Galatia although others identify "Galia" with France or with a settlement in Judea. (Ket. 60a: Tosef., Er. 11:10; TJ, Ber. 4:4, 8b). In II Maccabees 8:20, it is specifically mentioned that Jews fought against the Galatians at the side of Seleucid kings in Babylonia, defeating them and taking much loot, but there is no available information as to which war is referred to, or its details.

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[Lea Roth]

°GALATINUS, PIETRO COLUMNA (1460–1540), Italian theologian and Christian kabbalist. A Franciscan friar who believed himself to be the "Angel Pope" first prophesied by followers of Joachim of Fiore in the 13th century, Galatinus wrote a monumental work of Christian mysticism, *De arcanis catholicae veritatis* (Ortona, 1518), first printed by Gershom *Soncino. Though anti-Jewish in tone, it was published in defense of the great German humanist Johann *Reuchlin and did much to promote Christian Hebraism. The book, which assembled a vast number of polemical texts, inspired many later Christian kabbalists, including the French visionary Guillaume *Postel. It was prefaced by laudatory Hebrew verses and laid great stress on numerology. The most popular work of its kind in the 16th century, the *Arcana* was praised by *Amatus Lusitanus. Galatinus anticipated Daniel *Bomberg by advocating the publication of the Talmud. He "explained" early Christianity's lack of explicit reference to the Kabbalah by citing a passage in the Babylonian Talmud (Ḥag. 11bff.), which forbids the indiscriminate transmission of the creation and chariot mysteries (see *Merkabah Mysticism), especially in writing.

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[Godfrey Edmond Silverman]

GALBANUM (Heb. חֶלְבְּנָה, *ḥelbenah*), a gum resin mentioned among the ingredients of the incense in the Tabernacle (Ex. 30:34) and by Ben Sira as a spice (Gr. χαλβάνη). It was included in a *baraita* (Ker. 6a), dating from Second Temple times, among the constituents of the incense used in the Temple. The *Gemara* (Ker. 6b) states that it was an ingredient of incense despite its offensive smell, thus demonstrating that a malodorous substance, when mixed with fragrant spices, also contributes to the general pleasant odor, thereby symbolizing that sinners of Israel are an integral part of its society. Greek and Roman natural and medical writers, referring to the medicinal qualities of galbanum, praise the spices imported from Syria (Pliny, *Historia Naturalis*, 12:25; Dioscorides, *De Materia Medica*, 3:87). In Israel six species of galbanum grow wild, but their resin is not used for any known purpose. A substance called umbelliferone, employed as a remedy for convulsions, is extracted from two species of galbanum, from *Ferula galbaniflua* which grows in Syria and *Ferula schair* which grows in Turkestan. These plants are of the Umbelliferae family whose stems contain a milk-like resin congealing on contact with air. It is also used in the lacquer industry.

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[Jehuda Feliks]

°GALEN (Galenus), CLAUDIUS (131–c. 201 C.E.), prominent physician in antiquity and author of important philosophical works. Galen was born in Pergamum (Asia Minor) and died in Rome. Medieval Hebrew authors and translators regarded Galen as "the greatest physician" (*gedol ha-rofe'im, rosh ha-rofe'im*). A popular legend among the Jews in the Middle Ages identified Galen with the patriarch Gamaliel II, who was said to have written a handbook of medicine for Titus after the destruction of Jerusalem. This did not, however, prevent *Maimonides and other Jewish authors from sharply criticizing Galen for his attacks on the law of Moses (see R. Waltzer, *Galen on Jews and Christians*, 1949) and denying his authority in any field other than medicine (*Pirkei Moshe* (1888), 25). *Jedaiah ha-Penini launched a sharp attack on Galen (*Iggeret Hitnaẓẓelut*, in *Iggerot ha-Rashba* (1881), 61), and *Immanuel of Rome relegated him to hell (*Maḥbarot*, vol. 2 (1967), no. 28, p. 515). A derogatory opinion on Galen as a philosopher is also found in a work by Shem-Tov ibn *Falaquera (*Ha-Mevakkesh*, 33). On the other hand, on the question of the eternity of the world, Maimonides sided with Galen against al-*Fārābī (*Guide of the Perplexed*, 2:15). As Galen was a physician and author of medical works, his reputation among Jews was beyond dispute. Maimonides wrote Arabic compendia of the 16 "canonical" books and of several other works by Galen, and his Arabic commentary on Hippocrates' *Aphorisms* is based primarily on Galen. Maimonides' own aphorisms (*Pirkei Moshe*) are also primarily a selection from Galen's works and the latter's commentary on Hippocrates (as stated by Maimonides in the introduction).

The following works by Galen appeared in Hebrew translation (generally based on the Arabic text of Ḥunayn ibn Isḥāq, but in some instances also on Latin versions) or as Hebrew adaptations: (1) *Ars Parva* (*Melakhah Ketannah*), translated by Samuel ibn *Tibbon in 1199 (manuscripts in Leiden and Paris) together with the Arabic commentary by the Egyptian physician Ali ibn Riḍwān. This commentary was translated again under the title of *Sefer ha-Tegni* (manuscript in Rome and extracts in Paris) by *Hillel b. Samuel, but this time from the Latin translation by Gerard of Cremona. (2) Four books dealing with various diseases, their causes, and symptoms were translated by Zeraḥiah b. Isaac *Gracian under the title of *Sefer ha-Ḥola'im ve-ha-Mikrim* (manuscript in Munich). (3) Three treatises on compound drugs were also translated by Gracian under the title of *Katagenē* (manuscript in Hamburg). (4) The "Book of Crises" was translated by Solomon Bonirac of Barcelona under the title *Sefer Baḥran*, based on the Arabic text by Ḥunayn. (5) The treatise on bloodletting exists in two Hebrew translations: one, based on the Arabic text, was made by Kalonymus b. Kalonymus in Arles (manuscript in Leiden); the other is an anonymous work based on the Latin translation and bears the title *Sefer ha-Hakkazah shel Gidim* (manuscript in Guenzburg collection). (6) *De clysteriis et colica*, translated by Kalonymus from the Arabic of Ḥunayn (manuscript in Leiden). (7) Treatise on the regimen to be followed by epileptic boys, anonymous translation under the title *Sefer be-Hanhagat ha-Na'ar ha-Nikhpeh*, based on Ḥunayn's Arabic text (manuscript in Munich). (8) *De malitia complexionis diversae,* translated by David b. Abraham Caslari in Narbonne under the title *Sefer Ro'a Mezeg Mitḥallef,* probably on the basis of the Latin text by Gerard of Cremona (Bodleian manuscript). (9) The Alexandrians' compendia of Galen's 16 "canonical" writings were translated from the Arabic version by Samson b. Solomon under the title *Sefer ha-Kibbuẓim la-Aleksandriyyim*. Several manuscripts are extant, all fairly complete.

Apart from the compendia translated by Samson b. Solomon, there existed several compendia of individual works by Galen. Two of these exist in anonymous Hebrew translations: *Kelalei Sefer Galenus ba-Marah ha-Sheḥorah* (on melancholy), based on the translation by Stephanus, as revised by Ḥunayn; and *Asifat Marot ha-Sheten*, on the colors of urine (three manuscripts). A second translation of the latter work bears the title *Kibbuẓei Sifrei Galenus be-Minei ha-Sheten* (manuscript in Leiden).

Galen's commentary on the Aphorisms by Hippocrates was translated from the Arabic by Nathan b. Eliezer ha-Me'ati in Rome, together with Hippocrates' own work (many manuscripts have been preserved). A second translation from the Arabic of both works was made by Jacob b. Joseph ibn Zabara (manuscript in New York), and a third, based on the Latin version of Constantinus Africanus, is probably the work of Hillel b. Samuel.

A large number of works attributed to Galen were also translated into Hebrew, including *Sefer ha-Em, Sefer Issur ha-Kevurah, Panim le-Fanim, Sefer ha-Nefesh,* and *Likkutei Segulot u-Refu'ot mi-Galeno*. Other works by Galen also influenced medieval Jewish literature, even though they were not translated into Hebrew. Thus, for example a work by Galen was quoted in *Saadiah Gaon's commentary on *Sefer Yeẓirah* (4:5), in *Baḥya ibn Paquda's *Ḥovot ha-Levavot* (2:5), in *Judah Halevi's *Kuzari* (5:8), and in a letter by Zerahiah b. Isaac Gracian addressed to Hillel b. Samuel (in *Oẓar Nehmad*, 2 (1857), 141).

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[Moshe Nahum Zobel]

GALICH ALEXANDER ARKADYEVICH (Ginzburg; 1919–1977), Russian poet and dramatist. Galich was born in Dnepropetrovsk (Ukraine). He studied acting with Stanislavski theatrical studio and appeared with an army troupe at the front during WWII. From 1945 he was a drama teacher and wrote a number of plays, the most popular one being the comedy *Was vyzyvaiet Taimir* ("Taimir Is Calling You, 1948). He also wrote the screenplay *Vernyie Druzia* ("Faithful Friends," 1958). Another of his plays, *Matrosskaya Tishina* ("The Seaman's Silence"), was banned in the Soviet Union. From the beginning of the 1960s he wrote poems which he set to music, performed, and recorded. His poems were critical of Soviet thinking and the language of the press. Some had Jewish themes, such as the poem "Korchak" ("Kaddish") for the actor *Mikhoels and a cycle of poems on the emigration of Soviet Jews to Israel. In the 1960s he turned to Christianity. His poems were published outside the Soviet Union. He also fought for human rights. For all these reasons he was ejected in 1971 from the Union of Writers and Filmmakers. In 1974 he settled in Paris. He visited Israel twice, performing his songs in concerts.

[Shmuel Spector (2nd ed.)]

GALICIA (Pol. **Galicia**; Ger. **Galizien**; Rus. **Galitsiya**), geographical-political region of E. Europe, in S.E. Poland and N.W. Ukraine, extending northward from the Carpathians into the Vistula Valley to the San River.

After numerous changes in the Middle Ages, Galicia was incorporated within the kingdom of Poland. The major part passed to the Hapsburg monarchy during the first partition of Poland in 1772; with the third partition of Poland the area under Hapsburg rule was extended to the north and northwest of the region. From 1803 Galicia formed a separate administrative unit (province). With the dissolution of the monarchy after World War I Galicia again passed to Poland (1918–19). In 1939, after the outbreak of World War II, western Galicia was occupied by the Germans and eastern Galicia by the Soviet Union, which incorporated it in the Ukrainian S.S.R. Eastern Galicia was also occupied by the Germans in 1941 and the Jews there suffered the fate of the rest of the Jews of Poland and the Ukraine. After the war western Galicia returned to Poland, while eastern Galicia remained within the Ukrainian S.S.R.

During the period of Polish rule until 1772 Galicia was known as Little Poland (see *Lesser Poland), which within the Jewish organizational framework of the *Council of the Lands formed one of the four "lands" (provinces). For the history of the Jews in this period, see *Poland-Lithuania.

[Simha Katz]

After the 1772 Annexation to Austria

At the time of the region's annexation to Austria in 1772, its Jewish population numbered 224,980 (9.6% of the total). Jews were to be found in 187 cities, 93 small towns, and 5,467 villages and homesteads. By 1773 the number of Jews had declined to 171,851 (6.5%), and by 1776 to 144,200. In 1780 the Jewish population stood at 151,302; in 1782 at 172,424, and in 1785 at 212,002. In 1776 the area in the region of Cracow was extracted from Austria, but it was returned in 1795 and structured administratively as "western Galicia" (including the *Lublin district). Until 1809 the Zamosc district was also in Galicia, under Austria, and between 1786 and 1818 *Bukovina was included administratively in Galicia. In 1815–46 Cracow and its environs constituted an autonomous republic, while the Ternopol district came under Russian rule, during 1809–15.

The non-Jewish population of western Galicia was almost entirely Polish in 1776, Jews constituting 3.1% of the population. Eastern Galicia was mostly Ukrainian, and the Jews there were 8.7% of the total population. Six towns (*Brody, *Belz, *Rogatin, *Peremyshlyany, Delyatin, and *Sokal) were almost entirely Jewish, nine other towns had a Jewish majority, and in seven cities (including *Lvov) the Jews constituted one-third or more of the total population. Initially, the Jews of Galicia continued in the framework of the socioeconomic structure of old Poland-Lithuania. In the villages Jews were occupied in *arenda; in the towns and townlets the majority of Jews were retailers or craftsmen, especially in the household industry (textiles, sackcloth, and sail cloth) and the garment industry (as tailors, furriers, and hatters). The export and import trade of the region was mainly in the hands of Jews, as the transit between Turkey and Russia in the east and Germany in the west centered in *Brody.

The Austrian "Code of Regulations Concerning the Jews" (1776) allowed the autonomy of the Jewish community to stand. A 12-member supreme Jewish council was created, headed by the chief rabbi of the region. The following specific taxes were levied on the Jews: protection and toleration tax (4 guldens per family), property and employment tax (the same), marriage tax (according to the wealth of the family, from 4 to 300 ducats). All Jewish beggars were expelled from Galicia. Aryeh Leib *Bernstein became chief rabbi, Mordecai Ze'ev Orenstein vice chief rabbi.

Emperor *Joseph II included Galicia in his statutes (1785–89) directed at the improvement of the condition of the Jews (see *Emancipation) and their ultimate *assimilation. His 1789 *Toleranzpatent mentioned 141 organized Jewish communities, each administered by three *parnasim, except for Lvov and Brody, which had seven. The autonomy of the community, the rabbinical court, and the craftsmen's guilds were abolished. In 1786 the supreme council, established in 1776, was dissolved. The expulsion of the Jews from the villages began; various trade branches, peddling, and *arenda* were prohibited to them. At the same time they were actively encouraged to take up agricultural work. Close to one-third of the Jewish population was deprived of its means of livelihood as a result of these regulations. In 1789 Jews were included in the obligation to do military service (there was some active resistance to this by the Jews of Brody) and had to adopt German family names. Government-sponsored schools were established for the Jews, and attendance was made compulsory. A tax was levied on *kasher* meat (see *Korobka), and in 1797 on Sabbath and holiday candles as well (see *Candle Tax); this tax became the basis for the vote in the community. The average yearly income from the tax on *kasher* meat was 500,000–700,000 gulden, while that on candles brought in some 350,000 gulden annually.

In 1787 Naphtali Herz *Homberg was appointed chief inspector of the network of more than 104 government schools established for the education of the Jews. Both he and the teachers – who came mainly from Bohemia and Germany –were enthusiasts for total Jewish assimilation into German culture. Jews were bitterly opposed to this school system and as far as possible prevented their children's attendance. In 1806 all these Jewish schools in Galicia (attended by 3,550 pupils) were closed. The plan for settling 1,410 Jewish families on government-owned land, initiated in 1786, also failed, and by 1822 there were only 836 Jewish farmers in all of Galicia. On the other hand, Jewish physicians were granted equality with Christian ones and secondary schools and institutions of higher learning were opened to Jews. Nonetheless only 158 Jewish students attended such schools in 1827. Polish society in Galicia showed a relatively pro-Jewish attitude, its representatives including in their program for the region – presented to Emperor Leopold II – a demand for civil rights for Jews, though not the right to own estates or to hold elective office.

By 1827 there were about 115,000 Jewish males in Galicia, about 50,000 of whom were of working age. Of the latter, 28,524 (less than 60%) were gainfully employed, the majority in business, transportation, services, and the free professions. During the late 18th and early 19th centuries Jewish cultural and social life in Galicia was rich. The *Haskalah entered Galicia almost in its beginnings, Brody being its center. Mendel *Levin (Lefin), first at Brody and later in Ternopol, and J.L. Ben *Ze'ev were its pioneers there, followed by Dov Berish Ginsburg, Jacob Samuel *Bick, and Joseph *Perl. The years 1815 to 1850 represent the high point of the Haskalah in Galicia. In this period the following men were active in Galician social and literary life: Nachman *Krochmal, S.J. *Rapoport, Isaac *Erter, Meir *Letteris, Solomon *Rubin, Samson *Bloch, Joshua Heschel *Schorr (editor of *He-Ḥalutz*), his brother Naphtali Mendel *Schorr, Abraham *Krochmal, Samuel Leib *Goldenberg, Jacob *Bodek, Isaac Mieses, M. Silberstein, Abraham Menahem Mendel *Mohr, Joseph *Kohen-Ẓedek, and others. Their literary and educational activity made Galicia of the 19th century a major center of Jewish thought and creativity. Traditional Torah education and scholarship continued in full measure in Galicia throughout the 19th century. Some of the great Talmud scholars of this period there were Joseph Saul ha-Levi *Nathanson; Jacob Meshullam Orenstein, both of Lvov; Solomon b. Judah Aaron *Kluger of Brody; Aryeh Leib b. Joseph ha-Kohen (*Heller) of Stry, the author of *Keẓot ha-Ḥoshen*; Shalom Mordecai b. Moses *Shvadron of Berezhany; Joseph *Engel, and others. Social life in Galicia was imprinted first by the acrimonious strife between *mitnaggedim* and Ḥasidim, and then, later between Ḥasidim and the Haskalah.

*Ḥasidism spread steadily in Galicia during the 19th century, and despite the opposition of the leading rabbis, it succeeded in permeating all strata of the population. Local rabbis of the smaller communities, in particular, had to accept the influence of the ḥasidic *ẓaddik* whose followers were the strongest group in their community. The important figures of Galician Ḥasidism were the *Belz dynasty, founded by Shalom Rokeaḥ in 1816; Zanz, founded by Ḥayyim *Halberstam in 1830; and the dynasties of the sons of Israel *Ruzhin (Friedmann), in *Sadgora (c. 1855) and in *Chortkov (1860). All Orthodox elements united against the Haskalah, which fought the Orthodox majority not only through education and propaganda, but through alliance with the state authorities and sometimes through the denunciation to them of the Orthodox, in particular, and of the Ḥasidim (in this Joseph Perl excelled). In the 1870s the Ḥasidim of Belz began to intervene in political matters. The Haskalah was influential in the large cities, e.g., Brody, Lvov, Ternopol, and *Zholkava, where Joseph Perl and others instituted Jewish schools with German as the language of instruction, and Haskalah leaders founded "reform" synagogues of varying trends. In 1816 Jacob Meshullam Orenstein excommunicated the *maskilim* of Lvov but was compelled by the authorities to rescind his decree. During the 1830s and 1840s the number of *maskilim* and their influence continued to increase in the large cities. In 1838 the communal leadership of Lvov installed a Reform rabbi Abraham *Kohn, who was poisoned in 1848. The striving of the Haskalah in Galicia for assimilation into German culture changed in the 1860s and the 1870s to a preference for assimilation into Polish culture; the extreme Orthodox tended to support Polish political aims.

The 1848 revolutionary parliament, which included three Galician Jews, rescinded the special taxes on the Jews, and in the constitution of March 1849, Jews were granted equality of rights. At the end of 1851, however, the government revoked the constitution and restricted the civil rights of the Jews. In 1859–60 most of the restrictions on Jews were lifted. Jews were also granted the right to be elected to the Galician Sejm, and consequently there were four Jewish deputies in 1867–72. In 1867 the Sejm elected a Jewish deputy to the parliament in Vienna, as the Austrian constitution of 1867 granted Jews equal rights.

The economic life of the Jews of Galicia also improved at about that time. Rich Jews entered *banking, large-scale export and import, industry, and the oil trade and industry. From 1867 the number of Jewish estate owners grew markedly. Jews entered the civil service and the judiciary (in 1897 Jews constituted 58% of the civil servants and judges). The majority, however, only felt a slight improvement. They resented attempts to draw them to the village and agricultural life and as a result failed in these areas. In the early 20th century the number of Jewish estate owners or lessees again increased significantly, Jewish merchants and industrialists eagerly investing in these fields. There was a corresponding increase in the number of Jews in agricultural management, and in agricultural schools and experimental farms for Jews.

In 1874, 98 Jews sat on 71 regional councils. In the Galician Sejm, five of the 155 deputies were Jews. There were 261 Jews on various municipal councils in Galicia, and in 45 municipalities they were the majority. Ten cities had Jewish mayors. The leadership of the Haskalah movement, as well as of the assimilationists – German or Polish – gradually passed into the hands of a new, university-educated group of writers like Ludwig *Gumplowicz, Joseph Ettinger, Moritz Rapoport, Dr. Eliezer Englewicz, Meir Letteris, Marcus Landau, Joseph Kobak, Jacob *Goldenthal, Leo Herzberg-Fraenkel, K.E. Franzos, Marcus Dubs, and Meir Mintz. The number of Jewish students in the secondary schools (301 in 1856; 703 by 1867) and in the universities continued to grow. At the same time, a network of educational institutions was established under Jewish auspices.

From 1867 the assimilationist circles were split between those tending to Polish assimilation – organized in the Aggudat Aḥim (Fraternal Society) of Poles of Mosaic Faith – and those tending to German assimilation culture – organized in the *Shomer Israel (Guardians of Israel). In the elections of 1873, Shomer Israel of eastern Galicia allied itself with the Ukrainians against the Poles and succeeded in electing four Jewish deputies; the Jewish deputy from Cracow joined the Polish group in parliament. In 1878, on the initiative of Shomer Israel, a congress of Jewish communities was convened and resolved regulations for all communities, as well as the establishment of a rabbinical seminary. The Orthodox, led by the rabbi of Cracow, Simeon *Sofer, and the *ẓaddik* of Belz, Joshua Rokeaḥ, opposed the convention and encouraged a boycott of it. In 1882 the Orthodox convened a rabbinical conference (in Lvov) whose regulations for the communities were diametrically opposed to those of the congress of Jewish communities. Only those who lived according to the *Shulḥan Arukh and paid their communal dues would be entitled to a vote in the communities. The Austrian authorities refused to endorse this Orthodox regulation despite the support of the Polish group in parliament. In 1890 the Ministry of Religion and Culture formulated a regulation of its own, approved by parliament and enforced until 1918. A proposal to establish a rabbinical seminary, adopted in 1907 by the Galician Sejm, was frustrated by the opposition of the Orthodox, who organized themselves in the *Maḥzike Hadas ("Upholders of the Faith"), headed by the above-mentioned leaders. The Orthodox allied themselves with the Poles in the parliamentary elections of 1878 and elected Rabbi Sofer, who joined the Polish group in Parliament.

A number of monthly and weekly Hebrew periodicals circulated in 19th-century Galicia: *Yerushalayim* (1865–90); *Ha-Mevasser* (1860–70); *Nesher* ("Eagle"); *Meged Yeraḥim* (1855, 1859); *Oẓar Ḥokhmah* (1849–65); *He-Ḥalutz*, edited by Joseph Kobak; *Ha-Ivri*, edited by Baruch and Jacob Werber. In 1848–49 several Yiddish weeklies made their appearance: *Tsaytung* (1848–49); *Di Yidishe Post* (1849); *Yidishe Tsaytung* ("The Jewish Weekly"; 1865–67); *Naye Yidishe Prese* (1872), and *Israelit* (1875–76).

Between 1860 and 1880 anti-assimilationist works and new trends in Haskalah, mainly influenced by Peretz *Smolenskin, began to appear. In 1875 the first society in Galicia for the settlement of Palestine was established in *Przemysl. In the 1880s Ḥovevei Zion (see *Ḥibbat Zion) gained momentum in Galicia. Growing antisemitism among the Poles aided this development. In 1884 the organ of the Polish trend of assimilation, *Aguddat Aḥim*, ceased publication, confessing in its last issue that the Jews of Galicia could only "emigrate to Palestine or convert to Christianity." In Lvov and in the outlying towns, the first Zionist organizations were formed. The student Zionist organization of Lvov, Zion, published the first Zionist newspaper in the Polish laguage, *Przyśłość* ("Future," 1892); the periodical *Wschód* ("East") followed. Nonetheless, assimilationists continued to lead the communities, and, with the help of the Poles and brutal acts of terror, succeeded in electing their candidates to parliament until as late as 1907. These joined the Polish group and supported the demands of the Poles, even when they conflicted with Jewish interests.

In 1893 a Catholic convocation in Cracow proclaimed an economic boycott on Jews. From 1900 Poles and Ukrainians combined to exclude the Jews from the merchandising of agricultural produce through the establishment of a network of agricultural cooperatives and through propaganda among the peasants not to buy from or sell to Jews, and the various organizations of estate owners formed their own associations for buying and selling. In 1910 the Jews were forbidden to sell alcoholic beverages; 15,000 Jewish families lost their source of livelihood. This occurred at a time when the number of Jews had doubled in Galicia (between 1857 and 1910). As the table Jewish Population in Galicia, 1857–1910, shows, up to 1890 the percentage of Jews increased from 9.6% to 11.7%; from 1890 it was constantly declining and by 1910 became 10.9%.

The economic structure of Galician Jewry is reflected in the table Economic Structure of Galician Jewry, 1910.

The boycott and economic pressure impoverished the masses of Jews in Galicia. In 1908 there were 689 cooperative lending funds, most of which had been established with the help of Jews abroad. Between 1881 and 1910 a total of 236,000 Jews emigrated from Galicia. Impelled by circumstances, the Zionist movement entered local politics in 1906. In the general elections of 1907, three Zionist candidates – Adolf *Stand, Arthur *Mahler, and Heinrich Gavel – were successful. Together with the Zionist deputy from Bukovina, they formed the first "Jewish Club" in the Austrian parliament. In the general elections of 1911, all Zionist candidates failed, due to the terror exercised by the local authorities (mainly Poles) on behalf of assimilationist candidates (in Drogobych, for example, 20 Jews were murdered; see Nathan *Loewenstein). Despite the terror of 1911, Zionists continued the struggle against the assimilationists. The strife was further embittered when the Galician authorities canceled the licenses of 8,000 Jewish merchants of alcoholic beverages, who were consequently deprived of a livelihood (with their families, about 40,000 people were involved). The Zionists brought the merchants to Vienna to demonstrate, but the assimilationist Jewish deputies did nothing. Although the Austrian ministers promised their assistance, they failed to keep their word.

In the latter part of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th centuries, the Jewish labor movement of Galicia was organized. At first it was associated with the Polish *PPS, the Labor Zionist movement making its appearance later. The first convention of its various chapters took place in Cracow, in 1903. At the second convention, in 1904, the *Po'alei Zion party was founded. A number of Jewish organizations dissociated themselves from PPS and in 1906 established the *Jewish Social Democratic Party (ZPS). The PPS countered by establishing a "Jewish section," which existed until 1914. Some of its members then joined the ZPS.

At the outbreak of World War I tens of thousands of Jews fled to Hungary, Bohemia, and Vienna. During the Russian occupation of Galicia, the Jews who remained suffered greatly. Following the fall of the Hapsburg monarchy in November 1918, the Jews of Galicia were caught in the Polish-Ukrainian war. The central government of the Western Ukrainian Republic (Eastern Galicia, see *Ukraine) was prepared to grant the Jews full national autonomy, but its civil service and the military continued to oppress the Jews. On November 22 and 23, following the occupation of Lvov, the Poles conducted a series of pogroms in which 72 Jews were killed and 443 injured. By the summer of 1919 the armies of Poland had captured all of Galicia. The particular motifs which had developed among the Jews of Galicia continued to leave their mark on that community, even as it fused with the Jewry of Poland during the period between the two world wars. The major ideological currents – Ḥasidism, the Zionist movement, the many devotees of Polish and German culture, respectively, and those who had traditionally cooperated with the Poles – continued to be the forces which shaped the internal and external character of Polish Jewry from 1919 to 1939. The Zionist deputies from Galicia, headed by L. *Reich and O. *Thon, came to terms with the Polish government in a July 4, 1925, "compromise" agreement (see *Ugoda). S.Y. *Agnon, like many others, immortalized the cultural atmosphere of the Galician *shtetl in his works.

Jewish Population in Galicia, 1857–1910

Year	Total pop.	Catholics	Eastern Orthodox	Jews	Others
1857	4,632,864	2,072,633	2,077,112	448,971	34,148
1869	5,444,779	2,509,105	2,315,782	575,918	43,974
1880	6,018,907	2,706,977	2,578,408	686,596	46,926
1890	6,607,816	2,999,716	2,790,894	768,845	48,361
1900	7,315,939	3,345,780	3,108,972	811,183	50,004
1910	8,025,675	3,731,569	3,379,613	871,895	42,598

The Economic Structure of Galician Jewry, 1910

Occupation	Percentage	Number
Agriculture and forestry	10.7	93,471
Industry and crafts	24.6	214,184
Commerce, alcoholic beverages, and transportation	53.5	462,004
Liberal professions, civil service, and military	11.4	102,145

For the position of the Jews in eastern Galicia after World War II, see *Ukraine.

[Nathan Michael Gelber]

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GALIL, UZIA (1925–), Israeli high-tech entrepreneur. Galil earned a B.Sc. from the Technion and an M.Sc.EE. degree from Purdue University. He began his high-tech career in R&D at Motorola in Chicago from 1953 to 1954 and in the Israeli Navy from 1954 until 1957. From 1957 to 1962 he served as the head of the electronics department at the Technion. From 1980 to 1990, Uzia Galil was chairman of the International Board of Governors of the Technion. In 1962 he founded Elron, a technology group specializing in defense electronics, communications, semiconductors, and medical imaging technologies, serving as its chairman and CEO until 1999. During this period he also acted as chairman and/or member of the board of directors of the publicly traded Elron affiliates – Elbit Ltd., a communications company, Elbit Systems Ltd., a defense electronics company, EMI Ltd. and Elscint Ltd., medical imaging companies, and the private companies in the Elron group. He continued to serve as a member of the boards of directors of Orbotech Ltd., Partner Communications Co. Ltd., and NetManage Inc., and as chairman of Zoran Corporation (all publicly traded). Subsequently he served as president and CEO of Uzia Initiatives and Management Ltd., a company he founded in 1999. In 2000 he founded the Galil center for telemedicine and medical information at the Technion, a joint venture with the Faculty of Medicine. Galil has been awarded an honorary doctorate in technical sciences by the Technion in recognition of his contribution to the development of science-based industries in Israel as well as honorary doctorates from the Weizmann Institute of Science, Ben-Gurion University, and Polytechnic University, New York. In 1997 he received the Israel Prize for his special contribution to Israeli society.

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[Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

GALILEE (Heb. הַגָּלִיל, *Ha-Galil*), the northernmost region of Ereẓ Israel.

Name

The name Galilee is derived from the Hebrew *galil* which comes from the root גלל ("to roll"), and thus means a circle. It appears in the Bible in the combination *Gelil ha-Goyim* "Galilee of the nations" (Isa. 8:23), a formula repeated in I Maccabees 5:15. The town of Kedesh (see *Kadesh) is mentioned several times with the addition "in Galilee" (Josh. 20:7; 21:32; I Chron. 6:61); in I Kings 9:11 the 20 cities Solomon gave to *Hiram of Tyre (in the region of Cabul) are defined as being "in the land of Galilee." In the *Zeno papyri (259 B.C.E.) the name appears as Galila. The form Galilee as the name of the northernmost region of Ereẓ Israel west of the Jordan is firmly established in the writings of *Josephus, the New Testament, and talmudic literature.

History

In prehistoric times the eastern part of Galilee was settled by Neanderthal man in the Lower Paleolithic period: remains of human skeletons have been found in the *Arbel and ʿAmūd valleys. With the establishment of urban civilization in the Early Canaanite period, cities were founded in the plains surrounding the Galilean mountain massif and in its northern plateau while the wooded core of the country was left unoccupied. Egyptian documents mention only the cities (apart from those in the Jordan Valley and the coastal plain) lying on the branch of the Via Maris (the road leading from Damascus to the sea) which crosses the southeastern corner of Lower Galilee: Shemesh-Adom, Adummim, Anaharath, Hannathon, and apparently cities in northern Galilee: Beth-Anath, Kanah, Meron, and probably Kedesh.

The armies of the Pharaohs and of the invading *Hyksos avoided the difficult mountain region as far as possible. Archaeological evidence indicates that the Israelite tribes exploited this situation by infiltrating into the forested hill country before attacking the Canaanite strongholds in the plains (see *Archaeology).

The victories of Joshua at the waters of Merom and of *Deborah at Mt. *Tabor ensured Israelite supremacy over the whole of Galilee. In biblical times Galilee was divided between four tribes: *Asher in the northwest, *Zebulun in the southwest, *Naphtali in most of the eastern half, and *Issachar in part of the southeast (see Twelve *Tribes: Book of *Joshua). By conquering the remaining Canaanite cities in the *Jezreel Valley, David annexed the whole of Galilee to his kingdom. Under *Solomon, Galilee was divided into three districts, each roughly corresponding to a tribal area: the ninth district included Zebulun and probably Asher, the eighth, Naphtali, and the tenth, Issachar. With the division of the monarchy Galilee became part of the northern kingdom of *Israel and was in the forefront of the struggle with Aram-Damascus (see *Aram-Damascus). In 732 B.C.E. *Tiglath-Pileser III, king of Assyria, conquered Galilee and turned it into the Assyrian province of Magiddu (*Megiddo). Some of the Israelite inhabitants were deported but the remaining remnant renewed its relations with Jerusalem in the time of Josiah who may have reunited Galilee with his kingdom (see *Ten Lost Tribes). Nothing is known of Galilee under the Babylonians and Persians; it was possibly administered from *Acre or Hazor since Megiddo had lost its importance by this time (see Israel; *History, Second Temple). In the Ptolemaic period some estates in Galilee were held by Greeks; it appears in the Zeno papyri as a supplier of wheat to Tyre. It was part of the eparchy of Samaria in Seleucid times (see *Seleucia); its administrative center was the royal fortress on Mt. Tabor (Itabyrion). According to I Maccabees 5:15 there were Jewish settlements in western Galilee in the confines of Acre-Ptolemais. These were evacuated by Simeon but others remained in eastern Galilee; *Bacchides, the Seleucid general, is reported to have attacked the Jews of Arbel on the Sea of Galilee. Galilee was incorporated into the Hasmonean kingdom by *Judah Aristobulus I (104 B.C.E.). It rapidly became completely Jewish, for only two years later at the beginning of the reign of Alexander *Yannai, its cities could be attacked on a Sabbath for an easy victory. After *Pompey's conquest (63 B.C.E.) Galilee was left to Judea; *Gabinius' attempt to cut it off from Jerusalem by establishing a separate council (*synedrion*) at *Sepphoris did not succeed. Galilee was then a province (*meris*), a division established by Alexander Yannai, containing the sub-districts of Sepphoris, Araba, Tarichaea, and Gischala in Upper Galilee. Under Hyrcanus II, *Herod was governor of Galilee for a time; when he became king, Galilee was one of the centers of opposition to his rule and it remained a *Zealot stronghold until the fall of Jerusalem. After Herod's death Galilee was inherited by Herod Antipas, who founded its second largest city – *Tiberias. From Herod *Antipas it passed to *Agrippa I and then to Roman *procurators. In the last years of Nero, Tiberias and its vicinity were granted to *Agrippa II. In 66 C.E. Galilee joined in the Jewish revolt against Rome; it was the home of *John of Giscala, one of the foremost Zealot leaders. The defense of the Galilee was in the hands of the historian Josephus who lost it to Vespasian in 67. The Romans took no measures against the Jews of Galilee, some of whom, especially those of Sepphoris and Tiberias, favored the Roman cause. Under Trajan Tiberias became an autonomous city; Hadrian turned Sepphoris into a Roman city called Diocaesarea but its population remained largely Jewish. Galilee did not take part in the *Bar Kokhba War (132–135; although historians dispute this point); what is certain is that after the expulsion of the Jews from Judea, Galilee was throughout the mishnaic and talmudic periods the stronghold of Judaism in Ereẓ Israel. The activities of *Jesus and the early Christian apostles had no effect on the Jewishness of Galilee. The national authority of the patriarchate was reconstituted there in the second century, and the *Sanhedrin continued to sit in various cities, settling later in Sepphoris and finally in Tiberias. The priestly families which had been dispersed from Judea settled in Galilee. The remains of a score of synagogues and of a central necropolis at *Bet She'arim are material evidence of the prosperity and vitality of Galilean Jewry from the second to the sixth centuries, and the completion of the Mishnah and the Palestinian Talmud, of its spiritual productivity. The establishment of Christianity as the official religion did not at first influence the Jewishness of Galilee even though the Church set up an ecclesiastical hierarchy there and built numerous churches in the sixth century. Galilee was the center of the Jewish revolts against Gallus Caesar (351) and the Byzantines (614). It fell to the Muslim Arabs in 635/6 and became part of the province of al-Urdunn (Jordan) with its capital in Tiberias. The Jewish villages continued diminishing but some existed until the time of the *Crusades. Under Crusader rule Galilee was formed into a principality held by the Norman Tancred. It was lost in 1187 after their disastrous defeat at the Horns of Hittin, but part of it was regained in 1198 and all of it in 1240 only to be lost again during the 1260s. Ruins of Crusader castles (at *Miʿilyā, Montfort, etc.) attest to their rule. Under the *Mamluks Galilee was part of the *mamlaka* ("province") of *Safed; under the Turks it was ruled by the semi-independent pashas of Acre. In the 16th century Safed became the center of Jewish kabbalism and Tiberias was resettled by Don Joseph *Nasi as the center of a proposed Jewish province.

[Michael Avi-Yonah]

In the second half of the 19th century, Galilee's population increased and, on the whole, progressed, thanks to an extended period of peace. The Jewish community, concentrated mainly in Safed, somewhat improved its standard of living, although it continued to be dependent on **ḥalukkah* (donations from the Diaspora). In 1856, Ludwig August *Frankl found 2,100 Jews in Safed, and 50 in *Peki'in, the only other Jewish community in Upper Galilee at that time. Until 1895, the number of Jews in Safed increased to 6,620, and in Peki'in to 96. Even before the arrival of settlers of the Ḥovevei Zion and Bilu movements, there were stirrings within the Safed community for a more productive way of life, and in 1878 a group formed to settle at Gei Oni, the forerunner of *Rosh Pinnah; later a second group which formed to settle in the Golan eventually established Benei Yehudah. Rosh Pinnah became the cornerstone of a Jewish settlement network in eastern Upper Galilee and on the rim of the *Ḥuleh Valley. In 1891, Russian Jews founded Ein Zeitim north of Safed. A second phase began in 1900 when the *Jewish Colonization Association (ICA) bought rather flat land with basalt soil in eastern Lower Galilee with the object of establishing "true" farming villages, i.e., based on grain crops, and *Ilaniyyah, *Kefar Tavor, *Jabneel, and other settlements were founded. More moshavot were added through private initiative, and a training farm was set up on *Jewish National Fund (JNF) land at *Kefar Ḥittim. The Galilean moshavot set the stage for the beginnings of the cooperative movement of Jewish laborers and of *Ha-Shomer ("Guardsmen's" Association). In the following decade, however, the Galilean moshavot and the Tiberias community stagnated, and those of Safed and Peki'in even decreased. As a result of World War I Safed's Jewish community was decimated, whereas Galilee's Arab rural society, based on a solid foundation of agriculture, emerged from the war unscathed and was even consolidated.

The Third, Fourth, and Fifth *aliyot*, which gave a powerful impulse to Jewish settlement in other regions, hardly touched Galilee, although all around it new Jewish areas were created, in the Jezreel Valley to the south in the 1920s, and in the Zebulun Valley to the southwest in the 1930s. The expansion of the *Stockade and Watchtower network during the 1936–39 Arab riots completed this outer ring, in the Acre Coastal Plain to the northwest, in the Bet Shean Valley to the southeast, and in the Ḥuleh Valley to the northeast. In Galilee proper, only the kibbutz Kefar ha-Ḥoresh was established in 1935 near Nazareth.

It was at the end of the decade that settlement spread into the hills near the Lebanese border in the northwest (*Ḥanitah, *Eilon, *Maẓẓuvah), while *PICA and the JNF, reacting to the British *White Paper of 1939, strengthened the "settlement bridge" in southeastern Lower Galilee connecting the *Jezreel and the *Kinnarot valleys (e.g., the settlements *Sharonah, *Ha-Zore'im, etc.). In the 1940s, several more outpost settlements were set up, some of them at particularly difficult and isolated sites (e.g., *Manara, *Yeḥi'am, *Misgav Am).

The largest part of Galilee, however, continued to be exclusively non-Jewish, causing the UN partition plan of 1947 to allocate to the proposed Arab state the bulk of the area, from the Lebanese border south to, and including, Nazareth and from the shore of the Acre Plain east to the vicinity of Safed; only a strip of eastern and southeastern Galilee was left to the Jewish state. In the War of Independence, the Jewish villages, many of them isolated, held their ground without exception. In battles before the State of Israel was proclaimed (May 14, 1948), new positions were gained and continuous fronts consolidated: the southeastern corner of Lower Galilee was cleared of enemy strongholds; Tiberias and Safed became unexpectedly all-Jewish towns when the Arabs left them; and when on May 12–13, 1948, the Acre Plain was occupied by Jewish forces, direct contact was renewed in western Upper Galilee with the Ḥanitah bloc and Yeḥi'am. In the ten days of fighting between the first and second truces ("Operation Dekel," July 9–18, 1948), western, southern, and more of southeastern Galilee were taken, Arab forces were dislodged from their positions, and *Sepphoris and Nazareth came into Israeli hands. The rest of Galilee, corresponding to the previous British Mandate borders, was brought under Israeli control in "Operation Ḥiram" (Oct. 29–31, 1948); this fact was endorsed in the 1949 Armistice Agreement with Lebanon, in which a strip of territory west of the Naphtali Ridge which Israel had occupied returned to Lebanon.

In contrast with the events in other parts of the country, the movement of Israeli forces in Galilee was followed by only a minor exodus of the Arab population; although a considerable part of the Muslims left, most of the Christians and almost all of the Druze remained. This caused a relative increase of the latter two communities in Galilee's total population, with the following pattern of ethnic distribution thus emerging: Druze inhabit villages in western Upper Galilee, between Acre and Mount Meron, and one village, al-Maghār, further southeast. Around Nazareth in southwestern and central Lower Galilee, there are mostly Greek Orthodox and Roman Catholic villages, but also a number of Muslim villages which remained intact. Two villages of the Greek Catholics, Miʿilyā and Fassūṭa, lie in western Upper Galilee, and one of the Maronite faith (Gush Ḥalav = Jish), near the Lebanese border further east. During and immediately after the War of Independence, 12 new kibbutzim were created, not only in the Acre Plain (Sa'ar, *Gesher ha-Ziv, *Kabri, etc.) but also in the hills near the Lebanese border (*Ga'aton, Yiftaḥ, *Sasa, Baram, etc.) and in Lower Galilee (*Lavi, *Ein-Dor, etc.). In the beginning of the 1950s, about 30 moshavim were added, many of them initially in the form of "work villages," the settlers earning their livelihood as hired workers in soil reclamation, afforestation, and other projects until a minimum of land became available for their own farms. This was intended to create more or less continuous chains of Jewish settlements across Galilee from west to east. In the same period many newcomers were absorbed in Tiberias and Safed, but the growth of both towns later slowed down. Two new urban centers were established in southern Galilee – *Migdal ha-Emek in 1952, and Upper Nazareth in 1957. In the northwest, *Ma'alot and *Shelomi were founded as nuclei of development towns, but their progress was far from satisfactory. The new moshavim in the hills also encountered difficulties, as their infrastructure of cultivable land and available water proved too narrow and the choice of farming branches was limited by local conditions.

The non-Jewish villages of Galilee, on the other hand, entered a phase of prosperity. Provided through government aid with access as well as internal roads, water installation, electricity, educational facilities, and municipal and social services, they modernized their farming methods and added new branches (e.g., deciduous fruit orchards) to the traditional ones (such as olives, tobacco, sheep, goats); many inhabitants worked in the cities as skilled or semi-skilled laborers, but kept their dwellings and holdings in the villages. Housing improved, and the built-up areas of the villages expanded, as most of them doubled or even tripled their population between 1948 and 1968. When surveys showed that Galilee's opportunities were still far from being fully used and that more settlers could be absorbed there, both urban and rural settlement was furthered. Upper Nazareth grew quickly in the 1960s, and the initial stagnation at Migdal ha-Emek was overcome by industrialization. In 1963 a Central Galilee development project was started by the Israeli government, the JNF, and the Jewish Agency settlement department. Within its framework, a new village bloc was established near the Lebanese border (Biranit, Shetulah, Netu'ah, Zarit) and development work was carried out in the Yodefat-Mount Ḥazon area. In 1964, the town of *Karmi'el was founded, which expanded mostly after 1967. In the 1980s a new plan to keep Galilee Jewish was launched, focusing on the establishment of small communities (Miẓpim, or Lookout Points) located on hills and mountains. Until 1982, 33 such Miẓpim were established. These new settlements are concentrated in two major areas – the Segev zone and Tefen zone. Inside the Tefen zone there is an industrial area founded by the industrialist Stef *Wertheimer. Many of the Galilee settlements earn their livelihoods from tourism, mainly renting out guest rooms.

The northern part of the Galilee area, mainly Kiryat Shmoneh and the rural settlements around it, suffered for years from bombardments by Palestinian organizations operating in Lebanon. These attacks led to Operation Peace for Galilee in 1982, a full-scale invasion of Lebanon culminating in the siege of Beirut and the expulsion of Arafat and the Palestinian terrorists under his command. The IDF fell back to a narrow buffer zone in 1986 and withdrew from Lebanon completely in 2000.

Northern Israel, comprising in addition to the Galilean hill regions areas in the Upper and Central Jordan Valley, in the Jezreel Valley, and in the Acre Plain, increased its population from 53,400 in the 1948 census to 1,111,500 in 2003 (with nearly half Arabs). In Galilee proper (i.e., the natural regions of eastern Upper and Lower Galilee, the Hazor Region, the Nazareth-Tir'an hills, and western Upper and Lower Galilee) the total population was around 400,000.

[Efraim Orni]

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GALILI (Berchenko), ISRAEL (1911–1986), Israeli politician and former *Haganah commander; member of the First and Third to Eighth Knessets. Born in Brailov, in the Ukraine, Galili was brought to Ereẓ Israel by his parents in 1914. He studied printing at an elementary school in Tel Aviv. In 1924 he was among the founders of the No'ar ha-Oved ve-ha-Lomed youth movement, and in 1930 one of the founders of kibbutz Na'an. Galili was active within the Youth Center in the *Histadrut, and in 1927 joined the *Haganah. In 1935 he became a member of its Central Command on behalf of the Histadrut. During World War II Galili played an active role in the preparation for a possible German invasion of Palestine. When the split took place in *Mapai in 1944, after Si'aḥ B broke away, he became one of the leaders of *Aḥdut ha-Avodah-Po'alei Zion. After the war Galili played an active role in the armed underground activities against the British Administration and was placed in charge of the Haganah's purchasing and arming department. On "Black Saturday" on June 29, 1946, he managed to evade arrest by the British. In the years 1946–48 he was chief of the Territorial Staff of the Haganah, in which capacity he participated in the preparation of the Israeli War of Independence. During the war one of his main tasks was arms acquisition. In the Provisional Government formed by Ben-Gurion in 1948 Galili was appointed deputy minister of defense, in which capacity he opposed the breakup of the *Palmaḥ as ordered by Ben-Gurion. In January 1948 Galili supported the union of Aḥdut ha-Avodah with *Mapam and was elected to the First Knesset in 1949 on the Mapam list. He was not elected to the Second Knesset, but in 1954 he supported the split of Aḥdut ha-Avodah-Po'alei Zion from Mapam, against the background of differences of opinion regarding the Soviet Union. He was reelected to the Third Knesset on the Aḥdut ha-Avodah-Po'alei Zion list. In the Third to Fifth Knessets he was a member of the Knesset Foreign Affairs and Defense Committee. In 1965 he supported the establishment of the first Alignment with Mapai, and in 1968 supported the establishment of the *Israel Labor Party. In the years 1966–77 he served in successive governments as minister without portfolio, except for a brief period after the Six-Day War when he served as minister of information. Galili was always a behind-the-scenes figure, acting as adviser to Prime Minister Golda Meir and Yitzhak *Rabin. Several months before the elections to the Eighth Knesset Galili prepared a policy proposal, known as the Galili Document, which outlined the Labor Party's policy in the occupied territories for the next four years. The document was considered relatively hawkish and was opposed by the Labor Party doves. The document advocated that Israel develop the economy, infrastructures, and social services for the Arab population in the West Bank and Gaza Strip, and economic ties between Israel and the territories; hold municipal elections in the territories (this was actually done in 1976); continue the open bridges policy initiated by Moshe *Dayan; enable the employment of Arabs from the territories in Israel while ensuring equal salary and employment conditions for them; build permanent housing for the refugees in the Gaza

Strip; acquire land for Jewish development and settlement in the territories; encourage Jewish settlement activities more or less within the parameters of the Allon Plan; and continue the development of Jewish Jerusalem. Galili was not chosen as a candidate on the Labor list in the elections to the Ninth Knesset, and gradually turned into one of the "party elders" and a mentor to former members of Aḥdut ha-Avodah. He encouraged Yigal *Allon to contend for the Labor Party leadership in 1980, and after Allon's death encouraged Yitzhak Rabin.

[Susan Hattis Rolef (2nd ed.)]

GALINSKI, HEINZ (1912–1992), leader of the Berlin Jewish community after World War II. Born in West Prussian Marienburg, Galinski worked in a textile retail store in Rathenow before he moved to Berlin on the eve of World War II. After being taken for forced labor, he was deported to Auschwitz in February 1943. His father had already been killed in Berlin before the deportation; his mother and his wife were murdered in Auschwitz. Galinski was liberated by British troops in Bergen-Belsen on April 15, 1945.

Galinski was involved in preparing the first restitution laws and in rebuilding the Berlin Jewish community. In 1947, he married again; a daughter was born two years later. In 1949, he was elected president of the Berlin Jewish community, an office he held until his death in 1992. Jewish life in Berlin was clearly shaped by his activities. In contrast to his predecessors and some other German-Jewish politicians, Galinski saw German-Jewish life after the Holocaust not as the closing chapter of a long German-Jewish history but rather as a period for reconstructing the future. During his 43 years in office, the Berlin Jewish community built a new community center (inaugurated in 1959) and an elementary school and opened its doors to Jewish immigrants, mainly from the Soviet Union. In 1971, he signed a treaty with the Berlin city government which defined the position of the Jews.

From 1988 until his death, Galinski served as president of the Zentralrat der Juden in Deutschland, an office he took over from Werner *Nachmann, who had died amidst allegations of fraud and embezzlement. It was Galinski's prime task to clear the name of German Jewry's central institution. Galinski had been Nachmann's political rival for decades. While Nachmann kept up close contacts with conservative politicians and represented a more lenient position toward dealing with the Nazi past, the memory of the Holocaust and the prosecution of Nazi crimes always played a central role in Galinski's activities. Among the many honors he received were an honorary doctorate from Bar-Ilan University (1983) and the title of honorary citizen of Berlin (1987).

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[Michael Brenner (2nd ed.)]

GALIPAPA, ELIJAH MEVORAKH (d. 1740), Turkish rabbi. Galipapa was born in Sofia and went to Jerusalem in 1702. He fled from there after being imprisoned for his inability to pay the heavy taxation imposed on him, and reached Rhodes where, in 1704, he became deputy to the chief rabbi, Elijah ha-Kohen ibn Ardut. Galipapa is the author of *Yedei Eliyahu* (Constantinople, 1728) in two parts: (1) the *takkanot* (ordinances) instituted by the prophets; (2) novellae. Many more of his novellae remain unpublished. His tombstone still stands in Rhodes.

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[Simon Marcus]

GALIPAPA, ḤAYYIM BEN ABRAHAM (1310–1380), Spanish talmudist. Galipapa was born in Monzon, Aragon. He served as rabbi of Huesca and subsequently of Pamplona. The following works by him are known: *Emek Refa'im*, a commentary to the tractate *Semaḥot* which includes a description of the *Black Death and the persecutions of the Jews which came in its train in Catalonia and Provence during the years 1347–50 – extracts from it are given by *Joseph ha-Kohen in his *Emek ha-Bakha* and *Divrei ha-Yamim le-Malkhei Ẓarefat; Iggeret ha-Ge'ullah*, mentioned by Joseph Albo in his *Ikkarim* (4:42); a commentary on the *Seder Avodah* (for the Day of Atonement) of Joseph b. Isaac ibn Avitur, extracts from which are given in the *Koveẓ Ma'asei Yedei Ge'onim Kadmonim* (1856; pt. 2, 120–2). There is also extant a letter by *Isaac b. Sheshet (Resp. Ribash 394) to Galipapa from which the latter's views on *halakhah* can be seen. Galipapa's place in the Spanish Judaism of his time was determined by the great daring he displayed both in thought and in *halakhah*. According to Joseph Albo (loc. cit.), Galipapa maintained that all Isaiah's prophecies of deliverance had reference to the Second Temple and Daniel's vision in chapter 7 to the Hasmoneans. It is evident that in his work Galipapa intended to abolish belief in the coming of the Messiah or at least to deny that there was a basis for such belief in the Bible. Galipapa also showed an exceptional tendency toward leniency in *halakhah*. He maintained that there was no need to conceal permissive laws out of fear that the permission would cause the ignorant to fall into error with regard to things forbidden "for they are all wise and with understanding, knowing the Torah, expert in the minutiae of the precepts, and as full of precepts as is the pomegranate of seeds" (Isaac b. Sheshet, loc. cit.). In opposition to the opinions of all authorities before him he ruled that combing the hair on the Sabbath is not forbidden. To find a basis for this permissiveness Galipapa was compelled arbitrarily to amend the text of the Talmud, thus aggravating still more the opposition to him.

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[Jacob S. Levinger]

GALIPAPA, MAIMON (14th–15th century?), Spanish satirical poet. Galipapa, called "En" (= Don) Maimon Galipapa, was possibly identical with the Galipapa mentioned in a document of 1353 from Valencia. He is the author of *Ma'amarei ha-Rofe'im*, a parody on the *Aphorisms* of Hippocrates, a medical work highly popular in the Middle Ages, and *Neder Almanah*, a satire about a widow who quickly forgets her late husband. Presumably he also wrote the anonymous humorous pamphlet *Midyenei Ishah* ("Contentions of a Wife") which appeared together with *Ma'amarei ha-Rofe'im* in Ferrara in 1551.

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[Jefim (Hayyim) Schirmann]

GALLEGO, JOSEPH SHALOM (d. 1624), Hebrew poet. Originating in Salonika, Gallego was for 14 years *ḥazzan* in Amsterdam. He later migrated to Ereẓ Israel. His "*Imrei No'am*" (Amsterdam, 1628) is a collection of devotional poems for the festivals, fast days, weddings, and circumcisions. The Spanish songs according to whose tune they were to be sung are generally indicated. Some of the poems are by Gallego; other poems of his are included in the collection *Kol Tefillah ve-Kol Zimrah* by David *Franco-Mendes (Ms.). He also translated into Spanish the ethical writings of *Jonah Gerondi (*Sendroe* [Sendero] *de Vidas*, Amsterdam, n.d. and 1640^2).

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[Jefim (Hayyim) Schirmann]

GALLICO (or **Gallichi**), Italian family of French origin. The family first lived in Rome where it was known from the 14th century. In 1323, a "Gallichi" (which may however imply "French") synagogue is mentioned there. Later the Gallico family spread to other Italian towns. MALACHI (Angelo) GALLICO was physician and rabbi in Cori, a village of Rome, in 1565 when the community decided to accept the invitation of Joseph *Nasi and move en masse to Tiberias. SAMUEL GALLICO, rabbi and kabbalist, published a summary of Moses *Cordovero's *Pardes Rimmonim*, under the title of *Asis Rimmonim* (Venice, 1601). In the 16th, 17th, and 18th centuries several other rabbis and scholars belonging to this family are mentioned in Mantua, Modena, and Siena. Another member of the family was the Hebrew scholar and poet Abraham b. Hananiah dei Gallichi *Jagel.

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[Attilio Milano]

GALLICO, ELISHA BEN GABRIEL (c. 1583), talmudic scholar and kabbalist in Safed. Gallico was a pupil of Joseph *Caro and a member of the latter's *bet din*. After the death of Caro, he was a member of Moses *Trani's *bet din*. Gallico was the teacher of Samuel *Uceda. Gallico's signature appears – once together with the other scholars of Safed – on several responsa (in Caro's *Avkat Rokhel*, etc.). After Caro's death, according to his instructions, Gallico banned Azariah dei *Rossi's *Me'or Einayim*. The collection of Gallico's responsa has been lost; however several of them are quoted both in the work *Keneset ha-Gedolah* and in the responsa *Ba'ei Ḥayyei* by Ḥayyim *Benvenisti. Gallico wrote homiletic and kabbalistic commentaries on all the five scrolls. The commentaries on Ecclesiastes (Venice 1578), Esther (Venice 1583), and the Song of Songs (Venice 1587) have been published. Toward the end of his life he headed a yeshivah in Safed.

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[David Tamar]

°GALLING, KURT (1900–1987), German Lutheran biblical scholar. He was professor at Halle from 1928 to 1945, at Mainz from 1946 to 1954, from 1955 at Goettingen, and from 1962 at Tuebingen. A student of Hugo Gressmann, Galling was a versatile and prolific scholar and a pioneer in bringing precision into biblical archaeology, especially through his *Biblisches Reallexikon*. Galling published works and articles on archaeology and biblical history, theology, and exegesis, including *Der Altar in den Kulturen des Alten Orients* (1925), *Die Erwaehlungstraditionen Israels* (1928), *Biblisches Reallexikon* (1937), *Der Prediger Salomo* (1940, 1964^2), *Das Bild vom Menschen in biblischer Sicht* (1947), *Die Buecher der Chronik, Esra, Nehemia* (1954), and *Studien zur Geschichte Israels im persischen Zeitalter* (1964). From 1957 to 1962 Galling edited the third edition of *Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, to which he contributed scores of articles in various fields.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: RGG^3, Registerband (1965), 69–70; *Theologische Literaturzeitung*, 85 (1960), 153–8, incl. extensive bibl. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** T. Thompson, in: DBI, 1:430.

GALLIPOLI, port in European Turkey, on the S. coast of the Gallipoli peninsula. Benjamin of Tudela, the 12th-century traveler, found 200 Jews in Gallipoli; they are also mentioned during the reign of Michael VIII Palaeologus in 1261. In the Byzantine period there were a few cases of conversion in the 13th century. In 1354 Gallipoli came under Ottoman rule. Mehmed the Second transferred, after 1453, many Jews from Gallipoli to Istanbul. They founded a separate congregation, one of the "Sürgün" congregations in Istanbul. But in the 16th century there were only three or four members in this congregation and at the beginning of the 17th century it ceased to exist. Jews are registered in the census of 1488/1489 of Gallipoli. Jews in Gallipoli served as **sarrafs* (bankers), and in the 15th century they paid for the privilege of a license to work as a group in this profession. There were also Jews in Gallipoli who owned real estate. It seems that a group of Romaniots returned to Gallipoli before 1492, but they remained with a status of "Sürgün" and paid their taxes in Istanbul. The number of Jews increased at the end of the 15th century, when the Romaniot Jews were joined by refugees from Spain and Portugal. In the census of the year 1519, 15 Jewish families and two bachelors were registered along with three merchant Jews from Istanbul who were staying in the city. In 1520–35, 23 Jewish families lived in the city, representing 0.3% of the general population. There were 5,001 Muslim and 3,901 Christian inhabitants. Between the years 1547 and 1557 a first firman for the Sephardim and Romaniots was enacted. It exempted the Romaniots from part of the Ottoman taxes and community taxes. The Sephardim were considered wealthy. At the same time new orders were issued which related to the economic rivalry between the Sephardim and Ashkenazim in the community. But in 1577 the Sephardim complained about economic hardship and their inability to pay the Ottoman taxes. New community regulations from the middle of the 16th century tried to prevent the transfer of Jewish real estate to the Gentiles and the entry of Gentiles into the Jewish quarter. In that century Rabbis Judah Ibn Sanghi and Ishai Morenu were active in the community. In 1600–01, 30 Jewish families lived in the city (1.72% of the population), all in the Jewish quarter. Local Jews were the tax farmers in the city during the 17th century, but in 1648 the "emin" of the city threw the Jews out of this position.

The emissaries Rabbi Moses ha-Levi and Joseph ha-Cohen visited the community between 1668 and 1684, and the emissary Ḥayyim Ya'akov visited it in 1670. The traveler Samuel ben David visited in 1641–42 and wrote that there were two synagogues in the city, but it seems that the community was united under the leadership of one rabbi. In 1656 the local Jews ransomed an Ashkenazi woman from Eastern Europe. In 1666 the pseudo-messiah *Shabbetai Ẓevi was confined to the fortress of Abydos (called by the Jews *Migdal Oz*, "Tower of Strength") in the vicinity of Gallipoli; his prison became a center of Shabbateanism. Abraham *Cardozo visited the community in 1682 and was boycotted by the local Jews..

The majority of Jews were peddlers and merchants, but there were also wine manufacturers who sent their products to Istanbul. Jews from Gallipoli traveled for their businesses especially to Egypt, Istanbul, Bursa, Edirne, Salonica, and Rhodes. Jews from Gallipoli founded the community of Çanakkale. The famous rabbi of the community was Meir di *Boton (born in Salonica, 1575), who wrote a book of responsa. He served the community many years and died in Gallipoli in 1649. The rabbis of the city during the 17th century were Simeon Ibn Haviv (died 1712), Ishai Almoli (served as the community rabbi c. 1665–90), and Raphael Ibn Haviv. Other rabbis and scholars in the 17th century were Eliezer ha-Cohen, Joseph Sasson (b. 1570), and Nathan Gota. The *av bet din* of the community in the middle of the 19th century before his departure to Istanbul was Raphael Jacob ha-Levi.

During the 19th century the Jewish community prospered. Among the Jews were merchants, artisans, and civil servants. The rabbi of the city was Raphael Ḥayyim Binyamin Peretz, who was earlier a *dayyan* in Istanbul and came to Gallipoli after 1878. He wrote that the community of Gallipoli was small and had to adopt the religious regulations of the Istanbul community in those special cases in which the wealthy leaders of Gallipoli did not know how to decide. Peretz wrote the well-known halakhic work *Zokhreno le-Ḥayyim* (3 vols, Salonica, 1867–72). Another rabbi of the community was Jacob Ibn Haviv (d. 1863). At the end of the 19th century Rabbi David Pardo (b. Istanbul, 1838) served there for seven years. The Jews of Gallipoli had many commercial and economic connections with the Gentiles. The majority spoke and wrote Ladino.

In 1912 there were 2,500 Jews in Gallipoli. The earthquake in the same year destroyed the Jewish quarter with the two synagogues which had been active from the 19th century onwards, but no Jews were killed. During the Balkan Wars (1912–13) refugees, including Jews, streamed into Gallipoli. The Va'ad ha-Haẓẓalah ("Rescue Committee"), founded then, aided the refugees, as well as Jewish soldiers from Syria and Iraq. In 1915 the Zion Mule Corps, as part of the British Army, fought the Turks on the Gallipoli peninsula (see *Jewish Legion). Until c. 1920 there lived in the city 600 Jewish families with three synagogues. From 1933 all religious and administrative affairs of the Gallipoli community were subordinated to the district rabbinate of *Çanakkale. As a result of emigration to Istanbul and the United States between the two world wars and subsequently to Israel, the number of Jews in Gallipoli decreased. Two of the three synagogues of the community were burned during World War II. In 1948 there were about 400 Jews in Gallipoli, and in 1951 about 200. By 1970 the few remaining families in Gallipoli were mainly engaged in commerce. In 1977 the Jews of the city numbered only 22 persons, of whom four were youngsters. Of the breadwinners six were merchants. In August 1977 no Jew remained in the city after the immigration of local Jews to Istanbul and Israel. The Jewish cemetery contains 835 tombstones, of which the oldest is from 1628 and the latest is from 1986.

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[Leah Bornstein-Makovetsky (2nd ed.)]

GALON (Heb. גַּלְאוֹן), kibbutz in southern Israel, northeast of *Kiryat Gat, affiliated with Kibbutz Arẓi ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir. It was founded on the night of Oct. 6, 1946, as one of 11 settlements established simultaneously in the Negev. The founding members hailed from Poland, where a number of them lived in ghettos or were partisans fighting the Nazis. In the *War of Independence (1948), Galon served as a vantage point for Israeli columns in dislodging Arab forces from the Bet Guvrin and southern foothills area. In 1968 it had a population of 350 inhabitants, rising slightly to 385 in the mid-1990s and dropping to 287 in 2002. Its farming was based on field crops, flowers, avocado plantations, citrus groves, dairy cattle, poultry, and ostriches. The kibbutz owned a factory producing fans for industry and agriculture and motors for air-conditioners and ran a guesthouse and facilities for hosting seminars. Its name, meaning "Monument to Strength," commemorates fallen ghetto fighters.

WEBSITE: www.galon.org.il.

[Efraim Orni / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

GALSKÝ, DESIDER (1921–1990), Slovak publicist and journalist, born in Michalovce, Slovakia, lived in Prague. Galský took part in the Slovak National Uprising against the Nazis and was imprisoned. After the war, he worked for two decades as an editor in publishing houses. He served as chairman of the Council of Jewish Religious Communities in Czechoslovakia (1981–86) and was dismissed by the Communist regime. He assumed the position again after the Velvet Revolution in 1989. He was killed in a car accident in 1990. A master of non-fiction, Galský wrote dozens of books on such topics as M. Bormann, F. Lesseps, and world discoveries, but not any Jewish-related subjects.

[Milos Pojar (2nd ed.)]

GALUT (**Golah**) (Heb. גָּלוּת, גּוֹלָה), exile.

The Concept

The Hebrew term *galut* expresses the Jewish conception of the condition and feelings of a nation uprooted from its homeland and subject to alien rule. The term is essentially applied to the history and the historical consciousness of the Jewish people from the destruction of the Second Temple to the creation of the State of Israel. The residence of a great number of members of a nation, even the majority, outside their homeland is not definable as *galut* so long as the homeland remains in that nation's possession.

Only the loss of a political-ethnic center and the feeling of uprootedness turns Diaspora (Dispersion) into *galut* (Exile). The feeling of exile does not always necessarily accompany the condition of exile. It is unique to the history of the Jewish people that this feeling has powerfully colored the emotions of the individual as well as the national consciousness. The sense of exile was expressed by the feeling of alienation in the countries of Diaspora, the yearning for the national and political past, and persistent questioning of the causes, meaning, and purpose of the exile. Jewish mystics perceived a defect in the Divine Order which they connected with alienation in this world – "the exile of the Divine Presence."

The Diaspora Pattern

The process of Jewish dispersion in various countries during different periods was due to the combination of national catastrophes, military defeats, destructions, persecutions, and expulsions, as well as to normal social and economic processes – migration to new places of settlement and transition to new means of livelihood. The expression "Egyptian Exile" for the period before the Exodus is merely a homiletic conception of later date; but there is no doubt that Jewish dispersion had already begun in a normal way a long time before the concept of exile developed. The conquests of the Arabs between 632 and 719 changed the pattern of the Diaspora by uniting large parts of the Jewry of the Roman Empire with that of the Persian Kingdom. The Muslim armies extirpated the Jews from the Arabian peninsula, with the exception of those in Yemen and Wadi al-Qara, but created favorable conditions of development for the exiles in the remainder of the lands of Islam. In the Christian world, this period is marked by the progress of the Jewish dispersion in Gaul and later in Germany and Britain. From the 11th century, the Jewry of the West (see *Germany) managed to maintain itself under increasingly difficult conditions and even spread to central Germany. The changes in the territorial supremacies of Christianity and Islam as a result of the Crusades and the Reconquest in Spain, as well as the *expulsions in the Christian countries, brought changes in the configuration of the Jewish Diaspora from one period to another.

By processes of both expulsion and attraction, the Jews penetrated the expanses of Poland-Lithuania during the 15th century. The migration eastward was halted by the total prohibition imposed on the admission of Jews by the grand duchy of Moscow (see *Russia). After 1497 there were no professing Jews (except for the underground of forced converts – **anusim*) left in all of the lands bordering the Atlantic, including England. During the 17th century, however, the Jews returned and penetrated to the Netherlands and England. The Jewish population in the Ottoman Empire had increased in numbers after the Spanish Expulsion. The largest Jewish concentrations during the 16th to 18th centuries were to be found in the Ottoman Empire and the kingdom of Poland-Lithuania. The persecutions of 1648–49 (see Bogdan *Chmielnicki) started off the migration of Jews in Eastern Europe toward the West, a process which continued and intensified throughout the modern era.

At the close of the 18th century, the partitions of Poland as well as the French Revolution led to a Jewish expansion toward the western provinces of Russia, the northeastern provinces of Austria, the Kingdom of Prussia, and the French territories. Economic, social, cultural, and political developments made Ashkenazi European Jewry the most important in the Diaspora, both numerically and in dynamism, throughout the 19th century and the first 30 years of the 20th. As formerly, liberalist or restrictive trends in this period also determined the pattern of Jewish dispersion in the world. It was only in 1917 that the revolution in Russia abolished the *Pale of Settlement and removed the last barriers to the settlement of Jews throughout the territory of the great Eurasian power.

In America individual Sephardi Jews had already begun to arrive during the 16th century. However, the emigration of considerable groups of Jews there was only to begin during the mid-19th century when many left Germany; the transfer of masses of Jews from Eastern Europe to the new world, especially the United States, only began during the last quarter of the 19th century. The flow of mass imigration to the United States and later also to Canada and the South American countries, coupled with the impetus of Zionism and trends of modern nationalism, have contributed to the shift to new centers of gravity. The catastrophe of the persecutions in Germany from 1933, the conquests of the Nazis until 1939, and the decimation of European Jewry in the Holocaust from 1939 until 1945, created a situation in the 1970s such that the numerical majority in the Jewish Diaspora was to be found on the American continent, while Ereẓ Israel had the third largest Jewish concentration in the world (Soviet Russia was the second). In the early 21st century, after the collapse of the Soviet Union and the exodus of over one million Jews, the largest Diaspora communities were the United States and France. In Ereẓ Israel, the independent Jewish politico-national center has been revived. As in the Second Temple era, through the State of Israel, the Jewish nation has regained the basic pattern of a Diaspora with a state as its center (see *Diaspora).

Second Temple and Mishnah Period

It can be assumed that the severe persecutions in the days of Antiochus Epiphanes and the success of the ensuing rebellion contributed to the Jews' feeling of being out of place in the Diaspora and their yearning for Judea. Despite this, the growth of the Diaspora was more pronounced in the hellenistic kingdoms and in the Roman Empire. Prophecies and poems of pietists gave expression to the tragedy of the *galut* combined with the feeling of the inevitability and continuity of the Diaspora. In the second half of the second century B.C.E. the sibyls explain to their nation, "it is thy fate to leave thine holy soil" (Or. Sibyll. 3:267), a fate described as encompassing the whole world and causing hatred toward those who are dispersed because of their way of life (*ibid.* 3:271–2). In the second half of the first century it was stated that, "among every nation are the dispersed of Israel according to the word of God" (Ps. of Sol. 9:2); the conquests of Pompey were also seen as a cause of the *galut* (*ibid.* 17:13–14, 18). Even prior to the destruction of the Temple were sensed the dangers which stemmed from the general dispersion, as foretold in the biblical warnings (Test. Patr., Ash. 7:2–7). On the other hand there were groups who expressed the feelings of the people in their own cultural terms and wrote favorably of the Diaspora and their neighbors, tending to regard the dispersion as a normal and even desirable situation (Philo, *De Legatione ad Gaium*, 281; Jos., Ant., 4:115–6).

After the destruction of the Temple the question of the *galut* as existence under foreign rule without a Temple and without a spiritual center was discussed. In the spirit and the style of the Bible, it was said that "behold we are yet this day in captivity, where Thou hast scattered us, for a reproach and a curse and a punishment" (I Bar. 3:8); but thought was directed mainly to the possibility of existing in a land of gentiles and under their rule (*ibid.* 1:12, 4:6). The question of the meaning and the justification of the exile begins to be asked in all earnestness: the evil nations dwell in prosperity and the chosen people suffer; the author of IV Ezra (3:32–34; 6:59) argues with his Creator, asking: "Have the deeds of Babylon been better than those of Zion? Has any other nation known Thee besides Zion?… If the world has indeed been created for our sakes, why do we not enter into possession of our world? – How long shall this endure?" He is bitter about the fact of "the reproach of the nations" and the profaning of God's name which occurs in the *galut* (*ibid.* 4:23–25), but he lays no stress on the physical suffering entailed. Accepting neither the cosmic explanation of the exile, nor the mysteriousness of the ways of the Lord, nor the world to come, which nullify the valuation of the events in this world (*ibid.* 4:9–10), he seeks to explain the exile as a road of suffering which must be traveled in order to reach the good (*ibid.* 7:3–16). He is comforted in the exile by the vision of the lion – the Messiah – who will destroy the eagle – Rome (*ibid.* ch. 12).

The author of II Baruch (10:9–16) almost despairs of all life, from the survival of the people to cultivating the land, a mood which is also found in the "ascetics who multiplied" (BB 60b) after the destruction of the Temple. The essence of the tragedy of the exile seems to him, too, to be a diminution of the honor of God in the eyes of the gentiles and the degradation of the Jewish people (II Bar. 67:2–8). The deep spiritual shock which followed in the wake of the dispersion is expressed in this book: there were Jews who despaired of the possibility of spiritual leadership of the people after the destruction of the Temple and the cessation of the sacrifices and the priesthood (*ibid.* 77:13–14). In the spirit of Jabneh and from the power of the Torah, which exists even in the *galut*, the author answers their despondency: "Shepherds and lamps and fountains come from the law…if therefore ye have respect to ponder on the law and are intent upon wisdom the spiritual leadership will not be lacking" (*ibid.* 77:15–16).

Thus the problems of the *galut*, its meaning, and its essence were considered in great depth and with considerable apprehension during the first two generations after the destruction of the Temple. It is true that the ideas voiced in the Apocrypha were not heard by the people in general and their influence was not noticeable, but they reflect a feeling and emotional state which are similar to those expressed in the Mishnah, the Talmud, and the Midrashim.

The thinking of the *tannaim* and *amoraim* on the *galut* and its meaning is extensive and varied, developing in the light of the changes which took place from the days of the Second Temple until about the fifth century C.E. In general the patterns of thought and the imagery of the Bible prevail, together with those of many apocryphal works. However, they express their feelings with greater and more penetrating detail, arising from the depths of their degradation and the suffering occasioned by the rise of Christianity, when they passed from subjugation to alien pagans to subjugation to the rule of a Jewish heresy.

Apprehension of the pain of the destruction was so severe that "the ascetics in Israel who refused to eat meat and to drink wine increased"; this recourse to complete abstinence, whose intention was self-annihilation of the nation ("it is fitting that we should decree upon ourselves not to marry nor beget children") was not accepted, and the moderate path of limited mourning and remembering the destruction of the Temple was followed instead (BB 60b). Yet from the beginning the *galut* was a phenomenon which demanded an explanation: even the gentiles asked: "And His people, what did they do to Him that He exiled them from their land?" (ARN^2 1, 4). The sages could not be satisfied with a general answer about the sins of the people, and they gave their opinion about the specific causes of the destruction of the Second Temple. Unlike the first exile, which resulted from idol worship, incest, and the shedding of innocent blood, the second destruction was caused by baseless hatred and the love of money (Yoma 9b). Alongside these realistic types of explanation, there is a widespread tendency to connect the *galut* with the past and to find in it links for the future. Abraham had to decide whether to choose for his children either "Gehinnom or foreign kings," and some say that Abraham chose Gehinnom for himself and God chose the foreign kings for him (Gen. R. 44:21). Even the ram struggling among the thorns was a symbol for Abraham that "thy children will be trapped by iniquities and be entangled by troubles … and by foreign kings" (TJ, Ta'an. 2:4, 65d; Gen. R. 56:9; Mid. Ḥag. to Gen. 22:13). When the tribes in the desert "wept without cause," "from that hour it was determined that the Temple would be destroyed in order that Israel would be exiled among the nations" and there would then be a reason for their weeping (Num. R. 16:20; Ta'an. 29a). R. Abbahu, at the end of the third century, compares the expulsions of the people and their banishment as punishment for violating the covenant with the expulsion and banishment of Adam from the Garden of Eden after he had transgressed the commandment of the Lord (PdRK 119b). The exile from "country to country" was considered one of the ten decrees proclaimed against Adam (ARN^2 42, 116). The sages give varied interpretations to the dispersion and its temporary nature, regarding as a specially severe decree the fact that the Jews were not concentrated in one place, but scattered among the nations "as a man scatters grain with a winnowing shovel and not one grain sticks to another" (Sifra 6:6). Everywhere the Jews are only "temporary" (i.e., wanderers) and the "dwellers" (the permanent population) are the children of Esau (Deut. R. 1, 22). The suffering of the exile is equal to all other suffering combined (Sif. Deut. 43); it is "like death and the abyss" (Mid. Ps. to 71:4). In the *galut* Israel is a mendicant (*ibid.* to 9:15), deprived of its pride, which has been given to the gentiles (Ḥag. 5b). There is no way for the exiled nation to defend itself since "Israel is among the 70 mighty nations; what can [Israel] do?" (PR 9:32a).

The very soul of the Jew is affected in the *galut*, which renders him "unclean with iniquities" (Song R. 8:14). Nor is the individual soul alone affected: the *galut* detracts from the completeness of the Kingdom of Heaven (Mid. Ps. to 97:1). The *Shekhinah* "moans like a dove" and the "Holy One blessed be He roars like a lion" over the destruction of the Temple and over the children of Israel … "Whom I have exiled among the nations" (Ber. 3a; cf. Ḥag. 5b). From the time of R. Akiva it became accepted belief that "in every place where Israel was exiled the *Shekhinah* was exiled with them" (Mekh., Pisḥa 14; Meg. 29a; TJ, Ta'an. 1:1, 64a; etc.). This idea connected the exile of Israel with the fate of the world as a whole and became a source of encouragement and faith.

Despite the feeling of suffering and the oppression of the exile, the rabbis at all times firmly believed that the *galut* would not mean total destruction. God had made the nations of the world swear that "they would not subjugate Israel overmuch"; the great sufferings in the *galut* constituted a violation of this oath, and this would hasten the advent of the Messiah (Ket. 111a; Song R. 2:7).

The rabbis saw a cause for satisfaction even in the negative aspects of the *galut*. The suffering emphasizes the faithfulness of Israel and gives it an opportunity to say to God "How many religious persecutions and harsh edicts have they decreed against us in order to nullify Thy sovereignty over us, but we have not done so" (Mid. Ps. to 5:6). The sages saw the dispersion as a prerequisite for the redemption: in the settlement of Jews throughout the whole Roman Empire ("if one of you is exiled to Barbary and another to Sarmatia") they saw (in the second half of the second century) a fulfillment of this condition (Song R. 2:8; PdRK 47a–48a; PR 15:71b). Nevertheless, according to the opinion of Rav: "When Israel merits it, the majority of them will be in the land of Israel and a minority in Babylonia, but when they are unworthy of it, the majority will be in Babylonia and the minority in Ereẓ Israel" (Gen. R. 98:9).

The increase in the number of converts in the Roman Empire gave added meaning to the dispersion. At the beginning of the third century the *amoraim* R. Johanan and R. Eleazar gave the interpretation that "the Lord did not exile Israel among the nations except in order that there should be added to them converts" (Pes. 87b). In the eyes of the homilists who expressed similar sentiments, the people of Israel was like a "flask of perfume," which emits its scent only when it is shaken, and to Abraham, who made converts, it was said, as a sign for his descendants, "Wander about in the world, and your name will become great in my world" (Song R. 1:4). This evaluation of the Diaspora is similar to that of Philo and Josephus, and it is possible that the *amoraim* are only repeating views which were widespread for a long time before them, when the conversion movement was at its height. With the adoption of Christianity by the Roman Empire and with the decrease in conversion, the dispersion took on an additional aspect of national security. When a Christian sectarian boasted, "We are better than you," for "when you were given permission to destroy Rome, you left none in it except a pregnant woman" and "you have been with us many years and we do not do anything to you," R. Oshaiah answered that it is not the mercy of the rulers which assured survival in exile, but the political situation. Their wide dispersion saves the Jewish people from total destruction and thus "the Lord did a righteous thing to Israel in scattering them among the nations" (Pes. 87b; cf. SER 11:54). As a favor to His exiled people the Lord sees to it that no one kingdom dominates the world: "He divided His world into two nations, into two kingdoms … in order to preserve Israel" (*ibid.* 20:11, 4). In the ancient promise to the patriarchs that their children would be "as the dust of the earth," the rabbis found a symbol of the *galut*; "As the dust of the earth is scattered from one end of the world to the other, thus your children will be scattered from one end of the world to the other, as the dust of the earth causes even metal vessels to wear out but exists forever, so Israel is eternal but the nations of the world will become nought … as the dust of the earth is threshed, so thy children will be threshed by the nations …" (Gen. R. 41:9).

Like Ezekiel, and in the same language and spirit, the sages deal with the problem of religious observance in the Diaspora. The absence of sacrifices and of the Temple was liable to undermine the foundations of the religion. Some maintained that from a religious point of view the Jewish people in exile could be compared to a slave who had been sold and the laws obtaining in his former master's house did not apply to him: "When we were in His city and in His house and in His Temple we served him; now that we have been exiled among the nations – let us act as they do" (SER 29:159; Sifra, Be-Ḥukkotai 8:4). An echo of the fear expressed by the author of I Baruch is heard in the saying of the sages that in the exile "knowledge has been taken from them … they will be lacking in the study of the Torah" (Mekh., Ba-Ḥodesh, 1). These were, however, the effects of the first shock. The people overcame them, finding solace in the teaching of the sages. The commandments assumed new value in the *galut* and the Torah was studied. When the national organism sought means of defense and survival for its separate life as a community in an alien environment, it was realized that in exile the nation had lost all signs of social-national unity; "for what has remained to them … all the boons which had been given to them have been taken from them; and were it not for the Torah which remained to them, they would be no different from the nations of the world" (Sifra, Be-Ḥukkotai 8:10). In the *galut* the Torah was both the anchor and the protective wall for survival, preserving unity; this had already been symbolized in the promise of the "dust of the earth": "As the dust of the earth is not blessed except with water, so Thy children are not blessed except by the virtue of the Torah" (Gen. R. 41:9). Even God wondered at the way they maintained their religious-national status in the long exile: "My child I am full of wonder, how did you wait for Me all these years? – and Israel answered … were it not for the *Sefer Torah* which Thou hast written for us the nations of the world would already have made us lost to Thee" (PdRK). The Torah is the marriage contract which was given to the faithful wife.

To the sages, the social and psychological battle of the people as a whole and of each individual to resist the blandishments of *assimilation in the exile gave meaning to the trouble and sufferings which resulted from it. From their knowledge of the conditions of life in the exile they understood that "had they found a refuge, they would not have returned" (Gen. R. 33:6). In interpreting the ideas expressed by Ezekiel, they saw the social disabilities and the physical suffering of the exile as a means of annulling the desire to abandon the Torah: "Without your consent, against your will, I imposed My sovereignty upon you … for they immediately humble their heart in repentance" (Sifra, Be-Ḥukkotai 8:4–5). It is stated even more emphatically, perhaps as a result of the increase in their troubles and persecutions: "When your bones are crushed and your eyes are put out and the blood of your mouths spill to the ground, you cause His kingdom to reign over you" (SER 29:159). The sufferings on their part add a special reward and meaning to the observance of the Torah and its study: "The later generations are better than the former; although there is subjugation to foreign kings, there is study of Torah" (Yoma 9b).

The spiritual struggle to explain and justify the exile became intensified from the time that Judaism was obliged, from the fourth century onward, to contend with Christianity, which saw in the exile of Israel a witness and a sign that the divine favor had been taken from Israel and given to the church and its adherents. This polemic tone is particularly noticeable in the words of the *paytanim* and in late Midrashim (see *Apologetics).

As the duration of the exile extended, fears grew: when they saw that oppression increased "with taxes… and with poll taxes … Jacob became afraid … would it last forever?" The people found their consolation in Messianic promises which were bound up with the liquidation of the *galut* and the ingathering of the exiles – "from Babylonia … from Gaul and from Spain" (PdRK 151a–b). When despair grew until they even went as far as to complain, "Is there any remedy for a servant whose master creates evils and troubles for him?" – the remedy for this weakness of spirit was found in the doctrine that the troubles themselves were a sign of the true election of Israel (Ḥag. 5a).

The concept of exile and the description of the feelings it inspired which occur in the Mishnah, Talmud, and Midrashim reveal a community battling against adverse conditions and finding a rationale for accepting its sufferings and looking forward to the end of the *galut*. Through this concept the essence of the phenomenon, the reason for the dispersion among the nations, the religious, social, and national qualities of the nation for whom there remained only the Torah were considered; and in it expression was also given to the struggle against the religion which sought to find in the condition of the exile itself support for its claim that Judaism had come to an end, and that it could claim to be its heir.

Ideology in the Medieval World

During the Middle Ages both the reality of *galut* and its image acquired new intensity. Changes were wrought by the power and violence of events, the strength and fervor of continuous religious *disputations with the surrounding nations, and the soul searchings among Jews on the implications of *galut*, which appeared as a central element of both faith and world destiny. Every change in the fate of the exiles of "Edom" (as Christendom was termed) or "Ishmael" (Islam), in their legal position, and in their spiritual confrontation with Christianity and Islam, required fresh adaptation of the concept of *galut* to the new challenges.

In fact the position of the Jews and their status differed with time, place, and the attitude adopted in principle and practice toward them by Christian and Muslim rulers and peoples (see *History; *Blood Libel; Jewish *Badge; Covenant of *Omar; *Dhimmi).

Despite these distinctions, however, a fundamental conception of *galut* remained. Basically, throughout the Middle Ages exile was for the Jews everywhere a political and social condition characterized by alienation, humiliation, and servitude, and regarded as such by both non-Jews and Jews. Danger to life and limb and the actuality of expulsion were its permanent accompaniments. It was this situation which gave rise to ideas and imagery concerning the exile and its meaning in the minds of the dispersed and downtrodden nation.

The challenge of exile induced in response a system of thought which viewed *galut* as a course of suffering which uplifted the spirit, a penance for sins in this world, and a preparation for redemption. As an outcome both of medieval thinking in general and of the Jewish spiritual legacy in particular, Jewish thinkers emerged who, while they viewed exile against all its horrors, showed the majesty of God's purpose, and the greatness of the Jewish heritage, and who reinforced the faith of fellow Jews and countered the arguments of gentiles. The attitude of the Jews to exile during the Middle Ages can be measured by the extent of the response made by different generations to the appearance of pseudo-messiahs and *messianic movements, which were a direct and spontaneous expression of the desire to abolish the exile. The condition of alienation in the Diaspora also found perpetual expression in tradition, customs of mourning for Jerusalem, and the symbols perpetuating the memory of the destruction of the Temple. The immediate preparedness of individuals or groups of Jews to return and settle in Ereẓ Israel, the support given by the Diaspora for the immigrants, and the calls for aid and immigration from those in the Holy Land and their emissaries continued in all periods. The stories current in Jewish tradition concerning the *Ten Lost Tribes criticize under the veil of utopian legend Israel's lack of kingship and sovereignty and express the desire for their restoration. In conjunction with these popular expressions of the condition of *galut*, in which ideas concerning the exile and redemption are interwoven, Jewish thinkers advanced their views on the meaning of the sufferings and purpose of *galut*, and developed the ideology a stage further.

During the seventh century, with the rise of Islam and its victories over Christianity, it appeared to the Jews that contemporary events constituted a retribution on Israel's enemies and that it was the intent of Providence to ease the yoke of the exile (see **Nistarot de-Rabbi Shimon bar Yoḥai*). During the eighth century, *Anan b. David confirmed the custom of preserving strict mourning for Zion, and prohibited the eating of meat and drinking of wine. During the tenth century, after a number of messianic movements had failed, rationalist and skeptical outlooks increased within the community and a kind of Judaism that did not anticipate redemption was conceived (Saadiah Gaon, *Beliefs and Opinions*, treatise 8). The ideas of the Karaite *Al-Kirkisānī testify that a similar attitude was emerging among certain Karaites (L. Nemoy, in HUCA, 7 (1930), 395; J. Mann, in JQR, 12 (1921/22), 283). However, the majority of the people did not agree with such extremes.

With time, the constant humiliation to which Jews in the Islamic Empire were subjected was felt more intensely, and in the period of unrest, when the Abbasid caliphate was in process of disintegration, the misfortunes of exile multiplied. Exile under Islam appeared a terrible fate to those living in it. Saadiah Gaon expressed the sentiments of those who remained among the faithful despite all adversities: "the servitude has been drawn out and the yoke of the [alien] kingdoms has been prolonged, behold every day we are increasingly impoverished and our numbers are reduced as time advances" (prayer for period of misfortune, to be found in *Siddur Rav Sa'adyah Ga'on* (1963), 77–78, see also 350–1).

Out of this conception of the harshness of the exile, systematic arguments were advanced to prove that the *galut* was only temporary, and explanations were given on the meaning of the sufferings it entailed and the methods to be followed to bring about its termination. The Karaite "Mourners of Zion" (*Avelei Zion) gathered in Jerusalem, where they mortified themselves and prayed for the end of the exile, proclaiming their emotions in words saturated with the feeling of the misery of exile and expressing in their poetry the pain for the condition "of our poor mother," "whom we lifted up our eyes to see and could not recognize as a result of her ill appearance" (*Koveẓ le-Divrei Sifrut*… (1941), 141–2). They considered that "Karaism is the path toward redemption, while the Rabbanite prolongs the exile" (J. Mann, in JQR, 12 (1921/22), 283).

Saadiah Gaon developed a theory of his own to explain the meaning of the exile: he considered that its imposition as a temporary punishment had substantial internal sense. Exile had befallen the nation "partly as punishment and partly as a test" (*Beliefs and Opinions*, treatise 8, 291), while this trial also had a purifying value: "to refine our dross … and to terminate our impurities … He has exiled us and scattered us among the nations, so that we have swum in the roaring waves of the kingdoms, and, as the smelting of silver in the furnace, in their fires … we have been purified (*Siddur Rav Sa'adyah Ga'on* (1963), 78). Because of these principles "we patiently await" (*Beliefs and Opinions*, treatise 8, 292).

According to this conception, the endurance of the nation is a result of its historical experience and religious faith, and cannot be conceived by one "who has not experienced what we have experienced nor believed as we have believed" (*ibid.,* 293). Saadiah Gaon points to the certainty of the justice of God as perceived by the believer, and the strength which he has revealed in his struggle against the severity of the exile as manifested in the present time, to prove that there must be meaning and end to *galut*: it is inconceivable "that He is not aware of our situation or that He does not deal fairly with us or that He is not compassionate … nor … that he has forsaken us and cast us off" (*ibid.,* 294). In the exile "some of us are being subject to punishment and others to trials." This is the correct religious manner of explaining "every universal catastrophe … such as famine, war, and pestilence" (*ibid.,* 295). In this respect, *galut* is not to be distinguished from other natural and historical calamities which do not differentiate between the righteous and the wicked.

An explanation advanced by an anonymous profound thinker in some fragments extant from the tenth century gives the meaning of the exile as a mark of Israel's election, as a divine gift and the "blessing of Abraham" (HUCA, 12–13 (1937–38), 435ff). In his opinion, as far as can be discerned from the fragments, the purpose of the dispersion among the nations is that Israel should assume the function of the priest of the world, who atones for the sins of the nations and guides them by means of the yoke of the sufferings which he bears on his back and by the arguments which he constantly voices in their ears. The anonymous author is firmly convinced that "just as the dispersion has come about and materialized, so will the ingathering come about and be realized without delay" (*ibid.*).

From the beginning of the 11th century the academies of Babylonia were in a state of continuous decline, while Islam not only failed to disintegrate but also received additional strength by the accession of the Turks. The political situation with which Jews were faced was that of a hostile Islamic and Christian world composed of fragmented states. This situation called forth *Hai b. Sherira Gaon's description of the nation as "a threshold over which every passerby tramples" (Ḥ. Brody, *Mivḥar ha-Shirah ha-Ivrit*, ed. by A.M. Habermann (1946), 59). Protests emerged against God that the nation is "like Job … forgotten … in judgment and not remembered in mercy … the King has rejected me … He has seen me slaughtered and devoured and has not rebuked those who consumed me" (*ibid.* 59–60).

From the beginning of the tenth century, plentiful evidence is available concerning the feelings of exile among the Jews of Christian Europe. In Germany, Simeon b. Isaac (Simeon the Great) described the state and feeling of exile during the period. Next to the fact of material suffering, he places especial stress on the spiritual danger which faced Jews in the Christian arguments that the exile is a proof of the Jews' responsibility for the sin of the crucifixion and their punishment for it, so that the exile can only be ended by their conversion to Christianity (*Piyyutei R. Shimon ha-Gadol*, ed. by A.M. Habermann (1938), 40–41). *Gershom b. Judah also felt the pressure of missionary arguments based on *galut* during the 10th to 11th centuries: "the enemy urges … your yoke to remove … to accept a despised idol as a god" (Ḥ. Brody, op. cit., 69–71).

Conditions deteriorated after the massacres of the First Crusade (1096) and the numerous cases of martyrdom (see **Kiddush ha-Shem*) that accompanied it (see *Crusades). A thousand years had elapsed since the destruction of the Temple and the beginning of the exile, and pertinence was thus added to the claim of the Christians that an exile of over one thousand years was a proof that God had abandoned the nation. The Reconquest in Spain transferred many Jews under Islamic rule to Christian dominance. Rashi was a witness of this change for the worse. He explains the hatred of the Christians for Jews because Israel does not "pursue after their lie in order to accept their erroneous belief" (on Ps. 69:5). He felt strongly the degradation of Israel and the mocking that their mourning evoked (on Isa. 52:14; Ps. 69:11; 88:9). The root of the evil was that the nation "is exiled … from Ereẓ Israel" (on Isa. 53:8). With a vivid plasticity of expression his commentaries (particularly to Isa. 53) convey the feeling of calamity experienced by the generation which underwent the persecutions of 1096. The sufferings related of the "servant of God" by the prophet are understood by Rashi in terms of the tragedy which befell his nation in Germany. There is a special religious justification for the acceptance of these sufferings in the concept of sanctification of the Holy Name: "His soul [of the martyr] is given over and sacrificed for My holiness, to return it to me as a trespass offering for all that he has transgressed … this is an indemnity [Old French: *amende*] which a man gives to the one whom he has sinned against." Even so, Rashi is unable to reconcile himself to the flourishing state of the cruel nations, which weakens the hands of the God-fearing from His service as well as undermining their trust in Him (on Ps. 69:7; 88:11). On the subject of the sufferings of the righteous in the exile, Rashi follows the doctrine of Saadiah Gaon. In the climate of perpetual controversy with Christianity, Rashi conceives that the cause for the cruel persecution of the Jews originates in the jealousy of the nations of the Divine election of Israel, a fact which – despite everything – still applies (e.g., on Ps. 102:11). This explanation came to be generally accepted by Jews.

During the 12th century, *Eliezer of Beaugency, in France, advanced in his commentaries the idea that the perseverance of Jews in their faith in the Christian environment is the outcome of divine decree: "I will not put it in your heart to worship wood and stone, so that you become one nation with them and they do you no further evil; but I will harden your hearts against their faith … and they will hate you so that among them you will fall by the sword, by fire, by captivity, and by plunder" (on Ezek. 20:32–33). Jews long to die "in battle," but their endurance of the life of exile is also an exposure to mortal danger. Ezekiel's vision of the "valley of the dry bones" is interpreted by Eliezer as referring to the House of Israel which had died in exile, to be "a great comfort to all those who have died for the unity of His Name, and even if they have not been done to death, since all their lives they have endured disgrace and shame and have been smitten and struck because they do not believe in their idol – and with this they have also died" (on Ezek. 37:9–15; cf. *Sefer Ḥasidim*, no. 263).

Of the tosafists (see **Tosafot*) *Eliezer b. Samuel of Metz, the disciple of Jacob b. Meir *Tam, emphasizes the bane of the exile from its spiritual aspect and attributes it to lack of political independence: "… our intelligence is confused, because we are in captivity without a king or country, and people who are not settled have neither heart nor knowledge" (*Sefer Yere'im ha-Shalem*, ed. by A.A. Schiff (1892), 72, nos. 31–32). *Moses b. Jacob of Coucy ascribes to the exile an ecumenical significance and purpose for drawing proselytes by serving as an example of moral conduct: "now that the exile has been prolonged more than necessary, Israel must abstain from the vanities of the world and take up the seal of God, which is truth, so as not to lie either to Israel or to the nations and not to lead them into error in any matter, and [Israel] must sanctify themselves even in that which is permitted … and when God shall come to deliver them, the nations will say: He has done justly, because they are honest men and their Law is sincerely observed by them. But if they behave toward the Gentiles with deceit, they will say: see what the Lord has done, that He has chosen as His portion thieves and swindlers … God sows Israel in the lands so that proselytes may be added to them, and so long as they deal deceitfully, who will join them?…" (*Semag*, Assayin 74).

The conception of exile of the *Ḥasidei Ashkenaz is dominated by the phenomenon of *Kiddush ha-Shem*, which permeates all their thoughts on life. A description of the rigor of exile in 12th-century France was put into the mouth of the Jew in the disputation composed by Peter *Abelard (cf. Baer, in *Zion*, 6 (1934), 152–3). Spanish Jewry from the 11th century envisioned exile as an element in specific ideological-mystical configurations. In his *Megillat ha-Megalleh*, *Abraham b. Ḥiyya ha-Nasi considers that history was immanent in the Creation; thus even "this harsh exile in which we find ourselves today was decreed by the King in the six days of Creation"; the sins of the nation, which were its direct cause, were also foreseen in this primordial decree. Thus predestinational-astrological conception moves exile away from the notion of punishment, facilitating the discussion of the subject with Christians and especially with the mystics among them.

Powerful expression of the inner dilemma arising from the search for the reason for the exile is given by *Judah Halevi in his poetry and thought. His *Kuzari* was written "to defend the humiliated religion," and its dominant motif is the knowledge that the Christian and Muslim worlds "despise us for our degradation and poverty" (Judah Halevi, *The Kuzari*, tr. by H. Hirschfeld (1964), pt. 1 no. 113). To meet the arguments of the oppressors who claim that the degradation of the Jews in the exile shows that "their degree in the next world [will be] according to their station in this world" (*ibid.* no. 112), he advances his theory on the ethnic election of the Jewish people. Israel suffers for the sins of the nations which are by nature inferior to itself; "Israel among the nations is like the heart amid the organs of the body," and the diseases with which it is afflicted – its degradation – are a sign of its central position in human history and the nobility of its character (pt. 2 nos. 29–44). The Jewish nation is entitled to be proud of its affliction in the exile, as all monotheistic religions glory in martyrdom. However, only a minority of Jews willingly and lovingly accept the yoke of the exile, while for the remainder the affliction is enforced, a fact which explains the length of the exile. Every Jew who suffers in the exile nevertheless has great merit, whether he bears the yoke of exile by compulsion or out of free choice "for whoever wishes to do so can become the friend and equal of his oppressor by uttering one word, and without any difficulty" (pt. 1 nos. 112–5). Judah Halevi did not relinquish his optimistic faith in final victory. He enlarges upon the ancient simile that the nation in exile is to be compared to "the seed which falls into the ground": to the person who observes the external condition of the seed, its sowing signifies its destruction; but to the one who has real knowledge, the sowing "transforms earth and water into its own substance, carries it from one stage to another until it refines the elements and transfers them into something like itself" (pt. 4 no. 23). Judah Halevi admits that for some Jews the acceptance of the yoke of exile is no more than merely passive agreement (pt. 2 nos. 23–24). The survival of the sick and dispersed nation which resembles "a body without a head … scattered limbs …" in this lengthy exile is in itself a proof that "He who keeps us … in dispersion and exile" is "the living God" (*ibid.* nos. 29–32). The sorrows of exile continue: "we are burdened by them, whilst the whole world enjoys rest and prosperity. The trials which meet us are meant to prove our faith, to cleanse us completely, and to remove all taint from us" (no. 44). With realistic insight into the sensation of exile, Judah Halevi promises the one who accepts these consolations with sincerity the peace of mind required to lead a human existence in the exile, because "he who bears the exile unwillingly loses his first and his last rewards" (pt. 3 no. 12).

During the second half of the 12th century, despair also seized the exiles of the Islamic world. In about 1160, *Maimon b. Joseph addressed to his brothers in Arabic the *Iggeret ha-Neḥamah* ("Letter of Consolation"), when he himself had left his place of residence from fear of the Muslim *Almohads. He particularly stresses the constant terror and anguish of a life where security is absent. To fortify the souls which find themselves in this distress, Maimon formulated his meditation on exile in metaphor. The Torah is a lifeline which is thrown to one who is drowning in the sea of exile, "and whoever seizes it has some hope." The exile is only lengthy viewed in human dimensions. From the terrifying description of the storms of the sea and the weakness of the man caught up in them, he evokes a picture of consolation: "it so happens … that while the current overthrows walls and hurls up rocks, the frail thing remains standing. Thus with the exile … the Holy One, blessed be He, will save the frail nation.…"

His son, *Maimonides, considered the exile of his time to be part of the continuous attempts through history to turn the Jewish people from its religion. Some have attempted this by force and others by persuasion; Christianity has merely introduced the innovation "that for its purpose it combined the two, that is coercion and arguments … because it realized that this was more effective for achieving the effacement of the nation and the Torah" (*Iggeret Teiman*). Islam learned this combined method from Christianity. However, the attitude of Islam is the hardest and most degrading: "there has never risen against Israel a worse nation" than Ishmael (*ibid.*). When Maimonides imputes responsibility for "the loss of our kingdom and the destruction of our Temple" to "our ancestors … who did not study the art of war and the conquest of lands" because they believed in the foolishness of astrology (from his responsa to the rabbis of Marseilles), this realist-political explanation is only considered by him a description of the natural punishment which had resulted from having sunk into one of many sins. Born into a generation which had been tried by forced *conversions, and having witnessed religious coercion and escaped from it, he conceived the exile as a furnace whose purpose is to purify and test "until religion is retained only … by the pious of the offspring of Jacob … who are pure and clean, who fear God" (*Iggeret Teiman*). The exile and the sufferings of the people "and all that will befall them is as a holocaust upon the altar" (*ibid.*); these words are accompanied by an enumeration of the sacrifices actually demanded of his contemporaries.

The feeling of exile as experienced in Spain during the Reconquest period, with the changes in political situations and conjunctions where the plight of the Jew remained unaffected, was expressed by David *Kimḥi in his simile of the animals which were ensnared within a circle in the forest and which, in turn, the lion encircled with his tail; "thus, we in the exile are as within the circle, we cannot leave it without falling into the hands of the carnivores: for if we can extract ourselves from the rule of the Ishmaelites, we fall under the dominion of the uncircumcised … we therefore withdraw our hands and feet for fear of them" (commentary to Ps. 22:17); Jewish adherence to faith in persecution and suffering is stressed (on Isa. 26:13; Ps. 44:21).

During the middle of the 13th century, a period bringing an upsurge of mystical thought and an intensification of rationalistic tendencies among Jews, Moses b. Naḥman (*Naḥmanides) attributed a most profound and penetrating religious significance to exile, and his thought was to exercise tremendous influence within Judaism in coming generations. Naḥmanides visualized exile as a crisis in Divinity itself. He explains the sayings of the rabbis on the special bond with which the inhabitants of Ereẓ Israel are linked to God as an allusion to the distinction between "the venerable God, blessed be He, the God of gods when abroad" and the "God of Ereẓ Israel, which is the possession of God" (on Lev. 18–25); there is "additional" power in God as lord of His own estate compared with the power which He has in the remainder of His world; exile is the disruption of the link with this special "emanation" of the Divinity. This divine crisis is followed by a religious crisis, "because the precepts are essentially intended for those living in the land of God" (*ibid.*). Ereẓ Israel, the earthly Temple, and the condition of exile in the lower world become symbols of the situation and the events in the celestial world (*ibid.*; also on Deut. 4:28; 11:18). It is not only the property of prophecy which is impaired as the result of the exile, but the nature of faith, world, and God. Another aspect of Naḥmanides' approach is his theory – based on the passage of *Sifra*, *Be-Hukkotai* 10:5, and Rashi (on Lev. 26:32) and his own historical experience – that the desolation of Ereẓ Israel is a sign that though the alliance between God and the Jews has been broken in some of its elements, the alliance of the "Owner of the estate" has not been established with any other nation. The estate will not be cultivated and the Owner will not be worshiped in this aspect of His Divinity until His children return to His land (on Lev. 26:16). Naḥmanides' profound recognition of the religious aspect of the tragedy of exile did not overshadow his realistic appraisal of the actual situation in the 13th century. He recognizes the potentials of the physical and spiritual existence of the remainder of the nation and the possibility of preservation to a certain degree of the link with God (on Deut. 4:27; and in other words in *Sefer ha-Ge'ullah*, 4). Naḥmanides minimizes the extent of the economic decadence in the exile, no doubt influenced by the flourishing condition of the Jews in Spain in his time (on Deut. 28:42). Like *Baḥya b. Joseph ibn Paquda (*Ḥovot ha-Levavot*, "*Sha'ar ha-Beḥinnah*," 5), who had preceded him during the prosperous days under Islamic rule, Naḥmanides concludes that "as a result of our exile in the lands of our enemies, our affairs have not fared for the worse… for in these lands we are as the other nations living there, or even better than them" (on Deut. 28:42). Menahem b. Solomon *Meiri, in the generation which followed Naḥmanides, criticized Christian persecution of the Jews since they pray for the peace of the monarchy, "and our prayer is pure and sincere, unlike their thoughts; if only our prayers for them would be fulfilled in our own persons" (on Ps. 35). This lends a new note to the feeling of exile – the bitterness over suffering even while the Jews demonstrate sincere loyalty to Christian rule.

The conception of Naḥmanides that the world and the Divinity had become impaired as a result of the exile assumed a more practical and concrete meaning for the generations which followed the expulsion from Spain, Portugal, and Sicily (1492, 1497). Exile presented itself from the viewpoint of Kabbalah as the misery arising from a cosmos fractured internally, as the terror of a world in which a struggle was taking place between light and darkness, purity and impurity; a world situation in which Israel, the nation of light, is delivered into the hands of the children of darkness, that is the children of Edom, who in this array of symbols are subjected to a double measure of hatred. A dynamic mystic-universal meaning was attributed to efforts to amend the world by deeds, knowledge, and example (a meaning taken up by the kabbalists of *Safed, and the *Shabbateans).

An explanation of the negative phenomena of the exile and the manifestations of continuing survival in it were given

15th-century realities and concepts by Isaac *Arama. Its torments and persecutions are attributed to being in close relation to gentiles by residence "in their towns and settlements." Yet in its state of semi-serfdom and semi-protection, and to a large measure thanks to this enslavement and protection by the crown, the nation has been able to survive exile. Isaac Arama also places the forced converts within his tableau of the exile: "even though they have become assimilated within the nations … their feet have not found complete rest; because they [the nations] constantly insult and despise them and contrive against them … libels … and they always consider them as reverting to Judaism" (*Akedat Yiẓḥak*, Deut., *sha'ar* 98). The underground life of the *anusim* is depicted as exile accompanied by even heightened terrors. To the question of the length of the exile, of the shining of the Divine countenance on the Christian world and its success, which had already been asked in former generations and disturbed the generation of the Expulsion with even greater urgency (*ibid.*, Lev., *she'arim* 70 and 60), Isaac Arama attempted to offer several answers. Jewish history until this exile "was merely to be considered as a betrothal …"; the marriage had not yet taken place. There is therefore no reason to speak of a divorce (*ibid.*, Ex., *sha'ar* 50). Moreover, even according to Christian thinking, the Law was only revealed thousands of years after the Creation, while Jesus came to redeem souls from the original sin long after this revelation. By comparison Israel's wait for redemption is not long, even if anguished (*ibid.*, Deut., *sha'ar* 88). Purification from sins and removal of the evil inclination from the heart are also advanced as reasons for the intensification of the sufferings and their prolongation (*ibid.*, Gen., *sha'ar* 14).

Isaac *Abrabanel vividly contrasts the kind fate accorded to the gentile nations and the evil which had befallen Israel in the exile (introduction to *Ma'yenei ha-Yeshu'ah*).

He distinguishes between the cause of the hatred by the Christians – the crucifixion of Jesus – and that of the hatred by the Ishmaelites – the rejection of the Koran (on *Hinneh Yaskil Avdi*). Exile is also characterized for him by the fact that "the exiles … will not become tillers of the land … but will engage to a limited extent in the commerce of goods …" (*Yeshu'ot Meshiḥo, iyyun* no. 2 ch. 1), but he considers this laudable, because the acquisition of land abroad would reduce the yearning for redemption (*ibid., iyyun* no. 1 ch. 1). The steadfastness of Israel as manifested in endurance of suffering, in holding fast to the faith in disputations and in maintaining purity of religion and worship, Abrabanel regards as a threefold gain from the *galut* (on *Hinneh Yaskil Avdi*). The steadfastness of the faithful stands out in contrast to the conduct of the *anusim*, who silenced their voices and hid their faith; he stresses the merit of those who gave up their homes and belongings and went into exile with pride in order to practice Judaism openly. Even during those evil days Abrabanel believed that by its spiritual strength the nation would yet succeed in its desire to "bring the Gentiles under the wings of the Divine Presence,… by its knowledge and wisdom … it would remove them from their false beliefs"; Israel will act kindly toward its tormentors and will instruct its torturers (*ibid.*).

The words of these scholars preserve the strength and originality of men who observed the condition of a physically stricken but spiritually intact and healthy nation, of thinkers who drew from the sources of tradition and who perceived the past in the light of the present and the present in the light of the past. However, the words of Solomon *Ibn Verga, written about 30 years after the Expulsion, reveal the mood of a man who has lost contact with the social framework against which he should direct the sharpness of his rebuke. His thought is abstract and presented in the form of analogies detached from concrete situations. The subsidiary reason for the exile advanced by Maimonides – that the Jews were defeated because they did not study the art of war and relied upon astrology – becomes a recurrent argument of Ibn Verga, that "at first, when the Jews found favor in the eyes of God, He fought their wars … they did therefore not study … war … and when they sinned … they were not familiar with the instruments of war, and God was not with them … and they fell as a flock without a shepherd" (*Shevet Yehudah*). The condition of exile caused the Jews to forfeit their wisdom: "our mind is in exile, being enslaved to the exile, to the search for means of livelihood, to the taxes and decrees of the state; how can it preoccupy itself with wisdom?" (*ibid.*). Analysis of the situation, accompanied by wishful inclination, leads Ibn Verga to conclude that it is the Christian masses who hate the Jews, while "the kings in general … the princes, the wise, and all the notables of the land loved them"; even the pope "loves the Jews" because he authorizes them to live in his country and trade there. Ibn Verga, however, realizes that the fury of mass passions is an overwhelming power "and if the king safeguard us and the populace rise against us, how can we be secure?" (*ibid.*).

Ibn Verga is preoccupied with searching for "the reason for the great hatred felt by the Christians against the Jews." This he finds in a combination of religious and natural factors: on the one hand, religious fanaticism which paves the way to belief in fantastic libels against the Jews, on the other, the desire for loot and the fact that every community "seeks to absorb its neighbor and to integrate it within itself"; the Gentiles therefore hate the Jews who refuse to assimilate into them. He also echoes the steadfast pride of the exile who declares to the "Master of the world: You go to great lengths that I should abandon my religion … despite the dwellers of heaven, I am a Jew … and will remain as such" (*ibid.*). This divine persecution is explained through the ancient and powerful answer of the prophet: "You only have I known of all the families of the earth; therefore, I will visit upon you all your iniquities" (Amos 3:2). But concomitantly, exile continues naturally because of religious hatred, "the jealousy of women, the envy of money," and the accusations brought against the totality of Jewry because of the sins of individuals "who have sought to dominate the nations."

The thought of *Judah Loew b. Bezalel (the Maharal of Prague) on the exile at the beginning of the 17th century bears the imprint of the situation which followed the Spanish Expulsion on the one hand and the relative prosperity in his country, Bohemia-Moravia, in his time; it is based upon both the fundamentals of Kabbalah and the rabbinical systems of *halakhah* and homiletics current during the 16th to 17th centuries. The mainstream of his thought is expressed in *Neẓaḥ Yisrael*, and marginally in *Gur Aryeh*, *Or Ḥadash*, and *Be'er ha-Golah*. The Maharal divides the "night of exile" into three "watches": the first is one of painful slavery, the second of massacres and forced conversions, while the third – that in which he is living and which appears to him the last before dawn – consists essentially of consecutive expulsions. Like Ibn Verga, he too preferred the order of the king's peace and protection according to God's will against the popular frenzy and violence which did not spare the weak. The Maharal analyzed the religious-spiritual-social nature of the exile in terms which anticipate the theories of organic nationalism of the 19th century: "Exile is a change and a departure from order: for God has situated every nation in the place which is appropriate to it … According to the natural order the suitable place for them [the Jews] is Ereẓ Israel where they are to live in independence.… As with every natural existing object, they are not to be divided into two … since the Jewish people is one nation, more indivisible and inseparable than all the other nations … dispersion is unnatural to them…; moreover, according to the natural order, it is improper that one nation be enslaved by another… because God has created every nation for itself.… It is therefore unbecoming that in the order of nature Israel should be under the dominion of others." In several aspects, exile is thus an anomaly in the eternal natural order, every deviation from which cannot be but casual and temporary.

This combination of natural factors is the guarantee for the redemption from the unnaturalness of exile. For "all things which are removed from their natural place are unable to survive in a place which is not natural to them … because if they subsisted … the unnatural would become natural and this is impossible … therefore, from the exile, we can perceive the redemption." In the meantime, however, the exile continues by the express will of God (because "that which … departs from the limits of reality requires excessive supervision and reinforcement in order to survive"), and it is by Him also that assimilation in the exile is prevented. So long as this anomaly is maintained, it has its own legitimacy and roots to feed on by the laws of nature: the rule of Edom over the world becomes the defective condition of this world. There is an essential spiritual contrast, even if the depths of its profundity cannot be perceived, between Edom and Jacob: as between "water and fire, although not endowed with intelligence or will, are opposed to each other by nature." The struggle between the two is for the totality of the creation, because "each desires the possession of all that exists, which is this world … and the world to come, and thus repels his opponent." In the present stage of this struggle "Esau has gained for himself out of the quarrel a world of shame and disgrace … to which he is related; Jacob is removed from it, because impurity is foreign to him and he was born the last"; it is impossible that Jacob and Esau should possess both worlds together, because, if so, there would be two extremes in one subject. With pride he sees the exile as an expansion into far-flung regions where the dispersed Jews await the era of perfection of the world, which they will rule.

In opposition to the physical dispersion of the material reality, there are spiritual factors which unite the nation. This is unity created and symbolically expressed both by consciousness of national solidarity and by Torah study and prayer. Engaged in the latter the nation is in a state resembling redemption. To the question: "If … the Divine Presence is indeed with Israel in exile … why does Israel spend most of its days in this world undergoing oppression and expulsions?" the Maharal replies that "this world is not the portion of Israel"; hence, it is to the advantage of the Jews to be removed from its benefits. The Maharal developed a theory against censorship of thought and literature and religious coercion which regarded these as the exercise of tyranny, and the struggle against them as the true and full expression of the free divine spirit in man.

The *galut* feeling in Poland-Lithuania, an exile which appeared relatively easy during the 16th to 17th centuries, is reflected in the commentaries of Samuel Eliezer b. Judah ha-Levi *Edels (the Maharsha) on the *aggadot* of the Talmud. He was grateful to the Turks for the refuge which the exiles had found in their country, and he considered the "Kings of Ishmael" "merciful kings" (*Ḥiddushei Aggadot*, on BB 74b), while "Esau and his offspring … have tormented us in every generation more than all the other nations …" (*ibid.* on Meg. 11a). With their persecutions, the Christians are intent on placing obstacles in the path of the Jewish people toward perfection (*ibid.* on Bek. 8a).

Edels accepted the viewpoint of the author of *Shevet Yehudah* concerning the difference of attitude toward the Jews on the part of the various classes: "It is obvious that by the king and the princes they will be not humiliated and despised also when in exile, but only by the populace and the masses of the nations" (on Ta'an. 20a). On the other hand, the hatred of the populace saves the Jews from being appointed officials in "most contemptible crafts" (*ibid.*). Of special interest is the discussion of Edels with the Christians on the subject of the destruction of the Temple, the cessation of its existence, the revelation of the Divine Presence within its walls, and the length of the exile as evidence of the departure of the Holy Spirit from Israel. The Jew insists that the Divine Presence is not really bound up fully with one location only; partially at least the Jews can carry on the divine task even in dispersion and exile (*ibid.* on Bek. 8a and Ar. 10b).

*Ephraim Solomon b. Aaron of Luntschitz (Leczyca) regarded the exile as a social problem, part of the problem of justice in the world. He arranges a kind of double confrontation, between the wealthy of Israel and the condition of their nation and between the nations of the world and the distribution of material bounty among them; as result of this comparison "the superiority of victory is always upon my lips to reply to the nations who adduce a proof for their religion from their success … to refute their opinion and to overthrow their towers: because in every generation … our eyes witness that God has handed over all the benefit of temporary success to those who are unworthy of it, and this forms part of His profound and wonderful counsel – in order that the axe should not become proud against him that hews therewith, and that the nations should not say our hand is powerful; because they [i.e., the Gentiles] also agree that there are among them wicked people that are unworthy of success and even so they see their houses filled with wealth, while according to their evil ways [i.e., the Christian faith] they do not deserve that God should bestow of his abundance on them." However, the goods of this world, which are putrid flesh and stale bread, are thrown to the dogs of this world (*Olelot Efrayim*, 1 (1883), 3 nos. 5–6). He warns the "blind in the camp of the Hebrews" not to rely on their prosperity and to remember the communities which have been destroyed.

Once Italian Jewry had established itself in a renewed structure in the towns and states of the post-Renaissance period, it became imperative to explain the exile to the urban dwellers whose minds were inclined toward rationalistic reasoning and commercial considerations. In 1638 Simone (Simḥah) *Luzzatto completed his *Discorso circa il stato de gl'hebrei…* ("Discourse on the State of the Hebrews …"), in which he attempted to shed light on the exile in a manner most acceptable to the rulers in Venice – by the exploitation of humanist trends of thought and mercantile considerations. This apologetic tractate, which was intended to convince despots governed by cold political considerations and commercial-utilitarian motivations of the usefulness of the Jews, also reflects the self-criticism resulting from feelings of inferiority induced by the contrast with gentile existence. Many ideas which had formerly been expressed within the Jewish framework of the concept of exile were now brought out to the non-Jewish world and illumined with the cold and harsh light of realistic calculation.

In the 17th century *Manasseh Ben Israel also addressed himself to Gentiles in order to overcome objections to the return of Jews to England by the members of the Protestant sects who were prejudiced by religious fervor in addition to their economic considerations. Manasseh Ben Israel expressed not only the desire for survival of the *galut* but also its tendency toward extension with the expansion of the known world and the discoveries of new territorial and social horizons. Much of his reasoning is drawn from the arguments of Luzzatto, but, voiced by Manasseh, they assume a more religious content and a less submissive tone. He is not deterred from declaring to the nations in their own language, in the manner of the early medieval debators, that the sufferings of the "Servant of God" had befallen the Nation of God, and that the nations in their various countries "have slaine them, not for wickednesses, which they did not commit, but for their riches which they had" (*The Hope of Israel*, sec. 29). Even the expulsions serve the process of the expansion of the exile, because when one ruler expels them, the second accepts them with affability and grants them a "thousand priviledges" (*ibid.*, sec. 33). Commerce enables the Jews to live in wealth and with the acquisition of properties, as a result of which they "not only become gracious to their Princes and Lords" but also causes "that they should be invited by others to come and dwell in their Lands," because "wheresoever they go to dwell, there presently the Traficq begins to florish" (*A Declaration to the Common-wealth of England*, fol. 1–2). The central theory of Manasseh on the continuation of the exile and its extension is that so long as the prophecy of Daniel remains unfulfilled and the exiles have not yet been scattered to the extremities of the world, the redemption will not come.

Ideology in Modern Times

The feeling that there was room for expansion and progress for the Jews in general society, the apologetic trend of appeal to the non-Jewish world, and the awareness of new attitudes intensified with the changes in society and opinions of 18th-century Europe. In the modern era the nature of the debate on the exile assumed a different character as a result of social experiments made by Jews and non-Jews to abolish the exile. From the 18th century, ideas on and explanations of the exile were channeled to new methods of expression, both through organized movements which attempted to remold the character of Judaism and through individual thinkers (see *Emancipation; *Reform; *Haskalah; *Assimilation; *Ḥasidism; *Ḥibbat Zion; *Zionism; *Agudat Israel; M. *Mendelssohn; S.R. *Hirsch; J.L. *Pinsker; *Aḥad Ha-Am; S. *Dubnow; M.J. *Berdyczewski (bin Gorion); J.Ḥ. *Brenner; J. *Klatzkin; A.D. *Gordon; A.I. *Kook; F. *Rosenzweig; S. *Rawidowicz). The conception of the exile of these movements and personalities cannot be separated from their essential standpoints and lines of thought and should be considered within their specific contexts. Even those whose thinking followed ancient paths ascribed their views to innovations brought about by these movements in the modern era. Until the second half of the 19th century, it appeared that supremacy was being achieved both in reality and in ideology by the trends which sought to abolish the exile through integration within the surrounding nations or through continuing a respected existence within their midst by finding a meaning in this situation either as a divine punishment or as part of a sublime religious purpose. However, from the second half of the 19th century, this reality deteriorated in the emergent world of nationalism. Jews increasingly viewed the exile in terms of anger and despair, which even though presented in modern idioms, resembled in content the ancient conception of the exile expressed by former generations. Numerous efforts were made toward finding a means of preserving the distinctiveness and historic continuity of the nation within new and changing circumstances.

By the second half of the 20th century and into the 21st, the two fundamental conceptions in Jewish ideology of the modern era on the subject of the exile have resumed their struggle with renewed intensity. One line of thinking points to the Holocaust in Europe, the brutality of its perpetrators, and the apathy manifested by the majority of the nations of the world during the years 1939–45. It was argued that hatred of the Jews has not disappeared even after the atrocities of Hitler, while the Jews are subject to powerful forces of assimilation in places where they have free social interchange. There is the reality of the establishment of the State of Israel in contrast to the difficulties of maintaining the unity of world Jewry and the ties between the nation in its country and the minorities abroad. All these phenomena are interpreted as signaling the degeneration of the Jewish position and the danger attached to the continuation of the exile, and are put forward as decisive proofs for the necessity of its liquidation.

Adherents of the other line of thinking point to the political freedom and equality of rights legally granted to individual Jews in all the countries of the world and the authorization accorded in most states to Jewish organizations to pursue their cultural and social activities. They stress the organizational, spiritual, literary, and philanthropic achievements of the Diaspora communities; the political and material strength which is added to the State of Israel by the support of Diaspora Jewry; and the role of the Diaspora as exemplified in the Second Temple era. The success that the Germans achieved in modern times in uniting their dispersed nation around their country is noted. These believe – in common with the Jews in the days of *Philo and *Josephus, the geonic period, and the 19th century – that the Diaspora has a reason, and a right of existence; that there is national utility in the maintenance of the Diaspora according to its potentialities in its diffusion throughout the world. In fact, many who approve the existence of the exile are inclined to consider the state as a more favorable form of Jewish survival and sympathize with the principle of the "ingathering of the exiles." On the other hand, the majority of those who condemn the exile recognize that there is no possibility in sight of terminating the Diaspora. The Six-Day War (1967) and its aftermath strengthened both the consciousness of identity and feelings of interdependence between Israel and the Diaspora for the majority of Jews. However, a radical and vocal minority expresses strong disapproval of this tie. The link with Israel has become a touchstone and testing furnace for the existence of Jews in present-day Communist-ruled countries.

Down through its history the feeling of *galut* has been one of the most permanent and prolific incentives in Jewish thought. It has expressed the desire for redemption and preservation as a nation even in the most difficult days. The discussion between Jews and adherents of other monotheistic religions on this subject, the spiritual pride and religious feeling it engendered, resulted in the formulation of new patterns of explanation of the exile from generation to generation which enabled the Jew to bear his suffering without losing his humanity or his faith in God and justice. The spirit of Jacob has been saved out of the tragedy of the exile because the feeling of exile has been one of the principal factors creating the particular sensitivity to questions of divine and social justice among most Jews. As the result of a specific situation, according to Judah Loew b. Bezalel, the Jewish nation has become different from the other nations of the world through its experience of suffering and humiliation and detachment from the rest of society for generation after generation, and through alert and proud reaction to this trial.

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[Haim Hillel Ben-Sasson]

GALVESTON PLAN, a project to divert European Jews immigrating to the United States from the large eastern ports of the United States to the southwestern states. In 1907 Jacob H. *Schiff initiated and financed the plan, hoping to alleviate the concentration of immigrants in the big cities of the northeast and middle west. The Jewish Territorial Organization undertook to continue the task. A Jewish Immigrants' Information Bureau (JIIB), directed by Morris D. *Waldman, was established in 1907 in Galveston, Texas, to settle and sustain the immigrants, who began to arrive in July of that year. Rabbi Henry *Cohen of Galveston was instrumental in the entire effort. The Jewish Territorialist Organization (ITO) was established in 1901 by the United Hebrew Charities of New York, the B'nai B'rith, the Baron de Hirsch Fund, and other Jewish immigrant aid agencies. Its stated aim was to disperse Jewish immigrants to other communities and thus alleviate the plight of Jewish charities in New York. The ITO helped the Jewish emigrants get from Russia to Bremen, Germany, and from there, the Hilfsverein der Deutschen Juden cared for the Jewish emigrants and put them on ships for Galveston. Once the Jews got to Texas, the JIIB assumed responsibilities for them and helped them resettle in other communities.

However, several major Jewish immigration organizations refused to assist, and in 1910 the U.S. Department of Commerce and Labor deported a large number of immigrants who had arrived at the port of Galveston, alleging that the immigrants had violated labor laws or were liable to become public charges. Nevertheless, the Galveston plan managed to settle 10,000 immigrants before it ceased operations at the outbreak of World War I as relationships between the Jewish organizations had deteriorated and potential immigrants were less willing to go to Galveston.

For Galveston, see *Texas.

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[Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

GAMA, GASPAR DA (c. 1440–1510), Jewish traveler; his original name is unknown. Born, according to one account, in Posen (Poland), he made his way to Jerusalem and then Alexandria, was taken prisoner and sold as a slave in India, where he obtained his freedom and entered the service of the ruler of Goa. When the Portuguese explorer Vasco da Gama arrived off Angediva in 1498, he was greeted in a friendly fashion by this long-bearded European on behalf of his master, but Vasco da Gama treacherously seized the Jew and compelled him to embrace Christianity under the baptismal name of Gaspar da Gama. He now had to pilot the fleet in Indian waters and was subsequently brought back to Portugal. In Lisbon, Gaspar was granted a pension by the king, who employed his linguistic ability in subsequent Portuguese naval expeditions. In 1500 he accompanied Cabral on his voyage in western waters and was with Nicolau Coelho when he first stepped ashore in Brazil. On the return voyage he met Amerigo Vespucci, the Tuscan explorer after whom America is named, at Cabo Verde and was consulted by him. Later he went to India once more with Vasco da Gama (1502–03) and again in 1505 with Francisco d'Almeida. He took part in the latter's expedition against Calicut in 1510, when he may have died.

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[Walter Joseph Fischel]

GAMALA (Gamla), ancient city in lower Golan. It was called Gamala because it was situated on a hill shaped like a camel's hump (Heb. *gamal*, "camel"). According to the Mishnah it was fortified in the time of Joshua (Ar. 9:16). Alexander Yannai (Jannaeus) captured the city (83–80 B.C.E.) and it continued to be inhabited by Jews (Jos., Ant., 13:394); it belonged to the Herodian territory of Gaulanitis (Jos., Wars, 1:105). During the war against Rome it was fortified by Josephus and since the Jewish rebels could maintain contact with Babylonia by way of Gamala, the city underwent a prolonged siege in 67 C.E. Because of its nearly impregnable position and strong fortifications, it was captured only after very severe fighting; Vespasian killed many of its inhabitants while others committed suicide (Wars, 4:11–54, 62–83). First identified by Y. Gal at a rocky spur between the branches of Naḥal Daliyyot, close to the village of Deir Qeruh, the site was surveyed and subsequently excavated by S. Guttman for ten years from 1976. More recently new excavations have been conducted at the site by D. Syon, who is also in charge of the publication of the late Guttman's work. The earliest remains at the site date from the Early Bronze Age. The principal archaeological remains at the site are the remains of the town dating from the Late Hellenistic period to the destruction by the Romans in 67 C.E. The settlement was built on the slope of a spur with a fortification wall along the unprotected sides. The buildings were built inside the town on terraces. Residential and industrial buildings were found separated by alleyways. A large public columned building was uncovered with benches along the walls, and it was identified by the excavator as a synagogue. A large olive press was also excavated as well as a number of residential buildings. Large quantities of finds were uncovered, including pottery, chalk vessels, coins, arrowheads, and ballista balls.

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[Michael Avi-Yonah / Shimon Gibson (2nd ed.)]

GAMALIEL, RABBAN, the name and title of six sages, descendants of *Hillel, who filled the office of *nasi* in Ereẓ Israel.

RABBAN GAMALIEL HA-ZAKEN ("the elder"), a grandson of Hillel, lived in the first half of the first century. As president of the Sanhedrin he maintained close contact not only with the Jews of Ereẓ Israel, but also with those in the Diaspora. The Tosefta has preserved three letters, containing reminders about the times of separating tithes and information about the leap year, which Rabban Gamaliel dictated to the scribe Johanan, while seated in the company of sages upon the steps of the Temple Mount. In these letters he addresses "our brethren in Upper Galilee and in Lower Galilee," "our brethren of the Upper South and of the Lower South," and "our brethren of the exile of Babylon, the exile of Media, and the other exiles of Israel" (Tosef, Sanh. 2:6; TJ, Sanh. 1:2, 18 d; Sanh. 11b). Like his grandfather, Hillel, Gamaliel was responsible for many **takkanot*, many of them bearing the formula, "for the benefit of humanity" (Git. 4:2–3), particularly on behalf of women (*ibid.*). Of particular importance is his decision permitting a woman to remarry on the evidence of a single witness to the death of her husband (Yev. 16:7). Stories have been preserved testifying to his ties with the royal family, apparently that of *Agrippa I (Pes. 88b). Among his pupils were Simeon of Mizpeh, Joezer of Ha-Birah, and Nehemiah of Bet Dali (Pe'ah 2:6; Or. 2:12; Yev. 16:7). According to Acts Gamaliel was tolerant toward the first Christians, and Paul was one of his pupils (22:3). Of his children there are known Simeon, who succeeded him, and a daughter who married Simeon b. Nethanel ha-Kohen (Tosef., Av. Zar. 3:10). The sages' regard for Gamaliel was expressed in their saying: "When Rabban Gamaliel the elder died the glory of the Torah ceased, and purity and saintliness [lit. "separation"] perished" (Sot. 9:15).

RABBAN GAMALIEL II, also called Rabban Gamaliel of Jabneh, grandson of (1), succeeded *Johanan b. Zakkai as *nasi* c. 80 C.E. He saw his life's work as the strengthening of the new center at Jabneh and the concentration and consolidation of the people around the Torah, constituting an authority that would be capable of filling the place of the Temple and of the Sanhedrin which had met in the Chamber of Hewn Stones. To this end he worked energetically for the elevation of the dignity of the *nasi's* office, and for the unification of *halakhah*. The Talmud reports a heavenly voice "that was heard in Jabneh" establishing the *halakhah* in accordance with Bet Hillel (Er. 13b; TJ, Ber. 1:7, 3b), corresponding to the aims of much of Gamaliel's activity. It also describes his vigorous exertions as not directed to increasing his own honor or that of his household, but rather to preserving the unity of the nation and the Torah (BM 59b). In his private life and in his personal relationships he was modest and easygoing, showed love and respect toward his pupils and friends, and even to his slave, and was tolerant of gentiles (Tosef, BK 9:30; Ber. 2:7; Sanh. 104b; et al.; Sif. Deut. 38). In respect to laws and prohibitions he was at times lenient to others and strict with himself (Ber. 2:6; TJ, Ber. 1:2, 3a). In spite of this, his firmness as *nasi* and his endeavors to increase the power of the new center aroused the strong opposition of the elder scholars of his generation. According to later talmudic tradition this led to a severe struggle in which Gamaliel did not hesitate to excommunicate his own brother-in-law, *Eliezer b. Hyrcanus (BM 59b). Of greatest consequence was Gamaliel's dispute with *Joshua b. Hananiah on the fixing of the new moon (see *Calendar). Gamaliel regarded the affair as a test of the authority of his *bet din* and ordered R. Joshua to demonstrate publicly that he accepted the discipline of the *nasi*: "I charge you to appear before me with your staff and your money on the day which according to your reckoning should be the Day of Atonement." On the advice of his colleagues, Akiva and Dosa b. Harkinas, R. Joshua bowed to the command. When he came before Rabban Gamaliel, the *nasi* rose, kissed him on his head and said to him: "Come in peace my teacher and pupil – my teacher in wisdom and my pupil because you have accepted my decision" (RH 2:8–9). From this passage in the Mishnah it would seem that the tensions between Gamaliel and Joshua had been resolved. According to the Talmud, however, they did not cease with this affair. The firmness of Gamaliel was regarded by most of the scholars as an insult to the dignity of R. Joshua and led to a revolt against his authority which ended with his removal from the office of *nasi* and the appointment of *Eleazar b. Azariah in his place (Ber. 27b–28a). The nobility of Rabban Gamaliel's character was vindicated, however, by his not absenting himself from *bet ha-midrash* and by his participation in the establishment of the *halakhah* under the direction of the new *nasi*. In the end Gamaliel appeased Joshua, and the scholars, meeting him halfway "out of respect for his father's house," reinstated him as *nasi*. According to the Jerusalem Talmud (Ber. 4:1) he alone was *nasi*, Eleazar b. Azariah only serving as his deputy, *av bet din*, but according to the Babylonian Talmud (*ibid.*) Eleazar b. Azariah continued to share the post of *nasi* with him.

Rabban Gamaliel was recognized as one of the greatest scholars of his generation by his colleagues, by his many pupils, and even by his opponents. His halakhic pronouncements, among them traditions from his father and grandfather, are abundantly cited in the Mishnah and *beraitot*. His activity, together with that of his colleagues and pupils in Jabneh, laid the foundation of the Mishnah. Exceptionally important *takkanot* with respect to religion and worship are associated with the name of Rabban Gamaliel, their aim being to face up to the new reality created by the destruction of the Temple by the implementation of laws and customs designed to serve as a "reminder of the Temple." Rabban Gamaliel played a large part in formulating Passover eve ceremonial after the destruction of the Temple (Pes. 10:5), in determining the final version of the 18 benedictions (**Amidah*), in making it a duty for each individual to pray, and in deciding in favor of the custom of praying three times a day. It is clear that Rabban Gamaliel was close to the general culture and learning of his time, permitting among other things the study of Greek (Tosef., Sot. 15:8). His son Simeon's testimony that many youngsters studied Greek wisdom in his father's house (Sot. 49b) seemed incomprehensible to the scholars, who later explained the phenomenon in terms of the political activity of the *nasi* and in the light of the need to maintain good relations with the ruling powers. He did not refrain from bathing in the bathhouse of Aphrodite in Acre, regarding the image there as serving a decorative purpose only (Av. Zar. 3:4). Gamaliel's son, Ḥanina, testified that it was customary in his father's house to use seals which had figures in relief (TJ, Av. Zar. 3:1, 42c). He was apparently also acquainted with the principles of Greek science. He used astronomical diagrams to examine the witnesses of the new moon (RH 2:8), and he fashioned an instrument to measure distances (ER. 43b). Gamaliel was not only the chief religious authority but also the recognized national-political leader. It is probable that the Roman government also recognized him as the spokesman of the Jews. In any event he made journeys – either alone or in the company of other scholars – to the governor in Syria to receive "authority" (Eduy. 7:7; Sanh. 11a) and also to Rome in order to intercede for his people (TJ, Sanh. 7:19, 25d). In his contacts with non-Jews, he also appeared as the spokesman of Judaism in its battle against idolatry and heresy (Av. Zar. 3:4, 4:7, et al.). Associated with his name is the introduction of the **Birkat ha-Minim* in the *Amidah*, aimed at excluding the Christians from the Jewish fold (Ber. 28b; Meg. 17b).

The year of his death is not known, but in all probability he did not live to witness the revolt in the time of Trajan (c. 116 C.E.). The life and death of the great *nasi* are embellished in the *aggadah*. Tradition assigns to him the great *takkanah* – on behalf of the poor – of abrogating ornate and expensive funerals and introducing the practice of burying the dead in simple flaxen raiment.

GAMALIEL III or Rabban Gamaliel be-Rabbi, the son of *Judah ha-Nasi, lived in the first half of the third century. He was appointed *nasi* in accordance with the testament of his father who instructed him to conduct his office with firmness (Ket. 103b); his brother Simeon was appointed *ḥakham* in the same testament. In the Mishnah Gamaliel rejects the extremist desideratum of isolation from the affairs of the world, takes a positive view of occupation and labor, and exhorts those occupied with communal affairs to work for the sake of heaven and not for their own benefit and honor. He counsels (apparently on the basis of his own experience) caution and suspicion in one's dealings with the government (i.e., Roman authority), even when it appears friendly (Avot 2:2–3). It is reported of Rabban Gamaliel and his *bet din* that they voted to invalidate ritual slaughter performed by Samaritans (Ḥul. 5b and Rashi, *ibid.*). Not many of his halakhic sayings have been preserved, but the greatest *amoraim* of the first generation – Samuel, Hosea, Ḥanina, and Johanan – were his disciples and highly valued his teachings. Among the discoveries in the Bet *She'arim excavations of 1954 were two adjoining decorated sepulchers, bearing the inscriptions in Hebrew and Greek, "Rabbi Gamaliel" and "Rabbi Simeon" respectively, which are thought to be the graves of the *nasi* and his brother.

RABBAN GAMALIEL IV, the son of *Judah Nesiah, lived in the second half of the third century.

RABBAN GAMALIEL V, the son of Hillel II, lived in the second half of the fourth century; very little is known of either father or son.

Rabban Gamaliel VI, the last *nasi*. An order of the emperors Honorius and Theodosius II, dated 415, has been preserved, which deprived Gamaliel of the post of *nasi* and of the titles of honor given by the government to that office as a penalty for having built a synagogue without authorization and for having defended the Jews against the Christians. Gamaliel's death in 426 brought to an end the institution of the *nasi*. From an allusion in the works of the medical author Marcellus (fifth century) it would seem that this Gamaliel was also a physician.

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GAMALIEL BEN PEDAHZUR (fl. first half of 18th century), pseudonym of the author of *The Book of the Religion, Ceremonies, and Prayers of the Jews* (London, 1738). This is the earliest translation of the Jewish prayer book, published in English with a scurrilous introduction. It appears from a letter in *The Gentleman's Magazine* (28 (Oct. 1758), 468) that the author was an apostate named Abraham Mears. The work throws interesting light on the life and customs of London Jewry in the 18th century.

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[Cecil Roth]

GAMARNIK, YAN BORISOVICH (1894–1937). Born in Zhitomir, Gamarnik joined the Communist Party in 1916, taking part in preparing the October Revolution of 1917 in Kiev and in 1918–19 heading the Communist organizations and revolutionary councils of Odessa, Kharkov, Crimea, and Kiev. In 1919–20 he served as a divisional commissar on the southern front. From 1929 until his death in 1937 he was head of the political administration of the Soviet army and a member of the Party Central Committees of the Ukraine, Belorussia, and ultimately the U.S.S.R. He also served from June 1930 as deputy people's commissar for defense and chief editor of the Red Army journal *Krasnaya Zvezda*. He was awarded the highest state distinctions. During the mass arrests he committed suicide. His wife was the sister of Ḥayyim Nahman *Bialik's wife.

GAMBLING. Gambling was known to the ancient world. Games of chance were an appreciated pastime, often turning into addiction, among the Greeks – Herodotus relates that the Lydians supposedly invented some games (*History* 1:94); among the Romans, who are known to have bet heavily on chariot races; and among the Teutons, of whose gambling habits Tacitus states that in their less sober moments they even gambled themselves into slavery (*Germany*, 24). While the Hebrews were also acquainted with gambling (Judg. 14), it was only from mishnaic days onward that the rabbis took a definitive attitude toward gambling.

Professional and Compulsive Gambling

Professional gambling in any shape or form, whether among Jews or non-Jews, was severely frowned upon. The professional gambler was considered a parasite who was engaged in a useless endeavor and contributed nothing to better the world. Some rabbis went so far as to declare the professional gambler a robber whom the Mishnah (Sanh. 3:3) disqualified from giving testimony; he was looked upon as a spineless wastrel who, instead of engaging in the study of Torah or in the pursuit of an honest livelihood (Maim., Comm. to Mishnah, Sanh. 3:3), frittered his time and efforts away on a demeaning occupation and unseemly conduct (*Rabban* (ed. 1920), 224d; *Mordekhai*, Sanh. nos. 690, 695).

The rabbis recognized the inability of the compulsive gambler to control his passion for the game (*Shiltei ha-Gibborim*, Sheb. 756), considered him a moral weakling, and consequently dealt with him severely. One medieval rabbi advised: "Do not show pity to the gambler who pleads 'pity me in order that I may not be shamed and disgraced by him who has won a gulden.' Better he be disgraced…" (Judah he-Ḥasid, *Sefer Ḥasidim*, ed. by R. Margaliot (1957), no. 1026; cf. no. 400). So vehement was his opposition to the gambler that if the latter were to lose his money and require assistance from charity, it was to be denied to him.

Public calamities that befell the Jewish community were often considered the consequence of, and the punishment for, excessive gambling. In 1576, in Cremona, three scholars proposed a ban on gambling after a pestilence had abated. They maintained that the popular passion to gamble was the main source of all calamities that had befallen the community. A similar view had been expressed earlier by Judah Katzenellenbogen (Isaac Lampronti, *Paḥad Yiẓḥak*, 3 (Venice, 1798), 54a).

Effects of Gambling

Community leaders, keenly aware of the painful and destructive effects of gambling upon an individual's character, meted out severe punishment. Gambling debts could not be collected through the Jewish courts (Resp. Rashba, vol. 7, no. 445). The gambler was often placed under ban, dismissed from the burial society (*ibid.*, nos. 244, 270; Resp. Rosh 13:12), at times prohibited from holding his wedding in the synagogue courtyard (Loewenstein, in JJLG, 8 (1910), 184f.), not called to the Torah (Finkelstein, Middle Ages, 282–95), etc. Family life was also disrupted by gambling habits, and there is much evidence readily available to show how difficult relationships were between gamblers and their wives (Resp. Rashba, vol. 2, nos. 35, 286; vol. 7, no. 501; Rosh, resp. 82:2, inter alia). Women refused to live with such husbands; wife-beating and drinking were common (*Zikhron Yehudah* no. 71; responsa Maharyu no. 135) and the education of children was jeopardized (Rosh, resp. 82:2). Repelled by the conditions under which they were forced to live, gamblers' wives often sought divorce. The gambler's desertion of his family was not an uncommon occurrence. One moralist even suggested that women should join their husbands in their acts of gambling in order to save their marriages (Moses of Jerusalem (Moses Henochs), *Brant-Shpigel*, ch. 10).

Gambling was denounced not only by Jewish law and by Jewish moralists, but its evils and terrible consequences were warned against by popular folk singers, in colloquial expressions, and in proverbs. "Gambling poems," describing the sorrow of a home where the man gambles, speak pitifully of the mental anguish of the gambler's "widow," the hidden tears, and the neglect of the children.

Curbs on Gambling

Jewish writings mention many gamblers who made conscious efforts to curb their passion and activities. A common practice among them was to take an oath not to indulge in games of chance, although this usually resulted in a double violation: gambling and breaking a vow. The vows varied: some gamblers set a time limit to their vows; others excluded specific days or special occasions; while still others only refrained from placing monetary stakes, but played, for example, for stakes of fruit (Resp. Rashba, vol. 3, no. 305; Maharshal, resp. no. 185). Rabbis discouraged hasty vows, realizing that these did not lessen the lure of games of chance.

Exemptions

Communal restrictions to suppress gambling were often enacted; the frequency of these enactments, however, shows how futile the prohibitions were and how popular the games. Taking into consideration the attraction of games and gambling, the enactments were flexible: on many festive occasions (e.g., Ḥanukkah, Purim, the intermediary days of Passover and Sukkot, and the New Moon) the restrictions were lifted (Israel Bruna, resp. no. 136). Special family occasions also received communal dispensation for gambling (Finkelstein, Middle Ages, 228–42, 284–91). In general, however, the prohibitions were enforced and accompanied by severe penalties: excommunication and flagellation were commonly meted out to transgressors (Resp. Rashba, vol. 7, nos. 244, 270); fines were imposed and honorary functions within the synagogue withheld.

Types of Games of Chance

The medieval gambler was enticed by all sorts of games. Dice were known from ancient times, and games such as "odds or evens" played with pebbles, knucklebones, and bowling were also quite old. Games with nuts, although often played by children, were also a pastime for the gambler (*Haggahot Mordekhai*, Sanh. nos. 722–3; Resp. Maharam of Rothenburg, ed. Prague, no. 94). Not until the 15th century did cards capture the fancy of the Jewish masses (I. Abrahams, *Jewish Life in the Middle Ages* (1932^2), 415ff.). Tennis, popular among the Jews of Italy during the 16th century, was, just as chess, not merely played as a pastime but enormous stakes were wagered upon the outcome of such matches (Henderson, in JQR, 26 (1935/36), 5; for cards and chess see *Games). By the 18th century, lotteries were very popular. The different types of gambling were not universal; each country had its own fads and favorite games.

Many authorities felt that it was permissible to indulge in games of chance on occasions (*Mordekhai*, Sanh. 690f.). Gambling, however, carried with it a stigma; but while public opinion looked down upon it, all the private and communal efforts to stem the tide of gambling did not stop Jews from indulging frequently. One scholar even urged the abolition of all decrees against gambling since men could not withstand such temptation (*Mordekhai*, Shev. 787).

Synagogue Gambling

Gaming in the synagogue was not uncommon; a sharp contrast was drawn, however, between the usual forms of gambling and cases where the primary motive was not personal gain. A multitude of responsa cite instances where the winnings at games of chance were not considered fruits of sin (e.g., Resp. Maharam of Rothenburg, ed. Prague, no. 493). One of the clearest statements was made by Benjamin *Slonik who differentiated between gambling for private gain and that in which the winnings, even if only in part, went to charity. He saw no violation in the latter case and demanded full payment of gambling debts to charity. There were many instances where the rabbis and communities joined in games of chance. One rabbi ruled that he who wins at a lottery should pronounce the blessing *She-Heḥeyanu*; should one win together with a partner, one must also add the blessing *ha-tov ve-ha-metiv* (B. Levin, *Shemen Sason* (1904), 53 no. 27; see *Benedictions). It seems hardly likely that any blessing should be required if the winnings were considered the rewards of sinful acts. It would thus appear that Jewish law proscribes the professional and compulsive act of gambling; frowns severely and condemns the occasional act of gambling when indulged in for personal gain; while occasional gambling, where all or part of the winnings go to charity, has never aroused condemnation and frequently even has had the approval of the Jewish communities.

These findings might have bearing on the modern controversy over congregationally sponsored bingo and card games organized to raise funds to meet the tremendous budgets of the synagogues. Jewish history and rabbinic literature shows that such methods are not new. Synagogues and communities have indulged in similar games in the past, and the revenues have been used to meet their financial obligations. Rabbis not only did not frown upon such acts but frequently encouraged them. The *United Synagogue of America at successive conventions has, however, ruled that bingo is a form of fund-raising not to be permitted by their congregations, the opinion being that it is not in keeping with the spirit of Judaism.

[Leo Landman]

In Jewish Law

It is said that people who play games of dice are the sinners "in whose hands is craftiness" (Ps. 26:10), calculating with their left hand and covering with their right, and defrauding and robbing each other (Mid. Ps. to 26:7). Dice are variously named in the Talmud as *kubbiyyah* (RH 1:8; Sanh. 3:3; et al.), *pesipas* (Sanh. 25b), or *tipas* (Tosef., Sanh. 5:2), apparently all words of Greek origin denoting small, wooden, mostly painted cubes. The player is sometimes called *kubiustos*, and it is said of him that he is afraid of daylight (Ḥul. 91b). Slaves are said to be notorious gamblers – which is the reason given for the rule that the sale of a slave could not be rescinded where it turned out that he was a *kubiustos* (BB 92b–93a and Rashbam *ibid.*).

However sinful and reprehensible gambling may be, it was not regarded as a criminal offense in talmudic law. A gambler who had no other trade but lived by gambling was disqualified as a judge and as a witness (RH 1:8; Sanh. 3:3), and in order to have his disqualification removed, had first to pay back (or to distribute to charities) all the money he had earned from his gambling (Sanh. 25b; *Piskei ha-Rosh*, Sanh. 3:10). For the purpose of such disqualification, moreover, the concept of gambling was expressly extended to include betting on animal races and the flights of pigeons and other birds (Sanh. 25a–b). Opinions differ as to the reason for such disqualification: some hold that taking money from another by way of game or sport, without giving valuable consideration in return, is like larceny; others hold that wasting time and money in gambling, instead of engaging in studies or in a trade or profession, amounts to ignoring the "general welfare of the world" (*yishuvo shel olam*); both schools conclude that gamblers cannot, therefore, be reliable (*ibid.*; and Yad, Gezelah Va-Avedah 6:10–11 and Edut 10:4). The rule did not apply to occasional gamblers who earned their livelihood by an honest trade (Sanh. 3:3; *Rema*, ḤM 370:3; *Mordekhai*, Sanh. 690; *Kesef Mishneh*, Edut 10:4; et al.). A vow not to earn money was understood to mean not to win money by gambling (TJ, Ned. 5, 4, 39b). As gambling easily grows into an irresistible obsession, vows and oaths to abstain from it in the future were frequently taken, and the question arose whether such vows were irrevocable: those who held that they were regarded gambling as offensive and prohibited anyway (cf., e.g., TJ, Ned. *ibid.* and *Korban Edah* and *Penei Moshe ibid.*; Resp. Rashba, vol. 1, no. 756; Resp. Radbaz 214; Resp. Maharashdam, YD 84; et al.); others also considered the psychological aspect and held such vows to be impossible to maintain (Resp. Ribash 281, 432; et al.). But so long as the vow had not been lawfully revoked, any gambling in contravention of it would be punished with *flogging and heavy *fines (Resp. Rosh 11:9).

In the Middle Ages, the playing of games of chance came to be recognized in many communities as a criminal offense: with the impoverishment of ghetto populations, the public danger of gambling and the necessity to suppress it called for drastic measures. The following is an example of a communal law (*takkanah*) on gambling: "Nobody may play at cards or dice or any other games whatsoever that the mouth could speak or the heart think, even on Rosh-Ḥodesh, Ḥanukkah, Purim, *ḥol ha-mo'ed*, and other days on which no *Taḥanun* is said, and even at the bed of a woman confined in childbirth or at a sickbed – and everybody whoever it may be, including boys and girls, manservants and maidservants, shall be punished if they should (God forbid) contravene and play; if the offender is well-to-do, he shall pay for every occasion two silver coins, one for the *talmud torah* and one for the poor of Jerusalem; and if he is poor so that he cannot be punished by fine, he shall be punished by *imprisonment and tortured by iron chains as befits such offenders – always according to his blameworthiness and the exigencies of the day; and in any case shall his shame be made public, by announcing that this man has contravened this law" (*Takkanot Medinat Mehrin*, ed. I. Halpern, 92f.).

The modern distinction between games of skill (which are lawful) and games of chance (which are prohibited) was already made in Jewish medieval sources: some scholars held that games of skill were allowed and games of chance prohibited on a Sabbath (*Shiltei ha-Gibborim*, Er. 35b); some doubted the validity of the distinction and held that all games, even chess, were prohibited on Sabbath (several responsa on the subject are printed in full in *Paḥad Yiẓḥak* (by Isaac Lampronti) s.v. *Shevu'ah she-Lo Lisḥok*). Games of skill, such as chess, were never made a criminal offense, though disapproved of as a waste of time which should properly be devoted to study; and domestic gambling, even for money, became customary during the night of Christmas.

The Israel Penal Law Amendment (Prohibited Games; Lottery and Betting) Law, 5724 – 1964, provides for the punishment, with imprisonment up to one year and a fine of up to 5,000 pounds, of professional gamblers (and much lighter punishment for occasional gamblers); the prohibition attaches to games in which money or other material benefits can be won, and the results of which depend more on chance than on understanding or skill, or – as in the case of bets – depend purely on guesswork.

[Haim Hermann Cohn]

The Validity of an Agreement Dependent on Casting Lots

AN AGREEMENT DEPENDENT SOLELY ON CASTING LOTS. Casting lots is mentioned in tannaitic literature as an acceptable way of dividing property amongst heirs (BB 106b). The *amoraim* discussed the nature of the legal mechanism of *acquisition (*kinyan*) after the results of the lots are obtained. The conclusion reached in the Babylonian Talmud is that the benefit derived by each of the siblings from the very fact of the mutual agreement to disband the partnership creates the wholehearted agreement required in order for the transaction to be valid (Rashbam, *ibid.*). Similarly, any agreement in which the sides undertake to make payment in accordance with the results of casting lots has binding force, albeit on condition that a formal *kinyan* was performed so long as there was no *kinyan* the sides can withdraw from the agreement (*Me'irat Einayim* on Sh. Ar., ḤM 207:33).

The conditions required to validate an agreement involving lots or gambling are that it be carried out fairly; and that each participant enjoy equal chances of winning. Rabbi Jair Hayyim Bacharach was asked about a case in which people had cast lots, the stakes being a golden goblet. In the particular case he adjudicated, the lots were cast in an unfair, unequal manner; hence, he ruled that the lottery was invalid. Had the lots been cast fairly, he ruled that they would carry binding validity for "we see from the Torah, the Prophets, and the Writings that lots were relied upon when they were cast without human thought or intervention… Most likely, if the lots are cast fairly, an element of divine intervention obtains" (Responsa *Havot Ya'ir* §61).

AGREEMENTS DEPENDENT ON BOTH LUCK AND SKILL OF PARTICIPANTS. In the case of games involving a combination of both skill and luck, we find a controversy regarding whether the agreement among the sides is valid or not. As stated earlier, the *amoraim* argued in the Talmud (Sanh. 24b) as to why dice-players are disqualified from serving as witnesses or judges. According to Rabbi Shesheth, it is because "they are not concerned with the general welfare." In his view, their disqualification is more societally oriented. Rami bar Hama, by contrast, argues that their disqualification stems from the invalidity of the agreement among them, which transforms the transfer of money among them into theft, thereby disqualifying them as witnesses or judges.

In this second view, games of dice "constitute an *asmakhta* [a transaction built upon a fallacious presumption], and an *asmakhta* is not binding" (BM 66b. See **Asmakhta*). Each participant presumes that he has the skill and ability to beat his opponent and to win the money; hence, when he initially agrees with the other parties to abide by the results of the game, his consent is not sincere. Hence, the required act of acquisition does not take place among the sides, and the money that ultimately goes to the winner is in a sense stolen (Rashi, *ibid.*).

The law was decided in favor of Rabbi Shesheth, who said that the reason that dice-players are disqualified from serving as judges or witnesses is their "lack of concern with the general welfare." Some explain this in the sense that dice-players, being unfamiliar with the normal workings of the world, are thereby unfit to serve as judges. This approach would seem to imply that, from a monetary standpoint, the agreement among dice-players is valid (Rashi, *ibid.*). Yet according to Maimonides (Yad, Gezelah 6:11), even the rationale of "lack of concern with the general welfare" includes the issue of theft. In his view, winning money in a dice game still involves a "trace of theft" to it, thus making it rabbinically prohibited. No full-fledge acquisition takes place between the sides; what occurs is instead a farce (*Me'irat Einayim* on Sh. Ar., ḤM, 34:40. In the view of Alfasi [*Teshuvot ha-Ge'onim* (ed. Harkabi, 5647, §84)], or that of the Talmudic text he had before him, it follows that Rabbi Shesheth does not disagree with the principle that dice-games constitute an *asmakhta*.).

When the dice game is played for money that is not literally lying on the table before the players, but only exists as a debt, such that each participant undertakes to pay in the future if he loses, the winner is unable to claim the money from the loser through the rabbinic court. The reason for this is that such a case constitutes an outright *asmakhta*, or because such an act is devoid of any act of acquisition (Tosafot, Er. 82a; Tur, ḤM 207:17).

GAMES OF SKILL. We find a controversy among the halakhic authorities regarding games in which winning depends on skill rather than luck. The Talmud (Er. 104a) mentions such a game between women employing nuts and apples, and the game is deemed prohibited on the Sabbath. *Or Zaru'a* (Pt. II, Hilkhot Yom Tov, §357) rules that even on weekdays that game is prohibited, because it is like dice games.

By contrast, *Shiltei ha-Gibborim* rules that this game is exclusively one of skill, and as such cannot be likened to dice games. In wake of this controversy, later authorities disagreed regarding chess: should chess be considered not an *asmakhta*, as it requires skill and only people of good character play it, or should we not distinguish between different types of games, and instead consider even games of skill an *asmakhta*? (see, for example, *Responsa Torat Emet* §180).

PURCHASING LOTTERY TICKETS. Contemporary halakhic authorities deliberated the issue as to whether one is permitted to purchase lottery tickets. Rabbi Ovadiah Yosef ruled that, owing to the problem of *asmakhta*, it is forbidden to purchase such tickets. By contrast, Rabbi Avraham Shapira, when he served as chief rabbi of Israel (see Bibliography: Shapira), ruled that the purchase of lottery tickets differs from playing games of dice, because the person purchasing the tickets knows full well that the money with which he purchased the ticket will not return to him. Rather, it will be transferred, via an agent, to the bank account of the lottery company. It is therefore clear that he is making an outright gift of the money to the company. His hopes of winning remain a separate issue, independent of his agreement to pay the cost of the ticket, much like any other person who invests in a business and hopes to earn a profit from his investment. Subsequent disappointment does not suffice to transform the investment to theft. In addition, he makes the point that "we need to be aware of a major principle, that we mustn't question a practice of the entire Jewish People. Heaven forfend that we say the entire Jewish people have fallen pray to a sin." Furthermore, many sources indicate that Jews customarily purchase lottery tickets, and the great rabbis of Israel, even if they viewed such purchases as indicating weak faith in God, did not suggest that the practice involved the least hint of theft.

The Law in the State of Israel

Articles 224–235 of the 1977 Penal Code deal with gambling. According to the law, a "forbidden game" is one in which "a person is supposed to win money, goods, or benefits based on the outcome of a game, and that outcome depends on luck more than on understanding or ability." The law imposes prison sentences on anyone participating in forbidden games, and larger punishments on those who organize such games. There is likewise a prohibition against operating or maintaining premises in which such games are played, and the police are authorized to close them down.

At the same time, when games are earmarked for a specific group of people, are not played in a place where forbidden games are played, and their purpose is entertainment alone and not profit, the law does not forbid them. The Finance Minister likewise has the authority to permit certain games, and the National Lottery is allowed to operate in accordance with a special license received from the minister.

The Supreme Court of the State of Israel relied on the stance of Jewish Law regarding games of chance in the "Ninety Balls Incident" (CA 4436/02 *Ninety Balls* v. *the Haifa Municipality*, PD 58 (3) 782), vis-à-vis the underlying reasoning for the negative approach to gambling. The Court (Justice Asher Grunis) quoted from R. Menahem Meiri (*Bet ha-Behirah*, *Sanhedrin*, ad loc.). Meiri explains that two reasons stand behind this negative relationship. The first involves the fact that, just as gamblers are accustomed to lying during their gambling, they will not consider lying a shameful act in their other activities. According to the second explanation, just as gamblers take a cavalier attitude to their own money where gambling is concerned, so are they liable to take a cavalier attitude to the money of others. Hence, they will not consider what it means for someone to lose money as a result of their own false testimony.

[Menachem Elon (2nd ed.)]

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GAMES. Jews, like all other peoples, have played games from earliest times. There are ample references to games in the Bible. Guessing games were played in biblical days (Judg. 14: 12ff.; I Kings 10:1–3). Jews were also acquainted with sports and military games such as horseback riding, racing, and archery (I Sam. 20:20–21; Jer. 12:5; Ps. 19:6). Twelve young men from Benjamin waged a fencing contest with twelve of David's followers (II Sam. 2:14ff.). Children played at home and in the streets (Zech. 8:5). During the Second Temple period, games of Babylonian, Persian, Greek, and Roman origin were introduced into Israel. Jews rarely originated games, usually adopting them from their neighbors. There are many reports on the mass games held on the nights of Sukkot during the Feast of Water Drawing. The leaders of the people, such as Hillel the Elder and Simeon b. Gamaliel, took an active part in the proceedings. The levites played and danced on the steps, and platforms were erected from which the people could view the scene. Here men and women mixed together, although in later times they were separated at social functions. The national leaders set the tone by engaging in acrobatic exercises, in dancing and juggling with eight burning torches, knives, or eggs (Suk. 5:1–4; Tosef. Suk. 4:1–5). The custom of holding youth festivals in the vineyards was observed as late as the Second Temple period (Ta'an. 4:8). Traces of it are still found in the traditions observed by some communities, such as Caucasia and Yemen, on the conclusion of the Day of Atonement.

The paraphernalia of games in ancient times included nuts, fruits, eggs, balls, bones, and stones. The Jerusalem Talmud (Ta'an. 4:8, 69a) states "Tur-Shimon <?> was destroyed because its inhabitants played ball" (on the Sabbath, see *Korban ha-Edah*, ad loc.). Certain games with nuts and apples were played by women on the Sabbath (Er. 104a). Other games mentioned in the Talmud are akin to modern dominoes, checkers, and chess. There was betting (on pigeon races, called "*Mafriḥei Yonim*") and *gambling with dice. Persons who engaged in these pursuits were not regarded as trustworthy witnesses (San. 3:3). Weddings were another occasion for joyous play. To fulfill the commandment of helping the bridal pair to rejoice, the sages would leave their studies and perform juggling tricks, pour oil and wine, and dance with the bride on their shoulders (Ket. 17a). Holding live fowl in their hands, they would dance before the bride or clap their hands and stamp their feet (Git. 57a). The tradition of merrymaking in honor of the bride and groom developed further in the Middle Ages with the *Marshalek*, a professional comedian who would amuse the wedding party by telling jokes, extemporaneously composing songs, and putting on various acts. Weddings were a time for the abandonment of restraint, when public entertainment was permitted. A "guard" of men wearing extravagant uniforms, some of them mounted on horses, accompanied the bridal parade, dancing women beat cymbals, and children raced along with burning torches. Bearded old men danced and clapped their hands, or sang songs and prayers.

Under the new medieval environment in which the Jews found themselves, the form of entertainment likewise changed. The carnival made its way into the Jewish quarter, and on *Purim especially there would be masquerades, death dances, stage shows, and street parades. Purim was the only season of the year during which Jewish communities, in all times and places, observed unlimited rejoicing. The period of merrymaking began on the first of Adar, when wandering musicians appeared in the Jewish quarter. People donned Purim costumes and danced in the streets, and stage shows were performed with the story of Esther and Ahasuerus as their theme. Young men on horseback amused the public by trying to push one another off their mounts. Children made stuffed dolls and burnt Haman in effigy. Shots were fired, and the sound of the "*grager*" (noisemaker) filled the air. Jews in Italy held sports tournaments in which boys fought on foot throwing nuts, while their fathers rode on horses, and, amidst a background of horns and bugles blowing, attacked a model of Haman with wooden staves, later burning it on a mock funeral pyre. In some communities, such as Hebron, Yemen, and Baghdad, Ḥanukkah was observed in a similar manner, though on a smaller scale, as was Simḥat Torah and the second day of Shavuot. In the yeshivot, the great occasion for play was Purim. Preparations would start right after Ḥanukkah, and the usual theme for the play was "The Sale of Joseph" or "David and Goliath." Young artisans would also put on Purim plays, their favorite theme being the Esther story. In Sephardi communities, the play would be a parody based on the life of Esther, Haman's wedding to Zeresh, Haman's funeral, etc. In Iraq and other communities, a Haman figure would be put up on Purim to serve as a target for young and old alike. The games played at home were *cards, *chess, dominoes, and checkers. Card playing was sharply condemned, and the rabbis often excluded card players from religious functions and social life. Yet the habit persisted. The 14th century *Kalonymus b. Kalonymus in his *Even Boḥan* sharply criticized those card players who reduced their opponents to utter despair. Maimonides compared such persons who gamble to robbers (Yad, Gezelah ve-Avedah 6:7). A synod in Forli, Italy, enacted a ruling in 1416 that the Jewish community must refrain from playing dice, cards, and other games of chance, except on fast days and in time of illness, in order to relieve the distress. Similar measures were taken in Bologna and Hamburg. The numerical value of the letters making up *karten* (Yid. for cards) was found to be the same as that of "Satan," and hence a pious Jew should keep away from them. The 17th century *Ḥavvot Ya'ir* of Jair Ḥayyim *Bacharach permitted card playing without money on Ḥanukkah, Purim, and *ḥol ha-mo'ed (p. 126). On Christmas eve, playing for money was tolerated. Leone Modena was plagued by his obsessive love for card playing. The rabbis of Venice issued a ruling in 1628 ex-communicating any member of a congregation who played cards, and there were many instances of oaths taken by individuals who wanted to avoid all games of chance. In the course of time, Yiddish terms were introduced into the card games: a six became a "*vover*" (the letter "*vav*" having the numerical value of six), a seven a "*zayner,*" a nine a "*teser*"; hearts became "*lev*" and trumps were "*yom tov*" (holiday). The card deck was called the small "*Shas*" (the Talmud) or the "*Tillim'l*" (the Book of Psalms), etc. Chess, on the other hand, was a respected pastime, although some rabbis disapproved of the game. There was a legend ascribing its invention to King Solomon. Rashi observed that chess drives boredom away and causes the player to contemplate (Ket. 61b). Poets and philosophers set down the rules of the game, and R. Abraham *Ibn Ezra composed a poem on it, as did Bonsenior ibn Yahia in the 15th century (both translated into Latin by Thomas Hyde in *De Ludis Orientalium*, Oxford, 1694). There were rabbis who excelled in the game of chess. One legend has it that R. Simeon, the chief rabbi of Mainz (11th century), played chess with the pope and recognized in him his long lost son. The *Magen Avraham* of Abraham Abele b. Ḥayyim ha-Levi *Gombiner (17th century) tells of people who had special silver chess sets for use on the Sabbath. Here, too, Yiddish and Hebrew terms were introduced into the game. Checkers was also a popular game. Yeshivah students would draw a checkerboard on the blank inside cover of the Talmud volume and make their own black and white pieces of wood. Rabbi Nahum of Stefanesti found in the game an allegory of life: you take one step in order to gain two. You must not take two steps at once. You may only go up; once you have reached the top, you may go wherever you like (A.Y. Sperling, *Ta'amei ha-Minhagim* (1957), 367).

The world of children in both Ashkenazi and Sephardi communities was a world of games. For every holiday the Jewish child prepared special toys, made from whatever material was available, with the assistance of the rabbi in the *ḥeder* or of older children. The Jewish child was said to be a jack-of-all-trades: on Passover he makes holes in the *mazzot*, on Shavuot he becomes a gardener, on Lag ba-Omer he is a soldier, on Sukkot a builder, on Ḥanukkah he pours lead, on Purim he is a gunsmith, and for Rosh Ha-Shanah he trains as a trumpeter (to blow the *shofar*). For Ḥanukkah the boys would prepare a "*dreydel*" (a four-sided top), either carving it out of wood or pouring lead into a form. This game is still popular and has also been adopted by Yemeni and Sephardi children. It came upon the Jewish scene in the early Middle Ages, and the four sides of the *dreydel* were marked with the Hebrew letters *Nun, Gimmel, He, Shin* (standing for Yiddish words *Nimm, Gib, Halb, Shtell* meaning take, give, half, and put). Soon, however, the letters were interpreted as standing for the Hebrew *Nes Gadol Hayah Sham* ("a great miracle happened there"). In modern Israel the last word was changed to *Po*, so as to read "a great miracle happened here." *Dreydel* spinning was one form of Ḥanukkah gambling. Older children made their own Yiddish cards known as "*Lamed-Alef-niks*" or "*Kvitlakh.*" For Purim, noise-making toys, "*gragers*" or boxes, to drown the sound of Haman's name in the synagogue reading of the Book of Esther, masks, costumes, and Haman dolls were made by young folk. Passover games were played with walnuts. For Lag ba-Omer the equipment was bows and arrows, and the children spent the day in the woods, engaging in various warlike operations under the command of the "Lag ba-Omer general." On Shavuot girls decorated the windows with paper roses, and the boys brought field flowers and ivy from the forest and adorned the doors, windows, and lamps. There was also a custom of piercing eggs, emptying them of their contents, drawing a string through the empty shells, gluing feathers to them, and hanging them up in the open to swing in the wind like birds. On the eve of the Ninth of Av children armed themselves with wooden swords and played as soldiers fighting the Turks for possession of Ereẓ Israel. The "Rabbi" game in which boys mimicked their teachers was popular between the 17th of Tammuz and the Ninth of Av, when children were free from punishment. Even adults enjoyed this game on Purim. Throughout the year in their spare time children played war games (often based on biblical themes), cops and robbers, hide-and-go-seek, "Simple Simon," etc. More sedate games were played with buttons, pocketknives, heads or tails, paper cutouts, and drawing on walls.

Concerning adults, there are records of Jews dueling. In Spain, some enjoyed wearing arms, considering themselves knights, and using stately names. In Provence, Jews used trained falcons in hawking while riding horses. Occasionally, they joined Christian friends in hunting, although they could not eat the game killed that way because of the *dietary laws (see Cruelty to *Animals and *Hunting). All ages enjoyed a variety of word games, often based on biblical verses. A "*samekh-pe*" game, relating to finding open or closed lines in the Pentateuch, was popular. The "Moses" game was played by children who would turn to pages of the Bible and compete with each other to be the first to locate the Hebrew letters of Moses' name among the last letters on the page. Letter games with *Gematria, i.e., in which corresponding words and phrases were searched for with each having the same numerical value, were enjoyed, e.g., the identical numerical value of the Hebrew phrases for "blessed is Mordecai" and "cursed be Haman." Riddles were a form of amusement, and early examples were found in the series of moral riddles in the 13th chapter of Proverbs. *Eḥad mi Yode'a, a song from the Passover *seder*, is an illustration. Hebrew *acrostics were popular, combined with arithmetical puzzles. Abraham Ibn Ezra wrote several of these, some expressly for Ḥanukkah. Judah Halevi also composed poetic riddles. In the 13th century riddles about general folk legends like "Solomon and Marcom" were also known to Jews. Yet at this time the most common games involving words were table riddles, such as found abundantly in the Hebrew romances of Al-Ḥarizi and Joseph Zabara. The Talmud reported an example of such a riddle from Adda the fisherman: "Broil the fish with his brother (salt), plunge it into its father (water), eat it with its son (sauce), and drink after it its father (water)" (MK 11a). Jewish gatherings in later times were often enlivened by witty puzzles. *Kabbalah also had a part in such wordplay, as when children would direct some invocation to the angel *Sandalfon at the start of their games. There were formal occasions for performances by teenagers at the end of the school term or the conclusion of a tractate of the Talmud (see *Siyyum) on the 15th of Shevat, etc. In Ashkenazi communities, *Shabbat Naḥamu* (the Sabbath following the Ninth of Av) would be marked by a festive meal and children's show. Sephardi children in the old city of Jerusalem, Hebron, Baghdad, etc. would mark the last day of Ḥanukkah with a play, "*Miranda di Ḥanukkah.*" In Tripoli, Tunis, and Salonika, on the sixth or seventh day of Ḥanukkah, a celebration would be held for girls who had reached the age of twelve. Also on Ḥanukkah, Sephardi children would play "Caricas di Sol" ("Face of Salt"), or act as soldiers fighting the Greeks. This was also the custom among the children of Yemen, who wore blue clothes for the occasion. Jewish children in Persia marked Ḥanukkah by playing various games of chance known as "*Kab,*" "*Kemar,*" and "*Tachte-ner*" (a kind of checkers, known as "*Shesh-Besh*" in Arabic). Yemeni children played with fruit stones (now played in Israel with apricot stones). Their Ḥanukkah top ("*Duame*") was made of nutshells; the Purim "*grager*" was called "*Khirye.*" Other games were "*Umey*" (blindman's buff), "*Kez Almakez*" ("horses," or jumping over one another's bent backs), etc. In Tripoli the young men had the custom of holding donkey races on the Ninth of Av, for on that day the Messiah was expected to come, riding on a donkey. On Shavuot they would pour water on the passers-by (also customary in other eastern communities). The last day of Passover was the occasion for a *"Maimuna" carnival, when young and old would pelt one another with flowers and vegetable leaves. In all communities, girls had their own games, such as playing ball, dolls, "cat-and-mouse," "golden bridges," etc. They also played an elaborate form of "bride-and-groom," accompanied by songs. Rarely did boys and girls join in games together, although girls would also engage in games usually reserved for boys. After World War I, various forms of modern sports and gymnastics were introduced into the Jewish communities, taking the place of the traditional forms of entertainment. Some of the old games, however, still survive and are handed down by children from one generation to the next.

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[Yom-Tov Lewinski]

GAMES, ABRAM (1914–1996), British graphic designer. Born in Whitechapel, London, to Moshe Joseph Gamse, a photographer from Dvinsk, Latvia, and Sarah Rosenberg from Semyatitz, Russo-Poland, Games achieved early recognition for his poster designs before being conscripted in 1940. Subsequently he was posted to the War Office and awarded the unique title "Official War Poster Artist," in which position he created some 100 posters until his demobilization in 1946, many of which became recognized classics.

Games was responsible for creating many iconic posters and numerous emblems, including those for the Festival of Britain and the Queen's Award to Industry. His stamp designs led to his appointment to the Advisory Committee of the Council of Industrial Design and his giving a course for designers of the Israel Philatelic Services. He did much work for Jewish organizations. In addition, Games was a lecturer at the Royal College of Art and was later made an honorary fellow, and was an active painter, product designer (including the famous Cona coffee maker), and inventor. He was awarded the Queen's OBE in 1957 and appointed Royal Designer for Industry in 1959. His book *Over My Shoulder* was published by Studio Books in 1960 and he later summarized his work through a traveling exhibition called "60 Years of Design." In 1968 the United Nations Industrial Development Organization appointed Games as consultant on Graphic Design at the Bezalel School of Art in Jerusalem. He was the designer of the original motif and cover for the first edition of the *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, an exceptional concept combining Hebrew and English calligraphy of text from the Book of Isaiah in the form of a menorah.

[Naomi Games (2nd ed.)]

GAMORAN, EMANUEL (1895–1962), U.S. educator. Born in Belz, Russia, he was taken to the U.S. in 1907. From 1917 to 1921 Gamoran was associated with the New York Bureau of Jewish Education, becoming in 1923 the educational director of the Commission of Jewish Education of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, a post he held until his death. He was also president of the National Council for Jewish Education in 1927–28. Under Gamoran's direction, the Reform Commission on Jewish Education produced numerous textbooks and curricula for its affiliated schools, and pioneered the use of audiovisual aids in Jewish education. Gamoran wrote *Changing Conceptions in Jewish Education* (1924) as well as graded textbooks for Jewish schools and many articles on Jewish education.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Jewish Education*, 34 (1964), 67–86 (several articles in honor of Gamoran).

[Leon H. Spotts]

GAMORAN, MAMIE GOLDSMITH (1900–1984), U.S. writer. Born in Jersey City, N.J. to Nathan and Mamie Aronson Goldsmith, Gamoran was a prolific author of Jewish children's textbooks and fiction. Raised in a non-observant home, she received no formal Jewish education as a child. Her interest in Judaism was stimulated by her involvement in a Jewish girls club, the Bronx chapter of the Association of Jewish High School Girls (which later merged with a parallel boys club and became the League of Jewish Youth). The club was created by Dr. Samson *Benderly, director of the New York Bureau of Jewish Education and a revolutionary force in Jewish education in the early 20th century. Her exposure to Benderly's educational approach was intensified when she came to work at the Bureau as Benderly's personal secretary. There she also became acquainted with the so-called "Benderly Boys," the group Benderly was grooming for leadership positions in Jewish education. These included her future husband, Emanuel Gamoran. Mamie also studied at the Jewish Theological Seminary, and was a member of the first graduating class of the Israel Friedlaender extension school (1922).

After their marriage in 1922 the Gamarons moved to Cincinnati, Ohio, where Emanuel became education director of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, the lay arm of the Reform movement. There, Mamie taught in area supplementary schools and served for two years as principal of the Conservative affiliated Adath Israel religious school. A central facet of her husband's work included commissioning and editing religious school textbooks. Always in need of writers, he encouraged Mamie's literary aspirations. Among her best-known books was *Hillel's Happy Holidays* (1939), one of the earliest Jewish holiday primers for young children, and a three-volume Jewish history series for junior high school students, *The New Jewish History* (1953–57).

Gamoran co-edited her husband's biography following his death, *Emanuel Gamoran: His Life and His Work* (1979), and wrote a memoir, *A Family History* (1985), published by her son, Rabbi Nathaniel Hillel Gamoran, after her death.

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[Jonathan Krasner (2nd ed.)]

GAMUS GALLEGOS, PAULINA, Venezuelan lawyer and politician. Gamus Gallegos was born in Caracas and attended the Moral y Luces Herzl Bialik High School there. She obtained her law degree from the Universidad Central de Venezuela in 1959. After working as a lawyer for two years, she served in various capacities in public administration. In 1974 she became adjunct legal adviser to the president of the country and executive secretary of the Women's Advisory Commission of the president. She served as director of information of the Ministry of Education from 1975 to 1977 and in the latter year was vice minister of information and tourism.

In 1977 she was also chosen by presidential candidate Luis Pinerua Ordaz as his campaign public relations director. Gamus Gallegos was elected councilor representing the Democratic Action Party for the Federal District in 1977, becoming head of that faction in 1981. She chaired the Committee on Environment and was a member of the Permanent Committee for Culture and Town Planning. In December 1983 she was elected principal delegate of the Democratic Action Party in the Federal District and in January 1984 became the co-director of the parliamentary faction. She belonged to the Legislative Commission, to the bicameral commission for a new employment law, to the bicameral commission for the reform of municipal government, and was chairman of a number of special committees. In January 1986 she was appointed a minister in the government, Ministra de Estado-Presidenta del Consejo Nacional de la Cultura (CONAC).

Gamus Gallegos was a journalist from 1969 with a column in the daily newspaper *El Nacional* and from 1981 with a column in the daily newspaper of Caracas. She has also contributed to the magazines *Resumen* and *De Frente.* In addition, she has represented Venezuela at numerous international meetings.

GAMZON, ROBERT (1905–1961), French Jewish leader. In 1923 he helped to found the Eclaireurs Israélites de France (EIF), which was to become the most popular Jewish youth movement in France and in North Africa. Gamzon gave a broad interest to the EIF movement which attracted Jews from a wide range of backgrounds and ideologies.

During World War II Gamzon served as a communications officer in the Fourth French Army from 1939 to 1940. After the armistice of June 1940, he reestablished the EIF framework in the towns in southern France where Jewish refugees had gathered. In Algeria he worked to open homes for children, handicraft centers, and rural work camps in order to provide an educational framework for Jewish youth. In 1942 Gamzon created "La Sixième," a clandestine escape network manufacturing false identity papers and taking children and teenagers to safety in Spain or Switzerland by illegal means. In December 1943 he set up a Jewish underground movement in the Tarn area with youth from rural work camps and veteran members of EIF and played a major role in the unification of Jewish resistance groups in France. In June 1944 his group, now a full-fledged military unit, was incorporated in the Free French Army as the Marc Haguenau Company. As area commandant, Gamzon received and assisted Allied specialists in sabotage who parachuted into his zone and set up ambushes against German convoys. On August 19, 1944, the EIF company seized a whole armored convoy and two days later liberated the towns of Castres and Mazamet.

After the war, in 1947, he established a school for community workers in a Parisian suburb. In 1949, he immigrated to Israel at the head of a group of 50 EIF veterans. In Israel Gamzon, an electro-acoustical engineer by profession, worked as laboratory head at the Weizmann Institute where he invented an isophase loudspeaker used by manufacturers of high fidelity musical instruments. He met his death by accidental drowning.

Gamzon wrote an essay on Jewish thought, *Tivliout*, published in 1945 in Paris, and his wartime journal, *Les Eaux Claires, Journal 1940–1944* (1982).

[Lucien Lazare]

GAMZU, ḤAYYIM (1910–1982), Israel drama and art critic. Born in Chernigov, Russia, he went to Palestine with his parents in 1923, and later left to study art and philosophy at the Sorbonne and the University of Vienna. The director of the Tel Aviv Museum, from 1962 he taught at the Ramat Gan School of Drama, and wrote regularly on painting, sculpture, and the theater, mainly for the daily *Haaretz*. His criticism was erudite and often harsh and could make or break an exhibition or production. Insisting that Hebrew drama must maintain European standards, he often expressed dissatisfaction with its achievements. His books, consisting of reproductions of works of art and accompanying text, include *Ḥannah Orloff* (1949), *Ẓiyyur u-Fissul be-Yisrael ve-ha-Yeẓirah ha-Ommanutit be-Ereẓ Yisrael ba-Ḥamishim Shanah ha-Aḥaronot* ("Painting and Sculpture in Israel and Artistic Creation in the Land of Israel in the Past 50 Years," 1957); *Ze'ev Ben-Zvi* (1955); *Ommanut ha-Pissul be-Yisrael* ("The Art of Sculpture in Israel," 1957). The Tel Aviv Museum's prize for the advancement of the arts is named for him.

[Getzel Kressel]

GANCHOFF, MOSES (**Maurice** [**Moshe**] (1905–1997), *ḥazzan.* Ganchoff was born in Odessa but came to the United States as a child. During his formative years he studied with Simon Zemachson and later came under the influence of the creative talents of Mendel Shapiro and Aryeh Leib Rutman. Even at that tender age, he was already a skilled interpreter of the many recitatives of the most important composer of *ḥazzanut* of that generation, Jacob *Rappaport. After serving in a number of congregations, in 1958 he was appointed cantor to the synagogue in Grossinger's Resort in New Yok's Catskill Mountain Borscht Belt, remaining there until 1978. In 1963 he was invited by the Government of Israel to participate in the Israeli Music Festival. He was lecturer in *ḥazzanut* in the faculty of *ḥazzanut* of Hebrew Union College. Ganchoff was one of the last of the great classical East European *ḥazzanim* and the title of "Ḥazzan's Ḥazzan," by which Ganchoff is known, was apt and well deserved. A number of publications by the Cantors' Assembly and Tara Publications include Ganchoff's: *Mincha* and *Ma'ariv* for Weekdays, "*Tefillot Moshe*," and Favorite Recitatives, all skillfully transcribed and notated by Noah Schall. Barry Serota, record collector and publisher of "Musique Internationale," has issued an entire series of cassettes devoted to the cantorial art of Ganchoff. They are based on standard recordings, radio broadcasts, and live concerts and services that Ganchoff participated in through the course of his long active carreer as a performing *ḥazzan*.

[Akiva Zimmerman / Raymond Goldstein (2nd ed.)

GANDELSONAS, MARIO (1938–), architect. Gandelsonas was born in Buenos Aires and received his degree in architecture from the University of Buenos Aires. In 1977, he and his wife, Diana *Agrest, designed a group of apartment buildings in Buenos Aires. In 1980, they formed the firm of A&G Development Consultants, Inc. Subsequently, Gandelsonas taught at Yale, Harvard, the University of Illinois, and the University of Southern California, later becoming professor of architecture at Princeton University and director of international programs there. Under Gandelsonas' direction, a group of 20 students from Hong Kong University and Tongii University in Shanghai together with Princeton students worked to redesign Hangzou's Wulin Square, including plans for a new cultural center. The city was once the capital of the Southern Song dynasty and today is a tourist center for the 17 million people who come to visit the nearby West Lake. Gandelsonas believes that globalization is making a powerful impact on architecture and his work has inspired other international student projects. The students choose the projects and exchange cultural studies and visits to the sites. The Melrose Community Center (2000) in the Bronx is a good example of the work of A&G, Inc. Set amid high-rise apartment buildings, the center serves about 3,000 young people. With its curved exterior of silver and red, the building beckons young people to use, among other facilities, its basketball court, darkroom, restaurant-size kitchen, and computer lab. The interior is also decorated in silver and red. Gandelsonas received high praise for his Vision Plan (1990–92), a design for central Des Moines. Known for home and apartment design as well as urban planning, he is the author of *The Urban Text* (1991) and *X-Urbanism* (1999), both showing the influence of his studies in Paris with Roland Barthes and also the theories of Sigmund Freud.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: "Joint Study with Asian Universities Inspires Students," in: *Princeton Bulletin*, vol. 90, no. 12 (Dec.11, 2000); M. Gandelsonas (ed.), *Shanghai Reflections: Architecture and Urbanism, and the Search for an Alternative Modernity* (2002).

[Betty R. Rubenstein (2nd ed.)]

°GANDHI, MOHANDAS KARAMCHAND (1869–1948), Indian political leader. Gandhi had several Jewish friends resulting from his 21-year stay in South Africa (1893–1914). This was a period of formative influence in which he formulated and first put into practice his conception of *satyagraha* (nonviolent resistance) and crystallized most of the elements of his ethos and lifestyle. The most intimate of his non-Indian colleagues and confidants in South Africa were Jews, notably H.S.L. (Henry) Polak and Hermann *Kallenbach. However, while evincing sympathy for the Jews as the historic underdog of Western society, Gandhi was less sympathetic to the Jewish religion. Neither Polak nor Kallenbach could authentically interpret Judaism for him since they were both alienated from the Jewish religion and community. Gandhi's formative perception of Judaism derived less from his Hinduism than from the particular circumstances of his exposure, as a Hindu, to Christian influence. While he had reservations about Christianity, he at least understood it on its own terms, whereas Judaism was perceived by him through Christian-tinted glasses. Thus he regarded Jesus as "the finest flower of Judaism" and identified Judaism wholly with the Old Testament which he did not like much. This attitude was reinforced by his contact with the Calvinist Boers of South Africa in whom he saw the products of Old Testament influence.

Gandhi's distorted view of Judaism also prejudiced his perception of Zionism. Thus he insisted that Zion was not geographical but "lies in the heart." It therefore could be realized by Jews anywhere and ought not to mean "the reoccupation of Palestine." Moreover, his overriding striving for Muslim-Hindu amity in an undivided India influenced him to support the Muslim-Arab case against that of Zionism. In March 1921 he made a statement supporting the demand of the Indian Muslim Khilafat (Caliphate) movement that Muslim control be retained over Palestine. He argued on moral grounds but the partiality of his stand is evident in his dismissal of Jewish religious sentiment regarding Palestine, in contrast to his uncritical affirmation of Muslim religious sentiment. Concerned by the increasing hostility to Zionism in India, Moshe Shertok urged Kallenbach, who had meanwhile become a Zionist in South Africa, to visit India with a view to gaining Gandhi's sympathy for the Zionist cause. Kallenbach visited him in May 1937 and succeeded in making the Mahatma more sympathetic to Zionism. Gandhi permitted him to deliver a private statement to the Zionist leadership accepting, in principle, the validity of the Jewish aspiration to found a home in Palestine, but rejecting any reliance on British power, and insisting that fulfillment of Zionist goals be dependent on Arab approval. However, constrained by his solidarity with Muslim feelings in India, Gandhi never gave public expression to such private sentiments. At the same time, not wishing to harm either Jews or Arabs, Gandhi was reluctant to make public statements on the Arab-Jewish conflict. Yet, urged by Kallenbach and others to make his voice heard in the light of Nazi persecution of the Jews, he finally did so in November 1938. But in this statement he again averred that Palestine belonged to the Arabs and advised the Jews to cultivate a spiritual rather than a geographical Zion. He unreservedly condemned Hitler's wanton persecution of the Jews but recommended that the Jews of Germany observe organized *satyagraha* in response to Nazi atrocities and not leave Germany.

Martin Buber and Judah Magnes, both admirers of Gandhi, wrote open letters to him in response to this statement. But they remained unanswered. It is not clear whether Gandhi actually received them. However, he did publicly answer another open letter from Ḥayyim Greenberg, in which he reiterated his views and denied that they were motivated by the desire to win Muslim friendship. It would appear that the nature of Nazi treatment of the Jews lay utterly beyond his comprehension. He remained convinced that "the stoniest German heart will melt" if only the Jews would adopt "active non-violence."

After World War II, Gandhi again expressed some sympathy for the Zionist case in private conversations with the Anglo-Jewish M.P. Sidney Silverman and with his American Jewish biographer, Louis Fischer. But when publicity was given to these sentiments, he reiterated his reservations and condemned violence. His public statements thus remained consistently unsympathetic to Zionism.

As far as the Jews of India are concerned, it appears that they have had a positive view of Gandhi. According to their oral accounts, in 1931 Gandhi met with a number of *Bene Israel to discuss the possible participation of Indian Jews in the nationalist movement and suggested that they join hands with Indian nationalists in the event of their victory but not get involved in wider politics before that time, as they represented such a small minority that they should be concerned chiefly with their own safety.

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[Gi. Sh. / Yulia Egorova (2nd ed.)]

GANDZ, SOLOMON (1887–1954), Semitics scholar and historian of mathematics. Gandz was born in Austria. He studied mathematics, Semitics, and rabbinics in Vienna and taught at a Viennese high school from 1915 to 1923. He emigrated to the United States in 1924 and was librarian and instructor in medieval Hebrew and Arabic at the Rabbi Isaac Elchanan Theological Seminary until 1935. From 1942 until his death he taught the history of Semitic civilization at Dropsie College.

Gandz's particular field of study was ancient Oriental mathematics, astronomy, and science and Jewish study of these specialties in the Middle Ages. Among his works in this field is a translation of *Mishnat ha-Middot* (in *Quellen und Studien zur Geschichte der Mathematik, Astronomie und Physik*, Abteilung A, 2, 1932), a second-century Hebrew geometry and its ninth-century Arabic version. A selection of his many essays was collected in *Studies in Hebrew Astronomy and Mathematics* (1970). In Semitics, he contributed an annotated German translation of Imruʾ al-Qays' sixth-century poems, "Die Muʿallaqa des Imrulqais" (in *Sitzungsbericht der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien*, 170, Abhandlung 4, 1913). He was associate editor of the international periodical *Osiris*, devoted to the history of science, to which be contributed "The Dawn of Literature" (7 (1939), 261–522). He also contributed the section on public law to the second volume of *Monumenta Talmudica* (Ger., 1913). For the Yale Judaica Series English edition of Maimonides' Mishneh Torah, Gandz did the translation of Book 3, *Book of Seasons* (1961; with Hyman Klein) and of Book 3, Treatise 8, published separately as *Treatise on the Sanctification of the New Moon* (1956).

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GAN ḤAYYIM (Heb. גַּן חַיִּים), moshav in central Israel in the southern Sharon near *Kefar Sava, affiliated with Tenuʾat ha-Moshavim. It was founded in 1935 by veteran farm workers from Russia and other East European countries. The moshav expanded in 1949 when settlers from Romania joined it. Citriculture constituted a prominent farm branch. The population in 1968 was 220, rising to 350 in the mid-1990s and 607 in 2002 after expansion. The moshav is named after Chaim *Weizmann.

[Efraim Orni]

GANNEI TIKVAH (Heb. גַּנֵּי תִּקְוָה), town in central Israel. In 1949 a settlement called Shikkun ha-Yovel was set up by the Jewish Agency on the outskirts of *Petaḥ Tikvah. The new settlement absorbed immigrants from Romania, Poland, Yemen, and Morocco and was only connected to the water system in 1950 and to the electricity grid in 1952. In 1954 its name was changed to Gannei Tikvah and it received municipal status. In 2002 its population was 11,500, with a land area of 0.75 sq. mi. (1.9 sq. km.). The town has many green areas, where sculptures of well-known artists are on display, and in 2002 Merkaz ha-Bamah, a culture center, was opened. The center has a theater group which performs original plays as well as the standard repertoire.

WEBSITE: www.gantik.org.il.

[Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

GANNEI YEHUDAH (Heb. גַּנֵּי יְהוּדָה; "Gardens of Judea"), moshav with municipal council status in the Judean coastal plain of Israel near Petaḥ Tikvah, affiliated with Ha-Iḥud ha-Ḥaklaʾi, founded in 1950. The founding settlers were mainly immigrants from South Africa and engaged principally in citriculture. In 1968 Gannei Yehudah had 580 inhabitants, rising to 731 in 2002. In 2004 it was united with the nearby municipal council of Savyon.

[Efraim Orni / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

GANS, BIRD STEIN (1868–1944), U.S. educator. Gans was born in Allegheny City, Pennsylvania. In 1896 she became director of the Society for the Study of Child Nature in New York, the first organization in the U.S. engaged in the field of parent education. With the growth of similar societies in other cities, the organization changed its name to the Federation for Child Study in 1898 and Bird Gans was elected its first president. In 1924 the organization became the Child Study Association of America. Gans organized similar groups in Japan (1924) and England (1929). By 1941 the association was conducting extensive experiments and research in child psychology and providing its results to approximately 100 groups throughout the country. Gans was president of the organization until 1933 and honorary president for the next six years. She served on the National Board of Review and the film censorship organization, and she was associated with several organizations devoted to the investigation and solution of youth welfare problems.

GANS, DAVID BEN SOLOMON (1541–1613), chronicler, astronomer, and mathematician. Born in Lippstadt, Westphalia, Gans studied rabbinics with Reuben Fulda in Bonn; Eliezer Treves in Frankfurt; Moses Isserles in Cracow; and Judah Loew (the *Maharal*) in Prague. Encouraged, so it is said, by Isserles, he devoted himself to the study of mathematics and astronomy. In the house of his first father-in-law Gans apparently found a Hebrew translation of Euclid by Moses ibn Tibbon; his second father-in-law was the physician Samuel Rofe who had become famous for his mercury cures of syphilis. Gans was one of the few German Jews of his time, when rabbinics ruled supreme, to undertake serious secular studies for which he found and quoted older Jewish authorities. In Prague he corresponded with the astronomer Johann Mueller (Regiomontanus) and was in friendly contact with Johann Kepler and Tycho Brahe, for whom he translated the Alfonsine Tables from Hebrew into German.

Gans's main astronomical (and also geographical) work was *Neḥmad ve-Na'im* ("Delightful and Pleasant," Jesnitz, 1743; shortened version *Magen David*, Prague, 1612) in which he rejects the new Copernican system in favor of Ptolemy's, the former going back (according to Gans) to the Pythagorean system. Astronomy (and mathematics) – he held – was first studied by Jews from whom the Egyptians had learned the science, passing it on to the Greeks. Ptolemy had studied with Alexandrian Jewish scholars. The study of astronomy was important not only for the Jewish calendar but as proof for the cultural achievements of the Jewish people. Other works by Gans on mathematics, the calendar, and the geography of Ereẓ Israel remained unpublished.

Gans wrote his chronicle *Ẓemaḥ David* ("Offspring of David," Prague, 1592) in two parts, one dealing with Jewish history to the date of publication, the other with general history. He had written it for "householders like myself and of my worth," while justifying the inclusion of general history by the fact that it contained ethical teachings of emperors, which ordinary people would accept coming from such illustrious mouths. The first part of the work summarizes that of his predecessors, such as Ibn *Daud and *Zacuto, but he dissociates himself from the untraditional approach of Azariah dei *Rossi. For the second part his sources are contemporary German chroniclers like Cyriak Spangenberg and Laurentius Faustus, though in his introduction he expresses doubts as to their reliability. Gans shows an interest in economics; his description of historical events and situations reflects the spirit and taste of the 16th-century Jewish "householder" in Bohemia and Poland. The *Ẓemaḥ David* remained a standard work up to the Haskalah period. The second edition by David b. Moses of Reindorf (Frankfurt, 1692) brings the chronicle up to the date of publication, also giving a long poetical description of the *Fettmilch riots of 1614. It was translated into Latin by W.H. Vorst (Leyden, 1692); into Yiddish by Solomon Zalman Hanau (Frankfurt, 1698); and parts of it into German by G. Klemperer (ed. Moritz Gruenwald, 1890). The Warsaw edition of 1849, also brought up to date, was reproduced in 1966 with introductions in Hebrew and English and an index.

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GANS, EDUARD (1789–1839), jurist and historian in Berlin. From 1816 to 1819 he studied law and philosophy in the universities of Berlin and Heidelberg; at Heidelberg he was influenced by *Hegel and his system and became one of the philosopher's closest students. In 1820 Gans was appointed lecturer at the University of Berlin where he became celebrated for his inspiring lectures. In contrast with Hegel and Kant, Gans argued that Judaism should be seen as one of the major sources of Western culture and the origin of its notion of religion and morals. He considered Rabbinic Judaism to be a vital development of prophetic Biblical Judaism and a dynamic response to the surrounding cultures of the time. Nevertheless, throughout the centuries and owing to Christian anti-Jewish pressure traditional Judaism degenerated. Contemporary Judaism must adjust itself to the values and cultural level in order to regain its vitality and to overcome its isolationist tendency. As an expression of this notion he founded in 1819, in conjunction with Leopold *Zunz and Moses *Moser, the *Verein fuer Kultur und Wissenschaft der Juden (Society for Culture and Science of the Jews), the objective of which was to establish a scientific modern study of Judaism, to bring general education to Jewish youth by expanding their cultural horizons, and the reform of traditional Jewish thinking. The society, which proved to be the first step towards the development of Wissenschaft des Judentums, was dissolved in 1824. In this period not much was done in terms of actual research but major programmatic formulations – not the least by Gans himself – laid the ground for the further work done in the next generations. Gans' inclination to *assimilation, and the government's objection to the appointment of a Jew to a permanent academic position, led Gans to become an apostate to Christianity at the end of 1825. In 1826 he was appointed associate professor at Berlin University, and in 1829 a full professor. In his lectures on jurisprudence, which attracted an enormous audience, Gans developed the Hegelian philosophical system rejecting the historical system of Savigny. On history, he elaborated the concept of the Prussian state and its sovereignty, and the central role of the ruler as the incarnation of the concept of the state. He saw the French Revolution as a new and crucial factor in European history, and explained the historical concept of "Europe" as a synthesis of different peoples incorporating the best in the cultures of Israel, Greece, Roman, Christianity, and the West in its development; Gans was opposed to nationalism and the romantic glorification of the Middle Ages and its Christian culture.

His works include (on law) *Scholien zum Gaius* (1821); *System des roemischen Civilrechts im Grundrisse* (1827); *Ueber die Grundlage des Besitzes* (1839); *Beitraege zur Revision der preussischen Gesetzgebung* (1830–32); *Das Erbrecht in weltgeschichtlicher Entwicklung* (4 vol., 1824–35; repr.), a fundamental work on comparative law; and a historical work, *Vorlesungen ueber die Geschichte der letzten fuenfzig Jahre* (1833–34). He also edited Hegel's lectures on the philosophy of history (vols. 8 and 9 of G.W.F. Hegel's *Werke*, 1833–37). In 1827 he founded the *Jahrbuecher fuer wissenschaftliche Kritik*. An essay on the principles of the law of inheritance in the Pentateuch and Talmud, a chapter from his work *Das Erbrech in weltgeschichtlicher Entwicklung*, appeared in the *Zietschrift fuer die Wissenschaft des Judentums* (vol. 1 (1822–23), 419–71), which also published his study of the Roman legislation concerning the Jews ("Gesetzgebung ueber Juden in Rom"). The reports of the society, including several of his addresses, are preserved in manuscript in the Zunz archives in Jerusalem.

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[Nachum Glatzer / Yehoyada Amir (2nd ed.)]

GANS, MOZES ("Max") HEIMAN (1917–1987), Dutch author, journalist, and jeweler. Gans grew up in the building of the "Joodse Invalide." This was the institute for poor Jewish invalids, an outstanding example of modern Jewish charity of which the controversial Rebbe Meijer de Hond (1882–1943) was the spiritual father and Gans' own father, Isaac Gans, the founder and director.

In 1943 Max Gans managed to escape to Switzerland, where he founded the Joodse Coördinatie Commissie in Genève, which acted as much as possible on behalf of the Dutch Jews under Nazi occupation. Upon his return to Amsterdam he took over the jeweler's shop of his father-in-law (who had been deported to his death), Premsela & Hamburger, specializing in silverware. Later he would write a standard work on antique silver.

At the same time he was active in Jewish affairs, becoming the head of the Central Committee for Jewish Education of the Netherlands Ashkenazi Congregation (NIK) and in 1950 assistant editor and then, from 1956 to 1966, the editor of the Dutch Jewish Weekly *Nieuw Israelitisch Weekblad* (NIW). As the (assistant) editor of the NIW he criticized what he saw as the short Dutch national memory of the persecution of the Dutch Jews, the apologetical attitude towards the Jewish Council by the Jewish author and lawyer Abel Herzberg (1893–1989), and the opportunistic way in which the German *Widergutmachungs* money was handled by the Dutch authorities.

A private collector of Judaica, Gans published in 1971 his monumental *Memorbook, A Pictorial History of Dutch Jewry from the Middle Ages to 1940*, with some 1,100 illustrations, which in 1987 went into its sixth printing, with an English translation published in 1977. In addition, he published three smaller albums on the Amsterdam Jewish quarter before 1940 and after – all of which were also translated into English. In 1976–77 he held the appointment of professor extraordinary in Dutch Jewish history at the University of Leiden.

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[Henriette Boas / Evelien Gans (2nd ed.)]

GAN SHELOMO (Heb. גַּן שְׁלֹמֹה; previously known as Kevuzat Schiller), kibbutz near Reḥovot, affiliated with Iḥud ha-Kevuẓot ve-ha-Kibbutzim. It was founded in 1927 by a pioneer group of former students from Galicia. Affiliated with Ḥever ha-Kevuẓot (of *Mapai orientation), the settlers nevertheless preserved their political ties with Ha-Oved ha-Ẓiyyoni (Independent Liberals). Citriculture, field crops, orchards, poultry and dairy cattle constituted principal farm branches, and the kibbutz also had a textile factory. Gan Shelomo is named in memory of Solomon *Schiller. In 1968 its population was 265, rising to 413 in 2002.

[Efraim Orni]

GAN SHEMU'EL (Heb. גַּן שְׁמוּאֵל), kibbutz in central Israel near *Ḥaderah, affiliated with Kibbutz Arẓi ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir. Members of Odessa's Ḥovevei Zion first settled there in 1884, laying out plantations of *etrogim* ("citrons"). They named the place "Samuel's Garden" after Samuel *Mohilever. In 1912 a laborers' group settled there temporarily, and in 1921 settlers from Eastern Europe took over. In 1968 Gan Shemu'el had 700 inhabitants, and in 2002 a total of 827. The kibbutz's economy has been based on intensive farming (fieldcrops, orchards, dairy cattle, fishery, turkeys, and ducks) and a food preserves factory.

WEBSITE: www.ganshmuel.org.il.

[Efraim Orni /Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

GAN SHOMRON (Heb. גַּן שׁוֹמְרוֹן), moshav in central Israel, northeast of *Ḥaderah, founded in 1934 by middle-class settlers from Germany and unaffiliated with any moshav association. It expanded after 1945, when World War II veterans and new immigrants settled there. Its economy was based on intensive farming (especially citriculture). The name Gan Shomron refers to the location of the village near the Samaria Hills. In 1969 its population was 322, rising to 599 in 2002.

[Efraim Orni]

GANSO, JOSEPH (17th century), rabbi, author, and *paytan*. He lived in Bursa, Turkey, and, in his old age, immigrated to Jerusalem, where he died. Famed as a leading hymnologist he composed a book of *piyyutim* of which only one incomplete copy is extant (in the library of the Jewish Theological Seminary in New York). The hymns, written in a lucid style, reveal the influence of R. Israel *Najara, but they are also original in a manner typical of his contemporaries and of his time. Several of the hymns are in Aramaic. The most important of Ganso's pupils was R. Solomon *Algazi.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Conforte, Kore, 50a, 51a; Ghirondi-Neppi, 197; Rosanes, Togarmah, 3 (1914), 160; Davidson, Oẓar, 4 (1933), 493–4.

[Abraham Meir Habermann]

GANTMAN, JUDAH LEIB (Leo) (1888–1953), *ḥazzan*. Judah Leib Gantman was born in Berlin and, as a child, participated in the choir of his father, Cantor Benjamin Gantman, who composed melodies for many portions of the prayer service. He continued his studies in music and in 1908 moved to Odessa, where he studied at the Music Conservatory. He served in the Russian army as conductor of the military orchestra, both in the Czarist army and in the revolutionary army, until he was released in 1919. From 1920 to 1927 he conducted the Odessa Opera, after which he moved to Antwerp, where he conducted the synagogue choir of the "Machsiké Hadass" community. Gantman left hundreds of compositions for sections of the prayer service. He trained many cantors, some of whom are still serving in many parts of the world.

[Akiva Zimmerman (2nd ed.)]

GAN YAVNEH (Heb. גַּן יַבְנֶה), town in the coastal plain of Israel, southwest of *Yavneh. The municipal council area is 4 sq. mi. (10.5 sq. km.). It was founded as a moshavah in 1931 by a Zionist group, the Aḥuzah society in New York, most of whose members failed to arrive. The moshavah was considerably enlarged by new immigrants in 1949 and in 1950 received its municipal council status. The population of the settlement constantly grew, reaching 2,840 inhabitants in 1968, 4,790 in the mid-1990s, and 12,200 at the end of 2002. Its name refers to the historical site of Jabneh, which is 5½ mi. (9 km.) away.

[Efraim Orni / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

GANZFRIED, SOLOMON BEN JOSEPH (1804–1886), rabbi and author. Ganzfried was born in Ungvar, Hungary, where he also died. Orphaned in his childhood, he was brought up in the house of the local rabbi Ẓevi Hirsch Heller, one of the outstanding scholars of his time. From 1830 to 1849 Ganzfried served as rabbi of Brezewicz and subsequently as head of the *bet din* of Ungvar. He was one of the chief speakers for orthodox Jewry at the Jewish congress which took place in Budapest in 1869. He also published a polemic against the Reform movement. His first published work, *Keset-ha-Sofer* (1835; 1871^2 with additions by the author), was on the laws of writing a *Sefer Torah*, and was highly recommended by Moses *Sofer as a necessary textbook for scribes of Torah scrolls, *tefillin*, and *mezuzot*. Ganzfried's fame, however, rests mainly upon his *Kiẓẓur Shulḥan Arukh* ("Abridged Shulḥan Arukh," 1864); it achieved great popularity and widespread circulation and was accepted as the main handbook for Ashkenazi Jewry. It encompassed all the laws relating to the mode of life of the ordinary Jew living outside Ereẓ Israel (including such subjects as etiquette, hygiene, etc.), but omitting such details as were common knowledge and practice at that time (see his introduction to ch. 80) or that were not essential knowledge for the ordinary man (see especially the laws of matrimony, ch. 145). The *Kiẓẓur Shulḥan Arukh* is based upon the Shulḥan Arukh of Joseph *Caro with the glosses of Moses *Isserles. It is written in simple, popular language, with a lively style, and interest is sustained by the ethical maxims with which it is interlaced. Unlike his predecessor Abraham *Danzig, author of the *Ḥayyei Adam*, Ganzfried does not detail and explain the different views but usually gives his decision without the reasoning. The book had already achieved 14 editions during its author's lifetime, and since then it has gone through scores of editions, displacing all previous abridgments of the Shulḥan Arukh. It also became a basic work to which many scholars added marginal notes and novellae.

The important editions of the work are Lublin, 1888, with the commentaries, "*Pe'at ha-Shulḥan*" by the author himself, *Ammudei ha-Shulḥan* by Benjamin Isaiah b. Jeroham Fishel ha-Kohen, and *Misgeret Zahav*, by Moses Israel; Leipzig, 1924, with source references (*Meẓudat Ẓiyyon*), supplements (*Meẓudat David*) and with illustrations, edited by D. Feldman; Jerusalem, 1940, a vocalized edition with the addition of the laws and customs applying in Ereẓ Israel at the present day, edited by J.M. Tykocinski, and one with the additions *Misgeret ha-Shulḥan* and *Leḥem ha-Panim* of Ḥayyim Isaiah ha-Kohen Halbersberg and a summary of those precepts connected with the land of Israel in accordance with the rulings of Abraham Isaiah *Karelitz, edited by K. Kahana (Jerusalem, 1954).

The book was also translated into many languages (English by H.E. Goldin (1928)). Ganzfried's other published works are a commentary on the prayer book with notes and supplements to the prayer-book commentary *Derekh ha-Ḥayyim* of Jacob Lorbeerbaum (first published in the prayer book printed in Vienna in 1839); *Penei Shelomo* (1845), novellae to Bava Batra; *Torat Zevaḥ* (1849), on the laws of *sheḥitah; Leḥem ve-Simlah* (1861), on the laws of menstruation and ritual immersion; *Appiryon* (1864; with the author's additions in 1876), homilies on the Pentateuch and on some *aggadot; Oholei Shem* (1878), on the laws of names in bills of divorce and on the writing of deeds; and *Shem Shelomo* (1908), on talmudic themes. There have remained in manuscript *Leshon ha-Zahav*, on Hebrew grammar; *Penei Adam*, notes to the *Ḥayyei Adam; Kelalim be-Ḥokhmat ha-Emet*, a commentary on the Zohar; and his responsa.

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[Jacob S. Levinger]

GAON (pl. **Geonim**), formal title of the heads of the academies of Sura and Pumbedita in Babylonia. The *geonim* were recognized by the Jews as the highest authority of instruction from the end of the sixth century or somewhat later to the middle of the 11th. In the 10th and 11th centuries this title was also used by the heads of academies in Ereẓ Israel. In the 12th and 13th centuries – after the geonic period in the exact sense of the term – the title *gaon* was also used by the heads of academies in Baghdad, Damascus, and Egypt. It eventually became an honorific title for any rabbi or anyone who had a great knowledge of Torah. Apparently, the term *gaon* was shortened from *rosh yeshivat ge'on Ya'akov* (cf. "the pride of Jacob," Ps. 47:4). Other explanations of the origin of the term offered by modern scholars are not acceptable.

The Geonim of Sura and Pumbedita

The exact time when the title of *gaon* came into use cannot be established. *Sherira and later rabbis automatically designated as *gaon* the heads of the two academies from the year 900 according to the Seleucid calendar (589 C.E.), when the academies renewed their normal activity. But Sherira also mentions a tradition that Ravai, of Pumbedita (c. 540–560), was already *gaon*. However, some hold that this title and the special privileges of the academies were not granted until after the Arab conquest of Babylonia (657 C.E.), Sura receiving them first and later Pumbedita. Together with the title *gaon* they also used the titles *resh metivta* or *rosh yeshivah* ("head of the academy") as was customary in the talmudic period, and the title *rosh yeshivah shel ha-golah* ("head of the academy of the exile"), which is not found in the Talmud. According to a tradition that originated in the Sura academy (Neubauer, Chronicles, 2 (1895), 78), only the heads at Sura were called *gaon* and not their counterparts in Pumbedita. This was accepted by some historians but is contradicted by R. Sherira's account and other sources. The existence of separate traditions, one in Sura that enumerates "the qualities in which Sura is superior to Pumbedita" (*ibid.*), and that of Pumbedita which emphasizes that "the rabbis of Pumbedita are the leaders of the Diaspora from the time of the Second Temple" (*Iggeret Rav Sherira Ga'on*, ed. B.M. Lewin (1921), 82), emphasizes the competition between the two. Hints of tension and even open quarrels are found in other sources. Nevertheless, Sura and Pumbedita dominated the intellectual landscape of the period to the extent that little or nothing is known about other scholars or academies.

In the talmudic period the heads of the academies were chosen by the scholars of the academies (BB 12b) while in the geonic period they were appointed by the exilarchs. *Geonim* usually (although not always) rose through the hierarchy of positions in the academies until they attained this highest office. Persons of average ability therefore also attained the gaonate, and in the entire period of 400 years only a few *geonim* were outstanding men who made a lasting impact on Judaism. These included *Yehudai, *Amram, *Saadiah, Sherira, *Samuel b. Hophni, and *Hai. At times the exilarchs misused their authority and appointed *geonim* whom they expected to be subservient to them and who were not outstanding scholars. For example, it is related that an exilarch rejected *Aḥa of Shabḥa, author of the *She'iltot*, and appointed his disciple Natronai Kahana to the gaonate in Pumbedita (Ibn Daud, *Sefer ha-Kabbalah*, 47–49). Thus, the academy in Sura was generally disturbed by the interference of the exilarchs. Sherira (*Iggeret Sherira Ga'on*, 105) argues that because of the interference of the exilarchs he could not exactly record the names of the *geonim* of Sura until the year 1000 of the Seleucid calendar (689 C.E.). After the authority of the exilarchs had weakened under *David b. Judah (*ibid.* 93) in the times of the caliph al-Ma'mun, from 825, the influence of the group of scholars on the appointment of the *gaon* increased, especially in Pumbedita. Traditionally, the *gaon* had multiple roles. First and foremost, the *gaon* was the head of the academy, teaching privately and publicly, especially during the *kallah* months (see below). In addition, he served as judge and the head of the equivalent of a supreme court. He also was empowered to administer the courts and appoint judges. The leading *geonim* also wrote numerous responsa, i.e., correspondence answering halakhic questions from near and from far. As an arbiter of Halakhah, the *gaon* was also responsible for legal innovation when the situation warranted it. Numerous *geonim* were authors of commentaries, legal codes, and works of theology (see *Geonic Literature). Finally, some of the *geonim* were involved in politics beyond the Jewish community. They represented the community to the local and state Muslim governments.

There were cases when the exilarch and the group of scholars could not agree on the appointment of the *gaon* and each side appointed its own candidate. If the two sides did not reach a compromise as a result of the pressure of public opinion, the quarrel might last until the death of one of the candidates. Generally, assistants to the heads of academies were appointed *gaon* and were called *dayyanei de-bava* or *av* (abbreviation of *av bet din*). Distinguished *geonim,* such as Sherira, Samuel b. Hophni, and Hai had first served as *av bet din*; a deviation from this practice was considered derogatory. Because only those who already possessed such honorific titles as *aluf and *resh kallah and who had formerly served as scribes or assistants to heads of *yeshivot*, were appointed to the gaonate, the choice often fell on old men who could fill the position for only a few years.

In this period the academies in Babylonia served as the cultural center for world Jewry, and not only Babylonian-Persian Jewry as was the case in talmudic times. Hence, the influence of the *geonim* was now all-important. The *geonim* viewed themselves as the heirs to the Babylonian talmudic tradition. They continued the work of the Babylonian **amoraim* as passed on by the **savoraim*. This in turn was the source of their supreme authority in matters of *halakhah*. During the geonic period the Babylonian Talmud existed as both oral law and as written texts. Indeed, the *geonim* always quoted the oral tradition before citing the written texts. Since their knowledge of the Talmud was the result of an unbroken tradition, the text had a certain fluidity. The *gaon* would often quote from differing oral versions of the Talmud, even without determining the "correct" version. The *geonim* had a three-fold responsibility regarding the Talmud: (a) They were part of the chain of tradition, transmitting the Talmud to the next generation. (b) They endeavored to provide the correct interpretation of the Talmud. (c) They actively facilitated the practice of Judaism according to the Talmud. Until the second half of the 10th century, very few of their interpretations were written down. They were simply taught in the academies. Since the *geonim* spoke an Aramaic dialect very similar to that of the Babylonian *amoraim*, they had an added advantage of correctly understanding the Talmud. They clearly were intimately aware of the spirit of talmudic discourse and enjoyed a sensitivity to its literary nature. This profoundly influenced their interpretations in general and greatly affected the practical application of the Talmud text. The *geonim* became skilled at utilizing the advanced communication and travel technologies developed by the Muslim Empire to get their message to far-flung Jewish communities in North Africa and in Spain.

The *geonim* made the academies a supreme court and source of instruction for all Jewry. Thousands of persons, occupied with their personal affairs for most of the year, would assemble in the academies in the *kallah months of Elul and Adar to hear lectures on *halakhah*. During those months, three types of study took place: (a) A specific tractate of Talmud was studied in depth; (b) individual students were tested to see if they were worthy of the stipend; and (c) the assembly would discuss questions in *halakhah*, many of which were sent from throughout the Diaspora. The floor was open to all scholars. However the *gaon* made the final decision. The academies were actually filled with students only during the *kallah* months. Throughout the rest of the year, only a small group of serious students remained. These students received stipends from the academies.

While the Talmud and Talmud study were the center of the geonic universe, the *geonim* engaged in other areas of Jewish study. One such area is biblical exegesis. The innovator was Saadiah Gaon. Other geonim followed Saadiah's lead in writing biblical commentary; the most important of them was Samuel ben Hophni. Saadiah was the first gaon to write monographs on specific topics, a number of which he devoted to biblical translation and commentary. Saadiah translated the entire Pentateuch, as well as the books of Isaiah, Proverbs, Psalms, Job, and Daniel. He wrote commentaries on all of these books, with the exception of the latter half of the Pentateuch. Samuel ben Hophni translated and wrote commentaries on three of the five books of the Pentateuch. Each monograph begins with a lengthy and elaborate introduction in which the *gaon* describes the biblical text and explains the methodology of his commentary. On the whole, the commentaries emphasize the linguistic components of the text, the conflict between the literal and metaphoric meaning of the text, and theological and polemical concerns. The *geonim* commented on the non-legal portions of the Bible, leaving the legal sections to be dealt with in their halakhic works. At the same time, their commentaries are more disciplined and far less imaginative than earlier rabbinic exegesis. Samuel ben Hophni's commentaries do include homilies but they are not based on a specific text. Rather, they derive from the overall thrust of the whole portion of the text.

There were two major courts in Sura and two in Pumbedita. In each academy there was the *gaon*'s court and that of the *av bet din*. In addition, the gaonate had jurisdiction over the organization of the courts in all the districts of Babylonia. However, the judges were appointed by the exilarch with the assent of the *geonim*. Only under Hai Gaon did the supreme court (*bet din ha-gadol*) of Pumbedita appoint the judges (Neubauer, Chronicles, 2 (1887), 85; *Teshuvot ha-Ge'onim*, ed. Harkavy, no. 180). The *geonim* were not satisfied with halakhic conclusions derived from the Talmud; they also made new regulations regarding contemporary needs. Their *takkanot* ("ordinances") had legal validity because the *geonim* considered themselves presidents of the Sanhedrin of their generation. The halakhic decisions of the geonim were not made without influence from the general, non-Jewish legal environment. It has been demonstrated that a number of geonic customs had their origins in Islamic practice. For example, the question arose as to how a widow who lost her **ketubbah* would receive payment. Ẓemaḥ Gaon suggested that the determination should be made by consulting the ketubbot of her relatives. Both Sherirah and Hai disagreed with this ruling because it had no basis in the Talmud. However, a similar practice existed in Islamic law. Interestingly, the custom was accepted by later authorities, including Solomon *Duran, Solomon *Aderet and *Asher ben Jeḥiel.

All these tasks required a large establishment; therefore, the academies employed scribes, directors of the *kallah* assemblies, and other officials. Their expenditure was covered by taxes levied on districts, which were directly subject to their authority. In addition, the communities which addressed their questions to the *geonim* sent them contributions. In isolated instances the *geonim* would turn to the communities in the Diaspora with a request for financial support and usually their request was answered. Real estate also served as a source of income for the academies. The requests for support of the academies increased, especially, toward the end of the geonic period. Thus, the candidates for the office of head of the academies had to be not only learned, but they also had to possess administrative talents. Descent was also a factor; six or seven families provided most of the *geonim* of Sura and Pumbedita. Three of these were priestly, while Sherira traced his ancestry to King David (*Iggeret Sherira Ga'on*, 92). His family produced several *geonim*, many assistant heads of academies, and other important officials in Pumbedita. In Sura positions were held for 200 years by three families. The *geonim* Jacob, Ivomai, Moses, and *Kohen Ẓedek (b. Ivomai) belonged to one priestly family; another such family produced the *geonim* *Hilai (788), *Natronai b. Hilai (853), Jacob, and Joseph (942), while a third priestly family produced the *geonim* Kohen Ẓedek of Pumbedita, his son *Nehemiah, Samuel b. Ḥophni grandson of Kohen Zedek, his son *Israel, and his grandson Azariah of Sura. The *geonim* Zadok, Kimoi, *Nahshon, *Zemah b. Ḥayyim, and Hai b. Nahshon were members of one family. However, the position of *gaon* was not hereditary. Although Hai attained the gaonate immediately after his father Sherira, Nahshon did not become *gaon* until 53 years after the death of his father Zadok, seven members of other families serving as *geonim* in the interim. The difference in time between the death of Hilai and the appointment of his son Natronai was similar. *Dosa did not attain the gaonate until 71 years after the death of his father Saadiah and when he was more than 80 years old.

On the appointment of a new *gaon* a festive ceremony was held, in which participated the scholars of the two academies and the dignitaries of all the communities in Babylonia, headed by the exilarch. According to *Nathan ben Isaac ha-Bavli (Neubauer, Chronicles 2 (1895), 86), the ceremony resembled the installation of the exilarch and the people honored the *geonim* royally. Following the method of talmudic references to heads of academies, Sherira throughout used the word "*malakh*" ("reigned") to designate the term of service of the *gaon*.

The *geonim* were considered the intellectual leaders of the entire Diaspora and their decisions and responsa had absolute legal validity in most Jewish communities. It cannot be assumed that they attained their influence without a struggle and conflict with other centers, especially Ereẓ Israel. Ben Baboi (see *Pirkoi Ben Baboi) the pupil of Yehudai Gaon, attested to the intervention of the *geonim* in the affairs of Ereẓ Israel, "and he wrote to Ereẓ Israel regarding… all the *mitzvot* which are not observed properly according to the *halakhah* but according to practice in times of persecution and they did not accept his intervention and they replied to him: 'a custom suspends a *halakhah*'" (Ginzberg, *Ginzei Schechter,* 2 (1929), 559). Baboi attacked practices of Ereẓ Israel (*Tarbiz*, 2 (1931), 396–7). He claimed that only the Babylonian customs and practices were valid. To follow the customs of Ereẓ Israel was a sin. Seventy years later, Amram polemized against those who followed the customs of the westerners who deviated from the right path. The aim of the Babylonian *geonim* was to impose the Babylonian Talmud and the doctrines of their academies also in Ereẓ Israel and in this way to lessen the attachment of the Diaspora to Ereẓ Israel.

The gaonate had a specific political, communal function at the side of the exilarch. The recognition of the gaonate as a political representation of the Jewish community is attested by the fact that on the death of the exilarch his income was given to the *gaon* of Sura until the appointment of a new exilarch. The *geonim* also attempted to influence the policy of the government toward the Jews via Baghdad Jewry, who had representatives in the court of the caliphs. However, the particular achievement of the *geonim* was their success in giving legal validity to the laws of the Talmud and spreading the knowledge of the Talmud among the thousands of people who came to Babylonia from all parts of the world. Their writings in the fields of commentary and *halakhah* made an impact on the entire period which is named after them. Their great importance to Jewry is attested by the paragraph in the **Kaddish* where the *geonim* are mentioned together with the exilarch (*Gedenkbuch… D. Kaufmann* (1900), Hebrew section, 52ff.; *Ginzei Kedem*, 2 (1923), 46; 3 (1925), 54). They and other high officials in the academies are also mentioned with the exilarch in the prayer *Yekum Purkan*. R. *Ẓemaḥ b. Ḥayyim, the *gaon* of Sura, expressed this feeling of authority in his responsa to the community in Kairouan: "And when Eldad said that they pray for the scholars of Babylonia and then for those in the Diaspora, they are right. For the major scholars and prophets were exiled to Babylonia, and they established the Torah and founded the academy on the Euphrates under Jehoiachin, king of Judah until this day, and they were the dynasty of wisdom and prophecy and the source of Torah for the entire people…" (*Eldad ha-Dani*, ed. by Abraham Epstein (1891), 8).

Even though the leading *geonim* were those of the later generations, the gaonate already had declined as the cultural, religious center of Judaism far before it had ceased to exist. This was as a result of a combination of internal and external causes. A sign of its public decline was that from the late ninth century most *geonim* no longer lived in the cities of the two academies. They lived in Baghdad, the center of the authorities and the residence of the exilarch. On the one hand, the decline of the academies in the eyes of the Diaspora was caused by the competition between Sura and Pumbedita and the quarrels in the academies regarding the appointment of the *gaon*. On the other hand, the essence of the fulfillment of the mission of the *geonim* – the spread of the Talmud – lessened its importance. With the emergence of new centers for talmudic studies and the appearance of great scholars throughout the Diaspora, its dependence on the two academies and on the *geonim* ceased and its attachment to them weakened. Independent-minded scholars stopped sending questions to the academies and their *geonim*, and even important *geonim* such as Sherira and Hai expressed their anger at the weakening of the links with North Africa and with Spain (Mann, Texts, 1 (1931), 109, 120–1). *Ḥanokh b. Moses of Cordoba did not even answer the letters of *Sherira. The scholars of Spain found encouragement from the authorities in their tendency to break their dependence on the *geonim* of Babylonia. The Umayyad caliphs in Cordoba did not approve the

Jewish attachment to the academies in Babylonia which were under the Abbasids (cf. Abraham ibn Daud's statement, "The king was delighted by the fact that the Jews in his domain no longer had need of the people of Babylon," Ibn Daud, *Sefer ha-Kabbalah*, 66).

The decline of the Baghdad caliphate, the impoverishment of Babylonian Jewry which caused the academies to depend completely on contributions from abroad, the greatness and the independent intellectual development of the Diaspora, and the persecutions by the Abbasid and Seljuk rulers put an end to the institution of the gaonate in about 1040.

List of the Geonim of Sura and Pumbedita

Because of the dearth of sources the exact chronology of the *geonim* cannot be established. The letter of R. Sherira serves as the basis for the list but it contains contradictions and many variant versions. (See Table: Chronological List of Geonim in Sura and Pumbedita.) The list of Abraham *Ibn Daud in the *Sefer ha-Kabbalah* does not clarify these contradictions. Nonetheless, the letter of Sherira remains the major source for the chronology of the Babylonian *geonim*. But there is much material on the history of their period, both in Babylonia and in other countries, in the collections of the responsa of the *geonim* (see bibliography).

Chronological List of the Geonim in Sura and Pumbedita (dates according to year of appointment)

Sura		Pumbedita
	589	Hanan of Iskiya
Mar bar Huna	591	(?) Mari b. Dimi (formerly of Firuz-Shapur and Nehardea)
Ḥanina	614	Ḥanina of Bei-Gihara (Firuz-Shapur)
		Ḥana (or Huna)
Huna	650	
Sheshna (called also Mesharsheya b. Taḥlifa)	…	
	651	Rabbah
	…	Bosai
Ḥanina of Nehar-Pekod	689	Huna Mari b. Joseph
	…	Ḥiyya of Meshan
	…	Ravya (or Mar Yanka)
Hilai ha-Levi of Naresh	694	
Jacob ha-Kohen of Nehar-Pekod	712	
	719	Natronai b. Nehemiah
	…	Judah
Samuel	730	
	739	Joseph
Mari Kohen of Nehar-Pekod	748	Samuel b. Mar
	752	(?) Natroi Kahana b. Mar Amunah
	…	Abraham Kahana
Aḥa	756	
Yehudai b. Naḥman	757	
Aḥunai Kahana b. Papa	761	Dodai b. Naḥman (brother of Yehudai the gaon of Sura)
	764	Hananiah b. Mesharsheya
Ḥaninai Kahana b. Huna	769	
	771	Malkha b. Aḥa
	773	Rabbah (Abba) b. Dodai
Mari ha-Levi b. Mesharsheya	774	
Bebai, (Bivoi, Bivi) ha-Levi b. Abba of Nehar-Pekod	777	
	781	Shinoi
	782	Ḥaninai Kahana b. Abraham
	785	Huna ha-Levi b. Isaac
Hilai b. Mari	788	Manasseh b. Mar Joseph
	796	Isaiah ha-Levi b. Mar Abba
Jacob ha-Kohen b. Mordecai	797	
	798	Joseph b. Shila
	804	Kahana b. Ḥaninai
	810	Ivomai (in both academies)
Ivomai, uncle of his predecessor	811	
	814	Joseph b. Abba
Zadok b. Jesse (or Ashi)	816	Abraham b. Sherira
Hilai b. Ḥanina	818	
Kimoi b. Ashi	822	
Moses (Mesharsheya) Kahana b. Jacob	825	
	828	Joseph b. Ḥiyya
	833	Isaac b. Hananiah
	836[1]	
Kohen Ẓedek b. Ivomai	838	
	839	Joseph b. Ravi
	842	Paltoi b. Abbaye
Sar Shalom b. Boaz	848	
Natronai b. Hilai	853	
	857	Aḥa Kahana b. Rav
Amram b. Sheshna[2]	858	Menahem b. Joseph b. Ḥiyya
	860	Mattathias b. Mar Ravi
	869	Abba (Rabbah) b. Ammi
Nahshon b. Zadok	871	
	872	Ẓemaḥ b. Paltoi
Ẓemah b. Ḥayyim	879	
Malkha	885	
Hai b. Nahshon	885	
	890[3]	Hai b. David
Hilai b. Natronai	896	
	898	Kimoi b. Ahai
Shalom b. Mishael	904	
	906	Judah b. Samuel (grandfather of Sherira)
Jacob b. Natronai	911	
	917–926	Mevasser Kahana b. Kimoi
Yom Tov Kahana b. Jacob	924	
	926–936	Kohen Ẓedek b. Joseph (appointed during the lifetime of his predecessor)

Sura		Pumbedita
Saadiah b. Joseph	928	
	936	Zemah b. Kafnai
	938	Hananiah b. Judah
Joseph b. Jacob	942–944	
	943	Aaron b. Joseph haKohen Sargado
	960	Nehemiah b. Kohen Ẓedek
	968	Sherira b. Hananiah
Ẓemaḥ b. Isaac (descendant of Paltoi)	988	
(?) Samuel b. Hophni ha-Kohen	997	
	998	Hai b. Sherira
Dosa b. Saadiah	1013	
Israel b. Samuel b. Hophni	1017	
Azariah ha-Kohen (son of Israel?)	1034	
(?) Isaac	1037	
	1038–(1058)	Hezekiah b. David (exilarch and head of the academy)

1. Until 838 position not filled in Sura.
2. Ruled with above 853–858.
3. The first of the geonim who lived in Baghdad (R. Isaac ibn Ghayyat, Sha'arei Simhah, pt. 1 no. 64).
4. The academy was closed for about 45 years. However, several teachers and pupils apparently remained.

[Simha Assaf and Jehoshua Brand]

Geonic Responsa

The collecting of scattered material in the anthologies of geonic responsa, both printed and in manuscript, and in their editing, according to the order of the tractates of the Babylonian Talmud, was begun by B.M. Lewin in *Oẓar ha-Ge'onim*, which he published in 12 volumes to *Bava Kamma* (1928–43). The 13th volume was published posthumously to part of *Bava Meẓia* and one volume of *Oẓar ha-Ge'onim* to *Sanhedrin* was published by H.Z. Taubes (Jerusalem, 1966).

The following are the editions of geonic responsa: *Halakhot Pesukot min ha-Ge'onim* (Constantinople, 1516, and again published by J. Mueller, 1893); *She'elot u-Teshuvot me-ha-Ge'onim* (Constantinople, 1575); *Sha'arei Ẓedek* (Salonika, 1792; Jerusalem, 1966); *Sha'arei Teshuvah* (in *Naharot Dammesek* of Solomon Kamondo, Salonika, 1802, and separately; Leipzig, 1858; Leghorn, 1869; New York, 1946); *Teshuvot Ge'onim Kadmonim* (Berlin, 1848); *Ḥemdah Genuzah* (Jerusalem, 1863); *Toratam shel Rishonim* (published by Ch. M. Horowitz, Frankfort, 1881); *Teshuvot Ge'onei Mizraḥ u-Ma'arav* (published by J. Mueller, Berlin, 1888); *Kohelet Shelomo* (published by S.A. Wertheimer, Jerusalem, 1899); *Ge'on ha-Ge'onim* (published by S.A. Wertheimer, Jerusalem, 1925); *Mi-Sifrut ha-Ge'onim* (published by S. Assaf, Jerusalem, 1933); *Teshuvot ha-Ge'onim* (standard title for different texts), published by J. Musafia (Lyck, 1864); by N.N. Coronel (Vienna, 1871); by A. Harkavy (Berlin, 1887); by S. Assaf (Jerusalem, 1927, 1928, 1942); by A. Marmorstein (Déva, 1928). Geonic responsa appeared also in several anthologies and periodicals such as *Ta'am Zekenim* (ed. by E. Askenazi, 1855); *Oẓar ha-Ḥayyim* (ed. by Ch. Ehrenreich, 1925–38); *Ginzei Kedem* (1922–44); in REJ, JQR, *Tarbiz*, KS, *Sinai* (see their index volumes), and in various Festschriften.

The Geonim of Baghdad after the Geonic Period

The heads of the Baghdad academy saw themselves as the successors of the *geonim* of Sura and Pumbedita because the last of them had lived in Baghdad after the tenth century. It may be assumed that many students and teachers from the older academies came to the academy that opened in the second half of the 11th century. The heads of the academies in Baghdad attempted to preserve, if at all possible, the continuity of their connection with the geonic period and called themselves, in the manner of their predecessors in Sura and Pumbedita, *rosh yeshivat ge'on Ya'akov* and *rosh yeshivah shel ha-golah*. The first known Baghdad *gaon* was Isaac b. Moses b. Sakri who came to the East from Spain in about 1070 after he failed to receive recognition in his native country. There is no information on the academy of Babylon, except for the period of 1140–50 when its head was Eli ha-Levi, the rabbi of David *Alroy. The names of the *geonim* who followed him are known from letters and responsa. The most famous was *Samuel b. Ali ha-Levi who opposed *Maimonides; he is praised by the travelers *Benjamin of Tudela and *Pethahiah of Regensburg. Judah *Al-Ḥarizi found that the liturgical poet *Isaac b. Israel ibn Shuwaykh was the head of the Baghdad academy. He was also known because of his connections with Abraham *Maimuni. In 1258 Baghdad Jewry was threatened by the attack of the Mongols and with the decline of Babylonian Jewry the position of gaonate declined as well. In 1288 the head of the Baghdad academy was Samuel b. Abi al-Rabīʿa ha-Kohen. This is known from his letter concerning the Maimonidean controversy (published by Halberstam in J. Kobak's *Jeschurun*, vol. 7, pp. 76–80). Henceforth, nothing is known about the fate of the Baghdad academy in the Middle Ages.

Chronological List of the Baghdad Geonim

1070	Isaac b. Moses
1140	Ali ha-Levi
1150	Solomon
1164	Samuel b. Ali ha-Levi
1194	Zechariah b. Barachel
1195	Eleazar b. Hillel
1209	Daniel b. Eleazar b. Ḥibbat Allah
1218	Isaac b. Israel ibn Shuwaykh
1240	Daniel b. Abi al-Rabīa ha-Kohen
1250	Eli II
1288	Samuel b. Daniel b. Abi al-Rabīa ha-Kohen.

The Gaonate in Ereẓ Israel

Little information on the beginnings of the gaonate in Ereẓ Israel is available. Sources increase only in the beginning of the 10th century as a result of the dispute between Saadiah Gaon and Aaron *Ben Meir and the bitter polemic between Rabbanites and Karaites. However, even here there is no reliable information on the gaonate in Ereẓ Israel, as was the case with the letter of R. Sherira regarding Babylonia, and was similarly true concerning the chronology of the *geonim* in Ereẓ Israel as given by Ben Meir. In any case it is clear that the title of *gaon* was not used in Ereẓ Israel until the academy of Tiberias moved to Jerusalem, which was several generations after its use in Babylonia. One may assume that the Babylonian *geonim* did not recognize the right of the heads of academies in Ereẓ Israel to use this title which they called *rosh ḥavurah* or *rosh yeshivah*. Since the Jerusalem academy was considered the successor to that of Tiberias, its leaders were sometimes called "*ge'on Teveryah*." The scholars in Ereẓ Israel could not compete in Talmud interpretation and *halakhah* with the scholars of Babylonia. A crucial turning point in the relationship between the gaonate in Babylonia and that of Ereẓ Israel was the dispute between Aaron Ben Meir and Saadiah Gaon. Ben Meir announced a new calendar computation that resulted in Passover beginning on a Sunday as opposed to the Babylonian calendar that determined the beginning of the holiday on a Tuesday. Six months later, by New Year 922 the debate was over, Saadiah had won and the Babylonian calendar was again used universally. The leadership of the academy of Ereẓ Israel was held by a group of seven scholars, often called "*Sanhedrin Gedolah*," and at its head was *ha-shelishi ba-ḥavurah* ("the third of the group of scholars"), the *gaon* and the *av bet din* or his substitute. The rest of the five members were called *ha-revi'i ba-ḥavurah* ("the fourth of the group of scholars"), etc., or briefly, *ha-shelishi*, etc. The appointment to positions was done according to a fixed hierarchy. After the death of the *gaon*, his position reverted generally to the *av bet din* and the rest of the leadership was promoted according to the hierarchy of positions. It is possible, however, that this order began only after the death of Ben Meir. Contrary to the Babylonian practice, the position of the *gaon* in Ereẓ Israel was hereditary. Sometimes the father would serve as *gaon*, one of his sons as *av bet din*, and the second son would be *shelishi* or *revi'i* in the *ḥavurah*; there is no doubt that this practice negatively influenced the matters of study in the academy of Ereẓ Israel.

The *geonim* of Ereẓ Israel in the 10th and 11th centuries were mainly from the family of Ben Meir, which claimed relation to *Judah ha-Nasi and thus to King David, and two families of kohanim, one of which was the family of *Abiathar and was related to *Eleazar b. Azariah. However, S. Abramson concludes that the family of kohanim that claimed relation to the House of David stemmed from the academy in Ereẓ Israel in one family. Abramson discovered in the *Genizah* fragments of an unknown document, which contained a list of the heads of academies for several generations. From this document it is apparent that one family of kohanim was merely a branch of the Ben Meir family. Thus, the gaonate of Ereẓ Israel was held by one family and its different branches for perhaps 200 years. *Solomon b. Judah, a native of Fez, next to Ben Meir the most famous of the *geonim* in Ereẓ Israel and whose family is not known, and his successor *Daniel b. Azariah, a descendant of one of the families of the exilarchate in Babylonia, were heads of academies and were not descendants of the *geonim* of Ereẓ Israel. Daniel was known as a strong leader, was esteemed by his contemporaries, and was a friend of Samuel ha-Nagid (Ibn Nagrela).

Besides managing the academy, the work of the *gaon* included all Jewish affairs in Ereẓ Israel. The designation of powers among the heads of academies and exilarchs, as was practiced in Babylonia, was not known in Ereẓ Israel. The *geonim* ordained the *ḥaverim*, appointed the *dayyanim* in Ereẓ Israel and Syria, and managed the economic affairs of the Jewish community in Ereẓ Israel. They were recognized by the foreign ruler as the representatives of the Jewish community in Ereẓ Israel. After Ereẓ Israel was politically allied with Baghdad and later with Egypt, the *geonim* corresponded with highly influential Jewish dignitaries in the two capitals. In these cases of emergency they were accustomed to travel there personally to negotiate in the court of the rulers. The halakhic and literary activity of the *geonim* is attested by some responsa. Hundreds of letters asking the *geonim* to aid the Jewish community and the academies were discovered in the Cairo *Genizah*. The *geonim* of Ereẓ Israel were not as learned as the *geonim* in Babylonia. Their major achievement was the maintenance of the continuity of the tradition of the academies in Ereẓ Israel under difficult political conditions.

Abrahamson assumes that Ẓemaḥ, who served as head of the academy from about 884–915, was a fourth-generation descendant of *Anan b. David, the founder of the Karaites, and he was a *nasi* and a *gaon*. Aaron Ben Meir succeeded in deposing Anan's family only after a bitter struggle in which he was assisted by the scholars and heads of the Baghdad community.

Chronological List of the Geonim of Ereẓ Israel

…	Moses (head of the academy?)
…	Meir I (head of the academy?)
884–915	Ẓemaḥ
915–932	Aaron b.Moses Ben Meir
932–934	Isaac (son of Aaron)
934–948	… Ben Meir (brother of Aaron)
948–955	Abraham b. Aaron
c. 955	Aaron
…	Joseph ha-Kohen b. Ezron (ruled two years)
…	…(ruled thirty years)
988-?	Samuel b. Joseph ha-Kohen
…	Yose b. Samuel
…	Shemaiah
1015	Josiah b. Aaron ('member of the Great Synagogue') b. Abraham (lived in Ramleh)
1020–1027	Solomon b. Joseph ha-Kohen
1027–1051	Solomon b. Judah
1051–1062	Daniel b. Azariah (*nassi* and *gaon*)
1062–1083	Elijah b. Solomon b. Joseph ha-Kohen
1084–1109	Abiathar b. Elijah

The Geonim of Ereẓ Israel in Damascus, and the Geonim of Egypt

The occupation of Jerusalem by the Seljuks in 1071 completely destroyed the city's Jewish community. The *gaon* *Elijah b. Solomon moved the academy to Tyre, which was subject to Fatimid rule. Elijah's son Abiathar headed the Tyre academy until the conquest of the city by the crusaders. Afterward he moved to Tripoli, Syria, where he died before 1110. His brother Solomon, who served as an *av bet din*, fled in 1093 to Hadrak (near Damascus) because of the decrees of David b. Daniel b. Azariah, head of Egyptian Jewry. In Hadrak he assembled the survivors of the Ereẓ Israel academy which apparently included his brother's son Elijah b. Abiathar. Later his position was given to his son Maẓli'aḥ, who went to Egypt in 1127 where he received the title of *gaon*. The academy of Ereẓ Israel was moved from Hadrak to Damascus and still existed during the 12th century when *Benjamin of Tudela reported that it was subject to the rule of the Babylonian gaonate (Baghdad). The names of two *geonim* who were descendants of the Abiathar family, Abraham b. Mazhir and his son Ezra, are known. The latter was ordained by Samuel b. Ali of Baghdad. In his time or shortly afterward the continuity of the *geonim* of Ereẓ Israel was broken. It is possible that he was followed by Zadok, who was dismissed from his position (*Taḥkemoni*, ed. by A. Kaminka (1899), 354).

In Fostat, Egypt, the academy existed in the time of Elhanan, the father of Shemariah, who is known from the story of the "*Four Captives." His title "chief rabbi" and his position were inherited by his son and then his grandson Elhanan who called himself *rosh ha-seder* or "*rosh ha-seder* of all Israel." *Shemariah and Elhanan, both of whom had previously studied in the Pumbedita academy, corresponded with Sherira and Hai. Only after the decline of the Babylonian and Palestinian academies did the large communities in Egypt request the establishment of their own gaonate. David b. Daniel (1083–89) was the first who attempted to do this. Like his strict father, he hoped to become *nasi* and *gaon* and to exert his power even over the head of the Tyre academy and on the communities in the coastal cities of Ereẓ Israel. However, the *nagid* Mevorakh, who supported him at first, later rejected him. In 1127 Maẓliaḥ b. Solomon, the aged head of the Ereẓ Israel academy, moved from Hadrak to Fostat and called himself *rosh yeshivat ge'on Ya'akov.* Several of his documents and letters are extant. After his death in 1138, his position was apparently given to Moses ha-Levi b. Nethanel; however, it is possible that Samuel b. Hananiah, who met Judah Halevi when he traveled from Egypt to Ereẓ Israel, was given the position. After Moses, his son Nethanel was *gaon* (1160–70) and was followed on his death by his brother Sar Shalom who was appointed *gaon* at Fostat. Sar Shalom, who was perhaps of Palestinian geonic descent, sometimes called himself *rosh yeshivat Ereẓ ha-Ẓevi*, as if his activities were a continuation of the academies of Ereẓ Israel not only in Damascus but also in Fostat. With his death the gaonate in Egypt ceased to exist. Maimonides, who lived at that time in Egypt, did not possess the title of *gaon*.

The Title of Gaon in Other Countries

The title of *gaon* was also used by great scholars in other countries. Maimonides writes in his introduction to the *Mishneh Torah*, "the *geonim* of Spain and France." The *geonim* of Africa, Lotharingia (Lorraine), Mainz, and Narbonne are mentioned in the literature of the early *posekim*. Thus, the title was given to well-known individuals from the early rabbinic period, such as R. *Hananel, R. *Nissim, R. *Moses b. Ḥanokh and his son *Ḥanokh, R. *Joseph b. Abitur, R. Kalonymus of Lucca and his son R. Meshullam, and others.

[Simha Assaf / David Derovan (2nd ed.)]

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GAON, MOSES DAVID (1889–1958), Israel educator, journalist, and writer. Gaon was born in Travnik, then under Austro-Hungarian administration (now in Yugoslavia), and studied in the University of Vienna. He emigrated to Ereẓ Israel in 1909. He taught Hebrew and was principal of elementary schools in Jerusalem, Smyrna, and Buenos Aires. In his last years he was an official of the Jerusalem municipality and was active in the Committee of the Sephardi Community. He co-founded the Mizrachi Pioneers' Federation. For several decades Gaon contributed articles to the Hebrew press on Oriental Jewry and its relation to the Holy Land, which was also the subject of his book *Yehudei ha-Mizraḥ be-Ereẓ Yisrael* (2 vols., 1928–37). He also wrote a study of a popular Ladino moralistic work, *Maskiyyot Levav* on *Me-Am Lo'ez (1933), *Ba-Mishol* (1936) on the history of the Hebrew press in Palestine up to 1914, etc. He edited the jubilee volume in honor of Jacob *Meir *Zikhron Me'ir* (1936) with M. Laniado; *Sefer ha-Zikhronot* (1938) by Ben-Zion Cuenca; and a volume on the Jerusalem family Azriel (1950). He compiled a bibliography of the Ladino press in *Ha-Ittonut be-Ladino – Bibliografyah* (1965). The Gaon Center for Ladino Culture at Ben-Gurion University is named for him. His son Yehoram *Gaon, a popular Israeli entertainer, often included Sephardi music in his repertoire. He also appeared in several films and on the musical stage, notably in the Israeli musical *Kazablan*.

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[Getzel Kressel]

GAON, NESSIM DAVID (1922–), philanthropist and communal worker. Gaon's family originated in Turkey but moved to Egypt. His father was a political officer with the Sudanese government in Khartoum, where he was born. He graduated from the Comboni College in that city. During World War II he joined the British army in Cairo and was subsequently commissioned as a lieutenant, seeing active service in Syria, Iraq, Iran, Italy, and North Africa. After his discharge in 1946 with the rank of captain, he joined the family business in the Sudan. In 1957 Gaon moved to Geneva where he built up a world-wide business corporation in import-export, investment, and real estate, including one of Geneva's biggest hotels, the Noga Hilton.

Gaon is prominent in Jewish communal affairs. In Khartoum he served as secretary and vice president of the Jewish community and succeeded in uniting the Ashkenazi and Sephardi congregations in Geneva, becoming president of the United Community in 1966.

Gaon's main communal activity has been with regard to the Sephardi community and in the academic world, in addition to his munificent contributions to Israel. He has served as president of the *World Sephardi Federation since 1971; He was a vice president of the World Jewish Congress.

In 1971 he became a member of the Board of Governors of Bar-Ilan University and two years later of Ben-Gurion University in Beersheba of which he was appointed chairman of the Board of Governors.

GAON, SOLOMON (1912–1994), English Sephardi rabbi. Born in Travnik (Yugoslavia), Gaon studied for the rabbinate at Jews' College, London. After acting as senior *ḥazzan*, he was in 1949 appointed haham of the Spanish and Portuguese Jews' Congregations in the British Commonwealth. On retiring as haham of the Spanish and Portuguese congregation of London in 1977 Gaon was appointed haham of the Association of Sephardi Congregations with the object of converting that organization into the effective center of leadership and rabbinical administration of the increasingly diversified Sephardi component of Anglo-Jewry. In view of its failure to expedite the setting-up of a centralized *bet din* he resigned in 1980. He also acted for some time as visiting minister to the She'erit Israel Sephardi Congregation of New York. He published *Influence of Alfonso Tostado on the Pentateuch Commentary of Abravanel* (1943).

GAON, YEHORAM (1939–), Israeli pop singer, actor, television personality. Gaon is possibly the nearest thing the Israeli entertainment world has to a Mr. Consensus. Gaon was born in Jerusalem to a family steeped in Ladino traditions. As a high school student he considered an academic career in Eastern Studies but, on his recruitment to the IDF, tried out successfully for the Naḥal entertainment troupe. Initially, he was accepted for his acting talents, and it was not until 1959, two years after he joined the band, that he was given his first chance to demonstrate his vocal abilities. From then on there was nothing to stop him.

Shortly after he was demobilized, Gaon joined The Roosters which included promising young singers such as Ḥanan Goldblatt, Gavri Banai, Israel Poliakov (Banai and Poliakov later made up two-thirds of renowned comedy trio *Ha-Gashash ha-Ḥiver), and Lior Yeini. The Roosters were a smash hit and turned out several hit songs before disbanding in 1963. Gaon left the group in 1961 to further his acting career. He joined the Cameri Theater and appeared in productions such as *Kinneret Kinneret* (1961), *Torah* (1963), and *French Fries with Everything* (1964).

In 1964 Gaon's musical career took off when he formed the highly successful Yarkon Bridge Trio, along with Arik *Einstein and Benny Amdursky. However, he left the band after just one year to pursue a solo career, releasing his debut solo album, *Kol ha-Ir Merakhelet Aleinu* ("The Whole Town's Talking about Us"), in 1965. The record spawned several successful singles, such as *Eyfo Hen ha-Bakhurot ha-Hen* ("Where Are Those Girls") and *Az Areh La* ("Then I'll Show Her").

In 1966 Gaon left for the United States to study theater acting and television directing but, at the end of the year, returned to Israel to audition for the musical *Kazablan*. He got the lead role and the show was an enormous success, and only ended when Gaon decided he had had enough.

Gaon's superstar status was cemented when he won the first two places in the 1969 Israeli Song Festival and put out a string of hit singles and albums throughout the 1970s, including *Rosa* and *Mediterranean Love*. During this period he also maintained his theater and cinema interests, playing star roles in such movies as *Kol Mamzer Melekh* ("Every Bastard's A King") and *Mivẓa Yonatan* (*Entebbe: Operation Thunderbolt*). Later he starred in a popular TV series called "Neighbors. Neighbors."

His musical career tailed off in the 1990s but in 2003 he became a popular TV personality when he began to present a musical talk show called *Gaon on Friday*. In 2004 Gaon received the ultimate accolade when he was awarded the prestigious Israel Prize for his services to Israeli popular music.

[Barry Davis (2nd ed.)]

GAPONOV, BORIS (**Dov**; 1934–1972), translator from Georgian and Russian into Hebrew, lexicographer of Hebrew. Gaponov was born in Eupatoria, Crimea, but grew up in Kutaisi, Georgia, where his family moved during World War II. As a youth he acquired a basic knowledge of Hebrew from his grandfather, afterwards continuing to study the language on his own. For a short period of time he studied Persian at the Oriental Languages Institute of Moscow University but had to give it up because of financial difficulties. He also worked as a reporter for the newspaper of the Kutaisi automobile plant. In the 1960s he turned to literary translation, translating both Russian and Georgian prose and poetry into Hebrew.

In 1969 his translation of the greatest masterpiece of Georgian medieval literature, *The Man in the Panther's Skin*

(12th century) by Shot’ha Rust’haveli, was published in Israel. This monumental work, executed with brilliance and faithful to the form and spirit of the original, testified to Gaponov’s great poetic talent and immediately became a classic among poetic translations into Hebrew. In 1970 Gaponov was awarded the Tchernichowsky Prize for this work.

In 1971 he came to Israel and in the same year published his translation of *A Hero of Our Time* by Lermontov, which was also highly praised by the critics. In 1972 he received the Shazar Prize for refugee repatriate writers, but died shortly after. A. *Shlonsky played a prominent role in the literary fate of Gaponov. Their correspondence began when Gaponov was still living in the U.S.S.R. and continued for many years. Among Gaponov’s unpublished works are a dictionary of Hebrew phrases, a work of considerable merit on which he had been working for 15 years, as well as numerous translations of poems by Lermontov, articles on the Rust’haveli epic, and poems in Russian on Jewish themes.

[Michael Zand]

GARBUZ, YAIR (1945–), Israeli artist. Garbuz studied painting under Rafi Lavi between 1962 and 1967 as well as at the Avni Institute in Tel Aviv. He began to exhibit in 1967, participating in group and individual exhibitions in Israel and abroad. Garbuz also taught from 1973 at the Hamidrashah School of Art, serving as its director from 1997, at the Avni Institution, Tel Hai College, and the Bezalel Art Academy. In addition, he wrote and lectured widely on art, and was an editor of the satirical newspaper *Davar Aḥer*. He appeared as a media critic on the *Tik Tikshoret* TV talk show. In 2004 he was awarded the EMET Prize by the Ministry of Education and Culture.

In his art, Garbuz moved from abstraction to the use of collages incorporating photographs, texts, and various materials, all serving to produce personal and social/cultural narratives.

[Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

GARDEN OF EDEN (Heb. גַּן עֵדֶן), a garden planted by the Lord which was the first dwelling place of *Adam and Eve (Gen. 2–3). It is also referred to as the “garden in Eden” (Gen. 2:8, 10; 4:16), the “garden of YHWH” (Gen. 13:10; Isa. 51:3), and the “garden of God” (Ezek. 28:13; 31:8–9). It is referred to by Ben Sira 40:17 as “Eden of blessing.” There existed in early times an Israelite tradition of a “garden of God” (i.e., a mythical garden in which God dwelt) that underlies the story of the Garden of Eden in Genesis 2–3. Ezekiel (28:11–19; 31:8–9, 16–18) in his description introduces new and variant details not present in the Genesis narrative of the Garden of Eden. Thus, in Genesis there is no trace of the “holy mountain” of Ezekiel 28:14 and no mention of the “stones of fire” of Ezekiel 28:14, 16. While Genesis speaks only in general terms about the trees in the garden (2:9), Ezekiel describes them in detail (31:8–9, 18). The term “garden of YHWH” occurs in literary figures in a number of other passages in the Bible (Gen. 13:10; note Isa. 51:3: “He will make her wilderness (*midbar*) like Eden and her desert (*arabah*) like the garden of YHWH,” Joel 2:3). The name Eden has been connected with Akkadian *edinu*. But this word, extremely rare in Akkadian, is borrowed from the Sumerian *eden* and means “plain,” “steppe,” “desert.” In fact, one Akkadian synonym list equates*edinu* with *ṣēru*, semantically equivalent to Hebrew *midbar*, “desert.” More likely is the connection with the Hebrew root *ʿdn*, attested in such words as *maʿdanim*, “dainties,” “luxury items” (Gen. 49:20; Lam. 4:5) *ʿednah*, “pleasure,” (Gen. 18:12), *ʿadinah*, “pampered woman” (Isa. 47:8); and in Old Aramaic *mʿdn* “provider of abundance,” which would be a transparent etymology for the name of a divine garden. The Septuagint apparently derived Eden from *ʿdn*, translating *gan ʿeden* (Gen. 3:23–4) by *ho paradeisos tēs truphēs*, “the park of luxuries,” whence English “paradise.” Akkadian provides a semantic parallel in *kiri nuhši*, “garden of plenty” (McCarter apud Stager). Several references (Gen. 2:8 (“in Eden”), 10 (“from Eden),” 4:16 (“east of Eden),” indicate that Eden was a geographical designation. According to 4:10 a single river flowed out of Eden, watered the garden and then diverged into four rivers whose courses are described and themselves named. This datum encouraged scholars ancient (see below) and modern to attempt to locate the site of the garden of Eden intended by the author.

[S. David Sperling (2nd ed.)]

In the Aggadah

The Garden of Eden appears in the *aggadah* in contradistinction to Gehinnom – “hell” (e.g., BT Sotah 22a). However, talmudic and midrashic sources know of two Gardens of Eden: the terrestrial, of abundant fertility and vegetation, and the celestial, which serves as the habitation of souls of the righteous. The location of the earthly Eden is traced by the boundaries delineated in Genesis 2:11–14. Resh Lakish declared, “If paradise is in the land of Israel, its gate is Beth-Shean; if it is in Arabia, its gate is Bet Gerem, and if it is between the rivers, its gate is Dumaskanin” (Er. 19a). In *Tamid* (32b) its location is given as the center of Africa. It is related that Alexander of Macedon finally located the door to the Garden, but he was not permitted to enter. The *Midrash ha-Gadol* (to Gen. 2:8) simply states that “Eden is a unique place on earth, but no creature is permitted to know its exact location. In the future, during the messianic period God will reveal to Israel the path to Eden.” According to the Talmud, “Egypt is 400 parasangs by 400, and it is one-sixtieth of the size of Ethiopia; Ethiopia is one-sixtieth of the world, and the world is one-sixtieth of the Garden, and the Garden is one-sixtieth of Eden …” (Ta’an. 10a). The rabbis thus make a clear distinction between Eden and the Garden. Commenting upon the verse “Eye hath not seen, O God, beside Thee,” R. Samuel b. Naḥamani states, “This is Eden, which has never been seen by the eye of any creature.” Adam dwelt only in the Garden (Ber. 34b., cf., Isa. 64:3). The word *le-ovedah* (“to dress it”; Gen. 2:15) is taken to refer to spiritual, not physical, toil, and is interpreted to mean that Adam had to devote himself to the study of the Torah and the fulfillment of the commandments (Sif. Deut. 41). Although the eating of meat was forbidden him (Gen. 1:29), it is stated nevertheless that the angels brought him meat and wine and waited on him (Sanh. 59b; ARN 1, 5).

The boundary line between the earthly and heavenly Garden of Eden is barely discernible in rabbinic literature. In fact, "The Garden of Eden and heaven were created by one word [of God], and the chambers of the Garden of Eden are constructed as those of heaven. Just as heaven is lined with rows of stars so the Garden of Eden is lined with rows of the righteous who shine like the stars" (Ag. Song 13:55).

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GARDOSH, KARIEL (**Charles, "Dosh"**; 1921–2000), Israel cartoonist. He created the figure of "Little Israel," a young boy who became the popular symbol of the State and its people. "Dosh," as he signed himself, was born in Budapest and educated there and in Paris. He immigrated to Israel in 1948 and five years later joined the staff of the afternoon paper *Ma'ariv* as editorial cartoonist. His drawings were marked by comic irony which won him a wide following. They were regularly reprinted in the *Jerusalem Post*, in the Tel Aviv Hungarian daily *Uj Kelet*, and in many newspapers abroad. Gardosh illustrated books, wrote short stories and one-act plays, and held exhibitions in Israel and other countries. He published several collections of cartoons, including *Seliḥah she-Nizzaḥnu!* (1967; *So Sorry We Won!*, 1967) and *Oi la-Menazzeḥim* (1969; *Woe to the Victors*, 1969) with text by Ephraim *Kishon, dealing with the Six-Day War and after.

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GARFIELD, JOHN (**Julius Garfinkle**; 1913–1952), U.S. actor. Born in New York, Garfield, deeply disturbed by the death of his mother, was a chronic truant, but was persuaded by a child psychologist to study acting. He attended drama school and later joined the Group Theater Company, where he won acclaim for his role in *Awake and Sing*. He first played on Broadway in Elmer *Rice's *Counselor-at-Law* (1931) and then took the lead in Clifford *Odets' *Golden Boy* (1937) and in its revival in 1952. His other Broadway performances include *Johnny Johnson* (1936–37), *Having a Wonderful Time* (1937–38), *Heavenly Express* (1940), *Skipper Next to God* (1948), *The Big Knife* (1949), and *Peer Gynt* (1951).

Embittered over being passed over for the lead (the part went to William Holden) in the 1939 film version of *Golden Boy*, which was written for him, he signed a contract with Warner Brothers and won enormous praise for the role of the cynical Mickey Borden in the film *Four Daughters* (1938). Although he began his film career typed as a "tough," he played the lover in *Saturday's Children* (1940) and the role of Danny in John Steinbeck's *Tortilla Flat* (1942). In 1947 he had the opportunity to put on the boxing gloves once again when he starred as the prizefighter in *Body and Soul*. Other films of his include *They Made Me a Criminal* (1939), *Pride of the Marines* (1945), *The Postman Always Rings Twice* (1946), *Nobody Lives Forever* (1946), *Humoresque* (1946), *Gentleman's Agreement* (1947), *Force of Evil* (1948), *We W*ere Strangers (1949), *Under My Skin* (1950), *The Breaking Point* (1950), and *He Ran All the Way* (1951).

Active in liberal political and social causes, he found himself caught up in the Communist scare of the late 1940s. Although he testified before Congress that he was never a Communist, his opportunities to secure acting roles decreased. When John Garfield died of a heart attack at age 39, his funeral was attended by thousands of fans, the largest turnout for an actor since the death of silent film idol Rudolph Valentino.

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[Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

GARFUNKEL, ART (1941–), U.S. singer and actor. Born in Forest Hills, New York, Garfunkel met singer/songwriter Paul Simon while they were both in their early teens. Garfunkel received his B.A. in art history (1965) and his M.A. in mathematics from Columbia University (1967). He and Paul Simon formed the duo Simon & Garfunkel and began recording Simon's songs together in 1960 ("Hey, Schoolgirl"). In 1964, Simon and Garfunkel signed a one-album contract with Columbia Records and released *Wednesday Morning, 3 A.M.* It failed to generate interest, and Garfunkel left the music business to teach mathematics. The sudden and unexpected success of a single song culled from the album ("The Sounds of Silence") brought Garfunkel back with Simon, and together they recorded a long string of hit songs that include "Homeward Bound," "I Am a Rock," "A Hazy Shade of Winter," "The Dangling Conversation," "The 59th St. Bridge Song," "Mrs. Robinson," "The Boxer," "Fakin' It," and "Bridge over Troubled Water."

In 1973, Garfunkel began a solo career and recorded such albums as *Angel Clare* (1973), *Breakaway* (1975), *Watermark* (1978), *Fate for Breakfast (Double for Dessert)* (1979), *Art Garfunkel* (1979), and *Scissors Cut* (1981). Garfunkel is the recipient of Grammy Awards for "Mrs. Robinson" (1969) and "Bridge over Troubled Water" (1970). As an actor, Garfunkel appeared in such films as *Catch-22* (1970), *Carnal Knowledge* (1971), *Bad Timing* (1980), *Good to Go* (1986), *Boxing Helena* (1993), and *54* (1998).

In 1989, Garfunkel published a book of prose poems entitled *Still Water*. He was inducted into the Rock and Roll Hall of Fame (as a member of Simon & Garfunkel) in 1990. After the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks on New York and Washington, Garfunkel contributed generously toward helping the survivors and the victims' families. He continued to give concert tours and in 2002 released the album *Everybody Wants to Be Noticed.* In 2003, he reunited with Paul Simon for the first time in 20 years on a nostalgia tour.

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[Jonathan Licht / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

GARIH, ÜZEYIR (1929–2001), Turkish industrialist. Garih graduated in 1951 as a mechanical engineer from the Istanbul Technical University. In 1954 he established together with İshak *Alaton the Alarko Company. Alarko became a major holding company engaged in tourism and leisure-time activities as well as being a large-scale contractor for infrastructure projects like the construction of airports, dams, and roads, operating in both Turkey and the new Turkish republics of the former Soviet Union. Garih was a regular contributor to various Turkish newspapers on business and management and was particularly concerned with the education of youth. In 1984 he was granted the title of honorary doctor by the Istanbul Technical University. From 1990 he was the honorary consul of the Philippine Republic. He was murdered during a robbery.

[Rifat Bali (2nd ed.)]

GARLIC (Heb. שׁוּם, *shum*), plant mentioned once in the Bible among the vegetables which the Israelites ate in Egypt and for which they longed when wandering in the wilderness (Num 11:5). Garlic (*Allium sativum*) is a condiment which was extremely popular among the peoples of the East from very early times. Herodotus states that an inscription on the pyramid of the pharaoh Cheops refers to the large sum spent on garlic as food for the men who worked on the pyramids. The ancients attributed to garlic aphrodisiac qualities (Pliny, *Historia Naturalis*, 20:23), and an enactment ascribed to Ezra decrees that it is to be eaten on Friday evenings since "it promotes love and arouses desire" (TJ, Meg. 4:1, 75a). Because it was their custom to eat garlic, the Jews referred to themselves as "garlic eaters" (Ned. 3:10). The fastidious loathed the smell, and it is related of Judah ha-Nasi that he asked those who had eaten garlic to leave the *bet midrash* (Sanh. 11a). In this he may have been influenced by the Roman aristocracy's objections to garlic eating, the emperor Marcus Aurelius having criticized Jews for exuding its smell (Ammianus Marcellinus, *Res gestae*, 22:5). Garlic was regarded as a remedy for intestinal worms (BK 82a), a view also held by Dioscorides (*De Materia Medica*, 2:181). It belongs to the genus *Allium*, to which belong also the *onion and the *leek (*ḥaẓir*, to be distinguished from its usual sense of grass: *fodder), which are mentioned together with garlic in the Bible (Num. 11:5). Many species of the genus *Allium* grow wild in Israel, and are picked and eaten by the local population.

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[Jehuda Feliks]

GARLOCK, JOHN HENRY (1896–1965), U.S. surgeon. Born and educated in New York City, Garlock was assistant attending surgeon at the New York Hospital and instructor in surgery at the Cornell Medical College from 1924 to 1937. He was then appointed chief of surgery at New York's Mount Sinai Hospital and clinical professor of surgery at Columbia University. He was consultant in surgery to many hospitals and held membership in numerous professional societies. Among his many contributions to medical literature are several chapters in standard textbooks of surgery. His book, *Garlock's Surgery of the Alimentary Tract* (1967), was published posthumously by his colleagues. Garlock was chairman of the American Jewish Physicians Committee, which raised money to start the Hebrew University Faculty of Medicine.

[Fred Rosner]

GARMENT, LEONARD (1924–), U.S. lawyer and counsel to President Richard M. *Nixon. Garment was born to immigrant parents in Brooklyn, New York. After graduating from Brooklyn College and Brooklyn Law School, he was admitted to the bar of New York in 1949, and later to the bar of the District of Columbia (1967). Garment was a brilliant law student, graduating first in his class (summa cum laude). He financed part of his education by playing tenor saxophone and clarinet with a leading popular jazz band of the time in the company of such artists as Billie Holiday and Woody Herman.

He joined the prestigious law firm later known as Nixon, Mudge, Rose, Guthrie, and Alexander, becoming a partner in 1957 and head of its litigation department. In this capacity, he worked closely with Nixon, handling the trial work on his cases. Nixon admired his ability, and in 1969, as president, appointed him as his special consultant concentrating on civil and human rights, voluntary action, and the arts. In this role, he termed himself Nixon's "odds and ends man." As a result of the Watergate scandal, Nixon appointed him as his counsel, replacing John Dean, to represent the administration in matters relating to the congressional Watergate investigation.

Garment, a Democrat by political affiliation, was regarded as one of the "liberals" in the Nixon administration.

After Nixon's resignation, Garment continued to move in Washington legal and political circles. He served as assistant to President Ford in 1974. Ford named him U.S. representative to the United Nations Human Rights Commission, where he served until 1977. He was also counselor to the U.S. delegation to the United Nations (1975 –76).

Garment was a frequent contributor to the *New York Times'* op-ed page. He wrote his autobiography, *Crazy Rhythm: My Journey from Brooklyn, Jazz, and Wall Street to Nixon's White House, Watergate, and Beyond* (1997), and the highly controversial *In Search of Deep Throat: The Greatest Political Mystery of Our Time* (2000).

[Julius J. Marcke / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

GARMISON, SAMUEL (17th century), scholar and prolific author. Born in Salonika, Samuel immigrated to Jerusalem. In about 1647 he traveled as an emissary of Jerusalem apparently to Italy but was taken captive during the journey by Maltese pirates, from whom he was ransomed by a society for the redemption of captives centered in Venice. He was rabbi in Malta until c. 1660. Subsequently he seems to have officiated in Jerusalem. In 1666 he attacked Shabbetai Ẓevi in a sermon which is included in his *Imrei No'am*. Only one of his works has been published: *Mishpetei Ẓedek* (1945), responsa on the Shulḥan Arukh, *Arba'ah Turim* and *Beit Yosef.* Among others still in manuscript are *Kevod Ḥakhamim*, sermons on the Bible; *Imrei No'am*, sermons on the Pentateuch; *Imrei Tevunah ve-Imrei Kodesh*, on the Talmud and codes; a commentary on the Mishnah; novellae to the tractates *Ḥullin, Bekhorot, Zera'im, Tohorot*, and *Berakhot*; works on the tractates *Beẓah, Kiddushin*, and *Ḥullin*.

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[Simon Marcus]

°GARSTANG, JOHN (1876–1956), British archaeologist; professor of archaeology at the University of Liverpool from 1907 to 1941. From 1900 to 1908 he conducted excavations in Egypt, Nubia, Asia Minor, and northern Syria, and from 1909 to 1914 he worked at ancient Meroë in Sudan uncovering important remains of the Roman-Nubian culture. After the British conquest of Palestine, Garstang was director of the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem (1919–26). At the same time he served in the British Mandatory government as the first director of its Department of Antiquities, organizing the department and excavating at Ashkelon. In 1930–36 he resumed work in Palestine at Jericho, his findings there attracting wide attention at the time, although some of his conclusions were not borne out by subsequent investigations. By dating Jericho's double wall to the Late Bronze Age ca. 1400 B.C.E., Garstang found confirmation of the fall of the city to Joshua (Joshua 6), which fit the then-popular 15th century date assigned to the exodus. Katheen Kenyon's subsequent excavations showed that the fallen walls dated to Early Bronze and that Late Bronze remains were few; there was no wall as depicted in Joshua. After resigning from the University of Liverpool, Garstang continued working in Asia Minor (at Mersin, etc.) on behalf of the British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara. His publications, all characterized by a conservative trend, include studies in Hittite history, historical topography of Palestine and the Bible, and numerous excavation reports. During the controversy aroused by the 1939 White Paper, Garstang adopted an anti-Zionist position and was active in British public affairs on behalf of the Arabs. He was the author of *Hittite Empire* (1929), *Joshua, Judges* (1931), and *Heritage of Solomon* (1934).

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[Michael Avi-Yonah]

GARTNER, LLOYD P. (1927–), American-Israeli historian. Educated in the United States, Gartner was a professor at the City University of New York and the Jewish Theological Seminary before becoming professor of history at Tel Aviv University. He is probably best-known for his work *The Jewish Immigrant in England, 1870–1914* (1960), a pioneering work on Anglo-Jewish history which was among the earliest to study the post-1881 "New Diaspora" in Great Britain. Gartner has also written or edited a number of works on American Jewish history, including *Jewish Education in the United States: A Documentary History* (1969) and co-authored histories of the Jewish community in Los Angeles, Milwaukee, and Cleveland. In 2000 Gartner produced a comprehensive *History of the Jews in Modern Times.*

[William D. Rubinstein (2nd ed.)]

GARY, "The Steel City," founded in 1906 by the United States Steel Corporation; situated on the southern tip of Lake Michigan; the second largest city in Indiana. Gary has a population of approximately 120,000, less than 1,000 of them Jewish. Jewish families made their way into Gary's sand dunes and swamps along with the earliest pioneers, and in September 1908 the first Orthodox Jewish house of worship was dedicated. Subsequent years brought a series of ever larger structures, and in 1955 the modern Temple Israel was completed. The Reform Congregation was incorporated in 1910, and services are now conducted in the large, fifty-year-old Temple Israel in the Miller Section of Gary.

Gary's Jewish community is active in government, business, civic, and philanthropic circles. During most of the time from 1964 to 1968 the mayor, city attorney, superintendent of schools, health commissioner, and municipal judge were Jewish. There was little overt antisemitism, but Jews were excluded from the all-white Gary Country Club and the University Club. The Gary Jewish community continues to be involved in social justice issues but with the change in demographics it is not as involved politically as it once was. The Gary Jewish Welfare Federation was formed in 1941. Enlarged in 1958–59 to include East Chicago and Hammond, the name was changed to the Northwest Indiana Jewish Welfare Federation. This Federation possesses archives which include historical material on the Jewish communities in the area.

[Ida Kay Sacks / Stanley Halpern (2nd ed.)]

GARY (originally **Kacew**), **ROMAIN** (1914–1980), French novelist. Gary, who was of mixed parentage, "part Cossack and Tartar, part Jew" to use his own phrase, was born in Vilna. When he was seven, his family moved to Poland and finally, in 1926, to Nice. He was a fighter pilot in the French Air Force at the outbreak of World War II, and then joined De Gaulle's Free French in England in 1940. After the liberation, he entered the French diplomatic service. His final appointment was that of consul-general in Los Angeles (1956–60).

Gary's first novel *Education européenne* (1945; *Forest of Anger*, 1944, reissued as *A European Education*, 1960) includes many elements of Jewish interest, notably the description of a clandestine Friday evening service held by Jewish underground fighters. His other novels include *Tulipe* (1946); *Le grand vestiaire* (1948; *The Company of Men*, 1950); *Les Racines du ciel* (1956; *The Roots of Heaven*, 1958), an adventure story about a group of idealists bent on saving a herd of elephants from hunters, which won the Prix Goncourt; *La Promesse de l'aube* (1960; *Promise at Dawn*, 1961), memories of the author's Jewish mother; and *Le Mangeur d'étoiles* (1966; *The Talent Scout*, 1961). Two works which first appeared in English are *Lady L* (1958), a social satire, and *The Ski Bum* (1965). Jewish characters constantly make an appearance in Gary's novels, but they were mostly viewed from the outside until the writer's traumatic experience in a Warsaw war museum savagely wakened him to reality. *La Danse de Gengis Cohn* (1967; *The Dance of Genghis Cohn*, 1969), the title of which sardonically reflects Gary's own ancestry and predicament, tells with cruel humor the story of a Jewish comedian shot by the Nazis, who relentlessly haunts his executioner. He also wrote *La Tête Coupable* (1968; *The Guilty Head*, 1969).

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[Moshe Catane]

GASCONY, a duchy under English rule from 1152 to 1453, and later (with Guyenne) a province of the kingdom of France. There have been Jews in Gascony from at least the fourth century, especially in *Bordeaux. From 1242 or earlier the English ruler appointed special judges over the Jews, who were particularly numerous in *Agen and its vicinity. A first expulsion order was issued in 1289, even before the expulsion from England itself. Debts owing to the Jews were confiscated and collected at half their value for the king's treasury. Royal agents were appointed to seize the Jews and their belongings. However, the expulsion order was not vigorously enforced or rapidly became obsolete, for in 1292 there were again Jews in Gascony; the king ordered their expulsion once more. In 1305 they returned and must this time have obtained official authorization since in 1308 a judge was again in charge of Jewish affairs. A further expulsion order followed in 1310, which was repeated in 1313 and 1316. However, there were Jews in Gascony in 1320, when they were massacred by the *Pastoureaux. Some Jews were still found in Bordeaux until at least 1362. Jews bearing the surname of Gascon may have originated from there. Marrano refugees from Spain took refuge in this region from the close of the 15th century. Through them the Bordeaux community later became important again.

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[Bernhard Blumenkranz]

GASKELL, SONJA (1904–1974), Dutch dancer, choreographer, and ballet director. Gaskell was born in Villkaviskis, Lithuania. She studied in Paris and danced there in Diaghilev's Ballets Russes. In 1939 she followed her Dutch husband to Amsterdam, where she taught ballet dancers Russian technique. After World War II she founded her own groups, Ballet Studio '45 (1945) and Ballet Recital (1949–51), became the artistic director of Het National Ballet of Amsterdam, and established the first Netherlands academy of ballet in the Hague, where she was director of the Het Nederlands Ballet. As a choreographer, she created several ballets. From 1968 she worked as a member of the board of the dance department of UNESCO before taking over the Amsterdam company in 1961. In 1966 Gaskell was named officer of the Orde van Oranje-Nassau.

[Marcia B. Siegel / Amnon Shiloah (2nd ed.)]

GASSER, HERBERT SPENCER (1888–1963), U.S. neurophysiologist and Nobel Prize winner. Gasser was born in Platteville, Wisconsin. He collaborated with Joseph *Erlanger in investigating the electrical properties of nerve fibers. Utilizing a cathode-ray oscilloscope and a sensitive amplification system they recorded the electrical impulses passing over isolated nerve fibers. The measurements of the potential cycles of different nerve fibers revealed three distinct patterns indicating that there were three major types of fibers. It was also shown that the rate of conduction varied directly with the thickness of the fiber. These studies were the foundation of the modern knowledge of action currents in nerves and were of great importance toward an understanding of the complexities of nerve impulse transmission. As a result of this work Gasser and Erlanger shared the 1944 Nobel Prize for medicine.. Working with Erlanger and others, Gasser also contributed much to the understanding of the differences between sensory and motor nerves. He also dealt with problems involving the perception of pain and the contraction of muscle as well as the coagulation of blood.

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[Norman Levin]

GASSING, extermination of Jews and others during the *Holocaust in installations specially constructed for mass-killing by gas, mostly in specific *camps. The idea of systematic and organized extinction of inoffensive human beings emanated from the conception which abolished the basic belief in the sanctity of human life and substituted the postulated predominance of the Aryan race whose superior value and whose purity had to be secured. As Hitler said in *Mein Kampf*: "A corrective measure in favor of the better quality must intervene" (Eng. transl. (1939), 248.)

Racial-biological "eugenics" were at first not applied to the Jews but to the elements in the German people itself. The "Law for the Prevention of Progeny with Hereditary Disease" was proclaimed already on July 14, 1933. The problem was further dealt with at the Nazi Party convention on Sept. 1, 1933, where the director of the "Racial-Policy Office" called compassion for people suffering from hereditary disease "false humanity" and a "sin against the Creator's own laws of life."

The implementation of the "Euthanasia Program" was prepared as from July 1939, together with the war. It was a top secret program carried through and supervised by the staff of Hitler's private chancellery. The action included the concentration of the mental patients chosen for the "merciful death" and their transportation from there to the nearest euthanasia station, short "medical" investigation of each patient, mainly in order to decide on the most plausible fictitious "cause of death" and then gassing of 20–30 people at one time in hermetically shut chambers disguised as shower rooms, cremation in the crematorium-annex after gold teeth had been broken off and some of the brains secured for "medical research."

Between January 1940 and August 1941, 70,273 German people were killed in five euthanasia institutions by this *Sonderbehandlung* (special treatment). The carbon monoxide gas was provided compressed in steel containers and released through pipes into the gas chamber. People were dead after 6–7 minutes. The first experiment was done by Kriminal-Kommissar Christian Wirth; later a specially trained chemist, Dr. Kallmeyer, became responsible for the whole gassing process. In August 1941 Hitler called the program officially off following the evolving unrest in the population, legal complications, and mounting protests, especially by the Churches. In fact, the institutions continued to function until 1944 but death was administered partly by gas, partly by injections, and partly by gradual starvation. Also put to death were the chronically ill, gypsies, foreign forced laborers, Russian prisoners of war, children from mixed marriages, and others "unworthy of life."

When in October 1941 the mass-shooting of Jews by the *Einsatzgruppen* became problematic (see *Holocaust), the three experts of the killing operation came together and decided on the use of gas: Erhard Wetzel, director of the Racial-Policy Office of the Nazi Party and the consultant on Jewish affairs of the Reich Minister for the Occupied Eastern Territories Alfred *Rosenberg; Victor Brack, deputy director of the Chancellery of the Fuehrer, the man mainly responsible for the implementation of the euthanasia program; and Adolf *Eichmann (Source: NO-997). Since the euthanasia program had just been officially discontinued it must have seemed reasonable to use the experience for the new project. The two technical experts, Christian *Wirth and Dr. Kallmeyer, were sent to the East to make the necessary installations. Physicians who had conducted the euthanasia program were also transferred. In the meantime gas had been employed in the fight against partisans in Yugoslavia. Here vans were used into which the exhaust fumes of their diesel engines were channeled. This method was now applied to the first killing center at *Chelmno. Then *Globocnik seized the idea and used it for the installation at *Belzec and *Treblinka. *Gerstein met Wirth there as the chief operator. Wirth now used the exhaust fumes the way the carbon monoxide gas had been handled in the euthanasia operation installing the whole process with the shower-room camouflage and securing gold teeth and other valuables. *Hoess brought the system to perfection in *Auschwitz. He went back to the easier use of chemical gas but chose hydrogen cyanide, the so-called Zyklon B crystals, instead of the carbon monoxide, apparently because it could easily be provided in great quantities. He also developed the crematorium scheme which had been in use in the euthanasia installations. Following the semantics of the previous stages the working teams were now called *Sonderkommando*. Zyklon B was also used in minor scale in Majdanek and in the concentration camp Gross-Rosen which was used for the extermination of concentration camp inmates in Germany. The gas chambers in Dachau and Theresienstadt were never put into action.

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[Leni Yahil]

GASSNER, JOHN (1903–1967), U.S. author, critic, and anthologist. He was playreader in the 1930s for Theater Guild, and in 1940 established the playwriting seminar of Erwin Piscator's Dramatic Workshop. Gassner also functioned as dramatic critic for various publications. He was professor of playwriting and dramatic literature at Yale from 1956. He was one of two members of the drama jury of the Pulitzer Prize who resigned in 1963 when the trustees rejected the verdict for Edward Albee's *Who's Afraid of Virginia Woolf?* and made no award. His writings include (with B. Mantle) *Treasury of the Theater* (3 vols., 1935), *Masters of the Drama* (1940), *The Theater in Our Times* (1954), *Heritage of World Literature* (1946, vol. 7 of *Literature*, ed. by E.A. Cross), and *Best American Plays 1918–1958* (1961).

GASTER, MOSES (1856–1939), rabbi, scholar, and Zionist leader. Gaster was born in Bucharest and studied at the University of Breslau and the Jewish Theological Seminary of Breslau, where he was ordained in 1881. He taught Romanian language and literature in the University of Bucharest, 1881–85, published a popular history of Romanian literature, *Literatura Populară Română* (1883), and began his great chrestomathy of Romanian literature *Chrestomatie Română* (2 vols., 1891). In 1885, because of his protests against the treatment of the Jews, he was expelled from Romania. He settled in England where he was appointed to teach Slavonic literature at Oxford University in 1886. In 1887 he was appointed haham of the English Sephardi community.

Gaster's abilities as a scholar and an orator gave him an outstanding position both in the Anglo-Jewish community and in those areas of intellectual life in which he became a recognized authority, e.g., folklore and Samaritan literature. However, Gaster had a stubborn and combative personality, and this led to an unwillingness to retreat from a position once taken, which did not enhance his reputation. When he was principal of Judith Montefiore College, Ramsgate (1891–96), he endeavored to make it an institution for training rabbis, but the attempt failed. In 1918, after disagreements with his congregation, Gaster retired from the office of haham.

Gaster was active in Ḥibbat Zion and later in the Zionist movement. He accompanied L. *Oliphant on his visits to Romania, Constantinople, and Ereẓ Israel, and also played a considerable part in the establishment of Zikhron Ya'akov and Rosh Pinnah in Palestine, the first colonies settled by Romanian Jews. He became one of Herzl's early supporters but opposed him on the *Uganda Scheme, and this also brought him into conflict with the leaders of the English Zionist Federation, of which he was president in 1907. Throughout these years Gaster was a prominent figure at Zionist Congresses, being elected a vice president at the first four. It was to Gaster that Herbert *Samuel, then in the British Cabinet, turned when he wished to establish contact with the Zionists. The conference held at Gaster's home in February 1917 between the Zionist leaders and Sir Mark Sykes of the British Foreign Office was an important stage in the events leading to the *Balfour Declaration. After World War I he returned to his dissociation from official Zionist policy; this was partly the result of his failure to satisfy his ambition of becoming the official leader of the organization.

Gaster's writings covered many branches of learning, including Romanian literature, comparative and Jewish folklore, Samaritan history and literature, rabbinic scholarship, liturgy, Anglo-Jewish history, and biblical studies. A selection of Gaster's scattered essays appeared under the title *Studies and Texts in Folklore, Magic, Medieval Romance, Hebrew Apocrypha…* (3 vols., 1925–28). Other publications are listed in the bibliographies below. Gaster assembled a magnificent library, including many manuscripts, most of which he sold to the British Museum in 1925, but he continued his literary work, despite almost total blindness.

His son, THEODOR HERZL GASTER (1906–1992), educator and scholar, was born in London, and taught comparative religion at Dropsie College, Philadelphia, and at several universities in the United States and elsewhere. His writings include *Passover; its History and Traditions* (1949), *Purim and Hanukkah in Custom and Tradition* (1950); *Thespis; Ritual, Myth and Drama in the Ancient Near East* (1950, 1961^2), *Festivals of the Jewish Year* (1953), *Holy and the Profane* (1955), and *New Year; Its History, Customs and Superstitions* (1955). He edited J.G. Frazer, *The New Golden Bough* (1959), edited and translated *Oldest Stories in the World* (1952), and translated the *Dead Sea Scriptures* into English.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: B. Schindler (ed.), *Occident and Orient… Gaster Anniversary Volume* (1936), includes bibliography; idem, *Gaster Centenary Publication* (1958), contains revised bibliography; C. Roth, in: JHSET, 14 (1940), 247–52; DNB, supplements, 5 (1949), 309–10.

[Cecil Roth]

GASTON-MARIN (Grossman), GHEORGHE (1919–), Romanian Communist politician and engineer. Born in Padureni, (Arad county), Transylvania, Gaston-Marin completed secondary school at Petrosani (1937) and was active in Zionist circles in his youth. He went to Paris and studied mathematics and physics at the Sorbonne (1937–38), afterwards at the Polytechnical Institute of Grenoble (1934–40), where he qualified as an electrical engineer and was a member of the French Resistance during World War II. After the war he returned to Romania (1945), joined the Communist Party, and was made minister of electrical energy in 1949. In 1954 he became first vice chairman of the State Planning Commission and from 1962 to 1969 was head of the Romanian industrialization program with the rank of deputy-premier; from 1969 to 1982 he was president of the State Council for Prices; from 1952 to 1985 he was a member of Romanian Parliament and from 1964 to 1982 Romanian representative to international economic organizations.

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[Lucian-Zeev Herscovici (2nd ed.)]

GAT (Heb. **גַּת**), kibbutz in southern Israel, N.E. of *Kiryat Gat, affiliated with Kibbutz Arẓi ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir, founded by East European settlers in 1942, as one of the first outposts established in the framework of the program to extend the settlement network to the south and northern Negev. The kibbutz economy was based on highly intensive farming (field crops, citrus groves, poultry, and dairy cattle), recreation facilities, a juice factory in partnership with Kibbutz Bet Nir, and a factory for wood products. The kibbutz name was chosen due to its proximity to the tell, then identified with biblical *Gath. In 1968 there were 435 inhabitants. The population rose to 560 in the mid-1990s but then dropped to 392 in 2002.

WEBSITE: www.gat.org.il.

[Efraim Orni / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

GATESHEAD ON TYNE, industrial town in N.E. England. The first known Jew to settle in Gateshead was Zachariah Bernstone in the 1890s, a Russian immigrant who rebelled and broke away from the lesser observant congregation of adjoining *Newcastle-upon-Tyne. With his protégé E. Adler and their families from Eastern Europe, he attempted to establish a community at the beginning of the 20th century. On the initiative of a group of scholars, including *shoḥet* David Dryan, David Baddiel, and Moshe David Freed (son-in-law of Z. Bernstone), a yeshivah, now world-famous with some 250 pupils, was opened in 1929 under the direction of Rabbi N. Landynski and his assistant, L. Kahan. It represented the realization of a dream of those scholars who had seen their own yeshivot in Europe destroyed in pogroms. The first students from the U.K. were joined in the 1930s by refugees fleeing Nazi Germany and later by students from all over the world. Rabbi N. Shakowitzky, formerly of Lithuania, became community leader in the 1930s, up to which time the community and its houses of learning were of a strictly Russian-Polish character.

When refugees from Nazi Germany came to England, only the strictly observant were attracted to Gateshead. A college for advanced talmudical students (*kolel*), the first of its kind in Britain, was founded by E.G. *Dessler. German Jews who came to Gateshead after the war established further institutions of learning – a teachers' training college for girls, founded by A. Kohn, and a boarding school founded by M.L. Bamberger, 1944. Other institutions include a Jewish primary school, a kindergarten, and a *ḥeder*. The first scientific *shaatnez bureau in Britain was established in Gateshead. In 1966 the Gateshead Foundation for Torah was established to further the publication of Jewish literature. The community numbered 350 in 1970. In the mid-1990s the Jewish population numbered approximately 430, and according to the 2001 British census, the Jewish population of Gateshead had risen to 1,564. It had a range of strictly Orthodox institutions unknown in Britain outside of London and Manchester and its yeshivah and kolel were internationally known.

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GATH (Heb. גַּת), name of several Canaanite cities often appearing with a toponymic addition to differentiate them (e.g., Gath-Hepher, Gath-Rimmon, Gath-Gittaim, etc.). Four cities called Gath are listed among the conquests of Thutmose III and several Gath (or Gintis) are mentioned in the *El-Amarna letters: Ginti, Ginti-Kirmel, and Giti-Padalla. The last, which also appears in the city list of Pharaoh Shishak, is identified with the Arab village of Jatt in the Sharon. Pliny mentions a Gitta north of Mt. Carmel (*Natural History* 5:75); it was the home town of the famous sorcerer Simon Magus (Justinus Martyr, *Apologia* 1:26, 5–6). Eusebius locates a Gath between Antipatris and Jamnia (Jabneh; Onom. 72:2) and it is similarly situated on the Madaba Map. This is probably Gath-Gittaim, which Jewish tradition identifies with Ramleh and for which B. Mazar proposes the site of Ras Abu Ḥumayd (or Ḥamīd), east of Ramleh.

The best known Gath is "Gath of the Philistines." It was originally inhabited by Anakim ("giants"; Josh. 11:22; I Chron. 20:6, 8; II Sam. 21:20, 22) and later by one of the five Philistine lords (Josh. 13:3; etc.). It was one of the cities to which the Ark was brought after its capture (I Sam. 5:8). The Philistines fled from Gath after the defeat of Goliath (*ibid.* 17:52). Persecuted by Saul, David escaped to take refuge with Achish king of Gath (*ibid.* 21:11) from whom he received Ziklag in the Negev, a fact which indicates the extent of the territory ruled by Gath in the south. When Israel again became strong and united under David, Gath is mentioned in connection with his victory over the Philistines (I Chron. 8:13); the parallel account in II Samuel 8:1, however, contains the enigmatic "Metheg-Ammah" instead of Gath. The people of Gath were subdued and Ittai the Gittite became one of the captains of David's guard and remained faithful to him when Absalom rebelled (II Sam. 15:19–22; 18:2). A descendant of Achish, however, continued to rule Gath at the beginning of Solomon's reign (I Kings 2:39 ff.); thus the Gath fortified by Rehoboam cannot be Gath of the Philistines and is possibly Moresheth-Gath, as proposed by Y. Aharoni. In his campaign of c. 815–814 B.C.E., Hazael of Aram-Damascus advanced as far as Gath (II Kings 12:18); his destruction of the city may be that alluded to by Amos (6:2). Gath was conquered by Uzziah, king of Judah (II Chron. 26:6) and Sargon mentions the capture of Gath (Ginti) during his campaign against Ashdod in 711 B.C.E. It is doubtful, however, whether these two references are to Gath of the Philistines or to the more northern Gat-Gittaim. In later times Eusebius mentions a village called Gath, five Roman miles from Eleutheropolis on the road to Diospolis-Lydda (Onom. 68:4 ff.); it is also mentioned by Jerome (*Epistulae* 108:14).

The identification of Gath is a much debated problem. Albright proposed to locate it at Tell al-ʿUrayna, west of Bet Guvrin (Eleutheropolis) but six seasons of excavations by S. Yeivin have shown that most of the site contained no Iron Age (Philistine) remains. Only on the upper mound were remains from that period found, but its small size (3–4 acres) precludes an identification with Gath. A subsequent proposal to identify Gath with Tell al-Najīla has also been disproved so far by excavations; in two seasons of excavations a large Middle Bronze Age city was found but almost no Iron Age remains. The current proposal returns to its old identification with Tell al-Ṣāfī (as suggested by Elliger, Galling, and later, Aharoni). This large mound, excavated in 1899/1900, has produced large quantities of Philistine pottery.

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[Michael Avi-Yonah]

GATH-HEPHER (Heb. גַּת חֵפֶר), a town on the border of the territory of *Zebulun, between *Japhia and Eth-Kazin (Josh. 19:13). It is referred to as the birthplace of the prophet *Jonah (II Kings 14:25). The biblical site has been identified with Khirbat al-Zurraʿ (now called Tel Gath Hepher), near the Arab village of Mashhad, 2½ mi. (4 km.) southeast of *Sepphoris. An examination of the tell has revealed Iron Age pottery on its surface. A tomb in the village traditionally that of Jonah (al-Nabī Yūnis) attests the existence of a local tradition which was already noted by Jerome in the preface to his Latin commentary on the Book of Jonah.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Albright, in: BASOR, 35 (1929), 8; EM, S.V.

[Michael Avi-Yonah]

GATH-RIMMON (Heb. גַּת רִמּוֹן).

(1) Levitical city in the territory of Dan (Josh. 21:24; I Chron. 6:54). It is located in the vicinity of Jehud, Bene-Berak, and Me-Jarkon ("the waters of Yarkon") in Joshua 19:45 and it is possibly mentioned in the list of conquests of Thutmose III in c. 1469 B.C.E. (line 63) in the same general area, between Jaffa and Lydda. In the opinion of some scholars, the Giti-rimunima in the *El-Amarna letters (ed. by Knudtzon, 250) refers to this locality. Gath-Rimmon is commonly identified with Tell Jarīsha, which was excavated from 1934. The finds included remains of a Hyksos wall and glacis of the Middle Bronze II Age, a Late Bronze Age tomb, and evidence of a settlement up to the ninth century B.C.E.

(2) Levitical city of the tribe of Manasseh west of the Jordan (Josh. 21:25). Some scholars consider it identical with the Giti-rimunima of the el-Amarna letters mentioned above, and as evidence that a second Gath-Rimmon existed in the region, they cite the worship of Hadadrimmon in the Jezreel Valley (Zech. 12:11). In the parallel text of levitical cities in I Chronicles 6, however, Bileam (Ibleam) appears instead of Gath-Rimmon, and the mention of the latter twice in Joshua 21 may have been due to an error.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: EM, S.V. (includes bibliography); QDAP, 4 (1935), 208–9; 6 (1938), 225; 10 (1944), 55ff., 198–9, excavation reports of Gath Rimmon (1); Aharoni, Land, index.

[Michael Avi-Yonah]

GATIGNO, family of rabbis and scholars that first appeared in Spain and Portugal in the 14th century and settled in Turkey after the expulsion. Some consider the name to derive from the French province of Gatines. EN SOLOMON ASTRUC of Barcelona, called the "*kadosh,*" is regarded as one of the first members of this family, but others cast doubt upon his connection with them. He was the author of the commentary on the Pentateuch called *Midreshei ha-Torah*, apparently composed after 1376. Some identify him with Ezra B. SOLOMON, while others maintain that Ezra was his son, who lived in the second half of the 14th century in Saragossa and Acrimonte. Ezra wrote a supercommentary (still in manuscript) on Abraham ibn Ezra's commentary to the Pentateuch, explaining his exegesis and his homiletical interpretations. ḤAYYIM BEN SAMUEL GATIGNO was among the exiles from Spain in 1492 who reached Italy. He worked in Rome as a copyist between the years 1542 and 1553 and then as a proofreader in Cremona.

From the beginning of the 18th century members of the family are found especially in Smyrna and Salonika. ELIAKIM BEN ISAAC GATIGNO served as rabbi of Smyrna, where he died in 1795. He was the author of: *To'afot Re'em* (Smyrna, 1762), an exposition of Elijah *Mizraḥi's supercommentary to Rashi; responsa, *Agurah be-Ohalekha* (Salonika, 1781), which include responsa taken from manuscripts by David b. Zimra (Radbaz), Isaac Escapa, and Abraham ha-Kohen of Safed, and appended to the volume are passages which he omitted from the *To'afot Re'em*; and *Yizḥak Yerannen (ibid.*, 1786), glosses to Maimonides' *Mishneh Torah*. Eliakim's son, ISAAC, was the author of: *Beit Yizḥak* (*ibid.*, 1792), also glosses to the *Mishneh Torah; Beit Mo'ed* (*ibid.*, 1839), novellae to the tractates *Mo'ed Katan* and *Makkot* with additions by his pupil Ḥayyim *Palache, who also wrote an introduction to the work; and *Mi-Yagon le-Simḥah (ibid.*, 1795), a commentary on the laws of mourning (nos. 1–32) of *Meir of Rothenburg. Among the rabbis of this family who served in Salonika during the 18th and 19th centuries are: ḤAYYIM ABRAHAM BEN BENVENISTE, kabbalist, a pupil of Solomon *Amarillo, and the author of *Tirat Kesef* (*ibid.*, 1736), sermons on the weekly scripture portions; and *Ẓeror ha-Kesef* (*ibid.*, 1756), responsa, glosses, and novellae on the Shulḥan Arukh, talmudic themes, and on the *Mishneh Torah*. These were published by BENVENISTE (Mercado), son of Ḥayyim Abraham, with an introduction and additions. Benveniste was the author of a halakhic work, *Terumat ha-Kesef*, which, together with a work by his son Abraham, *Elef Kesef*, was published with the comprehensive title *Mazref le-Kesef* (1867). ABRAHAM BEN BENVENISTE GATIGNO was elected *ḥakham bashi* ("chief rabbi") of Salonika in 1875. He died in 1895. He was the author of the responsa *Ẓel ha-Kesef* (1872) to which are appended ten homilies. Abraham was the founder of the first modern Jewish school in the town. BENVENISTE BEN MOSES was the author of homilies on the Torah which were published together with additions by his son JUDAH under the title, *Meḥushakim Kesef* (1839). Judah's son SAMUEL (d. 1885) was a *dayyan* in Salonika.

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[Yehoshua Horowitz]

GAUNSE, JOACHIM (d. 1619), mining engineer; member of the Gans family of Prague. In 1581 he was in England, where he reorganized the copper mining at Keswick in Cumberland, and later at Neath, Wales. He was arrested in Bristol (1596) for indiscreet remarks during a theological dispute and declared himself a Jew. He was sent to London for trial before the Privy Council and presumably was expelled from England. He is probably identical to the Zalman b. Zeligman Gans whose tombstone in Prague (S. Hock, *Die Familien Prags*, 1892, no. 997) describes him as having endangered his life to wreak vengeance among the gentiles. Gaunse has one remarkable distinction: In 1584 he was recruited by Sir Walter Raleigh to join the first Virginia Company's expedition to the New World and served as supervisor of mining on the ill-fated Roanoke Expedition of 1595. Gaunse was thus the first known Jew to set foot in North America, at least in the area ruled by England.

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[Cecil Roth / William D. Rubinstein (2nd ed.)]

GAVISON (or **Gavishon**), Spanish family. In the 14th century the Gavison family were among the most respected Jews of Seville, but they were forced to flee to Granada during the persecutions of 1391. There, in the 15th century, almost all the Gavisons were murdered; only JACOB and ABRAHAM, the sons of JOSEPH GAVISON, escaped in 1492 to Tlemcen, Algeria. JACOB BEN JOSEPH was a physician and the author of *Derekh ha-Sekhel*, a work directed against the opponents of Maimonides, no longer extant. Poems in praise of this work were written by Solomon al-Malaki, Jacob Berab, and Abraham (2?) Gavison. One of Joseph Gavison's descendants was ABRAHAM BEN JACOB (d. 1578) of Tlemcen, a physician, who lived for some time in Algiers, author of *Omer ha-Shikhḥah* (unfinished). His son JACOB edited the poetical portion of this work and added poems written by himself and his own son ABRAHAM (1586–1605), a gifted young man who died of the plague (see *Omer ha-Shikhḥah*, 127b–128a, and Abraham's poems, 120b). MOSES (d. 1696), a merchant of Algiers, belongs to the same branch of the family; he also died of the plague. The same fate overtook in 1745 the two sons of ABRAHAM (4), who in 1748 published his ancestor's *Omer ha-Shikhḥah* in Leghorn. MEIR and SOLOMON were contemporaries of R. Jacob de *Castro in Egypt in the second half of the 16th century. MEIR GAVISON, originally from Damascus, went to Egypt as a merchant and later joined the academy of the *dayyan* Ḥayyim Kaposi; his responsa were seen in manuscript by Ḥ.Y.D. *Azulai. SOLOMON GAVISON, also a halakhic authority (see responsa of Solomon ha-Kohen (Maharshak) III, Salonika, 1594), was sharply attacked by Castro (responsa *Oholei Ya'akov*, no. 33), because he delivered a halakhic opinion favorable to the Karaites. In the second half of the 19th century VIDAL served as a rabbi in Gibraltar.

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[Jefim (Hayyim) Schirmann]

GAVISON, RUTH (1945–), Israeli jurist. Gavison was born in Jerusalem and spent her childhood years in Haifa. In 1969 she received her LL.B. with distinction and in 1970 she graduated in philosophy and economics, both degrees from the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. From 1969 she taught in the Faculty of Law of the Hebrew University. In 1970 she clerked under Justice B. Halevi of the Israel Supreme Court and in 1971 she was admitted to the Israeli bar. In the same year she finished her LL.M. with distinction at the Hebrew University and in 1975 she received her Ph.D. in legal philosophy from Oxford University. In 1984 she was named to the H. Cohn Chair for Human Rights at the Hebrew University and in 1990 she became full professor. In addition to her academic career, Gavison was active in the Association for Civil Rights in Israel, serving as its president from 1996 to 1999. In 1997 she joined the International Commission of Jurists and the Israel Democracy Institute. She also served as a member of several public committees, such as the Kahan Committee on Privacy in 1976, a public committee on Orthodox-secular relations in Israel from 1987 to 1990, and the Shamgar Committee on the Appointment of the Attorney-General and Related Issues in 1997–98. Gavison is a familiar public figure in Israel owing to her participation in numerous media debates on legal issues. She received the Zeltner Prize for Legal Research in 1997 and the EMET prize in 2003. Her fields of interest are philosophy of law and legal theories and processes. She published numerous books and articles, among them *Discretion in Law Enforcement: The Power of the Attorney General to Stay Criminal Proceedings* (1991); *Human Rights in Israel* (1995); *The Constitutional Revolution: A Reality or a Self-Fulfilling Prophecy?* (1998); *Israel: A Jewish and Democratic State* (1999); and *The Role of the Supreme Court in Israeli Society* (with M. Kremnitzer and Y. Dotan, 2000). In 2000 she published together with Rabbi Ya'akov Madan a document defining secular-religious relations in Israel. Gavison is identified with the right wing and has criticized Supreme Court decisions. She called for a curbing of the legal activism spearheaded by Supreme Court President Aharon *Barak. She believes that the Supreme Court cannot act as the highest moral authority of the state, but should respect the political system and its decisions and the Jewish character of the state. In 2005 her name came up as a candidate for the Supreme Court, which led to much heated debate.

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[Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

°GAWLER, GEORGE (1796–1869), English Christian who propagated the idea of Jewish settlement of Ereẓ Israel. Gawler took part in the Battle of Waterloo as a senior commander and was the first governor of the newly established colony of South Australia (1838–41). On his return to England he took up the cause of the agricultural settlement of Ereẓ Israel by Jews and persisted in the propagation of this idea until the end of his life. He sought to provide a solution both to the permanent unrest in the Middle East and to the Jewish problem in Europe and proposed that his plan should be executed by the British. He first introduced his ideas in a pamphlet entitled *Tranquilization of Syria and the East: Observations and Practical Sug*gestions in Furtherance of the Establishment of Jewish Colonies in Palestine … the Most Sober and Sensible Remedy for the Miseries of Asiatic Turkey (London, 1845), and followed this up with a series of pamphlets in which he discussed other plans, including *Emanicipation of the Jews Indispensable for the Maintenance of the Protestant Profession of the Empire; and Most Entitled to the Support of the British Nation* (1847). His experience in Australia led him to believe that it was possible to settle an uninhabited land within a few years. He accompanied Sir Moses *Montefiore on the latter's third trip to Ereẓ Israel (1849) and seems to have been the one who persuaded Montefiore to initiate agricultural settlement in the country, in spite of the opposition of large sections of the Jewish population to the idea. Over the course of the years, Gawler contributed numerous articles to the Jewish press in Britain (*Voice of Jacob, Jewish Chronicle)*; in one of these articles he stated: "I should be truly rejoiced to see in Palestine a strong guard of Jews established in flourishing agricultural settlements and ready to hold their own upon the mountains of Israel against all aggressors, I can wish for nothing more glorious in this life than to have my share in helping them do so" (JC, Aug. 10, 1860). The only result of his plans was Montefiore's acquisition of an orange grove near Jaffa on his fourth trip to the Holy Land (1855), where Jewish workers were employed (now known as the Montefiore Quarter in Tel Aviv).

His son, JOHN COX GAWLER, took up his father's cause and in 1874 published a detailed plan for the settlement of Ereẓ Israel by Jews on businesslike and technological principles. He also sought to gain Montefiore's interest in the plan. The plan aroused great interest in Jerusalem, and a Hebrew translation of it by I.D. *Frumkin was published in *Ḥavaẓẓelet*. By publishing the plan, Frumkin encouraged certain groups of the old *yishuv* to put the plan into practice, and, as a result, four years later *Petaḥ Tikvah was founded.

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[Getzel Kressel]

GAY (Froehlich), PETER JACK (Joachim; 1923–), U.S. historian. Gay, who was born in Berlin, Germany, immigrated to the United States in 1941 and began teaching at Columbia University in 1948. In 1969 he became professor of comparative European intellectual history at Yale. Later he was director of the Center for Scholars and Writers at the New York Public Library and Sterling Professor Emeritus of History at Yale University. Gay's chief interest was the Enlightenment, of which he presented a sympathetic view. His major publications in this field are *Voltaire's Politics* (1959), *Party of Humanity* (1964), and *The Enlightenment, an Interpretation: The Rise of Modern Paganism* (1966). He wrote many other books as well, including *The Dilemma of Democratic Socialism* (1952), *A Loss of Mastery* (1966), *Weimar Culture* (1968), *Style in History* (1976*), Art and Act: On Causes in History – Manet, Gropius, Mondrian* (1976), *Freud, Jews and Other Germans* (1978), *The Bourgeois Experience* (1983), *Education of the Senses* (1984), *The Tender Passion* (1986), *A Godless Jew* (1987), *The Cultivation of Hatred* (1993), *Pleasure Wars* (1998), *My German Question* (1998), *Schnitzler's Century* (2002), and *Savage Reprisals* (2002).

[Joseph I. Shulim / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

GAYLORD, MITCHELL (1961–), U.S. gymnast, winner of four medals at the 1984 Olympics. Born in Los Angeles, California, Gaylord was named the city's high school athlete of the year in 1979. He attended UCLA, and saw his first international competition at the 11th Maccabiah Games in 1981, winning six gold medals and one silver – coming in second to his brother, Chuck. The seven medals tie him for the most won by an individual athlete at a single Maccabiah Games. Gaylord earned a 10 on the high-bar at the 1982 U.S.A. Championships, resulting in a gold medal, won the all-around championship at the 1982 National Sports Festival, and was the No. 1-ranked gymnast in 1983 and 1984. Gaylord invented two skills now named internationally after him – the Gaylord Flip and the Gaylord Two, considered two of the most difficult feats in gymnastics. Gaylord won the U.S. national championship in 1983 and 1984, when his 117.85 set an American record, and the all-around title representing UCLA at the 1984 NCAA championship with a score of 116.95.

At the 1984 Olympic Games in Los Angeles, Gaylord won a gold medal in the team event, a silver in vaulting, and bronze medals in both rings and parallel bars. His score of 59.45 in the team competition is a U.S. record, and he was the first American gymnast in history to receive a perfect "10." President Ronald Reagan thereafter appointed him to the President's Council for Physical Fitness. Gaylord is co-author with his brother of *Working Out Without Weights* (1987).

[Elli Wohlgelernter (2nd ed.)]

GAZA (Heb. **עַזָּה, Azzah**), city on the southern coastal plain of Ereẓ Israel. From earliest times it served as the base of Egyptian operations in Canaan. Unlike the neighboring sites of Tell el-'Ajjul and Tell Ali Muntar, Gaza itself did not have much strategic and economic importance during the third and second millennia B.C.E. An important Middle Bronze II settlement, however, has been discovered at al-Moghraqa in the area of Wadi Gaza. Gaza was apparently held by Thutmose III (c. 1469 B.C.E.) and in his inscriptions it has the title of "that-which-the-ruler-seized" signifying its role as the chief Egyptian base in Canaan. In the reliefs of Seti I (c. 1300 B.C.E.) it is called "the [town of] Canaan." It is also mentioned in the Tell el-Amarna and Taanach tablets as an Egyptian administrative center. According to biblical tradition its original inhabitants were the Avvites (Deut. 2:23; Josh. 13:3). At the time of the Israelite conquest it was allotted to the tribe of Judah (Josh. 15:47; Judg. 1:18) but it remained in the possession of the Canaanites until the beginning of the 12th century B.C.E. when it was occupied by the Philistines – possibly at first as an Egyptian garrison. It became the southernmost city of the Philistine Pentapolis (Josh. 13:3; I Sam. 6:17; Jer. 25:20). At Gaza Samson performed some of his famous deeds and there too he perished in the temple of Dagon in the great slaughter of his enemies (Judg. 16). With the weakening of Egyptian support, the Philistines finally submitted to David (II Sam. 5:25). In 734 B.C.E. Tiglath-Pileser III of Assyria took Gaza but it remained a Philistine city and the short conquest of Hezekiah (II Kings 18:8) did not alter its status. Pharaoh Necho II occupied Gaza briefly in 609 B.C.E. Under the Persians (after a siege in 529 B.C.E. by Cambyses) Gaza became an important royal fortress called Kadytis by Herodotus (2:159). In 332 B.C.E. it was the only city in Ereẓ Israel to oppose Alexander, who besieged it and sold its people into slavery. In the Hellenistic period Gaza was the outpost of the Ptolemies until its capture by Antiochus III in 198 B.C.E. Its commercial importance increased in Persian and Hellenistic times when it served as the Mediterranean outlet of the Nabatean caravan trade and as the gateway for Greek penetration into southern Ereẓ Israel. The city was attacked by Jonathan the Hasmonean in 145 B.C.E. (I Macc. 11:61–62) but was taken only by Alexander Yannai in 96 B.C.E. after a long siege. It was restored by Pompey and rebuilt by Gabinius in 57 B.C.E. It was held by Herod for a short time. Gaza prospered under Roman rule and contained a famous school of rhetoric. It was fanatically devoted to its Cretan god Marnas, even under Christian rule; only in the fifth century was its temple destroyed and Christianity made the ruling religion. Although Jews were settled there in the talmudic period, the city was regarded as being outside the halakhic boundaries of the Holy Land. Gaza is shown as a large city on the Madaba Map – "splendid, delicious" are the words of the traveler Antoninus – with colonnaded streets crossing its center and a large basilica in the middle, probably the church erected on the temple of Marnas. A depiction of the city of Gaza also appears in a mosaic floor uncovered at Umm er-Rasas in Jordan. In antiquity Gaza controlled an extensive territory, including the areas of Anthedon and its harbor, Maiumas. The sources mention an "Old Gaza." This was probably at Beth-Eglaim – Tell al-Ajūl (the tell at the city proper however contains evidence of settlement from the Bronze Age onward). "Gaza the desert" in the New Testament (Acts 8:26), which is the city proper, was so called because of its devastation by Alexander Yannai. The "New City" (Neapolis) was the harbor; a synagogue was found there paved with mosaics and dated 508/9. In 1965 a mosaic floor was uncovered on the seashore of Gaza's harbor. Its figures include one of King David as Orpheus, dressed in Byzantine royal garments and playing the lyre. The name "David" in Hebrew letters appears above it. A Greek inscription at the center of the floor, which mentions the names of the two donors (Menahem and Jesse) of the mosaic to the "holy place," and the name "David," testify to the fact that a synagogue stood there. The synagogue was cleared by A. Ovadiah in 1967/68. Evidence of a considerable Jewish population during the talmudic period in Gaza is provided also by a relief of a *menorah*, a *shofar*, a *lulav*, and an *etrog*, which appear on a pillar of the Great Mosque of Gaza; and various Hebrew and Greek inscriptions. According to the Karaite Sahl b. Maẓli'aḥ, Gaza, Tiberias, and Zoar were the three centers of pilgrimages in Ereẓ Israel during the Byzantine period. Gaza was situated 3 mi. (5 km.) from the sea in a fertile plain rich in wheat, vineyards, and fruits. Its fair (*panegyris*) was one of the three main fairs in Roman Palestine.

In a great battle fought near Gaza in 635, the Arabs vanquished the Byzantines; the city itself fell soon afterward. It remained the seat of the governor of the Negev, as is known from the Nessana Papyri. The Jewish and Samaritan communities flourished under Arab rule; in the eighth century, R. Moses, one of the masoretes, lived there. In the 11th century R. Ephraim of Gaza was head of the community of Fostat (old Cairo). King Baldwin I of Jerusalem occupied the city which was known in Crusader times as Gadres; from the time of Baldwin III (1152) it was a Templar stronghold. In 1170 it fell to Saladin. Under Mamluk rule Gaza was the capital of a district (*mamlaka*) embracing the whole coastal plain up to Athlit. After the destruction of Gaza by the Crusaders the Jewish community ceased to exist. Nothing more was heard of it until the 14th century. Meshullam of Volterra in 1481 found 60 Jewish householders there and four Samaritans. All the wine of Gaza was produced by the Jews (A.M. Luncz, in *Yerushalayim*, 1918). Obadiah of Bertinoro records that when he was there in 1488, Gaza's rabbi was a certain Moses of Prague who had come from Jerusalem (*Zwei Briefe*, ed. by A. Neubauer (1863), 19). Gaza flourished under Ottoman rule; the Jewish community was very numerous in the 16th and 17th centuries. The Karaite Samuel b. David found a Rabbanite synagogue there in 1641 (*Ginzei Yisrael be-St. Petersburg*, ed. by J. Gurland (1865), 11). In the 16th century there were a *bet din* and a yeshivah in Gaza, and some of its rabbis wrote scholarly works. Farm-owners were obliged to observe the laws of *terumah* ("priestly tithe"), *ma'aserot* ("tithes"), and the sabbatical year. At the end of the 16th century the Najara family supplied some of its rabbis; Israel *Najara, son of the Damascus rabbi Moses Najara, author of the "*Zemirot Yisrael*," was chief rabbi of Gaza and president of the *bet din* in the mid-17th century. In 1665, on the occasion of Shabbetai Ẓevi's visit to Gaza, the city became a center of his messianic movement, and one of his principal disciples was *Nathan of Gaza. The city was occupied by Napoleon for a short time in 1799. In the 19th century, the city declined. The Jews concentrated there were mainly barley merchants; they bartered with the Bedouins for barley which they exported to the beer breweries in Europe. It was a Turkish stronghold in World War I; two British attacks made on Gaza in 1916–17 failed and it was finally taken by a flanking movement of *Allenby. Under Mandatory rule Gaza developed slowly; the last Jews left the town as a result of the anti-Jewish Arab disturbances in 1929.

[Michael Avi-Yonah / Shimon Gibson (2nd ed.)]

In 1946 Gaza's population was estimated at 19,500, all Muslim except for 720 Christians. In the Israel *War of Independence, the invading Egyptian army occupied Gaza (May 1948). The town, together with the newly formed *Gaza Strip, was put under Egyptian administration by the armistice agreement of 1949. The influx of Arab refugees from the areas which became part of Israel swelled the city's population at least fourfold. The 1967 census showed that 87,793 inhabitants lived in the city proper, while 30,479 lived in the refugee camp within municipal boundaries. Of these, 1,649 were Christian and the rest Muslim. In the *Sinai Campaign (1956), Gaza was occupied by the Israeli army (November 2, 1956) and evacuated in March 1957. The Egyptian army reinstalled itself in the Strip, but in the Six-Day War (1967), Israeli forces captured the town on June 6, and an Israeli military government was set up in the town. From 1969, there were frequent acts of terrorism and sabotage in the town, which remained the center of activity in the Gaza Strip. (For political developments see *Gaza Strip.)

It appears that in the historic past Gaza's built-up area alternately expanded and decreased in size, particularly in the area between the city core and the seashore about 2 mi. (3 km.) distant. This expanse of dunes lay waste in the 20th century, until the British Mandate authorities allocated land for a nominal fee to anyone promising to build his house there within five years of signing a contract. Gaza's principal east-west artery now runs through this area, up to the shore. From the 1940s the city also expanded eastward. In the northwest Gaza gradually links up with Jabalya and Nazala. Within the municipal area, there are orchards, fields, and kitchen gardens. Farming and sea fishing retain a place with small commerce and industries in the city economy, while pottery constitutes a prominent branch. After 1967, larger manufacturing plants (food, textiles, and other branches) were established there.

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GAZA STRIP (Heb. רְצוּעַת עַזָּה; Ar. قَطَاعُ غَزَّةَ), an area located on the coastal plain between Israel and Egypt, covering around 140 sq. miles (362 sq. km.), and between 3 and 4.5 miles (5–7 km.) wide and 28 miles (45 km.) long. The Gaza Strip is not a separate geographical unit, but rather a political one that emerged after the Arab-Israeli War of 1948, when the territory of Palestine, a British Mandate from 1920 to 1948, was divided into three major entities: the independent State of Israel, inhabited predominantly by Jews, and the two Palestinian Arab "territories" of the West Bank (ruled by Jordan at that time) and the Gaza Strip (ruled by Egypt).

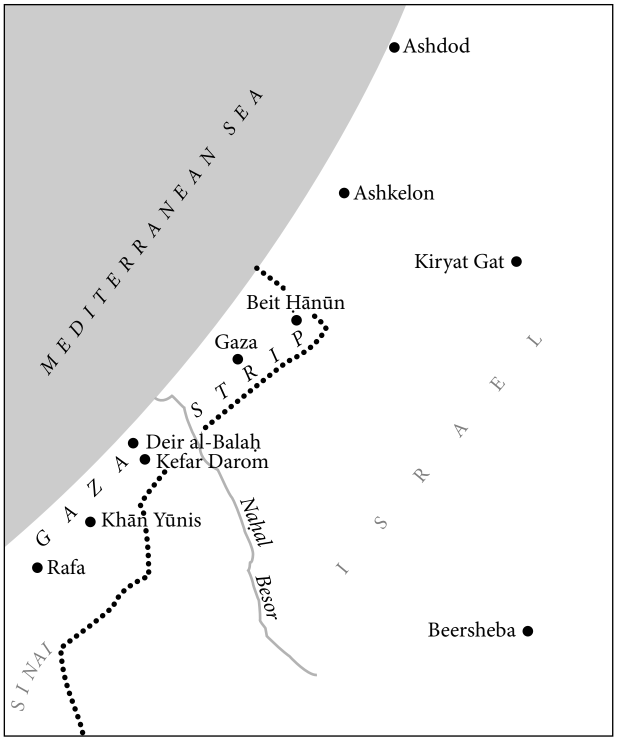

The Gaza Strip.

Gaza Strip under Egyptian Rule

The Armistice Agreement of February 1949 between Israel and Egypt established the borders of the Gaza Strip according to the ceasefire boundaries, although the districts of Beit Ḥānūn and ʿAbasān were given to Egypt by Israel. This agreement proved to be fragile. From the early 1950s, Palestinian *Fidāʾiyyūn* (lit. those who are ready to sacrifice their lives for their cause) launched attacks from the Gaza Strip on Israeli military and civilian targets. Taking the view that Egypt had initiated these attacks, Israel carried out several raids in the Strip. In 1956, as part of the *Sinai Campaign, Israel occupied the Strip and held it between November 2, 1956, and March 8, 1957. The subsequent period of Egyptian control that followed was relatively quiet, until the outbreak of the Six-Day War in June 1967, when Egypt lost the Strip to Israel (and Jordan lost the West Bank to Israel).

Demographic change was much more radical in the Strip during the 1948 War than in the West Bank, and had significant economic and social consequences. Some estimates suggest that during the 1948 War the population of the Strip multiplied by 4.5 times (from 80,000 to 360,000) due to the influx of Palestinians from Arab villages in Israel pouring into the Strip in search of protection from the Egyptian army. Eight refugee camps were set up and administered by the newly created United Nations Relief and Works Agency (UNRWA) where their residents obtained food, basic housing, medical care, and schooling. Unemployment was high because there were not enough jobs in the local economy, largely based on agriculture and small businesses; employment outside the Strip was not permitted until 1952, when Egypt opened its border to allow workers to enter. Yet even then job opportunities were limited. At least half of the labor force remained unemployed, and those who found work earned very little.

In 1957, after regaining control of the Strip, Egypt took some measures to relieve the situation, which included improving the seaport of *Gaza and encouraging exports. Although this had a positive effect for some Palestinians, it did not bring about fundamental structural change, and "national output" from the Strip did not significantly increase; in the last full year of Egyptian control over the Strip, per capita GNP stood at only US$80 (about 1,500 NIS in 2005 prices).

From Direct Control to Disengagement: Israel and the Gaza Strip

At the end of the Six-Day War in June 1967, Israel seemed very determined to hold on to the Strip. Prime Minister Levi *Eshkol declared that "Israel intends to keep the former part of Jerusalem and the Gaza Strip" and his defense minister, Moshe *Dayan, declared that "the Gaza Strip is Israel's and steps will be taken to make it part of this country." Even so, a full annexation did not follow these declarations. Although small settlements of Israeli Jews were established in the Gaza Strip, it was only in stages that the notion of annexation was replaced by that of separation.

In the Camp David Accords between Israel and Egypt in 1978, Israel signed "a framework for peace in the Middle East" which called for the implementation of an autonomy plan for the West Bank and Gaza Strip, but left open the question of sovereignty over these territories. In 1994–95, in the Oslo Accords between Israel and the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), a timetable was drawn up for the withdrawal of Israeli forces from the Gaza Strip and the West Bank, and for the formation of a self-governing Palestinian entity, leading to the establishment of a Palestinian state. The so-called permanent status issues such as the fate of Palestinian refugees, the future of Israeli settlements in the West Bank and Gaza, and agreed borders between Israel and a Palestinian entity, were deliberately excluded from the Accords and left for future negotiations. Subsequently, the Palestinian Authority (PA) was established as the new governing regime in the Strip. Israel handed over some areas in which both civilian and security authority were transferred to the PA. However, violence and violations on both sides have held back progress in accordance with the Oslo Accords timetable. Nevertheless, the process of separation has been ongoing.

In September 2005, Israel withdrew its troops and all Jewish settlers from the Gaza Strip and relinquished control of certain areas of the northern West Bank, in accordance with its unilateral Disengagement Plan, and the PA took control of the Strip. Israel, however, was to continue to control the Strip's borders and gateways, although the southern border – the "Philadelphi Road" – was to be guarded by Egypt. While the Israeli government expressed its hope that existing economic relations with the PA would be maintained, the Hamas victory in the Palestinian parliamentary elections in January 2006 threw future relations into doubt.

[Amos Nadan (2nd ed.)]

Nationalism, Politics, and Violence

The history of Gaza since 1967 should be seen within the context of the reemergence of Palestinian nationalism, Islamic political revival in Palestinian politics that began in the 1970s, and attempts to settle the Israeli-Palestinian and Arab conflict, especially since the outbreak of the Intifada in 1987. Regarding the ebb and flow of politics and violence within Gaza itself, it was highly volatile in the first years of Israeli rule, quiescent and peaceful between 1972 and the early 1980s, and after the eruption of the Intifada in December 1987, became steeped in almost perpetual violent struggle against Israeli rule. Gaza also became the scene to the most extreme forms of internecine political contention and violence, mostly between Fatah, the largest nationalist faction within the PLO, and the Hamas, the major Islamic movement.

Why violent opposition to Israeli rule was greater in Gaza than in the West Bank during the first years of Israel's rule had to do with Egyptian policy before the Six-Day War. Unlike Hashemite Jordan, which went to great efforts to stifle Palestinian identity and curtail PLO political activity, Egypt, the former ruler, had been engaged since 1959 in actively promoting a Palestinian identity and institutions in Gaza as part of its political offensive against Israel. After 1964, this included the PLO and its military arm, the Palestinian Liberation Army; their performance against the Israel Defense Forces (IDF) in the Six-Day War won high marks from Israeli military analysts.

It was these former officers and soldiers in the PLA who served as the nucleus of violent opposition to Israeli rule that began in 1968 and reached its zenith in 1970–early 1971 when 17 Israelis were killed in Gaza as a result of terrorist activity emanating from there. Terrorist activity was virtually stamped out by Israeli forces under General Ariel Sharon, Head of Southern Command, who employed techniques such as specialized anti-terror units acting in disguise and the employment of armored military craft in urban warfare, which later became better known in subsequent more intense rounds of Israeli-Palestinian violence under increasing media scrutiny.

Yet Israel's response in itself was hardly sufficient to wipe out terrorism. Israel, after initial hesitation, opened its labor market during these years to a job-hungry population (see below) while an additional ten percent of the workforce was directly linked to providing transportation for these commuters. Employment in Israel was the major factor in the vast improvement in the standard of living. It also had its limitations – the Israeli market offered blue collar work only – a form of employment that became a growing source of frustration for an increasingly educated Palestinian workforce. Nevertheless, prosperity brought tranquility until the early 1980s.

Calm gave way to increasing tension as the PLO, principally Fatah and the Islamic Brotherhood, began forming "front" social and political institutions that not only provided social services but had the added advantage of employing the new augmented ranks of high school and university students. There was also political friction, focused mainly around Gaza University, established in 1978, between student blocs affiliated to Fatah, Islamic Jihad, formed in 1983, and the local Muslim Brotherhood, which in early 1988, after the outbreak of the Intifada, became known as the Hamas.

These organizations became recruiting grounds for the "military" wing of these political forces in Gaza with the result that even before the outbreak of the Intifada, Gaza became the stage of increasing acts of terror, the most dramatic of which was the clash in October 1987 between three al-Jihad al-Islami members who had escaped detention and Israel General Security agents, leading to the death of an Israeli agent. The incident had a dramatic effect; for the first time since 1971, "the resistance," as it was known in Palestinian society, had succeeded in killing a member of an elite security unit of almost mythic proportions.

The trend of increasing violence paled in comparison to the mass violence that broke out on December 8, 1987, in Jabaliyya Refugee Camp and elsewhere over rumors that an Israeli had deliberately crashed into a vehicle killing four Palestinians. Thousands took to the streets in massive daily confrontations against a small hard-pressed Israeli military presence in Gaza. If political forces were not responsible for the outbreak of Intifada, they were crucial in assuring its persistence; the Unified National Command of the West Bank and Gaza, consisting of members of the four major factions under the PLO umbrella, Fatah, the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine, and the Palestinian Communist Party, organized activity directly and through a series of leaflets; the Hamas and Islamic Jihad did much the same through its own separate organizations and leaflets.

Soon mass activities and violence, characterized by stone throwing and use of incendiary bombs, gave way to increasing terrorist activity by a professional "salaried" hard core; the establishment of the ʿIzz al-Dīn al-Qassām Brigades in Gaza, Hamas' military wing in 1989, and its kidnapping and killing of an Israeli soldier in that year were, in retrospect, the most significant actions. This ushered in a series of killings culminating in the expulsion to Lebanon of nearly 413 Hamas and Jihad activists in December 1992. Their expulsion and even more so their subsequent repatriation, was an egregious mistake; in Lebanon they perfected their skills to use explosives, under the aegis of Hizbullah, leading to the introduction of suicide-bombing, a new and more lethal mode of terrorism. The first suicide bombing, by a member of the al-Jihad al-Islami, took place in April 1993 in the Jordan Valley. Nevertheless, Fatah was still the major political and military force, even in Gaza, when the Palestinian Authority as part of the Oslo peace process was created.

For a brief period in Palestinian politics between the establishment of the PA in July 1994 and the entry of the PA into the six major towns of the West Bank in January 1996, Gaza held the limelight as Yasser *Arafat set up headquarters in the city of Gaza. Even afterwards, Arafat, realizing the popularity of the two major Islamic organizations native to Gaza, spent much of his time, if not most, in Gaza to assure his control in the area. Most of the other formerly Tunis-based Palestinian politicians and organizations preferred, however, Ramallah and even though sessions of the Palestinian Legislative Council, elected in January 1996, took place in both, increasing government business was transacted in the latter.

Arafat's political instincts were correct. For the PA and Arafat, Gaza became a major source of opposition; in November 1994, PA security forces gunned down 12 mostly Hamas activists coming out of mosque in the city of Gaza to quell a continuation of mass protests against the PA for arresting and harassing its members; the three suicide bombings of late February–early March 1996 resulting in 57 deaths in Israel were all planned, organized, and carried out in Gaza by the Hamas. Israel reacted to suicide-bombing by curtailing work permits and targeting Hamas and Islamic Jihad terrorists.

Nevertheless, there was some room for hope and prosperity. An airport in Dahaniya in Gaza was opened, the Erez industrial park in the north rapidly expanded, and another industrial park was established in Karni, but none of these developments could make up for restricted and much reduced access to the Israeli labor market and led to a 40 percent decline in the average income level since the Oslo peace process in 1993.

Access to the Israeli labor market terminated almost completely with the outbreak of armed conflict between the PA and the Palestinian factions in September 2000; Gaza became the stage of mass armed demonstrations and protests and soon thereafter of recurring armed assaults and suicide attacks against the Israeli military and civilian presence there, including 18 settlements established since 1971. Unlike Judea and Samaria, where two massive IDF military offensives in 2002 and the partial reoccupation of its towns brought about a significant reduction of terrorism and armed attacks, in Gaza terrorism and guerrilla activity increased from 2002 to 2005 reaching levels of violence unparalleled in Judea and Samaria, which even the assassination of Ahmad Yasin, the founder and leader of Hamas in March 2004, and one month afterwards of his successor, ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Rantīsī, only temporarily reduced.

[Hillel Frisch (2nd ed.)]

Socioeconomic Features under Israeli Rule

The Israeli occupation of the Gaza Strip in 1967 brought immediate economic relief to Gaza's residents, as Israel opened its labor market to Palestinians. In 1968, according to Israeli statistics, about 82.5% of the Strip's laborers were employed. In 1973 this figure reached 99.1%, with about one-third (32.7%) of these workers finding their main employment in Israel. The level of employment in Israel continued to increase. In 1979 it stood at 42.4% and in 1986 at almost half of the total (46.1%); in Israel, the Palestinian workers from Gaza were engaged in labor-intensive jobs, but their wages were far lower by 59% than those of the Israeli workforce. From 1968 to 1986 the average annual population growth in the Strip stood at 2.2%, with an annual growth of 2.5% in per capita GDP (from 3,508 NIS to 5,964 NIS in 2005 prices); yet this deteriorated between 1979 and 1985 (from 6,593 NIS to 5,346 NIS). These trends were significantly different from the more economically viable West Bank: in 1968 per capita GDP in the Gaza Strip was 18% less than in the West Bank, but by 1986 it was lower by 55%.

The Intifada ("uprising") of 1987 was the first Palestinian national revolt since the Israeli occupation 20 years earlier. The socioeconomic roots and consequences of this Intifada were significant. At its onset, the 1987 Intifada was a spontaneous disturbance, not directed by a recognized national leadership; it also started in the poorest region – the Gaza Strip – and spilled over into the West Bank. The group of rebels who initiated the revolt was essentially people who used to work in Israel, who felt poor and discriminated against, and hoped for change. To some extent, the Intifada of 1987 acted as a labor-separator between the Strip and Israel. By 1993, the level of Gazan workers employed in Israel and in Israeli settlements had dropped to 26.5%. Moreover, several suicide attacks by Palestinians in Israel in 1994 and 1995, and the border "closure policy" of the Israeli government, brought a further reduction of Gazans employed in Israel: in 1995 only 3.3% of Gazans who were employed had found work in Israel. However, this gradually changed, and by 1998 the number had risen to 16.2%.

The Intifada of 2000, the second revolt against Israeli occupation, was supported and sustained from the outset by the PA, as well as by the Islamic opposition groups in Gaza. While per capita GDP figures suggest that the economic crisis of the first Intifada was not particularly serious, the socioeconomic consequences of the 2000 Intifada were undoubtedly much more severe. There was an average annual decline of more than 14% in GNP in Gaza between 1999 and 2002, and the average level of Gazan employment in Israel fell to below 1% between October 2000 and mid-2004.

[Amos Nadan (2nd ed.)]

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GAZELLE (Heb. **צְבִי**, *ẓevi*). The gazelle is included among the seven wild animals permitted as food (Deut. 14:5; 12:15), and is the only one among them that has survived in Israel. Though it was almost extinct in the early 1940s, there has been a considerable increase in the number since the passing of the Wild Life Protection Law by the State of Israel, which made hunting the gazelle an offense, and today hundreds of them are to be found in the Judean hills and in the Negev. There are two species of gazelle in Israel; the more common is the *Gazella gazella*, which is grayish-brown in color, 55 inches (140 cm.) in length, and up to 27½ inches (70 cm.) in height. The other species, *Gazella dorcas*, which is found in the Negev, is light-brown in color, has large ears and diverging horns, and stands only 23½ inches (60 cm.) high. The gazelle's delicate appearance, its slender legs, narrow body, and beautiful eyes, made it a symbol of grace and beauty (Song 2:9; 4:5; 7:4). It was hunted extensively for its delicious meat (Isa. 13:14; Prov. 6:5). Its light-footedness became a symbol of speed (II Sam. 2:18). In Song of Songs (2:7; 3:5) there twice occurs the adjuration "by the gazelles and by the hinds of the field," the reference being to the habit of the males and females of living apart during most of the year and meeting again at the mating season. Perhaps the maiden here intimates that her beloved will surely return to her. Because the gazelle is not found in Europe, the translators of the Bible there identified the *ẓevi* with the *deer (Heb. **אַיָּל**), which abounds there. Whereas, however, the horns of the deer are branched and solid ("antlers"), the Talmud clearly states that those of the *ẓevi* are unbranched (Ḥul. 59b) and hollow (TJ, Er. 1:17, 19b). "Gazelle" and not "deer" is also the meaning of the Aramaic and Arabic cognates of *ẓevi*. The *halakhah* refers to the prohibition of crossbreeding the gazelle with the goat, which it resembles (Kil. 1:6), the progeny of such crossbreeding being, according to some, the animal known as the *koi* (Ḥul. 132a).

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[Jehuda Feliks]

GAZIT (Heb. **גָּזִית**; "hewn building stones," Isa. 9:9), kibbutz in eastern Lower Galilee, Israel, S.E. of Kefar Tavor, affiliated with Kibbutz Arẓi Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir, first founded in 1943 by a group known as "Irgun Borochov," and taken over by a Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir group in the summer of 1947. A year later, the present kibbutz was established, while the battles of the *War of Independence were in progress nearby. Its members were pioneers from Argentina, Romania, and other countries. The kibbutz economy was based on field crops, orchards, beef cattle, dairy cattle, and poultry along with plastics, rubber, and furniture factories. Its population was 415 in 1968 and 581 in 2002.

[Efraim Orni / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

GDANSK (Ger. **Danzig**), major commercial port in Poland, situated at the estuary of the Vistula on the Baltic. In 1308 the city passed to the Teutonic Order, which prohibited Jewish settlement there. During the first half of the 15th century Jews from Poland and Lithuania frequently visited the town but this tolerance was limited in 1438. Around 1440 a "Judengasse" ("Jewish Lane") existed on the bank of the Motława. Toward the end of the 15th century, after the town had been incorporated in Poland, it became the wealthiest city of Poland, and the entrepôt for the large commerce in grain and goods between Western and Eastern Europe. This created many commercial possibilities for Jews. However, their activities were restricted by the autonomous status of Gdansk, which enabled the city to discriminate against them. In 1476 the Polish king recommended the city council to permit two Jews to enjoy equal rights with the other merchants.

A Jewish settlement grew up in Gdansk after 1454, but owing to the opposition of the merchants in 1520 the Jews had to move to the Schottland suburb which was not under municipal jurisdiction. Subsequently Jews also settled in other places outside the jurisdiction of the city. On the intervention of King Sigismund I in 1531, the council withdrew the regulation prohibiting Jews from trading at the fair, but a resolution of the *Sejmik* (small parliament) of Prussia prohibited the extension of further rights to the Jews. In retaliation, the Jews of Lithuania boycotted the Gdansk banking house in Kaunas (Kovno) which had to be liquidated, and ousted the merchants of Gdansk from the Lithuanian salt trade. In 1577 an agreement was concluded between King Stephen Báthory and Gdansk approving the existing restrictions. The citizens also demanded that Jewish residence and trade in the city should be entirely prohibited. Jews were not allowed to hold religious services there, and in 1595 the city council permitted them to stay in Gdansk during fair days only. In 1616 the Gdansk authorities had to pay large indemnities for their arbitrary exclusion of Jewish merchants coming from Polish cities; subsequently Jews were allowed to stay six days in Gdansk against payment of a high poll tax.

Around 1616 about 400 to 500 Jews were living in Gdansk in addition to those settled in lands owned by the gentry or clergy. In 1620 the king permitted Jewish residence in Gdansk. They were permitted to trade in grain and timber in the commercial sector and Langengarten which belonged to the port area, and after these quarters were incorporated into Gdansk in 1626 these rights were extended to the whole of the city. However, the Polish-Swedish wars of the 17th century interrupted the trading activities of the Gdansk Jews. In the middle of the 17th century about 50 Jews became apostates to Christianity. One of them, Johann Salama, a teacher in the seminary of Gdansk, carried on missionary activity among Jews. Cramer, the pastor of Gdansk, in a sermon published in 1664, *Der verstockte Jude*, describes the martyrdom of a Jew who refuses to accept Christianity. During the 18th century, the main opposition to the Jews in Gdansk came from the representatives of small trades and crafts. The third Northern War, strengthening the position of Catholicism in Gdansk, aggravated the hostility to the Jews, and they were moved away from some of their quarters. However, a *ḥevra kaddisha* and *bikkur ḥolim* were founded in the old Jewish quarter in Schottland (Stary Schottland) in 1724. The Jews who had been expelled returned in 1748, although according to a regulation endorsed by the king in 1750 they could only stay temporarily in Gdansk. There were about 1,098 Jews living in Gdansk in the areas outside the city jurisdiction in 1765, of whom 504 were living in Schottland and Hoppenbruch, 230 in Langfuhr, and 364 in Weinberg. In 1773, 50 families received the rights of citizenship in Gdansk and 160 Jews were permitted to reside there.

After Gdansk was incorporated into Prussia upon the second partition of Poland in 1793, the restrictions on the Jews remained in force. In 1813 Langfuhr and Schottland were destroyed, and the Jews there moved within the city. Between 1807 and 1814 Gdansk was a Free City, and after its renewed occupation by Prussia the Jews there obtained rights of citizenship by the Prussian liberation decree. There were anti-Jewish incidents during the *Hep! Hep! riots in September 1819 and again in August 1821. Thirty-three Jews were received into the merchants' guild, but by then the city's commercial importance had declined. Jews were permitted to engage in crafts, and in 1823 the Society for the Promotion of Crafts Among the Jewish Population was founded.

Some Hebrew printing was done there in the 16th century in connection with Phillip Wolff's *Spiegel der Juden*. In 1843 the printing house of Rathke and Schroth issued the Mishnah with the *Tiferet Yisrael* commentary by Israel *Lipschuetz, who was rabbi at Danzig. They also published some works of Ẓevi Hirsch *Edelmann from 1844 to 1845, including an edition of his Passover *Haggadah, Leil Shimmurim*. Abraham Stein, an adherent of Reform and later preacher in Prague, was rabbi of Schottland from 1850 to 1864. In 1888 the communities of Schottland, Langfuhr, Weinberg, Mattenbunden, and Breitegasse were amalgamated. The Jewish population numbered 3,798 in 1816, 2,736 in 1880 (2.4% of the total), 2,390 in 1910 (1.4%), and 4,678 in 1924.

In 1920 Gdansk was again declared a Free City, having a population of approximately 356,000. There were 7,292 Jews living in the territory of the Free City in 1923, and 9,230 in 1924, of whom 53.4% lived in Gdansk itself. A large number of Jewish emigrants passed through the port on their way to the United States and received assistance from the *American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee and *Hias. The community had four synagogues and various Jewish organizations. The "Jung-Juedischer Bund-Danzig" was founded in 1920. A communal organ, *Juedisches Wochenblatt*, was published from 1929 to 1938. The Jews in Gdansk engaged in commerce and the liberal professions; more than 150 Jews were employed in crafts. Adjoining Sopot was a popular summer and sea resort for many Polish Jews between the two world wars. It also attracted a number of Jewish émigrés from Soviet Russia. Despite large Nazi gains in the elections of 1933 and 1935, civil and economic order was upheld by Hermann Rauschning, president of the senate, until 1937, when the *minority rights provided for under the League of Nations lapsed. Albert Forster, the Nazi gauleiter, dismissed almost all Jews from practice in the liberal professions. In October 1937 a full-scale pogrom was initiated. Half of the Jews left Gdansk within a year, the Polish government offering them no protection. Between Nov. 12 and 14, 1938, two synagogues were burned down and two others were desecrated. Shops and homes were looted. The Jewish community decided to organize emigration and many left. By September 1939 barely 1,700 remained, mostly elderly persons, and by early 1941, just 600. The last group to leave sailed for Palestine on the ill-fated *Patria*, which was sunk by the British in Haifa port. Of those who remained, 395 were deported during February and March 1941 to Warsaw and 200 from the Jewish old age home were sent to Theresienstadt. Twenty-two Jewish partners of mixed marriages who remained in Gdansk survived the war. After the city reverted to Poland in 1945, a number of Jews settled there. Few remained by the end of the 1960s.

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[Jacob Goldberg]

GEBA (Heb. גֶּבַע; "hill"), common name of inhabited places in Ereẓ Israel from biblical times onward; its Arabic form (Jabaʿ) has survived in the names of several Arab villages. Important places bearing this name include:

(1) A city of *Benjamin, near the northern border of the tribe, the present-day Jabaʿ, a Muslim village some 5½ mi. (9 km.) north of *Jerusalem and 2 mi. (3 km.) east of al-Rāma, situated on an ancient tell containing Iron Age remains. Because of the similarity between the names Geba, Gibeah, and other places in the area, it is sometimes difficult to determine exactly which place the Bible refers to, especially since there are also interchanges and probable errors in the text (e.g., in Judg. 20:10 *Gibeah is meant and in II Sam. 25 Gibeon, according to the parallel verse in I Chron. 14:16). It is therefore not certain whether Geba of the Benjaminite cities (Josh. 18:24) is the one under discussion or a more northerly city known to Eusebius, 5 Roman miles north of *Gophnah (Onom. 74:2). Geba is one of the levitical cities (Josh. 21:17; I Chron. 6:45) and was apparently the seat of the family of Ehud, the son of Gera (Judg. 3:13; I Chron. 8:6, following the Septuagint reading Ehud (ʾΑωδ) instead of Eḥud). Strategically located south of Wadi Ṣuwaynīṭ, opposite *Michmas, it played a central role in Saul's wars with the Philistines. His son Jonathan seized control of the city after his victory over its Philistine garrison (I Sam. 13:3). From the continuation of the war between Geba and Michmas (*ibid.* 13:16; 14:5), it is clear that this Geba is meant. Moreover, the assumption that a Philistine garrison was stationed at Gibeah before Saul established his capital there has been refuted by excavations at this site. It thus also appears that the "hill of God" (Gibeath ha-Elohim), which was the site of the Philistine garrison (I Sam. 10:5), is identical with the Geba being discussed, and this indicates that a "high place" existed there during the time of Saul.

Asa fortified Geba with stones taken from nearby Ramah (I Kings 15:22; II Chron. 16:6); excavations at Geba have also established that this reference is not to Gibeah, as some scholars have claimed. Geba's strategic position on the eastern branch of the northern highroad is described by Isaiah (10:29) and it is logical that this is the same city which is mentioned on the border of the kingdom of Judah in the latter days of the First Temple (II Kings 23:8; Zech. 14:10; Neh. 11:31). From the statement that *Josiah brought the priests to Jerusalem "from Geba to Beer-Sheba" (II Kings 23:8) it seems likely that up to his time a sanctuary was located in the city (especially after the discovery of an Israelite temple of this period at *Arad on the southeastern border of the kingdom). Geba's destruction came about with the fall of the First Temple and it was rebuilt in the post-Exilic period; the exiles who returned to it are listed together with those from neighboring Ramah (Ezra 2:26; Neh. 7:30; and see Neh. 12:29).

[Yohanan Aharoni]

(2) Geba-Parashim (Gr. *Geba Hippeon*, "Geba of the Horsemen"), city in Lower Galilee near the Jezreel Valley founded by Herod who settled demobilized cavalrymen there (Jos., Ant., 15:294; Wars, 3:36). It served as a Herodian and Roman administrative center in the valley and enjoyed several urban privileges, including the right to mint city-coinage. During the Jewish War (66–70/73) fighting between the Romans and the Galilean rebels under the command of Josephus took place near Geba (Jos., Life, 115). The city was in existence until the fourth century C.E. and was the seat of a Christian bishop. Most scholars identify it with Khirbat Ḥarithiyya near a key road at the entrance of the Jezreel Plain. Another suggestion is that Hellenistic Geba corresponds to the Geba mentioned in the list of Thutmose III's conquests (No. 41, Geba-Shemen) which has been identified with Tell al-ʿAmr in the same neighborhood.

(3) Geba, a place mentioned in the Mishnah (Kelim 17:5) and Tosefta (Kelim; BM 6:10) as being inhabited by Kutim (Cutheans). This city has been identified with the Arab village of Jabaʿ, 3 3/4 mi. (6 km.) north of Samaria. It is also mentioned in the Samaria ostraca from the eighth century B.C.E.

[Michael Avi-Yonah]

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GEBIHA OF BE-KATIL (first half of the fifth century), Babylonian *amora*. Gebiha headed the academy of Pumbedita during the years 419–33 (*Iggeret Sherira Ga'on* (1921), 96) and lectured on *halakhah* at the *bet ha-midrash* adjoining the house of the *exilarch. His younger contemporaries *Amemar and *Ashi discussed the meaning of his pronouncements (Beẓah 23a). Gebiha, who spanned a number of generations of *amoraim*, mentions the rulings of Abbaye (Ḥul. 64b; Me'il. 10a), transmits cases that came before Rava (Av. Zar. 22a), and is also frequently found debating halakhic topics with Ashi (Ḥul. 26b; et al.).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Hyman, Toledot, 300.

[Jacob Eliahu Ephrathi]

GEBINI (first century), Temple crier of the Second Temple (Shekalim 5:1). His role was to rouse those on duty to the performance of the Temple rites. According to the *baraita* his cry was, "Priests, bestir yourselves to your service, levites to your platform (for song), Israelites to your posts" (**Ma'amad*; Yoma 20b; TJ, Shek. 5:2, 48d). The Mishnah states that his voice could even be heard as far as Jericho (Tam. 3:8). His stentorian voice became legendary. The *baraita* adds that King Agrippa heard his voice at a distance of three (another version, eight) parasangs, and sent him a gift in admiration. It is believed that the name became an eponym for all subsequent Temple criers.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Hyman, Toledot, 300.

[Jacob Eliahu Ephrathi]

GEBIRTIG, MORDECHAI (originally **Bertik**; 1877–1942), Yiddish poet and songwriter. Born in Cracow, he worked as a carpenter and for many years a used furniture restorer. Although untrained musically, he wrote songs of great popular appeal, many of which assumed folksong status. Amateur actor, devoted socialist, army nurse in World War I, he wrote and sang political songs and songs of compassion for the poor as well as entertaining cabaret songs that found their way into the Yiddish theater. His first collection, *Folkstimlekh* ("Folk-Like," 1920) included 20 poems but no melodies; a second collection published in Vilna in 1936 numbered over 50 songs with melodies (later reprinted with additions: New York 1942, 1948, and Paris 1949), including the famous "Undzer Shtetl Brent" ("Our Town is Burning"). The poet was murdered by the Nazis in June 1942, together with his wife and two daughters. His popularity has steadily grown; his songs are performed worldwide; and new collections of his work have continued to appear: e.g. *Mayn Fayfele: Umbakante Lider* ("My Little Pipe: Unknown Songs," 1997) prints 80 songs hitherto unknown (ed. N. Gross, with Y. Luden's Yiddish translation of Gross's Hebrew introduction).

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[M. Rav. / Leonard Prager (2nd ed.)]

GECKO, reptile of the order Lacertilia. Six genera belonging to the Gekkonidae family are to be found in Israel. The most common is the house gecko, *Hemidactylus turcicus*, a nocturnal lizard up to about 4¾ inches (12 cm.) in length, with a soft speckled hide and prehensile feet which enable it to climb walls. Two animals referred to in the Bible are likely to be identical with the gecko. The *anakah* is included among the unclean swarming things (Lev. 11:30) and has, according to the Mishnah (Ḥul. 9:2), a soft hide. The word *anakah* means "groan", and the gecko does in fact emit a sound reminiscent of the groan of a sick person. The Book of Proverbs, in its enumeration of the "things which are little upon the earth, but… are exceeding wise" (30:24), mentions the *semamit*, which "taketh hold with her hands, and is in kings' palaces" (*ibid.*, 28). This description fits the ubiquitous gecko which climbs on walls with feet that resemble hands. Although many other identifications have been suggested for the *anakah* and the *semamit*, the gecko fits them best.

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[Jehuda Feliks]

GEDALGE, ANDRE (1856–1926), music theorist, teacher, and composer. Born in Paris, Gédalge studied composition with Guiraud at the Paris Conservatory, where he later became a professor of counterpoint and fugue (1905). In 1885 he won the second Prix de Rome (1885) for his cantata *La Vision de Saul*. He became famous as a teacher, and his *Traité de la fugue* (1901) is still considered one of the best books on the subject. He also wrote two volumes on ear training (1921–23). His experience, as an inspector of provincial conservatories (1906), led him to write his *L'enseignement de la musique par l'éducation méthodique de l'oreille* (Paris, 1920). Gédalge composed four symphonies; chamber music such as String Quartet (1892) and two violin sonatas (op. 12 in 1897; op. 19 in 1900); the ballet *Phoebé* (1900); pieces for piano such as *Préludes et fugues*, op. 2 and three préludes de concert, op. 23 (1903); an opéra-comique, *Pris au piège* (1895); a drame lyrique, *Hélène* (1893), which won the Prix Cerescent in 1895; and songs. He remained uninfluenced by the developments of impressionism and continued to follow the tradition of Saint-Saëns and

Lalo. However, his main contribution to French music was through his influence on composers such as Florent Schmitt, Ravel, *Milhaud, and Honegger, who were his pupils.

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[Israela Stein (2nd ed.)]

GEDALIAH (Heb. גְּדַלְיָה, גְּדַלְיָהוּ), son of Ahikam. Gedaliah was appointed by the Babylonians as governor of Judah after the capture of Jerusalem in 586 B.C.E.; members of his family had held important posts during the last decades of the kingdom of Judah. His grandfather *Shaphan and his father *Ahikam supported Josiah during the latter's reforms (II Kings 22:3 ff., 12 ff.). Ahikam held an important post during the reign of Jehoiakim and was able to save Jeremiah from the anger of the people after his speech at the Temple gate (Jer. 26:24). Evidently this family followed a line of moderation and submission to Babylon, which explains the choice of one of its members to govern the remnant in Judah (see also *Elasah, *Jaazaniah). Gedaliah may even have been a man of influence and status before this time (II Kings 25:22; Jer. 40:5). He has been identified with the official of the same name, who was "in charge of the house"; the identification was made by means of a seal impression reading *lgdlyhw ʾšr ʿl hbyt*, which was found at the town gate of *Lachish, a town burned and destroyed in the last days of the kingdom of Judah.

Gedaliah resided at *Mizpah in the territory of Benjamin. The remaining people of Judah who gathered around him included army officers who had escaped capture and deportation by the Babylonians. May and other critics claim that Gedaliah served as the representative of the exiled *Jehoiachin who was still considered king of Judah, but there is no real basis for this assumption. The center at Mizpah was not long lived and Gedaliah, together with the Judahites and Babylonians stationed at Mizpah, was murdered by *Ishmael b. Nethaniah, who was in contact with *Baalis, king of the Ammonites. The assassination was instigated apparently with the hope of overthrowing Babylonian rule. Those who were spared, including several army officers, fled to Egypt, taking Jeremiah with them, out of fear that the Babylonians might consider them responsible for the murder of Gedaliah (II Kings 25:25–26; Jer. 41:1 ff.).

Several scholars have suggested that the Babylonian Exile from Judah in the 23rd year of Nebuchadnezzar's reign (Jer. 52:30) is connected with the murder of Gedaliah (cf. Jos., Ant. 10:181), but this assumption requires the dating of the murder in 582/1 B.C.E., whereas according to the biblical record, Gedaliah governed only for a short time, either until the seventh month of the year of destruction (587/6) or the seventh month of the following year (586/5). The day of Gedaliah's death was observed as a fast day, and is called "the fast of the seventh month" in the Bible (Zech. 7:5; 8:19) and, at a later date, the Fast of Gedaliah (see *Fasts and Fasting). According to tradition it is observed on the third of Tishri (RH 18b).

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[Jacob Liver]

GEDALIAH, (Don) JUDAH (d. c. 1526), Hebrew printer. Gedaliah, who was born in Lisbon, worked there at Eliezer *Toledano's Hebrew press (1489–95) until the expulsion from Portugal (1497). He settled in Salonika, establishing the first Hebrew printing press there using fine type fonts he had brought from Lisbon. Between 1515 and 1535 he, his daughter, and his sons (who continued the firm after his death) carefully edited and printed about 30 Hebrew books including the first edition of *Ein Ya'akov* of R. Jacob ibn Ḥabib (1516–22). The latter, in his introduction, highly praised Gedaliah for his efforts in spreading the knowledge of Torah among the other Iberian refugees in Salonika.

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[Jacob Hirsch Haberman]

GEDALIAH, JUDAH BEN MOSES (16th century), scholar in Salonika. Nothing is known of his life, but his important works remain. They are *Masoret Talmud Yerushalmi*, indexes of parallels to the Jerusalem Talmud (Constantinople, 1573); notes on the *Midrash Rabbah* and the Five Scrolls (Salonika, 1593/94). In this latter work Gedaliah reveals a sound critical aptitude and extensive philological knowledge. He explains most of the difficulties found in the Midrash, and is extensively quoted by later commentators. His notes on the *Zohar Ḥadash* (Salonika, 1596/97) also reveal his critical insight. In the Bodleian Library there are preserved a few volumes of the Bomberg edition of the Babylonian Talmud with his notes in manuscript.

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[Itzhak Alfassi]

GEDALIAH HA-LEVI (d. after 1610), kabbalist and rabbi in Safed, Ereẓ Israel. Gedaliah, the brother-in-law of Ḥayyim *Vital, was one of the "initiates" of Isaac *Luria, i.e., one of his important and early disciples. His signature appears on the writ of association of Luria's disciples (1575). He edited and arranged according to Luria's instructions the *Derushei ha-Melakhim she-Metu*, which appeared in *Kol ba-Ramah* (Korets, 1785) and exists in several unsigned manuscripts. Solomon Shlomel Dresnitz, author of *Shivḥei ha-Ari*, heard tales about Luria directly from Gedaliah.

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[David Tamar]

GEDALIAH OF SIEMIATYCZE (early 18th century), Jerusalem emissary. Gedaliah, followed by his brother R. Moses of Siemiatycze, arrived in Jerusalem on Oct. 14, 1700, in the group headed by R. *Judah Ḥasid. For most of the immigrants, including Gedaliah, the objective of this *aliyah* was to hasten the redemption by ethical conduct, repentance, prayer, fasting, and self-mortification. Gedaliah was sent later on, as the emissary of the Ashkenazi community of Jerusalem, to Western Europe where he published his work on the virtues of Ereẓ Israel, *Sha'alu Shelom Yerushalayim* ("Pray for the Peace of Jerusalem," Berlin, 1716). In it Gedaliah describes the *aliyah* of R. Judah Ḥasid and his group; the arrival of the group in Jerusalem and the death of their leader soon after; the arrangements of the "courtyard" which they acquired; the oppression of the authorities who extorted a great sum of money from them in the form of taxes and bribery; and the methods of collecting the poll tax. He also depicts Jerusalem life in general: the food, the fruits and vegetables, the methods of baking and cooking, the water supply, clothing, the means of travel, the houses, the bathhouses, and the markets, the holy places, and especially the prayers at the Western Wall. An account is also given of the decrees issued by the government and the unrest during the first years after the arrival of the group.

His brother, R. Moses of Siematycze, was accepted in 1702 as one of the teachers in the yeshivah founded by Abraham *Rovigo in Jerusalem; about 1711, he visited Metz as the emissary of the Ashkenazi community of Jerusalem. He died after 1716.

[Avraham Yaari]

°**GEDDES, ALEXANDER** (1737–1802), Catholic Bible scholar. Born in Scotland, he studied in Paris, learning Hebrew at the Sorbonne. After ordination he served as priest in various places in Scotland in the years 1764–80. In 1781 he was dismissed by his bishop for his liberal views. He moved to London, where under the patronage of a wealthy Catholic he was able to devote himself to biblical studies. A versatile scholar and prolific writer, Geddes published after many preparatory works *The Holy Bible … translated from the corrected Text of the Original; with various readings, explanatory notes, and critical remarks* (2 vols., 1792–97; embracing only the historical books). Already in conflict with the Church, Geddes was suspended from exercising his priestly functions on account of the critical attitude contained in his *Critical Remarks on the Hebrew Scriptures, Corresponding with a New Translation of the Bible; Containing Remarks on the Pentateuch* (1800). He disputed Moses' divine inspiration, explained the miracles in a natural way, and saw in the Pentateuch an assemblage of numerous and mostly post-Mosaic fragments. He thus established the "fragments" hypothesis, which was accepted and developed by J.S. Vater, and one of whose outstanding exponents was W.M.L. de *Wette.

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[Rudolf Smend]

GEDERAH (Heb. גְּדֵרָה), moshavah with municipal council status (since 1949), in the Coastal Plain of Israel, 8 mi. (13 km.) S.W. of Reḥovot. It was founded in 1884 by young members of the *Bilu movement from Russia. Gederah was for a long time the southernmost Jewish settlement in the country and also the only veteran moshavah independent of Baron Edmond de *Rothschild's aid and administration. Initially, grapes and grain constituted Gederah's principal farm branches; later citrus orchards, cotton, and other intensive field crops were added. In the 1930s a number of rest houses, among them sanatoriums for respiratory ailments, were established there. The moshavah had a few small industrial enterprises in food and other branches. Its municipal boundaries included Uri'el, a village for the blind who were employed in certain branches of agriculture and handicrafts, and Kannot, a *Youth Aliyah children's village. In 1970 its population was 5,200. By the mid-1990s the population had risen to approximately 9,650, and by the end of 2002 it was 11,700, occupying an area of 5.6 sq. mi. (14.5 sq. km.). The town served as an urban center for its rural neighbors. Residents earned their living in agriculture, industry, commerce, and services.

Gederah's name is derived from the neighboring Arab village Qaṭra – abandoned since 1948. Most scholars assume Qatira to be identical to the town of *Gederah belonging to the tribe of Judah (Josh. 15:36), and, with greater certainty, to the town Kedron mentioned in 1 Maccabees (15:39; 16:9) as the scene of one of Judah's victories over Syrian forces. The Greek form of the name has been preserved by moshav Kidron founded north of Gederah in 1949.

WEBSITE: www.allgedera.co.il.

[Efraim Orni / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

GEDERAH, GEDEROTH (Heb. גְּדֵרָה, גְּדֵרוֹת), name of several localities in Ereẓ Israel formed from the root גדר ("to wall in").

(1) A place in the northern Shephelah of Judah mentioned in Joshua 15:36. It may be identical with the home of Jozabad, a "mighty man" of David (1 Chron. 12:5), and of Baal-Hanan, the overseer of David's olive and sycamore trees (the latter being especially plentiful in the Shephelah; 1 Chron. 27:28). The city has been tentatively identified with Khirbat Jadīra (Judayra), ½ mi. (1 km.) south of Beit Nattif.

(2) A Gederoth mentioned in Joshua 15:41 together with Beth-Dagon and Naamah is perhaps identical with the Gedrus of Eusebius (Onom. 68:22). The Kedron in 1 Maccabees 15:39, the tell of Qaṭra, has been suggested as its site.

(3) A locality appearing among the cities conquered

by the Philistines during the reign of Ahaz. Since it is mentioned together with Soco, Timnah, Gimzo, Beth-Shemesh, and Aijalon (II Chron. 28:18), *Albright has identified it with Khirbat el-Jadīra (Judayra), 1 mi. (2 km.) west of Latrun, in the Aijalon Valley.

(4) A place mentioned in I Chronicles 4:23 (JPS translation, "hedges"), probably identical with (1) or (2) above.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: EM, s.v. (includes bibliography).

[Michael Avi-Yonah]

GEDILIAH, ABRAHAM BEN SAMUEL (d. 1672), rabbi and author. Born in Jerusalem, Abraham journeyed to Italy in 1648 and resided in Leghorn and Verona. On his return journey in 1660, he stayed for a time in Egypt. In Italy he was friendly with Samuel *Aboab and Moses b. Mordecai *Zacuto. While in Leghorn, he worked as a proofreader in the printing works of Jedidiah Gabbai. In 1657–60 he published the *Yalkut Shimoni with his own commentary, *Berit Avraham*. In 1665 he sent a letter from Gaza to the rabbis of Italy, expressing his belief in the messianic claims of *Shabbetai Ẓevi and in the prophecy of *Nathan of Gaza. This letter, the first of its kind to be sent by a scholar of Ereẓ Israel, made a deep impression. Abraham died in Jerusalem. Some of his homilies are included in the *Mizbaḥ Eliyahu* of *Elijah ha-Kohen of Smyrna (Smyrna, 1867). Many members of the Gediliah family were rabbis in Hebron, and some in Tiberias and Safed. His grandson, Abraham Gediliah of Hebron, was an emissary of Ereẓ Israel.

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[Avraham Yaari]

GEDOR (Heb. גְּדוֹר).

(1) A city of Judah mentioned in the Bible together with *Halhul and *Beth-Zur (Josh. 15:58). It has been identified with Khirbat Jadūr, 2½ mi. (4 km.) north of Beth-Zur, where surface pottery from the Early Iron (Israelite) Age has been found.

(2) The city Gedor appears in I Chronicles 4:18. It is probably identical with *Gederah (1). Another Gedor – the home of two of David's "mighty men," Joelah and Zebadiah, sons of Jeroham (1 Chron. 12:8), may be identical with either (1) or (2).

(3) One of the cities of Simeon (I Chron. 4:39). It is called Geder in Joshua 12:13, Gerar in the Septuagint, and is not listed among Simeon's cities in Joshua 19:1–9.

(4) The capital of Perea in post-Exilic times (now al-Tell near ʿAyn Jadūr in the vicinity of al-Ṣalṭ in Transjordan (Jos., Wars 4:413)). In the Mishnah it is included among the cities fortified in the time of Joshua (Ar. 9:6).

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[Michael Avi-Yonah]

GEDUD HA-AVODAH (Heb. "The [Yosef Trumpeldor] Labor Legion"), first countrywide commune of Jewish workers in Palestine. The Gedud was founded in the autumn of 1920 by 80 pioneers of the Third Aliyah, disciples of Yosef *Trumpeldor. In the winter of 1920 the Gedud contracted to build part of the Tiberias–Tabgha road in Galilee. The members decided to establish a permanent form of communal life at their camp near Migdal, with a common treasury. In the spring of 1921 some of the members were sent to Rosh ha-Ayin to lay the branch railroad to Petaḥ Tikvah and at the same time to serve as the nucleus of a second Gedud, which soon grew to 300 members. In early summer representatives of the groups met at Migdal and defined the Gedud's aim as "the building of the land by the creation of a general commune of the workers of the Land of Israel." The members were to be organized in disciplined groups, which would be at the disposition of the *Histadrut for labor and defense. In the course of time it was intended that the Gedud would encompass all workers and merge with the Histadrut. Among its leaders were M. Elkind and Y. Kopeliovitz (*Almog); Yiẓḥak *Sadeh was an active member. As road work diminished, "companies" of the Gedud went to the Jezreel Valley, where they founded *Ein Ḥarod (1921) and *Tel Yosef (1923), forming a single farming unit. A large group went to Jerusalem to work in building and quarrying and to strengthen the armed defenses of the *yishuv* there. Others worked in agriculture and building and provided services at British army camps. At its zenith the Gedud had some 700 members. In July 1923 the Tel Yosef-Ein Ḥarod group split over a minority demand for economic autonomy, about one-third of the members settling in Ein Ḥarod and the majority in Tel Yosef. A minority attempt to turn the Gedud into a political party, with syndicalist and pro-Communist tendencies, resulted in another split, in 1926, into right-wing and left-wing factions. The left wing soon disintegrated, as some of its members, including Elkind, went to the Soviet Union. They set up a communal farm in the Crimea, Via Nova, which was disbanded in 1931–32. The Gedud was seriously weakened, and in December 1929 the three surviving groups – Tel Yosef, Kefar Giladi, and Ramat Raḥel – joined *Ha-Kibbutz ha-Me'uḥad.

At its peak the Gedud played an important pioneering role in settlement, defense, and labor. Over 2,000 pioneers passed through its ranks, and its influence was out of proportion to its membership. It published a periodical, *Me-Ḥayyenu* and maintained a dramatic studio, *Massad* ("Foundation").

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GEFFEN, AVIV (1973–), Israeli rock singer, songwriter. Geffen is a unique phenomenon on the Israeli rock scene. He was the first artist to create a following among Israeli youth that bordered on hysteria. He was also one of the first to develop a highly successful career based on protest and uncompromising social comment. As a conscientious objector he controversially refused to serve in the Israeli army.

As the son of writer, lyricist, satirist Yehonatan Geffen, the young Geffen was exposed to the music and entertainment industry as a child. He recorded his first single, "*Ḥaver*" ("Friend"), when he was just 17. Although the song did not meet with success Geffen immediately set about recording his debut album, *Zeh Rak Or ha-Yare'aḥ* ("It's Only the Moonlight") with his band Ha-Ta'uyyot ("The Mistakes"). He began to tour the country intensively and gradually built up a faithful and enthusiastic following, particularly among teenagers. His lyrics largely addressed burning issues of the day, such as the Middle East conflict, violence, drug and alcohol abuse, and parent-child relationships.

Other artists began discovering Geffen's songwriting talents, and popular singers such as Nurit Galron and Dafna Armoni recorded his material. Geffen received the ultimate accolade for a young Israeli songwriter when iconic singer Arik *Einstein recorded his song "*Livkot Lekha*" ("Crying For You").

Geffen's second album, *Akhshav Me'unnan* ("It's Cloudy Now"), released in 1993, sold well and reflected Geffen's musical influences from the 1960s, including the likes of the Beatles and Pink Floyd. Geffen was now a superstar and played to a hysterical audience at that year's Arad Festival. His one-of-a-kind image was also enhanced by the use of heavy make-up on stage. In particular, Geffen's mid-song shout of the song title "*Anaḥenu Dor Mezuyan*," which translates "we're a screwed-up generation," got a wild response from the festival audience and aroused the ire of the country's educators.

In 1995 Geffen found himself drawn into mainstream Israeli culture when he was the last artist to perform at the peace rally at which Prime Minister Yitzhak *Rabin was assassinated. Eight days later, in the same place, he performed "*Livkot Lekha*," which became something of an anthem for Israeli youth. In subsequent years Geffen toned down his stage persona and devoted much of his time to developing an international career. In November 2003 he released a single entitled "Hello" together with British artist Steven Wilson and the duo's album, *Blackfield*, came out the following year.

[Barry Davis (2nd ed.)]

GEFFEN, DAVID (1944–), U.S. record producer. Born in New York, Geffen began his career in the mailroom of the William Morris Agency, moved up the ladder to a position as agent, and then founded his own agency with Elliot Roberts in 1968. Taking such stars as Joni Mitchell and Neil Young under his managerial wing, Geffen founded the now major recording label Asylum Records (1970). He picked up recording artists such as Jackson Browne and built his company up to the point where it merged with long-established Electra Records, with Geffen installed as president (1973–76). In 1975 he was made vice chairman of Warner Brothers Pictures and in 1977 became executive assistant to the chairman of Warner Communications. In 1980 Geffen founded a new record label under his own name and signed John Lennon and Yoko Ono, as well as Bob Dylan, Elton John, and Donna Summer. The Lennon-Ono *Double Fantasy* (1980) album was the first released on Geffen Records. Geffen's original signings continued to bring his company success through the 1980s and into the 1990s, when Guns N'Roses proved one of the most successful groups in rock history. His ability to recognize talent was instrumental in helping to launch or develop the careers of such entertainers as Crosby, Stills, Nash & Young, the Eagles, and Tom Cruise.

In 1981 he branched out into producing Broadway musicals and had success with *Dreamgirls* and *Cats*, which became the longest-running musical in Broadway history. Geffen's incursions into stage as well as film production (*Personal Best*; *Risky Business*; *Interview with the Vampire*) netted him millions of dollars. By 1996 he was a billionaire. He sold Geffen records to MCA, receiving stock valued at $545 million in exchange, and received a further $710 million when the Matsushita Corporation bought MCA a few months later. In 1994 he launched the DreamWorks film studio project in partnership with Steven *Spielberg and Jeffrey *Katzenberg.

Geffen taught at Yale and UCLA. In 2002 he donated $200 million to the UCLA medical school, the largest single donation to a U.S. medical school in history. The school is named the David Geffen School of Medicine. The campus already includes the Geffen Playhouse, which was named for him when he donated $5 million. Geffen has also contributed generously to the Democratic National Party; Los Angeles's AIDS Project; New York's Gay Men's Health Crisis; and AIDS Action in Washington, D.C.

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[Jonathan Licht / Rohan Saxena and Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

GEFFEN, JOEL (1902–1988), U.S. Conservative rabbi. Born into a distinguished rabbinic family (his father was Tobias *Geffen) in Kovno, Lithuania, Geffen came to the United States when he was a year old, where he was raised in Atlanta. He graduated from Emory University in 1944 and was ordained by the Jewish Theological Seminary four years later. His first pulpit was in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, where he organized the congregation of 200 families. In 1929 he moved to Temple Beth El in Troy, New York, where he again built the congregation and organized a community *talmud torah* along with adult education and youth groups. He joined the Jewish Theological Seminary in 1944 as director of the Department of Field Activities and Communities Education, a position that he served in for four decades until his retirement. He was involved in the establishment of Leadership Training Fellowship, an elite training program for Conservative youngsters, and also in the establishment of Camp Ramah in Wingdale, New York. For four decades he was the unpaid but exceedingly dedicated spiritual adviser of the National Federation of Jewish Men's Clubs during years of significant growth. For a dozen years he also directed the Metropolitan New York region of United Synagogue, the congregational arm of the Conservative movement and edited with, Milton Berger and M. David Hoffman, *Roads to Jewish Survival* (1967). He also contributed to the *American Jewish Historical Quarterly.*

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[Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

GEFFEN, TOBIAS (1870–1970), Lithuanian-born U.S. rabbi, community leader, and activist. Born in Kovno, Lithuania, to Kuna Real Strauss and Yosef Geffe, Geffen studied privately in Kovno, Slobodka, and Grodno. After marrying Sara Hene Rabinowitz in August 1898, he entered the Kovno Kollel, and his wife operated a paper store to support them.

In 1903, a month after the Kishinev pogrom, Geffen left Kovno for the United States with his wife, two children, and his wife's siblings. A few weeks before they left he received *semikhah* from Rabbi Moshe Danishevsky of Slobodka and the Kovner Rav Shapiro.

After part-time work at a family sweatshop in New York City, Geffen became rabbi of the Beit Knesset Ahavat Tzedek Bnai Lebedove in 1904. Several months later Geffen attended the Agudat ha-Rabbonim convention where he first met his colleagues. In a major authentification initiative, the famous Ridbaz ordained rabbis at the convention. Geffen received his third *semikhah* from the Ridbaz in July 1904.

While soliciting funds for the Kovno Kollel, Geffen spent a Shabbat in Canton, Ohio. Invited to be the rabbi there, he moved his family, now four children, to Canton in 1907.

After a visit to the Shearith Israel Congregation in Atlanta, Geffen was chosen as rabbi. He served the congregation from 1910 until his death in 1970. As the rabbi of the smaller orthodox synagogue in the city, Geffen, nevertheless, took quick action by creating a religious school, which would try to eliminate all the "*melammedim*." Most important, he introduced a daily class in Talmud, which soon became occasions to present **hadranim* at conclusions of different treatises of the Talmud. The earliest ones delivered in Atlanta were published in the *Ha-Meassef* halakhic journal in Jerusalem. Later Geffen published his *hadranim*, his *derashot*, and a few responsa in the eight books, which he published from 1924 to 1962.

The public highlights of Geffen's career were varied. In 1913, he visited Leo Frank, who had been convicted unjustly of the murder of Mary Phagan, and instituted regular prayers for Frank for the two years of his incarceration. Upon Frank's lynching in 1915, Geffen urged his congregants to remain calm but vigilant and not to leave Atlanta. In the early 1920s Geffen led a campaign calling upon the U.S. Congress not to adopt the new immigration law because it was discriminatory against Jewish refugees. In 1933 he and his son, attorney Samuel Geffen, successfully lobbied the governor for the release of a "Yankee Jew" from a Georgia chain gang prison.

His most famous act involved the drink Coca-Cola, whose home is in Atlanta, Georgia. After rabbis throughout the northeast and midwest gave their *hekhsher* to Coca-Cola for use on Passover and the entire year without any knowledge of the ingredients, Geffen was requested by the Agudat ha-Rabbonim to see what he could ascertain. Permitted to have access to the highly secret formula, Geffen analyzed the soft drink with the assistance of his daughter Helen Geffen, a food chemist. In a responsum published in 1935, he showed that Coca-Cola was non-kosher and not kosher for Passover. However, since "so many people do drink this product," Geffen identified two substances which could be substituted for the problematic ones in the drink. In 1935 the change was made by the company, and that year for Passover (in Atlanta only), Geffen's *hekhsher* written by him in Hebrew appeared on the Coca-Cola bottle cap.

Geffen's papers are found in the archival collections of the American Jewish Historical Society.

[David Geffen (2nd ed.)]

GEHAZI (Heb. גֵּחֲזִי, גֵּיחֲזִי), servant of *Elisha. In the story of the wealthy Shunammite woman (II Kings 4:8–37), Gehazi is portrayed as Elisha's faithful messenger and loyal protector (4:27). In the story of Naaman (II Kings 5), he is portrayed as a greedy character who, contrary to the instructions of Elisha, cunningly solicited a reward from the Syrian general and then tried to practice deception on his master, the prophet Elisha. In punishment, Elisha cursed Gehazi and his descendants forever with the "leprosy" of Naaman (biblical *ṣarʿat* is not true leprosy, i.e., Hansen's disease, but more likely psoriasis). In the Bible *ṣarʿat* is punishment for disloyalty and challenge to authority (Zakovitch).The third time that Gehazi appears is in connection with the woman from Shunem and the king of Israel (II Kings 8:1–6). In this story Gehazi reported to the king on the great deeds which Elisha had performed. These three stories, so it would appear, did not occur in the chronological order in which they are now arranged in Kings, since it is unlikely that Gehazi would have stood before the king recounting Elisha's great deeds after he had been cursed with leprosy. It is reasonable to assume that they reflect two separate traditions. The first and third stories, which are related in content, constitute one tradition, while that of Naaman stems from a different circle.

[Isaac Avishur]

In the Aggadah

Gehazi is one who set his eyes upon that which was not proper with the result that he was not granted that which he sought, and lost whatever he possessed (Sot. 9b). Although learned, he was jealous of Elisha's learning, sensual (in his actions toward the Shunamite), and did not believe in the resurrection of the dead. Instead of obeying Elisha's order not to greet anyone on his way to the Shunamite's son (II Kings 4:29), he made sport of his mission and deliberately asked everyone he met whether they really believed that Elisha's staff, which he was carrying, could restore the dead to life (PdRE 37).

Gehazi was punished with "leprosy" because Elisha had been studying the law of the eight unclean creeping things when Naaman first consulted him. When Elisha accused Gehazi of taking eight things from Naaman (II Kings 5:26), he implied that he would be punished as would one who caught any of the eight creeping things – with "leprosy" (AdRN 9). According to another tradition, Gehazi was thus punished because he showed disrespect by calling his master by name (cf. II Kings 8:5; Sanh. 100a). Gehazi never repented. Instead, he sinned further either by hanging a magnet over Jeroboam's idol and suspending it between heaven and earth in order to deceive people, or by engraving the name of God on it, so that it spoke the first two commandments (Sanh. 107b). When Elisha met him in Damascus and exhorted him to repent, he replied: "Thus have I learnt from thee. He who sins and causes the multitude to sin, is not afforded the means of repentance" (*ibid.*). Elisha, however, is criticized for "thrusting Gehazi away with both hands," instead of using only one for that purpose, and the other for drawing him toward himself (Sot. 47a). Gehazi is one of the four commoners who have no share in the world to come (Sanh. 10: 2). He was even undeserving of speaking the praises of God and His servant Elisha.

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GEHINNOM (Heb. גֵּי בֶן־הִנֹּם, גֵּי בְנֵי הִנֹּם, גֵּיא בֶן־הִנֹּם, גֵּיא הִנֹּם; Gr. Γέεννα; "Valley of Ben-Hinnom, Valley of [the Son (s) of] Hinnom," Gehenna), a valley south of Jerusalem on one of the borders between the territories of Judah and Benjamin, between the Valley of *Rephaim and *En-Rogel (Josh. 15:8; 18:16). It is identified with Wadi er-Rababi.

During the time of the Monarchy, Gehinnom, at a place called Topheth, was the site of a cult which involved the burning of children (II Kings 23:10; Jer. 7:31; 32:35 et al.; see *Moloch). Jeremiah repeatedly condemned this cult and predicted that on its account Topheth and the Valley of the Son of Hinnom would be called the Valley of the "Slaughter" (Jer. 19:5–6).

In Judaism the name Gehinnom is generally used as an appellation of the place of torment reserved for the wicked after death. The New Testament used the Greek form Gehenna in the same sense.

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GEHRY, FRANK OWEN (**Ephraim Goldberg**; 1929–), U.S. architect. Gehry was responsible for some of the most creative architecture of the 20th century with 30 existing buildings, public and private, in America, Europe, and Asia. He was born in Toronto, Canada. After moving to the United States in 1947, he received his degree in architecture from the University of Southern California and then served in the U.S. military during the Korean War. After the war, he went to Harvard Graduate School to study city planning. In 1962, Gehry Partners was launched. From his earliest work, he was opposed to the straight line and flat surfaces of most modern and postmodern designs. His use of chain link fencing on his home in Santa Monica aroused the wrath of his neighbors and the bewilderment of professional architects. Gehry simply explained that he was using ordinary materials in a different way. At first, Gehry was skeptical of the computer, but his engineer, Jim Glymph, convinced him that the best way to transform his creative drawings into economically practical applications was through the computer. In addition, much research went into finding the particular materials Gehry wanted to use to accentuate the play of light and color on the surface of his buildings. The Guggenheim Museum in Bilbao, Spain, the Rock Music "Temple" (EMP) in Seattle, Washington, and the Los Angeles Walt Disney Concert Hall are handsome and startlingly different from the boxlike structures of his predecessors. Gehry's forms are fluid, organic, and colorful, growing out of his flowing sketches. In the case of the Guggenheim Museum, he finally found a special formula for titanium that would reflect the changing light of the sun, clouds, and sky. For the rock-'n'-roll building (known as the EMP – Experience Music Project) in Seattle, non-fading auto body paint in red, blue, even gold, silver, and purple mark different sections of this 140,000-square-foot building. The shapes and surfaces of Gehry's buildings develop out of deeply ingrained images in his consciousness. He recounts that he was fascinated by the forms of the live fish his grandmother used to bring home from the market. He used to play with them in the bathtub before they were cooked. His Fishdance Restaurant in Kobe, Japan (1987), is unmistakably the shape of a large fish. The scalelike surfaces of the Guggenheim Museum and the EMP exemplify the same influence. Gehry won an invited design competition in 1987 for the Walt Disney Concert Hall in Los Angeles. Begun before the Bilbao museum, 16 years went by before completion. Gehry received a long list of awards including the Pritzker Prize for architecture in 1989, the most prestigious award given to an architect, and more than 100 awards from the American Institute of Architects to honor outstanding architectural design. On March 2, 2005, representatives of the City of Las Vegas, Nevada, announced that Gehry would be the architect for the Alzheimer's Research Center, one of the projects that will make up the 61-acre downtown urban village. The mayor of Las Vegas said Gehry's building "will be a piece of artwork that will draw people from around the world who will marvel at its beauty."

[Betty R. Rubenstein (2nd ed.)]

GEIGER, ABRAHAM (1810–1874), pioneer of the *Wissenschaft des Judentums and founder of *Reform Judaism. Geiger was born in Frankfurt am Main to an Orthodox family and received a traditional religious education. Already in his childhood, he began studying classical history, which gave rise to doubts concerning biblical claims to divine authority. At the age of 17, Geiger began writing a study of the Mishnah, differentiating its legal style from biblical and talmudic law, and a dictionary of Mishnaic Hebrew.

With funding from friends, Geiger began university studies at the University of Heidelberg in April 1829, to the dismay of his family. He concentrated on philology, Syriac, Hebrew, and classics, but also attended lectures in Old Testament, philosophy, and archaeology. After one semester, he moved to the University of Bonn, where he joined a group of Jewish students, many of whom were preparing for careers in the rabbinate, that included Samson Raphael *Hirsch, Solomon *Munk, Joseph Derenbourg, and other future scholars of Judaism.

At Bonn, Geiger's studies focused on Oriental languages, philosophy, and theology, but he was offended by some of his professors' ignorance of Judaism and occasional antisemitic comments. He began an intense study of Arabic and the Koran under the distinguished Orientalist Georg Freytag, winning a prize for his essay "Was hat Mohammed aus dem Judenthume aufgenommen?" The essay, which earned Geiger a doctorate at the University of Marburg, demonstrated the influence of rabbinic literature on the text of the Koran. Published as a book in 1833, it won great acclaim as opening a new avenue for Islamic scholarship, and was the first step in Geiger's larger intellectual project, demonstrating Judaism's central influence on Christianity and Islam. Neither possessed religious originality, but simply carried the Jewish message of monotheism to the pagan world.

Since no university professorships were available in Germany to Jews, Geiger took a position as rabbi to the Jewish community of Wiesbaden from 1832 to 1837 and continued his academic publications primarily through the scholarly journals he founded and edited, *Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift fuer juedische Theologie* (1835–39) and *Juedische Zeitschrift fuer Wissenschaft und Leben* (1862–75). His journals became an important vehicle in its day for publishing Jewish scholarship, and they included historical and theological studies as well as discussions of contemporary Jewish affairs.

While in Wiesbaden, Geiger introduced some synagogue reforms, abolishing the recitation of medieval Hebrew poems of lamentation for the destruction of the Second Temple, and other prayers he felt were theologically inappropriate. In 1837 Geiger convened a meeting of reform-minded rabbis in Wiesbaden, and he continued to be a driving force behind subsequent synods of liberal rabbis, held in Braunschweig in June 1844, Frankfurt in July 1845, and Breslau in 1846.

In 1838 Geiger became a finalist for a rabbinic post in Breslau, but divisions between conservative and liberal factions within the Jewish community led to heated opposition to his appointment. His religious commitments were under suspicion by conservative factions, who accused him of being a Karaite or Sadducee. Geiger replied that rabbinic Judaism meant "not to be slaves to the letter of the Bible." As a result of the opposition, he was not able to take up a position as assistant rabbi until 1840, and only with the death of Breslau's Orthodox rabbi Solomon Tiktin in 1843 did Geiger become chief rabbi. That appointment led to the secession of the Orthodox faction, under the rabbinic leadership of Gedaliah Tiktin. In Breslau Geiger established a school for religious studies and a group for the study of Hebrew philology. Geiger was one of the most active participants in the synods held by the Reform rabbis in Frankfurt am Main (1845) and Breslau (1846).

The tensions in Breslau continued throughout his tenure, and when the Juedisch-Theologisches Seminar was founded there in 1854, thanks in part to Geiger's efforts, he was not appointed to its faculty, though he had long been at the forefront of attempts to establish a faculty of Jewish theology. His exclusion from the Breslau seminary resulted from pressures by conservative Jews who considered his theological position too liberal. In 1863 Geiger left Breslau to serve as rabbi of the Reform congregation in his hometown of Frankfurt am Main, and in 1870 became rabbi in the Berlin community. Ultimately, in 1871, he was appointed to the faculty of the newly founded Reform rabbinical college in Berlin, Hochschule fuer die Wissenschaft des Judentums, where he spent his final years.

Geiger's rejection of Orthodox Judaism in favor of a more liberal approach developed, he tells us in his diaries, during his adolescence, and began to flourish in his university days. Judaism was distinguished for Geiger by its monotheism and ethics. Whereas the Greek genius had introduced philosophy to Western civilization, the Jews were possessed of a "religious genius," and it is the latter, according to Geiger, that gives morality a firm basis in society. However, Judaism's ethical imperative had been lost in the rigidity of talmudic legalism, developed over centuries of ghettoization inflicted by Christian intolerance. In the Middle Ages, Jews were better off in Islamic countries than under Christian rule, he argued; Geiger praised Islamic tolerance and the Jews in Islamic Spain as "heroes of Wissenschaft," producing poets and philosophers who contributed their work to the general culture by writing in Arabic, not Hebrew. Theirs was a pure Judaism, he argued: monotheistic, based on divine revelation, but without the constraints and narrowness of Jewish life within medieval Christendom.

While Reform Judaism initially developed as lay Jews simply lost interest in the strict observances required of Orthodoxy, with many seeking shorter services, more frequent sermons, and organ music, modeled after Protestant churches, Geiger sought a more coherent ideological framework to justify innovations in the liturgy and religious practice. In his view, Reform Judaism was not a rejection of earlier Judaism, but a recovery of the Pharisaic halakhic tradition. Geiger's magnum opus, *Urschrift und Uebersetzungen der Bibel* (1857), argued that the Pharisees and early rabbis of the Mishnah had sought a liberalization and democratization of Jewish law, in opposition to the conservative, aristocratic Sadducees, who controlled the priesthood and Temple as the central religious institutions of Jewish life. Drawing on methods developed by F.C. Baur and the Tuebingen School, Geiger uncovered the religious and political tendencies in Greek, Aramaic, and Syriac biblical translations, as well as apocryphal and pseudepigraphical literature, to formulate a picture of Second Temple Judaism in tension between progressive and reactionary proclivities: the Sadducees "were joined by everything which counted itself as part of the aristocracy… they had administration and judicial functions. The Pharisees consisted of the citizenry which had national and religious inclinations, and constituted the opposition to the aristocracy, whom they eventually overcame. The differences are based more on political and partisan viewpoints than on diverging religious principles; gradually they became different religious sects." The theological principle of Pharisaic tradition, according to Geiger, "is nothing other than the principle of continual further development in accord with the times, the principle of not being slaves to the letter of the Bible, but rather to witness over and over its spirit and its authentic faith-consciousness."

In his subsequent survey of Jewish history, *Das Judentum und seine Geschichte*, a series of lectures he delivered in Frankfurt and Berlin, Geiger depicted the eras of Jewish engagement with the surrounding culture as ideal. The Pharisees, who sought to liberalize and democratize Jewish practice and supplant the Temple priesthood with a priesthood of all believers, represented authentic Judaism. Jesus was a liberal Pharisee who "walked in the way of Hillel…. [and] did not utter a new thought." Christianity began when Paul carried Jesus' Jewish message to the Greco-Roman world and distorted Jewish monotheism with Hellenistic paganism. The Pharisaism of both Jesus and the early rabbis was lost in the Middle Ages, Geiger argued, when Christian persecution forced Judaism to retreat from the liberalizing tendencies of the Mishnah and turn the Talmud into a petrified system of legal restrictions. Jesus failed to gain many Jewish disciples in Judea because his teachings were not original, but the common beliefs of the Pharisees. Following the destruction of the Temple in 70 C.E., Geiger argued, the Sadducees joined the early Jesus movement and expressed their long-standing opposition to the Pharisees in various New Testament passages, such as Matthew 23.

Geiger's position within the Reform movement was moderate, mediating between the more radical efforts of Samuel *Holdheim and Kaufmann *Kohler, and the conservative, proto-nationalist factions represented by Zacharias *Frankel and Heinrich *Graetz. Geiger preferred German as the language of Jewish liturgy: "If Hebrew were to be represented as an essential element of Judaism, then Judaism would be pictured as a national religion." Similarly, Geiger felt that the dietary laws were "inane, thereby so very damaging to social life, and, indeed, the inward brotherhood among people nonetheless transcends the renewal of a separatist, bleached-out and very dubious religious feeling." At the same time, while he considered circumcision a "barbaric, bloody act," he opposed the call of the radical Frankfurt Reformverein to abolish it.

Geiger became a major liturgist of the Reform movement, editing prayer books in 1854 and 1870 that became influential models for Reform Jews worldwide. In accord with other liberal Jews of his day, he eliminated the hope for a return to Zion in the messianic era from the prayer book, and while retaining the Hebrew original, changed the German translation of certain phrases; for example, "reviver of the dead" became "source of eternal life." Geiger himself remained an observant Jew throughout his life, but permitted certain liberalizations of religious practice. He relaxed some Sabbath restrictions and allowed organ music in the synagogue, and shortened the prayer services, but he opposed the abolition of circumcision and shifting Sabbath observance to Sundays.

Although criticized sharply for his opposition to Jewish national identity, notably in his refusal to intervene on behalf of the Jews of Damascus accused of ritual murder in 1840, Geiger sought to instill a deep sense of pride in Jews. He argued that Jews deserve credit for giving birth to the three major monotheistic traditions of the West, and also for those principles of religious tolerance and freedom of belief that constitute the basis of modern society.

Writings

Geiger's most significant writings include his doctoral dissertation *Was hat Mohammed aus dem Judenthume aufgenommen* (1833) and *Urschrift und Uebersetzungen der Bibel in ihrer Abhaengigkeit von der innern Entwickelung des Judenthums* (Breslau: Julius Heinauer, 1857); the second edition was published with an introduction by Paul Kahle, a postcript by Nachum Czortkowski, and a Hebrew essay by Geiger, reprinted from *Oẓar Neḥmad*, 3 (1860), 1–15, 115–21, 125–28 (Frankfurt am Main: Verlag Madda, 1928); in Hebrew translation with an introduction by Joseph Klausner, *Ha-Mikra ve-Targumav* (Jerusalem: Bialik Foundation, 1949; reprinted 1972). See also Geiger's *Sadducäer und Pharisäer* (Breslau: Schlettersche Buchhandlung, 1863), reprinted from JZWL, 2:11–54. The two journals he edited contain numerous articles of scholarly and theological significance: *Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift fuer juedische Theologie* (1835–39) and *Juedische Zeitschrift fuer Wissenschaft und Leben* (1862–75). *Das Judenthum und seine Geschichte* (3 vols., 1865–71) appeared in English as *Judaism and Its History* (1865, 1911). Also important are Geiger's *Lehr- und Lesebuch zur Sprache der Mischnah* (1845) and *Parschandatha; die nordfranzösische Exegetenschule* (1855). Other writings include a study of Maimonides (1850); an edition of the *Divan* of Judah Halevi (1851); a study of Ibn Gabirol (1867); translations of a number of their poems in German verse; a treatise on the Karaite Isaac b. Abraham Troki (1853); and a study on Leon Modena (1856). He published several valuable manuscripts (collected in *Melo Chofnajim*, 1840). Geiger contributed regularly to the *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, the leading journal in the fields of Oriental studies, Semitics, philology, and Islamic studies.

Geiger's son, Ludwig Geiger, wrote the most comprehensive biography to date in the introduction to *Abraham Geiger: Leben und Lebenswerk* (Berlin: Georg Reimer, 1910), which also contains a superb collection of studies about Geiger's work by leading scholars. Ludwig Geiger also edited five volumes of Geiger's articles and correspondence, with biographical introductions: *Abraham Geigers Nachgelassene Schriften* (Berlin: Louis Geschel Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1875–78; reprinted New York: Arno Press, 1980). English translations of excerpts from Geiger’s publications and private correspondence, with a biographical introduction, are found in Max Wiener, ed., *Abraham Geiger and Liberal Judaism: The Challenge of the Nineteenth Century*, tr.. E.J. Schlochauer (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1962). Selections in Hebrew translation appear in M.A. Meyer (ed.), *Avraham Geiger: Mivḥar Ketavav al ha-Tikkunim ba-Dat*, tr. G. Eliashberg (Jerusalem: Merkaz Zalman Shazar u-Merkaz Dinur, 1949; reprinted 1979) and S.A. Poznanski (ed.), *Kevuẓat Ma’amarim* (Berlin: Louis Gerschel, 1877; reprinted Warsaw: Tushiyah, 1910; reprinted Haifa: Student Union of Haifa University, 1966).

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[Susannah Heschel (2nd ed.)]

GEIGER, BERNHARD (1881–1964), Austrian philologist. Geiger, born in Bielitz (Bielsko), Upper Silesia, attended the universities of Vienna, Bonn, and Heidelberg. Originally his field of study was Hebrew, but one of his teachers in Vienna aroused his interest in Iranian and Sanskrit, and it was in those languages that he made his principal contributions to scholarship. From 1909 to 1938 he taught at the University of Vienna, being forced to leave that position by the Nazis. In 1938 he immigrated to the United States and from 1938 to 1951 was professor of Indo-Iranian philology at the Tibetan-Iranian Institute (later the Asia Institute), New York. In 1951–56 he taught Indo-Iranian at Columbia University. In 1949 the shah of Iran conferred upon him the Order of Humayoun.

Geiger’s publications include *Die Aməša Spəntas* (1916); *Die Religion der Iranier* (1929); and *Middle Iranian Texts* (1956; repr. from *The Excavations at Dura-Europos, Final Report*, 7 pt. 1 (1936), 283–317). Geiger was one of the contributors to the volume of *Additamenta* to A. Kohut’s *Aruch Completum* (1937), being mainly responsible for the detailed philological study of talmudic words of Iranian origin.

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GEIGER, LAZARUS (**Eliezer Solomon**; 1829–1870), German philosopher and philologist. Geiger, who was born in Frankfurt, was a nephew of Abraham *Geiger. He studied classical philology at the Universities of Marburg, Heidelberg, and Bonn. Unlike his uncle, he belonged to the Orthodox religious group of German Jewry. From 1861 until his death he was a teacher at the Jewish educational institute Philanthropin in Frankfurt. He saw in language the source of human reason. Language, according to Geiger, was formed from meaningless expressions – the reactions of early man to his visual impressions. These expressions became fixed and stabilized into permanent concepts. Geiger’s research won a certain amount of contemporary approval, but his conclusions were rejected by subsequent scholarship. His main works are *Ursprung und Entwicklung der menschlichen Sprache und Vernunft* (2 vols., 1868–72; the second volume was published after his death by his brother Alfred Geiger) and *Der Ursprung der Sprache* (1864).

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GEIGER, LUDWIG (1848–1919), German literary historian; a fervent adherent of the symbiosis of Judaism and Germanness. Son of Abraham *Geiger, he studied philology and history in Heidelberg, Goettingen, and Berlin and concluded his academic studies in 1873 with a dissertation, presented to Leopold von Ranke on the attitude of Greek and Roman authors to Judaism and Jews. In 1880 he was appointed extraordinary professor of the history of literature at Friedrich Wilhelm University, Berlin. Later he additionally became a lecturer at the Lehranstalt fuer die Wissenschaft des Judentums. Geiger was a versatile scholar, editor, and translator. His major contributions were to Renaissance, Humanism, and Reformation studies, German-Jewish history, and research on Goethe and other writers of the 19th century. Even when treating the first and last subjects he remained particularly conscious of the Jewish aspect. Appreciation of Geiger’s work on the Rennaissance led the Swiss historian, Jacob Burckhardt – a notorious antisemite – to appoint him editor of all future editions of his *Die Cultur der Renaissance in Italien* (“Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy”). Geiger’s major work in this subject was *Renaissance und Humanismus in Italien und Deutschland* (1882). He published the letters of Johann *Reuchlin (1875) and the latter’s biography, *Johann Reuchlin, sein Leben und seine Werke* (1871). Founder and editor of *Zeitschrift fuer die Geschichte der Juden in Deutschland* (1887–92), he also wrote *Geschichte der Juden in Berlin* (2 vols., 1871), *Die deutsche Literatur und die Juden* (1910), and numerous articles on German Jewish history. The *Goethe Jahrbuch* was founded by him in 1880; he continued to edit it until 1913, when he had to leave in the aftermath of an acrimonious dispute. His major works on Goethe were *Goethe und die Seinen* (1908) and *Goethe, sein Leben und Schaffen dem deutschen Volke erzaehlt* (1910); he also wrote on Goethe’s relationship to Jews and Judaism. Geiger edited his father’s *Nachgelassene Schriften* (5 vols., 1875–78) and other works; he also wrote a biography of his father, *Abraham Geiger, Leben und Lebenswerk* (with others, 1910).

Geiger was a vigorous exponent of liberalism and Reform Judaism and an opponent of political Zionism and Orthodox Judaism. In 1911, in his birthday letter to the kaiser, he courageously protested against the social discrimination to which German Jews were subjected. From 1909 he edited the leading Jewish newspaper, *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judentums*. His unpublished works include a projected edition of the correspondence of Leopold *Zunz.

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[Rudolf Kayser / Sebastian Panwitz (2nd ed.)]

GEIGER, MORITZ (1860–1937), philosopher. Moritz Geiger, a nephew of Abraham *Geiger, was born in Frankfurt and became professor in Munich and Goettingen. After the rise of the Nazis in 1933 he moved to the U.S. and was professor at Vassar College. Geiger was first a disciple of Th. Lipps, then a fellow student of *Husserl, and the first to apply the objective "eidetical" method developed in Husserl's *Logische Untersuchungen* in aesthetics. Geiger did not accept the "transcendental-subjective" method that was already Husserl's main concern. Geiger saw the aesthetic values of the object as based, not on its real characteristics, but on its phenomenal ones. From this he concluded that a student of aesthetics is obliged to investigate its objects from the point of view of their phenomenal characteristics. In this way Geiger brought about a change toward the objectivity of aesthetics, which was adopted by many in the teaching of art and beauty, and became the basis for interpreting "aesthetic pleasure" in the school of phenomenalism. Other studies led Geiger to an analysis of the unconscious. He showed that the laws of psychological reality are not to be understood as laws of consciousness. Additional studies were devoted to philosophical problems of mathematics and physics, the theory of relativity and axiomatic geometry. His work on essential relations and essential meaning in aesthetics induced him to turn to metaphysics; the philosophy of ontology and the question of the division of the sciences caused him to reconsider the problem of "the ultimate existence, the unattached existing within itself," and "independent metaphysics." He wrote *Bemerkungen zur Psychologie der Gefuelselemente und Gefuelsverbindungen* (1904), *Die philosophische Bedenkung der Relativitaetstheorie* (1921), *Systematische Axiomatik der euklidischen Geometrie* (1924), *Aesthetik* (1921), and *Die Wirklichkeit der Wissenschaften und die Metaphysik* (1930).

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GEIGER, SOLOMON ZALMAN (**ben Abraham**, d. 1775), community notable of Frankfurt on the Main. In 1738 he published a philosophic-kabbalistic homiletical commentary *Kerem Shelomo* which was at first well received. However, in 1742 the rabbis of Frankfurt withdrew his right to be chosen as *gabbai*, interdicted him from serving as precentor in the Great Synagogue for nine years, and apparently made a public declaration against his book, the official reason being that Geiger had not comported himself correctly in the community meetinghouse. Geiger compiled an anthology of writings of medieval Jewish philosophers (unpublished).

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[Jacob S. Levinger]

GEIRINGER, KARL (1899–1989), musicologist. Born in Vienna, Geiringer studied with Guido *Adler and Curt *Sachs, and earned his doctorate at the University of Vienna in 1922 for a dissertation on musical instruments in Renaissance painting. In 1929 he was appointed to the commission of the Denkmäler Tonkunst in Oesterreich and a year later became custodian of the museum and library of the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde, Vienna. Following the Nazi invasion of Austria in 1938, he went to London, where he worked for the BBC, wrote articles for the fourth edition of the *Grove's Dictionary*, and taught at the Royal College of Music. In 1941 he was appointed professor of history and theory of music at Boston University, where he remained for 21 years. He was elected a fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences in 1959 and was an honorary member of the American chapter of the Neue Bach-Gesellschaft and of the Oesterreichische Gesellschaft fuer Musikwissenschaft. In 1962 Geiringer was appointed professor of music at the University of California, Santa Barbara, where he retired in 1971. Geiringer's writings include *Musical Instruments: Their History in Western Culture*, (1943), *Haydn: a Creative Life in Music* (1946), *Brahms: His Life and Work* (1936), *The Bach Family* (1954), *A Thematic Catalog of Haydn's Settings of Folk Songs from the British Isles* (1953), *Johann Sebastian Bach: The Culmination of an Era* (1966). He edited *Antonio Caldara: Ein Madrigal und achtzehn Kanons*, Cw, XXV (1933), *Music of the Bach Family: An Anthology* (1955), *Joseph Haydn: 100 schottische Lieder* (Munich, 1961); and *J. Haydn: Symphony No. 103 in E-Flat Major* (New York, 1974).

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[Israela Stein (2nd ed.)]

GEKHT, SEMEN GRIGOREVICH (1903–1963), Russian writer. Gekht was born in Odessa and from the mid-1920s lived in Moscow where he worked on the newspaper *Gudok.* With his first prose work, the novella *Chelovek, kotoryj zabyl svoyu zhizn'* ("The Person Who Forgot His Life," 1927) Gekht appeared as a representative of Russian-Jewish literature. The basic theme of his books (including the novel *Pouchitel' naya istoriya* ("An Instructive Story," 1939); stories for children; *Syn sapozhnika* ("Son of the Cobbler," 1931); *Efim Kalyuzhny iz Smidovichey* ("Efim Kalyuzhny from Smidovichi," 1931), etc., is the transformation of Jewish life in the post-revolutionary period and the participation of Jewish youth from the shtetl in the struggle for the industrialization of the country. In his major novel *Parokhod idet v Yaffu i obratno* ("The Steamship Goes to Jaffa and Back," 1936), set in Palestine of the first third of the 20th century. Gekht describes positively the daily life of the *ḥalutzim,* accurately depicts the bloody attacks of the Arabs in Jerusalem and Jaffa, and reproduces at length passionate speeches of Zionists about assimilation and antisemitism. Some Soviet critics accused the novel of manifesting "camouflaged Zionism."

During World War II Gekht was military correspondent for the newspaper *Gudok.* At the end of the 1940s his works were suppressed but he was rehabilitated in 1956.

Gekht maintained his Jewish themes throughout his career (see *Budka solov'ya* ("Nightingale Booth," 1957), or *Dolgi serdtsa* ("Debts of the Heart," 1963)). His heroes are Jews whose lives are ruined by the war. Even his works in which the characters are non-Jews contain tragic motifs concerning the destruction of Ukrainian Jewry, with references to Babi Yar, the tractor factory in Kharkov (the site of another massacre of Ukrainian Jews), and so on. In 1960 Gekht wrote memoirs about E. Bagritsky, I. *Ilf, and others. He translated from Yiddish works by Sholem *Asch, Shalom *Aleichem, and M. *Daniel.

[Mark Kipnis / *The Shorter Jewish Encylopaedia in Russian*]

°**GELASIUS I**, pope, 492–6. A council convened in Rome by Gelasius in 494 established the Catholic canon of biblical texts. On a personal level, Gelasius was not hostile to the Jews; among his favorites was a Jew, Telesinus, who won the pope's trust to the extent that in 495 Gelasius recommended Telesinus' nephew, the Jew Antius or Antonius, to the bishop Quinigesius. In 496, when the pope was apprised that the slave of a Jew had claimed that, although he had been a Christian from childhood, his Jewish master had forced him to be circumcised, Gelasius ordered the investigators to act with scrupulous justice so that religious interests should not be wronged nor the slave unfairly removed from his master's authority.

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[Bernhard Blumenkranz]

GELB, ARTHUR (1924–), U.S. journalist and author. Born in New York, the son of immigrants from Ukraine, Gelb was educated at the City College of New York and at New York University. He was hired by *The New York Times* as a copyboy, the lowest newsroom job, in 1944 and made a mark by founding an in-house newsletter, *Timesweek*, which brought him to the attention of people who could promote him. He became a general assignment reporter and then gravitated to the drama department, where he became assistant drama critic in 1958, working under Brooks Atkinson, the paper's chief critic, and hoped to succeed him. Instead, he became chief cultural correspondent, serving from 1961 to 1963. In addition to reviewing Broadway and Off Broadway theater, Gelb wrote stories on little-known performers like Woody *Allen, Barbra *Streisand, and others. At the same time, Gelb began working with his wife, Barbara, the stepdaughter of the playwright S.N. *Behrman, on the first definitive biography of the American playwright Eugene O'Neill. The book, published in 1962, and called simply *O'Neill*, became a bestseller. It had taken the Gelbs six years to research and write the book.

When Gelb's close friend A.M.*Rosenthal was named metropolitan editor of *The Times*, Gelb was installed as his deputy. In 1967 he succeeded Rosenthal and then rose to assistant managing editor, deputy managing, and finally managing editor from 1986 as Rosenthal moved up to executive editor of *The Times.* Their professional closeness reached a crescendo with their coverage of the killing of Kitty Genovese, a young woman in Kew Garden, Queens, whose final screams were heard by 38 people who chose not to call the police. Gelb also helped expose a local member of the American Nazi Party, who was, in fact, Jewish. When his background was made known, the man, Daniel Burros, committed suicide.

During his tenure as metropolitan editor, Gelb was a fount of ideas, nurtured the careers of countless *Times* reporters and editors, and passionately presided over the coverage of dozens of important stories, from the New York City fiscal crisis of the mid-1970s through political campaigns, a major exposure of police corruption in New York, and disasters such as airplane crashes. Along the way Gelb and Rosenthal wrote and edited several travel books. After his tenure as managing editor, Gelb became president of The New York Times Foundation and dispensed thousands of dollars each year to cultural organizations, educational groups, and organizations dealing with disadvantaged youth. He also founded a *Times* scholarship program for high school students and headed it until he was past 80 years of age.

Thirty-five years after the O'Neill biography was published, the Gelbs decided to revisit O'Neill and write a new biography. The first of three volumes, *O'Neill: Life with Monte Cristo*, was published in 2000. The Gelbs were also working with the documentary filmmaker Ric Burns on an O'Neill series for public television. In 2003, *City Room*, a memoir, recalled Gelb's career and key decisions in the news room of *The Times*. In 2005, one of his two sons, Peter, was named general manager of the Metropolitan Opera in New York.

[Stewart Kampel (2nd ed.)]

GELB, IGNACE JAY (1907–1985), U.S. Assyriologist. Born in Tarnow, Poland, Gelb studied in Rome with the Sumerologist, Anton Deimel. In 1929 he went to the Oriental Institute at the University of Chicago, with which he remained associated. After serving in the armed forces in World War II, he returned to the Institute as professor of Assyriology in 1947 and began the reorganization and replanning of the monumental multivolume dictionary of the Akkadian language entitled *Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago* (= CAD, 1956 ff.; almost complete by 2005) a project which had been begun in 1921. He served as editor of the dictionary from 1947 to 1955. He was also the editor and chief contributor of the auxiliary project, *Materials for the Assyrian Dictionary* (from 1951). His contributions to the field of Assyriology are centered on the ethno-linguistic foundations of the Ancient Near East. Among his works on this subject are *Hurrians and Subarians* (1944); *Nuzi Personal Names* (with M. Puryes and A.A. MacRae, 1943); *La lingua degli Amoriti* (1958); "The Early History of the West Semitic Peoples" (in: *Journal of Cuneiform Studies*, 15 (1961), 27 ff.). Of fundamental importance are his penetrating studies of the Old Akkadian dialect: *Sargonic Texts from the Diyala Region* (1952), *Old Akkadian Writing and Grammar* (1952, 1961^2), *Glossary of Old Akkadian* (1957), and *A Sequential Reconstruction of the Proto-Akkadian* (1969). He published a popular scientific work, *A Study of Writing* (1952, 1965^2). After Gelb's death his personal library and his papers and unfinished manuscripts became the basis of the Gelb Memorial Library of the University of California.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Chicago University, Oriental Institute, *Assyrian Dictionary*, 1 (1956), introd. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** J. Hayes, in: *Orientalia*, 42 (1973), 1–8 (bibliography of Gelb's publications).

[Evasio de Marcellis and Pinhas Artzi]

GELB, MAX (1907–1987), U.S. rabbi. Born in Austria, Gelb immigrated to New York City with his parents at the age of seven. He was educated at Yeshiva Rabbi Chaim Berlin and Yeshiva Yitzhak Elchanan, earned his B.A. from City College in 1929, and was ordained by the Jewish Theological Seminary in 1932. His first pulpit was in Harrisburg, PA (1933–39), a congregation that was undergoing financial difficulties as well as problems of morale in post-depression America. He strengthened the education and youth activities of his congregation, thereby gaining the support of their parents. He left that congregation in significantly better condition than when he had assumed the pulpit. He moved to White Plains, NY, where he was rabbi of Temple Israel, a suburban congregation before the onset of suburbanization. Within a decade membership had grown fourfold. He fought for strong Jewish programming within his congregation at a time when other rabbis were seeking to attract young people without regard to the content of what happened once they entered the building. He became a leader in Westchester Jewish communal life. An ardent Zionist, he was president of the White Plains Region of the Zionist Organization of America and president of the West Council of Rabbis. He helped establish with Orthodox colleagues the first day school in Westchester County and then broke with the school to establish in 1965 the Solomon Schechter School, more akin to his own brand of Conservative Judaism. Among his achievements was finding the compromise language by which the Conservative liturgy rewrote the morning blessing, recited by men praising God for not making them a woman and women praising God for making them according to His will. His solution was as elegant as it was simple. Both men and women praise God for creating them in the Divine image.

He edited *Understanding Conservative Judaism,* essays by Robert Gordis, which were part of a Rabbinical Assembly series on Conservative Jewish Thought. Upon his death, he was still working on the English translation of Abraham Joshua Heschel's *Torah Min Shamayim,* a project that was brought to conclusion by his successor at Temple Israel, Rabbi Gordon Tucker, and published as *Heavenly Torah: As Refracted by the Generations* (2005).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: P.S. Nadell, *Conservative Judaism in America: A Biographical Dictionary and Sourcebook* (1988); *Proceedings of the Rabbinical Assembly* (1989).

[Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

GELBER, Canadian family. MOSES GELBER (1876–1940), born in Brzezany, Galicia, settled in Toronto in 1892, where he established a wool importing business. He was a founder of Jewish education in Toronto, serving as first president of the Toronto Hebrew Free School (later the Associated Hebrew Schools). A vice president of the Zionist Organization of Canada, Gelber was among the first supporters of the project to reclaim the Sharon Valley in Palestine. His son EDWARD ELISHA (1903–1971) was born in Toronto. He studied at Columbia and the Jewish Theological Seminary, and was admitted to the Ontario bar (1934) and the Palestine bar (1937). Gelber played a leading role in Jewish education in Toronto; in the Canadian Jewish Congress; and in the Zionist Organization of Canada, of which he was national president in 1950–52. In 1954 he moved to Jerusalem where he served as chairman of the executive of the Hebrew University, and vice chairman of Yad Vashem.

LOUIS GELBER (1878–1968) brother of Moses, was born in Brzezany, Galicia, and in 1896 went to Canada where he was associated in business with his brother Moses. He was a founder of the Toronto Hebrew Free Loan Association. His son LIONEL MORRIS (1907–1989), born in Toronto, was a writer on international affairs. Lionel Gelber was a Rhodes scholar and studied at Oxford. He wrote *Rise of Anglo-American Friendship* (1938), *Peace by Power* (1942), *Reprieve from War* (1950), *American Anarchy* (1953), and *Alliance of Necessity* (1966). He served as special assistant to Canadian Prime Minister John Diefenbaker during 1960–61. Louis' daughter SYLVA (1910–2003) was born in Toronto. During 1934–37 she was a social worker in Jerusalem and became probation officer in the Magistrate's Court, appointed to the department of labor of the Palestine government in 1942. She joined the Department of National Health and Welfare in Ottawa in 1950, and in 1969 was appointed head of the women's bureau of the Canadian Department of Labour. Her brother MARVIN (1912–1990), also born in Toronto, was a student of economics and politics. He wrote for various journals and was a Liberal member of parliament for York South (1963–65). He was national president of the United Nations Association of Canada; head of the Canadian delegation to the U.N. Economic and Social Council (1967); and delegate to the U.N. General Assembly (1968). He was closely associated with Zionist and Jewish community activity. Another brother ARTHUR E. (1915–1998), born in Toronto, was a Jewish community leader. He was president of the United Jewish Welfare Fund of Toronto and active in the United Jewish Appeal, Canadian Jewish Congress, and United Jewish Refugee Agencies. He took a leading role in settling Jewish refugees in Canada in the post-World War II period. Prominent in cultural activities in Canada, he was president of the Canadian Conference of the Arts and the National Ballet. A fourth brother SHOLOME MICHAEL (1918–), born in Toronto, served in the RCAF during World War II. He then worked for the Joint Distribution Committee in postwar Europe. He served as dean of the Academy for Higher Jewish Religion in New York, and then in 1966 began teaching at New York University in the department of religion. He wrote *Failure of the American Rabbi* (1961).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: A.D. Hart (ed.), *Jew in Canada* (1926), 133, 319; *Who's Who in Canadian Jewry* (1965), 310, 387.

[Ben G. Kayfetz]

GELBER, JACK (1932–2003), U.S. playwright and director. Gelber achieved international success with *The Connection* (1959), which dealt with drug addiction. Its subject (drug addicts waiting for their "connection" to buy drugs), raw language, and a renovating realism (for example, actors cadging money from the audience) vitalized both theater-goers and a generation of writers. It also made the Living Theater, at whose center were Judith Malina and Julian Beck, a focus of attention. Among his plays are *The Apple* (1961), *Square in the Eye* (1964), *The Cuban Thing* (1968), *Sleep* (1972), and *Rehearsal*, first produced in 1976. In 1964, his novel *On Ice* was published.

[Lewis Fried (2nd ed.)]

GELBER, NATHAN MICHAEL (1891–1966), Austrian historian and Zionist leader. Gelber was born in Lvov, Galicia and studied at the universities of Vienna and Berlin. He served in World War I as an officer in the Austro-Hungarian army; thereafter he assumed the post of general secretary of the Eastern Galician delegation of the Va'ad Le'ummi in Vienna (1918–21) and, subsequently, became an active participant in the Austrian Pro-Palestine Committee and first secretary of the Austrian Zionist Organization (1921–30). In 1934 he immigrated to Palestine where, until his retirement in 1954, he worked in the Keren Hayesod head office in Jerusalem. His last years were devoted to Jewish scholarship, which he had pursued extensively, though not professionally, all his life.

Gelber was a prolific author who published close to 1,000 books and articles in Hebrew, German, Yiddish, and Polish on Jewish history and contemporary Jewish life, in addition to scores of articles on contemporary issues in daily newspapers. He was a major contributor to the *Juedisches Lexikon*, the *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, the *Encyclopaedia Hebraica*, and other encyclopedias. His most significant works deal with the history of Zionism and Galician Jewry. Among them are *Zur Vorgeschichte des Zionismus* (1927); *Haẓharat Balfour ve-Toledoteha* (1939); *Toledot ha-Tenu'ah ha-Ẓiyyonit be-Galiẓyah, 1875–1918* (2 vols., 1958); *Aktenstuecke zur Judenfrage am Wiener Kongress 1814–1815* (1920); *Die Juden und der polnische Aufstand* (1923); a volume on Brody (vol. 6 of *Arim ve-Immahot be-Yisrael*, 1955); and "*Toledot Yehudei Lvov*" (in EG, 4 (1956), 22–390). After his death his article "History of the Jews in Kalisch" (*Kalisch Book*, vol. 2) was published, in 1968.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: H. Gold, in: *Sefer ha-Yovel le-Nathan Michael Gelber* (1963), 235–64.

[Michael A. Meyer / Bjoern Siegel (2nd ed.)]

GELBHAUS, SIGMUND (**Joshua Samuel**; c. 1850–1928), East European rabbi and writer. Gelbhaus was born in Tysmienica (Galicia) and served as rabbi in Karlovac (Karlstadt, Croatia), Nordhausen (Germany), Prague, and Vienna. In Vienna he also lectured at the Israelitisch-Theologische Lehranstalt and at the Hebrew Paedagogium. A prolific writer, he published numerous articles, books, and translations into Hebrew. Among them are *Rabbi Jehuda Hanassi und die Redaktion der Mischna* (1876), *Die Mittelhochdeutsche Dichtung in ihrer Beziehung zur biblisch-rabbinischen Literatur* (3 vols., 1889–93), *Esra und seine reformatorischen Bestrebungen* (1903), *Religioese Stroemungen in Judaea waehrend und nach der Zeit des babylonischen Exils* (1912), and *Die Metaphysik der Ethik Spinozas im Quellenlichte der Kabbala* (1917).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Wininger, Biog, 2 (1928), 399; 6 (1931), 614.

GELBRUN, ARTUR (1913–1985), composer and conductor. Born in Warsaw and educated in his native city and in Italy, Gelbrun settled in Israel in 1949 and became a teacher at the Rubin Academy of Music, Tel Aviv. He regularly conducted most of the orchestras in Israel as well as in Europe. His compositions include two symphonies, chamber music, ballets, orchestral suites, and songs with orchestra.

[Jehoash Hirshberg (2nd ed.)]

GELDERN, SIMON VON (1720–1788), German adventurer and traveler. Von Geldern, who was born in Duesseldorf into a family of Court Jews (see Van *Geldern), studied at yeshivot, and also acquired a secular education. He went wandering through many countries and eventually reached Palestine where he spent six months studying the Kabbalah in Safed. Armed with letters of recommendation from Safed scholars headed with the words *Kitvei Kodesh u-Meliẓot Ḥakhamei Yisrael* (printed in Amsterdam, c. 1759) and with contributions from public and private charity chests, he set off on another journey, calling himself "an emissary from the Holy Land." Von Geldern engaged in the book trade, mainly selling copies of the *Zohar. Assuming the title of "Chevalier von Geldern" and posing as an Oriental sage, he led a life of adventure, gambling, and the pursuit of amorous affairs in Christian society and among royalty. His grandnephew, Heinrich *Heine, speaks admiringly of his exploits in North Africa. Von Geldern was the first person to mention the Cairo *Genizah*. He made an English adaptation, entitled *The Israelites on Mount Horeb* (1773), of a French oratorio by the Abbé de Voisinon, which in its turn was based on the Italian original by a fellow adventurer, Giacomo Casanova. Von Geldern also published a Hebrew version of the Book of Judith. He spent the last ten years of his life in the service of the grand duke of Hesse-Darmstadt. He provided Abbé *Gregoire with the material for his *Essai sur la regénération physique, morale et politique des Juifs* (1789). Von Geldern's travel diaries (facsimile of Ms. (original probably lost) in Schocken Library, Jerusalem) and his personal papers, including a family tree, have survived.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: F. Heymann, *Der Chevalier von Geldern* (1963²); Brilling, in: BLBI, 8 (1965), 315ff; D. Kaufmann, *Aus Heinrich Heines Ahnensaal* (1896); *Archiv fuer juedische Familienforschung*, 1 nos. 2–3 (1913), 18ff., nos. 4–6, 32ff; Loewenstein, in: MGWJ, 51 (1907), 205ff.; idem, in: JJLG, 10 (1912), 121; Yaari, Sheluḥei, 180, 446ff.

GELDERN, VAN, Duesseldorf family of *Court Jews. The prefix in the surname indicates the family's origin from the Dutch province or from the village near Duesseldorf where JOSEPH JACOB (Juspa) VAN GELDERN (1653–1727) established himself as supplier and banker to the elector of Hanover, who had made Duesseldorf his capital. Juspa maintained business connections with Leffmann *Behrends and his daughter married the son of Jost *Liebmann. He built a synagogue for the community, of which he was *Obervorgaenger* ("chief representative") for more than 30 years; he paid one tenth of the community's dues. His son, LAZARUS (d. 1769), inherited the office in the community and became Court Jew of *Juelich and *Berg, but lost most of the immense family fortune in lawsuits. Lazarus' son, GOTTSCHALK, was a prosperous physician whose daughter Betty married Samson Heine, descendant of the Schaumburg-*Lippe family of Court Jews. Their son Heinrich Heine, the poet, immortalized his great-uncle, the adventurer Simon van *Geldern, Lazarus' other son.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: D. Kaufmann, *Aus Heinrich Heine's Ahnensaal* (1896); G. Wilhelm (ed.), *Heine Bibliographie* (1960²), 44f.; S. Stern, *The Court Jew* (1950), index; H. Bieber and M. Hadas, *Heinrich Heine, A Biographical Anthology* (1956), 38–40.

GELDMAN, MORDECHAI (1946–), Hebrew poet. Geldman was born in Germany and has lived in Tel Aviv since the age of three. He obtained a B.A. in literature and an M.A. in clinical psychology and worked as a psychotherapist. Geldman began publishing poetry in 1966 and his first poetry collection *Zeman ha-Yam u-Zeman Ha-Yabbashah* ("Sea Time, Land Time") appeared in 1970. This was followed by the collections: *Ẓippor* (1975), *Ḥalon* ("Window," 1980), *66–83* (1983), *Milano* (1988), *'Ayin* ("Eye," 1993), *Sefer Sheal* ("Book of Ask," 1997), *Shir ha-Lev* ("The Song of the Heart," 2004). Geldman's highly personal, often narcissist poetry, highlights the dialectics of the hidden and the overt, describes male-friendship and erotic attraction and reflects on dependence and loneliness. A Geldman poem accompanied by nine etchings by Moshe Gershuni appeared in 1997 under the title *Time*. Geldman also wrote two non-fiction books: "Dark Mirror" (1995) and *Sifrut u-Psikhologiyyah* ("Psychoanalytic Criticism," 1998). He published the collection *Shir ha-Lev* in 2004. Individual poems have been translated into a number of languages and information is available at the ITHL website, www.ithl.org.il.

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[Anat Feinberg (2nd ed.)]

GELFAND, IZRAIL MOISEVICH (1913–), Russian mathematician. Gelfand was born in Krasnye Okny (now Moldova) and obtained his Ph.D. at Moscow University (1938), where he was professor at the Academy of Sciences Institute of Mathematics from 1943. He worked mainly in Banach algebra, the representation theory of Lie groups related to quantum mechanics, and in solving the algebraic problems of mathematics applied to physics, subjects on which he published for over 60 years. His many honors include the Wolf Prize (1978) and election to the Russian National Academy of Sciences, the U.S National Academy of Sciences, and the Royal Society of London.

[Michael Denman (2nd ed.)]

GELFOND, ALEKSANDR OSIPOVICH (1906–1968), Soviet mathematician. Gelfond was appointed professor of mathematics at Moscow University in 1931. He made important contributions to number theory, complex analysis, and theory of transcendental numbers. Of his works, the following were translated into English: *The Solution of Equations in Integers* (1961) and *Transcendental and Algebraic Numbers* (1960).

GELFOND, ALEXANDER LAZAREVICH (pseud. **Parvus**; 1869–1924), activist in the Russian and German revolutionary movements. Gelfond was born in Berezino, Belorussia. He graduated from the Basel university in 1891 and lived in Germany, where he joined the left wing of the Social-Democratic movement, He wrote and edited periodicals for the movement and became known as a Marxist economist. In 1905 he returned to Russia, and became a member of the workers soviet in Peterburg. Together with Rosa *Luxemburg he developed the theory of the "permanent revolution," which was adopted by *Trotsky. In December 1905 he was arrested and exiled for three years to Siberia but fled to Germany. In 1910–17 he lived in Turkey and the Balkans, where he made a fortune in trade. During WWI he lived in Berlin and busied himself supplying the German army. He tried to get the German Foreign Office to support the Russian revolutionary parties and helped transfer German funds to them. He tried to return to Russia after the October 1917 Revolution, but was prevented from doing so by Lenin, who was afraid that Gelfond's financial transactions would be discovered. In 1918 he tried to settle in Switzerland, but was sent back to Germany and ceased his political activity. After his death he was accused by Lenin and Gorky of being "immoral, chauvinistic, and an adventurist in politics."

[Shmuel Spector (2nd ed.)]

GELIL YAM (Heb. גְּלִיל יָם), kibbutz in central Israel near Herzliyyah, affiliated with Ha-Kibbutz ha-Me'uḥad. It was founded in 1943 by a group which had maintained a transitory camp near Tel Aviv for over a decade, while working as hired laborers in the Tel Aviv port and on the railways. The founding settlers from Russia and Poland were later joined by immigrants from different countries. Its economy was based on a concrete plant and a factory producing household faucets. Its population was 310 in 1968 and 320 in 2002. The kibbutz stopped receiving new members due to privatization processes. It was located on one of the most highly valued tracts of land in Israel, with the city of Herzliyyah expanding around it over the years. Gelil Yam's name is based on the Arabic denomination of the site, Jalīl.

WEBSITE: www.glil-yam.org.il.

[Efraim Orni / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

GELLÉRI, ANDOR ENDRE (1907–1945), Hungarian novelist. Gelléri, who was born in Budapest, worked as a dyer and as a locksmith. His literary talents were first discovered in a short-story competition run by the evening newspaper *Az Est*. His prize enabled him to complete his education in Germany. Gelléri's first novel, *Nagymosoda* ("The Laundry," 1931), combined reality with dreams and visions. His characters were wretched slum dwellers, some of them Jews. His other works include *Szomjas inasok* ("Thirsty Apprentices," 1933); a book of short stories, *Hold utca* ("Hold Street," 1934); *Kikötö* ("The Harbor," 1935); and *Villám és esti tüz* ("Lightning and Evening Fire," 1940). Following the Nazi occupation of Hungary he was sent to the Mauthausen concentration camp at the end of 1944 and died at the Wells camp in Germany, a victim of typhus, two days after the liberation in May 1945. Gelléri's autobiography, *Egy önérzet története* ("The Story of One Man's Self-Respect"), appeared posthumously in 1957.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: M. Szabolcsi (ed.), *A magyar irodalom története*, 6 (1964), 757–66; *Magyar Irodalmi Lexikon*, 1 (1963), 390–1.

[Baruch Yaron]

GELLÉRT, OSZKÁR (1882–1967), Hungarian poet and journalist. One of the editors of *Nyugat*, Gellért at first wrote biblical and religious verse but later turned to radical themes. His collections include *Ötven év verseiből* ("Selections from Fifty Years," 1952), *Emberség, Szerelem* ("Humanity, Love," 1957) and *Egy író élete* ("The Life of a Writer," 1958).

GELLMAN, LEON (1887–1973), U.S. Zionist journalist and leader. Gellman, who was born in Yampol, Russia, immigrated to the U.S. at the age of 23. He settled in St. Louis where he worked as a principal of various Hebrew schools (1911–17), and later as editor (1918–35) and publisher (1923–35) of the Yiddish *St. Louis Jewish Record*, in which he advocated the creation of a great religious Zionist movement. An organizer of the U.S. Mizrachi movement, he subsequently served as its executive secretary (1914–17), national vice president (1930–35), and president (1935–39). Moving to New York, he was editor of Mizrachi publications from 1935 to 1949, including *Der Mizrachi Weg* (1936–49) and (with Pinkhos Churgin) the *Mizrachi Jubilee Publication* (1936).

Gellman moved to Israel in 1949 and became chairman of the World Mizrachi Organization in that year, later becoming honorary chairman. From 1948 to 1953 he was a deputy member of the Executive of the Jewish Agency. He was a frequent contributor to *Ha-Ẓofeh*, the Israeli national religious daily, and to New York Yiddish newspapers. A prevalent theme in Gellman's writing is that the survival of Israel is contingent upon adherence to traditional Jewish faith and values. Among his numerous books, primarily collections of essays, are: *Eynem Kampf far der Yidishe Medine* (1948), *Ha-Yahadut be-Ma'avakah* (1956), *Neẓaḥ ha-Ummah* (1958), *Bi-Shevilei ha-Yahadut* (1967), and *Be-Darkhei No'am* (1969).

GELL-MANN, MURRAY (1929–), U.S. theoretical physicist. Born in New York City and educated at Yale, which he entered at the age of 15 (B.S. 1948), and Massachusetts Institute of Technology (Ph.D. 1951), Gell-Mann studied physics rather than the languages and archaeology he originally preferred, because his father, who ran a language school, warned him that he would never be able to make a living. Gell-Mann taught at the Institute for Nuclear Studies of the University of Chicago from 1952 to 1955, while studying under Enrico Fermi, and at California Institute of Technology from 1955 until his retirement as Robert Millikan Professor of Theoretical Physics, Emeritus, in 1993. He held numerous visiting professorships at American and European universities, was made a member of the National Academy of Sciences, a fellow of the American Physical Society and other academic institutions, and served on a number of official bodies including the President's Science Advisory Committee (1969–72), the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution (1974–88), and the President's Committee of Advisors on Science and Technology (1994–2001). He was later a distinguished fellow at the Santa Fe Institute, a research foundation which he helped to found in 1982 in Santa Fe, New Mexico. He also taught part of the year at the University of New Mexico in Albuquerque.

Gell-Mann was awarded the Nobel Prize for physics in 1969 for his revolutionary work in particle physics, a field in which he was preeminent for over 20 years. The explanatory theory he formulated in 1963 accounted for the presence of the many particles discovered in atomic nuclei and posited that all such particles are composed of basic units that Gell-Mann named "quarks" (a word taken from one of his favorite books, James Joyce's *Finnegans Wake*), which his own and others' research indicated were one of three fundamental, irreducible building blocks of matter (the others are leptons and intermediate vector bosons). The existence of quarks, and the accuracy of Gell-Mann's theoretical prediction that there were likely six types, was confirmed by experimentation with particle accelerators in the 1980s and 1990s. Gell-Mann's work led to the development of the field theory of quantum chromodynamics, which describes the interactions of subatomic particles.

From the 1980s Gell-Mann, who had a well-deserved reputation as a polymath (he described his interests as including "natural history, historical linguistics, archaeology, history, depth psychology, and creative thinking, all subjects connected with biological evolution, cultural evolution, and learning and thinking"), tried to develop a theory of complex adaptive systems that would reflect his concerns about the environment: "restraint in population growth, sustainable economic development, and stability of the world political system." His 1994 book *The Quark and the Jaguar*, written for general readers rather than fellow scientists, had its origins in this concern. At the Santa Fe Institute he also headed the Evolution of Human Languages Program, which seeks to establish the historical relationships among human languages, on the assumption that all of them may belong to "superfamilies" derived from an original "proto-language" whose characteristics may be discovered.

Gell-Mann's publications include *Lectures on Weak Interactions of Strongly Interfacing Particles* (1961), *The Eightfold Way: A Review with a Collection of Reprints* (1964, with Yuval Ne'eman), *The Quark and the Jaguar* (1994), and two edited collections, *The Evolution of Human Languages* (1992, edited with John A. Hawkins) and *Understanding Complexity in the Prehistoric Southwest* (1994, edited with George J. Gumerman). In addition, a full-scale biography of Gell-Mann was published by George Johnson: *Strange Beauty: Murray Gell-Mann and the Revolution in 20th-Century Physics* (1999).

[Drew Silver (2nd ed.)]

GELLNER, FRANTIŠEK (1881–1914), Czech writer, poet, and cartoonist, and the outstanding satirist of his time. Born in Mladá Boleslav, Bohemia, into a poor family, Gellner studied painting first in Munich and then in Paris, where he published his early cartoons in *Rire, Cri de Paris*, and other French periodicals. He soon found, however, that he could express his anarchist creed better through the medium of verse, and his three books of poetry, modeled on the style of François Villon, contain some of the best satirical verse ever written in Czech. They are *Po nás at přijde potopa* (After us the Deluge, 1901), *Radosti života* (Pleasures of Life, 1903), and *Nové verše* (New Poems, 1919). In 1911 he joined the leading Czech newspaper *Lidové Noviny*, as a cartoonist and feature editor, and then began writing prose: his only novel, *Potulný národ* (Nation Errant, 1912), *Cesta do hor a jiné povídky* (Trip to the Mountains and Other Stories, 1914), and *Povídky a satiry* (Stories and Satires), which appeared in 1920 after his death. Because in many of his articles and short stories Gellner did not hesitate to subject Jewish weaknesses to the merciless lash of his satire, he has been criticized as an anti-Jewish writer. He disappeared while serving on the Russian front early in World War I. New editions of his works appeared in 1952, 1964, and in the 1990s.

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[Avigdor Dagan / Milos Pojar (2nd ed.)]

GELMAN, JUAN (1930–), Argentinean poet. He was born in Buenos Aires into a family of immigrants from the Ukraine. His political involvement with the left since his youth went together with an active critical dissent, which made him break with the Communist Party in 1964 and with the Montonero Peronist Movement in 1979. In the 1960s he became a journalist in leading magazines and newspapers. He went into exile in Mexico in 1975. In 1976 his son and pregnant daughter-in-law were abducted and murdered by the military government; in 2000 he was able to locate his granddaughter in Montevideo. His poetry expresses his worldview and the tragedies of Argentina through a personal blend of social involvement and pure aesthetics. High poetic language intertwines with colloquial expressions, love poems alternate with protest texts, history and ideology with tiny events of daily life and common people. The poems of *dibaxu* ("Beneath," 1994) are written in Ladino, in which he saw a means of connecting his Spanish-speaking culture with Jewish identity. *Com/posiciones* ("Com/positions," 1984) includes his translations-rewritings of poems by Judah Halevi. Among his main books are *Violín y otras cuestiones* ("Violin and Other Matters," 1956); *Gotán* ("Tango," 1962); *Cólera buey* ("Ox-like Anger," 1963 and 1971); *Si dulcemente* ("If Sweetly," 1980); *Salarios del impío* ("Wages of the Godless," 1992); *Tantear la noche* ("Feeling Up the Night," 2000); *Incompletamente* ("Incompletely," 1997); and *Debí decir te amo* (*Antología personal*) ("I Should Have Said I Love You," personal anthology, 1997). Considered a leading poet of the Spanish-speaking world, among the many awards he received are the Argentine Nacional Poetry Prize (1997), the Mexican López Velarde Award (2004), the Iberoamerican Pablo Neruda Prize (2005), and the Queen Sofía Poetry Award in Spain (2005). His work has been translated into ten languages, including Hebrew.

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transgresión e intercambio (1995); S. Schreibman, *Selected Poems of Juan Gelman* (1990); L. Uribe, *La poesía de Juan Gelman* (1995).

[Florinda F. Goldberg (2nd ed.)]

GELMAN, MANUEL (1910–1993), Australian educator. Born in London, Gelman was taken to Australia as an infant. From 1946 to 1964 he was a lecturer in methods of modern languages at Melbourne University's Faculty of Education. From 1950 he headed the department of languages at the Secondary Teachers' College. From 1961 to 1964 Gelman was president of the Modern Languages Teachers' Associations of Victoria and founded the Australian Federation of Modern Language Teachers' Associations. His activities within the Jewish community included membership in the Board of Governors of Mount Scopus College, Melbourne (1959–61) and chairmanship of its Education Committee.

[Harry Freedman]

GELNHAUSEN, town in Germany. The Gelnhausen Jews paid their annual tax to the imperial treasury jointly with the Frankfurt community in 1241. In 1347 Emperor Louis IV offered the revenues from Gelnhausen Jewry as security on a loan. The community was annihilated during the *Black Death persecutions (1349) and the burghers were released from their debts to the Jews. By 1360 Jews had again settled in the town. In the late 17th century they were active as moneylenders, despite restrictions and threats of expulsion. A burial society was founded in 1711 and in 1734 the synagogue was rebuilt. The community then numbered 33 families. It remained approximately the same size in the 19th century (some 200 persons) and until the Nazi advent to power. The last Jew left Gelnhausen on Oct. 1, 1938. After World War II several Jews returned to the region but no organized community was formed. They numbered 27 in 1960.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Roth, in: ZGJO, 5 (1892), 188; *Aus Alter und Neuer Zeit* (June 25, 1925); Germ Jud, 2 (1968), 273–5; FJW, 187; Yad Vashem Archives; PKG.

GELSENKIRCHEN, city in North Rhine-Westphalia, Germany. A community was established there in 1874 and a synagogue built in 1885. There were 120 Jews living in Gelsenkirchen in 1880, 1,171 in 1905, and 1,600 in 1933. The community maintained an elementary school which in 1906 had 121 pupils. Siegfried Galliner officiated as rabbi before World War II. In Gelsenkirchen, as in most Westphalian congregations, Reform Judaism was dominant but an Orthodox congregation was established with its own synagogue and institutions. For some time from 1922 the rabbi of the Association for the Safeguarding of Traditional Judaism in Westphalia (founded 1896) had his seat in Gelsenkirchen. Under the Nazi regime two-thirds of the Jews left. The synagogue was destroyed on *Kristallnacht*, Nov. 9, 1938. On January 27, 1942, 350 of the remaining 500 Jews were deported to the Riga ghetto. The last Jews were deported to Warsaw and Theresienstadt. By June 17, 1939, only 720 Jews remained. On Sept. 9, 1939, the men were deported to the *Sachsenhausen concentration camp. Their families followed in 1942. There were 69 Jews in Gelsenkirchen in 1946. In 1958, a synagogue and communal center was built for the newly established *Kultusgemeinde*. The community numbered 110 in 1967 – mostly new residents – and had its own cantor and teacher. In 2005 the Jewish population was around 450, with a new synagogue under construction.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Festschrift der Synagogen-Gemeinde Gelsenkirchen…* (1924); H.C. Meyer (ed.), *Aus Geschichte und Leben der Juden in Westfalen* (1962), 63–66, 162–3, 188, incl. bibl.; PKG. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** S. Spector (ed.), *Jewish Life Before and During the Holocaust* (2001).

GEMARA (Aram. גְּמָרָא; lit. "completion" or "tradition"), a word popularly applied to the Talmud as a whole, or more particularly to the discussions and elaborations by the *amoraim* on the Mishnah. The word appears (abbreviated) in the printed editions of the Babylonian Talmud to indicate the beginning of that discussion and it has been adopted in the Vilna (Romm) edition of the Jerusalem Talmud. There is a *Gemara* to both the Babylonian and the Jerusalem Talmuds, though not to all or to the same tractates.

For a fuller discussion of the precise meaning of the word see *Talmud.

GEMARIAH (Heb. גְּמַרְיָהוּ, גְּמַרְיָה; "Yahu has accomplished"), two biblical figures.

(1) Gemariah son of Hilkiah was one of Zedekiah's emissaries to Nebuchadnezzar, who brought the letter written by Jeremiah to the elders in exile (Jer. 29:3). He is mentioned nowhere else. Although Jeremiah's father was also named Hilkiah that is probably coinicidental.

(2) Gemariah son of Shaphan was a high official in the time of Jehoiakim (Jer. 36:10). He was a member of one of the influential pro-Babylonian families in the last days of Judah (see *Shaphan), and was also one of the royal officers on friendly terms with Jeremiah. Baruch read Jeremiah's scroll in Gemariah's chamber (Jer. 36:10–12). The latter's son Micaiah reported this to Jehoiakim, who ordered the scroll destroyed after it was read to him. Gemariah was among the officials who tried to dissuade him. The mention of Gemariah's chamber in the Temple is interesting, yet the reason for his having one is not entirely clear. Such chambers were commonly intended for priests and levites (Neh. 10:38–39; 13:4–9; I Chron. 9:26, 33) and also for high officials of the king (II Kings 23:11; Jer. 35:4), but the purpose of these chambers is unknown (cf. I Sam. 9:22; Neh. 13:4–9). A bulla (stamp-seal impression) reading *lgmryhw [b]n špn*, "belonging to Gemariahu [so]n of Shaphan," was found in excavations in Jerusalem.

The name Gemariahu son of Hizziliahu occurs on the *Lachish Ostraca.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Yeivin, in: *Tarbiz*, 12 (1940–41), 255, 257–8. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** W. Holladay, *Jeremiah 2* (1989), 140; S. Ahituv, *Handbook of Ancient Hebrew Inscriptions* (1992), 32–3, 128–29.

GEMATRIA (from Gr. γεωμετρία), one of the aggadic hermeneutical rules for interpreting the Torah (*Baraita of 32 Rules, no. 29). It consists of explaining a word or group of words according to the numerical value of the letters, or of substituting other letters of the alphabet for them in accordance with a set system. Whereas the word is normally employed in this sense of manipulating according to the numerical value, it is sometimes found with the meaning of "calculations" (Avot 3:18). Similarly where the reading in present editions of the Talmud is that Johanan b. Zakkai knew "the heavenly revolutions and *gematriot*," in a parallel source the reading is "the heavenly revolutions and calculations" (Suk. 28a; BB 134a; Ch. Albeck, *Shishah Sidrei Mishnah*, 4 (1959), 497).

The use of letters to signify numbers was known to the Babylonians and the Greeks. The first use of *gematria* occurs in an inscription of Sargon II (727–707 B.C.E.) which states that the king built the wall of Khorsabad 16,283 cubits long to correspond with the numerical value of his name. The use of *gematria* (τὸ ἰσόψηφον) was widespread in the literature of the Magi and among interpreters of dreams in the Hellenistic world. The *Gnostics equated the two holy names Abraxas (Ἀβράξας) and Mithras (Μίθρας) on the basis of the equivalent numerical value of their letters (365, corresponding to the days of the solar year). Its use was apparently introduced in Israel during the time of the Second Temple, even in the Temple itself, Greek letters being used to indicate numbers (Shek. 3:2).

In rabbinic literature numerical *gematria* first appears in statements by *tannaim* of the second century. It is used as supporting evidence and as a mnemonic by R. Nathan. He states that the phrase *Elleh ha-devarim* ("These are the words") occurring in Exodus 35:1 hints at the 39 categories of work forbidden on the Sabbath, since the plural *devarim* indicates two, the additional article a third, while the numerical equivalent of *elleh* is 36, making a total of 39 (Shab. 70a). R. Judah inferred from the verse, "From the fowl of the heavens until the beast are fled and gone" (Jer. 9:9), that for 52 years no traveler passed through Judea, since the numerical value of *behemah* ("beast") is 52. The Baraita of 32 Rules cites as an example of *gematria* the interpretation that the 318 men referred to in Genesis 14:14 were in fact only Eliezer the servant of Abraham, the numerical value of his name being 318. This interpretation, which occurs elsewhere (Ned. 32a; Gen. R. 43:2) in the name of *Bar Kappara, may also be a reply to the Christian interpretation in the Epistle of Barnabas that wishes to find in the Greek letters τιη, whose numerical value is 318, a reference to the cross and to the first two letters of Jesus' name, through which Abraham achieved his victory; the Jewish homilist used the same method to refute the Christian interpretation. These *gematriot* are based on the first of four methods of calculating the numeral value of the letters of the Hebrew alpha. Known as *Mispar Hekhreḥi*, absolute or normative value, each letter is given a specific numerical equivalent. *Alef* equals 1, *bet* equals 2, *gimmel* equals 3, and so on until *yod*, the tenth letter, which equals 10. The next letter, *kaf*, equals 20, then *lamed*, which equals 30, and so on until *kuf*, which equals 100. The last three letters, *resh, shin, taf*, equal 200, 300, and 400, respectively. The final forms of the letters, *kaf, mem, nun, pei*, and *ẓadi*, used when these letters appear at the very end of a word, are often given the same numerical equivalent as the standard form of the letter. Sometimes, they are given the values 500, 600, 700, 800, and 900, respectively. This brings the numerical equivalencies of the Hebrew alphabet to 1,000, for the *alef*, the first letter, can also symbolize 1,000. The word *alef* can also be read as *elef*, meaning 1,000.

The next two methods of *gematria* calculation are *Mispar Sidduri*, ordinal value, where each of the 22 letters of the Hebrew alphabet are given a number between 1 and 22, and *Mispar Katan*, reduced value, where every letter is equal to a single digit number. This is accomplished by removing the value of 10 or 100. Thus, the *alef* equals 1, but so do the *yod* and the *kuf*, which equal 10 and 100 in the absolute or normative value system. In these last two systems, the five letters that have final forms are usually given the same value as the standard form of the letter. At times, they are assigned special value.

The fourth method, *Mispar Katan Mispari*, integral reduced value, reduces the total value of the word to a single digit number. If the sum exceeds nine, then the integer values of the total are added together again and again until a single digit number is received. For example, the word, *ḥesed* (lovingkindness) has an absolute or normative value of 72. The *ḥet* equals 8, the *samakh* equals 60, and the *dalet* equals 4. The numbers of the sum of 72 are then added together (7 plus 2) to equal 9. It should be pointed out that the integral reduced value of the ordinal value and the reduced value of *ḥesed* also add up to 9.

In Kabbalah, an additional system of *gematria* is used. The absolute or normative value of a word is calculated by treating each letter as a word and then adding up all of the numerical equivalencies of these letter-words. This system is called *milu'i* or *milu'im*. Since some letters can be spelled differently as words, different numerical equivalencies can be achieved for a single word. Thus, the Tetragrammaton, *yod, hei, vav,* and *hei*, has the values of 72, 63, 45, or 52, each of which has vital significance in Kabbalah.

The form of *gematria* which consists of changing the letters of the alphabet according to *atbash*, i.e., the last letter ת is substituted for the first א, the penultimate ש for the second ב, etc., already occurs in Scripture: Sheshach (Jer. 25:26; 51:41) corresponding to Bavel ("Babylon"). The Baraita of 32 Rules draws attention to a second example: *lev kamai* (Jer. 51:1) being identical, according to this system, with *Kasdim. Another alphabet *gematria* is formed by the *atbaḥ* system, i.e., ט is substituted for א, ח for ב, etc., and is called "the alphabet of Ḥiyya" (Suk. 52b). Rav, the pupil of Ḥiyya, explained that Belshazzar and his men could not read the cryptic writing because it was written in *gematria*, i.e., according to *atbaḥ* (Sanh. 22a; cf. Shab. 104a).

Gematria has little significance in *halakhah*. Where it does occur, it is only as a hint or a mnemonic. The rule that when a man takes a nazirite vow for an unspecified period, it is regarded as being for 30 days, is derived from the word *yihyeh* ("he shall be") in Numbers 6:5, whose numerical value is 30 (Naz. 5a). Even in the *aggadah*, at least among the early *amoraim, gematria* is not used as a source of ideas and homilies but merely to express them in the most concise manner. The statements that Noah was delivered not for his own sake but for the sake of Moses (Gen. R. 26:6), that Rebekah was worthy to have given birth to 12 tribes (*ibid.* 63:6), and that Jacob's ladder symbolizes the revelation at Sinai (*ibid.* 68:12), do not depend on the *gematriot* given there. These homilies are derived from other considerations and it is certain that they preceded the *gematriot*.

Gematriot, however, do occupy an important place in those Midrashim whose chief purpose is the interpretation of letters, such as the *Midrash Ḥaserot vi-Yterot*, and also in the late aggadic Midrashim (particularly in those whose authors made use of the work of *Moses b. Isaac ha-Darshan), including *Numbers Rabbah* (in *Midrash Aggadah*, published by S. Buber, 1894) and *Bereshit Rabbati* (published by Ḥ. Albeck, 1940; see introduction, 11–20). Rashi also cites *gematriot* that "were established by Moses ha-Darshan" (Num. 7:18) and some of the *gematriot* given by him came from this source even if he does not explicitly mention it (Gen. 32:5, e.g., "I have sojourned with Laban" – the *gematria* value of "I have sojourned" is 613, i.e., "I sojourned with the wicked Laban but observed the 613 precepts," is the interpretation of Moses ha-Darshan, *Bereshit Rabbati*, 145). Joseph *Bekhor Shor, one of the great French exegetes of the Torah, made extensive use of *gematriot*, and nearly all the tosafists followed him in this respect in their Torah commentaries (S. Poznański, *Mavo al Ḥakhmei Ẓarefat Mefareshei ha-Mikra*, 73). A wealth of *gematriot* occur in *Pa'ne'aḥ Raza*, the commentary of Isaac b. Judah ha-Levi (end of 13th century), and in the *Ba'al ha-Turim*, the biblical commentary of *Jacob b. Asher. The Kabbalah of the *Ḥasidei Ashkenaz also caused *gematriot* to enter the *halakhah*. In his *Ha-Roke'aḥ*, *Eleazar of Worms uses *gematriot* to find many hints and supports for existing laws and customs; with him the *gematria* at times embraces whole sentences. Thus he establishes by *gematria* from Exodus 23:15 that work which can be deferred until after the festival may not be performed during the intermediate days (*Ha-Roke'aḥ*, no 307). *Gematriot* of the Ḥasidei Ashkenaz occupy a prominent place in their commentaries on the liturgy and on *piyyutim*. Abraham b. Azriel incorporated the teachings of Judah he-Ḥasid and Eleazar Roke'aḥ in his *Arugat ha-Bosem*, and followed their lead. These *gematriot*, which were part of the Kabbalah of the Ḥasidei Ashkenaz, established the definitive text of the prayers, which came to be regarded as sacrosanct. Some authorities forbade it to be changed even when the text did not conform with the rules of grammar. *Naḥmanides, on the other hand, tried to limit the arbitrary use of *gematriot* and laid down a rule that "no one may calculate a *gematria* in order to deduce from it something that occurs to him. Our rabbis, the holy sages of the Talmud, had a tradition that definite *gematriot* were transmitted to Moses to serve as a mnemonic for something that had been handed down orally with the rest of the Oral Law… just as was the case with the *gezerah shavah* [see *Hermeneutics] of which they said that no man may establish a *gezerah shavah* of his own accord" (*Sefer ha-Ge'ullah* ed. by J.M. Aronson (1959), *Sha'ar* 4; see his commentary to Deut. 4:25).

Despite *Naḥmanides' attempt to limit its use, *gematria* found its way into biblical commentary. The *Pane'aḥ Raza* by Isaac ben Judah ha-Levi (late 13th century) and *Ba'al ha-Turim* by Jacob ben Asher (c. 1270 to 1340) both make frequent use of *gematria*. Indeed, *gematria* became a staple element in kabbalastic literature. For example, the 17th-century work, *Megalleh Amukkot*, by Nathan Nata ben Solomon Spira, uses *gematria* extensively. The followers of *Shabbetai Zevi used *gematria* as proof of his messianism.

Gematria is still used to this very day. Indeed a search on the "Google" internet search engine reveals over 106,000 references to *gematria* on the World Wide Web, a great number of these sites deal with Christianity, witchcraft, and general (non-Jewish) mysticism. Numerous contemporary Jewish books have been published about *gematria* as well as assisting the reader to find his own *gematria* equivalencies. For instance, one such book, *Sefer Gematrikon* (Jerusalem, 1990) provides *gematria* equivalents for the numbers 1 to 1,000.

[*Encyclopaedia Hebraica* / David Derovan (2nd ed.)]

In Kabbalah

The use of *gematria* was developed especially by the Ḥasidei Ashkenaz and circles close to them in the 12th and 13th centuries. It is possible that traditions of *gematriot* of Holy Names and angels are from an earlier date, but they were collected and considerably elaborated only in the aforesaid period. Even among the mystics *gematria* is not generally a system for the discovery of new thoughts: almost always the idea precedes the inventing of the *gematria*, which serves as "an allusion *asmakhta." An exception is the *gematria* on the Holy Names, which are in themselves incomprehensible, or that on the names of angels whose meaning and special aspect the German Ḥasidim sought to determine via *gematria*. Often *gematria* served as a mnemonic device. The classic works of *gematria* in this circle are the writings of *Eleazar of Worms, whose *gematriot* are based – at any rate partially – on the tradition of his teachers. Eleazar discovered through *gematria* the mystical meditations on prayers which can be evoked during the actual repetition of the words. His commentaries on books of the Bible are based for the most part on this system, including some which connect the midrashic legends with words of the biblical verses via *gematria*, and some which reveal the mysteries of the world of the *Merkabah ("fiery chariot") and the angels, in this way. In this interpretation the *gematria* of entire biblical verses or parts of verses occupies a more outstanding place than the *gematria* based on a count of single words. For example, the numerical value of the sum of the letters of the entire verse "I have gone down into the nut garden" (Songs 6:11), in *gematria* is equivalent to the verse: "This is the depth of the chariot" (*merkavah*). Several extensive works of interpretation by means of *gematria* by the disciples of Eleazar of Worms are preserved in manuscript.

In the beginnings of Sephardi Kabbalah *gematria* occupied a very limited place. The disciples of *Abraham b. Isaac of Narbonne and the kabbalists of Gerona hardly used it and its impact was not considerable on the greater part of the Zohar and on the Hebrew writings of *Moses b. Shem Tov de Leon. Only those currents influenced by the tradition of the Ḥasidei Ashkenaz brought the *gematria* into the kabbalistic literature of the second half of the 13th century, mainly in the work of *Jacob b. Jacob ha-Kohen and Abraham *Abulafia and their disciples. The works of Abulafia are based on the extensive and extreme use of *gematria*. His books require deciphering before all the associations of the *gematriot* in them can be understood. He recommended the system of developing power of association in *gematria* to discover new truths, and these methods were developed by those who succeeded him. A summary of his system is found in *Sullam ha-Aliyyah* by Judah *Albotini, who lived a generation after the Spanish expulsion (*Kirjath Sefer,* 22 (1945–46), 161–71). A disciple of Abulafia, Joseph *Gikatilla, used *gematria* extensively as one of the foundations of the Kabbalah in *Ginnat Egoz* (Hanau, 1615; the letters *gimmel, nun, tav* of *Ginnat* are the initials of *gematria notarikon*, and *temurah* – the interchange of letters according to certain systematic rules). This work influenced considerably the later Zohar literature, *Ra'aya Meheimna* and *Tikkunei Zohar.*

Two schools emerged as the Kabbalah developed: one of those who favored *gematria*, and another of those who used it less frequently. In general, it may be stated that new ideas always developed outside the realm of *gematria*; however, there were always scholars who found proofs and wide-ranging connections through *gematria*, and undoubtedly attributed to their findings a positive value higher than that of a mere allusion. Moses *Cordovero presented his entire system without recourse to *gematria*, and explained matters of *gematria* only toward the end of his basic work on Kabbalah (*Pardes Rimmonim*). A revival of the use of *gematria* is found in the Lurianic Kabbalah, but it is more widespread in the kabbalistic works of Israel *Sarug and his disciples (mainly Menahem Azariah of *Fano and Naphtali *Bacharach, author of *Emek ha-Melekh*) than in the works of Isaac *Luria and Ḥayyim *Vital. The classic work using *gematria* as a means of thought and a development of commentative ideas in the Kabbalah in the 17th century is *Megalleh Amukkot* by Nathan Nata b. Solomon Spira, which served as the model for an entire literature, especially in Poland. At first only the part on Deut. 3:23ff. was published (Cracow, 1637) which explains these passages in 252 different ways. His commentary on the whole Torah (also called *Megalleh Amukkot*) was published in Lemberg in 1795. Apparently Nathan possessed a highly developed sense for numbers, which found its expression in complex structures of *gematria*. In later kabbalistic literature (in the 18th and 19th centuries) the importance of the methods of commentary via *gematria* is well-known and many works were written whose major content is *gematria*, e.g., *Tiferet Yisrael* by Israel Ḥarif of Satanov (Lemberg, 1865), *Berit Kehunnat Olam* by Isaac Eisik ha-Kohen (Lemberg, 1796; complete edition with commentary of *gematria*, 1950), and all the works of Abraham b. Jehiel Michal ha-Kohen of Lask (late 18th century).

In the Shabbatean movement, *gematriot* occupied a place of considerable prominence as proofs of the messianism of *Shabbetai Ẓevi. Abraham *Yakhini wrote a great work of Shabbatean *gematriot* on one single verse of the Torah (*Vavei ha-Ammudim*, Ms. Oxford), and the major work of the Shabbatean prophet Heshel *Zoref of Vilna and Cracow, *Sefer ha-Ẓoref,* is based entirely on an elaboration of *gematriot* surrounding the verse *Shema Yisrael* ("Hear O Israel"; Deut. 6:4). In ḥasidic literature *gematria* appeared at first only as a by-product, but later there were several ḥasidic rabbis, the bulk of whose works are *gematria*, e.g., *Igra de-Khallah* by Ẓevi Elimelekh Shapira of *Dynow (1868), *Magen Avraham* by Abraham the Maggid of Turisk (1886), and *Sefer Imrei No'am* by Meir Horowitz of Dzikow (1877).

The systems of *gematria* became complicated in the course of time. In addition to the numerical value of a word, different methods of *gematria* were used. In Ms. Oxford 1,822, one article lists 75 different forms of *gematriot*. Moses Cordovero (*Pardes Rimmonim*, part 30, ch. 8) lists nine different types of *gematriot*. The important ones are the following:

(1) The numerical value of one word (equaling the sum of the numerical value of all its letters) is equal to that of another word (e.g., גבורה (*gevurah*) = 216 = אריה (*aryeh*)).

(2) A small or round number which does not take into account tens or hundreds (4 = ת; 2 = כ).

(3) The squared number in which the letters of the word are calculated according to their numerical value squared. The Tetragrammaton, יהו״ה = $10^2 + 5^2 + 6^2 + 5^2$ = 186 = מקום ("Place"), another name for God.

(4) The adding up of the value of all of the preceding letters in an arithmetical series (ד (*dalet*) = 1 + 2 + 3 + 4 = 10). This type of calculation is important in complicated *gematria* that reaches into the thousands.

(5) The "filling" (Heb. *millui*); the numerical value of each letter itself is not calculated but the numerical values of all the letters that make up the names of the letter are calculated (בי״ת = 412; דל״ת = 434; יו״ד = 20). The letters ה and ו have different "fillings" – הו, הה, הא and וו, ואו, ויו; *millui de-alefin* (*alef* "filling"), *millui de-he'in* (*he* "filling"), or *millui de-yudin* (*yod* "filling"), respectively. These are important in Kabbalah with regard to the numerical value of the Name of God (יהו״ה), the Tetragrammaton, which varies according to the four different "fillings" יוד, הא, ואו, הא (= 45, in *gematria* אָדָם (Adam), symbolizing the 45-letter Name of God); יוד, הה, וו, הה (= 52, in *gematria* ב״ן, representing the Holy Name of 52 letters); יוד, הי, ואו, הי (= 63, in *gematria* ס״ג, the 63-letter Name);

יוד, הי, ויו, הי (= 72, in *gematria* ע"ב, representing the Holy Name of 72 letters).

Other calculations in *gematria* involve a "filling" of the "filling," or a second "filling." The *gematria* of the word itself is called *ikkar* or *shoresh*, while the rest of the word (the "fillings") is called the *ne'elam* ("hidden part"). The *ne'elam* of the letter י is וד = 10; the *ne'elam* of שד"י is ין, לת and וד = 500.

(6) There is also a "great number" that counts the final letters of the alphabet as a continuation of the alphabet (500 = ם; 600 = ן; 700 = ץ; 800 = ף; 900 = ך). However, there is a calculation according to the usual order of the alphabet whereby the numerical values of the final letters are as follows: ך = 500, ם = 600, ן = 700, etc.

(7) The addition of the number of letters in the word to the numerical value of the word itself, or the addition of the number "one" to the total numerical value of the word.

Criticism of the use of *gematria* as a justified means of commentary was first voiced by Abraham *Ibn Ezra (in his commentary on Gen. 14:14) and later by the opponents of the Kabbalah (in *Ari Nohem*, ch. 10). But even several kabbalists (e.g., *Naḥmanides) warned against exaggerated use of *gematria*. Joseph Solomon *Delmedigo speaks of false *gematriot* in order to abolish the value of that system. When the believers in Shabbetai Ẓevi began to widely apply *gematriot* to his name (*shaddai* (God) and its "filling" = 814), those who denied him used mock *gematriot* (*ru'aḥ sheker* = ("false spirit") = 814). In spite of this, the use of *gematria* was widespread in many circles and among preachers not only in Poland but also among the Sephardim. To this day the homiletical and allegorical literature according to the method of *Pardes (the four levels of meaning of a text), especially of the North African rabbis, is full of *gematria*.

[Gershom Scholem]

According to the findings of Stephen Lieberman, a variety of techniques similar to gematria are found already in Mesopotamia. Among the *Ḥasidei Ashkenaz books devoted to the *gematria'ot* found in the Bible are known, as is the case with R. *Judah he-Ḥasid, and his descendant R. *Eleazar ha-Darshan (Ms. Munchen 221). An interesting example of wide-ranging gematria in most of its varieties is found in the manuscript writings of a contemporary of Eleazar of Worms, R. Nehemiah ben Solomon the Prophet, which reflect the centrality of this technique outside the circle of Kalonymide esotericism in Worms. One of the most famous *gematriot*, *Elohim* = *teva* = 86, presumably had an influence on Spinoza's philosophy.

[Moshe Idel (2nd ed.)]

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GEMEN, town in Westphalia, Germany. Jews are known to have lived there from the mid-16th century. After 1771 they came under the jurisdiction of the rabbi of *Muenster. The community numbered 28 persons in 1809; 49 in 1911; and 52 in 1933. The synagogue (erected in 1912) was destroyed in November 1938, and shortly afterward the congregation ceased to exist.

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GEMILUT ḤASADIM (Heb. גְּמִילוּת חֲסָדִים; lit., "the bestowal of lovingkindness"), the most comprehensive and fundamental of all Jewish social virtues, which encompasses the whole range of the duties of sympathetic consideration toward one's fellow man. The earliest individual rabbinic statement in the Talmud, the maxim of *Simeon the Just, mentions it as one of the three pillars of Judaism ("Torah, the Temple service, and *gemilut ḥasadim*) upon which the [continued] existence of the world depends" (Avot 1:2).

The first Mishnah of *Pe'ah* enumerates it both among the things "which have no fixed measure" and among those that "man enjoys the fruits thereof in this world, while the stock remains for him in the world to come," i.e., its practice affords satisfaction in this world while it is accounted a virtue for him on the Day of Judgment. This, incidentally, is an exception to the general rule that pleasure in this world is at the expense of one's spiritual assets. With regard to the former, the Jerusalem Talmud (Pe'ah 1:1, 15b) differentiates between *gemilut ḥasadim* expressed in personal service ("with his body") and with one's material goods. It maintains that only the former is unlimited in its scope, whereas the latter is limited by the general rule that one should not "squander" more than a fifth of one's possessions on good works. With regard to the latter, the text of the Mishnah mentions only "honoring one's parents, *gemilut ḥasadim*, and bringing about peace between man and his fellow." The prayer book version adds, inter alia, "hospitality to wayfarers, visiting the sick, dowering the bride, attending the dead to the grave." These additions, culled from various *beraitot* and other passages, are actually redundant since they are merely aspects of the comprehensive virtue of *gemilut ḥasadim* which embraces them and many other expressions of human sympathy and kindness (cf. Maim., Yad, Evel 14:1).

Gemilut ḥasadim encompasses a wider range of human kindness than does *charity: "Charity can be given only with one's money; *gemilut ḥasadim*, both by personal service and with money. Charity can be given only to the poor; *gemilut ḥasadim*, both to rich and poor. Charity can be given only to the living; *gemilut ḥasadim*, both to the living and the dead" (Suk. 49b). Thus, helping a lame man over a stile is an act of *gemilut ḥasadim*, though not of charity; a gift given with a scowl to a poor man may be charity; the same amount given with a smile and a word of good cheer raises it to the level of *gemilut ḥasadim*. Almost humorously the rabbis point out that the only provable example of genuine altruistic *gemilut ḥasadim* is paying respect to the dead, for in it there is not the unspoken thought that the recipient may one day reciprocate (Tanḥ., Va-Yeḥi 3; cf. Rashi to Gen. 47:29).

Gemilut ḥasadim is regarded as one of the three outstanding, distinguishing characteristics of the Jew, to the extent that "whosoever denies the duty of *gemilut ḥasadim* denies the fundamental of Judaism" (Eccles. R. 7:1); he is even suspected of being of non-Jewish descent. Only he who practices it is fit to be a member of the Jewish people (Yev. 79a), for the Jews are not only practicers of *gemilut ḥasadim* but "the scions of those who practice it" (Ket. 8b). That *gemilut ḥasadim* is essentially a rabbinic ethical conception, is explicitly stated by Maimonides (loc. cit.).

During the Middle Ages the grand conception of *gemilut ḥasadim* as embracing every aspect of benevolence and consideration to one's fellow both in attitude and in deed became severely limited to the single aspect of giving loans without interest to those in need. It is not unlikely that this limitation was due to the fact that the main source of economic existence for the Jew was moneylending (to non-Jews), with the result that in lending money without interest he was depriving himself of his essential stock in trade. It is to this connotation of *gemilut ḥasadim* that the free-loan *gemilut ḥasadim* societies refer.

[Louis Isaac Rabinowitz]

Modern Period

Burial societies in the communities of Central and Eastern Europe in the 18th century were known as **ḥevra kaddisha* or *kabranim* with the added appellation *gemilut ḥasadim*. They were also called *gomelei ḥesed shel emet* (Gen. 47:29). This application came to signify the acts of lovingkindness connected with burial and consolation of the bereaved. The Prague community in 1792 had an association with triple functions: the provision of *gemilut ḥasadim*, of burial duties, and of *sandakim* at circumcisions. In Koenigsberg and many other communities the local *bikkur ḥolim* was also called *gemilut ḥasadim*. The Hambro Synagogue in London in 1795 had a ladies' auxiliary, *ḥevra kaddisha u-gemilut ḥasadim mi-nashim*. In the United States *ḥesed shel emet* societies have specialized in burial of the poor. Such an association, founded in 1888 in St. Louis, Missouri, amassed considerable wealth from its large cemetery holdings and was able to support local, national, and overseas charities from its considerable income.

[Isaac Levitats]

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GENEALOGY.

In the Bible

Genealogical lists in the Bible are of two main types:

(1) those which are simply lists of historical, ethnographic, and even legendary traditions, and which constitute most of the lists in Genesis that are called "generations" or "books of generations" (Gen. 5:1; 6:9; 10:1; et al.);

(2) those which are tribal genealogies or lists reflecting clan traditions, the census lists in Numbers, and the genealogical accounts in Chronicles.

A third type consists of detailed lists giving the genealogical background of individual families, usually where that family played an important historical role, such as in the case of the house of David (I Chron. 2:10–15; 3:1–24), the house of Zadok (I Chron. 5:28–41; et al.), and the house of Saul (I Chron. 8:33ff.; et al.). Sometimes, less important families (I Chron. 2:31–41; 5:14; et al.), and also individuals (II Kings 22:3; Jer. 36:14), are represented in the same way as in the third type of list. The Bible does not distinguish these different types from each other, and the historico-ethnographic and tribal genealogies are all based on the view (common also among the Arabs) that nations, tribes, and clans all develop in the same way: every human grouping is descended from a single father. Nor is it always easy to classify a genealogy as belonging to one or another type.

It is not known when the tradition of recording genealogies became established in Israel, but it is undoubtedly an ancient one, as only by proving connection with some family or clan could an individual claim the privileges of citizen status. The important role of the genealogy is indicative of a society based on a tribal, patriarchal tradition. Consequently, certain family groups or individuals from among the local population or from closely related tribes, who joined the Israelites during the period of the Conquest or in the early monarchy, were included in the genealogical framework of the tribe as one way of truly incorporating them into the community. In like manner artisans, wise men, and poets, whose profession was customarily hereditary, were generally linked with some ancient ancestor (cf. I Chron. 2:55; 4:21, 23), and

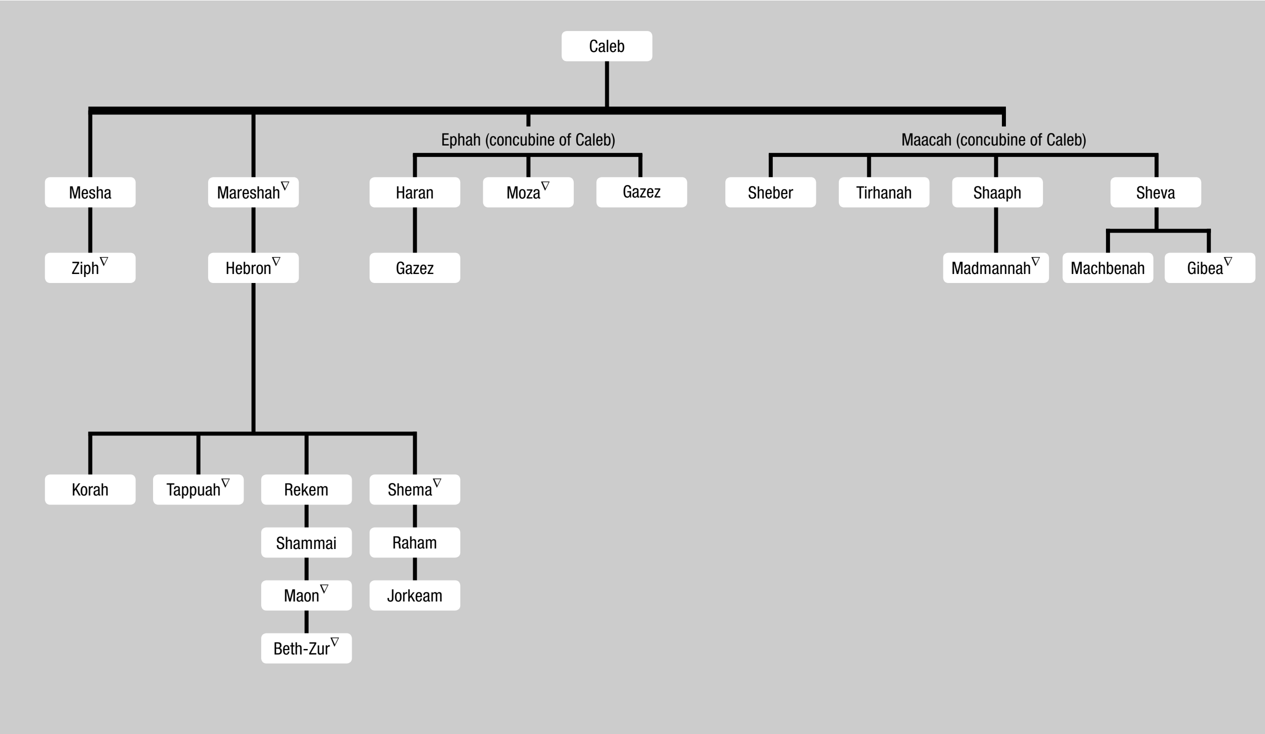

The line of Caleb (I Chron. 2:42–49). ▽ indicates names of towns in Judah.

whoever joined such a group was as a matter of course attached to it genealogically even though he did not actually stem from its line.

Such written lists were definitely family and clan genealogies and not those of individuals; in part they were composed for official purposes, such as for a national census, military service, or the levying of taxes. Genealogical lists in Israel are known from the time of the First Temple, from what is related in Ezra 2:62 of priestly families who on returning to Zion sought proof of their pedigree but could not find it. Nehemiah (7:5) also mentions the "book of the genealogy of those who came up at first." It seems that the institution of genealogical lists is the background of certain figurative expressions in the Bible (cf. Ex. 32:32; Ezek. 13:9; Ps. 139:16; et al.). Apparently genealogies of individual families were based on oral traditions passed down among the families concerned, or even on national traditions. Some think that the list of Aaron's priestly descendants (I Chron. 5–6) goes back to a text in which many generations were missing, and that the editors filled some of the gaps by repeating some of the names.

In the period of the return to Zion the question of genealogy acquired a special significance. Of primary importance was the lineage of the priests and the levites, for without proving their priestly descent they could not qualify for service in the Temple; but the other returning families were no less keen to prove their descent in order to claim family property. Consequently, a special interest developed in the ancient genealogical lists, some of which are reproduced in the opening chapters of Chronicles and presumably were written toward the end of the Persian period. Similarly, in the short historical stories of Esther, Judith, and Tobit, also written at the end of the Persian period, the lineage of the main hero of the story is given in detail, e.g., those of Mordecai (Esth. 2:5; cf. I Sam. 9:1), Tobit (1:1; cf. Gen. 46:24), and Judith (8:1; cf. Num. 1:6). It is hard to suppose that these are authentic genealogies, yet each of these books claims to relate an event that happened long before the time of composition.

In the genealogical lists, particularly those of I Chronicles, there are three main elements which are usually combined. One represents the relationship of clans through lines of descent from father to son; another sees it in the names of settlements (usually so-and-so, the "father" of the settlement); and a third, in the names of families (e.g., the Tirathites (I Chron. 2:55)). The line of Caleb's descendants (I Chron. 2:42–49) illustrates the mixture.

Various scholars have sought to find in the genealogical schemes of the Bible a conventional way of handing down ethnographic records and information concerning regional history and the pattern of settlement of local clans and families. These scholars have even attempted to establish rules to interpret the various genealogical schemes. Thus, the fusing of two ethnic groups or tribes can be expressed by an account of a marriage; and the integration of a newly settled tribe in the indigenous population can be indicated by the head of the tribe marrying one of the native women, or taking one as a concubine. Daughters generally represent settlements subject to a larger urban center, and sons naturally represent the strongest and oldest of these. Individuals from outside the "family" circle who appear in a genealogy usually symbolize weak families who joined a stronger tribe and so on.

Though such rules cannot provide the sole interpretation of the genealogical lists, they are an aid to the unraveling of the complicated process of Israelite settlement. One, of course, must bear in mind that several of the stories and traditions concerned derive from a combination of schematic descriptions, as regards the historic reality, together with legends and folktales.

It frequently happens that a given name – of a nation, tribe, or family – occurs in different genealogical contexts, or even in a compound list, once as father, once as son, uncle, or brother. For example, Aram is listed in Genesis 10:23 as the father of Uz, whereas in Genesis 22:20–21 Uz is a son of Nahor and an uncle of Aram. In Genesis 36:5, 14 Korah is a son of Esau, but in Genesis 36:16 the clan of Korah is descended from Esau's son Eliphaz. In I Chronicles 2:9 Ram is a son of Hezron and brother of Jerahmeel, yet in the same chapter, verse 27, Ram is the eldest son of Jerahmeel. Sometimes one name can be included in several genealogical lists in association with different ethnic or tribal units. For instance, Zerah, Korah, and Kenaz, who are included in the Edomite list in Genesis 36, are also found on the list of families in the tribe of Judah in I Chronicles 2 and 4; Beriah appears as one of the sons of Ephraim (I Chron. 7:23), and also as one of the sons of Asher (Gen. 46:17); and Hezron is listed as the son of Reuben (Gen. 46:9), and also as one of the sons of Perez son of Judah (Gen. 46:12). At times it may seem plausible that two entirely separate ethnic groups bore the same name, but generally such duplication is caused by uncertainty concerning genealogical attribution or the existence of parallel traditions. These may have had various causes; sometimes they reflect changes in historical circumstances – the power relations between tribes, families and clans; the migration of several tribes or clans from one region to another; or a mingling of various ethnic elements.

The editors of the genealogical lists in the Bible, particularly those of I Chronicles, were confronted with conflicting lists and traditions, often mutually contradictory. The combination of the various lists, without altering their different, individual character, was possible because the editors of the comprehensive lists regarded them as genealogies of individuals, the progenitors of families and tribes. Thus, the repeated recurrence of the same name provided no difficulty. They did not regard such recurrences as conflicting data concerning families and clans, but merely as showing that the same name kept recurring among individuals related to one another.

[Jacob Liver]

In the Second Temple Period

Purity of descent played an important role in the Second Temple period. It concerned mainly the kohanim ("priests") and those Israelite families who laid claim to the eligibility of their daughters to marry kohanim. Other families, who had no record of their descent but on the other hand were not suspected of impure lineage, were referred to as *issah* ("dough"). The kohanim, in order to preserve their pure status, were restricted to marital ties with families whose purity of descent was not in doubt, and were therefore required to know in detail their own genealogy and that of the families whose daughters they married. Families laying claim to purity of blood kept ancestral lists, which served as evidence of their seniority and legitimacy, for the very possession of such lists enhanced their standing. For the kohanim, a general genealogical list was maintained in the Temple, which recorded genealogical information on all priestly families; even the kohanim who lived in the Diaspora provided this genealogical center in Jerusalem with full details of their marriages (cf. Jos., Apion, 1:7).

A priestly tribunal, which convened in a special room in the Temple, was responsible for the upkeep of the genealogical lists and the verification of genealogical data. They functioned in accordance with established rules, and also based their findings on the evidence of witnesses and genealogical documents. One such rule followed in the Second Temple period was that families who traditionally performed certain functions were beyond suspicion and their purity of descent required no further examination: priestly families who served in the Temple "from the altar and upward" and "from the *dukhan* [the place from which the kohanim blessed the people] and upward," and members of the *Sanhedrin and other families who performed certain official functions (Kid. 4:4–5; Sanh. 4:2; Ar. 2:4). Other duties, such as participation in the priestly blessing or partaking in the *terumah* (the contribution made to kohanim), did not in themselves put the priestly family in question beyond the need for further proof. It should be pointed out that the various offices in the Temple service passed from father to son.

It is important to note that the sages did not owe their positions of leadership to their descent from prominent families. Some of the sages, it is true, were of noble lineage (such as *Judah ha-Nasi), but others came from families with no genealogical record and there were even a few who were the descendants of proselytes. In their society, the rabbi took the place of the father, and the tradition of the academies (the yeshivot) took precedence over the tradition of the family. Talmudic legends went so far as to "invent" a gentile origin for some sages, including some of the greatest (*Akiva, *Meir, and others); some sages were even said to have been descended from infamous and evil gentiles (Sisera, Sennacherib, Haman, Nero) who had repented of their ways and had become Jews. The evident purpose of such legends was to demonstrate that the acquisition of Torah learning and piety was not dependent upon noble descent.

Purity of blood did, however, play a role in the struggle for secular power among the prominent families, and even the royal houses had to resort to genealogical proofs in order to strengthen their position. Thus the *Hasmoneans, who had to defend themselves against the contention that only Davidic descendants could lay claim to kingship, in turn questioned the purity of David's blood, in view of his descent from Ruth the Moabite. *Herod, who also had to face a challenge to the legitimacy of his rule, forged for himself a pedigree going back to David, after first destroying the genealogical records maintained in the Temple (according to the third-century Christian historian Africanus). Later sources reflect the great danger inherent in any attempt to probe the purity of leading families, for the latter would not hesitate to use force against anyone casting doubt upon their pure descent (Kid. 71a). *Johanan b. Zakkai therefore decreed (apparently on the eve of the destruction of the Temple) that no rabbinical court would deal with matters concerning genealogy (Eduy. 8:3). A similar consideration led to an early rejection of *Sefer Yuḥasin*, which seems to have been a Midrash on Chronicles (Pes. 62b).

After the destruction of the Temple, when the kohanim lost their function, they prized even more their purity of descent, for it was the only symbol left to them of their exalted status. This emphasis on descent continued up to the end of the era of the *amoraim* (sixth century), in both Ereẓ Israel and Babylon. One result was that a man who wished to ensure the continued purity of his family would marry only his sister's daughter (Yev. 62b, et al.); many of the great sages followed this practice. The Damascus Sect (see Book of the Covenant of *Damascus) disapproved of it. It is doubtful whether the rabbis of the tannaitic and talmudic era had real knowledge of their own – and contemporary – genealogy. Numerous families are mentioned in the Mishnah and the *Gemara*, and some of these are described as being of traceable descent (Tosef., Pe'ah 4:11; Yev. 16b; Ta'an. 4:5, etc.). The list in the Mishnah Ta'anit 4:5 originates from the Persian period. Some of the genealogies ascribed to these families are undoubtedly of a legendary character, while the rest are disputed by scholars. A special problem is posed by the later genealogy of the house of David, a subject which also concerned the early Christians (Matt. 1:1–17, Luke 3:23–38).

The Mishnah (Kid. 4:1) lists ten social groups who returned from the Babylonian exile, in the order of their genealogical precedence. The first three – kohanim, levites, and Israelites – are of equal status, except that the kohanim are restricted in their choice of wives; the *ḥalalim* are the sons of the marriages of disqualified kohanim and are themselves disqualified from service in the Temple and marital ties with kohanim; next are *gerim* (converts to Judaism) who are equal to Israelites in most respects, except that they may enter certain marriages which are prohibited to an Israelite by descent; the sixth group are the *ḥarurim*, manumitted slaves; the seventh are the **mamzerim*, i.e., bastards, the children of one of the unions prohibited on pain of death or **karet*; next are the *nethinim*, the descendants of the Gibeonites who were circumcised at the time of Joshua and were not regarded as full Jews because their ancestors' conversion was incomplete; the ninth group are the *shetukim* ("the silent ones") who do not know the identity of their father; and the tenth, and lowest, group are the *asufim* ("foundlings") who know neither mother nor father. A chapter in the Talmud (Kid. 4) is devoted to the relationships between these groups, i.e., the rules applying to intermarriage between one group and another. Not included in the scale are gentiles and slaves; these have no genealogical status at all, and when they convert or are set free achieve their own "descent" and are legally free to marry even their closest relatives. This genealogical scale applied to marriage and honorific matters; it was not deemed relevant in respect of Torah learning and piety, and the Mishnah states clearly that "a learned bastard takes precedence over an uneducated high priest" (Hor. 3:8).

Babylonian Jewry considered that the purity of its descent was of a higher order than that of Ereẓ Israel, basing its claim on the tradition that all those whose purity was in doubt had returned to Ereẓ Israel with Ezra. In the course of time, however, Babylonian *amoraim* declared the population of entire areas as Jews who were not fit "to enter the assembly of God" (i.e., for marriage with other Jews; Kid. 70b). The rabbis of Ereẓ Israel made several attempts to change the existing rule which regarded Babylonian lineage as superior but failed in their attempt; this was a result of the general reluctance to take up genealogical questions prevailing in Ereẓ Israel, as well as the rising importance of Babylonian Jewry at this time (beginning of third century). Babylonian Jews continued to claim greater purity, and the Talmud (Kid. 71b) tells of an impostor who feigned a Babylonian accent to claim Babylonian descent.

This development testifies to the degeneration of the concept of genealogy which, with the destruction of the Temple ceased to have practical significance and merely became a symbol of social status. The Talmud makes frequent references to honorable families and individuals who quarreled with one another about their lineage, even stating: "When men quarrel among themselves, they quarrel over birth" (Kid. 76a). The *amoraim* tackled the problem from two angles: on the one hand they decided that "anyone with a family stigma stigmatizes others and never praises anyone" (according to the correct reading in DER 1), and Samuel added that "he stigmatizes with his own stigma" (Kid. 70b). It is also related in this same spirit of the people of Ereẓ Israel: "When two people quarrel they see which becomes silent first and say to him 'This one is of superior birth'" (*ibid.* 71b); on the other hand they included within their homilies abundant praise of birth, such as "When the Holy One causes His divine Presence to rest, it is only upon Israelite families of pure birth" (Kid. 70b); "The Holy One is reluctant to uproot a name from its place in a genealogical tree" (Gen. R. 82:11; cf. TJ, Suk. 5:8). The sages also protested against "anyone who takes a wife not fit (i.e., with a stigma) for him" (Kid. 70a) because he disregards the importance of birth. The sages included among their homilies sayings in the style of prophecies of comfort that God will purify Israel's genealogy in time to come. They stressed, however, that for the time being one can only act carefully and be guided by the rule that "a family once mixed up remains so" (Kid. 70b) – an important rule which they regarded as "a charity shown by God to Israel" since it is likely to abolish the obstacles of genealogical stigmas: one should not reveal the truth concerning families that have become mixed up and whose stigma has been forgotten (see also *Family).

The Talmud records the Davidic descent of the patriarchs of the Ereẓ Israel community in the talmudic era, and of the Babylonian *exilarchs. Similarly, in the post-talmudic era the exilarchs were regarded as descending from the house of David. The same claim was made about some of the *geonim* (such as *Hai Gaon). In the Middle Ages, Davidic lineage was claimed for some great scholars, e.g., *Rashi, and in consequence his grandsons Jacob b. Meir *Tam and *Samuel b. Meir were said to have descended from *Johanan ha-Sandlar, who in turn was regarded as being of Davidic descent.

In the Modern Period

From the 12th century onward, the term **yiḥus* (birth) assumed additionally a new and positive meaning among the Jews of Central and Eastern Europe. Dynastic connection not only ensured the family concerned against any suspicion of impure birth, but also provided it with family privileges (*zekhut avot*) applicable in many matters. These dynastic genealogies stemmed from superiority of their pious and scholarly forefathers, the founders of the family, and its main importance was in connection with arranging marriages. Many families possessed genealogical trees – whether of substance or otherwise – which they took great pains to preserve. Some of these lists were published in order to add further luster to the family name. Many rabbis strongly criticized this custom and stressed the value of a man creating his own good name. In *Ḥasidism, descent from the **ẓaddik* was endowed with special significance, rooted in the belief that the *ẓaddik* transmitted some of his sanctity to his descendants. With the development of dynasties of *ẓaddikim* the term *yiḥus* acquired also great formal institutional value. In 19th-century Germany the study of genealogy held an important place in Jewish public affairs, because of the aspiration to prove that the Jewish community was deeply rooted in the locality. Scientific journals dealing with this topic were founded and much scientific and archival material published.

[Israel Moses Ta-Shma]

Genealogical Research

INTRODUCTION. Jewish genealogy is a popular and even scholarly pursuit in many parts of the world today. Since Judaism is not only a community of faith but a people that claims descent from common ancestry, there has always been an interest in tracing and validating descent. To this day there are Jews who trace their descent from the ancient priests (*kohanim*) and levites (*leviim*) of the biblical period and who receive special recognition as such in the synagogue service. *Sephardim are particularly scrupulous in maintaining family genealogical records in order to demonstrate that they are indeed "pure" Sephardim (*sefardi tahor*).

RABBINIC GENEALOGY. Because of the importance attached to Torah learning in the Jewish tradition, genealogical records of rabbis and ḥasidic leaders (*rebbes*) are relatively abundant and carefully recorded. Genealogical research is facilitated by the frequency with which these families intermarried.

Rabbinic genealogical information may be found in biographical works, rabbinic manuscripts, scholarly works and responsa literature. *Yizkor* books on the *shtetl*s of Eastern Europe contain stories about the town rabbis and their families. Because rabbis and scholars held positions of esteem in the Jewish world, their writings were preserved and their *yahrzeits* observed. Therefore it may be possible to trace farther back into time if one is of rabbinic descent even if the family did not maintain records.

Amongst the problems in creating a rabbinic family genealogy is the fact that despite large numbers of children born into rabbinic families, only those sons who were rabbis and daughters who married rabbis were usually recorded.

Research has been complicated by the changing of family names. A son-in-law might take the name of a scholarly father-in-law or that of a beloved mother-in-law in place of the patronym. Adding to the confusion is the usage of the Hebrew word *ḥatan*, which refers to both son-in-law, father-in-law, and husband. Encyclopedic works may record rabbis according to first names. Since words in rabbinic literature are used sparingly, rabbis were often known by *rashe tevot* (first letter abbreviations) or by the names of books they authored (see B. Friedberg, *Bet Eked Sefarim*). The use of the title "Reb" as sign of respect for a non-rabbi also leads to misunderstandings. Publication of a rabbi's writings often contained bibliographies of the author and *yahrzeit* dates for members of the family. Introductory *haskamot* (approbations) by rabbis who read the manuscript included their own biographical notes about the author and his family, recording the names of other scholars in the family. *She'elot* and *teshuvot* (rabbinic responsa) also may contain genealogical references.

WHAT IS GENEALOGY TODAY? In contrast to the traditional view of genealogy as simply a compilation of ancestors' names and dates in a chronological order from the past to the present, genealogy today differs both in direction and in scope. Starting with the present, the researcher works back into history, recording personal characteristics and history as well as names and dates. Since the search has a personal motivation, which is self-understanding, the term genealogy is being used interchangeably with family history or personal history. Genealogy previously had been primarily an activity of the elderly. The "new" genealogy has attracted a much younger constituency.

It is not unusual to hear that a genealogist has been researching his ancestry for 30 years. Starting with two parents, four grandparents, eight great-grandparents, continually increasing their number, we find that, within ten generations, if successful, a person will have 1,024 direct ancestors. The number grows proportionally as we add brothers, sisters and their spouses and children at each generational level.

Key elements in genealogy are names, dates, places, and relationships. These records have been recorded on many artistic charts and trees. Information can be collected and stored in albums or books, on tapes, maps, and slides. Today, with a computer, people with large genealogies produce computerized copies of their ancestry.

Starting with oneself, the genealogist poses the following questions. What were the personal, historic, economic, religious, and social reasons that brought my ancestors to uproot themselves and move from one country to another? How have my parents' and ancestors' decisions, beliefs, and needs affected my environment and my life? A family tree is only the framework for family history. Stories, legends, and events in the life of members of the family give drama and meaning to the genealogy. Often a family maintains that it is descended from the Ba'al Shem Tov, the Vilna Gaon, the Maharal of Prague, Rashi, and other famous personalities. These traditions add excitement and encouragement for the genealogist.

An explosion of interest in genealogy across the United States of America was sparked by the bicentennial celebration of American independence in 1976 and ignited by the television screening of Alex Haley's bestseller *Roots* in 1977. These events carried a strong message of encouragement to all Americans to take pride in their ethnic origins. Along with other ethnic groups Jews have joined the "Back to Roots" movement.

In 1977, Dan Rottenberg published *Finding Our Fathers: A Guidebook To Jewish Genealogy* which provided a major resource for Jewish genealogists. In 1979 there were three Jewish genealogical societies in North America and by 1984 there were 17, located in New York, Washington, Los Angeles, Chicago, Philadelphia, Cleveland, St. Louis, Pittsburgh, Tidewater (Virginia), Orange County, San Diego, San Francisco, Detroit, Boston, southern Florida, Cincinnati, and Montreal. These organizations function as a support system for the researcher and a forum for sharing discoveries, methods, and sources of research, and genealogical skills and techniques.

In 1977 the first American journal of Jewish genealogy, *Toledot: The Journal of Jewish Genealogy*, was published in New York, followed by *Roots Key* from Los Angeles, Philadelphia's *Newsletter, Mishpacha* from Washington, and *Search* from Chicago.

In 1981, the First National Summer Seminar on Jewish Genealogy took place in New York City. Subsequently, national seminars were held in Washington in 1982, Los Angeles in 1983, and Chicago in 1984. The First International Seminar, sponsored by the Jewish Genealogy Society of Greater Washington, was held in Jerusalem in 1984. These seminars provide participants with the opportunity to visit local archives, libraries, and cemeteries, to meet other genealogists from different cities and countries, and to attend educational workshops.

The shock of the Holocaust was a significant factor in stimulating Jewish genealogy. Jewish attention was turned back to Eastern Europe. Jews were tormented by questions of what and who had been lost. Questions about ancestral roots were reawakened. Grievous family losses created a hunger for the reuniting of families and a fierce desire to know who survived. In response agencies were created that are important resources for genealogists: the International Tracing Service (ITS) in Arolsen, West Germany, and the Search Bureau for Missing Relatives in Jerusalem.

The ITS, administered by the International Red Cross, maintains a master index on an alphabetic Soundex System. Among the holdings of the ITS are indexes and name lists of concentration camp victims, deportation lists of Jews, and lists of children separated from families. Postwar holdings include lists of inhabitants of the displaced person camps. The staff of the ITS can respond to queries in most languages.

In 1945 the Jewish Agency for Palestine established the Search Bureau for Missing Relatives. The office published *The Register of Jewish Survivors*, listing 58,000 persons. Now they have computerized their list of World War II survivors. Also, the Agency maintains a computerized family finder for Israeli residents indexed by surname, country, and town.

French Holocaust research can be done at The Memorial Library in Paris. The book by Serge Klarsfeld, *Le Memorial de la Déportation des Juifs de France*, contains vital statistics of some 80,000 Jews deported from France.

Post-Holocaust Archives. At this time also archives were established to gather, save, and preserve what remained of Jewish records from before the Holocaust and those concerning that period. *Yad Vashem was founded in Israel in 1945. The Leo Baeck Institute, an important archive for German Jewish records, was established in Israel in 1955; its New York Archive has valuable genealogical materials.

Yad Vashem became a major center for the collection of oral, photographed, and written testimonies of Holocaust survivors. It has a copy of the ITS holdings; however, it is not equipped to deal with queries or research. There is at Yad Vashem a plan to create a separate file on those who gave testimony and a computer series in Hebrew and English characters listing the victims and significant information about them.

Motivated by a need to remember and record life in their native villages and towns now destroyed by Nazis, the landsmannschaft organizations began to produce *yizkor bikher* ("memorial books"). These *yizkor bikher* now number over 500 and are an indispensable source of information on the destroyed Jewish communities of Eastern Europe. They include lists of local residents, photographs, stories about personalities who lived in the town, and history of the town itself. Many books have hand-drawn maps of the town which outline the main streets of the *shtetl*, cemeteries, synagogues, and details not normally found on a map. These books are written mostly in Yiddish and Hebrew, with some English. Most Jewish libraries carry some of the volumes. The most complete selection is at Yad Vashem in Jerusalem and YIVO in New York City. The most recent listing of these volumes can be found in *Appendix I* by Zachary M. Baker in *A Ruined Garden* (see Bibliography).

Yad Vashem also has put online names and information for more than three million victims of the Holocaust gathered over the past half century. The names of those murdered are a prominent feature of the new museum exhibition with the Hall of Names and are now accessible for all to search. In 2005, it signed an exchange agreement with the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum for the exchange of names of victims taken from lists of deportee and concentration camp records, which will join the affidavits of those murdered that Yad Vashem has painstakingly gathered. Yad Vashem will also have access to the Ben and Vladka Meed National Registry of Jewish Holocaust Survivors collected by the *American Gathering of Jewish Holocaust Survivors since 1981. The more than 50,000 pre-interview questionnaires of the Survivors of the Shoah Visual History Foundation, under the auspices of the University of Southern California, also contain an extensive list of Holocaust victims as well as survivors; the material was not yet accessible online in late 2005. In addition, the Jewish Historical Institute in Warsaw is the home of a genealogical search for records of Jews in Poland. Yale Reisner developed the project with major financial assistance from the Ronald S. Lauder Foundation.

GENERAL METHODOLOGY. (1) Interview family, starting with the oldest in each branch of the family. Record and tape everything carefully. The most valuable sources are the oldest living members of the family. Their memories of events and recollection of family experiences cannot be replaced. Fortunate is the researcher who has a relative from the immigrant generation, for this person may remember those who remained behind and were lost in the Holocaust.

(2) Locate all relatives; interview or contact by letter or phone. Record dates of all contacts.

(3) Search for diaries, biographies, family papers and letters, diplomas, journals and newspaper clippings, photographs, passports, vital records, *yahrzeit* records, and inscriptions in Bibles and prayer books.

(4) Try to discover through family and survivors of the Holocaust who of the family remained in Europe during World War II and what happened to them. Contact International Tracing Service, D-3548 Arolsen, Federal Republic of Germany.

(5) Contact or visit Yad Vashem to see if your relatives are recorded in the pages of testimony filed there. These pages list the name and address of the testifier who is often a family member.

(6) Search for death records at home, in cemeteries, at funeral parlors, and in synagogues, *ḥevra kaddisha* records, society and landsmannschaft records, vital statistics departments of the government, newspaper or journal obituaries and notices.

(7) Search for birth records at home, in maternity clinics, in government health record centers, and in physicians' files, circumcision records, and vital records in government and state archives.

(8) Obtain immigration and naturalization records. In the U.S. petitions for naturalization, "first papers," are particularly valuable since they may record the name of the ship, date, and port of arrival, and destination in the new country. They may have the immigrant's birthplace.

(9) Search for steamship passenger manifests. Write for steamship passenger arrival lists, to American and Canadian ports, using the original family names prior to immigration. Ship manifests are available in the National Archives and Record Service (NARS) in Washington D.C., at the archive of the Genealogy Society of Utah, at *YIVO Institute for Jewish Research in New York, and at HIAS (Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society; see 15: 1539) in New York. HIAS holds steamship ticket records for 1907–10, and passenger lists for 1884, 1886, 1887, 1891–95, 1898, 1901, 1912, 1913. The State Archive in Hamburg holds passenger lists from their heavily used port. Hamburg passenger lists from 1850–1914 may also be found at the Museum of Hamburg, Historic Emigration Office, Holstenwall 24, 2000 Hamburg 36 (there is a users' fee). Some of these archives also hold passenger arrival records from Dutch ports of Amsterdam and Rotterdam; Antwerp, Belgium from years 1854–1855; Trieste, Naples, and Le Havre. The Bremen passenger lists were lost in World War II.

(10) Search in old telephone and city directories in larger libraries for addresses of relatives. Census and military records are based on address and ward in large cities. An uncommon name can sometimes be used to find relatives. Old city directories may include occupation and wife's names. The N.Y. Public Library Annex has some pre-Holocaust books from cities in Austria, Poland, Yugoslavia, and Czechoslovakia, and post-Holocaust ones which help to locate family.

(11) For the U.S., obtain U.S. census records taken every ten years; currently available are those from 1790 through 1910. They may provide date of immigration and birth date and place. The National Archives of the United States houses the United States federal census records. The records are filed geographically and by Soundex. These records may be obtained on interlibrary loan or through a regional branch of the Federal Archives. Pamphlets on "How to Get Census and Other Records" are available from the United States Government Printing Office, Washington D.C. 20402. In other countries turn to state archives for census records.

(12) Examine court and probate records, pension and social security records, land and tax records, military and draft registration records, business employment records, adoption and divorce records.

(13) Visit the local branch of Mormon Genealogical Library. Use gazeteer to find the province where towns are located. Examine town records for Jewish holdings. Order birth, marriage, or death records, census records, and ships' passenger lists.

(14) Visit Jewish historical societies, Jewish libraries, large public libraries with genealogy departments, and Jewish archives.

(15) Request to see synagogue records and bulletins, old-age home records, landsmannschaft and other society records.

(16) Examine *yizkor* books of the towns from which the family came.

(17) For the U.S., obtain information from HIAS records concerning ships' passenger lists, steamship records, and passage order books. HIAS records can be obtained from YIVO in New York or from a branch of the Genealogical Society of Utah. Also, HIAS processes inquiries for missing persons through a Search and Location Department in New York City.

(18) For the U.S., write to the United States Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402, for pamphlets on "Where to Write For Birth, Death and Marriage."

(19) For Canada, write to the Public Archives of Canada (395 Wellington, Ottawa KIA 0N3, Canada) for a booklet called "Tracing your Ancestors in Canada."

(20) In Holland, two organizations of assistance in research of Sephardi genealogies are the Netherlands Joods Familienarchif at Amsteldijk 67, Amsterdam and the Centraal Bureau voor Genealogie, POB 11755, 2502 AT, The Hague.

GENEALOGY IN ISRAEL. The first guide to the use of modern techniques of genealogical research in Israel is "Eretz Israel Jewish Genealogy, An Introduction to the Sources for the Late Ottoman and Mandate Periods" by Michael Plotkin, which appeared in *Toledot*, 3 (4), 1983.

Traditional research in Jewish genealogy relied almost exclusively on Jewish sources such as citations in rabbinic works, family records, *ḥevra kaddisha* records, cemetery registers, and oral traditions. Modern methods of genealogical research incorporate the technique of quantitative history, including census records, birth, marriage, and divorce registrations in the civil courts, steamship passenger lists, immigration and naturalization records, court records, name changes, wills, and estate and land records. Plotkin, a trained archivist at the Israel State Archives, has shown that these techniques can be used in research in Israel. He also shows how Jewish Agency and World Zionist Organization *aliyah* records, the *Pinkas Ha-Bogrim* of the *Yishuv* in Mandatory Palestine, and histories of local settlements can be utilized for genealogical research. Simultaneous with the publication of Plotkin's pioneering article, the first Jewish genealogical society was organized in Jerusalem.

In 1971 under the leadership of Dr. Isaac Halbrecht of Tel Aviv University, the World Zionist Organization established Moreshet Beit Saba (the "Society for Jewish Family Heritage"). The purpose of the society is "to spark a movement centered in Israel that would encourage interest in Jewish family heritage and roots." A questionnaire was formulated in several languages suited in part for computer processing with a genealogical component which is being distributed worldwide to Jewish organizations and educational institutions. In order to preserve the genealogical and ethnographic contents of the questionnaire and to facilitate the study of personal and family history, there is a plan to create an archive and a computer center in Israel which will be available to roots searchers. Moreshet Beit Saba is also supported by the Israel Ministry of Education to foster "a dialogue between the generations through oral history and the roots program in the public schools of Israel."

Moreshet Beit Saba is in some ways a response to the revolt against the Jewish tradition which marked some ideologies within the Zionist movement. These ideologies often resulted in feelings of disdain for the Yiddish language and the traditional East European Jewish style of life. The determination to create a new society, a new culture, a new Jew produced a mass movement to adopt new Hebraic names in place of the old, Yiddish, East European names. This movement was given impetus by the insistence that official representatives of the State of Israel abroad had to assume new Hebrew family names. Moreshet Beit Saba is designed to repair some of the disruptions and discontinuities which these Zionist ideologies of revolt produced.

MORMON GENEALOGICAL ARCHIVES. The Mormon Church of the Latter Day Saints (LDS), established in 1830, has the largest holdings of microfilmed genealogical data in the world. These are stored in six disaster-proof storage vaults in Granite Mountain in Salt Lake City, Utah. Daniel Schlyter is archivist of Jewish records and has provided valuable assistance for Jewish genealogical research. Over 400 branch libraries throughout the world maintain microfilm indices of their holdings which the public may view, and from which it may order specific films for a minimal fee. The LDS fund this program as a religious duty, since a believer who can document his ancestors can bring them posthumously into the Church. The records consist of annual records of births, marriage, and death documents written in archaic foreign script, mainly from 1826 to 1865. Jewish records (approx. 2,500 films) from Poland and Hungary and 220 rolls of film on Jewish records from Alsace-Lorraine have been purchased through the efforts of Dr. Isaac Halbrecht. They are not yet available to researchers. "A Translation Guide to 19th-Century Polish Language Civil-Registration Documents," written by Judith R. Frazin (published by the Jewish Genealogical Society of Illinois, 1984), was prepared specifically for these documents.

Most people assume that because of the destruction of life and property during the Holocaust, no Jewish records remain in Europe. Though Nazi Germany destroyed Jews they did not deliberately destroy Jewish records. In fact they maintained scrupulous records of the destruction itself.

Only recently, with the publicity about the Jewish records of the Genealogical Society of Utah (Mormons) we have become aware that much remains to research. To the surprise of many Jewish genealogists, despite the many losses of records due to fires, pogroms, frequent moves, lack of or careless record keeping, documents remain, even in Eastern Europe. It has recently become known that the governments maintained vital and census records in the countries where Jews settled and lived.

By 1826 in Poland and Hungary and by 1865 in Germany, there were uniform vital records of the Jewish communities in official archives. Archives of some small towns were included among those of the larger nearby towns, often mixed with Catholic or general records. Thus far, records have been released for microfilming from c. 1740 to c. 1870 enabling genealogists to examine 124 years of Jewish records.

Wherever and whenever possible, Jews avoided creating records. They had valid reasons to fear placing census and birth records in government hands, since these would be used to draft Jewish men and boys for the army or to collect taxes. Jewish congregations though they did not ordinarily record births and marriages often kept burial records, if they maintained a burial ground or cemetery.

In the late 1960s the Mormon Church filmed 100-year-old vital records in the towns and cities of West Germany, Poland, Hungary, Lithuania, and France. We find the following relevant birth, marriage, and death records among the Mormon microfilms:

(1) Hungarian records of cities and towns within the former borders of Hungary, which include areas now in the former Soviet Union, Romania, Austria, Yugoslavia, and Czechoslovakia from the early to middle 1800s to 1895, were filmed in the Budapest Archive. Also, there is a Jewish census from some old Hungarian counties in the year 1848. Hungarian Jewish Registers from 1840 are complete within modern borders. There were uniform vital Jewish records in Hungary from 1826.

(2) German records of the German empire, which is now Germany, the former Soviet Union, France, and Poland from 1800 to 1895. East German Jewish records are being withheld at this time.

(3) French civil records for Jews exist since 1792, many of which have not yet been filmed. Nineteenth-century Jewish records are in the Consistoire, and in the Alliance Israélite Universelle in France. Civil records for Jews are also in State Archives of Alsace and Lorraine.

(4) Polish records: Russian and German areas of Poland had separate civil registers for Jews from 1826. Polish records in the Austrian territory of Galicia, except for Cracow and Tarnow, have not yet been filmed at the Polish State Archives. In most cases, Polish records which have been filmed provide records up to 1870.

(5) Czechoslovakian Jewish records were centralized in Prague during World War II. Slovakian records were gathered in Bratislava. The records from Prague have been microfilmed and are also in the Archives of the History of the Jewish People in Jerusalem. The Czechoslovakian Embassy in Washington has a user's fee for genealogical research.

(6) Soviet records have not been microfilmed. Government records are not made available to the researcher. However, there exist Jewish census records in Russia from 1794, 1811, 1815, 1833, 1850, and 1887. Jewish records are held in the Central State Archives in Minsk; Warsaw and Vilna Archives in Poland hold some pre-1917 Russian census records which are costly to obtain but are available. Russian-Polish vital records from Suwalki have been filmed.

There are some pre-Holocaust Russian records in the Archives of the History of the Jewish People in Jerusalem, including birth, death, and marriage records in Hebrew and Russian from c. 1857 to 1878.

Russian Consular Records from 1860 to the 1920s, left behind in Washington, D.C. by the Czarist government, have been discovered recently in storage in the National Records Center in Suitland, Maryland. Many files exist on Canadian and American Jews of Russian origins. Efforts are being made to index, catalogue, and translate these records from Russian to English. The Canadian Public Archives in Ottowa hold the Vancouver and Montreal files. They contain valuable genealogical materials. These files may be useful to Polish, Galician, Ukrainian, and other nationals who lived within the borders of Imperial Russia.

The Mormon Church is now microfilming records from 1840 in Yugoslavia, which was under Austrian rule at that time.

The Polish, Hungarian, and German Jewish records of the Genealogical Society of Utah were first published in *Toledot: The Journal of Jewish Genealogy* in 1978–79. An update of these records can be found at the Mormon library or at the Archives of the History of the Jewish People in Jerusalem or in John Cherny, *The Source: A Guidebook of American Genealogy*, "Jewish American Research," ch. 21 (1984).

GENEALOGY AND EDUCATION. Currently, genealogy is being used in schools as a method of personalizing Jewish history. Examining one's own family history leads to a more significant understanding of the total Jewish experience. History teachers are assigning students the task of preparing a chart and a map of family migrations in order to lead them into a study of the world of their direct forebears. An awareness of genealogical connectedness helps a group to maintain its distinctiveness. Genealogy binds individuals to the family and to their history.

Genealogists write of their deepened interest in Jewish history, geography, and religion as a result of their genealogical research. They express a desire to study Yiddish and Hebrew in which so much Jewish family history is recorded.

It is rare that a Jewish genealogist does not find that the family suffered grievous losses during the Holocaust. Forty years after the Holocaust, Jewish genealogists, as a result of their research, are finding for the first time that members of their families were among the six million. This discovery leads to a search for names and information about the deceased. The genealogist adds these names to records and charts, ensuring that the victims are memorialized and remembered within the embrace of the family. This personalizing of the Holocaust is a major concern of Jewish educators today.

SURNAMES AND GENEALOGICAL RESEARCH. Name changes, both of a voluntary and involuntary nature, create problems for the genealogist. Most East and Central European Jews used patronymics (e.g., Moshe ben Amram). Surnames were rare, unless the family was in commerce, and traveling between cities. Around 1800, the governments in Central Europe began to demand surnames for the Jews. By 1844, Russia and Poland mandated that surnames be registered. However, even these names underwent a metamorphosis when they passed through the immigration gates of America. Hardly able to understand the heavily accented pronunciation of names, immigration officials wrote down phonetic sounds as they heard them. They would anglicize, change, or shorten names, as the mood struck them. Without a family record it is exceedingly difficult to trace families earlier than the 18th century. With marriage, women's maiden names were dispensed with and lost. Federal census records list the head of the household and occasionally the number of family members. Jewish tombstones usually refer to a person's father, and rarely the mother.

PROBLEMS IN GENEALOGICAL RESEARCH. (1) Because of war and change of borders, it is often hard to know in which country to do your research.

(2) Frequently, Jews were married in Europe by religious ceremony (*ḥuppah* and *kiddushin*) but not with a civil license. Anti-Jewish legislation often forbade Jewish marriages, so couples often married secretly. Children of these marriages were not recognized by civil authorities as legitimate. Therefore, children took their mothers' surnames. Only sons were not conscripted by the Russian army. Additional sons were placed with families without sons and took that family's name.

(3) Record keeping in Eastern Europe was careless. Control of fires was poor in small villages and records were irreparably lost.

(4) Children were born at home and not in hospitals. Parents remembered the time of year ("around" which holiday) at which they were born but not the exact date.

(5) Russian records since the end of World War I are not available to the public.

(6) The pronunciation of town names varies greatly from their conventional spelling. There can be as many as 50 towns with similar sounding names all located within the same country.

(7) Documents and genealogical material may be in Yiddish, Hebrew, Russian, Polish, or other official languages.

COMPUTER AND GENEALOGY. A major problem in genealogy is information storage. The ongoing growth of genealogical information requires a constant revision of charts. For this reason many genealogists with very large inclusive family histories, resort to holding material in notebook form with sections assigned to each branch of the family. The computer with its various programs designed especially for genealogical study has become a very important tool.

In 1982 the Jewish Genealogical Society, Inc. (New York) published the first computerized Family Finder. The purpose is to enable members of all Jewish genealogy societies to list names and towns being researched in one central location. This aims at reducing the duplication of research. Entered into the computer are the name and address of the researcher along with family surnames, and the names of towns, cities, and countries being researched. (The computer service for this project is Data Universal, Teaneck, New Jersey.) The printout is updated regularly, with the inclusion of new researchers' data, and sent to Jewish genealogy societies throughout the United States so that their members can utilize the information.

Two Jewish books have been published by the Computer Center for Genealogy by Dr. Neil Rosenstein (*The Margolis Family* and *Latter Day Leaders*). This appears to be the wave of the future.

Beth Hatefutsoth, the Museum of the Diaspora, in Tel Aviv has a computer department that holds information about Jewish names, cities, and towns and stores genealogical information. Famous published genealogies are being computerized.

[Sara Schafler]

In Latin America

The Asociación de Genealogía Judía de Argentina – AGJA (Association of Jewish Genealogy of Argentina) – was founded in 1996 and is affiliated to the *International Association of Jewish Genealogical Societies – IAJGS. AGJA undertook voluntary work in documentation and digitalization of vital records, creating the database of the Jewish cemeteries in Argentina (with more than 215,000 names), and promoted similar work in Chile, Uruguay, and Peru. It digitized lists of settlers in the agricultural colonies of the Jewish Colonization Association (ICA) and is working on the lists of weddings and bar mitzvahs celebrated in synagogues in Buenos Aires.

AGJA also promoted educational activities, conferences, and courses in Buenos Aires and in other communities for adults and students. It publishes the journal *Toldot* and has published the *Diccionario de apellidos judíos* ("Dictionary of Jewish Surnames," 2003) by Benjamin Edelstein.

[Efraim Zadoff (2nd ed.)]

For additional information see *International Association of Jewish Genealogical Societies.

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°GÉNÉBRARD, GILBERT (1537–1597), French theologian and Hebraist. Born in Riom, Auvergne, Génébrard, a pupil of the Provençal convert Abraham de Lunel, who is said to have reverted to Judaism in his latter years, was a polymath, specializing in biblical exegesis, theology, patristics, liturgy, chronology, and rabbinics. Unlike many of his contemporaries, he was in general opposed to the Kabbalah. From 1569 Génébrard was professor of Hebrew and Bible at the Collège de France and from 1593 he was archbishop of Aix-en-Provence. His outspoken support for the Catholic League – which opposed Henry of Navarre, a Protestant – incurred official wrath after the latter's accession (as Henry IV). Génébrard died in disgrace. As a Hebraist, he was considered an expert on the correct pronunciation of the "holy tongue." He was a prolific writer, translator, and editor: Steinschneider lists about two dozen of his publications.

His works include *Commemoratio divorum et ritus nuptiarum, e libro Maḥzor* (published with *Symbolum fide); Eldad Danius … De Judaeis clausis* (Paris, 1563), a Latin version of the Travels of *Eldad ha-Dani; *De metris Hebraeorum ex libro R. David Jechiae…* (Paris, 1562–63), an edition of the *Sha'ar bi-Melekhet ha-Shir* of R. David b. Solomon *Ibn Yaḥya; ΕΙΣΑΓΩΓΗ *rabbinica ad legenda et intelligenda Hebraeorum Rabbinorum Commentaria sine punctis scripta…* (Paris, 1563); *Alphabetum Hebraicum* (Paris, 1564); and *Symbolum fidei Judaeorum … Precationes …* DCXIII *legis Praecepta e capitulis* *ultimis More Nebuchim* (Paris, 1569), based on *Maimonides. Génébrard also published *Chronologia Hebraeorum Major* (Paris, 1578), a Latin version of the *Seder Olam* of *Yose b. Ḥalafta, a shortened version of which, *Hebraeorum breve Chronicon usque ad 1112*, had appeared earlier (Paris, 1573); there are various later editions of this book. Two other works by Génébrard are *Jakob Salomonis cap. Chelek* (published with the *Chronicon*), a Latin edition of the commentary by Jacob b. Solomon Habib on a chapter of the tractate *Sanhedrin* (of the Babylonian Talmud) much studied by Renaissance Christian Hebraists and kabbalists; and an edition of the Song of Songs with three rabbinical commentaries (Paris, 1570). Gilbert Génébrard's pupils included the French diplomat and kabbalist, Blaise de *Vigenère.

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[Godfrey Edmond Silverman]

GENERAL ZIONISTS, Zionist and Israeli party. The General Zionists were originally a loose political group within the Zionist movement, made up of those Zionists who were neither socialists nor religious and who at first did not draw up a program of their own. Their number at the Zionist Congresses kept dwindling from one Congress to the next. In Ereẓ Israel the General Zionists began to organize in 1922, the first meetings being attended by *Aḥad Ha-Am, Meir *Dizengoff, B. Mossinson, Ze'ev *Gluskin, and others.

The first world conference of the representatives of these "civilian circles," as they were called, occurred in 1929, in the course of the Zionist Congress that took place in Zurich. The moving force behind this organization was Isaac Ignacy *Schwarzbart. In 1931 the World Union of General Zionists held its founding conference, adopting the following principles: (1) Ereẓ Israel and the Jewish people take priority over class and sectarian interests; (2) labor and property should unite to serve the people; (3) in addition to the support afforded by the national funds for the activities of the pioneers, encouragement should be given to private enterprise and the settlement of individuals with limited means; (4) partisan control over all educational, health, and welfare institutions should be abolished. These principles remained the basis of the General Zionist program throughout the years.

Among the founders of the World Union were Leo *Motzkin, Stephen S. *Wise, Louis *Lipsky, Kurt *Blumenfeld, Menahem *Ussishkin, Benzion *Mossinson, Moshe *Gluecksohn, Yehoshua *Suprasky, Peretz *Bernstein, Emil Schmorak, and Schwarzbart. Though operating most of the time on his own, Chaim *Weizmann was also associated with the new movement.

The World Union did not survive as a unified organization for long, and the General Zionists formed numerous factions, the main ones being General Zionists A, headed by Weizmann, which was closer to the Labor movement, and General Zionists B, headed by Ussishkin. The reasons for the frequent splits varied, and combined elements of personal rivalry and ideological issues on the political, economic, and social levels.

As was common among the other Zionist parties and groupings, the General Zionists had their own youth movements from the 1920s, especially in Eastern Europe. These movements bore names such as Ha-No'ar ha-Ivri, Ha-Shomer ha-Tahor, Ha-No'ar ha-Ẓiyyoni, and Akiva. Some of them advocated pioneering and formed the General Zionist He-Ḥalutz.

The first group of General Zionist youth, made up of members of Ha-No'ar ha-Ivri in Galicia, settled in Ereẓ Israel in 1930 and established the first General Zionist kibbutz, near Petaḥ Tikvah. They were followed by others, from various countries, constituting the core group of a General Zionist labor movement. In the initial stage, they all joined the *Histadrut, though they objected to the Histadrut's socialist ideology, advocating a syndicalist approach. In 1934 an independent General Zionist workers organization was established by some of the General Zionist workers, though others remained in the Histadrut as the Oved ha-Ẓiyyoni faction. However, most of the General Zionists in Ereẓ Israel belonged to the middle class rather than the working class. In Ereẓ Israel, as in the Diaspora, splits also took place within the ranks of the General Zionists, especially over the question of whether to fight for their views from within the *Va'ad Le'ummi (and later the Government of Israel) or as an external opposition.

In the early 1940s the various factions reunited, under Moshe *Sneh. In 1946 the General Zionist workers' organization rejoined the Histadrut, and became a separate faction in it, side by side with Ha-Oved ha-Ẓiyyoni.

The reunion of the General Zionists did not survive, and prior to the establishment of the State in 1948, they entered the political scene as two separate parties, one by the name of the General Zionist Party and the other, which also included members of Aliyah Ḥadashah, which had been formed in 1942 by immigrants from Central Europe, by the name of the Progressive Party. Both parties participated in the Provisional Government, but while the Progressive Party also joined the first regular government formed by David *Ben-Gurion after the elections to the First Knesset, and joined most of the governments formed in subsequent years, the General Zionists remained in opposition, except for the years 1952–55. Both parties opposed the over-politicization of the labor-dominated system that controlled the employment agencies and public health system, and fought against the separate trends in education. Both also supported a liberal approach to economic policy.

The General Zionists ran independently in elections to the First to Fourth Knessets, receiving 7 seats in the First Knesset, 20 seats in the Second (which grew to 23 when the Sephardi and Yemenite parliamentary groups joined it), 13 seats in the Third, and 8 seats in the Fourth.

In 1961 the General Zionist Party and the Progressive Party united and established the Liberal Party. Four years later, in 1965, the general council of the Liberal Party voted in favor of the establishment of a joint bloc with the *Ḥerut movement for elections to the Sixth Knesset and the local authorities (see *Gaḥal). It was finally mostly the former General Zionists who joined the new bloc, while most of the former Progressives broke away to form the *Independent Liberal Party.

In the Zionist Organization, both parties belonged to the World Union of General Zionists and participated in its work, but by the late 1960s the Independent Liberals became an independent group on the Zionist scene as well.

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[Susan Hattis Rolef (2nd ed.)]

GENESIS, BOOK OF, the first book of the Pentateuch. The English title refers to the opening theme of the book and is derived, via the Latin transliteration, from the tradition of the Alexandrian Jews as reflected in the Septuagint Greek: *genesis*, "origin"). The book describes not only the origin of what would later be called the universe, but the origins of the people Israel and some of its specific practices including the Sabbath and circumcision. Genesis includes numerous etiologies for, among others, labor pains and fruitless labor. The Joseph story, which concludes the book, provides the background for Israel's descent into Egypt, and accordingly, for the enslavement, exodus, and arrival at the border of the promised land to which the next four books of the Pentateuch are devoted. The popular Hebrew name (Heb. בְּרֵאשִׁית) is based on the initial word (cf. TJ, Meg. 3:1, 74a; TJ, Sot. 1:10, 17c; Gen. R. 3:5; 64:8). Some medieval Hebrew manuscripts also use the titles "First Book" (*Sefer Ri'shon*) and the "Book of the Creation of the World" (*Sefer Beri'at ha-Olam*). Another title occasionally in use was the "Book of the Upright" (*Sefer ha-Yashar*), referring to the patriarchal narratives (cf. Av. Zar. 25a; TJ, Sot. 1:10, 17c).

The book is traditionally divided into 12 *parashiyyot*, "annual pericopes," and 43 (in some Mss. 45) *sedarim*, "triennial pericopes." There are 43 *petuḥot*, "open sections," and 48 *setumot*, "closed sections." Printed Hebrew Bibles, based upon the Vulgate system, divide the book into 50 chapters containing 1,534 verses in all.

The Contents

Genesis is a narrative account of the span of time from the creation of the world to the death of Joseph. (See Table: Book of Genesis- Contents.) It divides naturally into two main parts, the first dealing with the universal history of early humankind (chapters 1–11), the rest being devoted to the story of the patriarchs and their families (chapters 12–50). The time span purportedly covered by the book is 2,307 (or 2,309 cf. 11:10) years according to the accepted received Hebrew text. This may be calculated by combining the sum of the ages of the fathers of mankind at the birth of their respective successors (1,946 or 1,948 years; Table 1: The time span from Adam to Abraham's birth) with the years that elapsed between the birth of Abraham and the death of Joseph (361; Table 2: The time span from Abraham's birth to the death of Joseph). Great imbalance in the presentation of the material is evident, for the first 11 chapters deal with a time span of over 2,000 years while the other 39 are devoted to only one eighth of the period treated. Moreover, the only themes elaborated in detail in the universal history are Creation, the Flood, and the ethnic division of mankind. This disproportion may be taken as indicative of the aims and purposes of Scripture. It is less interested in recording history for its own sake than in the utilization of events as vehicles for the demonstration, objectification, and transmission of the verities of biblical faith.

Composition – The Critical View

Genesis itself contains no information about its authorship, nor can any biblical passage be cited in support of a tradition concerning it. Based on expansive readings of such passages as "Moses wrote this Torah" (Deut. 31:9) post-biblical Judaism, followed by classical Christianity, accepted the unitary origin of the entire *Pentateuch as the divinely inspired work of *Moses, so that Genesis in its present form is regarded as being a homogeneous composition, the product of Mosaic authorship. (For the traditional view see *Pentateuch; Traditional View.) Serious biblical study of the past few centuries has shown that there is no basis for the claim of Mosaic authorship. The presence of anachronisms, the use of different Hebrew names for God, diversity of style and vocabulary, and the existence of duplicate and sometimes varying and even contradictory accounts of the same event all serve as the criteria for literary analysis that leads to the conclusion that Genesis is really a composite work put together from different documents deriving from varying periods. For example, the sanctity of (Jeru)salem and its priesthood in the period of David and Solomon is justified by Abr(ah)am's actions in Gen. 14. Jacob's vow to build a temple at Beth-el (Gen. 28:22) would seem to be directed to a tenth-century audience as a justification for the construction of the Beth-el temple by Jeroboam (I Kings 12). The table of nations in Gen. 10 knows of the kingdoms of Babylonia and Assyria but not of Persia, an unlikelihood after the rise of that empire in the sixth century B.C.E. The flood story, although going back to third millennium tales, cannot have reached its present form before the early first millennium when *Ararat (Gen. 8:14) replaced the former name for what would later be called Armenia. Genesis 1, which emphasizes the goodness of the creation in direct opposition to Isa. 45: 7 (Weinfeld) is a Jewish adaptation of the Zoroastrian "good creation" by Ahuramazda (Sperling 1999).

Book of Genesis – Contents

1:1–11:32	**PART I: Universal History**
1:1–6:4	**Creation from Adam to Noah**
1:1–2:4a	The story of Creation; the Sabbath.
2:4b–3:24	Adam and Eve in the Garden of Eden.
4:1–16	Cain and Abel.
4:17–26	The genealogy of Cain; the rise of civilization.
5:1–32	The line of Adam to Noah.
6:1–4	The "sons of God" and the daughters of men.
6:5–11:32	**From Noah to Abraham**
6:5–8:32	The Flood.
9:1–17	The blessing and the covenant with man.
9:18–29	Noah's drunkenness.
10:1–32	The table of nations.
11:1–9	The Tower of Babel.
11:10–32	The line of Shem to Abraham.
12:1–50:26	**PART 2: Patriarchal History**
12:1–25:18	**Abraham**
12:1–9	The call of Abraham; the migration to Canaan.
12:10–20	Abraham and Sarah in Egypt.
13:1–18	Abraham and Lot.
14:1–24	The battle of the kings; Abraham blessed by Melchizedek.
15:1–21	The covenant with Abraham.
16:1–16	Abraham, Sarah and Hagar; Divine promises regarding Ishmael.
17:1–27	The covenant concerning circumcision.
18:1–33	Abraham and the three messengers; the intercession for Sodom.
19:1–29	The destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah.
19:30–38	Lot and his daughters; the birth of Moab and Ammon.
20:1–18	Abraham and Sarah at Gerar.
21:1–8	The birth of Isaac.
21:9–21	The expulsion of Hagar and Ishmael.
21:22–34	Abraham and Abimelech at Beer Sheba.
22:1–19	The binding of Isaac (Akedah).
22:20–24	The line of Nahor.
23:1–20	The purchase of Machpelah and the burial of Sarah.
24:1–67	The marriage of Isaac to Rebekah.
25:1–6	The line of Keturah.
25:7–18	The death and burial of Abraham; the line of Ishmael.
25:19–36:43	**Isaac and Jacob**
25:19–34	The birth of Jacob and Esau; the sale of the birthright.
26:1–33	Isaac,Rebekah and Abimelech at Gerar.
26:34–35	Esau's Hittite wives.
27:1–28:5	Jacob's deception of Isaac.
28:6–9	Esau's Ishmaelite wife.
28:10–22	Jacob at Bethel.
29:1–30:43	Jacob with Laban.
31:1–54	Jacob's flight from Laban.
32:1–32	Jacob at Mahanaim and Penuel; Jacob wrestles with the angel.
33:1–20	Jacob meets Esau; his purchase of land at Shechem.
34:1–31	The rape of Dinah.
35:1–15	Jacob revisits Bethel.
35:16–29	Family affairs in Canaan.
36:1–43	The lines of Esau and Seir the Horite; early kings of Edom.
37:1–50:26	**Joseph and his brothers**
37:1–36	Joseph and his brothers.
38:1–30	Judah and Tamar.
39:1–23	Joseph in Potiphar's house.
40:1–23	Joseph in prison.
41:1–57	Pharoah's dreams; Joseph's rise to power; the years of abundance and the start of the famine.
42:1–44:34	Joseph encounters his brothers.
45:1–28	Joseph discloses his identity.
46:1–47:10	The migration of the Israelites to Egypt.
47:11–27	Joseph's agrarian policy.
48:1–50:21	Jacob's farewell blessings; his death and burial.
50:22–26	The death of Joseph.

ANACHRONISMS. Abraham's native city is called "Ur of the Chaldeans" (11:28, 31; 15:7) although the people known by that name did not penetrate southern Mesopotamia before the end of the second millennium B.C.E., long after the period in which the patriarchal narratives are set. Genesis 12:6 relates that "the Canaanite was then in the land," while 13:7 states that "the Canaanites and Perizzites were then dwelling in the land," implying that neither people existed at the time of the writer, whereas both survived as late as Solomon's time (I Kings 9:16, 20; cf. Josh. 16:10; Judg. 1:27–33; II Sam. 24:7). The reference to Dan (Gen. 14:14; see Kimhi a.l.) is irreconcilable with later history (Josh. 19:47; Judg. 18:29). The mention of Philistines (Gen. 21:32, 34; 26:1, 8, 14, 15, 18; cf. 10:14) presents a similar problem since that particular ethnic group did not settle on the Canaanite coast before the end of the 12th century B.C.E. The city of Beersheba (Gen. 26:33) was not settled until the 11th century. A phrase like "committing an outrage in Israel" (34:7) is difficult as a direct quotation from Jacob's time (though not in the time of Moses) but seems rather to be of a proverbial nature (cf. Judg. 20:6, 10; Jer. 29:23) deriving from a period when "Israel" was already designated as an established ethnic or cultic community. The list of eight Edomite kings (Gen. 36:31–39) would cover about 150 years of history. Since the Edomites were not settled in Transjordan before the 11th century B.C.E. (LEVY). This conclusion is buttressed by the phrase "before any king reigned over the Israelites" (36:31) which would set the passage in the time of the Israelite monarchy, as was seen by Yizhaki apud Ibn Ezra.

DUPLICATIONS. There are two irreconcilable accounts of Creation. In the one (1:26–28), man and woman are created simultaneously as the climax of creation after the birds and animals; in the other (2:7, 18, 19, 22), the order is man, animals, birds, then woman. The Flood story presents similar contradictions. One passage demands a single pair of each species of beast, bird, and creeping things to be taken into the ark (6:19–20), while another has orders to Noah to take aboard seven pairs of clean animals and birds and one pair of unclean (7:2–3), and still a third passage reports that Noah took two of each species irrespective of their clean or unclean status (7:8–9). One account refers to 40 days of rain and a further 14 days until the waters had finally subsided (7:4, 12, 17; 8:6–11); another speaks of a duration of 150 days (7:11; 7:24–28:1; 8:3–4) and an entire year and ten days before Noah was able to emerge from the ark (7: 11; 8:13–14). Sarah was twice taken from her husband, once by Pharaoh (12:11–20) and once by Abimelech (20:1–18). A similar story is related about Rebekah and Abimelech (26:6–11). In all three accounts the wife is passed off by the spouse as his sister for his own protection. Hagar twice leaves her mistress in flight to the wilderness (16:6–14; 21:9–19). Both narratives have in common the presence of a well, an angelic visitation, and divine assurances of greatness for Ishmael. Two accounts of the origin of the name Beer-Sheba in the days of Abimelech are given, one concerning Abraham (21:22–32) and the other concerning Isaac (26:26–33). The story of Isaac's expectation of imminent death (27:1–2) does not seem to be compatible with his still being alive at least 20 years later (35:28). The names of Esau's wives given in 26:34 and 28:9 do not correspond with those recorded in 36:2–3. There are duplicate etiologies for the names Bethel (28:17–19; 35:14–15) and Israel (32:29; 35:10). Rachel's death (35:19) seems not to be in consonance with Jacob's reaction to Joseph's dream 17 years later (37:10), and the birth of Benjamin near Bethlehem (35:16–17) makes difficult his inclusion in the list of Jacob's sons born in Paddan-Aram (35:23–26). Finally there seem to be two separate traditions about the identity of those who bought and sold Joseph; they are variously called Midianites (37:28a, 36) and Ishmaelites (37:27, 28b; 39:1).

THE DIVINE NAMES. The foregoing material has to be supplemented by the variant use of divine names. Genesis employs YHWH about 150 times whether in direct quotation (cf. 4:1; 14:22; 15:2, 7, 8 and so about 30 times), or in the narrative (over 100 times). The patriarchs built altars to YHWH (12:7, 8; 13:18, cf. 8:20) and invoked His name (12:8; 13:4; 21:33; 26:25; cf. 4:3; 25:21, 22). According to 4:26 this practice began as early as the days of Enosh. It is clear, however, from Exodus 3:14 and 6:2–3 that another tradition existed which ascribed the initial revelation of the name YHWH to the time of Moses. Indeed, large sections of Genesis do not use that divine appellative at all, employing Elohim or some other name instead.

On the basis of all the phenomena just described, critical scholars have attempted to reconstruct the literary history of Genesis. The classical critical position is that there once existed a Judahite history which began with the creation of the world and which preserved the tradition of the early use of the name YHWH (J source). Later on, a parallel Ephraimite history appeared which commenced with Abraham and which, preserving the tradition of a later origin of YHWH, used ʾElohim (E source) exclusively in the patriarchal narratives. A redactor (R) fused the two accounts into a single narrative (JE). Still another source, this time of priestly origin (P), which had the same tradition about YHWH as did E, was interwoven with JE, so that the present Genesis is a composite of JEP with admixtures of R. Each source, it is claimed, betrays its own peculiarities of literary style and phraseology and displays its own distinctive religious and theological outlook.

The basic distribution of Genesis according to the classical three-source hypothesis of the Graf-Wellhausen school appears in the table: Book of Genesis – Analysis of the Book of Genesis.

It should be noted that chapter 14 cannot be fitted into any of the sources. In some instances such as chapters 31 and 45:1–28, the J and E sources have been so interwoven that disentanglement of the strands is precarious.

In the course of time the inadequacies of the original Graf-Wellhausen hypothesis have led to an expansion of the three sources through the continuous subdividing of each document and by the isolation of still other sources. Some time ago O. Eissfeldt claimed to identify an L (lay) document which, he claimed, is the oldest narrative strand. More recently, claims have also been made for a separate "Promises" writer. Recent scholarship questions the very existence of E as a separate source. Some scholars have effectively revived the fragmentary theory of the early 19th century arguing that there are no continuous sources in the Pentateuch but rather redactional notes. Others have revived the supplementary hypothesis according to which an original narrative has been supplemented by later authors (On these matters see Carr, Hendel, Houtman, Jenks in Bibliography, and *Pentateuch). Despite the diversity of contemporary critical opinion there is no returning to the pre-critical position of Mosaic authorship.

The Distinctiveness of Genesis within the Pentateuch

Despite the contradictions and duplications, and what seems sometimes like a collection of collages, the book has a character all its own, distinguished by numerous features not shared by the other four. It is almost entirely narrative, and in the number and variety of its stories it is unparalleled. Because of its setting in the pre-Israelite period, Genesis, unlike the rest of the Torah, contains the biographies of individuals, not an account of the fortunes of the nation.

The patriarchal sagas have preserved certain social institutions that are unknown elsewhere in the Bible, although they are now documented in extra-biblical sources of the second and first pre-Christian millennia. Among these are brother-sister marriage (Gen. 20:12); concubinage and surrogate motherhood as a remedy for childlessness (16:2; 30:2–3), (perhaps) the role of the household gods in inheritance (Gen. 31:19) and the transference of the birthright (see below).

The book is peculiar, too, in its onomasticon (name-stock). Of the 38 personal names connected with the patriarchal family, 27 never recur in the Bible. Nowhere else is there mention of the place-name Paddan-Aram used here so frequently (25:20; 28:2, 5, 6, 7), or is Hebron referred to as Mamre (13:18; 14:13, 18:1; 23:17, 19; 25:9; 35:27; 49:30; 50:13).

Genesis is further differentiated by some stylistic characteristics. It employs the phrase "These are the generations of" ((ו) אֵלֶּה תּ(וֹ)לְד(וֹ)ת) ten times (2:4; 6:9; 10:1; 11:10, 27; 25:12, 19; 36:1, 9; 37:2; cf. 5:1; 10:32; 25:13), which occurs only once in the

ANALYSIS OF THE BOOK OF GENESIS

	J 4b–25 J 29
P	**1** E **2** J **3** **4** E **5**
	P 1–4a P 1–28
J	1–8 1–5 7–10 12 16b 17b
E	**6** **7**
P	30–32 9–22 6 11 13–16a 17a 18–21
J	22–23 2b–3a 6–12 13b 20–22
E	**8** **9**
P	24 1–2a 3b–5 13a 14–19 1–17
J	18–27 8–19 21 24–30 1–9
E	**10** **11**
P	28–29 1–7 20 22–23 31–32
J	28–30 1–4a 6–20 1–5 7–11a
E	**12** **13**
P	10–27 31–32 4b–5 6 11b–12a
J	12b–18 1–2a 3b–4 6–12 17–21
E	**(14?)** **15** 2b–3a(?) 5(?) 13–16(?)
P	
J	1b–2 4–14 J
E	**16** P **17** J **18** E **19**
P	1a 3 15–16 P
J	1–28 30–38 J 1a 2a 33
E	E **20** E **21** 6–32 34
P	29 P 1b 2b–5
J	20–24 J 1–6
E	**22** 1–19 P **23**} J **24** E **25**
P	P
J	11b 18 21–26a 27–34 1–33 1–45
E	**26** **27**
P	7–11a 12–17 19–20 26b 34–35
J	10 13–16 19 21b 1–14
E	**28** 11–12 17–18 20–21a 22 **29**
P	46 1–9
J	31–35 3–5 7–16 20b
E	15–23 25–28 30 **30** 1–2 6 17–20a 21–23
P	24 28b–29
J	24–43 } 1–18a } 19–54 4–33 1–17
E	**31** **32** 1–3 **33**
P	18b 18a
J	J 14 21–22a
E	18b–20 J **34** E **35** 1–8 16–20
P	P 9–13 15 22b–29
	J 2b–20 25–27 28b
P	**36** E **37** 21–24 28a 28c–36 J **38**
	P 1–2a
	J 27–28
J	**39** E **40** E **41** 1–45 46b–57 **42** 1–26
	P 46a
J	J J 1
E	29–38 J **43** **44** E } **45** E **46** 2–5
P	P 6–27
J	28–34 1–5a 6b 13–27a 29–31
E	**47** **48** 1–2
P	5b–6a 7–12 27b–28 3–7
J	1b–28a 1–11 14
E	} 8–22 **49** **50** 15–26
P	1a 28b–33 12–13

rest of the Torah (Num. 3:1; cf. Ruth 4:18). It has God speaking in the first person plural (Gen. 1:26; 3:22; 11:7; otherwise only Isa. 6:8) which is unusual, and combines the divine names YHWH-ʾElohim, "Lord God," nearly 22 times in two chapters (2–3), such a conjunction appearing otherwise only once in the Pentateuch (Ex. 9:30).

The patriarchal narratives contain much material at variance with the legislation of the Torah. Deuteronomy 21:15–17 explicitly interdicts the transference of the birthright in contrast to what takes place in the case of Jacob and Esau (Gen. 25:23, 30–34; 27:1–33), Reuben (49:3–4; cf. I Chron. 5:1–2) and Ephraim and Manasseh (Gen. 48:13–20). Abraham entered into marriage with his paternal half-sister (20:12), something repeatedly forbidden in the Torah code (Lev. 18:9, 11; 20:17; Deut. 27:22). Jacob was simultaneously married to two sisters (Gen. 29:23, 28, 30), a state of affairs to which Leviticus 18:18 is opposed. Judah had a relationship with his daughter-in-law (and the offspring was not thereby delegitimated; Gen. 38:16; cf. Ruth 4:18). This contrasts strongly with pentateuchal law (Lev. 18:15).

Turning to the area of the cult, the same anomalous situation is apparent. Abraham planted a sacred tree in connection with worship (Gen. 21:33; cf. 12:6–7; 13:18 and see Josh. 24:26), a practice abhorred in the legislation (Deut. 16:21; cf. Ex. 34:13; Deut. 12:3). Jacob set up sacred stone pillars at Bethel (Gen. 28:18, 22; 31:13; 35:14) and Gilead (31:44–53), cultic paraphernalia otherwise outlawed by the Torah (Deut. 16:22; cf. Ex. 23:24; 34:13; Lev. 26:1; Deut. 7:5; 12:3).

The religious situation is further distinguished by other extraordinary features. The war on idolatry is unknown and there is no religious tension between the patriarchs and their neighbors. The appellation "the God of my (your/his) father" (Gen. 26:24; 28:13; et al.) is peculiarly characteristic of the book as is also the employment of numerous Divine Names, several of them unique: *ʾEl ʿElyon* (14:18, 22), *ʾEl Roʾi* (16:13), *ʾEl ʿOlam* (21:33), *ʾEl Bet-ʾEl* (31:13; 35:7), *ʾEl ʾElohe Yisrael* (33:20), *ʾEl Shaddai* (17:1; 28:3; et al.), *Paḥad Yiẓḥaq* (31:42), *ʾAbbir Yaʿaqov* (49:24). Another peculiarity, though not unique to Genesis, is the frequent appearance of angels, which are encountered by Hagar (16:7ff.; 21:17), Abraham (18:1ff.; cf. 22:11,15; 24:7, 40), Lot (19:1, 15), and Jacob (28:12; 31:11; 32:2; cf. 48:16).

The Age of the Material

The Wellhausen School had maintained that Genesis contained no creditable records dating to the second pre-Christian millennium, and that therefore, we can only extract reliable information about the time in which individual narratives were composed. Thus, an eighth-century narrative about Abraham, for example, could be employed only to illuminate the circumstances of the eighth-century writer and his audience. Crucial to Wellhausen's conclusions was his assumption that writing was unknown in Syria-Palestine of the second millennium, rendering impossible the preservation of accurate ancient traditions. In a similar vein, Wellhausen asserted that the proper names of Israel's ancestors were simply retrojections of tribal names of the first millennium. Beginning in the 1920s, continuing archaeological discoveries in the Middle East brought the second millennium into the light of history. It became clear that Wellhausen's assertions about writing were unfounded and that such ancestral names as Benjamin, Israel, Ishmael, and Jacob were genuine second millennium names. Legal procedures and documents from the second millennium provided "parallels" that seemed to demonstrate that the traditions behind Genesis were ultimately of great antiquity. The "biblical archaeology" movement, particularly associated with the name of W.F. *Albright, which employed archaeological evidence to demonstrate the "general accuracy" of Genesis' portrayal of the patriarchal period, was especially influential among Christian and Jewish religious moderates in the United States and Israel for several decades. But the pendulum has swung back. Thanks to the refinement of archaeological technique, the critical re-evaluation of reading the Bible archaeologically, especially by Thompson, and van Seters (1975), and the opening of "biblical Israel" and the Sinai to Israeli excavation following the 1967 war, opinion began to shift in the mid-1970s, i.e., shortly after the present *Encyclopaedia Judaica* entry appeared in its original form. For example, a celebrated claim had been made by E.A. Speiser that the thrice-told wife-sister story (Gen. 12, 20, 26) was an attempt by Hebrew writers to account for an ancient form of marriage known in second millennium Mesopotamia but forgotten in the course of time. Ingeniously, Speiser argued that the multiple accounts demonstrated that the writers of Genesis preserved truly ancient traditions even when they no longer understood them. Subsequent studies showed that Speiser had completely misunderstood the Nuzi documents and, indeed, misrepresented them. In other cases, true parallels, such as surrogacy as a solution for childlessness, were shown not to be confined to the second millennium and therefore irrelevant for dating the narratives of Genesis. Equally irrelevant to dating is the argument from patriarchal deviance from laws from (allegedly) later legislation. The fact that the patriarchs entered into marriages prohibited elsewhere in the Torah (see above) does not demonstrate that the patriarchal traditions are old. Rather, the prohibitions demonstrate that such marriages were common enough to elicit prohibition. The same can be said for the prohibition against alienating a birthright. Rachel's theft of the household gods has been adduced as a distant mirror of the practice known from Nuzi (in eastern Iraq) of the second millennium in which a female heir might serve the household gods. On that basis Rachel would have stolen the gods to ensure her rights to Laban's property. But the service of the gods by Nuzi women does not itself mean that the gods are the property of the women. Nor is there evidence that receipt of the gods conveyed property rights (Paradise.) Similarly inconclusive is the evidence of female cultic service from Syrian Emar (Huehnergard). Strong evidence for a first millennium background, or at the earliest, a late second millennium background, is the Aramean connection of the patriarchs. Abraham (then Abram) left Aramean Haran, his homeland (Gen. 12:1; 24:7, 10) for Canaan (The tradition of migration from Ur of the Chaldees (11:28; 15:7) originated later among Babylonian Jews.) Abraham's slave came to Haran to find a wife for Isaac (Gen. 24:4ff.); Jacob fled to Haran from the wrath of Esau (Gen. 28:2, 10) and spent a good deal of his life there. All the tribes, with the exception of Benjamin, originated in this area. Jacob's uncle Laban utters the only Aramaic phrase in the Torah (Gen. 31:47). All of this is consistent with the stories in I and II Kings of the ninth-century Hebrew prophets Elijah and Elisha healing Arameans and prophesying to them; with the "wandering/fugitive Aramaean" ancestry attributed to Israelites in Deuteronomy 26:5; with the Jacob traditions known to Hosea (Hos. 12:5) in the eighth century; and if it is not anachronistic, with the David-Absalom connection to Aramaean Geshur (II Sam. 15:8). This conclusion receives independent support from the fact that the personal names of the patriarchal ancestry are often identical with place-names in the vicinity of Haran. This is true of Terah, Abraham's father (11:24–32), of Nahor, the name of his grandfather (11:22–25) and of his brother (11:26–27, 29), of Serug, Terah's grandfather (11:20–23) and of Peleg, the grandfather of Serug (10:25; 11:16–19). In addition to allusions to the period of David and Solomon and Jeroboam noted above, the absence of any reference to Baal would point to the composition of narratives in a period between that god's fall from grace in the pre-monarchic period (Judg. 6) and his restoration under Ahab in the ninth century. Some preservation of ancient memory is indicated by the contrast between the known historic realities of the post-settlement period and the traditions about Jacob's sons. Thus, Reuben is depicted as Jacob's firstborn son (29:32; 49:3), and his name always takes pride of place in the tribal lists (35:23; 46:8) even though he lost the birthright (49:3–4; cf. I Chron. 5:1–2). Nevertheless, Reuben enjoyed no tribal supremacy in the recorded post-patriarchal history of Israel (cf. Deut. 33:6; Judg. 5:15–16). The identical situation exists in respect of Manasseh, firstborn of Joseph (Gen. 41:51; 48:14, 18–19) who likewise lost the birthright (48:1–20). The tribe was wholly eclipsed by Ephraim in later times. The image of Levi in Genesis is of a warlike and ruthless adversary (34:1–31; 49:5–7). This is at variance with the priestly and cultic functions of the tribe which played no role in the wars of conquest. Simeon is depicted as the partner of Levi in its act of violence (34:1–31), but in Joshua's campaigns Simeon was allied with Judah (Josh. 19:9; Judg. 1:3). The organization of the tribes according to matriarchs does not correspond to the post-conquest reality. Maternally related tribes did not enjoy any special political associations and their tribal territories were not always contiguous. All this makes it likely that some Genesis narratives have preserved some authentic reminiscences of early tribal history.

Abraham and Isaac enter into pacts with various peoples (14:13; 21:22–32; 26:28–31); Jacob's sons Judah and Simeon intermarry with Canaanites (38:2; 46:10); the Arameans and the Patriarchs are portrayed as being consanguineous (22:21; 24:24, 38; 25:20).

The Major Themes and Teachings

The distinctive nature of Genesis within the pentateuchal complex does not mean that it can be understood apart from the other books. On the contrary, it is the indispensable prologue to the drama that unfolds in Exodus. It provides the ideological and historical background for the relationship between God and Israel as it found expression in the events connected with the national servitude and the liberation. Its unique concept of God, of humanity, of the nature of the world, and of their interrelationships is essential to the understanding of those events.

THE GOD OF CREATION. The external points of contact between the Genesis creation account and the ancient Near Eastern cosmologies are sufficiently numerous and detailed as to leave no doubt about the influence of the latter on the former. The Genesis creation narrative, like the Egyptian Memphite Theology (COS I:21–3), presupposes a single creator god Ptah, but in contrast to Elohim, Ptah himself creates other gods, who themselves are objects of worship. The Genesis creation stories contrast with other ancient Near Eastern myths that regularly depict creation as the aftermath of the creator god's victory over the forces of chaos, a motif found in poetic biblical texts as well (e.g. Isa. 27:1; Ps. 89:10–11; 93; Job 26:11–13). Creation by divine fiat (Gen. 1:3, 6, 9, 11, 14, 20, 24) emphasizes the concept of the omnipotent, transcendent God whose will is unchallengeable. In this connection, the external literary form in which the account of cosmogony has been cast is highly instructive (See Table 3: The process of Creation (Gen. 1:1–2:3).) The creative process is divided into two groups of three days each, the first of which represents the stage of preparation or creation of the elements, the second the stage of completion or creation of those who are to make use of them. Each three-day group embraces the same number of creative acts, and in each case the first day witnesses a single deed, the second a bipartite act, and the third two distinct creations. The products of the middle days in the two groups are chiastically arranged. The seventh day is climactic and pertains to God alone. (The human institution of the Sabbath is not mentioned.) This symmetrically arranged literary pattern serves to underscore the fundamental idea that the world came into being as the free, deliberate, and meaningful expression of divine will.

HUMANITY. Another basic teaching is that the creation of humans is the culmination of the cosmogonic process. (This situation contrasts strongly with the Babylonian myth of Atar-Hasis, which like Genesis moves from creation to the great flood (COS I:450–53]), in which humans are created to do all the work that the minor deities rebelled against doing.) Only here is the divine act preceded by an annunciation of intention (1:26). Only humans are created "in the image of God" (1:26, 27), and to them alone is the custody and exploitation of nature's resources entrusted (1:26, 28, 29). In the second account of the creation of humans, their unique position is emphasized by the fact that their appearance constitutes the sole exception to creation by divine fiat and requires, as it were, a special and personal effort by God, from whom they directly receive the breath of life (2:7). At the same time, the exceptional mention of the material out of which the human was formed (2:7) is suggestive of the limitation of humanity's God-like qualities.

EVIL. The sevenfold affirmation of the goodness of God's creative acts (1:4, 10, 12, 18, 21, 25, 31) is singular in the Bible and indicates the influence of Zoroastrian theology whereby the creator-god effected a good creation. The Jewish writers of Genesis 1 who lived in the post-exilic period adapted the Persian notion to the needs of Jewish monotheism.

THE MORAL LAW. The divine punishment of Cain for fratricide (4:3–16) and the visitations upon the generation of the Flood for its corruption (6:9–8:22) and upon Sodom and Gomorrah for their wickedness (chapters 18–19) all presuppose the existence of a divinely ordained order of universal application, for the infraction of which humans are ultimately and inevitably brought to account.

THE UNITY OF HUMANKIND. The idea of the derivation of all mankind from one common stock is manifested through the divine creation of a single pair of humans as ancestors to all humanity. It is reinforced by the genealogical lists that illustrate the process of development from generation to generation. This concept of the family of humanity and its essential unity receives its consummate expression in the "Table of Nations" (chapter 10), in which the totality of ethnic entities is schematized in the form of a family genealogical tree deriving from the three sons of Noah and their wives, the only human survivors of the Flood.

DIVINE ELECTION. The universal focus in Genesis is gradually narrowed through a process of divine selectivity. Noah is singled out for salvation from the rest of humankind (6:8). Of his sons, Shem is especially blessed (9:26), and his line receives outstanding attention (10:21–31; 11:10–32). His genealogy is continued to the birth of Abraham (11:26) who becomes the elect of God and founder of a new nation (cf. 18:19). Again, of Abraham's two sons, Ishmael is rejected and Isaac chosen (17:7–8, 19, 21; 21:14; 25:6; 26:3–4), and the selective process is repeated in respect of his offspring (35:9–12). The divine blessing of Jacob is the final stage, since at this point the patriarchal period ends and the national era begins. Nevertheless, the universal interest is not neglected entirely for the divine promises involve Israel in the international community (12:1–3; 18:18; 22:18; 26:14; 28:14).

THE COVENANT AND THE PROMISES. One of the most extraordinary features of Genesis is its conception of the relationship between God and humankind in terms of a covenant by which, as an act of grace, God commits Himself unconditionally to the welfare of humankind. This is first explicated in the case of Noah (6:18; 9:8–17; cf. 1:28–29). With the advent of Abraham, the covenant becomes the dominant theme of the entire book, to which all else is preparatory and which itself becomes prologue to the rest of the Bible. The oft-repeated promises to the Patriarchs consist basically of two parts – a future national existence and the possession of national territory. Abraham is to father a great people destined to inherit the land of Canaan (12:2–3; 13:14–17; 15:4–5, 18–21; 17:2, 4–8; 22:17–18). The same is reaffirmed to Isaac (26:3–4) and Jacob (28:13–14; 35:10–12; cf. 46:2–4; 48:3–4). In fact, most subsequent scriptural references to the three Patriarchs are in connection with these promises, and the measure of their paramount importance may be gauged both by the frequency of their repetition and by the fact that the book closes on this very theme (50:24).

The promissory covenant in Genesis lacks mutuality. It is a unilateral obligation freely assumed by God. The solemnity and immutable nature of the act of divine will is conveyed through a dramatic covenant ceremonial (chapter 15). Abraham's worthiness is indeed stressed (18:19; 22:12, 16; 26:5), and his offspring to come, throughout the ages, are to observe the rite of circumcision as the symbol of the covenant (17:9–14). It should be noted, though, that the idea of a national covenant on Sinai with all its implications for the religion of Israel is beyond the horizon of Genesis, which sees in the promises to the Patriarchs the guarantee of God's eternal grace to Israel and the assurance of eventual deliverance from Egypt (cf. 15:14; 50:24; Ex. 6:4–5).

GOD AND HISTORY. The concepts of God and the covenant in Genesis inevitably mean that the presence of God is to be felt on the human scene. History is thus endowed with meaning. A literary characteristic of the Genesis narratives is the employment of schematized chronology, the featuring of neatly balanced periods of time and the use of symbolic numbers to give prominence to this idea.

The ten generations from Adam to Noah are paralleled by a like number separating Noah from Abraham. The birth of each personality represents, from the biblical point of view, the arrival of an epochal stage in history. It is not accidental that the arts of civilization appear precisely in the seventh generation after Adam (Gen. 4:20–22), through the sons of Lamech who himself lived 777 years (5:31). See Table 1.

Turning to the period of the Patriarchs, it is significant that Abraham lived 75 years in the home of his father and the same number of years in the lifetime of his son Isaac, that he was 100 years of age when Isaac was born, and sojourned 100 years in Canaan (12:4; 21:5; 25:7). Jacob lived 17 years with Joseph in Canaan and 17 years with him in Egypt (37:2; 47:9, 28). See Table 2.

The Patriarchs resided a total of 250 years in Canaan (21:5; 25:26; 47:9), which is exactly half the duration of their descendants' stay in Egypt (Ex. 12:40; according to the Greek and Samaritan versions the correspondence is exact). The important events in their lives are recorded in terms of a combination of the decimal and sexagenary systems with the occasional addition of seven (See Table 4: Important events in the lives of the Patriarchs). The idea is clearly projected that what is happening is the stage by stage unfolding of the divine plan of history.

Table 1. The time span from Adam to Abraham's birth

Genesis	Personality	Age at birth of first-born
5:3	Adam	130
5:6	Seth	105
5:9	Enosh	90
5:12	Kenan	70
5:15	Mahalalel	65
5:18	Jared	162
5:21	Enoch	65
5:25	Methuselah	187
5:28	Lamech	182
5:32	Noah	500
11:10	Shem	100
11:12	Arpachschad	35
11:14	Shelah	30
11:16	Eber	34
11:18	Peleg	30
11:20	Reu	32
11:22	Serug	30
11:24	Nahor	29
11:26	Terah	70
		1946[1]

[1] or 1948 according to Gen. 11:10

Table 2. The time span from Abraham's birth to the death of Joseph

Genesis	Personality	Age
21:5	Abraham at the birth of Isaac	100
25:26	Isaac at the birth of Jacob	60
47:28	Life span of Jacob	147
41:46 45:6 47:28 50:26	From the death of Jacob to the death of Joseph	54
		361

Table 3. The process of Creation (Gen. 1:1–2:3)

Group I		Group ii	
Day	Element	User	Day
1	Light (1:3–5)	Luminaries (1:14–19)	4
2	Sky Terrestial Waters (1:6–8)	Marine life (fish) Sky life (fowl) (1:20–23)	5
3	Dry land Vegetation (1:9–13) (Lowest form of organic life)	Land animals Man (1:24–31) (Highest form of organic life)	6
7	*Divine cessation from creativity* (2: 1–3)		

Table 4. Important events in the lives of the Patriarchs

Personality	Event	Age	Source
			Genesis
Abraham	Migrated from Haran	75	12:4
	Married Hagar	85	16:3
	At birth of Isaac	100	21:5
	At death	175	25:7
Sarah	At birth of Isaac	90	17:17
	At death	127=2x60+7	23:1
Isaac	Married Rebekah	40	25:20
	At birth of twins	60	25:26
	At Esau's Marriage	100	26:34
	At death	180=3x60	35:28
Jacob	At migration to Egypt	130	47:9
	At death	147=2x70+7	47:28
Joseph	At sale to Egypt	17=10+7	37:2
	At rise to power	30	41:46
	At death	110	50:26

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[Nahum M. Sarna / S. David Sperling (2nd ed.)]

GENESIS RABBAH (Heb. בְּרֵאשִׁית רַבָּה), aggadic Midrash on the Book of Genesis, the product of Palestinian *amoraim*.

Title

The earlier title of the Midrash was apparently *Bereshit de-Rabbi Oshaya Rabbah* (*Genesis of R. Oshaya Rabbah)* so named after its opening sentence, "R. Oshaya Rabbah took up the text…" (Gen. R. 1:1), this being later abbreviated to *Genesis Rabbah*. This explanation is superior to the suggestion that it was so called in order to distinguish it from the biblical Book of Genesis of which it is an expansion (*rabbah* means "great").

Structure

Genesis Rabbah is an exegetical Midrash which gives a consecutive exposition of the Book of Genesis, chapter by chapter, verse by verse, and often even word for word. It is a compilation of varying expositions, assembled by the editor of the Midrash. The work is divided into 101 sections (according to the superior Vatican 30 manuscript; other manuscripts and the printed versions have minor variations in the number of sections). Often the division into sections was fixed according to the open and closed paragraphs of the Torah (see *Masorah), and at times according to the triennial cycle of the weekly readings of the Torah in Ereẓ Israel which had been customary in earlier times. All of the sections, with seven exceptions, are introduced by one or several proems, one section having as many as nine. The total for the entire work is 246. The proems are of the classical type common to amoraic Midrashim, opening with an extraneous verse which is then connected with the verse expounded at the beginning of the section. Most (199) of the proems in *Genesis Rabbah* are based on verses from the Hagiographa (principally Psalms and Proverbs), only a small number being from the Prophets (37) and the Pentateuch (10). The proems are largely anonymous and in most instances commence without any of the conventional introductory formulae or *termini technici*. Those that are ascribed to authors are mostly amoraic, only two being tannaitic. Generally, the sections have no formal ending, but some conclude with the verse with which the following section begins, thus providing a transition. On rare occasions the ending carries a message of consolation. Characteristic of *Genesis Rabbah*, as of the other early amoraic Midrashim, tannaitic literature, and the two Talmuds, are its repetitions. An exposition or story is often transferred in the Midrash where an expression appears in more than one context.

Language

The language of *Genesis Rabbah* closely resembles that of the Jerusalem Talmud. It is mostly written in mishnaic Hebrew with some Galilean Aramaic. The latter is used especially for the stories and parables, in which many Greek terms and expressions are also interspersed.

The Redaction of the Midrash

In the early Middle Ages, some scholars ascribed the work to the author of the opening proem of the Midrash, Oshaya, of the first generation of Palestinian *amoraim*. The fact, however, that *Genesis Rabbah* mentions the last group of Palestinian *amoraim* who flourished in the second half of the fourth century C.E. (about 150 years after Oshaya) shows this ascription to be erroneous.

The editor used early Aramaic and Greek translations of the Bible (the translation of *Aquila is quoted three times in the Midrash), but was unacquainted with Targum *Onkelos on the Pentateuch, which was used in a Babylonian milieu. While he clearly used the *Mishnah, some scholars have assumed that he did not make use of our *Tosefta, or of the extant *Midreshei Halakhah* (Albeck, *Mavo*), though this issue needs further investigation. They also conclude that he made no use of **Avot de-Rabbi Nathan*, a relatively late aggadic compilation, or even of the much earlier *Seder Olam Rabbah*. Since there are many parallel passages in *Genesis Rabbah* and the Jerusalem *Talmud, scholars have understandably devoted considerable attention to the complex question of their relation to each other. Recently H. Becker devoted an entire study to a reexamination of this issue. In an extended review of this work, C. Milikowsky criticizes the author for not drawing a clear distinction between the question of literary dependence between individual passages found in these two works, and the larger question of literary dependence between these compositions as complete and fully redacted literary works. Milikowsky, however, falls prey to this very confusion when he writes (concerning Lev. R. and Pes. deRav Kahana) "if we succeed in reconstructing which text used the other, then we have the rare opportunity of seeing exactly what a rabbinic redactor does with the material he is revising" (528). Milikowsky rightly draws our attention here to what may be the only matter of substance in this entire scholarly debate. Nevertheless, the question of "exactly what a rabbinic redactor does with the material he is revising" can be determined *only* on the level of individual passages, and it is more than likely that in some cases the redactor of *Genesis Rabbah* reworked an earlier literary tradition which is preserved in a more original form in the Jerusalem Talmud, whereas in other cases the opposite may be the case. This can be explained by positing that some of the *aggadot* and *halakhot* which occur in both *Genesis Rabbah* and the Jerusalem Talmud were derived from earlier common sources (perhaps from oral traditions). Alternatively, both *Genesis Rabbah* and the Jerusalem Talmud may have undergone successive revisions (as did the Babylonian Talmud), even after they took on a fairly distinct and identifiable literary form as redactional wholes, such that either one of them could have drawn upon a version of the other which differs in some respects from the works which we possess today. Therefore the artificial linking of the important issue of the nature of rabbinic redactional revision of earlier literary sources to the broader (and far less significant) question of possible literary dependence of one or the other of these two finished and complete literary works on the other only leads to methodological and conceptual confusion.

On the basis of its language, of the names of sages mentioned in it (most of whom were Palestinian *amoraim*), and of various historical allusions, it is clear that the work was edited in Ereẓ Israel, probably in the beginning of the fifth century C.E. *Genesis Rabbah* is thus the earliest amoraic aggadic Midrash extant; it is also the largest and the most important. The other amoraic aggadic Midrashim, including *Leviticus Rabbah* and *Lamentations Rabbah*, already made use of it. The first explicit reference to the work, however, occurs in *Halakhot Gedolot*.

The editor drew upon both written and oral sources. *Ben Sira is mentioned four times in *Genesis Rabbah*, on one occasion being introduced by the phrase, "As it is written in the book of Ben Sira" (Gen. R. 91:4). *Genesis Rabbah* contains many *aggadot* which also occur in the other Apocrypha, the Pseudepigrapha, and in the works of *Philo and *Josephus. No conclusions, however, are to be drawn from this regarding any relation between *Genesis Rabbah* and these works, it being highly probable that they drew upon a common source or early oral traditions. In addition, *aggadot* and ideas from Jewish-Hellenistic literature often reached the sages through indirect channels. In addition to amoraic statements, *Genesis Rabbah* naturally contains much tannaitic aggadic material. Having assembled all of this material, the editor arranged it according to the order of the verses in the Book of Genesis, abbreviating, or modifying as he saw fit.

Later Additions

In *Genesis Rabbah* there are several parts (in 75, 84, 88, 91, 93, 95ff.) whose language, style, and exegetical character do not form an integral part of the original Midrash but are later additions. In most manuscripts the original expositions on the end of the pentateuchal portion of *Va-Yiggash* and the beginning of that of *Va-Yeḥi* are omitted and replaced by others of later origin and which belong to a type of **Tanḥuma Yelammedenu* Midrash.

Editions

Genesis Rabbah was first published in Constantinople in 1512 together with four other Midrashim on the other books of the Pentateuch, though these latter have nothing in common, as regards style and date of editing, with *Genesis Rabbah*. This edition and Midrashim on the five scrolls (which were previously published separately) were reprinted in Venice in 1545 and reissued several times.

Genesis Rabbah has appeared in a scholarly, critical edition based on manuscripts and containing variant textual readings and comprehensive commentary. This edition is one of the finest such works of modern rabbinic scholarship. It was begun by J. *Theodor in 1903 and completed in 1936 by Ḥ. *Albeck, who also wrote the introduction. From the numerous manuscripts at his disposal, Theodor chose the London manuscript, written about the middle of the 12th century. Careful examination of the manuscripts by Albeck, however, established the manuscript Vatican 30, copied in the 11th century, as superior. The London manuscript is probably a later formulation of the same tradition recorded in the Vatican manuscript. This conclusion has been subsequently confirmed by Y. *Kutscher's linguistic studies of the Vatican 30 manuscript which have shown it to represent an accurate archetype of Galilean Aramaic. A facsimile edition of the Vatican 30 manuscript was published in 1971 with an introduction by M. Sokoloff, and in the following year a facsimile edition of a previously unknown manuscript of *Genesis Rabbah* (Vatican 60), which was at first thought to be equal in importance or perhaps even superior to the Vatican 30 manuscript, but after a detailed analysis of this manuscript by M. Kahana, this has proven not to be the case. *Genesis Rabbah* was translated into English in the Soncino series by M. Friedman (1939) and again more recently by J. Neusner (1985).

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[Moshe David Herr / Stephen G. Wald (2nd ed.)]

GENESIS RABBATI (Heb. בְּרֵאשִׁית רַבָּתִי), a Midrash on the Book of Genesis usually ascribed to *Moses ha-Darshan of Narbonne (first half of 11th century). The Midrash was published from the only extant manuscript by Ḥ. Albeck (Jerusalem, 1940). However *Raymond Martini in his *Pugio Fidei* included many excerpts from "*Genesis Rabbah* of Moses ha-Darshan," which he termed "The large *Genesis Rabbah*," calling the well-known *Genesis Rabbah "The Minor [or short] *Genesis Rabbah*." The relationship between these extracts and *Genesis Rabbati* has been a subject of dispute among scholars. Zunz, whose sole knowledge of it was derived from S.J. Rapoport, assumed that the quotations found in Martini's work had been extended and given the name *Genesis Rabbati*. In this way he explained the differences between *Genesis Rabbati* and the fragments in the *Pugio Fidei*. S. Buber argued that *Genesis Rabbati* should not be ascribed to Moses ha-Darshan on the specious ground that he could not find in it certain quotations from Moses ha-Darshan cited by Rashi, the *tosafot*, and Abrabanel in his *Yeshu'ot Meshiḥo*. Epstein held that *Genesis Rabbati* is an abridged form of "the large *Genesis Rabbah*" mentioned in the *Pugio Fidei*, finding support for his view in the very fact that many of the quotations cited by Martini in the name of Moses ha-Darshan do not occur in *Genesis Rabbati*. He came to the conclusion that in fact "the large *Genesis Rabbah*" was not the work of Moses ha-Darshan, but of an anthologist who used some of Moses' work. Ḥ. Albeck accepted the view of Epstein concerning the relationship between *Genesis Rabbati* and "the large *Genesis Rabbah*." He reinforced his view by a comparison between the *Midrash Aggadah* published by Buber (which is based upon the Midrash of Moses ha-Darshan) and with *Numbers Rabbah* to the portions *Ba-Midbar* and *Naso* (chapters 1–15), which is also based, as he succeeded in proving, upon the Midrash of Moses ha-Darshan (an opinion already expressed by S.D. Luzzatto in his notes to *Numbers Rabbah*).

Genesis Rabbati is based upon the classical sources of the *halakhah*, viz., the two Talmuds, the *targumim, Sefer Yeẓirah*, and all the known Midrashim, but reveals an especially wide knowledge of variant readings in the Midrashim. In the main, however, it is based upon *Genesis Rabbah* (of which it also gives variant readings). The unique quality of *Genesis Rabbati* lies in its quotations from the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha, and particularly from the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, quoting it either directly or from the *Midrash Tadshe,* which is to a considerable extent dependent upon these works. Epstein even maintains that *Midrash Tadshe* is the work of Moses ha-Darshan. Quotations from the latter are mostly cited in the name of *Phinehas b. Jair to whom the *Midrash Tadshe* is attributed because of its opening words. Similarly, in quoting from other Midrashim which were attributed to definite authors, Epstein attributes such statements to their presumed author. *Genesis Rabbati* does not quote its sources verbatim but adapts them (as is the case with the other Midrashim based upon the Midrash of Moses ha-Darshan). Moses was accustomed to combine sources, to change one source in order to equate it with another, to explain one by means of the other, etc. He also added his own explanations and made great use of **gematria*. His treatment of the sources and his additions, while having a precedent in the early Midrashim, clearly indicate his desire to create a new Midrash which would however reflect the biblical exegesis of the rabbis of the Midrash, and this aim is equally evident in the additions. The importance of this Midrash lies not only in its quoting of the sources but also in its biblical exegesis and in its exposition of the Ashkenazi **piyyut* which came into being at about this time. There are no clear proofs of the direct use of *Genesis Rabbati* by authors of this period, though certain references by authors to *Genesis Rabbah*, which do not occur there, may refer in fact to *Genesis Rabbati*.

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[Jacob Elbaum]

GENETIC ANCESTRY, JEWISH.

Background

The human genome refers to approximately three billion chemical letters (nucleotides) comprising the sequence of deoxyribonucleic acid (DNA) in almost every cell of each human being. There are four different nucleotides (adenine, guanine, cytosine, thymidine), such that each of the approximately three billion sites of the human DNA sequence comprising the human genome is occupied by one of these four nucleotide chemical letters. Human genome analysis has revealed that on the face of the planet, on average, any two individuals differ from each other at fewer than merely 0.1% (1⁄10,000) of these sites. These differences among individuals arise from inaccuracies during the process wherein DNA is replicated and transmitted from generation to generation. Furthermore, the pattern of variable sites is not randomly scattered across the 3 billion-nucleotide genome. Rather, certain combinations of variable sites are often transmitted in blocks known as haplotypes.

DNA sequence variants are detected by genotyping or DNA sequencing methods. In the minority of cases, such variable sites may predispose to disease (disease-predisposing mutations), but for the most part they simply serve as "neutral DNA markers." In addition to medical and forensic applications, DNA sequence variation markers are convenient for tracing shared ancestries, family relations, genealogic networks, migratory patterns, and geographic origins of individuals, communities, and populations. This discipline is called DNA sequence based phylogenetics or phylogeography.

While analysis of the genome provides important insights with respect to population history, including Jewish origins and history – for both scientific and ethical reasons, such analysis does not provide an appropriate tool for establishing Jewish or any other religious or ethnic identity at an individual or community level. Scientifically, the variation in DNA sequence identity among Jews is too broad, and overlaps that of non-Jews sufficiently, so as to negate the concept of unique or characteristic genomic markers for Jews. Furthermore, Jewish identity is a concept based on tradition, law, culture, and custom, rather than on physical considerations, including DNA sequence. Attempts to use any biological markers to establish Jewish identity in individuals have been fraught with unwanted and tragic consequences in the past. Therefore, inferences regarding patterns of DNA sequence variation should be interpreted with great caution, with regard to both scientific and societal considerations.

DNA markers are distributed across all of the various distinct regions of the genome, which in humans consists of 22 pairs of autosomal chromosomes, the sex chromosomes (XX in females and XY in males), and mitochondrial DNA. Most of the genome is diploid, meaning that there is representation of each nucleotide site from both parents. However, the Y-chromosome of the genome in males, and mitochondrial DNA in both males and females are haploid, meaning that there is only representation from one parent (uniparental). In the case of the Y-chromosome, the DNA sequence including its variable site markers is transmitted only from fathers to their sons. In the case of mitochondrial DNA, the DNA sequence including its variable site markers is transmitted only from mothers to both their male and female offspring. Furthermore, at these uniparentally inherited haploid regions the genome is free of a process called recombination, which does occur at the diploid regions of the genome. Recombination shuffles markers between the two parental copies at corresponding genomic regions. For most of the length of the Y-chromosome (the non-recombining or NRY region) and for the entire mitochondrial DNA, no recombination occurs. Thus, analysis of DNA markers on the NRY region of the Y-chromosome and mitochondrial DNA has emerged as a powerful tool in phylogenetics of male and female lineages respectively. Markers outside of these haploid regions have also been used in genome based phylogeographic analysis. However, the dual inheritance, with biparental presentation together with recombination, renders the interpretation of shared ancestry and phylogenetics more complex and often ambiguous. It should be noted, that when DNA sequence variants anywhere in the genome are disease-predisposing mutations, differences in their frequency among Jewish communities in comparison with non-Jews can contribute to certain health and disease epidemiologic patterns (see *Genetic Diseases in Jews). The current entry will be divided into a description of genomic analysis of Jewish populations along male and female lineages, followed by an integrated overview.

Application of Phylogenetics to Jewish Populations

The molecular principles described above have been usefully applied to the evolutionary studies of humankind as a whole, as well as to the phylogenetics of various populations of interest. These studies address questions related to geographic origins, ancestry, history, migration, and demography of populations. Likewise, it is possible to phrase similar questions with regard to the parental ancestry of contemporary Jews. To do so, it is necessary, first, to delineate accepted nomenclatures and classifications for Jewish communities and second, to clarify how the use of different classes of genetic markers enables distinct questions of interest to be addressed. To this end, contemporary Jews can be considered as descending from two large population groups which had somewhat separate demographic histories during the past approximately two millennia. These are the Ashkenazi and non-Ashkenazi groups, which in turn are comprised of numerous different communities. It is clear that this division oversimplifies the relations and hierarchy between the various Jewish communities. Thus the Ashkenazi population of Europe, which refers to Jews whose recent ancestry traces to Central and Eastern Europe, is, often regarded as one population subgroup, despite clearly being composed of multiple communities. This classification has emerged because of shared adherence to similar religious rituals, liturgical style, and the shared use of the Yiddish language, and geographic location in Central and Eastern Europe. Of relevance to phylogenetics was the practice of a high level of endogamy, wherein Ashkenazi Jews married within the population subgroup. The non-Ashkenazi population subgroup is a much more culturally and geographically diverse population. The majority of the non-Ashkenazi population is composed of communities that resided in the Near and Middle East, North Africa, and geographic locations to which the Jews fled following the Iberian expulsions, beginning in 1492 C.E. These communities share similar religious rituals, most probably due to their presumed common historical origin from a gradual movement of Babylonian Jews, and are sometimes collectively referred to as the "Sephardi (Spanish)" or "Mizraḥi (Eastern)" Jews. In the current entry, we shall adhere to this convention though, where appropriate, based on available information, the term "Spanish exile" will refer to members of Jewish communities descended from the Iberian expulsions, and shall use the term "non-Ashkenazi" when the detailed geographic origin does not permit a more precise description. Moreover, neither the term "Sephardi" nor "Mizraḥi" takes into account some additional Jewish communities such as some of the Italian, Georgian, Yemenite, and Indian communities.

Following the foregoing definitions, two complementary sets of questions arise. First, what is the overall pattern of the contemporary NRY and mitochondrial DNA sequence variation at the level of the entire Jewish population in comparison to non-Jews, and of individual population subgroups or communities? More specifically this set of questions relates to our overall ability to trace recent or contemporary Jewish communities to a particular geographic origin such as the Near East, and allows analysis of parameters such as admixture and gene flow with Diaspora host populations. Second, DNA marker analysis enables clarification of micro-evolutionary mechanisms and events that have shaped the population history of each of the Jewish communities. These include the actual number of founding ancestors, their rate of expansion, their most likely geographic origin, and the level of identity between the various Jewish founding ancestors in different Jewish communities. The answers to both sets of questions are addressed separately for paternal and maternal population history, using the NRY-region of the Y-chromosome and mitochondrial DNA respectively, and in some cases these are expected to yield different patterns.

To gain a clearer understanding of the way in which these questions can be addressed, it is important to clarify the different kinds of DNA sequence variation markers that are available for analysis, and the ways in which they can be combined to generate phylogenetic trees, with different levels of temporal resolution. Haplogroups are generally defined by a series of hierarchically arranged stable variations or polymorphisms in DNA sequence (usually at a single nucleotide site and hence termed single nucleotide polymorphisms or SNPs) that have usually occurred only once in the course of human evolution. These are binary or bi-allelic, since there are only two variants in the human population, rather than multiple different variants. Numerous such binary sites are located throughout the NRY, and when combined they define major haplogroups. Individuals belonging to the same NRY haplogroup share common paternal ancestry at a level of resolution and timeframe that is a function of the number and choice of such binary sites. In the case of mitochondrial DNA, these binary sites are usually located in the portion of the circular mitochondrial DNA genome that is termed the coding region, and these define maternal haplogroups. Haplogroups enable the most basic level of phylogenetic assignment of humans into populations on the basis of shared paternal or maternal ancestry and hence phylogeographic origin. Such haplogroup analysis has been used to trace African origins and subsequent major migration routes for all anatomically modern humans on the planet. In the case of paternal haplogroups, defined by binary markers on the NRY, these have been given designations of major haplogroups A through R, based on the use of a few dozen binary markers, and each such haplogroup can be further refined and subdivided into a hierarchical tree of subhaplogroups, using many additional binary markers. These subhaplogroups are given additional lower case letter and number designations. As an example, NRY haplogroups A and B are dominant in Africa and absent in the Americas. Of relevance to the origin of Jewish populations, the Near East as a whole is populated by a varied mix of major haplogroups among which the most frequent are E and J. Similarly the mitochondrial major haplogroups are designated by letters A through Z, and then again further subdivided using numbers and lower case letters, using additional coding region binary markers. In the case of mitochondrial DNA haplogroups, the major L haplogroup is dominant in Africa and absent in the Americas. Of relevance to Jewish population origins, and as is the case for the Y-chromosome, the Near East is populated with a long list of major mitochondrial haplogroups, among which H, J, T, U, and K are frequent. It is important to emphasize that the most common major haplogroups can be found across very large geographic expanses, and in turn comprise numerous lineages that usually coalesced many thousand years ago. Lineages refer to branches within a given haplogroup or subhaplogroup which can be related to each other by additional classes of DNA sequence variation markers. Many such additional classes of markers exist, and together they are distinguished from haplogroup-defining binary markers in several ways. First, there may be more than two variants – such as in the case of simple tandem repeat markers (STRs) on the NRY. Also, they represent DNA sequence mutation events which may occur at a much more rapid rate compared to haplogroup defining binary markers, and as such may also have occurred at a given site repeatedly many times in human history, as occurs in the D-loop or control region of mitochondrial DNA. Such repeat markers are often said to define haplotypes within haplogroups, or lineages. Thus a phylogenetically defined lineage represents a cluster of related evolving haplotypes within a haplogroup. As noted, a haplogroup at any level of binary marker resolution is composed of numerous such coalescing lineages, whose relatedness can be determined using analysis of haplotype-defining repeat markers. Thus, while documentation or comparison of haplogroup frequencies within or among populations of interest provides important information regarding large but specific geographic origins, this does not effectively allow determination of the real number of ancestral parental lineages that gave rise to the present-day diversity in a population. This can be likened to the hands on a clock, in which haplogroups are like the hour hand, and haplotypes are like the minute hand, and a lineage represents a given number of minutes within the interval defined by the hour hand. There is a slight difference in the way haplotypes are measured and determined for the NRY and for mitochondrial DNA, with a greater emphasis on the use of STRs in the case of the NRY, and use of D-loop sequence variants in the case of mitochondrial DNA. The advantage of using haplotype-defining repeat markers is invaluable in the study of the genomic structure of population groups, since they evolve quickly enough to trace recent historical events from DNA samples of extant living individuals. It is this genomic tool which has provided several important insights regarding Jewish populations, whose demographics and histories had previously been described on the basis of oral tradition, archival records, linguistic and liturgical analysis. Analysis of the genome has provided a complementary tool to these more classical approaches, and yielded additional insights.

Jewish Paternal Ancestry – View from the NRY Markers of the Y-Chromosome

The first recorded studies at the level of the genomic DNA sequence variation appeared in 1993, and compared Sephardi and Ashkenazi Jews in comparison to non-Jewish Czech males. These reported that the two Jewish population subgroups show a great similarity of NRY DNA marker frequencies, and appear to show very little evidence for admixture with host non-Jewish neighbors. Of interest, comparison with Lebanese non-Jews supported the notion of a shared Near East origin for both Ashkenazi and Sephardi Jewish population subgroups examined. Studies over the subsequent decade utilized progressively larger and more diverse sample sets, and a greater number of DNA sequence markers. Taken together this decade of work on the NRY markers strongly supports the hypothesis that the paternal gene pool of Jewish communities from Europe, North Africa, and the Middle East descended from a common Near Eastern ancestral population, and suggest that most Jewish communities have remained relatively isolated from neighboring non-Jewish communities during and after the Diaspora. The two most prevalent major NRY haplogroup affiliations shared among all Jewish communities are those denoted J and E. Further research based on haplogroup markers has shown that, with some notable rare exceptions, the NRY chromosome pool of both Ashkenazi Jews and non-Ashkenazi Jews originates as an integral part of the genetic landscape of the Near East. Further analysis at the haplotype level suggested that the pattern of haplotype differentiation within these shared haplogroups differs between the Jewish population and non-Jewish Near Eastern populations. This is entirely consistent with a shared remote Near East origin but subsequent separation of the ancestors of contemporary Jews from their non-Jewish Near East shared ancestral population. Such separation involved the establishment of a separate ethnic identity and restriction in marital admixture. The separation would have been accentuated by migration of the Jewish population from the Near East and into other parts of the world, during the Diasporas. In others words, the biological events leading to the emergence of the major haplogroups observed in Jews and non-Jews with whom they share common Near East ancestry are much older than the populations in which these haplogroups are found. While the similar and shared Near Eastern background at the haplogroup level predates the ethnogenesis in the region, the haplotype structure is more recent and has evolved after the establishment of the Jews as a population group. To date, the Ashkenazi subpopulation of the Jews has been studied in the greatest detail, though there is a steadily increasing accumulation of comparably detailed genomic information for non-Ashkenazi communities. In the most detailed paternal phylogenetic study of the Ashkenazi to date by Behar and Skorecki in collaboration with an international team of scientific colleagues, a detailed resolution of the haplogroup structure according to the Y Chromosome Consortium recommendations was obtained. Based on the genotyping results, the Ashkenazi haplogroups were divided into the following three categories: major founder haplogroups, minor founder haplogroups, and shared haplogroups. The first two categories included those haplogroups likely to be present in the founding Ashkenazi population (and that now occur at high and low frequency respectively). The latter category is comprised of haplogroups that either entered the Ashkenazi Jewish gene pool recently as the result of introgression from European host populations, and/or that were present in both European and Jewish populations before the dispersal of the ancestral Ashkenazi population through Europe.

Haplogroup E-M35 and haplogroup J-12f2a fit the criteria for major Ashkenazi Jewish founding subhaplogroups, because they are widespread both in Ashkenazi Jewish communities and in Near Eastern populations, and occur at much lower frequencies in European non-Jewish populations. Subhaplogroups G-M201 and Q-P36 show a similar pattern, but are found at lower frequency, and are therefore considered to have been part of the founding paternal Ashkenazi Y-chromosome pool. It has not yet been established if these minor subhaplogroups are shared with non-Ashkenazi Jews. The best candidates for subhaplogroups that entered the Ashkenazi Jewish population more recently via admixture from the neighboring European populations include I-P19, R-P25, and R-M17. Taken together these results confirmed that the majority of NRY haplogroups found among contemporary Ashkenazi Jews originated in the Near East, with an approximately 8% introgression from non-Jewish European populations. Two events of interest seem to have made very specific independent contributions to this minor degree of introgression, and these will be described in the subsequent section. However, overall genomic analysis provides definitive evidence refuting a major contribution to the Ashkenazi Y-chromosome pool of any large scale entry into the population from the Caucasus, the putative geographic location of the Khazarian Kingdom, or from any other European or Eurasian source population. While a study of this detail in non-Ashkenazi communities is still to be done, multiple lines of evidence from the genomic literature strongly support a common Near Eastern paternal origin for all Jewish communities, with low levels of introgression from neighboring non-Jews in the Diasporas. These findings also provided the backdrop for detailed analysis of lineages to clarify demographic patterns and microevolutionary forces that have shaped the detailed population structure of different Jewish communities and Jewish population subgroups. A number of illustrative examples are provided herein.

GENOMIC ANALYSIS OF THE JEWISH PRIEST AND LEVITE CASTES. Phylogenetic analysis is based upon relatedness of individuals within a group. Genetic analysis has confirmed that all of humankind is phylogenetically related as descendents of a common maternal and paternal ancestor. In some societies, extensive records are maintained which document relationships and establish pedigrees extending over many generations, and this information can be used to facilitate genomic studies. While such biparental pedigree information is not available extending back to the early history of the Jewish people, there exists an oral tradition which may provide information about shared paternal ancestry, which has proven to be of interest, and must be taken into account in phylogenetic studies of Jews. In particular, a long-established system of Jewish male tribal or caste affiliation categorizes Jewish men into three groups: Jewish *priests or kohanim, *levites, and Israelites. Within the Jewish community, membership in the male castes noted above, is determined by patrilineal descent. Kohanim are, in biblical tradition, the descendants of Aaron, who along with his brother Moses was a male descendant of Levi, the third son of biblical patriarch Jacob. According to the same tradition, Levites are considered to be those remaining male descendants of Levi who are not kohanim. These categories are recognized and affiliations of individual Jewish males to one of the three castes is widely known in virtually all Jewish communities, including Sephardi, Ashkenazi, and other.

More specifically, self-identification with the Jewish priestly caste reflects an oral tradition of transmission by inheritance from father to son with no halakhically sanctioned mechanism for introgression of males who are not descendents along the paternal line from the founder of this male dynasty. Accordingly, this tradition carries with it specific scientific predictions based on the molecular genomics of the Y-chromosome. Since, as noted, the Y-chromosome is also transmitted from fathers only to their male offspring, it is predicted that the Y-chromosome of historically and geographically dispersed priests should have a significantly greater similarity of DNA sequence markers compared to Y-chromosomes of other groups. Comprehensive clarification of the patterns of paternal relatedness, based on NRY marker analysis, requires combining haplogroup with haplotype analysis, to trace actual lineages. Indeed, several research studies beginning in 1997, and carried out over many years and across several continents, reveal a statistically significant greater degree of similarity of such NRY markers among contemporary Jewish priests compared to other groups tested. This similarity applied equally when tested across Ashkenazi and non-Ashkenazi communities. This finding has been durable and has withstood the test of a decade of verification. Utilization of NRY STR markers, whose rate of change occurs at a surmised rapid pace, enabled the tracing of lineages and also determination of lineage coalescence times, in order to bracket an approximate timeframe for the establishment of this patrilineal Jewish priestly dynasty. Thus for example, using a set of six STR markers (DYS19, DYS388, DYS390, DYS391, DYS392, and DYS393), a single haplotype, termed the Cohen Modal Haplotype, was found to be the most frequent, and to be shared among priests from both the non-Ashkenazi and Ashkenazi communities. The scores (corresponding to the number of repeats in each named STR marker respectively) for this six-STR haplotype are 14, 16, 23, 10, 11, and 12 and are now known to belong to NRY haplogroup J, which, as noted above, is the most frequent haplogroup in the Near East and among Jews in particular. In a 1998 study, the modal haplotype frequencies were found to be 0.449 and 0.561 for the Ashkenazi and Sephardi kohanim, respectively. The corresponding modal frequencies for the Ashkenazi and Sephardi Israelites in this same study were found to be 0.132 and 0.098, respectively. This lower frequency highlights the difference in criteria for overall Jewish affiliation compared to affiliation with the Jewish priesthood. Overall Jewish identity, since at least talmudic times (100 B.C.E.–500 C.E.) has traditionally been acquired either by descent from a Jewish woman, or alternatively by rabbinically authorized conversion, without the need to establish descent from a common male (or female) ancestor. In contrast as noted above, affiliation to the Jewish priesthood was restricted along patrilineal lines of descent. The use of one-step mutation haplotypes, termed the Cohen Modal Cluster, allowed the calculation of the coalescence to the most common recent ancestor by standard accepted mutation rates. This calculation gave an estimate of approximately 106 generations, which for a generation time of 25 years gives an estimated range which brackets a mean of 2,650 years before the present. These results establish the common origin of the Jewish priesthood caste in the Near East, coinciding with a timeframe beginning at approximately the biblically attributed date of the exodus from Egypt and extending to the Temple period. However, it should be noted that such dating estimates are based on numerous inherent assumptions and carry with them a wide error margin. The availability of more binary as well as STR markers for the NRY is now enabling further refinement at both the haplogroup and haplotype levels, and these numerical estimates may change based on future genome analysis. Furthermore, the discovery of a modal haplotype and cluster is based on statistical analysis, and does not permit specific validation of priestly status for a given individual. The latter depends upon cultural, religious, and social considerations which are not related to genome analysis for a given individual.

Of interest, the same studies in 1997 and 1998 found high frequencies of multiple haplogroups in the levites, indicating that no single recent origin could be inferred for the majority of this group, despite an oral tradition of a patrilineal descent similar to that of the kohanim (with some exceptions outlined in talmudic tractate *Bekhorot*). This led to a more detailed NRY analysis of the levites. In particular, given the importance of the paternally defined levite caste in Jewish history, together with multiple theories of the ethnogenesis of the Ashkenazi Jewish community, and a suggestion that Yiddish is a re-lexified Slavic tongue, Behar and Skorecki, together with an international team of scientific collaborators, reported in 2003 a detailed investigation of the paternal genetic history of Ashkenazi levites. They compared the results with matching data from neighboring populations among which the Ashkenazi community lived during its formation and subsequent demographic expansion. The finding clearly demonstrated among the Ashkenazi levites, a major tightly clustered lineage within NRY haplogroup R-M17, which comprises 74% of Ashkenazi levites within this haplogroup and 52% of Ashkenazi levites overall. The presence of the R-M17 haplogroup within Ashkenazi levites is striking for several reasons. Firstly, this haplogroup is found at high frequency in the Ashkenazi levites but not in Sephardi levites, nor any other geographically or religiously designated Jewish grouping examined to date. This means that a large and closely related subgroup of the Ashkenazi levites and the Sephardi levites differ in paternal ancestry. This is a very different pattern from that observed among the kohanim. Second, the STR marker-based haplotypes within this Ashkenazi levite haplogroup form an exceedingly tight phylogenetic cluster, indicative of a very recent origin from a single common ancestor. Coalescence calculation following the same principles used for the Cohen Modal Haplotype point to a founding event that occurred approximately 1,000 years before the present, with the same caveats regarding time estimates based on genomic analysis as were pointed out above. Third, the haplogroup is extremely rare in other Jewish groups and in non-Jewish groups of Near Eastern origin, but is found at high frequency in populations of East European origin. This contrasts with the Cohen Modal Haplotype, which belongs to a haplogroup that is abundant in the Near East. For the reasons stated above, it is likely that the event leading to a high frequency of R-M17 Y-chromosomes within the Ashkenazi levites involved very few, and possibly only one, founding paternal ancestor. The question then arises regarding the possible origins of the founder(s). Haplogroup R-M17 is found at very low frequency in other Jewish groups. It is possible, therefore, that this haplogroup was also present at very low frequency among the levites present within the Ashkenazi founding community, followed by exceeding reproductive success, rendering the descendents of one such Levite, with this rare haplogroup, more numerous. Likewise, the haplogroup is also found at very low frequency within some populations of Near Eastern origin. It is therefore also possible that a conversion event prior to the establishment of the Ashkenazi founding population led to the founding of this haplogroup and its subsequent emergence at high frequency within the Ashkenazi levites. While it is not possible to formally refute either of these two possible explanations, it would be a remarkable coincidence that the geographic origins and demographic expansion of the Ashkenazi levites are within northern and eastern Europe and that this haplogroup is found at very high frequency within neighboring non-Jewish populations of European origin, but not at high frequency elsewhere. An alternative explanation, therefore, would postulate a founder(s) of non-Jewish European ancestry, whose descendents were able to assume levite status. While neither the NRY haplogroup composition of the majority of Ashkenazi Jews nor the STR haplotype composition of the R-M17 haplogroup within Ashkenazi levites is consistent with a major Khazar or other European origin for the Ashkenazi community, as has been speculated by some scholars, one cannot rule out the important contribution of a single or a very few individual male founders from the Khazarian or another Eurasian population group among contemporary Ashkenazi levites. A similar study focusing on non-Ashkenazi levites is yet to be carried out, and will no doubt shed additional light on the detailed paternal lineages comprising contemporary levites.

DUTCH JEWS AND LEMBA. Two additional illustrative examples of geographic rather than caste designation can be given wherein genomic analysis of NRY marker variation has provided insights of relevance to Jewish population history. NRY analysis of Ashkenazi Dutch Jewish males has shown that approximately 25% of their NRY chromosomes belong to the most prevalent haplogroup in Western Europe and one that is rare in the Near East, R-P25. Therefore, when various indices of genetic distances are measured between this Ashkenazi community and the non-Jewish host population, greater similarities are observed, reflecting more substantial male-origin gene flow from the host population to the Ashkenazi Dutch community. This is consistent with greater religious tolerance which may have characterized Dutch society. Interestingly, the pattern of this possible introgression is different from that observed for the R-M17 haplogroup described for the levites. The genetic distances between the haplotypes comprising haplogroup R-P25 in contemporary Ashkenazi Dutch Jews coalesce prior to the migration of Jews to Europe and therefore are likely explained by repetitive introgression events (admixture) of European non-Jewish males into this community. Another group of interest has been the *Lemba tribes of Southern Africa. While not identified as Jews in religious or halakhic terms, these individuals relate an oral tradition of descending from a group of men who migrated via the Hadramout from the ancient kingdom of Judea in the Near East. Following their eventual settlement in their current villages, located in modern-day South Africa, Mozambique, and Zimbabwe, the Lemba founders are said to have intermarried with local Bantu-speaking women, and to have adopted the language and many cultural practices of their neighbors. However, they also maintained some traditions, reminiscent of a Near East and Jewish origin. Genomic analysis of NRY markers at the haplogroup and haplotype level indeed confirmed a pattern of admixture, with clear-cut evidence of Y-chromosomes of Near East origin in a substantial number of Lemba males, with frequencies approaching those found in some Ashkenazi and Sephardi Diaspora Jewish communities, with a strikingly high frequency of Lemba males with the Cohen Modal Haplotype. These are virtually absent among the non-Lemba neighboring populations. More detailed STR-based lineage and coalescence analysis with a large number of markers could provide additional insights of historical interest.

Additional studies have been done, and are continuing to focus on the mechanisms that shaped the population genomic structure of the remaining majority of Jewish groups and communities. Questions of special interest amenable to this type of analysis include these: how limited is the number of founders which gave rise to the contemporary global Jewish population? Do Ashkenazi and various non-Ashkenazi Jewish populations share overlapping or distinct founding lineages? Can geographic origins for each of the Jewish haplogroups be determined with greater accuracy? Studies carried out between 2002 and 2004 have provided some initial information in this regard. By focusing initially on the Ashkenazi population and investigating the STR marker variation within each of the founding haplogroups, Behar and Skorecki, together with an international group of scientific collaborators, confirmed previous findings that Ashkenazi Jews show high levels of haplogroup diversity compared with their non-Jewish counterparts. However, a vastly reduced number of haplotypes within Ashkenazi Jewish haplogroups, as well as reduced haplotype variance within haplogroups, was clearly observed. What do these contrasting patterns tell us about the possible role of a bottleneck in the Ashkenazi population? Despite the fact that Ashkenazi Jews represent a recently founded population in Europe, they appear to derive from a large and diverse ancestral source population in the Near East, a population that may have been larger than the source population from which European non-Jews derived. This is consistent with the finding that contemporary Ashkenazi Jews display higher levels of haplogroup diversity than European non-Jewish populations. The reduced haplotype diversity within Ashkenazi Jewish haplogroups compared to non-Jewish populations may be the signature of a founder event/population bottleneck in the Ashkenazi population history. Indeed, the extremely low STR-based haplotype diversity of some of the less frequent founding haplogroups (e.g., NRY haplogroups R-M17, Q-P36) suggest a single male lineage expansion comprising most or all of these and other haplogroups in Ashkenazi Jews. Comparable analyses have yet to be carried out for the many non-Ashkenazi communities. In addition, the study demonstrated that the many different Ashkenazi communities in Central and

Eastern Europe cannot be readily distinguished from each other either at the haplogroup or haplotype level, based on genetic markers at both the haplogroup and haplotype levels. This can be attributed to a common origin from a shared ancestral deme and due to continuous migration among the Ashkenazi communities, and is entirely consistent with non-genetic disciplines identifying all Ashkenazi communities as a relatively homogeneous population.

Jewish Maternal Ancestry: View from Mitochondrial DNA

The available data on the maternally inherited mitochondrial DNA in Jewish communities is still scant, but is being collected at a rapid rate as DNA sequencing and genotyping technology improves, and is also fueled by the interest of the public in genealogic questions. An initial study, which focused only on a region of the D-loop of mitochondrial DNA known as hypervariable sequence 1 (HVS-1), demonstrated greatly reduced mitochondrial DNA diversity in the Jewish populations in comparison with the host populations, together with a wide range of different modal haplotypes specific to each of the different communities. The results indicated specific founding events in the Jewish populations. A simple explanation for this exceptional pattern of mitochondrial variation across Jewish populations was that each of the different Jewish communities is composed of descendants of a small group of maternal founders. After the establishment of these communities, inward gene flow from the host populations must have been very limited. As the study focused on haplotype diversity and did not include deep haplogroup analysis, a putative origin of each of the founding lineages was not suggested. A subsequent study conducted by Behar and Skorecki, together with an international group of scientific collaborators, focused in greater detail on the Ashkenazi population using a large set of samples from descendents of numerous communities across Europe, and utilized markers which permitted deep phylogeographic analysis at the mitochondrial haplogroup and haplotype levels. The analysis of Ashkenazi mitochondrial sequence variation portrays a pattern of highly reduced diversity, with an unusually large proportion of haplotypes that are unique to the Ashkenazi gene pool, and a reduction in frequency of rare haplotypes and singleton sites compared with both European and Near Eastern populations. At the haplogroup level, the Ashkenazi mitochondrial DNA variation was found to have a number of peculiarities. For example, in two separate studies nearly ten years apart, haplogroup K appears as the most common haplogroup, with its frequency almost an order of magnitude greater than among European or Near Eastern non-Jewish populations. More detailed sequence analysis enabled the construction of mitochondrial DNA-based phylogenetic networks, which resolved the haplogroup K samples into three separate lineages, whose phylogeographic origins are thought to antedate by far the founding of the Ashkenazi population. Furthermore, mitochondrial DNA haplogroup N1b, rare in most European populations, was found to comprise nearly 10% of the Ashkenazi mitochondrial DNA pool, and strikingly, haplotype analysis of this N1b haplogroup in Ashkenazi Jews revealed only a single lineage. These Ashkenazi mitochondrial DNA lineages were virtually absent from surrounding non-Jewish populations, and therefore provide a genetic signature of the Ashkenazi maternal gene pool, and bear witness to the strong effects of genetic drift acting on this population. Similar to the observation for male ancestry based on Y-chromosome analysis in the Ashkenazi population, the mitochondrial DNA results also show that the various Ashkenazi communities throughout Central and Eastern Europe cannot be readily distinguished from each other, likely reflecting shared recent origins from a common small ancestral deme, followed by continuous migration among the Ashkenazi communities.

Micro-Evolutionary Mechanisms that Have Shaped Mitochondrial DNA Sequence Variation in Jewish Communities

Based on the foregoing, and with the development of advanced technological approaches to facilitate DNA sequence analysis, the highest possible level of maternal phylogeographic resolution can be obtained from compete sequencing of the entire approximately 16,500 nucleotides of mitochondrial DNA from samples of interest. Recent studies by Behar and Skorecki and their international scientific collaborators, as well as other research groups, are utilizing such an approach in an attempt to shed light on the absolute number of individual women who gave rise to the lineages among Ashkenazi Jews, to shed light on their putative origin. Based on the complete sequencing analysis in Ashkenazi Jews and existing complete sequences from non-Jews, the exact phylogenetic branches in which the Ashkenazi lineages could be traced were identified. The new information was used to screen a global set of haplogroup K samples to include or exclude them from these Ashkenazi lineages. The results showed that the Ashkenazi lineages were virtually absent in other populations, with the important exception of low frequencies among non-Ashkenazi Jews. These results indicate that the three Ashkenazi haplogroup K lineages are virtually restricted to this population, and are likely to be of Near Eastern rather than European origin. The same approach was followed for mitochondrial DNA haplogroup N1b, and concluded that for this haplogroup all samples belong to one expanding lineage. Taken together, these four lineages indicate that four individual women gave rise to fully 40% of contemporary Ashkenazi Jews, or approximately 3.5 million people. The coalescence times for the expansion of these four lineages coincide well with the historical timeframe of less than 2,000 years for Ashkenazi population expansion from a small founding deme, providing the most powerful and detailed information about the maternal Ashkenazi population founding event. Similar studies in non-Ashkenazi Jewish communities remain to be carried out, and should provide comparable information regarding absolute numbers of founding maternal lineages, as well as their approximate founding dates and possible ancestral locations.

Integration of the Paternal and Maternal Genetic History

Taken together, the data available from Y-chromosome and mitochondrial DNA phylogenetic analysis of Jewish populations has been very informative in uncovering patterns and mechanisms that complement information gleaned from more conventional historical, linguistic, archival, liturgical, and archeological approaches. Furthermore, NRY and mitochondrial DNA markers continue to be used to seek possible Near East origins for communities which claim shared remote ancestry with the majority of Jewish population groups (so-called "Lost Tribes"). At the population level it seems that the genetic histories of the maternal and paternal ancestors tell different stories about population genomic structure of the Jews. Y-chromosome genomic analysis strongly points to a common origin in the Near East while the genetic data from the mitochondrial DNA point to separate local events with a putative geographic origin that might or might not be in the Near East. Y-chromosome and mitochondrial DNA analyses are congruent in suggesting that a limited number of founding ancestors gave rise to the various Jewish communities, with remarkably low levels of introgression from the host populations. It is also clear that many questions remain unanswered and the scope of future studies is potentially very large. Data on the non-Ashkenazi population is needed to answer more accurately questions pertaining to the mechanisms that have shaped each of the communities and the possible connection among them and with the Ashkenazi and host populations. It is important to note that information gleaned from the study of the haploid regions of the genome provide information that is of relevance to population level genomic effects. Population level effects, such as founder and bottleneck events, influence overall patterns of DNA sequence variation across the genome as a whole. Thus a founder effect, followed by population expansion, may lead to the drift to high frequencies of specific disease-predisposing or phenotype-modifying sequence variants at other parts of the genome. However, they do not substitute for direct analysis at these diploid and autosomal regions of the genome in ascertaining mutations. Furthermore, recombination, which characterizes the pattern of inheritance at the diploid regions of the genome, accounts for the influence of even small degrees of admixture of Jews with their non-Jewish neighbors on diverse traits or phenotypes that are determined by DNA sequence variation throughout the genome. This partly explains some of the differences in physical features that may be noted among Jewish communities, despite common ancestral origins, and high levels of intra-community endogamy. Interestingly, recently it has been shown that in other parts of the genome as well, there may be regions of limited recombination, or regions in which DNA sequence variation markers are inherited in a block like pattern. This finding may open up the ability to utilize such diploid regions to enhance our understanding of population genomic history, especially with respect to disease predisposition. The potential implication of findings such as paucity of ancestors and their possible effect on other parts of the genome, especially those relevant for diseases prevalent among Jews, remains an important continuing frontier for study with respect to genomic analysis of Jewish populations. These questions are particularly important for the Ashkenazi community in which the reasons for the well-documented excess of rare recessive disorders have been repeatedly discussed without a definitive resolution. It is anticipated that future studies integrating analysis of the haploid genomic regions and other genomic regions such as the X-chromosome and the autosomes will be complementary and shed additional light of historical and population health importance. The future holds great promise in clarifying these important chapters in the history of the Jewish people.

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[Doron Behar and Karl Skorecki (2nd ed.)]

GENETIC DISEASES IN JEWS. The abnormal genes and DNA sequences underlying most inherited genetic diseases in Jews have been identified. This progress has helped to understand the nature of these diseases, to increase the prospects for treatment, to facilitate genetic counseling, and to elucidate the population genetics underlying the segregation of these diseases in Jewish communities. Classically, genetic disorders are classified according to their mode of inheritance. Individuals inheriting one abnormal dominant gene or two abnormal recessive genes develop disease. In contrast, individuals who inherit one copy of a recessive gene do not develop disease but are carriers at risk of transmitting the disease. However, progress has revealed further complexities. Diseases formerly attributed to a single abnormal gene are often associated with different or multiple abnormal genes. There is also an imperfect correlation between inheriting an abnormal gene and the clinical features and severity of the resulting disease. Increased recognition of mild forms of classical disease has forced a reevaluation of disease prevalence in Jewish as in other populations. Furthermore, although mutation in identifiable genes is responsible for most genetic diseases, interaction with other genes and with environmental factors often determines disease susceptibility and expression.

Genetic diseases with a high prevalence in Jews are mostly recessive. In general, over 1,000 recessive diseases have been discovered. Most are rare but the prevalence of some of these diseases is increased 100-fold or more in Jewish as in other isolated ethnic groups with predominant inbreeding. This increased prevalence is usually but not invariably confined to individual Jewish ethnic groups ("*edot* Israel") and not found in Jews in general. Most are severe and often lead to early death. In some diseases genetic analysis has identified the first appearance of an abnormal "founder" gene originating in a small number of individuals within a Jewish group. This creates a genetic bottleneck whereby the prevalence of a recessive genetic disease is maintained at a high level by subsequent inbreeding.

These principles and the practical issues are illustrated by examples of the most common genetic diseases. Ashkenazim are a relatively homogeneous group despite their settlement in different European countries for centuries. The high prevalence of some 20 "Ashkenazi diseases" in this group dates from founder effects and bottlenecks in the era after 75 C.E. and between 1100 and 1400 C.E. The most common of these diseases are the neurodegenerative Tay-Sachs disease and Gaucher type I disease, which has more widespread clinical features. These "lysosomal storage" diseases result from enzyme deficiencies. Familial dysautonomia affects peripheral nerves and predominantly affects certain Ashkenazi groups. The carrier rate in Ashkenazim in Israel of Polish descent is 1 in 18 compared with 1 in 99 in those of non-Polish descent.

Ashkenazi women with a family history of breast cancer are at increased risk of developing this disease, especially of early onset, due to the high (2.5%) prevalence of BRCA1 and BRCA2 gene mutations in this population. They also have a high incidence of ovarian cancer of which a large percentage, estimated at up to 41%, are attributable to "founder" mutations in these genes. Approximately 1 in 25 Ashkenazim are carriers for one of these disorders, resulting in the birth of one affected child in approximately every 3,000 Ashkenazi live births for each condition. Screening is essential at least in those with a family history. The gene mutations responsible for other less common diseases with a high prevalence in the Ashkenazi population have also been identified allowing accurate diagnosis in at risk families. Prevention programs have already reduced the number of affected children born to these families by over 90%.

In contrast, genetic analysis in cystic fibrosis is more problematical. This disorder has many clinical features in addition to the characteristic lung and pancreatic involvement. There is a high carrier rate (1 in 23) in Ashkenazi Jews but it is similar in the general northern European population. Over 900 genetic abnormalities have been associated with cystic fibrosis and there is a poor correlation between these abnormalities and disease features and severity.

Sephardi Jews are genetically much more heterogeneous than Ashkenazi Jews and genetic diseases in high prevalence in Sephardi communities reflect their country of origin such as Iraq, Yemen, and Morocco. Some genetic disorders characteristic of the Mediterranean region are relatively common in all Sephardi and in non-Jewish communities, marking constant migration. Genetic screening for the abnormal hemoglobin responsible for thalassemia is well established. Familial Mediterranean fever (FMF) is an intermittent febrile illness, often difficult to diagnose. Five variants of abnormal sequence have been detected in the defective gene associated with FMF which give important insights into disease severity and its occurrence in different communities. However, genetic analysis has not solved the diagnostic problems. See also *Sickness.

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[Gideon Bach (2nd ed.)]

GENEVA, capital of Geneva canton, Switzerland. Jews apparently first settled there after their expulsion from France by *Philip Augustus in 1182, receiving protection from the local bishop. The first mention of a Jew in an official document dates from the end of the 13th century. At first Jews were not authorized to settle in Geneva itself but only in the vicinity. They engaged in moneylending and moneychanging as well as in commerce on a partnership basis with Christian merchants. There were also some physicians among them. Jews having to pass through Geneva on business paid a poll tax of four denarii (pregnant women paid a double tax). In 1348, at the time of the *Black Death, the Jews were accused of having poisoned the wells and many were put to death. From the early 15th century, the merchants and the municipal council restricted the Jewish activities, and from 1428 Jewish residence was confined to a separate quarter (near the present Rue des Granges). The relations between the Jews and the Christian merchants were strained and the Jewish quarter was frequently attacked by the populace. The most serious attack occurred at Easter 1461. The duke's representatives admonished the city authorities but the situation of the Jews continued to deteriorate. In 1488, Jewish physicians were forbidden to practice there and in 1490 the Jews were expelled from the city. Subsequently no Jews lived in Geneva for 300 years. A proposal to allow a group from Germany to settle if they undertook to pay a high tax and perform military service obligations was rejected by the municipal council in 1582. In 1780 Jewish residence was permitted in the nearby town of Carouge, which was then under the jurisdiction of the dukes of Savoy. After the French Revolution, Geneva was annexed by France and remained under French rule until 1814. During this period, the Jews enjoyed equal rights of citizenship. However, in 1815 Geneva became a canton within the Swiss confederation, and subsequently their position deteriorated. The acquisition of real estate by Jews throughout the territory of the canton was now prohibited. The Jews in Geneva were not granted civic rights until 1841, and freedom of religious worship until 1843. The Jewish community was recognized as a private corporation in 1853 and a synagogue was inaugurated in 1859. The first rabbi of Geneva was Joseph Wertheimer (1859–1908), who also lectured at the University of Geneva. At the turn of the century, Geneva University attracted many Jewish students from Russia. Chaim *Weizmann lectured there in organic chemistry in 1900–04. As early as 1925 there existed a Sephardi fraternal group which in 1965 merged with the Communauté Israelite.

[Zvi Avneri]

Modern Period

As the seat of the *League of Nations, Geneva was also the seat of the Comité pour la Protection des Droits des Minorités Juives, headed by Leo *Motzkin, and of the Agence Permanente de l'Organisation Sioniste auprès de la Société des Nations, represented by Victor *Jacobson and, after his death, by Nahum *Goldmann. The *World Jewish Congress was founded in Geneva in 1936, and the last Zionist Congress before World War II took place there in August 1939. During World War II, the city served as an important center for information about the fate of Jews in Nazi-occupied Europe. After the war, although the headquarters of the United Nations were established in New York, Geneva preserved its international importance as seat of the European office of the United Nations and of many UN and other international agencies. Consequently, many Jewish organizations, including the *Jewish Agency, the World Jewish Congress, the *American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee, and *ORT, established their European headquarters there. The government of Israel maintains a permanent delegation to the European office of the United Nations, headed by an ambassador. The Jewish community of Geneva numbered 2,245 in 1945, and 3,000 in 2004; 4,356 persons declared themselves to be Jewish in 2000. After World War II a number of East European Jews settled in Geneva, and later Jews from North Africa and the Middle East also settled there. The community, which consists of separate Ashkenazi and Sephardi congregations, has two synagogues (the Sephardi Hekhal ha-Ness was built in 1972), a *mikveh*, and a community center (Bâtiment de la Communauté, opened in 1951) with a library. From 1948 Alexandre *Safran, former chief rabbi of Romania, served as chief rabbi of the Geneva Jewish community. After 1980 a Jewish day school was founded. In 1970 a liberal community came into being, "Groupe Israelite Liberal" (= GIL) which in 2005 has some 1,000 members. There is also a Chabad group and Machsike ha-Dass, a version of Hungarian Orthodoxy.

In Geneva there is a strict separation between religion and state following the French model of 1905. Even confessional cemeteries are forbidden, so that the Jewish community erected a new one on French soil, the mere entrance being on the territory of Geneva. The university has a small Centre des Ètudes Juives. There is a private lecturership for Jewish philosophy, first filled by A. Safran and then by his daughter, Esther Starobinsky-Safran.

[Chaim Yahil / Uri Kaufmann (2nd ed.)]

Hebrew Printing

From the 16th to the 19th centuries, non-Jewish printers issued a considerable number of Hebrew books in Geneva, mostly Bibles or individual books of the Bible with the Greek or Latin versions, or Hebrew grammars, primers, and dictionaries using Hebrew type. Thus Robert Estienne printed a Hebrew Bible with Latin translation in 1556, and a year later a Hebrew-Chaldee-Greek lexicon. Calvin's commentaries on Daniel (1561) and Psalms (1564) were printed in Geneva with the Hebrew text. J.H. Otho's *Lexicon rabbinico-philologicum …* of 1675 included the Mishnah tractate *Shekalim* in the original with a Latin translation. The 18-volume duodecimo edition of the Hebrew Bible (1617–20) is usually ascribed to Geneva, and so is the volume of Proverbs, with interlinear Latin translation of 1616 by the same printer (אילן כאפא). The possibility that the Hebrew transcription גנווא should be read as Genoa cannot be excluded.

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GENIZAH (Heb. גְּנִיזָה; literally "storing"), a place for storing books or ritual objects which have become unusable. The *genizah* was usually a room attached to the synagogue where books and ritual objects containing the name of God – which cannot be destroyed according to Jewish law – were buried when they wore out and could no longer be used in the normal ritual. As a result ancient synagogues can preserve books or sections thereof of great antiquity. The word is derived from the root גנז from the Persian *ginzakh* ("treasury"), the root meanings of which are to "conceal," "hide," or "preserve." Eventually it became a noun designating a place of concealment. In Scripture there occur *ginzei ha-melekh* ("the king's treasuries"; Esth. 3:9; 4:7) and *beit ginzayya* (Ezra 5:17; 6:1; 7:20) with the sense of a "treasury" or "archive." In talmudic and midrashic literature, however, it is used as a *nomen actionis* (Shab. 16:1; Lev. R. 21:12; Meg. 26b), as a place for the putting away of all kinds of sacred articles, such as sacred books no longer usable, as well as the books of Sadducees and heretics, and other writings of which the sages disapproved but which were not required to be burned (Mid. 1:6; Shab. 116a); whence the expression *sefarim genuzim* ("books to be hidden away"). The expression *beit genizah* ("storeroom," Pes. 118a) means a treasury "powerfully and strongly guarded" (Rashbam, ad loc.). There was an ancient custom of honoring a dead man by putting holy books next to his coffin (BK 17a; see also Meg. 26b; MGWJ, 74 (1930), 163). In times of war and forced conversion, Jews used to hide their books in caves or tombs in order to preserve them. The letter of *Ḥisdai ibn Shaprut to the king of the Khazars relates, in the name of the elders (*yeshishei ha-dor*), that during a period of forced conversion "the scrolls of the law and holy books" were hidden in a cave. In 1947 certain scriptural scrolls, books, and fragments were discovered in a cave at ʿAyn al-Fashkha in the Judean wilderness and later in other caves in that vicinity. It is probable that the sectarians who lived there hid the books when compelled to leave (see *Dead Sea Scrolls). There were also *genizah* sites between the stone courses of sacred buildings (Shab. 115a), under the foundation stones of synagogues (as in Mainz), and attics and special cupboards kept in synagogues. When the cupboards and attics could take no more, the tattered pages, which, because they contained the Divine Name, were known as *shemot* ("names," i.e., of God), were buried in the cemetery. The day on which the *shemot* were conveyed from the *genizah* for burial in "one of the caves on the slope of Mount Zion" was celebrated in a festive way in Jerusalem, even during the modern period. The participants in the ceremony would play musical instruments, sing, dance, and play games "facing one another with drawn swords in order to magnify the joyousness of the affair" (*Yerushalayim* (ed. Luncz), 1 (1882), 15–16). There is evidence that a similar custom prevailed in other areas.

Such *genizot* existed in a great number of both Eastern and Western communities. Although they usually contained only the worn-out remnants of books in daily use such as the Pentateuch and the prayer book, rare or historically important books and documents were sometimes hidden among them. In the majority of cases the material of the *genizot* was so damaged by dampness and mildew that the collections were of no value for the purposes of historical research.

For the Cairo *Genizah*, see following entry.

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[Abraham Meir Habermann]

GENIZAH, CAIRO.

Introduction

The term *genizah* is a word shortened from the rabbinical Hebrew phrase *bet genizah* (see also **Genizah*). Its counterpart in late biblical Hebrew is *genez* (pl. *genazim, ginzei*) which in Esther evidently means a "treasury," as well as the term *ganzak* (I Chron. 28:11, *ve-ganzakkav*). The term *ganzakkah* occurs a few times in rabbinical Hebrew, along with *bet genazim*, in the sense of "treasury." The verbal noun *genizah* signifies the act of storing something away, and is used a few times with *bet* in the phrase *bet genizah* to signify a "house of storing"; subsequently, in colloquial but not literary usage, the *bet* was dropped and *genizah* alone came to mean "the [place of] storing." There are other cases of verbal nouns used as nouns of place in Semitic languages.

The Jewish custom of storing away old books and manuscripts seems to have grown out of the rabbinical rule that worn-out Torah Scrolls should be buried, hence that all papers bearing the Tetragrammaton or other divine appellations should likewise be buried. Such manuscripts as a rule were only temporarily stored away in some chamber of the synagogue until such time as they were able to be given a permanent burial in the cellar or in the local cemetery; but in time the first process seems to have become as important as the second, and in some places, to take precedence over it. Such was the case with the *genizah*, or *bet genizah*, of the ancient synagogue of Fustat.

The term "*genizah*" (pl. *genizot*) should be used and understood as a generic term. There was more than one *genizah*. In Cairo alone there was apparently more than one such storage, or deposit place, for old, outworn writings, mostly, but not exclusively, in Hebrew script. An important *genizah* was at a Karaite synagogue, which was apparently the source of much of the material that came to be known as the Firkovitch Collection, housed in the National Russian Library in St. Petersburg. There were additional such institutions in other communities of the east as analyzed by Y. Khalfon-Stillman and M. Cohen.

Therefore, any *genizah* is not an organized comprehensive archive or deposit library. Furthermore, *genizot* are not representative of the daily or spiritual life of their users. Yet, they are more representative than any private archive or collection of books. In the absence of comprehensive archives and deposit libraries the importance of the *genizot* lies in their randomness. It is this randomness which makes the contents of *genizot* so varied and rich, and which kept for us organized family archives of such families who were not immortalized in "classical" sources together with haphazardly preserved documents, official documents relating to communities or persons or properties that were no longer extant and were of no interest to anybody. The same randomness also preserved for posterity complete or fragmentary literary works that at some point of time seem to have lost their attraction or importance for their owners in particular, or for the reading public at large, or for book collectors and dealers. The common denominator of almost all texts found in Cairo *genizot* is the Hebrew letter; not necessarily the language. The Hebrew letter was regarded holy since it was studied in the context of religious life; it was taught in order to participate in the public synagogue ceremonies and prayers, expecting children to present what they had learnt in class. The less the Hebrew language was understood the more it became holy since the sign became a symbol and reminder to the elementary studies of the language. Hence any remnants of it were regarded holy and kept in the most respectable way discards could be kept. No wonder therefore that the *genizot* contain all signs of documented life, even the most secular ones like bankers' accounts, merchants' lists, children's jottings, and even transliterations of other religious texts as the Koran or the New Testament or any scientific text.

A large section of the material relevant both to history, i.e., documents, and religious thought, as in fact many other areas of knowledge and learning, is in Judeo-Arabic. Hebrew translations to Arabic and Judeo-Arabic works, started mainly in the second half of the 12th century, are rather rare among the *genizot*.

During *Fatimid rule in Egypt (969–1171) the newly-founded city of Cairo mainly served as the political and administrative center of the country and the realm. The great metropolis of Egypt was Fustat, a few miles to the south, and the majority of the Jewish population lived there. This community had a tripartite religious complexion: aside from the sectarian Karaite Jews, there were two groups of Rabbanites – the one showing allegiance to the Jewish academies of Babylonia; and the other group, the "Palestinians," whose allegiance was to the Palestinian academy. These groups had many differing customs and legal regulations; they consequently possessed separate synagogues in each of which a different custom prevailed. The one which has survived until today and from which the Cairo *Genizah* fragments come, was not the one of the Karaites (as a number of writers formerly thought) but that of the Palestinian Rabbanite Jews. This synagogue is still standing in Old Cairo after its renovation by the World Jewish Congress in the 1980s, almost a century after the previous community renovations of the site that might have led to the discovery of the *Genizah*.

Many documents have been discovered during the years which throw light on the history of the synagogues of Fustat and Cairo and on the basis of them scholars traced with some exactness the important changes through which the communities passed, including the status of the *waqf*, or property holdings, of the several synagogues during the reign of al-Ḥākim. It seems most likely that due to this series of acts there is relatively little documentary material of the preceding age among the *Genizah* papers.

Collections of *Genizah* Documents

The largest and most usable collection of the Ben-Ezra synagogue's *Genizah* manuscripts is at University Library, Cambridge, where the individual fragments were set, at the beginning, either under glass or in bound volumes, or, in the case of some thousands, were placed loosely in large shelve-boxes. Holdings are dispersed: Cambridge University Library Taylor-Schechter *Genizah* Collection, containing some 135,000–150,000 "fragments." This *Genizah* collection accounts apparently for about 60% of all *Genizah* fragments known and available today; New York – The Library, Jewish Theological Seminary of America (JTSA), has about 30,000 *Genizah* "fragments." Other more modest collections are scattered all over the world.

WRITING MATERIALS OF THE GENIZAH TEXTS. University Library, Cambridge, possesses fragments of a papyrus scroll found in the *Genizah* and containing old liturgical poetry (T-S. 6). A few papyrus documents, perhaps emanating from the *Genizah*, are also located in the Erzherzog-Rainer Papyrus-Sammlung in Vienna and in Heidelberg. All other texts from the *Genizah*, however, are written either on vellum, parchment, or paper, with the preponderance of texts being written on paper. The vellum and parchment texts are either fragments of Scripture used for worship purposes (which by halakhic precept had to be written on skin) as well as for ceremonial purposes or, more importantly, old texts (10th–11th centuries) of either a literary or documentary nature. A few are written in a palimpsest way, namely, rewritten on deleted elder text. The few very old documents emanating from non-Islamic countries are written on these materials. Texts written on paper seem to have come largely into vogue during the 11th century. The paper of 11th–13th-century texts is of a heavy weight, and as a rule brown in color, whereas *Genizah* papers of later periods tend to be thinner and more lightly colored.

History of *Genizah* Discoveries

Knowledge of the existence of the Cairo *Genizah* spread slowly to the West. The first traveler who appears to have been there in modern times was Simon van *Geldern, a grand-uncle of Heinrich Heine, who in 1752 visited Egypt and recorded in his diary that he had been to the "synagogue of Elijah" and made a search through the *Genizah*, situated within it. Moshe Haim Capsutto met an Italian scholar and traveler who visited the synagogue and gave a generous description of the site and relying on this source some reconstruction of the site was suggested. Capsutto, however, did not refer to the chamber and its content. Abraham *Firkovich, the Russian Karaite who on his trips to the East collected great numbers of rare, valuable, and ancient manuscripts, visited Egypt in September/October 1864 (to wit, the second half of Elul 5624) during his second visit to the Middle East (1863–65). He gave explicit and detailed descriptions about his findings and whereabouts during his visit. His main and first interest in Egypt was the Karaite *genizot* of Cairo, and indeed he took back with him to Crimea a substantial amount of Mss that were sold to the Russian National Library in 1876, two years after his death. The Firkovitch Collection is by far the world's largest and most important collection of Judeo-Arabic manuscripts, containing over 10,000 Judeo-Arabic manuscripts ranging in size from a single page to 800 folios. And indeed, the way Firkovitch described his work in the *genizot* (before arriving to Egypt and in Egypt likewise) points to a very selective method – he would choose the best of manuscripts and leave the others in order to avoid un-needed investment both in time, money, and loads. While dedicating almost all of his time to the Karaite "*genizah*," Firkovitch visited Ben-Ezra synagogue, accompanied by the chief rabbi, R. Elijah Israel Shirizly, and claimed to be requested to take with him also the treasures of Ben-Ezra and of the Rabbanite synagogue of Alexandria. Firkovitch described in his letter to his son-in-law, Gabriel, in Russia that he saw the Ben-Ezra *Genizah* and planned to take care of it likewise. Shortage of money and length of his stay in the region may have accompanied his desire/haste to share his findings from this second visit with colleagues and scholars and brought him to leave the Middle East without emptying, or even taking, the Ben-Ezra hoard. According to his letters and tentative catalogues the material brought from Egypt (named by him *Gefen Mitzrayim* after the verse in Psalms 80:9 and also *pinkas kadmoniyot shel genizat Miẓrayim*) was from the Karaite *genizah* and Basatin cemetery, and indeed it consists of dominant Karaite material. Some important rabbinical works are testified to be owned by prominent Karaite scholars and affluent members of that community. A major question remains however whether some of the material sold to the Russian National Library came from the Ben-Ezra room, since in a few cases other parts of the same copies can be found in western libraries thought to brought from Ben-Ezra. At the same time it might as well be the case that fragments left by Firkovitch, that were originally part of the books he took with him, were brought by others to these libraries mistakenly referred to as Ben-Ezra. At this time of writing (October 2005) not all Firkovitch and other related archives have been searched and new data may clarify this point.

In the same summer of 1864 the traveler Jacob *Saphir attempted to see the manuscripts hidden in Ben-Ezra synagogue, but he was not as fortunate as Firkovich had been. The beadle was reluctant to allow him entrance into the chamber, which he claimed to be an abode of snakes and demons; once inside, he could not get to many of the manuscripts, for the entire collection had been buried under debris that had been deposited there by workmen some years previously. He had to content himself with a few worthless scraps, but later remarked in his travel diary, "Yet who knows what else is to be found underneath?"

Toward the end of the 19th century local dealers in antiquities began the clandestine task of removing certain fragments from their old hiding place. Cyrus *Adler visited Egypt in 1891 and was able to purchase a small collection of manuscripts, which he brought back with him to the United States and later bequeathed to *Dropsie College, now the Center of Advanced Jewish Studies of the University of Pennsylvania. Oxford's *Bodleian Library also acquired about 2,600 fragments in the same way, mainly through the periodic purchases of Greville Chester and A.H. Sayce. In 1896 Elkan N. *Adler made a trip to Egypt, and while in Cairo was permitted by the Jewish communal authorities to take a sack full of *Genizah* documents with him; using an old Torah-mantle which they gave him for that purpose, he stuffed in as many of the documents as he safely could and took them back with him to England. These manuscripts later found their way to the U.S. and became the nucleus of the collection of the *Jewish Theological Seminary of America. By this time the fame of the *Genizah*, induced partly by the reports of the above-mentioned travelers and partly by publications in the early 1890s of *Genizah* studies by Rabbi S.A. *Wertheimer (who also sold fragments to the Bodleian Library), had begun to spread. In May 1896 Mrs. A.S. Lewis and Mrs. M.D. Gibson of England brought manuscripts which they had purchased to Cambridge and showed them to Solomon *Schechter. He was able to identify one of the leaves as part of the original Hebrew text of *Ben Sira (Ecclesiasticus). Thereafter, Schechter sent word of his discovery to Adolph *Neubauer at Oxford, who soon announced that he had discovered nine leaves of this same long-forgotten text among the *Genizah* manuscripts of the Bodleian Library. Schechter at once proposed that a trip be made to Cairo to ascertain the possibilities of bringing the *Genizah* treasures to England. Money was secured for this purpose from Charles Taylor, the master of St. John's College; in December 1896 Schechter sailed for Egypt, and once there proceeded immediately with his task of securing the documents. The communal authorities consented to allow him to take practically that entire precious "hoard of Hebrew manuscripts" back to England.

With Schechter's return to Cambridge the first period of activity involved in making the new manuscript sources available to the world came to an end. The old Ben-Ezra synagogue of Fustat had been almost completely emptied of its contents, which were scattered throughout the length and breadth of Europe, and had also reached the U.S. During the years, many public and private libraries – in London, Cambridge, Oxford, Manchester, Paris, Strasburg, Breslau, Frankfurt, Vienna, Budapest, St. Petersburg (then Leningrad), Kiev, Moscow, New York, Washington, D.C., Philadelphia, Toronto, Tel Aviv, and Jerusalem University Library – managed to acquire *Genizah* fragments in smaller or larger quantities, with Cambridge in the foremost place. Soon after Schechter's return to Cambridge, the time came to explore the texts themselves. The discovery among the *Genizah* manuscripts of fragments of Ben Sira immediately set off a search for still further remnants of this old work, and for other ancient texts which were (rightly) assumed to be hidden either among the hundreds of thousands of leaves brought back by Firkovitch and by Schechter, or in the other collections. Due to past Soviet policy which prevented access of western scholars to the Firkovitch collections, these manuscripts have been largely unknown to scholars. The vast majority of the works contained in the manuscripts are not known from other sources. Study of these manuscripts and publication of their contents is expected to revolutionize the knowledge of Judeo-Arabic culture and to be a major contribution to the study of Jewish history overall. This collection was photographed due to an agreement between the Russian National Library and the Jewish National and University Library in Jerusalem. Scholars had access in the last decade of the 20th century to the treasures of the Firkovitch collection and a great deal of attention has been given to its deciphering and cataloguing.

Luckier were most other collections. A new period in the history of Jewish studies opens after the arrival of the fragments from Cairo to Western libraries. As scholars began their explorations ancient texts came to light – not only Hebrew sources, but Greek and Syriac ones as well. Among the Greek fragments brought to light were portions of the Jews translation made by Aquila. This translation, which differed from that of the Septuagint in being far more literal and meticulous, yet considerably less comprehensible, constituted one of the columns of the multi-versioned Jews, the Hexapla, edited by Origen in the first part of the third century. It was employed mainly by Jews in the synagogal service, but fell into disuse when Greek declined in reading and speaking by the people after the Islamic conquests. In the case of these fragments and of texts containing parts of the Palestinian Syriac version of the Jews and of the Hexapla, the original writing, while still legible, was partially effaced through long and constant use, and a later scribe had employed the parchments to copy down some Hebrew liturgical hymns which to the men of that age were undoubtedly of much greater worth than the incomprehensible words written beneath. Another fact of interest is related to a statement of Origen, to the effect that "in the more exact [biblical] versions, the Name [of God] is written in Hebrew characters – not the modern [Aramaic square] Hebrew, but the ancient [Canaanite] kind." Tallying exactly with the description given by Origen, the Greek fragments of Aquila were found to employ consistently the old Canaanite letters rather than the square characters or the Greek word for God [*Kyrios*] when mentioning the Tetragrammaton.

While these discoveries were in progress Schechter worked on important sectarian manuscripts. One of these turned out to be fragments of the Aramaic law book of *Anan ben David (eighth century); when added to the previously published parts of Anan's law book (edited by the Russian Jewish scholar Albert *Harkavy in 1897–98), it considerably increased understanding of the methods of this schismatic. Another short document created a sensation when finally published by Schechter in 1910. At about the turn of the century he uncovered fragments of a text containing laws and quasi-historical statements of an unknown Jewish sect; a study of the text brought him to the conclusion that the represented schismatic group was related to the "*saddukiyya*" especially mentioned by the Karaite writer al-*Kirkisānī as being a Jewish sect of pre-Exilic times. Since the views of this sect did not conform to those of the historical Sadducees, but in a few important respects did correspond to certain doctrines of al-Qirqisānī's "*saddukiyya*," Schechter judged the leaves to be fragments of a work written by "Zadokites," i.e., people belonging to the sect mentioned by al-Kirkisānī, or to a closely similar one; thus, while the text was copied down in medieval times, the document itself went back to Second Temple times. An extensive controversy over the age and importance of this text followed its publication. The discovery in 1947 and following years of the first *Dead Sea Scrolls – some of which proved to be closely related in phraseology and ideas to the Cambridge document – made it evident that Schechter had been correct in his intuition that this text had been conceived perhaps 21 centuries previously. It is not known how it came into the *Genizah* in fragments of two medieval copies.

Another of Schechter's early discoveries was the remains of an extensive literary epistle concerning the kingdom of the *Khazars. The ruler of this Caspian kingdom, and along with him many of his subjects, accepted Judaism before the ninth century. Some correspondence between the Khazar king Joseph and Ḥisdai ibn Shaprut had been published at the end of the 16th century and much later (in 1879) by Harkavy who used material brought from Cairo to Russia; the Cambridge document considerably increased the knowledge of the conversion and of subsequent Khazar history, and supplied many useful geographical details as well. In recent years still another Cambridge *Genizah* manuscript pertaining to the Khazars was discovered by N. Golb.

Information about the "*Four Captives" – Shemariah, Ḥushi'el, Moses, and Ḥanokh – who were thought to have come from Babylonia or Southern Italy in the tenth century, been captured by pirates, and subsequently sold out of captivity, and later to have founded the new seats of learning in Egypt, North Africa, and Spain, also came to light in the Cambridge documents. In this case some of the legendary stories surrounding these figures were seen as suspicious; as it could be shown from a letter of Ḥushi'el's (written by his son Hannan'el/Elhannan) that he had settled in Kairouan (now *Tunisia), after a trip there from some Christian country, probably Italy. Shemariah, on the other hand, turned out to be a native of Egypt. Thus, the whole story of the capture by pirates, as told, at least of these two sages was evidently a fabrication.

A personality which emerged most clearly from the *Genizah* was that of *Saadiah ben Joseph al-Fayyumi, the *gaon* of Sura. It became clear from *Genizah* texts that it was Saadiah who was chiefly responsible for conducting the struggle over the calendaric authority of the Babylonian academy which had been initiated by Aaron ben Meir, the head of the rival Palestinian school (922), and that he initiated a bitter quarrel with the exilarch, who had appointed him *gaon* (928), and with the latter's followers. Other polemics of his also came to light with the publication of treatises against the heretic Ḥiwi al-Balkhi, the masoretic scholar Aaron ben Asher, and Anan ben David and various later Karaites, many of whom fought Saadiah with equal vigor. Another side of the *gaon*'s personality was revealed in some of his letters which were discovered during the early years of the 20th century. Many fragments of his Arabic commentary on the Jews were found, especially by Hartwig Hirschfeld, and parts of his grammatical treatises – probably the first systematic works on Hebrew grammar to be composed – were edited years afterward by S.L. Skoss, although a beginning had been made by Harkavy. Fragments of his legal (by M. Ben-Sasson and R. Brody) and philosophical (by H. Ben-Shammai and S. Stroumsa) writings were also discovered, and one manuscript emanating from his children gave the exact date of his birth (882) and the approximate time of his emigration from Egypt to Palestine, Syria, and finally Babylonia. Indeed, if all the Saadiah fragments that were discovered in the *Genizah* had not been found, it is unlikely that H. Malter's richly documented study of the *gaon* would have been possible. Much important research on the Saadiah fragments, and on the polemic literature of that age, was carried out by Moshe Zucker, Yehuda Ratzaby, Eliezer Schlossberg, and Haggai Ben-Shammai, especially on Saadiah's biblical translations and commentaries. Saadiah's poetry was enriched and studied through the reconstruction of his *Siddur* (S. Assaf, I. Joel, I. Davidson, E. Fleischer, R. Brody, and J. Tobi).

The search for lost writings of the *gaon* of Sura also led to the discovery of numerous legal responsa of the other *geonim* of Babylonia; many of the Hebrew ones were first edited by A. Harkavy, S. Assaf, and L. Ginzberg and later also those in Judeo-Arabic by Sh. Abramson, R. Brody, and M.A. Friedman. These fragments were of value not only for the legal discussions they contained, but also for the inadvertent descriptions which the *geonim* gave of the way of life pursued by their countrymen. L. Ginzberg and J. Sussman found old leaves of the Jerusalem Talmud, which were of service in clearing up numerous obscurities in the printed texts of this work. Letters of the *geonim* were recovered by Schechter, J. Mann, and B.M Lewin, and new discoveries were made in the field of midrashic literature. A work of considerable interest was the Book of Precepts by Ḥefeẓ b. Maẓli'aḥ, a tenth-century dignitary of *Mosul, which was published by Benzion Halper in 1915. Much work has been done on the legal and halakhic texts by S. Abramson of Jerusalem, who published works on R. Nissim Gaon and on other subjects, based mainly on *Genizah* manuscripts.

Another area of *Genizah* studies was initiated with Paul Kahle's arrival in England from Germany. A considerable number of biblical manuscripts were being discovered in the collections which exhibited different systems of vocalization from the one commonly in use (i.e., the so-called Tiberian system, with most of the vowel signs written below the line). Such texts, which possessed supra-linear punctuation, and which later were discovered to be of three different kinds, had indeed been known before. Specimens of the two "Babylonian" systems were published during the last half of the 19th century, and the third system, "punctuation of the Land of Israel," was mentioned as far back as the 12th century in Simḥah b. Samuel's *Maḥzor Vitry*. The *Genizah* fragments greatly supplemented the then-known collections of Babylonian texts and gave the first examples of the Palestinian variety. Kahle was the first to realize the possibilities inherent in the new finds and to take full advantage of them. During his several trips to England, where he settled after the advent of Nazism, Kahle copied and photographed large quantities of material, and in the course of the years was able to publish extensive studies on the biblical traditions of the Babylonian and Palestinian Jews. This was of importance not only for determining what were the various systems of punctuation, their probable dates of inception, and spheres of influence but also for arriving at the pronunciation of Hebrew, before the time of the Tiberian punctuators, in the various countries of the Arabic world where Jews lived. Furthermore, it was possible to see in what ways the ninth-century biblical scholars of Tiberias had been influenced by other traditions in evolving their own "standard" pronunciation of Hebrew.

The "punctuation of the Land of Israel" could be discovered in only a few of the *Genizah* biblical fragments. Kahle, however, found other kinds of texts which preserved this system – fragments of the Palestinian Aramaic translation of the Torah and a few leaves of the Mishnah and of early liturgic poetry (*piyyut*). Almost without exception, each of these proved to have its own particular value for the history of Hebrew vocalization. Kahle and his students contributed much to the understanding of these texts. The various texts of the Aramaic translation of the Jews which came to light were highly instructive, for they supported the view of scholars such as Geiger and Zunz that there were earlier substrata in the official Aramaic translations (Targum Onkelos to the Torah and Targum Jonathan to the Prophets). To a large extent these were preserved in *Genizah* manuscripts of the so-called Palestinian Targum, the author(s) of which version not only interpreted some passages differently but also added homiletic remarks. The standard Targum Onkelos itself was then able to be subjected to renewed scrutiny, as collections in the *Genizah* collections of fragments of this Targum were found that had been written and vocalized in Babylonia many centuries previously. This field enjoyed two more generations of scholars focusing their works on it – E.J. Revel, Y. Yahalom, I. Yevin, and I. Eldar.

The *Genizah* also supplied specimens of the Mishnah text vocalized in the Babylonian manner. There is, of course, no traditional Tiberian vocalization of the Mishnah, the pronunciation having been handed down orally from generation to generation. This Babylonian tradition of the pronunciation of mishnaic Hebrew, which differs considerably from that employed by Jews of the West, is corroborated to a very high degree by the living Yemenite tradition of pronouncing post-biblical Hebrew – a fact demonstrated later by H. Yalon and S. Morag.

Thus, even during the first few decades of *Genizah* research, outstanding discoveries were made in many fields of Jewish learning. The job of sorting out the Leningrad Fragments has been at the core of the work of several scholars over the last century, among them Harkavy, Strack, Kahle, Fenton, Sklare, Beit Arie, Glazer, Almagor, Ben-Shammai, Stroumsa, and Ben-Sasson, but it is still far from being completed. A large part of the Cambridge fragments was studied by Schechter, E.J. Worman (a librarian at Cambridge), and Hartwig Hirschfeld who published a considerable number of manuscripts. Not only the Hebrew fragments but thousands of Arabic documents were placed in their respective places in boxes, bound volumes, or – in the case of exceptionally valuable and fragile pieces – under glass. In the last decades the management of the Cambridge *Genizah* Research Unit has been allocating substantial attention and resources with the goal of intensive cataloguing of its collection according to subjects and fields. In Oxford, Neubauer and A. Cowley issued a catalog of the fragments deposited there; the same was accomplished at the British Museum by Margoliouth, and was eventually also done for the Adler collection at Dropsie College and the Freer Collection of Detroit (later removed to Washington). The collection given by the Russian archimandrite of Jerusalem, Antonin Kapustin, was fully described by Harkavy, who was in charge of the Hebrew collections at the Russian Imperial Library in St. Petersburg and was later published by A.I. Katsh.

The publication of important fragments from the Cairo *Genizah*, covering many aspects of Judaism, has continued. Many manuscripts and fragments in the various libraries of the world, particularly in the Russian National Library of St. Petersburg [= Leningrad], the Schechter-Taylor collection in Cambridge and the Jewish Theological Seminary of New York (N. Danzig catalogue), have been catalogued and edited by different scholars. As a result of these, it has become possible to reconstruct the position of the Jews in Ereẓ Israel and the Middle East in the religious, cultural, and economic spheres from the 10th to the 13th centuries. On the other hand, a large number of texts and thousands of fragments remain un-catalogued, and it is estimated that there are no less than 250,000 *Genizah* items, of which about 50,000 deal with biblical exegesis, language, Jewish law, Talmud, and *piyyut*.

Liturgy and Poetry

The poetic literature of the *Genizah* was especially prominent and its discoveries enabled new understanding of the history of Jewish worship as well as of the diversity of Jewish literature in the late Byzantine and Muslim periods. A new field of research emerged which is credited to the discoveries of Cairo *genizot* – the study of the Ereẓ-Israeli [known also as Palestinian] rite of prayers and synagogue life. At an early date Kahle realized the value of the Palestinian liturgical fragments for the history of Hebrew vocalization, but the literary significance of these texts, in the minds of many scholars, was far greater. While it is quite frequently difficult to make sense of the hints and allusions of the early liturgists (*paytanim*), and to comprehend their poetic vocabulary, it is also true that what can be understood is often poetry of supreme beauty and fine religious feeling.

The first paytanic texts were published in facsimile at the end of the 19th century – but only for the Greek and Syriac writing which they contained underneath. Israel Davidson recognized in the later script five compositions of the early Palestinian poet Yannai, of whose writings only a single poem was known during the previous centuries. Davidson's publication (1919) marked the beginning of systematic investigations in the field of *paytanic* literature. Kahle's students took a considerable part in this work, as did Davidson himself. At the same time the most important step was taken with the founding, in 1930, of the Schocken Research Institute for Hebrew Poetry, which began its activities in Berlin and transferred to Jerusalem a short time after the rise of Nazism. In the first few years of its existence the Schocken Institute collected several thousand photographs of *Genizah* manuscripts, including many in Leningrad. Among them were scores of fragments containing the *piyyutim* of Yannai, on the basis of which Menahem Zulay published in 1938 a collection of over 800 compositions by this poet.

The scholars of the institute – H. Brody, J. Schirmann, A.M. Habermann, and Zulay – were chiefly responsible for knowledge of literary activities of the *paytanim*, and of the religious and secular poets of Spain. Brody discovered many religious poems and encomiums of Hai Gaon, Moses ibn Gikatilla, and Abraham Ibn Ezra among the *Genizah* fragments. A score of contemporary poems by Moses Ibn Ezra were described by Schirmann, whose success in this research was greatly aided by *Genizah* manuscripts. Schirmann was the first to systematically explore the poetic fragments in the libraries of England, and he catalogued these and had them photostatted for the institute. Zulay demonstrated that the paytanic literature was of a class seldom equaled in the poetic literature of the Jews. He not only discovered the writings of many of the unknown early Palestinian poets but also added immensely to the knowledge of those already known – Yannai, Kallir, and Solomon al-Sanjari. He also proved that the country which in the time of Zunz had been regarded as barren of all creative production during the early Middle Ages was in reality a center, if not the center, of paytanic activity that continued unabated until the Crusades. These poems, far from artificial, could not be considered as only a subterfuge by which the Jews sought to avoid the consequences of Justinian's decrees prohibiting the *deuterosis* (or study of the rabbinic exposition of Scripture). Zulay showed – on the basis of the *Genizah* texts – that the Jews of Palestine constantly had to add to the set prayers of the day, and inspire them with new vigor. Much important work on these texts was conducted by Ezra *Fleischer of Jerusalem through the second half of the 20th century. Fleischer represents the demand to publish broad scholarly works based on the *genizot* in contradiction to previous generations' work of publishing fragments and small pieces of information reflecting the excitement of the very early meeting with new material. His broad works consist of extensive reconstruction of complicated oeuvres of the time and their analysis in the broadest cultural and historical contexts. Among his works one may find an intensive analysis of the Palestinian rites based on earlier publications (J. Mann, N. Wieder, and N. Fried), correcting their partial pictures and drawing a fresh new representation of that forgotten rite; the profile of old-new poets like Sa'id Ben Babshad, Solomon the Babylonian, and even R. Judah Halevi. A group of students of Schirmann, Fleischer, and S. Spiegel of the JTS has continued the research and opened new venues: Y. Yahalom, Y. Tobi, R. Scheindlin, Sh. Elizur and T. Be'eri. In this discipline, as in any other of the *Genizah* research, typical publications of the fourth generation consist of two aspects – publication of extensive new material and the drawing up of a broad analysis of a substantial part of a scholarly field.

Historical Discoveries

In 1915 Jacob Mann began to search through the British collections. During 1915–20 he studied the fragmentary documents of the *Genizah*, gathering data for a history of the Egyptian and Palestinian Jews from the 10th to the 12th centuries. There were extant remnants of the copies of letters of the Jewish community of Cairo-Fustat, once one of the leading centers of Jewish population. On the basis of these fragments it was possible to reconstruct the personalities of the people and the significant events in their collective history.

The task that Mann first set out to accomplish was twofold: that of establishing a chronological sequence from the mass of data, and of describing the important religious and communal authorities of Egypt and Palestine during the period involved. These are the chief characteristics of his study, *The Jews in Egypt and in Palestine under the Fatimid Caliphs* (2 vols., 1920–22). Later, when professor of history at Hebrew Union College, he was able to supplement this material in two additional volumes entitled *Texts and Studies in Jewish History and Literature*. Such outstanding figures as Solomon b. Judah and Ephraim b. Shemariah, leading dignitaries of Egyptian Jewry, were first fully revealed by Mann. It became clear from his work in what towns of Palestine and Egypt the Jews had chiefly settled. There was much that he elucidated about the communal ban (*ḥerem*), the ransoming of captives, the functions of the head of the Jews [= the *nagid*], and the Palestinian custom of completing a Torah cycle only once every three years (to this latter subject he devoted his final book, *The Bible as Read and Preached in the Old Synagogue*, which is also based chiefly on *Genizah* material). Mann described the whole complicated story of the relations between the Rabbanites and Karaites – especially those in Jerusalem – and cast new light on the writings and activities of such Karaite notables as Daniel al-Qumisi, Sahl b. Maẓli'aḥ, and Salomon b. Jeroham. Ḥisdai ibn Shaprut was revealed as a statesman of the first rank, to whom appeals were sent from other lands, and who corresponded with Helena the empress of Byzantium. Mann also uncovered the story of the Norman proselyte to Judaism, Obadiah ha-Ger. His historical research in the *Genizah* treasures provided a scientific foundation which could be built upon and elaborated by later scholars.

The first scholars who explored the *Genizah* manuscripts pursued their own particular interests in studying the documents. They turned, in so doing, mainly to the documents written in Hebrew and Aramaic, languages which were prominent in the *Genizah* finds. Only a few researchers gave their attention to the mass of documents written in Arabic, which for hundreds of years had been the vernacular of the Jews of Egypt and the Near East. The score or more of Judeo-Arabic fragments which Hartwig Hirschfeld published were mainly of literary interest: remnants of the writings of Saadiah Gaon, some texts pertaining to the polemics between Karaites and Rabbanites, a few autograph fragments of *Maimonides, and some short documents pertaining to *Muhammad and the Jews of Khaybar. Samuel Poznański used some Judeo-Arabic fragments (some from the Russian *genizot* collections) for his own researches on the Karaites and leading rabbinic figures of the Middle Ages; and other scholars – I. *Goldziher, W. Baecher, and G. Margoliouth – also made contributions. This work, however, was sporadic in nature, and gave few clues to the value of the Judeo-Arabic fragments. Even Mann relied mainly on Hebrew documents in producing his works; however, his appreciation of the Arabic texts grew in time, and considerably more of them were used in his *Texts and Studies* than in his first work. All agreed that the fragments were important, but little was done to make their contents known.

In the early 1930s the *Genizah* papers became a subject of interest in Jerusalem, mainly as a result of Mann's investigations and the establishment of the Institutes of Jewish Studies and Oriental Studies at the Hebrew University, Jerusalem. There it was possible to study the way of life of numerous communities from Arabic-speaking lands and to become intimately acquainted with their language. Some of the scholars in Jerusalem thus developed a close familiarity with the cultures of the Middle East, and under these conditions it was possible to make considerable advances in *Genizah* research.

D.H. Baneth did the most important work in establishing Arabic *Genizah* research on a sound philological basis. Philological correctness and exactitude were essential to the proper understanding of these texts; sometimes scholars who preceded Baneth had been led into making blunders in understanding the vernacular used in the manuscripts (which quite often differed considerably from the literary language). In conjunction with S. Assaf, Baneth published a series of *Genizah* studies which rank as exemplary specimens of such writing. The historical information he elucidated from them was also of value; he discovered in one document that it had been a prevalent custom among the Egyptian Jews to determine, through witnesses, whether a couple who planned to marry were of the same social and economic status (Heb. *hagunim*).

Assaf was mainly interested in the *Genizah* papers for the information they contained about the legal, social, and cultural history of the Jews. He found numerous documents about the Jews in Palestine from the time of its conquest by Omar until the period of the Crusades, and afterward as well. It was learned from a tradition represented in one document which he discovered that when the Arabs conquered Jerusalem, Omar allowed them to build or occupy only 70 homes (although they had asked for 200); they chose the southern part of the city as their quarter, and the first Jews to resettle there were some families from Tiberias. Other texts which Assaf published and elaborated upon provided information about the slave trade, in which he thought to confirm that the Jews of that time engaged in it (although they could not take Muslims as slaves); new information was derived about Jewish trade in the Mediterranean, as well as the main centers of learning in Palestine and elsewhere. Other texts of importance pertaining to Palestine were published by Braslavski, among them a "tourist guide" to Jews who came in pilgrimage to the holy city, mentioning local sites of interest. E. Strauss (later Ashtor), the historian of Jewish life during the Mamluk period, published a letter in 1940 which was written in Aden and addressed by the sender to a business associate in Fustat; it mentions Jews traveling to India on their own ships, taking various goods with them to sell in Malabar. Other texts, when finally deciphered and interpreted, revealed the economic and social life of the Jews of Egypt and neighboring lands in great detail, and, incidentally, matters pertaining to general Islamic history and economic development. Ashtor's later publications, including his *History of the Jews of Muslim Spain*, numerous articles on economic and social life, and his book-length study of prices and salaries in the medieval Near East (*Histoire des prix et des salaires dans l'Orient médiéval*, 1969), rely heavily on *Genizah* manuscripts.

However, with all the real importance of Mann's works as pioneering ones, which guided generations of historians, and his awareness of the uniqueness of these materials in comparison to whatever sources of Jewish history that had been known previously, and with his enthusiasm to publish this wealth of materials, he saw this history mainly as a rather formal history of texts, and not of concrete human and social actualities and processes, the like of Ashtor's works based on these documents.

The most important accomplishment, or achievement, in the field of history is no doubt the monumental oeuvre of S.D. *Goitein. Goitein was initially educated within this unusual combination of deep rooted Jewish tradition and 19th-century German humanism. He was then trained as a philologist and developed it in the years he worked at the Hebrew University, Jerusalem, in the rigorous methods so typical of German universities. He later turned his attention to Islamic historical sources, and still later made another turn, to *Genizah* studies, mainly on the documentary material. In his works the extent to which the *Genizah* has shaped the picture of the medieval history of Jewish communities in the East came to its fullest manifestation. The uniqueness of his works is imaginable only as a result of the uniqueness of the material, namely the fact that here we have at our disposal direct sources that shed light not only on the actions and the views of the leaders of the communities, but also, and mainly, of many ordinary individuals that made up the rank and file of these communities. Already in his early *Genizah* studies Goitein paid special attention to the light shed on the social structure of the communities in the *Genizah* documents. He focused his attention on individuals whose personalities and activities could not have been known from the formal, literary sources. Such was his study of Ibn ʿAwkal, a noble North African Jewish merchant who settled in Cairo in the early 11th century, conducted from there his international commercial ventures, and became a prominent figure in the local community. Already in the early stages of Goitein's work on the *Genizah* documents he also encouraged his students to work on individual personalities from the *Genizah*. At that stage it already became clear that certain segments of the *Genizah* documents were not just randomly disposed off by their owners, but constituted entire family "archives," or at least parts of such archives, while others were parts of court archives, mainly from Fustat. This recognition led Goitein and his students to pursue the remains of such archives. The first such archive that served as a subject of a Ph.D. thesis by Murad Michael was that of Nahray b. Nissim, another North African Jewish merchant who settled in Cairo in the middle of the 11th century. From there he directed his merchant banker activities that stretched virtually over three continents, from Spain, through North Africa and Egypt, to the Fertile Crescent and further through Yemen as far as India. When Michael finished his work on the archive over 30 years ago, he was able to trace about 260 documents.

Since then over 100 additional documents from that archive have come to light through Goitein, Udovitch, and Gil, and enabled us to draw a fascinating picture of commercial and postal connections, banking practices of the High Middle Ages, transportation routes in the Mediterranean Basin, variations and prices of a very wide range of commodities, communal and family ties of the Cairene merchant banker and his agents who were stationed in many important ports and commercial centers, as well as in some important communal centers such as Jerusalem.

In the late 1940s S.D. Goitein began his researches in the field of *Genizah* manuscripts. He soon became convinced that they were of inestimable value for both general and Jewish history. He found eyewitness accounts of the crusaders' attack on Jerusalem: from one letter it was learned that the story of the massacre of the inhabitants, so widely accepted by students of the Crusades period, was really somewhat exaggerated – it had been a savage attack, but many lives were spared, evidently so that those taken prisoners could be ransomed for a handsome sum of money. Another letter made it evident that, contrary to the contention of many scholars, other nationalities than the French were represented among the crusaders, for in it mention was made of the "cursed ones who are called Ashkenazim." Other letters emanating from Palestine made it clear that the crusaders' attack on Beirut in February 1110 was a surprise attack, and that the Jews were driven out of Jerusalem during the second occupation by the crusaders, under the command of Frederick of Hohenstaufen. Goitein also found further fragments pertaining to Obadiah the Proselyte, from which it was learned that he was not a crusader, as had been contended by Mann and others, but a man of some learning who converted because his religious studies convinced him of the truth of Judaism and who was saved from Christian persecution by some fellow Jews who brought him to *Aleppo. One of the most unusual discoveries made by Goitein consisted of fragments from Cambridge and the Jewish Theological Seminary which turned out to be letters sent by Judah Halevi to his friend Ḥalfon b. Natanel al-Dimyati of Cairo, an affluent trader who engaged in large business with India. Three of the letters deal mainly with Judah Halevi's endeavors to raise the dinars necessary for the ransom of a Jewish woman kept in prison by the ruling authorities, while in a fourth he expresses the fond wish to travel to the East, as he indeed did some years later.

Goitein also gathered over 400 letters on the Mediterranean trade with India. This commerce, which went by way of Egypt, East Africa, and South Arabia, was the chief economic factor in the status quo of the countries of the Middle East. Not only did Goitein discover complete itineraries of the journey to India, descriptions of the dangerous voyage through the Indian Ocean, and the names and prices of numerous goods which made up that trade, but he also found eyewitness accounts of events barely known from the writings of the Arabic historians. One such account, in a letter from Aden to Egypt, gives a detailed description of the number of soldiers, the types of boats, and even the military tactics used by the rulers of the island of Kish (in the Persian Gulf) when they tried to extend their control over the sea route to India by conquering Aden.

Goitein collected all of the documents from the Cairo *genizot* that pertain to trade between India and the Mediterranean, and was preparing them for publication, translating the Judeo-Arabic documents and adding notes. Goitein did not finish preparing his work on Indian trade (referred to by him as the "India Book"), when he passed away. One of his leading students, M.A. Friedman, agreed to complete the work. The final book (scheduled for publication in 2006 by the Ben-Zvi Institute) will be the product of work by both scholars. The book, which contains more than 400 texts from the *genizot* in the original language, generally Judeo-Arabic and in Hebrew translation, is a remarkable source of information on the contacts – commercial, social, and cultural – between India and the Middle East in the Middle Ages. Because of the great interest in these matters in the scholarly world and among the educated public, the book will be published in both Hebrew and English versions.

Goitein published over 250 articles based on *Genizah* documents. This work was climaxed by his magisterial study, *A Mediterranean Society: The Jewish Communities of the Arab World as Portrayed in the Documents of the Cairo Genizah*, in five volumes enabling the description of a society and its daily life as well as its beliefs and views, based on their own writings – the documentary *genizot*.

Goitein's approach paved the way towards comprehensive historical studies that were focused on specific sections of the material, such as geographical ones (the most important one to date is by Moshe Gil on Palestine), or social ones (such as the studies of Menahem Ben-Sasson on the beginnings of communal organization in North Africa in the ninth century), or social and halakhic ones (the most important to date are M.A. Friedman's studies on marriage documents and practices). Such works resulted from a synthesis between the unique primary *Genizah* material and well-known literary materials from a wealth of Jewish and non-Jewish sources. On the solid basis of Goitein's approach and oeuvre, it is possible to conduct many and diversified cross sections, which can shed light on every imaginable aspect of Jewish life and culture in the Middle Ages, such as Joel Kraemer's projects on women's letters from the *Genizah*, the several projects dedicated to Maimonides and his descendants by P.B. Fenton, M.A. Friedman, and M. Ben-Sasson, and a new comprehensive collection of Maimonides' letters by J. Kraemer. In fact Goitein's first published book on the *Genizah* was a study on education. Goitein's final, concluding work in the field was the multi-volume *A Mediterranean Society* in five volumes. When Goitein started this work he had already been well into the studies of economic, social, and cultural history. This fact had a decisive impact on the structure and plan of this gigantic opus. It is basically planned along social lines – its five volumes corresponding to five social levels:

I: Economic Foundations; II: The Community; III: The Family; IV: Daily Life; V: The Individual (see below).

Goitein inspired many researchers, such as N.A. Stillman, Y. Khalfon-Stillman, M. Gil, M.A. Friedman, and M.R. Cohen.

The *Genizah* manuscripts also aided in the study of post-Inquisition Jewish history. Already S. Schechter, S. Assaf, and J. Mann published documents and other literary texts having to do with this period. A major contribution was made by Meir Benayahu who found on trips to England and the U.S. approximately 2,000 documents relating to the Jews of the Mediterranean after 1492. On the basis of photostats of these manuscripts in the possession of the Ben-Zvi Institute in Jerusalem, Benayahu made an extensive study of the Jewish communities during the 15th–18th centuries. He found that even at this late period the Jews were enterprising merchants, traveling to such places as India, North Africa, Spain, and Italy, carrying on an extensive trade in pepper and skins. During this period there was considerable migration to Palestine, and many talmudic academies were founded there; in some documents there are descriptions of the dormitories which the yeshivah students occupied, and in one dating from the 15th century there is an account of the rebellion staged by a group of students against their academy for having allowed poor living conditions to prevail in the dormitories. A most important document gives a detailed history of the Hebron community. Moreover, Judeo-German and Judeo-Spanish texts are included among these relatively late manuscripts, which have been studied by several scholars in recent decades. The work on the post-expulsion generations has been continued by I. Tishbi, J. Hacker, A. David, and E. Gutwirth (the latter extended the research to texts written in Judeo-Spanish).

There is rich information in the *Genizah* about many aspects of life, such as the role of women in society, loans and interest, the communal organization, the Jews as *ahl al-dhimma* (people of the covenant, or tolerated minority), their actual place in Muslim society, etc. Information on the following salient topics, inter alia, may be found in the *Genizah* texts: the Jews of Alexandria; Babylonian Jews; letters of Byzantine Jews; begging letters; book lists and letters about books; communal records and affairs; dated letters; diseases; Fustat and Cairo; geographical data; houses and housing; Jerusalem; Karaites; Maimonides; medicine – practice and theory; relations with Muslims and Christians; occupations; plagues; police; prisoners; letters of recommendation; seafaring and warfare; Sephardim, i.e., Spanish Jews; synagogues; Syria, including Ereẓ Israel; tenth-century documents.

Many additional topics are included, such as individual personalities of the time, place-names of Egyptian-Jewish settlements, artifacts, etc. On the other hand, a few topics deserve special treatment:

(1) *Documents of European Provenience, or Containing Information about European History.* The first to publish such fragments and documents were D.S. Schechter, L. Ginzberg, J. Mann, and S. Assaf – some enlightening events and phenomena back in the early ninth and tenth centuries. After a long pause in such publications it was N. Golb who drew attention to the *Genizah*'s importance for the reconstruction of the history of these communities. He published an article (*Sefunot*, 8 (1964), 87–104) based on the U.L. Cambridge manuscript 1080 J, no. 115, in which he shows that the document is a letter of recommendation sent from a certain Samuel b. Isaac the Spaniard in Jerusalem to Shemariah b. Elhanan in Fustat at the beginning of the 11th century (more precisely c. 1006), and that it concerns a Jewish proselyte from a prominent Christian family who fled his homeland, arrived in Damascus, thereafter made a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, and from there, because of persecution by the Christian community in Jerusalem, decided to go on to Egypt, where, we may assume, he finally settled. On the basis of internal evidence, it appears that the proselyte is probably the Slovenian cleric Wecelinus (cf. Alpertus Mettensis, *De diversitate temporum*, 1.7; II. 22, 23), who converted to Judaism in 1005 C.E. This proselyte, who fled to Egypt, is the earliest of the 11th century converts to Judaism described in the *Genizah* fragments, and the manuscript in question furnishes additional evidence pointing to the phenomenon – already brought to light in prior *Genizah* publications – of conversion to Judaism on the part of prominent European Christians in the 11th century, who subsequent to their conversion left their homelands to settle in non-Christian countries. Other such proselytes of the 11th century were Andreas, the archbishop of Bari, who converted about 1070; an anonymous proselyte of the last half of the 11th century; an anonymous proselyte from a wealthy family who first settled in France during the same period; and finally, Obadiah the Norman proselyte, who had been demonstrated by N. Golb and A. Scheiber to be the scribe of a musical manuscript (Adler 4096b). Documents of actual European provenience include a Cambridge manuscript (T.S. 16.100), evidently from the town of Monieux, Provence (Golb, in: *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, 113 (1969), 67–94); and a British Museum manuscript (Or. 5544, Vol. 1), evidently written in Arles and concerning a wealthy Jew of Rouen.

(2) *Illuminated Genizah Fragments*. Still almost totally unutilized, and lying undisturbed among *Genizah* manuscripts of Cambridge, Oxford, and the British Museum, are approximately 60 illuminated fragments of the Fatimid and Ayyubid periods which, taken collectively, characterize both the quality and the content of the Judeo-Arabic culture during the period of its highest development. In addition, among the *Genizah* fragments one should count also around a dozen wood pieces engraved in the same period; fragments that testify to the history of the Ben-Ezra Synagogue and the Maimonidean circles (Ben-Sasson, *Synagogue and Fortress*). Artistic remains of any kind from the Fatimid period are rare; besides architectural subjects, all that have been previously known are illuminated Korans, some wood carvings, linens and decorated bowls, and a certain number of items of glass and metal. The addition to this material of a body of 60 illuminated fragments may therefore stimulate research not

only in the field of medieval Jewish art (students of which have heretofore had no knowledge whatsoever of these manuscripts) but also in the general area of Islamic art and culture. The illuminated fragments, mostly at Cambridge, may be classified as follows:

(A) Marriage contracts, approx. 20 items; (B) Children's readers and school books, approx. 10 items; (C) Bible leaves and prayer book leaves, approx. 20 items; (D) Miscellaneous fragments, as follows: (1) Architectural plan of Ezekiel's temple, 1 page; (2) Leaf from an early *materia medica*, 2 folios; (3) Illustrations from a book of magic, 2 folios; (4) Child's drawing of a boat, 1 page; (5) Two warriors engaged in combat, margin of 1 page; (6) Painting of two water birds, standing on either side of a tree (of life?) within a decorative border, 1 page. The richness of this material is all the more surprising in view of the previously held opinion that for the entire Fatimid period only a single illuminated fragment had survived, namely, the Bodleian *ketubbah* of the 11th century.

(3) *Historical Geography*. E. Ashtor and N. Golb have studied the work of the historical geography of the Jews in medieval Egypt. The main purpose of this research has been to clarify the problem of the continuity, or lack of continuity, of Jewish life in Egypt between the Hellenistic period and the Middle Ages. The salient result of their study of *Genizah* fragments bearing upon this problem (in: *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, Summer 1965) is the conclusion that the Jewish community of medieval Egypt represents not a new phenomenon but the continuation of an ethnic and cultural pattern which stretched far back in time, and that in this respect it is very difficult to accept the view that the small number of Hebrew documents of the Byzantine period, "extending over 300 years, may serve as a good indication of the gradually declining importance of Egyptian Jewry in the Byzantine period" (*Corpus Papyrorum Judaicarum*, ed. V. Tcherikover et al., 3 (1964), 88). Just the contrary may be claimed – that there was a continuous, if necessarily irregular, line of development from ancient times through and despite cultural reorientation, political upheavals, and the assimilation of a fair proportion of the people. This is made especially manifest by the comparison of the known places of settlement of Egyptian Jews in antiquity with their more than one hundred communal settlements in the Middle Ages, which stretched from the very border of Egypt far up the river to Elephantine-Aswan.

It is thus apparent how valuable these preponderantly Arabic papers and the hundreds of others like them are for purposes of historical research. If studied together with the responsa and historiographic literature of that age, unparalleled source material can be found among them for this still obscure period in medieval life; and it may therefore be concluded that when all the material has been systematically edited and the texts brought into proper relationship with one another, there will be an integrative account of the Jewish community of medieval Egypt, and a reliable record of the general social and economic conditions prevailing at that time in Egypt and the Middle East.

Genizah Research, 1960s–1980s

The following survey reviews in more detail some of the specific work that has been done from the 1960s to the 1980s in fields of scholarship which rely extensively on **Genizah* sources. Only books and monographs have been taken into account, since the inclusion of periodical publications would have swelled the survey beyond permissible bounds. A complete list of publications relating to the *Genizah* can be found in *Published Material from the Cambridge Genizah Collections: A Bibliography*, produced by the Taylor-Schechter Genizah Research Unit under the direction of Dr. Stefan Reif, published by Cambridge University Press for the University Library's Genizah Series. It should also be noted that G. Khan of the Taylor-Schechter Genizah Research Unit is now preparing a more comprehensive description of publications relating to the *Genizah*, including both books and periodicals. Bibliographical details on the books discussed in the present survey can be found in the bibliography accompanying this article.

DOCUMENTS. The private and legal documents of the *Genizah* have provided the primary source material for several studies in the socio-economic history of the medieval Near East. S.D. Goitein in Volume I of *A Mediterranean Society* made a synthesis of information gleaned from hundreds of *Genizah* documents in order to build up a comprehensive portrait of the economic foundations of the Jewish communities in the Arab world during the High Middle Ages. The bulk of this study concentrates on commerce and finance with special attention to overseas trade. This latter area of economic activity is particularly well documented in the many commercial letters that have been preserved in the *Genizah*. Such correspondence indicates that trade was conducted for the most part on the basis of mutual trust and personal friendship rather than formal agreements. Goitein also published a collection of 80 letters of medieval Jewish traders which reflect this personal aspect of overseas commerce. These letters show how a man's piety and fear of God were invoked when he was urged to adhere to good business practices. Moreover, although distant trade involved interaction between people of different social classes, it seems that the long months spent together in foreign parts or on perilous voyages brought people close together. Two of Goitein's research students, M. Michael and N.A. Stillman, have made a specialized study of *Genizah* letters which relate to specific Jewish traders. Michael's dissertation deals with the correspondence of the medieval businessman and community leader Nahray ben Nissim and includes an edition of many of his letters together with those of his son Nathan. Stillman analyzes and edits documents relating to Joseph ibn ʿAwqal, who likewise was both a trader and a leader of the community. The business correspondence of both Nahray and ibn ʿAwqal reveals the great diversity of goods which were handled by the traders of their time and gives a detailed picture of the organization of medieval business houses.

Ashtor in his *Histoire des Prix et des Salaires dans l'Orient Médiéval* made extensive use of *Genizah* documents as a basis for a detailed analysis of the standard of living in medieval (mainly Fatimid and Ayyubid) Egypt. The documentary portion of the *Genizah* furnishes a unique source for such a study, for it contains many specific references to contemporary prices. By contrast most Muslim sources for the period are literary texts that are often tendentious and prone to adapting figures that suit their purpose. The *Genizah* papers also give firsthand evidence of changes in currency. They demonstrate, for instance, that there was a shift from gold to silver during the Ayyubid period. The Egyptian scholar Hassanein Rabie has used *Genizah* sources for a large portion of his work on the financial system of Egypt between 1164 and 1341. He relied for the most part on Cambridge University Library's Taylor-Schechter documents which are written in Arabic script (viz. T-S Ar. 38–42) as opposed to those in Hebrew script. Rabie has shown that the *Genizah* gives us valuable information on the poll tax (*jawālī*) and the *mawārīth ḥašriyya*, i.e., the law determining that property without heirs was to be confiscated by the state.

Volume II of Goitein's monumental *Genizah* synthesis, *A Mediterranean Society*, deals with the social and communal life of the Jewish minority in Egypt between the 11th and 14th centuries, with the most abundant information being provided for the earlier part of this period. The topics discussed include the communal authorities at the national, regional, and local levels. He not only brings a great deal of new material to bear on the nature of these institutions, their historical development, and their relations with the politically dominant Muslim authorities but, in the case of the *nagid,* has totally and conclusively revised the accepted view of the origin of this office. The description of the organization and operation of the local communities is particularly valuable, since the unmediated character of the *Genizah* documents makes them a unique source for information about everyday life and ordinary people. Goitein portrays the medieval Egyptian Jewish community as a "religious democracy" in which there was a balance between authority and communal sanction. The loosely structured and highly mobile Islamic society in which the community was situated also influenced its structure. There is, for instance, no reference in the *Genizah* to enactments restricting the entry of strangers into the community analogous to the *ḥerem ha-yishuv* of the communities in medieval Christian Europe.

M.R. Cohen in his book *Jewish Self-Government in Medieval Egypt* develops Goitein's thesis with regard to the origin of the office of the Egyptian *nagid*. Goitein first showed by means of a wide selection of *Genizah* documents, that, contrary to the opinion of earlier scholars, the nagidate was not instituted by decree of the Fatimid caliph. Rather it evolved within the Jewish community in the second half of the 11th century. Cohen emphasized that the nagidate evolved in response to the political and spiritual vacuum created by the decline of the Palestinian yeshivah, to which a large portion of Egyptian Jewry had given allegiance.

A number of Goitein's research students have worked on *Genizah* documents relating to the communal life of the Egyptian Jewish community. The general format of these doctoral dissertations is similar to those of Michael and Stillman, in that considerable space is devoted to editing the documents which constituted their source material. G. Weiss has edited 255 legal documents written by the court scribe Ḥalfon ben Manasseh during the period 1100 to 1138. A large proportion of the legal documents which are preserved in the *Genizah* were written by this scribe. Apart from providing ample material for research on legal formularies, the study demonstrates the value of working on a corpus of documents written by the same hand. For instance, undated fragments can be more easily dated and a greater accuracy of reading achieved. A.L. Motzkin has made a study of Judge Elijah ben Zechariah (first half of 13th century) and his family on the basis of their correspondence which has been found in the *Genizah*. *Genizah* documents have been employed by M. Gil as a source for a detailed examination of the medieval Jewish institution of the *kodesh* or "pious foundation" which was essentially equivalent to the Moslem *waqf*. Although these Jewish foundations flourished during the Fatimid period there is no evidence of their existence under the Ayyubid dynasty. The chief motivation for the Jews to dedicate property to a pious cause was apparently religious, charity being one of the most important precepts of Jewish law. The institution was, however, also exploited to circumvent Islamic legislation, especially the *mawārīthḥašriyya* (see above).

Volume III of Goitein's *A Mediterranean Society* is concerned with the family. The body of the book deals with the nuclear family and marriage, the main source for which are the many medieval *ketubbot* (see **Ketubbah*) which have been preserved in the *Genizah*. From an examination of over 600 of these Goitein has illuminated the manifold economic and social aspects of marriage. He shows that divorce was common and that 45% of brides whose marriages are recorded were marrying for the second time. From the itemization of the dowry in the *ketubbot* of the High Middle Ages Goitein concludes that prices were remarkably stable during this period. The mobility of the population often disrupted family life; this especially applied to the long business trips which were undertaken by many members of the community. In general, the *Genizah* portrays a male-oriented society. Private letters and genealogical lists usually mention only sons. Nevertheless many women played an active role in economic life. They owned properties, took charge of them, and also made or took loans.

Since the Middle Ages the marriage contracts of all known Jewish communities have followed the basic model of the Babylonian *geonim*. Scholars assumed that the *ketubbah* formulary had remained uniform since early Talmudic times. M. Friedman, however, has discovered in the *Genizah* a substantial number of fragments of medieval marriage contracts, mostly emanating from Palestine, which reveal traditions of formulating the *ketubbah* distinct from that of the Babylonian *geonim*. He has made a thoroughgoing study of these Palestinian-style *ketubbot* in his book *Jewish Marriage in Pales-*

tine. They contain many distinctive features. For instance, the woman is granted the right to initiate divorce proceedings and the husband is obliged to bury his wife, should she predecease him, or to care for her if she becomes insane. Friedman also shows that the Palestinian formulary influenced the marriage contracts of several Jewish communities along the northern shores of the Mediterranean and North Africa.

Y. Stillman, in her doctoral thesis, examines the female attire of medieval Egypt as portrayed in the trousseau lists of the *Genizah ketubbot*. These lists contain the names and details of many previously unknown garments and fabrics. Moreover, on the basis of the prices which are given for each item Stillman has been able to establish a relative scale of quality between many varieties of textiles. J. Sadan, in a similar manner, has made extensive use of *Genizah* trousseau lists in order to study household furniture in the medieval Near East. These two aspects of material culture, viz. clothing and furniture, are dealt with in Vol. IV of Goitein's *A Mediterranean Society.*

Several scholars have used *Genizah* documents as a basis for studies in the socio-economic history of medieval Palestine. Gil has studied many aspects of life in Palestine during this period on which the *Genizah* has shed considerable light. These include the institution of the Palestinian yeshivah together with the personalities who headed it and its relations with Jewish communities in Egypt, Syria, and the Byzantine Empire; the relationship between Karaites and Rabbanites; Jewish life in Jerusalem and in many other localities in Palestine; problems of taxation; pilgrimage and immigration, etc. Goitein has published a collection of studies on *Genizah* texts pertaining to the history of Palestine, in particular its Jewish population, in the century preceding the Crusades and during the Crusader period itself. The documents show that life in Palestine returned to normal relatively quickly after the Crusader conquest. Several documents refer to the activities of Moses Maimonides in the ransoming of prisoners captured by the Franks when King Amalric I took Bilbays, Lower Egypt, in November 1168. Goitein suggests that Maimonides' meteoric rise to the leadership of Egyptian Jewry, only a few years after his arrival in the Nile country, is partly to be attributed to his initiative in the ransoming of these captives.

In connection with the history of Palestine we should mention two works under the editorship of J. Prawer: *The History of Eretz-Israel under Moslem and Christian Rule (634–1291)*, some of whose contributions employ *Genizah* documents as source material, and *Sefer Ha-Yishuv.* The latter work presents a wide variety of source material, much of it from the *Genizah*, relating to the Jewish community in Palestine during the period from the Crusader domination until the Ottoman conquest at the beginning of the 16th century.

In the course of Gil's research on the history of Palestine he published a short study on the Tustarī family which had considerable influence on Palestinian Jewry. The information about this family is pieced together largely from *Genizah* documents. Its two most illustrious members were the two sons of Sahl, Abū Naṣr Faḍl (Ḥesed) and Abū Saʿd Ibrāhīm (Abraham). They engaged in trade and banking and involved themselves in the political affairs of both the Fatimid court and the Jewish community. Gil attributes the Tustarīs' influence on Palestinian Jewry to the fact that Ḥesed was secretary to a Fatimid general much involved in Palestinian affairs. He also argues that the Tustarīs belonged to a distinct Karaite sect known as Tuṣtarians or Dastarians.

The documentary portion of the *Genizah* has also furnished sources for the history of Jewish communities outside the Mediterranean area. Goitein has published a collection of articles about the Jews of Yemen, several of which had previously appeared in a variety of periodicals. The section on medieval Yemenite Jewry is based almost entirely on *Genizah* sources. These documents show that the Yemenite Jews enjoyed considerable prosperity in the High Middle Ages, since they formed the link between the Mediterranean and the India trade, and that they remained in close contact with the Jewish academies of Iraq and Palestine.

N. Golb and O. Pritsak have made a contribution to the history of the Jewish *Khazars in their book *Khazarian Hebrew Documents of the Tenth Century.* This work contains an edition and detailed analysis of a recently discovered *Genizah* document relating to the Khazars together with a re-edition and reassessment of the *Genizah* letter from a Khazarian Jew to the Spanish dignitary Ḥisdai ibn Shaprut which was published by Schechter in 1912. All the sources which refer to the conversion of the Khazars to Judaism are reexamined with special attention to the extent to which they reflect the historical and geographical background of Khazaria in the Crimea. The newly discovered document (T-S 12.122) is the autograph of a letter of recommendation written by Khazarian Jews residing in Kiev in the first half of the tenth century. It is signed by Jews with Khazarian names and contains a remark in the Khazarian language written in runic Turkic script. This document proves conclusively that the judaization of the Khazars is a fact and not a forgery or romance, a view which has been canvassed by many scholars. Golb and Pritsak also show that the text which was edited by Schechter could have been written only by a Jew of Khazaria who had firsthand acquaintance with the historical and geographical circumstances of his country during the first half of the tenth century.

We must also include Volume III of Ashtor's *History of the Jews in Egypt and Syria under the Rule of the Mamluks,* published in 1970 (the first volume appeared in 1944). This final volume contains the texts of the *Genizah* documents referred to in the preceding volumes. Finally, the sources for Ashtor's *A Social and Economic History of the Near East in the Middle Ages* and Stillman's *The Jews of Arab Land*s include *Genizah* documents, principally in sections which deal with the socio-economic realities of the Southern Mediterranean in the High Middle Ages.

The focus of M. Ben-Sasson's research has been the social and intellectual history of medieval Jewry in Muslim lands from the 7th to the 14th centuries; based on work integrating legal, historical, and literary *Genizah* fragments. In examining social structures of Jewish public life from the perspectives of both the central leadership and the local community, each in its special locations and each with its special expression, institutional form, intellectual achievements, and self-consciousness, he pointed to the shift of power from the Eastern centers to the Maghreb, the building of the local Jewish community through a reconstruction of the *Genizah* corpus related to the community of Kairouan. He also found that the Maghebri-Jewish immigrants became involved in the central Jewish leadership in the East starting in the second half of the tenth century. Their involvement signified the beginning of a process of building a regional and local functional leadership. In this venue he published sources on the history of the Jews of Sicily. The analysis of the Babylonian-Iraqi center was done by means of research on the activities and personality of Saadiah Gaon. With Prof. R. Brody (Dept. of Talmud, The Hebrew University) he prepared a critical edition of the first halakhic book written in Judeo-Arabic. It is the "lost" Book of Deeds and Decrees of Saadiah Gaon, compiled in the year 926. They reconstructed the book almost *in toto*, on the basis of more then 100 *Genizah* pieces scattered over 25 libraries in the East and in the West. This book was written according to the order and with the terminology of Islamic legal works. Like many of Saadiah's books, this had great influence on most of the Jewish legal monographs and on the practical life of world medieval Jewry in its formative years.

Then Ben-Sasson turned to a *Genizah* study of the Maimonidean dynasty that headed the Jewish communities of the East from the 12th to the early 15th centuries.

BIBLICAL COMMENTARY. The commentary of Isaac ibn Ghayyat to the Book of Ecclesiastes was published from fragments in Cambridge and New York and the commentary of Samuel ben Ḥophni Gaon to the Pentateuch was published by Aaron Greenberg in Jerusalem (1979).

COMMENTARIES AND NOVELLAE ON MISHNAH AND TALMUD. 1. Abraham I. Katsh has published *Ginze Talmud Babli* (Vol. 1, 1976; Vol. 2, 1979). The first volume includes 178 pages of the Babylonian Talmud from nine tractates from the Antonin Collection in the National Library of Leningrad, and the second, 90 pages from 11 other tractates. A comparison between these fragments and the printed edition, as well as the Munich manuscript, reveals important variations. 2. Tractate *Bikkurim* with a list of the *variae lectiones*, which indicates the extent to which the readings differ from those in the printed texts. 3. Fragments of the Mishnah with Palestinian vocalization. 4. Mishnah fragment of *Berakhot* 1:1–3:1; *Peah* 4:3–6:3, written in the tenth century. 5. Tractate *Shevi'it*. 6. Fragments of the TJ *Berakhot*, Chap. 3; *Shabbat*, Chap. 12; *Kiddushin*, Chap. 3, written in the early style of the Jerusalem Talmud. 7. A fragment of TJ *Shabbat*, Chap. 10. 8. Fragments from tractates *Bava Meẓia, Bava Batra*, and *Sanhedrin*, revealing considerable variants from the standard texts.

Texts from the Talmud provide readings that approximate more closely those of Rashi and Alfasi than the printed version. Scores of *ketubbot* include an undertaking by the bridegroom not to take a second wife, even though legally he was permitted to do so. When an additional wife was taken, a detailed agreement was made binding the husband to treat all his wives equally.

An example of the wealth of new material in this sphere is seen in the recent publication of tractates *Ketubbot* and *Sotah* by the Institute for the Complete Israel Talmud (see *Talmud, Recent Research). Altogether 150 pages or fragments of the tractate *Ketubbot* from the *Genizah* were collated (pp. 75–91) for this purpose. *Genizah Fragments of Rabbinical Literature; Mishnah, Talmud and Midrash* (1973), edited by N. Aloni, contains no less than 219 facsimile pages of 60 *Genizah* manuscripts in the various libraries. This collection is of special importance in that it includes rabbinical texts with the Palestinian system of vocalization. *Genizah Bible Fragments with Babylonian Masorah and Vocalization* (5 vols., 1973), edited by Y. Yeivin, provides the scholar with all the ancient sources with the Babylonian vocalization.

MIDRASH. Of particular interest is *Ginze Midrash* by Z.M. Rabinowitz (1977). The author deals with the early form and style of the Midrash as revealed in the texts, which are written in the early Palestinian script and belong to the 11th and 12th centuries. The copyists later changed the text – both the Hebrew and Aramaic – to conform with the Babylonian usage. Although the majority of the fragments are from well-known Midrashim, they also include a few hitherto unknown ones.

THE GEONIC PERIOD. S. Abramson's *Inyanot be-Sifrut ha-Geonim* (1973) includes an appendix (pp. 319–89) on the text of the *She'iltot* of *Aḥa of Shabḥa and deals with the *variae lectiones* therein. The *Genizah* fragments have vastly increased the knowledge of the development of the *halakhah* in Ereẓ Israel after the completion of the Jerusalem Talmud. The publication of *Hilkhot Ereẓ Israel min ha-Genizah* by M. Margaliot, set up for publication by I. Ta-Shema (1973), disproves the theory that the gaonate in Ereẓ Israel was reestablished in the 10th and 11th centuries in order to fight against Karaism. There was an unbroken chain of authority and heads of yeshivot until the end of the geonic period, and it seems that there was a separate halakhic tradition in Ereẓ Israel, deriving from the Jerusalem Talmud and differing from the Babylonian tradition. Various fragments of this tradition have now been published (cf. *Sefer ha-Ma'asim li-Benei Ereẓ Israel).* The *Hilkhot Ereẓ Israel* includes an appendix on another Ereẓ Israel work, *Perek Zera'im*, edited by J. Feliks, which is the most complete work on agricultural products and nature found in ancient Jewish literature. M.A. Friedman was the latest to publish additional fragments of *Sefer ha-Ma'asim*.

Other items on the geonic period, also published by M.A. Friedman, are (1) Additional material on Pirkoi Ben *Baboi. (2) Fragments of a large collection of geonic responsa which include the following: the intervention of the authorities in Kairouan in the case of the divorce of a betrothed woman; the concluding portion of a responsum dealing with the complaint of a woman whose marriage settlement had been sold by her husband, or lost. It provides data on the custom of Kairouan with regard to a *moredet* (a wife who "rebels" against her husband), and on the community and the relationship between the civil authorities and the Jewish leader. There have also been found fragments from the *Siddur* of R. *Amram Gaon, providing details of the compilation of the work. 3. Fragments of geonic commentaries to tractate *Shabbat* which are ascribed to Sherira Gaon and Hai Gaon.

MAIMONIDES. 1. Fragments of the *Mishneh Torah* written by Maimonides himself. It has been shown that these fragments are from a first text of the *Mishneh Torah*, whereas all later editions were based on a second edition which he wrote. The differences between this holograph and the printed are considerable, including the order of the books and the chapters, and sometimes even the order of the individual laws in the chapter, and there are also differences in language. 2. A commentary by Maimonides on the *Laws of Tefillin* from the *Sefer ha-Menuḥah* of Manoah of *Narbonne. M.A. Friedman and Sh. Abramson added new findings from the *genizot* reflecting students' shorthand writings in Maimonides' school as well as the school's traditions.

RISHONIM. 1. Fragments from the novellae of Yom Tov b. Abraham Ishbili (the *Ritba) to tractate *Beẓah.* 2. New fragments from the commentary of Ḥananel b. Ḥushiel on Bible and Talmud. They consist of many pages, partly fragments of complete works and partly fragments of commentaries on individual chapters. They include commentaries on tractates *Berakhot, Kiddushin, Sotah, Bava Kamma, Bava Batra*, and *Sanhedrin*, as well as portions of his commentary to tractate *Zevaḥim*. 3. *A* complement to a commentary of a pupil of Naḥmanides to tractate *Pesaḥim.*

LITURGY. Following the publication of "An Unknown Blessing on the Reading of the Chapter *Bameh Madlikin* (Shabbat 2) from the *Genizah*," N. Wieder has come to the conclusion that the inclusion of this chapter in the liturgy was the result of the controversy between the Rabbanites and the Karaites. This blessing, which has been completely forgotten, was in the nature of a public declaration of faith in the authority of the rabbis and the continuation of tradition, and of the authority for kindling lights for the Sabbath which was forbidden by the Karaites. N. Wieder deals with the formula of the *ʿAmidah* in early Babylonian usage and shows that the words "Possessor of heaven and earth" were included in the formula of both Israel and Babylon.

POETRY. The last two decades have seen the publication of many critical editions of early *piyyutim* and of medieval religious and secular poetry, the majority of which draw to a greater or lesser extent on *Genizah* sources. The *Genizah* has preserved not only many previously unknown poems of the famous poets but also a substantial number of the works of forgotten or little-known poets.

J. Schirmann published an anthology of Hebrew poems discovered in the *Genizah*. This collection includes secular and religious poetry from the Jewish communities of the East and from Spain, North Africa, Italy, and Byzantium. Especially worthy of note are the oldest example of a Hebrew poem in praise of a beautiful youth; the full text of a *muwaššaḥ* (*muwashshaḥ*, see 13: 684) of Samuel ha-Nagid, of which previously only a few lines were known; three secular poems of Judah Halevi which are not known from other sources; several *muwaššaḥat* of Abraham Ibn Ezra including one which describes his flight from Spain; and Hebrew *maqāmāt* (see **Maqāma*) including a section of *maqāmat Yamīma*, an allegorical love story, of which Israel Davidson published some fragments in the 1920s. This new fragment enabled Schirmann to identify the author of this work as Joseph bar Judah ben Simeon, the famous pupil of Maimonides. Also noteworthy are a number of rhymed proverbs, many of which show that their authors must have been familiar with the Hebrew version of Ben Sira.

Several scholars have collected the works of various *paytanim* which have been preserved in the *Genizah*. A. Mirsky used *Genizah* sources extensively in his edition of the *piyyutim* of the early *paytan* Yose ben Yose. These *piyyutim* show that Yose ben Yose was one of the first Hebrew poets to make the oral law a basis of his works. Wallenstein published and analyzed a number of **Yoẓerot* by Samuel ha-Shelishi (10th–11th century), discovered in the *Genizah*, to which Ezra Fleischer and Yoseph Yahalom dedicated substantial scholarly work. E. Fleischer has critically edited 580 short liturgical compositions from the *Genizah* which were all written by the same anonymous author (called "Anonymous" by Zulay). These poems (called *pizmonim* by the copyist of the *Genizah* manuscript) were composed in the late tenth century and were intended to serve as choral additions to several pieces of a cycle of *kedushtaot* written by R. Simeon ha-Kohen b. R. Megas, an early Palestinian *paytan* who was active in the seventh century. They reflect the increase in the participation of the choir in synagogue worship towards the end of the first millennium C.E. Fleischer has also used *Genizah* sources in his edition of the *piyyutim* of the tenth-century Italian *paytan* Solomon ha-Bavli, who was one of the first Hebrew poets to write in Europe. His works molded the Italian Ashkenazi school of *paytanim*. The *Genizah* has also preserved many of the poems of his pupil Elya bar Shemaya, which have been edited by Y. David.

Owing to the ties between the Andalusian and Egyptian Jewish communities, manuscripts of religious and secular poems written in Spain found their way into the *Genizah*. Consequently scholars who have collected the works of the Spanish medieval Hebrew poets have found abundant source material among the *Genizah* papers. This applies to the following collections: the liturgical poems of Solomon ibn Gabirol, the religious poems of Judah Halevi and the *Diwan* of Samuel ha-Nagid by Jarden; the collections of the secular poems of Ibn Gabirol by Allony and Jarden and by Brody and Schirmann; the religious poems of Abraham Ibn Ezra by Levin; the poems of Isaac ben Abraham Ibn Ezra by Schmelzer; the poems of Levi Ibn al-Tabban by Pagis, and the poems of Joseph Bensuli by David. Mirsky has published a collection of poems by Isaac Ibn Khalfun (10th–11th century), almost all of which were recovered from the *Genizah*. These poems show that Ibn Khalfun played an innovative role in the development of Hebrew verse in that he was one of the first to compose secular poems and introduce elements of personal experience into his poetry. D. Jarden published an anthology of medieval Hebrew verse *Ẓefunei Shirah*. This includes several poems of little-known or anonymous authors which have been discovered in the *Genizah*: 1. A list of secular poems by Solomon ibn Gabirol hitherto unknown from any other source. 2. A *kerovah* of the liturgical poet *Yannai to the portion *Ha'azinu* (Deut. 32). 3. *Piyyutim* to the *Avodah* on the Day of Atonement. They include a "bibliographical" *piyyut* giving a detailed list of the titles of ten such orders of service. 4. Early Yemenite *piyyutim* and *Seliḥot* for the Day of Atonement.

HISTORICAL. S.D. Goitein devoted himself particularly to the economic life of the Jews as revealed in the *Genizah* documents and fragments. He points out that as a result of the economic changes which took place in the Middle East as a whole, in which trade superseded agriculture as the basis of the economy, Jews tended to abandon agriculture and engage in skilled occupations and trade. In one text a Jewish girl writes to her widowed mother urging her to see that her brother, in addition to studying Torah, also learn a trade, adding "if he will have a trade, he will be a man."

Other published material includes (1) Documents appertaining to the life of the Jewish community of Egypt. (2) M. Gil's *Documents of the Jewish Pious Foundations from the Cairo Genizah* (1976) gives the religious and sociological motivation behind them, the halakhic aspect, income and expenditure, etc. (3) Horoscopes from the *Genizah* (1977). (4) A letter from the community of al-Mahdiya in Tunis to Fustat in Egypt in the 11th century reflects the commercial movements between the ports on the Mediterranean Sea in which Jews played a prominent role. The letter was addressed to Nahray b. Nissim, originally of Kairouan, who later settled in Egypt, and reflects the golden period of the Fatimids in the first half of the 11th century. (5) There has been discovered the earliest document emanating from *Salonika, a letter from an Egyptian scholar who immigrated there, dated approximately 1090. (6) Three documents from the beginning of the Crusades, consisting of letters from Tyre and Tripoli in Lebanon and Arqa in northern Syria which reflect the need of the Jews for mutual assistance in the difficult circumstances which prevailed at the end of the 11th century, and lastly, evidence of the connection between the Jews of *Yemen and the Babylonian communities. (7) Additional material concerning the Jews in Ereẓ Israel and the role of the *ketubbah* is to be found in a book by M.A. Friedman, *Jewish Marriage in Palestine: A Cairo Genizah Study* in two volumes (1980/81), Vol. 1, *Ketubbah* Tradition in Ereẓ Israel; Vol. 2, Texts.

ALIYAH TO EREẒ ISRAEL. In A. Kupfer's *Konteros Ereẓ Israel* (1968) are included pages from a work written by a sage desirous of immigrating to the Land of Israel, for which purpose he composed a pamphlet to serve as a guide for those contemplating immigration. A. David published new documents from the "late" *Genizah* illuminating life in Ereẓ Israel and its vicinity after the Spanish expulsion.

[Yehoshua Horowitz / Menahem Ben-Sasson (2nd ed.)]

MASORAH. Yeivin has undertaken research into the Babylonian vocalization system. He has examined all the known manuscript sources of Babylonian vocalization and described the linguistic tradition which it reflects. A large proportion of his manuscript sources are from the *Genizah* and contain principally Bible texts, rabbinic texts in Mishnaic Hebrew, and *piyyutim*. Yeivin discovered numerous variations within the Babylonian vocalization system and divided the types of systems which he found in his sources under three headings: (a) Old Babylonian; (b) Middle Babylonian; and (c) Late Babylonian.

The texts using the Old Babylonian system were only partially vocalized, whereas Middle Babylonian vocalization was complete. Late Babylonian is a mixed system consisting essentially of Tiberian vocalization with vestiges of Middle Babylonian pronunciation. With regard to the chronology of the Babylonian system, Yeivin concluded that our earliest sources must date from approximately 800 C.E. Yeivin has also published facsimiles of all *Genizah* Bible fragments with Old Babylonian and Middle Babylonian vocalization and a few with Late Babylonian vocalization. The Spanish scholar Diez Merino has compiled a catalogue of all known Babylonian Bible manuscripts and written a synopsis of the work of former scholars on the Babylonian vocalization system.

Several scholars have collected and studied *Genizah* fragments with Palestinian vocalization. M. Dietrich has edited and analyzed a number of Bible fragments with Palestinian vocalization which he discovered in Cambridge and Oxford *Genizah* collections. E.J. Revell has published two books on Palestinian vocalization. In *Hebrew Texts with Palestinian Vocalization* he analyzes and classifies the pointing of Hebrew texts with this vocalization system. The work is based on non-biblical texts discovered by Dietrich in the Taylor-Schechter New Series and on some 30 other texts, including biblical material, which were found by Revell himself in the Cambridge Genizah Collections. The classification consists of two parts, one of biblical and the other of non-biblical texts, and is based on the number of vowel signs which are used and the manner of their use. According to Revell, in the non-biblical texts there are 11 different types of vocalization, all of which belong to one of two major divisions or dialect groups. In his assessment of the relationship between Palestinian and Ben-Asher Tiberian vocalization, Revell advances the view that the Palestinian system represents a stage of Hebrew which has developed further than that reflected in the Ben-Asher system. This theory is contrary to that of the majority of scholars who maintain that the Palestinian system reflects an earlier stage of Hebrew than the Tiberian. In his more recent book, *Biblical Texts with Palestinian Pointing and their Accents*, Revell lists all known Biblical manuscripts with Palestinian pointing, including several new fragments discovered in the Taylor-Schechter Additional Series, and studies the use of their accent signs. He contradicts P. Kahle, who claimed that Palestinian accent signs did not mark stress. According to Revell, it is quite reasonable to hold that they indicate stress if it is assumed that stress in Palestinian Biblical Hebrew frequently fell on the penultima rather than on the ultima.

B. Chiesa has made a comprehensive study of fragments of biblical texts with Palestinian vocalization. His work includes a summary of previous studies on Palestinian vocalization as well as a catalogue of all the Palestinian Bible fragments which were known to him before the Taylor-Schechter Additional Series became available. He discusses the historical position of the Palestinian system and its cultural milieu and concludes that it was molded by provincial Jewish communities which lacked strong scholarly leadership. Chiesa also collects the variant readings which the Palestinian texts exhibit in comparison with Ben Ḥayyim's Bible as edited by van der Hooght in 1705. These variant readings show that the text of the Palestinian Bible fragments belongs to a textual family which is distinct from that of the Tiberian and Babylonian traditions. It is close to the lost Hebrew tradition whose remains are now to be found in the Greek and related variants.

N. Allony has published facsimiles of 60 *Genizah* fragments of Talmud and *Halakhah* with Palestinian vocalization. None of these fragments is later than the 11th century; they thus invalidate the generally accepted view that vocalized Mishnah texts did not exist before the 14th century (the date of the Kaufmann manuscript).

In his book *Manuscritos hebreos y arameos de la Biblia*, H. Diez Macho discusses the work which has been done on the various vocalization systems and attempts to elucidate many of the problems which these involve. Chapters are devoted to Babylonian, Palestinian, and Tiberian vocalization and also to what he calls "Pseudo Ben-Naphtali" vocalization, i.e., the mixed system of Tiberian and Palestinian vowel signs which Kahle erroneously called Ben-Naphtali. Apart from the standard Tiberian systems, most of our knowledge of these types of vocalization is derived from *Genizah* fragments. The work also includes a catalogue of *Genizah* Bible fragments with "Pseudo Ben-Naphtali" vocalization, which supplements the list published previously by Diez Macho (*Hebrew and Semitic Studies Presented to G.R. Driver*, 1963, pp. 16–52). This new catalogue shows that there are more Bible manuscripts of this type in the *Genizah* than was formerly thought.

GRAMMAR AND LEXICOGRAPHY. Allony has reconstructed Saadiah Gaon's lexicographical work *Ha-Egron* from *Genizah* manuscript fragments and published it in a critical edition. Until the discovery of the *Genizah* this work was known by name only from Abraham Ibn Ezra's introduction to linguistics, *Sefer Moznayim*. The work was designed as a handbook for poets, the entries being arranged both according to their initial letter to assist the writing of acrostics and also according to their final letter in order to help poets find a rhyming word. Allony has also published, in the form of a monograph, *Genizah* fragments of the *Kitāb al-Kāmil* by the Spanish grammarian Jacob ben Eleazar. Previously this work was only known from citations in medieval grammatical treatises and Bible commentaries. The fragments of the original work show that the *Kitāb al-Kāmil* formed the apex of the Spanish school of Hebrew philology. The book was a comprehensive and systematic exposition of grammar, which was more clearly organized than the compendious *Sefer ha-Rikmah* of his illustrious forbear Ibn Janaḥ.

S. Abramson has used *Genizah* sources extensively to reconstruct the *Kitāb al-Tajnīs* (Book of Homonyms) of Judah ibn Bal'am. This is a lexicographical work which lists words with two or more different meanings. *Genizah* fragments have also been used by A. Dotan in his edition of the *Sefer Dikdukei ha-Te'amim* of Aaron ben Asher and by Halkin in his edition of the *Kitāb al-Muhaḍara wa-al-Mudhākara* of Moses Ibn Ezra. The very beginning of the mediaeval linguistic learned works, *Kutub al-Lugha* by Saadya Gaon was reconstructed and edited by A. Dotan.

TARGUM AND VERSIONS. M. Klein has published all the primary sources of the so-called Fragment Targums to the Pentateuch, two of which are *Genizah* manuscripts from the Jewish Theological Seminary of America and the British Museum. The Fragment Targums are not complete verse-by-verse renderings of the Hebrew text but contain only a selection of isolated verses or parts of verses. The two *Genizah* texts are both of Palestinian provenance and are the earliest of the fragment Targum manuscripts (11th–13th century). S. Lund and S.A. Foster have made a study of the Targum traditions as represented in the codex Neofiti I, which was discovered by Diez Macho in 1956. The codex Neofiti I contains the complete text of the Palestinian Targum to the Pentateuch. This text belongs to the same tradition as the *Genizah* fragments of the Palestinian Targum which were published by Kahle in 1930 and also to the same as is represented by the Fragment Targums. The codex also includes a large number of interlinear and marginal notations which constitute two variant Targumic versions of the main text. Lund and Foster correlate these two margin texts with the Palestinian Targum as found in the *Genizah* manuscripts and with the Fragment Targums. They conclude that one of the margin texts is derived from the same tradition as the *Genizah* and Fragment Targums whereas the other belongs to a different tradition, which has certain affinities to the Pseudo-Jonathan Targum to the Pentateuch.

M. Goshen-Gottstein reconstructed parts of the Old Testament in the "Syro-Palestinian" version on the basis of all the known sources. This version was written in Christian Palestinian Aramaic and was used by the Melchite Christian community in Palestine in the first half of the first millennium C.E. The bulk of the source material for this version is provided by palimpsests which have been discovered in the *Genizah*. These contain Hebrew overscripts and Syro-Palestinian underscripts.

MISCELLANEOUS. The *Genizah* has furnished sources for the edition of two important Jewish mystical works. M. Margalioth has reconstructed *Sefer ha-Razim* almost entirely from fragments which were preserved in the *Genizah*. The general contents of this work have long been known, especially from extracts scattered in *Sefer Raziel*. It is only now, however, that we have the text of the original. *Sefer ha-Razim* is an exposition of the names and functions of the angels in the six heavens which precede the supreme heaven, together with an assortment of magic formulae for suppliants of various types. The recently recovered original text shows that the work was heavily indebted to the Greek Gnostic literature of Hellenistic Egypt. It contains many Greek magic terms and even has a prayer to the sun-god Helios. P. Fenton has edited the *Treatise of the Pool* (*al-Maqāla al-Ḥawḍiyya*) by Obadiah Maimonides (1228–1265), the grandson of Moses Maimonides, from *Genizah* fragments and from a manuscript in the Bodleian Library, Oxford. This mystical work is a manual for the spiritual wayfarer along the path to godliness. A man's heart is compared to a cistern or "pool" which is to be filled with pure water. Obadiah's work is permeated by a philosophical mysticism that owes much to the influence of Islamic Sufism. It is therefore an eloquent testimony to the close relationship between Muslim and Jewish mystics in the 13th century. Fenton added more substantial editions of Maimonidean mystical traditions based on sources found in Karaite and Rabbanite *genizot*: *Moreh Derekh ha-Perishut* of David the 2nd Maimuni and several works of earlier generations of this dynasty.

An important contribution to the history of Hebrew printing has been made by H. Dimitrovsky, who has published *Genizah* fragments of incunabula of the Babylonian Talmud from Spain and Portugal. These fragments are valuable because the Expulsion from Spain (1492) and Portugal (1497) and the Christian Inquisition led to the almost complete destruction of Jewish printed books, so that very few examples of early Jewish printing in these countries have come down to us. Moreover the text of the Talmud which these fragments preserve has many particular features which distinguish it from other known texts of the same work. Apparently old texts of the Talmud, which were not preserved elsewhere, reached Spain from Babylonia in early times.

The *Genizah* has preserved the oldest Yiddish work which has so far been attested (14th century). It was first published by Fuks in 1957 and has been critically edited more recently by H.J. Hakkarainen. Hava Turniyanski published a series of letters written in Yiddish.

Scholars of Hebrew paleography have been furnished with abundant source material from the *Genizah*. S.A. Birnbaum and M. Beit-Arié, for instance, have used *Genizah* fragments as representatives of the medieval and, to a lesser extent, post-medieval Oriental and Sephardi scripts. Beit-Arié's work *Hebrew Codicology*, which reports the preliminary conclusions of the Hebrew paleography project of the Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities, is particularly important. Owing to the mobility of the medieval Jewish population in the Mediterranean area, the form of script used by a manuscript scribe is not by itself a reliable guide to its provenance since the scribe may have had his training in another country. Consequently Beit-Arié has taken into account a wide variety of physical and graphical characteristics of medieval Hebrew manuscripts, which were cumulatively less sensitive to population fluctuations, and established a typology of general codicology. This typology will enable scholars to identify the date and provenance of medieval Hebrew manuscripts with greater accuracy. Edna Engel continues this work and formed types and schools of *Genizah* writers intended to characterize cultural traditions of Oriental communities and to set the basis for future matching projects of fragments from different libraries.

[Geoffrey Khan / Menahem Ben-Sasson (2nd ed.)]

Genizah Material at Cambridge University Library

OLD AND NEW SERIES. At the beginning of the 20th century, a few years after the presentation of the Collection to Cambridge University by Charles Taylor and Solomon Schechter in 1898, a total of some 31,000 fragments had been examined and sorted in a classification series which became known as the Taylor-Schechter Old Series. The fragments were conserved in various ways. Over 2,000 were sealed between glass, almost 7,000 were bound up in volumes, and about 22,000 were individually preserved in paper folders and stored in boxes. The remaining pieces, now known to number approximately 109,000, were left in crates, being considered for the most part of lesser value. It was not until 1955 that their importance was acknowledged and that work began to sort and classify them under the direction of the university librarian, H.R. Creswick. A new classification was adopted for them and they came to be known as the Taylor-Schechter New Series. The sorting of the fragments for the New Series was, however, unsystematic. The bulk of the work was done by visiting scholars who, in the absence of a well-coordinated program, tended to make selections, each according to his own interests, in a rather piecemeal fashion. One reason for this was that, until the appointment of H. Knopf in 1965, no member of the library staff had specific responsibilities for the *Genizah* Collection. The fragments that had been assigned classmarks were stored in boxes like the majority of the Old Series.

Shortly after the initiation of the New Series a program began to microfilm all the classified fragments of the Collection and so enable them to be studied by scholars in academic institutions other than Cambridge. In the late 1960s, on the initiative of the university librarian, Eric Ceadel, a conservationist was appointed to treat the New Series material. The most up-to-date methods were used to ensure that the maximum protection was given to the priceless fragments. They were cleaned, flattened, and repaired. Moreover their storage in boxes was considered unsatisfactory, since they could easily be damaged or misplaced when removed for consultation. Consequently they were placed in a transparent polyester film known as Melinex, sewn onto uniform-sized sheets, and placed in looseleaf binders.

TAYLOR-SCHECHTER GENIZAH RESEARCH UNIT. In 1974 the Taylor-Schechter *Genizah* Research Unit was established under the directorship of S.C. Reif. A ten-year project was initiated, the aims of which were the increase of personnel engaged in work on the Collection, the conservation of the material and its being made available to scholars, the compilation of bibliographical aids for users of the Collection, the initiation of an organized research program in the *Genizah* field, and the publication of material for both the scholarly world and the informed public. Part of the cost of this project was met by Cambridge University Library and the remainder was to be in the form of grants and donations from outside sources. A steering committee was set up for the unit consisting of representatives of the University Library and the Faculty of Oriental Studies, and has ensured the close involvement of the Faculty in the Unit's work.

SORTING. The New Series was terminated after it had come to contain about 42,000 fragments. The material still remaining in 32 crates was sorted in 1974 by a team of scholars in a joint project with the Israel National Academy of Sciences and Humanities. The result of this work was entitled the Taylor-Schechter Additional Series. Since the sorting was coordinated and completed in a short space of time the classification of the fragments in this series was more systematic than that of the New Series. The Additional Series contains about 67,000 fragments and so the total number of pieces in the Collection can now be calculated to be in the region of 140,000, well in excess of Schechter's original estimate of 100,000.

CONSERVATION. A team of full-time conservationists was appointed to deal with the Taylor-Schechter Collection. They continued, with a number of improvements, the modern methods which had been initiated for the treatment of the New Series. After the New Series was completed they treated the newly sorted Additional Series fragments and placed them under Melinex in small manageable binders. Subsequently the Old Series fragments received the same attention. Finally the other *Genizah* fragments which had been acquired by Cambridge University Library before and after Schechter's expedition to Cairo, including the Or. 1080–81 material, were given the same protection as the Taylor-Schechter Collection.

This conservation work was completed in 1981 and now all the material of the Cambridge Genizah Collection is fully accessible to scholars and may be freely consulted without any risk of damage.

RESEARCH AND PUBLICATIONS. From 1974 a systematic-cataloguing program was established in Cambridge. As a result, the first comprehensive catalogues of Cambridge *Genizah* material in a variety of scholarly fields are now making their appearance. The following numbers in the Series have already been published: No. 2. *Hebrew Bible Manuscripts in the Cambridge Genizah Collections*: Volume 1: *Taylor-Schechter Old Series and Other Genizah Collections in Cambridge University Library*, by M.C. Davis, incorporating material compiled by H. Knopf (1978). Volume 2: *Taylor-Schechter New Series and Westminster College Cambridge Collection*, by M.C. Davis (1980).

No. 3. *A Miscellany of Literary Pieces from the Cambridge Genizah Collections*, by Simon Hopkins (1978). *An Introduction to the Cambridge Genizah Collections*, by S.C. Reif. *Hebrew Bible Manuscripts in the Cambridge Genizah Collections*: Volumes 3 and 4: *Taylor-Schechter Additional Series 1–31 and 32–225, with addenda to previous volumes*, by M.C. Davis.

No. 4. *Vocalized Talmudic Manuscripts in the Cambridge Genizah Collections*: Volume 1: *Taylor-Schechter Old Series*, by Shelomo Morag.

No. 5. *Post-Talmudic Rabbinic Manuscripts in the Cambridge Genizah Collections*: Volume 1: *Taylor-Schechter New Series*, by E.J. Wiesenberg.

No. 6. *Published Material from the Cambridge Genizah Collections: A Bibliography* (three volumes).

The *Bibliographies* of publications relating to the Cambridge *Genizah* Collections covers all published material up to 2005. *Genizah* publications are scattered in a wide range of periodicals and books, some of them unavailable in most libraries. Consequently, a scholar who is interested in a fragment is very often unable to trace what has previously been written about it. Each reference to a fragment was checked against the original manuscript and, if necessary, corrected before it was entered into the *Bibliography.*

MICROFILM. The Taylor-Schechter Unit has completed the microfilming of all the fragments in the Cambridge *Genizah* Collections on 320 reels. It has made whole sets of the films available to several institutions around the world including the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Tel Aviv University, the Jewish Theological Seminary of America, and Yeshiva University in New York. Over the last few years Cambridge University Library has itself acquired microfilms of *Genizah* material held elsewhere. Consequently Cambridge is now a major center for the study of material from all the *Genizah* Collections.

[Stefan C. Reif / Geoffrey Khan / Stuart E. Rosenberg (2nd ed.)]

The Friedberg Genizah Project

The Friedberg Genizah Project was conceived and initiated by Albert D. Friedberg of Toronto, Canada, in 1998 and started to operate in 1999. Mr. Friedberg foresaw the possibilities of harnessing modern technology and international scholarly cooperation in order to advance research into the riches of the Cairo *Genizah* and facilitate the exploitation of these resources within the matrix of both traditional and academic Jewish studies. The *Genizah* contains hundreds of thousands of pages of treatises and documents of all sorts – texts of the Bible and commentaries, biblical and rabbinic dictionaries, halakhic works, poetry and prayer, philosophical and polemic treatises, deeds, documents, official and personal letters, in Hebrew, Aramaic, Judeo-Arabic and Arabic, Judeo-Persian and Yiddish, dating from before the eighth century until the 15th and even later on. The project that resulted from Mr. Friedberg's initiative was made possible by a grant from the Buckingham Foundation of Toronto, Canada.

Specifically, the project's purpose was threefold: (a) to produce a union catalogue of all Cairo *Genizah* fragments, which will eventually be made available online to all interested scholars; (b) to commission transcriptions of as many of those fragments as practicable; and (c) to encourage scholarship on the *Genizah*.

The projected union catalogue will for the first time provide a complete accounting of all *Genizah* fragments from collections all over the world, thus making the rich treasures of the Cairo *Genizah* accessible to all those interested in the history of Jewish texts and contexts from late antiquity to the early modern period. Included in this database will be a flexible search engine that will enable scholars to collate scattered fragments and conduct research on them, as well as a wide variety of searches in all the languages of the *Genizah*. While more than 60% of the *Genizah* has been catalogued in one way or another in the last century, since its discovery and export to libraries all over the world, much remains to be done, and FGP was established in order to bring this task to completion.

Equally important is the effort to produce transcriptions of as many of these fragments as possible. These transcriptions, used in conjunction with the catalogue, will make it possible for those interested in particular subjects to investigate and integrate all relevant texts into their work.

The Project was intended to restore awareness of the importance of the *Genizah* to the general and Jewish scholarly worlds, and, not least important, to attract junior potential scholars to specialize in or utilize this important source for Jewish and general history.

FGP is involved in the continuous efforts of cataloguing at Cambridge University Taylor-Schechter Genizah Research Unit. All already-published catalogues of CUL entries are part of FGP database. FGP has contacted libraries with smaller collections than those at Cambridge or the Jewish Theological Seminary. The John Rylands University Library (JRUL), The University of Manchester, and several other libraries have signaled their willingness to cooperate in the accomplishment of FGP's cataloguing goals. Among these are the British Library, the Bibliothèque Nationale et Universitaire de Strasbourg, the Oestereichische Nationalbibliothek, the National Library of Russia, and the AIU collection in Paris. By its end FGP estimates that the cataloguing of over 170,000 fragments will be completed and the results made available in a union catalogue; it is expected that the remaining 43,000 fragments will be catalogued by the libraries housing these fragments, with the encouragement of the FGP.

In pursuance of its second goal, FGP has set up several units to work on specific areas of *Genizah* transcription, and, when appropriate as in the case of Judeo-Arabic texts, translations. These include units devoted to the entire Talmudic corpus (Mishnah, Tosefta, Babylonian Talmud, Jerusalem Talmud, RIF), *Midrash Halakhah*, *Midrash Aggadah*, Judeo-Arabic halakhic compendia, Judeo-Arabic grammatical and lexical texts, Judeo-Arabic philosophical and polemic texts, liturgical texts, court and economic documents, Geonic responsa. These units are located at Hebrew University, Makhon Ben Zvi, Ben-Gurion University, Tel Aviv University, Bar-Ilan University in Israel, and Princeton University.

FGP also aims at publishing in print the results of its work, catalogues as well as texts. FGP has so far published Professor Menahem Kahana's first volume on *The Genizah Fragments of the Halakhic Midrashim* (Magnes Press, 2005). FGP also participated in the publication of a volume of *Genizah* texts of Maimonides' Commentary on the Mishnah by Dr. Simon Hopkins, a volume of book-lists from the *Genizah* compiled by N. Allony, and further support for other volumes is planned.

The process of transcription has begun to bear substantial fruit and numerous texts have been prepared for eventual distribution, or are in the process of being prepared. Especially significant are important rabbinic fragments and numerous Judeo-Arabic texts that are being transcribed and translated, with the hope of soon being able to make them available to the wider public in a variety of formats. As the Project continues to develop, the scope and significance of this component of its work can be expected to continue to increase, so that a virtual treasure trove of new texts will be available. Coupled with the extensive cataloguing and bibliographical efforts the Project is involved in, we can be assured of opening the *Genizah*'s still unclaimed treasures for academic and religious scholarship.

With all this progress, as well as the opportunity given to many graduate students and others to actually work with *Genizah* texts, a greater interest on the part of students and scholars in researching these texts can already be detected, and thus the third goal of the Project – the further development of the field by encouraging young scholars to enter it – is on the way to fulfillment.

BIBLIOGRAPHY AND CATALOGUING. The Project's Unit of Cataloguing and Bibliography, as its name indicates, has two main roles: one is the preparation of a hand-list as stated in the Project's goals; the second role includes systematic combing of published literature since the discovery of the *Genizah* material, for the purpose of recording the bibliographic references to and cataloguing of fragments from all *Genizah* collections. The focus around which the references are assembled is a unique fragment identifier, while all its varied, old, and erroneous identities in shelf marks, locations, and catalogue numbers are noted as added alternative fields, so as to eliminate as much as possible the confusion that accompanies a researcher's attempt in locating a desired fragment. The bibliographic recording notes the presence of a facsimile or whether a fragment is mentioned, transcribed, translated or fully described, in which case one also includes in the bibliographic records any physical description and cataloguing information that appear in the publication.

1. The Jewish National and University Library has completed the digitizing of JNUL *Genizah* collection and prepared the hand-list for this collection in electronic version.

2. Taylor-Schechter Genizah Research Unit, Cambridge University Cataloguing of T-S Collections: The projects currently receiving full or partial support from FGP are as follows: (a) the preparation of catalogues of the Arabic and Judeo-Arabic items in the New Series and Additional Series of the Cambridge *Genizah* Collections; (b) the compilation of a third volume of bibliography of published items from the Cambridge *Genizah* Collections, covering the years 1980–97.

GINZEI QEDEM. *Ginzei Qedem* is an annual publication devoted to *Genizah* texts and studies. *Ginzei Qedem* is part of the Friedberg Genizah Project, whose aim is to contribute to increased scholarly discussion of *genizot* worldwide, in the hope that the fruits of this discussion will eventually enrich both traditional and academic Jewish studies. The purpose of *Ginzei Qedem* is to provide a specialized venue for scholarly publications in this area. Younger scholars are particularly encouraged to participate alongside their more established colleagues.

In terms of the subject matter to be covered, the rubric "*Genizah* texts and studies" is to be understood in the broadest possible sense to include publications of fragments of literary works and documents from *genizot* in Cairo and elsewhere, as well as studies based on such fragments. Articles may deal with any of the relevant disciplines, including but not limited to biblical studies and exegesis, history, literature (including *piyyut*), Talmud and rabbinics, theology, philosophy, linguistics, science, medicine, and magic.

Contributions may be in Hebrew, English, or other major European languages. Any substantial quotations in a language other than that in which the article is written must be accompanied by a translation.

THE CENTER FOR THE STUDY OF JUDEO-ARABIC CULTURE AND LITERATURE AT THE BEN-ZVI INSTITUTE (JERUSALEM). The Center currently conducts three projects in conjunction with the Friedberg Genizah Project: (1) Judeo-Arabic halakhic literature, (2) Judeo-Arabic biblical exegesis, and (3) Judeo-Arabic philosophical, theological, and polemical works. In addition to these projects, the Friedberg Genizah Project is participating in the institute's ongoing project to catalogue the Judeo-Arabic manuscripts in the Firkovitch Collection.

Judeo-Arabic Halakhic Literature Project. The aim of this project is to reconstruct works relating to halakhic or talmudic topics written in Judeo-Arabic from the geonic period through the 15th century. After reconstruction, these works will be published with an annotated Hebrew translation and introductions. The books concerned include halakhic monographs, works of talmudic methodology and legal theory, talmudic commentaries, commentaries on Maimonides' Mishneh Torah, Books of Commandments, and so on. While work on specific books is currently based on lists of identification made by various scholars, a systematic re-examination and cataloguing of the relevant *Genizah* fragments has also begun.

The following books are at present in varying states of preparation: (1) Hai b. Sherira Gaon, *Kitāb al-Aymān* (Laws of Oaths, known as *Mishpetei Shevuot*); (2) Hai b. Sherira, *Kitab al-Bay' wal-Ashriyah* (Laws of Purchase and Sales, known as *Mekah u-Mimkar*); (3) Samuel b. Hofni Gaon, *Kitāb al-Talāq* (Laws of Divorce); (4) Samuel b. Hofni, *al-Madkhal ila 'Ilm al-Mishnah wal-Talmud* (Introduction to the Study of the Mishnah and Talmud); (5) Samuel b. Hofni, *Kitāb al-Buyū'* (Laws of Sales); (6) Samuel b. Hofni, *Kitāb al-Shurūt* (Laws of Legal Conditions); (7) Samuel b. Hofni, *Kitāb al-Zawjiyah* (Laws of Marriage); (8) Samuel b. Hofni, *Kitāb Ahkām al-Yibbum* (Laws of Levirate Marriage); (9) Samuel b. Hofni, *Kitāb al-'Iddah* (On the period of time a woman must wait between marriages); (10) Samuel b. Hofni, *Kitāb al-Nafaqā* (On Support Payments); (11) Samuel b. Hofni, *Kitāb al-Rahn* (On Pawning); (12) David b. Saadya al-Ger, *Kitāb al-Hawī* (The Comprehensive Work [of *Halakhah*]); (13) Hananel b. Shemuel, Commentary on the Book of Leviticus; (14) Saadiah b. Joseph Gaon, *Sefer Mitzvot* (Book of Commandments).

Judeo-Arabic Biblical Exegesis Project. The goal of this project is similar to that of the *halakhah* project: to reconstruct Judeo-Arabic works of biblical exegesis. In the case of biblical exegesis, however, it has not been possible to begin with a corpus of identified fragments. Further, the number of exegetical fragments is much larger than in the case of the halakhic material. The institute therefore began with a systematic survey of *Genizah* collections, cataloguing the Judeo-Arabic exegetical fragments, surveying the collections of the Bodleian Library and the British Library, the Mosseri collection, and a large part of the Cambridge collections. It is hoped that a detailed description of each fragment's physical, paleographic, codicological details, as well as its content, will eventually enable one to put together fragments of a single manuscript or composition. An attempt at identification of each fragment is already made at this stage. In addition, a start was made to transcribe and translate selected fragments, which from their paleographical, codicological, or orthographic characteristics appear to be relatively early, perhaps pre-Saadianic. As a pilot publication of a reconstructed text Prof. Ben-Shammai is now working on a critical edition of the Judeo-Arabic commentary of Saadiah Gaon on the first part of Exodus (ch. 1–20), based on a large number of fragments in various collections, with annotated Hebrew translation.

Philosophy, Theology, and Polemics. This project is dedicating renewed, concentrated attention to the philosophical, theological, and polemical material in the *Genizah*, mostly in Judeo-Arabic. The intention is to identify, catalogue, and publish works belonging to these branches of thought, in all the *Genizah* collections. Fragments of works that have already been edited are catalogued, and the significant variant readings are noted. These lists will be published independently and used in conjunction with the editions, or will prepare the way for the eventual publication of new, comprehensive critical editions (if the material examined indicates the need for such an undertaking). Fragments that are still unpublished are catalogued, identified, or described in detail in order to facilitate future identification. Several collections have already been catalogued in this way: the Mosseri and AIU collections in Paris, the Kaufman Collection in Budapest, and the collections in Philadelphia and in Oxford, as well as significant parts of the larger collections in the Jewish Theological Seminary (New York) and in Cambridge.

Princeton University Project on Medieval Documents in Judeo-Arabic (Conducted by Prof. Mark Cohen). Under Friedberg funding Princeton will computerize about 4,000 transcriptions of historical documents from the Cairo *Genizah* documents. These documents, mostly unpublished, were originally transcribed by S.D. Goitein and copies of his transcriptions are found in the "S.D. Goitein *Genizah* Research Lab at Princeton" (the original "Lab" is located at the Institute of Microfilmed Hebrew Manuscripts at the Jewish National and University Library in Jerusalem). The Princeton project keyboards Goitein's typed texts, edits them, and provides them with brief catalogue-headers.

Halakhic Midrashim (Project Conducted by Prof. Menahem Kahana, Hebrew University). The first book published by FGP is Professor Kahana's The *Genizah Fragments of the Halakhic Midrashim*, Jerusalem (Magnes Press), 2005.

Judeo-Arabic Documents and Response (Project Conducted by Prof. Mordechai A. Friedman, Tel Aviv University). This group has undertaken the decipherment, translation, and brief annotation of the *Genizah* Judeo-Arabic responsa literature from the geonic period and the classical *Genizah* period (the manuscripts from the latter period will include a few Hebrew responsa) as well as other legal texts: Judeo-Arabic responsa dealing with commercial law, documents and some responsa associated with engagement and betrothal, responsa of Abraham Maimonides and his contemporaries.

Philological Texts, Primarily in Judeo-Arabic (Project Conducted by Prof. A. Maman, Hebrew University). The group working on philology (grammars, dictionaries, and glossaries) which includes among others *Genizah* fragments from Radak's *Sefer Ha-Shorashim* (such as T-S K7/82; T-S AS 141.76B), from Ibn Janah's *Sefer Ha-Shorashim* (Ms. Heb d.33.69; Ms. Heb d.33.70V; TS AR 32.35, TS Ar. 46.36), fragments from Hebrew-Arabic Biblical Glossaries (TS Ar. 5/51; T-S AS 141.44D; T-S AS 141.68B; T-S K7/45), and fragments from Hebrew-Arabic Mishnaic Glossaries (T-S K7/11).

Genizah Cataloguing at JNUL (by Dr. Ezra Chwat, JNUL). This group completed an updated catalogue of the *Genizah* fragments of rabbinic manuscripts in Oxford's Bodleian Library and, for the Oriental Department of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, a catalogue of the David Kaufman collection in Budapest.

Documents from the Late Middle Ages (by Dr. Avraham David, JNUL). This group completed Cairo *Genizah* documents of the Late Middle Ages (from the second half of the 15th century to the first half of the 17th century).

Aggadic Midrashim (by Prof. Chaim Milikovsky, Bar-Ilan University). A group focusing on *Genizah* texts relating to *Midrash Aggadah*. This group will have two primary goals: (1) the preparation of a database/catalogue of *Genizah* fragments of *Midrash Aggadah*; and (2) the transcription of fragments of *Midrash Aggadah* from all collections of *Genizah* material.

In the beginning of 2006 an interim estimate displays an order of magnitude. The figures, especially in cataloguing, represent records, not necessarily fragments, because of joints and splits. Cataloging (or identifying) records 68,900. About 25 teams (including individual scholars): 42,300 records, in addition to 10 Cambridge computerized catalogues: 24,400 records and 6 additional computerized catalogs: 2,200 records. 6,800 transcriptions; 800 new translations; 23,000 bibliographical items; 4,000 (in process of adding 20,000 jts) digitized images; 167,000 computerized lists of shelf-marks. These are in the process of being loaded into FIST [= FGP Information Storehouse]. FGP has already had an effect on *Genizah*-related activities, certainly in Israel, but also abroad. The number of researchers, and in particular the number of graduate students (both M.A. and Ph.D. students) involved in *Genizah* research today, either cataloguing, transcribing, translating, or in general conducting research on specific topics related to the *Genizah* world is considerably greater than several years ago. Many of these graduate students are now researchers on their own, working in the *Genizah* field. The various teams of researchers in four universities in Israel as well as in the Jerusalem National and University Library, in the Institute for Manuscript Microfilms, and at the Ben-Zvi Institute have created an awareness and induced a flurry of activity very beneficial in itself to the promotion of *Genizah*-related research. Some successful examples are the special session on the FGP at the 14th International Congress of Jewish Studies in Jerusalem (2005), and the publication of the first issue of *Ginzei Kedem*. The same can be said about the awareness and activities in many *Genizah* centers such as Cambridge, Manchester, Princeton, Pennsylvania, and the Jewish Theological Seminary in New York. From this perspective, one of the principal long-term aims of the project is thus being fulfilled.

[Menahem Ben-Sasson (2nd ed.)]

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GENNAZANO, ELIJAH ḤAYYIM BEN BENJAMIN OF (second half of 15th century), writer and disciple of R. Benjamin of Montalcino. Gennazano wrote (1) *Iggeret Ḥamudot*, on the Kabbalah, dedicated to David b. Benjamin of Montalcino, whom he wished to instruct in Kabbalah (ed. A.W. Greenup, 1912); (2) a poem about women, in which Gennazano arbitrates between Abraham of Sarteano, who published a poem against women, and Avigdor of Fano who composed a poem in their defense (all three ed. by Neubauer in *Israelitische Letterbode*, 10 (1884–85), 97–105); (3) two anti-Christian parodies of the "*Yigdal*" hymn (A. Marx, in JQR, 9 (1918–19), 306–7 and *Freidus Memorial Volume*, 1 (1929), 276ff.); and (4) a polemic against Christianity, a compilation of the arguments he used in a disputation with the monk Francesco da Aquapendente in Orvieto (Ms.).

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[Umberto (Moses David) Cassuto]

GENOA, seaport in N. Italy. There were Jews living in Genoa before 511, since in that year Theodoric the Ostrogoth confirmed through his minister Cassiodorus the Jewish privilege of restoring, but not enlarging, the synagogue, which had been destroyed by Christian fanatics. From 1134 Jews who came to Genoa had to pay toward the illumination of the cathedral – this obviously discouraging their settlement. *Benjamin of Tudela (c. 1165) found only two Jews (brothers) in Genoa, dyers from North Africa. Notarial documents of 1250–74 show a number of Jews established there or in transit. In 1492 refugees from Spain arriving in Genoa in overcrowded ships were allowed to land for three days, but on Jan. 31, 1493, this concession was withdrawn through fear that the Jews had introduced the plague. In following years some well-to-do Jews were allowed to stay in Genoa under the supervision of an "Office of the Jews."

The policy of the Genoese doges and senate toward the Jews subsequently varied, alternately influenced by fear of competition and the need to exploit Jewish experience in overseas trade. The Jews were expelled from the city in 1515, readmitted a year later, and again expelled in 1550. In 1567 the expulsion was extended to the whole territory of the republic. However, between 1570 and 1586, permission to engage in moneylending and to open shops in Genoa was granted four times to the Jews. In 1598 a further decree of expulsion was issued, but many Jews succeeded in evading it. In 1660 the 200 Jews living in Genoa were confined to a ghetto, although two years later many were still living outside it. What is possibly the first polyglot Bible (or part of it) was published here in 1516: the Psalter in the Hebrew original, with the Greek Septuagint, the Latin Vulgate, the Aramaic Targum and its Latin translation, and an Arabic version together with some notes by Bishop Agostino Giustiniani, to whose scholarly initiative this magnificent edition was due. The last decree of expulsion was issued in 1737 but was not rigorously enforced. Finally, in 1752 a more liberal statute was issued, but owing to the uncertain conditions the Jewish population remained small, numbering only 70 in 1763. The number increased during the 19th century, after Genoa's development as Italy's major port, especially after full equality was granted to the Jews in 1848. The community numbered about 1,000 in the middle of the 19th century.

[Attilio Milano]

Holocaust Period

Because of its location and its large and active port, Genoa was an important center for the assistance of Jews in Italy. Until the very last minute, some Jews managed to find boats and escape from the city.

One hundred fifty-three Jews were arrested and deported from the Province of Genoa during the German occupation of Italy. They included many refugees who had fled from Italian-occupied southeastern France at the time of the Italian armistice with the Allies on September 8, 1943, on their way to Switzerland or to the regions of Italy under the Allies.

Many Jewish refugees gathered in Genoa because the city was the headquarters of the Delegazione Assistenza Emigrati Ebrei (DELASEM), which coordinated assistance and rescue programs. The Genovese office of DELASEM was headed initially by Lelio Vittorio Valobra, who later fled to Switzerland and continued to work from there, with Raffaele *Cantoni, to support the organization's activities. Massimo Teglio, a particularly courageous Genovese Jew, remained on the scene and had a central role in helping both Italian and foreign Jews in danger of arrest. Teglio worked closely with Cardinal Pietro Boetto (1871–1946), the archbishop of Genoa, and his secretary, Don Francesco Repetto. Don Repetto recruited local priests and also created a regional rescue network, with help from the archbishop of Turin and priests from other northern Italian cities.

The hunt for Jews began on November 2, 1943, when two German police agents entered the offices of the Jewish community and forced the custodians, Linda and Bino Polacco, to turn over membership lists and summon members to a meeting at the synagogue the following morning. Many members had already left the city, but a majority of those arrested in Genoa were seized at this time. Only a few members who received the summons were able to escape, thanks to a warning received from Teglio. Rabbi Riccardo Pacifici, who until the last moment tried to help refugee Jews, was captured in the Galleria Mazzini, also on November 3. He died at Auschwitz, probably gassed upon arrival on December 11.

[Alberto Cavaglion (2nd ed.)]

Contemporary Period

At the end of World War II, 1,108 Jews were left in Genoa. Subsequently, the Jewish population maintained its size, notwithstanding a constant outnumbering of deaths over births, and in 1965 it numbered 1,036 persons out of a total of 840,000 inhabitants. The port of Genoa was the transit center for various groups of Jewish emigrants who came mainly from Eastern Europe and were heading for Israel. In early 2000s the community numbered a few hundred, operating a synagogue and a Jewish school. The review *La Fiamma* ("The Flame") was published monthly.

[Sergio DellaPergola]

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GENOCIDE CONVENTION. The Genocide Convention for the prevention of genocide and the punishment of the organizers of genocide arose out of a general reaction to the Nazi crimes against the Jewish people. Though several mass liquidations had already previously occurred in the history of mankind, none of these had reached the proportions and planning of the slaughter of European Jewry by the Third Reich. After World War II, a movement developed demanding that such acts be condemned as an international crime, and their perpetrators be punished. This condemnation was to be upheld by the coordinated activity of all civilized nations. The term "genocide" was coined by the Polish-Jewish lawyer Raphael *Lemkin in his book *Axis Rule in Europe* (1944), 79–95. It was also due to a large extent to his personal efforts over the years that the Convention was later ratified.

The Genocide Convention was directly connected with the trials of the major Nazi war criminals at the International

Military Tribunal at Nuremberg, where the Nazi plan to exterminate Jews wherever possible was publicly revealed in all its brutality. The *United Nations, which in the preamble to its Charter had renewed the affirmation of basic human rights and the recognition of the value of human life, could not ignore what had happened in this sphere. Consequently, at its first session on Dec. 11, 1946, after it had confirmed Resolution No. 95 (I) on the principles of international law which had been introduced by the legislation of the Nuremberg tribunal, the General Assembly adopted Resolution No. 96 (I), condemning genocide as a crime in international law, and determining that all nations have an interest in punishing such cases. After two years of preparation the text of the Convention was unanimously adopted by the General Assembly of the U.N. (Dec. 8, 1948). By January 1969, 67 countries had ratified it, some with important reservations. As of 2000, 132 countries were party to the Genocide Convention.

The Convention outlaws not only mass murder but also several other actions of a less extreme nature, taken against groups of individuals. It does not give a legal definition of the term "genocide." The characteristic trend of all the actions which can be defined as genocide is their inherent intention to destroy, wholly or partially, a national, ethnic, racial, or religious group *per se*. The following actions are classified as genocide: the killing of persons belonging to the group; the causing of grievous bodily or spiritual harm to members of the group; deliberately enforcing on the group living conditions which could lead to its complete or partial extermination; the enforcement of measures designed to prevent birth among the group; the forcible removal of children from one group to another.

Since the Convention aims at the prevention as well as the punishment of genocidal action, it determines that not only those who carry out such actions are liable to punishment, but also those who take certain measures liable to bring about genocide, such as a plot to carry out genocide; direct and public incitement to genocide; an attempt at genocide; participation in such action. This list clearly shows that the activities included within the framework of genocide are related only to the biological and physical existence of the group in question.

One of the main achievements of the Convention is its application to every criminal, regardless of his status, i.e., it applies equally to rulers who bear the legislative responsibility for the act, on public functionaries, and on private individuals. This directive overrrules the argument of an "act of state," which contends that leaders of the state are free of responsibility, performing their action not in their own name but in the name of the state. Although the convention does not deal explicitly with the plea of "superior order," it is clear that this plea is invalid unless it refers to instances in which the intent to murder a group cannot be attributed to the accused. The Convention provided for national implementation (by local courts), for international implementation (by an international penal court, not yet in existence), and for prevention and suppression of genocide by the General Assembly which may be called upon to do so.

The effectiveness of the Convention had in the first 20 years of its existence not been put to the test. Claims of genocide being committed were made, *inter alia*, in regard to blacks in Southern Sudan, to Kurds in Iraq, to Nagas in India, and to communists, Chinese in Indonesia, and the Ibos in the Biafran War in Nigeria, but no attempt was made to "seize" the General Assembly with these claims.

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[Nehemiah Robinson]

GENTILE, non-Jew. It was only during the later Second Temple period that a sharp distinction and a barrier of separation was erected between the Jew and the gentile. The prohibition of marriage, which in the Bible was limited to the seven Canaanite nations (Deut. 7:1–4), was extended, following the reforms of Ezra, to include all non-Jews; the acceptance of monotheism was made the distinguishing mark of the Jew (Meg. 13a, Esth. R. 6:2); the Jews were regarded as having completely discarded *idolatry which was, however, uniformly characteristic of the non-Jew. In addition to that the low moral, social, and ethical standards of the surrounding gentiles were continuously emphasized, and social contact with them was regarded as being a pernicious social and moral influence. As a result, during this period the world was regarded as divided, insofar as peoples were concerned, into the Jewish people and the "nations of the world," and insofar as individuals were concerned, into "the Jew" and the idolater ("*oved kokhavim u-mazzalot*," usually abbreviated to "*akkum*," literally "a worshiper of stars and planets" but applied to all idolaters). Only considerations of humanity, such as relief of their poor, visiting their sick, affording them last rites (Git. 61a), and discretion ("one greets a gentile on their festivals for the sake of peace" – Tosef. Av. Zar. 1:3) were reasons for breaking the otherwise impenetrable barrier. As a result, the conception of and the attitude toward the non-Jew from the Talmudic period onward are strikingly different from that during the biblical period.

For the biblical period see *Stranger.

In the Talmud

Since talmudic literature spans over half a millennium, covering a wide geographic area, attitudes toward gentiles expressed in it vary considerably. In fact, it reveals a whole spectrum of opinions from the extreme antipathy of the tormented Jew of Hadrian's time – e.g., Simeon b. Yoḥai's statement: The best of gentiles should be killed (TJ, Kid. 4:11, 66c) – to the moderate views expressed in the more friendly atmosphere of early Sassanid Babylon – witness Samuel's making no distinction between Israel and the nations on the Day of Judgment (TJ, RH 1:3, 57a). Thus all such statements must be seen in their specific geographical-historical context. Nevertheless, in general it may be said that the Jew's attitude toward the gentile was largely conditioned by the gentile's attitude toward him (see Esth. R. 2:3), so that a gentile's friendship to a Jew would be warmly and uninhibitedly reciprocated (see BK 38a, and witness the relationships between Meir and Avnimos ha-Gardi, Judah ha-Nasi and Antoninus, Samuel and Sapor, etc.).

Jewish antipathy to the gentile in talmudic times stemmed from a number of causes and functioned on several levels. Thus, gentiles were condemned for their cruelty to Jews (see BK 117a; Av. Zar. 25b, etc.), their morals were considered reprehensible (Yev. 98a; Av. Zar. 22b; Song R. 6:8, etc.), and throughout the period one finds reiterated the (theological) accusation that though they were offered the Torah, they rejected it (Av. Zar. 2b; Tanḥ. B., Deut. 54, etc.). Thus, the Jewish antipathy to the gentile was not due to the fact that he was of non-Jewish stock, i.e., it was not a racial prejudice, but rather motivated by their idolatry, moral laxity, and other such faults (see Av. Zar. 17a–b). Those that were righteous (by Jewish standards), however, were fully entitled to the rewards of the world-to-come (Tosef., Sanh. 13:2; BB 10b), and a further distinction was made by Johanan who declared that gentiles outside Palestine were not really idolaters, but only blind followers of their ancestral customs (Ḥul. 13b).

Terms

In rabbinic literature the distinction between gentile (*goi, akkum*) and Christian (*noẓeri*) has frequently been obscured by textual alterations necessitated by the vigilance of censors. Thus "Egyptian," "Amalekite," "Zadokite" (= Sadducee) and *kuti* (Samaritan) often stand in place of the original *noẓeri*, as well as *goi, akkum*, etc. (see *Paḥad Yiẓḥak*, s.v. *Goi*). Probably when Resh Lakish stated that a gentile (*akkum* etc., in existing texts) who observed the Sabbath is punishable by death (Sanh. 58b), he had in mind Christians (see A. Weiss, in *Bar Ilan*, 1 (1963), 143–8, xxxi–ii). The same may be so in the case of R. Ammi who ruled that one may not teach a gentile Torah (Ḥag. 13a; cf. Sanh. 59a). Numerous anti-Christian polemic passages only make real sense after *noẓeri* has been restored in place of the spurious *kuti* or *ẓedoki*, etc.

In Law

The gentile figures very widely in talmudic law, in various legal categories, such as laws of personal status, marriage and inheritance, proselytization, laws of accession, contract, agency, evidence and damages, purity and impurity, laws concerning the types of property, and offerings he may present to the Temple, to name but a few. The basic assumption is that all non-Jews are subject to certain universal laws, religious, moral, and social (called the seven *Noachide laws): (1) institution of courts of justice; (2) idolatry; (3) blasphemy; (4) incest; (5) homicide; (6) robbery; (7) eating the limb of a living animal, and according to other opinions, castration, mixing of breeds, witchcraft, etc. (Sanh. 56a–b, et al.).

Thus the gentile is a legal personality in Jewish law, and though sometimes discriminated against, is generally treated equitably. Thus, the Talmud relates that once the Roman government sent two officials to learn the Jewish law. After careful study, they said: "We have scrutinized all your laws and found them just (*emet*), except for the following instance. You say that if a Jew's ox gores that of a gentile, the owner is free from damages, while if a gentile's ox gores that of a Jew, he is obliged to pay damages. But if, as you say, 'neighbor' (in Ex. 21:35) excludes the gentile, then he should be free even when his ox gores that of a Jew. And if, on the other hand 'neighbor' includes the gentile, then the Jew should have to pay damages when his ox gores that of a gentile …" (BK 38a).

Where there is legal discrimination against a gentile, it is usually based on objective reasoning, such as the fact that he does not subscribe to the Jewish "social contract" (nonreciprocity). Thus, the Talmud rules that the commandment to restore lost property to its owner (Deut. 22:1–3) does not apply when the gentile is the owner (BK 113b). This is because gentiles do not act reciprocally in such cases. Similarly, a gentile cannot act as witness (BK 15a) because (according to one opinion) he is dishonest and unreliable (cf. Bek. 13b). Here it should be noted that Jews suspected of the same faults were liable to identical discrimination. Other apparently discriminating rulings were intended to discourage intimacy with the non-Jew, or, in other words, primarily to guard the Jews from the dangers of assimilation, such as the interdict against non-Jewish wines and cooked foods, etc. In practice discrimination against gentiles was frowned upon and even forbidden as it might jeopardize friendly relations (*mi-penei darkhei shalom*, Git. 5:8–9; *mi-penei eivah*, Av. Zar. 26a) and bring about a profanation of the Divine Name (*ḥillul ha-Shem*, BK 113b) – so much so, that the Talmud enjoins that gentile poor be supported with charity like Jewish poor (Git. 61a) and does not even tolerate the charging of interest to gentiles (BM 70b).

[Daniel Sperber]

In the Middle Ages

The talmudic laws, referred to above, whose purpose was to minimize contacts between Jews and idolaters ran counter to the social and economic realities of Jewish life in the Middle Ages. Unlike the talmudic period, Jews no longer lived in compact, economically self-sufficient communities. (This historical explanation for lifting many of the talmudic restrictions on Jewish-gentile relationships was already put forth by the tosafists; see Tos. to Av. Zar. 15a, beg. *Eimor.*) Economic – and, as a result, a measure of social – contact with non-Jews was an inevitable necessity. Hence, in daily life, many of the talmudic restrictions in this area simply became dead letters. Taking this fact into cognizance, R. Menahem Meiri could write: "In our times, no one observes these practices, neither gaon, rabbi, sage, pietist, nor pseudo-pietist" (*Bet ha-Beḥirah*, Av. Zar. introd.). Under the circumstances, the halakhists of the period were confronted with the problem of reconciling talmudic law with common practice that patently ignored it. Among the tosafists, this was accomplished by a process of dialectically reinterpreting the talmudic sources. Each specific law was reinterpreted so as to make it conform to the current practice. For example, the talmudic law prohibiting business dealings with gentiles on their festivals was construed as in consonance with doing business with Christians on Sundays (Tos. to Av. Zar. 2a, beg. *Asur*). Rashi (quoted in *Or Zaru'a*, Sanh. 2a) declares that such dealings are forbidden only on Christmas and Easter. A similar attitude is taken by the tosafist R. Elhanan in the matter of renting to a Christian a house owned by a Jew (Tos. to Av. Zar. 21a beg. *Af*; see also Tos. to Av. Zar 13a beg. *Kal va-ḥomer*). Occasionally the discrepancy between law and practice was overcome by drawing a distinction between idolaters referred to in the Talmud and Christians who reside outside the land of Israel (Maharam of Rothenburg, Resp., ed. Berlin, no. 386). While the tosafists declare that "we are certain that the Christians do not worship idols" (Tos. to Av. Zar. 2a beg. *Asur*), an attitude already adumbrated by R. Gershom, they fail to apply the principle categorically. The hesitation of the medieval halakhists to fully accept the implications of an absolute distinction between a Christian and an idolater is apparent in their legal discussions. The prominent tosafist R. Isaac of Dampierre held that since Christians could not be regarded as strict monotheists, according to the *halakhah* they come under the category of Noachides who are not enjoined against trinitarian belief (Tos. to San. 63b beg. *Asur*; Tos. to Bek. 2b beg. *Shema*). Confronted by the exigencies of daily life, the medieval halakhists tended toward leniency in such talmudic prohibitions as the use of gentile bread, butter, and wine. R. Menahem Meiri constitutes the single significant exception to the attitude of the halakhists. Strongly influenced by the rationalistic philosophy of his time, he drew a basic distinction between idolaters and between Christians and Muslims. The latter, he writes, are "peoples disciplined by religion" and, on principle, are to be regarded as Jews insofar as economic and social relations with them are concerned. In these matters, no invidious distinctions are to be made between Jews and Christians (*Bet ha-Beḥirah*, BK 113b; *ibid.*, Av. Zar. 20a). He hesitates however in his practical decisions to waive all the ancient restrictions lest their total abolition lead to a loss of Jewish identity. Maimonides in his role as halakhist offers a position that is at odds both with that of the medieval decisors and with that of R. Menahem Meiri. He flatly states (Yad, Akum 9:4) – deleted by censors in the ordinary editions – that the talmudic limitations on Jewish-pagan relations are applicable in his own time. Moralistic literature of the period, notably, *Sefer Ḥasidim*, displays a marked ambivalence. In a number of instances, it goes far beyond talmudic law in warning against any contact with Christianity and its ritual objects. Thus, while the tosafists broadly qualify and virtually abolish the prohibition against dealing in the ritual objects of an alien faith, *Sefer Ḥasidim* makes the prohibition absolute. Yet, in its moral teachings, the book exhorts to an ethical scrupulosity in dealings with a gentile who observes the seven Noachide commandments. Such a person, it is averred, should be more honored than a Jew who does not engage in the study of Torah. However, such moral promptings were frequently motivated by considerations of expediency. Nevertheless, in a significant passage (no. 58), the book holds up a noble act performed by a Christian as one most worthy of emulation by Jews. A motive frequently invoked in warning against unethical acts committed by Jews toward Christians is that of *ḥillul ha-Shem* (desecration of God's name; no. 1080). Despite a social atmosphere saturated with Christian contempt, repression, and persecution of Jews, R. Moses of Coucy could write: "We have already explained concerning the remnant of Israel that they are not to deceive any one whether Christian or Muslim. Thus, the Holy One, Blessed be He, scatters Israel among the nations so that proselytes shall be gathered unto them; so long as they behave deceitfully toward them (non-Jews), who will cleave to them? Jews should not lie either to a Jew or to a gentile, nor mislead them in any matter" (*Semag Asayim* no. 82).

[Theodore Friedman]

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GENTILI (**Ḥefeẓ**), family in northern Italy, particularly in Gorizia, Trieste, Verona, and Venice. The name Gentili was rendered in Hebrew as Ḥefeẓ, and it is the latter name which appears in the Hebrew writings of the members of this family.

MOSES BEN GERSHOM (1663–1711), rabbinical scholar. Born in Trieste, Moses was active in Venice. He was a pupil of Solomon b. Isaac Nizza, who was active in Venice around 1700, and supported himself by being a private tutor. He dealt with philosophy, mathematics, and the natural sciences. He composed poems, one of which, written when he was 13, can be found in the Venice edition of the Bible (1675–78). His main work was a homiletical-philosophical commentary on the Pentateuch (*Melekhet Maḥashevet*, Venice, 1710, with tables and a portrait of the author; second edition, Koenigsberg, 1819, with super-commentary, *Maḥashevet Ḥoshev*, by Judah Leib Jaffe). Moses also wrote *Ḥanukkat ha-Bayit*, dealing with the construction of the Second Temple (Venice, 1696, with plan). On the occasion of his wedding, the poet Yomtov Valvasson composed a poem (Venice, 1682), and a dirge on his death was published (Ghirondi-Neppi, 241). The beginning of an address by Moses is found in an Oxford manuscript (Neubauer, Cat. 1123).

[Umberto (Moses David) Cassuto]

GERSHOM BEN MOSES (1683–1700), son of Moses b. Gershom. Gershom wrote *Yad Ḥaruzim*, a Hebrew rhyme-lexicon containing an introduction, 12 rules for Hebrew usage in poetry and rhyme scheme, and an appendix devoted to a poetical version of the 613 commandments (*azharot*), according to Maimonides' enumeration. After Gershom's untimely death at the age of 17, the work was published by his father who added an introduction containing his son's biography. A eulogy by Solomon b. Isaac Nizza, Gershom's teacher, appears as an appendix to the work (Venice, 1700; second edition, without the *azharot* and the eulogy, but with additional notes by Simḥah *Calimani, Venice, 1738–45). Moses Gentili quotes some of his son's interpretations in his *Melekhet Maḥashevet*.

[Samuel Abba Horodezky]

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GEOGRAPHY.

In the Bible

The geographic horizon in the early biblical period was the *lu'aḥ ha-ammim*, a table of 70 nations listed in Genesis 10. The identification of the names and the location of the countries are the subject of differences of opinion among scholars. It is clear however that included are all of Arabia, Syria, Asia Minor as far as the Caucasus, all the lands of the Tigris and Euphrates, the western part of the highlands of Iran, the regions of the middle and lower Nile including the desert extending to their west, and Greece and its islands (see The Seventy *Nations).

In the Talmud

Scattered throughout the Talmuds, the Targums, and the Midrashim are various geographic references connected with the *halakhah* and with expositions and homilies on the Bible and Midrash. Most of these references are associated with Ereẓ Israel: with laws about "commandments applying to Ereẓ Israel," which are to be observed only in Ereẓ Israel, with praise of the country, and with the identification of biblical place-names.

The *mitzvot* dependent on Ereẓ Israel have full application only within "the territories occupied by those who came back from Babylonia" (Ereẓ Israel); have partial application within the borders of those who came up from Egypt; and refer only marginally to that territory which lies within the wider borders promised to the patriarchs but outside the area of those who came up from Egypt – territory conquered by David on his own responsibility and known in the Talmud as Syria. Within the obligatory territories were exempted enclaves, such as Caesarea in the Sharon, Susita (Hippos) in the Golan, Ashkelon in the Judean coastal lowland, and within the exempted territories obligatory enclaves such as Kefar Ẓemaḥ on the southeastern shore of Lake Kinneret. The boundaries of these areas and also of the enclaves are laid down in the *halakhah* (Shev. 6:1; Tosef., Shev. 6:6–11; Tosef., Oho. 18:14; Sif. Deut. 51; TJ, Shev. 6:1, 36b). In connection with the laws of usucapion, Ereẓ Israel was divided into three districts: Judea, Transjordan, and Galilee (BB 3:2). Concerning the laws for the removal of fruit from the house in the sabbatical year when they had stopped growing in the field, each of the three districts was subdivided into three regions: mountain, valley, and lowland. The phytogeographical features of these were: for mountains the *Cillin* pine, for valleys the palm, and for lowlands the sycamore (*Ficus sycamora*) (Tosef., Shev. 7:11; cf. Shev. 9:2). The area between Judea and Galilee was called "the country of the Cutheans" or contemptuously "the Cuthean Strip" (*Matlit shel Kutim*; Lam. R. 3:7). The question also arose as to whether the law applicable to levitically unclean heathen countries applied also to the country of the Cutheans. The sages decided that the law was applicable in those cities which had been surrounded by a wall since the time of Joshua and in which *Megillat Esther* is read on Adar 15th (Ar. 9:6; Ar. 32a; Meg. 4a; TJ, Meg. 1:1, 70a).

Many identifications of geographic and ethnographic names in the Bible are in the nature of expositions. Onkelos contented himself with a few which he considered to be beyond doubt. Targum Pseudo-Jonathan and the Palestinian Targum frequently identified places solely on the basis of the similarity of names without regard to any geographic considerations. Among the identifications of the table of nations, given in the Midrashim and Targums, none includes all the nations and countries known to the sages. These identifications are frequently inconsistent and contradictory. The equation of Rome with biblical Edom which was apparently intended at first to allow for open criticism of the Roman authorities was later accepted as fact and hence the former and latter halves of the verse: "Behold, of the fat places of the earth shall be thy dwelling, and of the dew of heaven from above" (Gen. 27:39) were interpreted in the Midrash (Gen. R. 67:6) as referring respectively to Italy (Rashi, ad loc., adds "of Greece," i.e., Magna Graecia, southern Italy) and to Bet Guvrin. On the identification of Kenites, Kenizzites, and Kadmonites, who are mentioned in the covenant with Abraham (Gen. 15:19), and who were not conquered by those who came up from Egypt, there are divergent opinions: in a plausible interpretation R. Judah held that they were Arab tribes on the border of the land of the seven nations which the Israelites inherited, whereas R. Eliezer contended that they refer to Asia Minor, Thrace, and Carthage (Gen. R. 44:23, end; BB 56a). The identification of places in Ereẓ Israel, particularly in Galilee, is mostly realistic and is of aid in a scientific study of the historical topography of the country (TJ, Meg. 1:1, 70a, b; TB, Meg 5b).

The sages thought that geographic and hydrologic factors exerted a great influence on man's physical and spiritual being. On Moses' instructions to the spies: "And see the land, what it is; and the people that dwelleth therein, whether they are strong or weak" (Num. 13:18), the *Tanḥuma* (Shelaḥ Lekha, 6) comments: "There is a country that raises strong men, and there is a country that raises weak men." A similar view is expressed in the midrashic statement: "Some springs raise strong, others weak men, some handsome, others ugly men, some modest, others dissolute men." The spring of Shittim (Num. 25:1), which was a place of licentiousness, watered Sodom (Num. R. 20:22).

From the statements of the sages one can reconstruct the geographic concept of the world current in talmudic times. The earth with its seas was seen as a circle ringed around by the ocean (*Okyanos*) with the center of the circle being the **even shetiyyah* ("foundation stone") in the Holy of Holies, which was thought to be in the middle of the earth (*tabbur ha-areẓ*), not only in a geometrical sense. This was thought to be the beginning of creation. Around the center are concentric circles in order of importance: the Holy of Holies, the Temple, Jerusalem, Ereẓ Israel, and the world (Tanḥ. Kedoshim, 6); this particular idea was devised by a man who had never seen Jerusalem. The idea of the centricity of the Holy Land occurs first in the Apocrypha, influenced by the Greek concept of *omphalos*, which is that the center of Earth is at Delphi. The sages based the idea that the start of creation is with the *even shetiyyah* on biblical passages (Tosef., Yom ha-Kippurim 3:6; Yoma 54b), but not the centricity of Jerusalem, which was not of such great significance to Jews as to Christians who transferred the center to the cross of Jesus, a concept which the Church Fathers based on biblical verses (Ezek. 5:5; 38:12; Ps. 74:12). Thus the center of circular medieval maps is Jerusalem with the cross. The view that Ereẓ Israel is higher than all countries, Jerusalem than the whole of Ereẓ Israel, and the Temple Mount than all Jerusalem (Sif. Deut. 152 and 37; Sanh. 87a) is a literal homiletical interpretation of the verse: "Then shalt thou arise, and get thee up unto the place which the Lord thy God shall choose" (Deut. 17:8). The sages were however not unaware of the fact that the spring of Etam, from which water flowed to the Temple, was higher than the Temple Mount.

An estimate of the size of the "world" ranged between the extremes of 6,000 and 1,440,000 parasangs. But a still more exaggerated view held that the earth was only 1/12,960,000 part of Gehinnom (TJ, Ber. 1:1, 2c; Pes. 94a). On the area of the inhabited world (οἰκουμένη) there were divergent opinions:

(1) a third is inhabited, the remaining two-thirds being sea and desert;

(2) the whole inhabited world is situated under one star;

(3) the inhabited world is located between the Wain and Scorpio, that is, about 80° from north to south (54° north of the equator and 26° south of it);

(4) it extends from east to west, a distance of one hour of the sun's course, that is 15° (Pes. 94a).

Even those sages who were aware that the earth is round did not deal with the problem of the date line. Alexander the Great during his campaigns is said to have risen upward until he saw the earth like a globe partially submerged in an enormous bowl of water, that is, the ocean (TJ, Av. Zar. 3:1, 42c; Num. R. 13:14). The Zohar (Lev., s.v. *ve-im zevaḥ shelamim* (3:1), Soncino ed., 346) states that according to the Book of R. Hamnuna the Elder the earth is a revolving globe, that when it is day on one side, it is night on the other, that there is a place where there is no day and opposite it a place where there is no night. The comprehension of this is said to be the secret of the mystics and not of geographers. How this individual view came to be included in the Zohar is not clear.

The problem of the density of the earth occupied the aggadists. There was a widespread view that the circle of the earth is like a dish that floats on the face of the *deep, namely, the water, and that below the deep are mountains, so that the whole rests on a solid base. Another view holds that the earth rests on pillars which apparently reach down to those mountains. Views on the thickness of the earth range from a thousand cubits (about 500 m. = 547 yds.) to a 50-year journey. There was a generally accepted view that the "water of the deep" is close to the surface of the ground which accounts for the origin of springs and the moistening of the ground: to a handbreadth of rain the deep responds with two handbreadths (Ta'an. 25b). Some thought that these springs originated in the Euphrates. The four rivers that went out of the Garden of Eden were higher than all the rivers in the world, the highest of them being the Euphrates, and hence R. Judah in the name of Rav prohibited all the water in the world to anyone who took a vow not to drink from the Euphrates (Bek. 55a). Hot springs have their origin in the deep, and pass over the entrance to Gehinnom (Shab. 39a). "All the rivers run into the sea, yet the sea is not full … they return (to their source)" (Eccles. 1:7). How do they return? There are three views:

(1) through the channels of the deep;

(2) through vapors that rise from the sea and form clouds, the desalination of the seawater taking place in the deep or in the clouds;

(3) that river water disappears in the ocean because the latter has water which "absorbs water" even if brought up in a barrel on to dry land (a view which is apparently not an exposition of the passage in Ecclesiastes). The phenomenon of how such absorption takes place is not explained (Ta'an. 9b; Gen. R. 13:9; et al.).

The Jordan flows from the Dead Sea to the ocean below the earth (Bek. 55a). The idea that the ocean is higher than the land is apparently based on the homiletic interpretation of biblical verses (Jer. 5:22; Amos 9:6); the sand on the seashore prevents the flooding of the land, which happened twice, once in the generation of Enosh, when the flood reached Calabria, and once in the generation that witnessed the confusion of the tongues when the flood stretched as far as the ends of Barbaria (TJ, Shek. 6:2, 50a; Gen. R. 23:7, end). In the sea there are river-like currents and waves whose height reaches 300 parasangs which is also the distance between one wave and another. Among the big waves there are small ones (BB 73a).

The sages distinguished between floral zones in Ereẓ Israel on the basis of differences in altitude and hence in temperature. But there are other universal reasons for such diversity, *viz.* the distinctive features of water and of soil. Koheleth-Solomon planted in his gardens and parks "trees … of all kinds of fruit" (Eccles. 2:5), which means, according to the *aggadah*, literally all the kinds in the world. That they might flourish he sent demons, over whom he had dominion, to irrigate each tree by bringing water from its country of origin. Another view held that arteries spread out from the center of the earth through the entire world, and Solomon, knowing how to distinguish them, planted on each artery the appropriate trees, even those from Africa and India (Eccles. R. 2:5, no. 1).

From the praise of Ereẓ Israel contained in the *aggadah* it is possible to put together an aggadic geography of the country before its destruction. The love of the Holy Land, the anguish at its impoverishment and at the depletion of its children, and the expectation of its future glory engendered exaggerations that are logically incomprehensible. Ereẓ Israel's situation in the center of the world and its altitude did not change even after the destruction of the Second Temple, nor did the weight of its stones, which was greater than those of the neighboring countries (PdRE 13). The *aggadah* is responsible for the extension of the western boundary up to the Atlantic Ocean, this being, for the aggadist, the interpretation of "the Great Sea" in the verse: "And for the western border, ye shall have the Great Sea for a border" (Num. 34:6). Extravagant conclusions were reached by Targum Pseudo-Jonathan. All the countries on the continent as well as the islands opposite Ereẓ Israel within the limits assigned to the patriarchs (from the Brook of Egypt to Taurus Amanus) up to the "primeval waters" at the furthermost extremity of the world and even the ships sailing the sea are all included in the Promised Land (*ibid.*). It was said that after the destruction of the Second Temple Ereẓ Israel "drew together," i.e., diminished inside. Alexander Yannai had 60 myriad "cities" in the King's Mountain and in each of them were 60 myriad people, except for three in which there were twice as many. To feed this population the country produced enormous crops of excellent quality. By the fourth century, the country had deteriorated to such an extent that it did not produce even a large number of reeds (TJ., Meg. 1:1, 170a; TJ., Ta'an. 4:8, 69a; Git. 57a). In the days of Simeon b. Shetaḥ rain fell at the right time, the grains of wheat were as large as kidneys, the grains of barley like olives, the lentils like golden denarii (Ta'an. 23a). Several species of trees, such as cinnamon, brought from distant lands in the time of Solomon, still grew in the Second Temple period, and Indian pepper continued to grow until the destruction of Bethar (Eccles. R. 2:8). In fulfillment of the biblical passage: "Thou shalt not lack anything in it" (Deut. 8:9), there were exiled with Israel to Babylonia through the channels of the deep 700 species of fish permissible as food and through the air 800 species of locusts permissible as food. The fish and the locusts returned with those who came back from Babylonia (Lam. R., Proem 34).

The fate of the Lost Ten Tribes has stirred the imagination of Jews from the days of the Second Temple to our times. A miraculous existence was invented for them in distant and unknown lands, the legend of the tribes being connected with those of the river *Sambatyon and the Mountains of Darkness. Thus the Ten Tribes were exiled across the Sambatyon, Σαββατείον, the Sabbath river, which rages and hurls stones on six days of the week but rests on the Sabbath, thus proving through nature the holiness of the Sabbath (Sanh. 65b; Gen R. 11:5, 73:6); Josephus describes it as a river in Syria which flows on one day and rests on six days of the week (Jos., Wars, 7:96–99); the origin of the legend being apparently to be found in rhythmically intermittent springs, such as Ein Farah in the Judean desert.

Medieval Jewish Geography

Knowledge of the spherical form of the earth, derived from observing the height of the stars in different latitudes, reached Jewish scholars in Islamic countries through Arab astronomy. The first Jew to consider the earth as a sphere was the Cordovan rabbi, Ḥasan b. Mar Ḥasan ha-Dayyan, in his book on intercalation (end of the tenth cent.). At approximately the same time in Baghdad *Sherira b. Ḥanina Gaon, followed by his son *Hai Gaon, rejected the opinion that the heavens are like a cap over a flat earth. Only fragments remain of the stories of Abraham b. Jacob who traveled in Germany and the Slavic countries in the 950s. The two letters from Joseph b. Aaron, king of the Khazars, to R. *Ḥisdai ibn Shaprut, which comprise not only historical, but also geographical material, were transmitted by Jewish merchants from Germany (about 950). The books of medieval travelers frequently contained material of geographic interest (see *Travelers).

By the 11th century the spherical form of the earth was accepted among Jewish scholars in Islamic countries, and from there the idea passed to Provence and Italy. Solomon ibn *Gabirol states in *Keter Malkhut*: "The terrestrial globe is divided into two, half is dry land and half water." The first work in Hebrew about the round shape of the earth and its division into climatic regions, together with a list of the countries in each region, was *Sefer Ẓurat ha-Areẓ* ("The Book of the Shape of the Earth" (late 11th or beginning of the 12th century)), by *Abraham b. Ḥiyya. His system, like that of his Muslim teachers, is that of Ptolemy, the Alexandrian (c. 150 C.E.). According to Abraham b. Ḥiyya, the earth, with the seas upon it, is a globe. The western or lower half of the globe is entirely water. The eastern half is mostly dry land (except for seas such as the Mediterranean and the Red Sea), but there is no human settlement except in seven regions. North of latitude 66° there is no settlement because of the cold. In the far south (there are those who say from the equator to the south and those who say from a few degrees south of the equator) there is no populated area because of the heat, which increases as one progresses in a southerly direction. *Ẓurat ha-Areẓ* was published with a Latin translation by D. Schreckenfuchs and notes by Sebastian Muenster (Basle, 1546).

The discoveries at the end of the 15th and the beginning of the 16th century refuted the limitation of the earth's population to seven regions. Information regarding this refutation was conveyed to readers of Hebrew by Abraham b. Mordecai *Farissol in chapter 13 of his book *Iggeret Orḥot Olam* ("Epistle on the Ways of the World," 1525), but geographical ideas derived from legends or books are still to be found in homiletic and ḥasidic works, and they persisted in "scholarly" books until the 19th century. Still in 1550, Mattathias b. Solomon *Delacrut, in his short treatise *Ẓel ha-Olam* ("Shadow of the World"), based on a 13th-century French work, speaks of a quarter of the area of dry land which was not populated and where no human foot trod. As late as the end of the 18th century, Phinehas Elijah *Hurwitz of Vilna in *Sefer ha-Berit* [*ha-Shalem*] ("The [Complete] Book of the Covenant," 1797) maintains that most of the globe is water, either surface or underground, that the waters of the oceans are higher than the land, and that sand prevents their flooding the earth. It served as a basic text to those who wished to learn about nature but were apprehensive of the work of the new *maskilim* who belittled traditional literature. Geographic literature in Hebrew and the part played by Jews in systematic geographic research are slight compared with the Jewish contribution to other branches of science, such as astronomy, mathematics, and medicine.

Geography Textbooks

Abraham Farissol's *Iggeret Orḥot Olam* served as a Hebrew geography textbook until the 19th century. Like other 16th-century Jewish and Christian thinkers, Farissol believed in the existence of the Ten Tribes and the river Sambatyon, and devoted much space to them. Approximately 300 years later, Samson ha-Levi *Bloch, a *maskil* of the Galician school, published *Shevilei Olam* ("The Paths of the World": vol. 1, "Asia," 1822; vol. 2, "Africa," 1827), basing himself on German literature. The treatise is in the rhetorical and witty style of the times. Abraham Menaḥem Mendel *Mohr, still using only German sources, continued the work (1856) after Bloch's death. The information on Jewish communities and Jewish scholars, known to the two authors without having to do any special research, is their original contribution. In the 1780s with the establishment of schools that included secular instruction in the curriculum, special short textbooks began to appear. *Reshit Limmudim* ("The Beginning of Instruction," first ed. 1796; last ed. 1869), by Baruch Linda, the first such textbook in Hebrew, also has chapters on geography. A geography book, *Ha-Kaddur* ("The Globe," Prague, 1831), by Moses S. Neumann, was written partly in Hebrew and partly in German, though in Hebrew characters. Asher Radin's *Ge'ografyah ha-Ketannah* ("The Short Geography," Koenigsberg, 1860), is an abridgment of a German textbook. Two works on the principles of geography: *Meẓukei Ereẓ* ("The Foundation of the Earth," 1878), by Nahum *Sokolow, and *Gelilot ha-Areẓ* ("The Regions of the Earth," 1880), based on German literature, by Hillel Kahana, an experienced pedagogue who is one of the last of the Galician school, appeared about the same time. As was customary among writers who did not know any Western European language other than German, Kahana transcribed French and English names according to the German pronunciation. An innovation was a colored Hebrew map, and sketches and pictures with Hebrew captions. In this way he educated the Hebrew reader to map study and observation.

Writers of textbooks solved problems in Hebrew geographical terminology and paved the way for the teaching of geography in schools in Ereẓ Israel from the end of the 19th century.

[Abraham J. Brawer]

Modern Geography

In modern geography there has been development in the concentration on limited areas and specialization in particular fields of study. One of these limited areas is the city. *Die Stadt Bonn, ihre Lage und raeumliche Entwicklung* (1947), by Alfred *Philippson, a German geographer, is one of the most important works on urban geography. Another significant contribution was made by Norton Sidney *Ginsberg, a U.S. geographer, who at the invitation of the Japanese government studied Tokyo's urban problems and incorporated his findings in "Tokyo Memorandum" (*Reports on Tokyo Metropolitan Planning*, 1962). Another specialized field is economic geography. Julius *Bien, a U.S. cartographer, not only prepared atlases for a number of major cities but carried out a full-scale survey of intercontinental railways for the U.S. War Department. Saul Bernard *Cohen, who specialized in a number of geographic fields, wrote *Store Location Research for the Food Industry* (1961), considered a standard guide. In addition, in the sphere of political geography he wrote *Geography and Politics in a World Divided* (1963).

On physical geography Victor A. *Conrad wrote *Fundamentals of Physical Climatology* (1942) and *Methods in Climatology* (1944); the Israel meteorologist Dov *Ashbel published *A Bio-Climatic Atlas of Israel* (1950) and *Climate of the Great Rift; Arava, Dead Sea, Jordan Valley* (1966). Joseph Ḥefeẓ Gentilli (1912–2000), an Australian geographer, wrote *Australian Climates and Resources* (1947) and *Geography of Climate* (1958). In connection with the study of the geography of soils David *Amiran, an Israeli, edited for UNESCO "Land Use in Semi-Arid Mediterranean Climates" (in *Arid Zones Research*, vol. 26, 1964). Morton Joseph *Rubin, a U.S. meteorologist, did research in oceanography, meteorology, and in glaciology, particularly in connection with his studies on the Antarctic. Another specialized branch of modern geography is biogeography; a monumental work in this field is *Studies in Medical Geography* (7 vols., 1958–67), by Jacques Meyer May (1896–1976), a French-born American scientist. Nautical geography is another division which has drawn the interest of Jewish geographers, among them the Italian Carlo *Errera, who wrote the pamphlet *L'italianità dell' Adriatico* (1914). The modern period has also produced an increasing number of historians of geography. Gustavo Uzielli (1889–1911), an Italian, did extensive research on the explorations of Christopher Columbus, Toscanelli, and Amerigo Vespucci. His best known work is *La vita e i tempi di P. Dal Pozzo Toscanelli* (1894).

A number of geographers have turned their attention to the history of cartography. Roberto *Almagià, one of Italy's most distinguished geographers, edited *Monumenta Italiae Geographica* (1929) and *Monumenta Cartographica Vaticana*

(4 vols., 1944–55). Erwin J. *Raisz, an American, wrote *General Cartography* (1938) and *Principles of Cartography* (1962).

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GEONIC LITERATURE. This entry includes the basic books of geonic literature, which were compiled during the geonic period – from the year 600 to 1040, approximately. Geonic literature includes several types of works:

(1) Commentaries on the Bible
(2) Commentaries on the Mishnah and Talmud
(3) Books of *Halakhah*
(4) Jewish Thought and Ethics
(5) Prayers (prayer-books) and Liturgical Poetry
(6) Responsa
(7) Documents and Letters
(8) Language and Grammar

Commentaries on the Bible

COMMENTARIES ON THE PENTATEUCH (TORAH). **Saadiah Gaon*. Torah with Arabic translation (Constantinople, 1546); *Tafsir al-Torah bi-al-Arabiya* (Paris, 1893); *Keter Torah*, known as Taj (Jerusalem, 1894–1901); Commentary on the Torah, Kafaḥ edition (1963); Torah Commentary on Genesis (Zucker edition 1984).

Samuel ben Hophni Gaon. Commentary on the book of Genesis, A. Greenbaum (ed.), 1978. Selections of his commentary on other parts of the Torah have also been published.

COMMENTARIES ON THE PROPHETS AND THE HAGIOGRAPHA. From Saadiah's translation of biblical books, *Tafsir,* there remain those of the Pentateuch, Isaiah, Proverbs, Job, the Five Scrolls, and Psalms, all with commentary. They were published from 1546 to 1970, with new sections of his commentaries on Isaiah, Lamentations, and the Book of Esther appearing more recently.

Saadiah's introduction to his *Pitron Shivim Millim* was printed in N. Allony's *Studies in Medieval Philosophy and Literature I: Saadiah Works* (1986). Various geonic commentaries on the Bible are scattered throughout the geonic responsa and referred to in geonic essays; they were collected in various anthologies.

Commentaries on the Mishnah and Talmud

COMMENTARIES ON THE MISHNAH. (1) The only geonic commentary on the Mishnah extant in its entirety is on the order *Tohorot* (J.N. Epstein edition by E.Z. Melammed, 1982); it is attributed to *Hai Gaon and may be an adaptation of Saadiah's commentary. (2) Geonic commentaries on the Mishnah collected from various sources appear in *Oẓar ha-Geonim* ("The Treasure of the Geonim," 13 vols., 1928–62) by Benjamin M. *Lewin. (3) Saadiah's *Millot ha-Mishnah* ("Words of the Mishnah") appeared in various journals.

COMMENTARIES ON THE TALMUD. (1) Talmud commentaries of the early *geonim* were incorporated into the Talmud. For a long time the geonic commentaries were found among those of the French and Spanish commentators. Some of these were thought irretrievably lost, with fragments being rediscovered only during the past 100 years. They were published in various articles, anthologies, and in Lewin's *Oẓar ha-Geonim.* (2) Talmud commentaries by *Paltoi Gaon, *Sherira Gaon, and *Hai Gaon, mentioned in various sources, have not reached us in their entirety. (3) The Talmudic dictionary of the *gaon* *Samuel ben Ḥophni was published by S. Abramson in *A. Even Shoshan* (1985), 13–65.

INTRODUCTORY BOOKS TO THE TALMUD. These works include material dealing with methodology as well as with history. (1) *Seder Tannaim ve-Amoraim*, compiled c. 884–886, was first published in Leghorn in 1796; an edition by Kalman Kahana appeared in 1935. The author's name is unknown. It contains a summary of the chain of tradition of the oral Law up to the **savoraim*, including regulations for passing halakhic judgments. (2) Saadiah Gaon's Introduction to the Talmud, which has been lost. (3) Samuel ben Hophni's "Introduction to the Talmud" – selected chapters of this work with the Arabic source and Hebrew translation, accompanied by an introduction and notes, were published by S. Abramson (1990). This volume is the second part of the work Samuel b. Hophni called *Mevo li-yedi'at ha-Mishnah ve-ha-Talmud.* Extant from the first part are most of the book's index and several sections from the text (see S. Abramson, in: *Sinai* 88 (1980), 193). (4) *Iggeret Rav* Sherira Gaon was published by B.M. Lewin (1921) in both known versions, the so-called "*nosaḥ Sefarad*" and "*nosaḥ Ẓarefat*," i.e., a "version from Spain" and a "version from France" (in which there is a difference of opinion as to whether the Mishnah was already written down in the time of Rabbi Judah ha-Nasi or merely remembered orally), on the basis of manuscripts and Genizah fragments.

Books of Halakhah

(1) *SHE'ILTOT* (Venice, 1566), by *Aḥa of Shabḥa (680–752), *gaon* of Pumbedita. Robert Brody's *The Textual History of the She'iltot* (1991) is a study aimed at reconstructing as closely as possible the original text of *Sefer ha-She'iltot.* This work prepares the way for a new edition of the *She'iltot* which will contain additional textual vestiges, particularly from the Cairo *Genizah.* (2) The book *Ve-Hizhir,* an imitation of *She'iltot.* (3) Legal decisions by Yehudai *Gaon (head of Sura academy, 757–761), to whom the book *Halakhot Pesukot* is attributed. He is the first *gaon* whose responsa have been preserved. (4) *Halakhot de-Rab Abba*, a student of Yehudai Gaon, excerpts of which were published by J.N. Epstein in *Madda'ei he-Yehadut* (1927). (5) *Halakhot Gedolot. In addition to the 1548 and 1885 editions, a new edition according to a manuscript in the

Ambrosiana Library, Milan, was edited by A. Hildesheimer (grandson of the 1885-edition editor): (a) *Seder Mo'ed* (1972); (b) *Seder Nashim* (first three tractates, 1980), part 3, edited by E. Hildesheimer, introduction, 11–26, and *Hakdamat Halakhot Gedolot*, edited by N.Z. Hildesheimer (1987), 9–52. (See also *Halakhot Gedolot-Halakhot Pesukot*). (6) **Halakhot Pesukot* or *Hilkhot Re'u*, attributed to the disciples of Yehudai Gaon, published in 1886 and in the Sasson Edition (1951). (7) **Halakhot Keẓuvot,* published by M. Margaliot in 1942. (8) Books of *Halakhah* by Saadiah Gaon. Saadiah wrote monographs on various halakhic subjects, but only a small part has reached us in its entirety. A study on Saadiah's *Sefer ha-Edut ve-ha-Shetarot* by M. Ben-Sasson appeared in the *Annual of Jewish Law* (1984–86), 135–278. A new edition of *Sefer ha-Miẓvot,* with commentary by Y.Y.F. Perla, pts. 1–3 appeared 1989. (9) Sherira Gaon who is famous for his *Iggeret* mentioned above. Approximately half of the geonic responsa in our possession were written by Sherira and his son Hai Gaon. Parts of Sherira's commentaries on certain Talmudic tractates have also been preserved. (10) Hai Gaon did not compile any book of *halakhah* on all the Talmudic laws, but devoted a separate composition to each subject, as did Saadiah and Samuel ben Hophni. Five additional chapters of *Sefer ha-Mekkaḥ ve-ha-Mimkar* ("Treatise on Commercial Transactions") were published by S. Abramson in the *Joseph Dov Soloveitchik Festschrift*, vol. 2 (1984), 1312–1379. There is also mention of a Book of Oaths in verse. Chapters of monetary laws of commerce and chapters of oaths in verse have appeared in part in various collections. (11) *Samuel ben Hophni. Of his many works, only a few have reached us. In recent years excerpts have been published of his books from the *Genizah.* He wrote monographs on *halakhah* which are still being published. Mention should be made of the following: Chapters on Blessings (in *Oẓar ha-Geonim*, tractate *Berakhot*, commentaries, pp. 65–77), the Book of Gifts, divorce laws, obligations of religious judges and the Book of Pledge, etc.

Other halakhic essays from the period of the Geonim include (a) *Sefer Metivot*: a book of laws arranged according to the order of tractates of the Talmud. B.M. Levin collected all the citations from the book which were mentioned in earlier books and arranged them in the Talmudic order in this book *Metivot* (1934). (b) *Sefer Ḥefeẓ*: There are many speculations concerning the authorship and place of origin of this book. Many of the early authorities discussing halakhic matters use *Sefer Ḥefeẓ* as their source. Levin is of the opinion that *Metivot* served as an example for *Sefer Ḥefeẓ*. (c) *The Book of Mitzvot of Ḥefetz ben Yatzliaḥ* (B. Halper edition 1915): This book includes all the laws of the Torah, and it is "a treasury of halakhah, philology and philosophy as they were in the time of the author."

HALAKHIC LITERATURE IN EREZ ISRAEL IN THE PERIOD OF THE GEONIM. In recent years, there were discovered in the *Genizah, Hilkhot Tereifot shel Ereẓ Israel* – in the style of *Halakhot Pesukot.* An important find was remnants of *Sefer ha-Ma'asim li-Venei Ereẓ Yisrael*, and parts of this book were published by Levin, Epstein, Mann, and Aptowitzer, between the years 1930–1974. It is assumed that *Sefer ha-Ma'asim* served as a source for the compiler of *Halakhot Gedolot*, and possibly also for *Sefer ha-She'iltot*. There is a theory that *Sefer ha-Ma'asim* is another title for *Sefer ha-She'iltot*. During the Geonic period, important literary activities were undertaken in Ereẓ Israel, such as the translation of works from Aramaic to Hebrew: Rav Yehudai's *Halakhot Pesukot* was translated into Hebrew under the title *Hilkhot Re'u*, taken from the opening words of the book "*Re'u ki Adonai natan lakhem et yom ha-Shabbat….*"

RULES, REGULATIONS AND CUSTOMS. The Geonim set down various legal decisions and customs. At the beginning of the Geonic period, an essay was written by a sage in Erez Israel, under the title: "Controversies between Easterners and those who dwell in Ereẓ Israel" (pub. M. Margaliot, 1938). It includes a list of 55 customs upon which Jews in Babylonia disagreed with Jews in Ereẓ Israel, and this book formed the foundations for all subsequent books of customs. "The Book of Change of Customs" (Müller, 1878) and the "Treasury of Differences of Custom between Babylonian and Palestinian Jewries" (ed. Levin, 1942) are also available.

GEONIC EDICTS (TAKKANOT). Geonim sought to issue decrees based on Talmudic conclusions, and to establish regulations to cover all aspects of Jewish life. In the course of time, it became necessary to supplement Talmudic regulations and to introduce new laws according to the requirements of the period. These laws encompass various areas, and in particular deal with laws of personal status, money matters, oaths, and evidence. The sources for these ordinances are the geonic literature and they are collected in H. Tykocinski's *The Gaonic Ordinances*, translation and notes by H. Ḥavazelet (1959). I. Schipansky's *The Takkanot of Israel*, v. 3, *Geonic Enactments* (1992) contains *takkanot* by sages from Israel and *geonim* of Babylonian yeshivot from the close of the Talmud to the period of the *rishonim* presented in three sections: introduction to geonic *takkanot* by famous *geonim* of Sura and Pumbedita, and other *takkanot* from the same period.

Jewish Thought and Ethics

In this sphere mention must be made of Saadiah Gaon's *Emunot ve-De'ot*, translated from Arabic by Judah Ibn Tibbon (Constantinople, 1562) under the title *Sefer ha-Nivḥar ve-Emunot ve-De'ot* (J. Kappaḥ edition, 1970). Other works are *Rhymes on Moral Instruction attributed to R. Hai Gaon* (ed. H. Gollancz, 1922); Saadiah's "Epistle on Ethics to the Jewish Communities of Spain" (in Saadiah's *Bible Commentary,* Pt. 2, 1960), and *Ethics of the Dayyanim* by Hai Gaon. Other works by Saadiah Gaon: *Esa Meshali*, a rhymed polemic devoted against the teaching of Anan b. David, in: *Devir,* 1 (1923), 180ff; and a polemic against *Ḥiwi al-Balkhi, published by I. Davidson, in the introduction to his edition of this work (1915), 11–37.

Prayers and Liturgical Poetry

Of note are two prayerbooks; the *Siddur* of *Amram Gaon, of which a scientific edition by D. Goldschmidt appeared in 1972, and the *Siddur* of Saadiah Gaon, published 1941.

Geonic Responsa

Scores of collections of geonic responsa exist, comprising thousands of answers sent by the *geonim* to queries received from correspondents throughout the geonic period. A large number of responsa were discovered in the *Genizah* and several excerpts have been published. The first collection of geonic responsa appeared in 1516 in Constantinople. G. Harpnas's *Teshuvot ha-Geonim she-Heishivu Ge'onei Sura u-Pumbedita* ("Responsa of Geonim of Sura and Pumbedita," 1992) has the responsa arranged topically and provides cross references.

Documents and Letters

Many documents and letters of the Geonim have reached us. These were written in answer to specific questions which were addressed to them, or which the Geonim wished to make known among Jewish communities outside Ereẓ Israel – especially as regards specific subjects related to religious fundamentals to taking a stand on current matters. In this connection the *Iggeret* ("Epistle") of *Pirkoi ben Baboi (turn of the ninth century) should be mentioned as it is one of the earliest literary writings from the geonic period and is also the first known instance in the literature advocating the dissemination of the Babylonian Talmud. In this connection, see also the *Iggeret* of Sherira Gaon mentioned above.

Among the many sources of geonic letters are J. Mann, *Texts and Studies I* (1931); L. Ginzberg, *Genizah Studies II* (1929), which contains a collection of all the letters of the Babylonian *geonim*; S. Abramson, *Be-Merkazim u-va-Tefuẓot* (1965).

Throughout the Geonic period, the Geonim occupied themselves with prayerbooks, establishing the versions of prayers, and dealing with the obligation and value of prayer. *Natronai bar Hilai (mid-ninth century) compiled a prayer book, *Me'ah Berakhot* ("Prayer Book of the Hundred Benedictions"), and *Israel ben Samuel bar Hophni (gaon of Sura from about 1017 to 1033) deals with the "obligation to pray." Many liturgical hymns have reached us from the time of the Geonim. Saadiah's *Siddur* contains *bakkashot* (petitions) and *azharot*; "*Otiyyot Rav Saadiah*" contains rhymes on the letters of the alphabet with annotations by Elijah (Baḥur) *Levita at the end of his book *Masoret ha-Masoret* (1538).

Many liturgical hymns of the *geonim* were discovered in the *Genizah* and have appeared in various publications and anthologies.

Language and Grammar

The *geonim* also engaged in the study of Hebrew language and grammar. Saadiah wrote *Ha-Egron* (edition N. Allony, 1969), containing a Hebrew dictionary, with Hebrew grammar rules, and also a summary of the basis of Hebrew poetry. Additional information on geonic Hebrew is in *Ẓaḥut ha-Lashon ha-Ivrit* in: *Allony Studies*, (1986), 20–31.

[Yehoshua Horowitz]

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GEORGE (Cohn), MANFRED (1893–1965), journalist and editor. Born in Berlin, he took a degree in law and became a prominent newspaper editor and writer. George excelled as a political writer and as a film and drama critic. Among his books is *Theodor Herzl, sein Leben und sein Vermaechtnis* (1932). When the Nazis came to power, George went to Prague, worked there for several years, and in 1938 immigrated to the U.S. In New York, he took over *Aufbau* (subtitled "Reconstruction"), founded in 1924, originally the newsletter of the German-Jewish "New World Club." Under his editorship, *Aufbau* became a German-language weekly representing the German-Jewish immigrant community and acquired a circulation of more than 30,000. George was one of the outstanding figures of America's German-Jewish community.

[Frederick R. Lachman]

GEORGE, WALTER LIONEL (1882–1926), French-born English author of half-Jewish parentage. He specialized in labor problems and questions of sex and marriage. George's works include *The City of Light* (1912), *Israel Kalisch* (1913), *A London Mosaic* (1921), and *The Story of Woman* (1925). He also wrote a study of Anatole France (1915).

GEORGIA (Rus. **Gruziya**), republic in W. Transcaucasia. There is a tradition among the Jews of Georgia (the "Gurjim") that they are descended from the Ten Tribes exiled by Shalmaneser, which they support by their claim that there are no *kohanim* (priestly families) among them.

Georgian historical literature had used the term "Georgian Jews" already in the 11th century, but as a firmly established term referring to a specific community it was used only from the early 19th century after Georgia was incorporated in the Russian Empire. The Jews of Georgia call themselves *Ebraeli* and use Georgian language as their spoken and written language of communication, without resorting to the Hebrew alphabet. Georgian Jewish traders developed the jargon *Qivruli* (Jewish), many roots of which originated in Hebrew.

According to the 1897 census 6,407 Jews in the Russian Empire considered Georgian their mother-tongue. According to the 1926 census, the only census where each of the Jewish ethnic and linguistic groups appeared as a separate entity, there were 30,534 Jews in Georgia, among them 20,897 Georgian Jews and 9,637 were Ashkenazim. In the same census 96.6% of the Georgian Jews named Georgian as their mother-tongue, and their literacy rate reached 36.29%. In 1931 the State Planning Committee estimated their number at 31,974. The 1939 census showed 42,300 Jews (Georgian and Ashkenazi), representing 1.2% of the total population. The 1959 census reported that 35,673 Jews considered Georgian their mother-tongue. The 1970 census reported 55,382 Jews. About 70% of them left for Israel in the course of the next decade. There were some Georgian Jews who were registered as Georgians and not as Jews but no reliable estimate of their number was available. The Georgian Jews lived mostly in Tbilisi (Tiflis), capital of Georgia, the other centers being Kutaisi, Kulashi, Tshinvali, Gori, Oni, and Sachkhere.

One historical tradition speaks of the first Jews coming to the country after the conquest of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar 586 B.C.E. It is possible that this reflects the arrival of Jews from Babylonia in Georgia, the southern part of which was

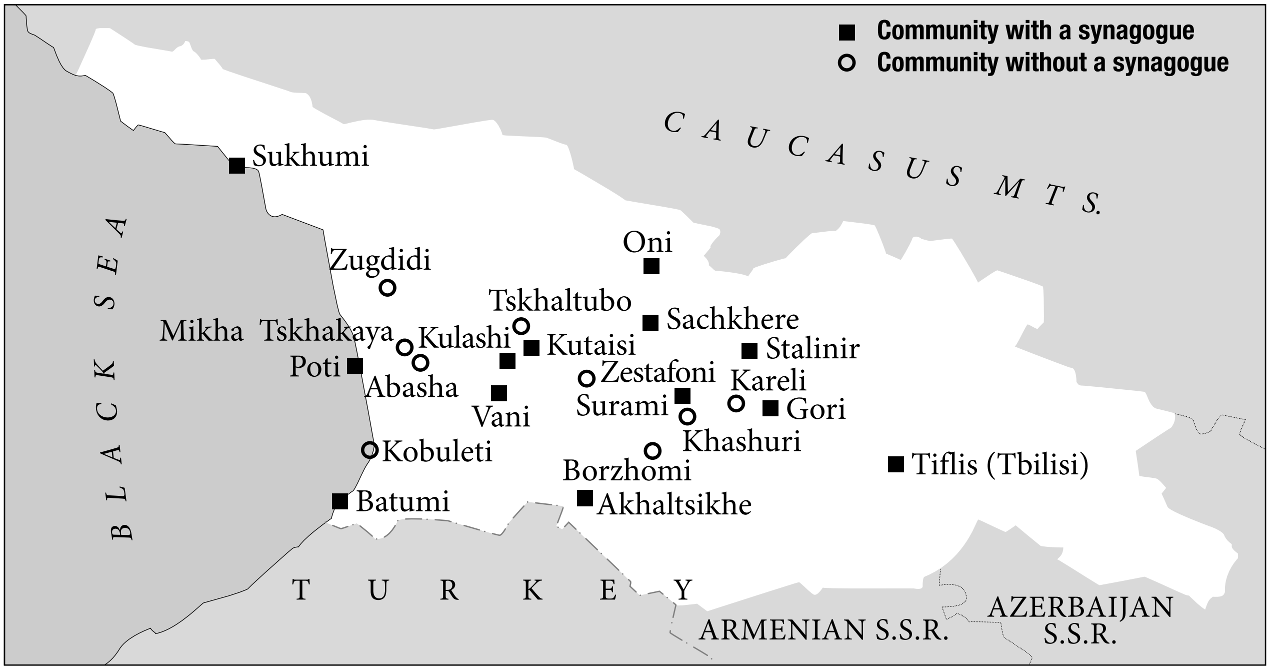

Jewish communities in Georgian S.S.R. after World War II. From M. Neistadt, Yehudei Cruzyah: Ma'avak al ha-Shivah le-Ẓiyyon, *Tel Aviv 1970.*

included in 539 B.C.E. in the ancient Persian state. The Jews presumably spread to the rest of the country from the south.

Archaeological evidence supports the traditions by confirming the existence of Jews in Mtzkheta, the ancient capital of the East Georgian state of Kartli, in the first centuries C.E. Among the first Christian missionaries in the early 4th century, a Jew is mentioned named Eviatar or Abiatar from Urbnisi, as well as his sister Sidonia. Both were sanctified by the Georgian Orthodox Church. Mention is also made of the Jewess Salomea who wrote the life of Nina from Cappadocia who baptized the Georgians.

Georgian sources refer to the arrival of Jews in Western Georgia in the 6th century, evidently from the Byzantine Empire, and the further migration of 3,000 Jews into Eastern Georgia. This information might indicate a mass flight of Jews from the Western regions of Georgia, ruled by the Byzantine Empire – where they were subjected to severe suppression in the 6th century – to the south-eastern regions of Georgia ruled at the time by Persians who tolerated Jews. Sources also speak of Jewish migrations to Georgia from Armenia and Iran. It is likely that the toponym אפריקי mentioned several times in the Babylonean Talmud (e.g., Sanhedrin 94a, Tamid 32a) is to be read as *efirike*, i.e., *Iberika* or *Iberia* which was one of the ancient names of Eastern Georgia, as well as of Georgia as a whole.

After the Arab conquest of considerable territory of Georgia in the second half of the 7th century, it was transformed into a province of the Arab caliphs, although it remained a Christian country. In the late 9th century a Jewish sect emerged in Georgia which denied some laws of *halakhah* including marriage and *kashrut* regulations. The founder of the sect, Abu-ʿImran Musa (Moshe) al-Za'farani, went to Tbilisi (Tiflis) from the Babylonian Empire and was later known as *Abu-ʿImran al-Tiflisi, and the sect as a whole, which existed at least 300 years, was known as the "Tiflis Sect."

In the 9th century, Georgia was bordered to the east and north by the Khazar kingdom (see *Khazars), the elite of which adopted Judaism. There are no authentic data on contacts between the Khazars and the Jews of Georgia, but it is known that in the middle of the 10th century *Ḥisdai Ibn Shaprut wanted to send his famous letter to Joseph, the king of the Khazars, through Georgia which Ibn Shaprut called "Armenia" in accordance with Arabic terminology of the time.

In the early Middle Ages Georgian Jewry was connected mainly with Persian Jewry, and through Iran with Baghdad, the religious center of eastern Jewry.

From the travel diaries of *Pethahiah of Regensburg, written in the second half of the 12th century, it might be concluded that some of the Jews living in "the Ararat country," i.e., in Trans-Caucasus, had emigrated to other countries. He also noted that during his stay in Baghdad he saw the messengers of the kings of "Meshekh Land," and those messengers related that the "Kings of Meshekh and all their Lands became Jews," and also that there were teachers among the inhabitants of Meshekh "educating their children in Torah and in the Jerusalem Talmud." Under the term "Meshekh" one of the Georgian tribes, the Meskhi, might have been meant. However no support has been found for the theory that this tribe as a whole or partially adopted Judaism. Another Georgian tribe, the Hevsures, have up to the present time preserved historical legends connected with Judaism. Chronologically this would accord with the time of Pethahiah's story.

In the 12th century Abraham *Ibn Daud (Rabad I) mentioned Georgia among the countries where the Jews adhered to Rabbinical Judaism and not to Karaism. In the synagogue of the small town of Lailashi in northwestern Georgia, there was preserved up to the 1930s, a Pentateuch manuscript of the 11th or 12th century which was revered not only by the Georgian Jews, but also by the Christian population who attributed to it miraculous properties.

When invaded by the Mongols some of the Jews of eastern and southern Georgia moved to western Georgia, which preserved its independence, and founded new communities there. In the 14th century mention is made of the Jewish community of Gagra on the Black Sea Coast, headed by R. Joseph al-Tiflisi. At the same time the philologist R. Judah ben Jacob either composed or rewrote a Hebrew grammatical work showing traces of influence of the Karaite school of Hebrew grammar.

The impoverished situation of Georgian Jewry after the Mongol invasion contributed to their becoming serfs. Numerous sources refer to their serfdom over a five hundred year period, starting from the end of the 14th century. The process of enslavement accelerated in the 15th–16th centuries when their situation deteriorated as a result of military invasions, first by Timur and then by the armies of Turkey and Persia, and also because of constant inner conflicts. All these events resulted in the disintegrating of the country into three kingdoms and five feudal territories, as from the end of the 15th century. Documents from the early 17th to the mid-19th century attest to the numerous cases of the selling of individual Jews or whole families and groups, or of their changing one owner for another as debt payment or as a gift.

Persistent wars and rebellions devastated entire regions of the country in the late 18th–early 19th century, depriving Jews of their property, and often to escape immediate danger they had to seek the protection of the local feudal lords, but in the final analysis they became enslaved by their protectors. However, one premise of their serfdom was always preserved: the owner was obliged not to force them to convert to Christianity.

The Jewish serfs occupied themselves with agriculture or with the traditional Jewish crafts: fabric weaving and dyeing. Some of them were involved in retail trade and other outside jobs, paying their masters a yearly compensation. As late as 1835, several decades after eastern Georgia had been incorporated in the Russian Empire, many Jews still lived on the estates of their feudal lords, and only a small proportion was engaged in outside jobs in towns. Free Jews who could buy their liberation now also lived in the towns. They were mostly affluent merchants or owners of large stores.

Throughout the period of their serfdom, migration – forced or voluntary – took place. Thus voluntary migrations to the Crimea occurred in the 15th–16th centuries. Jews in the 19th and 20th centuries were still to be found in the Crimea having family names of Georgian origin. In the 17th–18th centuries a forced migration occurred when Georgian Jews were driven out by Persian invaders to Persia together with tens of thousands of non-Jewish Georgians.

The Jewish serfs lived on their masters' estates as small groups, separated from each other. Due to their isolation and the absence of a uniting religious and spiritual center, their Jewish knowledge deteriorated. The German traveler Reineggs who visited Georgia in 1780 wrote about the rural Jews being called "*Canaanites*" by the urban Jewish merchants and weavers because of the former's poor knowledge of the religious laws.

Sometimes Jews converted to Christianity to escape their serfdom. The Georgian Church favored the conversions: documentary evidence exists of cases where the Church paid for the liberation of serfs who wished to convert. There were also cases when the feudal lords, contrary to their obligations, forced their Jewish serfs to convert to Christianity.

According to the Georgian legislation the Jewish serfs of Georgia were divided into three categories: the King's serfs, the Feudal serfs and the Church's serfs. Both groups of Jews, free and enslaved, were not admitted to serve in the army, and instead of military service payed the "army ransom." When in 1801 eastern Georgia was included in the Russian Empire the category of the King's serfs became the "Treasury Serfs" obligated to pay taxes to the Russian treasury. In 1864–1871 serfdom in Georgia was abolished, and the former serfs among Georgian Jews moved to towns where the Jews had been already settled, and became engaged mainly in retail trade.

A comparatively small share of the Jewish population was engaged in various crafts, mainly in shoe and hat making. Before the revolution of 1917 this share did not exceed 3–5% of the Jewish labor force. Women dealt with weaving and dyeing for home and for sale. Some families also possessed land plots, mostly under grape cultivation.

The structure of the Jewish community finally developed following the liberation of Georgian Jews from serfdom and their subsequent urbanization. The liberated serfs coming from the same settlement as a rule moved to the same town where they attempted to establish their own synagogue, settling around it. Usually such a group consisted of a limited number of large families encompassing three or four generations.

Each group elected its *gabbai responsible for all the affairs connected with the synagogue's activity. The *ḥakham* authorized the religious life of the group combining functions of a rabbi, *ḥazzan*, *shoḥet*, *mohel* and teacher of *medreshe* (*ḥeder*). The Georgian Jewish groups from rural settlements lived side by side in a new place of settlement, so the Jewish population concentrated in one part of the town which later turned into the Jewish quarter of the given town.

Open outbursts of antisemitism in Georgia became frequent in the second half of the 19th century. Causes stemmed from the process of urbanization of the Jewish community and the consequent change of occupation by the majority of Jews who now chose trade as their livelihood; from the influence of Russian antisemitism; and from turning the Jew, a weak outsider, into the object of a xenophobia which could not be released against another stranger – the powerful Russian invader.

In the second half of the 19th century, six blood libels occurred in Georgia which at the time constituted the highest concentration of cases not only in the boundaries of the Russian Empire, but in the whole world. The biggest and best known happened in 1878 in the little town of Sachkhere where nine Jews were accused of the ritual killing of a Christian child in anticipation of Passover. The trial of the nine took place in Kutaisi and became known as the "Kutaisi trial" which drew the attention of the civilized world. Although the accused were not found guilty, the local population remained convinced that the Jews used Christian blood for preparing *maẓẓot*. Other blood libels in Georgia took place in 1852, 1881, 1882, 1883, and 1884. In 1895 the Kutaisi Jews suffered from a severe pogrom. In 1913 a gang headed by the deputy governor of Kutaisi systematically extorted money from the Jews, and those refusing to pay were killed.

One of the most important events in Georgian Jewish life in the 19th century was the establishment of contacts with Russian Ashkenazi Jews who began to settle in Georgia after it was joined to the Russian Empire. For decades the relations between the Georgian Jews and the Ashkenazi communities remained strained: the Georgian Jews considered the majority of the Ashkenazi Jews living in Georgia as godless or insufficiently observant, while the Ashkenazim often looked down on the Georgian Jews. Contacts became closer only at the end of the 19th century, but even then their relations were strained.

At the end of the 1890s R. Abraham ha-Levi Khvoles (1857–1931) – a pupil of the famous Lithuanian Rabbi Isaac Elhanan *Spektor – was elected chief rabbi of the town of Tzkhinvali. His only language for communicating with his congregation was Hebrew, and as time passed the number of Jews of the town using this language increased considerably. In 1906 Khvoles established the first *talmud torah* in Georgia where about 400 pupils studied. He was the first in Georgian Jewish life to introduce education for girls, inviting for this purpose a female Hebrew teacher. To accustom the Jews to crafts and skills he brought in experienced teachers who taught boys shoemaking, leather tanning, soap-boiling, and other skills. He sent some of his best students to the Lithuanian *yeshivot* to continue their education and receive the title of rabbi. In time, such practice became common among the Georgian Jewish communities. Rabbi Khvoles influenced other communities throughout Georgia: for example, in 1902 a school for children was established in Tbilisi where teaching was conducted according to the "Hebrew in Hebrew" system. The teachers for the school came from Vilna.

The Social-Democratic movement which emerged in Georgia at the end of the 19th century had almost no impact on the Jews. One Jewish Social-Democrat, Itzka Rizhinashvili (1885–1906), who became well known, was killed by police in Kutaisi.

From the end of the 19th century Zionist circles sprang up in the Ashkenazi communities, and its members began to propagate Zionist ideas among the Georgian Jews. Rabbi David Baazov, one of the founders of Zionism in the Georgian communities, participated in the Sixth Zionist Congress in 1903. The majority of the Orthodox leaders, the *ḥakhams*, actively struggled against the spreading of Zionist ideas among Georgian Jews. Emissaries of the Ḥabad movement, who arrived in Georgia from 1916, also resisted the penetration of Zionism.

World War I interrupted the process of Georgian *aliyah* to Palestine which had begun in 1863. By 1916, 439 Georgian Jews were living in Palestine, the majority in Jerusalem where they established their own quarter near the Damascus Gate. They had to leave the quarter after the anti-Jewish Arab riots of 1929 had led to its partial destruction.

Most Georgian Jews going to the Holy Land belonged to the poorest strata of the community and engaged in physical labor. In Jerusalem, many were freight-handlers. Only a small number became prominent in trade. These included the Kokiashvili (Kokia) family which owned a network of shops and large land holdings in Jerusalem. The Dabra family (Davarshvili) traded on a large scale, mostly in Jerusalem. The Ḥasidov (Khasidoshvili) and the Khakhamshvili families founded banking businesses.

Despite the fact that the main motivation for *aliyah* was religious, only a small number of *ḥakhams* went to the Holy Land. The well-known *ḥakham* of Akhaltzikhe, Yosef Davidashvili, arrived in the 1890s; Simon ben Moshe Rizhinashvili published in Jerusalem in 1892 a Hebrew-Georgian textbook and conversation book, *Sefer ḥinukh ha-ne'arim* ("The Book for Education of the Youth"), in Hebrew letters; Efraim ben Ya'akov ha-Levi Kokia published in 1877 in Jerusalem the religious and philosophical treatise *Yalkut Ephraim al ha-Torah im Ḥamesh Megillot* ("Comments by Ephraim on the Torah and the Five Scrolls"); he also wrote *Sam Ḥayyim: likkutim u-musarim tovim* ("Elixir of Life: Extracts and Benevolent Morals").

After the October 1917 Revolution, the Georgian population expressed its strong desire for independence, and in May 1918 a democratic republic was established. In the Georgian Executive Assembly, two places were allocated for representatives of the Georgian Jews, and one for the Ashkenazim. In the process of the elections, a small group of young assimilatory Jews, headed by the brothers Yosef and Mikhael Khananishvili were backed by Social Democrats – Mensheviks who formed the coalition government. This group considered the Georgian Jews as Jewish, not from the ethnic point of view, but as Georgians differing from the rest of the population only by their religion. They fought Zionism in concert with some Georgian Jewish religious leaders, supported by members of the Ḥabad movement which had acquired considerable influence in Kutaisi and in several other towns. Kutaisi became the center of the anti-Zionist movement, whose participants abstained from taking part in the All-Jewish Congress in Tbilisi in 1918 where all the Georgian Jewish and Ashkenazi communities of Georgia were represented.

The Association of Zionists of Georgia became the leading group in the congress. The three Jewish representatives elected by the congress to participate in the Executive Assembly were rejected by the Georgian Election Committee which was averse to Zionist representatives and preferred two candidates elected at the Kutaisi congress held at the same time by anti-Zionist groups. The Ashkenazim protested against this action by refusing to elect a new Ashkenazi representative instead of the rejected one.

When the Red Army invaded Georgia in February 1921 the population fled on a mass scale; 1,500–2,000 Jews left Georgia, and about 1,000–1,200 of them arrived in Palestine. The rest settled mainly in Istanbul where a Georgian Jewish community had been in existence from the 1880s. In 1921, there were 1,700 Georgian Jews in Palestine.

At the outset of the Sovietization of Georgia the central Soviet authorities adhered to a policy emphasizing respect of local traditions including religious beliefs. This attitude applied also to Georgian Jewry. The government bodies did not interfere in affairs connected with Jewish religion and synagogues were open as previously. In the early 1920s, Zionist activities also were not impeded. The Zionist school in Tblisi was reopened in 1921 after a short interruption, being now called the Jewish Labor School No. 102, and Hebrew was taught there as the national language of Georgian Jews. In 1924 a Zionist organ appeared in Georgian called *Makabeeli*, but only three issues were published. In 1924–25 the semi-legal ḥalutzic youth organization called "Avoda" managed to function and the youth theater company "Kadima" presented plays on Jewish themes in Georgian.

After an anti-Russian and anti-Soviet rebellion in Georgia was suppressed in 1924, Soviet policy changed for the worse. Legal and semi-legal Zionist activities were cut short. The economic regulations resulted in the bankruptcy of many Jewish traders, large and small. The Zionist group, headed by D. Baazov and N. Eliashvili, appealed to the local authorities to allow Jews to occupy themselves with agriculture, but were turned down. The two leaders then suggested that the authorities should allow those Jews who could not be engaged in Georgian agriculture to leave for Palestine. Two hundred families applied to leave, and in October 1925, 18 of them were allowed to emigrate, under the leadership of N. Eliashvili.

In the mid-1920s industrialization and secularization became the Soviet authorities' main aims for the Jews of Georgia, who were dragged to factories as a working force, or compelled to join craft cooperatives and collective farms.

In 1927–28, OZET (the organization for settling Jewish workers on the land) strengthened its activities, and its Georgian affiliate established branches in many towns. The first Jewish collective farm was formed in 1928 in Tziteli-Gora. By 1933 there were 15 collective farms with a population of 2,314 and land area of 1,540 ha. In 1928 efforts were made to settle some Georgian Jewish communities in *Birobidjan and in certain regions of the Crimea assigned for Jewish agricultural settlement, but these attempts failed. The Jewish collective farms in Georgia contributed to local Jewish welfare, as a means to alleviate their difficult material conditions; moreover they could continue to live according to their religious and communal traditions observing *kashrut*, Sabbath, Jewish festivals, and so on.

From the outset of the 1930s, however, the authorities decided to break the Jewish traditions by eliminating the ethnic homogeneity of the Jewish collective farms; as a result the Jewish community could no longer function. Thus in 1931 in establishing a collective farm in the small town of Mukhrani the Jewish collective farmers were mixed with the Georgians and Armenians, the collective farm being declared "international." Toward 1934 the collective farm in Akhalzikhe, established in 1931 as a Jewish undertaking, lost its ethnic homogeneity.

The policy of integrating the Jewish collective farms was conducted against the background of intermittent blood libels occurring in Sachkhere in 1921, in Tbilisi in 1923, and in Akhalzikhe in 1926. Moreover, the ethnically heterogeneous collective farms became a convenient target for anti-religious campaigns, which had become common in Georgian Jewish life from the end of the 1920s.

From 1938 the Jewish collective farms were united with non-Jewish ones, and the Jewish farmers started to leave them on a large scale. Thus the experiment of turning part of Georgian Jewry into agricultural workers ended, with the sole exception of the first Georgian-Jewish collective farm of Tziteli-Gora which continued to exist up to the beginning of the 1970s.

As its main tool to drive Jews to work in industry and to establish producing cooperatives, the Soviet authorities founded "Evkombed" ("All-Georgian Committee for Assisting the Jewish Poor"). The committee was created in 1928 after a fire in the Jewish quarter of Kutaisi which was burnt to the ground: dozens of people perished and about 6,000 lost their homes.

In 1929 a considerable number of Jews were working in the silk factories in Kutaisi and in Tbilisi. In 1931, 1,430 Jews joined the production cooperatives of shoemakers, hat-makers, leather-tanners, and others, half of them in Tbilisi. The majority of those cooperatives served as cover for the private activities of a large family or several closely connected families; the ethnic homogeneity of the productive cooperatives allowed the members to observe Jewish tradition, and in the first period of their existence Sabbath was the rest day.

The efforts of the authorities to eradicate the religious tradition and to mix nationalities within each co-operative was partially successful. The immediate result was the flight of Jews from mixed co-operatives. On the whole the attempt to industrialize Georgian Jewry failed, and by 1935 only 7,000 Jews were involved in the process.

Religion was considered by the authorities the main ideological impediment to their efforts to influence the Jews, and they accordingly tried all means to secularize the community. From 1927 the authorities established a school network for Georgian Jews with instruction in Georgian. Camps and clubs were created especially for Georgian Jewish youth and in 1933 the "Lavrentii Beria Culture Club" for the working Jews of Georgia was established. All these establishments were conducted in an anti-religious spirit.

For some time the authorities toyed with the idea of creating a Soviet Georgian-Jewish culture, of the same type as the Soviet-Yiddish culture. In 1934 they established a "State History and Ethnography Museum" of the Georgian Jews with the official aim of studying the history and customs of the community and struggling against "survivals of the past in its life." This undertaking attracted a group of young Jewish scholars. About 60 pictures were exhibited in the Museum of Shlomo Koboshvili, an artist of the 1920s, whose pictures depicted Georgian Jewish everyday life and the past of Georgian Jewry. When the museum was closed in the early 1950s, the pictures disappeared. The best-known Georgian author of the 1920s and the 1930s was Herzl *Baazov, novelist and playwright, the subject of whose works was Georgian Jewish life.

In 1937–38 the authorities clamped down on Georgian culture, attacking both Jewish religion and secular Jewish culture. In September 1937 nine *ḥakhams*, of whom two were Ashkenazim, were arrested, in Tzkhinvali (called Staliniri at the time), and killed in prison without trial. In the beginning of 1938 Herzl Baazov perished in prison.

The only Jewish cultural establishment that continued to exist was the History and Ethnography Museum, but in 1948 its director, Aharon Krikheli, was arrested, and soon after, in the early 1950s, the museum was closed.

Thus, the Soviet authorities finally destroyed the non-religious Georgian-Jewish culture which they had assiduously established in the pre-war years. Only from the end of the 1950s did poems and stories by writers belonging to the community and describing its life begin to reappear.

The Soviet rule was far from successful in its efforts to destroy the religious tradition. Even in the 1960s and in the 1970s most Georgian Jews observed religious traditions: visiting synagogues, observing *kashrut*, and conducting their family life according to religious Law. Many of their children studied in illegal *ḥeders*. The authorities were aware of these schools but chose not to notice them.

Although statistical data are lacking, it may be presumed that a considerable proportion of Georgian Jewry became adjusted to the economic situation in Georgia after World War II, viz. the flourishing of private enterprise in trade and small stores under the cover of the state trade and industrial establishments, with the silent acquiescence of the local authorities. The latter used these enterprises to boost the economy of the republic and raise their own affluence.

However whenever they had to organize a show trial of "violators of the Soviet economic laws," demanded by the central authorities, the Jews were always chosen as a scapegoat. Jews predominated among those convicted for economic crimes in Georgia, were punished severely, and sometimes sentenced to death. Community life developed amid continuing blood libels: in 1963 in Tzkhaltubo, in 1964 in Zestafoni, and in 1965 in Kutaisi.

After the *Six-Day War Georgia was the leading region in the Soviet Union for Jewish demonstrations and petitions demanding the right to leave for Israel. The letter of Aug. 6, 1969, by 18 heads of Georgian families to the United Nations containing an appeal to influence the Soviet government to allow them to leave for Israel, was the first document of the *aliyah* movement in the Soviet Union to receive wide publicity in the West. The mass *aliyah* of Georgian Jewry began in 1971; by 1981, about 30,000 of them had immigrated to Israel.

[Michael Zand / The Shorter Jewish Encyclopaedia in Russian]

Participation in Intellectual Life

Georgian Jews took part in the literary, intellectual, and cultural life of Georgia. Among them were Moshe Danieloshvili, a stage producer who translated S. *An-Ski's play *The Dybbuk* into Georgian and produced it at the state theater at Tbilisi; Gyorgi Kokashvili, a poet, playwright, and literary critic, whose play "The Children of the Sea" was performed at the state theater at Tbilisi; Rosa Davidashvili, an ethnologist and author of children's literature of the generation preceding the Revolution; and Shalom Mikhaelashivli, a historian who investigated the history of his native community at Kulashi. Joseph Kotsishvili, wrote an historical novel on the beginning of Jewish settlement in Georgia; he translated Shalom Aleichem into Georgian as well as works by Lion *Feuchtwanger. Other notable Georgian Jews were Herzl Baazov, Nissan *Babalikashvili, Yiẓḥak *Davidashvili, Boris *Gaponov (d. 1972), and Abraham *Mamistabolob.

[Mordkhai Neishtat]

Developments in the Georgian Republic

A CIS republic, Georgia declared its independence in 1991, becoming an arena of military conflict, first between President Zviad Gamsakhurdiia and the opposition, and then, after the former was driven out in January 1992, between the government of Eduard Shevardnadze and separatists in Southern Osetia and Abkhazia. One of Gamsakhurdiia's advisors was Isai Goldshtien, a former refusenik who became an anti Zionist. Most Georgian Jews, however, were reluctant to become involved in the struggles for power.

The Soviet censuses reported 24,800 Jews in 1989; 14,300 of the latter were Georgian Jews who had preserved their ethnic and religious distinctiveness despite speaking the same language as their host nationality. In the mass emigration of Jews that proceeded after the breakup of the Soviet Union, their number dropped to 14,500 in 1993 and under 5,000 in 2000. Approximately 30 Jewish organizations were in operation, including a day school in Tbilisi and supplementary schools in other cities. In February 1993, the first issue of the Jewish newspaper in the Georgian language, *Menora*, was published; the publisher and the editor was Guram Bariashvili.

[Michael Beizer]

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GEORGIA, state in S.E. United States. The Jewish population of Georgia grew tremendously from the 1960s. In 1968, approximately 26,000 Jews resided in the state; by 2001 this figure had risen to 93,500 and showed no sign of abating. With about 92% of the state's Jews concentrated in the metropolitan Atlanta area, the tremendous growth in Georgia's Jewish population is almost solely due to the rise of Atlanta as a national Jewish center. Georgia was first settled at *Savannah by Gen. James Oglethorpe in February 1733. Two shiploads of Jews, about 90 persons, arrived during the same year and were permitted to stay owing to Oglethorpe's personal influence. They were of both Portuguese and German origin, poor and financed by the Jewish community of London. Notable among them were Benjamin Sheftall, Abraham de Lyon, Abraham Minis, and Dr. Nunez who, as the colony's only physician, made himself and his coreligionists more welcome by stemming an epidemic. This pioneer group brought a Torah with them and soon established the colony's first congregation, Mikveh Israel, in 1735. The first settlement failed. By 1741 all but three or four Jewish families had moved north. Most returned during the 1750s, prospered, and reestablished the congregation Mikveh Israel in 1786. Its first president was Philip Minis. His father Abraham Minis probably was the first white male born in Georgia. A Masonic lodge and a welfare society founded by Oglethorpe during the 1750s listed Jews among the charter members.

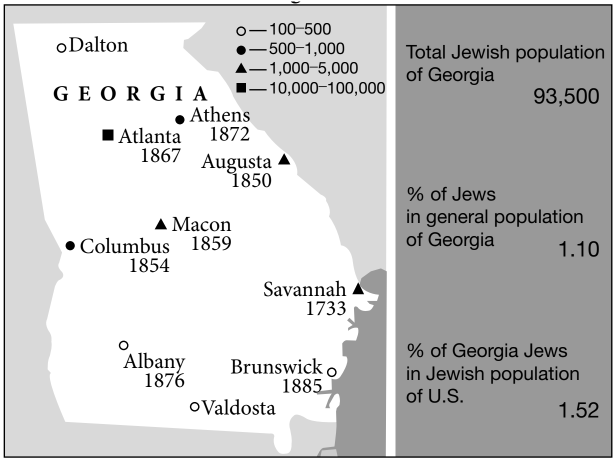

Jewish communities in Georgia and dates of establishment. Population figures for 2001.

There were 400 Jews in the state by 1829; a few families lived in Augusta and isolated areas, while the majority were in Savannah. More rapid growth began during the 1840s with increased immigration from Germany. Jews then settled throughout the state in almost every community, establishing congregations in Augusta in 1850; Columbus, 1854; and Macon, 1859. Although many moved north just before and during the Civil War, they returned in greatly increased numbers immediately after the war. By 1877 there were Jewish communities of 100 or more persons in seven cities, with congregations in *Atlanta; Rome, established in 1871; Athens, 1872; and Albany, 1876. Groups from Eastern Europe began to arrive in the 1880s, settling primarily in Atlanta, Savannah, and Brunswick, which had a congregation by 1885. In 1900 there were 6,400 Jews in Georgia.

Georgian Jews have always enjoyed full civil and religious freedom, including the holding of public office and service in the militia, although the requirement to take a Christian oath restricted them from elective office until 1789. They served as commissioned officers as well as enlisted men in every war, providing all-Jewish companies from Macon and West Point to defend Savannah in 1862. A county is named for David Emmanuel, president of the Georgia Senate in 1797 and governor in 1801, who is believed to have been the first Jewish governor of any U.S. state. Capt. Abraham Simons went to the State Legislature in 1804. Col. Raphael Moses, of Columbus, went to the legislature in 1868 and became chairman of the House Judiciary Committee in 1877. The University of Georgia Law School Building is named for Harold Hirsch (1881–1939), who was a distinguished Atlanta attorney. Several communities have elected Jewish mayors and other city officials. A Jewish woman from Columbus was the first director of the Georgia Department of Public Welfare.

Although relatively free from antisemitism, Georgia Jews have suffered hostility on several occasions. During the Civil War they were temporarily banned from Thomasville, and Jewish-owned stores were broken into in Talbottom. A discriminatory newspaper and the Ku Klux Klan exercised widespread influence in the early 20th century, becoming exceptionally bitter during the Frank case (see Atlanta; Leo *Frank).

Organized Jewish communities exist in the early 21st century in 15 Georgia cities, the major ones in Atlanta, 85,900; Savannah, 3,000; Augusta, 1,300; Columbus, 750; Macon, 1,000; and Athens, 600. Since the 1960s, the state's Jewish community has undergone a significant demographic shift, as the Jewish population in small towns has declined. Small town Jewish merchants once prevalent throughout the state, have retired or sold out due to pressures from national retailing chains. The generations of Jewish merchants have been replaced by a new generation of Jewish professionals, best seen in the tremendous rise of Jewish Atlanta, which has seen the number of its congregations grow from five in 1968 to 38 in 2005. Jewish life is also growing in college towns like Athens, which elected a Jewish mayor, Heidi Davison, in 2002.

There is a home for the aged in Atlanta, serving the entire state, and Jewish community centers exist in Atlanta, Savannah, and Columbus. Two summer camps, one operated by the Southeastern Region of the Union for Reform Judaism and the other by the Atlanta Jewish Community Center, are located at Cleveland. The William Breman Jewish Heritage Museum was opened in Atlanta in 1996 and preserves and displays the history of Jews in the state. There is a Hillel Foundation at Emory University in Atlanta and at the University of Georgia in Athens, and several Anglo-Jewish newspapers published in Atlanta. Jewish Studies programs are also found at the universities with Emory featuring such scholars as David Blumenthal and Deborah Lipstat.

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[Stuart Rockoff (2nd ed.)]

GERAMA AND GARME (Aram. גְּרָמָא, גַּרְמֵי), terms variously used in the Talmud to describe tortious damage caused indirectly by the tortfeasor's person. The following acts are examples cited of *garme* damage: a judge delivering an erroneous decision resulting in damage to another; burning another's bond – thus preventing him from recovering his debt; a banker giving an erroneous valuation of coins – causing them to be acquired at a loss; damaging mortgaged property held by a creditor – thus reducing the value of his security; informing on another's property to bandits – thus causing them to take it away. Opinion is divided in the Talmud over the question of liability for this kind of tort (BK 98b; 100a; 117b); some of the sages maintain that liability does exist, while others exclude it. In other cases – similar to those cited above – the damage is termed *gerama* (BK 48b; 60a; BB 22b), but here liability is excluded. Examples of *gerama* damage are placing a ladder by a pigeon loft, enabling a weasel to climb up and eat the pigeons; setting a fire by means of the wind resulting in a conflagration; allowing an animal to trespass onto another's land, where it falls into a well so that its corpse pollutes the water. Other cases which were later interpreted as *gerama* are bending the stalks of grain in another's field toward an approaching fire so that they catch fire; placing poison in the path of another's animal, causing it to eat this and die; sending a burning object through a minor or an idiot, who is irresponsible and thus causes damage; inciting another's dog to bite a third person; frightening another to the extent that he suffers injury or damage from such fright; leaving a broken vessel on public ground so that the pieces cause injury (BK 24b; 55b–56a). Even the earliest of the post-talmudic commentators found difficulty in explaining the difference between *gerama* damage, for which the Talmud does not impose any liability, and *garme* damage, for which talmudic opinion differs as to whether there is liability or not. According to Rashi (to BB 22b, s.v. *gerama*; see Sh. Ar., ḤM 386:4), there is no difference between the two concepts – and that those sages who exclude liability for *garme* damage also exclude it in cases of *gerama* damage, and vice versa. Some of the tosafists maintain (BB 22b, s.v. *zot omeret*) that, indeed, in strict law there is no distinction and that there is no liability in either case – save that the more common injuries are called *garme* and that those sages who impose liability for *garme* damage do so in the sense of fining the tortfeasor for the sake of public order. However, according to the majority of the tosafists, all indirect damage that is an immediate result of the tortfeasor is termed *garme*, whereas all other acts of indirect damage are called *gerama* – in respect of which the sages are unanimous in excluding liability. There are also further distinctions between *gerama* and *garme* damage, which all present difficulties and which are all less acceptable. It appears that the two categories can be distinguished by using *gerama* to refer to indirect damage that is too remote to have been foreseeable, and *garme* to refer to indirect damage that should have been foreseeable – but which was caused solely by the independent act of a second person who acted negligently following the first person's act, while he could have refrained from doing that which resulted in the damage. In the latter situation, some sages maintain that the first person is exempt from liability, even though he could have foreseen that his act would result in the negligent act of the second person – who is held to be solely responsible. On the other hand, others hold the first person liable, just because he should have foreseen that his own act would result in the negligent act of the second person. According to this distinction, therefore, the loss sustained by someone acting on the advice of an expert is *garme* damage – because he should have realized that other experts should be consulted before he acted on one expert's advice and he was himself negligent in failing to take such second opinions. If, however, the matter is such that only one suitable expert is available and there is no choice but to rely exclusively on his advice, it is not a case of *garme* damage, and it is the unanimous opinion that the expert is liable for the consequences of his negligent advice. The *halakhah* is that a person is liable for *garme* damage, although it is disputed in the codes whether such liability stems from the strict law or is in the nature of a fine for the sake of public order, as mentioned above. The law applicable in the State of Israel is the Civil Wrongs Ordinance, 1947, which makes a person liable for the natural consequences of his conduct – but not if the decisive cause of the damage is the fault of another. An expert is held liable for giving negligent declarations and opinions.

[Shalom Albeck]

Compromise When Payment for Damages Cannot Be Imposed under Tort Law

In recent decisions of rabbinical courts, when damages are of the *gerama* type, i.e., the tortfeasor is only guilty of causing the damage indirectly, and as such damage, there are insufficient grounds for the submission of a legal action. Since no action can be filed for damages classified as *gerama*, no monetary liability can be imposed by the court. Accordingly, the court has on occasion taken the path of compromise in order to effect monetary restitution. This approach has been adopted in other instances as well in which no demand for payment can be imposed under law, such as when there is only liability under Divine law (see *Divine Punishment) or when the damages involve the violation of a negative commandment but do not suffice for the imposition of a monetary liability, such as fraud in the payment of an employee's wages. In such cases, the rabbinical courts, through the use of a compromise settlement, ensure that justice is done when the strict letter of the *halakhah* itself provides no relief. (See, e.g., decisions of the Rabbinic Court for the Kiryat Arba-Hebron District, vol. 1, 205 and index; Rav. Z.N. Goldberg, "In Praise of Compromise," *Mishpetai Ereẓ*, 2002 (Heb.); see *Compromise.)

The Requirement to Terminate the Damage

Even when the damage is only of the *gerama* type and no monetary liability can be imposed under law, it is nonetheless incumbent upon the tortfeasor to terminate the damage in the present and to prevent its recurrence in the future. Thus, the *Rema rules (Sh. Ar., ḤM 386:3) that a ban (see **Ḥerem*) should be imposed on the person causing the damage until he terminates the damage, and R. Jehiel Michael Epstein rules similarly: "Whatever measures the tortfeasor is able to take to save him [i.e., the one who sustained the damage from continued or similar damage] from this point on he is obligated to take, and to rectify that which he perverted; and he should be forced to do so with all means of force until he removes the [source of] damage. And this is the law regarding every *gerama* in the laws of damages" (*Arukh ha-Shulḥan* 386:19).

In the course of adjudicating a suit between spouses regarding the determination of the level of maintenance that a husband was required to pay his wife, the question arose as to whether the fact that she did not rent out the apartment she owned, thereby precluding potential income from rent, should be considered as causing financial damage to her husband (Judgment 325/2/2021, 5 PDR, 279; see *Maintenance). The Rabbinical Court ruled that the wife cannot be obligated to pay for that damage as it belongs to the category of *gerama*. Nevertheless, the *bet din* stated that the husband may delay payment of maintenance until she rents out the apartment, as even in an instance of mere *gerama*, the person causing the damage is responsible for removing the source of the damage (p. 283 of the ruling).

Liability According to Divine Law and the Seizure of Property by the Injured Party

Further on in the above ruling (p. 284), the *bet din* considered the possibility of permitting the husband to withhold maintenance payment according to the rate of the damage she was causing him by not renting out the apartment, in view of the fact that the husband was actually in possession of the maintenance funds. Despite these being damages of the *gerama* type, the exemption from liability for payment of damages is only under human law, while liability does exist under Divine Law (*Divine Punishment). In such cases, the halakhic authorities were divided as to whether to permit seizure of the tortfeasor's property by the injured party as an alternative to the payment of damages. According to some authorities, such seizure is invalid (Resp. Ribash §392), notwithstanding that the court is required to inform the tortfeasor of his liability under Divine Law (*Yam shel Shelomo*, BK 6:6). Contrary to that opinion, Ran and Rashba consider such seizure valid, and the *bet din* cannot confiscate the property seized by the injured party (*Nimmukei Yosef*, BM 28a; *Ḥiddushei R. Akiva Eiger*, Sh. Ar., ḤM 28:1). The rabbinic court ruled that in the case at hand the seizure is effective, due to the existence of an obligation under Divine Law based on *gerama* damages. Consequently, the husband may deduct the amount of those damages from the alimony he owes to his wife.

DISTINCTION BETWEEN GERAMA AND GARME – CONSIDERATIONS OF APPROPRIATE POLICY. The distinction between *gerama* and *garme*, as well as the implications of that distinction for dealing with the subject today, arose in the case of *Mifalei Te'urah* (CF [Jer] 2220/00, *Mifalei Te'urah v. Israel Postal Authority*). The question adjudicated was whether a party could be obligated to pay compensation for the prevention of future profits. In the case at hand, the Postal Authority published a tender for the production of mailboxes. A company that did not win the tender sued the Postal Authority, claiming that it had been prevented from winning the tender owing to flaws in the tender in terms of compliance with the equality requirement under the laws governing tenders. The company sued the Postal Authority for the amount of the anticipated profits that had been denied it by its loss of the tender.

The Jerusalem District Court (Judge Moshe Drori) ruled that under Jewish law compensation is not awarded for this kind of damage, being an instance of *gerama*: "One who negates [i.e., blocks profit from] another's purse, he [the injured party] has no [claim] against him but angry objection" (TJ, BM 5:3). Halakhic authorities explained this exemption as deriving from the classification of the damages as *gerama* (*Piskei ha-Rosh* to BK 2:6; Resp. Maharam §821).

Nevertheless, the court ruled that the Postal Authority should in fact be held liable for payment of damages, relying on the view of Riẓba (Tosafot, BB 22b, s.v. *zot omeret gerama binzikin asur*, and see above) who declared, regarding damages considered *garme*, that "Our Sages of blessed memory levied a fine for any damage that is common and occurs frequently." The reason that they levied these fines was so that people would not go and cause deliberate damage to others and rely on their exemption from liability. (See *Fines.) The court ruled, that since the case involved a public body, as a matter of legal policy it should be declared that the damages in question are "common and occur regularly," thus precluding the possibility of any branch of government ignoring the laws of equality in public tenders and thereby causing damage to a bidder who would otherwise have won the tender (paragraphs 98–99 of the ruling).

The court relied on comments made by Rabbi Aaron *Lichtenstein regarding the distinction between *gerama* and *garme*. In his view, while Maimonides' approach in his treatise on *garme* is to create widely inclusive distinctions between instances that fall under the definition of *gerama*, with no liability for payment of damages, and those that we may consider instances of *garme*, in which there is such liability, the Riẓba's approach is fundamentally different. In the Riẓba's understanding, one should not look for a distinction in principle between the law of *gerama* and that of *garme* other than that in the cases that are considered *garme*, regarding which there is liability for payment of damages, "the Sages felt there was a specific social need to establish liability," because these were instances in which failure to impose liability for damages payment would have negative socio-economic ramifications. According to this approach, the distinction between *gerama* and *garme* is not a "scholarly" distinction originating in the intricacies of talmudic learning, but rather a "practical" distinction from the mundane world, even though it is understood that the decision regarding when to establish liability for payment is based on considerations of values and ethics and not merely on pragmatic convenience (*Shi'urei R. Aharon Lichtenstein – Dina de-garmei* [1999/2000], 198–99).

Using this methodology, the court ruled, as stated, that in a case in which a governmental body treats parties unequally, a legal policy should be established whereby the body is obligated to pay anticipated damages, with the case being treated as one of *garme* and not of *gerama*.

The court further cited Rabbi Lichtenstein, who states that in practice, in the modern era, with its economic, scientific, and technological developments, the social need to regard cases of indirect damage as *garme* and not *gerama* is constantly growing. Lichtenstein suggests that decisors of Jewish law take the step of enacting a *takkanah*, in accordance with the needs of the world of modern commerce, economics, and technology, defining many sorts of damages as *garme*, making the one who inflicts them liable for payment for such damages, in keeping with the Riẓba's outlook, and this would also "bring the Torah greater repute" (*ibid.*, 200).

In addition to the aforementioned, the court suggested other ways in which support can be found for imposing liability under the laws of *gerama* in such cases. One manner of doing so is by invoking the principle that an obligation be imposed upon the public, even when no basis can be found for it in law, in order to uphold the general requirement of "and you shall do that which is right and good" (relying on Resp. Ḥatam Sofer, 2, YD 239). Another way would be, as discussed above, to rely on the fact that there is liability under Divine Law and since causing indirect damage is forbidden, this prohibition may be enforced upon the public as opposed to an individual.

It should be noted that, at the end of his ruling, Judge Drori emphasizes that, according to the Foundations of the Law 5740 – 1980, the court is obliged to apply the *principles* of Jewish law, even if it does not apply all its particular distinctions. In light of this, the court is required to apply Jewish law in a way that brings about desirable results. In the case at hand, this means educating public servants to apply norms of fair governance. Accordingly, we should aspire to subject the public body to a duty of compensation for future damages as well, even when the damage is defined as *gerama*, in cases in which the authority prevented a person from achieving monetary gain as a result of its failure to comply with the principle of equality (paragraphs 101–194 of the ruling).

Evidentiary Damage and the Law of *Garmei*

The modern legal system recognizes the doctrine of "evidentiary damage," i.e., causing harm by damaging evidence that might be beneficial to the opposing party. Under Israeli law, there may be instances in which causing evidentiary damage shifts the burden of proof to the side that caused that damage, and there may even be instances in which one may file direct suit for compensation for evidentiary damages (CA 1171/00, *Cohen v. Kaplan Hospital*, 2 PSM (5762) 298, Judge Neal Hendel). In adjudicating a compensation claim for damages by reason of medical malpractice – viz. the hospital's failure to properly preserve medical records – the Beer Sheva District Court addressed the close similarity between evidentiary damage and the law of *garme*:

"The talmudic tractate *Bava Kamma* discusses the case of one who burns a note belonging to another person. In Rava's view, he is not liable to punishment, 'for he said to him, 'It is only paper that I've burned'' (BK 98a). According to this position, it is only paper that has been burned, and the one who did so has no liability beyond that. Maimonides rules against this position: 'One who burns the notes of another is required to pay the entire debt that was represented by that note, for although the physical note is not money, he caused the loss of that sum of money' (Yad, Hilkhot Ḥovel u-Mazik 7:9). In other words, evidentiary damage is equivalent to actual damage. In the words of R. Joseph b. Haviva, one collects from the person who burned the entire debt attested to by the bond, 'for he caused him to suffer a loss' (see *Nimmukei Yosef* to *Hilkhot ha-Rif*, BK, Ch. 9, 35:1)."

The court goes on to cite R. Aharon Lichtenstein (*Dina de-Garme*, 61–62), who writes that, in practice, the burning of the bond has no effect, positive or negative, regarding the financial obligation to which the certificate itself attests. The only thing that burning it accomplishes is to cause its owner difficulty in proving the existence of that obligation, at the evidentiary level. Thus, one may see a close similarity between the modern doctrine that recognizes evidentiary damage and the principle of *garme*.

[Menachem Elon (2nd ed.)]

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GERAR (Heb. גְּרָר), a city and region in the Negev in which Abraham and Isaac dwelt (Gen. chs. 20, 26). Gerar was located on the way to Egypt and is mentioned in connection with Kadesh (identified in ancient sources with Petra and now mainly with ʿAyn Qudayrāt) and Shur (the fortifications on the Egyptian frontier). In the north it bordered on the territories of Beersheba and Gaza (Gen. 10:19; 26:1–2; II Chron. 14:12–13). Its area included Rehoboth (which some scholars identify with the later Ruheibah, 12½ mi. (20 km.) south of Elusa, Sitnah, Esek, the valley of Gerar, and the royal city of Gerar. Through Abraham's oath to Abimelech, the land of Gerar was excluded from the territory destined to be conquered by the Israelites (Gen. 21:22–32; cf. Ḥul. 60b) and it was outside the area of Israelite settlement (Josh. 15). According to the patriarchal tradition, the land of Gerar was inhabited by Philistines originating from Casluhim who lived in Gerar as shepherds ruled by a king; a treaty existed between them and the Hebrew Patriarchs (Gen. 10:14; 21:32–34; 26:1, 15ff.). These references to the Philistines, however, are considered an anachronism. Gerar is again mentioned in the time of Asa king of Judah (c. 908–867 B.C.E.) who pursued Zerah the Ethiopian from Mareshah to Gerar and destroyed all the cities in its vicinity (II Chron. 14:8–14). If the Septuagint version of I Chronicles 4:39–41 is correct (reading Gerar instead of Gedor), the land of Gerar was inhabited in the period of the monarchy by remnants of Ham and by Meunim. The name Gerar survived as a geographical term even after the destruction of the city and designated the district occupied by the former land of Gerar. The reference to it in II Chronicles 14:12 may already have this meaning and it certainly has it in II Maccabees 13:24 (cf. I Macc. 11:59). The district was later known by its Greek name Geradike (TJ, Shev. 6:1, 36c; Gen. R. 52:6; 64:3) or Geraritike (Eusebius, Onom. 60:6ff.), which was identified with the biblical Gerar. Eusebius (loc. cit.) locates it 25 Roman miles "from Eleutheropolis (Bet Guvrin) toward the south"; it is similarly represented on the Madaba Map southwest of Beersheba. Various scholars have accordingly proposed to identify it with Tell al-Sharīʿa, 12 mi. (19 km.) northwest of Beersheba or with Tell Yamma further to the west. Y. Aharoni, however, has suggested a site midway between these two mounds – Tell Abu Hurayra (Tell Haror), the largest tell in the area and containing pottery dating from the Middle Bronze Age and later periods.

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[Yehoshua M. Grintz]

GERASA (**Jarash**; Heb. גְּרֶשׁ; Ar. جَرَش), ancient city in Transjordan, north of the Jabbok River. Its ruins are situated 1,870 feet (570 m.) above sea level near the small Circassian village Jarash between Amman and Irbid in a fertile region with extensive fields, remains of forests, and scenic surroundings. Wadi Jarash (called Chrysorrhoas in antiquity) passed through the ancient city. According to pottery finds, the site was inhabited as early as the Neolithic period in the seventh millennium B.C.E. and settlement continued into the Early Bronze Age (Canaanite period). Although the name Gerasa, of Semitic origin, also testifies to its early occupation, the first mention of the city appears in the Hellenistic period when it was called "Antioch on the River Chrysorrhoas" – a name indicating that the Hellenistic settlement was established under the Seleucid dynasty. It was apparently founded by Antiochus IV, although a Greek legend attributes its establishment to Alexander the Great. The city's jurisdiction extended in the south beyond the Jabbok, in the north beyond Wadi Yābis, in the west as far as Regev (Ragaba, Rājib), and in the east to the desert. During the decline of the Seleucid kingdom, control of Geresa was seized by Zeno and Theodorus, the rulers of Philadelphia (Ammān), from whom it was captured by Alexander Yannai. It remained a Hasmonean possession until the time of Pompey after which a Jewish community continued to live in the city and maintained friendly relations with the other inhabitants. Under Roman rule the importance of the autonomous city of Gerasa increased, especially after the conquest of the Nabatean kingdom by Trajan (105 C.E.) and the establishment of the Province of Arabia. The great highway connecting Boẓrah (*Basrah) with Elath and the Red Sea passed through Gerasa making it one of the centers of the caravan trade. During the disturbances leading to the Jewish War the inhabitants of Gerasa sent the Jewish population away unharmed. Under the emperor Hadrian – who visited the city in 129/30 – and his successors, Gerasa reached the peak of its development and possessed several splendid buildings. In the time of Caracalla in the third century, the title of Roman colony was conferred on Gerasa. In the middle of the century a period of decline set in and continued until the mid-fifth century. Subsequently, however, Gerasa experienced renewed prosperity as a Christian city: its temple of Dionysus was converted into a center of Christian worship and during the years 464 to 611, 11 churches were built, one of them on the ruins of a synagogue. Gerasa's final decline was precipitated by the Muslim conquest (635). In the eighth century the city was destroyed by a series of earthquakes and during the Middle Ages it lay deserted and in ruins until Circassians settled there some time after 1878. The excavation of Gerasa by an Anglo-American expedition began in 1928. It uncovered a triumphal arch, the city wall, a hippodrome, the temple of Zeus, two theaters, the forum (circular marketplace), a columned street 2,624 feet (800 m.) long running through the city, a public fountain (*nymphaeum*), the temple of Artemis with a magnificent entrance connected to the bridge, baths, as well as the ruins of numerous churches containing mosaic pavements, decorated with representations of cities and animal and plant motifs. More than 500 Greek and Latin inscriptions were discovered in the city. The mosaic pavement of a synagogue with a Greco-Jewish inscription recording the names of its donors and representations of animals entering Noah's Ark, a candelabrum, and various sacred objects, was found under the foundations of a church built in 530–33. R. Joshua, "the Garsi," a pupil of R. Akiva (Er. 21b; Lam. R. 3:43, no. 9), may have been named after Gerasa. Since 1982 the Jerash Archaeological Project composed of an international team of investigators has been working at the site, excavating in areas on the western side of the city, particularly the Temples of Artemis and Zeus, the hippodrome, tombs, and other remains.

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[Michael Avi-Yonah / Shimon Gibson (2nd ed.)]

GERBER, MAYNARD (1947–), cantor. Gerber was born in Chicago where he studied at a *talmud torah* as a child, then at the Hebrew High School of the Chicago Board of Jewish Education, and De Paul University. He attended the cantorial school of the Jewish Theological Seminary in New York and trained as a *mohel* (ritual circumciser) in Jerusalem. From 1971 he was a cantor, serving communities in New Jersey, New York, and Connecticut. Since 1975 (except for a two-year stint as the cantor of Kol Ami congregation in Salt Lake City) he has been the chief cantor of the Jewish Community of Stockholm, Sweden, continuing the tenure of the ḥazzan-composer Leo Rosenbluth. Gerber also appears on radio and television and was one of the first cantors to perform behind the Iron Curtain; in January 1986 he led services in the Great Synagogue in Moscow and in 1988 officiated at prayers in Leningrad. Gerber appeared on Russian television in September 1989 and was also in Tallinn, Estonia conducting services. He has written articles on cantorial and Jewish music and has produced cassettes for use in religious schools. He is a member of the American Cantors Assembly.

[Akiva Zimmerman]

GERCHUNOFF, ALBERTO (1884–1950), Argentine author, essayist, and journalist born in Proskurov, Russia. Gerchunoff arrived in Argentina as a child when his father became a pioneer settler of Moisés Ville, one of the JCA agricultural colonies financed by Baron Maurice de *Hirsch. Young Gerchunoff settled in Buenos Aires, where he became a journalist. In 1908 he joined the staff of *La Nación*, a leading daily, with which he was associated for over 40 years, part of the time as chief editor. Gerchunoff's first, and most famous, book was *Los Gauchos Judíos* (1910; *The Jewish Gauchos of the Pampas*, 1955), a collection of stories describing the life of Jewish colonists in Entre Ríos conceived by him as "a new Zion." This first Spanish account of immigration to the New World remains as the founding work of Jewish Latin American writing, though his intent to show that the return to agriculture was creating a new harmonious Jew who would enjoy full acceptance in Argentina has been strongly criticized by later generations. Gerchunoff also published books of stories such as *Cuentos de ayer* ("Stories of Yesterday," 1919) and *Historias y proezas de amor* ("Stories and Feats of Love," 1926); the autobiographical *Entre Ríos, mi país* ("Entre Ríos, My Country," 1950); and collections of essays such as *El pino y la palmera* ("The Pine and the Palm," 1952) and *La jofaina maravillosa* ("The Wondrous Washbasin," 1923). Gerchunoff was the founder and first president of the Argentine Writers' Association and was an active politician. He was detached from Jewish life for many years. Following the rise of Hitler, however, he became involved in activities against world and local antisemitism and a convinced Zionist. From 1945 onward he canvassed the support of Latin-American statesmen and politicians for the establishment of a Jewish state and was instrumental in securing their aid at the United Nations in 1947–48.

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[Florinda F. Goldbeg (2nd ed.)]

GEREZ, JOSEF HABIB (1926–), painter, poet. He was the personal secretary of the chief rabbi of Turkey, Rabbi David Asseo, between 1961 and 1985. He published several collections of poems: *Gönülden Damlalar* (1952), *Renklerin Akını* (1954), *Savrulan Zaman* (1955), *Acılı Bitimler* (1960), *Dar Açılar* (1965), *Arayış İçinde* (1967), *Büyük Güzel* (1969), and *Başını Alıp Giden Dünya* (1970), all appearing in Istanbul. He received several awards for his paintings.

GERHARDT, CHARLES FREDERIC (1816–1856), French chemist. Gerhardt, who was born in Strasbourg, was one of the earliest scientists to bring order into the chaos besetting organic chemistry in the first half of the 19th century. He worked in Paris at the beginning of the 1840s as an assistant to Jean Baptiste Dumas (1800–1884) and with Auguste Laurent (1807–1853), and the three of them were mainly responsible for reviving the radical theory of structure. Gerhardt helped Laurent to develop a classification of organic compounds, and it was he who gave the name "phenol" to the acid produced by Laurent from coal tar in 1841. He also produced a detailed exposition of the concept of atoms and molecules. Gerhardt continued to spend much of his time working in Paris after receiving a professorship at the University of Montpellier in 1844, and his appointment was terminated in 1851. He taught chemistry privately in Paris until 1855, when he was appointed professor of chemistry and pharmacy at Strasbourg University. His main works were *Précis de chimie* organique (2 vols., 1844–45) and *Traité de chimie organique* (4 vols., 1853–56). He was also editor of the *Journal chimique*.

[Samuel Aaron Miller]

GERI, JACOB (1901–1974), South African Zionist and Israeli industrialist. Born in Lithuania, he was brought up in South Africa where he studied law. In 1934 he immigrated to Palestine and, after a short spell as a worker in an orange grove, joined the law firm of Dov *Joseph. Shortly after, however, he accepted an invitation to join the African Palestine Investments (API), of which he became chairman in 1956, and devoted himself to other South African commercial enterprises in Israel. His most important achievement in the industrial field was the establishment, by the API, of Savyon, the first garden-city in Israel. In 1950, though belonging to no political party, he was invited by Ben-Gurion to join the cabinet as minister of commerce and industry, the only nonparty member. He resigned in 1953 because of disagreement with Ben-Gurion's policies.

[Louis Isaac Rabinowitz]

GERIZIM, MOUNT (Heb. הַר גְּרִזִּים), mountain in Ereẓ Israel, S. of Shechem. After crossing the Jordan River, the children of Israel were commanded to build a stone altar on Mt. Ebal, to engrave upon it "all the words of this law" (Deut. 27:4–8), and to "set the blessing upon Mt. Gerizim, and the curse upon Mt. Ebal" (*ibid*. 11:29; 27:12–13). According to Joshua 8:30, this was Joshua's first act after the conquest of Ai. Har-Gerizzim (as written in the masoretic text; Har Gerizim, according to *Ben-Asher; usually Hargerizim in the traditional Samaritan text of the Pentateuch) is the present-day Jebel al-Ṭūr (shortened from the Samaritan name Tura Brikha). Mt. Gerizim and Mt. Ebal rise above the city of Shechem (Nablus), in the south and north respectively; Gerizim is approximately 2,600 ft. (881 m.) high and Ebal approximately 2,800 ft. (940 m.). Between them lies the valley of Shechem. Both hills are composed of oolithic limestone, ten springs descending from their slopes to the fertile and well-watered valley. Mt. Ebal has comparatively little vegetation and no water issuing along its southern side, because the slope of the tilted rock is northward; one exception is at the southeast end of Ebal, where a spring makes it possible for the village of Askar to exist. The slopes of Mt. Gerizim, on the other hand, are covered with trees to the very top of the ridge, and the slope of the rock causes the main springs to issue on the side of the valley facing the city of Shechem. The contrast in the amount of water on the two sides of the valley is very marked. A pilgrim's legend from the Middle Ages, which has often been reprinted, relates that Mt. Gerizim, the blessed mountain (Deut. 11:29), is pleasant and fertile, while Mt. Ebal, cursed by divine decree (*ibid.*), is desolate and barren.

The identification of the two mountains is made clear in the Bible (Deut. 11:29–30; cf. Gen. 12:6; Judg. 9:7), and this identification is maintained throughout the sources (Sot. 7:5; Jos., Ant., 4:305; 11:340) down to modern times. As a result of an obscure topographical identification in Deuteronomy 11:30 – "Are they not beyond the Jordan, behind the way of the going down of the sun, in the land of the Canaanites that dwell in the Arabah, over against Gilgal, beside the terebinths of Moreh?" – and apparently in the wake of a dispute with the Samaritans, another tradition, ascribed to R. Eliezer, appears in the Talmud, which identifies the two mountains with two mounds which the children of Israel erected for themselves near Gilgal, and not with the two mountains near Shechem (TJ, Sot. 1:3, 21c; TB, Sot. 33b). This view was later adopted by the fathers of the Christian Church (Eusebius, Onom. 64:1920). On the Madaba Map, both traditions appear: next to Shechem is written Tur Garizin, and next to Jericho Ebal-Gerizin. Apparently, the Bible does not mean to imply that these two mountains are situated in the Arabah near Gilgal, but simply refers to the general direction in order to distinguish between this Arabah and the Arabah associated with the hill-country of the Amorites (Deut. 1:1; 4:49). Perhaps "behind the way of the going down of the sun" indicates the region west of the road which passes through the northern Arabah (from Jericho to Beth-Shean).

Later Mt. Gerizim is mentioned when the Samaritans erected their temple there about the time of Nehemiah (in the time of Alexander the Great, according to Jos., Ant., 11:310–11, but this is apparently a mistake; cf. Neh. 13:28, according to which a man of priestly stock was cast out by Nehemiah for intermarriage with the Samaritans). From then on, the Samaritans considered this temple to be their most holy spot, and their tradition ascribes nearly all of the biblical account of the patriarchs' deeds and the places associated with them (the land of Moriah, Beth-El, etc.) to Mt. Gerizim. There are 13 names for Mt. Gerizim, the "Kibla" of the Samaritans, the place toward which they turn in prayer. The fourth of the five articles in the declaration of their creed proclaims its holiness. *Markah dedicated a whole chapter in his *Memar* to the praise of this mountain (II, 10) in connection with Ex. 15. He enumerates it as one of the choicest things created by God and set apart as divine. The Samaritan text for Deuteronomy 27:4–5 reads: "And it shall be when ye are passed over the Jordan, that ye shall set up these stones, which I command you this day, in Mt. Gerizim" (in place of Mt. Ebal in the masoretic text; cf. Sot. 33b). It is of interest that they even add Mt. Gerizim at the end of the Ten Commandments in both Exodus 20:17 and Deuteronomy 5:21, considering it to be the chosen mountain (*Har ha-Mivḥar*), even from the time of the creation of the world. (The Samaritans read *baḥar*, "has chosen," for the masoretic text *yibḥar*, "will choose," in Deut. 12:14.) The Samaritans gave it the title "mountain of blessing" or "blessed mount" (Tūrbarīk; Samaritan Book of Joshua, ch. 21; Gen. R. 32:10; Song. R. 4:4, no. 5; Tura Brikha; Deut. R. 3:6; Tura Kaddisha) and they claimed that the mountain was not submerged at the time of the Flood (*ibid.*).

Mt. Gerizim became the main point of divergence between the Samaritans and the Jews. (Cf. the end of Kut.: "At what point can the Samaritans be accepted into Judaism? When they reject their belief in Mt. Gerizim.") In the time of Ptolemy I Soter (323–284 B.C.E.), there was an argument over this point between the Samaritans and the Jews of Alexandria (Jos., Ant., 12:1ff.). When Antiochus IV Epiphanes passed decrees against the Jews, he converted the Samaritan temple on Mt. Gerizim into a pagan shrine in honor of Zeus Xenios or Hellenios (II Macc. 5:23; 6:1; Jos., Ant., 12:257ff.). This temple was destroyed in 129 B.C.E. by John Hyrcanus (Jos., Ant., 13:255ff.; cf. Meg. Ta'an. 333). However, it remained a holy site for the Samaritans, and all religious acts were performed "in the name of Mt. Gerizim" (TJ, Yev. 8:1, 9a). Due to the Samaritan belief in the ancient sanctity of the mountain, the Roman procurator Pontius Pilate massacred a large gathering of Samaritans who had assembled to look at vessels which Moses allegedly made for the Tabernacle and which one of the Samaritans claimed he would show them (these vessels had supposedly been concealed on Mt. Gerizim; Jos., Ant., 18:85).

In the war against Rome (66–70), the Samaritans joined the rebellion and assembled on Mt. Gerizim to halt the Romans, in spite of the news they had received that the Jews of Galilee had been defeated. Vespasian sent Cerialis, commander of the fifth legion, against them and he besieged them with 3,000 infantry and 600 cavalry. The Roman troops massacred more than 11,000 of the Samaritans on the 27th of Sivan, 67 C.E. (Jos., Wars, 3:307ff.). After the war of Bar Kokhba (132–135) the emperor Hadrian erected a pagan shrine to Zeus Hypsistos (or to Serapis) on the top of Mt. Gerizim and placed the bronze gates from the Temple in Jerusalem there. From the time of Antoninus Pius onward, this sanctuary appears on the coins of Neapolis, the city which Titus had built on the site of the village of Ma'abarta, near ancient Shechem. In the time of the emperor *Julian, this sanctuary was destroyed and the Samaritans used the bronze gates as the door of the synagogue (*ha-knishah*) called Ḥelkat ha-Sadeh, which their priest Akbon built in the city of Neapolis. Another synagogue was erected by Akbon's predecessor, Baba Rabbah, "near Mt. Gerizim, Beth-El," "below the mountain" (apparently the site of the present-day Rijl al-ʿAmūd), in the time of Theodosius I (379–395 C.E.).

With the predominance of Christianity in the country, the religious status of the Samaritans suffered. Judging from John 4, Gerizim was also a sacred spot for the Christians. After a Samaritan uprising in the time of Zeno (474–491 C.E.), the Samaritans were expelled from the mountain and their synagogue was taken from them by command of the emperor (484 C.E.). The Christians erected a Church of the Virgin Mary there and placed a stone from Calvary in it. Following a Samaritan rebellion in the time of Justinian, the area around the church on Mt. Gerizim was encompassed by a fortified wall. In the time of the caliph al-Manṣūr (754–755), the Christian church was destroyed, and under al-Ma'mūn (813–833) Justinian's wall was razed.

Remains of buildings sacred to the Samaritans still stand on the mountain (Khirbat al-Lūza; al-Ṣakhra ("the rock"); the place of the 12 stones). There are also remains of the Church of the Virgin Mary and Justinian's wall. The remains of the church were excavated by a German expedition during 1927–28 and by the Department of Antiquities of the British Mandatory government in 1946. It is on Mt. Gerizim that the Samaritans still observe all their festivals and all public holy ceremonies, as the sacrifice of the paschal lamb, and prayers on all their feasts and holidays. The entire congregation dwells on its slopes from the tenth of Nisan until the day after the end of the Maẓẓot Festival. Today houses have been built to accommodate them instead of the tents of former years. The offering takes place not on the top of the mountain, the holiest spot where their temple once stood, but at a lower place to the west of it, possibly because the holy spot has been defiled by a Muslim cemetery.

[Yehoshua M. Grintz]

Later Findings

Since 1979 major excavations have been undertaken at the site of Mt. Gerizim under the direction of Yitzhak Magen, in the area of the Samaritan temple and settlement. It is now possible to trace the development of the Samaritan temple, its structure and history, and the cult performed there. Mt. Gerizim served as a religious center which existed parallel to that of the Jerusalem Temple. Various architectural remains, notably carved capitals, date back to the Iron Age. The excavations brought to light substantial portions of the Hellenistic city, with its fortifications, separate quarters, public buildings, and dwellings. On the top of the hill were fortified buildings and a temple esplanade which was approached by a monumental flight of steps. From the Byzantine period are the remains of an enclosure and church from the time of Zeno, and an enclosure from the time of Justinian. About 400 inscriptions, most of a dedicatory character, were brought to light in the recent excavations, written in ancient Hebrew, Aramaic, and Samaritan, with an additional 80 inscriptions in Greek, mostly from the third–fourth centuries B.C.E.

[Shimon Gibson (2nd ed.)]

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GERMAN LITERATURE.

Biblical and Hebraic Influences

Before the *Aufklaerung* (Age of Enlightenment), Jewish influences in German literature were essentially biblical and Hebraic. The medieval miracle or mystery plays, in Germany as in England and France, dramatized Old Testament themes and treated the Hebrew patriarchs with reverence, but the "passion plays" based on the New Testament made the post-biblical Jew a demonic ally of the Devil. For special historical reasons, this latter portrayal came to have serious popular repercussions. The impact of the Bible itself has been traced to the earliest contact of the Germanic tribes with missionary Christianity. In the fourth century the Gothic bishop Ulfilas (or Wulfila) wrote a Teutonic version of the Bible, from which only a few verses are extant, and, early in the 11th century, Job and the Psalms were translated into Old High German by Notker Labeo of St. Gallen (c. 950–1022), whose Psalter alone is extant. A late 11th-century prose version of the Song of Songs (c. 1065) by Williram familiarized the Germans with its traditional author, King Solomon, whose legendary wisdom, fortified by tales brought back to Europe by the crusaders, soon became a stock literary theme.

BIBLE TRANSLATIONS. The first printed version of the Bible in High German (1466) has been traced to an anonymous 14th-century translator. Based on the Latin (Vulgate) text and printed in Strasbourg, this was the model for 13 subsequent pre-Lutheran editions. The first printed version of the Bible in Low German appeared in 1477. Both German versions, of course, conformed with Roman Catholic doctrine. By contrast, the German reformer Martin *Luther produced a complete translation of the Bible (6 vols., 1534, revised 11 times up to 1545) which was based on the original tongues, notably the Hebrew of the Old Testament. Luther's text injected the thought patterns of the Hebrew Bible into the German language, where the Hebrew simile and metaphor were speedily absorbed. His magnificent version was written in the Saxon dialect, which thus became the principal vehicle of High German language and literature. This was a somewhat curious achievement, since High German was the language of predominantly Catholic south Germany, whereas Low German was spoken in the Protestant north; but the fact that German Catholics found Luther's Bible readily accessible ensured its widespread success. The German Protestant Bible had a greater influence on the language of its readers than any other comparable work except the English Authorized Version. It became the most widely read book in the German tongue, constituted Germany's greatest literary achievement in the 16th century, and was of immeasurable significance in stabilizing the language. Although other German translations were attempted by Luther's contemporaries and successors, it was not until the 20th century that, under Jewish auspices, a comparable version of the Hebrew Bible appeared, published by Martin *Buber and Franz *Rosenzweig.

See also *Bible, Translations.

A post-biblical Hebraic influence on German literature much in evidence during the 16th century was the Kabbalah, the Christian interpretation of which found a pioneer exponent in Johann *Reuchlin. His *De verbo mirifico* (1494) and *De arte cabalistica* (1517), though written in Latin, created a vogue for Hebrew studies in German scholarly circles, and Reuchlin's followers included Wolfgang Fabricius *Capito, Conrad *Pellicanus, Sebastian *Muenster, and Paulus *Fagius. The movement gained its widest support among the Lutherans. Another Protestant, Jacob Boehme (1575–1624), developed a mystical system largely inspired by the Christian Kabbalah.

BIBLICAL DRAMA. Martin Luther and his fellow-reformers fostered the writing of biblical plays in both Latin and German. Sixtus Birck dramatized not only episodes from the Bible – *Zorobabel* (1538), *Ezechias* (1538), and *Joseph* (1539) – but also the apocryphal tales of *Susanna* and *Judith* (both 1532). The Judith story was also dramatized in 1551 by the Nuremberg poet and *Meistersinger*, Hans Sachs. Sachs' biblical plays included among others *Der Wueterich Herodes* (1552) and *Tragedia Koenig Sauls* (1557), and others on themes such as Esther (1530), Job (1547), Adam and Eve (1548), Cain and Abel (1553), and David (1556). A century later, Christian Weise took all the themes of his religious plays from the Old Testament, believing that the figure of Jesus ought not to appear on the stage. His dramas included *Der verfolgte David* (1683), *Nebukadnezar* (1683), *Athalia* (1687), and *Kain und Abel* (1704). Weise was followed by the Swiss poet and playwright Johann Jacob Bodmer, who published a German translation of *Milton's *Paradise Lost* in 1732 and later wrote dramatic poems about Joseph (*Jakob und Joseph*, 1751; *Joseph und Zulika*, 1753), the Flood (*Die Synd-Flut*, 1751), Noah (1752^2), Adam (1763), Solomon (1764), and Abraham (1778). Bodmer's fellow-Swiss, Solomon Gessner, roused interest in the Cain theme with his sentimental prose epic, *Der Tod Abels* (1758). Its English translation (1761) enjoyed enormous success and is said to have inspired works on the same subject by Coleridge and *Byron. Germany's first major modern poet, Friedrich Gottlieb Klopstock, who was influenced by Milton and Bodmer, is best remembered for his epic *Der Messias* (1749–73). He also wrote the plays *Der Tod Adams* (1757), *Salomo* (1764), and *David* (1772). Another 18th-century Swiss author, Johann Kaspar Lavater, wrote *Abraham und Isaak* (1776). The biblical element in German literature received a valuable stimulus in the late 18th century with the publication by Johann Gottfried *Herder of his two-volume work *Vom Geist der Ebraeischen Poesie* (1782–83). In his *Adrastea* (1802) Herder published a German version of the **Lekhah Dodi* hymn by Solomon *Alkabeẓ. Friedrich *Schiller wrote essays on biblical themes and echoed the Bible in tragedies such as *Die Jungfrau von Orleans* (1802). Johann Wolfgang von *Goethe drew inspiration from the Bible for his great tragedy, *Faust* (1808), whose "Prologue in Heaven" is modeled on the early chapters of Job. Other 19th-century playwrights who wrote on biblical themes were Karl Ferdinand Gutzkow (*Koenig Saul*, 1839), Friedrich Rueckert (*Saul und David*, 1843; *Herodes der Grosse*, 1844), and Austria's leading playwright, Franz Grillparzer (*Esther*, 1877), while a theme from the Apocrypha was dramatized by Otto Ludwig (*Die Makkabaeer*, 1854). Gutzkow's very popular *Uriel Acosta* (1847) entered the Yiddish as well as the German repertoire. Friedrich Hebbel wrote *Judith* (1841), about the heroine of the Apocrypha, but his outstanding "Hebraic" drama was *Herodes und Mariamne* (1850), based on Josephus.

Only a few Jewish writers in 19th-century Germany and Austria dealt with biblical or later historical themes of Jewish interest. Ludwig *Robert wrote the drama *Die Tochter Jephthas* (1820) and Karl *Beck the tragedy *Saul* (1841). Poems on biblical and post-biblical Jewish subjects were written by Heinrich *Heine and Seligmann *Heller, whose works include *Die letzten Hasmonaeer* (1865) and *Ahasver* (1868).

THE BIBLE IN 20TH-CENTURY GERMAN LITERATURE. From 1900 onward there was a considerable increase in German works of biblical inspiration. *Das Buch Joram* (1907) by Rudolf Borchardt, who was of partly Jewish descent, was a pastiche of the Book of Job set in the time of Jesus. *Die juedische Witwe* (1911) by Georg Kaiser, based on the heroic apocryphal tale of Judith and Holofernes, was, unlike so many of these works, a comedy. Jewish writers played an increasingly important role, with Siegfried *Lipiner dramatizing the story of *Adam* (1911), a theme that similarly inspired Arno *Nadel (1917). The same subject was dealt with in some post-World War I poems by the Viennese lyricist Josef Weinheber and in the epic *Erschaffung der Eva* (1941) by the Austrian Franz Karl Ginzkey. The story of Cain prompted a tragedy by another Viennese writer, Anton Wildgans (1920), and that of Noah, Ernst Barlach's drama, *Die Suendflut* (1924). Richard *Beer-Hofmann wrote a mystical drama, *Jaakobs Traum* (1918).

Thomas *Mann's trilogy, *Joseph und Seine Brueder* (1933–42; *Joseph and His Brothers*, 1934–45), was the climax of a vast array of German works based on the story of Joseph, headed by some 26 dramas in the 16th century and by the 17th-century novels of Hans Jakob Christoffel von Grimmelshausen (1667) and Philipp von Zesen (*Assenat*, 1670). Hugo von *Hofmannsthal's only biblical work was *Die Josephlegende* (1914), written for a ballet. The Samson theme was dramatized by Herbert Eulenberg (1910), Frank Wedekind (1914), Hermann Burte (1917), and Karl Roettger (1921). The tragic figure of King Saul attracted Karl *Wolfskehl (1905), Paul *Heyse (1909), and Beer-Hofmann (*Der junge David*, 1933). The romance of David and Bathsheba was dramatized by Lion *Feuchtwanger in *Das Weib des Urias* (1905), and another episode in the life of the Psalmist inspired Arnold *Zweig's *Abigail und Nabal* (1913). Feuchtwanger also wrote a novel on the sacrifice of Jephthah's daughter (1957), a theme previously dramatized by Ernst *Lissauer (1928). The best-known work of Sammy *Gronemann is his comedy *Der Weise und der Narr: Koenig Salomo und der Schuster* (1942).

Other 20th-century writers were drawn to stories from the Prophets and Hagiographa. Jeremiah inspired an anti-war drama by Stefan *Zweig (1917) for which Arno Nadel wrote the music, and Job was the subject of a popular novel by Joseph *Roth (1930). Esther provided the theme of a drama by Felix *Braun (1926), another by Max *Brod (1918), and a Purim play by Sammy Gronemann (*Hamans Flucht*, 1926). Later Jewish historical figures who inspired 20th-century German fiction were Josephus, the hero of a trilogy by Feuchtwanger (1932–42); Rabbi Akiva, in a play by Moritz *Heimann (1922); the hero of Max *Brod's novel, *Rëubeni, Fuerst der Juden* (1925); and the *Jewess of Toledo, who figures in a late novel by Feuchtwanger (*Spanische Ballade*, 1955). The legend of the **golem* formed the theme of a novel by Gustav Meyrink (1915) and Jew Suess was the hero of Feuchtwanger's most famous novel (1925).

Hebrew and Yiddish Influences on the German Language

As with English and French, so in the case of German, certain biblical terms entered the language at a fairly early stage, mainly through the writings of churchmen. Luther's Bible brought a vastly increased number of words and phrases into general usage. Some have become German idioms, including *Kainszeichen* (the mark of Cain, Gen. 4:15); *Suendenbock* (scapegoat, Lev. 16); *Salomonisches Urteil* (the judgment of Solomon, I Kings 3:16ff.); *Gott mit uns* (*Immanuel*, Isa. 7:14); *Menschensohn* (son of man, Ezek. 2:1ff.). Hebrew loanwords also entered German at various periods. These include *Abt* (abbot < Aramaic *abba*), *Ebenholz* (ebony < *even*), *Fratze* (face, mug < *parẓuf*), and *Natro* (soda < *neter*). More than any other European language, not excluding English, German is peculiarly rich in other terms and expressions, mainly slang or colloquialisms, which entered everyday speech through *Yiddish and the *Juden-Deutsch* (West Yiddish) dialect spoken by German Jews. Most of these were, of course, restricted to Jewish circles, including *Schabbes, Jonteff, Mischpoche* or *Muschpoke, Goi, Schickse, Schadchen, meschugge, benschen, daffke*, and *nebbich* (< *nicht bei Euch*). In the 15th and 16th centuries, however, others entered general use, probably by way of thieves' slang; *acheln*, to eat (< *akhal*), *ganfen*, to steal (< *ganav*), *Schaute*, fool (< *shoteh*). The 18th century added words like *Mackes*, blows (< *makkot), schmusen*, to chat, *Schmuser*, chatterbox (< *shemu'ot*), and *Stuss*, nonsense (< *shetut*). In the 19th century a host of other such expressions became familiar, notably *Golem, Kaffer*, boor (< *kefar), koscher, Rischess*, antisemitism (< *rishut), schaechten*, to defraud, overreach (< *shaḥat*), *Schlemihl*, schlemiel (< *Shelumiel*?), and *Zores*, trouble (< *ẓarot*). Despite periodic "purifications" of the German language, a vast number of these Hebraisms and Yiddishisms still occur in German dictionaries and other works of reference. Heine, in his poem "Prinzessin Sabbat" (*Roman-*

zero, 1851), humorously alluding to Schiller's "Ode to Joy," described *tcholent* as "koscheres Ambrosia"; while Adelbert von Chamisso entitled his world-famous story about the man who lost his shadow *Peter Schlemihls wundersame Geschichte* (1814). Conversely, Heine's pathetic "Jewish" refrain in the poem "Gedaechtnisfeier" (in the collection *Romanzero*), "Nicht gedacht soll seiner werden," is taken directly from Luther's translation of Ezek. 21:37.

The Image of the Jew in German Literature

German attitudes toward the Jews, shaped by religious, economic, and social factors, were clearly mirrored in German literature. The earliest recorded Old High German literature, largely written by Christian clerics, depicted Jews as simultaneously God's chosen people and as the "people accursed." On the one hand, Jews were kinsmen of the Christian savior and descendants of revered patriarchs and prophets; on the other, they were supposedly guilty of deicide, had fallen from grace, and had been condemned to eternal scorn and wandering (see also the *Wandering Jew).

THE MEDIEVAL STEREOTYPE. Medieval German drama, from the primitive mystery plays dealing with the life and death of Jesus to the spectacular passion plays staged at Easter, presented a cruel and abhorrent image of the Jew. In these plays Jews were shown to be far more the people of Judas than of Jesus. The most famous of the passion plays – that of Oberammergau, Bavaria – has been performed roughly once every ten years since 1634. It was banned for a time in the 18th century and, strangely enough, during the Hitler era, the Nazis evidently allowing anti-religious policy to outweigh their hatred of the Jews. In 1969 a few textual modifications were made on the recommendation of the Catholic Church in order to remove offensive anti-Jewish passages. Folktales and folksongs also spread the legend that Jews habitually engaged in the crucifixion of Christian boys to provide blood for the Passover ritual. The stories of "Good Werner" (1286) and Simon of Trent (1475) popularized the *blood libel in Germany and provided a counterpart to the English martyrologies of *Hugh of Lincoln and William of Norwich.

Upon the earliest literary image, which had its source in religion, was superimposed another, which had its source in economics: the Jew as usurer. Usury was defined by the Church as the lending of money at interest. Since Christians were forbidden to engage in such moneylending, Jews had a virtual monopoly until the Lombards arrived on the German scene. In the sermons of Berthold von Regensburg (c. 1210–1272), the most popular Franciscan preacher of the mid-13th century, Jew and usurer were synonymous. Easter plays included a comic interlude: the three Marys buying oil to anoint the body of the crucified Jesus from a merchant depicted as a wily, haggling Jew. As an object of ridicule, the Jew also made his entry into the *Fastnachtsspiele* (Shrovetide plays). Hans Folz (c. 1450–c. 1515), a *Meistersinger* of Worms and Nuremberg, was a notable exponent of this genre. In one of his plays rabbinic Judaism is unfavorably contrasted with Christianity and the **Adon Olam* hymn is sung in a German rhymed adaptation. In another farce, a student seduces a Jewess and then mocks her parents and her religion. The Middle High German stereotype of the grasping Jew passed into early New High German literature. In the first published version of the Faust legend – the anonymous *Faustbuch* of 1587 – Faust borrows money from a Jew, who accepts one of his legs as security. Faust saws off the leg, but when he comes to redeem his pledge the Jew cannot return it and has to pay compensation. *Der Jude von Venetien*, a German adaptation by Christoph Bluemel of *Shakespeare's *Merchant of Venice* performed in the 1660s, stressed the greed and hardheartedness of the Jew who insists on his pound of flesh and finally loses his entire investment.

The dominant literary image of the Jew throughout the 16th and 17th centuries was characterized by hostility and ridicule. Though a spirited defense of Hebrew literature was undertaken by Johann Reuchlin and other German humanists in their struggle against the slanders of the apostate Johannes *Pfefferkorn, Martin Luther's embittered diatribe, *Von den Jueden und jren Luegen* (1543), subsequently reinforced the hostile image of the Jew.

18TH-CENTURY ASSESSMENTS. Not until the 18th century was a major breach made in this portrayal. Gotthold Ephraim *Lessing gave the first favorable presentation of Jews in his comedy, *Die Juden* (1749), and later in his internationally famous *Nathan der Weise* (1779). The hero of this philosophical drama, a wise and benevolent Jew, was the mouthpiece for the writer's doctrines of religious tolerance and universal brotherhood. Lessing's model for Nathan was Moses *Mendelssohn, whose mind and character deeply impressed contemporary German intellectuals. "Nathan the Wise" thus became the symbol of the enlightened Jew.

From the late 18th century German Jews and Christians mingled in Berlin salons and influenced each other's religious, philosophical, and literary expression. Jewish salon hostesses inspired German poets and were mirrored in German novels, creating the image of the educated, dignified, and freethinking Jewess. The Romantic movement, which succeeded the Enlightenment, was also ambivalent in its portrayal of Jews. Some Romantic writers, such as Adelbert von Chamisso, Bettina von Arnim, and Karl August Varnhagen von Ense, treated Jewish themes, characters, and legends in a sympathetic manner. On the other hand, some writers – especially those in the Berlin circle of Bettina's husband, Achim von Arnim – regarded Jews with enmity and disdain. Arnim himself perpetuated the idea of the Jew's dual nature as eternal witness and repulsive merchant in his drama, *Halle und Jerusalem* (1811).

THE 19TH-CENTURY PORTRAIT. The intensification of German nationalism during the struggle against Napoleon led writers to depict Jews as outsiders and eternal wanderers. It encouraged virulent antisemitism at a time when Jewish intellectuals were straining toward complete integration in German society, baptism being accepted by many as a corollary of assimilation and as (in Heine's sardonic phrase) "a ticket of admission to German culture." Ludwig *Boerne and Heine both had a profound impact upon the post-Napoleonic generation. As the leaders of *Jungdeutschland* ("Young Germany"), a liberal literary movement, they paved the way for the Revolution of 1848 and both were outspoken champions of Jewish emancipation. Heine's onetime ally, Wolfgang Menzel, derided "Young Germany" as in reality "Young Palestine." While Berthold *Auerbach, in his polemic pamphlet, *Das Judenthum und die neueste Literatur* (1836), defended the Jews against the charge of revolutionary radicalism hurled at them by the apostles of Teutonism, the prominence of Jews among the pioneers of Socialism – men such as Moses *Hess, Karl *Marx, and Ferdinand *Lassalle – reinforced the image of the Jew as a subversive element undermining the established political and social systems. The gifted orator and pamphleteer Gabriel *Riesser denied the existence of a distinct Jewish nationality, but Moses Hess, parting company with the Socialist doctrinaires, strongly affirmed Jewish nationalism in his *Rom und Jerusalem* (1862; *Rome and Jerusalem*, 1918), which called for the reestablishment of a Jewish state in Zion.

During the 19th century Jewish themes increasingly infiltrated German drama and fiction. In her novella *Die Judenbuche* (1842), Annette von Droste-Huelshoff told a grim tale of the avenging of the murder of a Jew, even inserting a cryptic Hebrew phrase into her story. Franz Grillparzer, Friedrich Hebbel, and Otto Ludwig extolled the Jewish past and presented biblical and Jewish historical characters quite different from the old stereotypes. Grillparzer's *Die Juedin von Toledo* (1873), based on the tragic romance of Alfonso VII of Castile and the Jewess of Toledo, was the forerunner of many other treatments of this theme. On the other hand, novelists who dealt with the Jewish present continued to portray the Jew as a villain. Gustav Freytag wrote a best-selling novel, *Soll und Haben* (1854), which reinforced the image of the Jewish usurer, contrasting the noble, loyal, and hardworking Christian apprentice Anton with his rascally Jewish fellow-worker, Veitel Itzig, who comes to a sorry end. In *Der Hungerpastor* (1864), the best-known novel of Wilhelm Raabe, another Jew follows the wicked example of Veitel Itzig; while Felix Dahn's novel, *Ein Kampf um Rom* (1876), extols German racial purity and presents the Jew, Jochem, as cowardly and treacherous.

A somewhat glamorized picture of Jewish life was presented by Leopold *Kompert (*Boehmische Juden*, 1851; *Neue Geschichten aus dem Ghetto*, 1860) and Karl Emil *Franzos (*Die Juden von Barnow*, 1877). The setting of Kompert's tales was Bohemia and that of Franzos', Galicia. Austrian Galicia was also the setting of many novels and stories by the non-Jewish writer, Leopold Ritter von Sacher-Masoch. Sacher-Masoch, whose later erotic works gave rise to the term "masochism," was the son of an Austrian police chief in Letoberg (Lvov), and his early impressions of Jewish life there inspired his *Judengeschichten* (1878), *Polnische Ghetto-geschichten* (1886), and *Juedisches Leben in Wort und Bild* (1890). His obvious sympathy for the East European Jew's tenacious adherence to his religion and culture subjected him to considerable abuse. The works of Kompert, Franzos, and Sacher-Masoch enjoyed quite a vogue as exotic literature, but it was not until Georg *Hermann wrote the novel *Jettchen Gebert* (1906) and its sequel, *Henriette Jacoby* (1909), that cultured German Jewry received adequate treatment in German fiction.

LATER REACTIONS. When Friedrich Nietzsche wrote in 1886 in *Jenseits von Gut und Boese* that he had never yet met a German who was favorably inclined to Jews, he was undoubtedly exaggerating, but he correctly recognized that in Germany the age-old image of the Jew was an unflattering one. Although his close association with Richard *Wagner had brought him into contact with an outspoken antisemite, Nietzsche himself abhorred antisemitism as the revolt of the rabble against culture, and condemned it in the most violent terms. While Nietzsche foresaw a glorious future for Jews on the world scene, another influential German philosopher, Oswald Spengler, held that Judaism had already completed its historic function and was on the verge of disappearing. In *Der Untergang des Abendlandes* (1922) he was at pains to stress the intense mutual hatred between Germans and Jews, and the "inevitable conflict" between a vigorous young culture rooted in the soil and a senile, overripe civilization of landless cosmopolitans. Spengler's vaunted objectivity was soon to supply Nazi ideologists and literary racists with ammunition for their perverted theories.

The late 19th century saw a reaction to German literary antisemitism on the part of a few isolated Jewish writers, notably Max *Nordau and Theodor *Herzl, both of them fathers of the Zionist movement. Nordau's tragedy, *Doktor Kohn* (1898), concluded that assimilation was impossible and that a solution to Jewish misery had to be found elsewhere; while Herzl, in his utopian novel *Altneuland* (1902), projected his answer into an idealized Jewish state. Arthur *Schnitzler, neither a Zionist nor an assimilationist, presented an admirable Jewish physician in his drama *Professor Bernhardi* (1912), which attacked antisemitism. With few exceptions, the major non-Jewish writers sided with the Jews in their battle for self-preservation. Although Artur Dinter anticipated the Nazis with his hate-filled *Die Suende wider das Blut* (1917), modern authors of the stature of Gerhart Hauptmann and Thomas Mann remained aloof from the rising tide of nationalism. In his tragicomedy, *Der rote Hahn* (1901), and in his drama, *Die Finsternisse* (1947), which had to be smuggled out of Nazi Germany, Hauptmann paid tribute to the fruitful liberalism of German Jewry. There were sympathetic Jewish characters in Mann's works, too, especially in *Koenigliche Hoheit* (1909) and *Der Zauberberg* (1924). A certain objectivity characterizes the Jewish portrayals of Ernst Glaeser (*Jahrgang 1902*, 1928) and Gertrud von Le Fort (*Der Papst aus dem Ghetto*, 1930).

PRELUDE TO CATASTROPHE. During the first third of the 20th century, the Jewish influence on German literature reached its climax. The image which Jewish writers incorporated in their works ranged from the self-hatred of Maximilian *Harden, Karl *Kraus, Kurt *Tucholsky, and Otto *Weininger to the strong affirmation of national resurgence by Martin Buber, Richard Beer-Hofmann, Max Brod, and Arnold Zweig. Joseph Roth dramatized the conflict between the authentic and the assimilated Jew; Walter *Mehring identified the Jews with the capitalists responsible for the inflation; and Hans José *Rehfisch and Wilhelm Herzog dramatized European antisemitism in *Die Affaire Dreyfus* (1929). Stefan Zweig saw the Jew as the precursor of the good European and Ernst *Toller fought German racial conceit by espousing cosmopolitanism and utopian Socialism.

Aryan mythmakers from Houston Stewart *Chamberlain to Alfred *Rosenberg propagated the fiction of blood as the determining psychic factor. Nazi writers fed the Germans an image of the Jew as an hereditary criminal, and branded as a fairy tale the possibility that baptism could emancipate the Jew from his criminal tendencies. With the triumph of Nazi ideology in 1933, all favorable images of the Jew were suppressed by literary, stage, and radio censors. Only in exile could Thomas and Heinrich Mann and other writers of non-Jewish origin present a more balanced image of the Jew. Most German émigré writers on Jewish themes were, however, either Jews or of Jewish descent. They included Arthur *Koestler, Lion Feuchtwanger, Karl *Wolfskehl, Arnold Zweig, Hermann *Kesten, Alfred *Doeblin, and Else *Lasker-Schueler. The few courageous voices that were heard from the "Aryan" side included those of the baptized half-Jew Carl *Zuckmayer, who had shown Jewish faults and virtues to be common to all men in such works as his drama *Der Hauptmann von Koepenick* (1930); Wolfgang Langhoff, whose *Die Moorsoldaten* (1935) was the first literary account of Nazi brutality in the concentration camps; and Bertolt Brecht, who developed a similar theme in *Furcht und Elend des Dritten Reiches* (1941). Like their Jewish fellow-writers, however, Zuckmayer, Langhoff, and Brecht were finally compelled to take refuge abroad, and it was not until after World War II that a more dispassionate assessment of the Jewish image in German literature could be attempted.

[Sol Liptzin]

The Jewish Contribution to German Literature

Jews first settled along the Rhine in Roman times and they have thus been an integral element in German culture from its earliest beginnings. In the Middle Ages, the Middle High German which they spoke became interspersed with Hebrew words and, following waves of persecution, was carried eastward to become the Yiddish language (i.e., *Juedisch-Deutsch*). Those Jews who remained in Germany developed a kindred dialect, *Judendeutsch*, and it was in this more distinctly Germanic tongue that Glueckel of *Hameln wrote her famous memoirs at the end of the 17th century. German Jewry can, however, lay claim to one authentic Jewish contributor to medieval German literature – the *Minnesaenger* (minstrel) Suesskind von *Trimberg, who flourished in the first half of the 13th century. The handful of lyrics still extant, notable for their Jewish feeling and inspiration, are of perennial interest to German literary historians. A century later, in 1336, Samson Pine was one of three German writers who collaborated in the translation of a French version of the *Parsifal* romance. The prefatory acknowledgements of his Strasbourg colleagues clearly indicate that Pine was a Jew and that he was responsible for most of the work. In 1519 Johannes *Pauli, a Jew turned Franciscan preacher, published his *Schimpf un Ernst*, an important and influential collection of humorous and didactic anecdotes.

THE AGE OF ENLIGHTENMENT. It was not until 250 years later, during the late 18th century, that Jewish writers first appeared in significant numbers on the German cultural scene, utilizing the German language as their literary medium. The doctrines of tolerance and human equality propounded by the philosophers of the Enlightenment made a profound impression on Jewish intellectuals. The Jewish elite wished to contribute to the stream of German culture, and at first the German elite welcomed them. The finest expression of this rapprochement between the two ethnic groups was the friendship of Moses Mendelssohn, the Jew from Dessau, and Gotthold Lessing, Germany's most influential literary critic, who both stressed the common ethical heritage of Judaism and Christianity. A towering figure of both the German Enlightenment and the Jewish Emancipation, Moses Mendelssohn was also the first modern Jewish writer to master the German idiom in all its subtleties. His philosophical and aesthetic works – notably the *Briefe ueber die Empfindungen* (1755), *Phaedon, oder Ueber die Unsterblichkeit der Seele* (1767), and *Morgenstunden* (1785) – had an enormous impact in Germany itself and abroad. The reputation he came to enjoy in the outside world enhanced his standing within German Jewry, which thereafter involved itself increasingly in German cultural and literary affairs. Mendelssohn also founded German Jewry's first newspaper, *Kohelet Musar* (Berlin, 1750), and in 1778 began publishing an original German translation of the Bible with a Hebrew commentary. German enlightenment found its finest philosophical formulation in the critical reasoning of Immanuel *Kant, and it is no accident that the first enthusiastic adherents of Kantian philosophy were Jews. From Marcus Herz, the friend and physician of Lessing and Mendelssohn, Lazarus *Bendavid, Solomon *Maimon, and David *Friedlaender to the outstanding neo-Kantians of the 20th century – Hermann *Cohen and Ernst *Cassirer – Jews played a leading role in the exposition of Kant's philosophy.

Hartwig *Wessely, who died in 1805, was the last of the Hebrew lyrical poets in Germany, and German steadily replaced Hebrew among the Jewish writers of Central Europe. Moses Ephraim *Kuh attacked antisemitism in witty German epigrams, and the Polish physician Issachar Falkensohn *Behr wrote *Gedichte von einem pohlnischen Juden* (1772), which were reviewed by Goethe. Michael *Sachs, through his translations, introduced the religious poetry of medieval Spanish Jewry to the Jews of Germany.

THE AGE OF ROMANTICISM. During the ensuing Romantic era the German theologian Friedrich *Schleiermacher, who wished to see a revival of religion along with the pursuit of poetry and the fine arts, strenuously opposed all attempts to convert Jews to Christianity, since he doubted the sincerity of the converts. Romanticism delayed the process of Jewish emancipation by developing a nationalist philosophy that led to a new form of antisemitism, based not on religious differences, but rather on differences in national origin. This "Teutonism" condoned hatred of the Jews.

From the 1780s, German Jews and non-Jews had mingled in Berlin salons, where Jewish hostesses of charm, learning, and wit furthered the cultural exchange between statesmen, philosophers, and Romantic artists. The most distinguished salon in Berlin was that of the brilliant Henriette *Herz, wife of the philosopher Marcus Herz and an admirer of Goethe and the Romantics, who fostered the doctrines of the new generation. Other Berlin hostesses were Rahel Varnhagen von Ense (whom Goethe claimed as the first person to understand and recognize him); Moses Mendelssohn's daughter, Dorothea von *Schlegel, who introduced Victor Hugo and Mme. de Staël to the German reader; and Fanny *Lewald, a writer and feminist. Their Viennese counterparts were Fanny, Baroness von *Arnstein; and the von Wertheimsteins, Josephine, her sister Sophie, Baroness Todesco, and her daughter Franziska.

THE AGE OF LIBERALISM. Romanticism promoted the revival of historical studies and taught that history does not merely interpret the past but affords an understanding of the present and guidance to the future. Preeminent among Jewish historians during the first half of the 19th century was Leopold *Zunz, the originator of the *Wissenschaft des Judentums ("Science of Judaism"). Together with Abraham *Geiger, Moses Moser (1796–1838), and Eduard *Gans, he founded in 1819 the *Verein fuer Kultur und Wissenschaft des Judentums. Heine, who joined this organization, gave a detailed record of its achievements in a eulogy of his friend Ludwig Marcus (1798–1843). The impact of Zunz and of the Verein was felt throughout the 19th century. Geiger wrote his three-volume study, *Das Judentum und seine Geschichte* (1864–71), from the standpoint of Reform Judaism, but the concept of Jewish history was broadened when the positive historical (Conservative) school emerged with the *Monatsschrift fuer Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums*, under the editorship of Zacharias *Frankel. The first universal history of the Jewish people in German, *Geschichte der Israeliten* (1820–47) written by Isaac Markus *Jost, paved the way for Heinrich *Graetz, whose *Geschichte der Juden von den aeltesten Zeiten bis auf die Gegenwart* (11 vols., 1853–75) is generally considered one of the outstanding works of historical scholarship in the German language.

Prussian and Austrian reactionaries were the most rabid antisemites, and Jews saw in political liberalism a powerful ally in their battle for emancipation. The aim of German liberalism was to develop the capacities of the individual irrespective of race, sex, class, or economic status; it therefore enabled Jews to develop their talents to the fullest extent. Berthold Auerbach, who was for many years the literary spokesman of German-Jewish liberalism, became the outstanding Jewish master of the sentimental novel and short story. However, although Jews finally succeeded in obtaining full legal rights as citizens of the German states, their inner conflict did not abate. Ferdinand Lassalle, the leading German socialist, summoned his "martyr people" to join the revolutionary working classes in the fight against the common oppressor. Jews in general joined the opposition parties, and some became influential contributors to the liberal and socialist press.

DISILLUSIONMENT. Heinrich Heine, the greatest Jewish poet in the German language, tried to disguise the conflicts arising from his opportunist conversion to Christianity by satirical irony, but at heart he always remained a Jew. Some of his most Jewish poems (e.g., the "Hebraeische Melodien" of his *Romanzero*) were written years after his baptism. Heine and Ludwig Boerne were the originators of the German *feuilleton*, a literary genre of great artistic charm in which Jews – from Moritz Gottlieb *Saphir and Daniel Spitzer (1835–1893) to Herzl, Nordau, Peter *Altenberg, Felix *Salten, and Alfred *Polgar – particularly excelled. Some German revolutionary poets such as Karl *Beck and Moritz *Hartmann were Jewish merely by the accident of birth and both converted. It was only when revolutionary ardor gave way to disappointment verging on despair that these writers turned to authentic Jewish subjects. Karl Emil Franzos discovered *Halbasien* ("Semi-Asia," i.e., Galician Jewry) and described the tension between Eastern and Western Jews.

With few exceptions, 19th-century German dramatists suppressed any Jewish feelings they may have had. Ludwig *Robert, the converted brother of Rahel Varnhagen, was always sensitive to the ambiguities of his position; while Michael *Beer, brother of the composer Giacomo *Meyerbeer, wrote a play, *Der Paria* (1826), which betrays the depressing effect of his Jewish origin. A third playwright, Solomon Hermann von *Mosenthal, in his *Deborah* (1850), dramatized the story of a Jewess living among Christian peasants.

During the first half century of Jewish emancipation, the dichotomy was resolved for many German Jews by assimilation or conversion. Of the direct descendants of Michael *Creizenach, a scholarly advocate of religious reform, his son Theodor (1818–1877), a poet and authority on Goethe, abandoned Judaism, as did Theodor's son Wilhelm (1851–1919), an eminent literary scholar. Friedrich Wolters (1876–1930), who belonged to the circle of Stefan George, was the non-Jewish grandson of the Odessa-born poet and translator Wilhelm Wolfsohn (1820–1865). Heinrich Stieglitz (1801–1849), a melancholic lyricist, was the son of a baptized banker; and Betty

Paoli (Barbara Elisabeth Glueck, 1815–1894) was a Viennese society poet born of a Hungarian nobleman and a Belgian Jewess.

THE STRUGGLE BETWEEN THE TWO SOULS. The novelist Jacob *Wassermann, reviewing his own life in *Mein Weg als Deutscher und Jude* (1921), wrote: "I am a German and a Jew, each as completely as the other; neither can be separated from the other." This held true for most German-Jewish writers of the late 19th and early 20th centuries, although the proportion between the German and the Jewish ingredients of this amalgam varied. Some wished for total assimilation; others were willing to identify themselves within the German-Jewish group but denied all kinship with East-European Jews, whom they considered foreign and inferior. Jewish history was for this class of writer far more remote than the history of the Germans whom they idealized.

Three writers who appear to have been untouched by the problem were the half-Jewish poet Paul Heyse, who was awarded the Nobel Prize for literature in 1910; and two humorists, Julius Stettenheim (1831–1916) and C. Karlweis (Karl Weiss, 1850–1901), an Austrian railroad inspector who wrote popular comedies and short stories. On the other hand, Arthur Schnitzler, the sensitive, delicate analyst of a dying Viennese society, was a vigorous opponent of antisemitism. Stefan Zweig despaired of the survival of European culture, and the European tragedy finally drove him to suicide. He nevertheless felt that Jewry would endure, but he himself was not primarily of it, despite his awareness of Jewish nobility and martyrdom. Some writers were impelled to stress the positive aspects of the Jewish heritage and identity. They include Jacob Loewenberg (1856–1929), whose verse was collected in *Lieder eines Semiten* (1892) and *Aus juedischer Seele* (1901); and the proselyte Nahida Ruth *Lazarus, noted for her expository works conceived in the spirit of Liberal Judaism. Ludwig *Jacobowski, in his novels *Werther der Jude* (1892) and *Loki* (1899), portrayed the struggle between the Jew and his antisemitic surroundings. The pioneer Zionist Samuel *Lublinski emphasized the Jewish thirst for knowledge and truth; another Jewish nationalist, Fritz Mordechai *Kaufmann, became an expert on Yiddish folklore; while Georg Hermann wrote about Berlin's Jewish society with benevolent satire. Two other writers who took a positive Jewish stand were Moritz *Heimann and Alfred *Kerr.

By contrast, several leading literary figures of the era revealed themselves to be either unsympathetic to the fate of their own people or even outspokenly hostile. Carl *Sternheim anticipated the Fascists with his attacks on the Jewish middle classes, but Rudolf Borchardt, who tried to disguise his origin by the adoption of reactionary nationalism, only narrowly escaped deportation to Auschwitz concentration camp. The philosophical father of "Jewish self-hatred" was Otto Weininger; his leading disciple was Arthur *Trebitsch, whose pathological detestation of the Jews and Judaism led him to offer his services as an antisemitic propagandist to the Austrian Nazis. Two other writers influenced by Weininger were Karl *Kraus and Kurt *Tucholsky. Somewhat less violent was the ostentatious Catholic convert Ernst *Lothar. Ernst Lissauer, composer of World War I's notorious "Hymn of Hate" against England, also supported the postwar reactionary nationalists. A double irony attaches to Ferdinand Bronner (1867–1948), a naturalistic dramatist who wrote under the pen name Franz Adamus: he was born in the Polish town of Oswiécim (Auschwitz), and in his comedy, *Schmelz, der Nibelunge* (1905), a son denies his Jewish parentage. His own son, Arnolt Bronnen (1895–1959), swung from support of the extreme left to the far right, and held important radio and television posts under the Nazis. After World War II the erstwhile Nazi became a respectable public figure in Austria and at the end of his life was a drama critic in East Berlin.

THE JEWISH RENAISSANCE. Under the impact of their military disaster in World War I the Germans experienced a temporary spiritual revulsion against war, brutality, lust for power, and materialism. The literary movement of Expressionism thereafter engaged in a fervent struggle for peace, world brotherhood, and the dignity of man. It included a high proportion of Jewish writers, notably Ernst Toller, Alfred Doeblin, Franz *Werfel, Alfred *Mombert, Albert *Ehrenstein, Alfred *Wolfenstein, Jacob von Hoddis (1887–1942), Ludwig *Rubiner, and the Franco-German poet Yvan *Goll.

Together with this rebellious movement in the arts, there arose a second movement aiming at the intellectual, moral, and political rebirth of the Jewish people. Martin Buber and Franz Rosenzweig were the outstanding philosophical leaders of this Jewish renaissance. Richard Beer-Hofmann was the major poet of this German-Jewish revival and gave expression to Jewish suffering and glory in a biblical cycle about King David. His *Schlaflied fuer Miriam* (1897) is regarded as the finest philosophical lullaby in the German language. Karl Wolfskehl, who began his career as a member of the Stefan George circle, also found his way to Jewish poetry. Max Brod, whose Zionism led him to settle in Ereẓ Israel in 1939, considered Judaism a rampart against the black void toward which events were pointing, and felt that his "best service to humanity was to work in all humility for the perfection of my own people." Franz *Kafka and Hermann *Broch broke new ground in German fiction with works on the ultimate goal of human existence. Although their novels never directly touch on Jewish themes, they reflect the Jewish character of their authors. Kafka himself studied Hebrew and even planned to settle in Ereẓ Israel.

Vivid pictures of Jewish life in Germany were painted by the novelists Lion Feuchtwanger (*Jud Suess*, 1925) and Arnold Zweig. Feuchtwanger also wrote a celebrated trilogy based on the story of Josephus. Zweig, long an ardent Zionist, lived in Haifa for many years before settling in East Germany after 1948. In *Der Gezeichnete* (1936), Jacob *Picard portrayed with affection the Orthodox folklore and traditions of Jews long settled in southwest Germany. Else Lasker-Schueler, regarded by many as the greatest German poetess after Annette von Droste-Huelshoff, dreamed of an imagined Oriental world, celebrated the "Land of the Hebrews," and ended her days in Jerusalem. Gertrud *Kolmar, whose poems, some of them in Hebrew, expressed tragic loneliness, remained in Germany and perished in a death camp. A third important woman poet, Nelly *Sachs, who was awarded the Nobel Prize for literature in 1966, expressed both the anxiety and the restlessness of her age and her loyalty to the Jewish people and its destiny.

Jewish writers of the 1930s echoed the torment and despair of their era. On the one hand there was a messianic belief in the future of mankind and, on the other, a nihilistic mistrust of any system of values. The Jews who fled Germany from 1933 and Austria from 1938 included some of the most prominent Jewish writers, although there were many who either chose to remain or could not escape. With the onslaught of the Hitler regime on German-speaking Jewry, the cherished dream of a German-Jewish symbiosis abruptly collapsed and the history of German-Jewish literature was, so far as Europe was concerned, at an end.

LITERARY SCHOLARS. The Jews of Germany and Austria also made an important contribution to literary history and research, many of them writing scholarly works that continue to be regarded as classics. Some outstanding literary historians were the convert Emil Kuh (1828–1876), who "discovered" the dramatist Friedrich Hebbel, editing his works (1866–68) and writing his biography (1877); Julius Leopold *Klein, the Hungarian-born author of a 13-volume *Geschichte des Dramas* (1865–76); Richard Moritz *Meyer, who wrote his *Deutsche Literatur des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts* (1900); Friedrich *Gundolf, an authority on Shakespeare, Goethe, and Kleist; Alfred Kerr, author of *Die Welt im Drama* (1917) and *Die Welt im Licht* (1920); Egon *Friedell, the Austrian playwright, who was also a cultural historian and author of a *Kulturgeschichte der Neuzeit* (3 vols., 1927–31); Hugo *Bieber, who wrote *Der Kampf um die Tradition* (1928) and was an authority on Heine; and Arthur *Eloesser, author of *Die deutsche Literatur vom Barock bis zur Gegenwart* (1930–31).

Other scholars in this field include Julius *Bab, Albert Bielschowsky (1847–1902), Ernst *Heilborn, Rudolf *Kayser, Alfred Klaar (1848–1927), Victor Klemperer (1881–1960), Samuel *Lublinski, Kurt Pinthus (1886–?), Otto Pniower (1859–1932), and Julius Wahle (1861–1940). Two outstanding authorities on Goethe were Michael Bernays (1834–1897), the baptized son of Ḥakham Isaac *Bernays of Hamburg, who was a professor at Munich; and Ludwig *Geiger, a son of the German reformer Abraham Geiger, who was a professor in Berlin and wrote *Die deutsche Literatur und die Juden* (1910). Three other academic scholars were Robert F. Arnold (Robert Frank Levisohn, 1872–1938), who was professor of German literature at Vienna; Jonas *Fraenkel, an expert on Swiss-German literature, who held a chair at Berne; and Fritz *Strich, who was professor successively at Munich and Berne universities. Georg Witkowski (1863–1941), the baptized brother of Maximilian *Harden, wrote *Das deutsche Drama des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts* (1923–25) and ended his career as a professor in Leipzig. Eduard Engel (1851–1938) published a *Geschichte der deutschen Literatur* that reached its 38th edition in 1929; and the Czech anthologist Camill *Hoffmann wrote *Die deutsche Lyrik aus Oesterreich seit Grillparzer* (1912). The literary and dramatic critic Monty Jacobs (1875–1945), who was a coeditor of the *Goldene Klassikerbibliothek*, had an English father and took refuge in London after the Nazis came to power; while Werner Kraft (1896–1991), a German poet, editor, and critic, eventually settled in Israel. An outstanding scholar, Daniel Sanders, published several authoritative German dictionaries, including a *Handwoerterbuch der deutschen Sprache* (3 vols., 1859–65).

From the age of Heine onward, German Jews also distinguished themselves as cultural mediators, especially with the English and French. Heine's contemporary, the royal physician David Ferdinand *Koreff, was also a writer and did much to promote the interchange of ideas between leading authors through his circle in Paris. Later contributions were made by German-Jewish translators from various languages, notably Julius Elias (Ibsen), Alexander Eliasberg (Dostoyevski, Tolstoy), F. Gundolf (Shakespeare), Siegfried *Trebitsch (Shaw), and Stefan Zweig (Verhaeren).

WORKS ON PALESTINE AND ISRAEL. Discounting biblical poems, and plays and novels set in ancient Palestine, most of the literature on the Holy Land written in German was produced by a few German-Jewish authors. One of the very few 19th-century works was *Nach Jerusalem* (1858–60; *The Jews in the East*, 1859), travel sketches by the poet and Viennese communal leader, Ludwig August *Frankl. The *Gesaenge aus der Verbannung* (1829) by Solomon Ludwig *Steinheim anticipated the return to Zion, as did Theodor Herzl's novel, *Altneuland* (1902), three-quarters of a century later. Moshe Ya'akov *Ben-Gavriel (Eugen Hoeflich), who had been an Austrian liaison officer with the Turkish army during World War I, wrote a series of Zionist works based on personal experience, beginning with books such as *Der Weg ins Land* (1918) and *Feuer im Osten* (1920). Rudolf *Lothar included an account of a visit to Palestine in *Zwischen drei Welten* (1926), and other German and Austrian Jews – not always Zionists – brought back glowing reports of Jewish pioneering achievements in Ereẓ Israel. They include Alfred Kerr, who has a chapter entitled "Jeruschalajim" in his *Die Welt im Licht* (1920); Arthur Holitscher, who wrote *Reise durch das juedische Palaestina* (1922); Richard Arnold *Bermann, who collaborated with another non-Zionist, Arthur Rundt, in the publication of *Palaestina* (1923); and Felix Salten (*Neue Menschen auf alter Erde*, 1925). Else Lasker-Schueler's poetic impressions of the land in which she spent her last years, illustrated with her own quaint drawings, were conveyed in *Das Hebraeerland* (1937). Another refugee, the historical biographer Josef *Kastein, wrote many works in Palestine after 1933, including *Jerusalem; Die Geschichte eines Landes* (1937) and *Eine palaestinensische Novelle* (1942).

After World War II, Hans José Rehfisch wrote *Quelle der Verheissung* (1946), a play about German Jews who settled in Ereẓ Israel. Max Brod's novel, *Unambo* (1949), dealt with Israel's War of Independence, while Aryeh Ludwig *Strauss, a refugee poet and literary historian who settled in Palestine and later wrote in Hebrew as well as German, reflected both the Israel scene and his own intimate experience in the lyrical *Heimliche Gegenwart* (1952). M.Y. Ben-Gavriel found a new and valuable outlet for his talents in the many books of anecdotes and travel which became best sellers in post-Hitler Germany, such as *Kumsitz* (1956). His descriptions of life in the State of Israel did much to win sympathy and support for the infant Jewish state in Federal Germany.

[Rudolf Kayser]

The Holocaust and Its Aftermath

The liquidation of German writers of Jewish origin was set in motion almost as soon as the Nazis came to power in 1933. Two early victims were the philosopher Theodor *Lessing (murdered at Marienbad in 1933) and the poet and dramatist Erich *Muehsam (tortured to death at the Oranienburg concentration camp in 1934). The massacre increased after the outbreak of World War II. Ernst Heilborn died at the hands of the Gestapo in Berlin in 1941, Paul *Kornfeld in the Lodz ghetto in 1942, and Gertrud Kolmar somewhere in Eastern Europe in the following year. Writers who perished at *Auschwitz include Georg Hermann (1943), Arno Nadel (1943), and Camill Hoffmann (1944). By a grim irony, Herwarth *Walden, who fled to the U.S.S.R. in 1933, is thought to have been executed during a Soviet purge in 1942. A number of Jewish writers, unable to accept the shattering of their illusions, committed suicide. They include the cultural philosopher and historian Walter *Benjamin (Paris, 1940), Egon Friedell (Vienna, 1938), Ludwig *Fulda (Berlin, 1939), Ernst Toller (New York, 1939), Kurt Tucholsky (Sweden, 1935), Ernst *Weiss (Paris, 1940), Alfred Wolfenstein (Paris, 1945), and Stefan Zweig (Brazil, 1942). In fear of the Nazi invaders, the half-Jewish expressionist poet Walter *Hasenclever took his own life at a detention camp in southern France in 1940.

Many other German and Austrian writers of Jewish birth, more fortunate, found refuge abroad. Among those who settled in England were Felix Braun, Kurt *Hiller, Alfred Kerr, Arthur Koestler, Theodor *Kramer, Robert *Neumann, Hans José Rehfisch, and Carl *Roessler. Karl Wolfskehl died an exile in New Zealand, Nelly Sachs and Peter *Weiss settled in Sweden, while Paul *Adler survived the Holocaust in hiding in Czechoslovakia. Switzerland provided a haven for Efraim *Frisch, Margarete *Susman, Siegfried Trebitsch, and the converted half-Jew, Carl Zuckmayer, who spent the war years in the U.S. By far the largest number fled to the United States or Palestine. Those who immigrated to Ereẓ Israel include Max Brod, Martin Buber, M.Y. Ben-Gavriel, Sammy Gronemann, Josef Kastein, Leo *Perutz, Else Lasker-Schueler, Aryeh Ludwig Strauss, and Arnold Zweig. The U.S. welcomed scores of refugee writers, among them literary figures such as Julius Bab, Richard Beer-Hofmann, Hugo Bieber, Ferdinand *Bruckner, Alfred Doeblin, Lion Feuchtwanger, Manfred *George, Hermann *Kesten, Ernst Lothar, Ludwig *Marcuse, Walter *Mehring, Alfred *Neumann, Alfred *Polgar, Roda Roda (Sandor Rosenfeld, 1872–1945), Felix Salten, Friedrich *Torberg, Berthold *Viertel, Ernst *Waldinger, and Franz Werfel. Refugee writers who returned to Europe after World War II include Braun, Bruckner, Doeblin, Lothar, Marcuse, Rehfisch, Salten, Torberg, and Viertel. Several leftist writers abandoned the West for Iron Curtain countries: from Mexico, Egon Erwin *Kisch, the "rushing reporter," returned to Prague and Anna *Seghers to East Germany; Friedrich *Wolf moved from the U.S.S.R. to East Berlin and was for a time East Germany's envoy in Warsaw; while Arnold Zweig, who left Israel in 1948, also settled in East Berlin. Hans *Habe, who had fought first with the French and later with the U.S. army, finally made his home in Austria. A postwar playwright, Wolfgang Hildesheimer (1916–), was in Ereẓ Israel during the 1930s and World War II, but eventually settled in Munich.

THE LITERATURE OF REMORSE. After the collapse of Nazi Germany, non-Jewish writers of a new, repentant generation experienced a feeling of revulsion against the mass murder of the Jews. They tended to idealize the figure of the Jew, endowing him with biblical grandeur, immense wisdom, and great moral stature. As the prime victim of the European Holocaust, the Jew continued to trouble and preoccupy the conscience of postwar Germany. The poet and novelist Johannes Bobrowski, who had served on the Russian front during World War II, wrote affectionately of the heterogeneous population and folk world of pre-Nazi East Prussia, and spoke of Germany's treatment of the Jews as "a long story of misfortune and guilt, for which my people has been to blame ever since the days of the Teutonic Knights." Similar feelings pervaded the works of postwar novelists such as Heinrich Boell (*Wo warst du, Adam?*, 1951), Albrecht Goes (*Das Brandopfer*, 1954), Guenter Grass (*Die Blechtrommel*, 1959; *Hundejahre*, 1963), Walter Jens (*Der Blinde*, 1951), Wolfgang Koeppen, and Felix Lutzendorf. The anti-Nazi refugee novelist Erich Maria Remarque dealt with the fate of German Jews immediately before and during the Holocaust: *Arc de triomphe* (1946; *Arch of Triumph*, 1946); *Der Funke Leben* (1952; *Spark of Life*, 1952); and *Die Nacht von Lissabon* (1962); and other novels on the theme of anti-Jewish persecution were written by Stefan Andres (*Die Sintflut*, 1949–59), Friedrich Duerrenmatt (*Der Verdacht*, 1953), Hermann Kasack (*Die Stadt hinter dem Strom*, 1947), and Rudolf Lorenzen (*Alles andere als ein Held*, 1959).

The fate of the Jews was also presented on the stage in plays by Stefan Andres (*Sperrzonen*, 1959), Max Frisch (*Andorra*, 1962), Fritz Hochwaelder (*Der Fluechtling*, 1948; *Der oeffentliche Anklaeger*, 1954), Erwin Sylvanus (*Korczak und die Kinder*, 1959), and Martin Walser (*Eiche und Angora*, 1962). The most influential – and controversial – postwar German drama about the Jews in the Nazi era was Rolf *Hochhuth's *Der Stellvertreter* (1963), which condemned Pope Pius XII as an accessory to Hitler's "Final Solution of the Jewish Problem." *Der Stellvertreter* was translated into many languages and was staged in the U.S. as *The Deputy* and in England as *The Representative*. In postwar German literature the Jew thus became a symbol of man's inhumanity to man and an instrument of national self-flagellation. This process was encouraged by the appearance of works in German by Jewish victims of the Hitler era – the moving diary of Anne *Frank; *Das unausloeschliche Siegel* (1946), a novel by the baptized half-Jewess, Elisabeth Langgaesser (1899–1950); *Eine Seele aus Holz* (1962; *A Soul of Wood*, 1964), a grim volume of tales about Hitler's "death doctors" and their victims by Jakov Lind (1927–); the visionary poems of Paul *Celan (1920–1970), a Romanian-born writer and translator, whose works include *Der Sand aus den Urnen* (1948) and *Mohn und Gedaechtnis* (1952); and the poems of Nelly *Sachs. Two half-Jews who saw the problem from both sides of the fence were Carl Zuckmayer, in his plays *Des Teufels General* (1947) and *Das kalte Licht* (1955), and Peter Weiss with *Die Ermittlung*, an oratorio based on the Auschwitz trial held in Frankfurt in 1965 (Eng., *The Investigation*, 1966).

In contemporary Germany, Polish-born Marcel *Reich-Ranicki has established himself as the country's leading literary critic. Other German-language writers of note are Elfriede *Jelinek (Nobel Prize, 2004), Wolfgang *Hildesheimer, and Barbara *Honigmann.

[Sol Liptzin]

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GERMANY, country in north central Europe. The Talmud and the Midrash use "Germania" (or "Germamia") as a designation for northern European countries, and also refer to the military prowess of these peoples and to the threat they posed to the Roman Empire (Meg. 6b; Gen. R. 75:9; etc.). Medieval Jewish sources first refer to Germany as "Allemania" or "Lothir" (Lotharingia); later the biblical term "*Ashkenaz" came into use, and was retained in Hebrew literature and Jewish vernacular until recent times.

Middle Ages

There is no substance to the legends extant in the Middle Ages relating that Jews were present in Germany "before the Crucifixion." Supposedly the first Jews to reach Germany were merchants who went there in the wake of the Roman legions and settled in the Roman-founded Rhine towns. Archaeological evidence suggests that Jews may have lived in Augusta Raurica (Kaiseraugst) and Augusta Treverorum (*Trier). Imperial decrees regarding the duties of Jewish community officials were sent to Colonia Agrippinensis (*Cologne) in 321 and 331 C.E. (Cod. Theod., 16:8, 3–4; Aronius, Regesten, no. 2). There is, however, no evidence of continuous Jewish settlement in Germany from Late Antiquity to the early days of the German Empire. Jews entered Central Europe in this period from the west and the southwest; Jewish merchants from southern Italy and France were welcomed in Germany, and settled in the towns along the great rivers and trade routes. The *Kalonymos family from Lucca established itself in *Mainz in the tenth century. In its early stages German Jewry was closely linked with the Jewish communities of Northern France. A 12th-century Jewish scholar mentions a letter he saw in *Worms, which Rhine Jews had sent to Ereẓ Israel in 960, asking for verification of the rumor that the Messiah had come (REJ, 44 (1902), 238). Ties were also maintained to the academies of Babylonia. Until the end of the 11th century the Jews of Germany engaged in international trade, especially with the East, and were an important element of the urban population. They were concentrated along the west bank of the Rhine, in Lorraine, and in ancient episcopal seats and trade centers, such as Cologne, Mainz, *Speyer, Worms, and Trier, as well as religious and political centers situated more eastward, such as *Regensburg and *Prague. The extant reports of Jewish settlement in Germany are of a haphazard nature, and the dating of such records does not necessarily establish the sequence of settlement. The first mention of Jewish settlement in Mainz dates from c. 900, of Worms from 960, and of Regensburg from 981. Jewish communities in south central Germany (*Bamberg, *Wuerzburg) and *Thuringia (*Erfurt) are mentioned in documents from the 11th century. In *Breslau and *Munich Jews are mentioned at the beginning of the 13th century, in *Vienna in the middle of that century, and in *Berlin (and other places) at its end. At the end of the tenth century (or the beginning of the 11th), *Gershom b. Judah ("Me'or ha-Golah") moved from *Metz to Mainz and that city became noted for Torah learning; the yeshivot of Mainz and Worms became spiritual centers for all the Jews in Central Europe and even attracted students from France, among them the famous *Rashi. For the Jews, the Carolingian Empire, although no longer a political entity, still remained a single social and cultural unit. Their social and legal status was distinct from that of the general population, and, as a small and largely defenseless minority, they required special protection to safeguard their existence. The first reports of persecution of Jews in Germany date from the 11th century (the expulsion of the Jews of Mainz in 1012), and the first written guarantees of rights, granted to them by emperors and bishops, also date from that century. In 1084 the archbishop of Speyer invited them to settle in his enlarged city "in order to enhance a thousandfold the respect accorded to our town" (Aronius, Regesten, 70 no. 168), and granted the Jews far-reaching trading rights and permission to put up a protective wall around their quarters. This evidence of the high value attached to Jews for settlement of a new town and the expansion of its trade precedes by only 12 years the "*gezerot tatnav*" (1096; see below). In 1090 Emperor *Henry IV issued charters of rights to the Jews of Speyer and Worms (*ibid.*, 71–77 nos. 170–1), and succeeding emperors followed his example. All these writs acknowledged the right of the Jews to be judged "by their peers and no others … according to their law" (from a charter of 1090). In another such document, granted to the Jews of Worms in 1157, the emperor reserves for himself the exclusive right of judging the Jews "for they belong to our treasury." The guarantees of rights were given to the community leaders, who were also the spiritual leaders of the community, and were well-to-do men belonging to respected families. Communities that were accorded guarantees already possessed a synagogue (the Worms synagogue was founded in 1034) and public institutions. No reliable figures on the size of these Jewish communities are available; to judge by figures mentioned in the narratives of their martyrdom, there were communities of 2,000 persons (Mainz), but in general they consisted of several hundred, or several dozen. The community regulations enacted by the Jewish communities in Germany, and the commentaries and *piyyutim* written by their scholars (such as Gershom b. Judah and *Simeon b. Isaac) reveal a strong and simple faith, and readiness to die for it (and see *takkanot* of the period).

FIRST CRUSADE. Their faith was put to the supreme test during the first *Crusade, from April to June 1096. The brutal massacres that then took place are remembered in Jewish annuals as the *gezerot tatnav* (i.e., the massacres of 4856 = 1096). The first waves of crusaders turned upon the Jews of the Rhine valley. Although the emperor, the bishops, and Christian neighbors were reluctant to take part in this onslaught and tried to protect the Jews, this defense had small success. Several Hebrew reports written during the first half of the 12th century present a detailed narrative of the indomitable courage and religious devotion of those who chose a martyr's death (**kiddush ha-Shem*). In Mainz, it is related that "in a single day one thousand and one hundred martyrs were slaughtered and died" (A.M. Habermann (ed.), *Gezerot Ashkenaz ve-Ẓarefat* (1945), 32). The martyrdom of Mainz Jewry was preceded by negotiations with the emperor by Kalonymos ben Meshullam; in response, Henry IV published an order in defense of the Jews, but this was of little help. The Jews offered armed resistance and it was only in the final stage that they committed suicide. Similar events took place in many communities on the Rhine and along the crusaders' route; many Jews chose martyrdom; others managed to save their lives by going into hiding (Speyer, Cologne, Worms, *Xanten, Metz). Some accepted temporary conversion, as in Regensburg, where "all were coerced" (*ibid.,* 56). Later the emperor permitted their return to Judaism. The beginning of the Crusades inaugurated far-reaching changes in the social and economic structure of the Christian peoples in Western Europe and in their general outlook, and as a result also mark a turning point in the history of German Jewry. Henceforth physical attacks on Jews were more frequent and widespread, especially in periods of social or religious ferment. The city guilds forced the Jews out of the trades and the regular channels of commerce; this coincided with the stricter appliance of the church ban on usury in the 12th to 13th centuries. The combination of circumstances made *moneylending and pawnbroking the main occupation of Jews in Germany. They also continued in ordinary trade; as late as the 13th century they dealt in wool, attended the Cologne fairs, and traded with Russia and Hungary; during most of the Middle Ages there were even Jewish *craftsmen and Jews had some contact with *agriculture.

However moneylending, conceived by the Church as usury, became the hallmark of Jewish life in Germany. About 100 to 150 years after usury became the main occupation of Jews in England and France, it became central to the livelihood of Jews in Germany also. Jew hatred and the evil image of the Jew as conceived in the popular imagination were nourished by this economic pattern. Owing to the scarcity of money and lack of firm securities the rate of interest was extremely high. In 1244 the Jews of *Austria were given a bill of rights by Duke *Frederick II based on the assumption that interest was the Jews' main source of income; the bill contained detailed regulations on moneylending, and the rate of interest was fixed at 173⅓%. This kind of charter for Jews became typical of those granted in central and eastern Germany (and Poland) in the 13th and 14th centuries. Borrowing money from Jews against pawns became usual among the nobility and the townspeople, and enabled rabble-rousers to accuse the Jews of "sucking Christian blood" and of associating with gentile thieves who pawned their loot with the Jewish moneylenders. The Jews insisted on their right to refuse to return pawns unless reimbursed, a right confirmed as early as 1090. After the end of the 11th century the social status of the Jews steadily deteriorated. The *Reichslandfrieden* ("Imperial peace of the land") issued in 1103 includes the Jews among persons who bear no arms and are therefore to be spared violence and defended. The concepts which had determined the status of the Jews from the beginning of their settlement in Germany were now applied with increasing vigor. The need of the Jews for refuge and protection was now utilized by the urge to oppress and exploit them. A long-drawn-out process of legal and social development was finally summed up in 1236 by Emperor Frederick II, when he declared all the Jews of Germany *Servi camerae nostrae* ("servants of our treasury"; Aronius, Regesten, 216 no. 496). This meant that from the legal point of view the Jews and their property were possessions of the emperor and hence entirely at his mercy. However they never fully experienced the severity of this concept as it was never fully applied to them; in a way, their status as servants of the imperial treasury was even welcomed for it assured them of imperial protection, protection which no other German authority was able or willing to afford them. Long after the concept of the servitude of the Jews had been applied in Germany, *Meir b. Baruch of Rothenburg conceived that "the Jews are not *glebae* [*adscripti* = bound] to any particular place as gentiles are; for they are regarded as impoverished freemen who have not been sold into slavery; the government attitude is according to this" (Responsa, ed. Prague, no. 1001; cf. Tos. to BK 58a). The concepts that Jewish lives were not inviolable and that the Jews were in servitude to the country's rulers led to renewed outbursts of anti-Jewish violence whenever a critical situation arose. The second Crusade (1146) was again accompanied by widespread anti-Jewish agitation and incidents of violent persecution. However the experience of 1096 had taught a lesson both to the Jews and to the authorities: the Jews took refuge in the castles of the nobility, whenever possible having the entire citadel to themselves until the danger passed (see A.M. Habermann, op. cit. 117). The preaching of *Bernard of Clairvaux against doing the Jews physical harm also helped to restrain the masses. Thus a repetition of the earlier terrorization and slaughter did not take place. Between the second Crusade and the beginning of the 13th century the Jews were subjected to numerous attacks and libels but relatively few lost their lives as a result.

SPIRITUAL LIFE. The events of 1096 had shaken German Jewry to the core; its response came in the form of tremendous spiritual and social creativity. Succeeding generations glorified the deeds of the martyrs and created a whole doctrine around the sanctification of God by martyrdom (*kiddush ha-Shem*). The ideas of self-sacrifice, **akedah*, of choosing to meet "the Great Light" rather than apostasy, and of standing up to the attacker, were now formulated and transmitted as permanent principles. A special blessing was inserted into the prayer book to be recited by those who were about to be slain. In the 12th and 13th centuries the *Ḥasidei Ashkenaz ("pious men of Germany") formulated the principles of perfect piety, observance of "Heavenly Law" (*din shamayim*) which is above and beyond the "Law of the Torah," for the latter was given to man taking into account his *yeẓer ha-ra* ("evil inclination"). They taught that one should regard property as being held on trust (from God) only, and that one should abstain from lust without retiring from family and public life. The way of life to which this group adhered was established, in the main, by the members of a single family: *Samuel b. Kalonymos the Ḥasid of Speyer, his son *Judah b. Samuel he-Ḥasid of Regensburg, and their relative *Eleazar b. Judah (ha-Roke'aḥ) of Worms. *Sefer Ḥasidim* and *Sefer ha-Roke'aḥ*, two works written by these men, express the feelings and ideas of the ḥasidim of Germany on the greatness of God, on man's conduct in life, on ghosts and spirits, on sexual temptation and how to withstand it, on the true observance of commandments, and on love of learning as a foremost religious value.

SOCIAL LIFE. During this period further consolidation of the Jewish communal leadership in Germany took place. Jews increasingly restricted themselves to the Jewish quarter in the town, which gave them a greater feeling of security and made possible the development of an intense social life. The *meliores* (leading families) accepted the authority of the most eminent scholars. Torah learning was not interrupted in times of trouble and danger. It even received additional impetus from the need to provide leadership for the Jewish public and guidance to the individual, while the number of outstanding scholars also increased. Even the source of livelihood that was forced upon the Jews – lending money against interest – came to be appreciated as an advantage since it left time to spare for Torah study. Moneylending also determined the artificial structure of Jewish life; the Jews derived their income mainly from non-Jews, and there was hardly any economic exploitation of one Jew by another. As a result, there was a large measure of social cohesion in the German communities. The average community maintained a synagogue, a cemetery (or, if it was too small, obtained burial rights in a neighboring town), a bathhouse, and a place for weddings and other public festivities. A scholar attracted groups of students who lived in his home and were cared for by the scholar's wife (A.M. Habermann, op. cit., 165–6). Meir b. Baruch of Rothenburg attests that his house was spacious and included "a *bet midrash*… a winter house [i.e., the main living quarters]… a courtyard for public use… a cool upper room where I eat in summer and… a room… for each student" (Responsa, ed. Cremona, no. 108). Community institutions developed. The community leaders and scholars – in gatherings on fair-days – issued *takkanot* regulating many spheres of life which were binding upon individual communities or groups of several communities. In the 13th century, *Eliezer b. Joel ha-Levi of Bonn established the principle that a majority decision also obligated the opposing minority, and unanimity was not required (contradicting the 12th-century French scholar Jacob b. Meir *Tam). Communal offices which had come into existence in the 12th and 13th centuries are listed in a document issued by the Cologne community in 1301: *Nos Episcopus, magistratus Judeorum ac universi Judei civitatis Coloniensis* ("We the bishop [i.e., the

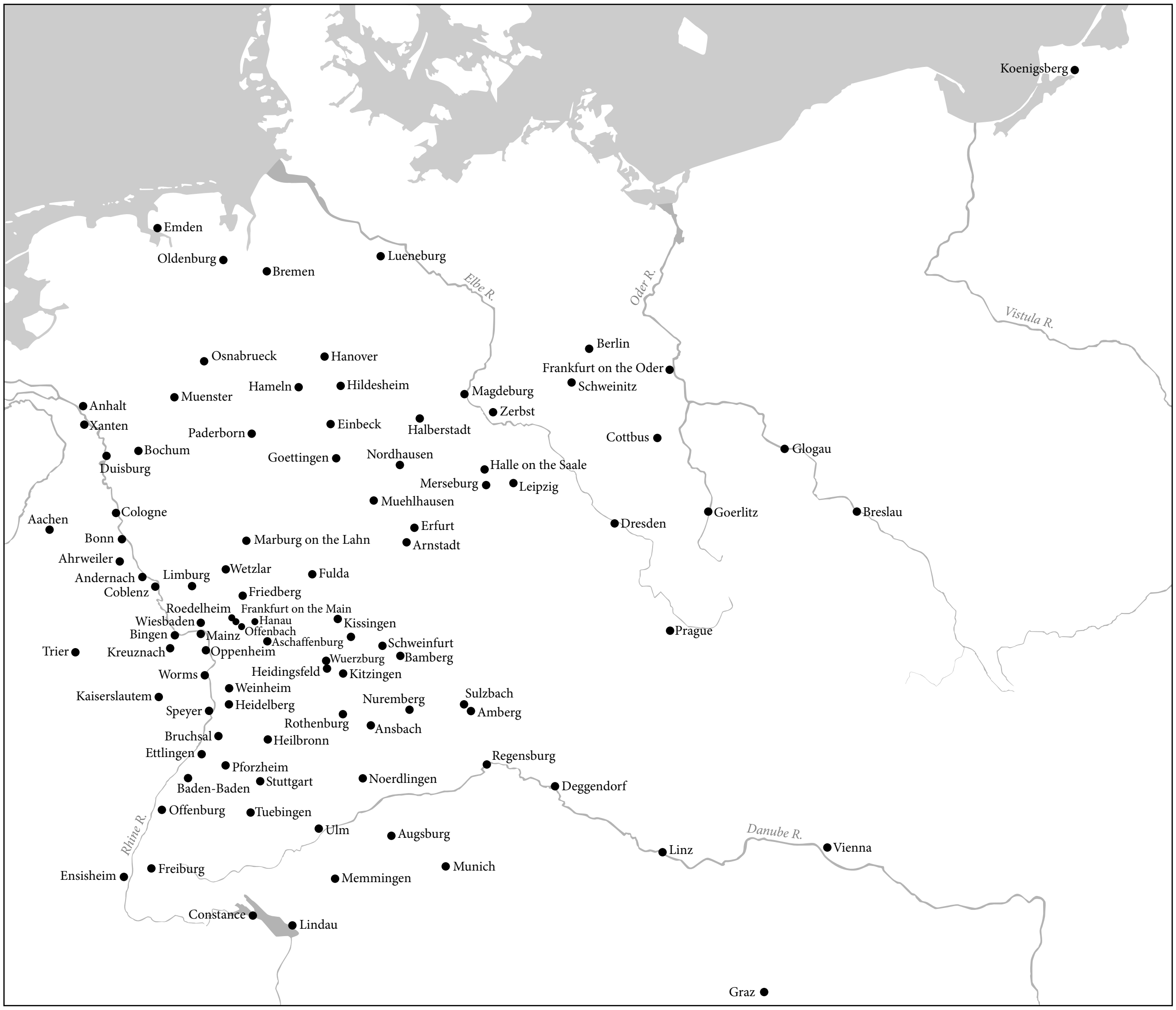
Koenigsberg
Emden
Oldenburg
Bremen
Lueneburg
Elbe R.
Oder R.
Vistula R.
Berlin
Frankfurt on the Oder
Schweinitz
Osnabrueck
Hanover
Hameln
Hildesheim
Magdeburg
Zerbst
Anhalt
Muenster
Xanten
Paderborn
Einbeck
Halberstadt
Cottbus
Glogau
Bochum
Duisburg
Goettingen
Nordhausen
Halle on the Saale
Merseburg
Leipzig
Muehlhausen
Cologne
Aachen
Goerlitz
Breslau
Dresden
Erfurt
Bonn
Marburg on the Lahn
Arnstadt
Ahrweiler
Andernach
Limburg
Wetzlar
Fulda
Coblenz
Friedberg
Roedelheim
Frankfurt on the Main
Wiesbaden
Hanau
Kissingen
Offenbach
Bingen
Mainz
Aschaffenburg
Schweinfurt
Prague
Trier
Kreuznach
Oppenheim
Bamberg
Wuerzburg
Heidingsfeld
Worms
Kitzingen
Weinheim
Kaiserslautem
Sulzbach
Nuremberg
Amberg
Speyer
Heidelberg
Rothenburg
Ansbach
Bruchsal
Heilbronn
Ettlingen
Regensburg
Pforzheim
Noerdlingen
Baden-Baden
Stuttgart
Deggendorf
Offenburg
Tuebingen
Rhine R.
Ulm
Augsburg
Danube R.
Linz
Vienna
Munich
Ensisheim
Freiburg
Memmingen
Constance
Lindau
Graz

Major medieval Jewish communities in Germany in the 13th century.

leader], and officers of the Jews and the entire Jewish community of Cologne"; see *Judenschreinsbuch*, 92–93). From 1220 onward, the "*Takkanot Shum*," regulations issued by three of the great communities on the Rhine – Speyer, Worms, and Mainz (שו"ם, the initials of the three names) – have been preserved; joint meetings of the leaders of these three communities had a decisive influence on all the Jewish communities in Germany. German Jewry developed an independent leadership with a series of honors and degrees of rank. The intimacy of the small community enabled a person who felt wronged to turn to the public by means of interruption of prayer (see **bittul ha-tamid*) in synagogue until he received redress. Families experienced the usual sorrows and joys, and also had their share of frivolities: "wild young men… who liked gambling" (*Sefer Ḥasidim*, ed. by J. Wistinetzki (1924²), no. 109) and practical jokes at festivities (see also Tos. to Suk. 45a, s.v. *Mi-Yad Tinnokot*). The main purpose of the *takkanot* was to strengthen religious life and especially to provide for increased study of the Torah, the observance of sexual purity laws, of the Sabbath, etc. They also introduced innovations designed to strengthen community life: the obligation on the part of each individual to pay his tax assessment and to refrain from false declarations, and the right of the community officers to transfer funds from one purpose to another, when the common good required it. Considerable emphasis was put on strengthening the authority of the community leadership: members of the community were not permitted to accept appointments by the authorities or to ask the authorities for exemption from community taxes; every dispute between Jews had to be brought before Jewish judges; and Jews were not allowed to apply to non-Jewish courts. Excommunication of an individual required the consent of the community, as did the divorce of a wife. Gambling was outlawed and regulations were issued for the preservation of order in the synagogues and law courts and at public celebrations. Lending money to Jews against the payment of interest, and insulting anyone in public were also prohibited. In the 12th century the Jews still took part in the defense of the towns in which they lived. Eleazar b. Judah tells of "the siege of Worms by a great host on the Sabbath, when we permitted all the Jews to take up arms… for if they had not helped the townspeople they would have been killed… therefore we permitted it" (*Sefer ha-Roke'aḥ* (Cremona, 1557), 23a, *Hilkhot Eruvin*, no. 197). In this period, Jews also moved with the eastward trend of the population, and new Jewish communities were established in the east and southeast. Those who joined in the movement of the urban population eastward encountered the terrors and problems of new colonists: "When you build houses in the forest you find the inhabitants stricken with plague since the place is haunted by spirits… They asked the sage what they should do; he answered: Take the Ten Commandments and a Torah Scroll and stretch out a cord the length of the ground, and bring the Torah Scroll to the cord… and then at the end say: 'Before God, before the Torah, and before Israel its guardians, may no demon nor she-demon come to this place from today and for ever'" (*Sefer Ḥasidim* (ed. Wistinetzki), no. 371).

13TH CENTURY. The 13th century brought new troubles upon the Jews. The Fourth *Lateran Council (1215) decreed that the clergy were to restrict business relations between Christians and Jews, that Jews had to wear signs distinguishing them from the Christians (see *badge), and that they were not to hold any public office. In 1235 the first case of *blood libel occurred in Germany (in *Fulda) and in the second half of the 13th century the libel of *Host desecration began to spread in the country. These accusations were to cost many Jewish lives, to cause Jews much anxiety and anguish, and to bring about further deterioration of their image in the eyes of their Christian neighbors, who now came to regard them as corrupt beings, capable of the most abominable crimes. The acceptance of such views of the Jews by the masses occurred at a time when imperial rule was weakening, and the right to the Jews' "servitude to the treasury" was passed on or transferred in different ways and for differing reasons to various local competencies. Religious fanaticism was rising and caused a social ferment in the cities, where the mob vented their anger on the Jews. In 1241, when the Jews of *Frankfurt on the Main tried to prevent one of their people from converting to Christianity, a *Judenschlacht* (Jews' slaughter) took place, in which the entire community was butchered by the Christian mob. In 1259 a synod of the Mainz archdiocese ordered that Jews within its borders should wear the yellow badge. In 1285 the entire Jewish community of *Munich – some 180 persons – was burned to death, victims of a libel that had been spread against them. The Jews also had a heavy tax burden. A partial list of imperial revenue, dating from 1241, reveals that in 25 Jewish communities the Jews paid 857 marks, amounting to 12% of the entire imperial tax revenue for the year (7,127.5 marks) and 20% of the total raised in the German cities. In addition to the regular taxes the Jews also had to make payments in the form of "presents" and bribes, or money was simply extorted from them. In this period – the second half of the 13th century – German Jewry produced great spiritual leaders. Foremost was Meir b. Baruch of Rothenburg, whose responsa and instructions guided several generations of Jews. He attacked manifestations of injustice or high-handedness in communal affairs, and in his threnodies and other writings gave expression to the sufferings of his people. In the end, his own fate symbolized the distress of the Jews: trying to escape overseas, like other persecuted Jews in Germany, he was arrested, handed over to the emperor, and died in jail in 1293.

PERSECUTIONS OF THE 14TH CENTURY. At the end of the 13th century and the first half of the 14th, anti-Jewish excesses by the mob increased in vehemence and frequency, and the authorities were also increasingly oppressive. In 1342 Louis IV of Bavaria decreed that "every male Jew and every Jewish widow, of 12 years and above, is obliged to pay a yearly tax of one gulden." This poll tax was designed to increase the income that the emperor derived from the Jews, which had declined as the result of their "transfer" to lower authorities, and came in addition to the other taxes exacted from the Jews. In 1356 Emperor *Charles IV transferred his claim over the Jews to the Imperial Electors. Within a period of 50 years the Jews of Germany suffered three devastating blows. In 1298–99, when civil war had broken out in southwest Germany, the Jews were accused of Host desecration, and the Jew-baiter, *Rindfleisch, gathered a mob around him which fell upon the Jews of Franconia, Bavaria, and the surrounding area, destroying no less than 140 communities (including *Rothenburg, Wuerzburg, *Nuremberg, and Bamberg). Many Jews chose a martyr's death and in many places also offered armed resistance. The period 1336–37 was marked by the catastrophe of the *Armleder massacres, in the course of which 110 communities, from Bavaria to Alsace, were destroyed by rioting peasants. Finally, in the massacres during the *Black Death, in 1348–50, 300 Jewish communities were destroyed in all parts of the country, and the Jews either killed, or driven out as "poisoners of wells." The greatest Jewish scholar of the time, *Alexander Suslin ha-Kohen, was among those slain in Erfurt, in 1349. As a result of these three onslaughts, the structure of Jewish life in Germany suffered a severe blow. Nevertheless, only a short while later, Jews were again permitted to take up residence in German cities, where there was no one else to fulfill their function in society of moneylenders. Only a few weeks after the slaughter of the Jews of *Augsburg the bishop permitted some to return to the city; between 1352 and 1355 Jews reappeared in Erfurt, Nuremberg, *Ulm, Speyer, Worms, and Trier. Their residence was now based on contracts which contained severe restrictions and imposed numerous payments on them. There was also increased exploitation of the Jews by the emperor; a moratorium on debts, declared by *Wenceslaus IV in 1385 and again in 1390, dealt a severe blow to the economic situation of the Jews. Jewish vitality, however, was able to assert itself even in the adverse conditions that prevailed after the

Black Death massacres. The scholars assured the continuity of Jewish creativity. In 1365, *Meir b. Baruch ha-Levi established a new school in Vienna, based upon the customs and traditions of the Rhine communities, and his disciples – the "Sages of Austria" – became the spiritual leaders of German Jewry. In east and south Germany, with fewer towns and a relatively backward economy, Jews found it easier to earn their livelihood. This was also the route to *Poland, which gradually turned into a refuge for the Jews. Until the Reformation there was no change in the precarious situation of the Jews of Germany. On the one hand, the disintegration of the Empire prevented large-scale countrywide expulsions: when the Jews were driven out of one locality they were able to bide their time in a neighboring place, and after a short while return to their previous homes; on the other hand, the lack of a central authority put the Jews at the mercy of local rulers. In general, the emperor, the princes, and the leading classes in the towns gave their protection to the Jews; yet a single fanatic anti-Jewish preacher, John of *Capistrano, found it possible to inflame the masses against the Jews and to initiate a new wave of persecutions (1450–59) which culminated in the expulsion of the Jews from Breslau.

15TH CENTURY. The 15th century was generally marked by libels against Jews and their expulsion from certain areas and most major cities: in 1400 the Jews were expelled from Prague; in 1420, 1438, 1462, and 1473 there were successive expulsions from Mainz; in 1420–21 from Austria; in 1424 from Cologne; in 1440 from Augsburg; in 1475 the blood libel was raised in *Trent, resulting in anti-Jewish agitation and riots all over Germany, and the expulsion of the Jews from *Tyrol; in 1492 a Host desecration libel led to the expulsion of the Jews from *Mecklenburg; in 1493 they were driven out of *Magdeburg, and in the period 1450–1500, out of many towns in Bavaria, Franconia, and Swabia; in 1499 from Nuremberg; in 1510 there was another Host desecration libel and expulsion from *Brandenburg; in the same year expulsion from Alsace; and in 1519 from Regensburg. Of the more important cities in Germany, only Frankfurt and Worms still had major Jewish communities after that date. Nevertheless, in the course of the 15th century, amid these tribulations, Jews were also able to branch out into occupations other than moneylending. In the south German communities, there were Jewish wine merchants and petty traders. Jews also began to play a role in the expanding commercial life, acting as intermediaries between the large agricultural producer (such as the monasteries) and the rising city merchant; expelled from the cities and forced to live in the small towns and villages, the Jews bought wool, flax, etc., from the large storehouses and sold these commodities to the wholesale merchant. This was the beginning of a process which culminated in Poland in the 16th and 17th centuries with the Jews entering the service of the nobility as managers of their estates. Jewish life in the small communities of Germany was frequently marked by great material and spiritual hardship. Yet the Jews did all in their power to fulfill the commandments of their faith. Israel *Isserlein's *Pesakim u-Khetavim* (Venice, 1545), para. 52, records a "curious event" in south Germany, when several communities had only a single *etrog* to share among them on the Sukkot festival; they cut the fruit up and sent a piece to each community, and although shriveled by the time it reached its destination, the Jews made the prescribed blessing over their slice of *etrog* on the first day of the festival. Despite their poverty and sufferings, Jews held on to the normal joys of life. Jacob Moses *Moellin permitted "placing tree branches in water on the Sabbath … in order to provide a source of joy for the house" (Jacob b. Moses Moellin, *Maharil* (Cremona, 1558), 38b); when asked about celebrating a wedding in a community where a local ordinance forbade the participation of musicians, the same rabbi advised that the wedding be moved to another community, where music could be made, rather than have the bride and bridegroom forego the pleasure (*ibid.*, 41b). Even at a time when persecutions were actually taking place, the Jews persisted in their way of life and in study of the Torah. Thus Moses *Mintz, while writing a halakhic decision, records that "the time limit given us by the bishop [of Bamberg] for leaving the town has been reached, for he would not allow us a single additional day or even hour" (Resp. Maharam Mintz, para. 48). The rabbis' position became widely acknowledged in this period, and they were regarded as "the leaders." It may be assumed that it was Meir b. Baruch ha-Levi's school that established the custom of *semikhah* (rabbinical ordination) and of awarding the title of *Morenu* ("our teacher") to a graduate rabbi, a custom which Ashkenazi Jews have still retained. At the same time the rabbis often engaged in bitter quarrels over the question of jurisdiction, and the position of the rabbi. These quarrels largely resulted from the difficulties facing the Jewish spiritual leaders, who tried, in a permanent state of insecurity, to rebuild communities that had been destroyed. The rabbinical leaders of this period – Meir b. Baruch ha-Levi and his disciples, Jacob b. Moses Moellin, Israel Isserlein (author of *Terumat ha-Deshen*), Moses Mintz, Israel b. Ḥayyim *Bruna, and others – were dedicated men who did all in their power to establish new yeshivot and spread the study of Torah, but they did not achieve the degree of leadership displayed by their predecessors. An extreme example of a scholar devoted to his yeshivah was that of Jacob b. Moses Moellin "who would live in a house alone with his students, next to the house of his wife the 'rabbanit,' while her sons were with her in her house; nor did he enjoy a mite of his wife's property during her lifetime or eat with her. Only the communal leaders supplied him with sufficient means to support the students of his yeshivah, while he himself earned a livelihood as a marriage broker" (*Maharil*, 76a). His yeshivah was attended not only by poor scholars, but by "those rich and pampered youths who had tables made for them – when they sat down in their seats they could turn the table in any direction they pleased, and kept many books on them" (*Leket Yosher*, ed. by J. Freimann (1903), YD 39). The debate with Christianity did not die down in this period, and Yom Tov Lipmann *Muelhausen raised it to new heights of sharp polemical argument in his *Sefer ha-Niẓẓaḥon* (see *Disputations).

Emperors resorted to the most extreme measures in order to extort money from the Jews. The most extortionate was Sigismund who demanded one-third of their property. In 1407, Rupert of Wittelsbach appointed Israel b. Isaac of Nuremberg to the office of *Hochmeister* (chief rabbi), and sought to give him sole powers of sequestering Jewish property. The communities, however, refused to acknowledge the authority of a Jew appointed by gentiles and eventually the king abandoned his attempt. Sigismund named several "chief rabbis" for the purpose of improving the collection of the oppressive taxes that he imposed upon the Jews, including well-known rabbinical leaders. It is not clear, however, to what extent these appointments were recognized by the communities, and the responsa literature of the period contains no specific references to such appointments. At any rate, a proposal made by Seligmann Oppenheim Bing (see *Bingen) to convene a conference which would create a chief rabbinate was rejected by most of his rabbinical colleagues.

In sum, the last few centuries of the Middle Ages were a period of severe and difficult changes for the Jews of Germany. The center of gravity, both in population and intellectual activity, shifted steadily eastward. From their position as desirable traders the Jews were driven by the religious and social forces which gained ascendancy in the 12th and 13th centuries into the despised occupation of usury. The 50 years from 1298 to 1348 took a tragic toll on both life and property. Despite the trials and tribulations of the Middle Ages the Jews of Germany displayed their own creative powers in halakhic literature and religious poetry, and in the establishment of communal institutions. Although they did not disdain the innocent joys of life, they were exacting in the application of the Law and were imbued with the spirit of ascetic piety. *Kiddush ha-Shem* – martyrdom for the sanctification of God – and their particular pietism (*Ḥasidut Ashkenaz*), in both theory and practice, were authentic contributions of German Jewry to the realm of supreme Jewish values.

[Haim Hillel Ben-Sasson]

From the Reformation To World War I

The age of the Reformation was characterized by upheavals in all spheres of life – political, economic, social, religious, and cultural. It also produced new attitudes to Jews and Judaism often of a conflicting nature. When the Middle Ages came to an end, the Jews had suffered expulsion from most German cities, as well as from many other localities and areas: *Heilbronn 1475, *Tuebingen 1477, Bamberg 1478, *Esslingen 1490, Mecklenburg 1492, Magdeburg 1493, *Reutlingen 1495, Wuerttemberg and Wuerzburg 1498, Nuremberg and Ulm 1499, *Noerdlingen 1507, the state of Brandenburg 1510, Regensburg 1519, Rottenburg 1520, and *Saxony 1537. Jews were prohibited from practicing most occupations. Many now had to earn a livelihood from hawking haberdashery, peddling, moneylending, and pawnbroking in the small towns and villages. Interest rates were subject to severe regulations, and wearing of the humiliating badge was enforced. In various states Jews were prohibited from building new synagogues and from holding discussions on religious questions without Church authorization. However, Emperor *Charles V (at assemblies of the Reichstag in Augsburg 1530, Regensburg 1541, Speyer 1544, and Augsburg 1548) authorized in full the charters granted to the Jews by previous emperors.

At the very time that humanism was coming to the fore, the libels against the Jews, accusing them of using human blood for ritual purposes and of desecrating the Host, were continually resuscitated, and resulted in further killings and expulsions: *Endingen 1470, Regensburg 1476, *Passau 1477, *Trent 1475, Sternberg (Mecklenburg) 1492, Engen (Swabia) 1495, Berlin 1500, Langendenzlingen 1503, Frankfurt 1504, Brandenburg 1520. Some humanists acknowledged the religious and moral values inherent in Judaism and took up its defense, but in folk literature and the mystery plays the Jew was depicted as a usurer and bloodsucker, as the Christ-killer and reviler of the Virgin Mary, an associate of Satan and ally of the Turk. Yet the humanist Johann *Reuchlin led a courageous struggle against the defamation of the Talmud and called for equal rights for the Jews, as "cocitizens of the Roman Empire." Martin *Luther, after failing to win them, showed vehement hatred for the Jews, and in his writings called upon the secular rulers to deprive them of their prayer books and Talmud, to destroy their homes, to put them on forced labor or expel them from the land. There were, however, other reforming movements, especially the Anabaptists, who appreciated the Jewish Bible and Judaism and displayed sympathy and love for the Jews. The Jews were also caught in the struggle between the emperor, on the one hand, and the princes and cities, on the other. The emperors, whose power was on the decline, made efforts to retain their control of the Jews, to protect them against local potentates, and to remain the sole beneficiaries of the taxes paid by the Jews. The opposing forces, bent upon establishing their independence of the emperor, also tried to extend their supremacy over the Jews and tax them. When attacking the Jews the princes and city governments were not only motivated by the traditional hatred, but also by their desire to reduce the emperor's authority and force the Jews to seek protection from them rather than the emperor. As a result, the Jews were often forced to pay taxes to two or even three different authorities. This situation, however, also prevented a general expulsion of the Jews from Germany at a time when this had become the lot of the Jews in most countries of Western Europe. The Jews also became the subject of controversy between the local rulers and the Estates (*Staende*) – the nobility, the ruling clergy, and the privileged townsmen. The latter had the power of levying taxes and tried to extend their power in various ways, including control of the Jews. To some degree the persecutions of Jews in the 15th and 16th centuries, which coincided with a rise in the power of the Estates, were the result of this struggle; thus, the Host desecration libel against Jews in Brandenburg, in 1510, was also an expression of the opposition of the Estates to Elector Joachim I, who had given several Jews permission to settle in the country, despite the Estates' objections. Other internal differences also affected the situation of the Jews, such as the antagonism between the princes and the landed gentry, and the cities. The former would permit Jews who had been expelled from the cities to settle on their lands, thereby gaining additional taxpayers who were also skilled merchants able to compete with the hated townsmen and provide the princes and estate-owners with better and cheaper supplies. The sweeping economic changes that took place in the 16th and 17th centuries also had their effect upon the situation of the Jews. The early manifestations of nascent capitalism caused much suffering among the masses of the people. Failing to grasp the meaning of the social and economic upheaval, they found in the Jew a scapegoat on whom they could blame their troubles, whom they had always been taught to regard as their enemy and exploiter. The demands for equality and justice which emerged from the social unrest in the cities included a call for the expulsion of the Jews "for the devastating harm that their presence brings to the plain people." The patrician class, which had supported the Jews in the cities, made way to the guilds, who adhered to a narrow social and economic outlook and would not tolerate any competition. They were also opposed to foreigners, especially if these were infidels. The numerous instances of expulsion that occurred in this period were to a large degree the outcome of these new developments in the structure of the economy. An outstanding Jewish personality of this period was *Joseph (Joselman) b. Gershon of Rosheim who in the course of his life made tremendous efforts to ease the lot of German Jewry and enable them to withstand the onslaught of the diverse forces arraigned against them.

THE ABSOLUTIST PRINCIPALITIES. Absolutism, followed by enlightened absolutism, and the mercantile system of economy introduced into kingdoms and principalities, brought far-reaching changes in the situation of the Jews. In its enlightened and mercantilist version, the system that now evolved regarded interests of state as supreme and attached the greatest value to money, commerce, and increase of population; it also came to judge the Jews from the point of view of these interests. The taxes paid by the Jews were highly lucrative, for they were among the few paid directly into the coffers of the ruler, and did not depend upon the consent of the Estates. Rulers welcomed wealthy Jews with capital and economic experience who could make important contributions to internal and international trade and to the development of industry. In *Hamburg, Portuguese Jews who had been expelled from their native country founded the Hamburg Bank which promoted commerce with Spain and Portugal and traded in tobacco, wine, textiles, cotton, etc. Saxony invited Jews to the *Leipzig Fair in order to forge new trade links with Switzerland, Holland, Italy, and England. Karl Ludwig, the enlightened elector of the Palatinate – a land which had been devastated by the Thirty Years' War – invited Jews to settle there in order to help restore trade and found industries. In Brandenburg, Frederick William, "the Great Elector," permitted 50 Jewish families who had been driven out of Austria to settle in Berlin and elsewhere, granting them extensive privileges and unrestricted trade throughout the country (1670/71). Jews were allowed to settle in *Frankfurt on the Oder, in order to infuse new life into the fair held in that city; in *Cleves, in order to facilitate transit trade with Holland; in *Pomerania and East Prussia, in order to attract commerce to the eastern portion of the country; and in Berlin itself, in order to make it the commercial center of Brandenburg and northeast Germany. The regime of the absolutist states instituted a system of supervision of the Jews which both regulated every detail of their lives and exploited them (see *Frederick II of Prussia). An unending series of laws and regulations, ordinances, decrees, patents, and privileges, circumscribed the entry and settlement of Jews, the length of their stay, the number of marriages and number of children, matters of inheritance and guardianship, the conduct of business and their moral behavior, their taxes, and even the goods they had to buy, for instance, china – *Judenporzellan* – in Prussia. Violation of these provisions resulted in severe penalties (and see *Austria, *Berlin, *Prussia).

SOCIAL AND SPIRITUAL LIFE. In their internal organization, the Jewish communities, up to the 18th century, continued to base themselves in the main upon the pattern established in the Middle Ages. In many of the communities that had reestablished themselves after an earlier expulsion, leadership became largely a function of wealth. It was not until after the *Chmielnicki massacres of 1648 and the Russian-Polish war (1654–55) that scholars, preachers, and teachers from Poland and Lithuania who took refuge in Germany began to play an important role in Jewish education. At the end of the 17th century the absolutist rulers adopted a policy of interfering in the internal affairs of the communities; as a result, the authority of the autonomous community organs was gradually reduced – a development which corresponded with the abolition of the powers that had previously been vested in the guilds and city councils.

Following upon the Thirty Years' War, proper *conferences of rabbis and community leaders were convened, to which "all the Jewish residents" of the country were invited, in order to decide upon a fair distribution of the tax burden. The powers of these conferences were severely restricted; they could not be held without official permission, and the authorities fought to confine their activities to tax collection. Nevertheless, the conferences in fact became an overall community forum and dealt with all matters that had traditionally been the concern of Jewish autonomous bodies (and see *Landjudenschaft). The authority of the rabbis was reduced in the 18th century by both the secular leaders of the communities and by the authorities, and when *emancipation was introduced, they were divested of their juridical powers. The ferment and crisis caused by the *Shabbateans had a profound effect upon Jewish social and spiritual life in Germany at the end of the 17th century. The two great scholars and spiritual leaders of this period were Jair Ḥayyim *Bacharach and Ẓevi Hirsch *Ashkenazi. The memoirs of *Glueckel of Hameln reflect the life of well-to-do Jews in the 17th to 18th centuries – their business methods, piety, family life, and ties maintained with neighbors. She gives a vivid description of messianic fervor in Germany with the appearance of Shabbetai Ẓevi. *Messianism and *Kabbalah remained at the center of Jewish spiritual life in Germany until the middle of the 18th century as a result of the passions aroused by the fierce controversy between Jonathan *Eybeschuetz and Jacob *Emden. At the same time, affluent Jews in urban communities began to adapt their ways of life to that of the Christian burghers. Around 1700 young women took Italian or French language lessons with Christian teachers, and entertained themselves learning how to draw or play a musical instrument. The deficiencies of the Jewish educational system, which took little if any interest in the education of girls and failed to provide a well-founded and consequential curriculum for boys, were decried by many authors of that time. Towards the close of the early modern era, the social, economic, religious, and cultural profile of German Jewry was highly diversified.

COURT JEWS. A characteristic innovation of the era of absolutism and the mercantile system was the appearance of the *Court Jews. Some of the Court Jews abandoned Jewish tradition and their ties with the Jewish people; others remained faithful and used their wealth and position to help their brethren. In some instances their intervention succeeded in averting anti-Jewish measures; they built synagogues at their expense, published religious books, and founded institutions of learning. Court Jews were instrumental in reestablishing communities that had been destroyed during the Reformation (e.g., in *Dresden, Leipzig, *Kassel, *Brunswick, and *Halle). The precariousness of their position could affect both themselves and the Jewish community; as they were dependent upon the whim of the absolutist ruler, any change in his attitude could mean their downfall, and this was often followed by anti-Jewish measures of a general nature. In fact the Court Jews led a double life, often marked by tragedy – as instanced by such figures as Samuel *Oppenheimer, Samson *Wertheimer, and Joseph Suess *Oppenheimer.

HASKALAH. Toward the end of the 18th century there were significant changes in the situation of German Jewry. Large parts of Poland were incorporated into Prussia and their substantial Jewish population became a reservoir of manpower and spiritual values for German Jewry as a whole. At the same time the growth of the Jewish population in major urban centers – such as Berlin – where the Jewish communities were comparatively new and unencumbered by age-old local tradition and custom furthered the turn toward *assimilation in German society. The background to this development was the Haskalah (enlightenment) movement, which was met in its aspirations by the claims of enlightened gentiles for the "moral and social betterment" of the Jews and the abolishment of all social and legal discrimination (see also C.W. von *Dohm; W. von *Humboldt; *Joseph II; G.E. *Lessing). These developments gave rise to considerable ferment in German Jewry. Moses *Mendelssohn, who wrote and published in Hebrew and German, and whose works made major contributions to pre-Kantian German philosophy as well as to Jewish spiritual life, was widely esteemed as the representative figure of German Jewry in the enlightenment period. Rabbis of the period, such as David Tevele *Schiff of Lissa and Akiva *Eger, took up the struggle against the "enlightened" and the assimilationists, but the bans and excommunications they issued failed to turn the tide.

EFFECTS OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION. The emancipation granted to the Jews of France by the *French Revolution was soon carried over into Germany by the revolutionary armies. In the states on the left bank of the Rhine, which were incorporated into the French Republic, the Jews became French citizens. When more German states were conquered by *Napoleon, and the Confederation of the Rhine was created, these states, upon French insistence, also declared equal rights for the Jews and granted them freedom to engage in commerce on the same basis as all other citizens (e.g., in Wuerttemberg and the grand duchy of *Berg). Napoleon's "infamous decree" of 1808, which imposed restrictions on Jewish trade and commerce and limited the freedom of movement, was a serious setback to Jewish emancipation in the areas under French domination but was not reinforced in 1818. In Frankfurt and in the Hanseatic cities emancipation was announced in 1811. In 1808 the Jews of *Baden were declared "free citizens of the state for all time" and in 1809 a "Supreme Israelite Council" was formed in that state, which had the task of reforming Jewish education so that the Jews should reach the same cultural and spiritual standards as their environment and eventually achieve full equality. In Prussia, emancipation of the Jews was part of the reforms introduced by H.F.K. von Stein and K.A. *Hardenberg after the defeat suffered by the kingdom in 1806/07. This was followed by the edict of 1812 granting equal rights and privileges to the Jews, and the abolition of the special taxes imposed on them. In Bavaria, the edict of 1813 declared the Jews full citizens of the state but severely restricted their freedom of residence. These regulations, aimed at limiting and, if possible, reducing the number of Jews, were a main factor behind the massive emigration of young Jews from Bavaria to the United States in the following decades.

POST-NAPOLEONIC REACTION. The fall of Napoleon and the victory of the Holy Alliance resulted, almost everywhere, in the restoration of the previous state of affairs and the withdrawal of the equality that the Jews had achieved. Although the Congress of *Vienna had decided that the rights granted to the Jews in the various German states should be retained, the newly restored governments interpreted this decision as not applicable to the rights given to the Jews by the French or by the governments appointed by Napoleon. The "Jewish statutes," enacted by the Prussian provincial governments, repealed the 1812 emancipation edict in fact, although the edict as such was not canceled. Anti-Jewish feelings revived in the post-Napoleonic period, not only because the political and economic emancipation of the Jews was regarded as one of the Napoleonic reforms that had to be removed, but also as part of a spiritual and cultural reaction, an expression of a Christian-Teutonic, romantic and nationalist *Weltanschauung*. The new conservatism sought to replace the ideals of equality of the French Revolution with the harsh tradition of the past, and regarded the patriarchal state and feudal institutions as the natural political way of life for the German people. This view of state and society was accompanied by an emotional religious revival, and the concept of a "Christian-Teutonic" or "German-Christian" state came into being. In the effort to forge a German national identity the Jews, as "strangers within," were often portrayed as the negative counterpart of the Germans. A sharp literary debate was waged over the Jewish problem and the place of the Jews in the German state and society. Opinions on the preconditions, the pace, and the range of further emancipatory steps varied greatly, and the more vehement advocates of a "German-Christian" state rejected such steps altogether unless the Jews would renounce Judaism. The clash between the rationalist and romantic concept of society largely marked the relations between Germans and Jews in the period from 1815 to 1848. Anti-Jewish agitation was especially intense in the years after the Congress of Vienna, and in 1819 the *Hep-Hep riots spread across large parts of Germany and even Denmark.

ASSIMILATION AND REFORM. At the beginning of the 19th century, the social, economic, and legal conditions as well as the religious and cultural horizons of Jewish life were more diverse than ever before in German-Jewish history. The cultural and intellectual reorientation of the Jewish minority was closely linked with its struggle for equal rights and social acceptance. While earlier generations had used solely the Yiddish and Hebrew languages among themselves, and few had possessed even a limited reading ability in German, the use of Yiddish was now gradually abandoned, and Hebrew was by and large reduced to liturgical usage. Elementary schooling was made mandatory for Jewish children – in Baden in 1809, in Prussia in 1824 – and remaining Jewish educational institutions were put under the surveillance of state authorities. The juridical competence of the Rabbinate, already weakened in the era of Absolutism in most German states, was further reduced, as was Jewish communal autonomy in general. While the need for profound changes and an adaptation of Jewish life and Judaism to the circumstances and necessities of the modern era was widely acknowledged, opinions on the nature, the direction, and the extent of such changes differed greatly. Jewish intellectuals like Rachel *Varnhagen, Henriette *Hertz, Eduard *Gans, Friedrich Julius *Stahl, August *Neander, Ludwig *Boerne, and Heinrich *Heine converted to Christianity, but the overall importance of baptism, and the numerical loss it inflicted on German Jewry in this era, have often been overstated. Others sought to preserve what they regarded as the essence of Judaism. They initiated *Reform in Jewish religion, to ease the burden of the precepts which prevented Jews from establishing close relations with the people among whom they lived, and to stress and develop in Judaism spiritual and ethical concepts of faith and life. This was the attitude of the "Society for the Culture and Science of Judaism," among whose founders were Isaac Levin *Auerbach, E. Gans, H. Heine, Isaac Marcus *Jost, Moses *Moser, and Leopold *Zunz. The desire to employ the criteria and methods of modern scholarship in the field of traditional Jewish learning gave rise to the *Wissenschaft des Judentums, which soon made Germany the center of scientific study of Jewish history and culture. The actual reformers – Abraham *Geiger, Samuel *Holdheim, and their associates, sought to reshape the Jewish faith so as to make it compatible with the spirit and culture of the time and facilitate the achievement of equal rights and creation of close relations with Christians. These reformers were violently opposed by the leaders of traditional Judaism of the time, and bitter strife ensued. Other trends emerged which attempted to find a compromise between the two extremes – the "historical-positive" school of Zacharias *Frankel, and "*Neo-Orthodoxy," founded by Samson Raphael *Hirsch and Azriel (Israel) *Hildesheimer. In several places the Neo-Orthodox, who were unwilling to retain organizational ties with their Reform brethren, founded separate communities. In 1876 Prussia adopted the *Austrittsgesetz* ("Law on Withdrawal from the Jewish Community") under which Jews were permitted to dissociate from the existing Jewish community for religious reasons, and yet be recognized as Jews. By this act the compulsory membership of the community, provided for in a law adopted in 1847, was abolished; the "separatist" Orthodox communities (*Austrittsgemeinde*) were legalized and at the same time individual Jews were enabled to leave the organized Jewish community without having to go through formal conversion.

ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL LIFE. From the political and sociological aspect, the history of German Jewry in the first half of the 19th century is marked by their economic and social rise, and by the struggle for emancipation. (See Table: Socio-Economic Structure – Jews.) The political reaction of the "Holy Alliance" period, while succeeding in depriving the Jews of most of their political achievements, had little effect upon their rights in economic and commercial matters. Jews entered all branches of economy in the cities, contributing to the development of industry and capitalism and benefiting from it. At the end of the 18th century most of the German Jews still lived in small towns, their communities rarely exceeding a few dozen families; even in the "large" communities such as Hamburg or Frankfurt they numbered no more than several hundred families (1,000 to 2,000 persons). In the course of the 19th century many Jews left the small towns for the large centers of commerce. Augmented also by the influx of Jews from the east, the communities expanded rapidly, and by the end of the century most of the Jews of Germany lived in the large cities – Breslau, Leipzig, Cologne, in addition to Hamburg and Frankfurt, and particularly in Berlin, which eventually comprised one-third of German Jewry. The standard of living of many Jewish merchants, industrialists, and bankers equaled that of the German middle and upper classes. A large class of Jews in the liberal professions came into being and Jews took an increasingly active part in cultural life, in literature, and science. This development served to step up the Jewish demand for emancipation. Both Reform and Neo-Orthodox felt that the grant of equal rights should not depend upon any demand for diminution of their Jewish identity according to the conceptions of each trend. In this they encountered opposition even on the part of Christian liberals, such as H.E.G. Paulus and H. von *Treitschke, who held that so long as the Jews clung to their religious practice and maintained their specific communal cohesion they were not entitled to participation in the political life of the country. While these liberals did not demand apostasy, they felt that full rights should not be granted to the Jews unless they abandoned their distinctive practices, such as *kashrut*, observance of the Sabbath, and even circumcision. The Jews, on the other hand, encouraged by their economic progress and the rise of their educational level, took strong exception to this view, voicing their opinion that equality was a natural right that could not be withheld from them, whatever the pretext. Convinced that their struggle was intimately connected with the full social and political liberation of the German people and the creation of a free, democratic, and liberal German state, they pleaded their cause before the German public in word and print and took an active part in the German movement for national and political liberation. The chief spokesman of the Jewish struggle for emancipation was Gabriel *Riesser; others were Johann *Jacoby and Ludwig Boerne.

Jewish Socio-Economic Structure, Germany (percent)

	1895	1907
Agriculture	1.4	1.3
Industry and trades	19.3	22.0
Commerce and transportation	56.0	50.6
Hired workers	0.4	0.6
Public services and liberal professions	6.1	6.5
Self-employed with no profession	16.7	19.0

EMANCIPATION. Jews took part in the 1848–49 revolution and there were several Jews among the members of the Frankfurt Parliament (including Gabriel Riesser). The "Basic Laws of the German People" promulgated by this parliament extended equal rights to the Jews by accepting the principle that religious affiliation should in no way influence the full enjoyment of civil and political rights. Ironically, anti-Jewish violence was widespread in many areas during the revolutionary unrest, and often aimed at thwarting further emancipatory steps. The achievements of 1848–49 were curtailed by the reaction that set in during the 1850s, following the collapse of the revolutionary movement; however, the rise of the middle classes, including the Jews, did not come to a halt, and liberal tendencies continued to make headway. Nor did the Jews themselves give up the struggle. In 1869 the North German Confederation abolished the civil and political restrictions that still applied to the members of certain religions; after the 1870 war, the same law was adopted by the south German states and included in the constitution of the newly established German Reich. Many German Jews now felt that the attainment of political and civil equality had also erased their separate Jewish identity, not only in their own estimation but in that of the Germans as well. In the period from 1871 to 1914, German Jews indeed became a part of the German people from the constitutional point of view, and, in a large measure, also from the practical point of view. According to the law, every sphere of German life became open to them, whether economic, cultural, or social, with one exception: they were not permitted to participate in the government of the country. But usually, in spite of the constitutional guarantees, Jews were not appointed to official positions, nor could they become officers in the army. In general, Jews were also barred from appointments as full professors at the universities, although there were large numbers of Jews of lower academic rank. Jews were active in the economy of the country and some became leading bankers, industrialists, and businessmen; there was also a large number of Jews in the liberal professions. Jews were among the founders and leaders of the political parties; the Liberal and Social-Democrat parties usually had a number of Jewish members in the Reichstag. In the sciences and technology, in

Jewish Population in Germany, 1871–2001

Year	Jewish population
1871	512,158
1880	562,612
1890	567,884
1900	586,833
1910	615,021
1925	564,379
1933	503,000[1]
1939	234,000[2]
1941	164,000
1942	51,000
1943	31,910
1944	14,574
1946	156,705[3]
1948	153,000[3]
1949	55,000[3]
1952	23,000
1957	30,000
1964	31,000
1969	30,000
1994	45,000
2001	103,000

1 Jews defined by religion.
2 Jews defined by Nuremberg law.
3 Estimated number includes displaced persons.

literature, the press, the theater and the arts the share of Jews was disproportionately high.

The Jewish population in Germany numbered 512,158 in 1871 (1.25% of the total), 562,612 in 1880 (1.24%), 567,884 in 1890 (1.15%), 586,833 in 1900 (1.04%), and 615,021 in 1910 (0.95%). (See Table: Jewish Population in Germany.) Demographically, German Jewry shared many of the general characteristics of a largely urbanized population element and was among the first communities to feel the effects of the practice of birth control. At the beginning of the 20th century natural increase among German Jewry came to a complete end. It was the steady influx from the east which enabled German Jewry to maintain its numerical strength.

ANTISEMITISM. In the period following the foundation of the German Reich a shadow fell across the tranquility and prosperity enjoyed by German Jewry which darkened increasingly: the manifestation of antisemitism among the German public. Although its virulence varied, it existed throughout this period, and took on the form of political movements. It did not, however, affect the formal legal status of the Jews who therefore regarded antisemitism as mainly a social, cultural, and spiritual problem; its potential political strength and danger were not recognized by either Jews or non-Jews.

INTERNAL LIFE. Despite widespread assimilation, independent Jewish creativity did not come to an end. For a significant part of German Jews, Jewish consciousness retained its strength. The constant influx of Jews from the east ("Ostjuden") was also an important factor in preventing total assimilation. The presence of these newcomers created a certain amount of tension, both among Germans who resented their successful integration into economic life, and among the "old" Jewish families, who disapproved of the Ostjuden manners and of the way they had of making themselves conspicuous in the community. Zionism had an early start among German Jewry. Although small in numbers, the Zionists were well organized and worked effectively for their cause. German Jews were among the leaders of the World Zionist Movement; two of the presidents of the World Zionist Organization – D. *Wolfsohn and O. *Warburg – were German Jews, as was the founder and organizer of agricultural settlement in Ereẓ Israel, A. *Ruppin. After the death of Theodor Herzl, the headquarters of the Zionist Organization was moved to Germany and remained there even during World War I. By their high standard of general education and strict separation from Reform Jews, the German Neo-Orthodox exercised a profound influence upon observant Jews in other parts of the world. They had created a new type of Jew, who could be a qualified professional man, highly educated and versed in the manners of the world, and yet at the same time strictly observant of religious practice. It was men of this type who became the leaders of the world movement of *Agudat Israel after the founding of that organization in 1912. Orthodox chaplains serving in the German forces during World War I did a great deal to spread the principles of Agudat Israel among East European Jews. The confrontation with East European Jewish life also had a profound influence on German Jews serving in the forces; they were attracted by the wholesomeness of the life led by the Jewish masses, and many became convinced Zionists. German Jewish life was well organized. Organizations were established for the consolidation of the communities and for combating antisemitism (see *Centralverein), for social welfare (the *"Hilfsverein"), for research and studies (the rabbinical seminars: the *Breslau Juedisch-theologisches Seminar, established in 1854; the Berlin *Hochschule fuer die Wissenschaft des Judentums, founded in 1872; the *Rabbinerseminar fuer das orthodoxe Judentum in Berlin, also founded in 1872; the Historical Commission established in 1885, etc.). All were active and highly efficient. Throughout the second half of the 19th century and the early years of the 20th, German Jewry occupied a highly respected place among world Jewry, exercising a profound influence on Jewish centers in Eastern and Western Europe, in America, and in Ereẓ Israel.

[Samuel Miklos Stern]

1914–1933

The history of German Jewry in the interwar period is sharply divided into two chapters: the period up to 1933, which was a time of great prosperity; and the period which began in 1933, a year which was to mark the beginning of the tragic end of German Jewry.

Over 100,000 Jews had served in the German army during World War I, and 12,000 Jews fell in battle. At the end of the war, when the monarchy had fallen and a democratic republic was established, it seemed that the Jews had achieved full emancipation. Any restrictions that were still in force were abolished by the Weimar Republic, and Jews could now participate in every sphere of public life. Their share and influence in the political life of the country reached unprecedented proportions. Many of the leaders of the democratic and socialist parties were Jews, as were two of the six "people's commissars" which made up the first post-revolutionary German government (O. *Landsberg and H. *Haase). In Bavaria, Jews played an even more significant role; the head of the revolutionary government was a Jew, Kurt *Eisner, and the majority of the prominent representatives of the two Soviet-type governments set up after Eisner's murder consisted of Jewish intellectuals (Eugen *Leviné, Gustav *Landauer, Ernst *Toller, etc.). The inquiry commission which was to determine the responsibility of the military leadership for Germany's defeat had among its members Oscar *Cohn, a Social Democrat and Zionist. The Weimar Constitution was drafted by a Jew, Hugo *Preuss; another Jew, Walther *Rathenau, first became minister of reconstruction and later foreign minister: his murder by young extremists was motivated largely by antisemitism. Several Jews were appointed to high positions in the civil service, especially in Prussia. The rise of Jews to positions of political power added to their economic and social advance, but also increased hostility among the population. Antisemitic propaganda exploited a series of financial scandals and bankruptcies

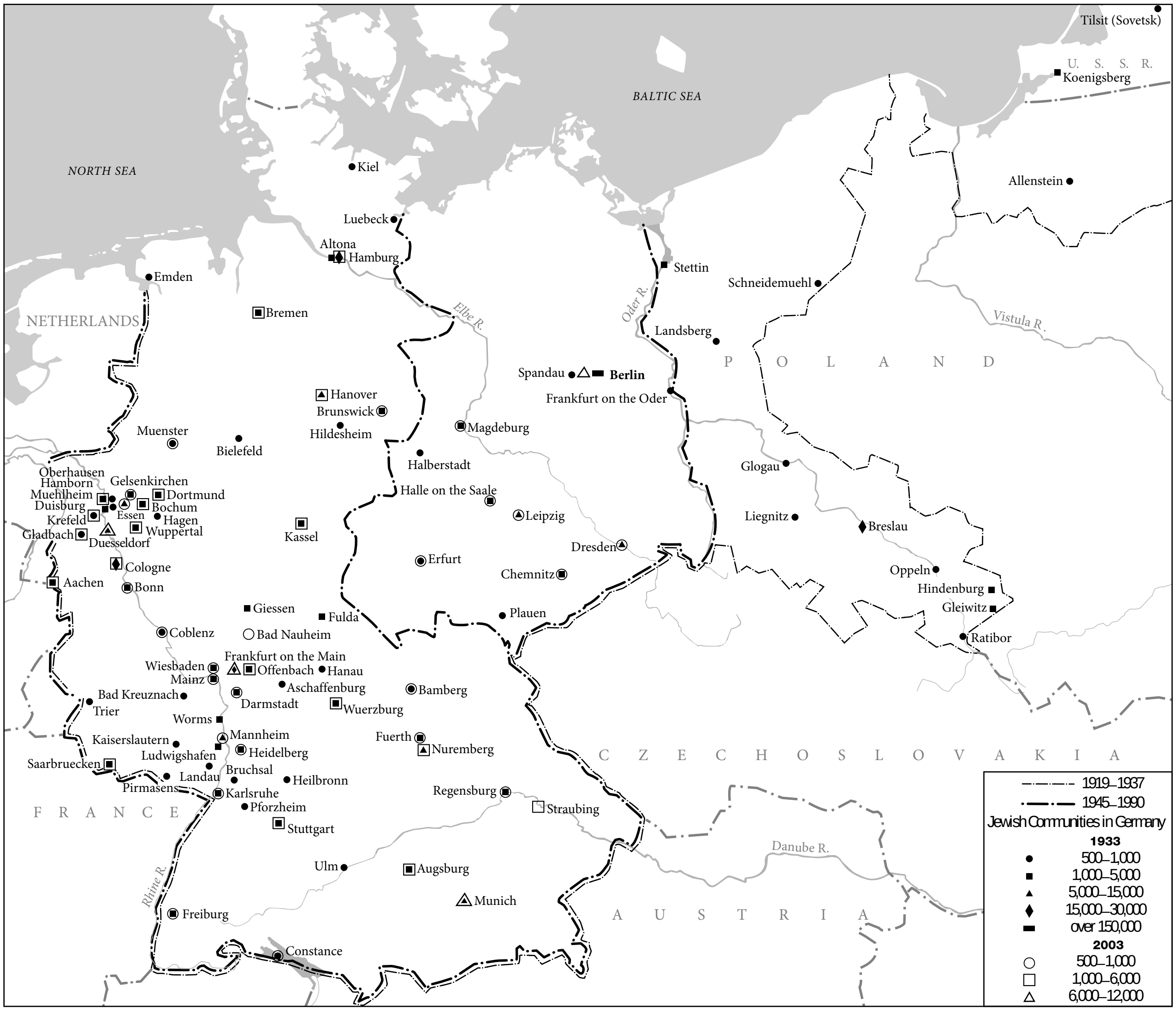
Tilsit (Sovetsk)
U. S. S. R.
Koenigsberg
BALTIC SEA
NORTH SEA
Kiel
Allenstein
Luebeck
Altona
Hamburg
Stettin
Schneidemuehl
Emden
NETHERLANDS
Bremen
Elbe R.
Oder R.
Vistula R.
Landsberg
P O L A N D
Spandau
Berlin
Frankfurt on the Oder
Hanover
Brunswick
Hildesheim
Magdeburg
Muenster
Bielefeld
Halberstadt
Glogau
Oberhausen
Hamborn
Gelsenkirchen
Muehlheim
Dortmund
Duisburg
Essen
Bochum
Krefeld
Hagen
Gladbach
Wuppertal
Duesseldorf
Halle on the Saale
Leipzig
Liegnitz
Breslau
Kassel
Dresden
Erfurt
Cologne
Chemnitz
Oppeln
Aachen
Bonn
Hindenburg
Gleiwitz
Giessen
Fulda
Plauen
Coblenz
Bad Nauheim
Ratibor
Frankfurt on the Main
Wiesbaden
Offenbach
Hanau
Mainz
Aschaffenburg
Bamberg
Bad Kreuznach
Trier
Darmstadt
Worms
Wuerzburg
Mannheim
Kaiserslautern
Fuerth
Ludwigshafen
Heidelberg
Nuremberg
C Z E C H O S L O V A K I A
Saarbruecken
Bruchsal
Landau
Heilbronn
Pirmasens
Karlsruhe
Regensburg
Straubing
F R A N C E
Pforzheim
Stuttgart
Danube R.
Ulm
Augsburg
Rhine R.
Munich
Freiburg
A U S T R I A
Constance
1919–1937
1945–1990
Jewish Communities in Germany
1933
● 500–1,000
■ 1,000–5,000
▲ 5,000–15,000
♦ 15,000–30,000
▬ over 150,000
2003
○ 500–1,000
□ 1,000–6,000
△ 6,000–12,000

Major Jewish communities in Germany in 1933 and 2003.

in which Jews were involved. The background to these events was the great social and economic crisis which gripped Germany as a result of the terrible inflation after the war. Right-wing circles in Germany, anxious to divert public attention from the real beneficiaries of inflation – the "pure Aryan" industrial and financial barons and their giant enterprises – were more than ready to use the anti-Jewish propaganda for their purposes. The middle class, heavily hit by the economic upheaval, the nobility and the officer class who felt their honor besmirched by the defeat and whose privileges were abolished in the revolution, were all easily swayed by the idea that it was the Jews who were to blame for all of Germany's misfortunes – that "the Jews had stabbed the undefeated German army in the back," and thus forced it to surrender; that Capitalism and "Marxism" (i.e., Bolshevism and Socialism) were the result of the machinations of "World Jewry." In the 1920s, however, the full implications of this antisemitic mood had not yet become apparent, and the situation of the Jews seemed satisfactory. It was not until 1933, when the Nazis came to power and based their program upon the "doctrine of race" – i.e., hatred of Jews – that the role of the "Jewish problem" for the internal historical development of Germany stood fully revealed.

Throughout the Weimar Republic antisemitism did not disappear. Even the assimilationists among the Jews had to acknowledge this fact, and some reacted by over-emphasizing their German nationalism, thereby hoping to set themselves apart from the rest of the Jews. As a result of the large increase of Jewish immigration from Eastern Europe, the old difference between "Eastern" and "Western" Jews became more pronounced and had many practical implications. Jewish organizations did their best to facilitate the absorption of the newcomers and created special institutions for this purpose, such as the Welfare Bureau for Jewish Workers. Among a certain segment of German Jews there was now also deep admiration of an "authentic" East European culture, as can be seen in the enthusiastic reception of Yiddish and Hebrew theater groups, the popularity of Martin Buber's ḥasidic tales, and new cultural creations idealizing East European Jewry, such as Arnold Zweig's *Das Osjüdische Antlitz* ("The Eastern Jewish Countenance") with drawings of Hermann Struck. According to the 1925 census, there were 564,379 Jews in Germany, representing 0.9% of the total population. One-third lived in Berlin, another third in the other large cities, while the remaining third lived in 1,800 different places with organized Jewish communities and another 1,200 places where there were no organized communities. (See Map: Germany.) Most of the Jews made their living in commerce and transportation and in the liberal professions; in the large cities, one-third or even more of the lawyers and doctors were Jews; they also played a prominent role in the press, in literature, in the theater, and in other forms of entertainment. In general, the Jews belonged to the middle class and were well off. Although many had lost their savings in the inflation, they recovered from the effects of this crisis, and when the Nazis came to power, there was again a great deal of capital in the hands of individual Jews and the Jewish communities. The absorption of Jews into all spheres of German life was accompanied by record numbers of mixed marriages, and an increasing number of Jews formally "dissociated" themselves from the community.

COMMUNAL ORGANIZATION. Between the two World Wars, the Jewish communities presented a model of organization. The Weimar Constitution retained official recognition of the Jewish communities as entities recognized by public law and their right to collect dues. In general, a Jewish community had a representative body, elected by the community members, and an executive committee, elected in turn by the representative body and consisting of three to seven members. A point under dispute was the voting rights of Jews of foreign nationality (the Ostjuden), who in some communities amounted to a substantial proportion of the total membership. Although the "foreigners" had equal rights to the religious and social services provided by the community, in some places they had no equal right to vote, or were given that right only after long years of local residence. The fiercest fights for their voting rights were in Saxony, where East European Jews constituted the majority and German Jews insisted on keeping control over the communities by creating separate ballots for the two groups. By the end of the Weimar Republic, however, most communities had given equal voting rights to non-German citizens and women. The longstanding domination of the communities by the Liberals was shattered in a few communities, most notably in Berlin, where in 1926 a coalition of Zionist, Orthodox, and East European Jews received a majority of the votes. In 1930, the Liberals were voted back in. In the various states of which the Reich was made up, there existed "state unions" of Jewish communities. For a long time the need was felt for a national union of Jewish communities, but there were differences of opinion as to the form this should take; some thought that it should be a union of individual communities, others preferred a national union of the state unions, while a third proposal called for a kind of Jewish parliament, elected by direct democratic vote (the last plan was supported by the Zionists). By the time a national union was finally established, shortly before Hitler came to power, the organizational form of the communities, and the tasks they faced, were about to undergo a radical change. Apart from the religious and cultural tasks they performed, the community organizations were most active in social welfare; this was true of the period preceding 1933, and became even more important after that turning point. In 1917 a central welfare bureau for German Jewry was set up, the *Zentralwohlfahrtstelle, whose membership consisted of the communities as well as of many private institutions, trusts, and societies. The bureau cooperated with the main non-Jewish welfare agencies in the country, as well as with the American Jewish *Joint Distribution Committee, and published its own monthly. It supervised hospitals, clinics, counseling centers, bureaus, and a variety of other public institutions, and had some 2,000 welfare agencies affiliated with it. In the large communities expenditure on welfare amounted to as much as 30% of the total budget. Agencies concerned with youth, and with immigrants passing through Germany on their way overseas, also played an important role. In addition to the organizations based on the communities, there were also a large number of other societies, as well as cultural and scientific institutions. Jewish life in general was marked by the struggle between Jewish nationalism and various degrees of assimilation. Zionism succeeded in revolutionizing the life of the communities, and the councils, in addition to "notables," now also contained democratically elected members who represented national-Jewish interests.

The following were the main organizations of German Jewry in the period: Centralverein (CV) deutscher Staatsbuerger juedischen Glaubens ("Central Organization of German Citizens of the Jewish Faith"); Zionistische Vereinigung fuer Deutschland (ZVFD; "Zionist Organization of Germany"); Hilfsverein der deutschen Juden ("Aid Society of German Jews"); the religious organizations – Agudat Israel, Aḥdut, *Vereinigung fuer das liberale Judentum; *B'nai B'rith; *Verband national-deutscher Juden ("Union of Jews of German Nationality"); *Reichsbund juedischer Frontsoldaten ("Reich Association of Jewish War Veterans"); the various rabbinical associations, and associations of teachers and cantors; etc. An important role in the cultural life of German Jewry was played by the academic organizations: *Kartell-Convent (KC) deutscher Studenten juedischen Glaubens ("National Fraternity of German Students of the Jewish Faith"), affiliated to the Centralverein; Bund juedischer Akademiker (BJA, an association of Orthodox academies); Kartell juedischer Verbindungen, the Zionist student organization. A substantial number of Jewish youth in Germany were members of Jewish youth movements. Some of the youth organizations were sponsored by the Centralverein, and others by the Orthodox; a third type were the Zionist youth organizations. The latter encouraged pioneer settlement in Ereẓ Israel, maintained training centers, and supplied a small but steady flow of immigrants. The Centralverein was the largest and most important organization, which published its own newspaper. It advocated a synthesis of Judaism and "Germanism," emphasized defense of Jewish civil rights, and regarded German Jewry as an integral part of the German people. Other periodicals were *Der *Israelit* (published by Agudat Israel); *Juedisch-liberale Zeitung; Der Schild* (published by the veterans' organization); *Der *Jude*, a Zionist monthly, edited by Martin *Buber; and *Der Morgen*, a monthly published by the Centralverein. The official organ of the Zionist movement, **Juedische Rundschau*, a weekly (which in its last years appeared twice a week), eventually became the leading Jewish paper published in Germany.

Despite differences of outlook, there was close cooperation between the various organizations. An outstanding example was the establishment of the *Keren Hayesod in Germany in 1922 which was based on cooperation between Zionists and non-Zionists, and served as a preliminary stage to the enlarged *Jewish Agency (1929). The Zionist Organization included Zionist party organizations (Mizrachi, *Poalei-Zion, *Hapo'el ha-Ẓair-Hitaḥdut, etc.).

CULTURAL AND RELIGIOUS LIFE. The "Jewish Renaissance," a term coined by Martin Buber in 1900, culminated in the Weimar Republic. This brief period witnessed the creation of a modern Jewish adult education system, literary and artistic creations in the German language, the rise of a Jewish youth movement, and the revival of Jewish schools. While only a minority of German Jews was active in the various forms of Jewish cultural creativity, a counter-movement to the still continuing tendency of assimilation could now be observed. In 1920 Franz *Rosenzweig established the Freies Juedisches Lehrhaus ("Free Institute of Jewish Learning") in Frankfurt, which in its heyday attracted over 1,000 adult students who often were assimilated Jews like Rosenzweig himself. Other cultural institutions were the Juedische Volkshochschule ("Jewish College of Adult Education") in most larger cities; the Toynbee Halls, which also served as centers of social work; and the short-lived Juedisches Volksheim ("Jewish Social Center") established in Berlin in 1916. There were Jewish elementary schools in several communities and Jewish teachers' seminaries in Wuerzburg and Cologne. New Jewish elementary and secondary schools, originally maintained by Orthodox Jews only but in later years also supported by the Zionists and even parts of the Liberal Jews, were established, some in cities which for decades had seen no Jewish schools. Both the renewed interest in Jewish culture and increasing antisemitism were behind this increase. All religious and political streams of German Jewry founded their own youth organizations. In a few cities, Jewish museums were established, and the Berlin Jewish Museum was opened in its new home only a few weeks after Hitler came to power. Jewish cultural societies, such as the Soncino Bibliophile Society, were established, Jewish music from all corners of the world enjoyed respectable audiences, and Jewish sports societies were now established even beyond the Zionist spectrum. Most larger communities started their own newspapers, some of them developing into respectable cultural journals.

After World War I, when many Hebrew writers and publishers fled from Russia and took refuge in Germany, the country became a center of Hebrew publishing and Hebrew literature. Some of the greatest Hebrew poets and writers became residents of Germany, and Hebrew and Yiddish publishing houses were established. This was in addition to the many books published in German, on Judaism, Zionism, and Jewish studies. In Berlin and other cities, the Zionist Organization founded schools for the study of modern Hebrew by adults and the youth.

As the economic and political crisis deepened in Germany during the 1920s, a religious revival could be observed in all denominations. Judaism was affected by it as well, as some Jews found refuge in synagogues and study circles. The most prolific Liberal Jewish thinker was Leo *Baeck, who emerged as German Jewry's spiritual leader already in the 1920s. He was careful to keep the balance between radical Reform and Orthodoxy, and thus found a middle ground of moderate Liberal Judaism. It may be symptomatic of the changing times that the new edition of his main prewar work, *Essence of Judaism*, appeared in a revised form in 1922 which gave more weight to mystical and non-rational thought. His younger colleague, Max Wiener, developed the critique of German Jewry's belief in Enlightenment further in his *Judaism in the Time of Emancipation* (1933). Baeck's predecessor as president of the General Rabbinical Association of Germany, the Frankfurt rabbi Anton Nehemias Nobel, reintegrated mystical elements in contemporary Orthodox Jewish thought. Another tendency which became gradually apparent was the rise of women's rights in the synagogue and beyond. While they had fought successfully for their voting rights in most communities, the first synagogue with mixed seating was opened in Berlin in 1929, and in another smaller synagogue service in Berlin a ḥavurah-style egalitarian *minyan* was adopted around the same time. Women were among the students of the Hochschule fuer die Wissenschaft des Judentums, and in 1935 the first woman rabbi, Regine Jonas, was ordained, although she never served a congregation. Due to the financial strains only a few new synagogues were built, most notably the ones in Plauen (1930) and Hamburg (1931) in the Bauhaus style.

[Robert Weltsch]

1933–1939

As a result of the Nazi ascent to power legally through the appointment of Adolf Hitler as chancellor on Jan. 30, 1933, the entire existing structure of Jewish life in Germany collapsed. Personal lives, professional careers, individual freedom, and the very confidence that Germany was their home were thrown into disarray for Jews living in Germany. In response, German Jewry underwent a spiritual awakening and achieved a peak of vitality in Jewish communal life. In the national-socialist racist state, the Jews, branded as an "alien race," were automatically excluded by law from general life. Anti-Jewish measures gradually reduced the Jews to isolation and seclusion; the majority of the Jews were, however, unable unreservedly to sever the ties that had integrated them into German life. The racist decree that "no Jew could be a German" gravely affected the premise for the flourishing life of German Jewry, since the vast majority had considered themselves Germans and were genuinely assimilated in German culture. German was their language, German literature their literature, and German philosophy and values their values.

On April 1, 1933, the first large-scale anti-Jewish demonstration took place, in the form of a boycott of all Jewish-owned shops and offices of Jewish professionals. The yellow *badge was posted on Jewish business concerns and many residences; windows and doors were smeared with antisemitic and indecent cartoons; and SA (storm troop) guards ensured the observance of the boycott. The boycott was abandoned two days later due to sharp reaction from abroad and for fear of potential damage to the economy of the country. Some Germans made it a point of honor to call upon Jewish friends and to patronize Jewish shops. Most were frightened and just stayed away. This demonstration, far from being "a spontaneous eruption of the people's wrath," was organized by the Nazi Party on government orders. In the beginning there were even some signs of resistance among the German public to actions of this sort, until eventually the Nazi Party succeeded in suppressing all opposing political trends and concentrated absolute power in its own hands (see also *SS). This was achieved soon after the Nazi takeover, initiated by a wave of arrests of political opponents, for whose internment concentration *camps were set up. The first victims were political opponents of the regime, or people with whom it had personal accounts to settle, or whom it sought to deprive of their property. On April 7, 1933, the term *Nichtarier* ("non-Aryan") was adopted as legal designation. Jews were expelled from the civil service, including bureaucrats, judges, physicians, and professors. This facilitated the removal, step by step, of the Jews from various professions. The first to suffer were lawyers, judges, public officials, artists, newspapermen, and doctors. (At the beginning, veterans of World War I were not included in the ban, thus dividing the Jewish community.) The Jews were methodically pushed out of their remaining employment.

The adoption of the *Nuremberg Laws on Sept. 15, 1935, marked a new phase. It provided a precise definition of the "Jew" by origin, religion, and family ties; deprived the Jews of their status as citizens of the Reich; and reduced them to "subjects of the state." Intermarriage was prohibited while special provisions were made to deal with already-existing mixed marriages. Sexual intercourse between Jews and non-Jews was branded as *Rassenschande* ("defiling of the race") liable to severe punishment. In order to stigmatize the Jews further and brand them as a licentious people, the employment of "Aryan" maids under the age of 45 in their households was also forbidden. From time to time, addenda were made to the Nuremberg Laws, further reducing the Jews' status, until July 1, 1943, when the 13th such order was promulgated, declaring Germany *judenrein* ("clean of Jews"). Several Nazi leaders declared that with the adoption of the Nuremberg Laws the "regulation of the Jewish problem" was completed, and that the government had no intention of ousting the Jews from the economic positions they still held. Antisemitic slogans and graffiti were removed for the 1936 Olympics, and some Jews felt that they had weathered the worst. The pessimists had emigrated or pursued plans to emigrate and the optimists continued to believe that things would get better; the real Germany they knew would soon be manifest. In the period 1935–37, despite all the destructive measures, a large amount of capital still remained in Jewish hands and some Jews continued to run profit-making enterprises. To an extent, the Jews also benefited from the economic prosperity brought about by rearmament. Confiscation of Jewish capital, or enforced sale of Jewish enterprises (*Arianisierung*) did, however, become more and more frequent, along with arrests and other anti-Jewish measures.

The decisive turning point in Nazi policy against the Jews came in March 1938, when Austria was annexed to the Reich. The anti-Jewish excesses that took place in Austria, especially in *Vienna, were far worse than any that had occurred thus far in Germany, and the general population's part in them was much greater. Little could one see that the German expansion into other countries would make the German policy of cleansing the country of Jews impossible. With each expansion more Jews came under German domination. The Jews in the Sudetenland were to undergo similar persecution when the Nazis annexed it on the basis of the October 1938 Munich Conference. The gravest incident in this stage in the entire area of "Greater Germany" occurred on Nov. 9, 1938 (see **Kristallnacht*). The pretext for this action was the assassination of a member of the German Embassy in Paris by a Jew, Herschel *Grynszpan. A collective fine of one billion marks was also imposed upon the Jews, who, unlike foreign Jews or Aryans, could not collect insurance to repair their property. They were thus victimized by their loss, by their inability to collect insurance, and by the collective fine imposed on the community. These measures put the Jews of Germany in jeopardy and all subsequent measures only further aggravated their situation, culminating in 1941 with the commencement of systematic deportations to extermination camps.

The April 1, 1933, anti-Jewish demonstration filled many with consternation, but only a few Jews were brought to the brink of despair (resulting in some cases in suicide). In the initial stage, both Jews and some non-Jews protested. The Jews sought to remind the Germans of the contributions they had made to Germany's cultural and economic life, of their loyalty to the country, and of the medals they had earned on the field of battle. They soon learned that their efforts were futile. Gradually, the majority of the Jews understood that their fate was bound up with the Jewish people. Their only defenders were the Jews throughout the world who protested against the ill-treatment to which their brethren in Germany were being exposed. Emigration from Germany was their only hope but this too they could not achieve without the aid of international Jewish bodies. Judaism was also their only source of moral comfort. And Jewish institutions within Germany were the one place they were safe from persecution, at least for a while. For some, persecution had an unintended consequence. Instead of internalizing the hatred and loathing they experienced, it aroused in them a sense of pride in being a Jew, which gave them the moral strength to endure.

German Jewry now began to cooperate as a single body because external events erased the differences that had previously divided the assimilationists and those Jews who identified themselves with the Jewish culture and people. The Nazis did not discriminate between pious and secular Jews, between Zionists and assimilated Jews – all were uniformly detested; all were subject to Nazi venom. The anti-Jewish policies were directed against the assimilationist Jews as well, forcing them to recognize that they too were members of the Jewish people. The Nazi doctrine propounded that "blood" determined everything, so even converts and persons of mixed parentage (*mischlinge*) were labeled Jews. Among the latter were persons who for two or three generations had had no spiritual tie with Judaism. Of these "non-Aryan" Christians, or persons not adhering to any religion, only a few found their way back to active Jewish life. Some German churches acquiesced to or enthusiastically supported German racism even when it violated Christian teaching that one who converted to Christianity was a Christian. Only the Confessing Church remained faithful, protesting on behalf of those who had converted. Jews now closed ranks, irrespective of the divergent views they had held in the past. Many who had played important roles in German life, but had been remote from Jewish activities, were now eager and ready to accept Jewish public activity. At first, the existing Jewish organizations united under the Zentralausschuss fuer Hilfe und Aufbau ("Central Committee for Aid and Construction"), providing welfare and emigration services. This was followed by the creation of the *Reichsvertretung der Juden in Deutschland ("Reich Representation of the Jews in Germany") headed by Rabbi Leo *Baeck. (The use of the term "Jews in Germany" was imposed when the Nazis prohibited the term "German Jews.")

From the outset, one of the principal tasks confronting the Reichsvertretung was to organize emigration, which had taken various forms. (See Table: Emigration – Jews from Germany.) There was first of all the spontaneous flight to adjacent countries. In 1933, this was comparatively easy, for the Jews bore German passports which permitted entry to most European countries without visas. Regulations on removal of currency from Germany were not that strict, and a uniform regulation had not as yet been reached. In the course of time, however, the countries of reception placed obstacles in the way of the refugees from Germany, especially by refusing them work permits. Thus, the Swiss government refused such permits to all foreign nationals. In the fall of 1938 it requested that the German government stamp all Jewish passports with the letter *J* so that non-Jewish Germans could be admitted to Switzerland but Jews could be excluded. Only in a few instances were the emigrants able to maintain themselves on the funds they had brought with them. Emigration was also directed to overseas countries, mainly to the United States, but also to South America, Canada, and Australia. The consulates of these countries were thronged, but the existing regulations were not slackened to help the persecuted Jews. Except for Britain in 1938–39, no entry visas were issued outside the scope of existing immigration laws. The third and principal form of emigration was to Palestine. This was more than a simple rescue operation, for it had ideological overtones, reinforced by the feeling of attachment to the "Jewish National Home," while emigration to other countries was dictated by utilitarian reasons only. Most of the Zionists who left Germany made their way to Palestine. A systematic campaign on behalf of *aliyah* was conducted, and as the dangers grew, an immigration certificate to Palestine became a valuable document, coveted also by non-Zionists.

Emigration of Jews from Germany in the Period April 1933 to May 1939, including Areas Occupied by Germany by May 1939

Country of reception	No. of German immigrants
U.S.A.	63,000
Palestine	55,000
Great Britain	40,000
France	30,000
Argentina	25,000
Brazil	13,000
South Africa	5,500
Italy	5,000
Other European countries	25,000
Other South American countries	20,000
Far Eastern countries	15,000
Other	8,000
Total	304,500

According to estimates of the League of Nations *High Commissioner for Refugees, 329,000 Jews fled from the Nazis in the period 1933–39, of whom 315,000 left Germany itself. In June 1933 there were 503,000 Jews by religion in Germany (including the Saar Region, incorporated in Germany in 1935), while in the first six years of the Nazi regime, the number of Jews was reduced by 289,000, leaving 214,000 Jews in May 1939. According to the census, there were 234,000 Jews (as defined by the Nuremberg Laws) in Germany in 1939, a reduction of 330,000 since 1925.

Efforts were also made to bring about a change in the occupational structure of the Jews, in order to prepare them for emigration. A large part of the Jewish students had been expelled from their German schools and universities and were now taught new trades on farms or in vocational and agricultural schools. Portable skills were essential to success in other countries. Schools to teach Hebrew, English, Spanish, and other languages were also established to prepare Jews for future emigration. *Aliyah* to Palestine, and *hakhsharah*, preparation for *aliyah*, were organized by the Zionist *Palestine Office (*Palaestina-Amt*), which greatly expanded in this period. The Palestine Office acted in an advisory capacity and was in charge of the transfer of capital through the *Ha'avara Company, which, with the approval of the authorities, succeeded in removing Jewish capital from Germany in the form of exports to Palestine, valued at about $16,200,000. Emigrants to the United States were rendered aid primarily by the Hilfsverein der Deutschen Juden and the American Jewish *Joint Distribution Committee. For the Jews in Germany the last few years preceding the war were marked by a desperate race to discover possible emigration outlets. The number of outlets, however, was continually reduced and, when the last exit to safety was finally closed, there was still a sizable Jewish community left in Germany.

In the period 1933–38, the Jews of Germany stepped up in considerable measure their own public and cultural life. They were now called upon to provide not only for their strictly "Jewish" needs, but also to engage in activities of a general nature, especially in education and culture. The Jewish community had to set up its own elementary and high schools for Jewish children, who had been expelled from the public schools. The teaching staff for these new schools consisted of the Jewish teachers who had been dismissed from the German school system. The "Center for Jewish Adult Education," an institution created by Martin Buber under the auspices of the Reichsvertretung, included among its tasks the training of these teachers for their duties in Jewish schools. In general, the educational and cultural activities of the Reichsvertretung may be regarded as the beginning of a Jewish moral resistance movement.

Among the Zionist youth movements, the largest was Ha-Bonim, No'ar Ḥaluẓi, which was founded in 1933 and based on a merger of Kadimah and Berit Olim. Makkabbi Hazair was a General Zionist youth movement, while the Werkleute were absorbed by Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir. After 1928, religious youth was organized in the Berit Ḥaluẓim Datiyyim. He-Ḥalutz, the largest organization preparing its members for settlement in Ereẓ Israel, established *hakhsharot* – agricultural training centers – with the support of the Reichsvertretung. Non-Zionist youth was organized in the Deutsch-juedische Jugend and Vortrupp societies. The Zionist Organization of Germany, which grew tremendously in strength, gained half of the seats in the community council and the national organizations in 1935.

The Jewish press played a great role in strengthening the spirit of German Jews. The *CV Zeitung* gained a circulation of 40,000 and a similar number subscribed to the *Juedische Rundschau*. (A front-page article of the *Rundschau*, published under the title, *Tragt ihn mit Stolz, den gelben Fleck* ("Wear it proudly, the yellow badge"), electrified the Jews with its call for courage in the face of adversity.) The pro-Zionist *Israelitisches Familienblatt* also jumped to a circulation of 35,000.

In art and literature a similar development took place. Jewish artists and writers who had not succeeded in immediately leaving Germany were forced to restrict their work to the realm of Judaism; in many instances this was a "return to Judaism" in name only, but in others it was accompanied by a profound spiritual change. The *Juedischer Kulturbund was created to organize Jewish cultural life. Jewish newspapers enlarged their scope, Jewish publishing houses increased their activities, and books on Jewish subjects, poetry, history, and essays gained a wide distribution. Like their cultural activities, the publishing activities of Jews were under the official supervision of the Juden-Referat, a separate body established within the framework of Goebbels' Ministry of Propaganda. From time to time certain publications were prohibited and newspaper editions were confiscated. The Zionist organ, *Juedische Rundschau*, was closed down and reopened on numerous occasions. In the course of time, the officials of the Juden-Referat came to show personal interest in the continued functioning of Jewish cultural life. The pogroms of Nov. 9–10, 1938, however, put an end to this situation, and the ensuing months, up to the outbreak of the war, were marked by general alarm among the Jews, cessation of all social activities, mass emigration, and Gestapo persecution of the remaining Jews.

[Robert Weltsch / Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

World War II

In the course of the war, when German rule was extended over large areas, Jews were sent to, or transferred from, Germany and other European countries. Many German Jews were put to death in Germany itself, along with foreign Jews interned there. In the period 1933–39, the communal and occupational life of German Jewry had undergone a radical change. After expulsion from commercial life and the professions, many Jews switched over to manual labor and agriculture. Although in 1933, 48.12% of German Jews had steady employment, by 1939 this figure had been reduced to 15.6% (Jews "by faith"). Of breadwinners in 1939 who no longer had any regular employment, over 40% were able to live off their capital and property, while others had some income from other sources and insurance. By 1939, thousands of Jews were already imprisoned in concentration camps. The Nazis considered the transfer of German Jews to special reservations in German-occupied territory of Poland or Russia or even the remote island of *Madagascar. But over time and with the capture of more and more Jews in the occupied territories, these plans, even if desired, were simply not feasible. At the beginning of 1942, when the physical destruction of Jews was already in full swing, these plans were finally abandoned. A law passed on July 4, 1939, transformed the Reichsvertretung into the Reichsvereinigung der Juden in Deutschland ("Reich Union of Jews in Germany"), and charged the new organization with promoting Jewish emigration, running the Jewish schools, and social welfare. Leo Baeck remained head of the new organization. The work of the Reichsvereinigung was defined by law, and subject to orders from the minister of the interior. The Nazis regarded it as an instrument which could be maneuvered to rid the country of all its Jews in the shortest possible time. In May 1939, there were still 214,000 Jews left, of whom 90% lived in 200 cities and the rest in 1,800 different places without an organized Jewish community. There were an additional 20,000 persons who had been classified as Jews under the Nuremberg Laws.

The outbreak of the war (Sept. 1, 1939) did not bring about any change in the legal status of the Jews. Until November 1941, i.e., at a time when the mass killing of Jews in Eastern Europe, which had begun as the Germans invaded the Soviet Union in June 1941, some still succeeded in leaving Germany. German Jews were admitted to some neutral countries, others were able to escape across the Atlantic. In fact they reached every corner of the globe, including *Shanghai. Until June 20, 1940, Jews who had some means at their disposal were able to reach Palestine by way of the Italian ports, and until Nov. 11, 1942, they could go to *Lisbon and *Casablanca by way of unoccupied France. On May 1, 1941, there were 169,000 Jews in Germany, and by Oct. 1, 1941, 164,000. In the period that had elapsed since May 1939 their number had therefore been reduced by some 50,000 to 70,000. A substantial number of these had succeeded in leaving Germany, although some of them only moved to countries which soon came under German occupation. About 8,000 Jews were deported by the Nazis, to make room for Germans who were repatriated after the outbreak of war. These Jews were sent in the first shipment to the *Lublin district, and later to unoccupied France. Many Jews were put into the existing concentration camps, or into newly established ones. The mortality rate among the Jews also rose to unprecedented heights.

Some time in 1941, Hitler issued his verbal order for the "Final Solution of the Jewish Question." On Sept. 1, 1941, the Jews were ordered to wear the yellow badge (*Judenstern,* or "Jewish star"). In mid-October 1941, their mass "transfer" ("*Evakuierungen*" or "*Abwanderungen*") to ghettos in Eastern Europe (*Lodz, *Minsk, *Riga, *Kovno) and to concentration and forced labor camps was begun, under Adolf *Eichmann's supervision. By the end of the year, 30,000 Jews had been thus "transferred." In the period from October 1942 to March 1943, Jews from Germany were "transferred" to *Auschwitz and other killing centers, at first by way of concentration camps and, later, directly. Many synagogues were turned into collection points for those about to be deported. It was in this period that the rate of suicide among the Jews took a sudden rise. The property of the "transferred" Jews, or of those who had committed suicide, was taken over by the state, as property of "enemies of the people and the country." So too, the property of Jews who left Germany; no distinctions were made between voluntary departures and forced deportation. Jewish activities were carried on within the framework of the Reichsvereinigung, which in accordance with the law had absorbed all the 1,500 organizations and institutions and the 1,600 religious communal bodies which had existed in Germany in 1939. The last to be absorbed, in January 1943, was the Berlin Community. When emigration ceased, the work of the Reichsvereinigung was restricted to education and social welfare. It supported elementary schools, several high schools and colleges, vocational and agricultural training courses, and language courses, as well as the famous Hochschule fuer die Wissenschaft des Judentums. In July 1942 all Jewish educational institutions were closed down. The Reichsvereinigung also supported Jewish hospitals, children's homes, and homes for the aged. It was forced to assist the Nazis in gathering the Jews who had been earmarked for "transfer." The Reichsvereinigung derived its income from contributions, membership dues, and special taxes imposed on emigrants. In July 1943 the activities of the Reichsvereinigung came to an end. By then, most of its officials, as well as most of those whom it had cared for, had been "transferred" to their deaths, or put into prison. The assets of the Reichsvereinigung (about 170 million marks) were confiscated by the Nazis. A new national body was created, headed by Walter Lustig, at the Jewish hospital in Berlin.

In the "privileged" model concentration camp/ghetto which was known as the *Theresienstadt ghetto, of the 144,000 Jews interned, 42,103 were from Germany. In January 1943, Leo Baeck was interned there. This ghetto allowed the continuation of Jewish life in some measure. But by the end of the war, only 5,639 German survivors were left in the ghetto. Of those 144,000 Jews deported to Theresienstadt, 33,000 died there, while 88,000 were again deported to Auschwitz. Of 15,000 children, only some 100 survived.

By the end of 1942 the number of Jews in Germany had been reduced to 51,000, and by the beginning of April the following year to 32,000. On May 19, 1943, Germany was declared *judenrein*. On Sept. 1, 1944, there were still 14,574 Jews in Germany who were not imprisoned. These were, for the most part (97.8%), the spouses of non-Jews, or "half-Jews," who had been defined as Jews by the Nuremberg Laws. When the tide of battle turned against Germany and concentration and death camps in the East were about to be overrun by Soviet troops, many more Jews were sent to Germany either as slave laborers or on death marches; Germany, which had first tried to be rid of the Jews, was now forced to reabsorb them as they were needed as workers or they were more dangerous to Germany if captured by the Soviets as living witnesses. In January 1945, there were in concentration and forced labor camps in Germany hundreds of thousands of Jews from various European countries. That number grew in the ensuing months until liberation as Jews were forcibly marched back into Germany.

The number of Jews who remained free in Germany – openly or underground – has been estimated at 19,000, and those who returned from the concentration camps after the war (including Theresienstadt) at 8,000. Late (January 1942) and doubtful figures provided by the Nazis state that from the beginning of Nazi rule 360,000 Jews had emigrated from Germany. About 160,000 to 180,000 German Jews are estimated to have been murdered by the Nazis in Germany, or to have died as a result of persecution.

[Jacob S. Levinger / Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

Early Postwar Period

When the Nazi regime in Germany ended, the general assumption was – in the words of Leo Baeck – that the Holocaust had terminated the thousand-year history of German Jewry and that Jews would not resettle in the country where the massacre of European Jewry had been conceived. This forecast did prove completely accurate. Jews were again living in Germany and they had rebuilt their communal and social organizations; but both numerically and culturally they constituted a faint shadow of the Jewish population of the country at the time of Hitler's rise to power. Although the Jews formed a very diversified group, their relative influence in all spheres of life was negligible. After a period of consolidation the Jews of Germany consisted of three main groups: the remnants of German Jewry who had survived the war in Germany; *Displaced Persons (DPs) who took temporary refuge in Germany after the war, especially in the American Zone; and Jews who returned to Germany or settled there after the war. Those who survived the persecutions and the war in Germany itself had, on the whole, only a tenuous attachment to Judaism. Some had been baptized, and the majority had entered mixed marriages (surviving the Holocaust only with the help of their "Aryan" relatives) and had raised their children as Christians. Among them were also several hundred women who had married Jews, and converted to Judaism. The average age of this group was over 50. The number of Jews in Germany grew in the immediate postwar period, when several thousand German Jews who had survived the concentration camps (especially Theresienstadt) and did not go into DP camps returned to Germany. Soon after, a few thousand were able to immigrate to the United States and several hundred went to other countries. Of those who remained, only a part (estimated by H. Maor between 6,000 and 8,000) joined the reestablished Jewish communities.

The DPs who arrived in Germany after the war were a "community in transit" and did not regard themselves as a part of German Jewry. At the end of 1946, there was a record number of 160,000 Jewish DPs in Germany; the total number of Jewish DPs who spent some time in the country is estimated at over 200,000. Most of them were in the American Zone, where they neither joined the communities nor had much contact with German Jews. The DPs formed their own organization, She'erit ha-Peletah (The Saved Remnant), which had local regional and central committees. In the British Zone (northwest Germany), however, it was the reestablished communities that joined the She'erit ha-Peletah, which had its headquarters at *Bergen-Belsen. In time the refugees, especially those who lived outside the DP camps in the urban DP assembly centers, established contacts with members of the Jewish communities. When the great stream of *aliyah* and emigration of the She'erit ha-Peletah came to an end in the early 1950s, 12,000 former DPs were left in Germany. There were in 1960, according to Maor, about 6,000 former DPs in Germany who had become members of the Jewish communities. They represented a sizable portion of the total membership of some of the communities, e.g., 80% in Munich and 40% in Frankfurt. No precise data are available on the remaining 6,000. Some may have emigrated, others may be listed as returnees, and still others may have severed all links with the organized Jewish community.

The Geographical Distribution of Jews in Germany, 1974

Baden	1,200	Lower Saxony	600
Bavaria	5,200	Cologne	1,200
West Berlin	5,300	North-Rhine	2,700
Bremen	100	Rhineland-Palatinate	600
Hamburg	1,400	Saarland	300
Hesse	1,700	Westphalia	900
Frankfurt	5,000	Wuerttemberg	800

From the end of the war to the beginning of the 1960s, about 6,000 German Jews returned to Germany and some 2,000 Jews from other countries settled there. During the rest of the 1960s, Germany received a few hundred more Jewish immigrants, in addition to several thousand returnees. For the most part, these were people who had not adjusted in the countries to which they had emigrated (including Israel). Others hoped that their presence in Germany would speed up the restitution of their property, or the indemnification payments due to them (see *Restitution and Compensation). Still others were simply attracted to Germany by the prevailing economic prosperity. Some prominent people, mostly artists and men-of-letters, returned to Germany – often to the East – but as a rule they did not join the Jewish communities. In general, the former DPs and the returnees were the more active groups, having much closer ties with Judaism than the group of survivors who never left the country.

REESTABLISHMENT OF JEWISH COMMUNITIES. The reestablishment of Jewish communities began shortly after the war, but in the early stages the means at their disposal were quite limited. Various organizations were operating in Germany to care for the victims of Nazism, and included the Jews in their activities. Among these were the organizations of Nazi victims and the Bavarian Red Cross. In Bavaria, the ministry of the interior established a State Commissariat for the care of people who had been persecuted on the basis of race, religion, or political convictions. (The first commissioner, appointed in the fall of 1945, was a non-Jewish Social Democrat; in 1946 a leading Jew, Philip Auerbach, was appointed to this post.) A bureau of the same kind was also established in Hessen. The American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee helped the communities establish themselves, and gradually they were able to assume the main burden of the religious and social services required by their members. The Berlin Jewish community at this time included the four zones of the city. In June 1947 a coordinating committee of Jewish communities in Germany, covering all the zones of occupation, was formed. When the *aliyah* and emigration of the DPs came to an end, the communities grew in importance. It was at this time that the

German Federal Republic (West) and the German Democratic Republic (East) were established. The interest of the newly founded government of West Germany in strengthening the Jewish communities was shared by the occupation authorities, especially in the American Zone (headed by High Commissioner John J. McCloy). On July 17, 1950, a Zentralrat der Juden in Deutschland ("Central Council of Jews in Germany") was set up with headquarters at Duesseldorf. The formation of the council was encouraged by the authorities, and it became the supreme organ of the Jewish communities in West Germany, achieving that status first in fact and later in law.

While in the immediate postwar years the Jews in Germany had insisted that their stay in the "accursed land" was temporary and that they would soon leave it, by the early 1950s voices began to call for the building of bridges between the Jewish and German peoples. One community leader declared that the Jewish-sponsored idea of dissolving the Jewish communities in Germany should be abandoned, and a rabbi who had returned to Germany even stated that the Jews remaining in the country were charged with reminding the German people of their guilt and their obligation to atone. Such ideas were supported by the government of West Germany and especially by Chancellor Konrad *Adenauer, who felt that in addition to the reparations agreement with Israel, the existence of a Jewish community in Germany and good relations between that community and the German people would be important contributions to the moral and political rehabilitation of Germany in the eyes of the world. To help bring about a reconciliation with the Jewish people, various German organizations and movements, such as the Aktion Suehnezeichen ("Operation Atonement") led by the Protestant theologian Helmut Gollwitzer, the Society for Christian-Jewish Understanding, the Peace With Israel movement headed by Erich Lueth, and others, were formed.

World Jewish organizations, especially the Zionist movement, disapproved of Jewish integration into German life. They regarded it as morally wrong for Jews to be permanently resident in Germany and tried to persuade them to leave the country. When, however, the reparations agreement was signed between the State of Israel, the *Conference on Jewish Material Claims, and the Federal Republic in September 1952, the psychological and political basis for ostracizing the Jews of Germany no longer existed. The Zentralrat became a member of the Claims Conference, and in 1954 the Zionist Executive approved the reestablishment of the Zionist Organization of Germany. (This is not to be confused with the Zionist Organization of the She'erit ha-Peletah, which was disbanded in 1951 as were all other institutions of the She'erit Ha-Peletah.) The Zentralrat also became affiliated with the *World Jewish Congress. Following the reparations agreement and the legislation for indemnification and the restitution of property, the federal government of West Germany and governments of the *Laender* adopted a liberal policy toward the restitution of property to the communities and provided them with regular subsidies for their needs. As a result, the Jewish communities of Germany became among the wealthiest in the world. This process of consolidation was not without its upheavals, struggles, and public scandals, which came before the German courts. Among those sentenced to imprisonment were Aaron Ohrenstein, the rabbi of Munich, and Philip Auerbach, who committed suicide in prison in 1952. There were also court proceedings contesting the legality of several community councils.

Antisemitism continued to exist in the country, perhaps exacerbated by the problem of bringing Nazi criminals to justice and the demand for the exclusion of Nazis from public office and government service. In fact, Neo-Nazi movements sprang up, Jewish cemeteries were desecrated, swastikas were daubed on walls, and antisemitic propaganda was disseminated. On the other hand, there were signs of a genuine change of heart: German youth was educated toward democracy, Jewish literature and literature on Jews appeared on the bookstands, there were exhibitions on Jewish themes, etc. The authorities assisted the communities in the construction of new synagogues and undertook the reconstruction of synagogues of historical value in places where there was no Jewish community (such as the medieval synagogue in Worms).

In October 1967, the number of Jews registered with the Jewish communities in West Germany, including West Berlin, was 26,226 (this includes 1,300 Jews living in Frankfurt who were not members of the community but registered as Jews in the census). According to the figures for Oct. 1, 1966, the largest communities were in West Berlin (5,991 members), Frankfurt (4,168), Munich (3,345), Duesseldorf (1,579), Hamburg (1,500), and Cologne (1,304). (See Map: Germany.) Because of the high average age, the demographic composition of German Jewry was highly abnormal. The death rate greatly exceeded the birth rate, e.g., in 1963–64 there were 482 deaths and only 69 births. In spite of the wide gulf between Jews and Germans, the rate of intermarriage is among the highest in the world. In the period 1951–58, there were 679 marriages in which both partners were Jewish, as against 2,009 mixed marriages; 72.5% of the Jewish men and 23.6% of the Jewish women who married chose non-Jewish partners. (For the period 1901–30 the respective figures were 19.6% for men and 12.2% for women.)

Several aged rabbis returned to Germany, and a few came there from other countries, e.g., the United States, Israel, and Britain, to serve for a limited period. There was a serious scarcity of teachers, religious articles, and community workers. The work of the communities was generally in the hands of a salaried staff. Jewish schools were established in Munich, Frankfurt, Berlin, Duesseldorf, and Hamburg, while elsewhere the community provided religious instruction during after-school hours. There were social welfare departments in the communities and a central welfare office (Zentralwohlfahrtsstelle) in Frankfurt. Many communities maintained homes for the aged and summer camps for children. German-language Jewish weeklies were published in Duesseldorf and Munich, and a Yiddish newspaper in Munich until 1974. The Juedischer Verlag (Jewish Publishing Co.) in Berlin was reestablished, and another publishing house, Ner Tamid, was opened. The Zionist Organization had branches in most of the communities, as did Jewish women's organizations and youth movements. In most places there were local committees of the *Keren Hayesod and the *Jewish National Fund, and in Berlin, Frankfurt, and Munich there were B'nai B'rith Lodges. An outstanding contribution to the postwar rehabilitation of Jews in Germany was made by Karl Marx (1897–1966), who returned to Germany in 1945, joined the Zionist movement, and founded the *Allgemeine Wochenzeitung des Judentums* ("General Jewish Weekly") in Duesseldorf. He regarded as his task the "building of a bridge" between the Jewish people and Israel, on the one hand, and Germany, on the other. He had close connections with the first president of the Federal Republic, Theodor Heuss, with Chancellor Adenauer, and with Social Democratic leaders and tried to serve as a link between them and the leaders of Israel and world Jewry. A number of Jews assumed important public offices. Among them were Paul Hertz, a Social Democratic senator in Berlin; Herbert A. *Weichmann, President of the Bundesrat and mayor of Hamburg; Joseph Neuberger (1902–1977), the minister of justice in North Rhine-Westphalia (who returned to Germany from Israel); and Ludwig Rosenberg, chairman of the Federation of Trade Unions. Several scholars and prominent artists, including the actors Ernst *Deutsch and Fritz *Kortner, also returned to Germany.

Despite their manifold activities, the Jewish communities in Germany rested on weak foundations because of their abnormal demographic structure, the inadequacy of Jewish education, and the abyss that continued to exist between the Jews and German society. The replacement of the expression *Deutsche Juden* ("German Jews") by the term *Juden in Deutschland* ("Jews in Germany") may be taken as an indication of the strangeness that Jews feel in Germany and their anxiety about the future.

[Chaim Yahil]

East Germany (German Democratic Republic)

There was only a tiny remnant of Jews in the German Democratic Republic, among them some prominent writers, such as Arnold *Zweig, Anna Seghers, and Stefan Heym, and Communist politicians returning from exile. A large segment of the Jewish community, including the presidents of the major Jewish communities, fled to the West after the outbreak of the antisemitic Stalinist show trials, culminating in the Prague Slansky Trial of 1952. In the same year the Jewish community of Berlin, which until then was still a unified body in a divided city, split officially. Until his death in 1965, the communities in East Germany were served by Rabbi Martin Riesenburger. Afterwards, the community was mainly served by Hungarian officials. Although there was no ban on religious practice, the Communist regime made an effort to obscure the identity of Jews. They were allowed to publish a periodical, which was mainly of informative character and contained also the obligatory criticism of the State of Israel. Only a few of the public figures who are of Jewish origin retained any connection with organized Judaism. One of these was the author Arnold Zweig who was president of the Academy of Arts.

In the last years of the German Democratic Republic religious and cultural Jewish life were reinforced by the state, mainly motivated by the wish to improve its ties with the United States. This may have been the main motive behind the decision of the Honecker government to renovate the destroyed Oranienburger Street Synagogue in East Berlin. Jews in the GDR could now attain greater visibility. With this new policy, a significant number of individuals, often children or grandchildren of Jewish communists, discovered their Jewish roots, and in East Berlin some of these joined "We for Ourselves," a group of mostly marginally Jewish individuals who stood in an ambivalent relationship to the community; several of its members have since been accepted into the Jewish community. With the Honecker government's new attention to the Jews, a number of important initiatives became possible. East Berlin was able to appoint an American rabbi, Isaak Neuman, who was in office there for a short period from 1987 to 1988. At around the same time, the Weissensee Jewish cemetery, Europe's largest, was rehabilitated, and a descendant of one of the families that belonged to the former Neo-Orthodox community Adass Jisroel, Mario Offenberg, negotiated with the GDR in order to reestablish this community in East Berlin. The restored Neue Synagogue in Berlin's Oranienburger Street was now turned into a cultural center and archive, Centrum Judaicum, financed mostly through small private donations from East German individuals. The community in East Berlin reached the height of activity in 1988 and 1989, the two final years of its full independence: 1988 saw the first large observances of *Kristallnacht*, in a meeting of younger Jews from East and West Germany in East Berlin; an exhibit, *Und lehret sie Gedachtnis*, was shown there in the reconstructed Ephraim Palais, the residence of King Frederick II's Jewish financier; on May 10, 1989, for the first time, *Ha-Tikvah* was sung and a community membership meeting referred to Israel's Independence Day. After the collapse of the Wall, Israel-oriented activities intensified; on November 11, 1989, for the first time, a large Israeli flag was displayed in West Berlin and a GDR-Israel Friendship Society began to be formed. These independent Eastern initiatives came to a halt very soon, however. Very much in step with the rapid unification of East and West Germany, the Western Central Council of Jews and the West Berlin Jewish community took control of their Eastern counterparts, and on January 1, 1991, the East Berlin Jewish community ceased to exist.

The number of members of the Jewish communities in East Germany declined from 2,600 in 1952 to 1,200 in 1967 to 350 (most of them in East Berlin) at the time of the dissolution of the German Democratic Republic in 1989. This count, however, ignores a much higher number of individuals of Jewish ancestry who chose not to register with the communities.

Jewish Life in Unified Germany (Post-1989)

November 9, which once had signified the end of German and European Jewry, received an additional meaning not only in German but also in German-Jewish history in 1989. When the Berlin Wall came down, the doors were opened not only to hundreds of thousands of East Germans from the former GDR and to ethnic Germans from the former Soviet Union but also to more unlikely candidates for immigration. With the upsurge of antisemitic rhetoric and acts, political instability, and economic depression, the Jews of the former Soviet Union began to look for new homes. Despite Israel's negative attitude and despite the fact that officially Germany was a non-immigrant country, it opened its doors to Jewish immigrants and has been trying to integrate them with relatively few bureaucratic impediments. In this respect, there is little disagreement along party lines, and the words of SPD-politician Peter Glotz in the Bundestag debate of October 25, 1990, spoke for the ruling Christian Democrats as well: "The Germans have covered themselves in guilt. I believe that the least we can do now, when Jews express again their wish to return or to come to the land of the Holocaust, is … to solve the problems unbureaucratically and without much fanfare." Initially many Soviet Jewish refugees came to Germany with visitor visas and then applied for political asylum. With the change in the German Basic Law in 1993 this was no longer possible. But even before, Chancellor Helmut Kohl and the governors of the German states had agreed in a meeting on January 9, 1991, that Soviet Jews would be allowed in on humanitarian grounds as quota refugees. After a stay of eight years (according to age) the refugees become eligible for German citizenship. Those who had been admitted by individual German states would be considered as quota refugees retroactively, while allocations were made to the individual states to cover the coming years. There was general agreement that Germany could absorb up to 10,000 Jewish refugees annually. Between 1990 and 1998, 53,559 immigrants from the former Soviet Union joined the Jewish communities: about 1,000 in 1990, an average of 5,000 between 1991 and 1994, and an average of over 8,000 between 1995 and 1998. Between 1998 and 2004 there was almost the same number of Jewish immigrants. The actual number of immigrants from the former Soviet Union is of course much higher (about twice as much), if we consider the (growing) number of non-Jewish family members and the (few) Jews who decided not to join the Jewish communities.

The largest Jewish communities of Germany in 2003 were Berlin (appr. 11,000), Munich (9,000), Duesseldorf and Frankfurt (7,000), and Hanover, Hamburg, and Cologne (5,000). Some of those communities have increased tenfold since unification and have reached the numbers of the 1920s. In a few smaller cities and towns, like Straubing (1,713) or Osnabrueck (1,541) there are now by far more Jews than before 1933. In other places, mainly in East Germany, new Jewish communities have been established which are exclusively or almost exclusively immigrant communities, among them Rostock, Schwerin, and Brandenburg in the East, but also Emmendingen, Lörrach, Delmenhorst, and Hameln in the West. Despite all these accelerated developments, the percentage of Jews in the general German population stands at only about 0.1%, and most Germans still do not know any Jews.

In the attention given to the population explosion of Jews in Germany it has hardly been noted that the "old" Jewish population experienced a steady decline at the same time as the community grew due to immigration. Without the immigrants the Jewish community of Germany would have numbered (in 1999) 22,211 members, which is about 20% less than the 28,081 members of 1990. A second phenomenon is worth noting. The discrepancy between low birth rates and high mortality rates remained constant in the 1990s. Between 1990 and 1998 there was a total of only 1,079 births, as opposed to 4,972 deaths. Thirdly, and connected to this phenomenon, one should take note of the change in age structure. When the first immigrants arrived in the early 1990s, they were mostly younger people, and brought with them a large number of children. By the end of the decade, the older immigrants dominated the scene and the age structure was only slightly younger than in the previous period. In 1998, 20% (18% in 1989) were under 20 years of age, 21% (25%) were between 20 and 40, 30% (24%) between 41 and 60, and 29% (33%) over 60 years old.

Immigration has also changed (for the time being) the occupational structure of German Jewry. In the postwar years the majority of East European Jews took up traditional professions connected to trade and business. Although we do not possess exact statistics it can be assumed that a significant part of the Jewish survivors who came to Germany became small business owners, with some of them expanding them into large enterprises, especially in the areas of textiles and real estate. Many also went into dining and entertainment establishments – restaurants and bars – often in areas with a large American military presence. The occupational structure of the second generation is quite different, with a high proportion of professionals, such as physicians, lawyers, and journalists. There remain a significant number in business, though more in banking and real estate now. The vast majority of German Jews attend not only high schools but also proceed to study at universities in Germany or abroad.

The first Jewish day schools opened in Munich and Frankfurt already in the 1960s, Berlin followed in 1986, Duesseldorf in 1993. Berlin is home to the only Jewish high school in postwar Germany, which consists of a high percentage of non-Jewish pupils. Religious education of two hours a week is compulsory in most German states, and the Jewish community provides those classes in even the smallest communities. It has to be said, however, that it is extremely difficult to recruit qualified teachers with both Jewish knowledge and German-language skills. The Hochschule fuer Juedische Studien in Heidelberg, which was established in 1979 in order to educate new spiritual leaders for Jewish communal life, has graduated in its first 20 years of existence a few teachers, who are now employed in German-Jewish communities, but few rabbis, who mostly continued their studies abroad and did not return to Germany. The first rabbi educated in Heidelberg was employed by the Jewish community of Duesseldorf. Thus, most teachers and basically all rabbis are immigrants to the German-Jewish communities, or at least received their education outside Germany. With the disappearance of the older generation of German-born immigrants who returned to officiate in the German-Jewish communities the language issue becomes more and more significant.

Despite these difficulties and mainly due to the further increase of the Jewish population, the number of rabbis in Germany has grown in recent years. In 2004 there were 34 rabbis listed in the directory of community rabbis, as well as 11 Chabad rabbis, both numbers having doubled as compared to the situation a decade earlier. In a few places, such as Brandenburg, the community rabbi comes from the Lubavitch movement. Chabad developed quite a number of activities in the larger (and now also some smaller) communities, especially child-related. Thus, the only local Jewish summer camps in Germany are run by Chabad, which overcomes the language barrier by recruiting young American women who speak Yiddish to the children. These summer camps have been among their most successful activities in Germany. In recent years, Chabad has also initiated the annual Hanukkah lighting ceremony in German public places.

On the other side of the religious spectrum, the Reform and Conservative movements have made considerable inroads in recent years. Both had developed in 19th-century Germany but virtually disappeared with the destruction of German Jewry in the 1930s. Religious Jewish life in postwar Germany was dominated by East European Jews and therefore led to the establishment of Orthodox synagogues. Only in one Berlin synagogue (Pestalozzistrasse) and in Saarbruecken was the prewar organ tradition revived. However, even there Reform services remained in the tradition of prewar German Liberal Judaism, with separate seating and no active role for women in the service. In the 1980s the first egalitarian services were introduced in Berlin and Frankfurt, followed thereafter in a few other cities. Many of their members originally came from the small American Jewish presence in Germany. Having been established outside the *Einheitsgemeinde* structures, the Berlin and Frankfurt Liberal congregations were granted space within the *Gemeinde* in the later 1990s. Some other Liberal congregations, as in Munich and Cologne, remained outside the *Gemeinde* structure or founded a separate association of communities as in Lower Saxony. In 1995 the small new congregation of Oldenburg in Northern Germany hired the first woman rabbi in Germany, Swiss-born Bea Wyler. In 2005, the Zentralrat reached an agreement with the Union of Progressive Jews and accepted Liberal community associations from northern Germany as members.

Most Jews in Germany are what is often termed "non-practicing Orthodox." This means they do not attend synagogues on a regular basis but go to Orthodox synagogues during the High Holidays or family celebrations. Developments in recent years show the first signs of a more modern approach to the phenomenon of empty synagogues. Beside the Liberal congregations, which are united in an organization together with their Swiss and Austrian equivalents, there are a few modern Orthodox rabbis trying to replace the more East European-style services in their synagogues. They have initiated youth services, beginners' services, special *Kabbalat Shabbat* events, and regular German sermons. With the few exceptions of the largest communities, there is usually only one synagogue in town. This situation requires a certain amount of compromise in order to serve all community members. Berlin is the only German community which employs an Orthodox and a Liberal rabbi.

Kosher restaurants are integrated in the community centers of Berlin, Frankfurt, and Munich, but most other communities have a kosher kitchen for Sabbath *kiddush* or special events. Several communities maintain old-age homes with a kosher kitchen. *Shoḥet*s and *mohel*s are extremely rare in Germany, and usually brought from France or Switzerland. In addition to religious activities the larger communities have their own frameworks of secular cultural programs. In Berlin, Frankfurt, and Munich they are organized in adult education institutions which offer language classes, lecture series, and guest lectures with an often very impressive program. In smaller communities these programs have also increased over the years. It is perhaps a peculiar characteristic of the German situation that the audience for these Jewish cultural programs are overwhelmingly non-Jewish. As one consequence some communities, like Munich, established a *Lehrhaus* program which tries to create a more intimate atmosphere for the local Jewish population. Beginning in 2001, a cultural symposium called Tarbut has taken place regularly in the Bavarian Alps on themes of Jewish literature, politics, and arts, with several hundred participants from Germany, Austria, and Switzerland.

There exist a number of other Jewish organizations with regular programs, ranging from student organizations (organized in the German-wide Bundesverband Jüdischer Studenten in Deutschland) to Maccabi sports associations, WIZO, and other women's organizations to senior citizen clubs.

The larger communities run youth centers with a broad range of activities. The lack of leadership is, however, visible in this respect as well. Directors are rare in Germany and are usually recruited from Israel, which means a high rate of turnover, language problems, and often also a gap between a religious leadership and a highly secular clientele. The Zionist Organization, and especially its youth organization, has been among the most active Jewish organizations, organizing seminars and camps, which for many young German Jews become a formative experience in the forging of their Jewish identities.

Jews are a tiny minority in today's Germany, constituting not more than 0.1% of the total population. Their voice, however, can hardly be ignored in the German public. Whenever there are major public debates about the German past, spokespersons of the Jewish community are given prominent space.

It is notable that all leading representatives of postwar German Jewry, from the volatile Bavarian state commissioner, Philipp Auerbach (who committed suicide in 1952 after a spectacular trial against him which failed to prove that he had embezzled restitution money), and the longtime secretary general of the Central Association, Hendrik van Dam, to its most recent presidents, Werner Nachmann, Heinz Galinski, Ignatz *Bubis, and Paul Spiegel, were German-born Jews, while the majority of Germany's Jewish community always remained of East European background. The election of Ignatz Bubis as president of the Central Council of Jews in Germany in 1992 marked a significant change of image for the German-Jewish community. He succeeded the stern Auschwitz survivor Heinz Galinski and his predecessor, Werner Nachmann, who had embezzled millions of marks of reparation money. Bubis, who survived the Holocaust as a child, symbolized a new optimism among German Jews and was one of the best-known figures in the German public. He was even suggested as a candidate for the Federal Presidency in the 1990s. The election of Bubis' successor after his untimely death in 1999 was for the first time a high profile public issue in Germany. Perhaps for the last time a Holocaust survivor, Duesseldorf community president Paul Spiegel, was elected president of the Central Association in January 2000.

In contrast to pre-Nazi Germany there were today only a handful of prominent German Jews in the public sector. For many years not a single professing Jew has been a member of the Bundestag, although there were today a few well-known younger Jews active in political life, such as Michel Friedman for the Christian Democrats and Micha Brumlik for the Greens. Together with the late Ignatz Bubis, a leading member of the Free Democrats, these most visible Jewish politicians all came from Frankfurt.

In the realm of journalism the foremost weekly, *Die Zeit*, had a Jewish publisher in Josef Joffe, and a few other prominent Jewish journalists could be found in the press and television. The most important and influential literary critic in Germany in the last decades of the 20th century was Marcel *Reich-Ranicki. Some observers have noticed an upsurge in German-Jewish literature in recent years. Indeed, there are quite a few young writers of varying quality who increasingly write about Jewish topics and are well known to the German public. At the same time it has to be noted that their audience is almost exclusively non-Jewish.

There exists one German-wide Jewish newspaper, the weekly *Allgemeine Juedische Wochenzeitung*, published by the Zentralrat. Some larger communities, such as Berlin, Frankfurt, and Duesseldorf, issue their own community bulletins. The *Frankfurter Juedische Nachrichten* is only issued a few times a year but remains significant both because of its independence and its high level. By now the Russian immigrants have also established their own press. Jewish student papers such as *Cheschbon* in the 1980s and *Nudnik* in the 1990s had a rather short-lived existence, but student papers continue to exist in varying formats.

The most prominent Jewish representatives of cultural life in Germany are to be found in the realm of music. An impressive list just of conductors can easily be drawn up, ranging from Daniel Barenboim and Vladimir Ashkenazy to James Levine, Lorin Maazel, and Asher Fish. None of them resides permanently in Germany or is affiliated with Jewish life there, but they all have regular appointments and thus put their stamp on German cultural life. Such a list is more than a curiosity: it demonstrates that for a certain sector of society a burgeoning cultural and economic life can overshadow the tragic past. What is true in music is also true in other areas, such as academia, the sciences, and business. Especially where no language barriers exist, increasing mobility makes people move to prosperous and culturally attractive places and stay there, either temporarily or permanently.

Since the 1960s and 1970s German public discourse has been characterized by a culture of memory, which began with modest exhibits and local memorials and reached its peak in the 1990s with the construction of several Jewish museums and the big debate around the Berlin Holocaust Monument. In the 1980s and 1990s the German public began to discuss the less pleasant aspects of the German past with an openness unknown before – ranging from the Historians Debate all the way up to the present debates about the Goldhagen book, the Walser speech, the Wehrmacht exhibit, and the slave labor reparations.

Here again larger German issues were decisive. It was the generation of 1968, and the issues of 1968, which influenced the future outlooks of both progressive and conservative Jewish intellectuals as well. The identification with the student revolt and its causes, just as the later disappointment with an antisemitism often posing as anti-Zionism, shaped the critical Jewish voices emerging first in opposition to the official leadership, but – at least in the Fassbinder scandal – overriding traditional borders. As Jewish intellectuals such as Micha Brumlik, Dan Diner, and Henryk Broder made it clear, their growing disillusionment with the German left caused them to reconsider their Jewish identities. On the other hand, the minority conservative Jewish view (represented for example by TV journalist Richard Loewenthal in the 1960s and 1970s or by the historian Michael Wolffsohn in later decades) was also decisively shaped by its opposition to the student revolt and the values connected to it.

More noticeable than any internal Jewish discourse is the immense German interest in matters Jewish, mainly in the cultural and scholarly spheres. Jewish museums were built in Frankfurt, Berlin, and many smaller places in the 1980s and 1990s and another one in Munich was under construction. Chairs and departments in the field of Jewish Studies spread in the same period. TV films, series, and mini-series on Jewish life are prime time viewing fare. Jewish festivals have become a regular part of local culture in Berlin, Munich, and many other places, Yiddish *klezmer* bands flourish, and Jewish book stores carry on a brisk trade.

[Michael Brenner (2nd ed.)]

Antisemitism

Since the early 1980s, there has been an ever stronger evolution of two countervailing trends in West Germany, and as is now apparent, in East Germany as well. The first one consists of pro-Jewish and sometimes pro-Israeli currents with often strongly idealizing and romanticizing elements; the other, in the wake of growing racism, of more virulent forms of antisemitism. In the past, surveys have shown that the right-wing potential – expressed, for example, in sympathy for the moderate right-wing Republikaner party (roughly equivalent to France's Front National) or by core antisemitic attitudes – has been at about 15%. In recent years, however, the Right has experienced clear gains. This has to do with the traumatic experience of unification for many East Germans, and Germany experiencing the highest growth in foreign population of any state in the European community and far larger absolute numbers of immigrants than Britain or France, former colonial powers. In 1992 alone, willingness to vote for a right-wing party jumped from 12% to 19% in the West, from 8% to 12% in the East; Gerhard Frey's Deutsche Volksunion (DVU), the right of the Republikaner, grew from 22,000 to 24,000 members. In the 2004 state elections of Saxony, the extremist right-wing NPD (Nationaldemokratische Partei Deutschlands) received almost 10% of the vote, and higher percentages among the younger voters. But in the nationwide Bundestag elections of 2005 they fell clearly under 2%.

Blatantly neo-Nazi groups, such as the Deutsche Alternative (AD) of the late Michael Kuhnen, grew from a few dozen members in the 1980s to over 1,000 in the 1990s, with a substantial growth in particular localities in the East. Neo-Nazi, skinhead-type activists increased concurrently from 1,000 to about 6,000 in early 1993, while the total right-wing extremist membership must be estimated at well over 40,000 members. With this growth and the crystallization of right-wing movements into ever more stable parties and other institutions, antisemitism, previously often underground, is now out in the open and acceptable again in some quarters. This goes hand in hand with desecrations of cemeteries, synagogues, monuments, and plaques commemorating the Holocaust (including, for example, the burning of a barracks at Sachsenhausen), with occasional attacks against individual Jews. These sentiments are often located in the lower and lower-middle class, as well as among some noteworthy neo-conservative and right-wing intellectuals. In order to contain the Right within its ranks, the governing CDU has largely downplayed the seriousness of these developments. While they represent a serious threat, as shown in the pogrom-like acts in Moellin, Rostock, or Hoyerswerda, the recent massive resistance against the Right is at least as noteworthy, especially the anniversary of *Kristallnacht* which is turning increasingly into a central day of anti-racist action, with hundreds of thousands in the large cities demonstrating against racism and the asylum policies of the government. Some in the Jewish community, notably Central Council Chair Ignatz Bubis, have been important voices in this regard.

Relations with Israel

Prior to the establishment of diplomatic relations between the State of Israel and the German Federal Republic (West Germany) in March 1965, relations between the two states were confined to the agreement of Sept. 10, 1952, for global recompense of the material damage inflicted on the Jewish people by the National-Socialist regime (see *Restitution and Indemnification). An Israel mission was in charge of the implementation of this agreement as the only official representative of Israel in the Federal Republic. No German counterpart existed in Israel, in view of vehement opposition there to extending relations beyond the commercial limits of the agreement. The Israel mission was, however, authorized to grant entry visas to Israel, where the British consulate, acting for the Federal Republic, granted entry visas to West Germany. The value of Israel's purchases under the agreement amounted to 60–80 million marks annually. As a result of the contact with the large number of suppliers, relations developed and reached far beyond the field of commerce. Consequently, and in view of the Federal Republic's impressive economic and political recovery from 1953 onward, a need was felt for more clearly defined relations, as well as for the presence of an official representative in Israel. In a letter to the Israel mission, written in March 1956, the then foreign secretary, H. von Brentano, officially proposed the establishment of a mission in Israel whose status would be parallel to that of the Israel mission. Although this proposal was accepted by Israel, it was not implemented by Germany, since the German Foreign Office feared the Arab States would react to the establishment of diplomatic relations between Israel and the Federal Republic by recognizing the German Democratic Republic (East Germany) as a second sovereign German state. Such a development would be contrary to the Hallstein Doctrine (adopted in May 1958), whose basic aim was Germany's reunification.

On March 7, 1965 (two years after Ludwig Erhard had become chancellor of the Federal Republic) an offer to establish diplomatic relations with Israel was made; the timing of the offer was due to an official visit to Cairo by Walter Ulbricht, head of the Democratic Republic. Ulbricht's visit was considered by the Federal Republic's government as provocation by President Nasser of the United Arab Republic and an overture to the establishment of diplomatic relations with the Democratic Republic. In consequence of this visit and the publicity campaign initiated by Nasser against the supply of defensive arms to Israel by the Federal Republic (although Egypt received incomparably more weapons from the Soviet Union), diplomatic relations were broken off between Germany and Egypt and most of the Arab States. The Israeli government and the Knesset accepted the West German offer, and on May 12, 1965, diplomatic relations were finally established; exchange of ambassadors followed in July 1965. From July 1965, relations developed satisfactorily between the Federal Republic and Israel. The visit to Israel of the former Chancellor, Konrad Adenauer, in May 1966 was a significant event. It demonstrated his friendship for Israel and for the former prime minister, David *Ben-Gurion. In November 1967 the former chancellor, Professor Erhard, paid a visit to Israel, which also symbolized the gradual normalization of relations. At the inauguration of the new Knesset building in 1966, the Federal Republic was represented by the president of its parliament, Eugen Gerstenmaier. An Israel-German chamber of commerce was established with Walter Hesselbach, a leading figure in the West German economy, and the former minister of finance, Franz Etzel, at its head. Long-term loans for development were granted by the Federal Republic to Israel in 1966 and subsequent years under an agreement of May 12, 1965. Similar loans had been granted for the development of the Negev in the years 1961–65, agreed upon at the historic meeting between Ben-Gurion and Adenauer at the Waldorf Astoria Hotel in New York on March 14, 1960. Visitors from all walks of life subsequently went from the Federal Republic to Israel, and these visits furthered better understanding between the two countries. Even in the five years preceding the establishment of diplomatic relations, about 40,000 young people aged between 18 and 25 years from the Federal Republic had visited Israel. The first German ambassador to Israel, Rolf Pauls, made unceasing efforts for the improvement of relations. Asher Ben-Nathan was Israel's first ambassador to the Federal Republic.

[Felix Eliezer Shinnar]

The policy of the Federal Republic of Germany toward Israel was originally based, to a certain extent, on the assumption that Germany had a unique responsibility in regard to the Jewish State, but this factor has since tended to play a smaller role. Since Germany has no special interests in the Middle East, no political conflicts were created. Germany supported the majority of Israel's requests to strengthen its ties with the European community (e.g., the Common Market). Personal relations between the leaders of both countries have also been strengthened in past years.

The support of Israel by the vast majority of Germans revealed by public opinion polls during the Six-Day War has waned since then, and in New Left circles a radical anti-Israel attitude has evolved. Chancellor Willy *Brandt's official visit to Israel, the first by a German chancellor, in 1973, was an occasion for demonstrations of friendship between the two countries. With his unequivocal anti-Nazi past he stressed the fact that his attitude was not determined by any personal feelings of guilt, but that every German – even of the generation which had not been involved in the Nazi atrocities – must remember the Holocaust for which Germany had been responsible. At the same time, however, Brandt strove for the normalization of relations between the two countries and their citizens.

During the Yom Kippur War, however, Germany not only emphasized her neutrality, but even had a hand in the distinctly pro-Arab resolution adopted by the European Community during the war. To some extent, however, Germany later modified this policy and took up a position midway between the friendly attitude of Holland and the pro-Arab stand of France. In his first official statement to the Bundestag on May 17, 1974, the new chancellor of the Federal Republic, Helmut Schmidt, reaffirmed his predecessor's Middle East policy, indicating his intention of continuing Bonn's balanced approach towards Israel and the Arab countries.

In his address at the United Nations on November 19, 1974, the German representative, Ruediger von Vechmar, expressed, among other things, his government's recognition of the right of the Palestinian people to decide whether they wish an independent authority in the territories to be handed over by Israel. West Germany abstained in the vote on the UN resolution recognizing the right of the Palestinians to fight for their independence by every means. It had earlier abstained on the vote to invite PLO representatives to the General Assembly. It voted against the resolution to grant observer status to the PLO and in common with all other countries condemned the passing of the Jerusalem Law in 1980.

Trade relations between the two countries have continued to develop since the reparations agreement, and in 1972 Germany occupied third place in Israel's foreign trade, after the U.S. and England; 9% of Israel's exports and 12% of her imports were tied up with German trade. Imports from Federal Germany rose from $225.2 million in 1972 to $ 11.8 in 1973, $ 90 million in 1974, and $790.7 million in 1980. Exports from Israel similarly rose from $103.5 million in 1972 to $136.8 million in 1973, but dropped to $135 million in 1974. In 1980 they were $541.9 million.

In 1990, Germany gave Israel DM 63.6 million in development aid in the form of loans and other contributions; while in 1981, imports by Israel amounted to DM 1,724.4 million, by 1991 they had risen to DM 3,036.4 million; Israeli exports to Germany grew from DM 1,077.1 to DM 1,464.4 million. During the Gulf War, the debate between the "pacifists and bellicists" cut across all parties in Germany, and the Israeli public and politicians were angered about the neutral and sometimes anti-Israel stance taken by German politicians and the media, especially in light of the military hardware and poison gas installations given to Iraq by German firms. Partly because of the uproar caused by this, Germany promised Israel $670 million in aid; it supported the war effort with $5.5 billion and sent military goods and gas masks valued at $60 million. These monetary concessions vis-à-vis Israel were complemented by a flurry of visits, including that of Foreign Minister Genscher, to Israel and meetings by Chancellor Kohl and others with major international Jewish organizations.

Apart from the Gulf War and despite all historical obstacles, contacts have been increasing all along. Even before unification, for example, the speakers of both the West and East German parliaments, Rita Süssmuth and Sabine Bergmann-Pohl, in a demonstrative act both for international and domestic consumption, undertook to visit *Yad Vashem in Jerusalem, and the number of mutual political visits in general is steadily growing. Presidents Chaim Herzog and Richard von Weizsaecker made major visits to each other's countries, and there are almost annual visits by the foreign ministers as well as occasional visits by the prime minister of Israel to

Germany and by the German chancellor to Israel. Two Federal presidents, Johannes Rau and Horst Köhler, delivered speeches in the Knesset in German, despite the objections of some Knesset members.

Exchanges also intensified at the cultural and scientific levels. After the death of Herbert von Karajan (whose activities in World War II were regarded with suspicion) in 1989, the Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra could finally visit Israel the following year, and even Gottfried Wagner, great-grandson of Richard Wagner, was invited in 1990 to participate in lectures and discussions. Israeli academics receive study grants to Germany, and the German-Israeli Foundation engenders a wide network of scientific cooperation. Israeli artists, likewise, receive considerable attention in Germany; most noteworthy was the 1990 meeting of Israeli and German authors in Mainz, with Aharon *Meged, Yoram *Kaniuk, Ruth *Almog, and David *Grossman. In 1991 Amos *Oz received the prestigious award of the Frankfurt Book Fair. Tensions between Israel and Germany Jewry have been aggravated by Israeli pressure on the German government not to admit Jews from the former Soviet Union, and by Ignatz Bubis' criticism of Israel's treatment of Palestinians, especially its deportation policy.

Today, in an ironic twist and despite all ambivalences, bitterness, and mutual misunderstandings, the presence of Israel is greater in Germany than in any other European country, and Germany has become the major advocate of Israeli interests and concerns in Europe.

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GERNSHEIM, FRIEDRICH (1839–1916), German composer, conductor, and teacher. Born in Worms, of an old Rhineland family, Gernsheim was a child prodigy, both as performer and composer. He taught and conducted at Cologne and Rotterdam, and from 1890 in Berlin. Finally he became director of a master class in composition at the Prussian Academy of Fine Arts. During his early years as conductor he promoted the works of Brahms. His own compositions, which number over a hundred, include piano and chamber works, four symphonies, cantatas, choral compositions, and songs. Their idiom is generally conservative, although innovations appear in his late period. A renewal of interest in Gernsheim's compositions was noticeable in the 1960s, especially in Germany. His attitude to Judaism seems to have been passive although he gave the subtitle *Mirjam* to his third symphony, op. 54, in which he depicted Miriam's song of triumph at the Red Sea; and he also wrote an *Elohenu* for cello and orchestra or piano (1882). The greater part of his papers and manuscripts were donated in 1966 to the Jewish National and University Library in Jerusalem.

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[Bathja Bayer]

GERÖ, ERNÖ (formerly **Singer**; 1898–1980), Hungarian statesman. Gero was born in Budapest and joined the Hungarian Communist Party before the revolution of Béla *Kun (1919). Following the downfall of Kun, he left Hungary for Germany, but returned secretly and served as editor of the Communist underground newspaper. Later he settled in the U.S.S.R. and took part in the Civil War in Spain (1935–36), where, it is assumed, he served as an agent of the NKVD. It is stated that he was responsible for the "guidance" of the Catalan Communists and partly also for the death sentences passed on actual or presumed "deviationists" in the International Brigade, among them Hungarians. He was regarded as more trustworthy even than the Hungarian dictator Mátyas *Rakosi, and it was even rumored that one of his duties was to keep him under surveillance.

Gerö returned to Hungary with the Russian army at the end of 1944. He was appointed minister of transport and placed in charge of the reconstruction of the devastated country and its industry. Among the works attributed to him was the rebuilding of the splendid bridges over the Danube which had been destroyed by the Nazis. He was appointed head of the committee for implementing the Five-Year Plan.

In 1952, Gerö was appointed deputy prime minister and, as a member of the party Politburo and the United Party, was a central figure in the harsh dictatorship. During the period of relaxed rule which followed the historic 20th Congress, at which Khrushchev exposed Stalin and his regime, Gerö was appointed head of the delegation of reconciliation which was sent to meet Marshal Tito in Yugoslavia.

Following the deposition of Rákosi in 1956 Gerö was appointed first secretary of the Communist Party and tried to crush the revolution which broke out on the first day by Stalinist methods. When that failed, he appealed for help to the Soviet army stationed in Hungary. Two days later, he himself was deposed and in 1960 again went to the U.S.S.R., returning to Hungary in 1962, when he was expelled from the Communist Party.

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[Baruch Yaron]

GERONA (Catalan, **Girona**; Lat. **Gerunda**; Heb. **גירונא**), city in Catalonia, northeastern Spain. The Jewish community of Gerona was the second largest in Catalonia, probably dating back to the end of the ninth century. The importance of the community was due to its numerical strength, and no less to its religious and cultural achievements. Houses in the Jewish quarter are mentioned in documents from the mid-tenth century. Jews who owned land in Gerona and its surroundings had to pay a tithe to the Church. In 1160 they were permitted to lease shops built outside the city walls. Remains of the public baths and tombstones have been preserved. In the 13th century the community reached its peak from a demographic point of view, with 1,000 people. Jews began to take part in the administration in the 13th century. Noteworthy were the *baile* (bailiff) Bondia Gracián, *Benveniste de Porta, and Astruc *Ravaya and his son Joseph, both members of the court of Pedro III of Aragon. They served as administrative officers and their signatures in Hebrew appear on numerous documents. Solomon b. Abraham *Adret cooperated with them in the Jewish communal leadership. About 1271 the communities of Gerona and *Besalú, which formed a joint *collecta*, or tax administrative unit, paid a total of 20,000 sólidos, approximately half the sum paid by the community of *Barcelona. In the 13th century the priests of the local cathedral chapter instituted the custom of casting stones on the Jewish quarter from the cathedral tower at Easter, sometimes causing much damage. In 1278 Pedro III threatened to hold the bishop responsible for such actions. At Easter 1331 rioters broke into the Jewish quarter. In 1285 the Jews in Gerona took part in its defense against the French; they suffered when the latter occupied the city, and again when it was recaptured by Pedro III. From the end of the 13th century Jews were forced out of their positions in the local administration, as well as from various economic activities: no further mention is made of Jewish landowners cultivating their own land, and some Jews of Gerona settled in other cities under royal protection. Nevertheless, the Gerona community absorbed Jews expelled from France in 1306.

In 1258 James I of Aragon empowered the Jews in Gerona and nearby Besalú to appoint five persons to punish tax offenders. In 1279 Pedro III granted Benedict Jonah of Gerona and Solomon b. Abraham Adret sole jurisdiction over the community. In 1341 certain notables from Barcelona drafted regulations for the Gerona community concerning the election of trustees, auditors, "criers" (*makhrizim*), and a dual council with 26 members in one section and 16 members in the other. The community was dominated by an oligarchy, which in 1386 was torn by a violent quarrel resulting in the intervention of the authorities. In April 1391 the community of Gerona was given a new constitution, specifying the names of 23 persons entitled to serve on the council, some for life and others for a three-year term. The council was to appoint magistrates (*borerim*), trustees, and a salaried treasurer and tax collector. The latter had to be chosen from among the lesser taxpayers, and relatives of trustees were not eligible for the post. In 1459 John II provided for the election by lot of a treasurer, trustees, two magistrates, and two tax assessors.

During the 1391 persecutions the majority of the Jews of Gerona chose martyrdom. A few were converted to Christianity, mainly merchants and artisans. Some Jews found refuge in the citadel and others managed to escape to *Perpignan. The community had already been reconstituted by 1392. The Jews of Gerona were compelled to send two representatives to the disputation of *Tortosa, which resulted in an intensified tendency to conversion as well as increased attacks on Jews. However, the city authorities and King Ferdinand took action to protect the Jews in Gerona (1413–14). In 1415 the king ordered that the synagogue in Calle San Lorenzo, and the adjoining public bath, should be restored to the Jews. The synagogue was partly destroyed during the civil war in 1462–72.

The decline of the Gerona community continued throughout the 15th century. In 1431 the last treasurer (*gabbai*) of the charitable trust (*hekdesh*) became converted; Alfonso V ordered him to remain in office and to distribute the money at his disposal to both Christian and Jewish poor, but mainly to the Christians as the majority of the Jews had become converted. In 1442 the area of the Jewish quarter was reduced. A reflection of the state of affairs in the community in 1470 is the will of the widow of one Solomon Shalom, expressing the desire that her Jewish son and Christian daughter should live in peace and unity. In 1486 the Jews were prohibited from owning shops with windows and doors facing the main street. When the edict of expulsion of the Jews from Spain was issued in 1492, there was a small community in Gerona. Most of its members went into exile. The remains of the synagogue were sold for ten florins to a canon of the cathedral and the remaining property owned by Jews to the municipal notary and other citizens.

At the height of its prosperity the Gerona community was a center of learning and produced celebrated scholars, many of whom are known by the cognomen "Gerondi," i.e., originating from Gerona: their Italian descendants called themselves *Ghirondi. The primary importance of Gerona in Jewish history is that it became the first center of kabbalistic studies in the Iberian Peninsula. Due to its proximity to Provence, Gerona came under the influence of the Provençal mystics, headed by Isaac the Blind. The center in Gerona came into being at the beginning of the 13th century. The kabbalists of Gerona were instrumental in spreading the Kabbalah among the general public. Ezra ben Solomon, Azriel ben Menaḥem, Meshullam ben Solomon da Piera, Jacob ben Sheshet, and Abraham ha-Ḥazzan were the leading members of the Gerona circle of mystics. Kabbalists of a different school from Gerona were the cousins *Naḥmanides and *Jonah Gerondi. Both of them, but particularly Jonah Gerondi, were involved in the polemics on Maimonides that split the Jews of Provence and Spain in 1232. In the 1230s Gerona was one of the centers of the movement opposing the teachings of *Maimonides. Naḥmanides wrote an account of the disputation of *Barcelona for the bishop of Gerona. Naḥmanides also had connections with their Ḥavurah Kedoshah ("Sacred Association"), which had a decisive influence on the development of Kabbalah. Other noteworthy personalities included Zeraḥiah ha-Levi *Gerondi, who left Gerona while a youth; Jonah Gerondi the Younger (active 1270s); the physician Abraham de Castlar; *Nissim b. Reuben Gerondi (mid-14th century); David Bonjorn, a native of Perpignan (lived in Gerona at the end of the 14th century); Abraham b. Isaac ha-Levi, a distinguished communal leader (14th century); and in the 15th century, Bonastruc Desmaestre and Bonjudah Yeḥasel ha-Kaslari, both of whom took part in the Tortosa disputation.

The Jewish quarter or *call* of Gerona is one of the best preserved in the Iberian Peninsula. Despite the changes that the quarter has undergone since the Middle Ages, it still has part of the original streets, buildings, and remains of its Jewish past. The Jewish quarter and its synagogues make one of the best studies in the entire region. Prior to the 13th century the Jews lived in houses that belonged to the cathedral. These houses were in what is now known as the Plaza de los Apóstoles. In the 13th century the *call* consisted of Força Street, extending from one end of the street up to the building of the Pía Almoina, and from the old city wall, between the street Força and Ballesteríes, reaching the streets Lluis Batle and Oliva I Prat. Made of stones, in several buildings within the medieval *call* one can still see the slots for the *mezuzah*. The earliest synagogue which existed until the beginning of the 13th century was in the Plaza de los Apóstoles, at the corner of the Cathedral and the Bishop's Palace. Another synagogue, which was in Força Street, was closed down in 1415 by the order of Benedict XIII, because it was claimed that it had been previously a church. (This was probably true.) In 1416 King Alfonso V ordered the return of the synagogue to the Jews. Under Juan II the synagogue was in ruins and remained so until the Expulsion. The third synagogue continued to function until 1492. While there is no absolute certainty, it is possible that this synagogue was at No 10 Força Street, which is today included in the Bonastruc Ça Porta or Naḥmanides Center. Most of the tombstones found in the Jewish cemetery are displayed today in this center, where there is also a museum. The entrance to the center is in Sant Llorenç street. The Jewish cemetery was on the hill called, as in Barcelona, Montjuich (The Jews' Mountain).

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[Haim Beinart]

GERONDI (Gerundi), ISAAC BEN JUDAH (13th century), Spanish Hebrew poet. It has been suggested that Gerondi may perhaps be identified with Isaac ha-Nasi of Barcelona (a nephew of Sheshet ha-Nasi) whose poetry is lauded by *Al-Ḥarizi (*Taḥkemoni*, ed. by A. Kaminka (1899), 350–1). Gerondi's surname, Ibn Fasad (בן פשאד), has so far not been satisfactorily explained. The Latin transcription of this name, *Avenpesat*, is that of many Jews of Aragon, Navarre, and Marseilles (Baer, Urkunden, 1 (1929), 1095 s.v. *Avenpesat*). The designation *ha-Nadiv*, found in some of his acrostics, may refer to his father only. About 20 of Gerondi's poems are extant; among these are the individual parts of his *kerovah*, "*Va-Areẓ Etnappal Lifnei Dar Gevohai*" for *Rosh Ha-Shanah. The composition, in which poems by other authors are interpolated, is to be found in the rites of Algiers, Tunis, Constantine, and Tlemcen; and while the text in all four is the same, the incidental poems vary.

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[Jefim (Hayyim) Schirmann]

GERONDI, JACOB BEN SHESHET (mid-13th century), kabbalist in Gerona, Catalonia. His works include *Meshiv Devarim Nekhoḥim* (ed. G. Vajda, 1969), directed against Samuel ibn Tibbon's *Ma'amar Yikkavu ha-Mayim; Sha'ar ha-Shamayim* (published in *Oẓar Neḥmad* (1860), 153–65, and previously in *Likkutim me-Rav Hai Ga'on* (Warsaw, 1798), 15–25) – a treatise also known as *Moshe Kibbel* from its opening words; and *Ha-Emunah ve-ha-Bittaḥon* (first published in *Arzei Levanon* (Venice, 1601)) and in *Kitvei ha-Ramban* (ed. Chavel, 1964). In early manuscripts *Ha-Emunah ve-ha-Bittaḥon* was attributed to *Naḥmanides. Jacob Reifmann suggested that it was written by *Baḥya b. Asher, and other scholars accepted his conjecture. After this had been disproved by A. Tauber, G. Scholem was the first to assign the composition to Jacob b. Sheshet on the basis of comparing *Ha-Emunah ve-ha-Bittaḥon* with *Meshiv Devarim Nekhoḥim*. Recently it has become apparent that in several places in *Meshiv Devarim Nekhoḥim*, Jacob b. Sheshet makes reference to some items, stating "as I have written"; in these cases the subject under discussion is not found in *Meshiv Devarim Nekhoḥim* but in *Ha-Emunah ve-ha-Bittaḥon*. The work has been published in several editions; that by C.B. Chavel retains the errors of previous printings.

Although Jacob b. Sheshet and his works are not widely mentioned in the kabbalistic literature of the late 13th and early 14th century, they had a marked influence on this literature. Large sections of *Ha-Emunah ve-ha-Bittaḥon* were included in the works of Baḥya b. Asher, and Menahem b. Benjamin *Recanati also used the work in several places. *Meshiv Devarim Nekhoḥim*, too, had great influence. Entire homilies were copied by important kabbalists such as Baḥya b. Asher, Recanati, the anonymous author of **Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut*, and Todros *Abulafia. Traces of *Sha'ar ha-Shamayim* have been discovered in the works of Baḥya b. Asher, and *Isaac b. Samuel of Acre copied an important section of it. Jacob b. Sheshet was an outstanding opponent of what he believed to be the heretical tendencies of philosophy, which, he believed, deny: (1) the true essence of the Torah, considering it merely as a sociopolitical theory designed only to regulate the physical needs of the man and society; (2) the creation of the world; (3) divine providence; (4) retribution. Such heresy results in the denial of the value of prayer and of the possibility of man's asking his needs of God.

In *Meshiv Devarim Nekhoḥim* he formulates the kabbalistic meaning of these basic conceptions. A great part of the work is devoted to the question of the creation of the world. Like other kabbalists he is far from holding the traditional conception of creation out of nothing; however, his commentary to Genesis differs from that of his contemporary kabbalists whose works he knew well. Jacob b. Sheshet posits a continuous emanation from the divine realm, i.e., the world of the *Sefirot*, to the physical world. To construct this continuity two main elements, heavenly matter and earthly matter, are found in the world of the *Sefirot*; they evolved until the heavenly and the earthly hylic substances were formed. Thus, according to Jacob b. Sheshet, Genesis is not an expression of a paradigm, i.e., a description of the creation of the physical world which repeats the formation of the world of the *Sefirot*. It is rather a continuous description, beginning with the creation within the world of the *Sefirot* and ending with the physical stage of the primal divine element.

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[Efraim Gottlieb]

GERONDI, MOSES BEN SOLOMON D'ESCOLA (second half of 13th century), *paytan* of Gerona, Catalonia. Gerondi was related to *Naḥmanides, who in 1267 sent a letter from Jerusalem requesting that his greetings be conveyed to Gerondi – his "son and pupil" – whose poem he had read with great emotion on the Mount of Olives. He may have had in mind the **seliḥah, "Yerushalayim Ir ha-Kodesh,"* printed at the conclusion of Naḥmanides' commentary to the Pentateuch. Gerondi is known to be the author of some other liturgical poems.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Gross, Gal Jud, 147; Landshuth, Ammudei, 235, 259; Zunz, Gesch, 482; Davidson, Oẓar, 4 (1933), 448.

[Joseph Elijah Heller]

GERONDI, SAMUEL BEN MESHULLAM (c. 1300), scholar of Gerona, Catalonia. Hardly any biographical details are known of him. Gerondi's fame rests primarily on his *Ohel Mo'ed* (1 (Jerusalem, 1886); 2 (Jerusalem, 1904)), a comprehensive code consisting only of such laws as are of practical application. The book is divided into 4 parts: (1) *Ma'arekhet Tamid*, on the reading of the *Shema*, prayer, blessings, *tefillin, mezuzah, ẓiẓit*; appended is a separate section ("gate") devoted to morals and ethics; (2) *Avodat ha-Mishkan*, the laws of ritual slaughter, *terefot*, ritual law, including laws of marriage; (3) *Mishmeret ha-Kodesh*, on the Sabbath and the *eruv; (4) *Yare'aḥ le-Mo'adim*, on the festivals. Each part is subdivided into chapters, sections, and subsections called "gates," "roads," and "paths," respectively. In this work, written after 1320, the author quotes extensively from the early Spanish, Provençal, and German scholars. Like the *Toledot Adam ve-Ḥavvah* of his contemporary, *Jeroham b. Meshullam, Gerondi's work was to a large extent superseded by the *Arba'ah Turim* of *Jacob b. Asher, which fulfilled essentially the same task in a far more comprehensive manner and which was superior both in form and style. Joseph *Caro is almost the sole authority to quote Gerondi. His work, as it has come down, is an abridged version by the author himself of a larger work which is no longer extant.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Gruenhut, in: JQR, 11 (1898/99), 345–9.

[Israel Moses Ta-Shma]

GERONDI, SOLOMON BEN ISAAC (13th century), Spanish liturgical poet. Gerondi was a student of *Naḥmanides (see *Tashbeẓ*, no. 456). According to L. Zunz he composed five poems which include his variation of a favorite theme among medieval poets, the "Thirteen Attributes of God"; "*Shav min ha-Pesilim*," a hymn on the patriarch Abraham; and an elegy for the Ninth of *Av (*Shekhurat ve-Lo mi-Yayin*). The latter became very popular among Sephardi and Ashkenazi Jews.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Zunz, Lit Poesie, 482f.; Zunz, Poesie, 144, 309; Schirmann, Sefarad, 2 (1956), 326–8; Davidson, Oẓar, 4 (1933), 474. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** Schirmann-Fleischer, 434 n.28; Feliu, *Poemes Hebraics de Jueus Catalans* (1976), 89–93.

GERONDI, ZERAHIAH BEN ISAAC HA-LEVI (12th century), rabbinical scholar and poet. His father, ISAAC HA-YIẒHARI ben ZERAHIAH HA-LEVI GERONDI, was a Hebrew poet and talmudic scholar in Spain. His poetry was included in the rites of the communities of Avignon, Carpentras, Montpellier, Oran, and Tlemcen. Zerahiah, born in Gerona, Spain, left his native city in his youth, possibly to escape from his many enemies there, and settled in Provence. In Narbonne he studied under *Moses b. Joseph, as well as under *Abraham b. Isaac and Joseph *Ibn Plat. He lived for many years in Lunel, which he was compelled to leave on several occasions because of disputes. In Lunel he was the teacher of Samuel, the son of Judah ibn *Tibbon. Judah characterized Zerahiah as unique in his generation, called him his superior in knowledge, and extolled the stylistic excellence of his letters and poems (I. Abrahams (ed.), *Hebrew Ethical Wills*, 1 (1926), 72). Zerahiah was proficient in Arabic as well as in philosophy and astronomy, having acquired knowledge of the latter in Provence. At the age of 19 he composed a *piyyut* in Aramaic and began to write his chief halakhic work, *Ha-Ma'or* ("The Luminary"), which he completed in the 1180s in Lunel. It is divided into two parts – *Ha-Ma'or ha-Katan* ("The Lesser Luminary" – a play on Lunel, "the moon") on *Berakhot*, many tractates of the order *Mo'ed*, and *Ḥullin*; and *Ha-Ma'or ha-Gadol* ("The Great

Luminary" – a play on his name Zerahiah), on *Nashim* and *Nezikin*. (These have several times been published separately, often together with Isaac Alfasi's commentary, and from 1552 appeared in the Venice edition of the Talmud.) This work, which is deeply critical of *Alfasi, constitutes part of the literature of criticism and is representative of the approach adopted by *Abraham b. David of Posquières in his criticism of Maimonides. *Ta-Shema asserts that *Ha-Ma'or* is not a work of criticism. He demonstrates that the work is really a talmudic commentary. A careful reading of *Ha-Ma'or* reveals that the center of discussion is the talmudic text and not Alfasi's commentary. Over fifty percent of Zerahiah's work does not mention Alfasi altogether. Indeed, Zerahiah discusses halakhic issues ignored by Alfasi because they have no practical application. Many of Zerahiah's disagreements with Alfasi do not concern the practical *halakhah*. Rather, they are about the correct understanding of the talmudic text. Nevertheless, Zerahiah did develop numerous rules for correctly reading and interpreting Alfasi, especially when it is unclear as to how Alfasi decides the law. In many instances Zerahiah preferred the version of the talmudic text as emended by Rashi, and he relied to a considerable extent on the methodology adopted by the northern French commentators, thus combining in his work the principles of the halakhic and exegetical schools of Spain and France which merged in Provence. The *Ma'or* on *Rosh Ha-Shanah* 20b contains a comprehensive exposition on the calendar and the principles of intercalation, Zerahiah having found it necessary to reaffirm the views of the Talmud against those who deviated from it. The language and style of the *Ha-Ma'or* are unique in their exactitude, brevity, and clarity. It is evident from the fine detail – such as the accuracy in citing other sources – that the work was edited carefully and presented as a completed work. Zerahiah was particularly adept at weaving together quotations from various rabbinic sources to make his point. Many generations of halakhists were influenced by the *Ma'or*, which, however, was strongly criticized by several scholars (especially Naḥmanides) who composed works in defense of Alfasi.

One area of particular note that exemplifies Zerahiah's influence on subsequent halakhic decisions is the determination of the halakhic dateline. His discussion of the laws of the New Moon and the necessity for some place in the world other than Jerusalem to experience a full 24 hours of *rosh ḥodesh* (the day of the new moon) led Zerahiah to determine that the halakhic international dateline was 90° east of Jerusalem. He was the first to make such a determination, all the while demonstrating the Talmud's understanding that the earth was round.

Zerahiah also wrote *Sefer ha-Ẓava*, a sequel to his earlier work, in which he endeavored to show that Alfasi had disregarded the accepted principles of talmudic interpretation (see Rabad, *Temim De'im*, 28a–29b, no. 225). In the acrimonious dispute between Abraham b. David and himself, Zerahiah came off second best in a halakhic exchange of letters (D. Crachman, *Divrei ha-Rivot*, 1908). Zerahiah wrote a criticism of Abraham's *Ba'alei ha-Nefesh* (published together with that work, Venice, 1741; Berlin, 1762) and attacked him in *Sela ha-Maḥaloket*, to which Abraham retaliated by severely criticizing *Ha-Ma'or (Katuv Sham*, ed. by I.D. Bergman (1957), introd., 26, 39, 42). Zerahiah was also the author of *Hilkhot Sheḥitah u-Vedikah, Sefer Pitḥei Niddah*, a commentary on the tractate *Kinnim*, and of responsa. *Hilkhot Sheḥitah u-Vedikah* was finally published by Lopiansky and Bordon (1984). The Sephardi *maḥzor* contains 18 of his *piyyutim*, one of which contains a reference to the Crusader rule in Jerusalem.

[Haim Hillel Ben-Sasson / David Derovan (2nd ed.)]

His brother BERECHIAH BEN ISAAC HA-LEVI, also called "Yiẓhari" (12th century), was a Spanish liturgical poet and Talmud scholar. According to Gross, the epithet "Yiẓhari" refers to the name of a Spanish town (perhaps Oliva or Olivares) where his ancestors had lived. He also was born in Gerona (Spain) but lived in Lunel, Provence. In one section of his *Sefer ha-Ma'or*, Zerahiah ha-Levi answers a halakhic question posed by his brother, and he also refers to Berechiah in a poem at the end of his *Hassagot al Sefer Ba'al ha-Nefesh le-ha-Rabad*. Berechiah was the author of a number of *piyyutim*, some extant only in manuscript.

[Joseph Elijah Heller]

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GEROVICH, ELIEZER MORDECAI BEN ISAAC (1844–1913), Russian *ḥazzan* and composer. Gerovich, who was born in the Ukraine, was gifted with a rich tenor voice. At the age of 18 he went to study music at Berdichev where he became assistant *ḥazzan* at the so-called Choral Synagogue (i.e., a synagogue with a choir). After studying cantoral music under Nissan *Blumenthal in Odessa, he attended the St. Petersburg Conservatory. In 1887 he was appointed chief *ḥazzan* at the Choral Synagogue at Rostov-on-Don, a post he held for 25 years. Gerovich became famous for his own compositions of synagogue music, based on traditional Jewish melodies but written in an original style. Most of them were collected in his two-volume *Schire Tefilla* and *Schire Simra* (1897).

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[Joshua Leib Ne'eman]

GERSHENZON, MIKHAIL OSIPOVICH (1869–1925), Russian literary historian, philosopher, and essayist. Born in Kishinev, Gershenzon studied in Berlin and Moscow. An anti-Marxist liberal, he nevertheless became the best-known exponent of the thesis that the Bolshevik Revolution would ultimately benefit Russian culture by freeing it from the shackles of tradition. This idea was expressed in his *Perepiska iz dvukh uglov* ("Correspondence From Two Corners," 1921), an exchange of letters with the Symbolist poet Vyacheslav Ivanov. Gershenzon's other works include monographs dealing with several 19th century Russian revolutionaries and men of letters, as well as such major studies as *Mechta I Mysl I.S. Turgeneva*, ("The Dream and Thoughts of Turgenev," 1919), and *Mudrost Pushkina*, ("The Wisdom of Pushkin," 1919). One of the foremost Russian intellectuals of his age, he was the organizer and first chairman of the All-Russian Writers Union. Accused of slavophilism, he replied that he was forever bound to Judaism. Gershenzon was one of the earliest enthusiasts of the revival of Hebrew literature and fought for its recognition as a potentially major contribution to modern writing. He expressed his credo in his foreword to "The Hebrew Anthology" (Russian), and in *The Key to Faith* (Rus.; Eng. translation, 1925). According to Gershenzon, "A free Jew does not cease being a Jew. On the contrary, only a free Jew is fully capable of absorbing Jewish spirit and merging it with his totally liberated humanity." He published an article on *Bialik (1914) and essays on Judaism. He saw in universalism a Jewish spiritual phenomenon and attacked the Zionist movement.

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[Maurice Friedberg / Shmuel Spector (2nd ed.)]

GERSHMAN, JOE (1903–1989), Canadian labor organizer, journalist. Born in the Ukraine, Joshua (Joe) Gershman arrived in Canada in 1921. His father had preceded him by eight years and had settled in Winnipeg. There the young Gershman got his first job as a fur dyer. Radicalized some years before by the Russian Revolution of 1917, Gershman joined the nascent Communist Party of Canada in 1923 and began working as a union organizer among the Jewish workers in Winnipeg's garment industry. After several arrests for his trade union activity, Gershman decided to move to Toronto, where he found work as a textile cutter. But factory work was of no interest to him and within a few weeks he quit to become, in his own description, a "professional revolutionary," which is what he would remain for the next 65 years.

As an organizer for Communist-led unions which were in the forefront of the labor struggles of the period, Gershman was involved in dozens of strikes and demonstrations in the garment districts of Toronto and Montreal. Along with fellow Party members such as Joe *Salsberg and Sam Lipschitz he was elected to the executive of the national bureau of Jewish Communists. In 1935, Gershman found his true craft as a journalist. He became the editor of *Der Kampf* (*The Struggle*), the militant voice of the Jewish labor movement. He was a gifted writer and a tireless polemicist and for the next 40 years he would publish a series of Communist newspapers – all in Yiddish.

Unlike most other Jewish members who deserted the Party after the sordid revelations of Stalin's antisemitism in the early 1950s, Gershman remained and continued to publish a left-wing Yiddish weekly, the *Vochenblatt,* until 1977. Only then, embittered and disappointed, did he leave the Communist Party to protest the relentless anti-Jewish policies of the Soviet government.

[Irving Abella (2nd ed.)]

GERSHOM (Heb. גֵּרְשׁוֹם, גֵּרְשֹׁם), elder son of Moses and Zipporah (Ex. 2:22; 18:3). Gershom was born in Midian. The meaning of the name is unknown, but is explained as "a stranger there," symbolizing Moses' flight from Egypt. According to I Chronicles 23:16 and 26:24, Gershom's son was Shebuel. Since, however, he is described as "the chief officer in charge of the treasuries" in the time of David, Shebuel was very likely a more distant descendant of Gershom. Another descendant was Jonathan who acted as a priest at the idol of Micah (Judg. 18:30; MT has "Moses" deferentially written with a suspended *nun*). The Gershomites had no functions in connection with the Tent of Meeting and no Levitical cities were apportioned to them. They apparently were priests to the tribe of Dan (*ibid.*).

ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY: J. Wright, in: ABD II, 993–94.

[Nahum M. Sarna]

GERSHOM BEN JUDAH ME'OR HA-GOLAH (c. 960–1028), one of the first great German talmudic scholars and a spiritual molder of German Jewry. Few biographical details are known of Gershom, most of the stories about him being of a legendary nature. He was apparently born in Metz, but his home was in Mainz (Isaac of Vienna, *Or Zaru'a* (1862), 2, 275), where he conducted a yeshivah, and where he wrote in 1013 the *ketubbah* for his second wife Bona, who was a widow. A tombstone in Mainz of which the extant words are "… in memoriam: R. Gershom ben R.…" is thought to be his. Gershom mentions only one of his teachers, Judah b. Meir ha-Kohen Leontin "from whom I received most of my knowledge" (Responsa Meir of Rothenburg (Prague, 1895), 264). His own best-known pupils are Eliezer the Great (*Eliezer b. Issac of Worms), *Jacob b. Jakar, and *Isaac b. Judah, the last two of whom were the teachers of *Rashi. His brother Machir compiled a lexicon known as *Alfa Beta Rabbi Makhir*, now lost. An unconfirmed tradition maintains that Gershom had a son Eliezer, who headed a yeshivah. The *rishonim, however, mention a son who was forcibly converted to Christianity and died before he could repent, yet his father fulfilled the laws of mourning for him (*Or Zaru'a, ibid.*, 428). The probable time for this is 1012, when Heinrich II issued an edict of expulsion against the Jews of Mainz. Gershom succeeded in turning Mainz into a major center for Torah study. This status lasted for a number of generations after his demise.

The reverence in which Rabbenu Gershom was held in subsequent generations was already expressed by Rashi: "Rabbenu Gershom, may the memory of the righteous and holy be for a blessing, who enlightened the eyes of the exile, and upon whom we all depend and of whom all Ashkenazi Jewry are the disciples of his disciple" (J. Mueller (ed.), *Teshuvot Ḥakhmei Ẓarefat ve-Lutir* (1881), no. 21). This is apparently also the source of the title "*Me'or ha-Golah*" ("Light of the Exile").

Gershom's name is connected with many *takkanot*, most famous of which is his *ḥerem* ("ban") against bigamy. Well known, too, is the *ḥerem* forbidding the unauthorized reading of private letters. This latter *takkanah* in particular, and several others ascribed to him, may not really be his. Rashi cites only one *takkanah* in his name, the prohibition against reminding forcibly converted Jews, who have repented and returned to the fold, of their transgressions. Jacob *Tam mentions his *takkanah* against emending talmudic texts. The two important *takkanot* enforcing monogamy and prohibiting the divorce of a wife against her will are attributed to him by *Meir of Rothenburg (loc. cit., nos. 866 and 1121), but Eliezer Nathan, who lived in Mainz a century after Gershom, refers to them as communal *takkanot* (*Sefer Raban* (Prague, 1610), 121b). Fifteenth-century scholars attribute to him the ancient *takkanah* known as the **ḥerem ha-yishuv* (Israel of Krems' gloss to Asher b. Jehiel, BB 2:12). It is possible that they were attributed to the great luminary to give these *takkanot* the weight of his great authority. On the other hand, there is no valid reason that *takkanot* ascribed to Gershom should not really be his. The reason for this debate is the fact that no original texts of these *takkanot* have survived. That, coupled with the fact that the scholars of his own generation do not quote Gershom's *takkanot*, raises the question of his authorship. However, later generations recognized the *takkanot* as his, including one individual who wrote to Solomon ben Aderet claiming that his community has an oral tradition regarding the *takkanot*.

Gershom's far-reaching ban on polygamy can be ascribed to the socio-economic situation in Germany of that time. The Jewish community experienced a good deal of economic stability and the rise of a wealthy merchant class. At the same time, the status of women improved. This is evident in the large dowries that were received and in the fact that many women ran their husband's businesses in his absence. An added factor was the increased sensitivity to social injustice. Thus, the time was ripe for a ban on polygamy in the Jewish community.

Rabbenu Gershom's responsa and halakhic decisions are scattered throughout the works of the French and German scholars, and have been collected by S. Eidelberg (1955). Most items deal with civil law. In them he bases himself upon the Bible and Talmud alone, and only seldom refers to the early *geonim*. In one place he writes that he prefers the opinion of his teacher Leontin, who likewise based himself on Scripture and Talmud (Meir of Rothenburg, loc. cit., no. 264), to that of the famous *geonim* Yehudai and Sherira, but the sources of Leontin's teaching are obscure. From his works it appears that Gershom was acquainted with the general German law of his time and was even influenced by it. His legal decisions were regarded as authoritative, particularly by French and German scholars throughout the centuries, and influenced the major direction of the *halakhah* in these countries.

The commentaries attributed to R. Gershom which were published in the Vilna Romm edition of the Talmud to tractates *Bava Batra, Ta'anit*, and the whole of *Seder Kedoshim* (except *Zevaḥim*), are now considered not to be his. He probably laid the foundations for them, but the present work is that of his pupils and their pupils. *Nathan b. Jehiel, in the *Arukh*, refers to it sometimes as "the commentary of the sages of Mainz," and sometimes as that of Rabbenu Gershom, but mostly quotes it anonymously (over 550 times). It was superseded by Rashi's commentary and remained almost unknown until the time of Bezalel *Ashkenazi, who was also the first to ascribe them to Rabbenu Gershom.

Gershom transcribed the Mishnah and the *Masorah Gedolah* of the Bible and corrected them. These copies were highly regarded by the *rishonim*, on account of their accuracy. He was the first Franco-German scholar to compose *seliḥot* and other *piyyutim* (collected by A.M. Habermann, 1944). His *seliḥot* were accepted in all German communities; most popular is the *piyyut Zekhor Berit*, included in the *seliḥot* of Rosh Ha-Shanah. They reflect the troubles and tribulations of his generation and are noteworthy for their simplicity and naturalness of expression and the emotion with which they are imbued.

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[Shlomo Eidelberg / David Derovan (2nd ed.)]

GERSHOM BEN SOLOMON (13th century), Provençal scholar of Béziers. No biographical details are known about him. He compiled a halakhic work, *Shalman*, giving the halakhic rulings of the Talmud according to the order of the *halakhot* of Isaac Alfasi, and approximating the order of Maimonides in his *Mishneh Torah*. In some sources Gershom's work is erroneously called *Shulḥan* and is not to be confused with the *Sefer Shulḥan* in the Paris National Library (Zotenberg, no. 415; see Benjacob, 583 no. 687, and Lubetzky, bibl.). Gershom's book was completed by his son SAMUEL BEN GERSHOM who also participated in the composition of the earlier portion. Lubetzky corrected the name Meshullam b. Gershom to Samuel b. Gershom in *Bet ha-Beḥirah* (Introduction to *Avot*). The book and its author are referred to in *Mikhtam* by David b. Levi of Narbonne (ed. by A. Sofer (1959), 223), the commentary of Manoah b. Jacob of Narbonne on Maimonides' Yad (Constantinople, 1718, 11b, et al.), *Kol Bo* and *Orḥot Ḥayyim* (see index), *Avudarham* (ed. by C.L. Ehrenreich (1927), 29), and in *Sefer Ba'alei Asufot* (still in manuscript; see Lubetzky). Samuel was the teacher of *Judah b. Jacob, the author of the last-named work.

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[Shlomoh Zalman Havlin]

GERSHON, GERSHONITES (Heb. גֵּרְשׁוֹן; in Chron. usually Gershom, גֵּרְשׁוֹם, גֵּרְשֹׁם), the eldest son of Levi, from whom a division of the Levites traced their descent (Gen. 46:11; Ex. 6:16–17; Num. 3:17ff.; Josh. 21:6, 27; I Chron. 5:27; 6:1). The clan descended from Gershon is designated "Gershonites" (Heb. הַגֵּרְשֻׁנִּי; e.g., Num. 3:21). Two sons of Gershon, Libni and Shimei, are also mentioned (Ex. 6:17; Num. 3:18; I Chron. 6:2); in I Chronicles 23:7 and 26:21 Ladan is used in place of Libni. After the exile, very little mention is made of the Gershonites as such. However, the distinguished guild of Asaphites is said to be descended from Gershon (I Chron. 6:24–28 [39–43]), and 128 (Ezra 2:41), or 148 (Neh. 7:44), of the Asaphites are reported to have taken up residence in Jerusalem. They led the music at the laying of the foundation of the Temple (Ezra 3:10) and blew the trumpets at the dedication of the city walls (Neh. 12:35). The traditions that make Gershon the eldest son of Levi presumably originated in a period in which the Gershonite clan was significant. Yet in terms of their position in the levitical hierarchy, the Kohathites seem to rank higher in that they transported the sacred vessels of the tabernacle including the ark (Levine).

The biblical sources describe four stages in the history of the Gershonites. These sources are of mixed historical value.

(1) According to the Book of Numbers, during the desert wanderings, the clans encamped behind the Tabernacle, to the west (Num. 3:23). In the census of the Levites from the age of one month up, the recorded entries of all the Gershonite males came to 7,500 (3:22), and the entries of males from the age of 30 through 50 came to 2,630 (4:39–40). Their duty was to carry the hangings which comprised the Tabernacle proper, the outer coverings and the hangings of the court, with their cords, and the altar and accessories (3:25–26; 4:24–26; cf. 10:17), for which they were assigned two carts and four oxen, as required for their service (7:7). They were under the direction of Ithamar, the youngest son of Aaron the priest. Given the arrangement of the Israelites according to *degel* in these narratives, a feature known from the archives from *Elephantine of the fifth century B.C.E., it is to that period that we must assign the desert traditions concerning the Gershonites. (2) After the settlement in the land, the Gershonites were assigned 13 cities in the tribal territories of the half-clan of Manasseh on the eastern side of the Jordan and of the clans of Issachar, Asher, and Naphtali, on the western side (Josh. 21:6, 27–33; I Chron. 6:47, 56–61). Several scholars date these lists to the eighth century.

(3) According to the Chronicler, at the direction of David the Temple music was conducted partly by Asaph, a Gershonite, and his family (e.g., I Chron. 25:1–2). David also appointed the clan to undertake service in the Temple when he organized the Levites into divisions "according to the sons of Levi" (23:6–11; 26:20ff.).

The last time the Gershonites are mentioned as such is in the list of Levites who took part in the cleansing of the Temple under Hezekiah (II Chron. 29:12–13). Here the Gershonites are moved to third position.

ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY: W. Propp, in: ABD, 2:994–95; B. Levine, *Numbers 1–20* (1993), 144–51; S. Japhet, *I & II Chronicles* (1993), 920–21.

[Shlomo Balter / S.David Sperling (2nd ed.)]

GERSHON, ISAAC (d. after 1620), scholar and proofreader. His full name was Isaac b. Mordecai Gershon Treves but he is usually referred to simply as Isaac Gershon. Gershon was born in Safed and studied under Moses *Alshekh. He went to Venice not later than 1576, and on his journey there published his *Shelom Esther* (Constantinople, c. 1575–76), an anthology of the commentaries of the French and Spanish scholars to the Book of Esther. For more than 30 years he worked as proofreader of books published in Venice, mainly by the Safed scholars. Among the works he saw through the press were *Beit Elohim* (1576) by Moses di *Trani; *Reshit Ḥokhmah* (1579) by Elijah di Vidas; *Manot ha-Levi* (1585) by Solomon *Alkabeẓ; *Zemirot Yisrael* (1599–1600) by Israel *Najara; the Pentateuch commentary by Moses Alshekh (1601–07); the *Sefer Ḥaredim* (1601) by Eleazar *Azikri; and responsa by Moses Galante (1608). Isaac Gershon was a member of the Venice *bet din* and his signature appears on its resolutions and edicts together with those of the Venice rabbis Ben Zion Sarfaty and Judah Leib *Saraval. He published *Mashbit Milḥamot* (Venice, 1606), containing the rulings of those rabbis who were lenient in connection with the *Rovigo *mikveh*. He wrote commentaries to other books of the Bible; his commentary on Malachi was published in *Likkutei Shoshannim* (*ibid.*, 1602). Together with the other rabbis of Venice, he defended the emissary, Jedidiah b. Moses b. Mordecai Galante, who was accused of embezzling money he had collected for Ereẓ Israel. Some of Isaac's responsa are extant, published in the works of his contemporaries or in manuscript. Toward the end of his life, apparently in the 1620s, he returned to Safed, and died there.

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Yehudah, ed. by S. Simonsohn (1956), 37 (introd.); Tamar, in: KS, 33 (1957/58), 377f.

[David Tamar]

GERSHON, KAREN (**Kathe Lowenthal**; 1923–1993), German-born poet who came to England before World War II without her parents, who died in the camps. Gershon's *Selected Poems* (1966), written under the pseudonym "Karen Gershon," gave powerful expression to the refugee's thoughts and emotions from childhood. She also edited *We Came as Children* (1966), a collective autobiography of young refugees, some of whom, like herself, eventually married English non-Jews; and *Postscript* (1969), an account of Jewish life in West Germany after 1945. She settled in Israel in 1969 but returned to England in 1975 and died in London.

ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY: ODNB online as "Kathleen Tripp" (her married name).

[William D. Rubinstein (2nd ed.)]

GERSHON, PINCHAS (**Pini**; 1951–), Israeli basketball coach who led the Maccabi Tel Aviv basketball team to three European championships. Gershon's career as a player ended early, and he then began to coach. In 1993, he guided Galil Elyon to a national championship, the only time in 40 years a team other than Maccabi Tel Aviv had won it. In 1996 he coached Hapoel Jerusalem and took the National Cup. In 1998 he took over Maccabi Tel Aviv, which had had little success in Europe in the preceding years, and led it to the European Final Four. In 2001 Maccabi won the championship, defeating Greek powerhouse Panathinaikos. After taking a break from coaching, and with Tel Aviv slated to host the Final Four, he returned for the 2003/4 season to take Maccabi to a second European championship. In 2004/5 Maccabi took the championship again, becoming the first team since 1991 with back-to-back titles. Gershon was also named Euroleague Coach of the Year, and as a warm-up for the 2005/6 season took the team to the United States, where it split two games against NBA opponents, beating the Toronto Raptors at the buzzer.

Flamboyant and outspoken, Gershon changed the face of European basketball with his offense-minded play and baffling match-up zone. Under his tutelage, Maccabi continued to be the country's leading sports attraction, playing before sellout crowds in Tel Aviv and attracting the cream of local and foreign players.

[Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

GERSHON BEN SOLOMON OF ARLES (late 13th century), Provençal scholar. There is almost no exact information about his life. The period in which he lived is estimated from the sources he used for his book *Sha'ar ha-Shamayim* (*The Gate of Heaven*, tr. by F.S. Bodenheimer, 1953), the only work by him which is extant, and probably the only one he wrote. It has been estimated that this work was written between 1242 and 1300.

It is now agreed that Gershon lived in Arles in southern France (Provence). The traditional notion that he lived in Catalonia is shown to be incorrect by his own words: "For in the area of Catalonia the sheep and goats are smaller than those in our area" (*Sha'ar ha-Shamayim* (Roedelheim, 1801), 30b, 26–27). Spain is also not his place of residence: "One in our provinces and one in the provinces of Spain" (*ibid.*, 20a, 4). It also appears that Gershon regarded France as outside his homeland (*ibid.*, 16a, 11).

Sha'ar ha-Shamayim is a brief popular summary of the natural sciences, astronomy, and theology of Gershon's day. It is divided into three parts: natural sciences, theology, and astronomy. The first part contains ten treatises, on the following subjects: the four elements (including a discussion of meteorology); inanimate objects; plants; animals; fowls; bees, ants, and spiders; fish; man; parts of the body; sleeping and waking (including a discussion on dreams). The chapters on man include also psychological data, the law of heredity, and even clinical prognoses.

The first part is the longest and most detailed. In the extant editions of the work it takes up five-sixths of the entire book, but in some manuscripts there are obvious additions, which are not found in the printed version.

Gershon lists a great number of Greek, Latin, Arabic, and Jewish authors, and cites from their works. Among the authors cited by him are Homer, Plato, Pythagoras, Aristotle, Galen, Hippocrates, Al-Farabi, Avicenna, and Averroes. It appears that he received this knowledge from Hebrew translations of earlier scientific and philosophic literature rather than from original sources. He states in his introduction that he had "some of the books of the philosophers which had been translated from their languages to his own." He further states, with regard to the second and third parts of the book, that he based it primarily on those writings of *Maimonides and the Arabic scholar Al-Farghani (ninth century), which suited his purposes. It is not known which direct sources were used for the first part of the book.

In addition to citing from written sources, Gershon also set down what he had heard through reports from Jews or Christians. He was not an independent thinker; even where he makes statements in the first person, these are often taken literally from other sources.

Because there were not enough adequate words in Hebrew, and perhaps also in order to make for easier understanding, Gershon expressed many scientific concepts and objects by their foreign names, which he probably found in his sources. These names, usually Latin or Arabic, are an integral part of the text, unlike the foreign usages in other medieval writings, such as the commentaries of *Rashi, whose purpose in using foreign words is merely to clarify the meaning of difficult Hebrew terms.

Sha'ar ha-Shamayim served for hundreds of years as a popular book of sciences for readers of Hebrew. It was widely circulated and is extant in many manuscripts. The extant editions are all imperfect and incomplete in comparison with a few of the manuscripts. The first edition (Venice, 1547) apparently served as a basis for all subsequent editions (Roedelheim, 1801; Zolkiew, 1805; Warsaw, 1876; Jerusalem, 1944), in which corrections were made only on the basis of conjecture.

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[Lothar Kopf]

GERSHOVITZ, SAMUEL (1907–1960), U.S. social worker and Jewish Welfare Board (JWB) executive. Gershovitz was born in New Rochelle, New York, but raised in the Midwest. Gershovitz's association with JWB began in 1939 with his position as field secretary for the Midwest. In 1942 Gershovitz received his first position with national JWB. He became executive director in 1947 and executive vice president in 1952. He traveled widely, organizing USOs, community centers, and similar projects in Europe, Central America, and the Pacific. In Anchorage, Alaska, he set up the first Jewish community council.

GERSHOY, LEO (1897–1975), U.S. historian. Born in Russia, Gershoy was brought to the United States in 1903. He taught at Long Island University (1920–38) and Sarah Lawrence College (1938–46). After serving in World War II, he was professor of history at New York University from 1946. Gershoy's field was French history, specializing in the Ancien Régime and the French Revolution. Among his publications were *The French Revolution and Napoleon* (1933; new annotated biography, 1964); *From Despotism to Revolution, 1763–1789* (1944, 1962^3); *The Era of the French Revolution, 1789–1799: Ten Years That Shook the* World (1957); and *Progress and Power* (with C. Becker, 1965). In 1975 the American Historical Association established the Leo Gershoy Award, which is presented annually to the author of the most outstanding work published in English on any aspect of 17th- and 18th-century western European history.

[Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

GERSHUNI, GRIGORI ANDREYEVICH (1870–1908), Russian revolutionary; founder and leader of the terrorist arm of the Socialist-Revolutionary (S.-R.) Party. Gershuni was born in Tavrova, an estate in the Kovno province where his father was a tenant. After a short period in *ḥeder* he was educated in a Russian high school in Shavli (Šiauliai), but at the age of 15, before graduating, he was sent by his parents to another town to be a pharmacist's apprentice. He eventually settled in Minsk (1898) where he opened a bacteriological laboratory. There he took part in semi-legal educational activities among working-class people and was gradually drawn into clandestine circles, partly under the influence of Yekaterina Breshkovskaya, the "grandmother of the Russian Revolution." The turning point in his revolutionary career was a fortnight of arrest and interrogation in 1900, when the czarist police officer Zubatov tried to enlist him into the loyalist workers' movement organized by himself as a counterforce to terrorism and revolutionary ideology. The effect on Gershuni was exactly the opposite. He became an ardent supporter of anti-czarist terrorism, and when several revolutionary groups merged into the S.-R. Party, it was Gershuni who organized and headed its terrorist arm, the famous Fighting Organization (Boyevaya Organizatsiya), which, under his personal guidance, assassinated some of the highest and most hated officials and dignitaries, among them the minister Sipiagin and governor Bogdanovich. Yevno *Azeff, who was later unmasked as an *agent provocateur* of the police, became his closest collaborator in leading the Fighting Organization and took it over in 1903, when Gershuni was denounced by another police agent and arrested. A military tribunal sentenced Gershuni to death, but the sentence was later commuted to life imprisonment. He was imprisoned in the old Schluesselburg fortress in 1906, but after having been transported to an eastern Siberian prison, he was smuggled out in a cabbage barrel and in a daring flight, by way of China (where he met Sun Yat-sen) and Japan, he reached the United States. There he addressed socialist mass meetings of Jewish and other workers in many cities and collected funds for the Russian S.-R. Party. Several weeks later he appeared in Finland where he publicly attended the second S.-R. Party congress in 1907. In 1908 Gershuni died in a Zurich hospital after an illness. In his last days he learned about the Azeff affair. His friends arranged for his burial in the Montparnasse cemetery in Paris alongside other famous Russian revolutionaries. His funeral grew into an impressive demonstration of international sympathy for the Russian revolutionary movement.

Gershuni became a legendary figure in his lifetime. Although completely assimilated in Russian language and culture, he was always conscious of being a Jew. In his revolutionary speech before the military tribunal in 1903 he stressed the plight of the Jewish masses in Russia. In his behavior in prison and in his dealings with the czarist authorities he was always proud and courageous, so as not to play into the hands of antisemitic propaganda which tried to present the Jewish revolutionaries as cowardly manipulators behind the scenes. To his friend Chaim *Zhitlowsky he said that after the revolution, when liberty would be achieved in Russia, he would join those who devote themselves completely to Jewish interests. Gershuni's reminiscences *Iz nedavnovo proshlavo* ("From the Recent Past") were published in Paris by the S.-R. central committee (1908).

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[Binyamin Eliav]

GERSHUNI, MOSHE (1936–), Israeli painter. Gershuni was born in Tel Aviv. His father was a farmer and as a young man Gershuni thought he would be one too. When he was 19 his father was killed in a car accident and young Gershuni had to work in the family orchards. Only when he was 24 did he begin to study art in evening classes at the Avni Institute (1960–64). He studied sculpture and thought of himself as a sculptor. In the 1960s he was one of the young avant-garde artists who exhibited with the support of the Ten Plus group in Tel Aviv and came to the attention of Yona Fisher at the Israel Museum in Jerusalem.

From 1970 to 1978 Gershuni taught at the Bezalel Academy of Art and Design in Jerusalem. As a teacher, in keeping with the spirit of the times, he guided his students toward a Modern-Conceptual art style. Gershuni himself exhibited works in the same style, such as a piece of paper with a piece of margarine on it or torn paper on which he wrote, "The paper looks white but inside it is black." In those years he was a part of a small group of artists, among them Micha *Ullman and Avital Geva, who met with their mentor, Itzhak *Danziger, to talk about art. They worked as a group in peripheral areas and also created political art. As a result of a conceptual-ideological rebellion Gershuni was dismissed from Bezalel at the end of the 1970s. He changed his personal life style as well as his artistic style, which became emotional and expressive. He started to use his fingers as his tools, stained the canvas or the paper with mixed colors, and added scribbling and free handwriting. During these years he began to deal with the subject of homosexuality.

One of the main themes that Gershuni ventured to deal with was the Holocaust. In his complicated way he mixed Yiddish, the swastika, the star of David, and verses from prayer. It was the first time in Israeli art that the swastika was represented, and it courageously reflected Gershuni's desire to get into the very heart of the subject. In the Venice Biennial he used the image of blood, creating a puddle of blood on the floor and writing German words referring to the Holocaust on the walls. In these works he also used cutlery and towels to symbolize the Jewish religious heritage and basic existence, purity and impurity.

With the same daring Gershuni dealt with the wars of the State of Israel. In a series of paintings he scribbled the name Itzhak and wrote repetitive sentences about soldiers and killing together with quotations from Israeli patriotic songs. Gershuni was also one of the first artists to get involved in Judaism, delving deeply into his Jewish identity.

In 2003 Gershuni was awarded the Israel Prize. Gershuni decided to come to the ceremony but for political reasons refused to shake hands with Prime Minister Ariel Sharon and Education Minister Limor Livnat. After much tumult in the media and appeals in the Supreme Court the decision was to deny him the prize.

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[Ronit Steinberg (2nd ed.)]

GERSHWIN, GEORGE (1898–1937), U.S. composer. Born in New York, he wrote his first songs while working as a pianist with a music publishing firm. His first revue, *Half Past Eight* (1918), was followed by the successful *La La Lucille* (1919) and in the same year his song "Swanee," sung by Al *Jolson in the revue *Sinbad*, caused a sensation. He was commissioned by Paul Whiteman to compose a jazz symphony. The resultant work, *Rhapsody in Blue* for piano and orchestra, was first performed in New York in 1924, with the composer at the piano. It made jazz "respectable" for the American concert stage and made Gershwin famous. He composed the *Concerto for Piano in F Major* (1925), *Three Preludes for Piano* (1926), *An American in Paris* (1928), *Second Rhapsody* (1931), and *Cuban Overture* (1932). Gershwin had little formal training, and after the success of the *Rhapsody in Blue*, in which he had received the help of an orchestrator, he studied with Rubin *Goldmark and Joseph *Schillinger.

He continued composing music for films and Broadway shows, his most successful revues being *Lady Be Good* (1924), *Oh Kay* (1926), *Strike Up the Band* (1927), *Girl Crazy* (1930), and *Of Thee I Sing* (1931), a political satire. Most of the lyrics for his revues and songs were written by his brother Ira (1896–1983). His last and greatest work was the folk opera *Porgy and Bess* (1935), based on Du-Bose Heyward's play, *Catfish Row*, about the life of Southern blacks. Gershwin's musical style was rooted in the jazz idiom of his time, and stimulated by the traditions of Southern blacks. Influences of cantorial style may be discerned in certain wide-ranging phrases, notably the clarinet solo which opens *Rhapsody in Blue*.

On February 28, 1973, the U.S. government issued an 8-cent commemorative stamp in honor of George Gershwin as representative of musicians, on the occasion of the 75th anniversary of his birth. It was the first stamp in the American Arts series of commemoratives, and the U.S. Postal Service issued a first day cover featuring him at the piano.

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[Josef Tal/Bathja Bayer]

GERSONI, HENRY (Heb., **Gershoni**, **Ẓevi Hirsch**; 1844–1897), journalist and author. Born in Vilna, he studied in the Vilna Rabbinical Seminary. Moving to St. Petersburg, he married a Christian girl and converted to Christianity. In 1868 he publicly confessed his conversion in *Ha-Maggid*, a leading Hebrew periodical, but announced his repentance and reaffirmed his loyalty to Judaism. After many wanderings, he settled in New York in 1869. In 1874 he became a rabbi in Macon, Georgia. He also served as rabbi in Atlanta and in Chicago, where he published his short-lived weekly *The Jewish Advance* and, later, *The Maccabean*. He returned to New York in 1893 where he lived by his pen until his death.

Devoted to the new Hebrew literature, Gersoni published articles in the leading Hebrew periodicals. He was also a pioneer of the Yiddish press in America, editor of the *Post* in New York (1870), and a contributor to Jewish periodicals in the English language. He translated Turgenev into English and Longfellow's *Excelsior* into Hebrew.

Gersoni wrote on the burning problems of the day: Orthodoxy and Reform, immigration to America and to Palestine, ethical culture, organizational life of Jewry. His subjective and acute observations of the American scene are still of historic importance, e.g., in his *Sketches of Jewish Life and History* (1873).

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[Eisig Silberschlag]

GERSON-KIWI, EDITH (Esther; 1908–1992), Israeli musicologist. Born in Berlin, she studied with the harpsichordist Wanda *Landowska. Settling in Ereẓ Israel in 1935, she devoted herself to teaching and to ethnomusicological research. Her work was sponsored at different periods by the Hebrew University, by the Ministry of Education and Culture, and by various foundations. It included the collection of musical recordings which, by 1970, comprised 7,000 items. From 1967 she also lectured at Tel Aviv University. Her writings deal with the musical traditions of Jewish communities and the mutual influences to be found in Jewish, Christian, and Muslim music. Her publications include *The Persian Doctrine of Dastga Composition* (1963) and "Vocal Folk Polyphonies of the Western Orient in Jewish Tradition" (in *Yuval*, 1 (1968), 169–93).

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°**GERSTEIN, KURT** (1905–1945), German anti-Nazi, SS officer and head of the Waffen SS-Institute of Hygiene in Berlin. The son of a bourgeois family, a German nationalist, and a Christian, Gerstein joined the Nazi Party in 1933, while remaining in the Protestant youth movement. He was expelled from the Nazi Party for activities on behalf of the dissident Bekenntniskirche ("Professing Church") and was twice incarcerated in concentration camps (1936 and 1938). Anxious to know more about the Nazis' horrifying activities, he volunteered for the Waffen-SS in March 1941 and became an employee at its Hygiene Service. There are, however, other versions of the reason for his entry into the SS. A professional engineer, Gerstein reached officer's rank and due to his technical abilities was named chief of the disinfection department. He lost a sister-in-law in the so-called euthanasia program. In 1942, as an expert in the use of Zyklon B – a poison gas used in fumigations – Gerstein was sent by the *RSHA to *Belzec and *Treblinka, where his task was to substitute Zyklon B for diesel exhaust fumes as a means of mass murder. At Belzec he witnessed the killing of several thousand Jews from Lvov. Upon his return to Berlin, Gerstein tried to stop the murders, informing Swedish and Swiss legations, the Holy See, and underground Church groups, the German Confessing Church, of his experiences, but despite the accuracy of his reports, he encountered disbelief and indifference. Charged with the task of continuing to supply the murderous gas to the camps, Gerstein succeeded in destroying two consignments. At the end of the war, he submitted to an Anglo-American intelligence team a detailed report in French on Nazi atrocities which was used at the Nuremberg trials. Another, in German, was published after his death in *Vierteljahreshefte fuer Zeitgeschichte* (vol. 1, 1953), entitled "Augenzeugenbericht zu den Massenvergasungen." Arrested by the French as a suspected war criminal, Gerstein was found hanged in his cell on July 25, 1945, victim either of suicide or murder. His testimony remains essential to our understanding of Belzec, where so little first-hand information was available.

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[Yehuda Reshef]

GERSTEN, BERTA (1897–1972), Yiddish actress. Born in Cracow, Poland, Gersten started her career in the U.S., in 1908, playing a boy in J. Gordin's *Mirele Efros*. In 1918 she joined Maurice Schwartz's Yiddish Art Theater and remained with Schwartz for 25 years, performing leading roles in New York and on tour, frequently playing opposite Jacob Ben-Ami. She appeared in Yiddish films, among them *Yiskor* (1933), *The Jester* (1937), *Mirele Efros* (1938), *A Letter to Mother* (1938), and *God, Man and Devil* (1950). She also played Benny Goodman's mother, Dora, in the 1955 English-language film *The Benny Goodman Story*. Gersten performed on Broadway in *The World of Sholem Aleichem* (1954), *The Flowering Peach* (1955), *A Majority of One* (1959), and *Sophie* (1963). Her final appearance was in 1971 at the Folksbiene Playhouse in New York, playing opposite her lifelong friend and colleague Ben-Ami in *My Father's Court*.

[Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

GERSTLE, LEWIS (1824–1902), U.S. merchant. Gerstle, born in Ichenhausen, Bavaria, immigrated to America about 1845, settling in Louisville, Ky., and then in California. After prospecting for gold briefly, he joined Louis Sloss and Company of Sacramento, general merchandise dealers. During this time, Gerstle and Sloss married the sisters Hannah and Sarah Greenebaum. Moving to San Francisco in about 1860, Gerstle and Sloss entered the stock brokerage business, bought and sold hides, operated a tannery, and acquired shipping interests. In 1868, after the American purchase of Alaska, they and others organized the highly successful Alaska Commercial Company for trade in the new territory. They received a fur seal concession, established trading posts, and supplied miners during the Klondike gold strike of 1897. Gerstle was a director of Congregation Emanu-El and the Pacific Hebrew Orphan Asylum and Home Society, a member of the Vigilance Committee, and treasurer of the University of California. He promoted manufacturing establishments and directed two banks.

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[Robert E. Levinson]

GERTLER, MARK (1891–1939), English artist. Gertler was born in London, the son of a furrier, but spent part of his early childhood in Poland and America. Gertler was one of the most talented and romantic first generation painters to emerge from the wave of Jewish immigration to England at the turn of the century, and is today one of the most famous of Anglo-Jewish artists. Until he went to school at the age of eight, his only language was Yiddish. Later he began attending evening classes in art and worked for a firm of glass painters. In 1908, on the advice of Sir William *Rothenstein, the Jewish Educational Aid Society sent him to the Slade School of Art. Here he found himself among the brilliant group of Jewish students which included David *Bomberg, Jacob *Kramer, Bernard *Meninsky, and Isaac *Rosenberg. In 1911, before he was 20, he painted one of his finest pictures, *The Artist's Mother*, one of the collection of his works in the Tate Gallery, London. When he left the Slade in 1912, he began to receive important portrait commissions. Handsome, volatile, and a brilliant raconteur, he was taken up by the Bloomsbury Group of intellectuals, and seemed destined for greatness. Gertler's early works were influenced by his life in the Whitechapel ghetto. In addition to the studies of his parents and neighbors, often in fancy dress, these include *Rabbi and Grandchild* (1913) and *Rabbi and Rebbitzen* (1914). Gertler was later influenced by post-impressionism. From 1919 onward he regularly visited the south of France. Gertler was close to many of the famous figures in the Bloomsbury Group, and was briefly the lover of one of its members, the painter Dora Carrington. He was also a friend of many other noted cultural figures of his time, including D.H. Lawrence and Aldous Huxley. His health began to deteriorate and eventually, depressed by his condition, by Hitler's anti-Jewish campaign, and by financial problems resulting from decreasing success, he committed suicide in 1939. Since his death he has become the subject of much interest by biographers and critics.

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[Charles Samuel Spencer]

GERTNER, LEVI (1908–1976) and **MEIR** (1905–1976), educationists who profoundly influenced modern Hebrew and Jewish education in Britain. Born in Hungarian Transylvania of ḥasidic parents, they began their education in yeshivot.

From 1929 to 1936 Levi Gertner studied history and philosophy at Berlin University before immigrating to Ereẓ Israel, where he studied at the Hebrew University and taught at the Youth Aliyah village of Geva. He arrived in Britain just before World War II in 1939 and in 1941 began work for the Zionist Federation. In 1950 he became director of the newly established Jewish Agency Education Department and in 1953 was made head of the Zionist Day School movement in Britain. Under his guidance 16 day schools were established.

He organized and participated in 83 full-length and more than 100 weekend seminars of the Hebrew Seminar Movement. These were conducted in a traditional Jewish atmosphere, but attracted both the religious and the non-observant of all ages, including lecturers, teachers and students, family groups and individuals.

Meir Gertner, a philosopical thinker and intellectual, followed a more academic pattern, although he was for a time deputy director of the Education Department of the Jewish National Fund in Jerusalem. After studying at Hamburg and the Hebrew University, he obtained his doctorate at Oxford. He became director of Hebrew studies at Carmel College and succeeded Isidore Wartski as Aḥad Ha-am Lecturer (later Reader) in Modern Hebrew at the School of Oriental and African Studies in London. In 1972 he became J.H. Hertz Fellow at the Oxford Centre for Post-Graduate Hebrew Studies.

He played an active part in Anglo-Jewish communal life as co-chairman of the Jewish Book Council, a founder member of Jewish Book Week, chairman of the Cultural Committee of the World Jewish Congress, and a Council member of the Hillel Foundation.

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[Sonia L. Lipman]

GERTSA (Rom. **Herta**), town in N. Bukovina, Chernovtsy district, Ukraine, which passed from Romania to the Soviet Union in 1940. The locality was founded in 1672. Jews of Galician origin, who were craftsmen and merchants, settled in Gertsa in the first quarter of the 18th century.A known local Jewish institution was a *talmud torah* of which a minute-book dating from 1764 has been preserved. The oldest tombstone in the cemetery dates from 1766. The community had four synagogues, of which the oldest was built at the end of the 18th century; a *mikveh* was founded in 1820, and a mixed school was established in the early 20th century. The community numbered 1,200 in 1803, 1,554 (56.4% of the total population) in c. 1859, 1,939 in 1899 (66.1%), 1,876 in 1910, and 1,801 in 1930 (25%). Many of them were ḥasidim, followers of the admor of Buczacz, as well as a local admor. *Maskilim* also lived in the town, among them the bilingual Hebrew-Romanian writer Moise Roman-Ronetti. The bilingual Romanian-French poet Benjamin *Fondane (Fundoianu) was born in Gertsa, describing it in a poem. During the peasants' revolt in 1907 the Jews in Gertsa prevented attacks and pillaging by organizing *self-defense. After the conferment of Romanian nationality in 1919, Jews were elected to the municipal council, and at one time a Jew served as vice mayor. In 1927 the Romanian governing party appointed a communal board from its own adherents, but the Jews boycotted it and two years later ensured its resignation. In 1938 there were seven synagogues, an elementary Israelite-Romanian school, and a Zionist organization. During World War II the Jews in Gertsa (1,600 persons) were deported to *Transnistria. Under the Soviet regime all the Jewish public buildings were secularized and nationalized. In the beginning of the Soviet regime (1940–41) dozens of Jews were deported to Siberia, only some of whom could return to Gertsa in 1960. The majority of Jews immigrated to Israel in the 1970s. Only a few Jews remain in Gertsa in the beginning of the 21st century.

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[Lucian-Zeev Herscovici (2nd ed.)]

GERTZ, ELMER (1906–2000), U.S. lawyer. Gertz, who was born in Chicago and received his law degree from the University of Chicago, practiced law in his native city from 1930. He became known for his vigorous opposition to capital punishment, his defense of freedom of expression, and his fight for civil rights and liberties. In 1958, taking over the case begun in 1924 by legendary litigator Clarence Darrow, he obtained parole for Nathan Leopold, who had been convicted of murder and served 34 years in prison. In 1962 he secured commutation of the death sentence of William Crump for murder, on the grounds that Crump had been rehabilitated in prison while surviving nine stays of execution. Gertz helped to save the life of William Witherspoon, another convicted murderer, when the U.S. Supreme Court (1968) upheld his contention that prospective jurors should not have been challenged for their conscientious scruples against imposing the death penalty. He was also instrumental in the setting aside of the death penalty imposed on Jack *Ruby (1966). Gertz's court pleas brought about the removal of the ban, on account of obscenity, on the sale of Frank Harris' *My Life and Loves*, Henry Miller's *Tropic of Cancer* (1964), and the works of the Marquis de Sade. He also secured the abolition by the U.S. Supreme Court of the Chicago motion picture censorship ordinance (1968). In the 1940s, as special counsel for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Gertz was successful in a test case to make housing restrictions in Illinois illegal. He helped secure passage of the Illinois Fair Employment Practices Law and defended its validity before the Illinois Supreme Court in the late 1950s.

Active in many Jewish communal affairs, Gertz was president of the Greater Chicago Council of the American Jewish Congress (1959–63). He served as an officer of the Society of Midland Authors and the Illinois Freedom to Read Committee. From 1970 until his death, he taught civil rights courses at the John Marshall Law School.

While serving as chairman of the Illinois Bill of Rights Committee of the Illinois Constitutional Convention (1969–70), Gertz helped draft what has been called the strongest bill of rights of any state constitution in the country. Gertz also chaired the civil rights committees of the Illinois State Bar Association and the Chicago Bar Association (1978–80) and was president of the First Amendment Lawyers Association (1978–79). In 1983, he won a 14-year legal battle against the John Birch Society by suing its magazine publisher, Robert W. Welch, for libel in regard to an article written about him. This landmark case increased the instances in which a plaintiff could be deemed a private citizen and thus entitled to more protection against the press.

Among his many honors, Gertz was a national trustee of the City of Hope, for which he received the Golden Key Award in 1966. He received the State of Israel Prime Minister's Medal in 1972 (which he considered his greatest accomplishment), and Educator of the Year in 1975. In 2000, he was honored posthumously with the Illinois State Bar Association Medal of Merit. The association's highest honor for a practicing attorney, it is awarded only in extraordinary circumstances for exemplary accomplishments.

Books written by Gertz include *Frank Harris: A Study in Black and White* (1931, with A.I. Tobin), *The People vs. The Chicago Tribune* (1942), *A Handful of Clients* (1965), *Moment of Madness: The People vs. Jack Ruby* (1968), *Quest for a Constitution* (1984), *To Life:* The Story of a Chicago Lawyer (1990), *Errors, Lies, and Libel* (with P. Kane, 1991), and *Gertz v. Robert Welch, Inc.: The Story of a Landmark Libel Case* (1992).

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[Morton Mayer Berman / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

GERUSIA (Gr. γερουσία), council of elders, common throughout the Hellenistic world (e.g., Sparta, Cyrene). Since the "elders" or "city elders" (*Ziknei ha-Ir*) are mentioned repeatedly in the Bible (cf. Deut. 19:12, 21:2ff.; Josh. 20:4; Judg. 8:14; I Sam. 9:3; I Kings 21:8,11; Ruth 4:2ff.), Josephus concludes that the earliest Jewish *Gerusia* dates back to biblical times, functioning as a high court together with the high priest and prophets (Ant. 4:218). During the Hellenistic period the *Gerusia* appears not merely as a legislative and judicial body, but as representative of the Jewish population of Judea. Thus in the famous edict of Antiochus III the Great, following his conquest of Palestine, the Seleucid monarch describes the splendid reception given him by the Jews – in the person of the *Gerusia* (and not, as might have been expected, the high priest). As a result, the members of the *Gerusia* were exempted from a number of taxes, together with officials of the Temple (Ant. 12:138ff.). Similarly, Antiochus IV Epiphanes, in an epistle to the Jews, addresses his remarks to the *Gerusia* and not the high priest (II Macc. 11:27). That the Jews of this period considered the *Gerusia* their official representative body is further apparent from the correspondence of "those in Jerusalem and Judea, the *Gerusia*, and Judah" to their brethren in Egypt during the early years of the Hasmonean rebellion (II Macc. 1:10). When Jonathan became leader of the Jewish nation, the office of high priest was apparently formally recognized as representative of the people, and thus in a correspondence with the Spartans "Jonathan the high priest and the *Gerusia*" are listed together (I Macc. 12: 6; Jos., Ant. 13, 166).

It would be a mistake, however, to identify the *Gerusia*, which appears to be a permanent representative body of elders dating back to the Persian period (cf. Judith 4:8, 11: 14, 15:8), with the "Great Assembly" (*keneset ha-gedolah*), a body representing the total Jewish population of Palestine, and convened only when important constitutional decisions were taken. The "elders" are thus mentioned as a part of the Great Assembly that appointed Simeon high priest and leader of the Jewish nation (I Macc. 14:28). It is feasible, however, that the *Gerusia* eventually evolved into what became known as the "Sanhedrin" of Jerusalem, although the precise date of the introduction of this term is unknown (cf. H. Mantel, *Studies in the History of the Sanhedrin* (1961), 49–50, 61–62, for a summation of the numerous views on this problem). According to Philo (Flaccus, 10:74) there also existed a Jewish *Gerusia* in Alexandria, which during the rule of Augustus replaced the previous form of local Jewish leadership, the ethnarchate.

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[Isaiah Gafni]

GERY, a small group of ethnic Russians who adhere to Judaism. As a separate religious group the Gery emerged in the early 19th century from the sect of the Subbotniki (Sabbatarians) and in the late 19th–early 20th centuries adopted Orthodox Judaism. The Gery strive to observe all the commandments of the Jewish religion and to merge totally with Jews of Jewish ethnic origin, including by marriage. Many Gery sent their children to **yeshivot.* They lived scattered through many districts of Russia (Astrakhan, Saratov, Tambov, Voronezh) on the Don, in the Kuban, in the northern Caucasus and Transcaucasus, and in Siberia where they were sent as exiles. They were persecuted by the czarist government and the Russian Orthodox Church which considered "Judaizing" sects especially dangerous. Cases are known of Jews serving the Gery as rabbis, ritual slaughterers, and teachers. Important roles in their religious education were played by an anonymous Jewish distiller from Tambov district who lived among the Gery from 1805 and in the 1880s by a Lithuanian Jew, David Teitelbaum. Many Gery families settled in the land of Israel in the 19th century, particulary in Galilee (Yesud ha-Ma'alah, Bet-Gan, etc.) and within two to three generations were completely assimilated into the surrounding Jewish populations. After the Russian proclamation of the freedom of religion in 1905, the Gery, now known as "sabbatarians of the Jewish faith," gained the right to legal recognition of their communities and the right to build synagogues (e.g., at Stantsiya Zima in the Irkutsk district, Tiflis). Although the number of Gery has significantly declined, they still continue to exist (in the Voronezh district, on the Don, in the northern Caucasus, and elsewhere).

In Israel the Gery are recognized as Jews both from the point of view of *Halakhah* and by the laws of the state. Many Gery in the Soviet Union are actively fighting for emigration to Israel and a number of Gery families left for Israel between 1971 and 1980. Twenty families from the village of Il'inka, Talov county, Voronezh district, who moved to Israel in 1973–76 evidently have a Gery background.

[*Shorter Jewish Encylopaedia in Russian*]

GESANG, NATHAN-NACHMAN (1886–1944), one of the leaders and president of the Zionist Organization and of the Keren Hayesod of Argentina. Born in Cracow, Gesang went to Berlin to study and became active in the Zionist movement. When he moved to Britain (in 1909) he became secretary of the British Zionist Organization. In 1910 he settled in Argentina and after a short while became the first hired secretary of the local "Zionist Party." He was one of the leaders of Argentine Jewry and served as president of the Zionist Federation (General Zionists) in 1922–23, 1930–31, and 1941–1944. Gesang was active in the propagation of Zionism from the very beginning of its work, with his speeches and organizational work in Buenos Aires as well as in the province communities, in cities, and in agricultural settlements. He represented the Argentine Zionist Federation at some Zionist Congresses. In 1937 he supported a kind of cooperation with Jabotinsky and the Revisionists who had seceded from the World Zionist Organization and were organized in Ha-Ẓohar. In the 1930s Gesang promoted the establishment of a representation of the Jewish Agency in Argentina. He participated in the promotion of Hebrew language and culture and published articles in Hebrew, Yiddish, and Spanish on Zionist affairs and Jewish studies. Among his published books are *Der Hoveve Tzionism un der Politisher Tzionizm* ("Ḥovevei Zion Movement and Political Zionism," Yid. and Sp., 1937) and a new edition of the *Kuzari* by Judah Halevi, with a detailed introduction (1943).

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[Getzel Kressel / Efraim Zadoff (2nd ed.)]

GESELLSCHAFT DER FREUNDE (Ger. "Society of Friends"), German mutual aid society. The society was founded in 1792 by Berlin bachelors, among them Isaac *Euchel, Aaron Wolfssohn, and Joseph Mendelssohn. It officially aimed at mutual aid in cases of illness, poverty, business problems, and death. However, during the first decades of its existence the Gesellschaft also served as the main organization of the late Berlin *Haskalah and was successfully involved in the ongoing fight against the ritual of early burial.

During the first decades of the 19th century, the character of the Gesellschaft der Freunde changed. Instead of being an organization of just one social group, it became the cultural center of all of Berlin Jewry. The association bought a big house in the city center, near the synagogue in Heidereuterstrasse, where other organizations, schools, and private parties used the dining rooms, ballrooms, and large garden for their dinners, examinations, or wedding celebrations as well. The spectrum ranged from the Reform community to the neo-Orthodox Adass Jisroel, from the social Geselliger Verein der Handwerker to the religious Talmud-Verein. The personal connection with the leadership of the Berlin Jewish community was especially close during this period.

After 1880, the Gesellschaft der Freunde withdrew from public attention. It had to sell its house and became an organization where leading Jewish bankers, entrepreneurs, merchants, and managers met. The *Mendelssohns, *Liebermanns, *Ullsteins, *Mosses, *Rathenaus, and *Bleichroeders all were members. During the 1920s, dozens of non-Jewish economic leaders joined the association, most of whom resigned, however, after 1933. In 1935, the Gesellschaft der Freunde was closed down by National Socialist officials; most of its members succeeded in emigrating to the U.K., the U.S., Switzerland, and other countries.

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[Sebastian Pannwitz (2nd ed.)]

GESELLSCHAFT DER JUNGEN HEBRAEER (Ger. "Society of Young Hebrews"), society founded in Prague at the beginning of the 19th century by two young enlightened Jews, Judah and Ignaz *Jeiteles. Unlike the Gesellschaft der Freunde in Berlin, on which it was modeled, the society's aim was not only to provide mutual aid for its members, but also to propagate the ideas of the Haskalah among the working youth and uneducated members of Jewish society in Prague. Thus their *Yidish Daytshe Monatshrift*, of which six numbers appeared in 1802, was published neither in Hebrew nor in German but in *Vayber-Daytsh* ("Women's German," i.e., the Yiddish language of *Ẓe'enah u-Re'enah* printed in the Hebrew alphabet). Both the society and its periodical were forerunners of the particular Bohemian brand of Haskalah that was influenced by rising Czech nationalism, Jewish consciousness, and loyalty to the house of Hapsburg.

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[Meir Lamed]

GESELLSCHAFT ZUR FOERDERUNG DER WISSENSCHAFT DES JUDENTUMS (Ger. "Society for the Advancement of Jewish Scholarship"), Jewish scholarly society in Berlin, Germany, 1902–1938. The primary objective of the Gesellschaft was to raise the level of Jewish academic scholarship, thereby earning the respect of disenfranchised Jewish intellectuals and Christian Protestant scholars alike. As Jewish theology was not a recognized academic discipline at German universities, the founders attempted to create a financially viable forum for Jewish scholars to conduct research and to publish their works. The immediate incentive for the establishment of the Gesellschaft was the unequaled success enjoyed by Harnack's *Das Wesen des Christentums* and the perceived inability of the Jewish scholarly community to counter his unfavorable portrayal of post-biblical Judaism.

While Hermann *Cohen was the driving force behind foundation of the Gesellschaft, the initiative came from Rabbi Leopold Lucas of Glogau. The society's first chairman was historian Martin Philippson. Membership was open to both individuals and organizations, with a membership exceeding 1,700 in the early 1920s.

In pursuit of the advancement of Jewish scholarship, the Gesellschaft held annual meetings featuring scholarly lectures and published and subsidized scholarly volumes. It adopted the prestigious **Monatsschrift fuer die Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums*, as its official organ, rescuing the publication from financial ruin by broadening its appeal to the general public. Equally important and innovative was the monetary support of individual Jewish scholars and the financing of research trips to various countries.

The most lofty endeavor of the Gesellschaft, which was never completed, was the "Grundriss der Gesamtwissenschaft des Judentums," projected to be a systematic and comprehensive collection of Jewish scholarship to encompass 36 volumes. The first volume to be published was Leo Baeck's classic *Das Wesen des Judentums* (1905). Among the other important publications were M. Guedemann, *Juedische Apologetik* (1906); M. Philippson, *Neueste Geschichte des juedischen Volkes* (1907–11); G. Caro, *Die Sozial-und Wirtschaftsgeschichte der Juden* (1908–20); K. Kohler, *Grundriss einer systematischen Theologie des Judentums* (1910); S. Krauss, *Talmudische Archäologie*, 3 vols. (1910, 1911, 1912); I. Elbogen, *Der juedische Gottesdienst* (1913); E. Mahler, *Handbuch der jüdischen Chronologie* (1916); H. Cohen, *Die Religion der Vernunft aus den Quellen des Judentums* (1919); A. Lewkowitz, *Das Judentum und die geistigen Stömungen des 19. Jahrhunderts* (1935); the incomplete *Corpus Tannaiticum and Germania Judaica*; and two volumes of a trilogy on Maimonides(1908, 1914).

The establishment of the society marked an important step towards the professionalization of *Wissenschaft des Judentums, and can be regarded as a limited success; for more than a generation it provided impetus and organization for all branches of Jewish scholarship, earning respect in both Jewish and non-Jewish academic circles. The society was forced to cease its activities following the *Kristallnacht riots.

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(1991); C. Wiese, in: *Wissenschaft des Judentums und protestantische Theologie im wilhelminischen Deutschland: Ein Schrei ins Leere?* (1999); D. Adelmann, "Die Religion der Vernunft im Grundriss der Gesamtwissenschaft des Judentums," in: H. Holzhey, G. Motzkin and H. Wiedebach (eds), *Religion of Reason out of the sources of Judaism: Tradition and the Concept of Origin in Hermann Cohen's Later Work* (2000), 3–35; H. Soussan, " Gesellschaft zur Förderung der Wissenschaft des Judentums,1902–1915," in: LBIYB, 46 (2001).

[Henry Soussan (2nd ed.)]

°**GESENIUS, HEINRICH FRIEDRICH WILHELM** (1786–1842), German Orientalist, lexicographer, and Bible scholar. Born at Nordhausen, he taught in several German towns (Helmstedt, Goettingen, Heiligenstadt), and was appointed professor of theology at the University of Halle in 1811. He wrote a number of studies on Semitic languages including *Versuch ueber die maltesische Sprache*…, Leipzig (1810); *De Pentateuchi Samaritani origine, indole et auctoriate*…, Halle (1815); *De Samaritanorum theologia ex fontibus ineditis commentatio*, Halle (1822); *Palaeographische Studien ueber phoenizische und punische Schrift* (1835); *Scripturae linguaeque phoeniciae monumenta quotquot supersunt edita et inedita* (1837). Gesenius' main field of interest was the scientific investigation of biblical Hebrew based on comparison with other Semitic languages and his studies remained basic for subsequent research. His work was the first in a field of research that freed the study of Hebrew from theological considerations. His most important contributions to the knowledge of Hebrew language and grammar are (1) *Hebraeisch-deutsches Handwoerterbuch*…, in two volumes (Leipzig, 1810–12); an improved edition "*Hebraeisches und chaldaeisches Handwoerterbuch ueber das Alte Testament*" (Leipzig, 1815; after the tenth edition *aramaeisches* was substituted for *chaldaeisches*). The book has appeared in German in 16 editions. The 16th edition (1915) was reprinted several times. The standard, though greatly outdated BDB (*A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament*, ed. F. Brown, S.R. Driver, and Ch. A. Briggs, 1907^2; corrected impression 1963) is based on Gesenius' work. (2) *Thesaurus philologicus criticus linguae Hebraeae et Chaldaeae veteris testamenti* (started to appear in 1829 but was completed only posthumously by his pupil E. Roediger, in 1858). In this dictionary, Gesenius drew on talmudic sources and quotes Jewish Bible commentators such as *Rashi, Abraham *Ibn Ezra, and David *Kimḥi. (3) *Hebraeische Grammatik* (Halle, 1813), a Hebrew grammar which appeared in German in 29 editions (editor G. Bergstraesser, 1929^{29}; 29th edition not completed) and was also translated into English (*Gesenius' Hebrew Grammar*, ed. A.E. Cowley, 1910^2). (4) *Hebraeisches Lesebuch* ("A Hebrew Reader," Halle, 1814); (5) *Geschichte der hebraeischen Sprache und Schrift* ("A History of the Hebrew language and script," Leipzig, 1815). (6) *Ausfuehrliches grammatisch-kritisches Lehrgebaeude der hebraeischen Sprache mit Vergleichung der verwandten Dialekte* (Leipzig, 1817). In it, he explained his scientific linguistic system based on comparative Semitic philology. Gesenius wrote one exegetical work, a commentary (together with a translation) on Isaiah, in three volumes (Leipzig 1820–21, 1829^2). Gesenius was a close friend of W. de *Wette, who greatly influenced his work on the authorship of biblical books and Israelite religion. His rationalism aroused the ire of orthodox supernaturalists. Some negative assessments of Judaism in his work were hardly unique to Gesenius' in his own time.

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[Irene Garbell]

GESHEM, GASHMU, an "Arab," one of the chief opponents of *Nehemiah, who, together with *Sanballat and Tobiah, opposed the rebuilding of the walls of Jerusalem (c. 450 B.C.E.). When Geshem and his allies heard of Nehemiah's intention to rebuild the wall of Jerusalem, they mocked and scorned him (Neh. 2:10–20). Later, when the wall was completed and all but the gateways fully repaired, they sought by various means to dispose of Nehemiah personally or to compromise his position within the country. These efforts also failed, and Nehemiah's opponents were forced to admit that the task was divinely supported (Neh. 6).

Geshem's designation as an "Arab" is supported by the name's widespread attestation in North Arabia. From the context of Nehemiah 6 it is clear that Geshem was an influential figure. He may be identical with a "king" of the same name mentioned in an Aramaic votive inscription on a silver bowl found in the temple of the Arab goddess Han-'Illat at Tell al-Maskhuta, in the neighborhood of Ismailia in Egypt (now in the Brooklyn Museum), which, on paleographical and archeological grounds, was dated as belonging to the fifth century B.C.E. This inscription reads in translation: "What Qaynu son of Geshem, King of Kedar, brought (as offering) to (the goddess) Han'Illat." On this basis, it has been suggested that Geshem King of Kedar is identical with Nehemiah's enemy. The name appears also in Safaitic inscriptions, and on a Nabatean inscription as "Gashmu, which like Nehemiah 6:6 preserves the old Semitic case ending.

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[Yuval Kamrat / S. David Sperling (2nd ed.)]

GESHER (Heb. גֶּשֶׁר), kibbutz in the Jordan Valley, Israel, near the confluence of the Jordan and Yarmuk Rivers, affiliated with Ha-Kibbutz ha-Me'uḥad. Its land, belonging to the Palestine Jewish Colonization Association, was previously settled by another group which later established itself permanently at *Ashdot Ya'akov. Gesher was taken over in 1939 by Youth Aliyah graduates from Germany joined by Israeli-born youth and settlers from various countries. In the War of Independence (1948) Gesher held out against a heavy bombardment when the Arabs attempted to cross the Jordan in order to reach Haifa. After the Six-Day War, it became a target of frequent artillery attacks from the other side of the Jordan. Gesher developed intensive farming and operated a gypsum plant. Subsequently, it initiated a joint venture with the Israeli Electric Corporation – a visitor's center with an audio-visual representation of Israel's early generation of electricity from the Yarmuk and Naharayim Rivers. In 2002 its population was 494. The name of the kibbutz, "Bridge," refers to a Roman bridge nearby and to modern railway and road bridges spanning the Jordan and Jarmuk.

WEBSITE: www.gesher.org.il.

[Efraim Orni]

GESHER BENOT YA'AKOV (Heb. גֶּשֶׁר בְּנוֹת יַעֲקֹב; "Bridge of the Daughters of Jacob"), a bridge on the Jordan situated at the southern end of the Huleh Valley where the riverbed enters the valley about 6 mi. (9 km.) E. of Rosh Pinnah, near kibbutz Gadot. In excavations conducted near the bridge by M. Stekelis (1935–36), remains of the Early Stone Age were uncovered including remains of elephants. Built of basalt arches, the original bridge was erected at the end of the 13th century on the site of a natural ford of the Jordan (cf. Isa. 8:23) which served as one of the most important links between Ereẓ Israel and Damascus via Galilee and the Golan. A branch of the ancient route, the Roman *Via Maris*, passed through the ford. The name of the bridge is derived from an Arab tradition according to which the patriarch Jacob crossed the Jordan here and his daughters were buried nearby. The crusaders called the ford Vadum Jacob. Because of its strategic importance, it was the scene of several famous battles. In 1157 Baldwin III, crusader king of Jerusalem, was defeated there by the Muslim ruler of Damascus, Nur al-Din. A fortress ("chastellet"), remains of which still stand, erected by Baldwin IV in 1178 and assigned to the Knights Templar, was captured by Saladin within a year of its construction. In 1799 soldiers of Napoleon were stationed at the bridge to prevent reinforcements from Damascus from reaching Acre which his army was besieging. A battle between British and Turkish forces took place at the bridge in 1918. It was one of the bridges blown up by members of the *Haganah* on the night of June 17, 1946. In May 1948 the Syrians entered Israel near the bridge and captured *Mishmar ha-Yarden, but later withdrew under the cease-fire agreements. After the Six-Day War (June 1967) the bridge served traffic to the Golan Heights.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Stekelis, in: BRCI, 9 (1960), 61–88.

[Yehoshoua Ben-Arieh]

GESHER HA-ZIV (Heb. גֶּשֶׁר הַזִּיו), kibbutz in the northern Coastal Plain (Acre Valley) of Israel, N. of *Nahariyyah, affiliated with Iḥud ha-Kibbutzim. It was founded in 1949 by members of the former kibbutz Bet ha-Aravah evacuated during the War of Independence (1948). The founding members, some from Central Europe and some Israeli-born, were later joined by pioneers from North America, South Africa, and other countries. The kibbutz engaged in highly intensive farming (avocado and banana plantations, citrus groves, field crops, and poultry) and had guest rooms and a gas station. The regional school of the area's settlements was located in the kibbutz. In 1968 its population was 328, rising to 491 in 2002. Gesher ha-Ziv, meaning "Bridge of Splendor," commemorates a unit of 14 Haganah men who fell in the area on June 17, 1946, when they blew up a bridge over the Keziv River, during the struggle against the British; the name also refers to the nearby ancient city *Achzib.

[Efraim Orni]

GESHURI, MEIR SHIMON (1897–1977), writer on music. Born in Myslowitz, Silesia, Geshuri went to Ereẓ Israel in 1920. He was active in the founding of the Ha-Po'el ha-Mizraḥi, but his main interest was research into Jewish music, particularly ḥasidic song. He was one of the founders of the Israel Institute for Sacred Music (1958). Geshuri was the author of numerous articles and published his main researches in *Ha-Niggun ve-ha-Rikkud ba-Ḥasidut* (3 vols., 1956–59). A bibliography of his writings was edited by B.M. Cohen in 1966.

°GESSIUS FLORUS, the last procurator of Judea before the Jewish War; governed from 64–66 C.E. He was appointed on the recommendation of Nero's consort Poppaea Sabina (Tacitus, Historiae, 5:10). Florus showed himself to be an oppressive and rapacious ruler. On the occasion of a visit to Jerusalem of the Roman governor of Syria, *Cestius Gallus Gaius, the Jews complained bitterly to him of the procurator's conduct. On his departure the situation deteriorated. With the renewal of the quarrel at Caesarea between the Jews and the Syrians over the local synagogue, Florus promised the Jews his support but later adopted an anti-Jewish attitude (TJ, Bik. 2:3, 65d). The arrest of Jewish leaders who had come to Sebaste to enlist his aid, and his plundering of 17 talents from the Temple treasury, aroused the anger of the people against him, and the Jews sarcastically collected money in the streets of Jerusalem for the "indigent procurator." Florus demanded that those responsible should be handed over to him for punishment and finally ordered his soldiers to sack Jerusalem, paying no attention to the intercession of *Berenice, the sister of *Agrippa II. For a while the leading citizens were able to calm the people, but when Florus led his troops on the city the Jews rose in arms and succeeded in halting the Roman advance. Fearing a second attempt, the Jews now broke down the porticoes connecting the Temple Mount with the fortress of Antonia, whereupon Florus returned to Caesarea. Agrippa tried to calm the people, but they refused to submit any more to the orders of the procurator. Both Florus and the Jews gave the governor of Syria their own version of what had taken place. The latter sent an emissary to Jerusalem to learn the truth of the matter and subsequently informed Nero that the blame for the outbreak of war rested on Florus. There is no doubt that Florus's conduct was one of the chief causes of the ensuing war which resulted in the destruction of the Second Temple.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Jos., Ant., 20:252–68; Jos., Wars, 2:277ff., 558; Schuerer, Gesch, 1 (1901^4), 585,601ff.; Pauly-Wissowa, 13 (1910), 1325–28, no. 5.

[Lea Roth]

GESTAPO (abb. **Geheime Staats Polizei**; "Secret State Police"), the secret police of Nazi Germany, their main tool of oppression and destruction, which persecuted Germans, opponents of the regime, as well as Jews at the outset of the Nazi regime and later played a central role in carrying out the "*Final Solution"; originally the Prussian domestic intelligence, which became a quasi-Federal Bureau of Investigation, though initially with much less power. The right-wing revolution in Prussia in late 1932 brought about a sweeping purge of "left-wing and Jewish elements" in its political police and paved the way for the changes of the Nazi era. After Hitler's ascent to power, he appointed Hermann Goering as the new Prussian minister of the interior and Goering completed the purge and gave the secret police executive powers, transforming it from a shadowing and information agency into a wide executive arm to persecute enemies of the Nazi regime. The head office of the secret state police – the Geheimes Staatspolizeiamt, or Gestapa – was given powers to shadow, arrest, interrogate, and intern; however, it had to struggle against the Nazi Party organizations, the SA (Storm Troops) and *SS, which also "fought" the regime's opponents, but without the supervision of traditional state bodies.

Simultaneously, with relatively few changes in the Prussian political police, the *Reichsfuehrer* of the SS, Heinrich *Himmler, achieved control over the Bavarian political police and established direct ties between the SS, the political police, and concentration camps. Thus Himmler snatched the secret police administration out of the hands of the state conservatives and in collaboration with the Bavarian minister of justice, Hans *Frank, and with Hitler's direct support, created an independent organization for shadowing, interrogation, arrest, imprisonment, and execution along the lines of the Nazi ideology (see SS and *SD, and *Hitler). The Bavarian political police under Reinhard *Heydrich's direction was able to evade the laws that still applied in Germany in order to influence individuals, disband political parties, and liquidate trade unions. It led campaigns through the newspapers and radio against political opponents, interrogated individual "enemies," and sent them to the central concentration camp *Dachau. The officials of the political police all remained civil servants but were simultaneously drafted into the SS and subordinated to Himmler, both through the civil service and Nazi Party. Many of the officials had never been members of the Nazi Party, as was the case of Heinrich *Mueller, an old Weimar secret police man who became Heydrich's assistant and eventually headed the Gestapo.

From the outset Heydrich's prisoners included many Jews, most of whom were intellectuals or active in left-wing parties. During 1933 the political police began shadowing and investigating Jewish organizations and Jewish community life and thus set up its own network for imprisonment and uniform repression of all the Jews of Bavaria, in the wake of the policy of isolating Jews that was part of the first stage and was followed by exerting pressure, openly and insidiously, on the Jews to emigrate.

Unification of the Political Police

From August 1933, Himmler managed to rise from his starting point in Bavaria to take over the political police of the various *Laender*, including Prussia. From the head office of the Prussian Gestapo in Berlin, which also became the headquarters of the SS, Himmler and Heydrich directed all the political police services in Germany. The Gestapo then became the authority that investigated, along with the SD, every aspect of life in Germany, and especially watched over the regime's "enemies of alien race." The Jews headed the list. Until the end of 1939, the Gestapo's Jewish Department was directed by Karl Haselbacher, a lawyer who was among those who drafted the first anti-Jewish laws. Until the outbreak of World War II, most of the murders in the camps were carried out on Gestapo orders under various cover-ups, such as "killed while attempting escape," but eventually these pretenses were dispensed with, especially where Jews were concerned.

From 1938

As an institution in charge of shadowing, interrogating, arresting, and imprisoning "enemies of the Reich," the Gestapo became a massive authority employing thousands of government officials and SS men who together persecuted the regime's "enemies" or other opponents. Various groups in the population were turned over and left to the Gestapo's sole discretion; they were subjected to "neutralization" in camps without prior trial or forced to emigrate or face physical liquidation. From 1938 onward, the Gestapo began increasingly to deal with Jews who had previously been subject to other Nazi authorities. It had a hand in the *Kristallnacht* and enforced Jewish emigration. In competitive cooperation with the SD, the Gestapo set up the Zentralstelle fuer juedische Auswanderung in annexed Austria, directed by Adolf *Eichmann and headed by Mueller. Other centers for forced emigration were set up in 1939 in the Protectorate of Bohemia-Moravia and in Germany proper to accelerate the emigration of Jews by eviction and persecution, impoverishment, and degradation. When the Gestapo and part of the SD were joined under the *RSHA of the SS in November 1939, Office IV (Gestapo) of the new main office acquired sole authority over all Jews who were not yet imprisoned in camps.

During World War II the Gestapo, along with the SD and Security Police, constituted part of the *Einsatzgruppen* (mobile killing units) in Poland and other occupied countries. These units dealt with the murder and internment of numerous Jews and especially with the expulsion of the inhabitants of the small towns in Poland to mass concentration centers. Afterward Gestapo officials were appointed supervisors over the mass concentration of Jews. In Berlin headquarters the Gestapo in the first year of the war laid plans for various temporary "solutions for the Jewish problem," such as the establishment of a "reservation" in Poland or the mass transfer of Jews to Madagascar. At the end of 1940, when the Jews in Eastern Europe were interned in ghettos, the Gestapo, along with the German occupational civil administration, was charged with guarding and supervising the ghettos, imposing forced labor, and causing starvation and disease in an effort to decimate the ghetto inhabitants. In the Western occupied countries the Gestapo saw to registering the Jews and isolating them from the rest of the population for purposes of their eventual removal from economic life and confiscation of property. Under Eichmann, Section IVB4 of the Gestapo was "*federfuehrend*" (leading) in the "Final Solution."

The *Einsatzgruppen*

After the invasion of Russia in 1941, the *Einsatzgruppen*, headed by Gestapo men and directly responsible to Heydrich and Mueller, renewed the massacres on an enormous scale. The *Einsatzgruppen* carried out executions of Jews in the Baltic states and in Belorussia and wiped out part of the Ukrainian Jews. Later in 1941, the decision was made to kill all the Jews of Europe in gas chambers and the Gestapo was to supervise the dispatch of the Jews to the camps specially adapted or constructed for the program of mass murder (see *Holocaust, General Survey). The Gestapo section headed by Eichmann was in charge of the dispatch of Jews to the camps, and it also directly supervised at least one camp, *Theresienstadt, in Czechoslovakia. The section also supplied some of the gas used in the chambers, negotiated with countries under German domination to accelerate the murder, and dealt with Jewish leaders, especially in Hungary (see *Kasztner) in an effort to smooth the process of the impending destruction of various Jewish communities (see *Judenrat). The local Gestapo offices in Germany supervised the dispatch of Jews to death trains and the confiscation of their property. The Gestapo was largely responsible for the actual implementation of the dispatch orders and could choose its victims. It especially held the fate of people of mixed parentage (*Mischlinge*) in its hands. It excelled in its unabated and premeditated cruelty, in its ability to delude its intended victims as to the fate that awaited them, and in the use of barbaric threats and torture to lead the victims to their death, all as part of the "Final Solution."

At the same time the Gestapo acted as the principal executive arm of the Nazi regime in all the campaigns of terror, liquidation, looting, starvation, confiscation of property, and theft of cultural treasures (see Desecration and Destruction of *Synagogues; *Poland) throughout Europe. The Gestapo also repressed the anti-Nazi partisan movement and stamped out resistance in the Western European countries. Thus the term Gestapo became an accepted synonym for horror. After the war, very few of the important members of the Gestapo were caught and brought to trial. The courts in the Federal German Republic from 1969 discussed the question of several principal contingents of the Gestapo.

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[Shlomo Aronson]

GESTETNER, DAVID (1854–1939), British industrialist. Born in Csorna, Hungary, he was the inventor of the cyclostyle duplicating process and was credited with being the founder of modern stencil duplicating. At 17, chafing at the monotony of clerking on the Vienna Stock Exchange, he went to New York, where, after experimenting with papers for duplicating, he moved on to London to sell his invention and set up business. The firm he founded now has worldwide branches and factories, employing thousands of people. Entering communal life, he was a founder of the Green Lanes Synagogue, London (1897). SIGMUND (1897–1956), David's son, was chairman and managing director of the Gestetner business when he was 23, and made a name as a progressive industrialist. Influenced by Chaim Weizmann, he was a devoted Zionist, and as chairman of the *Keren Hayesod in England at the time of the Nazi regime in Germany, he helped Jewish craftsmen to escape, and through the *Central British Fund for German Jewry and the Children's Movement, he helped to resettle refugees. He served in the army in World War I, and in World War II his factory did war work and he organized the Balfour Club for the Jewish Forces in London. He was treasurer of the Jewish National Fund in Britain in 1949 and became its president in 1950. He was treasurer of the Joint Palestine Appeal and honorary treasurer of the Weizmann Institute Foundation. He was also a successful farmer, and loaned his farm to the Zionist movement for training agricultural pioneers bound for Ereẓ Israel.

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[John M. Shaftesley]

GESUNDHEIT, JACOB BEN ISAAC (1815–1878), Polish rabbi and author. Gesundheit was born in Praga, a suburb of Warsaw. He studied there under Leib Zinz of Plotsk. On the death of Dov Berush b. Isaac Meisels, rabbi of Warsaw, Gesundheit was chosen to succeed him (1870). Possessed of considerable means, he had not previously held a rabbinic post despite the fact that he was a great talmudist, headed a yeshivah, and had already written a number of books. Gesundheit fought strongly against *Ḥasidism, which was on the increase in Warsaw. The Ḥasidim fought back and together with the assimilationists under Ludwig Nathanson compelled him to resign from the rabbinate after four years. He died four years later. All his published books are entitled *Tiferet Ya'akov*. He wrote novellae on the Shulḥan Arukh (1842–1926), and on tractates *Gittin* (1858) and *Ḥullin* (2 pts., 1867–1910). His responsa and other talmudic novellae have remained in manuscript.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Fuenn, Keneset, 542f.; "Toledot Rabbenu Ya'akov Gesundheit," in: *Reshimat ha-Sefarim mi-Sifriyyat Gesundheit* (1939), 5–8.

[Itzhak Alfassi]

GETZ, STAN (1927–1991), U.S. tenor saxophonist. Getz was one of those rare figures in jazz who manages to achieve huge commercial successes without compromising considerable artistic abilities. Like his first major influence, Lester Young, he had a light yet huge sound and a natural sense of swing. He was one of jazz's great ballad players and a superb melodist. Of the latter skill he once said, "The saxophone is actually a translation of the human voice, in my conception. All you can do is play melody. No matter how complicated it gets, it's still a melody." Born in Philadelphia but raised in the Bronx, Getz manifested his musical skills early, playing bass in junior high school and bassoon in high school, where he was selected for the all-city orchestra. He recalled, "I was a withdrawn, hypersensitive kid. I would practice the saxophone in the bathroom, and the tenements were so close together that someone from across the alleyways would yell, 'Shut that kid up,' and my mother would say, 'Play louder Stanley, play louder.'" He turned down a possible scholarship to Juilliard at age 15 to go on the road with the Jack Teagarden band. Shortly after, he moved to Los Angeles, where he quickly found work in the Stan Kenton Orchestra, but he quit when Kenton made disparaging remarks about Lester Young. He would not stay unemployed for long, working with Benny *Goodman and Tommy Dorsey before he landed the job that first brought him stardom, as one of the "Four Brothers" sax section in the Woody Herman band known as the Second Herd. He quickly became one of the stars of this be-bop influenced band, with his solo on "Early Autumn" earning him major accolades. Regrettably, he also acquired a heroin habit that would plague him throughout the 1950s, leading him to a brief retirement and exile in Denmark in 1958–61. Getz came roaring back the following year with a series of Brazilian-influenced recordings that would bring his greatest commercial success, including a session with Joao and Astrud Gilberto that included "The Girl From Ipanema," one of the biggest-selling jazz singles of all time. He continued playing and recording steadily until his death from liver cancer at age 64. Elected to the Down Beat Hall of Fame in 1986 by the magazine's readers, Getz was also held in high esteem by his peers; John Coltrane, the most influential tenor player of the post-World War II era, said of him, "We would all like to play like Stan Getz, if we could."

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[George Robinson (2nd ed.)]

GE'ULEI TEIMAN (Heb. גְּאוּלֵי תֵּימָן; "The Redeemed from Yemen"), moshav and housing quarter in the Ḥefer Plain, Israel, founded in 1947 by settlers from Yemen as an extension of the neighboring village of *Elyashiv. The farming community was affiliated with Ha-Po'el ha-Mizrachi Moshavim Association (from 1967). Its population was 181 in 1968 and 311 in 2002.

[Efraim Orni]

GE'ULIM (Heb. גְּאוּלִים; "Redeemed Ones"), moshav in central Israel, S.E. of *Netanyah, affiliated with Tenu'at ha-Moshavim, founded in 1938 by settlers from Yemen. Its population in 1968 was 480, expanding to 545 in the mid-1990s, and 670 in 2002. Ge'ulim engaged in intensive farming, including citrus groves, fruit plantations, poultry, and flowers.

[Efraim Orni / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

GE'ULLAH (Heb. גְּאֻלָּה; "Redemption"), title of several prayers. That section in the morning and evening prayer which is recited between the *Shema and the *Amidah is known as *Ge'ullah*. This ancient prayer is mentioned in the Mishnah (Ber. 1:4; 2:2; Tam. 5:1) and referred to as *Ge'ullah* in the Talmud (Pes. 117b). The original text was probably much shorter; according to Zunz it contained only 45 Hebrew words. The present wording varies considerably in different rites. The prayer starts with the words "*emet ve-emunah*" ("true and trustworthy") in the evening prayer and with "*emet ve-yaẓiv*" ("true and firm") in the morning prayer (Ber. 12a). It opens with a profession of faith, enumerates the miracles of the redemption of Israel from Egypt, and closes with a plea to the Redeemer of Israel to deliver them again. In some Sephardi rituals, however, there is a longer variant ending. The Talmud (Ber. 4b, 9b) insists that there be no interruption between *Ge'ullah* and the *Amidah* and so even the response "Amen" is omitted after the *Ge'ullah* benediction in the morning prayer. In the evening prayer *Hashkivenu is inserted between them, the interruption being permitted because the recitation of the evening prayer was not considered obligatory in the Talmud.

The name *Ge'ullah* applies also to the *piyyutim* which are inserted before the closing formula of this prayer on special Sabbaths and on the three pilgrimage festivals.

The Mishnah uses the term *Ge'ullah* for the benediction recited at the end of *Hallel* during the Passover *seder* (Pes. 10:6).

The term *Ge'ullah* is also used to designate the seventh benediction of the *Amidah* which ends with the words "the Redeemer of Israel."

BIBLIOGRAPHY: ET, 5 (1953), 43–46; Elbogen, Gottesdienst, 22ff., 101, 211f., 514; Eisenstein, Dinim, 67f.; Idelsohn, Liturgy, 41, 92, 99.

GEVA (Heb. גֶּבַע; "Hill"), kibbutz in the Valley of Jezreel, Israel, affiliated with Iḥud ha-Kevuẓot ve-ha-Kibbutzim, and founded in 1921 by Third Aliyah pioneers from Russia who were later joined by new settlers from different countries. In 1968 the kibbutz had 510 inhabitants, engaged in highly intensive mixed farming. In 2002 the population was 542. Baccara Automation Control, a factory manufacturing solenoid valves, was founded in 1964. Shkediya Geva Industries produced almond products and a therapeutic horse stable was located in the kibbutz. Geva is also the home of the Gevaton Singers, founded in 1948 and among the country's most popular performers of Israeli pioneer music.

[Efraim Orni / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

GEVARAM (Heb. גְּבַרְעָם; "the People Overcomes"), kibbutz in the southern coastal plain of Israel, S. of Ashkelon, affiliated with Ha-Kibbutz ha-Me'uḥad, founded in 1942. The settlers, mainly pioneers from Slovakia, Austria, Holland, and Germany, previously maintained a transitory camp at *Kefar Sava as hired agricultural workers. They initially suffered from lack of water, but by deep drilling a rich groundwater table was discovered sufficient for local needs and to supply other settlements. The siege of the Egyptian army during the War of Independence was lifted in Operation Ten Plagues (October 1948). Gevaram's economy was based on intensive and largely irrigated farming, dairy cattle, and a metal factory. Its population was 240 in 1968 and 311 in 2002.

[Efraim Orni]

GEVAT (Heb. גְּבַת), kibbutz in northern Israel, in the *Jezreel Valley, at the foot of the *Nazareth Hills, affiliated with Ha-Kibbutz ha-Me'uḥad. It was founded in 1926 by pioneers from Pinsk, Poland. The kibbutz participated in the draining of the Jezreel Valley swamps. With the split in Ha-Kibbutz ha-Me'uḥad in 1951–52, some of its members established a separate kibbutz, Yifat, further east. In 1968 Gevat had 625 inhabitants and its economy was based on field crops and dairy cattle. The kibbutz also produced plastic and rubber products. In 2002 its population was 658. Gevat is a historical name, mentioned by Eusebius (Onom. 70:9ff.) in its Aramaic form Gabata.

[Efraim Orni]

GÉVAUDAN, region in France, corresponding to the present department of Lozère. Jews were first recorded in Gévaudan in 1229, in the town of Mende, and they were also found in Marvejols and Meyrueis. The supposition that the names of localities like Salmon, Gimel, etc. indicate an earlier presence of Jews can be dismissed as fantasy. However, it is probable that the place name Montjézieu derives from an earlier name *mons judaeus*. Gulielmus Durandus, bishop of Mende (1285–96), enforced in his diocese the canonical laws prohibiting Christians from entering the service of Jews and forbidding Jews to appear in public during Easter or to work on Sundays and Christian holidays; they were also compelled to wear the *badge. When they were expelled in 1306, Gévaudan's Jews had an estimated capital of 15,000 livres. A few Jews were living in Marvejols in 1322.

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[Bernhard Blumenkranz]

GEVIM (Heb. גְּבִים), kibbutz in the coastal plain of Israel, 8 mi. (13 km.) E. of Gaza, affiliated with Iḥud ha-Kevuẓot ve-ha-Kibbutzim, founded in August 1947. Gevim was one of the first links in the settlement chain extending to the south and Negev that had to defend itself against the Egyptian forces in the Israeli *War of Independence (a few months after its establishment). The founding members were Israeli-born and *Youth Aliyah graduates from Central Europe. Farming included field crops, avocado plantations, poultry, and dairy cattle. However, its economic mainstay became factories producing plastics and flutes. Its population was 372 in 2002. Gevim means "Water Holes," an allusion to the first Negev water pipeline, which passes through the kibbutz.

[Efraim Orni]

GEVIRTZ, STANLEY (1929–1988), U.S. Bible scholar. Gevirtz received his B.A. at Brooklyn College and earned his Ph.D. at the University of Chicago in 1959. He remained at Chicago at its Oriental Institute until 1972. He then left Chicago for the Los Angeles campus of Hebrew Union College, where he taught until his death from cancer. As a young man Gevirtz had studied drama and world literature. As a result he earned a reputation as an outstanding classroom teacher and captivating public lecturer, whose public delivery bordered on the poetic. His monograph, *Patterns in the Early Poetry of Israel* (1963), illustrates Gevirtz's literary sensibility and his far-ranging knowledge of ancient Semitic poetic style and syntax. Especially incisive are Gevirtz's studies of ancient biblical poetry.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *MAARAV*, 7–8 (1991–92); list of Gevirtz's publications, *MAARAV*, 8, 377–79.

[S. David Sperling (2nd ed.)]

GEVULOT (Heb. גְּבוּלוֹת), kibbutz in southern Israel, 20 mi. (32 km.) W. of Beersheba, affiliated with Kibbutz Arẓi ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir, founded in 1943 as the first of the three "observation outposts" established to explore settlement conditions in the Negev (the other two were *Bet Eshel and *Revivim). The sandy loess soil of the region proved cultivable despite the severe lack of water. In 1946, on the basis of Gevulot's successful experiments, 11 additional settlements were erected in the south and the Negev. In the *War of Independence (1948) the isolated kibbutz held out against the long Egyptian siege until Operation Ten Plagues (October 1948). With water made available through the Yarkon-Negev pipeline in the 1950s, the kibbutz developed intensive farm branches such as field crops, dairy cattle, poultry, and flowers. Its factory made polymers products. The kibbutz also made a living from tourism, including a guesthouse and its Watch Tower tourist site. In 2002 its population was 251. Gevulot's name, "Borders," was chosen as the kibbutz was, at the time of its founding, the Jewish settlement nearest to the Egyptian border.

[Efraim Orni]

GEZER (Heb. גֶּזֶר).

(1) Major city in ancient times located in the northern Shephelah at Tell Jazar (also called Tell Abu-Shūsha). Gezer was first settled in the Chalcolithic period (fourth millennium B.C.E.); in the Early Bronze Age I it was occupied by a non-Semitic people who followed the custom of burning their dead. Semitic settlers established there in the Early Bronze Age II–IV (3rd millennium B.C.E.) enclosed the city with a wall. The Canaanite occupation reached its peak of prosperity in the Middle Bronze and Late Bronze I Ages (20th–14th centuries B.C.E.), when a stone wall 10 ft. (3 m.) wide with square towers was built around the city. This period at Gezer also yielded objects testifying to links with Egypt as well as a potsherd in ancient Canaanite script. The city is first mentioned in Egyptian documents in the list of cities captured by Thutmose III (c. 1469 B.C.E.). The importance of Gezer in the 14th century is evident from the Tell *el-Amarna letters. Milkilu, king of Gezer, and his successor Yapahu controlled an extensive area which also included Aijalon and Zorah; their chief rival was the king of Jerusalem. The capture of Gezer is mentioned in the "Israel stele" of Pharaoh Merneptah (c. 1220 B.C.E.) together with Ashkelon and Yeno'am. During the Israelite conquest, Horam, king of Gezer, was defeated in battle by the Israelites (Josh. 10:33). His city was assigned to the Levites in the territory of Ephraim but its population remained predominantly Canaanite (Josh. 16:3; 21:21). Pharaoh Siamun (?) conquered Gezer and ceded it to Israel "for a portion unto his daughter, Solomon's wife." Commanding the approaches to Jerusalem, the city became one of the major strongholds of Solomon who built a gate there identical in plan with gates he erected at Hazor and Megiddo (I Kings 9:15–17). Part of the Solomonic city gate, built of dressed stones, and an adjacent casemate wall have been discovered there. A stepped tunnel 216 ft. (66 m.) long cut to provide access to the water table may date to this period. Also found there is a small contemporary stone tablet of seven lines ("the *Gezer Calendar"). Gezer was conquered by Shishak according to that Pharaoh's inscriptions (c. 924 B.C.E.) and archaeological finds indicate that the city declined at that time. Tiglath-Pileser III's capture of the city (probably in 733 B.C.E.) is depicted on a relief found at Calah. In the Assyrian period Gezer's population was augmented by foreign settlers; contracts of two of these, written in cuneiform from the years 651 and 649 B.C.E., have survived. The city recovered in the Persian period and under the Hellenistic kings it again became an important royal fortress. During the Hasmonean wars Gezer was a major Greek base and remained in Greek hands until its capture in 142 B.C.E. by Simeon, who expelled the aliens. He refortified the city and made it the military center of his state, under the command of his son John Hyrcanus, second only to Jerusalem (I Macc. 4:15; 9:52; 13:43; 16:19). A Hasmonean palace discovered there was apparently built by Greek prisoners of war; a curse was found scratched on one of its stones: "May fire descend from heaven and devour the house of Simeon." Gezer's importance declined after the Hasmonean period and the center of the district was transferred to Emmaus. Eusebius mentions it as a village four miles north (this should read "south") of Emmaus (Onom. 66:19 ff.). It does not appear in other ancient sources but a Roman bathhouse and several Christian lamps found there testify to its continued occupation. On the Madaba Map, the legend "Gedor also Gidirtha" apparently refers to Gezer. It was known as Montgisart in the crusader period; there King Baldwin IV defeated the forces of Saladin in 1177 but by 1191 it was in the hands of the Muslims and served as their headquarters in the war against Richard the Lionhearted.

After crusader times the site was completely forgotten. It was re-identified by C. Clermont-Ganneau in 1873 and investigated in excavations conducted at Tell Jazar by R.A.S. Macalister from 1902 to 1912, and A. Rowe in 1934–35.

[Michael Avi-Yonah]

Later Excavations at Gezer

A ten-year project of archaeological excavations was initiated and carried out between 1964 and 1974 under different directors, G.E. Wright, W.G. Dever, and J.D. Seger. An additional season of work at the site was made by Dever in 1984. One of the goals of the expedition was to re-investigate the gates and walls previously uncovered by Macalister as well as to obtain a good stratigraphical sequence. Twenty-six strata were uncovered dating from approximately 3500 B.C.E. to 100 C.E. Five final reports have been published on the results of the excavations as well as numerous articles.

The earliest remains from Gezer, including architectural remains and caves, date from the Chalcolithic and Early Bronze Age and represent the remains of small villages. During the Early Bronze II the city expanded but was still not surrounded by a city wall. Following a period of abandonment, Gezer was resettled at the beginning of the Middle Bronze Age, growing into a large urban site during the Middle Bronze Age II (c. 1750 B.C.E.) with the construction of structures on terraced slopes. During the latter part of the Middle Bronze II (c. 1650 B.C.E.) the site was fortified with an encircling wall and rectangular towers, one of which was built of cyclopean stones. A three-entryway monumental gate with a mud-brick superstructure and a glacis of tamped chalk and debris were also excavated. The "high place" with ten massive standing stones (*masseboth*) excavated by Macalister also dates from the Middle Bronze Age. The Middle Bronze Age city was destroyed in a violent fire and this has been attributed to Pharoah Thutmosis III who mentioned Gezer in the Karnak Inscription. A cache of gold jewelry and much pottery was found within the destroyed houses. Following another period of abandonment, Gezer's fortunes revived during the Late Bronze IIA (c. 1400 B.C.E.). A large building – perhaps a palace or Egyptian-style residency – was uncovered. Ten of the Amarna tablets written by kings of Gezer date from this time. One of the excavators (Dever) has suggested that the site was fortified at that time, but this has been contested by others who have suggested an Iron Age date instead. A tomb with 68 individuals was uncovered, containing numerous luxury items and imports. Late Bronze Age Gezer declined, and it was probably conquered in 1207 B.C.E. during the campaign of Pharoah Merneptah. From about 1200 the first typical Philistine pottery appears at Gezer. One building from this period was destroyed in a violent fire (c. 1150 B.C.E.).

The Iron Age stratum from the tenth century B.C.E. includes the fortifications previously excavated by Macalister. In the present excavation they were redated to Solomonic times, following a suggestion by Yadin that these fortifications resembled gates and walls found at Hazor and Megiddo. The fortifications of the site were rebuilt in the eighth century B.C.E. and dwellings from this period were also unearthed. The destruction of this stratum probably took place in c. 733 B.C.E. at the time of the campaign of Tiglath Pileser III, and it may very well have been depicted on a relief in the Assyrian king's palace at Nimrud, which depicts a town by the name of *gaz*(*ru*). The city of the late eighth to sixth centuries B.C.E. was more modest than the previous city, and it too was destroyed with the Babylonian invasion of Judah in 598–586 B.C.E. Remains of settlements from the Persian, Hellenistic, and Roman periods were also found. Gezer was the residence of Simon Maccabaeus for a time, as well as the headquarters of John Hyrcanus. A number of boundary stones have been found in the fields around the site, one referring to the "the boundary of Gezer" and another to the landlord of an agricultural estate by the name of "Alkios."

[Shimon Gibson (2nd ed.)]

(2) Gezer is a kibbutz in central Israel, E. of *Ramleh, and is affiliated with Iḥud ha-Kevuẓot ve-Kibbutzim. Its land was originally acquired by the Ancient Order of Maccabaeans in England because of its proximity to *Modi'in. The settlement was founded in 1945 by settlers from Central Europe together with Israel-born youth. In the Israel *War of Independence (1948), Gezer, located in the thin chain of settlements connecting Jerusalem with the Coastal Plain, was involved in a hard battle with the Arab Legion and served as a vantage point in Operation Dani (July 1948), which resulted in the inclusion of the towns of Ramleh and Lydda in the State of Israel. Gezer ran various farms branches and had a factory for adhesives. It also operated a special educational park, Ginat Shorashim, dedicated to peace and the environment and rooted in Jewish sources and Jewish soil. A pumping station of the Yarkon-Negev water pipeline is located nearby. In the mid-1990s, the population was approximately 280, increasing to 340 by 2002.

[Efraim Orni / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

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GEZER CALENDAR, a Hebrew inscription of seven lines, engraved on a limestone tablet written in ancient Hebrew script; discovered in Gezer by R.A.S. *Macalister in 1908. The Gezer Calendar is dated by its script to the tenth century B.C.E. and cites an annual cycle of agricultural activities that seem to begin with the month of Tishri. The word *yrḥ* ("month") or *yrḥw* ("two months") precedes the name of each month. According to an accepted view, the inscription first lists two months of fruit picking, particularly olives (Tishri–Ḥeshvan). Then follow two months of grain sowing (Kislev–Tevet), two months concerned with the late sowing (Shevat–Adar), one month of flax harvest (by uprooting with a mattock; Nisan), one month of barley harvest (Iyyar), a month of wheat harvest (Sivan), two months of vine pruning or of vintage (Tammuz–Av), and, at the end, the month of *qayiẓ*, i.e., the picking or drying of figs (Elul). In the left lower edge of the inscription "*Aby* […]" is written vertically. It is possible that the name indicates the owner of the inscription or its author. The nature and purpose of the calendar are not clear, and many different explanations have been proposed. According to some scholars, the calendar was written as a schoolboy exercise in writing. This view derives from the fact that the script is rather crude. Another view holds that the Gezer Calendar was designated for the collection of taxes from farmers. It is also possible that the content of the inscription is a popular folk song, listing the months of the year according to the agricultural seasons. The original is in the Istanbul archeological museum.

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[Bustanay Oded]

GEZERTA, term used by the *geonim* for the oath of imprecation that they instituted in place of the oath by God's name or by a divine attribute (*kinnuy*). Geonic responsa describe the *gezerta* as a series of imprecations intended to intimidate the deponent (see *Teshuvot ha-Geonim* [Assaf], 1927, #106). The term is first mentioned in a responsum by *Natronai, *gaon* of Sura (853–58), who ascribes it to an earlier *gaon*, *Ẓadok Mar bar Ishi of Sura (816–18; *Teshuvot ha-Geonim Ḥemdah Genuzah* #22). *Gezerta* was employed as a substitute for biblical or mishnaic oaths only, not for post-mishnaic oaths such as the "consuetudinary oath" (*shevu'at hesset*). Its institution was the culmination of a gradual process, which began with the use of an imprecation even when there was no obligation to impose a biblical or mishnaic oath (see *ḥerem setam*). The transition from an oath by God's name to an oath of imprecation led to an extension of the use of oaths to matters in which a biblical or mishnaic oath could not be administered. The change enabled the *geonim* to resume the previous practice of administering an oath (of imprecation) to a widow demanding her *ketubbah* payment in cases that did not warrant a mishnaic oath (Git. 3:4); or an oath with respect to landed property, which is not possible in mishnaic law (Shevu. 6:5; and see TB Ket. 87a, and the geonic responsum in *Sha'arei Ẓedek* 73a #9). The *gezerta* was used, in particular, in the case of destitute debtors, who were required to take an oath that they had no means to repay their debt (Rav Hai Gaon, in *Teshuvot ha-Geonim* [Harkavy], #182; see also his *Mishpetei Shevu'ot*, p. 102).

The *gezerta* was not instituted through a special geonic enactment (*takkanah*) but was based mainly on the geonic practice of evading oaths by God's name or *kinnuy* and replacing it by an oath of biblical imprecation – a process which may date back to the talmudic period. This explains the prevalence in geonic sources of phraseology such as "it is our custom," "they were accustomed to…," in relation to the *gezerta*; terminology attesting to enactment is used only in relation to the ceremony accompanying the imposition of *gezerta*: "They enacted that rams' horns should be brought and blown in the presence of the deponent, and he is threatened as well with excommunication and other decrees" (*Ḥemdah Genuzah*, *ibid.*).

The *geonim* suspended the administration of biblical and mishnaic oaths because of the increased taking of false oaths and disrespect for oaths, as well as the talmudic principle that punishment for a false oath applies to the entire world (TB, Shevu. 39b) – an explanation offered by many *geonim*. As Rav Natronai writes: "But now, because of the deceivers… the courts refrained from imposing oaths [sworn] on a Torah scroll,… and the courts saw that people were swearing false oaths and bringing calamity upon the world, they refrained from imposing the biblical oath and abolished it entirely" (see *Ḥemdah Genuzah* #22, and further responsa in, e.g., *Teshuvot ha-Geonim* [Assaf], 1927, p. 97, etc.). Rav Saadiah Gaon writes in his commentary to the Torah (*Ḥayyei Sarah*, ed. Zucker, p. 412): "…In our nation they did not discontinue swearing this oath, that is, by the Lord God of heaven and earth, until there were many who swore falsely, and earlier authorities abolished the oath by God's name, because they knew that punishment might be visited upon the entire world. They then began to administer the oath of imprecation, punishment for which is imposed only upon the person who swears, [and we follow] their tradition to this day." Similarly, Rav Hai Gaon (*Mishpetei Shevu'ot*, p. 11) writes: "Our rabbis are now accustomed not to administer the oath by God's name, for the entire world may suffer and the punishment for [violation] is severe.…" The imprecation was a useful substitute for the oath, because of the use of a curse and an imprecation was taken more seriously, in addition to the power of excommunication and the accompanying ceremony to deter people from lying: "Wherever a person is required to swear a biblical oath, he is now made to hold a Torah scroll… and inflated water skins are brought, as well as a bier on which the dead are borne… and lighted candles… and wood ashes… and sacks are placed in the center… and a ram's horn is blown together with the imprecation" (responsum by Rav Sherira and Rav Hai, *Teshuvot ha-Geonim* [Assaf], 1927, #3; see also responsum by Rav Paltoi, Gaon of Pumbedita, in *Teshuvot ha-Geonim* [Lyck], #10). Perhaps, moreover, it was in view of the prevalent use by the Muslims of oaths in God's name – they in fact refer in their writings to the Jewish oath – that the *geonim* were motivated to avoid a formula similar to that used in the Muslim oath.

The renunciation of oaths and their replacement by imprecation did not affect the actual obligation to take an oath, which was still considered as having biblical force, as declared by Rav Sherira Gaon in a responsum (*Sha'arei Ẓedek*, p. 71a, #3). The basic elements of the administration of oaths were not abandoned, and the imprecation "inherited" the various practices involved, such as holding an object (generally a Torah scroll) while swearing. These practices were still the hallmark of biblical (and mishnaic) oaths as against later rabbinic oaths (such as the "consuetudinary oath"), in which the Torah scroll was held not by the deponent but by the person administering the oath (the scroll might also be placed on a chair; see, e.g., *Teshuvot ha-Geonim* [Harkavy], #550). The *gezerta* also retained certain other elements of the oath, such as naming the suspicious party, answering "amen," etc.

The identification of the oath with the imprecation known as *gezerta* may be attributed to Saadiah Gaon. He cites a series of passages from the Bible to stress that the *gezerta* was not innovated by the *geonim* but could already be found in biblical tradition. This was indeed Saadiah's tendency in other contexts as well – to demonstrate that everything was rooted in the Bible, in order to reject Karaite criticism of the Rabbanite approach (see, e.g., *Sha'arei Ẓedek* 41b, #38). Saadiah makes systematic use of *gezerta* in connection with oaths of biblical force (such as the oath imposed on a defendant who admits part of a claim, or the oath required to rebut the evidence of a single witness), and mishnaic oaths (such as the oath of a widow or of partners). The identification of the oath with imprecation around the time of Saadiah enabled the *geonim* to innovate the institution of *ḥerem setam*, which was imposed when there was no obligation to administer an oath.

The provisions of the *gezerta* as instituted by the *geonim* were accepted in their time by communities outside Babylonia (Iraq) as well. In the transitional period between the *geonim* and the later rabbis, the *gezerta* still continued in use, though without its ceremonial accoutrements, in the Jewish centers of North Africa (R. Hananel), Spain (R. Joseph b. Abitur, R. Isaac Alfasi), and even Italy (R. Kalonymus and Meshullam b. Kalonymus), France, and Germany (R. Gershom Me'or ha-Golah, R. Judah ha-Kohen (author of *Sefer ha-Dinim*), Rashi, R. Eliezer b. Nathan of Mainz, R. Isaac the Elder), as implied by the works of the major authorities of those countries. However, as time passed, a marked change is observed in rabbinical literature. The *gezerta* with its special practices became increasingly rare, until it was virtually abandoned and the use of real oaths (by God's name or *kinnuy*) was resumed, even in regard to the post-mishnaic oath (*shevu'at hesset*). The change is first evident in Spain and Provence, as follows from the writings of Naḥmanides, R. Shelomo b. Adret, R. Yom Tov b. Abraham Ishbili, R. Isaac bar Abba Mari (author of *Sefer ha-'Ittur*), R. Abraham b. David of Posquières, and others, continuing later, around the end of the 13th century, in Germany and France. In Germany and France, however, when oaths by God's name or *kinnuy* were discontinued, the rule requiring an object to be held and the "amen" response during the administration of the oath were also almost completely abolished. When the use of oaths was resumed, there was still no requirement to hold an object while taking the oath. The early rabbis of Spain, where the oath by God's name (or *kinnuy*) had been resumed, found it necessary to permit the defendant to request that a *ḥerem setam* be imposed upon the plaintiff, lest the latter unnecessarily demand that an oath be administered to the former. In contemporary Franco-Germany, however, where the use of God's name in oaths had not yet been resumed, there was no need for such protection of the defendant. Only later do we find a return to oaths by God's name in France and Germany and, consequently, the possible imposition of *ḥerem setam* upon the plaintiff.

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[Gideon Libson (2nd ed.)]

°**GHAZĀLĪ, ABU ḤAMID MUḤAMMAD IBN MUḤAMMAD AL-TŪSĪ AL-** (1058–1111), Persian Muslim theologian, jurist, mystic, and religious reformer, who wrote mainly in Arabic.

Al-Ghazālī's best-known work is his *Iḥyā' 'Ulūm al-Dīn* ("Revival of the Religious Sciences," 1096–7), in which he successfully reconciled orthodox Islam and *Sufism.

In his early career, al-Ghazālī wrote his famous *Tahāfut al-Falāsifa* ("Incoherence of the Philosophers," 1095) in which he directly confronted the claims of the philosophic systems of al-*Fārābī and *Avicenna. The book is divided into 20 topics, the most important of which is the discussion of the creation of the world. At the end of his work, he offers the legal opinion that the philosophers are guilty of heresy and are liable to the death penalty on three counts: they believe in the eternity of the world, they disbelieve in the omniscience of God, and they do not accept the dogma of bodily resurrection.

Al-Ghazālī had summed up the philosophic system of al-Fārābī and Avicenna in his *Maqāṣid al-Falāsifa* ("Intentions of the Philosophers," 1094), which was supposed to serve as an introductory volume to his "Incoherence," but was used as a handy, independent compendium of philosophy.

In his *Al-Munqidh min al-Ḍalāl* ("Deliverance from Error," 1108) he discussed his initial skepticism concerning the possibility of knowledge, and then his search for enlightenment in *Kalām (scholastic theology), philosophy, the doctrine that there exists an authoritative Imām, or religious guide, to absolute knowledge (Isma'ilism), and finally Sufism, in which he found the solution to his quest for certainty through prophecy.

The four large volumes of al-Ghazālī's *Revival of the Religious Sciences* constitute one of the major works of Sunni Islam. While the first part deals with knowledge and the requirements of faith imposed on the individual (such as ritual purity, prayer, charity, fasting, pilgrimage, recitation of the *Koran) and part two concentrates mainly on duties relating to social interrelations (such as practices relating to eating, marriage, earning a living, friendship), parts three and four are dedicated to the inner life of the soul and deepen the perspective of the first two parts. As a result of al-Ghazālī's endeavor, some of the warmth and emotional religious feeling inherent in Islamic mysticism was infused into the legalistic approach of Sunni Islam.

Al-Ghazālī found the strictness of exacting logical tools especially effective for the renovation and revival of the religious sciences. In addition to a systematic description of logic in his introduction to his writing on legal theory entitled *al-Mustaṣfā min 'Ilm al-Uṣūl* ("The Essentials of Islamic Legal Theory," 1109), he dedicated three other works to Aristotelian logic: *Mi'yar al-'Ilm* ("The Standard Measure of Knowledge," 1095), *Miḥakk al-Naẓar fī al-Manṭiq* ("The Touchstone of Proof in Logic," 1095) and *al-Qisṭās al-Mustaqīm* ("The Just Balance," 1095–96). The first two were written shortly after the *Tahāfut* in the same momentum of thought, and the third was composed after his retirement.

Along with his magnum opus, *Iḥyā 'Ulūm al-Dīn,* al-Ghazali's sincere commitment to Sufism yielded a number of distinctive works on Sufism and ethics, such as *Mīzān al-'Amal* ("The Balance of Action," 1095), *Kitāb al-Arba'īn fī Uṣūl al-Dīn* ("The Forty Chapters on the Principles of Religion"), which is an abbreviation of the *Revival*, *Mishkāt al-Anwār* ("The Niche of the Lights," 1106–7), on the guidance of the inner light to divine intellectualism, and others. In these writings, al-Ghazālī presents his unique perception of man's ultimate goal: an intellectual or spiritual nearness to God instead of the imaginary and metaphorical sensuous pleasures depicted in the Koran and in the Traditions. Al-Ghazālī's conversion to Sufism is not only a move from practical orthodoxy to the internal worship of God, but also a move from a formal conservative form of faith, expressed through practicing the Islamic law, to a learned mode of faith, expressed through an intellectual-mystical progression. In the same token, his revival of the religious sciences on the basis of Sufism, is a move from naïve belief to a learned belief based on semi-philosophical grounding.

Influence on Jewish Philosophy

Al-Ghazālī's influence on Jewish thought falls into two periods: (1) through the 13th century, when he influenced Jewish thinkers who thought and wrote in Arabic, and (2) from the 13th century onward, when a number of his works were translated into Hebrew, some more than once, commented on, and read by the Jewish thinkers of Provence and Spain, who did not know Arabic.

In the first period al-Ghazālī influenced *Judah Halevi, who followed al-Ghazālī's *Incoherence* in attacking the Aristotelian philosophy then current in Spain. One of Judah Halevi's main arguments refers to the difference of opinion among philosophers, except in matters of mathematics and logic, to which al-Ghazālī had already referred. However, in a more general and profound sense, al-Ghazālī made apparent the great danger of philosophy for revealed religion, and it is in this sense that Judah Halevi, and later on Ḥasdai *Crescas, were true disciples of their great Islamic predecessor. Judah Halevi also quotes textually from an early work of al-Ghazālī that sums up the dogmatic bases of the belief of a religious person. This early work of al-Ghazālī was later incorporated into his *Revival* (D. Baneth, *Knesset*, 7 [1942], p. 317 [Hebrew]). Unlike Halevi, who was mostly influenced by the anti-philosophical tone of al-Ghazālī, Ibn Da'ud who wrote his *Emunah Ramah* ("The Exalted Faith") in 1160 was mainly influenced by al-Ghazālī's reliable account of philosophy in his concise reworking of the Aristotelian-Avicennian definitions in his *Intentions.*

Although it cannot be demonstrated conclusively, most probably *Maimonides had read al-Ghazālī's *Incoherence* and was influenced by it in formulating the contrasting conceptions of a God of religion, who exercises free will, and a God of philosophy, who is restricted by the immutability of the order of nature (Maimonides, *Guide of the Perplexed*, ed. by S. Pines [1963], cxxvii). The parallel between al-Ghazālī, who attempted to reconcile Islam and Sufism in his *Revival*, and *Maimonides, who attempted to reconcile the law of Judaism with philosophy in his *Guide*, is instructive, and Maimonides' idea of an all-inclusive legal work including non-legal aspects may have been influenced by al-Ghazālī's *Revival* as well. S. Harvey has pointed to particular similarities between al-Ghazālī's "*Book of Knowledge*," the first book of the *Revival of the Religious Sciences* and Maimonides' *Book of Knowledge*, the first book of the *Mishneh Torah*. This scholar and others have shown that Maimonides was also influenced by al-Ghazālī's supreme way to approach God, such as his concepts of divine love, spiritual pleasures, and the world to come.

The number of works of al-Ghazālī translated into Hebrew during the 13th century indicates his popularity during the preceding period, in which they had become well known and were considered worth translating. His *Intentions of the Philosophers* was translated into Hebrew three times. The first Hebrew translation of al-Ghazālī's *Maqāṣid* was made by Isaac *Albalag (1292). Yet, this translation, known as *Sefer Tikkun ha-De'ot* (or *De'ot ha-Filosofim*) includes only two parts of the original; namely, logic and metaphysics. The third part of this Hebrew version was completed in 1307 by Isaac Pulgar. Albalag, who advocated the philosophy of Averroes, chose al-Ghazālī's compendium of the Avicennian-oriented Aristotelianism out of pedagogical considerations and used it as a point of departure for his own views, which he expressed in excursuses appended to his translation.

The second translation is that of Judah ben Solomon Nathan, who translated the work twice, under the title *Kawwanot ha-Filosofim* sometime between 1330 and 1340; and the third one is an anonymous translation composed at the first half of the 14th century, to which *Moses of Narbonne composed a full commentary (c. 1349). In his commentary on the *Maqāṣid*, Narboni insists that al-Ghazālī wrote a small work entitled *Maqāṣid al-Maqāṣid* (*Kawwanot ha-Kawwanot*), where he confronts the metaphysical issues he challenged in the *Maqāṣid*. In some Hebrew manuscripts, the *Tahāfut* is followed by a small treatise, in which al-Ghāzalī answers the objections which he himself had raised. Narboni's commentary was the object of further comments and commentaries, from the 14th century to the beginning of the 16th century, such as the 14th-century encyclopedia *Ahavah ba-Ta'nugim* by *Moses ben Judah Nogah (1353–56). Even a poetical, rhymed, and abridged version based on selected passages from Judah ben Solomon Nathan's translation was composed in the second half of the 14th century (1367) by *Abraham ben Meshulam Avigdor, under the title *Segullat Melakhim*. Al-Ghazālī's *Intentions of the Philosophers* became a very popular and frequently quoted text in the 15th and 16th centuries and over 50 manuscripts of the Hebrew translations from these centuries are extant. Partial commentaries were written by Moses Rieti (1388–1460), Isaac ben Shem-Ṭob (metaphysics), and (probably) by Elijah Habillo (metaphysics and physics), and there is evidence that the *Maqāṣid* was studied at the schools of Judah Messer Leon and Abraham Bibago and even among the learned Jews of Bohemia and Poland. In addition, there are about 11 anonymous commentaries on the *Maqāṣid* in various European libraries. David ben Judah Messer Leon in his *Ein ha-Kore'* says that Maimonides drew his Peripatetic theories from the *Maqāṣid* (Steinschneider, *Hebr. Bibl.* ii. 86). Moses Almosnino cites a commentary by Elijah Mizraḥi which is no longer extant. The last commentary on the *Maqāṣid al-Falasi-*

fah was by the Karaite Abraham Bali (1510). In his criticism of Aristotelian philosophy, Ḥasdai Crescas preferred to use al-Ghazālī's *Intentions* rather then his *Incoherence* in order to refute the Averroistic-Aristotelian argumentation. Following Ibn Da'ud's historical exemplar, he treated the *Intentions* as a dependable sourcebook for philosophical definitions and suppositions.

Al-Ghazālī's *Tahāfut al-Falāsifah* was translated by Zerahyah ha-Levi in 1411 under the title *Happalat ha-Filosofim*. Isaac ben Nathan of Cordova translated in the 14th century a small treatise by Al-Ghazālī under the title *Ma'amar bi-Teshuvot She'elot Nish'al Mehem*, in which he answers philosophical questions (published by H. Malter, Frankfurt-on-the-Main, 1897). Jacob ben Makhir (d. 1308) translated, under the title *Moznei ha-Iyyunim*, a work in which al-Ghazālī refuted the philosophical arguments contradicting simple religious faith. Simon Duran (d. 1444) cites a passage from *Moznei ha-Iyyunim* in his *Keshet u-Magen*. Al-Ghazālī's *Mishkāt al-Anwār fī Riyāḍ al-Azhar* was translated by Isaac ben Joseph Alfasi under the title *Maskit ha-Orot be-Pardes ha-Nizzanim*. Moses ibn Ḥabib quotes the *Mishkat* in his commentary on *Beḥinat Olam*, where he makes the sun a metaphor to the Law. Johanan Alemanno compares the hierarchy of lights in al-Ghazālī's paradigm to the symbolic system of the Kabbalah in his *Ḥeshek Shelomoh*.

Al-Ghazālī's ethical teachings were studied by Jewish thinkers of the Middle Ages. *Mīzān al-ʿAmal* (*Moznei Ẓedek*) was translated by Abraham ibn Ḥasdai ben Samuel ha-Levi of Barcelona, who replaced the Koranic quotations with parallel Biblical and Talmudic verses. The *Mīzān* served as a source for Abraham Ibn Da'ud's parable of the pilgrim in his *Emunah Ramah*, used originally by Al-Ghazālī to illustrate the importance of different scientific disciplines.

Altogether, at least six works ascribed to al-Ghazālī were translated into Hebrew during the Middle Ages. Transliterations into Hebrew letters of al-Ghazālī's *Intentions*, *Incoherence*, and *Deliverance* are extant, which is another indication of al-Ghazālī's popularity among the Jewish intellectuals who knew Arabic.

It is interesting to note that on the flyleaf of a manuscript containing some of his works in Arabic letters, the contents are described in Hebrew letters as being by "Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī, the memory of the righteous be blessed," the usual designation for a pious Jew. This illustrates how congenial his general outlook was felt to be by Jewish medieval thinkers and is a striking example of Jewish-Islamic medieval symbiosis. Al-Ghazālī greatly influenced distinguished Jewish thinkers who wrote in Arabic and Hebrew. His case presents an example of Jewish assimilation of Islamic thought during the Middle Ages.

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[Amira Eran (2nd ed.)]

GHELERTER, LUDWIG LITMAN ("Leon"; 1873–1945), physician; one of the pioneers of the general and Jewish socialist movements in Romania. Born in Jassy, Ghelerter studied medicine in his native town, where he joined the socialist movement. His doctoral thesis was on a problem of social medicine: Alcool si alcoolism ("Alcohol and Alcoholism," 1899). In 1895 he was among the founders in Jassy of *Lumina, ("The Light"), the first Jewish socialist society in Romania, with a journal of the same name, and signed the memorandum of the society to the London Congress of the Second International (1896). He was also active in the struggle for civil rights of Jews deprived of Romanian citizenship, thus coming into conflict with the official leadership of the party. A notable speaker, organizer, and writer, Ghelerter continued to uphold his views during the disintegration of the movement and assisted in the reorganization of the Jewish socialist society in Jassy in 1915 and in publication of a weekly, *Der Veker*. After World War I he moved to Bucharest and founded a new party, Partidul Socialist Unitar ("The United Socialist Party"). Although Ghelerter held similar views to those of the Bund, he did not join that movement. He established the Socialist Workers' Party of Romania (1929) which was affiliated to the Fourth International but rejoined the Social Democratic Party of Romania on the eve of World War II. Ghelerter founded and headed the Jewish hospital of Bucharest (1926) and helped promote popular Jewish cooperative credit banks. He accepted non-Jewish patients also in his hospital, named Iubirea de oameni ("Love of People"). While not a Zionist, he was sympathetic toward pioneering enterprises in Palestine, especially cooperatives and kibbutzim. Romanian immigrants named a New York branch of the Workmen's Circle after him.

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[Isac Bercovici and Moshe Mishkinsky / Lucian-Zeev Herscovici (2nd ed.)]

GHENT (Flemish **Gent**; Fr. **Gand**), city in N.W. Belgium. That there was a Jewish settlement in Ghent in the eighth century, as indicated in some early Christian chronicles, is difficult to believe. The Jews were expelled from the city as from the rest of Flanders in 1125, but they were apparently permitted to return in the 13th century. The Jews were again expelled during the *Black Death, 1348–49. Jews began to settle again only in the 18th century. In 1724, the municipal council decided on a special formula of oath for the Jews. However, by 1756, only one Jewish resident, a jeweler, was still in Ghent. When the area passed to France, at the end of the 18th century, the Jewish population increased. It numbered 20 families (107 persons) in 1817, and maintained a synagogue. The majority were peddlers, some of whom were lottery-ticket dealers. Apparently the Jewish street (*Jodenstraatje*) received its name at this time. In 1847, the municipal council granted a plot of land to the community for establishing a Jewish cemetery. In May 1940, before the Nazi occupation, the Jewish population numbered 300. In 1941 the Nazis prohibited the Jews of Belgium to live outside Brussels, Antwerp, Liège, and Charleroi, so that any Jews who remained in Ghent did so illegally. After the liberation in September 1944, there were 150 Jews in Ghent. There were an estimated 80 Jews living in Ghent in 1969.

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GHERON, YAKKIR MORDECAI BEN ELIAKIM (d. 1817), Turkish rabbi (the Italian branch of the family write the name Ghiron, and the Turkish, Gheron). Gheron succeeded his father as rabbi and *dayyan* of Adrianople and district in 1800. He devoted himself particularly to the building of synagogues and supervised the studies in a *talmud torah* which he had established during his period of office in Adrianople. A certain scholar who had converted to Islam was found burnt to death, and the pasha of the town accused the Jews of having been responsible. Gheron was imprisoned and sentenced to death. The pasha's secretary, to whom the rabbi had previously shown kindness, succeeded in having the death sentence repealed, and in its stead a fine was imposed on the Jewish community. In 1812 he went to Jerusalem and was appointed a member of the *bet din* of Jacob Moses *Ayash. His name appears as a signatory to a *takkanah of 1814 with reference to milk milked by gentiles. His responsa appear in the *Dera Dakhya* (Salonika, 1819) of Mordecai b. Menahem *Bekemoharar. He wrote an approbation for the *Nimmukei Yosef* (Leghorn, 1795) of Josef ibn Habib.

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[Simon Marcus]

GHETTO, urban section serving as compulsory residential quarter for Jews. Generally surrounded by a wall shutting it off from the rest of the city, except for one or more gates, the ghetto remained bolted at night. The origin of this term has been the subject of much speculation. It was probably first used to describe a quarter of Venice situated near a foundry (*getto*, or *ghetto*) and which in 1516 was enclosed by walls and gates and declared to be the only part of the city to be open to Jewish settlement. Subsequently the term was extended to all Jewish quarters of the same type. Other theories are that the word derives from the Hebrew *get* indicating divorce or separation; from the Greek γέιτων (neighbor); from the German *geheckter* [*Ort*], or fenced place; or from the Italian *borghetto* (a small section of the town). All can be excluded, except for *get* which was sometimes used in Rome to mean a separate section of the city. In any case the institution antedates the word, which is commonly used in several ways. It has come to indicate not only the legally established, coercive ghetto, but also the voluntary gathering of Jews in a secluded quarter, a process known in the Diaspora time before compulsion was exercised. By analogy the word is currently used to describe similar homogeneous quarters of non-Jewish groups, such as immigrant quarters, Black quarters in American cities, native quarters in South African cities, etc.

For historical survey see *Jewish Quarter.

In Muslim Countries

In Muslim countries the Jewish quarter (Arab. *ḥāra*) in its beginnings never had the character of a ghetto. It was always built on a voluntary basis, and it remained so in later times in the vast Ottoman Empire. Istanbul (Constantinople) was the classic example of a capital in which the Jewish quarters were scattered all over the city. In Shīʿite countries (Persia, Yemen) and in orthodox North Africa (Malikite rite) all non-Muslims were forced to live in separate quarters – for religious reasons (ritual uncleanness). Embassies from Christian countries had to look for their (even temporary) dwellings among the Jews. Christian travelers and pilgrims to the Holy Land always remark that in case there was no Christian hospice in a town, they had to look for hospitality among the Jews. After the regulations compelling the Jews to dwell in separate quarters had been repealed (in the 19th and 20th centuries), and they could freely move out, the majority voluntarily remained in their old quarters. Only after the establishment of the new independent states in North Africa did most of the Jews abandon their old dwellings.

See *Jewish Quarter, in Muslim Countries.

Holocaust Period

THE CRYSTALLIZATION OF GERMAN POLICY. While ghettos were traditionally permanent places of Jewish residence, in Poland, under the Nazis, the ghettos were viewed as a transitional measure. "I shall determine at which time and with what means the ghetto, and thereby the city of Lodz, will be cleansed of Jews," boasted Hans Biebow, the Nazi official who ran the Lodz ghetto. "In the end … we must burn out this bubonic plague."

A secret memo issued on September 21, 1939, by Reinhard *Heydrich, the chief of the Security Police, to the chiefs of all task forces operating in the conquered Polish territory, established the basic outlines of German policy in the territories.

Heydrich distinguishes between the ultimate goal (*Endziel*), which would require some time to implement, and the intermediate goals, which must be carried out in the short term. He said: Some goals cannot yet be implemented for technical reasons and some for economic reasons. Room was left for innovation.

He wrote: "The instructions and directives below must serve also for the purpose of urging chiefs of the *Einsatzgruppen* to give practical consideration to the problems involved."

His language was specific: the *Endziel,* the final goal, must be distinguished from the language that is later to be used, the *endlossen*, or final solution, a polite euphemism for the murder of Jewish men, women, and children. The ultimate goal was unarticulated.

The first intermediate goal was concentration. Jews were to be moved from the countryside into the larger cities. Certain areas were to become *Judenrein*, free of Jews, and smaller communities were to be merged into the larger ones.

Heydrich ordered local leaders to establish a Council of Jewish Elders, 24 men to be appointed from the local leaders and rabbis that are to be made *fully responsible*, "in the literal sense of the word," to implement future decrees. A census must be taken and leaders are to be personally responsible for the evacuation of Jews from the countryside. It was unnecessary to indicate what personal responsibility implied; clearly, the lives of individual *Judenrat members were at risk.

Due priority was given to the needs of the army and to minimize economic dislocation, not of the Jews, but of industries essential to German economic interest. Businesses and farms were to be turned over to the locals, preferably Germans, and, if essential and no Germans were available, even to Poles.

The *Einsatzgruppen* were to issue reports, a census of people, an inventory of resources, industries, and personnel.

It is within this framework that the Jewish Councils were established and that the work of securing the occupied territory began. A second decree dated two months later and signed by Hans *Frank, the head of the General Government, further specified the role of the Jewish Council, which was to have a chairman and a deputy.

"The Jewish Council is obliged to receive through its chairman and his deputy the order of the German official agencies. Its responsibility will be to see that the orders are carried out completely and accurately." Jews were ordered to obey the orders of the Jewish Councils.

In retrospect, but only in retrospect, it can be seen that the ghetto was a holding pen, intended to concentrate Jews and hold them captive until such time as an infrastructure was created that could solve the Jewish problem.

The ghetto originally had two goals. The Germans created a situation in which hard labor, malnutrition, overcrowding, and substandard sanitary conditions contributed to the death of a large number of Jews. One in ten died in Warsaw in 1941, before the deportations, before shots were fired. This policy was at odds with the other use of the ghetto as a source of cheap labor that could be of benefit to the Reich and also to individual commanders. In the end, and often only in the end, even the availability of cheap labor gave way to the "Final Solution."

The lifespan of some ghettos was extended because they provided a large reservoir of cheap labor; but while this consideration might forestall the murder process, it did not prevent it. Thus the commander of Galicia, for example, sent out an order in the fall of 1942 to decrease the number of ghettos from 1,000 to 55, and in July 1943 Himmler decided to transfer the surviving inhabitants of ghettos throughout *Ostland* to concentration camps. The last ghetto on Polish soil (*Lodz), which had been in existence since April 1940, was liquidated in August 1944.

Special ghettos were established for Jews deported from Romania to Transnistria and resettled in cities or towns and in neighborhoods or on streets that had been occupied by Jews who had been murdered shortly before by the German army. One exception was the ghetto at *Theresienstadt, which was established at the end of 1941 to house Jews from Bohemia and Moravia and later Jews from Germany and other Western countries were deported there as well. The Germans intended Theresienstadt to be a showcase to the world of their mass treatment of the Jews and thus to mask the crime of the "Final Solution." Still Theresienstadt was actually a ghetto – a holding pen for captive Jews – a concentration camp where conditions of imprisonment prevailed, and a transit camp: of the 144,000 Jews sent to Theresienstadt, 88,000 were shipped from there to Auschwitz, while 33,000 died in the ghetto. Of the 15,000 children sent to Theresienstadt, fewer than 100 survived.

There were several crucial differences between ghettoization in Poland and ghettoization in former Soviet territories. In Poland, ghettoization began shortly after the onset of war, before mass killings and before the murderous intentions of the Germans were clear to all. In former Soviet territories, ghettoization occurred only after the *Einsatzgruppen* murders; Jews were certain that German rule would be murderous even if the nature of German intensions was unclear. Some ghettos were situated near forests which could facilitate escape and a chance, however remote, of survival.

THE JEWISH REACTION TO THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE GHETTOS. In Poland, the Jews, who were unaware of the Nazis' intentions, resigned themselves to the establishment of ghettos and hoped that living together in mutual cooperation under self-rule would make it easier for them to overcome the period of repression until their country would be liberated from the Nazi yoke. They gave a name to their strategy of survivor, *iberleben*, to live beyond, beyond German rule until liberation. If within the ghetto, they presumed they would somehow be safer, as they would no longer interact with non-Jews in quite the same way and be freed of daily humiliations and dangers. Based on past experience and also on rational calculations or economic self-interest, it seemed to them that by imprisoning Jews in ghettos, the Nazis had arrived at the final manifestation of their anti-Jewish policy. If the Jews would carry out their orders and prove that they were beneficial to the Nazis by their work, they would be allowed to organize their community life as they wished. In addition, the Jews had practically no opportunity to offer armed opposition that would prevent the Germans from carrying out their plans. The constant changes in the composition of the population (effected by transfers and roundups) and in living quarters made it more difficult to express opposition; the hermetic imprisonment from the outside world prevented the acquisition of arms; and conditions in the ghetto (malnutrition, concern for one's family, etc.) weakened the strength of the opposition. On the other hand, the Germans had the manpower and technical equipment to repress any uprising with ease, and the non-Jewish population collaborated with them, or at best remained apathetic. Any uprising in the ghettos, even if it could be pulled off, was thus doomed to military failure. Any attempt at resistance was risky as the German practice of collective responsibility and disproportionate punishment left the remaining ghetto population at risk. Thus uprisings, when they occurred, were usually last stands undertaken when all hope for collective survival was lost and when the only question was what could be done in the face of impending death.

TYPOLOGY OF THE GHETTOS. In most cases, the ghetto was located in one of the poor neighborhoods of a city that had previously housed a crowded Jewish population. Moving large numbers of widely dispersed people into ghettos was a chaotic and unnerving process. In Lodz, where an area already housing 62,000 Jews was designated as the ghetto, an additional 100,000 Jews were crowded into the quarter from other sections of the city. Bus lines had to be rerouted. To avoid the disruption of the city's main transportation lines, two streets were walled off so trolleys could pass through. Polish passengers rode through the center of the Lodz ghetto on streets that Jews could only cross by way of crowded wooden bridges overhead.

In Warsaw, the decree establishing the ghetto was announced on October 12, 1940 – Yom Kippur, the Jewish Day of Atonement. Moving schedules were posted on billboards. Whole neighborhoods were evacuated. While Jews were forced out of Polish residential neighborhoods, Poles were also evicted from the area that would become the ghetto. During the last two weeks of October 1940, according to German figures, 113,000 Poles (Christians) and 140,000 Jews had to be relocated, bringing with them whatever belongings they could pile on a wagon. All abandoned property was confiscated. In every Polish city, the ghettos were overcrowded. Jews were transferred from the other neighborhoods in the city, and in many cases from nearby villages, to housing there, while the non-Jewish inhabitants of the neighborhood were forced to move to another area. These transfers caused great overcrowding from the outset. In Lodz, for example, the average was six people to a room; in Vilna there were even eight to a room during one period. Whenever the overcrowding lessened because of the deporting of Jews to extermination camps, the area of the ghetto was reduced significantly.

At first there were two types of ghettos: open ones, which were marked only by signs as areas of Jewish habitation; and closed ones, which were surrounded by fences, or in some cases even by walls (as in *Warsaw). This difference, however, lost all significance during the period of deportations before an open ghetto was destroyed, or what the Germans called liquidated. In advance all access roads were blocked by the German police, whereas in closed ghettos shifts of German police or their aides constantly guarded the fences and walls. A more significant distinction was the fact that the Germans regarded the closed ghettos as large concentration camps, and therefore most of them were liquidated later than the open ghettos. In contrast to these ghettos, which were all in Polish and Russian territory, the ghettos in Transnistria were not predestined for liquidation. Neither was the ghetto in Theresienstadt. Transnistria even succeeded in maintaining contact with the outside world and received assistance from committees in Romania. Theresienstadt was, in fact, cut off from the world (except for the transports that came in and went out), but the standard of living was higher there than in Eastern European ghettos.

JEWISH ADMINISTRATION. For every ghetto, the German authorities appointed a Judenrat, which was usually composed of Jewish leaders acceptable to the community. The Judenrat was not a democratic body, and its power was centered in one person, not always the chairman, who was responsible for its cooperation in matters relating to the ghetto. The leader of the Judenrat was subordinate to the German authorities, who delegated to him much authority with regard to the Jews but treated him disrespectfully and often cruelly. Many Jews appointed to the Judenrat believed that they were placed in their position in order to serve the Jewish people in its time of great need. They faced two masters. To the Germans they represented Jewish needs and to the Jews they represented German authority. The Germans were uninterested in meeting Jewish needs and German authority was eventually lethal for the Jews.

Ghetto life was one of squalor, hunger, disease, and despair. Rooms and apartments were overcrowded, with 10 or 15 people typically living in space previously occupied by four. Daily calorie allotments seldom exceeded 1,100. Without smugglers who brought in food, starvation would have been rampant. The smugglers' motto: "Eat and drink for tomorrow we die," was only too apt.

There were serious public health problems. Epidemic diseases were a threat, typhus the most dreaded. Dead bodies were often left on the street until the burial society came. Beggars were everywhere. Perhaps most unbearable was the uncertainty of life. Ghetto residents never knew what tomorrow would bring.

In the ghetto, life went on. Families adjusted to new realities, living in constant fear of humiliation, labor conscription, and deportation. Survival was a daily challenge, a struggle for the bare necessities of food, warmth, sanitation, shelter, and clothing. Clandestine schools educated the young. Religious services were held even when they were outlawed. Cultural life continued with theater and music, poetry and art offering a temporary respite from squalor.

From the beginning, the Jewish leadership was faced with the impossible task of organizing ghetto life under emergency conditions and under the ceaseless pressure of threats of cruel punishment. Jewish institutions, to the extent that they existed, continued to function, either openly, such as the institutions that fulfilled religious needs, or in secret, such as the various political parties. The major function of the leadership, however, was the provision of sustenance and health and welfare services (including hospitals) and sanitation, and this had to be accomplished without adequate means. Raul *Hilberg likened their task to a small isolated municipal government living in hostile territory. The authority of leaders always derived from the Germans. To provide these services, they taxed those who still had some resources and worked those who had none. They practiced the time-honored traditions of their people honed by centuries of exile and persecution. Decrees were evaded or circumvented. They tried to outwit the enemy and alleviate the awful conditions of the ghetto, at least temporarily. Some behaved admirably; others became infatuated with their power and imposed it on the powerless, captive population.

Despite what was often their best effort, in the course of time these institutions collapsed in most ghettos. It was even more difficult to establish those services which had not existed within the Jewish community before the Holocaust, such as police, prisons, and courts. The authority vested in these institutions was broad within the narrow autonomous framework that existed in the ghettos, and in many instances they were, of course, not properly utilized under conditions of the life-and-death struggle imposed on the inhabitants of the ghetto.

LIQUIDATION OF THE GHETTOS. The lifespan of the Polish ghettos was brief; formed in 1940, most were destroyed beginning in 1942 shortly after the *Wannsee Conference. The destruction of the ghettos was conducted as part of the policy of the "Final Solution," for which purpose the Germans prepared special death camps, what they called extermination camps. When it was decided to liquidate a ghetto, they would call on the Jews to present themselves voluntarily to be transferred to labor camps (sometimes with false promises of improved living conditions), but if deception proved unsuccessful, they would round up the residents and bring them by force to assembly areas, from where they would be transported, usually by train, to their destination. Ghetto leaders faced the ultimate decision. For a time they could save some but only at the sacrifice of others. *Rumkowski in Lodz saved the able-bodied and shipped the children to Chelmno, reasoning that the best chance of survival was if the ghetto was transformed into a work camp, productive for the Wehrmacht. "Survival by work" was his motto. In Warsaw, *Czerniakow tried to save the children; when he could not, he killed himself rather than participate in their deportation. Jewish police were employed to send Jews to the trains. In some ghettos – but not many – the leadership chose suicide rather than cooperation. The great majority of the ghetto inhabitants were killed immediately upon their arrival in the camps; a minority, the young and the able-bodied, women without children, were employed in forced labor and were killed after a short time by one of the regular means of extermination. Only a very small number remained alive, sometimes after having been shunted from camp to camp.

See also *Holocaust. For more information on specific ghettos see *Kovno, *Lodz, *Lublin, *Theresienstadt, and *Warsaw.

[Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

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GHETTO FIGHTERS' HOUSE (Heb. בֵּית לוֹחֲמֵי הַגֶּטָאוֹת, *Beit Loḥamei ha-Getta'ot*), a ghetto uprising and Holocaust remembrance authority, established in kibbutz *Loḥamei ha-Getta'ot, on April 19, 1950, by a group of former ghetto fighters and partisans. The house serves as a memorial and research and documentation center on the Holocaust period, and on Jewish resistance under Nazi rule in Europe. It contains an important historical archive on the Holocaust, and particularly on organized resistance; papers left by the poet Itzhak *Katzenelson, after whom it is named; documents from the *He-Ḥalutz archives in the Warsaw and Bialystok ghettos; a collection of the publications of the Jewish underground in occupied Poland; on the Jewish underground in Holland and France; a register of names of Jewish partisans who fought in Italy and Yugoslavia; and photographs, films, and pictures. It also contains the papers of Yitzhak *Zuckerman and Miriam Nocitch, a collection of 60 diaries in different languages, and several thousand testimonies of Holocaust survivors. The museum maintains a permanent display as well as special exhibits dealing with different aspects of the Holocaust and Jewish resistance; models of the Warsaw ghetto and the *Treblinka death camp are on show. In 2005 the Museum's permanent exhibition underwent a significant upgrading that will take several years to complete. On the national Holocaust Remembrance Day in Israel (27th of Nisan), a mass memorial assembly is held at the amphitheater outside the museum. The Ghetto Fighters' House has published a series of books and periodicals, *Dappim le-Ḥeker ha-Sho'ah ve-ha-Mered* (1951–52, 1969); and *Yedi'ot Beit Loḥamei ha-Getta'ot al shem Yiẓḥak Katzenelson* (1951–60).

The Museum also has a highly acclaimed children's exhibition, Yad la-Yeled, designed to tell the story of the Holocaust to younger children. Designed by Ram Karmi, the exhibit is semicircular, descending into the depths of the earth. It unfolds section by section, not allowing the visitor to take in the entire exhibition at once, and tells the story of the Holocaust through the testimonies of those who were children during the Holocaust and through documents and imaginative reconstructions that suggest the magnitude of what happened in a manner that children can understand. At the center of the exhibition is a Janusz *Korczak room, based on the work of the famed Polish-Jewish educator and physician who ran an orphanage in the ghetto. This world of imagination and the empowerment of children here contrast boldly with the contents of the rest of the Museum. Educational activities in arts and crafts, drama, and music enable children to process what they have experienced. Among the other activities of the Museum, aside from those related to the Holocaust, are the international book-sharing project and work in democracy and pluralism that attracts neighboring Arab and Jewish communities in Galilee.

GHEZ, Tunisian family, whose most eminent members were DAVID (second half of 18th century), author of a number of works of which only one, *Ner David*, part 1 (Leghorn, 1868), has been published; the others include a commentary to the tractates *Shabbat, Pesaḥim*, and *Sukkah*, as well as novellae to various other tractates. MOSES (end of 18th century) wrote commentaries to the tractate *Shevu'ot* and Elijah *Mizrachi's supercommentary on Rashi to the Pentateuch under the titles *Yeshu'at Ya'akov* and *Yedei Moshe*. He also wrote *Yismaḥ Moshe* (Leghorn, 1863), a commentary to the Passover *Haggadah*, notes on the Pentateuch, and three poems. JOSEPH (b. 1800), son of David, was a kabbalist. He left numerous works in manuscript, including a commentary to Maimonides' *Mishneh Torah*, sermons, glosses on the Talmud, on the Zohar, etc. In *Pi ha-Medabber* (Leghorn, 1854), his kabbalistic commentary to the Passover *Haggadah*, he cites explanations by his cousin Ḥayyim Ghez.

Another member of the family was MATHILDA GHEZ (1918–1990), a communal leader in Tunisia. In 1957 she moved to Israel and was elected to the Knesset (in 1965 representing Rafi, and in 1969, the Israel Labor Party).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: D. Cazès, *Notes Bibliographiques sur la Littérature Juive-Tunisienne* (1893), 194–205 (= *Mizraḥ u-Ma'arav*, 2 (1928), 353–6).

°GHILLANY, FRIEDRICH WILHELM (1807–1876), German theologian. A municipal librarian in Nuremberg, Ghillany wrote on various historical subjects but he was chiefly concerned with religious questions, and adopted the teachings of G.F. Daumer (1800–1875), a deist in search of "true religion." Following the Damascus blood libel, Ghillany wrote *Die Menschenopfer der alten Hebraeer* (Nuremberg, 1842), in which he accused the Jews of "cannibalism" and "molochism" in both ancient and modern times and of the ritual murder of Jesus. He gave further expression to his antisemitism in *Die Judenfrage; eine Beigabe zu Bruno Bauer's Abhandlung ueber diesen Gegenstand* (*ibid.*, 1843), and *Das Judenthum und die Kritik* (*ibid.*, 1844). Both Daumer and Ghillany were praised by Nazi propagandists.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: L. Poliakov, *Histoire de l'antisémitisme*, 3 (1968), 425–6; R.W. Stock, *Die Judenfrage durch fuenf Jahrhunderte* (1939), 391–427; V. Eichstaedt, *Bibliographie zur Geschichte der Judenfrage 1750–1848* (1938), index; M. Loewengard, *Jehowa, nicht Moloch, war der Gott der alten Hebraeer…* (1843).

GHIRON, family of scholars whose name derives from Gerona in N. Spain. Among its most important members are:

JOHANAN GHIRON (1646–1716), born in Casale Monferrato, Italy. Johanan was rabbi of Florence for 34 years, and was given the title *Alluf Torah* ("Master of the Torah") in appreciation of his great erudition. Though by upbringing and inclination he sided with the Shabbatean movement, he willingly signed the excommunication on Nehemiah *Ḥayon. After his death, all the *takkanot* he had instituted were repealed. Johanan was the author of (1) *Mishtaḥ ha-Ramim*, an apology for his attitude in connection with the dispute over Ḥayon, with an appendix consisting of his letters (still in manuscript); (2) prayers, on the occasion of the earthquakes in Lugo in 1688 and in Ancona in 1690. The prayer on Ancona was also recited in Florence on the occasion of the earthquake in Leghorn in 1742. It was published in the *Shever ba-Meẓarim* of Raphael Meldola (Leghorn, 1742); (3) responsa mentioned in the *Paḥad Yiẓḥak* of Isaac *Lampronti, in the *Shemesh Ẓedakah* of Samson Morpurgo, and elsewhere (Montefiore collection); (4) glosses on the *Arba'ah Turim* and halakhic novellae (unpublished).

JUDAH ḤAYYIM GHIRON, his son, was born in Casale Monferrato and was rabbi of Florence from 1719 to 1738. His *Mekor Dimah*, on his father's activities in connection with Nehemiah Ḥayon and on his *takkanot*, together with a selection of letters on Nehemiah Ḥayon and an appendix to his father's *Mishtaḥ ha-Ramim*, are still in manuscript. JUDAH ḤAYYIM LEONTI GHIRON (1739–1761) was rabbi of Casale. His halakhic correspondence with contemporary scholars is preserved in the Asiatic Museum in Leningrad. SAMUEL ḤAYYIM GHIRON (1829–1895) was born in Ivrea. In 1854 he qualified as a teacher of literature and in 1877 was appointed rabbi of Turin. He published a prayer book according to the Italian rite, with an Italian translation (Leghorn, 1879). In the National Library, Jerusalem, there is an elegy on the death of Hillel Cantoni in Italian and Hebrew, the latter by Samuel Ghiron (Turin, 1857). In 1880, with the assistance of B. Peyron, he published a catalog of the Hebrew manuscripts in Turin. He also wrote essays, sermons, and poems. ISAIAH GHIRON (1837–1888), director of the Braidense Library in Milan, wrote books in Italian on Hebrew numismatics and inscriptions. In 1874 he was editor of *Rivista di Lettere, Scienze ed Arti*.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Ghirondi-Neppi, 161; Levi, in: RI, 8 (1911), 169–85; Mortara, Indice, 27; Nacht, in: *Zion Me'assef*, 6 (1934), 121; Sonne, in: *Zion*, 4 (1938/39), 86–88; Wilensky, in: KS, 24 (1946/47), 195 no. 68.

[Simon Marcus]

GHIRONDI, MORDECAI SAMUEL BEN BENZION ARYEH (1799–1852), Italian scholar and biographer. Ghirondi was a descendant of a rabbinic family. His grandmother Mazal-Tov Benvenida Ghirondi (c. 1760), wife of Mordecai, rabbi of Cittadella, was famous for her Jewish learning and educated many disciples to a relatively high grade of knowledge. Ghirondi was born in Padua. He taught theology at the rabbinical college of Padua, where he had studied, beginning in 1824. He was assistant rabbi of Padua 1829–31, and from 1831 to his death was chief rabbi.

Apart from a juvenile moral treatise, *Tokho Raẓuf Ahavah* (1818), Ghirondi's minor works include some scattered essays and a number of unpublished works, mainly in the Montefiore collection and in the Jewish Theological Seminary of America. His major work is *Toledot Gedolei Yisrael* (1853), a biographical dictionary of Jewish scholars and rabbis composed as an extension of *Zekher Ẓaddikim li-Verakhah*, a similar biographic work by Hananel Graziadio *Neppi. The *Toledot* was published by Ghirondi's son Ephraim Raphael (1834–57) at Trieste. Although naive and badly proportioned, the work retains its importance for information, based in some entries on personal acquaintance or oral tradition, on Italian rabbis of the 18th and early 19th centuries; these are the vast majority of the entries. Ghirondi also annotated *Azulai's *Shem ha-Gedolim* (publ. in E. Gartenhaus, *Eshel ha-Gedolim*, 1958).

Ghirondi was a notable book collector; many of his manuscripts are in the Montefiore Library in Jews' College, London, and his printed books and some manuscripts are in the Jewish Theological Seminary in New York.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Ghirondi-Neppi, 56, 374–6.

[Cecil Roth]

GHIRSHMAN, ROMAN (1895–1979), French archaeologist, specialist in Iranian studies. Ghirshman was born and educated in Paris. He had his first experience in excavation at Tello in Iraq in 1930. In 1931 he was sent to Iran as leader of an expedition and this was the beginning of a long series of successful excavations of important early settlements in Iran and Afghanistan. These included Tepe Giyan, Tepe Sialk, and Tchoga Zanbil in Elam. Ghirshman, who held a professorship at the University of Aix-en-Provence, was head of the French archaeological mission to Afghanistan from 1941 to 1943, and director of the Suse mission in Iran from 1946 to 1967. His numerous publications on Iranian art, history, and culture include *Fouilles de Tépé Giyan 1931 et 1932* (with G. Contenau, 1935), *Foullies de Sialk* (2 vols., 1938–39), *Iran: From the Earliest Times to the Islamic Conquest* (1954), and *Iran: F*rom the Origins to Alexander the Great (1964).

[Penuel P. Kahane]

GIBBETHON (Heb. גִּבְּתוֹן).

(1) Town in the territory of Dan, mentioned with Eltekeh and Baalath (Josh. 19:44). It is also listed as a levitical city of the Kohathite family (*ibid.* 21:23) and was thus apparently a Davidic administrative center (its name is absent in the parallel text of levitical cities in I Chron. 6). Gibbethon appears twice in the Book of Kings as a Philistine city that was besieged by Nadab and "all Israel" and again by Elah; both sieges, however, were interrupted by revolutions in the besieging armies and were unsuccessful (I Kings 15:27; 16:15). It may also be included in the list of cities captured by Thutmose III in c. 1469 B.C.E. (no. 103). Gibbethon is generally identified with Tel al-Malāt (now called Tell Gibbethon), southwest of Gezer, a prominent mound containing pottery from the Chalcolithic to the Arabic periods.

[Michael Avi-Yonah]

(2) Moshav Gibbethon (Givton) in central Israel, near *Reḥovot, affiliated with Tenu'at ha-Moshavim, was founded in 1933 by settlers from Eastern Europe as one of the villages of the "Thousand Families Settlement Scheme." Citriculture constitutes a prominent farm branch. Modern Gibbethon does not seem to lie on the ancient site. In the mid-1990s, the population was approximately 215, while in the end of 2002 it grew to number 290 residents.

[Efraim Orni]

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Von Rad, in: PJB, 29 (1933), 30ff., 35; EM, 1 (1963), 354.

GIBBOR, JUDAH BEN ELIJAH (b.c. 1460), Karaite author and poet living in Constantinople. His writings include a poetical commentary on the Pentateuch *Minḥat Yehudah* (published in the Karaite ritual, Venice, 1529). In this poem, often commented upon by Karaite scholars, Gibbor refers with deep respect to Maimonides; it deals with the three pillars of Karaism – Scripture, analogy, and (Karaite) tradition. He also wrote three works which are no longer extant: *Hilkhot Sheḥitah*, on the laws of ritual slaughter, *Sefer Mo'adim*, regulations for the festivals, and *Mo'ed Katan*, on the secondary festivals, which also contained the essential teachings of the Kabbalah. Gibbor's eldest son, ELIJAH SHUBSHI (1483–1501), who died at the age of 18, wrote a commentary on *Shesh Kenafayim*, an astronomical work by Immanuel b. Jacob *Bonfils of Tarascon.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Danon, in: JQR, 15 (1924/25), 313–5; 17 (1926/27), 179–81; Mann, Texts, 2 (1935), 296, n. 7, 732, n. 176, 1177, 1421.

[Isaak Dov Ber Markon]

GIBBS, TERRY (**Julius Gubenko**; 1924–), U.S. vibraphonist, drummer. The Brooklyn-born Gibbs grew up in a musical family. His brother Sol taught him to play drums and vibes and the two boys worked for their father, Abe, whose band, the Radio Novelty Orchestra, was a fixture on the Depression-era bar mitzvah-wedding circuit. It was a training ground that gave him a healthy respect for Jewish music and for the business side of the music industry. But it was while he was on a two-week furlough from the U.S. Army during WWII that Gibbs had a life-changing encounter, slipping into a jazz club to hear Charlie Parker play the new jazz music called "be-bop." One night turned into two weeks as the young GI spent every night of his furlough at Minton's Playhouse absorbing the new sounds. His first stop upon his discharge from the army was 52nd Street again, where he took up the vibes in earnest in a bebop quintet that featured tenor saxophonist Allen Eager and drummer Max Roach. Gibbs's major career break followed shortly after when he was hired by Woody Herman as part of the clarinetist's legendary Second Herd, a bop-oriented band that featured a powerhouse sax section whose members included Eager, Al Cohn, and Stan *Getz. After Herman dissolved that group, Gibbs went to work for a succession of excellent leaders, most prominently Benny *Goodman. Eventually he relocated to the West Coast, where he started his own group and divided his time between jazz jobs and studio and television work. Gibbs remained active into his seventies.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: "Terry Gibbs: Jazz Profiles from NPR," at: www.npr.org; B. Priestly, "Terry Gibbs," in: *Jazz: The Rough Guide* (1995); J. Ephland., "Terry Gibbs," *Down Beat Magazine* archives at: www.downbeat.com.

[George Robinson (2nd ed.)]

GIBEAH, GEBA (Heb. גֶּבַע, גִּבְעָה; "hill"), a central city in the territory of Benjamin and the royal capital at the time of Saul. It was situated on the main road from Judah to Mount Ephraim (Judg. 19:11–13), near the Jerusalem–Shechem road. The territory of the tribe of Benjamin is characterized by a hilly terrain. The biblical sources relating to this territory contain a large number of place names based on the root *g-b-ʿ*, the stem for the Hebrew word meaning "hill." These include the name Gibeon, Geba (I Sam. 14:5), and Gibeah (Judg. 19.12; I Sam. 14:2), the latter thought to be identified at Tell el-Ful. There are also longer versions of these names such as Geba of Benjamin (I Sam. 13:16), Gibeah of Benjamin (I Sam. 13:2), and Gibeath Haelohim (I Sam 10:5).

According to the story in Judges 19–21 the city was destroyed during the civil war that ensued as a result of the atrocities committed by the people of Gibeah against the concubine from Judah. Later Gibeah became one of the Philistines strongholds in the highlands (I Sam 10:5). According to I Samuel 10:26; 11:4 Saul came from Gibeah; however, the genealogical lists in I Chronicles 8:29; 9:35 suggest that Saul's ancestral home was at Gibeon. After the battle of Michmash (I Sam. 13–14) Gibeah became Saul's capital and was renamed after him as "Gibeah of Saul" (I Sam. 15:34).

After the schism Gibeah became an important strategic city on the northern border of Judah. It is also mentioned in Isaiah 10:29 in Sennacherib's march through the region north of Jerusalem.

The modern site of Tell el-Ful is situated 3.5 miles (5.5 km.) north of the Damascus Gate in Jerusalem. It is located on the crest of the watershed, with deep valleys extending to the east and west. The hill rises with steep terraces on the east, south and north, but on the west the slope is more gradual. The ancient road from Judah to Mount Ephraim extended along the base of the tell. This was the main north-south route of central Palestine and the tell, 2,755 ft. (840 m.) above sea level, commanded it. The top was relatively flat, about 500 ft. (150 m.) north to south by 300 ft. (90 m.) east to west.

Edward Robinson (1841, 14–15) first identified Gibeah at the village of Jabaʿ, but later changed his mind and identified it with Tell el-Ful. Although the identification of Gibeah with Tell el-Ful is generally accepted, it is still a matter of debate among some scholars. Hence, more recently J.M. Miller (1975) and P.M. Arnold (1990) have challenged this identification and proposed that Gibeah should be identified with Geba (modern Jabaʿ). But this proposal has been rejected due to the fact that Gibeah belonged to a group of sites whose precise location was already lost in ancient times. The name Gibeah was transferred as Geba to the place now known as Jabaʿ. Moreover, there is no archaeological evidence to support Miller or Arnold's claims, and in recent surveys Jabaʿ produced ceramics of the Iron Age II as well from the Persian period, but none from the Iron Age I. Tell el-Ful, however, produced ample evidence from the Iron Age I. Tell el-Ful is also an extremely commanding and important site; the view from the summit covers a wide area. The strong fortress (or tower) at the summit is situated on the main trade route leading from Jerusalem to the north, and from the coast in the west to Moab and Ammon in the east. No other proposed site in the vicinity has such obvious advantages.

Tell el-Ful was excavated by W.F. Albright (in 1922–23, and in 1933) and by P.W. Lapp (1964). Five phases of occupation were uncovered, from the Iron Age I period to the Roman Period. These include a new fortress from the fourth century B.C.E. which survived until the second century B.C.E. (Josephus, Wars, 5:51 mentions Gibeah as a settlement situated 30 ris (3.5 miles) north of Jerusalem; Titus camped there on his way to Jerusalem, and eventually his troops destroyed it.) The site continued to exist until the time of *Bar Kokhba (132–35 B.C.E.). The earliest occupation, however, appears to have been in the Middle Bronze II (c. 2000–1550 B.C.E.) as is indicated by pottery and a mace-head. No building remains dating from earlier than the Iron Age have been discovered on the summit of the hill, though MB buildings were excavated in 1995–96 on the lower east slope. The stratum with archaeological remains most relevant to our topic is from the Iron Age I and was divided into three "periods":

1. Period I: miscellaneous constructions that antedated the foundation of the fortress and which were destroyed by fire
2. Period II: Fortress I, destroyed by a massive fire
3. Period II: Fortress II, a second fortress which was a reconstruction of the first one, and eventually abandoned.

Paul Lapp's main objection to Albright's result was the suggestion that during Period II at Tell el-Ful an entire fortress existed at the site. In addition, Albright suggested that towers were built at each one of the four corners of the fortress which, when reconstructed, measured 203 × 187 ft. (62 × 57 m.). However, in actual fact the contour of the mound precludes such an extension of the fort eastwards; and since the tower which Albright discovered stood at a height of 10 ft. (3 m.) and was well preserved; it is not clear why traces of the fort have not been discovered elsewhere at the site.

The evidence so far indicates that there was only one solitary massive tower, not a fortress, during Tell el-Ful Period II (i.e., the period of Saul). It is possible, however, that at the time of Saul *only* the tower was necessary and that additional walls were added later.

The main reason for the uncertainty in dating the early archaeological periods at Tell el-Ful stems from the attempts to correlate the archaeological finds with the biblical story in Judges 19–21. Albright (1924, 45) dated the foundation of Tell el-Ful to 1230 B.C.E. and the fortress to 1200 B.C.E. Albright was convinced that the archaeological results supported the story as it appears in Judges and dated the destruction of Gibeah in this story to 1100 B.C.E. Albright based this on the assumption that the Benjaminites' war must have occurred long before Saul's accession to kingship; by which time the atrocities at Gibeah would have been forgotten. The second period Albright (1933, 8) assigned to the time of Saul on the evidence of potsherds attributed to the last phase of Iron I and before the transition to Iron II period in the 10th century.

However, the archaeological data from Tell el-Ful does not provide enough substantial evidence from which an accurate chronology may be deduced. Therefore, consideration should be made of A. Mazar's (1981, 1–36) dating considerations at the site of Giloh. The settlement at Giloh (south of the Rephaim Valley, and a twin site of Tell el-Ful) was founded about the time Lachish was destroyed in the reign of Rameses III, c. 1184–1153, i.e., in the first half of the 12th century B.C.E. It is not possible to determine whether this was a few years before or after the destruction. Some of the vessels which appear at Giloh have parallels at Lachish, but other types especially the "collared rim" jars and some of the cooking pots do not appear at Lachish. Taking this dating into consideration one may assume that Period I at Tell el-Ful (like Giloh) was constructed some time around 1153 B.C.E. at the latest, even though there is no clear indication as to how long the Period I settlement survived or how many years elapsed between Period I and Period II at Tell el-Ful.

Lapp's excavation results allowed Period I to run for 50 years from 1200 to 1150, though a slight modification must also be made. Thus 50 years should be allowed for Period I, from 1153 B.C.E., placing Period II (i.e., Saul's period) roughly about 1100 B.C.E. It is generally accepted that Saul reigned for a period of about 20 years. It has been argued (Shalom Brooks, 1997) that there was a gap of at least 17 years between Saul's death and David's accession to the throne. Hence, taking away about 40 years from 1100 B.C.E. brings us closer to the date of c. 1060–1050 B.C.E., the time which marks the end of the rule of the house of Saul, contrary to the generally accepted dates for Saul, i.e., 1025–1005 B.C.E.

In concluding this discussion it is possible to propose that the end of Period I at Tell el-Ful (most probably a Philistine post, defeated by Saul as described in I Samuel 13–14), ended by fire some time before or around 1100 B.C.E. It is possible also that Saul built the large tower (Period II, fortress I) and that it ended with a violent destruction after Saul's death. The second fortress (Period II fortress II) was built almost immediately after the first one was destroyed as a rebuilding of the first fortress. This fortress, according to the archaeological finds, survived for a short period of about 10 years. Because the fortress was built immediately after the first one had been destroyed, with the building following almost exactly the same plan, it might be suggested that the builder was possibly closely connected with Saul. That person may have been Abner, Saul's uncle, or Ishbaal, Saul's son. Is it possible that they tried to rebuild Saul's tower in order to resettle Saul's town?

Abner was murdered a few years later (II Sam 3:27), which would explain why fortress II was abandoned.

The archaeological evidence shows that Gibeah stood in ruins until the eight century B.C.E. No attempts were made to rebuild or inhabit the site. Perhaps it was during this period that the story in Judges was written to explain why Gibeah had been destroyed.

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[Simcha Shalom Brooks (2nd ed.)]

GIBEON (Heb. גבעון), the largest and best-known city in the territory of the tribe of Benjamin, resembling a royal city (Josh. 10.2).

Biblical Gibeon has been identified with modern el-Jib, 6 miles (9 kms.) north of Jerusalem. The first proper scientific identification of the place with modern el-Jib was made in 1838 by Edward Robinson. During the archaeological excavations of 1956, 1957, and 1959, directed by J.B. Pritchard (1962, 24–52), this identification was confirmed by the discovery of 56 jar handles inscribed with the name Gdn (or Gdd).

Gibeon was first mentioned in Joshua 9 in an incident which tells how the Hivite inhabitants of Gibeon deceived Joshua into making a peace covenant with them. When the deception was discovered, the Gibeonites were sentenced to become "hewers of wood and drawers of water" (Josh. 9:21, 23). Later when the Amorite king Adoni-Zedek attacked Gibeon for siding with the Israelites, Joshua was obliged to protect them and chased the Amorites down the pass of Beth-Horon supported by "hailstones and the sun standing still upon Gibeon" (Josh. 10:1–14; Isa. 28:21). However, the reference to this story in Joshua 9 presents a problem since there is no archaeological evidence for a settlement at Gibeon during the Late Bronze Age, the period in which the conquest stories in Joshua are placed.

In Joshua 18:25 and 21:17 Gibeon is described as a levitical city. The section in II Samuel 2:12–17 describes the scene of the contest at the "pool of Gibeon" between the two opponents groups; that of Abner (Saul's supporters) and that of Joab (David's supporters). In that contest 12 men of each group were "thrusted through" by the swords of their opponents. In II Sam. 20:8 Joab slew Amasa at Gibeon; in II Sam. 21:1–10 seven of Saul's sons were executed, i.e. two of Ritzpah, Saul's concubine, and five of Michal from her marriage to Paltiel (and not Adriel as mentioned in II Samuel 21:8; Adriel is the Aramaic version of the Hebrew Paltiel (see Z. Ben-Barak 1991, 87)). According to the narrative, the execution had to be carried out to end the three-year famine during David's reign, caused by Saul's violation of the covenant with the Gibeonites, not recorded anywhere else in the Bible.

It is stated (I Kings 3:4–5) that the people were sacrificing at the high place at Gibeon; Solomon offered one thousand burnt offerings on the altar; and Solomon's famous inaugural dream is placed at the high place at Gibeon. According to I Chronicles 16:39; 21:29 the "tabernacle" was there, too.

Examining the textual material Shalom Brooks (2005) has argued that Gibeon played an important role in Israelite cultic life before Solomon, i.e. since the time of Saul. Firstly, it is not plausible that Gibeon was insignificant during the time extending from Samuel and Saul to David; its cultic popularity does not make sense unless the sanctuary had a long history behind it. Secondly, the description of the worship held at Gibeon makes sense and is convincing particularly since Gibeon is described as a levitical city (Josh 21.17). This view can be supported by Blenkinsopp (1974) who proposed that the sanctuary that David visited (II Sam. 21:1) was at Gibeon; and that the first altar that Saul built to Yahweh (I Sam 14:33) was in the Gibeonite region and must be a great stone which is at Gibeon (II Sam. 20:8). This story has cultic significance (Josh. 24:26; I Sam. 6:14–16) and may be identified with the altar on which Solomon offered sacrifices (I Kings 3:4).

In Jeremiah 28:1 Gibeon is mentioned as the home of the false prophet Hananiah; and the "great pool" of Gibeon is mentioned again as the site of a bloody combat when Johanan unsuccessfully attacked Ishmael, Gedaliah's assassin. A reference from the post-exilic period is found in Nehemiah 3:7. It indicates that the men from Gibeon assisted in the rebuilding of the city wall of Jerusalem. The earliest extra-biblical reference to Gibeon is found at Karnak, in a list of cities either captured or visited during the campaign Sheshonk (biblical Shishak, I Kings 14:25) made in Canaan, c. 924 B.C.E.

The archaeological data from el-Jib indicates that there was no Late Bronze Age (c. 1550–1200 B.C.E.) settlement at Gibeon, i.e. prior to the settlement in the Iron Age I Period (Pritchard II, 1976, 449–50). However, the site was occupied in the EB I (c. 3300–3050 B.C.E.), and MB II (c. 2300–2000 B.C.E.), and these periods are only represented by pottery and other artifacts discovered in tombs on the west side of the mound. It should be noted that late Bronze Age pottery was also found, though these were found in eight of the tombs only. During the 1960s an additional 18 burial caves were uncovered. These had been hewn out of the limestone western slopes of the hill and were in use during the MB I and LB I periods.

The Iron Age I Period (c. 1200–1000 B.C.) at the site consisted of a massive city wall, 10.5–11 ft. (3.2–3.4 m.) in width, which was built around the hill. Two water systems were discovered; they were constructed in the Iron Age to provide the inhabitants of the city with water in the time of siege. The first system was a rock-hewn shaft, 37 ft. (11.3 m.) in diameter and 35.5 ft. (10.8 m.) deep. A spiral staircase (79 steps) was cut along the north and east sides of the pool. At the bottom, the stairs continued into a tunnel to provide access to the water chamber which lies 44.5 ft. (13.6 m.) below the floor of the pool. Thus the inhabitants had access to water lying 80 ft. (24.4 m.) below the level of the city. It has been estimated that 3,000 tons of limestone were quarried and removed to create the "pool of Gibeon" mentioned in II Sam. 2:13. The second system was the stepped tunnel which led from inside the city to the spring of the village. This system was constructed later in the Iron Age II, possibly due to the flow of the water into the chamber which was deemed inadequate.

The wealth of Gibeon may be demonstrated by the winery discovered there; the flat lands around the site were suitable for agricultural production and the slopes beyond were suitable for vineyards. The Karstic character of the soil meant there were many springs, of which the largest was at Gibeon. This flourishing economy is evidenced by the large number of pots found, as well as by the frequent occurrences of wine cellars. About 40 such cellars have been discovered. These were cistern-like constructions, each 6 ft. (2 m.) deep and dug out of the rock. The jars inside each cellar held about 45 liters of wine. In the same area wine presses were also found; they were carved from the rock with channels for conducting the grape juice into fermentation tanks. It is estimated that the cellars provided storage space for jars containing 25,000 gallons of wine. There were smaller jars which had been used to export the wine produced at Gibeon. Stoppers and a funnel for filling the jars were also found.

The studies by Demsky (1971) and Yeivin (1971) have demonstrated that there is a link between the names inscribed on the jar handles and Saul's genealogy lists in I Chronicles (8:29–40; 9:35–44). The studies of these genealogies provide some evidence relating to the Benjaminites' settlement in their territory. Demsky attests that these lists present at one and the same time the history of the branch of the Ner family, as well as the clans and villages that depended on Gibeon both culturally and administratively. This list is also an illustration of the relationship of the clans to each other and to Gibeon, one which would not have changed from the time of the initial Benjaminites settlement until the Exile. Yeivin suggests that after the Benjaminites' penetration there must have been a considerable integration with the local inhabitants, mainly through marriage, the results of which are reflected in the genealogical lists in Chronicles. These lists are not concerned with the Gibeonites at Gibeon, but with the Benjaminite group which came to settle at Gibeon in the course of time. Their eponymous ancestor is called "the father of Gibeon" in I Chronicles 8:29–40 and its duplicate in 9:35–44). In the first list his personal name is not given, whereas in the second list he is named as Yehiel.

The most interesting aspect of these lists is the naming of the wife of "the father of Gibeon" as Maacah. This name does not appear as an Israelite name, but is the name of an Aramean principality in the Golan. When it appears as a personal name it always represents a non-Israelite or someone of non-Israelite descent. This reference to the non-Israelite Maacah may express itself in intermarriage with the local women. Such intermarriages probably resulted in acquisition of rights of heritage and property. The "father of Gibeon" could indicate the head of a large family, quite wealthy and influential. Saul's ancestors are recorded as Kish, Ner … and Benjamin, that is, in ascending order from the smaller to the larger unit. Also in I Samuel 9:1 Kish, Saul's father, is described as *gibbor ḥayil*, which is also taken to mean a man of wealth.

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[Simcha Shalom Brooks (2nd ed.)]

GIBEONITES AND NETHINIM (Heb. גִּבְעֹנִים, נְתִינִים). The Gibeonites, residents of four important cities in the vicinity of Jerusalem, feared that they might share the fate of Jericho and Ai, which were destroyed by the Israelites, and tricked *Joshua into a treaty that would spare them (Josh. 9). Had Joshua known that these people were actually Canaanites whom he was pledged to dispossess, he would not have concluded a treaty with them, but the Gibeonites had disguised themselves as coming from a distant land, and had made overtures of devotion to the God of Israel. As they were returning to their nearby cities, the ruse was discovered, but by that time the Israelites were bound by the treaty, and could not drive them out or destroy their cities, which were strategically located to control access to Jerusalem and the roads through the Judean mountains. As a result of this treaty, five Canaanite rulers immediately formed a coalition under the king of Jerusalem and attacked Gibeon. Under the terms of the treaty, the Gibeonites called upon Joshua to come to their aid, and he routed the Canaanite coalition (Josh. 10; cf. 11:19). Thus deceived by the Gibeonites, the Israelites adopted an alternative measure, that of forced labor: "On that day Joshua gave them over to be hewers of wood and drawers of water for the assembly and for the altar of the Lord until this day, at the place which He will choose" (Josh. 9:27). The Gibeonites appear again in connection with a famine during the reign of *David (II Sam. 21). David learned that the famine was a punishment for an offense committed by *Saul, who had put a number of Gibeonites to death out of zeal for Israel and Judah, but in violation of Israel's ancient oath. In expiation, David was obliged to hang seven of Saul's descendants on a hill at Gibeath-Shaul, where Saul had resided, and where at least some of his descendants undoubtedly still lived.

The designation Nethinim is derived from the Hebrew verb *natan* ("to give over"), which can mean devoting someone to cultic service. The verb is used in this sense with respect to Joshua's action toward the Gibeonites in Joshua 9:27, where cultic servitude is involved ("for the altar of the Lord"). The Book of Ezra (8:20) states that David and his commanders "devoted" (Heb. *natan*) the Nethinim "to the service of the *levites" which may reflect the ancient practice of committing captives and conquered peoples to temple slavery, which was a widespread phenomenon in the ancient Near East. The Bible itself offers other indications of its operation in ancient Israel. Many modern scholars consider that such was the status of the Nethinim, and cite certain data in support of this view. The Nethinim are listed together with "the sons of the servants of Solomon" in the census of Israelites returning from Babylonia in about 538 B.C.E. (Ezra 2 = Nehemiah 7), and the latter are generally considered to have been royal slaves. Furthermore, a large number of foreign names in the list of Nethinim suggests that they were captives of war.

There are, however, counterindications. It is possible that "servants of Solomon" were not slaves but royal merchants (see: Servants of *Solomon). The verb *natan*, discussed above, need not necessarily imply servitude, but was used to designate other types of cultic devotion as well. It was applied to the levites, who were hardly temple slaves, and was used to characterize a relationship to the cultic establishment which was primarily administrative and religious; one not based on the economic institution of temple property, under which temple slaves are to be classified.

A later tradition identifies the Gibeonites of Joshua's time with the Nethinim mentioned in the post-Exilic literature. This tradition probably arose in Palestine during the late Hellenistic or early Roman period, at a time when the Jews had become familiar with temple slavery among the pagans, especially in the form of sacred prostitution. It was probably known to the historian Josephus of the first Christian century who translates the term Nethinim in Ezra, chapter 2, by the Greek term *hierodoulos* (from δούλοι ʿιεροί, "sacred slaves"). On the other hand, it probably arose after the completion of the Septuagint translation to the Bible which never renders Nethinim as *hierodoulos*, but either translates the term literally into Greek as *dedomenoi* (so in 1 Chron. 9:2), or uses Greek transcriptions of the original Hebrew term. Modern scholarship, though recognizing that identification of the Gibeonites with the Nethinim represents a later tradition, nevertheless tends to accept the identification of the Nethinim as "uncircumcised" temple personnel, such as those referred to by Ezekiel (44:7). Conclusive clarification of the exact social status and precise cultic functions of the Nethinim must await further evidence, but the possibility that they represented a guild of free cultic practitioners should not be disregarded.

1 Chronicles 9:1–2 states that in the days of David the Nethinim were among the first settlers in the land, but they are never actually mentioned in the pre-Exilic books of Samuel and Kings, nor in any other biblical book presumed to be pre-Exilic. Some scholars claim that this term occurs in Numbers 3:9 and 8:19, which speaks of the dedication of the levites; however, this is unlikely, and it is better to take the repeated *netunim netunim* ("devoted, yea, devoted") as mere passive participles. Although Ezra 8:20 associates the Nethinim with the levites, they are left as two separate groups elsewhere in the Bible (cf. Ezra 2; 7:7; Neh. 10:29; 11:3; 1 Chron. 9:2). However, there is evidence to support the tradition of 1 Chronicles 9 concerning the pre-Exilic existence of the Nethinim. A hoard of Hebrew ostraca dating from the last days of the kingdom of Judah has been uncovered at the site of ancient *Arad in the Negev, where an Israelite sanctuary was in use throughout most of the pre-Exilic period. An official named "the Kerosite" appears in one of the ostraca. The personal name Keros otherwise occurs only once, and that in the list of Nethinim in Ezra 2:44 (= Neh. 7:47): "the sons of Keros." Therefore it is probable that the Kerosite at Arad was a member of a group of Nethinim, who would logically be located at a sanctuary. If true, this would be the first contemporary attestation of the existence of Nethinim in the pre-Exilic period. Evidence of a comparative nature also suggests that the Nethinim were a very ancient group. The administrative archives at Ugarit have yielded a list of *ytnm*, the Ugaritic form of Hebrew *nethinim* (C.H. Gordon, *Ugaritic Text-Book*, 301:1, 1). They are also mentioned in a poetic ritual text (*ibid.*, 52:3) and it is reasonable to consider them some sort of cultic personnel, as in Palestine. One of the families or groups of *ytnm* at Ugarit had the same name as a group of Nethinim listed in Ezra (cf. Ugaritic *bn ḥgby, ibid.*, 301:2, 5 with *benei Hagab, Hagabah* in Ezra 2:45–46). It is therefore possible that the Nethinim were an international group of persons skilled in certain cultic arts, who had attached themselves to the Israelites at an early period. The manner in which they are listed suggests that they were organized according to family groups, as was customary.

Akkadian sources also throw light on the semantic and institutional background of the Nethinim. Neo-Babylonian documents refer to members of a religious order dedicated to the service of different Babylonian deities, called *širku*, "devotees, oblates" (from Akk. *šarāku*, "to give, present"). This word is the semantic equivalent of the Hebrew Nethinim, and the members of both orders were temple servitors (Speiser). The Bible provides several more references to the Nethinim which are instructive. About the middle of the fifth century B.C.E. Ezra recruited Nethinim along with other personnel preparatory to his return to Judah (Ezra 7:7, 24; 8:1–20). Nehemiah 3 describes the resettlement of Jerusalem, whose recruited population of skilled persons included Nethinim. In about 438 B.C.E. the leaders of the people convoked a great assembly in Jerusalem to ratify a new covenant (Neh. 10:1–40), and the Nethinim were among the principal signatories (10:29; cf.

11:3). Only *bona fide* Israelites would have been admitted to the covenant, especially at a time when there was great concern in rooting out foreign strains from the community.

[Baruch A. Levine]

Post-Biblical Period

Nothing more is heard of the Nethinim until they appear in the legislation of the Mishnah which classes them with proselytes, freedmen, *mamzerim*, waifs, and foundlings with whom alone they are permitted to intermarry (Kid. 4:1). The Mishnah (Hor. 3:8), however, classifies the Nethinim as being one level lower than *mamzerim* but preceding proselytes and freedmen. They were regarded as the descendants of the Gibeonites (Yev. 78b–79a) and the prohibition in their marrying Jews of pure pedigree as having been established by King David (*ibid.* 78b) and reconfirmed by Ezra (Num. R. 8:4). It is impossible to explain this loss of status since the days of Nehemiah. It is possible that, in employing the classification Nethinim, the talmudic sages did not have the actual biblical group in mind at all, but merely reapplied an ancient term to contemporary groups of declassed persons who were the subject of their own legislation, thus stigmatizing them with traditional associations. An attempt by the rabbis to abolish the inferior status of the Nethinim was rejected by Judah ha-Nasi on the grounds that when the Temple was rebuilt it would be deprived of hewers of wood and drawers of water, and the matter was relegated to "the time to come" (Yev. 79b). Maimonides, too, regards the Nethinim as the descendants of the Gibeonites (Yad, Issurei Bi'ah 12:23–24).

Gibeonites in the *Aggadah*

Although the Gibeonites deserved no better fate than all the rest of the Canaanite nations, in that the covenant made with them was obtained through subterfuge, Joshua nevertheless kept his promise to them, in order to show the world the sanctity of an oath to Israel (Git. 46a). He hesitated to defend them when they were attacked, but God reminded him, "If you estrange those who are distant you will ultimately estrange also those who are near" (Num. R. 8:4). In the course of time it became obvious that the Gibeonites were not worthy of being received into the Jewish fold and Joshua, therefore, left their fate to be decided by the one who was to build the Temple (TJ, Sanh. 6:9, 23c–d).

During David's reign Israel suffered from a drought which was ascertained to be God's punishment for the murder of seven Gibeonites by the descendants of Saul. When David sought to make restitution through ransom, the Gibeonites firmly refused, insisting upon lives from the household of Saul. This cold-bloodedness clearly demonstrated to David the absence in the Gibeonite character of Israel's three basic attributes – mercy, humility, and benevolence – and he consequently excluded them from the assembly of Israel (TJ, Kid. 4:1, 65c). Ezra renewed the edict, which is to be in force even in the Messianic era (*ibid.*).

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GIBRALTAR, British crown colony, south of *Spain. Jews lived in Gibraltar in the 14th century, and in 1356 the community issued an appeal for assistance in the ransoming of Jews captured by pirates. In 1473, a number of Marranos fleeing from Andalusia applied for permission to settle in Gibraltar. The Treaty of Utrecht (1713), which ceded the fortress to England, excluded the Jews from Gibraltar in perpetuity. However, by an agreement in 1729 between England and the sultan of Morocco, his Jewish subjects were empowered to come there temporarily for the purpose of trade, and the establishment of a permanent community was not long delayed. The majority of the Jewish settlers were from adjacent parts of North Africa. By 1749, when the legal right of Jewish settlement was recognized, the community numbered about 600, being about one-third of the total number of civilian residents, and there were two synagogues. During the siege of 1779–83, many took refuge in London, reinforcing the Sephardi community there. Subsequently, the community in Gibraltar resumed its development. During the period of the Napoleonic wars, Aaron Nuñez *Cardozo was one of the foremost citizens of Gibraltar; his house on the Almeida subsequently became the city hall. In the middle of the 19th century, when the Rock was at the height of its importance as a British naval and military base, the Jewish community numbered about 2,000 and most of the retail trade was in their hands, but thereafter the number declined. During World War II, almost all the civilian population, including the Jews, was evacuated to British territories, and not all returned. In 1968, the community numbered 670 (out of a total population of 25,000); it still maintained four synagogues and many communal organizations. Sir Joshua A. *Hassan was the first mayor and chief minister of Gibraltar from 1964 to 1969. In 2004, about 600 Jews lived in Gibraltar, with the same four synagogues and a communal rabbi. Almost all Jewish children attended the community's primary schools and girls went to the Jewish secondary school. The community published a weekly newsletter.

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[Cecil Roth]

GIDAL, TIM (**Ignaz Nachum Gidalewitsch**; 1909–1996), photographer. Gidal was born into an Orthodox family of Russian immigrants in Munich. From 1929 he was among the pioneers of modern photojournalism and became one of its leading historians. Based in Jerusalem between 1936 and 1947, and again from 1970, he has achieved an international reputation.

Gidal started taking photographs during his studies (1928–1935) at the universities of Munich, Berlin, and Basle. His photographs were published in the foremost illustrated weeklies in Germany. In 1936 Gidal immigrated to Palestine where he continued his work. In 1938 he moved to London, where he worked for *Picture Post*, the magazine in which the new medium reached its zenith. Between 1942 and 1944 he served as Chief Staff Reporter for *Parade*, the Eighth Army magazine. In 1947 he found a new base in New York where he stayed until 1970, the time of his return to Jerusalem. During this period Gidal and his first wife Sonia traveled the world and produced a series of 23 photographic books, entitled *My Village*. He also served as consultant for *Life* magazine and taught at the New School for Social Research in New York. From 1971, he taught at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem and produced scholarly works and compilation albums including his seminal *Modern Photojournalism: Origin and Evolution 1910–1933* (1972); *Ewiges Jerusalem/Eternal Jerusalem* 1840–1914 (1980) (one of the most beautiful published collections of photographs on Jerusalem); and in 1988, a major work of illustrated history, *The Jews in Germany from Roman Times until the Weimar Republic* (in German). During this period, he also published and exhibited his work in Israel, Europe and the U.S., and in 1983 was awarded the prestigious Dr. Erich Salomon Prize in Germany. His photo-history of Palestine/Israel appeared in the *Encyclopaedia Judaica Year Books* 1973, 1974, and 1975 and were subsequently published in *The Land of Israel: 100 Years Plus 30 (1978)*.

Critics have said about Gidal's photography that "it has about it a visual innocence going straight for the subject photographed," but describing his photographs as innocent does not mean that they are necessarily simplistic or naive. Speaking of his own pictures, Gidal insists that he is not an artist. "An artist adds to nature. His personality is an ingredient of his painting. With my camera, I can only use what is already there. Art is expression of the inner self. Photography is a depiction of the outer world."

Gidal sees his photographs "as a variation on the everlasting theme of the tragicomedy of daily life, facts of the human condition. I do not wait until the selected moment satisfies a constructivist formal urge. I am directed more by participating and by intuition." His photography communicates an accomplished sense for simplicity and straightforwardness, representing a balance between his keen sense of form and construction and his respect for the subject itself.

His brother, George Gidal (1908–1931), was also a pioneer photojournalist in Germany whose promising career was cut short by his death in a car accident.

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[Yeshayahu Nir]

GIDDAL (end of third century C.E.), Babylonian *amora*. He was one of the best-known younger pupils of *Rav. Most of Giddal's sayings in the Talmud are in the name of this teacher, often via Ḥiyya b. Joseph, but a few in the name of Ḥiyya b. Joseph himself. Once Giddal defended himself by swearing on the Holy Scripture and Prophets that his saying was that of Rav (Er. 17a). After Rav's death he studied in the academy of *Huna in Sura, and there came into contact with *Zeira (Ber. 49a). He appears to have had heated debates with Huna ("Giddal became impotent through the discourses of Huna": Yev. 64b). However, he was also ruled by the decisions of Judah b. Ezekiel of Pumbedita (Av. Zar. 11b). Later in life he went to Palestine (Kid. 59a). He interpreted Song of Songs 5:13 in an allegorical way, to teach that one should not study lightheartedly. "Any scholar who sits before his teacher and his lips do not drip bitterness shall be burnt" (Shab. 30b). He interpreted Psalms 39:7 to the effect that anyone who quotes a saying should imagine himself as standing in the presence of the one who originally said it (TJ, Shab. 1:2, 3a et al.). A man who writes a Torah Scroll was regarded by Giddal as if he had received it at Mount Sinai (Men. 30a). His keen sense of justice is revealed in the story about a field which he intended to buy but was anticipated by another buyer. When Isaac Nappaḥa (the Palestinian) ruled that the owner of the field should sell it to Giddal, he declined even to accept it as a gift (Kid. 59a). This explains his sharp critique of people who dealt unjustly (although he gives it in the name of Rav): "If an inhabitant of Naresh has kissed you, then count your teeth. If a man of Nehar Pekod accompanies you, it is because of the fine garments he sees on you. If a Pumbeditan accompanies you, then change your quarters" (Ḥul. 127a). Giddal was accustomed to sit at the gates of the ritual bath and to instruct the women about the rules of immersion. When asked whether he was not afraid lest his passion get the better of him, he replied that to him the women looked like so many white geese (Ber. 20a).

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GIDEON (Heb. גִּדְעוֹן, derived from גדע; "to cast down"), also called Jerubaal (Heb. יְרֻבַּעַל; "let Baal contend," or "let Baal replace," Judg. 6:32), son of Joash, the Abiezrite from *Ophrah, in the area of the tribe of Manasseh. Gideon is regarded as one of the *Judges although his biography (Judg. 6:11–8:32) does not contain the usual formula that "he judged Israel." He was appointed to leadership in an angelic revelation reinforced by signs and wonders of folkloristic nature, which were intended to confirm his divinely ordained mission and to emphasize his charismatic personality (6:34).

Gideon was destined to deliver Israel from the Midianites and their allies, Amalek and "the children of the east" (6:3; cf. *Midian, *Amalek, *Kedemites (*Benei Kedem*)), described as camel-mounted bedouin who came marauding from the fringes of the desert into the cultivated areas west of the Jordan. In the course of their invasions they menaced those Israelite tribes, especially Manasseh, whose settlements bordered on the Valley of Jezreel. These areas made good targets for plunder, and provided convenient passage to the interior and to the coast. Gideon's brothers appear to have been among those killed in such an attack (8:18–19). At first, only

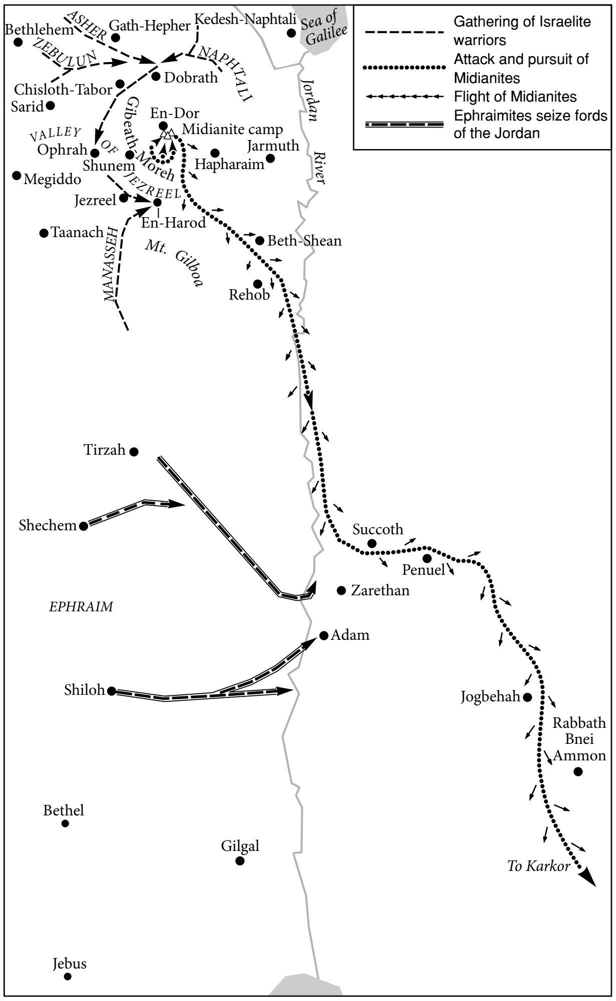
Gathering of Israelite warriors
Attack and pursuit of Midianites
Flight of Midianites
Ephraimites seize fords of the Jordan
Bethlehem
ASHER
Gath-Hepher
Kedesh-Naphtali
Sea of Galilee
ZEBULUN
NAPHTALI
Dobrath
Chisloth-Tabor
Sarid
Gibeath Moreh
En-Dor
Midianite camp
VALLEY OF JEZREEL
Ophrah
Shunem
Jarmuth
Hapharaim
Megiddo
Jezreel
En-Harod
Taanach
MANASSEH
Mt. Gilboa
Beth-Shean
Rehob
Jordan River
Tirzah
Shechem
Succoth
Penuel
Zarethan
EPHRAIM
Adam
Shiloh
Jogbehah
Rabbath Bnei Ammon
Bethel
Gilgal
To Karkor
Jebus

The war of Gideon against the Midianites. After Y. Aharoni and M. Avi-Yonah, Macmillan Bible Atlas, *Carta, Jerusalem, 1968.*

the Abiezrites responded to his call, but he was later joined by the tribes of Asher, Zebulun, and Naphtali (6:34–35; cf. 7:23). From more than 30,000 followers, a carefully selected force of 300 men was assembled at his camp at *En-Harod (7:2–7). Upon gathering intelligence as to the state of the enemy's morale, Gideon struck with a surprise night attack that wrought havoc in the Midianite camp. The Midianites and their allies withdrew eastward to the Jordan, and Gideon summoned support from Naphtali, Asher, Manasseh, and Ephraim to block the escape routes, thereby ambushing the retreating enemy. In the pursuit, two Midianite princes, Oreb and Zeeb, were captured and beheaded (7:25; cf. Ps. 83:12–13). At this point, the Ephraimites complained about their exclusion from the original operations, but Gideon diplomatically settled the affair (Judg. 8:1–3). Gideon then resumed the pursuit of the enemy beyond the Jordan, requesting material support, meanwhile, from the non-Israelite cities of Succoth and Penuel. The rulers of these cities refused, fearing Midianite reprisals should Gideon fail. After decisively defeating the enemy, who retreated deeper into the desert, Gideon returned to Succoth and Penuel to settle accounts there (8:4–21). The military victory over the Midianites was remembered and cited for many generations (Isa. 9:3; 10:26; Ps. 83:10; cf. I Sam. 12:11).

There can be no doubt about the outstanding position Gideon occupied prior to the founding of the monarchy. Not only are his exploits recorded with unwonted detail, but also, and most exceptionally, the narrative is concerned with his post-military activities. Clearly, he enjoyed some special leadership status, though its precise nature is unclear. It is in Gideon's time that we encounter a desire for change from tribal, charismatic rule to a more comprehensive, hereditary type when the "men of Israel" offer to make Gideon the founder of a dynasty (Judg. 8:22). However, it should be noted that the verb employed is "rule" (*mshl*) rather than "reign" (*mlkh*), the word usually employed for kingship. Apparently, the incident represents an intermediary stage in the movement toward the establishment of a permanent monarchy.

Despite his refusal of the offer, Gideon continued to play a leading role. He had a large harem and fathered 70 sons (8:30). Through his concubine in Shechem (8:31) he was related to some of the leading families in that town (9:1–4), and a son born of the union, *Abimelech, was later crowned king of that city-state (9:6). Gideon also exercised authority in the sphere of the cult. At the outset of his career he had built an altar to the Lord at Ophrah and had dared to destroy a local Baal altar, an act which earned him the name *Jerubaal (6:24–32; cf. I Sam. 12:11; II Sam. 11:21). Subsequent to his military victories he fashioned an *ephod from the spoils of war (Judg. 8:24–27), which, while it did not meet with the approval of the editor of Judges, illustrates the deeply religious character of Gideon.

[Nahum M. Sarna]

In the Aggadah

Gideon, Jephthah, and Samson were the three least worthy of the Judges (RH 25a and b). Because on the eve of one Passover Gideon said of the Lord, "Where are all the miracles which God did for our fathers on this night" (Judg. 6:13), he was chosen to save Israel (Yal. Judg. 62) and that victory was also gained on Passover (cf. Yannai, "*Az Rov Nissim*," Passover *Haggadah*). Another reason was his filial piety (Mid. Hag., Gen. 48:16). When Gideon sacrificed his father's bullock after the angel appeared to him, he would have transgressed no less than seven commandments, were it not that he was obeying an explicit divine command (TJ, Meg. 1:14, 72c). The cake of barley bread seen by the Midianite soldier in his dream (Judg. 7:13) indicated that the children of Israel would be vouchsafed victory as a reward for bringing the offering of an omer of barley (Lev. R. 28:6). On the breastplate of the high priest the tribe of Joseph was represented by Ephraim alone. To remove this slight upon his own tribe Manasseh, he had a new ephod made after his victory, bearing the name of Manasseh. Although he consecrated it to God, after his death it became an object of adoration (Yalkut, Judg. 64). He is identified with Jerubaal of I Samuel 12:11 and from the juxtaposition of this name in that verse with that of Samuel, the rabbis deduce that even the most worthless of individuals, once he is appointed as leader of the community, is to be accounted as the greatest (RH 25a and b).

In the Arts

Literary works on this theme have tended to stress Gideon's heroism and patriotic motivation. Probably the first treatment occurs in the early 17th-century Old Testament dramatic cycle known as the *Stonyhurst Pageants*, in which an English writer devoted some 300 lines to the Hebrew judge. Several works in verse and prose dealt with the subject from the 18th century onward, including *Gideon; or the Patriot* (London, 1749), a fragmentary epic poem by the English dramatist Aaron Hill, a rival of Alexander Pope. In the 20th century, Grete Moeller wrote the verse play *Gideon* (Ger., 1927), two other dramas being August Schmidlin's *Gedeon, biblisches Heldendrama… aus der Zeit der Richter* (1932) and *Gideon* (1953), a "tragedy in 22 scrolls" by the Yiddish writer David *Ignatoff. An unusual modern interpretation of the story was the U.S. writer Paddy *Chayefsky's play *Gideon* (1962), which dramatizes man's alternate dependence on and rebellion against God.

In art the typology of Gideon is particularly subtle. The miracle of the fleece was interpreted as a symbol of the Jews, first chosen and favored (or wet), and then rejected (or dry). The fleece also became the emblem of the Burgundian Order of the Golden Fleece, one of the supreme honors of knighthood. Gideon is usually represented as a knight in armor, helmeted, and with a broken pitcher in his hand, as in the 17th-century statue in Antwerp Cathedral. Narrative cycles are rare (though Chartres offers a 13th-century sequence of four episodes) with most representations concentrating on the appearance of the angel, the miracle of the fleece and the dew, the selection of the 300 warriors, or the victory over the Midianites. The angel's appearance and Gideon's incredulity, seen as a prefiguration of the Annunciation, are depicted at Chartres and in the tapestry of La Chaise-Dieu (1510). The miracle of the fleece occurs frequently at Chartres; in the Amiens and Avignon cathedrals (15th century); in the *Petites Heures d'Anne de Bretagne* (15th century); in a 16th-century fresco in Chilandari, Mount Athos; and in a fresco by Salvator Rosa (1615–1673) in the Quirinal. The selection of the warriors is illustrated in the French *Psalter of Saint Louis* and the English *Queen Mary's Psalter* (both dating from the 13th century) and by Federico Zuccaro (1540/43–1609) in a drawing at the Louvre. The victory is again portrayed at Chartres.

An early musical interpretation of the Gideon theme occurs in *Daz Gedeones wollenvlius* ("Gideon's Woollen Fleece"), an allegorical song by the *minnesaenger* Rumelant (c. 1270), which typically combines the search for biblical prototypes of the knightly ideal with the mystical concept of divine love. The martial atmosphere also prevails in at least some of the later compositions on this subject, beginning with "Gideon – Der Heyland Israels," the fifth of J. Kuhnau's *Biblische Sonaten* for keyboard instrument (1700). Johann Mattheson's oratorio *Der siegende Gideon*, written for the Hamburg celebration of Prince Eugene of Savoy's victory at Belgrade (1717), was begun, completed, and performed in the record time of 11 days. One of J. Chr. Smith's oratorios for which the music was taken wholly or largely from Handel was his *Gideon* (1769). Other compositions inspired by the subject include oratorios by Friedrich Schneider (1829) and Charles Edward Horsley (1959) and a choral work for eight male voices, *Les soldats de Gédéon* (1868), by Camille Saint-Saëns.

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GIDEON, MIRIAM (1906–1996), U.S. composer of choral and orchestral works. Gideon was born in Greeley, Colorado, to Abram Gideon, a professor of philosophy and ordained rabbi, and Henrietta Shoninger Gideon, a teacher. Gideon's choice of a career in music was influenced by her uncle Henry Gideon, an organist and choir director at Temple Israel in Boston, with whom she spent summers. She studied piano and composition while attending Boston University, graduating in 1926 with a degree in French and mathematics. Gideon continued her musical studies in New York City, ultimately earning an M.A. from Columbia in 1946. She taught at several institutions in New York City, including City College, the Jewish Theological Seminary (1955–91), and the Manhattan School of Music (1967–91). In 1970, she received a Doctorate of Sacred Music in Composition, from the Jewish Theological Seminary. She married Frederick Ewen, an English professor, in 1949.

Gideon wrote over 50 compositions covering the gamut from orchestral to vocal chamber works. Her early choral settings include *Slow, Slow Fresh Fount* (1941) and *Sweet Western Wind* (1943). She turned to contrapuntal vocal chamber work with *The Hound of Heaven* (1945). In 1948, she was awarded the Bloch Prize for choral work for *How Goodly Are Thy Tents – Psalm 84* (1947), a work in a modal idiom with Jewish melodic contours. Early orchestral works were *Lyric Piece for String Orchestra* (1944) and a full orchestral work, *Symphonia Brevis* (1953). Works with Jewish themes included *May the Word of My Mouth* (premiere, 1938), *Adon Olom* (1954), *Three Biblical Masks* (1958), and the cantata *The Habitable Earth* (1965), based on the Book of Proverbs. Her more important vocal chamber works include *The Condemned Playground* (1963), *Questions on Nature* (1964), *Rhymes from the Hill* (1968), and *Nocturnes* (1976).

Gideon was the first woman ever commissioned to set Jewish liturgy. She completed *Sacred Service for Sabbath Morning* (1971), based on Reform liturgy, for The Temple, Cleveland, Ohio. *Shirat Miriam L'Shabbat,* for Conservative liturgy, was completed in 1974 for Park Avenue Synagogue and published in 1976. Later Jewish text settings include *Eishet Chayil (A Woman of Valor)* (1982). Her sacred compositions reflect the influences of her exposure to synagogue music, yet remain introspective and personal. Awards include an ASCAP, for symphonic music (1958); National Federation of Music Clubs (1969); and a National Endowment for the Arts Award (1974). In 1975, she became the second woman ever admitted to the American Academy and Institute of Arts and Letters.

[Judith S. Pinnolis (2nd ed.)]

GIDEON, SAMSON (originally **Gideon Abudiente**; 1699–1762), English financier. His father Reuel Gideon Abudiente (c. 1655–1722), a West India merchant in London, was descended from the Hamburg scholar of the same name. Gideon early made a considerable fortune by speculation. In the mid-18th century, he was the principal agent for raising English government loans. His advice helped to preserve the financial stability of the country during the Jacobite rebellion in 1745. During the Seven Years' War (1755–63), he advised the English government in financial matters, and in 1758 was thanked by the king for his services in raising a loan for Hanover. Gideon left more than £500,000. In his younger days he supported the synagogue, and in 1720 contributed a sonnet in English to the Spanish translation of the Psalms by D. Lopez *Laguna. Subsequently, however, he bought a country estate, married out of the faith, had his children baptized, and, on the pretext of disapproving of the Jewish Naturalization Bill (1753), resigned his synagogue membership. He continued nevertheless to contribute to the synagogue secretly and left it a large legacy on the condition that he would be buried in its cemetery. By 1750 Gideon had obtained a coat of arms for himself and was a substantial landowner. In 1757 his daughter married Viscount Gage. In 1759 he obtained the title of baronet for his son, also SAMSON GIDEON (1745–1824), who became Lord Eardley in 1789. The son had no contacts with Judaism. In 1770 he was elected to Parliament, the first member of Parliament to have known Jewish ancestry. He was also the first person of known Jewish ancestry to be granted a peerage in Britain. Among his descendants was Hugh Culling Eardley Childers (1827–1896), who was chancellor of the Exchequer in 1882–85.

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[Cecil Roth / William D. Rubinstein (2nd ed.)]

GIEHSE, THERESE (1898–1975), German actress. Giehse was born as Therese Gift to the textile merchant Salomon Gift and his wife, Gertrude, in Munich. Between 1918 and 1920 she took acting lessons and made her debut at the Buehnenverein in Munich (1920). She adopted the name Giehse, and after engagements at various provincial theaters worked under Paul Barnay (1884–1960) in Breslau (now Wroclaw, Poland). Otto Falckenberg (1873–1947), then director of the Muenchner Kammerspiele, invited her to join his ensemble in 1925 where she stayed until 1933 and also got to know the *Mann family. Giehse, Erika Mann, and Klaus Mann founded the Literarische Cabaret – "Die Pfeffermuehle" in 1933 in response to the Nazi rise to power. She immigrated via Austria to Switzerland in March 1933 because of the increasing political pressure and refounded Die Pfeffermuehle. During her exile in Zurich (1933–37) she also toured in various European and American cities and through her marriage to British actor John Hampson-Simpson became a British citizen (1936). From 1937 on she worked at the Zuericher Schauspielhaus and starred in the world premieres of Bertold Brecht's plays *Mutter Courage und ihre Kinder* (1941), *Der gute Mann von Sezuan* (1943), and *Herr Puntila und sein Knecht Matti* (1948). She performed at various theaters in Munich, Berlin, and Zurich from 1949 to 1952 and had successes with major roles in plays by Friedrich Duerrenmatt like *Der Besuch der alten Dame* (1956) and *Die Physiker* (1962). In 1954 she returned to Munich and had various roles in film, radio, and theater productions. She was awarded the Bundesfilmpreis/Filmband in Silber (1955).

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[Bjoern Siegel (2nd ed.)]

GIESSEN, city in Hesse, Germany. A persecution of the Jews took place there in 1350. Jews are again mentioned in 1375. In the 17th century the few dozen Jews of Giessen were compelled to listen to missionary sermons by Christian preachers. In 1662 they were expelled from the town. Jews were permitted to return and to settle in Giessen in 1708. Some Hebrew printing took place in Giessen during the 17th and 18th centuries, most of it by non-Jewish printers. The community numbered 200 in 1828, 458 in 1871, and 1,035 (3.3% of the total population) in 1925. In 1933, under the Nazi regime, Richard Laqueur, rector of the university, was dismissed from his office because he was Jewish, as were F.M. *Heichelheim, K. *Koffka, Erich *Stern, and Margarete *Bieber. The synagogues erected in 1867 and 1899 were destroyed during *Kristallnacht in November 1938. By the end of the year 730 of the out of the 1,265 Jews living in Giessen and its environs in 1933 had left. The last Jews were deported in September 1942. There were 27 Jews living in Giessen in 1967 and around 200 at the beginning of the 21st century.

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[Akiva Posner]

GIFT, the transfer of legal rights without any consideration or payment. It is essentially no more than a sale without payment and all the principles of the law of sale apply (see *Sale).

The *Da'at* of the Parties

The decision (*gemirat ha-da'at*) of the parties to conclude a gift transaction – the intention of one to give and the other to receive – is established by means of an act of *kinyan*, i.e., by the performance of one of the recognized acts whereby property is acquired (see *Acquisition, Modes of). Upon performance of the *kinyan*, ownership of the property passes from the donor to the donee and neither may any longer withdraw from the transaction. The test as to whether or not the *gemirat ha-da'at* exists is an objective one, namely: if the parties performed an act customarily performed by people in order to conclude such a transaction and if in the particular circumstances of the case there existed no reason why most people would not conclude the transaction, the gift will be effective (Kid. 49b). A gift may be conferred on a person without his knowledge, because it is assumed that he agrees to get a benefit, the rule being that "a benefit may be conferred on a person in his absence, but an obligation may only be imposed on him in his presence" (Git. 11b). Similarly, the *gemirat ha-da'at* of the parties does not require a *consensus ad idem* between the parties. If it is manifest that the donor made up his mind to effect the gift, whereas the donee has not made up his mind to receive it, the latter may retract but the former may not, since the *gemirat ha-da'at* of a party to a transaction precludes him from retracting from it. Consequently, when a person confers a gift on another through a third party, the donee may refuse to accept it until it has reached his hands, even if he has heard of the intended gift – but the donor may not withdraw, since the person acquiring the gift on behalf of the donee performed a *kinyan* whereby the donor's decision to conclude the transaction was made (Yad, Zekhiyyah 4:2). If the donee should discover a defect in the gift, and it is of such nature that people would generally not want such a gift, the donee may retract even after the gift has come to his hands (*Kesef Mishneh*, Zekhiyyah 4:1, concl.).

When it is manifest to all that there was an absence of *gemirat ha-da'at* on the part of both parties, the transaction will be void. A person cannot transfer to another, by way of a gift, something which is not yet in existence, or which is not his own; nor can a gift be conferred on someone who is not yet born; nor can a gift be conferred of something which one owns but which is not at the present time in his possession, such as where the owner has been robbed (see *Theft and Robbery). According to some scholars, however, even these kinds of gifts may validly be conferred in certain circumstances (see *Sale). Similarly, if a person promises a valuable gift to another verbally, but without a *kinyan*, so that the latter does not rely on the promise, there would not even be any moral sanction against him if he should withdraw (BM 49a).

If it is clear, notwithstanding an act of *kinyan*, that the donor did not really intend to effect the gift (for example, he was compelled to make the gift under duress), it will be void. Even if there was no duress, but prior to the gift the donor had declared before witnesses that he was not making it of his own free will, the transaction will also be void, even if the witnesses were not themselves aware of any duress exercised against him, because by his declaration he manifests an intention of not making the gift (Yad, Zekhiyyah 5:4; see **Ones*). Moreover, as a gift must be made openly and publicly, an undisclosed gift is invalid, since "the donor is not presumed to have made up his mind to a gift, but is scheming for the loss of other people's property" (*ibid.* 5:1). Similarly, if a person makes a written disposition of all his property to one of his sons, the latter does not acquire it all since the assumption is that the father intended to do no more than appoint this son administrator so that his brothers should accept his authority. This is also the case if he made a disposition in favor of his wife. However, where he disposes of only part of his assets to his wife or son, or where he expressly states that an absolute gift is intended, the gift will be effective (*ibid.* 6:2–4). A gift by a woman before her marriage by way of a written disposition in favor of a person other than her prospective husband becomes ineffective if the latter should die or be divorced from her, since the disposition of her assets to another was made in order to keep these from her husband in the event of his inheriting her (*ibid.* 6:12). On the other hand, one who gives money for *kiddushin* (*marriage) which is known to be invalid, e.g., to one's own sister, intends to do so for the sake of gift (Kid. 46b). According to another opinion he gives the money as bailment.

A deaf-mute, an idiot, and a minor lack the legal capacity to make a gift, since they have no *da'at*, but the scholars prescribed that minors or deaf-mutes, depending on the degree of their understanding of the nature of the transaction, may effectively make certain gifts, by virtue of the rule of "for the sake of his sustenance" (Yad, Mekhirah 29; see *Sale). According to many opinions, they may also receive gifts, even in terms of biblical law (Tos. to Kid. 19a). The sages also prescribed that someone may acquire and receive a gift on behalf of a minor, even if the latter is no more than one day old (Rashbam to BB 156b).

Conditions of the Gift

The donor may make the gift conditional upon certain terms, failing which the gift will be void (see *Conditions). As in the case of a sale, the stipulating party must impose his conditions in such a manner as to make it clear and known to all that he intends in all seriousness that the gift be considered void if the conditions should not be fulfilled and that he is not merely making a statement at large (Yad, Zekhiyyah 3:6–7). When it is apparent from the circumstances that he intends to make his gift subject to the happening of certain events, the condition will be operative even if not expressly stated and, at times, even if not stated at all (Tos. to Kid. 49b). Thus a gift would be void if made by a person who transfers all his assets to another on hearing of his son's death, but subsequently finds out that his son is still alive – since the circumstances show that he would not have given away all his assets if he had known that his son was really alive (BB 164b). Similarly, a gift made to the family of one's bride is returnable, if the marriage should fail to take place and the gift was not of a perishable kind (*ibid.*). So too, where it is customary for wedding gifts to be sent to a friend in order that the latter shall give his own similar gifts to the donor upon his own marriage; the latter may claim such from the former if they are not given, gifts of this kind being regarded as similar to loans (Yad, Zekhiyyah 7).

The donor may stipulate that the gift is to be returned, in which event the gift is valid but the recipient is obliged to return it after the expiry of the stipulated period. During this stipulated period, however, this gift is the property of the recipient, like all his other property; but after the stipulated period, the recipient must return the property to its former owner, and failure to do so will amount to the nonfulfillment of a condition, voiding the transaction of a gift *ab initio* (Sh. Ar., ḤM 241:6). Similarly, the donor may stipulate that he is making a gift, first for the benefit of one person and then for another (see *Wills). Where the true intention of the donor is in doubt, his ultimate purpose may be deduced with the aid of the rule that "he who gives a gift gives in a liberal spirit." Thus if one says, "give to so-and-so a house capable of holding 100 barrels," and it is found to hold 120 barrels, the donee will have acquired the whole house (BB 71a). Generally, no responsibility is imposed in connection with the gift, and if it should be foreclosed, the donee will have no recourse against the donor, unless expressly provided for between the parties (Yad, Shekherim 13:1).

In the State of Israel the rules of gift are ordered in terms of the Gift Law, 1968, consisting of six material paragraphs. On the question of the degree of its reliance on Jewish law, see Elon in bibliography.

[Shalom Albeck]

In the State of Israel

INTERSPOUSAL GIFT. Issues involving the Gift Law frequently arise in the rabbinical courts in the context of division of property between a husband and wife in the course of divorce (see *Divorce; *Joint Property).

In File 2319/42, 13 PDR 144, the wife claimed that she was entitled to 50 percent of the rights in the apartment, based on the fact that the apartment was registered in the Land Registry Office in the name of both spouses. The husband claimed that the apartment was purchased with his money and that it was mistakenly registered in the wife's name as well, since he did not know at the time that she was mentally ill, and upon becoming aware of her mental illness he had immediately filed for divorce. The District Rabbinical Court in Tel Aviv ruled that, even if the apartment was purchased exclusively with the husband's money, he could not have done so without the loan that he received from the Housing Ministry, and this loan is only granted if the apartment is registered in the name of both spouses. Consequently, registration of the apartment in both of their names must be regarded as an unconditional gift made by the husband to his wife. The rabbinical court accordingly held that half the apartment did indeed belong to the wife.

An additional question in this field arose before the Supreme Court in the case of *Boehm* (HCJ 609/92 *Boehm v. The Rabbinical Court of Appeals*, 47(3) PD 288). A petition was filed to reverse the decision of the Rabbinical Court of Appeals, ruling that the apartment of a couple divorced as a result of the wife's infidelity would belong solely to the husband, because the half-interest in the apartment given by the husband to his wife was given on the condition that she not betray her husband. Even though this condition had not been expressly written or stipulated orally, the rabbinical court inferred that there had been an implied condition to that effect, based on the parties' presumed intention. (In addition, the Court ruled that the husband's offer to give the wife 30% of the value of the apartment as a compromise was not binding upon him once the wife refused the offer.) The appellant's argument was that the decision violated civil law principles in effect in the State of Israel, regarding equal rights of women as expressed in the Woman's Equal Rights Law, 5711 – 1952, and provisions of the Gift Law, 5728 – 1968, with respect to the possibility of revoking a gift. It also contradicted the provisions of the Basic Law: Human Dignity and Freedom.

The Supreme Court (*per* Justice Menachem Elon) ruled that, "as a factual finding had been made that the apartment was purchased with the husband's money, and that legally, the act constituted an interspousal gift, the Court's task was solely to ascertain what the parties presumably intended to accomplish by that act." As such, the issue did not concern the woman's equal rights or basic rights (p. 294 of the decision, *ibid.*). In addition, the Court ruled that, since the rabbinical court has jurisdiction to decide the matter, it must rule according to Jewish law. On the basis of these findings, the Court denied the petition, holding that the rabbinical court ruled according to Jewish religious law and that, accordingly, this gift must be viewed as a conditional gift. "He did not make the gift with the intention that she should leave him (i.e., the gift was given on the condition that if she leaves him he would not confer her any rights)" (*ibid.*).

Justice Elon noted further that, even under the provisions of the Gift Law, a gift may be given conditionally, and one can infer that such a condition exists on the basis of the presumed intention of parties, as evidenced by the circumstances. Indeed, in a number of cases the Supreme Court ruled regarding interspousal gifts, that circumstances occasionally indicate that the gift was given conditionally, and once the judicial forum has construed the gift contract as being conditional, the condition becomes an integral part of the contract. By the same token it is clear that the rabbinical court was entitled to interpret the contract as including a condition, pursuant to Jewish law.

The Supreme Court further stated in its decision that the rabbinical court had ruled that a gift between spouses is given on the condition that they will not divorce, even in the reverse situation – i.e., where the wife gave half-ownership in the apartment to her husband. In that case too the husband must return his half-ownership of the apartment to the wife (see also under *Condition).

A GIFT FROM A LIVING PERSON AND A WILL. The Supreme Court also considered the laws pertaining to gifts under Jewish law in the case of *Abergil* (CA 2555/98 *Abergil v. The Estate of Ben Yair*, 53(5) PD 673, *per* Justice Yitzchak Englard). In that case, a man gave his house as a gift to the appellant, by means of a written deed of gift signed by witnesses and certified by a notary. His intention was for the gift to be effective according to both the laws of the State and Jewish law. The giver wrote in the gift deed that he was giving his apartment as a gift to the appellant "from this time while I am alive until one hour before my death." The Supreme Court discussed the use of this formulation in halakhic literature. Its purpose is to effect conveyance of the gift in such a manner that title in the gift would be given at the time of the conveyance of the deed of gift, while its proceeds – the right to use the gift – would not be conveyed until after the death of the giver (*ibid.*, p. 681).

The Supreme Court notes that the "Jewish legal tradition … does not allow a person to bequeath property to "one who is not competent to inherit from him" and similarly does not allow for "disinheriting of an heir" (Sh. Ar, ḤM 281, A). Hence, the only permissible way under Jewish law to allocate an estate in deviation from the rules of inheritance is through a living gift – that is, by using language of a gift and not of inheritance. Consequently, the Court ruled that in essence this was a will pursuant to the Israeli law: "From a substantive perspective, and pursuant to the Succession Law, a gift that becomes effective upon death of the donor is a will … the essence of the transaction must be viewed as a true will within the meaning of the civil Succession Law. Therefore, since the will did not conform with a number of requirements prescribed by the Succession Law, 5725 – 1965, such as the requirement that the will not benefit any one person involved in drafting it (section 35 of the Law), it is void." The Court also stated that according to these holdings, "a Jewish person wishing to dispose of his estate in accordance with *halakhah* must ensure that he complies with the provisions of the civil law regarding wills and that there are formulations that satisfy the requirements of both legal systems" (*ibid.*, p. 686; see also under *Wills; *Succession).

See also, HP 138/98, *Medina v. Medina* (Haifa Dist. Ct., Judge Yaakobi-Shvili), regarding a fictitious gift; Civil File 443/94, *Mizrachi v. Mizrachi* (Jlm. Dist. Ct., Judge E. Rubinstein), regarding a gift that is subject to an implicit condition.

[Menachem Elon (2nd ed.)]

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GIFTER, MORDECAI (1916–1991), U.S. rabbi and talmudic scholar. Gifter was born in Richmond, Virginia, but he moved to Baltimore with his family, when his father realized that his son could not be adequately taught in a city with such limited Torah resources. He studied at Yeshiva College and at the Rabbi Isaac Elchanan Theological Seminary (RIETS) in New York under Rabbi Moshe Halevi Soloveitchik. On the advice of his uncle, Reb Yehuda Leib Zer, one of the directors of the RIETS, a newly ordained Rabbi Gifter went to study in the Telz yeshivah of Lithuania in the winter of 1932. He became very close to the *rosh yeshivah*, Reb Avrohom Yitzchok Bloch. With the expansion of the Ner Yisroel yeshivah in Baltimore by Rabbi Jacob Isaac Ruderman, Rabbi Gifter was invited to teach there. In 1943, Rabbi Gifter became rabbi in Waterbury, Connecticut, and one year later, his uncles, R. Eliyahu Meir Bloch and R. Chaim Mordechai Katz, founded the Telz yeshivah in Cleveland. They asked him to join them.

Gifter moved to Israel in 1976, founding the Telz yeshivah in Kiryat Telz-Stone near Jerusalem with the support of Irving Stone, Cleveland philanthropist. However, three years later, the *rosh yeshivah* of Telz in Cleveland, Rabbi Boruch Sorotzkin, died, and Gifter returned to Cleveland to succeed him. He remained at Telz until his death. The growth of Telz mirrored the growth and self confidence of ultra-Orthodoxy. A gifted speaker in Yiddish and English, Gifter was known for his humility. Introduced as a *gaon* in a local synagogue, he spent the first part of his discourse refuting the compliment and speaking of the denigration of learning and the inflation of compliments over the generations.

Among the works he wrote were *Hirhurei Teshuvah* (1977), *Torah Perspectives* (1986), and *Sefer Pirkei Moed* (1992).

[Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

GIKATILLA (Chiquitilla; Heb. **גיקטיליא), ISAAC IBN** (fl. second half of 10th century), Spanish Hebrew poet and grammarian. A student of *Menahem b. Jacob ibn Saruq, he took part in the controversy on grammar between him and *Dunash b. Labrat. Moses *Ibn Ezra in his *Kitab al-Muhadara wal-Mudhakara* (published by A. Halkin (1975), 31a) states that Isaac ibn Gikatilla and his contemporary the poet R. Isaac Mar Saul surpassed their immediate predecessors – Dunash b. Labrat, Menahem ibn Saruk, and other contemporary poets in nobility and eloquence, and that "both came from Lucena and had similar skills, but Ibn Gikatilla was superior because of his greater knowledge of Arabic culture." Moses ibn *Tibbon in his commentary (still in manuscript) to the *azharot* of

Solomon ibn *Gabirol mentions that Isaac ibn Gikatilla had also written some *azharot*. Only in 1950, however, were four manuscripts containing the majority of these *azharot* published by M. Zulay. The influence of *Saadiah Gaon is strongly marked in these poems. This type of *azharah* is the first of its kind to be written in Spain, and at the end of each the name "Isaac" appears. Besides this work, Moses ibn Ezra ascribed another verse to Gikatilla. This ascription has been authenticated by a number of scholars.

Isaac ibn Gikatilla, together with Judah ibn Daud (Ḥayyuj?) and Isaac ibn Kapron, who were also students of Menahem ibn Saruk, actively defended their teacher against the attacks of Dunash b. Labrat. In their reply (ed. together with Yehudi ben Sheshet's reply by S.G. Stern and by S. Benavente, see bibl.), they praise the grammatical works of Menahem, enumerate some of Dunash's errors, and try to invalidate his system of comparison between Hebrew and other Semitic languages, Arabic and Aramaic. In their criticism of the new metrical system introduced by Dunash adapting the Arabic basic elements, they accuse Dunash of having corrupted the Hebrew language by adapting it to the Arabic meter. *Yehudi b. Sheshet, the pupil of Dunash, replied and from his words "Behold, the greatest among you, ben Gikatilla" (Stern, pt. 2, p. 17) it can be deduced that Gikatilla was presumably the most outstanding scholar among his colleagues. Yehudi b. Sheshet's enumeration of the errors of Gikatilla makes it possible to estimate the extent of the latter's contribution to the jointly written reply of Menahem's disciples. Gikatilla was a teacher of the grammarian Jonah *Ibn Janaḥ whom he encouraged in the study of the Arabic language. Ibn Janaḥ, in many of his own works, cites Gikatilla without, however, mentioning the source. Other grammarians of the Middle Ages, such as Judah *Ibn Bal'am, also quote him.

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[Nissan Netzer]

GIKATILLA (Chiquatilla), JOSEPH BEN ABRAHAM (1248–c. 1325), Spanish kabbalist whose works exerted a profound and permanent influence on kabbalism. Gikatilla, who was born in Medinaceli, Castile, lived for many years in Segovia. Between 1272 and 1274 he studied under Abraham *Abulafia, who praises him as his most successful pupil. Gikatilla, who was at first greatly influenced by Abulafia's ecstatic, prophetic system of kabbalism, soon showed a greater affinity for philosophy.

His first extant work, *Ginnat Egoz* (1615), written in 1274, is an introduction to the mystic symbolism of the alphabet, vowel points, and the Divine Names. The title derives from the initial letters of the kabbalistic elements *gematria* ("numerology"), *notarikon* ("acrostics"), *temurah* ("permutation"). In common with his mentor, Gikatilla also links this mystic lore with the system practiced by *Maimonides. This work makes no suggestion of the theosophical doctrine of *Sefirot* or "spheres" (see *Kabbalah), later adopted by Gikatilla. The *Sefirot* here are identified with the philosophical term "intelligences." On the other hand, the author shows himself familiar with the revelatory mysticism of *Jacob b. Jacob ha-Kohen, although the latter is not mentioned by name. Several of Gikatilla's other writings also deal with the theory of letter combinations and alphabetical mysticism. However, in the 1280s, Gikatilla evidently made contact with *Moses b. Shem Tov de Leon, and thereafter the two exerted a mutual influence on each other's kabbalistic development.

Before writing *Ginnat Egoz*, Gikatilla had written a commentary on the Song of Songs (but not the one in the Paris manuscript 790 which bears indications that Gikatilla wrote it in 1300 in Segovia). The later work endorses the doctrine of *Shemitot*, a theory of cosmic development based on the sabbatical year, as expounded in the Sefer ha-*Temunah. Gikatilla also compiled *Kelalei ha-Mitzvot*, explaining *mitzvot* by a literal interpretation of *halakhah* (Ms. Paris 713); a number of *piyyutim* (Habermann, in *Mizraḥ u-Ma'arav*, 5 (1932), 351; Gruenwald, in *Tarbiz*, 36 (1966/67), 73–89), some devoted to kabbalistic themes; and *Sefer ha-Meshalim*, a book of proverbs to which he added his own commentary, whose ethical precepts were close to kabbalistic principles. (The proverbs alone published by I. Davidson, in *Sefer ha-Yovel shel "Hadoar"* (1927), 116–22; the book with commentary, in Ms. Oxford 1267). While Gikatilla wrote numerous works on Kabbalah, many others have been attributed to him erroneously. A. Altmann, for instance, has shown that Gikatilla was not the author of the lengthy *Sefer Ta'amei ha-Mitzvot*. Written by an unknown kabbalist about 1300 (Cambridge Ms.) and also attributed to Isaac ibn Farḥi, it had a wide circulation. A number of treatises await clarification as to authorship.

Gikatilla's most influential kabbalistic work, written before 1293, is his *Sha'arei Orah* (1559), a detailed explanation of kabbalistic symbolism and the designations of the ten *Sefirot*. He adopted a system intermediate between that of the Geronese school of kabbalists and the *Zohar. This is one of the first writings to disclose knowledge of portions of the Zohar, although it departs from its approach in several fundamental respects.

Sefer Sha'arei Ẓedek (1559) provides another explanation of the theory of *Sefirot*, reversing their normal succession. Other published works by Gikatilla are *Sha'ar ha-Nikkud* (1601), a mystical treatise on vocalization; *Perush Haggadah shel Pesaḥ*, a kabbalistic commentary on the Passover *Haggadah* (1602); a number of essays on various subjects (publ. in *Sefer Ereẓ ba-Levanon*, ed. by Isaac Perlov, Vilna, 1899); kabbalistic works remaining in manuscript are: mystical treatises on certain *mitzvot*; a commentary on the Vision of the

Chariot of Ezekiel (numerous manuscripts); and considerable portions of a biblical commentary continuing the system followed in *Ginnat Egoz* (manuscript in JTS, New York, Deinard 451). A work on disciplines (*"pe'ulot"*) in practical Kabbalah was extant in the 17th century (Joseph Delmedigo, *Sefer Novellot Ḥokhmah* (1631), 195a). A collection of kabbalistic responsa on points of *halakhah* from the second half of the 14th century has been erroneously ascribed to Gikatilla. Joseph *Caro made use of them in his *Beit Yosef*. Problems of Kabbalah put to Joshua b. Meir ha-Levi by Gikatilla are in manuscript, Oxford, 1565. Also extant are a number of prayers, such as *Tefillat ha-Yiḥud, Me'ah Pesukim* ("100 Verses," on the *Sefirot*), and *Pesukim al-Shem ben Arba'im u-Shetayim Otiyyot* ("Verses on the 42-Lettered Divine Name"). Commentaries were written on *Sha'arei Orah* by an anonymous 15th-century kabbalist (publ. by G. Scholem, in his *Kitvei Yad be-Kabbalah* (1930), 80–83) and by Mattathias *Delacrut (mainly included with the work). A summary was translated into Latin by the apostate Paul Riccius (1516).

Gikatilla made an original attempt to provide a detailed yet lucid and systematic exposition of kabbalism. He was also the originator of the doctrine equating the infinite, **Ein Sof*, with the first of the ten *Sefirot*. The conception was rejected by the majority of kabbalists from the 16th century onward, but his works continued to be highly esteemed and were published in many editions.

[Gershom Scholem]

Since 1970 a series of books by Gikatilla has been printed from manuscripts. The outstanding among them is the *Commentary on the Merkavah* (eds. D. Abrams and A. Farber Ginnat, Cherub Press, Los Angeles, 2005). The possible contribution of Gikatilla to the book of the Zohar has been discussed by Y. Liebes, *Studies in the Zohar* (SUNY Press, Albany, 1993), 98–105.

[Moshe Idel (2nd ed.)]

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GIKATILLA (Chiquatilla/Chiquitilla), MOSES BEN SAMUEL HA-KOHEN (11th century), Spanish Jewish liturgical poet, Hebrew translator, and grammarian. Born in Córdoba of good family, he lived principally in Saragossa and, it seems, traveled extensively. One of a group of youths favored and supported by *Samuel ha-Nagid, Gikatilla wrote poems of praise dedicated to his benefactor and to the latter's son Joseph. Most of his works in the fields of grammar, Bible exegesis, and other subjects have been lost except for quotations in the works of others, and are now known only through laudatory or critical references to them. Abraham *Ibn Ezra refers to him as the "greatest of the grammarians." From the quotations ascribed to him, it can be deduced that he wrote commentaries in Arabic to most of the books of the Bible. He mentions, always with a note of criticism, *Saadiah Gaon, Hayyuj, Samuel ha-Nagid, Ibn Janaḥ, Yeshu'ah, the Oriental *paytanim*, Midrashim, Christian translations of Psalms, and others. He made extensive use of the Targum. His Arabic commentary on Psalms still remains in manuscript; the only incomplete copy has the commentaries on Psalms 12, 42, 44, 69, 74, 78, 104, 109, 119, 141, and 144 (in fragmentary versions); the commentaries on Psalms 43, 70–73, 79–103, 110–118, and 145–150 are lost. The text of this copy is the work of Ibn Gikatilla, as is shown by his own quotations in his treatise on masculine and feminine Hebrew gender. Ibn Gikatilla says explicitly that he had written earlier commentaries on Job, Isaiah, and possibly on Jeremiah and Amos. The passages in this unique copy demonstrate that Ibn Gikatilla's commentary has four levels, paying attention to semantics, morphology, syntax, and exegesis. Although the two first levels continue the line of the Andalusian Hebrew grammarians from the 10th century, especially of the *Kitab al-Nutaf* by Hayyuj, they combine the oldest rabbinical tradition with the intellectual trends of his time. The original exegetic method developed by Ibn Gikatilla was very critical, of high intellectual quality, and had a profound influence on other Andalusian authors. According to Ibn Gikatilla, the Psalms are prayers and songs. He usually adopted the literal meaning (*haqiqa*) of the text and used the figurative meaning (*majaz*) for unusual texts like Psalm 26:7: "Gates, raise yours heads." Ibn Gikatilla usually rejects miracles; he is probably the most rationalistic of all medieval commentators. Ibn Bilam accused him of "agnosticism." Other extant fragments of his exegetical writings suggest also that he was a bold and original commentator. He was among the few who explained the aspirations of the prophets as applying to their own times and not to those of the Messiah. He was the first exegete to attribute the chapters from Isaiah 40 onward to a prophet other than Isaiah. On Isaiah 41, the following is reported in his name: "These first consolations, from the middle of the book onward, refer to the Second Temple" (i.e., not to the messianic age). Concerning Psalm 106:47 he said, "This psalmist was in Babylon." Similar comments on other chapters are also cited in his name. He wrote a *Sefer Dikduk* ("Book of Grammar"): *The Book on the Masculine and Feminine* (*Kitab al-Tadkir wal-Ta'nit*). This monographic lexicographical work, probably inspired in the Muslim book by Anbary from Basra, became quite famous, and it is quoted in other Andalusian works as "small but tasty." Gikatilla also translated from Arabic into Hebrew the work of Ḥayyuj on weak and geminate Hebrew verbs for non-Arabic-speaking Jews from North Spain, and possibly also some works of Samuel ha-Nagid. As a translator, he innovated and fixed the Hebrew terminology for Hayyuj's theories, which is still used today. He added hundreds of glosses to the original Arabic version, sometimes reducing and sometimes extending the text, and also included some explicit criticism on Hayyuj. In that way Gikatilla offered an updated version of the original Arabic work.

The scanning excerpts of Gikatilla's commentaries were collected by S. Poznański. Of his Hebrew hymns and poems, only ten have been published. Moses *Ibn Ezra said of him: "He was among the greatest of the exalted rhetoricians and poets in both languages, but he had a soft spot that damaged his privileged position" (*Kitab al-Muhadara wal-Mudhakara,* ed. A. Halkin (1975), 36a). His poems, which are rhymed and stylistically characteristic of his time, include religious compositions, friendship and love poems, and drinking songs; they were published by Brody (1937). His commentary on Psalms has been preserved in the manuscript Firk I-3583 (Finkel edited and translated three of them into Hebrew). His Hebrew translation of Hayyuj's grammatical works was edited by Nutt. The fragments belonging to his *Treatise on Hebrew Gender* were translated into Hebrew and published by Allony. Bacher edited an Arabic Targum commentary on Job that may also be his work.

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[Abraham Meir Habermann / José Martínez (2nd ed.)]

GIKOW, RUTH (1915–1982), U.S. artist, known primarily as a figurative painter of murals and easel paintings. Gikow was also involved in socially conscious organizations, worked on WPA-sponsored murals, and held several gallery exhibitions before her death.

Gikow was born in Russian Ukraine to Boris and Lena Gikow. Her family fled after a pogrom and spent the first years of Ruth's life wandering in Eastern Europe, at one point living in a gypsy camp outside Bucharest. They immigrated to New York City in 1920, when Ruth was five years old. After graduating from Washington Irving High School with honors in art, Gikow won admission to Cooper Union, where she studied with regionalist painter John Steuart Curry. A scholarship enabled her to study with social realist painter Raphael Soyer, whose progressive sympathies were more to Gikow's political tastes. Another lasting influence was Cooper Union's director Austin Purvis, who took students into the urban streets, encouraging them to represent daily life in their art. Gikow began to paint scenes of common people on the street, in stores, and in parks, exhibiting a dedication to figurative art and humanity that would characterize her art throughout her life. During the 1930s Gikow became involved with activist artists' organizations like the Artists' Union and the American Artists' Congress. In the late 1930s she taught at the American Artists School, successor to the radical left-wing John Reed Club Art School.

In 1940, while working with the Mural Division of the New York City WPA Art Project, Gikow executed a mural for the children's wing of Bronx Hospital. Entitled *Children's Indoor and Outdoor Activities*, the mural depicted a world with children and animals living together in harmony. In 1943, the artist was featured in live demonstrations of mural painting at the World's Fair, in which Gikow stood on a 12-foot scaffolding while visitors watched her paint and listened to her explain the process. She also painted commercial murals for retail stores, including Macy's. By 1946, when the artist held her first one-person show of oil paintings, she had participated in group shows at the A.C.A. Gallery and elsewhere, designed textiles, and produced illustrations for such books as *Crime and Punishment* and *History of the Jews in America* (a children's text). Gikow was a strong colorist, often mixing her oil paints with turpentine to achieve a more fluid effect.

In 1946 she married painter Jack Levine and had one daughter. Her paintings were purchased by major art museums including the Metropolitan, the Whitney, the Museum of Modern Art, and the National Institute of Arts and Letters in New York, the Smithsonian Institute in Washington, the Philadelphia Museum of Art, and the Tel Aviv Museum, as well as collections at Brandeis University, New York University, and elsewhere. By the time of her death, Gikow had received several honors, including a National Institute of Arts and Letters grant in 1959, two Childe Hassam awards, and a Smith College citation as one of America's ten outstanding women artists.

[Lauren B. Strauss (2nd ed.)]

GILADI, ALEX, Israeli member of the International Olympic Committee and vice president for global operations at NBC. Giladi began his career as a sportswriter in 1964. He worked until 1972 at *Yedioth Ahronoth*, and then moved to Israeli TV, becoming head of the sports department in 1975. In 1981 he became vice president for global operations at NBC, responsible for all of the network's foreign sports coverage. In 1985 he became a member of the TV and Radio Committee of the international Olympic Committee. In 1993 he was named president of KESHET, one of the commercial TV networks that run Israel's Channel 2. In 1994 he became Israel's first and only delegate to the International Olympic Committee. In that capacity he had the honor of handing out medals to Israeli athletes in the Olympic Games. He was also the first Israeli to carry the Olympic torch, in Athens in 2004.

WEBSITE: olympic.achla.co.il.

[Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

GILADI (**Butelbroit**)**, ISRAEL** (1886–1918), pioneer in Ereẓ Israel and leader of *Ha-Shomer. Born in Calarasi, Bessarabia, Giladi was a member of Po'alei Zion and an advocate of

Jewish self-defense. In 1905 he went to Ereẓ Israel and joined the Jewish laborers in the settlements. In 1907 he was one of the founding members of the Bar Giora secret defense society and a year later joined the collective labor group in *Sejera. When Ha-Shomer was founded in 1909, Giladi was elected to its committee and put in charge of the defense of settlements in Galilee, Samaria, and Judea. He became acting head of the organization in 1913 when Israel *Shochat, its leader, left for Constantinople. During World War I he proposed the establishment of an agricultural settlement to serve as a base for Ha-Shomer and, in the summer of 1917, he and a group of friends established Kefar Bag (named after the Bar Giora society) south of Metullah. He died in an influenza epidemic. Giladi was the author of *Divrei Yemei ha-Aguddah* ("History of the Association"), a source for the history of Ha-Shomer (published in *Koveẓ ha-Shomer*, 1937). After his death, the village he had helped found, Kefar Giladi, was named after him.

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[Yehuda Slutsky]

GILĀN, province of Iran situated in the southern part of the Caspian Sea and to the north of Alborz Mountains at the delta of the river Sefid-Rud. Gilān's population density, within its present borders, is 14,000 people per square mile and at the beginning of the 20th century had a population of about half a million, a majority of whom were the original Gilān people who spoke the Gilaki dialect and minorities who were Armenians, Gypsies, Jews, and a few thousand immigrants from Russia.

The beginning of the Jewish settlement in Gilān is not known, but the first reference to Jews living in Chākhān, a place north of the city of Lāhijān, appears in Mir Zahir al-Din's writings (1441/2). The second source is the Chronicle of *Bābāi ben Lutf (Ms JTS 401, fol. 20b) referring to the city of Rasht (17th century). The third source belongs to the Armenian Bishop Arakel (17th century), who mentions the city of Fuman. The fourth source is the record of Ya'kov Dilmanian regarding the transfer of the Jews from Gilān and Deylamān to Mashhad (see *Mahshad). Jaubert (p. 435) and Rabino (pp. 70–71) mention that about 50 Jewish families lived in Rasht in miserable conditions (during 1806–09).

In the plague of 1830 about one third of the then 60,000 inhabitants of Rasht perished. According to Curzon (vol.2, p. 385) the city of Rasht looked like a ghost town. The plague certainly affected the local Jews, too. Levy (p. 1005) claims that many Jews in Rasht perished in the massacre which, according to him, occurred around 1750. There is a place in Rasht called Yehudi-Tappeh (Jewish Height) but no one remembers exactly when it was populated by Jews.

Another important city in Gilān is Siyāhkal whose Jewish population holds a tradition saying that they were the descendants of King David. Unlike the Jews of Rasht, the Jews of Siyāhkal speak Gilaki among themselves, which may indicate their antiquity in Gilān. According to Rabino (pp. 33, 80) there were between 15 and 20 Jewish families in Siyāhkal working as petty merchants at the beginning of the 20th century. There was a pogrom in Siāhkal in which many Jews were killed, some converted to Islam, and others left the city to live in Rasht. It is possible that this pogrom occurred around the year 1880 (Netzer, Siyāhkal).

Threre are also general references to the existence of Jews in several settlements in Gilān such as Eframjān, Khomām, Yahud-Kelayeh, Lāhijān, Fumanāt, Rudbār, and others about which we know very little (Netzer, Siyāhkal).

Up to 1948, Rasht and the sea port Pahlavi were relatively the most populated cities as far as Jews, Armenians, and Muslims were concerned. Most of the Jews were immigrants from *Kashan, *Isfahan, and Siyāhkal, almost all of whom worked in textile business. At that time, Rasht had about 30 Jewish families, one synagogue, and one elementary school called Koresh. The Jewish population of Pahlavi numbered less than half of that of Rasht. After the Islamic Revolution in Iran there remained only one Jewish family in Rasht. There are no reports on the existence of Jewish communities in the early 21st century in other cities and towns of the province of Gilān.

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[Amnon Netzer (2nd ed.)]

GILBERT, BRAD (1961–), U.S. tennis player, winner of 20 singles titles and successful pro coach. Born in Oakland, California, the youngest of three children in a family of tennis prodigies, Gilbert attended Pepperdine University, where he was the 1982 NCAA singles runner-up. Though saddled with a weak backhand, an average net game, and little natural ability, Gilbert's court smarts, preparation, tenacity, and an ability to engage in mental warfare on the court helped him win 20 singles titles and three doubles titles during his 14-year career. Gilbert never made it past the quarterfinals (1987 U.S. Open, 1990 Wimbledon) of any of the four major tournaments, but he was consistently ranked among the top 40 players, peaking at No. 4 in January 1990. Gilbert compiled a lifetime 519–288 career record, including 10–5 in Davis Cup play. He won a bronze medal in men's singles at the 1988 Olympics, and won gold at the 1989 Maccabiah, defeating Amos Mansdorf.

Gilbert began coaching at the end of his playing career, guiding Andre Agassi and later Andy Roddick to No. 1 world rankings. Gilbert's knowledge of the tactical side of tennis – how to recognize and attack an opponent's weaknesses – resulted in his being regarded as one of the top five coaches in the game. Gilbert, inducted into the Intercollegiate Tennis Association Men's Hall of Fame in 2001, is the author of *Winning*

Ugly (1993), and *I've Got Your Back – Coaching Top Performers from Center Court to the Corner Office* (2004).

[Elli Wohlgelernter (2nd ed.)]

GILBERT, FELIX (1905–1991), U.S. historian. Born in Baden, Germany, Gilbert immigrated to the U.S. in 1936. During World War II he served as research analyst in the Office of Strategic Services and the U.S. Department of State (1943–46). In 1946 he joined the faculty of Bryn Mawr College, rising to the position of professor of history in 1948. From 1962 he was professor at the School of Historical Studies at the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton.

Gilbert's principal scholarly interests were the Italian Renaissance and diplomatic history of the 18th and 20th centuries. Among his major works were *Hitler Directs His War* (1951), *To the Farewell Address: Ideas of Early American Foreign Policy* (1961), *Niccolò Machiavelli e la vita culturale del suo tempo* (1964), *Machiavelli and Guicciardini: Politics and History in Sixteenth-century Florence* (1965), *The End of the European Era: 1890 to the Present* (1970), *The Pope, His Banker, and Venice* (1980), and *A European Past: Memoirs, 1905–1945* (1988). With G.A. Craig he edited *The Diplomats, 1919–1939* (2 vols, 1953–63), and he was the general editor of the *Norton History of Modern Europe* (1971).

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[Oscar Isaiah Janowsky / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

GILBERT, INA (1932–), Canadian painter and president of the Society of Canadian Artists. Born into a family of painters in Toronto, Gilbert graduated in political science and economics. Later she took up interior design, began painting at night, and studied techniques of etching. Her works display a bold sense of color and a quality of whimsy. They are executed in acrylic paint on canvas or on sheets of plexiglass where she creates an appearance of depth by using two or three superimposed sheets.

GILBERT, SIR MARTIN (1936–), British historian. Born in London, the son of a jeweler, Gilbert was educated at Highgate School and Magdalen College, Oxford. His earliest work concerned British foreign policy in the 1930s, which in 1962 brought him into contact with Randolph Churchill. Between 1962 and 1968 he worked as research assistant to Randolph Churchill on the official biography of Sir Winston Churchill. From 1968 Gilbert was the sole author of what became the most voluminous biography ever written, totaling over nine million words and running to six volumes plus an as yet unfinished set of companion volumes containing documents. Appointed a fellow of Merton College, Oxford, in 1962, Gilbert remained on an extended sabbatical while engaged in the biography; during this time he also produced a series of major studies on the creation of the State of Israel, the Holocaust, and World War II. A tireless worker on behalf of Soviet Jewry, he was at one time writing over a dozen letters a day to "refuseniks" and became personally known to many Russian Jews during his frequent visits to the U.S.S.R. He has written on the situation of Soviet Jewry and authored a biography of Anatoly Shcharansky. In 1987 he was a non-governmental representative on the U.N. Commission on Human Rights (43rd session) in Geneva. He is a highly popular author, although some historians have criticized his preference for pure narrative history. He has defended his choice to abstain from judgments and has said that "by what you select you make plain your views." Volume 6 of the Churchill biography, *Finest Hour, 1939–41*, won the 1983 Wolfson Award. In 1988 he was awarded the Ka-Zetnik Prize for Literature by Yad Vashem and the Holocaust Memorial Foundation. Since 1978 Gilbert has been a governor of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. He has homes in London and Jerusalem.

In addition to the Churchill biography, completed in 1988, Gilbert's publications include *The Appeasers* (with Richard Gott; 1963); *The European Powers 1900–45* (1965); *The Roots of Appeasement* (1966); *Exile and Return: A Study of the Emergence of Jewish Statehood* (1978); *Churchill: A Photographic Portrait* (1974); *Churchill's Political Philosophy* (1981); *Auschwitz and the Allies* (1981); *The Jews of Hope: The Plight of Soviet Jewry Today (1984); Jerusalem, Rebirth of a City* (1985); *Shcharansky: Hero of Our Time* (1986); *The Holocaust: The Jewish Tragedy* (1986); *Second World War* (1989); three edited collections of documents; and 12 historical atlases including *Atlas of Jewish History* and *Atlas of the Holocaust*. More recently, he completed a three-volume history of the 20th century and *The Righteous* (2003). Gilbert received a knighthood in 1995.

[David Cesarani]

GILBERT, MELISSA ELLEN (1964–), U.S. actress. Born in Los Angeles, Calif., Gilbert was adopted the day after her birth by comedian Paul Gilbert and his actress wife Barbara (née Crane). Melissa Gilbert's grandfather, Harry Crane, was creator and writer of *The Honeymooners*. She first appeared in a commercial for baby clothes at the age of two, but her parents decided to keep her out of show business until she turned seven. She then started filming more than 30 commercials, including sports for McDonald's and Crest. At nine, in the summer of 1973, she was cast in the role of Laura Ingalls for the NBC TV series *Little House on the Prairie*, which ran until 1983. In 1979, she starred as Helen Keller opposite Patty Duke as Annie Sullivan in *The Miracle Worker*, which won an Emmy Award, and in 1980 Gilbert played Anne Frank in the NBC adaptation of *The Diary of Anne Frank*. She became involved with Rob Lowe in 1981 and moved to Manhattan after *Little House*. In 1985, Gilbert became the youngest person to ever receive a star on the Hollywood Walk of Fame, and in 1987 she earned an Outer Critic's Circle Award for best debuting actress in the off-Broadway show *A Shayna Maidel*. Gilbert and Lowe ended their relationship in 1987, and soon after in 1988 she married actor Bo Brinkman. The two had a son, Dakota Paul, but the couple divorced in 1992. Gilbert returned to Hollywood, where she continued to act, mostly in television.

She married actor Bruce Boxleitner in 1995 and the two had a son together, Michael Garrett. In November 2000, Gilbert was elected to the Screen Actors Guild board and then became its third female president. On November 2, 2001, she was elected a vice president of the AFL-CIO, and in 2002 was re-elected as SAG president. Gilbert also has two stepsons, Sam Boxleitner and Lee Davis Boxleitner, and her siblings include actress-director Sara Gilbert and actor Jonathan Gilbert.

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[Adam Wills (2nd ed.)]

GILBERT, MILTON (1909–1979), U.S. economist. Gilbert, who was born in Philadelphia, joined the U.S. Department of Commerce in 1938 as editor of the department's *Survey of Current Business*, later becoming director of national and statistical accounts. He also worked at the Organization for European Economic Cooperation (OEEC), and from 1960 to 1975 served as economic adviser to the Bank of International Settlements in Basle. His major interests were social accounting, business fluctuations, foreign exchange, and international finance. He strongly advocated that an increase in the official price of gold was essential to bringing about the repair of the international monetary system.

Gilbert's publications include *International Comparison of National Products and the Purchasing Power of Currencies* (1954), *Problems of the International Monetary System* (1966), *The Gold-Dollar System* (1968), *Export Prices and Export Cartels* (1971), and *Quest for World Monetary Order* (1980).

[Joachim O. Ronall / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

GILBERT, SHLOMO (1885–1942), Yiddish writer. Born in Radzymin to a ḥasidic family, he spent his adult years in Warsaw before perishing in Treblinka. His realistic tales and short dramas, which reflected his own kabbalistic-mystical tendency, appeared from 1907 in the Yiddish journals *Haynt* and *Literarishe Bleter.* In addition to the collection *Noveln* ("Short Stories," 1922), he published "*Meshiekhs Trit*" ("The Steps of Messiah," 1924), a dramatic poem in three acts in the Hebrew journal *Ha-Tekufah,* and the comedy, *Der Keler* ("The Cellar," 1927). A definitive edition of his works appeared in 1954, with an introduction and evaluation by the critic S. *Niger.

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[Melech Ravitch / Edward Portnoy (2nd ed.)]

GILBERT, WALTER (1932–), U.S. molecular biologist and Nobel laureate. Gilbert was born in Boston and graduated from Harvard University (B.A. 1953, M.A. 1954) and received his doctorate from Cambridge University in mathematics in 1957. Appointed assistant professor of physics at Harvard from 1959 to 1964, he was an associate professor in biophysics from 1964 to 1969 and professor of molecular biology from 1969 to 1972; during that period he was an American Cancer Society professor. He left Harvard in 1981 to become CEO of Biogen, N.V. Returning to Harvard (1985–2002), he was the Carl M. Loeb University Professor. As emeritus, he was a managing partner of Bioventures Investors in 2005, a venture capital fund investing in biotechnology. He has founded many biotechnology companies. Among them are Biogen, Myriad Genetics, Memory Pharmaceuticals, and Paratek Pharmaceuticals.

He is a member of the National Academy of Science, the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, the American Physics Society, and the American Society of Biological Chemistry. He is an overseer of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston and on the collections committee of the Fogg Museum of Art, Harvard.

Gilbert's research has been in the fields of biophysics, genetic control mechanism, and protein DNA interaction. He worked extensively in the field of the early evolution of genes. He is the recipient of many awards, culminating in the Nobel Prize in chemistry in 1980, along with Frederick Sanger and Paul *Berg.

Gilbert is married to Celia Gilbert, poet and painter, who is the daughter of I.F. *Stone.

GILBOA (Heb. גִּלְבֹּעַ), mountain ridge branching off to the N.E. from the Samarian Hills and lying on a S.E.–N.W. axis. The ridge is an upfaulted block that drops precipitously to the Beth-Shean Valley in the east and the Harod Valley in the northeast and more gradually to the southern Jezreel Valley in the west. Along the fault lines at the mountain's foot in the east and the northeast are some of the most plentiful natural springs in Israel. The entire length of the ridge is 10½ mi. (about 17 km.). The summit is 479 m. high, lying 1¼ mi. (about 2 km.) south of Kafr Faqūʿa. It is from this village that the Arabic name for the mountain, Jebel Faqūʿa, was derived.

Mt. Gilboa was the scene of the battle in which Saul and his sons were killed (I Sam. 31:1–6). David cursed the mountain in his lament over Saul and his sons (II Sam. 1:21): "Ye mountains of Gilboa, let there be no dew nor rain upon you, neither fields of choice fruits." The ancient name is preserved in the present-day Arab village of Jalbūn, situated southeast of Kafr Faqūʿa. Jalbūn is mentioned by Eusebius as Gelbous (Onom., 72:10). In September 1921 kibbutz *En-Harod was established at the foot of the mountain, next to the En-Harod spring (the kibbutz was transferred in 1929 to the northern side of the Harod Valley; on the side of the mountain itself is moshav Gidonah – established in 1949 – which initially bore the name Gilboa). In the time of the British Mandate, especially between 1936 and 1939, Gilboa served as a base for Arab raids on the Jewish settlements in the Harod and Beth-Shean Valleys. Similarly, the Arab Legion and irregulars fortified positions on Mt. Gilboa during the *War of Independence in the spring of 1948, with the aim of cutting off the Harod and Beth-Shean Valley settlements from the west. This danger was overcome with the occupation of the villages of Zarʿīn (see *Yizreʿel) and Mazār by a *Palmaḥ detachment. The 1949 armistice border, following the military front, gave Israel a foothold on the northern and eastern rims of the mountain and left to Jordan most of its inhabited parts in the west and south. After the *Six-Day War, this border marked the northeastern corner of the occupied region of Samaria.

Apart from the new villages founded in the 1950s and 1960s at the foot of Mt. Gilboa in the west, north, and east, five settlements came into being on the mountain proper – Nurit, established in 1950 as a moshav and later transformed into a *Gadna training camp and nature study center; Ma'aleh Gilboa, founded in 1962 as a Naḥal outpost, which became a civilian kibbutz affiliated with *Ha-Kibbutz ha-Dati in 1967; Kibbutz Meirav, also affiliated with Ha-Kibbutz ha-Dati; Malkisuaḥ, a drug rehabilitation village founded in 1990; and Gan Ner, a community founded in 1985. The Jewish National Fund planted a forest on Mt. Gilboa with over 3,000,000 trees – one of the country's largest – and built many access roads and paths opening the mountain for tourism. A large area has been declared a nature reserve where plant species exclusive to Mt. Gilboa are afforded protection.

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[Abraham J. Brawer / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

GILBOA, AMIR (1917–1984), Israeli poet. Born in Radzywilow, Volhynia, Gilboa went to Palestine in 1937, working initially as a laborer. He began to publish poetry while serving in the Jewish Brigade during World War II. The accent on linguistic sensitivity in the 1940s prompted Gilboa to abandon flowery rhetoric, but he nevertheless preserved the multilevel allusions inherent in this style. His poetry with its developed lyrical sense and complex structure speaks with compassion, and his blending of personal and national motifs is reminiscent of Bialik. Gilboa sensitively and at times enigmatically describes the feelings of the individual within the crowd in a surrealistic dream atmosphere. These feelings range from the fear and expectation of the apocalypse to an expression of wild and childlike joy. A similar atmosphere distinguishes his poems about biblical characters, but the aura of nightmare is present as the landscapes and figures of his childhood and youth are darkened by the Holocaust and the death of his relatives. Gilboa's use of various levels of language without the perspective of distance or irony draws him into a confrontation with the primordial element in Hebrew poetry, particularly the Psalms. His confidence in his own personal vision enables him to create poems wherein ancient words and experiences are suffused with wonder and freshness. The same compassion that typifies his attitude toward human beings is also seen in Gilboa's relationship with trees and plants, their tactile values and biological vitality replacing human attributes. He received the Israel Prize in 1982 for Hebrew poetry.

Gilboa's four volumes of poetry are *Le'ut* ("Fatigue," 1942); *Sheva Rashuyyot* (1949); *Shirim ba-Boker ba-Boker* (1953); *Keḥulim va-Adumim* (1963); and "*Raẓiti Likhtov Siftei Yesheinim*" (1968). His *Collected Works* appeared in 1987. Selected poems in English translation appeared under the title *The Light of Lost Suns* (1979). Warren Bargad wrote a study in English entitled *To Write the Lips of Sleepers: The Poetry of Amir Gilboa* (1994). For English translations of his works, see Goell, Bibliography, 24.

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[Dan Tsalka]

GILBOA, JACOB (1920–), Israeli composer. Born in Czechoslovakia, he studied architecture in Vienna and continued his studies at the Haifa Technological Institute after immigrating to Israel in 1938. Later he studied composition with Josef *Tal and Paul *Ben-Haim and graduated from the Jerusalem Music Academy and Teachers Seminary in 1947. In 1963 he took classes with Stockhausen and Pousseur at the Cologne new music courses. His early style was post-Romantic with Mediterranean elements and later he combined avant-garde style with Oriental elements. His style is unique and difficult to define. Among his many awards were the Israel Composers and Authors Association Prize on four occasions and the Prime Minister's Award in 1983. He has also represented Israel at the ISCM festival four times (1969, 1973, 1978, 1989). His works include *Seven Little Insects* for piano (1955); *Chagall Windows* (1965); *Crystals* (1967); *From the Dead Sea Scrolls* (1972); *Cedars* (1972); *Reflections on 3 Chords of Alban Berg* for piano (1979), *3 Lyric Pieces in Mediterranean Style* for orchestra (1984), *Steps of Spring* for children's/women's chorus (1986); and works with tape such as *3 Vocalises for Peter Breughel*, (1979) and *The Grey Colours of Käthe Kollwitz* (1990). Gilboa also wrote lyrics for many Israeli folk songs.

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[Uri (Erich) Toeplitz and Yohanan Boehm /
Gila Flam and Israela Stein (2nd ed.)]

GILEAD (Heb. גִּלְעָד), the central region east of the Jordan, approximately between the river Yarmuk in the north and the northern end of the Dead Sea in the south. The name Gilead is explained in the Bible as deriving from Gal-ed, in Aramaic Yegar-Sahadutha (Gen. 31:47), and there are some scholars who relate its meaning to the Arabic *Jalʿad*, meaning "harsh," "rude," because of the mountainous and rocky nature of the region.

According to the Bible, Israelite Transjordan was divided in three main regions: the plain, Gilead, and the Bashan (Deut. 3:10; Josh. 20:8; II Kings 10:33). The plain is the flat height north of the Arnon which was the scene of constant battle between Israel and Moab. The Bashan is the northern part of Transjordan north of the Yarmuk, for which Israel competed with the Arameans. Gilead is the clearly Israelite section of Transjordan and, therefore, in its broad meaning, encompassed central Transjordan, on both sides of the Jabbok, from the Sea of Galilee to the Dead Sea (Gen. 37:25; Josh. 22:9, 15; II Sam. 2:9; II Kings 10:33; Ezek. 47:18; Amos 1:3; etc.). Different parts of the Bible mention the two halves of Gilead, north and south of the Jabbok (Deut. 3:12; Josh. 12:2, 5; 13:31).

The allotted settlements of tribes on the other side of the Jordan are described according to this geographic division: "From Aroer, which is by the valley of Arnon, and half the hill-country of Gilead, and the cities thereof, gave I unto the Reubenites and to the Gadites; and the rest of Gilead, and all Bashan, the kingdom of Og … gave I unto the half-tribe of Manasseh" (Deut. 3:12 13).

On the other hand, there are some places in the Bible from which it appears that the name Gilead designates a smaller area. Numbers 32:1 separates the land of Jazer from the territory Gilead. In Deuteronomy 3:15–16 the name Gilead includes only the northern part, between the Jabbok and the Yarmuk (though "from the Gilead to the valley of Arnon" is not separated – it is a part of the territory of the tribes of Reuben and Gad). On the other hand, "the land of Gilead" which is enumerated among the 12 regions of Solomon (I Kings 4:19) is in southern Transjordan, including the plain. In place of "the land of Gilead," however, the Septuagint reads "the land of Gad."

In light of these different descriptions several scholars have concluded that the name Gilead originally comprised a more limited area and broadened only with the continuation of Israelite settlement.

According to R. Smend, the name Gilead originally referred to ʿAjlūn, the region between the Jabbok and the Yarmuk. He bases this opinion on the names of the cities Jabesh-Gilead and Ramoth-Gilead, both of which belong to this region, and also on the genealogical lists of Manasseh which mention Gilead, the son of Machir (Num. 26:29; Josh. 17:1; see *Manasseh). R. de Vaux, on the other hand (and also M. Noth), prefers a more southerly location, between al-Ṣalt and the Jabbok, because of the present-day Jebel Jalʿad, Khirbat Jalʿad, and Khirbat Jalʿud, which preserved the name, as well as various biblical statements (especially Num. 32).

Gilead was described in the Bible as pasturage land (Num. 32:1; Jer. 50:19; Micah 7:14). It was known for its spices, among other things (Jer. 8:22; 46:11). There are iron deposits in the vicinity of the Jabbok that were exploited in early times. Archaeological research has shown that the first great settlement of Gilead flourished around the 24th–21st centuries B.C.E. During the 20th century B.C.E. there was a definite decline in the settlement of Gilead and the southern parts of Transjordan, and it seems that these areas were occupied mainly by a nomadic population. This decline was not present in the Bashan and in northern Gilead, up to the area of Bet Arbel (Irbid), around 20 mi. (30 km.) south of the Yarmuk. Heavy population of the whole Gilead and the southern regions of Transjordan was resumed around the beginning of the 13th century, with the establishment of the kingdoms of Amman, Moab, and Edom. According to biblical tradition most of the areas of Gilead were then occupied by two Amorite kings, Og king of Bashan and Sihon king of Heshbon, from whom these areas were conquered by the settling Israelite tribes (Num. 21:32; Deut. 1:4; 3:10–13; Josh. 1:12–15; 9:10; 12:1–6; Judg. 11; etc.). The southern part of Gilead was settled by the tribes of Reuben and Gad, and north of the Jabbok – the half-tribe Manasseh. The latter comprised several family units, such as Machir and the villages of Jair (I Kings 4:13), and the Gadites, too, spread southward up to the Sea of Galilee (Josh. 13:27). According to biblical tradition, the name Israel was given to Jacob at Peniel which is on the Jabbok in central Gilead (Gen. 32:29–31).

The Bible records the war, during the time of the judges, between the Gileadites and Amman, under the leadership of Jephthah the Gileadite (Judg. 11), which resulted in bloody conflict between the Gileadites and the Ephraimites (*ibid.* 12:1–6). This period saw the weakening of the bonds between the tribes of the Gilead and western Ereẓ Israel, as can also be seen from their nonparticipation in the war of Deborah (*ibid.* 5:17) and from the building of the altar by the tribes from the other side of the Jordan "over against the land of Canaan in the borders of Jordan" (Josh. 22:11).

Nevertheless, the Ammonites' attempt to conquer Jabesh-Gilead and its being saved by Saul were the direct motivations for the establishment of the Israelite monarchy (I Sam. 11). The mountainous nature of the Gilead and its broad pasture-lands helped preserve desert customs and early Israelite traditions to which prophetic vision became attached. It is not, therefore, a coincidence that this was the place of origin of Elijah the Gileadite whose spirit greatly affected the development of prophecy.

The Gileadites remained loyal to the ruling house of Israel that protected them from their neighbors in the east and plunderers from the desert. In time of trouble the Israelite kings sought refuge in Mahanaim and Penuel on the Jabbok (II Sam. 2:8; I Kings 12:25). The Gilead is mentioned as one of three places over which Abner son of Ner appointed Ish-Baal (Ish-Bosheth) son of Saul as king (II Sam. 2:8–9). In the time of Solomon Transjordan was divided into three areas (I Kings 4:13–14, 19): (1) the vicinity of Ramoth-Gilead, the village of

Jair in the Gilead and the region of Argob in the Bashan, i.e., northern Gilead and the Bashan; (2) the vicinity of Mahanaim, i.e., central Gilead on both sides of the Jabbok; (3) "the land of Gad" according to the Septuagint (masoretic text, "the (southern) land of Gilead"), i.e., southern Gilead and the plain up to the Arnon River.

With the division of the kingdom Gilead remained in the area of northern Israel. However, the Bashan and the northern part of Gilead were quickly conquered by the Arameans (I Kings 22; II Kings 9:14; II Chron. 18), and Ramoth-Gilead thereafter became an area of perpetual conflict between them and Israel. The Arameans also took the opportunity to broaden their boundaries in Gilead (Amos 1:13). In around 814 B.C.E. Hazael of Aram Damascus conquered the whole land of Gilead from Israel (II Kings 10:32–33). At the beginning of the eighth century Damascus was weakened under Assyrian pressure (*ibid.* 13:5), and the Gilead was restored to the area of Israel (*ibid.* 13:25; 14:25, 28). In 733 the Gilead was conquered by Tiglath-Pileser III, king of Assyria, and many of its inhabitants were exiled to Assyria (*ibid.* 15:29; I Chron. 5:26). The Assyrian satrapy Gal'aza (= Gilead) was established in the place, except for the regions of southern Gilead which were occupied by the Ammonites (Jer. 49:1).

Gilead in the Persian period was included in the fifth satrapy called Abirnahara ("beyond the river," i.e., Transeuphrates) whose capital was at Damascus. During the rule of the Ptolemies the name Galaaditis (Gilead) designated a small district in Transjordan and in the Seleucid period it was the name of one of the four large eparchies into which Coele-Syria was organized (I Macc. 5:17–45).

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[Yohanan Aharoni]

GILEAD, ZERUBAVEL (1912–1988), Hebrew poet, writer, and editor. Born in Bendery, Bessarabia, his family immigrated to Palestine in 1922 and settled in the newly founded kibbutz *En-Harod, where he grew up. He was active in the Ha-No'ar ha-Oved and He-Ḥalutz youth movements, served as an emissary of the latter in Poland, and was information officer of the *Palmaḥ and a member of its general staff during Israel's War of Independence. His poems, stories, and articles appeared in numerous journals and newspapers from 1929. His works include *Ne'urim* (poems, 1936), *Marot Gilbo'a* (sketches, 1943), *Aggadot Yaldut* (poems, 1947), *Siḥah al ha-Ḥof* (stories, 1954), *Nahar Yarok* (poems, 1956), *Siḥah she-Lo Tammah* (essays, 1965), *Yam shel Ma'alah* (poems, 1967), *Ha-Kikhli* (poems, 1978), *Or ha-Har* (poems, 1986), and *Be-Ẓel ha-Te'enah* (poems, 1988). From 1956, he was one of the editors of *Mi-Bifenim,* a periodical of Ha-Kibbutz ha-Me'uḥad, and was an editor of the Kibbutz ha-Me'uḥad publishing house. An English translation of his selected poems appeared in 1983. For further English translations, see Goell, Bibliography, index.

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[Getzel Kressel]

GILELS, EMIL GRIGORYEVICH (1916–1985), Russian pianist. Born in Odessa, he became a teacher at the Moscow Conservatory in 1939 and in that same year won the first prize at the international piano competition in Brussels. He was awarded the Stalin Prize in 1946 and the Lenin Prize in 1962. Gilels became popular on concert platforms all over the world. The virtuosity of his early days was enhanced by a depth of interpretation and range of expression that made him one of the foremost pianists of the time.

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[Michael Goldstein]

GILGAL (Heb. גִּלְגָּל), name indicating an ancient sacred site on which a circle of large stones was erected. *Gilgalim* ("circles") were constructed in Canaan from very early times; the Bible mentions several places called Gilgal which were named after *gilgalim* in their vicinity.

(1) The best-known Gilgal is the place "on the east border of Jericho" where the Israelites encamped after crossing the Jordan. There Joshua set up the 12 stones which the Israelites had taken from the Jordan (Josh. 4:19–20). At Gilgal *Pesaḥ* (Passover) was celebrated and those born in the desert were circumcised. "This day have I rolled away (*galloti* from root *galol*) the reproach of Egypt from off you" is the biblical explanation given for the place-name (5:7–10). The camp at Gilgal served as a base during Joshua's wars (9:6; 10:6–9; 14:6). After the conquest of Canaan, the site continued to be sacred; in times of national crisis sacrifices were offered there; Samuel judged Israel there; and Saul was crowned king at Gilgal (I Sam. 10:8; 7:16; 11:14–15). Later its cult aroused the wrath of the prophets (Hos. 4:15; Amos 4:4; 5:5). In the period of the Second Temple it was called Beth-Gilgal and was inhabited by levites who were sons of the Temple singers (Neh. 12:29). The 12 stones in Gilgal are mentioned in the Talmud (Sot. 35b). Eusebius locates it east of Jericho (Onom. 64:24ff.). The Madaba Map shows a church, in which the stones have been embodied, east of the tell of Jericho. Khirbat al-Mafjar or Khirbet al-Athala have been suggested for its identification.

(2) Another Gilgal is perhaps referred to in the verse: "in the Arabah, over against Gilgal, beside the terebinths of Moreh" (Deut. 11:30); its location is not clear.

(3) The Gilgal from which "they went down to Beth-El" which is associated with the activities of Elisha (II Kings 2:1–2;

4:38–44) is identified by some scholars with Jaljūliya, north of Ramallah; others suggest that it is identical with Gilgal (1).

(4) The Gilgal mentioned in the description of the frontier of Judah near "the ascent of Adummim" (Josh. 15:7; but called Geliloth in Josh. 18:17) is unidentified.

(5) The Gilgal whose king Joshua defeated (Josh. 12:23; LXX – "Galilee") is also unidentified.

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[Michael Avi-Yonah]

GILGUL (Heb. גִּלְגּוּל; "transmigration of souls," "reincarnation," or "metempsychosis"). There is no definite proof of the existence of the doctrine of *gilgul* in Judaism during the Second Temple period. In the Talmud there is no reference to it (although, by means of allegoric interpretations, later authorities found allusions to and hints of transmigration in the statements of talmudic rabbis). A few scholars interpret the statements of Josephus in *Antiquities* 18:1, 3, and in *Jewish Wars* 2:8, 14 on the holy bodies which the righteous merit, according to the belief of the Pharisees, as indicating the doctrine of metempsychosis and not the resurrection of the dead, as most scholars believe. In the post-talmudic period *Anan b. David, the founder of Karaism, upheld this doctrine, and in some of his statements there is an echo and a continuation of the ancient sectarian traditions. The doctrine of transmigration was prevalent from the second century onward among some Gnostic sects and especially among Manicheans and was maintained in several circles in the Christian Church (perhaps even by Origen). It is not impossible that this doctrine became current in some Jewish circles, who could have received it from Indian philosophies through Manicheism, or from Platonic and neoplatonic as well as from Orphic teachings.

Anan's arguments on behalf of *gilgul*, which were not accepted by the Karaites, were refuted by *Kirkisani (tenth century) in a special chapter in his *Sefer ha-Orot*; one of his major points was the death of innocent infants. Some Jews, following the Islamic sect of the Muʿtazila and attracted by its philosophic principles, accepted the doctrine of transmigration. The major medieval Jewish philosophers rejected this doctrine (*Saadiah Gaon, *The Book of Beliefs and Opinions*, treatise 6, ch. 7; Abraham ibn Daud, *Emunah Ramah*, treatise 1, ch. 7; Joseph *Albo, *Ikkarim*, treatise 4, ch. 29). *Abraham b. Ḥiyya quotes the doctrine from neoplatonic sources but rejects it (*Meditations of the Sad Soul*, 46–47; *Megillat ha-Megalleh*, 50–51). *Judah Halevi and *Maimonides do not mention *gilgul*, and *Abraham b. Moses b. Maimon, who does refer to it, rejects it completely.

In Early Kabbalah

In contrast with the conspicuous opposition of Jewish philosophy, metempsychosis is taken for granted in the Kabbalah from its first literary expression in the *Sefer ha-*Bahir* (published in late 12th century). The absence of any special apology for this doctrine, which is expounded by the *Bahir* in several parables, proves that the idea grew or developed in the circles of the early kabbalists without any affinity to the philosophic discussion of transmigration. Biblical verses (e.g., "One generation passeth away, and another generation cometh" (Eccles. 1:4), taken as meaning that the generation that passes away is the generation that comes) and talmudic *aggadot* and parables were explained in terms of transmigration. It is not clear whether there was any connection between the appearance of the metempsychosic doctrine in kabbalistic circles in southern France and its appearance among the contemporary Cathars (see *Albigenses), who also lived there. Indeed the latter, like most believers in transmigration, taught that the soul also passes into the bodies of animals, whereas in the *Bahir* it is mentioned only in relation to the bodies of men.

After the *Bahir* the doctrine of *gilgul* developed in several directions and became one of the major doctrines of the Kabbalah, although the kabbalists differed widely in regard to details. In the 13th century, transmigration was viewed as an esoteric doctrine and was only alluded to, but in the 14th century many detailed and explicit writings on it appeared. In philosophic literature the term *haʿatakah* ("transference") was generally used for *gilgul*; in kabbalistic literature the term *gilgul* appears only from the *Sefer ha-*Temunah* onward; both are translations of the Arabic term *tanāsukh*. The early kabbalists, such as the disciples of *Isaac the Blind and the kabbalists of Gerona, spoke of "the secret of *ibbur*" ("impregnation"). It was only in the late 13th or 14th centuries that *gilgul* and *ibbur* began to be differentiated. The terms *hitḥallefut* ("exchange") and *din benei ḥalof* (from Prov. 31:8) also occur. From the period of the *Zohar on, the term *gilgul* became prevalent in Hebrew literature and began to appear in philosophic works as well.

Biblical verses and commandments were interpreted in terms of *gilgul*. The early sects to whom Anan was indebted saw the laws of ritual slaughter (*sheḥitah*) as biblical proof of transmigration in accordance with their belief in transmigration among animals. For the Kabbalists the point of departure and the proof for *gilgul* was the commandment of levirate marriage (see **Ḥaliẓah*): the brother of the childless deceased replaces the deceased husband so that he may merit children in his second *gilgul*. Later, other *mitzvot* were interpreted on the basis of transmigration. The belief in metempsychosis also served as a rational excuse for the apparent absence of justice in the world and as an answer to the problem of the suffering of righteous and the prospering of the wicked: the righteous man, for example, is punished for his sins in a previous *gilgul*. The entire Book of Job and the resolution of the mystery of his suffering, especially as stated in the words of Elihu, were interpreted in terms of transmigration (e.g., in the commentary on Job by *Naḥmanides, and in all subsequent kabbalistic literature). Most of the early kabbalists (up to and including the author of the Zohar) did not regard transmigration as a universal law governing all creatures (as is the case in the Indian belief) and not even as governing all human beings, but saw it rather as connected essentially with offenses against procreation and sexual transgressions. Transmigration is seen as a very harsh punishment for the soul which must undergo it. At the same time, however, it is an expression of the mercy of the Creator, "from whom no one is cast off forever"; even for those who should be punished with "extinction of the soul" (*keritut*), *gilgul* provides an opportunity for restitution. While some emphasized more strongly the aspect of justice in transmigration, and some that of mercy, its singular purpose was always the purification of the soul and the opportunity, in a new trial, to improve its deeds. The death of infants is one of the ways by which former transgressions are punished.

In the *Bahir* it is stated that transmigration may continue for 1,000 generations, but the common opinion in the Spanish Kabbalah is that in order to atone for its sins, the soul transmigrates three more times after entering its original body (according to Job 33:29, "Behold, God does all these things, twice, three times, with a man"). However, the righteous transmigrate endlessly for the benefit of the universe, not for their own benefit. As on all points of this doctrine, opposing views also exist in kabbalistic literature: the righteous transmigrate as many as three times, the wicked, as many as 1,000! Burial is a condition for a new *gilgul* of the soul, hence the reason for burial on the day of death. Sometimes a male soul enters a female body, resulting in sterility. Transmigration into the bodies of women and of gentiles was held possible by several kabbalists, in opposition to the view of most of the Safed kabbalists. The *Sefer Peli'ah* viewed proselytes as Jewish souls which had passed into the bodies of gentiles, and returned to their former state.

GILGUL AND PUNISHMENT. The relationship between transmigration and hell is also a matter of dispute. Baḥya b. *Asher proposed that transmigration occurred only after the acceptance of punishment in hell, but the opposite view is found in the *Ra'aya Meheimna*, in the Zohar, and among most of the kabbalists. Because the concepts of metempsychosis and punishment in hell are mutually exclusive, there could be no compromise between them. Joseph of Hamadan, Persia, who lived in Spain in the 14th century, interpreted the entire matter of hell as transmigration among animals. The transmigrations of souls began after the slaying of Abel (some claim in the generation of the Flood), and will cease only with the resurrection of the dead. At that time the bodies of all those who underwent transmigrations will be revived and sparks (*niẓoẓot*) from the original soul will spread within them. But the other answers to this question were proposed by many kabbalists, especially in the 13th century. The expansion of the notion of transmigration from a punishment limited to specific sins into a general principle contributed to the rise of the belief in transmigration into animals and even into plants and inorganic matter. This opinion, however, opposed by many kabbalists, did not become common until after 1400. Transmigration into the bodies of animals is first mentioned in the *Sefer ha-Temunah*, which originated in a circle probably associated with the kabbalists of Gerona. In the Zohar itself this idea is not found, but some sayings in *Tikkunei Zohar* attempt to explain this concept exegetically, indicating that this doctrine was already known to the author of that work. *Ta'amei ha-Mitzvot* (c. 1290–1300), an anonymous work on the reasons for the commandments, records many details (partly quoted by Menahem *Recanati) on the transmigration of human souls into the bodies of animals, the great majority of which were punishments for acts of sexual intercourse forbidden by the Torah.

In the Later and the Safed Kabbalah

A more general elaboration of the entire concept appears in the works of Joseph b. Shalom *Ashkenazi and his colleagues (early 14th century). They maintain that transmigration occurs in all forms of existence, from the *Sefirot* ("emanations") and the angels to inorganic matter, and is called *din benei ḥalof* or *sod ha-shelaḥ*. According to this, everything in the world is constantly changing form, descending to the lowest form and ascending again to the highest. The precise concept of the transmigration of the soul in its particular form into an existence other than its original one is thus obscured, and is replaced by the law of the change of form. Perhaps this version of the doctrine of *gilgul* should be seen as an answer to philosophical criticism based on the Aristotelian definition of the soul as the "form" of the body which consequently cannot become the form of another body. The mystery of true *gilgul* in this new version was sometimes introduced instead of the traditional kabbalistic teaching as found in *Masoret ha-Berit* (1916) by David b. Abraham *ha-Lavan (c. 1300). The kabbalists of Safed accepted the doctrine of transmigration into all forms of nature and, through them, this teaching became a widespread popular belief.

In Safed, especially in the Lurianic Kabbalah, the idea of *niẓoẓot ha-neshamot* ("sparks of the souls") was highly developed. Each "main" soul is built in the spiritual structure of "mystical limbs" (parallel to the limbs of the body), from which many sparks spread, each of which can serve as a soul or as life in a human body. The *gilgulim* of all the sparks together are aimed at the restitution of the hidden spiritual structure of the "root" of the principal soul; it is possible for one man to possess several different sparks belonging to one "root." All the roots of the souls were in fact contained in Adam's soul, but they fell and were scattered with the first sin; the souls must be reassembled in the course of their *gilgulim* which they and their sparks undergo and through which they are afforded the opportunity to restitute their true and original structure. The later Kabbalah developed much further the idea of the affinity of those souls which belong to a common root. In the kabbalistic commentaries on the Bible many events were explained by such hidden history of the transmigration of various souls which return in a later *gilgul* to situations similar to those of an earlier state, in order to repair damage which they had previously caused. The early Kabbalah provides the basis of this idea: there Moses and Jethro, for example, are considered the reincarnations of Abel and Cain; David, Bathsheba, and Uriah, of Adam, Eve, and the serpent; and Job, of Terah, the father of Abraham. The anonymous *Gallei Razayya* (written 1552; published partly Mohilev, 1812), and *Sefer ha-Gilgulim* (Frankfurt, 1684) and *Sha'ar ha-Gilgulim* (1875, 1912) by Ḥayyim *Vital present lengthy explanations of the histories of biblical characters in the light of their former *gilgulim*. *Luria and Vital expanded the framework to include talmudic figures. The transmigrations of many figures are explained in *Gilgulei Neshamot* by Menahem Azariah da *Fano (edition with commentary, 1907). Many kabbalists dealt in detail with the function that was fulfilled by the several *gilgulim* of Adam's soul; they also explained his name as an abbreviation of Adam, David, Messiah (first mentioned by Moses b. Shem-Tov de *Leon).

Ibbur

In addition to the doctrine of *gilgul*, that of *ibbur* ("impregnation") developed from the second half of the 13th century. *Ibbur*, as distinct from *gilgul*, means the entry of another soul into a man, not during pregnancy nor at birth but during his life. In general, such an additional soul dwells in a man only for a limited period of time, for the purpose of performing certain acts or commandments. In the Zohar it is stated that the souls of Nadab and Abihu were temporarily added to that of Phinehas in his zeal over the act of Zimri, and that Judah's soul was present in Boaz when he begat Obed. This doctrine was a respected one in the teachings of the kabbalists of Safed, especially in the Lurianic school: a righteous man who fulfilled almost all of the 613 *mitzvot* but did not have the opportunity to fulfill one special *mitzvah* is temporarily reincarnated in one who has the opportunity to fulfill it. Thus the souls of the righteous men are reincarnated for the benefit of the universe and their generation. The *ibbur* of a wicked man into the soul of another man is called a *Dibbuk in later popular usage. The prevalence of the belief in *gilgul* in the 16th and 17th centuries also caused new disputes between its supporters and detractors. A detailed debate on the doctrine of transmigration took place in about 1460 between two scholars in Candia (Ms. Vatican 254). Abraham ha-Levi ibn Migash disputed against the doctrine of *gilgul* in all its manifestations (*Sefer Kevod Elohim*, 2, 10–14, Constantine, 1585) and Leone *Modena wrote his treatise *Ben David* against transmigration (published in the collection *Ta'am Zekenim*, 1885, pp. 61–64). In defense of transmigration, Manasseh Ben *Israel wrote *Sefer Nishmat Ḥayyim* (Amsterdam, 1652). Works of later kabbalists on the subjects are *Midrash Talpiyyot, Anaf Gilgul* (Smyrna, 1736) by Elijah ha-Kohen ha-Itamari, and *Golel Or* (Smyrna, 1737) by Meir *Bikayam.

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[Gershom Scholem]

GILLIGAN, CAROL FRIEDMAN (1936–), U.S. social psychologist. Daughter of William E. Friedman and Mabel (Caminez) Friedman, Carol Gilligan spent her early years in New York City. Her mother was a teacher and therapist and her father an attorney. Gilligan, who describes her Jewish identity as rooted in Reconstructionist Judaism, celebrated her bat mitzvah at the Society for the Advancement of Judaism in New York. She received her B.A. in literature in 1958 from Swarthmore College, M.A. in 1960 from Radcliffe College in clinical psychology, and doctorate in 1964 from Harvard University in social psychology. After a departure from academia to a world of dance, motherhood, and political activism, Gilligan returned to teaching, at the University of Chicago in 1965–66 and then at Harvard in 1968. Gilligan became a full professor at Harvard in 1986 and in 1997 was named Harvard's first professor of gender studies, occupying the Patricia Abjerg Graham Chair. In 1999, Gilligan returned to her childhood home of New York City and became a visiting professor at New York University, where she was named university professor in 2002.

Carol Gilligan's work fundamentally altered the world of psychological theory and research by demonstrating that gender was a central component in human behavior and development. Beginning with her groundbreaking book, *In a Different Voice: Psychological Theory and Women's Development* (1982) and culminating in *The Birth of Pleasure* (2003), Gilligan proposed that women's moral and personal development did not conform to patterns of maturation that had been observed for men. She suggested that mainstream psychological theories about human growth reflected a male bias that ignored female identity and experience. During the 1980s, Gilligan founded the Harvard Project on Women's Psychology and Girls' Development and conducted two longitudinal studies tracing the relational worlds of girls between ages six and seventeen. This research profoundly influenced understanding of the tensions and dilemmas girls face in American society. Together with her graduate students, Gilligan edited or coauthored five books that stemmed from these and related studies in coeducational and urban public schools, *Mapping the Moral Domain: A Contribution of Women's Thinking to Psychological Theory* (1988); *Making Connections: The Relational World of Adolescent Girls at Emma Willard School* (1990); *Women, Girls and Psychotherapy: Reframing Resistance* (1991); *Meeting at the Crossroads* (1992) (*New York Times* Notable Book of the Year); and *Between Voice and Silence: Women and Girls, Race and Relationship* (1995). In the late 1990s, Gilligan turned her attention to the development of boys, with special focus on the early childhood years and parental relationships.

Gilligan received numerous awards, including a Grawemeyer Award for her contributions to education (1992), a Heinz Award for her contributions to understanding the human condition (1998), and a senior research award from the Spencer Foundation (1989–93). In 1996 she was named one of the 25 most influential Americans by *Time* magazine.

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[Miriam B. Raider-Roth (2nd ed.)]

GILLMAN, NEIL (1933–), U.S. scholar in Jewish thought and philosophy. Born in Quebec City, Quebec, Canada, Gillman earned his B.A. from McGill University (1954), and received both a master's degree in Hebrew literature and rabbinic ordination from the Jewish Theological Seminary of America (JTSA; 1960). He also received a Ph.D. in philosophy from Columbia University (1975) and later held the Aaron Rabinowitz and Simon H. Rifkind Chair in Jewish Philosophy at JTSA, where he served in various faculty and administrative roles.

From the 1970s, Gillman primarily taught Conservative Jews how to hold the dynamic tensions among belief, behavior, and community. Students at the Jewish Theological Seminary are taught by Gillman that they must create a personal philosophy that serves them both as an individual and as a member of the Jewish community, and that their philosophy will likely evolve over time. Gillman's extensive experience teaching adults in synagogues throughout America has broadened the impact of his work by bringing the scholarship of Jewish thought from the principal academic institution of the Conservative movement in Judaism to people of all ages and backgrounds.

From his scholarly works on death and dying, such as "Coping with Chaos: Jewish Theology and Ritual Resources in Death, Bereavement, and Mourning" (2005) to widely read articles in popular Jewish periodicals, including "I Believe" (*Sh'ma*, 1993), Gillman has demonstrated the ability to articulate the challenges facing modern Jews. His ability to help others clarify their personal philosophy and to see how their relationship to God is magical comes not only by sharing his knowledge of those who came before him and how they were able to change their own thinking, but also through sharing his own personal, evolving story.

Gillman's books on Jewish thought include *Sacred Fragments: Recovering Theology for the Modern Jew* (1990), which won the National Jewish Book Award in Jewish Thought; *The Death of Death: Resurrection and Immortality in Jewish Thought* (1997); *The Way Into Encountering God in Judaism* (2000); and *Traces of God: Seeing God in Torah, History and Everyday Life* (2005).

Committed to creating materials that are accessible to a variety of audiences, Gillman's publications also include scholarly monographs such as "Mordechai Kaplan and the Ideology of Conservative Judaism" (*Proceedings of the Rabbinical Assembly*, 1984) and "Covenant and Chosenness in Postmodern Jewish Thought" (*Covenant and Chosenness in Mormonism and Judaism*, 2001), as well as other writings targeted at a broader audience, such as "Why Can't I Pray and What Can I Do About It" (*Moment*, 1990) and "On Teaching Jewish Theology" (*The Melton Journal*, 1994). In 1991, Gillman began writing a column, *Sabbath Week*, in New York newspaper *The Jewish Week*.

[Donna Fishman (2nd ed.)]

GILLMAN, SID (1911–2003), innovative U.S. football coach, recognized as a leading authority on passing theories and tactics, influential in changing the downfield passing game and in the use of film footage as a preparatory tool for coaching; the only coach elected to both Pro (1983) and College (1989) Football Halls of Fame.

Born and raised in a traditional kosher home in Minneapolis, Minn., to Sara (Dickerson), who was born in New York, and David, born in Austria. Gillman played college football from 1931 to 1933 at Ohio State University, where he was a Grantland Rice AP All-American honorable mention, 1932–33. He also played in the inaugural College Football All-Star Game in 1934. While working as a movie theater usher at his father's theater, he would remove the football segments from newsreels and take them home to study. Gillman was the first coach to analyze game footage, something practiced by all coaches today.

Gillman played one year in the National Football League for the Cleveland Rams, then began coaching, first as an assistant coach at Denton University (1935–37, 1941), Ohio State (1938–40), and the University of Miami of Ohio (1942–43), before being named head coach at Miami of Ohio (1944–47). He led Miami to a 31–6–1 record, including a 13–12 victory in the 1947 Sun Bowl. After a year as assistant coach at Army in 1948, Gillman was named head coach at the University of Cincinnati (1949–54), which he led to three Mid-American Conference titles, two bowl games, and a 50–13–1 record, resulting in a remarkable .814 winning percentage (81–19–2) in his college coaching career.

In 1955, after failing to receive the Ohio State head-coaching job – which Gillman always suspected was because he was Jewish – he moved to the pros as head coach with the Los Angeles Rams, where he compiled a 28–31–1 record in 1955–59 and led the team to the NFL championship game in 1955. When the American Football League debuted in 1960, Gillman was named head coach of the Los Angeles Chargers, which moved to San Diego in 1961. He led the team to five Western Division titles, one league championship – in 1963, beating the Boston Patriots 51–10 – and an 82–47–6 record in the first six years of the league's existence. He also coached the Houston Oilers in 1973–74, winning Coach of the Year honors in 1974. Gillman, who finished with a 123–104–7 professional record, is credited with putting names on the backs of jerseys, and with first suggesting the idea of a "Super Bowl" game between champions of the NFL and AFL.

[Elli Wohlgelernter (2nd ed.)]

GILMAN, ALFRED G. (1941–), U.S. pharmacologist and Nobel laureate in medicine. Gilman was born in New Haven, Connecticut, and received his B.Sc. in biochemistry from Yale in 1962 and M.D. and Ph.D. from Case Western Reserve University, Cleveland, in 1969. He was a research associate at the National Institutes of Health, in 1969–71, and worked at the University of Virginia, Charlottesville, in 1971–81, where he became professor of pharmacology. From 1981 he was professor and chairman of the department of pharmacology at the University of Texas Southwestern Medical Center in Dallas, Texas. Gilman's life-long research interests concern the ways in which cells respond to external stimuli transmitted from the surrounding plasma membrane. Sutherland's discovery of the cyclic AMP system introduced the concept of transduction in the plasma membrane and the generation of a second messenger initiating cellular responses. The discovery of the G protein family (shorthand for guanine nucleotide-binding regulatory proteins) by Gilman and his colleagues greatly expanded knowledge of the plasma membrane events which signal appropriate responses to an enormous range of external stimuli including hormones and bacterial toxins. In 1994 he and Martin Rodbell were awarded the Nobel Prize for medicine for this work. His subsequent work largely concerned the distribution and properties of the different members of the G protein family, and the cyclic AMP system. Gilman took over the editorship of the world's best-known textbook of pharmacology (*The Pharmacological Basis of Therapeutics*) from his distinguished pharmacologist father. His honors include membership in the U.S. National Academy of Sciences and the Gairdner and Lasker Awards.

[Michael Denman (2nd ed.)]

GILYONOT (Heb. גִּלְיוֹנוֹת), an independent literary monthly published in Tel Aviv from 1934 to 1954, founded and edited by Yiẓhak *Lamdan. Lamdan's strong Zionist and socialist ideas were expressed both in his literary and editorial policy. He viewed modern Hebrew literature as a "continuation of the Hebrew literature" of the past. In addition to recognized Hebrew writers, Lamdan encouraged younger writers to publish in *Gilyonot* and several contemporary writers of stature published their first works in its pages (S. *Yizhar, for example). He also invited the participation of Hebrew writers living in Europe and the U.S. He manifested great interest in U.S. Jewry, devoting an issue of *Gilyonot* to that community (vol. 31, no. 8–10). Of interest also is the 18th anniversary issue (vol. 26, no. 5–6), which dealt with the history of Hebrew periodical literature. The final issue of *Gilyonot* appeared after Lamdan's death and was dedicated to his memory.

[Getzel Kressel]

GIMBEL, U.S. merchant family. ADAM GIMBEL (1817–96), who emigrated from Bavaria, settled in New Orleans in 1835. Six brothers and two sisters followed him to the United States. Adam was a peddler along the Mississippi River before opening a dry goods store in Vincennes, Indiana, in 1842. By the time he sold his firm 40 years later, he owned four stores in Vincennes. He was a member of the city council from 1842 to 1866. The two eldest of Adam's seven sons, JACOB (1851–1922) and ISAAC GIMBEL (1857–1931), established a department store in Danville, Illinois, in the 1880s. When they found the undertaking unprofitable, they moved to Milwaukee, Wisconsin, where they founded Gimbel Brothers. In 1894 they opened a second department store in Philadelphia, which was run by their brothers CHARLES (1861–1932) and ELLIS GIMBEL (1865–1950). The Gimbels' first New York venture came in 1910 with the establishment of a department store at Herald Square, which grew rapidly when two older firms were merged with it. In 1923 Gimbel Brothers bought Saks and Co. and shortly thereafter built a Saks subsidiary on Fifth Avenue. The Gimbel chain was further extended in 1926, when it took over Kaufman and Baer of Pittsburgh.

In the next decades, Saks branches were opened in Chicago, Detroit, Beverly Hills, and San Francisco. BERNARD F. GIMBEL (1885–1966), Isaac's son, became president of Gimbel Brothers in 1927. He was a distinguished civic figure who played a large part in the organization and direction of New York City's World Fairs in 1939 and 1964–65. He was a generous contributor to a number of scholarly institutions and was active in the work of the National Conference of Jews and Christians. Bernard's son, BRUCE A. GIMBEL (1913–1980), succeeded his father as president of Gimbel Brothers, Inc. in 1953. Sales during the fiscal year ending January 31, 1961, in a total of 53 urban and suburban stores in the chain, reached a record $61.6 million. Ten additional stores were opened over the next three years. However, in 1973 the company was absorbed by Brown and Williamson Tobacco Corp. and later by BAT Industries PLC. The last Gimbel's store closed its doors in 1987.

Maintaining the family's dedication to philanthropy, the Bernard F. and Alva B. Gimbel Foundation, established in 1943, supports services, programs and advocacy efforts in New York City that deal with education, workforce and economic development, civil legal services, criminal justice, reproductive rights, and the environment.

[Hanns G. Reissner Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

GIMMEL (Heb. ג; גִּמֶּל), third letter of the Hebrew alphabet; its numerical value is therefore 3. The basic shape of this letter consists of two strokes forming an angle: thus in the Proto-Sinaitic , Proto-Canaanite . and Proto-Arabian scripts. In the tenth-century B.C.E. Phoenician script two types occur: and . The first type was adopted by the ancient Hebrew and Greek scripts (cf. the gamma), while the second one prevailed in the later Phoenician and Aramaic scripts. From the Aramaic developed the Jewish , Syriac , and Arabic . The modern Hebrew cursive *gimmel* evolved as follows: → → . See *Alphabet, Hebrew.

[Joseph Naveh]

GINGOLD, HERMIONE (1897–1987), British actress. Born in London, the daughter of a stockbroker from Austria, Hermione Gingold had a varied career on the London and New York stage, lasting over 60 years, from 1908 until 1973, usually appearing in comedies and reviews. A second career in Hollywood saw her star in such films as *Gigi* (1958), and a further career in American television found her typecast as a delightful eccentric. Twice married, her first husband was the British Jewish literary agent and publisher MICHAEL JOSEPH (1897–1958), whom she married in 1918 and divorced in 1926.

His firm, Michael Joseph Ltd., published the works of such famous writers as Michael Arlen, Daphne DuMaurier, and Dick Francis. Gingold wrote a posthumously published autobiography, *How to Grow Old Gracefully* (1988). There is a biography of her husband, *Michael Joseph: Master of Words* (1986), which never mentions the fact that he was Jewish.

[William D. Rubinstein (2nd ed.)]

GINGOLD, PINCHAS M. (1893–1953), U.S. Labor Zionist and Yiddish educator. Gingold was born near Grodno, Lithuania, and immigrated to the United States at the age of 16. A founder of the Jewish Legion at the start of World War I, Gingold enlisted and saw action with the British Army in Palestine. Upon his return to New York (1920), he joined the Labor Zionist movement and was active in the American and the World Jewish Congress. During the 1920s and 1930s Gingold was the director of the Yiddish Teachers Seminary. In 1932 he edited the *Yidishe Dertsiung*, an educational journal sponsored by the Jewish National Workers' Alliance (Farband). After 1930 he headed the national committee of the Jewish Folk Schools. The committee published the *Pinchas Gingold Book* (1955), a commemorative Yiddish volume containing Gingold's essays on Jewish education and culture and his reminiscences of the Jewish Legion.

GINIEWSKI, PAUL (1926–), French editor and author. Born in Vienna, Giniewski went to France in 1940 and from 1943 to 1945 was a member of the French Resistance. He served as chairman of the press committee of the Zionist Federation of France and in 1951 became editor in chief of the French Jewish periodical, *La Terre Retrouvée*. His books include *Quand Israël combat* (1957), *Israël devant l'Afrique et l'Asie* (1958), *Le Bouclier de David* (1960), *Bantustans: A Trek Towards the Future* (1961), and *Une autre Afrique du Sud* (1962).

GINNEGAR (Heb. גִּנֵּיגַר), kibbutz on the northern rim of the Jezreel Valley, Israel, S.W. of Nazareth, affiliated to Iḥud ha-Kevuẓot ve-ha-Kibbutzim. It was founded in 1922 by pioneers of the Third Aliyah. Its settlers had previously set up kibbutz Deganyah Gimmel in the Jordan Valley. Ginnegar was one of the earliest Jezreel Valley settlements, and in the initial years of struggle, the settlers were employed in the planting of the Balfour Forest, at the time the largest *Jewish National Fund forest in the country, located on the slopes above the kibbutz. The kibbutz economy was based on highly intensive farming and it owned a factory manufacturing plastic products. In 2002 its population was 448. Ginnegar is a historical name mentioned, in forms like Neginegar (נְגִינֶגַר) in the Talmud (TJ, Er. 1:9, 19c; Kil. 4:4, 29b; et al.), and is preserved in the Arabic name of the site Jinjār.

WEBSITE: www.ginegar.co.il.

[Efraim Orni]

GINNOSAR (גִּנּוֹסַר), kibbutz on the shore of Lake Kinneret, Israel, founded by Israel-born youth and Youth Aliyah graduates of *Ben Shemen. The kibbutz was set up at the time of the Arab riots early in 1937, serving initially as a guard outpost on *Palestine Jewish Colonization Association (PICA) lands. In spite of PICA's opposition, the settlement became permanent. Before 1948, in the pre-State period, Ginnosar served as a training and organizational center of the *Palmaḥ. It developed subtropical intensive farming (bananas, avocado, mango, and litchi), field crops, dairy cattle, and fishery. In addition, the kibbutz operated a banana plant nursery and also opened a large guesthouse and restaurant. Yigal Allon House, a memorial museum, is located inside the kibbutz. It features the so-called "Jesus boat," constructed in around 40 B.C.E. and salvaged from Lake Tiberias in 1986. In 2002 the population of Ginnosar was 483.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: www.ginosar.net/history.html.

[Efraim Orni / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

GINNOSAR, PLAIN OF (Heb. בִּקְעַת גִּנּוֹסַר), narrow plain on the N.W. shore of Lake *Kinneret. The plain extends c. 3½ mi. (5½ km.) along the coast and its width in the center from the sea to the edge of the alluvial soil and the foot of the hills is c. 1¼ mi. (2 km.). In antiquity the name Ginnosar apparently also applied to the rim of the hills since Josephus states that it is 2½ mi. (3.7 km.) wide (Wars, 3:516ff.). Its area covers over 1,600 acres (6,450 dunams). The plain of Ginnosar was created by alluvial soil deposited by three brooks which pass through the plain: Naḥal Ammud and Naḥal Zalmon, perennial brooks, and Naḥal Arbel, a brook flowing intermittently. The extreme fertile basaltic red soil washed down from the hills to which the sea added moisture and dew produced the famous fruits praised by Josephus (*ibid.*) and the Talmud. The fruits are described as being large, easily digested, and causing the skin to become smooth. Several interesting anecdotes are told about rabbis who partook of them, including a story about *Simeon b. Lakish whose mind began to wander (Ber. 44a). The plain of Ginnosar was included in the territory of Naphtali and the Talmud attributes the blessings of Jacob and Moses to Naphtali to this plain: "It is the plain of Ginnosar which hastens its fruits like a hind [which runs swiftly]" (Gen. R. 99:12); "Naphtali, satisfied with favor, and full with the blessing of the Lord: that is the plain of Ginnosar" (Sif. Deut. 355). The name appears in ancient sources in various forms of which the most correct appears to be the Greek form Gennesar as in I Maccabees 11:67 and in talmudic sources, but the form Ginnosar is most frequently used and has become generally accepted. The lands of the plain of Ginnosar are now cultivated by the settlements of *Migdal and *Ginnosar.

[Abraham J. Brawer]

GINOSSAR (née **Hacohen**), **ROSA** (1890–1979), Zionist women leader. Daughter of the writer Mordecai ben Hillel *Hacohen, Rosa Ginossar was born in Gomel, Belorussia and immigrated with her family to Ereẓ Israel in 1907 with the Second Aliyah. She studied law there and succeeded in having the ban against the admission of women to the Palestine bar removed, becoming the first practicing woman lawyer in Ereẓ

Israel. She married Shlomo, the son of Aḥad *Ha-Am (Asher Hirsch Ginsberg), Israel's first ambassador to Italy (1949–51), who hebraized his name to Ginossar. Rosa Ginossar joined *WIZO at its inception in 1920, becoming its first secretary, and was actively associated with the organization throughout its history. After serving as treasurer for many years, she was elected chairman of the World Executive in 1951 and president in 1963. On her retirement from active work in 1970, she was appointed honorary president.

GINOTT, HAIM G. (1922–1973), U.S. psychologist. Ginott was born in Tel Aviv but immigrated to the United States, where he received his doctorate from Columbia University in 1952. He specialized in group psychotherapy, especially with children, practicing as chief clinical psychologist at the Child Guidance Clinic at Jacksonville, Florida, from 1952 to 1960 and lecturing at Jacksonville University from 1955 to 1958. In 1960 he was appointed an adjunct associate professor and supervisor of child psychotherapy at New York University. In 1966 he was appointed associate clinical professor in the postdoctoral program at Adelphi University in Garden City, Long Island, N.Y. He served as UNESCO expert in guidance and counseling to the government of Israel from 1965 to 1966.

Ginott was best known for his practical and commonsense approach to child psychotherapy. In his *Group Psychotherapy with Children* (1961), he stressed the importance of the details of play therapy, such as the selection of children, how to equip a playroom, etc. Nor did he overlook the parent, including the screening of the parents of prospective clients and ways of conducting parent guidance groups. He addressed himself to those colleagues who "knew about Oedipus and Electra, but were puzzled when confronted with children's incestuous approaches; they knew about transference and resistance, but had difficulty in transferring a resisting child from the waiting room to the playroom."

From 1967 Ginott devoted himself to writing authoritative books for the nonspecialist, and his *Between Parent and Child* (1967) made him the public's favorite expert on child psychology. His later books dealt with the teenager (*Between Parent and Adolescent*, 1969) and the school-age child (*Teacher and Child*, 1972).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: G.D. Goldman and G. Stricker (eds.), *Practical Problems of a Private Psychotherapy Practice* (1972).

[Helmut E. Adler (2nd ed.)]

GINSBERG, ALLEN (1926–1997), U.S. poet and leader of the mid-20th century "Beat Movement," an aesthetic and political movement marked by its rebellion against the claustrophobic culture and repressive politics of Cold War 1950s America. He was born Irwin Allen Ginsberg in Newark, New Jersey. His mother, Naomi, was a Russian Jewish immigrant and communist whose lifelong battle with mental illness became the focus of his highly regarded poem "Kaddish." His father, Louis, was a Jewish-American socialist, high school teacher, and published poet (see below). Ginsberg attended Columbia University, where he studied with Lionel *Trilling, and during which time he met and established lasting friendships with such future Beat writers as Jack Kerouac, author of *On the Road*, and William Burroughs, author of *Naked Lunch*. During this time Ginsberg also had a life-altering vision. While reading William Blake's poem "Ah! Sunflower," he heard Blake speak to him and experienced a profound mystic awareness of the divinity of all creation. His prophetic vision convinced him that he was meant to become an ecstatic poet, writing "open breath poetry" in the mystical, hermetic tradition of Blake and Walt Whitman. While writing his early poems, he worked as a dishwasher, spot-welder, night porter, actor, and market research worker.

Ginsberg finally entered the popular imagination with "Howl," which, from his first public reading of the poem in San Francisco in 1955, quickly came to be considered the central spiritual, prophetic poem of his alienated generation. "Howl," with its famous opening line "I saw the best minds of my generation destroyed by madness, starving hysterical naked," was both a powerful Lament at the grief and suffering of his fellow artists and visionaries – "angelheaded hipsters" – and a Jeremiad against the dehumanization of the industrialized, tranquilized, repressive culture of Eisenhower and McCarthy's 1950s. "Howl" turned Ginsberg into a well-known public poet and personality, especially after its publication as part of his first book of verse, *Howl and Other Poems* (1955). *Howl* involved its publisher in a highly publicized obscenity trial, which only added to Ginsberg's rising fame. He came to specialize in readings of his own works in coffee shops and on college campuses, as well as later playing music with famous rock and folk artists including Bob *Dylan.

Ginsberg's later works include *Empty Mirror* (1960); *Kaddish and Other Poems 1958–60* (1960); *Reality Sandwiches 1953–60* (1963); *The Fall of America: Poems of These States, 1965–1971* (1973); *White Shroud: Poems 1980–1985* (1986); and *Cosmopolitan Greetings: Poems 1986–1992* (1995). Stylistically, much of his work is notable for its jazz rhythms and surrealist imagery, and for his candid, vivid descriptions of madness, homosexuality, drug-induced hallucinations, and physical anguish, all illuminated by an exalted Blakean vision of man's perfectibility in innocence. Some of the poems also reveal the author's bizarre, even apocalyptic, sense of humor.

Ginsberg often referred to himself as a "Buddhist Jew," and while he never rejected his Jewish heritage, he did often criticize both American Jews and the State of Israel. In fact, he saw this critique as central to his Jewishness. Ginsberg writes about his Jewish family members, the Holocaust, Israel, and Jewish themes such as memory, loss, and reconciliation in his poems "Visiting Father and Friends," "Jaweh and Allah Battle," "To Aunt Rose," and "Kaddish," his marvelous transformation of the Jewish prayer of mourning and memory into a painfully honest elegy for his dead mother. In his later poem "Yiddishe Kopf," Ginsberg explores the complex nature of his Jewish identity and its roots in Jewish food, history, intellectualism, alienation, and radical political activism. Additionally, his poetic style was greatly influenced by Jewish forms, namely cantorial chanting and Hebraic poetry, with their long lines and anaphoric opening repetitions, as well as being influenced by the prosody of Blake, Whitman, and William Carlos Williams and by American jazz. While many of his works deal with Jewish themes, many more explore his fascination with Eastern religious practices and religious syncretism. His later works *Wichita Vortex Sutra* (1966) and *Planet News* (1968) reflect Buddhism's mystical notion of man's oneness with a benevolent universe. Ginsberg also helped establish the Naropa Institute, a Buddhist university in Boulder, Colorado.

In addition to producing important poetic and prose works to the end of his life, Ginsberg also was active in the love-ins, anti-Vietnam War protests, drug experimentation, and gay rights movements of the 1960s and 1970s, becoming increasingly involved in progressive political movements in his later years. He traveled widely, visiting Martin Buber in Jerusalem in 1961 and traveling to every part of the globe. Ginsberg was elected a fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences in 1992 and awarded the Chevalier l'ordre des Arts et de Lettres in France. By the time of his death, his poetry had been translated into dozens of languages, and his balding head, black beard, bespectacled face, and patriarchal demeanor had became familiar to millions all over the world. His father, LOUIS GINSBERG (1896–1976), was born in New Jersey and published two books of poetry, *The Attic of the Past and Other Lyrics* (1920) and *The Everlasting Minute and other Lyrics* (1937), which at their best give literary freshness and color to everyday things.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Midstream*, 7:4 (1961); J. Kramer, *Allen Ginsberg in America* (1969); B. Miles, *Ginsberg: A Biography* (1989); A. Ginsberg, *Journals Mid-Fifties 1954–1958*, ed. G. Ball (1995).

[David Ignatow / Rohan Saxena and Craig Svonkin (2nd ed.)]

GINSBERG, EDWARD (1917–1997), U.S. attorney and business executive. Born in New York City, Ginsberg moved with his family to Cleveland, Ohio. He received his B.A. from the University of Michigan (1938) and his Juris Doctor from Harvard University (1941). After graduation, he returned to Cleveland, where he practiced law for more than 50 years. He was a partner in the Cleveland law firm of Gottfried, Ginsberg, Gruen & Merritt. He was also a director of Rusco Industries, and a board member of Orlite, an Israeli company.

Active in Jewish communal life, Ginsberg devoted himself to Israeli and Jewish activities in the U.S. and around the world. After World War II, he played an important role in raising funds for the establishment and support of the Jewish state. He was a general chairman and then president of the National United Jewish Appeal, president of the *American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee, and a leader in the Cleveland Jewish Community Federation, and the *United Jewish Appeal. He served as vice president of the Jewish Telegraphic Agency and was the founder of the *Cleveland Jewish News*. He served as a life trustee of the Jewish Community Federation of Cleveland and was president of the Fairmount Temple. He sponsored many educational programs at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, which made him an honorary founder. Hebrew Union College and Hebrew University in Jerusalem awarded him honorary degrees, and he was awarded the Eisenman Award for humanitarianism by the Jewish Community Federation.

He was also involved in many business activities, including directorships of El Al Israel Airlines and the First Israel Bank and Trust Company. A lifelong sports enthusiast, Ginsberg was a partner in the New York Yankees and a director of the Chicago Bulls.

The Edward Ginsberg Center for Community Service and Learning, named in his memory at the University of Michigan, is dedicated to engaging students and faculty members in a process that combines community service and academic learning to promote civic participation, build community capacity, and enhance education.

[Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

GINSBERG, HAROLD LOUIS (1903–1990) U.S. Bible scholar and Semitist. Born in Montreal (Canada), Ginsberg, at the urging of his parents, spent two years in medical school. With their premature deaths, he decided to move to mandatory Palestine in the early 1920s, where he taught Hebrew and English. In Palestine Ginsberg became interested in Semitic languages. Because the Hebrew University had not yet opened, Ginsberg, aided financially by his uncles, was able to study at Jews College and the University of London. He returned to Palestine, where he completed the writing of his London doctoral thesis on the Hebrew verb. By this time the Hebrew University had opened and Ginsberg was able to study talmudic philology with J.N. *Epstein. In addition he was able to work with W.F. *Albright of the American School of Oriental Research in Jerusalem. In 1936 Ginsberg was invited to the Jewish Theological Seminary of America, where, from 1941, he was professor of Bible at the Jewish Theological Seminary of America, New York. While the bulk of his publications in the biblical field are philological – word studies, text restorations, and exegesis – he also elucidated problems of biblical history and religion. Ginsberg made significant contributions to Aramaic linguistics and was a pioneer in the interpretation of Ugaritic texts and their application to the Bible. His Semitistic and exegetical skills are combined luminously throughout his work.

Ginsberg was an editor of the new Bible translation of the American Jewish Publication Society (editor in chief of the translation of the Prophets from 1962). He edited the Bible division of the *Encyclopaedia Judaica*.

Ginsberg was a fellow of the American Academy for Jewish Research (vice president, 1969–70) and was the honorary president of the American Society of Biblical Literature (1969). He was a member of the Israel Academy for the Hebrew Language.

His works include *Kitvei Ugarit* (1938); *The Legend of King Keret* (1946); *Studies in Daniel* (1948); *Studies in Koheleth* (1950); a new Hebrew commentary on Ecclesiastes (1961);

and translations from Aramaic and Ugaritic in J.B. Pritchard (ed.), *Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament* (1950; 1955^2; 1969^3). He also edited *The Five Megilloth and the Book of Jonah* (JPS, 1969).

In Ginsberg's days at the Jewish Theological Seminary there was no Ph.D. program but Ginsberg's classes influenced several generations of rabbis to become biblicists and academicians.

ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY: B. Levine, in: PAAJR, 5 (1991), 57.

[Moshe Greenberg / S. David Sperling (2nd ed.)]

GINSBERG, MITCHELL I. (1915–1996), U.S. social worker and educator. Ginsberg, a native of Boston, received his B.S. (1937) and his M.A. in education and psychology (1938) from Tufts University and his M.S. in social work from Columbia University (1941). He served in the U.S. Army from 1942 to 1946 as supervisor of a psychiatric social work unit. He was a social worker in Manchester, New Hampshire, and in Boston, then moved to the personnel and training bureau of the National Jewish Welfare Board in New York. He joined the faculty of the Columbia University School of Social Work, and in 1953 he became full professor, serving as associate dean (1960–66). He was a consultant in various training programs of the U.S. Peace Corps project and to the City of New York. In 1966 Ginsberg was appointed commissioner of the New York City Department of Social Services under Mayor John Lindsay. During his two-year tenure, he initiated several reforms, including the elimination of expensive investigations of welfare applicants and late-night inspections of recipients' homes. In 1968 he held the position of administrator of the city's Human Resources Commission, serving also as consultant on the community action program of the U.S. Office of Economic Opportunity.

Ginsberg returned to Columbia in 1971 as dean of the School of Social Work and special assistant to the president for community affairs. During the next 10 years, he helped launch Columbia Community Services, a cooperative project that provides health and social services to the homeless. When he retired in 1986, Ginsberg was designated professor and dean emeritus, continuing to teach and serving as co-director of Columbia's Center for the Study of Human Rights and chairman of the citywide Emergency Alliance for Homeless Families and Children.

In recognition of his lifelong work on behalf of the underprivileged, Columbia established in 1991 the Mitchell I. Ginsberg Professorship in Contemporary Urban Problems, which provides research on preventive policies and practical solutions to homelessness and other urban problems. The Ida R. and Mitchell Ginsberg Social Policy Endowed Fund was established at Columbia to support further studies in social policy by students at the School of Social Work.

[Joseph Neipris / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

GINSBERG, MORRIS (1889–1970), English sociologist. Born in Lithuania, Ginsburg immigrated to England, entering University College, London, in 1910. At that time he knew little or no English. Nevertheless, he was appointed lecturer in philosophy at University College, where he remained from 1914 to 1923. From 1929 to 1954, he was professor of sociology at the London School of Economics. Ginsberg's position in sociology was derived from the evolutionary theory of his teachers Hobhouse and Westermarck. His works deal with the systematic evaluation of sociology, the study of social structures, institutions and groups, and the comparative study of custom and religion in a variety of cultures. Ginsberg was actively interested in Jewish problems. His book *The Jewish People Today*, a survey of the structure and the institutions of contemporary Jewish life, appeared in 1956. He was associated with the World Jewish Congress and was an editor of *The Jewish Journal of Sociology*. His works include *The Material Culture and Social Institutions of the Simpler Peoples* (with L.T. Hobhouse and G.C. Wheeler, 1915), *The Psychology of Society* (1921), *L.T. Hobhouse: His Life and Work* (with J.A. Hobson, 1931), *Studies in Sociology* (1932), *Sociology* (1934), *Moral Progress* (1944), *Reason and Unreason in Society* (1947), *The Idea of Progress: A Reevaluation* (1953), *Essays in Sociology and Social Philosophy* (3 vols., 1956–61), *Reason and Experience in Ethics* (1956), *Law and Opinion in England in the 20th Century* (1959), *Evolution and Progress* (1961), and *Nationalism: A Reappraisal* (1961). In 1974, R. Fletcher edited *The Science of Society and the Unity of Mankind: A Memorial Volume for Morris Ginsberg.*

ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY: ODNB online.

[Werner J. Cahnman]

GINSBURG, CHRISTIAN DAVID (1831–1914), Bible scholar. Born in Warsaw, he converted to Christianity in 1846 and soon afterward moved to England. Through two successive marriages to women of wealth he was able to pursue scholarship without ever holding an academic post. In England Ginsburg devoted himself to research on the masoretic text of the Bible; *The Massorah* (his magnum opus), published between 1880–1905 in four volumes, is the fruit of his labor. In the first two volumes, the original text of the masorah (in Hebrew) is arranged alphabetically with many additional notes drawn from manuscripts. The third volume contains supplements, and some masoretic tractates; the fourth renders into English all Hebrew entries of the first volume up to the letter "*yod*," with explanatory notes. In his work, Ginsburg amassed rich and rare material; some of it, however, is not accurate. He also published two standard editions of the Hebrew Bible (1894, 1911) based on the same research. In *Introduction to the Massoretico-Critical Edition of the Hebrew Bible* (1897, repr. 1966) and in *A Series of 15 Facsimiles of MSS of the Hebrew Bible* (1897; second edition: *A Series of 18 Facsimiles…*, 1898), he explains his system. In 1904, on the occasion of its centennial, the British Bible Society entrusted Ginsburg with the publication of a new critical Hebrew Bible text; it was completed only in 1926. Before his death, however, he edited and published the Pentateuch (1908), Isaiah (1909), the Prophets

(1911), and Psalms (1913). In his research he based himself on 75 manuscripts and 25 earlier Bible editions.

Ginsburg also wrote commentaries on the Song of Songs (1857), Ecclesiastes (1861), Leviticus (1882); and published *The Karaites, their History and Literature* (1862); *The Essenes* (1864); *The Kabbalah,Its Doctrines, Development and Literature* (1863, 1920^2); *Massoret ha-Massoret*, by Elijah *Levita, with an English translation and critical explanatory notes (1867); Jacob b. Chajim ibn Adonijah's Introduction to the *Mikra'ot Gedolot* Bible edition (Hebrew and English) with explanatory notes (1867, repr. 1968); *The Moabite Stone* (1870). He also published the New Testament in Hebrew, translated by the convert J.E. Salkinson (1885). Ginsburg spent the last years of his life in Middlesex. His collection of Bible manuscripts is in the possession of the British Bible Society.

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GINSBURG, DAVID (1920–1988), Israel organic chemist. Born in New York, Ginsburg immigrated to Israel in 1948. He worked at Weizmann Institute of Science in Reḥovot until 1954, when he became professor of chemistry at Haifa Technion where he was acting president 1961–62. He wrote *Opium Alkaloids* (1962), and edited *Non-Benzenoid Aromatic Compounds* (1960). His research covered polynuclear aromatic compounds, heterocyclic nitrogen compounds, reactions with tertiary butyl hypochlorite, morphine, colchicine, and conformational analysis. Ginsburg was awarded the Israel Prize for exact sciences in 1972.

GINSBURG, EVGENIA SEMIONOVA (1906–1978), Russian writer; mother of the writer Vasili Axenov. She was born in Kazan and spent the years 1937–48 in prisons were she wrote the poem "And again like grown white Jews" (I vnov kak sedye evreii) on 31 of October 1937. The refrain of the poem says: /Next year in Jerusalem/. In the Samizdat she published her memoirs from the prisons and camps *Krutoi Marshrut* (*Into the Whirwind*). It was published in all European languages abroad in the 1970s. In 1966 the journal *Yunost* published her documentary novel about the students in the 1920s. Various items of her writings were published in the Soviet press under the pseudonym Ye. Axsenova.

GINSBURG, JEKUTHIEL (1889–1957), mathematician and Hebrew writer, brother of Simon and Pesaḥ *Ginzburg. Born in Russia, he emigrated to the United States in 1912, studied at Columbia University and, later, taught mathematics at Teachers College of Columbia University. In 1930 he was appointed professor and head of the department of mathematics at Yeshiva College. In 1932 he founded the quarterly *Scripta Mathematica*, edited the *Scripta Mathematica Library*, and coauthored (with D.E. Smith) the *History of Mathematics in America before 1900* (1936). His Hebrew feuilletons appeared in *Hadoar* under the pseudonym of J.L. Gog. His articles on the role of Jews in mathematics were collected in his *Ketavim Nivḥarim* ("Selected Writings," 1960), which includes his biography and data on his literary and scientific works.

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[Eisig Silberschlag]

GINSBURG, NORTON SIDNEY (1921–), U.S. geographer. Ginsburg was born in Chicago. In World War II he served in the U.S. Navy and participated in actions with the Sixth Marine Division in north China. After the war he remained in the Far East as chief of the Research and Intelligence Center at Shanghai. In 1947 he taught geography at the University of Chicago (full professor, 1960). His major interests lay in urban geography, political geography, and economic development, with particular stress on East and Southeast Asia. In 1961 he was appointed director of the Association for Asian Studies. Apart from many papers, he published (with C.F. Roberts) *Malaya* (1958), was the co-author and editor of *Pattern of Asia* (1958), and edited *Essays on Geography and Economic Development* (1960). In 1961 he compiled the *Atlas of Economic Development*. The Japanese government invited him in 1962 to study Tokyo's urban problems, on which he reported in the *Tokyo Memorandum: Reports on Tokyo Metropolitan Planning* (1962). In 1980 he co-authored with Chi-Keung Leung *China: Urbanization and National Development*. He also coauthored *Geographic Perspectives on the Wealth of Nations* (with J. Osborn and G. Blank, 1986). In 1990 he published *The Urban Transition: Reflections on the American and Asian Experiences*. He edited A. Harmann's *Historical Atlas of China* (1968, new edition) and *China: The '80s Era* (1984). Ginsburg has also co-edited with Elizabeth Borgese 12 volumes of the *Ocean Yearbook* series (1979–96), a publication devoted to ocean-related issues.

[Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

GINSBURG, RUTH JOAN BADER (1933–), U.S. lawyer and Supreme Court justice. Born in Brooklyn, the daughter of Nathan Bader and Celia Amster Bader, Ginsburg graduated from Cornell University in 1954. Following her graduation she married classmate Martin Ginsburg, who was already a law student at Harvard. In 1956, Ruth Bader Ginsburg also entered Harvard Law School, one of nine women in her class. During the next two years, she coped with an infant daughter and her husband's diagnosis and recovery from a severe form of cancer while excelling academically in an environment which was less than welcoming to female students. Following her husband's graduation and employment in New York City, Ginsburg completed her studies at Columbia Law School. She was elected to the law reviews of both institutions, and was recommended as a law clerk by Albert Sachs, dean of Harvard Law School, to Supreme Court Justice Felix *Frankfurter in 1960. Frankfurter refused to employ Ginsburg because she was a woman, a pattern repeated by New York City law firms. She was ultimately hired as a law clerk by a district court judge in New York.

In 1963, following her participation in a comparative law project in Sweden sponsored by Columbia University, she became the second woman to join the law faculty of Rutgers University. At Rutgers, Ginsburg became increasingly committed to addressing social conditions that denied women choices and opportunities open to men. Appointed as the director of the Women's Rights Project of the American Civil Liberties Union in 1972, Ginsburg looked for sex discrimination cases that raised issues amenable to change through legislation. She often employed the strategy of using male plaintiffs to show that laws that discriminated between men and women – even when supposedly designed to benefit women – were based on negative and unfair stereotypes that perpetuated the prevailing notion that women were generally dependent on men. Seeking to persuade a majority of the Supreme Court that sex-based legal distinctions demanded heightened judicial scrutiny, Ginsburg won five out of the six major women's rights cases she argued. The Supreme Court's ruling in *Craig vs. Boren* in particular – a 1976 case for which Ginsburg filed the brief – made it far more difficult to enact laws based on sexual stereotypes.

In 1980, eight years after being appointed the first tenured woman law professor at Columbia University, Ginsburg was elected to the United States Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia Circuit. There she earned respect for clear thinking, careful reasoning, and assiduous preparation of her cases. In June 1993, when President Clinton proposed her to replace Justice Byron R. White, she became the first Supreme Court justice to be nominated by a Democratic president in 26 years; she was confirmed by the Senate in August 1993. On the Court, Ginsburg was a strong supporter of women's rights and civil liberties in general.

Her husband, MARTIN D. GINSBURG, an expert in tax law, was the lawyer to Ross Perot, billionaire oil magnate and 1992 presidential candidate, for many years. He was an economic adviser to Perot during his campaign. Ginsburg taught at Georgetown University Law School, to which Perot donated $1 million in his honor in 1986.

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[Judith R. Baskin (2nd ed.)]

GINSBURG, SAUL (1866–1940), author and historian of Russian Jewry. Born in Minsk, he received a traditional Jewish as well as secular education. He graduated in 1891 from the law faculty of Peterburg University. He was active in the Ḥovevei Zion movement. Ginsburg became a contributor to *Voskhod* in 1892, and in 1896 published a historical study in that journal, "*Zabytaya epokha*" ("A Forgotten Era"), concerning the first Russian-Jewish periodical *Razsvet*. The following year he began contributing a regular review of the Hebrew press (under the pseudonym of "Ha-Kore") to *Voskhod*, as well as a literary column, and in 1899 was appointed to the editorial board. Together with P. *Marek he published *Yevreyskiye narodnye pesny* ("Jewish Folk Songs," 1901), which became a landmark in the study of Jewish folklore. In 1903 Ginsburg established *Der Fraynd*, the first Yiddish daily in Russia, which played an important role in the development of Yiddish journalism and was noted for its high literary standards. In 1908 Ginsburg left *Der Fraynd* to devote himself completely to the study of the cultural history of the Jews in Russia. He took part in the historical periodical *Perezhitoye* (4 vols., 1908–13). In 1913 he published *Yevrei i otechestvennaya voyna 1812 goda* ("Jews and the War of 1812"), a study of the history of Russian Jews during the Napoleonic Wars, and was a cofounder of the Jewish Literary and Scientific Society (which was closed down by the authorities in 1910). He graduated in 1891 from the law faculty of Peterburg University.When the Bolshevist Revolution broke out, Ginsburg was one of a small group who strove to carry on independent Jewish scientific work under the Soviet regime. From 1922 to 1928 he edited *Yevreyskaya mysl* ("Jewish Thought") and *Yevreyski vestnik* ("Jewish Herald"). In this period several of his studies on the history of Russian Jews also appeared in *Zukunft*, the New York Yiddish monthly. In 1930 Ginsburg left the Soviet Union and was able to take his voluminous archive with him. He first settled in Paris, but moved to New York in 1933. Here the Yiddish daily *Forward* regularly published his popular historical essays. A collection of his studies, *Historishe Verk*, appeared in three volumes in 1937-38 with a bibliography by I. Rivkind. Two posthumous volumes were *Amolike Peterburg* ("Petersburg as It Was," 1944), and *Meshumodim in Tsarishn Rusland* ("Jewish Apostates in Czarist Russia," 1946). Some of his articles and studies are devoted to personal memoirs.

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[Yehuda Slutsky]

GINSBURGER, ERNEST (1876–1943), French rabbi and Jewish historian; born in Héricourt (Haute-Saône), France. During World War I he volunteered as rabbi of the French 18th Army Corps and was awarded the Médaille Militaire. He was subsequently chief rabbi of Geneva, Belgium, and Bayonne. Arrested in March 1942, he was interned at Compiègne and deported to a death camp in February 1943. Ginsburger left valuable essays on Jewish history, including *Les Juifs de Belgique au XVIIIe siècle* (1932), "*Les Juifs de Frauenberg*" (in REJ, 47 (1903), 87–122), and *Le Comité de Surveillance de Jean-Jacques Rousseau – Saint-Esprit-les-Bayonne* (1934), based on the minutes of the only committee in revolutionary France with a majority of Jewish members.

GINZBERG, ELI (1911–2002), U.S. economist and social planner. Ginzberg was born in New York City, the son of rabbinic scholar Louis *Ginzberg. He studied economics at Columbia University and in 1935 was appointed to the Columbia School of Business, where he was A. Barton Hepburn Professor of Economics until 1979. In addition to his teaching duties, Ginzberg was an adviser to several U.S. presidents, from Franklin D. Roosevelt through Jimmy *Carter. He was named director of the Eisenhower Center for the Conservation of Human Resources, when it was established in 1950. Under his guidance the Center was responsible for pioneering research efforts in employment and health policy. He also served with the United States War Department (1942–44 and 1946–48), the Surgeon General's Office, the White House Conference on Children and Youth (1959–63), and the National Manpower Council, of which he became chairman in 1962. His activities as a consultant, which were widely sought, embraced the United States Departments of State, Defense, Labor, and Health, Education and Welfare, the Hoover Commission, and the National Advisory Mental Health Council.

From 1953 to 1959 he was a governor of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem.

In 1978, on the verge of retirement from Columbia, Ginzberg accepted an appointment to direct the Revson Fellows Program on the Future of the City of New York at Columbia. For the next 20 years he oversaw the selection of 240 Revson Fellows and guided them into positions of leadership.

A specialist in labor economics, Ginzberg was particularly interested in problems of manpower utilization and economic growth, especially as they affected underdeveloped countries and minority groups. He was a leading expert on the economic aspects of African-American inequality in the United States, and he frequently traveled abroad in an advisory capacity to the governments of developing nations, especially Israel.

Among his more than 100 publications are *The House of Adam Smith* (1934), *Grass on the Slag Heaps: The Story of the Welsh Miners* (1942), *Agenda for American Jews* (1950), *The Potential* (1956), *Manpower Utilization in Israel* (1962), *The Great Society: Lessons for the Future* (1974), *Beyond Human Scale: The Large Corporation at Risk* (1985), *My Brother's Keeper: Reflections on Jews, Social Science & Public Policy* (1989), *The Medical Triangle: Physicians, Politicians, and the Public* (1992), and *Tomorrow's Hospital: A Look to the Twenty-First Century* (1998). He edited a wide series of studies for the Columbia Conservation of Human Resources Department, including *The Uneducated* (1953), *Life Styles of Educated Women* (1966), and *Manpower Strategy for the Metropolis* (1968). His biography of his father, *Keeper of the Law*, was published in 1966.

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[Mark Perlman / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

GINZBERG, LOUIS (1873–1953), one of the outstanding Talmud scholars of the first half of the 20th century; leader and the major halakhic authority of the Conservative movement in North America. Born in Kovno, Lithuania, Ginzberg received a typical East European Jewish education: private tutors, four years of study at the Telz and Slobodka yeshivot, and academic studies at three German universities. After studying with *Noeldeke at Strassburg, he received his doctorate from the University of Heidelberg in 1898 for his study of the midrashim quoted by the Church Fathers.

Ginzberg was a direct descendant (sixth generation) of Abraham, brother of *Elijah, the Gaon of Vilna. He was acutely aware of his ancestry and refers to the Gaon frequently as "*dodi zekeni*" (my great uncle), "the pride of our family," my famous ancestor, and the like. Ginzberg's father and mother were extremely pious Jews and even though he became more liberal when he left home at age 15, he remained an observant Jew for the rest of his life. Nonetheless, he was plagued until his death by a certain ambivalence about following the path of *Wissenschaft des Judentums*.

Ginzberg was a brilliant polymath, "a walking encyclopedia." He knew most of the Bible by heart at age seven and had mastered much of rabbinic literature by age 14. His *magnum opus, The Legends of the Jews,* contains 36,000 references which Ginzberg kept in his head. In addition to rabbinics, Ginzberg was an expert in philosophy, Kabbalah, and mathematics and he knew at least 12 languages.

In 1899, Ginzberg immigrated to the United States at the invitation of Rabbi Isaac Mayer *Wise to accept a position as preceptor in Biblical Exegesis at *Hebrew Union College in Cincinnati, but the invitation was withdrawn by the time he arrived. Wise changed his mind because he heard that Ginzberg was an adherent of higher criticism of the Bible and, paradoxically, because he was afraid that Ginzberg was too observant. He was hired by *The Jewish Encyclopedia* from 1900 to 1902, writing 400 articles, many of which have remained classics until today. In 1902, Solomon *Schechter invited Ginzberg to become professor of Talmud at the newly re-organized *Jewish Theological Seminary (JTS). There Ginzberg made his academic and spiritual home for the next 51 years until the day he died.

As professor of Talmud at JTS, Ginzberg had tremendous influence on the development of Jewish studies at JTS and throughout the world. He brought young scholars such as H.L. *Ginsberg, Saul *Lieberman, Shalom *Spiegel, and A.J. *Heschel to JTS. He was one of the founders of the American Academy for Jewish Research in 1919 and served as its president until 1947. He raised substantial sums of money for classics such as *Kasovsky's concordance of the Mishnah and Tosefta, B.M. *Lewin's *Oẓar ha-Ge'onim,* and *Schreiber's *Meiri*. He helped found the Institute for Jewish Studies at the Hebrew University and taught there in 1928–29. Finally, he played a major role in training and ordaining 650 rabbis over the course of two generations.

Ginzberg devoted most of his academic scholarship to three fields: *Aggadah*, the Jerusalem Talmud, and Geonica. In the realm of *Aggadah*, *The Legends of the Jews* (7 vols., 1909–38) remains unsurpassed. It also appeared in Hebrew translation (6 vols., 1966–75) and in a one-volume abridgement called *Legends of the Bible* (1956). It retells the story of the Bible from Adam to Chronicles, weaving together thousands of *aggadot* culled from early and late Midrashim, Philo, Josephus, the Apocrypha, and the Church Fathers. In other words, Ginzberg systematically collected and rearranged the *aggadah,* as Maimonides had the *halakhah* in his *Mishneh Torah*. In addition to his *Legends*, his dissertation was devoted to *Die Haggada bei den Kirchenvatern* (1899–1900) and in 1928 he published over 40 **Genizah* fragments of Midrash in *Ginzei Schechter*, volume 1.

In the realm of the Jerusalem Talmud, his *Seridei Yerushalmi* (1909) remains the only published volume of *Genizah* fragments of this basic rabbinic work. His *Perushim ve-Ḥidushim ba-Yerushalmi* on *Berakhot*, Chapters 1–5 (1941–61) remains one of the only scientific commentaries to the *Yerushalmi*. He also wrote commentaries on several other tractates; his commentary on *Pesaḥim* was scheduled for publication in 2005–6, over 50 years after his death.

In the realm of Geonica, the first volume of *Geonica* (1909) remains one of the few English language introductions to the field. The second volume of *Geonica*, as well as *Ginzei Schechter*, volume 2, contain over 100 *Genizah* fragments of geonic responsa and commentaries and early Karaite works.

Ginzberg also wrote a book of biographies (*Students, Scholars and Saints*, 1928), an early study of the Zadokite Fragment from the *Genizah* which later turned out to be one of the Dead Sea Scrolls (*Eine Unbekannte Judische Sekte*, 1922; *An Unknown Jewish Sect*, 1976), and two volumes of collected articles (*On Jewish Law and Lore*, 1955; *Al Halakhah ve-Aggadah*, 1960).

Ginzberg was a leading proponent of the "Positive-Historical School," which later became the Conservative movement. In an essay from 1901 about Rabbi Zacharias *Frankel (1801–1875), the founder of this school of thought in Germany, Ginzberg describes Frankel's historical Judaism, which was really Ginzberg's own: "We may now understand the apparent contradiction between the theory and practice of the positive-historic school. One may, for instance, conceive of the origin and idea of Sabbath rest as the professor of Protestant theology at a German university would conceive it, and yet minutely observe the smallest detail of the Sabbath observances known to strict Orthodoxy. For an adherent of this school, the sanctity of the Sabbath reposes not upon the fact that it was proclaimed on Sinai, but on the fact that the Sabbath idea found for thousands of years its expression in Jewish souls." In other words, the authority of Jewish law does not derive from a one-time event of revelation at Mt. Sinai but from the fact that *Kelal Yisrael*, the collective Jewish people, observed Jewish law for thousands of years.

Ginzberg believed that it was not possible to understand Jewish history and culture without a thorough knowledge of Jewish law ("The Significance of the Halachah for Jewish History," 1929). Furthermore, we now know from a recently published volume (*The Responsa of Professor Louis Ginzberg*, 1996) that Ginzberg was a prolific *posek* (decisor) for the Conservative movement between 1913 and 1953. He wrote over 100 responsa, first as chair of the Committee on the Interpretation of Jewish Law of the *United Synagogue (1917–27), and then as a private *posek*. From his responsa, one can learn about his approach to Jewish law. On the one hand, he was quite strict with regard to liturgical and synagogue-related issues: "I am not one of those who likes 'new things,' and I have a special aversion to changes in the customs of the synagogue" (*ibid*., p. 99).

On the other hand, he usually judged a case on its own merits and frequently arrived at a lenient decision. Ginzberg occasionally prohibited something not because it was technically forbidden by Jewish law, but in order to preserve the "spirit of the law" or to prevent "*mar'it ayin*" (the appearance of impropriety) or "*ḥillul ha-shem*" (the desecration of God's name). He opposed introducing the organ into the synagogue because it would cut off American Jewry from *Kelal Yisrael*.

In Ginzberg's opinion, Jewish law is determined by the Talmud and the **rishonim* (early authorities ca. 1000–1500 C.E.) and not by Midrashim, later customs, or the **aḥaronim* (1500 ff.).

Ginzberg was a lifelong Zionist. His second article, published in Dutch in 1899, was a "Plea for Zionism." He was a ZOA delegate to the Zionist Congress in Basel in 1905. In 1918, he said that the United Synagogue of America "should take an active part in the work for the restoration of Palestine." He believed that the State of Israel must respect the Sabbath and *kashrut* and leave matters of marriage and divorce to the rabbinate. But he was opposed to religious coercion of the State against Jews who do not recognize the authority of *halakhah*. He was opposed to mixing religion with politics because it would lead to the weakening of religion and the corruption of politics. According to Historical Judaism, Jewish nationalism without religion is like a tree without fruit, and Jewish religion without nationalism is like a tree without roots.

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[David Golinkin (2nd ed.)]

GINZBURG, ISER (1872–1947), Hebrew and Yiddish journalist, short story writer, and editor. Ginzburg was born in Develtov (Russia), and as a youth became influenced by the ideals of the *Haskalah. He settled in the U.S. in 1893, and graduated from Cornell University Medical School in 1900. Influenced by radical politics, he contributed articles to American-Yiddish publications, including the *Fraye Arbeter Shtime* and *Tsukunft*, and was on the staff of the *Forverts*. Ginzburg also remained active as a Hebrew-language journalist, contributing to publications such as *Hatoren* and *Hadoar*. He wrote on contemporary problems and reviewed books dealing with Jewish religion, literature, and history. His major works are *Der Tal-*

mud, Zayn Antshteyung un Antviklung ("The Talmud, Its Origins and Development," 1910); *Di Antshteyung fun Kristntum* ("The Origin of Christianity," 1917); *Yidishe Denker un Poeten in Mitlelter* ("Jewish Thinkers and Poets in the Middle Ages," 2 vols., 1918–9); *Maimonides* (1935).

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[Elias Schulman / Marc Miller (2nd ed.)]

GINZBURG, NATALIA (1917–1991), Italian novelist and playwright. Natalia Ginzburg, who was born in Palermo, was the daughter of the biologist, Giuseppe Levi, and a non-Jewish mother. She studied in Turin, where her associates were the Jewish anti-fascist intellectuals who were active in the Italian resistance. Her first husband, Leone Ginzburg, a victim of the Nazis, died in a Roman prison in 1944. Her first story, *La strada che va in città* (1942; *Road to the City*, 1949), appeared under the pen name "Alessandra Tornimparte." Later works are *È stato così* (1947), the novel *Tutti i nostri ieri* (1952; Eng. ed. *Dead Yesterdays*, 1956; U.S. ed. *A Light for Fools*, 1957), the short story volume *Valentino* (1957), *Le voci della sera* (1961; *Voices in the Evening*, 1963), and *Le piccole virtù* (1962). Natalia Ginzburg's characters, who are lonely, persecuted, and engaged in a hopeless quest for sympathy and understanding, include many Jews. Her deep pessimism was overcome, for once, in her outstanding work, *Lessico famigliare* (1963; *Family Sayings*, 1967). This is a psychological novel based on the author's recollections of her own family and the events of her youth. The characters range from the bourgeois, assimilated Jews of the late 19th century, personified by her father, to the anti-fascist circles of Turin and her first friends. But the book's main achievement lies in the distinctive language of the narrative. Natalia Ginzburg uses her family's private phraseology, including many expressions from Spanish- and German-Jewish dialects, in such a way that it plays a leading role in recreating the flavor of an age. Natalia Ginzburg's three plays are *Ti ho sposato per allegria, La segretaria*, and *L'inserzione*. The last was produced as *The Advertisement* by the National Theater in London.

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[Giorgio Romano]

GINZBURG, SIMON (1890–1944), poet and critic. Ginzburg was born in the village of Lipniki, Volhynia, where he received a traditional education. He published his first poem in *Ha-Shilloʾaḥ* in 1910. In 1912 he settled in the U.S., studied at Columbia University, and obtained a doctorate from Dropsie College in 1923. He immigrated to Palestine in 1933, but returned to America shortly before World War II as the emissary of the Hebrew Writers' Association. He was one of the editors of *Ha-Toren* (1913–15) and *Luʾaḥ Aḥiʿever* in 1918, and a contributor to numerous Hebrew publications. Both in content and language, Ginzburg was greatly influenced by Bialik to whom he dedicated his book of poems *Shirim u-Foʿemot* ("Songs and Poems," 1931). Essentially a romantic poet, the American rural landscape attracted him, but he was repelled by the noise of New York. In *Ahavat Hosheʿa* ("Love of Hosea," 1935), he reveals dramatic ability; the twilight of the Northern Kingdom and the regeneration of the Jews on the eve of disaster are used to suggest a significant lesson for contemporary Jewry. In addition to a biography in English of Moses Ḥayyim Luzzatto (1931), Ginzburg published three of his plays, with critical notes, including *Maʿaseh Shimshon* from a manuscript in the New York Public Library, his poetry, *Sefer ha-Shirim* ("Book of Poems," 1944–45), and an edition of his letters, under the title *R. Moshe Ḥayyim Luzzatto u-Venei Doro* ("R. Moshe Ḥayyim Luzzatto and His Contemporaries," 1936). These works, and his critical essays on the poet, are a major contribution to Luzzatto scholarship. His other critical essays were collected in *Be-Massekhet ha-Sifrut* ("In the Web of Literature," 1945). He translated Coleridge's *The Rime of the Ancient Mariner* into Hebrew, as well as D.H. Lawrence's *Sons and Lovers*, and poems by Tennyson, Hood, Byron, and Poe.

His younger brother PESAH (1894–1947), also born in the village of Lipniki, studied in Odessa, and lived for a time in the United States (1913–18), England, Canada, and the Scandinavian countries before settling in Palestine in 1922. He published several newspapers, which were, however, short-lived; edited various magazines; and was a night editor of *Haaretz* for about 20 years. Pesaḥ's poems, short stories, and articles appeared in the Hebrew press, a number of them also as separate booklets, including *Regina Ashkenazi* (1919) and *Sippur Ereẓ Yisraeli* (1945). He translated extensively, mainly Scandinavian and English literary works.

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[Eisig Silberschlag]

GINZBURG, VITALY LAZAREVICH (1916–), Russian physicist and Nobel laureate. Ginzburg was born in Moscow and obtained his Ph.D. in physics (1940) from Moscow State University. In 1941 he joined the Lebedev Physical Institute of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences (FIAN), where he remained, including the period in World War II when the Institute was evacuated to Kazan. He research was greatly influenced by the Russian physicists I.E. Tamm and L.D. *Landau (Nobel Prize in physics in 1962). Ginzburg won the Nobel Prize in physics in 2003 for his contributions to understanding superconductivity, which allows electric currents to pass through some metals and other materials (superconductors) at very low temperatures. Type 1 superconductors displace magnetic flow to allow the passage of electric currents. Type 2 superconductors allow the passage of electric currents despite the persistence of magnetic fields. The distinction is important to the practical applications of superconductivity such as magnetic resonance imaging (MRI) in medicine. His main theoretical contribution was to recognize the role of wave function in superconducting materials. Ginzburg also made important contributions to the design of Soviet thermonuclear weapons, especially by suggesting ^{6}lithium as the source for generating tritium^3 hydrogen in the reaction. He had a broad interest in the development and applications of theoretical physics and astrophysics. He succeeded in becoming a corresponding member (1953) and a full member (1966) of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences despite the antisemitism of the Stalinist era. He was editor of Russia's principal physics journal (*Physics-Uspekhi*) from 1998. His democratic and pro-Israel views are set out in his autobiography.

[Michael Denman (2nd ed.)]

°GIORGIO (Zorzi), FRANCESCO (Franciscus Georgius Venetus; 1460–1540), kabbalist of the Franciscan Order of Minor Friars. Giorgio was the author of *De Harmonia Mundi* (1525) and *In Scripturam Sacram et Philosophos Tria Millia Problemata* (1536), which was placed on the *donec corrigatur* ("till it is corrected") list of prohibited books. After the censorships of G. Contarini, *Sixtus of Siena, R. Bellarmino, etc., the most famous is that of Marin Mersenne, *Quaestiones…in Genesim, cum…textus explicatione. In volumine Atheir…expugnatur, et F. Georgii…cabalistica dogmata…repelluntur* (1623). Giorgio was a cousin of Marino Sanuto, who mentions him in his *Diarii*, a friend of Gershom *Soncino, and the sponsor of several converts; his Hebrew library awakened the interest of H.C. Agrippa and Egidio da Viterbo. He was one of the active intermediaries in the controversial divorce case of Henry VIII of England. His pupil Archangelus of Burgunuovo, the defender of Giovanni *Pico della Mirandola, plagiarized his works. A disciple of G. *Postel, Guy *Le Fèvre de la Boderie, translated the *De Harmonia* into French in 1578 and dedicated it to a member of the heterodox Family of Love. A manuscript of his detailed commentaries on the kabbalistic theses of Pico della Mirandola is in the National Library in Jerusalem (Yahuda Collection).

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[Francois Secret]

GIOVANNI MARIA (c. 1470–c. 1530), Italian lute player, born in Germany. His original Jewish name is unknown and when, after settling in Florence, he was baptized, he took his new name in honor of Cardinal Giovanni de' Medici. He was still often referred to, however, as "Giovanni Maria, the Jew." In 1492 he was condemned to death for murder, but fled to Rome, where he entered the service of the Cardinal de' Medici. When the cardinal became Pope Leo X, Giovanni Maria was given the revenues of the township of Verrocchio, with the title of count. He subsequently entered the service of Pope Clement VII, the doge of Venice, and the dukes of Mantua and Urbino. A few of Giovanni Maria's own compositions were published and he is referred to with admiration in various literary works of the period. His son Camillo was also a musician in the papal service.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Pirro, in: *Mélanges … H. Hauvette* (1934); C. Roth, *The Jews in the Renaissance* (1959), 281–3; U. Cassuto, *Gli Ebrei a Firenze nell' età del Rinascimento* (1918), 192f.

[Cecil Roth]

GIRGASHITES (Heb. גִּרְגָּשִׁי), one of the nations inhabiting the land of Canaan (Gen. 15:21; Deut. 7:1; Josh. 3:10; Neh. 9:8). The name also appears as that of the fifth ethnic group descended from Canaan (Gen. 10:16; I Chron. 1:14). Although the Girgashites are not referred to in the narrative of the wars of conquests, and their locality is not stated, they are named by Joshua among the peoples the Israelites dispossessed (24:11).

They have been uncertainly identified with the Qaraqisha, allies of the Hittites in their wars with Ramses II. If that identification is correct the Girgashites would have been part of the southward migrations from Anatolia of peoples displaced by the fall of the Hittite empire ca. 1200 B.C.E. A personal name *grgš* appears in Ugaritic, but its connection with this people is unknown. The sibilant termination of the biblical name suggests a Hurrian origin.

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GIROUD, FRANÇOISE (France Gourdji; 1916–2003), French journalist and writer. Born in Geneva, Switzerland, Giroud, an ardent polemicist, was a major figure in the political press in France. In 1953, she co-founded with Jean-Jacques Servan-Schreiber one of France's first news magazines, *L'Express*, which began as a weekly supplement of *Les Echos*, a daily newspaper specializing in economics, but soon became a mainstay of France's political landscape. Giroud's journalistic motto was "understanding quickly how things work, and helping people to understand quickly." *L'Express* was aimed at revolutionizing the French press by "telling people the truth," in Servan-Schreiber's words; important writers took part in the project, including left-wing thinkers like Camus and Sartre and center-right writers like Malraux and Mauriac. From the beginning, *L'Express* voiced strong and clear opinions against colonial wars, which were often met with censorship from the

State. Giroud, a journalist and political columnist for most of her life, also held government positions as secretary of state for the condition of women (1974) and secretary of state for culture (1976–79). An outspoken, but moderate feminist, she played a vital role in the creation of a feminist press in France, and directed the monthly women's magazine *Elle*. From 1983 on, she was an editorialist and columnist on the center-left weekly *Le Nouvel Observateur.* Her published books include *Lou, histoire d'une femme libre* (2004), *Les taches du léopard* (2005), and *Une Femme honorable* (1982).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: F. Giroud, *Profession journaliste, conversations avec Martine de Rebaudy (2001).*

[Dror Franck Sullaper (2nd ed.)]

GISCALA (**Gush Halav**; Heb. גּוּשׁ חָלָב), ancient Jewish city in Upper Galilee, today the Christian-Arab village of al-Jish, 5 mi. (c. 8 km.) N.W. of Safed. According to the Mishnah, "the acropolis of Gush Ḥalav" was surrounded by a wall built in the time of Joshua (Ar. 9:6). Canaanite and Israelite remains from the Early Bronze and Iron Ages have been uncovered there but the city is first mentioned (as Giscala) in connection with the history of the Jewish War (66–70/73). It was the birthplace of the Zealot leader *John (Johanan) b. Levi of Giscala, a dealer in oil, who fortified the city at his own expense and escaped to Jerusalem with his followers when the Romans surrounded it; Giscala thereupon surrendered – the last city in Galilee to fall to the Romans (Jos., Wars, 2:275, 590; 4:92–120, 208; Life, 70, 75, 189). After the destruction of the Second Temple, during the days of the *amoraim* and *tannaim*, Jews also lived there. The city was situated in the center of an olive-growing district and derived its main livelihood from oil; the inhabitants also engaged in the production of silk (Tosef., Shev. 7:15; Eccl. R. 2:8, no. 2). A Jewish community continued into the Middle Ages, at least until the 13th century. The village was severely damaged by an earthquake in 1873.

On the summit of the hill on which Giscala stands is a Maronite church with the remains of an ancient synagogue beneath it and, at its foot, near a spring, are the ruins of a second synagogue, excavated by H. Kohl and C. Watzinger in 1916, in which an Aramaic inscription was found on a column mentioning a certain Yose son of Tanhum. The latter synagogue was excavated in 1977–78 by E. Meyers, J.F. Strange, and C. Meyers, and dated to between 250–551 C.E. A hoard of Roman coins was also found in the village. Numerous rock tombs are scattered through the village and its vicinity; according to an unsubstantiated local tradition, these include the graves of *Shemaiah and *Avtalyon. A monumental tomb built of masonry and with a large sarcophagus was excavated in 1973 by G. Edelstein and F. Vitto.

[Michael Avi-Yonah / Shimon Gibson (2nd ed.)]

Modern Period

In October 1948 when it was taken by the Israeli army, the Muslims left and the Christian inhabitants of the neighboring Kafr Birʿim came to settle in the village soon afterwards. Since then, the village population has been made up almost exclusively of members of the Maronite sect, forming Israel's major Maronite community. In 1968, it had 1,650 inhabitants. Its economy was based on olives, figs, deciduous fruits, vineyards, tobacco fields, and beef cattle. The historical name Gush Ḥalav ("Milk Clod") assumedly points to the production of milk and cheese for which the village has been famous at least since the early Middle Ages; some scholars, however, assume that the name refers to the light color of the local limestone, in contrast with the dark-reddish basalt rock of the neighboring village Ra's al-Aḥmar ("Red Mountain Top"), today moshav Kerem Ben Zimrah.

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GISER, MOSES DAVID (**Moyshe**; 1893–1952), Yiddish writer and editor. Born in Radom (Poland), Giser was deported during World War I for labor in Germany. In 1919, he published his first poem in *Der Yidisher Arbeter* (Vienna). Returning to Warsaw in 1921, he joined the Yiddish expressionistic group *Khaliastre. He emigrated to Argentina in 1924, where he taught in Yiddish schools, continued publishing his works (many under his pseudonym David Bender), operated a printing press, and edited the Yiddish publications *Zid-Amerike*, *Pasific*, and *Dos Yidishe Vort*. While his early lyrics focused on Polish Jews in cities and villages, his later lyrics dealt with Latin American scenes and people. A posthumous edition of his selected works appeared as *Dos Gezang fun a Lebn* ("The Song of a Life," 1953).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: LNYL, 2 (1958), 241–3; M. Ravitch, *Mayn Leksikon*, 1 (1945), 55ff; **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** Talush, *Yidishe Shrayber* (1953).

[Melech Ravitch / Marc Miller (2nd ed.)]

GISSIN, AVSHALOM (1896–1921), pioneer in the military defense of the *yishuv.* Born in Petaḥ Tikvah, Gissin studied at the officers' school of the Turkish Army in Istanbul and Damascus. At the end of World War I he returned to Palestine and founded *Maccabi and the scout movement in Petaḥ Tikvah, where he schooled local youth in the use of arms. When Arab riots broke out in 1921, Gissin left his work as a surveyor in the south and returned to his home to organize the defense of the settlement. He was killed with three others in battle while defending Petaḥ Tikvah against armed Bedouins. Maccabi Avshalom, the Petaḥ Tikvah soccer team, is named after him. His grandfather, EPHRAIM GISSIN (1835–1898), born in

Mohilev, Belorussia, was an early member of Ḥovevei Zion and went to Ereẓ Israel in 1895, joining his three sons and daughter who had settled in Petaḥ Tikvah.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Tidhar, 2 (1947), 741–2, 770.

GISZKALAY (**Gush Halav**), **JÁNOS** (pseudonym of **Dávid Widder**; 1888–1951), Hungarian poet and journalist, and leader of the Hungarian and Transylvanian Zionist movements. Born in Nyitra, Giszkalay worked in Budapest, where he contributed to the Jewish press and, from 1918, edited the Zionist newspaper, *Zsidó Szemle*. During the "White Terror" which followed the defeat of Béla *Kun in 1918, he wrote justifying a Jewish girl's protest in a school essay against the Hungarian persecution of the Jews. Giszkalay maintained that antisemites had no moral right to demand patriotism of the oppressed Hungarian Jews. This led to an order for his arrest and he fled to Romania, where he joined the staff of *Uj Kelet*, the Hungarian-language Jewish daily in Kolozsvár (Cluj), Transylvania. Giszkalay's verse betrays the influence of E. Ady, the leading modern Hungarian poet, who was himself greatly influenced by the Bible. Outstanding for their enthusiasm and richness of language, Giszkalay's poems deeply impressed Zionist youth. His best-known poems were *Kezét fel az égre, ki férfi ki bátor*! ("Whoever is a man, whoever is courageous, let him raise his hand!"); *A messiás heroldja* ("The Herald of the Messiah"); and *Péntek a háboruban* ("A Wartime Friday Night"). Anthologies of his poems include *Új próféciák* ("New Prophecies," 1923). He also wrote a children's story, *Vitéz Benája három utja* ("Three Journeys of Knight Benayahu," 1928). Giszkalay's Zionist activities encouraged many Hungarian Jews to settle in Ereẓ Israel. In 1941 he immigrated to Palestine, where he worked as a shepherd on kibbutz Ma'agan. Later he moved to Haifa, where he translated his own works into Hebrew.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: H. Danzig, in: *Davar* (April 13, 1951); *Magyar Zsidó Lexikon* (1929); *Száz év zsidó magyar költői* (1943), 241, 243.

[Baruch Yaron]

GITAI, AMOS (1950–), Israeli film director. Gitai made over 46 movies and regularly showed his films at prestigious international festivals, where they often won awards. He triumphed at the Cannes Film Festival in 2005 when Hanna Laslo, the leading actress in his film *Free Zone*, won the Best Actress Award, the first time an Israeli actress has been so honored. Born in Haifa, Gitai studied architecture and earned a doctorate at the University of California, Berkeley. In the 1970s, while studying in the U.S., he began making documentaries, then moved to Paris for more than ten years. He continued to direct documentaries and also began making features. His films usually focus on Jewish history or crises in Israel and express his strong left-wing perspective. His 1989 film, *Berlin Jerusalem*, a look at friends in Germany in the 1920s who move to Palestine, won the critics' prize at the Venice International Film Festival. In 1993, he returned to Israel. While he is celebrated abroad, his films generally receive a less enthusiastic reaction in Israel. His 1999 film, *Kadosh*, is about ultra-Orthodox sisters; in 2000, he drew on his own experiences in the Yom Kippur War in the film, *Kippur*; and his 2002 film, *Kedma,* examines the fate of a group of immigrants to Palestine just before the establishment of the state. His other films include *Yom Yom* (1998), *Eden* (2001), and *Promised Land* (2004).

[Hannah Brown (2nd ed.)]

GITIN, SEYMOUR (**Sy**; 1936–), U.S. archaeologist. Gitin was born in Buffalo, New York. He earned a B.A. in ancient history at the University of Buffalo and studied ancient Near Eastern languages and literature in the rabbinic program at the Hebrew Union College–Jewish Institute of Religion in Cincinnati, Ohio. There he earned a B.A. (1959) and an M.A. in Hebrew letters as well as receiving ordination (1962). During this period, he spent a year in Jerusalem at the Hebrew University, studying ancient Hebrew texts and archaeology, and in 1961 he participated in the archaeological survey of the Western Negev directed by Nelson *Glueck.

In the late 1960s, he continued his archaeological studies with Nelson Glueck and with William G. Dever at the Hebrew Union College, first in Cincinnati and then in Jerusalem. From 1970 through 1975, he studied Near Eastern languages at the Hebrew University with Jonas Greenfield and epigraphy and paleography with Joseph Naveh, and completed an intensive tutorial archaeological research program with faculty members of the Hebrew University and his dissertation supervisor William G. Dever. In 1970, he joined the Tell Gezer excavation staff, where he was a senior field archaeologist from 1971 to 1975. In 1971, he also served as senior field archaeologist for the Jebel Qa'aqir excavations. In 1976, he became director of the Gezer Publications Program and during 1977–78 was assistant professor of the archaeology of the Land of Israel at the Jerusalem campus of the Hebrew Union College. In 1979, he was awarded a Ph.D. from the Hebrew Union College–Jewish Institute of Religion in Cincinnati. His dissertation, *A Ceramic Typology of the Late Iron Age, Persian, and Hellenistic Periods at Tell Gezer,* appeared as an Annual of the Nelson Glueck School of Biblical Archaeology. In 1980, he was appointed as the fifth long-term director and professor of archaeology at the W.F. Albright Institute of Archaeological Research, where in 1994 he became the Dorot director and professor of archaeology.

As Albright director, Gitin has been the creative force behind the establishment of the institute as an international center for the study of cultural and economic interconnections in antiquity in the Eastern Mediterranean basin. He also developed a doctoral and post-doctoral fellowship program in ancient Near Eastern studies at the Albright, which is one of the most extensive research programs of its kind in the world. Despite the complex political climate of the region, this program has successfully promoted academic ties and collaboration between students and scholars of different cultural and religious backgrounds. Today, the Albright is the only such institute in the Middle East where foreign, Israeli, and Palestinian scholars continue to interact and exchange information on a friendly and congenial basis.

Gitin's own research has resulted in major contributions to the field of archaeology, as seen in his groundbreaking work in late Philistine studies of the Iron Age II, which has dramatically altered the traditional perception of the history of the Philistines. His research is based on the results of the Tel Miqne-Ekron excavations, jointly sponsored by the Albright Institute and the Hebrew University, and directed by Gitin for 14 seasons during the years 1981–96 with his colleague Trude *Dothan. Contrary to conventional wisdom, Gitin has demonstrated that around 1000 B.C.E., the Philistines had not assimilated into one of the major culture groups, the Canaanites, Phoenicians, or Israelites. Rather they continued to exist for another 400 years, at the end of which the Philistines of *Ekron achieved the zenith of their economic development under the influence of the Neo-Assyrian empire. In his more than 60 publications on the development of Philistine material culture, best summarized in his 1997 article "The Neo-Assyrian Empire and its Western Periphery: The Levant, with a Focus on Philistine Ekron," Gitin has shown that it was a process of acculturation which ultimately contributed to the disappearance of the Philistines from the pages of history. This is supported by his publications, "A Royal Dedicatory Inscription from Ekron" (1998, with T. Dothan and J. Naveh), analyzing one of the most important archaeological finds of the 20th century, and "Israelite and Philistine Cult and the Archaeological Record: The 'Smoking Gun' Phenomenon" (2003). These and his other publications on the unique assemblage of incense altars from Ekron have helped to establish a new perception of Philistine cultic practices and their *sitz im leben* in the ancient Near East.

Gitin also created and directs the international research project "The Neo-Assyrian Empire in the 7th Century BC: A Study of the Interactions between Center and Periphery." The project, under the aegis of the Council of American Overseas Research Centers, located at the Smithsonian Institution in Washington, D.C., is designed to investigate the growth and development of the first "world market" in history and involves 50 scholars working in Bahrain, Cyprus, Egypt, Greece, Iran, Iraq, Israel, Jordan, Spain, Syria, Tunisia, and Turkey.

In recognition of his archaeological experience, Gitin was appointed editor of the three-volume work in progress, *The Ancient Pottery of Israel and Its Neighbors from the Neolithic through the Hellenistic Period*, which is destined to become the archaeologist's "ceramic bible." The project is sponsored by the Israel Exploration Society, the Albright Institute, the Israel Antiquities Authority, and the American Schools of Oriental Research.

Gitin is the recipient of the University of Buffalo's Distinguished Alumni award (1998), a doctorate of human letters, *honoris causa*, from the Hebrew Union College (2003), and the Israel Museum's Percia Schimmel Award for Distinguished Contributions to the Archaeology of Eretz Israel and the Lands of the Bible (2004).

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[Shimon Gibson (2nd ed.)]

GITLIN, JACOB (1880–1953), South African communal leader. For half a century Gitlin was the moving spirit in Zionist activities in *Cape Town, where he arrived from Vilna, Lithuania, in 1902. His furniture business became the unofficial headquarters of the Zionist movement there. As chairman of the Western Province (Cape) Zionist Council, he helped to make the organization one of the most influential Zionist centers in South Africa. Active in many spheres, he helped to found the Cape Board of Jewish Education.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: M. Gitlin, *The Vision Amazing* (1950), index.

[Louis Hotz]

GITLOW, BENJAMIN (1891–1965), U.S. Socialist and one-time Communist. Gitlow was born in New Jersey. He early became active in the Socialist Party and in the Retail Clerks Union of New York. Nominated in 1917 by the Socialist Party for the New York assembly, Gitlow was elected but became convinced that more revolutionary action was necessary and helped form the American Communist Labor Party. Elected to its Labor Committee at its 1919 founding convention, Gitlow was arrested that same year for publishing revolutionary material and served a three-year term. Gitlow then became a member of the Communist International executive committee and presidium, and also held a high position in the American Communist Party. While serving as general secretary in 1929, he and some associates were expelled by Moscow for not following the international communist line. In 1933, along with Lazar Becker, a colleague, he formed the Workers Communist League, later the Socialist Party. Disillusioned with Marxism, he became involved in investigations to expose the Communist movement and eventually wrote a bitter attack on the movement in his autobiography, *I Confess: The Truth About American Communism* (1940).

[Albert A. Blum]

GITTAIM (Heb. גִּתָּיִם), biblical city in the northern Shephelah. Its name is derived from Gath, and some of the biblical verses mentioning Gath may, in fact, refer to Gittaim (e.g., I Sam. 7:14; I Kings 2:39; II Kings 12:18; I Chron. 7:21; 8:13; II Chron. 26:6). Since, according to the Bible, the Beerothites of the tribe of Benjamin fled to Gittaim (II Sam. 4:3), the city must have been situated in the vicinity of this tribe. It is mentioned together with Hadid, Neballat, Lydda, and Ono in Nehemiah 11:33. Some scholars identify Gi-im-tu, the city captured by

Sargon II in 712 B.C.E., with Gittaim, and not Gath. Eusebius locates it between Antipatris and Jabneh (Onom. 72:2–3); it appears as Gitta on the Madaba Map. Recent studies have shown that it was probably located at Tel Ra's Abu Ḥumayd near Ramleh, a large site of some 100 dunams containing surface pottery dating from the Early Iron Age to the Arab period.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Mazar, in: IEJ, 4 (1954), 227–35.

[Michael Avi-Yonah]

GITTELSOHN, ROLAND BERTRAM (1910–1995), U.S. rabbi. Gittelsohn, who was born in Cleveland, Ohio, was ordained at the Hebrew Union College in 1936. After serving as rabbi from 1936 to 1953 at the Central Synagogue of Nassau County in Long Island, he was appointed rabbi of Temple Israel, Boston, Mass. in 1953 and served there for the remainder of his career. Gittelsohn served as a U.S. Navy chaplain from 1943 to 1946 where he was the first Jewish chaplain in U.S. history assigned to the Marine Corps. He received three ribbons for his role in the Iwo Jima campaign and preached the address of dedication of the Jewish section of the Iwo Jima cemetery. He was a prominent communal leader serving on President Harry S. Truman's Committee on Civil Rights in 1947 and on the Governor's Commission in Massachusetts, including the Governor's Commission on Abolition of the Death Penalty (1957–58), the Governor's Committee on Migratory Labor (1960–62) and the Governor's Committee to Survey Operations of Massachusetts Prisoners (1961–62). Long active in Reform movement affairs, in 1968 he was elected president of the Central Conference of American Rabbis. He was also president of the Association of Reform Zionists of America and was a member of the Zionist General Council of the World Zionist Organization. During the late 1960s and early 1970s, he repeatedly called on the American Jewish community to adopt a more activist position on social and political issues, particularly in opposition to the war in Vietnam. Gittelsohn wrote *Modern Jewish Problems* (1935), *Little Lower than the Angels* (1955), *Man's Best Hope* (1961), *My Beloved Is Mine* (1969) on the Jewish view of marriage; and *Fire in My Bones* (1969).

[Abram Vossen Goodman]

GITTIN (Heb. גִּטִּין; "divorces"), sixth tractate of the order *Nashim* in the Mishnah, Tosefta, and Babylonian and Jerusalem Talmuds. *Gittin* is placed before *Kiddushin* because of the custom of arranging the tractates in the order of their length, *Gittin* containing nine chapters and *Kiddushin* only four. From a statement of Rashi (Git. 71b, s.v. *ta'ama*) and others, it seems that there was a different order of chapters, the present seventh chapter, according to Rashi, preceding the sixth. But from the *geonim, tosafot* (to Git. 62b, s.v. *ha-omer*), and Naḥmanides (in his novellae at the end of chapter 6) it appears that the present order is correct. The entire tractate deals with bills of divorce, with few digressions on other topics. The first chapter deals with the bringing of a bill of divorce *(get)* from outside Ereẓ Israel, the bearer of which has to testify that "it was written and signed in my presence." The question of the borders of Ereẓ Israel is dealt with in this connection. The first Mishnah of the second chapter, in fact, is a continuation of the first chapter and deals with the same topic. A similar phenomenon also occurs at the beginning of the seventh chapter; its first two *mishnayot* are a direct continuation of the theme of *agency in the writing and delivery of a *get* dealt with in the sixth chapter. The second chapter discusses the materials used for writing a *get* and the persons who may write and deliver it. The third chapter contains a group of *halakhot* based upon the principle that a previous condition may be presumed to exist: e.g., "If a man brings a *get* and has left the husband aged or sick, he may deliver it on the presumption that he is still alive" (3:3); the possibility of his death and the consequent invalidity of the *get*, necessitating a levirate marriage if he is childless, is ignored.

The fourth and fifth chapters cite a series of *halakhot* enacted for "general welfare" or in the interests of peace; e.g., "Scrolls of the Law, **tefillin*, and **mezuzot* should not be bought from gentiles at more than their value, for the general good" (4:6), i.e., so that gentiles should not be encouraged to steal such religious requisites from Jews; similarly, "one does not prevent the gentile poor from gathering gleanings, the forgotten sheaf, and the corner of the fields in the interest of peace" (5:8). The sixth chapter discusses agency and clarifies the difference between an agent for the delivery of a *get*, in which case the woman is not divorced until the *get* reaches her, and an agent for the reception of the *get*, where the agent represents the wife with the result that she is divorced as soon as the agent receives the *get*. The seventh chapter deals with the laws of conditional divorces. The eighth chapter, which derives from the Mishnah of R. Meir ("the whole of this chapter is R. Meir" – TJ, 8:5, 49c), contains a list of invalid divorces; should the woman remarry on the strength of them, she would need to receive a divorce from both husbands (a formula repeated in *mishnayot* 5–9). The ninth chapter contains parts of formulae of bills of divorce (9:3), from which it may be inferred that in early days there was no fixed formula (cf. also Tosef., Git. 9:6; Kid. 5b) and that divorces were written in Aramaic or Hebrew. The tractate concludes with a dispute between Bet Shammai and Bet Hillel about the grounds on which a man is permitted to divorce his wife. "Bet Shammai says, 'a man may not divorce his wife unless he has found unchastity in her,' while Bet Hillel says, 'even if she spoilt his food.'" According to Akiva, he may even divorce his wife if he finds another more attractive. This additional opinion is not a third one but an explanation of the words of Bet Hillel (see also Halevy, Dorot, 1, pt. 3 (1923), 569), and the radical wording is apparently intended to reject the views of Christians, who forbade divorce entirely (Mark 10:2–12, et al.).

The Tosefta, which in the printed edition contains seven chapters (the Mss. have nine like the Mishnah), supplements the Mishnah and gives the continuation of the development of the *halakhah*. Thus Mishnah 7:8 teaches: "(If the husband said) 'This is your *get* if I do not return within 12 months,' and he died within 12 months, it is not valid" – for the *get* only becomes effective at the end of 12 months and a divorce cannot be effected after death. To this the Tosefta (7:11) adds: "but our rabbis permitted her to marry." The Babylonian and Jerusalem Talmuds remark: "who are meant by 'our rabbis'? *Judah Nesiah …," Judah (II) the son of Gamaliel and the grandson of Judah ha-Nasi redactor of the Mishnah (76b; TJ, 7:3, 48d). This is one of three instances in which Judah Nesiah is called "our rabbi," although in general "our rabbis" refers to the generation of quasi-*tannaim* following Judah ha-Nasi (see Epstein, Tannaim, 231). Tosefta 5:4–5 affords information about cooperation between Jews and gentiles in the field of social welfare. In a city containing Jews and gentiles the communal leaders collect from both in the interest of peace. The gentile poor are supported together with the Jewish poor, in the interest of peace. Eulogies are delivered over them; when in mourning they are comforted; and their burial is undertaken in the interest of peace.

From the tractate it is possible to prove that there existed a kind of official recognition by the government of Jewish civil jurisdiction and that government sanctions were invoked to execute the decisions of the Jewish courts. Thus the Mishnah (9:8) teaches: "A bill of divorce given under compulsion is valid if ordered by a Jewish court, but if by a gentile court it is invalid; but if the gentiles beat him and say, 'Do what the Jews bid thee,' it is valid." Thus even a bill of divorce arranged by gentiles can also be valid, i.e., if the Jewish court requests the gentile court forcefully to compel the husband to give a divorce. So too in the Jerusalem Talmud (9:10, 50d) "and if gentiles compel on the initiative of (the *bet din* of) Jews, it is valid." The Jerusalem and Babylonian Talmuds explain and clarify the subjects raised in the Mishnah; e.g., Mishnah 4:2 cites a **takkanah* of Rabban Gamaliel the Elder that for the general good the husband is forbidden to annul a bill of divorce that has been handed over to a messenger but has not yet reached the wife. According to Simeon b. Gamaliel in a *baraita* (33a), should the husband disobey the *takkanah* and annul the divorce, the annulment is of no effect, and the divorce is valid. On this, the Talmud asks: "And is it possible that where a divorce has been annulled according to Torah law, we should, to uphold the authority of the court, allow a married woman to remarry?" To this the Babylonian Talmud replies: "Yes. When a man betroths he does so on the conditions laid down by the rabbis, and in this case the rabbis annul his betrothal." The Jerusalem Talmud (4:2), however, holds that the rabbis do have the power to annul Torah law, even without the premise that all who betroth do so on the conditions laid down by the rabbis.

Aggadic sayings are sometimes interwoven with the *halakhah*. Mishnah 5:6 quotes various *takkanot* in connection with the law of buying land from the sicaricon (i.e., those usurping the owner's land by decree of the Roman government), the purpose of these *takkanot* being to normalize economic conditions and the purchase of property. In connection with this, the Talmud (55bff.) cites a collection of interesting *aggadot* relating to events connected with the destruction of the Temple and its causes (67bff.). The beginning of the seventh chapter enumerates a long list of popular remedies, and the passage includes the story of *Asmodeus (Ashmedai) and his demons.

Mishnah 5:8 lays down, "in the interest of peace," the order in which men are called to the public reading of the Pentateuch: "A priest reads first, after him a levite, and after him an Israelite." The Babylonian Talmud (60a) completes the order in which Israelites are called to the reading of the law. From this list the degree of importance of the functionaries in Jewish society can be inferred: "First scholars appointed *parnasim* over the community, then scholars fit to be appointed *parnasim* over the community, then the sons of scholars whose fathers have been appointed *parnasim* over the community, after them heads of synagogues and the general public." The Babylonian Talmud (67a) quotes a *baraita* specifying the distinctive merits of scholars: "Meir was wise and a scribe; Judah was wise when he desired to be; Tarfon was like a heap of nuts; Ishmael was like a well-stocked shop; Akiva was like a storehouse with compartments; Johanan b. Nuri was like a basket of fancy goods; Eleazar b. Azariah was like a basket of spices; the Mishnah of Eliezer b. Jacob is scant but clear. Yose always had his reasons; Simeon used to grind much and produce little … and what he discarded was only the bran" (cf. ARN^1 18, 68). The following dicta and apothegms are worthy of note: **dina de-malkhuta dina*, "the law of the government is binding" (a halakhic rule of great importance in the Diaspora; 10b); "a man should not terrorize the members of his household" (6b); "The words of the Torah abide only with one who sacrifices himself for their sake" (57b); "If a man divorces his first wife, even the altar sheds tears" (90b). In the Soncino translation of the Talmud tractate *Gittin* was translated by M. Simon (1936). For the commentators, editors, and translations of the tractate, see *Talmud.

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[Yitzhak Dov Gilat]

°GIUSTINIANI, AGOSTINO (**Pantaleone**; 1470?–1536), Italian Orientalist and Hebraist. Born in Genoa, Giustiniani, a friend of Erasmus, *Pico della Mirandola, and Sir Thomas More, taught in Bologna, and in 1513 wrote a kabbalistic work inspired by J. *Reuchlin's *De verbo mirifico* and *De arte cabalistica*. He then made a bold, but unsuccessful, attempt to publish the first modern polyglot Bible, of which only the first part, *Psalterium octaplum* (Genoa, 1516), appeared. This contained the Hebrew text of Psalms, the Targum, an Arabic translation, two Greek and two Latin translations, and a commentary based largely on rabbinic sources. On Psalm 19:5 there is a curious marginal allusion to Christopher *Columbus (Giustiniani's Genoese compatriot) and his voyages of discovery, which is the first such allusion in Hebrew literature. Although this Psalter, dedicated to Pope Leo X, was well received, it did not enjoy great commercial success, and the project then came to an end.

In 1514 Giustiniani was made bishop of Nebbio in Corsica, but political considerations led to his acceptance of the chair of Hebrew in Paris. From 1517 until 1522 he taught at the new College of the Three Languages, founded by Francis I, and published various works, including an edition of R. David *Kimḥi's Hebrew grammar (*Liber Viarum Linguae Sanctae*, Paris, 1520?), and *Rabi Mossei Dux seu Director dubitantium aut perplexorum* (Paris, 1520), a Latin version of the *Guide of the Perplexed* of *Maimonides. The latter, which Giustiniani produced with the aid of Jacob *Mantino, was marred by its reliance on faulty texts. Many of his kabbalistic writings appeared in the *De arcanis catholicae veritatis* (Ortona, 1518) of P. Columna *Galatinus. Giustiniani bequeathed his library of rare books and manuscripts to Genoa. Little is known about the last years of his life. In 1536, on a trip to Corsica, he was lost at sea.

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[Godfrey Edmond Silverman]

°**GIUSTINIANI, MARCO ANTONIO** (fl. 16th century), printer of Hebrew books in Venice, Venetian patrician. His master printer Cornelius *Adelkind printed a fine edition of the Babylonian Talmud (1546–51). Soon, this very active press faced a formidable competitor in the house of *Bragadini which issued Maimonides' *Mishneh Torah*, with the notes of Meir Katzenellenbogen. Giustiniani then printed the full text of that code without R. Meir's notes. The mutual recriminations that the rivals engaged in at the Papal Court ultimately resulted in the confiscation and burning of all Hebrew books (1553).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: D W. Amram, *Makers of Hebrew Books in Italy* (1909), index.

GIVAT ADA (Heb. גִּבְעַת עָדָה), moshavah in central Israel on the slopes of the Manasseh Hills. Founded in 1903 by the Jewish Colonization Association (ICA) on land purchased by Baron Edmond de Rothschild, after whose wife Ada (Adelaïde) it was named, it provided homesteads for the children of farmers from *Zikhron Ya'akov. The village's progress was very slow and it suffered from attacks during the Arab riots of 1920 and 1936–39. After World War II additional families received land at Givat Ada, and after 1948, when the village received the status of a municipal council, new immigrants were absorbed, from Yemen, Hungary, Turkey, Romania, and other countries. In 1962–64 new immigrants from North Africa arrived. In 1968 Givat Ada had 1,330 inhabitants, in the mid-1990s approximately 1,510, and at the end of 2002, 2,540, on an area of 4.2 sq. mi. (11 sq. km.). The population's growth rate was a very high 4% per year, with its economy based on vineyards, fruit orchards, field and garden crops, and cattle. In 2003 the municipality of Givat Ada was united with the municipality of *Binyaminah.

[Efraim Orni / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

GIVATAYIM (Heb. גִּבְעָתַיִם; "Two Hills"), township in central Israel, between Tel Aviv and Ramat Gan, founded in 1922 as a workers' suburb named Shekhunat Borochov (after Ber (Dov) *Borochov). In 1942 this quarter was united with four others in the vicinity to form the municipal unit of Givatayim. In 1959 Givatayim received municipal status. The town's population increased from 7,000 in 1947 to 42,100 in 1968 and 47,400 in 2002. Compared with other urban communities, Givatayim's population was characterized in 1969 by an exceptionally high percentage of Israeli-born and veteran Israelis (over 70%), while among those born abroad, 79.6% originated from Europe and America. At the beginning of the 21st century, Givatayim had the highest senior citizen population in Israel (21.8%). Standards of living and education were above average. The municipality pays particular attention to the environment. Buildings in Givatayim tend to be low, and 10% of the city's area consists of green zones, including 26 public parks and squares. In 2003 Givatayim was chosen as the best cared for city in Israel.

The city is situated within the Tel Aviv conurbation and its built-up area links up with that of the neighboring municipalities. Its area includes 1.2 sq. mi. (3.211 sq. km.).

WEBSITE: www.givatayim.muni.il.

[Efraim Orni / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

GIVAT BRENNER (Heb. גִּבְעַת בְּרֶנֶר), kibbutz in central Israel, south of *Reḥovot, affiliated with Ha-Kibbutz ha-Me'uḥad. It was founded in 1928 by pioneers from Lithuania and Italy who were later joined by immigrants from Germany and several other countries. The members initially derived a livelihood mainly as hired laborers on farms and in industries nearby, but they quickly developed their own intensive farming branches (plant nurseries, field crops, and orchards) and industrial enterprises (including plants for metal sprinkler parts, textiles, fruit and vegetable preserves, ceramics, furniture, baby food), and became the largest collective settlement in the country. Following the split in *Ha-Kibbutz ha-Me'uḥad in 1951–52, a number of its members joined a new kibbutz, *Neẓer Sereni. In 1968, Givat Brenner had 1,520 inhabitants, declining to approximately 1,340 in the mid-1990s, and 1,180 in 2002. Its Bet Yesha rest home and resort was the first of its kind in a labor settlement. The kibbutz has a cultural center named after Enzo *Sereni, who was one of its members. The settlement is named after Joseph Ḥ. *Brenner.

WEBSITE: www.gbrener.org.il.

[Efraim Orni /Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

GIVAT HA-SHELOSHAH (Heb. גִּבְעַת הַשְּׁלוֹשָׁה), kibbutz in central Israel, east of Petaḥ Tikvah, affiliated with Ha-Kibbutz ha-Me'uḥad, first founded in 1925 on a site west of Petaḥ Tikvah by pioneers from Eastern Europe. The kibbutz initially subsisted mainly on its members' wages as hired laborers in local farms and industry. Gradually it developed its own farm branches and industrial enterprises. With the urbanization of the vicinity, the kibbutz was allocated a new site in rural surroundings of Rosh ha-Ayin further east. The transfer also made possible the establishment of two separate kibbutzim for the two sectors created as a result of the 1951–52 split in Ha-Kibbutz ha-Me'uḥad (the kibbutz that joined Iḥud ha-Kevuẓot ve-ha-Kibbutzim assumed the name Einat). In 1968, Givat ha-Sheloshah had 510 inhabitants, dropping to 439 in 2002. Its farming was highly intensive, with citrus and other orchards, irrigated crops, and dairy cattle. The kibbutz had a shoe factory and a plant for building materials. The name, "Hill of the Three," commemorates three Jewish laborers from the Petaḥ Tikvah area who were executed by the Turks during World War I.

[Efraim Orni]

GIVAT ḤAYYIM (Heb. גִּבְעַת חַיִּים), two kibbutzim in central Israel 4 mi. (6 km.) south of Ḥaderah. The founding settlers from Austria and Czechoslovakia were among the first pioneers on the Ḥefer Plain lands. They worked on drainage of the local swamps and planted eucalyptus groves. In 1932, the group established a kibbutz and was joined by immigrants from other countries. They developed intensive farming and set up a cask factory and a food preserves plant. Givat Ḥayyim was affiliated with Ha-Kibbutz ha-Me'uḥad, and after a split in that movement in 1951–52, was partitioned into two neighboring kibbutzim – Givat Ḥayyim and Givat Ḥayyim Bet. In 1968, Givat Ḥayyim (Ha-Kibbutz ha-Me'uḥad) numbered 705 persons and Givat Ḥayyim Bet (Iḥud ha-Kevuẓot ve-ha-Kibbutzim) had 690 inhabitants. In 2002, their populations were 960 and 801, respectively. Each had a one-third interest in the Pri-Gat juice company. The name commemorates Chaim *Arlosoroff.

WEBSITE: www.gat.co.il.

[Efraim Orni]

GIVAT ḤEN (Heb. גִּבְעַת חֵ"ן), moshav in central Israel near *Ra'ananah, affiliated with Tenu'at ha-Moshavim, founded in November 1933 in the framework of the "Thousand Families Settlement Scheme" by settlers from Eastern Europe who had become agricultural workers in Ra'ananah. They began by developing auxiliary farms which later became full-fledged farmsteads mainly based on citriculture, vegetable gardens, and dairy cattle. Later, some of the farmers went into organic farming. In 2002 the moshav's population was 331. The moshav's name is composed of the initials of Ḥayyim Naḥman *Bialik's first names.

[Efraim Orni /Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

GIVAT SHEMUEL (Heb. גִּבְעַת שְׁמוּאֵל), town in central Israel, located east of *Bene-Berak on land purchased from the Arab village of Ibn-Ibrāk. Givat Shemuel was founded in 1944 by a group of Romanian Jews, with a committee running the settlement as an association. In 1948, with the expansion of the settlement and the creation of the new neighborhood of Kiryat Yisrael, the association became a municipal council. Over the years additional neighborhoods were built and by the end of 2002 the population of Givat Shemuel had grown to 15,200 in a mixed religious and secular population, on a land area of 1.4 sq. mi. (3.5 sq. km.). The town is named after Samuel *Pineles, a Romanian Zionist leader.

WEBSITE: www.gshmuel.gov.il.

[Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

GIVAT ZE'EV (Heb. גִּבְעַת זְאֵב), urban settlement east of Jerusalem. In 1977 a group of settlers including native-born Israelis and immigrants from the U.S.S.R. occupied a deserted Jordanian army camp near ancient Giv'on nearby. After a few failed efforts to found a settlement, the Israeli government took over in 1981 and in 1983 the first new settlers began to arrive. By 2002 the population had reached 10,600, on a land area of 0.04 sq. mi. (1 sq. km.), and enjoyed municipal status. The majority of the population consists of young families and was expanding rapidly with another 2,000 apartments under construction in 2004. Givat Ze'ev is named for Ze'ev (Vladimir) *Jabotinsky, the leader of the *Betar movement.

WEBSITE: www.givat-zeev.muni.il.

[Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

GIVENS, PHILIP (1922–1995), Canadian politician and Jewish community leader. Givens was born in Toronto to Polish immigrants Hyman and Mary Gevertz. After completing Jewish parochial school, he graduated from the University of Toronto in 1945 with a degree in political science and economics and Osgoode Hall Law School in 1949. A member for the Liberal Party from youth, Givens gave up legal practice for politics. A long-time member of the Toronto city council, in 1961 Givens was elected as controller of the City of Toronto. A forceful, progressive, and energetic promoter of the city, after only one term as controller he was elected mayor of Toronto in 1963 – the second Jewish mayor of Toronto. His term as mayor was marked by the rapid expansion of Toronto's cultural and transportation infrastructure. Especially controversial was his championing the purchase of an abstract sculpture, *The Archer*, by Henry Moore, for the plaza of the new City Hall. Opponents branded Given's support for public art as ugly and a waste of money but Givens had his way. While the sculpture has since become a source of community pride, the controversy rebounded against Givens and he was defeated in his 1966 re-election bid. Givens turned his attention to the federal politics and was elected to Parliament in the 1968 Pierre Trudeau landslide. Givens resigned in 1971 before completing his term, after a dispute with Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau over issues that affected the Jewish community and out of disappointment at not being made a member of Cabinet. Givens ran for the Liberal Party in the 1971 Ontario provincial sphere and remained in the Ontario legislature until he retired from electoral politics in 1977. He subsequently held a number of judicial appointments.

Givens was a committed member of the Toronto Jewish community. A Yiddishist and Zionist, he was founding president of the Upper Canada Lodge of B'nai B'rith and president of the Toronto Zionist Council and member of the national executive of the Zionist Organization of Canada. He chaired the United Israel Appeal in Toronto and was active in the Canadian Jewish Congress, the Canadian Council of Christians and Jews, and a number of other community organizations. Givens is fondly remembered for his flamboyant style and devotion to the preservation of Yiddish language and culture.

[Frank Bialystok (2nd ed.)]

GIVET (Vichniac), JACQUES (1917–), Swiss poet. Born in Moscow, Givet became prominent in Swiss intellectual circles. His verse collections, at first influenced by surrealism, include *Nous n'irons plus au bois* (1938), *Les cicatrices de la peur* (1954), and *L'eau et la mémoire* (1963). Givet also published a remarkable polemical tract on neo-antisemitism, *La gauche contre Israël* (1968).

GLADIATOR, professional fighter in Roman public games. Little information is available about the gladiatorial contests held in the Middle East under Roman imperial rule. The performances were arranged by the authorities of cities with a predominantly Hellenistic culture; in Judea, for instance, they were sponsored by *Herod in *Caesarea. The Jewish sources make mention of Jews in this connection, and it was common knowledge that gladiators were bought for "large sums" (TJ, Git. 4:9, 46a–b). Rabbinical opinion was in general opposed to providing a ransom for a man who had sold himself as a gladiator, although an opinion is expressed that he should be ransomed since his life was in danger (Git. 46b–47a). "It is the accepted custom that a gladiator does not make a will," since he might be killed at any moment (Gen. R. 49:1, ed. by Theodor and Albeck, 1200). Some Jewish gladiators deliberately infringed the dietary laws to annoy their coreligionists and lived in Roman style (Git., loc. cit.). Others, however, were obliged to sell themselves out of financial stress "in order to exist" (TJ, loc. cit.). The expression "meal for gladiators" denoted an early repast consisting of an enriched diet (Pes. 12b; Shab. 10a). It is related of the *amora* Resh Lakish (see *Simeon b. Lakish) that he sold himself as a gladiator but that by combining courage with guile he managed to outwit the promoters of the contest and kill them all (Git. 47a). The rabbinical attitude toward the gladiatorial contests is clear from their association in the Midrash with brothels, gaming, and sorcery (Tanh. B., Gen. 24).

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[Haim Hillel Ben-Sasson]

GLAGAU, OTTO (1834–1892), antisemitic German writer. Glagau was born in Koenigsberg, Prussia. As a journalist and political writer he had already made quite a reputation when he began, in the *Gartenlaube* of 1873, a series of articles on fraudulent stock-jobbing which were so full of invective that the editor discontinued them. Glagau had lost heavily in unfortunate speculations, and was very bitter against the stock exchange. In this spirit he wrote *Der Boersen- und Gruendungsschwindel in Berlin* and *Der Boersen- und Gruendungsschwindel in Deutschland* (Leipzig, 1877), in which he made some exposures of dishonest business methods, but in general caricatured rather than described the German business world. He naturally became involved in numerous libel suits. In these books he attacked the Jews vehemently as the perpetrators of all questionable financial transactions. It may be said that these books inaugurated the antisemitic movement.

GLANTZ, JACOBO (Yaakov Glanz; 1902–1982), Yiddish Mexican poet. He was born in Novovitebsk, Ukraine, into a family of religious farmers. He studied both in a traditional Jewish school and in Russian secular schools, and taught Yiddish language and literature at ORT schools in Odessa. Glantz wrote poetry in Russian and was part of literary bohemian groups of the Russian Revolution. In 1925 he immigrated to Mexico, where he worked in many occupations. In 1927 he started to publish in the first Yiddish newspaper in Mexico, *Meksikaner Yiddish Lebn,* and in 1927 he authored with Itzhak Berliner and Moshe Glikovsky the first book of poems in Yiddish to appear in Mexico: *Dray Vegn*. In 1936–46 Glantz was the literary editor of the newspaper *Der Veg*. In 1939 he suffered a lynch attempt by a fascist local group. Most of his poetry was in Yiddish, but he also wrote in Spanish and on Latin American subjects (such as his long poem *Cristóbal Colón*). He published essays on the Yiddish poet H. Leivick and on Novo-Vitebsk (1950).

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[Florinda F. Goldberg (2nd ed.)]

GLANTZ, MARGO (1930–), Mexican author and critic. The daughter of Yiddish poet Jacobo *Glantz, she grew up in an atmosphere of both Jewish European and Mexican Christian and popular culture. Her books reflect this complex double identity as well as the strife of an independent woman in a man-ruled culture. Glantz's best-known book, *Las genealogías* (1981; *The Family Tree*, 1991), retells her family's and her own memories. Since *Las mil y una calorías* ("One Thousand and One Calories," 1978), her narrations defy the traditions of the genre by means of fragmentation and irony. Among them: *Síndrome de naufragios* ("Shipwreck Syndrome," 1984); *Zona de derrumbe* ("Zone of Collapse," 2001); *El rastro* (2002; *The Wake*, 2005); *Historia de una mujer que caminó por la vida con zapatos de diseñador* ("History of a Woman who Walked through Life with Designer Shoes," 2005). Her essay "De la amorosa inclinación a enredarse en cabellos" ("On the Loving Tendency to Entangle Oneself in Hair," 1984) satirizes Jewish Orthodoxy related to woman's hair and submission. Glantz contributes to the Mexican press and media. She published critical essays on Mexican literature, which she also taught at Mexican, American, and European universities. She received several awards for her literary and critical works.

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[Florinda F. Goldberg (2nd ed.)]

GLANVILLE, BRIAN LESTER (1931–), English novelist and journalist. Glanville's first novel was *The Reluctant Dictator* (1952). He emerged as the leading young Anglo-Jewish novelist of the decade with *The Bankrupts* (1958) which exposed the sham culture of Anglo-Jewry's nouveaux riches, but proved controversial. Glanville was attacked in various quarters for his unsympathetic attitude toward and relative ignorance of Judaism. *A Bad Streak* (1961) and *Diamond* (1962) also incorporate critical portrayals of Jewish types. Three later novels on general themes were *The Director's Wife* (1963), *A Roman Marriage* (1966), and *The Olympia* (1969). Glanville became a sports writer for the *Sunday Times* in 1960, remaining in that position for 30 years. He published books on soccer, including *A History of the World Cup* (2002).

GLANZ, LEIB (1898–1964), cantor and composer. He was born in Kiev, where his father was cantor at the synagogue of the Talna Ḥasidim. He led congregational prayers at the age of eight. After holding cantorial posts at Kishinev and in Romania, he immigrated to the United States in 1926 to become cantor of the Ohev Shalom Synagogue in Brooklyn, N.Y. Glanz had a lyric tenor voice which had great appeal both in its technical range and warmth of expression. He rebelled against the "sobbing" style favored in his time by many cantors and disapproved of the excessive use of the minor scale. The music he arranged for the synagogue had grace as well as devotional fervor. While holding his post at Brooklyn, he toured extensively and then accepted a post as cantor of Heikhal Sinai Synagogue and the Sha'arei Tefillah Synagogue in Los Angeles. In 1954 he settled in Israel and was chief cantor of the Tiferet Ẓevi Synagogue in Tel Aviv until his death. Glanz regarded the pentatonic scale as the ancient basis of Jewish music. He did research on liturgical melodies, and arranged choral music in the ḥasidic style. He aimed at creating a new tradition of *ḥazzanut*, and for this purpose founded the Tel Aviv Institute of Religious Jewish Music, to which the Cantorial Academy he headed became affiliated. He left more than 100 compositions in manuscript form and many recordings of his own performances.

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[Joshua Leib Ne'eman]

GLANZ-LEYELES, AARON (1889–1966), U.S. Yiddish poet and essayist. Born in Vloclawek, Poland, he was educated in his father's *talmud torah* in Lodz, studied literature at the University of London (1905–08) and, after immigrating to New York in 1909, at Columbia University (1910–13). He taught at Yiddish schools, lectured on Yiddish literature, edited Yiddish journals, and for more than half-a-century wrote articles on literary, social, and political events for the New York daily *Der Tog*. His prose appeared primarily under the name, A. Glanz, and his verse under the pseudonym A. Leyeles. In 1919, together with Jacob *Glatstein and N.B. *Minkoff, he founded the *In-Zikh ("Introspectivist") movement of Yiddish poetry and the literary organ *In Zikh* for the propagation of the Inzikhist credo. While his first book of poetry, *Labirint* ("Labyrinth," 1918), rejected impressionistic effects and intricate traditional forms, his second book, *Yungharbst* ("Young Autumn," 1922), followed the Inzikhist doctrines. It was followed by *Rondos un Andere Lider* ("Rondos and Other Poems," 1928) and *Tsu Dir – tsu Mir* ("To You – to Me," 1933). *Fabius Lind* (1937), an autobiography in verse, told the story of his spiritual odyssey and was prefaced by a restatement of his literary beliefs. *A Yid Oyfn Yam* ("A Jew at Sea," 1947) consisted of lyrics composed under the impact of the European Jewish catastrophe. It was followed by the volume of poems *Baym Fus Fun Barg* ("At the Foot of the Mountain," 1957), in which he again emphasized his opposition both to abstract poetry stripped of emotional content and to poetry as the expression of untamed feeling devoid of intellectual content. He held that poetry must always be concrete, the direct or indirect expression of a real experience, in which thought and feeling were intertwined. In the lyrics of *Amerike un Ikh* ("America and I," 1963), he voiced his faith in the historical ideals of the U.S. Of his experiments in poetic drama, only *Shlomo Molkho* (1926), which dealt with the conflict between the two messianic figures David *Reuveni and Solomon *Molcho, aroused significant interest. While Reuveni sought to redeem the Jewish people by force of arms and to restore them to a normal existence on their ancestral soil, Molcho, influenced by kabbalistic lore, wished the Jews to remain in the Diaspora and to become the self-sacrificing redeemers of all mankind. Through this 16th-century Marrano martyr, Glanz-Leyeles voiced the Territorialist philosophy with which he had been long associated. In a second drama, *Asher Lemlen* (1928), he dealt with the conflict between Jewish messianic longing and the reality of political and social life. A Hebrew translation of the two plays was made by Shimshon Melzer and a Hebrew rendering of selected poems by B. Ḥrushovski (Harshav; 1960), with a literary analysis by Dov Sadan; Harshav also translated his verse into English (*American-Yiddish Poetry*, 1986). Glanz-Leyeles translated works from English, Russian, and Polish into Yiddish, most notably the works of Edgar Allen Poe. In the volume *Velt un Vort* ("World and Word," 1958), Glanz-Leyeles collected the best of his important essays on poets, novelists, and memoirists. In his criticism, he maintained that a critic should call attention to the way in which a work enriched literature rather than to its failings. In his 75th year, he visited Israel for the first time and was stimulated to a new burst of lyric creativity.

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[Sol Liptzin / Anita Norich (2nd ed.)]

GLAPHYRA (first century B.C.E.), daughter of Archelaus, king of Cappadocia. Glaphyra's first husband was *Alexander, son of Herod the Great. After Alexander's execution (7 B.C.E.) Herod returned her to her father. However, her two sons by the marriage, Tigranes and Alexander, remained with the king. Glaphyra then married Juba, king of Libya. This marriage seems to have ended abruptly, and the princess returned home again. There she met Archelaus, son of Herod, who immediately divorced his wife Mariamne and married her. This marriage constituted a transgression of Jewish law, since Glaphyra had already borne children to the brother of Archelaus. Glaphyra died shortly after her arrival in Judea.

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[Isaiah Gafni]

GLASER, DONALD ARTHUR (1926–), U.S. physicist and Nobel laureate. Glaser was born in Cleveland, Ohio, and received his B.Sc. in physics from the Case Institute of Technology (1946) and his Ph.D. in physics and mathematics from the California Institute of Technology (1949). He joined the physics department of the University of Michigan (1949), becoming professor (1957) before moving to the University of California at Berkeley as professor of physics (1959) and of physics and neurobiology from 1989. Glaser's early research interests, for which he was awarded the Nobel Prize (1960), concerned the properties of high-energy particles. He designed the bubble chamber for tracking these particles as a method superior to the cloud chambers previously in use. Subsequently he worked on computational models of the human visual system supported by physical and psychological observations of visual perception.

[Michael Denman (2nd ed.)]

GLASER, EDUARD (1855–1908), scholar, archaeologist, and explorer. Born in Deutsch-Rust (Czech Republic), Glaser was, along with another Jewish scholar, Joseph *Halévy, the leading 19th century scholarly researcher in south Arabia and the pioneer of Sabaean studies and pre-Islamic history. His thorough knowledge of the Arabic language, of Oriental customs, and especially of Islam was the secret of his research success. His journeys through *Yemen represent the most important scholarly research ever carried out in this part of the world after Halévy. Despite great financial problems and dangers, he undertook four expeditions to Yemen between 1882 and 1895, disguised as a Muslim. He reached remote historical places in Yemen never visited before by Western scholars, such as Mārib, the capital of the ancient Kingdom of Sheba. The southern Arabian inscriptions he collected are of fundamental importance for all research on ancient Yemen. The analysis of his still unpublished scholarly works is far from finished. The collection of almost 660 objects from southern Arabia that he brought back from his fourth journey into Yemen in 1895 formed the nucleus of the "Oriental" or Near Eastern section in the Kunsthistorischen Museum in Vienna; he also brought hundreds of Yemeni-Arabic manuscripts to the National Library in Vienna. He was a great lover of the Jewish people and the Zionist movement. He corresponded with *Herzl and proposed to him the establishment of the Jewish state in Yemen. In Sana he became close to the local Jewish scholar, R. Yiḥye *Kafaḥ and strengthened his enlightened attitude toward the Jewish religion. In a series of articles published in the REJ, written as a part of his spirited debate with Halévy, Glaser expressed his uncompromising view that the pre-Islamic Himyari kingdom was indeed a Jewish kingdom, based on his interpretation of some on the inscriptions he found in Yemen.

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[Yosef Tobi (2nd ed.)]

GLASER, JOSEPH (1925–1994), U.S. Reform rabbi. Glaser was born in Boston, Massachusetts. His education was interrupted by World War II, where he served in combat infantry and earned a Purple Heart. He returned to the United States and received his B.A. from UCLA (1948) and his law degree from the University of San Francisco before entering Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion, where he was ordained in 1956. His first assignment was a pulpit in Ventura, California, and he served as registrar and instructor at the Los Angeles campus of the Hebrew Union College, which opened in the mid-1950s to accommodate the rapid expansion of the California Jewish community. Glaser left his congregation in 1959 to become the Northern California/Pacific Region director of the *Union of American Hebrew Congregations, the congregational arm of the Reform movement. He moved to New York in 1971 to serve as executive vice president of the *Central Conference of American Rabbis. He remained in that position until his retirement. Within a few years Rabbi Alfred *Gottschalk was to head the Hebrew Union College and Alexander *Schindler the UAHC, thus giving the Reform movement stable and experienced leadership during most of the last quarter of the 20th century.

Glaser directed the activities of the CCAR, an organization of 1,700 rabbis, mainly in North America. He played an important role in the 1990 decision of the Reform Rabbinate to open membership to rabbis without regard to their sexual orientation, balancing that with a reaffirmation of the ideal of a monogamous, procreative marriage.

A social activist, he was an advocate for Native Americans and Tibetan refugees, as well as for Israel. He served as chairman of Religion in American Life, the first Jew to preside over the non-sectarian organization designed to fortify the American people's faith in God. He also served on the executive committee of the Synagogue Council of America and the Union of American Hebrew Congregations. He was on the board of American Jewish World Service and other organizations.

[Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

GLASER, JULIUS ANTON (**Joshua**; 1831–1886), Austrian jurist. Born in Poestelberg, Bohemia, he converted to Christianity in his youth. He obtained doctorates in law from the universities of Zurich and Vienna. In 1856 he was appointed assistant professor of criminal law at Vienna University and four years later became full professor. From 1871 to 1879 he was minister of justice and later attorney general. Glaser's principal contribution to Austrian jurisprudence was the introduction of a new penal code in 1873. The code was largely concerned with protecting the rights of the accused and remained in force in Austria until 1938. Among his numerous legal publications are *Das englischschottische Strafverfahren* (1850); *Anklage, Wahrspruch und Rechtsmittel im englischen Schwurgerichtsverfahren* (1866). In addition, he coedited the *Allgemeine Oesterreichische Gerichtszeitung*.

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[Guido (Gad) Tedeschi]

GLASGOW, city in S.W. Scotland. The first Jew to settle in the city was Isaac Cohen in 1812; however there was no sizable community or synagogue until 1833, when services were held in the house of the *shoḥet*, Moses Lisenheim. By 1831, 47 Jews lived in the city, most of them originating from Eastern Europe, though six had already been born in Glasgow. Four years later the community acquired its first burial ground, which was used until 1851. There was a split in the congregation in 1842 when a hall attached to Anderson College was leased for religious services; a minority of community members objected, arguing that since human bodies were dissected at the college, it was an unfit place for a synagogue. Subsequent bitterness between the two groups led to court proceedings over the right to use the cemetery; the majority won the case. However, at the election of Nathan Marcus *Adler as chief rabbi of Great Britain in 1844, both parties exercised a vote. By 1850 there were 200 Jews in the city and eight years later they consecrated a new synagogue, known as the Glasgow Hebrew Congregation. In 1879 a synagogue was built for the community at Garnethill, with E.P. Phillips as minister; it was soon followed by two others in the South Side. (In 1979 the Garnethill Synagogue celebrated its centenary.) As elsewhere in Britain, an influx of immigrants followed the Russian persecutions of 1881; in 1897 there were 4,000 Jews in the city and in 1902, 6,500. Many of the newcomers, who settled in the Gorbals district, were tailors or furriers.

The community was always active in Zionism, supporting Ḥovevei *Ẓion in the 19th century and Zionist associations in modern times. Mainly because of the stimulus of the *Habonim movement, a large number of young Glasgow Jews settled on kibbutzim in Israel. A charity board originally known as the Glasgow Hebrew Philanthropic Society (1858) and later called the Glasgow Jewish Board of Guardians also helped in the organization of the Jewish Old Age Home for Scotland, situated in the south of the city. The Glasgow *talmud torah* and Board of Jewish Religious Education organized classes for children (as do the individual synagogues), directed the Hebrew College (for post-bar mitzvah Jewish education), and assisted in running the yeshivah. In 1970 there was a Jewish day school at the primary level and Hebrew was taught in two municipal secondary schools; Glasgow University taught both biblical and modern Hebrew.

The Jewish Echo (weekly, established in 1928) was Scotland's only Jewish newspaper until 1965, when *The Jewish Times* (later renamed *Israel Today*) was established. The community had many organizations of Jewish interest, e.g., Bnei Akiva, ORT, and the Jewish Lad's Brigade (which claimed the world's only Jewish bagpipe band). Ten Orthodox and one Reform synagogue served the community. Religious leaders of note included Samuel I. *Hillman, Kopul Rosen, I.K. Cosgrove (1903–1973), and Wolf Gottlieb (b. 1910). Among the community's outstanding members were Sir Maurice *Bloch, Sir Isaac *Wolfson, Sir Ian M. *Heilbron, Sir Myer Galpern (b. 1903, lord provost and lord lieutenant of Scotland (1958–60) and Labor M.P. (1959)), Samuel Krantz (b. 1901) and L.H. *Daiches. Notable in the university as well as in the community were Noah Morris (professor of medicine), Michael Samuel (professor of English language), and David Daiches Raphael (professor of political and social theory).

In 1969 the Jewish population numbered about 13,400 (out of a total of 1,045,000). In the mid-1990s the Jewish population dropped to approximately 6,700. In 2001 the British census recorded a Jewish population of 4,224. Dr. Kenneth E. Collins has written a number of important studies of Glasgow Jewry, including *Second City Jewry* (1990). At the beginning of the 21st century, six synagogues functioned in Glasgow, which also had a range of Jewish institutions, mainly in the city's southern suburbs. (See also Oscar *Slater.)

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GLASHOW, SHELDON LEE (1932–), U.S. physicist. Glashow was born in New York. He graduated from Cornell University in 1954, received his M.A. from Harvard in 1955 and his doctorate in 1959. After serving as assistant professor at Stanford University in 1961, he received a similar appointment at Berkeley (1961–66), where he was then named associate professor (1966–67); in 1967 he was appointed professor at Harvard. He is a member of the National Academy of Science, the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, the American Physics Society, and Sigma Xi. Glashow's research has been in the fields of theory of elementary particles and the interactions between them: a unified conception of strong and weak electrodynamic interaction and the identification of basic constituents of matter. He is the recipient of many awards, culminating in the Nobel Prize in physics in 1979 for his "contributions to the theory of the weak and electromagnetic interactions between elementary particles including, inter alia, the predictions of weak currents."

GLASMAN, BARUCH (1893–1945), Yiddish novelist, short story writer, and essayist. Glasman was born in Kapitkevich, Belorussia, and raised in nearby Mozyr. When he was 13 his family moved to Kiev, where he attended a Russian secondary school. In 1911, he emigrated to the U.S. and received a B.A. from Ohio State University in 1918, after which he served in the U.S. Army (1918–19). He began his literary career in English, publishing short stories in the Anglo-Jewish journal *Menorah*. He soon turned to writing in Yiddish and published his works in *Tsukunft, Der Yidisher Kemfer, Der Tog, Morgn-Zhurnal*, and *Forverts*. In 1924, he moved to Poland, where he toured, lecturing to audiences on the subject of Yiddish literature in America. In 1930, he returned to New York, where he remained until his death in 1945. Glasman is best known for his novels, including *A Trep* ("A Step," 1917), *Af an Inzl* ("On an Island," 1927), and *In Goldenem Zump* ("In the Golden Swamp," 1940). His selected works appeared in eight volumes (1927–37).

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[Melech Ravitch / Marc Miller (2nd ed.)]

GLASNER, MOSES SAMUEL (1856–1924), rabbi and early leader of the *Mizrachi movement in Hungary and Transylvania. Glasner, a great-grandson of R. Moshe *Sofer, was born in Pressburg. From 1878 until 1923, when he settled in Ereẓ Israel, he was the rabbi of Klausenburg. He was one of the two Orthodox rabbis in Hungary (the other being Moses Aryeh Roth) who joined the Zionist movement and Mizrachi, and at the founding convention of Mizrachi (Pressburg, 1904) he spoke out against the Orthodox Hungarian rabbis for their attacks upon Zionism and the Mizrachi. He propagated the Zionist idea in speeches and writings among Orthodox circles. He also published several halakhic works (*Or Bahir*, 1908; *Halakhah le-Moshe*, 1912; *Dor Revi'i*, 1921) and a work on the *aggadah, Shevivei Esh* (1903). In Jerusalem, he took part in the educational and cultural activities of Mizrachi and was especially close to Rabbi A.I. *Kook.

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[Getzel Kressel]

GLASS.

Earliest Times

The earliest manufacture of glass does not antedate the late third millennium B.C.E., when the first glass beads were made in Mesopotamia and Egypt. The invention of glass vessel-making dates to the mid-second millennium B.C.E., when the first core-formed glass vessels appear almost simultaneously in Egypt and Mesopotamia. Egypt's glass industry was particularly flourishing in the el-Amarna period (the first half of the 14th century B.C.E.). Some Mesopotamian glass vessels have been found in northern Syria, though none in Palestine, but several Palestinian sites have yielded Egyptian glass vessels of the 14th–13th centuries B.C.E. A rich collection of such vessels was found in the small Canaanite Fosse Temple at Lachish; others were found at Beth Shean and Tell Dayr ʿAllā (the ancient Sukkoth). Egyptian glass vessels were also found in tombs at Tell al-ʿAjūl, Beth Shemesh, and Ẓahrat al-Ḥumrāya south of Jaffa. Gezer and Megiddo yielded similar glass vessels. There is no positive evidence that there was any manufacture of glass vessels in Canaan in the Late Bronze Age. A complete decline in glassmaking set in toward the end of the second millennium B.C.E. and it is only in the second half of the eighth and the seventh centuries B.C.E. that glass vessels appear again. None of the molded and cut luxury glass bowls and other colored vessels of that period has come to light in Palestine, but a core-formed vessel of the seventh century was found in a tomb at Achzib. Glass-inlay pieces of the late ninth and eighth centuries were found together with the ivories in the palace of the kings of Israel at Samaria, but whether they were made of Syrian or imported glass is not known. An active production center of core-formed glass vessels, probably on the island of Rhodes, began making small amphoriskoi, aryballoses (short-necked flasks), alabastra, and juglets late in the seventh century B.C.E., and specimens have been found in an early sixth-century tomb at Gibeah, north of Jerusalem, and in Ammonite tombs in Jordan. Other vessels of this type have been found in Israel at Athlit, Achzib, Hazor, Beth Shean, and En Gedi. Molded and cut luxury glass vessels continued to be made in the Achaemenid period (sixth to fourth centuries) and the remains of an alabastrum of this type were found in a tomb at Athlit. Core-formed glass vessels of the Hellenistic period have occasionally been found in Palestine. The fragments of molded bowls found in second- and first-century B.C.E. levels at Ashdod, Jerusalem, Samaria, and other sites, may be products of local glass factories, possibly situated somewhere along the coast. There is, however, no indication whatsoever that Jews had any connection with glassmaking during the Hellenistic period, either in Palestine or in the Diaspora.

Glass in Hellenistic and Roman Periods

Glass is mentioned only once in the Bible, in Job 28:17, where it is equated with gold. This reflects the early situation when glass was of great value. The obscure statement in Deuteronomy 32:18–19 about Zebulun's hidden treasures in the sand was explained by Targum Jonathan as referring to glass, but this seems anachronistic. The Septuagint followed a very different line when it chose to render this passage as close as possible to Genesis 49:13. This probably indicates that when the Greek version of the Bible was prepared, this area had not had the obvious connection with glass that it had later on. A very early tradition seems to be preserved in the Palestinian Talmud (TJ, Pes. 1:6, 27b) and in the Babylonian Talmud (Shab. 14b, 15a), according to which Yose b. Joezer and Yose b. Johanan, who lived in the first half of the second century B.C.E., declared that glass vessels are liable to become impure. The U.S. talmudist Louis Ginzberg suggested that this declaration had an economic basis – it was meant to protect local pottery and metal ware from competition with foreign glass imports. Glass was, however, rare and valuable all through the Hellenistic period, and could not have presented competition to any local products. An explanation must therefore be sought in the cultural-religious sphere. The edict is contemporary with the first large-scale production of glass drinking bowls, and the two Jewish authorities may have objected to them because they identified them with Hellenistic influence, manners, and customs.

A revolutionary event was the invention of glassblowing toward the end of the first century B.C.E., which made it possible to produce glass vessels cheaply and in great variety. The invention seems to have taken place during the reign of Augustus (31 B.C.E.–14 C.E.) somewhere along the Phoenician coast, perhaps at Sidon, an area where a glass production center was apparently already in existence. The fame of Sidonian glass must have been considerable, since glassmakers working in Rome in the first century C.E. boasted of their Sidonian origin when they stamped the handles of their canthari in Greek or Latin, as, for example, Artas Sidon.

Several Jewish tombs of the first and second centuries C.E. have yielded glass vessels. Glass vessels are relatively rare in ossuary tombs around Jerusalem, which are no later than 70 C.E. A tomb excavated at Ramat Raḥel in 1931 (Tomb I) contained a small bottle with a spheric body and a short cylindrical neck. Several tombs in a cemetery on the Mount of Olives yielded simple, small glass bottles with pearshaped bodies and elongated necks. All these glass vessels are typical of the first-century vessels common throughout the Roman Empire. A Jewish tomb of the middle of the first century at Carthage yielded a shallow glass bowl of a shape very common in the early imperial period. So-called "candlestick" bottles which have small convex bodies and long tubular necks were found in a few ossuary tombs in and around Jerusalem which can be dated to the second century. To the relatively limited testimony from Jewish tombs were added in 1960–61 the finds from the Judean desert caves in which fugitives of the Bar Kokhba revolt took refuge. The finds included typical glass vessels of the early part of the second century C.E. It appears, then, that the only Jewish glass vessels of this period were the normal ware of the day. It stands to reason that some of the vessels, perhaps even many of them, were made by Jews but this is no more than a logical assumption. The Mishnah includes passages which refer specifically to glassmaking. *Kelim* 8:9 mentions עוֹשֵׂי זְכוּכִית – those who make glass (the "metal") – and זַגָּגִין – those who make glass vessels and their furnaces. Makers of glass vessels are also mentioned in *Kelim* 24:8. The Mishnah would not have included regulations about these trades if they had not been part and parcel of the daily life in Palestine, at any rate in the second century C.E. and possibly earlier. This, then, proves the existence of Jewish glassmakers in this period.

GOLD GLASS. The first group of glass vessels which is distinctly Jewish by reason of its decoration is the famous gold glass with Jewish symbols. The term is used to describe decorations of thin gold foil encased between two layers of glass medallion; and must not be confused with gilding, where the gold is left uncovered. The commonest type of gold glasses are those which were used, in the third and the fourth centuries C.E., as a decorated base of very shallow plates, bowls, or beakers. The thinly hammered gold foil was pasted on a round piece of clear or dark blue glass, within the boundaries of a low raised glass base. The outlines and the designs of the desired pictures, patterns, and inscriptions were prepared by removing the superfluous gold from the background, and leaving the designs in gold. Enamel paints were used at times to enrich the decoration. In the final stage the decorated base was reheated and joined to the outer surface of a large, hot, clear glass "bubble" which was later given the shape of the required bowl. A similar method was used to decorate the body of a vessel by smaller medallions of gold foil on blue glass. This technique was not exclusively Jewish. In the third and fourth centuries C.E. this particular craft flourished on an unprecedented scale. The center of the industry was Rome, and most of the pieces were found in pagan, Christian, or Jewish catacombs in and around the city. The vessels were broken deliberately, often skillfully chiseled around the edges, and stuck into the plaster near or on the graves of the deceased. The reasons for this custom have not yet been convincingly explained. Of the 500 bases and decorative medallions that have survived, only about a dozen bear definitely Jewish symbols. The earliest was found in 1882 in the catacomb of the saints Peter and Marcellinus (now in the Vatican Museum) and another around 1894 in the catacomb of Saint Ermete. A gold glass now in Berlin is said to have been found in the Jewish catacomb of Vigna Randanini in Rome and another which is now in the Cologne City Museum is said to have come from the Villa Torlonia catacomb. Other Jewish gold glass pieces are now in the Vatican and in the British, the Ashmolean, the Metropolitan, the Wuerzburg University, and the Israel museums. Most of the Jewish gold glass bases have their decorations presented in two registers. These include representations of the Ark of the Covenant flanked by a pair of lions or doves, temple vessels like *menorot*, amphorae, and *shofarot*, and objects relating to Sukkot, the Feast of the Temple, such as *lulavim, etrogim*, and motifs found in other Jewish objects and catacombs of the period. Of a different type is the Vatican fragment found in 1882. This bears a miniature painting of a tetrastyle temple inside a peristyle court surrounded by palm trees. The temple is approached by four steps and on the tympanum of the gable is a *menorah*. In front of the temple are a *lulav*, an *etrog*, two amphorae, and other objects. The temple is flanked by two free-standing columns. Most scholars seem to agree that this is a representation of Solomon's Temple, and it can be assumed that it was copied from an early illuminated Bible manuscript. This fragment bears a Greek inscription. Other Jewish gold glasses have inscriptions in Latin, similar to those found on the non-Jewish glasses such as *ANIMA DULCIS* ("sweet soul"). Only one Jewish small gold glass medallion is known. This shows a *shofar* between two *etrogim*. It is now in the Vatican Library. These Jewish gold glasses are generally thought to have been drinking vessels, perhaps for ritual purposes. The fragment with Solomon's Temple may tentatively be attributed to the third or early fourth century C.E.; the rest are more likely to be of the fourth century. Their decoration has numerous parallels in Jewish art. It is possible to assume that they were made by Jews.

In addition to the gold glasses and cut bowls from Rome there are further specimens worth noting: Moshe *Schwabe and Adolf *Reifenberg uncovered and published in 1935 a Jewish gilded glass sepulchral inscription in Greek ending with *Shalom* in Hebrew, with a *menorah* below the inscription and a *shofar* on its right. They also published a stamped glass medallion from Rome bearing a *menorah* and the name of the glassmaker: *EX OF [FICINA] LAVRENTI.*

The Eastern Mediterranean: Third Century to Arab Conquest

The excavations at the Jewish cemeteries at Beth She'arim have yielded some finds of glass. Several vessels and many fragments were found in catacombs 12–20 and date to the third and first half of the fourth century C.E. These are, with very few exceptions, fragments of various common types of receptacles of the period, mainly bottles, and do not have any characteristics which could identify them as Jewish. An exceptional decorated glass plate was discovered in catacomb 15. With a diameter of 52 cms. (c. 20 ins.), it is unusually large, and engraved on its exterior are 13 arches under which are vessels, tools, doors, and hanging lamps and several unidentified objects. Although this may represent a temple facade, nothing in the designs on the plate is specifically Jewish. The remains of a glass factory were found at Beth She'arim during the excavations in 1940 and were attributed to the first half of the fourth century C.E. and to the Byzantine period. A large slab of glass – 3.40 × 1.94 × 0.45 m. (11 × 6½ × 1½ ft.) – apparently the bottom of a glassmaker's tank, was also discovered in a cistern. This too possibly dates to the Byzantine period. It is therefore reasonable to assume that some of the vessels found in the cemeteries around the site were local products. Several glass vessels, also of contemporary Palestinian types, were found in a Jewish tomb of the late fourth to fifth centuries at Gezer (Tomb 201). Glass lamps having three handles for suspension and cups of the type used for bronze polycandela were in use in Palestinian synagogues of the Byzantine period. Lamps suspended from seven-branched candlesticks are depicted on the mosaic pavement of the synagogue of Naaran (sixth century C.E.). Several other synagogue mosaic pavements have representations of seven-branched candlesticks with glass lamps. A complete glass lamp and many fragments of lamps of various types were found in the Beth-Shean synagogue. They belong to its last phase in the first half of the seventh century and are now in the collection of the Israel Department of Antiquities. Similar fragments of lamps from the late sixth or early seventh centuries were also found in the synagogue of Maon near Nir Am, southeast of Gaza. Exactly the same types of lamp were used in contemporary churches in Palestine and Syria, so the glass finds in such Jewish contexts as the catacombs of Beth She'arim, Gezer (Tomb 201), or the ruins of synagogues do not differ from the normal glassware of their times. Between the late fourth and early seventh centuries there are a few groups of ornamental glass objects such as pendants and bracelets, bearing symbols which identify them as specifically Jewish. In a tomb excavated at Tarshīḥā in western Galilee a small circular pendant of greenish glass with a loop for suspension was found stamped with a *menorah*. The tomb was in use in the fourth and fifth centuries. The pendant is now in the Rockefeller Museum, Jerusalem (31.286B). The British Museum has a pendant made of light brownish glass, said to be from Tyre, with a *menorah*, a *shofar* on the left, and a *lulav* and *etrog* on the right. There are similar pendants in the Israel Museum and in the Reifenberg collection. Of unknown provenance is a small greenish glass medallion in the Jewish Museum, New York, representing a *menorah* in a wreath. It was originally applied to a vessel and dates to the fourth century C.E. An identical piece from Egypt is in the Israel Museum. A fragment of a blue glass bracelet with the *menorah* stamped on it several times was found in the western part of the Jezreel Valley. It is now in a private collection. A complete bracelet of blue glass with 14 impressions of a *menorah* and *shofar* on its right side was acquired in New York in 1965. It is said to be of east Mediterranean provenance. Both the fragment and the complete example are probably of the fourth or fifth century. Another bracelet of very dark green glass with similar impressions but of unknown provenance is in the Museum Haaretz, Tel Aviv.

HEXAGONAL BOTTLES FROM PALESTINE. By far the most interesting Jewish glass from Palestine are the mold-blown hexagonal and octagonal small jugs or jars. These were blown into hexagonal or octagonal metal molds which were open top and bottom. The designs which were hammered into the molds appeared on the lower part of the jug, as an impression and not as a relief. Some hexagonal jugs have a long neck and a handle while others have a short neck and outsplayed rim. Nearly all these vessels were made of a bubbly brown glass, but there are a few known examples made of greenish glass. Of many such mostly Christian jugs, only about 30 survived bearing Jewish symbols, such as *menorot*, often with a *shofar* on the left, and a *lulav* and *etrog* on the right, sometimes with an incense shovel on the right. The other sides are decorated with trees, arches, and other objects or patterns. Similar jugs and jars bearing Christian symbols have identical features, indicating that they were made in the same workshops. They are believed to have been used as containers for oil taken from the lamps of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher to be blessed at Golgotha, and there can be no doubt that they were made in Jerusalem. These are attributed to the late sixth or early seventh century, and by analogy the Jewish vessels can be attributed to the same period. It can be assumed that Jewish pilgrims used the vessels for carrying away oil from lamps at their center of veneration – probably the Western Wall. During the excavations at Ephesus in Asia Minor a bottle was found on which are painted in black a *menorah*, a *shofar*, a *lulav*, and an *etrog*. Though this seems to be the only known Jewish glass vessel from the eastern Mediterranean area, apart from Palestine and Syria, the existence of Jewish glassmakers in the region in the sixth century C.E. can be deduced from two popular Byzantine fables of that time, one from Emesa (Homs), the other from Constantinople, in both of which the central figure is a Jewish glassmaker.

In the East from Medieval to Modern Times

The fact that Jews were active in glassmaking in medieval times is borne out by references in sources of the period. Arab historians have preserved the interesting information that the Khalif ʿAbd al-Malik (685–705) employed a group of Jews to make the glass lamps and vessels for the Mosque in Jerusalem but that Omar ibn Abd al-Aziz deprived them of this office. Very important data have been preserved in the *Cairo *Genizah*. A document signed in the spring of 1011 deals with a dispute over the payment for a consignment of 50 "bales of glass" sent by three Jews from Tyre to Cairo. This ties up with a statement made by *Benjamin of Tudela, who visited Palestine in 1170, that at Tyre were "Jews, makers of good glass which is called Tyrian glass and is famous in all countries." Benjamin of Tudela also mentions that at Antioch "are about ten Jews and they are glassmakers." In an article on the Cairo *Genizah* published in 1961, S.D. Goitein mentions four contracts of partnership in glass workshops, one of which refers to a Jewish glassmaker who arrived in Cairo "from the west." He appears to have traveled overland from Tunis. Goitein believes that Jews were connected with the issue of the well-known Islamic glass weights. However, no actual survivals of Jewish glass manufactured in this period are known.

It has been suggested that Jews were connected with the age-old glass works at Hebron. The first to mention these works seems to have been the Augustine monk, Jacob of Verona, who visited Hebron in 1335; but he made no reference to any Jews there, although production was already on a large scale.

[Dan P. Barag]

L.A. Mayer assumed that a group of clumsily inscribed Syro-Egyptian glass mosque lamps were executed by "Jewish craftsmen, who were literate, but in a different script." During the Ottoman period, in the 17th century, there was in Damascus a Jewish center for the manufacturing of similar glass lamps. One such lamp in the Jewish Museum in London bears a Hebrew inscription and dates from 1694. Of Middle Eastern 18th-century origin are bottles of opaque glass, which have Hebrew dedicatory inscriptions cut in them. One which belonged to the Charles Feinberg Collection is now in the Israel Museum. Another specimen in the Victoria and Albert Museum in London has a metal top and decorative chains. These were probably used as oil or wine containers.

In the West From Medieval to Modern Times

The art of glassmaking was reintroduced into Europe during the period of the Crusades. Numbers of Eastern glassmakers settled in northern Italy, Spain, and southern France. Jewish craftsmen may have been among them; though it cannot be proven.

EASTERN EUROPE. There were, however, Jewish glassmakers in Central and Eastern Europe after the 15th century. There are also records of Jewish glaziers and glassmakers in Bohemia and Moravia from the 15th century onward, and the craft was frequently practiced by Bohemian Jews in the latter half of the 16th century.

From glass vessels and from contracts between Jewish glassmakers and the aristocracy it is clear, for instance, that the Jews took an active part in the flowering of glassmaking in Hungary in the 17th and 18th centuries.

Ḥevra Kaddisha Beakers. In the 17th and 18th centuries Hungarian and Bohemian Jews apparently participated in the general practice of manufacturing decorated jugs or beakers for special occasions. Among them were prominent beakers used by members of a guild or a fraternity at their annual banquets and given each year by the men chosen head of the guild. Interesting are some painted and cut-glass beakers which were executed for the Jewish Burial Society, the *ḥevra kaddisha*, in some German and Bohemian communities. Several such beakers survived, mostly in the Jewish Museum in Prague. Their most common decoration is the burial procession. One such beaker dated 1692 is now in the New York Jewish Museum.

In modern times too Jews were prominent in the marketing and industrial production of Czechoslovakian glass, centered in Bohemia. In the period between the world wars there were many Jewish firms which produced sheet glass, plate glass, and mirrors, as well as glass pastes for artificial jewelry. When Hitler occupied Czechoslovakia some of the leading Jewish producers of artificial gems and costume jewelry moved their firms to the United States.

ENGLAND. In the late 18th and 19th centuries Lazarus Jacobs (d. 1796) of Bristol and his son Isaac (d. 1833) were important glass manufacturers and merchants, the latter holding a royal appointment as glass manufacturers to George III. They were especially celebrated for their opaque white, and the elegant royal blue glassware for which Bristol was famous. Another eminent Jewish glassmaker was Meyer Oppenheim, who came from Pressburg in Hungary. He invented a ruby flint glass which he produced in Birmingham from 1756 to 1775. A number of Jews were associated with the glass industry in Birmingham, where the lead glass used for artificial gems was known as "Jew's glass" in the middle of the 19th century.

THE UNITED STATES. The earliest known American glass cutter was a Jew named Lazarus Isaacs who arrived from England in 1773. He was employed by Stiegel at his factory at Manheim, Pennsylvania, where the first fine glassware in America was produced. Jews do not reappear in American glassmaking until the late 19th century, when Lazarus Straus and Sons of New York was a leading producer of high quality cut glass in the United States and Europe (see *Straus family).

ISRAEL. On their return to Ereẓ Israel, the Jews revived the glass industry on the Phoenician coast, where it existed in ancient times. In the late 19th century, the Baron de *Rothschild set up a glass factory at Tantura near the site of the Phoenician harbor of Dor to provide bottles for the nascent wine industry, and in 1934 Phoenicia, the Israel Glass Works, was founded in the Haifa Bay Area. Under the patronage of Baroness Bathsheva de Rothschild, a new style of art glass was evolved in the early 1960s, based on forms of the talmudic period.

From the end of the 19th century a school of primitive glass paintings developed in Safed, Jerusalem, and other centers. One of its later offsprings is the painter Shalom of Safed. Their subjects were *holy places, **Mizraḥ* panels, amulets, and biblical topics.

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GLASS, MONTAGUE MARSDEN (1877–1934), U.S. humorist. Glass, who was born in Manchester, England, was taken to the U.S. at the age of 13. He studied and practiced law in New York, but in 1909 abandoned his profession to become a full-time writer. The Jewish clients whom Glass met in his law office inspired a series of short stories which he began publishing in various magazines in 1908. The first collection, *Potash and Perlmutter*, appeared in 1910 and this was followed a year later by *Abe and Mawruss*. Though treated humorously, the two clothing manufacturers, Abe Potash and Morris Perlmutter, were sympathetically presented and their entertaining foibles and typically Jewish family virtues endeared them to Jewish readers. Both story collections became the basis of stage successes. The first *Potash and Perlmutter* play, produced in 1913, had long runs in New York and London. Glass also wrote *Elkan Lubliner – American* (1912), *Worrying Won't Win* (1918), and *You Can't Learn Them Nothing* (1930).

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[Jo Ranson]

GLASS, PHILIP (1937–), U.S. composer and performer. Born in Baltimore, Glass began to study violin at six and flute at eight. At 12, he started composing while working at his father's record shops after school. At 15, he entered the University of Chicago (where he received a B.A. in liberal arts, 1956). Later he studied composition at Juilliard with Bergsma and Persichetti (receiving a M.A. in composition, 1961). Awarded a Fulbright scholarship, he went to Paris to study for two years with Nadia Boulanger. There he made the acquaintance of Indian musician Ravi Shankar, whose music Glass adapted for the film score of *Chappaqua*. After leaving Paris, he traveled in North Africa and the Indian subcontinent. Non-European music became one of the sources of his own style, named repetitive music (or minimalism), which was founded by him in the 1960s together with Riley, *Reich, and La Monte Young. Minimalistic music is based on a short melodic formula and its numerous varied repetitions over time. In Glass's view, such music required a special type of reception: "When it becomes apparent that nothing 'happens' in the usual sense, but that, instead, the gradual accretion of musical material can and does serve as the basis of the listener's attention, then he can perhaps discover another mode of listening…. It is hoped that one would then be able to perceive the music as 'presence,' freed from dramatic structure, a pure medium of sound" (P. Glass, 1974).

In the late 1960s and early 1970s Glass wrote a great number of chamber pieces and established his own Philip Glass Ensemble that had the exclusive right to perform his instrumental music. Performances at this time were held in New York lofts (Glass's in Greenwich Village, sculptor Donald Judd's in SoHo), private art galleries (those of Leo Castelli and Paula Cooper), and museums (the Guggenheim and the Whitney). Occasionally, Glass had to work as a plumber or taxi driver in order to survive when not touring with his ensemble throughout the U.S., Canada, and Europe. However, the seminal work of this period, *Music in Twelve Parts,* was premiered in the traditional atmosphere of New York's Town Hall, hired by the composer himself. This opus includes 12 sections and lasts over four hours. Being the culmination of Glass's minimalism, it shows the transition to greater vertical complexity, up to traditional functional harmony in the conclusion of the piece.

From the late 1970s the composer produced numerous scores for music theater, film, and dance. A great public success was *Einstein on the Beach,* the opera that was named a "theater of visions" because of its lack of narration. Instead of plot, there are series of dramatized icons (like Einstein's violin, or the trains symbolizing the theory of relativity). The following operas return little by little to narrative music theater (*Satyagraha,* 1980, on Gandhi, and *Akhnaten*, 1984, on the Egyptian pharaoh who introduced monotheism). Afterwards, in the second opera trilogy based on the films of Cocteau, Glass used his individual multimedia forms (for example, the film is accompanied by a new soundtrack composed by Glass).

Glass also scored numerous films over the last two decades, from the wordless, visionary cinema of Godfrey Reggio, Paul Schrader's experimental *Mishima,* and Errol Morris's intense documentary *The Thin Blue Line* to Hollywood war films (*Hamburger Hill*) and horror films (*Candyman* and its sequel). His score for *Kundun* received an Oscar nomination, while *The Truman Show* won him a Golden Globe. Glass collaborated with pop singers Paul *Simon, David Byrne, Suzanne Vega, and Laurie Anderson in the song-cycle *Songs from Liquid Days.* Other collaborations were with Allen Ginsberg in *Hydrogen Jukebox,* with Ravi Shankar in *Passages,* and with Doris Lessing on two science-fiction operas, *The Making of the Representative for Planet 8* and *The Marriages between Zones Three, Four and Five*. His work influenced rock and film music as well as classical music. As an example of reciprocal influence, it is worth mentioning that Glass wrote symphonic versions of the art-rock albums *Low* and *Heroes* by David Bowie and Brian Eno, who, in turn, were influenced by Glass at the end of the 1970s. Glass became one of the best known and commercially successful composers of his generation.

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[Yulia Kreinin (2nd ed.)]

GLATSTEIN (Gladstone), JACOB (1896–1971), Yiddish poet, novelist, and critic. Born in Lublin, Poland, Glatstein was encouraged by his father to read widely in contemporary Yiddish literature. Like many Yiddish writers of his generation, he visited I.L.*Peretz in Warsaw. As a result of violent outbreaks of antisemitism in Lublin, Glatstein convinced his parents to let him immigrate to the U.S. (1914). His debut as a Yiddish writer was the short story "Di Geferlekhe Froy" ("The Terrible Woman") in the journal *Fraye Arbeter Shtime*. In the 1920s and 1930s, he published more than 100 short stories in the style of Guy de Maupassant and Abraham *Reisen under the pseudonym Y. Yungman in the Yiddish daily *Morgn Zhurnal*. In 1920, together with Aaron *Glanz-Leyeles and N.B. *Minkoff, Glatstein inaugurated the *Inzikhist* ("introspectivist") movement in U.S. Yiddish poetry. Taking their name from the journal *In Zikh*, which was to appear irregularly (1920–39), and from the group anthology, *In Zikh*, *A Zamlung Introspektive Lider* ("Introspection, a Collection of Introspective Poems," 1920), the *Inzikhistn* announced their mission of revitalizing and modernizing Yiddish poetry. The key words in the introspectivists' manifesto (1921) were *kaleidoscopic*, *contradictory*, and *chaotic*. They rebelled against the aestheticism of *Di Yunge*, which they considered ivory tower art-for-art's-sake, removed from truth and life. The introspectivists rejected decorum and formal elegance in favor of free verse whose rhythms were to be correlates of unique, individual experience. Like their Anglo-American contemporaries, whose work they knew well, the introspectivists emphasized the concrete image and favored suggestion and association. They distrusted metrical regularity and fixed patterns and sought to capture the rhythms of the human voice and modern urban life. From his earliest poems onward Glatstein was the poet in love with his medium, the Yiddish language. No poet in Yiddish has been so richly inventive in coining new words and word combinations. No poet in Yiddish has had a better ear for folk idiom and, indeed, for the sound structure of Yiddish generally. Many of Glatstein's poems seem to grow out of the latent powers hidden in the shape, sound, and history of individual words. The introspectivists early declared that a Yiddish poem was Jewish by virtue of its medium; no subject was barred. They often wrote on themes far removed from Jewish life.

Glatstein's reputation rests primarily on his poetry. Critics divide his work into two periods: the first includes his four books of poetry: *Yankev Glatshteyn* (1921), *Fraye Ferzn* ("Free Verse," 1926), *Kredos* ("Credos," 1929), *Yidishtaytshn* ("Yiddish-Meanings," 1937); and the second, his books of poetry and criticism from 1943 to 1978 (the last two posthumous), including *Gedenklider* ("Remembrance Poems," 1943), *Shtralendike Yidn* ("Radiant Jews," 1946), *Dem Tatns Shotn* ("My Father's Shadow," 1953), *Fun Mayn Gantser Mi* ("The Fruits of My Labor," 1965), *Di Freyd fun Yidishn Vort* ("The Joy of the Yiddish Word," 1961), and *A Yid fun Lublin* ("A Jew from Lublin," 1966). In poems such as "Zing Ladino" ("Sing Ladino"), "Mir, di Vortproletarier" ("We, the Word Proletariat"), and "Tsum Kopmayster" ("To the Headmaster") from the collection *Yidishtaytsn*, Glatstein crafted some of the most experimental, "wild" modernist poems ever written in Yiddish. These poems are both part of the main trends of European and American modernism, and deeply rooted in the phonetics, semantics, and cultural specificity of Yiddish. He was, however, also a distinguished writer of both imaginative and critical prose. There are no novelistic travel narratives in Yiddish literature comparable to *Ven Yash iz Geforn* ("When Yash Set Out," 1938; Eng. *Homeward Bound*, 1969) and *Ven Yash iz Gekumen* ("When Yash Arrived," 1940; Eng., *Homecoming at Twilight*, 1962). These loosely autobiographical works, part of a projected trilogy inspired by his nine-week journey to Lublin to visit his dying mother in summer 1934, inaugurated the second phase of his artistic career; they are notable for their poetic style and their brooding sense of impending catastrophe. Because he remained independent of political allegiances, he was able to give a compelling portrait of Polish Jewry on the eve of the Holocaust in these novels. *Emil un Karl* (1940), a novel of a Jewish and a Christian boy in Hitler-occupied Austria, is particularly suited to the young reader. The war years and the Holocaust transformed Glatstein into one of the great elegists of Eastern European Jewish life. It became his major poetic purpose to meditate on, mourn, and celebrate a shattered way of life. Already in "A Gute Nakht, Velt" ("Good Night, World," 1938), he bitterly rejects European culture and defiantly and joyously declares his return to the narrow confines of traditional Jewish life. No American Yiddish poem has aroused as much comment as this anti-universalist poem of execration and affirmation.

As columnist for the New York daily *Tog-Morgn Zhurnal* and as regular contributor of the column *In Tokh Genumen* to the weekly *Yidisher Kemfer* (1945–57) and other periodicals, Glatstein commented on virtually every significant event in Jewish literary and cultural life and on world literature generally. As critic of Yiddish literature he exerted great influence and helped to raise the level of critical awareness both among writers and readers. His essays and reviews appeared in a series of volumes entitled *In Tokh Genumen* ("The Heart of the Matter," 1947; 1956; 1960), continued in *Mit Mayne Fartogbikher* ("With My Dawn Journals," 1963) and *Oyf Greyte Temes* ("On Ready Themes," 1967).

Glatstein's poetry revolutionized Yiddish modernism and added a cosmopolitan, intellectual voice to the chorus of Yiddish avant-garde poetry. His greatest contribution to Yiddish poetry were his Holocaust poems, the Bratslaver poems, and his homage to the Yiddish language. He once quipped: "What does it mean to be a poet of an abandoned culture? It means that I have to be aware of Auden but Auden need never have heard of me" (I. Howe, *A Margin of Hope* (1982), 264). Although Glatstein lived in New York for more than half a century and published more than 20 books, he remained virtually unknown outside Yiddish literary circles. In a tribute to the poet, Cynthia Ozick recognized his crucial role in the rise of Jewish American literature (1972): "…if Jacob Glatstein had not lived and written his splendid poetry, and if there were no other Yiddish writers present to write as only they can about our lives and our natures there would be no hope for a Jewish literature of any kind in America."

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[Leonard Prager / Jan Schwarz (2nd ed.)]

GLATZER, NAHUM NORBERT (1903–1990), scholar, teacher, and editor. Glatzer was born in Lemberg (Lvov), and pursued his higher education in Germany and at the Breuer Yeshivah in Frankfurt on the Main (1920–22). He became a disciple and associate of Franz *Rosenzweig, whose life and work so influenced him that he decided to devote himself to scholarship rather than pursue a career in the rabbinate. In 1932 he succeeded another mentor, Martin *Buber, in the University of Frankfurt's chair of Jewish philosophy and ethics. In fact, Glatzer had been Buber's only doctoral student during his years at the university (1924–33). In 1933 Glatzer left Germany for Israel, where he taught at Bet Sefer Reali in Haifa. From 1938 he was in the United States, teaching at several colleges before joining the faculty of Brandeis University in 1950. He served as editorial adviser to *Schocken Books, where he was chief editor (1945–51), and was a director of the Leo Baeck Institute from 1956. Before retiring from Brandeis in 1973, Glatzer served as the Michael Tuch Professor of Jewish History and Samuel Lane Chair in Jewish History and Social Ethics, as well as chair of the NEJS Department from 1957 to 1969. He was also the first faculty member to receive Brandeis's honorary degree.

In his doctoral dissertation, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichtslehre der Tannaiten* (1933), Glatzer maintained that the rabbis of the first and second centuries C.E. retained their faith in the God of history in the face of apocalyptic tendencies and the consequent denigration of this world. Glatzer's *Geschichte der Talmudischen Zeit* (1937) elaborates and continues his earlier work. He wrote a number of studies on particular problems of talmudic history.

Glatzer wrote, translated, and edited more than 50 books, with a range of expertise that extended from the Bible to existentialism. He also wrote extensively on the history of 19th-century Jewry, especially on the history of the Wissenschaft des Judentums. His book *Franz Rosenzweig: His Life and Thought* (1953, 1961^2) is considered the definitive volume on Rosenzweig. Glatzer edited more than a dozen anthologies, which are used widely in teaching Jewish history and ideas.

Among his many works are *Hillel the Elder* (1956, 1962), *Anfaenge des Judentums* (1966), *The Rest Is Commentary* (1961, 1969^2), *Faith and Knowledge* (1963, 1969^2), *Dynamics of Emancipation* (1965, 1969^2), *The Dimensions of Job* (1969), *Language* *of Faith* (1974), *The Loves of Franz Kafka* (1986), and *The Quest for the Cities of Gold*, vol.16 (1987). He edited *A Jewish Reader* (1961, 1966^2), *Hammer on the Rock* (1962), *Parables and Paradoxes* by Franz Kafka (1961), and *The Essential Philo* (1970).

In 1992 the Nahum Glatzer Archives were donated to Brandeis; they include his correspondence with colleagues worldwide, manuscripts of his books, and his lecture notes.

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[Abram Leon Sachar / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

GLAUBER, ROY J. (1925–), U.S. physicist and Nobel laureate. Glauber was born in New York and gained his B.S. (1946), M.A. (1947), and Ph.D. in physics (1949) from Harvard University. He worked on the Manhattan Project at Los Alamos (1944–46), at the Institute for Advanced Studies at Princeton University (1949–51), and the California Institute of Technology, Pasadena (1951–52) before returning to the Harvard physics department (1952). He was professor of physics (1962–76) and the Mallinckrodt Professor of Physics from 1976. His research concerned the behavior of light particles and the adaptation of quantum theory to describe the detection process irrespective of the nature of the light source. The resulting quantum theory of optical coherence helped to inspire the burgeoning field of quantum optics. It has important practical applications as a method of achieving extraordinarily precise physical measurements in fields such as chronology and the application of laser techniques for medical purposes. He was awarded the Nobel Prize in Physics (2005) with John L. Hall and Theodor W. Hänsch. His further research concerned the behavior of matter at extreme density, conditions prevailing at the Universe's inception. Glauber is also renowned for his undergraduate and postgraduate teaching. His many honors include the Michelson Medal of the Franklin Institute (1985), the Max Born Award of the American Optical Society (1985), and election to the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, the American Physical Society, and the U.S. National Academy of Sciences.

[Michael Denman (2nd ed.)]

GLAZER, NATHAN (1923–), U.S. sociologist. Born in New York, Glazer attended the City College of New York, the University of Pennsylvania, and Columbia University, where he received his Ph.D. in sociology. He was a member of the editorial staff of *Commentary* (1945–53) and worked in publishing at Doubleday and Random House. He was an urban sociologist with the Housing and Home Finance Administration in Washington, D.C., and a lecturer and instructor at the universities of Chicago and California and at Bennington and Smith Colleges. From 1963 to 1968 he was professor of sociology at the University of California at Berkeley.

Glazer then went to Harvard in 1968 as professor of sociology and education. In 1969 he became a fellow of the American Academy. In 1983 he taught in India as Distinguished Fulbright Lecturer. He also served on the United States Board of Foreign Scholarships (1984–89), which supervises the Fulbright Program, with special responsibility for South Asia. In 1993 he became professor emeritus of sociology and education at Harvard and subsequently became engaged in a research project on Indian federalism and democracy and studied Indian government policy affecting minority groups.

Glazer, who has written extensively on issues of ethnicity and race in American society, is co-editor of *The Public Interest* magazine and a contributing editor at *The New Republic*.

Glazer published numerous papers and articles on housing problems and on problems of American ethnic groups, including papers on the specific problems of American Jews; the latter appeared chiefly in *Commentary*. He wrote and also contributed the article "Social Characteristics of American Jews" to *Jews: Their History, Culture and Religion 1694–1735* (vol. 2 (1960^3), ed. by L. Finkelstein).

He co-authored *The Lonely Crowd* (with David Riesman and Reuel Denney, 1950); *Faces in the Crowd* (with Riesman, 1952), and *The Social Basis of American Communism* (with Daniel Patrick Moynihan, 1961). He also wrote *American Judaism* (1957); *Beyond the Melting Pot* (1963), an analysis of the persistence of ethnic groups – African-Americans, Puerto Ricans, Jews, Italians, and Irish – in the New York metropolitan area; *Remembering the Answers* (1970); *Affirmative Discrimination: Ethnic Inequality & Public Policy* (1975); and *We Are All Multiculturalists Now* (1998). He co-edited *Conflicting Images: India and the United States* with his wife, Sulochana Raghavan Glazer (1990).

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[Werner J. Cahnman / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

GLAZER, SIMON (1878–1938), U.S. Orthodox rabbi and author. Glazer, who was born in Ezwillig, Lithuania, was ordained in 1896 by Rabbi Alexander Mose Lapidus and Rabbi Isaac Rabinowitz. He fled from service in the Russian army; unable to receive permission to stay in Koenigsberg, he left for Palestine, where he was unable to earn a living and therefore immigrated to the U.S. in 1897 where he served as a cantor in Buffalo while mastering English and subsequently served as rabbi in several cities in the Midwest before becoming chief rabbi of the United Synagogues of Montreal and Quebec (1907–18). He worked to improve Jewish education, helped establish a Federation of Jewish charities and helped found the YMHA. He believed in using whatever means possible to interest Jewish children in Jewish education. He also approved of Sunday school education believing that it was better than the lack of all Jewish education. He moved to New York in 1923 and was rabbi of Beth Hamidrash Hagadol (1923–27) in Harlem; Temple Beth-El, Brooklyn (1927–30); and the Maimonides Synagogue (1930–38). A profilic writer and journalist, Glazer was a founder (1907) and the first editor of the Yiddish daily, the *Canadian Jewish Eagle* (*Kanader Adler*) and was active in rabbinic and Zionist organizations. His published works include: *Jews of Iowa* (1904); *Guide of Judaism* (1917); *The Palestine Resolution* (1922); *History of Israel* (6 vols., 1930), a reworking of Graetz's *History of the Jews*; and *Visions of Isaiah* (1937), a collection of sermons. He also wrote on *Techina Book: Containing Prayers and Religious Duties for the Daughters of Israel* (1930).

His son, B. BENEDICT GLAZER (1902–1952), was a prominent Reform rabbi in the U.S. He was rabbi of Temple Beth El in Detroit, Michigan, from 1942 until his death.

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GLICENSTEIN, ENRICO (**Henoch**; 1870–1942), sculptor, painter, and print maker. The son of a tombstone carver, Glicenstein was born in Turek, Poland, and began studying for the rabbinate. After working as a sign painter and woodcarver in Lodz he went to study art in Munich, where he won the Prix de Rome in 1894 and 1897. He went to live in Italy in 1897 with his wife, Helen, daughter of the painter Samuel Hirshenberg, but had to leave the country in 1928 because of his refusal to join the Fascist Party and settled in New York. He died in an automobile accident. Glicenstein, who had been elected an honorary member of the Société des Beaux-Arts in 1906 on Rodin's recommendation, had one-man shows in nearly all the art centers of the world including the 15th Venice Biennale (1928). Glicenstein was predominantly a carver. The majority of his works were done in wood, mostly oak or walnut. Spurning mechanical aids, he preferred the arduous, time-consuming method of cutting directly into his material. He created stern monolithic pieces, in solid, sturdy forms, devoid of any unnecessary detail. Like the expressionists, he felt free to exaggerate, to abbreviate, to elongate, and to distort, although he showed that a sculpture can be expressive while maintaining a firm equilibrium between form and content. Form is maintained, too, in Glicenstein's drawings, etchings, and his few paintings. As a draftsman, he was never indecisive. Likewise, the mastery of a knowledgeable hand is seen in the prints, cut with a needle into copper by vigorous strokes that aim straight to the core of a face, action, or scene. Among his dry points, more than 60 plates for the *Book of Samuel* must be singled out for mention. Among the outstanding men of his time who sat for Glicenstein's portrait busts were Ludwig *Mond, Hermann *Cohen, Gabriele D'Annunzio, Sir Israel *Gollancz, Ignace Paderewski, and Franklin D. Roosevelt. His works were acquired by many museums and a Glicenstein Museum containing his library was established in Safed, Israel. His son, EMANUEL ROMANO (1897–1985), was a painter. Born in Rome, he changed his name and in 1928 immigrated to New York with his family. Romano was best known for his portraits but also did murals for many buildings. He was an outstanding colorist.

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[Alfred Werner]

GLICK, DAVID (1908–2000), U.S. biochemist. Born in Homestead, Pennsylvania, he received a B.S. in chemistry 1929 and a Ph.D. in biochemistry in 1932, both from the University of Pittsburgh. He held many positions in his career, spanning academics, industry, and hospital laboratories. Among Glick's hospital positions were Hernsheim Research Fellow at Mount Sinai Hospital, N.Y., chief chemist at Mount Zion Hospital, San Francisco, and at Beth Israel Hospital, Newark, N.J. Throughout his career, Glick was a visiting researcher at the Carlsberg Laboratory in Copenhagen, Denmark. He worked with Linderstrom-Lang, who was a pioneer in the development of microchemistry. He also conducted research as a visiting research scientist at the Stazione Zoologica, Naples, Italy, and at the Karolinska Institute, Stockholm, Sweden. Glick became professor of physiological chemistry at the University of Minnesota in 1950. In 1961 he became professor of pathology and head of the division of histochemistry at Stanford University Medical School, California. He served as acting head of the Department of Pathology from 1964 to 1965, and became emeritus professor in 1973. Thereafter Glick remained an active scientist in the Cancer Biology Research Laboratory in the Department of Radiology. Glick was internationally recognized for his work in quantitative histochemistry and cytochemistry. He was a founder of the Histochemical Society and had an important impact on its early development, serving as president from 1951 to 1957 and again from 1968 to 1970. Glick was also president of the International Committee for Histochemistry and Cytochemistry (ICHC) from 1972 to 1976. He served on the editorial boards of several histochemistry and cytochemistry journals and was the editor for *Methods of Biochemical Analysis* from 1954 to 1986. In 1971, he was listed as one of the 50 most cited authors in a survey of world science literature reported by *Current Contents–Life Sciences*. He wrote more than 275 publications. Glick received many other honors, including the Van Slyke Medal and Award, the Ames Award from the American Association of Clinical Chemistry, and a Career Award from the U.S. Public Health Service. Additional recognition of his stature as a scientist were his elections as an honorary member of both the Royal Danish Academy of Sciences and Letters and the Finnish Histochemical Society. The David Glick Lectureship was established in 1982 by the International Federation of Societies for Histochemistry and Cytochemistry (IFHSC). Glick not only had a keen mind and a creative and entrepreneurial spirit but exhibited an unusual openness toward students and colleagues. These traits, together with his analytical acumen and eloquence, made him a much sought-after lecturer and board member.

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[Bracha Rager (2nd ed.)]

GLICK, HIRSH (1922–1944), Yiddish poet and editor. Glick was born in Vilna and, as a teenager, became active in Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir. In 1935 he began composing original verse in Hebrew. He joined the circle of the Yung Vilne group of Yiddish writers and, in 1939, edited and published four issues of the literary journal *Yungvald*. Glick spent the war years in the Vilna ghetto and forced labor camps nearby, where he continued to compose Yiddish poems, including the work for which he is best known, "Zog nit Keynmol" ("Never Say"), which became the official hymn of the Vilna partisan fighters. The poem was subsequently translated into many languages, including Hebrew (by the poet A. Shlonsky), Dutch, English, Polish, Romanian, and Spanish. In October 1943, Glick was transferred to the concentration camp at Goldfield (Estonia), from which he escaped the following year; he died in combat against the Nazis in the forest nearby.

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[Elias Schulman / Marc Miller (2nd ed.)]

GLICK, IRVING SRUL (1934–2002), Canadian composer. Born in Toronto, Glick was raised with music. He learned about cantillation from his father, a Russian-born cantor; the Western classical repertoire from his brother, a professional clarinetist; and Jewish folk music from the Habonim Zionists.

When Glick graduated from the University of Toronto with a bachelors and masters of music in theory and composition, he firmly believed in the international, non-denominational nature of music. After studying with composers Louis Saguer, Darius *Milhaud, and Max Deutsch, he began changing this view. Contemplating his existence as a composer and his personal Jewish identity, he concluded that his Jewish roots were deeper than his desire to compose universal music.

This reassessment allowed Glick to incorporate ancestral musical motifs into his compositions. At times, as in his only ballet *Heritage Dance Symphony*, he attempted to synthesize dance music and jazz rhythms with Hebraic lyricism. Alternately, he layered textural and chordal density with Jewish folk tonality. Through experimentation, Glick developed a complex personal idiom combining Jewish and classical traditions into openly lyrical, emotional music. For example, Glick's song cycle, *I Never Saw Another Butterfly*, addressed the Holocaust by using the poetry of the Theresienstadt concentration camp children. Harmonic dissonance contrasts the children's tragic deaths with the thirst for life in their writing. Conversely, Glick's 1998 composition *Old Toronto Klezmer Suite*, honoring his mother's memory and the remembered splendor of his childhood community, represents his fusion style and playful idealism.

In 1969, Glick became choir director at Toronto's Beth Tikvah, work he considered a labor of love, beauty, and inspiration. In 1978, he became the synagogue's composer-in-residence. While working as a Canadian Broadcasting Corporation producer, he also taught composition at York University and the Royal Conservatory of Music in Toronto. By the time of his death in 2002, Glick had written several hundred pieces of music.

[Deborah Hopper (2nd ed.)]

GLICKMAN, DANIEL ROBERT (**Dan**; 1944–), U.S. secretary of agriculture (1995–2001) and congressman (D-KS, 1976–1994). Glickman, a native of Wichita, Kansas, received his B.A. from the University of Michigan and his law degree from George Washington University. He began his public service as member and president of the Wichita School Board. He was a partner in the law firm of Sargent, Klenda and Glickman and served as a trial attorney for the U.S. Securities and Exchange Commission.

During his 18 years in Congress, Glickman served on the House Agriculture Committee, House Judiciary Committee, and the House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence. For six years he chaired a key Agriculture Subcommittee which oversaw nearly 75% of the Agriculture Department's farm program budget. On the House Judiciary Committee, he staked out his leadership on aviation policy and authored landmark legislation creating product liability protection for small airplane manufacturers. He also was a member of the Intellectual Property Subcommittee. As chairman of the House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence, he led the effort to demystify and make more publicly accessible the activities of the U.S. intelligence community, and he presided over the committee's investigation of the Aldrich Ames case, the FBI agent convicted of spying for the Soviet Union.

He is the author of several major legislative proposals, including the law authorizing the United States Institute of Peace and several measures promoting alternative energy uses. Glickman also wrote the legislation that increases criminal penalties for the destruction of religious property.

His tenure as secretary of agriculture under Clinton was noted for the modernization of food safety regulations, an expansion of international trade agreements to open foreign markets to U.S. products, policies aimed at preserving forest lands and conservation, and an improved commitment to civil rights. Glickman was an advocate for farmers and ranchers in the face of the turbulent farm economy.

In 2004 Dan Glickman succeeded Jack Valenti, becoming only the fourth person to head the Motion Picture Association of America, the trade association founded in 1922 to advocate on behalf of the major motion picture studios. Immediately prior to his joining MPAA, Glickman was director of the Institute of Politics at Harvard University's Kennedy School of Government.

Glickman served on the board of directors of the Chicago Mercantile Exchange; Hain – Celestial Corporation; Ready

Pac Produce Corporation; Communities in Schools; America's Second Harvest; Food Research and Action Center; the RFK Memorial Foundation; and Mazon, A Jewish Response to Hunger. He also is on the International Advisory Board of the Coca-Cola Company and co-chairs the U.S. Consensus Council (with former Governor Marc Racicot) and the Pew Initiative on Food and Biotechnology (with former Congressman Vin Weber).

[Melissa Patack (2nd ed.)]

GLICKMAN, MARTIN IRVING ("**Marty**"; 1917–2001), U.S. sprinter, radio broadcaster, founding father of basketball on radio, and a track star who was pulled from the 1936 Berlin Olympics because he was Jewish; member of the basketball Hall of Fame.

Glickman was born in the East Bronx, New York, to Harry, a cotton-goods salesman, and Molly, who knew each other in Jassy, Romania, and met again and married in New York. When Glickman was five the family moved to Brooklyn, where Glickman became a football star for James Madison High School on their New York City championship team in 1935, while also winning the city, state, and national sprint champion.

The next year, as a freshman at Syracuse University, Glickman won a spot on the 1936 United States Olympic 4x100-meter relay team. But in one of the ugliest chapters in U.S. Olympic history, Glickman and Sam Stoller, the other Jewish athlete on the track team, were suddenly told in Berlin on August 8, the morning of the qualifying trials, that two other runners, Jesse Owens and Ralph Metcalfe, were replacing them. While it was never proved, it was Glickman's contention and many others' belief that their being denied a chance to compete was a case of blatant antisemitism: Avery Brundage, chairman of the U.S. Olympic Committee, was an enthusiastic supporter of Hitler's regime, and he and assistant U.S. Olympic track coach Dean Cromwell were members of America First, an isolationist political movement that attracted American Nazi sympathizers.

"Joseph Goebbels, head of the Ministry of Propaganda, had contacted Avery Brundage," Glickman said years later on ESPN. "[Goebbels] didn't want to have Jews run for the United States or on that track before 120,000 people, [to] keep them from embarrassing Adolf Hitler."

His Olympic snub remained a central part of his life, sparking this reaction upon his return to Olympic Stadium in Berlin in 1985:

"As I walked into the stadium, I began to get so angry. I began to get so mad. It shocked the hell out of me that this thing of 49 years ago could still evoke this anger. I mean I was fucking mad. I was cussing – I was with people, colleagues of mine, and I was cussing. I was really amazed at myself, at this feeling of anger. Not about the German Nazis, that was a given. But anger at Avery Brundage and Dean Cromwell for not allowing an 18-year-old kid to compete in the Olympic Games just because he was Jewish."

He returned to Syracuse as a sophomore, where his long and distinguished broadcasting career began in 1937: After Glickman scored two touchdowns to help upset Cornell, a local haberdasher hired him to do a sports broadcast on radio for $50 to capitalize on his sudden fame. After graduating in 1939, and a stint in the Marines, Glickman broadcast college basketball games, and was the first radio announcer for the New York Knicks, beginning on November 7, 1946.

Glickman was a pioneer in the technical precision of describing basketball and establishing the precise geometry of the court, using a language and terminology – the key, the lane, the top of the circle, the mid-court stripe, between the circles – that survives to this day. With his unmistakable greeting – "Hello, fans! I'm Marty Glickman" – and his famous calls – "Swish!," "It's high enough, it's deep enough, it's good!," and "It's good … like Nedicks!" – Glickman was the radio voice of the Knicks for 11 years, the football Giants for 19 years, and the New York Jets for 11. He broadcast horse races at Yonkers Raceway for 12 years, did pre- and post-game shows for the Brooklyn Dodgers and New York Yankees for 22 years, college basketball for 21 years, Paramount newsreels for 15 years, as well as doing track meets, wrestling matches, high school football, roller derbies, rodeos, four marbles tournaments, and even described the circus to an audience of blind children.

Novelist Jack Kerouac, in *On The Road*, wrote: "Man, have you dug that mad Marty Glickman announcing basketball games – up-to-midcourt-bounce-fake-set-shot, swish, two points. Absolutely the greatest announcer I ever heard."

Glickman was awarded the Basketball Hall of Fame's Curt Gowdy Award in 1991, elected to the National Sportscasters and Sportswriters Hall of Fame in 1992, and the American Sportscasters Hall of Fame in 1993. In 1996 he published *The Fastest Kid on the Block: The Marty Glickman Story.*

[Elli Wohlgelernter (2nd ed.)]

GLID, NANDOR (1924–1997), Yugoslav sculptor. Glid was born in the town of Subotica. During the Nazi occupation he was in a forced labor camp and later fought with the Yugoslav partisans. After the war he studied at the Academy of Fine Arts in Belgrade. He began as a portrait sculptor but later worked on monuments to commemorate concentration camp victims. He was commissioned to carry out his projects for monuments in the former Nazi camps of Mauthausen and Dachau. The monument in Subotica to a group of anti-Nazis (mainly Jews) who were hanged there is also his work. He has exhibited monotype graphics on war and camp subjects.

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[Zdenko Lowenthal]

GLIÈRE, REINHOLD MORITZEVICH (1874–1956), Soviet Russian composer and conductor. He was born in Kiev where his father, following a family tradition, was a maker of musical instruments. Glière began composing at 14, entered the Kiev Music School in 1891 and the Moscow Conservatory in 1894. He taught for some time in St. Petersburg, spent two years (1905–07) in Berlin, and became director of the Kiev Conservatory in 1914. In 1920 he went to the Moscow Conservatory as professor and held this post until his death. Glière was a prolific composer. He studied the folk music of various national groups and used folklore elements in his compositions. His symphonic works reflect Russian traditional harmony. Prokofieff, Miaskovsky, and Mossolov were among his pupils. A tireless conductor, Glière appeared in remote regions of the country. From 1938 to 1948 he was chairman of the Union of Soviet Composers. His major works are: three symphonies (1900, 1907, and 1911), several operas, among them *Shah-Senem* (1923–34) on an Azerbaijan subject, and *Rachel* (1943) after Maupassant's novel. His ballets include: *Cleopatra* (1925), *Red Poppy* (1927), *The Bronze Horseman* (1949), and *Taras Bulba* (1952). His concerto for harp and orchestra (1938) and especially the concerto for voice and orchestra (1942) won great popularity. He composed chamber music, songs, and piano works. Glière received many awards, including the Order of Lenin and the Stalin Prize.

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[Michael Goldstein]

GLIKIN, MOSHE (1874–1973), Zionist and *yishuv* leader. Born in Moscow, in 1892 Glikin went to Ereẓ Israel, where he worked as a laborer at Ein Zeitim. He returned to Russia in 1894 and later studied in Leipzig, where he was secretary of a student Zionist association. He attended the Fifth and Sixth *Zionist Congresses and voted against the *Uganda Scheme. He directed the office of the Zionist *Democratic Fraction in Berlin in 1902 and later worked at the offices of various Zionist periodicals in Russia. In 1908 Glikin returned to Ereẓ Israel, where he worked first in the Atid edible oil factory in Haifa and then at the Bezalel School of Arts and Crafts in Jerusalem. From 1910 he was director of *Migdal Farm. During World War I, he was exiled by the Ottoman authorities to Nazareth. In 1920 he was a delegate to the first Asefat ha-Nivḥarim ("the Elected Assembly" of the *yishuv*) and was a founder of the Hadar ha-Karmel, the new Jewish quarter of Haifa, where he then lived.

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[Israel Klausner]

GLINYANY (Pol. Gliniany; Yid. Gline), small town in Lvov district, Ukraine. An organized Jewish community existed from 1474. The first settlers were leaseholders. The Jews of Glinyany suffered during the Tatar raids and Cossack massacres in 1624, 1638, and 1657, and particularly in 1648–49 (see *Chmielnicki). The first synagogue, built of wood, was erected there in 1704. Glinyany was a stronghold of the Shabbateans and later of the Frankists (see Jacob *Frank); in 1758 King Augustus III assigned Glinyany to the latter as one of their places of residence before baptism. In the 18th century Glinyany became a center of Ḥasidism when R. Jehiel Michael Moskovich (great grandson of Jeciel Michael of Zloczow) established his court there. A Jewish-German school in Glinyany, established under Joseph II after Austrian annexation of Galicia, remained open until 1806. A public school in the name of Baron Hirsch existed there from 1816 to 1914, and among the teachers was the historian Meir Balaban. The center of Zionist activity was a club, "National Home," founded in 1906, and a Hebrew school was opened in 1909. Between the world wars the economic situation deteriorated due to Ukrainian and Polish competition and antisemitism. The community numbered 688 in 1765, 1,708 in 1880 (out of a total population of 3,695), 2,177 in 1900 (out of 4,906), 1,679 in 1921 (out of 4,355), 1,906 in 1931, and 2,300 in 1939.

Holocaust Period

Under Soviet rule (1939–41), the communal bodies were disbanded and all political activity outlawed. In 1940 the former political leaders and important businessmen were arrested. In spring 1941 young Jews were drafted into the Soviet army and placed in special work units. The city fell to the Germans on July 1, 1941. On July 27 a pogrom broke out, led by the Ukrainian populace in which the Jews were murdered and robbed, and their sacred literature was burned. A provisional Jewish committee was set up in an attempt to prevent further persecution. The community had to pay a fine of 1,000,000 zlotys, but could not raise such a sum. Emissaries were sent to the German authorities in Peremyshlyany in an effort to lower the sum and delay payment, but met with partial success. The Jews of Glinyany were sent to a labor camp in Kurwice. The *Judenrat, headed by Aaron Hochberg, considerably assisted the community until the period between Nov. 20, 1942, and Dec. 1, 1942, when the remaining Jews were interned in Peremyshlyany ghetto. They perished there when it was liquidated in the summer of 1943. A few groups of Jews tried to hide in bunkers in the woods but were hunted down, mostly by the Ukrainians, and killed. A group of 40 resisted and fought when discovered. The city of Glinyany was taken by Soviet forces in August 1944, at which time only 20 Jewish survivors were found there. These left Glinyany in 1946.

[Aharon Weiss]

BIBLIOGRAPHY: M. Balaban, in: YE, 6 (c. 1910), 586; *Bleter far Geshikhte*, 4 pt. 3 (1953), 163; H. Halpern (ed.), *Megiles Gline* (1950); *Khurbn Gline* (1964); A. Korech (ed.), *Kehillat Glina 1473–1943, Toledoteha ve-Ḥurbanah* (1950).

GLIWICE (Ger. **Gleiwitz**), city in Silesia, Poland. It passed to Prussia in 1742, reverting to Poland in 1945. A "Jewish Street" is mentioned there in the Middle Ages. In 1587 the city council opposed further Jewish settlement and those already resident probably left soon afterward. In 1715 a Jew acquired the liquor privileges in Gliwice and built a home there; he converted to Christianity, and in 1753 opposed the acceptance of additional Jewish residents. However, the community grew from 62 in 1795, to 178 in 1812 (6.9% of the total population), and numbered 2,009 (16.5%) in 1867, 1,962 (3.17%) in 1905, and 2,200 (2%) in 1921, the industrialized city having grown much more rapidly than the Jewish community. The first synagogue, in use from 1812, was replaced in 1861. In 1932 the community maintained a *mikveh*, library, school (100 pupils), home for the aged (founded 1926), seven charitable and nine social organizations.

Holocaust and Contemporary Periods

There were 1,845 Jews living in Gliwice in 1932. When the Nazis came to power in 1933 the community was subjected to the same antisemitic persecution as in the rest of Germany, causing around 400 to leave. On Nov. 10, 1938 (**Kristallnacht*), the Nazis burned down the large synagogue, and arrested all male Jews between the ages of 18 and 60. After two days of torture in prison, they were deported to *Buchenwald concentration camp where some died. The rest were sent home after three or six months' imprisonment. All the women were forced to do hard, humiliating work in the city. Jews were also compelled to leave their homes and settle in densely crowded living quarters with a minimum of one family per room. Deportation to the East commenced in May 1942, leaving just 40 intermarried Jews in the city. After the war a small number of Jews from Poland settled there. There were 200 Jews living in the town in 1950. The new community had its own producers' cooperative (1962). A number emigrated after the Six-Day War.

[Stefan Krakowski]

BIBLIOGRAPHY: B. Nietsche, *Geschichte der Stadt Gleiwitz* (1886), 599–606; FJW (1932–33), 104; M. Grinwald, in: *Zion*, 9 (1944), 143–5; S. Wenzel, *Juedische Buerger und kommunale Selbstverwaltung in preussischen Staedten, 1808–1845* (1967), 265; AJYB (1962). **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** P. Maser et al., *Juden in Oberschlesien*, I (1992), 96–106.

GLOBES, Israeli financial daily, established in 1983. Its founding editor was Uri Gotleib and its owners from 1984 were Haim Bar-On and Eliezer Fishman. The newspaper expanded over the years from supplying mostly financial data about the Israeli Stock Market to covering the gamut of Israeli finance, industry, and economics and key economic developments abroad. During Matti Golan's editorship in 1988–92, its circulation climbed to 22,500.

The newspaper's growth coincided with Israel's economic crisis in the 1980s caused by rampant inflation and subsequently the economic growth that accompanied the Likud's free market economics. *Globes*' growth spurred other Israeli dailies to add economic supplements, but this, in turn, limited *Globes*' potential readership growth from beyond the country's economic and industrial sector to the wider Israeli public. The newspaper succeeded in withstanding competition from a short-lived financial rival, the *Telegraph* (1993–96), edited by Golan after he left *Globes*. In 1996 Haggai Golan was appointed *Globes*' editor. It is a subscriber-only newspaper, published in the early evening after the closure of the Tel Aviv Stock Market. 3.4% of Israelis read the newspaper in 2005, according to a TGI Teleseker survey. Other estimates put their circulation at 35,000. The newspaper has Internet editions in Hebrew and English; according to *Globes* the Hebrew edition has 200,000 registered users.

[Yoel Cohen (2nd ed.)]

°GLOBOCNIK, ODILO (1904–1945), Nazi executioner of Polish Jewry. Born in Trieste, Italy, Globocnik joined the Nazi Party in Austria in 1922 and the then illegal Austrian SS in 1934. He was nominated *Gauleiter* of Vienna in reward for his part in the preparation of Austria's annexation in 1938, but was later dismissed for embezzlement. Recognizing the usefulness of his ideological fanaticism and ambition, his longtime friend Heinrich Himmler brought him back from disgrace and appointed him SS and police leader for the Lublin District on November 1, 1939. In the fall of 1941 – just months before the Wannsee Conference – Himmler authorized Globocnik to organize what became known as *Aktion Reinhard*. He organized Jewish slave labor camps as industrial enterprises of the SS, and in April 1942 he was put in charge of "Action Reinhard" (see *Holocaust, General Survey) to annihilate Polish Jewry and confiscate their property. He organized the death camps of *Belzec, *Sobibor, *Majdanek, and *Treblinka. At the end of 1942, he directed the brutal resettlement of Poles from the Zamość region. In September 1943, he and other SS party officials who worked on *Aktion Reinhard* were transferred to Trieste. Globocnik committed suicide shortly after his arrest by British troops in Austria in May 1945. His role in the "Final Solution" was central and provides key information on the decision-making process for the murder of the Jews. The decision to annihilate the Jews in the Generalgouvernment (GG) was made as early as the first half of October 1941. On October 17, 1941, during a conference in Lublin in the presence of Hans Frank, SS and police leader for the Lublin District, Odilo Globocnik said that *Reichsführer-SS* Heinrich Himmler and Hitler ordered the "evacuation of Jews beyond the Bug river," a statement that meant the physical elimination of Jews from the GG. Globocnik also planned to resettle all the Poles from the Lublin District and even spoke about the resettlement of Poles from the entire GG. Ethnic Germans were to take their place.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: R. Hoess, *Commandant of Auschwitz* (1960); J. Tenenbaum, *Race and Reich* (1956), index; R.M.W. Kempner, *Ha-Mikẓo'a Hashmadah* (1963), index; J. Wulf, *Das Dritte Reich und seine Vollstrecker* (1961); Hilberg, *Destruction of the European Jews* (1961), index; Reitlinger, *Final Solution* (1953), index.

[Yehuda Reshef]

GLOBUS, YORAM (1941–), Israeli movie producer who founded and ran the international production company, the Cannon Group, with his cousin, Menachem *Golan. From the late 1970s to the late 1980s, they produced hundreds of low-brow movies of all kinds, specializing in action films such as *The Delta Force* (1986) with Chuck Norris and *Death Wish II* (1982) starring Charles Bronson. Golan and Globus' willingness to wheel and deal earned them the nickname "the Go-Go boys." Globus balanced box-office hits with the occasional art-house drama and produced such films as Jean-Luc Godard's *King Lear* (1987) and Robert Altman's *Fool for Love* (1985). Born in Tiberias, Globus began making movies with Golan in the 1960s in Israel. Among his Israeli credits are the popular *Eskimo Limon* (1978) comedy and its sequels, as well as such classics as the 1974 musical *Kazablan* and *Operation Thunderbolt* (1977), the story of the IDF's hostage rescue at Entebbe, which was nominated for an Academy Award. After the Cannon Group was sold in the late 1980s, Golan and Globus went their separate ways, although they occasionally worked together later. Globus went on to run Globus-United, which includes the largest movie theater chain in Israel, production facilities, and a distribution company.

[Hannah Brown (2nd ed.)]

GLOCK, CHARLES Y. (1919–), sociologist and author. Born in New York City, Charles Glock earned his bachelor's degree from New York University (1940), his master's degree from Boston University (1941), and his doctorate from Columbia University (1952). He served in the U.S. Army Air Forces in World War II and was awarded the Bronze Star and the Legion of Merit.

Glock served as the executive director of the Bureau of Applied Research at Columbia beginning in 1947, becoming managing director in 1949 and director in 1952. He taught at Columbia as professor of sociology from 1956 to 1958, then at the University of California, Berkeley, from 1958 to 1978. He also served as director of Berkeley's Survey Research Center from 1958 to 1967 and as director of an extensive research program on religion and society from 1962 through 1979. Glock was named professor emeritus at Berkeley in 1978.

Glock is perhaps best known for his 1966 work, with coauthor Rodney Stark, *Christian Beliefs and Anti-Semitism*, in which Glock and Stark suggest an inherent relationship between Christian beliefs and religious and secular antisemitism. They contend that, because of the traditional Christian claim of universal truth, a strong belief in Christianity leads to the belief that Christianity is the only true religion, which in turn leads to unfavorable images of those who practice other religions, especially Jews, who are considered to have rejected Jesus. The authors also claim that differences in degrees of antisemitism among Christian denominations correspond to differences in Christian beliefs among the denominations. Critics suggested that Glock and Stark did not sufficiently address nonreligious causes of antisemitism, and that therefore the relationship between Christian beliefs and antisemitism was not necessarily inherent.

In 1968 Glock and Stark published *American Piety: The Nature of Religious Commitment*, which was considered a significant contribution to the study of American religion. *The New Religious Consciousness*, edited by Glock and Robert Bellah in 1976, which examined religious groups associated with the counterculture movement of the 1960s, was also well received. Glock's other works include *Prejudice, U.S.A.* (with Ellen Siegelman, 1969), *Adolescent Prejudice* (with Robert Wuthnow, Jane Piliavin, and Metta Spencer, 1975), and *Anti-Semitism in America* (with Harold E. Quinley, 1979). Glock received the Roots of Freedom Award from the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith in 1977.

[Dorothy Bauhoff (2nd ed.)]

GLOGAU (Pol. **Głogó**), town in Silesia, W. Poland. Jews are first mentioned there in 1280. In 1299 the duke of Gross-Glogau granted them a charter of privileges. The community possessed a cemetery, a synagogue, inhabited a "Jews' lane," and engaged in moneylending, and the cloth and fur trade. The Jews of Glogau escaped persecution during the *Black Death, 1348–49, but in 1401 two Jews were burned to death for an alleged *Host desecration, and the synagogue and other buildings were destroyed in a riot by the populace in 1442. The community subsequently recovered and prospered until 1488, when Duke Hans, after first taxing them heavily, expelled them. Nevertheless, a few Jews continued to live outside the city bounds. After the expulsion of Silesian Jewry in 1582 the family of Israel Benedict was allowed to live in Glogau and received a letter of privilege in 1598. Protected by this, other members of his family and numerous fictitious relatives flocked to the city from Poland and Prague. A Jewish quarter was organized and a synagogue built in 1636. Despite the sufferings caused by the Thirty Years' War, the plague, a general conflagration in 1678, and local opposition, the community grew from 81 families in 1673 to 1,564 persons in 1725. After it returned to Prussia in 1745. *Frederick II confirmed the limited rights of the community. One of the most prosperous communities in Central Europe, Glogau Jewry overshadowed that of *Breslau. From the beginning of the 18th century, the community possessed its own seal. The Jewish population gradually outgrew the confines of the Jewish quarter and totaled 2,000 in 1791 (one-fifth of Silesian Jewry). In the 19th century, the community decreased from 1,516 in 1812 (12% of the total population) to 1,010 in 1880 (5.4%), and 716 in 1900. Solomon and Eduard *Munk, Michael *Sachs, and David and Paulus *Cassel were born in Glogau. Solomon *Maimon was buried in the old cemetery. The community remained approximately the same size (around 600) until 1933. Many left during the Nazi persecutions and their numbers had declined to 120 by 1939. Most were deported to the East from March 1942. The community was not reestablished after World War II.

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GLOGAU, JEHIEL MICHAEL BEN ASHER LEMMEL HA-LEVI (c. 1740–1818), rabbi in Burgenland (Austria).

Glogau took his name from his birthplace, where his father served as *dayyan*, before becoming rabbi in Eisenstadt. Around 1780 Glogau served as preacher of the *ḥevra kaddisha* of Vienna. On the death of his father in 1789 he succeeded him at Eisenstadt. He was in halakhic correspondence with Moses *Sofer, who held him in high esteem (*Ḥatam Sofer* OḤ, nos. 40, 80). His son MOSES (d. 1837), who served as rabbi of Liben near Prague and then in Deutschkreutz (Burgenland), published the commentaries on *aggadah* of his father and grandfather together with his own work entitled *Ḥut ha-Meshullash bi-She'arim* (Vienna, 1821). The work contains sermons on the weekly readings of the Torah, each consisting of three parts: the sermons of his grandfather, entitled *Sha'ar Asher*; of his father, entitled *Sha'ar ha-Mayim*; and his own, *Sha'ar ha-Katan*.

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[Yehoshua Horowitz]

GLOTZ, GUSTAVE (1862–1935), French historian. He was born at Haguenau and taught at the lycée in Nancy (1886–92), and Paris (1892–1907). In 1907 he became professor of Greek history at the Sorbonne. In 1920 he became a member of the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres, and in 1928 president of the *Institut de France*. Well known as a French patriot and as a fine scholar and a popular teacher, he was honored at his Sorbonne jubilee in 1932, when the *Mélanges Gustave Glotz* (2 vols., including bibliography) was presented to him. His work is notable for its special study of ancient Greek social and economic life. He directed the publication of the *Histoire générale*, in which the first three volumes of the *Histoire grecque* (1925–36) are his work in collaboration with Robert Cohen. He contributed to the *Dictionnaire des antiquités grecques et romaines*. His other works include *Etudes sociales et juridiques sur l'antiquité grecque* (1906), *Le travail dans la Grèce ancienne* (1920; Eng. 1926), *La civilisation égéenne* (1923, Eng. 1925), and *La cité grecque* (1928; Eng. 1929). He was an editor of the *Revue des Etudes Grecques*.

[Irwin L. Merker]

GLOUCESTER, county town in N. England. Its Jewish community is first mentioned in the financial records of 1158–59. It was again mentioned in connection with an alleged ritual murder in 1168. The Jewry was situated in the present East Gate Street, the synagogue being on the north side. Josce of Gloucester, a prominent financier under Henry II, apparently financed an illegal raid on Ireland. Under John, the community suffered greatly from royal exaction. Gloucester possessed an *archa. It was one of the dower-towns of Queen Dowager Eleanor from which the Jews were expelled in 1275. The members of the community, first transferred to *Bristol, were afterward scattered. A small community was reestablished at the close of the 18th century but decayed in the middle of the 19th century. The last survivor died in 1886.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: J. Jacobs, *Jews of Angevin England* (1893), 45–47, 376; Rigg-Jenkinson, Exchequer, passim; H.G. Richardson, *English Jewry under Angevin Kings* (1960), passim; C. Roth, *Rise of Provincial Jewry* (1950), 67–70; Roth, England, index.

[Cecil Roth]

GLUBOKOYE (Pol. **Głębokie**), Molodechno district, Belarus, in Poland until 1793 and from 1921 to 1939. Jews are mentioned there in the middle of the 16th century. Within the framework of the Council of Lithuania (see *Councils of the Lands) Glubokoye came under the jurisdiction of the *Smorgon community. Samuel *Mohilever was rabbi there from 1848 to 1856. Jews traded in lumber, farm products, and bristles, exporting them to Poland and Russia. They also owned flour mills and hide-processing factories. Most identified themselves with the Chabad Ḥasidism. The community numbered 755 in 1766, 3,917 in 1897 (70% of the total population), and 2,844 in 1921 (63%). After WWI Jewish trade was only partially revived. In 1927 a Hebrew Tarbut school was opened.

Holocaust Period

In September 1939 Glubokoye was annexed to the Soviet Belorussian Republic. All Jewish public life ceased and Jewish institutions were closed. The town was occupied by the Germans on July 2, 1941. In the first days several Jews accused of being Communists were put to death. When many of the prisoners in the Soviet jail of nearby Berezwiecz were found dead the blame was placed on the Jews and a pogrom was prevented only after intercession by R. Josef Ha-Levi Katz. In early November 1941 a ghetto was set up in the town and the Jews there were grouped into two categories: those fit for work, and the sick and the aged. Jews from the nearby towns of Sharkovshchisna, Postawy, and Plissa were also brought to the ghetto and its population reached 6,000. On March 25, 1942, 105 Jews were arrested and shot. Following this *Aktion*, the youth tried to organize and make contact with the partisans. On June 19, 1942, about 2,500 Jews classified "unfit for work" were murdered in the Borek forest. In 1943 Soviet partisans attacked targets in the vicinity of Glubokoye. The Germans, fearing that contact might be established between the ghetto and the partisans, began to deport the Jews and liquidate the ghetto. On August 20, 1943, members of the *Judenrat* were ordered to organize the Jews for deportation. Upon entering the ghetto, the Germans met with armed resistance by Jewish groups. Some Jews tried to break through the siege, but few succeeded. In order to break the resistance and to prevent a mass escape, the Germans set the ghetto on fire and left 5,000 dead. Jews from Glubokoye who managed to escape joined partisan units, including the Kaganovich unit.

About 100 survived the Holocaust. The community was not reconstituted after World War II.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Lite*, 1 (1951), 1551–53; *Yahadut Lita*, 1 (1959), index; Yad Vashem Archives.

[Aharon Weiss]

GLUCK, ALMA (born **Reba Fiersohn**; 1884–1938), U.S. soprano. Born in Bucharest, Romania, she was taken to New York as a child. When she left school, she worked as a secretary, and it was not until her marriage to Bernard Gluck, in 1906, that she began taking singing lessons. In 1909 she obtained an engagement at the Metropolitan Opera, New York, where she remained for four years. Subsequently, after studying in Berlin with Marcella Sembrich, she concentrated on concert work. Her great success was enhanced by her recordings. In 1914, having divorced her first husband, she married the violinist Efrem Zimbalist. Her home in New York became the meeting place of distinguished musicians and she was a principal figure in the founding of the American Guild of Musical Artists. Her daughter by her first marriage became the novelist Marcia *Davenport.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: M. Davenport, *Too Strong for Fantasy* (1967), index; G. Saleski, *Famous Musicians of Jewish Origin* (1949), 587–9; Baker, Biog Dict.

GLUCK, HANNAH (1895–1978), British painter. Hannah Gluck, widely known as "Gluck," was born in London and belonged to the well-known *Gluckstein family. She attended St. Pauls Girls' School but, refusing to go to the university, she enrolled in the St. John's Wood Art School, London, which she left after one year and was thereafter self-taught. In 1916, while on a holiday in Cornwall, she met a group of distinguished artists, including Munnings and Harold and Lora Knight, and this made her more determined to become a genuine artist. She eventually studied music, but after a promising beginning returned to painting. In 1926, the Fine Art Society of London held an exhibition of her work entitled "Stage and Country," which included landscapes as well as theater scenes and portraits. Its success led to other successful exhibitions in 1932 and 1937. Nothing was heard of Gluck for some 35 years, during which time she was living in the country, painting very slowly, and, having no financial means, not bothering to exhibit. In 1973, however, the Fine Art Society persuaded her to hold another show, which included the portrait of her grandfather done in 1915, a series of works from 1917 to 1937, as well as paintings covering the period from World War II. It proved a thrilling exhibition and Gluck was hailed as a minor master.

During the subsequent five years, until her death, Gluck was reestablished both as a painter in her own right and as part of the reassessment of English art in the 1920s and 1930s.

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[Charles Samuel Spencer]

GLUCK, LOUISE (1943–), U.S. poet. Gluck was born in New York City to a father who never acted on his dream of being a writer and a mother who fought to attend Wellesley College before women's education was accepted. Honed by inner wounds from the death of an older sister, and by her battle with anorexia, years of psychoanalysis, and study with Stanley Kunitz, Gluck's poetic voice is lyrical yet reticent, cloaking the confessional in the classical. Her poetry explores the intimate drama of family tragedies resonating through the generations and the relationship between human beings and their creator. Although her poetry shows the strong influence of psychoanalysis and classical mythology, she also draws on Jewish tradition for mythic images and stories. Her works include an award-winning collection of essays on the theory and practice of poetry, *Proofs & Theories* (1994), as well as her many books of poetry, most notably, *The House on Marshland* (1975), *Descending Figure* (1980), *Ararat* (1990), and *The Seven Ages* (2001). In *The Triumph of Achilles* (1985), she creates her own midrashic interpretation of a story from the Midrash Rabbah and measures her immigrant grandfather's life against that of Joseph in Egypt. *The Wild Iris* (1992), an entire book in the voice of one of the Hebrew prophets translated to a modern sensibility, won the Pulitzer Prize. She writes with passion restrained by intelligence in a voice of controlled elegance, and luminous mystery. Although her use of myth and story to illuminate the individual heart and the archetypal family, as well as her recurrent attempts to understand God, have led some to call her work cryptic or harsh, she has received multiple awards for her poetry, and her critical recognition as one of America's finest poets resulted in her term as U.S. poet laureate in 2003.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: F. Diehl (ed.), *On Louise Gluck: Change What You See* (2005).

[Linda Rodriguez (2nd ed.)]

GLUCKMAN, HENRY (1893–1987), South African physician and politician who was the only Jew to hold a cabinet post in the Union of South Africa. He represented a Johannesburg division in Parliament from 1938 until 1958, when he retired from politics to devote himself to industrial interests. Largely as a result of his work as chairman of the government's National Health Services Commission (1942–44), whose report influenced future health policy, the prime minister, General J.C. Smuts, in 1945 appointed him minister of health and housing. He held this position until 1948 when Smuts' government left office. Gluckman was chairman of the Central Health Services and Hospitals Coordinating Council (1943–45) and of the National Nutrition Council (1945–48). He was a regional vice president of the World Parliamentary Association. He served in the South African Medical Corps in both world wars and was president of the National War Memorial Health Foundation, and vice president of the Jewish Ex-Service League.

Gluckman was an executive member of the Jewish Board of Deputies and vice president of the Zionist Federation. Particularly interested in the Hebrew University, he was on its board of governors and was chairman and lifetime president of the South African Friends of the Hebrew University.

[Louis Hotz]

GLUCKMAN (Herman), MAX (1911–1975), social anthropologist. Born and educated in Johannesburg, South Africa, and Rhodes scholar to Oxford, 1934, he was assistant anthropologist to the Rhodes Livingston Institute in North Rhodesia (now Zambia) from 1939 to 1941 and its director from 1941 to 1947. In 1947 he was appointed lecturer in social anthropology at Oxford and in 1949 professor of social anthropology at the University of Manchester. He did field research in Zululand from 1936 to 1938; in Barotseland from 1939 to 1941; Tonga in North Rhodesia in 1944; and Lamba in 1946. Gluckman became an expert on African societies, the political systems of tribal society, and more generally political anthropology. His *Custom and Conflict in Africa* (1955) paid special attention to cultural change and the significance of conflict, which he regarded as a basic element in society. He was chairman of the Association of Social Anthropologists of the British Commonwealth from 1962 to 1966. He wrote *Administrative Organization of the Barotse Native Authorities* (1943), *Rituals of Rebellion in South-East Africa* (1954), *Custom and Conflict in Africa* (1955), *Order and Rebellion in Tribal Africa* (1963), *Politics, Law, and Ritual in Tribal Society* (1965), and *The Ideas in Barotse Jurisprudence* (1965). Gluckman died in Jerusalem, where he was a visiting scholar at the Hebrew University.

ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY: ODNB online.

[Ephraim Fischoff]

GLUCKSMAN, HARRY L. (1889–1938), U.S. communal worker. Glucksman was born in New York. A founder of the Jewish center movement in the U.S. and Canada, he joined the *National Jewish Welfare Board in 1917 when it was organized as a war service agency and was executive director for 19 years until his death. Previously, Glucksman had served in executive capacities with the Jewish Big Brothers (in N.Y.), the 92nd Street YMHA (also in N.Y.), and the New Orleans YMHA. An able administrator and organizer, Glucksman was widely consulted on various aspects of Jewish community life. He was a supporter of Zionism and was prominent in the American Jewish Committee, the New York YMHA, and the Jewish Board of Guardians.

GLUCKSTEIN, English family of caterers. In 1872 ISIDORE GLUCKSTEIN (1851–1920) opened a small tobacconist's shop in London with his brother-in-law Barnett *Salmon. This concern developed into Salmon and Gluckstein, the largest firm of retail tobacconists in England, which was then purchased by the Imperial Tobacco Company in 1904. In 1887 Isidore Gluckstein was also one of the founders of the catering firm, J. Lyons and Company, together with his brother MONTAGUE GLUCKSTEIN (1854–1922), Alfred Salmon, son of Barnett Salmon, and Sir Joseph *Lyons. Montague Gluckstein conceived the idea of this popular catering establishment and played a leading part in its development, based on the principle of offering good food at moderate prices. He succeeded to the chairmanship of the company on the death of Lyons in 1917. ISIDORE MONTAGUE GLUCKSTEIN (1890–1975) was chairman of the company 1956–60, and president 1961–68.

Other members of the family were SIR SAMUEL GLUCKSTEIN (1880–1958), who was active in the London Country Council and occupied many posts in executive committees and was mayor of Westminster 1920–21; and SIR LOUIS HALLE GLUCKSTEIN (1897–1979), Conservative member of parliament from 1931–45, chairman of the Greater London Council in 1968, and president of the Liberal Jewish Synagogue from 1944.

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GLUECK, ABRAHAM ISAAC (1826–1909), Hungarian rabbi. Glueck was born in Vertes and served as rabbi of Tolcsva for almost 50 years, until his death. His published works are *Be'er Yiẓḥak* on tractate *Ḥullin* (1896), and on *Gittin* in two parts (1909–10), and responsa *Yad Yiẓḥak*, in three parts (1902–08). R. Joseph ha-Kohen Schwartz published a complete volume entitled *Ẓafenat Pa'ne'aḥ* (1909), consisting of notes to the third part. Glueck also published the *Parashat Mordekhai* (1889) of Mordecai Benet, together with his own glosses. Many of his works were apparently lost in the Holocaust.

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[Naphtali Ben-Menahem]

GLUECK, NELSON (1900–1971), U.S. archaeologist and president of *Hebrew Union College. Glueck, who was born in Cincinnati, Ohio, received his rabbinic ordination from the Hebrew Union College there in 1923. Continuing his studies in Germany, Glueck received his Ph.D. at Jena in 1927. In 1928–29 he studied at the American School of Oriental Research in Jerusalem. Glueck began teaching Bible at Hebrew Union College in 1929, and while still a member of the faculty resumed his connection with the American School of Oriental Research. He was director of the Jerusalem School during 1932–33, 1936–40, and 1942–47, and field director of the Baghdad School in 1942–47. During World War II Glueck worked with the U.S. Office of Strategic Services, then was director of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, to which he had been appointed in 1941.

A conspicuous figure among American archaeologists, Glueck undertook systematic excavations throughout Transjordan. In 1937 he uncovered the Nabatean Temple at Jebel el-Tannur, and in 1938 he began excavating the Iron Age site of Tell-el-Kheleifeh (Ezion-Geber), near Akaba. From 1952 onward he surveyed ancient sites in the Negev.

In 1947 Glueck was elected president of Hebrew Union College. The college, isolated geographically from the main centers of American Jewish life, also tended to be overshadowed by the burgeoning activities of its patron, the Union of American Hebrew Congregations. Avoiding philosophical controversy, Glueck successfully fought to maintain the independence of the college, and at the same time transformed its structure. In 1949 he succeeded Stephen Wise as president of the Jewish Institute of Religion in New York, and the amalgamation of the two schools followed. Branches of the combined institution were opened in Los Angeles and Jerusalem largely due to Glueck's enthusiasm. The buildings in Cincinnati were greatly enlarged and the granting of fellowships for postgraduate studies, particularly to Christian students of Judaica, was increased considerably.

In addition to contributions to learned journals, Glueck has published *Das Wort Ḥesed im alttestamentlichen Sprachgebrauche* (1927); *Explorations in Eastern Palestine* (4 vols., 1934–51); *The Other Side of the Jordan* (1940); *The River Jordan* (1946); *Rivers in the Desert* (1959); and *Deities and Dolphins: The Story of the Nabateans* (1966). On his 70th birthday, the festschrift *Near Eastern Archeology in the Twentieth Century* was published in his honor.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: D. Lazar, *Rashim be-Yisrael*, 1 (1953), 322–6; *Current Biography*, 30 (July 1969), 28–30; *Time* (Dec. 13, 1963).

GLUECK, SHELDON (1896–1980), U.S. criminologist. Born in Warsaw, Glueck was taken to the United States in 1903. In 1925 he became an instructor in criminology at Harvard and was professor of law from 1931. A member of the advisory committee on Rules of Criminal Procedure of the U.S. Supreme Court, he was also an adviser at the Nuremberg war crimes trials after World War II.

Glueck's work in criminology was largely accomplished with the help of his wife, ELEANOR GLUECK-TOUROFF (1898–1972), who held research posts in criminology at Harvard from 1928 to 1953. For over 30 years they carried out unique follow-up investigations of delinquent and criminal behavior to determine the effectiveness of various forms of correctional treatment. The research resulted in several important publications including *One Thousand Juvenile Delinquents* (1934). Later research into the early identification of delinquency and recidivism led to the development of prognostic tables to predict post-offense behavior of criminal offenders. The Glueck system of prediction enabled them to determine which children in the first grade would probably become persistent delinquents unless there was timely and effective intervention. The predictions were based on certain factors in the social background of the children such as parental discipline, relationship with parents, and the cohesiveness of the family. Validation studies of these prediction tables generally confirmed their accuracy, and were approved by a number of eminent criminologists and social scientists.

Among their many publications were *Unraveling Juvenile Delinquency* (1950), in which the Glueck Social Prediction Table is described, and *Predicting Delinquency and Crime* (1959), which incorporates various tables of prediction for different types of criminal and delinquent behavior. They also wrote *Ventures in Criminology* (1964). Among Sheldon Glueck's other writings were: *Mental Disorder and the Criminal Law* (1925); and *The Nuremberg Trial and Aggressive War* (1946).

[Zvi Hermon]

GLUECKEL OF HAMELN (1646/47–1724), merchant, wife, mother, and Yiddish memoirist. David Kauffman, who edited her Yiddish text, was the first to call her "Glueckel von Hameln"; she signed herself as "Glikl bas Judah Leib." Glikl was born in Hamburg to the merchant Judah Leib and the businesswoman Beila Melrich. Judah Leib, one of the original Ashkenazim to settle in Hamburg, never had the status of that city's great Sephardi financiers; he became a prosperous trader and a notable of the German-Jewish community based in the adjacent town of Altona. At 14, Glikl married Ḥayyim ben Joseph, a native of Hameln. After briefly boarding with their families, Glikl and Ḥayyim established their own household in the Ashkenazi section of Hamburg. The couple had 14 children; 12 lived long enough to marry and all but one had children of their own. Using as his public names either Hamel or Goldschmidt, Ḥayyim traded successfully in gold, silver, pearls, and money, attended the German fairs, and arranged sales from Moscow to London. Glikl helped with the account books, local pledges, and contracts. In 1689, Ḥayyim died from a fall, leaving Glikl with eight children still at home. After marrying off some children nearby and others in distant cities, such as Berlin and Metz, she continued Ḥayyim's business with much success.

In 1699, Glikl married Hirsch Levy, a wealthy widower, provisioner to the armies of Louis XIV, and a leader of the Metz Jewish community. Less than two years later, Levy went bankrupt and the couple had to live in straitened circumstances. After Hirsch's death in 1712, Glikl moved in with her daughter Esther and her banker son-in-law Moses Schwabe and watched her grandchildren grow up until her own death in 1724.

Glikl began to record her reflections and incidents from her life in the "melancholy" period following Ḥayyim's death and gave her writings final form several years after the death of her second husband. This carefully crafted text, interspersed with relevant folk tales, is the first surviving extensive written document by a Jewish woman. However, Glikl was drawing from an established practice of self-description, by women as well as men, in ethical wills and personal narratives. She also drew upon her wide reading in Yiddish printed books, such as women's prayers, moral teachings, extracts from the Bible, and story collections, and from sermons heard from the women's section of the synagogue. Through her book, she could tell her children about their past and also reflect on the ups and downs in her life, her sins and strengths, and the meaning of suffering. Her autobiography, a woman's presentation of family life, the relations between generations, religious sensibility, business activities and values, and the messianic hopes of the 17th century, is an invaluable source for Yiddish language and literature and for early modern Jewish history.

It is important to point out that all of the translations of Glikl's memoirs, in German, French, Hebrew, and English omit as much as two-thirds of the actual text, based on various editorial principles shaped by the translator's approach to the material at hand. This has meant that the genre and the significance of Glikl's writings for her time and audience are still far from adequately understood. Although some of the core issues of the problem have been discussed by C. Turniansky, much room remains for further research, analysis, and full translation.

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[Natalie Zemon Davis (2nd ed.)]

°**GLUECKS, RICHARD** (1889–1945), SS-*Brigadefuehrer* (major general), charged with participation in the mass murder of Jews in the "Final Solution" (see *Holocaust, General Survey). A native of Dusseldorf, he served as an artillery officer during World War I, and then became a merchant. After Hitler came to power, Gluecks became a member of the Nazi Party and the SS. In 1936 he was appointed chief of staff under Theodor Eike, inspector of concentration camps, and succeeded him in 1940. In 1941, when the Inspection Authority was absorbed into the "Economic and Administrative Main Office" (WVHA) of the SS, Gluecks became head of Amtsgruppe D, which supervised the concentration camps (see Concentration *Camps). Gluecks was responsible for the establishment of Auschwitz and the construction of gas chambers. Under his jurisdiction, exploitation of prisoner's labor was introduced in the camps. He died in Flensburg, seemingly by suicide.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: R. Hoess, *Commandant of Auschwitz* (1961), index; R. Hilberg, *Destruction of the European Jews* (1961), 605, 706, and index; IMT, *Trial of the Major War Criminals*, 24 (1949) index.

[Yehuda Reshef]

GLUECKSOHN (Glickson), MOSHE (1878–1939), Hebrew journalist and Zionist leader. Born in Cholynka, near Grodno, Gluecksohn began his Zionist activity in Western Europe among Jewish students. He was a delegate to the Sixth Zionist Congress (1903) and later congresses, joining the opposition to the Uganda Scheme. From 1908 to 1914 he was the secretary of the Ḥovevei Zion committee in Odessa. In 1910 Gluecksohn began to publish articles in Hebrew in *Haolam* and later also in *Ha-Shilo'aḥ*. After the February Revolution, 1917, he edited the Moscow Hebrew daily *Ha-Am*. After the Bolshevik Revolution he left for Palestine (autumn 1919). From 1923 to 1938 he edited the daily *Haaretz*, and during his period of editorship the paper became an important Zionist organ, supporting the policy of Chaim Weizmann and the Zionist leadership and strongly opposing Revisionism. Gluecksohn was the ideological leader of Ha-No'ar ha-Ẓiyyoni and of progressive Zionism. He wrote monographs on Aḥad Ha-Am (1927) and Maimonides (1935). Active in public life as a leader of the General Zionist Party in Palestine, he was also a member of the Zionist General Council, Va'ad ha-Lashon ha-Ivrit (Hebrew Language Committee), and the Board of Governors of the Hebrew University. Kibbutz *Kefar Glickson is named after him. His *Ishim ba-Madda u-va-Sifrut* ("Personalities in Science and Literature") appeared after his death (1940–41; 2nd ed. 1963, with a preface by his wife). Two volumes of his collected works appeared posthumously: *Ishim ba-Ẓiyyonut* ("Zionist Personalities," 1940), and *Im Ḥillufei Mishmarot* ("Changing the Guard," 1965).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Bergman, in: *Haaretz* (July 2, 1943); G. Kressel, *Toledot ha-Ittonut ha-Ivrit be-Ereẓ Yisrael* (1964), index; A. Carlebach, *Sefer ha-Demuyot* (1959), 306–11; Rabbi Binyamin (pseud.), *Keneset Ḥakhamim* (1960), 358–80.

[Baruch Shohetman]

GLUECKSTADT, town in Schleswig-Holstein, N.W. Germany; until 1864 under Danish rule. It was founded in 1616 by Christian IV of Denmark who in 1619 granted special privileges to induce a group of Hamburg Jews to settle there. By 1650, 130 Sephardi Jews had taken residence in the town. They opened a sugar refinery, a soap factory, and saltworks, and were active in foreign trade. The leader of the newly settled Sephardi community, Albertus *Denis, received permission to operate a mint. The Jews, known as members of the "Portuguese nation," had two representatives on the city council, and possessed a synagogue, school, cemetery, and printing press. The first rabbi was Abraham de Fonseca, who later moved to Hamburg. Due to the rising prosperity of *Altona, the city declined economically in the early 18th century and many Jews left; their privileges lapsed in 1732. Although the synagogue was completely rebuilt in 1767 only 20 families remained by then. The last rabbi died in 1813, and the synagogue was dismantled in 1895.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Cassuto, in: JJLG, 21 (1930), 287–317; idem, in: *Jahrbuch fuer die juedischen Gemeinden Schleswig-Holsteins*, 2 (1930–31), 110–8; H. Kellenbenz, *Sephardim an der unteren Elbe* (1958), index; M. Grunwald, *Portugiesengraeber auf deutscher Erde* (1902), index; Baron, Social^2, 14 (1969), 278 ff.

GLUECKSTADT, ISAAC HARTVIG (1839–1910), Danish financier. Glueckstadt, who was born in Fredericia, Denmark, started his business career as a private banker in Christiania (Oslo) in 1865; five years later he was made manager of the

Norwegian Credit Bank. In 1872 he was recalled to Copenhagen as director of the new Landmandsbanken, which developed into the largest bank in Scandinavia under his farsighted management. From the outset, Glueckstadt recognized the importance of international connections and did not confine himself to banking alone. Many important Danish commercial enterprises, among them the Copenhagen Free Port and the East Asiatic Company, owed a great deal to his initiative and support. For many years he was chairman of the board of delegates of the Jewish Community

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Dansk Biografisk Leksikon*, 8 (1936), 179–82; J. Schovelin, *Landmansbanken 1871–1921* (Copenhagen, 1921).

[Julius Margolinsky]

GLUSK (Glosk), ABRAHAM ABBA (second half of 18th century), Haskalah pioneer. According to one opinion, he was born in Glussk (Lublin province), and to another, in the town bearing the same name in the province of Minsk. He is also identified with the "Glusker Maggid" whose works were burned for heresy in the courtyard of the Vilna synagogue. Glusk, who acquired a wide knowledge of philosophy and secular learning, left his native land in search of free ideas. After a long period spent wandering from city to city, he reached Berlin where he met Moses *Mendelssohn. However he was persecuted by local Orthodox circles and the head of the Berlin community asked the authorities to expel him from the city on the pretext that he had no right of residence. Mendelssohn, however, who considered Glusk a profound thinker, enabled him to remain. Glusk later traveled in Germany, Holland, France, and England before returning home. His subsequent fate is unknown. The German poet A. von Chamisso wrote a poem dedicated to Glusk (1832).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Stanislavsky, in: *Voskhod*, 12 (1887), 122–8; *Ha-Karmel* (1871), 234–5; A. Kohut, *Mendelssohn und seine Familie* (1886), 51–53.

GLUSKA, ZEKHARYAH (1895–1960), leader of the Yemenite community in Ereẓ Israel. Born in Nadir, Yemen, Gluska moved to Ereẓ Israel with his parents who settled in the Neveh Ẓedek quarter in Jaffa in 1909. In 1911 he joined the Ha-Po'el ha-Ẓa'ir Party and became one of the first members of the Histadrut. In 1921 he helped form the Ẓe'irei ha-Mizraḥ movement, which was founded to integrate Yemenite youth in Ereẓ Israel, and he acted as its representative in the first Asefat ha-Nivḥarim. Gluska was a founder of Hitaḥdut ha-Teimanim ("Union of Yemenites") in Ereẓ Israel and its chairman from 1925. He became its representative in the central *yishuv* bodies and at Zionist Congresses. In 1949 he was elected on behalf of the Yemenite list to the First Knesset.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Tidhar, 3 (1958), 1515–16.

[Benjamin Jaffe]

GLUSKIN, ZE'EV (1859–1949), Zionist. Born in Slutsk, Belorussia, Gluskin joined the Ḥovevei Zion in Warsaw in the 1880s, became a member of *Benei Moshe, and was among the founders of the Menuḥah ve-Naḥalah society, which established the settlement of Reḥovot. He was also one of the founders of the Aḥi'asaf publishing house, which introduced innovations in the publishing and distribution of Hebrew books. He participated in the establishment of the Carmel society (1896), which marketed and exported the wine produced in the settlements, and was its first director. In 1901 Gluskin took part in a Ḥovevei Zion deputation to Baron Edmond de Rothschild to persuade him to continue his settlement activities in Ereẓ Israel. In 1904 he was among the founders of the Geulah Company, which was established for the private purchase of land in Ereẓ Israel.

Gluskin went to Ereẓ Israel late in 1905 and took over the directorship of Agudat ha-Koremim ("Vintners Association") and of its wine cellars in Rishon le-Zion and Zikhron Ya'akov. When World War I broke out, he went to Alexandria and helped organize aid both for the refugees from Ereẓ Israel and for Jews who had remained there. He supported the volunteer movement for the establishment of a Jewish regiment in the British Army from among the Ereẓ Israel refugees. He was director of the Geulah Company from 1925–46. He published his memoirs (1946), which contain valuable material on the history of the Jews and of Zionism in Russia and Ereẓ Israel.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: D. Idelovitch, *Rishon le-Ẓiyyon* (1941), index; M.Smilansky, *Mishpaḥat ha-Adamah*, 3 (1954), 194–206; Y. Pogrebinsky, *Sefer "Ge'ullah"* (1956), 131ff., 233–5.

[Yehuda Slutsky]

GLUSSK (Yid. **Hlusk**), town in Polesie district, Belarus. Jews settled in Glussk in the third quarter of the 17th century. Jehiel b. Solomon *Heilprin was rabbi there and compiled the regulations of its *ḥevra kaddisha*. In 1717 the Jews paid a 600 zloty poll tax. In 1819 they numbered 1,405, in 1847 – 3,148, in 1897 – 3,801 (71% of the total population), and in 1926 – 2,581 (58.3%). Glussk had no industry. Some of the Jews produced a special kind of tea (called Glussk tea) but most were gardeners, carpenters, horse merchants, and small traders. In the mid-1920s 40 families earned their livelihoods from farming, the others were artisans, and some still engaged in trade. A Yiddish school and Jewish council were in operation. In 1939 the Jews numbered 1,935 (38% of the total population). The Germans occupied Glussk on July 3, 1941. In December 1941 and January 1942 the Jews were murdered near Khvastovichi. Some who escaped to the forest fought in partisan units.

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[Shmuel Spector (2nd ed.)]

GNAT, tiny insect. Included among the plagues of Egypt is *arov*, identified by one *tanna* as "a swarm of gnats" and "hornets" and by others as "a mixture of animals" (Ex. R. 11:3). In the Septuagint *arov* is rendered by the Greek word for "flies." In Egypt there are many species of gnats or mosquitoes, in particular *Culex* and the *Anopheles*, a conveyor of malaria.

Their eggs are laid in bodies of water and the gnat develops by stages – larval, pupal, imaginal. Despite the inconvenience caused by the gnat, the rabbis stated that it, too, is important in the complex of ecological relations between creatures (Shab. 77b). They also declared that even "if all mortals were to gather together to create one gnat," they would fail to do so (Sif. Deut. 32).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Tristram, Nat Hist, 327; J. Feliks, *Animal World of the Bible* (1962), 125.

[Jehuda Feliks]

GNESIN, MIKHAIL FABIANOVICH (1883–1957), Russian composer, musicologist, and teacher. Born in Rostov-on-Don, he studied with Lyadov and Rimsky-Korsakov at the St. Petersburg Conservatory. From 1910 to 1923 he taught at Rostov, Yekaterinodar, and Petrograd, and undertook study trips to Greece, Italy, France, Germany, and Palestine (in 1914 and 1921) and worked in Meyerhold's St. Petersburg studio. He also made a survey of music education in the Jewish schools on behalf of the *Odessa Committee. During 1921 he stayed in Palestine, and then went to Germany where he was one of the founders of the Jibneh music publishing house and reorganized the activities of the *Society of Jewish Folk Music of which he had been one of the founders in 1908.

From 1923 to 1935 he was professor of composition at the Moscow Conservatory, where he also served as head of the pedagogical faculty and of the "studios for the development of the national music of the Soviet peoples." From 1935 to 1945 he taught composition at the Leningrad Conservatory, and from 1945 to 1951 headed the composition department at the music school, which bore his name and that of his sister who was also a musician. Gnesin's pedagogical activity included the creation of the basic plan for teaching music composition, which is still followed in the Soviet Union. In addition to his memoirs, he published a number of books on composition, aesthetics, Jewish music, and a study of Rimsky-Korsakov. Among his students were Khachaturian and Khrennikov. As a composer, he pioneered the new Russian symphonic style, and the use of material from the various peoples of the U.S.S.R. Of the 68 items in the list of his works, about a quarter bear "Jewish" titles. The sources for these were, as he himself declared, threefold: tunes of his maternal grandfather, the Vilna *badḥan* and singer Shayke Fayfer (Isaiah Fleytsinger); the synagogue tradition which he received from his first teacher, Eliezer *Gerovich; and the melodies he had collected in Palestine. The publication of his Jewish compositions ended in 1929 (see list, up to this date, in Sendrey, Music). Of his later works, the most noteworthy are *Song of the Old Homeland*, for orchestra, op. 30; *Wolochs* for string quartet and clarinet, op. 56, in two versions (1938, 1951); *Pastoral Elegy* for piano trio, op. 57 (1940); the opera *Abraham's Youth*, to his own libretto, op. 36 (1921–23); and the suite *A Jewish Orchestra at the Mayor's Ball*, from his music to Gogol's *Revizor* ("The Government Inspector"). His opera *Bar Kokhba*, to a libretto by Samuel Halkin, remained unfinished.

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[Haim Bar-Dayan]

GNESSIN, MENAHEM (1882–1952), Israeli actor and pioneer of the Hebrew theater. Menahem Gnessin, a brother of Uri Nissan *Gnessin, went to Palestine from theUkraine in 1903 and for some years was a laborer and teacher in the villages. In 1907 he founded the Amateur Dramatic Arts Company for the presentation of plays in Hebrew. He staged Chirikov's *The Jews*, Gutzkow's *Uriel Acosta*, and other plays in Jaffa, Jerusalem, and the Judean settlements. Returning to Moscow in 1912, Gnessin and N. *Zemach established a Hebrew group which formed the nucleus of *Habimah. By 1923 Gnessin was in Berlin, organizing the Te'atron Ereẓ Yisraeli, which performed a one-act play, *Belshazzar* by H. Roche, with great success. In 1924 he took the group to Palestine and worked as an actor, teacher, and director. When Habimah reached Palestine in 1928, he joined the company. Gnessin wrote articles on the theater and published his memoirs *Darki im ha-Te'atron ha-Ivri, 1905–26* ("My Career in the Hebrew Theater," 1946).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: M. Kohansky, *The Hebrew Theatre in Its First Fifty Years* (1969), index.

[Gershon K. Gershony]

GNESSIN, URI NISSAN (1881–1913), Hebrew author who was the first to introduce the psychologically oriented prose style into Hebrew literature. Born in Starodub, Ukraine, Gnessin spent his childhood and youth in Pochep, a small town in the province of Orel. His father was head of a yeshivah and Gnessin studied in a *ḥeder*, later at his father's yeshivah where J.H. *Brenner was also a student. Besides his religious studies, Gnessin was interested in secular subjects, studying classical and modern languages and literatures. As a boy, he wrote poems and at 15 began publishing, together with Brenner, a literary monthly and a literary weekly for a small circle of friends and readers. These served as a forum for many of his early works. Nahum *Sokolow invited the young poet, then 18, to join the editorial staff of *Ha-Ẓefirah in Warsaw; this marks the beginning of a productive period in his literary career. Gnessin published poems, literary criticism, stories, and translations in *Ha-Ẓefirah*. A small collection of short stories and sketches, *Ẓilelei ha-Ḥayyim* ("The Shadows of Life"), appeared in 1904.

At this time Gnessin began wandering from city to city, unable or unwilling to strike permanent roots. After a year's stay in Warsaw he moved to Yekaterinoslav, then to Vilna, where he worked for a time for the periodical *Ha-Zeman*, and then went to Kiev. Gnessin tried to study abroad but was not accepted by various schools since he did not have a formal education. Financial distress, hunger, and an inner restlessness beset Gnessin during his stay in Kiev, yet it was the time of his greatest prolificacy. However, plans to found a Hebrew literary organ and a publishing house did not materialize. In 1907 Gnessin left Kiev and at Brenner's invitation went to London (via Warsaw and Berlin, where he stayed for a short time) to co-edit *Ha-Me'orer with Brenner. The periodical failed and there were violent disagreements between him and Brenner. London proved to be a severe disillusionment in other ways – the spiritual life of London Jewry was disappointing and his later fatal heart disease, probably contracted in Kiev, began to affect him. In the autumn he immigrated to Ereẓ Israel but was unable to adjust. The country was a bitter experience for the young writer; his painful impressions found expression only in his letters however. He ascribes his disappointment at times to himself, at times to his environment which he saw as "Jews who trade in their Judaism." In the summer of 1908 Gnessin returned to Russia. He died in Warsaw four years later.

Gnessin's work, one of the major landmarks in Hebrew prose, is characterized by modern literary techniques and devices which he introduced into Hebrew literature. The interior monologue through which the reader receives an unmediated impression of the hero's continuous flow of ideas, sensations, feelings, and memories as they come into his consciousness was one of the main literary vehicles used by Gnessin to convey the psychological anxieties of his characters. He was among the first Hebrew writers to probe the problems of alienation and uprootedness, particularly as they affected the Jew in the modern age. Among his works four stories of his middle period are most outstanding and their impact on Hebrew prose is felt to this day: "*Haẓiddah*" ("Aside," 1905); "*Beinatayim*" ("Meanwhile," 1906); "*Be-Terem*" ("Before," 1909); and "*Eẓel*" ("By," 1913). His early work, *Ẓilelei ha-Ḥayyim*, fails to reveal an individualistic literary character, while later stories, like "*Ba-Gannim*" ("In the Gardens," 1909) and "*Ketatah*" ("A Quarrel," 1912), mark the transition to a new psychological style. Brenner, G. *Shofman, and Gnessin were among the first to cast the problems of the Jew of the age in a literary context. Gnessin poignantly describes the dilemma of the Jew whose world outlook is rooted in the values and spirit of the Jewish East European town, but who, at the same time, adopted the characteristics of a "citizen of the world" sharing the achievements and the deterioration of 20th-century culture. Gnessin's treatment of the theme is close to that of *Berdyczewski.

The four stories are autobiographical and Gnessin, under the guise of different names, is the protagonist. The plots, variations of the same theme, are about a man who leaves home, travels to distant lands, and becomes a "citizen of the world" only to find himself uprooted. A cosmopolitan, he is now completely alienated and lonely. After traveling far and wide, he returns home only to be faced by the awful realization that he has become an alien in his own homeland. At times he may only go as far as the next town, a center somewhat larger than his own hamlet, but the experience uproots and alienates him. The past becomes irretrievable, the gap unbridgeable, and he is cast in a strange, complex, and confusing world. The theme, apparently peculiar to contemporaneous Jewish intellectuals who had rejected religious tradition, merges in Gnessin with the more universal theme of perplexity, cultural strangeness, loss of God, and loss of roots. Out of his anguish, the lost son, wishing to comfort himself, cries: "Father, there is a God in heaven, isn't there, and He is so good!" ("*Be-Terem*"). The very names of the stories imply the protagonist's detachment from time and place.

Scandinavian literature and the stories of Chekhov, his favorite author, had a marked influence on Gnessin. His sense of time as a factor in the life of man and of society resembles that of Marcel Proust. Through the associative technique, Gnessin focused the past and future in the present, rendering the present less real than the past. He broke with the realistic trend then current in the Hebrew short story and became a "modern" author in the spirit of developments in world literature after World War I.

Gnessin's style involves a flow of lyrical patterns which approaches poetic rhythm. His lyricism, however, is neither ambiguous nor vague and his description of details, objects, characters, and scenery is vivid and precise. One of Gnessin's stylistic devices is to reflect the inner world of his characters in all that surrounds them. This demands a descriptive realism and an avoidance of rhetoric. His language, despite certain Russianisms, captured the rhythms of the spoken tongue. His critical essays, which he signed U. Esthersohn, show a close affinity to the 19th-century school of symbolism. Among the works he translated are prose poems by Baudelaire and works by Chekhov, Heinrich Heine, S. Obstfelder, M. Spektor, and J. Wassermann. An edition of his collected works (*Kitvei*) appeared in 1982. The story "Sideways" appeared in A. Lelchuk and G. Shaked (eds.), *Eight Great Hebrew Novels* (1983); "Uproar" is included in G. Abramson (ed.), *The Oxford Book of Hebrew Short Stories* (1996). For further translations into English, see Goell, Bibliography, 2102.

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[Lea Goldberg]

GNIEZNO (Ger. **Gnesen**), city in Poland; first capital of Poland and center of the Catholic Church in that country until the beginning of the 14th century. Jews are mentioned there in 1267. Various charters of privilege granted to individual Jews or the community giving them rights of residence, and permission to organize defense and engage in commerce (1497, 1499, 1519, 1567, 1571, 1637, 1661) were destroyed in fires that periodically devastated the town. From the 13th to the middle of the 17th centuries, Gniezno Jewry remained one of the smaller communities in the kingdom, numbering 100 people in 30 houses at the end of the period. A representative from Gniezno participated in the provincial (*galil*) council of the communities of Great Poland in 1519. Several such councils were convened at Gniezno (in 1580, 1632, 1635, 1640, 1642). Local and visiting merchants and their agents dealt in wool and rags and collected tolls at the biannual fairs, and even attempted to carry on business outside the Jewish quarter (1643). The synagogue, built in 1582, was modeled after the one in Poznan. Eliezer *Ashkenazi was among the rabbis of Gniezno. The events surrounding the Swedish War (1655–59), as well as attacks led by the Jesuits and by the troops of Stephan *Czarniecki, ended with the destruction of the community. In 1661 it reorganized outside the city walls. A new synagogue was built in 1680. In the first half of the 18th century the community suffered during the Northern War, and there was an outbreak of fire as well as cases of *blood libel (1722, 1738). There were 60 Jews living in Gniezno in 1744. The community increased from the second half of the 18th century, particularly after Gniezno came under Prussian rule with the second partition of Poland in 1793, growing from 251 in the beginning of the period to 1,783 in the middle of the 19th century. It had cultural and welfare institutions, craftsmen’s associations, a school, and a synagogue. The talmudic scholar Moses Samuel *Zuckermandel officiated as rabbi in Gniezno from 1864 to 1869. Subsequently many Jews emigrated to the German states and from the second half of the 19th century to America, especially after Gniezno was incorporated within independent Poland in 1919. The community numbered 750 in 1913 and approximately 150 in the 1930s.

[Dov Avron]

Holocaust Period

Before World War II nearly 150 Jews lived in Gniezno. During the Nazi occupation, the town belonged to Warthegau. During the first four months of the occupation, the town was emptied of all its Jewish inhabitants. A certain number escaped before and after the Germans entered, but the majority were deported on orders given on Nov. 12, 1939, by Wilhelm Koppe, the Higher SS and Police Leader of Warthegau. The orders called for the deportation of the entire Jewish population of Gniezno by the end of February 1940 to the territory of the Generalgouvernement. On Dec. 13, 1939, 65 Jews from Gniezno, probably the last of the community, arrived in Piotrkow Trybunalski in the Radom district. After the removal of the Jews from Gniezno, the Germans blew up the synagogue and razed the old Jewish cemetery, using it as the site of a warehouse. No Jews resettled in the town after World War II.

[Danuta Dombrowska]

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GNOSTICISM, designates the beliefs held by a number of nonorthodox Christian sects flourishing in the first to second centuries C.E., which developed mystical systems of philosophy based on the *gnosis* (Gr. “knowledge”) of God. These systems were syncretic, i.e., mixtures of pagan magic and beliefs from the Babylonian and Greek world as well as from the Jewish. Judaism made an important contribution to the conceptions and the developments of gnosticism. One way in which Jewish motifs were infused into gnosticism was through the Bible, which was holy to Christianity and likewise through other Jewish literature – in Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek – which was used by the Christians. The chapters on the Creation in Genesis were also of special influence. Special importance was also attributed to the account of the first man and his sin, which is interpreted by gnosticism as the downfall of the divine principle into the material world. From their negative attitude toward the world of natural existence and moral law which is meant to regulate man’s behavior in this world, the gnostics came to a view of the God of Israel, the creator of the universe, as the god of evil, or an inferior god, and they strongly rejected his Law and its commandments. They interpreted the stories in the Bible in a way opposite to their meaning and intention: thus, for example, the original serpent is often seen by them as the bearer of the true “knowledge,” of which God intends to deprive man; and Cain becomes a positive figure persecuted by God, etc.

Jewish influence on gnosticism is also evident in the use of names, concepts, and descriptions taken from the Hebrew or Aramaic, e.g., God, the creator of the universe, is called in some gnostic systems *Yaldabaot* (*Yalda Bahut*, according to some “the Child of Chaos”); other mythological or symbolic figures in gnosticism are *Barbelo* (*Be-arba Eloha*, “in four gods,” i.e., the father, the son, the female principle in the divine, and the first man), *Edem* (Eden), *Akhamot* (*ḥokhmot*, “wisdom,” according to Prov. 9:1); the name of the gnostic Naassene sect is derived from *naḥash* (“serpent”); the mysterious words “*Ẓav la-ẓav ẓav la-ẓav kav la-kav kav la-kav ze’eir sham* *ze'eir sham*" (Isa. 28:10, 13) serve as the mystical designation of the three gnostic *Sefirot*.

In addition to these contributions unwittingly and unintentionally made by Judaism to gnosticism, there existed in Judaism itself, at the end of the Second Temple period, emotional and intellectual attitudes which were close to the spiritual world of gnosticism. It is possible that these had a more direct influence on the emergence of gnosticism or, at least, that they served as seeds for a few of its ideas. There are indications of this in the literature of the Dead Sea Sect. Common to both gnosticism and the Dead Sea Scrolls is the view of esoteric "knowledge" as a redemptive factor, which enables a group of select people to bridge the abyss separating the human from the divine, and to rise "from a spirit perverse to an understanding of you and to stand in one company before you with the everlasting host and the spirits of knowledge, to be renewed with all things that are and with those versed in song together" (Thanksgiving Psalms, 1QH 11:13–14), and to be those "who heard the glorious voice and saw the holy angels, men whose ears are opened and hear deep things" (War Scroll, 1QM 10:11).

The literature of the sect also reflects a dualistic outlook on the world conceiving a schism between the principle of good (the light) and the principle of evil (the darkness) each with its own hosts of angels and spirits. This view, however, in contrast to its expression in gnosticism, does not step beyond the framework of Jewish belief in divine unity. Even the feeling of disgust and revulsion with man and the impurity of his material basis ("the mystery of the flesh is iniquity"; Manual of Discipline, 1QS 11:9) does not culminate in the notion of distinction between matter per se and the divine spiritual world; "For the world, albeit now and until the time of the final judgment it go sullying itself in the ways of wickedness owing to the domination of perversity" (*ibid.*, 4:19), but God "created man to rule the world" (*ibid.*, 3:17–18). Thus, despite a certain spiritual kinship between the writings of the sect and the world of gnosticism, the former are not records of a "gnostic Judaism," but rather reflect certain general attitudes of mind shared at that time by others including Jews, which could be the point of departure for truly gnostic speculations.

There is no explicit mention in talmudic literature of gnosticism and its history. It is possible, however, that the appellation *Minim refers in some instances to gnostics.

For the influence of gnosticism on the history of Jewish mysticism, see *Kabbalah.

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[David Flusser]

GOA, city and district on the W. coast of India, about 250 miles (400 km.) S. of Bombay, a Portuguese province from 1510 until 1961. The first Jew to be mentioned in Goa was Gaspar da *Gama who was kidnapped by Vasco da Gama in 1498 and baptized. From the early decades of the 16th century many New Christians from Portugal came to Goa. The influx soon aroused the opposition of the Portuguese and ecclesiastical authorities, who complained bitterly about the New Christians' influence in economic affairs, their monopolistic practices, and their secret adherence to Judaism. As a result of these complaints the Portuguese Inquisition was established in Goa in 1560, and lasted, apart from a temporary suspension from 1774 to 1778, for almost 250 years. Even before the Inquisition was formally established, a physician named Jeronimo Diaz had been burned in 1543 for maintaining heretical opinions. Many prominent New Christians became victims of the Inquisition in Goa. The great scientist Garcia de *Orta was not affected during his lifetime, but 12 years after his death, in 1580, his remains were exhumed, burned, and the ashes thrown into the ocean. In the latter part of the 16th century Coje *Abrahão served as interpreter to the Portuguese viceroys, despite ecclesiastical objections. Eighteenth-century travelers refer to the existence of a synagogue and organized Jewish communal life, but this is doubtful.

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[Walter Joseph Fischel]

GOAT. The classification of the domesticated goat bred in Israel is disputed among scholars, some maintaining that it originates from the wild goat *Capra hircus*, hence the name of the domesticated goat as *Capra hircus mambrica*, others, that it originates from the wild *Capra prisca*, the name of the domesticated goat therefore being *Capra prisca mambrica*. The wild goat is apparently the *akko* mentioned as one of the permitted wild animals (Deut. 14:5). The goat of Ereẓ Israel has recurved horns, those of the he-goat being branched. Its bones have been found in excavations at *Megiddo and a drawing of it in excavations at *Gezer (dating from about 3,000 years ago). The goat has black hair (cf. Song 4:1), but a few have black hair with white or brown spots (cf. Gen. 30:32). This black hair may have symbolized sin, and for this reason it was chosen as a sin offering and for the scapegoat (see *Azazel; Lev. 16:8 ff.). The expression *sa'ir* (lit. "hairy") for a he-goat (*ibid.*, 4:24) and *se'irah* for a she-goat (4:28) is connected with their long hair. The curtains of the Tabernacle were made of goat's hair, as were the black tents of the Bedouin – "the tents of Kedar" (Song 1:5). The she-goat is called *ez*, but *izzim* is also a general expression for the species, the kid being referred to as *gedi izzim* (Gen. 38:17) or *seh izzim* (Deut. 14:4); he-goats are called *attudim* (Num. 7:17) or *teyashim* (Gen. 30:35). The he-goat usually leads the flock and hence apparently the reference to it as "stately in going" (Prov. 30:29, 31). Another name for the he-goat is *ẓafir* (Dan. 8:5).

The importance of the goat lay in its flesh, that of the kid being particularly delicious (Gen. 27:9; 38:20; Judg. 13:15). Ancient peoples apparently boiled a kid in milk on idolatrous fertility festivals, the prohibition of seething "a kid in its mother's milk" (Ex. 23:19; 34:26; Deut. 14:21) being connected with this. From its threefold repetition, the sages deduced a general prohibition against eating meat with milk, as well as its concomitant laws (Kid. 57b). Goat's milk was widely used (cf. Prov. 27:27), being also regarded as a remedy for chest trouble. A *baraita*, however, tells of a pious man who reared a goat in his home for this purpose, but because he transgressed the prohibition of the sages against the breeding of goats, his colleagues rebuked him, calling the goat an "armed robber" (BK 80a), the goat being regarded as a robber since it jumps over fences and damages plants. A Greek inscription prohibiting the breeding of goats has been uncovered at Heracleas. According to the Mishnah (BK 7:7) "small cattle (goats and sheep) are not to be bred in Ereẓ Israel, but may be bred in Syria or in the deserts of Ereẓ Israel." After the destruction of the country's agriculture, especially following the Muslim conquest, goats were imported to Ereẓ Israel, and they increased in number. Some maintain that they were responsible for the erosion of the land by ruining the terraces, destroying the natural vegetation, and creating fissures on the slopes. The eroded soil was deposited in the valleys, blocking the flow of rivers to the sea and forming marshes such as those of the Valley of Jezreel, which were drained by Jews only in the present century. Even now goats, still kept in large numbers by the Bedouin, cause damage to Israel's natural woods by chewing the young shoots, thereby preventing them from growing to full height.

In the 1940s, the Jewish settlers introduced into the country the white European goat, distinguished for its yield of milk. In the Diaspora, particularly in Eastern Europe, the Jews in the towns and villages raised goats so as to have an independent supply of milk. In popular Jewish folklore the goat is a well-known motif which finds expression in jokes ("the rabbi and the goat"), in folk songs ("the child and the goat," see *Ḥad Gadya), as also in poems and paintings (e.g. those of *Chagall).

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[Jehuda Feliks]

°**GOBINEAU, JOSEPH ARTHUR, COMTE DE** (1816–1882), French diplomat and essayist. Of his abundant literary efforts, only his *Essai sur l'inégalité des races humaines* (1853–55) is now remembered. In this essay Gobineau simplified to the extreme current opinions on the "racial factor" in history and the hierarchy of races, white, yellow, and black. According to him, only the white or "Aryan" race, the creator of civilization, possessed the supreme human virtues, such as honor, love of freedom, etc., qualities which could be perpetuated only if the race remained pure. Though he held the Jews in no particular aversion, Gobineau believed that the Latin and Semitic peoples had degenerated in the course of history through various racial intermixtures. Only the Germans had preserved their "Aryan purity," but the evolution of the modern world condemned them too to crossbreeding and degeneracy. Western civilization must be resigned to its fate. The success of the *Essai* was posthumous and, predictably, assured by Gobineau's German admirers. Chief of these was Richard *Wagner, who shared his cultural pessimism, and the literary society of Bayreuth, followed by a group of authors and anthropologists who founded the Gobineau-Vereinigung in 1894. Gobineau's influence on recent history, and especially on antisemitic ideology, was due less to his dilettante philosophy of history than to the construction given it by German and other fanatics.

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[Leon Poliakov]

GOD.

IN THE BIBLE

The Bible is not a single book, but a collection of volumes composed by different authors living in various countries over a period of more than a millennium. In these circumstances, divergencies of emphasis (cf. Kings with Chronicles), outlook (cf. Jonah with Nahum), and even of fact (cf. Gen. 26:34 with 36:2–3) are to be expected. These factors have also affected the biblical presentation of the concept of God. There are passages in which Israel's monotheism is portrayed in unalloyed purity and incomparable beauty (I Kings 19:12; Isa. 40:18), and there are other verses in which folkloristic echoes and mythological reflexes, though transmuted and refined, appear to obscure the true character of the Hebrew concept of the divine (Gen. 2 and 3). Notwithstanding these discrepancies the Bible is essentially a unity; its theology is sui generis and must be studied as a whole to be seen in true perspective. This total view of biblical doctrine does not seek to blur differences and to harmonize the disparate; rather it resolves the heterogeneous elements into a unitary canonical ideology – the doctrine of the final editors of the Bible. It blends the thoughts, beliefs, and intuitions of many generations into a single spiritual structure – the faith of Israel – at the heart of which lies the biblical idea of God. It is this complete and ultimate scriptural conception of the Deity that will be described and analyzed in this section.

The One, Incomparable God

God is the hero of the Bible. Everything that is narrated, enjoined, or foretold in biblical literature is related to Him. Yet nowhere does the Bible offer any proof of the Deity's existence, or command belief in Him. The reason may be twofold: Hebrew thought is intuitive rather than speculative and systematic, and, furthermore, there were no atheists in antiquity. When the psalmist observed: "The fool hath said in his heart 'There is no God'" (Ps. 14:1), he was referring not to disbelief in God's existence, but to the denial of His moral governance. That a divine being or beings existed was universally accepted. There were those, it is true, who did not know YHWH (Ex. 5:2), but all acknowledged the reality of the Godhead. Completely new, however, was Israel's idea of God. Hence this idea is expounded in numerous, though not necessarily related, biblical passages, and, facet by facet, a cosmic, awe-inspiring spiritual portrait of infinite magnitude is built up. Paganism is challenged in all its aspects. God is One; there is no other (Deut. 6:4; Isa. 45:21; 46:9). Polytheism is rejected unequivocally and absolutely (Ex. 20:3–5). There is no pantheon; even the *dualism of Ormuzd and Ahriman (of the Zoroastrian religion) is excluded (Isa. 45:21); apotheosis is condemned (Ezek. 28:2ff.). Syncretism, as distinct from identification (Gen. 14:18–22), which plays a historical as well as a theological role in paganism, is necessarily ruled out (Num. 25:2–3; Judg. 18). Verses like Exodus 15:11 – "Who is like Thee, O Lord, among the gods?" – do not lend support to polytheism, but expose the unreality and futility of the pagan deities. The thought is: Beside the true God, how can these idol-imposters claim divinity? The term "sons of gods" in Psalms 29:1 and 89:7 refers to angels, the servants, and worshipers of the Lord; there is no thought of polytheism (see E.G. Briggs, *The Book of Psalms* (ICC), 1 (1906), 252ff.; 2 (1907), 253ff.). The one God is also unique in all His attributes. The prophet asks: "To whom then will ye liken God? Or what likeness will ye compare unto Him?" (Isa. 40:18). Though the question is rhetorical, the Bible in a given sense provides a series of answers, scattered over the entire range of its teaching, which elaborate in depth the incomparability of God. He has no likeness; no image can be made of Him (Ex. 20:4; Deut. 4:35). He is not even to be conceived as spirit; the spirit of God referred to in the Bible alludes to His energy (Isa. 40:13; Zech. 4:6). In Isaiah 31:3, "spirits" parallels "a god" (*ʾel*, a created force), not the God, who is called in the verse YHWH. Idolatry, though it lingered on for centuries, was doomed to extinction by this new conception of the Godhead. It is true that the Torah itself ordained that images like the cherubim should be set up in the Holy of Holies. They did not, however, represent the Deity but His throne (cf. Ps. 68:5[4]); its occupant no human eye could see. Yet the invisible God is not a philosophical abstraction; He manifests His presence. His theophanies are accompanied by thunder, earthquake, and lightning (Ex. 19:18; 20:15[18]; Hab. 3:4ff.). These fearful natural phenomena tell of His strength; He is the omnipotent God (Job 42:2). None can resist Him (41:2); hence He is the supreme warrior (Ps. 24:8). God's greatness, however, lies not primarily in His power. He is omniscient; wisdom is His alone (Job 28:23ff.). He knows no darkness; light ever dwells with Him (Dan. 2:22); and it is He, and He only, who envisions and reveals the future (Isa. 43:9). He is the source of human understanding (Ps. 36:10[9]), and it is He who endows man with his skills (Ex. 28:3; I Kings 3:12). The classical Prometheus and the Canaanite Kôthar-and-Ḥasis are but figments of man's imagination. The pagan pride of wisdom is sternly rebuked; it is deceptive (Ezek. 28:3ff.); but God's wisdom is infinite and unsearchable (Isa. 40:28). He is also the omnipresent God (Ps. 139:7–12), but not as *numen*, *mana*, or *orenda*. Pantheism is likewise negated. He transcends the world of nature, for it is He who brought the world into being, established its laws, and gave it its order (Jer. 33:25). He is outside of time as well as space; He is eternal. Everything must perish; He alone preceded the universe and will outlive it (Isa. 40:6–8; 44:6; Ps. 90:2). The ever-present God is also immutable; in a world of flux He alone does not change (Isa. 41:4; Mal. 3:6). He is the rock of all existence (II Sam. 22:32).

The Divine Creator

God's power and wisdom find their ultimate expression in the work of creation. The miracles serve to highlight the divine omnipotence; but the supreme miracle is the universe itself (Ps. 8:2, 4 [1, 3]). There is no theogony, but there is a cosmogony, designed and executed by the divine fiat (Gen. 1). The opening verses of the Bible do not conclusively point to *creatio ex nihilo.* The primordial condition of chaos (*tohu* and *bohu*) mentioned in Genesis 1:2 could conceivably represent the *materia prima* out of which the world was fashioned; but Job 26:7 appears to express poetically the belief in a world created out of the void (see Y. Kaufmann, Religion, 68), and both prophets and psalmists seem to substantiate this doctrine (Isa. 42:5; 45:7–9; Jer. 10:12; Ps. 33:6–9; 102:26; 212:2). *Maimonides, it is true, did not consider that the Bible provided incontrovertible proof of *creatio ex nihilo* (*Guide*, 2:25). The real criterion, however, is the overall climate of biblical thought, which would regard the existence of uncreated matter as a grave diminution of the divinity of the Godhead. God is the sole creator (Isa. 44:24). The celestial beings ("sons of God") referred to in Job 38:7, and the angels who, according to rabbinic *aggadah* and some modern exegetes, are addressed in Genesis 1:26 (cf. 3:22) were themselves created forms and not co-architects or co-builders of the cosmos. Angels are portrayed in the Bible as constituting the heavenly court, and as taking part in celestial consultations (I Kings 22:19ff.; Job 1:6ff.; 2:1ff.). These heavenly creatures act as God's messengers (the Hebrew *malʾakh* and the Greek ἄγγελος, from which the word "angel" is derived, both mean "messengers") or agents. They perform various tasks (cf. Satan, "the Accuser"), but except in the later books of the Bible they are not individualized and bear no names (see *Angels and Angelology). Nor are they God's only messengers; natural phenomena, like the wind (Ps. 104:4), or man himself, may act in that capacity (Num. 20:16). Some scholars think that since the Bible concentrated all divine powers in the one God, the old pagan deities, which represented various forces of nature, were demoted in Israel's religion to the position of angels. The term *shedim* (Deut. 32:17; Ps. 106:37), on the other hand, applied to the gods of the nations, does not, according to Y. Kaufmann, denote demons, but rather "no-gods," devoid of both divine and demonic powers. The fantastic proliferation of the angel population found in pseudepigraphical literature is still unknown in the Bible. It is fundamental, however, to biblical as well as post-biblical Jewish angelology that these celestial beings are God's creatures and servants. They fulfill the divine will and do not oppose it. The pagan notion of demonic forces that wage war against the deities is wholly alien and repugnant to biblical theology. Even Satan is no more than the heavenly prosecutor, serving the divine purpose. The cosmos is thus the work of God above, and all nature declares His glory (Ps. 19:2, 13ff.). All things belong to Him and He is the Lord of all (I Chron. 29:11–12). This creation theorem has a corollary of vast scientific and social significance: the universe, in all its measureless diversity, remains a homogeneous whole. Nature's processes are the same throughout the world, and underlying them is "One Power, which is of no beginning and no end; which has existed before all things were formed, and will remain in its integrity when all is gone – the Source and Origin of all, in Itself beyond any conception or image that man can form and set up before his eye or mind" (Haffkine). There is no cosmic strife between antagonistic forces, between darkness and light, between good and evil; and, by the same token, mankind constitutes a single brotherhood. The ideal is not that of the ant heap. Differentiation is an essential element of the Creator's design; hence the Tower of Babel is necessarily doomed to destruction. Although uniformity is rejected, the family unity of mankind, despite racial, cultural, and pigmentary differences, is clearly stressed in its origin (Adam is the human father of all men) and in its ultimate destiny at the end of days (Isa. 2:2–4). The course of creation is depicted in the opening chapter of the Bible as a graduated unfolding of the universe, and more particularly of the earth, from the lowest levels of life to man, the peak of the creative process. God, according to this account, completed the work in six days (that "days" here means an undefined period may be inferred from Gen. 1:14, where time divisions are mentioned for the first time; cf. also N.H. Tur-Sinai, in EM, 3 (1958), 593). The biblical accounting of the days, however, is not intended to provide the reader with a science or history textbook but to describe the ways of God. Running like a golden thread through all the variegated contents of the Bible is the one unchanging theme – God and His moral law. Of far greater significance than the duration of creation is the fact that it was crowned by the Sabbath (Gen. 2:1–3), bringing rest and refreshment to the toiling world. The concept of the creative pause, sanctified by the divine example, is one of the greatest spiritual and social contributions to civilization made by the religion of Israel. The attempts to represent the Assyro-Babylonian *šabattu* or *šapattu* as the forerunner of the Hebrew Sabbath are without foundation. The former was a designation for the ill-omened 15th day of the month, and the notions associated with it are as polarically different from those of the Sabbath, with its elevating thoughts of holiness and physical and spiritual renewal, as a day of mourning is from a joyous festival.

God in History

The Sabbath did not mark the retirement of the Deity from the world that He had called into being. God continued to care for His creatures (Ps. 104), and man – all men – remained the focal point of His loving interest (Ps. 8:5[4]ff.). The divine providence encompasses both nations (Deut. 32:8) and individuals (e.g., the Patriarchs). Cosmogony is followed by history, and God becomes the great architect of the world of events, even as He was of the physical universe. He directs the historical movements (*ibid.*), and the peoples are in His hands as clay in the hands of the potter (Jer. 18:6). He is the King of the nations (Jer. 10:7; Ps. 22:29). There is a vital difference, however, between the two spheres of divine activity. Creation encountered no antagonism. The very monsters that in pagan mythology were the mortal enemies of the gods became in the Bible creatures formed in accordance with the divine will (Gen. 1:21). Nevertheless, the stuff of history is woven of endless strands of rebellion against the Creator. Man is not an automaton; he is endowed with free will. The first human beings already disobeyed their maker; they acquired knowledge at the price of sin, which reflects the discord between the will of God and the action of man. The perfect harmony between the Creator and His human creation that finds expression in the idyll of the Garden of Eden was disrupted, and never restored. The revolt continued with Cain, the generation of the Flood, and the Tower of Babel. There is a rhythm of rebellion and retribution, of oppression and redemption, of repentance and grace, and of merit and reward (Jer. 18:7–10). Israel was the first people to write history as teleology and discovered that it had a moral base. The Bible declares that God judges the world in righteousness (Ps. 96:13); that military power does not presuppose victory (Ps. 33:16); that the Lord saves the humble (Ps. 76:10) and dwells with them (Isa. 57:15). The moral factor determines the time as well as the course of events. The Israelites will return to Canaan only when the iniquity of the Amorite is complete (Gen. 15:16); for 40 years the children of Israel wandered in the wilderness for accepting the defeatist report of the ten spies (Num. 14:34); Jehu is rewarded with a dynasty of five generations for his punitive action against the house of Ahab; and to Daniel is revealed the timetable of redemption and restoration (Dan. 9:24). It is this moral element in the direction of history that makes God both Judge and Savior. God's punishment of the wicked and salvation of the righteous are laws of the divine governance of the world, comparable to the laws of nature: "As smoke is driven away, so drive them away; as wax melts before fire, let the wicked perish before God…" (Ps. 68:2–3; cf. M.D. Cassuto, in *Tarbiz*, 12 (1941), 1–27). Nature and history are related (Jer. 33:20–21, 25–26); the one God rules them both. The ultimate divine design of history, marked by universal peace, human brotherhood, and knowledge of God, will be accomplished in "the end of days" (Isa. 2:2–4; 11:6ff.), even as the cosmos was completed in conformity with the divine plan. Man's rebellions complicate the course of history, but cannot change the design. God's purpose shall be accomplished; there will be a new heaven and a new earth (Isa. 66:22), for ultimately man will have a new heart (Ezek. 36:26–27).

God and Israel

Within the macrocosm of world history there is the microcosm of Israel's history. It is natural that in the context of national literature the people of Israel should receive special and elaborate attention, although the gentile world, particularly in prophetic teaching, is never lost sight of. The Bible designates Israel *ʿam segullah*, "a treasured people," which stands in a particular relationship to the one God. He recognized Israel as His own people and they acknowledge Him as their only God (Deut. 26:17–18). He redeems His people from Egyptian bondage, brings them to the promised land, and comes to their aid in periods of crisis. Israel's election is not, however, to be interpreted as a form of favoritism. For one thing, the Exodus from Egypt is paralleled by similar events in the histories of other peoples, including Israel's enemies (Amos 9:7). In truth, Israel's election implies greater responsibility, with corresponding penalties as well as rewards: "You only have I singled out of all the families of the earth; therefore I will visit upon you all your iniquities" (Amos 3:2; see *Chosen People). The choice of the children of Israel as God's people was not due to their power or merit; it was rather a divine act of love, the fulfillment of a promise given to the Patriarchs (Deut. 7:7–8; 9:4–7). The Lord did, however, foresee that the spiritual and moral way of life pioneered by Abraham would be transmitted to his descendants as a heritage. Subsequently this concept found material expression in the covenant solemnly established between God and His people at Sinai (Ex. 24:7ff.). This covenant demanded wholehearted and constant devotion to the will of God (Deut. 18:13); it was an everlasting bond (Deut. 4:9). Thus to be a chosen people it was incumbent upon Israel to become a choosing people (as Zangwill phrased it). The rhythm of rebellion and repentance, retribution and redemption, is particularly evident in the story of Israel. Yet the fulfillment of the divine purpose is not in doubt. God's chosen people will not perish (Jer. 31:26–27). It will be restored to faithfulness, and in its redemption will bring salvation to the whole earth by leading all men to God (Jer. 3:17–18). Until that far-off day, however, Israel will remain God's witness (Isa. 44:8).

The Divine Lawgiver

The covenant that binds the children of Israel to their God is, in the ultimate analysis, the Torah in all its amplitude. God, not Moses, is the lawgiver; "Behold, I Moses say unto you" (cf. Gal. 5:2) is an inconceivable statement. It would not only be inconsistent with Moses' humility (Num. 12:3), but would completely contradict the God-given character of the Torah. However, notwithstanding its divine origin, the law is obligatory on Israel only. Even idolatry, the constant butt of prophetic irony, is not regarded as a gentile sin (Deut. 4:19). Yet the Bible assumes the existence of a universal moral code that all peoples must observe. The talmudic sages, with their genius for legal detail and codification, speak of the seven Noachian laws (Sanh. 56a). Although the Bible does not specify the ethical principles incumbent upon all mankind, it is clear from various passages that murder, robbery, cruelty, and adultery are major crimes recognized as such by all human beings (Gen. 6:12, 13; 9:5; 20:3; 39:9; Amos 1:3ff.). It would thus appear that the Bible postulates an autonomous, basic human sense of wrongdoing, unless it is supposed that a divine revelation of law was vouchsafed to the early saints, such as assumed by the apocryphal and rabbinic literatures (and perhaps by Isa. 24:5). The Torah – which properly means "instruction," not "law" – does not, in the strict sense of the term, contain a properly formulated code; nevertheless, detailed regulations appertaining to religious ritual, as well as to civil and criminal jurisprudence, form an essential part of pentateuchal teaching. The halakhic approach is reinforced by a number of the prophets. For instance, Isaiah (58:13), Jeremiah (34:8ff.), Ezekiel (40ff.), and Malachi (1:8; 2:10) lent their authority to the maintenance of various religious observances. Ezra and Nehemiah rebuilt the restored Jewish community on Torah foundations. Yet paradoxically the Bible also evinces a decidedly "anti-halakhic" trend. In Isaiah the Lord cries: "What to Me is the multitude of your sacrifices… I have had enough of burnt offerings of rams and the fat of fed beasts… who requires of you this trampling of My courts?… Your new moons and your appointed feasts My soul hates… When you spread forth your hands, I will hide My eyes from you; even though you make many prayers, I will not listen" (1:11–15). Jeremiah not only belittles the value of the sacrifices (7:22); he derides the people's faith in the Temple itself: "The temple of the Lord, the temple of the Lord, the temple of the Lord are these" (7:4). Even the Book of Psalms, though essentially devotional in character, makes an anti-ritual protest: "I do not reprove you for your sacrifices… I will accept no bull from your house… For every beast of the forest is Mine, the cattle on a thousand hills… If I were hungry, I would not tell you; for the world and all that is in it is Mine. Do I eat the flesh of bulls, or drink the blood of goats?" (50:8–13). These and similar passages represent a negative attitude towards established cultic practices. No less inconsonant with Torah law seems the positive prophetic summary of human duty formulated by Micah (6:8): "He has told you, O man, what is good; and what does the Lord require of you but to do justice, and to love lovingkindness, and to walk humbly with your God?" A similar note is sounded by Hosea (2:21–22 [19–20]): "I will espouse you with righteousness and with justice, with steadfast love, and with mercy. I will espouse you with faithfulness; and you shall be mindful of the Lord"; by Amos (5:14): "Seek good, and not evil, that you may live"; and by Isaiah (1:17): "Learn to do good; seek justice, correct oppression; defend the fatherless, plead for the widow." The emphasis here is on moral and spiritual conduct; the ceremonial and ritualistic aspects of religion are conspicuously left unmentioned. The paradox, however, is only one of appearance and phrasing. Inherently there is no contradiction. The ostensibly antinomian statements do not oppose the offering of sacrifices, prayer, or the observance of the Sabbath and festivals. It is not ritual but hypocrisy that they condemn. Isaiah (1:13) expresses the thought in a single phrase: "I cannot endure iniquity and solemn assembly." Organized religion must necessarily have cultic forms; but without inwardness and unqualified sincerity they are an affront to the Deity and fail of their purpose. The underlying motive of the precepts is to purify and elevate man (Ps. 119:29, 40, 68). The Torah (Wisdom) is a tree of life and its ways are ways of peace (Prov. 3:17, 18). Sin does not injure God (Job 7:20), but is a disaster to man (Deut. 28:15 ff.). It is heartfelt devotion that saves the *mitzvah* from becoming a meaningless convention and an act of hypocrisy (Isa. 29:13). The specific commandments are in a sense pointers and aids to that larger identification with God's will that is conterminous with life as a whole: "In all your ways acknowledge Him" (Prov. 3:6). Just as the divine wonders and portents lead to a deeper understanding of the daily miracles of providence, so the precepts are guides to the whole duty of man. Biblical religion is thus seen to be an indivisible synthesis of moral and spiritual principles, on the one hand, and practical observances on the other.

The Biblical Theodicy

The moral basis of providence, reinforced by the ethic of the Torah, also raises another kind of problem. Can the biblical theodicy always be justified? The issue is raised already in the Bible itself. Abraham challenges the divine justice: "Shall not the Judge of all the earth do right?" (Gen. 18:25). Moses echoes the cry in another context: "O Lord, why hast Thou done evil to this people?" (Ex. 5:22). The prophets are no less perplexed: "Why does the way of the wicked prosper? Why do all who are treacherous thrive?" (Jer. 12:1). The psalmist speaks for the individual and the nation in many generations, when he cries: "My God, my God, why hast Thou forsaken me?" (22:2[1]), and the Book of Job is, in its magnificent entirety, one great heroic struggle to solve the problem of unwarranted human suffering. The biblical answer appears to point to the limitations of man's experience and understanding. History is long, but individual life is short. Hence the human view is fragmentary; events justify themselves in the end, but the person concerned does not always live to see the denouement. In the words of the psalmist: "Though the wicked sprout like grass and all evildoers flourish, they are doomed to destruction forever" (92:8–10; cf. 37:35–39). The brevity of man's years is further complicated by his lack of insight. God's purpose is beyond his comprehension: "For as the heavens are higher than the earth, so are My ways higher than your ways and My thoughts than your thoughts" (Isa. 55:9). In the final analysis, biblical theodicy calls for faith: "But the righteous shall live by his faith" (Hab. 2:4); "they who wait for the Lord shall renew their strength" (Isa. 40:31). It is not an irrational faith: – *Certum est quia impossibile est* (Tertullian, *De Carne Christi*, 5), but is necessitated by innate human intellectual limitations. In another direction the problem is even more formidable. God, the Bible states categorically, hardened Pharaoh's heart; nevertheless the Egyptian ruler was punished for this. Indeed his obduracy was induced in order to provide the occasion for his punishment (Ex. 7:3). Here the fundamental norms of justice by any standards are flagrantly violated. The explanation in this sphere of biblical theodicy is not theological but semantic. Scripture ascribes to God phenomena and events with which He is only indirectly concerned. However, since God is the author of all natural law and the designer of history, everything that occurs is, in a deep sense, His doing. Even in human affairs the king or the government is said to "do" everything that is performed under its aegis. Thus God declares in Amos 4:7: "And I caused it to rain upon one city, and I caused it not to rain upon another city," although the next clause uses passive and impersonal verbal forms to describe the same occurrences. The processes of nature need not be mentioned, since the laws of the universe are dictates of God. Similarly Exodus states indiscriminately that "Pharaoh hardened his heart" (8:28), that "the heart of Pharaoh was hardened" (9:7), and that "the Lord hardened the heart of Pharaoh" (9:12). In the end it is all one; what God permits He does. This interpretation does not, however, fit another area of divine conduct. Uzzah, the Bible states, was struck dead for an innocent act that was motivated by concern for the safety of "the ark of God" (II Sam. 6:6–7). Wherein lay the iniquity? Here the reason appears to be of a different character. Even innocent actions may in certain circumstances be disastrous. Uzzah's attempt to save the ark from falling was well meant, but it was conducive to irreverence. Man needs God's help; God does not require the help of man (Sot. 35a; for a similar thought cf. Ps. 50:12; another explanation is given by Kimḥi, II Sam. 6:6). In one thoughtless moment Uzzah could have reduced the sacred ark in the eyes of the people to the impotent level of the idols, which the prophets depicted with such scathing mockery. The same principle operated in the tragedy of Nadab and Abihu, and Moses explained the underlying principle in the words: "I will show Myself holy among those who are near Me" (Lev. 10: 1–3).

The Limitation of the Infinite God

Is the Godhead subject to restriction? The irresistible conclusion to be drawn from biblical teaching is that such a limitation exists. Man's freedom to resist or obey the will of God is a restriction of the Deity's power that is totally unknown in the physical universe. It must be added, however, that this restriction is an act of divine self-limitation. In His love for man God has, so to speak, set aside an area of freedom in which man can elect to do right or wrong (Deut. 5:26; 30:17). In rabbinic language: "Everything is in the power of Heaven except the reverence of Heaven" (Ber. 33b). Man is thereby saved from being an automaton. It adds a new dimension to the relationship between God and man. Man may defect, but when, on the other hand, he chooses the path of loyalty, he does so from choice, from true love. Needless to say, without such freedom there could be neither sin nor punishment, neither merit nor reward. The divine humility, which permits human dissent, is also the grace to which the dissenter succumbs in the end. Man is a faithful rebel, who is reconciled with his Maker in the crowning period of history. God's self-limitation is thus seen as an extension of His creative power. Other biblical concepts that might be construed as restrictions of God's infinitude are, on closer scrutiny, seen not to be real limitations. The association of the Lord with holy places like the Tent of Meeting, the Temple, Zion, or Sinai does not imply that He is not omnipresent. In prophetic vision Isaiah saw the divine train fill the Temple, and at the same time he heard the seraphim declare: "the whole earth is full of His glory" (6: 1–3). God's geographical association, or His theophany at a given place, signifies consecration of the site, which thus becomes a source of inspiration to man; but no part of the universe exists at any time outside God's presence. Sometimes God is depicted as asking man for information (Gen. 3:9; 4:9). On other occasions He is stated to repent His actions and to be grieved (Gen. 6:6). These are mere anthropomorphisms. The Lord knows all (Jer. 11:20; 16:17; Ps. 7:10), and unlike human beings He does not repent (Num. 23:19). Genesis 6:6 is not a contradiction of this thesis; its "human" terminology does not imply a diminution of God's omniscience, but emphasizes the moral freedom granted to man. In addition to spiritual option, the Creator, as has been stated, gave man knowledge. This finds expression, inter alia, in magical powers, which, in as much as they are "supernatural," constitute a challenge to God's will. In Moses' protracted struggle with Pharaoh, the Egyptians actually pit their magical powers against the Almighty's miracles. In the end they acknowledge their relative weakness and admit that they cannot rival "the finger of God" (Ex. 8:15). This is to be expected, for the divine wisdom is unbounded (Job 11:7), whereas human understanding is finite. Nevertheless the use of all forms of sorcery, even by non-Israelites, is strongly denounced (Isa. 44:25); to the Israelite, witchcraft is totally forbidden (Deut. 18:10–11). The differentiation between magic and miracles had deep roots in Hebrew monotheism. To the pagan mind magical powers were independent forces to which even the gods had to have recourse. The miracle, on the other hand, is regarded in the Bible as a manifestation of God's power and purpose. It is an attestation of the prophet's mission (Isa. 7:11); whereas divination and sorcery are either forms of deception (Isa. 44:25) or, where magic is effective, as in the episode of the witch of Endor (I Sam. 28:7ff.), it represents an abuse of man's God-given knowledge. There is no independent realm of witchcraft, however; all power, natural and supernatural, emanates from the one God. To the Israelite all that happens is wrought by God.

The Divine Personality

Though inconceivable, God is portrayed throughout the Bible as a person. In contradistinction to the idols, who are dead, He is called the living God (II Kings 19:4, 16). He is neither inanimate nor a philosophical abstraction; He is the living source of all life. Anthropomorphisms abound in the Bible, but it is not by these that the divine personality, so to speak, is depicted. Anthropomorphic figures were intended to help early man to grasp ideas that in philosophical terms transcended the human intellect. God's essential personality is primarily reflected in His attributes, which motivate His acts. He is King, Judge, Father, Shepherd, Mentor, Healer, and Redeemer – to mention only a few of His aspects in His relationship to man. Different biblical teachers conceived God's character from different historical angles. Amos was conscious of God's justice. Hosea underscored the Lord's love, and made forgiveness and compassion the coefficient, as it were, of divinity: "I will not execute My fierce anger… for I am God and not man" (11:9). Ezekiel stresses that God does not desire the destruction of the wicked but that through repentance they may live (18:23). The heart of the matter is clearly stated in the Torah: "The Lord passed before him (Moses), and proclaimed, 'The Lord, the Lord, a God merciful and gracious, slow to anger, and abounding in steadfast love and faithfulness, keeping steadfast love for thousands, forgiving iniquity and transgression and sin, but who will by no means clear the guilty…" (Ex. 34:6–7). Maimonides was philosophically justified in insisting that God has no attributes and that the epithets applied to Him in the Bible really represent human emotions evoked by His actions (*Guide*, 2:54). The Bible, however, which is little interested in the speculative approach to the Deity, but teaches practical wisdom and religion as life, without the help of catechism or formulated dogmas, prefers to endow God with personality to which it gives the warmth and beauty of positive characterization. In sum, the divine nature is composed of both justice and love. The Bible recognizes that without justice love itself becomes a form of injustice; but in itself justice is not enough. It can only serve as a foundation; the superstructure – the bridge between God and man – is grace.

Between Man and God

Grace is the divine end of the bridge; the human side is existential devotion. Otherwise, what M. Buber felicitously called the "I-Thou" relationship cannot come into being. Hence, underlying all the commandments is the supreme precept: "And you shall love the Lord your God with all your heart, and with all your soul, and with all your might" (Deut. 6:5). This love is unqualified: "You shall be whole-hearted with the Lord your God" (Deut. 18:13). It calls for complete surrender; but this is not conceived as a narrow, if intense, religious attitude. It is broad-based enough to allow for deep-rooted spiritual communion. Man pours out his heart in prayer to God; it is to Him that he uplifts his soul in thanksgiving and praise; and it is also to Him that he addresses his most searching questions and most incisive criticism of life and providence. Sincere criticism of God is never rebuked. God reproaches Job's friends, who were on His side; but Job is rewarded despite his searing indictment of God's actions. The God-man relationship flowers in an evolutionary process of education: Man is gradually weaned from his own inhumanity, from atrocities, like human sacrifice (Gen. 22:2–14), from bestial conduct, and from wronging his fellowman. The goal again is love: "You shall love your neighbor as yourself" (Lev. 19:18). It is a corollary of the love of God: "I am the Lord." Reward and retribution play a role in the divine educational procedures; but their functions are limited – they are not ultimates. The eternal fires of hell are never used as a deterrent, though punishment of the wicked after death is obscurely mentioned (Isa. 66:24; Dan. 12:2), nor is paradise used as an inducement. The Torah-covenant is an unquenchable spiritual light (Prov. 6:23); but the "I-Thou" relationship does not end with the written word. God communes with man directly. The prophet hears the heavenly voice and echoes it; the psalmist knows, with unfaltering conviction, that his prayer has been answered and that salvation has been wrought before he actually experiences it. At one with God, man finds ultimate happiness: "In Thy presence is fullness of joy, in Thy right hand bliss for evermore" (Ps. 16:11).

The Hebrew term for the love that binds man to God (as well as to his fellowman) is *ʾahavah*; but sometimes the Bible uses another word, *yirʾah* (literally: "fear"), which seems to turn the "I-Thou" nexus into an "It" relationship. The psalmist declares: "The fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom" (111:10), and Ecclesiastes comes to the conclusion: "The end of the matter; all has been heard. Fear God, and keep His commandments, for this is the whole duty of man" (12:13). The picture is thus completely changed. The heavenly Father suddenly becomes a divine tyrant, before whom man cowers in terror, as does the unenlightened pagan before the demonic force that he seeks to appease. This might be consonant with the notion of "the jealous God" (Ex. 34:14), but it would appear to be irreconcilable with the concept of the God of *ḥesed* ("lovingkindness," "grace"). Here, too, this is not a theological but a semantic problem. *Yirʾah* does not signify "fear"; it is best rendered by "reverence." "Love" and "reverence" are not antithetic but complementary terms. They are two aspects of a single idea. *ʾAhava*h expresses God's nearness; *yirʾah* the measureless distance between the Deity and man (see *Love, Love and Fear of God). God spoke to Moses "mouth to mouth" (Num. 12:8), yet in his human frailty the Hebrew leader could not "see" his divine interlocutor (Ex. 33:20). The inner identity of "love" and "reverence" is reflected in the Torah's religious summary: "And now, Israel, what does the Lord your God require of you but to revere the Lord your God, to walk in all His ways and to love Him, and to serve the Lord your God with all your heart and with all your soul" (Deut. 10:12). Talmudic Judaism (Shab. 120a) drew a distinction between *ḥasidut* (steadfast love of God) and *yirʾat shamayim* ("reverence of Heaven"), but this represents a later development. In the Bible this bifurcation does not exist; "reverence of God" is by and large the biblical equivalent of "religion."

Likewise there is no spiritual contradiction between the "gracious" and the "jealous" God. "Jealousy" is an anthropomorphic term used to define God's absolute character, which excludes all other concepts of the Godhead. It does not detract from the divine love and compassion; it serves only to protect them. The sum of all the divine attributes finds expression in the epithet "holy." It is the highest praise that prophet and psalmist can give to the Lord (Isa. 6:3; Ps. 22:4[3]), and since man is created in the image of God (Gen. 1:26), the attribute of holiness becomes the basis of the concept of "the imitation of God": "You shall be holy; for I the Lord your God am holy" (Lev. 19:2). The Bible makes it clear, however, that, in seeking to model himself on the divine example, it is primarily God's moral attributes that man must copy. Even as God befriends the sojourner and acts as the father of the fatherless and as the judge of the widow, so must man, on his human scale, endeavor to do (Deut. 10:18–19; cf. Sot. 14a). Indeed all that uplifts man, including the Sabbath and abstention from impurity, is comprised in the concept of the imitation of God. At the highest level Israel's ethic and theology are indissolubly linked.

To sum up: The biblical conception of God was revolutionary both in its theological and its moral implications. The pagan world may occasionally have glimpsed, in primitive form, some of the higher truths inherent in Israel's ethical monotheism. Egypt for a brief span attained to monolatry (Akhenaton's heresy); Babylon had a glimmering of a unified cosmic process; Marduk, Shamash, and Aton punished evildoers; and some Greek philosophers commended the imitation of the godhead. Yet no cult in antiquity even remotely approached the elevated conceptions associated with the one God of the Bible. This spiritual revolution not only eventually brought paganism to an end, but its inner dynamic gave birth, in time, to two daughter religions, Christianity and Islam, which, despite their essential differences from Judaism, are deeply rooted in biblical thought.

[Israel Abrahams]

IN HELLENISTIC LITERATURE

Certain Jewish concepts of God were apparently known to the circle of Aristotle. His pupil Theophrastus (fourth century B.C.E.) said of the Jews that they were "the philosophers among the Syrians," because of their concept of the unity of God. The skeptic *Hecataeus of Abdera, the first of the Greek thinkers to attempt to define the substance of the Jewish concept of God, states that the Jews do not give form or image to God, because they regard the cosmos – which includes everything – as God. Their idea of the unity of God, according to Hecataeus, includes all existing things. Megasthenes, a Greek writer of the early third century, also notes that the important philosophers, outside of Greece, were the wise men of Israel. He arrived at this conclusion because of the fact that the unity of God was an accepted idea in Israel. Thus the Greek thinkers regarded the Jewish notion of divine unity as a view founded upon philosophic meditation in the spirit of the ideas common in their own circles, and in the spirit of the Ionian monists.

However, the primary quality of God according to Jewish teachings – ethical personalism – was not considered by the Greek writers. This idea of God's ethical will, which is beyond the universe and beyond nature and has absolute dominion over nature and over man, was far from the Greek mode of thought. Strangely no signs of influence of the Greek concept of God's unity are found in the early Jewish compositions in

Greek. In the Septuagint, for instance, there is a recognizable tendency to avoid anthropomorphism (e.g., "And they saw the God of Israel" (Ex. 24:10) is translated as: "And they saw the place where the God of Israel stood"). This tendency, however, has deep roots in the Jewish concepts of God during the period of the Second Temple, which found expression in the abstention from uttering the Tetragrammaton or in applying to God terms taken from everyday usage. This should not be regarded as intentional avoidance of anthropomorphism, as there are no signs of such avoidance in the Bible. It rather expresses a reverence for the majesty of God, which compelled the choosing of special expressions relating to divine matters. In any event the Septuagint contains no trace of the terms or linguistic usages current in Greek philosophic literature. All those terms to which the philosophers gave a special abstract connotation, such as Nous ("Mind"), Cosmos ("Universe"), Psyche ("Divine Soul"), occur in the Septuagint not in their abstract philosophical sense but in their normal concrete daily usage. Even in the apocryphal Wisdom of Solomon – a book undoubtedly influenced by Greek philosophy – the concepts of God are no different from those found in the Bible. Although the author of the Wisdom of Solomon praises the value of Wisdom in his book and regards it as a sort of partner in the creation of the world, this idea does not in the slightest detract from the concept of the unity of God for God is the Creator of the world, and Wisdom is not regarded as an independent or separate entity from God. The moral value of Wisdom in the life of man is particularly stressed as a force which refines the spirit of man and elevates him to a higher intellectual moral level. In so doing the author reduces the importance of Wisdom as a cosmic force. Man, according to the Wisdom of Solomon, seeks a personal closeness with God; God reveals Himself by signs and wonders in the history of the Jewish nation and by utilizing reward and punishment. All this accords with what is found in the Bible. Yet in contrast to the later Jewish view, the author of the Wisdom of Solomon regards God as a creator from existent material (not *ex nihilo*) as in the doctrine of matter and form found in Plato. The philosopher *Aristobulus of Paneas (first half of second century B.C.E.) already clearly expressed his opposition to anthropomorphism, and explains such expressions as "the hand of God," or "the voice of God" allegorically (see *Allegory) as the power of God, the expression of God's power of dominion in the world, etc. In the teaching of Aristobulus there is already a clear attempt to make the Jewish view of God correspond to the teaching of the Greek philosophers, even though it is difficult to determine to which school of philosophy Aristobulus himself belonged. The author of the Letter of *Aristeas too was influenced by Greek philosophy. God rules over all creatures and all are dependent upon Him, while He himself is not dependent upon any creature. The author of the Letter of Aristeas lays down that all men are aware of the unity of God as the Creator of everything, the director of everything, and the ruler over everything, but different peoples designate Him by different names (Letter of Aristeas 16). The name of the chief god current among the Greeks, Zeus, indicates his character as the source of life in nature and it too therefore is nothing else but a term for the one God.

Philo

The influence of Greek philosophy is especially strong on *Philo. Philo, under the influence of Plato, frequently uses for God the terms τό ὄν, τό ὄν ὄντως which in the teaching of Plato signify "existence" or "true existence" (see Timaeus, 27D–29D). Philo points to a basis for these in the expression "I am that I am" (cf. Som. 1:230–31, Ex. 3:14). There is no hint of such terminology in the Septuagint (the sentence used by the Septuagint for "I am that I am" has no connection with the above-mentioned terms used by Plato and Philo). Philo also uses such terms as "the one," "unity," etc., for the purpose of stressing God's transcendence over perfection, over all concepts of the good and the beautiful, and for His being above human comprehension. Such a degree of philosophic abstraction in the conception of God rules out any possibility of personal relations between man and God, examples of which are found in the Bible and the later literature. However as a Jew Philo was unable to content himself with mere abstraction, and he frequently raises the question of the relations of man to God, particularly on the methods by which man can come to apprehend God. Apprehension of God is possible, according to Philo, from two aspects: that of His existence, and that of His subsistence. A conception of God's existence can be achieved without great difficulty, since His works testify to this: the universe, man, and all other creatures.

However many aberrations occur in such a conception, since many people do not distinguish the ruler of the world from the powers subject to him; these people are compared to one who ignores the chariot driver and thinks that the horses are directing the movement toward the goal with their own powers; in such a manner the distorted concepts of God current in the circles of idolaters are created. Philo battled with exceptional vehemence against the views of those who regard the various heavenly powers or other hidden forces as independent active causes. It is his opinion that sound human intelligence has the power to avoid such aberrations in the understanding of God and this was achieved, according to Philo, by the greatest of the Greek philosophers whose names he mentions with much respect. However, this recognition of God's existence founded upon contemplation of the material world is very far from perfect, since it judges the uncreated from the created, whereas it is impossible to judge the reality of God by the creatures He created. A more perfect apprehension of God's reality is attained by those who "apprehended him through Himself, the light through the light." This was achieved only by the few intimates of God who are in no need of external analogies as aids to the apprehension of God. This type of person is called by Philo, "Israel," i.e., according to his etymology, "seers of God" (Praem. 43 ff.). This level of understanding of the Divine existence was attained by Moses. The conceptual level of apprehension of the Divine existence is the highest that a mortal can attain. For as a result of the frailty of human nature man does not possess the power to apprehend anything of the nature of the Divine. Even the sharpest vision is not capable of seeing Him who was not created, since man possesses no instrument which could prepare him to apprehend His image, and the most man can attain is the apprehension that the nature of God is not within the bounds of human apprehension. Nevertheless the attempt at such apprehension is not in vain. For even though the results of such effort will always be negligible, the effort itself elevates man and lifts him to a high degree of spiritual purity. Examples of such endeavor by man to apprehend the Divine nature are described in Philo's writings. After human intellect investigates everything to be found on earth, it turns to the contemplation of heavenly causes and partakes of their harmonious motion. From there it rises to the sphere of the intelligibles and at the time it contemplates the ideas of sensible things and absorbs their spiritual splendor, "a sober intoxication" (νηφάλια μέθη) assails it and elevates it to the level of prophecy. With a spirit full of supramundane yearnings it is elevated to the highest level of the intelligible world and already beholds itself approaching the King Himself in His glory. Now, however, when the craving for vision is greatest, dazzling beams of abounding light pour themselves over it and the brilliance of their glitter dims the eye of reason (Op. 69–72; Praem. 36f.). The impossibility of direct contact between God's nature and the sensible world created the concept of duality in Philo's understanding of the world, a concept much influenced by Plato. According to this view it does not become the majesty and elevation of God to be in direct contact with matter, and the forces within God or the activities overflowing from him fulfill the function of the intermediaries. The great gap between the sublime God and the perceptible world is bridged in Philo's teaching by the idea of level and intermediaries which serve as a connection between the absolute being of God and the changing level of the perceptible world. Angel, Idea, Logos – are the terms utilized by Philo to formulate the principles of the theory of levels whose influence upon subsequent religious thought was enormous.

[Joshua Gutmann]

IN TALMUDIC LITERATURE

Abstract philosophical concepts, such as are found in Philo, are foreign to the thought system of the rabbis of the Talmud and Midrash. However, a marked tendency is discernible among them to present an exalted picture of God, as well as to avoid expressions that could throw the slightest shadow on the conception of His absolute Oneness. In the *Targums, the early Aramaic translations of Scripture, the name God is frequently rendered "*memra* ('word') of God." It is certain that no connection whatsoever is intended between this word and the "logos," or with the idea of an intermediary between God and the world. Were this the intention, the word "*memra*" would have been used in the Targum to such verses as: "The Lord sent a word unto Jacob" (Isa. 9:7); "so shall My word be that goeth forth out of My mouth" (*ibid.* 55:11); "He sent His word and healed them" (Ps. 107:20). It is precisely in these verses that the Targum employs the word *pitgam* ("word") or *nevu'ah* ("prophecy"). Even in the verse "By the word of the Lord were the heavens made" (Ps. 33:6) "word" is rendered by the Targums as *milta* ("word") of God. Nor is there any mention of the expression "*memra*" in the Targums of the account of creation. It is therefore certain that this word, which occurs only in the Targums, but not in the Talmud and the Midrash, was used only to guard against any idea which (in the minds of the common people for whom the Targum was intended) might militate against the exalted conception of the Divinity or tend to diminish the pure concept of God. For the same reason one finds many euphemisms employed as substitutes for the names of God, such as *Ha-Gevurah* ("Might"), *Raḥmana* ("the Merciful"), *Ha-Kadosh Barukh Hu* ("The Holy One, blessed be He"), or such terms as *Shamayim* ("Heaven"), *Ha-Makom* ("Omnipresent"), *Ribbono shel Olam* ("Lord of the Universe"), *Mi-she-Amar ve-Hayah ha-Olam* ("He who spoke, and the Universe came into being"), *Avinu she-ba-Shamayim* ("Our Father in heaven"), *Mi she-Shikken Shemo ba-Bayit ha-Zeh* ("He who caused His name to dwell in this house"). A special significance was given by the rabbis to the tetragrammaton, and to *Elohim*, the tetragrammaton denoting the attribute of mercy, and *Elohim*, that of judgment (Gen. R. 33:3). That this was a time-honored distinction is evident from its occurrence in Philo where, however, in conformity with the tradition of the Septuagint to translate the tetragrammaton by the Greek word κύριος which corresponds more closely to the concepts of rule and judgment, the name is regarded as the symbol of the attribute of judgment, and the name *Elohim* (translated in the Septuagint by θεός) as a symbol of the attribute of mercy. The idea of the unity of God, which was widely discussed in non-Jewish circles at the time, receives strong emphasis in the *aggadah*. The concept of the unity of God is based upon the premise that the cosmos, with all its activities, is inconceivable without the existence of a single power which determines and directs it in accordance with a preordained plan and in conformity with a definite purpose. In order to give concrete expression to this idea, the rabbis of the *aggadah* utilized various parables, whose prototypes are found in Philo. They were particularly fond of the parable of "the ship and the captain," or of "the building and its owner," or of "the building and its director" (Sif. Deut. 341; Gen. R. 12:12; Mid. Ps. 23 to 24:1ff.; Gen. R. 39:1). Just as it is impossible for the ship, for example, to reach its destination without a captain, so administration of the cosmos and of individuals is impossible without a directing and supervising force. Other parables frequently found in the *aggadah* were intended to bring about reverence for the might of God, whose awesomeness is rendered even greater for the very reason that it defies man's powers of comprehension. If the brilliance of the sun blinds the human eye, how much more so the light of God (Ḥul. 59b). Man is unable to observe more than a particle of His grandeur and sublimity. The rabbis of the *aggadah* also use the soul as an example in teaching this doctrine. If a man's own soul, the source of his life, is beyond his intellectual comprehension, how much less can he comprehend the Creator of the universe and the source of its life (Mid. Ps. to 103:1; Lev. R. 4:3).

The recognition of the oneness of God is regarded by the scholars of the Talmud as a cardinal principle of religion, concerning which mankind as a whole was commanded, the seven precepts binding upon Noachians including idolatry (see *Noachide Laws).

If there is any difference between the biblical concept of God and that of the Talmud it lies in the fact that the God of the Talmud is more "homey," so to speak, than the God of the Bible. He is nearer to the masses, to the brokenhearted, to the ordinary person in need of His help. Only in this sense, does He at times appear to be an even greater epitomization of ethical virtues than the God of Scripture.

One finds no echo in the *aggadah* of the arguments for and against idolatry, such as occur in the Greek literature of that period. The *aggadah*'s attacks on idolatry are much more extreme than those of the biblical period, the dominant note being one of contempt and disdain for those who presume to desecrate in a degrading and crude manner that which is most holy in human life – the service of God. In the course of their violent attacks on idolatry, the rabbis did not shrink from denouncing with equal vehemence the cult of emperor-worship, a type of idolatry for which Nimrod, Sisera, Sennacherib, Hiram, and Nebuchadnezzar served as the prototypes.

In apocalyptic circles, among those who expounded *Merkabah mysticism and those who entered *paradise, there is no discernible variation from the aggadic concept of God, the restrictions that the scholars of the Talmud placed upon the study of the esoteric doctrine of the *Ma'aseh Merkavah* and upon those of whom it was said that they "entered paradise" having a great deal to do with this. Despite this there were many in these circles "who looked and became demented," or "who cut down the saplings" (i.e., led astray the youth). The Talmud applied to them the term **minim* ("sectarians"), a term which also included Christians, Gnostics, and other sectarians, whom the rabbis regarded either as complete disbelievers (Sif. Deut. 32, 39) or as rejecting the oneness of God. Regardless of whether these sectarians were Jews or whether they wished to identify themselves with them, the rabbis made every effort to exclude them from the fold, at times taking drastic measures to do so. The reaction of the rabbis to the varying concepts of God that were widespread in their time was thus characterized by exceptional vigilance. Even more significant, however, was the complete absence, in their doctrine of the Deity, of any materialistic elements. Though, according to the rabbis, angels play an important role in the lives of human beings, this does not in the least affect the closeness of God to every person in his daily life: "When trouble comes upon a man, he does not burst upon his patron suddenly, but goes and stands at his door… and he calls his servant who announces: 'so and so is at the door'.… Not so, however with regard to the Holy One, blessed be He. If trouble comes upon a man, he should cry out neither to Michael nor to Gabriel, but let him cry out to me, and I shall answer him immediately" (TJ, Ber. 9:1, 13a).

The nearness of God is the predominating idea of the Talmud and Midrash. God mourns because of the evil decrees He has pronounced upon Israel; He goes into exile with His children; He studies Torah and gives His view on halakhic topics, and is overjoyed if the scholars triumph over him in *halakhah*. Every generation of Israel has been witness to the nearness of God. God revealed Himself at the Red Sea as a warrior; at Sinai as a sage filled with mercy; after the incident of the golden calf, as a congregational reader draped in a *tallit* ("prayer shawl"), instructing the people how to pray and repent. These metaphors are not intended anthropomorphically, but are rather devices for driving home the idea of God's nearness to his people, by the use of striking and daring images. The sages see no difference between God's closeness to Israel in the past and in the present. The idea of the selection of Israel and the greatness of its destiny stands, both in the past and in the present, at the very center of the relationship between God and His people, and complete confidence therefore exists that God will answer His people whenever they seek Him. The concept of God's nearness to man is also enshrined in the ethical teaching of the time, the rabbis enjoining man to imitate the attributes of God: "Just as He is merciful and compassionate, be thou too merciful and compassionate" (Mekh., be-Shallaḥ 14:2; Sifra 19:1).

[Yehoshua M. Grintz]

IN MEDIEVAL JEWISH PHILOSOPHY

Medieval Jewish philosophy concentrated very heavily on problems concerning the existence and nature of God, His knowability, and His relationship to man and the world. Neither the Bible nor rabbinic literature contain systematic philosophic treatments of these topics, and it was only under the stimulus of Greek and Arabic philosophy that Jews engaged in such inquiries. In natural philosophy, metaphysics, and theology Jewish thought was influenced by *Kalām thinkers and by Arabic versions of neoplatonism and Aristotelianism. Fundamental to Jewish philosophic speculation about God was the conviction that human reason is reliable (within its proper limits), and that biblical theology is rational. Most medieval Jewish philosophers considered intellectual inquiry essential to a religious life, and were convinced that there could be no real opposition between reason and faith. Thus, *Saadiah Gaon held that, "The Bible is not the sole basis of our religion, for in addition to it we have two other bases. One of these is anterior to it; namely, the fountain of reason…" (*Book of Beliefs and Opinions*, 3:10). *Baḥya ibn Paquda believed that it is a religious duty to investigate by rational methods such questions as God's unity, because, of the three avenues which God has given us to know Him and His law, "the first is a sound intellect" (*Ḥovot ha-Levavot*, introduction; cf. 1:3). Even *Judah Halevi, who distrusted philosophy, said, "Heaven forbid that there should be anything in the Bible to contradict that which is manifest or proved" (*Kuzari*, 1:67). This attitude toward the relationship between reason and faith dominated medieval Jewish philosophy. It reached its highest, most elaborate, and most familiar expression in the thought of *Maimonides, and was reaffirmed by later philosophers, such as *Levi b. Gershom and Joseph *Albo.

The Existence of God

The first task of philosophical theology is to prove the existence of God, though medieval philosophers did not always begin their treatises with this topic. Of the familiar philosophic arguments for the existence of God, the ontological argument, i.e., that God's existence follows necessarily from a definition of what He is, seems to have been unknown to medieval Jewish thought. Emphasis was placed on the cosmological argument, according to which the existence of God was derived from some aspect of the world, such as the existence of motion or causality. Some attention was also given to the teleological argument, according to which the existence of God was derived from order existing in the world.

TELEOLOGICAL ARGUMENT. The simplest form of the teleological argument, the argument from design, was used by Saadiah and Baḥya. Both derided those who claim that the world arose by chance without an intelligent and purposive creator. They pointed out the high improbability (in their view, incredibility) that the extremely complex and delicately balanced order of the universe could have come about accidentally, since even ordinary artifacts are known to require an artisan. A more sophisticated version of this argument was offered by Levi b. Gershom. From the teleological nature of all existing things, i.e., the fact (as he supposed) that each thing is moved toward the realization of its own proper end, he concluded that all things together move toward their common ultimate end. This is the final cause of the world, namely God.

COSMOLOGICAL ARGUMENT. In Saadiah's versions of the cosmological argument, following the Kalām closely, he deduced the existence of God from the creation of the world. He first demonstrated that the world must have been created in time out of nothing, and he then showed that such a world could only have been created by an omnipotent God whose essence is an absolute unity. Baḥya followed a similar method. His basic argument was that since the world is composite, it must have been put together at some point in time; it could not have made itself, because nothing can make itself; therefore, it must have been created, and the creator of the world we call God. The earliest Jewish philosopher to turn away from the Kalām in favor of a stricter Aristotelianism was Abraham *Ibn Daud, and the most prominent by far was Maimonides (see *Aristotle and Aristotelianism). In contrast to the followers of the Kalām, Maimonides rejected the view that proofs for the existence of God are contingent on proofs of the creation of the world. He showed that in principle one cannot prove either that the world is eternal or that it was created, but went on to argue that even if we grant the eternity of the world, we can still demonstrate the existence of God. The arguments he used, two of which had already been set forth in Abraham Ibn Daud's *Emunah Ramah*, are essentially cosmological. The most familiar of Maimonides' arguments is the argument from motion. Since things in the world are in motion and no finite thing can move itself, every motion must be caused by another; but since this leads to an infinite regress, which is unintelligible, there must be an unmoved mover at the beginning of the series. This unmoved mover is God. Another of Maimonides' arguments begins from the fact that the existence of all things in our experience is contingent, i.e., their existence begins and ends in time, so that each thing can be conceived as not existing. Contingent existence is unintelligible, unless there is at least one necessary existence, one being whose existence is eternal and independent of all cause, standing behind it. Maimonides laid great stress on the conception of God as necessary existence. This argument was the only one that Ḥasdai *Crescas found acceptable, though he was a severe critic of the Aristotelianism of his predecessors. In addition to other arguments, Saadiah and Judah Halevi offered a non-philosophical argument. Since the revelation at Sinai took place in the presence of 600,000 adults, there is public evidence that places the fact of God's existence beyond all reasonable doubt.

The Nature of God

For Judaism, the proof of God's existence is incomplete unless it also establishes His absolute unity. Though Jewish philosophers conceived this unity in different ways, none deviated from the fixed belief in God's unity. In reflecting on this question, practically all Jewish philosophers of the Middle Ages came to the conclusion that the unity of God necessarily implies that He must be incorporeal. This conclusion then required them to set forth figurative or metaphorical interpretations of the many biblical passages that ascribe bodily characteristics to God, because no proper philosophical understanding of God can accept a literal reading of these anthropomorphisms. As Abraham Ibn Daud pointed out, Jewish thinkers were particularly sensitive to this problem because many non-Jews held the slanderous opinion that the Jews believe in a corporeal God. Thus, it is understandable that medieval Jewish philosophers devoted much attention to arguments for God's incorporeality and the detailed exegesis of anthropomorphic passages in Scripture. Some scholars even suggest that the primary purpose of Saadiah's philosophical work was to refute all claims that God is corporeal. Maimonides began his *Guide of the Perplexed* with an elaborate and comprehensive effort to refute all literal interpretations of passages in the Bible that speak of God as having corporeal features.

Divine Attributes

Having rejected the literal meaning of biblical statements about God, the medieval philosophers had to determine what may be considered a legitimate description of God. Can attributes of God, such as goodness, mercy, wisdom, and justice be predicated of Him positively? The bulk of medieval opinion held that one cannot properly say anything positive about God, for two reasons. First, ascribing multiple attributes to Him compromises His unity. Second, human language reflects the limitations of the human perspective, so that describing God by way of human predicates reduces Him to the finiteness of man. Therefore, a majority of the medieval philosophers held that nothing positive can be said about God. However, since there is no choice but to talk about God in some way, despite the limitations of human language, they had to find some interpretation of the divine attributes which would not be a positive one. The most widely accepted solution was to understand all the essential attributes, such as living, wise, powerful, which describe the divine nature, as negative, so that every seemingly positive assertion about God only says what He is not. For example, the statement, "God is wise," can only mean that He is not ignorant. In this way one may speak of God's nature in the language of men without compromising His unity and without reducing Him to human form. Because God transcends all knowledge and all experience, one can only affirm that He exists and even this must be interpreted as negating that He lacks existence and describes what He is solely in terms of negative attributes. This view was held with minor variations by Saadiah, Baḥya, *Joseph ibn Ẓaddik, Judah Halevi, Ibn Daud, and Maimonides. Besides these descriptions of God's nature which were interpreted as negative attributes, there are others, such as merciful and just, which appear to describe what God does rather than what He is. These could also not be interpreted positively since such positive predication of these descriptions, too, could compromise God's unity. These descriptions were therefore interpreted as attributes of action, i.e., as describing God's effects without, however, attempting to account for a property in God which causes these effects. This non-positive predication of the attributes of action again safeguards divine unity. Maimonides gave the most subtle and comprehensive treatment to the problem of attributes. While holding rigorously to the negative interpretation of essential attributes, he also followed some of his predecessors in affirming the doctrine of attributes of action. Thus, a great calamity may be interpreted in human eyes as an expression of God's anger, and a seemingly miraculous rescue of men from danger will be understood as an instance of God's love and compassion. Two major figures of the late medieval period rejected the doctrine of negative attributes. Both Levi b. Gershom and Ḥasdai Crescas argued in favor of the view that if God is to be intelligible, His attributes must be understood as positive predications. They did not think that positive predication compromises the divine unity and perfection. Moreover, Levi b. Gershom believed that positive predicates could be applied to God literally because their primary meaning is derived from their application to God, while their human meaning is secondary. The position of Joseph Albo, the last of the medieval Jewish philosophers, is ambiguous. Although he affirmed the doctrine of negative attributes, he also tried to argue that the divine attributes have a descriptive-positive meaning.

Relation of God to Man and the World

In denying God's corporeality and in developing the doctrine of negative attributes, the philosophers went far toward protecting the unity of God. However in proclaiming this absolute metaphysical unity they also generated serious problems. If God is conceived as the metaphysical One, eternal, absolute, unique, and incomparable, how should His relationship to man and the world be understood? In every relation there is multiplicity, and in relations with the corporeal world there is also inescapable temporality. With respect to *creation the problem was often solved (or at least avoided) by invoking various forms of neoplatonic theories of emanation.

DIVINE PROVIDENCE. The issue was particularly acute with respect to the question of divine providence and God's relationship to man. To remain consistent with the Bible and rabbinic teaching, the philosophers had to affirm the doctrine of *reward and punishment and, thus, support the view that God knows and is concerned about individual human life and action. Yet, such a God seems to be a temporal, changing being, not the absolute, eternal One. In a most radical statement Maimonides asserted that, "the relation between us and Him, may He be exalted, is considered as non-existent" (*Guide of the Perplexed*, 1:56). Maimonides tempered this view, however, and developed a theory according to which God shows providence to the human species. God is removed from any direct involvement with individual animals or with inanimate objects: "For I do not by any means believe that this particular leaf has fallen because of a providence watching over it; nor that this spider has devoured this fly because God has now decreed and willed something concerning individuals" (*ibid.*, 3:17). Moreover, according to Maimonides, the providential care of man is totally dependent on the level of the individual's intellectual development. As the human intellect develops in its highest form, it is brought into progressively closer contact with the divine nature which overflows toward it; for the individual human intellect is only a particularization of the divine overflow. "Now if this is so, it follows necessarily… that when any human individual has obtained… a greater proportion of this overflow than others, providence will of necessity watch more carefully over him than over others… Accordingly, divine providence does not watch in an equal manner over all the individuals of the human species, but providence is graded as their human perfection is graded… As for the ignorant and disobedient, their state is despicable proportionately to their lack of this overflow, and they have been relegated to the rank of the individuals of all the other species of animals" (*ibid.*, 3:18). Maimonides solved the problem by making providence an extension of the divine nature in the perfected human intellect, and thus succeeded in preserving God's unity and eternity. Similar views were held by Levi b. Gershom and Abraham *Ibn Ezra. While the medieval Jewish philosophers succeeded in meeting the challenge of their intellectual environment, many Jews felt that in the process they had sacrificed the spiritual satisfactions of simple piety. As the French philosopher Pascal (17th century) once observed, the God of the philosophers is no substitute for the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. Many great Jewish teachers opposed such philosophical conceptions of God, because they felt that they robbed the Jew of his intimate relationship with a God who is loving and compassionate, as well as stern, judging, and commanding. In the centuries since the Middle Ages, Judaism has made room for both the God of the philosophers and the God who lives in the emotions and aspirations of simple, non-philosophical men.

[Marvin Fox]

IN KABBALAH

The kabbalistic view of God is in principle a derivation from the desire to abolish the contradiction between the two concepts: God's unity and God's existence. The emphasis of God's unity leads the philosopher to reject anything that could undermine that absolute unity – any attribute, determination, or quality that can be interpreted as an addition to His unity and as evidence for plurality. On the other hand, the emphasis on God's life which is characteristic of religious faith endangers His unity, since life is variegated by its very nature: it is a process and not a state. In the opinion of many kabbalists the divinity should be conceived of in the following two fundamental aspects:

(1) God in Himself who is hidden in the depths of His being;

(2) the revealed God who creates and preserves his creation.

For kabbalists these two aspects are not contradictory but complement one another. Regarding God Himself the first aspect suffices, and in the opinion of some (Moses *Cordovero, and the Chabad Ḥasidism), one could doubt whether from this point of view anything at all exists apart from God. It is precisely the second view, however, that is required by religious faith: namely, a revealed God who can be recognized by His action and revelation.

In terms of God Himself, He has neither a name nor an attribute and nothing can be said of Him except that He is. This absolute divinity is usually called in Kabbalah **Ein-Sof* ("the Infinite"). *Ein-Sof* lacks any attributes, even more than, if one may say so, does the God of Maimonides. From the sayings of some early kabbalists, it is apparent that they are careful not even to ascribe personality to God. Since He is beyond everything – beyond even imagination, thought, or will – nothing can be said of Him that is within the grasp of our thought. He "conceals Himself in the recesses of mystery"; He is "the supreme cause" or "the great existent" (in *Berit Menuḥah*, Amsterdam, 1648), appellations which contain a negation of the personal nature of God. There were also kabbalists, however, who wished to give a personality to *Ein-Sof*, though in their opinion too this personality was indefinable: according to them the *Ein-Sof* is *ba'al ha-raẓon*, "the possessor of will" (Menaḥem Azariah da *Fano), hence it is possible to say of Him, as do faithful pious Jews, "Blessed be He"; "May He be blessed and exalted," etc. Both these conceptions are met with in the pages of the *Zohar. In favor of the personal character of *Ein-Sof* weighed the argument that even without the existence of emanations, the *Sefirot*, and the worlds, His perfection would not lack anything, hence one should not think that God acquired personality through the emanation of the "attributes" or the *Sefirot*, which determine for us the personal character of God. It should be said that, in the opinion of all kabbalists the *Ein-Sof* is divinity itself, but some kabbalists doubt whether it is also "God." For the life of the *Ein-Sof* is concealed within itself and is not revealed, while the religious man seeks the revelation of this concealed life. This revelation comes through the emanation of the *Sefirot*, which are the domain of the life of the revealed God. This emanation is not a necessity, according to the nature of the *Ein-Sof*; it is a voluntary activity of the emanator.

The special difficulty in connection with this view is that according to kabbalistic doctrine the ten *Sefirot* or worlds of heavenly *Parẓufim* ("configurations," in the Lurianic Kabbalah) are not created regions distinct from the *Ein-Sof*, like other creations, but are included within the divine unity (see *Emanation). The *Sefirot* are also attributes (and some kabbalists explicitly identify them with the "attributes of action" of the philosophers) but in actual fact they are more than attributes: they are the various stages at which God reveals Himself at the time of creation; they are His powers and His names. Each quality is one facet of his revelation. Hence every name applied to the divine is merely one of these qualities: *Eheyeh, Yah, El, Elohim, Ẓeva'ot, Adonai* – each points to a special aspect in the revealed God, and only the totality of all these qualities exhausts the active life of God. It is this totality, its order, and its laws, in which the theology of the Kabbalah is fundamentally interested. Here the personality of God is manifested even if it is not developed: God revealed himself not only at Mt. Sinai; He revealed Himself in everything since the beginning of the creation, and will continue to reveal Himself until the end of time; His act in creation is His main revelation. From this position stems a certain dualism in the realm of the revelation of the divine: on the one hand there is *Ein-Sof* which is transcendental and its traces are not discernable in the creatures; yet on the other hand the traces of the living God, who is embodied in the world of the *Sefirot*, are found in everything and discernable in everything – at least to the mystic who knows how to interpret the symbolic language of outer reality. God is in His creation, just as He is outside of it. And if the *Sefirot*, active in the creation, are the "souls" and the inwardness of everything, then the *Ein-Sof* is the "soul of the souls." By the mere fact of being a creature, no creature is divine, though nevertheless something of the divine is revealed in it. The world of *Sefirot* then is the region of divine revelation per se, for the flow of divine life rises and descends in the stages of the *Sefirot*. The divine revelation emanates also upon the region of creation, through the "clothing" of the *Sefirot* in the mundane world.

In critical literature on Kabbalah opinions vary on the question to what extent the formulations of this fundamental standpoint are pantheistic. At various times a pantheistic view of God had been attributed in particular to the Zohar, to Moses Cordovero, and to Abraham *Herrera. Important in the theology of the Kabbalah is the new view of the divine presence, which is no longer a synonym for God Himself, but a name for the last *Sefirah* which is the passive and receptive element in God, although it is simultaneously active and emanating upon the creatures. The unity of God in the *Sefirot* is dynamic and not static and all explanations by kabbalists of the *Shema* ("Hear O Israel") testify to this: this is the unity of the stream of life flowing from the *Ein-Sof*, or, according to some opinions, from the will which is the first *Sefirah* (See *Kabbalah).

[Gershom Scholem]

IN MODERN JEWISH PHILOSOPHY

Moses Mendelssohn

Moses *Mendelssohn, the first modern Jewish philosopher, believed that, "Judaism knows nothing of a revealed religion in the sense in which Christians define this term." The truths of religion, particularly those that have to do with the existence and nature of God, are principles of reason and, as such, are available to all men. Through rational reflection we know that God exists, that He is a necessary and perfect being, creator of the world, omnipotent, omniscient, and absolutely good. These truths, which constitute the essential grounds of salvation, are the elements of a natural religion shared by all men. What is peculiarly Jewish is not religion at all, but only divine legislation, God's revealed law, which binds and obligates the Jewish people alone and is the necessary condition of their salvation. True religion, on the other hand, is universal. God has made known to all men, through reason, the essential and eternal truths about His nature and the world He created.

Solomon Formstecher

Solomon *Formstecher was especially indebted to the idealist philosopher *Schelling for the metaphysical foundations of his theology. He conceived God as the "world-soul," which is the ultimate ground of the unity of all reality. While nature is the open manifestation of God in the world of our experience, it is only as spirit that God can truly be conceived. His essence is beyond all human knowledge, and to restrict God to the necessarily anthropomorphic conceptions of man borders on paganism. Formstecher believed that the world-soul is not in the world, but is prior to and independent of it. God is an absolutely free spirit, whose freedom is most clearly evident in His activity as creator of the world. Because of His absolute freedom, God is understood as the ultimate ethical being and as the ideal that man should strive to imitate and realize in his own ethical life.

Samuel Hirsch

Samuel *Hirsch taught a doctrine similar to that of Formstecher, although he was more dependent on the philosophy of *Hegel. He emphasized the centrality of the ethical even more than Formstecher did. Man discovers his freedom in his own self-consciousness. He knows himself, not as part of nature, but as an "I" who stands in freedom over against the world. God is conceived, on this human model, as a being who is absolutely free and supreme in power over all that exists. Through the miracles that He performs, God exhibits to man His absolute power and freedom. For Hirsch, Judaism is, above all, the religion of the spirit. Its highest purpose is the actualization of human freedom in the ethical life, because only in free and moral acts does man truly serve God.

Solomon Ludwig Steinheim

Unlike most of his contemporaries, Solomon Ludwig *Steinheim thought that philosophy and religion are radically opposed. He held that the true knowledge of God can be acquired only through revelation, and that scriptural revelation contradicts the canons of human reason. If God is conceived in purely rational terms, then His freedom must necessarily be denied, because rationality entails causal necessity. The God of reason is subject to causal rules, since, even as first cause, He is limited to that which reason finds possible. Such a God is not absolutely free. Neither is He a true creator, for according to the principle that nothing comes from nothing, He could not have created the world freely and *ex nihilo*. Steinheim rejected reason in favor of revelation, denied the principle of causality, and represented God as the true and free creator who stands above the limitations of rational necessity. Only through such a theology does man become free. Freedom is possible for man only if he subordinates his reason to the God of revelation, whose creative freedom provides the sole ground of genuinely human existence.

Nachman Krochmal

Nachman *Krochmal, although living in Eastern Europe, was more fully Hegelian than his Western Jewish contemporaries. They modified the prevailing philosophy to accommodate the personal God of traditional Judaism, but Krochmal developed a doctrine which borders on pantheism. He conceived God as Absolute Spirit, containing in itself all reality. Absolute Spirit has none of the characteristics of a personal God. Even as cause, He is impersonal: He causes the world only in the sense that He is its totality. The world is derived from God through emanation, which Krochmal understood as a form of divine self-limitation. In this Krochmal was affected by kabbalistic doctrines, which he combined with Hegelianism.

Hermann Cohen

Three figures of major importance appeared in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, Hermann *Cohen, Franz *Rosenzweig, and Martin *Buber. In his early years Cohen thought of God as a philosophical construct that served as the guarantor of morality and moral progress. The existence of God, according to this conception, cannot be proved. He is beyond all positive descriptions, and is thought of only as an "idea" in the technical Kantian sense. Though His nature is absolutely unknown to us, God as idea is the one absolutely necessary ground of morality. His reality is affirmed because the alternative of denying morality cannot be accepted. In his later years Cohen adopted more traditional language as he became more deeply concerned for Judaism. He then spoke of God as the Creator, the God of love, and the source of all being, who is absolutely one and unique.

Franz Rosenzweig

In Rosenzweig's view, God is not known through philosophic inquiry or rational demonstration. He is met in direct existential encounter, which is true revelation. In the anguished consciousness of his own creaturely contingency, man encounters God, who is the creator of the world, and above all he encounters dependence. This meeting reveals God as an all-powerful and loving father. His love for man results in commandments that bind every individual for whom the divine-human encounter is a reality.

Martin Buber

Like Rosenzweig, Buber stressed, above all, the personal quality of God. He is the Eternal Thou, whom one meets as the supreme partner in dialogue. This is not the depersonalized God of the philosopher-theologian, whose nature is expressed in a set of formal propositions. Man knows Him only as the Ever-Present, who meets him in true encounter. No effort to give a consistent definition of God succeeds. "Of course God is the 'wholly Other'; but He is also the wholly Same, the wholly Present. Of course He is the *Mysterium Tremendum* that appears and overthrows; but He is also the mystery of the self-evident, nearer to me than my I" (*I and Thou* (1937), 79).

Mordecai Kaplan

In the United States Mordecai *Kaplan developed a naturalistic view of God in conscious opposition to the traditional, supernatural views. Convinced that modern science makes it impossible to believe in a transcendent, personal God, Kaplan nevertheless saw value in retaining the idea and the name "God." He conceived God simply as that power in nature which makes possible the fulfillment of man's legitimate aspirations. Despite his commitment to scientific naturalism, Kaplan believed that the world is so constituted that valid human ideals are supported and helped toward realization by the cosmic process. It is this force making for human salvation that Kaplan called God.

[Marvin Fox]

ATTRIBUTES OF GOD

The discussion in Jewish philosophy of the attributes or predicates (Heb. *te'arim*; Arab. *ṣifāt*) of God is based on the problem of how God, whose essence is presumed to be unknowable, can be spoken of in meaningful terms.

Philo

Philo was the first to introduce the doctrine of the unknowability of God, which he derived from the Bible (see C. Siegfried, *Philo* (1875), 203–4; H.A. Wolfson, *Philo*, 2 (1947), 86–90, 119–26). He interprets Moses' prayer, "Reveal Thyself to me" (according to the Septuagint version of Ex. 33:18) as a plea for a knowledge of God's essence, and God's answer as pointing out that only His existence, and not His essence, can be known (Wolfson, op. cit., 86–87). From God's unlikeness to any other being follows His simplicity, i.e., essential unity, indivisibility, and His being "without quality," i.e., without "accidents" such as inhere in corporeal objects, and without "form," such as inheres in matter. God belongs to no class. He is without genus or species, and consequently no concept can be formed of Him (*ibid.*, 97–110). The scriptural passages describing God in anthropomorphic and anthropopathic terms must, therefore, be understood as serving a merely pedagogical purpose. Since God's essence is unknowable, all the predicates of God in Scripture describe Him only by what is known of Him through the proofs of His existence, and they refer only to the causal relation of God to the world. Philosophical discussion of the problem of God's attributes gained new impetus under the influence of Muslim philosophy, especially the Kalām.

Kalām

The most elaborate Jewish Kalām discussion of attributes is found in Saadiah's *Emunot ve-De'ot* (*Book of Beliefs and Opinions*, tr. by S. Rosenblatt, 1948). Saadiah finds in Scripture the following attributes assigned to God: He is one, living, omnipotent, omniscient, and unlike any other being. His unity and incomparability follow logically from the notion of "Creator" (1:1), as do the notions of existence, omnipotence, omniscience. The latter three attributes do not imply diversity in God. Just as the attribute of "Creator" does not add anything to the essence of God, but merely expresses His causal relation to the world, so do these three attributes, which explain the term Creator, add nothing to His essence, but merely denote the existence of a world created by Him (1:4). It would seem to follow that these three attributes are active, not essential attributes, but this is not Saadiah's ultimate meaning. Since these attributes, when applied to God (unlike the case when they are applied to man) are not distinct from God's essence, Saadiah upholds positive essential attributes (existence, omniscience, omnipotence), but reduces their meaning to that of God's causality as Creator. He does, however, distinguish between these essential attributes and attributes of action. Attributes such as merciful, gracious, jealous, and avenging are attributes of action in the sense that they express a certain affection for the creatures produced by the causality of God (1:12).

Neoplatonism

Jewish neoplatonic writings are marked by a new emphasis on the unity of God. At the same time the notion of the will of God was injected into the discussion. The extant writings of Isaac *Israeli, the earliest Jewish neoplatonist, contain few references to the attributes (see A. Altmann and S.M. Stern, *Isaac Israeli* (1958), 151–8). Solomon ibn *Gabirol's views are more explicit. In his *Mekor Ḥayyim* and his poem *Keter Malkhut*, Ibn Gabirol emphasizes God's unity (*Mekor Ḥayyim*, 3:4; 5:30). Negative terms are used particularly with reference to the "mystery" (*sod*) of the divine unity, concerning which we do not know "what it is," but which may be described as unaffected by plurality or change, or by attribute (*to'ar*) and designation (*kinnui*). His negative interpretation of the divine attributes is, however, complicated by Ibn Gabirol's doctrine that matter and form, the two principles which constitute all created beings, derive from the essence and the will of God respectively. Matter (which is originally "spiritual" matter) proceeds from the very essence of God, and form is impressed upon, and diffused in matter by virtue of God's will. Ibn Gabirol's will tends to assume the character of an intermediate between God and the world and, in certain respects, shares in the divine absoluteness (*ibid.*, 5:37–9; 4:20). Baḥya ibn Paquda's elaborate treatment of the attributes in the "*Sha'ar ha-Yiḥud*" ("Chapter on Unity") of his *Ḥovot ha-Levavot* starts from the thesis that from the existence and order of the universe, the existence of one single creator can be inferred. Like Aristotle (*Metaphysics*, 5, 5, 1015b, 16–7), Baḥya distinguishes between the "accidental" and "absolute" senses of the term "one" and concludes that the truly One is God alone, who is incomparable and unique (1:8–9). Having established God's unity in the neoplatonic sense, Baḥya proceeds to discuss the meaning of the attributes, which may again be classified under two heads: essential attributes and attributes of action. The essential attributes are existence, unity, and eternity. They do not imply a plurality in God's essence, but must be interpreted negatively, i.e., God is not nonexistent; there is no plurality in Him; He is not a created thing. The attributes of action which describe God's actions either in anthropomorphic terms or in terms of corporeal motions and acts are used by Scripture in order to establish a belief in God in the souls of men (1:10), i.e., for pedagogical reasons.

Aristotelianism

In Jewish Aristotelianism the discussion of the divine attributes reached a new level, reflecting the influence of Avicenna and, subsequently, of *Averroes. The notion of God as the "necessary being" which was introduced by Avicenna, contested by al-*Ghazālī, and modified by Averroes, replaced, in some measure, the neoplatonic concept of the One. Moreover, the problem of the meaning of terms like "one" and "being" came to the fore, for even though these terms were predicated of God in a peculiar sense, they seemed also to bear a generic sense in which they were predicated of other beings as well. Al-*Fārābī held the notion that common terms of this kind are predicated of God "firstly" or "in a prior manner," and of other beings "secondly" or "in a posterior manner," i.e., that the perfections implied by the particular predicate derive from God as their cause or exemplar. According to Avicenna, the term "one" is predicated of God and other beings "in an ambiguous sense" (see H.A. Wolfson, in *Homenaje a Millás-Vallicrosa*, 2 (1956), 545–71), which implies the doctrine of the "analogy" of being (A.M. Goichon (tr.), *Ibn Sina, Livre des Directives et Remarques* (1951), 366–9, n. 2), a view which was not adopted by the first Jewish Aristotelians (Abraham ibn Daud and Maimonides), who substituted for it the notion of the purely homonymous character of these terms, that is that terms applied to God and other beings share only the name but not the meaning. Only under the influence of Averroes did the doctrine of the "analogy" of being eventually command the assent of Jewish Aristotelians (notably Levi b. Gershom, see below). Abraham Ibn Daud, in his *Emunah Ramah* (ed. by S. Weil (1852), 48–57), follows Avicenna in establishing the existence of God as "the necessary being" in the sense that God's essence necessarily implies His existence, while in the case of all other beings their existence is only "possible" and extrinsic to their essence. True unity is therefore established in the case of God alone by virtue of His intrinsic necessary existence. Ibn Daud enumerated seven positive attributes: unity, truth, existence, omniscience, will, omnipotence, and being. These neither imply definitions of God nor constitute a plurality in Him. They have to be interpreted as either negations or as asserting God's causality. Unlike Avicenna, he asserts the homonymity of the term "being" in the case of God as compared with its application to all other beings. God's being is true and necessary because it alone has an underived and independent existence. The other eight attributes are explained by Ibn Daud as negative.

MAIMONIDES. The most incisive treatment of the attributes is found in Maimonides' *Guide of the Perplexed* (1:50–60). Maimonides argues that every attribute predicated of God is an attribute of action or, if the attribute is intended for the apprehension of His essence and not of His action, it signifies the negation or privation of the attribute in question (1:58). There cannot be affirmative essential attributes, i.e., affirmative predications relating to the essence of God which is unknowable (1:60). The anthropomorphic and anthropopathic descriptions of God in Scripture have to be understood as attributes of action, or as assertions of God's absolute perfection (1:53). Novel elements in Maimonides' discussion of attributes are his fivefold classification; his rejection of relational attributes; and his interpretation of negative attributes. Maimonides lists and discusses five kinds of attributes:

(1) A thing may have its definition and through it its essence is predicated of it. In the case of God, who cannot be defined, this kind of attribute is impossible.

(2) A part of a definition may be predicated. This, again, is inapplicable to God; for if He had a part of an essence, His essence would be composite.

(3) A quality subsisting in an essence may be predicated. None of the genera of quality is applicable to God.

(4) A relation to something other than itself (to time, place, or another individual) may be predicated of a thing. This is inadmissible in the case of God who is not related to time or place and not even to any of the substances created by Him.

(5) The action performed by a certain agent may be predicated of him. This kind of attribute makes no affirmation of

his essence or quality and is therefore admissible in the case of God (1:52).

The "13 attributes of mercy" revealed by God to Moses (Ex. 34:6–7) are attributes of action. They do not denote affections (e.g., compassion) on the part of God, but merely express the actions proceeding from Him in terms drawn from analogous human experience. Maimonides makes the point that not only the many attributes of God used in Scripture, but also the four intellectually conceived attributes of existence, omnipotence, omniscience, and will are attributes of action and not essential attributes (1:53). Because of God's absolute uniqueness and unlikeness to anything else, God's essence is unknowable (1:55). The only correct way of speaking of God's essence is that of negation. Maimonides lists eight terms (existence and life, incorporeality, firstness, omnipotence, omniscience, will, and unity), all of which are interpreted as negative in meaning and as expressing the dissimilarity between God and all other beings, e.g., "God exists" means "God is not absent"; "He is powerful" means "He is not weak." The negation means that the term in question (e.g., "weak") is inapplicable to God. It also means that the affirmative term (e.g., "powerful") is equally inapplicable, and that it can only be used in an equivocal sense. Maimonides' doctrine of attributes reflects, fundamentally, Avicenna's position as represented by al-Ghazālī in his *Tahāfut al-Falāsifa*ʾ (i.e., denial of essential attributes based on the concept of God's "necessary existence," which, in turn, is based on the Avicennian ontological distinction between essence and existence in the cases of all beings except God), but goes beyond Avicenna in rejecting relational attributes.

Post-Maimonidean Philosophy

In post-Maimonidean Jewish philosophy the influence of Averroes became increasingly pronounced. Averroes' attack on Avicenna's ontological distinction between essence and existence (*Tahāfut al-Tahāfut*, ed. by S. van den Bergh (1954), 179–81, and passim) achieved particular prominence and led to the adoption of the theory that the divine attributes did not imply homonymous terms, but rather that essence and existence are identical in all beings, including God.

LEVI BEN GERSHOM (Gersonides). The full implications of Averroes' critique of Avicenna appear in the doctrine of Levi b. Gershom (*Milḥamot Adonai*, 3:3). The attributes are not to be interpreted as equivocal in meaning. They are to be understood *secundum prius et posterius* (both by a priori and a posteriori reasoning). They do not thereby imply a kind of relation and similarity between God and other beings, nor do they involve plurality: "For not every proposition in which something is affirmed of something implies plurality of that thing" (see H.A. Wolfson, in JQR, 7 (1916/17), 1–44, 175–225). Gersonides quotes scriptural passages affirming God's oneness (Deut. 6:4) and existence (Ex. 3:14), and he concludes from them the attributes of intellect, life, goodness, omnipotence, and will must likewise be predicated of God in a positive sense.

ḤASDAI CRESCAS. The last significant development of the doctrine of divine attributes in medieval Jewish philosophy is found in Ḥasdai Crescas (*Or Adonai*, 1:3, 1–6). He distinguishes between the essence of God, which is unknowable, and essential predicates which are knowable. The latter are neither identical with God's essence nor merely accidental to it, but inseparable from it in the sense that the one cannot be thought of without the other. This distinction is not in conflict with the notion of God's absolute simplicity. Nor is God's unlikeness to any other being thereby denied. The attributes of omnipotence and omniscience may be predicated of God *secundum prius et posterius*. There are, however, some attributes which are, in the final analysis, negative in meaning, namely existence, unity, and eternity. These too apply to God and all other beings *secundum prius et posterius* and are thus not equivocal. Crescas thus firmly rejects denial of affirmative attributes, and suggests that such denial may be interpreted as really referring only to God's essence, where it is legitimate, but not to His essential attributes (1:3,3 end).

Modern Philosophy

In modern Jewish philosophy the divine attributes are no longer discussed with the stringency imposed by the medieval tradition as inherited from Philo and the neoplatonists and modified by the Aristotelians. Nevertheless, the concepts evolved by the medieval thinkers are not entirely lost. Both Moses Mendelssohn and Hermann Cohen reflect in different ways, according to their respective positions, essential elements of the earlier discussion. Mendelssohn deals with the attributes particularly in his small treatise *Die Sache Gottes oder die gerettete Vorsehung* (1784). He asserts in the name of "the true religion of reason" the conjunction in God of his "greatness" and His "goodness." The greatness of God contains two parts: His power or omnipotence and His wisdom or omniscience. Mendelssohn's discussion of the divine attributes (he does not use this term) is directed towards the problem of theodicy. The essential point is that the infinite wisdom of God is allied to His infinite goodness, which constitutes God's "justice." In its highest degree justice is "holiness" in which equity and mercy are included. The concept of the goodness of God implies that God's punishment of the sinner is meant for the sake of the sinner's improvement. Hermann Cohen presents his concept of the attributes of God in much closer dependence on the medieval Islamic and Jewish philosophers, particularly on Maimonides. The concept of the unity of God in Judaism, according to Cohen, must not be confounded with that of mere "oneness," which is merely negative in meaning. Cohen adopts the term "uniqueness" (*Einzigheit*), which denotes God as the only Being in the true sense of the word, and signifies also His incomparability (Isa. 40:25), eternity, and causality (*Religion der Vernunft* (1929), 51–54, 70), as well as the concept of God as creator (*ibid.*, 73–77). He interprets Maimonides' theory of negative attributes as the absolute negation of negativity and the affirmation of positivity. Thus, propositions such as "God is not weak" are given in the logical form "God is not non-active" (*Juedische Schriften*, 3 (1924), 252, 257; *Religion der Vernunft*, 72–73). Moreover, he links this interpretation with his own concept of *Ursprung* (*principium*; Gr. *arché*) as the thinking which alone can produce what may be considered as being, and which does not depend on the data of sense experience. Cohen interprets Maimonides' attributes of action as expressing the "correlation" between God and men (see A. Altmann, *In Zwei Welten* (1962), 377–99). They denote exemplars for man's action rather than qualities in God (*Religion der Vernunft*, 109 ff., 252, 313). The attributes of action can be reduced to two: love and justice which, in Cohen's ethical monotheism, become "concepts of virtue for man" (*ibid.*, 475, 480).

[Alexander Altmann]

JUSTICE AND MERCY OF GOD

Central among the biblical affirmations about God are those that emphasize His justice (*mishpat*) and righteousness (*ẓedakah*) on the one hand, and His mercy (*raḥamim*) and lovingkindness (*ḥesed*) on the other. God's justice and mercy are both affirmed in God's proclamation to Moses at Sinai before the giving of the Decalogue: "The Lord, the Lord, a God compassionate and gracious, slow to anger, abounding in kindness and faithfulness, extending kindness to the thousandth generation, forgiving iniquity, transgression, and sin; yet He does not remit all punishment, but visits the iniquity of the fathers upon children and children's children, upon the third and fourth generations" (Ex. 34:6–7). Justice and mercy are the bases of the covenant between God and the Israelites. God's mercy is revealed in the fact that he redeemed the people of Israel from slavery in Egypt to make them His people and contract a covenant with them: "When Israel was a child, I loved him, out of Egypt I called my son" (Hos. 11:1). His justice is revealed in the fact that He punishes the Israelites if they sin and do not uphold their side of the covenant: "You only have I known of all the families of the earth; therefore I will punish you all your iniquities"(Amos 3:2). Both the justice and mercy of God are evident in the biblical portrayal of God's relationship with Israel; "I will betroth you to me in righteousness and in justice, in steadfast love and in mercy" (Hos. 2:19). In exercising justice and punishing the people of Israel when they sin God reveals His power and lordship not only to Israel but to the world as a whole. God's justice is often tempered by His mercy: "My heart recoils within me, My compassion grows warm and tender. I will not execute My fierce anger, I will not again destroy Ephraim; for I am God and not man…" (Hos. 11:8–9). By exercising His mercy God hopes to encourage the people of Israel to uphold their side of the covenant and fulfill His demands as expressed in the Torah. The relationship between justice and mercy in God's attitude toward the people of Israel is intricate and varied, and while some biblical verses emphasize His justice and others, His mercy, it is impossible to say that one or the other is predominant.

In Post-biblical Judaism

This same intermingling of justice and mercy is to be discerned in the works of Philo and other post-biblical writings (see G.F. Moore, *Judaism in the First Centuries of the Christian Era*, 1 (1927), 386–400). In rabbinic Judaism a vivid expression of this intermingling is found in a parable in *Genesis Rabbah* (12:15) comparing God to a king who in order to prevent a fragile goblet from shattering must mix hot and cold water when filling it. Thus the world exists because of the admixture of the attributes of mercy and justice (*middat ha-raḥamim* and *middat ha-din*). Behind this parable lies a complex development of biblical ideas in which the two divine appellations, the Tetragrammaton (YHWH) and *Elohim*, were understood to refer to the two main manifestations of God's providence: the first, to express the attribute of mercy; the second, that of justice (see A. Marmorstein, *The Old Rabbinic Doctrine of God*, pt. 1 (1927), 43–53, 181–208). The presence of both names in Genesis 2:4 signifies that mercy and justice were both necessary in order to make creation possible. *Genesis Rabbah* 39:6 expresses a similar notion: "If thou desirest the world to endure, there can be no absolute justice, while if thou desirest absolute justice the world cannot endure.…" Insofar as God's justice and mercy are necessary for creation it is not only the community of Israel that is the major object of these divine activities but the world as a whole. Nonetheless, it must be recognized that rabbinic Judaism was more concerned with the divine activities of mercy and justice as they were directed toward the community of Israel. The fate of the Jewish people in the Roman period was a tragic impetus to this discussion. Faced, too, with the problem of the suffering of the righteous and the prosperity of the wicked, the rabbis examined the concept of divine justice and advanced a number of new interpretations of it in an effort to justify the apparent imbalance of suffering and prosperity in the world. It was suggested that ultimate reward and punishment would take place in the *afterlife, that suffering was a process of purification (*yissurin shel ahavah*), and that the individual often suffered for the sins of his ancestors or of the community at large.

While various trends in medieval Jewish philosophy and mysticism interpreted the divine attributes of justice and mercy differently, they all affirmed that these were qualities of God. In the face of the Holocaust in the 20th century, some thinkers, for example, R. Rubenstein, have seriously questioned the concept of divine justice and mercy, while others, for example, Emil Fackenheim, maintain that it is a major obligation of Jewish religious thought to rediscover the meaning of the concept in the face of the contemporary situation.

[Lou H. Silberman]

CONCEPTIONS OF GOD

Monotheism

The normative Jewish conception of God is theism, or more exactly, *monotheism. It conceives of God as the creator and sustainer of the universe, whose will and purposes are supreme. He is the only being whose existence is necessary, uncaused, and eternal, and all other beings are dependent on Him. God as conceived by Judaism transcends the world, yet He is also present in the world, and "the whole earth is full of His glory" (Isa. 6:3). He is a personal God, whom man can love with the highest and most complete love, while confronting Him as father, king, and master. He loves man and commands him, and His commandments are the criterion of the good. He is absolutely one, admitting no plurality in His nature, and absolutely unique, so that no other existing thing can in any way be compared to Him. This is essentially the picture of the biblical God as it was developed and understood in classical Jewish thought.

This conception of God contrasts sharply with the mythological gods, who have parents and children, eat and drink, have desires and passions. Judaism categorically rejected the mythological gods. However, a variety of more sophisticated conceptions of God confronted Judaism, presenting challenges and evoking responses.

Atheism

It might be supposed that the greatest threat to monotheism would be atheism, but throughout most of Jewish history this was not the case. In the Bible there is no awareness of genuine atheism. The biblical authors attacked idolatry and other mistaken conceptions of God. Frequently, they attacked those who deny that God is concerned with man and the world, but seemed unaware of men who did not believe in a superior power.

Atheism was known in the Middle Ages, and was countered by the various proofs for the existence of God that were common to all medieval philosophical theology. Yet, since the dominant medieval culture was overwhelmingly religious, atheism constituted only a minor threat. In modern times atheism became a significant and widely held doctrine, based on and reinforced by naturalistic scientific ideas and scientifically oriented philosophy. The classical proofs for God's existence have been largely discredited and no longer provide a satisfactory ground for theism. Modern theists usually offer arguments for the existence of God, but do not claim that they have proofs. These arguments, though not decisive, provide a justification for the theistic option, since it is claimed that these are matters about which no demonstrative certainty is possible. In the 20th century theistic belief usually rests on a combination of admittedly incomplete intellectual evidence and personal faith and commitment.

Polytheism and Dualism

Polytheism, the belief that there are many gods, was never a serious threat to normative Judaism, because it is a form of idolatry which could not be readily confused with biblical doctrine. Wherever polytheism appeared among Jews, recognized authorities rejected it vigorously.

Dualism was the only version of polytheism which made serious inroads into the cultural world of the Jews. Dualism teaches that there are two cosmic powers, each of which has dominion over one portion of the universe. The Zoroastrian version has a god of light and a god of darkness, while the Gnostics taught that there is a hidden god who is beyond all knowledge and the evident god who created and formed the world. Dualism is soundly rejected in a classical biblical passage which says, "I am the Lord, and there is none else, beside me there is no God… I form the light and create the darkness; I make peace and create evil; I am the Lord that doeth all these things" (Isa. 45:5, 7). This forceful denial of dualism is repeated in a slightly modified form in the daily liturgy. The Talmud challenges the heresy of dualism explicitly with strong prohibitions against any deviations from standard liturgy that might have dualistic implications. Rabbinic rulings proscribe any form of prayer that suggests that there are *shetei reshuyot*, two independent powers controlling the world (Ber. 33b).

The medieval philosophers also argued against dualism. Saadiah Gaon dealt with the problem explicitly, offering three arguments against the dualistic position. He first showed that if the doctrine of one God is abandoned, there is no reason to restrict the cosmic powers to two. Arguments can then be made for almost any number one chooses. A second objection is that dualism makes unintelligible the fact that there is an ordered world, since, presumably, each power could frustrate the designs of the other. Finally, he argued that we cannot conceive of such powers as gods at all, since each would limit the other (*Beliefs and Opinions*, 2:2). Other medieval philosophers attacked dualism indirectly through their arguments for the necessary unity of God.

Though there are similarities between Kabbalah and *Gnosticism, the kabbalists did not succumb to the temptations of dualism. "On the contrary," says Gershom Scholem, "all the energy of 'orthodox' Kabbalistic speculation is bent to the task of escaping from dualistic consequences; otherwise they would not have been able to maintain themselves within the Jewish community" (Scholem, Mysticism, 13).

Trinity

The Trinitarian conception of God is associated especially with *Christianity. Though Christian theologians normally intepret the Trinity as a doctrine of one God in three persons, Jewish thinkers rejected it categorically as a denial of the divine unity. Since only heretical Jewish sects could even entertain the possibility of a Trinitarian God, most Jewish anti-Trinitarian polemics were directed specifically against Christianity. Occasionally, kabbalistic doctrines seem to have a Trinitarian cast, as is the case in the thought of Abraham *Abulafia (*ibid.*, 123ff.). However, these Trinitarian formulations are always interpreted in such ways that they clearly do not refer to a triune God. Some Shabbateans (see *Shabbetai Ẓevi) developed a trinity consisting of the unknown God, the God of Israel, and the *Shekhinah* ("Divine Presence"; *ibid.*, 287ff.). Their heresy was vigorously attacked by official Jewish spokesmen.

Pantheism

A far more complex problem is posed by Jewish attitudes toward pantheism. This doctrine teaches that God is the whole of reality and that all reality is God. Because it does not involve any polytheistic notions and seems, therefore, compatible with standard Jewish doctrines about God's unity, pantheism found occasional followers among even highly respected Jewish thinkers. It also evoked great opposition, because it denies some of the fundamentals of Jewish monotheism. The pantheistic God is not a separate being who transcends the world, nor is he even a being who is immanent in the world. He is identical with the totality of the world. He is not a personal God; he neither commands men nor seeks their obedience. Consequently, there are almost no instances of pure pantheism within the normative Jewish tradition, though pantheistic tendencies have appeared at various times. They derive from an overemphasis on the immanence of God or an excessive stress on the nothingness of the world. They must be considered in any account of Jewish conceptions of God. Hermann Cohen expressed the extreme view of many thinkers when he stated categorically "Pantheism is not religion" (see *Ethik des reinen Willens* (1921², 456–66). Nevertheless, one can find various traces of pantheistic thought, if not actual pantheism, in many deeply pious Jewish thinkers. Some scholars attempted to put a pantheistic interpretation on the rabbinic use of *Makom* ("Place") as a name for God because "He is the place of the world, but the world is not His place" (Gen. R. 68). (The original significance of *Makom* as a divine name has no pantheistic connotations.) Philo also spoke of God as "Place" and for this reason is considered by some interpreters to have a pantheistic doctrine. H.A. Wolfson however, argues that for Philo the doctrine that God is the place of the world means that "God is everywhere in the corporeal world, thereby exercising His individual providence, but He is no part of the corporeal world and is unlike anything in it" (see his *Philo* (1947), 245ff.). The elements of pantheism which appeared periodically in the history of Jewish thought were almost always tempered by the use of theistic language and adjustments to theistic claims. Solomon ibn Gabirol conceived of reality as a graded continuum, moving from the Godhead through a series of levels of being down to the corporeal world (*Mekor Ḥayyim*, passim). His system seems pantheistic, because it treats all reality as one continuous emanation of the divine substance. Nevertheless, in his general religious orientation he returns to standard conceptions of a personal God who is the creator of the world. The thought of Abraham Ibn Ezra exhibits a similar ambiguity. He used purely pantheistic language when he said that "God is the One. He is the creator of all, and He is all… God is all and all comes from Him" (Commentary to Genesis, 1:26; to Exodus, 23:21). Yet, there are countless places in his writings where he also uses strictly conventional theistic terminology. Wherever there is strong neoplatonic influence on Jewish thought a suggestion of pantheism is usually present. Pantheism also appears in mystical doctrines that stress the immanence of God. In the Kabbalah there is an ongoing struggle between pantheistic and theistic tendencies. The former often provide the doctrinal base of a kabbalistic system, while the latter determine the language in which the system is expressed. Scholem states, "In the history of Kabbalism, theistic and pantheistic trends have frequently contended for mastery. This fact is sometimes obscured because the representatives of pantheism have generally endeavored to speak the language of theism; cases of writers who openly put forward pantheistic view are rare… The author of the Zohar inclines toward pantheism… On the whole, his language is that of the theist, and some penetration is needed to lift its hidden and lambent pantheistic core to the light" (Mysticism, 222). The same tendency can be observed in Ḥasidism. In a key passage R. *Shneur Zalman of Lyady asserted that "there is truly nothing besides Him" (*Tanya, Sha'ar ha-Yiḥud ve-ha-Emunah*, ch. 3); yet, he can hardly be called a pure pantheist when we consider the many conventional theistic formulations in his writings. Only in the case of Nachman Krochmal does there seem to be an instance of genuine Jewish pantheism. Krochmal ascribed true existence only to God, who is Absolute Spirit. In his thought only the Absolute Spirit truly exists, and he denies any other mode of existence. Krochmal was far less inclined than earlier Jewish thinkers to adopt language appropriate to a doctrine of a personal, theistic God.

Deism

Deism was still another conception of God that confronted Jewish theology. Deistic doctrine contains two main elements. First is the view that God, having created the world, withdrew himself from it completely. This eliminates all claims of divine providence, miracles, and any form of intervention by God in history. Second, deism holds that all the essential truths about God are knowable by unaided natural reason without any dependence on revelation. The vast bulk of Jewish tradition rejected both deistic claims. It is hardly possible to accept the biblical God and still affirm the deistic view that he is not related to the world. Numerous rabbinic texts are attacks on the Greek philosophers who taught such a doctrine. Similar attacks continued throughout the history of Jewish philosophy. Of the medieval philosophers, only Levi ben Gershom seems to have had deistic tendencies.

Among modern Jewish thinkers, Moses Mendelssohn is sometimes classified as a deist because he held that there is a universal natural religion, whose doctrines are known by reason alone. It does not seem correct, however, to identify Mendelssohn's God with the deistic God, because he ascribes to God qualities of personality and involvement with the world that are hardly in accord with standard deism (see Guttmann, Philosophies, 291ff.). However, Mendelssohn is open to varying interpretations, and Leo *Baeck was not alone when he propounded the view that for Mendelssohn "Judaism had become merely a combination of law and deistic natural religion." Over the centuries of its history Judaism has been exposed to a variety of conceptions of God, but none has ever been strong enough to overcome the basic Jewish commitment to monotheism. Other doctrines have influenced Jewish thought and have left their traces, yet, the monotheistic faith has consistently emerged as the normative expression of Jewish religion.

[Marvin Fox]

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GOD, NAMES OF. Various Hebrew terms are used for God in the Bible. Some of these are employed in both the generic and specific sense; others are used only as the personal name of the God of Israel. Most of these terms were employed also by the Canaanites, to designate their gods. This is not surprising, since the early Israelites arose in Canaan and spoke "the language of Canaan" (Isa. 19:18). It must be noted, however, that in the Bible these various terms, when used by the Israelites to designate their own deity, refer to one and the same god, the God of Israel. When Joshua told the tribes of Israel, assembled at Shechem, that their ancestors had "served other gods" (Josh. 24:2), he was referring to the ancestors of Abraham, as is clear from the context. The God who identified Himself to Moses as YHWH said He was "the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob" (Ex. 3:6). Therefore, the terms "the Fear of Isaac" (perhaps rather, "the Kinsman of Isaac," Gen. 31:42, 53) and "the Mighty One of Jacob" (Gen. 49:24; Isa. 49:26), are synonymous with YHWH.

ʾEl

The oldest Semitic term for God is *ʾel* (corresponding to Akkadian *ilu*(*m*), Canaanite *ʾel* or *ʾil*, and Arabic *ʾel* as an element in personal names). The etymology of the word is obscure. It is commonly thought that the term derived from a root *ʾyl* or *ʾwl*, meaning "to be powerful" (cf. *yesh le-el yadi*, "It is in the power of my hand," Gen. 31:29; cf. Deut. 28:32; Micah 2:1). But the converse may be true; since power is an essential element in the concept of deity, the term for deity may have been used in the transferred sense of "power."

In Akkadian, *ilu*(*m*), and plural *ilū* and *ilānu*, is used in reference to any individual god as well as to divine beings in general; but it is not employed as the personal name of any god. In Ugaritic Canaanite, however, *il* occurs much more frequently as the personal name of the highest god *el* than as the common noun "god" (pl., *ilm*; fem., *ilt*). In the Ugaritic myths El is the head of the Canaanite pantheon, the ancestor of the other gods and goddesses, and the creator of the earth and its creatures; but he generally fades into the background and plays a minor role in the preserved myths.

In the Bible *ʾel* is seldom used as the personal name of God, e.g., *ʾEl-ʾElohei-Yisrael*, "El, the God of [the Patriarch] Israel" (Gen. 33:20; cf. Ps. 146:5). Almost always, *ʾel* is an appellative, with about the same semantic range as *ʾelohim* (see below). The word can thus be preceded by the article: *ha-ʾel*, "the [true] God" (e.g., Ps. 18:31, 33, 48; 57:3). Like *ʾelohim, ʾel* can be employed in reference to an "alien god" (Deut. 32:12; Mal. 2:11) or a "strange god" (Ps. 44:21; 81:10). It can also have the plural form *ʾelim*, "heavenly beings" (Ex. 15:11). In contrast to the extremely common word *ʾelohim, ʾel* occurs relatively seldom, except in archaic or archaizing poetry, as in Job and Psalms. But *ʾel* and, rarely, *ʾelohim* are used when the term is modified by one or more adjectives, e.g., "a jealous god" (e.g., Ex. 20:5; 34:14), "a god compassionate and gracious" (e.g., Ex. 34:6; Ps. 86:15). Moreover, *ʾel*, not *ʾelohim*, is used when the divine is contrasted with the human (Num. 23:19; Isa. 31:3; Ezek. 28:9; Hos. 11:9; Job 25:4). As an element in theophoric names, *ʾel*, not *ʾelohim*, is used often as the first element, e.g., Elijah, Elisha, and Elihu, and even more often as the last element, e.g., Israel, Ishmael, and Samuel. Of special interest are the divine names of which El is the first element: *ʾEl ʿElyon, ʾEl ʿOlam, ʾEl Shaddai, ʾEl Roʾi,* and *ʾEl Berit*.

ʾEl ʿElyon

The Hebrew word *ʿelyon* is an adjective meaning "higher, upper," e.g., the "upper" pool (Isa. 7:3), the "upper" gate (II Kings 15:35), and "highest," e.g., the "highest" of all the kings of the earth (Ps. 89:28). When used in reference to God, the word can rightly be translated as "Most High." Since in reference to God *ʿelyon* is never preceded by the article *ha-* ("the"), it must have been regarded as a proper noun, a name of God. Thus, it can be used as a divine name meaning "the Most High" (e.g., Deut. 32:8; Isa. 14:14; Ps. 9:3) or in parallelism with YHWH (e.g., Ps. 18:14; 21:8; 83:19), El (Num. 24:16; Ps. 107:11), and Shaddai (Ps. 91:1).

Among the Canaanites, *ʾEl* and *ʿElyon* were originally distinct deities. El is attested over 500 times in texts from Ugarit (Ras Shamra) in Northwest Syria from the later second millennium. In a list of gods in an Aramaic treaty of the eighth century B.C.E. from Sefire in Syria we have *ʾl wʿlyn*, which has been interpreted by some scholars as "El and Elyon," that is, two distinct gods, and by others as "El, who is Elyon," which would approximate Genesis 14:18–20. *Eusebius, bishop of Caesarea in the fourth century, cites the first-century author Philo of Byblos, who himself cites the "Phoenician Theology" of one Sanchuniathon, to the effect that Elioun was the name of a deified mortal, who became the ancestor of Zeus Demarous. According to Genesis 14:18–20, Melchizedek, king of Salem, was "a priest of God Most High [*ʾEl ʿElyon*]," and he blessed Abraham by "God Most High, Creator of heaven and earth." Abraham accepted the title "Most High" as merely descriptive of his own God; he swore by "YHWH, God Most High, Creator of heaven and earth." Greek inscriptions refer to *Zeus Hypsistos*, a reflection of Semitic terminology. Whereas for the pagans the term referred to the god who was supreme over the other gods, in Israel it referred to the transcendent nature of the one true God.

ʾEl ʿOlam

According to Genesis 21:33, "Abraham planted a tamarisk at Beer-Sheba, and invoked there the name of YHWH, the everlasting God." The Hebrew for "the Everlasting God" is *ʾel ʿolam*, literally, "the God of an indefinitely long time." Perhaps it was the title of El as worshiped at the local shrine of Beer-Sheba (cf. El Bethel, "the El of Bethel," in Gen. 35:7). Then Abraham would have accepted this Canaanite term as descriptive of his true God. In any case, the epithet is logical in the context, which concerns a pact meant for all times. The term by which Abraham invoked YHWH at Beer-Sheba is apparently echoed in Isaiah 40:28, where YHWH is called "the Everlasting God [*ʾelohei ʿolam*], the Creator of the ends of the earth" (cf. Jer. 10:10, *melekh ʿolam*, "the everlasting King"; Isa. 26:4, *ẓur ʿolamim*, "an everlasting Mountain"). In Deuteronomy 33:27, where "the ancient God" (*ʾelohei qedem*) parallels "the everlasting arms" (*zeroʿot ʿolam*), the text is uncertain. Only in the late passage of Daniel 12:7 (probably translated from Aramaic) is the article used with *ʿolam*: "The man clothed in linen… swore by Him that liveth for ever (*be-ḥei ha-ʿolam*)."

ʾEl Shaddai

According to the literary source of the Pentateuch that the critics call the "Priestly Document," YHWH "appeared to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob as El Shaddai" (Ex. 6:3). The traditional English rendering of the obscure Hebrew term *ʾEl Shaddai* as "God Almighty" goes back to ancient times. The Septuagint renders Shaddai as *Pantokrator*, "All-powerful"; this is followed by the Vulgate's *Omnipotens*, "Omnipotent." Apparently, this rendering is based on an ancient rabbinic interpretation, *sha*, "who," and *dai*, "enough," i.e., "He who is self-sufficient" (e.g., Ḥag. 12a); thus, the Jewish translators Aquila and Symmachus in the early centuries C.E. translated *shaddai* by Greek *hikanos*, "sufficient, able." But this definition can hardly be taken as the true etymology of the term. No fully satisfactory explanation of it has yet been accepted by all scholars. The term is often explained as a cognate of the Akkadian word *šadū*, "mountain," either in the sense that *ʾEl Shaddai* would mean "God the Mountain" (cf. *ẓur*, "Mountain," an epithet of God, e.g., Deut. 32:4, 30, 37); the abode of "ʾEl of Heaven," or *ʾEl Shaddai* could mean "ʾEl-of-the-Mountain," i.e., of the cosmic mountain, the abode of "ʾEl. of Heaven." The ending *-ai* of *shaddai* would be adjectival, as in Ugaritic *ʾrṣy* (to be vocalized *ʾarṣai*), "She of the Earth," the name of one of the three daughters of the Ugaritic *ʾEl*. No Ugaritic equivalent of *ʾEl Shaddai* has yet been found. Deities known as *šdyn* are mentioned in the ninth-eighth century *Balaam text unearthed at Deir Alla (probably biblical Sukkoth) in Jordan. In the Bible the full name, *ʾEl Shaddai*, is used only in connection with Abraham (Gen. 17:1), Isaac (Gen. 28:3), and Jacob (Gen. 35:11; 43:14; 48:3). The word Shaddai alone occurs as God's name in the ancient oracles of Balaam (Num. 24:4, 16), in poetic passages (Isa. 13:6; Ezek. 1:24; Joel 1:15; Ps. 68:15; 91:1; and 31 times in Job), and even in archaizing prose (Ruth 1:20–21). Moreover, Shaddai is an element in Israelite names with parallels in ancient sources, such as Ammishaddai ("My Kinsman is Shaddai"; Num. 1:12) and Zurishaddai ("My Mountain is Shaddai"; Num. 1:6).

ʾEl Roʾi

The divine name *ʾEl Roʾi* occurs in Genesis 16:13. After Hagar was driven away by Sarai (Sarah) and fled into the western Negev, at a certain spring or well she had a vision of God, "and she called YHWH who spoke to her, 'You are *ʾEl Roʾi*.'" The meaning of the word "Roʾi" in this context is obscure. By itself it can be either a noun, "appearance" (I Sam. 16:12), "spectacle" (Nah. 3:6), or a participle with a suffix of the first person singular, "seeing me," i.e., who sees me (Job 7:8). Therefore, *ʾEl Roʾi* could mean either "the God of Vision" (who showed Himself to me) or "the God who sees me." The explanation of the divine name that is given in the second half of the same verse (Gen. 16:13b) is equally obscure. As the Hebrew text now stands, it is usually rendered as "She meant, 'Have I not gone on seeing after He saw me [*aḥarei roʾi*]?'" (JPS, 1962), or, "She meant, 'Did I not go on seeing here [*halom*] after He had seen me?'" (E.A. Speiser, *Genesis* (1964, 117). In the following verse (16:14) it is stated: "Therefore the well was called *Beʾer-Laḥai-Roʾi*." This name is explained in a footnote as "Apparently, 'The Well of the Living One Who sees me'" (JPS). However, on the basis of the name of the well, E.A. Speiser (op. cit., p. 119) would emend the unvocalized Hebrew text of Genesis 16:13, *hgm hlm rʾyty ʾḥry rʾy*, to read *hgm ʾlhm rʾyty wʾḥy*, "Did I really see God, yet remain alive?" The name of the well he would then take to mean, "Well of living sight." Since the well was in the region occupied by the Ishmaelites (and Hagar was the mother of Ishmael), the divine name, *ʾEl Roʾi*, may have been proper to the Ishmaelites rather than to the Israelites.

ʾEl Berit

The divine name *ʾEl Berit* ("God of the Covenant") occurs only in Judges 9:46, where mention is made of "the house [i.e., temple] of *ʾEl Berit*" at Shechem. This is certainly the same sanctuary that is called "the house [i.e., temple] of *Baʿal Berit*" in 9:4. From the treasury of the temple of Baal-Berith the citizens of Shechem gave 70 silver shekels to Abimelech, the son of Jerubbaal (another name of Gideon) to aid him in his fight for the sole kingship of Shechem against the other sons of Jerubbaal (*ibid.*). A few years later, the rebellious citizens of Shechem were burned to death by Abimelech in the temple of El-Berith where they had taken refuge (9:46–49).

The Deuteronomist editor of the Book of Judges regarded Baal-Berith as a pagan god. But the case is not quite that simple. First of all, in early Israel the word *baʿal*, meaning "owner, master, lord," was often regarded more or less as a synonym of *ʾadon*, "lord" (see below under "*ʾAdonai*"), and so it could be used legitimately as a title of YHWH. Among the sons of King Saul, who was certainly not a worshiper of a pagan god, were those who bore the names of Merib-Baal, "the Lord contends" (?), and Eshbaal (originally, *ʾish-baʿal*), "man of the Lord," I Chron. 8:33, 34; 9:39, 40; and even one of King David's sons was called Beeliada (originally *baʿal-yadaʿ*), "the Lord knows" (I Chron. 14:7), who is called Eliada (*ʾel-yadaʿ*), "God knows," in II Samuel 5:16. Only after the time of Solomon was the word "Baal" recognized in Israel as the specific title of the Canaanite storm-god Hadad, and thereafter avoided by true Israelites as a title for YHWH. (Scribal tradition later changed the *baʿal* in older Israelite names to *boshet* ("shame") in the Books of Samuel and Kings; see *Euphemism and Dysphemism.) It is likewise uncertain what the *berit* ("covenant") refers to in the words Baal-Berith or El-Berith. Shechem was regarded as a sacred site by Abraham and Jacob, each of whom erected an altar there (Gen. 12:6–7; 33:19–20). In addition, Jacob's acquisition of land at Shechem (Gen. 33:19; cf. 48:22) and the connubium between the sons of Jacob and the sons of Hamor (as the Shechemites were then called) imply certain covenant agreements. Moreover, the strange name, "sons of Hamor" (*benei ḥamor*, "sons of the ass"), who is said to be the "father of Shechem" (Gen. 34:6), seems to have something to do with covenant making. From the *El-Amarna Letters (c. 1400 B.C.E.) it is known that there was a strong Hurrian element in Shechem. The Septuagint is therefore probably correct in reading *hḥry* ("the Horite," i.e., the Hurrian) instead of *hḥwy* ("the Hivite") of the Masoretic Text in describing the ethnic origin of "Shechem" (Gen. 34:2); moreover, the uncircumcised Shechemites (Gen. 34:14, 24) were most likely not Semitic Canaanites (see E.A. Speiser, op. cit., 267). It is also known that the slaughtering of an ass played a role among the Hurrians in the making of a covenant. Thus, Baal-Berith or El-Berith may have been regarded by the Shechemites as the divine protector of covenants.

Did the early Israelites perhaps regard El-Berith as the God of the covenant made between YHWH and Israel? It is a noteworthy fact that Joshua made a covenant with all Israel precisely at Shechem, the city sacred to El-Berith, "the God of the Covenant" (Josh. 8:30–35; 24:1–28). Therefore, even though the late Deuteronomist editor of the Book of Judges considered Baal-Berith one of the pagan Canaanite *Baʿalim*, this term may well have been regarded in early Israel as one of the titles of YHWH. A god *ilbrt*, found in a second millennium hymn, has been interpreted variously as El-berith and as Ilabrat, an old Semitic deity.

ʾELOAH, ʾElohim

The word *ʾeloah* "God" and its plural, *ʾelohim*, is apparently a lengthened form of *ʾEl* (cf. Aramaic *ʾelah*, Arabic *ʾilāh*). The singular *ʾeloah* is of relatively rare occurrence in the Bible outside of Job, where it is found about 40 times. It is very seldom used in reference to a foreign god and then only in a late period (Dan. 1137ff.; II Chron. 32:15). In all other cases it refers to the God of Israel (e.g., Deut. 32:15; Ps. 50:22; 139:19; Prov. 30:5; Job 3:4, 23). The plural form *ʾelohim* is used not only of pagan "gods" (e.g., Ex. 12:12; 18:11; 20:3), but also of an individual pagan "god" (Judg. 11:24; II Kings 1:2ff.) and even of a "goddess" (I Kings 11:5). In reference to Israel's "god" it is used extremely often – more than 2,000 times – and often with the article, *ha-ʾelohim*, "the [true] god." Occasionally, the plural form *ʾelohim*, even when used of the god of Israel, is construed with a plural verb or adjective (e.g., Gen. 20:13; 35:7; Ex. 32:4, 8; II Sam. 7:23; Ps. 58:12), especially in the expression *ʾelohim ḥayyim*, "the living God." In the vast majority of cases, however, the plural form is treated as if it were a noun in the singular. The odd fact that Hebrew uses a plural noun to designate the god of Israel has been explained in various ways. Some scholars take it as a plural that expresses an abstract idea (e.g., *zekunim*, "old age"; *neʿurim*, "time of youth"), so that *ʾElohim* would really mean "the Divinity." More likely, however, it came from general Canaanite usage. In the el-Amarna Letters Pharaoh is often addressed as "my gods [*īlāniʾya*] the sun-god." In the ancient Near East of the second half of the second millennium B.C.E. there was a certain trend toward quasi-monotheism, and any god could be given the attributes of any other god, so that an individual god could be addressed as *ʾelohai*, "my gods," "my pantheon," or *ʾadonai*, "my lords." The early Israelites felt no inconsistency in referring to their god in these terms. The word *ʾelohim* is employed also to describe someone or something as godlike, preternatural, or extraordinarily great, e.g., the ghost of Samuel (I Sam. 28:13; cf. Isa. 8:19 "spirits"), the house of David (Zech. 12:8), and Rachel's contest with her sister (Gen. 30:8).

Adonai

The Hebrew word *ʾadon* is correctly rendered in English as "lord." In the Bible it is often used in reference to any human being who had authority, such as the ruler of a country (Gen. 42:30), the master of a slave (Gen. 24:96), and the husband of a wife (Gen. 18:12). In formal polite style a man, not necessarily a superior, was addressed as "my lord" (*ʾadoni*; e.g., Gen. 23:6, 15; 24:18); and several men could be addressed as "my lords" (*ʾadonai*; e.g., Gen. 19:2). Since God is "Lord [*ʾadon*] of all the earth" (Josh. 3:11), He is addressed and spoken of as "my Lord" – in Hebrew, *ʾAdonai* (literally, "my Lords," in the plural in keeping with the plural form, *ʾElohim*, and always with the "pausal" form of a long *ā* at the end). Originally, "*ʾadonai*," especially in the combined form "*ʾadonai* YHWH" (e.g., Gen. 15:2, 8; Deut. 3:24; 9:26), was no doubt understood as "my Lord." But later, "*ʾAdonai*" was taken to be a name of God, the "Lord."

YHWH

The personal name of the God of Israel is written in the Hebrew Bible with the four consonants YHWH and is referred to as the "Tetragrammaton." At least until the destruction of the First Temple in 586 B.C.E. this name was regularly pronounced with its proper vowels, as is clear from the *Lachish Letters, written shortly before that date. But at least by the third century B.C.E. the pronunciation of the name YHWH was avoided, and Adonai, "the Lord," was substituted for it, as evidenced by the use of the Greek word *Kyrios*, "Lord," for YHWH in the Septuagint, the translation of the Hebrew Scriptures that was begun by Greek-speaking Jews in that century. Where the combined form ʾAdonai YHWH occurs in the Bible, this was read as ʾAdonai ʾElohim, "Lord God." In the early Middle Ages, when the consonantal text of the Bible was supplied with vowel points to facilitate its correct traditional reading, the vowel points for ʾAdonai with one variation – a *sheva* with the initial *yod* of YHWH instead of the *ḥataf-pataḥ* under the *aleph* of *ʾAdonai* – were used for YHWH, thus producing the form YeHoWaH. When Christian scholars of Europe first began to study Hebrew, they did not understand what this really meant, and they introduced the hybrid name "Jehovah." In order to avoid pronouncing even the sacred name ʾAdonai for YHWH, the custom was later introduced of saying simply in Hebrew *ha-Shem* (or Aramaic *Shemāʾ*, "the Name") even in such an expression as "Blessed be he that cometh in the name of YHWH" (Ps. 118:26). The avoidance of pronouncing the name YHWH is generally ascribed to a sense of reverence. More precisely, it was caused by a misunderstanding of the Third Commandment (Ex. 20:7; Deut. 5:11) as meaning "Thou shalt not take the name of YHWH thy God in vain," whereas it really means either "You shall not swear falsely by the name of YHWH your God" (JPS) or more likely, "Do not speak the name of YHWH your god, to that which is false," i.e., do not identify YHWH with any other god.

The true pronunciation of the name YHWH was never lost. Several early Greek writers of the Christian Church testify that the name was pronounced "Yahweh." This is confirmed, at least for the vowel of the first syllable of the name, by the shorter form Yah, which is sometimes used in poetry (e.g., Ex. 15:2) and the *-yahu* or *-yah* that serves as the final syllable in very many Hebrew names. In the opinion of many scholars, YHWH is a verbal form of the root *hwh*, which is an older variant of the root *hyh* "to be." The vowel of the first syllable shows that the verb is used in the form of a future-present causative *hiphʿil*, and must therefore mean "He causes to be, He brings into existence." The explanation of the name as given in Exodus 3:14, *Eheyeh-Asher-Eheyeh*, "I-Am-Who-I-Am," offers a folk etymology, common in biblical explanation of names, rather than a strictly scientific one. Like many other Hebrew names in the Bible, the name Yahweh is no doubt a shortened form of what was originally a longer name. It has been suggested that the original, full form of the name was something like *Yahweh-Asher-Yihweh*, "He brings into existence whatever exists"; or *Yahweh Ẓevaʾot* (I Sam. 1:3, 11), which really means "He brings the hosts [of heaven – or of Israel?] into existence." "The Lord of Hosts," the traditional translation of the latter name, is doubtful.

According to the documentary hypothesis, the literary sources in the Pentateuch known as the Elohist and the Priestly Document never use the name Yahweh for God until it is revealed to Moses (Ex. 3:13; 6:2–3); but the Yahwist source uses it from Genesis 2:4 on and puts the name in Eve's declaration, "I along with Yahweh have made a man," thus implying that it was known to the first human generation (Gen. 4:1; cf. 4:26). The apparent purpose of Exodus 6:2–3 is to glorify Moses at the expense of the patriarchal traditions.

Divine Epithets

Besides the above-mentioned divine names, the god of Israel is also given several epithets or appellatives that are descriptive of His nature. Yahweh shares several of these epithets with other ancient divinities. Only a few of these can be mentioned here.

Israel's god is "Creator of heaven and earth" (Gen. 14:19, 22). He is also called "the Creator of Israel (Isa. 43:15 – unless this is to be emended to "the Mighty One of Israel; cf. Isa. 1:24); for His creative activity was regarded, not only as His initial bringing of the world into existence, but also as His continuous governing of the world (Isa. 29:16; 45:9; 64:7; Jer. 27:5; 31:35–36). Like some of his Canaanite and Phoenician contemporaries He is called "the Holy One" (Isa. 40:25; Hab. 3:3); Yahweh is specifically, "the Holy One of Israel" (e.g., Isa. 1:4; 5:19, 24). In common with numerous Mesopotamian gods, Yahweh is called "Shepherd." He cares for his flock as loving care for "the Shepherd of Israel" (Ps. 80:2; cf. 28:9; Hos. 4:16). Another common title that YHWH shares with Mesopotamian gods is "the Mountain" (e.g., Deut. 32:4, 18, 31, 37; I Sam. 2:2; II Sam. 22:32 (= Ps. 18:32); Isa. 44:8), thus emphasizing Yahweh's enduring power and the place where one finds refuge. The God of Israel is very often spoken of or addressed as "King" or "King of Israel," thus describing His sovereign rule over His Chosen People, to give them peace, happiness, and salvation (e.g., Isa. 41:2; 44:6; 52:7). The so-called "Enthronement Psalms of YHWH" (Ps. 47; 93; 96–99) emphasize the Lord's kingship over Israel. Prophetic oracles are proclaimed as pronouncements made by His Royal Majesty (Jer. 46:18; 48:15;

51:57). Although before the time of Saul, Israel generally rejected the idea of human kingship as an encroachment on the Lord's sole rule over Israel (I Sam. 8:7; 12:12), at a later period the Chronicler did not hesitate to speak of the Davidic kings as the Lord's representatives seated on the royal "throne of YHWH" (e.g., I Chron. 17:14; 28:5; 29:23). Not only the nation, but also individual Israelites addressed the Lord as "King" (Ps. 5:3; 44:5; 84:4). It is disputed whether the term "King" was used of YHWH before the monarchical period in Israel. This title for YHWH is rare in the Pentateuch (Ex. 15:18; Num. 23:21; Deut. 33:5). Gideon, in refusing to "rule over" Israel, does not speak of YHWH as the king of Israel but says, "It is YHWH who is to rule over you" (Judg. 8:22–23). The term "King" is not mentioned in this passage. The phrase "Ancient of days," which is employed as an epithet of God in modern times, is biblical in origin (Dan. 7:9, 13, 22). A careful reading of these passages shows that "Ancient of Days" was yet an epithet of Yahweh. For the use of the names of God as a basis for the documentary hypothesis see *Bible, cols. 906–7.

Apocrypha

In the Apocrypha, as in the Hebrew Bible, the most common names are "God" (Gr. *Theos*; in Ben Sira usually *ʾElohim* but sometimes *ʾEl*), "Lord" (Gr. *Kyrios*, which no doubt generally stands for *ʾAdonai*; but Ben Sira commonly has *YHWH*, represented by three *yods* in the medieval mss.), "the Most High" (Gr. *ho Hypsistos*, probably for Heb. *ʿElyon*, but perhaps at times for *Ha-Gavoha* as in the Talmud), "the Lord Almighty" (Gr. *Kyrios Pantokrator* for Heb. *YHWH Ẓevaʾot*) or simply "the Almighty" (Gr. *ho Pantokratōr* for Heb. *Ẓevaʾot* alone), "the Eternal One" (Gr. *ho Aionios* (I Bar. 4:20, 22, 24, etc.) for Heb. *ʾEl ʿOlam*), etc.

Among the terms used for God that are more or less peculiar to the Apocrypha are "the God of Truth" (I Esd. 4:40); "the Living God of Majesty" (Add. Esth. 16:16; cf. Talmudic Heb. *Ha-Gevurah*); "King of Gods and Ruler of every power" (Add. Esth. 14:12); "Sovereign Lord" (Lat. *Dominator Dominus*; IV Ezra 6:11); "Creator of all" (Heb. *Yoẓer ha-Kol*; Ecclus. 24:8; 51:12); and such terms as "the Praiseworthy God" (*El ha-Tishbaḥot*), "Guardian of Israel" (*Shomer Yisrael*), "Shield of Abraham" (*Magen Avraham*), "Rock of Isaac" (*Ẓur Yiẓḥaq*), and "King over the king of kings" (*Melekh Malkhei ha-Melakhim*), which are found in that passage of Ben Sira, inserted after 51:12 in the Greek, that has been preserved only in Hebrew.

An interesting passage occurs in IV Ezra 7:62 (132)–70 (140), where, based on Exodus 34:6–7, the author of this book lists seven names of the Most High: "I know that the Most High is called 'the Compassionate One,' because He has compassion on those who have not yet come into the world; and 'the Merciful One,' because He has mercy on those who repent and live by His law; and 'the Patient One,' because He is patient toward those who have sinned, since they are His creatures; and 'the Bountiful One,' because He would rather give than take away; and 'the One Rich in Forgiveness,' because again and again He forgives sinners, past, present, and to come, since without His continued forgiveness there would be no hope of life for the world and its inhabitants; and 'the Generous One,' because without His generosity in releasing sinners from their sins not one ten-thousandth part of mankind could have life; and 'the Judge,' because if He did not grant pardon to those who have been created by His word by blotting out their countless offenses there would probably be only a very few left of the entire human race."

The earliest occurrences (except for Dan. 4:23: "It is Heaven that rules") of the substitution of the word "Heaven" (God's abode) for "God" (Himself) are found in the Apocrypha: "In the sight of Heaven" (I Macc. 3:18), "Let us cry to Heaven" (I Macc. 4:10), "They were singing hymns and glorifying Heaven" (I Macc. 4:24), "All the people… adored and praised Heaven" (I Macc. 4:55), "With the help of Heaven" (I Macc. 12:15), and "From Heaven I received these [sons]" (II Macc. 7:11). In the Christian Gospels this usage is especially common in the Judeo-Christian Gospel of Matthew, where, e.g., "the kingdom of Heaven" corresponds to "the kingdom of God" in the parallel passages of Mark and Luke (Matt. 3:2 = Mark 1:15; Matt. 5:3 = Luke 6:20; et al.), but also in Luke 15:18, 21: "I have sinned against Heaven." This usage still persists in such modern English expressions as "Heaven help us!"

[Louis F. Hartman / S. David Sperling (2nd ed.)]

In the Talmud

The subject of the names of God in the Talmud must be considered under two heads, the prohibition of using the biblical divine names, and the additional names evolved by the rabbis.

The Prohibition of Use of the Names of God

The prohibition applies both to the pronunciation of the name of God and its committal to writing, apart from its use in sacred writings. The prohibition against the pronunciation of the name of God applies only to the Tetragrammaton, which could be pronounced by the high priest only once a year on the Day of Atonement in the Holy of Holies (cf. Mishnah Yoma 6:2), and in the Temple by the priests when they recited the Priestly Blessing (Sot. 7:6; see also Ch. Albeck (ed.), *Seder Nashim* (1954), 387). As the Talmud expresses it: "Not as I am written am I pronounced. I am written *yod he vav he*, and I am pronounced *alef dalet" (nun yod*, i.e., *ʾAdonai*; Kid. 71a). The prohibition of committing the names of God to secular writing belongs to a different category. Basing themselves on Deuteronomy 12:4, the *Sifrei* (ad loc.) and the Talmud (Shev. 35a) lay it down that it is forbidden to erase the name of God from a written document, and since any paper upon which that name appears might be discarded and thus "erased," it is forbidden to write the name explicitly. The Talmud gives an interesting historical note with regard to one aspect of this. Among the decrees of the Syrians during the persecutions of *Antiochus Epiphanes was one forbidding the mention of the name of God. When the *Hasmoneans gained the victory they not only naturally repealed the decree, but demonstratively ordained that the divine name be entered even in monetary bonds, the opening formula being "In such and such a year of Johanan, high priest to the Most High God." The rabbis, however, forbade this practice since "tomorrow a man will pay his debt and the bond (with the name of God) will be discarded on a dunghill"; the day of the prohibition was actually made an annual festival (RH 18b).

It is, however, specifically stated that this prohibition refers only to seven biblical names of God. They are *ʾEl, ʾElohim* (also with suffixes), "I am that I am" (Ex. 3:14), *ʾAdonai*, the Tetragrammaton, *Shaddai*, and *Ẓevaʾot* (R. Yose disagrees with this last, Shev. 35a–b). The passage states explicitly that all other names and descriptions of God by attributes may be written freely. Despite this, it became the accepted custom among Orthodox Jews to use variations of most of those names in speech, particularly *ʾElokim* for *ʾElohim*, and *Ha-Shem* ("the Name"; and, for reasons of assonance, *ʾAdoshem*) for Adonai. The adoption of *Ha-Shem* is probably due to a misunderstanding of a passage in the liturgy of the Day of Atonement, the *Avodah*. It includes the formula of the confession of the high priest on that day. Since on that occasion he uttered the Ineffable Name, the text has "Oh, *Ha-Shem*, I have sinned," etc. The meaning is probably "O [here he mentioned the Ineffable Name] I have sinned," and from this developed the custom of using *Ha-Shem* for *ʾAdonai*, which is in itself a substitute for the Tetragrammaton (see also Allon, Meḥkarim, 1 (1957), 194ff.; S. Lieberman, *Tosefta ki-Feshutah (Moʿed)*, 4 (1962), 755).

*Shabbetai b. Meir ha-Kohen (first half 17th century) states emphatically that the prohibition of erasure of the divine name applies only to the names in Hebrew but not the vernacular (*Siftei Kohen* to Sh. Ar., YD 179:8; cf. *Pitḥei Teshuvah* to YD 276:9), and this is repeated as late as the 19th century by R. Akiva Eger (novellae, ad loc.). Jehiel Michael Epstein, however, in his *Arukh ha-Shulḥan* (ḤM 27:3) inveighs vehemently against the practice of writing the Divine Name even in vernacular in correspondence, calling it an "exceedingly grave offense." As a result the custom has become widespread among extremely particular Jews not to write the word God or any other name of God, even in the vernacular, in full.

Rabbinical Names of God

The rabbis evolved a number of additional names of God. All of them, without exception, are references to His attributes, but curiously enough they are not included in the list of the permitted names enumerated in the passage in *Shevuʾot*: "the Great, the Mighty, the Revered, the Majestic," etc. (35a–b). The most common is *Ha-Kadosh barukh Hu* ("the Holy One, blessed be He"; in Aramaic, *Kudsha berikh Hu*). It is an abbreviation of "the Supreme King of kings, the Holy One blessed be He." The full formula is found in the Mishnah (e.g., Sanh. 4:5; Avot 3:1), but more often the abbreviation is found (e.g., Ned. 3:11; Sot. 5:5; Avot 3:2; 5:4; and Uk. 3:12); it is by far the most common appellation of God in the Midrash. Another name is *Ribbono shel Olam* ("Sovereign of the Universe"), normally used as an introduction to a supplication, as in the prayer of *Onias ha-Meʾaggel for rain (Taʾan. 3:8). One of the most interesting names is *Ha-Makom* (lit. "the place," i.e., the Omnipresent; Av. Zar. 40b; Nid. 49b; Ber. 16b), and it is explained in the Midrash: "R. Huna in the name of R. Ammi said, 'Why do we use a circumlocution for the name of the Holy One, blessed be He, and call him *Makom?* Because He is the place of His world, but this world is not His [only] place'"(Gen. R. 68:49). The name *Ha-Raḥaman* ("the All-Merciful") is commonly used in the liturgy, particularly in the *Grace after Meals. In the Talmud, the Aramaic form, *Raḥmana*, is also found (Git. 17a; Ket. 45a), as it is in several prayers from the geonic period. So also *Shamayim* ("heaven") as in *Yirat Shamayim* ("Fear of God"; Ber. 16b), however *Avinu she-ba-Shamayim* ("Our Father in Heaven"; Yoma 8:9) is also used. According to the Talmud (Shab. 10b) *Shalom* ("Peace") is also one of the names of God, as is the word *Ani* ("I") in Mishnah *Sukkah* 4:5, and in Hillel's statement (Suk. 53a) "If *Ani* is here, all is here," it is given the same connotation.

Reference is made to a "Name of 12 letters" and a "Name of 42 letters" (Ked. 71a). Of the former, it is stated that "it used to be entrusted to everyone, but when unruly men increased, it was confided only to the pious of the priesthood and they used to pronounce it indistinctly ("swallowed it") while their priestly brethren were chanting the benediction." R. Tarfon, who was a kohen, states that he once heard the high priest thus muttering it. Similarly the 42-lettered Name is entrusted only to those of exceptionally high moral character. Rashi (ad loc.) states that these names have been lost. According to the kabbalists the prayer *Anna be-Khoʾaḥ*, found in the prayer book, and consisting of 42 words, is connected with this latter name. Finally it should be mentioned that to the rabbis it is definite that the Tetragrammaton denotes God in His attribute of mercy and *ʾElohim* (which in fact means a "judge" (cf. Ex. 22:8, 27)) denotes Him in His attribute of justice.

[Louis Isaac Rabinowitz]

In Kabbalah

The names of God play different roles in the kabbalistic literature. According to a magical tradition adopted by *Naḥmanides, there is a reading of the Torah as a continuum of divine names. Though he asserted that this reading is lost, other kabbalists, especially the ecstatic ones, adopted this theory in order to interpret the biblical verses as combinations of divine names. Following some discussions found in *Ḥasidei Ashkenaz, in this kabbalistic school, the divine names, the Tetragrammaton, and the name of 72 letters, serve as a vital part of the mystical technique. According to the theosophical-theurgical kabbalists, the various divine names point to each of the divine powers, or *sefirot*, and they serve both as symbols for those powers and instruments to unify them. In a few cases, kabbalists assume that in the Bible there is no name that points to the highest divine realm. In practical Kabbalah, recipes based on divine names, imagined to achieve a variety of magical acts, abound.

[Moshe Idel (2nd ed.)]

In Medieval Jewish Philosophy

The multiple names of God in the Bible posed a special problem for medieval Jewish philosophers. Concerned to defend and explicate God's absolute unity, they found it necessary to treat the divine names in a way that eliminates any suggestion of plurality in God's being. They either reduced the multiple names to a single common meaning or showed that, among the numerous names, one alone was the proper and exclusive name of God. *Saadiah Gaon held that the two most widely used scriptural names, YHWH and *ʾElohim*, have a single meaning. This is in marked contrast to the above-mentioned teaching that one name stands for God's attribute of mercy and the other for His attribute of justice.

*Judah Halevi, Abraham *Ibn Daud, *Maimonides, and Joseph *Albo all emphasized the Tetragrammaton as the only proper name of God. Judah Halevi held that all the other names "are predicates and attributive descriptions, derived from the way His creatures are affected by His decrees and measures" (*Kuzari*, 2:2; 4:1–3).

Maimonides declared that, except for YHWH, "All the names of God that are to be found in any of the books derive from actions" (*Guide of the Perplexed*, 1:61–64), but only the Tetragrammaton "gives a clear and unequivocal indication of His essence," a view which is shared by Albo (*Sefer ha-Ikkarim*, 2:28). For Halevi the meaning of YHWH is hidden, and for Ibn Daud it refers to God as master of the universe. The philosophers identified God as creator, first cause, first mover, first being, or necessary existence, but none of these technical philosophic terms can be considered names of God.

In Modern Jewish Philosophy

From Moses *Mendelssohn through Martin *Buber, modern Jewish philosophy exhibits two main tendencies with respect to the names of God. One line, moving from Mendelssohn through such thinkers as Solomon *Formstecher, Samuel *Hirsh, Nachman *Krochmal, and Hermann *Cohen, treats the names of God as primarily metaphysical. In his German translation of the Bible, Mendelssohn renders YHWH as "the Eternal"; Formstecher speaks of God as the "World-Soul"; and Krochmal conceives Him as "Absolute Spirit." In his extensive discussion of the traditional divine names, Cohen interprets all of them as pointing to God's unity and His uniqueness. YHWH refers to God as absolute Being; *Ehyeh-asher-ehyeh* (Ex. 3:14) relates to His eternal and unchanging nature; and **Shekhinah*, translated by Cohen as "Absolute Rest," refers to the unchanging divine nature.

In contrast, Franz *Rosenzweig and Martin Buber view the names as primarily religious and personalistic. In their translation of the Bible, they render YHWH by the personal pronouns YOU or HE. *Ehyeh* names the God who is always present to man and constantly participates in human concerns. Thus, Buber interprets Exodus 3:14 as saying, "I again and again stand by those whom I befriend; and I would have you know indeed that I befriend you." They consider the philosophic interpretation of the names as seriously inadequate in its failure to grasp the personal-religious reality which is fundamental to Judaism. Turning in a radically different direction, Mordecai *Kaplan developed a purely naturalistic conception of God. He refers to Him as "The Power that makes for salvation" and interprets this as "The Power that makes for the fulfillment of all valid ideals."

[Marvin Fox]

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GODAL, ERIC (1898–1969), German cartoonist. Born in Berlin, Godal began drawing topical illustrations and cartoons for Acht Uhr Abendblatt when in his twenties. He drew some of the first cartoons of Hitler and his stormtroopers, and when the Nazis seized power in 1933 escaped from Berlin when the men sent to arrest him surrounded the wrong house. Godal went to Prague, where he worked for the anti-Nazi daily *Prager Mittag* and for the satirical weekly *Der Simplicus* which had been founded as an answer to the famous weekly *Simplicissimus* of Munich, which had by then accepted the Nazi line. Godal reached the U.S. before World War II and contributed to various papers there. He returned to Germany in 1954 and worked for the *Hamburger Abendblatt* and the woman's magazine *Constanze*. Together with Rolf Italiaander he published the book *Teenagers* in 1958, combining essays and illustrations which attempted to explain the feelings of the first generation born after World War II. Godal visited Israel in 1968 to write a series of illustrated articles. His memoirs, *Kein Talent zum Tellerwaescher*, were published in 1969.

GODDARD, PAULETTE (**Pauline Marion Levy;** 1911–1990), U.S. film actress. Born in Long Island, New York, Goddard was the only child of a Mormon mother and a Jewish father. She began her public career as a child model at a local department store and debuted in the Ziegfeld Follies at age 13. She went to Hollywood in 1931, where she had bit parts in several films. In 1932 she appeared as one of the 20 original chorus girls, known as the "Goldwyn Girls," in the Eddie Cantor film *The Kid from Spain*, along with such young starlets as Lucille Ball, Betty Grable, and Jane Wyman. That year, Charlie Chaplin chose her to star opposite him as the waif in *Modern Times* (1936). They were subsequently secretly married, but by 1940 the couple split up and they were divorced in 1942. In 1939 her performance in the films *The Women* and *The Cat and the Canary* landed her a 10-year contract with Paramount, and she rose to become one of the studio's top film stars during the 1940s. She starred once again with Chaplin in his first talking film, *The Great Dictator* (1940). In 1944 she married actor-director Burgess Meredith (they divorced in 1950). They produced and starred in *Diary of a Chambermaid* (1946). Among Goddard's other films were *The Ghost Breakers* (1940); *Northwest Mounted Police* (1940*); Second Chorus* (1940); *Pot o' Gold* (1941); *Hold Back the Dawn* (1941); *Nothing but the Truth* (1941); *The Lady Has Plans* (1942); *Reap the Wild Wind* (1942); *The Forest Rangers* (1942); *So Proudly We Hail* (1943), for which she was nominated for a Best Supporting Actress Oscar; *The Crystal Ball* (1943); *Standing Room Only* (1944); *I Love a Soldier* (1944); *Kitty* (1945); *Suddenly It's Spring* (1947); *Unconquered* (1947); *An Ideal Husband* (1947); *On Our Merry Way* (1948); *Hazard* (1948); *Bride of Vengeance* (1949); *Anna Lucasta* (1949); *Charge of the Lancers* (1954); and *The Unholy Four* (1954).

Goddard left the film industry in the mid-1950s and moved to Europe, where, in 1958, she married novelist Erich Maria Remarque. She made her last film appearance in 1964 in *Time of Indifference* and in 1972 performed in the TV movie *The Snoop Sisters*. Upon her death, she bequeathed a large amount of money to the Hebrew University and to New York University.

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[Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

GODEFROI, MICHAEL HENRI (1813–1882), Dutch lawyer and statesman, who was the first Jew to hold a cabinet post in Holland and the first Jewish member of the Second Chamber of Parliament. Born into an emancipated Jewish family in Amsterdam, Godefroi became a judge of the Provincial Court of North Holland in 1846 and in 1849 entered the Second Chamber of the Dutch Parliament where he remained until 1881. He became minister of justice from 1860 to 1862 after having rejected earlier offers to become a minister, and drafted a new legal code on the Council of State. Through his sister he was connected to the *Asser family. Godefroi was active in Jewish affairs as a member of the Hoofdcommissie tot de Zaken der Israëlieten from 1844 to 1860, serving as its chairman from 1854. In 1857 he induced the Dutch government to defer its trade agreement with Switzerland until that country granted equal rights to her Jews. Likewise, in 1876 he successfully opposed the ratification of the Dutch-Romanian commercial agreement because of Romania's persecution of Jews.

[Henriette Boas / Bart Wallet (2nd ed.)]

GODIK, GIORA (1918–1977), Israeli impressario. Born in Warsaw, Godik reached Palestine during World War II, and later established himself as manager of soloists from abroad. He presented *West Side Story* performed by an American company, and then started production of musicals in Hebrew. *My Fair Lady* was a financial success in 1964, and was surpassed two years later by *Fiddler on the Roof.* Godik then promoted musicals written in Israel with less financial success; in 1967 he presented *Casablan*. In 1972 he moved to West Germany.

GODINER, SAMUEL NISSAN (**Shmuel Nisn**; 1893–1942), Soviet Yiddish poet. Born in Telchan, Belorussia, Godiner moved to Warsaw as a teenager, became active in the Russian Social Revolutionary movement, was recruited into the Russian army in 1912, and was wounded in battle two years later. In 1918, he was taken prisoner by the Austrian army but escaped and rejoined the Russian army. From 1921 to 1923 he attended a Soviet literary institute in Moscow. His first short stories, published after 1921, dealt with the Russian civil war and employed the impressionistic symbolic style of the Kiev novelists Dovid *Bergelson and *Der Nister. His later short stories followed the requirements of socialist realism. Godiner's most popular novel was *Der Mentsh mit der Biks* ("The Man with the Rifle," 2 vols., 1928). He translated Russian novels into Yiddish and wrote a drama *Dzhim Kuperkop* ("Jim Coopercop," 1930). Godiner traveled to Birobidzhan several times and helped found Jewish schools and libraries there. In June, 1941, when the Germans invaded Russia, he left Moscow to fight with the partisans and died in battle. His short novel, *Zaveler Trakt* ("Blocked Highway," 1938), was reprinted posthumously in New York in 1950.

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[Sol Liptzin / Marc Miller (2nd ed.)]

GODÍNEZ, FELIPE (c. 1585–c. 1639), Spanish playwright. Born in Moguer, Godínez became famous as a preacher in Seville. Jewish sympathies remained strong in his "New Christian" family: one of his grandparents was penanced by the Inquisition and an uncle fled to North Africa, where he reverted to Judaism. Old Testament themes inspired a number of Godínez' plays – *El divino Isaac, Las lágrimas de David, Amán y Mardoqueo o la reina Esther, Los trabajos de Job*, and *Judit y Holofernes*. Of these, *Los trabajos de Job* is memorable for its pathetic evocation of the trials of its hero. Godínez also wrote works on the lives of Christian saints, as well as some comedies of intrigue typical of the period, notably *Aun de noche alumbra* *el sol*. The biblical works are considered his best. Godínez was arrested by the Inquisition and in November 1624 appeared at an auto-de-fé – one of the very few dramatists of the Spanish Golden Age to appear at an auto-de-fé in person. His property was confiscated, and he was deprived of his ecclesiastical offices and imprisoned for two years. After his release he moved to Madrid, where he was accepted in literary circles, although writers like Lope de Vega (1562–1635) satirized him because of his Jewish origin. Godínez nevertheless agreed to deliver Lope de Vega's funeral oration.

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[Kenneth R. Scholberg]

GODOWSKY, LEOPOLD (1870–1983), pianist. Born in Soshly near Vilna, he was a child prodigy and early embarked on a widely acclaimed international concert career. His enquiries into the fundamentals of pianistic technique led him to the composition of etudes and pieces for both the elementary and virtuoso level, with special attention to left-hand technique. He also edited some of the standard etude works.

His son, also called LEOPOLD GODOWSKY (1900–1983), was a U.S. violinist and co-inventor, with Leopold *Mannes, of the Kodachrome color process. Though photography was only Godowsky's hobby, he was best known for his pioneering work in the development of color film. He was born in Chicago, but spent much of his youth in Berlin and in Vienna, where his father held prominent positions for several years. Godowsky met Leopold Mannes in a school in Connecticut when they were both 16 years old. While still at school, they began experimenting to find a successful method of producing color film. They built a camera with three lenses and three filters, one for each primary color, and superimposed them on a single plate. Eventually, they produced a double-layered plate on which part of the spectrum could be photographed. Working at the Eastman Kodak laboratories in Rochester, N.Y., they succeeded by 1935 in developing three-color motion-picture film, and soon after followed with the process for stills. In 1938 they initiated research for Kodacolor, Ektacolor, and Ektachrome film and in 1939 they left Rochester. Godowsky built his own laboratory on his estate in Connecticut for further experiments. In addition, Godowsky was the first violinist of the San Francisco Symphony Orchestra and played in the Los Angeles Philharmonic.

°GOEBBELS, PAUL JOSEF (1897–1945), Nazi leader and propaganda minister. Exempted from military service during World War I because of his clubfoot, Goebbels received a Ph.D. in literature and history in 1920. After some political searching, he made several unsuccessful attempts to write for liberal papers, most of which happened to be owned by Jews. He joined the Nazi Party in 1922. He never forgot his failure with liberal newspapers. After some soul-searching, Goebbels resolutely backed Hitler in the party's factional intrigues. In 1926 he was appointed *Gauleiter* ("district head") of Berlin, where he succeeded in building a strong party organization out of insignificant beginnings. The Nazi success at the polls in the early 1930s was due to a considerable extent to the propagandist genius of Goebbels, who had become chief of the party's propaganda department at the beginning of 1929. Appointed minister for people's information and propaganda after the Nazi accession to power, he became virtual dictator of Germany's communications media and artistic life. Goebbels' Manichean philosophy of a charismatic hero-leader opposed by powers of darkness (the latter personified by the Jew) was reflected in his propaganda. He was one of the instigators of the anti-Jewish boycott of April 1, 1933, and of **Kristallnacht* (1938), organizing the latter in Berlin and participating in the Nazi conference dealing with the aftermath of the pogrom, in which heavy sanctions were imposed on the Jews. Continually demanding new oppressive measures against the Jews, he was among the initiators of the *Final Solution (see *Holocaust, General Survey), doing his best to incite the killers by various propaganda methods. As *Gauleiter* of Berlin he strove to make it *judenrein*, i.e., "cleanse" it of its Jewish population. Goebbels stayed with Hitler to the end, killing himself and his family after Hitler's suicide.

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[Yehuda Reshef]

°GOERING, HERMANN WILHELM (1893–1946), Nazi leader. A fighter pilot during World War I, Goering was awarded the highest military decoration ("Pour le Mérite"). In 1922 he joined the Nazi Party, becoming the first leader of its storm troops (SA). He was at Hitler's side during the Munich putsch of Nov. 9, 1923, and suffered a thigh wound, which caused his life-long drug addiction. He stood by Hitler through all the party's vicissitudes, boasting of being his leader's most faithful paladin. He participated in the intrigues that brought the Nazis to power and was appointed Hitler's minister of air transport and Prussian prime minister. In the latter capacity he formed the *Gestapo. Goering created the Nazi Air Force (Luftwaffe) and planned its strategies; he was as much responsible for its initial successes as for its later failures. In 1936 he was appointed "Plenipotentiary for the Four-Year Plan" to prepare Germany economically for war. Goering decided to use the property of German Jewry for financing Germany's rearmament, and he utilized his office to organize its expropriation. In the spring of 1938 he promulgated a set of orders obliging German Jewry, which by then included the Jews of Austria, to declare and register their property. The *Kristallnacht in 1938 gave him the opportunity to realize his plans and set his "aryanization" into action to expropriate Jewish businesses and property. On Nov. 12, 1938, Goering convened a conference of Nazi officials and experts, including Josef *Goebbels and Reinhard *Heydrich. The conference decided to impose a fine of a billion marks on Germany's Jews to expiate the murder of vom Rath. Furthermore, all Jewish property was to be taken over by the Reich and the owners indemnified with government low-interest bonds at a price lower than the real value. Goering's expropriation methods later served as a pattern for looting Jewish property in the countries occupied during World War II. Continuing the policy set by the November Conference, on Jan. 24, 1939, Goering appointed Heydrich head of the newly formed central organization for Jewish emigration, the "Zentralstelle fuer juedische Auswanderung." At the start of World War II, Goering was appointed Hitler's successor. He organized the plunder of the occupied countries, especially the Soviet Union. He collaborated with Alfred *Rosenberg in confiscating Jewish collections of art and used the loot to enlarge his own private collection. On July 31, 1941, Goering charged Heydrich with the implementation of Hitler's decision on the "Final Solution" (see *Holocaust, General Survey). He sent a representative to attend the *Wannsee Conference. He was involved in every phase of the destruction of European Jews and knew their fate. He was a fanatical antisemite (see his remarks at the Nov. 12, 1938 conference), but according to some authorities he saved individual Jews, at least before the start of the destruction process. With the decline of Germany's fortunes, Goering's influence waned. The failures of his Luftwaffe and his indolence and corruption made Hitler lose faith in him. Before committing suicide, Hitler stripped him of all his offices and had him arrested. Goering was condemned to death by the Nuremberg International Military Tribunal as a major war criminal, specific reference being made to his decisive role in the extermination of the Jews. He poisoned himself before the execution could take place.

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[Yehuda Reshef]

GOERITZ, MATHIAS (1915.–1990), Mexican artist and architect. Born in Danzig, Germany, the grandson of a painter, Goeritz studied in Berlin. Art historian in the National Gallery of Art in Berlin, he was forced to leave Germany in 1941 by the Nazis. He lived two years in Spain and in 1949 went to the University of Guadalajara, Mexico, where he helped construct a museum and later executed the plan for two 195 feet (60 meters) high towers on the north highway to Mexico City. He was interested in religious motives and liturgical art. He also took part in the design of the Magen David Synagogue of Mexico City.

GOERLITZ, town in Silesia, Germany. The earliest extant sources attest to the presence of a Jewish community at the beginning of the 14th century but it was probably even older. It is known that there was a *Judengasse* on which both Jews and non-Jews were living in 1307. The cemetery dates from 1325, and the community owned a bathhouse and a synagogue as well. In this period the only occupation pursued by Jews which is attested in the sources was that of moneylending. The persecutions in the wake of the *Black Death brought the community to an end in 1349, but it was reestablished in 1364. After their expulsion in 1389, Jews were permitted to stay in Goerlitz only to participate in trade fairs.

Shortly before 1849 a new community was founded. A cemetery was acquired in 1850; the first synagogue was consecrated in 1870 and the second in 1911; the latter was destroyed in 1938. In 1880 there were 643 Jews in Goerlitz. In 1932, even before the Nazi regime, ritual slaughter was prohibited in Goerlitz. Separate areas for Jewish merchants were set up in the marketplace on Aug. 30, 1935. The number of Jews decreased rapidly, from 600 in 1931 to 376 in 1933 and 134 in 1939. The remnants of the community were wiped out during World War II.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: FJW, 98–99; Germ Jud, 1 (1963), 504; 2 (1968), 282–3; Neubauer, Cat, no. 194.

[Bernhard Brilling]

°**GOETHE, JOHANN WOLFGANG VON** (1749–1832), German writer. As a boy, Goethe acquired a thorough knowledge of *Luther's translation of the Bible, which left its mark on his conversation, letters, and literary work. Among his youthful projects were a "biblical, prose-epic poem" *Joseph* and several dramatic pieces on biblical subjects (*Isabel, Ruth, Selima, Der Thronfolger Pharaos*), none of which has been passed on to us; only fragments of the tragedy *Belsazar*, written in alexandrine verse, have survived. Goethe also mentions, among "youthful sins" which he condemned to the fire, a work inspired by the history of Samson. His notebooks show him wrestling with the Hebrew alphabet and with the Judeo-German dialect (*Judendeutsch*) which he heard on visits to the *Judengasse* of his native Frankfurt. He records how, on one such occasion, when part of the ghetto burned down, he helped to quench the flames while other youngsters jeered at the hapless Jews. Goethe even planned a novel in which seven brothers and sisters were to correspond in seven languages, including *Judendeutsch*; a surviving *Judenpredigt* written in that dialect has been dated on 1768. In 1771 he reviewed Isachar Falkensohn *Behr's *Gedichte eines polnischen Juden*. He thought very highly of the poetic quality of the Hebrew bible; his own translation of the Song of Songs (1775) proves his knowledge of the original text.

Goethe's *Faust* has almost 200 passages containing biblical parallels, beginning with the "Prologue in Heaven," for which the first chapters of Job served as a model, and ending with the final scene of Faust's death, which was inspired by the biblical and talmudic accounts of the death of Moses. In the explanatory prose parts of his late collection of poems *West-östlicher Divan* he integrated an extensive study on *Israel in der Wüste*, which deals with the role of Moses and the Israelite people.

After he moved to Weimar in 1775, Goethe's social life brought him into contact with many Jewish and converted Jewish intellectuals and artists, including Heinrich *Heine, who did not impress him, and Felix Mendelssohn-Bartholdy, whom he loved. Goethe allowed the artist Moritz *Oppenheim to paint his portrait and to illustrate his poetic idyll *Hermann und Dorothea* (1798). He opposed legislation aimed at liberalizing the position of Jews in German society. In general, however, contemporary Judaism did not play a major role in his work. Goethe's many Jewish biographers include Albert Bielschowsky, Ludwig Geiger, Richard Moritz Meyer, Eduard Engel, Georg Simmel, Emil *Ludwig, Friedrich *Gundolf, Georg *Brandes, Richard Friedenthal and Hans Mayer.

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[Sol Liptzin / Anne Bohnenkamp-Renken (2nd ed.)]

GOETSCHEL, JULES (1908–1981), Swiss lawyer, educated in Basle and Paris, politician and communal leader. Under the impact of National Socialism Goetschel turned to the Social Democratic party and was elected member of the cantonal parliament of Basle-city (1949–68) and its president for 1967–68. In his inauguration speech he spoke of the long route of Basle Jews towards gaining social acceptance. He was active in the affairs of the Basle Jewish community, especially for the Jewish home for the aged, La Charmille.

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[Uri Kaufmann (2nd ed.)]

GOETTINGEN, city in Germany. Jews are first mentioned there in the 13th century. The community, composed of a dozen families, had a synagogue and paid 4½% of the city's taxes. It was destroyed in 1350 during the *Black Death persecutions, but in 1370 a charter giving protection to the Jews of the city was re-endorsed. In 1591 the Jews were expelled from Goettingen. Several resettled in the city at the end of the 17th century, and in 1718 Jews were given permission to acquire real property. In the university quarter their numbers were limited to three families. Some Hebrew printing took place in Goettingen. Abraham Jagel's *Lekaḥ Tov* was published there in 1742, and Hebrew type was also used in A.G. Wachner's *Antiquitates Hebraeorum* (1742–43). The community numbered 43 in 1833, 265 in 1871, 661 (1.75% of the total population) in 1910, 410 in 1933, and 173 in 1939. In 1859 there was appointed at Goettingen University the first Jew to become a professor in a German university, the mathematician Moritz Abraham *Stern. The university was noted for its biblical scholars, most of whom were champions of the documentary hypothesis, from J.G. *Eichhorn and G.H.A. *Ewald to Paul de *Lagarde and Julius *Wellhausen. When James *Franck, the Nobel prizewinner, resigned his chair in 1933, a number of professors demanded that he be tried for sabotage; six other Jewish professors were put on compulsory leave, among them the mathematicians Otto *Neugebauer and Richard *Courant, as well as Nikolaus *Pevsner, and Eugen *Caspary. The synagogue was burned down on Kristallnacht. In March and June 1942, 150 Jews were deported; including those who had sought refuge in other localities, 267 local Jews were murdered by the Nazis during the Holocaust. There were 26 Jews living in Goettingen in 1965, bolsterd in the 1990s by immigrants from the former Soviet Union.

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GOFFMAN, ERVING MANUAL (1922–1982), Canadian sociologist and ethnographer. The son of Ukrainian Jewish immigrants, Goffman was born in Mannville, Alberta, and raised in Dauphin, Manitoba, near Winnipeg. He was educated at the University of Manitoba, the University of Toronto (B.A., 1945) and the University of Chicago (M.A., 1949; Ph.D., 1953). He held academic appointments at the University of Chicago (1952–54), the National Institute of Mental Health, Bethesda, Maryland (1954–57), the University of California, Berkeley (1958–68; full professor, 1962); and the University of Pennsylvania, where he was the Benjamin Franklin Professor of Anthropology and Sociology from 1968 until his death from cancer in 1982.

Goffman practiced a form of sociology that he developed largely in opposition to the prevailing "value-free" quantitative methods in favor in the 1940s and 1950s. Using qualitative methods of subtle, sophisticated critical observation, he focused on personal interactions in public places and developed a system of classification and categorization of everyday behaviors, which he referred to as the "interaction order." He understood these behaviors in terms of a strategic "presentation of self," of "impression management" and interpersonal "dramaturgy." Though Goffman's work was immensely influential among sociologists, the quality of his writing as well as the ironies implicit in his portraits of people performing or representing their own identities made his work influential with a wider, more literary, audience outside academic sociology.

Goffman's first major book, and probably still his best known, was *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life* (1959), in which he set forth his basic insights and established the metaphorical language he was to use in all of his published work. *Asylums* (1961) was based on an ethnographic study he had conducted at St. Elizabeth's, a federal mental hospital in Washington, D.C., in 1955–57, under the sponsorship of the National Institute of Mental Health. Here he developed his ideas about the deforming effects on those caught in "total institutions" – not only the inmates but the managers as well. It is safe to say that these two books are among the most influential sociological publications of the post-World War II era. His other major publications, *Stigma* (1963), *Behavior in Public Places* (1963), *Strategic Interaction* (1969), *Relations in Public: Micro-Studies of the Public Order* (1971), *Frame Analysis: Essays on the Organization of Experience* (1974), *Gender Advertisements* (1979), and *Forms of Talk* (1981), extend and elaborate his observations and theory.

Goffman's interest in acting and game behaviors extended beyond his published work. He is said to have been an avid poker and blackjack player, and while at Berkeley in the 1960s he actually trained as a blackjack dealer and worked at a Las Vegas casino.

[Drew Silver (2nd ed.)]

GOFNAH (**Gufnah**, or **Bet Gufnin**; Heb. גָּפְנָה), town in N. Judea that is first mentioned in the Second Temple period. The Talmud refers to it as Bet Gufnin, a name derived from the Hebrew root *gefen* ("vine"). Gofnah replaced Timnah as the center of a toparchy in the time of Herod and continued to occupy this position in later times (Jos., Wars, 1:45; 3:55; Pliny, *Historia Naturalis*, 5:15, 30). In the middle of the first century B.C.E., the inhabitants of Gofnah were sold into slavery by the Roman general Cassius for failure to pay taxes, but they were freed shortly afterward by Antonius. The city was part of the area under the command of Hananiah b. Johanan in 66 C.E. during the Jewish War. Vespasian occupied it in 68 C.E., established a garrison there, and concentrated the priests and other important persons who had surrendered to him in the city (Jos., Wars, 6:115). Gofnah is also mentioned in the Talmud as a city of priests (Ber. 44a; TJ, Ta'an. 4:8, 69a). In the Middle Ages it continued to exist as Gafeniyyah. It is marked as a road station on the Peutinger Map; Eusebius places it 15 miles (24 km.) north of Jerusalem on the road to Neapolis (Onom. 168:16). Remains found there include a Jewish tomb with inscribed ossuaries, one of which mentions a Judah, son of Eleazar (in Aramaic); a Greek inscription, Salome daughter of Iakeimos, in a burial cave; a Roman villa; and a Byzantine church.

On the site of historical Gofnah there is now the Arab village of Jifnā, which in 1967 had 655 inhabitants, of which 538 were Christians and the rest Muslims (for the number of inhabitants in the 19th century, see Bagatti's figures). There were 961 residents in 1997. One of the folk legends about Jifna refers to the hill opposite the village called Jebel ed-Dik ("Mount of the Rooster"). Apparently a Jew from Jifna was in Jerusalem during the final days of Jesus. When he perceived that Jesus had risen from the dead, he immediately converted and when arriving back home told his wife what had happened. She replied that she could not believe it, unless the rooster she had just killed and half-plucked would come back to life. Suddenly the rooster revived and flew away to the mountain. Its Greek Orthodox church of St. George stands on medieval and Byzantine foundations. Another church may exist close to the village. Tombs, buildings, installations, and other remains are also visible in the vicinity.

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[Michael Avi-Yonah and Efraim Orni / Shimon Gibson (2nd ed.)]

GOG AND MAGOG (Heb. גּוֹג וּמָגוֹג). Gog and Magog are first mentioned together in Ezekiel 38–39 in the vision of the end of days, where the prophet describes the war of the Lord against "Gog, of the land of Magog, the chief prince of Meshech and Tubal." After the ingathering of Israel Gog will come up against Israel with many peoples from the furthest north to plunder it and carry away spoil. The Lord Himself will go to war against Gog and punish him "with pestilence, and with blood, and with overflowing rain," and His name will be magnified and sanctified in the eyes of many nations. Gog will die in the land of Israel and his place of burial will be called "the valley of *hamon Gog*" and for seven years the inhabitants of Israel will use the weapons of the enemy for fuel.

Since, in the list of the sons of Noah (Gen. 10:2), Magog is mentioned as the brother of Gomer and Madai, the most reasonable identification put forward is with Giges, also known as Gogo, king of Lydia, and Magog, with his country. That, however, does not affect in any way the symbolic nature of the name and the special character of Ezekiel's vision. Gog and his people are not historical enemies of Israel, like Babylonia and Assyria. They will attack simply out of a lust for violence and with the intention of destroying a peaceful kingdom. Indeed, other prophets prophesied about a people that would come up from the north to besiege Israel in the end of days, but Ezekiel, who prophesied after the destruction of the Temple, fixed the date of the last war after the ingathering of the exiles and the rebuilding of Jerusalem.

In the Septuagint the name Gog appears in two other places where it is not mentioned in the Hebrew text. In Numbers 24:7, Gog appears instead of Agag, and in Amos 7:1, the reading is "Gog," instead of *gizei* ("the mowings"). These variants indicate the antiquity of the connection between the war of Gog and the advent of the Messiah. Descriptions of the decisive, final war occupy an important place in the Apocrypha (En. 56:5; IV Ezra 13:5), but the names Gog and Magog appear only in the vision of the Hebrew Sibylline Oracles (3:319 and 512), and even there only as the name of a country between the rivers of Ethiopia, a country saturated with blood, for which a bitter fate is in store. In the *aggadah*, the names Gog and Magog were reserved for the enemy of Israel in the end of days, but the details are very different from those in Ezekiel. In Ezekiel, Gog is the king of Magog; in the *aggadah*, Gog and Magog are two parallel names for the same nation. Moses had already seen Gog and all his multitude coming up against Israel and falling in the valley of Jericho (Mekh. Be-Shalaḥ, 2), and Eldad and Medad prophesied concerning them (Sanh. 17a). The war of Gog and Magog is in essence a war against the Lord, and the whole of Psalm 2 is interpreted as referring to it (Av. Zar. 3b; Tanh. Noah 18; Pd-RK 79); God Himself will do battle with this enemy. The last of "the ten occasions of the Shekhinah's descent to the world" will be in the days of Gog and Magog (ARN^1, 34, 102). R. Akiva was of the opinion that the judgment of Gog would endure for 12 months (Eduy. 2:10). This judgment will bring great calamities upon Israel that will cause all previous calamities to fade into insignificance (Tosef., Ber. 1:13). Eliezer b. Hyrcanus connects it with the pangs of the Messiah and the great day of judgment (Mekh., Be-Shalaḥ 4: Shab. 118a). The war of Gog and Magog will be the final war, after which there will be no servitude, and it will presage the advent of the Messiah (Sif. Num. 76, Deut. 43; Sanh. 97b). In the Palestinian Targums the Messiah plays an active role in this war. Gog and Magog and their armies will go up to Jerusalem and fall into the hands of the Messianic king, but the ingathering of the exiles – contrary to what is said in Ezekiel – will come only after the victory (Targ. Yer., Num. 11:26; *ibid.*, Song 8:4). A kind of compromise is found in the Targum, namely, that the house of Israel will conquer Gog and his company through the assistance of Messiah the son of Ephraim (Targ. Yer., Ex. 40:11; cf. also Targ. Song 4:5). In the New Testament vision of John (Rev. 20), the war of Gog and Magog takes place at the end of a millennium after the first resurrection, and in *Sefer Eliyahu* ("Book of Elijah"; J. Kaufmann (Even Shemuel), ed.), *Midreshei Ge'ullah* (1954^2), 46) Gog and Magog come after the days of the Messiah but before the final day of judgment.

From the biblical sources and the tradition of the rabbis, the stories about Gog and Magog passed to the Church Fathers. At the time of the Gothic migrations it was customary to identify the Goths with Gog and Magog. An ancient Christian tradition also identified Gog and Magog with the barbarian peoples whom Alexander the Great locked away behind iron gates next to the Caspian Sea but who are destined to break forth in the end of days. During the Islamic conquests, Christians identified the Muslim armies with Gog and Magog.

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GOIIM (Heb. גּוֹיִם), name appearing in the Bible as "king of Goiim." Genesis 14:1, 9 mentions "Tidal king of Goiim," as one of the kings participating in a war during the time of Abraham. It has been suggested that Tidal is Tudḫaliya, the name of five Hittite kings (Heb. תִּדְעָל; Ugaritic transliteration Tidʿl, Ttʿl). Given the unhistorical character of Genesis 14, which lumps together names from different periods, it is probably futile to attempt to identify the biblical character with a specific Hittite Tudhaliya. Another possibility is that Tidal of Genesis 14 is borrowed from a Mesopotamian source opposed to Sennacherib king of Assyria (705–681), in which he was called Tudhula, "evil offspring" in Sumerian. This would be in keeping with the other midrashic names in the chapter already observed by medieval Jewish scholars, Bera, "in evil," and Birsha, "in wickedness." The word *goyim* is also used to indicate "nations" in general. There is an opinion that the connection between the two usages of the word *goyim* resembles that of *ummān-Manda* ("the horde, the armies of '*Manda*'"), an ancient term applied to various groups including the barbarian nation that helped the Babylonians destroy Harran in 610 B.C.E. Thus, there is reason to believe that the name Goiim in Hebrew corresponds to *ummān*, and simply means "nations," and is incomplete for "the nations of…," the actual name of Tidal's realm having been omitted in translation or lost in transmission. The usage in Joshua 12:23 is probably a corruption of Goiim to Gilgal (according to LXX), that is, the king Gilgal of Galilee instead of the king of Goiim of Gilgal (cf. Isa. 8:23).

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GOITEIN, BARUCH BENEDICT (c. 1770–1842), Hungarian rabbi and author. Goitein was born in the town of Kojetin, Moravia and studied in the yeshivah of Moses *Mintz in Budapest. He was appointed rabbi in Hőgyesz, in Hungary. Goitein's fame rests upon his *Kesef Nivḥar*, 3 parts, Prague, 1827–28; repr. of 2nd ed., 1966, an examination of, and commentary on, 160 talmudic themes. Although a product of the Hungarian method of study, the close approximation of his method with that customary in the Lithuanian yeshivot made his work very popular in talmudic circles. He resigned from his rabbinical office in 1841 and was succeeded the following year by his son ẒEVI HIRSCH (Hermann; 1805–1860) author of *Yedei Moshe* (1905) on the 613 commandments.

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[*Encyclopaedia Hebraica*]

GOITEIN, SHLOMO DOV (**Fritz**; 1900–1985), Orientalist. Descended from a Hungarian family of rabbis, Goitein was born in Burgkunstadt, a small village in southern Germany. He acquired an extensive Jewish education before his student years at the University of Frankfurt (1918–23). There he studied Arabic and Islam with the scholar Josef *Horovitz, while continuing his talmudic training. Upon completing his doctoral dissertation, he fulfilled his long-time Zionist ambition to live in Palestine. He immigrated there in 1923, and, like so many other European university-trained immigrants, taught for four years at the Reali School in Haifa. In 1928, three years after the founding of the Hebrew University, he joined the faculty of the Institute of Oriental Studies there. He was appointed professor in 1947 and continued to teach at the Hebrew University until 1957, when he became professor of Arabic at the University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, until his retirement in 1971. In the same year he became a long-term member of the School of Historical Studies at the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton, where he lived the remainder of his life.

From 1938–48 Goitein served the British Mandatory government in Palestine as senior education inspector. He maintained his early devotion to education in later years. In addition to his works in Arab and Judeo-Arabic studies, Goitein published works on biblical research, including *Iyyunim ba-Mikra* (1958), and works on pedagogy, such as *Hora'at ha-Tanakh* (1942) on the teaching of Bible in elementary and secondary schools and *Hora'at ha-Ivrit* (1958). In his twenties, he composed a play based on the story of a famous Jewish woman in the court of one of the counts of medieval France, *Pulcellina* (1927). He also wrote and published Hebrew poems.

Goitein was a prolific scholar, whose output and influence should rightly be compared with that of his contemporary, Gershom *Scholem – with whom he made the journey from Germany to Palestine on the same boat in 1923. His bibliography (published by the Ben-Zvi Institute, second, expanded edition, 2000) contains 737 items.

Roughly speaking, three more or less distinct periods of Goitein's scholarly career can be discerned, though there was considerable overlap of subjects. During the first period, Goitein published a series of investigations of the religious institutions of Islam, such as prayer (*Das Gebet im Qoran* (1923), a summary of his German dissertation), and the Ramadan month of fasting, among others. The crowning achievement of his studies of early Islam was the publication of the fifth volume of al-Balādhurī's (9th century) historical work *Ansāb al-ashrāf* (1936).

During the second period of his research, Goitein dealt primarily with the cultural legacy of the Jews of Yemen, a by-product of his intensive contact with and ethnographic work among Yemenite Jews in Palestine. Among the results of this work were *Jemenica*, a collection of proverbs from central Yemen (1934; *From the Land of Sheba*, 1947) and the publication of the account by Ḥayyim Ḥabshush, who accompanied Joseph *Halevy, on his explorations in Yemen (Ar. text, 1941; Heb. tr., 1939). His studies of contemporary Yemenite Jewry, whom he considered the "most Jewish and most Arab of all Jews," had a profound influence on his research on medieval Arab Jewry as well.

In his third period, Goitein was mainly engaged in publishing documentary texts from the Cairo *Genizah, from which he derived conclusions about the history of the Jews in Mediterranean countries and about the general history of these texts. Many of his views about relations between Jews and Arabs had already begun to form earlier, in articles published in the 1930s and 1940s and in his popular book *Jews and Arabs – Their Contacts through the Ages* (1955; 1974; reprinted with new preface by Mark R. Cohen, 2005). But from the 1950s on, he concentrated all his energies on researching the "historical documents" of the Genizah, a term he coined to differentiate the letters, legal documents, marriage contracts, bills of divorce, and lists from the literary material. In his work he continued and deepened the research begun earlier by such scholars as Jacob *Mann. Goitein went far beyond his predecessors, however, because he was a trained Arabist. He opened the door to the study of the mass of Judeo-Arabic documents from everyday life, something done only sporadically by those who came before him.

Goitein "discovered" the Genizah on a trip to the Hungarian Academy of Sciences in Budapest in 1948, among the manuscripts that had previously belonged to the private collection of David *Kaufmann (1852–1899). A few years later in Cambridge and in Oxford he came upon legal documents from the Genizah relating to the then largely undocumented subject of the medieval India trade. He decided to research this topic and continued to work on it after his move to the United States in 1957. But, as he later wrote, he soon realized that to understand the world of the India merchants, he had first to survey the whole Mediterranean. This occupied him for the rest of his life, resulting in hundreds of articles and his magnum opus, *A Mediterranean Society* (5 volumes, 1967–88; Index volume 1993).

A Mediterranean Society is a masterpiece, comparable in European history to the work of Fernand Braudel on the Mediterranean during the early modern period (Goitein wrote that he did not read Braudel until he completed his own work). The first volume describes "economic foundations." Here the Jewish merchants and craftsmen of Egypt and other Mediterranean lands come forth, representing not just their ethnic and religious group, but also their economic class. Their activities are fully representative of the economic life of the majority Muslim population. Thanks to Goitein, the value of the Genizah as a source for Islamic history was therefore demonstrated. In the second volume, "The Community," we see especially inner Jewish life and also how a minority group viewed Muslim government. Even if diachronic factors prevailed in Jewish communal life, as Goitein maintained, a reflection of the environment is visible in many of the pages of this book, too. The "Family" takes centerstage in the third volume. Even this fundamental cell of Jewish life shows the imprint of the Islamic milieu, as Goitein himself saw. In "Daily

Life" (vol. 4), Goitein surveyed material culture as reflected in the Genizah. His discussions of the city, domestic architecture, clothing, food, as well as other aspects of quotidian existence – similar to the "structures of everyday life" portrayed in the first volume of Braudel's *Civilisation matérielle, économie et capitalisme: XVe–XVIII siècle* (1967) make this volume, like the one on economic foundations, as much a contribution to general as to Jewish history. In the final volume, "The Individual," Goitein writes a fascinating study of the *mentalité* of the Mediterranean Arabic-speaking Jew.

The period covered by *A Mediterranean Society,* roughly 1000 to 1250, was a particularly lenient period of Jewish history under Islam. Goitein wrote the entire work while living in the United States and conceded (in the introduction to vol. 2) that his experience living in open, capitalist America had had an impact on his reconstruction of life in the Genizah world. He was sometimes criticized for this and for being anachronistic (H.H. Ben-Sasson in *Zion,* 40 (1975)). His lasting achievement, however, is to have surveyed every aspect of life during this period, the most thoroughly documented period of medieval Jewish history, and to have laid the groundwork for students and other followers to expand upon the foundations he laid. Directly or by inspiration, Goitein trained most of the major senior scholars of the historical Genizah working in the field in the late 20th and early 21st centuries.

No sooner did Goitein deliver the manuscript of the final volume of *A Mediterranean Society* to the publisher in December 1984 than he returned to the project with which he had begun his Genizah career, to the extensive notes and the more than 400 texts he had identified over the years related to the India trade. He died two months later, leaving the "India Book" to be completed by others. (Part One, containing roughly half of the opus, was edited by Mordechai Akiva Friedman for publication by the Ben-Zvi Institute.)

In 1980 Goitein was the recipient of the Harvey Prize of the Haifa Technion (jointly with Michael Rabin and Efraim Racker). Other awards included the Haskins Medal of the Medieval Academy of America, the Levi Della Vida Prize of the Gustave E. von Grunebaum Center for Near Eastern Studies (University of California), and, just two years before his death in 1985, a MacArthur Laureate Fellowship.

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[Mark R. Cohen (2nd ed.)]

GOLAN (Heb. גּוֹלָן), a town of the half-tribe *Manasseh in *Bashan that was set aside as a city of refuge (Deut. 4:43; Josh. 20:8) and a levitical city of the family of Gershon (Josh. 21:27; I Chron. 6:56). It is mentioned as Giluni in the *El-Amarna Letters. Although situated in Bashan, the city seems to have given its name to the entire district of Golan (or Gaulan) to the west of it. According to Eusebius it was a large village in Batanaea in the fourth century B.C.E. (Onom. 64:68). Schumacher has identified it with Sakhm al-Jawlān, a village 5 miles (8 km.) east of the Nahr al-ʿAllān (ʿAllān River), the eastern boundary of Gaulanitis. This identification conforms with the assumption that the city was located outside the district named for it, which ended at Nahr al-ʿAllān. D. Urman has cast doubt on the Sakhm al-Jawlān identification owing to the fact that Bronze and Iron Age remains have not yet been found there. Other scholars have proposed a more northerly location for Golan, in the region of *Maacah. W.F. Albright, however, was of the opinion that the biblical city must have been situated within the region of the present-day Golan. Josephus was the first to use the name Golan not only as the name of a town but also of a region. There are several references to Golan in the Talmud; these, however, seem to refer to the district and not to the city (TJ, Meg. 3:1, 73d).

For geography, archaeology, and settlement of the region see *Ramat ha-Golan.

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[Michael Avi-Yonah / Shimon Gibson (2nd ed.)]

GOLAN, MENAHEM (1929–), Israeli producer-director. Born to Polish immigrants Noah Globus and Deborah (née Godman) in Tiberias, Israel, Golan served as an air force pilot and at 19 changed his surname in honor of the Golan Heights. Following his military service, he went to London to study at the Old Vic Theatre School. Golan spent many years directing Israeli theater productions. In the early 1960s, he went to the United States to study film in New York. While serving as an assistant on the Roger Corman film *The Young Racers* (1963) he became a protégé of the low-budget director. Golan returned to Israel again to collaborate with his cousin, Yoram Globus, and the two wrote and directed the film *El Dorado* (1963). The cousins went on to form Noah Films to produce features for the Israeli market. In 1964, their production of Ephraim Kishon's *Sallah Shabati*, starring Chaim *Topol, received Oscar and Golden Globe nominations for best foreign film. In 1978, Golan immigrated to the United States, and a year later the cousins bought controlling interest in the failing production company, Cannon Group, Inc. Golan and Globus produced a few high-quality independent films, like *Barfly* and *The Hanoi Hilton* in 1987, but the majority of its success was built on such action pictures as *Breakin'* (1984), *Missing in Action* (1984), *Cobra* (1986), *The Delta Force* (1986), and *Superman IV: The Quest for Peace* (1987). In the 1980s Golan and Globus were called "The Go-Go Boys" and were famous for selling movies at the Cannes Film market solely on the basis of a poster. Cannon was eventually sold to Pathe Communications in 1989. While the cousins stayed on, a falling-out led Golan to start the 21st Century Film Corporation, which released *Captain America* (1991). In 1999, Golan established New Cannon, Inc.

[Adam Wills (2nd ed.)]

GOLB, NORMAN (1928–), scholar of Jewish history. Born in Chicago, Golb received his early education there; in 1954 he earned his doctorate in Judaic and Semitic studies from Johns Hopkins University. He was the recipient of several fellowships, including the Warbury Fellowship for Research in Judaic and Semitic Studies at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem (1955–57), and he was a visiting faculty member at the University of Wisconsin (1957–58), Harvard University (1966), and Tel Aviv University (1969–70). Golb was a faculty member of the Hebrew Union College in Cincinnati from 1958 to 1963; in 1963 he joined the faculty of the University of Chicago, where he became, in 1988, the Ludwig Rosenberger Professor of Jewish History and Civilization. He was also chairman of the university's Aronberg Judaica Lectureship Committee.

Golb's many fellowships and research awards have included Guggenheim Fellowships (1964, 1966) and grants from the National Endowment for the Humanities, the American Philosophical Society, and the Littauer Foundation. His studies have appeared in numerous academic journals over the years and involve significant interpretations of archaeological discoveries. He identified *Obadiah the Proselyte as the author of the oldest Hebrew musical manuscript, uncovered the earliest extant legal record of the Jews of Sicily, identified a Hebrew document concerning the First Crusade, and discovered manuscripts pertaining to the Jews of medieval Normandy.

Golb's 1976 work in Hebrew, *Toledot ha-Yehudim be-Ir Rouen bi-Ymei ha-Benayim* ("History and Culture of the Jews of Medieval Rouen"), was followed by studies of archaeological discoveries made in 1976 and 1982 in the Street of the Jews in Rouen. In 1985 he published *Les Juifs de Rouen au Moyen Age: Portrait d'une culture oubliée*, for which he received the Grand Medal of the City of Rouen. In 1987 he was granted an honorary doctorate by the University of Rouen and was awarded the Medal of the Region of Haute Normandie.

Golb took an active role in the campaign to make available the Dead Sea Scrolls for academic study, and he was one of the organizers of an international conference on the scrolls for the New York Academy of Sciences and the Oriental Institute. His later works include *Who Wrote the Dead Sea Scrolls? The Search for the Secret of Qumran* (1995) and *The Jews of Medieval Normandy: A Social and Intellectual History* (1998). Among other honors, he is a fellow of the American Academy for Jewish Research.

[Dorothy Bauhoff (2nd ed.)]

GOLCUV JENIKOV (Czech. **Golčův Jeníkov**; Ger. **Goltsch-Jenikau**), town in E. Bohemia, Czech Republic. Jews appear to have settled in Golcuv Jenikov at the end of the 16th century. Documents indicate that there was a synagogue in 1659 which was rebuilt in 1806 and 1870; it continued in existence after World War II. Because of plague the Jews settled temporarily outside the town in 1681. In 1724 there were 28 families in Golcuv Jenikov; there were 613 Jews there in 1847 (27.8% of the total population), and 79 (3.9%) in 1931. The community had a Jewish German-language school from 1797 to 1907. R. Aaron *Kornfeld, whose yeshivah was the last in Bohemia, lived in Golcuv Jenikov. Those members of the community, who had not succeeded in leaving by 1942, were deported to Nazi extermination camps. The synagogue accessories were transferred to the Central Jewish Museum in Prague. After the Holocaust, some Jews returned to Golcuv Jenikov, where the Jewish quarter (rebuilt after a fire in 1808) and cemetery (the oldest monument dates from 1726) still existed in 1970. The synagogue was put at the disposal of the Prague State Jewish Museum in 1969. In nearby Habry (Habern), a Jewish community was founded in the 14th century. Its synagogue dates from 1650. Habry had 21 Jewish families in 1724; 120 families in 1848; 143 persons in 1893; and 79 in 1930. In 1898 it was incorporated in the Golcuv Jenikov community. Other than the few who emigrated in World War II, the Jews of Golcuv Jenikov were deported to the death camps of Poland via Theresienstadt in 1942.

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[Jan Herman]

GOLD, BENJAMIN (1898–1983), U.S. labor leader. Gold, who was born in Bessarabia, Russia, was taken to the United States in 1910. In the following year, he started to work in the fur industry. Gold joined both the Socialist Party and the Fur Workers Union, where he became identified with the union's left wing. During the 1920s a struggle took place between the union's left wing led by Gold (who had joined the Communist Party by 1925) and the more conservative wing. Gold, who became the general manager of the union's New York joint board in 1925, led a bitter strike in 1926 that lasted 17 weeks. The strike ended with the union winning only one of its major demands, a 40-hour work week. The American Federation of Labor then investigated the joint board and charged it with being Communist-controlled and corrupt. As a result of these charges, the union's executive council expelled Gold and his fellow officers. Gold and other left-wing needle trade unionists then formed the Needle Trades Industrial Union and the Fur Workers Industrial Union.

During the Depression, Gold attended the Lenin School of Moscow. In 1935 the Fur Workers Industrial Union was disbanded and its members joined the new CIO International Fur Workers Union (which later became known as the International Fur and Leather Workers Union). In 1937 Gold became the union's president, while continuing to play an important role in the Communist Party. Regarded by many as the most incorruptible figure in the needle trade, Gold was held in high esteem by the manufacturers because he brought reliable production as well as high wages and good benefits to the industry.

In 1948 the union was forced to leave the CIO as a result of that organization's investigation into Communist influence in a number of its member unions. Shortly afterward, Gold, in order to be eligible to sign the Taft-Hartley Act's loyalty pledge which, in turn, would provide his union with the legal protection afforded by the act, resigned from the Communist Party. Gold continued as union president until he resigned in 1954. After resigning, he worked as a fur cutter until his retirement.

Gold wrote *Avreml Broide* (1944), *Mentshn, dertseylungen fun Ben Gold* (1948), and *Memoirs* (1985).

[Albert A. Blum]

GOLD, HENRY RAPHAEL (1893–1965), U.S. rabbi and psychiatrist. Born in Grajewo, Poland, Gold was ordained rabbi by the Jewish Theological Seminary in 1916. He held rabbinical positions in Memphis (1916–18), Boston (1918–24), New Orleans (1924–28), and Dallas (1928–43). While in Dallas, he took up the study of medicine, receiving an M.D. from Baylor University in 1934 and later teaching medical psychiatry there. He also served as a commissioner of the Dallas Housing Authority. On giving up his rabbinate in Dallas, he moved to New York and entered private practice as a psychiatrist and psychologist. Gold was an active Zionist. At various times he served as president of Hapoel Hamizrachi and the National Council for Torah Education and as vice president of the Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations and of the Zionist Organization of America.

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[Sefton D. Temkin]

GOLD, HERBERT (1924–), U.S. novelist. Gold, who was born in Cleveland, recollected that "we were just about the only Jewish family in Lakewood at the time." He served in the U.S. Army during World War II. After the war he studied in Columbia and in Paris, finally settling in San Francisco, and eventually was appointed professor at the University of California at Berkeley. Gold's books deal with the search for love between men and women, parents and children. He has claimed that his writing is a need "to make the world magic" and his style – witty yet compassionate – reflects this. His most successful characters are young people who affect cynicism without being cynical, and who hide their real sensitivity behind a conventional mask. Gold's humor stems from the relentless truthfulness of his description of male and female relationships. His novels include *The Birth of a Hero* (1951), *The Prospect Before Us* (1954), *The Man Who Was Not with It* (1956), and *The Optimist* (1959). *Therefore Be Bold* (1960) is a humorous Jewish work set in the Middle West; *Love and Like* (1960) a collection of short stories; and *Salt* (1963) a satirical novel dealing with life in the impersonal metropolis. Gold also published essays on the contemporary American scene titled *The Age of Happy Problems* (1962). His "family" works are spun around the substance of his life: *Fathers* (1966), in which the novelist drew upon his own family experiences to tell of the Jewish immigrants who sought fulfillment in the United States; *My Last Two Thousand Years* (1972), and *Family* (1981). These memoirs are also mediations about the informing power (or lack of such) of place, tradition, class, and gender – this last especially in *Family*.

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[Sylvia Rothchild / Lewis Fried (2nd ed.)]

GOLD, HUGO (1895–1974), publisher and historian. Gold was born in Vienna. He studied philosophy at the University of Vienna and soon after was drafted into the army. With the beginning of World War I, Gold served as a commander on the Eastern Front. He was captured by the Russian Army and sent to Siberia, from where he returned in 1918. In 1924 he became the head of the publishing house Juedischer Buch- und Kunstverlag, formerly owned by his uncle Max *Hickl. From 1924 to 1939 he was the publisher and editor of the journal *Juedische Volksstimme*, and from 1931 to 1936 of the historical journal *Zeitschrift fuer die Geschichte der Juden in der Tschechoslowakei*. In 1940 Gold settled in Palestine. After World War II he established in Tel Aviv the Olamenu publishing house, which concentrated on books in the German language relating to Central European Jewry. From 1964 he published and edited the *Zeitschrift fuer die Geschichte der Juden* (Tel Aviv). Gold's main contributions as a historian are works on the history of the Jews in Czechoslovakia, Austria, and Bukovina, including *Die Juden und Judengemeinde Bratislava in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart* (1932); *Geschichte der Juden in Wien* (1966); *Max Brod, Ein Gedenkbuch 1884–1968* (1969); and *Gedenkbuch der untergegangenen Judengemeinden des Burgenlandes* (1970). The works he wrote and edited are a major source of information about the destroyed Jewish communities in Central Europe.

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GOLD, MICHAEL (**Irwin Granich**; 1893–1967), U.S. Communist author and journalist. Born in New York to poor immigrant parents from Romania, Gold left school at the age of 13 and worked at various odd jobs to help support his family. He later attended City College night school and began to write his first sketches and poems, which from the start were politically radical in tone. After a brief and unhappy tenure as a special student at Harvard and an extended stay in Mexico in 1916–17, he returned to New York where he worked as a copy editor on the Socialist *Call* and contributed articles and poetry to *Masses*. He joined the Communist Party soon after its formation and became editor first of the *Liberator* (1920–22) and later of *New Masses* (1928–32), both of which were devoted to "proletarian" literature and culture. Gold also worked closely in these years with the left-wing New Playwrights' Theater and himself wrote several plays and a collection of short stories, *120 Million* (1929). In 1930 he published his autobiographical novel of the Lower East Side, *Jews Without Money*, whose stark imagistic prose has made it one of the best-known accounts of Jewish immigrant life in New York. Throughout the 1930s and 1940s Gold wrote a regular column for the Communist *Daily Worker* but produced little of literary value. During the last years of his life he lived in San Francisco, where he contributed to the radical West Coast publication, *The People's World*. His books include *The Hollow Men* (1941) and *Change the World!* (1937), a collection of his newspaper columns.

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GOLD, PHILIP (1936–), Canadian medical researcher. Gold was born in Montreal and studied at McGill University from which he holds both an M.D. degree and a Ph.D. From 1973 he was professor of medicine, and subsequently Douglas G. Cameron Professor of Medicine, at McGill, where he was also a professor in the Department of Physiology and the Department of Oncology. Among the other major academic and research appointments that he held were director of the McGill Cancer Center, director of the McGill University Clinic and physician-in-chief of the Montreal General Hospital, chairman of McGill's Department of Medicine, and executive director of the Clinical Research Center of the McGill University Health Center.

Gold is widely known for his development of an important diagnostic (CEA) test for cancer; his work won him international renown and brought him numerous awards. He is a Companion of the Order of Canada and a Fellow of the Royal Society of Canada. In his professional work Gold has written numerous scientific papers and is co-editor of *Clinical Immunology.* He served as president of the Canadian Society of Immunology from 1975–77.

GOLD, WOLF (**Ze'ev**; 1889–1956), rabbi, leader of religious Zionism. Born in Sczcyczyin, Poland, and descended from a long line of rabbis, Gold was ordained at the age of 17 by Rabbi Eliezer Rabinowitz after having studied at the Yeshiva in Mir and succeeded his father-in-law as rabbi in Juteka. In 1907 he emigrated to the U.S., where he served in several congregations: South Chicago, Scranton, Pennsylvania, Williamsburg, New York, San Francisco (where he strenuously fought Reform), and Brooklyn, New York. A man of handsome presence with a beautiful speaking voice, he was a powerful orator and capable organizer. Everywhere he engaged in educational and communal activities, founding a Hebrew school (Williamsburg Talmud Torah), a yeshivah ("Torah Vada'at"), a hospital ("Beth Mosheh," Brooklyn) which he established when the Jewish hospital abandoned its *kashrut* superivision, a Hebrew teachers training college (San Francisco), and an orphanage (also in Brooklyn). Gold was from the beginning in the forefront of Zionist workers in the U.S. – in the Order of the Sons of Zion, and the Zionist funds; he was a delegate to all Zionist Congresses and a member of the Zionist General Council from 1923. From 1913 he was active in the *Mizrachi movement, which, together with his lifelong friend M. *Bar-Ilan (Berlin), he organized in the U.S.; he served as president of the American Mizrachi 1932–35. His contract specified that he could work three months a year on Zionist activities, which involved extensive travel. From 1945 he represented the Mizrachi on the executive of the Jewish Agency and was a member of the Jewish delegation at the United Nations in 1946. Already in 1924 Gold went to Ereẓ Israel to assist in the religious propaganda work of the chief rabbinate and the Mizrachi in the new settlements. His experience led him to the idea of an agricultural yeshivah which was founded eventually (1938) in *Kefar ha-Ro'eh. He settled in Ereẓ Israel in 1935. With the establishment of the State of Israel he became a member of the Provisional Council of State and for some time headed the Jewish Agency's Department for the Development of Jerusalem and in 1951 the Department for Torah Education and Culture. In that capacity Gold did much for the establishment of schools and other educational institutions in various parts of the Diaspora – in North Africa in particular. He worked on the plans for a training institute for rabbis, teachers, youth leaders, etc. for the Diaspora, which after his death came into being as the Z. Gold Institute for Jewish Studies and Teachers' Seminary. A volume of his sermons, articles etc. was published in 1949 (*Nivei Zahav*), and a memorial volume of sermons in 1963 (*Ẓiyyon min ha-Torah*, ed. Z. Tabori).

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GOLDBERG, ABRAHAM (1881–1933), Yiddish and Hebrew journalist. Born in Brest-Litovsk into a *maskilic* family, the eldest brother of the Yiddish poet Menahem *Boraisha, his education combined both traditional and secular elements. His journalistic career, which complemented his early Zionist activity, began in the Hebrew press at the turn of the century, although he later wrote primarily in Yiddish. He was one of the chief contributors to the Yiddish daily **Haynt* from its foundation in 1908, and when the paper was reorganized after World War I he became its editor-in-chief. During this period Yiẓḥak *Gruenbaum returned to Poland from Russia, and Goldberg became his right-hand man in the communal and Zionist struggle in Poland. Under Goldberg's editorship, *Haynt* became the main advocate for Jewish rights and protagonist of Polish Zionism, exercising great influence on the Jewish masses. Goldberg consistently maintained that it was the duty of the press not only to provide information, but also to serve as an instrument for the amelioration of the condition of the Jewish people. He convinced Russian émigrés to protest the Mendel *Beilis trial in Kiev. Goldberg played a leading role in the Zionist Organization of Poland and was a delegate to a number of Zionist congresses. Although he wrote mainly in Yiddish, he supported the weekly *Ba-Derekh*, published by *Haynt*, the last Hebrew newspaper in Poland.

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[Getzel Kressel / Jerold C. Frakes (2nd ed.)]

GOLDBERG, ALEXANDER (1906–1985), Israel chemical engineer. Goldberg, who was born in Vilna, went to England in 1914. He graduated in mining engineering and chemical engineering at the Royal School of Mines, London. He was a pioneer in the development of techniques of crop preservation, and subsequently worked with the raw-material group of the Hawker-Siddeley organization. During World War II he was responsible for producing metallic magnesium from seawater, and later for the production of the aluminum used in Britain's postwar prefabricated houses. In 1948 he went to Israel and headed Chemicals and Phosphates Ltd. thereby becoming a key figure in Israel's developing chemical industry. In 1965 he became president of the Haifa Technion.

[Samuel Aaron Miller]

GOLDBERG, ARTHUR JOSEPH (1908–1990), U.S. labor lawyer, secretary of labor, Supreme Court justice, and ambassador to the United Nations. Goldberg, who was born in Chicago, was the youngest of 11 children. After graduating from Northwestern University Law School (1929) at the head of his class, Goldberg began practicing law in Chicago. He soon developed a national reputation in labor law, a field then rapidly expanding in the wake of the intensive labor strife and legislation of the depression years and Roosevelt's New Deal. During World War II, he was appointed head of the labor division of the U.S. Office of Strategic Services (OSS), for which he helped to establish intricate clandestine operations with anti-Fascist trade union leaders behind Nazi lines. In 1948 Goldberg was appointed general counsel of the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO). In this capacity he played a crucial role in the prolonged negotiations between the CIO and its warring rival the AFL (American Federation of Labor) and was instrumental in drafting the merger agreement between them in 1955, after which he returned to private practice. His book *AFL-CIO: Labor United* was published the following year.

An early supporter of the presidential aspirations of John F. Kennedy, Goldberg was appointed to the cabinet as secretary of labor upon Kennedy's inauguration in 1961. Unlike his immediate predecessor, Goldberg took an activist view of the office. He vigorously strove to raise the national minimum wage and to increase federal unemployment benefits, while at the same time seeking to arbitrate a wide range of labor-management conflicts in order to implement Kennedy's anti-inflationary program by discouraging excessive wage hikes. His activities in this area alienated many of his old labor colleagues, causing the magazine *New Republic* to summarize his two years as labor secretary by remarking, "His contribution to the Kennedy administration has been notable for his forthright disregard of old ties with organized labor in shaping a new doctrine of the national interest in labor-management disputes."

In 1962 Goldberg was chosen by President Kennedy to replace the retiring Felix Frankfurter as a justice on the United States Supreme Court. During his term on the Court, Goldberg consistently voted with its liberal majority and wrote several key decisions protecting the rights of naturalized American citizens. The most significant decision written by him, however, was in the famous Escobedo Case of 1964, in which the Court ruled by a 5–4 majority that every accused prisoner had the constitutional right to be advised by a lawyer during police interrogation, thereby working a revolution in American criminal law.

In 1965 Goldberg resigned from the Court to become United States permanent representative to the United Nations. The high point of his UN career came during the Arab-Israel war of 1967, when throughout the six days of fighting he repeatedly and successfully argued the American position calling for a cease-fire without previous Israel withdrawal. He thereby earned the enmity of the Arab nations, who accused him of influencing American foreign policy on behalf of Jewish interests. Goldberg was also said to have had a major hand in the drafting of the November 1967 Security Council resolution which served as a basis for the Jarring Mission to the Middle East. In 1968 he resigned from his position, reportedly dissatisfied with President Johnson's "hawkish" policies in Vietnam and his own inability to moderate them. Leaving Washington, he settled in New York City, where he opened a law practice while taking an active behind-the-scenes role in local and statewide Democratic Party politics. In 1970 he ran unsuccessfully for the office of governor of New York State. Goldberg, who was active in Zionist and Jewish affairs, was president of the American Jewish Committee (1968–69) and chairman of the Jewish Theological Seminary's board of overseers (1963–69). In July 1978 Goldberg was awarded the Presidential Medal of Freedom by President Carter for his efforts in the "Middle East and for human rights."

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[Arnold Beichman]

GOLDBERG, BAER (Dov) BEN ALEXANDER (known by his acronym **Bag**; 1800–1884), Polish scholar. Goldberg was born in Chlodna, near Lomza, Poland, and was orphaned at an early age. He studied Torah in dire poverty, but earned a reputation as a prodigy. Having tried his hand at business and teaching, in 1830 Goldberg became a private tutor for the family of the wealthy and learned Gershon Litinski in one of the villages of Suwalki district. When after some time the entire Litinski family converted to Christianity, he was slandered as having influenced them.

In 1843 he went to Berlin, where he was favorably received by the *maskilim*. However, lacking a formal education, he could not find employment there, and in 1847 went to England, where he managed with great difficulty to earn a living copying and publishing Hebrew manuscripts from the Oxford libraries. In 1853 he settled in Paris, earning his living there by copying and publishing Hebrew and Arabic manuscripts from the National Library. Altogether, Goldberg published 17 books and pamphlets and hundreds of articles in Hebrew periodicals, writing mainly under the name "Divrei Bag" ("Words of Bag") and "Gam Elleh Divrei Bag" ("These also are the words of Bag"). His writings exemplified all the virtues and weaknesses of one who is self-taught: diligence and an abundance of detail but written in ornate language and lacking organization.

Goldberg's main contribution to scholarship was the editing of such medieval works as *Ḥefes Matmonim* (1845), a collection of medieval texts; Isaac Israeli's *Yesod Olam* (1848); Ibn Janaḥ's *Sefer ha-Rikmah* in Judah ibn Tibbon's translation (1857); *Iggeret Sherira Ga'on* (1873); *Risalat R. Judah b. Koraish* (1867); and Abraham b. Moses b. Maimon's *Birkat Avraham* (1860, repr. 1960).

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GOLDBERG, BEN ZION (**Benjamin Waife**; 1895–1972), Yiddish journalist. Born in Golshany (Lithuania), a descendant of prominent rabbinical families, Goldberg studied at the Lida and Volozhin *yeshivot* before immigrating to the U.S. in 1907. In 1917 he married the youngest daughter of *Sholem Aleichem. He studied psychology at Columbia University and wrote articles on that subject and on foreign policy for the daily *Der Tog*, of which he became managing editor (1924–40). He helped to organize the U.S. branch of YIVO. As a daily columnist for more than 40 years, he was influential and controversial, particularly with his pro-Soviet orientation – which ended with the purges that exterminated Soviet Jewish leaders. His books in English include *Sacred Fire: The Story of Sex in Religion* (1930), and *The Jewish Problem in the Soviet Union* (1961).

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[S.L./ Jerold C. Frakes (2nd ed.)]

GOLDBERG, BERTRAND (1913–1997), U.S. architect. Born in Chicago, Goldberg studied at Harvard, at the Bauhaus in Berlin, and at the Armour Institute of Technology (now Illinois Institute of Technology) in Chicago. He specialized in industrial design and city planning. The acting principal of Bertrand Goldberg Associates in Chicago from 1937, Goldberg established a branch office of the company in Boston in 1964.

He believed that the modern rectilinear style of architecture had been superseded by the new structural shapes made possible through the recent development in reinforced concrete. To that end, he created circular designs in concrete shell structures, which he believed would serve activity better and help create community. He also maintained that circular buildings provide more efficient wind resistance, more direct mechanical distribution, and more usable footage. Over the years, he developed a theory of kinetic space based on nonparallel walls that set a space in motion. Goldberg introduced several shapes to skyscraper architecture, many of which can be recognized by their rounded lobes and oval windows.

Among his chief works in Chicago are the Astor Tower (1962); Marina City (1963), featuring round, 60-story residential towers; the Raymond Hilliard Homes (1966); the Prentice-Stone Pavilion (1975); St. Joseph's Hospital (1975); SUNY Hospital and SUNY Basic Science and Clinical Science Towers (1976); and River City (1986).

Goldberg was elected to the College of Fellows of the American Institute of Architects in 1966 and was awarded the Officier de l'Ordre des Arts et des Lettres from the French government in 1985.

In 2002, Goldberg's family donated his entire architectural archive to the Art Institute of Chicago. It includes his architectural plans, drawings, photos, and models, as well as lectures, articles, and construction photos.

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[Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

GOLDBERG, BORIS (1865–1922), economist and Zionist. Born in Shaki (Sakiai), Lithuania, Goldberg studied at Hanover, where he graduated in 1891 as a chemical engineer. In 1898 he moved to Vilna. He joined the Ḥibbat Zion movement at an early age, and when the Zionist Organization was founded, joined it at once. Goldberg was an ardent supporter of practical settlement work in Ereẓ Israel. He contributed articles to all existing Jewish periodicals in Russia, was a member of the editorial board of *Razsvet* and *Ha-Olam,* and published studies on the demographic and social composition of Russian Jewry. Goldberg was a member of the Central Office of the Zionist Organization in Vilna, and, together with his brother I.L. *Goldberg, he headed the illegal Zionist activities in the Vilna region, for which he was imprisoned on several occasions. In 1906 he took part in the work of the League for Equal Rights for Russian Jews, and in 1917 he was a member of the National Council of Russian Jews. He left Russia in 1919 as a representative of Russian Jews to the Comité des Délégations Juives, which represented the Jewish people at the Versailles Peace Conference. He helped to transfer the capital of Russian Jews to Palestine and was one of the founders of the Ha-Boneh Company and the Silikat building materials factory in Tel Aviv. He was wounded during the Arab riots of 1921 and died a year later in Tel Aviv.

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[Yehuda Slutsky]

GOLDBERG, EMANUEL (1881–1970), photographic scientist. Goldberg was born in Moscow and graduated from Moscow University before moving to Leipzig, where he obtained his doctorate in photochemistry (1906). After appointments at the University of Leipzig and the Military Academy of Berlin, he moved to Dresden (1917), where he became managing director of the Zeiss Ikon optical company and professor at the Technical University. He was kidnapped by the Nazis but his employers recognized his inventive genius and arranged his release into exile in Paris (1933), where he worked in their subsidiary company. He immigrated to Palestine (1937), where he established a laboratory for precision instruments which became the basis of the optical industry in Israel. Goldberg was a pioneer in many photographic and related fields, notably high-resolution microfilms, microdot technology, hand-held movie cameras, sound movies, television, and electronic systems for document storing and retrieval. He worked on military applications of his inventions for the Allied governments in World War II and for the Haganah and the Israeli government. Goldberg's original contributions were recognized by the award of the Peligot Medal by the French Photographic Society (1931) but were subsequently obscured by the Nazis and Communists for political reasons and by later inventors anxious to establish their own priority. He was awarded the Israel Prize for exact sciences (1968).

[Michael Denman (2nd ed.)]

GOLDBERG, HARVEY E. (1939–), U.S. anthropologist. Born in New York City, Goldberg received his bachelor's degree from Columbia University in 1961 and his doctorate from Harvard in 1967. He taught at the University of Iowa from 1966 as an assistant professor, then from 1969 to 1972 as associate professor. He was a research fellow at Columbia University in 1968 and 1969, and a visiting scholar at Cambridge and at the University of Texas. From 1972 he was a member of the faculty of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, where he was named the Sarah Allen Shaine Professor of Sociology and Anthropology. Goldberg was also a fellow of the American Anthropological Association and a member of the New York Academy of Sciences and the Middle East Studies Association of North America.

A leading anthropologist of Jewish culture, Goldberg wrote numerous works that center on Jewish life in the Middle East, both in Israel and elsewhere. His books include *Cave Dwellers and Citrus Growers: A Jewish Community in Libya and Israel* (1972), *Greentown's Youth: Disadvantaged Youth in a Development Town in Israel* (1984), *Jewish Life in Muslim Libya* (1990), *Sephardi and Middle Eastern Jewries* (as editor, 1996), *Life of Judaism* (as editor, 2001), and *Jewish Passages: Cycles of Jewish Life* (2003).

Jewish Passages has been well received by a wide audience. In this work, Goldberg examines both individual practice and collective identity as he considers the ways in which Jews from many traditions celebrate the cycles of life. The work includes an exploration of Sephardi and Ashkenazi traditions; it examines ritual, custom, and a range of events, from circumcision to identity-seeking tourism.

Goldberg wrote numerous articles for academic journals, including the *Jewish Journal of Sociology, Hagar: International Social Science Review*, and *Jerusalem Studies in Jewish Folklore*. He also contributed to various texts and reference works, including the *Oxford Handbook of Jewish Studies* (2002), *Global Religions* (2003), and *Key Texts in American Jewish Culture* (2003). Goldberg's subsequent research focused on the Jews of Libya and Ethiopia, seeking to integrate historical and sociological perspectives in understanding cultural diversity within Israeli society.

[Dorothy Bauhoff (2nd ed.)]

GOLDBERG, ISAAC (1887–1938), U.S. author. Born in Boston, Goldberg wrote *Sir William S. Gilbert* (1913); *The Story of Gilbert and Sullivan* (1928); *George Gershwin* (1931); *Major Noah: American-Jewish Pioneer* (1936); and *Queen of Hearts* (1936), a biography of Lola Montez. He did pioneering work in his surveys, *Studies in Spanish-American Literature* (1920) and *Brazilian Literature* (1922). Goldberg also translated into English some of the major Yiddish authors, such as David Pinski, Scholem Asch, and Yehoash. From 1923 to 1932 he was literary editor of *The American Freeman*.

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[Sol Liptzin]

GOLDBERG, ISAAC LEIB (1860–1935), Zionist leader and philanthropist in Russia and Ereẓ Israel; brother of Boris *Goldberg. After studying at the Kovno yeshivah, he settled in Vilna, where he joined his uncle's business. One of the first members of the *Ḥibbat Zion movement (1882), he founded the Ohavei Zion society in Vilna. At the Ḥovevei Zion meeting in Druzgenik in 1887, he sought to effect a compromise between the views of the Orthodox and the *maskilim*. He represented the Ḥovevei Zion committee in Vilna and was a member of *Benei Moshe. His home in Vilna became the center of Zionist and Jewish national activities. His wife, Rachel, was among the founders of Yehudiyyah Hebrew Girls School.

Goldberg was a delegate to the First Zionist Congress, representing the Ḥovevei Zion of Vilna; in 1900 he was appointed representative of the *Zionist Organization in the Vilna district. He took part in the establishment of the Geulah Company, whose aim it was to acquire land in Ereẓ Israel for private ownership, and of the Carmel Company for the marketing of wine produced in the Jewish settlements in Ereẓ

Israel. In 1908 he established a farm at Hartuv and purchased the first plot of land on Mount Scopus in Jerusalem for the future *Hebrew University. In 1906 he became a member of the Zionist Central Committee in Russia, and its office was located in his home. He lent his support to the Zionist periodicals in Vilna *Ha-Olam* and *Dos Yidishe Folk*. During World War I the Russian authorities forced him to live in Moscow, where he continued his Zionist activities. In 1919 he settled in Palestine, engaged in growing oranges, and made important contributions to improving the packing and marketing of citrus products. He was one of the founders of the *Haaretz* daily newspaper, which he supported financially. Goldberg was also a supporter of the Hebrew Language Committee. He left half his estate for the establishment of a fund for the Promotion of Hebrew Literature and Hebrew Culture in Ereẓ Israel, which was eventually handed over to the *Jewish National Fund, which devoted the income to Hebrew cultural projects.

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[Yehuda Slutsky]

GOLDBERG, J.B. (1884–1946), Soviet army commander. In 1919, Lenin personally entrusted him with the command of the reserves and with the task of setting up a corps of reserves for the whole of the Red Army fighting on the Eastern front. Within two years Goldberg created a force of half a million men. In 1922 he was appointed deputy head of the air force.

GOLDBERG, JEANNETTE MIRIAM (1868–1935), U.S. Jewish educator. Goldberg, a charismatic organizer, was the first field secretary of the National Council of Jewish Women (NCJW) and the longtime executive secretary of the Jewish Chautauqua Society (JCS). For three decades, she guided the Chautauqua Society, which popularizes Judaic learning among English-speaking Jews and non-Jews.

A native Texan whose parents had emigrated from Russia to Louisiana in 1860 and then to Texas after the Civil War and whose father, Louis, was among the founders in 1873 of Jefferson's Hebrew Sinai Congregation, Goldberg enrolled in Vassar College's preparatory division in 1883. She received an A.B. from New York's Rutgers Female Institute, where she was class valedictorian. Goldberg taught literature at women's finishing schools in Birmingham, Ala. and Dallas, Waco, and Sherman, Tex. She worked as a Sabbath School superintendent in Houston and Jefferson.

In 1896, she attended the Council of Jewish Women's first triennial in New York. Appointed vice president for Texas, she helped organize her state's first Council chapters in Tyler, Dallas, Waco, Beaumont, and Fort Worth. In 1902, she was elected a national director of the council and carved out a role as field secretary. In that capacity, she traveled cross-country organizing chapters and motivating co-religionists who had grown indifferent toward Judaism. "We have had enough lullaby and slumber in religious life," she exhorted. "[W]e now need wakefulness and spirit, to revivify the dry bones of American Judaism."

In 1905, the Jewish Chautauqua Society, headquartered in Philadelphia, hired Goldberg as its field secretary, a position similar to her volunteer role with the NCJW. When the Chautauqua's home secretary retired in 1910, the two positions merged, with Goldberg shouldering both roles. Under Goldberg's leadership, the JCS launched study circles, assemblies, and a national correspondence school to train Sabbath School teachers. In her travels throughout the U.S., Goldberg helped organize congregations and recruit rabbis to lead them. The JCS opened religious schools in the Dakotas and in the south New Jersey farm colonies started with Baron de *Hirsch funds. The Chautauqua Society also initiated a university lecture circuit – still in operation in the 21st century – featuring rabbis speaking to non-Jewish audiences about Judaism.

Rabbi Julian *Feibelman, who became acquainted with Goldberg when he was a Mississippi boy enrolled in Chautauqua correspondence classes, maintained that she "kept her hand on the pulse of virtually every congregation" in the nation. She was "instrumental in helping many rabbis [including himself] to advancement in pulpits." He lauded Goldberg as "one of the two Jewish women in America capable of addressing an audience on Jewish subjects – the other was Sadie *American" (the first executive secretary of the NCJW). When Goldberg died on February 28, 1935, she was eulogized in the *Philadelphia Exponent* as "a modern Miriam" and a "high priestess" of Judaism. Unmarried, she outlived her siblings and had no survivors.

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[Hollace Ava Weiner (2nd ed.)]

GOLDBERG, LEA (1911–1970), Hebrew poet and critic. Born in Koenigsberg, Eastern Prussia, she spent the early years of her childhood in Russia but after the Revolution her family returned to their home in Kovno, Lithuania. While still a schoolgirl, Lea Goldberg began to write Hebrew verse and her first poem was published in *Hed Lita* in 1926. She attended the universities of Kovno, Berlin, and Bonn. Arriving in Tel Aviv in 1935, she joined the circle of modernist authors, whose mentor was Avraham *Shlonsky, and began publishing her poetry in *Turim*, the literary forum of the group. Shlonsky helped her compile her first volume of poetry *Tabbe'ot Ashan* ("Smoke Rings," 1935). After a career as a schoolteacher, she joined the editorial staffs of *Davar and later *Mishmar* in the capacity of theater critic and eventually became editor of

Al ha-Mishmar's literary supplement. She also served on the staff of *Davar li-Yladim*, a popular children's magazine, was the children's book editor of Sifriyyat Po'alim, and the literary adviser to *Habimah, Israel's national theater. In 1952 she was invited to organize the Department of Comparative Literature at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, holding the chair until her death. As Goldberg was a prolific and versatile writer, her literary talent found expression in many genres. Primarily a poet, she was also a literary critic, wrote a number of children's works, was a copious translator, and the author of a novel and a play.

Poetry

All of Goldberg's poetry is written in the modern mode set by the school of younger poets that developed in Ereẓ Israel during the Mandate period. Influenced by the Russian Acmeist poets (a literary trend which rejected symbolism, aiming at concrete imagery and a clear unadorned style), she used traditional verse forms, expressing her modernism through a conversational style which eschewed the ornate rhetoric of many of her predecessors and the bombastic expressionism of her contemporaries. Her language though symbolic is simple and familiar, in which ordinary words, images, rhythms, and rhymes have an astonishing freshness. The later verse is stripped of all "literary" pretensions; the poet thus strove to evolve a style of direct and unencumbered statement of the poetic experience. Goldberg's tendency toward aesthetic intellectualism is modified by a lyrical delicacy. She refused to write ideological verse and unlike her contemporaries she rarely touched upon Jewish themes. Only in the aftermath of the Holocaust did she express her feelings in a Jewish framework (*Mi-Beiti ha-Yashan*, "From My Old Home," 1944). Universal in her approach, she wrote on childhood, nature, love (especially unfulfilled love), the quest for aesthetic expression, aging, and death. In her later years her central themes were resignation to the tragedy of existence and finding solace in the poetry unexpectedly discovered in ordinary phenomena. Among her outstanding poems are "Mi-Shirei ha-Naḥal" ("The Songs of the Stream," in *Al ha-Periḥah*, 1948) in which she employed natural symbols such as river, stone, tree, moon, and blade of grass to serve as a vehicle for the poetic presentation of aesthetic problems of the creative artists; "Be-Harei Yerushalayim" ("In the Hills of Jerusalem," in *Barak ba-Boker*, 1956), one of her best landscape poems, set in Jerusalem, the city in which she resided for many years; and "Ahavatah shel Teresa di Mon" ("The Love of Therese du Meun," in *Barak ba-Boker*), a series of sonnets purportedly written in the 17th century by an aging aristocrat on her unconfessed love for her children's young tutor.

Criticism

An avid reader, Goldberg was at home in the literature of all the major European languages. She was most familiar with Russian literature and wrote *Aḥdut ha-Adam ve-ha-Yekum bi-Yẓirat Tolstoy* ("The Unity of World and Man in Tolstoy's Works," 1959), as well as a collection of essays on Pushkin, Lermontov, Gogol, Turgenev, Herzen, and Chekhov entitled *Ha-Sifrut ha-Rusit ba-Me'ah ha-Tesha-Esreh* (1968). The latter was to have been part of a general history of the literature of the period, but she abandoned the project. Goldberg was also well versed in Italian literature and wrote an introduction to Dante's *Divine Comedy (Mavo la-Komedyah ha-Elohit*, mimeograph, 1958) and a preface to her translation of selected poems by Petrarch (1957). In *Ḥamishah Perakim bi-Ysodot ha-Shirah* ("Five Chapters in the Elements of Poetry," 1957), a more systematic attempt at studying the problems of poetry, she discusses poetic theory, meter, rhyme, and symbol. Each chapter begins with a close reading of a Hebrew poem which is used to illustrate the specific hypothesis she has posited. In contrast to her generalizations about poetry, which reflect accepted literary criteria, the interpretations of specific works show an original and creative poetic mind. The same can be said about her study *Ommanut ha-Sippur* ("The Art of the Short Story," 1963).

Children's Literature

Goldberg was one of Israel's most successful children's writers. She was able to enter the world of children, communicate with them, and establish a bond of friendship with all children not only through the written word but by live contact. She wrote about 20 works for children. A whole generation of Israelis grew up on her stories and poems (see *Children's Literature).

Prose Works

Mikhtavim mi-Nesi'ah Medummah ("Letters from an Imaginary Journey," 1937) and *Ve-Hu ha-Or* ("He Is the Light," 1946), the two major prose works of Goldberg, are mainly autobiographical. The latter is set in Lithuania and describes the struggle of a young and sensitive girl student for identity, despite insecurities rooted in a background of mental illness in her immediate family. The earlier work, *Mikhtavim mi-Nesi'ah Medummah,* hardly a novel because of its weak structure, refers to a later period in the author's life and gives an insight into her basically aristocratic view of the arts. The struggle between leftist politics and art is the theme of her single play *Ba'alat ha-Armon* ("Lady of the Manor," 1956) which is set in postwar Europe. The play (in English translation) was staged in New York but was not a critical success. Goldberg's diaries were published in 2005.

Translations

Among the many European classics that Goldberg translated into Hebrew are: Tolstoy's *War and Peace* (1958), Chekhov's *Stories* (1945), Gorki's *Childhood* (1943), several plays and poems by Shakespeare (1957), selected poems by Petrarch (1957), Ibsen's *Peer Gynt* (1958), and *Aucassin et Nicolette* (1966). Together with Shlonsky she edited an anthology of Russian poetry (1942). Goldberg started to paint in her later years and she illustrated several of her own books (*Aucassin et Nicolette*, for example).

Goldberg's poems have been translated into various languages. Poems in English translation are included in T. Carmi (ed.), *The Penguin Book of Hebrew Verse* (1981) as well as in *The Modern Hebrew Poem Itself* (2003). *Mikhtavim mi-Nesi'ah Medummah* was translated into German (*Briefe von einer imaginaeren Reise*, 2003). For further English translations of her works, see Goell, Bibliography, index.

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[Ezra Spicehandler]

GOLDBERG, MARSHALL ("**Biggie**," "**The Elkins Express**," "**Mad Marshall**," the "**Hebrew Hillbilly**"; 1917–), U.S. football player, starring in college at the University of Pittsburgh and in the NFL with the Chicago Cardinals, and member of College Football Hall of Fame. Goldberg was born and raised in Elkins, West Virginia, a town of five Jewish families in a community of 7,500 people. Goldberg's father, Saul, had immigrated from Uman, Romania, and ran a ladies' clothing store before becoming owner of the town's movie theater. Goldberg was a high school legend, captaining his school's football, basketball, and track teams in 1935, and was selected All-State in each sport. He led Pitt to a Rose Bowl title in 1936 after leading the nation in rushing with 886 yards, and to the National Championship the following year. Goldberg was named Grantland Rice All-America honorable mention in 1936, and a consensus All-America halfback in 1937 and fullback in 1938, finishing third in the Heisman Trophy voting in 1937 and second in 1938. Goldberg ended his career at Pitt holding all the school's rushing records, including total rushing yards with 1,957. Goldberg then played with NFL Chicago Cardinals for eight years, and was considered the greatest defensive back of his time. He led the team to the NFL championship in 1947, and made all-pro at two positions – as a halfback in 1941 and as a defensive back in 1946, 1947, and 1948. Goldberg led the league in 1941 with seven interceptions, and in kickoff returns that year with a 24.2-yard average, and the following year with a 26.2-yard average. He was inducted into the College Football Hall of Fame in 1958.

[Elli Wohlgelernter (2nd ed.)]

GOLDBERG, OSCAR (1885–1952), scholar and author, born in Berlin. Goldberg first studied medicine, but on the basis of personal parapsychological experiments he turned to esoteric mysticism. After Hitler's rise to power he immigrated to France and subsequently to the United States. He later returned to France and died in Nice. His first work, *Die fuenf Buecher Mosis, ein Zahlengebaeude* (1908) is an attempt to prove (in accordance with kabbalistic opinion) that the entire Torah is based on the letters of the Tetragrammaton. His basic theories are expressed in the works: *Die Wirklichkeit der Hebraeer* (vol. 1, 1925; no more were published); *Maimonides* (1935); and articles on Greek mythology in the monthly *Mass und Wert* (1937). Goldberg assumed that there were "metaphysical" peoples whose biological center was their "god" as opposed to peoples or groups who had lost their metaphysical power and were merely biological groups. *Die Wirklichkeit der Hebraeer* ("The Reality of the Hebrews") shows the Hebrews to be the outstanding example of a metaphysical people, which activates the vital link between it and its "center," i.e., its god, via the magical power of ritual and makes its god dwell within the world. The metaphysical reality of the genuine Hebrews consisted in the activation of the laws and statutes of the Torah (which must be understood in its most literal and exact interpretation). Later Judaism, beginning with "the religion of the prophets," was based on the deterioration of the magical powers of the Hebrews and the loss of the basic tools for the activation of their magical reality: the Tabernacle and the Ark of the Covenant. Every metaphysical people has a national god, and among these gods, which had perfect reality, the God of Israel is but the strongest. As the real magical power of metaphysics was weakened, there begins the process of the transformation of the ritual which possessed formal and material precision into an abstract universal "religion." The histories of religions constitute decline and not progress. The decline of true Hebraism, which worked miracles not according to circumstance but by order and fixed ritual, began during the reigns of David and Solomon. It reached its nadir in the "religiosity" of the Psalms. The transition from worship in the Temple to that in the synagogue typifies the decline of the metaphysical power to nothingness.

Goldberg accepted only the Pentateuch as a divine document in all its details and signs, and interpreted it magically, not "theologically." The Revelation of God is not an act of free grace to His creatures, but springs from the need of God Himself to find a dwelling place (*mishkan*) on earth. Goldberg views the system of Maimonides as the final expression of complete alienation from the true mission of the Hebraic existence, and as an intended blurring and abolition of the realistic principle which is the power to work miracles in favor of moralistic and abstract prattle. According to this system, Goldberg interpreted all details of other mythologies. He advocated the organization of the remnants of magical power which remained here and there, in order to find a way for the renewal of divine revelation. He stated his magical views in a clearly rationalistic way and linked them with modern biological philosophy. The kabbalistic origins of his thought are conspicuous and Goldberg himself recognized this despite his attempts to define specific differences between the spheres of the Torah and that of Kabbalah. Goldberg was hostile to Zionism, which he viewed as a secular renewal of a Jewish people without a metaphysical basis according to his definition.

For many years Goldberg led a small group which propagated his views in writing and orally. His most important disciple in philosophy was Erich Unger (d. 1951 in London). For some time his works and thoughts had considerable influence on circles of both Jewish and gentile intellectuals, scholars and writers such as the paleontologist E. Dacque, and the writer Thomas Mann. The latter depicted Goldberg in his novel *Doctor Faustus* (1947) as the character Dr. Chaim Breisacher.

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[Gershom Scholem]

GOLDBERG, RUBE (1883–1970), U.S. cartoonist. Reuben Lucius Goldberg, satirist of American folkways and creator of improbable and outlandish devices and inventions, was born in San Francisco, Calif. His father insisted he go to college to become an engineer. After graduating from the University of California at Berkeley, Goldberg went to work for the San Francisco Water and Sewers Department. After six months, Goldberg joined the sports department of a San Francisco newspaper and kept submitting drawings and cartoons to its editor, until he was finally published. He moved to New York, drawing daily cartoons for *The Evening Mail.* At first he was a sports cartoonist and sportswriter, but one day, with a little space left over from his cartoon, he filled it with "Foolish Question No. 1," which showed a man who had fallen from the Flatiron Building being asked if he was hurt. "No, I jump off this building every day to limber up for business," he replied. The Foolish Question caught on, and Goldberg wound up doing thousands of them. Many of his ideas came from readers, fascinated with the nearly probable. As comic strips grew in popularity, Goldberg conceived the character Boob McNutt, a simple-looking fellow who was in love with a beautiful girl named Pearl. Their blunder-filled courtship went on from 1916 to 1933. Goldberg also created the strip *Lala Palooza*, about a woman of ample girth. His most enduring creation was Professor Lucifer Gorgonzola Butts, the inventor of marvelously complicated contraptions designed to accomplish fairly simple ends. An exhibition of these nonexistent and zany gadgets opened at the National Museum of History and Technology of the Smithsonian Institution in Washington in 1970. The Goldbergs of yesterday were catalogued under the show title "Do It the Hard Way: Rube Goldberg and Modern Times." There were cartoons, comic strips, and oddly ingenious doodads that might have been invented by Goldberg himself. The cartoonist's ludicrous inventions became so widely known that Webster's Third International Dictionary listed the adjective "rube goldberg" and defined it as "accomplishing by extremely complex roundabout means what actually or seemingly could be done simply."

In the middle 1930s, comic strips declined in popularity and at the age of 55 Goldberg embarked on a career as an editorial cartoonist for *The New York Sun* and later the *New York Journal-American*, for which he drew 5,000 cartoons. One of his cartoons, "Peace Today," warning of the perils of atomic weapons, which appeared in *The Sun*, won a Pulitzer Prize in 1948.

[Stewart Kampel (2nd ed.)]

GOLDBERG, SZYMON (1909–1993), violinist and conductor of Polish birth. He studied with Mihailowicz in Warsaw, and with Flesch in Berlin. After his debut in Warsaw (1921), he appeared with the Berlin PO (1924) and was leader of the Dresden Philharmonic (1925–1929). From 1929 to 1934 he formed a string trio with Hindemith and *Feuermann and was appointed concertmaster of the Berlin Philharmonic. He then toured as soloist and as sonata partner with Lili *Kraus. While on a tour of Asia, Goldberg was interned in Java by the Japanese (1942–1945). After the war he resumed his career and played in Australia, South Africa, the Americas, and Israel. He became an American citizen (1953) and taught at the Aspen Music School (1951–1965) where he formed the Festival Quartet, which achieved wide recognition in concerts and on records. Goldberg played trios with Casals and R. *Serkin during the Prades Festival (1954) and became permanent conductor and musical director of the Netherlands Chamber Orchestra (1955), which he led with notable distinction for 22 years. From 1969 he lived in London, conducted the Manchester Camerata (1977–1982), taught at Yale University, the Juilliard School, the Curtis Institute of Music, and the Manhattan School of Music. From 1990 until his death he conducted the New Japan Philharmonic in Tokyo. He was an officer of the Order of Oranje Nassau. A masterly violinist Goldberg's tone was warm and pure, his interpretations stressed refinement, intimacy and a noble intensity. His recordings include a distinguished set of the Brandenburg Concertos and, with Radu Lupu, 16 Mozart sonatas. He was also a sensitive performer of Bartók, Berg, and Hindemith.

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[Naama Ramot (2nd ed.)]

GOLDBERGER, IZIDOR (1876–1944), Hungarian rabbi and scholar. Goldberger, who was born in Bátorkeszi, Hungary, held appointments in Sátoraljaujhely (1903–1914) and Tata

(1912–1944). He wrote on the history of Hungarian Jewry, especially on that of the Jews in Zemplén County (1910), and in the city of Tata (1914). He also wrote on the emancipation of Hungarian Jewry. Goldberger translated into Hungarian excerpts from the Mishnah (1905) and from the Midrash (1907).

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[Jeno Zsoldos]

GOLDBERGER, JOSEPH (1874–1929), U.S. physician and public health specialist. Goldberger, who was born in Giralt, Hungary, immigrated to the U.S. at an early age. From 1899 until his death he served in the U.S. Public Health Service in Washington, D.C. Goldberger's greatest contribution was his discovery of the etiology and therapy of pellagra and his introduction of nicotinic acid as a means of preventing the disease. He also made significant contributions in the study of infectious diseases and public health, particularly in the field of welfare of the poor.

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[Suessmann Muntner]

GOLDBLOOM, Montreal family noted for their involvement in medicine, research, teaching, and publishing, as well as political activity, social activism, and community work.

Renowned for his pioneering work in children's health, ALTON GOLDBLOOM (1890–1968) was a founder of the Canadian Pediatric Society. During his career, he was a professor (emeritus) of pediatrics at McGill University and physician-in-chief at the Montreal Children's Hospital. His many publications include his autobiography, *Small Patients* (1959), and *The Care of the Child* (1928).

The elder son, VICTOR CHARLES (1923–), graduated from McGill University and worked as a pediatrician. In 1966, he was elected to the National Assembly of Quebec, and after re-election in 1970, he became the first Jewish member of a provincial cabinet in Quebec. Remaining in the National Assembly until 1979, he served as minister of the environment as well as minister of municipal affairs. He later worked as the executive director of the Canadian Council of Christians and Jews and several other ecumenical and intercultural organizations. From 1991 to 1999, he served as official languages commissioner of Canada. Among his many distinctions, he was named a Companion of the Order of Canada and an Officer of the Order of Quebec. His wife, SHEILA BARSHAY, a McGill graduate and professor of social work, was actively involved in several public organizations and was named Member of the Order of Canada in 1998.

His brother, RICHARD GOLDBLOOM (1924–) graduated from McGill University, taught pediatric medicine at Dalhousie University in Halifax, Nova Scotia, and was appointed chancellor of the University in 2001. He published over 200 articles and books, including a textbook, *Pediatric Clinical Skills*. In recognition of his dedication to both general and Jewish community organizations, as well as his university and medical career, he was named an Officer of the Order of Canada in 1987. His wife, RUTH MIRIAM SCHWARTZ, a graduate of McGill, among other public and benevolent appointments served to coordinate the renovations to Pier 21 in Halifax. She was named an Officer of the Order of Canada in 2000.

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[Steven Lapidus (2nd ed.)]

GOLDBLOOM, JACOB KOPPEL (1872–1961), Zionist leader. Born in Kletsk, then Poland, Goldbloom went to London in 1892, joined the Ḥovevei Zion and, after meeting Herzl, began to found Zionist societies in Whitechapel. He introduced the "*Ivrit be-Ivrit*" method of Hebrew teaching and taught many thousands of youngsters who enrolled in his "Redman's Road Talmud Torah" over the decades. From 1901 onward Goldbloom attended almost every Zionist Congress and was a member of the Zionist General Council. In 1935 he became chairman of the European executive of the Confederation of General Zionists. He served Herzl, Wolffsohn, Otto Warburg, Weizmann, Sokolow, and Nahum Goldmann with loyalty and devotion. Goldbloom was one of the architects of the British Zionist Federation and of its Synagogue Council. He wrote a utopian work in Hebrew entitled *Ḥag ha-Bikkurim be-Ereẓ Yisrael bi-Shenat 2016* ("Festival of the First Harvest in Ereẓ Israel in the Year 2016," 1920). In 1963 his remains were buried in Jerusalem.

[Josef Fraenkel]

GOLDBLUM, ISRAEL ISSER (**Isidore**; 1864–1925), Polish Hebrew writer and bibliographer. Goldblum was born in Vilna and studied in an East European yeshivot. He devoted himself to the study and publication of Hebrew manuscripts in Berlin, Paris, London, Oxford, and Rome. The result of his research he published under the pseudonym Yafag mainly in the periodical *Ha-Maggid*. He corresponded with the leading Jewish scholars of his time and published a collection of these letters (*Kevuẓat Mikhtavim*, 1895). He also published *Mi-Ginzei Yisrael be-Paris* (1894) on the Paris Hebrew manuscripts and *Ma'amar Bikkoret Sefarim* (1891). Some of his writings and letters exist in manuscript form at the Jewish Theological Seminary of America.

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GOLDBLUM, JEFF (1952–), U.S. film actor. Goldblum started on the New York stage, but soon went to Hollywood. Goldblum played small roles in such films as *California Split, Nashville, Next Stop Greenwich Village*, and *Annie Hall*, before landing his first leading role in a remake of the classic sci-fi adventure *Invasion of the Body Snatchers* (1978). Goldblum was soon recognized for the off-beat authenticity he gave his characters in such films as *The Big Chill* (1983), *The Right Stuff* (1983), *Into the Night* (1985), *Silverado* (1985), *The Fly* (1986), *Beyond Therapy* (1987), *Vibes* (1988), *The Tall Guy* (1989), *Earth Girls Are Easy* (1989), *Mister Frost* (1990), *The Player* (1992), *Deep Cover* (1992), and *Fathers and Sons* (1992). He appeared in *Jurassic Park* (1993) and *Independence Day* (1996), two of the most financially successful movies ever made. Later films include *Igby Goes Down* (2002) and *The Life Aquatic with Steve Zissou* (2004).

[Jonathan Licht]

GOLDBLUM, NATAN (1920–2001), Israeli virologist. Born in Poland, Goldblum immigrated to Palestine in 1938 as a student at the Hebrew University, where later he became professor of virology. His early work on malaria and West Nile fever was accompanied by his own efforts to eradicate these diseases in the Hulleh Valley in Galilee, Israel. With the establishment of the Israeli Defense Forces in 1948, he joined the medical corps and took part in the medical treatment of Yemenite immigrants. His activity was largely responsible for preventing the dangerous spread of malaria, among other diseases. He served in the beginning of the 1950s as head of the Department of Epidemiology of Hemed, the Military Research Institue, and subsequently became director of the Virus Laboratories of the Ministry of Health. He studied the preparation of polio vaccine with Jonas *Salk and Albert *Sabin in the United States and upon his return to Israel applied this knowledge to produce the vaccine with which some 60,000 Israeli children were inoculated. He joined the Hebrew University in 1960, where he was appointed professor of virology and head of the Department of Virology. He was vice president of the university in 1974–77. For over 30 years he continued research on polio. Among his other research subjects were Israeli snake venom, molecular identification of viruses transmitted by insects, and hoof-and-mouth disease. Goldblum joined the WHO consulting team on the eradication of viral diseases and traveled to African and other countries to help solve public health problems. In 1988 he was awarded the Israel Prize for life sciences, on the 40th anniversary of the founding of the State of Israel.

[Fern Lee Seckbach]

GOLDEMBERG, ISAAC (1945–), Peruvian poet, novelist, and lecturer. The son of a Catholic Peruvian mother and a Jewish immigrant, he was alternately raised in both cultures. He studied in Spain and the U.S., lived for two years in Israel, and settled in New York in 1964. Goldemberg taught at various universities and was a professor at the Hostos Community College and the Graduate School of CUNY, where he founded and directed the Latin American Writers Institute. His novels and poems reflect, in a personal and unconventional way, the conflicts of an always unfinished identity made up of contradictory cultures, of exiles, and the desire to belong. He published the following: novels – *La vida a plazos de don Jacobo Lerner* (1978; *The Fragmented Life of Don Jacobo Lerner*, 1976), selected by the National Yiddish Book Center among the greatest Jewish literary works; *Tiempo al tiempo* (1984; *Play by Play*, 1984); *El nombre del padre* ("The Name of the Father," 2001); Poetry – *Tiempo de silencio* ("Time of Silence," 1970); *Hombre de paso/Just Passing Through* (bilingual, 1981); *Cuerpo del amor* ("Body of Love," 2000); *La vida son los ríos* ("Lives are the Rivers," fiction & poetry, 2005); *Peruvian Blues* (2001); *Memorias* ("Memories," 2005); plays – *Hotel Amérikka* (2000); *Golpe de gracia* ("Coup of Death," 2003). In 2003 appeared *Señas y contraseñas: Antología personal. Poesía, narrativa, teatro* ("Signs and Passwords: Personal Anthology. Poetry, Fiction, and Theater"). In 1998 he edited *El Gran Libro de América Judía* ("The Great Book of Jewish America," a huge anthology of Latin American Jewish writing).

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[Florinda F. Goldberg (2nd ed.)]

GOLDEN, HARRY LEWIS (**Herschel Goldhurst**; 1902–1981), U.S. author, editor, and publisher. One of five children of immigrants from Austria-Hungary, Golden was born on New York's Lower East Side. His father was an editor of the *Jewish Daily Forward*. Golden studied English literature, but left the university without completing his degree. During the "Roaring Twenties" he was sentenced to five years imprisonment for running a Wall Street gambling den. On his release he moved south, changing his name to Golden and becoming a successful journalist. Golden is best known for his one-man newspaper, *The Carolina Israelite*, which he published from 1942 to 1969. He was much admired by American liberals for his witty and courageous stand in favor of black integration, attacking race hatred as absurd rather than criminal. His best-selling books *Only in America* (1958), *For 2¢ Plain* (1959), and *Enjoy* (1960) were drawn from some of his editorials. Much of their charm lies in his folkloristic description of Jewish immigrant life. His other works include *Mr. Kennedy and the Negroes* (1964); *So What Else Is New* (1964); and an autobiography, *The Right Time* (1969). In 1965 he published *A Little Girl Is Dead* about the Leo *Frank case.

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[Milton Henry Hindus]

GOLDEN, JOHN (1874–1955), U.S. songwriter and theatrical producer. Born in New York City, Golden was educated at New York University. He began songwriting in collaboration with

Irving Berlin, Oscar Hammerstein, and Douglas Fairbanks. The songs that brought him the most fame and money were "Poor Butterfly" and "Goodbye Girls, I'm Through." In 1914 he and Winchell Smith went into partnership as play producers, made a hit with *Turn to the Right* (1916) and again with *Lightnin'*, which ran for 1291 performances on Broadway. He was a charter member of ASCAP (American Society of Composers, Authors, and Publishers) and its director in 1914–15, as well as the organization's first treasurer.

Golden subsequently produced more than a hundred plays. Some of his Broadway productions included *Susan and God*, *Turn to the Right*, *Three Wise Fools*, *The First Year*, *Seventh Heaven*, *Counselor-at-Law*, *When Ladies Meet*, *As Husbands Go*, *Let Us Be Gay*, *Claudia*, *Skylark*, *The Male Animal*, and *They Knew What They Wanted*. As a composer, he wrote the scores for the Broadway shows *The Candy Shop*; *Over the River*; *Hip, Hip, Hooray*; *The Big Show*; *Cheer Up*; and *Everything*.

In 1943 he conducted a play competition in the U.S. Army and presented the five winners as "The Army Play by Play." He was also the founder of the Stage Door Canteen and the Stage Relief Fund. The U.S. Army gave him the highest civilian decoration for distinguished service. His will established a fund for the advancement of playwriting, The John Golden Fund Inc. The intimate, 80-seat John Golden Theater on Broadway was named in his honor.

[Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

GOLDENBERG, BAERISH (1825–1898), Hebrew scholar, teacher, and poet. Born in Vishnevets (Volhynia), he studied in Tarnopol in the school established by Joseph *Perl, and in 1850 opened his own school there. The rest of his life was devoted to teaching, mainly in Tarnopol, but also for some time in other towns in Galicia and Romania. He published many linguistic studies in the Hebrew journals of his time, articles and books (in German) on ancient Jewish history, and Hebrew poetry. His two major Hebrew books are *Ohel Yosef* (a biography of Joseph Perl and a history of his Tarnopol school, 1860) and *Or Ḥadash* (biblical commentaries and linguistic studies, 10 vols., 1889–97). He also edited the journal *Nogah ha-Yare'aḥ* (1872–80).

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[Getzel Kressel]

GOLDENBERG, CHARLES ROBERT ("**Buckets**"; 1911–1986), U.S. football player; helped lead the Green Bay Packers to three NFL championships. Born in Odessa, Ukraine, Goldenberg grew up in Milwaukee, where he was a star as a tackle and tailback at North Division High School, and then an outstanding back at the University of Wisconsin from 1930 to 1933. He received a Knute Rockne All-America honorable mention and Knute Rockne All-Western in 1930, and AP All-Western Conference second team in 1932. After graduating in 1933, Goldenberg played fullback, blocking back, guard, linebacker, and defensive back from 1933 to 1945 with the Green Bay Packers, which won the championship in 1936, 1939, and 1944 and the Western Conference title in 1938. Goldenberg was named All-Pro guard in 1939, 1940, and 1942, and was named to the NFL's All-1930s Team. Goldenberg holds the oldest record in Packers history with five touchdowns as a rookie, set in 1933, and his 13 seasons is tied for fifth-longest tenure in team history.

[Elli Wohlgelernter (2nd ed.)]

GOLDENBERG, SAMUEL LEIB (1807–1846), Hebrew journalist. Born in Bolechow (Bolekhov) into a wealthy family, he was one of the pioneers of the Haskalah in Galicia. In 1833 Goldenberg launched the periodical *Kerem Ḥemed which was almost entirely devoted to scholarly articles (in the form of letters) and marked a development in Hebrew periodical literature. The leading modern Jewish scholars of the first half of the 19th century contributed to it.

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[Getzel Kressel]

GOLDENBERG-GETROITMAN, LAZAR (1846–1916), Russian revolutionary and one of the first Jewish socialists in Russia. Goldenberg was born in the Kherson district. He joined the revolutionary movement as a young man, when he was studying at the Technological Institute in Peterburg. He was arrested for incitement of the farmers not to pay taxes. He escaped to Switzerland where he became secretary of the Slavic department of the International League of Socialist Revolutionaries. After he was expelled from Switzerland he went to London in 1876 and established the Agudat ha-Soẓialistim ha-Ivrim (the Jewish Socialist Organization) with Aaron *Lieberman, which was probably the first of its kind in the world. On a visit to Romania in 1881, Goldenberg was seized and handed over to the Russian authorities but managed to escape a second time. He tried to live in Paris but was expelled for his revolutionary activities. He lived for ten years in New York, where he organized the Russian revolutionary activities abroad and for many years afterward managed a publishing house in London which produced books on socialist subjects in Russian, among them Khaim Zhitlovskis' "Jews to Jews." From 1891 to 1900 Goldenberg published an English monthly *Free Russia*. His memoirs appeared posthumously (1924) in Russian in the Moscow periodical *Katorga i ssylka* (nos. 3, 4, 5, 6).

GOLDENBURG, SAMUEL (**Sholem Goldstein**; 1886–1945), Yiddish actor. Son of a lumber merchant in Russia, Goldenburg joined a Yiddish company and at 20 toured with Sigmund Feinman in Europe. In 1917 he acted with Thomashefsky in New York, but later joined Maurice Schwartz's Jewish Art Theater, playing the lead in L. Feuchtwanger's *Jew Suess* and I.I. Singer's *Di Brider Ashkenazi* (*The Brothers Ashkenazi*, 1936). With Celia *Adler he did a 32-week season at the Amphion Theater, Brooklyn, in a repertory of 20 plays, among which were *The Dybbuk* and *Camille* (1925–26).

GOLDEN CALF (Heb. עֵגֶל מַסֵּכָה, Ex. 32:4; עֶגְלֵי זָהָב I Kings 12:28), the golden image made by Aaron at the behest of the Israelites and venerated near Mount Sinai (Ex. 32). Exodus 32 relates that the Israelites, anxious about Moses' prolonged absence, demanded that *Aaron provide a god to lead them. Complying, Aaron collected the golden ornaments of the people and fashioned the gold into the shape of a calf or a small bull. The image was immediately hailed by the people as a representation of the God who had brought Israel out of Egypt. Aaron then built an altar, and on the following day sacrifices were offered and the people feasted and danced and played. Thereupon the Lord told Moses of the apostasy of the "stiff-necked people," whom He proposed to destroy. Moses, however, interceded on behalf of the Israelites and persuaded the Lord to renounce His intended punishment. Carrying the Tablets of the Covenant down from Mt. Sinai, Moses saw the people dancing around the golden calf. In great anger Moses smashed the Tablets, melted down the image of the calf, pulverized the precious metal, and scattered the powdered gold over the available source of water, thus making the people drink it (verse 20); and there is doubtless a causal nexus between this and the plague that is reported in verse 35 (see Ordeal of *Jealousy).

Exodus 32 relates that Moses then upbraided Aaron for having "brought great guilt" upon the people. The parallel account in Deut. 9:20 relates that but for Moses' supplication on behalf of Aaron the Lord would have destroyed Aaron. Stern punishment was, however, meted out to the calf-worshipers, 3,000 of whom were slain by the *Levites who had responded to Moses' call for volunteers. Henceforth the Levites were consecrated to the service of the Lord. Despite Moses' prayer for divine forgiveness, the Lord threatened that on the day of His visitation punishment would overtake the people. Soon afterward a plague broke out among the Israelites (see above). In addition the Lord announced that He would no longer abide amid this "stiff-necked people." The Israelites mourned the departure of the Divine presence and stripped themselves of their ornaments (Ex. 33:1–6).

Critical View

The extant text of Exodus 32 is according to certain Bible critics an expansion of a basic narrative into several strata by secondary additions; for another interpretation see Cassuto (Exodus, ad loc.). The critical view does not see the chapter as a literary unity on the basis of inconsistencies. Others, however, believe that Aaronic authorship (and divine sanction) of the practice of calf symbolism was claimed from the very beginning by Jeroboam I and the priesthoods of Bethel and Dan, and that the version in Exodus 32, in boldly "representing Aaron, the ancestor of Israel's priestly caste, as a man of somewhat feeble character" (H.L. Ginsberg, in JBL, 80 (1961), 345) is motivated by a desire to discredit the practice which he instituted.

Calf and Bull Symbolism

The narrative of the golden calf cannot be understood without relating it to the erection of two golden calves in the temples of *Beth-El and *Dan by *Jeroboam I of Israel (I Kings 12:26ff.). Not only are the general features of the story similar in both accounts, but the explanatory formula in Exodus 32:4b, 8b – "These are your gods, O Israel, who brought you up out of the land of Egypt" – is virtually identical to the one in I Kings 12:28b. Scholars are divided on the question of the chronological relationship of the two accounts. The traditional view is that the Jeroboam incident is dependent on the Exodus story (see Cassuto, loc. cit.). Other scholars, however, hold the view that Exodus 32 presupposes I Kings 12.

The bull had an important role in the art and religious texts of the ancient Near East. The storm-god *Hadad is frequently represented standing on a bull. Taking these facts into account it is generally assumed (after H. Th. Obbrick) that Jeroboam's calves corresponded to the *cherubim of Solomon's Temple, i.e., they were regarded as seats or pedestals upon which the Lord was thought to stand invisible to human eyes. M. Haran remarks that if Jeroboam's calves were considered pedestals, then they were not meant to be an exact replica of cherubim connected with the *Ark of the Covenant because the Ark and its cherubim were kept in the publicly inaccessible Holy of Holies while the calves were placed in the courts of the Temple, where the people could see and kiss them (cf. Hos. 13:2). It is also possible that the calves were, from the beginning, meant to represent the Lord like the images in the sanctuaries of Micah and Dan (Judg. 17:4; 18:14, 15–31; cf. M. Haran, in B. Zvieli (ed.), *Siḥot ba-Mikra*, 1 (1968), 214; idem, in: *Biblica*, 50 (1969), 264).

In any case Jeroboam's initiative must have had some basis in an old tradition, otherwise he could not have succeeded in his enterprise. Jeroboam's bulls, contrary to the Ark symbolism, were meant to be accessible to worshipers in the temples (cf. I Kings 12:27); and thus they developed from symbols of the Lord to fetishes in their own right (cf. e.g., II Kings 17:16; Hos. 8:5–6; 10:5; 13:2).

In the Aggadah

The rabbinic attitude toward the episode of the golden calf is guided by the need to explain how the Children of Israel could demand an idol so soon after hearing the Ten Commandments and giving liberally to the erection of the Sanctuary and how Aaron could agree to the construction of the calf and still not forfeit his future role as high priest. The initiative in demanding the idol is attributed by some rabbis to the mixed multitude who joined the Israelites at the time of the Exodus (Ex. 12:38). Forty thousand of them, accompanied by two Egyptian magicians, *Jannes and Mambres, came to Aaron and claimed that it already was the sixth hour of the 40th day since Moses had left, the hour which he previously had designated for his return. They claimed that since he had not yet appeared he would never come. Satan added to the state of helplessness of the people by showing them a vision of Moses' bier which convinced them that he had died. Only then did they demand that Aaron produce a god for them (Shab. 89a; Tanh. B., Ex. 112–3). The error of the people consisted in including in their calculation the day of the ascent, whereas Moses had excluded it (Rashi, Shab. 89a). God was also blamed since He enslaved them in Egypt where they were exposed to the most idolatrous of ancient civilizations (Ex. R. 43:7) and for giving them an abundance of gold and silver when they left Egypt (Ber. 32a). *Hur, who is regarded as the son of Miriam and Caleb, attempted to dissuade the people from the sin and was put to death by them. Aaron feared that he would share the same fate (Lev. R. 10:3; Tanh. B., Ex. 112–3) and in accordance with his passion for the pursuit of peace (Avot 1:12; see *Aaron in the aggadah), felt it better to acquiesce than to permit the people to commit the unpardonable sin of slaying two leaders on the same day (Sanh. 7a). Hoping to gain time, he ordered them to bring the golden ornaments of their wives, relying on their known piety to refuse. The men thereupon donated their own jewelry (PdRE 45). Aaron then threw the gold into the fire, still hoping that Moses would return. Instantly, however, a calf appeared, alive and skipping, the result of a splinter which was thrown into the fire by the wicked Micah. This splinter, containing the words עלה שור (*aleh shor*, "Come up, Ox"; Joseph being compared to an ox; cf. Deut. 33:17), had previously been thrown into the Nile by Moses when he desired that Joseph's coffin rise to the surface so that he could transport his remains to Ereẓ Israel (Tanḥ. *Ki Tissa*, 19). According to another version, the Egyptian magicians made the calf move as if it were alive (Song R. 1:9, no. 3). Aaron then postponed the celebration to the next day again to gain time. Since God knew that Aaron was motivated by good intentions the high priesthood was not withheld from him (Lev. R. 10:3; Ex. R. 37:2). Nevertheless, he still was severely punished in that the subsequent death of two of his sons was attributed to his role in this incident (Lev. R. 10:5).

The tribe of Levi (Yoma 66b) and its 12 heads (PdRE 45) did not join the worship of the calf. The remaining Israelites were severely punished. Whoever sacrificed and burned incense died by the sword; whoever embraced and kissed the calf died by the plague; and whoever rejoiced in his heart died of dropsy (Yoma 66b). "There is not a misfortune that Israel has suffered which is not partly a retribution for the sin of the calf" (Sanh. 102a).

[Aaron Rothkoff]

In Christianity

During the Roman period and long after, the golden calf episode was a source of embarrassment to the Jews in their relations with the increasingly aggressive Church, which fully exploited the story in its polemics with the Synagogue. Even Josephus, who was concerned only with pagan antisemitism, was evidently afraid that the biblical account might be employed by Alexandrian antisemites to lend credence to their allegation that the Jews worshiped an ass's head in the Temple (cf. Apion 2:80, 114, 120; Tacitus, Histories 5:4). Josephus accordingly omits the entire golden calf episode from his account of the Israelite migrations in the desert. Instead, he graphically depicts the deep anxiety of the Israelites concerning Moses and their joy when at last he came down from Mount Sinai (Ant. 3:95–99). Not only did Moses not break the tablets, but he actually displayed them to the rejoicing people (3:101–2). Josephus also omits any reference to Aaron, and the same is true of Philo who does not, however, completely suppress the golden calf narrative (Mos. 2:161–74, 271).

As early as the immediate post-crucifixion era, Stephen, the first Christian martyr, sharply denounced the Jews (but not Aaron who was held in veneration by the Church) for having made the golden calf, which became the fountainhead of Jewish crimes throughout their history, culminating in the crucifixion of Jesus (Acts 7:41–52). For the Church the golden calf episode served as proof that the divine covenant with Israel had never been consummated, so that the Jewish claim to a special relationship with the Almighty was unacceptable (see Smolar in bibl., p. 91). By worshiping the golden calf, the Jews had revealed their foolish, stubborn, unrepentant, and immoral character (*ibid.*, 100). Augustine also associated the calf cult with the worship of the devil, and the Jews who had drunk the water into which the powder of the golden calf had been cast with the body of the devil (*ibid.*, 100–1). The medieval identification of the Jew with the devil was no doubt influenced by this extreme patristic interpretation (*ibid.*, 101, n. 12).

While the rabbinic reaction to such violent attacks by the Church was bound to be militant, as has been seen, some of the criticism was frankly accepted, and the seriousness of the offense was by no means played down: Israel was compared to "a shameless bride who plays the harlot within her bridal canopy" (Shab. 88b).

[Moses Aberbach]

See also *Aaron in the *aggadah*; *Hur in the *aggadah*. For Golden Calf in the arts see *Moses in the Arts.

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GOLDENE KEYT, DI ("The Golden Chain"), Israel Yiddish quarterly. It was founded under Histadrut (Labor Federation) auspices in 1949 and until 1955 edited by Avrom *Sutskever and Abraham *Levinson. In that year Sutskever became sole editor, with Eliezer Pines serving as assistant editor until his death in 1984. Other editorial staff included Aleksander

*Shpiglblat, Mendl *Man, and Meylekh Karpinovitsh. In the rich first issue Joseph *Sprinzak and other prominent figures called for an end to the antagonism between Hebrew and Yiddish. The journal published works by Yiddish masters and by young writers in Israel and the Diaspora, Yiddish translations of Hebrew literature, research into literary and linguistic problems, and surveys of Jewish cultural events. Long before its last issue (no. 141) appeared in 1995, *Di Goldene Keyt* was recognized as the preeminent literary organ of Yiddish writers. It continues to be an invaluable source of Yiddish belles lettres and scholarship.

[Sol Liptzin / Leonard Prager (2nd ed.)]

GOLDENSON, SAMUEL HARRY (1878–1962), U.S. Reform rabbi. Goldenson was born in Kalvarija, Poland, and was taken to the United States in 1890. He was ordained at the Hebrew Union College in 1904, then led congregations in Lexington, Kentucky (1904–06), and Albany, New York (1906–18). In 1918 Goldenson moved to Temple Rodef Shalom, Pittsburgh, where he established his reputation nationally. In 1934 he was appointed senior rabbi of Temple Emanu-El, New York, also serving as president of the Central Conference of American Rabbis (1933–35). Becoming rabbi emeritus in 1947, he devoted the last years of his career to preaching in small communities under the auspices of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations. Goldenson adhered to the older standpoint in American Reform Judaism, emphasizing the universal message of the prophets and showing little sympathy for Jewish nationalism and the revived interest in ceremonial matters. He was a lifelong advocate of social justice and was active in campaigns for civic betterment.

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[Abram Vossen Goodman]

GOLDENTHAL, JACOB (1815–1868), Austrian Orientalist. Goldenthal was born in Brody and became principal of the Jewish school in Kishinev, Russia, in 1843; in 1846 he settled in Vienna and taught Oriental languages, rabbinics, and literature at the University of Vienna from 1848 until his death. Beside his regular teachings he offered a theological program for rabbinical candidates.

Goldenthal published several articles on medieval Jewish literature in *Kokhevei Yiẓḥak* (5, 1846; 24, 1858). He edited the following medieval texts: Abraham ibn Ḥasdai's Hebrew translation of al-Ghazālī's Arabic *Mīzān al-ʿAmal, Sefer Mozneі Ẓedek* (1939); Averroes' commentary on Aristotle's *Rhetoric*, translated into Hebrew as *Be'ur Ibn Rushd le-Sefer ha-Halaẓah le-Aristo* (1842); *Mesharet Moshe* (1845), an exposition of Maimonides' teaching on the concept of providence; Nissim b. Jacob's *Mafte'aḥ shel Manulei ha-Talmud* (1847), dealing with Talmud methodology; Moses Rieti's poem *Mikdash Me'at* (1851), on ancient philosophy and the history of Jewish literature; and Moses Narboni's commentary on Maimonides' *Guide, Be'ur le-Sefer Moreh Nevukhim* (1852). Goldenthal tried to revive Jost and Creizenach's periodical *Zion*, but only one issue, *Neue Zion* (1845), appeared. His correspondence with S.D. *Luzzatto was published in *Kokhevei Yiẓḥak*. He also published the first Hebrew textbook for the study of Arabic, *Sefer Maspik li-Ydi'at Dikduk Lashon Arvi* (1857), and a textbook for the study of Turkish (1865); he compiled a catalog of forty Hebrew manuscripts at the National Library of Vienna (1851). Some of his works were published in the *Denkschriften* of the Vienna Academy of Sciences.

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[Samuel Miklos Stern / Gregor Pelger (2nd ed.)]

GOLDENWEISER, ALEXANDER ALEXANDROVICH (1880–1936), U.S. anthropologist. Born in Kiev, Russia, the son of Alexander Solomonovich *Goldenweiser, Goldenweiser studied anthropology under Franz *Boas, and later taught anthropology and other social sciences at various institutions including Columbia University, the New School for Social Research, and the University of Oregon in Portland. He followed Boas in his attacks on certain intellectual positions then prevalent, such as unilinear evolutionism, geographical and biological determinism, and extreme diffusionism. Described by a contemporary as "the most philosophical of American anthropologists," Goldenweiser did little field work except for several brief trips to the Grand River Iroquois Reservation in Ontario. His main contributions were to anthropological and social theory, as in his article "The Principle of Limited Possibilities in the Development of Culture" in the *Journal of American Folklore,* 26 (1913), in which he sought to explain convergences among traits of different cultures as the result of a natural limitation on the number of possible forms. In addition, he contributed to the elucidation of such basic concepts as culture, culture patterns, and especially, totemism, the subject of his best-known monograph in which he rejected Durkheim's theory of the totemic origin of religion. He concerned himself too with various themes in the history of thought and helped organize the *Encyclopedia of Social Science*, for which he wrote a number of articles.

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[Ephraim Fischoff]

GOLDENWEISER, EMANUEL ALEXANDROVICH (1883–1953), U.S. economist. Goldenweiser was born in Kiev, immigrated to the United States in 1902, studied at Columbia and Cornell Universities, and, in 1907, joined the U.S. government service as an economist and statistician. He first served with the Immigration Commission and then with the Census Bureau and the Department of Agriculture. In 1919 he began working for the Federal Reserve Board, and from 1927 until his retirement was its director of research. He developed the Board's statistical services, frequently represented the Federal Reserve System nationally, and served on the government's principal technical committees on economics and finance. He was, moreover, one of the main U.S. designers of the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank. His many publications include: *Immigrants in Cities* (1909), *Farm Tenancy in the United States* (1924), *The Federal Reserve System in Operation* (1925), and *Monetary Management* (1949).

[Joachim O. Ronall]

GOLDFADEN, ABRAHAM (**Avrom Goldfodem**; 1840–1908), Yiddish poet, dramatist, and composer, founder of the modern Yiddish theater (see *Theater, Yiddish). Born into a watchmaker's family in Staro Konstantinov, Ukraine, he received not only a thorough Hebrew education but also acquired a knowledge of Russian, German, and secular subjects. To avoid the draft, Goldfaden was sent to a government school at 15 and there came under the influence of Abraham Baer *Gottlober, *maskil* and author of Hebrew and Yiddish satires, including the scathing anti-ḥasidic comedy *Der Dektukh, Oder Tsvey Khupes in Eyn Nakht* ("The Bridal Veil, or Two Weddings in One Night"), which exerted a strong influence on Goldfaden's early comedies. Upon graduation in 1857, Goldfaden entered the rabbinical seminary at Zhitomir, which trained rabbis, teachers, and Jewish officials for government service. Under the guidance there of *maskilic* leaders such as E.Z. Zweifel, H.S. Slonimsky, and Gottlober, he composed Hebrew lyrics, the first of which were published in *Ha-Meliẓ* (1862). A year later his first Yiddish poems appeared in *Kol Mevaser*. In 1865 he published a Hebrew collection, *Ẓiẓim u-Feraḥim* ("Buds and Flowers"), and upon his graduation, his first Yiddish collection, *Dos Yudele* ("The Little Jew," 1866), offering rich material for **badḥanim* and folksingers. It was followed by a supplementary volume, *Di Yidene* ("The Jewish Woman," 1869), which included his first efforts at writing drama: a short two-character sketch, and the full-length comedy *Di Mume Sosye* ("Aunt Sosya"), closely modeled on Shloyme Ettinger's comedy *Serkele*. Goldfaden knew the latter play intimately, having played the title (female) role in the seminary's all-male production, which was the toast of Zhitomir.

In 1875 he joined his former classmate Isaac Joel *Linetzki in founding and editing in Lemberg a short-lived humorous magazine, *Der Alter Yisrolik*. Goldfaden then moved to Romania, where, in Jassy, he came in contact with the *Broder Singers, who were singing and acting out Yiddish songs, including his own, in wine cellars and restaurant gardens. He then conceived the idea that the dramatic effect of the songs and impersonations could be heightened if combined with prose dialogues and woven into an interesting plot. The first performances, at Shimen Mark's Pomul Verde cafe in October 1876, starring the veteran performer Israel Grodner and his young co-star, Sokher Goldstein, launched the professional Yiddish theater. Encouraged by the enthusiastic reception accorded his performances in Jassy, Goldfaden engaged wandering minstrels and cantors' assistants as additional actors, toured other Romanian cities, including Bucharest, and then went to Odessa. By 1880 his troupe was giving performances throughout Russia, and his phenomenal success was encouraging theatrical ventures by other enterprising actors and librettists. Of Goldfaden's early plays, the most successful were the musical comedies *Shmendrik* (1877), a satire whose titular anti-hero became a synonym for a foolish person; *Di Kishefmakherin* ("The Sorceress," 1879), which includes many of Goldfaden's most popular songs; and *Der Fanatik oder di Tsvey Kuni Leml* ("The Fanatic, or the Two Kuni Lemls," 1880), the apotheosis of the *maskilic* farces Goldfaden had been writing for the previous few years. All three of these plays retained uninterrupted stage popularity for decades in both their original forms and in a variety of adaptations. Though not a trained musician, Goldfaden had been writing songs for most of his life, and the music in his plays is a combination of original composition and artful selection of pre-existing music. He drew upon varied sources – synagogue chants and Jewish folksong, the non-Jewish folk and popular music of Eastern Europe, and Italian and French operatic arias. Many of his songs became enormously popular among Yiddish speakers. Among other types of songs, Goldfaden composed popular lullabies ("Rozhinkes mit Mandlen" / "Raisins and Almonds"), occasional songs (like "Tsu Dayn Geburtstog," the Yiddish "Happy Birthday"), allegories of God's relationship with the Jewish people ("A Pastekhl" / "A Shepherd"), and songs that poignantly captured a sense of aspiration for self-fulfillment on both individual and national levels ("Faryomert, Farklogt" / "Lamented, Mourned"; "Shabes, Yontev, un Rosh Khoydesh" / "Sabbath, Festival, and New Moon").

The Russian pogroms of the early 1880s prompted Goldfaden, like many other Jewish writers, to reassess Jewish life and politics, and a more serious tone becomes evident in his work beginning at this point. The romantic operetta *Shulamis* (1880) tells an epic story set in late antiquity and following the fortunes of a shepherdess and the soldier who falls in love with, abandons, and ultimately returns to her. In *Doktor Almosado* (1882), Goldfaden reacted to the pogroms of 1881, and even though he transposed the scene of the dramatic action to 14th-century Palermo, his audience sensed its timeliness and its veiled references to their sad plight. In *Bar Kokhba* (1883), a historical opera depicting the last desperate revolt of the Jews against their Roman oppressors, Goldfaden – an adherent of the Ḥovevei Zion movement – tried to stir his people with visions of ancient national grandeur and heroism.

The Yiddish theater expanded and flourished in Eastern Europe until 1883, when the Russian government, fearing this new mass medium, banned performances in Yiddish. This action compelled many authors, actors, and producers to migrate to other lands, though some remained in Russia and found various ways to sidestep the ban. Those who left helped establish Yiddish theaters in Warsaw, Paris, London, and New York, among other places. In 1887 Goldfaden was invited by some of his actors who had moved to New York to join them, but when he arrived he encountered severe competition from producers who had preceded him and from playwrights like Joseph Lateiner and Moyshe Hurwitz, who were even more prolific than he. During this American sojourn, he composed his successful biblical dramas *Akeydes Yitskhok* ("The Binding of Isaac," 1887) and *Kenig Akhashveyresh* ("King Ahasuerus," 1887), but professional disappointments drove him back to Europe. He led a troupe at the Princess Club Theatre in London for several months during 1889, but soon moved to Paris and then on to Lemberg (Lvov), where he remained for most of the 1890s.

As he grew older, Goldfaden's commitment to Zionism became increasingly prominent in his life and work. In 1900, he served as Paris delegate to the World Zionist Congress in London. Many of his plays and poems reflect his political views. The epic play *Meshiekhs Tsaytn!?* ("The Messianic Era?!," 1891), for example, takes the characters on spiritual and physical journeys resulting from pogroms and ultimately concludes that the Land of Israel is the only suitable home for the Jews. His last play, *Ben Ami* (1907), reaches a similar conclusion. To a large extent an adaption of George Eliot's novel *Daniel Deronda, Ben Ami* transposes the action to pogrom-ridden Odessa, and the philo-Semitic English aristocrat becomes a Russian baron. The play ends with the pogrom victims and their noble savior experiencing regeneration as pioneers of Jewish national redemption on the soil of Zion.

In spite of the enormous popularity and influence of his plays, Goldfaden and his wife, Paulina, perpetually struggled to stay out of poverty. His final years brought continued wandering and declining health, ultimately bringing him to his deathbed as *Ben Ami* was running in New York theaters during the closing weeks of 1907; he died there on January 9, 1908. The following day, 100,000 mourners were said to have greeted his funeral procession to Washington Cemetery. His death ended one era and inaugurated another – that of the reinterpretation of his works by other artists. Avant-garde productions of his work were mounted by notable companies like the Moscow State Yiddish Theater, which offered a groundbreaking, Sovietized reinvention of *Di Kishefmakherin* in 1922; the Yiddish Art Theater in New York, which produced three ambitious revivals of Goldfaden plays in the mid-1920s; and Warsaw's Yung Teater, with *Trupe Tanentsap* ("The Tanentsap Troupe," 1933), a play-within-a-play revolving around a fictional production of *Di Tsvey Kuni-Leml* during the early years of the professional Yiddish theatre. Other prominent playwrights who would take up the challenge of adapting Goldfaden's plays included Shmuel *Halkin (*Shulamis* and *Bar Kokhba*) and Itsik *Manger (*Hotsmakh-shpil* / "Hotsmakh Play," 1947), an original work based on characters from *Di Kishefmakherin*).

[Sol Liptzin / Joel Berkowitz (2nd ed.)]

Music

Goldfaden himself furnished the tunes to his plays, although he was unable to write music and played no instrument. He drew upon the most varied sources – synagogue chants and Jewish folksong, the non-Jewish folk and popular music of Eastern Europe, and Italian and French operatic arias. Many of the songs from his plays have remained popular: some were folksongs initially (such as the cradle song *Rozhinkes mit Mandlen* which he adapted and put into *Shulamis*, from where it achieved its fame), and others became folksongs. Goldfaden described his musical activity with engaging frankness in his short autobiography; A.Z. *Idelsohn's analysis of the melodies in *Shulamis* and *Bar Kokhba*, and his conclusions, are a fair appraisal both of Goldfaden's musical shortcomings and his merits. For the performance of *Di Kishefmakherim* ("The Witch") by the Jewish Chamber Theater of Petrograd in 1922, the music was rearranged by Josef *Achron. In 1947, "The Witch" was staged in Tel Aviv in Hebrew by the *Ohel Theater, on the 70th anniversary of its first performance. The text was adapted by Abraham Levinson as a play within a play – bringing Goldfaden himself and his contemporary audience on the stage – and the music was arranged by Marc *Lavry.

[Bathja Bayer]

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GOLDFARB, ISRAEL (1879–1967), Polish-born American rabbi, cantor, and influential composer. Born in Sieniewa, Galicia, Poland, Goldfarb came to New York at the age of 14 and within a decade graduated from Columbia University. He was ordained by the Jewish Theological Seminary in New York (1902). Receiving musical training at the Institute for Musical Arts, the forerunner of the famed Juilliard School, Goldfarb then began his service, his dual calling as rabbi and cantor of the Kane Street synagogue, which was founded in 1856 and is the oldest continuously operating synagogue in Brooklyn. Goldfarb served the congregation for more than half a century (1904–56) and was rabbi emeritus until his death. He died knowing that his grandson Henry Michelman was to be named his successor. When he came to the congregation it had just completed a merger and was moving to new quarters in a converted church on Kane Street. His music united divergent parts of the congregation and eased the many transitions. The congregation became known as mother congregation of Brooklyn and led to the formation of other Brooklyn synagogues such as Union Temple, East Midwood Jewish Center, and Flatbush Jewish Center. Goldfarb became known as the father of congregational singing.

He tested his compositions in his synagogue and at his Sabbath table where many of his compositions were first sung. From there they spread throughout the Jewish world. He formed a youth choir of boys and girls, which was rare in those days and served a social as well as a spiritual function. Many of his compositions, especially his high holiday melodies, have been so widely chanted that they have come to be regarded as traditional.

Goldfarb was also among the founders of the Cantor's Institute at the Jewish Theological Seminary, where he taught for decades. He is best known for his compilation of Jewish music for schoolchildren, *The Jewish Songster*, and for composing the melodies to "*Shalom Aleichem*" (1918) and to "*Magen Avot*," which are sung in nearly every Ashkenazi synagogue in North America. His work continues to be performed in concerts and recorded by musicians, including Celtic guitarist Tony McManus and Jewish violinist Itzhak Perlman. Goldfarb's work can be heard in many homes and synagogues by people who acknowledge the mastery of his composition without knowing the master who composed it. At his funeral, his son-in-law Rabbi Irving Lehman said that Goldfarb's most beautiful melody was the song of his life.

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[Henry Michaelman (2nd ed.)]

GOLDFEDER, FISHEL (1912–1981), U.S. Conservative rabbi. Goldfeder was born in Pittsburgh, educated at Orthodox yeshivot in Brooklyn and Lithuania, and ordained at the Jewish Theological Seminary in 1944, the same year he earned a B.A. from New York University. After acting as substitute rabbi at Kadimah Synagogue in Springfield, Mass., while the permanent rabbi was serving as a chaplain during World War II, Goldfeder became assistant rabbi at the "conservadox" Congregation Adath Israel in Cincinnati in 1945. In 1949, Goldfeder – whose philosophy was "the life of a rabbi's is the life of his people" – became senior rabbi, remaining in that post until his retirement 31 years later. In the 1950s, the congregation became embroiled in a very public dispute over whether the synagogue – which followed many Orthodox practices, but was affiliated with United Synagogue and was gradually adopting Conservative innovations – should move from separate seating to mixed seating; the case even reached the secular courts, and monopolized an entire issue (Fall, 1956) of *Conservative Judaism*. Goldfeder articulated his opinion that one of the *raisons d'etre* of the Conservative movement was precisely to provide houses of worship for Jews who wanted less strict interpretations of *halakhah*. His view ultimately prevailed: the disgruntled Orthodox minority departed and Goldfeder steered Adath Israel firmly into the Conservative mainstream. By the time Goldfeder was elected rabbi emeritus in 1980, the congregation had grown to 1,000 members, making it one of the largest in Cincinnati – a city whose Jewish community Goldfeder had served in many realms. He was instrumental in founding Yavneh Day School, Chofetz Chaim Day School, Jewish Culture and Art Series, and the first city-wide Jewish Youth Council. He served as president of the Board of Rabbis and of the Zionist Federation; chairman of the Soviet Jewish Committee and of the Southern Ohio Region of Israel Bonds; and co-chairman of the Jewish Welfare Fund. On a national level, he served on the Executive Committee of the Jewish Community Relations Council; the National Advisory Council of the United Jewish Appeal; the Israel Bonds National Rabbinic Cabinet; and the Executive Committee of the Rabbinical Assembly, as well as the RA's Committee on Jewish Law and Standards. Goldfeder passed away in Jerusalem less than a year after his retirement.

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[Bezalel Gordon (2nd ed.)]

GOLDFLAM, ARNOŠT (1946–), Czech playwright, writer, director, screenwriter, and actor. Born to Holocaust survivors in Brno (Moravia), Goldflam studied theater directing at the Janáček Academy of Music Arts. He worked in various theaters until 1992, when he began freelancing. He was involved in many performances at home and abroad. Goldflam is the author of more than 25 plays, such as *Horror* (1981); *Biletářka* ("The Ticket Girl," 1983); *Útržky z nedokončeného románu* ("Scraps of an Unfinished Novel," 1985); *Agatománie* ("Agathomania," 1987); *Písek* ("The Sand," 1987); and *Smlouva* ("The Contract," 1999). Goldflam's plays oscillate between the tragic and the comic, the realistic and the dreamlike, between a dramatic construction and real life, often combined with the absurd.

He is influenced by his Jewish heritage. One of his plays, *Sladký Theresienstadt* ("Sweet Theresienstadt," 1996), is based on a diary from the Terezín concentration camp. In his work, Goldflam is also drawn to Jewish authors. His dramatic adaptations comprise works by Franz *Kafka, Franz *Werfel, Joseph *Roth, and Karel *Poláček. He was active as a theater and film actor, wrote stories and fairytales, and taught at the Faculty of Drama in Brno.

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[Milos Pojar (2nd ed.)]

GOLDHAMMER-SAHAWI, LEO (later **Aryeh**; 1884–1949), leader of the Zionist Organization in Austria, author, and journalist. Born in Mihaileni, Romania, Goldhammer moved to Vienna in 1902 and became an adherent of Herzl. He devoted himself primarily to statistical-economic studies of the Jews, particularly those of Austria. He established and edited the early Zionist periodicals in Vienna, *Die Stimme* and *Die Hoffnung*. In 1907 he moved back to Romania, returning to Vienna after World War I. Goldhammer was president of the Zionist Organization of Austria for many years. He took part, with B. *Borochov, in founding the World Union of *Po'alei Zion. He continued his Zionist activities until after the Nazi invasion of Austria (1938), finally settling in Haifa in 1939 and taking an active part in municipal affairs and the Aliyah Ḥadashah

Party. Among his books are *Kleiner Fuehrer durch die Palaestina-Literatur* (1919), *Die Juden Wiens* (1927); a monograph on the Jews of Vienna in volume 1 of *Arim ve-Immahot be-Yisrael* (1946); and *Leopold Plaschkes – Zwei Generationen österreichischen Judentums* (1943).

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[Getzel Kressel]

GOLDHAR, PINCHAS (1901–1947), Australian writer of Yiddish fiction. Born in Lodz, Goldhar migrated to Melbourne, Australia, in 1928. His early death (of heart disease) was said to have been aggravated by hard physical work in his father's dye factory. Goldhar wrote many short stories, chiefly in Yiddish, which are regarded as among the best ever written by a Jewish writer in Australia. They focus on the loneliness (as was the case at the time, before the arrival of large numbers of Yiddish-speaking Holocaust survivors) of East European Jews in remote Australia, and the relative lack of culture in that country. Goldhar also edited Yiddish supplements in Australian Jewish newspapers and a collection of short stories, *Dertseylungen fun Oystrale,* in 1939. In recent years there has been a considerable revival of interest in his work.

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[William D. Rubinstein (2nd ed.)]

GOLDIN, DANIEL SAUL (1940–), U.S. space administrator. New York-born and Bronx-bred, Goldin earned a bachelor of science degree in mechanical engineering from the City College of New York in 1962. Inspired in his freshman physics class by a professor's blackboard reminder ("Sputnik is watching you") as the Russians orbited the world's first artificial satellite, Goldin directed his attention to space. After graduation, he applied to the National Aeronautics and Space Administration, newly created amid the East-West space race. He joined NASA's Lewis Research Center in Cleveland, Ohio, because, he said, "they were working on electric propulsion for going to Mars." His work led to a major discovery. The ion engine he was working on for space propulsion could be converted to a radio transmitter powerful enough to beam television signals from a satellite to Earth, speeding them across thousands of miles of space. His advancement of that idea eventually won a United States patent and helped give birth to direct-broadcast satellites, which increasingly circle the Earth.

In 1967 Goldin was hired by the conglomerate TRW, a maker of military and civilian spacecraft. He moved to its California divisions and stayed there for 25 years, rising through the ranks to become vice president and general manager. He led projects that conceptualized and produced advanced communication spacecraft, space technologies, and scientific instruments. Between 1976 and 1983 he managed several top-secret programs involving such projects as spy satellites. During that period, TRW was the prime contractor on photographic spy satellites, then the nation's most powerful. The company also developed a satellite known as Magnum, which, instead of using a camera, unfurls a giant antenna in space to monitor missile tests, radio, telephone, radar, and other military and diplomatic communications. Under his stewardship, TRW also built early warning and communications satellites as well as scientific probes like NASA's Gamma Ray Observatory.

Goldin was selected by President George H.W. Bush in 1992 to become the ninth head of NASA. His appointment was seen as a way to shake up an agency that the administration found unresponsive to its direction. Goldin arrived when NASA had been in a tailspin since the 1986 *Challenger* disaster, which killed seven astronauts, including a high school teacher. Its wobbly state became apparent two months after his nomination when balky hardware aboard the space shuttle *Endeavor* forced three astronauts to reach out with nothing but their gloved hands to snare a wayward satellite in space. After that Goldin ordered a study to see if added rehearsals and training were needed for the agency's greatest impending challenge, repair of the $1.6 billion Hubble Space Telescope. Eventually, shuttle astronauts conducted a record three preparatory space walks. In December 1993, with Bill Clinton as president, the repair went with surprising ease, giving the agency a major boost in confidence. Goldin's tenure at NASA lasted through nine months of the administration of President George W. Bush, to November 2001; he was its longest-serving administrator.

Over the nine years of his administration, with lower budgets, Goldin initiated a "faster, better, cheaper" approach that included aggressive management reforms. The human space flight funding was reduced from 48 percent of the agency's budget to 38 percent and funds for science and aerospace technology were increased from 31 to 43 percent. The civil service workforce was reduced by about a third, while the headquarters civil service and contractor workforce was reduced by more than half, all without forced layoffs. In space exploration, he initiated the Origins Program, to understand how the universe has evolved, to learn how life began, and to see if life exists elsewhere. He was a vigorous proponent for increased exploration of Mars and established a series of robotic missions to visit the planet every two years over a decade. The missions, designed to determine if life and water may have existed on Mars, featured planetary rovers, penetrators, and sample returns. Goldin also played a pivotal rote in redesigning the International Space Station. Starting with the Space Shuttle program, Goldin established a goal to transfer day-to-day space operations to the private sector. He was also instrumental in promoting cooperative endeavors with the Russian Space Agency to the point where Russia became a full partner in the International Space Station program.

After leaving NASA in 2001, Goldin engaged in robotics research at the Neurosciences Institute in La Jolla, Calif. In November 2003, Goldin was selected by Boston University, the fourth largest private university in the United States, to succeed its longtime president and chancellor, John Silber. However, shortly before his inauguration, the university trustees withdrew its contract offer, which called for a salary of $600,000 for five years and had other provisions. Goldin threatened to sue. The university settled with Goldin for a reported payment of $1.8 million.

[Stewart Kampel (2nd ed.)]

GOLDIN, EZRA (1868–1915), Hebrew and Yiddish author. Born in Luna, Grodno district, Goldin lived in Warsaw from 1886 to 1893 and then moved to Lodz. His first publication was a collection of poems, *Shirei No'ar* ("Poems of Youth," 1887). Subsequently he turned to writing fiction, and his stories appeared in Hebrew and Yiddish literary journals, including *Ha-Ẓefirah* and *Ha-Meliẓ*. Several of his stories were published as separate books. In 1896 he published *Ha-Zeman*, a literary anthology to which many leading Hebrew writers of the day contributed. At the beginning of the century he abandoned his literary activity, took up commerce, and became a prosperous merchant. During World War I he fled from the approaching German army and spent his last days in Riga. Goldin's short stories idealized the traditional Jewish way of life, particularly its devotion to Torah. In his view the secularized Judaism of the new nationalism had yet to prove its legitimacy as a replacement for the old faith.

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[Getzel Kressel]

GOLDIN, HYMAN ELIAS (1881–1971), U.S. rabbi, educationist, and author. Goldin was born in Lithuania and studied at the Yeshivah of Vilna where he was ordained as a rabbi in 1900. He immigrated to the United States in the following year. In a chance visit to a study group in a synagogue, the destitute scholar so impressed those present with his erudition that they immediately established a fund to aid him in his studies. He graduated from the New York University Law School in 1909.

Goldin served successively as principal of the Machzike Talmud Torah, the Hebrew Academy of Boro Park, both in Brooklyn, N.Y., and the Glens Falls Hebrew Academy. Passionately devoted to education, he established summer camps for children and later a camp for adults at Blue Sky.

From 1932 to 1947 Goldin served as chaplain of the Great Meadow Prison in Comstock, N.Y., and his experience there served as the basis for his unique volume *The Dictionary of American Underworld Lingo*. His main literary activity, however, was devoted to spreading Jewish knowledge and combating antisemitism. His *The Case of the Nazarene Re-Opened* (1948), which he regarded as his *magnum opus*, was the fruit of research in the New Testament, on which he became an acknowledged expert.

Among his other publications were *Universal History of Israel* (4 vols., 1935), *Hebrew Criminal Law* (1952), and a translation of Ganzfried's *Kiẓẓur Shulḥan Arukh*. He also wrote introductory books for Hebrew. Goldin published no fewer than 80 books for children based on rabbinic and medieval Jewish literature.

[Irwin Mirkin]

GOLDIN, JUDAH (1914–1998), U.S. scholar and teacher. Goldin was born in New York City. He received his B.S.S. from the City College of New York and his B.H.L. from the Seminary College of Jewish Studies at the Jewish Theological Seminary of America (1934). He received his M.A. in English literature from Columbia University and an M.H.L. and D.H.L. from the Jewish Theological Seminary. Ordained by the JTS in 1939, he was also dean and professor of *aggadah*.

He then taught religion, Jewish literature, and history at several institutions. He held faculty positions at Duke University and the University of Iowa before moving on in 1958 to a 15-year stint at Yale University, teaching classical Judaica. Then, for an even longer period, he was professor of post-biblical Hebrew literature at the University of Pennsylvania. Upon his retirement in 1985, he became professor emeritus there.

Goldin was a fellow of the American Academy for Jewish Research and chairman of the Yale Judaica Research Committee. He was also a Guggenheim Fellow and a Fulbright Research Scholar and served as a consultant on Judaica to the *Encyclopedia Britannica*.

Goldin's particular scholarly concern was rabbinic Judaism, and he was a skillful and graceful translator. For many years he served as editor of the Yale Judaica Series and he edited *The Jewish Expression* (1970) and *Shirta: The Song at the Sea Midrash* (1971), among other books. In 1988 the Jewish Publication Society inaugurated its Scholars of Distinction series with Goldin's book of collected essays, *Judah Goldin: Studies in Midrash and Related Literature*. In 1996 he received the National Foundation for Jewish Culture's Jewish Cultural Achievement Award for Textual Scholarship.

Among Goldin's works are *The Fathers According to Rabbi Nathan* (1955), an annotated translation; *The Living Talmud* (1957), a compendium of medieval commentaries on *Pirkei Avot;* and "The Period of the Talmud" (in L. Finkelstein (ed.), *The Jews…*, 1 (1960³), 115–215).

[Jack Reimer / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

GOLDIN, NAN (1953–), U.S. photographer. Shortly after she was born in Washington, D.C., Goldin and her family moved to a suburb of Boston, where Goldin spent several primarily unhappy years before moving away from her family. In 1965 her older sister, Barbara Holly Goldin, committed suicide. It had a profound effect on her life and she sought comfort in her friends. Deciding that conventional family life and traditional schooling did not suit her, Goldin moved in with a series of foster families and began studies at an alternative school called Satya Community School. There, in Lincoln, Mass., she met two people, David Armstrong and Suzanne Fletcher, who were to become influential throughout her early career. To capture memories of the past, she began to photograph friends documenting their lives and her own. With Armstrong and Fletcher, she used photography to reinvent herself and those around her, particularly by photographing her companions dressing up for one another in gender-bending attire. This early experimentation on the line separating the genders shaped her lifelong fascination with the underground subculture.

In the early 1970s she photographed drag queens and became friends with many transvestites. She depicted her subjects in a nonjudgmental way; she saw drag as a way to reinvent oneself. During this period, she enrolled at the Boston School of Fine Arts and her photographic style changed from black and white, primarily from available light, to color, which became an integral part of her style. She illuminated her subjects with careful use of flash, achieving bright deep hues. She moved to the Bowery in New York City in 1978 and her career and personal life underwent a significant change. Her images of the time reflected her lifestyle: excessive drug and alcohol use and abusive relationships. Goldin documented everything in this demi-monde: drunken parties, beatings, sex. In 1979 Goldin put together a slide show of her photographs, added music and showed them at punk rock clubs for her friends and photographic subjects to see. The show, later called "The Ballad of Sexual Dependency," was made up of color photographs lit with flash and ran for 45 minutes. To some, the 800-image "ballad," a sweeping, diaristic and critical account of life within the photographer's milieu, reflected the same dissatisfaction with contemporary life evident in Robert *Frank's *The Americans* of the 1950s. Over the years, the format remained the same, but the show grew in size and artistic ambition as Goldin continued to photograph her surroundings. In 1985 the show was included in the Whitney Biennial, a major exhibition of avant-garde work.

By 1988 Goldin's drug and alcohol abuse took a toll on her life and work, and she entered a detoxification clinic. There she created many images of herself, including "My Bedroom at the Lodge," "Self-Portrait in Front of Clinic" and "Self-Portrait With Milagro." She even showed herself battered by her boyfriend, her face bruised and swollen, her eyes filled with blood ("Nan After Being Battered"). During this time many of her close friends were dying of AIDS. One of her closest friends, Cookie Mueller, a writer and dancer whom she had known since 1976, when she started her career, was stricken. Goldin's series, "The Cookie Portfolio," consists of 15 portraits, from those taken at parties in their youth to her funeral in 1989. A critic said Goldin's work did not glamorize her sensationalist subjects but tried to humanize them. In 1996 the Whitney Museum of American Art held a retrospective of her work called "I'll Be Your Mirror." It was composed of photographs from every period of her career, which included a series with her own parents, landscapes, couples, friends' children, formal and informal. She produced several books, including one based on her "ballad" with 130 photographs, and *The Devil's Playground* in 2003.

[Stewart Kampel (2nd ed.)]

GOLDING, LOUIS (1895–1958), English novelist. Born in Manchester and educated at Oxford, Golding joined an ambulance unit during World War I and served in Macedonia and France. *Sorrow of War* (1919), a book of poems, was followed by his first novel, *Forward from Babylon* (1920). During the 1920s Golding traveled widely and the many books reflecting his experiences include *Sicilian Noon* (1925); *Those Ancient Lands: Being a Journey to Palestine* (1928); *In the Steps of Moses the Lawgiver* (1937); *In the Steps of Moses the Conqueror* (1938); and a late work, *Good-bye to Ithaca* (1955). Golding made his reputation, however, with *Magnolia Street* (1931), the first of a cycle of novels about Anglo-Jewish life. *Magnolia Street*, which was an international best-seller and was adapted for the stage, was based on his memories of Manchester, which in his books became "Doomington." The novel portrayed the tensions and sympathies governing the relations between Jewish and non-Jewish inhabitants of one particular street between 1910 and 1930. Golding projected himself into the book through his alter ego, the emancipated painter Max Emmanuel, whose brother (like the novelist's) died while on active service in France in World War I. The second of the Doomington novels, *Five Silver Daughters* (1934), was set against the background of the Bolshevik Revolution and postwar Germany. Golding's ideal of racial harmony was personified by the eponymous hero of *Mr. Emmanuel* (1939), which was later made into a film of the same name (1945), while *The Glory of Elsie Silver* (1945) reflected his response to Nazism and his sympathy for Zionism. These he had already revealed in two studies: *The Jewish Problem* (1938) and *Hitler Through the Ages* (1939).

Not all Golding's novels were concerned with Jewish themes: *The Camberwell Beauty* (1935) dealt with black magic and the Mafia in Sicily; and *The Loving Brothers* (1952) told the story of two pairs of brothers, one of each pair being brilliant and the other criminal. Golding also wrote radio plays and books on sport. His other works include the novel *Day of Atonement* (1925); *James Joyce* (1933), a study; and *To the Quayside* (1954). He also wrote an autobiography, *The World I Knew* (1958).

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[Renee Winegarten]

GOLDMAN, family of U.S. investment bankers descended from Bavarian-born MARCUS GOLDMAN (1821–1904) and JOSEPH *SACHS, both of whom arrived in the United States in 1848. Goldman was a peddler in Pennsylvania and a clothing merchant in Philadelphia before he began his financial career in New York in 1869. Later he was joined by his son, HENRY GOLDMAN (1857–1937), and by Joseph Sachs's sons, SAMUEL SACHS, who married Marcus Goldman's daughter LOUISE, and HARRY SACHS. They formed the banking firm of Goldman, Sachs & Co., which cooperated with the London bankers Kleinwort and Japhet in channeling European capital into U.S. investments.

Friendship between Henry Goldman and the *Lehman Brothers partner, Philip Lehman, engendered joint underwritings for companies engaged in the manufacture and distribution of consumer goods. Henry Goldman, staunchly pro-German in World War I, retired in 1918. Under the guidance of Joseph *Duveen, he assembled an impressive art collection. Only two members of the Sachs family remained in the business as limited partners: Walter Edward Sachs (1884–1980) and Howard Joseph Sachs (1891–1969).

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[Hanns G. Reissner]

GOLDMAN, AHARON HALEVI (1854–1932), rabbi of the Jewish agricultural colony Moisesville, Argentina. Goldman was born in Podolia, Russia. When he was 18 years old he was ordained and worked as a *shoḥet*. Goldman accepted the role of spiritual leader of the first organized group of 120 families that planned to establish themselves in Argentina as farmers. The group arrived in Buenos Aires on board the *Wesser* on August 14, 1889. Goldman immigrated with his wife and five children. The group established an agricultural colony in Palacios, province of Santa Fe; in 1890 they moved to a new home, close to the railway, which Aharon Goldman called Kiryat Moshe or Moises-Ville, referring to Moshe Rabbeinu, who liberated the Israelites from slavery in Egypt, as a symbol of the liberation of the settlers from the oppressive situation that they had suffered in Russia.

In his role as rabbi in Moisesville Goldman tried to maintain observance, especially *kashrut* and the Sabbath. He succeeded in obtaining the recognition by the authorities of the Sabbath as the weekly day of rest and Sunday as a weekday. Goldman was also *gabbai ẓedakah* in charge of the collection of money for the local needy and for the yeshivot in Ereẓ Israel and the Diaspora. He studied 18 hours a day. A large part of his responsa was dedicated to the various problems facing the Jews in a new social and geographical environment. He solved halakhic problems with respect to the different seasons in the southern part of the globe, as well as the different fauna not mentioned in the Torah with respect to the dietary laws. His responsa were published posthumously by his grandson Dr. David Goldman, in *Divrei Aharon* (Jerusalem, 1981). Goldman maintained a wide correspondence with prominent rabbis of his generation: Isaac Elhanan *Spektor, Samuel *Salant, *Ḥafeẓ Ḥayyim, Abraham Isaac ha-Kohen *Kook, and Samuel *Mohilever. His rabbinical authority was recognized throughout Argentina and was accepted also by Shaul Setthon Dabbah, rabbi of the Aleppan community of Buenos Aires.

One of his sons, MORDECHAI GOLDMAN, was *shoḥet* in Moisesville and died in 1981 in Jerusalem.

[Efraim Zadoff (2nd ed.)]

GOLDMAN, BERNARD (1841–1901), Polish patriot and militant supporter of assimilation. Goldman was born in Warsaw, where his father was a Hebrew *maskil* and owned a printing press; his grandfather Jacob was a rabbi in Amsterdam. Goldman played an active role in the Polish revolutionary movements against czarist rule. After the demonstration held in Warsaw in 1861, he was exiled to Siberia, but escaped and returned to Warsaw to take part in the uprising of 1863. After its suppression he went abroad, traveled through Germany, and reached Paris, where he contributed to the cause of the Polish émigrés. He went to Vienna in 1867 and completed his law studies. In 1870 he settled in Lemberg where he initiated an extensive program for promoting education among the Jewish masses in Galicia. He organized cultural activities, including courses and libraries for spreading Polish culture and combating the pro-Austrian centralist movement. In opposition to the aspirations of the Shomer Yisrael society of German orientation, he founded the rival Doreshei Shalom and published a newspaper *Zgoda*. This resulted in the establishment of the *Agudat Aḥim, which later became the most prominent center of assimilationist activity in Poland.

In 1876 Goldman took his seat in the national Sejm (parliament) of Galicia as the delegate for Lemberg and in 1883 was elected to the Lemberg municipal council. Goldman was also active within the framework of the community administration, founding an organization of artisans, Yad Ḥaruẓim. In particular he promoted the development of a school network, which was named after him. This network provided a Polish-oriented education combined with the teaching of religious observance.

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[Moshe Landau]

GOLDMAN, EDWIN FRANKO (1878–1950), U.S. bandmaster, brother of Mayer Clarence *Goldman. Goldman was born in Louisville, Kentucky, and studied music at the National Conservatory, New York, where Anton Dvořak taught him composition. He began his career as solo cornetist in the Metropolitan Opera orchestra, and in 1911 formed his own band, which from 1918 gave outdoor concerts on university campuses and in New York public parks. The band toured the U.S. and in 1945 performed for the U.S. armed forces in the Philippines and Japan. It had a high standard of performance and an unusually extensive repertoire, and hence exerted a great influence on bands throughout the U.S. Goldman was a founder and first president of the American Bandmasters' Association. He was assisted by his son and associate conductor RICHARD FRANKO GOLDMAN (1910–1980).

GOLDMAN, ELIEZER (1918–2002), Israeli philosopher. Born in Brooklyn, New York, Goldman pursued his undergraduate education at Yeshiva University and was a student of Rabbi M. *Soloveitchik and his son Rabbi J.B. *Soloveitchik, with whom he studied both Talmud and philosophy. His wide-ranging interests included *halakhah*, philosophy, Jewish thought, mathematics, physics, literature, economics, and music. His grounding in Talmud would serve him, in later life, for his interest in philosophy of *halakhah*. In the late 1930s Goldman immigrated to what was then Palestine and became a member of kibbutz Sedeh Eliyahu in the Bet Shean Valley. In his own words, his *aliyah* resulted less from Zionism in the political sense than from his search to fulfill Jewish religious socialism and establish a socialist Jewish society based on traditional Jewish sources. Only later in life was he able to complete his graduate studies at Bar-Ilan University, where he taught for many years and became professor of philosophy. Many of his writings are only now being prepared for posthumous publication in three volumes: the first volume deals with his research into classical Jewish thought; the second on Rav Kook; and the third on social, economic, and cultural thought. Goldman was, however, no ivory tower academic. Many of his writings relate to the social, economic, and cultural life of the religious kibbutz.

Goldman's thought is characterized by a continual dialogue with his teacher J.B. Soloveitchik, and with his friend Yeshayahu *Leibowitz; he agreed with them regarding the centrality of the *halakhah* to understanding the Jewish world of life (*lebenswelt*). Together with Soloveitchik and Leibowitz, Goldman contributed to a dramatic shift in contemporary Jewish thought, away from theological-metaphysical theory to halakhic practice. Unlike the other two, however, who employed general philosophy to analyze the *halakhah*, and who wrote about the *halakhah* from a philosophical point of view, Goldman sought to overcome the problem of imposing a foreign perspective onto the Jewish tradition itself, preferring what may be called a phenomenological methodology, based on precise examination of the sources themselves. His philosophic work was an attempt to describe carefully and critically the Jewish tradition as it reveals itself, and not as it can be imagined from an external theoretical perspective. Goldman was thus the founder of a new field, philosophy of the *halakhah*, in which philosophy is used to analyze the *halakhah* itself. Goldman's collected essays, *Expositions and Inquiries: Jewish Thought in Past and Present* (1996), was edited by Avi Sagi and Daniel Statman.

Goldman was both an academic scholar and a constructive thinker, who (together with Soloveitchik and Leibowitz) had a seminal impact on Orthodox thought's response to modernity. His research interests focused especially on Saadiah Gaon and Maimonides, but he went beyond neutral research in also seeking existential relevance in their thought. For example, in his view, Maimonides' philosophic positions did not outlive their time, but his method is still largely useful in working out the relationship between philosophy and science, and the sources of religion. In contrast with Soloveitchik and Leibowitz, for whom there is always a fundamental tension between Jewish sources and the external world, Goldman's thought is shaped by the Maimonidean harmony of the Torah and philosophy, and rejects the distinction between "internal" and "external"; each person, including the religious person, reflects his or her socio-cultural environment in his or her understanding of tradition.

Goldman also distanced himself from Soloveitchik's view, especially in his later writings, concerning the feeling of alienation of the individual from nature and society, a feeling of alienation Goldman did not share. In contrast with both Soloveitchik and Leibowitz, Goldman's thought emphasized the multi-cultural and multi-contextual situation of human life. A person does not establish a religious world or halakhic commitment autonomously, independently of the other contexts in which he or she lives.

A consistent theme in Goldman's thought over the years was the problem of the relationship between the Torah and the conditions of life. For Goldman, this is not an ideological question, but an existential one: what do we expect of the *halakhah*, and how can we interpret it so that it accords real conditions? How does the *halakhah* actually function, and how can it harmonize its norms with external realities? Goldman's approach thus sharply contrasts with that of Leibowitz, for whom the *halakhah* is a closed system, which functions autonomously and independently of external conditions, focusing exclusively on the service of God. Leibowitz's approach leads to a split personality in the believer: he or she can either be a believer serving God, or a person committed to political, social, and moral values and conceptions. In the framework of Leibowitz's thought, the believer can never unite these two separate worlds. Goldman, by contrast, proposed a more complex model based on his analysis of the *halakhah* itself. In 1958 he proposed a new category, "meta-halakhic norms." These norms are not behavioral, but are principles for interpreting and implementing the *halakhah* itself. The existence of these meta-halakhic norms also undermines the prevalent tendency to describe the *halakhah* in closed, formal categories of jurisprudence, without any reference to external considerations. Such tendencies, Goldman argued, are contradicted by great halakhic decisors over the ages, who responded to real, practical needs, referring to such concepts as "what most of the community cannot sustain" in making their decisions. Goldman maintained that the contemporary tendency in *ḥaredi* (ultra-Orthodox) ideology, which reduces a halakhic decision to formal, theoretical truth, results in an abject failure to relate to the needs of the time. Another sociological factor in the problem of the *halakhah* in our day is the status attached to the yeshivot, which emphasize theoretical study of the *halakhah*, at the expense of involvement in public life and practical halakhic study. The *halakhah* thus becomes a theoretical construct rather than a real phenomenon.

The problem, then, is that the *halakhah*, like any other system of thought, cannot incorporate within itself all the principles required for it to operate, and can only function when we apply meta-halakhic principles. In a series of articles on "Ethics, Religion and Halakhah," Goldman attempted, accordingly, to derive these meta-halakhic principles guiding great halakhic decisiors from the halakhic literature itself, in particular from the vast responsa literature. In his view, these meta-halakhic principles mediate between the *halakhah* and human existence.

This approach also led Goldman to criticize Leibowitz's reductionism regarding the religious "paradox" underlying the *halakhah* and the dichotomy Leibowitz posited between the *halakhah* and existence. On the one hand, the *halakhah* represents utter heteronomy – the acceptance of the divine will as expressed in the written and oral Torah. On the other hand, since the *halakhah* no longer relies on prophetic instruction, the moment one attempts to realize and implement the Torah in concrete life situations, one is forced to employ autonomous human reason. The *halakhah*, which is thus founded on heteronomous authority, operates by means of autonomous human reason. It does not originate in human culture, but is directed towards human culture, which it endows with religious significance, and can only be implemented within a cultural context. In this way, the Torah is a product not only of divine revelation, but also, and not less, of its being transmitted to real people in a concrete social-cultural situation, which in many respects precedes the Torah and guides its interpretation. The Torah thus does not exist independently of the community which lives according to its teachings, but also lives according to values reflecting its concrete human situation. The sources of meta-halakhic principles are, therefore, not necessarily the divine will, i.e., the halakhic system itself, but human value judgments based on social and cultural reality, a reality the *halakhah* both reflects and is intended to order.

In these ways Goldman advocated what he called "Judaism without illusions," in which religious propositions reflect the believer's own insights and not transcendent being. This, in turn, forms a basis for a pluralistic religious outlook.

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[Avi Sagi (2nd ed.)]

GOLDMAN, EMMA (1869–1940), U.S. anarchist writer and lecturer, leading advocate of anarchism in the United States. Goldman, born in Kovno, Lithuania, grew up there and in Koenigsberg and St. Petersburg, immigrating to the United States in 1885. Her independent spirit emerged early, and disputes with teachers and her father cut short her formal education. For the most part she was self-educated, particularly in anarchist thought. Her long and close association with Alexander *Berkman was the most significant influence on her thought and deed. Unlike many anarchists, she moved beyond the small radical immigrant community, and her lectures and her journal *Mother Earth* (1906–18) aimed to illuminate the injustice and immorality of American society.

Goldman became an open advocate of birth control in the years before World War I, which led to considerable notoriety. However, it was her vigorous opposition to conscription during the war that finally led the United States government to imprison her and ban *Mother Earth* from the mails. Goldman had long been considered dangerous, and the combination of a technical weakness in her citizenship status and legislation that broadened the grounds for action against undesirable aliens led to her deportation to the Soviet Union in 1919. By 1921 she fled that country, repelled by the suppression of the individual, which seemed as complete under Bolshevism as under capitalism.

While she continued to write and lecture, her active political career was ended except for vigorous efforts on behalf of the Catalonian anarchists in the Spanish Civil War. Her life was one of commitment to anarchism in theory, and to personal independence and radical political action in practice.

Goldman continuously focused on the basic contention that the state was a coercive force that destroyed the differences among individuals and eliminated genuine freedom in defense of the conformity required by society. She stressed the freedom of the individual, responsive to self-developed standards of love and justice. Her demand for individual freedom never wavered, and she detested capitalism because of its inherent inequalities, which doomed the majority of persons to a toilsome and regimented life focused on material matters. She favored communism as the ultimate form of economic emancipation to break the link between work and income that enslaved men in Western capitalist states. To Goldman, anarchism conformed to man's basic nature, and it would prove to be a workable and orderly system.

Goldman's writings include *Anarchism and Other Essays* (1910), *The Social Significance of the Modern Drama* (1914), *The Psychology of Political Violence* (1917), *My Disillusionment in Russia* (1923), *My Further Disillusionment in Russia* (1924), *Living My Life* (2 vols., 1931), and *The Traffic in Women and Other Essays on Feminism* (1971).

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[Irwin Yellowitz]

GOLDMAN, ERIC FREDERICK (1915–1989), U.S. historian. Goldman was born in Washington, D.C. He was professor of history at Princeton where he taught from 1940. Goldman served as president of the Society of American Historians from 1962 to 1969. He was a member of the academic council of the American Friends of the Hebrew University. Goldman's field of specialization was American history of the 20th century. His best-known books are: *Rendezvous With Destiny: A History of Modern American Reform* (1952) and *Crucial Decade, America 1945–1955* (1956), revised as *Crucial Decade – and After, America 1945–1960* (1961). In 1964 President

Johnson named Goldman special consultant to the president. After his resignation (1966) Goldman published *The Tragedy of Lyndon Johnson* (1968).

[Oscar Isaiah Janowsky]

GOLDMAN, HETTY (1881–1972), U.S. archaeologist. Born in New York, Goldman studied at Bryn Mawr College (1903) and at Radcliffe (1910), where she received her M.A. and later (1916) her Ph.D. Her excavation of the necropolis of Halae, in the ancient Greek district of Boeotia, was followed by excavations at the Ionian city of Colophon in Asia Minor and at Eutresis, a Bronze Age settlement in Boeotia. These were interrupted by the Greco-Turkish war in 1922. The peak of her career was her excavation at the south Anatolian city of Tarsus, birthplace of the apostle Paul, which had been a flourishing site in the Bronze and Iron Ages as well as during Hellenistic and Roman times. Hetty Goldman's main interest was the relationship between the Oriental cultures of the Eastern Mediterranean and the culture of the Greek world. She was one of the first members of the Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton, New Jersey. Her published works include *Excavations at Eutresis in Boeotia* (1931) and *The Acropolis of Halae* (in *Hesperia*, 9 (1940), 381–514). She edited *Excavations at Gözlü Kule, Tarsus*, 3 vols. (1950–63).

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[Penuel P. Kahane / Shimon Gibson (2nd ed.)]

GOLDMAN, ISRAEL (1904–1979), U.S. Conservative rabbi. Born in Poland, Goldman immigrated to the United States with his parents and earned his B.A. at the City College of New York (1924) and was ordained by the Jewish Theological Seminary in 1926 where he later earned his D.H.L. (1937). While still at the Seminary, he served Temple Emmanu-El in Providence, Rhode Island, for the High Holidays and then was brought back as its full-time rabbi. He introduced many of the innovations common to the Conservative Movement of his generation, late Friday evening services and the bat mitzvah, but his primary interest was in Jewish education, at all levels. He organized a Sunday school, a PTA, and an innovative adult education program that enrolled 350 students in 1941 alone. His local success with adult Jewish education brought him national attention and he proposed and directed the National Academy for Adult Jewish Studies, created under the auspices of the Seminary. It published books and created adult institutes called Kallot. Goldman was president of the *Rabbinical Assembly from 1946 to 1948 where he tried to create a regional structure for the rabbinic organization and also for its international expansion. He also pushed the Rabbinical Assembly into social action by forming the Social Justice Commission. "Going national" was not without its tensions with his Providence congregation. Goldman resolved them by leaving in 1948 and moving to Baltimore, where he took Chizuk Amuno congregation and moved it to the nearby suburb of Pikesville. With suburbanization came a threefold growth in membership. Goldman was a leader in the civil rights movement and served as vice chairman of the Maryland Commission on Interracial Relations. He received significant support for his civil rights efforts from his congregation. In 1963 he was arrested in a protest against segregation, a mark of honor in his career.

He was the author of two books *The Life and Times of Rabbi David ibn Abi Zimra* (1970), a book about Jewish life in the post-Spanish expulsion Ottoman Empire, and *Lifelong Learning among Jews: Adult Education in Judaism from Biblical Times to the 20th Century* (1975).

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[Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

GOLDMAN, MARTIN JACOB (**Mordechai**; 1917–1991), rabbi, Jewish educator. In his youth Goldman was known as the Yerushalmi Ilui (prodigy in Talmud) in the Hebron Yeshivah. At the age of 18 he was tested by the greatest rabbis in Jerusalem – Ezekiel Sarna, R. Isaac Herzog, R. Issur Zalman Meltzer, R. Eliyahu Rom, R. Katz, and R. Moshe Mordecai Epstein – who gave him the ordination of "*Yore Yore, Yadin Yadin*."

When he followed his family to New York and realized that he would need a broader education, he taught Talmud to some of the faculty at the Jewish Theological Seminary in return for rooms at the dorm so he could study for his bachelor's degree at New York University. He earned his M.A. and Ph.D. (1963) at Harvard, working under Harry *Wolfson.

After teaching at the Hebrew Teachers' College in Boston for 20 years, he became the Maxwell Abell Professor of Talmud in Chicago and the Dean of the College of Jewish Studies there, which soon became Spertus College.

Realizing that there were no departments of Jewish studies in the Chicago academic scene, he instituted a consortium of seven Chicago area universities and colleges with Spertus College serving as their department of Jewish studies. Joint degrees were awarded to students who could study Jewish subjects on the same level as their other subjects.

The most popular of his courses at Spertus was "The Talmud in Contemporary Society." Some of the subjects covered in this course were psychology, marriage, civil law, business, sex, medicine, and government, and it was frequented by lawyers, judges, and physicians in the Chicago community.

He wrote on many burning contemporary medical issues, such as his work "Abortion in Jewish Law" and articles on transplants and the time of death. He was called upon frequently to represent the authentic Jewish voice in Interfaith Conferences and was routinely consulted by other rabbis on talmudic questions.

[Celia Goldman (2nd ed.)]

GOLDMAN, MAYER CLARENCE (1874–1939), U.S. lawyer, born in New Orleans. Goldman became convinced that achievement of the American ideal of equality before the law required the state to provide qualified legal counsel for poor defendants. He vigorously advocated establishment of the office of public defender by state and local governments. He gave speeches and wrote for legal periodicals in support of this cause. He wrote a book, *The Public Defender* (1917), and was coauthor of a movie script on the subject. Goldman chaired the public defender committees of the American Lawyers Guild, the American Institute of Criminal Law and Criminology, and the New York State Bar Association. He initiated the public defender movement in New York and drafted public defender bills introduced in the state legislature from 1915 to 1931.

[Barton G. Lee]

GOLDMAN, MOISES (1902–1997), physician and Jewish community leader in Argentina. Goldman was born in Palacios, province of Santa Fe. His grandfather was Rabbi Aharon *Goldman of Moisesville. He graduated as a pharmacist and then as a surgeon from the University of Cordoba, Argentina. Goldman headed many central Jewish community organizations in Argentina and Latin America: *DAIA – Delegación de Asociaciones Israelitas Argentinas (the central representative organization of Argentinean Jewry) for two consecutive terms – under the military government (1943–46) and during the first presidency of Juan D. Perón; *AMIA – Asociación Mutual Israelita Argentina (Ashkenazi Community of Buenos Aires); the Va'ad ha-Kehiloth (federative central organization of all the communities) from its foundation in 1952; Maccabi Sports Organization; Latin American Jewish Congress; Instituto de Intercambio Cultural Argentino-Israelí. He also was honorary vice president of the World Jewish Congress. Goldman participated in many national and international conferences in his profession as well as in public affairs promoting the eradication of discrimination and antisemitism and the strengthening of democracy.

[Efraim Zadoff (2nd ed.)]

GOLDMAN, MOSES HA-KOHEN (1863–1918), U.S. Hebrew teacher and journalist. A native of Pinsk, he studied at the Volozhin yeshivah and then under R. Isaac Hirsch *Weiss, in Vienna. Later he journeyed to London and, in 1890, settled in the United States where he became a teacher, a printer, and, finally, a journalist. He founded the short-lived Hebrew journal *Ha-Moreh* in 1894 and then edited (1901–02), first together with Nahum Meir *Schaikewitz, then by himself *Ha-Le'om*, which began as a Hebrew-Yiddish monthly and then appeared only in Hebrew. In 1909 he edited the first American Hebrew daily *Ha-Yom* which ceased publication after 90 days but reappeared briefly in 1913. The *Proverbs of the Sages* which he first published in *Ha-Le'om* with translations in English was republished in a separate book in New York (1916).

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[Eisig Silberschlag]

GOLDMAN, PAUL L. (1904–1973), U.S. Labor Zionist leader. Goldman was born in Poland and even in his youth was involved in Zionist-Socialist work, influenced by the ideology of Dov Ber *Borochov. In 1920, he immigrated to America, where he worked in a shop and, at the same time, attended high school at night, later studying law and graduating from St. John's Law School in 1928. He became identified with Aḥdut ha-Avodah and Po'alei Zion, and for 40 years played a leading role in Zionist and associated agencies. For many years he was general secretary of Aḥdut ha-Avodah-Poalei Zion and served as editor or associate editor of the party organ, *Unzer Tsayt*. Goldman helped bring the movement into the United Labor Zionist Organization of America and later into the Labor Zionist Alliance. He was a member of the presidium of the World Zionist Organization and of the commission to reorganize that body. One of the founders and leaders of the Jewish Labor Committee, he was actively identified with the Workmen's Circle (Arbeiter Ring) and was one of the founders of the American Zionist Federation in 1970. Goldman was highly regarded for his qualities of leadership and his lifelong devotion to Zionist causes and the furtherance of Jewish culture.

[Milton Ridvas Konvitz (2nd ed.)]

GOLDMAN, SOLOMON (1893–1953), U.S. Conservative rabbi. Goldman, who was born in Volhynia, Russia, was taken to the U.S. in 1902. He studied at the Rabbi Isaac Elchanan Yeshivah and at the Jewish Theological Seminary where he was ordained (1918) and later received his DHL (1936). After serving in Brooklyn, he moved to the Cleveland Bnai Jeshurun Congregation, which he could not convince to become a synagogue center so he moved to the Cleveland Jewish Center, which had been refashioned as a synagogue center with excellent sports facilities and auditorium. He was a wonderful orator and an innovative organizer who worked to establish a large school and a serious adult education program. He moved the synagogue from its Orthodox origins toward the Conservative tradition, meeting with serious opposition and a legal suit in which the change was upheld by the court. But after seven years, he left to go to Chicago where he became rabbi of the Anshe Emet Synagogue of Chicago (1929) and held that position until his death. He became widely known as an orator, communal leader, and scholar who popularized the cause of Zionism. Among the positions of leadership he held were the presidency of the Histadrut Ivrit (1936–38), presidency of the Zionist Organization of America (1938–40), and cochairmanship of the United Jewish Appeal. He was a founder of National Hillel and served on the board of the Jewish Theological Seminary. Goldman edited a series of texts in modern Hebrew literature and wrote *Romance of a People*, a pageant performed at the Chicago World's Fair in 1933. Among his books are *A Rabbi Takes Stock* (1931), *The Jew and the Universe* (1936), *Crisis and Decision* (1938), and *Undefeated* (1940), all dealing with the Jewish people in modern times. In his last years he began the publication of a study of the Bible and its influence on world literature, of which three volumes were completed: *The Book of Books* (1948), *In the Beginning* (1949), and *From Slavery to Freedom* (1958).

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[Jack Reimer / Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

GOLDMAN, WILLIAM (1931–), U.S. novelist-screenwriter. Born to businessman Maurice Clarence and Marion Goldman (née Weil) in Chicago, Illinois, Goldman grew up in suburban Highland Park, spending his time at the Alcyon Theater watching films. He studied writing at Oberlin College. After receiving his bachelor's degree in 1952, he did a two-year stint in the U.S. Army. Following his discharge as a corporal in 1954, he did graduate work in English at Columbia University, graduating in 1956. During the summer he wrote the novel *The Temple of Gold* in 10 days. Accepted by Alfred A. Knopf, it was published in 1957. He went on to write *Your Turn to Curtsy, My Turn to Bow* (1958), and *Soldier in the Rain* (1960). Goldman followed those first novels with *No Way to Treat a Lady* (1964) and *Boys and Girls Together* (1964). Goldman was hired to adapt the novel *The Moving Target*, which became the Paul Newman film *Harper* (1966), but continued to focus on novels. In 1961, Goldman began the screenplay for *Butch Cassidy and the Sundance Kid*; released in 1969, the film earned Goldman an Oscar for best original screenplay. His next two works were adaptations, *The Stepford Wives* (1975) and *All the President's Men* (1976), which earned him another Oscar. He continued to write novels during this time, including *Marathon Man* (1975) and *Magic* (1976), both of which were adapted for film. His screenplays for *The Princess Bride* (based on his 1973 novel) and his adaptation of Stephen King's *Misery* (1990), both for director Rob Reiner, received critical acclaim. Goldman also had success with his screenplay for the Clint Eastwood film *Absolute Power* (1997). More recent produced work includes *The General's Daughter* (1999), *Hearts in Atlantis* (2001), and *Dreamcatcher* (2003). Goldman also established himself as an authority on the ways of Hollywood with his books *Adventures in the Screen Trade* (1983) and *What Lie Did I Tell?* (2000).

[Adam Wills (2nd ed.)]

GOLDMAN, YA'AKOV BEN ASHER (1856–1931), Hebrew journalist. Goldman was born in Jerusalem where he studied at the Eẓ Ḥayyim yeshivah. Influenced by the Haskalah at an early age, he contributed articles to the Hebrew press, including *Yehudah vi-Yrushalayim, Ha-Ẓefirah, Ha-Asif, Ha-Maggid, Ha-Meliẓ*, and *Ḥavaẓẓelet*. In 1890 he moved to Jaffa, where he was among the leading figures in the Ashkenazi Jewish community and one of the founders of the Neveh Ẓedek quarter. For a time he served as chief Palestine correspondent for *Ha-Ẓefirah* and acting editor of *Ḥavaẓẓelet*. His articles include detailed historical accounts of modern Jewish settlement in Ereẓ Israel. At the turn of the century, Goldman became extremely religious. He abandoned his secular writing and devoted himself to biblical research. Late in life, he published two books on various topics (talmudic, religious, etc.).

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[Getzel Kressel]

GOLDMANN, LUCIEN (1913–1970), literary and philosophical writer. Born in Bucharest, Romania, Goldmann settled in Paris, where he became director of studies at the Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes in 1958. His major work, *Le Dieu caché* (1955), deals with the tragic vision of life underlying the writings of *Pascal and Racine. He also wrote *Sciences humaines et philosophie* (1952), *Jean Racine dramaturge* (1956), *Recherches dialectiques* (1959), and *Pour une sociologie du roman* (1964).

GOLDMANN, NAHUM (1895–1982), statesman and Zionist leader, born in Visznevo, Lithuania. When Goldmann was five years old his family moved to Germany – first to Koenigsberg and from there to Frankfurt. His father, Solomon Ẓevi Goldmann, was a writer and Hebrew teacher, and young Goldmann grew up in an atmosphere suffused with the spirit of Judaism. At the age of 15 he published an anonymous article attacking Solomon *Reinach, the vice president of *Alliance Israélite Universelle, that contributed to Reinach's resignation from his post. In 1913 Goldmann spent several months in Ereẓ Israel and reported his impressions in *Eretz Israel, Reisebriefe aus Palaestina*, published in 1914. During World War I he joined the staff of the Jewish section of the German Foreign Ministry. At that time Goldmann supported a pro-German orientation of the Zionist movement and sought means of gaining the Kaiser's support for the Zionist cause. After the war, Goldmann joined with Jacob *Klatzkin in publishing *Freie Zionistische Blaetter*, a Zionist periodical (1921–22). At this time the two men also conceived the idea of publishing a German-language Jewish encyclopedia, and in 1925 they founded a publishing house, "Eshkol," for this purpose. Three years later the first volume of the *Encyclopaedia Judaica* appeared. Hitler's rise to power prevented the completion of the venture, and when publication of the encyclopedia had to be interrupted, a total of ten volumes in German and two in Hebrew had been issued. (In the 1960s, Goldmann took the initiative in inaugurating the English-language *Encyclopaedia Judaica*.)

In the early 1920s Goldmann joined Ha-Po'el ha-Ẓa'ir, but later left the party and became a member of the Zionist "radical" faction and in 1926 was elected its representative on the Zionist Actions Committee. He was critical of Weizmann's plan to coopt non-Zionists to the *Jewish Agency. He also denounced the Zionist leadership for its lack of interest in the political and cultural problems of Jewish masses in the

Diaspora. As Ereẓ Israel would not be capable of absorbing the entire Jewish people; it should serve as an inspiration to the Jewish people and be a symbol and the principal instrument of its renascence.

Goldmann was the chairman of the Political Committee at the 17th Zionist Congress (1931) and played a decisive role in forging a majority to oppose the reelection of Weizmann as president of the Zionist Organization. Two years later, however, when the Radical faction was disbanded, Goldmann began to lean toward Weizmann and eventually to cooperate with him. In the same year, Goldmann was forced to leave Germany, and in 1935 he was deprived of German citizenship and became a citizen of Honduras. At the end of 1933, upon the death of Leo *Motzkin, he was elected chairman of the Comité des Délégations Juives, and in 1935 he became the representative of the Jewish Agency at the League of Nations. Together with Stephen *Wise, he organized the *World Jewish Congress and at the first conference of the Congress, in 1936, was appointed chairman of its executive board. Shortly after the outbreak of World War II, he moved to New York where he established the Zionist Emergency Council for political work and represented for years the Executive of the Jewish Agency, later becoming the chairman of the American Section upon its establishment.

During the Mandatory period Goldmann supported the idea of establishing a Jewish State. In 1931, during the debate on the "final goal" of Zionism and in 1935, as the head of the *General Zionist faction, he declared that the principal task of the Zionist Movement was to create among the Jewish people the momentum for the establishment of a Jewish State in Ereẓ Israel. In 1937, he was among the most ardent supporters of the Partition Plan, preferring sovereignty to territory. This attitude also prompted him to support *Ben-Gurion at the *Biltmore Conference. Henceforth, until May 1948, he took an active and sometimes decisive part in the diplomatic and public relations activities designed to bring about the immediate establishment of a Jewish state. When the State of Israel came into being, Goldmann was elected one of the two chairmen of the Executive of the Zionist Organization (Berl Locker was the other), and in 1956 he was elected president of the organization. Upon the death of Stephen Wise, he was also elected president of the World Jewish Congress. He held that position until 1977, when he relinquished it and was named founder-president.

Goldmann was largely responsible for initiating negotiations with the Federal Republic of Germany on the payment of *reparations to Israel and indemnification for Nazi victims. It was primarily Goldmann who arranged for the secret preliminary contact with German statesmen, mainly with Chancellor Konrad *Adenauer, before the official negotiations took place. It was also mostly at his initiative that the Claims Conference, which became the most comprehensive and representative world Jewish body, was established. He was elected president of the Conference and led its delegation in the negotiations with Germany. Goldmann subsequently conducted similar negotiations with Austria. As a result of the work done by the Claims Conference, a Memorial Foundation for Jewish Culture was established in 1965, with Goldmann as its president. He initiated the creation of the Conference of Jewish Organizations (COJO) and became its president, founded the World Council of Jewish Education, took an active part in organizing the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations for Israel, was the chairman of the first international conference for Soviet Jewry (Paris, 1960), etc.

In the field of Zionist affairs, Goldmann participated in the formulation of the Jerusalem Program (1951; see *Basle Program) and conducted the negotiations with the Israel government that preceded the enactment of the law on the status of the World Zionist Organization and the signing of a covenant between the State of Israel and the Zionist Organization. He supported the concept of the centrality of the State of Israel in the life of the Jewish people, but opposed any attitude that negated the Diaspora (while at the same time refusing to accept the view held by many American Zionists that the American Diaspora was no longer to be regarded as an exile). Goldmann regarded the continued existence of the Jewish people in the Diaspora as threatened not by antisemitism, but by assimilation as a result of full emancipation and by the unparalleled prosperity of the Jews in most countries since World War II. He believed that the struggle of the Jewish people should now be directed to uphold the right of the Jews to be different from other peoples and preserve their uniqueness. This task, primarily an educational one, should be the main concern of the Jewish people and its leaders.

In 1962 Goldmann left the United States and became a citizen of Israel. He did not, however, take an active part in the internal political life of the country. He subsequently spent part of his time in Israel and part in Europe. In 1968 Goldmann took on Swiss citizenship but continued to be active throughout the Jewish world.

Goldmann frequently voiced criticism of Israel's leadership, which he accused of narrow-mindedness, overestimating the power of the state and its military forces, lacking the proper attitude toward the Jewish people in the Diaspora, and of pursuing an inflexible policy. He advocated a more elastic and moderate policy toward the Arab states and also recommended that Israel moderate her criticism of Soviet policy vis-à-vis the Middle East and Jews living in the U.S.S.R. Declarations made by Goldmann in this vein periodically caused friction between him and leading Israel personalities; furthermore, the various offices held by Goldmann also raised the question of whether his criticism represented the view of the Zionist Organization, the World Jewish Congress, some other Jewish body, or only his personal opinion. Relations between Goldmann and Israel leaders took a further turn for the worse after the *Six-Day War, when the impression was created that Goldmann's identification with the State of Israel was rather less than that of many other Jewish leaders. It was against this background that several Zionist parties began to oppose his continuance in office as president of the organization, and at the 27th Zionist Congress (1968), Goldmann did not put forward his candidacy for the presidency. The *Autobiography of Nahum Goldmann* appeared in 1969. In 1970, a controversy was aroused by Goldmann's approach to the Israel prime minister in connection with a possible meeting between himself and *Nasser. When the Israel government expressed its disapproval, the matter was dropped.

Selections of Goldmann's articles and speeches have been published in two volumes: *Dor shel Ḥurban u-Ge'ullah* (1968) and *Be-Darkhei Ammi* (1968).

[Chaim Yahil]

Goldmann relinquished the presidency of the World Jewish Congress in November 1977, but despite his age continued to be a controversial figure, and in 1978 was severely criticized because of his support of Egypt's attitude in the peace negotiations. A number of such actions indicated his growing dissociation from Zionism and the State of Israel. In 1978 *Foreign Relations of the U.S. 1950*, Vol. 5, *The Near East, South Asia and Africa* was published, consisting of nearly 2,000 previously top-secret documents of the U.S. State Department. The publication revealed that in 1950 Goldmann – then president of the WJC – told the State Department that he would use his influence to prevent American Jews from exerting pressure on the U.S. government with regard to its policy toward Israel.

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GOLDMANN, SIDNEY (1903–1983), U.S. jurist and Jewish civic leader. When he died, an editorial in the local (Trenton) newspaper said that Goldmann was a respected historian, a community leader of tremendous stature, and a brilliant judge. Born in Trenton, New Jersey, of immigrant parents, Goldmann graduated from Harvard College with a brilliant record as a mathematician. After graduating from Harvard Law School in 1927, he practiced law in Trenton, where he was appointed city attorney and acting city manager. From 1942 to 1944 he was executive secretary to Governor Charles Edison. He resigned this position to become New Jersey State Librarian, and after three years he became head of the New Jersey State Archives and History Bureau. In 1947, when work began on a new constitution for the State of New Jersey, he became librarian and archivist for the State Constitutional Convention and chairman of the Governor's Commission for Preparatory Research for the Constitutional Convention, and at the same time he became a member of the New Jersey Commission of Revision of Statutes. At the end of the convention, he edited its proceedings in five volumes. His contributions to the new constitution of the State of New Jersey were inestimable.

In 1949 Goldmann started a new career. He was appointed Standing Master of the New Jersey Supreme Court, and two years later he was named a judge of the state's Superior Court, and in 1951 he was assigned to its Appellate Division. From 1954 to 1971 he served as presiding judge of the court, and for two years he was also the court's administrative judge. He retired in 1971, at age 68. He then became a member of the Supreme Court Committee on opinions and chairman of the State Election Law Enforcement Commission. He served frequently as special hearing commissioner in important public-interest cases. He edited 116 volumes of court cases and 43 volumes of New Jersey Equity Reports. When he retired from the bench in 1971, he estimated that he had written over 2,000 judicial opinions.

Goldmann was known as a progressive judge. While giving due weight to judicial precedents, he was not timid about striking out along a new path, and at least one of his opinions was cited with approval several times by the United States Supreme Court.

Goldmann was active in Trenton's public affairs as a trustee of the Public Library, head of the city's Council of Social Agencies, president of the Trenton Council of Human Relations, cofounder of the Trenton Symphony Orchestra, coauthor of a history of the city – indeed, he was identified with almost every aspect of the civic life of his community.

At the same time he was Trenton's leading Jewish citizen. He served as president of the Jewish Community Center, the Jewish Federation, Jewish Family Service, and the home for the aged. He was active in the American Jewish Committee and was a life member of its Board of Governors.

A measure of the esteem in which he was held may be seen in the fact that when he retired from the bench, three former governors spoke at the dinner in his honor.

[Milton Ridvas Konvitz (2nd ed.)]

GOLDMARK, Viennese and U.S. family. JOSEPH GOLDMARK (1819–1881), Austrian revolutionary leader and U.S. physician and chemist, was born in the province of Warsaw. He studied at Vienna University (1838), entered medical school in 1840, and took a research post in chemistry in 1845. When revolution broke out in Vienna in 1848 Goldmark was a hospital intern. He enlisted in the Academic Legion, became president of the Students Union, and was elected to the Reichstag. Accused of complicity in the murder of Minister of War Latour (for which he was later sentenced to death in absentia), Goldmark fled the country, and in 1850 left France for New York. In 1868 he was acquitted after voluntarily returning to Austria to stand trial on the murder charge. Goldmark first practiced as a physician in New York but achieved greater prominence through the practical application of his knowledge of chemistry. In 1857 he took out a patent for manufacturing mercury compound, and in 1859 he established a highly successful factory for making percussion caps and cartridges. Of his ten children, one married Louis D. *Brandeis and another Felix *Adler. A third daughter, PAULINE GOLDMARK (1874–1962), was a well-known social worker and served as secretary of the national and New York consumer leagues. A son, HENRY GOLDMARK (1857–1941), was a civil engineer engaged in railroad construction, and was the designer of the locks for the Panama Canal. The composer KARL *GOLDMARK was a half brother of Joseph Goldmark. RUBIN GOLDMARK (1872–1936), U.S. musician, nephew of Karl Goldmark, was born in New York. Moving to Colorado for reasons of health, he directed the Conservatory of Music at Colorado College from 1895 to 1901. From 1902 he lived in New York, teaching piano and harmony and giving numerous lecture recitals throughout the United States and Canada. In 1911 he became director of the department of theory of the New York College of Music, and in 1924 head of the department of composition of the Juilliard Graduate School. While Goldmark was known in his day as a composer (in 1910 his piano quartet won the Paderewski Chamber Music Prize), his influence as a teacher was more considerable. His pupils included Aaron *Copland, George *Gershwin, and Efrem *Zimbalist, and he was highly respected for his intellectual honesty, artistic integrity, and broad general culture. In 1956 City College, New York, named its music building in his honor.

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GOLDMARK, KARL (1830–1915), composer. Goldmark, the son of a cantor in the small town of Keszthely, was sent to study in Vienna. He was financed by his half-brother Joseph, who, however, was involved in the revolutionary activities of 1848 and had to leave the country. Karl himself was led out to be shot as a rebel, but was saved by the intervention of a friend. He settled in Vienna as a teacher, conductor, and composer, and displayed his great talent for orchestration in the overture *Sakuntala* (1865) and his *Laendliche Hochzeit* (1876) symphony. His opera *Die Koenigin von Saba* (1875) with a libretto by S.H. *Mosenthal, on which he worked for ten years, was an immediate success in Vienna and many other cities. Goldmark wrote other operas that had limited success, violin concertos, chamber music, choral music and songs. For a short time he was the teacher of Sibelius, and did much to encourage the performance of Wagner in Austria. His autobiography, *Erinnerungen aus meinem Leben* (1922), was translated into English in 1927 as *Notes from the Life of a Viennese Composer.*

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[Marc Rozelaar]

GOLDMARK, PETER CARL (1906–1977), U.S. television engineer. Born in Hungary, Goldmark went to the U.S. in 1933 and joined CBS as chief TV engineer in 1936, becoming president of its laboratories division in 1954. He developed systems of color television, one of which was adopted for a time in New York in 1951.

GOLDSCHEID, RUDOLF (1870–1932), Austrian sociologist and pacifist. Born in Vienna, where he lived throughout his life, Goldscheid was representative of a strongly ethically oriented group whose interest was in the problems of sociology and social philosophy. A cofounder of the German Sociological Society ("Deutsche Gesellschaft fuer Soziologie," 1909), he sided with the approach of the "Kathedersozialisten" (academic social reformers) against Max Weber's emphasis on a strictly objective, "value-free" orientation in the social sciences. As editor of the *Friedenswarte*, he was one of the most influential European pacifists. He was also editor of the *Annalen fuer Natur-und Kulturphilosophie*. His publications include *Zur Ethik des Gesamtwillens* (1902), *Verelendungs-oder Meliorationstheorie* (1906), *Monismus und Politik* (1912), *Hoeherentwicklung und Menschenoekonomie* (1911), *Frauenfrage und Menschenoekonomie* (1913), and *Staatssozialismus und Staatskapitalismus* (1917).

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[Werner J. Cahnman]

GOLDSCHMIDT, ERNST DANIEL (1895–1972), librarian and scholar of Jewish liturgy. Goldschmidt was born in Koenigshuette (now Chorzow, Poland), where his father was rabbi. He served from 1926 to 1935 as librarian in the Prussian State Library, Berlin. Immigrating to Palestine in 1936, he joined the staff of the Jewish National and University Library (1936–62). Goldschmidt prepared critical editions of various liturgical texts. His various Passover *Haggadot* (with German translation, introduction, and notes, 1936, 1937; Hebrew, 1947, 1960^2) became very popular; the *Haggadah* by N.N. Glatzer (Eng., 1953, 1969^2) is based on Goldschmidt's work. In 1959 his edition of Maimonides' prayer text appeared; it was followed by *Siddur Tefillat Yisrael* (two rites) in 1964; *Seliḥot* according to both the Lithuanian and Polish rites in 1965; *Kinot* (liturgy for the Ninth of Av, Polish rite) in 1968; S.D. Luzzatto's introduction to his edition of the *Maḥzor Roma* was reissued by Goldschmidt (1966) with notes and an essay on the Roman rite. His edition of the High Holiday *maḥzor* (1970), which is a compendium of all the Ashkenazi rites, is of particular importance.

[Alexander Carlebach]

GOLDSCHMIDT, GUIDO (1850–1915), Austrian organic chemist. Goldschmidt was born in Trieste. From 1874 to 1891 he worked at the University of Vienna, becoming professor there in 1890. In 1891 he became professor of chemistry at the German University of Prague. In 1907 he was elected rector of the university, but declined to accept the position, partly because he thought that it might precipitate antisemitic manifestations. He returned to the University of Vienna in 1911. He was one of the earliest organic chemists to elucidate the structure of an alkaloid, in his case papaverine; later he worked on other alkaloids, on polynuclear hydrocarbons (fluoranthene and others), on aldehyde condensations, etc.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Berichte der Deutschen Chemischen Gesellschaft*, 49 (1916), 893–932; *Chemiker-Zeitung*, 39 (1915), 649; *Proceedings of the American Academy of Arts and Science*, 77 (1950).

[Samuel Aaron Miller]

GOLDSCHMIDT, HANS (1861–1923), German industrial chemist. He was born in Berlin, and was awarded his doctorate at Heidelberg in 1886. He became a partner with his brother in the firm of tin smelters and metallurgists founded by his father in Essen. In 1894 he invented the "Thermit" process, still used for welding heavy sections of iron and steel. Although industrial chemists were not really welcome in German learned societies, he became chairman of the Bunsengesellschaft fuer Angewandte Physikalische Chemie and of the Liebig Stipendien Verein.

[Samuel Aaron Miller]

GOLDSCHMIDT, HEINRICH JACOB (1857–1937), chemist. Born in Prague, Goldschmidt became professor at Heidelberg in 1896 and was appointed professor of chemistry at Oslo University in 1900. In 1929 he was back in Goettingen, but returned to Oslo when the Nazis came to power. He was the first Jew to receive the Norwegian Order of St. Olaf. His research centered on organic and physical chemistry, his best-known work being the constitution of aromatic compounds and the kinetics of reactions in organic chemistry.

GOLDSCHMIDT (née **Benas**), **HENRIETTE** (1825–1920), German suffragette and educator; wife of Rabbi Abraham Meir Goldschmidt of Leipzig. She was one of the founders of the German Women's League (Allgemeiner Deutscher Frauenverein) in 1865, organized petitions on behalf of women's rights to higher education and entry in professions (1867), and was a signatory to a petition to the Reichstag for protecting children born out of wedlock. In 1871 she founded the Society for Family Education and for People's Welfare (Verein fuer Familienerziehung und Volkswohl) in Leipzig, and was instrumental in the establishment of a municipal educational institution which eventually comprised kindergartens, a seminary for kindergarten teachers, and a vocational school for girls with teachers' training courses. In 1911 she founded the first institution of higher education for girls in Germany. Henriette Goldschmidt wrote *Die Frauenfrage, eine Kulturfrage* (1870), as well as on education, publicizing the ideas of Froebel. Her works include *Was ich von Froebel lernte und lehrte* (1909).

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[Otto Immanuel Spear]

GOLDSCHMIDT, HERMANN (1802–1866), French astronomer and artist. Born in Frankfurt, Goldschmidt studied painting in Munich and in 1836 settled in Paris where he became eminent as a vivid painter of historical events and portraits. In spite of his great artistic activity, astronomy became his hobby and love. An enthusiastic observer of the sky, Goldschmidt worked with simple devices and modest optical instruments. In the nine years between 1852 and 1861 he discovered 14 asteroids (or minor planets as these were then called). He also observed variable stars, double stars, comets, nebulae, and in 1860, in Spain, a total solar eclipse; his report was accompanied by three impressive oil paintings. In 1857 he received the Cross of the Legion of Honor and in 1861 the Royal Astronomical Society in London awarded him its Gold Medal.

[Arthur Beer]

GOLDSCHMIDT, HUGO (1859–1920), musicologist. Born in Breslau, Goldschmidt was co-director of the Scharwenka-Klindworth Conservatory in Berlin and subsequently professor at this conservatory until he retired because of ill health. Goldschmidt was an authority on the art of singing and on early operatic history. His writings include *Die italienische Gesangsmethode des 17. Jahrhunderts* (1890), *Handbuch der deutschen Gesangspaedagogik* (1896), *Die Musikaesthetik des 18. Jahrhunderts und ihre Beziehungen zu seinem Kunstschaffen* (1915), and *Studien zur Geschichte der italienischen Oper im 17. Jahrhundert* (2 vols., 1901–04), which has remained a basic reference work.

GOLDSCHMIDT, JAKOB (1882–1955), banker, born in Eldagsen, Hanover. His parents Marcus and Lina Bachrach Goldschmidt could not afford to send him to university, and he became an apprentice at the Hanover banking house of H. Oppenheimer. Thanks to his exceptional talents, he was able to work his way up and make a fortune in the banking business. In 1910 he formed his own brokerage firm, Schwartz, Goldschmidt & Company, and became one of Germany's leading bankers. In 1918 he became managing director of the Nationalbank fuer Deutschland which later merged with the Deutsche Nationalbank and the Darmstaedter Bank to form the Darmstaedter und Nationalbank (Danatbank). Owing to his position at the bank, which played an important role as a financier of industry, he sat on the boards of a wide range of companies that included shipping, steel, power, mining, insurance, and aviation. Although regarded as an upstart and speculator by his more traditional banking colleagues, he nevertheless exercised great influence in Weimar economic affairs. He was also a major art collector, and also was devoted to Jewish causes, rescuing the *Encyclopedia Judaica* from financial collapse in 1926. In July 1931 the Danatbank fell prey to the fraudulent actions of the Lahusen brothers, who ran one of its main customers, the North German Wool Company. The Danat was forced to close its doors after the other great banks abandoned it, while the Reichsbank would not grant it support either. Having become a major target of Nazi attacks, Goldschmidt left Germany in 1933 and settled in the United States in 1936, where he had a successful if more modest career in business. He once again became an art collector, and supported many philanthropies and cultural institutions, including the New York Metropolitan Museum and the Museum of Modern Art.

[Joachim O. Ronall / Gerald Feldman (2nd ed.)]

GOLDSCHMIDT, JOHANNA SCHWABE (1806–1884), author and social activist. Goldschmidt was born in Hamburg. Her father, Marcus Herz Schwabe, was one of the founders of the Hamburg Reform Temple in 1817 and Johanna attended its first confirmation class. Johanna married Moritz Goldschmidt in 1827. The couple had eight children and their care effectively kept Johanna from any outside activity for 20 years. In 1847 she launched a career as a writer and social activist with her first book, *Rebekka and Amalia*, written as a series of letters between a young Jew, Rebekka, and a Christian aristocrat named Amalia. The general topic of the work was the problem of Jewish conversion and assimilation, but in one of its chapters, Goldschmidt focused on a plan for an organization in which rich women would help poorer women to improve themselves by means of lectures and instruction. Within one year of the publication of *Rebekka and Amalia*, Johanna Goldschmidt, together with her friend Amalie Westendarp, founded the Women's Association to Combat and Reduce Religious Prejudice, an organization that promoted the early, non-sectarian education of children. Goldschmidt's second book, *Mothers' Worries and Mothers' Joys* (1849), led to more social activism and the founding of a seminary to train teachers in the new methods pioneered by educator Friedrich Froebel. In this project she worked closely with liberal Christian women. Goldschmidt remained active in both the Women's Association and the seminary and also continued writing sporadically. Her play, "A Look at the Family," opened in Hamburg in 1864.

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[Emily Taitz (2nd ed.)]

GOLDSCHMIDT, LAZARUS (1871–1950), scholar, bibliophile, and translator of the Talmud into German. Goldschmidt, who was born in Plongian, Lithuania, studied first at the Slobodka yeshivah at Kaunas (Kovno) and later at the universities of Berlin and Strasbourg. His early studies were devoted to Ethiopian language and its literature. He published the Ethiopic version of the Book of Enoch (I Enoch) with Hebrew translation (1892) and *Biblioteca Ethiopica* (1895). Goldschmidt published an edition of the *Sefer Yeẓirah* (1894), a Hebrew translation of the Koran (1916), and prepared a new edition of Jacob Levy's *Woerterbuch zum Talmud und Midrasch* (1924). On the rise of Hitler to power in 1933 Goldschmidt left Germany for England and lived in London. His bibliographical works include *Hebrew Incunables* (1948), and the *Earliest Editions of the Hebrew Bible* (1950). Some of his works were published under the pseudonym Arselaj bar Bargelaj.

Goldschmidt's major contribution was his translation of the entire Babylonian Talmud into German. It appeared in two editions, a nine-volume work containing the original text and variant readings (1897–1935) and a 12-volume edition without the original text (1929–36). This translation, which was severely criticized by David Zvi *Hoffman (ZHB 1, 1896), was nevertheless considered to be an important and standard work in talmudic studies. Goldschmidt also prepared a subject concordance to the Babylonian Talmud which was published posthumously (1959). He also published a facsmile edition of the Hamburg manuscript of the order *Nezikin* of the Babylonian Talmud (1913). A controversial figure who engaged in sharp personal polemics against leading scholars of his time (Immanuel Loew, David Hoffman, and others), he published a number of pamphlets attacking his adversaries. In his youth, he published as a practical joke an Aramaic text entitled *Baraita de-Ma'aseh Bereshit* (1894), which he claimed to be an old *midrash*. Later he admitted that this was a parody. Goldschmidt was a collector of rare books. Because of his forced emigration to London in 1933 the Royal Library in Copenhagen bought his collection, which is known as the Goldschmidt Collection..

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GOLDSCHMIDT, MEIR ARON, (1819–1887), Danish novelist, political writer, and journalist. Born in Vordingborg, Zealand, Goldschmidt was sent to Copenhagen for a year as a child and was impressed by the Jewish life of the capital. Although he matriculated in 1836, religious prejudice prevented him from studying medicine. He accordingly turned to journalism and in 1837 founded a liberal provincial weekly, *Nestved Ugeblad* (later renamed *Sjællandsposten*), whose policy brought him a heavy fine and a year's censorship. He later moved to Copenhagen and in 1840 founded *Corsaren*, a successful satirical weekly with a radical outlook. The paper attacked Denmark's conservative establishment, especially the absolute monarchy and the powerful civil service. Goldschmidt began his literary career with the novel *En Jøde* (1845; *The Jews of Denmark*, 1852). This told the story of a Danish Jew whose break with traditional Orthodoxy provokes his father's curse. His romance with a Christian girl ends unhappily and the hero ultimately becomes a moneylender. *En Jøde* contains some picturesque descriptions of Jewish customs and festivals, as does the story *Aron of Esther* in the collection *Fortællinger* ("Tales," 1846). During the years 1847–59 Goldschmidt published the periodical *Nord og Syd*, which largely consisted of his own articles on literature, theater, art, and politics. After the failure of the magazine *Hjemme og Ude*, which appeared briefly in 1861, he moved to England, but returned to Denmark in 1863, resolved to abandon his political involvements. The central figure of his long novel *Hjemløs* (1853–57), which he himself adapted into English as *Homeless, or a Poet's Inner Life* (1861), is a Danish gentile, but Goldschmidt introduces a cultured English Jew who teaches the hero that happiness and misery are balanced in each person's life and that men's sins must be atoned for on earth. The novelist called this ethical system "Nemesis," and it dominates his later works. These include two novels, *Arvingen* (Eng., *The Heir*, both 1865), and *Ravnen* ("The Raven," 1867); three Jewish short stories, "*Maser*" (1858), "*Avrohmche Nattergal*" (1871; English version in *Denmark's Best Stories*, 1928), and "*Levi og Ibald*" (1883); and *Livserindringer og Resultater* ("Memoirs and Results," 2 vols., 1877). He was an outstanding storyteller and the worldly yet pious and decent hero of his stories, Simon Levy, is one of the outstanding figures of Danish fiction.

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[Frederik Julius Billeskov-Jansen]

GOLDSCHMIDT, NEIL EDWARD (1941–), U.S. politician. Goldschmidt was born in Eugene, Oregon, and graduated from the University of Oregon in 1963 and from the University of California at Berkeley Law School in 1967. Entering political life at an early age, in his twenties he became a city commissioner of Portland, Oregon (1971–73). In 1973, at age 32, he became mayor of Portland, the youngest mayor of a major U.S. city, serving until 1979. He was referred to by Richard Corner, mayor of Peoria, Illinois, then president of the United States Conference of Mayors, as "one of the best of a new breed." In July 1979 he was appointed secretary of transportation by President Carter and served until the end of the Carter administration. Goldschmidt returned to Oregon in 1981, where he served as international vice president of Nike until 1985. In 1986–87 he was president of the running shoe company's Canadian subsidiary, Nike Canada.

Goldschmidt served as governor of Oregon from 1987 to 1991. He helped create in 1991 the Oregon Children's Foundation, and SMART (Start Making a Reader Today), which places 10,000 volunteers in Oregon schools to read to children. He also established the law and consulting firm Neil Goldschmidt, Inc. in Portland, specializing in international business. Goldschmidt was an active member of the local Reform congregation.

In 2004 he resigned from his positions with the Oregon Board of Higher Education, the Oregon Electric Utility Company, and the state bar. His resignation was prompted by an imminent newspaper article that was to reveal his sexual misconduct while he was mayor of Portland. On May 6, 2004, Goldschmidt announced – and apologized – publicly that in 1975 he had engaged in a nine-month sexual relationship with a 14-year-old girl. In his statement he said, "For almost thirty years, I have lived with enormous guilt and shame about this relationship…. I have sat in my place of worship each year at Yom Kippur … searching for personal peace."

Goldschmidt wrote *The Oregon Book of Juvenile Issues* (with G. Johnson, 1989).

[Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

GOLDSCHMIDT, RICHARD BENEDICT (1878–1958), German geneticist. Goldschmidt, who was born in Frankfurt, became a lecturer at Munich University in 1904. In 1913 he was selected to head a genetics department at the newly organized Kaiser Wilhelm Institute for Experimental Biology in Berlin. Before assuming his duties he went to Japan to obtain material for his studies on sex determination in the gypsy moth. World War I broke out while he was on his way home; as a result he spent three of the war years as a visiting professor at Yale University and the fourth interned as an enemy alien. Returning to Berlin after the war, he worked at the Kaiser Wilhelm Institute from 1919 to 1936, except for two years as a visiting professor at the University of Tokyo (1924–26). In 1936, as a result of the Nazi persecution, he emigrated to the United States. He was professor of zoology at the University of California in Berkeley until his retirement in 1948. In the course of his studies on the gypsy moth Goldschmidt discovered that sex is determined by a balance between genetic factors for maleness and femaleness present in all individuals. He found that the strength of these factors differed in different geographic races, and he was able to produce predictable degrees of intersexuality by appropriate interracial hybridizations. These findings led him to conclude that the genes are responsible for determining the rate of physiological processes. He rejected the concept of linearly linked unitary genes; instead he regarded the chromosome as a single giant molecule. Mutations, in his view, were caused by breakages and rearrangements of the chromosomal material ("position effects"). Goldschmidt's views on evolution were also unorthodox; he maintained that new types evolved not through the selection and accumulation of small genetic differences but rather by major, single-step mutations ("hopeful monsters") that produced drastic changes in development. Although he stood almost alone as a dissenter, he was widely respected as a brilliant critic and eloquent polemicist. Goldschmidt's scientific works include *Mechanismus und Physiologie der Geschlechtsbestimmung* (1920; *The Mechanism and Physiology of Sex Determination*, 1923); *Physiologische Theorie der Vererbung* (1927; *Physiological Genetics*, 1938); *The Material Basis of Evolution* (1940); *Theoretical Genetics* (1955); and a number of textbooks, among them *Ascaris* (Ger., 1922; *Ascaris, The Biologist's Story of Life*, 1937). He also wrote *Portraits from Memory: Recollections of a Zoologist* (1956) and the autobiographical *In and Out of the Ivory Tower* (1960).

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[Mordecai L. Gabriel]

GOLDSCHMIDT, RICHARD HELLMUTH (1883–1968), German psychologist. Born in Posen, Goldschmidt became professor of psychology at Muenster in 1919. Just before World War II he managed to leave for England, where he was a fellow of Oxford University's Institute of Psychology from 1939 to 1945. He returned to the university at Muenster in 1949, remaining for the rest of his career. His early research dealt with the psychology of visual perception with regard to color schemes. He published *Postulat der Farbwandelspiele* (1928), and later wrote *Ahnung und Einsicht* (1967). Other areas of Goldschmidt's scientific interest were the psychology of religion and aesthetics.

GOLDSCHMIDT, VICTOR (1853–1933), German crystallographer and inventor. Goldschmidt, who was born in Mainz, was appointed teacher at Heidelberg University in 1888, and professor in 1893. Among his publications were *Index der Krystallformen der Mineralien* (3 vols., 1887–91), a catalog of the forms on the crystals of minerals, and *Krystallographische Winkeltabellen* (1897), a collection of tables of angles in crystal formation. His chief work, however, was his *Atlas der Krystallformen* (1913–23), a compilation of all published figures of crystals of minerals, in nine volumes. His researches into number series appearing in crystal symbols resulted in his formulation of a theory of number and harmony involving a consideration of musical and color harmonies. Goldschmidt was the inventor of the bicircular goniometer, used in measuring angles. He was baptized.

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GOLDSCHMIDT, VICTOR MORITZ (1888–1947), Norwegian mineralogist, crystallographer, and geochemist. Goldschmidt was born in Zurich, son of Heinrich Jacob Goldschmidt (1857–1937) who became professor of chemistry at Oslo University in 1901. In 1914 Victor Goldschmidt was appointed professor of crystallography, mineralogy, and petrography at Oslo University. In 1929 he was appointed director of the mineralogical-petrographical institute at Goettingen, but in 1935 left Nazi Germany to return to Oslo. He was chairman of the Norwegian Friends of the Hebrew University in 1937. After the invasion of Norway in 1940, Goldschmidt was hunted by the Nazis and was arrested on several occasions. The underground succeeded in smuggling him to Sweden in December 1942 and from there he was flown to England, where he devoted himself to work connected with atomic energy. He returned to Oslo in 1946. Goldschmidt was one of the great mineralogists and crystallographers of his generation and is recognized as the founder of the new science of geochemistry. Already in his doctoral thesis in 1911 on the "Phenomena of Metamorphosis" he established a basis for classifying the metamorphic minerals according to general physico-chemical laws, proposed the concept of "stability limits" of minerals, and developed the idea of mineral facies that became the central idea in mineralogy-petrography. Later he developed the notion of type relationships of rocks and laid the foundations of genetic classification of magnetic rocks. Besides these main fields of work, he also explained the distribution of chemical elements in the earth's crust and defined the laws of distribution that result from the natural factors in elements themselves. Goldschmidt was also interested in problems of practical research including the formation of mineral pigments, the production of aluminum from silicates, the use of biotite as a fertilizer, and the use of olivine as a raw material for the production of materials resistant to chemical and heat reactions. Goldschmidt's main works were *Die Kontaktmetamorphose im Kristianiagebiet* (1911); *Geologisch-petrographische Studien…* (5 vols. 1912–21); *Geochemische Verteilungsgesetze der Elemente* (9 parts, 1923–38).

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[Yakov K. Bentor]

GOLDSMID, English family, descended from AARON GOLDSMID (d. 1782), who settled in London in the second quarter of the 18th century and was active in the affairs of the Great Synagogue. BENJAMIN GOLDSMID (1755–1808) and ABRAHAM GOLDSMID (1756–1810), sons of Aaron, became prominent financiers in the City of London during the French revolutionary wars, when their competition with the old-established non-Jewish bankers resulted in the issue of treasury loans on terms much more favorable to the government, and thereby initiated a new era in public finance. The brothers were active in the affairs of the Jewish community and in general philanthropy. They served in all the offices of the Great Synagogue and were associated with the establishment of both the Jews' Hospital and the Royal Naval Asylum. Their close familiarity with the sons of George III did much to break down social prejudice against Jews in England and to pave the way for emancipation. They were considered by Lord Nelson among his closest friends. Both of the brothers committed suicide. Their activity marked the displacement of the Sephardi element in London from their former hegemony. ALBERT GOLDSMID (1793–1861), Benjamin's son, entered the army in 1811. He fought in the Peninsular War at Waterloo, and reached the rank of major general. SIR ISAAC LYON GOLDSMID (1778–1859), son of Aaron Goldsmid's second son Asher, made a large fortune, partly by financing railway construction. He was made a baronet in 1841, being the first professing Jew to receive an English hereditary title. He was prominent in the struggle for Jewish emancipation in England and was one of the founders of the nonsectarian University College, London. He took a leading part in the establishment of the Reform synagogue. In 1846 he was named Baron de Palmeira by the king of Portugal. SIR FRANCIS HENRY GOLDSMID (1808–1878), the eldest son of Isaac Lyon, was the first Jewish barrister in England and for many years a member of Parliament, as was his brother FREDERICK DAVID GOLDSMID (1812–1866). SIR JULIAN GOLDSMID (1838–1896), the son of Frederick David, succeeded to the title and was for many years a member of Parliament and at one time deputy speaker. Like his father, he was also active in communal affairs as chairman of the Reform synagogue, of the *Anglo-Jewish Association, and others. On his death, the baronetcy was transferred to his cousin, Sir

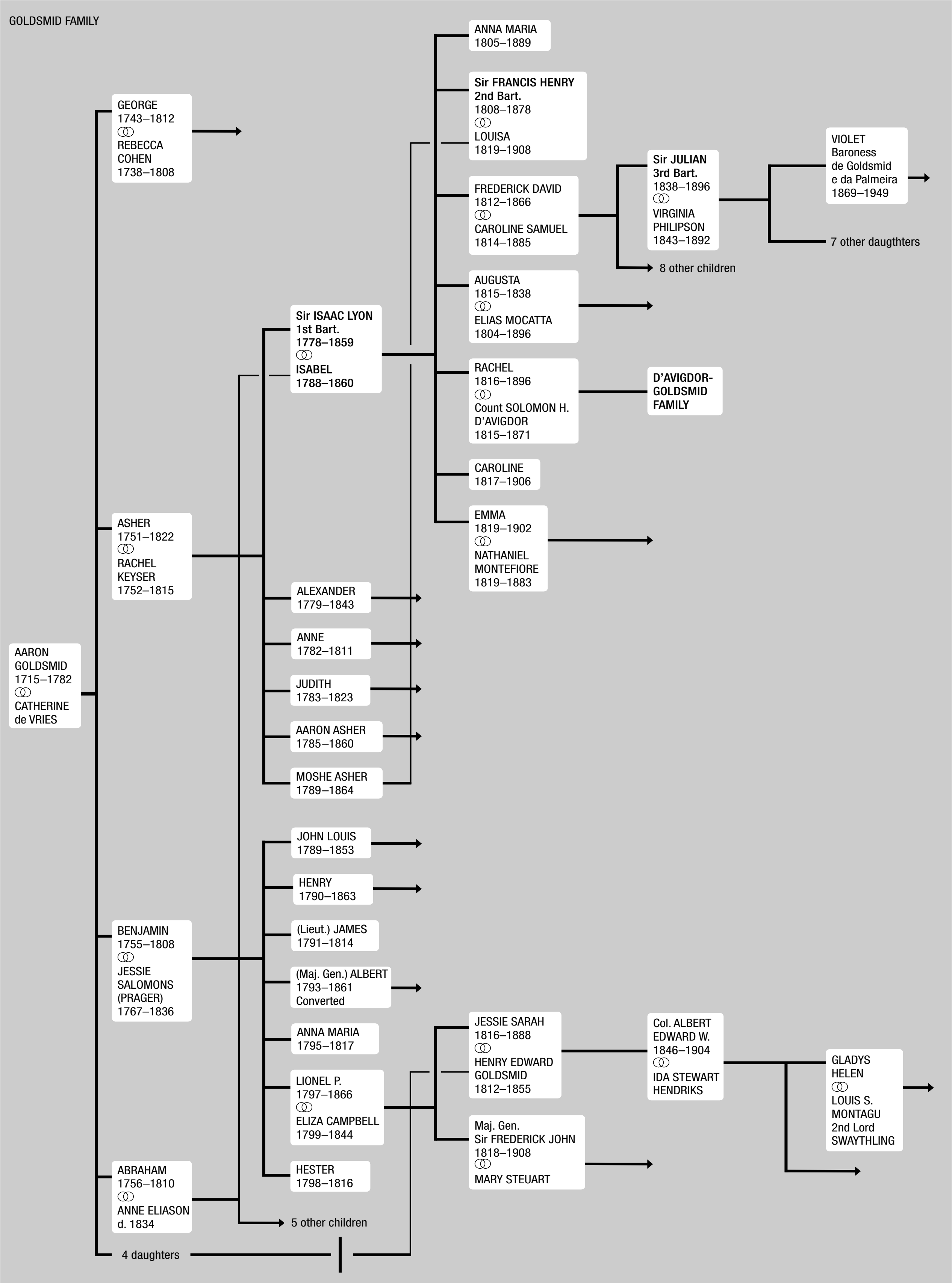
GOLDSMID FAMILY
AARON GOLDSMID 1715–1782 ⚭ CATHERINE de VRIES
GEORGE 1743–1812 ⚭ REBECCA COHEN 1738–1808
ASHER 1751–1822 ⚭ RACHEL KEYSER 1752–1815
BENJAMIN 1755–1808 ⚭ JESSIE SALOMONS (PRAGER) 1767–1836
ABRAHAM 1756–1810 ⚭ ANNE ELIASON d. 1834
4 daughters
Sir ISAAC LYON 1st Bart. 1778–1859 ⚭ ISABEL 1788–1860
ALEXANDER 1779–1843
ANNE 1782–1811
JUDITH 1783–1823
AARON ASHER 1785–1860
MOSHE ASHER 1789–1864
JOHN LOUIS 1789–1853
HENRY 1790–1863
(Lieut.) JAMES 1791–1814
(Maj. Gen.) ALBERT 1793–1861 Converted
ANNA MARIA 1795–1817
LIONEL P. 1797–1866 ⚭ ELIZA CAMPBELL 1799–1844
HESTER 1798–1816
5 other children
ANNA MARIA 1805–1889
Sir FRANCIS HENRY 2nd Bart. 1808–1878 ⚭ LOUISA 1819–1908
FREDERICK DAVID 1812–1866 ⚭ CAROLINE SAMUEL 1814–1885
AUGUSTA 1815–1838 ⚭ ELIAS MOCATTA 1804–1896
RACHEL 1816–1896 ⚭ Count SOLOMON H. D'AVIGDOR 1815–1871
CAROLINE 1817–1906
EMMA 1819–1902 ⚭ NATHANIEL MONTEFIORE 1819–1883
D'AVIGDOR-GOLDSMID FAMILY
Sir JULIAN 3rd Bart. 1838–1896 ⚭ VIRGINIA PHILIPSON 1843–1892
8 other children
VIOLET Baroness de Goldsmid e da Palmeira 1869–1949
7 other daugthters
JESSIE SARAH 1816–1888 ⚭ HENRY EDWARD GOLDSMID 1812–1855
Maj. Gen. Sir FREDERICK JOHN 1818–1908 ⚭ MARY STEUART
Col. ALBERT EDWARD W. 1846–1904 ⚭ IDA STEWART HENDRIKS
GLADYS HELEN ⚭ LOUIS S. MONTAGU 2nd Lord SWAYTHLING

Osmond *D'Avigdor. ANNA MARIA GOLDSMID (1805–1889), daughter of Isaac Lyon, made a name as philanthropist and poet. SIR FREDERICK JOHN GOLDSMID (1818–1908), who belonged to the baptized branch of the family, was a distinguished Orientalist, a major general in the army, constructed the first telegraph lines in Persia, and established the administrative system in the Congo (see also *D'Avigdor family).

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[Cecil Roth]

GOLDSMID, ALBERT EDWARD WILLIAMSON (1846–1904), English soldier. Born at Poona, India, Goldsmid entered the British Army in 1866, reached the rank of colonel in 1894, and served with distinction in the Boer War. Born of a long-assimilated family connected with the illustrious *Goldsmid family by marriage (though he was not descended from it), he became attracted to Judaism in maturity and was henceforth active in the life of Anglo-Jewry. In 1892 he went temporarily to the Argentine to supervise the *Jewish Colonization Association (ICA) colonies established there by Baron de *Hirsch. He was one of the founders of the *Maccabeans and of the Jewish Lads Brigade (see *Scouting) in London. A prominent member of the English Ḥovevei Zion (see *Ḥibbat Zion) movement, as early as 1891 he advocated the revival of Hebrew as a spoken language, welcomed Herzl's proposals with enthusiasm, became an ardent Zionist, and was a member of the *El-Arish Commission in 1903. Herzl was deeply impressed by him and thought of him as occupying a high office in the Jewish State when it was established. Goldsmid is said to have been the model for George *Eliot's character Daniel Deronda.

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[Cecil Roth]

GOLDSMID-STERN-SALOMONS, SIR DAVID LIONEL (1851–1925), British innovator in electronics and automobiles. He was born in London, the son of Philip Salomons (1796–1867) and the nephew of Sir David *Salomons; his mother was the daughter of Jacob *Montefiore. He was educated at Cambridge and, in 1873, succeeded his uncles as second baronet. Salomons was a barrister and a local government official, serving as mayor of Tunbridge Wells in 1895, but was wealthy enough to pursue full time his passion for mechanical and scientific research. This he did at his large private laboratory at his estate at Broomhill, Kent. Salomons took out numerous patents in the electrical field and was the author of *Electric Light Installations,* a textbook which went through many editions. He also served as vice president of the Institute of Electrical Engineers. He is best remembered, however, for his role as a pioneer of automobiles in England. In October 1895 he imported the second gasoline-driven car to appear in Britain, and he was responsible for removing many of the legal restrictions on the use of the motor car in England. He was also one of the founders of the Royal Automobile Club, the oldest British motoring body. He gained his triple surname in 1899 when he inherited a legacy from the relatives of his wife, a daughter of Hermann, Baron de *Stern, and added "Goldsmid-Stern" to his name.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: ODNB online.

[William D. Rubinstein (2nd ed.)]

GOLDSMITH, HORACE WARD (1894–1980), U.S. businessman and philanthropist. Goldsmith was born in Chicago, but moved to New York as a youth and in 1927 he bought a seat on the New York Stock Exchange and founded the brokerage firm of H.W. Goldsmith and Company. He held the Stock Exchange seat for half a century until his retirement in 1977 to Phoenix, Arizona, where he died.

Goldsmith was a generous benefactor of many Jewish institutions in the United States and Israel. Appointed a member of the international board of governors of the Technion, the Israel Institute of Technology, Haifa, he established the Goldsmith Institute of Industrial Microbiology there. Other benefactions in Israel included the Jerusalem Great Synagogue, the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, and the Grace Goldsmith Physical Education Center at Boys' Town Jerusalem. His benefactions in the United States included the Goldsmith Hall at the Jewish Theological Seminary, the Horace Goldsmith Mathematics Building at Brandeis University, and contributions to the Scholarship Foundation of NYU. He is said to have contributed at least $250,000 annually for the last 40 years of his life and in his will made provisions for further generous bequests.

GOLDSMITH, LEWIS (c. 1763–1846), English political journalist. Goldsmith, who was born in London of Portuguese Jewish descent, was never associated with Judaism and was probably baptized as a young man. His *The Crimes of Cabinets* (1805) censured the attempts to suppress the French Revolution. Later he took refuge in Paris where he established *The Argus*, an anti-English journal. The journal was suspended when he refused to attack the English royal family. Returning to England in 1809, he was tried for high treason but was acquitted. He then started the violently patriotic *Anti-Gallican* (subsequently *The British Monitor*), advocating the assassination of Napoleon. On the restoration of Louis XVIII, he returned to Paris where he became interpreter to the Tribunal of Commerce. Goldsmith published his *Statistics of France* in 1832. His daughter Georgiana (1807–1901) became the second wife of Baron Lyndhurst, Lord Chancellor of England, and a noted political hostess.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Nouvelle Biographie Générale*, s.v.; Rubens, in: JHSET, 19 (1955–59), 39–43. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** ODNB online.

[Cecil Roth]

GOLDSMITH, RAYMOND WILLIAM (1904–1988), U.S. economist. Born in Brussels, Belgium, Goldsmith received a Ph.D. from the University of Berlin (1927) and then studied at the London School of Economics and Political Science. He lived in the U.S. from 1930 and during the years 1934–48 he served with the U.S. Securities and Exchange Commission, the War Production Board, and the National Bureau of Economic Research. He was U.S. adviser on the 1946 German currency reform and on the 1947–48 Austrian treaty negotiations. Goldsmith became professor of economics, first at New York University (1958–59) and later at Yale (from 1960). Money and banking were his major interests. In an effort to find the means by which to measure wealth, he devised such methods as balance sheets, which tracked the flow of capital among various segments of the economy.

His works include *The Changing Structure of American Banking* (1933), *A Study of Saving in the United States* (3 vols., 1955–56), *Financial Intermediaries in the American Economy* (1958), *The National Wealth of the United States in the Postwar Period* (1962), *Financial Structure and Development* (1969), *The National Balance Sheet of the United States, 1953–1980* (1982), *The Financial Development of India, Japan, and the United States* (1983), and *Comparative National Balance Sheets: A Study of Twenty Countries, 1688–1979* (1985).

[Joachim O. Ronall / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

GOLDSMITH, SAMUEL ABRAHAM (1893–1987), U.S. social worker. Goldsmith was born in New York. Following service as a field worker for the YMHA and the Jewish Welfare Board in New York City, Goldsmith served for ten years as executive director of the Bureau of Jewish Social Research. In this capacity he conducted detailed surveys of Jewish social services in many American cities. Their findings and recommendations profoundly affected the direction of American Jewish social and communal work. In 1930 Goldsmith was appointed executive director of the Jewish Federation and Jewish Welfare Fund of Chicago, a position he held until his retirement. Shortly after accepting that position, he helped organize the Community Fund of Chicago, a forerunner of the United Way. He served as president of the National Conference on Jewish Social Welfare (1928–29). During the 1930s he was a charter member of the Joint Emergency Relief Fund and chairman of the Health Division of the Council of Social Agencies. In 1936 he helped establish and served as executive director of the Jewish Welfare Fund of Chicago, which raised funds for European Jews during the Holocaust. The JWF merged with other organizations, becoming in 1950 the Jewish Federation of Metropolitan Chicago. Goldsmith served as its executive vice president. An active leader and speaker within the American Jewish community, Goldsmith encouraged American Jewry to support the needs of Jews abroad and the development of a modern State of Israel.

[Kenneth D. Roseman / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

GOLDSMITHS AND SILVERSMITHS. The two closely related professions of refining, casting, beating, and filigreeing silver and gold have occupied Jewish craftsmen uninterruptedly from biblical times to the present. The highly skilled nature of the work, the relatively constant value of the two precious metals and the universal demand for artifacts made of them, their ready transportability, and not least, their use throughout the ages in Jewish ritual and ceremonial objects, all help account for the fact that Jewish goldsmiths and silversmiths can be found in almost every period of Jewish history wherever Jewish communities existed. However, because their creations were so often melted down or plundered for their metallic worth, no identifiable work of any Jewish craftsman has survived from before late medieval times, except for the artifacts and cult objects that have been excavated.

Antiquity

Apart from archaeological finds – ear and finger rings, anklets, pendants, beads, eating and drinking utensils, and figures of gods and goddesses such as those uncovered at Beth-Shean, Tell al-ʿAjjūl, and Tell al-Faraḥ – there is ample literary evidence from the Bible that both silver and gold were worked by Israelite craftsmen from the earliest times; indeed, according to the biblical narrative, the first two Jewish goldsmiths and silversmiths were the builders of the Tabernacle, *Bezalel and Oholiab. The many biblical injunctions against making silver and gold idols point in themselves to the widespread manufacture of such objects from the time of the Israelite conquest on, as borne out also by stories like that of Micah and his idol of silver (Judg. 17) or Jeroboam's golden calves (I Kings 12). Numerous passages in the Bible refer to silver and gold artifacts of all kinds and to the many silver and gold utensils in the Temple. Though neither of these metals was ever mined in Palestine, both were available throughout the ancient Near East; the Bible speaks of *Ophir and *Tarshish as sources, and this has been partly corroborated by a recently found eighth-century B.C.E. ostracon on which appear the words "gold from Ophir." Israelite craftsmen most probably learned to work both gold and silver directly from the Canaanites among whom they settled. In the time of Ezra and Nehemiah, to judge by two verses in the Book of Nehemiah (3:8, 31–32), they were organized into guilds. Such societies undoubtedly persisted later in the Second Temple period, and it is known that in the years preceding the destruction of the Temple goldsmiths occupied their own quarters in Jerusalem. The Mishnah (Mid. 3:8) and Josephus (Ant., 15:395) write of a golden vine with grape clusters "a marvel of size and artistry" adorning the Herodian Temple. Several references to Jewish goldsmiths and silversmiths occur in the Mishnah and Talmud. Rabbi

Eliezer, a *tanna* living in the first half of the second century, ruled that Jewish craftsmen could not make ornaments for idols but could supply gentile customers with "necklaces, earrings, and finger rings" – a clear indication that such artisans competed for the non-Jewish trade as well. The Talmud (Sot. 49b; Shab. 59a) twice refers to a specific piece of gold jewelry, the "city of Jerusalem" (*yerushalayim shel zahav*) or "city of gold," apparently a pendant, engraved with an illustration of a wall encircling a city, that was customarily given to young brides. The first record of Jewish gold- and silversmiths active outside Palestine comes from the description in Suk. 51b of the great synagogue of Alexandria. It is stated that various groups of artisans, among them silversmiths and goldsmiths, sat each in their own pews, "so that when a poor man [i.e., artisan] entered there, he recognized the members of his own craft and turned to them to find means for the maintenance of himself and his family." This presumably refers to organized guilds. That Alexandria continued to harbor many Jewish gold- and silversmiths as late as the eve of the Muslim conquest, by which time the Jewish population of the city had greatly dwindled, is known from the writings of the sixth-century monk and geographer Cosmas Indicopleustes, who also mentions an even greater concentration of such Jewish craftsmen in Medina, where, he writes, 300 Jewish gold- and silversmiths lived in one quarter of the city. Presumably this records the beginnings of a tradition of Jewish gold and silver work in the southern Arabian peninsula.

Middle Ages and Modern Times

Like the practice of *crafts in general by Jews in the Middle Ages, the intricate craft of the goldsmith and silversmith continued to be a widespread Jewish occupation south of the Pyrenees and in the Mediterranean lands, while there was little activity among Jews in this profession north of this demarcation line. The specific combination of skills and financial acumen needed for the goldsmith's trade is evidenced in the information that has been preserved about the plying of this craft by Jews in Muslim countries. The records of the *Genizah* of Cairo show that goldsmithing was a common, lucrative, and highly specialized profession of Jews in Egypt and the surrounding area as far as Aden in the 11th and 12th centuries. In Iraq, Persia, Yemen, and the Maghreb many of the goldsmiths were Jews. That this was a widespread Jewish occupation in Muslim countries may be explained by the contempt in which artisans were held by the Arabs. In pre-Islamic Arabia there was a tribe of Jewish goldsmiths, the Zuaynuga, who were defeated and forced to accept Islam by Muhammad. The preponderance of Jews in goldsmithing and silversmithing, particularly in the manufacture of jewelry, continued well into the modern period. In Baghdad, in 1844, 250 of 1,607 Jewish families employed in industry and trade were goldsmiths by profession. In Yemen in particular, the Jewish artisans attained a high standard of skill and artistry. Jews there even believed that the few Muslim goldsmiths were descendants of Jews who had been forcibly converted. The mass immigration to Israel after 1948 of the Jews of Yemen and other Arab countries helped to develop a local jewelry industry.

Jewish goldsmiths are among the first Jews mentioned in Muslim Spain, and are repeatedly referred to there in the following centuries. In Christian Spain Jewish goldsmiths were to be found in practically every sizable town; they were employed by the royal households and occupied their own row of shops in large cities like Tudela and Pamplona. The Augustinian eremites of Barcelona in 1399 commissioned a Jewish artisan to make them a silver reliquary. Jews manufactured Christian religious artifacts in violation of Jewish law and the antipope Benedict XIII in 1415 had to forbid Spanish Jews to produce such objects as goblets and crucifixes. Jewish silversmithing was expressly permitted in the 15th century: in Aragon in 1401 and in Castile in 1419. A magnificent pair of silver **rimmonim*, decorated with semiprecious stones and executed by a Spanish Jewish artist in Camarata (Sicily) in the 15th century, still survives in the Cathedral treasury in Palma de Mallorca. Delicate filigree work surrounds the horseshoe arched repoussé areas and the Hebrew inscriptions. The expulsion from Spain in 1492 left many *Marranos in the Iberian peninsula and Balearic islands who now engaged freely in silversmithing and goldsmithing. Numbers of the exiles from Spain and Portugal entered these crafts in the Ottoman Empire. This was recognizable particularly in Walachia where Jews sometimes even headed the silversmith guilds. In Ereẓ Israel, in particular in Safed, goldsmithing was considered one of the profitable crafts for Jews in the 16th century. In Italy the refugees from Spain met local well-established Jews in the craft. An apostate of Ferrara, Ercole dei Fideli (before baptism, Solomon de Sessa), was celebrated in this renaissance environment for the ornamental daggers and other works he produced (1465–1519). The gold- and silversmith Abraham b. Moses Ẓoref ("goldsmith") is mentioned in Venice in the early 18th century. Jewish goldsmiths are found in Rome in 1726. In Bohemia-Moravia gold- and silversmithing developed as a flourishing craft among Jews from the 16th century. Emperor Rudolf II appointed Isaac Goldscheider ("gold refiner") elder of Bohemian Jewry in 1560. He was followed in the craft by his son Jacob. The profession became widespread there, as attested by the frequent appearance of the name Ẓoref on Prague tombstones until 1740. In the 18th century Jewish goldsmithing was combined with the Jewish trade in precious stones and metals centered in Amsterdam and Hamburg. The craft continued to develop. There were eight goldsmiths among the Jews who returned to Prague in 1749. Several families practiced the craft for successive generations. The program of "enlightenment" and "productivization" of the Jews, animating the legislation of Emperor *Joseph II, encouraged practice of the craft among Jews; a separate Jewish guild came into existence in 1805 and continued until the abolition of the guilds in 1859. There were 29 Jewish apprentices recorded in Prague in 1804 and in 1830 there were 55 goldsmiths. In Germany, Jews did not begin to enter the craft until the middle of the 19th century when, however, the general developments in Jewish society were tending to deflect them from occupation in crafts. Silesia was an exception, for Jewish goldsmiths and silversmiths were working there in the second half of the 18th century. In Poland-Lithuania Jews entered this craft as they entered others, as a result of the weakness of the guilds and the activities of Jews in the private towns of the nobility. In 1664 Hirsch Jelenowicz was officially called "goldsmith to His Majesty" in Poland. With the mass emigration of Jews from Eastern Europe to Western Europe and the Americas, Jewish goldsmiths – now combining the profession with watchmaking – joined the few Sephardi goldsmiths who had arrived there earlier. The most noted of early Jewish goldsmiths in the United States was Myer *Myers. Between 1725 and 1837, 50 Jewish goldsmiths are recorded in England. Thus in modern times Jewish goldsmiths in Northern and Central Europe severed the old connection with moneylending and pawnbroking and the trade became allied with formal banking, on the one hand, and with the making of delicate instruments and the watch trade, on the other. Jewish *art, in particular, the ornamentation of Torah scrolls, *mezuzot*, and similar cult objects, was influenced by the Christian artisans who did the work for Jews, especially in Northern, Central, and Eastern Europe in the early Middle Ages. Family names like Goldschmidt, Goldsmith, Goldsmid, Ẓoref or Soref, and Orefice (Italian) generally indicate that at some stage in its history the family derived its livelihood from goldsmithing.

[Henry Wasserman]

Many Jewish goldsmiths and silversmiths became celebrated during the 19th century: best known was Israel Roukhomovsky, who worked in a small townlet near Odessa (Russia) at the turn of the century. In 1896 he was asked by a friend to make a golden tiara decorated with scenes from the *Iliad*, scenes in the daily life of the Scythians, and inscriptions referring to the gift of a tiara to King Saitaphornes by the people of Olbia. In 1898 this work was sold to the Louvre as an archaeological find by a Viennese merchant. When in 1903 Roukhomovsky was invited to Paris, and there produced a similar work with his primitive tools, he managed to convince a team of archaeologists headed by Clermont-Ganneau that he was the craftsman who made the alleged Saitaphornes tiara.

In Palestine the *Bezalel School of Arts and Crafts, established by Boris *Schatz in 1906, created a style of its own by adapting the traditional artistry of the Yemenites to western forms and tastes. This "Bezalel style" continued to be produced in Israel, especially in the manufacture of ritual objects as well as jewelry. Among modern goldsmiths and silversmiths in Israel and the U.S.A. were many important artists; most renowned in the production of ritual objects, both in Jerusalem and New York, were Wolpert and Gumbel.

[Bezalel Narkiss]

Contemporary Developments

The narrowing of the gap between the well-designed manufactured product and the handmade craft or art continued into the 1980s. In those fields where artistic expression is of particular importance, there are signs that a new type of patron is emerging who will consider commissioning a delicate piece of jewelry, silver for a special occasion, or a contemporary piece of Judaica for the synagogue, and studios with an emphasis on individual design and originality are being set up in many parts of the world.

In August 1977 the first international conference dedicated to Jewish art, under the auspices of the Oxford Centre for Postgraduate Hebrew Studies, in conjunction with the Tarbuth Foundation of America, organized by Isaiah Shachar, who died tragically a month later, entitled "The Visual Dimension – Aspects of Jewish Art," took place in Oxford. There emerged from this conference a tremendous worldwide interest in Jewish art, a desire to record the past, and an interest in encouraging a high standard of contemporary Judaica.

Museums and academic institutions devoted to Jewish art in general and ritual objects in particular have proliferated in many parts of the world, such as the Jewish Museum, New York, which encourages a contemporary approach to Judaica through its own workshops. A new dimension is already apparent in the work of some contemporary gold- and silversmiths.

In May 1978 an Anglo-Jewish Silver Exhibition was organized by the Victoria & Albert Museum of London, under the auspices of the Jewish Historical Society of England. The exhibition aimed at exhibiting the various types of Jewish ritual plates produced, principally by English silversmiths for synagogue and domestic worship, following the resettlement of the Jews in England in 1656. Also included were the fine cups and salvers dating from the reign of William III to that of George III presented as tributes to various Lord Mayors of London by members of the Spanish and Portuguese community. An unusual Victorian table centerpiece by J.S. Hunt, which was presented to Sir Moses Montefiore in 1841, created considerable interest.

There was also an important modern section, and among the silversmiths were represented two famous non-Jews: Prof. Gerald Benney (1930–), professor of silversmithing and jewelry at the Royal College of Art since 1974, and Leslie Durbin (1913–). Benney, who has developed his own technique of texturing and enameling, holds Royal Warrants of Appointment to the Royal Family, is a member of the Government Craft Advisory Committee, and was elected to the Faculty of Royal Designers for Industry. Benney has created some beautiful examples of Jewish ritual art.

In 1978 the department of goldsmithing, silversmithing, and jewelry of the Bezalel Academy of Arts and Design, Jerusalem, exhibited the works of 29 students and the head of their department, Professor Arie *Ofir. It consisted of 100 items of jewelry and 20 items of gold- and silversmithing, some in Judaica. The works showed originality, not only in the use of traditional materials, but with combinations of leather, rope, wood, and acrylics. The exhibition was first shown at the unique Pforzheim Museum of Jewelry in Germany in March 1978 and subsequently at the Deutsches Goldschmiedehaus in Hanau. It then moved to the Diamond Museum in Antwerp, the Electrum Gallery in London, the Arnolfini Gallery in Bristol and, finally, to several centers in the United States.

[Amia Raphael]

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GOLDSTEIN, ABRAHAM SAMUEL (1925–), U.S. lawyer and educator. Goldstein, who was born in New York City, received his LL.B. from Yale University in 1949 and was admitted to the Washington, D.C., bar. After two years as a law clerk to U.S. Circuit Court Judge David *Bazelon (1949–51), he practiced privately with a Washington law firm from 1951 to 1956. In the latter year, he was appointed a member of the Yale Law School faculty. Goldstein, an expert in U.S. criminal law and procedure, became a professor in 1961. He served as dean of Yale Law School from 1970 to 1975. From 1975 he served as Sterling Professor at Yale, teaching criminal law and criminal procedure. He served as a consultant to the President's Commission on Law Enforcement (1966–67), was a member of the Connecticut State Board of Parole (1967–69), and a member of the Governor's Planning Commission on Criminal Administration (1967–71).

Active in Jewish affairs, Goldstein was a member of the board of directors of the New Haven Jewish Community Council. In 1978 he was appointed provost of Yale University, the second highest post in the university. He was the first Jew to attain this position, which is that of chief educational and administrative officer after the president. He was a visiting professor at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem in 1975 and at Tel Aviv University in 1986. He was senior vice president of the American Jewish Congress (1978–84) and served on its governing council from 1976 to 1994. He was also a member of the Executive Committee of the National Jewish Community Relations Advisory Council (1985–89). From 1990 he served on the board of directors of Hillel at Yale.

Goldstein wrote *The Insanity Defense* (1967), *Crime, Law, and Society: Readings* (with J. Goldstein, 1971), *Criminal Procedure: Cases and Materials on the Administration of Criminal Law* (with L. Orland, 1974), and *The Passive Judiciary: Prosecutorial Discretion and the Guilty Plea* (1981).

[Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

GOLDSTEIN, ALEXANDER (1884–1949), Russian Zionist leader. Born in Minsk, Goldstein studied law at the University of St. Petersburg and took an active part in Zionist student circles. In 1903 he published his first article (in Russian) and eventually became one of the outstanding writers on Zionist affairs, contributing to the Zionist monthly, *Yevreyskaya Zhizn*, and primarily to *Razsvet*, when this weekly was founded in 1907. He also traveled throughout Russia in order to promote the Zionist idea. He was one of the originators of the Helsingfors Program which sought to incorporate Diaspora activities into the Zionist program. At the Seventh Convention of Russian Zionists, held in Petrograd in 1917, Goldstein submitted a proposal to hold a national "referendum," which would demand equal rights for the Jews in the Diaspora as well as a national home for the Jews in Ereẓ Israel. In 1919 he left Russia, and, when Keren Hayesod was established, he entered its service and traveled extensively on its behalf. In 1933 he settled in Palestine, where he continued his work for Keren Hayesod.

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[Getzel Kressel]

GOLDSTEIN, ANGELO (1889–1947), politician and Zionist leader in Czechoslovakia. The son of a rabbi in Bohemia, he graduated in law. He was wounded during his service in the Austro-Hungarian army in World War I and after the war he practiced as an advocate in Prague. An active Zionist from his student days, he was among the founders of the Jewish party. At the death of Ludwig *Singer (1931) he took his place in parliament, and was reelected in 1935. An outstanding orator, he fought all attempts at discrimination against Jews. Goldstein was bitterly opposed by assimilationists and extreme Orthodox Jews. He acted as counsel in libel actions brought against the Jewish party (e.g., as counsel of Emil *Margulies in the Hirschler-Weber case in 1928). Goldstein was one of the main propagandists of Zionism in the Czech language. He served on the Zionist General Council (1931–35) on behalf of the Progressive General Zionist faction. In 1939 he left for Palestine where he practiced as a lawyer.

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[Yehuda Gera]

GOLDSTEIN, ELYSE (1955–), rabbi, educator, feminist activist. Born in Scranton, Pennsylvania, to Terry and Abe Goldstein, Elyse Goldstein earned a B.A. from Brandeis University in 1978 and an M.A. from Hebrew Union College in 1981. She was ordained at Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion in 1983 and from 1991 served as the founding director of Kolel: The Adult Centre for Liberal Jewish Learning in Toronto, Ontario.

Goldstein's first rabbinic position was as assistant rabbi at Holy Blossom Temple in Toronto between 1983 and 1986. One of the first female rabbis in Canada, she was also an outspoken feminist committed to Reform Judaism. From 1986 to 1991, she served as rabbi of Temple Beth David of Canton, Massachusetts, before returning to Toronto to become the primary architect of the Kolel, first Reform institute for advanced adult learning. Through her pioneering educational work at Kolel, Rabbi Goldstein made a unique contribution to Liberal Judaism in North America by enabling Jews of diverse backgrounds and affiliations to study Judaism as adults in a yeshiva-like environment that is not Orthodox. Goldstein is the author of *Re-Visions: Seeing Torah through a Feminist Lens* (1998), and edited *The Women's Torah Commentary* (2000) and *The Women's Haftorah Commentary* (2003). She also published a study guide on women and Judaism, *Seek Her Out: A Textual Approach to the Study of Women and Judaism* (2004). She is one of seven women featured in the groundbreaking 1989 National Film Board of Canada documentary *Half the Kingdom*.

Elyse Goldstein received many honor and awards, including the 2005 Covenant Award and the 2004 UJA Rabbinic Achievement Award. In 2001 she was named ORT Woman of the Year.

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[Norma Baumel Joseph (2nd ed.)]

GOLDSTEIN, EUGEN (1850–1931), German physicist. Goldstein was born at Gleiwitz in Upper Silesia and became a student of the German scientist Herman von Helmholtz (1821–1894). Most of Goldstein's research was devoted to radiant emissions, first at the University of Berlin and later at the Potsdam Observatory. He is best remembered for his studies of high-vacuum cathode ray tubes, leading to his discovery of "Kanalstrahlen," known in English as "canal rays." He found that these rays travel in the opposite direction from normal cathode rays. This was highly significant for the understanding of radiation in general, as it was shown later that such rays consist of positively charged particles and this in turn led Rutherford to prove that these particles, called protons, must exist alongside uncharged neutrons to make up the nucleus of every atom.

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[J. Edwin Holmstrom]

GOLDSTEIN, FANNY (1888–1961), U.S. librarian. Born in Kamenets-Podolsk, Russia, Fanny Goldstein was taken to the United States at an early age. She entered the Boston public library system in 1913 and served as librarian of the West End branch from 1922 until her retirement in 1957, developing there a notable Judaica collection later housed in the main library. In 1954 she was appointed curator of Judaica, the first woman in America to receive this title.

Throughout her career she was active in promoting interest in Jewish books and writers among Jews and non-Jews alike. In 1925 she introduced the celebration of Jewish Book Week in Boston; it was subsequently made a national event. In 1940 she became the first chairman of the National Committee for Jewish Book Week and in 1941 was made honorary president of its successor organization, the Jewish Book Council of America. She was well known for her listings of Judaica published by the Boston Public Library, and those which appeared in the *American Jewish Year Book* (43 (1941–42), 499–517) and the *Jewish Book Annual* (5 (1946–47), 84–100; also vols. 11–16, 1952–59). In 1958 she presented her own large collection of Judaica to the Boston Public Library, where it is now maintained as the Fanny Goldstein Collection.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: C. Angoff, in: JBA, 20 (1962/63), 70–72.

[Harry J. Alderman]

GOLDSTEIN, HERBERT S. (1890–1970), U.S. rabbi. Goldstein was born and educated in New York City, receiving his B.A. (1911) and M.A. (1912) degrees from Columbia University. He graduated from the *Jewish Theological Seminary in 1914, when such ordination did not necessarily mark one as a Conservative rabbi and was also ordained by Rabbi Shalom Jaffe, vice president of the *Union of Orthodox Rabbis. While still a seminary student, he assisted Rabbi Moses Z. Margolies at the prestigious Kehilath Jeshurun Congregation in New York on the Upper East Side where he succeeded Mordecai *Kaplan. Like Kaplan, he believed that an English-speaking, secularly educated rabbinate was essential to the survival of Judaism and that the synagogue must remain the center of Jewish life. Unlike Kaplan, who moved to the left, Goldstein remained firmly within the Orthodox camp. After graduation, he pioneered a new synagogue in Harlem, which was then populated by first-generation Jewish immigrants. To attract their American-born children, Goldstein organized a youth *minyan* and gradually evolved the congregation into a new form: an institutional synagogue which comprised social, educational, and sports activities in addition to religious services. After Harlem became a totally black neighborhood in the 1930s, he transferred his activities to the West Side (1937), where he had previously established a branch known as the West Side Institutional Synagogue. It was a combination of a synagogue, *talmud torah*, and YMHA. Although a Seminary graduate, Goldstein also served as professor of homiletics at the Rabbi Isaac Elchanan Theological Seminary of *Yeshiva University, and was president of the *Synagogue Council of America, *Rabbinical Council of America, and the *Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations. He was also active in the *Agudat Israel movement, and continually visited Eretz Israel to aid the activities of the Harry Fischel Institute for Research in Jewish Law and the Rabbi Herzog World Academy of Jewish Studies. Both these projects were supported by the philanthropic foundation established by his father-in-law, Harry *Fischel. He also wrote several books, including a commentary to the 613 commandments, and edited his father-in-law's autobiography. Despite the fact that he was a graduate of the Jewish Theological Seminary, Goldstein was a strictly Orthodox rabbi, belonging to the right wing of the English-speaking Orthodox rabbinate, and in this respect was unique.

ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY: J. Gurrock, *When Harlem Was Jewish* (1979); M.D. Sherman, *Orthodox Judaism in America: A Bibliographical Dictionary and Sourcebook* (1996), 79–81.

GOLDSTEIN, ISRAEL (1896–1986), U.S. Conservative rabbi and Zionist. He was born in Philadelphia, received his Jewish education at Yeshiva Mishkan Israel and Gratz College, studying for a time at a ḥeder in Riga. He was a graduate of the University of Pennsylvania (1914) and ordained by the Jewish Theological Seminary in 1918. He received his D.H.L. from the Seminary as well (1927). In that year he was appointed rabbi of the prominent Congregation B'nai Jeshurun in New York, where he served until 1961. Begun in 1825, B'nai Jeshurun was one of the oldest congregations in New York and badly in need of revitalization. Goldstein instituted late Friday evening services, expanded its school and educational outreach, and began the community center directed by Louis Levitsky. During his four decades of leadership, he established B'nai Jeshurun as a respected and progressive congregation. An ardent Zionist, Goldstein was president of the Jewish National Fund of America (1933–43), and vice president (1934–43) and president (1943–45) of the Zionist Organization of America, and enjoyed the reputation of an outstanding orator and administrator.

A member and officer of several Jewish, interfaith, and public organizations and commissions, he was a founder of the National Conference of Christians and Jews (1928) and of Brandeis College (1946). Elected first president of the World Confederation of General Zionists (1946), he served as chairman of both the United Jewish and Palestine Appeals (1947–48), treasurer of the Jewish Agency (1948–49) while on Sabbatical from his congregation, and first president of Amidar, the Israel national housing company (1948–49). During Goldstein's tenure as president of the American Jewish Congress (1951–58) that organization vigorously opposed McCarthyism and the restrictive McCarran-Walter Immigration Act, supported equal rights for American blacks, and attempted to counter Arab anti-Israel propaganda. In 1961 Goldstein moved to Jerusalem and became world chairman of the Keren Hayesod-United Israel Appeal, serving in that capacity until 1971, when he also retired from the co-presidency of the World Confederation of General Zionists, of which he was appointed honorary president. His books include a history of his congregation *Century of Judaism in New York* (1930); sermons and essays, *Towards a Solution* (1940) and *American Jewry Comes of Age* (1955); and *Transition Years, New York–Jerusalem, 1960–1962* (1962); *Israel at Home and Abroad* (1973); *Jewish Justice and Conciliation: History of the Jewish Conciliation Board of America. 1930–1968* (1981); and a two-volume autobiography, *My World as a Jew* (2 vols., 1984); and *Jewish Perspectives: Selected Addresses, Sermons, Broadcasts and Articles, 1915–1984*, edited by Gabriel A. Sivan (1985). He was also honorary president of the American Jewish Congress, the JNF of America, and the Israel Interfaith Committee. His wife BERTHA (1895–1996) was national president of the *Pioneer Women Organization (1947 to 1951) and was active in many women's organizations.

With his wife Israel Goldstein instituted the Bert and Israel Goldstein Jerusalem Prize for Good Citizenship. Both Goldsteins were *yekirei Yerushalayim* (Distinguished Citizens of Jerusalem).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: H. Schneiderman (ed.), *Two Generations in Perspective: Notable Events and Trends, 1896–1956* (1957).

GOLDSTEIN, JENNIE (1896–1960), U.S. actress. Born in New York, Jennie Goldstein appeared in *Khanele di Nayterin* at the age of six. At 15 she performed with David *Kessler in *Dos Yidishe Harts* and played the leading role in Jacob Gordin's *Di Yesoyme*. At 16 she married the actor-playwright Max Gabel, who wrote plays for the two of them. After their divorce in 1930, she toured in vaudeville. She appeared on the English-language stage in George Abbott's *The Number* (1951) and in Tennessee Williams' *Camino Real* (1953).

GOLDSTEIN, JOSEF (1837–1899), *ḥazzan* and composer. Goldstein was born and brought up in Hungary. His father, known as "Shmelke Ḥazzan," was *ḥazzan* of the town of Neutra, and Josef sang in his choir at the age of six. His father died when Josef was 10, and when he was 13, though still at school, he was made *ḥazzan* of the community. During the next five years, he conducted services in many Hungarian towns and at the Polish synagogue in Vienna, studied music in Prague, Florence, and Padua, and sang in concerts in Budapest and elsewhere. At the age of 18 he was appointed chief *ḥazzan* of the Leopoldstadt Synagogue in Vienna, and served there for over 40 years. He introduced the Polish-Jewish style of singing, which he also used for the songs in his book *Schire Jeschurun* (3 vols., 1862). The work contains melodies for all the services of the synagogue and settings of psalms for choir with organ accompaniment.

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[Joshua Leib Ne'eman]

GOLDSTEIN, JOSEPH LEONARD (1940–), U.S. medical geneticist and Nobel laureate. Goldstein was born in Sumter, South Carolina, and graduated with a B.S. in chemistry from Washington and Lee University in Lexington, Virginia (1962), and an M.D. from the University of Texas Southwestern Medical School at Dallas (1966). After medical training at Massachusetts General Hospital, Boston (1966–68), where he met his long-term collaborator Michael *Brown, he began his research career at the National Institutes of Health, Bethesda (1968–70). He worked in the laboratory of Marshall Nirenberg and with Donald Fredrickson, clinical director of the National Heart Institute (1968–70) whose patients with lipid disorders stimulated his interest in cholesterol metabolism. His genetic studies with Arno Motulsky at the University of Washington, Seattle (1970–72) clarified the link between inherited abnormalities of lipid metabolism, especially high blood cholesterol levels, and susceptibility to heart disease. He also learned techniques for culturing readily accessible cells called fibroblasts which he subsequently used to study normal and abnormal lipid metabolism. In 1972 he joined the faculty of the Southwestern Medical School, Dallas, initially as head of the division of medical genetics, progressing to professor (1974) and Paul J. Thomas Professor of Medicine and Genetics, chairman of the department of medical genetics from 1977, and regent professor of the University of Texas (1985). He continued his collaboration with Michael Brown throughout this period in Dallas, and they shared the Nobel Prize for physiology or medicine (1985) for the research which identified the receptors on cell surfaces which normally regulate blood levels of low-density lipoproteins. They further showed that low density lipoproteins within cells control the enzyme coenzyme A reductase which governs cholesterol synthesis, especially by the liver. They characterized the genetic defects in these receptors which lead to high blood levels of low-density lipoproteins and cholesterol. This results in excessive lipid deposition in blood vessel walls predisposing to disease, especially in coronary arteries. These observations led to a greater understanding of the regulatory role of receptors in general. They also underlie the modern clinical practice of reducing abnormally high cholesterol levels by dietary means or drugs. His subsequent collaborative work with Michael Brown identified other metabolic defects resulting in high blood lipoprotein levels dependent upon high blood insulin levels and insulin resistance. His many honors include election to the U.S. National Academy of Sciences (1980), the Gairdner Award (1981), presidency of the American Society for Clinical Investigation (1985–86), and the Lasker Award in Basic Medical Science (1985).

[Michael Denman (2nd ed.)]

GOLDSTEIN, JUDAH JAMISON (1886–1967), U.S. judge and civic leader. Goldstein, who was born in Ontario, Canada, went with his family to New York's Lower East Side when a child. He began practicing law in 1907 and in 1911 became secretary to Alfred E. Smith, then majority leader of the New York State Assembly. In the wake of the Seabury probe of municipal corruption, Goldstein assisted in the investigation of New York City's magistrate courts and was then appointed to this court by Mayor Walker. In 1936 he received an interim appointment to the General Sessions Court and in 1939, despite the opposition of Tammany Hall, won a full term on that court. Defeated as the Republican-Liberal-Fusion candidate for mayor in 1945, he was reelected to the court in 1953. On the bench, Goldstein was a socially conscious and innovative justice who advocated more understanding and lenient treatment for youthful offenders. Prominent in Jewish community, welfare, and philanthropic activities, Goldstein was an active Zionist, a trustee of the Federation of Jewish Philanthropies, a member of the board of the Joint Distribution Committee, and a founder with Lillian *Wald of the East Side Neighborhood Association. He was president (for 32 years) of the well-known Grand Street Boys, the philanthropic organization composed of members who rose from slum childhoods to positions of power and prominence in New York City life. Goldstein wrote *The Family in Court* (1934), dealing with the requirements of the Family Court.

[Richard Skolnik]

GOLDSTEIN, JULIUS (1873–1929), German philosopher. Born in Hamburg, he taught at the Technische Hochschule in Darmstadt from 1901. He edited the literary journal *Der Morgen*, which dealt with Jewish topics, from 1925 until his death. Philosophically he was close to William James, whose *A Pluralistic Universe* he translated (1914). He wrote a great deal on contemporary civilization and culture. Goldstein's major works are *Untersuchungen zum Kulturproblem der Gegenwart* (1899); *Die empiristische Geschichtsauffassung David Humes…* (1902); *Wandlungen in der Philosophie der Gegenwart…* (1911) on James, Bergson and Eucken; *Die Technik* (1912); *Rasse und Politik* (1921), dealing with the Jewish question; *Aus dem Vermaechtnis des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts…* (1922); and *Deutsche Volks-Idee und deutsch-voelkische Idee* (1927).

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[Richard H. Popkin]

GOLDSTEIN, KURT (1878–1965), neurologist and psychiatrist; coformulator of a test which measures the impairment of function in the case of brain injury in regard to abstract and concrete thinking, known as the Goldstein-Sheerer test. Goldstein, who was born in Katowice, Poland, was educated and worked in Germany. During World War I, he headed a special hospital for treating brain injuries. After the war, he was appointed professor at Frankfurt University and in 1931 at Berlin University. With the coming of the Nazis, he was dismissed from his post, imprisoned, and then released. He then emigrated to the U.S. He headed a research laboratory at the Montefiore Hospital, New York from 1936 to 1940. Then he taught for five years at Tufts Medical College in Boston, and from 1946 was professor of psychology at the City College of New York. Through his medical work on patients with brain damage, Goldstein formed a holistic approach and questioned the idea that the brain was an assembly of mechanisms that performed particular functions. He conceived the brain as a single unit in whose every function, the whole personality is reflected. His many investigations covered problems of localization in the brain, the methods of adaption of an organism to injuries, and the behavior of patients with brain damage.

His findings were collected in his books: *Psychologische Analysen hirnpathologischer Faelle*, written in collaboration with A. Gelb (1920), and *Der Aufbau des Organismus* (1934, *The Organism*, written in collaboration with A. Gelb, 1963^2), which have become classic works in neurology. From his own wide and varied experience with speech disorders, resulting from central defects and lesions, he published *Ueber Aphasie* (1927), *The Organism* (1939), *Human Nature in the Light of Psychopathology* (1940), *After-effects of Brain Injuries in War* (1942), and *Language Disturbances* (1948).

[Lipman Halpern]

GOLDSTEIN, MORITZ (**Egon Distel**, **Michael Osten**, **Inquit**; 1880–1977), German journalist and writer. Following his studies in German literature in Berlin, Goldstein, born into an assimilated family, intended to become a writer. Following the advice of Gustav Karpeles, he wrote in 1898–1900 the play *Alexander in Jerusalem* (published 1921) and from then on continued writing plays, stories, and novels, of which only a few were published (e.g., *Die zerbrochene Erde*, 1927; *Katastrophe*, 1927). Whereas Goldstein remained without any success as an author, he was widely known for spurring the debate about the role of Jews in German culture with the publication of his essay "Deutsch-juedischer Parnass" (1912) in *Der Kunstwart* (hence known as the "*Kunstwart* debate"). As early as 1906 Goldstein published the essay "Geistige Organisation des Judentums," where he followed the cultural-Zionist demand for a new Hebrew culture. In his *Kunstwart* essay, however, he moved away from a clear Zionist position. He still emphasized the need for the Jews to rebuild their own culture set against the politics of assimilation. Nevertheless, he doubted the possibility of a renaissance of Hebrew language and literature and instead proposed a new Jewish national literature in the German language. This compromise was controversial: Assimilated Jews (e.g., Ernst *Lissauer) and Zionists (e.g., Ludwig Strauss) both criticized Goldstein, demanding a radical either/or answer – either to become German or Jewish. Goldstein, surprised by the strong reaction to his essay, defended his position in *Begriff und Programm einer juedischen Nationalliteratur* (1913). After the World War I Goldstein continued working as a journalist, mainly for the *Vossische Zeitung*. In 1933 he fled to Italy, where he worked on a political-philosophical analysis of power (only the second part was published under the title *Fuehrers Must Fall: A Study of the Phenomenon of Power from Caesar to Hitler,* 1942) and on a historical analysis of the Jews, *Die Sache der Juden* (unpublished). In 1938 Goldstein fled to America. Until his death in 1977, he lived in New York, never feeling at home, as he described it in the autobiographical novel *Die Goetter von Manhattan* (written 1954, unpublished).

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[Andreas Kilcher (2nd ed.)]

GOLDSTEIN, RAYMOND (1953–), Israeli composer, arranger, and conductor. Born in Capetown, where he completed his musical studies. Goldstein was on the faculty of the Rubin Academy of Music from 1978, specializing, among other subjects, in opera. He also holds the post of arranger/composer (associate conductor) in the Jerusalem Great Synagogue Choir, where he has over 550 works to his credit.

In 1991 he was appointed senior teacher at the Tel Aviv Cantorial Institute.

As musical director/accompanist, he frequently appears on stage, radio, and television in Israel and has made concert tours in Australia, the U.S., and Western Europe. He has made professional recordings with international cantors and singers, and as accompanist and/or arranger, his name appears on more than a 150 CDs, cassette tapes, and videos. His compositions include a chamber opera, two cantatas, a concert *Kabbalat Shabbat Service*, orchestrations, works for chamber ensemble, and numerous arrangements (more than 1,500 in all), sacred and secular.

[Amnon Shiloah (2nd ed.)]

GOLDSTEIN, REBECCA (1950–). U.S. philosopher and novelist, Goldstein was born in White Plains, New York. Her father was the cantor at the Hebrew Institute of White Plains. After going to public school, Goldstein wanted to go to a yeshivah, and thought of "plunging … into religiosity." She went to the Esther Schoenfeld High School on the Lower East Side of New York City, and recollected that it cured her of her "religious phase." She graduated from Barnard College in 1972 and received her doctorate in philosophy from Princeton (1997). Her dissertation, supervised by Thomas Nagel, is titled *Reduction, Realism and the Mind*. Her fictional works usually have as their protagonists gifted and spirited women who are often forced to explore their commitments (for example to Judaism, to the possibilities of love, to family) against the claims of philosophical schools (for instance, to Spinoza, to Plato). Her novels are graceful and lucid explanations of what these relations mean to her protagonists, and how such characters envision themselves within such traditions. *The Mind-Body Problem* appeared in 1983, followed by *The Late-Summer Passion of a Woman of Mind* (1989); *The Dark Sister* (1991); a volume of stories titled *Strange Attractors* (1993); *Mazel* (1995), which received the National Jewish Book Award, as well as the Edgar Lewis Wallant Award; and *Properties of Light* (2000). Her *Incompleteness: The Proof and Paradox of Kurt Godel* was published in 2005. She is a MacArthur Foundation Fellow and a fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences.

[Lewis Fried (2nd ed.)]

GOLDSTEIN, RICHARD FRANK (1904–1966), British organic chemist and chemical engineer, born in London. Goldstein worked for Imperial Chemical Industries (1927–46), first in dyestuffs division and then on development studies in petrochemicals. His *Petroleum Chemicals Industry* (1949) became a standard. He joined the British Oxygen Company (1946) and became its managing director (1965).

GOLDSTEIN, RUBY (**Reuven**, "**The Jewel of the Ghetto**"; 1907–1984), U.S. boxing referee, one-time fighter, member of the International Boxing Hall of Fame and World Boxing Hall of Fame. Born and raised by his widowed mother – his father had died when he was 10 days old – on the Lower East Side of New York City, the 5′ 4½″ Goldstein began boxing as an amateur at the Educational Alliance Building, fighting his first professional fight on December 30, 1924, and winning his first 23 fights, 13 by knockout. A hard puncher with a glass jaw, the welterweight fought his last fight on August 10, 1937, and retired with a 56–6–0 record, including 39 KOs. Goldstein began refereeing while in the Army in World War II and went on to a 21-year career that included officiating 39 world championship fights in all divisions – more than any other referee in history. They included the 1946 Zony Zale vs. Rocky Graziano classic; the first Joe Louis-Jersey Joe Walcott bout in 1947; Louis' last fight, against Rocky Marciano, in 1951; the Sugar Ray Robinson-Joey Maxim light heavyweight fight in 1952, when Goldstein collapsed in the 104-degree heat after the 10th round and could not finish the fight; and the first Floyd Patterson-Ingemar Johansson world heavyweight fight in 1957. Goldstein is perhaps famous for being third man in the ring in the controversial championship fight between Benny "Kid" Paret and Emile Griffith on March 26, 1962. In that nationally televised encounter, Griffith pinned Paret in a corner in the 12th round and delivered a six-second barrage of 18 unanswered punches. When Goldstein finally intervened, Paret slumped to the canvas, unconscious, and died 10 days later. It was the first ring death seen by millions on American national television. While Goldstein was blamed for not stopping the fight, interviews years later with Paret's widow and son show that the family did not blame Goldstein for the death, but rather Paret's manager. Goldstein wrote an autobiography, *Third Man in the Ring* (1959).

[Elli Wohlgelernter (2nd ed.)]

GOLDSTEIN, SALWIAN (1855–1926), Russian historian. Goldstein was born in Warsaw to an assimilated family. In 1888 he began lecturing on Polish and Lithuanian antiquities at the Imperial Archaeological Institute at St. Petersburg. In 1908 he was among the founders of the Jewish Historical-Ethnographical Society and was in charge of its archives. Goldstein's main activity was the collection of documents and other material on the history of Russian Jewry. He organized the archives of S. *Bershadsky and cooperated in the preparation and editing of the collections of documents *Regesty i nadpisi* (3 vols., 1899–1913) and *Russko-yevreyskiy arkhiv* (vol. 3, 1903). He published studies in *Yevreyskaya starina* and similar publications and was a contributor to the *Yevreyskaya Entsiklopediya*, the Russian-Jewish encyclopedia. Goldstein belonged to the small group of scholars who endeavored to maintain some sort of independent Jewish scholarship under Soviet rule.

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[Yehuda Slutsky]

GOLDSTEIN, SIDNEY (1903–1989), mathematician and aerodynamicist. Goldstein, who was born in Hull, England, was lecturer in mathematics at Manchester University, and then a fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge (1931–45). Goldstein became a fellow of the Royal Society in 1937. He was chairman of the Aeronautical Research Council (1946–49), and professor of applied mathematics at Manchester University 1945–50. Goldstein went to Israel in 1950, as vice president of the Technion in Haifa and dean of the department of aeronautical engineering. In 1955 he became professor of applied mathematics at Harvard University in the U.S. Goldstein wrote numerous papers on applied mathematics (most dealing with aeronautics), and he was editor and coauthor of *Modern Developments in Fluid Dynamics* (1938) and *Lectures in Fluid Mechanics* (1960).

[Samuel Aaron Miller]

GOLDSTEIN, SIDNEY EMANUEL (1879–1955), U.S. Reform rabbi. Goldstein, who was born in Marshall, Texas, was ordained at the Hebrew Union College in 1905. From 1905 to 1907 he held the position of assistant superintendent at New York's Mount Sinai Hospital. When the Free Synagogue was founded by Stephen S. Wise in 1907, Goldstein became associate rabbi and established and directed its Social Service department. The services instituted by Goldstein included a child-placement service and a program for assisting former mental patients to readjust to life outside the institution. Goldstein was a vigorous supporter of the labor, woman's suffrage, and civil rights movements, regarding the rabbi as a pioneer in social and community reform and the synagogue as the instrument for implementing them. A founder of the Jewish Institute of Religion, Goldstein was professor of social service at the Institute from 1922. Long interested in the field of marriage counseling, Goldstein served as chairman of both the New York State Conference on Marriage and the Family from 1936 to 1947 and the Jewish Institute on Marriage and the Family from 1937. His numerous public activities included: chairman of the Central Conference of American Rabbis' Commission on Social Justice (1934–36); chairman of the executive committee of the War Resisters League of America (1930–40); chairman of the Joint Committee on Unemployment (1930–34); and executive committee member of the State of New York Committee on Discrimination in Employment (1941–44). His book, *The Synagogue and Social Welfare* (1955), studied the meaning of the synagogue and its relation to American life.

GOLDSTONE, RICHARD JOSEPH (1938–), South African judge and international war crimes prosecutor. Born in Boksburg, South Africa, Goldstone was appointed judge of the Transvaal Supreme Court in 1980 and judge of the Appellate Division of the Supreme Court in 1989. In July, he was appointed to the newly established Constitutional Court of South Africa, a position he held until 2003. From 1991 to 1994, he served as chairperson of the Commission of Inquiry regarding Public Violence and Intimidation, which came to be known as the Goldstone Commission. This led to his appointment as chief prosecutor of the United Nations International Criminal Tribunals for the former Yugoslavia and Rwanda (1994–96). He was chairman of the committee that drafted a Declaration of Human Duties and Responsibilities for the director general of UNESCO (the Valencia Declaration) in 1998 and afterwards was chairman of the International Independent Inquiry on Kosovo (1999–2001). In April 2004, he was appointed by the secretary-general of the United Nations to the Independent International Committee to investigate the Iraq Oil for Food program. In December that year, he was appointed as co-chairman of the council for the International Bar Association's Human Rights Institute. Goldstone was further involved in many areas of public life, in both the Jewish and general community. He was a governor of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem and from 1997 to 2004 served as president of World ORT, an international Jewish education and training charity. His autobiography, *For Humanity: Reflections of a War Crimes Investigator*, appeared in 2000.

[David Saks (2nd ed.)]

GOLDSTUECKER, EDUARD (1913–2000), Czech literary historian and critic, author, and diplomat. Goldstuecker was born in Podbiel, Slovakia. In his youth he was active in the Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir movement in Slovakia but later became a Communist. Following the Nazi occupation of Czechoslovakia in 1938, Goldstuecker fled to England, where he studied at Oxford. In 1945 he returned to Prague, joined his country's diplomatic service, and, after a tour of duty in London, was appointed Czechoslovakia's first minister to Israel (1949–51). Goldstuecker later figured in the *Slánský trial and in 1952 was sentenced to life imprisonment for "anti-state" activities. Released after four years, he was appointed professor of the history of German literature at Charles University in Prague in 1963 (vice rector 1968–69). An outspoken critic of the Party's interference in cultural affairs, Goldstuecker published a collection of studies on Franz *Kafka, *Na téma Franz Kafka* (On Franz Kafka, 1964). He organized two international conferences on Kafka and on Prague's German literature in Liblice in 1963 and 1965. As a result of his efforts Kafka, who until then was taboo in the Communist world, was "rehabilitated" in Czechoslovakia and some other states of the Communist bloc. After the liberalization of the Czechoslovak regime in January 1968, Goldstuecker was elected president of the Czechoslovak Writers' Union and a member of the Czech National Council. After the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia in August 1968, Goldstuecker was a major target of criticism by the anti-liberal elements. He left the country and accepted a visiting professorship at the University of Sussex (1969–78) and the University of Brighton (1978–90), England. In 1970 Goldstuecker was one of several Czechoslovak public figures accused of being agents of "Zionism and Imperialism" and tried in absentia. Goldstuecker for his part maintained that his Jewish origin was a major reason for his persecution by "Stalinist ruling circles" in Czechoslovakia. He returned to Prague in 1991.

Goldstuecker published dozens of studies and articles on Prague's German literature and its major figures, such as Franz Kafka, Franz *Werfel, R.M. Rilke, and E.E. *Kisch, including *Rainer Maria Rilke and Franz Werfel* (1960) with prefaces and epilogues to translations from German literature (Thomas *Mann, Karl *Kraus, etc.). He also edited works by J.W. Goethe. During his second exile, (1969–91) he published *The Czech National Revival, the Germans and the Jews* (1973) and *Prozesse: Erfahrungen eines Mitteleuropäers* (Trials: Experiences of an Inhabitant of Central Europe, 1989). In Czechoslovakia, he published studies on Czech antisemitism, relations between Czechs, Germans and Jews, and on the Prague Spring of 1968. Goldstuecker took stock of his life in a volume of memoirs, *Vzpomínky (1913–1945)*, published in 2003. The second part remained unpublished.

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[Avigdor Dagan / Milos Pojar (2nd ed.)]

GOLDWASSER, ISRAEL EDWIN (1878–1974), U.S. educator, financier, and philanthropist. Goldwasser was born in New York City, and began public school teaching in 1897. He eventually became a principal and the youngest district superintendent of schools in New York City (1914–17), publishing several educational works, including *Method and Methods in Teaching English* (1912) and *Yiddish English Lessons* (with Joseph Jablonower, 1914). In 1920 Goldwasser entered business as a factor, becoming president of an investment firm during the 1930s, and retired in 1954 after nearly 15 years with the Commercial Factors Corporation. Subsequently he served as an economic consultant and took a special interest in economic projects in Israel. Goldwasser was a leading figure in many Jewish communal organizations, such as the Federation of Jewish Philanthropies, of which he was the first executive director (1917–20). His son, EDWIN L. GOLDWASSER (1919–), was co-director of the National Accelerator Laboratory in Weston, Illinois, the world's largest atom smasher. Professor emeritus of physics at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, he also served as vice chancellor for academic affairs. He is a fellow of the American Association for the Advancement of Science; the American Physical Society; and the J.S. Guggenheim Foundation. He wrote *Optics, Waves, Atoms, and Nuclei: An Introduction* (1965).

GOLDWATER, family of early settlers in Arizona and the American West. Originally named "Goldwasser," the first of the family to reach America were the brothers MICHAEL and JOSEPH, who were born in Konin, Poland, in the 1820s. They immigrated first to Germany, then to England, where they worked as cap makers, and in 1852, along with Michael's young wife, to the United States. Attracted by the gold rush, they went West, selling whiskey and hardware to the miners and then settling in Los Angeles, where they operated a combined general store and saloon. In 1862 Michael Goldwater led a mule train to the gold-rush settlement of La Paz, Arizona, along the Colorado River. He remained in the area and later founded the town of Ehrenburg, which he named after a friend who had been killed by Indians. Subsequently he was joined by his brother Joseph and the two opened a large store in Phoenix and another in Prescott. Michael retired in 1883 and died in 1903, leaving the business, Goldwater Inc., to his sons MORRIS and BARON. Baron married an Episcopalian. Their son, BARRY M. GOLDWATER (1909–1998), served as U.S. senator from Arizona from 1952 to 1964 and again from 1968, and was the unsuccessful presidential candidate of the Republican Party in 1964. In 1968 he won back his seat in the Senate. After serving three more terms as one of the Senate's most respected members, he retired in 1987. Goldwater wrote *The Coming Breakpoint* (1976) and his autobiography, *With No Apologies* (1979).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: O. Jensen, in: *American Heritage* (June 1964).

GOLDWATER, JOHN L. (1916–1999), U.S. comic-book artist. An orphan from East Harlem, N.Y., Goldwater hitchhiked west in the Depression and invented prototypical teenage America in the comics. His creations – Archie Andrews, Jughead, Betty, and Veronica – were always 16 years old, going on 17. Millions worldwide came to chuckle over Archie's misadventures at school with his spinster teacher and fussy principal; his intractable romantic triangle with the sweet Betty and spoiled, rich Veronica; a hamburger obsession of the nerdy Jughead, and rivalry with the handsome, conceited Reggie. "He's basically a square," Goldwater said of Archie, "but in my opinion the squares are the backbone of America. If we didn't have squares we wouldn't have strong families." The comic strip ran in 750 newspapers and comic book sales sometimes reached 50 million a year.

In the 1940s and 1950s, Goldwater catapulted to the pinnacle of the comics world, with a publishing empire, Archie Comics Publications, one of the industry's big three, and radio and television shows and a movie.

Goldwater dreamed up Archie, a hapless teenage Everyman, in 1941, placing him in the mythical and idyllic town of Riverdale. He found a young artist, Bob Mantana, who provided what became indelible faces. He went to a magazine publisher and offered to buy his outdated issues at a penny each. Then he shipped them abroad to an avid market. The business prospered and Goldwater soon joined forces with a pulp magazine publisher, Louis Silberkleit, to found a magazine publishing business in 1941, just as the war was restricting paper supplies. Their Archie venture began as a four-page insert in another comic but proved an immediate hit and Archie and friends got their own comic.

In 1954, with national critics decrying brutality, vulgarity, and sex in comics, Goldwater helped found the Comics Magazine Association of America, whose Comics Code Authority persuaded magazines to voluntarily weed out offensive material as well as ads for guns, knives, and war weapons. Goldwater served as president for 25 years.

In 1973 Goldwater licensed Archie for evangelical Christian messages. Although Jewish, Goldwater said the sentiments were in line with his wholesome family message.

[Stewart Kampel (2nd ed.)]

GOLDWATER, SIGMUND SCHULZ (1873–1942), U.S. consultant in hospital administration and design. Goldwater was born in New York City. Joining Mount Sinai Hospital in New York, he rose to the position of director, a post he held from 1917 to 1929. At the same time, Goldwater became a registered architect, and gained an international reputation as an expert consultant in hospital design and administration. In 1914 New York Mayor John Mitchell appointed him health commissioner, later citing his accomplishments in reorganizing the department. Goldwater served as commissioner of hospitals under Mayor La Guardia for six years starting in 1934, and worked to rejuvenate the city's aging facilities. An advocate of extending private health insurance to lower income groups, Goldwater became president of the Associated Hospital Service in 1940.

[Richard Skolnik]

GOLDWYN (Goldfish), SAMUEL (1882–1974), U.S. motion-picture producer. Born in Warsaw, Poland, he immigrated to the U.S. at the age of 13. He worked in a glove factory, and at the age of 30 owned a successful glove company. In 1913 Goldwyn entered the motion-picture industry as an associate of his brother-in-law, Jesse L. Lasky, and Cecil B. DeMille. Their first production, *The Squaw Man* (1914), perhaps the first feature-length film made in Hollywood, was an instant success. Two years later Goldwyn joined Edgar and Archibald Selwyn to form the Goldwyn Pictures Corporation (using the first syllable of Goldfish and the last of Selwyn), adopting the name as his own. In 1922 Goldwyn was fired from the company, which later merged with Metro Pictures and Louis B. Mayer Productions to become Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer. Goldwyn became an independent producer, acquiring a reputation that none of his competitors could match. He endowed his films with talent and imagination, leaving his own distinctive mark on them. He introduced and produced many popular actors and hired distinguished writers, including Maurice Maeterlinck, Robert Sherwood, and Lillian *Hellman. His stars included Ronald Colman, Vilma Banky, Eddie *Cantor, Gary Cooper, David Niven, and Danny *Kaye.

Goldwyn became a legend in the film industry, and many malapropisms were attributed to him, such as "Include me out" and "a verbal contract isn't worth the paper it's written on." Between 1917 and 1959, Goldwyn produced more than 100 films. Some of his productions include *Arrowsmith* (1931), *The Kid from Spain* (1932), *Wuthering Heights* (1939), *The Little Foxes* (1941), *The Pride of the Yankees* (1942), *The Best Years* *of Our Lives* (1946), *The Secret Life of Walter Mitty* (1947), *Enchantment* (1948), *Hans Christian Anderson* (1952), *Guys and Dolls* (1955), and *Porgy and Bess* (1955).

Goldwyn was nominated for seven Academy Awards. In 1946 he won the Oscar for *The Best Years of Our Lives* and received the Irving G. Thalberg Memorial Award. In 1957 he was honored with the Academy's Jean Hersholt Humanitarian Award and in 1973 he won the Golden Globe's Cecil B. DeMille Award for outstanding contribution to the entertainment field. Goldwyn wrote *Behind the Screen* (1923). He assigned his film profits to the Samuel Goldwyn Foundation for assisting scholars and philanthropic causes.

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[Jo Ranson / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

GOLDZIHER, IGNAZ (**Isaac Judah**; 1850–1921), Hungarian scholar, one of the founders of modern Islamic scholarship. Goldziher, born in Szekesfehervar (Stuhlweissenburg), studied Arabic manuscripts at Leyden and Vienna, and traveled in Egypt, Palestine, and Syria before becoming a lecturer at the University of Budapest in 1872. As his university teaching was unpaid until he became a professor in 1904, he earned his living as secretary of the Budapest Neolog Jewish community for 30 years. In 1900 he succeeded D. *Kaufmann as professor of religious philosophy at the Budapest Rabbinical Seminary. Goldziher was elected a member of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences long before his appointment to a professorship in the university. He was respected by Muslim scholars and received queries from them; he was invited to lecture at Fuad University in Cairo but did not accept the position. When the Jewish National Home was established in Palestine after World War I, it was hoped that Goldziher would use his influence in the Muslim world to help bring about a rapprochement between Jews and Arabs, but he was far from being a Zionist, and refused to act on this matter. Goldziher was the first to describe critically and comprehensibly the history of Islamic oral tradition (*ḥadith) and the various Islamic sects; he published many studies, still valuable, on pre-Islamic and Islamic culture, the religious and legal history of the Arabs, and their ancient and modern poetry. He was one of the initiators of the *Enzyklopaedie des Islām* (4 vols., 1913–36), and was among its contributors. Goldziher's principal works in this field are *Beitraege zur Literaturgeschichte der Schiʿa und der sunnitischen Polemik* (1874), *Die Zâhiriten…* (1884), *Muhammedanische Studien* (2 vols., 1889–90), Eng. tr. *Muslim Studies*, ed. by S.M. Stern (1967), *Abhandlungen zur arabischen Philologie* (2 vols., 1896–99), *Vorlesungen ueber den Islam* (1910, 1925^2), and *Die Richtungen der islamischen Koranauslegung* (1920). Goldziher also made valuable contributions to Jewish scholarship. At the age of 12 he published *Si'aḥ Yiẓḥak*, an essay on the Jewish prayers. His doctoral dissertation was devoted to the 13th-century Arab-Jewish philologist and Bible commentator *Tanḥum Yerushalmi. He wrote for Hungarian and German Jewish periodicals and in various Festschriften on problems of Jewish scholarship, in particular about the relations between Islam and Judaism, and on Muslim criticism of the Pentateuch, the Talmud, and the "people of the book" in general. Goldziher's Islamic and Jewish studies complemented each other; he was able to draw many parallels between the two religions, pointing out their differences as well.

Among his major publications in Jewish studies are *Der Mythos bei den Hebraeern…* (1876; *Mythology among the Hebrews…*, 1877), "Mélanges judéo-arabes" (in REJ, vols. 43–60, 1901–10), and "Islamische und juedische Philosophie des Mittelalters" and "Religion des Islams," in *Die Kultur der Gegenwart* (vol. 1 pt. 3, 1906). With W. Wundt and H. Oldenberg he edited *Allgemeine Geschichte der Philosophie* (1909). Goldziher reviewed critically various editions of the Arabic originals of important medieval philosophical and halakhic texts and he himself edited pseudo-Baḥya's *Kitâb Maʿânî al-Nafs* (1907). He also wrote on modern Hebrew poetry (in JQR, 14 [1902], 719–36). His general views on Judaism were presented in *A zsidóság lényege és fejlödése* ("Essence and Evolution of Judaism," 2 vols., 1923–24), and in a lecture delivered in Stockholm ("Tradition und Dogma" in AZDJ, 78 (1914), 6–8, 22–23, 33–35; Eng. tr. in *Reform Advocate*, 47 (1914), 39–42). Goldziher served on the editorial board of the *Jewish Encyclopedia* (1901–06), to which he contributed many articles. An *Ignace Goldziher Memorial Volume* was published in two parts (1948–58) by S. Loewinger, J. Somogyi, and A. Scheiber. A collection of his writings was edited in three volumes by J. Somogyi as *Gesammelte Schriften* (1967–69), and a bibliography of his works was published by B. Heller, *Bibliographie des oeuvres…* (1927) and of his Hebrew writings was compiled by S.D. Goitein (in KS, 23 (1946/47), 251–7). His memoirs, covering the years 1890–1919, were edited by A. Scheiber and published as *Tagebuch* in 1978. After his death, Goldziher's valuable library and his extensive scholarly correspondence were acquired by the National and University Library in Jerusalem.

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[Martin Meir Plessner]

GOLEM (Heb. גֹּלֶם), a creature, particularly a human being, made in an artificial way by virtue of a magic act, through the use of holy names. The idea that it is possible to create living beings in this manner is widespread in the magic of many peoples. Especially well known are the idols and images to which the ancients claimed to have given the power of speech.

Among the Greeks and the Arabs these activities are sometimes connected with astrological speculations related to the possibility of "drawing the spirituality of the stars" to lower beings (see *Astrology). The development of the idea of the *golem* in Judaism, however, is remote from astrology: it is connected, rather, with the magical exegesis of the *Sefer *Yeẓirah* ("Book of Creation") and with the ideas of the creative power of speech and of the letters.

The word "*golem*" appears only once in the Bible (Ps. 139:16), and from it originated the talmudic usage of the term – something unformed and imperfect. In philosophic usage it is matter without form. Adam is called "*golem*," meaning body without soul, in a talmudic legend concerning the first 12 hours of his existence (Sanh. 38b). However, even in this state, he was accorded a vision of all the generations to come (Gen. R. 24:2), as if there were in the *golem* a hidden power to grasp or see, bound up with the element of earth from which he was taken. The motif of the *golem* as it appears in medieval legends originates in the talmudic legend (Sanh. 65b): "Rava created a man and sent him to R. Zera. The latter spoke to him but he did not answer. He asked, 'Are you one of the companions? Return to your dust.'" It is similarly told that two *amoraim* busied themselves on the eve of every Sabbath with the *Sefer Yeẓirah* (or in another version *Hilkhot Yeẓirah*) and made a calf for themselves and ate it. These legends are brought as evidence that "If the righteous wished, they could create a world." They are connected, apparently, with the belief in the creative power of the letters of the Name of God and the letters of the Torah in general (Ber. 55a; Mid. Ps. 3). There is disagreement as to whether the *Sefer Yeẓirah* or *Hilkhot Yeẓirah*, mentioned in the Talmud, is the same book called by these two titles which we now possess. Most of this book is of a speculative nature, but its affinity to the magical ideas concerning creation by means of letters is obvious. What is said in the main part of the book about God's act during creation is attributed at the end of the book to *Abraham the Patriarch. The various transformations and combinations of the letters constitute a mysterious knowledge of the inwardness of creation. During the Middle Ages, *Sefer Yeẓirah* was interpreted in some circles in France and Germany as a guide to magical usage. Later legends in this direction were first found at the end of the commentary on the *Sefer Yeẓirah* by *Judah b. Barzillai (beginning of the 12th century). There the legends of the Talmud were interpreted in a new way: at the conclusion of profound study of the mysteries of *Sefer Yeẓirah* on the construction of the cosmos, the sages (as did Abraham the Patriarch) acquired the power to create living beings, but the purpose of such creation was purely symbolic and contemplative, and when the sages wanted to eat the calf which was created by the power of their "contemplation" of the book, they forgot all they had learned. From these late legends there developed among the Ḥasidei Ashkenaz in the 12th and 13th centuries the idea of the creation of the *golem* as a mystical ritual, which was used, apparently, to symbolize the level of their achievement at the conclusion of their studies. In this circle, the term "*golem*" has, for the first time, the fixed meaning indicating such a creature.

In none of the early sources is there any mention of any practical benefit to be derived from a *golem* of this sort. In the opinion of the mystics, the creation of the *golem* had not a real, but only a symbolic, meaning; that is to say, it was an ecstatic experience which followed a festive rite. Those who took part in the "act of creation" took earth from virgin soil and made a *golem* out of it (or, according to another source, they buried that *golem* in the soil), and walked around the *golem* "as in a dance," combining the alphabetical letters and the secret Name of God in accordance with detailed sets of instructions (several of which have been preserved). As a result of this act of combination, the *golem* arose and lived, and when they walked in the opposite direction and said the same combination of letters in reverse order, the vitality of the *golem* was nullified and he sank or fell. According to other legends, the word *emet* (אמת; "truth"; "the seal of the Holy One," Shab. 55a; Sanh. 64b) was written on his forehead, and when the letter *alef* was erased there remained the word *met* ("dead"). There are legends concerning the creation of such a *golem* by the prophet *Jeremiah and his so-called "son" *Ben Sira, and also by the disciples of R. *Ishmael, the central figure of the *Heikhalot* literature. The technical instructions about the manner of uttering the combinations, and everything involved in the rite, proves that the creation of the *golem* is connected here with ecstatic spiritual experiences (end of commentary on *Sefer Yeẓirah* by *Eleazar of Worms; the chapter *Sha'ashu'ei ha-Melekh* in N. Bachrach's *Emek ha-Melekh* (Amsterdam, 1648); and in the commentary on *Sefer Yeẓirah* (Zolkiew, 1744–45) attributed to *Saadiah b. Joseph Gaon). In the legends about the *golem* of Ben Sira there is also a parallel to the legends on images used in idol worship which are given life by means of a name; the *golem* expresses a warning about it (idol worship) and demands his own death. It is said in several sources that the *golem* has no intellectual soul, and therefore he lacks the power of speech, but opposite opinions are also found which attribute this power to him. The opinions of the kabbalists concerning the nature of the creation of the *golem* vary. Moses *Cordovero thought that man has the power to give "vitality" alone to the *golem* but not life (*nefesh*), spirit (*ru'aḥ*), or soul proper (*neshamah*).

In the popular legend which adorned the figures of the leaders of the Ashkenazi ḥasidic movement with a crown of wonders, the *golem* became an actual creature who served his creators and fulfilled tasks laid upon him. Legends such as these began to make their appearance among German Jews in the 15th century and spread widely, so that by the 17th century they were "told by all" (according to Joseph Solomon *Delmedigo). In the development of the later legend of the *golem* there are three outstanding points:

(1) The legend is connected with earlier tales of the resurrection of the dead by putting the name of God in their mouths or on their arm, and by removing the parchment containing the name in reverse and thus causing their death.

Such legends were widespread in Italy from the tenth century (in *Megillat *Aḥima'az*).

(2) It is related to ideas current in non-Jewish circles concerning the creation of an alchemical man (the "homunculus" of Paracelsus).

(3) The *golem*, who is the servant of his creator, develops dangerous natural powers; he grows from day to day, and in order to keep him from overpowering the members of the household he must be restored to his dust by removing or erasing the *alef* from his forehead.

Here, the idea of the *golem* is joined by the new motive of the unrestrained power of the elements which can bring about destruction and havoc. Legends of this sort appeared first in connection with Elijah, rabbi of Chelm (d. 1583). Ẓevi Hirsch *Ashkenazi and his son Jacob Emden, who were among his descendants, discussed in their responsa whether or not it is permitted to include a *golem* of this sort in a *minyan* (they prohibited it). Elijah Gaon of Vilna told his disciple Ḥayyim b. Isaac of *Volozhin that as a boy he too had undertaken to make a *golem*, but he saw a vision which caused him to desist from his preparations.

The latest and best-known form of the popular legend is connected with *Judah Loew b. Bezalel of Prague. This legend has no historical basis in the life of Loew or in the era close to his lifetime. It was transferred from R. Elijah of Chelm to R. Loew only at a very late date, apparently during the second half of the 18th century. As a local legend of Prague, it is connected with the Altneuschul synagogue and with an explanation of special practices in the prayers of the congregation of Prague. According to these legends, R. Loew created the *golem* so that he would serve him, but was forced to restore him to his dust when the *golem* began to run amok and endanger people's lives.

[Gershom Scholem]

Descriptions of creations of artificial anthropoids quite reminiscent of the medieval Jewish *golem* are found in Arabic magic predating Ḥasidei Ashkenaz and were available to some Jewish authors. In the Ḥasidei Ashkenaz and in the Jewish French esoterica, there are a variety of recipes for and views of the *golem*, which point to earlier traditions. In Kabbalah the *golem* legend has been interpreted in different ways, either as an entity created by astro-magic, or as a figure to be visualized in different colors, or even a symbol of the divine sphere. In Italian Renaissance, an interest in the subject of the *golem* is evident both in Jewish and Christian sources.

[Moshe Idel (2nd ed.)]

In the Arts

The legends concerning the *golem*, especially in their later forms, served as a favorite literary subject, at first in German literature – of both Jews and non-Jews – in the 19th century, and afterward in modern Hebrew and Yiddish literature. To the domain of belles lettres also belongs the book *Nifla'ot Maharal im ha-Golem* ("The Miraculous Deeds of Rabbi Loew with the Golem," 1909), which was published by Judah Rosenberg as an early manuscript but actually was not written until after the *blood libels of the 1890s. The connection between the *golem* and the struggle against ritual murder accusations is entirely a modern literary invention. In this literature questions are discussed which had no place in the popular legends (e.g., the *golem*'s love for a woman), or symbolic interpretations of the meaning of the *golem* were raised (the unredeemed, unformed man; the Jewish people; the working class aspiring for its liberation).

Interest in the *golem* legend among writers, artists, and musicians became evident in the early 20th century. The *golem* was almost invariably the benevolent robot of the later Prague tradition and captured the imagination of writers active in Austria, Czechoslovakia, and Germany. Two early works on the subject were the Austrian playwright Rudolf *Lothar's volume of stories entitled *Der Golem, Phantasien und Historien* (1900, 1904^2) and the German novelist Arthur *Holitscher's three-act drama *Der Golem* (1908). The Prague German-language poet Hugo *Salus published verse on "Der hohe Rabbi Loew" and by World War I the theme had gained widespread popularity. The outstanding work about the *golem* was the novel entitled *Der Golem* (1915; Eng., 1928) by the Bavarian writer Gustav Meyrink (1868–1932), who spent many years in Prague. Meyrink's book, notable for its detailed description and nightmare atmosphere, was a terrifying allegory about man's reduction to an automaton by the pressures of modern society. Other works on the subject include Johannes Hess' *Der Rabbiner von Prag* (*Reb Loeb*)… (1914), a four-act "kabbalistic drama"; Chayim Bloch's *Der Prager Golem: von seiner "Geburt" bis zu seinem "Tod"* (1917; *The Golem. Legends of the Ghetto of Prague*, 1925); and *Ha-Golem* (1909), a story by the Hebrew writer David *Frischmann which later appeared in his collection *Ba-Midbar* (1923). The Yiddish dramatist H. *Leivick's *Der Golem* (1921; Eng., 1928) was first staged in Moscow in Hebrew by the Habimah Theater. Artistic and musical interpretations of the theme were dependent on the major literary works. Hugo Steiner-Prag produced lithographs to accompany Meyrink's novel (*Der Golem*; *Prager Phantasien*, 1915), the book itself inspiring a classic German silent film directed by Paul Wegener and Henrik Galeen (1920), and a later French remake by Julien Duvivier (1936). The screenplay for a post-World War II Czech film about the *golem* was written by Arnost *Lustig. Music for Leivick's drama was written by Moses *Milner; and Eugen d'Albert's opera *Der Golem*, with libretto by F. Lion, had its première at Frankfurt in 1926, but has not survived in the operatic repertory. A more lasting work was Joseph *Achron's *Golem Suite* for orchestra (1932), composed under the influence of the Habimah production. The last piece of this suite was written as the first movement's exact musical image in reverse to symbolize the disintegration of the homunculus. *Der Golem*, a ballet by Francis Burt with choreography by Erika Hanka, was produced in Vienna in 1962.

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GOLIATH (Heb. גָּלְיָת), Philistine warrior from the city of Gath (I Sam. 17:23) who advanced from the ranks of the Philistines when they faced the Israelites in battle in the Valley of Elah (I Sam. 17). Because of Goliath's great size, he is described as a *rafah* (Raphah; II Sam. 21:19–20; I Chron. 20:8), the *Rephaim being among the ancient people of Canaan who were regarded as giants (Deut. 2:11). The story combines the elements of fairy tales in which an underdog wins a surprise victory against a daunting foe, with the theological message that victory or defeat depends not on might or power but on divine will (Rofé). Goliath was equipped with heavy armor and weapons – a bronze helmet, a coat of mail, bronze greaves, a bronze javelin slung between his shoulders, and a heavy spear with a head of iron. This fighting equipment does not correspond with what was typically carried by warriors from the countries of the Aegean Sea, the region from which the *Philistines came. It is rather an eclectic description meant to emphasize Goliath's stature as a warrior (Galling). Goliath's defiant call for the battle to be decided by the outcome of a duel with a warrior from the enemy's camp (I Sam. 17:8–10) is quite rare. The most famous parallel to the battle of the champions in I Samuel 17 is found in the third book of the Iliad, in which Paris fights Menelaus. The appearance of Goliath, and his boastful words struck terror into the poorly armed Israelite warriors. In contrast to his armed and experienced opponent, David is armed only with courage, faith, and agility. But young *David manages to kill Goliath with a slingstone aimed at the Philistine's forehead (*ibid.* 17:50). David's victory caused the rout of the Philistine army (17:51–53). Goliath's head was brought to Jerusalem (17:54), an obvious anachronism given that Jerusalem was still a non-Israelite city. Goliath's sword was hung up and kept in the temple at Nob (21:10; 22:10). *Ahimelech the priest later returned the sword to David when he arrived at Nob in his flight from King Saul (21:10). In II Samuel 21:19 it is stated that Elhanan the Beth-Lehemite, one of David's captains, slew Goliath. This contradiction was noticed by the author of Chronicles, who attempted to resolve it by representing Elhanan as having killed "Lahmi, the brother of Goliath the Gittite" (I Chron. 20:5). Some scholars hold that Elhanan was David's original name, which was later changed to David. It is more likely, though, that in the course of time Elhanan's exploit was transferred to the more famous David. There are significant differences between the Hebrew version and the Septuagint. In addition, whereas the Goliath narrative depicts David as unskilled in battle (I Sam. 17:39) and unknown to the king (I Sam. 17:55–58), the previous chapter had already placed him in Saul's court (I Sam. 16:21–3) as the king's armor bearer. A weak attempt at harmonization was made in I Samuel 17:15. Although the tale of David and Goliath is one of the best-known Bible stories, various linguistic, stylistic, and theological elements point to a post-exilic date for this tradition about David (Rofé).

[Bustanay Oded / S. David Sperling (2nd ed.)]

In the Aggadah

Goliath was related to his vanquisher David, being descended from Orpah, Ruth's sister-in-law (Sot. 42b). Orpah was a woman of low character and morals, but as a reward for the 40 steps which she took in following Naomi before leaving for Moab, Goliath was permitted to flaunt his strength for 40 days before his downfall (Ruth R. 2:20). Goliath appeared "morning and evening," when the *Shema* was to be recited, to make Israel omit this affirmation of faith (Sot. 42b). The name Goliath is interpreted allegorically as a reflection of effrontery (*gillui panim*) in profaning the name of God. He is described as "*ish ha-beinayim*" ("champion") because he was built like a *binyan* ("building"; *ibid.*). "When David looked at Goliath and saw that he was a mighty man armed with all kinds of weapons, he said, 'Who can prevail against such as he?' But when David saw him reviling and blaspheming, he said: 'Now I shall prevail against him, for there is no fear of God in him'" (Mid. Ps., 36:2). David cast upon him the evil eye and he was struck with leprosy which rooted him to the ground (Lev. R. 21:2). When he fell, an angel pressed his face into the ground, choking the mouth which had blasphemed God (*ibid.* 10:7).

In Islam

In connection with the war of *Saul, who is known as Tālūt in the Koran, Muhammad relates that a number of the people of Israel doubted whether they could overcome Jālūt (Goliath) and his army. Allah however granted them courage and strength, and Da'ūd (see *David) killed Goliath (Sura 2:250–2). The details of the duel between David and Goliath are retold in the post-Koranic literature as they are stated in the Bible. Muslim legend relates that Jālūt was one of the kings of Canaan; this is linked to the legend that he came from the Amalekites-Berbers. Goliath is briefly mentioned in the *Qaṣīda*, which is attributed to al-Samaw'al ibn ʿAdiyā: "and on the misfortune of ʿIfrīs when he rebelled against God and on Goliath when his fate caught up with him." According to J.W. (H.Z.) Hirschberg, the name ʿIfrīs is similar in form to Idrīs-Iblīs (Satan), which is a strange change of the Philistine name. However, it is possible that this is an allusion to the *aggadah* tracing Goliath's descent from Orpah (see above). According to Horowitz (see bibliography), the name Jālūt was influenced by the word *galut*, which Muhammad often heard in Medina. There is a spring in the valley of Jezreel (Israel) which is known to the Arabs as ʿAyn Jālūt (today En-Harod; cf. Judg. 7:1).

For Goliath in the Arts see *David, In the Arts.

[Haïm Z'ew Hirschberg]

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GOLINKIN, DAVID (1955–), Conservative rabbi, leader, and *posek* (halakhic authority), was born and raised in Arlington, Virginia. After moving to Israel in 1972, he earned a B.A. in Jewish History and two teaching certificates from Hebrew University in Jerusalem. He then received an M.A., rabbinical ordination, and a Ph.D. in Talmud from the *Jewish Theological Seminary (JTS) in New York where he taught Talmud from 1980–82.

Upon returning to Israel in 1982, he taught Talmud and Jewish Law at Neve Schechter, the Jerusalem branch of JTS, until 1990. In 1987, he began to teach Jewish Law at the Seminary of Judaic Studies (later renamed the *Schechter Institute of Jewish Studies) which was founded in 1984 in order to train Israeli Conservative/Masorti rabbis. After serving as assistant dean and then dean of the Schechter Institute beginning in 1990, he was chosen as president in 2000.

Golinkin played a large part in the growth of the Schechter Institute during those years, as it grew rapidly from a small rabbinical school into four *amutot* (non-profits): the Schechter Institute of Jewish Studies, an accredited Israeli graduate school; the Schechter Rabbinical Seminary for Israelis and for visiting Conservative rabbinical students from JTS, the *University of Judaism, and the *Seminario Rabinico Latinoamericano; the TALI Education Fund which provides enriched Jewish education to 25,000 Israeli children in 140 TALI schools and pre-schools; and Midreshet Yerushalayim which teaches Jewish studies to Russian immigrants in Israel and to Jews in Ukraine and Hungary. Golinkin stated that his dream is to provide every Israeli and Eastern European Jew with a Jewish education.

Golinkin has published widely in various fields of Jewish studies. He is the author or editor of 31 books and almost 200 articles including *Rediscovering the Art of Jewish Prayer* (1997); *Ginzei Rosh Hashanah: Manuscripts of Bavli Rosh Hashanah from the Cairo Genizah* (2000); *Megillat Hashoah*, a liturgy for Yom Hashoah (2003); *Insight Israel: The View from Schechter* (2003); and works by Theodore *Friedman, Gershon *Levi, and Hayyim *Kieval.

Golinkin, however, is known primarily as one of the leading *posekim* in the worldwide Conservative/Masorti movement. He served on the *Va'ad Halakhah* (Law Committee) of the Rabbinical Assembly of Israel from its inception in 1985 and has served as its chair for most of those years. Golinkin authored many of the responsa published by the *Va'ad* and edited volumes 4–6.

Golinkin also authored a column entitled "Responsa" which appeared in *Moment* magazine from 1990–96. Those responsa were collected in *Responsa in a Moment* (2000).

Golinkin felt that it was very important to publish or republish Conservative responsa. To that end, he published *An Index of Conservative Responsa and Practical Halakhic Studies 1917–1990* (1992); *The Responsa of Professor Louis Ginzberg* (1996); *Proceedings of the Committee on Jewish Law and Standards of the Conservative Movement 1927–1970* (1997); and *Responsa and Halakhic Studies* by Rabbi Isaac Klein (2005). He also founded the Institute of Applied Halakhah at the Schechter Institute in 1996 in order to publish a library of halakhic works in various languages for the worldwide Conservative/Masorti movement.

Golinkin viewed the status of women in Jewish law as one of the main halakhic challenges of our time. He therefore devoted many responsa to this topic and helped found the Center for Women in Jewish Law at the Schechter Institute in 1999. In that capacity, Golinkin authored *The Status of Women in Jewish Law: Responsa* (2001) and edited *The Jewish Law Watch* (2000–03), *To Learn and To Teach* (2004 ff.), and *Za'akat Dalot: Halakhic Solutions for the Agunot of our Time* (2006), all of which were published by the Center.

Golinkin's responsa and halakhic studies are known for their thoroughness, examining all sides of every issue using a wide range of talmudic, medieval, and modern sources. In *Halakhah for Our Time: A Conservative Approach to Jewish Law* (1991), Golinkin maintains that there are six characteristics of Conservative responsa, including preference for a *kula* (leniency) over a *humra* (stringency), the use of a historic-scientific approach, and an emphasis on the ethical component in Jewish law. Golinkin is firmly committed to the halakhic tradition but allows for change and flexibility in Jewish law, provided that such change is well-grounded in talmudic and halakhic sources.

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[Monique Susskind Goldberg (2nd ed.)]

GOLINKIN, MORDECAI (1875–1963), conductor and pioneer of opera in Israel. Golinkin was born in Izluchistaya in the Ukrainian province of Kherson and as a boy sang in the choir of Phinehas *Minkowsky. In 1918 he became conductor at the Maryinsky Opera Theater in Petrograd. He conceived the idea of establishing an Opera in Palestine and gave a concert with the singer Chaliapin to raise funds for the project on which he published a pamphlet in 1920. In 1923 Golinkin immigrated to Palestine and in July of that year staged a performance in Hebrew of *La Traviata*, with local and guest singers, in Tel Aviv. His company, the Palestine Opera, gave intermittent opera performances until 1948, when he became conductor of the Israel Opera, a post he held until 1953. Golinkin's writings include *The Temple of Art* (1927, Hebrew and English), a volume of memoirs *Me-Heikhalei Yefet le-Oholei Shem* ("From the Palaces of Japheth to the Tents of Shem," 1947), and *Ha-Historyah ba-Opera* ("History in the Opera," 1961).

[Yemima Gottlieb]

GOLINKIN, MORDECHAI YA'AKOV (1884–1974), Orthodox rabbi, religious Zionist, *av bet din*. Born in the Kherson district of Ukraine and orphaned at a young age, Golinkin studied in the Lithuanian yeshivot of Lomza, Tiktin, and Lida, where he was called "the Khersoner Ilui" (prodigy). He was ordained in 1904 by Rabbi Mordechai (Slonimer) Oshminer and Rabbi Binyamin Ze'ev Zakheim of Yekaterinoslav.

In 1913 he published a book of sermons (*Derashot Harim*, Jerusalem, 2001^2). He then became the *av bet vin* and *de facto* chief rabbi of Zhitomir, capital of the Volyn (Volhynia) district of Ukraine where he developed a youth organization called Tiferet Bakhurim for 1,200 young men. Golinkin developed a good relationship with the governor of Volyn. As a result, Golinkin persuaded him to exempt from the Russian draft the yeshivah students of Novaredok who had fled to Zhitomir and he also prevented a blood libel in Zhitomir at the time of the *Beilis blood libel in Kiev in the fall of 1913.

After the February Revolution of 1917, Golinkin and Rabbi Solomon *Aronson of Kiev (later of Tel Aviv) and Rabbi Judah Leib *Zirelson of Kishinev formed Aḥdut, which proclaimed the religious and cultural rights of the Jews of Russia. After the October Revolution of 1917 and the subsequent pogroms of *Petlyura, Golinkin and his family fled to Vilna, where he worked at a number of Jewish institutions. Golinkin served as rabbi of Dokshitz near Vilna, where he founded a Yavneh religious Zionist day school and traveled to other cities to found Yavneh schools. From 1936 to 1939 he served as chief rabbi and *av bet din* of the Free State of Danzig, where he supervised the *kashrut* on the many ships embarking from Danzig and Gdynia. Since the Nazis forbade kosher slaughter, he arranged *sheḥitah* in the Polish town of Ossawa. After most of the Jews of Danzig fled before the Holocaust, Golinkin escaped to the United States in 1939, where he served as rabbi of Worcester, Massachusetts, until his death.

In October 1943, Golinkin participated in the historic March on Washington demanding action to save the Jews of Europe.

Golinkin also served as *av bet din* of the Orthodox Rabbinical Court of Justice of the Associated Synagogues of Massachusetts for over two decades, presiding over cases of national prominence. In 1969–1970, the Boston *bet din* spent 10 months studying the subject of civil disobedience and conscientious objection in light of the Vietnam War. In January 1970, it issued a 54-page responsum to the seven major questions. The Boston *bet din* showed that a rabbinic court could function as an activist court, which could go way beyond the domain of family matters.

Golinkin's son Rabbi Noah *Golinkin, a Conservative rabbi, was an activist during the Holocaust and a prominent Hebrew educator in North America.

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[David Golinkin (2nd ed.)]

GOLINKIN, NOAH (1914–2003), U.S. rabbi. After studying at various yeshivot and earning a law degree in Vilna, Noah Golinkin emigrated from his native Poland to the United States in 1938. He earned a master's degree in American history at Clark University before enrolling as a rabbinical student at the Jewish Theological Seminary in New York City.

In late 1942, Golinkin and fellow JTS students Jerome Lipnick and Moshe "Buddy" Sachs, Golinkin established the "European Committee of the Student Body of the Jewish Theological Seminary," to publicize the plight of Europe's Jews. Their first public program was a Jewish-Christian inter-seminary conference on European Jewry, in February 1943. Several hundred students and faculty, including representatives of eleven Christian seminaries, attended the sessions, which alternated between JTS and the nearby Union Theological Seminary. Speakers included prominent Jewish and Christian leaders and relief experts.

In a series of letters and articles in the spring of 1943, Golinkin and his colleagues took American Jewry to task for not actively pressing the Roosevelt administration to rescue Jews from Hitler. Their words of rebuke made a strong impression on the Synagogue Council of America, the national umbrella group for Orthodox, Conservative, and Reform synagogues. Shortly after meeting with Golinkin, Lipnick, and Sachs, the Synagogue Council established an emergency committee to raise Jewish and Christian awareness of the Nazi genocide and urge Allied intervention.

Closely following suggestions made by the students, the Synagogue Council undertook a nationwide campaign to coincide with the traditional seven weeks of semi-mourning between Passover and Shavuot. Numerous synagogues adopted the proposals to recite special prayers for European Jewry, limit "occasions of amusement," observe partial fast days and moments of silence, write letters to political officials and

Christian religious leaders, hold memorial rallies, and wear black armbands.

The rallies, held around the country on May 2, 1943, in many instances were jointly sponsored by Reform, Conservative, and Orthodox rabbis. The Federal Council of Churches organized memorial assemblies at churches in a number of cities on the same day, although Christian participation overall was modest. The gatherings received significant media coverage and increased public awareness of the Nazi slaughter of European Jewry.

After the war, Golinkin held pulpits in Virginia, Maryland, and elsewhere, and was the founding director of the Board of Jewish Education of Greater Washington, D.C. Fearing that the Hebrew language would become as little known to American Jews as Latin is to most Catholics, Golinkin created the Hebrew Literacy Campaign in 1963. In twelve weeks, every adult in the synagogue could read the prayer book, and the synagogue won the Solomon Schechter Award. He later expanded his efforts and convinced the National Federation of Jewish Men's Clubs to adopt the program. Golinkin's textbook *Shalom Aleichem* (1978) has sold over 100,000 copies, and the 1981 sequel, *Ein Keloheinu*, which teaches the Shabbat morning service, has been translated into Russian and Hungarian. His 1987 book, *While Standing on One Foot*, used in conjunction with a program he called the Hebrew Reading Marathon, teaches adults how to read Hebrew in one day. This book has been used by over 700 synagogues in 45 states, Canada, and Australia. It is estimated that more than 150,000 Jewish adults have learned how to read Hebrew in the two Golinkin programs since the 1960s.

Golinkin was also the originator, in 1989, of the custom, observed by a number of synagogues and Jewish organizations, to plant yellow tulips on Holocaust Remembrance Day as a reminder of the yellow star that Jews were forced by the Nazis to wear on their clothing.

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°GOLITSYN, COUNT NIKOLAI NIKOLAYEVICH (1836–1893), Russian author and government official. While holding governmental positions in the *Pale of Settlement, and as editor of the semiofficial newspaper *Varshavskiy Dnevnik*, Golitsyn undertook an inquiry into the Jewish problem in Russia. He wrote studies and articles on the subject with an anti-Jewish approach during the 1870s, achieving the rep-utation among upper government circles of being an expert on the Jewish problem, and in 1883 was appointed by the ministry of the interior a member of the "High Commission for the Revision of the Current Laws Concerning the Jews" (the Von Pahlen Commission). In this connection, Golitsyn prepared a series of studies and memoranda, the most important of which was *Istoriya russkogo zakonodatelstva o yevreyakh 1649–1825 gg.* ("History of Russian Legis-lation Concerning the Jews 1649–1825"). The book, of 1,116 pages, provides an abundance of documents drawn from archives and is therefore of value. It was published in 1886 in 300 copies. Despite his anti-Jewish outlook, Golitsyn agreed with the conclusions of the Commission which recommended the gradual abolition of the restrictions against the Jews (1888).

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[Yehuda Slutsky]

GOLL, CLAIRE (1891–1977), German writer, journalist, and translator. Goll was born Clarisse Liliane Aischmann in Nuremberg into a strict family. In 1911, after the suicide of her brother and because of the mental disorder of her mother, she left her family and married the publisher Heinrich Studer. Her first publications, *Mitwelt* (1918), an anthology of poems, and her narratives *Die Frauen erwachen* (1918), were influenced by her family tragedies and focused on the suffering and mortified human being. Her texts are also committed to pacifism and can be classed as expressionistic. In the late 1910s Goll studied philosophy at the University of Geneva, broke up with her husband, and had a love affair with Rainer Maria Rilke. The correspondence between Rilke and Goll was published under the title *Ich sehne mich sehr nach deinen blauen Briefen* (2000). This exchange of letters contains seven poems in French from Rilke that were published as *Verges* in the journal *Nouvelle Revue Française* and the forgotten manuscript *Gefuehle* from Claire Goll.

In 1921 Goll married Yvan *Goll. With him she participated in the Dadaist meetings in Zurich and later invited Surrealists to their apartment in Paris. In 1927 Goll published *Eine Deutsche in Paris* (1927), which deals with the life and failure of a woman in Paris in the late 1920s. Her novel *Arsenik* (1932) also emphasizes the life of a woman around this period of time caught between love, failure, jealousy, and murder. Her own life with Yvan Goll was marked by a volatile relationship which both worked through in their *Poèmes d'amours* (1925), *Poèmes de la jalousie* (1926), and *Poèmes de la vie et de la mort* (1926). Most of Goll's texts had been written originally in French and translated by Goll herself. In 1939 Goll immigrated to the United States, returning in 1947 to Paris, where Yvan Goll died. After his death Goll became a disputatious editor of her husband's works and published her autobiography, *Ich verzeihe keinem: Eine literarische Chronique scandaleuse unserer Zeit* (1976). In 1953 she confronted Paul *Celan with the accusation of plagiarism, claiming that Celan had copied from Yvan Goll's *Traumkraut*. Her own novels *Der gestohlene Himmel* (1962) and *Traumtänzerin* (1971) went unnoticed. They link up with her early writings narrating her childhood and youth.

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[Ann-Kristin Koch (2nd ed.)]

GOLL, YVAN (**Isaac Lang**; 1891–1950), Franco-German poet and author. Born in Saint-Dié des Vosges, Goll studied law at the universities of Strasbourg and Paris. Even though French was his native language he at first wrote in German. Under the nom de plume Iwan Lazang he made his debut with *Lothringische Volkslieder* (1912). Two years later his collection of poems *Der Panamakanal* (1914) was published and owed some of its material to the expressionist circles he belonged to. With the beginning of World War I Goll as a committed pacifist moved to Switzerland, where he continued his studies in Lausanne and he kept company with Romain Rolland, Stefan *Zweig, Hermann Hesse, Franz *Werfel, and René Schickele. His sympathies transcended political boundaries, and he followed his *Requiem pour les morts de l'Europe* (1916) with a German version, *Requiem fuer die Gefallenen von Europa* (1917). *Der Torso* (1918) is a collection of poems that display Goll's pacifist beliefs and are written in an expressionist style. Not only could he share his pacifist ideas with like-minded intellectuals but he also met Dadaists like Hans Arp and Tristan *Tzara, who influenced his writings and later led to the publication of two essays portraying Arp: "Der Homer unserer Zeit" (1927) and "Aus dem Leben eines Genies" (1932). After World War I Goll published articles and poems in left-wing journals on political themes, such as the revolution in *Die letzten Tage von Berlin* (1919) and social inequity in the poems of *Die Unterwelt* (1919). In 1919 Goll settled in Paris, where he married the writer Claire Aischmann (see preceding entry). He soon turned away from expressionism, criticizing its political ineffectiveness and its tendency to sentimentality in his essay "Der Expressionismus stirbt" (1921). Goll became interested in surrealism and in 1924 established the magazine *Surréalisme*. He also published poems in *Der Eiffelturm* (1924) which took on the main characteristics of this literary movement, such as montage and the imitation of visual signs and the rapidity of film.

During the time in Paris Goll became a friend of James Joyce and Stefan *Zweig and published the first German translation of Joyce's novel *Ulysses*. Until 1925 he continued to write in German, his books including *Das Herz des Feindes* (1920), and the drama *Der Stall des Augias* (1924). Together with his wife, Goll published three anthologies of French verse: *Poèmes d'amour* (1925), *Poèmes de jalousie* (1926), and *Poèmes de la vie et de la mort* (1926). In the 1930s Goll was friendly with the Austrian lyricist Paula Ludwig, resulting in the *Chansons malaises* (1934). Goll started writing his novels in the late 1920s and focused on social problems. *Le Microbe de l'Or* (1927), for example, can be read as a coming to terms with his family. In *Die Eurokokke* (1928) and *Der Mitropäer* (1928) Goll sketches the decay of European culture and modernity per se. Especially *Sodome et Berlin* (1929) is a sharply etched caricature of civil society in Berlin.

Jewish themes constantly recur in the rich and complex work of this cosmopolitan poet. Prominent among them are loneliness, eternal wandering between two worlds and three languages, the haunting presence of poverty, war, and death, and the search for salvation in occult and kabbalistic speculation. The figures of Job and of the *Wandering Jew merge with the homeless poet himself in a major verse collection *La Chanson de Jean sans Terre* (3 vols., 1936–39), where the only certainty in a foundering universe is total annihilation. In 1939 Goll and his wife fled to the U.S. While they were living in New York he published the literary magazine, *Hémisphères*, and a volume of English poems, *Fruit from Saturn* (1946), as a literary response to the dropping of the atomic bomb on Hiroshima. In 1947 Goll and his wife returned to Paris, where he struggled with leukemia. On his sickbed Goll reverted to writing in German. Two volumes of poetry appeared after his death: *Traumkraut* (1951), a collection of poems dealing with his experience of illness and death, and *Neila* (1954). Two other posthumous works were *Abendgesang* (1954) and a play, *Melusine* (1956). Other late works of Yvan Goll are *Le Char Triomphal de l'Antimoine* (1949), *Les Géorgiques parisiennes* (1951), and *Les Cercles magiques* (1951). His scattered publications were collected by his widow in *Dichtungen: Lyrik, Prosa, Drama* (1960) and also in a collection of poems in *Yvan Goll: 100 Gedichte* (2003).

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[Claude (Andre) Vigee / Ann-Kristin Koch (2nd ed.)]

GOLLANCZ, SIR HERMANN (1852–1930), rabbi and teacher. Gollancz was born in Bremen and was the brother of Sir Israel *Gollancz. He officiated at the Bayswater Synagogue (1892–1923) and taught Hebrew at University College, London (1902–24). In 1897, when he received the rabbinic diploma on the Continent from three Galician rabbis, he became the center of a controversy over whether the rabbinic title should be a recognized qualification for the Anglo-Jewish clergy with the ultimate result that the title was so recognized. Gollancz published a number of critical editions and translations from Hebrew, Aramaic, and Syriac, including a Hebrew and English edition of *Sefer Mafte'aḥ Shelomo* (1914) and also of Joseph Kimḥi's *Shekel ha-Kodesh* (1919). Hermann was the first English rabbi to receive a knighthood (1923).

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[Cecil Roth]

GOLLANCZ, SIR ISRAEL (1864–1930), English literary scholar. Gollancz, son of the Rev. Samuel Marcus Gollancz, minister of the Hambro Synagogue in London and a brother of Rabbi Sir Hermann *Gollancz, was lecturer in English at University College, London (1892–95), and then at Cambridge. In 1903 he was appointed professor of English at King's College, London. An outstanding Shakespearean scholar, Gollancz also made important contributions to the study of early English literature and philology. His works include an edition and translation of the 14th-century alliterative poem, *Pearl* (1891), an edition of Marlowe's *Dr. Faustus* (1897), *The Sources of Hamlet* (1926), and *The Caedmon MS of Anglo-Saxon Biblical Poetry…* (1927). He was also general editor of the Temple Classics and of the highly successful Temple Shakespeare. Gollancz did not confine his activities to the area of English literature. In 1902 he helped to found the British Academy, of which he remained secretary until his death. In this capacity he was instrumental in establishing the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem in 1920. He was knighted in 1919. He took an interest in Jewish affairs, especially in the training of rabbis. He also served on the council of Jews' College, London, for some years.

ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY: ODNB online.

[Harold Harel Fisch]

GOLLANCZ, SIR VICTOR (1893–1967), English publisher and author. The grandson of a *ḥazzan* and nephew of Rabbi Sir Hermann *Gollancz and Sir Israel *Gollancz, Victor Gollancz early rejected his family's religious Orthodoxy and all middle-class conservatism. Appalled by poverty and suffering, he sought to combat these ills through socialism and, later, pacifism. While an undergraduate at Oxford, he took a brief interest in Liberal Judaism, but was increasingly drawn to Christianity, although he never formally converted. After a period as a classics teacher, Gollancz entered publishing, and in 1928 founded his own publishing house. In 1936, together with John Strachey and Harold *Laski, he established the Left Book Club, whose aim was to expose Nazism and to "halt Hitler with war." Their success in providing informative books at low cost was a remarkable feat of political publishing. The club, which became a nationwide social and political movement, had some 60,000 members at its peak, but did not survive the Nazi-Soviet pact of 1939, which for Gollancz was an intolerable betrayal.

During World War II Gollancz was one of the founders and leading members of the National Committee for Rescue from Nazi Terror, an organization which tried to save some of Hitler's victims, and was one of the first people in Britain to understand and internalize the horrors of the Holocaust. Later he sponsored other humanitarian causes, such as the "Save Europe Now" campaign to alleviate starvation in Germany in the post-World War II period, the Association for World Peace (later known as "War on Want"), and the British campaign against capital punishment. Although from 1945 onward he fought the Palestine policy of British foreign secretary Ernest Bevin and endeavored to secure the admission of Jewish refugees to Palestine, Gollancz behaved characteristically when he headed an organization for relief work for the Arabs during Israel's War of Independence and later for Arab refugees in the Gaza Strip. He advocated reconciliation between Jews and Germans and between Jews and Arabs. At the same time he was on the board of governors of the Hebrew University in Jerusalem from 1952 to 1964.

A bon vivant with mystical longings, a successful businessman who opposed capitalism, an idealist tortured by a guilt complex, Gollancz wrote on many subjects. His books include *The Brown Book of the Hitler Terror* (1933); a translation (1943) of *Why I Am A Jew* by Edmond *Fleg; two autobiographical works addressed to his grandson, *My Dear Timothy* (1952) and *More for Timothy* (1953); *The Case of Adolf Eichmann* (1961), which expressed his total opposition to the trial of the Nazi criminal; and several religious anthologies and essays on music. He was knighted in 1965. Some of his views were considered bizarre by many Jews.

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[Renee Winegarten]

GOLLER, IZAK (1891–1939), English author and rabbi. Born in Lithuania, Goller was taken to England as a child. He served congregations in Manchester, London, and finally the Hope Place Synagogue in Liverpool, where his advanced social views and outspoken addresses led to his dismissal in 1926. With characteristic defiance, Goller subsequently reestablished himself in the Young Israel (Zionist) Synagogue in Liverpool. His verse collection, *The Passionate Jew and Cobbles of the God-Road* (1923), violently denounced the atrocities committed against the Jews of Eastern Europe after World War I. It was followed by *A Jew Speaks!* (1926), a book of poetry and prose which, like many of Goller's subsequent publications, was illustrated with the author's original "cartoons." Goller's novel, *The Five Books of Mr. Moses* (1929), was dramatized as *Cohen and Son* (1937), a Jewish mystery play in "three acts, ten scenes, and a melody," and first performed in London in 1932. Other plays on Jewish themes were *Judah and Tamar, Modin Women*, and *A Purim Night's Dream* (all in 1931), and *The Scroll of Lot's Wife* (1937). A statement of his faith as a Jew was contained in *First Chapter – A Summary of the History of My People from Abraham of Ur to Herzl of Budapest* (1936).

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[Godfrey Edmond Silverman]

GOLLUF, ELEAZAR (d. 1389), courtier and agent of the royal family of Aragon; member of a prominent Saragossa family. In 1376 he was permitted to carry arms and exempted from wearing the Jewish *badge. From 1383 he served as agent of the infante John, son of Pedro IV of Aragon, and of his wife Violante. After John ascended the throne in 1387 Golluf served as "chief agent of the queen" – in fact her chief treasurer – a position that had not been held by a Jew in Aragon for a century. His ledgers are not preserved, and may have been intentionally destroyed even before the end of the Middle Ages. A devoted Jew, Golluf's activities in Jewish affairs extended beyond his own community. After Golluf's death, his son ISAAC converted to Christianity, first obtaining the king's promise that he should nevertheless inherit his father's property. His name as a Christian was Juan Sánchez de Calatayud. He was the grandfather of Gabriel *Sánchez, a leading official during the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella and a supporter of Christopher Columbus.

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GOLOBOFF, GERARDO MARIO (1939–), writer and literary critic. Born in Carlos Casares, one of the agricultural colonies established by the Jewish Colonization Association in Argentina, Goloboff was formally trained as a lawyer but dedicated his life to literature. He wrote books on renowned Argentine authors such as Roberto Arlt, Jorge Luis Borges, and Julio Cortázar. He taught literature for almost 20 years in France. He later resided in Argentina.

Goloboff's first book was *Entre la diáspora y octubre* (1966), a collection of poetry. It was followed by the novel *Caballos por el fondo de los ojos* (1976), published the same year that the military coup d'état occurred. He is best known for his trilogy of novels that takes place in the fictional town of Algarrobos: *El criador de palomas* (1988), *La luna que cae* (1989), and *El soñador de Smith* (1990). Together the novels recreate, to a certain extent, the author's own experience growing up in the countryside. Goloboff manages to insert Jewish specificity into a long tradition of literary myth-making begun in the 19th century that arises from the Pampa, mainly in the form of gauchesque literature. The novels have been widely praised for the author's lyrical style of story-telling that combine biblical imagery with the allegorical representation of Argentine socio-historical reality, while at the same time weaving a mystery for the main character, El Pibe, to unravel in an attempt to uncover his past. Although his most recent novel, *Comuna Verdad* (1995), also takes place in Algarrobos it is not part of the aforementioned trilogy. This fifth novel is based more strictly on historical circumstances and events, namely the formation of an agricultural commune by an anarchist group of primarily immigrant origins. Nevertheless, all four of these last titles are gathered together in English translation under the title *The Algarrobos Quartet* (2002).

[Darrell B. Lockhart (2nd ed.)]

GOLODNY, MIKHAIL (**Mikhail Semyonovich Epshtein**; 1903–1949), Russian poet. Golodny was first inspired by the heroism of the civil war and wrote verse distinguished for its simplicity and song-like quality. His World War II collections include *Pesni i ballady Otechestvennoy voyny* ("Songs and Ballads of… War," 1942) and *Stikhi ob Ukraine* ("Poems about the Ukraine," 1942). Golodny's *Stikhi, ballady, pesni* ("Poems, Ballads, Songs") appeared in 1952.

GOLOMB, ABRAHAM (1888–1982), Yiddish writer and educator. Born in Lithuania, Golomb studied at yeshivot and at the University of Kiev. In 1921–31 he directed the Yiddish Teachers' Seminary in Vilna. He settled as a teacher in Palestine (1932), before moving to Winnipeg, Manitoba, Canada, (1938) to become the principal of the Peretz School, to Mexico City (1944) to head Yiddish schools there, and finally to Los Angeles (1964–82). In his hundreds of articles and many books he expounded his ideology of "Integral Jewishness," which includes the language, festivals, religious observances, family relationships, and ideals of the Jews, which collective experience he deemed essential for the continued existence of the Jewish people. Like Simon *Dubnow and *Aḥad Ha-Am, Golomb stressed the need for retaining Jewish distinctiveness in the Diaspora, holding that this will remain a continuing fact of Jewish historic life, no matter how much the Jewish center in Israel grows. Golomb called for maximum efforts to retain both Yiddish and Hebrew as national languages of the Jewish people. Diaspora communities which were giving up Yiddish were becoming fossilized and fragmented into the scattered dying remnants of a people. He advocated the canonization of the finest works of Yiddish literature, as had been done with earlier holy works in Hebrew. Golomb enriched the Yiddish vocabulary of science and psychology and supplemented his theoretical discourses with practical classroom texts. His selected works *Geklibene Shriftn* ("Selected Works") appeared in six volumes (1945–48).

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[Sol Liptzin / Gennady Estraikh (2nd ed.)]

GOLOMB, ELIYAHU (1893–1945), leader of Jewish defense in Palestine and main architect of the *Haganah. Born in Volkovysk, Belorussia, Golomb went to Ereẓ Israel in 1909 and was a pupil in the Herzlia High School's first graduating class of 1913. He organized his fellow graduates into the Histadrut Meẓumẓemet (approximately "The Inner Circle") for agricultural training, service in Jewish settlements, and the realization of Zionist ideals, and himself went to train at *Deganyah. At the outbreak of World War I he opposed the enlistment of young Jews as officers in the Turkish Army and insisted on the formation of an independent Jewish defense force. In 1918 Golomb was a founder and leading member of the movement to encourage volunteers for the *Jewish Legion, in which he served as a corporal. He hoped that the Legion would form the basis for a permanent official Jewish militia. While serving in the army, he became friendly with Berl *Katznelson and joined the *Aḥdut ha-Avodah Party upon its foundation in 1919. After his demobilization he became a member of the committee to organize the Haganah and was active in dispatching aid to the defenders of *Tel Ḥai (1920).

In contrast to the *Ha-Shomer policy, Golomb realized that Jewish defense was a matter for the Jewish population at large, and not the concern of an elite of fighters. He successfully propagated this idea among the leaders of the *yishuv*. From 1921 Golomb was a member of the Haganah Committee of the *Histadrut and, in 1922, was sent abroad to purchase arms; he was arrested by the Vienna police in July of that year. He purchased arms and organized pioneering youth in Europe until 1924. In 1931 he was one of the three representatives of the Histadrut in the Mifkadah ha-Arẓit, the parity National Command of the Haganah.

Golomb regarded the Haganah as the arm of the nation and of the Zionist Movement and thus brought it under the auspices of the national institutions, although these were unable to express their opinions on defense matters openly. In consequence, he was violently opposed to the dissident armed organizations, *Irgun Ẓeva'i Le'ummi and *Loḥamei Ḥerut Israel (Leḥi), but tried to avoid futile hatred and attempted to find ways of reuniting them with the main body. In 1939 and 1940 he and Berl Katznelson tried to reach an agreement with Vladimir *Jabotinsky and the Revisionists over the reunification of the Zionist movement and the formation of a single defense command.

During the Arab riots of 1936–39 Golomb was one of the initiators of the "field units" (*pelugot sadeh*) that went out to confront Arab terrorists in combat. He thus supported active defense and the punishment of terrorists; but, for both moral and tactical reasons, he opposed indiscriminate reprisals against the Arab population. Golomb supported all forms of cooperation with the British authorities that permitted secret stockpiling of weapons and military training, but never forgot the fundamental conflict existing between the alien regime and the clandestine Haganah. He always opposed giving information to the British concerning the strength and equipment of the Haganah. Golomb was among those who supported the enlistment of volunteers into the British Army during World War II and proposed the parachuting of Jews into occupied Europe. He was one of the founders and builders of the *Palmaḥ and prepared the Haganah for the future struggle of the Jewish people in Palestine. He inspired and educated many commanders of the Haganah and future officers of the Israel Defense Forces.

Golomb was active in Ereẓ Israel public life. He was a leader of Aḥdut ha-Avodah (later of *Mapai), and of the Histadrut, a member of the Va'ad Le'ummi as well as a delegate to Zionist congresses. His articles appeared in the Hebrew labor press, and a number of them were collected into two volumes, *Ḥevyon Oz* (1950–54), which also included memoirs and reminiscences by his friends. His home in Tel Aviv was turned into a Haganah museum.

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[Yehudah Erez and Haim Hillel Ben-Sasson]

GOLOMBEK, HARRY (1911–1995), British writer on chess and grandmaster. Born in London to recent immigrants from Poland, Golombek became British chess champion five times and served as a senior official at many World Championship matches. He was best known, however, as a chess writer and journalist, the author of more than 30 books on chess, and the chess correspondent of the London *Times* newspaper from 1945 until 1989. In these decades he was almost certainly the best-known chess writer in Britain, although he made less of an impact in the United States. He was known for his excellent writing style and conscientious annotations and commentary.

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[William D. Rubinstein (2nd ed.)]

GOLOVANEVSK, town in Odessa district, Ukraine. Jews settled there in the middle of the 18th century and numbered 456 in 1790. Their number rose to 1,974 in 1847, and 4,320 (53% of the total population) in 1897. In 1910 a Jewish school for boys opened. During the civil war of 1918–19 the community formed a strong *self-defense organization which deterred the peasants of the surrounding region from pogroms, and 2,000 refugees from neighboring localities found refuge in Golovanevsk. At the end of 1919, however, armed bands of peasants led by the hetman Sokolowski broke into the town, overcame the self-defense units, and carried out pogroms in which over 200 Jews lost their lives. There were 3,474 Jews (86% of the population) living in Golovanevsk in 1926. Many Jewish families were occupied in farming. A Yiddish school operated there. By 1939 the number of Jews had dropped to 1,393. Golovanevsk was occupied on August 1, 1941, by the Germans, who soon executed 100 Jews. In September the Germans with help of the Ukrainian police murdered 776 Jews, raping young girls and hurling infants alive into the burial pits. On January 3, 1942, they murdered 36 children from a nearby children's home and in February 1942 they killed another 168 Jews, including 49 children.

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[Yehuda Slutsky / Shmuel Spector (2nd ed.)]

GOLSCHMANN, VLADIMIR (1893–1972), conductor. Born in Paris to Russian parents, Golschmann founded the Concerts Golschmann in 1919, which gave many important first performances. In 1920, he conducted performances for Diaghilev's Ballet Russe, as he was later to do for Pavlova. He made guest appearances with leading French orchestras in New York (1924) and Glasgow (from 1928). From 1931, he was principal conductor of the St. Louis Symphony Orchestra, a post he held for more than 25 years until his resignation in 1958. From 1964 until his retirement in 1970, he was conductor of the Denver Symphony Orchestra. Golschmann was awarded the Ordre des Arts et des Lettres and became an Officier de la Legion d'Honneur.

[Max Loppert (2nd ed.)]

GOLUB, LEON (1922–2004), U.S. painter and printmaker. Chicago-born Golub received a B.A. in art history from the University of Chicago (1942) and a BFA (1949) and MFA (1950) from the Art Institute of Chicago. Although he did not experience combat, his experience in the army during World War II as a cartographer of reconnaissance maps influenced his art during the postwar years, which frequently focused on the abuse of power and victimization. Based on newspaper photographs of Holocaust victims, the expressionistic lithograph *Charnel House* (1946) shows a mass of anguished figures twisting helplessly in ambiguous space. Similarly, *Damaged Man* (1955, private collection) from the Burnt Man series (1954–55; 1960–61) references the Holocaust; the painting presents a single flayed human figure isolated at the center of the canvas. Finding the United States inhospitable to his figurative, socially conscious work, Golub and his artist-wife Nancy *Spero moved to Paris in 1959, where they remained until 1964 when they took up permanent residence in New York City.

War and man's inhumanity to man remained a constant theme for his entire career. His style and subject work together; since 1951, Golub frequently scraped down and reworked his heavily applied paint, often brutalizing the surface of his large canvases as deeply as the oppressed figures he painted. Golub based his figures on classical art, such as the Hellenistic Altar of Pergamon, and from around 1956–57 he added contemporary news photographs to his source material. He often employed several photographs for single figures, amalgamating data to create the most effective composite of gestures, postures, and expressions to convey a theme. In 1970 Golub ceased placing his canvases on stretchers, instead nailing the unstretched canvas on a wall of his studio. At this time he also began cutting out portions of the canvas to draw attention to aspects of the composition.

He typically produced cycles of paintings on a theme, including the Combat (1962–65), Vietnam (1972–73), and Interrogation (1980–81) series, all of which explored the condition of victims and tyrants through the successive wars and struggles of his era. From 1976 to 1979, Golub made several hundred portraits of powerful figures such as Henry Kissinger and Fidel Castro, often in several versions.

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[Samantha Baskind (2nd ed.)]

°GOLUCHOWSKI, AGENOR SEN., COUNT (1812–1875), Austrian politician, minister of the interior, and three times governor of Galicia. A conservative and a fervent Polish patriot, he was an opponent of Jewish emancipation. Claiming to "discover" conflicts among the Jews, he aspired to lead the "enlightened" Jews against the Orthodox. However, in parliament, he was leader of those conservatives who, while masking their antisemitism, fought against any changes in the condition of the Jews. When the Lvov municipality had twice rejected the right of the Jews to quit the ghetto (1846, 1855), the problem came before Goluchowski as minister of interior; he gave the casting vote against the Jews. In 1857 he forbade Jews to employ Christian servants. While he introduced a project granting Jews the right to acquire real property in 1865, when his project was passed to a commission he made no attempt to defend it and it never became law.

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GOMBERG, MOSES (1866–1947), U.S. organic chemist, born in Yelizavetgrad (now Kirovograd), Russia. In 1884 his father was accused of anti-czarist activities and fled with his family to Chicago, U.S.A. In spite of financial hardship, Moses graduated at the University of Michigan. In 1896–97 he went to Germany to work with Baeyer at Munich and Victor Meyer at Heidelberg. He subsequently returned to the University of Michigan where he became professor of chemistry. During World War I, he undertook the (to him abhorrent) task of working out commercial production of mustard gas, and as a major in the ordinance department advised on the manufacture of smokeless powder and high explosives. Of his various activities in organic chemistry – including the diazo reaction that bears his name – he is best known for his work on free radicals and his demonstration that carbon can exhibit a valency of three instead of the normal four. He was president of the American Chemical Society in 1931.

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[Samuel Aaron Miller]

GOMBINER, ABRAHAM ABELE BEN ḤAYYIM HALEVI (c. 1637–1683), Polish rabbi. After the death of his parents during the Chmielnicki massacres of 1648, Abraham left his birthplace, Gombin. In 1655 he went to Lithuania, and there studied with his relative, Jacob Isaac Gombiner. Later he went to Kalisz, where he was appointed head of the yeshivah and *dayyan* of the *bet din*. Abraham is best known for his *Magen Avraham* (Dyhernfurth, 1692), a commentary on the Shulḥan Arukh *Oraḥ Ḥayyim*, highly esteemed throughout Poland and Germany by scholars who followed it in their halakhic decisions, at times against the opinions of other codifiers. In his work Abraham reveals his acumen, depth of insight, and comprehensive knowledge of the entire halakhic literature. Abraham's main purpose was to reach a compromise between the decisions of Joseph *Caro and the glosses of Moses *Isserles, but he upholds the latter where no compromise can be arrived at. He regarded all Jewish customs as sacred and endeavored to justify them even where they were at variance with the views of the codifiers. He also thought highly of the Zohar and of the kabbalists Isaac Luria and R. Isaiah Horowitz, occasionally accepting their decision against that of the codifiers. *Magen Avraham* is written in a terse style, which scholars were at times hard put to understand until the appearance of R. Samuel ha-Levi *Kolin's extensive commentary, *Maḥaẓit ha-Shekel*.

Abraham is also the author of *Zayit Ra'anan* (Dessau, 1704), a commentary on the *Yalkut Shimoni*, published together with some of his homilies on Genesis, *Shemen Sason*. *Zayit Ra'anan* was also published in abridged form in the margins of the *Yalkut*, in the 1876 edition and in all subsequent editions. His short commentary on the Tosefta of *Nezikin* was published by his grandson under the title *Magen Avraham* at the end of the *Leḥem ha-Panim* (Amsterdam, 1732) of his son-in-law, Moses Jekuthiel Kaufmann. A commentary to Job, Proverbs, and Ecclesiastes was attributed in error to him, having in fact been taken from the *Beit Avraham* of Abraham b. Samuel *Gedaliah.

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[Shmuel Ashkenazi]

GOMBRICH, SIR ERNST HANS (1909–2001), British historian of art. Probably the best-known historian of art in modern Britain, Gombrich was born into a cultured Jewish household in Vienna – Freud and Mahler were family friends – where he studied and worked as a museum curator. He was also a member of the famous Vienna Circle of philosophers. Gombrich immigrated to Britain in 1936. He spent virtually all of his professional life at the Warburg Institute in London, serving as its director from 1959 to 1976, and was professor of the history of art at London University. His best-known works include *The Story of Art* (1950), which has been translated into 20 languages; *Art and Illusion* (1960); and *Meditations on a Hobby Horse* (1963). A collection of his writings, *The Essential Gombrich,* edited by Richard Woodfield, appeared in 1996. Gombrich was knighted in 1972 and appointed to the Order of Merit (O.M.) in 1988.

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[William D. Rubinstein (2nd ed.)]

GOMEL (**Homel**; in Jewish sources, *Homiyyah*), district capital in Belarus. The beginning of Jewish settlement is apparently connected with the annexation of the town to Lithuania in 1537. The community of Belitsa (which became a suburb of Gomel in 1854) is mentioned in 1639 as one of the Lithuanian communities. During the *Chmielnicki massacres in 1648 many refugees from the Ukraine fled to Gomel, but the Cossack armies reached the city and massacred about 2,000 Jews there. Many saved their lives by converting to Christianity, but returned to Judaism when the Poles returned in 1665 and the Jewish community was renewed. By 1765 there were 658 Jews living in the city. *Ḥabad Ḥasidism won many converts there, and in the mid-19th century one of its leaders, Isaac b. Mordecai *Epstein, served as rabbi.

The city was given the status of district capital in 1852, its geographical situation and position as a railroad junction making it an important commercial center. The annual fair attracted many Jewish merchants. The community increased from 2,373 in 1847, with an additional 1,552 in Belitsa, to 20,385 in 1897 (56.4% of the total population). It had 30 synagogues, including the great synagogue built by Count Rumyantsev in the middle of the 19th century; only two remained by 1941. While a few wealthy Jews in Gomel traded in forest products or were government contractors, many thousands of poor families lived in the "Rov," the valley described by J.Ḥ. *Brenner in his *Me-Emek Akhor* (1900). Toward the end of the 19th century a Jewish revolutionary movement, centered on the Bund, developed in Gomel. Zionism also gained many adherents there and several Hebrew schools were established. Zionists from Gomel settled in Ereẓ Israel and participated in the building of Ḥaderah; many were pioneers of the Second and Third Aliyah. In the summer of 1903 there was a pogrom in Gomel in which eight Jews were killed, many wounded, and much Jewish property looted. A *self-defense group was organized under the command of Yeḥezkel Henkin in which the Jewish political parties participated. Subsequently, 36 of its members were prosecuted by the authorities, in company with the perpetrators of the pogroms, and charged with committing pogroms against the Russian population. During World War I, thousands of refugees from the war zone took refuge in Gomel and several yeshivot moved there from Poland and Lithuania. In the 1917–1926 period many Zionist groups were active. They ran two Hebrew kindergartens and a Hebrew high school.

After the consolidation of the Soviet regime, Jewish religious and nationalist elements struggled against the Communist campaign to win over the masses. Nevertheless, the *ḥadarim* were closed down, beautiful synagogues were converted to secular purposes, and Jewish communal life came to an end. The rabbi of Gomel, R. Borishanski, was arrested for opposing the Communist suppression of the Jewish religion. The community decreased from 47,505 in 1910 (55%) to 37,745 in 1926 (43.7%). Most of the city's artisans were Jews. Among the Jewish working population in 1926, 3,482 were factory hands, 4,057 white-collar workers, 3,235 artisans, and 5,046 worked the land. In 1930 there were eight Jewish kolkhozes near the city, where 1,889 Jews (400 families) farmed 21,000 acres of land. In the 1920s 6 Yiddish schools, and two kindergartens were in operation. There was also a Yiddish teachers college, but it was moved to Smolensk in 1929. In 1939 the Jewish population in Gomel was 40,880 (29% of the total). In the beginning of the German-Soviet war, many Jews succeeded in escaping into the Soviet interior. The Germans entered the city on August 19, 1941. The Jews were concentrated to four ghettos, under conditions of overcrowding, starvation, and disease. Three labor camps housing 1,500 Jews were set up in the city. In October 1941, 2,365 Jews were murdered. By December 1941, 4,000 had been killed. Women and children were gassed in vans. In the following months the Germans proceeded to murder the remaining Jews.

The Jewish population of the entire district numbered 45,000 in 1959; the number of Jews in Gomel was estimated at about 20,000 in 1970, of which only a few thousand remained in the early 21st century after the mass emigration of the 1990s. There is no synagogue in the city. (In 1963 a *minyan* was interrupted by the police, who dispersed those at prayer and took away two Torah scrolls and all religious articles.) There is a separate Jewish cemetery. A monument was erected in the vicinity of the city to the memory of local Jews massacred by the Nazis.

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[Yehuda Slutsky / Shmuel Spector (2nd ed.)]

GOMEL, BLESSING OF (Heb. בִּרְכַּת הַגּוֹמֵל, i.e., "He who bestows"), a thanksgiving benediction recited by those who have been saved from acute danger to life. Those who have crossed the sea or a wilderness, have recovered from illness, or been released from prison are especially obligated to pronounce this blessing (Ber. 54b). The Talmud (*ibid.*) derives the duty to recite the *Gomel* from the verses: "Let them give thanks unto the Lord for His mercy, And for His wonderful works to the children of men!" (Ps. 107:8, 15, 21,31); and "Let them exalt Him also in the assembly of the people, And praise Him in the seat of the elders" (Ps. 107:32). The blessing should preferably be said in the presence of ten men (an "assembly of the people"), two of whom should be rabbis (recited at the "seat of the elders"; Sh. Ar., OḤ 219:3), and should be pronounced within three days after the person has been delivered from danger. It has become customary to recite this blessing after being called to the Reading of the Law in the synagogue on Mondays, Thursdays, or Sabbaths. In many communities it is recited by women after childbirth in front of the Ark after the service. The wording suggested by the Talmud is: "Blessed is He who bestows lovingkindness" (Ber. 54b). The accepted text for the benediction is "Blessed art Thou… Who doest good unto the undeserving, and Who hast dealt kindly with me" (Yad, Berakhot 10:8). The congregation responds "He who hath shown thee kindness, may He deal kindly with thee for ever" (Hertz, Prayer, 487). A *Gomel* benediction can be recited by an entire community. In Israel, this benediction is also recited by military reservists after a stretch of active service.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Idelsohn, Liturgy, 114f.

GOMELSKY, ALEXANDER YAKOVLEVICH (1928–2005), Russian basketball coach. Born in Kronstadt, Gomelsky graduated from the trainers' college attached to the Lesgaft Institute for Physical Education in Leningrad (1945–48) and from the Military Institute of Physical Culture (1949–52). His first coaching job was with Leningrad's Spartak (1949–52). In 1953–66 he was head coach of SKA Riga, where he won U.S.S.R. championships five times and the European Cup in 1957, 1958, and 1959. In 1966–88 Gomelaky was head coach of the CSKA armed forces basketball team, another U.S.S.R. powerhouse. Gomelsky also coached the Soviet national team in the 1962–88 period, with a break in 1970–76, winning an Olympic gold medal in 1988 as well as eight European and two world championships (1967, 1982). Outspoken as a Jew, he was kept from going to Munich for the 1972 Olympic Games by the KGB, which feared he would defect to Israel, and thus denied his rightful place as coach in the historic and controversial victory of the U.S.S.R. over the U.S. for the gold.

In 1991–92 Gomelsky was president of the Russian Basketball Federation and in 1997 became president of the CSKA basketball club. He created a sports dynasty of sorts. His brother EVGENY (1938–) coached the Russian women's basketball team that won the 1992 Olympic championship and then became coach of Israel's national women's team. Three of Gomelsky's sons are also active in sports. Gomelsky was a popular sports commentator on TV and the author of a series of books on basketball. In 1995 he was inducted into the Basketball Hall of Fame.

[Naftali Prat (2nd ed.)]

GOMER (Heb. גֹּמֶר), the firstborn son of *Japheth; the father of Ashkenaz, Riphath, and Togarmah (Gen. 10:2–3; I Chron. 1:5–6); and the name of a nation (Ezek. 38:6). Gomer is nowadays identified with the *Gi-mir-ra-a* of the Assyrian sources who are the Κιμμέριοι of the Greek sources. This migratory people, who made their first historical appearance in Eastern Asia at the end of the eighth century B.C.E., shook Asia Minor with campaigns of conquest in the seventh century.

On Gomer, daughter of Diblaim, see *Hosea.

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GOMEZ, family of prominent early U.S. merchants. LEWIS MOSES (c. 1660–1740), who was the founder of this New York family, was probably born a Marrano in Madrid, and lived in France and England before settling in New York about 1703. Three years later he was made a freeman of New York City, where he prospered in the import and export trade. Together with his sons he purchased considerable real estate in the city and in Ulster and Orange counties. Of Gomez' six sons, one died at sea in 1722; the other five, all merchants, figured prominently in community affairs. MORDECAI (1688–1750) was made a freeman in 1715 and was appointed interpreter to the Admiralty Court. DANIEL (1695–1780) became a freeman in New York in 1727; he died in Philadelphia. DAVID (1697?–1769) carried on a considerable fur trade with the Indians and became a naturalized British subject in 1740. ISAAC (1705–1770) bought a distillery in the Montgomerie Ward in the city in 1763, together with BENJAMIN (1711–1772), who lived in Charleston for a time. In 1729 Gomez and his sons, except Benjamin, purchased land which included the site of what was to be the Shearith Israel cemetery off Chatham Square. They posted a bond that the land would be a "burying place" for the use of the "Jewish nation." The family was among the original founders of Congregation Shearith Israel. The elder Gomez was one of the trustees who purchased land for the Mill Street Synagogue and was president of the congregation in 1730, when the synagogue was dedicated. Benjamin Gomez served as *parnas* four times, and during the period between 1730 and the Revolution, seven members of the Gomez family served as president.

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[Leo Hershkowitz]

GÓMEZ DE SOSSA, ISAAC (late 17th century), *Marrano literary figure. Gómez de Sossa lived and worked in Amsterdam and, according to Miguel de *Barrios, was a Latin poet and an imitator of Virgil. He composed poems in praise of the works of other writers, and was responsible for a Spanish translation of Saul Levi *Morteira's Hebrew work on the divine origin of the Law. He was a member of the Academia de los Sitibundos, a literary society founded in 1676 by Manuel de Belmonte, and was one of the judges of its poetry contests. His younger brother, Benito Gómez de Sossa, was a minor writer in Amsterdam. Their father, Abraham Gómez de Sossa, had once served as physician-in-ordinary to the infante Fernando, the son of Philip III of Spain and governor of the Netherlands in 1632. Abraham Gómez de Sossa died in Amsterdam in 1667, and Isaac composed a Latin epitaph for his tombstone.

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[Kenneth R. Scholberg]

GOMPERS, SAMUEL (1850–1924), U.S. trade unionist. Gompers was born in London and after a few years of primary school was apprenticed in the cigar-making trade. When Gompers' family immigrated to America in 1863, settling on the Lower East Side of New York City, he joined a local of the Cigar Makers' National Union. From this point Gompers' life centered on trade union activities. He became a leader of the cigar makers' union in the 1870s, playing a major role in its reorganization (1879) through increased dues, sickness and death benefits, and substantial control of locals by the national officers. Gompers helped to establish the American Federation of Labor in 1886, and became its president. He also edited the official journal of the Federation from 1894 until his death. Most of Gompers' public activities were related to his position in the American Federation of Labor. From 1900 he served as a vice president of the National Civic Federation, which sought to promote stable labor relations through collective bargaining and personal contact between labor leaders, industrialists, and bankers. Gompers received considerable criticism from labor sources because of these associations. He also played a prominent role in winning strong support from American trade unions for President Woodrow Wilson's war policies in 1917 and 1918; and he did much to protect organized labor's interests during World War I.

Gompers was a formative influence upon the American labor movement, as well as a spokesman for it. Although he would have preferred the former role, the decentralized American labor movement did not permit any one individual to exercise much influence over the constituent trade unions. Gompers often had to rely upon his reputation and influence in order to be effective, and he often had to accept the role of spokesman even when his own views differed. Thus, for instance, despite his personal belief in organizing black workers, Gompers acquiesced in the refusal of the AFL to attempt to enforce an anti-discrimination policy upon its affiliates. However, in most matters, his views became almost synonymous with those of the leading unions in the Federation.

Gompers argued that the improvement of workers' wages, hours, and employment conditions could only be accomplished through the formation of strong trade unions to exert direct economic pressure on the employer. The resulting collective bargaining agreements protected the basic interests of the worker. Such labor organizations must be independent of control by politicians, intellectuals, or any non-labor source. This viewpoint in effect acknowledged that organized labor lacked the political power to achieve its objectives through legislation, and that the climate of opinion in the United States was usually hostile to trade unions so that apparent victories might be reversed quickly. Moreover, Gompers believed that men view economic and social questions in terms of their material interests, which meant that the worker could not expect continuing support from the middle class, since their objectives would inevitably conflict. Workers must therefore avoid dependence on legislation or political action.

Gompers maintained a vitriolic hostility to socialism almost throughout his presidency of the AFL. The socialists called for industrial unionism and political action, as opposed to Gompers' belief in craft unionism dedicated to the immediate interests of a relatively homogenous membership. The socialists viewed the labor organization as only the first step in the workers' struggle for social justice. Ultimately, Gompers accepted capitalism, providing it could guarantee an adequate standard of living for the worker, and he had little patience with claims that the entire economic system had to be reordered to accomplish this.

Despite his immigrant background, Gompers demanded the restriction of immigration in order to protect the competitive position of workers in America. Although he called for the unionization of all workers, he basically accepted the decision of the AFL to concentrate on the skilled and retain the craft basis for organizing, which maintained the position of the existing trade unions. Clearly, Gompers was an effective leader for organized workers, but for the greatest part of the labor force his program had little validity since these workers were unorganized and likely to remain so. Gompers' career was thus marked by the paradox that he was an able trade unionist but a largely ineffective labor leader.

Gompers wrote *American Labor and the War* (1919), *Labor and the Common Welfare* (1919), *Labor and the Employer* (1920), and *Party of the Third Part: The Story of the Kansas Industrial Relations Court* (with H. Allen, 1921). His autobiography, *Seventy Years of Life and Labor* (2 vols.), was published posthumously in 1925.

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[Irwin Yellowitz]

GOMPERTZ, English family, closely associated with the Hambro Congregation in London and known in the synagogue as Emmerich, after the family's place of origin. JOSEPH GOMPERTZ (1731–1810) was an early member of the *Board of Deputies of British Jews. The sons of his brother SOLOMON BARENT GOMPERTZ (1729–1807) attained distinction in different spheres. BENJAMIN GOMPERTZ (1779–1865) was a mathematician of genius, Fellow of the Royal Society, and writer on astronomy. When he was refused the post of actuary to the Guardian Insurance Office because of his faith, his brother-in-law N.M. *Rothschild established the Alliance Insurance Company (1824) in which he filled that position until 1848. He developed a mathematical law of human mortality which is still used in actuarial calculations. He proposed a plan for the amalgamation and reorganization of the Jewish charities in London. His brother EPHRAIM GOMPERTZ (1776–1876) wrote *Theoretic Discourse on the Nature and Property of Money* (London, 1820), a pioneering work in the field of economics. ISAAC GOMPERTZ (1774–1856) was among the earliest Anglo-Jewish poets and was compared in his day to Dryden and Pope. His works include *Time or Light and Shade* (London, 1815), *The Modern Antique or, the Muse in the Costume of Queen Anne* (London, 1813), and *Devon, a Poem* (Teignmouth, 1825). He spent his last years in Devonshire and is buried in the Jewish cemetery of Exeter. LEWIS GOMPERTZ (1784–1861), the youngest of the Gompertz brothers, was an inventor who devoted himself to the cause of the humane treatment of animals. His *Moral Enquiries on the Situation of Men and Brutes* (London, 1824) led to the foundation of the Society (later Royal Society) for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, which he served devotedly as secretary. However, when it was reorganized on Christian sectarian lines in 1832, he resigned and then founded the Animals' Friend Society, with its influential periodical, *The Animals' Friend*, which he managed successfully until 1846, when his health failed and the society was disbanded. Gompertz was responsible for a number of patented inventions, many designed to lessen the sufferings of animals. His expanding chuck is still widely used in industry. In more recent times, the Gompertz family, no longer attached to Judaism, produced many army officers and the violinist RICHARD GOMPERTZ (1859–1911).

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[Cecil Roth]

GOMPERZ, name of a family widely dispersed throughout Central Europe. In records of the 14th century the old-German form of the name "Gundbert" began appearing as a surname for persons with the name Ephraim or Mordecai. Occurring in variant spellings as Gumpert, Gumpertz, Gomperts, Gumpel, etc., it became associated with a specific family prominent in the late 15th century, in the duchy of Juelich-Cleves, when SOLOMON BEN MORDECAI GUMPEL received the right of residence in Emmerich. His immediate descendants settled in nearby Cleves, Wesel, and Nijmegen; branches of the family were eventually found in England, Amsterdam, Berlin, Frankfurt on the Main, Prague, and the United States (Samuel *Gompers). David *Kaufmann, who married into the Budapest branch, traced, in cooperation with Max Freudenthal, the genealogy of the family (see bibliography).

Solomon's grandson ELIJAH (d. 1689) founded the family banking business in Wesel (Cleves) which soon became one of the largest in Prussia. His son REUBEN ELIAS assisted in the rapid expansion of business. After moving to Berlin he became the first Jew to serve as a government official in Brandenburg; he subsequently became the chief inspector of taxes payable by the Jews in the duchies of Mark and Cleves (about 1700). He also acted as supplier to the army and to the court, and through these transactions came into contact with all the important Jewish court suppliers of his time, including Samuel *Oppenheimer, Leffmann *Behrends, and Behrend *Lehmann. Falsely accused of the attempted murder of Samson *Wertheimer, he was arrested by order of Frederick I and released a year later after payment of 20,000 talers.

Two members of the third generation of Court Jews in this family, MOSES LEVI and ELIJAH, established a bank-

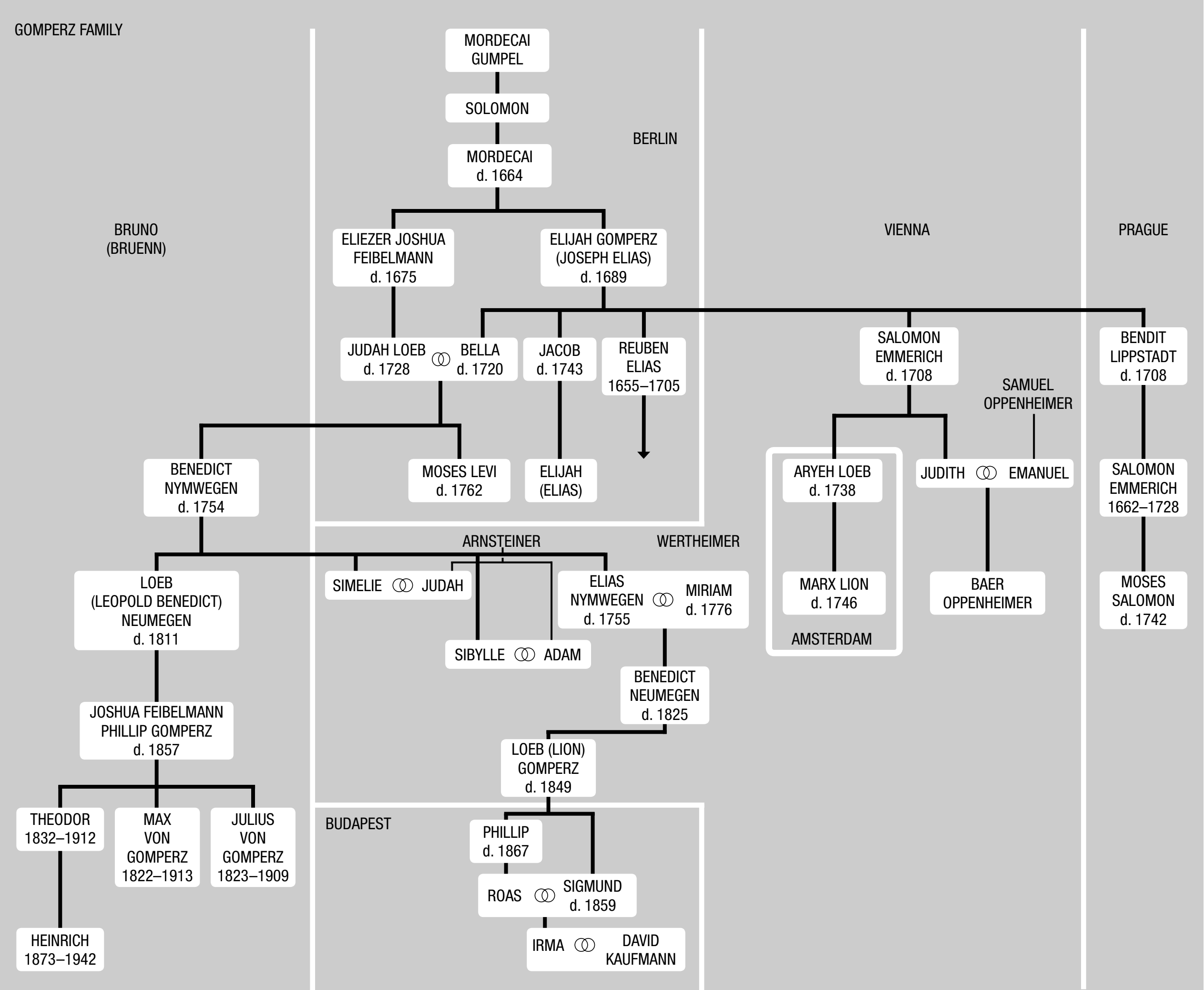
GOMPERZ FAMILY
MORDECAI GUMPEL
SOLOMON
MORDECAI d. 1664
BERLIN
BRUNO (BRUENN)
ELIEZER JOSHUA FEIBELMANN d. 1675
ELIJAH GOMPERZ (JOSEPH ELIAS) d. 1689
VIENNA
PRAGUE
JUDAH LOEB d. 1728
BELLA d. 1720
JACOB d. 1743
REUBEN ELIAS 1655–1705
SALOMON EMMERICH d. 1708
BENDIT LIPPSTADT d. 1708
SAMUEL OPPENHEIMER
BENEDICT NYMWEGEN d. 1754
MOSES LEVI d. 1762
ELIJAH (ELIAS)
ARYEH LOEB d. 1738
JUDITH
EMANUEL
SALOMON EMMERICH 1662–1728
ARNSTEINER
WERTHEIMER
LOEB (LEOPOLD BENEDICT) NEUMEGEN d. 1811
SIMELIE
JUDAH
ELIAS NYMWEGEN d. 1755
MIRIAM d. 1776
MARX LION d. 1746
BAER OPPENHEIMER
MOSES SALOMON d. 1742
SIBYLLE
ADAM
AMSTERDAM
BENEDICT NEUMEGEN d. 1825
JOSHUA FEIBELMANN PHILLIP GOMPERZ d. 1857
LOEB (LION) GOMPERZ d. 1849
THEODOR 1832–1912
MAX VON GOMPERZ 1822–1913
JULIUS VON GOMPERZ 1823–1909
BUDAPEST
PHILLIP d. 1867
ROAS
SIGMUND d. 1859
HEINRICH 1873–1942
IRMA
DAVID KAUFMANN

ing and business house in Berlin at the beginning of the 18th century. In Prussia, members of the Gomperz family served as court purveyors to six rulers in the course of five generations. To Frederick I (1688–1713), the luxury-loving first king of Prussia, they supplied jewels, and to the soldier-king, Frederick William I (1713–1740), "tall fellows" for his guard. At the time of Frederick the Great (1740–1786), they changed their activities to minting. In conjunction with the Court Jew Daniel *Itzig they rented the minting monopoly. In Berlin, Aaron Elias Gomperz, physician, writer, and teacher of Moses Mendelssohn, became celebrated. Members of the Gomperz family also served as *Landesrabbiner* (Cleves and Silesia) and *Oberrabbiner* (Ansbach). Many created influential positions for themselves, aided by their family relations with other Court Jews.

In Bohemia-Moravia a noteworthy member of the family was Salomon (Salman) Emmerich (1662–1728), who studied medicine at Leiden and practiced in Metz and Soest before establishing himself in Prague. He was the first Prague Jew to be freed by imperial order from wearing the obligatory neck-frill. His son Moses Salomon Gomperz (d. 1742) was permitted to practice medicine by Prague University after passing an examination, and was the first Jew to graduate from a German university, in Frankfurt on the Oder, in 1721.

The Bruenn (Brno) branch of the Gomperz family was founded by Loeb ben Bendit (Leopold Bendit or Benedict) Neumegen, from Nijmegen, Holland. His son Phillip Gomperz founded a successful bank. Three of his sons became celebrated: Theodor *Gomperz (1832–1912), classical philologist and historian of Greek philosophy; Max von Gomperz (1822–1913), industrialist, financier, and politician; Julius von Gomperz (1823–1909), president of the Jewish community from 1869, who initiated the Moravian communities organization and was active on behalf of the Jewish communities in Parliament. A hereditary title was conferred on him in 1879. Theodor's son Heinrich Gomperz (1873–1942) was also a classical philologist.

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[Michael J. Graetz and Henry Wasserman]

GOMPERZ, THEODOR (1832–1912), Austrian classical philologist and historian of ancient philosophy. He was born in Bruenn, Moravia. From 1873 to 1901 Gomperz was professor of classical philology at the University of Vienna, and in 1882 was elected to the Academy of Sciences. His *Griechische Denker*, 3 vols. (1896–1909), is a monumental work which sets Greek philosophy, from its beginnings until after Aristotle, within the context of a history of science and of the general development of ancient civilization. This work has been translated into many languages and is considered one of the basic works in its field. The author's empiricist-positivist bias is evident throughout. Gomperz, also active in public affairs and politics, served as a Liberal member of the Austrian upper house. In Jewish affairs, he took an extreme assimilationist stand and was violently opposed to Herzl and Zionism. His biography, letters, and notes were published by his son Heinrich as *Briefe und Aufzeichnungen* (1936). HEINRICH (1873–1942) was also a philosopher. He was baptized and was a professor in Vienna until 1934 when he was compelled to retire because of his refusal to join Dolfuss' Fatherland Front. In 1938 he emigrated to the U.S. In addition to the biography of his father, he published a new edition of his father's *Griechische Denker* (1922–31). He published a comprehensive study of Greek philosophy, *Die Lebensauffassung der griechischen Philosophen und das Ideal der inneren Freiheit* (1904), and *Philosophical Studies* (1953, edited by D.S. Robinson), which is a psychoanalytical study of Parmenides and Socrates.

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[Otto Immanuel Spear]

GÖNDÖR, FERENC (1928–), Holocaust survivor and memoirist. Göndör waited 30 years before committing the story of his early life to paper in *A 6171; Ett judiskt levnadsöde* ("A 6171: The Story of a Jew," 1984). In it he describes his idyllic childhood in a small town in Hungary and his internment as a 16-year-old in Auschwitz. The book was later made into a film. In 1986 he was awarded the coveted Torgny Segerstedt prize and in 1993 the Liberal Immigrant Association's culture prize. In 1994 he received a special grant from the Linköping municipality for his work in publicizing the horrors of the Holocaust and making an entire generation of schoolchildren aware of the dangers of the Nazi evil and its implications for the present. Like many other survivors in Sweden, Göndör spends much time visiting schools and talking about the Holocaust. For many years he also worked as a sound engineer for Swedish Radio.

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[Ilya Meyer (2nd ed.)]

GOOD AND EVIL.

In the Bible

A major corollary of the Jewish belief in the One God is that, seen in its totality, life is good. Viewing the cosmos as it emerged from chaos, God said, "It is good" (Gen. 1:10). In a monotheistic world view, a persistent problem is to account for the existence of evil in its many forms – natural catastrophes, pain and anguish in human life, moral evil, and sin. These facts must be fitted somehow within the design of the Creator as it is realized in the course of human history.

The problem of the existence of evil in the world was not given great prominence in the earlier books of the Bible, which are mainly concerned with positing general ethical-religious norms. In the later books, however, when the status of the individual vis-à-vis God gains in importance, it becomes necessary to account for the existence of evil in a world governed by a benevolent and omnipotent God. Jeremiah asks the perennial question concerning the prosperity of the wicked and the adversity of the righteous. This problem appears also in the Books of Isaiah, Job, and the Psalms. Various answers were given, which were later elaborated by the talmudists and the philosophers, but it should be noted that the idea of a heavenly reward is never mentioned in the biblical writings as a possible solution.

In Talmudic Literature

For the rabbis of the talmudic period the existence of evil in a world created by a merciful and loving God posed a number of theological problems, which they attempted to solve in a variety of ways. Although these solutions do not add up to a coherent theodicy, some of the more representative discussions indicate the general lines of rabbinic thought on the matter. First there is the issue of the existence of evil itself. The rabbis insisted that as good derives from God so, ultimately, does evil. This insistence was intended to discount any implications of duality, the idea of a separate deity from whom evil springs being complete anathema to the rabbis, who even say, "Man should bless God for the evil which occurs in the same way that he blesses Him for the good" (Ber. 33b). The same antidualistic motif is contained in the verse, "I am the Lord, there is none else; I form the light, and create darkness; I make peace, and create evil" (Isa. 45:6–7). (In the liturgy this is changed to "makes peace and creates all that exists," implying that evil itself is perhaps not a positive phenomenon at all, but mainly the absence of good.) Another vexing problem is why there is no just distribution of good and evil to the righteous and wicked respectively. This problem is dealt with in a number of different ways. On the one hand one finds the view that the issue is beyond the grasp of man's intellect, in support of which the verse, "I will be gracious to whom I will be gracious, and will show mercy on whom I will show mercy" (Ex. 33:19) is quoted (cf. Ber. 7a). On the other hand, a series of more partial solutions is proffered: the righteous man who suffers in this world is not wholly righteous, and the wicked man who prospers is not wholly wicked; or alternately the former is perhaps not a descendant of righteous ancestors, while the latter prospers because of the merit of his fathers (Ber. 7a); or evil is blamed on Satan and various malicious demons who are at the root of the trouble caused to the righteous (Ber. 6a; Gen. R. 84:3).

Perhaps the most widespread explanation of suffering in this world is that what the righteous undergo is punishment for every small sin they may have committed so that they will enjoy their full reward in paradise, while the wicked are rewarded in this world for any small amount of good they have to their credit so that in the world to come they will reap the full measure of the punishment they deserve (Ber. 4a; Eruv. 19a; Ta'an. 11a; Kid. 39b; Avot 2:16; Gen. R. 33:1; Yal., Eccles. 978). The sufferings of the righteous are also seen as a form of trial, "afflictions of love," enabling them to develop virtues such as patience and faith (Ber. 5a; BM 85a; Gen. R. 9:8; *Tanna de-Vei Eliyahu Zuta* 11). Support for this view is found in biblical verses such as "Happy is the man whom Thou disciplineth, O Lord, And teacheth out of Thy Law" (Ps. 94:12) and "It is good for me that I have been afflicted, in order that I might learn Thy statutes" (*ibid.* 119:71).

Another aspect concerning the evil caused by man himself is dealt with by viewing evil as the product of, if not identical with, the evil inclination (Ḥag. 16a). The evil inclination is a necessary factor in the continued existence of the world, for without it no man would build a house, marry, raise a family, or engage in trade (Gen. R. 9:9). Nevertheless, it is within man's grasp to control his evil inclination, against whose power the Torah was seen as an antidote (Kid. 30b). This control enables man to serve God with both his good and evil urges (Ber. 9:5); the one enabling him to continue in his this-worldly pursuits and the other helping him to grow in holiness. Despite an acute awareness of the extent of evil and suffering, both in the natural world and in the world of interhuman relations, and notwithstanding the limitations of the explanations they were able to offer by way of theodicy, the rabbis continually reaffirm the ultimate goodness of God and of His creation. This affirmation is even contained in the burial service, in a series of refrains emphasizing the perfection of God's world (Hertz, Prayer, 1074). The rabbis advise man to accustom himself to say, "All that the Merciful One does is for the good" (Ber. 60b); and they assure him that the measure of God's reward exceeds that of His punishment (Yoma 76a). One *tanna* – *Nahum of Gimzo (Ish Gamzu) – was even renowned for his response to every occurrence: "This too is for the best" (Ta'an. 21a).

In Medieval Jewish Philosophy

The answers given by *Philo to the problem of evil correspond, in certain respects, to those of the rabbis. If some righteous men suffer, he states, it is because they are not really perfect in their righteousness. Furthermore, the good which befalls the wicked is not a real good. Also, the suffering of the righteous may come from God as a trial or test, or because of the sins of their ancestors.

The need to account for the existence of evil in the world became even more acute with the manifestation of dualistic movements. Saadiah Gaon strongly rejects these dualist doctrines and affirms God's unity. Steeped as he was in the *Kalām tradition, he states that God conducts the world with infinite justice and wisdom. God, according to Saadiah, would not have created evil because evil does not have a separate existence *sui generis* but is nothing more than the absence of good. The sufferings of the righteous are either a requital for the few sins which they have committed, or they serve as an instrument of chastisement or trial, for which reward will be given in the afterlife. Saadiah thus upholds the doctrine of "afflictions of love."

The answer of Joseph al-*Basir, the 11th-century Karaite, is that the infliction of pain may, under certain circumstances, be a good instead of an evil, for it may ultimately result in a greater advantage. Thus, disease and suffering are either punishment for offenses committed, or are imposed with a view to later reward. Similarly, *Abraham b. Ḥiyya expresses the view that the righteous suffer in this world in order to try them and to increase their ultimate reward (*Meditation of the Sad Soul* (1969), 117ff.). Joseph ibn *Ẓaddik sees the evil which happens to the righteous as often being a natural occurrence without reference to reward and punishment. Sometimes, too, this evil is inflicted upon the good man for his sins, but ultimate reward and punishment are in the future life. Abraham *Ibn Ezra sees the whole world as good. From God, he states, comes only good. Evil is due to the defect of the object receiving higher influence. To argue that because of a small part of evil the whole world, which is good, should not have been created, is foolish. Abraham *Ibn Daud argues that it is impossible either according to reason or according to the Bible and tradition that evil or defect should come from God. If both good and evil come from God, He would have to be a composite. Besides, the majority of evils are negations, and cannot have been produced by any agent.

*Maimonides also views evil as a nonexistence, namely the absence of good, which could not have been produced by God. He distinguishes between three different kinds of evil. The first category is that of natural evils which befall man, such as landslides, earthquakes, and floods, or his having been born with certain deformities. The cause of this type of evil is the fact that man has a body which is subject to corruption and destruction. This is in accordance with natural law and is necessary for the continuance and permanence of the species. The second kind of evil is within the social realm, such as wars. This type of evil, Maimonides says, occurs infrequently and, of course, being wholly within the control of man, could not have been caused by God. Though difficult, its remedy is within the hands of man. The third class of evil, the largest and most frequent class, is the evil which the individual brings upon himself through his vices and excessive desires. Again the remedy is within man's power. Maimonides rejects the notion of "afflictions of love," holding instead that even the minutest pain is a punishment for some previous transgression. He explains that the tests mentioned in the Bible, such as God's request to Abraham to offer up his son, have a didactic purpose, to teach the truth of God's commandments and how far one must go in obeying them.

Joseph *Albo holds that perfect saints may have to endure agonies in order to atone for their people or for the entire world.

[Jacob Bernard Agus]

In Modern Jewish Philosophy

For Hermann *Cohen suffering stirs man's conscience and prods him to ethical action. Israel's election by God is tied up with the idea of Israel as the "suffering servant," i.e., the eternal prod of mankind's conscience. Evil in a metaphysical sense did not interest Cohen. He castigated metaphysical speculation about evil as an attempt to cover the existence of evil in society and as perverting the intent of suffering which should be to arouse sympathy in men.

The problem of evil played an important role in the philosophy of Martin *Buber. For Buber the source of evil was the failure to enter into relation, and conversely evil can be redeemed by the reestablishment of relations. "Good and evil, then, cannot be a pair of opposites like right and left or above and beneath, 'good' is the movement in the direction of home, 'evil' is the aimless whirl of human potentialities without which nothing can be achieved and by which, if they take no direction but remain trapped in themselves, everything goes awry" (*Between Man and Man* (1966^4), 103). Man is not evil by nature, but his misuse of his nature generates evil. Some men can carry evil so far as to give it a kind of independent quality. However, evil is never an independent entity but such men crystallize it into a perverse resistance to the individual's self-fulfillment in relation. After World War II Buber did question the possibility of addressing God as "kind and merciful" in the light of what had happened to the Jews in Europe, but he nevertheless maintained the possibility of man redeeming evil. He denied the gnostic dualistic approach and maintained that man had it in his power to sanctify the world.

Abraham J. *Heschel, referring to a midrash about Abraham seeing a castle in flames (Gen. R. 39:1), asks: "The world is in flames, consumed by evil. Is it possible that there is no one who cares?" (*God in Search of Man* (1961^3), 367). After considering the horrors of Auschwitz he questions: "What have we done to make such crimes possible? What are we doing to make such crimes impossible?" (*ibid.,* 369). According to him nothing in the world is wholly good or wholly evil, everything is a mixture. Man's nature, his ego, and the relative rewards of evil in this world help evil to prevail. Fortunately, God is concerned about man's separating the good from the evil. God commands man and gives him the *mitzvot*, which are the tools by which man can overcome evil. "Evil is not man's ultimate problem. Man's ultimate problem is his relation to God.… The biblical answer to evil is not the good but the holy. It is an attempt to raise man to a higher level of existence, where man is not alone when confronted with evil" (*ibid.,* 376).

For Mordecai *Kaplan God is identical with certain principles in the universe whose analogues in human society lead to salvation, i.e., the achievement of the good for all mankind. The existence of evil in the world is due to the failure of man to act in accord with God, i.e., those principles. "When the conscience operates simultaneously through creativity, responsibility, honesty, and loyalty or love, it is the source of Divine Revelation.… The function of conscience is not to philosophize or theologize concerning the problem of evil in the world. Conscience is the pain of the human spirit. The function of spiritual pain is not to have us speculate about it but to eliminate the cause … it is rather to impel us to make a religion of combating the man-made evils that mar human life …" (M.M. Kaplan, in *The Reconstructionist*, May 1963).

[Michael J. Graetz]

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GOODBLAT, MORRIS (1901–1978), Conservative rabbi and educator. Born in Mlawa, Poland, he came to the United States in 1912. He was educated at the Rabbi Jacob Joseph School and the Mizrachi Teachers Institute. He received his B.A. from City College of New York (1924) and was ordained at the Jewish Theological Seminary of America (1927). He earned his DHL there in 1944.

For more than four decades, he served as a rabbi at Congregation Beth Am Israel in Philadelphia, where he focused on Jewish education. His congregation produced many young men who entered the rabbinate and many more who were educated Conservative Jews. He was president of the Jewish National Fund and the Board of Rabbis of Greater Philadelphia and regional president of the Rabbinical Assembly for the Greater Philadelphia area.

In 1960 he established the Academy of Judaism to tutor perspective students for conversion; thus, establishing a regional program for what had until then been the individual responsibility of the local rabbi. He served as dean and director of the academy. The model of a regional program has been adopted in many communities throughout the U.S. as it is an excellent use of resources and an important way of imposing and enforcing standards.

Goodblat co-chaired the United Synagogue Commission on Jewish Education, which tried to standardize congregational curricula and published and developed material for the afternoon hebrew school, which was instrumental in Jewish education. He headed its publication committee and helped hire Abraham Millgram as the Commission's educational director.

He was chairman of the Rabbinical Assembly's special Committee on Ritual Surveys, which compiled a detailed picture of the way in which Conservative Judaism was being practiced in the synagogue and in the major ceremonies from Bar and Bat-Mitzvah and Confirmation to funeral practices. He also chaired the membership committee of the Rabbinical Assembly that opened membership to non-seminary graduates, which facilitated the transformation of some Orthodox congregations and their rabbis to the then rapidly growing Conservative movement. He also served on the prestigious Committee on Jewish Law and Standards for the Rabbinical Assembly.

As a scholar, he wrote *Jewish Life in Turkey in the XVI Century as Reflected in the Legal Writings of Samuel De Medina* in 1952, about the immediate post-expulsion period in which Jews fleeing from Spain found a haven in Turkey.

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[Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

°GOODENOUGH, ERWIN RAMSDELL (1893–1965), U.S. scholar who specialized in the study of Judaism in the Hellenistic period. Goodenough was born in Brooklyn, New York, and was raised in a family with Methodist fundamentalist beliefs. Following studies at the Garrett Biblical Institute, he studied at Harvard for three years under the influential historian of religion, George F. Moore, receiving his Ph.D. in Oxford in 1923, and then began teaching history at Yale University. Throughout his life Goodenough was active in many scholarly organizations, and edited the *Journal of Biblical Literature* from 1934 to 1942. While preparing his doctoral thesis, published as *The Theology of Justin Martyr* (1923), Goodenough came to the conclusion that many Hellenistic elements of early Christianity were derived not from the pagan world directly but from the already hellenized Judaism through which Christianity was first disseminated. Most of his later work was devoted to the study of this hellenized Judaism, especially *The Jurisprudence of the Jewish Courts in Egypt* (1929), *By Light, Light: The Mystic Gospel of Hellenistic Judaism* (1935), *The Politics of Philo Judaeus* (1938), *An Introduction to Philo Judaeus* (1940), and *Jewish Symbols in the Greco-Roman Period* (13 vols., 1953–68). Goodenough's reconstruction of Hellenistic Judaism from literary sources was often speculative. His account of the teachings of Philo, in particular, must be corrected in the light of H.A. *Wolfson's analysis of Philo's philosophy and demonstration of its many similarities to rabbinic teaching. But *Jewish Symbols in the Greco-Roman Period*, by its collection of Greco-Roman archaeological remains and its confrontation of these with pagan parallels, revealed an entire world of Judaism that previously had been known only in fragments and generally neglected. Consequently, this work began a new epoch in the study of ancient Judaism – this in spite of the fact that Goodenough's interpretation of the material has been questioned (Avi-Yonah, Smith, and others). One of Goodenough's supporters, J. *Neusner, wrote (in 1988) that "Goodenough asks when a symbol is symbolic. He wants to know how visual symbols speak beyond words and despite words. We find ourselves surrounded by messages that reach us without words, that speak to and even for us beyond verbal explanation. Goodenough studied ancient Jewish symbols because he wanted to explain how that happens and what we learn about the human imagination from the power of symbols. It is difficult to point to a more engaging and critical problem in the study of humanity than the one Goodenough took for himself. That is why, twenty years after the conclusion of his research, a new generation will find fresh and important the research and reflection of this extraordinary man."

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[Morton Smith / Shimon Gibson (2nd ed.)]

GOODHART, ARTHUR LEHMAN (1891–1978), U.S. jurist. Born in New York, Goodhart studied in America and Britain and was an officer in the United States Army during World War I. In 1919 he became a lecturer in law at Cambridge University and was editor of the *Cambridge Law Journal* from 1921 to 1925. In 1931 Goodhart was appointed professor of jurisprudence at Oxford University. In this position he exercised considerable influence both as a lecturer and writer, and his lucid exposition of legal problems, particularly in the field of contracts and torts, earned him a reputation as an outstanding jurist. He also served on several government legal committees, including the Royal Commission on the Police, the Monopolies Commission, and the Law Revision Committee.

In 1951 Goodhart was appointed master of University College, Oxford, the first Jew and the first American citizen to become master of an Oxford college. He was also the recipient of many other honors. He was made a king's counsel in 1943 and awarded a knighthood (honorary by virtue of his American citizenship). He was chairman of the International Law Association. His writings include *Essays in Jurisprudence and the Common Law* (1931); *Precedent in English and Continental Law* (1934); *The Government of Great Britain* (1946); and *Five Jewish Lawyers of the Common Law* (1950). He was also editor of the *Law Quarterly Review*, one of the most authoritative legal magazines in the world.

Goodhart took an interest in Jewish affairs and was a strong supporter of Israel. After the *Six-Day War he wrote several articles justifying the Israeli position in international law. His son PHILIP J. GOODHART (1925–) was a Conservative Member of Parliament and a member of the British delegation to the Council of Europe and the United Nations.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Current Biography Yearbook 1964* (1964), 159–61.

[Israel Finestein]

GOODMAN, ALLEGRA (1967–) U.S. novelist and short story writer. Goodman, the daughter of academics, was born in Brooklyn, raised in Hawaii, and educated at Harvard and Stanford. She has written works that are at ease with Jews who are urban as well as urbane. Her focus is invariably on the nature of community and its ability to transmit a Judaism that can maintain the allegiance – both ritualistically as well as personally – of her characters. She has pointed out that George Eliot's *Middlemarch*, with its treatment of a "whole community" containing individuals that are "so alive, so real," was an inspiration. Goodman's works often do just that. *Total Immersion* (1989), a widely praised collection of stories, was followed by *Family Markowitz* (1996), a series of related stories about a family's adjustment to the ruptures as well as blandishments of modern life. Her *Kaaterskill Falls* (1998) deals with the political and religious conflicts of an Orthodox Jewish community whose characters must not only accept a new leadership but also adjust their ambitions to a regulated life. *Paradise Park* (2001), with its pathos and humor, offers readers the God-seeking but all-too-human Sharon Spiegelman, seeking revelation in her travels, beginning in Hawaii. In 2006 she published *Intuition*, set in a Cambridge, Mass., research institution.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: D. Welch, "Author Interviews: Allegra Goodman," at: Powells.com.

[Lewis Fried (2nd ed.)]

GOODMAN, ANDREW (1907–1993), U.S. merchant. Bergdorf Goodman was already one of New York City's most elegant fashion emporiums when Andrew Goodman inherited it. But it was he who transformed it from a store that catered to the carriage trade to one that expanded its appeal to "people who have more taste than money and are on the way up." Goodman's father, Edwin, founded the store early in the 20th century. He came to New York City in 1899 and went into business with a tailor named Herman Bergdorf. After buying out Bergdorf in 1906 – but keeping his name as part of the business – the elder Goodman moved the shop from lower Fifth Avenue further uptown, branching out as a furrier and dressmaker. In 1926, Andrew Goodman, who had spent an uneventful year and a half at the University of Michigan, was summoned home by his father and sent to Paris to apprentice at the house of couturier Jean Patou. Goodman came back to the U.S. a year later and joined the family business, which was beginning to undergo an important transition. Instead of limiting itself to custom-made clothing, Bergdorf Goodman began offering clothing off the rack. The concept was a hit and by 1928 annual volume was $5 million. Ready to expand, Bergdorf's moved into a new marble and sandstone building on Fifth Avenue and 57th Street. Inside, the store looked like the genteel home of a moneyed family. Its fashions were from top U.S. and European designers, its clients were the wealthy and well known, and its saleswomen often exuded a snobbishness that could be terrifying. After service in the U.S. Navy during World War II, Goodman returned to the store, becoming president in 1951. When his father died, in 1953, Goodman inherited the store and the title of chairman. He also began reaching out to women who might have been put off by Bergdorf's intimidating image. In 1955, Goodman opened the Miss Bergdorf Shop, which featured more moderately priced merchandise. It quickly became highly popular. He also added antiques, a beauty salon, and an art gallery presided over by his wife, Nena. Bergdorf's kept expanding, eventually doubling in size to 120,000 square feet. By 1969, it was the nation's only large high-quality specialty store that was independently owned, but in 1972, Goodman sold the business to Broadway Hale Stores. He retained the real estate as well as the 16-room penthouse above the store, where his family lived, and he remained as president until 1975. Active in philanthropic and civic affairs, Goodman was a chairman of the Fifth Avenue Association and the Better Business Bureau of New York. He was vice president of the American Jewish Committee and served on the boards of various other Jewish organizations.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *New York Times* (April 5, 1993); *W* magazine (Nov. 2003).

[Mort Sheinman (2nd ed.)]

GOODMAN, ARNOLD ABRAHAM, LORD (1913–1995), British lawyer and legal advisor. Goodman was born in London to middle-class, middle-of-the-road Orthodox parents and had a brilliant career at Cambridge and in his law studies. He was created a Life Peer in 1965. Lord Goodman was personal legal advisor to many leaders of Britain's three political parties – in itself a unique position. He first came to public prominence in 1967 when the Labour government called on him to arbitrate and settle a serious strike of television workers. He was successful, and from that point forward, both the Labour and subsequent Conservative administrations used his services as unofficial envoy in a number of industrial disputes as well as in Britain's constitutional dispute with Rhodesia. He was so successful in gaining the confidence of the workers in the newspaper industry that the powerful Newspaper Proprietors' Association made him its chairman. He held many other public and semipublic offices, the most important of which was chairman of the semiofficial Arts Council (1965–72), which encourages all the arts, including literature, and disburses official funds to theaters, etc. He was also a member of a number of royal commissions and committees of enquiry, and prochancellor of Warwick University. Until 1986, he was Master, University College, Oxford. He also spoke on behalf of Jewish charities and without being a formal Zionist showed active sympathy toward Israel. In 1973, he was appointed chairman of the Housing Corporation and the National Building

Agency, both government bodies. His autobiography, *Tell Them I'm on My Way*, appeared in 1993.

Goodman was one of the most famous *eminences grises* in postwar Britain. Like all men credited with backstairs influence, his powers were often exaggerated. Nevertheless, Goodman met, on a weekly, confidential basis, with Harold Wilson during his 1964–70 term as prime minister, sharing many secrets with him. Wilson greatly valued Goodman's advice, and used him as a sounding board for proposed actions. From 1993, Goodman's life was overshadowed by a lawsuit brought against him by the Portman family, London landowners, who claimed that he had siphoned off funds from their family trust. After Goodman's death, his law firm paid the Portmans £500,000 without any admission of guilt.

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[Michael Wallach / William D. Rubinstein (2nd ed.)]

GOODMAN, BENNY (Benjamin David; 1909–1986), U.S. clarinetist and band leader. He learned to play the clarinet as a child in Chicago in a music instruction program fostered by a local synagogue. When he turned professional, he played in various well-known bands until he organized his own orchestra in 1933. Goodman became one of the founders of the "swing" style prevalent in the 1930s, and was called the "King of Swing." His was the first jazz ensemble in which both white and black musicians played together. At the same time he developed a technical mastery that led to his appearances with symphony orchestras and chamber ensembles. Bartok dedicated his clarinet trio "Contrasts" to him in 1938, and Hindemith (1947) and *Copland (1948) each wrote a clarinet concerto for him. He wrote an autobiography, *The Kingdom of Swing* (1961), and authorized *Benny Goodman's Own Clarinet Method* (1941), edited by Charles Hathaway.

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[Claude Abravanel]

GOODMAN, MARTIN DAVID (1953–), British professor of Jewish Studies. Educated at Oxford, Goodman is a major, much-respected historian of ancient Jewry and the ancient world in the Roman era. He is the author of many works, including *The Ruling Class of Judea* (1987), *Mission and Conversion: Prosteltyzing in the Religious History of the Roman World* (1994), and the editor of *Jews in a Graeco-Roman World* (1998), which often aims to place the history of Roman-era Judea in a wider context. He is also the editor of the comprehensive *Oxford Handbook of Jewish Studies* (2002). Goodman is professor of Jewish Studies at Oxford University, a fellow of Wolfson College, Oxford. He was president of the British Association for Jewish Studies.

[William D. Rubinstein (2nd ed.)]

GOODMAN, NELSON (1906–1998), U.S. philosopher. Born in Somerville, Massachusetts, Goodman received his B.S. magna cum laude (1928) and his Ph.D. (1941) from Harvard University. From 1929 to 1941 he ran the Walker-Goodman Art Gallery in Boston, and remained an avid collector of ancient and modern art. He served in the U.S. Army from 1942 to 1945.

He taught at Tufts College (1945–46), the University of Pennsylvania (1946–64), and Brandeis University (1964–67). In 1968 he was named professor of philosophy at Harvard. His philosophical studies ranged over many areas, including logic, epistemology, and aesthetics.

Two of Goodman's important early works are *The Structure of Appearance* (1951) and *Fact, Fiction and Forecast* (1955). In the late 1950s he turned his attention to the theory of simplicity, which was the main theme of his many contributions to philosophical journals. In attempting to eliminate superfluous entities in any complete description of the world, Goodman's work shows the influence of Bertrand Russell and W. Van Orman Quine.

In 1967, as a research associate at Harvard's Graduate School of Education, Goodman founded Project Zero. The program's purpose was to understand and enhance learning, thinking, and creativity in the arts, as well as humanistic and scientific disciplines, at both the individual and institutional level. He served as the project's director until 1971, engaging in basic research into education and the arts, while also producing a number of programs in film, dance, music, theater, and poetry. For example, Goodman created *Hockey Seen* in collaboration with choreographer Martha Gray, composer John Adams, and artist Katharine Sturgis – Goodman's wife. It was performed at Harvard in 1972 and was filmed there in 1984.

Articles about Goodman and his work frequently appeared in the European press, such as *Le Monde, Frankfurter Allgemeine,* and other leading international newspapers. Among his many awards and honors, Goodman received the Guggenheim Award in 1946 and 1947. Other books by Goodman include *Problems and Projects* (1972), *Ways of Worldmaking* (1978), *Of Mind and Other Matters* (1984), *Reconceptions in Philosophy and Other Arts and Sciences* (with C. Elgin, 1988), and *The Languages of Art* (1997).

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[Avrum Stroll / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

GOODMAN, PAUL (1875–1949), British Zionist and public figure. Born in Dorpat, Estonia, Goodman went to England in 1891. He was for many years secretary of the Spanish and Portuguese Congregation. Goodman became an active Zionist after hearing Theodor *Herzl address his first meeting in London (1896), and from that time until his death he served the Zionist Organization. He occupied various important positions in the Zionist Movement of London and was honorary secretary of the Political Committee, appointed by Chaim

*Weizmann and Naḥum *Sokolow, before the *Balfour Declaration was issued. Together with Arthur D. Lewis he edited the volume *Zionism: Problems and Views* (1916), was editor of the *Zionist Review* (1920–26 and 1934–38), and was a contributor to various Jewish encyclopedias and Zionist periodicals. Among his works are *The Synagogue and the Church* (1908), *History of the Jews* (1911), *Moses Montefiore* (1925), *Zionism in England* (1930), and *The Jewish National Home* (1943). He also edited *Chaim Weizmann: A Tribute on His Seventieth Birthday* (1945). A memorial tribute to him, entitled *The Rebirth of Israel* (1952), was published by the Zionist Federation of Great Britain.

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[Josef Fraenkel]

GOODMAN, PAUL (1911–1972), U.S. author, psychotherapist, and educator. The youngest of three children deserted by their father, Goodman was born and educated in New York City. At City College he was most influenced by the philosopher Morris Raphael *Cohen and by his reading of the Russian revolutionary author Kropotkin. A versatile writer, Goodman published verse collections such as *Stop-Light* (1942), *The Lordly Hudson* (1963), and *Hawkweed* (1967); novels including *The Empire City* (1959); plays (notably *Faustina*, 1949); short stories (*The Facts of Life*, 1946); and criticism. An account of life in New York over the previous three decades, *The Empire City*, was notable for its mingled comedy and sadness. From his earliest years Goodman's intelligence and experimental attitude toward literature gave him a place in the radical avant-garde, but it was only with the publication of *Growing Up Absurd* in 1960 that he became known to the wider public. The book is an indictment of the American "rat race" and a defense of those young people who do not choose to enter it. In the years that followed, Goodman came to be described as "the father-figure of the New Left" and as "a communitarian anarchist pacifist of protean intellect and prolific pen." Some other works of Goodman are *Communitas* (1947), written in collaboration with his brother, the architect Percival *Goodman, which became a standard work on cities; *The Community of Scholars* (1962), a critique of the U.S. academic scene; *Utopian Essays and Practical Proposals* (1962); *The Society I Live in Is Mine* (1963); *Compulsory Mis-Education* (1964); and *Like a Conquered Province: The Moral Ambiguity of America* (1967); he also contributed to F. Perls, *Gestalt Therapy* (1951). Goodman taught at several universities and at the Institute for Gestalt Therapy (New York City and Cleveland). From 1964 to 1966 he was a full professor at the University of Wisconsin and then at San Francisco State College's experimental college. In the Massey Lectures, delivered over the Canadian broadcasting network, he described what he called an "empty society," which had "a tendency to expand meaninglessly for its own sake, and … to exclude human beings as useless." In 1967 Goodman published a journal, *Five Years: Thoughts in a Useless Time.*

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[Milton Henry Hindus]

GOODMAN, PERCIVAL (1904–1989), U.S. architect. Goodman was born in New York; he studied there, and after receiving the Society of Beaux-Arts Architects Paris Prize, he enrolled in the Ecole des Beaux Arts in Paris, in France. He was a versatile architect, an expert on city planning, and a professor of architecture at Columbia University, a position he held from 1946 to 1971. Goodman designed furniture for mass production, wrote a book (*Communitas*, 1947), and illustrated the *Golden Ass* of Apuleius (1932). In 1977 he published his work *The Double E*, on the relationship of ecology to city planning. He had no previous religious background when he embarked on his fruitful career as a builder of synagogues. He said that the Nazi atrocities together with his readings of Martin Buber gave him the need for concrete expression of kinship, describing himself as "an agnostic who was converted by Hitler."

Goodman's synagogues are brightly lit and tend to be small and intimate, as Goodman felt this encouraged a feeling of unity in the congregation and a sense of participation in the service. He humanized his design with the use of warm materials such as wood. He regarded the artist as an indispensable collaborator, and gave him an important place in his projects. In this respect he acted as a pioneer and helped to bring into being a flourishing modern synagogal art in the United States.

Between 1936 and 1979 Goodman designed over 50 synagogues and religious buildings. These included the Fifth Avenue Synagogue in New York, Shaarey Zedek in Detroit, the B'nai Israel Synagogue in Millburn, New Jersey, and Temple Beth-El in Springfield, Massachusetts. In addition, he designed many houses, schools, and public buildings, including Public School 92 on West 134th Street in Manhattan (1935) and the Queensborough Community College administration building (1977).

An urban theorist who believed that rational planning could produce better cities, he criticized the planning efforts of his home city New York as timid and short-sighted. Named a fellow by the American Institute of Architects, he nonetheless argued that the institute was irrelevant since it failed to take up moral or political positions.

Goodman's brother was the writer Paul *Goodman.

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[Rohan Saxena (2nd ed.)]

GOODMAN, TOBIAS (d. 1824), English scholar. Goodman, who was born in Bohemia, went to England at the close of the 18th century. In 1806 he was a schoolmaster in *Liverpool, where he is said to have preached the earliest synagogue sermons delivered in English. He was subsequently associated with the Westminster Synagogue in London, where he delivered various addresses, the earliest both delivered and published in English, on the death of the Princess Charlotte (1817) and of King George III (1820). Goodman published Jedaiah Penini's *Beḥinat Olam* with an English translation (1806). He was an active religious controversialist.

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[Cecil Roth]

GOODRICH, FRANCES (1890–1984) and **HACKETT, ALBERT** (1900–1995), U.S. writers. Born in Belleville, New Jersey, Goodrich attended Passaic High School. She graduated from Vassar College in 1912, and then spent a year at the New York School of Social Work. She first appeared on stage in Massachusetts in 1913, and her first Broadway show was *Come Out of the Kitchen* (1916). Hackett was born to professional actors Maurice Hackett and Florence (née Spreen) in New York. He first took to the stage at the age of six. The couple met while performing together in Denver, Colorado, in 1927. Goodrich and Hackett began writing plays together; their first hit, *Up Pops the Devil*, was adapted into a film in 1931. The couple married in 1931; the marriage was the third for Goodrich, the first for Hackett. After a string of less than successful screenplays for MGM, Goodrich and Hackett enjoyed their first box-office success adapting Dashiell Hammett's *The Thin Man* (1934), which earned them their first of four career Oscar nominations. Goodrich and Hackett followed up with two more *Thin Man* films – *After the Thin Man* (1936) and *Another Thin Man* (1939). In 1941, the couple returned to Broadway with the long-running *Mr. and Mrs. North*. After the play's run, the couple returned to Hollywood to work for Paramount adapting *Lady in the Dark* (1944). Goodrich and Hackett were known for sophisticated comedy, but also worked on Frank Capra's classic *It's a Wonderful Life* (1946). After *The Pirate* (1948), *Easter Parade* (1948), *Father of the Bride* (1950) and *Seven Brides for Seven Brothers* (1954), the couple once again took an uncharacteristic turn to drama with a stage production of *The Diary of Anne Frank* (1956), which won the Pulitzer Prize for drama and two Tony Awards, and which was adapted to film in 1959. Goodrich and Hackett's final collaboration was *Five Finger Exercise* (1962).

[Adam Wills (2nd ed.)]

GOOR (Grasovski), YEHUDAH (1862–1950), educator and lexicographer. Born in Pohost, Belorussia, he studied at the yeshivah of Volozhin and in 1887 immigrated to Ereẓ Israel. At first he worked as an agricultural laborer and watchman in Rishon le-Zion and, after a year, as a clerk in Jaffa. He later became secretary of the *Benei Moshe society, participated in editing its publication *Ha-Mikhtavim me-Ereẓ Yisrael*, and then a teacher. With D. Idelovitch he founded the first Histadrut ha-Morim ha-Ivrim (Hebrew Teachers' Association) in Ereẓ Israel. Goor was one of the pioneers of the *Ivrit be-Ivrit* method whereby Hebrew is taught without using any other language. He wrote several manuals on the study of Hebrew, Jewish history, natural sciences, the geography of Ereẓ Israel, and translated into Hebrew several of Hans Christian Andersen's tales, Daniel Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe*, and stories by Mark Twain, Dickens, and Jules Verne. In 1893, together with Eliezer Ben-Yehuda and D. Idelovitch, he edited a newspaper for children, *Olam Katan* ("Small World"). From 1906 to 1929, he worked for the Anglo-Palestine Company, at first in Beirut (until 1911), and then in Jaffa-Tel Aviv. His activities with this institution included the purchase of lands for the *yishuv* in Tel Aviv and Haifa. While in Beirut, he helped to open a Hebrew kindergarten. During World War I, he and his family were exiled to Damascus, where he engaged in many beneficial activities for refugees in Palestine.

Goor is best known for his work in Hebrew lexicography. Already in 1903, he prepared (together with Y. Klausner) a "pocket dictionary" and later several other small dictionaries (Hebrew–Hebrew, Hebrew–English, etc.). In 1920, he and *D. Yellin published an illustrated Hebrew dictionary, and from 1937 he was occupied with his major work, the *Millon ha-Safah ha-Ivrit* ("Dictionary of the Hebrew Language," published in an enlarged edition in 1947). In 1939, he prepared a *Leksikon le-Millim Zarot* ("Lexicon of Foreign Words"). Goor's was the first Hebrew dictionary in which Hebrew words were traced to the period in which they originated.

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[Irene Garbell]

GOOSE. The *barburim avusim* (AV, JPS "fatted fowl") included among the daily provision for Solomon's table (I Kings 5:3) have been identified with the goose, the word *barbur* being explained as derived from *bar* ("pure," "white"), and *avus* ("fattened"). Some, however, identify *barburim* ("swans" in modern Heb.) with hens (BM 86b) or with a variety of fowl that came from Barbaria, that is North Africa (Eccl. R. 2:7). The breeding of geese in Ereẓ Israel is extremely old, a picture of them being fattened having been preserved on a ninth-century B.C.E. ivory tablet found in excavations at Megiddo. In ancient Egypt geese were extensively bred and fattened. The Mishnah mentions goose breeding (Shab. 24:3; Ḥul. 12:1), and a distinction was made between the wild and the domesticated goose (TJ, BK 5: 10, 5a: TB, BK 55a). According to folklore, "if a man sees a goose in a dream, he may hope for wisdom" (Ber. 57a).

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[Jehuda Feliks]

GOPHNA, RAM (1928–), Israeli archaeologist, who made a major contribution to the study of the proto-history of Israel, with a special interest in spatial archaeology and environmental history. Gophna was born in Tel Aviv and was educated at the Ḥadash High School during 1943–46. In 1946, before the War of Independence, he joined the *Palmaḥ. As one of the first students of the Department of Archaeology of the Hebrew University in Jerusalem, Gophna's teachers were B. *Mazar, N. *Avigad, M. *Avi-Yonah, and M. *Stekelis. He completed his B.A. in 1954 and his M.A. in 1956. Following his studies Gophna worked for the Israel Department of Antiquities from 1958 to 1974 as a district archaeologist for the southern region, the Negev, and the southern coastal plain. In 1968 Gophna was one of the team leaders during the survey of the hills of Ephraim and Manasseh in the West Bank. Gophna eventually joined the staff of the Department of Archaeology of Tel Aviv University in 1971 in parallel with his work as district archaeologist. In 1974 he completed his Ph.D. dissertation, supervised by Yohanan *Aharoni, entitled "The Settlements of the Coastal Plain of Eretz-Israel During the Early Bronze Age." Gophna conducted a great number of archaeological surveys and excavations in Israel, with his most important and pioneering work carried out at En Besor between 1970 and 1983, which laid the foundations for a new discipline of research, namely the study of the interrelationship between Egypt's Dynasties "0" and I and Canaan in the Early Bronze Age I. As a professor of archaeology (since 1981) at Tel Aviv University, where he taught for nearly 20 years, Gophna was an influential mentor for a large number of undergraduate and graduate students. Gophna has more than 100 research articles to his credit, with his first article appearing in 1963. Key articles include "The Rural Aspect of the Settlement Patterns of the Coastal Plain in the Middle Bronze Age II" (*Tel Aviv*, 8 (1981), with P. Beck); "The Settlement Landscape of Palestine During the Early Bronze II–III and Middle Bronze Age II" (IEJ, 34 (1984)); "Man's Impact on the Natural Vegetation of the Central Coastal Plain of Israel During the Chalcolithic and the Bronze Age" (*Tel Aviv*, 13–14 (1987), with N. Liphschitz and S. Lev-Yadun). He was also the editor of two important monographs on his excavations at En Besor and Tel Dalit. In 2002 a collection of studies (see Bibliography, below), many by his students, was presented to Gophna on the occasion of his retirement from Tel Aviv University.

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[Shimon Gibson (2nd ed.)]

GORA KALWARIA (Yid. **Ger**; Heb. **Gur**), town 19 mi. (30 km.) S.E. of Warsaw, Poland. The town, known popularly as Nowy Jeruzalem, obtained a charter in 1670 which included a clause prohibiting the settlement of Jews there. Jews were first permitted to settle in the town after it passed to Prussian rule in 1795. Subsequently Gora Kalwaria became celebrated as the seat of the ḥasidic Gur dynasty, founded by Isaac Meir Alter and headed by his successors (see below). The community numbered 2,919 in 1897 (55.1% of the total population) and 2,691 in 1921 (48.9%).

Holocaust Period

On the eve of World War II there were approximately 3,500 Jews living in Gora Kalwaria. When the German Army entered on Sept. 8, 1939, a reign of terror began for the Jewish population. During April and May 1940 several hundred Jews from Lodz and nearby Pabianice and Aleksandrow were deported to Gora Kalwaria. In January 1941 all the Jewish inhabitants of the small localities around Gora Kalwaria, numbering approximately 300, were also concentrated there. On Feb. 25–26, 1941, all the Jews in the town were transferred to the Warsaw ghetto where they shared the fate of Warsaw Jewry, hundreds dying of disease and starvation and the rest deported to the death camps in August 1942. The Jewish community was not reconstituted after the war.

[Stefan Krakowski]

Gur Dynasty

The Gur (Yid. *Ger*) ḥasidic dynasty, one of the most celebrated of the dynasties, existed in Poland from 1859 to 1939; subsequently the center moved to Ereẓ Israel, under the Gur rabbi residing in Jerusalem.

Gur Ḥasidism is based primarily on the trend in Ḥasidism developed by *Jacob Isaac of Przysucha (Peshiskha) and *Menahem Mendel of Kotsk (Kock) but has taken an individual direction. It also derives ideologically from the philosophy of *Judah Loew b. Bezalel of Prague (the Maharal).

The founder of the dynasty was ISAAC MEIR ROTHENBERG ALTER (1789–1866), whose father R. Israel was a disciple of *Levi Isaac of Berdichev and rabbi of Gur. Isaac Meir grew up under the tutelage of Israel Hofstein, the *maggid* of *Kozienice, who influenced Isaac considerably. At an early age he distinguished himself in Torah study, showing originality and intellectual acumen. He subsequently studied under Aryeh Leib Zinz, rabbi of Polotsk, and won a reputation as a brilliant young scholar.

After the death of the *maggid* of Kozienice, and a short period with the latter's son and successor Moses, Isaac Meir left him to become a disciple of *Simḥah Bunem of Przysucha, and after his death, of Menahem Mendel of Kotsk. He continued to give unreserved support to Menahem Mendel throughout the stormy controversy which divided Kotsk Ḥasidism and during the period when Menahem Mendel was in isolation, enabling Kotsk Ḥasidism to survive its acute internal crisis. After Mendel's death in 1859 Isaac Meir was acknowledged as their rabbi by the majority of the Kotsk Ḥasidim. His work entitled *Ḥiddushei ha-Rim* (Warsaw, 1875), novellae on Talmud tractates and the Shulḥan Arukh, became basic texts for study in the yeshivot and are still acknowledged as classic works on the *pilpul* (dialectical) method of exposition. Isaac Meir is frequently referred to by the name of his work as "Ḥiddushei ha-Rim." Isaac Meir displayed a ready awareness of public needs and was well acquainted with Jewish problems in Poland. He fought uncompromisingly to preserve the traditional Jewish way of life and headed opposition to the regulations imposing changes in dress issued by the government and upheld in Jewish circles by the *maskilim*, refusing to make concessions even when imprisoned by the authorities. During the Polish uprising of 1830 he was suspected of sympathizing with the Polish loyalists. He changed his name from Rothenberg to Alter. In his private life he experienced considerable suffering, losing his 13 children during his lifetime.

Although Isaac Meir derived the principal part of his teaching from the Przysucha-Kotsk school of Ḥasidism, in practice it revealed radical divergences. Instead of withdrawing from contact with the masses he tried to win them over, and interested himself in day-to-day problems. He made himself available to all who sought him out, receiving them kindly. However, like the Kotsk school he placed Torah study at the center of spiritual life. As one of the most eminent scholars in Poland of his day he developed among his followers enthusiasm for Torah learning. He also followed the Kotsk method in emphasizing profundity of thought in the search after truth and the inner promptings of the heart, and in continuous striving after self-perfection.

The period of his leadership, which lasted only seven years, had a formative influence on the development of Ḥasidism in Poland. Gur Ḥasidism became a powerful element in Orthodox Polish Jewry, and retained a leading position until the Holocaust.

JUDAH ARYEH LEIB ALTER (1847–1905) son of Abraham Mordecai (the eldest son of Isaac Meir), was orphaned as a child and brought up and educated largely by his grandfather. In 1870, after the death of *Ḥanokh of Aleksandrow, the successor of Isaac Meir as Gur rabbi, Judah Aryeh Leib became the head (*admor*) of Gur. In this position he wielded a wide influence and established the leadership of Gur Ḥasidism in Congress Poland. A distinguished scholar, modest in behavior, Judah Aryeh Leib won the confidence of rabbis and communal leaders throughout Jewry. Like his grandfather he also played a role in public affairs, concerning himself with contemporary Polish Jewish problems. Through his influence Ḥasidism in Poland dissociated itself from Zionism. Judah Aryeh Leib devoted much energy promoting Torah study and attracted many of the youth. His writings are collected under the title *Sefat Emet* (2 vols., 1905–08), after which he is also known. The five sections on the Pentateuch include addresses on Sabbaths and festivals, distinguished by the profundity of their ideas and clarity of exposition, and reflect the marked influence of Judah Loew b. Bezalel (the Maharal) of Prague. The sections on the Talmud, on tractates *Mo'ed* and *Kiddushin*, evidence his wide Jewish scholarship and ability to penetrate to the intended meaning and provide a lucid exposition of the problem, in contrast to the dialectical *pilpul* method followed by his grandfather.

Judah Leib was succeeded by his eldest son, ABRAHAM MORDECAI ALTER (1866–1948), the last of the dynasty in Poland. Under his leadership Gur Ḥasidism reached the height of its influence. He restored the recitation of morning prayer to the regular time and enjoined a break during the Sabbath service for public study. A lover of order and precision, he gave Gur Ḥasidim an organized framework.

In the period preceding the Holocaust Abraham Mordecai was the most prominent figure in European Orthodox Jewry and one of the founders of *Agudat Israel. Particularly sympathetic toward young people and concerned with their needs, he was instrumental in establishing schools and youth organizations. As well as being a scholar, he was an ardent bibliophile. He visited Ereẓ Israel many times and acquired property there. On the outbreak of World War II he escaped from Gur to Warsaw, and finally to Ereẓ Israel in 1940. During and after the Holocaust he was active in rescue work and in the material and spiritual rehabilitation of refugees. He died on Shavuot at the height of the siege of Jerusalem in 1948 and was buried in the precincts of Yeshivah Sefat Emet which he had founded.

Abraham Mordecai's son, ISRAEL ALTER (1892–1977), succeeded him as Gur rabbi. A noted scholar of great personal charm, he had an influence far beyond the immediate circle of his followers. As head of the various Gur institutions and yeshivot he did much to enhance the reputation and influence of Gur Ḥasidism. Thousands of visitors traveled to his court in Jerusalem each year to see him and receive his blessing.

Two sons of Abraham Mordecai, SIMḤAH BUNEM (1898–1992) and PINḤAS MENAHEM (1926–1996), took over after the death of Israel Alter, and were in turn succeeded by YA'AKOV ARYEH (1936–), eldest son of Simḥah Bunem. In the early 21st century, in addition to Israel, Gur ḥasidim were concentrated in the Boro Park section of Brooklyn, New York.

[Abram Juda Goldrat]

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GORCEY, LEO (1917–1969), U.S. actor. Bowery Boy Leo Gorcey was born in New York to an Irish mother, Josephine Condon, and a Russian-born Jewish father, BERNARD (1886–1955), an actor who played Papa Cohen in *Abie's Irish Rose* on Broadway. Gorcey dropped out of school to apprentice in his uncle's plumbing shop. However, in 1935 his father encouraged Leo and his brother DAVID (1921–1984) to try out for the Broadway drama *Dead End*; both were cast as New York street toughs. Gorcey was later tapped for the role of "Spit" in the 1937 feature film adaptation that starred Humphrey Bogart and Joel McCrea. The Dead End Kids would appear in a slate of dramas, including *Angels with Dirty Faces* starring James Cagney, which spoke to such issues as social injustice. In

1940 the name of the gang was changed to the East Side Kids, and Monogram Studios decided to play the kids for laughs, upping the slapstick in several low-budget hour-long films in which Gorcey played "Muggs McGinnis" and his brother played "Peewee." The group was renamed a second time as the Bowery Boys in 1946, with Gorcey playing roughneck leader "Terence 'Slip' Mahoney," his brother "Chuck," and his father "Louie," the sweet shop owner. Gorcey, his brother, and father often shot four to five Bowery movies a year until 1956, when Bernard died after a car accident in Los Angeles in 1955. Gorcey, upset by the death of his father, retired from films and moved to a ranch near Red Bluff, Calif. He married five times between 1939 and 1968, and had three children. Gorcey died in Oakland, Calif., two years after writing his autobiography, *An Original Dead End Kid Presents: Dead End Yells, Wedding Bells, Cockle Shells, and Dizzy Spells*.

[Adam Wills (2nd ed.)]

GORDIMER, NADINE (1923–), South African novelist, Nobel Prize laureate. Gordimer occupied a preeminent position in South African letters, was internationally acclaimed, and was the first South African writer to receive a Nobel Prize (1991). She was born in Springs, near Johannesburg, and published her first volume of short stories, *Face to Face*, in 1949. During her long writing career she published over 200 short stories, among the finest in South African writing, and 14 novels. *The Lying Days* (1953), her first novel, established her as a realist, a genre in which she is best known. Her unerring eye for detail is apparent in all her work, but her realism also charts an inner landscape and constitutes a mirror of the intensity of feeling, suffering, and conflict during the troubled situation under apartheid. Together with her fiction, her numerous essays and studies on culture and politics contribute a general social critique, and all her writing reflects her own commitment to the liberation movement and to social transformation. She has been hailed as a courageous and authoritative voice of conscience during the years of silence and repression, her work sometimes being banned in her own country. *A Guest of Honour* (1970) won the James Tait Black Memorial Prize in 1973. *The Conservationist* (1974) won the Booker Prize for Fiction. Her numerous other awards include the Modern Language Association Award, the Commonwealth Prize for distinguished service to literature, and the Royal Society of Literature Medal. She insisted that she did not regard herself as a feminist but as a "white African." Many readers and critics are either unaware of her Jewish background or disregard it. She herself asserts that she had no sense of identity with the Jewish community, and that being Jewish has not influenced her thinking or writing in any way. The central character of *A Sport of Nature* (1987) is a Jewish girl who marries two black revolutionaries, but generally there are few Jewish characters in her work and those are presented in stereotypical fashion. Her vigorous anti-racial stance is not always clearly evident in the presentation of Jewish storekeepers on the mines in her early work.

In a story of 1991, "My Father Leaves Home," a Jew (seemingly largely based on the history of her own father, a Lithuanian immigrant) is stigmatized on racial grounds and becomes himself a racist. Perhaps this illustrates her awareness of one facet of the fractured identity of some South African Jews. She continued to chronicle South African life after apartheid. She has been the subject of deep admiration and scrutiny from leading critics and has been translated into several languages, including Hebrew. The intense focus of her vision of the complex and troubled situation of a country beset by seemingly insoluble racial and political problems and gradually undergoing transformation is universally valued. Some detractors see her apparent detachment and coldness as a fault. None, however, deny her immaculate craftsmanship or underestimate her incomparable contribution to South African letters.

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[Marcia Leveson (2nd ed.)]

GORDIN, ABBA (1887–1964), Yiddish and Hebrew writer. Born in Michalishek (Belorussia), Gordin received a traditional Jewish education and was self-taught in general subjects. He wrote in Hebrew, Russian, and English as well as in Yiddish. He remained true to his anarchist convictions even in Communist Russia. Resident in Moscow and Leningrad, in 1926 he escaped to New York, where he edited *Yidishe Shriftn* (1941–46). The last seven years of his life he lived in Israel and edited the Hebrew-Yiddish *Problemot*. In his early writings, he sought a synthesis of biblical Judaism and classical anarchism. He wrote *Sotsiale Ibergloyberay un Kritik* ("Social Superstitions and Criticism," 1941), *Eseyen* ("Essays," 1951). *In Gerangl far Frayhayt*: *Rusland* ("In Struggle for Freedom: Russia," 1956); and *S. Yanovsky (1864–1939)*, a memorial volume for the anarchist leader (1957). His memoirs of the post-1917 years, *Zikhroynes un Kheshboynes 1917–1924* ("Reminiscences and Reckonings 1917–1924," 1955–57) and *Draysik Yor in Lite un Poyln: Oytobiografye* ("Thirty Years in Lithuania and Poland: Autobiography," 1958) are of particular interest to students of the Bolshevik Revolution.

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[Melech Ravitch / Leonard Prager (2nd ed.)]

GORDIN, JACOB (1853–1909), Yiddish playwright and journalist. Born in Mirgorod, Ukraine, Gordin was writing for the Russian press at 17. Though tutored in secular subjects at home, he was essentially self-educated. He tried his hand at business but failed and became in turn a farm laborer, a stevedore, and an actor in a Russian itinerant troupe, all the while writing for the Russian press and deeply involved in utopian political movements. He finally settled in Yelizavetgrad (Kirovograd) as a teacher in the local "russified" Jewish school. Gordin's first political ideal was nurtured in a circle devoted to Ukrainian independence. Later, influenced by Tolstoy and by the dissident Stundists (a non-Orthodox Christian Evangelical sect in Russia), as well as by Russian populist and Jewish enlightenment currents, he founded his own sect, the *Dukhovno-Bibliĭskoe Bratstvo* ("The Spiritual Biblical Brotherhood"), in 1880. He and his followers rejected post-biblical Judaism, claimed the Bible as the source for their rationalist ethics, repudiated commerce, and saw in agriculture the sole healthy and virtuous occupation. Gordin's obsession with occupational reform led him to write an article which grossly offended the Jewish community. Soon after the April 1881 pogroms, he published in the Russian press an open letter "To My Jewish Brethren" in which he argued that Jewish usury, love of money, and middleman occupations were to blame for Russian antisemitism. The "Brotherhood" was ineffectual: its efforts to build a communal colony failed. In 1891, the czarist police decided to disband the group, and Gordin, forewarned, fled to the U.S. Shortly after arriving in New York, which was to become his permanent home, Gordin applied to the Baron de Hirsch *Fund for aid in establishing a communal farm and was refused. Family obligations, a pregnant wife, and eight (eventually 14) children to support, made Gordin turn to journalism; he soon began writing for the New York daily *Di Arbeter Tsaytung*. When that work proved insufficient to support his growing family, he turned to playwriting. Prior to his arrival in America, at the age of 38, Gordin had never written in Yiddish nor ever written a play.

His first drama, *Sibirya* ("Siberia," 1891), though an apprentice piece, reveals many of those qualities for which Gordin was to earn the title "Reformer of the Yiddish Stage." The Yiddish theater, as Gordin found it, was one of vulgar burlesque and of absurd and garish "historical operettas." In *Sibirya*, as in all of Gordin's plays, the characters speak colloquial Yiddish rather than the affected Germanized Yiddish favored by the bombastic style of the day. Gordin disciplined the ad-libbing comic actors and banned, or at least modified, the rhymed-couplet, song-and-dance routine. He built suspense into his plays and made spectacle secondary to dramatic action. *Sibirya*, however, also heralds Gordin's characteristic tendentiousness, stereotyping, moralizing, and excessive pathos. Yet the gentile judge in *Sibirya* is presented as a human being rather than as a caricature, something of an innovation, and indicative of the way in which Gordin's earnest view of the theater as school and temple yielded aesthetic fruit. But his melodramatic plays never ceased to be vehicles for his social gospel; he valued his art mainly for what it might teach. Gordin's first great popular success, *Der Yidisher Kenig Lir* ("The Yiddish King Lear," 1892), made his reputation. It also added further luster to the acting career of Jacob P. *Adler in the title role, and it was Adler's star power and popularity with the audience that helped them accept a play that dispensed with or modified many of the norms of Yiddish drama up to that point. Henceforth, Gordin was to write many plays for virtuosi. He created the lead roles in *Der Vilder Mentsh* ("The Wild Man," 1893) and *Elisha ben Abuye* (1906) for Adler; those in *Mirele Efros* (1898), *Di Shkhite* ("The Slaughter,"1899), and *Khasye di Yesoyme* ("Khasye the Orphan Girl," 1903) for Keni Liptzin; and those in *Safo* ("Sappho," 1899) and *Kraytser Sonate* ("Kreutzer Sonata," 1902) for Bertha *Kalish. Great actors respected Gordin, and he in turn wrote great roles for them. His use of borrowed plots was to become typical, and despite his open avowal of his sources, he was plagued with accusations of plagiarism. He adopted plots from Hugo, Hauptmann, Schiller, Gogol, Gorki, Sudermann, Grillparzer, Ibsen, Lessing, Gutzkow, Ostrovski, and others. From *Shakespeare he took the skeletal plot of *King Lear* for his *Yidisher Kenig Lir* – the title itself acknowledging the debt. The latter is essentially a Jewish play, a didactic melodrama which probes the problem of conflict between generations. The impulse behind its female analogue, *Mirele Efros*, one of the most popular dramas in the Yiddish repertoire, came from Gordin's own Lear play rather than from Shakespeare. The world of *Mirele Efros* is a Jewish world, yet the play was performed successfully in nine languages. Gordin was frequently attacked for introducing alien matter into the Yiddish theater; some critics denied he was a Jewish writer at all. Among his other popular plays may be mentioned *Got, Mensh un Tayvl* ("God, Man, and Devil," 1900), *Di Shvue* ("The Oath," 1900), and *On a Heym* ("Homeless," 1907). Only about a quarter of his plays have been printed, some in pirated editions, while many survive only in manuscript or have been lost. Gordin also wrote a score of one-act plays, largely to encourage amateur performers, as well as serious essays on the theater. He also wrote widely for the press. His stories and sketches are invariably characterized by socialist moralizing.

In his stormy 18 years in America, Gordin wrote more than 100 plays for the Yiddish stage, most of which have been forgotten. Yet he must be reckoned the most important formative influence, after *Goldfaden, in the history of the modern Yiddish theater. Gordin came to love Yiddish but denied it the status of "national tongue." He viewed with pessimism the future of the American Yiddish theater whose temporary decline he lived to witness. His dying words were "finita la commedia." A quarter of a million Jews attended his funeral in New York City. His works have not been well edited. The four basic collections are *Yankev Gordins Ertseylungen* ("J. G.'s Stories," 1908); *Ale Shriftn* ("Works," 4 vols., 1910); *Yankev Gordins Dramen* ("J.G.'s Dramas," 2 vols., 1911); *Yankev Gordins Eynakters* ("J.G.'s One Act Plays," 1917).

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[Leonard Prager / Joel Berkowitz (2nd ed.)]

GORDIN, JACOB (1896–1947), religious philosopher. Gordin was born in Dvinsk, Latvia, and received his general and Jewish education in St. Petersburg. During the Russian Revolution and civil war, he wandered from one village to the next and took the opportunity to increase the depth of his knowledge of Jewish mysticism by becoming acquainted with Ukranian Jewish kabbalists.

In 1923 he settled in Germany where he became part of the Akademie der Wissenschaft des Judenstums. It was in Berlin that he published his major work on general philosophy, *Untersuchungen zur Theorie des unendlichen Urteils.* During the same period he published several important entries on Jewish Philosophy for the *Encyclopedia Judaica* of Berlin, including those on Crescas, J. Kaspi, Kant, Hermann Cohen, and God in Jewish Religious Philosophy, which was republished later in the *Encyclopaedia Hebraica.*

Gordin immigrated to France in 1933 after the advent of the Nazis and became librarian of the Alliance Israélite Universelle. His significant articles on Spinoza, Maimonides, and others were then published in French in the *Cahiers Juifs* of Alexandria. After the Nazi occupation of France, the Eclaireurs Israélites (Jewish Scouting Movement) of France opened educational training centers for its leaders and children's homes in the Vichy "free zone." They called upon Gordin to organize the Jewish training of their educators and he thereby reaffirmed the Jewish consciousness of a significant number of members of the Jewish Resistance. It is from this time that he began to influence Leon *Poliakov.

He returned to Paris after the Liberation of France and for three years – until his death at age 50 – played an increasingly important role in Jewish education at the highest level of the young intellectuals who were searching for their roots after the terrible years of the war. Gordin gave up writing in order to dedicate himself entirely to oral instruction, as master to disciple following an ancient Jewish tradition. Among his best-known disciples were Robert Gamzon (Castor), Léon Ashkenazi (Manitou), and Renée Neher-Bernheim. He introduced them to a knowledge of Jewish mysticism in its most exalted philosophical aspects. After he became seriously ill, his students came to his home to study, fascinated by the extent of his knowledge and the depth of his thinking. Long after his death his disciples have continued to disseminate the teachings of their master in France and in Israel.

[Leon Poliakov / Renee Neher-Bernheim]

GORDIS, ROBERT (1908–1992), U.S. Bible scholar, author, and rabbi. Gordis was born in New York City. He wrote his Ph.D. dissertation on Masoretic *qere* and *ketib* at Dropsie College, where his primary teacher was the renowned textual critic Max *Margolis. With prospects of academic employment curtailed by the Great Depression, Gordis decided to become a Conservative rabbi and was ordained at the Jewish Theological Seminary in 1932. He served as rabbi of Temple Beth El of Rockaway Park, N.Y., from 1931 until his retirement in 1968, and while there established the first Conservative day school in the United States. Gordis did not abandon academic life. Invited in 1937 as an annual lecturer to the Seminary, Gordis served as professor of Bible beginning in 1940. Gordis also taught at Columbia University (1948–57), the (Protestant) Union Theological Seminary (1960), and Temple University. He served as editor of the periodical *Judaism*, president of the Rabbinical Assembly and of the Synagogue Council of America, and consultant to the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions.

Gordis' biblical scholarship has been in three major areas: Wisdom literature with special emphasis on the Books of Ecclesiastes and Job, to both of which he composed book-length commentaries; the forms of rhetoric and biblical poetry; and aspects of the masorah and the preservation of the biblical text. Gordis employed his considerable knowledge of rabbinic literature as a tool in biblical lexicography. Within the Conservative movement he was a spokesman for the centrist position, advocating change within the framework of the law. He also wrote on the relationship of Judaism to contemporary problems, on the pertinent insights of the Jewish tradition to the issues facing Western civilization, and on the status of Judaism in the modern age. Among his books are *Koheleth: the Man and His World* (1951), *Judaism for the Modern Age* (1955), *Faith for Moderns* (1960) *Root and the Branch* (1962), *Book of God and Man: A Study of Job* (1965), and *Judaism in a Christian World* (1966).

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[Jack Reimer / S. David Sperling (2nd ed.)]

GORDON, ABRAHAM (1874–1941?), socialist, active in Vilna. From a poor family, Gordon became an engraver, from which profession he derived his Russian pseudonym "Rezchik." He took an active part in the Jewish workers' circles in Vilna and was influenced by populism. In the early 1890s Gordon led the opposition against the shift in aims of the workers' circles – from spreading general education and explaining socialist ideology in the Russian language to conducting propaganda in Yiddish on economic problems and the organization of strikes. Gordon fought the influence of the Social-

Democrat intelligentsia (who later founded the *Bund) on the workers' movement. Even without supporters, he continued to advocate his ideas for many years, and published a number of pamphlets. He was last reported in Vilna in 1940. The circumstances of his death are unknown.

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[Moshe Mishkinsky]

GORDON, AHARON DAVID (1856–1922), Hebrew writer and spiritual mentor of that wing of the Zionist labor movement which emphasized self-realization through settlement on the land (the *ḥalutzim*); born in Troyanov, Russia. Gordon's grandfather was a noted scholar, and his father worked as a clerk for his famous relative, Baron Joseph *Guenzburg. Gordon studied Talmud, Bible, and Hebrew grammar with private tutors, as well as Russian and secular subjects on his own. As he was the only survivor of five children, his parents were anxious to have him exempted from military service, but he insisted on presenting himself for examination. When he was found medically unfit, he married and was given a responsible post in the financial management of Baron Guenzburg's estate, which he held, with interruptions, for 23 years. He was respected by the workers and junior officials, whose interests he tried to protect, often at the expense of his own. During this period he was active in educational and cultural work, especially among the youth. At first he was antagonistic to the modern Hebrew literature of his time, especially because of the hostility of many writers to Jewish religious tradition. In 1903, the village in which Gordon worked was sold to a new owner, and he had to find other employment. In this crisis, he decided, despite the opposition of his parents and his wife's family, to settle in Ereẓ Israel, and in 1904 he set out alone, bringing his wife and daughter over only five years later.

In Ereẓ Israel

Although he was now 48 and had never done physical work, he insisted on tilling the soil with his own hands. He worked as a manual laborer in the vineyards and orange groves of *Petaḥ Tikvah and *Rishon le-Zion and, after 1912, in various villages in Galilee, suffering all the tribulations of the pioneers: malaria, unemployment, hunger, and insecurity. From 1909 he wrote numerous articles, most of them published in **Ha-Po'el ha-Ẓa'ir*, embodying his original outlook on labor, Zionism, and the Jewish destiny, which became widely known as "the religion of labor," though he did not use the term. He spent his last years in *Deganyah, where he died in 1922.

Although Gordon was a delegate to the Eleventh Zionist Congress in 1913 and the Ha-Po'el ha-Ẓa'ir conference in Prague in 1920, he was never interested in political affairs as such. He believed that salvation for the Jewish people could come about only through the efforts of the individual to change himself. Thus, he was not enthusiastic about the *Balfour Declaration and the World War I *Jewish Legion. He opposed *Po'alei Zion and *Aḥdut ha-Avodah because of their ties with international socialism, believing that the Jewish workers in Ereẓ Israel must find their own way to a just, productive society through a life of labor. Although he held no official position, Gordon exercised a profound influence on the Jewish labor movement the world over through his writings and, even more, through his personal example. The *Gordonia youth movement, founded in 1925, was named after him and based largely on his ideas.

Gordon's Philosophy

Gordon's world view is rooted in the conviction that the cosmos has unity, that nature and man are one, and that all men are organic parts of the cosmos. Man is molded by the cosmos in two different ways: through his knowledge of the world and through his intuitive perception of the world, which can never be consciously known, yet can be lived. What we know is merely a fragment of what we are. A man becomes an individual by the way in which he opens himself to the immediacy of the experience of life. The human soul is related to a hidden part of the cosmos. It is in this "hidden" life that each man's individuality is rooted.

Gordon was conscious of the fact that his theory sets up a dichotomy between rational "knowledge" and "life." He compared their dualism with the relationship between the flame and the oil in a burning lamp. Consciousness and knowledge are the flame; life itself is the oil which nourishes it. The intellect achieves clarity by concentrating its light on a single sector of reality. However, the intellect pays a price for this clarity: it cuts off the living relationship between the sector which it investigates and the totality of the cosmos. The more a man penetrates nature with his knowledge, the less he can live it with his whole being. Yet the ultimate source of our deepest certainties is not the knowledge we may accumulate, but life itself. Living intuition speaks where our intellect fails us. The intellect is an important weapon in the struggle for survival. At the same time, however, it tends to isolate and alienate man from the cosmos as a whole.

In this tension Gordon discovers the source of religion. Through religion man begins to feel once again that he is an organic part of creation. God cannot be approached through the intellect, but man can reach God in an immediate living relationship. With the psalmist, Gordon says, "My soul thirsteth for God, the living God." A mystery to the intellect, God cannot be known, but He can be experienced and lived.

Gordon's friends found it difficult to accept his religious notions. For them religion had become ossified, irrelevant, a thing of the past. He attempts to meet their objections by making a distinction between form and content in religion. He concedes that as far as form is concerned, religion has lost much of its vitality. The content of religion originates in the religious individual; it is the expression of his sense of cosmic unity and purpose. But men tend to sanctify religious forms at the expense of religious content. Gordon claims that, though present-day religious thinking may be dead, God Himself can never die. He is a hidden mystery, yet we encounter Him in all we experience. Religion will not die so long as men live and think and feel. Its time has not passed – its time has not yet even come. True religion is of the future.

Man cut himself off from this source of rejuvenation when he left the soil and moved to the city. Nature is no longer the source of his inner renewal; he has reduced nature to a quantity of corn, or grain, or wood, which he buys or sells. Man's relationship with other men, things, and nature have become purely utilitarian. Authentic religion cannot live in such an atmosphere. If man is to rediscover religion, the proper balance between the two powers of the human soul – intellect and intuition – must be restored. The task of the intellect is to be the servant – the *shammash* – of intuition, not to overpower it. The proper balance between master and servant can be restored only by man's return to a direct relationship with nature.

"Our road leads to nature through the medium of physical labor." The return to nature through labor will enable man to rediscover religion and to regain a sense of cosmic unity and holiness. Gordon's religion has been defined as a "religion of labor." Gordon was strongly influenced by Tolstoy, who preached a similar return to nature; but unlike Tolstoy, Gordon attempted to practice what he preached.

Gordon opposed socialism in its Marxist form. He regarded Marxism as merely another creation of the intellect, a product of a technological and capitalistic civilization. The aim of Marxism is the reorganization of the social order, not the renewal of the human spirit. It seeks to change man by changing the regime, instead of seeking to change the regime by changing man. All attempts to transform human life through the introduction of a new social order are doomed to failure if they do not begin with what must come first: the living human being. A genuine inner renewal of society can be achieved not by an accidentally related mass, but only by an organically united community – the people. Nature has created the people as the connecting link between the cosmos and the individual. Mankind represents the unity not of states but of peoples. A people is a natural community embodying a living cosmic relationship.

For this reason cosmopolitanism must be replaced by what Gordon calls cosmo-nationalism. Cosmopolitanism is based on the assumption that the individual can be a citizen of mankind directly, without being a member of a specific historic people. This assumption is an illusion. Such an individual and such a mankind are mere abstractions. There are only men who are Russians, Germans, Frenchmen.

Gordon uses the phrase *am-adam* ("people-humanity," "people-incarnating humanity") to express his thinking on the role of the people in the fulfillment of man's destiny. Man was created in the image of God, and Gordon adds that the people has to be created in the image of God too. This "people-incarnating humanity" is the new ideal which Israel, returning to its land, is to exemplify in the eyes of all mankind. Gordon's cosmo-nationalism has genuine universalistic implications. No people must ever be permitted to place itself above morality. A people incarnates humanity only to the extent to which it obeys the moral law.

Here Gordon saw the challenge which the Jew faced in Ereẓ Israel. The recreation of such a nation – its realization – was to be the contribution of the reborn Jewish people to mankind. The creation of a nation which, at the same time, would be an integral part of humanity, is an extension of the original act of creation:

"We were the first to proclaim that man is created in the image of God. We must go farther and say: the nation must be created in the image of God. Not because we are better than others, but because we have borne upon our shoulders and suffered all which calls for this. It is by paying the price of torments the like of which the world has never known that we have won the right to be the first in this work of creation."

He saw the crucial test in the attitude of the Jews toward the Arabs:

"Our attitude toward them must be one of humanity, of moral courage which remains on the highest plane, even if the behavior of the other side is not all that is desired. Indeed their hostility is all the more a reason for our humanity."

Gordon's writings, entitled *Ketavim* (1951–54), appeared in three volumes, including a bibliography. There is also a selection of his writings in English entitled *Selected Essays* (1937).

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[Samuel Hugo Bergman]

GORDON, ALBERT I. (1903–1968), U.S. rabbi and sociologist. Gordon, who was born in Cleveland, Ohio, earned his B.A. from New York University (1927), was ordained by the Jewish Theological Seminary (1929), and received a Ph.D. from the University of Minnesota (1949). He served as a rabbi in Temple Israel in Washington Heights, New York, and then in Congregation Kneset Israel-Beth Shalom in Kansas City before he moved to Adath Jeshurun Synagogue, Minneapolis, Minnesota (1930–46), a congregation in transition between generations. He modernized the services and attracted new members, increasing the congregation more than fourfold to 400 families. He was also active in the community, serving the War Labor Board and conducting a weekly radio broadcast. He left the congregation to serve as executive director of the United Synagogue of America (1946–50), where he expanded lay involvement and helped found the first Camp Ramah in Wisconsin under the initiative of the Chicago Council of United Synagogue. He left after considerable success and significant expansion but also in great frustration and returned to the pulpit as rabbi of Temple Emanuel, Newton, Massachusetts (1950–68). Under his leadership, which coincided with the suburbanization of American Jews, the school there expanded more than threefold to 1,000 students who studied four days a week. The synagogue expanded its building and classroom facilities. He was a member of the faculty of neighboring Andover Newton Theological School and taught sociology at Boston University, and held many positions in the Jewish community. He wrote four sociological studies, which constitute a substantial contribution to the study of American Jewry: *Jews in Transition* (1949); *Jews in Suburbia* (1959); *Intermarriage: Interfaith, Interethnic and Interracial* (1964); and *The Nature of Conversion* (1967). He also wrote a series of booklets on marriage.

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[Jack Reimer / Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

GORDON, CYRUS HERZL (1908–2001), U.S. Semitic scholar. Gordon was born into a Zionist family in Philadelphia, hence the middle name Herzl. He worked as a field-archaeologist in Jerusalem and Baghdad from 1931 to 1935, after which he taught Semitics at Johns Hopkins University (1935–38), Bible at Smith College (1938–41), at Princeton (1939–42) Assyriology and Egyptology at Dropsie College (1946–56). From 1956 to 1973 Gordon was at Brandeis, where he taught Mediterranean Studies, an area that reflected his conception that the Aeagean had to be included in the study of the ancient Near East. His final academic appointment was at New York University where he taught biblical and Semitic studies from 1973 to 1990.

His *Ugaritic Grammar* (1940) and *Ugaritic Handbook* (1947) which revised the grammar and provided transliterated texts and glossaries were pioneer works in the field, as were his *Ugaritic Literature* (1949) and later his *Ugaritic Manual* (1955; revised as *Ugaritic Textbook*, 1965). Other significant contributions to Semitics were his work on the Akkadian of Nuzi, the Aramaic magic bowls, and the language of *Ebla in Syria first recovered in the 1970s.

Gordon's other major contribution was in "Helleno-Semitics," the comparison of Eastern and Western civilizations, mainly through the study of early Greece and the ancient Near East. His works on this subject include *Before the Bible* (1962; revised as *The Common Background of Greek and Hebrew Civilizations*, 1965), in which Gordon examined ancient Greek mythology in comparison to the biblical stories. In *Homer and the Bible* (1967) he tried to show the common background of all the East Mediterranean cultures.

These interests led him to regard the undeciphered Minoan tablets of Crete (Linear A) as possibly written in a language of Semitic origin. He suggested a translation of the Phaestos Disk of Crete and of Eteocretan inscriptions on the basis of Semitic linguistics. In 1966 he published these studies in *Ugarit and Minoan Crete and Evidence for the Minoan Language*. Other works on Semitics and archaeology include *Nouns in the Nuzi Tablets* (1936); *Numerals in the Nuzi Tablets* (1938); *The Living Past* (1941), a summary of his studies on important excavations in the Middle East; and *Lands of the Cross and Crescent* (1948). He also wrote *The Relationship between Modern and Biblical Hebrew* (1951); *Smith College Tablets* (1952), in which he published 110 cuneiform texts from the college collection; *Introduction to the Old Testament Times* (1953, revised as *The World of the Old Testament*, 1958); *Hammurabi's Code* (1957); *Adventures in the Nearest East* (1957), a popular description of important discoveries in the Middle East from the Dead Sea Scrolls to Ugaritic; *New Horizons in Old Testament Literature* (1960); *Ancient Near East* (1965); *Mediterranean Literature* (1967); and *Forgotten Scripts* (1968).

In 1968 Gordon declared that new knowledge about Phoenician word usage had made it likely that a previously rejected Phoenician tablet (found in 1872) was genuine and that the Phoenicians had gone to America from Ezion-Geber in the 19th year of Hiram, king of Tyre. Given the vastly broad nature of his interests it was inevitable that some of Gordon's work was considered overly speculative but could never be ignored.

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GORDON, DAVID (1831–1886), Hebrew journalist and editor; one of the early supporters of Ḥibbat Zion. Born in Podmerecz near Vilna, he studied in a yeshivah and later turned to Haskalah and took up secular studies. In 1849 he settled in Sergei (Serbei), earning a meager livelihood as a teacher. In the mid-1850s he moved to England, where he remained until 1858, teaching Hebrew and German. In 1858 Gordon moved to Lyck when Eliezer Lipmann Silbermann invited him to become assistant editor of the first Hebrew weekly, *Ha-Maggid*. In 1880 he officially became the editor of *Ha-Maggid*, a position he had long occupied unofficially. From 1879 to 1881 he published a weekly literary and scientific supplement to *Ha-Maggid*, called *Maggid Mishneh*. He also edited a German paper, *Lycker Anzeiger*, and wrote for the *Times* and *Jewish Chronicle*. His articles in *Ha-Maggid* calling for Jewish national revival in Palestine were the first of their kind in Hebrew. When the Ḥibbat Zion movement was established in the early 1880s, he became one of its leading members and under his editorship *Ha-Maggid* became the Hebrew voice of the movement. Gordon also published several books and contributed to various Hebrew and Yiddish journals.

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[Getzel Kressel]

GORDON, ELIEZER (1840–1910), rabbinical scholar. Gordon was born in the district of Minsk, and while still a young man was invited by R. Israel *Salanter to succeed him in Kovno as teacher of the younger pupils. Appointed in 1874 as rabbi of Kelme and head of its yeshivah, which now attracted many students, he became renowned as one of Lithuania's greatest and most pious rabbinical scholars. In 1884 he was appointed rabbi of Telz (*Telsiai) and head of its yeshivah, which, after the closing of the yeshivah of Volozhin, in 1858, became the spiritual center of Lithuanian Jewry. Gordon was one of the first to adopt what was known in Lithuanian yeshivah circles as "the method of logical comprehension," his lectures being distinguished for their penetrating analysis and their original and logical interpretations. He was also one of the first heads of a Lithuanian yeshivah to introduce the study of *musar* (ethics) into the curriculum, and he appointed adherents of the *Musar movement as *mashgiḥim* (student "supervisors"). Gordon took a special interest in the financial upkeep of the institution and was personally attentive to the needs of each of his students. So deep an attachment existed between them that even those of his students who later became estranged from his outlook and way of life continued to hold him in great personal esteem. As rabbi of Telz Gordon displayed great dedication and resoluteness. At times he would forgo his salary; he interceded with the authorities to protect the rights of Russian Jewry; and he played an active part in internal Jewish matters. At every assembly of Russian rabbis Gordon was one of the principal speakers. In Vilna, in 1904, seeking to establish an organization that would embrace all of Orthodox Jewry, he helped found the Keneset Israel organization, regarded by some as the forerunner of *Agudat Israel. In 1910 the Telz yeshivah was destroyed by fire, and Gordon died in the same year, while on a visit to London, where he had gone to raise funds for its rebuilding, and was buried there. His only published work is *Teshuvot Rabbi Eli'ezer* (2 vols., 1912, 1940).

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[Zvi Kaplan]

GORDON, GEORGE, LORD (1757–1793), English proselyte. A younger son of the third duke of Gordon, he entered Parliament in 1774 but attracted little notice until 1779 when he became president of the United Protestant League which opposed measures in relief of Catholic disabilities (1779). After the violent London "No-Popery" Riots (1780), Gordon was tried for high treason but was acquitted. He again appeared as Protestant champion in 1784 in the quarrel between the Dutch and Joseph II. He subsequently developed an interest in Judaism. Although rebuffed by the London rabbinical authorities, he was circumcised in 1787, either in Holland or in Birmingham (where he lived for a time), assuming the name of Israel b. Abraham. He became scrupulous in religious observance, growing a long beard and rebuking those who were not as devout as himself. He was tried for libels on the British government and Marie Antoinette of France and sentenced in 1788 to imprisonment in Newgate, London. Here he surrounded himself with foreign Jews, ate only specially prepared food, refused to see any Jew who was not bearded, and held regular services with a *minyan* in his apartment. He died in prison, but was buried not in the Jewish cemetery but in his family's burial plot. Paradoxically, Gordon was one of the best-known British Jews of his time.

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[Cecil Roth]

GORDON, HAROLD (1907–1979), U.S. rabbi and administrator. Gordon, who was born in Minneapolis, Minn., was ordained in Palestine. During World War II, he was chaplain in the North Atlantic Division of the Air Transport Command, flying over 250,000 miles to military bases in North America and Europe. Gordon was elected general secretary and chaplaincy coordinator of the New York Board of Rabbis, the metropolitan organization of Orthodox, Conservative, and Reform rabbis, in 1946 and executive vice-president in 1956. As such, he directed a network of chaplains in hospitals, prisons, and other institutions, and coordinated the work of one of the largest rabbinic bodies in the world. He initiated the establishment of the International Synagogue at Kennedy Airport, the Brit Milah School, and the Brit Milah Board of New York.

[Jack Reimer]

GORDON, JACOB (1877–1934), Canadian rabbi. Gordon was born in Dunilovitch (Dunilowicze), Vilna (Vilnius) district, Belarus. He apparently attended Volozhin yeshivah toward the end of 1895 or early in 1896 for several months, then relocated to Minsk and later to Kovno (Kaunas) in order to pursue his religious studies. During the 1880s or 1890s, Gordon's parents moved to Smorgon and in the summer of 1904 Gordon immigrated to America together with his wife and first daughter, serving initially as a fund-raiser for an East European yeshivah. In February 1905, Gordon arrived in Toronto, where he stayed until his death.

A few months later, Gordon was appointed as rabbi of the Lithuanian-oriented congregation Goel Tzedec, and served also at congregation Chevra Tehillim (Beth Hamidrash Hagadol as of 1905). Over the following years, Gordon served additional congregations such as Knesseth Israel, Anshei Lida, and Yavneh Zion. Gordon gained a central position in the local Orthodox community due to his ongoing communal involvement and activities in Jewish education, the Free Burial Society, the Associated Hebrew Charities, the *Mizrachi* movement, and *Va'ad Harabanim*. In addition, Gordon developed various connections with non-Orthodox local organizations such as the Ladies' Garment Workers' Union of Toronto, as well nationwide Canadian Jewish organizations such as the Central Division of the Canadian Jewish Congress.

Gordon was a supervisor in the kosher meat industry, and was part of several disputes, some of which involved legal action. Gordon also supervised other food products, such as vegetable oil and salad oil manufactured by various companies.

In addition to articles in the Jewish press and several entries he contributed to the *Hebrew Encyclopedia* and the *Oẓar Yisrael Encyclopedia*, Gordon published a book of sermons in Hebrew, entitled *Minḥat Ya'akov* (Safed, 1914). He persumably wrote another book, *Dovev Siftei Yeshenim*, and an essay on vegetarianism entitled *Nezirut min ha-Basar* that remained unpublished.

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[Kimmy Kaplan (2nd ed.)]

GORDON, JACOB (1902–1943), philosopher. Gordon was born in Vilna. After graduating from the Jewish gymnasium founded by the Society for the Promotion of Culture among Jews, he studied philosophy, history, and psychology at the University of Hamburg (1920–24). His doctoral thesis, a comparative study of Kant's and Hermann *Cohen's philosophies, was published in 1926 with the aid of the Hermann Cohen Fund of the Akademie fuer die Wissenschaft des Judentums and Albert Einstein. Gordon returned to Vilna, where he worked in the *Yivo Institute of Jewish Research and on scholarly journals in Yiddish. In World War II, during the Nazi occupation, he was employed by the Vilna Judenrat, during which time he continued his philosophical studies. In January 1943 he addressed a letter in Yiddish to the Writers' and Artists' Committee of the Vilna Ghetto in which he outlined his plan to write a study on the "*a priori* foundations of history" and on "Kant and Schopenhauer," but pointed out that nobody "could concentrate on *a priori* idealist matters while living under empirical, realistic conditions where getting money to buy a piece of bread assumes the weight and somberness of a fateful event." In September, a month before the liquidation of the ghetto, Gordon was deported to the Vaivara camp in Estonia, where he died as a result of malnutrition.

Apart from his doctoral thesis, all of Gordon's works were written in Yiddish. He edited the academic journals *Etyuden* and *Kultur un Problemen* and published a Yiddish translation of Kant's *Prolegomena.* During the ghetto years he wrote an essay on the "Specificity of History." Most of his collected writings were published in Israel in Hebrew in 1961 under the title *Yaḥid ve-Ḥevrah ba-Historyah* ("Individual and Society in History"), with an introduction by S.H. Bergman.

GORDON, JEKUTHIEL BEN LEIB (18th century), kabbalist. Gordon went from Vilna to study medicine at the University of Padua. He became acquainted with Moses Ḥayyim *Luzzatto in Padua. At that time, Luzzatto was organizing his group for study and messianic activity. Gordon, who became his foremost disciple, was one of the first seven who signed the "regulations" of Luzzatto's circle around 1728. In 1729 Gordon wrote a letter in which he related in detail the activities of Luzzatto, especially the revelation of the *maggid*, the divine revelatory agent which disclosed to Luzzatto the *Zohar Tinyana* ("second Zohar"). Gordon described Luzzatto's many mystical powers and told of how various *ẓaddikim* were revealed to him. This letter fell into the hands of Moses *Ḥagiz, who saw that the activities recounted in the letter were close to Shabbatean practices, and asked the rabbis of Venice to intervene and stop them. Gordon supported Luzzatto in the ensuing controversy. He probably discontinued his medical studies to devote his energy to the activities of the group. A poem written by Luzzatto seems to indicate, with other sources, that Gordon was believed by Luzzatto and his circle to be a reincarnation (*gilgul) of the soul of the hero Samson, who would be revealed in messianic times as Serayah from the tribe of Dan, and would be one of the leaders of the Israelite army in the apocalyptic wars. Gordon returned to Eastern Europe after Luzzatto had to cease his activities in Padua, but he probably continued to preach Luzzatto's teachings.

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[Joseph Dan]

GORDON, JUDAH LEIB (**Leon**; 1831–1892), Hebrew poet, writer, critic, and allegorist. One of the outstanding poets of the 19th century, Gordon was also a witty, incisive journalist who courageously militated against the ills in Jewish society. He advocated social and religious reform and fiercely denounced the rigidness of its leaders, especially the rabbis. His wrath was vented most directly in his poetry and in satirical feuilletons. Probably the severest critic of his time and a fiery exponent of the *Haskalah, Gordon is rightly considered one of its key spokesmen. He embodied an age which ended with him, but at the same time he paved the way for such poets as Ḥayyim Naḥman *Bialik, Saul *Tchernichowsky, and others whom he had influenced. Bialik, his great admirer and successor as the "poet laureate" of Hebrew literature, called him "the mighty hammer of the Hebrew language."

Childhood and Education

Gordon was born in Vilna. His father was "a cultured and erudite man" who engaged as Judah Leib's first teacher Rabbi Lipa, the pupil of a disciple of the Gaon of Vilna. The boy was taught according to the Gaon's method which involved first the study of the Bible and Hebrew grammar, and then the study of Talmud (an unusual procedure in traditional Jewish education at that time). At 14, he already had the reputation of a prodigy. He was permitted to study without the guidance of a teacher and soon became thoroughly versed in rabbinic literature. His brother-in-law, the Yiddish poet Mikhel *Gordon, exercised a considerable influence on Judah Leib, who, at 17, began studying European culture and languages (Russian, German, Polish, French, and English). At 22, he graduated from the government teachers seminary in Vilna and in 1853 began his teaching career in various Jewish government schools in the Kovno province (Lithuania): in Ponevezh (1853–60); in

Shavli (1860–65) where he taught French and other secular subjects in the higher grades of the government secondary school; and in Telz (1865–72).

First Steps in Literature (Ponevezh and Shavli Periods)

Mikhel Gordon introduced Judah Leib to the Vilna circle of Hebrew *maskilim* whose leading members were Abraham Dov *Lebensohn, the outstanding Hebrew poet of the generation, and his son, the poet Micah Joseph *Lebensohn (Michal), Gordon's contemporary and friend. Both of them influenced his early literary efforts. At the behest of A.D. Lebensohn, Gordon transcribed Micah Joseph Lebensohn's manuscript poems, making minor editorial emendations, and when the latter died in 1852 at the age of 24, Gordon composed a eulogy to his memory, "*Hoi Aḥ*" ("O, Brother").

Gordon's first poems, *Shirei Higgayon* and *Shirei Alilah* (1851), were written under the influence of A.D. Lebensohn and his son. His first major work, *Ahavat David u-Mikhal* ("The Love of David and Michal," 1857), an epic, he dedicated to the "high priest," Lebensohn, who proofread and corrected it. Lebensohn also wrote a *haskamah* (a laudatory introduction) in verse to Gordon's book *Mishlei Yehudah* ("Judah's Parables," Vilna, 1859) which contains mostly translations and adaptations of works by Aesop, Phaedrus, La Fontaine, Lessing, and Krylov, as well as a few fables whose themes, while derived from the Bible, the *aggadah*, and the Midrash, are original in their rendering. The work became very popular and its reputation extended beyond the Hebrew reading public of Russia. Some of the fables were included in Karaite children's collections (in the Crimea and the Caucasus), and a chrestomathy compiled by M. *Steinschneider (Berlin, 1861) for D. Sassoon's Jewish school in Bombay includes many of Gordon's fables.

At this time, Gordon, besides composing poetry, already wrote polemic essays. In an article in the Hebrew periodical **Ha-Maggid* (signed "Dan Gabriel"), he advocated the translation of general literary works of universal human interest into Hebrew and denounced the opponents of such projects, accusing them of wishing "to drive out our Hebrew language from the lands of the living…." Gordon also reproached the German Jewish scholars, who published their Jewish studies in German, for their indifference to the Hebrew language. Thus already in the 1850s Gordon used the Hebrew language as a cudgel with which to rap Jewish society, especially the *maskilim* who failed to see in the revival of Hebrew a renaissance of the people itself.

Besides *Ha-Maggid*, Gordon published in *Ha-Karmel*, in L. Philippson's *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judenthums*, and in Russian-Jewish periodicals (e.g., *Raszvet, Den*). His articles in the non-Hebrew press were mostly on Hebrew literature. During the blood libel case in Shavli in which two Jews were accused of the murder of a little peasant girl (1861), he strongly denounced prejudice in the Jewish and in the general press, writing especially for *Golos*, a liberal Russian paper which came out for the rights of Jews, and on whose staff Gordon was employed.

Later Haskalah Activity

In 1865 Gordon became the principal of the Hebrew public school of Telz and later established a girls' school in that city. He gave up teaching in 1872 and moved to St. Petersburg where he was secretary of the Jewish community and director of the *Society for the Promotion of Culture among the Jews. He held these offices simultaneously from 1872 to 1879 when he was incarcerated for purported anti-czarist activities. While imprisoned, and in banishment in Pudozh in the province of Olonets, he wrote *Ẓidkiyyahu be-Veit ha-Pekuddot* ("King Zedekiah in Prison," 1879), a historical biblical poem which reflects his prison experiences. Exonerated in 1880, he returned to St. Petersburg but was not reappointed to his former position. The passiveness with which the Jewish community leaders of St. Petersburg reacted to his imprisonment, with their failure to reinstate him after his release, was a blow to Gordon. Lacking any other income, he accepted A. *Zederbaum's invitation to become editor of the Hebrew daily **Ha-Meliẓ*.

Gordon was a prolific and versatile writer and editor. Besides editing, he wrote editorials and various columns ("*Halikhot Olam*" and "*Be-Mishkenot Ya'akov be-Ḥuẓ la-Areẓ*") anonymously, and published stories, feuilletons, and book reviews under diverse pseudonyms. He turned the Hebrew feuilleton into an effective vehicle of expression. His poetry imitates the form of the biblical verse, but his prose style (stories and feuilletons) is a synthesis of biblical, talmudic, midrashic, and later Hebrew literature. Characterized by typical Hebrew scholarly humor, the style contains many puns and Gordon's literary and conceptual associations range over the whole body of Hebrew literature.

Gordon was also the science editor and literary critic of the Russian Jewish monthly *Voskhod* (1881–82), writing under the pseudonym "*Mevakker*" (Hebrew for "critic"). In "The History of Jewish Settlement in St. Petersburg," and "Attempts at Reforming the Jewish Religion," two articles published in *Voskhod*, he denounced basic reforms in the Jewish religion and the negative attitude to the Talmud taken by some. At the same time, however, he advocated moderate changes. Following a disagreement with his publisher, Gordon resigned from *Ha-Meliẓ* in May 1883 and began editing a collection of his poems which was published by the Jubilee Committee (4 vols., 1884), established in 1881 to honor the 25th anniversary of his writing career. He also worked on the staff of the 82-volume Russian encyclopedic dictionary, published by F. Brockhaus and I. *Efron, to which he contributed articles on Jewish history and Hebrew literature. Gordon's poetry of this period, which he published in the annual *Ha-Asif*, was mostly satirical and included some biting verse against Zederbaum, the publisher of *Ha-Meliẓ*. This, however, did not stop the latter from recalling Gordon to the editorship of his paper. Gordon returned in December 1885 and, having meanwhile been completely cleared by the Russian secret police, his name now appeared on the masthead. He continued as editor for two years (December 1885–88), during which time *Ha-Meliẓ* became a daily.

Literary Periods in Gordon's Work

Gordon's work falls into three periods: (1) the romantic period; (2) the realistic period; (3) the period of national awakening.

THE ROMANTIC PERIOD. Influenced by the Haskalah and its exponents, he wrote long epics on biblical themes during this period, e.g., *Ahavat David u-Mikhal* (Vilna, 1857), "*David u-Varzillai*" (written between 1851 and 1856), and "*Asenat Bat Potifera*" (publ. in 1868). They are imbued with the Haskalah spirit and are of allegorical tenor, yet echo yearnings for a distant and enchanting biblical past.

THE REALISTIC PERIOD. In his poetry as well as in his polemical articles, Gordon was the foremost combatant against the ills of Jewish society and the intransigent religious conservatism of its leaders who, in his view, disregarded the reality of the modern age. He fearlessly chided the people and their leaders. In one of his letters he called himself "the national prosecutor." He became an advocate of the common people, the poor, and the oppressed. Among those whose cause he championed was the Jewish woman whom he saw deprived of rights and subordinate to the male. The heroine of the poem "*Koẓo shel Yod*" ("The Point on Top of the *Yod*," completed in 1876) is the beautiful Bat-Shu'a (Gen. 38:12) who, after much suffering and hardships, succeeds in obtaining a divorce from her husband Hillel, a ne'er-do-well who had gone abroad to seek his fortune and had deserted her and their two children. An educated young man, a government employee, wants to marry Bat-Shu'a, but "Rav Vafsi ha-Kuzari" (the name being an anagram of the letters of the then well-known Rabbi Joseph Zechariah [Stern]) invalidates the divorce bill because the husband's name "Hillel" had not been signed in *plene*, lacking the letter *yod*. Bat-Shu'a therefore remains an *agunah and poor. The poem is an outcry against the lot of the Jewish woman who, because of the "point of a *yod*," is denied happiness. In fighting for the rights of Jewish women, Gordon was influenced by the powerful Russian women's liberation movement of the 1860–70s. "*Koẓo shel Yod*" became a catchword quoted by the fighters for women's rights: "Hebrew woman, who knows your life? / In darkness you came and in darkness shall go; / Your sorrow, your joy, your misfortune, your desires / In you are born, in you they die."

THE PERIOD OF NATIONAL AWAKENING. Gordon, like the *maskilim* of his generation, at first believed that isolation was at the root of all the troubles that plagued the Jews. "Be a Jew in your home and a man in the street," a line from his poem *Hakiẓah Ammi* ("My People Awake"), became the motto for a whole generation of *maskilim*. The source of the evil was the rabbis whom he considered intransigent and rigid adherents to the *halakhah* and to old customs and tradition. The only solution for Russian Jewry was to leave its narrow, confined existence and to adapt itself to the wider environment. He urged Jews to stop speaking Yiddish, which he regarded as a jargon, and to adopt Russian. He advocated universal general education, reform of religious customs, and prompted Jews to engage in more productive occupations, such as crafts, industry, and agriculture. Caught up in the liberal spirit that swept Russia at the time, Gordon firmly believed in Russian liberalism, especially after serfdom was abolished in 1861 and the Jews were granted some rights. He thought that adaptation to the non-Jewish environment would lead to a relationship of friendship and brotherhood between Jews and the people among whom they lived.

Gordon was to become disillusioned in Russian liberalism and in his whole conception of the viability of Jewish life in the Diaspora. This led him to reexamine his ideas and values in the light of everyday reality. With the growth of the antisemitic movement in Russia and in light of the ineptness of Russian liberalism, Gordon despaired of the Russian Jewish community ever integrating within the Russian environment and cultural milieu. He was also disappointed in the Jewish *maskilim*, particularly the young, who were carried away by the assimilationist trend, rejecting indiscriminately and forsaking Jewish values and the Hebrew language which Gordon loved and championed without reservation. In his poem "*Le-Mi Ani Amel*" ("For Whom Do I Labor?") he cries out in despair: "My enlightened brothers have learned science. / They mock the old mother who holds the distaff / Forsake it [Hebrew] and let us each follow the language of his country." He concludes on an ominous note of dejection: "Oh, who can tell the future, who can tell me? / Perhaps I am the last of Zion's poets / And you, the last readers." Thus he protested against the assimilationist trend as well as against his adversaries who accused him of preaching russification.

The 1881 pogroms in southern Russia (instigated with the knowledge and perhaps the support of the government) completely crushed Gordon's spirit. He began to look upon emigration to Western countries as the only salvation for Russian Jewry. Gordon did not believe that the Ereẓ Israel of his time, under the yoke of a degenerate and cruel Turkish rule which closed the country to Jewish immigration, could absorb all the Jews who would want to settle there. He therefore advocated immigration to Western countries, particularly to the United States. In his powerful poem "*Aḥoti Ruḥamah*" ("Ruhamah, My Sister"), written in 1882 after the Russian pogroms, he pleaded for "the honor of Jacob's daughter whom the son of Hamor had violated." The use of biblical names – Dinah, daughter of Jacob, and Shechem, son of Hamor – enabled the poet to evade Russian censorship and to publish his poem of wrath against the Russian rioters in *Migdanot*, a literary supplement to *Ha-Meliẓ*. Gordon thunders in his wrath: "Abel's blood marks Cain's forehead! / And your blood too all shall behold / A mark of Cain, disgrace and eternal shame / On the forehead of the murderous villains."

He ends his poem: "Come, let's go, my sister Ruḥamah!" In "*Bi-Ne'areinu u-vi-Zekeneinu Nelekh*" ("We Shall Go, Young and Old"), a poem also written in the aftermath of the Russian atrocities, he calls out to the Jewish people: "Fear not, Jacob, be not dejected, / Thousands slaughtered will not deter! / Our God's voice calls from the storm / 'Let's go, young and old.'"

Gordon's changed attitude is manifest in his articles and feuilletons written when he returned as editor of *Ha-Meliẓ* which had become the organ of the *Ḥibbat Zion movement. He was sharply attacked by *Ha-Ẓefirah and *Ha-Yom, rival Hebrew newspapers. They accused him of disavowing the views he had preached all his life and of submitting, for material reasons, to the dictates of the owner of *Ha-Meliẓ*. Gordon, however, never actually joined the Ḥibbat Zion movement and did not explicitly endorse emigration to "Turkish" Ereẓ Israel as a solution for Russian Jewry. Settlement in Ereẓ Israel, without the renaissance of the nation, in his view, would be ineffectual, and such a revival depended on religious and cultural modifications: "Our redemption can come about only after our spiritual deliverance" (*Ha-Meliẓ*, 18 (1882), 209–16).

His writings, in which he fervently urged the revival of Hebrew and which express his great love for the Jews as a people, undoubtedly influenced the movement for national revival and later the Zionist movement. In his introduction to *Al Parashat Derakhim* ("At the Crossroads," 1895), Aḥad *Ha-Am, father of spiritual Zionism, notes his indebtedness to Gordon. Gordon's call, "O House of Jacob, come ye, and let us walk" (Isa. 2:5), in his article in *Ha-Karmel* (1866), in which he advocated enlightenment and rapprochement to Europe, eventually became the motto of the first *Bilu pioneers who turned their back on Europe and its enlightenment and immigrated to Ereẓ Israel (1882) to rebuild its wilderness. Gordon, while not committing himself formally, actively upheld the Zionist cause. Thus his criticism (in Hebrew and Russian) of L. *Pinsker's *Autoemancipation* (1882) was favorable, as was his view on Britain's occupation of Egypt in 1882. Realizing that the occupation would increase Palestine's importance "as a corridor to Egypt and a center for Asian trade and that the British rule would attract many of our brethren throughout the Diaspora to Palestine to till the soil, build railways, and introduce new life in trade, property, and arts and crafts," he proposed the founding of "the society for those going to Palestine" in his article in *Ha-Meliẓ* (1882).

Gordon's place in Jewish literature as the poet of the Haskalah is undisputed. The aesthetic value of his writings, however, was questioned soon after his death and is still being contended. The dispute grew out of a literary atmosphere which had reexamined the values of the past. The last decade of the 19th century had witnessed cultural changes in society in general, and the Jewish community in particular, that affected literature and modified aesthetic taste. It was debated whether Gordon was a poet or merely a versifier. Strong views were voiced by both his admirers and his detractors but the former always prevailed.

There was no conflict between Gordon, the poet and visionary, and the Gordon who attempted to forge a new style, had mastered several languages, both classical and modern, and was a gifted translator. Among his translations are Byron's *Hebrew Melodies (Zemirot Yisrael*, 1884), the Pentateuch (from Hebrew into Russian, 1875), and classical fables which he translated from Russian into Hebrew (*Mishlei Mofet*). Gordon also wrote in Russian and German on Judaism and Hebrew literature. His light, humoristic poems in Yiddish, a language he had always disparaged, were published in *Kol Mevasser*, a Yiddish weekly supplement (1862–72) to *Ha-Meliẓ*. At the request of friends, the poems were collected in a book and published under the title *Siḥat Ḥullin* ("Small Talk," 1887, 1889^2). At home in all of Jewish literature, Gordon was able to draw on its sources with remarkable versatility and ease. He invested obsolete expressions and idioms with fresh meaning and created new syntactical units. Bialik called him one of the greatest wizards in Hebrew of all times – a title his prodigious mastery and control of the language have deservedly earned.

Kitvei J.L. Gordon (2 vols., 1953–60), his collected works (prose and poetry), includes an autobiography and diary. His letters were published by I.J. Weissberg (*Iggerot Y.L. Gordon*, 2 vols., 1894). S. Werses edited the correspondence *Yedidato shel ha-Meshorer: Iggerot Miryam Markel-Mendelson el Y.L. Gordon* (2004).

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[Aharon Zeev Ben-Yishai]

GORDON, MAX (**Mechel Salpeter**; 1892–1978), U.S. theatrical manager and producer. In his early years Gordon was linked with Sam Harris in productions of *Welcome Stranger*, *The Jazz Singer*, and *Rain*. From 1930 he produced upward of 30 plays, among them *Design for Living* (1933), *Dodsworth* (1934), *Pride and Prejudice* (1935), *The Women* (1936), *Othello* (1937), *My Sister Eileen* (1940), *Junior Miss* (1941), and *Born Yesterday* (1946). His final Broadway presentation was *The*

Solid Gold Cadillac (1953). Gordon also produced the films *A Trip to Paris* (1938), *Abe Lincoln in Illinois* (1940), and *My Sister Eileen* (1942). His autobiography, *Max Gordon Presents*, was published in 1963 (with Lewis Funke).

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[Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

GORDON, MICHAEL (1909–1993), U.S. director. Born in Baltimore, Gordon began directing feature films in 1942 and was highly successful critically and commercially with films such as *The Web* (1947); *Another Part of the Forest* (1948); *An Act of Murder* (1948); *Woman in Hiding* (1950); and his adaptation of Rostand's *Cyrano de Bergerac* (1950). Gordon was blacklisted because of the House Un-American Activities Committee hearings. Away from Hollywood for a decade, he returned with an unrecognizable but successful style, directing slick, glossy films, such as *I Can Get It for You Wholesale* (1951); *The Secret of Convict Lake* (1951); *Pillow Talk* (1959); *Portrait in Black* (1960); *Boy's Night Out* (1962); *For Love or Money* (1963); *Move Over, Darling* (1963); *A Very Special Favor* (1965); *Texas across the River* (1966); *The Impossible Years* (1968); and *How Do I Love Thee?* (1970). He was also one of the directors of the television series *Decoy* (1957) and *Anna and the King* (1972).

[Jonathan Licht / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

GORDON, MIKHL (1823–1890), Hebrew and Yiddish poet and essayist. Born in Vilna, he early came under the influence of the *Haskalah* circle of A.D. *Lebensohn. He began his literary career in 1847 with a Hebrew elegy on the death of Mordecai Aaron *Guenzburg, a member of this circle, and continued with Hebrew articles in various periodicals and the publication of two books in Hebrew. He rose to fame with his Yiddish songs which circulated in manuscript in the 1850s and 1860s and for which he also composed melodies. He published some of these Yiddish songs in *Di Bord… un andere… Yidishe Lider* ("The Beard … and other … Yiddish Songs," 1868), issued anonymously so as not to endanger his reputation as a Hebrew poet. His song "*Shtey oyf Mayn Folk*" ("Arise My People") was composed in 1869 and has generally been regarded as the classical poetic expression in Yiddish of the spirit of Jewish enlightenment in Russia. That year he also published a history of Russia in Yiddish. His late, pessimistic mood, intensified by his poverty and loneliness, is reflected in his final poems, published in 1889. His wife was the sister of the Hebrew and Yiddish poet J.L. *Gordon.

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[Sol Liptzin]

GORDON (Goldberg), MILTON M. (1918–), U.S. sociologist. Born in Gardiner, Maine, Gordon taught at the University of Pennsylvania, Drew University, and Haverford and Wellesley Colleges before being appointed professor of sociology at the University of Massachusetts in 1959. In 1986 he became professor emeritus of sociology.

A specialist in the fields of social stratification and inter-group relations, he became widely known through his books *Social Class in American Sociology* (1958) and *Assimilation in American Life* (1964). The latter, which analyzes the role of race, religion, and national origin in American social organization, is remarkable for its differentiation between cultural and structural pluralism and the formulation of the concept of the "ethclass," referring to social ranking within an ethnic group.

Gordon dealt with subjects of Jewish interest in several of his many papers and essays. They include "The Nature of Assimilation and the Theory of the Melting Pot," in *Current Perspectives in Social Psychology* by E.P. Hollander and R.G. Hunt (1967^2) and "Marginality and the Jewish Intellectual," in *The Ghetto and Beyond: Essays on Jewish Life in America* (ed. Peter I. Rose, 1969). He was general editor of the *Ethnic Group in American Life* series. Other books by Gordon include *Human Nature, Class, and Ethnicity* (1978) and *The Scope of Sociology* (1993). He also edited *America as a Multicultural Society* (with R. Lambert, 1981).

[Werner J. Cahnmen / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

GORDON, NATHAN (1882–1938), rabbi, lawyer, community activist. Gordon was born in New Orleans. He was educated in the public schools there but his secondary and post-secondary education was in Cincinnati. In 1906 he earned both a B.A. from the University of Cincinnati and his rabbinical ordination from the Hebrew Union College. Several months after graduation he became the spiritual leader of Montreal's Reform Temple Emanu-El. He strongly supported the Reform ideal of social activism and became an active voice against corruption in Montreal's governance and the attendant neglect to social services. He also participated in the creation of the Mount Sinai Sanatorium in Ste. Agathe in 1913, and helped in its subsequent maintenance. Unlike most of his American colleagues, and his predecessors in Montreal, Gordon was both a Reform Jew *and* a Zionist, and spoke for Zionist groups in Jewish communities in Ontario and Quebec.

In 1916, Gordon earned a law degree from Laval University in Montreal (now the Université de Montréal) and left the pulpit. He first practiced with the well-known Jewish lawyer Peter Bercovitch; in 1919, however, he became the prosecuting attorney of the city of Montreal, a position he held until 1921 when he returned to private practice. Gordon remained concerned about the social welfare of Montrealers and was a member of the Non-Catholic Juvenile Court Committee. He also stayed active in Temple Emanu-El, and served as its president for a number of years. In the 1930s he took part in the reorganization of the Canadian Jewish Congress and served as president of its Eastern Division.

Gordon had an interest in academic Jewish studies. He earned an M.A. in 1909 at McGill, writing on capital punishment in biblical and rabbinic texts. In 1913 he earned a Ph.D., with his thesis titled "Prolgomena to the Social Customs of Mishna." In 1909 he was appointed lecturer in the Department of Oriental Languages and Literature at McGill.

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[Richard Menkis (2nd ed.)

GORDON, SAMUEL (1871–1927), English novelist. Gordon began his literary career while secretary of the London Great Synagogue. His *Sons of the Covenant: A Tale of London Jewry* (1900) saw the best solution to the "ghetto" problem in a combination of religious Orthodoxy and social and educational advancement. Gordon also wrote stories of Jewish life in Russia: *The New Galatea* (1901), and *The Lost Kingdom; or, the Passing of the Khazars* (1926), a historical romance.

GORDON, SAMUEL LEIB (1865–1933), Hebrew writer and Bible scholar. Born in Lithuania, he immigrated to Palestine in 1898 and taught at the Jaffa Boys School. When the school was taken over by the *Alliance Israélite Universelle, he left for Warsaw (1901) where he established a Hebrew school for boys. In 1924, he returned to Palestine and devoted the latter years of his life to the composition of an extensive commentary on the Bible. Gordon contributed poems, articles, and translations to the Hebrew periodicals of the late 19th century, and also wrote extensively for children. His books include *Kinnor Yeshurun* (3 vols., 1891–93); *Torat ha-Sifrut* (2 vols., 1900), which was reprinted many times; and a revised edition of his poems, *Shirim u-Fo'emot* (with foreword by S. Halkin), which was published in 1955. He translated three books by I. *Zangwill, La Fontaine's *Fables*, and Shakespeare's *King Lear*. Gordon's textbooks played a vital role in Hebrew education in the Diaspora at the turn of the century; *Ha-Lashon* (3 vols., 1910–19) was one of his most popular works. He also edited several journals for the young: *Olam Katan* (1901–05), *Ha-Ne'urim* (1904–05), as well as *Ha-Pedagog* (1903–04), a journal of education to which the best writers of his generation contributed.

[Getzel Kressel]

From 1907 he worked on a vocalized Bible commentary which was to provide a "new scientific pedagogical interpretation for advanced students and teachers, edited in the accepted traditional spirit." Known as *Shalag* after the initials of his name, it was largely based on German Bible criticism. Gordon explained words and subject matter simply and fully enough for school pupils and teachers without elaborating on the religious significance of the Bible. His introduction to the prophetic and hagiographic books deal with the literary aspect as well as with personalities and events. Gordon's commentary is still used extensively in the secondary schools in Israel, with the exception of those which are religiously oriented.

[Jacob S. Levinger]

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GORDON, SHMUEL (1909–1998). Soviet Yiddish prose writer. Gordon was born in Lithuania to a family related to the Hebrew poet Judah Leib *Gordon, but grew up in Jewish orphanages in the Ukraine. In 1928 he was a student of the Yiddish department at the Second Moscow State University. A tyro poet, he showed some of his works to Aaron *Kushnirov, who advised him to send the poems to the Warsaw *Literarishe Bleter,* where they appeared on December 28, 1928, and provoked a scandal in the Soviet press, signaling the complete isolation of the Stalinist Yiddish literary world. Following Gordon's letters of repentance, he was allowed to graduate two years later from the Moscow Teachers Training Institute. For a couple of years he worked as a teacher before becoming a Yiddish journalist and writer. His first story was published in 1930 (under the pseudonym Sh. Dongar) by the Kharkov journal *Di Royte Velt*. During World War II, Gordon served in the army and worked for the Jewish *Anti-Fascist Committee. In 1944 he was accepted as a member of the Writers' Union. Some of his stories written during the war were included in his 1946 book *Milkhome-tsayt* ("War Time"). He was imprisoned in 1949 and was sent to the Gulag as a Jewish nationalist. After Stalin's death he returned to literary activities, became a leading contributor to *Sovetish Heymland* and the author of a score of volumes. His prose represented an attempt to register the last sparks of traditional Jewish life in the Soviet Union. In 1988 he began to write his last novel, *Yizker* ("Commemorating the Dead"), which is matchless for a background understanding of the persecution of Soviet Yiddish literati in the 1940s and 1950s. Initially serialized in *Sovetish Heymland*, it was published in Israel in 2003 thanks to the endeavors of Gershon Winer's Foundation for the Advancement of Yiddish Studies.

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[Gennady Estraikh (2nd ed.)]

GORDON, SID (1917–1975), U.S. baseball player. Gordon was born in the Brownsville section of Brooklyn to Rose (Meyerson) and Morris, who emigrated from Russia and became a plumber and a coal dealer in the United States. After moving to Flatbush, Gordon attended Samuel Tilden High School, where he was a star baseball player. Gordon played his first game for the New York Giants on September 11, 1941, and ten days later on September 21, just hours before Rosh Hashanah, he was one of four Jewish players to appear in the Giants' lineup, an unprecedented occasion: Gordon and Morrie Arnovich played in the outfield; Harry Feldman, who had just debuted himself on September 10, pitched a shutout for his first major league win; and Harry "the Horse" Danning was behind the plate. Gordon joined the Giants full-time in 1943, and after two years in the Coast Guard, he rejoined them, playing mostly outfield and third base throughout his career, with occasional stints at first and second. Gordon became a very popular player with the many Jewish fans in New York, even being honored in 1949 by the citizens of Brooklyn at Ebbets Field, though he played for the hated rival Giants. His best year was 1948, when he hit.299 with 30 homers and 107 RBI. Gordon was named to the All-Star team that year and again in 1949, when he homered twice in one inning. In 1950 Gordon hit four grand slams, which was then the record. He was traded after the 1949 season to the Boston Braves, and then to the Pittsburgh Pirates in 1954. In 1955 he was back with the Giants, where he ended his baseball career. Gordon hit.283 with 202 HRs and 805 RBIs in his 13-year career, including 731 walks against only 356 strikeouts. He finished in the top ten in home runs, on-base percentage, slugging percentage, and walks from 1948 to 1952. He died of a heart attack while playing softball in Central Park in New York.

[Elli Wohlgelernter (2nd ed.)]

GORDON, WILLY (1918–2003), sculptor. Gordon was born in Latvia, but at the age of five was taken to Sweden where his father was cantor at the Malmo synagogue. An infant prodigy, he began his art studies in Malmo at the age of 10 and exhibited when he was 12 years old. At the age of 14 he decided to concentrate on sculpture and studied with William Zadig, a distinguished Swedish Jewish sculptor and teacher. Awarded a travel scholarship, Gordon returned to his birthplace in Latvia, where he spent six months studying the Orthodox Jewish way of life. A further scholarship enabled him to study at the Swedish Royal Academy of Art for seven years. In 1943 the purchase by the late Prince Eugene of his "Head of a Jewish Child" brought Gordon into public prominence. The extermination of members of his family in Eastern Europe during World War II led him to concentrate on Jewish subjects, the first being his bronze statue "Flight with Torah," copies of which are in the Karlstadt Museum and the Histadrut Building in Israel. In 1947, Gordon moved to Paris and studied under the famous Russian-Jewish sculptor Ossip *Zadkine. At the end of that year he was commissioned to create the Jewish Martyrs' monument for the Malmo Jewish community. A number of other important public commissions followed, including one from the Swedish Labor Party. In 1950, Gordon paid his first visit to Israel and held exhibitions of his work in Jerusalem, Tel Aviv, and Haifa. He completed a series of portrait busts of leading Israel personalities, including the then Speaker of the Knesset Joseph *Sprinzak which was presented to the Knesset by the Swedish Friends of Israel. Returning to Stockholm, Gordon consolidated his position as one of the country's leading monumental sculptors. He regularly holds exhibitions in Sweden, Europe, Israel, and the United States and is represented in leading museums in Sweden and Israel.

[Charles Samuel Spencer]

GORDONIA, pioneering Zionist youth movement that was founded at the end of 1923 in Galicia from small cells and grew into a world movement. The first groups of Gordonia were created under the influence of *Hitaḥadut, on the one hand, and by members who had left *Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir, on the other. The official name of the movement was chosen at the first world conference in Danzig (November 1928) as Histadrut ha-No'ar ha-Amamit ha-Ḥalutzit Gordonia (the People's Pioneering Association of Youth – Gordonia). The principles of the movement, which were set down at the same conference, were the "building up of the homeland, education of members in humanistic values, the creation of a working nation, the renaissance of Hebrew culture, and self-labor (*avodah aẓmit*)."

From its beginnings, the movement developed around two ideological bases. It aimed at reaching the lower classes of Jewish society (artisans, farmers and villagers, poor people, which constituted a large percentage of Galician Jewry), in contrast to Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir, which was composed principally of students; and it wished to mold these youth in the spirit of A.D. *Gordon's personality and teachings. Although Gordon, as a historical figure, was recognized by all the pioneering youth movements, Gordonia regarded his philosophy as its principal ideological source and adopted his world view. In contrast to the dogmatic attachment of Marxist movements to Marx, the relationship of Gordonia to Gordon was characterized by its lack of dogmatism, as reflected in Gordon's personality itself. Gordon's ideological image was not distinguished from his personality, and the combination of both was viewed as expressing free humanistic creativity (influenced by both the world at large and the Jewish world) that perpetuates independent, original thought which is always related to all facets of life. This philosophy was particularly attractive to those who had been disappointed by Marxism and did not believe that it was relevant to a youth movement wishing to build its future in Ereẓ Israel on the basis of labor. The Danzig Conference established 13 standards for the behavior of the individual in his personal life and in the movement, and in his relationship to the Jewish people, Ereẓ Israel, labor, socialism, etc. Although it had taken much from other youth movements, especially German ones, Gordonia meticulously maintained its unique character as a Jewish, Zionist, and Ereẓ Israel-oriented movement.

From Galicia Gordonia spread to the rest of Poland, Romania, and the United States and, by World War II, had close to 40,000 members. At all its conferences, it stressed its identification with the Ereẓ Israel labor movement and its fundamental principle – personal fulfillment through *aliyah* and settlement within the framework of collective living and labor. The first Gordonia groups began to settle in Ereẓ Israel shortly after the riots of 1929, first in Ḥaderah and later in other places.

These groups laid the foundation for kevuẓot of Gordonia in the rebuilt *Ḥuldah, which became the movement's center in Ereẓ Israel and contains the central archive of Gordonia, and in Kefar ha-Ḥoresh, Massadah, Ma'aleh ha-Ḥamishah, Nir Am, Ḥanitah, and elsewhere. These groups, which first merged into Iggud Gordonia, joined Ḥever ha-Kevuẓot in 1933 and also provided new members for established kevuẓot (such as Deganyah Alef and Bet, Geva, Ginnegar).

Later followed the merger of Gordonia with Maccabi ha-Ẓa'ir, which developed as a Jewish scouting movement in Germany and Czechoslovakia and whose members began to settle in Ereẓ Israel in 1932–33. Maccabi ha-Ẓa'ir set up its first settlements (Kefar ha-Maccabi, Ma'yan Ẓevi) in the framework of Ḥever ha-Kevuẓot in 1941, integrated with Gordonia, and thereafter the two movements served as a single framework for pioneering Jewish youth from Eastern and Western Europe. In 1937 a Gordonia movement came into being among Jewish youth in Palestine, and in 1945 it united with part of Maḥanot ha-Olim and founded Ha-Tenu'ah ha-Me'uḥedet (full name, Ha-Tenu'ah ha-Kelalit shel ha-No'ar ha-Lomed). After the Holocaust, attempts were also made abroad to unite pioneering youth movements with aims similar to those of Gordonia, and finally, when the *Iḥud ha-Kevuẓot ve-ha-Kibbutzim was created (in 1951), and after a series of mergers with Gordonia, *Iḥud Habonim was founded.

Gordonia played a heroic role in Nazi-occupied Poland during World War II. In Warsaw, under the leadership of Israel Zeltzer and Eliezer Geller, a secret center of the movement was established on 23 Nalewki Street, which organized a considerable network of underground educational activities among its members of all age groups. The center, mainly through Geller's visits in the ghettos of Czestochowa, Opoczno, Bendin, Sosnowiec, Opatow, and other towns, contributed greatly to the resistance movement and also to the preparations for active revolts, particularly in Warsaw in 1943. Gordonia's Polish-language underground paper in Warsaw, *Słowo Mlodych,* was published in Hebrew translation in 1966 by the archives of Gordonia-Maccabi ha-Za'ir. From its foundation, the movement published newspapers and literature in a number of languages. Pinḥas *Lavon (Lubianiker) was the head of the movement from its foundation throughout its existence. He served as Israel's minister of defense from 1953 to 1955.

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[Meir Mandel]

GORELIK, SHEMARYA (1877–1943), Yiddish, German, and Hebrew journalist and essayist. Born in Lokhvitsa, Ukraine, he came to Vilna in 1890 and engaged in literary activities in the Russian press. For several years he sympathized with the *Bund, but in 1905 he joined the Zionist movement, and in 1906 he started publishing articles and essays in the Yiddish Zionist weekly *Dos Yudishe Folk*. In 1908 he joined S. *Niger and A. Veiter in founding and editing *Literarishe Monatshriften*, a Vilna literary monthly which attracted writers of diverse ideologies, and in the following years contributed numerous feuilletons and essays about modern literature to various Yiddish publications in Poland and the U.S. During World War I, Gorelik lived in Switzerland, participated in pacifist publications, and was sentenced to prison for six months. He later described his experiences during these years in *Fünf Jahre im Lande Neutralien* (1919). After the war, he lived in Germany, except for one year spent in New York, and contributed to German Jewish periodicals, until forced to leave in 1933. He then settled in Palestine and wrote for the Hebrew press. His literary sketches first appeared in book form in 1912. His Yiddish essays which offered interesting insights into the work of most prominent European writers were collected in four further volumes. A posthumous selection, with an introduction by his brother, M. Horelik, appeared in Los Angeles in 1947. A Hebrew translation of Gorelik's essays by A. *Shlonsky, was published in Tel Aviv (*Massot*, 1937).

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GOREN, CHARLES HENRY (1901–1991), U.S. bridge expert. Goren, who was born in Philadelphia into a Russian immigrant family, earned an LL.B. in 1922 and a master's degree in 1923 at McGill University in Montreal. He was admitted to the Pennsylvania bar in 1923 and practiced law in Philadelphia. He had taken up bridge during his student days and eventually achieved master status, abandoning the law in order to play and write about bridge. Goren won the National Bridge Championship of America 34 times. His many books and newspaper columns earned him widespread recognition. Goren's bridge methods are known for their simplicity and teachability. He cleverly synthesized the "honor trick" strategy of Culbertson with the "point-count" invented by Milton Work.

Known as "Mr. Bridge," Goren was a popular teacher and author who traveled extensively as a professional, a lecturer, and a TV personality. He was a regular contributor to *McCalls* and *Sports Illustrated*, had a syndicated newspaper column, led bridge cruises, and appeared on his own TV show, *Bridge with Charles Goren* (1959–64). Before his retirement from active competition in 1966, he had captured virtually every major bridge trophy in U.S. tournament play. As his health and eyesight began to fail, he settled into a quiet life in Southern California. Goren established a charitable trust during his lifetime. After his death, it became the Charles Goren Foundation.

His books include *Winning Bridge Made Easy* (1936), *Point Count Bidding in Contract Bridge* (1949), *New Contract Bridge in a Nutshell* (1959), *An Evening of Bridge with Charles H. Goren* (1959), *Goren's Hoyle Encyclopaedia of Games* (1961), *The Sports Illustrated Book of Bridge* (1961), *Bridge Is My Game: Lessons of a Lifetime* (with J. Olsen, 1965), *Goren on Play and Defense* (1974), *100 Challenging Bridge Hands for You to Enjoy* (1976), *Goren Settles the Bridge Arguments* (1985), and *Goren's New Bridge Complete* (1986).

[Gerald Abrahams / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

GOREN (Gruenblatt), NATAN (1887–1956), Hebrew author, journalist, and critic. Born in Vidzy, in the Kovno district of Lithuania, he moved to Vilna in 1903. He became active in Jewish revolutionary circles and was imprisoned several times during 1906–08. In 1910 he moved to Odessa, joining the prominent group of Hebrew and Yiddish writers who lived there. Subsequently he lived in Moscow, where he worked for the Stybel publishing house and for the journal *Ha-Am*. In 1921 he returned to Lithuania, taking up a leading position in Jewish education and in Hebrew and Yiddish letters. In 1935 he settled in Tel Aviv, where he taught in secondary schools, was active in the Writers' Association, and continued his literary work.

His articles, stories, and poems appeared, beginning in 1911, in numerous Hebrew and Yiddish journals in Europe, Palestine, and the United States. He published his first novel, *Feyvush*, in 1901, several other novels, and two collections of essays on modern Hebrew writers, *Mevakkerim be-Sifrutenu* ("Critics in Our Literature," 1944), and *Demuyyot be-Sifrutenu* ("Figures in Our Literature," 1953).

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[Getzel Kressel]

GOREN, SHLOMO (1917–1994), Israel rabbi. Born in Zambrow, Poland, he was taken in 1925 to Palestine where his father was one of the founders of Kefar Ḥasidim. At the age of 12, Goren entered the Hebron Yeshivah in Jerusalem where he soon became famous as a prodigy. He published his first work, titled *Nezer ha-Kodesh* (1935) on Maimonides' *Mishneh Torah*, at the age of 17. In 1939, Goren published *Sha'arei Tohorah* on the laws of *mikveh*. He joined the Haganah in 1936, and fought in the Jerusalem area during the War of Independence. During this war, he was appointed by the two chief rabbis, Herzog and Ouziel, as chief chaplain of the newly formed army. He subsequently distinguished himself for his bravery, qualified as a paratrooper, and rose to the rank of brigadier-general. He accompanied the troops during both the Sinai Campaign and the Six-Day War, and was the first to conduct a prayer service at the liberated Western Wall in 1967. Goren was responsible for the organization of the military chaplaincy and worked out the regulations for total religious observance in the army. Rabbi Goren succeeded in establishing a unified prayer service, combining Ashkenazic and Sephardic ritual, in the IDF, which is used to this day. He published a *Siddur* with the unified service in 1971, followed by a Passover *Haggadah* in 1974. He was responsible for numerous original responsa concerning specific problems of observance due to conditions of active warfare and technological progress. He also developed the principles for permitting the assumed widows (*agunot*) of missing soldiers to remarry. Particularly noteworthy were his decisions permitting the remarriage of the widows of those men who perished on the destroyer *Eilat* and the submarine *Dakar* in 1967-68.

In 1961 Goren received the Israel Prize for the first volume (on the order *Berakhot*) of his comprehensive commentary on the Jerusalem Talmud, entitled *Yerushalmi ha-Meforash* (1961). A collection of his halakhic and philosophical essays, mainly concerning the Festivals and Holy Days, was published in 1964 under the title of *Torat ha-Mo'adim*. In 1968, he was elected Ashkenazi chief rabbi of Tel Aviv-Jaffa, taking up his duties only in 1971, and on October 16, 1972, was elected Ashkenazi chief rabbi of Israel. Shortly after his election he was involved in a violent controversy stemming from the unconventional manner in which he solved the problem of a brother and sister who had been declared *mamzerim* by the rabbinical courts, including the Bet Din of Appeals. An ad hoc *bet din*, which Goren had assembled, assented to a responsum he had published (in a limited edition) that they were free from the taint of *mamzerut*. He subsequently arranged their immediate marriages. The secrecy surrounding the military-like operation and his refusal to reveal the names of the *dayyanim* aroused violent opposition from the heads of the yeshivot and prominent rabbis, including the Lubavitch Rabbi. He published a detailed volume consisting of 200 pages (*Pesak Din B'Inyan ha-Aḥ ve-ha-Aḥot*, Jerusalem, 1973), to justify his ruling. In April 1980 a law was passed by the Knesset issuing new regulations with regard to the future of the Chief Rabbinate. It included a provision that the period of service of both incumbents be extended to 1983, after which, however, they would be precluded from offering themselves for reelection.

During the summer of 1981 Rabbi Goren became involved in a public controversy over his ruling that Area G in the archeological excavations in the City of David near the Western Wall had been the site of an ancient Jewish cemetery and that no excavations should be undertaken there. The Israeli academic world rejected that claim and leading scholars stated that no Jewish cemetery had been there in the past. A special session of the Knesset was called during the summer recess, but no action was taken. Work was suspended in the area for a few weeks by order of the Minister of Education and Culture Zevulun Hammer, and the Supreme Court was asked to rule on the situation. On September 15, 1981, the Supreme Court made known its decision that the rabbinate has no legal right to determine state policy. The season's excavation work ended soon thereafter. Excavation of the area continued until 1985 and no actual cemetery was discovered.

Another controversial issue that occupied Rabbi Goren throughout the second half of his life was the question of Jewish access to the Temple Mount. As IDF chief rabbi, Goren was one of the first soldiers to reach the Western Wall during the Six-Day War in 1967. At that time, he also ascended the Temple Mount and is reported suggesting to Central Command Head General, Uzi Narkiss, that the IDF blow up the Dome of the Rock, thereby establishing Israeli/Jewish sovereignty on the Temple Mount (*Haaretz*, December 31, 1997). In the months following the Six-Day War, Goren called for the destruction of the mosques on the Temple Mount and the building of the third Temple. This was in direct opposition to the majority of the rabbis on the Chief Rabbinate Council and the chief rabbis, Unterman and Nissim, themselves, who were of the halakhic opinion that the Temple Mount was to be placed off-limits to Jews. Just after the Six-Day War, Goren held seminars for IDF reservists on the Mount, as well as full religious services on Tisha B'Av. Over time, Goren modified his views and privately encouraged scholars and others to ascend to the Temple Mount, but refrained from issuing a public decree permitting Jews to ascend. During his tenure as chief rabbi, he did approach then prime minister, Menaḥem Begin, to ease the government's stance restricting the access of Jews to the Temple Mount. Goren's extensive research into the Temple Mount and the exact placement of the Temple, *Har ha-Bayit*, was finally published in 1992, almost 20 years after he finished his research because of the controversial nature of the subject and his opinions.

Rabbi Goren published numerous other works during his lifetime: *Torat ha-Shabbat ve-ha-Moed* (1982); *Sefer ha-Yerushalmi ve-ha-Gra* (1991) on the relationship between the Gaon of Vilna and the Jerusalem Talmud; *Sefer Moadei Yisrael* (1993); and posthumously, *Meshiv Milḥamah* (1996), responsa dealing with war; *Torat ha-Mikra* (1996), essays on the weekly Torah reading; *Torat ha-Philosophia* (1998), essays on Jewish philosophy; *Mishnat ha-Medinah* (1999), the halakhic perspectives on the major political issues facing the State of Israel; and *Torat ha-Refuah* (2001), on Jewish medical ethics.

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[Mordechai Piron]

°GORGIAS, Seleucid general in the war against the forces of *Judah Maccabee. Together with two other generals, *Ptolemy Macron and *Nicanor, Gorgias was sent against the Jews in 165 B.C.E. with a force of 40,000 foot soldiers and 7,000 cavalry. Gorgias set out from his camp near Emmaus with 6,000 soldiers, hoping to surprise Judah by night. Judah, however, succeeded in evading the Greek army and destroyed its main camp at Emmaus, after which Gorgias retreated in disorder. When, two years later, Judah and his brother *Simeon set out to Gilead and Galilee in order to protect the hard-pressed Jewish settlements there, they left the armies of Judea under the inexperienced command of *Joseph and Azariah, sons of Zechariah. Hoping to acquire a reputation for valor, the two commanders attacked the armies of Gorgias, who was at that time in command at Jamnia, but suffered a disastrous defeat.

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[Isaiah Gafni]

GORIN, BERNARD (pseudonym of **Isaac Goido**; 1868–1925), Yiddish playwright, translator, editor, and drama critic. Born in Lida (Lithuania), Gorin published his first story, "*Zikhroynes fun Kheyder*" ("Memoirs From the Ḥeder," 1889), in Mordecai Spektor's *Hoyzfraynd*, followed by "*Shakhne un Shrage*" ("Shakhne and Shrage," 1890), in I.L. Peretz's *Yidishe Bibliotek*. He edited a Yiddish series entitled *Kleyne Ertseylungen*, which included works by I.L. Peretz and David Pinsky (1893) and translated Dickens's *David Copperfield* (1894), leaving that same year for New York, where he became active in the literary and theatrical world, contributing to both the Yiddish and English language press. In 1908 he began reviewing plays for the *Morgn-Zhurnal*. In addition to writing original plays, Gorin adapted numerous foreign language works for the Yiddish stage. He is best known as a historian of the Yiddish theater, his most important work being *Di Geshikhte fun Yidishn Teater* ("History of the Yiddish Theater," 2 vols., 1918) which lists 2,000 plays produced on the Yiddish stage. In 1927 Gorin's stories were collected and published in three volumes.

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[Elias Schulman / Marc Miller (2nd ed.)]

GORIZIA, city in Friuli, N.E. Italy. Gorizia was part of the Austrian empire until 1918 though for centuries its culture had been Italian. Jews were first mentioned in the county in the years 1299–1363. Only in 1548, however, did Jews sign the first charter with the local authorities. In 1624 the first Jew from Gorizia, Joel Pincherle, obtained from Emperor Ferdinand II the title of Hoffaktor. In 1696 Emperor Leopold I legislated the erection of the ghetto, activated in 1698. The community followed the Ashkenazi rite. Until the 18th century the Jews of Gorizia were mostly moneylenders. The most important banking families were that of Pincherle, Gentili, and Morpurgo. In the 18th century Jews engaged in the manufacture of silk and wax (the latter by a certain Aron and the Morpurgo brothers), which dominated the city's economy. In 1756 the synagogue in the Via Ascoli was consecrated. After they had been expelled from the smaller Venetian towns in 1777, more Jews moved to Gorizia. The 1781 *Toleranzpatent* of Joseph II allowed the Jews to be even more integrated in civic life. In 1788 the town's Jewish population numbered 270.

The intellectual life of Gorizia Jews at the end of the 18th century and at the beginning of the 19th was dominated by the figures of two rabbis, Isacco Samuele Reggio and his son Abram Vita Reggio.

During the 19th century the community slowly developed. In 1846 there were 266 Jews living in Gorizia. In 1900 there were already 865 living there.

[Attilio Milano / Samuele Rocca (2nd ed.)]

Holocaust Period

In 1938, there were 183 Jews in Gorizia, mostly engaged in business, commerce, and services. Of these, 109 were Italians and 76 were foreigners, primarily from Central and Eastern Europe. Since the beginning of the century, the population of Gorizian Jews had decreased, that of foreign Jews had significantly increased, and assimilation had grown. A strong demographic decline occurred soon after the appearance of the racial laws of 1938, caused especially by the exodus of the foreign Jews and by conversions or withdrawal from the community. After the German occupation in September 1943, Jews most aware of the danger moved elsewhere or went into hiding, while the old, the sick, and those without adequate means remained at home and were arrested and deported. The first arrests and imprisonments occurred in September 1943. There followed the roundup of November 23, in which 22 people were arrested, imprisoned at Coroneo in Trieste, and deported to Auschwitz on December 7. In the following months, other Gorizian Jews who had gone into hiding there or in other Italian towns and cities, such as Ferrara, Florence, Genova, and San Cesario sul Panaro, were caught. In all, 47 Jews from Gorizia were deported, of whom only two, Iris Steinmann and Giacomo Jacoboni, returned. Because of the drastic decrease in the number of Jews in Gorizia after the war, the historic local Jewish nucleus of the Isonzo area was incorporated into the Jewish community of Trieste in 1969.

[Adonella Cedarmas (2nd ed.)]

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GORKI (until 1932 and again from 1992 **Nizhni Novgorod**), city on the Volga River, Belorussia. It served as an entrepôt for the merchants of Russia and Russian Central Asia from the early 19th century. From 1835 Jewish merchants were permitted to attend its celebrated fairs where they were allowed to purchase goods and, with the exception of imported articles, sell them wholesale. A permanent Jewish community was founded by soldiers discharged from the army of Nicholas I (see *Cantonists), and in 1873 received permission to maintain a house of worship. On June 7, 1884, pogroms resulting in murder and looting broke out in Kanavino, a suburb of the city. The Jewish community of Gorki numbered 2,377 in 1897 (2.5% of the total population). It increased during World War I when refugees from the war zone arrived there, and in 1926 numbered 9,328 (5.2% of the total). In 1939 there were 14,319 Jews in Gorki (2.2%). According to the census of 1959 the Jewish population of Gorki district was 17,827; the majority apparently lived in the capital. In 1970 the Jewish population was estimated at about 30,000. Most left for Israel and the West during the mass emigration of the 1990s. There was a Jewish cemetery, but no synagogue.

[Yehuda Slutsky]

°**GORKI, MAXIM** (pseudonym of **Aleksey Maksimovich Peshkov**; 1868–1936), Russian author. Gorki was the outstanding pre-Revolutionary Russian writer who sided with Lenin and the Bolsheviks, but he also distinguished himself as a vigorous champion of the oppressed Jewish people in Russia. Raised in a primitive environment, where the Jews were seen through a strange accumulation of folklore, fantasy, and superstition, Gorki was intellectually at odds with such notions, although emotionally and artistically he sometimes could not help expressing them. His early revolutionary position – which despite periods of dissent and opposition to the Bolsheviks and even voluntary exile, eventually made him a supporter of the Soviet regime – was closely linked with his deep revulsion against Jew-baiting and pogroms, and his warm friendship for many Jewish writers and intellectuals. His story *Pogrom* (1918), inspired by the *Kishinev outrages of 1903, was no isolated example of Gorki's preoccupation with the Jewish fate in Russia; and in *Detstvo* (1914; *My Childhood*, 1915), the first part of his autobiography, Gorki movingly recalled a Jewish boy encountered in his youth. In 1916 Gorki coedited *Shchit*, an anthology of statements in defense of the Jews drawn from Russian literature, in which he made it clear that he saw in the question of Jewish rights the whole issue of injustice under the Czarist system.

Gorki also showed sympathy for the Hebrew renascence and for Zionist aspirations in Ereẓ Israel. Most of Gorki's impassioned denunciations of antisemitism were omitted from the 30-volume Soviet edition of his works (1949–55). Most of these omissions have been cataloged (B. Suvarin, in *Dissent*, winter 1965; B.D. Wolfe, *The Bridge and the Abyss* (1967), 162–3n.). Works not published in this edition include an article on the Hebrew poet *Bialik; another on the Kishinev pogrom; and an appeal to save the *Habimah theater, then still in the U.S.S.R.

His wife, EKATERINA PESHKOVA (née VOLZHINA, 1876–1965), was, after the October Revolution, for many years a kind of guardian angel of the political prisoners in the U.S.S.R. in her capacity as chairman of the "Political Red Cross." She was warmly remembered by many Jews, particularly Zionists, whom she helped in various ways during their imprisonment, sometimes obtaining for them the permission to emigrate to Palestine.

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[Irwin Weil]

GORLICE, town in S.E. Poland. In the early period of Polish rule Gorlice belonged to the district of Nowy Sacz where all the towns had been granted the privilege of excluding Jews (*de non tolerandis Judaeis*), excepting Nowy Sacz itself, where a Jewish community existed. A few Jewish families were living in Gorlice in 1765 and 1784. Jews settled there in the 19th century, living in an area near the marketplace. By 1880 the Jewish population formed half of the total of 5,000, and by 1900 their number had grown to 3,297 (51.2%). They dealt mainly in wine and corn. The town suffered severely during World War I. In 1921 there were 2,300 Jews (41%) living in Gorlice.

Holocaust Period

At the outbreak of World War II the Jewish population numbered between 4,500 and 5,000. Most of them fled to the Soviet-occupied part of Poland before the Germans entered on Sept. 6, 1939. The Germans immediately took hostages among Jews and Poles and detained them for a long time in prison. On the eve of Rosh Ha-Shanah, the Germans ordered that all Jews between 18 and 35 years old should appear daily at the magistrate's office for work. On the eve of the Day of Atonement, the Germans destroyed the interior of the main synagogue and later converted it into a stable. Religious Jews were singled out for particular persecution: Jews caught praying in small *minyanim* were killed; the *shoḥet*, who continued to slaughter poultry in secret, was shot with his family.

During the German occupation, a *Judenrat* consisting of seven members was set up in Gorlice. Its first president, Henryk Arnold, a man of integrity, was harassed by the Gestapo and finally killed in the *Judenrat* office for disobedience to German orders. The Jewish police in Gorlice were honest and helpful in protecting the population. A Jewish labor office was established to supply the Germans regularly with manpower. After the outbreak of the German-Soviet war (1941) a ghetto was established. An influx of refugees from larger towns, such as Cracow, caused an acute housing shortage. Disease spread, but there was no Jewish doctor available until a physician arrived from Cracow some time later. The *Judenrat* established a primitive hospital. A Jewish elementary school functioned, possibly also in the ghetto, where Hebrew was taught clandestinely.

In the spring of 1942 about 70 members of Zionist organizations were executed in Gorlice and the neighboring town of Biecz. In June 1942 a large fine was levied on the community, and houses were searched in order to confiscate valuables. In the summer increased numbers of young men were sent to distant labor camps in *Plaszow, Pustchow, and Frysztak. In early August, Jews from nearby Bobowa and Biecz were brought to Gorlice. On Aug. 12, 1942, another heavy fine, of 250,000 zlotys, was imposed for immediate payment. On the night of Aug. 13–14, 1942, the ghetto was surrounded by German and Ukrainian units. In the morning the Gestapo selected about 700 old and infirm people and others. They were taken to Garbic, where a mass grave was prepared. They were ordered to undress and were shot at the edge of the grave together with children. The majority of the remaining Jews were sent to the death camp at Belzec. Many Jews managed to escape during the *Aktion* to fields, woods, or villages in the vicinity: encountering no help, most of them returned and were executed on the spot or included in the transport.

After this, about 700 able-bodied Jews remained in Gorlice. In the period to mid-September two further "selections" were made and most of the remaining Jews were sent to Belzec; after Sept. 14, 1942, there remained only the factory workers who lived in the factory buildings, and on Jan. 6, 1943, they were sent to the labor camps of Muszyna and Rzeszow.

After the war approximately 30 Jewish families returned to Gorlice. They found that their property had been looted, and that tombstones from the cemetery had been taken to construct pavements. An attempt was made at rehabilitation, and goods sent by the Landsmannschaft in the United States were distributed by a committee. However, antisemitism among the local population caused them to leave shortly afterward.

[Danuta Dombrowska]

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GORLIN, ALEXANDER (1955–), U.S. architect. Gorlin is a graduate of the Yale School of Architecture and Cooper Union School of Architecture. The firm Alex Gorlin, Architects was founded in 1987. Gorlin taught at the Yale School of Architecture as a critic from 1980 to 1990. His early work was influenced by Classicism but he gradually became influenced by Modernism. Gorlin is now known for his Urban Modernism. With unusual versatility, he has designed projects in New York, Santa Fe, New Mexico, Denver, Colorado, and Palm Beach, Florida. He was awarded the Rome Prize Fellowship in 1983–84, the Cooper Union Distinguished Alumni Award in 1998, and the Chicago Athenaeum Architecture Award for the Yale University Boathouse. He served as a member of the board of directors of CityArts, New York City, and held a summer internship at Cooper Union in New York in 1994. In January 2002, *Architectural Digest* named Gorlin one of the Top 100 designers and architects in the U.S. The Ruskin Place townhouse in Seaside, Florida, won the 1996 New York State AIA Award for Excellence in Design. Chosen for his knowledge of Jewish tradition and expertise in synagogue design, Gorlin planned the one million dollar remodeling of the United Synagogue of Hoboken, New Jersey, and also the North Shore Synagogue in Long Island, New York. Gorlin was the architect for the North Shore Hebrew Academy, King's Point, New York, and a synagogue for the Young Israel of Plainview, New York. Always imaginative, he once designed a tree house, and created plans for a city apartment for architect Daniel *Libeskind in the Tribeca district of Manhattan. In Denver, Colorado, Gorlin designed a 10,000 square foot house built as a cross between an Irish barn and an Indian stone dwelling. Gorlin said his inspiration came in part from Dante's "Inferno." By contrast, on tiny Allison Island off the shore of South Beach, Miami, Florida, Gorlin built for the AQUA planned community a midrise building which is an example of the new "Tropical Urbanism" that is part of the "New Urbanism." One of the features of this trend spreads the highrise building out horizontally. Gorlin's building is 11 stories high with ample space around it, wide areas of window glass, and spacious balconies. According to Vincent Scully, noted architectural historian, "Gorlin's work is simple openhearted appreciation and wonder, an excitement that enlivens everything."

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[Betty R. Rubenstein (2nd ed.)]

GORNI (pl. **Grana**), term used for the Jewish immigrants from Leghorn (Livorno), who began to settle in North Africa, especially in Tunisia, from the 17th century on. Livorno was called Leghorn(a) in Jewish sources (e.g., David Reuveni), as well as by English sailors, and Jews and Arabs in the Maghreb. The first syllable *Le* was used as an article, making al-Ghorn(a); from this came the appellative (al-)Gorni. The Grana were essentially merchants; their commercial activity was strictly connected with the Jews of Livorno. They were 400 or 500 in 1821, their number rose to 2,500 or 3,000 in 1893 and to about 5,000 in 1938. Until the 1940s the Gorni constituted separate congregations in Tunis and in other towns of Tunisia, with their own administration, *bet din*, and communal institutions. At all times, the Grana considered themselves as belonging to the European culture (besides Arabic, they spoke Spanish, Italian, and French) and felt separate from the "Tuansa," i.e., the old Jewish residents of Tunisia.

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[Haïm Z'ew Hirschberg / Alessandro Guetta (2nd ed.)]

GORNICK, VIVIAN (1935–), U.S. author. A product of New York City's vibrant, multi-ethnic, and often socialist urban environment, Gornick attended City College and received her master's degree from New York University. A veteran journalist, she has written for the *Village Voice*, the *Atlantic Monthly*, the *Washington Post, The Nation, Ms* magazine, the *New York Times Book Review* and *Sunday Magazine, The Three Penny Review,* and *The New Yorker.* She also taught at the University of Colorado and Pennsylvania State University.

Gornick rose to prominence in the early 1970s as one of the most articulate of the feminist writers. Her essay "Woman as Outsider" in *Women in Sexist Society: Studies in Power and Powerlessness* (1971), which she edited, paints an unflattering portrait of women's role "in the fierce unjoyousness of Hebraism." Later books explored a variety of subjects, including *In Search of Ali Mahmoud: An American Woman in Egypt* (1973); *The Romance of American Communism* (1977); *Essays in Feminism* (1978); *Women in Science: Recovering the Life Within* (1983); and the novel/memoir *Fierce Attachments* (1987). Gornick also wrote *Women in Science: 100 Journeys Into the Territory* (1990); *Approaching Eye Level* (1996); *The End of the Novel of Love* (1997); and *The Situation and the Story: The Art of Personal Narrative* (1999).

In 1989, she became a tenured professor at the University of Arizona. She was also a literary critic and writer of memoirs. In her research, she explored the interrelationship of feminism, psychoanalysis, and literature.

In the early 2000s, in conjunction with a group of New York artists and activists, Gornick helped found *THEA*, the House of Elder Artists. THEA was planned as a not-for-profit senior residence in Manhattan for men and women in the arts who continue to engage in a working relationship with New York City, thereby enriching its cultural life. The 100-unit apartment building was designed to enable residents to give public readings, performances, and master classes based on the wealth of knowledge and the expertise they had accumulated over a lifetime.

[Sylvia Barack Fishman / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

GORODENKA (Pol. **Horodenka**), city in Stanislav district, Ukraine. Jews first settled there under Polish rule during the middle of the 17th century, but an organized community was only formed in the beginning of the 18th century. In 1743 the Polish landowner granted them by a privilege the right to live in the town and to engage in commerce (excluding trade in Christian religious appurtenances) and crafts. The community received land for building a synagogue and for a cemetery. Jews of Gorodenka were dealers in grain, timber, and salt, wine makers, distillers of brandy, beer brewers, tavern keepers, and leasers and managers of estates. According to the census of 1765, 863 Jews lived in Gorodenka and 133 in 14 villages in the vicinity, affiliated to the Gorodenka community. In the middle of the 18th century there was a group of Shabbateans and Frankists in the town. During the 1760s most of the Jews in Gorodenka joined the ḥasidic movement, among them *Naḥman of Horodenko, one of the closest disciples of *Israel b. Eliezer Ba'al Shem Tov.

The city passed to Austria in 1772. In 1794, 30 Jews in Gorodenka (12 families) joined to found an agricultural settlement. Despite their economic difficulties, the rate of taxation levied upon the Jewish population was five times higher than that for the Christian population. According to data of 1890, 4,340 of the 11,162 inhabitants of the town and 7 of the 18 members of the municipal council were Jews. By the end of the 19th century a local *Benei Zion society had been founded, which by 1897 consisted of about 150 members. A Jewish boys' school financed by Baron *Hirsch functioned from 1898 until 1914. The first Hebrew school was opened in 1907. At the beginning of the 20th century, the community had a great synagogue and a number of *battei midrash* and ḥasidic prayer houses. In World War I the Jews in Gorodenka suffered severely under the Russian occupation. In 1916 Jewish houses were set on fire and nine local Jews were hanged on a charge of espionage.

Gorodenka was within Poland between the two world wars. The Jewish population was 3,048 (out of 9,907) in 1921 and 3,256 in 1931. World War I left in its wake 200 widows and 220 orphans, and postwar competition with the Poles and Ukrainians was a cause of economic hardship for the Gorodenka Jews. Subsequently, many emigrated to the United States, Canada, and South America, and hundreds of others to Ereẓ Israel.

[Arthur Cygielman]

Holocaust Period

Within a few days of the outbreak of war between Germany and the U.S.S.R., Gorodenka was occupied by Hungarian troops. The local Ukrainian populace immediately attacked the Jewish inhabitants, murdering and robbing them. Subsequently, Jews from Carpatho-Ruthenia (which had been annexed by Hungary) arrived in Gorodenka, having been driven from their homes. A local Jewish committee was set up to deal with the situation. Aid was extended to the local Jews and refugees. When the city came under German administration in September 1941 conditions deteriorated. Anti-Jewish measures were enacted, including restriction on free movement on the streets, compulsory wearing of the yellow *badge, and the institution of slave labor. In November the Jews were concentrated in a ghetto. On Dec. 4, 1941, they were assembled, allegedly to receive immunization against typhus, but were guarded by the Germans and their Ukrainian collaborators in the great synagogue. The following day they underwent a "*Selektion*," and those classed as "nonproductive" – 2,500 Jews – were taken to mass graves dug between the villages of Michalcze and Simakowce, and murdered. On April 13, 1942, a second *Aktion* was carried out in which 1,500 were sent to the death camp of Belzec and murdered there. In May and June hundreds of Jews were taken from Gorodenka to Kolomyya, where they shared the fate of the Jews there. Some of the inmates fled to Tlusta, where they found temporary refuge. The liquidation of the ghetto started in July and was completed on Sept. 6, 1942. The last Jews were sent to the Janowska labor camp in Lvov. During the Aktionen, some Jews escaped; some joined partisan groups, and 40 succeeded to flee to Romania. On March 24, 1944, Soviet forces returned to Gorodenka, but by then only a few Jews were left. They subsequently left for Poland in transit to Palestine.

[Aharon Weiss / Shmuel Spector (2nd ed.)]

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GORODOK (Pol. **Gródek Jagielloński**, Yid. **Greiding**), city in Lvov district, Ukraine, within Poland until 1772 and between the two world wars. The earliest information on the presence of Jews there dates from 1444. Jews were responsible for collection of customs and taxes in Gorodok for short periods. In 1550 King Sigismund II Augustus granted the town the privilege to exclude Jews (*de non tolerandis Judaeis*), but probably those already there remained. In 1662, after Gorodok had been devastated during the Crimean Tartars' invasions, the local governor (*starosta*) encouraged Jews to settle in the town and rehabilitate it; because of the objections of the townsmen, he assigned them a special quarter, "the Gnin." King John III Sobieski confirmed their right of residence in 1684. According to the census of 1765, there were 788 Jews living in the "Jewish town of Gnin" and 251 in neighboring villages. As a result of the difficult economic situation, the debts of the community increased, amounting to 3,212 zlotys in 1784. Gorodok had a beautiful synagogue and a famous collection of books as well a *bet midrash* and yeshivah. Belz ḥasidim dominated, opposing Haskalah and Zionism.

The community numbered 2,952 in 1880 (29% of the total population), and 3,610 in 1900, with an additional 3,478 living in villages in the district. In World War I the Jews of Gorodok and its surroundings suffered severely during the fighting between the Russian and Austrian armies in 1915, and subsequently in 1918–19 during the struggle between the Poles and Ukrainians. There were 2,545 Jews living in the city itself (24% of the population) and 1,414 in the villages in 1921, and 3,281 in 1931. Between the two world wars most of them were occupied in crafts, hawking, and trade in agricultural products.

[Arthur Cygielman]

Holocaust Period

With the German invasion of Poland on Sept. 1, 1939, many Jewish refugees from western Poland arrived in the city, and by 1941 the Jewish population numbered over 5,000. From October 1939 until the outbreak of the German-Soviet war in June 1941 the city was occupied by the Soviets. On June 29, 1941 the Germans captured Gorodok, and neighboring farmers, mainly Ukrainians, attacked the Jews there, and looted their property. Conscription into forced labor camps in Jaktorow and Winniki continued through the autumn of 1941 and 1942. On May 7, 1942, several hundred Jews were deported to Janowska camp in Lvov. On August 13, half the Jews were deported to the extermination camp in Belzec. On December 26, 1942, 1,300 Jews were murdered outside the town and on January 27, 1943, the ghetto was finally liquidated, in an *Aktion* that lasted three days. A labor camp was established in March 1943, but it was liquidated in May 1943. The last Jews of Gorodok were shot and buried in mass graves near Artyszczow.

[Aharon Weiss / Shmuel Spector (2nd ed.)]

BIBLIOGRAPHY: B. Wasiutyński, *Ludnoüeć żydowska w Polsce…* (1930), 107, 115, 147, 151, 196, 212; I. Schiper, *Studya nad stosunkami gospodarczymi żydów w Polsce podczas sredniowiecza* (1911), 154, 239, 243.

GORODOK, town in Vitebsk district, Belarus, The Jewish community was founded during the 18th century. In 1772, when Belorussia was annexed by Russia after the first partition of Poland, the town had 400 Jews, the majority of the population. In 1897 there were 3,413 Jews in Gorodok (68% of the total population), and in 1926, 2,660 (48.3%), most of whom were *Chabad ḥasidim. Jews were petty traders and artisans. In the Soviet period a Yiddish school was in operation. In 1939 the Jews numbered 1,584 (21.7% of the total population). Gorodok was occupied by the Germans on July 9, 1941. The Jews were herded into open fields outside the town, joined by others from the vicinity In August 1941, 2,000 were murdered; the rest on October 14.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Surkin, in: B. Karu (Krupnik) (ed.), Sefer Vitebsk (Heb., 1957), 233–4.

[Yehuda Slutsky / Shmuel Spector (2nd ed.)]

GORODOK (Pol. **Grodek Wilenski**), town in *Molodechno district, Belarus. Jews started to settle there in the beginning of the 19th century. In 1897, they numbered 1,230, constituting 75% of the population. They owned most of the stores and many had auxiliary farms. Between the two world wars the town belonged to Poland. In 1921 the Jews numbered 990. Most of the children attended the Tarbut Hebrew school. Gorodok was occupied in June 1941. The approximately 1,500 Jews were imprisoned in a ghetto on March 13, 1942. Two hundred were sent to the Krasne labor camp and 400 followed on July 11, when the remaining 900 were murdered. The Krasne camp was liquidated in March 1943. Fugitives from the ghetto played an active role in the local partisan movement.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Sefer ha-Partizanim ha-Yehudim*, 1 (1958), 479.

[Yehuda Slutsky / Shmuel Spector (2nd ed.)]

GOROKHOVSKAYA, MARIA (1921–), Soviet gymnast, winner of seven medals at the 1952 Olympics. Born in Yevpatoria, Ukraine, Gorokhovskaya volunteered for military service in World War II, serving in hospitals in Leningrad (now St. Petersburg) during the Nazi siege of the city. She was decorated with the Order of the Great Patriotic War, as well as other honorable citations.

Gorokhovskaya won her first U.S.S.R. gymnastic title on the balance beam in 1948. Four years later the Soviet Union made its debut at the 1952 Olympics in Helsinki, and Gorokhovskaya's gold medals were the first ever won by the Soviet Union. Altogether Gorokhovskaya – at the advanced age of 30 – won gold medals in the individual and team all-around events, and silver medals in the vault, parallel bars, balance beam, floor exercise, and team hand apparatus. Her seven medals are the most ever won by one woman at one Olympic Games.

At the 1954 World Championships, Gorokhovskaya finished third in the floor exercise, fourth in the vault, and seventh in the all-around, and helped the Soviet Union capture the gold medal in the team event. It was her final international competition.

Gorokhovskaya was the world's top-ranked female gymnast in 1952 and 1953, No. 3 in 1954, and No. 2 in 1955. The Soviet Union awarded her its highest sports honor, the Order of Red Banner, and the Honorary Master of Sport.

Gorokhovskaya immigrated to Israel in 1990, and only then was it revealed that she was Jewish – she had kept her identity a lifelong secret in the Soviet Union so as not to hurt her gymnastic career.

[Elli Wohlgelernter (2nd ed.)]

GORSHMAN, SHIRA (**Shirke**, née **Grigorevna**; 1906–2001), Soviet Yiddish prose writer. Born in Lithuania, Gorshman immigrated to Palestine in 1924. In 1929, she went to the Soviet Union with a group of disillusioned members of the **Gedud ha-Avodah* ("Labor Brigade"). Led by Mendl Elkind, they established the commune of Vojo Nova ("New Way" in Esperanto) in the Crimea. Gorshman soon met and married the artist Mendl (Mikhail) Gorshman (1902–1972), whose Moscow circle of friends included Yiddish writers such as Leib *Kvitko, who encouraged Gorshman to become a Yiddish writer. Her stories began to appear in Soviet Yiddish periodicals. Her first collection of works, *Der Koyekh fun Lebn* ("The Power of Life"), appeared in 1948, when the Kremlin supported Israel, which enabled the volume to include stories set in both the Crimea and Palestine. Her second book, *33 Noveln* ("33 Stories," 1961), was published in Warsaw. In the 1960s–1990s, *Sovetish Heymland* regularly published her works and translations from Russian into Yiddish. Her 1974 collection of stories, *Lebn un Likht* ("Life and Light"), represents her output of the 1940s–1960s. In 1990, she again immigrated to Israel, where she published edited versions of her works, most notably her autobiographic novel *Khanes Shof un Rinder* ("Hannah's Sheep and Cattle," 1993), and wrote documentary stories about her life in Palestinian and Crimean communes. Volumes of her stories in Russian translation appeared in 1963, 1979, and 1983.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: F. Forman et al. (eds.), *Found Treasures: Stories by Yiddish Women Writers* (1994); S. Bark (ed.), *Beautiful as the Moon, Radiant as the Stars: Jewish Women in Yiddish Stories* (2003).

[Gennady Estraikh (2nd ed.)]

GÓRSKA (**Endelman**), **HALINA** (1898–1942), Polish novelist and social worker. Active in the League for the Defense of the Rights of Man, Halina Górska fought antisemitism and helped to found the Socialist periodical *Sygnały*. Her four major novels were *Nad czarną wodą* ("Over the Black Water," 1931), *Chłopcy z ulic miasta* ("Boys from the Streets," 1934), *Druga brama* ("The Other Gate," 1935), and, the two-part *Barak płonie* ("The Burning Hut," 1937–39). She was arrested and shot by the Gestapo.

GORZOW WIELKOPOLSKI (Ger. **Landsberg an der Warthe**), town in Poland, before 1945 in Brandenburg. A

Jewish quarter and synagogue are first mentioned in 1557, though the community probably originated in the 14th century. It ceased to exist in 1573 when Jews were expelled from the whole of Brandenburg. Toward the middle of the 17th century, Jews attended the Landsberg fairs and soon after renewed their permanent settlement in the city. In 1662 Solomon Kajjem Kaddish was rabbi of the city and in 1672 his authority was extended to include all Brandenburg. He was succeeded by Benjamin Wolff Liebmann. In 1690, 21 Jewish families lived in the city; their number had increased to 417 persons by 1717. In that year, however, all Jews without right of domicile were banished and only 96 remained. They were active in the wool trade and the leather industry. A synagogue was built in 1755 and was used until 1854. The community grew from 304 in 1817 to 730 in 1871 but declined to 435 in 1933. Six charitable organizations, a school, and a cemetery were maintained in 1932 as well as an old-age home which had been opened in 1928. The community diminished during the Nazi era to 180 in 1936 and 95 in 1939; eight of the community were deported to Czechoslovakia on Aug. 27, 1942.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: B. Elsass, in: MGJV, 16 (1905), 95–103; MGADJ, 1 (1909), 9–29; FJW, 66; O. Lassaly, in: MGWJ, 80 (1936), 406–24; E. Keyser (ed.), *Deutsches Staedtebuch* (1939), 776; PK Germanyah; S. Stern, *Der Preussische Staat und die Juden*, 1 (1962), Akten, index; 2 (1962), Akten, nos. 45, 146, 170, 171, 172, 252, 269, 294. Part of the communal archives (1717–1912) are in the CAHJP, Jerusalem.

The Jewish cemetery in Prague, where some of the headstones date from the 14th century. *Photo: Z. Radovan, Jerusalem.*

For a Jew the stages of life are accompanied by various rituals and ceremonies, from birth through education and bar/bat mitzvah to marriage and family to death. Items may relate to an individual, such as birth amulets, *tefillin* bags, and dowries, or to the community, such as the *ḥevra kaddisha* (burial society) appurtenances. The locale of each community influenced the materials and styles reflected in the various objects and events shown here.

LIFE CYCLE

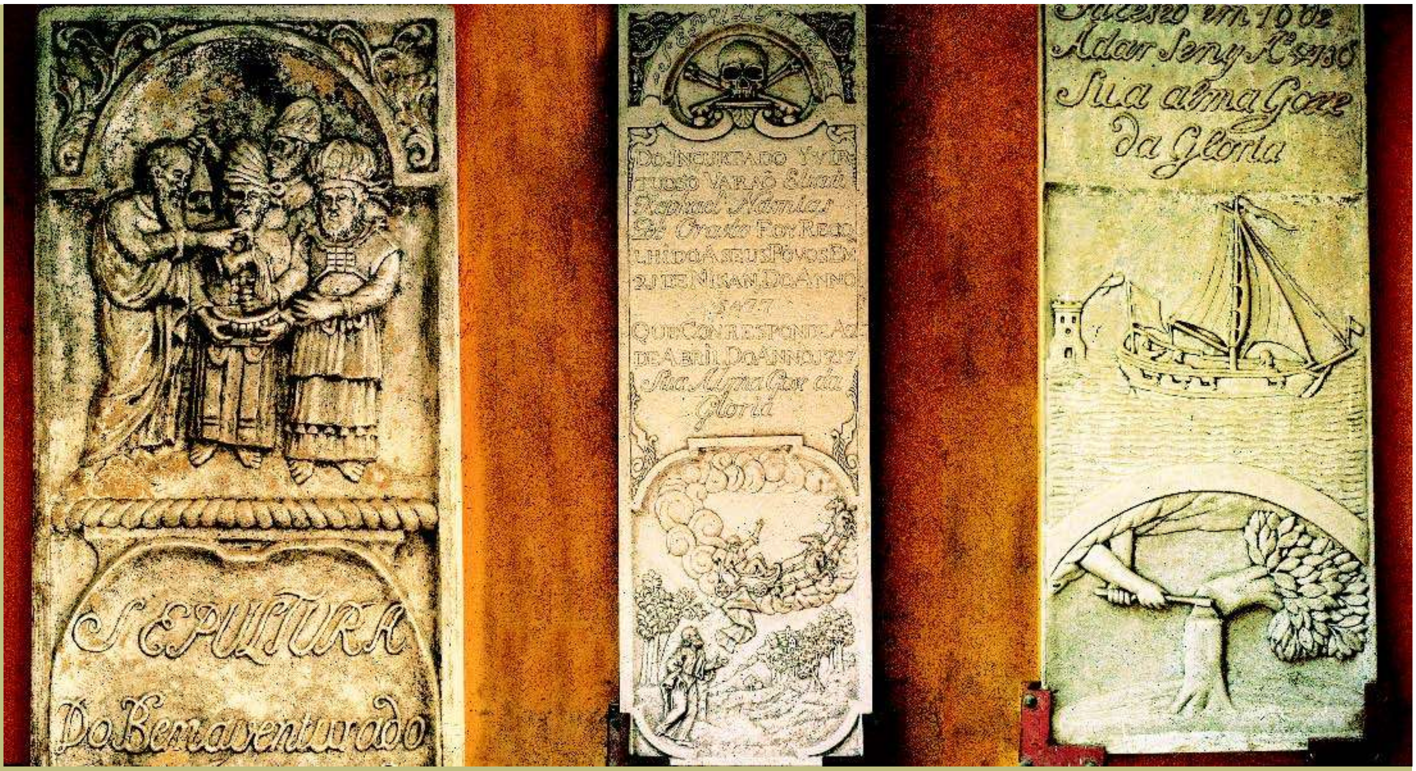
SEPULTURA
Do Bemaventurado
Do Incurtado y Vir
tuoso Varaõ Eliau
Raphael Namias
De Crasto Foy Reco
lhido a seus Povos Em
21 de Nisan Do Anno
5477
Que Conresponde ao
de Abril Do Anno 1717
Sua Alma Goze da
Gloria
Faleseo em 16 de
Adar Seny A° 5130
Sua alma Goze
da Gloria

A funeral in Prague. Lowering the body into the grave—from a series of oil paintings commissioned by the Prague *ḥevra kaddisha.* *Jewish Museum, Prague.*

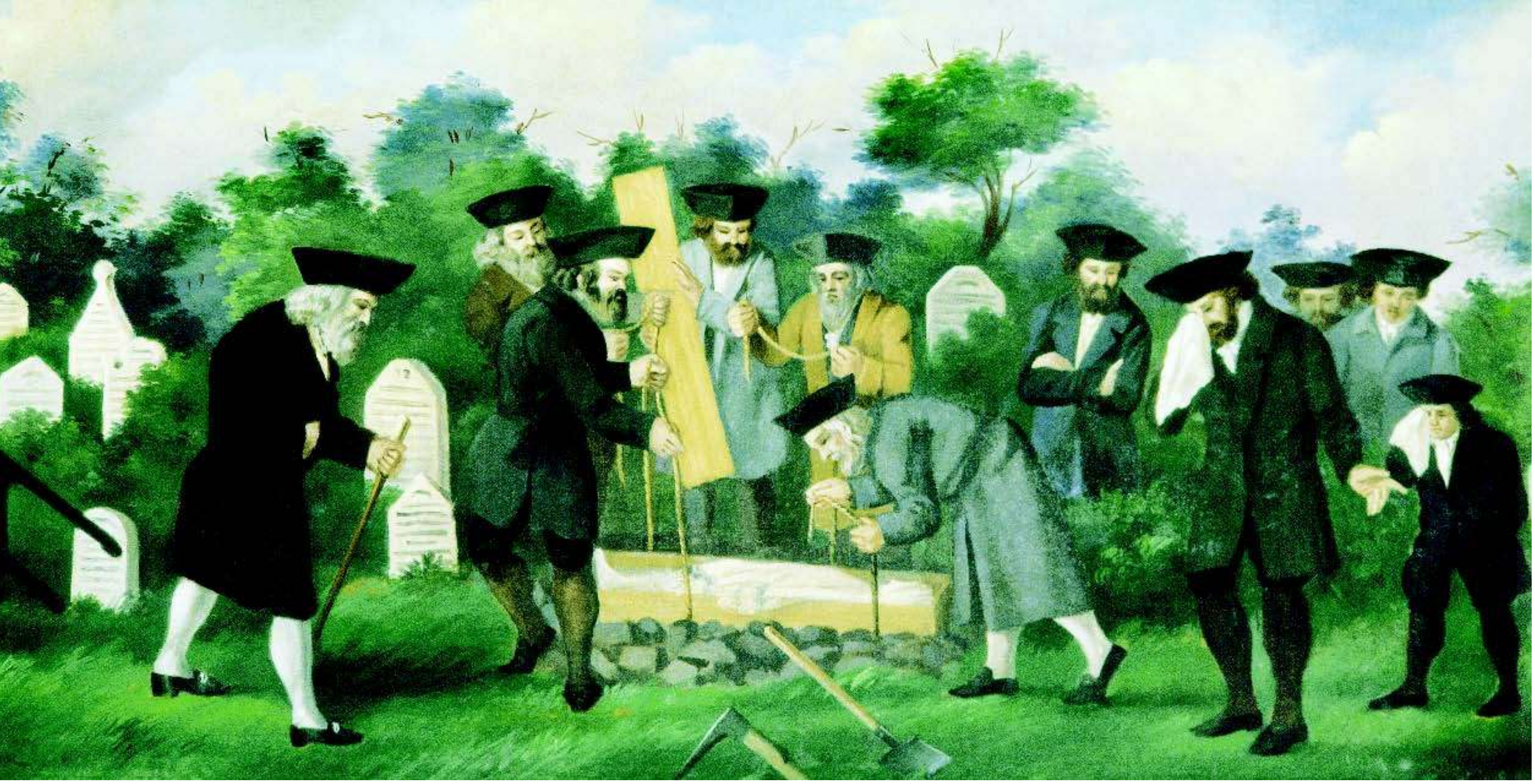

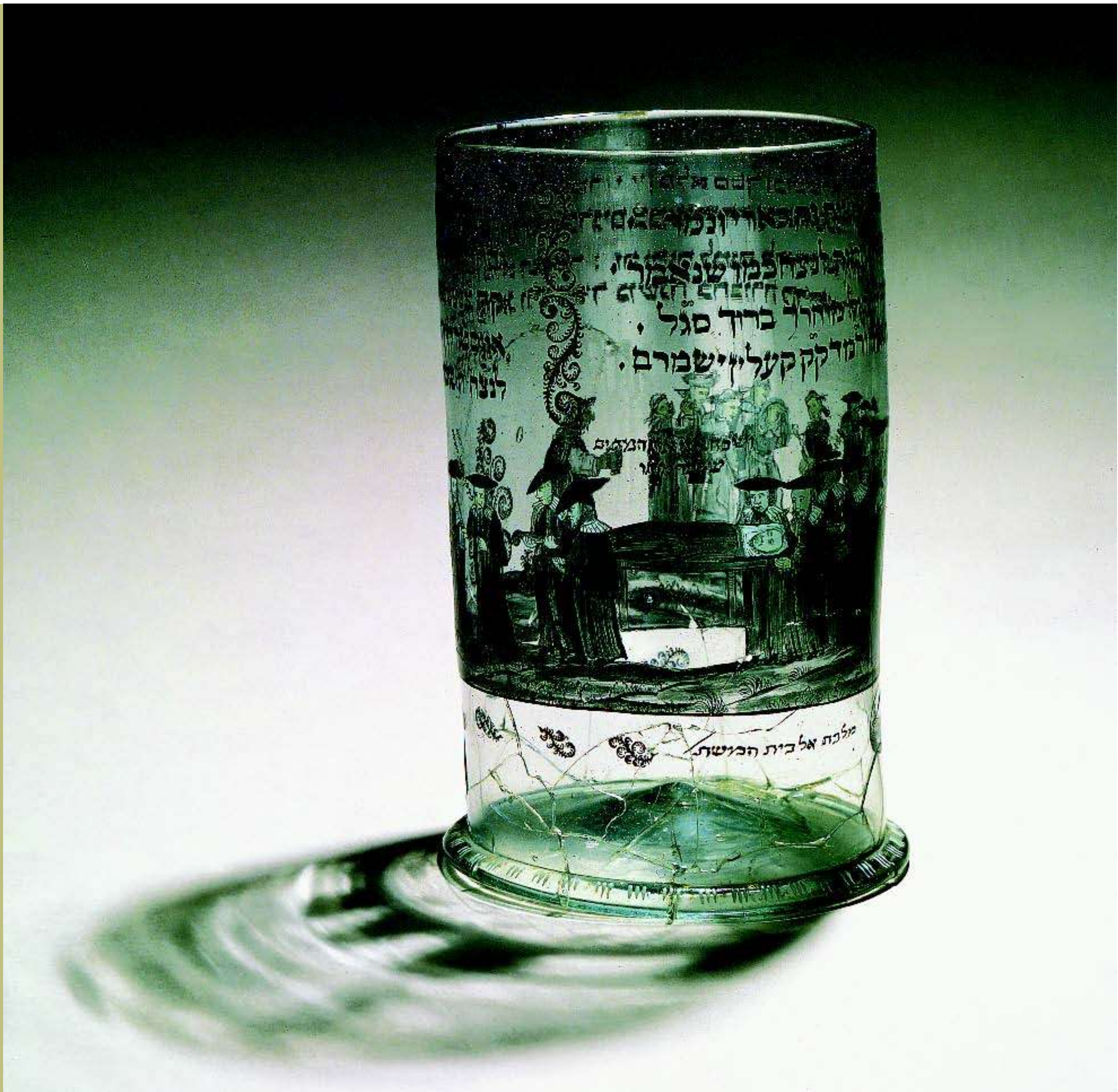

(opposite page) TOP: **Copy of reliefs on tombstones in the Jewish cemetery in Curaçao, Netherlands Antilles, 1980. Generally, the decoration related to the name of the person buried. For example, the decoration on the tombstone of Eliau Namias De Orasto, center, represents the name Elijah—a chariot of fire ascending to heaven. On the right, the motif of the felled tree indicates a man who died in his prime. The portrayal of ships shows that the man was a sailor or was engaged in commerce.** *Photo: Micha Bar-Am, Israel. By courtesy of Beth Hatefutsoth Photo Archive, Tel Aviv and courtesy of Mordechai Arbell, Israel.*

(this page) ABOVE: **Burial Society glass, Prague, Bohemia, 1713. Glass, enamel, and paint; 24.5 x 15.7cm.** *Collection, The Israel Museum, Jerusalem. Photo © The Israel Museum, Jerusalem, by Yoram Lehmann.*

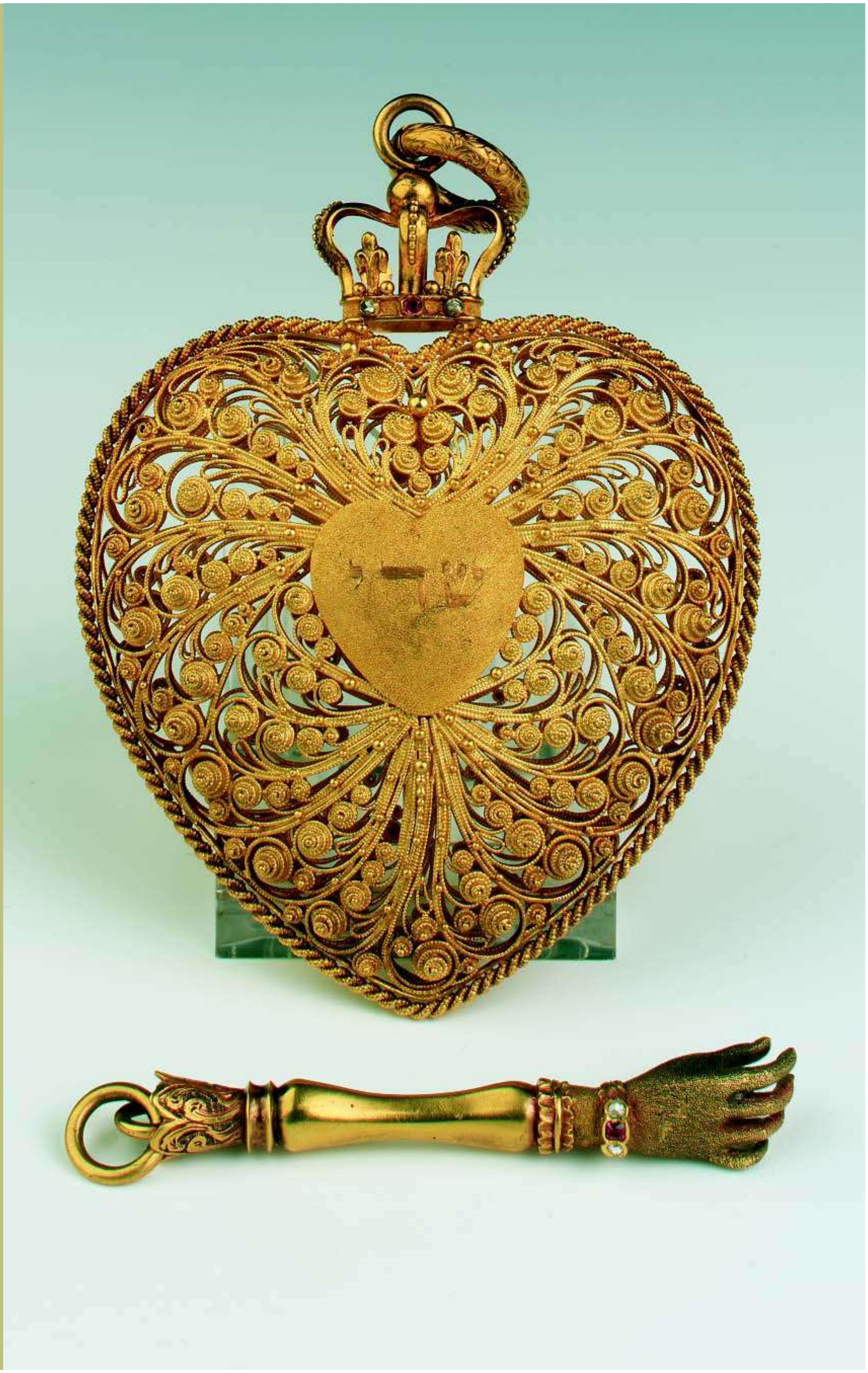

(this page): **Gold filigree birth amulet set with rubies and diamonds, Italian or English, mid 19th century.** *Jewish Museum, London.*

(opposite page): **Abraham and the Three Angels (Fol.165), who came to inform Abraham of the pending birth of Isaac. From the *Rothschild Miscellany*, Northern Italy, c. 1450–1480. Vellum, pen and ink, tempera, and gold leaf.** *Collection, The Israel Museum, Jerusalem. Photo © The Israel Museum, Jerusalem, by David Harris.*

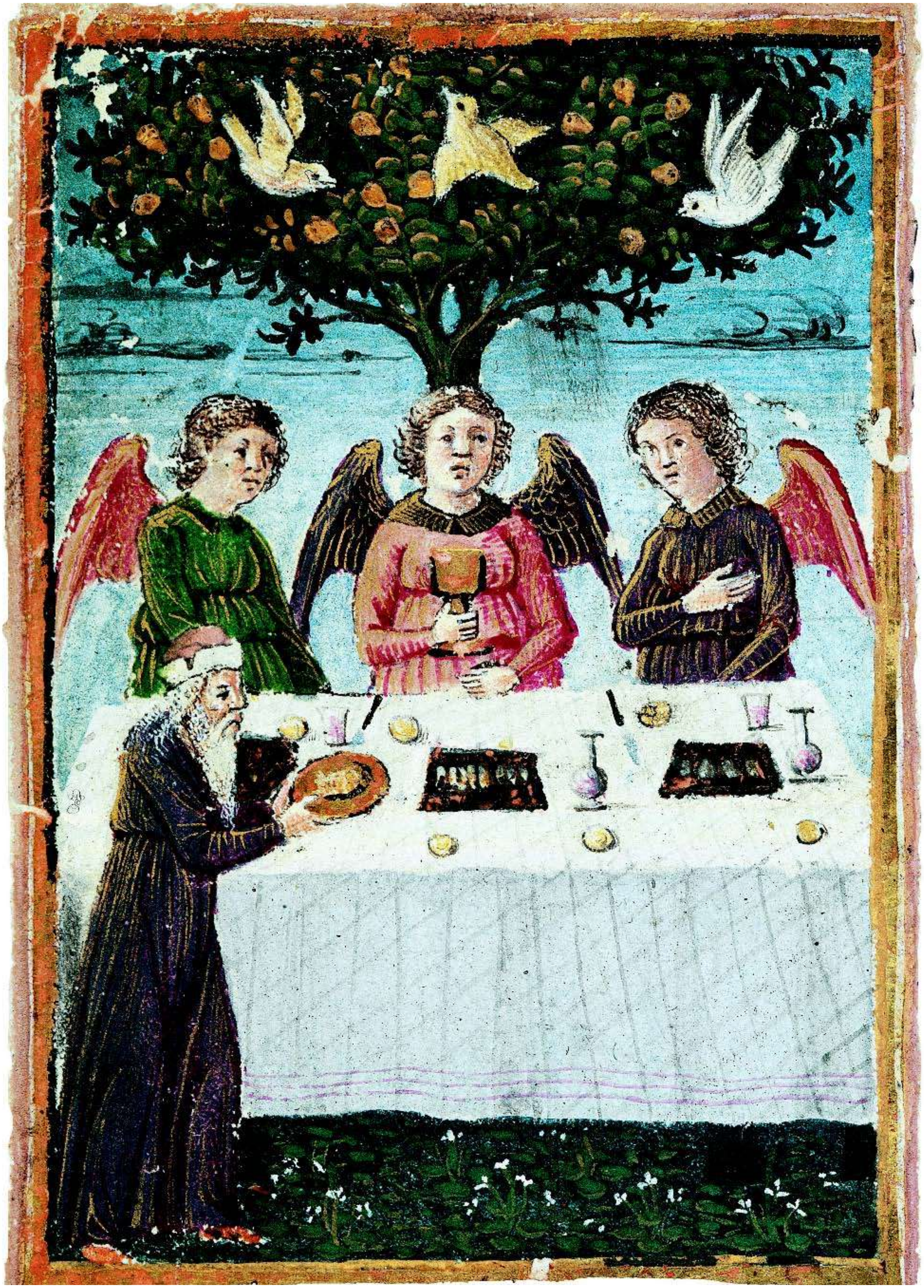

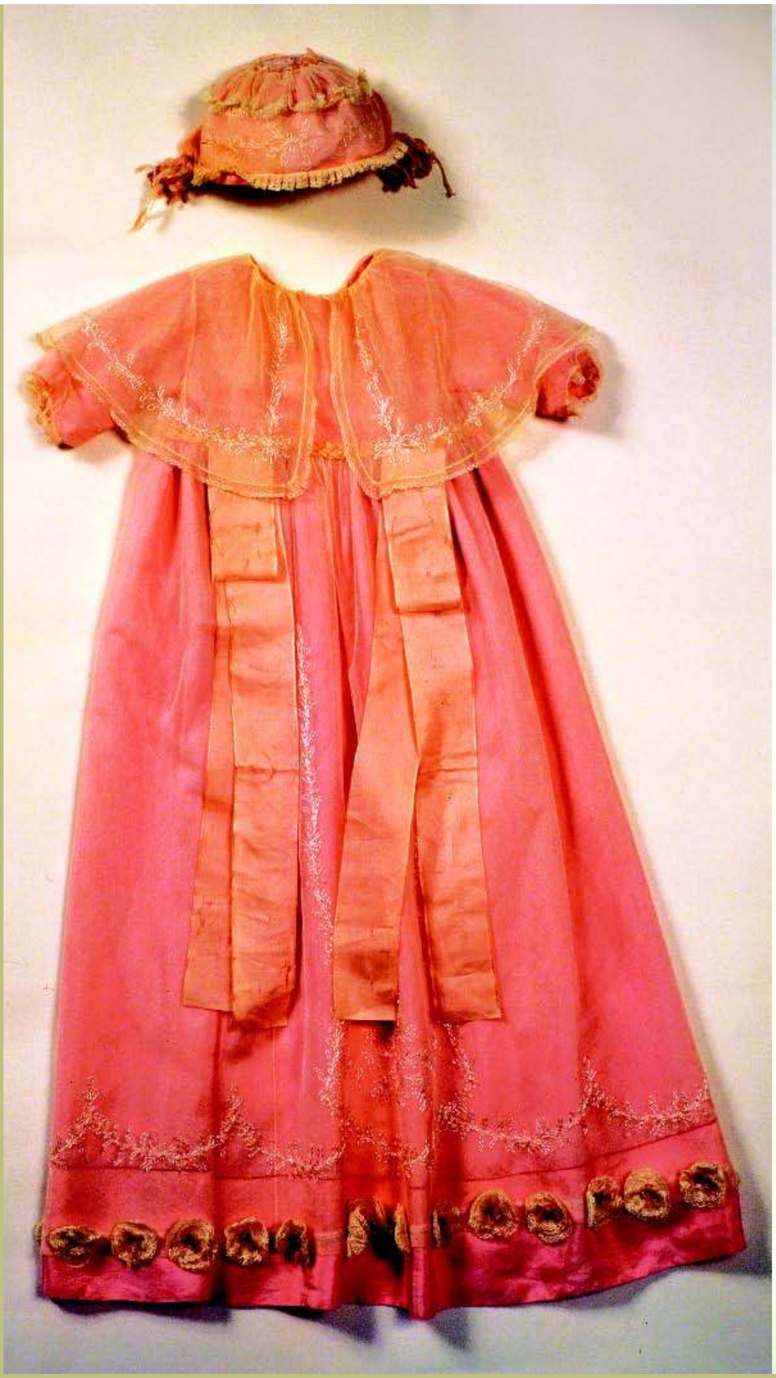

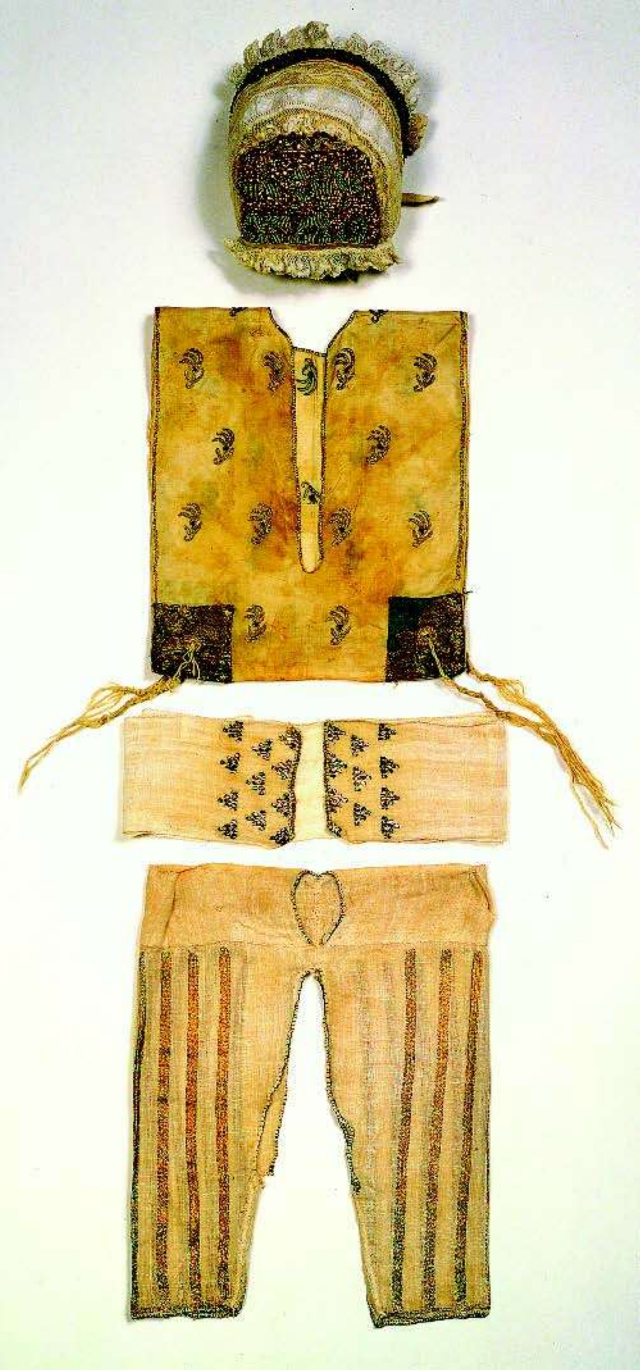

LEFT: **Costume for a girl's name-giving ceremony (*Las Fadas*), Salonika, Macedonia, early 20th century. Silk, tulle, and silk-thread embroidery.** *Collection, The Israel Museum, Jerusalem. Photo © The Israel Museum, Jerusalem, by David Harris.*

RIGHT: **Sephardi infant's circumcision costume, Istanbul, Turkey, late 19th century. Cotton and lace, metal-thread embroidery.** *Collection, The Israel Museum, Jerusalem. Gift of Eda Amon, Istanbul. Photo © The Israel Museum, Jerusalem, by Nahum Slapak.*

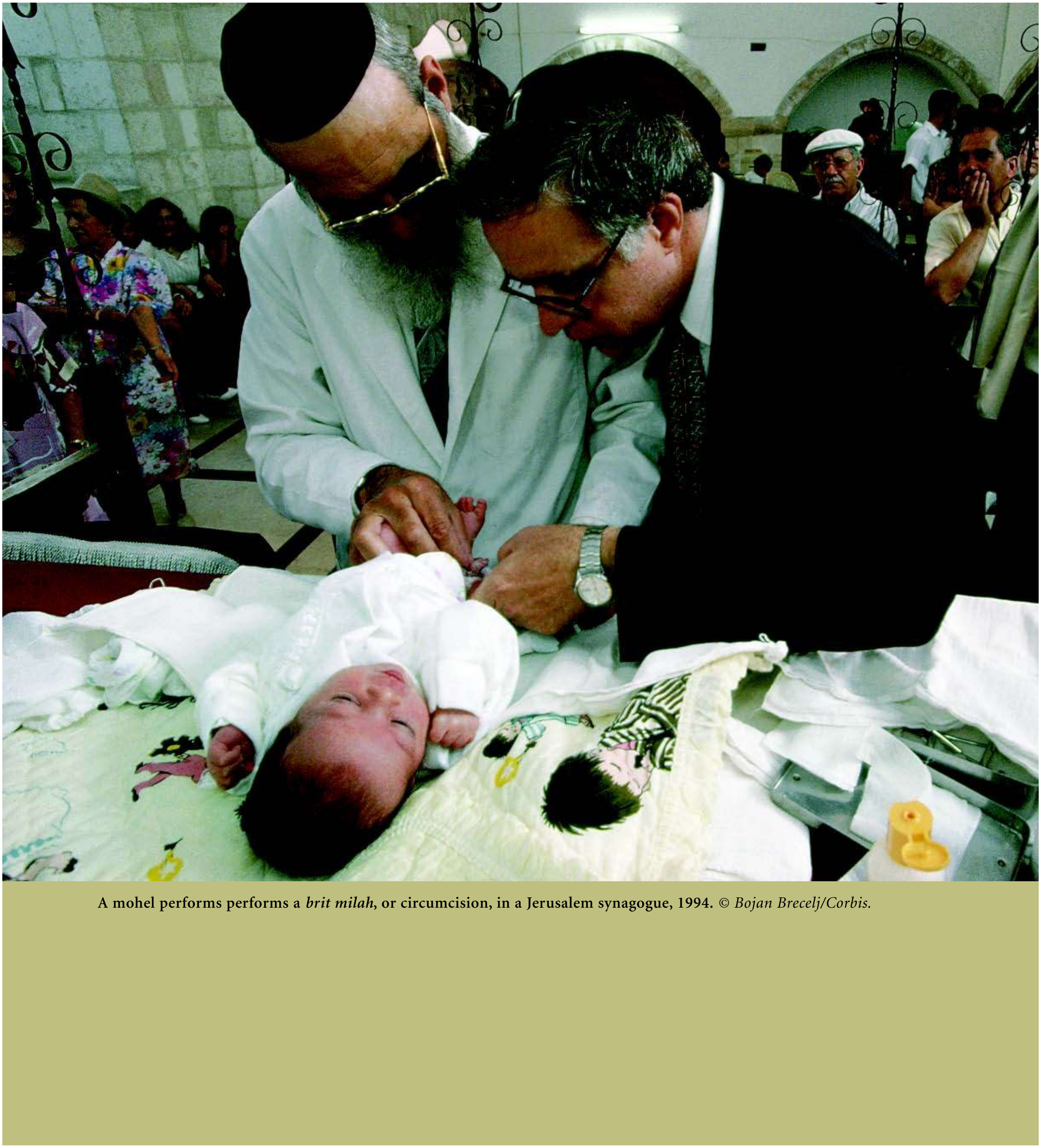

A mohel performs performs a *brit milah*, or circumcision, in a Jerusalem synagogue, 1994. © *Bojan Brecelj/Corbis.*

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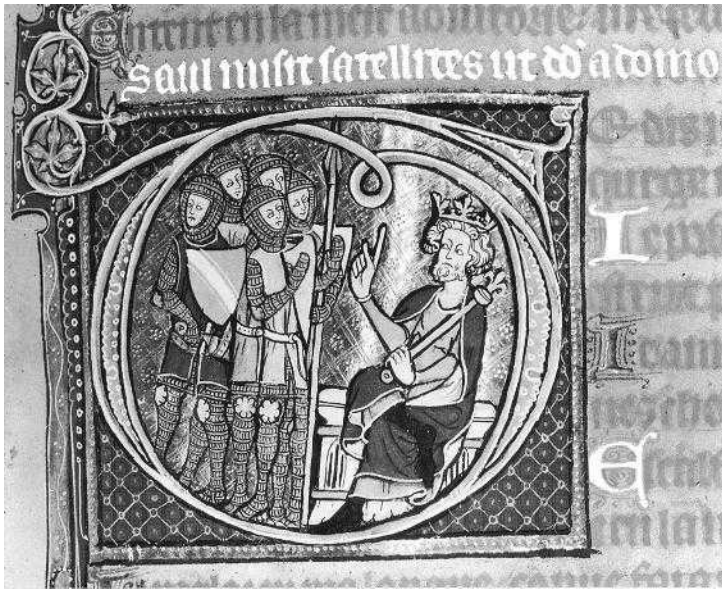
Saul misit satellites ut d' adomo

Initial letter "G" of the word "Ge" ("I" in old French) at the opening of a paraphrase of and commentary on I Sam. 19:11 in Old French and Latin. The historiated initial in this 13th-century manuscript depicts Saul sending messengers after David. Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cod. gall. 16, fol. 36r.

Gos–Gy

GOSHEN (Heb. גֹּשֶׁן), a grazing area in the N.E. of lower Egypt, east of the delta. Goshen was the residence assigned to Jacob and his family, and it was there that the Israelites lived in Egypt (Gen. 45:10; Ex. 9:26). It is currently assumed that the name is derived from the Semitic root גוש, i.e., compact, solid, and fertile land, suitable for grazing and certain types of cultivation. In the Bible Goshen is described as "the best part of the land" of Egypt (Gen. 47:6). It is also called "the land of Rameses" (Gen. 47:11) and it was probably identical with or not far from the "field of *Zoan" (Tanis; Ps. 78:12, 43), the name of the Egyptian capital during the *Hyksos period. The Septuagint (Gen. 46:28) renders Goshen as Heroonpolis (i.e., *Pithom, Ex. 1:11), and once (Gen. 46:34) as "the Arab land of Gesem." Therefore it is generally assumed that Goshen is to be located in Wādi Tumeilāt, which stretches from the eastern arm of the Nile to the Great Bitter Lake and is known to be excellent pasture land. Support for this identification is found in a papyrus (Pritchard, Texts, 259) from the end of the 13th century B.C.E. which describes how nomadic shepherds moved from the land of Edom, past the Merneptah fortress in Teku to the wells of Pithom in order to keep themselves and their cattle alive (cf. Gen. 45:10; 47:4). Teku is Wādi Tumeilāt. The rulers of Egypt would therefore seem to have permitted nomadic Semitic tribes to come to Goshen and graze there.

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[Pinhas Artzi]

GOSHEN-GOTTSTEIN, MOSHE (1925–1991), scholar of Semitic linguistics. Born in Berlin, Goshen-Gottstein immigrated to Palestine in 1939. He studied at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem and taught there from 1950 on, becoming professor of Semitic linguistics and biblical philology in 1967. He was also director of the lexicographical institute and biblical research institute of Bar-Ilan University. In 1988 he was awarded the Israel Prize in Jewish studies.

His three areas of research were biblical studies, Hebrew linguistics, and Semitic linguistics. His numerous articles and books included *Medieval Hebrew Syntax and Vocabulary as Influenced by Arabic, Introduction to the Lexicography of Modern Hebrew*, and *The Aleppo Codex.* He worked on a number of dictionaries, among them the *Millon ha-Ivrit ha-Hadashah* ("Dictionary of Modern Hebrew"), the first synchronic dictionary of Hebrew, of which only the introductory volume was published (1969).

GOSLAR, city in Lower Saxony, Germany. Jewish merchants from *Worms are mentioned there in 1074 and 1114. In 1252 the city demanded the rights to the taxes from its Jewish settlement for itself, opposing the royal prerogative on the Jews as *Servi camerae; royal taxes were levied on them through the municipality from 1274. In 1312 the community paid a direct tax identical to that paid by Christians. The city council intervened on behalf of the community against the exactions of Emperor Louis IV in 1336 and 1340. The community of Goslar did not suffer persecution even at the time of the *Black Death, and the local form of the Jewish *oath was relatively free of degrading formulas. Problems of residence rights (**ḥerem* *ha-yishuv*) gave rise to bitter quarrels between old and new settlers, which the municipal council was often called upon to arbitrate, and resulted in a split in the community in 1331 which lasted for seven years. At that time there were approximately 30 Jewish taxpayers.

From 1312 the city council issued an increasing number of *Judenbriefe* conferring rights and obligations on individual Jews, so that by 1340 at least half of the Jews in Goslar were not included in the community for taxation purposes. This process continued in the latter half of the 14th century, accompanied by increased taxation and decline of the community. By 1400 not even a *minyan* could be organized, and in 1414 several Jews secretly left for Brunswick to evade a heavy imperial tax. A *blood libel about 1440 contributed to the decline of the community. A community in Goslar is mentioned in 1615, when a *parnas* was installed and took the oath of office. The *pinkas* registering a community of nine members was begun in 1677. A synagogue was built in 1693.

The community numbered 43 persons in 1871 and 38 in 1933. On *Kristallnacht, Nov. 10, 1938, the synagogue (consecrated in 1802), and Jewish shops and homes were attacked and looted. The well-preserved community archives were destroyed. Twenty-two members of the community perished during the Holocaust. A new community was organized, with 46 members in 1948, but declined soon afterward.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Germ Jud, 1 (1963), 117f.; 2 (1968), 283–95; M. Stern, in: *Israelitische Monatsschrift* (supplement to *Die Juedische Presse*), 40 (1909), 41–42, 45–47; 41 (1910), 6–7, 10–11; idem, in: *Israelitischer Lehrer und Cantor* (supplement to *Die Juedische Presse*), 31 (1900), 17–18; 32 (1901), 38–39; D. Loehr, in: *Friede ueber Israel*, 47 (1964), 147–9, 167–70; H. Fischer, in: *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung fuer Rechtsgeschichte, Germanistische Abteilung*, 56 (1936), 89–149; L. Rabinowitz, in: HJ, 2 (1940), 13–21.

[Henry Wasserman]

GOSLAR, HANS (1889–1945), a senior official of the Prussian government during the Weimar Republic and a leader of the *Mizrachi movement in Germany. Born in Hanover, Goslar wrote for periodicals, specializing in economic problems. He became an early adherent of Zionism and in 1911 published a book entitled *Die Krisis der juedischen Jugend Deutschlands* (1911). During World War I he served in Eastern Europe, where he came to know the Jewish masses and this profoundly revised his religious outlook. On his return to Germany in 1919, his activities in the German Social Democratic Party earned him the title of Ministerialrat and an appointment as director of the press section of the Prussian government, a post he retained until he resigned in 1932. In 1919 he published *Die Sexualethik der juedischen Wiedergeburt*, in which he urged a return to Jewish family ethics. He maintained his general Jewish, Zionist, and Mizrachi activities and published several books on Jewish as well as general themes. In 1933 Goslar immigrated to Amsterdam, where he continued his communal activities, especially on behalf of the rescue of Jews from Germany. He was a neighbor of Anne *Frank's family, and his daughter was Anne's friend, mentioned in Anne's diary on several occasions. In 1943 he was deported to the *Westerbork concentration camp and in 1944 was transferred to *Bergen-Belsen, where he died shortly before the liberation in 1945. He also wrote *Juedische Weltherrschaft: Phantasiegebilde oder Wirklichkeit?* (1919) and *Hygiene und Judentum* (1930).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Pick, in: MB (July 12, 1957); Y. Aviad, *Deyokena'ot* (1962), 235–7. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** T. Maurer, "Auch ein Weg Als Deutsche und Jude – Hans Goslar 1889–1945," in: J.H. Schoeps, *Juden als Traeger der buergerlichen Kultur in Deutschland* (1989), 192–239.

[Getzel Kressel]

GOSLAR, NAPHTALI HIRSCH BEN JACOB (c. 1700–?), rabbi and philosopher. Goslar acted as *dayyan* in his native *Halberstadt, but later moved to Amsterdam. Only in his 50th year did he begin to study Maimonides' *Guide* and religious philosophy in general. In his *Ma'amar Efsharut ha-Tivit* (Treatise on Natural Potentiality, Amsterdam, 1762), composed in dialogue form and partly in rhymed prose, he criticizes the doctrine of an uncreated prime matter and polemicizes against deism. The appendix to the *Ma'amar* contains talmudic novellae under the title *Meromei Sadeh*. Goslar addressed two letters, dealing with theological problems, to his son Samuel who too was *dayyan* at Halberstadt (published in German translation by B.H. Auerbach, *Geschichte der israelitischen Gemeinde Halberstadt* (1866), 100ff., 199ff.).

[Moshe Nahum Zobel]

GOSTYNIN, town in central Poland. The Jewish population numbered 157 in 1765, 634 in 1856, 1,849 in 1897, and 1,831 (27.5% of the total) in 1921. Between 1823 and 1862 there were special residential quarters for the Jews. The old synagogue, destroyed by fire, was rebuilt in 1899. It was situated in the former Jewish lane, and a side alley there was popularly known as the "alley of the dead," recalling the location of the old Jewish cemetery. The ḥasidic leader and rabbi Jehiel Meir *Lipschuetz lived in Gostynin in the 19th century. There were 2,269 Jews living in Gostynin on the eve of World War II.

Holocaust Period

Immediately after the German army entered the town in Sept. 1939, mass arrests and attacks on Jews began along with requisition and looting of Jewish property. Jews were ordered to hew the old wooden synagogue into pieces and carry them to German inhabitants for fuel. They were ordered to pay two "contributions" (fines) in succession; when the president of the community was unable to collect the second sum in time, he sent a delegation to the Warsaw Jewish community (on a German suggestion) and received the required amount.

A ghetto was set up in Gostynin which was at first open, but subsequently surrounded by barbed wire. Order was kept by Jewish police. Most of the Jews left the ghetto every morning for hard labor assignments. In August 1941 transports of men and women began to be sent to labor camps in the Warthegau. The ghetto was liquidated on April 16–17, 1942, when nearly 2,000 Jews were sent to the death camp at Chelmno.

By the end of the war all traces of Jewish life in the town had been obliterated. The cemetery had been desecrated and destroyed, the tombstones hauled away, and the tomb (*ohel*) of the local *ẓaddik* destroyed. The few Jews from Gostynin who survived the Holocaust subsequently emigrated.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Pinkes Gostynin: Yizkor Bukh* (1960); D. Dąbrowska, in: BŻIH, 13–14 (1955), 122–84 passim.

[Danuta Dombrowska]

GOTA, MOSES ZERAHIAH BEN SHNEUR (d. 1648), Turkish rabbi. Gota studied under Jehiel Basan and Joseph di Trani. After spending most of his life in Constantinople, he moved to Jerusalem and from there, to Hebron; financial difficulties compelled him to leave for Cairo, where he remained for the rest of his life. His contemporaries describe him as a great *posek* and as expert in Kabbalah. Apart from some responsa, all his works have remained in manuscript. They are: *Zeraḥ Ya'akov* on the *Beit Yosef* of Joseph *Caro; a commentary on Maimonides' *Mishneh Torah*; a supercommentary on Rashi's Pentateuch commentary; collected responsa and sermons. Some of his responsa are to be found in the Bodleian Library together with those of Eliezer Arḥa (rabbi in Hebron from 1634) and David *Habillo. Others appear in various works, among them in the collection of responsa *Zera Anashim* (1902). Gota's remains were interred on the Mount of Olives in 1650.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Conforte, Kore, 51; Frumkin-Rivlin, 2 (1928), 31; Fuenn, Keneset, 337.

[Simon Marcus]

GÖTEBORG, city in S.W. Sweden. In 1780 a number of Jewish families were granted permission to enter the area, and by 1792, 20 Jews lived in the city. Though the first synagogue was built in 1808, the congregation was unable to secure the services of a rabbi, Carl Heinemann, until 1837. After an attempt to introduce radical reform measures, opposed by the rabbi, two members of the congregation secured Heinemann's resignation in 1851, replacing him with the liberal German rabbi, Moritz Wolff, who led the community until 1899. Numbers of Polish and Russian Jews settled in Göteborg between 1903 and 1920. During World War II the Göteborg community absorbed many Jewish refugees from Denmark and also from Poland and Russia (1943–45). The Jewish population increased steadily and in 1968 reached 1,450, making Göteborg the third largest Jewish community in Sweden. With the exodus of Jews from Poland in 1968, many Polish Jews settled in Göteborg as well as in Sweden's two other major cities of Stockholm and Malmö. Following the collapse of Soviet power and the dismantling of the Berlin Wall, a new wave of Jewish emigration saw a significant increase in the number of Jews arriving from Russia and its satellites. Now constituting the second largest Jewish community in Sweden, Göteborg's Jewish population stood at 1,600 in the early years of the 21st century, with another thousand or so living in and near the city who are not affiliated with the congregation.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Göteborgs mosaiska församling, 1780–1955* (1955); *Skrift till invigningen av mosaiska församlingens i Göteborg nya församlingshus…* (1962); H. Valentin, *Judarna i Sverige* (1964). **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** *Mosaiska församlingen i Göteborg 200 år* (1980).

GOTHA, city in Thuringia, Germany. Jews from Gotha are mentioned in *Cologne in 1250 and later in *Erfurt. Eight members of the community were killed in connection with a *blood libel in Weissensee in 1303. The community suffered during the *Black Death persecutions (1349) and again in 1391. Though the community disappeared after the persecutions of 1459–60, a *mikveh* (*Judenbad*) is mentioned in 1564 and 1614. Until 1848 no Jews were allowed to live in the duchy of Gotha but restricted trading was permitted. The community formed after 1848 increased from 95 in 1872/3, to 236 in 1880, and 372 in 1910 (0.9% of the total population). A synagogue was built in 1903. In 1932 the prosperous community of 350 members maintained a synagogue, school, cemetery, library, and six social and charitable organizations. On Nov. 10, 1938, the synagogue was burned down and 28 men of the community were sent to *Buchenwald. The 80 remaining Jews had been deported by 1939. The community was not reestablished after World War II.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Germ Jud 1, 118–19; 2, 295–96; FJW, 372; PK.

GOTLIEB, ALLAN (1928–), Canadian lawyer, diplomat, public servant. Gotlieb was born in Winnipeg. His parents, David and Sarah Gotlieb, were very active in Jewish community and Israel support activities. Sarah Gotlieb was a leading figure in Canadian Hadassah and served as national president of the organization from 1951 to 1955.

Allan Gotlieb earned a B.A. at the University of California at Berkeley, his M.A. while a Rhodes' Scholar at Oxford, and a law degree from Harvard University. In 1957 he joined the Canadian Department of External Affairs, where in 1967 he became an assistant undersecretary and legal adviser. Gotlieb met Pierre Trudeau shortly after Trudeau was first elected to Parliament in 1965. While Trudeau was first parliamentary secretary to Prime Minister Lester Pearson and then minister of justice, the two men developed a close working relationship and consulted often on issues of federal-provincial relations and foreign affairs. When Trudeau became prime minister in 1968, Gotlieb was appointed deputy minister of the Department of Communication and in 1971 deputy minister of manpower and immigration. In 1977 he returned to External Affairs as an undersecretary and in 1981 Gotlieb was appointed Canadian ambassador to the United States, a post he held until 1989. While in Washington, Gotlieb, with the assistance of his wife, Sondra, was particularly effective in representing Canada's interests and raising Canada's profile.

From 1989 to 1994 Gotlieb was chairman of the Canadian Council for the Arts, a government-funded organization charged with fostering and promoting the study, enjoyment, and the production of art in Canada. He then became a senior adviser to a major Canadian law firm, specializing in areas of arbitration, government relations, and regulatory and public policy. In addition to his various professional and business interests, Gotlieb was also active in support of a number of arts foundations and research institutions. Among his many honors, he was a Companion of the Order of Canada.

[Harold Troper (2nd ed.)]

GOTS, Russian revolutionary family. ABRAM RAFAILOVICH GOTS (1882–1937 or 1940) was born in Moscow into the family of a wealthy tea merchant; from 1906 Gots was an active member of the fighting organization of the Socialist-Revolutionary (SR) party and a member of its central committee. For his participation in the planning of a terrorist act in 1907 he was sentenced to eight years imprisonment. After the February 1917 Revolution he led the SR faction in the Petrograd soviet. In June 1917 at the First Congress of Soviets he was elected chairman of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee. Following the October Revolution Gots joined the anti-Bolshevik Committee for Saving the Homeland and the Revolution. He was an organizer of the armed attack of the junkers (cadets) which took place in Petrograd. November 11–12, 1917. At the 4th Congress of SRS (November 1917) he defended the right to resort to terror against the forces which had usurped the rights of the Constituent Assembly. In 1920 he was arrested and in 1922 sentenced to execution, which was subsequently changed to five years imprisonment. In 1927 he was exiled, first to Simbirsk and then to Alma-Ata. In 1937 he was arrested again. According to some sources, he was shot together with Mark Liber in Alma-Ata. In Soviet political literature his name always appears as part of the trio "Gots-Liber-Dan" (see Fyodor *Dan) whom Lenin referred to as "social defenders," i.e. leaders of socialist parties who advocated the continuation of the war after the February Revolution.

His brother, MIKHAIL RAFAILOVICH GOTS (literary pseudonym, M. Rafailov; 1866–1906), entered Moscow University in 1885, but in the following year was arrested for revolutionary activities, and in 1888 was exiled to Eastern Siberia for 8 years. For armed resistance to the authorities in Yakutsk in 1889, during which he was wounded, he was sentenced to permanent exile, but in 1895 received amnesty. He lived in Kurgane, and then in Odessa where he took up literary activities. In 1901 Gots emigrated to Paris where, in collaboration with other revolutionaries, he published the journal *Vestnik russkoy revolyutsii*. From the establishment of the SR party (in late 1901) until his death, Gots was one of the heads of the party. In 1902 he moved to Geneva where he helped to publish the central organ of the SRS *Revollyutsionnaya Rossiya*. Gots' apartment in Geneva served as SR headquarters and he himself directed all party work. In 1903 when visiting Italy, Gots was arrested at the request of the Russian government but due to a campaign in the European socialist and radical press he was freed and deported to Switzerland. The money he received from rich relatives he used for party purposes. Apart from articles, he published a book: on criticism, dogma, theory, and practice.

[Mark Kipnis / *The Shorter Jewish Encyclopaedia in Russian*]

GOTSFELD, BESSIE (1888–1962), U.S. social worker and Zionist. Born Beilka Goldstein in Przemsyl, a middle-sized city in southeastern Poland, this daughter of a religiously Orthodox yet modern family was educated in a Polish gymnasium. In 1905, her family migrated to New York, where Beilka became Bessie. In 1909 she married Mendel Gotsfeld, her English tutor. A Zionist since her youth in Poland, Gotsfeld's interest in the movement was rekindled through contact with Mizrachi leaders Rabbis Wolf Gold and Meir Berlin. Thereafter she dedicated her life to religious Zionism. She cherished Mizrachi's objective, which was to secure "the land of Israel for the people of Israel, in accordance with the law of Israel."

In 1925 she founded a national organization, Mizrachi Women of America (which after 1982 became known as Amit). MWOA's double objective was to give voice to the inchoate desire of Orthodox women for a gendered connection to the new Zionist settlement in Palestine and to widen educational and vocational opportunities for the female Orthodox population of Ereẓ Israel.

To investigate the feasibility of starting a school, Gotsfeld traveled there in 1929–30 and selected a Jerusalem building to refurbish as a technical school. En route home, she contacted European women's groups and solicited their support. She convinced Orthodox women in Europe and America that this school would foster Zionism and religion. Skilled young women would contribute to the economy of the new settlement, put a new face on Orthodoxy, and assure continuity into the next generation.

In 1931 the Gotsfelds settled permanently in Tel Aviv and Bessie became the official (though unpaid) "Palestine representative of MWOA." At her suggestion and under her supervision MWOA founded three urban vocational schools for adolescent girls and two large farm villages that instructed girls and boys along similar lines. The largest, Kefar Batya in Ra'ananah, bears her Hebrew given name. MWOA also constructed children's homes in small settlements, supported day care centers in the cities, and funded youth programs. Gotsfeld kept the MWOA membership informed through letters, bulletins, and speaking tours in the United States.

Gotsfeld was caught up in the fierce battles between secular and Orthodox Jews over the education of child refugees who found their way to Palestine before, during, and after World War II. She found places in Orthodox institutions for Youth Aliyah children and immigrants from Arab countries. No other branch of Mizrachi matched MWOA's accomplishments during the pre-state years. Along with Hadassah and Pioneer Women, the other major American women's Zionist organizations, MWOA played a critical role in building the Yishuv.

Gotsfeld retired officially in 1948 but maintained a grip on organizational policy until her death in 1962. Her whirlwind activities over three decades is remarkable in light of illness and mounting disabilities suffered through most of her adult life. The institutions that she founded exemplify the process of modernization within 20th century Orthodox Judaism. They trained a generation of Orthodox female technicians and teachers competent in advanced methods of pedagogy, agriculture, and technology, and eager to assert their status as equal citizens of the new state.

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[Baila Round Shargel (2nd ed.)]

GOTTESFELD, CHONE (pseud. **Tuvye Shmeykhl**; 1890–1964), Yiddish humorist and writer of comedies. Born in Skala, Galicia, he attended gymnasium in Czernowitz, before immigrating at 18 to the U.S. From 1914 until his death he was on the editorial staff of the New York daily *Forverts*, editing for many years the news, as well as the humor section. Among his comedies, staged in the U.S. and Poland, the most successful were *Gevald, Ven Shtarbt Er?* ("Heavens, When Will He Die?"1926) and *Parnose* ("Livelihood"). Rudolph *Schildkraut and Maurice *Schwartz directed and acted in his plays. His humorous memoirs, *Vos Ikh Gedenk fun Mayn Lebn* ("What I Remember of My Life"), appeared in 1960 (Eng. 1965).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: LNYL, 2 (1958) 24–5; Z. Zylbercwejg, *Leksikon fun Yidishn Teater*, 1 (1931), 258–9. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** M. Ravitch, *Mayn Leksikon*, 4 (1980), 108–10.

[Melech Ravitch]

GOTTESMAN, U.S. family of philanthropists. MENDEL GOTTESMAN (1859–1942), industrialist, banker, and philanthropist, was born in Munkacs, Hungary, and immigrated to the United States in the 1880s. He was a pioneer in the paper and pulp industry, and later founded and became president of an investment banking company. Gottesman founded and supported several *talmud torahs* on the Lower East Side of New York, particularly between the 1890s and 1915, during which time he became associated with the forerunner of Yeshiva University, the Isaac Elchanan Theological Seminary. In 1917 he organized the Gottesman Tree of Life Foundation, through which many of his charitable activities were carried out, including granting scholarships to Yeshiva University students. He served as treasurer of Yeshiva University for many years and as president of the Yeshiva Endowment Foundation, which he conceived and established, from 1928 to 1942. DAVID SAMUEL GOTTESMAN (1884–1956), merchant and financier, was born in Munkacs, Hungary, the son of Mendel Gottesman. He became his father's partner in the wood pulp industry and later developed his own companies in that business and in investment banking. In 1941 he established the D.S. and R.H. Gottesman Foundation to donate funds for higher education, local welfare, Jewish studies, and other causes. Among the foundation's charitable contributions were four Dead Sea Scrolls, purchased for the State of Israel in 1955, and the donations of funds in 1961 for the construction of the Shrine of the Book in Jerusalem to house the Dead Sea Scrolls; the building is now part of the Israel Museum.

BENJAMIN GOTTESMAN (1897–1979), born in New York City, the son of Mendel Gottesman, carried on his father's work in both business and philanthropic association with Yeshiva University. A trustee of the university, he was vice president and treasurer of the Gottesman Tree of Life Foundation, one of the founders of the Albert Einstein College of Medicine of Yeshiva University, president of the Yeshiva Foundation Endowment Inc., and chairman of the Investment and Endowment Committee. Gottesman also served on the Investment Advisory Committee of *Hadassah, of which his wife ESTHER GOTTESMAN (1899–1997), born in New York City, was national treasurer.

GOTTHEIL, GUSTAV (1827–1903), Reform rabbi, liturgist, and U.S. Zionist leader. Gottheil was born in Pinne, Posen. He was drawn to liberal Judaism at the University of Berlin, and studied with such scholars as Steinschneider and Zunz. During 1855–60 Gottheil was a teacher at the Reform Gemeinde in Berlin and preaching assistant to Samuel *Holdheim, who impressed him greatly. In Manchester, England, where he served the progressive Congregation of British Jews from 1869 to 1873, Gottheil mastered English, then joined Temple Emanu-El of New York City in 1873 as co-rabbi to the aging Samuel *Adler. Challenging the ethical culture theories of Felix Adler, son of Samuel Adler, Gottheil espoused a more traditional theistic Judaism, and was upheld by the congregation. He attempted to maintain a rabbinical school under Emanu-El's auspices during 1874–85, but it had very few students. Gottheil published a hymnal in 1886 and a devotional compilation *Sun and Shield* (1896). He voluntarily abandoned issuing his own prayer book in favor of the *Union Prayer Book*, which included a number of his translations and renderings. The most important American rabbi publicly to support Zionism during the First Zionist Congress in 1897, Gottheil, his son Richard *Gottheil, and Stephen S. *Wise were among the founders of the Federation of American Zionists. Gottheil was a teacher and friend to such young rabbis as Stephen S. Wise, Leon Harrison, and Samuel Schulman. In a sense he was a bridge from the German beginnings of Reform to its Eastern – as distinct from Midwestern – American flowering.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: R.J.H. Gottheil, *Life of Gustav Gottheil, Memoir of a Priest in Israel* (1936).

[Bertram Wallace Korn]

GOTTHEIL, RICHARD JAMES HORATIO (1862–1936), U.S. Orientalist. Gottheil was born in Manchester, England, the son of Gustav *Gottheil, and immigrated to New York with his parents in 1873. He taught Semitic languages at Columbia University from 1886 until his death, except for one year, 1920–21, at the University of Strasbourg; he was director of the Oriental Department of the New York Public Library from 1896 until his death and president of the American Oriental Society, 1933–34. Gottheil was an active Zionist and prominent in American Jewish life. Among other activities he served as president of the American Federation of Zionists, 1898–1904, president of the Society of Biblical Literature, 1902–03, and vice president of the American Jewish Historical Society from 1904 on. He founded the Zeta Beta Tau Fraternity, originally a Zionist society, and was one of the founders of the Jewish Institute of Religion (see *Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion in New York). Among the works Gottheil published, in addition to numerous articles in scholarly and general periodicals and books, are *Zionism* (1914), *The Holy War* (1915), *The Belmont-Belmonte Family* (1917), and *The Life of Gustav Gottheil; Memoir of a Priest in Israel* (1936). Among the works he edited and translated are *A Treatise on Syriac Grammar by Mâr(i) Eliâ of Sôbhâ* (1887), and with W.H. Worrell, *Fragments from the Cairo Genizah in the Freer Collection* (1927). He was an editor of the *Jewish Encyclopedia* (1901–06) and the editor of the *Columbia University Oriental Series* (vols. 1–29, 1901–36).

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GOTTLIEB, ADOLPH (1903–1974), U.S. painter and sculptor. Best known for his abstract expressionist paintings, New York-born Gottlieb studied at the Art Students League with John Sloan and Robert Henri (1920–21). After traveling through Europe for two years, and attending life drawing class at the Académie de la Grande Chaumière in Paris, Gottlieb returned in 1923 to New York for additional art instruction. His first solo exhibition was held at the Dudensing Gallery in New York in 1930.

In 1935 Gottlieb cofounded "The Ten," a group of artists committed to progressive tendencies in art that also included Mark *Rothko. The Ten exhibited together regularly until 1939. Working under the Works Progress Administration's Federal Art Project since 1936, Gottlieb executed a mural for the Yerington, Nevada Post Office in 1939.

Influenced by European surrealists who settled in New York before World War II; primitive art; and Southwest Indian symbols, introduced to him in Arizona where he lived from 1937 to 1939; Gottlieb created his first pictograph in 1941. An amalgamation of abstraction and the subjectivity of Surrealist-inspired automatism, the Pictograph series is comprised of grid compartments in which Gottlieb placed stylized iconography that sometimes drew on his interest in ancient myths. Critics relate his art of the period to the distress of World War II. The Pictographs (1941–51) were followed by two other major series: Imaginary Landscapes (1951–57) and Bursts (1957–74). The Imaginary Landscapes, such as *The Frozen Sounds, No. 1* (1951, Whitney Museum of American Art, New York), are characterized by a horizontal line across the center of a canvas, above which he painted different geometric shapes reduced in color from the Pictographs. In the lower half of the canvas he applied a dense array of gestural marks. The Bursts marked the beginning of Gottlieb's work on oversized canvases. Gottlieb typically placed one or more disks floating on the top half of the canvas contrasting with an exploding mass of black gestures on the lower half. Similar shapes comprise sculptures executed in the 1960s.

In addition to painting, Gottlieb designed an ark curtain for Congregation B'nai Israel, Millburn, N.J. (1951), and a tapestry for the prayer hall as well as the valance of the ark curtain for Beth El in Springfield, Mass. (1953). He designed and supervised fabrication of a 35-foot-wide, four-story-high stained glass facade for the Milton Steinberg Center at New York's Park Avenue Synagogue (1954). Using compartmentalization similar to the Pictographs, 31 compositions are repeated and interspersed in 91 panels displaying partly abstracted Jewish symbols, biblical stories, religious rituals, and holidays. An arrow, for example, is meant to symbolize a Torah pointer, a serpent symbolizes phylacteries, and 12 calligraphic signs delineate the 12 tribes of Israel.

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[Samantha Baskind (2nd ed.)]

GOTTLIEB, BERNHARD (1885–1950), dental scientist. Born in Kuty, Slovakia, Gottlieb trained in Vienna, where he did research in diseases of the teeth, specializing in the cause of caries. He was the first to describe the epithelial tissue which joins the tooth surface to the gum. During World War I he served as a dental surgeon on the Russian-Romanian front. In 1921, he started to lecture at the University of Vienna, and was a pioneer in experimental animal studies which drew the attention of researchers in this field in Europe and the U.S. In 1938, under Nazi rule, Gottlieb was dismissed from his post at the university. With the help of some non-Jewish admirers he was able to leave Austria. Gottlieb was a keen talmudist, and identified with the cause and interests of a Jewish state in Ereẓ Israel. He went to Palestine where he spent two years teaching at the Hebrew University and helped to set up dental clinics. In 1940, Gottlieb emigrated to the United States, where he was visiting professor at the Kellogg Foundation Institute at Ann Arbor, Michigan.

[Jacob Yardeni]

GOTTLIEB, EDWARD (**"Eddie," "The Mogul"**; 1898–1979), pioneer innovator, administrator, and promoter of U.S. basketball; member of the Basketball Hall of Fame. Born in Kiev, Gottlieb and his family immigrated to the U.S. when he was a child, first to New York and then Philadelphia, where he graduated from South Philadelphia High School in 1916. Gottlieb helped organize an amateur team under the Young Men's Hebrew Association in 1918, which was subsequently sponsored by the South Philadelphia Hebrew Association. That social club provided uniforms with the acronym SPHAS across the chest in the Hebrew letters *sameḥ*, *pe*, *he*, and *alef*, and the legendary team – considered one of the greatest early professional teams – won three league titles in the Philadelphia League, three out of four in the Eastern League, and eight of 13 in the American Basketball League, primarily with Jewish players. In 1946, Gottlieb helped establish the Basketball Association of America, winning the league's first championship, and was instrumental in merging the BAA with the National Basketball League to form the National Basketball Association in 1949. He coached the Philadelphia Warriors from 1947 to 1955, purchased the team in 1952, and led them to their first NBA title in 1956.

After selling the team in 1962 for a then-record price of $850,000, Gottlieb remained with the Warriors as general manager when they became the San Francisco Warriors, and stayed with the team until 1964. He served as chairman of the NBA Rules Committee for 25 years and was instrumental in the adoption of the 24-second clock, the rule against zone defenses, and the bonus penalty shot. For nearly 30 years he was the NBA's sole schedule maker. Gottlieb also helped organize overseas tours for the Harlem Globetrotters, and promoted professional doubleheaders. Upon his death, *The New York Times* wrote: "His mental powers were extraordinary and his memory almost faultless. He remembered the scores of games, the gate receipts, the attendance, and even the weather." The Eddie Gottlieb Trophy is awarded annually to the NBA's Rookie of the Year. Gottlieb was inducted into the Basketball Hall of Fame in 1971.

[Elli Wohlgelernter (2nd ed.)]

GOTTLIEB, EPHRAIM (1921–1973), historian of Kabbalah. Gottlieb was born in Munkács (Mukachevo), and received his education in Czech schools, yeshivot, and the Hebrew high school at Munkács, where he took part in Zionist activities. Immigrating to Ereẓ Israel in 1941, he first taught in the agricultural school at Mikveh Israel (until 1955). From 1945 to 1947 he was in Hungary on behalf of the *Beriḥah *("Aliyah Bet")*, organized by the Jewish Agency. From 1955 to 1965 he taught Jewish subjects in a municipal high school belonging to the religious trend in Tel Aviv. During the years 1952 to 1963 Gottlieb studied Talmud, Jewish philosophy, and Kabbalah (in which he specialized), becoming one of the foremost pupils of Gershom *Scholem and gaining his Ph.D. in 1963. From that year he lectured on Kabbalah at Bar-Ilan University, from 1964 at Tel Aviv University, and from 1965 at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, where he became senior lecturer in 1966 and associate professor in 1970. Gottlieb's contributions (all in Hebrew) to the history of early Spanish and Italian Kabbalah, between the 13th and 16th centuries, are distinguished by profundity, wide knowledge of the sources, and philological precision. The history of Spanish kabbalistic literature, in particular, has benefited from this research. In his book *The Kabbalah in the Writings of R. Baḥya ben Asher ibn Ḥalawa* (1970), he analyzed the sources of Baḥya's famous commentary on the Torah and proved conclusively that the author used some parts of the Zohar extensively, translating, or paraphrasing them in Hebrew. His other studies, most of which appeared in *Tarbiz, Kirjath Sepher*, and the *Shenaton* of Bar-Ilan University, include research into the kabbalistic exegeses on Genesis 1 in the Gerona circle (*Tarbiz*, 37, 1968), into the works of (or attributed to) Joseph Gikatilla (*Tarbiz*, 39, 1969–70), and into the *Pekudin* section of the main body of the Zohar, later used by the author of the *Raaya Meheimna* portion of the Zohar and incorporated into this secondary work (KS, 48, 1973). Gottlieb studied the concepts of *devekut* and prophecy in an unpublished work by Isaac b. Samuel of Acre (*Papers of the Fourth World Congress of Jewish Studies*, 2, 1969) and some of the writings of R. Joseph from Ḥamadan which were first identified by him (KS, 48, 1973). He conclusively identified the hitherto anonymous author of the commentary on *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut*, printed in the Ferrara edition of this work (*Memorial Volume for Prof. Benjamin de Vries*, 1969), and analyzed the discussion on the theory of transmigration, held in 1466 in Crete and preserved in two Vatican manuscripts (*Sefunot*, 11, 1974). He also disproved the authenticity, or in another case the lack of value, of kabbalistic texts which had been considered important by earlier scholars (the falsification of the work *Ginnat Bitan* and its commentaries ascribed to the early 14th century, in *Studies in Honour of G. Scholem*, 1968, and the construction of R. Elhanan the Blind's epistles, in *Michael*, 1, 1973). Gottlieb proved them to be plagiarisms based on Judah Ḥayyat's work *Minḥat Yehudah.* His lectures on the Kabbalah at the end of the 13th century, especially on Gikatilla and the book *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut*, were published in mimeographed form (1969). Gottlieb died suddenly in October 1973, a month after his appointment as head of the Institute of Jewish Studies of the university.

[Gershom Scholem (2nd ed.)]

GOTTLIEB, FRANTIŠEK (1903–1974), Czech poet and author. Born in Klatovy, Bohemia, Gottlieb studied law and was influenced by Otokar *Fischer at Charles University in Prague. He was an active Zionist in his youth, and made Jewish nationalism the ideological basis of his first book of poetry, *Cesta do Kanaán* (The Way to Canaan, 1924), and of his earliest novel, *Životy Jiřího Kahna* (The Lives of George Kahn, 1930, 1947^2) a tragic story of the son of a Jewish merchant. In 1939, he emigrated to Palestine, but during World War II joined the Czechoslovak army in the Middle East. After the war, he returned to Prague, where he entered the Czechoslovak Foreign Ministry. His impressions of wartime Palestine are embodied in a volume of poems, *Dvojí nástup* (Double Ascent, 1942, 1946^2), and in two books of short sketches, *Čelem proti čelu* (Head On, 1947) and *Jaro a poušť'* (Spring and Desert, 1956, 1962^2). Eventually, he published a drama, *Golem* (1965), about Rabbi *Loew, in 1966 a volume of poems, *Rozpjatý den* (An

Extended Day), and a short story, "Z okna do okna" ("From Window to Window," 1973), a sorrowful tale of a Jewish family. Gottlieb was not deterred from dealing with Jewish themes after the Communist coup of 1948.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: O. Donath, *Židé a židovství v české literatuře 19. a 20. století*, 2 (1930), index; J. Kunc, *Slovnik českých spisovatelů beletristů 1945–56* (1957); R. Iltis, in: *Jewish Quarterly*, 13 (Summer 1965), 11. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** *Lexikon české literatury* 1 (1985); A. Mikulášek et al., *Literatura s hvězdou Davidovou*, vol. 1 (1998).

[Avigdor Dagan / Milos Pojar (2nd ed.)]

GOTTLIEB, HEINRICH (1839–1905), lawyer, communal leader, and writer, born in Lvov. He practiced law in Kalisz and Lvov. As deputy chairman of the Lvov community, Gottlieb was responsible for its educational department and did much to develop its activities. His book *Schulbetrachtungen* (1872) deals with educational questions. He also wrote studies on pedagogy, law, philosophy, natural sciences, and history, including a series of articles on the Jewish Khazar kingdom (in *Oesterreichische Wochenschrift*, nos. 13, 17, 21, and 48, 1894). He was editor of the Polish periodical *Ekonomista* and contributed to *Izraelita*. Gottlieb also wrote literary essays and poetry (*Weltuntergang*, 1888).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: M. Bałaban, in: YE, 6 (c. 1910), 733–4.

GOTTLIEB, HINKO (1886–1948), Yugoslav author, translator, and Zionist leader. Born in a Croatian village, Gottlieb made his name as a Zionist poet and writer on Jewish themes while he was still a student in Zagreb. After graduating, he divided his activity between law practice and literary pursuits. His verse, which combined imagination and realism, reflected contemporary events and his whole output testified to his strong Jewish loyalties and his anti-Nazi sentiments. A prominent contributor to most Jewish publications in Yugoslavia between the world wars, Gottlieb founded the Jewish monthly *Ommanut*, which he edited from 1936 until 1941. He published Serbo-Croat translations of German, Yiddish, and Hebrew works, the latter for an anthology of modern Hebrew literature (1933), as well as translations from Heine (1936). A collection of his poems *Ijar, jevrejski maj* ("Iyyar, the Jewish May") appeared in 1935. As a lawyer, Gottlieb often defended Yugoslav communists and had contacts with Josip Broz, the World War II partisan leader who became President Tito. Following the Nazi invasion in 1941, Gottlieb was arrested and imprisoned in Vienna and then in Zagreb. He managed to escape and joined Tito's forces. In 1944 he was sent to Bari, Italy, where he organized the rescue of 1,500 Croatian Jews. In the following year he left Europe for Ereẓ Israel, where he completed and revised his stories of the Holocaust period. These later works include *Ključ od velikih vrata* (*The Key to the Great Gate*, 1947), a novel which later appeared in Hebrew (1950); and the short story *Kadiš u šumi* ("Kaddish in the Forest," 1944), which has been acclaimed as one of the outstanding products of Jewish underground literature.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: S. Radej, in: *Jevrejski Almanah 1954*; V. Dedijer, *Josip Broz Tito* (1953); C. Rotem, in: *Jevrejski Almanah 1957/8*; idem, in: *Davar* (June 14, 1945 and Oct. 31, 1958). **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** C. Rotem, "Hinko Gottlieb: Works," 2 vols. (Heb., 1980).

[Zdenko Lowenthal / Cvi Rotem]

GOTTLIEB, HIRSCH LEIB (1829–1930), Hebrew journalist. Born in Szigetvar, Hungary, Gottlieb translated works of Goethe, Schiller, and others into Hebrew. In 1878, in his native town, he began to publish *Ha-Shemesh*, the first Hebrew paper in Hungary. Among those who contributed to the paper were the Hebrew writers R.A. *Broides, G. *Bader, and D.I. Silberbusch. As a result of the opposition of the rabbi of Szigetvar the paper was moved for a time to Kolomea, Galicia, where it appeared once under the name *Ha-Shemesh* and once as *Ha-Ḥarsah*. Gottlieb ceased publishing it at the turn of the century, returned to Szigetvar, and began to publish Yiddish newspapers. Because of open advocacy of Zionism in his Yiddish paper *Zion* he was persecuted by religious extremists, but he nevertheless persevered until the eve of World War I. Gottlieb was also a well-known humorist whose anecdotes and light verse were published in his newspaper and in his book of Yiddish verse, published posthumously.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Taẓlil*, 4 (1964), 44–65 (Hebrew translation of his autobiography); Yaari, in: KS, 35 (1959/60), 111–2.

[Getzel Kressel]

GOTTLIEB, JACOB (**Yankev**; 1911–1945), Yiddish and Hebrew poet, short story writer, and essayist. Born in Kovno, Lithuania, Gottlieb was a descendant of the ḥasidic rabbis of Nowy Sacz. He published his first poem at age 14 and contributed to numerous East European Yiddish periodicals. His first poetry collection, published at age 20, proved his mastery of various lyric styles as well as of blank verse. His poems were characterized by mystic imagery and treated universal themes such as love and nature, as well as social and national subjects. He envisaged a coming world decline and another Jewish catastrophe. Three additional volumes of lyrics appeared in 1933, 1936, and 1938, along with a study of H. *Leivick in 1939. With the outbreak of World War II, Gottlieb fled eastward from the Nazis, and survived the war years in Mari (Turkmenistan), where he died of typhus in 1945. A posthumous selection of his poems, *Geklibene Lider* ("Selected Poems"), was published in Montreal in 1959.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: LNYL, 2 (1958), 18; J. Leftwich (ed.), *The Golden Peacock* (1961).

[Melech Ravitch / Marc Miller (2nd ed.)]

GOTTLIEB, JEDIDIAH BEN ISRAEL (d. 1645), talmudic scholar and itinerant preacher in Poland. He visited the major Jewish communities, especially Lvov (Lemberg), Cracow, and Lublin. His biblical and talmudic homilies (*Ahavat ha-Shem*) were published in Cracow in 1641, and again in Lublin in 1645. This work includes 50 different explanations of Deuteronomy 10:12. His biblical commentaries, printed in Cracow in 1644 in three volumes under the title *Shir Yedidut*, reflect Jewish social, religious, and economic life in Poland in the first half of the 17th century, prior to the catastrophe of the *Chmielnicki uprising. As a prominent preacher, Gottlieb had the courage to castigate the rich members of the Jewish communities for being overzealous in their pursuit of worldly riches. He enjoined them to bequeath part of their fortunes for community needs and scholars, rather than leave everything to their children. From Gottlieb's homilies it also transpires that Jews with drive and initiative easily found economic opportunities in trade and tax farming, and acquired considerable wealth. He expressed his preference for "self-made" men over those who acquired wealth by inheritance, and supported their claim to social status. Gottlieb is representative of the itinerant preachers of that period who sensed the spirit of the times and often aroused delight by clever, humorous, or anecdotal explanations of the texts.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Ḥ.D. Friedberg, *Ha-Defus ha-Ivri be-Krakov* (1900), 27; H.H. Ben-Sasson, *Hagut ve-Hanhagah* (1959), index.

GOTTLIEB, MAURYCY (1856–1879), Polish painter. Born in Drohobycz, in eastern Galicia, he was the son of a prosperous owner of an oil refinery. At the age of 13, he studied at the art school in Lemberg, and three years later at the Vienna Academy. Later, under the influence of his teacher at the Cracow Academy, professor Jan Matejko, an ardent champion of Polish nationalism, Gottlieb turned from German to Polish subject matter. Gottlieb was subjected to antisemitic taunts, and painted a self-portrait called "Ahasuerus," which referred to the legend of the Wandering Jew who was shunned by everyone. In 1876 he received a prize at Munich for his painting, "Shylock and Jessica." The noted publisher Bruckmann then commissioned him to make 12 illustrations for a deluxe edition of Lessing's drama *Nathan der Weise*. Yielding to antisemitic pressure, Bruckmann canceled the commission after seven of the illustrations had been finished. Gottlieb's next major work, "Jews Praying on the Day of Atonement," was stimulated by his studying Heinrich *Graetz's *History of the Jews*. The picture caused a sensation in Jewish circles, and the Jewish press hailed it as a genuinely Jewish masterpiece. With the aid of a Viennese patron, Gottlieb went to Rome, where he again met his teacher Matejko, who greeted him as "the most hopeful disciple of Polish art, whom I greet as my successor." After a few months in Rome, Gottlieb went back to Cracow, where he died at the age of 23. Considering the fact that Gottlieb's career covered only four or five years, his extant work is remarkable both in quality and quantity. "Shylock and Jessica" is so well and richly painted that the theatricality of the scene is overlooked, and "Jews Praying on the Day of Atonement" (which embodies a self-portrait) is an indisputable masterpiece. Gottlieb was also an excellent portraitist. His portraits are gems of psychological penetration in an era that often beautified and falsified its sitters. His portraits of girls and elderly women have delicacy, lightness of touch, and charm.

Maurycy's younger brother LEOPOLD GOTTLIEB (1883–1934), the 13th child of the Gottlieb family, studied in Cracow, Munich, and Paris, and for a while taught at the Bezalel School in Jerusalem. During World War I he was a lieutenant in the Polish Legion, and thereafter fought under Pilsudski in Poland's War of Independence. Among the numerous personalities who sat for him for portraits were Pilsudski and the writer Sholem Asch.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: M. Narkiss (ed.), *Maurycy Gottlieb, Iggerot ve-Divrei Yoman* (1955); *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, 8 (1959–60), 386–7; Roth, Art, 556–62, 808–10.

[Alfred Werner]

GOTTLIEB, YEHOSHUA (1882–c. 1940–41), Zionist journalist and leader in Poland during the interwar period. Born in Pinsk, Gottlieb began his Zionist activities in 1913, becoming a member of the central committee of the Zionist Organization in Poland in 1916. He served the movement mainly as a journalist, writing for the great Warsaw Yiddish dailies *Haynt* (1919–35) and *Moment* (1935–39), and was one of the outstanding newsmen and essayists of his time. In 1935 he was elected to the Sejm (Polish parliament). From 1927 to 1934 he was chairman of the Warsaw Journalists' Association and from 1924 to 1939 was a member of the Warsaw Jewish Community Council, serving as its deputy chairman from 1926 to 1930. He was one of the founders of the Et Livnot ("Time to Build") faction of the *General Zionists, which supported *Weizmann's idea of an "enlarged" *Jewish Agency. On behalf of his faction, Gottlieb worked diligently in support of the Fourth Aliyah (from 1924 on), which consisted mostly of middle-class Jews from Poland. When World War II broke out, he fled to Pinsk, where he was arrested by the Soviets soon after their entry into the city. He died in prison in Poland, according to one version, while another version has it that he had been taken to northern Kazakhstan.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: LNYL, 2 (1958), 15–18; Kol, in: *Sefer Pinsk*, 2 (1966), 539–40; Remba, in: *Ḥerut* (Dec. 17, 1965). **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** Ch. Finkelstein, *Haynt, a Tsaitung baz Ziden 1908–1939* (1978), index.

[Getzel Kressel]

GOTTLOBER, ABRAHAM BAER (pseudonyms **Abag** and **Mahalalel**, 1810–1899), Hebrew and Yiddish writer and poet. Born in Staro-Konstantinov (Volhynia), Gottlober was taken to Tarnopol (now Ternopol), Galicia, by his father at the age of 17. In Galicia he came in contact with the Haskalah, of which he was a staunch advocate most of his life, and met Joseph *Perl in 1828. Upon his return to Volhynia, his pious father-in-law, violently opposed to his secular studies, compelled him to divorce his wife. Gottlober, embittered by the affair, developed a hostility toward orthodoxy and Ḥasidism which found satiric expression in his writings. At 19 he remarried and moved to Podolia where, under the influence of Menahem Mendel *Levin's works, he began writing in Yiddish and in Hebrew. He wandered from place to place, living between 1830 and 1850 in Bessarabia, Berdichev, and Kremenets. In

Kremenets he married for the third time and befriended I.B. *Levinsohn. Upon obtaining a government teaching license in 1850, he taught school until 1865 when he was appointed instructor of Talmud at the rabbinical seminary in Zhitomir. There he remained until the government closed down the seminary in 1873.

Hebrew Works

Gottlober's literary career extends over a 60-year period and though his writings are of a limited aesthetic value, they are a real, if modest, contribution to the development of the modern Hebrew language and literature and to Yiddish literature. During the 1830–50 period, he published two collections of Hebrew poems: *Pirḥei ha-Aviv* (1837) and *Ha-Niẓẓanim* (1850). In 1874, on an extended sojourn in Vienna, he published his Hebrew translation of Lessing's *Nathan der Weise*, a number of nationalistic poems in Hebrew, and the short story "*Kol Rinnah vi-Yshu'ah be-Oholei Ẓaddikim*" (*Ha-Shaḥar*, 1874–75). When the editor of *Ha-Shaḥar*, Perez *Smolenskin, attacked the Berlin Haskalah and wrote disparagingly of Moses *Mendelssohn, Gottlober broke with him and founded the Hebrew monthly *Ha-Boker Or* which appeared intermittently in Lemberg and later in Warsaw (1876–86). The periodical, mainly a vehicle for Gottlober's attack on Smolenskin's views, published also many of his short stories and studies in biblical exegesis, and in 1886 the second part of his memoirs, *Zikhronot mi-Ymei Ne'urai*. (The first part had appeared separately in Warsaw in 1881, while supplementary material was published in *Ha-Asif*, 1885.) With the demise of his journal, Gottlober left Warsaw and lived first in Dubno, then in Rovno, spending the last years of his life in Bialystok. While the poet's longing for Ereẓ Israel found some poetic expression in the 1870s, the 1881 pogroms shocked him into further national realization: he joined the Ḥibbat Zion movement and most of his poetry was now imbued with yearning for the Land of Israel. *Kol Shirei Mahalalel* (1890) is a collection of his poetry, original and translated, that had not appeared in the previous collections. A scholar, Gottlober also published a number of research and critical works. Among these are *Bikkoret le-Toledot ha-Kara'im* (1865) a study of the history of the Karaites; *Iggeret Bikkoret* (1866), a critical work on modern Hebrew poetry; a translation of Moses Mendelssohn's *Jerusalem* (1867); and *Toledot ha-Kabbalah ve-ha-Ḥasidut* (1869), a history of the Kabbalah.

Yiddish Works

Gottlober's most productive period in Yiddish writing was between the years 1840 and 1870. One of his earliest works, *Feldblumen*, a collection of lyrics, and *Di Farkerte Welt*, a didactic poem, were lost, but most of the poems were recovered in the 1920s and 1930s. Many of Gottlober's Yiddish works were published long after they had been written: his three-act comedy "*Der Dektukh oder Tsvey Khupes in Eyn Nakht*" was written in 1838 and published in 1876, and the poem, "*Der Bidne Yisrolik,*" written in 1843, appeared in 1876. Often depicted against a ḥasidic background, the works are written in an everyday dramatic speech into which the author introduced a satirical note. Gottlober's attitude toward Yiddish was ambivalent: while he saw it as a language "without literature, without grammar, and without logic," he also felt that he could address the Jewish public only in its own language. Among his best Yiddish works are *Dos Lid finem Kugel* (1863), a parody on Schiller's poem *Lied von der Glocke; "Der Seim oder di Groyse Aseyfe in Vald, ven di Ḥayes Hoben Oysgekliben dem Layb far a Meylekh*" (1863, but written in 1842), a satiric fable in verse form; and "*Der Gilgul*" (1896), a sharp social satire which was first published in *Kol Mevasser* in 1871. "*Zikhroynes vegen Yudishe Shrayber*" (*Yudishe Folksbibliotek* 1, 1888) is his important nonfictional work in Yiddish. A collection of his Yiddish works appeared in 1927, *A.B. Gottlober's Yidishe Verk* (A. Fridkin and Z. Rejzen, eds.).

Initial Evaluation

Greatly overestimated in the prime of his career, Gottlober's writings have, nevertheless, left their mark on Hebrew and Yiddish letters. A facile writer, his style is fluent rather than compelling. Much of his writing is a direct attack on the obscurantism of the period and shows his firm support of the Haskalah. During the last 20 years of his life, however, he had become disappointed with the ideals of the Haskalah and had become one of the early champions of the nationalist movement and of the revival of Hebrew. While his poems are strongly marked by lyricism and often reflect his own experiences, his personal feelings were so closely interwoven with the public weal that much of his poetry bears a journalistic stamp. Its artistic value lies in the fact that it mirrors the aspirations and aesthetic criteria of his time. His incisive criticism influenced contemporary Hebrew poetry and led to greater metrical flexibility; his memoirs and short stories remain valuable for the interesting light they shed on many facets of Jewish life in Eastern Europe. Gottlober was also one of the first Hebrew writers to translate Russian poetry into Hebrew. His studies on the Karaites and on the Kabbalah, although highly imitative, served to draw attention to important but neglected areas of Jewish interest.

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[David Patterson]

GOTTSCHALK, ALFRED (1930–), chancellor emeritus of Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion. Gottschalk was born in Oberwesel, Germany, and immigrated with his family to the United States in August 1939, just weeks prior to World War II. His parents had been comfortable in Germany as wine, grain, and hide dealers. His grandmother had been one of the first woman mayors in the Weimar Republic.

Upon arrival in the United States, his parents worked in the garment industry for seven dollars a week so young Alfred had to peddle newspapers. He entered school without speaking English. By the time he graduated high school, he was a football player, playing semi-pro. Though offered a scholarship to Brandeis and Brown, he chose to stay close to his recently widowed mother. After graduating from Brooklyn College he studied at the Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion, first in New York and later in Cincinnati, where he was ordained in 1957. He was appointed dean of the newly established California School of HUCJIR in 1959, which served the rapidly expanding Jewish community of Los Angeles and all of California. Concurrently, he completed his Ph.D. at the University of Southern California (1965). Gottschalk served as dean until 1971, when he was appointed president of the Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion, succeeding Nelson Glueck, as the sixth president of the college, which had become a four campus facility. Headquartered in Cincinnati, the college has thriving programs in Los Angeles, New York and Jerusalem. He was also the John and Marianne Slade Professor of Jewish Intellectual History. Under his leadership, the college was set on firm financial footing. He ordained the first woman rabbi of the contemporary era in Sally Priesland and opened both the Rabbinical and Cantorial School to women. He established the first school of Jewish Communal Service and also was the first to train Israelis for the Reform rabbinate in Israel. The first Israeli woman Reform rabbi was ordained in 1992.

Leadership of the Reform movement is divided between the congregational arm, which was the Union of American Hebrew Congregations (now the Union of Reform Judaism) and The Hebrew Union College. Together with Rabbi Alexander Schindler, another German-Jewish refugee, Gottschalk provided stable and innovative leadership for Reform Jews, which has overtaken the Conservative movement as the allegiance of choice for a plurality of the American Jewish community.

Deeply sensitive to good fortune to be a refugee from Nazi Germany and thus to escape the Holocaust, Gottschalk was appointed in 1979 to the President's Commission on the Holocaust and then in 1980 to the United States Holocaust Memorial Council. He chaired the council's Academic Committee and stepped in as acting chairman of the council when Elie Wiesel suddenly resigned as chairman in 1986. He brought administrative skill and much needed stability to his brief service. After his retirement from Hebrew Union College in 1996, he served for a time as president of New York's Museum of Jewish Heritage: A Living Memorial to the Holocaust. He participated in the inauguration of President Ronald Reagan's second term but was not hesitant to criticize the President over the Bitburg issue.

Gottschalk's main interest is modern Jewish thought, particularly its relation to earlier Jewish sources. He was a leading authority on Aḥad Haam, the leader of cultural Zionism. He contributed articles on this subject to various publications. In addition, he has published *Your Future as a Rabbi – A Calling that Counts* (1967; 1989) and *Aḥad Ha-Am as Biblical Critic – A Profile* (1970).

GOTTSCHALK, LOUIS MOREAU (1829–1869), U.S. composer and pianist. Gottschalk grew up in New Orleans where he was exposed to the Creole music with its African-Caribbean rhythms that would later become a characteristic ingredient of his music. A child prodigy he went at 13 to Paris for piano and composition lessons and by 19, through the success of his "Creole" piano pieces, was hailed as the New World's first authentic musical spokesman, and his keyboard virtuosity was compared with Chopin's. After playing in Switzerland (1850) and Spain (1851) with spectacular success, he returned to the United States. His father's death (1853) proved to be a turning-point in his career; he was forced to increase the frequency of his concerts to earn enough money to support his family. For three years Gottschalk toured the country, his sentimental ballads ("The Last Hope," 1854, "The Dying Poet," 1863) proved immensely popular. He also contributed to the new "Western" idiom with his genre pieces *Le banjo* (1853, 1855). He spent the next five years in Puerto Rico, Guadeloupe, Martinique, and Cuba. There he found his musical roots and his vocation as a composer and wrote some of his finest works, including *Souvenir de Porto Rico*, *Ojos criollos* (four hands), a symphony and several operas. He also wrote for the American and French press. In 1862 Gottschalk had to resume his virtuoso career playing again for American audiences. In four and a half months he gave 85 recitals, a brutal pace which he maintained for more than three years, during which he did more than any other American musician to champion the Unionist cause and also to obliterate the line between high and popular art. In 1865, he had to leave the States after being unjustly accused in a scandal. The last four years of Gottschalk's life were spent in a triumphant tour of South America, where also he encouraged local talents, promoted classical music and championed public education. Gottschalk's own account of his troubled life was first published in 1881 as *Notes of a Pianist*.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Grove; S.F. Starr, *Bamboula! The Life and Times of Louis Moreau Gottschalk* (1995); J.E. Perone, *Louis Moreau Gottschalk: A Bio-Bibliography* (2002).

[Naama Ramot (2nd ed.)]

GOTTSCHALK, LOUIS REICHENTHAL (1899–1975), U.S. historian. Born in Brooklyn, N.Y., Gottschalk taught at the University of Chicago from 1927 where he was professor from 1935. Gottschalk was assistant editor (1929–43) and acting editor (1943–45) of the *Journal of Modern History* and president of the American Historical Association (1953). Gottschalk's main historical interests were the era of the French Revolution, modern European history in general, and historiography. His major works include *Jean Paul Marat: a Study in Radicalism* (1927); *Era of the French Revolution* (1929); a multi-volumed study of Lafayette (5 vols., 1935–1969); and *Understand-*

ing History: A Primer of Historical Method (rev. ed., 1969). While maintaining exacting standards for the verification of past events, he recognized the influence of the historian's own environment on his interpretation. Gottschalk served on the International Commission for a Scientific and Cultural History of Mankind from 1956, becoming vice president in 1962. Gottschalk was active in Jewish affairs, and was president of the Chicago Board of Jewish Education (1942–45); council member of the Conference on Jewish Social Studies; and chairman of the Union of Chicago B'nai B'rith Hillel Foundation from 1963.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: R. Herr and H.T. Parker (eds.), *Ideas in History: Essays presented to Louis Gottschalk by his former students* (1965).

[Joseph I. Shulim]

GOTTSCHALK, MAX (1889–1976), Belgian social scientist and Jewish leader. Born in Liège, Gottschalk was a member of the bar at Liège and Brussels and joined the staff of the International Labor Office (1921–23). At the end of 1923, he was invited to join the Institute of Sociology of the Free University of Brussels as research professor, and was mostly occupied with problems of unemployment. The representative of the ILO for Belgium and Luxembourg (1923–40), Gottschalk became government commissioner for unemployment (1933–34) and president of the Social Security Board (1935–40). During World War II Gottschalk went to the United States, where he taught at the New School for Social Research in New York. After the war, he returned to the Institute of Sociology in Brussels, where he was president of the Center of Regional Economy and president of the International Council for Regional Economy (1958–68). On retiring from the Belgian and International Associations for Social Progress, he became honorary president of both these organizations.

His Jewish activities were religious, social, and intellectual. He presided over the Central Jewish Consistory of Belgium (1956–62). In the social field, he was vice president of the *Jewish Colonization Association, board member of *Alliance Israélite Universelle and ORT-Union, and a founder of the Centrale d'Oeuvres Sociales Juives (United Jewish Appeal) in Brussels. He directed the Research Institute for Peace and Postwar Problems of the American Jewish Committee (1940–49) and from 1959 the Centre National des Hautes Etudes Juives, financed by the Belgian government. As president of the Belgian Committee for Refugees from Nazi Germany (1933–40), he was instrumental in the rescue of the passengers from the ship *St. Louis*, which was sent back from Cuba and finally permitted to land in Antwerp (July 1939). Gottschalk wrote numerous publications in Jewish and non-Jewish fields.

GOTTSCHALL, MORTON (1894–1968), U.S. university teacher and administrator. Gottschall was born in New York City. He graduated from the City College of New York (1914), and became a tutor in history there. In 1919 he was named recorder of City College, a post he held for 15 years. During this period he also taught history and legal philosophy. In 1934 Gottschall was appointed professor and dean of the college, a capacity in which he served until his retirement in 1964. As dean, he was known for his consideration for the individual student. He was head of a large college whose enrollment was mostly Jewish and with whose needs and aspirations he deeply sympathized.

[Louis F. Sas]

GOUDCHAUX, MICHEL (1797–1862), French banker and politician. Born in Nancy, Goudchaux was a director of his father's bank there. In 1826 he became manager of the bank's Paris branch and helped found a working-class newspaper *Le National*. He participated in the revolution of July 1830 and was wounded when he placed himself at the head of an insurgent group. After the revolution, Goudchaux was made mayor of his district, member of the general council of the department of the Seine, and paymaster general in Strasbourg. In 1834, however, he returned to Paris and bitterly attacked the government's economic policies in a series of articles in *Le National*. Goudchaux became minister of finance in the Second Republic and in 1849, vice president of the National Assembly. He was defeated in the elections of 1852 and devoted his life to philanthropic work, founding Jewish schools in Nancy. In 1857 he was elected to the Legislative Assembly but refused to swear the oath of allegiance to Napoleon III and did not take his seat.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: R. Lazard, *Michel Goudchaux, son oeuvre et sa vie politique* (1907); Rabi (pseud.), *Anatomie du Judaïsme français* (1962), 65; JC (Jan. 9, 1863), 7.

[Shulamith Catane]

GOUDEKET, MAURITS (1912–1989), rabbi and leader of Progressive Judaism in the Netherlands and Curaçao. Dr. "Mau" Goudeket, who had been active in the Resistance, was a young physicist when he came out of hiding after the Holocaust. He immediately rode by bike to Levi Levisson, prewar Liberal Jewish leader in The Hague, and urged him to reestablish the Liberal Community. Goudeket had been an active member in prewar Amsterdam; he had great knowledge of Judaism and saw the reestablishment of the community as a crucial issue. In 1946 however, Mau, his wife Riek and their infant son moved to Willemstad, Curaçao, where he had accepted a job both as a teacher in physics at the local high school and as the new religious leader of the Reform congregation, Temple Emanu-El. This moribund community had lived in splendid isolation from mainstream developments in Reform and Liberal Judaism for about a century. Goudeket, functioning as its rabbi, revived the congregation and it became a member of the World Union for Progressive Judaism. In 1960 the Goudeket family returned to Amsterdam, where Goudeket became rector of the Spinoza Lyceum and, later on, advisor in educational affairs to the Amsterdam city council. He was soon chosen president of the Union of Liberal Religious Jews in the Netherlands and, two years later, president of the Liberal Congregation of Amsterdam after its first postwar leader Louis Jacobi stepped down. Goudeket rose to leading positions in the World Union for Progressive Judaism and, together with Rabbi Jacob *Soetendorp in Amsterdam and Robert A. *Levisson in The Hague, guided the Liberal Jewish community through a period of explosive growth during the 1960s and early 1970s. Three additional congregations were founded. Goudeket realized that a younger generation of rabbis had to be brought to the Netherlands and personally coached the young rabbi David Lilienthal. In the late 1970s Goudeket became president of Joods Maatschappelijk Werk (Jewish Social Work) in the Netherlands, the first Liberal Jew chosen for such a position. He played an important role in the European Council of Jewish Community Services.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Levend Joods Geloof*, 35:7 (1989); *ibid.*, 48:3 (2002).

[Chaya Brasz (2nd ed.)]

GOUDSMIT, JOEL EMANUEL (1813–1882), Dutch lawyer. Goudsmit was the first Jew to become a university professor in Holland and member of the Royal Netherlands Academy of Sciences. Goudsmit, who was born in Leiden, graduated in law in 1842. After a period in practice he was appointed professor of Roman law at Leiden in 1859. At the university he served as a secretary to the Senate in 1866 and became rector of the university in 1871. As a scholar he became famous through his *Pandecten-Systeem* (1866; *The Pandects*, 1873) which was translated into several languages. He was a member of the board of the first lawyers' association in the Netherlands. He was a member of the Leiden municipal council from 1861 until 1881. Also active in local and national Jewish affairs, he was for many years chairman of the Society for the Promotion of the Welfare of the Jews in Holland. He publicly protested against antisemitic publications in Holland and advocated the rights of the Jews in Romania.

[Henriette Boas / Bart Wallet (2nd ed.)]

°**GOUGENOT DES MOUSSEAUX, HENRI** (1805–1876), French antisemitic writer. A Catholic aristocrat who called himself "a soldier of Christ," Gougenot des Mousseaux was obsessed with demons and Jews. He is chiefly known for *Le Juif, le judaïsme et la judaïsation des peuples chrétiens* (1869). Published on the eve of the first Vatican council with the blessing of Pope *Pius IX, it was influential in Conservative circles in France before *Drumont's *France Juive*. The theme of the book is an alleged Jewish conspiracy to destroy Christianity and rule the world by means of 18th-century Liberalism and *Freemasonry. Translations appeared in 1876 in Austria and Romania, and a second edition was published in France in 1886.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: R.F. Byrnes, *Anti-semitism in Modern France*, 1 (1950), passim; L. Poliakov, *Histoire de l'antisémitisme*, 3 (1968), 348.

GOULD, ELLIOTT (1938–), U.S. actor. Born Elliott Goldstein in Brooklyn, New York, Gould was educated at the Professional Children's School and Columbia University and made his Broadway debut with *Rumple* at the Alvin Theater in 1957. Other Broadway performances include *Say, Darling; Irma La Douce;* and *I Can Get It for You Wholesale* (where he performed opposite Barbra *Streisand, whom he married in 1963). The 6′3″ curly-headed actor began his film career in 1964 with *The Confession*, but is best remembered for *Bob and Carol and Ted and Alice*, for which he received an Academy Award nomination. His memorable role as Trapper John in *M*A*S*H* made him a counterculture icon, as did appearances in such films as *Getting Straight*, *Move,* and *Little Murders.* He appeared in Ingmar Bergman's first English-language film *The Touch*, Robert Altman's *The Long Goodbye, California Split,* and *Nashville*, and Richard Attenborough's *A Bridge Too Far.* He is most recently remembered for his role as Jewish casino owner Reuben Tishkoff in *Ocean's Eleven* and *Ocean's Twelve*. His television series work includes *ER*, *Sessions*, *Getting Personal,* and the 1997 Stephen King mini-series *The Shining*. He also made appearances on *L.A. Law*, *Friends*, *Cybill*, *The Simpsons,* and *Alef-Bet Blast-Off.* Gould divorced Barbra Streisand in 1971. They had one child together, actor Jason Emanuel Gould.

[Adam Wills (2nd ed.)]

GOULD, MILTON S. (1909–1999), U.S. lawyer. Born in New York City, Gould graduated from Cornell University with a B.A. in 1930 and a law degree in 1933. He began practicing law at White & Case in the 1930s, a period in which predominantly Protestant firms tended to exclude Jewish lawyers. When Gould discovered that he would not be allowed to be in contact with clients but would be assigned only research duties, he quit that firm and joined the Jewish law firm Kaufman, Weitzner & Celler, with which he remained in private practice for many years.

In the 1930s he was legislative adviser to the Commissioner of Immigration and Naturalization and to the Assistant Attorney General in charge of the criminal division. From 1935 to 1937 he served under Federal Judge Samuel H. Kaufman as special attorney and special assistant in the U.S. Department of Justice.

In his private practice he specialized in corporate litigation arising under the Securities Exchange Act of 1934, the Investment Company Act of 1940, and the Public Utilities Holding Company Act. He was also active in litigation for utility companies.

In 1964 Gould's firm Gallop, Climenko & Gould merged with a Catholic firm run by William Shea, for whom New York City's baseball stadium was later named. Shea and Gould ran the firm together for 20 years, making a point of maintaining a balanced number of Christian and Jewish lawyers. From 1994 on, Gould was a partner at the law firm LeBoeuf, Lamb, Greene, & MacRae.

Gould also participated in the prosecution and defense of criminal cases in the federal courts. He especially attracted public notice internationally for his representation of Gen.

Ariel Sharon, who sued Time, Inc., for libel, arising out of the Israeli action in Lebanon in the early 1980s, in which the jury's finding was that Sharon had in fact been libeled, although no monetary damages were awarded. A powerful litigator, Gould represented many other high-profile clients, such as Donald Trump, Aristotle Onassis, Aldo Gucci, Abe Beame, David Dinkins, Leona Helmsley, and George Steinbrenner.

Gould served as an adjunct professor at Cornell Law School and at New York Law School, and lectured at the law school of the Hebrew University. He was active for the United Jewish Appeal. He was the author of two books: *The Witness Who Spoke with God and Other Tales from the Courthouse* (1979); and *A Cast of Hawks* (1985).

[Milton Ridvas Konvitz / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

GOULD, MORTON (1913–1996), composer, conductor, pianist. Born in Richmond Hill, New York, Gould was a precocious pianist and composer. He entered the Institute of Musical Art in New York at the age of eight. Later, he studied at New York University. By the time he was 18, his *3 Conservative Sketches* (1932) had been published by G. Schirmer. He worked as a pianist, arranger, composer, and conductor with various radio orchestras and at Radio City Music Hall in New York. He composed for television shows, including the educational World of Music series, the World War I and Holocaust broadcasts. Later he appeared as guest conductor with many of the major U.S. orchestras. In his compositions, Gould moved freely between the domains of light and serious music, often using American folk and popular idioms, and in many works adapting jazz resources to classical forms. In 1933 Stokowski and the Philadelphia Orchestra performed the premiere of his *Chorale and Fugue in Jazz*. Gould wrote for films (such as *Delightfully Dangerous* in 1945), stage, and ballet, and composed major works for concert bands (including two symphonies and orchestral works which he transcribed for band). His music is an important part of the American band repertory. In 1994 he received a Kennedy Center Honor for his contributions to American culture. His final orchestral work, *Stringmusic*, written for the farewell of Rostropovich from the National SO, won the Pulitzer Prize. Among his well-known pieces are: *Three American Symphonettes*, for orchestra (1933, 1935, 1937; the *Pavane* from the second symphonette became a popular light concert piece); *Spirituals*, for orchestra (1941, also frequently perfomed); *Chorale and Fugue in Jazz*, for two pianos and orchestra (1936); *Latin American Symphonette*, for orchestra (1941), *Of Time and the River*, for unaccompanied chorus (1946); *Concerto for Tap Dancer and Orchestra* (1952); Viola Concerto (1944).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Grove online; L. Evans: *Morton Gould: his Life and Music*, diss., Columbia U. Teachers College (1978).

[Israela Stein (2nd ed.)]

GOULD, SAMUEL BROOKNER (1910–1997), U.S. educator and university administrator. Born in Shelton, Connecticut, Gould studied at Bates College and New York, Oxford, Cambridge, and Harvard Universities. He received his B.A. from Bates and his M.A. from New York University (1936). He converted to Christianity during his undergraduate years. He taught English at William Hall High School, West Hartford, Connecticut (1932–38). During World War II, he was a lieutenant commander in the U.S. Navy Pacific Theater, earning several medals for his service. He was head of the department of speech of the Brookline (Massachusetts) school system (1938–47). From 1947 to 1953, he served at Boston University, first as professor of radio and speech and director of the division of radio, speech, and theater, and then as assistant to the president. At BU he helped design the School of Public Relations and Communications and started Boston's first FM radio station as well as a TV studio and theater. Gould's major contribution to education was in college and university administration as president of Antioch College (1954–58) and chancellor of the University of California, Santa Barbara (1959–62). He also served as chancellor of the multi-campus State University of New York (1964–70), bringing the disparate SUNY campuses into one unified institution. As president of the Educational Broadcasting Corporation (1962–64), he took a leading role in raising the standards of American educational radio and television.

In 1970, Gould retired from SUNY and became chancellor emeritus. He served briefly as a director at McKinsey and Company. From 1971 to 1974, he was chairman of the Carnegie Commission on Non-Traditional Study, which attempted to modify and set new goals for education. During the 1970s, he worked periodically with the Venezuelan Ministry of Education in developing that country's university system, and in 1977 he accompanied his close friend Vice President Rockefeller on his tour of Latin America.

After he retired to Florida in 1974, Gould served for 10 years on the board of the University of Florida New College, helping draw up a master plan for higher education in the state. From 1976 to 1977, he served as interim chancellor for higher education for the State of Connecticut. He also served as a trustee of the Teachers Insurance and Annuity Association, and on the Commission for Post-Secondary Educational Planning in Florida.

Gould wrote *Knowledge Is Not Enough* (1959), *Today's Academic Condition* (1970), and *Diversity by Design* (1973). He edited *Explorations in Non-Traditional Study* (1972).

[William W. Brickman / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

GOULD, STEPHEN JAY (1941–2002), U.S. paleontologist and author. Born in New York City, Gould was educated at Antioch College, Yellow Springs, Ohio (A.B., 1963), and Columbia University (Ph.D., 1967). After a year of teaching geology at Antioch, Gould accepted an appointment at Harvard in 1967, where he remained for the rest of his life. At his death Gould was the Alexander Agassiz Professor of Zoology, with a concurrent appointment in the Department of the History of Science.

Gould was a leading evolutionary biologist who developed (with Niles Eldredge) a theory of evolutionary development called "punctuated equilibrium," which states that species do not evolve at a steady, even rate, but in sudden bursts over relatively short (in evolutionary time) periods during speciation, after which they remain stable in form – that is, in a state of "equilibrium" – until they become extinct. While this theory has not been wholly accepted, much of it has, and was in the 1970s a fruitful focus of ongoing scientific debate.

Gould became widely known, however, less for his academic work than for his prolific writing for a popular audience. As a columnist for *Natural History* magazine for 24 years and the author of many books (including several bestsellers), he was an eloquent popularizer of scientific discourse, educating the public about biology, geology, and evolution as well as issues such as scientific racism and the social context of science generally. He was a tireless advocate for good science and education and testified in a number of public hearings regarding the teaching of evolution in public schools. Probably his best-known work for a general audience is the classic *The Mismeasure of Man* (1981; revised edition 1996), an account of the fraudulent science and racist assumptions that lay at the origins of IQ testing. This instructive and realistic examination of how science is shaped by social values was a forceful intervention in an ongoing cultural and political debate in the 1980s that earned him the enmity of many on the political right. Gould's other works for general readers include collections of essays: *Ever Since Darwin* (1977), *The Panda's Thumb* (1980), *Hen's Teeth and Horse's Toes* (1983), *The Flamingo's Smile* (1985), *An Urchin in the Storm* (1987), *Bully for Brontosaurus* (1991); and *The Lying Stones of Marrakech* (2000); and books such as *Time's Arrow, Time's Cycle* (1987), and *Wonderful Life: The Burgess Shale and the Nature of History* (1989). His academic works, beside journal articles, include *Ontogeny and Philogeny* (1977) and his final, comprehensive statement of his understanding of evolution, published the year he died, *The Structure of Evolutionary Theory* (2002).

[Drew Silver (2nd ed.)]

GOURD (Heb. דְּלַעַת; pl. דְּלוּעִים), a plant. It occurs in the Bible only in the form of a place-name Dilan, a town in the inheritance of Judah (Josh. 15:38), but it is frequently mentioned in talmudic literature. In modern Hebrew the word is applied to the gourd of the genus *Cucurbita*, now grown extensively in Israel, but since this genus originates in America the word undoubtedly designated some other plant in ancient times. From its many descriptions in talmudic literature, the reference is clearly to the calabash gourd (*Lagenaria vulgaris*), then a most important crop in Ereẓ Israel. Its large fruit, usually shaped like a broad-bellied bottle, was used as a vegetable when soft and when hard its shell was used as a container for liquid and food (Kil. 7:1). Vessels made from the fruit have been found in ancient Egyptian graves. Talmudic literature has many descriptions of the gourd. Its extremely smooth skin gave rise to the expression "he shaves himself as smooth as a gourd" (Sot. 16a). Various dishes were prepared from the soft fruit (Shev. 2:10), but its dried seeds are not fit for eating (TJ, Shev. 2:10, 34a). The plant has leaves which are very large and hard, and which could be written on in an emergency (Tosef., Git. 2:3); it has tendrils by which it climbs any support (TJ, Er. 1:1, 18b). Various strains of the gourd were grown, among which the Mishnah mentions the Syrian, Egyptian, Remuẓian, and Greek gourds (Kil. 1:5; Ned. 51a). Of these the last strain was the most important and so vigorous that one plant could cover an entire field (Kil. 3:7). Also used in the Talmud to designate the gourd, *kara*, apparently an Aramaic word, is included among the food eaten on the New Year (Ker. 6a). (For the correct meaning of *kikayon* in Jonah 4:6 et al. (AV, JPS "gourd") see *castor plant.)

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Loew, Flora, 1 (1928), 542–8; J. Feliks, *Kilei Zera'im ve-Harkavah* (1967), 66–71.

[Jehuda Feliks]

GOURI, HAIM (1923–), Hebrew poet and novelist. Born in Tel Aviv, Gouri served in the *Palmaḥ from 1942 to 1947. He was sent on various missions by the Haganah to the displaced persons (DP) camps in Europe after World War II and was an officer in the Israeli forces during the War of Independence. From 1954, he wrote a weekly column in the daily *La-Merḥav.*

His first poems were light verses which appeared in various publications of the Palmah, and in 1943 he began to publish in literary magazines. *Pirḥei Esh* ("Flowers of Fire," 1949) was his first collection of poems. He published further volumes of poetry, as well as works of reportage, and a novel. He also translated French poetry and drama into Hebrew.

His early poetry, influenced by Natan Alterman, portrays a young boy's reactions to the newly discovered wonders of the world. Depicting mostly concrete situations where God, death, and time become tangible realities, most of these poems are void of abstractions. In *Pirḥei Esh* and *Ad Alot ha-Shaḥar* ("Till Dawn Breaks," 1950), the young maturing boy, in his first encounter with the adult world, assimilates the collective experiences of the Palmaḥ fighters, confronted by war and death, into an intimate personal experience. *Shirei Ḥotam* (1954) is marked by the poet's attempt to cling to the memory of distant experiences; he wishes to relive them, but, at the same time, emphasizes the gap existing between the original experience and life as now lived by his generation. His poetry became more cerebral; the early concrete grasp of reality was replaced by abstract expressions and conceptualizations.

Shoshannat ha-Ruhot ("The Wind Rose," 1960) portrays Gouri's poignant awareness of the sharp contrast between his lost world, alive only in memories – recalled through symbols and emotions which are rooted in the poet's strong ties to his homeland, in a collective responsibility, and in the demands of the times made on the individual – and the present in which the poet sees his homeland as an alien land. He is torn between two extremes: the desire to escape his past, to live anonymously in an "alien" land and cast off his heavy burdens; and his regret at his own alienation and isolation. The past, from which the poet finds no escape, is also revealed in the clear relation between these later poems and Gouri's early work. The early language patterns, imparting a new meaning, recur; these combine with the poet's longing to convert every visual phenomenon and inner mood into a lofty aesthetic experience.

Gouri's novel *Iskat ha-Shokolad* (1965; *The Chocolate Deal*, 1968) presents the Holocaust through the experience of its two heroes, whose physical survival and well-being belie their psychological deformity. The author, using allusive dialogue, interior monologue, and symbolic references, creates a mood where the dividing line between the real and the imagined, the believable and the unbelievable, becomes blurred, the whole melting into a painful reality. Another work, *Mul Ta ha-Zekhukhit* (1962; French *La cage de verre*, 1964), is a chronicle of the Eichmann trial in Jerusalem.

Two major books published after the Six-Day War were *Dappim Yerushalmiyyim* ("Jerusalem Pages," 1968), a miscellany, and *Tenu'ah le-Magga* ("Seek and Destroy," 1968), a collection of poems. The most important work in *Dappim Yerushalmiyyim* is a diary in which the author records his experiences as company commander of the Jerusalem brigade faced with the taking of Ammunition Hill, one of the strongest fortifications of Jerusalem. The work also includes feuilletons and sketches written before the war. The mood is strongly nationalistic. *Tenu'ah le-Magga* is a variation of the earlier theme, but the anguish of nostalgia for the past is relieved by a new element: personal youthful memories now search out the national collective reservoir on which the poet draws through his knowledge of the Bible. For the first time, biblical figures such as Joseph and his brothers Samson, Absalom, and Amos appear in his poetry, drawn intimately, as if they had risen out of the poet's childhood world. The experience in *Tenu'ah le-Magga*, reminiscent of *Pirḥei Esh*, is the poet's rediscovery, at a higher level, of his identification with the collective experience of his nation, meeting it for the first time on the ancient battlefields in the Bible. Gouri was awarded the Bialik Prize (1974) and the Israel Prize (1988) for literature. Other books of poems include *Marot Geḥazi* (1973), *Ad Kav Nesher* (1980), *Milim be-Dami Ḥoleh Ahavah* (1996; translated into English as *Words in My Lovesick Blood*, 1996). His later prose works include *Sefer ha-Meshugah* (1971), *Mi Makkir et Yosef G.* – (1980), and *Ha-Ḥakirah* (1981). Gouri has written and produced two movies related to Holocaust themes, *The Eighty-first Blow* (1974), on the Warsaw ghetto uprising, and *The Last Sea* (1978), on illegal immigration to Palestine. His poems, *Ha-Shirim*, appeared in two volumes in 1998. Later poems appeared as *Me'uḥarim* (2002). Poems by Gouri have been translated into a number of languages and are included, for instance, in T. Carmi (ed.), *The Penguin Book of Hebrew Verse* (1981) as well as in *The Modern Hebrew Poem Itself* (2003). A list of English translations of his work appears in Goell, Bibliography, 826–48.

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[Matti Megged]

GOVERNMENT, PRAYER FOR THE, the prayer for the welfare of the government that forms part of the synagogue ritual on Sabbath mornings and on the festivals. Its inclusion in the service is based on the Mishnah: "R. Ḥanina, Segan ha-Kohanim said: Pray for the welfare of the government; since but for fear thereof, men would swallow each other alive" (Avot 3:2). The idea is found as early as Jeremiah; the prophet counseled the Jews who were taken into the Babylonian captivity: "Seek the peace of the city whither I [i.e., the Lord] have caused you to be carried away captive, and pray unto the Lord for it; for in the peace thereof shall ye have peace" (Jer. 29:7).

The prayer for the welfare of the ruling powers of the state (king, government, etc.) and petitions for the welfare of the congregation, belong to the morning service and are recited before the Scrolls of the Law are returned to the Ark. The Sephardim recite it on the Day of Atonement after *Kol Nidrei*. The traditional version of the prayer starts: "May He Who dispenseth salvation unto kings and dominion unto princes, Whose kingdom is an everlasting kingdom, Who delivereth His servant David from the destructive sword… [etc.]… may He bless, preserve, guard, assist, exalt, and highly aggrandize our Sovereign…," the titles following.

In non-monarchic countries the prayer is recited for the welfare of the head of the state (the president) and the government. In modern times the prayer is recited in most synagogues in the vernacular. The wording has frequently been modified in accordance with the circumstances.

In Israel a new version of this prayer was formulated and approved by the Chief Rabbinate after the establishment of the state in 1948; it also includes a prayer for the welfare of all Jews in the Diaspora. The prayer is also recited in the U.S. at public services on special occasions such as Thanksgiving Day, July 4, and Armistice Day.

For samples of prayers for the government in the different rituals, see P. Birnbaum (ed.), *Daily Prayer Book* (1949), 379 (Orthodox); Hertz, Prayer, 506–7 (Orthodox); Rabbinical Assembly of America and United Synagogue of America, *Sabbath and Festival Prayerbook* (1946), 130 (Conservative); *Union Prayerbook*, 1 (1946), 148 (Reform).

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GOZAN (Heb. גּוֹזָן; Akk. Guzana), an Aramaean city on the western shores of the Habor River, a tributary of the Euphrates. The site of Gozan, now Tell Halaf, was first excavated and explored by M. von Oppenheim (1911–19; 1929). Although Tell Halaf – from which is derived the name of the "Halaf Period," a period in the development of northeastern Mesopotamian polychrome pottery – is in itself a key site in the history of civilization, its chief historical importance lies in the fact that it was the site of Gozan, the capital city of the Aramaean kingdom of Bīt Baḫiāni (see *Aram) which was established between the 11th and 10th centuries B.C.E. The remains of the administrative and cultic center of Gozan disclosed by the excavations at Tell Halaf are of great importance for the understanding of the development of the mixed Hittite-Hurrian-Mesopotamian peripheric architecture, art, religion, and changing way of life in the first millennium B.C.E. On one of the orthostats there is the first depiction of an Aramaean camel rider. Bīt Baḫiāni and Gozan are first mentioned in the annals of Adad Nirari II, king of Assyria. It is recorded that in his seventh campaign, around 894 B.C.E., he gained the submission of Abisalamu (Heb. Absalom) son of the House/Tribe Baḫiāni. Although there is further evidence of this submission in the Assyrian annals, further archaeological evidence seems to indicate that there was a short independent period in the history of Bīt Baḫiāni and its capital Gozan. The central figure during this period was (according to this Aramean inscription) Kappara, son of Ḥadijānu (from a new dynasty). It was he who erected the monumental architecture of Gozan during the latter part of the second half of the ninth century B.C.E. which was a period of severe crisis in Assyria, especially between the end of the reign of Shalmaneser III and that of Shamshi Adad V (between 827–810). This period of independence ended in 808 B.C.E. when according to the Eponym Canon (Cb-I) Gozan was reconquered by Sammuramat (classical Semiramis), the queen mother, and her son Adad-Nirāri III. By 793 B.C.E. Gozan was already an organized Assyrian province. According to II Kings 17:6 inhabitants of Israel and Samaria were deported to the area along the "Habor River of Gozan." Assyrian documents discovered in Gozan and in other administrative centers contain information on the life of the inhabitants and deportees. Among these documents is a letter from Ḫabbishu of Samaria to the king (Waterman, no. 6331) which deals with various local affairs, mentioning several Hebrew-sounding names, such as *Ni-ri-ia-u* (Heb. Neriah), the *rab nikāsi*, overseer of income (*nekhasīm*) and *Pa-al-ti-ia-u* (Heb. Paltiah), and also a woman, all "servants" to the local governor. Another document (Waterman no. 167) speaks of moving inhabitants from Gozan, perhaps to Dūr-Sharrukîn, the new capital of Sargon II, king of Assyria, according to his policy of population mixing. The sender reports that some people mentioned in his list are missing, for example, Ḫūli the gardener with his family of five. Finally, a deed of slave sale discovered in Gozan (in AFO, supplement 6, no. 111) contains many other Hebrew names, such as *Da-a-na-a* (Heb. Dinah); *Isīʿa* (Heb. Hosea), *Milkirāme* (Heb. Malchiram), *Yasimēl* (Heb. Ishmael?); but one of the witnesses is Rīmanni-Ishtār, an Assyrian. The documents date from the late eighth and seventh centuries.

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[Pinhas Artzi]

GOZHANSKY, SAMUEL (pseudonyms: **Ha-Moreh, "Lanu,"** 1867–1943) Bundist, born in Novovola, Belorussia. The son of a wagoner, Gozhansky graduated from the Teachers' Seminary in Vilna in 1888. He became a socialist and from 1891 to 1895 led the Jewish Social Democrats in Vilna, the pioneers of the *Bund. As almost their only writer in Yiddish, Gozhansky composed most of the explanatory pamphlets directed to the workers. The most important, the "Letter to Agitators" (1893–94; preserved in typescript in Russian, retranslated into Yiddish, 1939, and into Hebrew, 1967), primarily sets out the fundamentals of the ideology of the Jewish workers' movement. According to this, Jewish workers would obtain their social and political rights if they constituted "a recognizable force" of their own which would conduct "the national political struggle" for obtaining civil rights for all the Jews. The Jewish workers would join up with the general workers' movement as an independent body. Gozhansky was arrested for revolutionary activity in Bialystok in 1896 and exiled to Siberia. He returned in 1902. Subsequently he was active in the Bund in Warsaw, Vilna, and other places, standing as Bundist candidate in the elections for the second Duma, and contributing to the Bundist paper *Folkstseitung* during this period he was imprisoned several times. He was a member of the foreign committee of the Bund and as its delegate served as secretary of the Congress of the Russian Social Democratic Workers' Party in London in 1907. He wrote the pamphlets *Zionism* and *The Jewish Proletariat*. During World War I Gozhansky lived in Tula. After the 1917 Revolution he edited the Bund organ *Dos Profesionele Lebn* in Petrograd (Leningrad). He joined the Communist Party in 1919 but was not active in the *Yevsektsiya (Jewish section).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Revolyutsionnoye dvizheniye sredi yevreyev* (1930), index; LNYL, 3 (1958), 7–8; M. Mishkinsky, in: *Zion*, 31 (1966), 89–101.

[Moshe Mishkinsky]

GOZLAN, ELIE (1876–1964), Algerian pedagogue and journalist. Gozlan took part in the First Zionist Congress in Basle in 1897, was the secretary-general of the Algiers Jewish Consistory, and was one of the founders of the Algiers branch of the World Jewish Congress. He established and edited the *Bulletin de la Fédération des Sociétés Juives d'Algérie* (1936–47), which he courageously published during the Vichy regime. With the collaboration of outstanding Catholic and Muslim personalities, he helped found the Union des Croyants Monothéistes in Algiers. The Union was temporarily effective in establishing harmonious relations among all elements of the Algerian population.

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[Robert Attal]

°GRABSKI, STANISLAW (1871–1949), Polish statesman and economist; he was the most prominent ideologist of the *Endecja (ND) Party and its leader for many years. Grabski held office as minister of education in 1923. In 1925–26, before the May Revolution, he played a prominent role in the conclusion of an agreement (*ugoda*) between the Jewish Parliamentary Club and the Polish government headed by his brother Wladyslaw. In 1926, he became alienated from Endecja because of his opposition to Fascist circles. Grabski was inconsistent in his political opinions during World War II in the government-in-exile in London, and in 1946 he returned to Warsaw, having reconciled himself with the new regime.

WLADYSLAW GRABSKI (1874–1938) was Stanislaw's brother. Before World War I he was a National Democrat (Endecja) deputy in the Russian *Duma. In independent Poland after the war, where he was a deputy of the Sejm (parliament), he left the party and took an independent position, serving as minister of finance in several governments. When the Red Army invaded Poland in 1920, Grabski became prime minister for a short while, and again headed the government from 1923 to 1925. The financial policy and taxation system introduced by Grabski became a severe financial burden to Jewish merchants and shopkeepers. The resulting crisis in the economic life of Polish Jewry served as an impetus to emigration on the "Fourth Aliyah" to Palestine of 1924–26, which became known as the "Grabski *aliyah*."

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[Moshe Landau]

GRACE AFTER MEALS (Heb. בִּרְכַּת הַמָּזוֹן, *Birkat ha-Mazon*), a central feature of the liturgical service in the Jewish home. It is considered to be a biblical ordinance, inferred from the verse "Thou shalt eat and be satisfied and bless the Lord thy God for the good land which He has given thee" (Deut. 8:10). If one is in doubt whether he has recited it it should be repeated rather than not said at all (Tur and Sh. Ar., OḤ 184; Maim., Yad, Berakhot 2:14; cf. Ber. 21a). Grace after Meals consists of four blessings and is recited only after a meal at which bread has been eaten. If bread is not eaten, a shorter form of grace is recited (for versions see below). The first blessing (*Birkat ha-Zan*) praises God for providing food for all His creatures. The second (*Birkat ha-Areẓ*) expresses Israel's particular gratitude for the "good land" God has given it, the redemption from Egypt, the covenant of circumcision, and the revelation of the Torah. The third benediction, called *Boneh Yerushalayim* and also *Neḥamah* (consolation), asks God to have mercy on Israel and to restore the Temple and the Kingdom of David. It includes a plea that He may always sustain and support Israel. To these three benedictions which form the core of the Grace a fourth (*Ha-tov ve-ha-metiv*) was added after the destruction of *Bethar. It combines thanks for God's goodness, with the prayer that He may fulfill specific desires (Ber. 48b–49b). It is followed by several petitions which begin with the word *Ha-Raḥaman* ("May the All-Merciful…"). Originally phrased to suit individual desires, the supplications have now become standardized. The number of these petitions varies greatly in different rites; the general Sephardi rite has some 15, while the Ashkenazi has nine.

According to the Talmud (Ber. 48b), the first benediction was instituted by Moses when the manna fell from heaven; the second by Joshua when he conquered Ereẓ Israel; the third by David and Solomon; and the fourth by the rabbis of *Jabneh in gratitude for the miracle that the corpses of the unburied dead of Bethar did not decay, and that permission was ultimately granted for their burial (see: *Bar Kokhba). Finkelstein, however, points out that the fourth blessing was known to *Eliezer b. Hyrcanus (Ber. 48b) who died before the fall of Bethar, and to *Yose the Galilean (Tosef., Ber. 1:9) and *Ishmael (TJ, Ber 7:1, 11a), who do not mention the incident. He, therefore, suggests that this blessing may have originated in the early years of the reign of *Hadrian. The Book of Jubilees (22:6–9) quotes the original threefold blessing, and attributes it to Abraham. Josephus (Wars, 11:131) testifies to the custom of thanksgiving after meals, and traces it back to *Simeon b. Shetaḥ (also mentioned in TJ, Ber. 7:2, 11b). The Book of Ben Sira (Ecclus. 36:12–14, 17–19) clearly follows parts of the third benediction, and the Christian thanksgiving prayer in the *Didache* (a Christian work of the last decade of the first century) chapter 10, also bears strong resemblances to the Jewish formula. Among Portuguese Jews the Grace is known as *benção*, and among Ashkenazim by the Yiddish term *benshn*, a corruption of the Latin "benedictio" (by way of Old French).

According to the Talmud (BB 60b) it is forbidden to forget the destruction of the Temple even during meals, and thus the recitation of Grace should be preceded on weekdays by Psalm 137. The custom, however, is not often observed. More common is the practice to recite Psalm 126 on Sabbaths and festivals, its optimistic vision better fitting the spirit of these days. The rabbis ordained that whenever three or more have eaten bread together, one of them must summon the others to say Grace with him (Ber. 7:1–5). In reply to the invitation "Gentlemen, let us say Grace" (in Sephardi usage "with your permission"), the others reply "Blessed be the name of the Lord henceforth and forever." The leader repeats the statement and then continues, "With your consent (in Sephardi usage "with the permission of Heaven") let us now bless Him of whose food we have eaten." The others then respond: "Blessed be He whose food we have eaten and through whose goodness we live." This formula is known as *zimmun*, and according to the Talmud (Ber. 45b; Ar. 3a) must even be recited by three women who eat together. According to one opinion in the Mishnah, the *zimmun* formula becomes increasingly elaborate as the number of participants grows to ten, a hundred, a thousand, and ten thousand; more numerous and more solemn epithets of God are added every time (Ber. 7:3; Meg. 4:3). In modern times, the word *Elohenu* ("our God") is inserted in the third line of the formula when the number of participants is ten or more. The custom of communal grace, originally used only when the participants numbered at least ten, can be traced back to the custom of *ḥavurah (community) meals, held especially on the Sabbaths. The practice was widespread in the Second Temple period among the Pharisees, and certain sectarian groups such as the Essenes.

Grace may be recited in any language (Sot. 7:1), but must be said at the table from which one has eaten (Maim. Yad, Berakhot, 4:1) and on which some bread should be left until the conclusion of the benediction (Tos. to Ber. 42a and Sanh. 92a). It is followed by a blessing on a cup of wine. The codifiers differ as to whether the cup of wine is required only when Grace is recited with *zimmun* or even when it is recited individually (Sh. Ar., OḤ 182:1). It has become customary to have the cup of wine only at *zimmun* on Sabbaths, festivals, and other special occasions. Various changes are made in the grace to suit different circumstances. On Sabbaths and festivals a special section (*Reẓeh* and *Ya'aleh ve-Yavo* respectively) is inserted in the third blessing and an additional petition added in the series of *Ha-Raḥaman*; in the Ashkenazi rite the word *Magdil* (from Ps. 18:51) in the final *Ha-Raḥaman* is changed to *Migdol* (from II Samuel 22:51). The change probably originated through the confusion, by some early editors of the *siddur*, between בש"ב "B.SH.B." (meaning "in II Samuel"), and בשב' *be-Shabbat* ("on Sabbaths"). Special *Ha-Raḥaman* petitions are also inserted on New Moons, Rosh Ha-Shanah, Sukkot, and the Passover *seder*. On Ḥanukkah and Purim, Al *ha-Nissim is said during the second blessing which is devoted to thanksgiving (Shab. 24a; cf. Rashi *ibid.*). At a wedding banquet, the third line of the *zimmun* is changed to read "Blessed be our God in whose abode is joy, of whose food we have eaten and through whose goodness we live" (Ket. 8a; cf. Rashi *ibid.*), and the seven wedding benedictions are recited at the conclusion of Grace (Maim. Yad, Berakhot, 2:9, 5:5). At the house of a mourner, a special prayer is substituted for the end of the third benediction, a change is made in the text of the fourth, and the *zimmun* is slightly changed (Ber. 46b; Sh. Ar., YD 379, OḤ 189:2). At the meal which follows a circumcision ceremony, the wording of the *zimmun* is changed to suit the occasion. Among the several lines which begin with *Ha-Raḥaman* in the fourth blessing, a child, a guest (see Ber. 46a), and the master of the house may each insert passages to suit their particular circumstance (see Tur., OḤ 189). Since the establishment of the State of Israel, some families have also inserted a fourth *Ha-Raḥaman* "May the All-Merciful bless the State of Israel, and all who work for her."

Shorter Forms

Ever since the formulation of a "complete" *Birkat ha-Mazon*, there have been shorter versions for extraordinary occasions. The guiding principle has been that the *mitzvah* of reciting *Birkat ha-Mazon* is commanded by the Torah, but the actual content has developed over the ages. Workmen who eat during working hours, therefore, may recite a shortened form, consisting of the first *berakhah*, the "blessing for the land," and mention of Jerusalem (Sh. Ar., OḤ 191:1). Children are required to recite only small sections. In cases of extreme emergency, he who says, "Blessed be the Merciful One, the King, the Master of this land" has fulfilled his obligation. The *siddur* of Saadiah Gaon contains a highly abbreviated version of *Birkat ha-Mazon*. Another shortened form is found in the *Magen Avraham* commentary to the Shulḥan Arukh (OḤ 192:1). In general, shorter forms include the entire first *berakhah*, mention of the Covenant and the Torah as well as the blessing for the land in the second *berakhah*, and mention of Israel and the Davidic Kingdom in the third *berakhah*.

In the United States, the Conservative movement has evolved a shortened version based on this formula, used at public gatherings and summer camps (the traditional long form is usually recited on the Sabbath).

The Reform Prayer Book has a short version made up of two English paragraphs and concluding with the Hebrew ending of the traditional first *berakhah*.

When bread is not eaten there are two other forms of grace (known as *Berakhah Aḥaronah* – "final benediction") to be recited, depending on the nature of the food consumed. For food prepared from the five species of grain (wheat, barley, rye, oats, and spelt), wine, or the fruits of Ereẓ Israel (grapes, figs, olives, pomegranates, and dates) a short summary of the Grace after Meals is said. This is in the form of one benediction with insertions for the type of food eaten and for special occasions such as the Sabbath and festivals. This is called in the Talmud *Berakhah Me'ein Shalosh* – "the benediction summarizing the three" (benedictions of the regular grace). For any other food a short benediction (called in the Talmud *Ve-Lo-Khelum*, "Nothing," but popularly known by its first two words *(Bore Nefashot)* is recited (Ber. 37a–b; laws codified Sh. Ar., OḤ 207–8; texts Hertz, Prayer, 984, 988).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Finkelstein, in: JQR, 19 (1928/29), 211–62; Abrahams, Companion, 207ff.; ET, 4 (1952), 475–511; Heinemann, in: JJS, 13 (1962), 23–29.

GRACE BEFORE MEALS. The rabbis required a blessing before partaking of food since they considered it sacrilegious to "enjoy of this world without a prior benediction" (Ber. 35a). They instituted separate blessings for the various species of food, of which those over bread and wine are considered the most important. The blessing for bread, "Who bringest forth bread from the earth" (*Ha-moẓi leḥem min ha-areẓ;* Ber. 6:1), is based upon Psalms 104:14, and, when recited at the start of a meal, exempts one from the obligation to recite most additional blessings for the remaining courses (Sh. Ar., OḤ 177). Since this blessing is often the only one recited before a meal, the popular term for the grace before meals is *Moẓi*. The blessing for wine, "Who createst the fruit of the vine ("*Bore peri ha-gafen*"; Ber. 6:1), is recited, even when the wine is drunk in the course of the repast and not at the beginning (Sh. Ar., OḤ 175, and see also 176).

Although the actual formulation of the blessings before meals was delineated during rabbinic times, the practice itself is of ancient origin. Thus in I Samuel 9:13 there is a reference to the people waiting for the prophet to bless the sacrifice before they would partake of its flesh. Josephus describes the grace before the meal recited by the *Essenes (Jos., Wars, 2:131). The rabbis attached great importance to the proper recitation of these blessings, and the father of R. Simeon b. Zevid was praised "as being a great man and well versed in the benedictions" (Ber. 38a).

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GRACIAN (Hen), SHEALTIEL BEN SOLOMON (14th century), Spanish rabbi, a contemporary of *Isaac b. Sheshet (Ribash), to whom he was related. Both apparently studied under R. Nissim Gerondi. After his marriage he lived in Fraga and was appointed rabbi of the community of Alcala in c. 1369, at which time he acceded to its request to affirm under oath that he would never leave this position. Later he regretted his hasty oath and requested Nissim Gerondi and Isaac b. Sheshet to absolve him of it, but they refused, and Isaac wrote him that "the truth is dearer to me – since both of us must respect it" (Ribash, no. 370). Around 1375 Shealtiel was appointed rabbi of Barcelona, in succession to Nissim who had died. R. Isaac b. Sheshet corresponded with him and mentions him in his responsa frequently and he states that, "he was a preeminent rabbinic authority… of outstanding scholarly attainments… and of foremost renown in Spain" (*ibid.*, no. 365). Isaac b. Sheshet asked him to mediate in a quarrel which arose between his daughter and her father-in-law. He urged him to lend his support, writing, "and should those in dispute with me, my enemies and their supporters, endeavor to incite you against me, do not listen to them" (*ibid.*, no. 415 end). However, Shealtiel disagreed with the stand which had been taken by Isaac b. Sheshet, and the outcome of the matter is unknown.

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[Yehoshua Horowitz]

GRADE, CHAIM (1910–1982), Yiddish poet and novelist. Born in Vilna, Grade became that city's most articulate literary interpreter. After his father's early death, his mother ran a market stall in order to provide him a traditional education; he attended several *yeshivot*, including seven years under the famed scholar-rabbi, the Ḥazon Ish, becoming attracted to the *Musar movement. He made his literary debut in *Dos Vort* (1932), became a member of Yung Vilne (1934), and soon was one of its staunchest pillars. The group sought both to synthesize secular Yiddish culture with new currents in world literature, and to bring the impoverished Jewish home into contact with the progressive forces of contemporary society. Grade's poems appeared in leading Yiddish periodicals in Europe and the U.S. His first book, *Yo* ("Yes," 1936), was acclaimed by critics for its stylistic elegance and its affirmation of faith in a synthesis of traditional and modern currents. His long poem "Ezekiel" demonstrated his understanding of the tragic nature of human and especially Jewish existence. Extremely important in his early period was *Geveyn fun Doyres* ("Weeping of the Generations," 1936), which treats the issues of Jewish identity and national history. His long poem "Musernikes" ("Musarists," 1939), describes the spiritual struggles of *yeshivah* students torn between the Musar traditions and worldly temptations. During World War II, Grade found refuge in Russia and continued to write, his next collection of poems, *Has* ("Hate," 1943), appearing in Moscow and following Soviet directives. After the war he dedicated a series of poems, "Mit Dayn Guf af mayne Hent" ("With Your Body in My Hands") to his wife who perished in the Holocaust. In his volumes *Doyres* ("Generations," 1945), *Pleytim* ("Refugees," 1947), and *Shayn fun Farloshene Shtern* ("Light of Extinguished Stars," 1950), he mourned the victims of the Holocaust and describes the survivors. With this attempt at confronting the national Jewish tragedy, Grade became in a sense the national Jewish poet, as Bialik had been in his day.

Grade's return to Vilna in 1946 was traumatic, as described in "Af di Khurbes" ("On Ruins," 1947), and he left for Poland but after the Kielce pogrom (July 1946) moved on to Paris, where he helped to revivify Yiddish cultural life among the surviving Jews, leading the Yiddish literary club. A collection of his poems from the years 1936 to 1939, *Farvoksene Vegn* ("Overgrown Paths," 1947) appeared. In 1948, he was sent to the U.S. as a delegate to the Jewish Culture Congress, settled in New York, and began his contributions to the *(Tog-) Morgn Zhurnal, Tsukunft, Yidisher Kemfer,* and *Di Goldene Keyt*. In 1950, he received a prize from the World Congress of Jewish Culture for *Der Mames Tsavoe* ("My Mother's Will," 1949), which includes some of the most outstanding lyrics in Yiddish, permeated with love and respect for his mother, who perished during the Holocaust. The dramatic dialogue "Mayn Krig mit Hersh Reseyner" (1951; Eng. trans. "My Quarrel with

Hersh Rasseyner"; *Commentary*, 1954; also in: I. Howe and E. Greenberg, *A Treasury of Yiddish Stories* (1954, 1989^2), 624–51) played an important role in Grade's artistic development. His mother is the central figure of his three-part *Der Mames Shabosim* (1955; Eng. trans. "My Mother's Sabbath Days," 1986), which describes his orphaned childhood in Vilna, his life as a refugee in Russia, and his return to postwar Vilna, decimated of its Jews and its Jewish institutions. Prewar Jewish Vilna comes to life in the collection *Der Shulhoyf* ("The Courtyard of the Synagogue," 1958), displaying some of the finest prose of the post-classical generation and including *Der Brunem* (Eng. trans. *The Well*, 1967). His novel, *Di Agune* ("The Abandoned Wife," 1961; Heb. trans. 1962; Eng. trans. 1974), depicts all segments of Jewish Vilna between the wars. *Der Mentsh fun Fayer* ("The Man of Fire," 1962) includes his poems on Israel and his elegy on martyred Soviet Yiddish writers. Two further volumes of poetry appeared: *Oyf Mayn Veg tsu Dir* ("On My Way to You," 1969) and *Parmetene Erd* ("Parchment Earth," 1968, with Heb. transl.). His poems in English translation appeared in J. Leftwich, *The Golden Peacock* (1961) and R. Whitman, *Anthology of Modern Yiddish Poetry* (1966).

Grade was one of the rare interpreters of yeshivah life in modern Yiddish literature, recreating the daily life of the yeshivah student with photographic accuracy, objectivity, and affection, and illustrating it with such scenes as rabbis discussing talmudic law, as in the novel *Tsemakh Atlas* (2 vols. 1967–8; Eng. trans. *The Yeshiva*, 1976–7; Heb. trans. 1968). Following that novel, he published two more collections of stories: *Di Kloyz un di Gas* ("The Small Synagogue and the Street," 1974; partial Eng. trans. *Rabbis and Wives*, 1983) and *Der Shtumer Minyan* ("The Silent Minyan," 1976), which again attempted to reconstruct the atmosphere of prewar Vilna. Grade's postwar poetry expressed, above all, the traumatic experience of the Holocaust and focused on the question of his own survival, while his prose works continued to reconstruct Jewish Vilna and the specific features of mind and piety of Lithuanian Jewry. From the beginning, his works possessed a distinct philosophical dimension.

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[Israel Ch. Biletzky / Joanna Lisek (2nd ed.)]

GRADE, LEW, BARON (1906–1998), British managing director of television networks. Born in Russia, son of Isaac Winogradsky, Grade grew up in England and went into the entertainment industry. He acquired interests in radio, television, and film companies, and in 1955 became deputy managing director (later managing director) of two leading companies in their field, Associated Television Ltd. and Incorporated Television Company Ltd. He also became chairman of AP Films Ltd., of ATV (France) and other companies associated with ATV in Australia, Canada, and the U.S. He was a brother of Lord Bernard *Delfont. At the time of the 1967 Arab-Israeli war, Grade and his brother Lord Bernard each gave £40,000 to Israel. In 1976, Grade was given a life peerage. Grade's later film-making career became noted for its expensive flops, such as his *Raise the Titanic!* (1980). In 1987, Grade published an interesting autobiography, *Still Dancing*. Grade's nephew, MICHAEL GRADE (1943–), the son of Lord Grade's brother and partner Leslie Grade, was appointed director-general of the BBC in 2004 after a controversial career in British television which included service as chief executive (1988–97) of Channel Four.

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[William D. Rubinstein (2nd ed.)

GRADENWITZ, PETER EMANUEL (1910–2001), musicologist, composer, and publisher. Born in Berlin, Gradenwitz studied musicology, sociology, and literature in Freiburg and Berlin with Wilibald Gurlitt, Arnold Schering, and Curt Sachs, and composition with Joef Rufer. In 1934 he pursued his research in Paris and Berlin, and in 1936 he received his doctorate with a thesis on the Stamitz family. In 1936 he joined the large migration of Jewish refugees from Germany and settled in Palestine, where he founded the first publishing house which specialized in concert music, Israeli Music Publications (IMP), in 1948. In 1968 Gradenwitz was appointed lecturer at Tel Aviv University. He regularly published concert reviews, mostly in *Das Orchester, Opernwelt* and the *Neue Zeitschrift fuer Musik*. In 1980 he was appointed honorary professor at Freiburg Universitiy.

One of his main fields of interest was music appreciation. He published three listening guides (in Hebrew) to symphonic (*Olam ha-Simfonyah* 1945, 1959), chamber (*Ha-Musikah ha-Kamerit*, 1948, 1953), and piano music (*Olam ha-Pesanteran*, 1952) which were widely read in Israel. He also studied the history of Jewish and especially Israeli music. His main publication in this field was *The Music of Israel* (1949, 1996^2). In 1954 he organized in Haifa the first Annual Music Festival of the International Society for Contemporary Music to be held outside Europe or the United States.

[Jehoash Hirshberg (2nd ed.)]

GRADIS, family of ship owners and community leaders, of Marrano extraction, which flourished in Bordeaux from the 17th century. DAVID GRADIS (1665–1751) founded an import-export firm (David Gradis et fils, 1696) whose trade relations extended to England, Canada, and the French West Indies. His nephew ABRAHAM (1699–1780) increased the firm's scope and prestige and was appointed royal purveyor in 1744. In 1748 he founded the Societé Gradis et fils under the auspices of the French government, and contracted to provide regular shipping services to Quebec for six years. For the entire period of the Seven Years' War (1756–63) his trade with Canada amounted to 9,000,000 livres. There were many losses, for more than half of the ships that he sent out were captured by the English, and he had trouble collecting from the state. Nevertheless, the Gradis House prospered greatly. In 1763 A. Gradis' friend Choiseul became the naval minister, and Gradis was given a contract to provision the French possessions in West Africa. In these transactions Gradis supplied spirits, gunpowder, knives, and cloth, taking his payment in slaves, whom he sold in San Domingo for sugar. In return for his services during the war, Gradis was praised by Louis XV through his minister Berryer, and later instanced by Abbé *Grégoire in support of arguments in favor of Jewish emancipation. MOSES GRADIS (1740–1788), a cousin of Abraham, inherited the firm after the latter's death. His brother, DAVID GRADIS (the Younger; 1742–1811), was a candidate for Bordeaux in the elections to the States General of 1789, and wrote several works on religion and philosophy. Similarly, his son BENJAMIN (1789–1858), and his grandson HENRI (1830–1905), divided their time between business, politics, and writing. Henri wrote *Histoire de la révolution de 1848* (2 vols. 1872), *Jérusalem* (1883), and *Le Peuple d'Israël* (1891). He was vice-mayor of Bordeaux and head of the Bordeaux *Consistory.

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°GRAEBE, HERMANN FRIEDRICH (1900–1986), non-Jew who saved Jews during the Holocaust. A native of Solingen, Germany, Graebe worked for the construction company, Jung. At one point he joined the Nazi Party, but after speaking out against them, he was sentenced to a short term in prison. The Jung company sent Graebe to Zdolbunov, Volhynia, in October 1941. There he was to be responsible for their undertakings for the German civil administration.

The Jung company employed thousands of Jews and Graebe did his best to ensure they were treated reasonably. In November 1941 and again in July 1942, he safeguarded his Jewish workers from being sent to their death, through contacts with the SD in Rovno. Sensing that the Jews who worked in the Jung head office in Zdolbunov were in danger, Graebe provided them with papers which represented them as Aryans and transferred them to Poltava. Ostensibly they were to work for Jung there, but in fact Graebe had moved them without the company's knowledge and supported them himself. In the fall, Graebe went to Dubno, where he saved the lives of several dozen Jews during the final *Aktion*. He described this incident at the Nuremberg Trial. After the trial, he immigrated to the United States. In 1966 he was officially recognized by *Yad Vashem for his courageous deeds.

[Robert Rozette]

GRAEBER, SCHEALTIEL EISIK (1856–?), Hebrew writer and publisher. Born in Galicia, he became involved in the Haskalah movement at an early age. He wrote for various Hebrew journals, but his major contribution in Hebrew letters was as a publisher. He published the periodical *Ha-Ohev Ammo ve-Ereẓ Moladeto* (1881), the annual *Beit Oẓar ha-Sifrut* (from 1887), and the works of Italian Jewish scholars, such as S.D. Luzzatto (*Iggerot Shadal*, 1882–94) and M.I. Tedeschi.

[Getzel Kressel]

°GRAES (Gratius), ORTWLN VAN DE (1480–1542), Dominican friar and fanatic anti-Jewish polemicist. He was coauthor (or translator) of Victor von *Carben's *De vita et moribus Judaeorum* (1509) and translated into Latin some of the polemics of Johann *Pfefferkorn, to whose *Judenfeind* (1509) he wrote an introductory poem *De pertinatia Judaeorum* ("On the Obstinacy of the Jews"). In 1513 Johannes *Reuchlin directed his defense in his controversy with Pfefferkorn mainly against Graes who was also the principal target of *Epistolae obscurorum virorum* (1515 and 1517). Graes's wordy reply (*Lamentationes obscurorum virorum*, Cologne, 1518) was no match for this savage satire. The *Praenotamenta* (1514) and *Defensio* (1516) against Reuchlin's *Augenspiegel* are also considered Graes's work.

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GRAETZ, HEINRICH (Hirsch; 1817–1891), Jewish historian and Bible scholar. Graetz was born in Xions (Ksiaz Wielkopolski), Poznan, the son of a butcher. From 1831 to 1836 he went to the yeshivah in Wolstein (now Wolsztyn) near Poznan. At the same time, Graetz taught himself French and Latin and avidly read general literature. This brought him to a spiritual crisis, but reading S.R. *Hirsch's "Nineteen Letters on Judaism" in 1836 restored his faith. He accepted Hirsch's invitation to continue his studies in the latter's home and under his guidance. Eventually their relationship cooled; he left Oldenburg in 1840 and worked as a private tutor in Ostrow. In 1842 he obtained special permission to study at Breslau University. As no Jew could obtain a Ph.D. at Breslau, Graetz presented his thesis to the University of Jena. This work was later published under the title *Gnostizismus und Judenthum* (1846). By then Graetz had come under the influence of Z. *Frankel, and it was he who initiated a letter of congratulations to Frankel for leaving the second *Rabbinical Conference (Frankfurt, 1845) in protest, after the majority had decided against prayers in Hebrew. Graetz now became a contributor to Frankel's *Zeitschrift fuer die religioesen Interessen des Judenthums*, in which, among others, he published his programmatic "Construction der juedischen Geschichte" (1846).

Graetz failed to obtain a position as rabbi and preacher because of his lack of talent as an orator. After obtaining a teaching diploma, he was appointed head teacher of the orthodox religious school of the Breslau community, and in 1850, at Hirsch's recommendation, of the Jewish school of Lundenburg, Moravia. As a result of intrigues within the local community, he left Lundenburg in 1852 for Berlin, where during the following winter he lectured on Jewish history to theological students. He then began to contribute to the *Monatsschrift fuer Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums*, which Frankel had founded in 1851 and which he later edited himself (1869–88). He also completed Volume IV (the first to be published, dealing with the talmudic period) of his *Geschichte der Juden von den aeltesten Zeiten bis zur Gegenwart* ("History of the Jews…," 1853). In 1853 Graetz was appointed lecturer in Jewish history and Bible at the newly founded Jewish Theological Seminary of Breslau, and in 1869 was made honorary professor at the University of Breslau.

The Historian and His Work

One of the major aspects of Graetz's outlook on the Jewish people and its history appear to have been laid during his association with S.R. Hirsch and under the influence of his ideas concerning the mission of the Jewish people. A second important source of his ideas can be found in his juvenile readings of Enlightenment authors as well as his studies in Breslau in philology and philosophy (the latter with Christlieb Julius Braniss (1792–1873)). In general, Graetz remained faithful to these ideas to the end of his days.

He set out his first comprehensive attempt at a concept of Jewish history in the two essays *Construction der juedischen Geschichte* (spring and autumn 1846; later editions as a continuous text, 1936, 2000; Heb. tr. *Darkhei ha-Historyah ha-Yehudit*, 1969; Engl. tr. *The Structure of Jewish History*, 1975). Proceeding from Hegelian ideas, he considered the basic ideas of Judaism as eternal, changing only their external forms. But as he failed to define such a basic idea, these two essays do not constitute a coherent text. In the first part, dealing with the history of the destruction of the Second Temple, the ideal form is harmony of the political and religious elements. Therefore Graetz regarded Judaism as a unique politico-religious organism, in which "the Law is the soul, the Holy Land the body." As for the second, the exilic part of Jewish history, however, Graetz agrees that theoretical-philosophical ideas have taken over: "Judaism becomes scientific scholarship," with the "talmudic system" instead of the Holy Land. He stated, however, that the process is not yet concluded and that "the task of Judaism's God-idea [seems to be] to found a religious state which is conscious of its activity, purpose, and connection with the world." Graetz's ideas on the nature of Jewish history underwent further development. In an essay titled *Die Verjuengung des juedischen Stammes* (in Wertheimer-Komperts' *Jahrbuch fuer Israeliten*, 1863; repr. with notes by Zlocisty in *Juedischer Volkskalender*, Brno, 1903; Eng. tr. in I. Lesser's *Occident* (1865), 193ff.) he rejected the belief in a personal Messiah, and maintained that the prophetic promises referred to the Jewish nation as a whole. In this period (1860s) Graetz under the influence of M. Hess' *Rome and Jerusalem* did not believe in the political revival of the Jews and in the possibility of the creation of a Jewish center in Ereẓ Israel (see letters to Hess and the conclusion of his pamphlet *Briefwechsel einer englischen Dame ueber Judentum und Semitismus*, which he published anonymously in 1883; also under the title *Gedanken einer Juedin ueber das Judentum…*, 1885). Both in this pamphlet and in his essay "The Significance of Judaism for the Present and the Future" (in JQR, 1–2, 1889/90), he emphasized the historical and religious significance of continuous Jewish existence. He saw the main importance of Judaism in the ethical values which it was its task to impart to the world. Judaism is the sole bearer of monotheism; it is the only rational religion. Its preservation and the propagation of the sublime ethical truths to be found in Judaism, these are the tasks of the Jews in the world and this is the importance of Judaism for human culture.

Graetz's life work is his *History of the Jews* and most of his other writings were merely preliminary studies or supplements to this gigantic structure. Even though attempts had been made before him by both Christians (Basnage) and Jews (Jost) to write a Jewish history, the work of Graetz was the first comprehensive attempt to write the history of the Jews as the history of a living people and from a Jewish point of view. With deep feeling, he describes the struggle of Jews and of Judaism for survival, their uniqueness, and their mission in world history. His approach has often been characterized as a history of suffering and intellectual achievement. Out of his appreciation of Judaism and his reaction against all that Christianity had perpetrated against Judaism, Graetz pointed out the failure of the Christian churches to provide a religion and ethics to serve as a basis for a healthy society. The writing of such a Jewish history in the midst of a society which in its vast majority identified itself with Christian culture was a daunting task.

After Volume 4 came out in 1853, eight further volumes of his *Geschichte der Juden* appeared between 1856 and 1870, leaving only the first two volumes – dealing with the biblical period and the early Second Temple period – to be completed. Volume 1 of the *History of the Jews* (to the death of Solomon) appeared in 1874, after Graetz had been able to travel to Palestine, and the two parts of the second volume (to the revolt of the Hasmoneans) followed in 1875–76.

From a historiographic point of view, the *History of the Jews* was a great and impressive achievement. Graetz made use of a vast number of hitherto neglected sources in several languages, though these were mainly literary sources; there was hardly any archival material on Jewish history available in his days. The same holds true for many social and economic aspects of history, though he recognized early the importance of coins as a historical source. In general, he adopted the philologic-critical method and succeeded in clarifying several obscure episodes in Jewish history. Having studied the works of outstanding personalities, especially those with whom he felt a spiritual affinity (such as Maimonides), Graetz succeeded in painting a series of particular figures as representatives of their respective epochs and the history of Judaism in general. His intuition as a historian was astonishing. Thus, for example, the documents discovered in the Cairo *Genizah* after the death of Graetz confirmed several of his surmises concerning the development of the *piyyut* and the period of the *geonim*. But Graetz the historiographer had his weaknesses as well, among which was his excessive and rather naive rationalism. He described everything which appeared to him understandable and logical in the history of his people and emphasized the forces and the ideals which had assured its survival throughout the centuries. Thus he stressed the importance of the universalist ethics of Judaism and showed little understanding for mystical forces and movements such as *Kabbalah and *Ḥasidism, which he despised and considered malignant growths in the body of Judaism. Graetz was not acquainted with and scarcely interested in the history of the Jews of Poland, Russia, and Turkey, and in his attachment to Haskalah expressed contempt bordering on hatred for "the fossilized Polish talmudists." To Yiddish he refers as a ridiculous gibberish ("jargon").

Nevertheless, Graetz wrote in a lively and captivating though sometimes partisan, style, which secured remarkable and long-lasting success for his work. Between 1887 and 1889 an abridged edition of his great work was published in three volumes under the title *Volkstuemliche Geschichte der Juden* (1887–89; 10 editions to 1930; Eng. tr. 1930^4), which became one of the most widely read Jewish books in Central Europe. For several generations of Jews this work served as a very common bar mitzvah gift.

As to biblical research, Graetz's approach to the Pentateuch was traditional, but in his studies of Prophets and Hagiographa he occasionally adopted radical views. His commentaries on Song of Songs and Ecclesiastes (the latter written according to him in the time of Herod) were published in 1871 and his commentary to Psalms in 1882. These were generally not favorably received, though by making use of the old Bible versions and of talmudic Hebrew he was able to obtain some valuable results. Toward the end of his life it was Graetz's intention to publish a critical text on the Bible, but he left nothing more than emendations to the Prophets, Psalms, and Ecclesiastes which his student David Kaufmann published posthumously.

Critics and Legacy

Graetz's work had a tremendous effect on Jews everywhere, but he was not short of critics either. S.R. Hirsch voiced strong criticism as early as the publication of Volume 4 in the early years of his *Jeschurun* (1855–57), calling it "the phantasies of superficial combinations." The breach between teacher and pupil was now complete. From the opposite direction came Geiger's verdict that the work contained "stories but not history" (*Juedische Zeitschrift*, 4 (1866), 145ff.; cf. also Steinschneider's censure in HB, 3 (1860), 103f.; 4 (1861), 84; 6 (1863), 73ff.). Graetz replied to his contemporary critics in periodicals and in subsequent volumes of his history.

Beyond scholarly debates and throughout his life, Graetz was a pugnacious character. During his student years in Breslau, he fought ardent battles in Jewish and non-Jewish journals against Abraham *Geiger and the Reform movement. On his return from the Middle East, he published a memorandum which was highly critical of the social and educational conditions in Ereẓ Israel and of the system of **Ḥalukkah* in particular. He also played a role in the new wave of antisemitic attacks. In 1879 the nationalistic Prussian historian Heinrich von *Treitschke violently attacked the 11th volume of the *History of the Jews*, which dealt with recent times. He accused Graetz of hatred of Christianity, Jewish nationalism, and the lack of desire for the integration of Jews within the German nation ("Unsere Aussichten," in *Preussische Jahrbuecher*, 1879). This led to a public debate in which both Jewish and non-Jewish writers participated. While many of them rejected Treitschke's virulent antisemitism, even Jewish writers dissociated themselves, with few exceptions, from Graetz. That he was a controversial figure became once again evident when the Union of Jewish Communities set up in 1885 a Jewish Historical Commission with the purpose of publishing the sources for the history of the Jews in Germany. Despite his merits, Graetz was not invited to serve in any way. Thus in his later years, Graetz was cautious in his involvement in public affairs. He warmly welcomed the philanthropic program of the *Kattowitz Conference (1884), but withdrew immediately when the *Ḥovevei Zion movement took a political turn and tried to use his name for its purposes.

A wider Jewish public, and the world of Jewish scholarship in particular, honored Graetz on the occasion of his 70th birthday; a jubilee volume was published to celebrate the event. Graetz was invited to deliver the opening speech at the Anglo-Jewish Exhibition in London in 1887, which was published under the title of *Historic Parallels in Jewish History* (translated by J. Jacobs, 1887). In 1888 he was elected honorary member of the history department of the Academy of Madrid in honor of his description of medieval Jewish history in Spain up to the expulsion in 1492.

Graetz's *History* became the basis and the source for the further study of Jewish history, and in some fields of research its influence is felt to this day. It was translated into many languages. The great number of editions and translations (also of single volumes: cf. Brann, in MGWJ, 61 (1917), 481–91) of the *Geschichte* speak their own language of success. The various volumes were published in up to five editions until World War I. Several volumes of the last edition (11 vols., 1890–1909) were edited and annotated by M. Brann and others. The best known Hebrew version is an adaptation/translation by S.P. Rabinowitz (with A. Harkavy, 1890–99), which exerted much influence among the Hebrew-reading public of East European Jewry. Yiddish translations appeared in 1897–98, 1913, and 1915–17. The various English translations were influential as well: (1) without the notes and excurses, by Bella Loewy (5 vols., 1891–92), authorized and with an introduction and final retrospect by Graetz himself (1901); (2) the same with a sixth volume including P. Bloch's memoir, 1892–98; and (3) the "Popular History" (5 vols., 1919). As to French translations: volume 3 was translated by Moses *Hess under the title *Sinai et Golgotha* in 1867; and the whole work by M. Wogue and M.

Bloch (1882–97). The work was also translated into Russian, Polish, and Hungarian.

Most of Graetz's other published work was preparatory to the main "History," and appeared in the *Monatsschrift* and in the *Jahresberichte* of the Breslau Seminary. On the occasion of Graetz's 100th birthday anniversary the *Monatsschrift* (vol. 61 (1917), 321ff.) and the *Neue Juedische Monatshefte* (vol. 2, nos. 3–4, 1917–18) issued a series of memoirs and first biographical sketches on the life and works of the historian. A number of Graetz's essays and personal writings have been published in Hebrew (*Darkhei ha-Historyah ha-Yehudit* (1969), tr. by J. Tolkes), and an extensive selection of his diaries and letters was published by R. Michael (*Heinrich Graetz. Tagebuch und Briefe* (1977)). In more recent times, a few comprehensive studies of the life and work of Graetz have been finished.

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[Shmuel Ettinger / Marcus Pyka (2nd ed.)]

GRAF, HERBERT (1904–1973), opera producer and administrator. Graf, who was born in Vienna, was the son of the critic Max Graf. He studied at the University of Vienna with Guido *Adler, graduating in 1925, after which he worked as stage director at the opera houses of Muenster, Breslau, Frankfurt on the Main, and Basle until 1934, when he left Germany. Thereafter he worked in the United States with the Philadelphia Opera and, from 1939 to 1960, at the Metropolitan (where he was general director of productions until 1949). He was head of the Curtis Institute of Music's opera department from 1949. As an opera producer, he worked at almost all the important world opera houses and festivals. Graf was director of the Zurich Opera (1960–63) and of the Grand Theatre, Geneva, from 1965 until his death. His many publications include *Opera for the People* (1951) and *Producing Opera for America* (1961).

[Max Loppert]

°**GRAF, KARL HEINRICH** (1815–1869), German Protestant Bible scholar. Graf was born in Mulhouse, Alsace, and died in Meissen, Saxony. He began as a teacher of French and Hebrew in Paris and Meissen, where, in 1852, he became a professor. The hypothesis of his teacher, E. Reuss, that the prophetic books preceded the literary formulations of the Pentateuchal laws led Graf to the further hypothesis (*Die geschichtlichen Buecher des Alten Testaments*, 1866) that the Priestly Code, i.e., the source which includes Leviticus, which had until then been considered the earliest source of the Pentateuch, was actually the latest of the Pentateuchal sources. This contribution to the reconstruction of the history of ancient Israel was later developed by J. *Wellhausen. He also wrote commentaries on Moses' blessing (1857) and the Book of Jeremiah (*Der Prophet Jeremia*, 1862).

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GRAFFMAN, GARY (1928–), U.S. pianist. Graffman was born in New York City, and studied at the Curtis Institute of Music, Philadelphia, with Isabelle Vengerova (1936–46) and at Columbia University (1947–48). His debut as a soloist was with the Philadelphia Orchestra under *Ormandy (1947). Two years later he won the Leventritt Award, which marked the beginning of an important international career. Graffman, a typically brilliant virtuoso in the American style, made many recordings, in addition to numerous public appearances.

[Max Loppert]

GRAFSTEIN, JERAHMIEL S. (**Jerry**; 1935–), Canadian senator, lawyer, and businessman. Grafstein was born in London, Ontario, where his father, a Polish university-educated immigrant to Canada, was in business. Jerry Grafstein graduated with a B.A. from the University of Western Ontario and a law degree from the University of Toronto Law School. In 1960 he was admitted to the Ontario Bar and appointed Queen's Counsel in 1973. He founded and edited the *Journal of Liberal Thought* in 1965–66. Drawn to politics he was a Liberal Party fundraiser and political adviser who worked on numerous Liberal political campaigns. A skilled policy adviser, he worked in several important government ministries, including the Departments of Transportation, External Affairs, and Justice. He also served as a senior adviser to former Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau and in 1984 Trudeau appointed him to the Senate of Canada. Grafstein became a partner in the Toronto law firm of Minden, Gross, Grafstein and Greenstein specializing in communications and administrative law. He was also a financier and patron of many arts and health organizations. Among his business interests, Grafstein was one of the founders of CITYTV in Toronto in 1972, chaired the boards of media corporations, such as CUC Broadcasting Ltd., CITY TV, and Muchmusic, and served on the boards of other corporations such as the World Film Festival of Toronto and the Toronto Arts Awards. He served as co-chair of the Canada-U.S. Interparliamentary Group, the largest parliamentary group in Canada, and the Advisory Committee to the 1988 Toronto Economic Summit and as a member of the Executive of the 2008 Toronto Olympic Bid Committee. He published articles, delivered lectures, made panel appearances, and led conferences in the areas of technology, television, cable, film, broadcasting, and corporate and international finance.

[Andrea Knight (2nd ed.)]

GRAHAM, BILL (**Wulf Wolodia Grajonca**, **Wolfgang Grajonca**; 1931–1991), rock 'n' roll concert promoter and manager, member of the Rock and Roll Hall of Fame. Graham was born to Frieda (Sass) and Yankel, religious Russian Jews who had moved to Berlin before his birth. Jacob died from an accident two days after Graham was born, and his mother was forced to put her only son and the youngest of her five daughters in the Auerbach orphanage so that she could seek employment.

On July 4, 1939, Graham and 39 other children from the orphanage in Berlin left on a **Kindertransport* to France, arriving at Chateau de Quincy, 30 km southeast of Paris. Later Graham was placed in a baby orphanage in Paris, and then the group was spirited in the middle of the night into Free France, transported to Chateau de Chaumont, Creuse. In July 1941, Graham and his sister, Tolla, joined a group of children who took a train south to Marseille, and then to Spain and Portugal, not long before their mother was gassed by the Nazis. The children were severely malnourished, and Tolla fell ill with pneumonia in Lyon; Graham never saw her again. He left Lisbon with 55 other children on the Serpa Pinto on September 9, 1941, arriving in New York on September 24, 1941. Brought over by *HIAS as part of the One Thousand Children – the only group of unaccompanied children who were rescued from the Holocaust by the United States – Graham was sent to an orphanage at Pleasantville, N.J., and was subsequently adopted by Alfred and Pearl Ehrenreich. He changed his name to Graham and became an American citizen in 1949. Graham fought in the Korean War and was awarded a Bronze Star and a Purple Heart.

In 1955 he moved to San Francisco, joining two of his sisters who had emigrated there from Israel. After a few office jobs and acting gigs, he became the manager of the San Francisco Mime Troupe. Graham produced his first concert, a benefit for the Mime Troupe, on November 1, 1965, featuring the Jefferson Airplane, Lawrence Ferlinghetti, The Committee, The Fugs, Allen Ginsberg, and other elements of the San Francisco art scene and subculture. Four months later, on February 4, 1966, Graham promoted his first show under his new company, Bill Graham Presents, featuring the Jefferson Airplane at the Fillmore Auditorium, a dilapidated auditorium that Graham transformed into a tightly run concert hall. It was at the Fillmore that Graham helped launch the careers of some of the icons of rock: Janis Joplin, Otis Redding, Jefferson Airplane, Cream, Big Brother and the Holding Company, and the Grateful Dead.

"The Fillmore … was the church of rock 'n' roll, and Bill was the shepherd tending the flock," said Mickey Hart, the drummer for the Dead.

In 1968, Graham moved the Fillmore into the Carousel Ballroom, another old dance hall, and renamed it the Fillmore West to go with his opening the Fillmore East in New York City. He subsequently took over Winterland, another San Francisco concert venue. Graham also branched out into band management and tour promotion.

Considered the Barnum and Bailey of rock 'n' roll, Graham revolutionized concert promotion, bringing professionalism to the business of presenting rock shows. That included having great lighting, great sound, shows that started on time, making artists do encores, making sure artists showed up on time for shows – in short, Graham brought the rules, order, and concept of theater to rock 'n' roll, as well as setting the standard for well-produced large-scale rock concerts.

Graham, who lived by himself in a Marin County house he named "Masada," also devoted much time and energy to produce benefits, mobilizing musicians on behalf of a wide range of social issues. In 1975, Graham paid for Chabad's 22-foot-high "Mama Menorah," the first giant public menorah displayed outside Israel, which is now replicated around the world. After he was killed in a helicopter crash in California, the Bill Graham Foundation was formed as a supporting foundation of the Jewish Community Federation of San Francisco.

An unauthorized biography, *Rage & Roll: Bill Graham and the Selling of Rock*, was written by John Glatt in 1993, and Graham was in the middle of writing his own autobiography, *Bill Graham Presents: My Life Inside Rock and Out* (1992) with Robert Greenfield when he died. Graham was inducted into The Rock and Roll Hall of Fame in 1992.

[Elli Wohlgelernter (2nd ed.)]

GRAJEWO, small town in Bialystok province, Poland. Jews settled there at the beginning of the 18th century. According to the 1765 census, there were 83 Jews aged over one year (17 families), of whom six families resided in their own houses and eleven in leased dwellings; 336 Jews were living in 38 villages in the vicinity. They leased taverns or were occupied as small traders or artisans (tailors, tinsmiths). Until 1862 Grajewo was included in the towns of the Russian-German border zone, where Jewish residence was subjected to various restrictions. Jews organized a community in the late 18th century. They operated a number of factories and many owned stores. In the 19th century many Jews in Grajewo exported agricultural produce to Eastern Prussia. The community numbered 197 (39% of the total population) in 1808, 727 (57%) in 1827, 1,457 (76%) in 1857, 4,336 in 1897 and 2,834 (39% of a total 7,346) in 1921. There were anti-Jewish outbreaks in 1933. Under the Soviet occupation (September 1939–June 1941) Jewish businesses were nationalized.

The Germans captured the town on June 22, 1941, and instituted a reign of terror. In August 1941, 1,600–2,000 Jews were confined to a ghetto. In December 1942 most of the Jews in Grajewo were deported to Treblinka and the rest in January 1943 to Auschwitz.

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GRAJEWSKI, ARYEH LEIB (1896–1967), talmudic scholar, jurist, and journalist. Grajewski was born near Lomza in Poland and studied in the yeshivah of Israel Meir Ha-Kohen (the "Ḥafeẓ Ḥayyim"), in Radin and at Slobodka. At the age of 16 he was ordained rabbi by outstanding scholars. He left for Ereẓ Israel in 1913, but at the outbreak of World War I in 1914 he and his family were compelled to move to Egypt because of their Russian citizenship. On the initiative of Joseph Trumpeldor he participated in the founding of a school for the children of the refugees and exiles from Ereẓ Israel then in Alexandria. He assisted his father Simeon Ḥayyim, who was appointed Jewish chaplain to the British expeditionary force in the Near East. In 1919 he returned to Jerusalem where he taught Talmud in the Hebrew Gymnasium. In 1921 he went to Paris, completing his legal studies in the following year, taught Talmud at the Rabbinical Seminary of Paris, and was a member of the central council of the Federation of French Zionists, chairman of the Union of Jewish Students, director of a school preparing young refugees for teaching, president of the Paris union of Hebrew teachers, etc. He published poems, stories, and articles on Jewish and general topics in French newspapers (in *L'Intransigeant*, in which he ran a special section on Hebrew and Yiddish literature, in *Les Nouvelles Littéraires*, and in the *Revue du Levant*), in Jewish French-language newspapers, and in Hebrew papers in Ereẓ Israel and elsewhere; and he edited the French column of the Paris Yiddish paper, *Parizer Haynt*. He devoted himself mainly to research in Hebrew law and Talmud. His first articles in this field were published in Hebrew in *Ha-Toren* (no. 11, 1945), and in French in *Hamenora*. He was a regular contributor to the Jerusalem periodicals *Ha-Mishpat* and *Ha-Mishpat ha-Ivri*. In 1935 Grajewski returned to Ereẓ Israel and for two years was engaged in teaching, after which he devoted himself to law, practicing also as a rabbinic lawyer. He published a monograph on Joseph ibn Migash (1953, 1963^{2}). He published *Dinei Perudin u-Ketatot ba-Mishpat ha-Ivri* (1948). He died in Jerusalem and bequeathed his library to the library of Hechal Shlomo in Jerusalem.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Tidhar, 3 (1949), 1465f.

[Zvi Kaplan]

GRAJEWSKI, ELIEZER ZALMAN (1843–1899), rabbinic scholar, traveler, and journalist. Grajewski was born in Malyaty (Maletai), near Vilna. He served first as the rabbi of Kletsk and later of Orsha. In 1873, he visited Ereẓ Israel, where he became a strong supporter of the new settlers. Upon his return, he published reminiscences of his journey in *Ha-Ivri*. When the Mazkeret Moshe organization was founded to honor Sir Moses Montefiore, leading Russian rabbis advocated the appointment of Grajewski as its director in Ereẓ Israel, and for this purpose he went to England in 1876. He did not, however, obtain the appointment but instead was appointed rabbi in Liverpool in 1877. He also traveled extensively throughout the United States, where he lectured on the necessity of encouraging the upbuilding of Ereẓ Israel. In 1890 Grajewski settled in Jerusalem, where he lived for the remainder of his life, although he died in Rigrod, near the Prussian border, after having gone to Vienna for medical treatment. His published works include *Ginnat Egoz* (1887), consisting of sermons and talmudic novellae: *Ginzei Keneset Yisrael* (1877), and *Gevul Yam* (1889), two commentaries to the *Haggadah*; and *Si'aḥ Eli'ezer* (1896), explanations of *piyyutim* recited on special occasions.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Tidhar, 2 (1947), 618f.

[Aaron Rothkoff]

GRAJEWSKY, PINCHAS (1873–1941), Ereẓ Israel historian. Grajewsky was born in Jerusalem, where he received a traditional yeshivah education. He was an official in the Bikkur Ḥolim Hospital in Jerusalem for 43 years. In 1895 he became a member of the Yishuv Ereẓ ha-Kodesh Association, which was founded to train yeshivah students for agricultural work. Grajewsky's main literary activity was in the publication of documents, letters, and memoirs, along with biographical sketches, relating to Jerusalem and Ereẓ Israel personalities, synagogues, and public institutions. Many of the 170 pamphlets published by Grajewsky were in series: *Mi-Ginzei Yerushalayim* (25) contained documents, memoirs, and Turkish *firmans; Avnei Zikkaron* (15) was on tombstones and inscriptions; *Zikhron ha-Ḥovevim ha-Rishonim* (20) on important individuals; *Benot Ẓiyyon* (10) on distinguished women of Jerusalem. Although his biographical material was not always accurate, it was because of him that many historical documents which might otherwise have been lost were preserved. He also published *Sefer ha-Yishuv* (1929) on the residential quarters of Jerusalem.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Enẓiklopedyah shel ha-Ẓiyyonut ha-Datit*, 1, 554–6; Kressel, 1, 504–5. M.D. Gaon, in: *Deyokena de-Yerushalayim* (1953).

[Benjamin Jaffe (2nd ed.)]

GRANACH, ALEXANDER (**Isaiah Gronach**; 1890–1945), German and Yiddish actor of proletarian types, who distinguished himself in expressionist portrayals. Granach, who was born in Werbowitz (Galicia), reached Berlin at the age of 15 while traveling with a Yiddish troupe. He was accepted at Max *Reinhardt's school and joined the Reinhardt Theater in 1908. He volunteered for the Austro-Hungarian Army during World War I and was sent to Galicia. After World War I, he specialized in modern plays, but also won acclaim for his Shylock and his Mephistopheles. He also played in Yiddish, appearing in Sholem Asch's *God of Vengeance*, and presented Yiddish plays in New York in 1931. After a period in Poland and Russia, he emigrated in the U.S. in 1938. Here he staged *Shylock* and other plays in Yiddish, and acted minor parts in Hollywood.

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[Gershon K. Gershony / Bjoern Siegel (2nd ed.)]

GRANADA, city and province in Andalusia, S. Spain. According to tradition in the legends of Spanish Jewry, some of the Jews exiled by Nebuchadnezzar settled in Granada (Solomon ibn Verga, *Shevet Yehudah*, ed. by A. Shochat (1947), 33–34), which they called "the pomegranate of Spain." Even the Moors thought that the Jews had founded the city, which they called *Garnat al-Yahud* ("Granada of the Jews"). The earliest extant information on the Jewish community in Granada is that the garrison stationed in the city after its conquest by the Moors in 711 was composed of Jews and Moors. During the Umayyad period Granada was one of the most important communities in all Spain. In the 11th century as a result of the fragmentation of Andalusia – when Granada became an independent principality – Jews received a large share in its administration. *Samuel ha-Nagid was not only leader of his own people but also vizier and military commander in the state. Prominent Jews were also among his political opponents who fled from the principality after the victory of Samuel's faction (Ibn Daud, Tradition, 74). The Jewish position in the leadership of the state is explained by the conditions within the principality – controlled by a Berber military clique that did not strike roots within the state. In the many court intrigues the king could depend on a Jew who had no aspirations for the throne. At that time, the Jewish population of Granada was estimated at 5,000 people, constituting around 20% of the population, and Samuel led the Jews for the benefit of the state. Various libelous documents were issued against the position of the Jews, and were circulated through neighboring principalities. An anti-Jewish polemical tone was even voiced in their wars against Granada.

Samuel's son, Joseph ha-Nagid, fell victim to a mass revolt in 1066 in which the "[Jewish] community of Granada" perished along with him (*ibid.*, 76). According to a later testimony, "more than 1,500 householders" were killed (Ibn Verga, op. cit., 22). Soon afterward the Jews returned to a position of influence in Granada, however not for long. At the time of the conquest of the city by the Almoravid Ibn Tāshfin in 1090, the community was destroyed and the *Ibn Ezra family was among the refugees. During the Almohad regime (1148–1212), only Jews who had converted to Islam were permitted to live in the city. The attempt of Jews and Christians to overthrow Almohad rule in 1162 met with failure. At first, Jews, together with Christians, were expelled from the town during the wars of the Reconquest (1232). They returned to Granada when the kingdom of Granada was ruled by the Muslim Naṣrid dynasty (1232–1492). There is no available information on the Jews of Granada during the 13th–15th centuries, yet it is known that several of the kings of Aragon sent Jews as legates to Granada.

After 1391 *Conversos found shelter in Granada, where they openly returned to Judaism. In the agreement of surrender signed between the king of Granada and Ferdinand and Isabella in 1491 it was stated that Jews who were natives of Granada and its environs, and designated to be transferred to Spain, would be granted protection; those who wished to leave the country for North Africa would be given the opportunity to do so. Conversos who returned to Judaism were given a deadline to leave the country. It was also agreed that no Jew would have the right of judgment over the Moors, and that Jews would not serve as tax collectors.

On March 31, 1492, the edict of expulsion of the Jews from Spain was signed in the recently captured Granada. The traveler Hieronymus Muenzer, who visited Granada in 1494–1495, states that Ferdinand ordered the razing of the Jewish quarter in 1492, where, according to Muenzer, 20,000 Jews resided. Sources from the Archivo de Simancas prove this figure to be an exaggeration. According to Laredo Quesada the number of Jews in Granada in 1492 was around 550. In addition to the families of Samuel ha-Nagid and Ibn Ezra, natives of Granada included Judah ibn *Tibbon, Saadiah b. Maimon *Ibn Danān, Solomon b. Joseph ibn Ayyūb, and many other scholars and authors. The Jewish quarter in Granada was not located in a single place throughout the centuries of Muslim rule. It was moved, expanded, or contracted by the various dynasties which ruled the city. According to one source, *Garnat al-Yahud* (the City of the Jews) was on the hill by the *Alcazaba*, from the *Torres Bermejas* up to the Daro River, while according to Muenzer as far as the *Puerta Real*. The Jewish quarter was completely demolished, by order of King Ferdinand, and on its location a cathedral and a hospital were erected. In the Alhambra Palace, according to some scholars, the fountain in the Patio of the Lions was brought from the palace of Joseph ibn Nagrela. Ibn Nagrela's fountain is described in the contemporary Hebrew poetry. In the Alhambra, in the Ambassadors Hall the Catholic monarchs signed the Edict of Expulsion on March 31, 1492, three months after the fall of the Kingdom of Granada.

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[Haim Beinart]

GRANADA, GABRIEL DE (b. 1629), Marrano, arrested for Judaizing by the Inquisition in Mexico in 1642. During his trial, although not under torture as is commonly supposed but under the frightening pressures of his surroundings, he implicated over 80 other people, including his mother, four aunts, grandmother, and brother. His father, Manuel de Granada, who had traveled to the Philippines, died before Gabriel's arrest; his mother, Maria de Rivera, starved herself to death in the Inquisition jail. The trial dragged on at least until September 1645 and Gabriel was not sentenced until April 16, 1646, when he was reconciled to the Church.

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[Martin A. Cohen]

GRANDE, BENZION MOISEEVICH (1891–1974), Russian physician, Orientalist. Grande was born in Lithuania. On the eve of World War I he visited Ereẓ-Israel and the neighboring Arab countries and became interested in the Arabic language and culture. As a student in the medical faculty in Moscow he served as a medic in the Russian army during World War I. In 1918 he graduated as a physician and served in the Red Army. In 1922 he graduated from the Institut of Eastern Sciences and began his career teaching and studying Arabic. He did much to help develop the written languages of the small national groups in Russia, and from 1940 to 1960 held the Arabic chair at Moscow University. He published the results of his research on Semitic languages and after his retirement in 1960 devoted himself to studying the Hebrew language. In 1963 he edited F.L. Shapiro Hebrew–Russian Dictionary.

[Shmuel Spector (2nd ed.)]

GRANDITSKY, PALLE (1923–2001), Swedish actor and director. Granditsky worked at the City Theater of Uppsala and Gävle (1954–57) and was head of the City Theater of Borås (1957–64). Here he directed *Antigone* by Jean Anouilh and *The Three Sisters* by Chekhov. He then returned to Uppsala, where his outstanding productions were *The Dance of Death* by Strindberg and *Rhinoceros* (1964) by Ionesco.

GRANDVAL (Hirsch-Ollendorf), GILBERT YVES EDMOND (1904–1981), French statesman. Born in Paris, Grandval was director of a chemical production concern from 1917 to 1940 and after the fall of France joined the French Resistance, becoming one of its leaders. He was appointed military governor of the Saar region in 1945 and from 1948 to 1952 was French High Commissioner for the Saar. Grandval was later resident-general in Morocco (1953), secretary of state for foreign trade (1962), and from 1962 to 1966 was minister of labor.

GRANIN, DANIEL ALEKSANDROVICH (pseudonym of **D.A. German**; 1918–), Soviet author. Granin, who was born and raised in Petrograd, became an engineer and worked for a number of years at various industrial enterprises. After serving in the Red Army in World War II, he turned to literature. His favorite theme was the clash between the professional and personal integrity of a scientist or a technocrat and the powerful political pressures exercised by the Communist bureaucracy. Granin's early works include *Variant vtoroy* ("Second Version," 1949) and the novel *Iskateli* (1954; *Those Who Seek*, 1956). The publication of his story *Sobstvennoye mnenie* ("One's Own Opinion") in 1956 was one of the most significant events of the post-Stalin "thaw." He justified his advocacy of independent thought as serving, in the final analysis, the best interests of the Soviet state. But it provoked the anger of Party bureaucrats because it was taken, not unreasonably, as implying that the party's policy of thought control was harmful to the country. Granin's best-known novel is *Idu na grozu* (1962; *Bison*, 1990), which has been credited with providing the best portrait of the world of Soviet scientists. With Ales Adamovich he wrote *A Book of the Blockade* (1982) about the siege of Leningrad, and with William Styron he edited *The Human Experience: Contemporary American and Soviet Fiction and Poetry* (1989).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: V.M. Akimov et al. (eds.), *Russkiye sovetskiye pisateli prozaiki* (1959), 571–9, includes bibliography.

[Maurice Friedberg]

GRANOTT (Granovsky), ABRAHAM (1890–1962), Israeli economist, head of the *Jewish National Fund. Born in Folesti, Bessarabia, Granott was appointed secretary of the JNF in 1919. After the transfer of the JNF Head Office to Jerusalem in 1922, Granott settled in that city, becoming the Fund's managing director, chairman of its board of directors (1945), and president (1960). His plan for a joint land authority of the JNF and the State of Israel served as the basis for the land legislation passed by the *Knesset in 1960. In 1948 Granott was cofounder and chairman of the Progressive Party (see *Independent Liberal Party) and was elected to the first Knesset in 1949, serving as chairman of its finance committee. His main contribution to Israel's economy consisted of establishing the principles for a progressive agrarian policy, which he formulated in a number of works such as *Land System in Palestine* (1952) and *Agrarian Reform and the Record of Israel* (1956). For a full bibliography of Granott's writings (in Hebrew, English, French, Spanish, German, etc.) up to 1951, see the appendix to his book *Be-Hitnaḥel Am* (1951).

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[Theodore Hatalgui]

GRANOVSKY, ALEXANDER (pseudonym of **Abraham Azarch**; 1890–1937), Soviet theatrical director and founder of the post-Revolution Jewish State Theater. Born in Moscow, he studied at the Institute of Stage Arts in St. Petersburg and worked in Munich, where he was influenced by Rienhardt. Granovsky organized an amateur Yiddish drama group in 1918. In 1919 he was authorized to open a studio in Petrograd

(Leningrad), and after six months he presented Maeterlinck's *The Blind* followed by Sholem *Asch's *The Sinner* and *Amnon and Tamar*. Granovsky aimed at the creation of a new Jewish style which would break with the Yiddish "primitive" tradition. His studio grew into a repertory theater, and was finally called the "Jewish State Theater." It moved to Moscow and presented works mainly by Jewish authors, Shalom *Aleichem, Sholem *Asch, A. *Goldfaden, I.L. *Peretz, S. *Abramovitsh (Mendele Mokher Seforim), and L. *Reznik, and plays by non-Jewish authors such as *Uriel Acosta* by K.F. Gutzkow and *Trouhadec* by Jules Romains. His method of production was exemplified in his presentation of Peretz's *Night in the Old Market* (1925), which relied largely on music, movement, lighting, and the "art of silence." In 1928–29 he toured Western Europe. He did not return to Russia, but stayed in Berlin and directed Arnold Zweig's *Sergeant Grischa* in German and *Uriel Acosta* for *Habimah (1930). After the Nazis came to power, he moved to Paris, where he worked in the opera and cinema. Among his admirers and students were Solomon *Mikhoels and Benjamin Zuskin.

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[Gershon K. Gershony]

GRANT, BARON ALBERT (**Albert Gottheimer**; 1831–1889), British financier. Born in Dublin, educated in London and Paris, Grant introduced in Britain the Crédit-Foncier type of mobilizing small investments for large projects. Many of his enterprises lacked solidity, and he was often attacked and lampooned. His companies, 37 in all, included public utilities and financial institutions in Europe and overseas. Their issued capital totaled 25 million sterling ($125 million), but eventually were worth only 5 million ($25 million). Grant also initiated slum clearance and collected paintings. He was member of Parliament for Kidderminster, 1865–68 and 1874–80. He purchased Leicester Square (London), then a garbage dump, converted it into a public garden, and handed it over to the Metropolitan Board of Works in 1874. In 1868 he was ennobled by King Victor Emanuel of Italy. He died in comparatively poor circumstances at Bognor. One of the most visible and colorful Anglo-Jewish businessmen of his time, Grant is often said to have been the original of Auguste Melmotte in Anthony Trollope's famous novel *The Way We Live Now* (1875).

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[Joachim O. Ronall / William D. Rubinstein (2nd ed.)]

GRANT, LEE (**Lyova Rosenthal**; 1927–), U.S. actress. Born in New York, Grant was nominated for an Oscar in her first screen role as the young shoplifter in *Detective Story* (1951), but soon after was blacklisted because of her refusal to testify against her then-husband, TV/screenwriter Arnold Manoff (aka Joel Carpenter), before the House Un-American Activities Committee. After more than a decade, Grant returned to films and television, winning both an Oscar (Best Supporting Actress, *Shampoo*, 1975) and Emmy Awards (*Peyton Place*, 1966 and *Neon Ceiling*, 1971). Appearing in more than 70 films, she played diverse roles in such motion pictures as *Middle of the Night* (1959); *The Balcony* (1963); *In the Heat of the Night* (1967); *Valley of the Dolls* (1967); *The Landlord* (Oscar nomination for Best Supporting Actress, 1970); *Plaza Suite* (1971); *Portnoy's Complaint* (1972); *Voyage of the Damned* (Oscar nomination for Best Supporting Actress, 1976); *Little Miss Marker* (1980); *Teachers* (1984); *The Big Town* (1987); *It's My Party* (1996); *The Substance of Fire* (1996); *Under Heat* (1996); *Dr. T and the Women* (2000); *Mulholland Drive* (2001); and *Going Shopping* (2005).

She directed the films *Tell Me a Riddle* (1980); *What Sex Am I?* (1985); *Down and Out in America* (Academy Award for Best Documentary, 1986); and *Staying Together* (1989). In addition to directing several TV movies, such as *Nobody's Child* (1986) and *Seasons of the Heart* (1994), from 1998 Grant directed dozens of biographical TV documentaries entitled *Intimate Portrait*. The subjects of these personal profiles included such figures as Vanessa Redgrave, Gloria *Steinem, Bella *Abzug, Jessica Tandy, Betty *Friedan, Bo Derek – and herself (2001).

In 1983 she received the Congressional Arts Caucus Award for Outstanding Achievement in Acting and Independent Filmmaking; in 1989, Women in Film granted her their first-ever Lifetime Achievement Award.

Grant's daughter, Dinah Manoff, is also an actress (*Grease*; *Ordinary People; I Ought to Be in Pictures; Staying Together;* and the TV series *Soap*; *Celebrity*; *Empty Nest*; and *State of Grace*).

[Jonathan Licht / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

°GRANT, ULYSSES SIMPSON (1822–1885), victorious Union Army general of the Civil War and 18th president of the United States (1869–77). Grant's name has been linked irrevocably with anti-Jewish prejudice through his signature on General Order Number 11, issued at his headquarters of the Department of the Tennessee, located in Holly Springs, Miss., on December 17, 1862: "The Jews, as a class violating every regulation of trade established by the Treasury Department and also department orders, are hereby expelled from the department within twenty-four hours from the receipt of this order. Post commanders will see that all of this class of people be furnished passes and required to leave, and any one returning after such notification will be arrested and held in confinement until an opportunity occurs of sending them out as prisoners, unless furnished with permit from headquarters. No passes will be given these people to visit headquarters for the purpose of making personal application for trade permits." It cannot be proven indisputably whether this blanket condemnation and order of expulsion, executed in the area under Grant's military control in parts of the states of Kentucky, Tennessee, and Mississippi, was composed by Grant himself or by an underling, on the inspiration of an official of the War Department or in response to complaints by General W.T. Sherman, or in accordance with the wishes of gentile cotton-buyers in the area. Extensive research has uncovered much anti-Jewish prejudice on the part of military officers and civilian officials, but no conclusive key to the identity of the specific instigator of Grant's Order. The general himself had instructed one of his subordinates on Nov. 10, 1862, to insure that "no Jews are to be permitted to travel on the railroad south from any point… they are such an intolerable nuisance that the department must be purged of them." On the same day that he signed Order No. 11, he reported to an assistant secretary of war that "I instructed the commanding officer of Columbus [Mississippi] to refuse all permits to Jews to come South, and I have frequently had them expelled from the department…. The Jews seem to be a privileged class that can travel everywhere …" An explanation which Grant offered on September 14, 1868, in the thick of the presidential campaign, implied that reports to him from the field and a reprimand from Washington had led him to issue and publish the order "without reflection and without thinking of the Jews as a sect or race to themselves but simply as persons who had successfully … violated an order …" It is also possible that the fact that Grant's own father was involved in business dealings with Jews at this time had something to do with his frame of mind.

Lincoln insisted that the order be revoked, despite Grant's unique facility for winning battles. Debates about the order took place on the floor of both the House and Senate, but opinion was divided fairly closely along party lines. During Grant's victorious presidential campaigns of 1868 and 1872, discussion of the anti-Jewish order appeared in the public and Jewish press, and some Jews and non-Jews were torn between their admiration for General Grant and their detestation of Order Number 11.

No single act or word, let alone edict, of another president or federal official, in all of American history, compares with the Grant order for rank generalization, harshness, or physical consequences. Yet Grant did not previously, nor subsequently, reveal animus toward Jews or Judaism. He appointed a number of Jews to important office during his presidency, offering the secretaryship of the Treasury to Joseph *Seligman, whose family included long-term friends of Grant dating back as far as 1849. In 1870 Grant appointed the former head of the American B'nai B'rith, Benjamin Franklin *Peixotto, to the unsalaried position of consul at Bucharest as part of an effort to persuade the Romanian government to relent from its violent campaign of pogroms against its Jews. Simon *Wolf, a vigorous, albeit unofficial and unsupervised, representative of Jewish concerns in Washington, believed that Grant "did more on and in behalf of American citizens of Jewish faith, at home and abroad, than all the Presidents of the United States prior thereto or since." But Grant was a Republican, and so was Wolf, and Grant appointed Wolf recorder of deeds of the District of Columbia in 1869.

The Grant affair underlines the unconscious assimilation by many Americans of traditional anti-Jewish stereotypes, and the constant search for scapegoats which took place during the traumatic experience of the Civil War as it did in other periods of social and psychological crisis.

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[Bertram Wallace Korn]

GRANZ, NORMAN (1918–2001), U.S. jazz impresario. Born in Los Angeles to parents who owned a store that failed in the Depression, Granz grew up to make a fortune from the music he loved as a young man. After service in the Army Special Services in World War II, he attended the University of California at Los Angeles, where his major was philosophy. In 1944, he created Jazz at the Philharmonic, a touring group that took the jazz idiom out of the smoky, noisy bars and dance halls and tucked it into sumptuous concert halls, where it flourished. He also represented stars like Ella Fitzgerald and Oscar Peterson and sought to protect black musicians from the abuses of segregation, insisting that their concerts be open to blacks, no matter how segregated the city. He began Jazz at the Philharmonic in Los Angeles with Nat King Cole, then a jazz pianist who worked with a trio but was not yet a pop star. Granz persuaded him to appear in concert with the saxophonist Lester Young and Billie Holiday, the singer. Besides providing good music, the concert raised money for young Mexicans, whom Granz felt had been wrongly arrested in the Zoot Suit riots of 1944. The concert proved a smashing success and within a few years an ever-changing troupe of musicians and singers, including J.J. Johnson, Benny Carter, Illinois Jacquet, Duke Ellington, Count Basie, Buddy Rich, and others, were touring the country under the Jazz at the Philharmonic rubric. Granz paid them, regardless of color, equally and well. He also persuaded Fitzgerald to record her "songbooks" of the works of Cole Porter, George Gershwin, and other creators of American popular standards, recordings that kept selling well into the 21st century. Granz was also the founder, in 1955, of Verve Records, with which he recorded the artists whose appearances he sponsored. Under his leadership Verve captured some of the finest jazz performances ever recorded. He sold Verve to MGM in 1960; the label was subsequently taken over by Polygram. In 1974 Granz formed a record company he called Pablo, named after Picasso, whose work he admired and collected and whose friendship he cherished. From 1959 to the end of his life, Granz lived, mostly in retirement, in Geneva.

[Stewart Kampel (2nd ed.)]

GRASSHOPPER. Among the insects mentioned in the Bible as permitted for food are those "that go upon all fours, which have jointed legs above their feet, wherewith to leap upon the earth" (see *Animals of the Bible). These are "the *arbeh* ("*locust") after its kinds, and the *solam* (AV, JPS, "bald locust") after its kinds, and the *ḥargol* (AV, "beetle"; JPS, "cricket") after its kinds, and the *ḥagav* (AV, JPS, "grasshopper") after its kinds" (Lev. 11:21–22; and see *Dietary Laws). The last three, each followed by the expression "after its kinds," refer to numerous species of grasshopper, there being, according to an *amora*, as many as 800 (Ḥul. 63b). Although in the Bible *ḥagav* applies to the grasshopper and not to the locust, it may have the latter meaning in the verse, "if I command the *ḥagav* to devour the land" (II Chron. 7:13), as it has in the Mishnah, which speaks of it as being at times a countrywide plague. In Israel there are many species of grasshopper, some small, others up to 2 in. (5 cms.) and more in size. The small grasshopper hiding in the high grass symbolizes the puniness of man when viewed from above (Num. 13:33; Isa. 40:22). All species of the grasshopper in Israel develop (like the locust) by metamorphosis, that is, the larva (*zaḥal*) has no wings but the adult has wings covering most of its body, an essential characteristic of the permitted grasshopper (Ḥul. 65b). In mishnaic and talmudic times the grasshopper was widely used as food, being also preserved in salt (Av. Zar. 2:7; et al.). There are Yemenite Jews who, on the basis of tradition as to their *kashrut*, still eat locusts and species of grasshopper.

It is difficult to identify "the *solam* after its kinds." The word means "destroying, eating," and refers to the grass-eating grasshopper, said to have the characteristic of being *gabbaḥat*, that is, apparently, having an arched back and slender feelers; many such species are found in Israel. Some identify it with the long-headed grasshopper of the genus *Acridium* (but see Av. Zar. 37a), i.e., with a species known as *ayyal kamẓa* which is *kasher* according to evidence from Second Temple times (Eduy. 8:4). With regard to the next permitted group "the *ḥargol* after its kinds," the sages stated that the outstanding characteristic of the *ḥargol* is "that it has a tail." This applies to the long-horned grasshopper of the family Tettigoniidae, whose female has a long protuberance which is a tube for the laying of eggs. Most of these species do no damage to agriculture, since they feed on insects and not on grass. Among them are also species whose imago is wingless, such as the *Saga* species, the largest grasshopper in Israel, and prohibited as food (see Ḥul. 65b).

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[Jehuda Feliks]

°**GRATIAN** (**Franciscus Gratianus**; d. before 1179), monk of Bologna. He is known for his canonical compilation *Decretum Gratiani*, assembled about 1140. The other title of the compilation, *Concordantia discordantium canonum*, clearly indicates its purpose, to bring together a large number of patristic texts and decrees of Church councils and popes, arranged in order of content. Though never officially adopted by papal authority, it was used in schools and synods, and from around 1159 was the manual of the Roman Curia. Among the thousands of texts assembled in the compilation only a few isolated ones concern the Jews. They include canon 61 of the Fourth Council of Toledo held in 633 (see *Church Councils), securing for children who are true Christians the belongings of their parents who have returned to Judaism (E. Friedberg (ed.) *Corpus Juris Canonici*, 1 (1871), 419: c. 7, C. 1, qu. 4). Others are canon 34 of the Council of Agde held in 506, imposing an eight-month instruction period for Jewish candidates for baptism, and canon 56 of the Fourth Council of Toledo, compelling Jews converted by force to remain Christians (*ibid.*, 1392: c. 93–94, D. 4, De cons.). One small group of texts concerns mixed marriages, which must be dissolved and the children brought up by the Christian party; the converted Jews (of Spain) who have readopted Judaism, whose children must be given into the care of monasteries; converted Jews, who must avoid all contacts with their former coreligionists; and the prohibition on Christians eating the unleavened bread of Jews, living among them, consulting their physicians, bathing with them, or finally, sharing meals with them (various councils; *ibid.*, 1087: c. 10–14, C. 28, qu. 1).

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[Bernhard Blumenkranz]

°**GRATTENAUER, KARL WILHELM FRIEDRICH** (1770–1838), German antisemitic pamphleteer. His first publication *Ueber die physische und moralische Verfassung der heutigen Juden* (1791) launched the idea of an unchangeably negative and corrupt "Jewish mentality." In another of his widely circulated tracts attempting to rouse public opinion against Jewish emancipation *Wider die Juden* (1803, running into five editions), Grattenauer suggested that the Berliners remove Moses *Mendelssohn's bust and replace it with Voltaire's. Following in the wake of the latter's allegedly rationalist arguments against the Jews, Grattenauer was among the first to introduce the concept of race, thus heralding a new and ominous tendency in antisemitism, based no longer on religious but on pseudoscientific grounds. "That the Jews are a very singular race, no historian or anthropologist can contest," wrote Grattenauer.

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GRATZ, U.S. family of merchants and community leaders in Philadelphia. The Gratz family was founded in the United States by BARNARD GRATZ (1738–1801), who was of Polish birth and who emigrated from London in 1754. After working in the mercantile house of David Franks, in 1757 he went into partnership with Michael Moses, and a few years later he and his younger brother MICHAEL (1740–1811) formed a long-lived partnership under the family name as shippers and traders operating on the east coast and inland. As part of their trading operation, the partners sold *kasher* meat to the West Indies and conducted an extensive and sometimes dangerous Indian trade. In the midst of a very busy social and business career Barnard, with other merchants, signed Non-Importation Agreements to boycott British goods during the Stamp

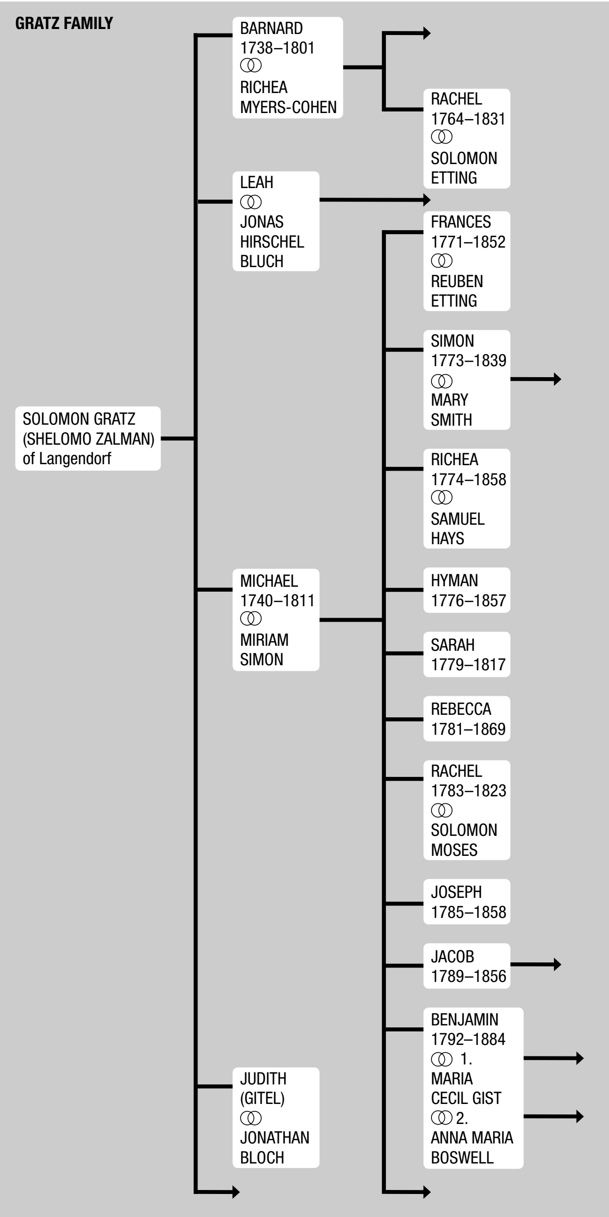
GRATZ FAMILY
SOLOMON GRATZ (SHELOMO ZALMAN) of Langendorf
BARNARD 1738–1801 ⚭ RICHEA MYERS-COHEN
RACHEL 1764–1831 ⚭ SOLOMON ETTING
LEAH ⚭ JONAS HIRSCHEL BLUCH
MICHAEL 1740–1811 ⚭ MIRIAM SIMON
FRANCES 1771–1852 ⚭ REUBEN ETTING
SIMON 1773–1839 ⚭ MARY SMITH
RICHEA 1774–1858 ⚭ SAMUEL HAYS
HYMAN 1776–1857
SARAH 1779–1817
REBECCA 1781–1869
RACHEL 1783–1823 ⚭ SOLOMON MOSES
JOSEPH 1785–1858
JACOB 1789–1856
BENJAMIN 1792–1884 ⚭ 1. MARIA CECIL GIST ⚭ 2. ANNA MARIA BOSWELL
JUDITH (GITEL) ⚭ JONATHAN BLOCH

Act and Townshend Act crises prior to the Revolution. Always deeply involved with Jewish communal activities, the brothers helped found the first Philadelphia synagogue, which in 1773 evolved into Congregation Mikveh Israel. Barnard Gratz was named its first *parnas*, and Michael was on the board of directors. The Gratz family supported the Revolution, as did many Philadelphia Jews, and supplied goods to the Continental Army. After the war, the Gratzes became involved in a successful struggle for equal rights in Pennsylvania. Always interested in western lands, the Gratzes supplied money to the Indian trader and agent George Croghan and to George Rogers Clark in his Revolutionary expedition to capture Detroit, and in 1794 invested in real estate around Louisville, Kentucky. Michael founded Gratzburg, in Otsego County, New York, in 1793.

Two of Michael's sons, SIMON (1773–1839) and HYMAN (1776–1857), carried on the family business. Hyman was elected director of the Pennsylvania Company for Insurance in 1818 and president in 1838. He founded *Gratz College. Both brothers participated in the affairs of the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts and the Pennsylvania Botanical Gardens. Though Simon and his younger brothers JACOB (1789–1856) and BENJAMIN (1792–1884) married gentiles, through their sisters' marriages the family was related to other prominent Jewish families. Their sister FRANCES (1771–1852) married Reuben *Etting; RACHEL (1783–1823) married Solomon Moses; and RICHEA (1774–1858) married Samuel *Hays. Richea is reputed to have been the first Jewish girl to attend college in the United States. Others of the Gratz family achieved considerable careers in law and politics as well as in business. Another of Michael's sons, JOSEPH (1785–1858), was an ardent Federalist, as was his brother Hyman. Joseph was a director of the Philadelphia Institution for the Instruction of the Deaf and Dumb, and of the Atlantic Insurance Company.

Jacob joined the family firm in 1806, but soon left to form his own dry goods firm. He received an M.A. degree (1811) from the University of Pennsylvania. In 1824 and 1839 he was elected to the state legislature. His younger brother Benjamin also joined the family firm and studied at the University of Pennsylvania. He was admitted to the bar in 1816. One of the early Jewish residents of Kentucky, where the family held land, he helped organize the Lexington and Ohio Railroad in 1830 and in 1835 helped found the Lexington branch of the Bank of Kentucky. Perhaps the best known of the Gratz family was Michael's daughter Rebecca *Gratz (1781–1869), who was active in various women's and children's organizations.

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[Leo Hershkowitz]

GRATZ, REBECCA (1781–1869), founder and leader of innovative organizations concerned with women and children. Gratz was born in Philadelphia, the middle child of ten in the family of Michael and Miriam Simon Gratz. She received an elite education at the Young Ladies Academy and at home, where she had access to an extensive library and learned about organizational life from her father, uncle, and brothers, who discussed their businesses, synagogue involvement, and philanthropic associations. Gratz, who never married, outlived all but her youngest sibling, and found meaningful social support and intellectual sustenance managing the organizations she established, in her study of Judaica available in English, and in her literary correspondence with luminaries such as Washington Irving, Maria Edgeworth, Fanny Kemble, and Grace *Aguilar.

In 1801 Gratz and her mother joined 20 Jewish and gentile women to found the Female Association for the Relief of

Women and Children in Reduced Circumstances, a women's mutual aid society which enabled married women to raise and dispense funds they could not legally control as individuals. Fourteen years later Gratz helped found the Philadelphia Orphan Asylum (1815). She served as secretary for both associations for more than two decades and advised her sister-in-law, Maria Gist Gratz, in establishing an orphanage in Lexington, Kentucky. Gratz lived with three bachelor brothers and her sister, Sarah, and raised six nephews and nieces following their mother's death in 1823. After Sarah's death, Gratz organized a short-lived and informal Hebrew school for her extensive family taught by an applicant for synagogue *ḥazzan*. She also developed close relationships with women of her Philadelphia synagogue, Mikveh Israel, and in 1819 organized the first non-synagogal Jewish charity in America, the Female Hebrew Benevolent Society, which remained active in the early 21st century. Gratz served as secretary, writing minutes, annual reports, and corresponding with donors, leaving more prestigious positions to others to ensure their commitment. Jewish women nationwide organized similarly named institutions throughout the 19th century.

To combat Christian evangelism, Gratz convinced the FHBS managers to open the Hebrew Sunday School in 1838. Educators Simha Peixotto and Rachel Peixotto Pyke supplied pedagogical expertise and wrote textbooks while Gratz served as superintendent. Isaac Leeser, *ḥazzan* at their synagogue, provided guidance and more advanced texts. Female graduates returned as volunteer faculty. Gratz assisted women in Charleston, Savannah, and Baltimore in establishing similar schools and due to her efforts Jewish Sunday schools staffed by female volunteers became the most popular Jewish educational institution in 19th century America. Gratz lived to see Philadelphia's Jewish Foster Home established in 1855. Much younger women shouldered most responsibilities but she assumed the vice presidency. She died with a reputation as the foremost Jewish woman in America. Some descendants thought her the inspiration for Rebecca of York in Sir Walter Scott's novel, *Ivanhoe*.

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[Dianne Ashton (2nd ed.)]

GRATZ COLLEGE, oldest independent college of Jewish studies in North America. In 1856 Hyman *Gratz, Philadelphia merchant, philanthropist, and scion of one of America's earliest Jewish families, established a trust indenture of approximately $150,000 to provide an annuity for his adopted son and, if the son died without issue, for a nephew. By 1893, both son and nephew had died childless. According to the deed of trust, the estate was then assigned to Congregation Mikveh Israel to establish "a college for the education of Jews residing in city and county of Philadelphia."

The limitations of the trust's income led Mikveh Israel to establish Gratz College for the more specific mission of educating Jewish teachers. Gratz's founders wanted it to serve the entire Philadelphia Jewish community and thus from its inception, Gratz accepted women, the first institution of higher Jewish education to do so. In that same spirit, even before the college opened classes, the Orthodox Mikveh Israel inaugurated the institution with public presentations by the leaders of Reform and Conservative Judaism.

Dedicated to the methodology of *Wissenschaft des Judentums and to being nondenominational, Gratz's mission was to teach Hebrew texts, train teachers for Jewish schools, and provide adult education. In 1909, it established a "school of observation practice" that allowed students to take college courses, while observing and practicing teaching in a Jewish elementary school. As Gratz's leaders were also dedicated to Zionism, the college introduced courses conducted in Modern Hebrew in 1922. As the Jewish community of Philadelphia expanded under the Jewish Federation model, Gratz College merged with the older Hebrew Education Society in 1928. Founded in 1848 by Isaac *Leeser, the Hebrew Education Society had received a state charter that allowed it to "furnish to graduates and others the usual degrees of Bachelor of Arts, Master of Arts and Doctor of Laws and Divinity." The merger thus conveyed to Gratz College the right to offer academic degrees, but despite faculty support, decisions of Gratz's governing board delayed Gratz's issuing of such degrees until 1952, when it awarded its first Bachelor of Hebrew Literature (BHL).

During the 1920s, Gratz's founding commitment to all streams of Judaism as well as to the Wissenschaft approach led to debates and compromises particularly regarding the training of Reform Jewish teachers. These concerns were ultimately resolved in 1960 by Gratz's establishment of the Isaac Mayer Wise program within its normal school, a unique development that produced educators specifically qualified to teach in Reform religious schools and recognized by the Union of American Hebrew Congregations (now the Union for Reform Judaism).

In 1967, Gratz College received full accreditation by the Middle States Commission on Higher Education. By 1987, Gratz had introduced master's degrees in Hebrew literature, Jewish music, Jewish education, Jewish studies, and Jewish liberal studies, as well as various graduate certificates. Self-study occasioned by the accreditation process more clearly defined Gratz's secondary school offerings eventually leading to the establishment of its Jewish Community High School (JCHS). Consolidating the Isaac M. Wise program with the large array of courses on topics ranging from intensive text and language to service learning to classes designed for Jewish students with special needs, the JCHS grew to 13 sites and almost 1,000 students by 2005.

As Gratz College developed, its funding by the local Jewish federation lessened. Thus, from the 1960s through 2005, the percentage of its funding from the Jewish Federation of

Greater Philadelphia declined from 78% to 12%. This reduction was both relative and absolute, yet it did not prevent Gratz from expanding its offerings and personnel.

Gratz's broad communal commitment extended to its academic resources. Its Tuttleman Library was opened to the public in 2003 and contains a research collection covering all areas of Judaic scholarship as well as specialized holdings such as rare Judaica beginning with the dawn of Hebrew printing, a major collection of Jewish music, and an archive of oral histories of the Holocaust that was among the first to be assembled in the United States. In the 1990s Gratz College inaugurated a Master of Arts in Education for teachers in public and private schools throughout eastern Pennsylvania. By 2005, some 900 graduate students had matriculated in that program.

From the 1990s Gratz College students had come from communities throughout the United States as well as from Israel, Europe, and occasionally East Asia. Building on its original mandate, Gratz College had become a transdenominational institution where Jews from all streams taught and studied together as members of its faculty, student body, and public audiences. In 2005 they pursued graduate certificates and professional degrees that provide advanced credentials for serving the Jewish community and general education and could also earn the baccalaureate. By 2005 Gratz's adoption of technology allowed it to offer more online courses in Jewish studies than any other institution as well as the first online Master of Arts in Jewish Studies. It also developed video conference courses and week-long intensive immersion courses while strengthening its on-campus offerings.

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[Jonathan Rosenbaum (2nd ed.)]

GRAUBART, Y.L. (**Judah Leib**; 1861–1937), rabbi and halakhic authority. Judah Leib Graubart was born in Szrensk, Poland. One of at least eight children, he was raised with an appreciation of Talmud scholarship and ḥasidic piety even as he was exposed to Haskalah. His teachers included his father, elder brother Issachar Plock, the Kalisher rabbi, Ḥayyim Eliezer Wax, and Rabbi Nathan Leipziger of Szrensk. Graubart received *smicha* from both Wax and Leipziger.

Graubart went on to serve as rabbi in Yanov, Makov, and Stashov. In Makov he published the first volume of his five-volume collection of clarifications of talmudic texts and of responsa, the *Ḥavalim be-Ne'imim* (1901–39); volume 2 appeared while he was in Stashov. At the outbreak of World War I, the Russians accused Graubart (and others) of espionage, and imprisoned him in Siberia. By the time of the Bolshevik Revolution, Graubart was free in Moscow, where he led prayer services, taught, and collected funds for impoverished Jews. Graubart recorded his experiences in his memoir, *Sefer Zikaron* (Lodz, 1925/6).

Returning to Poland, Graubart supported Mizrachi Zionism against the Agudat Israel rabbis. Like prominent Polish Mizrachi Zionist, J.L. Zlotnik (Elzat), Graubart immigrated to Canada in the early 1920s. He became rabbi to Toronto's Polish Jews, while Jacob *Gordon served Russian-born Jews. Relations between the two soured when they sparred over supervision of kosher meat. In Toronto Graubart also spoke out against violators of the Sabbath, and even preached several outdoor Sabbath sermons in Toronto's bustling Jewish Kensington Market. A strong advocate of Jewish education, Graubart supported the *talmud torah* Eitz Chaim (est. 1918). He had complete disdain for the Reform rabbinate. He also acknowledged, with regret, that North American Orthodox rabbis fell short of an old-world level of learning. He nevertheless recognized that a new generation of North American-trained rabbis was needed and supported the modern Orthodox yeshivas in New York and Chicago.

Graubart continued writing in Canada. His last three volumes of *Ḥavalim be-Ne'imim* reflect New World concerns and show that he was now corresponding with other Orthodox rabbis in Canada. He published a collection of sermons in Hebrew, *Devarim Ki-Khetavam* (St. Louis, 1931/2) and a second collection of essays and sermons, *Yabi'a Omer* (Lodz, 1936). A number of shorter essays were published in the Yiddish press.

Despite misgivings about the state of Judaism, Graubart energetically worked to build Orthodox Jewish life in Toronto. He also fostered a tradition of advanced rabbinic scholarship in Toronto continued by Abraham *Price, Gedaliah *Felder, and others.

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[Richard Menkis (2nd ed.)]

GRAUMANN, SIR HARRY (1868–1938), South African mining magnate, industrialist, and financier. Born in England, Graumann went to South Africa at the age of 16 and engaged in mining in the Transvaal. He became a member of the Johannesburg Sanitary Board (forerunner of the town council) and was one of the city's four aldermen under the Kruger regime. During the Boer War (1899–1902), Graumann worked for Transvaal refugees in Capetown. After the war, he became the first Jewish mayor of Johannesburg. In 1912 he protested against the proposed restriction of Jewish immigration. He was elected to parliament in 1915. His memoirs, *Rand Riches and South Africa*, appeared in 1935.

GRAUR, ALEXANDRU (1900–1980), Romanian linguist. Born into the family of an accountant, Graur studied classical philology at the Bucharest University. Until 1946 he taught at various Bucharest high schools, with a few years off because of the racial laws that did not allow Jews to teach in non-Jewish schools (1939–44). In 1946 Graur became a university professor. At the University of Bucharest he taught general linguistics courses. He was interested both in the history of language and in its contemporary functioning (according to European descriptivists). In addition he was also interested in the popularization of his science, and he tried to explain how a natural language functions and its relationship to the culture it is called upon to serve (with special emphasis on the Romanian language). Graur's distinct theoretical orientation was a more traditional one (he never overstepped the theoretical frameworks of comparative-historical linguistics); he accepted very few, and those mostly critically, of the basic tenets of the different structuralist or post-structuralist trends in linguistics. Although never explicitly, he rejected from the very beginning generativism and all the other linguistic paradigms that appeared in the wake of Noam Chomsky's theories, starting from 1957.

Graur's attitude toward a culturally oriented Judaism was somewhat ambiguous: only in his old age did he start to show a certain interest in his forefathers' religion, culture, and language: he published in the Jewish community's newspaper several articles in which he demonstrated the Hebrew etymology of several Romanian words which entered this language through the intermediacy of the Greek and Latin languages, or through international use.

[Paul Schveiger (2nd ed.)]

GRAUR, CONSTANTIN (1877–1940), Romanian journalist. Born in Botosani, N. Moldavia, Graur started his career as a proofreader. In his youth he was a socialist. He began to publish in the Socialist journal *Munca* in 1894. In 1896 he was already a well-known socialist personality in the Bucharest party. He criticized the exodus of Romanian socialist intellectual leaders to the Liberal Party in 1900. He later edited newspapers in Galați and Ploesti, and went to Bucharest in 1919 to edit *Cuvîntul Liber* ("The Free World"). With other Romanian journalists, he founded the magazine *Facla* ("The Torch"), but continued writing for other papers, including the Jewish periodicals *Infratirea* ("Union") and *Adam*. In 1921, he became the chief manager of two daily papers *Dimineata* ("Morning") and *Adevârul* ("Truth"), which came to be regarded as "Judaized," because of the number of their Jewish contributors. During Nazi demonstrations, copies of these papers were burned on the streets. Graur had a democratic outlook and campaigned for Jewish emancipation and against antisemitism. His writings, many of them polemics embracing a socialist point of view, include *Manasse, cercetare critică* ("Manasse, Critical Research," 1904), *Din istoria socialismului Român* ("From the History of Romanian Socialism," 1912), *Socialiștii Români in slujba Germaniei* ("Romanian Socialists in Germany's service," 1914), *Cativa insi* ("Some People," 1931) and *Cu privine la Franz-Ferdinand* ("Concerning Franz Ferdinand," 1935). For his friend Dobrogeanu-Gherea, one of the founders of the Socialist movement in Romania, Graur wrote an obituary in the journal *Chemarea* (1920) in which he mentioned his Jewish origins.

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[Abraham Feller / Lucian-Zeev Herscovici (2nd ed.)]

GRAY, HERBERT ESER (**Herb**; 1931–), politician and Canada's first Jewish cabinet minister. Gray was born in Windsor, Ontario, graduated from the School of Commerce of McGill University and Osgoode Hall Law School in Toronto. He was admitted to the Ontario Bar in 1956. Gray practiced law in Windsor before entering politics in 1962 when he was elected the Liberal Party Member of Parliament for Windsor West. A strong advocate for human rights and freedom of conscience, Gray was returned to office in the next 12 consecutive elections, becoming the longest continuously serving Member of Parliament in Canadian history with close to 40 years of service in the House of Commons.

In October 1969, Gray was named minister without portfolio in Pierre Trudeau's first government, the first Jewish cabinet minister in Canadian history. He went on to hold a number of Liberal cabinet portfolios including National Revenue and Industry, Trade and Commerce, and president of the Treasury Board. When the Liberals were out of office, Gray served as Opposition House leader from 1984 to 1990, leader of the Opposition in 1990, and finance critic for the Official Opposition from 1991 to 1993. With the Liberal return to power in 1993, he was appointed leader of the Government in the House of Commons and solicitor general of Canada. From 1997 to 2002, he served as deputy prime minister, the first to turn this position into a full-time cabinet post. Following his retirement from the House of Commons in January 2002, he was appointed Canadian chair of the International Joint Commission, a Canadian-American bilateral organization dealing with transboundary issues.

Among his many honors, he received the title "Right Honourable," one of only six Canadians ever to hold the title usually reserved for current and former prime ministers, governors general, and chief justices of the Supreme Court of Canada. He was also a Companion of the Order of Canada. Gray's wife, SHARON SHOLZBERG-GRAY, served as president of the Canadian Healthcare Association.

[Judith E. Szaport (2nd ed.)]

GRAY, MARTIN (1925–), writer. As a Polish Jew from Warsaw, Gray was interned in the Warsaw ghetto and deported to the Treblinka extermination camp, from which he managed to escape, but left behind his entire family, of which he was the sole survivor. After his escape, he joined up with the Soviet Army advancing west towards Germany. After the war he settled in the United States, then in France where he published the bestselling *Au nom de tous les miens* (1971, written in collaboration with Max Gallo), which was adapted for the screen by Robert Enrico in 1983. Though some parts of the story may have been embellished and cannot therefore be considered historical documentation, Gray remains a valuable witness to the destruction of the Warsaw ghetto and the extermination process, and the publication of the book marked a crucial point in the development of Holocaust awareness in France, the specificity of the Jewish Holocaust having long been ignored in France because of the emphasis placed on the deportations of Resistance fighters.

[Dror Franck Sullaper (2nd ed.)]

GRAY, MORRIS ABRAHAM (**Moishe Guraryeh**; 1989–1966), Winnipeg community leader and politician. Gray was born near Gomel, Russia, to Abraham and Sara Guraryeh. He came to Canada in 1907 at age 18 and settled in Winnipeg. By 1917 he was a leader in the Winnipeg Jewish community, serving as secretary of the *Hilfs Farband*, an early mutual aid society, and of the Western Canada Jewish War Relief campaign to aid sufferers in World War I. He took a leading part in immigrant aid work and by 1923 was serving as secretary of the Jewish Immigrant Aid Society in Western Canada and served as president of the Jewish Children's Aid and Orphanage of Western Canada. Gray was a pioneer of the Labor Zionist movement in Western Canada and a founder of the Canadian Jewish Congress in 1919. First elected to public office in 1926, Gray served first as school trustee, then as Winnipeg city alderman for 16 years, endorsed by the Independent Labour Party. In 1941 he was elected as CCF member of the Manitoba Legislature, where he served for 25 years until his death.

In political office Gray campaigned for welfare for the unemployed, for increased old age pensions, and for anti-discrimination laws and a Bill of Rights, as well as for the establishment of a Manitoba Dental College. But his Jewish political engagement was also strong. During the Depression he worked with the Jewish Colonization Association to place unemployed Jews on farms, he was a founder of the Jewish Economic Bureau, which considered economic problems affecting Jews, he was president of the Jewish National Workers Alliance, and he was active in the reorganization of the Canadian Jewish Congress in 1934. He campaigned against antisemitism and was a leader in the anti-Nazi protest movement of the 1930s and 1940s. Gray was also a founder of the Labor Zionist's Histadrut Campaign in Western Canada. In 1957, he was honored at Winnipeg's annual Negev Dinner to mark the 50th anniversary of his arrival in Canada.

[Abraham Arnold (2nd ed.)]

GRAYZEL, SOLOMON (1896–1980), U.S. historian and communal leader. Grayzel was born in Minsk, Belorussia, but was educated in the United States. He received his B.A. from the City College of New York in 1917 and his M.A. in sociology from Columbia University in 1920. He was ordained by the Jewish Theological Seminary in 1921 and served as the first rabbi of Congregation Beth-El in Camden, N.J., continuing his studies at Dropsie College, where he earned a Ph.D. in history (1926). In 1929, upon his return from research studies abroad, he began teaching Jewish history at Gratz College in Philadelphia, continuing to teach there and serving as registrar until 1945. In 1939, he took an editorial position with the Jewish Publication Society of America, working under Isaac *Husik. At the latter's death in the same year he became the editor in chief, a position he held until 1966. He was elected to the presidency of the Jewish Book Council of America in 1945 and was connected with the *Jewish Book Annual* from its inception in 1942. From 1966, he taught Jewish history at Dropsie College.

Grayzel's major scholarly efforts centered on the relationship of Christians and Jews during the Middle Ages. His doctoral thesis, *The Church and the Jews in the Thirteenth Century* (1933, 1966^2), was followed by individual articles on related subjects, which appeared in the *Jewish Quarterly Review, Historia Judaica*, the *Hebrew Union College Annual*, and other publications. He also wrote a popular, one-volume *History of the Jews from the Babylonian Exile to the Present* (1947, 1968^2), widely used as a textbook, and *A History of the Contemporary Jews from 1900 to the Present* (1960).

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[Simcha Berkowitz]

GRAZ, capital of *Styria, considered one of the oldest Jewish settlements in Austria. Although a gravestone, excavated in 1577 and erroneously dated to 70 B.C.E., long led to the belief that the community was much older, adjacent Judendorf was recorded in documents dating from 1147. In Graz itself there is reliable evidence of the presence of Jews only in the last decades of the 13th century. At that time they made their living mostly through moneylending, particularly to the local nobility. By 1398 a community had come into existence, located in a Jewish quarter, headed by a *Judenmeister* and a *iudex Judaeorum, and possessing a synagogue and a *mikveh*. Though expelled in 1439, the Jews returned by 1447. After the expulsion of the Jews from Styria in 1496, together with the rest of Austrian Jewry, almost four centuries passed before there was again a formal settlement of Jews in the town. Only in 1783 were they permitted to attend the yearly trade fairs then held in Graz. Individual families with special permits were allowed to settle in Graz after 1848. By 1863 a community had come into being and in 1868 the demand for special permits was rescinded; at that time an official organization of the community took place. From then on the community grew rapidly, partly because of economic factors. It numbered 566 in 1869 (0.7% of the total population), 1,238 in 1890, and 1,720 (1.1%) in 1934.

The community was able to finance its activities not only through the imposition of taxes on the Jews of Styria but on those of Carinthia and Carniola as well. Soon after its formal organization, a primary school was founded. By 1892 a large school was built; in 1895 an impressive synagogue was dedicated. The anti-Zionism of Graz's communal leaders was pronounced, but a large influx of refugees from Eastern Europe in the wake of World War I strengthened the Zionist movement considerably, and in 1919, the Zionists gained a majority in the community. The Jews in Graz were socially segregated, and in the later 1930s Graz was a center of Austrian National Socialism (known as the "capital of the insurrection" after 1938).

Immediately after the *Anschluss* (March 12, 1938), the Jewish cemetery was desecrated. The members of the community board were arrested and released only after prolonged negotiation. Local functionaries were anxious to make Graz the first town to be *Judenrein*. On the initiative of the head of the Jewish community, Elijah Gruenschlag, Adolf *Eichmann agreed to the transfer of 5,000,000 marks to facilitate the emigration of 600 Jews to Palestine, but the events of Nov. 10, 1938, put an end to the project. On the night of Nov. 9–10 (**Kristallnacht*), the synagogue was dynamited and burned to the ground. More than 300 Jews were taken to Dachau concentration camp, to be released in April 1939. Of the 1,600 Jews in Graz on *Kristallnacht,* 417 emigrated. In June 1939, only 300 were still in the city; most were sent to Vienna and then to the death camps. After World War II, 110 Jews settled in Graz. There were 420 in 1949 and 286 in 1950. A small synagogue in a communal center built on the site of the synagogue ruins was consecrated in 1968. A Jewish community of fewer than 100 members remained at the beginning of the 21st century. A new synagogue on the site of the one destroyed on *Kristallnacht* was consecrated in 2000.

The historian David *Herzog was rabbi of Graz (1908–38), and the Nobel Prize laureate Otto *Loewi taught pharmacology at Graz University from 1909 to 1938. Wilhelm Fischer-Graz (1846–1932), a writer popular at the time for many novels, mainly set in the town itself or in Styria, worked in Graz as a librarian.

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[Meir Lamed]

GRAZER, BRIAN (1951–), U.S. producer-writer. Born in Los Angeles to a Jewish mother and Catholic father, Grazer graduated from USC with a bachelor's degree in psychology in 1974. He also attended the University of Southern California Law School for one year. He began his career in the entertainment industry as a legal intern with Warner Bros. and then joined Brut/Faberge Productions as a script reader. After joining the Edgar J. Scherick-Daniel Blatt Company, Grazer produced his first made-for-TV movies, *Zuma Beach* and *Thou Shalt Not Commit Adultery* in 1978. He signed a development deal with Paramount Pictures in 1980 and in 1982 he produced his first feature film, *Night Shift*, which also marked his first collaboration with director Ron Howard. In 1984, Grazer received an original screenplay Oscar nomination for his first turn as a writer on *Splash*, also directed by Howard. Grazer and Howard formed Imagine Entertainment in 1986, which developed such films as *Parenthood*, *Kindergarten Cop*, *The Doors*, *Backdraft,* and *Far and Away*. Grazer and Howard continued to work together on such feature films as *Apollo 13* and *A Beautiful Mind* (2001), which won the Academy Award for best picture. Grazer's other television work includes *From the Earth to the Moon*, *SportsNight*, *Felicity*, *24*, and *Arrested Development*.

[Adam Wills (2nd ed.)]

GRAZIANI, YITZHAK (1924–2003), Israeli conductor, arranger, and composer. Born in Russe, Bulgaria, Graziani studied composition and conduction at the Academy of Music in Sofia. In 1948, he immigrated to Israel and for 12 years was the conductor of the Zaddikoff Choir, founding its children's choir. He was instrumental in founding the Kol Israel Light Orchestra and, from 1961 to his death was the conductor of the Israel Defense Forces Orchestra. He also conducted performances of many musicals, the Israeli Opera, and Israeli song festivals. Besides his conducting, Graziani arranged more than a thousand pieces and composed music for a few Israeli films such as *Dalia ve-ha-Malakhim* and *Moishe Vintilator.*

[Uri (Erich) Toeplitz, Yohanan Boehm / Israela Stein (2nd ed.)]

GRAZIANO, ABRAHAM JOSEPH SOLOMON BEN MORDECAI (d. 1684), Italian rabbi. Graziano was born in Pesaro where he studied under Isaac Raphael Ventura. He lived for some time in Rome, proceeding from there to Modena where he studied under his grandfather, Nathaniel Trabot, who ordained him in 1647. He first served as a member of the *bet din* of Modena, where he was later appointed rabbi. His characteristic signature, *Ish Ger* ("a strange man") is a play on the first letters of his name and on his being a "stranger" in Modena. Abraham's leniency with regard to some local customs aroused the opposition of his contemporaries. He is known as the first collector of books and manuscripts among Italian Jews. He left no published works of his own; most of his rulings remain in manuscript and some are occasionally found in the work of his contemporaries. His commentary on the Shulḥan Arukh is mentioned in the *Zera Emet* (vols. 1,2) of Ishmael ha-Kohen. One of his responsa, from the year 1665, is written in Italian, interspersed with biblical verses and quotations in Hebrew. Of the 54 poems in his collected work, poems for festivals, births, weddings, and funerals, some have been published. His elegy on his brother, Aaron, who died in 1648, is of a high literary standard. Two elegies preserved at the beginning of *Ma'avar Yabbok* of Aaron of Modena are erroneously ascribed to him.

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[Simon Marcus]

GREAT POLAND (Pol. **Wielkopolska;** Heb. **פּוֹלִין גָּדוֹל**), historic administrative unit of Poland-Lithuania, and a Jewish historical geographical entity within the framework of the *Councils of the Lands. The region, which lay on both sides of the Warta River, consisted of the provinces of *Poznan, *Gniezno, *Kalisz, *Plock, Rawa, Sieradz, Leczyca, and Pomerania; in the Jewish organizational framework, it included 36 communities and mother communities, and over 60 small communities and subsidiary communities. Of the mother communities, the important communities of Poznan, Kalisz, *Leszno (Lissa), and *Krotoszyn attained a special status. The region was under Polish rule until the partitions of 1772 and 1793; largely under Prussian (later German) rule until 1918, with the interruption of the government of the grand duchy of Warsaw between 1807 and 1815; since World War I in independent Poland, with the interruption of Nazi German rule from 1939 to 1945.

The communities of Poznan, Gniezno, Kalisz, Plock, and others were founded in the 12th to 14th centuries, the legal basis for their development being laid down by the charter issued by Prince *Boleslav the Pious (1264). As throughout Poland-Lithuania, Jewish settlement in Great Poland developed considerably in the 16th to 17th centuries, while in the 18th century it underwent a decline. The Great Poland province (**גָּלִיל**, "circuit") in the Jewish autonomous framework was under the hegemony of the community of Poznan until the middle of the 17th century, passing to Kalisz until the beginning of the 18th century, and then to Leszno until the close of that century.

During the period under the hegemony of Poznan, rights of residence were obtained and preserved by means of a prolonged and stubborn struggle. The Jewish organizational framework was developed in the form of a Council for the Province of Great Poland, or the Council of the Province of Poznan, which acted on behalf of the Jews as regional spokesman in contact with external powers, such as the ecclesiastical authorities and the municipality, and with internal bodies, such as the local community leadership and the Council of Four Lands. Among the Jewry of Great Poland there thus developed an independent regional consciousness, having a specific social significance, collective responsibility, and spiritual authority and tradition (of the "Great Poland rite"). The foundations were therefore laid for the conservative pattern which successfully withstood the storms accompanying the religious-social movements which swept this Jewry during the 17th and 18th centuries. During the period of leadership of the communities of Kalisz and Leszno, a period of chaos in Poland when there was a third wave of Jewish settlement, both the local and central organs of the Jewry of Great Poland were weakened and the communities plunged into an increasing state of insolvency and "debts to the state." After the area passed to Prussia (by stages, in the late 18th century), severe restrictions were imposed on the Jews of Great Poland. In consequence of the limitations placed on their numbers, thousands of Jews were expelled from the communities. The ideas of Haskalah began to spread there owing to the proximity to Berlin and the influence of Solomon *Maimon. Under the government of the grand duchy of Warsaw from 1807 to 1815, the chances of emancipation for the Jews in Great Poland vanished, and new taxes were imposed on them (the recruiting tax and the kosher meat tax (see *Korobka). As a result, an increasing number of Jews immigrated to the German states. Following the renewal of Prussian rule in 1815, the struggle for emancipation was again taken up (1848–50), because the general regulations and the "temporary measures" (1833) had not granted emancipation to all the Jews of the province (with a distinction between citizens and "tolerated" persons). In accordance with the "temporary measures," changes were made in the structure of the communities (1833–47); attempts were made to reorganize the Jewish educational institutions, and germanization and Haskalah became of increasingly important influence in the lives of the Jews of the region. The Prussian authorities supported the Jewish communities, which made up about 15% of the total population, since they were useful in suppressing the Polish element, which formed about one-half of the total population of the region; as a result of the Jews' pro-German orientation, their relations with the Polish inhabitants became strained. On the other hand, tension arose between the German inhabitants and the Jews because of their economic success; these stresses resulted in increased waves of Jewish emigration to the West and overseas, so that a number of communities in Great Poland died out or were greatly reduced in size. When the region was incorporated into independent Poland after the end of World War I, the hostility of the Poles and Polish authorities toward the Jews was intensified in this area because of their pro-German tendencies. The social and economic ties of the communities there with Germany having been disrupted by the political changes, emigration appeared to many to be the best solution. After the Nazi occupation the community of Great Poland came to an end.

The Council of the Land (Province) of Great Poland

Great Poland is important in the history of Jewish *autonomy through this institution. The beginnings of the Council are obscure; its formation, however, preceded that of the councils of the communities of the other parts of Poland (see *Councils of the Lands). At the earliest, its creation is connected with the charter issued to the Jews by Boleslav the Pious in 1264. The history of the Council falls into two periods: the period of consolidation, which continued up to 1519, and its subsequent history until 1764. Its achievements during the first period include the extension of rights of residence and their renewed ratification (1364, 1453); defense against the slander of having introduced the *Black Death (1348), as well as many other negotiations accomplished successfully by *shtadlanut* (see *shtadlan); the appointment of a chief rabbi of the province or "provincial rabbi," the *Episcopus Judaeorum Poznaniae*; the extension of the area under his jurisdiction and the definition of the scope of his authority (1389–93, 1458, 1519). The Jewish leadership was also successful in its opposition to the officially appointed tax lessee, and was empowered to choose 11 assessors and five collectors (with the exception of Poznan and Kalisz) for estimating the amount of taxation (the *sekhum*, "sum"), its distribution and collection, and its transfer to the state treasury, the ministers, and the Council itself for its own internal requirements (1512–19). The history of the Council extends over a period of about 250 years (1519–1764). It met from once in three years to twice a year in various communities of the province of Rydzyna. During this period the Council extended its activities. A considerable part of these, of a general and standard nature, were drafted in the form of regulations, some of which have been preserved in the communal registers. The subjects it dealt with include livelihood, established claims, municipal affairs, disputes, loans, peddling, fairs, commerce in general and with non-Jews in particular, and Torah study. Responsibility for execution of the decisions was entrusted to the rabbi of the province and its communal leaders. The rabbi of the province was elected by 32 electors of the community of Poznan, in conjunction with (9–19) delegates from the province, by a majority vote for a period of three years. He acted as the rabbi of the community of Poznan and served as its *rosh yeshivah* (uninterruptedly from 1651). Until the middle of the 17th century he was assisted in his functions by one of the *dayyanim* of the province, chosen from the *dayyanim* of Poznan. Occasionally the influence of the rabbi of Great Poland extended beyond the borders of the province to the communities of Silesia (1540, 1583, 1626, 1637). The *parnasim* (leaders) of the communities usually acted as the *parnasim* of the province. The number of provincial *parnasim* varied between nine, six, and eleven (1668, 1677, 1685, 1754). Of these, two to three were delegates from Poznan. The *parnas* of the Council was assisted by the *ne'eman* (treasurer) of the province, the *sofer* (secretary) of the province (generally the same person), the *shammai* (assessor) of the province, the *shammash* (clerk) of the province, and the *shali'aḥ* (emissary) of the province. They were chosen by the *parnasim* of the Council during its sessions. The *parnas* of the Council was empowered to impose a series of punishments, such as imprisonment, expulsion, fines, and the *ḥerem* (ban) to ensure that these functions were fulfilled (1669). He was occasionally assisted by the influence and connections of the *shtadlan* of the Poznan community.

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[Dov Avron]

GREECE (Heb. יָוָן, *Yavan*), country in S.E. Europe.

SECOND TEMPLE PERIOD (TO 330 C.E.)

Although the earliest known Jews on the Greek mainland are to be found only from the third century B.C.E., it is highly probable that Jews traveled or were forcibly transported to Greece by way of Cyprus, Ionia, and the Greek isles by various enemies of Judah during the biblical period (cf. Joel 4:6; Isa. 66:19; see *Javan). The first Greek Jew known by name is "Moschos, son of Moschion the Jew," a slave mentioned in an inscription, dated approximately 300–250 B.C.E., at Oropus, a small state between Athens and Boeotia. This date coincides with the reign of the Spartan king *Areios I (309–265), who, according to later sources, corresponded with the Judean high priest Onias (I Macc. 12:20–1; Jos., Ant., 12:225). If this fact is to be accepted (cf. S. Schueller, in: JSS, 1 (1956), 268), one can assume that such a correspondence entailed a certain amount of Jewish travel to Greece and is thereby possibly connected with the establishment of a local Jewish community. Further growth of the Jewish community probably took place as a result of the Hasmonean uprising, when numbers of Jews were sold into slavery. At least two inscriptions from Delphi (Frey, Corpus, 1 (1936), nos. 709, 710) from the middle of the second century B.C.E. refer to Jewish slaves. Among those Jewish fugitives to reach Sparta during the reign of Antiochus IV Epiphanes was the high priest Jason (II Macc. 5:9).

During the Hasmonean period the Jewish community in Greece spread to the important centers of the country, and from the list of cities in I Maccabees 15:23 – probably dating to the year 142 B.C.E. – it appears that Jews already resided at *Sparta, Delos, Sicyon, Samos, *Rhodes, *Kos, Gortyna (on *Crete), Cnidus, and *Cyprus (cf. F.M. Abel, *Les Livres des Maccabées* (1949), 269). A similar list of Jewish communities in Greece is transmitted by Philo (*Legatio ad Gaium*, 281–2), and thus reflects the situation during the first century C.E.

Among those places containing Jews Philo lists "Thessaly, Boeotia, Macedonia, Aetolia, Attica, Argos, Corinth, and most of the best parts of the Peloponnesus. Not only are the mainlands full of Jewish colonies but also the most highly esteemed of the islands of Euboea, Cyprus, and Crete." That a sizable Jewish colony existed at Delos is further attested by the Jewish inscriptions in the area, including a number from the local synagogue (Frey, Corpus, 1 (1936), nos. 725–731; cf. Jos., Ant., 14:231–2, regarding Jews of Delos who are also Roman citizens). It may be assumed that the community at Rhodes was in close contact with the Judean king Herod, who is known to have generally supported the needs of the island (Jos., Wars, 1:424; 7:21; Ant., 16:147). The Jews of Crete are also mentioned by Josephus in reference to the imposter claiming to be the prince Alexander, who had been put to death by Herod (Jos., Wars, 2:103). The second wife of Josephus was also a resident of Crete (Jos., Life, 427). The Jewish population of Greece probably grew considerably during and after the Jewish War (66–70), and in one case Josephus relates that Vespasian sent

6,000 youths from Palestine to work for Nero at the Isthmus of Corinth (Wars, 3:540). An extremely large and powerful Jewish community also existed by the second century on Cyprus, for during the Jewish wars under *Trajan (115–7) the capital of Cyprus, Salamis, was laid waste by Jewish inhabitants and thousands of non-Jews were murdered. The consequence of this uprising, however, was a total ban on Jewish residence on the island, under pain of death (Dio Cassius 68:32; Eusebius, *Chronicon* 2:164). After Trajan, Hadrian (117–138) retorted with severe penal laws against the Jews, prohibiting circumcision, but these laws were allowed to lapse by Antoninus Pius (138–161), and henceforth the Jews were accorded a larger degree of tolerance. From the second century they were subject to the spiritual jurisdiction of a hereditary patriarch resident in Palestine. The Jews of the Diaspora early forgot Hebrew and adopted Greek (except for liturgical purposes), using a translation of the Bible – the Septuagint – which was begun at Alexandria under Ptolemy II. Apart from Cyprus, Greek Jews did not suffer any particular upheaval during the Roman period, and the ancient Jewish settlement served as a foundation for the Jewish settlement during the Byzantine period (from 330 C.E., see below) – when the capital of the Roman Empire was removed to Constantinople – and a basis for Jewish settlement in other Balkan countries (see individual countries).

[Isaiah Gafni]

EARLY AND MIDDLE BYZANTINE PERIODS (330–1204)

Byzantium's secular institutions, with the emperor at their head, gave her long periods of stability, while in the West the Church added to the feudal disorder. These characteristics had their bases in the seventh-century Heraclian dynasty, which brought agrarian reform and a reorganization of the provinces, producing an army from small landowners and controlling the capital of the empire. The Heraclians were not only able to preserve their domains after Syria, Palestine, and Egypt had fallen and Constantinople had been besieged, but were also able to maintain their own authority against incursions from the outside. The struggle against Islam and the internal and external threats to imperial sovereignty were the dangers, which faced Byzantium up to the First Crusade. Her successes in these realms shaped her external and internal policy. The emperor received and held the secular and ecclesiastical support of the people, enough so that this did not become a problem to the underlying unity of the empire. Religious conflicts which existed were largely resolved by the emperor, a believing Christian, who decided for the Church who was a heretic and who was not.

A far greater threat arose in the tenth century, when the Macedonian emperors had to fight against the attempts to destroy the foundations of Byzantine economic and military security through the acquisition of great estates, i.e., the liquidation of the smallholdings and the control of the soldiers settled upon them. Although the emperors were successful for a time, the end of the old order came in about the middle of the 11th century. Great landowners, partially independent from the emperor's influence, caused radical changes in the structure of Byzantine society. Additionally, the Normans in the western parts of the empire, the *Seljuks in Anatolia, and finally the Normans again – this time as Crusaders – succeeded in shattering the empire.

Byzantine Jewry in the seventh century is assumed to have continued in the status it held during the Roman period, as urban life was preserved and with it the main centers of Jewish population. Greece suffered greatly from Slavic incursions but the towns were hardly affected. *Salonika's Jewish history was unbroken and there were Jews in Rhodes and Cyprus.

The Middle Ages, for the Jew at least, begin with the advent to power of Constantine the Great (306–337). He was the first Roman emperor to issue laws which dramatically limited the rights of Jews as citizens of the Roman Empire, which were conferred upon them by Caracalla in 212. With the growth of Christianity the Roman emperors were influenced to further restrict the rights of the Jews. Constantine denied the Jews the right of proselytizing and prohibited intermarriage and Jewish possession of slaves. The legal status of the Jews was established by Christian Rome in the fifth century, when Theodosius II (408–450) introduced specific regulations into his codification of the laws, in his *Codex Theodosianus* (438). The Jewish community was recognized legally, even though not in a friendly manner, and religious worship was protected. In the sixth century, although more hostile and interfering, Justinian I (527–565) left the basic situation unaltered. It remained so in the seventh century also. Leo III (717–741), in the next imperial compilation of laws, the *Ecloga* ("Selections," 740), made no reference to the Jews. This preservation of legal status was very important to the Jewish community, as the Christian heretic had no legal status at all. Formal protection of the law minimally meant that the Jew had a place in the social structure.

Forced Conversion

In 632 Heraclius ordered the conversion of all Byzantine Jewry. This was a major point in his program of strengthening imperial unity, as he looked on the Jews as a political threat. Feeling that the Jews had shared in Persian military successes, he wanted to minimize their independence and influence within the empire. This policy of forced conversion was extended to Christian heretics but never took root for the Jews, who continued to be active in the civic life of the empire.

In 721 Leo III issued a decree, which later proved to be ineffectual, ordering all Jews to be baptized. In leading a new dynasty to power he, like Heraclius, wished to insure imperial unity and also may have suspected a lack of Jewish loyalty. The messianic movements to the East, having aroused fears in Leo's mind, had attracted Jewish support and may have caused the order to forcibly convert the Jews of the empire. In spite of these state actions Jewish prosperity still had

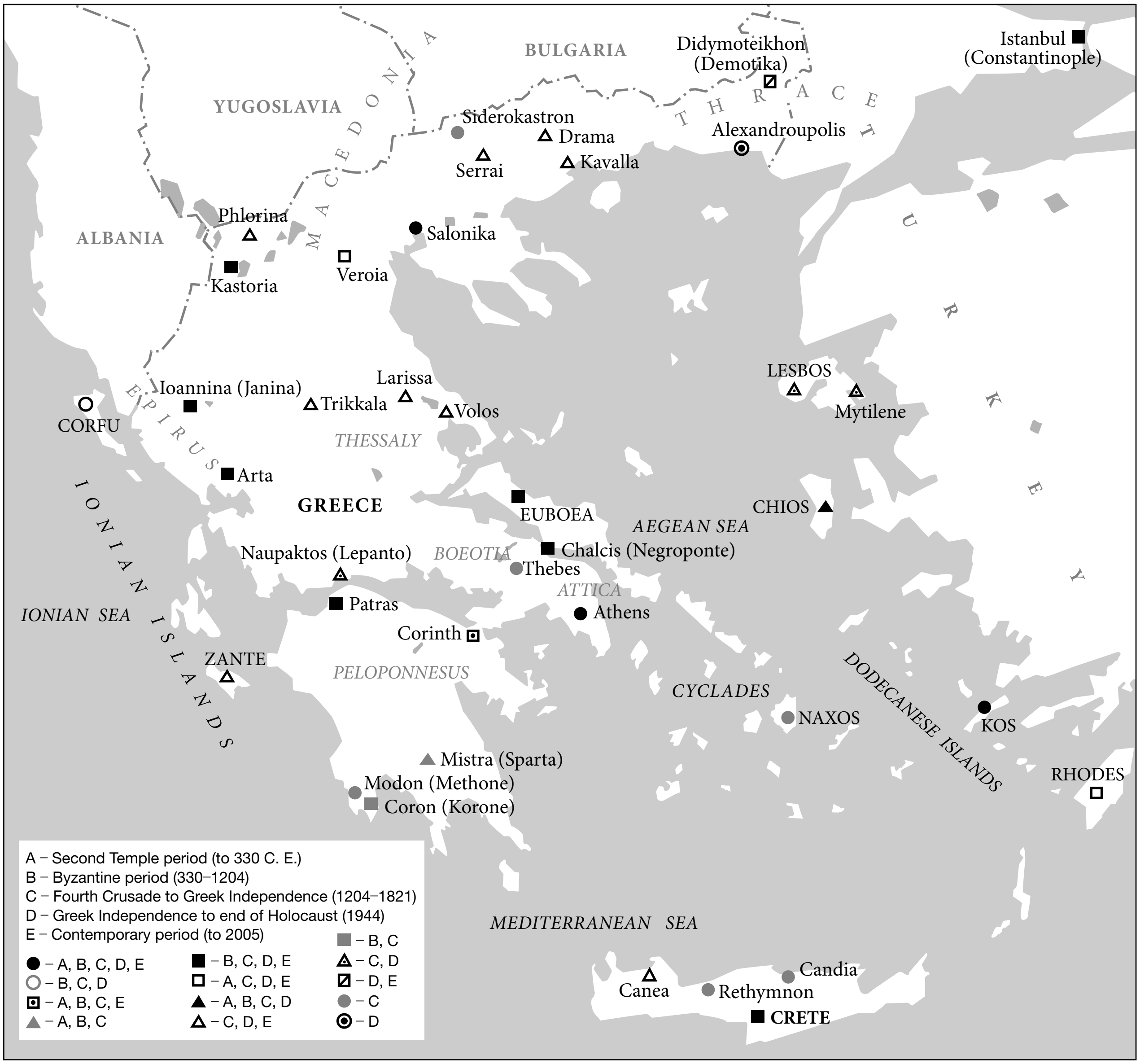
BULGARIA
YUGOSLAVIA
ALBANIA
MACEDONIA
THRACE
TURKEY
EPIRUS
IONIAN ISLANDS
IONIAN SEA
GREECE
THESSALY
BOEOTIA
ATTICA
PELOPONNESUS
AEGEAN SEA
CYCLADES
DODECANESE ISLANDS
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
Didymoteikhon (Demotika)
Istanbul (Constantinople)
Siderokastron
Drama
Serrai
Kavalla
Alexandroupolis
Phlorina
Salonika
Kastoria
Veroia
Ioannina (Janina)
Trikkala
Larissa
Volos
CORFU
LESBOS
Mytilene
Arta
EUBOEA
CHIOS
Chalcis (Negroponte)
Naupaktos (Lepanto)
Thebes
Athens
Patras
Corinth
ZANTE
NAXOS
KOS
RHODES
Mistra (Sparta)
Modon (Methone)
Coron (Korone)
Canea
Rethymnon
Candia
CRETE
A – Second Temple period (to 330 C. E.)
B – Byzantine period (330–1204)
C – Fourth Crusade to Greek Independence (1204–1821)
D – Greek Independence to end of Holocaust (1944)
E – Contemporary period (to 2005)
● – A, B, C, D, E
○ – B, C, D
⊡ – A, B, C, E
▲ – A, B, C
■ – B, C, D, E
☐ – A, C, D, E
▲ – A, B, C, D
△ – C, D, E
■ – B, C
△ – C, D
☒ – D, E
● – C
⊙ – D

Major Jewish settlements in Greece. Jews are known to have settled in Greece in all the above periods, but in very few places was their settlement continuous, even within any specific period. Although there were Jews in many cities in the contemporary period, their numbers in the early 21st century were insignificant except in Athens (3,000) and Salonika (1,100).

room for existence in the empire and the results of the decree were as limited as they were in 632, even though some Jews left the empire and some converted outwardly. The termination of this decree seems to have been by 740.

The second Council of Nicaea in 787 reversed Leo's policy and criticized his handling of the Jews, proclaiming that Jews had to live openly according to their religion. According to Gregorios Asbestas, then metropolitan of Nicaea, the Jews who actually accepted Leo's inducements to convert were numerous enough to arouse this religious statement. Generally, these actions by Heraclius and Leo had little, if any, effect on the Jews of the empire.

Basil I (867–886), like his predecessors, also made an effort to convert the Jews forcibly, possibly to increase imperial unity but more probably to show his hand as a knowledgeable ruler in religious matters. Failing, where earlier Christians had, to persuade the Jews to convert, he issued a decree of forced conversion about 874. Like the Byzantine rulers before him, he failed in his efforts. The legal code of the period, the *Basilica*, made no basic changes in what Justinian had to say about the Jews, i.e., their legal status in religious and communal affairs continued to be recognized, and in some sense protected. Leo VI (886–912) apparently tried to follow in his father's policies but quickly gave it up.

Under Romanus I Lecapenus (920–944), who ruled in Constantine VII's (913–959) stead, further forced conversions, as well as persecutions, of the Jews were effected. This possibly happened by 932 and definitely by 943. His policy is known to have caused considerable migration to Khazaria. These acts may have been caused by Romanus' insecurity on the throne, as Constantine was the legitimate ruler and the former looked for ways to insure his position. In any event the persecutions were particularly severe, surpassing those of his predecessors. They were stopped quite suddenly when *Ḥisdai ibn Shaprut wrote to either Constantine or Helena, Romanus' daughter and the former's wife.

The last 250 years before the Fourth Crusade seem to have been a relatively quiet period for the Jews of the empire and it can be inferred that the situation actually improved and that no attempts were made by the authorities at coercing the Jews to convert. Further emphasis of this situation is provided by the fact that when the monk Nikon (tenth century) incited the inhabitants of Sparta to banish the Jews from their midst, his words were to no effect. In Chios an expulsion decree in 1062 was issued against those Jews who had recently settled there. There is no reason to believe that during the First Crusade in 1096, which took place during the reign of Emperor Alexius I Comnenus, the Jews were attacked when the Crusaders passed through the Balkans. The Jewish quarters, however, were looted. In the general panic which struck the Jewish world, a messianic effervescence also came to the surface in Salonika, Adrianople, and other cities. It is related that certain communities left their homes for Salonika in order to sail to Palestine from there. A tremendous emotion seized the community of Salonika, where both the authorities and the archbishop showed a positive attitude to the messianic spirit.

Social and Economic Conditions

The legal disabilities of the Jews during the period, known from the *Basilica*, were minimal and included exclusion from service in the armed forces and the government, even though Jews had been employed as tax collectors on Cyprus during the first two decades of the 12th century. Jews were forbidden to buy Christian slaves, but this had little effect on them. No other restrictions existed concerning economic matters which did not also affect Christians. The charging of interest in trade and the purchase of land, except Church land, were permitted, although the emperors tried to control these matters for themselves. The question as to whether there was a specific Jewish tax seems to be open to a great deal of debate, but J. Starr (see bibl. *The Jews in the Byzantine Empire*) felt that such taxes did exist but were little enforced after the seventh century. In short, the taxes provided for by Theodosius II in 429, Justinian's *Corpus*, and again three centuries later in the Nomocanon had little more effect on the Jewish community in the later period than on the Christian one. Such legal restrictions which did exist included the absence of the right of Jews to testify in cases involving Christians; the overriding imperial authority over religious matters between Jews; the right of Jewish testimony before Jewish judges only in civil litigation between Jews; the prohibition of Judaizing; and the necessity for Jews to take an oath in legal cases, which was contemptuous of the Jewish faith. Nevertheless, circumcision was officially permitted, the Sabbath and the Festivals were protected, synagogues were allowed, and even though the building of new ones was formally proscribed, the prohibition was not rigidly enforced. Although the Jew was restricted, he was in a much better position than Christian heretics. Jews were active as early as the seventh century as physicians and skilled artisans, particularly as finishers of woven cloth (e.g., in Sparta), dyers (in Corinth), and makers of silk garments (in Salonika and Thebes). Jews were also involved in commerce and farming and as owners of land.

In religious matters Hebrew remained the language of the Jews, although it was paralleled by the limited usage of Greek. Karaism began to appear in the empire in the tenth century (see Ankori, in bibl.) but only began to take root after the First Crusade. R. Tobiah b. Eliezer of Kastoria was an important Rabbanite spokesman. Aside from R. Tobiah little if any writing was apparently done in the areas of Midrash, Talmud, and *halakhah* during this entire period in Byzantium. There was literary activity in southern Italy, but then this area can only be included in the widest definition as to what was territorially part of Byzantine Greece. Additionally, about this time both Rabbanites and Karaites began to come to Byzantium from Muslim territory.

*Benjamin of Tudela, the 12th-century traveler, states that in his time there were Jews in Corfu, Arta, Aphilon (Achelous), Patras, Naupaktos, Corinth, Thebes, Chalcis, Salonika, Drama, and other localities. The Greek islands on which Jews lived were Lesbos, Chios, Samos, Rhodes, and Cyprus. He found the largest community in Thebes, where there were 2,000 Jews, while in Salonika there were 500, and in other towns from 20 to 400. The Jews of Greece engaged in dyeing, weaving, and the making of silk garments. After Roger II, the king of the Normans in Sicily, conquered some Greek towns in 1147, he transferred some Jewish weavers to his kingdom in order to develop the weaving of silk in his country. On Mount Parnassus Benjamin of Tudela found 200 farmers; there were also some serfs among the Jews. During the reign of the Byzantine emperor Constantine IX Monomachus (1042–1055), there were 15 Jewish families in Chios who were perpetual serfs to the Nea Moné monastery. The Jews of Chios paid a poll tax – in reality a family tax – which the emperor transferred to the monastery. The Jews of Salonika also paid this tax. The majority of the Jews conducted their trade on a small scale and with distant countries. The Greek merchants envied their Jewish rivals and sought to restrict their progress. *Pethahiah of Regensburg describes the bitter exile in which the Jews of Greece lived (see also *Byzantine Empire).

FOURTH CRUSADE AND LATE BYZANTINE PERIOD (1204–1453)

Greece from 1204 to 1821 was the subject of many conquests, divisions, reconquests, and redivisions at the hands of the Normans of Sicily, the Saracens, the Crusaders, the Venetians, the Genoese, the Seljuks, the Bulgars and the Slavs, the Byzantine emperors, the Cumans, the Ottoman Turks, and others.

Greek Rule

During this period Theodore Ducas Angelus, the Greek despot of *Epirus (?1215–30), who was defeated in 1230 by the czar of the Bulgars, John Asen II (1218–41), was notorious for his cruelty. Theodore added the kingdom of Salonika to his domain in 1223 or 1224, holding it until 1230. He initiated an anti-Jewish policy which other Greek rulers followed after him. Theodore apparently enriched himself by confiscating the wealth of the Jews, and refused them redress against his abuses. He is also charged with proscribing Judaism. After Theodore was defeated by John Asen, he was condemned to death and two Jews were ordered to put out his eyes. When they took pity on him and did not fulfill the emperor's order, they were thrown from the summit of a rock.

The Greek rulers of the Empire of Nicaea were also harsh in their policy toward the Jews. John III Ducas Vatatzes (1222–54) apparently continued Theodore's decree against the Jews. The motive for persecuting the Jews is conjectural, but it seems to reflect the upsurge of nationalism in the provinces which remained under Greek rule. Jewish presence in the Latin states and in the areas ruled by the ambitious John Asen apparently strengthened the distrust, which the Greek rulers had for their Jewish subjects in both Asia and Europe. Bulgaria's territorial expansion might have offered a degree of relief for the Jews, but the decline of the Latin Empire must have had a negative effect on them. By 1246 John III had entered Salonika and controlled the area from Adrianople to Stobi and Skopje, including the town of Kastoria.

With the restoration of Byzantine rule (in the guise of the Nicaean Empire) over a large part of the Balkans, various Jewish communities felt the weight of the rulers' anti-Jewish policy. Little information is available on this but it can be assumed that the communities of Kastoria, Salonika, and several others suffered from the Greek advances. Once the Greek "rump state" of Nicaea had recovered Constantinople under the leadership of Michael VIII Palaeologus (1258–82), the anti-Jewish policy became outdated. He then began to resettle and reconstruct the ravaged capital, evidently realizing that his program required the cooperation of all elements, other than those who were then hostile (notably the Venetians and the subjects of the kingdom of Naples). It is not known whether there were Jews in Constantinople when Michael captured it, but after his conquest he renounced the policy of John III and made it possible for Jews to return and live there quietly.

From the end of the Latin Empire the Byzantine emperors began to recover part of the Peloponnesus, nevertheless being frustrated in part in their attempts by Murad I, who held Salonika from 1387 to 1405, and Murad II, who secured Salonika for the Ottoman Empire (1430–1913). The disintegration of the Byzantine Empire and in a large part its seizure by the Ottoman Turks led to generally favorable conditions for the Jews living within the Turkish sphere (see *Ottoman Empire; Covenant of *Omar).

Jewish Immigrations into Greece

The important Jewish communities which existed after the Fourth Crusade were Crete, Corinth, Coron (*Korone), *Modon, *Patras, and *Chios. The *Romaniots (*Gregos*) – the acculturized Jewish inhabitants of Greece – were Greek-speaking. Until recently Greek was still spoken by the Jews of Epirus, Thessaly, Ioannina, Crete, and Chalcis (see also *Judeo-Greek). From the end of the 14th century refugees immigrated from Spain to Greece, and from the end of the 15th century from Portugal and Sicily. Jews who were also expelled from Navarre, Aragon, Naples, Provence, and elsewhere in the Iberian Peninsula and other Mediterranean Papal States in the late 15th and 16th centuries migrated to the Greek Peninsula. In towns such as Trikkala, Larissa, Volos, and above all in Salonika the Sephardim introduced their own language and customs. With the flight of the Jews from Hungaria in 1376 (probably connected with the Black Death and the persecution of Jews in Eastern Europe at the time) many Jews settled in the towns of Kavalla and Siderokastron; they brought their special customs with them. As a result of Sultan Suleiman's journey to Hungaria in 1525, a number of Jews emigrated from there to Greece (the Greek Peninsula), which was actually part of the Ottoman Empire then. The descendants of the Hungarian Jews were completely absorbed by the Sephardim after a few generations. A third group in Greek Jewry was that of the Italian-speaking Jews of Corfu, whose ancestors were expelled from Apulia in southern Italy.

During the 16th and 17th centuries the Jewish population increased with the addition of the Spanish Marranos, who fled to the countries dominated by the Turks, and after the persecutions of 1648, Polish refugees. The congregations (*kehalim*) were organized according to the regions of origin, and by generation and migratory waves. The Salonikan *kehalim* from Italy, Lisbon, Catalan, and Sicily were each divided into Yashan (old) and Ḥadash (new) based on migratory waves. Thus, during the 16th century in Patras there were the following *kehalim*: Kehillah Kedoshah Yevanim ("Greek Holy Community"), Kehillah Kedoshah Yashan ("Ancient Community," of Sicilian origin), Kehillah Kedoshah Ḥadash ("New Community," refugees from Naples and smaller Italian towns), and Kehillah Kedoshah Sephardim ("Sephardi Holy Community"). In Arta there were *kehalim* whose founders had come from Corfu, Calabria, Apulia, and Sicily.

OTTOMAN (AND LATE VENETIAN) RULE (1453–1821)

The important communities during the Turkish (and late Venetian) periods were, in the first place, Salonika, which was probably the largest Jewish community during the 16–18th centuries and which until the beginning of the 20th century was populated most of the time by a majority of Jews; Naupaktos; Patras, whose merchants were known as courageous travelers who went as far as Persia; Arta; Thebes, which was "renowned for its wisdom" (responsa of Elijah *Mizraḥi (Constantinople, 1559–61), No. 71); and *Ioannina (Janina), the largest Romaniot community. On Crete the Jews played an important part in the transit trade; the island was also known for its rabbis and scholars, notably the *Capsali family, *Delmedigo, and others. There were also some Jews on Cyprus. After the conquest of Rhodes by the Turks in 1552, Jews from Salonika arrived on the island, where their commercial role became an important one. The island also became a stopping place for pilgrims on their way to Palestine. It was widely known for its rabbis, especially the rabbinical dynasty of the *Israel family.

When Sigismondo Malatesta conquered Mistra (Sparta) in 1465, he burned down the Jewish quarter. In 1532 when the forces of Andrea Doria attacked the Greek towns which were in the hands of the Turks, the Jews of Coron, Modon, and Patras suffered greatly. Their property was confiscated and they were taken captive. During the reign of Selim II (1566–74) Don Joseph *Nasi was appointed duke of Naxos and the surrounding isles of the Cyclades. In 1669 the Venetian armies attacked the island of Chios. To commemorate the miraculous stand against their siege, the local Jews annually celebrated "Purim of Chios" on Iyyar 8. With the Venetian invasion of the Peleponnese in 1685, the Jews abandoned Patras in fear and fled to Larissa. They were also compelled to flee for their lives from the islands of the Aegean Sea. The Greek-Orthodox of the Peleponnese, who often rebelled against the Turks, massacred the Jews whom they considered allies of the Turks. During this period of confusion in the 18th century the communities of Patras, Thebes, Chalcis, and Naupaktos were greatly harmed and almost destroyed. In 1770, when Russia captured several sea towns of the Greek coast, the Ottoman Turks sent forces to the area. They did not differentiate between Greek-Orthodox and Jews and the Jewish communities of Patras, Thebes, Chalcis, and Lepanto (Naupaktos) were almost destroyed.

Religious Culture Under Ottoman Rule

The 16th century was the Golden Age of Salonikan Jewry, with religious figures like the decisors Rabbi Samuel de *Medina (Rashdam) and Isaac *Adarbi; Rabbi Joseph *Caro, who prepared a good part of his halakhic work *Beit Yosef* while residing 17 years in the city; the eminent Joseph Taitazak, *gadol ha-dor* (the foremost rabbi of his generation); Judah Abravanel; Moses *Alshekh; *Levi ben Habib (the Ralbaḥ); Jacob ibn Verga; Eliezer ha-Shimoni; Joseph ben Lev; the *paytan* Solomon Alkabeẓ, author of the Sabbath hymn "*Lekha Dodi*"; and the poet Saadiah ben Abraham Longo. The *talmud torah* was a mammoth center that not only was a school for over 10,000 pupils and 200 teachers but had a printing press, produced fabrics, and served as the bank for the community where members kept their money. It relieved the individual *kehalim* from the financial burden of maintaining their own schools. Salonika as a world Sephardi center hosted the Beit Midrash Le-Shirah ve-le-Zimrah, which approved *piyyutim* before they were accepted into prayer. Israel *Najara, a descendant of a Salonikan family, came to Salonika to develop and receive approval for his famous hymn "*Ẓur mi-Shello Akhalnu*."

**Anusim* left the Iberian Peninsula in the 16th and 17th centuries and returned to Judaism when they reached Salonika and other Ottoman communities. The physician Lusitanus arrived in Salonika with a profound knowledge of religious Judaism. He was an expert on the menstrual cycle, published numerous treatises on the subject, and established both a medical school and yeshivah when he settled in Salonika. The newly arriving *anusim* and veteran former *anusim* also brought religious fervor, fanaticism, and an acute and active messianism, which created great turbulence within the Jewish communities of the northern Greek Peninsula. Salonika hosted the false messiahs Solomon Molcho and *Shabbetai Ẓevi; the latter causing a great decline among Salonikan Jewry after he was proclaimed messiah in 1666. The Jewish masses were swept up in the messianic frenzy and abandoned traditional Jewish law and religious customs and beliefs. While the core supporters converted to Islam after Shabbetai Ẓevi was exiled by the Sultan, forced to convert to Islam, and finally died in Montenegro, most Jews did not convert. Strict religious *takkanot* were enforced within the Salonikan Jewish community. This did not prevent the community from falling into spiritual and economic decay, but in the 18th century many more religious exegeses were published than previously, in the new spirit of religious conservatism.

Besides Salonika, which during the 16th and 17th centuries was a major Jewish center, there were also important rabbis and scholars in the smaller communities of Greece. During the 16th and 17th centuries these included Solomon Cohen (Mahar-SHa-KH) of Zante and the Peloponnesus; Samuel b. Moses *Kalai, the author of *Mishpetei Shemu'el*, of Arta; Moses *Alashkar of Patras, the author of responsa; during the 18th century: Isaac Algazi, the author of *Doresh Tov*; Isaac Frances of Kastoria, the author of *Penei Yiẓḥak*; Ezra Malki of Rhodes, the author of *Malki ba-Kodesh* and other works; Jedidiah Tarikah of Rhodes, the author of *Ben Yadid* and other works; Isaac Obadiah of Patras, the author of *Iggeret Dofi ha-Zeman*; Eliezer b. Elijah ha-Rofeh ("the physician") Ashkenazi of Nicosia, Cyprus, the author of *Yosif Lekaḥ* on the Book of Esther.

Economic Situation of the Jews

During the Turkish period (1453–1821) the Jews of Greece were principally engaged in the crafts of spinning silk, weaving wool, and making cloth. They also controlled an important part of the commerce, money lending, and the lease of the taxes. In the Greek islands under Venetian rule the Jews only engaged in retail commerce, as the larger type of commerce was the monopoly of the Venetian nobility. Under Turkish rule, however, the wholesale trade was concentrated in Jewish hands. The Jews succeeded in developing connections in Italy, France, Amsterdam, Hamburg, London, and in the Orient with Constantinople, Izmir, and Alexandria. The merchants of Kastoria traded in hides, furs, cattle, metals, and broken silver vessels. The Jews of Naupaktos were engaged in the trade of palm branches. At a later stage the tobacco, grain, sesame, hashish, and raw hides trades became those of the Jews. However in Thessaly, the Peloponnesus, and the Balkans the Jews engaged in peddling and tinsmithing, living in extreme poverty. In Salonika all the port activities were in Jewish hands and the port was closed on Sabbaths and Jewish festivals.

GREEK INDEPENDENCE (1821)–WORLD WAR II (1940)

With the outbreak of the Greek revolt in 1821 Greek Jewry suffered intensively because of its support of and loyalty to Ottoman rule. In those towns where the rebels gained the upper hand, the Jews were murdered after various accusations had been leveled against them. In the massacre of the Peloponnesus 5,000 Jews lost their lives; the remainder fled to Corfu. From that time the condition of the Jews who lived among the Greeks, even within the boundaries of Turkish rule, began to deteriorate. From time to time there were blood libels, such as in Rhodes (Turkish until 1912; Italian until 1947) in 1840. In 1891 disorders broke out on the Greek islands; the Jews left in panic. During the same year there was also a blood libel in Corfu (Greek, from 1864). The Jews on the island, as well as on the neighboring island of Zante, were attacked. About 1,500 Jews left the Greek islands and settled in Italy, Turkey, and Egypt. The Jews of Corfu suffered a large-scale blood libel in 1891; for three weeks the Jews were locked into their ghetto during continual rioting, some 22 Jews died, and in light of apathy on the part of the Greek army, the Great Powers sent ships-of-war off the coast in order to pressure the government to restore order. Even the active participation of the Jewish citizens of Greece in the war against Turkey in 1897 was not mentioned in their favor; with the end of the hostilities in Thessaly, anti-Jewish riots broke out and an important part of the Jewish population was compelled to seek refuge in Salonika. At the beginning of the 20th century there were about 10,000 Jews in Greece. After the Balkan War (1912–13), with the annexation of further territories in 1912, which included Salonika, Chios, Crete, Epirus, Kavalla, and Phlorina, their numbers grew to 100,000.

After the population exchanges between Turkey and Greece as a result of the Treaty of Lausanne (1923) and the arrival in Salonika of 100,000 Greeks from Anatolia, the status of the Jews deteriorated because of the increased competition in commerce and the crafts. Many Jews were compelled to leave the city. The Asia Minor refugees introduced legislation in Salonika in 1924 forbidding work on Sunday, thus compelling Salonikan Jewry either to lose a day's work or break the Sabbath. When the legislation was promulgated nationally, Jews began leaving Ioannina for Ereẓ Israel. In the late 1920s, zealous elements amongst the Asian Minor refugee population continued to bait Salonikan Jewry and incited them in the Salonikan daily Greek newspaper *Makedonia*. In 1931, Isaak Cohen, a young Jew from Salonika and member of Maccabi who went to Sofia for a regional Maccabi meeting, was falsely accused on the front page of *Makedonia* of going to Bulgaria for Macedonian nationalist meetings and riots broke out against Salonikan Jewry in much of the eastern part of the city, which was heavily Jewish. The Campbell neighborhood, which housed Jewish fishermen and port workers, who had become homeless after the devastating 1917 fire, was burned to the ground by the student EEE (Nationalist Greek Union) and Jewish migration ensued to Ereẓ Israel. On the other hand, the economic position of the Jews in the provincial towns of Epirus, Thessaly, Macedonia, and the islands did not arouse the jealousy of their neighbors. Until World War II the situation of the Jews in Greece was satisfactory. They controlled the markets of paper, textiles, medicines, glassware, ironware, wood, and hides, and were also represented in heavy industry, international commerce, and banking. Many Jews were also employed in manual labor as stevedores, coachmen, and fishermen, as well as in various handicrafts. The number of Jews in Greece on the eve of World War II was 77,000.

Civic and Cultural Conditions of the Jews

Greece recognized the civic and political equality of the Jews from the time of its establishment as a modern state in 1821. In 1882 legal status was granted to the Jewish communities. This status was confirmed on various occasions when laws defining the privileges and obligations of the communities were passed. The community councils, which were elected by general suffrage, were responsible for the religious, educational, and social affairs.

At the beginning of the 20th century the Alliance Israélite Universelle still maintained a number of Jewish schools in Greece. The Jewish schools were attached to the communities and did not have any attachment to religious or political trends. Jewish children attended the state schools and the religious studies were entrusted to *ḥazzanim*, who were content to teach the prayers in their traditional tunes. It was only in Corfu that the religious studies were of a higher standard. In those regions, which were under Turkish rule until 1912, such as Thrace, Macedonia, and Epirus, there was a Jewish school in every community, which was supported by the Alliance. The greatest concentration of Jewish schools was in Salonika. In Salonika alone, at the beginning of the 20th century, there were some seven schools under the auspices of this Parisian-led Jewish school system. Between the two world wars there were 12 Jewish schools founded by the community, institutions of the Alliance, as well as private schools. In 1931 a law was passed which prohibited children of Greek nationality from attending foreign schools before they had completed their elementary education. This came as a fatal blow to the Alliance schools; the institutions of the Alliance amalgamated with the community schools in 1935. The Italians opened a seminary for the training of rabbis and teachers of Jewish subjects on the island of Rhodes, but it closed in 1938.

HOLOCAUST PERIOD

The Italian army attacked Greece on Oct. 28, 1940, and the Germans invaded on April 6, 1941. According to statistics of the *Salonika Jewish community, 12,898 Jews, among them 343 officers, served in the Greek army and several hundred Jews fell in battle. The entire country was occupied on June 2, 1941, and split up among the Axis (German, Italian, and Bulgarian) forces. Treatment of the Jews differed from one occupied zone to another.

German Zone

Salonika was taken by German troops on April 9, 1941. Anti-Jewish measures were at once instituted, beginning on April 12 when Jewish-owned apartments were confiscated and the Jewish inhabitants ordered to vacate them within a few hours. Three days later, the members of the Jewish community council and other prominent Jews were arrested. A "scientific" delegation arrived from Germany for the purpose of plundering the community of its valuable Hebrew books and manuscripts for transfer to the Nazi "Institute for Jewish Affairs" in Frankfurt. Before long, the impoverishment of the community became overwhelming and the community council was unable to extend aid to all those who were in need. Contagious diseases spread and the death rate rose steeply, especially among the children. In July 1942 the men were sent on forced labor; a short while later, however, the community council made an agreement with the Germans, whereby it undertook to pay them the sum of 2,500,000,000 old drachmas, due Dec. 15, 1942, in consideration of which the Germans would refrain from drafting Jews for forced labor. At the end of 1942 Jewish-owned factories and groceries were confiscated and the well-known Jewish cemetery was destroyed. On Feb. 6, 1943, racial restrictions were introduced; Jews were ordered to wear a yellow badge and confined to a ghetto, while special signs had to be posted above windows and establishments belonging to Jews. Jews were also prohibited from using public transport and had to be indoors by sundown. The transfer to the ghetto, set up in a specially designated area, had to be completed by March 25, 1943. On February 25, the trade unions were ordered to expel their Jewish members; on March 1 the Jews had to declare all the capital in their possession, and 104 hostages were seized to ensure full compliance with this order. At this time, a rumor spread that the Jewish population was about to be deported to *Poland. The recently established Jewish underground warned the Jews of the danger confronting them, but little heed was taken and only about 3,000 escaped to Athens. The first transport of Jewish deportees left Salonika for the gas chambers on March 15, 1943, followed by further transports of 3,000 Jews each at intervals of two to three days. Thus, various sectors of the ghetto were systematically cleared of their inhabitants. Five transports left in the last two weeks of March, nine in April, and two in May; in June 820 Jews were dispatched to Auschwitz, the transport consisting of members and employees of the community council and teachers. On Aug. 2, 1943, skilled workers, "privileged" Jews, and a group of 367 Spanish citizens were sent to *Bergen-Belsen, where they remained until Feb. 7, 1944. On Aug. 7, 1,800 starving Jewish forced laborers were brought to Salonika and deported from there in the 19th and final transport from Salonika to the death camps. In all 46,091 Salonika Jews were deported – 45,650 to Auschwitz and 441 to Bergen-Belsen – 95% of whom were killed. The renowned Salonika community, the great center of Sephardi Jewry, came to an end.

Other Districts under German Occupation

On Feb. 3, 1943, the chief rabbi of Salonika, Rabbi Ẓevi Koretz, was ordered to ensure adherence to the racial restrictions in the provincial towns under the jurisdiction of German headquarters in Salonika. These were the towns in East Thracia, near the Turkish border, as well as Veroia, Edessa, and Phlorina in central and eastern Macedonia. On May 9, 2,194 Jews from these towns were sent to Auschwitz. A few Jews were saved by the local population and the chief of police, e.g., in the town of Katherine. Prominent Greeks, among them the archbishop of Athens and labor leaders, tried to assist the Jews, and there were Greeks who offered shelter and helped the Jews escape to the mountains.

ITALIAN ZONE. The Italian forces controlled Athens and the Peloponnesus. As long as the zone was held by the Italians, the Jews were not persecuted, the racial laws were disregarded, and efforts were made to sabotage the Italian racial policy. After the Italian surrender (Sept. 3, 1943), however, the Germans occupied the entire country, and on Sept. 20, 1943, Eichmann's deputy, Dieter *Wisliceny, arrived in Athens with detailed plans for the destruction of the Jews. Elijah Barzilai, the rabbi of Athens, was ordered by Wisliceny to provide a list of all the members of the Jewish community. Instead of doing so, the rabbi warned the Jews of Athens and himself fled to a provincial town. This enabled a considerable number of Athenian Jews to escape. On Oct. 7, 1943, Juergen *Stroop, the *hoehere SS und Polizeifuehrer* in Greece, published an order in the newspapers, dated October 3, for all Jews to register, on penalty of death. Archbishop Damaskinos gave instructions to all monasteries and convents in Athens and the provincial towns to shelter all Jews who knocked on their doors. On March 24, 1944, the Athens synagogue was surrounded by the Nazis and 300 Jews were arrested; another 500 Jews were routed out of hiding. They were first interned in a temporary camp at Haídar and later sent to their death in Auschwitz on April 2, along with other Jews caught in Athens. The rest of Athenian Jewry hid with their Greek-Christian neighbors. The Jewish partisans supplied food to those in hiding in cellars and attics.

BULGARIAN ZONE. A large part of Thrace and Eastern Macedonia remained under Bulgarian occupation, including the towns of Kavalla, Serrai, Drama, Besanti, Komotine, and Alexandroupolis (Dedeagach). Over 4,000 Jews from Thrace and over 7,000 from Macedonia were deported by the Bulgarians (see *Bulgaria, Holocaust) to the gas chambers in Poland; about 2,200 Jews survived.

The total number of Jews in Greece sent to death in the extermination camps is estimated at 65,000 – about 85% of the entire Jewish population.

Jewish Resistance

The conquest of Athens by the Germans on April 27, 1941, marked the end of open warfare. Over 300 Jewish soldiers and 1,000 other Jews joined Greek partisan units. The Jewish partisans sabotaged German military centers and military factories, blew up German supply ships, and severed lines of communication. A group of 40 Jewish partisans took part in the blowing up of Gorgopotamo Bridge, causing a break in the rail link between northern and southern Greece. At the beginning of 1943 partisan units made up entirely or primarily of Jews were set up in Salonika, Athens, and Thessaly, under the command of Greek or British officers. The Salonika partisan units gathered information on troop movements in Macedonia and transmitted it to partisan headquarters in Athens. In Thessaly the national resistance organization, set up by the Jews in the towns of Volos, Larissa, and Trikkala, was under the command of an aged rabbi, Moses Pesaḥ, who roamed the mountains with a rifle in his hand. The courage and heroism displayed by the Jewish partisans earned them the praise of field marshal Wilson, the commanding officer of the Allied Forces in the Near East. Their main task was the establishment of contacts between the various parts of Greece and the Allied general headquarters in Cairo. The Jewish partisans also succeeded in hiding hundreds of Jews in the mountains and remote villages. Others worked for the Germans under assumed names in such places as the port of Piraeus and carried out acts of sabotage. The greatest single heroic act of the Greek-Jewish underground was the mutiny of 135 Greek Jews in Auschwitz; they were members of a *Sonderkommando*, charged with cremation of the corpses from the gas chambers. With the aid of a group of French and Hungarian Jews they blew up two crematoriums. Attacked by the SS guards and by five planes, the rebels held out for an hour until all 135 were killed.

CONTEMPORARY PERIOD

In the autumn of 1944, when Greece was liberated from Nazi occupation, over 10,000 Jews, almost all of them destitute, were in the country. A variety of factors (the general political instability, successive changes in the composition of the government, and the extended economic crisis) made the reconstruction of the Jewish community difficult. The Greek civil war also made emigration difficult for the Jews, as the majority of the men were obligated by the draft and could not receive emigration permits. After Greece's de facto recognition of the State of Israel a Greek cabinet committee decided (on Aug. 4, 1949) to permit Jews of draft age to go to Israel on condition that they renounce their Greek citizenship. Until the end of the 1950s about 3,500 Jews from Greece settled in Israel, 1,200 immigrated to the United States, and a few hundred others immigrated to Canada, Australia, South Africa, the Congo, and Latin American countries. In 1950 the number of Jews in Greece was about 8,000; in 1958 it was 5,209; and in 1967 about 6,500 Jews were scattered among 18 communities; 2,800 in Athens, 1,000 in Salonika (a number which rose to 1,300 by 1968), and 450 Jews in Larissa. As early as November 1944 a meeting of Athenian Jews elected a temporary council of 12 members that was recognized by the government as the representative of the Jewish community; in June 1945 the council was accorded legal status.

During the war, almost all of the synagogues had been destroyed or severely damaged; the synagogue in Athens was reconstructed, however, as were synagogues in other cities. A major obstacle to the reestablishment of Greek Jewry was the question of restitution of property that was confiscated during the occupation by the Nazis and compensation for the Nazi persecution. Although the anti-Jewish laws were repealed in most areas in 1944, they were canceled in Salonika only in June 1945. The question of compensation, however, involved a slower process. In 1949 the Organization for the Assistance and Rehabilitation of Greek Jews was established by official order to deal with this problem, but its work made no progress for a number of years. In spite of the lack of legal evidence as to who was deported to death camps, an agreement was signed in Bonn in March 1960 between the governments of West Germany and Greece on compensation to Nazi victims. About 62,000 claims for compensation were registered under this law; 7,200 of them were by Jews, of which about 6,000 were registered by Jews living outside Greece who had lost their Greek citizenship, and thus also their right to compensation.

During the first years after the liberation, Greek Jewry was materially supported by world Jewish organizations – the American Jewish *Joint Distribution Committee, the *Jewish Agency, etc. Only slowly did it rise above its state of poverty. As late as 1954 large numbers of survivors of the Holocaust continued to live in substandard conditions. Over the years the situation improved: unemployment decreased, and by the late 1960s the Jewish population included many artisans, merchants, retailers and wholesalers, industrialists (especially in clothing and textiles), free professionals, etc.

In spite of the stormy changes that passed over Greece after the war – and in spite of the influence of Nazi propaganda during the occupation – organized antisemitism was not evident in Greece, and the people generally refrained from activities motivated by hate against the Jews, except for some isolated incidents. Strong cultural contacts exist between the Jews and the Greeks, and the rate of intermarriage is on the rise.

A special problem arose from the fact that during the occupation a relatively large number of Jews participated in the struggle of the partisans and some of them afterward went over to the Communist camp. After the civil war the minister of defense issued a special order that clarified the position of the Jews who served in the ELAS brigades. He emphasized that these Jews were not to be viewed as "Communists," since during the Nazi occupation they had no choice but to flee to the mountains. Nonetheless, a number of Jewish partisans were executed. Five Jews who were condemned to death and 21 others who were deported to the islands were freed on the condition that they immigrate to Israel and renounce their Greek citizenship. When the situation in Greece became more stable, the Jews slowly returned to civilian life. They participated in elections – and were even candidates on various party lists – and a few were absorbed into government positions.

In 1964 a Jewish school existed in Athens with 150 pupils. Other areas were deprived of Jewish educational activities because of the small number of children and a shortage of teachers. The religious and communal life of Greek Jewry was very weak. Synagogues were empty except during the High Holidays. In the 1950s, in addition to the rabbi in Athens, there were rabbis in Volos, Ioannina, and Larissa; later there was only the one rabbi in Athens who also served as the chief rabbi of Greek Jewry. The Council of Jewish Communities was affiliated with the *World Jewish Congress and published a bimonthly; *WIZO carried on activities for women.

In the 1970s the Jewish population of Greece was approximately 5,000; 2,700 in Athens and about 1,000 in Salonika. The Council of Jewish Communities was affiliated with the World Jewish Congress and published a monthly magazine, *Chronika.* Other Jewish publications were *Jewish Review* (monthly) and *New Generation* published by the Jewish Youth Organization of Athens.

There were three rabbis in Athens, while Thessaloniki, Larissa, Volos, and Chalkis were served by *ḥazzanim.* The Athens Jewish school had 150 pupils, and there were educational facilities in Thessaloniki and Larissa. Women were particularly active in communal affairs and were organized in movements such as WIZO. There was also a chapter of B'nai B'rith and B'noth B'rith.

The 1980s can be characterized as the beginning of an active historical commemoration of the Judeo-Greek and the Sephardi heritages in Greece. Greek Jewry had aged, but a new generation of youth was being educated. Assimilation had taken a great toll and the legalization of civil marriages by the Papandreou government in the early 1980s greatly accelerated the process. Since then, most marriages were mixed and conducted outside of the synagogue, and there was no compelling need for the female to convert to Judaism. Jewish communities dwindled due to deaths in places such as Corfu, and Ioannina, and in Didamotiko, Zakynthos, and Cavalla deaths of influential leaders and the elderly brought Jewish communal life to an end. During the Lebanon War, Greek society was very critical of Israel and hostile to Israeli tourists and athletes. The press and the media vociferously condemned Israel for invading Lebanon, the course of the war, the bombing of civilian targets, and its treatment of Palestinian refugees in Lebanon. Greek Jewry was very uncomfortable during this period.

Until 1985, *Yad Vashem had only recognized 42 Greeks as Righteous Gentiles during the Holocaust. By 1994, 160 were recognized. In October 1992, at the dedication of Yad Vashem's Valley of the Communities, Greek Jewry was represented with stones for the communities of Salonika and Rhodes, and one general stone with the names of the other annihilated Greek Jewish communities by the Germans in the Holocaust. Yad Vashem established a room in their archive in memory of the annihilated Jewish community of Rhodes, and a foyer with an exhibit on the destroyed Salonikan Jewish community. In July 1994, Yad Vashem recognized the late Princess Alice as a Righteous Gentile for saving two Jewish families in Athens in WWII. Her son, Prince Philip of England, and daughter came to Jerusalem for the ceremony. Greek opposition leader Miltiadis Ebert came to Yad Vashem in 1995 for a ceremony honoring his father, Angelos Ebert, deceased Athens police chief, who had issued new identification cards with Greek names to thousands of Jews during WWII.

In 1999 at Yad Vashem, Bracha Rivlin, Yitzchak Kerem, and Leah Bornstein-Makovetsky published *Pinkas Kehillot Yavan*, a memorial volume on the history of the past Jewish communities of Greece destroyed in the Holocaust. The Holocaust Museum of Kibbutz Loḥamei ha-Gettao't established a permanent exhibition on Salonikan Jewry, the largest Jewish community of Greece annihilated in the Holocaust.

The Jewish Museum in Athens was founded in 1979 by the art historian Nikos Stavroulakis. After several years, it moved from Amalias Street to a new building purchased on Nikis Street. Stavrolakis in the late 1990s also restored the neglected synagogue of Chania, Crete, and turned it into a Jewish museum.

Greek Jewry, in particular in Athens, lost many of its elderly dynamic leaders. Owing to transportation problems in vast Athens, Jewish elementary school enrollment greatly decreased. The Jewish summer camp in Loutraki, operated by the Salonikan Jewish community, serving all the Jewish youth of Greece, increased its enrollment significantly in the latter half of the 1980s.

The retiree, Moshe Halegua officiated as rabbi in Salonika in the late 1980s. Rabbi Elie Shabetai left his position in Athens at KIS to serve in Larissa.

Several antisemitic events were passed over in the 1980s with little publicity and repercussions. During the Lebanon War, the doors of the Corfiote synagogue were damaged. In the 1989 Greek election campaign, the campaign staff of Prime Minister Andreas Papandreou fabricated a photo of opposition leader Mitsotakis embracing two Nazis, when the latter was a resistance officer in Crete. In Larissa, the Holocaust martyrs' memorial was defaced several times with antisemitic graffiti. In the 1980s Greek society shared identification with Jewish suffering in the Holocaust. Prime Minister Papandreou laid a wreath for Greek Jewry at Auschwitz in November 1984.

In the 1980s, 40 years after the Holocaust, Jewish survivors from Greece began to speak of their World War II experiences. By the early 1990s several books of Greek Jewish survivor testimonies were published. In 1985, "Dor Hemshech," the second generation of Greek Jewish Holocaust survivors in Tel Aviv, was founded. It publishes an annual publication on Greek Jewry and the Holocaust on Yom ha-Shoah.

The Salonikan Jewish community has been active in preserving its rich history. Local Jewish community historian Albertos Nar established the Salonikan Jewry Study Center in

1985. Salonikan Jewish academics founded the Society for the Study of the Jews of Greece, and organized a conference in fall 1991. Historian Yitzchak Kerem uncovered a rare photo collection of the Bulgarian deportation of Jews from Macedonia and Thrace in WWII to Treblinka.

At Cambridge University, England, the *Bulletin of Judeo-Greek Studies* was founded to advance the field of the study of Greek Jewry since classical times. David Recanati published in 1986 the second volume of *Zikhron Saloniki* ("Salonika Memoir").

Greek Jewry received growing exposure through the arts. Films on Greek Jewry in the 1980s and early 1990s included *Auschwitz-Saloniki*, *Ioannina, Athens, Jerusalem* (Yitzchak Kerem & Israeli Television Society), and *Because of that War* (Yehuda Polikar).

During the 1985–86 Austrian presidential election campaign, former UN secretary Kurt Waldheim was accused of WWII Wehrmacht activities in Yugoslavia and Greece as an intelligence officer outside of Salonika, and of connections to the deportations of the Jews of Ioannina, Crete, Corfu, and Rhodes. The Salonikan Buna (Auschwitz III) champion boxer Jacko Razon sued his former best friend and boxing apprentice Salomon Arouch and the producers for stealing his identity in the film *Triumph of the Spirit.* The problem of 700 Israeli Greek Holocaust survivors, who never received reparations from Germany, was aired on Israeli TV. The Israel government began to grant some of the survivors indemnities, but the Claims Conference, despite promises in writing in 1980 by its president Nahum Goldmann, did not recognize most Sephardi Holocaust survivors for German reparations. On May 7, 1995, Israeli Salonikan Auschwitz survivors appealed to the Israel High Court to upgrade their reparations payments parallel to German Jews.

Prominent Greek Jews include filmmaker and author Nestoros Matsas, radio interviewer Maria Rezan, radio music commentator Jak Menachem, play director Albert Ashkenazi, Post Office Director-General Moisis Kostantini, former Energy Ministry Director General Raphael Moissis, retired brigadier-general Marcos Moustakis, and retired military colonels Edgar Allalouf and Doctor Errikos Levi.

In the summer of 1993, the existing practice of listing one's religion on the identification card in Greece became a major news issue. A delegation of U.S. Jewish leaders met with Prime Minister Papandreou, and other officials, who promised to find a solution for the Jewish objections. The interior minister supported a change in the practice, but the political weight of the Greek-Orthodox Church was overwhelming. The European Parliament passed a decision noting that the obligation of entering one's religion on an identity card creates prejudice and is an infringement upon human rights. In the summer of 1991, there were anonymous threats to the Jewish summer camp in Loutraki.

Several changes occurred within the Greek Jewish leadership. In the unprecedented holding of communal elections in fall 1993, the Jewish community of Salonika elected Andreas Sephiha as president. The new regime was committed to Jewish education, Jewish renewal and continuity, and historical restoration and commemoration.

In Athens, Joseph Lovinger, Board of Greek Jewish Communities (KIS) chairman for many years, died and was succeeded by Nissim Mais, and later Mois Konstantini.

The Beit Loḥamei ha-Getta'ot Holocaust Museum established a permanent exhibition on Salonikan Jewry in September 1993. At Bar-Ilan University, Shmuel Refael produced a temporary exhibit on Jewish life in Salonika.

In New York in spring 1995, a Second Generation group of Salonikan Holocaust survivors was established by Dr. Joe Halio. For the Spielberg Foundation of the Shoah, Yitzchak Kerem filmed 99 Greek Jewish Holocaust survivors in the USA, France, and Israel, and Rena Molho interviewed several dozen survivors in Greece. Unfortunately, the Spielberg Shoah Foundation lacked the dedication to actively film Salonikan and other Greek Jewish survivors on a mass level in Tel Aviv.

After the revelation of the Secret Archives in Moscow of captured documents taken from Nazi Germany at the end of World War II, hundreds of Salonikan Jewish community files as well as several from the Jewish community of Athens were microfilmed for the U.S. Holocaust Museum in Washington, D.C.

The Jewish population of Salonika increased to some 1,100 in 2000 from about 800 in the 1980s.

Despite the establishment of numerous Holocaust memorials throughout Greece, media attention, and exposure to the Holocaust by both Jewish and non-Jewish Greek authors, the end of the 1990s marked a resurgence of Neo-Nazi activism and attacks on Jewish Holocaust targets in Greece.

Worrisome was the secret and spontaneous international gathering of 500 Neo-Nazis and Holocaust deniers in Thessaloniki in 1999. Neo-Nazi and Holocaust denial literature was still published in Greece by publishing houses like Nea Thesis, and Eleftheri Skepsis (Free Thought). General antisemitic literature still flowed freely. The Greek government and the Greek Jewish community did not combat this danger.

The small fascist Chryse Avge Party has been a very disturbing element. Remarks by antisemitic MP Yiorgos Karatzaferis about Greek Jewry or wild allegations about the Jewish roots of Greek politicians were generally not criticized by the government or Greek and Jewish organizations.

Attacks on most of the public memorial squares and statues took place in 1999 and 2000. Holocaust memorials for the annihilated Jewish communities were tainted by antisemitic graffiti and vandalized in Larissa, Athens, Thessaloniki, and Chalkis. Some of the messages called for the Jews to leave Greece. Also the Jewish cemeteries in Thessaloniki and Athens were vandalized by both far left and Neo-Nazi groups.

Opposed to Neo-Nazi activity in Greece, the Board of Jewish Communities (KIS) and general Greek-Orthodox groups have encouraged Holocaust education and commemoration. KIS encouraged students and authors to write essays on the Holocaust. In 1997, the Central Board of Jewish Communities began an active public Holocaust education campaign. The active role of Greek television in the production of documentary films on Greek Jewry in the Holocaust in Greece has increased public awareness.

The initiation of Jewish Holocaust squares and monuments in Athens, Salonika, Ioannina, Volos, Larisa, Castoria, Drama, Rhodes, and elsewhere has been a positive step in public Holocaust recognition in Greece.

In 2000–1 the Jewish Museum in Greece began an educational Holocaust project with Greek public schools. In Autumn 2004 the first Greek Holocaust conference for educators was held in Athens.

Following Neo-Nazi activity in the late 1990s and exacerbated by reactions to the second Palestinian Intifada, Greek antisemitism reached dangerous and unprecedented levels in the press, in desecration of cemeteries, synagogues, Holocaust memorials, and in threats and attempted attacks against Jewish institutions and individuals in Greece. Perturbing was the lack of condemnation by the Greek government and the Greek-Orthodox Church. Official revival and sponsorship by the Greek government and the Greek Orthodox Church of the Burning of Judas ceremony on Easter is equally heinous and surprising. Voices of Greek intellectuals and artists in support of Israel and Greek Jewry are rarely heard, and the singer Mikis Theodorakis created an international scandal with his pronouncements that the Jews and Israel are sources of all global evil and with his interview in *Haaretz* justifying his grandmother's belief in blood libel and Greek EON Fascist Youth Movement activities of the late 1930s. Neo-Nazi publications continue to be published actively in Greece, the Protocols of the Elders of Zion have been reprinted in Greek, and large segments of Greek society are influenced by conspiracy theories directed against world Jewry. In an October 2001 KAPA poll conducted amongst 622 households in greater Athens, 42% believed that 4,000 Jews intentionally did not go to the World Trade Center on September 11, 2001, while only 30% rejected the theory.

In Salonika, a Jewish museum opened and the community was strengthened by the hiring of young Rabbi Frezis, a native Greek-speaking Athenian ordained in Israel. In Athens, a Chabad center was opened at the beginning of the 21st century.

Relations with Israel

The relations between Greece and Israel have generally been cool. Greece was the only European country to vote against the UN partition plan for Palestine in 1947. After the establishment of the State of Israel, Greece recognized the new state de facto, but for a time did not establish diplomatic ties with it. Diplomatic representations were set up in Athens and Jerusalem only in 1952, but not on the level of an embassy or legation. Greece usually supports the Arab side in disputes brought before the UN. However, shipping, air, and trade ties exist between the two countries. After the *Six-Day War of 1967, Arab terrorists made Athens the scene of attacks on Israel air communications. In 1970 seven Arab terrorists were convicted by Greek courts and sentenced to various prison terms, from two to 18 years, for attacks on an El Al plane, throwing a bomb at the El Al office, killing a Greek child, and trying to hijack a TWA plane. In August 1970 when Arab terrorists hijacked an Olympic Air Lines plane and demanded the release of the seven convicted terrorists, the Greek government submitted to their blackmail and released them. After that incident, Greek authorities seem to have taken special precautions against the renewal of Arab terrorist activities on Greek territory.

The main event of the 1980s was the culmination of the process lasting throughout most of the decade in preparing the terms and the establishment of full *de jure* diplomatic relations between Greece and Israel, which was technically achieved on May 21, 1990. With the election of the Socialist Pasok Party in 1982 under the leadership of Andreas Papandreou, gradual preparations were made for eventual full diplomatic relations between Greece and Israel. When the moderate Nea Demokratia Party came into power in 1989, full diplomatic relations with Israel were established. In November 1991, Greek Prime Minister Constantinos Mitsotakis paid an official state visit to Israel. Israel Ambassador Moshe Gilboa toiled for the exit of over 300 Albanian Jews, most of whom were of Greek Ioanniote origin, to immigrate to Israel.

From the early 1990s relations between Greece and Israel have been cordial. Prime Minister Andreas Papandreou, returning to the premiership after sitting as opposition leader for four years, adopted a more moderate Israel policy than in the past. He apologized to Israel's deputy minister of foreign affairs, Yosi Beilin, for his past harsh policy toward Israel and his affinity for extremist Arab movements and countries. Following the Israeli-Palestinian peace accord Greek Defense Minister Gerasimos Ersenis visited Israel in December 1994. Greece and Israel signed a mutual military cooperation agreement.

[Simon Marcus / Yitzchak Kerem (2nd ed.)]

MUSICAL TRADITIONS OF GREECE AND THE BALKANS

The eastern migration of Jews expelled from the Iberian Peninsula, at the end of the 15th century, toward the main centers of the Ottoman Empire, led to a synthesis of musical traditions in the Balkan Peninsula in which Spanish elements – of Mozarabic or medieval Christian origin – were deeply fused with Greco-Byzantine, Turkish, and Slavic ones. Among the Balkan Jews, three distinct stylistic traditions could still be discerned at least up through the late decades of the 20th century: (1) the *Sephardi*, which was most evident until World War II among the Jewish cultural centers of Salonica, Larissa, and Volos (Greece) as well as in Sarajevo (Bosnia), Sofia (Bulgaria), Monastir (Bitolj, Yugoslavia), Bucharest, and Creiova (Romania). This Sephardi musical tradition differed from those of the dominant Arabic communities of the Near East, as well as the Andalusian in northern Morocco, and the Portuguese, which was more prominent in Western Europe (Amsterdam, Bayonne, Leghorn (Livorno), etc.). (2)

The **Romaniot*, evident in such isolated centers of continental Greece as Arta, Chalkis (Euboea, Negroponte), Ioannina, Patras, and Trikkala, and Crete, preserved remnants from the musical and liturgical traditions of the Byzantine period, in spite of the overwhelming influence of the Sephardi newcomers. The Romaniot Jews maintained a Judeo-Greek dialect in their hymnographic tradition, whose characteristic melodic conventions evolved independently during the 16th through 18th centuries. Even though they adopted the Sephardi rite in their liturgy, they did not entirely abandon their traditional music. (3) The *Italianate*, evident on the island of Corfu and neighboring centers – such as Zante – reflected the liturgical and musical influences of southern Italy which the Jews carried with them as early as the 14th and 15th centuries. A similar influence, traceable to Venice, was apparent in the now extinct Sephardi communities of Dalmatia – such as Dubrovnik, Split, and Vlona.

The chant of Balkan Sephardim, which was directly linked to that of the communities of Asia Minor (Izmir and Rhodes), integrated Greek and Turkish elements. The **Makam* scales of *ḥiijāz* and *ḥiijāz Kar* were widely used in secular songs; the Phrygian cadence (*a-g-f-e*) was frequent, while the *Makam Sika* (*Siga*) was preferred for the reading of the Torah. The stylistic differences between the men's and women's repertoire, however, was not as striking as one might surmise. The men's style, more Orientalized (microtonal) and ornamented, had been influenced by the florid *kontakionic* and *kalophonic* styles of Byzantine hymns and chants, respectively, and by the florid Muslim chant which was practiced mainly in the synagogue repertoire. The women, who preserved a domestic repertoire in Judeo-Spanish, sang in a more relaxed manner, yet with varied degrees of vocal ornamentation, microtonal inflection, and in a medium to high vocal register. Within the more predominantly Greek communities, the 15th-century Castilian ballads (*romances*) which had survived in their repertoire were stylistically different from ballads sung in other centers of the Balkans and northern Morocco. The predominant Greek traits included those that were found in Greek *klephtic* songs, wherein the textual hemistichs did not coordinate with the melody phrases, and the popular ⅞ *epitrite* dance meter. Even their texts varied greatly from those preserved in non-Greek centers. Like the folksongs of pre-World War II Greece, the varied Sephardi communities also assimilated elements from classical Greek and Byzantine church music. Chants, songs, and hymns in Judeo-Spanish played an important role during the varied liturgical and paraliturgical occasions. The chants, sung as vernacular translations of Hebrew texts, could be heard during the removal of the Torah scroll from the Ark, as well as the homiletic translations of Jonah, and the *haftarah* sung on the Ninth of Av. The songs were interspersed during the reading of the *Haggadah*; and the hymns were fervently rendered for Simḥat Torah.

The earlier Byzantine ("Romaniot") style flourished much more overtly in the areas where Judeo-Greek was spoken, particularly in Ioannina, Chalkis, and partly in Corfu. The men's synagogal chant was highly influenced by the Greek *kalophonia* and the microtonal intonations of the surrounding Greek and Muslim cults (as in Ioannina). Among the women, the style was plaintive, with minimal ornamentation and flourishes, and there existed the ancient practice of singing funeral lamentations mainly as distichs or quatrains bearing short verses that were sung responsorially or antiphonally. The women were also assigned the singing of paraliturgical hymns, like those on Purim, often based on midrashic traditions. These songs flourished during the 17th and 18th centuries, coinciding, more or less, with the post-Shabbatean period that also gave rise to the mystic brotherhoods. The traditional literature of liturgical music was performed in rhymed distichs or quatrains, often with refrains or intercalations in Hebrew, which revealed the existence of a more ancient homiletic tradition, preserved both orally and in manuscripts. It reached its highest level in the 17th century with the poet-composer Samuel Hanen.

Three distinct traditions coexisted and still exist to some degree among the Corfiote communities in Tel Aviv and Trieste: 1) the *Italian* or *Pugghiesi* (from Salento in Apulia-Puglia), which has remained the only important witness to the tradition of the medieval Jewish communities of southern Italy; 2) the *Greek* or "*Romaniot*," which was similar to that of Ioanina; and 3) the *Sephardi*. Some are sung alternatively in four languages (Judeo-Greek, Italian, Judeo-Spanish, and Hebrew) which confirm this symbiosis. A well-known bilingual folksong, which concerns a lubricious quarrel between mother and daughter, provides a good example of the differences of class and culture between the more bourgeois and assimilated Greeks, and the earthier Pugghiesi. However, the translations in the ancient Apulian dialect and the songs of this tradition, which are included in the Passover *Haggadah*, were the common property of all Corfiote Jews. A considerable number of manuscripts bear witness to the existence of a *Minhag Corfu*, rich in *piyyutim*, such as the elegy on the destruction of the Temple, for the Ninth of Av, in the Apulian-Venetian dialect. The chant of the Pugghiesi displays a singular persistence of medieval styles, also preserved in Greco-Italic church chants (mainly in those of the 8th mode). The more recent religious synagogue and domestic chants, Sabbath hymns, and popular poems in Hebrew, or in their Italian translation, are performed as polyphonic settings for three to six voices, similar to the folksongs sung among the gentile populations in the Adriatic-Dalmatic region.

[Leo Levi / Israel J. Katz (2nd ed.)]

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GREEK AND LATIN LANGUAGES, RABBINICAL KNOWLEDGE OF. The nature and extent of the knowledge of Greek and Latin on the part of the rabbis are subjects of scholarly controversy, differing opinions even being based on the same data, since they lend themselves to several interpretations. Such data are the Greek quotations in Talmud and Midrash, rabbinical knowledge of Greco-Roman institutions, written historical sources, archaeology, epigraphy, and certain changes in the Hebrew language. The problem is compounded by fluid historical situations prevailing in late antiquity, such as the varying policy of Rome as the protagonist of Hellenism in the Near East and the degree of native assertion which, in Jewish Palestine, led to sporadic condemnations (Meg. 9a) and supposed prohibitions of Greek. Among these, those after 66 C.E. (TJ Shab. 1:6, 3c) and during the "War of Quietus" (116 C.E.; Sot. 9:14, etc. – a prohibition of the use of Greek, which itself employed the Greek loanword *polemos* for "war"!) are probably real. However the ruling against the use of Greek in 65 B.C.E. because of an incident at the siege of Jerusalem, as cited in the Talmud (Sot. 49b; cf. Jos., Ant., 14:25–8) is probably legendary (although E. Wiesenberg argues that it was probably historical). The Tosefta (Av. Zar. 1:20) and *Menaḥot* 99b (c. 90 C.E. and before 135 C.E.) discourage the study of Greek wisdom. This very repetition of anti-Greek measures, however, and some endorsements (Yad. 4:6; TJ, Sanh. 10:1, 28a; Rabbi in: Sot. 49b; Meg. 1:8) and positive evaluations of Greek (Esth. R. 4:12; Gen. R. 16:4, 36:8) indicate the temporariness or ineffectiveness of prohibitions. The Talmud tries to harmonize these contradictions by declaring that Greek was permissible for foreign contacts only (Sot. 49b, et. al.) or as a social asset for girls (TJ, Sot. 9:16, 24c). Use of liturgical Greek is indicated in the Jerusalem Talmud (Sot. 7:1, 21b), possibly in *Sotah* 49b (Rabbi), et al.; and a sort of public or official instruction is reflected in the metaphorical "500" students of Greek of *Simeon b. Gamaliel II, c. 140 C.E. (Sot. 49b). Occasionally Greek wisdom is distinguished from Greek language but seems to be identical with it in the Hasmonean War report of Sot. 49b, etc. It may signify "sophistry" (Graetz) or the "rhetorical art" as preparation for administrators but hardly a full ephebic or philosophical-scientific education. Opinions as to rabbinic Greek thus differ widely: bilingualism or trilingualism (Hebrew, Aramaic, Greek), even a Palestinian version of the general Hellenistic vernacular (*koin*) and a Judeo-Greek have been surmised, in opposition, for example, to the view that the midrashic use of Greek stances is merely a device to impress non-understanding audiences!

There is, however, complete unanimity that Latin was little known (cf. Git. 80a, et al.), Greek being for nearly a millennium the language of Macedonian, Roman, and Byzantine administrations and many semi-independent cities in Palestine (332 B.C.E.–636 C.E.) and of importance even in Parthia. Moreover, "Latin" loanwords in Hebrew (*dux, matrona*, Caesar, "legion," "family," a.o.) were often loanwords already in the Greek from which they had been borrowed. Estimates as to the ratio of Greek to Latin loanwords in rabbinic literature have been as high as one hundred to one.

In view of this deadlock of opinions, the problem under review must be examined through fresh approaches.

Languages in Contact

Insufficient use has been made so far of the discipline of modern linguistics in solving this task. Both Aramaic and Hebrew of this period underwent transformation not only in lexicography – c. 3,000 Greco-Roman loanwords – (which is generally acknowledged) but also in phonology (e.g., the gradual weakening of laryngeals in some localities, cf. Meg. 24b; Ber. 32a; Er. 53b; cf. E.Y. Kutscher, in: JSS, 10 (1965), 21–51); in syntax (especially the dissolution of the construct case into a prepositional phrase); the frequency of an absolute nominative before conditional clauses (cf. M.H. Segal, *Grammar of Mishnaic Hebrew* (1927, repr. 1958), 213–4) resembling the Greek genitive absolute. According to Bendavid (see below) certain usages of the Palestinian sages indicate quasi-mechanical transfer from the Greek and can be found in phraseology (e.g., Heb. *lashon ha-ra*, Gr. *kakoglossia*, "evil tongue"); in semantics (Heb. *batlan*, "scholar," and Gr. *scholastikos* both allude to "leisure"; Heb. *yishuv*, Gr. *oikoumene*, "habitation"); change of gender (biblical *makkel*, "staff," becomes feminine after Greek *bakteria* and *rhabdos*); the increase of reflexive verbs; and new properties of the prepositions. The verb, according to linguists the most conservative element in language, was affected by a new tense system, notably a precise present tense and compound tenses (with auxiliary verb), and the creation of Hebraized roots from the Greek, among them such important verbs as *ḳ-l-s*, "praise"; *k-r-z*, "proclaim"; *h-g-n*, "be proper"; *p-y-s*, "pacify" and "cast lots"; *ṭ-g-n*, "fry"; *ṭ-k(ḳ)-s*, "arrange"; *s-m-n*, "signify"; *ḳ-ṭ-r-g*, "accuse"; and *p-r-s-m*, "publicize." The loanwords cover all aspects of life but are especially prominent in certain areas of material civilization (architecture, agriculture, fashion, commerce, and technology) and public life (government, taxation, law, and warfare). Apart from the salient keywords of Greco-Roman civilization, such as "circus," "theater," "stadium," "hippodrome," "column," "icon," "colony," "metropolis," "triumph," "emperor," "senator," "tyranny," "pedagogue," and "philosopher," even indispensable terms of daily life are loanwords, such as "air," "sandal," "tome," "collar," "sum," "salary," "mint," "nausea," "diarrhea," "character," "person," "type," et al. (all preceding English examples being approximately identical with the Greco-Hebraic terms). Even proper names of rabbis are affected: Alexander, Antigonus, Boethus, Dosa, Pa(p)pus, Symmachus, Tarphon, etc., alongside basic religious terms: Sanhedrin, *bimah, afikoman*, "angel" (Targum), *kairos*, "mystery," "blasphemy," et al. (Of course thousands of other Greco-Roman terms in modern Hebrew have been added in the modern technological era.) The orthography of actual Greek words and of loanwords is fairly systematic (though difficult to date and subject to error in scribal tradition and reveals Greek language change, e.g., the Greek *upsilon* in certain diphthongs is already given as v (or f) as in Byzantine and modern Greek (Selevcus for Seleucus, avto- for auto-). All these observations, however, do not yet give any information regarding the rabbinic knowledge of written Greek sources, especially since Krauss's views of the derivation (see below) of certain loanwords from Homeric or rare Greek poetry have not been generally accepted.

Greek as an Intercultural Representative Prestige Language

This was especially true of public display, including inscriptions in the Temple (even its ritual objects, cf. Shek. 3:2), and on synagogues, epitaphs, etc. Some of the Greek in Palestinian cemeteries may belong here and may not be diaspora Greek. To claim that all rabbis were excluded from this vast sector of public life through ignorance or hostility is manifestly absurd. It has been assumed, however, that the opposition to Greek was strongest among some popular preachers who continued earlier Zealot attitudes (see below, Avi-Yonah, 71).

Greek as Professional Expertise

There is much justification for the claim that Jewish mercenaries, slaves, tax collectors, and certain artisans, e.g., sculptors for idolatrous customers, and the rulers, courtiers, and diplomats of the Hasmoneans and Herodians had to resort to Greek because of their social-economic functions. It seems that the *tannaim* and many leading Palestinian *amoraim*, as well as their Pharisaic predecessors, belong to a group of "technocrat" experts who could administer, legislate, interpret, edit law and literature, theologize, moralize, and console – precisely the abilities and functions of their Greco-Roman counterparts, the rhetorician-scholar-bureaucrats, from Cicero to Seneca (once practically vice-emperor), from Dio Chrysostom to Plutarch (a priest-magistrate). The rabbis' idealization of the Sage – the characteristic ideology of hellenized bureaucracies – their popular ethics and their uses of Hellenic myth, literary forms, and *hermeneutics, their academic institutions and efforts at preserving tradition, suggest knowledge of their Greco-Roman colleagues. The presence of schools of law, philosophy, and exegesis in and near Palestine (Ashkelon, Beirut, Caesarea, Gederah, Gaza), the Roman administrative center in Caesarea, and wandering rhetors must have furthered the spread of "professional" Greek. True, most of the grecianized talmudic data could stem from audio-transmission of rhetorics, the expertise of Greco-Roman bureaucracy. Yet Greco-Hebrew legal terminology (*diatheke, hypotheke, epitropos, k*(*o*)*inonia*, cf. Prosbul, etc.), some talmudic science, and rabbinic use of isopsephy (**Gematria*) are more technical than the usual orations. Actual Greek halakhic documents (e.g., a marriage contract) and numerous Greek translations of Hebrew literature indicate some measure of literary experience. (Not for all the latter could the aid of proselytes be claimed. In any case, the semilegendary portrayals of the translator *Aquilas, a proselyte *Elisha b. Avuyah, the "heretic," and *Meir, a reputed descendant of proselytes, may belong to periods of native reassertion when it had become unthinkable that rabbis were fluent in Greek.) Moreover, the insistence on oral transmission may occasionally have been merely a literary pose in conformity with a general trend toward cynicism in rhetoric (cf. Diogenes Laertius, 6:2, 48). At this stage of history, Jewish tradition and its agents were probably highly literate and literacy-minded. The Greek knowledge of the Hillelite dynasty to *Rabbi, 200 C.E., and beyond of Joshua, Meir, and *Abbahu, must have been considerable, as their use of Hellenistic materials and disciplines, their friendliness toward Greek, and their contacts with the Roman government indicate. In later centuries, however, the increasing impoverishment of Palestine and the accompanying alienation from Christianized Rome may have modified this situation.

Comparative Studies of Other Hellenizing Cultures would further illustrate Judean situations: Cato the Elder, the Roman arch-conservative speaking excellent Greek; Roman senators outlawing Greek rhetoric; a similar mass of loanwords even within societies resisting Greek, such as the Western Roman Empire, the Syrian Church, and native Armenia and Egypt; and slaves, proselytes, and uprooted populations spreading the knowledge of Greek (in Judea: after the Maccabean wars, cf. E.E. Urbach's discussion of the "Canaanite slave," in: *Zion* 25 (1960), 141–89, Heb.).

All in all, the scarcity and ambiguity of talmudic sources and the problematics of the historical data do not lend themselves to generalizations. What type of "rabbi," for example, is mentioned in the Greek Leontius memorial of Bet She'arim (Frey, 1006). Did the rabbis debate with Christians in Aramaic or Greek? When they declared Greek as "suitable" for poetry and Latin for war (Est. R. 4:12), did they thereby evaluate languages or merely characterize these cultures in general? Do halakhic statements on Homeric books presuppose their intimate knowledge (TJ, Sanh. 10:1, 28a; Yad. 4:6)? Perhaps the true question is not whether the rabbis knew Greek slightly or in depth (even the rhetors used various aid books), but whether they knew it adequately for their purpose. Only additional finds, such as actual Greek literature or more Greek halakhic documents, will throw further light on these problems.

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[Henry Albert Fischel]

GREEK LITERATURE, ANCIENT. Greeks came into contact with the Land of Israel long before the Hellenistic period, but there is no information as to the impression made by Jews or Judaism upon them in the classical period. The only classical writings extant referring to the Jews are *Herodotus' *Histories*, but his acquaintance with them is at best highly superficial, and he considers them to be Syrians who practiced circumcision, which custom they had acquired from the Egyptians. Aristotle does mention a lake in Palestine, but without connecting it in any way with the Jewish people. Thus, although the ancient civilizations of Egypt, Babylon, and Persia were familiar to the Greek men of letters and philosophers – at least in their general outline even before the days of Alexander the Great – they were apparently completely ignorant of the specific religion and culture of Palestine.

This situation changed radically after Alexander the Great and the foundation of the various Macedonian kingdoms throughout the East. From earliest times descriptions of Jews and Judaism occur in the works of Greek authors, some of whom belonged to the school of Aristotle. Thus, Theophrastus, one of Aristotle's foremost pupils, in his work "On Piety" described the Jewish sacrificial rites as utterly different from those of the Greek, consisting entirely of holocausts, offered in the middle of the night. The Jews are described by him as philosophers whose custom it is to converse among themselves about theology at the time of the offering of the sacrifices and to gaze at the stars. His contemporary, Clearchus, who was also a member of the Peripatetic school, in his dialogue "On Sleep" gives the contents of a conversation supposedly held between Aristotle and a Jew in Asia Minor (see below). The Jews are also described as philosophers in the work of the traveler Megasthenes (see below).

More detailed, and in some respects more realistic, is the detailed description vouchsafed by *Hecataeus of Abdera, who spent a long time in Egypt at the beginning of the Hellenistic period. Hecataeus describes the origin of the Jewish people as resulting from an expulsion from Egypt of undesirable elements at the time of a plague. Their leader Moses, who excelled in ability and valor, conquered the land of Judea for the Jews, founded Jerusalem, erected the Temple there, and set down the constitution of the Jewish people. Hecataeus was familiar with the division into 12 tribes and was the first of the Greek writers whose works are still extant to note that the Jews make no images of their godhead, nor conceive Him to be of human form, since, according to him, the Jews equate their God with the heavens. Moses entrusted the keeping of the laws to the priests, whom he also appointed as judges. The Jewish constitution does not know the form of monarchy, and the high priest is described as the head of the Jewish nation. The position of high priest is filled by one of the priests, chosen from among the rest for his excellence of character and wisdom. Moses also commanded the Jews to raise all the children born to them, which is the reason for the rapid increase in their numbers.

At the beginning of the Hellenistic period, Judaism was known to Greek thinkers and men of letters only in the vaguest of outlines. Their impressions are not very different from those they had of other ancient civilized peoples of the East. Their tendency to consider the Jews to be the bearers of a philosophic religion is evident, and their descriptions are generally quite highly idealized. It should be noted that the descriptions of the Jews, not excluding that of Hecataeus, still lack any taint of that hostility which is characteristic of most of the later writers. This general attitude continues into the third century. Thus, Hermippus of Smyrna states that Pythagoras received some of his teachings from the Jews, and that his philosophy was influenced by Judaism.

From the third century B.C.E. on, however, with the crystallization of an anti-Jewish outlook, the Jews, their religion, customs, and origins, begin to be described in a definitely negative light. This new approach flourished in the anti-Jewish atmosphere of Egypt and was abetted not a little by the old tensions between Egyptians and Jews. As time passed, it continued to gather strength, fanned by the Greco-Jewish clash in Alexandria, particularly during the days of the early empire. Since the Greco-Alexandrian literature was one of the main cultural flowerings of the age, it was a very important instrument in the formation of informed public opinion throughout the Hellenistic world and the Roman Empire.

One of the most important authorities of this new, anti-Jewish spirit in Greek literature was the Egyptian priest, *Manetho. He seems already to have identified the Jews with the *Hyksos and Moses with the Egyptian priest Osarsiph, who was described by him as the leader of the lepers and the other unclean and defiling elements who had been harming the population of Egypt. It was probably at this time that the belief that the Jews worshiped an ass – the animal holy to the Egyptian god Seth-Typhon, Osiris' enemy – was evolved. Manetho was only one of the many mouthpieces for the anti-Jewish propaganda. Even more rabid than he was *Lysimachus of Alexandria. According to him also, the Jewish nation stems from the impure and undesirable elements who had been expelled from Egyptian society. Their leader, Moses, taught them to hate all mankind, and their opposition to the temples of other nations typifies their entire approach.

It was *Apion of Alexandria (first century C.E.) who collected this anti-Jewish material. Not only did he refine the literary form of the tradition concerning the Exodus, which was most derogatory to the Jews, but he also protested against the Alexandrian Jews' demands to be considered citizens of the city, spoke with contempt of the Jewish religious practices, repeated the statement that the Jews worshiped an ass, stressed their supposed hatred of foreigners, said that they had contributed nothing to human civilization, and saw in their lowly political status an expression of the worthlessness of their religion. Actually, Apion added little of his own, but in his works the anti-Jewish spirit was given free rein and his writings contain virtually the entire gamut of the anti-Jewish themes which formed the antisemitic stereotype in the ancient world, and they also left their mark on Latin literature.

In spite of the generally extreme anti-Jewish character of the Alexandrian Greek literature, which was not a little influenced by the national Egyptian tradition, one nevertheless finds at least one writer – Timagenes of Alexandria (second half of the first century C.E.) – who apparently preserved a more objective approach to the Jews and in his history even expressed admiration for the Hasmonean king Aristobulus I. Interest in Jews and Judaism was also shown by Greek writers outside Egypt, from Syria and other parts of the Greek world. Asia Minor was of first rank in the intellectual and cultural life of the Hellenistic-Roman period, and it was also liberally sprinkled with areas thickly populated by Jews. It is in the works of one of the writers from Asia Minor – the historian Agatharchides of Cnidus (second century B.C.E.) – that the first mention in Greek sources is found of the Sabbath rest. He notes with scorn that it was because of this superstition that Jerusalem, the capital of the Jews, was conquered by Ptolemy I.

In the wake of the conflict between the Jews and Rome and Pompey's conquest of Jerusalem, there was an increased interest in the history of the Jews and in their religious observances on the part of the Asia Minor writers. It found its expression, *inter alia*, in the writing of books devoted entirely to this subject. Among these, *Alexander Polyhistor's anthology is particularly interesting, consisting as it does largely of excerpts from other authors and particularly from Jewish-Hellenistic literature. Teucer of Cyzicus also wrote a special work on the Jews. *Apollonius Molon's book on the Jews enjoyed great influence. Apollonius was a rhetorician from Alabanda in Caria and some of the foremost men of Roman society were influenced by his works. He had some knowledge concerning Abraham, Isaac, Joseph, and Moses, and the biblical tradition is clearly reflected in his work. Nevertheless, his attitude toward the Jews was most negative, and he considered them to be the least capable of the barbarians (i.e., non-Greeks), a nation which had added nothing to the cultural store of mankind.

A different approach is to be found in the works of the historian and geographer *Strabo, from Amaseia in Pontus, who lived in the time of Augustus. In the 16th book of his geography he describes Moses as an Egyptian priest who rejected the Egyptian forms of divine worship which centered around the deification of animals, and likewise objected to the anthropomorphism of Greek theology. Moses' god was identified with the heavens and the natural world, and many people of discerning intellect were convinced by him and became his followers. Under Moses' leadership they gained control of what is now called Jerusalem and there he founded a polity in accord with his views. Strabo expresses his complete approval of this polity and adds that for some time Moses' successors continued to live according to his constitution and were truly just and God-fearing. However, in the course of time the priesthood – which among the Jews encompassed the political power as well – fell into the hands of superstitious men, and after them in the hands of those who had despotic leanings. The superstitions which were introduced gave rise to the Jewish laws concerning forbidden foods, circumcision, and the like. The tyranny engendered robbery and violence, and large portions of Syria and Phoenicia were subjugated by the Jews. In short, Strabo looked upon Judaism as a basically positive phenomenon, and lauds the pure belief in God which typified it in its early days, but according to him Judaism had in the course of time degenerated and become corrupt.

Among the representatives of Greek literature in Syria, the philosopher, historian, and polymath *Posidonius of Apamea is of importance. He also wrote concerning the Jews and undoubtedly influenced those who came after him, but his views concerning Jews and Judaism are still a mystery, since it is difficult to determine what is to be ascribed to him and what to his followers. An allusion to "the cold Sabbath" of the Jews is to be found in the works of the poet Meleager of Gadara (first century B.C.E.). More than any of the other Greco-Syrian writers, *Nicholas of Damascus was intimately connected with Jewish affairs. He wrote his "Universal History" under Herod's inspiration and spent many years in his court in Jerusalem. The history of Herod's reign and the events of contemporary Jewish history were assigned a very prominent place in his work. He also included biblical traditions in the earlier portions of the history. Unlike the other contemporary gentile authors, Nicholas dealt with the period of the Israelite monarchy, including such events as David's wars with the Arameans. Abraham is described by him as a king in Damascus.

Typical of the level of knowledge concerning Judaism current among the educated classes of the Hellenistic world in the first century B.C.E. is the material brought by the universal historian, Diodorus of Sicily. He mentions Moses among those lawgivers who ascribed their constitutions to divine inspiration, and he states that the God of the Jews was called ʼΙάω. Elsewhere in his work – where he is apparently dependent upon Posidonius – he relates the origins of the Jewish people according to the version which grew up and became current in Greco-Egyptian circles; i.e., that the first Jews had been lepers who had been expelled for this reason from Egypt. The personality of Moses is also presented in a positive light by Pseudo-Longinus, a literary critic of first rank, in his excellent work "On the Sublime." The author, whose name has not come down, quotes the early part of the Book of Genesis ("…and there was light…" etc.) as an excellent example of lofty and exalted style and in this connection also expresses praise for the Jewish lawgiver.

*Plutarch is the only Hellenistic writer of the period of the early Roman Empire from Greece proper who is known to have written about Judaism. Most of his comments respecting the Jewish religion are to be found in his "Table-Talk," where the essence of the Jewish ritual is discussed as well as the nature of the Jewish godhead, and one of the participants even explains the supposedly close connection between the Dionysian rites and the Jewish festival of Tabernacles. At any rate, the tone is serious and does not reflect any innate animosity toward Jews or Judaism, and this is equally true in respect of the parts dealing with Jewish history which appear in his biographies of famous people, although in his work "On Superstition" the conduct of the Jews on the Sabbath during wartime is brought in as an illustration of superstitious conduct – just as it was already stressed by Agatharchides of Cnidus at the very beginning of the Hellenistic period.

In short, it may confidently be stated that Judaism as a phenomenon was familiar to the writers of the later Hellenistic period and to those who wrote during the early days of the Roman Empire. Their information concerning the history of the Jewish people is scanty and the influence of Jewish literature, even in translation (the Septuagint), is extremely meager. The attitude toward Judaism in Greek literature is not monolithic. Whereas particular hatred for the Jewish people and its religion is the hallmark of the representatives of the Greco-Egyptian literary school, definite sympathy is reflected in the writings of Pseudo-Longinus, and writers like Strabo or Plutarch express a relatively balanced view. In the descriptions of Judaism, stress is usually laid upon the origin of the Jewish nation and its religion, upon the personality of Moses on the one hand and on contemporary events on the other.

The attitude toward Judaism continued to be a live issue during the second half of the second century C.E., even after the rebellions during the reigns of Trajan and Hadrian had greatly weakened the Jewish people, and its religious influence diminished because of the competition posed by the spread of Christianity. *Numenius of Apamea, the forerunner of the neoplatonic school, may have been influenced in his philosophic thought by Philo of Alexandria. Be that as it may, his attitude to Moses was one of open admiration, and he even compared Moses to Plato. *Galen treats the Jewish philosophical conceptions seriously and critically. He is familiar with the cosmogony of Moses and specifically states his preference for the Greek conceptions in the form in which they are expressed by Plato. Whereas, he states, according to the Jewish view God's will is sufficient cause for anything and everything, according to the Greek view certain things are physically impossible and God chooses the best out of the possibilities of becoming. Moses is censured for having omitted the *causa materialis* and having thus postulated the *creatio ex nihilo.*

The historian *Dio Cassius also makes some interesting remarks touching upon Jewish history, in connection with his general survey of the history of Rome. Pompey's conquest of Jerusalem gave him the opportunity to describe the nature of the Jewish religion. He states that the Jews differ from all the rest of mankind in respect of their way of life, but in contrast to some of his predecessors he does not explain Jewish separatism on the grounds of misanthropy. He stresses the monotheistic and abstract nature of the Jewish belief, noting particularly the observance of the Sabbath, the Jew's loyalty to his faith, and the phenomenon of proselytization. As a contemporary of the Severi, he appreciates the fact that the Jews, in spite of their repression in the period immediately preceding, had nevertheless preserved and eventually won the right to live freely according to their customs.

The struggle between paganism and Christianity brought in its wake a pagan reappraisal of its attitude toward Judaism. The polemical works against Christianity of Celsus of Porphyry and of Julian, who had been raised as a Christian, reflect some accurate knowledge of the Bible. But to the extent that they come to grips with the Jewish outlook their attacks are in fact aimed mainly against Christianity, the roots of which are in the sanctified Jewish tradition. Hence, in spite of Judaism's particularistic and intolerant attitude toward paganism, they evince a sincere readiness to try to understand it as a national religion, anchored in an ancient tradition, contrasting it in this way to revolutionary Christianity. As the domination of Christianity became a fact, pagan writers like the Antiochene rhetor Libanius began to see Judaism as being in the same defensive camp as the pagan Hellenistic tradition.

No less than in the regular literary sources, the influence of Judaism is also clearly reflected in the syncretistic magical texts of the ancient world and in *Hermetic writings. Both these genres are replete with Jewish elements. The name of the Jewish godhead and the names of the angels are extremely common in magical papyri, and the thread of the biblical cosmogony is inextricably woven into the fabric of Hermetic tradition.

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[Menahem Stern]

GREEK LITERATURE, MODERN. The literary image of the Jew was molded in Greece by the Jews themselves, by Greek non-Jews and, indirectly, by the Turks. In ancient Greece, Jews were referred to as a "community of philosophers." In the Hellenistic period there was some anti-Jewish writing; but, in the main, Jews and Greeks enjoyed a friendly cultural relationship (see *Hellenistic Jewish Literature; *Greek Literature, Ancient).

Influence of the Bible

Probably no work contributed more to the harmonious relationship between *Hellenism and Judaism than the *Septuagint. But in the *Byzantine Empire, fanatical rulers enacted anti-Jewish decrees which altered the image of the Jew and even threatened his survival, e.g., the anti-Jewish decrees of Constantine I, Novella 146 of *Justinian, as well as the anti-Jewish enactments of Basil I (867–886), as described in the *Chronicle* of *Ahimaaz b. Paltiel. The Greek Jews and the newly arrived Sephardi exiles from Spain, welcomed by Sultan Bajazet II, fared well under the *Ottoman Empire. Hebrew studies became popular and talmudic schools multiplied. Important achievements were an anonymous Polyglot Pentateuch (1547), the Book of Job (1576), and a medieval Greek translation of the Hebrew Bible in 1576 (see *Judeo-Greek). Jewish writing was revived again in the 18th and even more in the 19th centuries. Hebrew education was popularized in both synagogue and home by the Judeo-Greek translations. Among 20th-century Greek writers, G. Th. Vafopoulos wrote a tragedy based on the story of Esther (1934). Kosta Papapanayiotou published two dramas, one about Esther and the other about Rizpah, in 1963. Nikos Kazantzakis, in his *Sodhoma kye Ghomorra* (1956), relates the age of the Bible to the modern world which, in his view, has reverted to the corruption of the past. Despite his preference for the Old Testament over the New, Kazantzakis distorts rabbinic Judaism and the character of his own Jewish contemporaries. Ioanna Dhriva Maravelidhou, in her verse drama *Esther* (1967), pays homage to those Jews in the Persian Empire who were prepared for any sacrifice to preserve the idea of one God. In his book *Simon Bar Kochba*, published in 1966, Vassos Kaloyannis dealt with the epic Jewish struggle against Rome.

The Figure of the Jew in Modern Greek Literature

Contemporary prejudice marks the poetic "Story of the Little Jewess Marcada" (Venice, 1627), which tells of the heroine's abduction by her Christian lover and her subsequent apostasy. *I thisia tou Avraam* ("The Sacrifice of Abraham," 1696), a mystery play probably written in 1635 by the Cretan Kornaros (d. 1677), is the only masterpiece by a Greek of that time. The earliest surviving edition was printed in Venice in 1713. It may have been based on an earlier Italian drama and reveals both the influence of the Bible and a humanistic treatment of the Jew. In the *Thisia*, which continues to be revived in Greece almost annually and has been translated into all the major European languages, the author presents an anthropomorphic God and depicts Abraham not as a Hebrew patriarch but as a distraught father torn between love for his son and love of God.

For the next three centuries Greek writers devoted their efforts to liberating their country from the Turks. As a strategic measure against the revolutionary tide which finally led to the successful War of Greek Independence (1821–32), the Turks created a climate of covert hostility between Greek and Jew. It was not until almost all of Greece was liberated that a humanistic treatment of the Jew was again found in Greek literature. The novelist Gregorios Xenopoulos wrote a drama entitled *Rachel* (1909) on the expulsion of the Jews from Zante; Konstantinos Cavafy, the Alexandrian Greek poet, wrote a poem, in which he philosophized ironically on the dangers of Jewish assimilation; and Nikolaos D. Vizinos published several refutations of the *blood libel.

The one Greek writer to portray the Jew in universal terms was Nikos Kazantzakis who devotes a chapter to the Russian Jew in his travel book *Ti idha sti Rousia* ("What I Saw in Russia," 1928). Here he sees the Jew as a rebel and revolutionary by force of historical circumstance. In his autobiographical *Anafora ston Greko* (1961; *Report to Greco*, 1965) he shows profound sympathy for the suffering of the German Jewish students he met in Berlin. In Jerusalem, he longed not only for his own God but also for the Old Testament God, and he visited Mount Sinai to hear His voice as Moses heard it. Kazantzakis nevertheless remained bitterly opposed to Zionism, which he considered a reactionary delusion. Elsewhere, he showed admiration for Eliezer *Ben-Yehuda, the father of the Hebrew revival. In the novel with the Hebrew title *Todah Rabbah* (1934, English translation 1956), Kazantzakis portrays the Russian Jew as "one facet of a single consciousness that experienced and mirrored the complex, fluid, many-sided reality of the Soviet Union."

The playwright Spyros Melas turned to historical drama in *Judas*, first produced in Athens in 1934. In this play Judas is portrayed as a revolutionary leader who joins Jesus for the liberation of Judea. Manolis Georgiou Skoulidhis wrote *I ipothesis Dreyfus* ("The Dreyfus Case," 1960), in which he dramatized modern opinions about this famous trial. Pantelis Georgiou Prevelakyis, influenced by the ideology of his close friend Kazantzakis, wrote *O Lazaros* (1954), a drama in which he examined the attitude of an early Christian toward the new religion. A prose work by V. Ghazis on the Cain and Abel theme (1955) consists of seven allegorical accounts, the last of which predicts an eventual atomic war.

Several authors who were personally involved in World War II wrote works dealing with the Nazi occupation of Greece and their concentration camp experiences. One was Elias Venezis, whose play, *Block C*, was published in 1945. Venezis' novel *Okeanos* ("Ocean," 1956) gives a sympathetic portrait of a Jewish stowaway from Smyrna bound for the United States. Jacob Kampaneli, who spent the years 1943–45 in the Mauthausen concentration camp, wrote the first draft of a prose work on his experiences in 1947 and published a final version in 1965. His pro-Jewish sympathies are very evident, since after the liberation he remained in the camp until all the Jewish survivors who wished to had immigrated to Palestine. Other works on the concentration camp theme are the play *Epistrofi apo to Buchenwald* ("Return from Buchenwald," 1948) by Sotiris Patatzis and a long poem by Takis Olympios, *40382* (1965), inspired by the number branded on the arm of a girl who survived Auschwitz. A volume of poems by Sophia Mavroídhi Papadhaki (1905–), *To louloudhi tis tefras* ("The Flower of the Ashes," 1966), had its origin in a flower she saw growing among the ashes of Dachau. Papadhaki also wrote a life of David and short stories about Ruth and Jonah.

Vassos Kaloyannis was one of several non-Jewish authors to write about Jewish communities in Greece, which he did in his *Larissa, Madre d'Israel* ("Larissa, Mother of Israel," 1959). Demetrius Hatzis wrote about the Janina Jewish community in *I mikri mas polis* ("Our Small City") and the archimandrite Nikodemos Vafiadhis gave an account of the Jewish community of Didymotichon in his *I israilitikyi kyinotis Dhidhimotichou* (1954). The art critic Anghelos Georgios Procopiou, who spent a year in Israel, described his impressions of the country in his book *O Laos tis Vivlou* ("The People of the Bible"). The image of the Jew in Greek literature is still clearly identified with the history of Judaism and the Bible. In modern times, however, Greek authors are trying to create an emphatic, three-dimensional image of the Jew as a Greek citizen whose sufferings must not be forgotten. George Zoghrafakyis (1908–?), a non-Jewish writer from Salonika, who edited the works of Eliyia and published essays on modern Jewish figures such as *Herzl and *Agnon, should also be mentioned.

The Jewish Contribution to Greek Literature

Until World War II Salonika was the center of Greco-Jewish culture and Jewish authors wrote mainly in *Ladino, the language spoken by the majority of the Jewish community. Among the very few Jewish writers in Greek, who, between the two world wars, sought to interpret their background and traditions in terms of the contemporary world were the prominent journalist Moisis *Caïmis and the brilliant and prolific poet Joseph *Eliyia. After World War II Jewish writers in Greece showed a natural preoccupation with the tragic fate of their community during the Nazi occupation. J. Matarasso published the poignant *Kye omos oli tous dhen pethanan* ("Still They All have not Died," 1948); P. Chajidhimiou wrote a book of commemorative verse entitled *Bene Israel* (1957); and Joseph Matsas investigated the cultural achievements of the Jews in his native Janina. Although he wrote in French, Albert *Cohen, born in Corfu, used his native background as a setting for some of his novels.

Other Jewish writers returned to the path blazed earlier by Caïmis and Eliyia. They include the Zionist author Asher *Moissis; Raphael Konstantinis (1892–?), who edited two Jewish periodicals; Julius Caïmis; Joseph (Pepo) Sciaki; Baruch Schiby; and the outstandingly successful Nestoras *Matsas, who converted during World War II but retained a burning interest in his Jewish heritage and the tragedy of his people.

[Rachel Dalven]

The Jew in Modern Greek Literature

Frequent references are to be found in modern Greek literature to the Jewish people in general and more specifically to Greek Jews and the Holocaust. A number of the authors concerned emanate from or had close connections with Thessaloniki (Salonika) or Ioannina with their famed Jewish communities. The works are often inspired by personal experiences based on relations with Jewish friends annihilated in the Holocaust. Many of these appeared in the 1960s with the stimulation of public interest through the trial of the Nazi Dr. Merten in Greece and the *Eichmann trial in Israel.

Traditional Greek language and literature created a mass of negative stereotypes of the Jew, as found in proverbs, folksongs, and the shadow-theater. The figure of the Jew in this pre-modern literature has often no relation to reality. This has often passed into modern works. In the words of the outstanding writer Yiorgos Ioannou in 1979, "The still unstable modern Greek society does not even have the time and strength to collect its energy to combat the poisonous luxury of antisemitism and racial discrimination."

However, other voices were heard also in the past. The national poet of Greece, Dionysios Solomos (1798–1857), published in 1822 a series of sonnets inspired by the Bible. In one of these he compared the revolutionary Greek nation to Zion reborn. The poet K.P. Kavafi (1863–1933) wrote two poems about the Jews of the Hellenistic period. In the poem "About the Jew – 50 B.C.E.," his protagonist is the imaginary Ianthis Antoniou who desires that "there always will be Jews, holy Jews." The second poem relates to Alexander Yannai and his wife, Hellenizing rulers of the Jewish state at the end of the Hasmonean era. Kostas Palamas (1852–1943) extravagantly praised the Zionist movement and was deeply impressed by Max Nordau. Alexander Papadiamantis (1851–1911) started from negative positions but revised his views, notably in his article "The Repercussion of Sense" where he reacted to the 1891 pogrom of the Jews in Corfu.

Of all the later writers, pride of place goes to Nikos Kazantzakis (1883–1957) who relates in his autobiography *Relation to Greco* that he persuaded his father to permit him to study Hebrew with the rabbi of Irakleon but was prevented due to the prejudices of the rest of his family. He also presents impressions of travelers from Jerusalem and Sinai who expound on the virtues of the Jewish people. In the memoirs of his mature age, he speaks of his bond with the German Jew, Rachel Lipstein, which is also indirectly reflected in his novels *Christ Recrucified* and *Captain Michael*.

Of later works, mention should be made of the fictional biography by M. Karagatsi (1908–1960) *King Laskos*, whose hero is in charge of a boatload of Jewish immigrants trying to beat the British blockade of Palestine, and the novel *Sergio and Bacchante* which pays tribute to the role of Jews in modern civilization. Ilia Venezi (1904–1973) wrote travel impressions from modern Israel as well as stories against the background of the 1948 Arab-Israel War. Yianni Berati (1904–1968) in his book *The Wide River* writes of the heroism of the Greek Jewish soldiers in the Greco-Italian War of 1940. Dimitri Yatha (1907–1979), the leading theatrical author, writer, and humorist, describes his recollections of a Jewish family of bankers in his *The Land of the Sea*. Strati Mirivili (1892–1963) also refers to Jewish soldiers in the anti-war chronicle *Life in a Grave*. Kosma Politi (1893–1974) preserved aspects of the Jewish community of Izmir in his book *To a Western European Pilgrim*. Dimitri Hatzi (1914–1981) described the Jewish community of Ionnina in his story "Shabetai Kabilli" in his book *The End of our Small City*, and Toli Kazantzi in his narrations sketches the coexistence of Greeks and Jews in pre-War Salonika.

A body of poetic work has been inspired by the Holocaust. Among the poets mention should be made of Manoli Anagnostaki (b. 1925), Taki Barvitsioti (b. 1916), Nino Kokkalidou-Nahmia (b. 1922), I.A. Nikolaidi (b. 1936), Marino Charalambous (b. 1937), Dino Christianopoulo (b. 1931), Yiorgos Ioannou (1927–1985), G. Th. Vafopoulou (b. 1903), the surrealistic Niko Engonopoulo (1910–1986), George Kaftantzi (b. 1920), Prodromo Markoglou (b. 1935), and Kimona Tzalla (1917–1988). Outstanding is the poem of Zoe Karelli (b. 1901), "Israel," which harks back to the sufferings of the Jews in biblical times and links them with the tragic fate of the Jews of Salonika. She seeks the causes of antisemitism and of the Holocaust, showing the common element throughout history, and also shows how Jews always maintained a discreet strength in their resistance to persecutions.

Among prose writers who have been affected by the Holocaust are G. Th. Vafopoulouy in his *Pages of Autobiographies*; Ilia Venezi (1904–1973) in the fictionalized biography *Archbishop Damaskinos*; the diary of Iakavou Kampanelli (b. 1922) *Mauthausen*; the tender novel *Tziokonta* of Nikou Kokantzi (b. 1927); Nikou Bakala (b. 1927) in his novel *The Big Square* and works by Vasili Vasilikou (b. 1934), Georgou Theotoka (1905–1966), Yianni Lambrinou (1909–1949), Nestoria Matsa (b. 1932), Kostoulas Mitropoulou (b. 1940), I.M. Papagiotopoulou (1901–1981), Yianni Starki (1919–1987), and Friksou Tzioba (b. 1919).

The major author who wrote of the Holocaust of Salonika Jewry is Yiorgos Ioannou. In his poems "Iliotropia" (1954) and "The Thousand Trees" (1963), he describes the last night of a Jewish family who lived in a nearby apartment and of his grief over their unbelievable disappearance. His book *For the Honor* (1964) describes the leveling of the old Jewish cemetery of Salonika. In *The Sarcophagus* (1971), *Our Own Blood* (1978), and *The Capital of the Refugees* (1984), he wonders at the persecution of the Jews in his neighborhood which culminated in the pillage of their homes and the testimony of his own father, a railroad worker, who experienced at first hand the songs sung on the journeys to the death camps from inside the sealed animal wagons.

All these works face the Jews with reverence and treat their suffering with the utmost respect and sympathy, emanating from the recognition of a longtime harmonious symbiosis.

[Albert Nar]

Noted Gentile Greek authors who wrote about Greek Jewry include Lily Zografos, who focuses on Jews in the Holocaust in *I Evrai Kapote* (*Mikael*) ("The Jews Once, Mikael," 1966) and elsewhere in *Antignosi, Ta thekanikia tou kapitalismou* ("Bad Sense, The Crutches of Capitalism," 1974); Yiorgos Zografakis, who published biographies of the military war hero Colonel Mordechai Frizis or the early 20th century Ioanniote poet and author Josep Eliyia; Dimitri Hatzi, who in the form of short stories colorfully depicted Ioanniote Jewry in the early 20th century several decades before its destruction in the Holocaust; or the literature professor Frangiski Ambatzopolou who wrote about Greek Jewish Holocaust survivors in modern Greek literature, *I Logotechnia Os Martitiria, Ellines Pezografi Yia to Yenoktonia Ton Evraion, Anthologia* ("The Literature of Testimonies, Greek Prose Writers on Horrific Events of the Jews, Anthology," 1995), and translated into Greek testimonies of Greek Holocaust survivors published in Hebrew in Israel and added a few testimonies of remaining survivors in Salonika.

Several Greek Jews can be included among popular Greek authors.

Nestoras *Matsas wrote a biography of Alexander the Great, *To Hirografo Tis Babilonas, Megalexandro Apomnimonevmata* ("The Manuscript of Babylon, the Memoirs of Alexander the Great," 1980), and about his experience hiding as a young boy in Athens during World War II in *Avto to paidi pethane avrio, Imerologio Katochis* ("That Boy Died Tomorrow, A Diary of the Occupation," 1987), and in *I Istoria Ton Hamenon Peristerion: Imerogio Enos Paidou Ston Emfilio* ("The History of the Lost Pigeon: Diary of a Boy in the Civil War," 1995). Michel Feis, born to a Jewish father in Cuomotini in 1957, wrote fictional accounts of Jewish life in Cuomotini through the centuries and generations, and published *Avtobiografia, enos vivliou, Mithistorima* ("The Autobiography of a Book, A Novel," 1995). He also wrote a book of short stories called *From the Same Glass and Other Stories* (1999), which won the State Short Story Award in 2000, and two works on Giulio Caimi, a Jewish artist: *Greek Landscapes* (1993) and *Giulio Caimi, A Man Suppressed. Recollections and Criticism. Selected Articles (1928–1976)*. Nina Kokkalidou-Nachmia has written over a dozen books since 1970 including the novel *Tilefoniko Kentro* ("Telephone Center," 1972), the children's book *Ti nea, kirie Gate* ("What's New, Sir Cat," 1984), *Otan I Ellines Iortazoun* ("When Greeks Celebrate," 1995), and *Palia Thessaloniki Kai Istoriki Diadromi Tis D.E.Th. 1926–1989* ("Old Thessaloniki and Historical Journey of the Municipality of Thessaloniki 1926–1989," 1996), which depicts the Old Salonika and its Jews, musicians, and modern postwar life. She also wrote a moving book related to the Holocaust entitled *Reina Zilberta, ena paidi sto geto tis Thessalonikis* ("Reina Zilberta, a Girl in the Ghetto of Thessaloniki," 1996).

[Yitzchak Kerem (2nd ed.)]

GREEN, ABEL (1900–1973), U.S. theatrical journalist, editor of *Variety*, the chief theatrical paper in the U.S. While at New York University, Green wrote theatrical interviews for the New York *Sunday World. Variety* was founded by Sime Silverman in 1905 and Green succeeded him as editor in 1933. A chronicler of theatrical news, Green added to English theatrical slang with coinages which he called "un-King's English." A shrewd critic, Green once capsuled a film review with the succinct phrase, "It went in one eye and out the other." He was the author of *Mr. Broadway*, a film script of *Variety's* founder-editor; coauthor with Joe Laurie, Jr. of *Show Biz from Vaude to Video* (1952); and editor of *Variety Music Cavalcade* (1952) and *The Spice of Variety* (1953).

[Jo Ranson]

GREEN, ADOLPH (1915–2002), U.S. theatrical writer. Born in the Bronx, New York, Green was educated at the City College of New York. He worked as a lyricist on many Broadway musicals. Among them were *On the Town* (and book, 1946); *Two on the Aisle* (1952); *Wonderful Town* (1953); *Peter Pan* (1954); *Bells Are Ringing* (and book, 1956); *Do Re Mi* (1960); *Subways Are for Sleeping* (and book, 1961); *A Doll's Life* (and book, 1982); *Singin' in the Rain*; (1985); and *The Will Rogers Follies* (1991). His main collaborator in lyrics, libretto, and screenplay work was Betty *Comden. His chief musical collaborators included Leonard *Bernstein, Jule *Styne, Andre *Previn, and Morton *Gould.

In the world of film, Green wrote the screenplay for such films as *Good News* (1947); *The Barkleys of Broadway* (1949); *On the Town* (1949); *Singin' in the Rain* (1952); *The Band Wagon* (1953); *It's Always Fair Weather* (1955); *Auntie Mame* (1958); *Bells Are Ringing* (1960); *What a Way to Go* (1964); and the TV movie *Applause* (1973).

Some of Green's best-known songs are "New York, New York," "The Party's Over," "Just in Time," "Make Someone Happy," "I Get Carried Away," "Lonely Town," "Lucky to Be Me," "Ohio," "Long Before I Knew You," "Something's Always Happening on the River," "Comes Once in a Lifetime," and "I'm Just Taking My Time."

In 1991 he won a Tony Award for Best Original Score for the Broadway musical *The Will Rogers Follies*. In 2001 the Writers Guild of America awarded Green and Comden the Laurel Award for Screen Writing Achievement. From 1960 Green was married to actress Phyllis Newman.

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[Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

GREEN, ARTHUR (1941–), U.S. scholar, theologian, and rabbi. Born in Paterson, N.J., Green grew up in Newark. Raised in a non-observant Jewish home, he was educated as a child in public schools, a Conservative Hebrew school, and Camp Ramah.

After completing a B.A. at Brandeis University in 1961, Green trained for the rabbinate at the Jewish Theological Seminary (JTS) in New York. There, he was a close student of Abraham Joshua Heschel. Upon ordination from JTS in 1967 Green began doctoral studies at Brandeis under the direction of Alexander Altmann. The following year he co-founded *Havurat Shalom* in Somerville, Mass., a new informal religious community that wove together the insights of Jewish mysticism, Neo-Ḥasidism, and American counterculture. *Havurat Shalom* helped birth the national Ḥavurah and Jewish Renewal movements.

Green established himself as an academic with the publication of *Tormented Master: A Life of Rabbi Nahman of Bratslav* (1979). Widely read by scholars and general readers in the United States and Israel, it appeared in Hebrew translation in 1980. Green's other academic contributions include several essays and monographs on ḥasidic leadership and the history of kabbalistic symbolism, including *Keter: The Crown of God in Early Jewish Mysticism* (1997). Green has also translated several classical ḥasidic texts, including *The Language of Truth: The Torah Commentary of the Sefat Emet* (1998).

Green left *Havurat Shalom* in 1973 to join the department of religion at the University of Pennsylvania, where he remained for a decade. In 1984 he became dean and then president of the Reconstructionist Rabbinical College (RRC) in Philadelphia. Green's move to the RRC is indicative of his dual interests in academic and rabbinic education and his desire to serve as both a scholar and a religious leader. It was while at the RRC that Green wrote his major theological work, *Seek My Face, Speak My Name: A Contemporary Jewish Theology* (1992), a text that draws on an array of Jewish mystical sources in the construction of a modern Jewish spiritual vision. Green helped introduce a new appreciation for Jewish spirituality at the RRC, an institution founded upon Mordecai Kaplan's rationalistic program.

In 1990 Green left the RRC because of ongoing tensions with older Kaplan loyalists who were uncomfortable with his religious views, and because of his dissatisfaction with fundraising and administrative responsibilities. The following year Green returned to his alma mater, Brandeis University, assuming the Philip W. Lown Chair in Jewish thought, a position once held by his doctoral advisor, Alexander Altmann. In 2004 Green published *Eheyeh: A Kabbalah for Tomorrow*, an introduction to and contemporary interpretation of Kabbalah.

In 2004 Green was named founding dean of the Rabbinical School of Hebrew College in Newton, Mass. The Hebrew College Rabbinical School is a pluralistic Jewish seminary without any denominational affiliation. Green's turn to transdenominational rabbinic education represented the fulfillment of a dream from his time in *Havurat Shalom*, which he originally envisioned as a seminary/community. In 2005, Green retired from Brandeis to devote himself to the development of the Rabbinical School.

[Or N. Rose (2nd ed.)]

GREEN, DAVID EZRA (1910–1983), U.S. biochemist. Green was born in New York. He obtained a master's degree in biology (1932) from New York University, followed by a Ph.D. in biochemistry at Cambridge University, England (1934), before leaving for Harvard University Medical School (1940). He moved to Columbia University School of Medicine in New York (1941) until his appointment as professor and co-director of the Institute for Enzyme Research at the University of Wisconsin in Madison (1948), where he worked until his death. His lifelong interest in enzymes was stimulated in Cambridge. His major research achievement was to develop techniques for isolating and characterizing single enzymes initially, which contributed enormously to the characterization of multi-enzyme pathways and particularly those involved in fatty acid oxidation. In addition to his prodigious personal creativity, he directed highly successful programs which launched the careers of many young biochemists who achieved prominence in biochemistry. His honors included the first Paul-Lewis Award in Enzyme Chemistry (1946) and election to the National Academy of Sciences (1962).

[Michael Denman (2nd ed.)]

GREEN, GERALD (1922–2006), U.S. screenwriter, producer, author, and radio director. Three of Green's novels, *The Last Angry Man* (1956), *To Brooklyn with Love* (1967), and *The Brooklyn Boy* (1968), recreate life in New York City as remembered, stretching back to the 1930s. In *The Legion of Noble Christians* (1965), he satirized fanatical anti-Communism within a fictional framework of Christian efforts to save Jews during the Hitler era. Green also wrote *The Lotus Eaters* (1959), *The Heartless Light* (1961), *The Artists of Terezin* (1969), and *The Stones of Zion: A Novelist's Journal in Israel* (1971). He worked for NBC as a writer, director, and producer. Among his better-known screenplays are *The Last Angry Man* (1959; television, 1974) and *Holocaust*, a television miniseries (1978). In 1980 Green was awarded the Belgium Prix International Dag Hammerskjold for his novel *Holocaust* (1978) and his other literary work.

[Lewis Fried (2nd ed.)]

GREEN, PHILIP (1952–), British businessman. Born in London, the son of a property investor who died when he was 12, Green left school at 16 and worked for a shoe importer before starting a company which imported jeans from the Far East. Over a period of 20 years, starting in the mid-1980s, he built up one of greatest of contemporary British retailing fortunes. In the late 1990s he bought British Home Stores (BHS), a High Street retailing fixture with hundreds of branches, vastly increasing its profitability by a combination of hands-on direct management of all phases of BHS's operations and such counterintuitive means as not advertising. Green expanded his retailing empire to include such retailing giants as Arcadia, Top Shop, and Dorothy Perkins, although bids by him to purchase Safeway (2003) and Marks & Spencer (2005) were not successful. Green, who has lived in Monaco in recent years, was ranked in 2005 as Britain's fifth wealthiest man, worth £4.85 billion,.

[William D. Rubinstein (2nd ed.)]

GREEN, SHAWN DAVID (1972–), U.S. baseball player. Born in Des Plaines, Illinois to Ira and Judy, Green grew up in a non-practicing family in Tustin, California, did not attend Hebrew school, and did not have a bar mitzvah, but Green became a highly visible symbol for the Jewish community throughout his career. Green's father, a gym coach who later became the owner of a baseball training facility, worked closely with him to improve his baseball skills, and he became a standout player at Tustin High School. He made his Major League debut on September 28, 1993, and came up from the minors to stay in 1995. In 1998 Green became the first Jew to hit 30 home runs and steal 30 bases in one season. On May 23, 2002, Green had the most productive day in baseball history with the 19 total bases, hitting four home runs, a double and a single. The next day Green homered and singled, tying a two-game record with five HRS and 25 total bases. The following day Green hit two more HRS, and the seven home runs in three games was also a record. He had his best season in 2001, batting .297 with 49 HRS, 125 RBIS, and 20 SBS. He was voted to the All-Star team in 1999 and 2002, and won a Gold Glove Award in 1999. In 2005, Green hit his 300th career HR, the second Jew to ever do so.

Green was the most visible Jewish player during his career, in part because of his status as the best Jewish player of his generation. After the 1999 season with Toronto, he asked to be traded to a team in a city with a large Jewish population, and was sent to Los Angeles. In 2001, in the midst of a pennant race, Green opted not to play on Yom Kippur – while the other Jewish players did – which made news as it voluntarily stopped his 415 consecutive-game streak. Three years later, Green again made headlines when faced once more with a decision whether to play on Yom Kippur, in the midst of a crucial series in a late-season pennant race. This time he had games on Yom Kippur night and the following day, and decided to split the day, opting to play Kol Nidrei night but not the following afternoon. Green hit the game-winning home run that night, but the issue and his split decision was debated across the country, with many praising him for honoring the holiday and others criticizing him for his not fully observing Yom Kippur.

"Everyone approaches their worship in their own way and goes about it differently," Green said. "I'm not Orthodox. I am Jewish and I respect the customs, and I feel like this is the most consistent way for me to celebrate the holiday. I feel real good about my decision."

[Elli Wohlgelernter (2nd ed.)]

GREENACRE, PHYLLIS (1894–1989), U.S. psychiatrist. Greenacre, who was born in Chicago, received a B.S. from the University of Chicago in 1913, and graduated from Rush Medical College in 1916. She was appointed clinical professor of psychiatry at Cornell University Medical College in 1935. In 1942 she joined the faculty of the New York Psychoanalytic Institute and was its president from 1948 to 1950. She served as president of the New York Psychoanalytic Society from 1956 to 1957. She was also vice president, and later honorary vice president, of the International Psychoanalytical Association. She served on the editorial board of the influential annual *The Psychoanalytic Study of the Child*, from its inception in 1945.

One of her main interests was the subject of anxiety. In 1941 she published a paper in which she sought the roots of anxiety in the birth trauma of the fetus, as revealed in the newborn child and in the memory traces of the adult patient in psychoanalysis. Birth, with its enormous sensory stimulation after the relaxed fetal state, in her view, produced a strong narcissistic drive and a defensive organization of anxiety in the infant. Her book *Trauma, Growth and Personality* was published in 1952.

A further focus of Greenacre's interest was the sexual anomaly of fetishism. She stressed the magical value represented by the fetish in early life as a result of disturbed mother-child relationships. She wrote, too, on identity and its relation to body image, stressing the role of visual perception and perceptual distortion in the fetish image of the genitals and face. In 1953 she edited *Affective Disorders*. Her analysis of the creative personality and imagination was set out in her study of two lives, *Swift and Carroll* (1955). Her other publications include *The Quest for the Father: A Study of the Darwin-Butler Controversy as a Contribution to the Understanding of the Creative Individual* (1963); and *Emotional Growth: Psychoanalytic Studies of the Gifted and a Great Variety of Other Individuals* (1971).

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[Louis Miller / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

GREENBAUM, EDWARD SAMUEL (1890–1970), U.S. lawyer, soldier, and public servant. Greenbaum was born in New York, the son of Samuel, a Supreme Court Justice in New York, and Selina, president of the Jewish Working Girls Vacation Society. He entered law practice in 1915. A skillful attorney, Greenbaum dealt with diverse legal problems, and his clients included prominent public personalities. Greenbaum's public service career began in the 1920s when he participated in a study of U.S. legal practice. Reform of the courts became a lifelong interest: as a member of the Judicial Conference of the State of New York, he was a key campaigner for reorganization of the New York court system, finally achieved in 1960–61. Greenbaum enlisted in the army in World War I, retiring at its end as a major. Returning to active duty in 1940, he rose to brigadier general. During World War II he was a principal aide to the secretary of war and played a leading role in establishing War Department labor policy, for which he was awarded the Distinguished Service Medal in 1945. Public positions he held include Alcohol Control Commission chairman (1933); special assistant to the attorney general's office (1934–38); Long Island Railroad Commission counsel (1938); and alternate delegate to the United Nations (1957). He helped found the Jewish Big Brothers Organization; served on the executive committee of the Jewish Welfare Board, Armed Services Division; and was active on the American Jewish Committee and the Jewish Board of Guardians. He served as trustee of the Institute for Advanced Studies at Princeton. Greenbaum coauthored *King's Bench Masters*, a study of British pretrial practice (1932), and wrote an autobiography, *Lawyer's Job* (1967).

[Barton G. Lee]

GREENBERG, CLEMENT (1909–1994), U.S. art critic. After studying at the Art Students League (1924–25) and receiving a B.A. from Syracuse University (1930), Greenberg began contributing articles on art, literature, and politics to the left-wing journal *Partisan Review*, where he served as editor in 1940–42. Among other venues, his articles appeared in *The Nation*, a magazine for which he was the regular art critic (1942–49); *Contemporary Jewish Record*, where he served as managing editor from June 1944 until the final issue in June 1945; and *Commentary*, where he was associate editor (1945–57).

Greenberg was one of the most influential art critics of the 1950s and 1960s. Along with critic Harold *Rosenberg, Greenberg championed Abstract Expressionism. In particular, Greenberg was pivotal in the ascent of Jackson Pollock. After early consideration of social factors in his pivotal *Partisan*

Review article "Avant-Garde and Kitsch" (1939), Greenberg's formalist and often polemical mode of art analysis mostly ignored contextual considerations, a position largely rejected by subsequent art critics.

In addition to writing on Jewish themes and subjects, Greenberg also wrote about or discussed his own Jewish identity. In a 1944 contribution to a symposium on Jewish American literature Greenberg commented that he "has no more of a conscious position towards his Jewish heritage than the average American Jew – which is to say, hardly any." Unconsciously, however, Greenberg believed that "a quality of Jewishness is present in every word I write."

Along with his book *Art and Culture: Critical Essays* (1961), which includes "Avant-Garde and Kitsch," Greenberg wrote the monographs *Joan Miró* (1948), *Matisse* (1953), and *Hans Hoffman* (1961). His collected essays were published in four volumes (1986–93).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: D.B. Kuspit, *Clement Greenberg: Art Critic* (1979); J. O'Brien (ed.), *Clement Greenberg: The Collected Essays and Criticism*, 4 vols. (1986–93); F. Rubenfeld, *Clement Greenberg: A Life* (1997).

[Samantha Baskind (2nd ed.)]

GREENBERG, DAVID MORRIS (1895–1988), U.S. biochemist. Greenberg was born in Boston, obtained his doctorate at the University of California in 1924, and became professor of biochemistry at Berkeley in 1941. On his retirement in 1963, he worked as a research biochemist at the Oncologic Institute, University of California Medical School in San Francisco and played a key role in the development of biochemistry on the campus. He contributed broadly to studies on mineral metabolism, enzyme chemistry, and cancer research. Greenberg served on the U.S. Atomic Energy Commission and on the isotopes panel of the National Research Council. He was editor of the *Proceedings of the Society of Experimental Biology and Medicine*, and served as chairman of the California section of this society. Greenberg was a pioneer in the use of radioisotopes for biochemical investigations. He wrote *Aminoacids and Proteins* (1951), *Chemical Pathways of Metabolism* (1954), and *Metabolic Pathways* (1960). He published more than 400 scientific articles.

[Samuel Aaron Miller / Bracha Rager (2nd ed.)]

GREENBERG, ELIEZER (1896–1977), Yiddish poet and literary critic. Born in Bessarabia, at an early age he was influenced by the poets Eliezer *Steinbarg, Jacob *Sternberg, and Moshe *Altman, who were pioneers of Hebrew and Yiddish literature, and, later, by American English modernist poetry. In 1913, at the age of 17, Greenberg immigrated to the U.S., but impressions of his native town enriched his poetry throughout his life. His lyrics and essays began to appear in Yiddish periodicals and anthologies in 1919. He studied at the University of Michigan, before settling in New York. Together with Elihu Shulman, he edited *Getseltn* ("Tents," 1945–48), a periodical of verse and literary criticism. He and Irving *Howe edited important anthologies of translations from Yiddish into English: *A Treasury of Yiddish Stories* (1954), *Five Yiddish Poets* (1962), *A Treasury of Yiddish Poetry* (1969), *Voices From the Yiddish* (1972), *Yiddish Stories Old and New* (1974), *Selected Stories of I.L. Peretz* (1974), and *Ashes Out of Hope* (1977). His first volume of poetry, *Gasn un Evenyus* ("Streets and Avenues," 1928), portrays New York as the symbol of the modern ambition. It was followed by *Fun Umetum* ("From Everywhere," 1934), *Fisherdorf* ("Fishing Village," 1938), *Di Lange Nakht* ("The Long Night," 1946), "Baynakhtiker Dialog" ("Night Dialogue"), *Eybiker Dorsht* ("Eternal Thirst," 1968), and *Gedenkshaft* ("Memorabilia," 1974). The depression of the 1930s led to a more social proletarian tone in his poems. In the 1940s his verses became angrier and more despairing in response to unfolding events in Europe, later returning to calmer tones. As a critic, Greenberg wrote primarily about modernist Yiddish poets, including studies of Moyshe-Leyb *Halpern, H. *Leivick, and Jacob *Glatstein.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: LNYL, 2 (1958), 391–2; J. Glatstein, *In Tokh Genumen* (1956), 323–8; S. Bickel *Shrayber fun Mayn Dor* (1958), 144–7; S.D. Singer, *Dikhter un Prozaiker* (1959), 109–12. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** "A Greenberg Portfolio," in: *Yiddish*, 3 (1978), 48–53.

[Sol Liptzin / Anita Norich (2nd ed.)]

GREENBERG, HAYIM (1889–1953), Zionist leader, essayist, and editor. Greenberg, born in the Bessarabian village of Todoristi in Russia, joined the Zionist movement while still a youngster and attracted immediate notice as a self-taught intellectual prodigy. In 1904 he attended the Zionist Congress in Helsinki as a correspondent, and while still in his teens moved to Odessa, where he emerged before long as a leading figure in Hebrew and Zionist letters, excelling as both an orator and an essayist on philosophical and political themes. With the outbreak of World War I, Greenberg moved to Moscow, where he edited the Russian-Jewish weekly *Razsvet* ("The Dawn"). After the Russian Revolution he served for a while as an instructor in medieval Jewish literature at the University of Kharkov and lectured at Kiev Academy. Arrested several times for Zionist activities by the Communist authorities, he left for Berlin in 1921, where he edited *Haolam* ("The World"), the official weekly of the World Zionist Organization.

Greenberg immigrated to the U.S. in 1924 to become editor of the Yiddish Zionist publication *Farn Folk* ("For the People"), which later became *Der *Yidisher Kempfer* ("The Jewish Warrior"), and in 1934 became editor of the Labor Zionist monthly *The Jewish Frontier*. From 1934 he was a permanent member of the Central Committee of the Labor Zionist Organization of America. During World War II he served as head of the American Zionist Emergency Council, and in 1946 he was appointed director of the Department of Education and Culture of the Jewish Agency Executive in America. Greenberg's influence on Zionist activities during these years was great. Particularly noteworthy were his accomplishments in winning the votes of several Latin-American delegations at the United Nations for the creation of a Jewish State, and later in helping to forge strong cultural ties between the new State of Israel and Jews the world over.

As an essayist in three languages, Yiddish, Hebrew, and English, Greenberg was distinguished by his breadth of knowledge, urbanity of approach, and deep moral earnestness. The core of his writings was devoted to expounding the philosophy of Zionism and attempting to demonstrate its consistency with the ideals of socialism, pacifism, and universalism to which he adhered. Collections of his essays have appeared in several volumes in Yiddish and in English, including: *The Inner Eye* (2 vols., 1953–64); *Yid un Velt* (1953); *Beytlakh fun a Tog-Bukh* (1954); *Mentshn un Vertn* (1954); and *Hayim Greenberg Anthology* (1968).

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[Hillel Halkin]

GREENBERG, HENRY BENJAMIN (“**Hammerin’ Hank**”; 1911–1986), U.S. baseball player, first Jewish sports superstar, first Jew inducted into the Hall of Fame. Greenberg was born in Greenwich Village, New York, the third of four children, to Orthodox Romanian immigrants Sarah (Schwartz) and David, who owned a textile factory. The family moved to the Bronx, kept a kosher home, and sent Greenberg to Hebrew school, but young Henry just wanted to play sports. He became an outstanding athlete in baseball, basketball, and soccer at James Monroe High School, leading the basketball team to a New York City title in 1929.

After graduation from high school in 1929, Greenberg signed with the Detroit Tigers, and played one game for them in 1930. He then played three seasons in the minors. At Raleigh, North Carolina, one of his teammates walked slowly around Greenberg staring at him, saying he had never seen a Jew before. “The way he said it, he might as well have said, ‘I’ve never seen a giraffe before,’” said Greenberg. “I let him keep looking for a while, and then I said, ‘See anything interesting?’ ”

Greenberg, a strong physical presence at 6′4″ and 215 pounds, joined the Tigers permanently in 1933. In 1934 he hit .339, and drove in 139 runs to lead Detroit to its first pennant since 1909, but not without some fanfare: Rosh Hashanah that year fell on September 10, in the middle of the pennant race. Greenberg, in a quandary whether to play, consulted a rabbi, who told him it was permissible. He hit two homers that day to win the game 2–1, and the next day the *Detroit Free Press* printed Greenberg’s picture with Happy New Year in Hebrew captioned above the photo. However, Greenberg did not play on Yom Kippur, receiving instead a standing ovation when he showed up in synagogue.

Greenberg’s Rosh Hashanah-Yom Kippur decisions stirred intense interest in the Jewish community, where second-generation Jews saw in Greenberg’s refusal to play on Yom Kippur an example of how to balance loyalty to religion and tradition with the need to integrate fully in American life. Greenberg’s resolution was echoed 31 years later, when Sandy *Koufax refused to play Yom Kippur in the first game of the World Series.

In 1935 Greenberg again helped guide the Tigers to the pennant, and a World Series win over the Chicago Cubs despite breaking his wrist in the second game. He led the league in RBI’s, a statistic he valued above all others, with 170, and was named MVP. In 1936 Greenberg broke his left wrist again in the 12th game of the season, and sat out the remainder of the year. Well rested, he came back in 1937 to lead the league again in RBIS with 183, one shy of the American League record held by Lou Gehrig. It was Greenberg’s biggest regret that he failed to break that record, more than Babe Ruth’s record of 60 home runs that he chased the following season. Greenberg had 58 with five games left in 1938, and some claimed opponents prevented him from setting the record because of anti-Jewish sentiment, but Greenberg dismissed the notion as “crazy stories.” He did, however, face constant reminders throughout his career from fans and other players on his ethnic background. “How the hell could you get up to home plate every day and have some son-of-a-bitch call you a Jew bastard and a kike and a sheenie and get on your ass without feeling the pressure?” he said. “If the ballplayers weren’t doing it, the fans were. I used to get frustrated as hell. Sometimes I wanted to go into the stands and beat the shit out of them.”

The following season Greenberg was moved to left field, and his hard work to master the position – and his ever-powerful bat – resulted in a second MVP, one of only three players to win MVP’s at two different positions. He again took the Tigers to the American League pennant, slugging 41 homers and driving in 150 runs.

Greenberg was drafted into the army 19 games into the 1941 season, and missed the rest of that year and the next three and a half seasons. When Pearl Harbor was bombed two days after he was discharged, Greenberg immediately volunteered for more duty, and rose to the rank of captain serving in the Far East. Greenberg returned in the middle of the 1945 season and again led Detroit to the pennant, clinching it with a grand slam in the top of the 9th inning of the last game of the season. “The best part of that homer was hearing how the Washington Senators players responded,” said Greenberg. “‘Goddamn that dirty Jew bastard, he beat us again.’” His seven hits in the World Series helped the Tigers again beat the Cubs for the world championship. Greenberg returned to first base in 1946, and led the league with 44 HRS and 127 RBIS.

Greenberg played his final year for the Pittsburgh Pirates in 1947, the year Jackie Robinson became the first black to play baseball. Greenberg remembered the taunts he had to endure himself over the course of his career. Standing together at first base one game, Robinson recalled later, Greenberg “suddenly turned to me and said, ‘A lot of people are pulling for you to make good. Don’t ever forget it.’ I never did.”

Upon retiring Greenberg became a baseball executive, first as farm system director and general manager with the

Cleveland Indians, and then as part owner and vice president of the Chicago White Sox.

Despite his lost years to the war, Greenberg remains high on the career list of achievement nearly six decades after retiring: The five-time All-Star batted .313, with 331 home runs and 1,276 RBIs in 1,394 games. His .605 slugging percentage is sixth all-time, and his rate of .915 RBIs per game is third-best all time. Greenberg was the subject of a documentary, *The Life and Times of Hank Greenberg* (1998), and author of an autobiography, *The Story of My Life* (1989), with Ira Berkow. Greenberg was inducted into the Hall of Fame in 1956.

[Elli Wohlgelernter (2nd ed.)]

GREENBERG, IRVING (**Yitz**; 1933–), U.S. rabbi, author, and educator. Born in 1933 in Brooklyn, New York, Greenberg attended Yeshiva High School in Brooklyn and from there he attended the Yeshiva Bais Yosef, from which he received ordination as an Orthodox rabbi in 1953. At the same time he attended Brooklyn College, where he received a B.A. in history. He went on to obtain his M.A. and Ph.D. in American history from Harvard University. In 1959 he began teaching American history at Yeshiva University where he was among the first to introduce the teaching of Holocaust studies into a university curriculum. From 1965 to 1972 he was the communal rabbi of the Riverdale Jewish Center while he also taught at CCNY (1965–72). Shortly thereafter, he founded the organization that would later come to be known as the National Jewish Center for Learning and Leadership and served as its director from 1974 to 1997.

In 1975, along with Elie Wiesel, Greenberg founded the Holocaust memorial organization Zachor. In 1979 he was invited to serve as director of the President's Commission on the Holocaust and participated in the development of the initial recommendations for a center that later became the United States Holocaust Memorial Musuem. Twenty years later, from 2000 to 2002, he served as chairman of the museum's governing body, although his tenure was marred by controversy and internal dissension. From 1998 he also served as president of Jewish Life Network/Steinhardt Foundation, whose aim is to create and enrich the cultural and institutional life of American Jewry.

Rabbi Greenberg's thoughts and ideas have been disseminated through four decades of teaching and writing often in pamphlets and other popular articles. He has lectured in every American city with a fair-sized Jewish community and published his work in almost all major Jewish publications. He is the co-editor of a pioneering work, *Confronting the Holocaust*. Greenberg is also the author of *The Jewish Way: Living the Holidays* (1988) and *Living the Image of God: Jewish Teachings to Perfect the World* (1998), which presents his teachings on a wide range of subjects, including those central to his redemptive covenant theology.

Greenberg writes of the shattering of the covenant in the Holocaust. Following Elie Wiesel and Jacob Gladstein, he suggests a deep theological humility: "No statement, theological or otherwise, should be made that would not be credible in the presence of burning children." He states that the authority of the covenant was broken in the Holocaust, but the Jewish people, released from its obligations, chose voluntarily to renew it again. Greenberg writes, "We are in the age of the renewal of the covenant. God is no longer in a position to command, but the Jewish people are so in love with the dream of redemption that it volunteered to carry out the mission."

Greenberg is known for his thoughts on the issue of pluralism in Jewish life. His widely publicized essay "Will There Be One Jewish People in the Year 2000?" catapulted the issue of Jewish unity to the forefront of American Jewish concerns. He has often been accused of being the Conservative and Reform's Orthodox rabbi. A strong proponent of "centrist Orthodoxy" Greenberg has labored against its weakening from radical shifts, left and right. He has been a strong advocate of Orthodox Jews' full participation in American national life, seeking a synthesis between traditional Judaism and modernity. And as a strong champion of interfaith dialogue he has for four decades campaigned for Jewish and Christian reconciliation.

[Shalom Freedman and Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

GREENBERG, JOANNE (1932–), U.S. novelist. *The King's Persons* (1963) was a picture of Jewish life in medieval England. Her other works include *I Never Promised You a Rose Garden* (1964), written under the pseudonym Hannah Green; *The Monday Voices* (1965); *Summering* (1966); *In This Sign* (1970); *Season of Delight* (1981); and *Appearances* (2006).

GREENBERG, JOSEPH (1915–2001), U.S. anthropologist and linguist. Born on 28 May 1915, Joseph Greenberg was a gifted young pianist who had considered becoming a classical performer. He instead entered the academic world, graduating from Columbia University in 1936 and then earning his doctorate from Northwestern University in 1940. During World War II he served in the U.S. Army Signal Corps and Intelligence Corps. After the war he taught at the University of Minnesota, then at Columbia from 1948 to 1962. He was a professor of anthropology at Stanford University from 1962 to 1985; he served as chair of the Anthropology Department from 1971 to 1974, and from 1964 to 1981 also chaired the Committee on African Studies.

Greenberg's linguistic studies, which were concerned with both the structure of language and the similarities between languages, earned him an international reputation. His *Language Universals with Special References to Feature Hierarchies* (1966) established certain universal principles of language structure and attracted significant attention. His notion of the "implicational universal" influenced the work of many scholars in his field. His work on language families, however, sparked controversy. *The Languages of Africa* (1963), in which Greenberg determined that there were four basic groups of African languages, was considered speculative, though its premise was later accepted by many scholars. A similar theory presented in *Language in the Americas* (1987) found many in disagreement. Some critics took issue with Greenberg's data and methodology and dismissed this area of his research, though some contend that later discoveries of genetic similarities support Greenberg's groupings. In his last research, which he pursued until his death in 2001, Greenberg sought to prove links among what he called the "Eurasiatic" languages, claiming that most of the languages of Europe and Asia had commonalities.

Greenberg was a fellow of the National Academy of Sciences, the American Academy of the Arts and Sciences, and the American Philosophical Society. He served as president of the African Studies Association in 1964 and 1965, as president of the West African Linguistic Society from 1955 to 1970, and as president of the Linguistic Society of America in 1976. He was the recipient of many awards, including the Haile Selassie Prize for African Research in 1967 and the Talcott Parsons Prize for Social Science from the Academy of Arts and Sciences in 1977.

[Dorothy Bauhoff (2nd ed.)]

GREENBERG, LEOPOLD (1885–1964), South African judge, born in Calvinia, Cape Province. Raised to the bench at the age of 39, he became judge president of the Transvaal in 1938 and was elevated in 1943 to the Appellate Division of the Supreme Court, the highest judicial body in South Africa. He was acting chief justice in 1953 and served as officer administering the government in the absence of the governor-general. Known for his erudition, humanity, and caustic wit, he was acknowledged to be among South Africa's ablest judges. After his retirement in 1955, he sat on a judicial commission of inquiry into African disturbances in Johannesburg in 1957.

In Jewish life he was associated mainly with Zionist causes; for many years was honorary president of the Keren Hayesod, the Israel United Appeal, and the South African Friends of the Hebrew University. He was the first South African on the board of governors of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, whose institute of forensic medicine, established from funds raised by South African Jewry, was named after him.

[Lewis Sowden]

GREENBERG, LEOPOLD JACOB (1861–1931), editor of the *Jewish Chronicle* and one of the first Zionists in Britain. Born in Birmingham, Greenberg was at first active in the non-Jewish press as a publisher and owner of a news agency. He became involved in Jewish affairs and began to attract notice as one of *Herzl's first adherents in Britain. He promoted Herzl's ideas before the general and Jewish public, and it was he who arranged for Herzl to appear before the Royal Commission on Alien Immigration in London in 1902 (through his close ties with Joseph *Chamberlain, secretary for the colonies, who also came from Birmingham). Herzl entrusted him with various political missions in England, such as those connected with the *El-Arish project and the *Uganda Scheme, and eventually Greenberg served as Herzl's official representative vis-à-vis the British government. Although he had supported the Uganda project, Greenberg did not join the *Territorialists. He became a leader of the British Zionist Federation and held various offices in the organization.

In 1907 he and his friends acquired the *Jewish Chronicle* in order to make it a Zionist organ and he was appointed editor in chief. He was a staunch fighter for Jewish rights and a particularly severe critic of the Czarist regime's attitude toward the Jews. Upon his appointment as editor, he gave up his official activities in the Zionist movement. Throughout the years, however, he persisted in his efforts to gain the support of various British circles for Zionism. After World War I, he opposed the official policy of the Zionist Organization, but his was a "loyal opposition." He was among the founders of *The Jewish Year Book* (1896–); *Young Israel*, a periodical for youth (1897); and other publications. Herzl described him as "the most able of all my helpers." In accordance with his last will, his ashes were taken to Deganyah and interred there (1932).

His son, IVAN MARION (1896–1966), joined the editorial board of the *Jewish Chronicle* in 1925 and served as its editor in chief from 1936 to 1946. During this period, he attacked the British government for its anti-Zionist policy in Palestine. He translated M. *Begin's book *Revolt* into English (1951). He was a leader of the *Revisionist Party in Britain.

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[Getzel Kressel]

GREENBERG, LOUIS (1894–1946), U.S. Conservative rabbi and scholar. Born in Russia, Greenberg immigrated to New York in 1913 and taught Hebrew and Bible while pursuing an American education. He graduated from the City College of New York in 1924 and was ordained by the Jewish Theological Seminary two years later. He then took a pulpit position at Temple Beth El in New Rochelle (1926–28) and moved to New Haven, where he became rabbi of B'nai Jacob Congregation. The congregation was already moving to the liberal wing of Conservative Judaism, with mixed seating, and late Friday evening services as well as a mixed choir. Greenberg introduced an organ. He developed the schools and the physical facilities of the congregation. While in New Haven, Greenberg pursued his Ph.D. at Yale University and wrote a major work on *The Jews in Russia: The Struggle for Emancipation*, two volumes being published in 1944 and 1951.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Bnai Jacob: One Hundred Years 1882–1982*; N. Zilberberg, *The George Street Synagogue of B'nai Jacob* (1961); *American Jewish Year Book*, vol. 48 (1946–47).

[Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

GREENBERG, MAURICE R. (1925–), U.S. insurance executive. Born in New York City, Greenberg was six when he moved to a dairy farm after his father's death and his mother's remarriage. After fighting in Europe, Greenberg went to college under the G.I. bill, graduating from the University of Miami and then from New York Law School. Recalled to fight in Korea, he came out as a captain at age 27 and won the Bronze Star. He got a job in the New York office of the Continental Casualty Company and became the protégé of Milburn Smith, an important executive at Continental, who brought Greenberg with him when he joined a predecessor of the American International Group in 1960. From 1967 to 1989, Greenberg, known as Hank, after the Jewish baseball star, was president and chief executive officer of AIG, which became the world's leading global insurance and financial services organization, operating in 130 countries. In 1989 be became chairman and chief executive officer. In 10 years under Greenberg, operating profits grew at a compound rate of 25 percent a year. A key to Greenberg's immense success was his concentration on giant commercial deals rather than cyclical car and home insurance business. During his tenure, he increased AIG's share of the life insurance business and supplied coverage on unusual risks: kidnap insurance and protection from suits against officers and directors of corporations. Known for his aggressiveness, Greenberg rarely lost money on underwriting, knowing which risks can be insured at a profit, how much to charge, and spreading the risk among others called reinsurers. AIG used brokers primarily as go-betweens, merely bringing business to the company, where AIG technicians examined the risk factors more closely. The reinsurers paid AIG a commission for the business they got, thus helping pay the cost of underwriting the whole risk.

Greenberg, whose company was founded in Shanghai but has had headquarters in New York since 1939, courted the Chinese market and won a major contract with the People's Insurance Company of China in 1980. He was active in a number of trade and cultural organizations, including the Asia Society, the U.S.-Philippine Business Committee, the U.S.-Korea Business Council and the Council of Foreign Relations. He served on the board of directors of the New York Stock Exchange and was a past chairman of the Federal Reserve Bank of New York. In New York City, he served on several hospital boards and museum boards.

Greenberg and his wife had four children, two of whom, Evan (1955–) and Jeffrey (1952–), became leaders of important insurance companies after they left AIG. Jeffrey joined the Marsh & McLennan Companies, an industry giant, as a partner in its investment unit. In November 1999 Jeffrey became chief executive of Marsh & McLennan and he added the title of chairman in 2002. In October 2004, New York's attorney general, Eliot *Spitzer, filed a civil suit against the brokerage, charging that Marsh & McLennan was rigging bids and fixing prices in the sale of property and casualty insurance to businesses. Jeffrey submitted his resignation as part of an agreement negotiated by the company and its directors that would keep Spitzer from bringing criminal charges against the company. At the time it was the largest insurance broker in the world. In 2004, Evan Greenberg became chief executive of Ace Ltd., a Bermuda-based insurer with worldwide reach. Ace did well in the insurance boom that followed the attacks on the World Trade Center. In November 2004 Ace was a subject of the New York attorney general's investigation into bid-rigging and price-fixing.

In March 2005, Maurice Greenberg stepped down as chief executive of AIG after a series of run-ins with regulators raised questions about the company's complex and often obscure operations. His exit appeared intended to avert a head-on collision with two regulators: the Securities and Exchange Commission and the New York attorney general, Spitzer. The departure of Greenberg after almost 40 years at the helm was a final chapter to one of corporate America's great rags-to-riches stories.

[Stewart Kampel (2nd ed.)]

GREENBERG, MOSHE (1928–), biblical scholar. Greenberg was born in Philadelphia, where after studying Bible and Assyriology with E.A. *Speiser, he obtained his Ph.D. in Oriental Studies from the University of Pennsylvania in 1954. The dissertation was published as *The Hab/piru* (1955). He received his rabbinical training at the Jewish Theological Seminary of America from which he also has a master's degree in Hebrew Literature.

He held various academic appointments at the University of Pennsylvania from 1954 to 1970, from assistant professor of Hebrew and Semitic languages and literature.

He became professor of Bible at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem in 1970. From 1971 to 1981 he served as academic advisor for Bible curriculum at the Israel Ministry of Education and Culture where he endeavored to place the study of Bible in the school system into a Jewish context.

Greenberg's grammar of Biblical Hebrew is widely used. In *The Religion of Israel* (1971) he made the work of Bible scholar Yehezkel *Kaufmann accessible to the international community in his one-volume abridgment and English translation of Kaufmann's monumental work. His holistic approach to biblical books, already seen in his commentary on Exodus (*Understanding Exodus*, 1969), was a harbinger of the "Bible as Literature" movement of the late 20th century. The same approach is evident in his commentaries on Ezekiel (Anchor Bible, *Ezekiel 1–20*; (1983), *Ezekiel 21–37* (1997)). A particular contribution of Greenberg's is to employ midrash in the service of plain-sense exegesis. He has sought to understand the value system underlying biblical literature and its relationship both to the Ancient Near East and Jewish thought.

Greenberg served as the divisional editor (law and society in the Bible) for the *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, 1968–71, and was a member of the Bible translation committee for the Jewish Publication Society of America (1966–82).

Greenberg was always committed to disseminating the results of professional scholarship to non-specialists. From

1982 he was a member of the academic council of the Open University of Israel and from 1985 served as editor for the critical but readable multi-volume Hebrew commentary series entitled *Mikra le-Yisrael* ("Bible for Israel").The range of Greenberg's interest may be seen in the essays collected in M. Greenberg, *Studies in the Bible and Jewish Thought* (1995).

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[Elaine Hoter / S. David Sperling (2nd ed.)]

GREENBERG, NOAH (1919–1966), U.S. conductor and musicologist. Born in New York, Greenberg organized the Pro Musica Antiqua group (1952) which became known for its performances of medieval liturgical music drama and was in effect the first U.S. "Collegium Musicum" ensemble to achieve an international reputation. He took the group to Europe in 1960 and 1963, and recorded many of its performances, including the first recording of a selection of the sacred and secular works of Salamone de' *Rossi in musicologically valid versions. He also made arrangements of vocal works of the Renaissance period. The New York Pro Musica Antiqua continued its activities after his death.

GREENBERG, SAMUEL BERNARD (1893–1917), U.S. poet. Born in Vienna, Greenberg was taken to the U.S. in 1900; after a poverty-stricken life in New York City's ghetto he died from tuberculosis at the age of 24. Self-taught except for a few years in elementary school, he displayed remarkable precocity and power as a poet and was also a gifted artist. Influenced primarily by the American writers Emerson and Thoreau and by the English poets Keats, Shelley, and Browning, Greenberg wrote mystical poetry filled with vivid and strange imagery. His imperfect command of English grammar and vocabulary give his verse an unusual, surrealistic tone characteristic of some of the most sophisticated modernist poetry of the early 20th century. Greenberg might have remained unknown had not Hart Crane, the American poet, discovered his manuscripts in 1923. The poems had a profound effect on Crane and eventually, more than 20 years after Greenberg's death, a first selection (*Poems from the Greenberg Manuscripts*, 1939) was published, which helped to establish his important place in American literary history. A second selection, *Poems by Samuel Greenberg*, was published in 1947.

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[Brom Weber]

GREENBERG, SIDNEY (1917–2002), U.S. Conservative rabbi, writer, and liturgist. Raised in New York, Greenberg was the product of Yeshiva elementary school and of the Talmudical Academy. He graduated cum laude from Yeshiva University in 1938 and then attended the Jewish Theological Seminary, where he was ordained in 1942 and subsequently earned his D.H.L. His first pulpit was also his last. He went to a small storefront synagogue in Philadelphia which was to remain his home for 53 years as Temple Sinai grew into a prominent Conservative congregation. (He served as a U.S. Air Force chaplain from 1944–46.)

Greenberg conducted Sermon Seminars and Pastoral Care Workshops at national and regional rabbinic conferences for four decades, and published numerous books based on his own sermons and on his widely read newspaper columns in the Jewish and general press. He also compiled several popular anthologies drawn from Jewish and world literature, and wrote inspirational volumes for both Jewish and general audiences.

During the 1960s he collaborated with Rabbi Morris Silverman, editor of the Prayer Book Press, whose edition of the *siddur* and the *maḥzor* dominated Conservative Judaism for several decades, in compiling instructional and worship texts for children. When the Prayer Book Press became part of Media Judaica in 1971, Greenberg was invited to serve as co-editor (with Rabbi Jonathan D. Levine) of a new series of innovative liturgical works. The series began with *Likrat Shabbat* – the *Kabbalat Shabbat* service when Friday evening was still the most widely attended service in a Conservative Congregation, and eventually included *Mahzor Hadash* for the High Holidays, *Siddur Hadash* for Sabbaths and Festivals, and *A Minyan of Comfort.* The series combined Hebrew liturgy with new gender-sensitive translations, inspirational notes and meditations, new reading elaborating on the themes of the traditional liturgy, alternative texts, passages from classical and contemporary Jewish sources, and extensive transliteration. During the last quarter of the 20th century and the early 21st century as successive volumes in the series were issued (and achieved record levels of distribution for independently published Jewish liturgy), the content and form of Greenberg's work increasingly influenced the publications of others, issued under a variety of auspices and in various sectors of North American Jewry.

[Jonathan D. Levine (2nd ed.)]

GREENBERG, SIMON (1901–1993), U.S. rabbi and educator. Greenberg, who was born in Russia, moved with his parents to the U.S. in 1905. He attended the Teacher's Institute of the Jewish Theological Seminary (1919) and earned his B.A. at City College of New York (1922). He was ordained by the Jewish Theological Seminary in 1925. From 1925 to 1946 Greenberg was rabbi of Har Zion Temple, Philadelphia, Pa., building it into one of the leading synagogues of the Conservative movement, a legacy that has endured. It was a point of pride at Har Zion that the lay leaders were knowledgeable and could lead services. He was also a leader in the Philadelphia community, a founder and director of the Philadelphia Psychiatric Hospital, president of the Philadelphia Zionist Organization of America, and a founder of the Akiva Day School, a Hebrew-speaking Jewish high school. He was president of the Rabbinical Assembly of America (1937–39), where he linked the three branches of the Conservative movement – the congregations, the Seminary, and the Rabbinical Assembly in joint fundraising efforts, which led to the Joint Campaign for Conservative Judaism.

All the while he taught at the Jewish Theological Seminary (1932–68). He then returned to the Seminary to serve as provost (1946–51), executive director of the United Synagogue (1950–53). He was appointed professor of homiletics and education in 1948 and vice chancellor in 1957, and was sent on behalf of the Seminary to establish the West Coast campus of the Jewish Theological Seminary, the University of Judaism in Los Angeles where he was president (1955–63), chancellor, and then chancellor emeritus. One of Conservative Judaism's most articulate spokesmen, Greenberg stressed the centrality of the Jewish people, the importance of Zionism and Hebrew, the religious character of American civilization, and the importance of Hebrew in Jewish education. He was also one of the movement's most important educators, working to shape its thought and educational goals. Greenberg was a member of the Jewish Agency Executive, president of the Rabbinical Assembly of America, and a leader of the World Council on Jewish Education. Greenberg's numerous writings include *Living as a Jew Today* (1940), *Ideals and Values of the Prayer Book* (1940), *The First Year in the Hebrew School: A Teacher's Guide* (1946), *Foundations of a Faith* (1967), *Words of Poetry* (1970), and a series of brochures on the Conservative movement in Judaism. He also compiled the Harishon series of Hebrew textbooks. In his eighties he made *aliyah* and served as the first executive director of the Conservative (Masorati) movement in Israel.

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[Jack Reimer / Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

GREENBERG, URI ẒEVI (pseudonym **Tur Malka**; 1894–1981), Hebrew poet. He was born in Bialykamien, eastern Galicia, and was descended from ḥasidic leaders (Meir Przemyslany on his father's side and the *Saraf*, Uri Strelisk, on his mother's). In his infancy his parents moved to Lvov where Greenberg received a traditional ḥasidic upbringing and education. His earliest poems, both in Hebrew and Yiddish, were published in 1912 in leading periodicals of the day. In 1915 he was drafted into the Austrian army and, after serving on the Serbian front, he deserted in 1917, returning to Lvov where he witnessed the Polish pogroms against the Jews in 1918 – an event which made an indelible impression on him. After the war he published poems in both Yiddish and Hebrew and soon became a leader of a group of Yiddish expressionist poets (including Perez̤ *Markish) and the editor of a short-lived avant-garde periodical, *Albatros* (1922–23). He spent a year in Berlin (1923) and then immigrated to Ereẓ Israel (1924).

In Ereẓ Israel, Greenberg stopped writing in Yiddish and published in Hebrew exclusively. When *Davar*, the Labor daily, was founded in 1925, he participated as one of its regular columnists. His columns were headed *Mi-Megillat ha-Yamim ha-Hem* and *Shomer Mah mi-Leyl* and expressed strong views against Zionist sloganeering and calling for self-realization through pioneering. Between 1925 and 1927 he edited the booklets *Sadan* and *Sadna Dar'ah* in which he contended that Hebrew artists must abandon "the fixed confines of art, join the Jewish collective, and wrestle with and think out the complex of problems of Jewish national life." Although during this period he was committed to the Labor Zionist movement, he already began to express extreme ultranationalistic ideas which contradicted the official line. In the wake of the Arab riots of 1929, he broke with the Labor movement, joined the ranks of the nationalist Zionist Revisionist Party, and denounced both the British government and the Zionist leadership of the *yishuv* for betraying the Zionist dream. He became active in political life and was elected as a Revisionist delegate to the *Asefat ha-Nivḥarim* (the legislative body of the *yishuv*) and to several Zionist Congresses. Between 1931 and 1934 he lived in Warsaw where he was sent by the Revisionist movement to edit its Yiddish weekly *Di Velt*. Returning to Ereẓ Israel in 1936, in his poetry and articles he attacked the moderate socialist Zionist leadership and warned of the imminent danger to European Jewry. During the final struggle against Great Britain for national independence, he identified with the *Irgun Ẓeva'i Le'ummi and following the establishment of the State of Israel was elected to Israel's Knesset as a member for the Ḥerut Party, serving from 1949 to 1951. He was awarded the Israel Prize for Hebrew literature in 1957. His 80th birthday was marked by a series of celebrations, most of which were held in 1976. He was awarded a doctorate *honoris causa* by Tel Aviv University in April 1976 and by Bar-Ilan University in June 1977. He was made a freeman of the cities of Tel Aviv and Ramat Gan, and a special session of the Knesset was held in his honor on November 1, 1977. In December he was awarded the Bialik Prize for the third time.

In contrast to most Hebrew writers who were committed to a secularist-humanist Zionism, Greenberg asserts a religious mystical view of Zionism as the fulfillment of the Jewish historical destiny. The Jew is, in his view, wholly other than the non-Jew, having been elected by God at the beginning of time as a holy instrument of His will. The covenant made with the Jewish Patriarch, Abraham, and renewed at Sinai, is a meta-historical event which cannot be altered by time nor ignored by Jew or gentile. The Jew exists outside of history in an eternal dimension in which mere rationality has no validity. "What shall be in the future, has already occurred in the past and what was not, shall never be. Therefore I put my trust in the future, for I hold the shape of the past before me: this is the vision and the melody. Selah, Hallelujah, and Amen" (*Reḥovot ha-Nahar*, 1951, p. 37). In Greenberg's scheme the future shall bring about the fulfillment of God's promise to establish Jewish sovereignty and the Messianic redemption. Any attempt by the Jew to shirk his cosmic role, either by default or by an attempt to imitate the value system of the unelected (Europe, the gentiles), leads him to disaster. The secular nationalism or socialism of most contemporary Jews is a superficial reading of the meaning of the Jewish destiny and can only lead to a holocaust. The call for the renewal of Jewish sovereignty is an imperative of the eternal mythos of

Judaism. It is neither a sociological nor historical solution of practical human needs, but an absolute value which may exact any price which its realization requires. Halfhearted attempts at Zionist fulfillment are doomed to failure whether they are inhibited by moral niceties, which are derived from alien value systems, or are diffused by human selfishness.

In his Yiddish phase, *In Malkhus fun Tselem* ("In the Kingdom of the Cross," 1922) Greenberg already foresaw the European Holocaust. His poetry from then on is obsessed with this vision of horror (*Migdal ha-Geviyyot*, "The Tower of Corpses," in *Sefer ha-Kitrug ve-ha-Emunah*, 1936). Greenberg in *Reḥovot ha-Nahar* wrote one of the most moving dirges composed about the Nazi Holocaust. The tragedy, in his view, is the logical culmination of the 2,000-year confrontation between the cross and the star of David and the six million dead are an insuperable barrier which shall eternally separate Christian from Jew. For Greenberg the Holocaust puts into question not only God's theodicy but appears as a horrible practical joke which God and history have played on the Jew: "You promised to come one day to gather and lead them proudly to Zion and to renew their kingdom, raise their king. But, behold you did not come, O God; the enemy came and gathered them all, an ingathering of exiles for annihilation. Now there is no need for redemption. Sit, sit, God, in your heavens" (*Reḥovot ha-Nahar*, p. 249). God, the Redeemer of Israel, has become "the keeper of the Jewish cemetery" (p. 250).

Greenberg's God however moves outside the rational dimension and in a sudden leap of faith the poet reasserts the vision of redemption: "Will the Messiah yet come? Amen, he shall surely come." Divine history, of which Jewish history is a part, is based on an irrational paradox. Thus, out of the ashes of the crematoria, redemption will come, and out of despair faith. The Holocaust and the vision of Jewish sovereignty are two sides of the same coin of history. Greenberg's personal poetry often sings of his agony as the suffering prophet-priest of the mythos of Jewish catastrophe and redemption. In the years preceding the Holocaust, he laments the tragic fact that the multitude did not heed his terrible message of the imminent massacres, reviling him as they had always spurned their prophets in the past. He is filled with revulsion at their obstinacy and their blind concern for material trivialities in the face of disaster: "God how did I ever get here, inside the swamps – a man of vision befouled by their mud?"

He associates his national poetry with his personal history which also turns into mythos. The Jewish home in Poland, its Eden-like security of faith, his mother and father, assume archetypal dimensions. His love poetry, too, is inhabited by these primordial symbols: mother and father, Adam and Eve, Eden, primeval forests, the sea, the moon, lakes, rivers; they form a mythical landscape not very different from that of much of his national verse.

In an age when poets were concerned with formal and aesthetic problems, Greenberg's poetry is one of engagement, his poetic energy is fired by his all-consuming ideological commitment. Often in his poetry the poetic line surrenders to the overwhelming force of his rhetoric with which he pounds his readers mercilessly. At other times his verse is terse and brilliantly lyrical. While philosophically he rejects European aesthetics and the European poetic tradition, in practice he sometimes uses its devices and forms. More frequently his formal resources are indigenously Jewish: the Bible, medieval dirges, and concepts and statements drawn from kabbalistic literature. His early commitment to expressionism is retained throughout and is evidenced by his rhetorical flourishes, changing rhythms within the poem and sometimes even in one single line, wild metaphors, free verse, and his frequently irregular rhyme patterns.

His anti-humanist approach and ultranationalism, although mitigated by a commitment to Jewish ethical values, are not representative of contemporary Jewish thought. But Hebrew literary criticism has recognized the poetic genius of Greenberg though it rarely shares his ideology. Not that Greenberg's views lack a genuine Jewish basis; they are often deeply rooted in the Jewish subconscious and when expressed expose the raw nerve of the Jewish historical experience. But Greenberg's ideology reflects only one aspect of the Jewish soul – the particularistic, aristocratic sense of election – and often ignores its universalistic humanist character.

U.Z. Greenberg's main works include:

In Yiddish: *Ergetz oyf Felder* (1915), *In Zaytens Roysh* (1919), *Krig oyf der Erd* (1921), *Farnakhtengold* (1921), *Mefisto* (1921, 1922^2).

In Hebrew: *Eimah Gedolah ve-Yare'aḥ* (1925), *Ha-Gavrut ha-Olah* (1926), *Ḥazon Aḥad ha-Ligyonot* (1928), *Anacreon al Kotev ha-Iẓẓavon* (1928), *Kelappei Tishim ve-Tishah* (1928), *Kelev Bayit* (1919), *Ezor Magen u-Ne'um Ben ha-Dam* (1930), *Sefer ha-Kitrug ve-ha-Emunah* (1937), *Min ha-Ḥakhlil ve-El ha-Kaḥol* (in *Lu'aḥ Haaretz*, 1949), *Al Da'at ha-Nes ha-Nikhsaf* (1951), *Mi-Tokh Sefer he-Agol* (in *Lu'aḥ Haaretz*, 1950), *Menofim Reḥokei Mahut* (*ibid.*, 1951, 1952), *Reḥovot ha-Nahar – Sefer ha-Ilyot ve-ha-Ko'aḥ* (1951), *Massa ve-Nevel* (in *Lu'aḥ Haaretz*, 1953), *Shirei Aspaklar be-Hai Alma* (*ibid.*, 1955), *Massekhet ha-Matkonet ve-ha-Demut* (in *Moznayim*, 1954), *Be-Fisat ha-Arig u-ve-Ḥelkat ha-Ḥevel* (*ibid.*, 1965). Seventeen volumes of the Collected Works of U.Z. Greenberg (*Kol Kitvei*) were published up to 2004. A bibliography of his works is available in J. Arnon, *U.Z. Greenberg: Bibliografyah shel Mifalo ha-Sifruti u-Mah she-Nikhtav Alav*, 1980.

Poems by Greenberg have been translated into various languages. English translations are included, for instance, in T. Carmi (ed.) *The Penguin Book of Hebrew Verse* (1981) and in *The Modern Hebrew Poem Itself* (2003). For English translations, see Goell, Bibliography, 776–825, and ITHL at www.ithl.org.il.

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u-Demut (1963), 124–41; S.Y. Penueli, *Demuyyot be-Sifrutenu ha-Ḥadashah* (1946), 124–30; idem, *Sifrut ki-Feshutah* (1963), 206–21; D.A. Friedman, *Iyyunei Shirah* (1964), 294–8; M. Ribalow, *Sefer ha-Massot* (1928), 146–59; Y. Rabinowitz, *Be-Ḥavlei Doram* (1959), 21–67; G. Katzenelson, *ibid.*, 21 (1966), 307–14; J. Friedlaender, *Iyyunim be-Shirat Uri Ẓevi Greenberg* (1966) (incl. bibl.); J.D. Abramsky, in: *Yad la-Kore*, 7 (1963–69), 79–86 (bibl.); Waxman, Literature, 4 (1960) 324–27. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** Y. Friedlander, *U.Z. Greenberg: Mivḥar Ma'amrei Bikkoret al Yeẓirato* (1975); B. Harshav, *Ritmus ha-Raḥavut*: *Halakhah u-Ma'aseh be-Shirato shel U.Z. Greenberg* (1978); L. Yudkin, "Art in the Service of the People: On the Poetry of U.Z.Greenberg," in: *Jewish Affairs,* 36/8 (1981), 31–33; D. Landau, *U.Z. Greenberg: Shirei ha-Gavhut be-Ma'amake ha-Zeman* (1984); S. Lindenbaum, *Shirat U.Z. Greenberg ha-Ivrit ve-ha-Yidit* (1984); Y. Shavit, *U.Z. Greenberg:* "Conservative Revolutionarism and National Messianism," in: *Jerusalem Quarterly,* 48 (1988), 63–72; D. Miron, "U.Z. Greenberg´s War Poetry," in: *The Jews of Poland between Two World Wars* (1989), 368–82; Z. Ben Porat, "Forms of Intertextuality and the Reading of Poetry: U.Z. Greenberg's *'Ba-Sha'ar,'*" in: *Prooftexts,* 10/2 (1990), 257–81; J. Arnon: *U.Z. Greenberg: Taḥanot be-Ḥayyav* (1991); Y.C. Biletzky, *U.Z. Greenberg der Yidish Dikhter* (1992); G. Kazenlson, *Golef ha-Kelim shel ha-Kosef: Masot al Shirat U.Z. Greenberg* (1993); A. Lipsker, "The Albatrosses of Young Yiddish Poetry," in: *Prooftexts,* 15/1 (1995), 89–108; H. Goldblatt, "From Back Street to Boulevard: Directions and Departures in the Scholarship of U.Z. Greenberg," in: *Prooftexts,* 16/2 (1996), 188–203; J. Winther, "U.Z. Greenberg – The Politics of the Avantgarde," in: *Nordisk Judaistik* 17/1–2 (1996), 24–60; S. Lindenbaum, "Between the Pole of Existence and the Pole of History: The Poetry of U.Z. Greenberg," in: *Jewish Affairs,* 52/3 (1997), 107–14; S. Wolitz, "U.Z. Greenberg´s Ideological Conflict with Yiddish Culture," in: *Jewish Affairs,* 52/3 (1997), 99–106; D. Weinfeld, *U.Z. Greenberg* (1998); H. Weiss (ed.), *Ha-Matkonet ve-ha-Demut* (2000); A. Matalon, "Difference at War: S. Sassoon, I. Rosenberg, U.Z. Greenberg and the Poetry of the First World War," in: *Shofar,* 21/1 (2002), 25–43; D. Miron: *Akdamot le-U.Z.G.* (2002); R. Shoham, *Poetry and Prophecy: The Image of the Poet as a "Prophet," a Hero and an Artist in Modern Hebrew Poetry* (2003); A. Negev, *Close Encounters with Twenty Israeli Writers* (2003); Y. Eldad, *Dem'a ve-Nogah, Dam ve-Zahav: Iyyunim be-Shirat U.Z. Greenberg* (2003); H. Hever, *Moledet ha-Mavet Yafah: Estetikah u-Politikah be-Shirat U.Z. Greenberg* (2004).

[Ezra Spicehandler]

GREENBLATT, ALIZA WAITZMAN (1885–1975), U.S. Yiddish poet and Zionist leader. Born in Azarenits, Bessarabia, Greenblatt received a traditional *ḥeder* education. She came to the United States in 1900 and settled with her family in Philadelphia, where she was a garment worker. She married Isidor Greenblatt in 1907; the couple had five children. An active participant in Jewish organizations, Greenblatt became a successful fundraiser for the *Jewish National Fund, national president of *Pioneer Women, and an active member of *Hadassah. After a brief sojourn in Palestine in 1920, where Isidor attempted to establish a business, the Greenblatts settled in New York City, the center of Yiddish culture in the United States.

In her later years, Greenblatt collected five volumes of her poems which were widely published in the Yiddish press in the United States and Israel. These included *Ikh un Du* ("You and I," 1951); *Ikh Zing* ("I Sing," 1947); *In Sigate baym Yam* ("In Seagate by the Ocean," 1957); *Lebn Mayns* ("My Life," 1935); and *Tsen Lider mit Musik* ("Ten Poems with Music," 1939). Many of the poems were set to music and recorded. Greenblatt also wrote an autobiography, *Baym Fenster fun a Lebn* ("At the Window of a Life," 1966). She was a popular speaker at Jewish women's organizations across North America.

Greenblatt's collection of Yiddish books was donated by her daughter, dancer and medical activist Marjorie Mazia Guthrie, to the National Yiddish Book Center in Amherst, Mass., where the reading room was named in Greenblatt's memory.

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[Judith R. Baskin (2nd ed.)]

GREENBLATT, ELIYAHU (1933–), *ḥazzan.* Born in Jerusalem, Greenblatt studied music at the Jerusalem Conservatory and trained as a *ḥazzan* under Shelomo Zalman *Rivlin. He conducted the Shirat Israel choir in Jerusalem and sang with the choir of Leib Glanz in Tel Aviv. He was *ḥazzan* of Tel Aviv's Bet El and Tiferet Ẓvi synagogues and of the Sydenham synagogue in Johannesburg. He is the possessor of a dramatic tenor voice and has performed on stage and synagogue worldwide. As a composer, he set many sections of the prayer services to music and arranged and re-edited compositions and recitatives of the *ḥazzanim* of earlier generations. This includes the compositions of Yehuda Srebnick, and his own working knowledge of the accentuation in Yossele *Rosenblatt's Hebrew singing has enabled him to revive a number of Rosenblatt's unpublished and unrecorded recitatives left in manuscript form at the time of Rosenblatt's untimely death. A cassette of Greenblatt's original compositions, among the last orchestrations done by Chanan Winternitz, is available on cassette (Musique Internationale).

[Akiva Zimmerman / Raymond Goldstein (2nd ed.)

GREENE, HAROLD H. (1923–2000), U.S. federal judge. Greene was born in Frankfurt, Germany. In 1939 the family fled, making their way to Belgium, Vichy France, Spain, and Portugal before arriving in New York in 1943. Greene already spoke fluent English; he entered the army and was sent back to Europe, where he was assigned to interrogate German prisoners. At the end of the war, Greene joined his parents in Washington, D.C., where he studied law and spent the rest of his life as a lawyer and judge. He was an active member of Congregation Beth El in Bethesda.

He earned his B.A. at George Washington University and after he graduated from GWU School of Law in 1952, he clerked for Circuit Judge Bennett Champ Clark in the U.S. Court of Appeals for the D.C. Circuit. His work as a lawyer was in the government: in the U.S. Attorney's office (1953–57) and then in the Justice Department, serving as the first head of the appeals and research section of the Civil Rights Division (1957–65). Greene is credited with being the principal legal architect of the two most significant statutes of 20th-century America, the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965.

Greene's career as a trial judge in the nation's capital was equally distinguished. In 1965 President Lyndon B. Johnson nominated Greene to the D.C. Court of General Sessions, which dealt with essentially minor offenses and lesser civil matters. In 1966, Greene was named chief judge.

In 1968, after the assassination of the Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., major rioting broke out in Washington. Hundreds of people were swept up and detained. In other cities, defendants were arraigned en masse. Greene refused to countenance that: to secure due process for each one who was arrested, he kept the judges of his court at work round-the-clock. Greene's administrative skills included not just efficiency, but also compassion for those accused.

In 1978 President Jimmy Carter nominated Judge Greene to serve on the U.S. District Court for the District of Columbia, where one of the first group of cases assigned to him was one of the most far-reaching cases in American history: the antitrust suit that broke up American Telephone & Telegraph Co. The Department of Justice view was that AT&T used profits from its monopoly on local telephone service to suppress competition in the emerging long-distance and telephone equipment industries. Greene took firm command of the litigation that broke the world's largest corporation into pieces. He thereby helped to reshape the entire telecommunications industry by creating the "Baby Bells" and ushering in a new world of competition.

In 1990 Judge Greene also presided over the criminal trial of Admiral John M. Poindexter, who was sentenced to six months in prison for his role in the "Iran-Contra" scandal. In 1991 the Court of Appeal for the D.C. Circuit reversed the convictions.

Greene became one of the best-known federal judges of his time and enhanced his reputation for fairness and hard work. A champion of equal dignity for citizens of all races and both genders, Greene was renowned for his commitment to due process and the independence of the judiciary. He stopped hearing cases in 1998, and died in 2000.

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[Edward McGlynn Gaffney, Jr. (2nd ed.)]

GREENE, LORNE (1915–1987), actor. Born in Ottawa, Canada, Greene attended Queen's University in Kingston, Ontario. After he graduated, he began to work in radio broadcasting, rising to prominence as an accomplished newscaster. As chief radio announcer on the CBC during World War II (1939–42), he was known as the "Voice of Doom" because of his deep, resonant voice and the grim news it conveyed. In the late 1940s Greene formed the Academy of Radio Arts and the Jupiter Theatre in Toronto. For more than a dozen years, his school was a haven for Canadian actors.

In 1953 he left his native land and headed for Hollywood. Although he was best known for his long-standing starring role as the venerable Ben Cartwright on the popular TV western series *Bonanza* (1959–73), Greene performed on Broadway, on radio, in films, and on many other TV shows as well. In addition to his work in the U.S., he returned to Canada to participate in various projects.

On Broadway, Greene appeared in *The Prescott Proposals* (1954); *Speaking of Murder* (1957); and *Edwin Booth* (1958). His film roles include *The Silver Chalice* (1954); *Tight Spot* (1955); *Autumn Leaves* (1956); *Peyton Place* (1957); *The Hard Man* (1957); *The Last of the Fast Guns* (1958); *The Gift of Love* (1958); *The Buccaneer* (1958); and *Earthquake* (1974).

Greene's television credits include the title role in *Othello* (1953); the TV series *Sailor of Fortune* (1955); host of the series *To the Wild Country* (1972–75); the lead role in the series *Griff* (1973–74); host of *Lorne Greene's Last of the Wild* (1974); the lead roles in the series *Battlestar Galactica* (1978 and 1980) and *Code Red* (1981–82); and host of *Lorne Greene's New Wilderness* (1981–86). Greene's final film appearance was in the TV movie *The Alamo: Thirteen Days to Glory* (1987).

In 1980 he published *The Lorne Greene Book of Remarkable Animals.*

[Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

GREENE, SHECKY (1926–), U.S. comedian-actor. Greene is known as the top of Las Vegas' tuxedo-wearing, rim-shot comedians, often compared to Don *Rickles and Buddy *Hackett. Born Fred Sheldon Greenfield in Chicago, Ill., Greene served in the Navy and was discharged in 1944. He enrolled in Wright Junior College and planned to become a gym teacher. Over the summer he took a job as social director at a resort near Milwaukee called Oakton Manor. With no budget for performers, Greene began developing a stand-up act to entertain guests. When he returned to college, he continued his act in Chicago nightclubs. By the late 1940s, he was working at a club in New Orleans and then opened for Martha Raye in Miami Beach, making $500 a week. In 1953, after signing to play Chez Paree in Chicago as Ann Sothern's opening act, Greene took an offer from the Golden Hotel in Reno, Nevada. Before long he was playing Las Vegas and his career as a stand-up comedian grew with the city. His comic style was as wild as the city he played in, using ad-libbing, barbs, impressions, and song parodies. His drinking and violent outbursts on the casino floor were tolerated, even encouraged, and became the stuff of legend. Greene played wisecracking Pvt. Braddock in the television series *Combat!* (1962–63) and appeared on such television shows as *Laverne and Shirley, The A-Team,* and *Northern Exposure*. His film roles include *History of the World: Part I* and *Splash*. He stopped drinking in the 1990s and his stand-up career was only slowed by throat surgery, cancer surgery, and a hip transplant.

[Adam Wills (2nd ed.)]

GREENEBAUM, Chicago family in second half of the 19th–20th centuries, originating in Eppelsheim, Germany; among the early Jewish settlers in Chicago. The brothers Michael and Jacob Greenebaum went to Chicago in 1846; the first of the family to arrive. Two other brothers, Elias and Henry, arrived in 1848. A few members of the family joined the California gold rush in 1849. However, the majority remained in Chicago and became involved in Jewish and civic affairs there.

Elias Greenebaum (1822–1919) worked for two years in a dry goods store after coming to Chicago and then became a clerk in the banking house of Richard K. Swift. In 1855 he and Henry founded the Greenebaum Brothers Banking House. In 1877 Elias organized the banking house under the firm name of Greenebaum Sons, which subsequently was incorporated as a state bank in 1911 under the name Greenebaum Sons Bank & Trust Company. The name was changed to Greenebaum Sons Investment Co. in 1921. Through consolidation with other companies it became successively the Bank of America, Central Trust Co. of Illinois, and Central-Republic Bank & Trust Co. Greenebaum and Associates and the Greenebaum Mortgage Co. still existed in 1970. Elias Greenebaum led the adherents of the Reform group when Chicago's only (at the time) congregation Kehilath Anshe Maarav split into Orthodox and Reform factions. He was a founder of the Juedischer Reformverein (1858), which founded Congregation Sinai, the first Reform congregation in Chicago (1861). He was director, treasurer, and vice president of this congregation at various times.

Michael Greenebaum (1824–94) became a tinner and plumber after his arrival in Chicago. Active in the Abolitionist movement, he led a crowd that freed a slave held prisoner by a U.S. marshall (1853). He founded and was the first president of the Hebrew Benevolent Society (1854), and a founder of the Chicago Public Library, the Chicago Historical Society, the Astronomical Society, the 82nd Illinois Volunteer Regiment of Veterans, and the Ramah Lodge of B'nai B'rith. Later, he was the first president of the District Grand Lodge 6 of B'nai B'rith. He also founded and served as first president of the Zion Literary Society (1877).

Henry Greenebaum (1833–1914) was a hardware salesman, and then a clerk in Richard K. Swift's banking house before founding the Greenebaum Brothers Banking House with Elias. He later became president of the German Savings Bank. Henry served as secretary and honorary member of Orthodox Congregation B'nai Sholom, was a founder and first president of the United Hebrew Relief Association in 1859, a founder of Congregation Sinai, first president of Congregation Zion (Reform), and later first president of Isaiah Congregation. He was the first Jew to serve on the City Council, as alderman from the Sixth Ward (1856), was a presidential elector on the Douglas ticket (1860), represented Cook County on the first Equalization Board (1856), and was a member of the West Chicago Park Commission. He was also a patron of the arts, the first president of the Beethoven Society (1876), and the first president of the Orpheus Maennerchor.

Henry Everett Greenebaum, Elias' elder son, was born in Chicago. A partner in the family banking business, he became treasurer of the first Chicago Home for Aged Jews, in 1893. Moses Ernst Greenebaum, Elias' second son, was also a partner in the family banking business. He was chairman of the Chicago Community branch of the Jewish Welfare Board, vice president of Michael Reese Hospital, treasurer of the Jewish Historical Society of Illinois, treasurer of the Citizens Association of Chicago, and president of Sinai Congregation (1906–29). JAMES E. GREENEBAUM (b. 1866) was treasurer of the Chicago Home for Jewish Orphans in 1893. EDGAR N. GREENEBAUM (b. 1890) served on the Chicago Board of Education.

[Morris A. Gutstein]

GREENFIELD, ALBERT MONROE (1887–1967), U.S. financier and civic leader. Greenfield, who was born in Kiev, Ukraine, was taken to the U.S. at the age of five. He worked at several jobs before he entered the real estate field, founding Albert M. Greenfield and Company. By the time he was 30, Greenfield had amassed a multi-million dollar fortune. Upon his retirement in 1956, his company was one of the largest real estate firms in the U.S. Greenfield lost much of his first fortune when his Bankers Trust Company was compelled to close in the early days of the Depression of the 1930s, and subsequently made another. In the 1950s and 1960s he took pride in his designation as "Mr. Philadelphia," because the Greenfield interests controlled so many department stores, hotels, and specialty shops, through his City Stores holding company, and because his participation was solicited for every conceivable philanthropic and civic cause. Greenfield was also extremely active politically and was considered a power in Philadelphia politics. He was a member of the Philadelphia Common Council (1917–20), and was extremely close to William S. Vare, the boss of the Philadelphia Republican machine. Although he seconded Herbert Hoover's nomination in 1928, from 1934 on he was identified with the Democratic Party (while continuing to give financial and other support to occasional Republican candidates). He served as a delegate to all the Democratic national conventions from 1948 through 1964. Greenfield was a member of the influential Jewish delegation which waited upon President Harry S. *Truman the night/morning he granted U.S. recognition to Israel. Greenfield was close to President Lyndon B. *Johnson, because he had been a member of the small group that supported Johnson for president in 1960. Greenfield was never wholly committed to a single Jewish cause or institution; he accepted the usual board memberships and honors, took pride in his early service as a trustee of the Jewish Institute of Religion, and in the decisive role which he played in the merger of three Jewish hospitals in Philadelphia in 1951. At one time, the National Conference of Christians and Jews briefly stimulated his interest, and through its agency he endowed a Center for Human Relations at the University of Pennsylvania.

[Bertram Wallace Korn]

GREENFIELD, JONAS CARL (1926–1995), U.S. Bible scholar, specializing in the languages and culture of the Ancient Near East. Born in New York, he received his early education from both public school and yeshivot. Greenfield showed early interest in Semitic Near Eastern Languages, learning both Arabic and Aramaic in his youth. He received his bachelor's degree from CCNY in English literature in 1949. In that same year he was ordained rabbi at Metivta Torah Vadaath. He entered the graduate school at Yale to study English, where he was required to study an early Indo-European language. Choosing Hittite taught by Albrecht Goetze the great cuneiformist, Greenfield soon realized that his heart was in the study of the ancient Near East. He received his doctorate from Yale University (1956) for his thesis "The Lexical Status of Mishnaic Hebrew," in which he applied his newer skills in Semitics to the texts originally learned in yeshivah.

Starting his teaching career in 1954 as instructor in Semitics at Brandeis University, he became assistant and later associate professor of Semitics at the University of California at Los Angeles (1956–65) and then professor of Semitics at the University of California at Berkeley (1965–71).

In 1971 Greenfield moved to Jerusalem where he became professor of Ancient Semitic languages at the Hebrew University. He also taught during the 1970s and early 1980s at Bar-Ilan University.

His interests within the field of Ancient Semitic languages were diverse. He was a known authority on comparative Semitic philology, Aramaic dialectology and lexicography, Ugaritic language and literature, Northwest Semitic epigraphy, and Canaanite and Aramaic religion, and was also interested in the social history of the period, legal matters, and Iranian studies.

He was a member of the publication supervisory committee for the Dead Sea Scrolls and was engaged in the publication of the papyri from Naḥal Ḥever and Naḥal Ẓe'elim.

From 1967 Greenfield was editor of the *Israel Exploration Journal* and associate editor of the *Bulletin of the American School of Oriental Research.* He was a member of the editorial committee of the Jewish Publication society of America and on the committee for the new JPS translation of the Hagiographia.

His works include *Jews of Elephantine and Arameans of Syene* (with B. Porten, 1974) and *The Bisitun Inscription* (with B. Porten, 1982). Most of his numerous English articles can be found in the two volumes edited by Paul (bibliography), and a full bibliography and biographical sketch in the Festschrift edited by Zevit (bibliography).

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[Elaine Hoter]

GREENGARD, PAUL (1925–), U.S. neuroscientist and Nobel laureate. Greengard was born in New York City, where he received his primary education. After World War II service in the Navy, he graduated in mathematics and physics from Hamilton College (1948) and gained his Ph.D. (1953) from Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, under the guidance of Frank Brink and Sidney Colowick. After postdoctoral studies at the universities of London, Cambridge, and Amsterdam, with Wilhelm Feldberg at the National Institute for Medical Research in Mill Hill, London, and with Sidney Udenfriend at the National Institutes of Health, Bethesda (1953–59), he became director of the Department of Biochemistry in Geigy's Research Laboratories in Ardsley, New York (1959–67). After one year as visiting professor during which he worked with Alfred Gilman and Earl Sutherland, he was appointed professor of pharmacology and psychiatry at Yale University (1968–83). In 1983 he became professor and head of the Laboratory of Molecular and Cellular Neuroscience at the Rockefeller University, New York. Greengard's research interest in neuroscience was inspired by Allen Hodgkin's lecture on nerve conduction at Johns Hopkins, where Greengard was a graduate student. Greengard's work addressed the process whereby signals are transmitted between nerve cells across the synapses which separate them and the role of fast and slow chemical neurotransmitters in neurotransmission. Novel findings were largely built on his entirely vindicated conviction that biochemical and biophysical events in the transmission across the synapses between nerve cells have to be analyzed in tandem. He and his colleagues concentrated on slow transmission by dopamine to analyze biochemical and physiological events on both sides of the synapse during neurotransmission and thereby discovered a key molecule in dopamine signaling called DARPP-32. These and other observations helped to build up a detailed picture of the mediators, structures, and signaling involved in trans-synaptic transmission whereby slow neurotransmitters serve to modulate fast transmission. His work has major implications for diseases involving the dopamine system such as Parkinson's disease, the adverse effects of drug abuse, and the design of therapeutic agents. He received the Nobel Prize in physiology or medicine jointly with Arvid Carlsson and Eric Kandel (1980). He continued to work on neurotransmission and the broader implications of his findings for other systems, diseases, and drug design. His many awards include the National Academy of Sciences Award in the Neurosciences (1991), the Goodman and Gilman Award in Receptor Pharmacology (1992), and the Lieber Prize for Outstanding Achievement in Schizophrenia Research (1996).

[Michael Denman (2nd ed.)]

GREENSPAN, ALAN (1926–), U.S. economist. Born in New York City, Greenspan received a B.S. in economics (summa cum laude) in 1948, an M.A. in economics in 1950, and a Ph.D. in economics in 1977, all from New York University. For many years Greenspan headed an independent economic consulting firm in New York, mainly for major corporations and institutions, including the United States Tresury and the Board of Governors of the Feeral Reserve System. He also served as a senior adviser to the Brookings Institution Panel on Economic Activity. In 1974 he was appointed by President Nixon to succeed Herbert Stein as chairman of the President's Council of Economic Advisers. He was chairman of the National Commission on Social Security Reform from 1981 to 1983. He also served as a member of President Reagan's Economic Policy Advisory Board, a member of *Time* magazine's Board of Economists, and a consultant to the Congressional Budget Office. Greenspan was known for his conservative economic views, which he developed partly under the influence of Ayn Rand.

[Joachim O. Ronall]

Greenspan also served as a corporate director for Aluminum Company of America (Alcoa); Automatic Data Processing, Inc.; Capital Cities/ABC, Inc; General Foods, Inc; J.P. Morgan & Co, Inc; Morgan Guaranty Trust Company of New York; Mobil Corporation; and The Pittston Company.

In 1987 he was nominated to the position of chairman of the Federal Reserve Board. Given the U.S.'s large budget deficit, which prevented the presidential and legislative arms of the administration from effectively utilizing tax and spending policies to influence the economy, this made him the most important economic policy-maker in the government, since he was able to exert a considerable influence over interest rates by controlling the money supply. Declaring his intention to "try to maintain the maximum sustainable long-term economic growth that is possible," he presided over a period of slow but steady economic growth until the summer of 1990, at which time recession hit the American economy. Despite critics' complaints that he first retarded economic expansion by keeping interest rates too high and then moved too slowly to end the recession, he was nominated to a second term by President George Bush in August 1991, and shortly thereafter he was also confirmed to his first full fourteen-year term on the Federal Reserve Board. In 1996 his third four-year term was confirmed. In 2004 he took office for a fifth term.

Greenspan also served as chairman of the Conference of Business Economists; president and fellow of the National Association of Business Economists; and director of the National Economists Club.

He received the Thomas Jefferson Award for the greatest public service performed by an elected or appointed official, presented by the American Institute for Public Service (1976); was elected a fellow of the American Statistical Association (1989); was decorated Legion of Honor (Commander) France (2000); was made honorary Knight Commander of the British Empire (2002); and was the first recipient of the Gerald R. Ford Medal for Distinguished Public Service (2003).

Among Greenspan's publications are *Income Inequality: Issues and Policy Options* (1998), *Changing Capital Markets: Implications for Monetary Policy* (2001), and *Achieving Price Stability* (2001).

[Rohan Saxena and Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

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GREENSPAN, BUD (1926–), preeminent producer, writer and director of sports films, one of the world's leading sports historians, member of the U.S. Olympic Committee Hall of Fame. Born in New York City, Greenspan broke into sports at 16 as a radio announcer, and at 21 was promoted to sports director for station WMGM (WHN) in New York City, then the largest sports station in the country. Greenspan broadcast the pre- and post-game coverage of the Brooklyn Dodgers, and also covered hockey, basketball, track, and tennis events from Madison Square Garden. Greenspan went to the 1952 Olympic Games and made a documentary on weightlifter John Davis, and after selling the film for a huge profit decided there was a future in sports documentaries. In 1964 Greenspan took Jesse Owens to Berlin to shoot a one-hour film called *Jesse Owens Returns to Berlin*. It was an immediate success, playing in over 120 countries and earned Greenspan three Emmy Awards. The film was revolutionary, the beginning of telling the human story of sports instead of just the standard athletic story.

Greenspan was producer of the official films of the Olympic Games in 1984, 1988, 1992, and 1996, with his five-hour film on the '84 Olympics, *16 Days of Glory*, considered a classic. Greenspan produced numerous other Olympic-related films, including *Triumph and Tragedy: The 1972 Olympics*, *The Measure of Greatness*, *An Olympic Dream*, the television series *For the Honor of Their Country*, the two-hour docudrama, *Time Capsule: The 1936 Berlin Olympic Games*, and the 22-part TV series *The Olympiad* (1976–77), seen in more than 80 countries and which got him an Emmy Award. He also won Emmys for his *16 Days of Glory* films of the Winter Olympics at Calgary (1988) and Lillehammer (1994).

"There are some people who are very stylistic," Greenspan wrote. "They make films that are difficult to understand; yet some people find them genius. My approach is very simple. My stories have a beginning, a middle, and an end. The dumbest person in the world can understand my films."

Greenspan was awarded the Olympic Order in 1985, the 17th American to receive such an honor; the Directors Guild of America Lifetime Achievement Award in 1995; and the Peabody Award in 1996 for his outstanding service in chronicling the Olympic Games. He is the author of numerous books, including *Play It Again Bud* (1973), *We Wuz Robbed!* (1976), *Numero Uno* (1982), *100 Greatest Moments in Olympic History*

(1995), *Frozen in Time: The Greatest Moments at the Winter Olympics* (1997), and *The Olympians' Guide to Winning the Game of Life* (1997). Greenspan was elected to the U.S. Olympic Committee Hall of Fame in 2004.

[Elli Wohlgelernter (2nd ed.)]

GREENSTEIN, HARRY (1896–1971), U.S. social worker. Greenstein was born in Baltimore, Maryland. From 1928 until his retirement he served as executive director of the Associated Jewish Charities of Baltimore. Greenstein also served as State Relief administrator during 1933–36. He was director of welfare in the Middle East for the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Agency (UNRRA) from 1944–45 and in 1949 was the advisor to the American military governor on Jewish affairs in Germany. In the latter position, Greenstein was instrumental in the passage of the General Claims Law, which applied to reparations in the American zone and served as a basis for the 1952 Federal Supplementing and Coordinating Law in West Germany. He also helped to arrange for the care and resettlement of displaced persons. He was elected to the presidencies of the Baltimore Council of Social Agencies (1935–39), National Conference of Jewish Community Service (1937–38), and American Association of Social Workers (1939–40).

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[Kenneth D. Roseman]

GREENSTEIN, JESSE PHILIP (1902–1959), U.S. biochemist. Born in New York, Greenstein worked at Harvard, Kaiser Wilhelm Institute in Berlin, and the University of California before joining the National Cancer Institute, where from 1946 he was head of the biochemical laboratory. His most important fields of research were polypeptides and the biochemistry of cancer.

GREENSTONE, JULIUS HILLEL (1873–1955), U.S. educator and author. Greenstone was born in Mariampol, Lithuania, and immigrated to the United States in 1894. He studied at the City College of New York and the Jewish Theological Seminary of America, where he was ordained in 1900. In 1905 he joined the faculty of Gratz College, where he taught Jewish education and religion. He was principal of the college from 1933 to 1948. From 1902 on he maintained a modest Jewish bookshop in his home, toward which rabbis and everyone else interested in Jewish education gravitated to obtain books as well as advice and guidance. Greenstone was among the first American Jews to produce books of popular Jewish scholarship in English. His *The Religion of Israel* (1902) was later rewritten and expanded into *The Jewish Religion* (1920). *The Messiah Idea in Jewish History* (1906) was the first work in English to examine historically the messianic idea in Jewish literature. His commentaries on the biblical books Numbers and Proverbs appeared in the series *Holy Scriptures with Commentary*, published by the Jewish Publication Society (1939). He contributed articles to the *Jewish Encyclopedia* (1901). For some twenty years he contributed a popular though scholarly column to the Philadelphia weekly *Jewish Exponent*. Some of these essays were collected and republished in *Jewish Feasts and Fasts* (1945).

[Shulamith Catane]

GREENWALD (Grunwald), JEKUTHIEL JUDAH (Yekusiel Yehudah; Leopold; 1889–1955), U.S. rabbi and scholar. Greenwald, born in Hungary, studied in yeshivot in that country and in Frankfurt on the Main under Nehemiah *Nobel. In 1924 he settled in the United States, where he was the rabbi of Orthodox congregations in New York and of Congregation Beth Jacob in Columbus, Ohio, where he served for the last three decades of his life. Neither a great orator nor skilled pastor, Greenwald was a prolific writer and regarded as an authority on Jewish law and history. He wrote numerous monographs and articles in Hungarian, Yiddish, and Hebrew, was especially interested in rabbinic authorities and Jewish communities of Hungary, on which he wrote *Ha-Yehudim be-Ungarya* (1913) and *Toyznt Yor Idish Lebn in Ungarn* (1945). His work *Le-Toledot ha-Reformaẓyon ha-Datit be-Germanyah u-ve-Ungarya* (1948) is a history of the Reform movement in Germany and Hungary (this work contains a bibliography of Greenwald's work up to 1948 and an evaluation by C. Bloch, 1–28, second pagination). He also wrote works on the history of the Sanhedrin and biographies of leading rabbis, such as Joseph Caro and Moses Sofer. In the latter category are *Beit Yehonatan* (1908) about Jonathan *Eybeschuetz, and *Toledot Mishpaḥat Rosenthal* (1920) about the Rosenthal family, which included several rabbis. Greenwald compiled an important manual of traditional laws and rites of mourning, *Kol-Bo Avelut* (3 vols., 1947–52).

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[Eisig Silberschlag / Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

GREETINGS AND CONGRATULATIONS. Although Jews have adopted the languages of the countries in which they live, they have always tended to retain traditional forms of greetings and congratulations either in Hebrew or Yiddish and occasionally in Aramaic, and some of these forms of greetings are adaptations of biblical verses while others are taken from the liturgy. Many are merely the expression of an emotion in Hebrew or Yiddish without any literary source. In the list below the most common forms of greetings are given; the list does not include the many variations which sometimes exist nor does it include simple translations such as *boker tov* (= good morning). (See Table: Greetings and Congratulations.)

Jewish Forms of Greetings and Congratulations

		Hebrew	Literal meaning	Occasions when said	Origin and/or reference
			GREETINGS AND CONGRATULATIONS – GENERAL FORMS OF		
1.	Shalom or Shalom lekha	שָׁלוֹם שָׁלוֹם לְךָ	Peace. Peace to you.	As a common greeting equivalent to “hello” or “goodbye” “Good day”	Gen. 29:6; 43:27; Ex. 18:7 Judg. 6:24 I Sam. 16:4
2.	Shalom aleikhem	שָׁלוֹם עֲלֵיכֶם	Peace to you.	Same as above	
3.	Aleikhem shalom	עֲלֵיכֶם שָׁלוֹם	To you, peace.	Response to greeting No. 2	
4.	Barukh ha-ba	בָּרוּךְ הַבָּא	Blessed be the one who comes.	A common greeting, equivalent to “welcome.” A child brought to the circumcision ceremony and a bride and groom approaching the wedding canopy are also greeted thus. The response to the greeting is No. 5 or 6.	
5.	Barukh ha-nimẓa	בָּרוּךְ הַנִּמְצָא	Blessed be the one (already) present.	Response to greeting No. 4	Ps. 118:26
6.	Barukh ha-yoshev	בָּרוּךְ הַיּוֹשֵׁב	Blessed be the one who is sitting.	Response to greeting No. 4. Used by a guest to the host sitting at the head of the table.	
7.	Shalom berakhah ve-tovah	שָׁלוֹם בְּרָכָה וְטוֹבָה	Peace, blessing and (all) good (to you).	General blessing used by Sephardi Jews.	
8.	Ḥazak u-varukh	חֲזַק וּבָרוּךְ	Be stong and blessed.	Same as above Also used in Sephardi synagogues to a person who returns to his seat after having performed liturgical functions.	
9.	Yishar koḥakha or Yasher ko’akh	יִישַׁר כֹּחֲךָ	May your strength (increase) go straight.	Congratulations for success and achievement. In traditional synagogues also extended to a person who has been called up to the Torah reading.	
10.	Ḥazak ve-emaẓ	חֲזַק וֶאֱמָץ	Be strong and of good courage.	Congratulations for success and achievement. Also extended to a bar mitzvah boy after he has finished reading the haftarah.	e.g., Deut 31:23
11.	Biz hundert un tsvantsik	(Yiddish)	(May you live) until the age of 120.	A wish for long life.	
12.	Tsu gezunt	(Yiddish)	Good health.	To a person who has sneezed; also to someone convalescing.	
13.	a. Li-veri’ut	לִבְרִיאוּת	Good health.	Same as above	
	b. Asuta	אָסוּתָא (Aramaic)	Good health.	Same as above	
14.	Refu’ah shelemah	רְפוּאָה שְׁלֵמָה	(May you have) a complete recovery.	Wish to a sick person.	
			SABBATH AND HOLIDAY GREETINGS		
15.	a. Shabbat shalom	שַׁבַּת שָׁלוֹם	Good Sabbath.	The Sabbath greeting	
	Gut shabes	(Yiddish)			
	b. Shabbat hi mi-lizok u-refu’ah kerovah lavo	שַׁבָּת הִיא מִלִּזְעֹק וּרְפוּאָה קְרוֹבָה לָבוֹא	It is Sabbath and forbidden to make supplications but may you soon get well.	When visiting the sick on the Sabbath	Shab. 12a
16.	a. Shavu’a tov	שָׁבוּעַ טוֹב	A good week.	Saturday night at the end of the Sabbath	
	A gute vokh	(Yiddish)			
17.	Gut khoydesh	(Yiddish)	A good new month.	On new moons	
18.	Gut Yontev	(Yiddish) corrupted from the Hebrew Yom Tov	A good holiday (to you).	On holidays and festivals	
19.	a. Mo’adim le-simḥah	מוֹעֲדִים לְשִׂמְחָה	Joyous holidays.	On festivals. The response to which is No. 20.	
	b. Ḥag same’aḥ	חַג שָׂמֵחַ	Joyous holiday.		

Jewish Forms of Greetings and Congratulations (continued)

	Hebrew	Literal meaning	Occasions when said	Origin and/or reference
20. Ḥaggim u-zemannim lesason	חַגִּים וּזְמַנִּים לְשָׂשׂוֹן	Holidays and festivals for joy and gladness.	Response to No. 19a and 19b	This wording is from the prayer for the three festivals.
21. Ve-hayita akh same'aḥ	וְהָיִיתָ אַךְ שָׂמֵחַ	You shall have nothing but joy.	On Sukkot, when visiting a person in his sukkah	Deut. 16:15
NEW YEAR AND DAY OF ATONEMENT				
22. a. Shanah tovah	שָׁנָה טוֹבָה	A good year (to you), or its more ample version:	During the Days of Penitence	
b. Le-shanah tovah tikkatevu (ve-tehatemu)	לְשָׁנָה טוֹבָה תִּכָּתֵבוּ (וְתֵחָתֵמוּ)	May you be inscribed (and sealed) for a good year (i.e. in the Book of Life), or its shorter form:		The wording is from the prayers *Amidah and *Avinu Malkenu
c. Ketivah tovah	כְּתִיבָה טוֹבָה	A good inscription (in the Book of Life).		
23. Gam le-mar	גַּם לְמַר	To you too.	Greetings in Nos. 22a, b, and c, as well as 24a and b	
			On the Day of Atonement, the day of "Sealing the book."	Wording from the prayer book.
24. a. Hatimah tovah	חֲתִימָה טוֹבָה	A sealing for good (to you), or its more ample version:		
b. Gemar hatimah tovah	גְּמַר חֲתִימָה טוֹבָה	A propitious final sealing (to you) (in the Book of Life).	As above. This form can be used until Hoshana Rabba.	
ON JOYOUS OCCASIONS AND FAMILY EVENTS				
25. a. Mazzal tov	מַזָּל טוֹב	Good luck (i.e., may you enjoy a favorable zodiac constellation).	For joyous occasions, especially childbirth, betrothal, wedding, bar-mitzvah, etc.…	Ashkenazi custom.
b. Be-siman tov	בְּסִימָן טוֹב	Same as above	Same as above	Sephardi custom.
26. Barukh tihyeh	בָּרוּךְ תִּהְיֶה	Be you blessed (too), (i.e., the same to you).	Response to Mazzal tov wish	
27. Le-ḥayyim or	לְחַיִּים	To life.	On taking a drink, usually alcoholic.	Shab. 67b.
28. Le-ḥayyim tovim u-le-shalom	לְחַיִּים טוֹבִים וּלְשָׁלוֹם	Good life and peace (to you).	More ample form of No. 27.	
DURING MOURNING				
29. Ha-Makom yenahem etkhem be-tokh avelei Ẓiyyon vi-Yrushalayim	הַמָּקוֹם יְנַחֵם אֶתְכֶם בְּתוֹךְ אֲבֵלֵי צִיּוֹן וִירוּשָׁלַיִם	May the Lord comfort you among all mourners for Zion and Jerusalem.	To a mourner during the week of mourning.	See: *Mourning
ON YAHRZEIT				
30. Ad bi'at ha-go'el	עַד בִּיאַת הַגּוֹאֵל	(May you live) until the coming of the Messiah.	On the yearly anniversary of the death of a relative.	Among German Jews.
IN WRITTEN FORM ONLY				
31. Ad me'ah shanah	עַד מֵאָה שָׁנָה (עמ״ש)	Until a hundred years.	In the heading of a private letter, after the addressee's name	
32. Zekhuto yagen aleinu	זְכוּתוֹ יָגֵן עָלֵינוּ (זי״ע)	May his merit protect us.	After name of distinguished deceased; usually ḥasidic.	

Jewish Forms of Greetings and Congratulations (continued)

	Hebrew	Literal meaning	Occasions when said	Origin and/or reference
33. Zikhrono li-verakhah or	זִכְרוֹנוֹ לִבְרָכָה (ז“ל)	May his memory be for a blessing.	After name of deceased; also in speech.	
Zekher ẓaddik li-verakhah	זֵכֶר צַדִּיק לִבְרָכָה (זצ“ל)	May the memory of the pious be for a blessing.		
34. Alav ha-shalom	עָלָיו הַשָּׁלוֹם (ע“ה)	Peace be on him.	As above.	
35. Natreih Raḥamana u-varkhei	נַטְרֵיהּ רַחֲמָנָא וּבַרְכֵיהּ (Aramaic) (נר“ו)	May God guard and bless him (you).	Written form of address.	
36. She-yiḥyeh le-orekh yamim tovim amen	שֶׁיִּחְיֶה לְאֹרֶךְ יָמִים טוֹבִים אָמֵן (שליט“א)	May he (you) live for many good days, Amen.	As above.	

°**GRÉGOIRE, HENRI BAPTISTE** (**Abbé Grégoire**; 1750–1831), Catholic clergyman, one of the activists of the *French Revolution. Grégoire led the campaign for the civic emancipation of the Jews before and during the Revolution. In the secular field, he held enlightened-revolutionary opinions, while in the religious field his outlook was neo-Jansenist. It was one of the principal expectations of the Jansenists that the Revolution would bring about the reform of the universe at the millennium and with it the return of Jews to the Christian religion and the Land of Israel. Grégoire adhered to these expectations, and the Jewish problem thus at first became the focal point upon which his secular activities and religious hopes converged. In 1785, Grégoire took part in a competition held by the Société Royale des Arts et Sciences of Metz on the question: "Are there possibilities of making the Jews more useful and happier in France?" His work, which shared the first prize, was published in 1789 under the title *Essai sur la régénération physique, morale, et politique des Juifs* (*Essay on the Physical, Moral and Political Reformation of the Jews*, London, c. 1791). In it Grégoire suggests that the Jews should be westernized and integrated within French society. He repeats the claim, which had already been voiced before him, that the main social and moral shortcomings of the Jews were due to the servitude to which they had been subjected. Amelioration of their status would also achieve reform of their character. Grégoire was, however, more extreme than C.W. *Dohm or *Mirabeau in pressing for the abolition of the fundamental causes of Jewish social and political separatism: communal autonomy, the Jewish quarters, Yiddish, and the "superstitious beliefs" to which the Jews adhered because they were misled by their rabbis. Grégoire however dismissed the traditional Christian claim that the Jews must suffer because of their sins as deicides. On this subject he said: "The oracles which announced the destruction of Jerusalem point out the distant moment at which the consequences of it are to end. The Deity directs every event in a manner agreeable to His supreme views; and perhaps He reserves for us the glory of realizing His designs in preparing by our humanity the revolution by which these people are to be reformed."

The opinions expressed in his work were the basis for his political and publicistic activities concerning the Jews from 1789 to 1806. Grégoire played an active and energetic role in raising the question of the Jews in the French National Assembly until emancipation was granted to them in September 1791. Among his other activities, he presented the delegation of Alsace-Lorraine Jews to the National Assembly on October 14, 1789, in connection with which he published a *Motion en faveur des Juifs*, which was a summary of his *Essai* drafted in a more revolutionary spirit. In 1802, while on a tour of Europe, he preached, advocating the emancipation of the Jews. In 1806, he published a pamphlet in answer to *Bonald's objections to the civic emancipation of French Jews. After *Napoleon Bonaparte's rise to power, Grégoire gradually withdrew from political activity and became increasingly engrossed in his religious and eschatological hopes, which centered on the expectation of the fall of Rome and the renewed establishment of a Jewish Jerusalem as the capital of a reconstituted Christian world. He organized a Franco-Italian circle which propagated these expectations. One of the members of this circle was A. Manzoni, a father of the Italian national movement. Later publications of his include *Observations nouvelles sur les Juifs, et spécialement sur ceux d'Allemagne* (2 vols., 1806), and *Histoire des sectes religieuses* (2 vols., 1810).

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[Baruch Mevorah]

°**GREGORY**, name of 16 popes.

GREGORY I (the Great), pope 590–604; the most important of the earlier popes from the point of view of Jewish history. It was he who formulated the Jewish policy of the papacy, faithfully followed in subsequent generations in both its favorable and its unfavorable aspects. Complaining bitterly in his sermons of the obduracy of the Jews and their stony hearts, he took care that the canonical restrictions against them should be obeyed in all their rigor. Twenty-eight of his 800 extant letters deal with Jewish matters. He strongly objected to the observance of any ceremonies that savored of Judaism or tended to obscure the boundaries between Church and Synagogue. Although approving of the initial stages of the reactions against the Jews in Spain under the Visigoths, nevertheless he insisted that the Jews should be treated with humanity and endeavored to have their legal rights confirmed and respected. The Jews of Italy and other countries frequently appealed to Gregory for protection. He was indignant when synagogues were destroyed and ordered them to be rebuilt. While condemning forced baptisms, he did not object to the offering of material benefits to prospective converts; although such actual converts might be insincere, their children would be brought up as faithful Christians. One of his epistles, beginning with the words *Sicut Judaeis*, emphasized that the Jews must be protected in the enjoyment of those rights guaranteed to them by law, and this phrase was prefixed (from the 12th century onward) to the traditional protective *bull generally issued by every pope on his accession.

[Cecil Roth]

GREGORY IX, pope 1227–41. Shortly after his election, Gregory granted the crusaders against the *Albigenses a moratorium on their debts to Jews and canceled the interest due. In 1229, he laid down that a Jewish child who had been baptized by his converted father was to be entrusted to the father and not to the mother, if she remained Jewish. During the same year, he also ordered that strong measures be taken against Jews who refused to pay the church tithes (which were due on houses acquired from Christians). Although the collection of decretals drawn up by *Raymond of Peñafort (as a continuation of the decree of Gratian) in 1230 and promulgated by Gregory in 1234 includes Gregory the Great's letter on the protection of synagogues, it also contains two texts from the Third Lateran Council which are unfavorable to the Jews (see *Church Councils). Intervening against the Jews of Hungary, Castile, and Portugal in 1231, he insisted on the observation of the canons relating to the Jewish *badge and the prohibition on the appointment of Jews to public office. In 1233, in Germany, he also condemned the employment of Christian servants by the Jews. However, during the same year, he issued the protective bull *Etsi Judaeorum* and in 1235 reminded all Christians of the terms of the bull *Sicut Judaeis*. Similarly, on Sept. 5, 1236, he issued orders to several archbishops and bishops of southwestern and western France to compel the crusaders to make good the losses the Jews had suffered at their hands. On several occasions from 1237 on Gregory replied to the anxieties expressed by King Louis IX of France over the use which should be made of the money paid by the Jews, inevitably derived from usury; the pope advised the king to employ this money for the relief of Constantinople or the Holy Land. Nicholas *Donin turned to Gregory with his denunciation of the Talmud; however, although he issued the order impounding the Talmud for an examination of its contents, its actual condemnation was pronounced by Pope *Innocent IV.

GREGORY X, pope 1271–76; one of the popes most kindly disposed toward the Jews. Renewing the bull of protection *Sicut Judaeis* in 1272, he added an important clause: an accusation against Jews based solely on the testimony of Christians was invalid; Jewish witnesses must also appear. Gregory vigorously combated the *blood libel, declaring that it was no more than an invention propagated in order to extort money from the Jews. He ordered that tribunals were not even to take such accusations into consideration: Jews who had been imprisoned on this charge were to be set free immediately, and in future a Jew was only to be arrested if actually caught in the act. At the Council of Lyons, in the summer of 1274, Gregory met Nathan b. Joseph *Official, with whom he had a lengthy discussion. In a memorandum drawn up for this council by Humbert of Romans in support of Gregory's policy, a long passage comes to the defense of the Jews against future attacks by crusaders. It should be noted, however, that Gregory also renewed the bull of Clement IV, *Turbato Corde*, which delivered the Jews (relapsed converts and their accomplices) into the hands of the Inquisition.

GREGORY XIII, pope 1572–85. It may be common knowledge that this pope reformed the calendar, but it is less well-known that Jews most probably contributed to this. Gregory's policy toward the Jews cannot be distinctly characterized, since it swayed between relative favor and severity. Soon after his election, he protected the Jews in the ghetto of Rome who were in danger of being attacked by the soldiers. Further, an order issued by his notary threatened with hanging any non-Jew found in the ghetto or its vicinity without a valid reason. Gregory authorized once more moneylending with a maximum interest rate of 24%. A warrant of June 10, 1577, confirmed the statutes of the Jewish community and permitted the collection of taxes. In 1581, he guaranteed the safe-conduct of Jews coming into Italy or passing through the country. Although Marranos were also able to benefit from this concession, Gregory nevertheless allowed the Marrano Joseph Saralbo, who had returned to Judaism in Ferrara, to be condemned to the stake in 1583. Gregory was also responsible for organizing regular compulsory missionary sermons, often with the collaboration of apostate preachers (see *Sermons to Jews). The Jewish community was compelled to defray the costs of this institution, as well as the expenses of the House of *Catechumens. In order that converts should not be defrauded of their share in the family fortune, Gregory ordered that an inventory of a family's belongings be drawn up immediately after the baptism of one of its members. The bull *Antiqua Judaeorum improbitas*, of June 1, 1581, authorized the Inquisition directly to handle cases involving Jews, especially those concerning blasphemies against Jesus or Mary, incitement to heresy or assistance to heretics, possession of forbidden books, or the employment of Christian wet nurses. During the same year, however, following the intervention by Avtalion *Modena, Gregory suspended the order which he had just issued confiscating the books of several Jewish communities of Italy. In 1581, he also exempted the Jews from wearing the badge on certain occasions (journeys, visits to fairs). The new prohibitions against Jewish physicians treating Christian patients contributed to the decline of medical science among Italian Jews. However, shortly before his death, Gregory intervened with the Knights of Malta to obtain the release of Jewish prisoners in their hands, even though the ransom he offered was lower than the sum demanded.

[Bernhard Blumenkranz]

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GREGORY, SIR THEODORE (1890–1971), British economist. Gregory, who was born in London, taught at the London School of Economics from 1913 to 1919. He was professor of economics at the University of London from 1917 to 1937 and from 1929 to 1930 was dean of the faculty. In addition to his teaching activities, Gregory served from 1929 to 1931 on the Macmillan Committee on Industry and Finance which laid the basis for the renewal of Britain's financial system. At various times he also acted as an adviser to the governments of Australia, New Zealand, Greece, and the Irish Free State, and was the first economics adviser to the government of India. His main fields were general and monetary economics, and his numerous publications include *Gold, Unemployment, and Capitalism* (1933), *The Gold Standard and Its Future* (1932, 1935^3), *India on the Eve of the Third Five-Year Plan* (1961), and *Ernest Oppenheimer and the Economic Development of Southern Africa* (1962). He was knighted in 1942.

[Joachim O. Ronall]

°**GREGORY OF TOURS** (**Georgius Florentius**; 538–594), bishop of Tours from 573. Most of the information on the Jews in Merovingian France during the second half of the sixth century comes from Gregory. He was present at – and later participated – in the disputation held between King Chilperic and the Jew *Priscus in 581, which he describes in his *Historia Francorum*. This same work contains a report on the forced conversion of Jews in *Clermont-Ferrand in 576 and Chilperic's forcible attempt to impose conversion throughout his whole kingdom in 582. Gregory is also the source testifying to the ancient presence of Jews in Tours, Marseilles, Orléans, Bourges, and other places. His works contain invaluable information on the economic and social conditions of the Jews. The manner in which he often introduces Jews into his tales of miracles is curious: their function is in a sense a guarantee to the authenticity of his narrative. It was Gregory who introduced into the West two legends of Oriental origin, concerning "the Jewish child of the blazing furnace" (who had taken communion and been punished by his father, but saved by the virgin Mary) and the desecrated icon (a painting representing Jesus, lacerated by the Jews, which had supposedly begun to bleed); these two legends are of grave significance because one was the distant source of the *blood libel and the other of the *Host desecration accusation.

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[Bernhard Blumenkranz]

GRENOBLE, capital of the Isère department, France, formerly capital of Dauphiné. A lamentation on the martyrdom of ten Jews from Grenoble was incorporated in the Bourguignon *maḥzor* in the second half of the 13th century. After the Jews were expelled from France in 1306, Dauphin Humbert I allowed a number of them to settle in Grenoble, offering them relatively favorable privileges. However, at the time of the *Black Death in 1348, 74 Jews were arrested and, after a trial lasting three months, were burned at the stake. After the general expulsion of Jews from France in 1394, there were no Jews living in Grenoble until after the Revolution. In 1717, a group from Comtat Venaissin attempted to settle there, but the city *parlement* drove them out. A new community was formed after the Revolution. The arrival of Jews from Alsace in 1874 significantly increased the size and importance of the Grenoble community.

Holocaust and Postwar Periods

During World War II, Grenoble was first occupied by the Italians, and then later by the Germans. It was an important center for various forms of Jewish resistance, including armed struggle, the rescue of children, and the hiding and "camouflage" of adults. The *Gestapo became especially active in the area from 1943 on, arresting, torturing, and deporting hundreds of Jews and members of the Resistance. Marc Haguenau (for whom a Jewish group of the French underground was named) was tortured and killed in Grenoble. Léonce Bernheim, a noted Zionist leader, and his wife were arrested in the vicinity of Grenoble. In 1943 at a secret meeting in the city, Isaac *Schneersohn helped lay the groundwork for the creation of the *Centre de Documentation Juive Contemporaine to collect material on the Nazi genocide. After the war, many refugees stayed in Grenoble, and by 1960 the Jewish population numbered over 1,000. Beginning in 1962, the Jewish population increased rapidly, thanks to the influx of immigrants from North Africa. By the late 1960s, it numbered 5,000; by 1971, it had reached about 8,000, but by the turn of the century it had dropped to somewhat less than 7,000. The community has both an Ashkenazi and a Sephardi synagogue, and maintains a range of institutions, including kosher butchers, a *talmud torah,* various youth groups, and a community center. A Jewish radio station, Kol Hachalom (Voice of Peace), has been in operation in Grenoble since 1983.

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[Georges Levitte / David Weinberg (2nd ed.)]

GRESH, ALAIN (1948–), French Egyptian-born historian, journalist, and political activist. Gresh was born in Cairo to a Coptic-Catholic father and a Jewish mother. Though an Egyptian citizen, he was raised and educated in French and studied at the French High School in Cairo. He remembers the war of 1956, after the nationalization of the Suez Canal by Nasser, when as a young boy he could not understand why French planes were bombing Egypt. After his high school was in turn nationalized, Gresh became aware of the growing anti-Jewish feeling in Egypt. Himself a declared atheist, he moved to France towards the end of the Algerian war of Independence, in 1962, and met in Paris Henri Curiel, who led a network of "*porteurs the valise*" – the French militants who provided help and weapons to supporters of Algerian independence. A left-wing, anti-colonialist militant, he grew closer to the left-wing Catholic activists of the CCFD and Témoignage Chrétien and to the *Monde Diplomatique* newspaper, a forerunner of the movement against globalization, and he eventually became one of the paper's chief editors together with fellow left-wing Jews Dominique Vidal and Serge Halimi. Still committed to atheism, he nevertheless advocated a dialogue between left-wing and grassroots religious movements, whether Christian (CCFD), Islamic, or Jewish. His sympathetic view of Islam is expressed in *L'Islam, la République et le monde* (2004), Gresh's contribution to the heated and passionate debate about Islam and French laicism. A relatively moderate anti-Zionist, accepting Israel as a given fact and advocating a two-state solution, Gresh got from his Egyptian childhood an understanding of the Arab cause, which he assimilated into his sincere adherence to French Republican values; his position on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict is summarized in a 2001 book, *Israël – Palestine, Vérités sur un conflit*.

[Dror Franck Sullaper (2nd ed.)]

°**GRESSMANN, HUGO** (1877–1927), German Protestant theologian, student of the Bible and the ancient Orient. His teachers included J. *Wellhausen, A. Eichhorn, and M. *Lidzbarski. Gressmann received his doctorate at Goettingen in 1900. In 1902–07 he taught in Kiel; from 1907 until his death he was professor of Bible at the University of Berlin. His main scholarly work was on the history of Israel's religion. A disciple of Gunkel, his approach was based on the analysis of literary genres and motifs. He acquired an interest in Palestinian archaeology after working with G. Dalman in Jerusalem and Petra. This led him to attempt to discover the influence of the Palestinian geographic milieu on the world view of Israel and on the way of life of the early inhabitants of Palestine. The same interest in realia led to the production of a monumental volume of translated ancient Near Eastern texts and an accompanying volume of illustrations relevant to biblical studies. Gressmann also created a scholarly institute in Berlin for research on post-biblical Judaism. His principal works are: *Der Ursprung der israelitisch-jüdischen Eschatologie* (1905), *Die aelteste Geschichtsschreibung und Prophetie Israels* (1910, 1921^2), *Mose und seine Zeit* (1913), *Das Weihnachtsevangelium* (1914), and *Der Messias* (1929). He edited the *Altorientalische Texte zum Alten Testament* (1926^2) and the *Altorientalische Bilder zum Alten Testament* (1927^2); Gressman also edited the third edition of Bousset's *Die Religion des Judentums im spaethellenistischen Zeitalter* (1926^3).

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[Moshe Zevi (Moses Hirsch) Segal / S. David Sperling (2nd ed.)]

GREY, JOEL (**Joel Katz**, 1932–), U.S. musical-comedy actor. Born in Cleveland, Ohio, Grey went into vaudeville with his father, the bandleader Mickey Katz, and was helped by Eddie Cantor to secure nightclub engagements. He made his New York debut in *The Littlest Revue* (1956). He won critical acclaim for his Broadway performance in *Stop the World – I Want to Get Off* (1962) and gained further success in the role of Master of Ceremonies in *Cabaret* (1966), for which he won a Tony Award, and as George M. Cohan in *George M* (1968). Grey's other Broadway appearances include *Borscht Capades* (1951); *Come Blow Your Horn* (1961–62); *Goodtime Charlie* (1975); *The Grand Tour* (1979); and *Chicago* (1996). In 2003 he began his run as the Wizard of Oz in the musical *Wicked.*

Grey appeared in films as well, starting with *About Face* in 1952. His other films include *Come September* (1961); *Cabaret* (1972), for which he won an Academy Award for Best Supporting Actor; *Man on a Swing* (1974); *Buffalo Bill and the Indians* (1976); *The Seven Percent Solution* (1976); *Remo Williams* (1985); *Kafka* (1991); *The Music of Chance* (1993); *The Dangerous* (1994); *Venus Rising* (1995); *The Empty Mirror* (1996); *Reaching Normal* (1999); *Dancer in the Dark* (2000); and *The Fantasticks* (2000).

Grey is one of a handful of performers to win both a Tony and an Oscar for having portrayed the same role on stage and screen (in *Cabaret*). Others among that handful include Yul Brynner for *The King and I;* Rex Harrison for *My Fair Lady;* and Patty Duke for *The Miracle Worker.* He is the father of actress Jennifer Grey.

Grey published *Pictures I Had to Take* (2003), a book of photographs that he had taken over a span of 25 years during his travels to Southeast Asia, Europe, South and Central America, and throughout the United States.

[Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

GRILICHES, AVENIR (1822–1905), Russian engraver. Griliches was born in Vilna. He was self-taught and attracted attention by engraving a striking resemblance of the czar. In 1871 he became one of the few Jews permitted to stay in St. Petersburg, where he was employed by the Imperial Mint. In 1889 and 1898 Griliches was listed officially as mint engraver at St. Petersburg. He is credited with engraving the state seals of Alexander III and Nicholas II, as well as the five ruble, one ruble, half ruble, and twenty kopeck coins. He produced some of the most distinguished Russian commemorative medals of the 1880s and 1890s. His son ABRAHAM (1852–c. 1916), also born in Vilna, graduated from the rabbinical school and painters studio there, and then from the St. Petersburg Academy of Fine Arts in 1876. He was employed as an engraver at the Imperial Mint. Raised to the position of senior engraver, he is credited with striking some dies of the coinage of Nicholas II, as well as the 1912 Alexander III commemorative medal. Abraham Griliches was even more noted for his medals, for which he received awards at the Paris Exposition in 1889 and 1900. He was also an excellent gem engraver. Many of his works are kept in the State Hermitage Museum and other museums in Russia.

[Daniel M. Friedenberg]

GRINBERG, ALEKSANDER ABRAMOVICH (1898–1966), Russian chemist. Grinberg graduated from the University of Leningrad and was appointed professor of chemistry at the Lensovet Leningrad Technological Institute (1936). He was an authority on the chemistry of complex compounds and especially platinum chemistry. He was awarded a Stalin Prize (1946) and was an academician of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences (1958).

GRINKER, ROY RICHARD SR. (1900–1993), U.S. neuropsychiatrist and psychoanalyst. Born in Chicago, Grinker taught at the University of Chicago from 1927. During World War II he rose to the rank of colonel in the U.S. Army Medical Corps. From 1946 Grinker was director of the institute for psychosomatic and psychiatric research and training at the Michael Reese Hospital in Chicago, and supervisory analyst at the Chicago Institute for Psychoanalysis. From 1951 he was clinical professor of psychiatry at the University of Illinois and in 1969 became professor of psychiatry at the University of Chicago's medical school.

Grinker was chief editor of the *Archives of General Psychiatry* from 1956. He also wrote many books and articles in his professional field. After publishing the textbook *Neurology* (1934, 1966^{6}), Grinker collaborated with J.P. Spiegel in writing *Men under Stress* (1945), an account of the treatment of war neuroses based on military personnel's experiences in North Africa. The two men developed the treatment of the emotionally traumatized soldier with a drug to promote a "catharsis" of his battle experiences. Grinker outlined the results of his research and therapeutic treatment of psychosomatic disturbances in two books: *Psychosomatic Research* (1953) and (with F.P. Robbins) *Psychosomatic Case Book* (1954). He also devoted much attention to the theory of an integrated approach to normal and disturbed human behavior. He tried to elicit the relations between the intrapersonal physical and psychological systems and those with which the person interacts in his environment. Grinker's views were elaborated in two published symposia: *Toward a Unified Theory of Human Behavior* (1956), which he edited, and *Integrating the Approaches to Mental Disease* (ed. by H.D. Kruse, 1957).

He was awarded the Distinguished Service Award by the American Psychiatric Association in 1972 and by the University of Chicago's Medical and Biological Sciences Alumni Association in 1974.

Other books by Grinker include *The Borderline Syndrome: A Behavioral Study of Ego Functions* (with B. Werble and R. Drye, 1968), *Psychosomatic Concepts* (1973), *Psychiatry in Broad Perspective* (1975), and *Fifty Years in Psychiatry: A Living History* (1979).

[Louis Miller / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

GRINSPUN, BERNARDO (1926–), Argentinian economist and statesman, specializing in international economic and foreign debt. He belongs to the outstanding Argentinian circle of economists of our time (Aldo Ferrer, Guido Di Tella, etc.) and was linked with the group that controlled economic affairs during the former Radical party's government of President Illia (1963–66) on whose staff Grinspun held the post of secretary of commerce. He is also connected with the enterprise group which led the Federation Economica de Buenos Aires and especially the medium-size entrepreneurs. When democratic rule was restored to Argentina in 1983, Grinspun was appointed minister of finance in the cabinet of President Raul Alfonsin, in which capacity he sought to extract the country from the serious economic plight in which it had been left by the military junta.

[José Luis Nachenson and Noemi Hervits de Najenson]

GRISHABER, ISAAC (d. 1815), Hungarian rabbi. Born in Cracow, Grishaber went in 1782 to Hungary and was appointed rabbi of Paks. For an unknown reason he left this community and went to serve the community of Baja, but toward the end of his life he returned to Paks. He was in halakhic correspondence with Ezekiel *Landau, author of the *Noda bi-Yehudah*, and studied under him for a while in Prague, as well as with Moses *Sofer. Grishaber was resolute in his views and fought for them stubbornly and courageously. He was involved in a violent controversy in 1798–99 because of his dispute with Rabbi Aaron *Chorin over whether sturgeon is *kasher*. He published a pamphlet on the subject, *Makel No'am* (Vienna 1799), giving his reasons for forbidding this fish, with supporting letters from contemporary rabbis in Hungary and elsewhere.

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[Samuel Weingarten-Hakohen]

GROBART, FABIO (**Avraham Simchovich**; 1905–1994), Cuban Communist leader. Grobart was born in Trzciany (Poland) as Avraham Moishe Grobard to an Orthodox family. His father cleaned hogs' skins and his mother was a servant. He was sent to school to Goniondz, where his uncle trained him to become a tailor. Attracted by Marxist ideals, he became an active member of the Communist Youth League in Bialystok. In 1922 he had to flee from the police and changed his name to Avraham Simchovich.

He reached Cuba in 1924, where he joined the small Sección Hebrea de la Agrupación Comunista de la Habana (Jewish Section of the Communist Organization of Havana), which had been founded shortly before. On August 16, 1925, he was one of the ten founders of the Cuban Communist Party, and was active in diffusing its doctrines among Jewish workers. After his arrest and deportation (1930) he reached Moscow, where he was probably trained to return to Cuba under a covert identity (as Otto Modley). He became a central figure in the Cuban Communist Party, although he acted mostly behind the scenes. From 1952 to 1960 he represented the Cuban workers in the World Labor Organization in Vienna and Prague.

In 1960, shortly after the outbreak of the Castro Revolution, he returned to Cuba, and in 1965 he was appointed director of the journal *Cuba Socialista*. He was considered the ideologist of the Cuban Communist Party. He founded the Institute of History of the Cuban Communist Party (1973) and was a deputy of the Cuban Parliament.

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[Margalit Bejarano (2nd ed.)]

GROCK (**Charles Adrien Wettach**; 1880–1959), Swiss clown. Born at Moulin de Loveresse, the son of a Jewish father and non-Jewish mother, Grock was first attached to a traveling circus. He performed on the stage in England from 1911 to 1924, and afterward throughout Europe. He specialized as a musical clown, playing a tiny violin at a grand piano and getting into trouble with both. He built his act into the world's most famous comic display. His German autobiography appeared in English in 1957 as *Grock, King of Clowns*.

GRODNO (**Horodno**), city in Belarus, formerly Poland-Lithuania. One of the oldest Jewish communities in the former grand duchy of *Lithuania (see *Poland-Lithuania), the Grodno community received a charter from Grand Duke Witold in 1389. This indicates the existence of a synagogue and cemetery and shows that Jews owned real property in the city and its environs and engaged in commerce, crafts, and agriculture. They were banished by the general decree of expulsion of the Jews from Lithuania in 1495 and their property was sequestered, but they were permitted to return and to claim their possessions in 1503. During the 16th century the townsmen of Grodno were consistently hostile to the Jews, the artisans in particular. Grodno, however, became noted as a center of Jewish learning. By the end of the century a number of *battei midrash* and yeshivot had been established and Horodno was written by the Jews as though it were *Har-Adonai* ("the holy mount" in Hebrew). The community was spared during the *Chmielnicki massacres in 1648–49 and gave asylum to fugitives from the south, but later suffered from the Russian invasions of 1655–57 and subsequent invasions by the Swedes. The fanaticism of the Jesuits was from 1616 an additional spur to frequent calumnies against the Jews, and the kidnapping of Jewish children for forced conversion. The community became heavily involved in debt to pay for the defense and ransom of those victims. A *blood libel in 1790 resulted in the death of R. Eleazar b. Solomon of Virbalis (Verzhbolow). Another ritual murder accusation was made in 1816. One of the three principal communities in Lithuania, Grodno was represented on the Council of Lithuania (see *Councils of the Lands). It thus assumed responsibility for the care of Jewish affairs in general, while undertaking Jewish defense in libel cases in particular, since it was the seat of the Lithuanian court of appeal. The first Hebrew book to be published in Lithuania was printed in Grodno in 1788 in the Royal press. A second Hebrew press, established in Grodno in 1793, formed the kernel of the celebrated publishing and printing house owned by the *Romm family, whose early publications were in "Vilna and Grodno" (subsequently in Vilna).

Population Figures

In 1549 the Jewish population formed 17% of the total; in 1560 it numbered 1,000 according to one estimate, in 1764, 2,418 and in 1793, some 4,000. When Grodno passed to Russia with the third partition of Poland in 1795, the Jewish community was the largest in Lithuania after Vilna. The Jewish population numbered 8,422 in 1816 (85.3% of the total); approximately 10,300 in 1856–57 (63.3%); 27,343 in 1887 (68.7%); 27,874 in 1904 (64.1%); 34,461 in 1912 (c. 60%); 15,504 in 1916 (64.4%); 18,697 in 1921 (53.4%); and 21,159 in 1931 (42.6%). The decrease in the Jewish population during World War I was partly due to their expulsion to inner Russia by the Russian military authorities in 1915. The decrease relative to the general population after the war was due both to Jewish emigration from Grodno and to the official encouragement given to Poles to settle there after its conquest by the Poles in 1919.

Occupations

The principal traditional sources of income of Grodno Jews were commerce (principally in agricultural and timber products) and crafts, and more recently, industry. In 1887, 88% of commercial undertakings, 76% of factories and workshops, and 65.2% of real estate in Grodno were Jewish owned. The situation did not alter appreciably before World War I, but after Grodno's reversion to Poland the Jews were systematically ousted from their economic positions and from the middle of the 1930s a stringent anti-Jewish economic boycott was imposed. In 1921 there were 1,273 industrial enterprises and workshops in Jewish ownership, employing 3,719 persons (2,341 of them hired workers, of whom 83.2% were Jews), 34.6% for food processing (and tobacco), and 29% garment manufacturing. In the 1930s there were 938 Jewish artisans: 364 were tailors and 168 cobblers. Jewish doctors and lawyers constituted half the professional people in Grodno. In 1937 there were 65 Jewish-owned large or medium-sized factories employing 2,181 workers, of whom 895 (41%) were Jews, as against 51 state-owned or non-Jewish enterprises employing 2,262 workers. Among the other main enterprises then owned by Jews were a large bicycle factory, a factory for artistic leather products, a glass factory, a lithographic plant, foundries, and breweries. Some of the plants proved good training grounds for potential immigrants to Palestine during the 1930s. The huge Y. Shereshevsky tobacco factory in Grodno employed, before World War I, some 1,800 workers and provided a livelihood for hundreds of families in subsidiary activities, nearly all Jewish. Work stopped on the Sabbath and Jewish festivals and it maintained a school for the children of the employees. The Polish government nationalized it in the 1920s, making it conform to the official pattern and the majority of the Jewish workers were forced out.

Rabbis and Authors

Among the notable rabbis serving in Grodno were Mordecai *Jaffe (16th century); Jonah b. Isaiah Te'omim, author of *Kikayon de-Yonah* (1630); Moses b. Abraham, author of *Tiferet le-Moshe* (1776); Joshua b. Joseph, author of *Meginnei Shelomo* (1715); Mordecai Suesskind of Rothenburg (17th century); and Simḥah b. Naḥman Rapoport of Dubno. The last to hold office was Benjamin Braudo (d. 1818). The dispute over the succession to the rabbinate after his death led to its abolition in Grodno and the appointment of *morei hora'ah* (decisors on law). The kabbalist and ethical pietist Alexander *Susskind, author of *Yesod ve-Shoresh ha-Avodah* and *Ẓavva'ah*, was a citizen of Grodno. Also renowned beyond Grodno in the 19th century was Nahum b. Uzziel – R. Noḥumke – a scholar who was famous for his devoted care of the poor.

Communal Institutions

In the 19th century, the Grodno community supported numerous *battei midrash* and societies formed by the **Mitnaggedim* for religious studies, which were attended regularly by people from all classes of the community. The famous scholar R. Shimon *Shkop headed the great "Sha'arei Hatorah" yeshivah in Grodno (1920–39). The Hebrew poet Abba Asher Constantin *Shapiro originated from Grodno. The Hebrew author Abraham Shalom *Friedberg and the Yiddish poet Leib Naidus lived there. The Jewish community made outstanding provision for benevolent and welfare institutions. From the 18th century there existed the society for care of the sick (Bikkur Ḥolim). Some wealthy members of the community contributed lavishly toward establishing orphanages, hospitals, old-age homes, and an excellent trade school. One of the first loan and savings cooperative funds in Russia was opened in 1900.

Labor and Socialist Movements

A Jewish Socialist circle already existed in Grodno in 1875–76 where the first Jewish Socialists turned their attention to the working man. From the end of the 1890s the various trends of Jewish labor movements became increasingly active in Grodno, in particular in the tobacco factory. Central to the movement was the *Bund. The labor movements played an important part in organizing Jewish self-defense in Grodno in 1903 and 1907, and some Jewish youngsters there also avenged the bloodshed that resulted from the pogroms at *Bialystok. In the years between the two world wars the working movement fought for the rights of the Jewish worker to obtain employment and against anti-Jewish discrimination by the Polish government.

Zionism

A legal document of 1539 which deals with a Jewish couple who intended to leave Grodno for Jerusalem is almost a symbol of the strong roots later struck by the Ḥibbat Zion and Zionist movements in Grodno. Among Grodno Jews joining the early settlements in Ereẓ Israel in the 19th century was Fischel *Lapin, who settled in Jerusalem in 1863 and was a prominent communal worker. A society for settling in Ereẓ Israel was founded in Grodno in 1872, and a second acquired land in *Petaḥ Tikvah on its foundation in 1880, where a pioneer settler from Grodno was Mordecai *Diskin. The society of *Ḥovevei Zion in Grodno in 1890 gave generous support in building the Girls' Hebrew school in Jaffa. Grodno was one of the most active centers of Ḥovevei Zion, as also subsequently of the Zionist movement in Russia, in which the two brothers Bezalel and Leib *Jaffe were prominent. Zionist shekels were printed clandestinely in Grodno. Grodno remained one of the important centers of the Zionist movement and its constituent parties and youth movements between 1916 and 1939. During World War II, when Grodno was under Soviet rule (1939–41), a clandestine Zionist center there transferred intending immigrants to Ereẓ Israel via Vilna, then the capital of Soviet Lithuania. In the educational sphere, the reformed *ḥeder* (*ḥeder metukkan*), founded in Grodno in 1900 and providing instruction in Hebrew, was among the first and most successful of its type in Russia. Hebrew teachers' preparatory groups were introduced in 1901 and the famous "Pedagogic Courses" which trained numerous pioneer Hebrew teachers in 1907. After World War I the Grodno Zionists, headed by Noah Bas, instituted the Hebrew educational system *Tarbut. Jewish pioneers from Grodno emigrated in the successive *aliyyot* from the beginning of the *Bilu movement, and Grodno youth were among the first to join the Second Aliyah. The Grodno *He-Ḥalutz association was among the first founded in Lithuania, and the Third Aliyah from Poland was initiated by Grodno pioneers.

Holocaust Period

Under Polish rule there were pogroms in Grodno as early as 1935. A large-scale pogrom took place between Sept. 18 and 20, 1939, during the Polish army's withdrawal from the town prior to the entry of the Soviet Army. The Nazis occupied Grodno on June 22, 1941, the day on which Germany attacked the Soviet Union. On July 7, around 100 Jews in the professions were arrested and executed by the Nazi authorities. Jews were banned from public transportation, from places of entertainment, and from using the sidewalks. A *Judenrat* was organized and forced labor was imposed. While Jews were evicted from their apartments, German soldiers looted Jewish homes. On Nov. 1, 1941, the Jews of Grodno were segregated into two ghettos: one for "skilled workers" housed 15,000 in the small, overcrowded "synagogue quarter" (*Shulhof*) and the fish market; the other, which was smaller and reserved for the "unproductive," held 10,000 in the suburb of Slobodka. On Nov. 2, 1942, the ghettos were surrounded and sealed off, and their liquidation began. The liquidation took place in several stages. On Nov. 14–22, the Slobodka ghetto was destroyed and its inhabitants were taken "to work places" but in fact to their death in Auschwitz. That same month 4,000 people were expelled from the ghetto in the *Shulhof* to the transit camp of Kelbasin, 4 mi. (6 km.) from Grodno. Some of them died there as a result of the inhuman conditions, and the rest were expelled after a short period together with the Jewish population of the villages in the Grodno region, who were then sent to either Auschwitz or Treblinka. In a big Nazi *Aktion* on Jan. 17–22, 1943, 11,600 Jews were sent to Auschwitz, where 9,851 were gassed immediately and 1,799 put to work. Another 5,000 from the skilled-worker ghetto remained in the city. In February 1943, 4,000 were deported to the Treblinka death camp, and the remaining 1,000 skilled workers were deported on March 12 to Bialystok. According to a Nazi source, 44,049 Grodno Jews were sent to the extermination camps, 20,577 Jews from Grodno itself, and 23,472 from neighboring townlets. Some 180 Jews remained in Grodno and the district, hidden among gentiles or otherwise concealed until the town was liberated by the Soviet Army on July 14, 1944. Early in 1942, a Jewish underground resistance and defense movement was formed; members of Zionist youth movements, like Bela Hazzan, set up a communications center in Grodno for contact with the ghettos in *Vilna, *Bialystok, and *Warsaw; there was also a workshop for forging "Aryan" papers and travel permits for members of the movement engaged in rescuing Jews and in armed defense. Before the big "*Aktion*," an unsuccessful attempt was made to assassinate Streblow, a chief executioner of Grodno Jewry. There was also an attempt to organize a mass escape from the Great Synagogue, which served as a collection center for deportation, and to assassinate Kurt Wiese, the other chief executioner of Grodno Jewry.

After World War II

Groups of Grodno Jewish partisans were active in forests. Some 2,000 Jews resettled in Grodno over a period of years following its liberation. By the 1960s Grodno had no synagogue. The "old" synagogue was a storehouse; the "new" one was used as a sports hall. In the mid-1950s the Jewish cemetery was plowed up. Tombstones were taken away and used for building a monument to Lenin. There are four mass graves of Jews near the city, on which monuments were erected after World War II. One of them was repeatedly desecrated and damaged and there were several cases of graves being similarly treated. In the 1990s the revived community started renovating the synagogue and in the early 2000s had a resident rabbi.

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[Dov Rabin]

GRODZINSKI, ḤAYYIM OZER (1863–1940), talmudic scholar and one of the spiritual leaders of Lithuanian Orthodox Jewry, son of the talmudic scholar, Solomon David Grodzinski (1831–c. 1908). Grodzinski studied in the yeshivot of Eisheshok and Volozhin, where he was known as an *illui* (prodigy). In 1887 he was appointed one of the *dayyanim* of the *bet din* of Vilna, and he came to be regarded as its leading *dayyan*. Grodzinski was one of the initiators of the Vilna Conference of 1909, which resulted in the formation of the Orthodox Keneset Israel organization. He also participated in the founding conference of the Agudat Israel at Katowice in 1914, served as a leading member of that party's Council of Sages, and was the prime force for spreading its influence in and around Vilna. An initiator of the conference of rabbis at Grodno in 1924 which founded the Va'ad ha-Yeshivot ("Council of the Yeshivot") for the spiritual and material support of yeshivot and their students, he was the moving spirit behind the Council.

Grodzinski was a vehement opponent of Zionism and of secular education for Jews, his aim being to preserve the Torah milieu of the Lithuanian yeshivot and townlets intact. In 1934 he prevented the transfer of the Hildesheimer rabbinical seminary from Berlin to Tel Aviv. Asked by an Agudat Israel kibbutz whether it was permitted to settle on Jewish National Fund land, he advised its members "Let him who is firm in spirit stay steadfast in his place and not hurry to join the swelling stream… until God has mercy on His people and hastens his redemption." In 1929, when Isaac Rubinstein was chosen as chief rabbi of Vilna, Grodzinski's supporters sparked a violent controversy in the community.

Grodzinski's responsa were published in three volumes under the title of *Aḥi'ezer* (1922, 1925, 1939). In the introduction to the last volume, written on the eve of the Holocaust, he spoke of the fear and dismay that was rapidly descending upon the entire Jewish people, both in the Diaspora and (in a reference to the 1936–39 riots) in Ereẓ Israel. He wrote about the spiritual disintegration of the Jewish community, and its laxity in the observance of the Sabbath, *kashrut*, and the laws of marital purity. All this he blamed on the Reform movement in the West and on secular education in the East. His sole consolation was in "the important work of preserving and strengthening Torah education" and in the fact that "the large and small yeshivot were the strongholds of Judaism… in Poland and Lithuania."

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[Haim Hillel Ben-Sasson]

GRODZINSKY, ZVI HIRSCH (1857/8–1947), Lithuanian-born U.S. rabbi and scholar. Grodzinsky, who served as chief rabbi of Omaha, Neb. (1891–1947), was a prolific rabbinic scholar and a leading organizer and framer of Orthodox Jewry and its rabbinate in America. Many of his works have become standard texts.

Born in Taurage, Lithuania, Grodzinsky received his early education in Ivye. In 1888, he came to Vilna to study in a *kollel* and probably received part of his education at the yeshivah of *Volozhin. By then, he had received *semikhah*, either from the rabbi of Taurage, Gershon Mendel Ziv, or Rabbi Isaac Elhanan *Spektor.

Grodzinsky gained an international reputation through his scholarly contributions. His published works include *Mikveh Yisrael*, a digest of the laws of *mikva'ot*; *Likutei Ẓvi* (1916), a reference work on the whole of *Orah Ḥayyim*; *Milei de-Berakhot* (1923, 1945) a commentary on the first 34 pages of Tractate *Berakhot*; and *Mikraei Kodesh* (1936, 1937, 1941), a three-volume examination of the laws of reading, writing, and qualifying Torah scrolls. He also authored articles in such leading rabbinic journals as *Ha-Meassef, Ha-Pardes*, and *Ha-Mesilah*.

Grodzinsky's published works comprise only a fraction of his written works. The bulk of his output remains in manuscripts, many in publishable form, housed at Oẓar ha-Poskim in Israel. They include *Tiferet Ẓvi*, 64 responsa; alphabetically arranged comments on Talmudic topics; a multi-volume commentary on Shulḥan Arukh, *Yoreh De'ah*; discussions of the laws of *stam yenam* and *niddah*; indexed comments on the responsa of R. *Asher Ben Jehiel (the Rosh); an alphabetical summary of the major Talmudic expressions and phrases; indexed sermons on the Babylonian Talmud and calendrical occasions; manuscripts of Grodzinsky's published works with corrections and addenda; loose responsa; and correspondence with American rabbinic leaders.

Arriving in Omaha in 1891, Grodzinsky sought to fulfill two roles: the communal responsibilities of the developing American rabbi and the halakhic duties of the East European *av beit din*. A founder of the *Agudat ha-Rabbonim, the first Orthodox rabbinical organization in North America, Grodzinsky personally encountered the pressure confronting European, Yiddish-speaking Orthodox rabbis in America. In 1916, before he had reached 60, the rise of Modern Orthodoxy and the Conservative movement compelled the two largest congregations he led in Omaha to seek an English-speaking rabbi.

Uncompromised by his Americanized congregants, Grodzinsky continued to serve as the halakhic decisor of his community and to write prolifically until his death. Yet, he also cautioned European Orthodoxy and its extensions in America to see the rabbi as an activist leader and halakhic authority rather than simply as a great scholar.

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[Jonathan Rosenbaum (2nd ed.)]

GRODZISK MAZOWIECKI, small town in Poland. It had 157 Jewish inhabitants in 1765, 790 in 1856, 2,154 in 1897, 2,756 in 1921 (out of 11,254), and 3,600 in September 1939. Grodzisk was the seat of a ḥasidic dynasty, founded by Elimelech of Grodzisk (d. 1892). His grandson R. Israel Shapiro, a scholar and writer of songs, who after World War I settled in Warsaw, perished in the Holocaust, as did Eliezer b. Abraham Ḥayyim of Falancz, rabbi in Grodzisk from 1913 to 1919. Members of the Grodzisk dynasty settled in Ereẓ Israel. During World War II, refugees swelled the local Jewish population to 6,000. In February 1941, the Germans transferred the Jews of Grodzisk to the Warsaw Ghetto, and subsequently to the death camp of Treblinka.

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GRODZISK WIELKOPOLSKI (Ger. Graetz; Yid. גריידיץ), town in W. Poland, formerly in the province of Posen (Prussia). Jewish merchants frequented the town in the middle of 16th cantury and settled there at the end of the century The Jewish population numbered 374 in 1663, 812 in 1765, 1,156 (half the total population) in 1793, and 1,634 in 1820. In 1820 the existing synagogue collapsed and a new one was opened in 1822. Rabbis of Grodzisk include Judah Loeb b. Solomon of Prague, who had to flee during the Northern War (1700–21); Gershon b. Jehiel Landsberger (c. 1726–40); Ẓevi Hirsch b. Benjamin (c. 1768–70), author of *Tiferet Ẓevi* and rabbi in Brody and Hamburg; and Benjamin Schreiber (c. 1820–39). In the second half of the 19th century the noted talmudist and *ẓaddik* Elijah *Guttmacher, among the founders of Hovevei Zion, forerunner of Zionism, lived in Grodzisk and was famous as an *admor*. Many ḥasidim, mainly from Congress Poland, used to visit him and get his blessing. Kibbutz Sedeh Eliyahu is named for him. In 1898 a society for the study of Jewish history and literature was founded there. Toward the end of the 17th century Jews from Grodzisk visited the Leipzig fairs. Beginning from the 19th century Jewish merchants contributed to the economic development of the town, establishing business connections with various towns in Germany.

Toward the end of the 19th century the Jewish population declined, numbering 240 in 1905, and 61 in 1921 (out of a total population of 5,604), and 71 in neighboring Buk (out of 3,408). In 1922 the community ceased to exist. On the eve of World War II there were around 50 Jews in the town. Many fled, and on September 7, 1939, the last 13 Jews were expelled to Buk and from there to the General Gouvernement. In 1940 the synagogue and Jewish cemetery were destroyed and the site became a public garden. The communal archives (including Guttmacher's correspondence) were transferred to Jerusalem. Rudolph *Mosse, the well-known publisher of the *Berliner Tageblatt*, who was born in Grodzisk, founded a hospital there in the name of his father who practiced as physician in the town.

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[Shlomo Netzer (2nd ed.)]

GROJEC (Yid. **Gritse**), small town in Warsaw district. The privilege granted to the town in 1744 prohibited Jewish settlement there; nevertheless Jews began to settle there in the 18th century; they are mentioned there in 1754. The community numbered 1,719 in 1856 (68.7% of the total population), 3,737 in 1897 (61.9%), and 4,922 in 1921 (56.3%). On the eve of World War II there were approximately 5,200 Jews living in Grojec.

Holocaust Period

With the entry of the German army on Sept. 8, 1939, terrorization of the Jewish population began. The synagogue was burned. On Sept. 12, 1939, all men between the ages of 15 and 55 were forced to assemble at the market, and from there were marched on foot to Rawa Mazowiecka, about 37 mi. (60 km.) away. Many were shot on the way. During the spring of 1940 about 500 Jews from Lodz and the vicinity were forced to settle in Grojec. In July 1940 a ghetto was established and the plight of the Jewish inhabitants drastically deteriorated. They suffered from hunger, epidemics, and lack of fuel during the winter of 1940–41. About 1,000 fled to Bialobrzegi and were murdered there or deported to Treblinka in the fall of 1942. The Grojec ghetto was liquidated on February 28, 1942, when most of the remaining Jews were deported to the Warsaw ghetto to share the fate of the Jews there. Of those still in Grojec, 83 were deported after some time to a slave labor camp in Russia near Smolensk, where almost all were murdered. The last 250 Jews were executed in the summer of 1943 in a forest near Gora Kalwaria. After the war the Jewish community in Grojec was not reconstituted. Organizations of former Jewish residents of Grojec were established in Israel, France, the U.S., Canada, and Argentina.

[Stefan Krakowski]

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Megillat Gritse* (Yid. and some Heb., 1956); *Bleter far Geshikhte*, 1 pt. 3–4 (1948), 146–8; *Megillat Polin*, 5 (1961), 278; Halpern, Pinkas, 399.

GRONEMANN, SAMUEL (**Sammy**; 1875–1952), German author and Zionist leader. Gronemann, who was born in Strasburg, West Prussia, was the son of Selig Gronemann (1845–1918), a rabbi and scholar who refused to endorse the anti-Zionist stand of the German "Protestrabbiner" in 1898. After studying at the Klaus in Halberstadt, the Hildesheimer Rabbinical Seminary, and the University of Berlin, Gronemann qualified as a lawyer and then embarked on a career as a journalist, playwright, and novelist. While serving on the eastern front in World War I, Gronemann came in touch with Jewish communities in the occupied territories, and after the war ended he personally helped many Jewish refugees. He also helped bring the Yiddish Theater from Vilna to Berlin. Gronemann served as legal adviser to the Union of German Actors and Playwrights. His novels include *Tohuwabohu* (1920); *Hawdoloh und Zapfenstreich* (1924), in which the East European milieu is prominently featured; and *Schalet* (1927). He also wrote a Purim play entitled *Haman's Flucht* (1926). A noted wit, Gronemann's most successful works were his comedies which were adapted for the Hebrew stage after he settled in Tel Aviv in 1936. These include *Jakob und Christian* (1936), which mocked Nazi race theories; *Der Prozess um des Esels Schatten* (1945), a political satire; *Heinrich Heine und sein Onkel* (1947), dealing with a debate about baptism in a Jewish family; and *Die Koenigin von Saba* (1951). He is perhaps best remembered, however, for *Der Weise und der Narr: Koenig Salomo und der Schuster* ("The King and the Cobbler," 1942), a comedy in a legendary biblical setting. The Hebrew version by Nathan *Alterman, *Shelomo ha-Melekh ve-Shalmai ha-Sandelar* (1942), was performed by the *Ohel Theater in Tel Aviv. In 1965 it was set to music by Alexander Argov and performed by the *Cameri theater. It became the first successful Hebrew musical comedy and was performed in various countries. A pioneer German Zionist, Gronemann was a delegate to the Zionist congresses from 1901 onward and was for many years a member of the Zionist Actions Committee. His reputation for political impartiality brought him the presidency of the Zionist Congress court. Gronemann's memoirs, *Erinnerungen eines Jecken* (published in Hebrew translation in 1947 and only in 2002/2004 in the original German), are an important contribution to the history of the Zionist Movement in Germany. A traditionally observant Jew, he was an outspoken critic of Diaspora assimilationism and also attacked certain aspects of ultra-Orthodoxy.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Tidhar, 3 (1958), 1383–4; D. Stern, *Werke juedischer Autoren deutscher Sprache* (1969), 153. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** S. Gronemann, *Erinnerungen. Aus dem Nachlass*, ed. J. Schlör (2002); S. Gronemann, *Erinnerungen an meine Jahre in Berlin. Aus dem Nachlass*, ed. J. Schlör (2004); R. Heuer, *Archiv Bibliographia Judaica – Lexikon deutsch-juedischer Autoren*, vol. 9 (2001), 315–23; H. Mittelmann, *Sammy Gronemann (1875–1952). Zionist, Schriftsteller und Satiriker in Deutschland und Palaestina* (2004).

[Manfred Moshe Geis / Joachim Schlör (2nd ed.)]

GRONER, DOVID YITZCHOK (1925–), Australian rabbi; leader of the Ḥabad movement in Australia. Groner was born in New York and settled in Melbourne in 1958. He had previously visited Australia as a student rabbi in 1947. He was probably the most important Lubavitcher rabbi in Australia, and was the principal of Yeshivah College, a Lubavitcher day school in Melbourne, from 1963. Under his leadership the Lubavitcher movement greatly expanded in Australia.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: W.D. Rubinstein, Australia II, index; D. Goldberg, "The Rebbe's Man Down Under," in: *Australian Jewish News* (July 23, 2004).

[William D. Rubinstein (2nd ed.)]

GROPER, JACOB (1890–1966), Yiddish poet. Born in Mihaileni, Romania, Groper was active in furthering Yiddish culture while studying law at the University of Jassy. After spending most of his life in Romania, mainly in Bucharest, he settled in Haifa in 1964. A participant in the 1908 *Czernowitz Yiddish Conference, he began to write in Romanian, German, and Yiddish, but from 1908 concentrated on Yiddish, his poems appearing from 1914 in periodicals in Vilna, Lemberg (Lvov), Jassy, Bucharest, and London, as well as in anthologies and in the volume *In Shotn fun a Shteyn* ("In the Shadow of a Stone," 1934). Some of his lyrics were printed in the Roman alphabet and in translation in various Romanian Jewish publications. While he was not a prolific writer, Groper's lyrics, romantic in tone, were orally transmitted among Jewish youth and contributed to raising the prestige of Yiddish in Romania. He was widely known and admired by Jews and Gentiles for his vast culture and brilliant mind as revealed in his improvised talks. By the terms of his will, his collected works were published in Yiddish in Israel with a parallel Hebrew translation (1975); another bilingual volume, of tributes to him, appeared the following year.

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[Sol Liptzin]

GROPPER, WILLIAM (1897–1977), U.S. cartoonist, painter, and printmaker. New York-born Gropper grew up in poverty on the Lower East Side. This early existence heightened Gropper's sensitivity to social inequality, and indeed he used his art to comment on the human condition. His studies with Robert Henri and George Bellows at the Ferrer School (1912–15) cemented the artist's desire to make art focusing on contemporary life, and by 1917 he regularly contributed incisive cartoons to the *New York Tribune*. He also created political satire for such left-wing publications as *The Liberator*, *New Masses*, and the Yiddish *Morning Freiheit* in the 1920s. Throughout these years Gropper also painted, but he did not have his first one-person show of oils until 1936. Paintings such as *The Senate* (1935, Museum of Modern Art) and *Hostages* (c. 1937, Newark Museum) address similar themes as Gropper's cartoons.

During the Depression, he was employed by the Works Progress Administration, for which he executed several murals, including one for the Department of the Interior in Washington, D.C. During the war he made cartoons, pamphlets, and war bond posters, often with overt anti-Nazi themes, as well as a few paintings expressing his horror at the incoming news of Nazi barbarism. In *De Profundis* (1943, collection unknown) he presents the Jew of Eastern Europe as the epitome of all human suffering. Gropper's 1948 visit to the ruins of the Warsaw Jewish Ghetto made a deep impression on him, and from that year on he made one painting annually in memory of those who died in the Warsaw Ghetto. Gropper also designed stained-glass windows for a Temple Har Zion in River Forest, Illinois (1965–67) and illustrated several books.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: A.L. Freundlich, *William Gropper: Retrospective* (1968); W. Gropper, *William Gropper: Fifty Years of Drawing, 1921–1971* (1971); L. Lozowick, *William Gropper* (1983).

[Samantha Baskind (2nd ed.)]

GROSMAN, LADISLAV (1921–1981), Slovak writer and scriptwriter. Born in Humenn, Slovakia, Grosman was deported to a forced labor camp during World War II. In 1945, he settled in Prague. He worked as an editor in Prague and Slovakia until 1963. From 1965 to 1968 he worked as a scriptwriter. In 1968 to immigrated to Israel, where he taught at Bar-Ilan University. Before then, more than 40 of his short stories and articles had been published in Czech cultural reviews and magazines. He rewrote his story *Past* ("The Trap," 1962), retitling it *Obchod na korze* ("The Shop on Main Street," 1965). The screen version of the story (directed by Jan Kadar and Elmar Klos) won an Academy Award in 1966 for Best Foreign Language Film. (The main protagonist of the story, the old shop owner played by Ida Kaminska, who is being "Aryanized," lives under the delusion that she cannot be harmed. The new owner respects her, and a special bond of esteem develops between the two.) A collection of stories *Nevěsta* ("The Bride," 1969) appeared just after Grosman left for Israel. It is comprised of seven stories from Slovakia's Jewish milieu. In Israel, Grosman wrote a screenplay for the TV movie *Dod David Holech Lirot Kala* (1972) and for an American TV movie *The Seventeenth Bride* (1986), based on his stories from the *Bride*. A new series of stories appeared in Zurich in Czech, entitled *Hlavou proti zdi* ("With a Head against the Wall," 1976); it was also published in Hebrew. His last work, a novel entitled *Z pekla těst* ("To Be a Lucky Dog," 1994), tells the story of a Jewish boy who was sent from Slovakia to Hungary to escape the Holocaust.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Slovník českch spisovatelů* (*Dictionary of Czech Writers*, 1982).

[Avigdor Dagan / Milos Pojar (2nd ed.)]

GROSS, ADOLF (1862–1937), lawyer, communal worker, and delegate in the Austrian parliament. Gross founded the Jewish Independent Party in Cracow, with the objectives of attaining equality of rights and a communal organization which would concern itself with the needs of the Jewish masses. In his profession Gross won a reputation as a jurist, and in public life as a political journalist and democratic mediator. He established a public company for the construction of cheap lodgings and founded consumer cooperatives. He achieved wide popularity as one of the most prominent members of the Cracow municipal council, on which he was active until 1897.

In the electoral campaign for the Austrian parliament of 1907 his opponent was Ḥayyim Hilfstein, a Zionist who exercised particular influence in assimilationist circles. However, Gross defeated him in the struggle for the Jewish vote. As a delegate, he joined the Polish Parliamentary Club in Vienna and collaborated with the Polish Socialist Party (PPS). Gross was a member of the public committee for the relief of poor Jews in Galicia founded on the initiative of philanthropic societies in England, Germany, and Austria. In the various institutions he upheld his opposition to Zionism and also opposed an attempt to establish a Jewish secondary school in Cracow.

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[Moshe Landau]

GROSS, CHAIM (1904–1991), U.S. sculptor. A native of Kolomea, Galicia, Gross went to the United States in 1921. Supporting himself by selling fruits and vegetables, he attended night classes at the Educational Alliance Art School in Manhattan, and then went on to study for four years at the Beaux-Arts Institute of Design. He supported himself by his art from the time he joined the New York Public Works of Art Project in 1933. Gross taught at the New School of Social Research for 40 years and at the Educational Alliance Art School for 68 years.

Gross made sculptures for public institutions, including the Hadassah Medical Center in Jerusalem. He wrote the book: *The Technique of Wood Sculpture* (1957). He produced a large number of works in different media – wood, stone, bronze, pen and ink, and water color – but his contributions to wood sculpture are the most outstanding. The forests of the Carpathian mountains near his birthplace first taught him the qualities and potentialities of wood. Gross used more than 80 exotic hardwoods in his work, his favorite being lignum vitae, an exceptionally hard South American wood. He never camouflaged or overpolished its surfaces and never disguised its colors but respected its texture and grain. Among his favorite themes were female acrobats and mothers playing with small children.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: J.V. Lombardo, *Chaim Gross, Sculptor* (1949); A.L. Chanin, in: C. Gross, *Fantasy Drawings* (1956), 716; L. Goodrich, in: *Four American Expressionists* (exhibition catalog; 1959).

[Alfred Werner / Rohan Saxena (2nd ed.)]

GROSS, CHARLES (1857–1909), U.S. historian. Born and educated in Troy, N.Y., Gross continued his studies in Europe. His doctoral dissertation was expanded into a classic two-volume work, *The Gild Merchant* (1890). In 1888 he was appointed an instructor at Harvard, and he was made a full professor in 1901. Gross took an active part in Jewish life. At the Anglo-Jewish Exhibition in London in 1887, he lectured on "The Exchequer of the Jews in England in the Middle Ages." In 1893 he translated into English Kayserling's volume on Christopher Columbus and the Jews. He was also vice president and a charter member of the American Jewish Historical Society. Among his most important works: *Select Cases from the Coroner's Rolls, 1265–1413* (1896), and *Select Cases Concerning the Law Merchant, A.D. 1270–1638* (1908–32), both of which he edited for the Selden Society; *Bibliography of British Municipal History* (1897); and *The Sources and Literature of English History from the Earliest Time to about 1485* (1900, 1915^2, 1951).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Jacobs, in: AJHSP, 19 (1910), 189–93.

[Howard L. Adelson]

GROSS, DAVID J. (1941–), U.S. physicist and Nobel laureate. Gross was born in Washington, D.C. and educated in Jerusalem where his father established the School of Business Administration at the Hebrew University. He graduated B.Sc. in physics and mathematics from the Hebrew University of Jerusalem (1962). He returned to the U.S. and gained his Ph.D. in particle physics (1966) from the University of California at Berkeley under the direction of Geoffrey Chew. He was a research fellow of the Harvard Society of Fellows at Harvard University and visiting professor to CERN (1966–69) before joining Princeton University in 1969 where he became professor in 1973, Eugene Higgins Professor of Physics (1986–95), and Jones Professor of Physics (1995–97). From 1997 he was director of the Institute for Theoretical Physics and Frederick W. Gluck Professor of Theoretical Physics at the University of California at Santa Barbara. His research career was devoted to devising theoretical models to account for the accruing puzzling observations in particle physics. A particular problem is the observation that the force which attract quarks, the fundamental particles which comprise protons and neutrons, increases when quarks are separated and diminishes when they get closer to each other, a phenomenon termed "asymptotic freedom." With his colleagues H. David Politzer and Franz Wilczek, Gross devised the standard theoretical model of the strong interactive force between quarks and the gluons mediating this force and explaining this phenomenon. Because these particles carry a "color" charge, this field of study is termed "quantum chromodynamics." Their theory has been substantially validated experimentally. Gross, Politzer, and Wilczek shared the Nobel Prize in Physics (2004) for these discoveries. Gross was a major contributor to many key national and international organizations concerned with scientific policy and education. His many honors include election to the American Physical Society (1974), the American Academy of Arts and Sciences (1985), and the U.S. National Academy of Sciences (1986), the Dirac Medal (2000), and the Harvey Prize of the Haifa Technion (2000). He was visiting professor at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem (1984) and Weizmann lecturer at the Weizmann Institute (1996). He was director of the Jerusalem Winter School since 1999. He has two daughters, both academics, from his first marriage to Shulamith Toaff. He is now married to Jacquelyn Savani.

[Michael Denman (2nd ed.)]

GROSS, HEINRICH (**Henri**; 1835–1910), rabbi and scholar. Gross, who was born in Szenicze, Hungary, received his traditional rabbinical education as a student of Judah *Aszod, at the Breslau Jewish Theological Seminary, at Halle, at Berlin, and also with L. *Zunz. For a time, he was private tutor in the home of Baron Guenzburg in Paris. Gross served as rabbi in Gross-Strelitz (Strzelce, Poland), and from 1870 in Augsburg, Bavaria. He specialized in the study of the lives of leading French rabbis and their communities in the Middle Ages and published his researches in learned journals. Gross's lasting contribution to Jewish scholarship is his *Gallia Judaica* (1897), "a geographic dictionary of France according to rabbinic sources," which was translated into French from the German manuscript by M. Bloch and published by the Société des Etudes Juives. This standard work was reproduced in 1969 with additional notes by S. Schwarzfuchs.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Wininger, Biog, 2 (1927), 525; 7 (1936), 34.

[Georges Weill]

GROSS, JOHN JACOB (1935–), English author and literary critic. Gross was born in London and studied at Cambridge, becoming a Fellow of King's College. After a distinguished literary career he was appointed literary editor of the *New Statesman* in 1972, and in 1974 became editor of the *Times Literary Supplement*, the authoritative and prestigious weekly magazine of literary criticism. He held this post for more than 15 years. He wrote widely on Jewish writers and Jewish themes in literature, and published *The Rise and Fall of the Man of Letters* (1973) and *James Joyce* (1970). Subsequently, Gross was theater critic of the London *Daily Telegraph.* Later works include an autobiography, *A Double Thread: Growing Up English and Jewish in London* (2002) and a study of *Shylock: Four Hundred Years in the Life of a Legend* (2002).

[Michael Wallach / William D. Rubinstein (2nd ed.)]

GROSS, MICHAEL (1920–2004), Israeli painter and sculptor. Born in Tiberias to a sixth generation Galilean family, the son of Leah Levi and Chaim Gross, Michael Gross had a very lonely childhood, as his father, a romantic pioneer, chose to live with his family in an isolated area near the shore of the Kinneret (Sea of Galilee). Surrounded by Arab villages, the family was in a precarious situation and Gross did not go to school until he was ten. In the 1936 riots, the family's house was burned down and they moved back to Tiberias. Three years later, in 1939, when the family returned to the ruined house, his father was stabbed to death by Arabs.

Gross studied art in Jerusalem at the Mizrachi Teacher's Seminar, followed by architectural studies at the Technion in Haifa. In 1951–54, he studied in Paris at the Ecole National Superieur des Beaux-Arts. When he returned he settled in Haifa and set up his studio at the artist's village of Ein Hod. Gross also taught art from 1960 to 1985 at the Oranim Kibbutz Teacher's Seminar. His artwork represented Israel in international exhibitions such as the Venice Biennial, the Sao Paulo Biennial, and the Documenta 9 in Kassel, and was very favorably received.

Many of Gross' works are an integral part of well-known collections such as at the Museum of Modern Art and the Guggenheim Museum in New York. In 2000 Gross received the Israel Prize.

The style of Gross' art is unique. He did not attach himself to any of the artist groups in Israel. His childhood loneliness was reflected in his solitary life as an artist, though many artists, such as Micha *Ullman and Belu Simon Fainaru, spoke of his great influence on them. His style is rooted in Minimalism and its various international languages. On the other hand, the style could be said to owe something to the local Israeli environment. His art always focuses on a certain landscape or a certain figure but its abstraction makes it difficult to identify. For example, Jerusalem is repeatedly symbolized with building motifs such as gates or windows. Later these became lines on a bright white background that suggested the sunlight typical of the Jerusalem area (*Untitled – Jerusalem*, 1975, Tel Aviv Museum of Art).

In the portrait genre Gross increasingly returned to his father. One of his first paintings was created shortly after he heard about his father's death and ever since then there was a bond between his art and his private feelings and perceptions of absence.

The motif of the house was repeatedly used in Gross' art. Over the years it became fragmented, so that only doors, walls, and shutters remained. Most of these fragments are readymade, and as the wooden constructions were painted and leaned against the museum's walls it seemed as if they had been left there by mistake (*Occurrence II*, 1980, Israel Museum, Jerusalem). His public sculptures were also minimalist and in spite of their height they are almost invisible (*Tremor*, 1983, Independence Park, Jerusalem).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Israel Museum, *Michael Gross: Outdoor and Indoor Works* (1977); O. Mordechai, *Michael Gross*, Genia Schrieber University Art Gallery, Tel Aviv University (1993).

[Ronit Steinberg (2nd ed.)]

GROSS, NAPHTALI (1896–1956), Yiddish poet, short story writer, essayist, and translator. Born in Kolomea (Galicia), he emigrated to the U.S. in 1913 and worked as a typesetter and as a teacher in Yiddish schools. His first published poems appeared in the Montreal daily, *Der Keneder Odler.* Gross was a talented translator of poetry from numerous languages into Yiddish. He published his works in Yiddish newspapers, such as *Der Yidisher Kemfer*, *Fraye Arbeter Shtime*, and *Der Tog*, and periodicals founded by Di Yunge, such as *Velt Oys-Velt Ayn*, *Der Groyser Kundes*, *Shriftn*. From 1946, he wrote a weekly column, "*Mayselekh un Mesholim*" ("Little Stories and Parables"), based on stories from readers for the New York *Forverts*, which appeared in book form (*Mayselekh un Mesholim*, 1955), illustrated by his brother, the artist Chaim *Gross. Naphtali Gross's major poetic works are *Psalmen* ("Psalms," 1919), *Der Vayser Rayter* ("The White Horseman," 1925), and

Yidn ("Jews," 2 vols., 1929 and 1938). In the 1920s, his neo-Romantic works deviated from the literary norm, and he was criticized by many for his preoccupation with religious motifs and with the idealization of the *shtetl* at a time of revolution. With Abraham Rejzen, he translated the poems of Solomon ibn *Gabirol. Gross's collected poems, *Lider* ("Poems," 1958), include a bibliography by E.H. Jeshurin.

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[Shlomo Bickel / Marc Miller (2nd ed.)]

GROSS, NATHAN (1874–1922), a founder of *Po'alei Zion and general secretary of the *Jewish National Fund Head Office. Born in Tarnopol, Galicia, Gross moved to Vienna in his youth and worked as a clerk. At first he joined the Social Democrats, but when he became aware of the hostile attitude to Jews shown by the party's leaders (particularly those who were themselves Jews), he left the party. With the publication of Herzl's ideas of a Jewish state, Gross became a Zionist. He was among the organizers of the clerical union in Austria and in this manner contributed to the establishment of a Zionist labor movement. The first cells that he established in various places gradually coalesced into the Po'alei Zion movement, of which he and S. *Kaplansky became the chief spokesmen at Zionist Congresses and in the Zionist Movement. (As a consequence of new activities, *Merḥavyah was founded, thereby realizing Franz *Oppenheimer's plan for the establishment of agricultural cooperatives in Ereẓ Israel.) In 1908 Gross was appointed general secretary of the head office of the Jewish National Fund situated first in Cologne and, in 1914, moving to The Hague. He retained this post until his death.

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[Getzel Kressel]

GROSSBERG, MENASSEH (c. 1860–1927), rabbinical scholar. Born in Trestina, Russia, Grossberg led a wandering life, copying and publishing Hebrew manuscripts from libraries in Berlin, Paris, London, Amsterdam, Munich, and other cities. In the first decade of the 20th century he settled in London, copying manuscripts for European scholars at the British Museum and at Oxford. His many publications included a Pentateuch commentary by Jacob of Vienna (*Peshatim u-Ferushim*, 1888, repr. 1967) from a Munich manuscript; Meshullam b. Moses' *Sefer ha-Hashlamah* on tractates *Berakhot, Ta'anit*, and *Megillah* (from a Hamburg manuscript, the first with an introduction by H. Brody (1893, repr. 1967), and the last as an appendix to *Peshatim u-Ferushim); Hiẓẓei Menasheh* (1901), a manuscript commentary on the Pentateuch by various medieval scholars also containing Jonathan of Lunel's novellae on *Horayot* (1901); *Sefer Yeẓirah* (1902); David b. Levi's *Sefer ha-Mikhtam on Megillah* (1904); *Megillat Ta'anit* (with an extensive introduction, 1906); and *Seder Olam Zuta* (also with introduction, 1910). Grossberg also published responsa and various halakhic treatises.

GROSSER, BRONISLAW (pseudonyms: **Slawek**; **Zelcer**; 1883–1912), lawyer born in Miechow, Poland; one of the second generation of *Bund leaders. The son of a lawyer, he became a leader of the Warsaw socialist youth while still at secondary school. His experience of antisemitism made him conscious of his Jewish identity, and influenced by Bundists from Lithuania, he joined the Bund. Grosser was among those who in 1906 consistently supported the independence of the Bund, being against its return to the Russian Social Democratic party. He was a member of the advisory committee of the Social Democratic group in the Fourth Duma (1912) and was elected to the central committee of the Bund. An incisive writer and fluent speaker, Grosser was outstanding among the relatively few intellectuals who joined the Bund in Poland at that time. He defined his task as "defense of the interests of the Jewish workers in Poland, and within this framework defense of the interests of the country."

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[Moshe Mishkinsky]

GROSSFELD, ABRAHAM ISRAEL ("**Abie**"; 1934–), U.S. gymnastic and coach; two-time Olympic competitor and five-time coach, World Championships and Pan American Games champion, winner of 17 medals at the Maccabiah, including 13 gold; member of the National Gymnastics Hall of Fame. Born on the Lower East Side of New York City to immigrant parents – his father was a window washer – Grossfeld spoke Yiddish until he was four. He began gymnastics at the age of 15 while at Samuel Gompers High School, training at the West Side YMCA. His first international competition was the 1953 Maccabiah, where he won six gold medals; four years later he won seven gold.

Grossfeld graduated from the University of Illinois in 1960, after finishing second in the individual all-around at the 1957 NCAA meet and first in 1958. He was also AAU national champion in the horizontal bars from 1955 to 1957.

Grossfeld competed internationally for the United States for 13 years, including in the 1956 and 1960 Olympic Games; the World Championships of 1958 and 1962; and the Pan American Games of 1955, 1959, and 1963. At the Pan Am Games he won 15 medals, including eight gold, and his record score in the 1955 Horizontal Bar stood until 1987. Grossfeld also won 17 medals at the Maccabiah Games of 1953, 1957, and 1965.

After retiring from competition, Grossfeld turned to coaching and became a legend. He was head coach of the U.S. Men's Olympic gymnastics teams of 1972, 1984, and 1988, with the 1984 squad winning the Combined Exercises championship. He was also assistant coach of the 1964 U.S. men's Olympic team, and the 1968 U.S. women's Olympic team. Grossfeld served as head coach of the U.S. men's gymnastics team at five World Championships (1966, 1981, 1983, 1985, and 1987); the U.S. men's team at the 1983 and 1987 Pan American Games; the U.S. men's team at the 1982 World Cup; the men's team at the 1986 Goodwill Games; and coached the U.S. gymnasts at the 1973, 1977 (men and women), 1981, and 1983 Maccabiah Games. During this time Grossfeld was head coach at Southern Connecticut State University for 40 years, helping the program become one of the best in the country.

Grossfeld was chosen NCAA National Coach of the Year three times, Gymnastics Federation Coach of the Year in 1984, was elected to the National Gymnastics Hall of Fame in 1979, and was named one of the 50 greatest New York sports figures by *Sports Illustrated* in 2004.

[Elli Wohlgelernter (2nd ed.)]

GROSSINGER, JENNIE (1892–1972), U.S. resort owner and manager. Grossinger, born in a small town in Galicia, was taken to America by her parents at the turn of the century. The Grossingers lived in extreme poverty on New York's Lower East Side, and Jennie went to work in a sweatshop after several years of public school. In 1912 she married her cousin Harry Grossinger (1890–1964), and the following year the entire family moved to a farm in the Catskill Mountains near Liberty, New York. The farm was converted into a kosher boardinghouse in 1914, and Grossinger's eventually grew under Jennie Grossinger's management into a giant resort of more than 1,000 acres, whose 800 employees served some 150,000 guests a year.

The grounds of Grossinger's Resort and Country Club included 35 buildings, a 27-hole golf course, a shopping arcade, bridle paths, a ski slope, indoor and outdoor swimming pools, tennis courts, a post office, two kosher kitchens, and a nightclub. Grossinger's attracted a host of well-known entertainers, who thrived in this area of the Catskills that was known as the "Borscht Belt." In addition to ordinary guests from all across the U.S. and Canada, the Grossinger roster included political figures, world-renowned scientists, movie stars, radio personalities, and sports figures.

Active in charities and dedicated to good causes, Grossinger received many awards for her philanthropy. During World War II she raised millions of dollars in war bonds at the hotel, and an Army airplane was named "Grossinger's" in her honor. On June 16, 1968, Governor Nelson Rockefeller made an official proclamation designating June 16 as Jennie Grossinger Day in New York State. That birthday tribute was the first time such a proclamation was issued to honor a living woman in New York State.

After her death, her son Paul and daughter Elaine took over the hotel, bringing the resort to even greater success and popularity. However, in 1985, Grossinger's was sold to a group of investors from New York City.

Jennie Grossinger wrote a cookbook entitled *The Art of Jewish Cooking* (1958).

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[Hillel Halkin /Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

GROSSMAN, ALLAN (1910–1991) and **LARRY** (1944–1997), Canadian father-and-son political team that, one after the other, represented a heavily Jewish inner-city Toronto riding in the provincial legislature for 32 consecutive years.

Allan Grossman was born in Toronto. His father, Morris, arrived in Canada from Poland in 1907 and two years later brought his wife, Sarah, and their six children to join him. Allan was their seventh child. As a young man Grossman developed an interest in Conservative Party politics. At 16 he was founder of the Junior Conservative Association. While he went into business and became a successful insurance agent he remained active in local politics. In 1951, Grossman entered municipal politics and won election to Toronto's municipal council and was reelected in the three following elections. In 1955 he shifted to provincial politics, running for the Progressive Conservatives. He won a hard-fought campaign against Communist Party incumbent Joseph Salsberg, taking the inner-city St. Andrews riding. Grossman was reelected in 1959 and in 1960 he was appointed to the provincial cabinet as minister without portfolio, becoming the first Jew appointed to a provincial cabinet. During 20 years in cabinet, Grossman often spoke out for stronger anti-discrimination and human rights legislation. He also went on to be the minister responsible for liquor sales in Ontario, a provincial government monopoly, then minister of reform institutions, overseeing administration of provincial correctional institutions. Under his leadership, Ontario initiated a long-overdue reform of the penal system. Before he retired from political life in 1971 Grossman held several other provincial cabinet posts, including minister of trade and development. In this capacity he led the first western trade mission to China.

Grossman was also active in many Jewish organizations, including the Jewish Immigrant Aid Society, the Canadian Jewish Congress, and the Zionist Organization of Canada.

Allan Grossman's son, Larry, was born in Toronto and studied law there. When his father retired from electoral politics, he gave up law for politics and ran in the same riding for the Progressive Conservatives and was elected. He held the seat through the next three elections. Considered among the more progressive members of his party – "a Tory with conscience" – he was appointed to the provincial Cabinet and held a number of different portfolios including Consumer and Corporate Relations, Education, Health, and Provincial Treasurer. In 1985, when then Premier William Davis announced his retirement, Grossman ran to replace him but lost to the much more conservative Frank Miller. Miller resigned after being soundly defeated by the Liberal Party in the 1985 provincial election and Grossman was chosen to lead a much divided provincial Progressive Conservative Party. The still popular Liberals went to the polls again in 1987 and the results relegated the Conservatives to third party in the legislature behind the NDP. Grossman lost his own seat and resigned. He returned to private legal practice but fell ill with brain cancer and died at 53.

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[Harold Troper (2nd ed.)]

GROSSMAN, ALLEN (1932–), U.S. poet. Grossman was born in Minneapolis and educated at Harvard and Brandeis, from which he received his Ph.D. in 1959. He received, among other awards, a MacArthur Fellowship and the Witter Bynner Prize. His poems often concern themselves not only with establishing the authority of the poet as the heir of perennial questions (such as the meaning and shaping powers of language and tradition), but also with reinvigorating the prophetic voice (as in seeking intimacy with, and invoking, the divine). His poetry is notable for its biblical resonance and moral aspiration. In this fashion, both individual and poetic situation are often liberated from sheer contingency. Among his works are *The Ether Dome and Other Poems: New and Selected, 1979–1991* (1991); *The Sighted Singer: Two Works on Poetry for Readers and Writers* (with Mark Halliday (1992); *The Long Schoolroom: Lessons in the Bitter Logic of the Poetic Principle* (1997); *How to Do Things With Tears* (2001); and *Sweet Youth: Poems by a Young Man and an Old Man, Old and New, 1953–2001* (2002).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: D. Morris, *Poetry's Poet: Essays on the Poetry, Pedagogy, and Poetics of Allen Grossman* (2004).

[Lewis Fried (2nd ed.)]

GROSSMAN, AVRAHAM (1936–), Israeli historian. Grossman focuses on the cultural, intellectual, and social world of the Ashkenazi and French rabbinical sages in the early Middle Ages. He was born in the moshavah of Mishmar ha-Yarden. In 1966 he graduated in Jewish history and Talmud from the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, receiving his M.A. in 1967 and his Ph.D. in 1974; he did postdoctoral work in London and Oxford in 1975. From 1969 to 1972 he taught Jewish history at the University of the Negev (now Ben-Gurion University) and in 1973–74 taught at the Hebrew University. In 1976 he became a lecturer there and in 1986 a professor. From 1991 to 1992 he was the head of the Department of Jewish History. Grossman was visiting professor at Harvard, Yale, and Ohio Universities. He was a member of numerous academic committees and editorial boards. He published more than 100 articles and books, among them, *The First Ashkenazi Wise Men* (1981); *The Jewish Community during the Middle Ages* (1988); *The First French Wise Men* (1995) and *Pious and Rebellious – Jewish Women in Medieval Europe* (2001). He received various awards for his work, including the Bialik Award. In 2003 he was awarded the Israel Prize for Jewish history.

[Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

GROSSMAN, DAVID (1954–), Israeli writer. Born in Jerusalem, Grossman studied philosophy and theater at the Hebrew University. He began a 25-year career at Kol Israel (Israel Broadcasting Authority) at the age of ten, as a correspondent for youth programs. He published his first book of prose, a collection of stories entitled *Raẓ* ("The Jogger"), in 1983. This was followed by the novel *Ḥiyukh ha-Gedi* (1983; *Smile of the Lamb*, 1990); *Ayen Erekh Ahavah* (1986; *See Under Love*, 1989); a non-fiction, politically oriented work *Ha-Zeman ha-Ẓahov* (1987; *Yellow Wind*, 1988); *Sefer ha-Dikduk ha-Penimi* (1991; *The Book of Intimate Grammar*, 1994); *Yesh Yeladim Zig Zag* (1994; *The Zigzag Kid*, 1997); *She-Tihiyi Li Sakkin* (1998; *You Shall be my Knife*, 2002); *Ba-Guf Ani Mevinah* (2002; *Her Body Knows*, 2005). One of the most prominent writers of his generation, Grossman also wrote a number of books for children and young readers, including *Du Krav* (1982; *Duel*, 1998) and *Itamar Mikhtav* ("The Itamar Letter," 1986). Among his works are also the play *Gan Riki* (1988; *Riki's Playground*) and non-fiction books such as *Mavet ke-Derekh Ḥayyim* (2003; "Death as a Way of Life").

Grossman is one of the leading heirs of the so-called "New Wave" in Israeli literature, whose oeuvre marks a turning point in Hebrew fiction. His writing correlates historically with the change in the political climate after the rise to power of the Likud Party. It addresses political and social issues, protesting time and again against the occupation of the territories, the use of violence, and the mentality of the new establishment.

His first novel, *Smile of the Lamb*, attempts to shed light on Israeli society following the Six-Day War and the Yom Kippur War. The story unfolds through a dual perspective, that of the Israeli Uri Leniado and, alternately, that of Hilmi, an old Arab. Interwoven in the narrative are essayistic sections, which give vent to Grossman's feelings about the occupation and the humiliation of the Arab population. Following this highly political prose work, Grossman published his most ambitious work of fiction, *Ayen Erekh Ahavah*. Bordering often on the grotesque, Grossman addresses the Holocaust while reflecting on the very (im-)possibilty of writing about it. Grossman uses sophisticated techniques: the first part of the novel is related from the point of view of Momik, a sensitive, imaginative child growing up in Jerusalem amid Holocaust survivors. Momik creates his own private myth about the Nazi beast, which he attempts to understand better and fight in his own little kingdom, in the cellar. The second part handles in a poetic-fantastic manner the fate of the well-known Polish-Jewish author Bruno *Schulz, who was murdered by the Germans. The third part relates Anschel Wasserman's (Momik's grandfather) strategy of survival in the camp, by telling the Nazi commander in charge stories after stories and keeping him in suspense. The fourth part, fragmentary and postmodernistic, is structured as an encyclopedia, listing and explaining a variety of words or concepts and omitting deliberately the entry "Love." Grossman attempts to blur the distinction between reality and fantasy and shatter the reader's illusion of certainty and knowledge.

The following novel, *The Book of Intimate Grammar*, is far more modest in its artistic aims: it does not seek to handle the metahistorical issues of a generation, neither the Holocaust nor the Arab-Israeli conflict. Grossman focuses on the childhood of Israelis who grew up in Jerusalem in the 1950s through an atypical but also typical Israeli family. The father survived the labor camp in Russia; the mother is an orphan who attended to the needs of her siblings. This historical-biographical background shaped their lives; Grossman is interested in the psychological effect of the past on their present lives, not – as in the previous novel – in a historiosophical account of a collective issue. From this point of view, the novel is closer to the earlier prose works of Yehoshua *Kenaz (for instance, *After the Holidays*) or to Yeshayahu Koren's novella *Levayah ba-Ẓohorayim* ("Funeral at Noon"). The familial context is seen through the eyes of Aharon, a 14-year-old boy, and it is his story of adolescence and growing up, oscillating between pain and humor, reality and fantasy.

She-Tihiyi Li Sakkin depicts a universal theme, that of a man's love for a woman whom he never meets. This epistolary novel deals, as it were, with the second phase of growing up, with the midlife crisis. The correspondence between Yair and Miriam pointedly disregards political-historical subjects. What matters more are the changes observed in nature, the blossoms of spring, the first rain. The letters exchanged by the protagonists, both belonging to the Ashkenazi elite, shed light on their lives, their dreams and passions, though ending in a rather anti-romantic manner. Grossman suggests that truth, art, and beauty exist in writing only. The protagonists prefer the narcissistic expedient of self-expression in writing to a physical encounter. The novel is an important milestone in Grossman's development as a writer; it is a highly introverted novel which is far from offering the reader shallow entertainment.

Grossman's novella *Ba-Guf Ani Mevinah* takes this process of introversion further: published during the second Intifada, when Israeli readers were expecting yet another political book from Grossman, author of the highly topical *Yellow Wind* (1987) and *Sleeping on a Wire* (1992), the story again deals with the relationship between imagination and reality, showing that the life of fantasy is perhaps more intense and rewarding than actual life. Sitting by the bedside of her dying mother, the daughter relates the mother's life-story: When you read it out to me, I have the feeling that these things really happened, says the mother. Many questions remain unanswered, others have the aura of mystery, suggesting that much in human existence remains inexplicable and perhaps unutterable.

Grossman's books have been translated into many languages, and he is undoubtedly one of the best known Israeli authors abroad.

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[Gershon Shaked (2nd ed.)]

GROSSMAN, LEONID PETROVICH (1888–1965), Russian literary historian and theater critic. Grossman was born in Odessa, graduated from Kiev university, and studied law in Sorbonne. He started writing criticism from 1903 and contributed to the *Jewish Encyclopedia* in the field of law. From 1910 to 1920 he produced poetry, mostly on biblical themes. From 1921 he lectured in various institutes in Moscow on the theory and history of literature, from 1945 as a professor. His works range from studies of Russo-Western cultural relations (e.g., on Balzac in Russia, 1937) to monographs on Russian literary masters such as Dostoyevski (1963). He also wrote comparative studies of literature and other creative arts, such as theater and painting. In *Ispoved yevreya* ("A Jew's Confession," 1925) Grossman dealt with A.U. Kovner, a picturesque Jewish convict, whose letters to Dostoyevski, published in 1903 some 30 years after their dispatch, accused the novelist of slandering the Jews in his *Diary of a Writer.*

[Shmuel Spector (2nd ed.)]

GROSSMAN, MEIR (1888–1964), Zionist leader. Born in Temryuk in the Krasnodar Territory, Russia, Grossman at an early age became a contributor to the Russian press. For a while he lived in Warsaw, where he began contributing to the Yiddish press. In 1913 he went to Berlin to study, becoming a member of the central committee of *He-Ḥaver, the Zionist students' society, and editing its Russian and Hebrew organs.

On the day that World War I broke out, Grossman left for Copenhagen, and worked there as a correspondent for the Russian daily *Russkoye Slovo.* A few months after his arrival he began the publication of a Yiddish daily, *Kopenhagener Togblat* (later renamed *Yidishe Folkstsaytung*). At *Jabotinsky's suggestion he published a Yiddish fortnightly, *Di Tribune*, dedicated to publicizing the cause of a Jewish Legion, a World Jewish Congress, and equal rights for Jews. Jabotinsky also persuaded him to move to London, which he did in the fall of 1916, publishing *Di Tribune* there as a daily. The campaign for a Jewish Legion did not, however, yield immediate results, and when the paper closed, Grossman returned to Copenhagen.

After the February 1917 Revolution in Russia, Grossman returned to Petrograd, where he became a contributor to *Petrograder Togblat*, the daily founded by Yiẓḥak *Gruenbaum. After the October Revolution he was asked to move to Kiev and there edited several periodicals: *Der Telegraf*, a daily, together with Naḥman *Syrkin; *Oyf der Vakh*, Zionist weekly; and *Die Velt*, another daily. He was a member of the executive committee of Ukrainian Zionists, took part in the National Jewish Assembly and in the work of the Provisional National Council, and was a deputy of the Rada, the national council of the independent Ukraine. When hostilities broke out and the Bolsheviks invaded the Ukraine, Grossman, together with Abraham Coralnik, was sent abroad to inform the world of the situation and appeal for help. In London and in the United

States, Grossman and Coralnik created aid organizations for Ukrainian Jews (1919).

At the end of 1919, Grossman joined Jacob *Landau, in establishing the Jewish Correspondence Bureau for the dissemination of news of Jewish interest. This bureau eventually became the *Jewish Telegraphic Agency (JTA). Grossman left the JTA in 1928 as a result of differences with Landau. In 1925 he had founded the *Palestine Bulletin*, an English-language daily in Jerusalem, which in 1932 became the *Palestine Post* (later the *Jerusalem Post*). After the 1920 riots in Palestine, Grossman criticized Weizmann's policies and called for his resignation. When Jabotinsky left the Zionist Executive and eventually founded the *Revisionist Party (in 1925), Grossman became one of his early supporters and was appointed deputy chairman of the new party's world center. In 1933 the party split on the issue of secession from the Zionist Organization; Grossman headed the minority, which opposed Jabotinsky and which was in favor of remaining in the *Zionist Organization. He then established the *Jewish State Party.

In 1934 he settled in Palestine, where he became the manager of Bank le-Hityashevut Amamit. In 1937 he caused a sensation at the Zionist Congress by reading from its rostrum confidential minutes of Weizmann's talks with the British colonial secretary, Ormsby-Gore, in which Weizmann promised to influence the Zionist movement in favor of the partition plan of Palestine, though the Zionist General Council had adopted a resolution against the plan. Grossman's "suspension from membership in the Zionist General Council" by the Zionist court, for having disclosed confidential Zionist documents, caused a stir in the Jewish press the world over, particularly in the London *Jewish Chronicle*. He spent the World War II years in the United States. After the war the two factions of the Revisionist Party were reunited, and Grossman attended the Zionist Congress as a representative of the united party. He did not, however, join the *Ḥerut Party, and preferred to join the *General Zionists, becoming one of its representatives in the Executive of the Zionist Organization (1954–60). When the General Zionist Party merged with the Progressive Party to form the Liberal Party, Grossman again did not follow his party's decision and resigned from the Zionist Executive. He continued his journalistic work and also participated in the activities of various public institutions. He took special interest in the situation of Soviet Jews and promoted the publication of Russian-language periodicals in Israel (*Vestnik Izraila*, and *Shalom*).

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[Israel Klausner]

GROSSMAN, MORTON IRVIN (1919–1981), U.S. gastroenterologist. Born and educated in Ohio, he received his M.D. and Ph.D. in 1944 from Northwestern University. Grossman first served as assistant biochemist (1939–41) at Ohio State University Medical School and from 1950 to 1951 as professor of physiology in the Department of Clinical Sciences. From 1951 to 1955 he was chief of physiology in the Division of Medical Nutrition first in Chicago and then at Fitzsimons Army Hospital in Denver. In 1955 he joined the faculty of the University of California School of Medicine and was appointed chairman of the Department of Medicine in 1965. Grossman was consultant to the National Institutes of Health (1960–65) and a member of many professional societies. He was the father of modern gastrointestinal endocrine physiology. His most important contributions lay in defining the secretory mechanisms of the stomach and pancreas actions and of regulatory gastrointestinal peptides. He served as editor of *Gastroenterology* (1960–65) and wrote many papers on the physiology of the alimentary tract, gastrointestinal hormones, and the physiology of nutrition.

[Fred Rosner / Bracha Rager (2nd ed.)]

GROSSMAN, STEVEN, chair of national Democratic Party. Grossman was active in the American Jewish community and within Democratic politics. A graduate of Princeton and Harvard Business schools, he headed the Massachusetts Envelope Company that had been in his family since 1910. A leader of the Boston Jewish community, he served on the boards of Brandeis University, Beth Israel Hospital, and the Combined Jewish Philanthropies.

As a leader of the Democratic Party Grossman began his career within Massachusetts politics and was chairman of the Democratic Party in the state during the early 1990s, spearheading Bill Clinton's 20 point victory in 1992 and capturing enough Senate and House seats in Massachusetts to override the Republican governor's veto. His close association with Democratic politics and his relationship with the president was essential to his rise to leadership in the American Israel Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC), which had been increasingly moving to the right during the Reagan and George H.W. Bush presidencies and during Likud leadership in Israel. A Democratic and a strong supporter of the peace process, Grossman was named to head AIPAC, after his predecessor had committed the ultimate sin of American politics; he had been caught telling the truth about AIPAC's power, too directly and for attribution. Moderate but forceful, Grossman was a good choice, most especially during the Clinton-Rabin years where the organized Jewish community and their political supporters had to turn around their positions on the Palestinians and the Peace Process after the Oslo Accords.

He left AIPAC to serve as chair of the Democratic Party where his ties to the Clinton administration and his fundraising prowess served him in good stead. He made the transition successfully and seamlessly from Jewish leadership to national leadership of the Democratic Party, where Jewish support is a pillar of fundraising efforts.

Grossman was unsuccessful in his bid for the Democratic nomination for governor of Massachusetts in 2002 but became prominent again as chairman of the Howard Dean campaign for the U.S. presidency in 2004; Dean went from obscurity to front-runner status in near record time. Grossman was also instrumental in causing Dean to withdraw from actively pursuing the nomination when after deep losses, John Kerry's nomination became a foregone conclusion and Dean's chances were nil. Grossman held a press conference endorsing his home state candidate Kerry before Dean had formally withdrawn.

GROSSMAN, VASILI SEMYONOVICH (**Joseph Solomonovich**; 1905–1964), Soviet Russian writer. Born to a traditional Yiddish-speaking family in the intensely Jewish town of Berdichev, he moved to Moscow as a young man and, after graduating from the university, worked for a time as a chemical engineer in the coal mines of Donbas. His short story *V gorode Berdicheve* ("In the Town of Berdichev," 1934), which described the Civil War in and around his home town, earned the praise of Maxim Gorki. Grossman's most important early work is *Stepan Kolchugin* (1937–40), a three-volume novel describing the Communist underground before the Revolution. He became famous as the author of *Narod bessmerten* ("The People Is Immortal," 1942), the first important Soviet novel inspired by World War II. It was published in the Soviet army gazette *Red Star*, where he served as a war correspondent. The Holocaust of Soviet Jewry finds expression in the novels: *Staryi Uchitel* ("Old Teacher," 1943) and *Treblinskii Ad* ("The Inferno of Treblinka," 1945). His second war novel, *Za pravoye delo*, ("For the Just Cause"), the first part of which appeared in 1952, was never completed. It was found ideologically objectionable because of its underestimation of the Communist Party's role in the forging of victory over Nazism. Another cause of official displeasure probably was Grossman's emphasis on such "minor" traits of Nazism as the mass extermination of the Jews and its strong nationalism. Coming as they did at the height of Soviet antisemitic campaigns and the wave of glorification of everything Russian, Grossman's observations were against the official line. Somewhat earlier, fragments of the manuscript confiscated by the KGB were published in the West under the name *Zhizn I Sudba* ("Life and Fate," 1980). From 1956 until his death he worked on a book about the tragic Stalinist period, the anti-Jewish campaign, the persecution of intellectuals by the party apparatus, and the repression of any free thinking. It was published as *Vsio Techot* ("Everything Is Flawed") in the Samizdat in the 1960s and in Germany in 1970. Grossman and Ilya *Ehrenburg had tried to publish a "Black Book" of documentary evidence of Nazi crimes committed against the Jews on Soviet territory. The book was already set in type, but, as Ehrenburg pointed out in his memoirs, its publication was banned by the Soviet authorities, and the KGB destroyed the type frames. One volume was eventually published in Bucharest (1947) under the title *Cartea Neagr*, with a foreword by Grossman. A copy of the original manuscript is in the archive of Yad Vashem, Jerusalem and was published there in 1980.

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[Maurice Friedberg / Shmuel Spector (2nd ed.)]

GROSSMAN, YIẒḤAK-DAVID (1946–), Israeli rabbi known for his unique activities in education and welfare, such as assistance to criminal youth and adults, immigration absorption, and the advancement of religious-secular relations. The crowning glory of his work is the Migdal Or educational system, with schools and dormitories in Israel and abroad. Grossman was born in Jerusalem, a sixth-generation Israeli. In 1966 he received his rabbinic ordination from R. Isser Yehuda *Unterman and R. Isaac *Nissim. In 1967 he was active in Jerusalem's slums, setting up three educational institutes there. In 1968 he moved to Migdal ha-Emek, a development town in northern Israel, and in 1970 he became its chief rabbi. In 1971 he founded the Or la-No'ar youth movement. In 1972 he established the Migdal Or educational complex in Migdal ha-Emek, which later became a national system. In 1991 he began to absorb immigrants from Ethiopia and the Former Soviet Union in Midgal Or. In the same year he founded Migdal Or institutes in Moscow and Leningrad. In 1993 he began to absorb new Yemenite immigrants at the institution. In 1995 he worked with French youth. Grossman received a number of awards, including the Aryeh Levin Father of Prisoners Award (1980), and the Love of Israel Award given by President Chaim Herzog and Prime Minister Menaḥem Begin (1983). In 2004 he was awarded the Israel Prize for his special contribution to Israeli society.

[Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

GROSSMANN, KURT RICHARD (1897–1972), German journalist. A pacifist after World War I, Grossmann became general secretary of the *Deutsche Liga fuer Menschenrechte* (German League for Human Rights) in his home town, Berlin (1926), and organized its fight against injustice in German law courts, which followed reactionary tendencies. Grossmann was active in cases such as that of the Russian war prisoner, Jacobowsky (executed and then adjudged innocent), and that of Walter Bullerjahn who had been imprisoned as the result of false witness. He wrote *Dreizehn Jahre "Republikanische" Justiz* (1932). Warned that the Nazis were about to arrest him, Grossmann escaped to Prague in 1933. There he established and directed the *Demokratische Fluechtlingsfuersorge* (Relief for Refugees by Democrats) and wrote brochures against Nazism. In 1938 he went to Paris and in 1939 to New York. In 1943 the World Jewish Congress entrusted Grossman with dealing with the European refugee problem. After World War II, Grossmann became a recognized spokesman on problems concerning Jewish refugees and *restitution and compensation. He was also involved in the Jewish-German process of reconciliation and lectured in Germany. Among the books written during his American years are *Die Unbesungenen Helden: Menschen in Deutschlands dunklen Tagen* (1957); *Ossietzky: ein deutscher Patriot* (1963), which won the Albert Schweitzer Prize; and a history of restitution, *Die Ehrenschuld: Kurzgeschichte der Wiedergutmachung* (1967); *Emigration, Geschichte der Hitler-Fluechtlinge 1933–45* (1969).

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[Frederick R. Lachman / Monika Halbinger (2nd ed.)]

GROSS-ZIMMERMANN, MOSHE (**Gross**; 1891–1974), Yiddish essayist. Born in Boryslav, Galicia, Gross-Zimmermann lived in Vienna from 1908 and there wrote German impressionistic lyrics, one-act plays, and aphorisms, and edited a Yiddish newspaper *Yidishe Morgenpost* (1918–20). His essays on Yiddish, French, and German writers appeared in the Viennese Yiddish monthly *Kritik*, as well as in leading periodicals in Warsaw and New York. In 1938 he settled in Palestine, joined the staff of the Hebrew daily *Davar*, and continued publishing literary essays in the Yiddish press in Israel and New York. From 1950 he headed the Yiddish department of Israel's overseas broadcasts program, and his weekly feuilletons were widely listened to. In his essays, collected in the volumes *Yidn Tsvishn Yidn* ("Jews among Jews," 1956), *Intimer Videranand* ("Intimate Contradiction,"1964), and *Dos Vort Vos Mir Shraybn* ("The Word We Write," 1971), he displayed a personal style with a Galician idiomatic flavor.

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[Israel Ch. Biletzky]

°**GROTIUS, HUGO** (**Huig de Groot**; 1583–1645), Dutch statesman, jurist, theologian, and historian. Grotius' contacts with Jews and Judaism were concerned with both political and spiritual matters. As a result of the flight of Marranos from Spain and Portugal to the Netherlands in the late 16th and early 17th century, and the consequent formation, without a firm legal basis, of sizable Jewish communities in *Amsterdam and other cities, the estates of Holland appointed Grotius to a commission "to amend the regulations for protecting Jews living in these lands from all scandals, anxieties, and sanctions." Grotius' report, known as *Remonstrantie*, appeared in 1615, but was not published in full until 1949. In the report Grotius posed three questions: whether it is desirable to allow Jews to settle in the country; whether it is advisable to permit them to follow their religious traditions; and in what ways it is possible to prevent difficulties affecting either Christianity or the state, through the presence in the land of Jews observing their religion. Grotius answered the first question in the affirmative. On the second point, he advised that the Jews be granted freedom of worship subject to limitations to prevent certain religious and political hazards.

Though some of his replies were noteworthy for their tolerance, others were hardly agreeable to Jews. Grotius ruled that all Jews who entered the state should be obliged to register with the city authorities, declaring that they believed in one God and that the words of Moses and the prophets were true. They were to be allowed to live in urban areas only, and their number was to be limited to 200 families in the provinces of Holland and Friesland and to 300 families in Amsterdam. They were to be granted the privilege of engaging in commerce and industry. Mixed marriages between Jews and Christians were to be prohibited. Yet the Jews were neither to be compelled to conform to a particular style of dress nor to be separated from the rest of the residents in any other way. They must not be coerced to violate their Sabbath, nor should they desecrate Sundays and Christian holidays. Different penalties were fixed for those who might transgress these regulations. The *Remonstrantie* were accepted by the estates of Holland but were not adopted as a general law for the entire country.

Even more interesting are Grotius' intellectual contacts with Judaism. His conceptions of, and attacks on, Judaism were formed within the framework of Christian apologetics. He confesses his obligation to the Hebrew authors who, through their knowledge of the literature, language, and customs of their people, have revealed a special understanding of the Scriptures. Similar statements are found in the *Annotata ad Vetus Testamentum* (Paris, 1664). In his legal works Grotius quotes, in addition to the writings of Jewish authors who wrote in Greek (Philo and Josephus), the medieval Jewish commentators, as well as the Targum, Talmud, and Midrash. Occasionally his compositions contain Hebrew words and verses, and there can be no doubt that he had some knowledge of Hebrew and Aramaic; for example, he says in the *Annotata* that the beauty of the Song of Songs is marred in translations. His reported wide familiarity with Semitic languages nevertheless appears exaggerated. Many of his letters, especially to his friend Gerhard Johannes Vossius as well as to *Manasseh Ben Israel, indicate that he gained much of his information about Jews from the latter, whom he admired greatly. Because of the Jewish thread running through his works, which grew stronger in the course of time, Grotius was accused of leanings toward Judaism and of preferring Jewish to Christian biblical exegesis, accusations which, however, overlooked the spiritual ties between Protestantism and the Old Testament.

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[Shabtai Rosenne]

GROVE, ANDREW STEPHEN (**Andros Grof**; 1936–), U.S. engineer, technology executive. Born in Budapest, Hungary, to a middle-class secular family (his father was a dairy man), Grove almost died at four of scarlet fever, but he eventually become a founding father of the personal computer industry. Through foresight and good fortune, the family avoided the fate of many of their fellow Jews by successfully fleeing the Nazis, thanks to young Andris (as he was called) and his mother finding refuge with a Christian family on the outskirts of Budapest. They lived in a dark cellar in which "the sound of artillery was a continuous backdrop," Grove wrote in his memoir, as Russian bombs hit the area. Under the Communist regime that followed World War II, as his family rebuilt its business, Grove distinguished himself as a student of chemistry and was seemingly destined for a comfortable position in academia or industry, until revolution broke out in 1956 and he found himself in that cellar again. In June 1956 the popular Hungarian uprising was put down at gunpoint. Soviet troops occupied Budapest and randomly began rounding up young people. Grove and 200,000 others escaped to the West. In *Swimming Across*, his 2001 memoir, Grove re-created a Europe that has since disappeared, exploring the ways in which persecution and struggle helped shape his life. Grove went to the United States in 1957 knowing little English and with only a few dollars in his pocket. He earned a bachelor's degree in chemical engineering in 1960 from the City College of New York and a Ph.D. from the University of California, Berkeley, in 1963. He worked at Fairchild Semiconductor before participating in the founding of the Intel Corporation in 1968. In 1979 he was named president and in 1987, chief executive. Intel's microprocessor chips serve as the silicon "brains" in more than 90 percent of the world's personal computers. In 1987, the year Grove became chief executive, Intel reported profits of $248 million on sales of $1.9 billion. In 1998, the year he stepped down, Intel's profits reached nearly $6.95 billion on sales of $25 billion. Intel's popular Pentium II computer chip was developed at Intel's plant in Haifa, Israel.

Grove, who has written more than 40 technical papers and holds several patents on semiconductor devices and technology, was elected a fellow of the IEEE and a member of the National Academy of Engineering. In 1994 Grove was elected a fellow of the Academy of Arts and Sciences in the United States and *Time* magazine named him Man of the Year in 1997. His first book, *Physics and Technology of Semiconductor Devices*, published in 1967, has been used at leading universities in the United States. His *High Output Management* (1983) was translated into 11 languages. *One-on-One With Andy Grove* was published in 1987 and *Only the Paranoid Survive*, the blunt credo for which he was known, was issued in 1996.

Under Grove's stewardship, Intel thrived in the face of challenges, including up-and-down cycles in the technology industry, clone chip makers, and rival microprocessor designs. None proved an obstacle to Intel's progressive domination of the computer industry.

[Stewart Kampel (2nd ed.)]

GROVES, SACRED. The concept of sacred groves arose out of the traditional mistranslation of the Asherah as a sacred grove near the altar. The Asherah is now known to have been a man-made cult object that was placed near the altar. (For a fuller discussion see *Asherah.) There were, however, sacred *trees.

[Tikva S. Frymer]

GROZNY, capital of the Chechen Republic in Russia, formerly in S.W. European R.S.F.S.R. Situated on the Rostov-Baku railroad, it has been an oil-producing center since 1893. Until 1917 the city was outside the Pale of Settlement, but a community of *mountain (Tat) Jews existed there, which in 1866 numbered 928 persons living in 197 houses. In 1897 the Jewish population numbered 1,711 (11% of the total population) divided into two communities: mountain Jews and "Ashkenazim." In 1900 a synagogue built in Oriental style was opened. The community suffered heavily during the civil war of 1918–21 and many Jews left the city. There remained 1,274 in 1926 (1.7% of the population), but the Jewish population grew to 3,992 in 1939 (2.3% of the total), in 1939. In World War II, during the summer of 1942, the German advance was halted just before reaching Grozny and the Jews of the city were saved from annihilation. The Jewish population according to the 1959 census numbered 4,981 in the towns of the then Chechen-Ingush Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic; it may be assumed that the majority lived in Grozny. By 1970 the number of Jews in Grozny was estimated at about 10,000. The only synagogue serving the "Tat" Jews, who reside in a Jewish quarter, was confiscated in 1962. In the 1990s almost all the Jews left, mostly for Israel.

[Yehuda Slutsky]

GRUBER, RUTH (1911–), U.S. journalist and writer on Jewish causes. Born in Brooklyn, Gruber completed her B.A. at New York University, an M.A. in German and English literature at the University of Wisconsin, and a Ph.D. from the University of Cologne in 1931, at the age of 20. Her prescient thesis, first published in Leipzig in 1935, was republished with additional material in 2005 (*Virginia Woolf: The Will to Create as a Woman*).

Returning to the U.S. during the Depression, Gruber found her academic ambitions thwarted and turned to journalism. In 1935, she returned to Europe with a Guggenheim Foundation Fellowship to study women's position under socialism, communism, and democracy. She was the first foreign correspondent allowed into Siberia, where she interviewed many of those living in the Gulag. U.S. Secretary of the Interior Harold I. Ickes hired her to do a social and economic study of Alaska in 1941 to determine its suitability for settlement of returning veterans.

In 1944, Ickes invited Gruber to participate in a secret mission to bring a thousand Jewish refugees from Italy to Oswego, N.Y. She was given the honorary rank of general so that, if captured, she would be treated as a prisoner of war rather than as a civilian spy. Gruber recorded the stories of the refugees, who called her "Mother Ruth," and was instrumental in persuading the U.S. government to allow them to apply for

American citizenship at war's end. This experience convinced her to devote her energies to Jewish causes.

Gruber's accomplishments include covering the Anglo-American Joint Committee of Inquiry on Palestine for the *New York Post*, where she encountered the Jews in Europe's displaced persons camps. She visited Palestine and the Arab countries as well. She also covered the UN Special Commission on Palestine for the *New York Herald.* While in Jerusalem, she learned that the ship *Exodus*, overflowing with 4,500 Jewish refugees, was illegally on its way to Haifa. As the only reporter permitted by the British to accompany the ship back to Germany, her articles furthered international support for Israel's foundation.

Gruber covered the Israeli War of Independence, immigration of Jews to Israel from Yemen, Iraq, North Africa, Romania, and the Former Soviet Union, as well as both mass *aliyot* of Ethiopian Jews to Israel. She also traveled to Korea and Vietnam to write about adopting Asian orphans.

Gruber's extraordinary life is chronicled in her many books, particularly a three-part autobiography, of which two volumes had appeared by 2005: *Ahead of Time* (2001) and *Inside of Time* (2004). *Haven* (2000), the story of the Jewish refugees in Oswego, was made into a television mini-series.

[Anne Lapidus Lerner (2nd ed.)]

GRUBY, DAVID (1810–1898), physician, born in Novi Sad, then Hungary; one of the pioneers of modern microbiology and parasitology. Gruby left home while young and moved to Budapest, where he worked in a Jewish restaurant. As a Jew, he could not be accepted in a high school, so he stood outside the classroom door and listened to lessons. Eventually one of the teachers took pity on him, and arranged his admittance. Gruby studied medicine in Vienna and received his degree in 1834. Despite his being a Jew, he was appointed a surgeon at the university medical school. The university proposed that he be made a professor, on condition that he would become converted to Christianity. Gruby rejected this proposal, left Vienna, and settled in Paris (1839). He was given a post at the Museum of Nature, and lectured there on normal and morbid pathology. From 1841 to 1852 he made a number of discoveries, from which evolved the new branch of mycology in both human and veterinary medicine, advancing the development of microbiology and parasitology. Gruby was the first to prove experimentally that a fungus was likely to be the cause of a specific disease in man. He was also one of the first to investigate parasitic worms and their life cycles. One of his most important discoveries, made in 1843, which represented a turning point in the history of microbiology, was the first description of the flagellate parasites of frogs' blood and tissues. Gruby called these parasites "trepanosomes." In the same year, working with the French veterinarian Delafond, he discovered microfilaria in the circulating blood of infested frogs, thus opening a new avenue for the investigation of filaria worms which constitute a widespread disease agent for man in tropical climates. He also did research on comparative anatomy, experimental physiology, experiments with chloroform and ether in anesthesia immediately after its introduction in Europe. In addition he investigated the composition of the lymph, the microscopic structure of the intestinal epithelium, and the treatment of war wounds. He was also one of the first to prepare microscopic photographs. From 1852 onward, he devoted his time to his large private practice. He was the private physician of Chopin, Liszt, Heine, and Dumas.

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[Saul Aaron Adler]

°GRUEBER, HEINRICH (1891–1975), German pastor who saved Christians of Jewish extraction from Nazi persecution. Imprisoned in 1937 because of Christian religious opposition, he founded, after his release, the "Buero Grueber" for victims of the *Nuremberg Laws. The Buero aided non-Aryan Christians financially and helped them to emigrate. As a result of his protests in 1940 against the first deportations, Grueber was sent to the Sachsenhausen and later to the Dachau concentration camps. After his release in 1943, he secretly carried on with his work and at the end of the war set up an Evangelical Aid Society for Victims of Racial Persecution. In 1945 he became mayor of Berlin-Karlshorst and from 1949 was the representative of the Evangelical Church in the GDR, until he was forced to resign in 1958. He denounced all efforts to "whitewash" former Nazis and was a witness at the Eichmann trial held in Jerusalem in 1961. On his 70th birthday, the Grueber Grove was planted in Jerusalem. He wrote *Dona Nobis Pacem* (1957), *Leben an der Todeslinie: Dachauer Predigten* (1965^2), and *Erinnerungen aus sieben Jahrzehnten* (1968).

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[C.C. Aronsfeld / Bjoern Siegel (2nd ed.)]

GRUEN, ADOLF (1877–1947), Austrian industrial organic chemist, born in Vienna. Gruen became chief chemist of Schicht Konzern at Aussig (Usti nad Labem), Bohemia, which eventually became part of Basle company, Hoffmann-La Roche A.G. His many patents and scientific publications were concerned mostly with fats, but he also did research in pharmaceutics. His books include *Analyse der Fette, Wachse und Erzeugnisse der Fettindustrie* (2 vols., 1925–28), *Fette, Wachse und aus diesen erzeugte Produkte* (1933), and *Synthese der Glyceride und Phosphatide* (1936).

GRUENBAUM, HENRY (1911–2006), Danish economist and politician. The son of a shoemaker, Gruenbaum was trained as an engraver but obtained a degree in economics. He joined the Labor Party, where he was active as an economist and statistician, and as editor of the party's paper *Socialdemokraten.*

During World War II Gruenbaum was a leading member of the Danish Resistance. After the war he was principally concerned with price control and vocational training. In 1964 he became minister of economics and Nordic affairs and from 1965 to 1968 finance minister, in which capacity he deputized for the prime minister in the latter's absence. His publications include *Industrielt demokrati* (1947).

[Joachim O. Ronall]

GRUENBAUM, MAX (1817–1898), German researcher in Jewish folklore and the popular languages of the Jews, one of the founders of Yiddish philology. He was born in Seligenstadt. In 1858 Gruenbaum was appointed director of the Hebrew Orphan Asylum in New York. In 1870 he returned to Europe, settled in Munich, and devoted himself to research. In the field of folklore, Gruenbaum investigated the history of aggadic themes and their influence on Islam. In the field of linguistics and literature Gruenbaum published his *Juedisch-deutsche Chrestomathie* (1882) and a selection from Yiddish literature. He was the first linguist to make a study of the structure and evolution of the Yiddish language. When he was 80 years old Gruenbaum published a chrestomathy of Judeo-Spanish which is important for the general research of Romance languages. Among his books were *Beitraege zur vergleichenden Mythologie aus der Haggadah* (1877); *Neue Beitraege zur semitischen Sagenkunde* (1893); *Die juedisch-deutsche Litteratur in Deutschland, Polen und Amerika* (1894) and *Juedisch-Spanische Chrestomathie* (1896).

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[Martin Meir Plessner]

GRUENBAUM, YIẒḤAK (1879–1970), General Zionist leader, spokesman of Polish Jewry between the two World Wars, first minister of the interior in the Provisional Government of the State of Israel, and signatory of Israel's Declaration of Independence. Born in Warsaw, Gruenbaum grew up in Plonsk, and studied first in a *ḥeder*, then in a Jewish government school, and later a government gymnasium in Plotzk. He learned Hebrew from private teachers. Gruenbaum went to university in Warsaw, starting in medicine, but then switching to law. He became involved in Zionist activity and in publicist writing during his student days, frequenting the home of the writer Isaac Leib *Peretz; he later edited several newspapers in Polish, Yiddish, and Hebrew, inter alia serving on the editorial board of *Ha-Olam* and *Ha-Ẓefirah*. In later years he fought to close down the Jewish press in languages other than Yiddish and Hebrew. Gruenbaum was active in promoting Hebrew culture in Poland and in the *Tarbut organization. He tried to ensure that the struggle of the Jews in the Diaspora for their rights should be led by Zionists, and was a central figure at the conference of Russian Zionists at Helsingfors in 1906 (see *Helsingfors Program). In the years 1908–10 he lived in Vilna and was appointed secretary general of the Zionist Center in Russia. He participated in most of the Zionist Congresses from the Seventh Congress in 1905. Gruenbaum was politically active in Poland, struggling for the rights of the Jews there. In the elections to the Fourth Duma in 1912, he rallied support for the socialist candidate Jagiello, who supported equal rights for the Jews, and promised to fight against the antisemitic Polish nationalists. After the outbreak of World War I Gruenbaum settled in Petrograd, and upon the outbreak of the October Revolution became the editor of the Zionist daily *Petragrader Tageblatt*, advocating a secular community and official status for Yiddish in government institutions. In September 1918 he returned to Warsaw, becoming active in Zionist work while also participating in the establishment of the Polish Provisional National Council, which played an important role in the campaign for equal rights for the Jews during the first years of independent Poland. In 1919 Gruenbaum was elected to the Sejm (the Polish parliament) and was a member of the commission that prepared the Polish Constitution, advocating the inclusion of articles guaranteeing the rights of the national minorities. In order to overcome the distorted election regulations that sought to prejudice the chances of national minorities of being elected, he played an active role in the formation of a "National Minorities Bloc." In the 1922 elections this bloc, which included the Jews, obtained a considerable number of mandates. The policy of fighting for Jewish interests within the framework of the general struggle for minorities rights in Poland was controversial among the Polish Jews and was resented by many non-Jewish Poles. In the following elections the strength of the Minorities Bloc declined and in the course of the 1930s, upon the increase of overt antisemitism in Poland, it was abandoned. Gruenbaum remained a member of the Sejm until he left Poland in 1932. For much of time, he also served as the chairman of the Sejm's Jewish members club.

Gruenbaum first visited Palestine in 1925. Within the Zionist movement Gruenbaum opposed the enlargement of the Jewish Agency in 1929 through the cooperation of non-Zionists, and headed the radical Zionist faction known in Poland as Al ha-Mishmar. In 1932 he left for Paris. At the Zionist Congress of 1933 he was elected a member of the Jewish Agency Executive, following which he settled in Palestine. In the executive he headed the Aliyah Department in the years 1933–35 and the Labor Department 1935–48, and was also a member of the Organization Department (1935–46). In 1935–48 he headed the Mossad Bialik publishing house.

Gruenbaum was arrested by the British on "Black Saturday" in June 1946, and remained interned in Latrun until November. After the establishment of the State he was treasurer of the Jewish Agency until 1950 and served as its commissioner in 1950–51. On the eve of the establishment of the State of Israel, Gruenbaum was a member of the People's Administration, in charge of internal affairs, and in this capacity signed the Declaration of Independence. In the Provisional Government he was minister of the interior, in which position he was in charge of the elections to the Constituent Assembly in 1949. He ran in these elections in a personal list, but failed to pass the 1% qualifying threshold. In subsequent years Gruenbaum wrote on Zionist affairs and was a frequent contributor to the Mapam daily *Al ha-Mishmar.* He spent the last ten years of his life in kibbutz Gan Shemuel.

Gruenbaum's radical positions earned both admirers and enemies.

His principal writings are *Ha-Tenu'ah ha-Ẓiyyonit be-Hitpatteḥutah* (4 vols., 1942–54); *Milḥamot Yehudei Polin* (1922, 1941^2); *Bi-Ymei Ḥurban ve-Sho'ah* (1940–46); *Materjały w sprawie żydowskiej w Polsce* (2 vols., 1919–22); *Dor be-Mivḥan* (1951); *Penei ha-Dor* (2 vols., 1957–60); and *Ne'umim ba-Seim ha-Polani* (1963); he edited the first and sixth volumes of *Enẓiklopedyah shel Galuyyot* (1953, 1959).

[Haim Hillel Ben-Sasson / Susan Hattis Rolef (2nd ed.)]

GRUENBERG, KARL (1861–1940), economic and social historian. Gruenberg, who was born in Focsani, Romania, studied and practiced law from 1885. In 1900 he became an associate professor of economics and in 1909 full professor at the University of Vienna. He was director of the Institute of Social Research at the University of Frankfurt from 1924 until 1927 when he resigned because of ill health. Gruenberg wrote extensively on the agrarian history of the Austrian monarchy and the history of Socialism. Beginning in 1910 he published the *Archiv fuer die Geschichte des Sozialismus und der Arbeiterbewegung,* or *Episoden – Sechs Jahrzehnte Kampf um den Sozialismus.* Gruenberg was murdered by a Nazi in Frankfurt on the Main.

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GRUENBERG, LOUIS (1884–1964), U.S. composer. Born in Poland, near Brest Litovsk, Gruenberg was taken to the U.S. at the age of two. He studied in Berlin with Busoni, and made his debut as a pianist in 1912 at a concert of the Berlin Philharmonic, under Busoni's baton. In that year he composed a children's opera called *The Witch of the Brocken* which was followed by *The Bride of the Gods* (1913). After winning a prize for *The Hill of Dreams* (New York Symphony Society, 1919), Gruenberg devoted himself entirely to composition.

The League of Composers performed his *Daniel Jazz* in 1925. This was followed by *The Creation* (1923), into which he introduced Negro spirituals. In 1931 the Juilliard School of Music commissioned and produced his opera "Jack and the Beanstalk."

Gruenberg's most important work was his opera *Emperor Jones*, based on Eugene O'Neill's play of that name. Gruenberg was one of the first American composers to use elements of Negro spirituals and jazz in serious music. His opera *Green Mansions*, based on W.H. Hudson's novel, was commissioned by the Columbia Broadcasting System and broadcast in 1937. Moving to California, Gruenberg wrote background music for films, and composed two other operas, *Queen Helena* (1936) and *Volpone* (1945), five symphonies, and various chamber works. He was one of the organizers of the League of Composers.

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[John W. Gassner]

GRUENBERG, SAMUEL (1879–1959), biblical scholar and communal worker. Gruenberg was born in Romania and in 1920 was appointed lecturer in Bible exegesis, history and geography of Palestine, and modern Hebrew at the Berlin rabbinical seminary. He was active in the Mizrachi movement and founded the Welt-Verband Shomre Shabbos, presiding over its founding congress in 1930. Gruenberg immigrated to Palestine in 1936 and then served as the chairman of the Mo'aẓah Datit ("religious council") of Tel Aviv.

With A.M. Silbermann he edited the "*Menorah*"-*Woerterbuch*, a modern Hebrew-German, German-modern Hebrew dictionary (1920). Gruenberg's exegetical work appeared mainly as articles in German (collected under the title *Exegetische Beitraege*, 5 vols., 1924–33) and Hebrew (collected under the title *Li-Feshuto shel Mikra*, 1945). He also wrote *Zur Geschichte der Bibelexegese I, Nordfranzoesische Klassiker der Bibelexegese* (1928). Among his Hebrew works is *Niẓẓanim* (1906), a book of poetry. Gruenberg was the editor of the Hebrew section of Joseph *Wohlgemuth's *Jeschurun*, to which he contributed many studies.

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GRUENBERG, SIDONIE MATSNER (1881–1974), U.S. educator, who exercised a dominant influence in advancing the study of guidance methods for parents and children. Sidonie Gruenberg was born in Austria and was educated in Germany and New York. In 1906 she joined the Child Study Association of America, became director (1923–1950), and served as consultant from 1950. Gruenberg wrote extensively for children and parents, and her books were translated into many languages. She was regarded as an authority on child-parent relationships and lectured in parent education, and was a member of the editorial boards of *Parents Magazine* and *Child Study.* She was chairman of the subcommittee of the White House Conference on Child Health and Protection (1930); a member of The White House Conference (1940) and The Mid-Century White House Conference (1950); director of the Public Affairs Commission (1947) and the Social Legislation Information Service (1947–61).

[Ronald E. Ohl]

GRUENEWALD, MAX (1899–1992), German rabbi and professor. Born in Koenigshuette, Upper Silesia, Germany, his father was a Jewish educator in the region. After service in World War I, he was ordained at the Breslau Rabbinical Seminary and received his doctorate in philosophy at the University of Breslau.

By 1938, Gruenewald served at the "Haupt" or "main" synagogue in Manheim for 12 years and had been elected president of the Jewish community (1933), the only rabbi to hold both offices in Germany. Owing to the rising tide of antisemitic legislation, he resigned these posts to accept a position in Berlin to work as a member of the inner council of all German Jewry. After several detentions and interrogations by the Gestapo, in discussion with Dr. Leo Baeck, he left for Palestine in late 1938 because "he saw and felt that no essential change could be effected in the fate of German Jews."

In 1939 Gruenewald accepted an invitation to teach at the Jewish Theological Seminary. The beginning of World War II left him stranded in New York and he accepted a weekend pulpit at Congregation Bnai Israel in Millburn, N.J. On May 13, 1945, Gruenewald left for Palestine to rejoin family, returning that December to accept what became a full time position in Millburn. Although offered other posts, both academic and congregational, his decision to stay in Millburn was in part prompted by his wish to build a new community fashioned with the values of his rabbinate in Manheim, rather than enter a more established congregation.

With the growth of the Millburn congregation, Gruenewald commissioned Percival Goodman to create a new form of synagogue architecture, highlighted by works of art from three "advance-guard U.S. abstractionists," according to *Time* magazine. Herbert Ferber designed an external burning bush sculpture, Robert Motherwell designed the lobby painting, and Adolph Gottlieb created the ark curtain, the original of which hangs at the Jewish Museum. Throughout his life Gruenewald dedicated himself to the preservation of the German Jewish cultural heritage. He died in Millburn.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Newark Sunday News* (July 23, 1950); Archives and letters of Rabbi Max Gruenewald; CBI, AJR information: December 1969; *Time* (November 19, 1951).

[Steve Bayar (2nd ed.)]

GRUENFELD, JUDAH (1837–1907), Hungarian rabbi. Gruenfeld was born in Satoraljaujhely. He was one of the most important pupils of Abraham Judah Ha-Kohen Schwartz, rabbi of Beregszasz-Mad, and like his teacher frequented the court of the Ḥasidic rabbi of Zanz. He lived for a time in Huszt, where Moses *Schick often consulted him on important problems. In 1883 he was appointed rabbi of Büdszentmihály, serving there until his death. His writings were not collected, but a substantial part of them were published by Joseph Schwartz in *Va-Yelakket Yosef* (1899–1917). Twenty-six important responsa were published in *Responsa Maharshag* (1961) by his son SIMEON (1881–1930), who served first as *dayyan* of Munkacs and then succeeded his father at Büdszentmihály. Simeon was the author of *Responsa Maharshag*, Pt. 1 (1931) on both *Oraḥ Ḥayyim* and *Yoreh De'ah*, Pt. 2 (1939) on *Oraḥ Ḥayyim* alone. In 1961 the work was republished in Jerusalem with his additional responsa on *Ḥoshen Mishpat* and *Even ha-Ezer.* His responsa are distinguished by their clarity, their penetration, and their great erudition. He also wrote *Zehav Sheva* (1933) on the Pentateuch. He left more than 2,000 responsa in manuscript, novellae on several tractates, a large work on the *halakhot* of *mikva'ot*, and a work on *ta'arovot* (mixtures containing forbidden food). It is doubtful if these works have survived.

[Naphtali Ben-Menahem]

GRUENHUT, DAVID BEN NATHAN (17th–18th centuries), German talmudist and kabbalist. In 1682 he printed Ḥayyim Vital's *Sefer ha-Gilgulim* ("On the Transmigration of Souls"), but was prevented from distributing it by the rabbinate of Frankfurt, which opposed kabbalistic works because of the danger of Shabbateanism. Two years later, however, while at Heimerdingen, he published it again, this time through a Christian printer in Frankfurt. After serving as rabbi for several years in neighboring towns (Idstein, Aue, and perhaps also Heimerdingen), he returned to Frankfurt, becoming one of the scholars in the *bet ha-midrash* founded by David *Oppenheim. Gruenhut published *Tov Ro'i* (Frankfurt, 1702), Jacob *Weil's work on the laws of ritual slaughter, to which he added his *Migdol David*, consisting of homilies and comments on Genesis. He published the *Sefer Ḥasidim* of *Judah he-Ḥasid with his own commentary (Frankfurt, 1712) and in the following year Samuel *Uceda's *Midrash Shemu'el* (Frankfurt, 1713). On friendly terms with *Eisenmenger and *Schudt before they published their antisemitic works, he wrote an adulatory preface to the former's edition of the Bible.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Fuenn, Keneset, s.v.; M. Horovitz, *Frankfurter Rabbinen*, 2 (1883), 54–55.

[David Tamar]

GRUENHUT, ELEAZAR (**Lazar**; 1850–1913), rabbi and author. Gruenhut was born in Gerenda, Hungary, and in 1883 he was appointed rabbi of Temesvár. Impressed by the Haskalah and taking up the challenge he saw in it, he decided to augment his general education and acquire a scientific foundation for his Jewish studies. At the age of 40 he resigned his rabbinical post, left Temesvár, and moved to Berlin, where he studied at the Hildesheimer seminary and at the University of Berlin. He was especially influenced by Azriel *Hildesheimer and Abraham *Berliner. In 1892 he emigrated to Palestine and became head of the German-Jewish Orphanage. His introduction of secular studies there and his openly proclaimed Zionist views aroused the opposition of ultra-Orthodox circles in Jerusalem. Gruenhut was a prominent figure in the early Mizrachi. In addition to his communal and educational activities, Gruenhut continued his scholarly endeavors, mainly in Midrash and in Palestinian geography.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: S. Ha-Cohen Weingarten, in: *Lu'aḥ Yerushalayim*, 7 (1946/47), 168–77; 8 (1947/48), 211–4.

[Jacob Haberman]

GRUENHUT, MAX (1893–1964), criminologist and penal reformer. Gruenhut, who was born in Magdeburg, Germany, taught at Hamburg until 1922, when he went to Jena University. Later he went to Bonn as professor ordinarius. After the

Nazi accession to power he emigrated to Britain where he was appointed reader in criminology at Oxford. In 1948 he published his widely acclaimed work, *Penal Reform*. Gruenhut, who became a practicing Lutheran, took a special interest in the development of the probation system. He devoted several publications to this subject, stressing the extramural method of peno-correctional treatment as a possible alternative to imprisonment in many cases. The United Nations asked Gruenhut to undertake an investigation of certain problems relating to the efficacy of probation. The results were issued by the UN Social Affairs Department in 1964.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Mannheim, in: *British Journal of Criminology*, 4 (1964), 313–5. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** U. Fontaine, *Max Gruenhut (1893–1964) – Leben und wissenschaftliches Wirken eines deutschen Strafrechtlers juedischer Herkunft* (1998); H. Kaufmann, *Erinnerungsgabe an Max Gruenhut* (1965).

[Zvi Hermon]

GRUENING, ERNEST HENRY (1887–1974), U.S. journalist, administrator, and politician. Gruening was born in New York City to parents of German origin. He received a medical degree from Harvard in 1912, but decided on a career in journalism and joined the staff of the Boston *Evening Herald*. After serving as an artillery officer and on the War Trade Board's Bureau of Imports during World War I, Gruening edited *The Nation* from 1920 to 1923, winning fame for his crusades against U.S. economic exploitation of Latin America. In 1927 he moved to Maine and founded the muckraking Portland *Evening News*, which specialized in attacks on the power utilities. Gruening abandoned journalism as a profession in 1934 when he was appointed director of the Division of Territories and Island Possessions of the Department of the Interior, a post he held until 1939. From 1935 to 1937 he also served as relief and reconstruction administrator in Puerto Rico. Gruening became territorial governor of Alaska (1939–53), in which capacity he was a strong proponent of Alaskan statehood. When Alaska was admitted to the Union, Gruening was elected a U.S. senator (1958) and was reelected in 1962. He was defeated in his bid for a third term in the 1968 Democratic primary. Gruening's Senate career was marked by his vigorous opposition to American military intervention in Latin America and Vietnam and by his support for federal birth control programs and public power projects. His publications include: *Mexico and Its Heritage* (1928); *Public Pays and Still Pays* (1931, 1964); *State of Alaska* (1954); and *Vietnam Folly* (1968).

[Henry Sosland]

GRUENSTEIN, NATHAN (1877–1932?), German organic chemist. Gruenstein was born in Lithuania. Working for a chemical firm in Frankfurt on the Main, he developed a method of converting acetylene into acetaldehyde, with mercury salts as a catalyst, and thence into acetic acid, acetic anhydride, acetone, etc. His process, first used industrially in 1916, remained the chief method of producing these chemicals for nearly 50 years. Gruenstein was an active Zionist.

GRUENWALD, MORITZ (1853–1895), Czech rabbi and scholar. Gruenwald was born in Ungarisch-Hradisch, Moravia. He studied at the Breslau rabbinical seminary and served as rabbi in various cities, among them Pisek, Bohemia, 1887–93, before becoming chief rabbi of Bulgaria, residing in Sofia, in 1893. He also directed and taught at the Sofia rabbinical seminary.

In 1881 Gruenwald founded and edited until 1885 *Das Juedische Zentralblatt Zugleich Archiv… Boehmen* (1882–85), a periodical intended for the congregations in which he served. He published a number of books, including *Einfluss der Bibel auf die Bildung von Redensarten in europaeischen Sprachen* (1883); *Zur romanischen Dialektologie*, on Ladino and Rashi's *Lo'azim* (1883), and works on Czech Jewish history.

GRULËV, MIKHAIL VLADIMIROVICH (1857–?), Russian general, publicist, and military historian. In 1878 he volunteered for the Krasnoyarsk regiment and the following year converted to Russian Orthodoxy, after which he enrolled in the Warsaw Military Academy, from which he emerged as an officer in 1882. In 1889 he became a member of the General Staff. He served on missions to India, Egypt, China, and Japan and headed a scientific expedition to Manchuria which recommended a site for establishing the city of Harbin. During the Russo-Japanese War (1904–05) Grulëv commanded a regiment (and subsequently a division) during battles at the Shakhe River. A liberal by conviction, he refused to take part in the suppression of the revolutionary uprisings in 1905–07. From 1907 to 1909, when he had already attained the rank of general, he worked with the military-historical commission attached to the main directorate of the general staff in compiling the official history of the Russo-Japanese War (he was responsible for the two volumes on the operations at the Shakhe River). From 1910 he was commander of the Brest-Litovsk fortress. In 1912, following threats from the authorities, he was removed from his post in a disciplinary measure for the expression of radical views in the press. Grulëv handed in his resignation on grounds of "health" and retired to Nice (France), where he died.

His over 20 books and writings began with a poem written in Hebrew in the late 1870s and published in the newspaper *Ha-Ẓefirah* and included articles about the Dreyfus Affair, and a series of articles (1905–07) which revealed his interest in the position of the Jewish people. In the book *Zapiski generala-evreya* ("Notes of a Jewish General," Paris, 1930), Grulëv castigated antisemitism, and expressed his love and sympathy for the "long-suffering Jewish people." He donated the proceeds from this book to the *Jewish National Fund.

[Mark Kipnis / *The Shorter Jewish Encylopaedia in Russian*]

GRUMBACH, ANTOINE (1942–), French architect and town planner. Born in Oran, Algeria, Grumbach, a graduate of the Paris Ecole des Beaux-Arts (1967), focused mainly on public housing projects and public transportation (the Bibliothèque subway station of the Meteor line in Paris, transformation of the peripheral Paris boulevards for the creation of a new trolley line). Grumbach devoted his formative years mainly to writing, developing a theory of the influence of collective memory on urban landscape, leading to his social and humanistic approach to urbanism. His participation in the Roma Interrota exhibition in 1977 following his detailed study of the traditional urban fabric of Paris was a turning point in his theoretical development; from that time on he advocated the integration of new buildings in the existing urban matrix, as he views this integration as the unique means of connecting what is new to the social and collective memory of the city.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: A. Grumbach, "Figurer par la ruine l'espace de l'absence," in: *Travail de mémoire 1914–1998* (1999), 105–9; exhibition booklets: "Antoine Grumbach ou l'art de la mémoire collective"; A. Vidler, "Antoine Grumbach, le laboratoire de l'imaginaire," Centre Georges Pompidou; "Antoine Grumbach," Coll. Jalons, Centre Georges Pompidou.

[Dror Franck Sullaper (2nd ed.)]

GRUMBACH, SALOMON (1884–1952), French socialist. Born in an Alsatian village, Grumbach went to Paris as a young man to become editor of *L'Humanité* under Jean Jaurès. During World War I he was Swiss correspondent of the paper and wrote French propaganda tracts on such subjects as *Le Destin de l'Alsace-Lorraine* (Lausanne, 1916) and *Germany's Annexionist Aims* (Engl., 1918) in both German and French. Elected a member of the central committee of the French Socialist Party (SFIO), he represented it at the Third Socialist International and was elected on the Socialist ticket to the French Chamber of Deputies in 1928. Grumbach was a member of the Chamber almost continually until 1948 and was successively vice-chairman and then chairman of its Foreign Affairs Committee. Following the fall of France in 1940, he was imprisoned and later assigned a place of forced residence but escaped in 1942 and joined the French resistance movement. After the war, Grumbach was reelected to the Chamber of Deputies and concerned himself with aid for refugees. He exercised influence on France's recognition of the State of Israel. He was also active in the World Jewish Congress, especially on behalf of the Jews of North Africa and was secretary-general of the world executive of *ORT.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: JC (July 18, 1952), 19; *New York Times* (July 14, 1952), 17.

[Shulamith Catane]

GRUMBERG, JEAN-CLAUDE (1939–), French actor and playwright. When Jean-Claude Grumberg was three, his father was deported to Germany and never came back. Working first as a tailor after the war, Grumberg soon began acting, and wrote his first play, *Demain une fenêtre sur la rue*, in 1968. In 1974, he used some autobiographical material from his childhood and postwar memories to create *L'Atelier*, a tragi-comedy about women working in a Jewish-owned cloth factory immediately after the war, with the trauma of the Holocaust exposed in a very subtle manner. Other plays include *Rixe, Les Vacances, Amorphe d'Ottenburg, Dreyfus, Chez Pierrot, En r'venant d'l'Expo, L'Indien sous Babylone, Zone libre*. Grumberg was awarded numerous prizes, including the Theater Prize of the French Academy for *Zone Libre*, two "Molière" awards (best actor for *Zone libre* and best playwright for *L'Atelier*) and in 2000 the SACD Award for lifetime achivement. Grumberg also worked as a screenwriter for TV and film, assisting directors like Marcel Bluwal, François Truffaut, and Costa-Gavras.

[Dror Franck Sullaper (2nd ed.)]

GRÜNBAUM, ADOLF (1923–), U.S. philosopher of science. Grünbaum was born in Cologne, Germany, and immigrated to the United States in 1938. He received his M.S. in physics (1948) and his Ph.D. in philosophy (1951), both from Yale University. After rising through the ranks to an endowed chair at Lehigh University (1950–1960), he was appointed Andrew Mellon Professor of Philosophy in 1960 at the University of Pittsburgh, where he founded its leading Center for Philosophy of Science, of which he served as chairman. He also had an appointment there as research professor of psychiatry. Grünbaum's thorough knowledge of physical and mathematical problems enabled him to analyze some of the basic philosophical questions that arose in connection with space and time. His more than 375 publications range over the philosophy of physics, the theory of scientific rationality, the critique of Freudian psychoanalysis, and the discrediting of theism. His major books include *Philosophical Problems of Space and Time* (1973^2), *The Foundations of Psychoanalysis: A Philosophical Critique* (1984), and *Philosophy of Science in Action* (2 vols., 2005). Grünbaum served as president of the American Philosophical Association, and president (twice) of the Philosophy of Science Association. He is a fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences and a laureate of the International Academy of Humanism. His prestigious lectureships include the Gifford Lectures in Scotland, the Werner Heisenberg Lecture to the Bavarian Academy of Sciences in Munich, and the Leibniz Lectures in Hanover, Germany. He is the recipient of the Fregene Prize for science from the Italian Parliament, all four of whose prior recipients were Nobel laureates in one of the natural sciences. Yale University awarded him the Wilbur Lucius Cross Medal "for outstanding achievement." He received the Silver Medal from the venerable Italian University of Parma in recognition of his "prestigious career." His scholarship has also been recognized by the publication of three separate *Festschrift* (celebratory) volumes: (1) *Physics, Philosophy and Psychoanalysis: Essays in Honor of Adolf Grünbaum*, ed. R.S. Cohen and L. Laudan (1983, 1992); (2) *Philosophical Problems of the Internal and External Worlds: Essays on the Philosophy of Adolf Grünbaum,* ed. J. Earman et al. (1993); and (3) *Philosophy of Physics and Psychology: Essays in Honor of Adolf Grünbaum*, ed. A. Jokic (2005). Most recently, he was elected president (for 2006–7) of the International Union for History and Philosophy of Science, the worldwide umbrella organization of the various national societies in the philosophy of science and of history of science.

[Bracha Rager (2nd ed.)]

GRUNBERG (Grinberg), ABRAHAM (1841–1906), *Hibbat Zion leader. Born in Kishinev, Grunberg became a merchant and estate owner and one of the first wealthy Jews to join the Ḥibbat Zion movement. He lent his support to L. *Pinsker in Odessa. In 1889, at the Ḥovevei Zion Conference at Vilna, he was elected to the committee of trustees (the other members of which were S. *Mohilever and S.J. *Fuenn), which replaced Pinsker at the head of the movement. In 1890 he helped obtain from the Czarist authorities the authorization for the Society for the Support of Jewish Agriculturists and Artisans in Syria and Palestine (the official name of the Odessa Committee of Ḥovevei Zion), and upon Pinsker's death (1892) he was elected president of the society, a post which he retained until a few months before his death. Grunberg also headed a delegation that discussed with Baron *Rothschild in Paris the methods of agricultural settlement in Ereẓ Israel (1901). He frequently served as a Jewish representative before the Russian authorities.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: A. Druyanow (ed.), *Ketavim le-Toledot Ḥibbat-Ẓiyyon ve-Yishuv Ereẓ-Yisrael*, 2 (1925), index; 3 (1932), index.

[Yehuda Slutsky]

GRÜNBERG, CARLOS MOISÉS (1903–1968), Argentine poet born in Buenos Aires. He was among the most important and influential of Jewish authors of his generation in Argentina. Grünberg received his formal education from the University of Buenos Aires, earning advanced degrees in philosophy and law. In his early volumes of poetry – *Las cámaras del rey* (1922) and *El libro del tiempo* (1924) – Grünberg showed a close affiliation with the group of the 1920s avant-garde writers known as the *martínfierristas*, for their association with the literary journal *Martín Fierro*. He was also known for his translations of Heinrich Heine and H.N. Bialik into Spanish. He was active in the Zionist movement and was named a liaison between the State of Israel and Argentina in 1948.

Carlos Grünberg was unapologetic in his poetic expression of Jewish identity, which he especially sought to incorporate into his latter works. Much like his contemporary César Tiempo (Israel Zeitlin), Grünberg strove to define Argentine-Jewish identity in his poetry, a sometimes painful but always sincere project. His *Mester de juglaría* (1940) carried a laudatory preface by Jorge Luis Borges and consecrated him as a poet. Throughout the volume, emphasis is placed on forging a Jewish-Argentine identity. While many of the poems speak directly to the precarious and often dangerous situation for Jews in Argentina, Grünberg clearly posits his faith in the country as a hopeful new homeland. Since his perspective as a Jew was a secular one, in this book he rather forcefully and consistently denounces religiosity and declares his atheism. *Junto a un río de Babel* (1965), Grünberg's next volume of poetry, is marked by the significant historical events since the publication of *Mester*. The volume expresses the poet's frustration as a Diaspora Jew as he tries to negotiate his support for the formation of the State of Israel with his Argentine identity. Grünberg's complete works, along with a biography and critical study, are collected in Eliahu Toker (ed.), *Un diferente y su diferencia: vida y obra de Carlos M. Grünberg*. Carlos Grünberg continues to be considered one of the foremost of early Jewish poets in Argentina. His work has had a lasting impact on subsequent generations and remains as a testament to the poetic imagination as a foundry of cultural identity.

[Darrell B. Lockhart (2nd ed.)]

GRUNDIG, LEA (1906–1977) and **HANS** (1901–1958), German painters and graphic artists. Both were born in Dresden. Lea Grundig, born Lea Langer, began to study at the Dresden Academy of Arts in 1922. Already involved with the association of Communist students, she became a member of the German Communist Party (KPD) in 1926. Two years later, she married Hans Grundig, also a member of the Communist Party, and they both began to create posters and illustrations for Communist purposes. Lea Grundig focused on linolcuts, etchings, and drawings in a late-expressionist style describing the milieu of the lower classes, as in *Mutter und Kind vor der Fabrik* of 1933 ("Mother and Child in Front of the Factory"). Hans Grundig was recognized first for painted group portraits, like *KPD – Versammlung* ("Meeting of the German Communist Party," 1932, Neue Nationalgalerie, Berlin) in the neorealist style of the *Neue Sachlichkeit*, but soon turned to expressionist etching. In the mid-1930s, he created a series of allegories, human and brutish monsters in etching in which he denounced the National Socialist system as based on all-embracing terror. Both Hans und Lea Grundig were persecuted by the National Socialist authorities and had to give up working as artists. Lea was deported but managed to flee to Palestine in 1940, where she created several series of etchings related to the Holocaust. Hans Grundig was incarcerated and sent to the concentration camp of Sachsenhausen in 1940. He survived and met his wife again in 1949, when she returned to Dresden. She became a professor at the local Academy of Fine Arts. From the 1950s, they both adapted the style of socialist realism and took an active part in visualizing the ideology of the German Democratic Republic.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: G. Bruene, *Lea Grundig – Juedin, Kommunistin, Graphikerin* (Catalogue, Ladengalerie Berlin,1996); K. Mueller and D. Rose, *Lea Grundig – Werkverzeichnis der Radierungen 1933–1973* (1973); G. Feist, *Hans Grundig* (1979); R. Neugebauer: *Zeichnen im Exil-Zeichen des Exils, Handzeichnungen und Druckgraphik deutschsprachiger Emigranten ab 1933* (2003), 447–50; S. Weber, *Hans Grundig: Schaffen im Verborgenen* (2001).

[Philipp Zschommler (2nd ed.)]

GRUNDMAN, ZWI (1917–), Israel artist. Grundman was born in Poland into a family of artists (his father decorated synagogues and Holy Arks and painted biblical themes). In 1949 he settled in Israel. Much of his work is derived from Jewish philosophy. Grundman made series of oil paintings, gouaches, and lithographs based on the thought of the *Ḥasidim and of great East European rabbis. He also published an album of stoneblocks illustrating the ḥasidic story "The Seven Beggars" by R. Naḥman of Bratslav.

GRUNER, DOV (1912–1946), Jew executed by the British in Palestine. Gruner was born in Kisvarda and was one of a group of "illegal" Betar immigrants who came to Ereẓ Israel in 1940, when he joined IẒL. A year later he enlisted as a volunteer in the British army in which he served for five years. On April 23, 1946 he participated in an attack by IẒL on the Ramat Gan police station, and was wounded and captured. The desperate attempts of the *yishuv* to save his life extended over a year and were still in progress, when suddenly he was hanged together with Drezner and his two companions.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Y. Nedava, *Olei-ha-Gardom* (1966); Y. Gurion, *Ha-Niẓẓaḥon Olei Gardom* (1971).

GRUNFELD, ERNIE (1955–), U.S. basketball player and administrator; considered one of the league's top general managers. Grunfeld was born to Holocaust survivors Alex and Livia (Samuel) in Satu Mare, Romania. During the war, Grunfeld's father – later a champion table tennis player, ranked 16th in the world in 1952 – spent time in a Romanian labor camp while his mother spent a year and a half hiding in basements in Budapest before obtaining false papers provided by Raoul *Wallenberg. Her parents and relatives were killed in Auschwitz. After waiting six years – and six months in Rome – they arrived in New York 11 days before Grunfeld's ninth birthday. Growing up in Forest Hills, New York, Grunfeld went to Hebrew school, was bar mitzvahed, went to synagogue with his parents on the holidays, and fasted on Yom Kippur, learning basketball in the schoolyard and playground courts. Grunfeld was a legend wherever he played, first at Russell Sage Junior High School and then Forest Hills High School, where he was All-American and All-City player his senior year, when he averaged 25.4 points and 16.6 rebounds per game. He was also named the outstanding student-athlete in New York City.

Grunfeld was picked to play on the 1973 U.S. Maccabiah team, the first high school player ever to play on a U.S. Maccabiah team. Grunfeld led the team – coached by Harry *Litwack – with 20 points per game and was named tournament MVP, though the team lost to Israel 86–80 in the final.

Grunfeld's star continued to shine as a celebrated guard at the University of Tennessee from 1973 to 1977, when he was featured on the cover of *Sports Illustrated* as a co-star of the "Bernie and Ernie Show" with his teammate Bernard King, a future NBA star. As a sophomore in 1975, Ernie was the second-leading scorer in the Southeast Conference with 23.8 points per game. He then played for the gold medal-winning basketball team in the 1975 Pan American Games. The following year, he led the conference in scoring with 25.3 points per game, and his 683 points was then a single-season record for Tennessee. Named captain his senior year, Grunfeld led them to a 22–6 record and the SEC championship, averaging 23.8. He was named Converse, Helms, and Sporting News (second team) All-America.

Grunfeld obtained his American citizenship in July 1976, in time to play for the U.S. at the Montreal Olympics, which netted Grunfeld a gold medal.

Grunfeld finished his career at Tennessee with 2,249 points, which set the school record, and 22.3 points per game, second in school history to Bernard King. Grunfeld was picked 11th by Milwaukee in the 1977 NBA draft, and enjoyed a nine-season career: two years with Milwaukee, three years with Kansas City, and four years with New York. Grunfeld retired following the 1985–86 season with 5,124 points, an average of 7.4 points per game in 693 career games played.

Grunfeld then worked as the Knicks radio analyst for the MSG Network from 1986 to 1989 before becoming assistant coach, vice president of player personnel, and president and general manager of the team. He led New York into the playoffs in all eight seasons of his tenure. In August 1999, Grunfeld became general manager of the Milwaukee Bucks, guiding that franchise to the postseason three times in four years. On June 29, 2003, Grunfeld was released from the final year of his contract with the Bucks, and the next day he was named president of Basketball Operations for the Washington Wizards, replacing Michael Jordan.

Grunfeld is a member of the New York City Basketball Hall of Fame.

[Elli Wohlgelernter (2nd ed.)]

GRUNFELD, ISIDOR (1900–1975), rabbi and author. Born in Tauberettersheim, Bavaria, Grunfeld studied law and philosophy at the universities of Frankfurt and Hamburg, and rabbinics at yeshivot there. After practicing law at Wuerzburg, Bavaria, he settled in England in 1933, where he studied for the rabbinate and was ordained in 1938. He was minister of the Finsbury Park synagogue (1936–38), and served first as registrar and later (from 1939) as *dayyan* of the London Beth Din, from which office he retired owing to ill health in 1965. Among his numerous communal activities were those for the Jewish War Orphans in Europe, and the British Council for Jewish Relief and Rehabilitation. He was also active in Amnesty International and various peace movements. Grunfeld's literary work is chiefly concerned with S.R. *Hirsch's writings, editing English translations of his work with extensive introductions and notes (*Judaism Eternal*, 2 vols., 1956; *Horeb*, 2 vols., 1962; introduction to I. Levy's English translation of S.R. Hirsch's Pentateuch commentary, 1959). He also wrote *The Sabbath* (1954) and *Three Generations* (on the history of neo-Orthodoxy, 1958). His wife Judith (née Rosenbaum) was active in the Beth Jacob movement (religious girls' schools) and in the Jewish secondary schools movement in England.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: JC (Oct. 28, 1960); *Jewish Review*, London (Nov. 4, 1961).

GRÜNVALD, PHILIP (**Fülöp**; 1887–1964), Hungarian historian. Grünvald was born in Sopron, the son of Mano Grünvald, rabbi of the Orthodox congregation there. In 1913 he started his teaching career at the Jewish secondary school in Budapest.

From 1919 to 1948 he taught at the Jewish High School and from 1948 to 1958 he was its principal. From the early 1950s until his death he taught Jewish history at the Jewish Theological Seminary in Budapest. As a teacher he was held in great esteem, especially because of his absolute integrity and deep religious commitment. Grünvald also served the Jewish Museum of that city for 30 years, first as curator and later as director.

In 1927 he presented an outline for a history of the Jews in Hungary (in: *A Zsidó Gimnázium Értesitője*, 8 (1927), 12–29). Later, he dealt with the history of the Jews in Buda, *A zsidók története Budán* (1938). His other works dealt with aspects of the history of Jews in Hungary. His major work was the continuation of *Monumenta Hungariae Judaica*, with A. *Scheiber, he edited volumes 5–7 (1959–63) of this important historical work.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: A. Scheiber, in: *Soproni Szemle*, 18 (1964), 187–8; idem, in: MHJ, 8 (1965), 11–17, incl. list of his works.

[Alexander Scheiber]

GRÜNWALD, AMRAM (d. 1870), Hungarian talmudist. Although he published no works he is extensively mentioned in the works of his contemporaries who referred difficult problems to him, e.g., Abraham S.B. Sofer in *Ketav Sofer* (OḤ, nos. 3, 94); Judah Aszod in *Teshuvot Maharia,* Pt. 2 (no. 236); David Neumann, in *Nir le-David* (nos. 105, 118). His ethical testament was published in the *Keren le-David* (1929) of his son Eliezer David Grünwald. Grünwald died in Csorna, Hungary.

[Naphtali Ben-Menahem]

His other son, MOSES (1853–1910), was a scholar and rabbi. He studied under Abraham Samuel *Sofer in Pressburg, but leaned to Ḥasidism and often visited R. Issachar Dov of *Belz. He served as rabbi in Homonna, Slovakia and Kisvarda, Hungary and from 1893 in Huszt, Carpatho-Russia, where he established one of the major Hungarian yeshivot. Grünwald wrote three works all with the title *Arugot ha-Bosem*: (1) responsa (1912); (2) a study of the talmudic principle of *Issur Ḥal al Issur* (more than one prohibition can apply to the same act; 1928); and (3) a commentary on the Pentateuch (1913). He also wrote *Mikveh Tohorah* on the laws of *mikveh* (1931). His will was published (1911) under the title *Hakhanah de-Rabbah.*

[Itzhak Alfassi]

BIBLIOGRAPHY: P.Z. Schwartz, *Shem ha-Gedolim me-Ereẓ Hagar*, 2 (1914), 256 no. 13; A. Stern, *Meliẓei Esh al Ḥodshei Adar* (1938), 77b (on Amram Grünwald). S.N. Gottlieb, *Oholei Shem* (1912), 234; P.Z. Schwartz, *Shem ha-Gedolim me-Ereẓ Hagar*, 2 (1914), 9a, no. 142 (on Moses b. Amram Grünwald).

GRUNWALD, HENRY ANATOLE (1922–2005), U.S. journalist and editor. Grunwald was born in Vienna, but immigrated to the U.S. at the age of 17. He studied at New York University and graduated in 1944. In the same year he began his career with Time Inc. as a copy boy and the following year as a writer for the publication, editing most of the sections of the news magazine. In 1968 he was appointed managing editor.

According to Grunwald, his most important contribution to *Time* was that of generating more original reporting. To that end, he introduced new departments and features, including guest essays by celebrated writers or experts; he added sections on the environment, behavior, and energy; and he created special issues devoted to a particular topic. He also introduced color photography to the magazine and granted bylines to the magazine's hitherto unnamed writers.

Grunwald relinquished the managing editor position in 1977 and in 1979 was appointed editor-in-chief in succession to Hedley Donovan. His appointment carried with it editorial responsibility for the journals *Time, Fortune, Life, Sports Illustrated, Money*, and *People*, in addition the international editions of *Time* and Time-Life Books Inc. He served in that capacity until he retired in 1987. In 1988 President *Reagan appointed Grunwald U.S. ambassador to Austria. Reappointed by President Bush, he maintained this post until 1990.

Among his many honors, Grunwald received the American Society of Magazine Editors Hall of Fame Award; the New York University Distinguished Alumni Award; and the International Rescue Committee Medallion. Among his published works, Grunwald wrote his autobiography, *One Man's America: A Journalist's Search for the Heart of His Country* (1998), and *Twilight: Losing Sight, Gaining Insight* (1999). His first novel, *A Saint, More or Less*, was published in 2003. He also compiled *Sex in America* (1964).

[Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

GRÜNWALD, JUDAH (1845–1920), Hungarian rabbi. Grünwald was born in Brezó, and served as rabbi of Szobotisz for seven years, of Bonyhad a further seven years, of Surany for two and a half years, and of Szatmar (Satu-Mare) for 22 years. In Szatmar he founded a large yeshivah which achieved a wide reputation. After his death several of his works were published. The most important of them is the responsa *Zikhron Yehudah (Budapest-Satoraljaujhely*, 1923–28) in two parts. In part 1 (no. 187) he discusses whether one may associate with Zionists and expresses the fear that through Zionism "an opportunity will be given for us to be attacked and to make us disliked by the gentile countries." Another responsum (no. 200) to Joseph Ḥayyim Sonnenfeld in Jerusalem, dated 1913, on whether it is permitted to associate with the *Agudat Israel, was removed from the volume and replaced by a responsum on whether it is permitted to handle food and drink on the Day of Atonement in order to give it to children. Others of his published works are (1) *Shevet mi-Yhudah* (2 pts., 1922), on the Pentateuch; (2) *Ḥasdei Avot* (1925), on the tractate *Avot*; (3) *Olelot Yehudah*, a commentary on Psalms (1927); and (4) *She'erit Yehudah* (1938), on the Pentateuch.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: S.N. Gottlieb, *Oholei Shem* (1912), 425; P.Z. Schwartz, *Shem ha-Gedolim me-Ereẓ Hagar*, 1 (1914), 546 no. 292; A. Stern, *Meliẓei Esh al Ḥodshei Kislev-Adar* (1938), 526–36; *Sinai*, 5 (1939–40), 421–3; Weingarten, *ibid.*, 29 (1951), 98f.

[Naphtali Ben-Menahem]

GRUNWALD, MAX (1871–1953), rabbi, historian, and folklorist. Born at Hindenburg (now Zabrze, Silesia), Grunwald served as rabbi in Hamburg (1895–1903) and Vienna (1905–35). He settled in Jerusalem in 1938. Grunwald was a many-sided and productive scholar. He wrote on the history of the communities which he served (*Hamburgs deutsche Juden–1811*, 1904; *Portugiesengraeber auf deutscher Erde; Juden als Reeder und Seefahrer*, 1902; and on Vienna: *Geschichte der Juden in Wien* (for schools, 1926); *Wiener Ḥevra Kaddisha*, 1910; *Vienna*, 1936 (in the Jewish Communities series of the Jewish Publication Society of America)). Grunwald also wrote on such famous Viennese Jews as S. Oppenheimer (*Samuel Oppenheimer und sein Kreis*, 1913) and S. Wertheimer and his descendants (in: *Juedische Familienforschung*, 1926). Of more general historical interest is his anthology of the accounts of Jewish participants in Napoleon's campaigns (*Die Feldzuege Napoleons…*, 1913).

Grunwald's main interest, however, was Jewish folklore, and his contribution in this field is of lasting importance. In 1897 he founded the *Gesellschaft fuer juedische Volkskunde* and edited and largely wrote its organ, the *Mitteillungen* (1897–1922), which was succeeded by the *Jahrbuecher fuer juedische Volkskunde* (1923–25). In this area he contributed also to other periodicals as well as to a number of Festschriften (J. Lewy, 1911; *Gaster Anniversary Volume*,…) and published important studies such as *Hebraeische Frauennamen* (1894–), *Eigennamen des alten Testaments* (1895), and in the related field of Jewish art *Holzsynagogen in Polen* (with others, 1934). Among Grunwald's other interests were Spinoza, on whom he had written his dissertation (1892) and a prize-winning *Spinoza in Deutschland* (1897). On the occasion of the international exhibition on hygiene in Dresden in 1911 he published a book on that subject, *Hygiene der Juden* (1912). He also edited a German prayer book for women (*Beruria*, 1913^2) and one for serving soldiers (*Gebetbuch fuer israelitische Soldaten im Kriege*, 1914). On the occasion of Grunwald's 70th birthday *Omanut*, the publication of the Bezalel Museum in Jerusalem, issued his bibliography (1941).

His son, KURT (1901–1990), was a banker, economist, and public figure in Jerusalem. He wrote on aspects of Jewish economic history including *Tuerkenhirsch* (1966), a study of Baron de *Hirsch.

[Eliyahu Feldman]

GRUSENBERG, OSCAR OSIPOVICH (1866–1940), advocate in Russia also active in Jewish communal affairs, born in Yekaterinoslav. After completing his legal studies at the University of Kiev in 1889, he was invited to prepare for a professorship at the university on the condition, which he rejected, that he convert to Christianity. He settled in St. Petersburg and began to practice law, but as a Jew was only permitted to practice as an "assistant advocate." Although he soon won a reputation throughout Russia as a brilliant lawyer, it was only in 1905 that he was granted the title of a "certified lawyer." Grusenberg specialized in criminal cases and his appearance in political trials as the defender of liberals, revolutionaries, or representatives of minority groups always received wide publicity. He defended the writers Maxim Gorki, V. *Korolenko, and such political figures as P. Milyukov, and Leon *Trotsky as well as the group of representatives of the First *Duma after the Vyborg proclamation of 1906 protesting against the dissolution of the Duma by the government.

Grusenberg gained greatest renown, however, in specifically Jewish trials. Inspired with a national Jewish consciousness, and pride in the history of his people, he displayed great ability in defending the persecuted and obtaining justice for fellow Jews. In defending unjustly accused Jews, he was not content merely to obtain redress of wrongs done to them as individuals, but also tried to vindicate Jewish honor; and was called by Jews "the national defender." He disagreed with Jewish leaders who preferred that Jewish causes of public interest should be defended in court by Russian lawyers. Grusenberg appeared in the trials following the pogroms of *Kishinev and *Minsk; P. *Dashevski, who had made an attempt on the life of P. *Krushevan, the instigator of the Kishinev pogrom, and D. *Blondes in Vilna (1900–02) were defended by Grusenberg. In the Blondes case some Jews were inclined to accept the relatively light penalty imposed on the defendant by the lower court, but Grusenberg insisted on bringing the case before a higher court in order to clear the name of the Jews absolutely. The high point in his life and in his career as a lawyer was his appearance in the *Beilis trial in 1913, which he considered similar to the stand of the martyrs in the trials of the Inquisition. His success was the result not only of his brilliant forensic talents, his profound knowledge of criminal law, and mastery of court procedure, but also of his knowledge of the psychology of the common Russian, an important factor since the fate of the defendant in criminal cases was decided by a jury consisting, as a rule, of people from all walks of life.

As a member of the Russian Constitutional Democratic Party, Grusenberg was also active in Russian political life. In the elections to the Second *Duma he was a candidate in Vilna province, but was defeated by the Poles. He was later a member of the advisory council to the Jewish representatives in the Third and Fourth Dumas. After the *Balfour Declaration Grusenberg drew closer to Zionism and in 1917 joined the "Jewish Bloc" organized by the Zionists. That year he was made a senator by Kerensky's Provisional Government. In 1918–19 during the Russian civil war Grusenberg headed the Jewish Council for Self-Defense and the Council for Aiding the Victims of Pogroms. In 1919 he was chosen as one of the representatives of Ukrainian Jewry to the *Comité des Délégations Juives in Paris. After the Soviets came to power, Grusenberg left Russia. He stayed from 1921 to 1923 in Berlin and from 1926 to 1932 in Riga. In 1929 he served as the representative of the Jews of Latvia at the founding of the enlarged *Jewish Agency and was chosen a member of its council. Grusenberg spent the last years of his life in France.

Besides legal articles published in Russian professional journals, Grusenberg also wrote on Jewish subjects in *Voskhod* and in *Budushchnost*, edited by his brother Samuel. He wrote a book on his experiences as an advocate, and in 1938 his memoirs appeared under the title *Vchera* ("Yesterday"). A collection of his essays and speeches in Russian, including some critical appreciations, was published posthumously in 1944.

In 1950 his remains were brought to Israel in accordance with his will.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: S. Kucherov, in: *Russian Jewry 1860–1917* (1966), 219–52; A.A. Goldenweiser, *V zashchitu prava* (1952), 239–49; M. Samuel, *Blood Accusation* (1966), index.

[Simha Katz]

GRYDZEWSKI (Grytzhendler), MIECZYSLAW (1894–1970), Polish literary editor. Grydzewski played an important part in Polish literary and intellectual life between the world wars as editor of the weekly *Wiadomości Literackie* (1924–39) and of the monthly *Skamander* (1935–39). He also ran the French-language monthly *La Pologne littéraire* (1926–?). An exile after 1939, he edited (in London) the Polish émigré weekly *Wiadomości* and published literary essays such as *Henryk Dąbrowski* (1945).

GRYN, HUGO (1930–1996), British rabbi. Born in Berehovo, Czechoslovakia, Gryn was deported to Auschwitz at the age of 14. After the Holocaust he was taken to Britain and studied mathematics and biochemistry at Cambridge. Under the influence of Leo *Baeck, he studied for the Reform rabbinate at Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati. His first congregation was in Bombay. Returning to the U.S., he served as executive director of the World Union of Progressive Judaism and from 1962 to 1964 was a senior executive in the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee. From 1964 he was rabbi at the West London synagogue. In 1990 he became president of the Reform Synagogues of Great Britain and from 1980 to 1991 was chairman of the European board of the World Union for Progressive Judaism. He became widely known throughout Britain among Jews and non-Jews for his frequent appearances and especially for his broadcasts. He was a leading figure in interfaith activities.

GRYNBERG, BERL (1906–1961), Yiddish writer. Grynberg grew up in Warsaw and emigrated to Argentina in 1923. He worked in Cordoba and Buenos Aires as a printer and, for decades, as linotypist for the Yiddish daily *Di Prese*, where his earliest stories appeared, arousing critical attention with their original combination of realistic and romantic characteristics. The stories often begin with actual happenings but soon become mystical and symbolic. The themes, landscapes, and characters of his six narrative volumes are both Argentinean and Jewish: *Morgnvint* ("Morning Wind," 1934), *Di Eybike Vokh* ("The Eternal Week," 1938), *Blut un Vayn* ("Blood and Wine," 1944), *Dos Bloe Shifele* ("The Blue Boat," 1948), *Libshaft* ("Love," 1952), *Dos Goldene Feygele* ("The Golden Bird," 1948). He was profoundly influenced by Sholem Asch and David Bergelson. He committed suicide in 1961.

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[M. Rav / Tamar Lewinsky (2nd ed.)]

GRYNBERG, HENRYK (1936–), Polish author and actor. World War II memories and the European Holocaust dominate his *Ekipa "Antygona"* ("The Crew of the *Antigone*," 1963), collected stories, and the haunting *Żydowska wojna* (1965; *Child of the Shadows*, 1969). Grynberg's novella *Buszujący po drogach* ("The Catcher on the Roads," 1967) denounced officially inspired postwar antisemitism. A member of the Warsaw State Jewish Theater, he remained in the West after the company's 1967 season in New York.

GRYNSZPAN (Gruenspan), HERSCHEL (1921–?), assassin of a German diplomat in Paris. Grynszpan, who was born in Hanover, Germany, into a family of Polish Jews, moved to Paris early in 1938. When he learned that Polish Jews, including his parents, were being deported from Germany (Oct. 28, 1938), he decided to assault the German ambassador in Paris in order to arouse public opinion in the West regarding the Nazi persecution of Jews. Grynszpan shot at a German embassy official, Ernst vom Rath, who, mortally wounded, died two days later. His death served as a pretext for the November pogroms against Jews throughout Germany and Austria, termed **Kristallnacht*. Grynszpan was held for questioning by the French authorities, and the Germans accused him of being a tool of "world Jewry." When France capitulated, Grynszpan escaped to the Free Zone. However, he later returned to the Occupied Zone, where he was arrested and handed over to the Germans, who made elaborate preparations for a show trial. In the end, the whole affair was hushed up and Grynszpan disappeared without trace.

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[Shaul Esh]

GUADALAJARA, city in Castile, central Spain. A Jewish community already existed there at the time of the *Visigoths, for the Jews are said to have been entrusted, by Ṭāriq ibn-Ziyād, with the defense of the town after the Arab conquest in 714. Joseph *Ferrizuel (Cidellus), the physician of Alfonso VI, was active on behalf of the Jews there after the Christian reconquest in 1085. Judah Halevi dedicated a poem to Ferrizuel on the occasion of the latter's visit in Guadalajara between 1091 and 1095. Further information on the Jews of Guadalajara is found in the charter granted to the Jews of the city by Alfonso VII in 1133. The Jews seemed to have occupied an important position there. One of the synagogues of the community was given to the monastery of Santa Clara in the 13th century. We have no information on the fate of the

Jewish community during the 1391 massacres. In 1414 a mass conversion of 122 Jews occurred after supposedly a cross appeared in the skies during the sermon of a Franciscan. In 1444 Juan II ordered that the New Christians be allowed to occupy public positions in the city. Most of the Guadalajara Jews earned their living from weaving, shoemaking, and tailoring. A tax of 11,000 maravedis, levied from the community as late as 1439, attests to its well-established financial situation. After the anti-Jewish persecutions of 1391, the order to confine the Jews and the Moors in separate sections of the city was rigorously enforced. Several Jews of Guadalajara acted as tax farmers even in the 15th century. The tax levied from the Jews of Guadalajara during the war against Granada was one of the highest paid by any Jewish community, amounting to 104,220 maravedis in 1488 and 90,620 maravedis in 1491.

Guadalajara was a foremost cultural center of Sephardi Jewry and the birthplace of the *Kabbalah in Castile. *Moses de León and other important scholars of the 13th century were active in Guadalajara. *Isaac ibn Sahula, author of the *Meshal ha-Kadmoni* and mystical commentaries on Job, Song of Songs and Psalms, was in practice there as a physician. In *Meshal ha-Kadmoni* we find for the first time a quotation from the Zohar. Moses de León lived 50 years in Guadalajara. Another Jewish resident of the city in the 13th century was Solomon ben Abraham ben Yaish who wrote on Ibn Ezra's commentary on the Torah. In the 15th century, Guadalajara continued to be an important Jewish cultural center. In Guadalajara between 1422 and 1430 Moses Arragel translated the Bible into Castilian at the request of Luiz de Guzmán, the Great Master of Calatrava. The translation and the notes show the high level of learning that the rabbi from Guadalajara had achieved. This Bible, known as *The Alba Bible*, is of great artistic, exegetical, and linguistic value. The earliest-recorded Hebrew printing press in Spain was established in 1482 in Guadalajara by Solomon *Alkabeẓ, famous for his poem *Lekha Dodi*, who produced there in that year the commentary of David *Kimḥi on the later prophets and the *Tur Even ha-Ezer* of *Jacob b. Asher (1480–82). During the years before the expulsion of the Jews from Spain, residents included Isaac *Abrabanel and Isaac *Aboab II who directed one of the most important yeshivot in Castile. A document of 1499, concerning Jewish property in Guadalajara at the time of the expulsion, lists three synagogues and 36 Jewish houseowners. The exiles from Guadalajara established their own synagogue in Algiers in the early 16th century.

Until 1412 the Jews of Guadalajara lived outside the walls, in what was known as *Castil de judíos.* From 1412 onwards, the Jews lived near San Adrés, the commercial center of the city, and near San Gil, Santa María de la Fuente, and San Miguel. The *judería* was not exclusively inhabited by Jews. Following the decision to segregate the Jews in 1480, attempts were made to move the Jews into an area where they could be isolated from the Christian inhabitants. On the eve of the Expulsion, four synagogues are mentioned: *Sinagoga mayor, Sinagoga de los Malutes, Sinoga del Midras,* and *Sinagoga de los Toledanos.*

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[Haim Beinart]

GUADALUPE, town in Castile, W. Spain. Jewish landowners are recorded there in the second half of the 14th century. The community was annihilated in the wave of anti-Jewish riots which swept Spain in 1391, but was revived during the 15th century. In 1485, however, Jews were forbidden to live in Guadalupe by order of Nuño de Arévalo, the local inquisitor. In 1492, prior to the expulsion of the Jews from Spain, *veedores* (leaders) of the community sold the land of the old cemetery to the local bishop for 400 reals; a clause in the deed of sale states that the price was so low because of the kindnesses shown to the Jewish community by the bishop. The *Conversos in Guadalupe lived on a special street in the former Jewish quarter. Jews from Trujillo would stay at the homes of these Conversos, which became important centers for fulfilling the Jewish observances. Forty-six dossiers, almost all of 1485, are preserved concerning persons arraigned before a special tribunal sent by the Toledo Inquisition to uncover relapsed Conversos. Several Conversos who had entered the monastery of San Bartholomé de Lupiana near Guadalupe were tried there in 1489–90. The monks Diego de Marchena and García Çapata, whose conversion to Judaism caused a furor in the church in Spain, belonged to this monastery. They were burned at the stake as Jews.

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[Haim Beinart]

GUASTALLA, ENRICO (1828–1903), Italian soldier and patriot. Born in Guastalla, central Italy, Guastalla gave up his career as a businessman in 1848 to volunteer for the Piedmontese army in the struggle for the unification of Italy. He fought against Austria in 1848 and participated in the abortive capture of Rome from the pope in the following year. For several years he was editor of *Libertà e Associazione*, but his radical views came into conflict with the authorities and in 1858 he fled to England, where he joined the radical patriot Giuseppe Mazzini. Guastalla returned to Italy in 1859 and joined Garibaldi in his campaigns of 1860, 1862, and 1866, being promoted major. In 1867 he married Sofia Weill-Schott and began to work in the bank of his father-in-law in Florence. In 1869 he moved finally to Milan where he was elected a member of the city council. He tried to be elected to the Italian parliament without success. He devoted the last years of his life to studies of the Italian Risorgimento, and in 1884 he founded and was president of the Museo del Risorgimento di Milano.

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[Mordechai Kaplan / Federica Francesconi (2nd ed.)]

GUATEMALA, Central American republic, population 14,280,596 (2004); Jewish population 833 (1999).

Community History

Documents in the archives of the Mexican Inquisition attest to the presence of *Crypto-Jews in Guatemala during the colonial period. The first known immigrants to the country were German-speaking Jews entering Guatemala at the end of the 19th century. Most of them settled in Quetzaltenango and engaged in the sale of clothes and textiles in the coffee plantations. Following the earthquake of 1902 and the fall of coffee prices, the German Jews moved to Guatemala City, where they established in 1913 the Sociedad Israelita de Guatemala in order to provide for their religious and social needs. The community formed by these immigrants was small and isolated from the Jewish world, and its descendants are no longer Jews.

The origins of the present-day Jewish community date from the second decade of the 20th century. According to the data collected in the census survey made in 1999, the Jewish immigrants to Guatemala came from Syria, Iraq, Jerusalem, Panama, Jamaica (originally from England), and Turkey. The list extends also to Jews from Lebanon, Egypt, Poland, Russia, and the United States. The Sephardi Jews settled in Guatemala during the first and second decades of the 20th century. They started as poor peddlers in the provincial towns, and gradually moved to Guatemala City, where in 1923 they founded the Sociedad Israelita Maguén David. The East European Jews arrived in the 1920s following the restrictions on immigration imposed by the United States. Most of them were poor artisans, and they were assisted by the local Jews, particularly by the Maguén David. Jewish immigration in the 1930s consisted of Czechs and Germans as well as Jews from Jerusalem, Panama, and Poland.

At the beginning of the 20th century the liberal Guatemalan governments favored the immigration of foreigners who wished to settle in the country, allowing them to develop economically, socially, and culturally. This motivated the first groups of Jewish immigrants to Guatemala. Policy took a negative turn in 1944, when the president of the Republic, General Jorge Ubico, promulgated Decree No. 1241 of the Law of Foreigners, whose First Article prohibited "the entrance and permanent settlement in the country of foreigners occupied as peddlers" (para. 21–22), this being the trade of many of the Jews who had just arrived in the country.

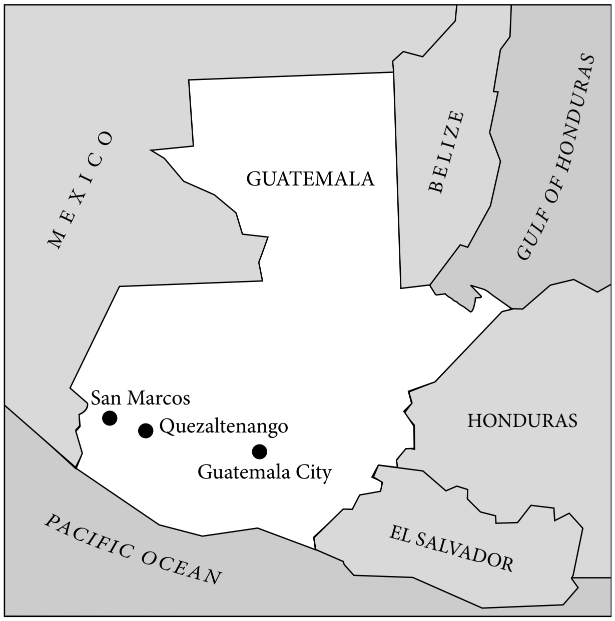

Centers of Jewish settlement in Guatemala.

Laws limiting immigration were rarely enforced after World War II, when Polish, Czech, and German Holocaust survivors entered the country. From the 1950s (through to the early 21st century) the Jews who immigrated to the country arrived from the most varied areas of the globe, with the main reason being marriage to members of the Jewish community of Guatemala or occupational mobility.

Demography

In 1999, there were 833 Jews in the country (400 women and 433 men), with a fertility rate of 2.7 children. The number of Jews in Guatemala never exceeded 1,200 (data calculated by the members of the community in the 1950s).

A singular characteristic is that 36% of Guatemalan Jews between 18 and 45 years live abroad (mainly in the United States). This is caused by two factors: (1) most of those who lived abroad for many years embarked on their professional careers in the country where they received their higher education, settling there permanently (66% of those who emigrated pointed to the lack of economic opportunity as the main cause of their emigration); (2) marriage: 38% of marriages with Jews from other countries resulted in immigration of the Guatemalan Jew to the country of residence of his or her spouse.

According to the 1965 census, the community had 74 mixed marriages, accounting for 27.2% of the Jewish population. In the 1999 census, only 6% of the members were married to non-Jews, while 12% were married to men and women who had converted to Judaism.

Communal Life

The first synagogue, inaugurated on August 11, 1938, was constructed by the Sephardi community Maguén David and provided for the religious needs of Sephardi and Ashkenazi Jews alike. In 1941 the Ashkenazi Jews founded their own organization, the Associacion Centro Hebreo, which opened its Shaaréi Biniamín synagogue (Orthodox) in 1968. Between 1969 and 1989 the Bet-El Synagogue (Conservative) operated, with a majority of members of West European origin. Centro Hebreo and Bet-El merged in 1989 under the name of the former.

The first organization that represented the Guatemalan Jews vis-à-vis the national and international authorities was the Sociedad Israelita de Guatemala (founded 1913). In 1968 it was replaced by the Comité Central de la Comunidad Judia de Guatemala. In 1981 the Comunidad Judía de Guatemala (called since 1994 Comunidad Judía Guatemalteca) or Guatemalan Jewish Community (GJC) was founded as the representative organ and the Jewish umbrella organization, responsible for the Jewish educational institutions (Gan Hillel, Tarbut, Talmud Torah, Mechon Noar, Maccabi ha-Ẓa'ir), social, sports, and cultural activities, the organization of groups of all the ages, the cemeteries, relations with local and international institutions (Jewish and general), and every matter related to the communal life of Guatemalan Jews.

Education, Culture, and Zionism

Between 1958 and 1976 there was a Jewish day school called the Albert Einstein (later Salomón Blenkitny). In the early 21st century there was a daily kindergarten, Gan Hillel, and supplementary schools that are open from one to three times a week. These are Tarbut, Talmud Torah, Mechon Noar, and the Machon leMadrijim.

A youth organization was founded in 1943 under the name of Young Centro Hebreo, and two years later it affiliated with the Maccabi World Union, creating Maccabi Ha-Ẓair Guatemala, active until the present.

Between 1994 and 2004 the GJC developed large building projects: the construction of a Jewish Community Center (finalized in 1995), which united all the educational, social, religious, and Zionist organizations, and the Har Carmel project, being an enormous stretch of land with 200 lots earmarked for housing for members of the GJC.

Most Zionist organizations have a representative in the country as well as in some of the international ones: Keren Hayesod, Keren Kayemet, WIZO, Zionist Federation, Maccabi World Union, B'nai B'rith, and others.

It should be emphasized that 69% of Guatemalan Jews declare themselves Zionists, and that all the members of the GJC are affiliated with the above-mentioned institutions.

The following periodicals were published by the community organizations: *Abucah* ("Torch"), 1943–45; *The Maccabee*, 1959–60; *Mabat*, 1978–86; *Kadima*, 1992–99; and *Beyajad*, from 1999.

GJC'S RELATIONS WITH GUATEMALAN ORGANIZATIONS. The number of affiliations of the Jewish community, as much on the individual level as on the institutional level, is very large. Guatemalan Jews are members, leaders, or cooperate in institutions such as Junkabal (Edgar Heinemann, chairman), the Guatemalan Red Cross (Max Russ, director), children's day care (Samuel Camhi, founder and benefactor; Enriqueta Engel, president), League against Cancer (Margot Halfon, deputy chairperson; Rosa Luchtan, director; Eduardo Halfon, director), volunteer and municipal fire departments (Max Russ, president; Max Trachtenberg, president; Moises Russ, director; Isaac Farchi, deputy chairman), Santa Lucia Orphanage (Sara Dreiffus, president), CACIF (Alberto Habie, president), Roosevelt Hospital (Irene Neumann and Sol Berkowitz, directors), Rotary Club (Tomas Rybar, president; Marcel Ruff, president), Municipality of Guatemala City (Roberto Stein, deputy mayor), Guatemalan Association of Journalism (Isidoro Zarco, president), Chamber of Commerce (Jaime Camhi, vice president; Moris Farchi, director), Chamber of Industry (Moises Russ, director; Alberto Habie, president; Joe Habie, director), National Congress (congressmen Isaac Farchi, Roberto Stein, Dr. Julio Sultán, Manfredo Lippman), ministries (Dr. Julio Sultán), embassies (Dr. Gert Rosenthal, ambassador at the UN; Moises Russ, ambassador in Israel), INCAP (Dr. Benjamin Torun, scientist, director of Research), Bricks for Guatemala City of Sanarate Reconstruction Committee (Margot Halfon, president; Marcel Ruff, general secretary), National Social Welfare Committee (Bella Russ, chairperson), YPO (Roberto Tenenbaum, president), Garden Club of Guatemala (Brenda de Rich, president), FUNDAP (Jaime Camhi, director), universities, volunteer groups in hospitals, FUNDESA (Manuel Yarhi, president; Jaime Camhi, president; Edgar Heinemann, president; Mario Nathusius, president), Cepal (Dr. Gert Rosenthal, secretary general), primary and secondary schools (Mario Nathusius, president; Saul Mishaan, president; Victor Cohen, director), National Bicycle Federation (Jaime Russ, president), as well as representing Guatemala in sports, science, chess, and more.

Four members of the Jewish community have been awarded the Vatican Order of Pope St. Sylvester: Moises Russ, Bella Russ, Margot Halfon, and Dr. Jacobo Sabbaj.

Relations with Israel

Guatemala had a crucial role in the vote on the partition of Palestine. The Guatemalan ambassador to the United Nations in 1947, Jorge García Granados, was a member of the UN Special Commission for Palestine (UNSCOP). Backed by the president of Guatemala, Dr. Juan José Arevalo, he worked tirelessly for the establishment of a Jewish state in a part of Palestine. His book *The Birth of Israel* was published in 1949. The two governments have engaged in various projects cooperatively. Guatemala demonstrated its support of the Jewish State in numerous votes in favor of Israel within the framework of the United Nations.

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[David Algaze / Carlos A. Tapiero (2nd ed.)]

GUBER, (Howard) PETER (1942–), U.S. film producer. Guber was born and raised in Boston, Massachusetts. His father, Samuel, operated a junk metal business in nearby Somerville. After receiving his B.A. from Syracuse and both business and law degrees from NYU, he was hired by Columbia Pictures in 1968. In a few short years, Guber ascended to head of worldwide production, one of the youngest studio chiefs, generating record-breaking profits with such films as *The Way We Were* (1973), *Shampoo* (1975), and *Taxi Driver* (1976). In 1976, Guber left Columbia to start producing films independently, winning critical and box office successes with *Midnight Express* (1978). Guber teamed with Jon Peters to form one of the most successful teams in Hollywood, producing such hits as *Flashdance* (1983), *The Color Purple* (1988), *Rain Man* (1988), and *Batman* (1989). In 1989, Guber and Peters became co-heads of Columbia Pictures Studio, which had been purchased by Sony. The rollercoaster ride of their free-spending ways and Sony's expensive education in the movie business is chronicled in detail in the book *Hit and Ru*n by Nancy Griffin and Kim Masters. Peters resigned in 1991. Nonetheless, Guber continued to deliver hits such as *Terminator 2* (1991) and *Groundhog Day* (1993) and developed Sony into a modern film and television studio powerhouse. In 1995, Guber left Sony and launched Mandalay, a multimedia entertainment company specializing in movies, television, and sports entertainment. The films Guber directly produced earned over $3 billion and 50 Academy Award nominations. In addition to producing, Guber taught at UCLA School of Theater, Film and Television for over 30 years. He appeared regularly on his own show, AMC's *Sunday Morning Shootout*, opposite Peter Bart, editor-in-chief of *Variety.*

[Max Joseph (2nd ed.)]

GUBER, RIVKA (1902–1981), Israel Prize winner for services in the absorption of immigrants, known as "the mother of sons." Born in Russia, Guber immigrated with her husband Mordecai in 1925. She lost her two sons in the War of Independence, and from then on devoted herself, together with her husband, to the absorption of immigrants. She organized the education system in the Kastina transit camp (*ma'abarah*), which later became Kiryat Malakhi, and assisted in immigrant absorption in the Lachish area. In her last years she devoted herself to writing and keeping up with her many "sons" all over the country. She received the Israel Prize in 1976. In 1979, she was part of the official Israeli delegation accompanying Prime Minister Menaḥem Begin to the United States to sign the Camp David Peace Treaty with Egypt.

GUEBWILLER, town in the Haut-Rhin department, E. France. In 1270 there was a community of at least 10 families in the town; from 1330 or earlier they owned a synagogue. However the community ceased to exist after the *Black Death persecutions (1348–49). Jews did not reappear in Guebwiller until the beginning of the 17th century. Their numbers did not grow to any extent until the 19th century (about 80 families in 1870), but subsequently declined once more. Several Jews from Guebwiller were deported by the Nazis. In 1969 a small community again existed. The present Rue des Tonneliers was formerly known as Rue des Juifs.

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[Bernhard Blumenkranz]

GUEDALLA, HAIM (1815–1904), philanthropist and supporter of Jewish settlement in Ereẓ Israel. Born in London, Guedalla was descended from Moses Vita Montefiore and was a great-nephew of Sir Moses *Montefiore, whose niece he married. The Guedallas were originally Moroccan. Through his association with the Montefiore family he became interested in Ereẓ Israel. In the period 1876–80, he was the chairman of the Turkish Bondholders of the General Debt of Turkey, and in view of the size of the debt – £250,000,000 – he proposed that Ereẓ Israel be purchased from the Turks in exchange for the debt. George *Eliot, who was then taken up with the idea of the return of the Jews to their ancestral home, inspired this idea in him. There was considerable reaction to Guedalla's proposal in the Jewish world: some people treated it with amusement, while others (such as Y.M. *Pines) thought it worthy of consideration. Guedalla did in fact negotiate with Midhat Pasha, the grand vizier, but nothing came of the proposal. In 1863 Guedalla accompanied Moses Montefiore on a trip to Morocco to bring aid to its Jewish community, and on the way back he visited Spain. This trip was the beginning of his campaign designed to persuade the Spanish government to permit the return of the Jews, an aim which was in fact achieved in 1869. He also joined Montefiore on his fourth trip to Ereẓ Israel in 1855 and extended help to various institutions there. He published articles, pamphlets, and books dealing with Jewish affairs and supplied the funds for the English translation of *The Jewish Question of Russia* by Demidoff San Donato (1884). In the 1840s Guedalla was influential in establishing *The Voice of Jacob,* one of the earliest Anglo-Jewish newspapers.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: JC (Oct. 7, 1904).

[Getzel Kressel]

GUEDALLA, PHILIP (1889–1944), English biographer, historian, and essayist. A member of an old Sephardi family, and the son of David Guedalla, a pioneer English Zionist, Philip Guedalla was born in London and educated at Rugby school and at Oxford, where he excelled as a debater and actor, and later became a barrister. During World War I he was legal adviser to the ministry of munitions and the contracts department of the British War Office. After ten years at the bar, he retired in 1923 to devote himself to literature and politics. Guedalla's five attempts to secure election to Parliament as a Liberal MP failed; but his books on historical personalities and events, mostly of the 19th century, were an outstanding success. A witty speaker and writer, he developed a brilliant and highly individual style, often tinged with irony, in his works. These include *The Second Empire* (1922), on Napoleon III; *Palmerston* (1926); *Gladstone and Palmerston* (1928); a study of Wellington entitled *The Duke* (1931); *The Queen and Mr. Gladstone* (1933); *The Hundred Days* (1934), on Napoleon I's last campaign; *The Hundred Years* (1936), covering 1837–1936; *The Liberators* (1942); and *Middle East, 1940–42; A Study in Axis Power* (1944). He also wrote studies of famous personalities such as *Supers and Supermen* (1920) and *Masters and Men* (1923); two books of American interest, *Independence Day* (1926), which appeared in the U.S. as *Fathers of the Revolution* (1926), and *Conquistador* (1927); and published the works of Disraeli, to which he added his own introductory notes (1927). He was president of the British Zionist Federation, 1924–28, and in 1925 delivered his presidential address to the Jewish Historical Society of England on *Napoleon and Palestine*. Philip Guedalla was noted for his aphorisms, such as "Any stigma to beat a dogma," "History is the study of other people's mistakes," and "An Englishman is a man who lives on an island in the North Sea governed by Scotsmen." During World War II, at the age of 54, he became a squadron leader in the Royal Air Force. One of his last works was *Mr. Churchill: A Portrait* (1941).

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[Godfrey Edmond Silverman]

GUEDEMANN, MORITZ (1835–1918), Austrian rabbi, historian, and apologete. Guedemann was born in Hildesheim, Prussia; he was ordained at the Breslau Jewish Theological Seminary, in 1862. Guedemann was appointed rabbi in Magdeburg in 1862. Four years later he went to Vienna as a *maggid* and in 1868 became a rabbi there. In matters of Jewish law and practice he took a conservative position, opposing, for example, the introduction of the organ and the omission of prayers relating to Zion, which contrasted with his liberal outlook in scholarly matters. In 1869 he was appointed head of the Vienna *bet din* and in 1891 became chief rabbi with Adolf *Jellinek and sole chief rabbi on the latter's death in 1894.

This period was one of rapid growth for the Vienna Jewish community and also of intensified political antisemitism. Guedemann played an active role in developing communal institutions. With Joseph Bloch he organized the Oesterreichisch-Israelitische Union (1886) and also helped found the *Israelitisch-Theologische Lehranstalt in 1893. Though Guedemann had not been trained as a historian, most of his numerous contributions to scholarship were in that field. His major work was *Die Geschichte des Erziehungswesens und der Cultur der abendlaendischen Juden* (3 vols., 1880–88), the first systematic attempt to examine some of the underlying trends and institutions of medieval Jewish life in terms of their non-Jewish milieu. Other works include *Das juedische Unterrichtswesen waehrend der spanisch-arabischen Periode* (1873) and *Quellenschriften zur Geschichte des Unterrichts und der Erziehung bei den deutschen Juden* (1892). During the final decades of his life Guedemann devoted an increasing amount of his scholarly output to the refutation of academic antisemitism. His *Juedische Apologetik* appeared in 1906.

[Ismar Schorsch]

Attitude to Zionism

When *Herzl was engaged in writing *Der Judenstaat*, he thought of three personages who would assist him in turning his idea into reality: Baron de *Hirsch, Baron *Rothschild, and Guedemann. It was to Guedemann that Herzl addressed one of his first letters (June 11, 1895) and his name appears frequently in Herzl's diary for the period in which Herzl began his preoccupation with political Zionism. In Herzl's eyes, Guedemann was not only Vienna's chief rabbi but one of the greatest authorities on Judaism, of which Herzl possessed only a very limited knowledge. But although opposed to the extreme Reform movement, Guedemann was in agreement with its attitude on the contemporary problem of the Jewish people. He could not understand why a Jew who had grown up among the German people and in the realm of its culture "should uproot himself by his own hands from the soil upon which he had grown," or, as he formulated it on one occasion, "Should I go from here, where the word Jew and all who bear that name are held up to shame, and leave the field to our enemies in order to form a majority in Palestine? No! A hundred thousand horses will not drag me from here, until I achieve revenge over the antisemites and joy over their downfall."

Over a period of many months, Herzl held meetings with Guedemann and exchanged letters with him. At the beginning, Guedemann was impressed by the idea of the *Judenstaat* and by its author; when the book came out, however, and caused a storm among the assimilationists, Guedemann's attitude underwent a decided change. For a while he wavered between support for Zionism and opposition to it; in the end, he published a book, *Nationaljudentum* (1897) in which he attacked Herzl's *Judenstaat*. In his book he sought to prove that not only was there no such thing as a Jewish people, but that it was the main task of the Jews to bring about the abolishment of nationalism. Both Herzl and *Nordau came out with sharp reactions to Guedemann's book.

[Getzel Kressel]

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GUENZBURG (also **Guensburg**, **Guenzberg**, **Ginzburg**, **Ginsburg**, **Ginzberg**, **Ginsberg**, **Ginzburger**, **Ginsburger**), family name common among East European Jews, especially in Russia. The first known Jews to call themselves by this name (after the beginning of the 16th century) came from the town of Guenzburg in Bavaria. Relatives of this family from neighboring Ulm who settled in Guenzburg used the name Ulma-Guenzburg, or simply Ulma. Abbreviated forms of Guenzberg, such as Guenz or Gaunz were also used. Some branches of the

Guenzburg family later added Oettingen or Kliachko to form hyphenated names. When, early in the 19th century, the Russian authorities ordered the Jews to select family names, many in Poland, Lithuania, and Volhynia adopted the name Ginsburg, or a similar name, but these were not related to the emigrants from Guenzburg and their descendants in Bavaria.

The genealogy of the Guenzburg family has been traced back to Simeon Guenzburg (1506–1586), the grandson of Jeḥiel of Porto. The Guenzburg family produced numerous rabbis of note, including Aryeh *Gunzburg, author of *Sha'agat Aryeh*, in the 18th century, who, according to the family genealogy, was of the 11th generation to bear the name, and also the writer Mordecai Aaron *Guenzburg. The most celebrated branch of the family was that of the barons *Guenzburg.

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[Simha Katz]

GUENZBURG, distinguished Russian family of bankers, philanthropists, and communal workers, of whom three generations were active during the second half of the 19th and early 20th centuries in Russia and Paris. They gained a place in modern Jewish history for their efforts on behalf of Russian Jewry as semiofficial representatives before the czarist authorities as well as for their Jewish and general philanthropic activities. HORACE GUENZBURG was granted a baronetcy in 1871 by the archduke of Hesse-Darmstadt. In 1874 this title was also awarded to his father, JOSEPH YOZEL GUENZBURG. The title was made hereditary by Czar Alexander II. The most outstanding members of the family were: BARON JOSEPH YOZEL (YEVSEL) GUENZBURG (1812–1878), son of GABRIEL JACOB (1793–1853), who, according to the family genealogists, was of the 15th generation of the Guenzburg family. Born in Vitebsk, he received a traditional education, and acquired wealth in the 1840s as a lessee of the liquor monopoly and later as an army contractor. In 1857 he settled with his family in Paris but retained his enterprises in Russia. In 1859 he founded the Joseph Yevsel Guenzburg Bank, in St. Petersburg, which rapidly became one of the chief financial institutions in Russia and contributed significantly to the development of credit financing in that country. He participated in financing railroad construction and the development of gold mines in the Urals, Altai, and Trans-Baikal Siberia.

Guenzburg tried to utilize his contacts with influential Russian circles to improve the situation of the Jews, and especially to win rights of permanent Jewish residence outside the *Pale of Settlement for specific categories of Jews, such as merchants, craftsmen, or demobilized soldiers. In this he was successful. The first synagogue in St. Petersburg was built as a result of his efforts. He was one of the founders of the *Society for the Promotion of Culture among the Jews of Russia in 1863 and supported its activities. Guenzburg provided scholarships for Jewish youth to encourage higher education, especially in medicine, and donated substantial sums to encourage Jews to engage in agriculture, which he regarded as an important step toward improving their situation. In addition to awarding prizes for agriculture, he devoted the income from his extensive estates in southern Russia to settling Jews on these lands. He died in Paris and was buried in the family sepulcher there. He had one daughter and four sons, some of whom engaged in his enterprises.

His second son, the best known, was BARON HORACE (NAPHTALI HERZ) GUENZBURG (1833–1909), born in Zvenigorodka, in the province of Kiev. In addition to a general education, Horace received a Jewish education in his father's house. Among his teachers was the Hebrew writer Mordecai Sukhostaver, who for many years served as Joseph Yozel Guenzburg's secretary. Through him Horace became closely acquainted with the Hebrew poet Jacob *Eichenbaum who profoundly influenced him. While still a young man, Horace became his father's aide and principal partner in his financial enterprises as well as in his public activities. When his father established his bank in St. Petersburg, Horace became its acting director. His talents as well as his manners contributed to its success as one of the central financial institutions of Russia. His personal qualities gained him the respect and confidence of court circles. Among other activities he managed the financial affairs of the archduke of Hesse-Darmstadt, who appointed him consul-general in Russia (1868–72), the only instance when the Russian government consented to the appointment of a Jew as consul in its domains. The Russian government also showed its appreciation of Guenzburg's services by appointing him state councilor and awarding him orders of merit. Until 1892 he served as alderman in the St. Petersburg municipality. He was director of financial institutions, as well as a supporter and member of many non-Jewish social welfare institutions. In 1892 the Guenzburg bank suspended operations as a result of a crisis that was brought about by the suspension of credits by the Russian government.

Guenzburg's home in St. Petersburg was a meeting place for liberal scholars, authors, artists, and other intellectuals in the Russian capital. As well as a philanthropist, Horace was a generous patron of scientific, cultural, and social institutions, and of promising writers, artists, and musicians. Among others the sculptor Mark *Antokolski benefited from Guenzburg's assistance early in his career.

In Russian society Horace's position and his contacts with the authorities helped him continue with greater effect the activities of his father on behalf of Russian Jewry and as patron of its communal affairs. During the period of reaction in Russia, he had to keep vigilant watch to prevent the promulgation of an ever-increasing number of anti-Jewish decrees and to counteract the accusations against the Jews. When the new military service law was about to be passed in 1874, he succeeded in preventing the inclusion of special provisions directed against Jews. During the blood libel case in Kutais in 1878 he encouraged the celebrated scholar, the convert Daniel *Chwolson, to write a book tracing the history of the blood libel, which he subsidized. In 1881–82 he attempted to establish a countrywide organization of Russian Jews, and he convened and headed conferences of representatives of Jewish communities in St. Petersburg to plan action against the pogroms then taking place in southern Russia. Guenzburg also urged the government to rescind the "Temporary Regulations" of 1882 (*May Laws), which had been promulgated by the minister of the interior, *Ignatyev, and he actively participated in the work of the Pahlen Commission (1883–88) which had been empowered to review the laws pertaining to Jews.

After his father's death, Horace headed the Jewish community in St. Petersburg, and also the Society for the Promotion of Culture among the Jews of Russia. After the 1905 pogroms he organized and headed a committee to aid the victims. He opposed the emigration of Jews from Russia, and as chairman of the ICA (*Jewish Colonization Association) committee in Russia, he urged that the funds donated by Baron Hirsch be spent in Russia to encourage agriculture and crafts among Jews. He supported publications of historical interest, including the collection of Russian laws pertaining to Jews edited by V. Levanda, and other studies. Horace had 11 children.

His son, BARON DAVID GUENZBURG (1857–1910), was born in Kamenets-Podolski. He continued the family tradition of public and communal activity and philanthropy, but is mainly noted for his scholarly work in Judaic and Oriental studies. He specialized in Oriental subjects and linguistics, and medieval Arabic poetry, in the universities of St. Petersburg, Greifswald (Germany; 1879–80), and in Paris, and was a pupil of the Hebrew writer Ẓ. ha-Cohen *Rabinowitz, of A. *Neubauer, and of Senior *Sachs. The last, who was a tutor in the Guenzburg home in Paris, influenced David to study medieval Hebrew poetry. David gained a knowledge of most Semitic languages, and published a number of works. These include: the physician Isaac b. Todros of Avignon's *Be'er le-Ḥai* from the sole manuscript (1884); the first edition of *Sefer ha-Anak* (*Ha-Tarshish*) of Moses Ibn Ezra (1886); the diwan of the Spanish-Arab poet, Ibn Guzman (1896); studies of the foundations of Arabic poetry (in publications of the Oriental department of the Royal Archeological Society, 1892–97); a comprehensive work on ancient Jewish ornamentation, *L'Ornement Hébreu*, in collaboration with the Russian art critic, V.V. Stasov (1903), which contained examples of Jewish illuminations from medieval Hebrew manuscripts, among them illuminated Bible manuscripts of Oriental origin in a style which combined Byzantine and Arabic elements; a catalog and description of Arabic, Greek, and Coptic manuscripts in the Institute of Oriental Languages of the Russian Foreign Office; a book on the poetry of Lermontov (published posthumously in 1915; as a connoisseur of Russian poetry, Guenzburg was especially attracted by the Jewish and Oriental elements in Lermontov's works); a number of studies published in Russian, French, German, and Hebrew periodicals and in jubilee volumes honoring scholars of his day. He also coedited the jubilee volume honoring A. *Harkavy. His library, which had one of the most important collections of Judaica, was one of the largest in private ownership in the world, and contained a valuable collection of manuscripts and books, including incunabula (presently in the Lenin State Library in Moscow).

Although more interested in scholarly than public activity, David was active in the St. Petersburg community, which he headed after his father's death, in the Society for the Promotion of Culture among the Jews in Russia, in ICA, and in the society to encourage crafts and agriculture among Russian Jews. In 1910 he headed a conference of Russian Jews to solve religious problems. He was also active in areas that related to his academic interests, and was chairman of the Ḥovevei Sefat Ever ("Society of Lovers of Hebrew"), a member of the committee of *Mekiẓe Nirdamim, a founder of the Society for Oriental Studies, a member of the scientific council of the Ministry of Education, as well as a Founder member of other academic institutions in Russia and abroad, including the Société Asiatique of Paris. With Judah Leib Benjamin *Katzenelson (Buki ben Yogli) he was one of the editors in chief of the *Yevreyskaya Entsiklopediya* (Russian Jewish Encyclopedia), and responsible for the section dealing with geonic literature and the Arab period in Jewish history. The crowning achievement of his academic work was the creation of the Jewish Academy, officially named Higher Courses on Oriental Studies, which he established in St. Petersburg in 1908. This was a one-man project, for Guenzburg not only supported these courses with his funds, but was also its rector and lectured on Talmud, rabbinic literature, Semitic languages, Arabic literature, and medieval Jewish philosophy. Its lecturers included S. *Dubnow and J.L.B. Katzenelson, who headed it after Guenzburg's death. The academy, which continued until 1916, created a Russian school of Judaic scholarship, and was attended by Z. *Shazar, Joshua *Guttman, Y. *Kaufmann, and S. *Zeitlin, among other distinguished scholars and writers.

David's brother PIERRE (d. 1948), an industrialist living in Paris, left for the United States in 1940. His wife Yvonne de la Meurthe (d. 1969) served for 20 years as honorary president of ORT. Their daughter married Sir Isaiah *Berlin.

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[Simha Katz]

GUENZBURG, ILYA YAKOVLEVICH (1860?–1939), Russian sculptor. Born into a traditional family in Vilna, Guenzburg attracted the attention of Mark *Antokolski at the age of 11, and went with him to St. Petersburg where he studied under Antokolski himself. The art historian V.V. Stasov took an interest in his career. In 1878 he entered the St. Petersburg Academy of Arts where he received a gold medal for his "Lament of Jeremiah." After graduation in 1886, he traveled abroad for a year on a scholarship provided by Baron H. *Guenzburg, and returned to St. Petersburg, to continue his work. After the Russian Revolution he founded a Jewish Society at Petrograd for fostering art.

His work falls into three main groups: (1) scenes of children; (2) contemporary writers, artists, and scientists, e.g., Tolstoy, Tchaikovsky, Pasternak, and Mendeleyev; (3) abstract subjects, busts, and memorials (noted among them were those of Antokolski (in the Jewish cemetery of Leningrad) and that of V.V. Stasov). His sculptures were portrayed with realism, and included *A Child Before Bathing* and *The String* (depicting a child playing); both are in the Leningrad Museum. He published his memoirs, *Iz moyey zhizni* ("From My Life," 1908), which is also of historical value on Jewish life in Russia.

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GUENZBURG, MORDECAI AARON (1795–1846), Hebrew author and founder of the first modern Jewish school in Lithuania. Guenzburg was born in Salantai and earned a living as an itinerant tutor until 1835 when he settled permanently in Vilna. In 1841 he and the poet Solomon *Salkind founded a modern Jewish school, which he directed as headmaster until his death. Guenzburg became one of the leading spokesmen for the Vilna Haskalah, though he was a moderate who opposed radical change. He observed the practical *mitzvot* which, under Moses *Mendelssohn's influence, he viewed as social regulations for the benefit of the Jewish community. He opposed the extremism of both the Orthodox and the secularists. When Max *Lilienthal was invited to Russia by the authorities, Guenzburg joined the Vilna *maskilim* in attacking Lilienthal's attempts to win over the Orthodox and ridiculed his German ways and superficiality.

Guenzburg's books in the area of French and Russian history enjoyed wide circulation and helped improve his financial condition. In 1844 and 1862 he published *Devir* (2 vols.), an anthology of letters, essays, and short stories, containing, among others, letters by Goethe, *Heine, and *Boerne, and a translation of the letters of Moses Montefiore's personal secretary, Eliezer Halevi (Louis *Loewe), who accompanied Montefiore on his first trip to Palestine. *Devir* also contained essays about the neglected Jewish communities in the Arab lands, China, and Ethiopia. *Devir* aroused in its readers a love for Palestine and influenced Abraham *Mapu and Kalman Shullmann. His autobiography *Avi'ezer*, his most original work, appeared in 1864 (reprint 1966). Written in the style of Rousseau's confessions, it portrays the inner world of the Jewish child, and is a ringing attack on the *ḥeder* system of education. Stylistically, Guenzburg surpasses his contemporaries by far. For the sake of accuracy he resorted to mishnaic Hebrew, introducing talmudic phrases and neologisms, many of which became commonly accepted and are still in use, for example, *milḥemet magen* ("defensive war"), *milḥemet tigrah* ("offensive war"), *rahitim* ("furniture"), *beit-do'ar* ("post office"), etc. Guenzburg was the literary forerunner of P. *Smolenskin, J.L. *Gordon, M.L. *Lilienblum, and R.A. *Broides. His other works include *Ittotei Rusyah Ha-Ẓarefatim be Rusyah* (1843), on the Franco-Russian War of 1812; *Pi-hahiroth* (1843), a history of the wars of 1813–1815.

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[Abba Ahimeir]

GUENZIG, EZRIEL (1868–1931), rabbi and scholar. Guenzig, who was born in Cracow, received the traditional talmudic education there. He later studied secular subjects in Berlin and philosophy and Semitics at Berne University. He served as rabbi in the Moravian communities of Dresnitz and Loschitz until 1918. After World War I, he settled in Antwerp, where he became head of the Taḥkemoni School and later was active as a bookseller. Guenzig's scholarly work was mainly concerned with the history of Haskalah in Galicia. However, he dealt with other subjects as well. He wrote on F. *Mieses (*Oẓar ha-Sifrut*, 3 pt. 5 (1890), 1–54), whose writing he prepared for publication. His other published works include *Der Commentar des Karaeers Jephet ben Ali* (1898); *Der Pessimismus im Judenthume* (1899); *Die Wundermaenner im juedischen Volke* (1921); and *Das juedische Schrifttum ueber den Wert des Lebens* (1924). Guenzig served as assistant editor of *Ha-Maggid, and edited the seven volumes of the literary journal *Ha-Eshkol* (1898–1913). The first two volumes of the latter were edited with J.S. Fuchs.

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[Getzel Kressel]

GUENZLER, ABRAHAM (1840–1910), Hungarian rabbinical publicist and polemicist. Born in Satoraljaujhely, Guenzler was gifted from youth with a talent for writing which he employed in defense of traditional Judaism. In 1868, he published a pamphlet, *Tokhaḥat Megullah*, in which he attacked Isaac Friedlieber's compilation *Divrei Shalom* and defended traditional Jewry against the Reform movement, then on the ascendant in Hungary.

Subsequently Guenzler moved to Sziget, a community of Ḥasidim and *maskilim*, where he began to publish a Hebrew weekly, *Ha-Tor*. It was the first Hebrew journal published in Hungary and exerted considerable influence. The revival of the Hebrew language was his main ambition, and in 1876 he published in Sziget a booklet, *Das Meter Moss*, most of which was in Hebrew because "there are people who understand Hebrew better than Yiddish." The journal was published in Sziget for three years (1874–76), but it seems that he could not maintain it there and moved with it to Kolomyya in Galicia and from there to Cracow. Meanwhile the pogroms against the Russian Jews broke out (1881). Guenzler accurately described them in *Ha-Tor*, with the result that the Russian government banned it from Russia. Since most of the journal's subscribers lived there (he had nearly 300 subscribers in Russia, and about 250 in Austria-Hungary), *Ha-Tor* ceased publication. Guenzler could not refrain, however, from commenting on contemporary and local issues. He published his articles in *Kol Maḥazike Hadas*, published fortnightly in Lemberg. Meanwhile R. Simeon Sofer of Cracow founded the weekly *Maḥazike Hadas* and Guenzler was appointed editor. The publishers of *Kol Maḥazike Hadas* sued Guenzler; eventually it was agreed that *Maḥazike Hadas* would stop publication and Guenzler would edit *Kol Maḥazike Hadas*, but he was later forced to resign.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: G. Bader, *Medinah va-Ḥakhameha (1934), 65–66.*

[Naphtali Ben-Menahem]

°**GUÉRIN, VICTOR** (1821–1891), French explorer of the Near East. Guérin was professor of rhetoric at various French universities and finally at Paris. In 1852 he traveled extensively in Greece, Egypt, Tunisia, and Ereẓ Israel. His works include a seven-volume *Description géographique, historique et archéologique de la Palestine* (1869–80), containing three volumes on Judea and two each on Samaria and Galilee. Guérin's work combines historical information (especially from the church fathers and crusader authors) with topographical descriptions; although his work preceded the age of scientific archaeology, he noted many monuments which have since disappeared. He also wrote *La Terre sainte, son histoire, ses souvenirs* (2 vols., 1881–83) and *Jérusalem, son histoire, sa description, ses établissements religieux* (1889).

[Michael Avi-Yonah]

GUGGENHEIM, U.S. family. MEYER GUGGENHEIM (1828–1905), merchant and industrialist, was the progenitor of the American branch of the family. He was born in Lengnau, Switzerland, and immigrated to the United States in 1848 with his father Simon, settling in Philadelphia. After a period of peddling, Meyer established successful stove polish, lye, and lace-embroidery businesses. In the late 1870s he purchased an interest in the Leadville mines in Colorado. Leaving the embroidery business, the firm of M. Guggenheim's Sons rapidly acquired and built silver, lead, and copper mines and smelters in the western United States, Mexico, and other countries. In 1901 the firm merged with the American Smelting and Refining Company, in which the Guggenheims played a dominant role. At the height of the family's fortune, the company was estimated to be worth over $500,000,000. Meyer's seven sons continued the family's business operations as Guggenheim Brothers, expanding their holdings from Alaska to the Congo.

His eldest son, ISAAC (1854–1922), was born in Philadelphia. He promoted the family's enterprises, including the Guggenheim Exploration Company. He was a contributor to the New York Federation of Jewish Charities, Jewish Theological Seminary, and Hebrew Union College. Meyer's second son, DANIEL (1856–1930), became the leader of the Guggenheim Brothers' far-flung enterprises and was responsible for expansion and modernization. As president of American Smelting and Refining Company for nearly 20 years, he developed tin mines in Bolivia, diamonds in Africa, and nitrates in Chile. A progressive in labor relations, Daniel favored unionization and government economic legislation. With his brother Murry he endowed free music concerts in New York's Central Park; the Daniel and Florence Guggenheim Foundation; and the Daniel Guggenheim Fund for the Promotion of Aeronautics. He was a trustee of New York's Temple Emanu-El and one of the founders of the Jewish Theological Seminary. Meyer's third son, MURRY (1858–1939), participated actively in managing Guggenheim Brothers and the American Smelting and Refining Company. His philanthropies included a free dental clinic in New York. The fourth son, SOLOMON ROBERT (1861–1949), developed the family's interests in Mexican and Chilean mining. A benefactor of New York's Mt. Sinai and Montefiore Hospitals and the New York Public School Athletic League, he formed the Solomon R. Guggenheim Foundation, which encouraged nonobjective art. The Guggenheim Museum in New York, designed by Frank Lloyd Wright, commemorates this interest. A fifth son, BENJAMIN (1865–1912), entered the family mining business and then withdrew from the partnership in 1900 to head International Steam Pump. He died in the sinking of the *Titanic*. Meyer's sixth son, SIMON (1867–1941), was associated with the family's mining interests and, from 1907 to 1913, served as U.S. senator from Colorado. In 1925 he established the John Simon Guggenheim Foundation, which has provided fellowships to thousands of scholars, scientists, and artists. The seventh son, WILLIAM (1868–1941), managed company property until 1900, and then withdrew from the family firm. His subsequent activities were public affairs, writing, and philanthropy.

Daniel's son HARRY FRANK (1890–1971) served the family's mining enterprises and was senior partner of Guggenheim Brothers. As president of the Daniel Guggenheim Fund for the Promotion of Aeronautics from its inception in 1926, he did much to advance aviation. He established the Harry Frank Guggenheim Foundation, which supports scholarly research on problems of aggression, and violence. From 1929 to 1933 he served as United States ambassador to Cuba, and later founded and was president of the Long Island daily *Newsday.* Benjamin's daughter, MARGUERITE (Peggy; 1898–1979), spent most of her life in Europe, aiding the modern art movement, especially American abstract expressionism. Her home in Venice was a center for art display. In 1979 her memoir, *Out of This Century: Confessions of an Art Addict*, was published.

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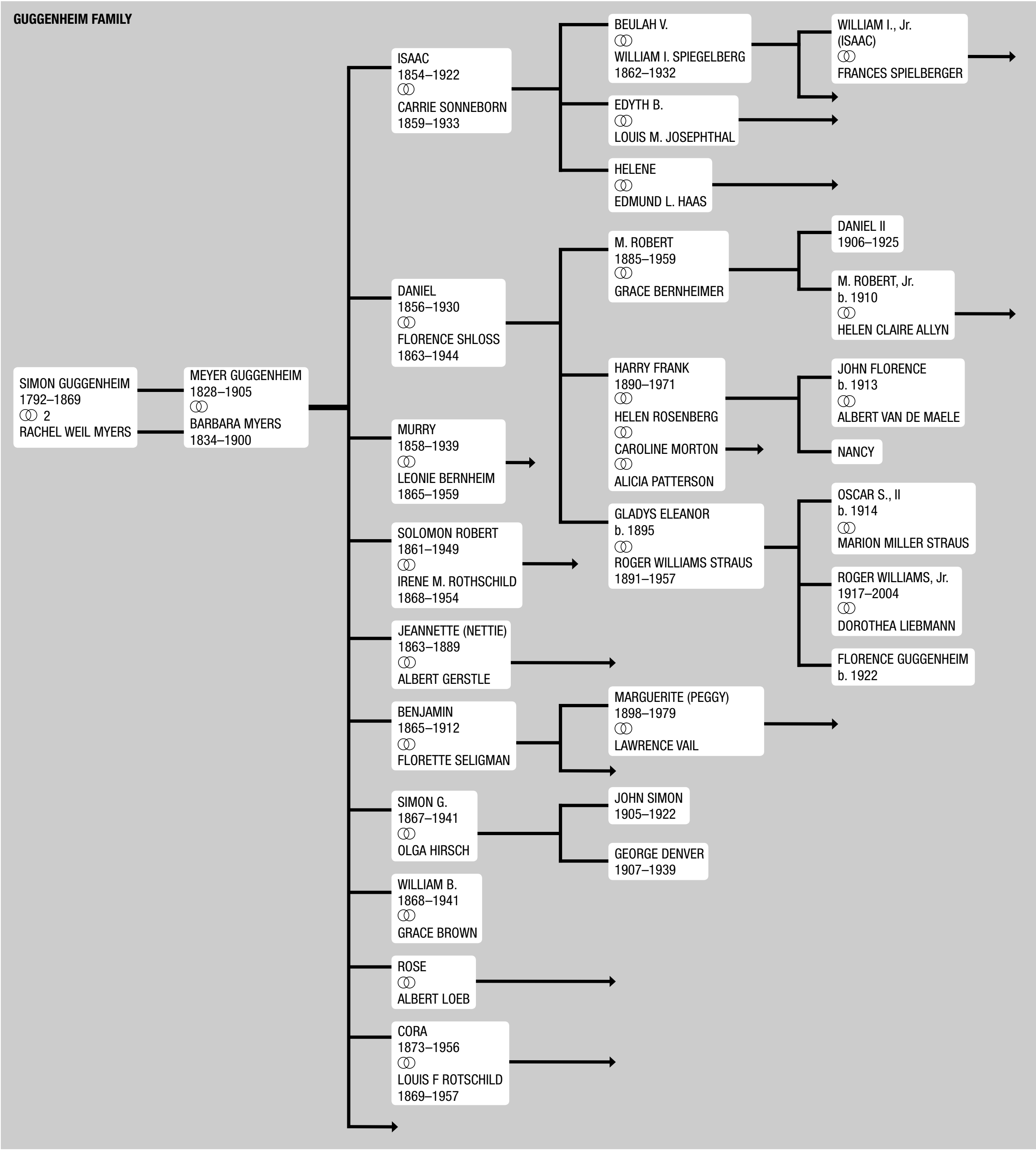
GUGGENHEIM FAMILY
SIMON GUGGENHEIM 1792–1869 ⚭ 2 RACHEL WEIL MYERS
MEYER GUGGENHEIM 1828–1905 ⚭ BARBARA MYERS 1834–1900
ISAAC 1854–1922 ⚭ CARRIE SONNEBORN 1859–1933
BEULAH V. ⚭ WILLIAM I. SPIEGELBERG 1862–1932
WILLIAM I., Jr. (ISAAC) ⚭ FRANCES SPIELBERGER
EDYTH B. ⚭ LOUIS M. JOSEPHTHAL
HELENE ⚭ EDMUND L. HAAS
DANIEL 1856–1930 ⚭ FLORENCE SHLOSS 1863–1944
M. ROBERT 1885–1959 ⚭ GRACE BERNHEIMER
DANIEL II 1906–1925
M. ROBERT, Jr. b. 1910 ⚭ HELEN CLAIRE ALLYN
HARRY FRANK 1890–1971 ⚭ HELEN ROSENBERG ⚭ CAROLINE MORTON ⚭ ALICIA PATTERSON
JOHN FLORENCE b. 1913 ⚭ ALBERT VAN DE MAELE
NANCY
GLADYS ELEANOR b. 1895 ⚭ ROGER WILLIAMS STRAUS 1891–1957
OSCAR S., II b. 1914 ⚭ MARION MILLER STRAUS
ROGER WILLIAMS, Jr. 1917–2004 ⚭ DOROTHEA LIEBMANN
FLORENCE GUGGENHEIM b. 1922
MURRY 1858–1939 ⚭ LEONIE BERNHEIM 1865–1959
SOLOMON ROBERT 1861–1949 ⚭ IRENE M. ROTHSCHILD 1868–1954
JEANNETTE (NETTIE) 1863–1889 ⚭ ALBERT GERSTLE
BENJAMIN 1865–1912 ⚭ FLORETTE SELIGMAN
MARGUERITE (PEGGY) 1898–1979 ⚭ LAWRENCE VAIL
SIMON G. 1867–1941 ⚭ OLGA HIRSCH
JOHN SIMON 1905–1922
GEORGE DENVER 1907–1939
WILLIAM B. 1868–1941 ⚭ GRACE BROWN
ROSE ⚭ ALBERT LOEB
CORA 1873–1956 ⚭ LOUIS F ROTSCHILD 1869–1957

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[Morton Rosenstock]

GUGGENHEIM, CAMILLE (1863–1930), Swiss jurist and politician. Born in Zofingen, Guggenheim joined the Social Democratic Party in 1916 and later became Social Democratic member of the Great Council. He was member of the Swiss Federal Court (1929). Despite his short term in office, Swiss Fascists used his example after 1933 to prove the "Judaization" of Switzerland.

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[Uri Kaufmann (2nd ed.)]

GUGGENHEIM, CHARLES (1924–2002), U.S. documentary film producer. Guggenheim was born in Cincinnati, Ohio, to German Jewish parents. His father and grandfather were furniture manufacturers. Guggenheim studied agriculture at the Colorado State College of Agriculture and Mechanical Arts before joining the U.S. Army in 1943. A foot infection kept him from shipping out overseas with his division, which took heavy losses during the Battle of the Bulge. After World War II, Guggenheim completed his undergraduate studies at the University of Iowa in 1948. After working for CBS Radio in New York, he moved to Chicago and worked behind the scenes for CBS children's shows and then to St. Louis, Missouri, to work in public television. In 1954, he founded his documentary production company, Charles Guggenheim and Associates. After producing the first political commercial aired on television for Democratic presidential candidate Adlai Stevenson in 1956, Guggenheim moved his company to Washington, D.C. He produced a variety of campaign ads for political figures, including the Kennedy brothers. The first documentary he directed, *A City Decides* (1956), earned Guggenheim the first of the 12 Oscar nominations he would receive throughout his career. Guggenheim's Oscar-winning documentaries are *Nine from Little Rock* (1964), about school desegregation in Arkansas; *Robert Kennedy Remembered* (1968), shown at the Democratic National Convention weeks after the senator was killed; *The Johnstown Flood* (1989); and *A Time for Justice* (1994). Guggenheim's final project was the documentary *Berga: Soldiers of Another War* (2002), about 350 American soldiers captured in the Battle of the Bulge who were sent to labor camps instead of POW camps because they were Jewish or thought to be Jewish. Guggenheim finished the film a few months before he died of pancreatic cancer in Washington, D.C.

[Adam Wills (2nd ed.)]

GUGGENHEIM, PAUL (1899–1977), Swiss jurist and authority on international law. Born in Zurich, Guggenheim became head of the Institute of International Law at the University of Kiel in 1927. Guggenheim became a member of the Permanent Court of Arbitration at The Hague in 1951 and judge ad hoc of the International Court of Justice in 1955. He represented a number of countries before The Hague court and also acted as arbitrator in many international disputes. He wrote extensively on subjects relating to international law. His books include *Lehrbuch des Voelkerrechts* (2 vols., 1948–51) and *Traité de Droit international public* (2 vols., 1953–54; second edition of the first volume, 1967). Guggenheim was president of the Central Committee of the Swiss community from 1944 to 1950. He wrote many scholarly articles on matters of Jewish interest such as Zionism, Palestine, Jewish postwar problems, minority rights, Swiss Jewish history (the first short history published), heirless property left in Switzerland, and the Jewish refugee problem. In 1960, he was elected president of the World Federation of the United Nations Association and in 1964 became its honorary president.

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[Veit Wyler / Uri Kaufmann (2nd ed.)]

GUGGENHEIM-GRUENBERG, FLORENCE (1898–1989), pharmacist and historian, born in Berne, Switzerland. During the 1930s and 1940s she was active in Swiss Jewish national and international organizations, and from 1950 was president of the Juedische Vereinigung in Zurich. She was the editor of *Beitraege zur Geschichte und Volkskunde der Juden in der Schweiz*, a series devoted to the history and folklore of the Jews in Switzerland. She edited the typescript of Augusta Weldler-Steinberg and added chapters on the history of the communities of Lengnau and *Endingen in the two-volume *Geschichte der Juden in der Schweiz* (1966/1970), a history of the Jews in Switzerland from the 16th century to the period after emancipation. She was one of the first researchers of western Yiddish after 1945, providing ample oral documentation of a then nearly extinct dialect, and she fought for women's rights in Switzerland.

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[Uri Kaufmann (2nd ed.)]

GUGLIELMO DA PESARO (known as **Guglielmo Ebreo**; 15th century), Italian dance master. He was a pupil of Domenichino da Piacenza, founder of the new school of dancing at the court of Ferrara, and taught in Florence, where he was apparently attached to the court of the Medici. Here he compiled (c. 1463) his "Treatise on the Art of Dancing," one of the most memorable works of the sort produced in Renaissance Italy. It includes two dances composed by the young Lorenzo de' Medici. In 1475 Guglielmo supervised the pageantry at a resplendent ducal wedding in Pesaro. After this he was apparently converted to Christianity under the name of Giovanni Ambrogio. He was then in the service of the Duchess of Milan who sent him to teach dancing at the Court of Naples. In 1481 he was dancing master to seven-year-old Isabella d'Este at Ferrara. Guglielmo introduced the fashion of the *moresche*, embodying both dance and mimicry, before the grand spectacle. He composed many *balletti* that were revolutionary for his time. His writing makes clear that he did not see as his final aim the mere compilation of dances. He attempted to explain the fundamentals of dancing, giving considerable thought to the relationship between dance and music. Guglielmo outlined six prerequisites for all dancers of which the first three were of enduring importance: *misura*, the dancer's ability to keep time to the musical rhythm; *memoria*, the ability to recollect steps in correct sequence; *partire del terreno*, the ability to do the right movement in space. Though he intended only to compose dances for courtly balls, Guglielmo outlined the requirements for the artistic dancer for all times.

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[Cecil Roth, Walter Sorell]

GUIANA (formerly **British Guiana**), state in N.E. South America, population: 650,000 (est. 2000); Jewish population: 40 persons (1990 estimate) living in the capital Georgetown. The earliest Jewish settlers in Guiana arrived during the Dutch rule which began in 1613. In 1657 an agreement was reached between Paulo Jacomo Pinto, acting on behalf of the Jews of Leghorn, and Phillipe de Fuentes, acting on behalf of the Jewish refugees from Dutch Brazil and Dutch cities of Middleburgh, Flushing, and Vere on the settling of Spanish-speaking Jews in the colony called Nova Zeelandia. Jews arrived from Amsterdam and Leghorn and were later joined by Jews from Hamburg and Salé (Morocco). The Jews settled in the town of New Middleburgh on the Pomeroon (Pauroma) river, and numbered 50 to 60 families, specializing in sugar cane plantations and vanilla. In 1666 an English attack destroyed the settlement, and the Jews dispersed in the Caribbean, mainly to Curaçao.

Before the outbreak of World War II there were a handful of Jews in the capital, Georgetown, but there was neither an organized community nor a synagogue. Early in 1939, 165 Jewish refugees from Europe, who arrived on the s.s. *Koenigstein*, were not permitted to disembark, and shortly thereafter the government barred immigration. However, 130 Jews found refuge in the country during the war years but most of these eventually emigrated.

In 1939, in the wake of the failure of the *Evian Conference on the German refugee problem and in view of Britain's intention to severely restrict Jewish immigration to Palestine (see *White Paper), Britain proposed her crown colony Guiana as a site for Jewish immigration and settlement. Thus, in February 1939, an international investigating committee under the auspices of the Inter-Governmental Commission on Refugees, formed at Evian, arrived in the country to explore the proposed area. The land under consideration consisted of approximately 42,000 sq. mi. in the forest and swamp region of the interior. Neither the coastal region, which comprises 4% of the area of British Guiana but holds 90% of the country's population, nor the open region adjacent to it, were included in the proposed area.

The committee stated that although the region was not ideal for the settlement of European immigrants, the quality of the soil, the availability of important minerals, and the climatic and health conditions did not preclude their settlement. The committee proposed a two-year trial period during which 3,000–5,000 sturdy young people with professional training would be sent to the region to test the practicality and the advisability of large-scale investment and development.

Many considered the British plan for Jewish settlement in British Guiana to be a political strategem. They pointed out that the same region was investigated in 1935 by an international commission and found unsuitable for the settlement of 20,000 Assyrians suffering persecution in Iraq. Not only had the commission stated unanimously that the region was unsuitable for settlement, but also its conclusion had been accepted by the British government itself.

However, in May 1939, before British policy on Palestine was officially proclaimed in the White Paper, the British government published the report of its own investigating committee which found British Guiana to be a place for possible settlement. Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain announced that Jewish settlement in British Guiana would bring the establishment of a new community which would enjoy a large measure of autonomy and representation in the government of the colony. The program was described in government circles as a "New Balfour Declaration" and as a plausible alternative to the Jewish National Home in Palestine.

The only Jewish organization which was seriously involved in the British Guiana scheme was the *American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee on whose behalf Joseph A. *Rosen participated in the inquiry commission.

Relations with Israel

Since April 1967 Israel's ambassador to Colombia has also been non-resident ambassador to Guiana. Out of a desire to mobilize the Arab and Soviet blocs in the international arena, for support of its own conflicts, Guiana formerly adopted a hostile line toward Israel. However, from 1969 relations between the two countries improved substantially. Israel has extended a certain amount of technical assistance to Guiana.

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[Aryeh Morgenstern / Mordecai Arbell (2nd ed.)]

°**GUIDACERIO, AGACIO** (**Agathius Guidacerius**; 1477–1540), Italian Hebraist. A priest from Calabria, Guidacerio began studying Hebrew at Rome under Jacob Gabbai, who was apparently a Portuguese refugee. Under the patronage of Pope Leo X, Guidacerio served as first professor of Hebrew at the University of Rome from 1514 onward. He published a pioneering *Grammatica hebraicae linguae* (Rome, c. 1514) and an annotated edition of Song of Songs (Rome, 1524; Paris, 1531). During the sack of Rome (1527), Guidacerio lost his library and subsequently fled to Avignon, from where he was called to Paris to become a royal reader at the College of the Three Languages. His other works include another Hebrew grammar, *Peculium Agathii-Mikneh Agathii* (Paris, 1537), and *Sefer* *ha-Diqduq – Grammaticae in sanctam Christi linguam institutiones* (Paris, 1539).

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[Godfrey Edmond Silverman]

GUILDS.

In Antiquity

There is evidence in the Bible of a certain unity among craftsmen. This appears to have played a role similar to that of the unions of artisans which assisted their members in the economic and social spheres in ancient Babylonia at the time of Hammurapi. In this period, association among the artisans was confined to the framework of the family, most of whose members were employed in the same profession over the generations, and took the form of concentration of a given group of craftsmen in a certain site in the town for residence and work. The Bible mentions a valley of craftsmen (I Chron. 4:14). In Jerusalem, there was "the bakers' street" (Jer. 37:21). During the period of the Return to Zion, after the Babylonian Exile, the social cells of the professions had consolidated and were acknowledged to the extent that some are mentioned as a group when the walls of Jerusalem were rebuilt: "between the upper chamber of the corner and the sheep gate repaired the goldsmiths and the merchants" (Neh. 3:32). Distinctive indications of the existence of craftsmen's unions according to families, and their concentration in particular streets, are found during both the Second Temple era and the talmudic period in Ereẓ Israel, Egypt, and Babylonia. However, the forms of professional organization prevailing in the Hellenistic world gradually gained in influence and appear to have obscured the unifying role of the family in many professions. This was replaced by a special association (*ḥavurah*) of the members of a given profession for defined purposes: the synagogue was a unifying factor for these associations. The place of the hereditary craft is still evident in the tradition recorded in the Mishnah concerning the families of craftsmen in the Temple (Shek. 5:1; Yoma 3:11; 38a).

From the period preceding the Bar Kokhba revolt there is evidence on the organization of the Tarsians (weavers of flax, so called after the industry of Tarsus, the capital of Cilicia) around special synagogues in Tiberias and Lydda (Meg. 26a; Naz. 52a; TJ, Shek. 2:6, 27a), while during the period which followed the revolt there appeared the "master" of the Tarsians (Av. Zar. 17b) and the chief of the slaughterers in Sepphoris during the days of Judah ha-Nasi (Tosef., Ḥċýŏ 3:2). From the period of the *amoraim* there is mention of the studies of the "apprentice of the carpenter" (Mak. 8b) and the "apprentice of the smith" and his relations with "his master," the craftsman, who issues orders which he is expected to obey (BK 32b, see Shab. 96b). In a later Midrash there emerges the "company of donkey drivers" which, in partnership, engages in transportation; "they had a chief over the company" who directed its activities (Mid. Ps. 12:1). In Hierapolis, Phrygia, there were unions of dyers of purple stuff and carpet weavers, to whom someone bequeathed a sum of money in order to adorn his tomb on the festivals of Passover and Shavuot; presumably all, or the majority of, the members of these unions were Jews. In Alexandria there were found "the goldsmiths by themselves, the silversmiths by themselves, the weavers by themselves, and the Tarsians by themselves, so that a visitor could come and join his profession and thus earn his livelihood" (Tosef., Suk. 4:6).

Mutual assistance was then one of the declared objectives of the companies of craftsmen and there is a specification how "the woolworkers and dyers … the bakers … the donkey drivers … the sailors are authorized" to act and reach agreement among themselves for the benefit of their fellow craftsmen; they purchased their requirements in partnership; it was accepted to "observe a period of relaxation," i.e., an agreement to refrain from competition in the market and reduction of prices (see Tosef. BM, 11:24ff.; *Sefer ha-Shetarot* of Judah b. Barzillai al-Bargeloni, no. 57). Those whose work took them on the highways introduced a mutual insurance of their animals and implements employed in transportation (Tosef., *ibid.*). It is also known that Jews belonged to the general unions of craftsmen, though presumably they did not participate in their religious cults.

[Haim Hillel Ben-Sasson]

Middle Ages and Early Modern Era

The guilds of the Middle Ages in Europe were thoroughly Christian in character and the Jew had no place in them. Since few Jews in Ashkenaz practiced crafts, they did not organize their own guilds, while the Jewish merchants were restricted in their professions and arranged their affairs through the general communal regulations. In the Byzantine Empire, in the 12th century, an authorization was granted to Jewish craftsmen by Manuel I (1143–1180) to establish guilds in their towns. In Sicily there were Jewish guilds of silk weavers, dyers, and carpenters during the 12th to 15th centuries. In 1541 the tailors' guild of Rome reached an agreement with the Christian guild of the city. In Christian Spain the occupations of the Jews were highly diversified and many engaged in crafts. They established associations (*ḥavurot*) active in the economic, social, and religious spheres. Solomon b. Abraham *Adret clearly formulated the legal character of the guilds: "every company which has a common interest is to be regarded as a town apart … this was customary in all the holy communities and no one ever raised any doubts as to this" (Rashba, Resp., vol. 4, no. 185). The responsa of R. *Asher b. Jehiel, Solomon *Adret, and *Isaac b. Sheshet Perfet provide information on the structure and activities of the "companies" in Spain. The regulations presented to the king by the company of Jewish shoemakers in Saragossa in 1336 for ratification include arrangements for financial assistance to colleagues in times of sickness, a compulsory arrangement for the visiting of the sick and participation in the rejoicing and mourning of members modeled on the arrangements of the Christian guilds. Also recorded are institutions for charitable purposes and special prayer designed for craftsmen (such as in Perpignan and Saragossa) and the (*bet*) "*midrash* of the weavers" (in Calatayud) "which were set aside … for the individuals of the company, and were not consecrated for everyone that comes" (Ribash, Resp., no. 331). A main development in Jewish guilds among Ashkenazi Jewry took place in Eastern Europe, in Bohemia-Moravia, and in Poland-Lithuania, with the increasing number of Jewish craftsmen in those countries. The earliest information on these goes back to the 16th century. Despite the violent opposition of the Christian guilds, the number of Jewish artisans increased considerably and they organized themselves in guilds during the 16th to 18th centuries after the pattern of the Christian guilds, and in order to protect themselves from them. In Prague, there were Jewish guilds of butchers, tailors, furriers, embroiderers, shoemakers, goldsmiths, hairdressers, and pharmacists. In several towns of Poland and Lithuania, such as Brody, Cracow, Lublin, Lvov, Lissa (Leszno), and Vilna, there were numerous Jewish guilds, with up to ten in one community.

The regulations of the Jewish guilds in Eastern Europe followed the spirit of the general guilds, but their social-religious content was influenced by Jewish customs and modes of life. Since they were essentially economic organizations, the Jewish guilds established rules on the relations between their members, the status of the craftsmen, the trainees and the apprentices, and the standards and quotas of production authorized to every craftsman. The guilds were concerned to prevent unfair competition between their members and to protect them from local craftsmen who were not organized in a guild or from craftsmen not living in the town. They cared for their members' welfare, assisted those in difficulties, and provided relief to the widows and orphans of guild members. They developed organized activity for the religious education of members and their children. All the craftsmen, trainees, and apprentices were compelled to take part in public prayers and to observe the Sabbath and festivals. The guilds also formulated detailed rules for the election of committee members. Even though many guilds were first formed through the initiative of the communal administration, the relations between the two bodies gradually deteriorated until open clashes occurred during the 18th century between the guilds and the community leadership in Berdichev, Minsk, and Vitebsk. With the political and economic decline of Poland-Lithuania, the guilds lost their importance. In Russia, Austria, and Prussia, among which Poland was partitioned in the latter part of the 18th century, the guilds with their typical medieval structure were already on the verge of extinction. They ceded their place to modern forms of economic organization. Associations (*ḥavurot*) of craftsmen existing in many communities during the 19th century had slight economic influence and their function was confined to religious, cultural, and social activities. They continued until the 1930s. In Poland between the two world wars the *cechy* (guilds) legislation which limited the Jewish craftsmen was revived. As a result, the debate was renewed on the role and organization of the Jews in this modern reincarnation of the guilds.

[Mark Wischnitzer]

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GUINZBURG, HAROLD KLEINERT (1899–1961), U.S. publisher. Guinzburg, who was born in New York City, worked briefly as a journalist in Bridgeport and Boston. He later worked for the publishing house Simon & Schuster as a talent scout for new authors. In 1925 he and his friend George Oppenheim founded Viking Press, whose initial success resulted from the sale of quiz and "boner" books, though the firm later sponsored many prominent authors. A consistent innovator in the publishing field, Guinzburg founded the Literary Guild, one of America's first book clubs, in 1927; he sold his share in it in 1933, the same year that Viking again pioneered by establishing a special children's book department. During World War II he served both as chief of the Office of War Information's domestic bureau of publications (1943) and as head of its London publications division (1944). His armed forces anthology *As You Were* (1943), which was edited by Alexander Woollcott, was the start of the immensely popular Viking Portable Library series. After the war, Guinzburg launched Viking's own paperback line, Compass Books. A staunch civil libertarian and member of the New York Chapter Board of the American Civil Liberties Union, he strongly opposed literary censorship and contended that any limitation of free expression was incompatible with democracy. He also served as a director of the American Book Publishers Council and as its president from 1956 to 1958, and as vice president of the Jewish Telegraphic Agency. He contributed to *Books and the Mass Market* (1953).

GUKOVSKY, GRIGORY ALEKSANDROVICH (1902–1950), Russian literary scholar. Born in St. Petersburg into a Jewish family which had converted to Lutheranism, he graduated from the faculty of social sciences of Petrograd University in 1923. He worked at the Leningrad Institute of the History of Arts from the mid-1920s until 1929 and at the Institute of the Comparative History of Literature and Languages of the West and East associated with Leningrad University. In his scientific interests Gukovsky was close to the so-called "formal method." His works established the bases for the contemporary study of Russian literature of the 18th century. He wrote on the ideas of the Enlightenment and sentimentalism (*Orcherki po istorii russkoy literatury i obshchestvennoy mysli 18 veka* ["Essays on the History of Russian Literature and Social Thought of the 18th Century," 1938]), on romanticism (*Pushkin i russkie romantiki* ["Pushkin and Russian Romantics," 1946]), and on realism (*Pushkin i problemy realisticheskogo stilya* ["Pushkin and Problems of Realistic Style," 1979]), *Realizm Gogolya* ["The Realism of Gogol," 1959]). Gukovsky was a pioneer of contemporary structural typology. While professor at Leningrad University (1936–49), he educated a whole constellation of Soviet literary scholars (Yu. M. Lotman, I.Z. Serman, and many others). In July 1949 Gukovsky and his brother Matvey (1898–1971), a historian of the Italian Renaissance and professor at Leningrad University, were arrested as "cosmopolitans." Gukovsky died under investigations in the KGB Lubyanka prison in Moscow.

Gukovsky's daughter, DOLININA NATAL'YA GRIGOR'EVNA (1928–1980), was a Russian writer. Her long story "*Otets*" ("Father," 1974) is devoted to the fate of her father.

[Mark Kipnis / *The Shorter Jewish Encylopaedia in Russian*]

GULAK, ASHER (1881–1940), historian of Jewish law. Gulak, who was born in Dackira, Latvia, obtained a diploma in law at Dorpat University in 1911, and pursued further legal study in Germany (1919–24). He returned briefly to Latvia, where he taught at government-sponsored courses for Jewish teachers, before settling in Palestine in 1925. Gulak was appointed lecturer (1926) and subsequently professor (1936) of Jewish law at the Hebrew University. He published books and numerous articles on talmudic and Jewish law, which were comparative studies on the Jewish, Greek, and Roman legal systems, as well as articles on current problems, particularly in the field of education. Gulak's pioneering four-volume work *Yesodei ha-Mishpat ha-Ivri* ("Foundations of Hebrew Law," 1922) was the first to present Jewish law systematically. This was followed in 1926 by an anthology of Jewish legal formularies and documents, *Oẓar ha-Shetarot ha-Nehugim be-Yisrael* (1926), later enlarged by his *Urkundenwesen im Talmud* (1935), *Le-Ḥeker Toledot ha-Mishpat ha-Ivri bi-Tekufat ha-Talmud* ("Research in the History of the Talmudic Law of Property," 1929), and *Toledot ha-Mishpat be-Yisrael bi-Tekufat ha-Talmud* (1939), a similar study of the law of obligations.

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[Chaim Ivor Goldwater]

GULF WAR (1991).

Introduction

The Iraqi conquest of Kuwait on August 2, 1990, constituted an act of naked military aggression which, although distant from Israel, raised serious concern in Jerusalem. Since the Baghdad Arab Summit in 1978, through the enormous military build-up in the 1980s during the war with Iran, Iraq was seen as the linchpin of the threatening Eastern Front of Arab states dedicated to military confrontation with Israel, as opposed to Egypt's approach of political accommodation. There was a residue of deep acrimony between Iraq and Israel that went back to Israel's War of Independence of 1948 and the fact that Iraq, unlike other belligerent Arab states, had refused to sign an armistice agreement with Israel in 1949. Beyond Iraq's role in subsequent Arab-Israeli wars, Israel's air strike against the Iraqi nuclear reactor outside Baghdad on June 7, 1981, left its own mark on the animosity and conflict between the two countries. In April, just a few months prior to Iraq's invasion of Kuwait, Saddam Hussein had broadcast his vicious intention, minimally his blatant threat, "to burn half of Israel with chemical weapons."

Israel and the Gulf Crisis

Although Iraq had chosen in August to occupy a fellow-Arab state, and this for reasons of economic greed along with grandiose hegemonic aspirations in the Arab World as a whole, Israel had cause for caution and suspicion. Exactly a week after the Gulf crisis began, Prime Minister Yitzḥak Shamir addressed the army's National Defense College on the subject of aggression – that in the 1930s in Europe and that in the Middle East in 1990. He said:

> The great difference between those dark days of the 1930s and ours, is that this time the Jewish nation has the ability and means to deter, face, and defend itself from the threat, and if need be, to overthrow and defeat it.

The following day Defense Minister Moshe Arens reiterated the prime minister's confidence and warning. "Saddam Hussein," he remarked, "knows whom he will be dealing with if he starts anything with Israel." Relying specifically on the deterrent capacity of the Israel Defense Forces (IDF), its proven military strength and reputation for ingenious and determined strategic reach, the defense minister concluded that Saddam's threats would not materialize.

The Gulf crisis opened up possibilities to serve Israeli national interests in a fortuitous and dramatic fashion. Firstly, it deflected global attention away from the politically damaging Palestinian uprising (*Intifada*) that had besmirched Israel's standing in the world. Reduced coverage of Judea, Samaria, and Gaza could marginalize the Arab insurrection as a media scoop.

Secondly, the Gulf crisis diverted American attention from its focus on regional peace-making generally and the inauguration of a Palestinian-Israeli dialogue in particular. Secretary of State James Baker had exerted persistent efforts for many months to induce Israel's government to agree to America's formula for a Palestinian delegation that would negotiate with Jerusalem. The specifics of Baker's formula were unacceptable to Prime Minister Shamir and his markedly nationalist, and narrow, coalition government formed in the spring.

Thirdly, and most critically, the crisis evoked an immediate and resolute American response that portended military confrontation against Iraq. That reaction had the acceptable possibility, not necessarily explicit in the diplomatic language of official Jerusalem, that U.S. forces would defeat Israel's enemy to the east.

The United States moved with diplomatic and military alacrity to react to Iraq's occupation of Kuwait. The United

Nations Security Council convened on the very day of the invasion to condemn Iraqi aggression and demand an unconditional and immediate withdrawal. Under America's leadership, a coalition of military forces began to be organized to protect the Persian Gulf countries, Saudi Arabia particularly, from further aggressive moves that might emanate from Baghdad. President George H.W. Bush was explicit in identifying America's concerns and motives when he affirmed that Saudi independence "is of vital interest to the United States."

During subsequent months, an American-Arab alliance was fashioned that embodied the capacity and determination to impose the status quo ante in Kuwait and the Gulf. While the anti-Iraq purpose was fully compatible with Israeli interests, Operation Desert Storm reflected new political alignments and developments in the Middle East which could impinge negatively on Israel's future strategic standing and prospects. The crisis in the Gulf was an opportunity for Israel, but it was also a potential crisis as well.

America and Israel's Low Profile

The American-led Allied military coalition revolved specifically around three important Arab states. Egypt, a partner with the United States in the Camp David Accords, was a primary legitimizer for American intervention in the Gulf and against the Arab state of Iraq. In due course Washington not only coordinated its strategic planning with Egypt, but in October also canceled a $7.1 billion Egyptian debt to the United States. Saudi Arabia, stubbornly rejecting repeated American requests during the 1980s for the stationing of its troops or the establishment of bases on Saudi soil, was now not averse to the welcome protection by the U.S.-led coalition. In August the Saudis received $2 billion of American military assistance, including tanks, planes, and missiles. In November, following an initial Saudi request for a $21 billion arms sale, which apparently was supported – perhaps initiated – by the Bush administration, a first $7.5 billion deal was approved. The U.S. Congress expressed its opposition to a third installment in the arms deal, to the tune of $14 billion, that included AWACS, F-15s, Apache helicopters, Maverick missiles, and more. Yet that did not necessarily imply that the administration had capitulated to Capitol Hill.

Syria, erstwhile Soviet client and intrepid American foe, was a new Arab addition to the United States political network in the Middle East. Beyond lining up with Washington and against Baghdad, Syrian president Hafiz al-Assad actually flew to meet President Bush in Geneva in December, as the crisis slid closer to war. Syrian self-interest in rivalry with fellow-Ba'athist Iraq conformed effortlessly with America's search for a New Political Order in the region, in the wake of Iraqi aggression and the challenge to Saudi and Gulf integrity.

Israel's response to the crisis was bedeviled by the conflict between its desire to see Iraq stopped and defeated and by the constraint exercised by America to deny the Israeli army participation in this campaign. Israeli passivity would not enhance its regional reputation and strategic deterrence, but it could facilitate or uncomplicate an Allied triumph against Iraq. It was not unreasonable, though perhaps not necessarily correct, that Israeli involvement might upset the U.S.-Arab coalition. The Arab participants – Egypt, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Morocco, and others – would conceivably balk at fighting on the same side as Jewish troops against other Arab, viz. Iraqi, troops. Remaining on the military margins in the face of overt Iraqi threats was a painful political dilemma for Israel during the crisis period from August 1990 until January 1991, and then during the war itself from January 16 until the cease-fire on February 27.

Foreign Minister David Levy provided an early indication of his country's policy when he stated on September 6, that "Israel is maintaining a low profile." He would repeat this position throughout the succeeding months. In the heat of war, and just prior to the ground offensive in late February, he again articulated the policy of Israeli non-intervention, so as not to hamper the American-led coalition against Iraq.

Certainly the policy of a low profile became the hallmark of Israel's rhetorical and political quandary for the entire period of crisis and war. While the IDF was galvanized into military preparedness, it effectively carried out no offensive operations at all. The threats of painful punishment to Saddam Hussein, as in Shamir's statement of September 19, were left as a reminder of Israeli resolve although restraint actually colored policy-making. This was so even after Iraq's Scud missiles hit Israel beginning on January 17.

At that time, just a day after the attack, Army Chief-of-Staff Dan Shomron was forthright:

> First of all, I would like to state that the fact that missiles were fired at our civilian population is a very serious event, and, as all Israeli leaders have repeatedly said in the past, such an event demands a reaction.

Eliyahu Ben-Elissar, chairman of the Knesset Foreign Affairs and Defense Committee, conveyed a similar determination on January 25 after more Iraqi missiles had struck Israeli population centers. He said: "Our decision to respond was made as soon as the first missile fell on the Israeli population or entered our air space…." But a growing and pervasive credibility gap clouded the rhetorical flourish reflected in such Israeli declarations. Saddam's threats from 1990 materialized, but Israeli policy statements did not.

Prime Minister Shamir gave voice to the cautionary element that intruded into Israel's traditionally activist military practice. In October he referred to the need not to be dragged into the maelstrom by Iraq and thereby derail the U.S.-Arab coalition. Even after more than 30 Scud missiles had hit Israel, having exacted a significant human and material toll, the prime minister stated laconically in an interview on Israeli television, on February 21, that "[t]here is no [state] interest that calls for automatic reaction always."

Problematics in Israeli-American Relations

The importance and sensitivity at the root of American-Israeli relations were severely tested during the period of crisis and war in the Persian Gulf. At the start, Jerusalem would have been satisfied to see the United States fulfill Israeli interests as Washington pursued its own global and regional goals against Iraq. Later, however, divergences surfaced in the pursuit of American and Israeli interests, and signs of tension seemed to grow over the months.

On August 10, just a few days after the Gulf crisis began, Foreign Minister Levy was questioned concerning U.S.-Israeli coordination. His rhetorical response – "Can anyone think for a second that we would be completely out of the circle of consultations and briefings?" – may have seemed reasonable at the time. After all, the two countries had engaged in an official strategic alliance since 1981 and had cooperated in a variety of military, weapons, and intelligence fields. The United States and Israel were moreover preoccupied on a nearly permanent basis in the search for a mechanism to consolidate and advance regional peace efforts. However, when tension arose, it went beyond the immediate question of Israel's role in the anti-Iraq military coalition. On that issue Israel was initially willing, as noted earlier, to maintain a low profile.

On September 6, it was reported that America had agreed to lease to Israel several Patriot missile batteries to provide air-defense capabilities, in the light of Saddam's blatant threats and Iraq's military capabilities. An agreement to this effect was signed in Washington, Israel represented by David Ivri, the Ministry of Defense director-general. But Patriot missiles were not delivered to Israel during the crisis period, and only arrived following two devastating Scud missile attacks against the region of Tel Aviv, on January 17 and 19.

In October 1990, an incident occurred on the Temple Mount in Jerusalem which strained relations between Israel and the United States. Near the Dome of the Rock and the Aqsa Mosque, Muslim rioters attacked Jewish worshipers praying below at the Western Wall during the Sukkot holiday festival. This precipitated the active intervention of the Israeli security forces who ended up killing 21 Arabs. This incident, alleged by some to be Arab provocation to catalyze an Israeli military response against Iraq, turned into a diplomatic imbroglio at the United Nations. The United States played an active role in supporting the Arab position which demanded censuring Israeli behavior, considered brutal and without due cause. The Security Council called for denouncing Israel and recommended sending an investigative commission to Jerusalem and the territories to examine Israeli policy, while providing security for the local Palestinian inhabitants. The Likud government was irrevocably unwilling to accede to the UN position and rejected the charges leveled against Israel regarding the Temple Mount incident itself. Throughout October and until December relations between America and Israel were sullied by this event in Jerusalem and its international repercussions emanating from United Nations headquarters in New York.

In an interview on October 19, Prime Minister Shamir took issue with the Bush administration on the general question of Jerusalem. Not only had the United States agreed that a United Nations delegation intervene in local Israeli affairs, but the very right of Jews to live in East Jerusalem was being challenged by Washington. The background to this lay in the delay of the State Department to grant approval for a $400,000,000 housing loan that Israel had requested for settling Soviet immigrants flooding into the country. The American administration had been pressuring Israel to commit in writing its formal agreement that no Soviet Jews would be settled anywhere across the 1967 "Green Line" borders, including East Jerusalem. The prime minister gave vent to his concern as follows:

> We cannot ignore this administration's attitude toward Israel. We are witnessing a process; the attitude toward us in the Temple Mount event is nothing but an illustration of this process. They want to teach us a lesson, to put it [Israel] in its place. I believe they have taken a mistaken approach…

The Israeli government felt virtually betrayed by the United States, for it considered the Temple Mount incident an act of Israeli self-defense against a violent Arab mob. In further violence perpetrated against innocent civilians, three Jews were stabbed to death in the Jerusalem Bakka neighborhood on October 21. There was no global outcry and no United Nations response. The reticence of the Security Council did little to enhance the status of the international organization in Israel's eyes. This point was confirmed when, as the world remained silent, Syria took advantage of the Gulf crisis to impose its will on Lebanon, removing General Aoun from power and killing some 700 people.

In late December, Foreign Minister Levy stated that Washington had shown weakness (perhaps rather than vindictiveness) in supporting the United Nations resolution. The Israeli government was by this time unconvinced that the Gulf military coalition would have collapsed had America adopted a different approach in the Security Council. The call by UN Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar for the Security Council to protect the Palestinians in the Israeli-held areas was a transparent ruse, Israel considered, to undermine its authority without any political peace process in operation at all. Behind this development was an attempt by Saddam, Arafat, and others to link the withdrawal of Iraq from Kuwait with that of Israel from the territories. The United States officially and publicly rejected this linkage from the start of the crisis until the end of the war.

Nonetheless, despite the stressful U.S.-Israel relationship, or perhaps because of it, Secretary of State James Baker conveyed a desire, as in November, for political coordination with Jerusalem on the issue of the peace process in the Arab-Israeli conflict. Whether this was a calming measure or one likely to arouse Israel's nervousness could be debated. But Yitẓḥak Shamir told the Likud Knesset faction on January 8, that "Once the Gulf crisis is over, we will have to face political threats." Military threats from the Iraqis and political threats from the Americans would, as suggested in Shamir's own words, provide Israel with more than enough problems once the war – not yet begun – was over.

From Crisis to War

On the domestic front, the crisis period beginning in August exacted a heavy price from the Israeli public. The possibility of war, in which Israel would somehow be involved, was considered likely by a majority of the population. The specific threat of chemical warfare became a weighty concern and, following a mini-national debate and some government hesitancy, the distribution of gas masks to the domestic population was begun in October. Other civil defense measures were undertaken and police readiness was maintained. In all, Israel wanted to be prepared for the possibility of war, but it did not want to convey the impression that its local defensive operations were a prelude to a preemptive tactical strike against Iraq. In the tense situation in the Gulf and beyond, Jerusalem had to act and speak with caution in order that it not inadvertently light the match in the explosive situation that Baghdad had prepared for the inevitable conflagration.

After Iraq's invasion of Kuwait, tourism to Israel fell by over 40 percent. Non-citizens in Israel began to leave the country as did foreign students and visitors. The State Department in Washington ordered United States citizens to leave the Middle East, Israel included. Later in January, Jewish solidarity missions from abroad offered compensation to the somewhat demoralized and economically suffering home front.

In contrast, the most satisfying and durable feature of 1990 was the astounding immigration from the Soviet Union: a monumental figure of 200,000 Jews arrived in Israel, despite Saddam's threats and the atmosphere of uncertainty in Israel that suggested the approach of war. Nonetheless, while an average of 1,000 Soviet immigrants had been arriving daily at the end of 1990, the figure dropped to 500 a day in the critical month of January 1991.

The United Nations had set January 15 as the final date for a complete Iraqi withdrawal from Kuwait. If not, then all measures including force would be employed to achieve this objective which international diplomacy, a remarkably tight embargo, and Arab censure could not achieve. The ultimatum date portended the start of war in the Persian Gulf. Israel was comforted by the fact that Iraqi aggression had been universally condemned and that America had stood firm – as in the Baker-Aziz Geneva meeting of January 9 – in rejecting the insidious attempt to link the Kuwaiti and Palestinian issues. In Israel it was felt that Washington had also come to realize more than before that, in essence, the broader Arab aspects of the conflict with Israel were more central than the Palestinian one.

Operation Desert Storm terminated the waiting period when Allied military forces led by the United States began operations on the night between January 16 and 17, with 1,200 air missions into Iraq and Kuwait in the first 36 hours of fighting. On the 17th Saddam carried out his word, and from the areas known as H2 and H3 in western Iraq, eight Scud missiles were fired at Israel and struck civilian centers in the Tel Aviv metropolitan district. A state of alert was declared throughout Israel as the nation began to face the damage and disorder. Apartment buildings were hit, their inhabitants were evacuated, and people were injured. Warning sirens, gas masks, and huddling in sealed rooms designed to provide protection from chemical attack became part of daily life. An evening curfew brought social life, entertainment activities, sports events, and parts of the economy to a virtual standstill.

During the initial three-week period of the war, many Tel Avivians abandoned their city which was Saddam's primary, though not sole, target. From the Mediterranean seashore they chose the safer environs of Jerusalem, the Dead Sea, and Elath. Local patriotism gave way to personal security. Meanwhile, all Israelis were advised to carry their gas mask with them all day long.

The final war tally on the civilian population, from January 17 until the last Scud attack in February, read as follows: 39 missiles hit Israel from Haifa in the North to the area of Beersheba in the South; 1,644 families were evacuated; and 4,095 buildings were damaged. Although only one person was killed due to a direct missile hit, several died resulting from misuse of their gas masks and from heart attacks. Considering the potential for havoc and ruin and death that the Scuds represented, many Israelis felt that the Jewish people had experienced a miracle. Saddam had been considerably less successful than his threats against Israel implied, while America, Britain, even Saudis, were fighting the war that defeated Israel's enemy.

The Israeli Cost-Benefit Ledger

The Gulf War witnessed two innovations in the chronicles of military confrontations that Israel has faced since 1948. At one and the same time, Israel suffered the danger and indignity of its civil population being victims of enemy attack, while unlike previous Arab-Israeli wars, the IDF this time remained outside the military fray.

The lack of an operative response by Israel in the face of Iraq's Scud missiles was tied directly to the exertion of American pressure. Jerusalem was brought to the point of acceding to Washington's request not to act, and thus leaving the Allied coalition to pursue the war without political complications. Prime Minister Shamir could not have been more explicit when he stated on January 28, that without consultations with the United States, Israel would not act. On the same occasion he commented that relations with Washington had improved.

It was the visit to Jerusalem by Deputy Secretary of State Lawrence Eagleburger following the initial missile attacks, and his remaining in the country for about a week, that dramatized Washington's grave concern regarding Israeli behavior. His mission was undoubtedly to restrain Jerusalem, assure that U.S. military forces would continue to search and destroy the Scud missile launchers in western Iraq, and offer sufficient aid and assistance to mollify Israel. A report from

January 21 divulged that President Bush was calling Prime Minister Shamir regularly (as was British Prime Minister John Major). Secretary Baker declared his appreciation on February 6 for Israel's restraint.

Yet the cost of Israel's restraint, in contrast to the praise earned, was cause for worry according to Israel's ambassador to Washington, Zalman Shoval. In a news report from February 11, Shoval suggested that the United States would not provide Israel with aid in the wake of the Gulf War on the pretext that Israel "is not part of it."

Three particularly irksome problems strained Israeli-U.S. relations during the war period. Intelligence information on the area of H3 in Iraq was apparently not generously supplied by the Americans to the Israelis. Warning time on incoming Scuds was initially very brief, though later extended to about five minutes due to a United States agreement to improve the transfer of needed data. Moreover, throughout the weeks of war, the Pentagon refused to provide Israel with the Friend-Or-Foe Code required to facilitate an Israeli aerial attack against Iraqi missile launchers. No air corridor was opened for the Israeli air force and no time slot was set aside by the Allied forces to allow Israel the opportunity to send its forces into action. The memory of the U.S. *Liberty* navy surveillance ship that was mistakenly attacked by Israel on June 7, 1967, during the Six-Day War, could not have been far from people's thoughts in January 1991. Certainly Israel would not want another accident to occur, and held its fire.

While suffering from Iraqi attacks and yet choosing to accommodate American wishes, or succumb to its enormous leverage, Israel became the beneficiary of global sympathy and support. The aggression and bellicosity of Saddam contrasted blatantly with Israel's peaceful and defensive demeanor. Patriot missile batteries arrived from Holland and German Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher, during a visit to Israel on January 24, promised extensive assistance that would include Patriot missiles, German-financed Dolphin submarines, and other military equipment. Meanwhile, the European Economic Community announced on January 25, that it was revoking sanctions that had been imposed on Israel for its policies in the territories and would renew scientific cooperation between Israel and the Common Market countries. On January 28 a French Socialist Party delegation visited Israel to express its solidarity. However, the fact that French weapons and German chemicals had been sold to Iraq in the 1980s lent an air of coolness, perhaps hypocrisy, to the European gestures.

By the time the war ended in Israel, bombed-out streets in Tel Aviv and destroyed housing blocks in Ramat Gan became the visual symbols that this war, unlike most Arab wars against Israel, was conducted on Israel's own home front. Overall, from the start of the crisis to the termination of hostilities, Israel had suffered a $4 billion loss, in damages, tourism, sinking production, etc. The Patriot missile, originally designed basically as an anti-aircraft weapon, performed with only partial effectiveness against Iraq's Scuds. More often than not, the Patriot hit the Scud's engine and destroyed it, but the warhead continued on its trajectory on the path toward Israeli civilian targets. In this war unlike earlier ones, the skies over Israel were not clean of enemy activity, though on the ground Iraq was 340 kilometers from Israel's border.

Postwar Assessment

From Israel's perspective, the political balance-sheet by the end of the war in late February was mixed. A total American victory on the battlefield would serve Israel's immediate security concerns, yet provide Washington with the self-esteem and international acclaim to then pursue its version of peacemaking in the Middle East. Israel did not necessarily see eye-to-eye with America on the modalities of conflict-resolution, as when Jerusalem had for example questioned Baker's Five Point Plan of November 1989.

Another paradox inherent in Israel's strategic calculations related to Iraq's condition at the conclusion of the war. It would seem obvious that Jerusalem wanted Iraq totally defeated and militarily devastated, lacking any major conventional and certainly nonconventional lethal capabilities. Prime Minister Shamir added on February 26, that Israel is interested "in having this person, Saddam Hussein, disappear from the international arena." Nonetheless, a less than fully flattened Iraq, and one that expressed no regret or remorse for its illegalities and aggressions, would deny it the benefits of international assistance for national rehabilitation. A defeated Iraq – yes, but an absolutely destroyed Iraq was not necessarily the optimal solution for Israel.

During the course of the crisis and until the war's end, Jordan and the PLO were among the most dedicated and enthusiastic supporters of Saddam Hussein. The streets of Amman rocked with pro-Iraqi sentiments and mass vituperation against America and Israel. Yasser Arafat already early in August had gone on a political pilgrimage to Baghdad to embrace Saddam and line up the PLO behind his anti-Kuwait and pan-Arab ventures. In Judea and Samaria, and elsewhere, the Palestinians hailed Saddam as their savior and rejoiced on the roofs of their houses when Scud missiles tore apart buildings and terrified Jewish civilians in Tel Aviv.

But the war served to discredit Jordan's political reputation and to delegitimize the PLO's peace image. Support for Iraq was seen as advocacy of aggression and conquest by the sword. The United States would no doubt later be challenged to resurrect the role of these two Arab elements in the comprehensive approach to regional peace. In fact, it might be concluded that Washington's own decision to accord recognition of the PLO in December 1988, and then to open an official dialogue with it, was a discredited policy.

The implication of these developments for Israel under its Likud-led government was an affirmation of the policy of territorial retention of Judea and Samaria. The status quo based on Israeli control and Jewish settlement would presumably continue, a side gain from Arab misjudgments and Israeli good fortune. Although Israelis might endlessly debate the relationship between territories and missiles in the military sphere, the persistence of Israeli rule was the dominant theme in the political sphere.

Israelis would also debate whether the non-activation of the IDF irreparably harmed the army's deterrent capability, thereby contributing adversely to Israel's pre-eminent strategic standing in the Middle East. It was reasonable to conclude that while that question was subject to varied interpretation, the formidable loss to Arab esteem and dreams of glory and victory was a definite and glaring result of the crisis and Gulf War. Whether the Israelis had won was unclear, but the Arab nation had certainly lost. Another Arab myth, the Saddam myth like the earlier Nasser one, burst like a bubble in the fantasizing Orient.

The Gulf War represented an occasion when the United States would again attempt to mold a New Order in the Middle East. Its Arab partners would be Egypt and Saudi Arabia, and others. Its dynamic would be military success against Iraq and its purpose generating momentum for peace in the Arab-Israeli conflict. Secretary of State Baker declared before the United States House Foreign Affairs Committee on February 2, that it was important "to resume the search for a just peace and real reconciliation for Israel, the Arab states, and the Palestinians." In the same spirit, signs were visible or audible that some Arab spokesmen now considered that the time for peace with Israel had arrived. Prince Bandar, the Saudi ambassador to Washington, made unusually conciliatory statements about Israel during the crisis and war months.

It might seem that the Arab-Israeli framework had now been exposed as one of various alternative political frameworks or alignments in the Mideast. Certain unexpected developments had transpired in the region. Arabs had fought Arabs, Saudis against Iraqis, and this after one Arab country, Iraq, had brazenly gone ahead and swallowed up another Arab country, Kuwait. Then, Arabs had surprisingly agreed to cooperate openly with the United States and pursue their interest in conjunction with Islamically vilified America, traditionally portrayed in satanic colors in the religiously seething Muslim world. However, an American-Arab alliance formed in the sands of the Gulf and fought to victory.

In the aftermath of all this, it was perhaps possible to imagine the unimaginable: Arab-Israeli peace. Israel would be open to future political opportunities, aware as always of the dangers and risks, yet hopeful that a new realism and spirit of accommodation would come to the Middle East.

[Mordechai Nisan]

For the 2003 invasion of Iraq by the U.S. and its coalition partners, see *Arab World. For its part, Israel was content to sit on the sidelines. Gas masks were replenished among the civilian population and in what proved to be a very costly miscalculation the Israeli public was instructed to unseal the masks in anticipation of possible Iraqi action, thus shortening their shelf life. Otherwise Israel was not directly affected.

GULL (Heb. שַׁחַף; AV "cuckow," JPS "sea-mew"), bird mentioned in the Bible as prohibited as food (Lev. 11:16; Deut. 14:15), the Hebrew name means "thin" or "swift of movement" and, on the basis of its rendering as λάρος in the Septuagint, refers to the gull. Eight species of the genus *Larus* are found in Israel. Feeding on sea fish and scraps of food, they follow ships for the offal thrown overboard. The gull also penetrates to inland regions of the country (even to the Negev) where it lives on worms and snails. To the family of the gull (Laridae) belong the *Sterna*, a genus of which two species are found in Israel, distinguished from the gull by being web-footed along the entire length of their toes.

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[Jehuda Feliks]

GUMPERT, MARTIN (1897–1955), German author and physician. The son of a medical practitioner, Gumpert was born in Berlin and, after serving in the German Army Medical Corps during World War I, he began his medical studies at the university of Berlin, specializing in venereal and skin diseases. In 1927, he became the head of a Berlin clinic for the treatment of these complaints and the director of a center for the study of deformities, on which he published a manual, *Die gesamte Kosmetik* (1931). Between 1933 and 1936, when the Nazis forced him out of medical practice, Gumpert began to write the first of a series of works that were to make him famous: a biography of Samuel Hahnemann, the originator of homeopathy (1934); and *Das Leben fuer die Idee* (1935; *Trail-Blazers of Science*, 1936), portraits of outstanding scientists. Gumpert emigrated to New York in 1936, resumed his career as a dermatologist and became an American citizen in 1942. He soon moved to a new specialization, geriatrics, strongly maintaining that society was frittering away millions of useful lives through compulsory retirement at the age of 65. Gumpert rapidly achieved medical distinction, heading the geriatric clinic in New York's Jewish Memorial Hospital from 1951 and gaining many professional honors. Two medical works in English advocating a new approach to the treatment of the aged were *You Are Younger Than You Think* (1944) and *The Anatomy of Happiness* (1951).

In his youth, Gumpert had written two collections of lyrics, *Verkettung* (1916) and *Heimkehr des Herzens* (1921). Other literary works in German written after his move to the U.S. include *Berichte aus der Fremde* (1937), poems; *Dunant: Der Roman des Roten Kreuzes* (1938; *Dunant: The Story of the Red Cross*, 1938); *Hoelle im Paradies* (1939), an autobiography; and a novel, *Der Geburtstag* (1948). He also contributed a short article on his friend and fellow exile, Thomas *Mann, *The Stature of Thomas Mann* (1946). From 1952 until his death, Gumpert edited a New York medical journal, *Lifetime Living*.

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[Rudolf Kayser]

GUMPLOWICZ, LUDWIG (1838–1909), Austrian jurist and sociologist. He was born in Cracow, in Austrian Galicia (now Poland), and studied law at the University of Vienna. An ardent Polish patriot, he participated in the Polish insurrection against Russia in 1863, and as a consequence of the failure both of the rebellion and of subsequent nationalistic activities Gumplowicz had to leave Cracow and availed himself of an opportunity to become a *Privatdozent* in political science at the University of Graz. In 1862 he was appointed adjunct professor in political science, and 11 years later, in 1893, he received his full professorship. Gumplowicz was baptized, but retained a lively interest in Jewish affairs. Gumplowicz was a proponent of Jewish assimilation. He thought that the Jews, having no territorial basis and no common language, were lacking the prerequisite of a nationality. In a letter directed to Theodor Herzl and dated Dec. 12, 1899, he expressed this view in highly emotional language.

Academically, Gumplowicz remained isolated at a provincial university, but he had brilliant students, such as Franco Savorgnan and Franz Oppenheimer, and found himself recognized by early American sociologists. Gumplowicz was one of the first to achieve full emancipation for sociology from the nonsocial sciences by insisting that social phenomena and evolution are distinctive and can be understood only by reference to social causes. That which is unique about social phenomena arises from human groups in interaction rather than from the behavior of individuals abstracted from the influence of association and dissociation. According to Gumplowicz, social and cultural evolution is a product of the struggle between social groups. This struggle replaces individual struggle in his theory of evolution. Gumplowicz offers two basic hypotheses. One, the polygenetic hypothesis, asserting that the species man evolved from various older types at many different times and in many different places, so that between the races there is no blood bond; and two, the hypothesis that an unsurmountable antagonism exists between different groups and races. For Gumplowicz society was the sum total of conflicting ethnic groups, each group being centered around one or more common interests. Thus the struggle between these ethnic groups, which he called races, is relentless. Gumplowicz was pessimistic about progress. His polygenetic view precluded the possibility of unitary evolution. In every society and state partial evolution and progress have taken place; but in every society and state there have also been destruction and setbacks. Therefore, Gumplowicz holds that progress can be observed only in particular periods and particular countries.

Another important aspect of Gumplowicz's work includes the distinction he made between simple, limited groupings organized on the basis of consanguinity and community of culture, on the one hand, and compound groupings, such as the state, formed in the process of amalgamation of originally separate groups, such as masters and slaves or ethnic groups. In the state, ethnic groups merge into social classes, a common body of rights and obligations is developed, and internal conflict is toned down and possibly even composed. External conflict between states takes then the place of internal ethnic and class conflicts. Therefore, although Gumplowicz is classified often as a social Darwinist, he was actually one of the first social determinists. In his system, the individual and his motives were useless abstractions. The individual was the product of group experiences; his morals derived from his relations in the particular groups to whom he belonged, whereas his notions of rights could be traced to the accommodative norms developed by the struggle of interest groups in his society.

Gumplowicz's most important works include *Rasse und Staat* (1875), *Der Rassenkampf* (1893), and *Grundriss der Sociologie* (1885); the latter is his only work that has been translated into English by Frederick W. Moore, as *Outlines of Sociology* (1889) and reissued by Irving L. Horowitz (1962). An edition of all of Gumplowicz's writings, under the title *Ausgewaehlte Werke*, appeared in 1926. An evaluation of Gumplowicz as a Jew is contained in "Scholar and Visionary: the correspondence between Herzl and Ludwig Gumplowicz" (*Herzl Yearbook*, 1 (1958), 165–80).

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[Werner J. Cahnman and Alvin Boskoff]

GUNDOLF, FRIEDRICH (pseudonym of **Friedrich Gundelfinger**, 1880–1931), German literary historian. Following Karl Wolfskehl, Gundolf was one of the earlier disciples of Stefan George and participated in his literary movement. Together with Wolfskehl, with whom he exchanged many letters from 1899 (published in 1977 in 2 vols.), Gundolf belonged to a group of Jewish intellectuals and writers who were strongly attracted by George's integrative cultural concept trying to unify Greek, Jewish, and German culture. But unlike Wolfskehl, Gundolf explicitly distanced himself from Judaism. Prior to his career as a university teacher he published poetry in the *Blaetter fuer die Kunst* (later also *Gedichte*, 1930) and worked from 1907 on the 10-volume German translation of Shakespeare's works which appeared under his editorship (1908–18). With his dissertation on Shakespeare in 1911 at the University of Heidelberg, Gundolf turned to an academic career. His scholarly studies covered a wide range. Starting with Shakespeare (*Shakespeare und der deutsche Geist*, 1911; *Shakespeare*, 2 vols., 1928), he published books on Goethe (1916), George (1920), Kleist (1922), Opitz (1923), Caesar (1924), Paracelsus (1927), Gryphius (1927), and the Romanticists (*Romantiker*, 2 vols., 1930–31), violating more and more the narrow normative canon of George, with whom he broke after his book on Kleist. In his decisive anti-positivist biographies of literary figures, Gundolf was not interested so much in the details of their daily lives as in the "spirit" revealed in their creative masterpieces, and he interpreted their unique *Gestalt* with a reverential awe. His publications still serve as examples of humanistic scholarship and literary style while Gundolf himself is understood as one of the important German-Jewish intellectuals of the beginning of the 20th century.

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[Andreas Kilcher (2nd ed.)]

°**GUNKEL, HERMANN** (1862–1932), German Bible scholar. Gunkel taught at the universities of Halle from 1888 to 1894 and 1920 to 1927, Berlin from 1894 to 1907, and Giessen from 1907 to 1920. The work of Gunkel has been a learned stimulant in biblical scholarship. His conviction that historical criticism, which seeks an ideal history of Israel based on the chronological and biographical terms and exemplified classically by the J. Wellhausen school, was inadequate in writing a history of Israel's literature led him to discover the importance of determining the oral prehistory of the written sources, and of classifying the source material into the appropriate categories of literary "forms." He thus pioneered the methods of form criticism to biblical studies, and introduced the traditional historical point of view in writing Israel's history. His first major work, *Schöpfung und Chaos in Urzeit und Endzeit* (1895, 1921), was a study into the mythology underlying the biblical ideas concerning the beginning and the end of the present world order. By piecing together the existing variants of the surviving texts, mainly in the poetic sections of the Bible, he made the first scholarly attempt to reconstruct the original myth of creation. His commentary on Genesis (1901, 1963^6) argued for the great antiquity of the sagas, legends, and traditions of the first book of the Bible. The introduction, published separately and translated into English as *The Legends of Genesis* (1901, 1964^5), was primarily interested in the characteristics of the story (German "Sagen" is better translated as "stories" than as "legends") as a genre and its historical development. His most successful attempt at a literary history of Israel, based primarily on an analysis of the types and forms of Israel's speech, appeared in the volume on *Die orientalschen Literaturen* (1906) in Hinneberg's series *Die Kultur der Gegenwart*. His approach has proved most fruitful in his studies on the Psalms: *Ausgewaehlte Psalmen* (1917^4); *Die Psalmen uebersetzt und erklaert* (1926); and *Einleitung in die Psalmen* (published posthumously and under the joint authorship of J. Begrich, 1933), where the Psalms are classified according to their principle types (*Gattungen*) and each type is related to a characteristic life setting (*Sitz im Leben*). Gunkel's book on Esther (1916, 1958^2) is fundamental for understanding the literary character of the book. A number of crucial studies related to form criticism are found in two series of published essays: *Reden und Aufsaetze* (1913) and *Was bleibt vom Alten Testament* (1916; *What Remains of the Old Testament? and Other Essays*, 1928). His *Das Maerchen im Alten Testament* (1917) historically traces the genre of the folktale in the Bible in light of Near Eastern culture. In addition to his many writings he served as an editor of *Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart* (1909–13 and $1927–32^2$), and, with W. Bousset, of the series *Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments*.

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[Zev Garber]

GUNSBERG, ISIDOR (1854–1930), British chess master and journalist. Gunsberg was born in Hungary and taken to England as a child. He was known as a master of attack and his name was particularly associated with the Allgaier gambit. Gunsberg defeated Bird and Blackburne, and drew with Tchigorin. In 1889 he lost the world championship match against *Steinitz by the surprisingly narrow score of 6–4 with 9 draws. He wrote *Chess Openings* (1896) and famous chess columns in the *Morning Post*. One of the strongest players of his time, by his death in 1930 he was one of the last survivors of the Victorian chess world, but has remained surprisingly neglected by chess historians since.

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[William D. Rubinstein (2nd ed.)]

GUNZBERG, ARYEH LEIB (Loeb) BEN ASHER (1695–1785), talmudist. Born in Lithuania, Aryeh became assistant to his father on his appointment about 1720 as rabbi of the upper district in Minsk, comprising at the time 40 small communities. In 1733 he founded a yeshivah, which soon attracted students from Belorussia and Lithuania. Differences over methods of instruction between Aryeh Leib and Jehiel Heilprin, author of *Seder ha-Dorot* and head of another yeshivah in Minsk, led to much friction between both the teachers and students, Heilprin being opposed to the pilpulistic method used by Aryeh Leib to stimulate the minds of his students. In the introduction to his famous volume of responsa, *Sha'agat Aryeh*, however, Aryeh Leib himself is critical of the role of *pilpul* in establishing the "truth of the Torah." Finally compelled in 1742 to leave Minsk, he settled in one of the nearby towns where he continued to help his aged father. In 1750 he was appointed rabbi in *Volozhin, where among some of his notable disciples were Ḥayyim *Volozhiner and his brother Simḥah. Here he prepared his halakhic work, *Sha'agat Aryeh* (Frankfurt on the Oder, 1755). He lived in poverty, became involved in disputes with the community leaders, and at the age of 69 wandered from city to city. He reached Germany and eventually accepted the position of *av bet din* in Metz (1765), becoming also head of a large yeshivah there. He remained in Metz until his death. Besides his *Sha'agat Aryeh*, Aryeh Leib published in his lifetime *Turei Even*, novellae on the tractates *Rosh Ha-Shanah, Ḥagigah*, and *Megillah* (Metz, 1781). His posthumously published works are *She'elot u-Teshuvot Sha'agat Aryeh ha-Ḥadashot* (1874); *Gevurot Ari*, novellae on *Ta'anit* (1862); and *Gevurot Ari*, on *Yoma* and *Makkot* (1907).

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[Moshe Nahum Zobel]

GUNZBURG, NIKO (1882–1984), Belgian jurist and criminologist. Born in Riga, Latvia, his family settled in Belgium when he was a boy. In 1923 he was appointed lecturer in law at the University of Ghent where he later became the first Jew to be made a professor. He founded its Institute of Criminology in 1937 and headed it until 1952 except during World War II when he was attached to the Belgian embassy in Washington. From 1953 to 1956, he was professor of law at the University of Djakarta, Indonesia. His works on penal law and criminology earned him an international reputation. They include *Les transformations récentes du droit pénal* (1933) and *La trajectoire du crime; études sur le nouveau code Pénal du Brésil* (1941). A prominent figure in the Belgian Jewish community, Gunzburg was founder and president of the Central Committee for Jewish Welfare in Antwerp. He participated in the inaugural conference of the World Jewish Congress in 1936 and was chairman of the Council of Jewish Associations (1947–50). Gunzburg was also a passionate advocate of the use of the Flemish language and he was head of the society of Flemish Jurists.

[Zvi Hermon]

GUNZENHAUSER (Ashkenazi), JOSEPH BEN JACOB (d. 1490) and AZRIEL, his son, pioneers in Hebrew printing. The Gunzenhausers went to Naples from Gunzenhausen in southern Germany and set up a Hebrew press, which from 1487 to 1492 produced an impressive range of books (see *Incunabula), in all about 12 volumes. Among them were the Hagiographa with various rabbinical commentaries (1487); Avicenna's medical *Canon*, the first and only edition of the work in Hebrew (*Ha-Kanon*); and the first edition of Abraham Ibn Ezra's Pentateuch commentary (1488). After Joseph Gunzenhauser's death his wife (or daughter) and son continued his work. The Gunzenhausers assembled a team of distinguished typesetters and correctors from Italy. Joshua Solomon Soncino, who began printing at Naples about this time, issued a prayer book of the Spanish rite for Gunzenhauser in May 1490.

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GUR, BATYA (1947–2005), Israeli writer and literary critic. Gur was born in Tel Aviv, studied Hebrew literature and history at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, and completed her M.A. in comparative studies. She worked as a high school teacher before moving to the United States and subsequently lived in Jerusalem, writing reviews and essays for the literary supplement of *Ha-aretz* and internationally known for her detective novels. The central figure in these novels is police detective Michael Ohayon, and the cases which he investigates lead to rather unusual domains such as literature, music, or psychotherapy while probing social and political aspects of current Israeli life. In *Ha-Merḥak ha-Nakhon* (1996; *Murder Duet: A Musical Case*, 1999), detective Ohayon investigates two murders in the world of classical music in Jerusalem, following the discovery of a requiem by Vivaldi; in *Reẓaḥ, Meẓalmim* (2004), Gur focuses on intrigues among the staff members of Israeli television. While her earlier thrillers seem to focus on social circles to be found anywhere in the world (a university department, the psychoanalytic society), her later novels consciously address local issues, turning the allegedly inferior genre of the detective story into a vehicle for reflecting on the erosion of the Zionist ethos and the maladies of Israeli society. Among her other books are *Reẓaḥ be-Shabbat ba-Boker* (1988; *The Saturday Morning Murder: A Psychoanalytic Case*, 1991), *Mavet ba-Ḥug le-Sifrut* (1989; *Literary Murder: A Critical* Case, 1993), *Linah Meshutefet* (1991; *Murder on a Kibbutz: A Communal Case*, 1994), and *Even Taḥat Even* ("Stone under Stone," 1998). Gur's novels have been translated into many languages.

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[Anat Feinberg (2nd ed.)]

GUR (Gorban), MORDECAI (Motta; 1930–1995), Tenth Israeli chief of staff and politician; member of the Tenth to Thirteenth Knessets. Gur was born and grew up in Jerusalem. He joined the Haganah at an early age and held various positions of command. During the War of Independence he served in the ninth motorized special services battalion of the Negev Brigade of the Palmah. After the War of Independence, he served for two years in *Naḥal, later joining the paratroops and commanding numerous reprisal operations. In 1955 he was commended for his part in an operation across the border with Egypt in Khan Yunis, in the course of which he was wounded. During the 1956 Sinai Campaign he commanded an airborne Naḥal unit and in 1957 became deputy commander of the paratroops. In 1959–60 Gur studied at a military academy in Paris, and in 1961 was appointed commander of the Golani Brigade. In 1963 he was appointed to a senior post on the General Staff, and in 1966, after a year as commander of the Staff College, took charge of a brigade of airborne infantry. During the Six-Day War, Gur commanded the paratrooper brigade that captured the Old City of Jerusalem, and after the war was appointed commander of the forces in the Gaza Strip and Sinai Peninsula. In 1969 he was promoted to the rank of major general, and was appointed commander of the Northern Command, and in 1972–73 served as military attaché in Washington. After the Yom Kippur War, he was once again appointed commander of the Northern Command. In 1974, he succeeded Lieutenant General David *Elazar as chief of staff, serving in this capacity until 1978. As chief of staff he was responsible for the 1976 Entebbe Operation, in which the IDF freed Israeli and Jewish hostages hijacked to Uganda by terrorists, and for the 1978 Litani Operation, in which the IDF attacked Palestinian terrorist bases in Southern Lebanon. When Egyptian president Anwar *Sadat declared his intention to visit Jerusalem in November 1977, Gur reacted with suspicion.

After retiring from the IDF Gur, who had taken Oriental Studies at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, attended Harvard Business School for a year, in 1979. He returned to Israel after being appointed director of the Histadrut-owned industrial enterprise of Koor Mechanics, a position he held until 1984. In these years he also became active in the *Israel Labor Party. In 1981 Gur was elected to the Tenth Knesset on the Alignment ticket. Reelected to the Eleventh Knesset he served as minister of health in the National Unity Government in 1984–86, when Shimon *Peres was prime minister. He resigned in 1986, refusing to serve under Yitẓḥak *Shamir of the Likud after the rotation in the premiership. After his resignation from the government he continued to serve in the Knesset, but also became chairman of the Board of Directors of Solel Boneh, the Histadrut-owned construction company. He rejoined the government half a year before the elections to the Twelfth Knesset in 1988 as minister without portfolio. In the National Unity Government formed after the elections Gur continued to serve as minister without portfolio. In the course of these years Gur frequently met with Palestinian personalities in the West Bank, and even made an attempt to meet with PLO leader Yasser *Arafat. When Arafat expressed willingness to recognize Security Council Resolution 242 towards the end of 1988, Gur was inclined to admit that a certain change had taken place in the Palestinian position, but the following year he was disappointed by the positions of the Palestinians and adopted a more hawkish approach to the conflict with the Palestinians within the Labor Party.

Gur had planned to contend in the leadership contest in the Labor Party in 1992, and did not hide his ambition to be prime minister, but he finally withdrew when he was diagnosed with cancer. In the contest he supported Yitzhak *Rabin, and in the government formed by Rabin after the elections to the Thirteenth Knesset was appointed deputy minister of defense, with Rabin serving as minister. In July 1995, less than four months before the assassination of Rabin, when a turn for the worse occurred in his illness, he took his own life.

His *Azeet, Paratrooper Dog* became a successful series of children's books and he also wrote *The Battle for Jerusalem* (*Har ha-Bayit be-Yadeinu*, 1974) on the Six-Day War.

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[Misha Louvish / Rohan Saxen and Susan Hattis Rolef (2nd ed.)]

GURA-HUMORULUI, town in N. Romania, in the historic region of Bukovina. Frescos with a tableau of the "Day of Judgment" painted between 1547 and 1550 depicting among others Turkish and Jewish figures are found in the Voronet monastery there. A lone Jew lived in the town in 1788. Jewish settlement began in Gura-Humorului under Austrian rule in 1835, with five Jewish families (in a total population of 700). They increased to 20 by 1848 and formed an organized community. Prayers were first held in a private house. The first synagogue was erected in 1869, and the Great Synagogue in 1871. As in the other communities of Bukovina, the influence of Ḥasidism was strong. At first occupied as craftsmen, merchants, and purveyors to the Austrian army, Jews later established workshops for wood processing and lumber mills. At the close of the 19th century, they played an important role in the industrialization of the town. The community numbered 130 persons in 1856, 190 in 1867, 800 in 1869, 1,206 in 1890, 2,050 in 1910, and 1,951 in 1927. In 1880 it became possible to elect a community council and an executive board in accordance with Austrian law. The first rabbi, Meshulam Gebirer, was hired in 1860. Other rabbis were Menachem Mendel Babad and Meshulam Ginzberg. The cemetery was established in 1857. Many of the Jews were Sadagura *ḥasidim*; others were Vizhnitz *ḥasidim*. In 1894–1990, the *admor* of Vizhnitz, Moses Hager, lived in Gura-Humurului.

After the town passed to Romania at the end of World War I, and throughout the period between the two world wars, the authorities endeavored to restrict the Jews in their economic activities while there were also occasional antisemitic outbreaks. The Zionist movement, formed locally at the beginning of the 20th century, had a large following. *Aliyah* to Ereẓ Israel began during the 1930s. At the time of the persecutions by the Romanian Fascists, 2,954 local Jews and others who had gathered there from the surrounding area were deported in a single day (Oct. 10, 1941) to *Transnistria. In March 1944 around 1,500 were allowed to return. After the end of World War II, the survivors were joined by other Jewish inhabitants of the region who returned from their places of deportation, and numbered 1,158 in 1948. Nearly all the Jews there immigrated to Israel between 1948 and 1951. In 1997 only 10 Jews lived in Gura-Humorului, with a synagogue.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: H. Gold (ed.), *Geschichte der Juden in der Bukowina*, 2 (1962), 84–87. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** S. Yeshurun (ed.), *Gura Humora* (1997).

[Yehouda Marton / Lucian-Zeev Herscovici (2nd ed.)]

GURALNIK, DAVID B. (1920–2000), U.S. lexicographer, one of the most influential figures in the 20th century in shaping the English language. Guralnik was the editor of the authoritative Webster's New World line of dictionaries from 1948 to 1985. He was born in Cleveland and had a passion for Yiddish, which he learned as a child. He intended to become a teacher but after graduating from Western Reserve University in 1941, he took the advice of one of his teachers and took a dictionary writing job at the World Publishing Company of Cleveland. After three years in the Army during World War II, where he was a translator, he said he could "manage" French, German, Russian, Greek, Latin, and Hebrew, languages he learned as a child and young man. He was the interpreter for his battalion, which called on him to speak four languages the day it liberated a German camp holding Russian and French soldiers as prisoners.

After the war, Guralnik returned to the publishing company and became editor in chief of its New World family of dictionaries. He was 28. Over the next 37 years he supervised works that carried his view of American English around the world. As the gatekeeper for words seeking admission to the literary mainstream, his definitions guided tens of millions of people who thumbed through the dictionaries he edited, and he wrote many of the definitions of new words himself. Among the works he edited, the best known is the College Edition of Webster's *New World Dictionary of the American Language*, a one-volume desktop popular not only among students but also with writers and other professionals. "Our emphasis is on the English language as spoken in America," he said, "and for that reason we chose to call it the dictionary of the American language. It does for the American language what the *Oxford English Dictionary* does for the language as a whole." The dictionary rules as the standard reference for the Associated Press, United Press International, *The New York Times,* and nearly every major news organization in the United States. The line has sold 85 million copies. The first edition appeared in 1953 and over the next decades the staff struggled to keep up with "not only a population explosion, but an information explosion of unprecedented proportions," Guralnik said in the foreword to the second edition. New words, new pronunciations, and new meanings were being born without the customary time for incubation.

He invariably had to answer questions as society's norms changed about which words, if any, to bar. He decided to eliminate racial epithets and to omit some common vulgar words. Some of these words were restored in the third edition, after his retirement. He later engaged in a war of words with the publisher of the 13-volume Oxford dictionary over parts of its treatment of the word "Jew," with a definition that referred to old stereotypes of usurious moneylenders.

Guralnik was a leader in the Jewish community of Cleveland, delivering a weekly radio commentary on words called *A Yiddish Vort.* And he spoke and wrote often on the subject. He was president of the Jewish Community Center, vice president of *The Cleveland Jewish News*, and a trustee of the Jewish Community Federation of Cleveland.

[Stewart Kampel (2nd ed.)]

GUREVICH, MIKHAIL IOSIFOVICH (1893–1976), Soviet aviation constructor. Gurevich was born in 1893 in the village of Rubanshchina which is in today's Kursk district, Russia. He graduated from the airplane construction faculty of the Kharkov Technological Institute in 1925. In 1929 he began working in the aviation industry and from 1938 to 1957 held the rank of deputy chief constructor and from 1957–1964 chief constructor. He received the degree of doctor of technological sciences in 1964. Together with Ar. I. Mikoyan in 1940 he planned and built the high-speed fighter plane the MiG-1 (the name being an abbreviation of Mikoyan and Gurevich). After being upgraded, as the MiG-3, this plane was widely employed during World War II. After the war, the same duo designed the first Soviet supersonic jet fighters (also part of the MiG series). Gurevich was awarded the order of the U.S.S.R., the Stalin Prize (in 1941, 1947, 1948, and 1953), and the Lenin Prize (in 1962). He was designated a Hero of Socialist Labor in 1957.

[*The Shorter Jewish Encylopaedia in Russian*]

GUREVICH, MOSHE (1874–1944), Bundist in Russia. Born in St. Petersburg, he came from a wealthy religious family. His grandfather Elhanan Cohen of Salant, a railroad contractor, carried on an independent struggle in St. Petersburg against the anti-Jewish czarist legislation. Many members of his family became revolutionaries. Gurevich studied at the universities of St. Petersburg and Berlin, joined the Social Democrats, and was active in St. Petersburg and Gomel. He later headed the *Bund in Vilna, and between 1901 and 1903 took a leading part in the Hirsh *Lekert affair and in opposing the *Independent Jewish Workers' Party. He was imprisoned for his socialist activities. After his release Gurevich went to the United States as an emissary of the Bund in 1905. He stayed there until his death and was a member of the educational committee of the *Workmen's Circle from 1920 to 1922.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: J.S. Hertz (ed.), *Doyres Bundistn*, 1 (1956), 269–73.

[Moshe Mishkinsky]

GURFEIN, RIVKA (1908–1983), Israeli author and literary critic. Born in Sanok, Poland, Gurfein graduated from the Cracow University. She joined Kibbutz Ein Shemer in 1932 and was appointed counselor of Youth Aliyah groups, and later cultural officer in the IDF. She was a lecturer in general literature and Hebrew poetry in the Ḥaderah Community College and in the Institute for Supplementary Education for Teachers in Haifa. As a member of the editorial board of *Devar ha-Po'elet*, she contributed articles on literature, culture, and society, and published essays and articles on general and Hebrew literature in various journals such as *Orlogin, Al ha-Mishmar*, and *Sedemot.*

Gurfein literary essays include "*Mi-karov u-me-Raḥok*" (1964), "*Im Shir*" (1967), "*Bi-Keriah Kashuvah*" (1969), and "*Le-Or ha-Katuv*" (1972). She is also the author of novels: *Ne'urim ba-Shemesh* (1954), *Kokhavim me-al ha-Gan* (1964) – for which she was awarded the Ussishkin Prize, and *Ta'am shel Beḥirah*

(1975). She received the Histadrut Y. Aharonovitch Prize and the Ḥayyim Greenberg Prize for her literary achievements and for her educational activities.

GURIAN (Gurfinckel), SORANA (1913–1956), Romanian novelist and journalist who later wrote in French. Sorana Gurian was born in Komrat, Bessarabia. After her university studies she spent three years in France, then returned to Bucharest on the eve of World War II and joined the anti-Fascist underground. After the war she became a journalist, but in 1947 her article calling for freedom of expression led to the suppression of her work. Early in 1949 she escaped from Romania and settled in Paris. Except for a two-year stay in Israel (1949–51), she spent the rest of her life in France, where she quickly established herself as a newspaper and radio political commentator as well as an author. Sorana Gurian's first novel, which made her famous, *Zilele nu se întorc niciodată* ("Never Do the Days Return," 1946), was the largely autobiographical story of an intellectual family in a Bessarabian town. *Intâmplări dintre amurg și noapte* ("Events Between Dawn and Night," 1946), a collection of stories, dealt with the sexual obsessions of lonely women. Her first book in French, *Les mailles du filet* (1950), a diary of the years 1947–49, had a factual authenticity which made it an important political document. She translated her first Romanian novel as *Les jours ne reviennent jamais* (1952), and wrote a sequel to it: *Les amours impitoyables*, which appeared in 1953, and which dealt with the political scene in pre-World War II Romania. Her last book, *Récit d'un combat* (1956), a record of her desperate search for treatment of the cancer from which she was dying, was enlivened by her thirst for life, her courage, and the support of her friends.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: C. Malraux, in: *Evidences* (Oct. 8, 1956), 48–49; G. Marcel, in: *Arts et Spectacles* (Feb.–March, 1956); Manès Sperber, in: *Preuves* (Feb. 1956), 45–46. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** *Dicționarul scriitorilor români*, D-L (1998), 472–73; V. Durnea, in: *România literară* (2003), 20–21.

[Dora Litani-Littman]

GURLAND, ḤAYYIM JONAH (1843–1890), Russian rabbi and scholar. Gurland was born in Kletsk, Belorussia, and was educated at the Vilna rabbinical seminary and at the University of St. Petersburg, where he studied Oriental languages with D. *Chwolson. He wrote his dissertation on the influence of Islamic philosophy, in particular the Mutakallimūn, Muʿatazilites, and Ashʿarians, on Maimonides. While employed at the Imperial Library of St. Petersburg, Gurland worked on the *Firkovich manuscripts, being one of the first to discover his forgeries; he published the results of this research as *Ginzei Yisrael be – St. Petersburg* (1865–67). In 1873 he was appointed inspector of the Jewish teachers' seminary in Zhitomir; there he published a Yiddish and Russian calendar, entitled in Hebrew *Lu'aḥ Yisrael* (1878–81), which also contained scholarly articles. After three years in Western Europe, he returned to Russia and founded a Jewish high school in Odessa. In 1888 the government appointed him rabbi of Odessa. In addition to contributing articles to the leading Hebrew periodicals, Gurland published a Hebrew version of D. Chwolson's work on the Tammuz cult in ancient Babylonia, *Ma'amar ha-Tammuz* (1864), and a seven-volume work on the persecutions of Jews in Russia during the 17th and 18th centuries, *Le-Korot ha-Gezerot al Yisrael* (1887–89), with a posthumous addendum (1893) to the last volume containing a biography of the author by D. Cahana.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Kressel, Leksikon, 1 (1965), 459–60; N. Sokolow, *Sefer Zikkaron le-Sofrei Yisrael…* (1899), 133–40.

GURS (near Pau, Basses-Pyrénées), one of France's largest concentration camps during World War II. Situated in southwestern France in what would later be the Unoccupied Zone, it was first used to intern Republican Spanish refugees, and then, later, refugees from Austria and Germany. After the Franco-German armistice in June 1940, Jews were brought to the camp. Food supply and sanitary conditions in Gurs were worse than in the camps of the Occcupied Zone. Some 800 Jews died there in the winter of 1940. In 1941 there were 15,000 internees, including 7,200 Jews who had been deported from the Palatinate and Baden in western Germany, and about 3,000 Jewish refugees who had been arrested in Belgium on May 10, 1940, and had been sent first to the French concentration camp Saint-Cyprien on the Spanish border. In the second half of July 1942, Theodor Dannecker, Adolf Eichmann's representative in France, inspected the Gurs camp. Shortly afterwards, most of the internees were sent to *Drancy, and from there to death camps. Deportations ended in the summer of 1943. Only 735 women, 250 men, and 215 children remained in Gurs when it was finally closed down. The cemetery near the camp contains the graves of 1,200 Jews.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Z. Szajkowski, *Analytical Franco-Jewish Gazetteer* (1966), 214–2; J. Weill, *Contribution à l'histoire de camps d'internement dans l'Anti-France* (1946). **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** M.R. Marrus and R.O. Paxton, *Vichy France and the Jews* (1981), 172–3, 306–7.

[David Weinberg (2nd ed.)]

GURSHTEIN, AARON (1895–1941), Soviet Yiddish literary historian, critic, and editor. Born in Krolevets (Ukraine), Gurshtein attended a Jewish secondary school in Vilna and later studied Hebrew literature at the University of Petrograd. In 1920, he enlisted in the Red Army, in which he served for several years. In 1923, he published his first essay in *Emes*, the Yiddish organ of the Communist Party. He wrote Marxist treatments of 19th century Yiddish authors such as Sholem Yankev *Abramovitsh, I.L. *Peretz, and *Shalom Aleichem, and also analyzed the works of his contemporaries such as David *Bergelson, Der *Nister, Ezra *Finenberg and Shmuel *Halkin. During the thaw of the New Economic Policy (NEP), he welcomed the more liberal tendency to evaluate art aesthetically and not politically. His study *Vegn Undzer Kritik* ("About Our Criticism," 1925) was tolerant even of symbolism. By 1933, however, when with M. *Viner he wrote *Prob-*

lemes fun Kritik ("Problems of Criticism"), he retreated from his earlier tolerance and accepted socialist realism as the only desirable artistic approach. Gurshtein enlisted for service in World War II and in 1941 died in combat.

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[Sol Liptzin / Marc Miller (2nd ed.)]

GURVITCH, GEORGES (1894–1966), French sociologist. Born in Russia, Gurvitch was educated at the universities of Petrograd and Paris. Gurvitch taught at the universities of Petrograd and Strasbourg, and from 1948 until his death at the University of Paris. He also was editor of the *Cahiers Internationaux de Sociologie* and the *Journal of Legal and Political Sociology*. He was profoundly influenced by the philosophers Hegel and Bergson, the socialists Petrajizhky and P.A. Sorokin, and especially by the phenomenological school in philosophy. Gurvitch worked on a highly analytical level, dealing particularly with the sociology of law, the nature of groups and social classes, and later the character of social time. Among his major sociological writings are *The Sociology of Law* (1942), *Essais de Sociologie* (1938), *Eléments de sociologie juridique* (1940), *La déclaration des droits sociaux* (1940), *La vocation actuelle de la sociologie* (1950), *Twentieth Century Sociology* (edited with W.E. More, 1945), *Traité de sociologie* (2 vols., 1958), *Industrialisation et technocratie* (edited with G. Friedmann, 1949), *Déterminismes sociaux et liberté humaine* (1955), *Dialectique et sociologie* (1962), and *The Spectrum of Social Time* (1964). He tried to increase awareness of (1) symbolic nuances in social life; (2) a series of conceptually distinct levels in human experience; (3) the importance of dialectical and oppositional mechanism in society; and (4) the relation between conceptions of time and human behavior. Gurvitch's distinction between microsociology and macrosociology has been widely accepted among sociologists, but his assertion that each uses distinct methods of investigation has been opposed by neopositivists and functionalists.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: R. Toulemont, *Sociologie et pluralisme dialectique: introduction à l'oeuvre de Georges Gurvitch* (1955); P. Bosserman, *Dialectical Sociology* (1968).

[Alvin Boskoff]

GURWITSCH, AARON (1901–1973), U.S. philosopher and psychologist. Born in Vilna, he lectured at the Sorbonne from 1933. In 1940 he went to the U.S., where he taught at Brandeis University, Johns Hopkins University, and the New School for Social Research in New York. Gurwitsch was distinguished for his special philosophical approach to the problems of psychology. He sought to show the mutual relations which exist between the psychological image pattern, conceived in consciousness as an entity, and the conscious content which consciousness aims at when it knows or remembers it as conceived. He distinguished between the pattern and the content at which consciousness is aimed. This latter conception he called, after Husserl, "*noema*." The unity of the pattern and the *noema* are for Gurwitsch a "theme" (*thema*). The conscious horizon which surrounds the theme and which is liable to influence the shaping of its form in consciousness at every moment is called by him "the theoretical field." He tried to find phenomenological interpretations of other psychological theories such as those of W. James, J. Piaget, and Kurt *Goldstein. His writings include: "On the Intentionality of Consciousness," in *Philosophical Essays in Memory of E. Husserl* (1940), 65–83; *Théorie du champ de la conscience* (1957; *Field of Consciousness*, 1964); "Phenomenological and Psychological Approach to Consciousness," in *Philosophy and Phenomenological Research*, 15 (1955), 303–19; "Der Begriff des Bewusstseins bei Kant und Husserl," in: *Kantstudien*, 55 (1964), 410–27.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: H. Spiegelberg: *The Phenomenological Movement*, 2 (1960), 630.

[Aaron Gruenhut]

GURWITSCH (Gurvich), ALEXANDER GAVRILOVICH (1874–1954), Soviet Russian biologist. Gurwitsch was born in Poltava, Ukraine. After studying and teaching abroad he returned to Russia in 1906, and from 1907 until 1918 taught at the women's higher education courses in St. Petersburg. He was a professor at Simferopol University from 1918 to 1925 and at Moscow University from 1925 to 1930. For the next 18 years he worked at the All-Union Institute of Experimental Medicine in Leningrad. He was awarded a Stalin Prize in 1941.

Gurwitsch was one of the first scientists to study the effects of certain types of drugs on development. His concern with the problem of organization of embryonic growth led him to study the mechanics of cell division. In 1923 he began to publish a series of papers which aroused intense controversy. He claimed to have detected what he called "mitogenetic rays," a form of energy emitted by living cells, which he believed stimulated growth in other tissues. His original experiments were performed with onion roots. In a book published in 1937, *Mitogenetic Analysis of the Excitation of the Nervous System*, Gurwitsch attempted to extend his concept to explain the activity of the nervous system. The evidence on which these ideas were based was generally regarded as equivocal, and most biologists rejected his theories.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Blyakher and Zalkind, in: *Byulleten Moskovskogo obshchestva ispytaniya prirody*, 60 (1955), 103–8.

[Norman Levin]

GUSEV, SERGEI IVANOVICH (formerly **Yakov Davidovich Drabkin**; 1874–1933), Soviet party and government official. Gusev was born in the settlement of Sapozhok, Riazan district, Russia. In 1896 he entered the St. Petersburg Technological Institute and in the same year joined the revolutionary movement. He was one of the leaders of the workers' uprisings in Rostov in 1902–03. At the second congress of the Russian Social Democratic Revolutionary Party he joined the Bolsheviks and was secretary of the bureau of the St. Petersburg committee of the Party (1904–05), of the Odessa committee (1906), and from 1906 to 1917 was engaged in Party work in Moscow and St. Petersburg. In 1917 he was secretary of the Petrograd military-revolutionary committee which organized the October armed uprising. From 1918 to 1920 Gusev was a member of the Revolutionary Military Soviet (RVS) of the 2nd and 5th Armies of the Eastern, Southeastern, and Southern Fronts, Commander of the Moscow defense sector, and member of the RVS of the republic. In 1921 he became head of the political directorate of the Red Army and in 1922 chairman of the Turkestan bureau of the Russian Communist Party. From 1923 he was secretary of the Party's Central Control Commission. In 1925–26 he headed the press department of the Control Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks). From 1928 to 1933 Gusev was a member of the Comintern.

Gusev's daughter, ELIZAVETA YAKOVLEVNA DRABKINA (1901–1974) was a writer, who spent the years 1934–56 in forced labor camps and exile. She wrote novels and literary memoirs devoted to the revolution and civil war periods (written after her rehabilitation).

[*The Shorter Jewish Encylopaedia in Russian*]

GUSH EMUNIM ("The Bloc of the Faithful"), a spiritual-political movement established for the purpose of implementing its belief that the establishment of the State of Israel constitutes the "Beginning of the Redemption" which will lead to the ultimate complete Redemption by settling the entire area west of the Jordan. Although their program included Zionist education, political propaganda, *aliyah*, settlement, and social aims, in practice they confined themselves to the question of settlement in the areas liberated in the Six-Day War. Gush Emunim was formally founded in Kefar Etzyon at the beginning of 1974.

Its founders came from the *National Religious Party, the Land of Israel Movement, the religious settlements, the pupils of the Mercaz ha-Rav Yeshivah, the *Bnei Akiva yeshivot, and Orthodox academicians and the young Orthodox generation.

Their first practical step was taken in May 1974 to protest the intended return of Quneitra to Syria. They proceeded to establish a new settlement (Keshet) to serve as a barrier against withdrawal. During 1974 various attempts were made by the Elon Moreh group of Gush Emunim to establish a settlement in Samaria. At the first attempt, near the army camp at Ḥoron, Rabbi Ẓevi Judah Kook, whom they regard as their spiritual father, General Arik Sharon, and MKs Zevulun Hammer, Judah Ben Meir, and Geulah Cohen participated, but on the orders of the prime minister they were forcibly removed by the army. The same fate met six subsequent attempts. An eighth attempt to settle at the old railway station of Sebaste on Hanukkah of 1975 was attended by thousands of sympathizers who remained there for eight days. As a result of negotiations they were permitted to settle in the military camp at Kaddum near Sebaste.

At the same time, settlements were established at Ophra in May 1975 in an abandoned Jordanian military camp near Mt. Ba'al Ḥazor, which was declared a work camp, with the permission of the then Defense Minister Shimon Peres.

Immediately after his election victory in May 1977, Menaḥem Begin announced that henceforth there would be "many Kaddums," and it was officially declared a settlement. As a result Gush Emunim urged that 12 new settlements in Judea and Samaria – which had been approved in principle by the previous government – be established simultaneously.

The prime minister, however, postponed implementation of the plan after his visit with President Carter, and when on his return permission was not granted, Gush Emunim decided to act on their own on Sukkot 1977. As a result tension developed between the Gush and the new government. An agreement was subsequently reached whereby two sites would be established immediately and the other ten within five months, and from then until 1981, over 20 settlements were established by them. Some were established without government permission. The establishment of a settlement in the vicinity of Shechem was the subject of an appeal to the Supreme Court by Arabs as owners of the land and they won the case. The settlers were ordered to vacate the site. After heated discussions Gush Emunim decided to comply with the order and the settlement moved to Mt. Kabir, northeast of Shechem.

In order to further their aims the Gush established in 1980 an organization of all the settlements in Judea and Samaria, called Amanah.

During the visit of President Carter to Jerusalem in March 1979 the Gush mounted demonstrations and a number were arrested and held in detention until his departure.

Gush Emunim cooperated with the Teḥiyyah party founded in October 1979.

[Zvi Shiloah]

Developments in the 1980s and Early 1990s

Gush Emunim played a significant role in Israeli political life from 1977. Although the declared ideology of the movement continues to emphasize Zionist renewal in all spheres of life, in practice the Gush was concerned with the implementation of policies which will make impossible the return of any of the West Bank (Judea and Samaria) as a result of future peace treaties or negotiations. The retention of Israeli (Jewish) control over this region was viewed as being divinely ordained, and thus not to be negated by human or democratic decision, even if it is the elected government of the State of Israel. This element of fundamentalist belief underlies all of Gush Emunim's activities. However the activities themselves – the creation of irreversible settlement facts – were implemented through the most pragmatic of means.

Following the coming to power of the Likud government in 1977, the Gush presented a short-term "emergency" settlement plan to the new government, the objective of which was the establishment of 12 new settlements throughout the West Bank at locations previously rejected by the Labor government. The majority of these locations were indeed settled during the subsequent 18 months. In October 1978, Gush Emunim presented a more comprehensive blueprint for settlement in the region. This plan focused on the establishment of a widespread network of both rural and urban settlements as a means through which Israeli sovereignty over the region could be emphasized. This plan was similar in nature to parallel blueprints proposed by the joint head of the Settlement Department of the Jewish Agency, Ḥerut appointee Matityahu Drobles, and the minister of agriculture, Ariel Sharon. Despite the lack of any formal government or cabinet decision in favor of these plans, public resources were nevertheless made available for their gradual implementation.

The implementation of Gush Emunim settlement policy was carried out by its operational arm, the Amanah settlement movement. Formal government recognition of this movement, enabling it to become the recipient of government aid and funds, together with the legalization of the two existing Gush settlements at Ofrah and Camp Kaddum afforded legitimization to the Gush Emunim settlement objectives. Amanah included well over 50 settlements, of which nearly all are located in the West Bank (the minority were in *Gush Katif). The majority of these settlements were of the *yishuv kehillati* (community settlement) type, these being largely dormitory settlements wherein the settlers commute to the Israeli metropolitan centers for their employment. Despite their lack of domestic economic base, these settlements maintained a closed social unit and new or potential candidates must be approved by general vote. They ranged in size from around 15 to 20 families in the smaller newer settlements to over 500 families in the larger, more veteran units such as Kedumim, Bet Aryeh, and Elkanah.

Gush Emunim as such did not have any formal membership and it was therefore difficult to estimate its size or actual support. While the settlers themselves constituted the grass roots of power of the movement, the Gush also succeeded in obtaining support from a variety of Knesset members in the right-of-center political parties. Although the Gush did not transform itself into a political party as such, many of its members and activists became leading figures in other parties. Knesset members of the Teḥiyyah Party from 1981 and of the Matzad faction (a breakaway from the National Religious Party) between 1984 and 1986 were Gush Emunim activists. Such personalities included Gush Emunim founder Hanan Porat of Kefar Etzyon, Rabbi Chaim Druckman – a leading figure in the Bnei Akiva national religious youth movement – and Rabbi Eliezer Waldman, a head of the Kiryat Arba yeshivah.

Other leading activists became the administrators of the regional councils set up to provide municipal services to the new settlements. These regional councils received their budgets through Ministry of Interior grants as well as by means of local taxes. Thus the administrators became, de facto, public service workers, in a position to advance their political objectives through the control and allocation of municipal funds. Additional organizations, such as the Council of Settlements in Judea, Samaria, and Gaza (Mo'eẓet Yesha) and the Sheva finance company, established to promote Jewish settlement activity in the West Bank, were largely manned by Gush Emunim personalities. This gradual process of institutionalization did not include the charismatic figure of Rabbi Moshe Levinger, who continued to propound the mystical fundamental tenets of the Gush Emunim ideology. His position as the unofficial leader of Gush Emunim received a setback in 1984, following the appointment of an official general secretary for the movement, Daniella Weiss – a resident of Kedumim.

The Gush attempted to promote a populist image by means of an annual Independence Day Rally and hike through the West Bank as well as through organizing occasional demonstrations. The most significant rallying of ranks took place in the wake of the Camp David Accords and the subsequent withdrawal from Sinai. Gush Emunim and its leaders provided a focus for the Movement to Stop the Withdrawal from Sinai. Gush Emunim viewed the withdrawal from Sinai in general, and the destruction of Jewish settlements in particular, as a dangerous precedent for the West Bank. Many of their supporters remained in Yamit as a final protest before being forcibly removed by the Israeli army.

The discovery of a Jewish underground in the West Bank and its terrorist activities in 1984, and the subsequent arrest, trial, and imprisonment of 20 Jewish settlers, three of them for life terms, caused an ideological crisis amongst the Gush Emunim ranks. Their supporters were split into two, with one camp openly denouncing the underground activity as being outside the legitimate field of play, the other camp supporting the actions as being legitimate in the face of what they saw as non-action on the part of the Israeli government to safeguard their interests. The former viewpoint was put forward by many of the Gush Emunim founders and focused around the personality of Yoel Bin-Nun from the Ofrah settlement. In time, these two camps became largely reconciled around the question of clemency for the Jewish prisoners.

Opposition to Gush Emunim and their ideology remained intense, in both secular and religious sectors of the population. The *Peace Now Movement continued to protest against the establishment of settlements in the West Bank, which it viewed as obstacles in the achievement of any peace agreement between Israel and Palestinians. Religious opposition groups, Oz Ve Shalom and Netivot Shalom, which stress religious values of peace and the need for interethnic mutual respect, rather than the territorialism and nationalism preached by the Gush, have remained small and without influence, owing to the general identification of the religious population with the Gush Emunim viewpoint. The Gush derided the opposition movements as "speakers" only and points to their "doing" as proof of their commitment to their cause. Opponents tended to be labeled as "*yefei nefesh*" ("genteel souls") and as traitors to the cause of "Greater Israel."

The Gush Emunim ideology is expounded in the monthly magazine *Nekudah* (and its occasional English version, *Counterpoint*), published by Mo'eẓet Yesha. Recent years have witnessed a surprising amount of academic research into Gush Emunim, focusing on the group's origins, ideological viewpoints, and the functioning of the settlement network.

The change in government in 1992 had a major impact on the West Bank settler population. On the one hand, much of the Gush Emunim political lobby was lost when the Teḥiyyah party failed to gain any seats in the new Knesset.

The Teḥiyyah failure was attributed, by many, to the decision of Rabbi Levinger and Daniela Weiss to run as a separate party list. This resulted in a split in the traditional Gush Emunim vote, with neither party obtaining any seats.

With the intensification of the peace talks under the Rabin government, new groups were established among the West Bank settlers to replace the now defunct Gush Emunim. These included the "Emunim" movement, supposed to represent the next generation of ideologically inspired settlers, but free of the traditional Gush leadership. In addition, national-religious rabbis of the West Bank settlements formed their own organization, aimed at providing "halakhically" inspired answers to the new political dilemmas facing the settlers. Their basic message was uncompromising, returning to the traditional national-religious argument that the Divine Right to the Land of Israel cannot be voted away by government. They provided religious backing for opposition to the Rabin government peace initiatives.

By 1992, the West Bank settler population (excluding East Jerusalem) had increased to beyond 100,000. Most of these continued to live in the communities and townships of Western Samaria, close to the metropolitan center of Israel. Particular emphasis was placed along the new west-east highway connecting Tel Aviv to the Jordan Valley. Along this route lies the expanding town of Ariel, as well as the ultra Orthodox township of Emanuel. The *Gush Etzyon region, to the south of Jerusalem, also underwent internal growth, centered around the township of Efrat. The West Bank settlement network itself was greatly affected by the change in government. The new planning priorities redirected resources out of the Administered Territories and back into Israel itself – especially into the Negev and Galilee. Settlers who had previously been beneficiaries of tax concessions, easy-term mortgages, low-priced land, by virtue of their living beyond the green line, now found themselves facing conditions equal to any other region in the country. In the Gaza Strip, *Gush Katif formed a network of settlements that would become the focus of Israel's disengagement in 2005.

For subsequent political events, see *Israel, State of: Historical Survey.

[David Newman]

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GUSH ETZYON (Heb. גוש עציון; Etzyon Bloc), group of 15 settlements in the Judean hills, located between Jerusalem and Hebron. The population of Gush Etzyon was about 17,000 in 2004.

In 1947, at the outset of Israel's *War of Independence, Gush Etzyon consisted of four settlements: *Kefar Etzyon (the first settlement in the area, founded in 1943), *Massu'ot Yitzḥak, *Ein Tzurim, and *Revadim. From the end of 1947, Gush defenders were able to fight off frequent Arab attacks. A unit of 35 *Haganah and *Palmaḥ fighters (known to posterity as the "Lamed-He") sent from Jerusalem as reinforcements was intercepted and wiped out by the Arabs on January 17, 1948, and a relief convoy suffered heavy losses on March 27. The Arab Legion and large numbers of Arab irregulars began the final assault on May 12. Many of the 500 defenders, men and women, were massacred by an Arab mob after surrendering to the Legion and the Gush was razed.

Jewish settlement in Gush Etzyon was renewed in 1967 after the *Six-Day War. In September 1967 Kefar Etzyon was reestablished by a *Ha-Kibbutz ha-Dati group that included children of former settlers. A year later, in 1968, Har Gilo was founded, in 1970 Allon Shevut and Rosh Tzurim were added, and the rest were established over the next 20 years. There has been a general consensus in Israel that Gush Etzyon will remain part of Israel in any peace settlement.

The settlements of Gush Etzyon are as follows:

ALLON SHEVUT (Heb. אלון שבות), established in 1970 near the lone oak tree for which the settlement is named. The nucleus of the community was the Har Etzyon Yeshivah. In 2002 the population of Allon Shevut was 3,030.

BAT AYIN (Heb. בת עין), established in 1989. In 2002 the population was 685. Residents earned their livelihoods in a variety of ways: raising sheep, organic farming, computers, etc. The settlement was home to many artists.

EFRAT (Heb. אפרת), urban community with municipal council, established in 1983. In 2002 the population was 6,810, mainly religious.

ELEAZAR (Heb. אלעזר), established in 1976 by a group of American immigrants. The settlement began as a *moshav shittufi, but became an ordinary community. In 2002 the population was 796. The name commemorates *Eleazar ben Mattathias, brother of *Judah Maccabi, who was killed during the war with the Greeks in nearby Bet Zekharyah.

HAR GILO (Heb. הר גילה), established in 1968, and located on a hill overlooking Bethlehem, 3,027 ft. (923 m.) above sea level. The nucleus of the settlement was a field school run by the Nature Preservation Authority, around which the community developed. The settlement had a hostel with 400 beds, an information center for the birds and plants of Eretz Israel, and a school for army commanders. The population in 2002 was 357, religious and secular. Residents worked in Jerusalem.

KADAR (Heb. קדר), established in 1985 by a group from the *Betar movement. The settlement is located on the north-

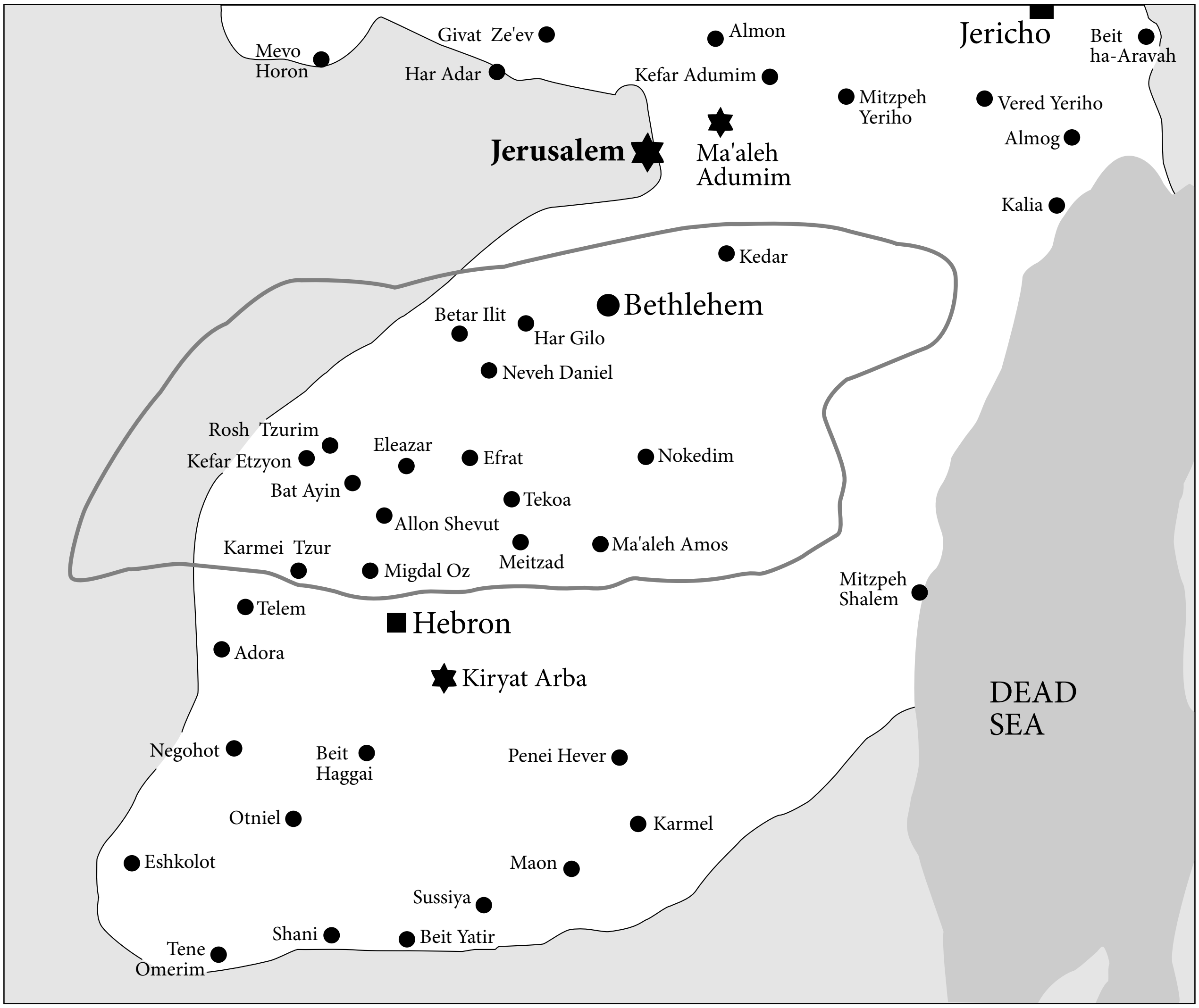
Mevo Horon
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Jericho
Beit ha-Aravah
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Jerusalem
Ma'aleh Adumim
Kalia
Kedar
Bethlehem
Betar Ilit
Har Gilo
Neveh Daniel
Rosh Tzurim
Kefar Etzyon
Eleazar
Efrat
Nokedim
Bat Ayin
Tekoa
Allon Shevut
Karmei Tzur
Meitzad
Ma'aleh Amos
Migdal Oz
Mitzpeh Shalem
Telem
Hebron
Adora
Kiryat Arba
DEAD SEA
Negohot
Beit Haggai
Penei Hever
Otniel
Karmel
Eshkolot
Maon
Sussiya
Shani
Beit Yatir
Tene Omerim

Gush Etzyon

eastern edge of the Gush, not far from *Ma'aleh Adumim. In 2002 the population was 585.

KARMEI TZUR (Heb. כרמי צור), established in 1984 by a group of Har Ezion yeshiva students. In 2002 the population was 579. The name of the settlement derives from the vineyards in its area and from nearby Tel Tzur, where the Hasmoneans fought against the Greeks.

KEFAR ETZYON (Heb. כפר עציון), religious kibbutz, reestablished in 1967. The kibbutz economy was based on farming and industry. In 2002 the population was 408.

MA'ALEH AMOS (Heb. מעלה עמוס), ultra-Orthodox community, established in 1982 by Esh ha-Torah yeshiva students. In 2002 the population was 258, mainly yeshivah students.

MEITZAD (Heb. מיצד) ultra-Orthodox community, established in 1984 with assistance from *Po'alei Agudat Israel. In 2002 the population was 218, many of them immigrants from the U.S., South Africa, France, and England. The men were mainly yeshivah students and the women worked in education.

MIGDAL OZ (Heb. מגדל עוז): religious kibbutz, established in 1977. In 2002 the population was 268. The kibbutz raised turkeys, dairy cattle, and field crops (together with the two other kibbutzim in Gush Etzyon) and had a packing house and a factory producing parts for airplanes.

NEVEH DANIEL (Heb. נווה דניאל), established in 1982. The settlement is located on the highest hill of the region, 3,254 ft. (992 m.) above sea level. In 2002 the population was 1,020. The majority of the population was employed outside the settlement.

NOKEDIM (Heb. נוקדים), established in 1982 by a group from nearby Tekoa. The settlement is located at the foot of *Herodium. In 2002 the population was 615. The name of the settlement derives from Amos 1:1 (*nokedim* = "herdsman"). Nearby there is an unauthorized settlement called Kefar Eldad (Heb. כפר אלדד), numbering 35 families.

ROSH TZURIM (Heb. ראש צורים), religious kibbutz, established in 1970 on the original site of Ein Tzurim (which was rebuilt in different location). In 2002 the population was 247. The main economic branches were field crops (together with the two other kibbutzim located in Gush Etzyon), dairy cattle, turkeys, and fruit orchards. The kibbutz owned the Mei Tzurim plant, which produced water filters.

TEKOA (Heb. תקוע), established in 1977 by a group of settlers affiliated with *Gush Emunim. In the 2002 the population was 1,040, religious and secular. Some residents worked outside the settlement, while others were employed in agriculture (mushrooms, dairy) inside Tekoa.

WEBSITE: www.gush-etzion-region.muni.il.

[Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

GUSH KATIF (Heb. גוש קטיף; Katif Bloc), group of 18 settlements in the *Gaza Strip. Their combined population in 2004 was about 7,800.

The Jewish settlement of Gush Katif aimed at creating a buffer zone in the face of terrorist attacks originating in the Gaza Strip following the *Six-Day War and at tactically controlling communications between the densely populated Arab sections of the Strip. The plan called for five "fingers" extending into the Strip. The first was located in northern Gaza and aimed at creating a belt of Jewish settlement from Ashkelon to the outskirts of Gaza city. The settlements Nisanit and Elei Sinai were established there. The second was located between Gaza city and Deir al-Balaḥ and included Netzarim. The third was located between Deir al-Balaḥ and Khan Yunis, and included the settlements Netzer Ḥazani, Katif, Kefar Darom, and Ganei Tal. The fourth "finger" was located between Khan Yunis and Rafa and included the settlements Gan Or, Gadid, Bedolaḥ, Atzmonah, Morag, Pe'at Sadeh, and Rafiaḥ Yam. The fifth finger, which was planned to connect the Rafa region with Sinai was not implemented. The plan was approved by the government and on October 11, 1970, Kefar Darom was established by a *Naḥal group. In February 1972 another Naḥal settlement was founded in Netzarim, and in September 1972 a third was established in Morag. Eight months later a fourth Nahal settlement was founded in Katif. In 1976 Katif became a civilian moshav. A year later, the name Katif was changed to Netzer Ḥazani, to commemorate Michael Ḥazani, the father of religious settlement. In 1978 a group of settlers established a new moshav, also called Katif. In 1979 Atzmonah and Ganei Tal were established. The remaining settlements were established in the 1980s, with Dugit the last in 1990. Netzarim became a civilian settlement in 1984, Bedolaḥ in 1986. Most residents earned their livelihoods from farming, with the area gaining fame for its hydroponically grown vegetables. Near Neveh Dekalim, an industrial area was established which included a garage, carpentry shop, press, etc.

During the years 1987–92, the years of the first Intifada, Gush Katif settlers suffered from Arab attacks, mainly stone throwing on the roads. Two Kefar Darom residents were killed. During these years all the settlements were expanded and absorbed new residents. From October 2000, the start of the second, "al-Aqsa" Intifada, the settlements of Gush Katif came under constant terrorist attacks: gunfire, suicide bombers, and Kassam rockets. In this period, 4,000 shells hit the settlements and 12 people were killed. In 2003 Prime Minister Ariel *Sharon announced his intention to evacuate the settlements in the Gaza Strip, perceived by many as a drain on Israel's defense resources and serving no ostensible purpose. Following his declaration, the settlers began an intensive campaign to reverse the decision but to no avail. All Gush Katif settlements were evacuated in August 2005 and subsequently dismantled.

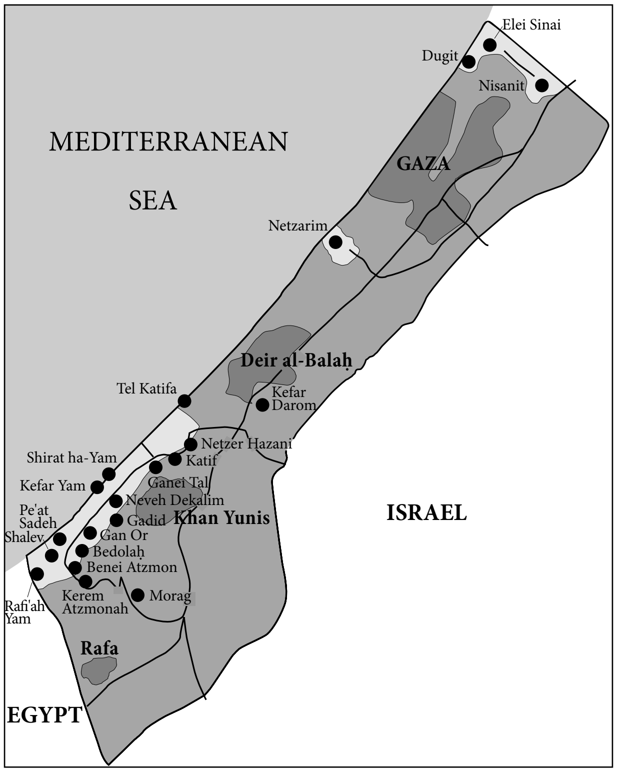

Gush Katif

The Gush Katif settlements were as follows:

ATZMONAH (Benei Atzmon) (Heb. עצמונה), religious agricultural community, established in 1978. In the 2002 the population was 566. The main farming branches were dairy cattle, poultry, field crops, and plant nurseries.

BEDOLAḤ (Heb. בדולח), religious moshav, established in 1986 in affiliation with *Ha-Po'el ha-Mizrachi. In 2002 the population was 189, earning its livelihood in advanced greenhouse farming.

DUGIT (Heb. דוגית), established in 1990 in the northern Gaza strip, near the seashore. In 2002 the population was 65 inhabitants. Residents earned their livelihoods in various occupations connected with the sea.

ELEI SINAI (Heb. אלי סיני), established in 1983 by former *Yammit residents. Located in the northern Gaza Strip, 9 mi. (15 km.) south of Ashkelon, near the seashore. In 2002 the population was 347. Most of the residents were professional people.

GADID (Heb. גדיד), religious moshav, established in 1982. In 2002 the population was 298. Farming was mainly of the greenhouse variety.

GAN OR (Heb. גן אור), religious moshav, established in 1983 in affiliation with Ha-Po'el ha-Mizrachi. In 2002 the population was 274. Farming was based on greenhouses.

GANEI TAL (Heb. גני טל), religious moshav, established in 1979. In 2002 the population was 273. The main farming branches were organic and nonorganic vegetables, flowers, nursery plants, and herbs.

KATIF (Heb. קטיף), religious moshav, established in 1985. In 2002 the population was 338. The main farming branches were nursery plants, dairy, and organic vegetables.

KEFAR DAROM (Heb. כפר דרום), established in 1970. In 2002 the population was 324. Residents earned a living in farming, education, and various professions.

KEFAR YAM (Heb. כפר ים), established in 1983 on the remains of a holiday village operated by the Egyptian army. The settlement numbered just four families, who earned their living as greenhouse farmers and professionals.

MORAG (Heb. מורג), religious moshav, established in 1972 as a Naḥal settlement, became a civilian settlement in 1983. Affiliated with Ha-Po'el ha-Mizrachi. In 2002 the population was 170. Farming was mainly of the greenhouse variety.

NEVEH DEKALIM (Heb. נווה דקלים), religious community, established in 1983. Neveh Dekalim was the largest settlement in Gush Katif and served as an urban center for the rest of the settlements. In 2002 its population was 2,470.

NETZER ḤAZANI (Heb. נצר חזני), religious moshav, established in 1973. In 2002 the population was 316. Farming mainly took place in greenhouses.

NETZARIM (Heb. נצרים), established in 1972 as a Naḥal settlement, became a civilian community in 1984. Located in the center of the Gaza Strip. In 2002 the population was 409 inhabitants. Residents earned their livelihoods in farming, education, and the professions.

NISANIT (Heb. ניסנית), established in 1980 as a Naḥal settlement, became a civilian community in 1993. In 2002 the population was 1,000, working in the region's settlements.

PE'AT SADEH (Heb. פאת שדה), established in 1989. In 2002 the population was 110, religious and secular, most employed in farming.

RAFI'AḤ YAM (Heb. רפיח ים), established in 1984. In 2002 the population was 128 inhabitants, most employed in advanced greenhouse farming.

SHALEV (Heb. שליו), established in 1980 as a Naḥal settlement. In 2002 the population was composed of ten families of former Yammit residents.

In addition there were a number of unauthorized settlements in Gush Katif: Tel Katifa (Heb. תל קטיפא), established 1992, 15 families; Shirat ha-Yam (Heb. שירת הים), established 2001, six families; Kerem Atzmonah (Heb. כרם עצמונה), established 2001; five families.

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[Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

GUSIKOW, JOSEPH MICHAEL (1802–1837), musician. Descendant of a long line of *klezmerim*, Gusikow, who was born in Shklov, Belorussia, first took up the flute but had to abandon it because of incipient consumption. He then constructed an improved xylophone consisting of 15 (later 29) tuned wooden staves, with a chromatic range of two-and-a-half octaves laid upon supports of tied straw and beaten with two thin sticks, which he called "Holz und Stroh." With this instrument he began to tour Russia and in the mid-1830s Austria, when he appeared before the emperor. His repertoire by now included many virtuoso and salon pieces originally written for the piano (including concertos), operatic arias, and – his specialty – extempore variations on arias, Jewish and gentile folk tunes, and even national anthems, all without having had a single music lesson. Society lionized him, and his orthodox earlocks became a ladies' fashion – the coiffure à la Gusikow. Concerts in Germany, France, and Belgium followed. In Leipzig, a Hebrew ode was published in his praise (1836). In Brussels his instrument and manner of playing were analyzed by the musicologist Fétis. Gusikow's illness had in the meantime grown worse. He died at Aachen. Lamartine, Félix *Mendelssohn-Bartholdy and his sister Fanny, as well as numerous other musicians of discernment, all attested to his virtuosity and creative power. The English writer Sacheverell Sitwell was therefore not exaggerating when he described Gusikow as "the greatest untaught or impromptu musician there had ever been." One of his tunes was published by Abraham Moses *Bernstein in *Muzikalisher Pinkes* (1927), p. 114.

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[Bathja Bayer]

GUSINSKY, VLADIMIR ALEXANDROVICH (1952–), Russian businessman and Jewish communal figure. Gusinsky's grandfather was a victim of Stalinist terror (executed in 1937) and his grandmother spent nine years in Stalinist camps. Gusinsky graduated from the Gubkin Institute of the Oil and Gas Industry and the A. Lunacharsky State Institute of Theatrical Art. He then worked as a theater director in Tula and other cities. In the early 1980s he moved to Moscow, where he founded his first company in 1986. In 1988 Gusinsky created the Infax consulting firm, specializing in legal and financial counseling as well as providing political analysis to mostly foreign clients. In 1989 Infax and the Arnold and Potter law firm became partners, starting up the Most Bank in 1989 and the Most Group (Gruppa Most) holding company in 1992. In 1994 Gusinsky became vice president of the Russian Bank Association and in 1995 a member of the presidium of the Coordinating Council of the All-Russian Business Roundtable Union.

Gusinsky took an active part in the revival of Jewish communal life in post-Communist Russia. In January 1996 he was elected president of Russia's Jewish Congress (see *Russia) and in 2000 he became vice president of the World Jewish Congress for Eastern Europe and Russia.

In 1997 Gusinsky resigned as president of the Most Bank and became head of Media Most, embracing several TV companies (including NTV, the country's first privately owned station), the *Segodnia* newspaper, and some magazines. The media controlled by Gusinsky took an opposition stand during Putin's election campaign, vigorously criticizing his policy in the Chechnya conflict and his authoritarian tendencies. Gusinsky was promptly accused of economic crimes and in June 2000 was arrested, but he was released within a month and left for Spain. There he was placed under house arrest after the Russians requested his extradition, but was released in February 2001. Gusinsky resigned from the presidency of Russia´s Jewish Congress and sold his shares in NTV to foreign investors (including Ted Turner). In August 2003, again accused of laundering money by the Russians, Gusinsky was arrested at Athens airport, but was released after a court hearing. The prolonged legal embroilments of the former media tycoon are typical of the misadventures of Russia's new "oligarchs."

[Naftali Prat (2nd ed.)]

GUSTON, PHILIP (1913–1980), U.S. painter. Born Philip Goldstein in Montreal, Canada, Guston moved with his Russian immigrant parents to Los Angeles when he was seven years old. At 14 he became interested in art and by 17 he began formal art training at the Otis Art Institute (1930), where he remained for three months.

Amalgamating the influences of the Mexican muralists, Italian Renaissance painters, and ultimately Cubism, Guston executed several murals for the Works Progress Administration's Federal Art Project. His murals include works for the 1939 World's Fair, the Queensbridge Housing Project in New York City (1940), and the Social Security Building in Washington, D.C. (1942).

In 1941–45 Guston was artist-in-residence at the State University of Iowa in Iowa City, followed by two years teaching at the School of Fine Arts at Washington University at Saint Louis. During this time, Guston assimilated aspects of abstraction and mythology, making gestural paintings comprised of short brushstrokes often in hatched configurations. By the 1950s Guston's entirely non-objective paintings were characterized by critics as "Abstract Impressionist" based on his heavily laid paint and lyrical use of color. After retrospectives at the Guggenheim (1962) and New York's Jewish Museum (1966), Guston boldly returned to figuration. Expressing a desire "to tell stories," Guston made blocky, cartoon-inspired narratives using a limited palette of pale colors, particularly salmon pink, white, black, and gray. In several of these paintings Guston included a hooded figure, often employed as a surrogate self-portrait. While he painted hooded Ku Klux Klan members in social realist works of the 1930s, the hooded figures that emerged in the late 1960s were influenced by the legend of the clay-sculpted Golem. Guston's noted body of work as both an abstract and a figurative artist makes him unique among 20th century painters.

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[Samantha Baskind (2nd ed.)]

GUTENBERG, BENO (1889–1960), geophysicist. Born in Darmstadt, from 1912 to 1923 Gutenberg was assistant at the International Seismological Bureau at Strasbourg. He was then appointed teacher at Frankfurt University, where he became professor in 1926. In 1930 he emigrated to the U.S. to take up the position of professor of geophysics and meteorology at the California Institute of Technology, Pasedena, where in 1946 he became director of the Seismological Laboratory. Gutenberg was the president of the International Association for Seismology (1951–54) and a member of the National Academy of Sciences in Washington. As one of the outstanding seismologists of the last decades, he confirmed the occurrence of earthquakes down to depths of 375 mi. (600 km.) and was the originator of the hypothesis of continental spreading (Fliess theory). He carefully analyzed the available information on the earth's interior and made the first exact determination of the earth's core at 1812 mi. (2,900 km.) below the surface and detected the "asthenosphere channel" at a depth of 62–124 mi. (100–200 km.). This discovery had a critical influence on identifying elastic waves produced by large artificial explosions. He also investigated the nature of the atmosphere. On the basis of the research of Lindemann and Dobson, Gutenberg revolutionized existing conceptions. He maintained that at the height of 31 mi. (50 km.) the temperature was probably as high as on the earth's surface, and that the composition of the atmosphere remained unchanged up to a height of 94 mi. (150 km.). He contributed a lot to modern geophysical ideas on the earth's crust and mantle. Among his works are *Seismische Bodenunruhe* (1924), *Der Aufbau der Erde* (1925), *Grundlagen der Erdbebenkunde* (1927), *Lehrbuch der Geophysik* (1929), the important *Handbuch der Geophysik* (1930), *Seismicity of the Earth* (with C.F. Richter, 1941), *Internal Constitution of the Earth* (1939), and *Physics of the Earth's Interior* (1959).

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GUTFREUND, OTTO (1889–1927), Czech sculptor. Born in eastern Bohemia, Gutfreund was sent in his youth to study in Paris, and became a pioneer of cubism in sculpture. During World War I he joined the French Foreign Legion. His war experiences left a deep impression on his human and artistic development. Returning to Prague in 1920, he abandoned all earlier formalism and turned to simplified, stylized reality, choosing scenes from everyday life. Among his best work from the cubist period are *Anxiety* (1911), *Don Quixote* (1911), and *Hamlet* (1912). The period of his artistic maturity is best represented by the monumental group *Grandmother* (1922), the allegoric groups *Industry and Commerce* (1923), and the life-size statue of President Masaryk in Hradec Králové, which was removed when the Communists came to power in 1948. Gutfreund had probably a more profound influence on modern Czech sculpture than any other of his contemporaries.

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[Avigdor Dagan]

°GUTHE, HERMANN (1849–1936), German Old Testament scholar and researcher of Palestine. Born in May 1849 in Westerlinde (Braunschweig), he conducted his gymnasium studies at Wolffenbuettel, with theology studies between 1867 and 1870 at the universities of Goettingen and Erlangen. First working as a tutor, in 1877 he began his academic teaching at Leipzig, where he lived until his death. He served as the professor for Old Testament at the university from 1884 until his retirement in 1922.

Guthe was one of the most important and influential figures within German Palestine studies for more than 50 years. In 1877 he was one of the founders of the Deutscher Verein zur Erforschung Palaestinas (DPV), together with Albert Socin, Emil Kautzsch, Otto Kersten, and Conrad Fuerrer, serving from the beginning as its secretary and librarian. He was the founder and first editor of its periodical, the *Zeitschrift des deutschen Palaestina-Vereins* (ZDPV), until 1896, when he started editing for ten more years the Society's second publication, the *Mittheilungen und Nachrichten des Deutschen Palaestina-Vereins*. Always a member of the committee, he served between 1911 and 1925 as chairman. He was also responsible for recruiting some of the other prominent figures in the society, notably Peter Thomsen, a student of his who undertook the difficult bibliographical work.

Guthe gave the society its archaeological direction and he initiated most of its excavations. He visited Palestine three times, in 1881, 1904, and 1912, and there he made the acquaintance of the leading resident German scholars, Conrad Schick and Gottlieb Schumacher, recruiting them into the service of the Society. As a first step in a long partnership, Schick drew a map which was added to Guthe's first paper on Palestine dealing with the ruins of Ascalon, which was published in the first volume of the ZDPV. On his first visit he participated in excavations, mainly those in the Ophel. The 1904 visit gave him the opportunity to observe the works in Megiddo and to visit Madaba and copy the mosaic map.

His studies dealt mainly with questions and places of antiquity, concerning historical, geographic-topographical, and archaeological themes. He also wrote highly critical book reviews. Many of his papers were devoted to the results of new research. He was also lucky to be a witness to the sensational discovery of the Siloam inscription and was the only one to prepare a gypsum (plaster?) cast and to make a good drawing of it before it was removed, broken, and then taken to Constantinople.

Guthe published a number of geographical books, among them *Palaestina in Wort und Bild* (with Georg Ebers, 1883) and a monograph titled *Palaestina* (1908). He was also involved in the production of many maps of the country, historical as well as recent, mainly with Hans Fischer, the cartographer of the Society. Many of his contributions described processes, events, organizations, etc., existing in the country at that time. He wrote exegeses on various books of the Bible, issued a biblical atlas, and cooperated with Kautzsch on a biblical dictionary.

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[Haim Goren (2nd ed.)]

GUTHEIM, JAMES KOPPEL (1817–1886), U.S. Reform rabbi. Gutheim, trained in his native Westphalia as a teacher, immigrated to the United States around 1843. In 1846 he went to Cincinnati to become rabbi of B'nai Yeshurun Congregation (today the Isaac M. Wise Temple), then in 1850 accepted an invitation to become the leader of Shaare Chesed Congregation of New Orleans. In 1853 he became *ḥazzan* of the New Orleans Spanish-Portuguese Congregation, the Dispersed of Judah. After New Orleans was captured from the Confederacy, Gutheim refused to take the oath of allegiance to the Union and went into voluntary exile, serving the Jews of Montgomery, Alabama, and Columbus, Georgia, from 1863 to 1865. He returned to New Orleans after the war, and from 1868 preached in English at Temple Emanu-El of New York City. He was highly regarded as a pulpiteer in New York, and many of his sermons and addresses were printed in the *Jewish Times*, which published a volume of his efforts entitled *Temple Pulpit* (1872). Gutheim was the author of many hymns in English. He also prepared a translation of the fourth volume of Heinrich *Graetz's *History of the Jews*, of which the first five chapters were printed in the *Jewish Times* as early as 1869. The volume itself was published by the American Jewish Publication Society in 1874, marking the first appearance in America of Graetz's epoch-making book. Meanwhile, Gutheim had decided to return to New Orleans in 1872 to serve a new Reform congregation, Temple Sinai, which had been organized in 1870 and had already built a new synagogue, probably in order to attract Gutheim back to the city. Gutheim became the acknowledged leader of the Jews of New Orleans, and held important civic posts as well. He was a close friend and faithful supporter of Isaac Mayer *Wise in the development of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations and Hebrew Union College.

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[Bertram Wallace Korn]

GUTHRIE, ARLO DAVY (1947–), U.S. folk singer. Guthrie was born in Coney Island, New York, to legendary songwriter and singer Woody Guthrie and Marjorie (Mazia), a professional dancer with the Martha Graham Company whose parents were Isidore and Aliza Greenblatt. Aliza was a Yiddish poet and songwriter, and took to her new son-in-law and became close with her grandson Arlo. "We would go to her home on Friday night for Shabbat dinner and she was a great cook," Guthrie said in a 2004 interview. "Nobody ever came close to her blintzes." In preparation for Guthrie's "hootenanny bar mitzvah" in 1960, his parents hired a "sweet young rabbi" as a tutor, Guthrie recalled, named Meir *Kahane, later the founder of the Jewish Defense League and the Kach political party in Israel.

Surrounded by his father's musician friends, including Pete Seeger, Leadbelly, and Jewish folk musician Ramblin' Jack Elliott (Elliot Adnopoz), and then by the burgeoning New York folk-rock crowd of Bob *Dylan, Joan Baez, and Phil *Ochs, Guthrie learned to play the guitar at age six and grew up naturally influenced toward a musical career. In December 1967, two months after his father died, Guthrie released the album *Alice's Restaurant Massacre*, an 18-minute 20-second narrative song about his getting arrested for littering on Thanksgiving Day two years earlier, and how his police record and court appearance for dumping garbage in Great Barrington, Massachusetts, prevented him from being drafted by the army. The album was the only one of 19 he produced that went gold. Guthrie went on to star in the 1969 film version of *Alice's Restaurant*, which was released a week after he appeared at the Woodstock Music Festival on August 15. At Woodstock, he sang and subsequently released a recording of "Coming into Los Angeles," about smuggling marijuana, which became another hit. His other noteworthy songs were a 1972 cover version of Jewish country-folksinger Steve Goodman's song "City of New Orleans," Guthrie's only hit single, and "The Motorcycle Song."

Like his father, Guthrie carved out a career as a folksinger and songwriter with a social conscience, touring 10 months of the year and working for causes such as environmentalism. Guthrie launched his own record label, Rising Son Records, in 1983. He has also acted, and wrote successful children's books.

In 1991, Guthrie bought the church building that served as the centerpiece of *Alice's Restaurant* and converted it to the Guthrie Center and the Guthrie Foundation, named for his parents. It is an interfaith foundation and meeting place that provides a wide range of local and international services.

Guthrie also performed Hanukkah, Holocaust, and Jewish children's songs that were written by his father and discovered after his death, and were set to music by the Klezmatics.

[Elli Wohlgelernter (2nd ed.)]

GUTMAN, ALEXANDER B. (1902–1973), U.S. physician. Born in New York City, he was educated in the U.S. and Austria. From 1951 he served as director of the department of medicine and physician in chief of New York's Mount Sinai Hospital. On his retirement in 1968 he was appointed professor of medicine at the Mount Sinai School of Medicine. Gutman was editor in chief of the *American Journal of Medicine* which he founded in 1946. He was also associate editor of the classic Cecil-Loeb *Textbook of Medicine* (1950–60). He served on many advisory boards and professional societies.

Gutman introduced the acid phosphatase test for prostatic cancer. He became one of the world's authorities on gout and his research into its cause and treatment resulted in new insights into this disease and brought him many honors, prizes, and awards. He made major contributions toward the understanding of the pathophysiology of purine metabolism.

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[Fred Rosner]

GUTMAN, CHAIM ("Der Lebediker"/"The Lively One"; 1887–1961), Yiddish humorist and theater critic. Born in Petrikov (Belorussia), he immigrated to the U.S. in 1905, where he became successful as a writer of epigrams and sketches for numerous periodicals, particularly the humorous journals *Der Kibetser* and *Der Kundes* (which he later edited), and wrote humor columns, as well as theater reviews, for New York Yiddish dailies. His language was rich, vivid, and colloquial, an American East-Side Yiddish employing some Anglicisms for local color. His sketches *Azoy hot geret Pompadur* ("Thus Spake Pompadour," 1918), were followed by seven more humorous collections. A two-act comedy *Meshiekh oyf Ist Brodvey* ("Messiah on East Broadway") was occasionally staged. His sketches enriched the repertoire of Yiddish comedians for several decades.

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[M.Rav./ Jerold C. Frakes (2nd ed.)]

GUTMAN, ISRAEL (1923–), historian of the Holocaust. Gutman was born in Warsaw, Poland. He was a member of the Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir Zionist youth movement, active in the Jewish underground in the Warsaw ghetto, and fought in the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising. In the aftermath of the uprising he was imprisoned in Majdanek and then in Auschwitz-Birkenau and Mauthausen. He immigrated to Palestine in 1947, where he settled on kibbutz Lehavot ha-Bashan. In 1961 he testified at the trial of Adolf Eichmann in Jerusalem. Gutman studied at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, receiving his Ph.D. in 1975 with a dissertation on the Warsaw ghetto. He served as director of research at Yad Vashem (1975–83), and headed its Academic Committee for many years. He is professor emeritus of the Institute of Contemporary Jewry of the Hebrew University, where he also served as head (1983–85). Gutman was a founder of Moreshet, Anielewicz Memorial Center, academic advisor to the United States Holocaust Memorial Council, a member of the Academic Committee of the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, founding head of the International Institute for Holocaust Research at Yad Vashem (1993–96), chief historian of Yad Vashem (1996–2002), academic advisor to Yad Vashem (2002–), a member of the International Auschwitz Council (2000–), the initiator and editor of the *Encyclopedia of the Holocaust* (1990), and chief historical consultant to the new Holocaust History Museum at Yad Vashem. In 2002 Gutman received the prestigious Landau Award for Science and Research for his work in the field of the Holocaust and Israeli history.

Gutman was one of the most influential historians of the Holocaust in the world. He was part of the small group of survivor historians of the subject, but stood out as one of the most prominent and significant among them. His meticulous and thorough research, sharp analytical skills, deep insight, and lucid writing made him one of the most sought-after scholars to participate actively in advisory committees, editorial boards, research groups, and conferences. He played a seminal role in laying the foundations and building the edifice for Holocaust studies in Israel. It can be said that Gutman had a major influence in the articulation of what might be called the "Jerusalem School" of Holocaust scholarship, which sees the Jews as a subject of history and not only as a victim of Nazi actions, and therefore sets out to identify, find, and utilize Jewish documentation in order to tell the story of the Jews during the Holocaust. His research reflects this approach, and indeed, his book, *The Jews of Warsaw 1939–1943*, is a prime example of this historical school's approach. The book is the standard text for anyone wishing to study or teach about the Jews of Warsaw during the Holocaust.

Gutman had a profound influence on the study of the day-to-day lives of the Jews under Nazi rule; the ghettos; the Judenraete and their varied policies regarding the Jewish communities and labor under the Nazis; the concept of *Amidah*, which might be loosely translated as resilience and unarmed resistance; understanding the changes in roles between the traditional Jewish leadership and the youth movement activists in many places, and hence the significant role of youth movements in Jewish underground activity; the understanding of the centrality of antisemitism to the Nazis and to Nazi planning of anti-Jewish policy; and more.

One of Gutman's contributions to Holocaust scholarship was to articulate the uniqueness of the Holocaust, which he saw in the singular combination of factors that enabled the Holocaust to happen: historical antisemitism; the demonic view of the Jews in Europe; the Jews' prolonged exilic existence and their protracted and persistent persecution by Christianity; the biological racial view the Nazis had of the Jews, which saw the Jews as an immutable danger of cosmic significance; and Germany's defeated and weak status in the aftermath of World War I.

Gutman has advocated and taught meticulous empirical research in all relevant languages, both of official German documentation and of Jewish documents from the period and later, as well as documentation from local non-Jewish populations. According to Gutman, oral history is an important source which, although it needs to be read carefully and critically as well as corroborated in the same way as other documentation, is integral to trying to gain a fuller picture and understanding of events. Many scholars who began as his students have gained prominence in their own right in various universities and research institutes.

After the collapse of communism in Poland, Gutman became a celebrity there, sought after for advice, articles, conferences, committees, public lectures, and awards. In 1995 he received an honorary doctorate from Warsaw University, an event that he saw as bearing great symbolic significance, as this was a place, as he put it, into whose hallowed halls he could not have wished to enter when he was a Jewish citizen of Poland.

Gutman published numerous books and articles. Among his major books are *The Jews of Warsaw 1939–1943: Ghetto, Underground, Revolt* (1977; Eng., 1982); *The Catastrophe of European Jewry* (edited with Livia Rothkirchen, 1976); *Documents on the Holocaust* (edited with Yitzhak Arad and Avraham Margaliot, 1978; Eng., 1981); *The Nazi Concentration Camps* (edited with Avital Saf, 1984); *The Jews in Poland After the Second World War* (Heb., 1985); *Unequal Victims: Poles and Jews During World War Two* (with Shmuel Krakowski, 1986); *Encyclopedia of the Holocaust* (editor, 1990); Emanuel Ringelblum's *Diary and Notes from the Warsaw Ghetto: September 1939–December 1942* and *Last Writings: Polish-Jewish Relations; January 1943–April 1944* (Heb.; edited with Joseph Kermish and Israel Shaham, 1992 and 1994); *Anatomy of the Auschwitz Death Camp* (edited with Michael Berenbaum, 1994); *Resistance: The Warsaw Ghetto Uprising* (1994); and *Holocaust and Memory,* a textbook (Heb., 1999).

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[David Silberklang (2nd ed.)]

GUTMAN, NAHUM (1898–1980), Israeli painter and sculptor. Gutman was born in Telenshty, Bessarabia. In 1905 the Gutman family immigrated to Ereẓ Israel, settling in Aḥuzat Bayit (on the site of modern Tel Aviv). He began his art studies in 1913 at the Bezalel School of Arts and Crafts in Jerusalem and in 1920 continued in Vienna at the School of Arts and Crafts. In 1926–28 Gutman participated in two exhibitions that were of great significance in Israeli art history: the Tower of David exhibition, which expressed the Bezalel spirit, and the Modern Artists' Exhibition at the Ohel Theater in Tel Aviv, which proclaimed a new direction in art.

Gutman was one of Israel's best-known artists and a well-known writer. In 1939 he began to publish his own books, which he wrote as well as illustrated. He was chosen to represent Israel in the Venice Biennial and participated in many exhibitions all over the world. Gutman had a great influence on Israeli children through his books and the articles he published in the children's newspaper *Davar Li-Yeladim*. In 1962 one of his books, *Path of Orange Peels*, was awarded the Hans Christian Andersen Literary Prize on behalf of UNESCO. The link between his art and the child's world can be seen in his art style, which integrates a Naive method of drawing with colorful compositions. Gutman made a great impression on the city of Tel Aviv. Many of the monumental buildings of the city are decorated with his mosaic walls (*Homage to Tel Aviv*, Shalom Tower, Tel Aviv).

Gutman was among those artists who painted the Arab figures that peopled their surroundings in the 1920s. In some of his paintings he depicted scenes of daily life in a rural landscape or in Jaffa's orchards, painting Arabs in their daily occupations, as in *The Goatherd* (1926, Israel Museum, Jerusalem) or *The Bearer of Sheaves* (1927, Israel Museum, Jerusalem). In these paintings the Arab workers were greatly magnified: their bodies extended over the entire canvas, their postures recalled old Egyptian figures, their clothes were painted in graceful colors, and they came off looking very admirable. It is clear that Gutman saw them as models for the new pioneer immigrants who were novice farmers in their old-new land. After the riots of 1929, his manner of depiction changed and the drawings became more realistic.

Gutman's small clay sculptures look as if they stepped out of his paintings. Although in sculpture it is difficult to capture the look of a moment or create a living expression, Gutman succeeded in this, producing humoristic figures (*Neighbor's Quarrel*, 1970, Gutman Museum, Tel Aviv).

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[Ronit Steinberg (2nd ed.)]

GUTMANN, AMY (1949–), political philosopher and educator. Gutmann was born in Brooklyn, New York, and earned her bachelor's degree from Harvard University (Radcliffe College, 1971), her master's degree from the London School of Economics and Political Science (1972), and her doctorate from Harvard (1976). She taught at Princeton University from 1976, entering as an assistant professor; she became an associate professor in 1981 and professor of politics in 1987. She was the Laurance S. Rockefeller University Professor of Politics and the University Center for Human Values from 1990 to 2004, and she was provost at Princeton from 2001 until 2004. Her appointment as provost under Princeton president Shirley Tilghman marked the second time in the history of the Ivy League that two women had served simultaneously as president and provost. Gutmann was the founding director of the University Center for Human Values at Princeton, and she chaired the executive committee of Princeton University Press. In 2004 she was named president of the University of Pennsylvania.

Gutmann's scholarly work centers on moral and political philosophy, practical ethics, liberalism, and the moral challenges of democracy. Her widely cited *Democratic Education* (1987) discusses the potential incompatibilities of the principles of democracy with a belief in the rights of the individual. Her other works include *Liberal Equality* (1980), *Color Conscious: The Political Morality of Race* (with Anthony Appiahand, 1996), *Democracy and Disagreement* (with Dennis Thompson, 1996), and *Identity in Democracy: A Humanist View* (2003). *Color Conscious*, which explores ethnic and cultural pluralism, was praised as a significant contribution to social philosophy. In *Democracy and Disagreement*, Gutmann and Thompson present the concept of "deliberative democracy" as a moral alternative to discord. Her books have been translated into numerous languages, including French, Italian, Japanese, Swedish, and Hebrew. Her many essays have appeared in such journals as *Ethics*, *Philosophy and Public Affairs*, and *Political Theory*.

Gutmann served as president of the American Society of Political and Legal Philosophy from 2001 to 2004. She was a fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, the W.E.B. DuBois Fellow of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, and a fellow of the National Academy of Education. In 2000 she received the President's Distinguished Teaching Award from Princeton University, and in 2003 she was awarded Harvard's Centennial Medal for "exceptional contributions to society." Her numerous awards and honors also include the Ralph J. Bunche Award and the North American Society for Social Philosophy Book Award (both in 1997, for *Color Conscious*), the Gustavus Myers Human Rights Award (1997), and the Bertram Mott Award from the American Association of University Professors (1998).

[Dorothy Bauhoff (2nd ed.)]

GUTMANN, DAVID MEIR (1827–1894), Ereẓ Israel pioneer. Born in Hungary in 1827, Gutmann fought in the Hungarian War of Independence in 1848, but was disillusioned by the Hungarian attitude toward Jews. In 1876 he sold his property and settled with his wife in Ereẓ Israel. In Jerusalem he was influenced by the visionary ideas of his friend Akiva Yosef *Schlesinger, gave large donations to charitable institutions, took part in land purchase and the establishment of new quarters outside the walls of the Old City, and also searched for land for agricultural settlement, despite the objection of several rabbis. He joined a group of Jerusalemites who, when they failed in attempts to purchase land near Jericho, acquired the Mullabis lands by the Yarkon River in 1878 and established

Petaḥ Tikvah there. Gutmann was one of the founders of the settlement and suffered greatly on its behalf. He sold all his property in Jerusalem to pay the settlement's debts and conduct its law cases with the previous landowners. In his old age he was greatly impoverished. He died in Jaffa and was buried in Jerusalem.

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[Galia Yardeni-Agmon]

GUTMANN, EUGEN (1840–1925), German banker. Born in Dresden, the son of an old-established banking family, Gutmann, together with several partners, took over the banking house of Michael *Kaskel and formed the Dresdner Bank. After initial difficulties a branch which had been opened in Berlin came under Gutmann's guidance. He developed it into a leading national and international financial institution with worldwide interests that included railways in Turkey, mining in Bohemia, and banking in Latin America. Gutmann directed the bank for more than 40 years. Germany's defeat in 1918 and the subsequent economic collapse broke Gutmann's health, and in 1920 he retired.

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[Joachim O. Ronall]

GUTMANN, JOSEPH (1923–2004), U.S. art historian. Gutmann, who was born in Wuerzburg, Germany, immigrated to Philadelphia with his parents in 1936 after the rise of the Nazis. He served in the army as a chaplain and interpreter from 1943 to 1946. Gutmann earned a B.A. from Temple University and an M.A. from New York University's Institute of Fine Arts. At Hebrew Union College in Cincinnati he received a doctorate in Jewish history and a rabbinical degree.

After teaching at Hebrew Union College and the University of Cincinnati, he was appointed professor of art history at Wayne State University, Detroit, in 1969. A pioneer in the field of Jewish art, he wrote or edited 19 books, including *Images of the Jewish Past: An Introduction to Medieval Hebrew Miniatures* (1965), *Beauty in Holiness: Studies in Jewish Customs and Ceremonial Art* (1970), and *Hebrew Manuscript Painting* (1978).

[Samantha Baskind (2nd ed.)]

GUTMANN, JOSHUA (1890–1963), scholar of Jewish Hellenism. Born in Belorussia, Gutmann studied with Chaim *Tchernowitz (Rav Ẓa'ir) in Odessa at the Slobodka Yeshivah, at Baron Guenzburg's Institute of Oriental (i.e., Jewish) Studies, and at the universities of St. Petersburg, Odessa, and Berlin. From 1916 to 1921 he taught in Odessa, and from 1921 to 1923 he was principal of the Hebrew Teachers' Seminary in Vilna. He settled in Berlin in 1923 and in 1925 joined the editorial board of the German *Encyclopaedia Judaica* and that of the Hebrew encyclopedia *Eshkol*, contributing hundreds of articles in a wide range of Jewish subjects; he also lectured at the Hochschule (Lehranstalt) fuer die Wissenschaft des Judentums. Gutmann emigrated to Palestine in 1933, at first teaching in the Reali school in Haifa and later becoming head of the Hebrew Teachers' Seminary in Jerusalem. From 1942 to 1953 Gutmann served on the editorial staff of the biblical encyclopedia *Enẓiklopedyah Mikra'it* and from 1946 to 1961 on that of the *Encyclopaedia Hebraica*. In 1949 he began teaching Jewish-Hellenistic studies at the Hebrew University. In 1954 with M. *Schwabe he founded *Eshkolot*, a periodical for classical studies, serving as its sole editor from 1956.

Gutmann's main work in Jewish Hellenism was the first two volumes of *Ha-Sifrut ha-Yehudit ha-Hellenistit* (1958, 1963), which deal with the beginnings of that literature. He also contributed to Hebrew, Russian, and English periodicals and to several Festschriften; he edited with M. Schwabe the Hans Lewy memorial volume, *Sefer Yoḥanan Levi* (1949). Gutmann's wide-ranging scholarship in both Judaism and the classics enabled him to make significant contributions to the understanding of the Hellenistic period in Jewish history and literature. He gave fresh insight into the Greek philosophers' interest in Judaism, which was an important element in the growth of Jewish Hellenism.

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[Moshe David Herr]

GUTMANN, WILHELM, RITTER VON (1825–1895), Austrian industrialist and philanthropist. Born in Lipnik (Leipnik, Moravia) and a pupil of the yeshivah there, he began his career as a commission agent in the coal business. Subsequently, in partnership with his brother DAVID (1834–1912), he founded the firm of Gebrueder Gutmann (1853) which eventually controlled the bulk of the Austro-Hungarian coal trade, at first selling imported coal and later acquiring and developing coal seams in the Ostrava basin and in Galicia, thereby improving considerably the monarchy's trade balance. The Witkowitz Steel Works, which they established, developed into one of the outstanding firms on the continent, numbering the Viennese *Rothschilds and members of the nobility among its partners; after 1918 it became a joint-stock company. Following the Munich agreement (1938), lengthy negotiations took place between the Nazis and the Gutmann and Rothschild families; a price of £10,000,000 was offered but the deal was never concluded. The company became part of the Hermann Goering concern without being owned by it. After World War II, it became a Czechoslovakian state-owned enterprise.

Founder of the Oesterreichischer Industriellenklub and a member of the board of the Creditanstalt, Wilhelm was a member of the Lower Austrian Diet, where he supported German liberalism. Both brothers were knighted, Wilhelm in 1878 and David a year later. The Gutmanns were also active in Jewish affairs, Wilhelm as president of the Vienna Jewish community (1891–92) and David as head of the Israelitische Allianz in Vienna and the Baron de *Hirsch school fund for Galicia. They were cofounders of the *Israelitisch-Theologische Lehranstalt. Both gave generous support to Jewish and non-Jewish philanthropic institutions: among the Jewish foundations they established and supported were an orphanage for girls at Doebling, a childrens' hospital in Vienna, an institution for the crippled at Krems, and an old-age home in Lipnik. They defrayed Joseph *Bloch's expenses in the Bloch-*Rohling trial. In 1891 Ritter published his autobiography, *Aus meinem Leben*.

MAX GUTMANN (1857–1930), Wilhelm's son, studied mining engineering at Leoben Academy (Austria), gaining a worldwide reputation in the field and publishing several books on it. He was also an authority on labor relations and a pioneer in social insurance.

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[Meir Lamed]

GUTNICK, family of Australian rabbis. Rabbi CHAIM GUTNICK (1921–2003) was probably the best-known Orthodox rabbi in Australia during the last third of the 20th century. Born in Palestine, Gutnick's family fled to England after the 1929 riots, and then lived in Eastern Europe, managing to escape to Australia during World War II. Gutnick was for many years head of the Elwood Orthodox synagogue in Melbourne and was president of the Orthodox Rabbinical Association of Australia. He was close to the Lubavitcher movement, although never directly associated with a Lubavitcher synagogue. Several of his relatives became well-known Australian rabbis, including Sholem Gutnick, head of the Caulfield Hebrew Congregation in Melbourne. Gutnick's last years were marked by a dispute over the Melbourne Orthodox *Beth Din* and demands for its reconstitution. Chaim Gutnick's younger son JOSEPH (1953–), also an Orthodox rabbi, became internationally prominent in the 1990s after amassing a fortune in diamond mining. Joseph Gutnick appeared in the annual Australian "Rich Lists" from the 1990s, being credited with a fortune of A$100 million (U.S. $60 million) in 2000. He became noted for his generous donations to Israel's *Likud political party and, most unusually, was also president of the Melbourne Australian Rules Football club. In the early 2000s he was widely publicized in the Australian Jewish and general press when he sued his sister and brother-in-law, the heads of Sydney's Yeshiva College, to recover funds he allegedly lent them.

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[William D. Rubinstein (2nd ed.)]

GUTT, CAMILLE (1884–1971), Belgian statesman. Born in Brussels, Gutt qualified as a lawyer and joined the Liberal Party. At the end of World War I he was appointed secretary-general to the Belgian delegation to the Reparations Commission and from 1920 to 1924 was chief secretary to the minister of finance. Gutt himself was minister of finance from 1934 to 1935 and from 1939 to 1940 when Belgium was overrun by the Germans. He escaped with the rest of the Belgian cabinet to Britain and held various ministerial posts in the Belgian government in exile until the Liberation. From 1946 to 1951 he was managing director of the International Monetary Fund.

GUTTMACHER, ALAN F. (1898–1974), U.S. professor of obstetrics and proponent of world population control. Born and educated in Baltimore, Maryland, he served as clinical professor of obstetrics and gynecology at Columbia University's College of Physicians and director of the department of obstetrics and gynecology at New York's Mount Sinai Hospital until 1962 when he became president of the Planned Parenthood Federation of America, and in 1964 chairman of the medical committee of the International Planned Parenthood Federation (1964–68).

Guttmacher lectured and wrote extensively on the subject of world population control. His later books on the subject include *Babies by Choice or by Chance* (1959); *Pregnancy and Birth* (1962); *Planning your Family* (1965); and *Birth Control and Love* (1969).

[Fred Rosner]

GUTTMACHER, ELIJAH (1795–1874), rabbi and forerunner of the Ḥibbat Zion movement. Born in Borek, district of Posen, Guttmacher studied at various yeshivot, the most outstanding of which was that of R. Akiva *Eger in Posen. He also studied Kabbalah and acquired a good knowledge of German and general subjects. From 1822 he was the rabbi of Pleschen, and from 1841 until his death he served as rabbi in Grodzisk Wielkopolski (Graetz). His great erudition and his way of life, which was akin to that of the Ḥasidim in Eastern Europe, made his name famous in the Jewish world, and a stream of visitors made their pilgrimage to him, as to a ḥasidic *rebbe*, to obtain amulets for the cure of diseases and the solution of personal problems. To end this kind of veneration, he published a request asking people to refrain from approaching him on such matters; these appeals, however, were of no avail and he acquired the unsought position of the *rebbe* of West European Ḥasidim.

Guttmacher's inclination to mysticism and his preoccupation with problems affecting the Jews of his time led him to ponder the idea of redemption and its practical realization as a solution to the misery of the Jews. He was one of a small minority of rabbis who, despite their belief in the Messiah, did not think that the Jewish people should wait for the coming of redemption passively, but rather should do all in their power to hasten redemption by engaging in constructive work in Ereẓ Israel. Thus Guttmacher lent his support to Ẓ.H. *Kalischer's efforts to organize potential settlers for Ereẓ Israel and propagated the idea in his letters and articles. He wrote,

> It is an error to believe that everyone will live his life in the usual manner and suddenly, one day, the gates of mercy will open, miracles will happen on heaven and earth, all the proph-

> ecies will be fulfilled, and all will be called from their dwelling places. This is not so, I say, and I add, that settling in the Holy Land – making a beginning, redeeming the sleeping land from the Arabs, observing there the commandments that can be observed in our day – making the land bear fruit, purchasing land in Ereẓ Israel to settle the poor of our people there – this is an indispensable foundation stone for complete redemption.

He reiterated this theme, or variations thereof, repeatedly and this provided invaluable support to the budding Ḥibbat Zion movement, which was opposed by both Orthodox and assimilationist rabbis. Guttmacher left behind many works on talmudic and kabbalistic subjects, only a small portion of which have appeared in print (many of the manuscripts are stored in Jerusalem archives). Among his works are novellae on the *mishnayot* and the *Gemara* contained in the Talmud edition published by Romm; *Ẓafenat Pa'ne'aḥ* (1875), a book devoted to the tales of Rabbah b. Ḥana as told in *Bava Batra; Sukkat Shalom* (1883); and *Shenot Eliyahu* (1879); the latter two books are linked to the study groups established in Jerusalem at his inspiration.

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[Getzel Kressel]

GUTTMACHER, MANFRED (1898–1966), U.S. criminologist and psychiatrist. His career was devoted to the study of the mentally disturbed, maladjusted offender. Born in Baltimore, he graduated from Johns Hopkins University in 1923. From 1930 to 1960 he was chief medical officer of the Supreme Court of Baltimore. He held the rank of colonel in the U.S. Army Medical Corps during World War II (1942–46), and served as chief psychiatric consultant to the Second Army. During 1948 he served as scientific adviser to the United Nations Social Commission dealing with the causes and prevention of crime and the treatment of offenders. He taught at Johns Hopkins University, the University of Maryland, and at a number of other universities. His works include *Sex Offenses* (1961), *Psychiatry and the Law* (1952), and *Mind of the Murderer* (1960).

[Zvi Hermon]

GUTTMAN, LOUIS (**Eliahu**; 1916–1987), sociologist. Born in New York, he was educated at the University of Minnesota, where he taught from 1936 to 1940. From 1941 to 1950 he taught at Cornell University; during the years 1941–45 he also served as an expert consultant to the U.S. War Department in the information and education division. A member of the Labor Zionist movement from his early youth, Guttman moved to Israel in 1947, where he founded and became the director of the Israel Institute of Applied Social Research, a position he held throughout his life. The institute was later renamed the Louis Guttman Institute of Applied Social Research. He was appointed professor at the Hebrew University in 1954, where he taught social and psychological assessment. Guttman's reputation rests on his work in methodology. The Guttman scale, which is described in "A Revision of Chapin's Social Status Scale," *American Sociological Review* (1942), ranks items in such a way that the statements appearing at the top of the scale must also check all the preceding ones. This is done by taking a number of random samples of population and then ranking the statements in the order in which they are consistently chosen by the respondents. Other contributions by Guttman appeared in P. Horst (ed.), *Prediction of Personal Adjustment* (1941); S.A. Stouffer (ed.), *Measurement and Prediction* (1949); and in P.L. Lazarsfeld (ed.), *Mathematical Thinking in the Social Sciences* (1954). The last contains Guttman's original approach to testing-factor analysis, the radex. The major difference between the radex and older forms of factor analysis is that it deals with the order of the factors, not just the common factors. The radex involves the notion that there is a difference in kind and a difference in degree between the tests used for analysis.

In 1971, Guttman was listed in the journal *Science* as one of the 62 most important contributors to scientific research in the social sciences since the beginning of the 20th century. He was a fellow of the Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences (Stanford, 1955–56). Awards he received include the Rothschild Prize (1962); the Outstanding Achievement Award from the Regents of the University of Minnesota (1974); the Israel Prize in the social sciences (1978); and the Educational Testing Service Measurement Award from Princeton (1984).

Guttman wrote *What Is Not in Statistics* (1976); *The Impact of Sadat in Jerusalem on the Israeli Jew* (1977); and *Theory Construction and Data Analysis in the Behavioral Sciences* (with S. Shye, 1978).

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[Werner J. Cahnman / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

GUTTMANN, ALEXANDER (1904–1994), talmudic scholar, son of Michael *Guttmann. Guttmann was born in Budapest. He received both his rabbinical diploma and his doctorate in Breslau. Guttmann taught Talmud and was the rabbi authorized to grant ordination at the Hochschule fuer die Wissenschaft des Judentums in Berlin (1935–40). From 1940 he taught Talmud at the Hebrew Union College in Cincinnati, Ohio, Guttmann published several works and numerous scholarly articles, including *Das redaktionelle und sachliche Verhaeltnis zwischen Mischna und Tosephta* (1928) and *Rabbinic Judaism in the Making* (1970).

[Eugene Mihaly]

GUTTMANN, JACOB (1845–1919), historian of Jewish philosophy. Born in Beuther (Bytom), Silesia, Guttmann studied at the University of Breslau, and at the Jewish Theological Seminary of that city. His doctoral thesis dealt with the relation between Spinoza and Descartes (*De Cartesii Spinozaeque philosophiis*, 1868). He served as a rabbi in Hildesheim from

1874 to 1892, and in Breslau from 1892 until his death. From 1910 he was president of the German Rabbinical Assembly (*Rabbinerverband*). Guttmann published a number of monographs, each of which gives a detailed exposition of the doctrine and sometimes of the sources of some medieval Jewish philosophers. These monographs are *Die Religionsphilosophie des Abraham Ibn Daud aus Toledo* (1879); *Die Religionsphilosophie des Saadja* (1882); and *Die Philosophie des Salomo Ibn Gabirol* (1889). His study of Isaac Israeli appeared in Baumker's *Beitraege zur Geschichte der Philosophie des Mittelalters* (vol. 10 no. 4, 1991). He also published important works dealing with the relation between Christian scholasticism and medieval Jewish philosophy. One of these, entitled *Das Verhaeltnis des Thomas zum Judentum und zur juedischen Literatur* (1891), studies the extent of the influence of Maimonides on Thomas Aquinas. In *Die Scholastik des 13. Jahrhunderts in ihrem Beziehungen zum Judentum und zur juedischen Literatur* (1902), Guttmann discussed the influence of Maimonides, Gabirol, and Isaac Israeli upon William of Aurenge, Albertus Magnus, Duns Scotus, Roger Bacon, and others. Maimonides' influence on Christian thought is also discussed in "Der Einfluss der maimonidischen Philosophie auf das christliche Abendland," one of the two articles contributed by Guttmann to the volume *Moses ben Maimon* (1914), of which he was coeditor; the other one, entitled "Die Beziehungen des Religionsphilosophie des Maimonides zu den Lehren seiner juedischen Vorgaenger," dealt with the relation between Maimonides and earlier Jewish philosophers.

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[Shlomo Pines / Yehoyada Amir (2nd ed.)]

GUTTMANN, JULIUS (**Yitzhak**; 1880–1950), philosopher of religion and historian of Jewish philosophy; son of *Jacob Guttmann. In 1903 he received his Ph.D. at the University of Breslau and in 1906 he was ordained as rabbi by the Juedisch-Theologisches Seminar of that town. From 1911 he lectured as *Privatdozent* in general philosophy at the University of Breslau. In 1919, a year after the death of Hermann *Cohen, he received a call from the Hochschule fuer die Wissenschaft des Judentums in Berlin to serve as Cohen's successor. He was a professor of Jewish philosophy at that institute until 1934. In 1922 he was also nominated as the principal of the Akademie fuer die Wissenschaft des Judentums in that city. A year after National Socialism took power in Germany, Guttmann fled from the country and immigrated to Jerusalem, where he became professor of Jewish philosophy at the Hebrew University. In Jerusalem Guttmann could shape the philosophical and scholarly groundings for the research of Jewish philosophy in the new Zionist, Hebrew environment and worked hand in hand with Gershom *Scholem, the founder of modern research in Kabbalah and Jewish mysticism.

Guttmann's literary activity focused solely almost from its very first steps on the philosophy of monotheism in general and the philosophy of Jewish religion in particular. Guttmann was a close student of Hermann Cohen and his neo-Kantian school, though he never studied with him personally. Some of his early works deal directly with the Kantian philosophy (among others: *Der Gottesbegriff Kants* (dissertation), Breslau, 1903; "Kant und das Judentum," in: Schriften, Hrsg. Gesellschaft zur Forderung der Wissenschaft des Judentums, Leipzig, 1908, pp. 41–61 (Hebrew: "*Kant ve-ha-Yahadut*," in: *Dat u-Madda* [see below], pp. 218–29); *Kants Begriff der objektiven Erkentniss*, 1911). Guttmann's attachment to the philosophy of Cohen is evident in all his writing. He followed his master's philosophy of religion and ethics in his early stages (see for example his: "Hermann Cohens Ethik," MGWJ, Jahrg. 29, Neue Folge 13 (1905), pp. 385–404) and was heavily influenced by the new notions developed by Cohen in his *Religion der Vernunft aus den Quellen des Judentums* (1919; *Religion of Reason out of the Sources of Judaism*). These notions and the new discourse they open are at the bases of Guttmann's fundamental article *Religion und Wissenschaft im mittelalterlichen und im modernen Denken* (Berlin, 1922; English: "Religion and Science in Medieval and Modern Thought," in: A. Jospe [ed.], *Studies in Jewish Thought* (1981), pp. 281–339). In that article Guttmann formulated explicitly the task of the philosophy of religion and its rootedness in the medieval encounter between monotheistic religions and Greek philosophy: "These religions, by the virtue of the strength of their claims to truth and to the profundity of their spiritual content, confront philosophy as an autonomous spiritual power. They believe that they possess the ultimate and unconditional truth that needs no validation by science, and that they provide a consistent and conclusive answer to the questions with whose solution philosophy is wrestling. The meeting between these two spiritual worlds that differ so completely in their origins creates the philosophy of religion." The examination of the philosophic account of religion and its truth-claims was Guttmann's main object in his research and philosophy, foremost in regards to Jewish religion. Guttmann's approach rests on two basic presuppositions: (a) philosophy and religion, especially philosophy and Jewish religion, are anchored in two – totally different and alien – spiritual environments. Philosophy of religion is hence an expression of the encounter between these two and is, therefore, apologetic in nature; (b) the philosopher of religion – in particular, the Jewish philosopher of Judaism – must have a clear well established notion, not only of the philosophy he adheres to, but also of the nature and content of (Jewish) religion. This notion is rooted in the non-philosophic reading of the formative writings of (Jewish) religion as well as in the personal evidence of religion that the philosopher shares as a religious person. This notion of religion serves as a methodological basis for the philosophical analysis of (Jewish) religion and the defense of religion from philosophic conceptions that counter its nature and teachings. These two presuppositions dominate Guttmann's entire work and especially his magnum opus *Die Philosophie des Judentums* (1933; Heb. trans. with corrections and additions by the author, *Ha-Filosofiyah shel ha-Yahadut*, 1951; English: *Philosophies of Judaism* (from Heb. version), 1964; *The Philosophy of Judaism*, 1988). In this as yet unrivaled book Guttmann attempts to give an account of the various ways Jewish philosophers – from Philo to modern times – tried to deal with that fundamental question. The book opens with an analysis of formative biblical (and to a lesser extent rabbinic) religious notions. The diversity of such efforts – grounded in the diversity of philosophical and cultural contexts in which those Jewish philosophers worked – does not contradict, in Guttmann's eyes, the fact that all those attempts are stages in one coherent journey of a "Jewish philosophy" that will serve as a theoretical grounding and defense of those biblical notions.

Though Guttmann's entire work is anchored in a clear notion of the nature and content of religion, it is important to note that throughout his life this notion was gradually developed. At his early stage he fully adopted Kant's and the young Cohen's notion that religion was no more than popular ethics and that its uniqueness is only of a psychological-sociological nature. Following Cohen's late philosophy Guttmann started in the early 1920s (see above: *Religion und Wissenschaft*) to search for a deeper understanding of religion and its particularity. Under the influence of Schleiermacher's philosophy, that can easily also be traced to Cohen's late work, he gradually moved in the last 30 years of his life towards a dialogical notion of God and His relationship with the human as the center of the teaching of religion. Though ethics remained a highly important component in Guttmann's account of religion, it was seen now only as one sphere of the religious being, accompanied by the notion of holiness and mystery. This new notion reaches its full expression in Guttmann's *Devarim al ha-Filosophyah shel ha-Dat* (1959, ed, by Nathan Rotenstreich; English: *On Philosophy of Religion*, 1976), where he examines a wide range of borderlines between religion and various philosophic dimensions. Such an examination could not cover, to his mind, religion in its full meaning, but could only locate the question of religion from an external point of view.

In the early 1940s Guttmann was active in the "religious circle," an intellectual group that aimed at a renewal of religious Jewish life in Israel in line with the notions of Liberal Judaism in Central Europe. Among the lectures he gave in this frameworks are "*Al Yesodot ha-Yahadut*" (*Dat u-Madda*, pp. 259–280; English trans. in *Conservative Judaism*, 14:4 (1960), pp. 1–23) and "*Ha-Muḥlat ve-ha-Yaḥasi be-Ḥayyenu*" (1942). A full account of his critique of (Heidigerian) existentialism is given in his "*Existenẓia ve-Ide'ah*" (*Dat u-Madda*, pp. 281–304). A close analysis of this article reveals, that though Guttmann wishes to stick to idealistic notions, he basically adopts not only the semi-idealistic notions of the late Cohen but also some clear dialogical notions, that place him in a close relationship with the philosophy of Franz *Rosenzweig.

Guttmann's *Philosophie des Judentums* was heavily criticized, from a fundamentally different approach, by *Leo Strauss in his *Philosophie und Gesetz* (1933; *Philosophy and Law*, 1987). Guttmann responded to this critique in an article titled, "Philosophie der Religion oder Philosophie des Gesetzes." It is not clear why he never published this article, which appeared posthumously (in: *Proceedings of the Israeli Academy of Science and Humanities*, 5 (1971–76), pp. 146–173; Hebrew: "*Filosofiya shel ha-Dat o filosofiya shel ha-Ḥok*," *Divrei ha-Akademya ha-Le'ummit ha-Yisra'elit le-Madda'im*, 5, pp. 190–207).

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[Yehoyada Amir (2nd ed.)]

GUTTMANN, SIR LUDWIG (1899–1980), founder and former director of the National Spinal Injuries Centre at Stoke Mandeville in Buckinghamshire, England. Born in Upper Silesia, Germany, Guttmann was an accomplished neurosurgeon and medical director of the Jewish Hospital in Breslau when he was invited in 1939 to do research work at Oxford on his highly original – and at the time controversial – ideas on rehabilitating persons suffering from irreversible spinal injuries that resulted in paraplegia. He made England his home and acquired world fame with his treatment and rehabilitation of paraplegics.

In 1944, when the impending Allied invasion of Hitler's Europe was expected to lead to large numbers of serious injuries, Guttmann was invited by the British government to put his ideas into practice at Stoke Mandeville. His single-minded determination produced remarkable results; through his methods of treatment, coupled with a deep humanity and understanding (he was known by his patients as "Poppa Guttmann"), many of the wounded were able to live useful lives, which previously would have been denied them. He reduced the death rate of paraplegics from over 80% to under 10% within three years of injury, and after an average stay at Stoke Mandeville of less than one year, 75% of those released were gainfully employed. His establishment of the increasingly successful annual Stoke Mandeville Games was a practical expression of his determination that paraplegics lead normal lives in all respects. Guttmann was consulted by many countries throughout the world on the establishment of paraplegic centers, and as a result of his visit to Israel in 1949 the paraplegic center at Tel Ha-Shomer was opened in 1953. Probably his most lasting legacy was the establishment of the Paralympic Games, which grew out of his Stoke Mandeville games. These began as an international event in 1948 to coincide with the Olympic Games held that year in London. These are now a major, mainstream international event.

The many honors bestowed upon him include the Rehabilitation Prize of the World Veterans' Association in 1953 (he was the first recipient). He was awarded successively the O.B.E., the C.B.E., and in 1966 a Knighthood by Britain, and the minister of pensions said in 1945: "Thank you, Hitler, for sending us men like these." In 1972 President Heinemann bestowed upon him the Star of the Grand Cross of the Order of Merit of the Federal Republic, West Germany's highest award, at the 21st international Stoke Mandeville Games for the paralyzed held in Heidelberg, Germany.

Both Sir Ludwig and Lady Guttmann were active in the local Jewish community and supported Israel's cause in many ways.

ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY: ODNB online.

[Michael Wallach]

GUTTMANN, MICHAEL (1872–1942), Hungarian talmudic scholar. Guttmann was born in Hungary and studied at the Budapest rabbinical seminary and at the University of Budapest. From 1903, the year of his ordination at the Budapest rabbinical seminary, to 1907 he was rabbi at Csongrád. He lectured on Jewish law from 1907 to 1921 at the Budapest seminary. From 1921 to 1933 he was rabbi and professor of Talmud and *halakhah* at the Breslau Jewish theological seminary and in 1925 he was visiting professor of Talmud at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. In 1933 he was appointed head of the Budapest seminary. Guttmann combined a wide knowledge of the sources with an acute modern, critical approach. Among his publications in this field were *Einleitung in die Halacha* (Budapest Seminary *Jahresberichte*, 1909, 1913); *Asmakhta* (Breslau Seminary *Jahresberichte*, 1924), on talmudic methodology; and *Beḥinat ha-Mitzvot* (*ibid.*, 1928) and *Beḥinat Kiyyum ha-Mitzvot* (*ibid.*, 1931), on the reasons for the observance of the commandments. He edited *Abraham b. Ḥiyya's textbook of geometry, *Ḥibbur ha-Meshiḥah ve-ha Tishboret* (introduction, 1903; the work itself 1912–13). Guttmann was one of the editors of *Ha-Ẓofeh le-Ḥokhmat Yisrael* (1911–14), editor of *Ha-Soker* (from 1933), and of *Magyar Zsidó Szemle* and published articles in these and other periodicals in Hebrew, Hungarian, French, and German. He was also an editor of and contributor to the *Oẓar Yisrael* encyclopedia and the Eshkol *Encyclopedia Judaica*, in both the German and Hebrew editions. His *Das Judentum und seine Umwelt* (part 1, 1927) deals with the attitude of Judaism to the non-Jewish world. Written against the background of rising nationalism and antisemitism in Germany in the 1920s, when everything Jewish, and the Talmud in particular, was under virulent attack, it is completely apologetic. Guttmann planned as his major life work a vast talmudic encyclopedia, which would have been beyond the talents of most other scholars working alone. Only four volumes of Guttmann's *Mafte'aḥ ha-Talmud*, covering the letter *alef*, appeared (1910–30); the rest of the material was lost after his death when the Nazis occupied Hungary in 1944. Even this small installment is of major importance as a talmudic reference work.

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[Moshe David Herr]

GUTTMANN, ROBERT (1880–1942), Czech primitive painter. During his life, Guttmann was better known for his unusual personality than for his paintings. He was a familiar figure of the Jewish scene in Prague as he walked from one coffeehouse to another, his work rolled up under his arm, arranging impromptu exhibitions of his drawings and watercolor paintings. His subjects were mainly people, landscapes, and street scenes. However, his work was not taken seriously until after his death in the Lodz ghetto in 1942. It was only when his work was exhibited after World War II, that he was recognized as an original, genuine Naive artist whose works – most of them now in the Jewish Museum in Prague – were widely admired at a number of posthumous exhibitions. He was a lifelong Zionist. At the age of 17 he walked from Prague to Basle to attend the First Zionist Congress, and he made his way on foot to all subsequent Congresses held during his lifetime.

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[Avigdor Dagan]

°GUTZKOW, KARL FERDINAND (1811–1878), German nationalist author. Gutzkow, born in Berlin, was a prominent figure in the "Young Germany" literary movement where he led the reactionary wing, in contrast to the liberal trend influenced by Rahel Varnhagen von *Ense, *Heine, and *Boerne. Like *Goethe, Schlegel, and Brentano, Gutzkow expanded the theme of the *Wandering Jew in German literature, as for instance in his "Julius Moses Ahasver" (in: *Vermischte Schriften*, 2, 1842). His books, such as *Wally, die Zweiflerin* (1835), *Zopf und Schwert* (1844), and *Urbild des Tartueff* (1844) brought him fame but criticism as well. Gutzkow also wrote a historical drama, *Uriel Acosta* (1846), in which the author's own emotional experiences and inner conflicts are echoed. Gutzkow had already treated this story in a tale, *Der Sadduzaeer von Amsterdam* (1833). Discrepancies between the drama and Acosta's actual life roused protests from H. *Jellinek and induced him to write a monograph on Spinoza's forerunner, *Uriel Acosta's Leben und Lehre* (1847).

See also Image of the Jew in *German Literature.

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°**GUY, PHILIP LANGSTAFFE ORD** (1885–1952), archaeologist. Born in Scotland, he joined the excavations at Carchemish and el-Amarna after World War I. From 1922 to 1925 he was chief inspector of antiquities in Palestine and excavated an Iron Age cemetery in Haifa. He directed the excavations at Megiddo (1925–35) where he introduced a method of balloon photography and cleared the mound to stratum V (Iron Age). As director of the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem from 1938 to 1939 he began a survey of the Negev. He served in the British Army in World War II and rejoined the department of antiquities in 1947. He remained in Israel as chief of its division of excavations and survey until his death. He directed excavations at Bet Yeraḥ, Jaffa, and Ayyelet ha-Shaḥar. His publications include excavation reports of Tell el-Amarna and Megiddo, including the large volume *Meggido Tombs* (1938). He married a daughter of Eliezer *Ben-Yehuda.

[Michael Avi-Yonah]

GUZIK, HANNA (1909–), actress. She began to act in 1924 in the theatrical group of her father, Jacob Guzik. She played in Yiddish in the plays of Goldfaden, Shalom Aleichem and others. In 1932–1933 she played in musical comedies in the Russian theaters in the big cities of the Soviet Union, and afterwards she performed with a Jewish theatrical ensemble in many cities. Her particular talent was in playing various roles on stage, even in the same play, and to sing in various styles. In 1973 she immigrated to Israel.

[Shmuel Spector (2nd ed.)]

GUZIK, JACOB (Jack, Jake, "Greasy Thumb"; 1886–1956), U.S. gangster, the trusted treasurer, financial wizard, and legal advisor to Al Capone. He was born in Moscow to Max and Fannie, an Orthodox couple who raised 10 children. The family immigrated to the U.S. when Guzik was a year old and settled in Chicago, where Max supported the family by running a small cigar store. Guzik became a bartender and pimp in the whorehouse run by his older brother, Harry. In the early 1920s Guzik supposedly overheard a plan to murder Capone, informed him, and the two became lifelong allies. Guzik became a powerful political "fixer" operating out of a restaurant, where he received district police captains and sergeants who collected graft for themselves and their superiors. Also stopping by were bagmen sent over from City Hall. His nickname "Greasy Thumb" derived from the green stain earned from counting the money of mobster kingpin Capone, who once called Guzik "the only friend I can really trust." Guzik was convicted of tax evasion and went to prison in 1932, serving three years of his five-year sentence. Upon his release, Guzik assumed total control over the finances of Capone's Chicago Outfit for the next 20 years. Guzik brought numerous lawsuits against newspapers for portraying him as a gangster, dismissing the wisdom of such suits saying, "I'm paying these judges, so why shouldn't I use them." Guzik received an Orthodox Jewish funeral, and a lavish one, his bronze coffin alone costing $5,000. Rabbi Noah Ganz of the Chicago Loop Synagogue eulogized Guzik as a man "who never lost faith in his God. Hundreds benefited by his kindness and generosity. His charities were performed quietly. And he made frequent and vast contributions to my congregation."

[Elli Wohlgelernter (2nd ed.)]

GVATI, CHAIM (1901–1990), Israeli pioneer and politician. Chaim Gvati was born in Poland and immigrated to Eretz Israel in 1924. One of the founders of kibbutz Gevat in 1926, he later helped found kibbutz Yifat where he remained. Gvati was minister of agriculture from 1964 to 1974 in Labor governments. In 1982 he was awarded the Israel Prize for his contribution to the development of the state as a *ḥalutz* ("pioneer") and for his role in the establishment and development of agricultural settlements.

[Fern Lee Seckbach (2nd ed.)]

GYMNASIUM, ancient Greek institution devoted to physical education and development of the body (γυμνός, "naked"). Although originally established for functions of a purely athletic and competitive nature, the gymnasium eventually became dedicated to the furthering of intellectual, as well as physical, aspects of Greek culture. During the Hellenistic period attendance at the gymnasium was recognized as the standard educational prerequisite for Greek youths wishing to attain citizenship in the *polis*. Thus, with the establishment of a Hellenistic administration in Jerusalem during the reign of *Antiochus IV Epiphanes, the high priest *Jason was given permission "to set up a gymnasium and ephebeum" (II Macc. 4:9). This act was abhorred by the vast majority of Palestinian Jews, who rightly considered the gymnasium a symbol of the Greek heathen culture chosen to supplant ancient Jewish law in Jerusalem (cf. I Macc. 1:13–15). The author of II Maccabees stresses that the gymnasium was erected adjacent to the Temple, and describes the priests abandoning their service at the altar "to participate in the unlawful exercises of the palaestra as soon as the summons came for the discus throwing" (I Macc. 4:14). Opposition to participation in the gymnasium was not as vehement among the Jews of Ptolemaic Egypt, and it may be assumed that the upper classes of Alexandrian Jewry were interested in obtaining this training for their youth. This interest was enhanced with the Roman conquest of Egypt, for Roman policy identified the graduates of the gymnasium as legitimate Greek "citizens," and only these might serve as the basis for local administration. It is therefore understandable that the Greek population of Alexandria was violently opposed to the enrollment of "non-Greeks" (i.e., Egyptians and Jews) among the *epheboi* (cf. the "Boule Papyrus," Tcherikover, Corpus 2 (1960), 25–29 no. 150). The Greek demands were eventually supported by the emperor Claudius (41 C.E.), who decreed, according to another papyrus (*ibid.*, no. 153), that the Jews "are not to intrude themselves into the games presided over by the gymnasiarchs."

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[Isaiah Gafni]

GYONGYOS (Hung. **Gyöngyös**), city in N. Hungary. Jews are first recorded there in the 15th century, and in 1735 there was an organized community. The synagogue, built before the end of the 18th century, was destroyed in the great fire which devastated the city in 1917. The community always remained a *status quo ante community, though a separate Orthodox community was established in 1870. The first rabbi of the community was Feivel b. Asher Boskovitz; he was succeeded by Wolf Lippe (officiated 1840–50), a noted bibliophile. Eleazar Fuerst (1853–1893) founded a yeshivah in the town. The Jewish population numbered 2,250 in 1920, and 2,429 in 1941. In June 1944 they were deported to Auschwitz; of these only 461 survived the Holocaust. There were 300 Jews in Gyongyos in 1946 and 414 in 1949. Most left in 1956.

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[Baruch Yaron]

GYÖR (Ger. **Raab**), city in northwest Hungary, near the Austrian border. The earliest information on Jewish settlement there dates from the last third of the 14th century, though it is probable that an organized community had existed earlier. A Jews' Street is recorded in the municipal land register of 1567, and a synagogue is mentioned in the municipality's accounts. The Church, which would permit only Catholics to reside in the city, compelled the Jews to settle on the nearby Györ-Sziget Island on the Danube River. A community was organized there in 1791 and a synagogue established in 1795. Jews did not settle in the city proper until 1840. In 1851 they formed a single community with the island Jews. A new synagogue was built in 1870. In 1871 a separate Orthodox community was organized. Noted rabbis of Györ were S. Ranschburg, J. Fischer, and E. Roth. The last stimulated the ideology of Jewish nationalism in the community; he was deported to Auschwitz in 1944.

The Jews of Györ, mainly manufacturers, artisans, and merchants, numbered 5,904 in 1920, and 4,688 in 1941. Between 1942 and 1944 the majority of male Jews were sent to labor camps. The Nazis occupied Hungary in March 1944, and on June 11, they were deported to Auschwitz. After the war 700 survivors returned. In 1946 there were 950 Jews in Györ but in 1970 only 200 remained. The synagogue was sold in 1969.

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[Alexander Scheiber]

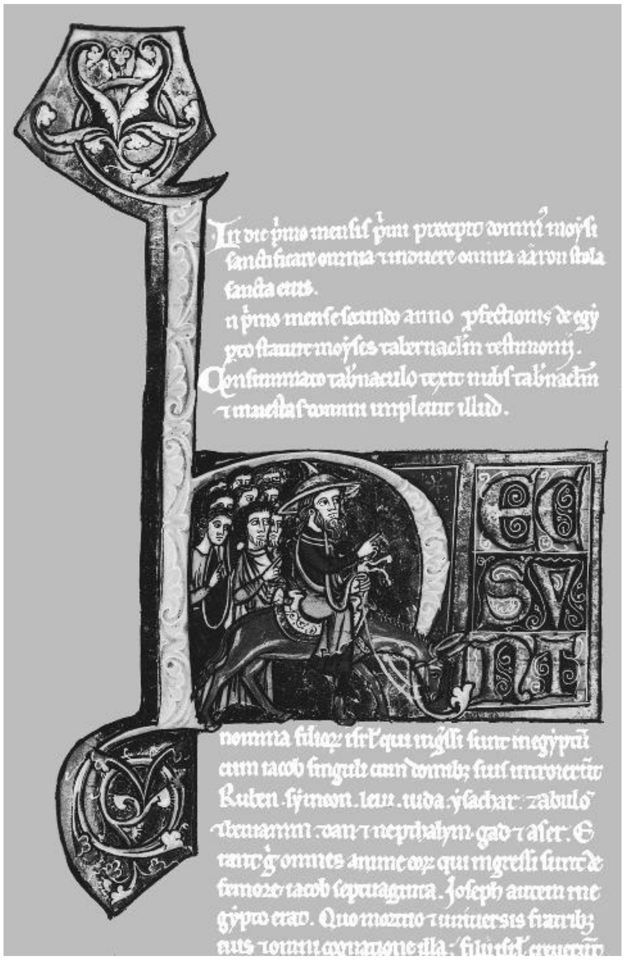

Initial letter "H" from the beginning of Exodus in a Latin Bible, France, 12th century. The illumination shows Jacob and his sons going down to Egypt. Amiens, Bibliothèque Municipale, Ms. 21, fol. 27.

Ha–Hep

HAAN, JACOB ISRAËL DE (1881–1924), Dutch poet and novelist, international jurist, and journalist, politically active in Palestine during the early years of the Mandate until assassinated. Born in Smilde, De Haan was the son of a cantor and the younger brother of the authoress Carry van *Bruggen. Marked by a complex personality, his life was full of contradictions: extreme generosity opposing cruelty and downright meanness, a lucid rationality versus a strong inclination towards mysticism. A remarkable constancy in his life on the other hand lies in an emotional and at the same time practical sense of justice. A further complicating factor was De Haan's homosexuality.

De Haan started his career as a teacher and editor of the children's page of *Het Volk*, the leading Dutch Socialist newspaper. Having abandoned the Jewish faith he became active in the Socialist movement. In 1904 he published the novel *Pijpelijntjes*, which depicted candidly and without apology the homosexual relationship between two young men. Its publication led to a scandal and to his dismissal as teacher and editor. Although the turmoil caused a severe physical and psychological crisis, he published another novel, *Pathologieën* (1908), in which the homosexual theme was extended into an essentially sadomasochistic relationship. This novel is still considered the only Dutch work in the genre of Decadent Symbolism. In the meantime he began to study law and married a non-Jewish woman. A few years after his marriage he returned to the Orthodox faith and Judaism became the main theme in his poetry. At a time when the Jewish contribution to Dutch literature was significant, De Haan became its main protagonist as a self-styled Poet of the Jewish Song. Meanwhile, social and political abuses remained uppermost in his mind. When international indignation about the fate of political prisoners in Czarist Russia was strong, De Haan visited extensively both political and criminal prisons in Russia and published a moving account of his experiences (*In Russische gevangenissen*, 1913). He was successful in interceding with the Russian authorities in favor of some political prisoners. In the course of his law studies he associated himself with the new international school of Significs, which dedicated itself to probing the meaning of words and terms. According to the Significs, analyzing language and purifying it from false meanings could solve many social problems. De Haan specialized in legal terminology and in 1916 published his thesis *Rechtskundige significa en hare toepassing op de begrippen: "aansprakelijk, verantwoordelijk, toerekeningsvatbaar."* Though he surprised the Dutch legal world by his original, intelligent analysis and by the colorful style of his articles, in the end he failed through an apparent inability to formulate a consistent theory of significs. In 1917 he was passed over for an appointment as professor in criminal law at the Municipal University of Amsterdam.

During these years, as De Haan developed his Jewish poetry, he took to Zionism and became a member of the Mizrachi movement. Disappointment in his legal career, compounded by the spiritual conflict into which his marriage to a non-Jewish woman had brought him, and his growing Jewish-national consciousness persuaded him to go to Palestine to witness and take part in the Zionist experiment. He was appointed Palestinian correspondent for the leading Dutch newspaper *Het Algemeen Handelsblad*, receiving a handsome salary. Covering thousands of pages, he wrote perhaps the most vivid, humorous and moving chronicle of life in Palestine in the years following World War I. In January 1919 he arrived in Jerusalem an ardent Zionist, watched by the Mandatory government because of his anti-Arab utterances. He also played a part in the legal defense of Zionists who were prosecuted for defending themselves in the anti-Zionist riots in the spring of 1920. Together with *Jabotinsky he became lector at the Law School that had been established by the British. But in about a year and a half he became appalled at what he considered the aggressive and tactless nationalism of the young Zionist movement. De Haan often expressed his sympathy for the Arab-Palestinian cause. Yet his main grievance was the subordination of non-Zionist orthodoxy to a Zionist, partly layman, rabbinical organization. He became the most formidable spokesman for the Jerusalem Agudat Israel, led by Rabbi Chaim *Sonnenfeld. He acquired for this Orthodox group access to leading non-Jewish politicians and opinion leaders, e.g., the. press magnate Lord Northcliffe, who appointed him correspondent for *The Daily Express*. He also led an Agudist delegation to King Hussein of the Hejaz on the occasion of the latter's visit to his son Abdallah, king of Trans-Jordan in 1924.

However, the question remains as to how effective De Haan's actions were: At the end of his life he was considered deranged by friends and enemies alike. His diplomatic success lay mainly in the fact that he – though only for the time while – had a part in thwarting Herbert Samuel's efforts to establish a kind of public legal status for Palestine Jewry, including the authority to raise taxes in religious matters. The still vulnerable Zionist movement felt discredited by De Haan's criticism, which was shared by a number of Zionists but never systematically brought to the non-Jewish world as he did. Besides, in exposing misleading Zionist pretensions, De Haan was a master in ridiculing his opponents. In the last two years of his life he was repeatedly menaced by death threats. It is still not clear if these were merely meant to frighten him away from the Palestinian scene. What prompted the actual murder is not known. Evidently, at the end of his life De Haan was planning to expose more embarrassing failings in the National Home, e.g., the embezzlement of Zionist funds by Chaim *Kalvarisky, who administered a program for Arab-Jewish rapprochement. Whatever the real reasons, the highest echelons of militant Palestine Zionism had decided to eliminate him and on June 30, 1924, he was shot to death on the orders of the Haganah, the first known political assassination in the Zionist movement. The news of his death drew worldwide attention, including in the Arab countries. After the hate-campaign against De Haan, his murder deeply embarrassed the Zionist organization, but at the time it could divert suspicion to the Arabs because of the well-known fondness of the deceased for Arab boys. Only in the 1960s was the Zionist responsibility gradually revealed. The enigmas in De Haan's life can be perceived to resonate posthumously. At present he is still regarded as the champion of both Dutch homosexual liberation and international anti-Zionist Jewish Orthodoxy.

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[Henriette Boas / Ludy Giebels (2nd ed.)]

HAAN, MEIJER DE (also **Meijer Jacob**, **Meijer Isaac**; 1852–1895), Dutch painter. De Haan was born in Amsterdam, where his father ran a flourishing biscuit factory. After having initially joined his two brothers in the family business, Meijer started studying painting under the Dutch academician Petrus Franciscus Greive from 1870 on. Because of his poor health, he was not able to complete his artistic education. During this period he worked in a somewhat academic style, painting portraits and choosing some Jewish subjects as well, as in *The Talmudic Dispute* (1878) and *Dietary Laws* (1880; also referred to as *Is This Chicken Kosher?*). Deeply disappointed by the poor response to his major opus, *Uriel d'Acosta*, on which he struggled for 10 years, he left for Paris in 1888 together with his student J.J. Isaacson. Through Vincent van Gogh's brother, Theo, Meijer de Haan met Gauguin, whom he accompanied to Brittany in 1889, where they worked together for almost two years in Le Pouldu and Pont Aven. De Haan became Gauguin's faithful student, making it possible for his idol to carry out his artistic experiments without disturbance by supporting him financially. Although he himself was influenced by Gauguin's synthetic style and incorporated some of his motifs and arrangements, De Haan adhered to his own inclination towards contrast of light and darkness and true-to-nature colors. When Gauguin wanted to take his friend on a journey of adventure to Tahiti, De Haan's family intervened and threatened to stop his allowance if he continued his association with Gauguin. In 1890 De Haan returned to Amsterdam and, after a short stay in Paris eventually settled in Hattem, Netherlands, in 1891. Until recently little attention was paid to De Haan beyond noting that his pathetic likeness appears in several of Gauguin's works, but research has revealed De Haan as one of Gauguin's most talented disciples. His works figure in several museum collections, e.g., the Jewish Historical Museum, Amsterdam; the Van Gogh Museum, Amsterdam; The Kröller Möller Museum, Otterlo, Netherlands; Musée de Beaux-Arts, Quimper, France; and several important private collections.

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[Jelka Kröger (2nd ed.)]

HA'ANAKAH (Heb. הַעֲנָקָה), the gratuity which the master was enjoined to pay his Hebrew bound servant when the latter was set free. This institution is the source, in Jewish law, of the laws of severance pay, i.e., payment of compensation to employees on their dismissal. The term *ha'anakah* has been interpreted as deriving from the word *anak* (עֲנָק) in the sense of an ornament (around the neck, Prov. 1:9), i.e., that the bondsman must be "ornamented" with the gratuity, or in the sense of "loading on his neck" (Rashi and Ibn Ezra to Deut. 15:14).

Scriptural References

The duty of *ha'anakah* is enjoined in the Bible as both a negative and a positive precept – "when thou lettest him go free from thee, thou shalt not let him go empty," and "thou shalt furnish him liberally out of thy flock, and out of thy threshing floor, and out of thy winepress of that wherewith the Lord thy God hath blessed thee" (Deut. 15:13, 14) – and in this twofold manner has been included in the enumeration of the precepts (Maim., *Sefer ha-Mitzvot*, pos. comm. 196 and neg. comm. 233; *Semag, lavin* 178 and *asayin* 84; *Sefer ha-Ḥinnukh*, nos. 450, 484). The duty of *ha'anakah* arose upon completion of the six-year period of service (Deut. 15:12) and the grant was to be made out of the things with which the master's house had been blessed by virtue of the bondsman's service (Deut. 15:14; Kid. 17b; see statement of Eleazar b. Azariah). The duty of *ha'anakah* was enjoined as a reminder of the bondage in Egypt and exodus to freedom (Deut. 15:15), when the Israelites were "furnished" with property of their Egyptian masters (Sif. Deut. 120; Rashi and Rashbam, ad loc.). The institution of *ha'anakah*, unique to Jewish law as opposed to other ancient legal systems, was rooted in the special attitude toward a Hebrew bondsman, whose position was compared to that of a worker hired for a fixed term: "… for to the double of the hire of a hireling hath he served thee six years" (Deut. 15:18).

The Right to the Gratuity

It was laid down that the servant became entitled to the gratuity upon expiry of his term of service, or termination thereof on account of the Jubilee or his master's death, but not for reasons attributable to the servant himself, as, for example, when he gained his freedom by "deduction from the purchase price" (i.e., by refunding his master part of the price paid for himself, pro rata to the uncompleted term of his service): "You shall furnish to whomever you set free, but not to anyone who sets himself free" (Sif. Deut. 119; Kid. 16b). For this reason, the gratuity right was forfeited by a runaway, notwithstanding intervention of the Jubilee. In the opinion of R. Meir, one who was freed by deduction from the purchase price remained entitled to the gratuity since it took place with the master's approval (Kid. 16b); on the other hand, some of the *tannaim* denied the gratuity right to one who was set free on account of his master's death (TJ, Kid. 1:2, 59c).

In the *Midrash Halakhah* the gratuity right was extended both to the one sold into bondage through the court on account of his theft (Ex. 22:2) and to one who sold himself into bondage on account of utter poverty (Lev. 25:39), nor were these cases distinguished in the Mishnah (see Ḥ. Albeck, *Shishah Sidrei Mishnah, Seder Nashim*, 409f.). In a *baraita* disputing opinions were expressed on this matter, some scholars holding that only one sold into bondage through the court and not one selling himself was entitled to gratuity, with R. Eliezer (Kid. 14b) holding that both were entitled thereto; this dispute was carried over into the codes (Yad, Avadim, 3:12; Tos. Kid. 15a, s.v. *idakh*; and commentaries). One of the grounds for the view that one who sold himself into bondage was not entitled to the gratuity was that in doing so voluntarily, he transgressed the prohibition, "For unto Me the children of Israel are servants; they are My servants" (Lev. 25:55) "and not the servants of servants" (Kid. 22b; *Yam shel Shelomo*, Kid. 1:22).

Substance of the Gratuity Right

In tannaitic times the gratuity was looked upon as a personal right of the freed servant which was not transferable on death (Sif. Deut. 119), but the *amoraim* held it to be part of his remuneration and therefore transmissible "… just as the wages of a hired servant belong to his heirs, so here too…" (Kid. 15a; cf. also the version of Elijah Gaon, loc. cit. and see *Minḥat Ḥinnukh* no. 482). Contrary to the principle of "R. Nathan's Lien" (see *Shi'buda de-Rabbi Natan) with regard to the general right to recover a claim from a third party indebted to the debtor, the gratuity right was not attachable by the servant's creditor (Kid. 15a–16b) and, according to the majority of the *posekim*, the creditor could not recover his debt from the amount of the gratuity – not even when the servant was already released and in possession of the gratuity payment (Maim. comm. to Kid. 1:2; cf. Nov. *Penei Yehoshu'a* Kid., final collection).

The duty of furnishing a gratuity was, according to the majority view of the scholars, independent of the measure of gain derived by the master from his servant's labor (Sif. *ibid.*;

Kid. 17a/b and cf. contrary opinion of Eleazar b. Azariah), but all the scholars accepted that a minimum was payable (although disagreeing on the amount: Kid. 17a), together with an increment according to the measure with which the master has been "blessed," such increment being payable by the master with a "generous hand" (Sif. Deut., 119–20).

Two opposing views concerning the legal substance of the gratuity were expressed in the codes. According to some scholars it was not part of the servant's remuneration for his labor but derived from the institution of charity (*ẓedakah*; Shakh. to ḤM 86:3) or of waiver and gift (*Sema*, ḤM, 86:2 and see *Giddulei Terumah* to *Sefer ha-Terumot*, 51:1:5); other *posekim*, following the *halakhah* of the *amoraim* concerning transmissibility at death, of the gratuity took the view that the gratuity was mainly to reward the servant for services rendered "beyond his wages" (Beit ha-Beḥirah, Kid. 15a) and therefore it had to be considered as part of his remuneration (*Penei Yehoshu'a* Kid. 16b; *Mishneh la-Melekh*, to Yad. *ibid.*).

Severance Pay

Adaptation of the gratuity institution to one of general compensation for employees upon dismissal was first mentioned toward the end of the 13th century, when it was stated that notwithstanding the abolition of Hebrew bound service, which was linked with observance of the Jubilee year, the employer still had to pay a gratuity to his departing worker regardless of the period of service (*Sefer ha-Ḥinnukh*, 450). Although this was phrased at that time as a moral obligation only, later scholars found it possible to recognize this duty of the employer as legally binding. In recent times this development has been acknowledged in the decisions of various scholars, and particularly in the judgments of the rabbinical courts in Israel, in three different ways:

(a) In accordance with the principle of the bound servant's gratuity, in pursuance of the statements in the *Sefer ha-Ḥinnukh* (*ibid.*), it was held that "… the intention of the Torah was to make it the employer's duty to be concerned about the worker's future so that the latter should not depart from his work empty-handed" (PDR, 3:286 f.). Because Jewish law compared the position of a bound servant to that of a hired worker, it was concluded that the latter "certainly enjoys all the former's privileges… the more so since he does not transgress a prohibition" (i.e., that of selling himself into bondage – see above; resp. Maharam of Rothenburg, ed. Prague, no. 85: see also *Yam ha-Gadol*, no. 22).

(b) A different approach was adopted by Benẓion *Ouziel (see his responsum quoted in *Teḥukat Avodah* (see bibl.) 132 f.). Holding that the law of the gratuity could not properly be relied upon to support the existence of a full legal duty to compensate an employee upon his dismissal, he preferred to base this duty on the scriptural admonition, "That thou mayest walk in the way of good men, and keep the paths of the righteous" (Prov. 2:20) in the same way as it was relied upon in the Talmud with reference to exempting the hired worker in certain circumstances from liability for damage negligently caused to his employer (BM 83a). Although conceding that this talmudic principle was a matter of equity (*li-fenim mi-shurat ha-din*) rather than binding law, R. Ouziel followed the opinion of numerous *posekim* that it was nevertheless enforceable by the court (*Mordekhai* BM 257; Sh. Ar., ḤM 12:2, and *Rema* in loc.; also *Baḥ* ḤM 12), and therefore decided that the court, "having due regard to the respective positions of the parties and reasons for the worker's dismissal or for his own departure," was empowered to order an employer to compensate his worker.

(c) Since it was not generally accepted that an obligation solely *li-fenim mi-shurat ha-din* is enforceable by the court, some scholars preferred to base the principle of severance pay on the Jewish legal source of custom (see **Minhag*; PDR, 1:330 f.). Thus the rabbinical courts, applying the rule that "custom overrides the law" has special reference to labor law (TJ, BM 7:1; 11b) and recognizing "the spread in our time of a usage to pay severance pay," have laid down that severance pay "is not a matter of grace but a claim under law" which is payable even if the employer be a charitable institution. In arriving at this decision the rabbinical courts incorporate also the principle of the gratuity, holding that particular significance attaches to custom in this instance, since "we find a basis for it in the Torah and *halakhah*," and since this custom is founded on the Torah, "the gratuity payable to the Hebrew bound servant is therefore fit and proper" (PDR, 1:330 f., 3:286 f.; 4:120).

It may be noted that R. Ouziel, in giving his above-mentioned decision (in 1945), specifically refrained from basing the severance pay obligation on custom – for the reason that such a usage was not yet sufficiently known and widespread. A mere 10 years later the court, seeking a basis for full legal recognition of the severance pay duty, had reason to find as follows: "Now that the custom has spread and become accepted in the whole country, and is common and practiced daily, it must be followed and the above-mentioned statements [of R. Ouziel] no longer apply." This is an illustration of great flexibility in recognizing the establishment of a custom.

In the years since the establishment of the State of Israel, the rabbinical courts have laid down a number of rules concerning the matter of severance pay, including the following provisions: compensation is to be paid at the customarily accepted rate, or if this be uncertain, as determined by the court (PDR, 1:332 f.); it is payable also to a temporary employee – if he has worked for a period approximating two years (*ibid.*), and also to a part-time employee (4: 129), but an independent contractor is not entitled to severance pay (3:272). An innovation was the rule that the employer is obliged to provide his worker with one month's prior notice of dismissal, or a month's remuneration in lieu thereof. This was deduced by the analogy of the landlord's duty, in Jewish law, to provide the tenant with a month's notice of eviction, in order that the latter be not deprived of a roof over his head; *a fortiori* in the case of a worker, so that he be given an opportunity to find an alternative source of livelihood. (Sh. Ar., ḤM 312:5; PDR, 4:130

and 3:281–3, where disputing opinions are quoted on the aptness of the analogy.)

In the State of Israel

In Mandatory times the obligation of severance pay was upheld in numerous judgments of the Mishpat ha-Shalom ha-Ivri. This fact contributed toward entrenchment of the usage, which came to be recognized as legally binding in a decision of the Mandatory High Court (Cohen v. Capun, in: *Palestine Law Reports* 7 (1940), 80, 88) and until 1963, custom alone formed the legal basis for the payment of severance pay under the general law. Thus the Supreme Court of Israel, in considering the antiquity of the above custom, stated: "It is common cause that the principle of severance pay is rooted in the scriptural duty of *ha'anakah*" (PDR, 5:275; 17, pt. 2:1255). The lack of statutory guidance led to many difficulties in the application of the custom. In 1963 the Severance Pay Law was enacted by the Knesset, with emphasis on the fact that the fundamental idea of this law derived from traditional Jewish law. The following are some of the law's main provisions:

A person dismissed by his employer after having been continuously employed for one year or – in the case of a seasonal employee – for two seasons in two consecutive years, is entitled to severance pay at the rate of a month's wages per year of employment for a "salaried employee" and two week's wages per year for employment for a "wage earner" (i.e., one whose remuneration is paid on the basis of a lesser period than one month; secs. 1, 12); in certain circumstances the employee is entitled to severance pay following his own resignation, i.e., by reason of an appreciable deterioration of his conditions of employment, or on account of his or a member of his family's state of health, or the transfer of his residence (secs. 6–8, 11). The employee is also entitled to severance pay if his employment has ceased owing to the death of his employer, and for certain other reasons (sec. 4) and upon the employee's own death, severance pay is payable to his survivors (sec. 5). A person employed under a contract for a fixed period is entitled to severance pay at the end of the period, as if dismissed, unless the employer has offered to renew the contract (sec. 9). Severance pay is deemed to be wages payable in precedence to all other debts (sec. 27) and a composition and acknowledgment of discharge as to severance pay are invalid unless reduced to writing and expressly state that they relate to severance pay (sec. 29).

[Menachem Elon]

SEVERANCE PAY – SOCIAL OBLIGATION, NOT SALARY The question of how to characterize severance pay – whether as a social right given to an employee who has been dismissed, irrespective of his salary, or as part of the salary – arose in the Israel Supreme Court in the case of *Ben Moshe* (CA 293/73, *Ben Moshe v. Ben Moshe*, 28(2) PD 29). In that case, the question arose in the context of divorce proceedings, regarding the scope of the husband's obligation to pay maintenance to the wife. The woman was entitled to receive a certain amount of money as severance pay from her employer. Classifying that severance pay as salary would result in it being regarded as money earned through her handiwork (*ma'asei yadeha*); consequently, her husband would be entitled to deduct the sum received as severance pay from his obligation to pay maintenance, inasmuch as her maintenance was offset by her income earned through her own handiwork (see *Maintenance). If, on the other hand, severance pay is classified as a social right unrelated to salary, it would not affect the husband's obligation to make maintenance payments.

The Court (Justice Kister) examined the one-time grant of severance pay by analogy to the laws of *ha'anakah* paid to a Jewish slave under Jewish law, in accordance with the aforementioned explanation of *Sefer ha-Ḥinukh*, (§482), on the basis of which he drew his conclusion regarding the nature of severance pay. Rambam rules that *ha'anakah* is given to the slave himself and not to his creditor (Yad, Avad. 3.15; p. 33 of the decision). *Me'irat Einayim* stresses that, unlike salary, which may be subject to a lien, *ha'anakah* is not subject to lien because "*ha'anakah* is not given to the Jewish slave under the rubric of a debt, but rather under the rubric of waiver and gift, according to the principles of amnesty" (*Me'irat Einayim*, Sh. Ar, ḤM, 86.2), while the *Shakh* rules that "it is known that *ha'anakah* is derived from the laws of *ẓedakah* (alms) (*Shakh*, ad loc., 3; p.34 of decision).

This was the basis for the Court's conclusion that severance pay is in the order of a social obligation imposed on the employer who fired his employee and is not a component of the employee's salary. (The Court noted that the term "laws of *ẓedakah*" does not imply that this is a purely moral obligation that cannot be imposed through coercion, inasmuch as the term *ẓedakah* derives from the same root as *ẓedek* (justice) and there are cases in which the giving of *ẓedakah* may be legally coerced. The term "laws of *ẓedakah*" should therefore be imputed the same meaning as the modern term "social obligations," which are also imposed by coercion). Accordingly, severance pay is not viewed as the wife's "handiwork" and should not be offset against the maintenance payments (decision, *supra*, pp. 33–35).

The Jerusalem Rabbinical Court (File 51/569, 18 PDR 346) dealt with a similar case, in which the provisions of a divorce agreement compelled the husband to pay his wife a specified percentage of his salary. The husband was fired from his job, and the question was whether his severance payment should be regarded as salary, in which case the husband would be obligated to pay his wife part of it pursuant to the agreement, or whether it should be regarded as a grant that is not regarded as salary. The minority opinion (Rav Kilav) was that, as law of the state requires severance payment, the employment contract between the employee and the employer was concluded in reliance upon the existence of this obligation, and therefore it should be viewed as part of the salary. On the other hand, if the employee and employer had agreed upon severance pay in excess of the statutorily mandated sum prior to the employee's dismissal, then the balance in excess of the statutory requirement should be viewed as a grant that is not part of the salary.

However, the majority opinion (Rabbi S. Fisher) was that severance pay is to be regarded as additional payment for years of service, similar to manager's insurance, and therefore should not be regarded as part of the salary but rather as a separate grant. Nonetheless, the majority concurred that severance pay not be regarded as "*ha'anakah*" within the meaning of that term in Jewish law, but rather as money paid by force of custom.

For a further discussion of the obligation to pay severance pay as a matter of the custom of the State and not as an obligation derived from the law of *ha-anaka*, see the opinion of the High Rabbinical Court in Case 59/734, PDR 21 188.

THE LEGAL POSITION IN THE STATE OF ISRAEL. As stated, the Rabbinical Court held that there are halakhic grounds for the duty of giving advance notice prior to an employee's dismissal or, alternatively, to provide compensation for dismissing an employee without prior notice (19/2535, 3 PDR 272; 4 PDR 126). In 2001, the Prior Notice of Dismissal or Resignation Law 2001, was enacted. This law establishes the employer's duty to give an employee prior notice of his/her impending dismissal within a certain prescribed period of time, as well as the employee's duty to give his employer prior notice a certain period of time prior to resigning. The law also provides that an employer dismissing an employee without prior notice is required to pay the employee an amount equivalent to his regular salary for the period of time prescribed, and that an employee who resigned without prior notice must pay his employer a penalty for the period during which the notice was not given.

[Menachem Elon (2nd ed.)]

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HAARETZ (Heb. הָאָרֶץ), Israeli daily newspaper published in Tel Aviv. Established on June 18, 1919, by a group of businessmen headed by Isaac Leib *Goldberg and S. Salzmann, it was originally named *Hadashot Haaretz*. Edited by N. *Touroff, the contributors were Hebrew writers and journalists, recent immigrants from Russia. Its name was subsequently changed to *Haaretz*. The newspaper has since then had four editors. Dr. Moshe Gluecksohn was appointed editor in 1922, serving until 1939, a period during which the paper moved from Jerusalem to Tel Aviv. Gluecksohn's influence as editor was paramount, and during his editorship the paper acquired its liberal orientation. It was noted for its quality of writing, including its literary supplement. Its weak financial base made the newspaper dependent partly on philanthropists, including subsidies from Zionist institutions. In 1939 Salman *Schocken, a German immigrant, acquired the paper, appointing his son Gershom *Schocken as editor and publisher, a post he held for 51 years, and one characterized by absolute freedom of expression. Becoming an elitist highbrow newspaper, *Haaretz* was identified with the liberal wing of the Zionist movement. Its editorial policy was characterized by a minimalist stance on the Arab-Israeli conflict, and supported territorial withdrawal from territories captured in the 1967 war. Economically, the newspaper championed free enterprise in the face of the country's socialist ethos. It saw human rights as a supreme value. It supported separation of religion and state. While he saw the newspaper as an ideological vehicle, Schocken succeeded in strengthening its weak economic base, partly through establishing a chain of local newspapers in the 1980s. Upon his death in 1990, his son, Amos, became publisher, and Hanoch Marmori, editor. A graphic artist, and previously editor of *Ha-Ir*, the Schocken chain's local Tel Aviv newspaper, Marmori shook off the stuffy German heritage of the newspaper and attracted younger and non-Ashkenazi readers. In addition to the two main sections for news and for features and editorial comment, Marmori introducted a lifestyle section called "Galley," featuring culture and entertainment pieces, and a midweek Books Supplement. Noteworthy was its coverage of developments in the Palestinian Authority created after the 1993 Oslo Accords. The Palestinian Intifada beginning in 2000 brought to the surface sharp divisions inside the editorial board between a left of center stance, identified with Marmori, and the more extreme left-wing position of other editorial board members and the publisher, Amos Schocken, whose views reflected a "post-Zionism" outlook. Marmori resigned in 2004 after Schocken separated the newspaper's economic section from the main paper and made it an editorially independent supplement called "The Marker." David *Landau was appointed as Marmori's replacement. In 2005 the newspaper's circulation was 70,000 daily and 90,000 on weekends. *Haaretz*'s influence broadened with the establishment in 1997 of an English edition, of which Landau was the founding editor, which included the local printing of the *International Herald Tribune* and which had a daily circulation in 2005 of 12,000 and 20,000 on weekends. According to *Haaretz,* the newspaper's Internet websites in Hebrew and English had, respectively 700,000 and 1 million monthly users in 2005.

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[Yoel Cohen (2nd ed.)]

HAAS, FRITZ (1886–1969), German zoologist. Born in Frankfurt, Haas was the youngest of four children in a banker's family. His early interest in zoology was focused on mollusks, and his entire scientific career was devoted to a study of these animals. In 1911 he was appointed assistant keeper of invertebrate zoology at the Naturmuseum Senckenberg, Frankfurt. In 1914 Haas was on a collecting visit to the Pyrenees and was stranded in Spain for the duration of World War I. He put these years to productive use, and did extensive investigations with Spanish mollusks, which resulted in more than a score of papers on the molluscan fauna of Spain. On returning to Germany after the war, he became editor of the *Archiv fuer Molluskenkunde* and in 1922 was promoted to keeper of invertebrate zoology. With the advent of the Nazi regime, Haas was removed from his posts in 1936, and fled to the U.S. In 1938 he was appointed curator of lower invertebrates at the Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago. Though officially retired, from 1959 Haas continued his scientific activity with vigor, publishing a number of important monographs during the following decade, including the definitive monograph on freshwater clams in *Das Tierreich*.

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[Mordecai L. Gabriel]

HAAS, GEORG (1905–1981), Israel zoologist. Born in Vienna, Haas studied zoology and paleontology. From 1931 to 1932 he was a visiting investigator at the Kaiser Wilhelm Institute in Berlin, where he did research on protozoan cytology. In 1933 he immigrated to Israel and joined the staff of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. He was appointed professor in 1954.

Although Haas chief interest was the functional anatomy and evolution of reptiles, he also published extensively on the mollusks of Israel and on fossil reptiles and mammals of the region. A dedicated teacher, he had a seminal influence on the growth of zoological science in Israel, and many of Israel's outstanding zoologists were trained in his laboratory.

[Mordecai L. Gabriel]

HAAS, HUGO (1901–1968), Czechoslovakian actor and film director. Haas was with the National Theater in Prague before World War II and also acted in many Czech films. In 1939 he escaped from Nazi-occupied Prague and went to the United States. On Broadway, he appeared in Čapek's *R.U.R.* and in a dramatization of Tolstoy's *War and Peace*. He eventually formed his own company in Hollywood. Among his pictures were *Pick-up* (1951) and *Edge of Hell* (1956). He also played the title role in the TV series *Rabbi on Wheels*. In 1963, Haas settled in Vienna.

HAAS, LEO (1901–1983), Czech painter and cartoonist. His most important works were his drawings in the concentration camps of Nisko and Theresienstadt (Terezin) during World War II. In tortured lines and a grotesque expressionism, they captured the squalor and misery of human beings awaiting death. He hid the drawings in Terezin, but later recovered them, having survived Auschwitz, Sachsenhausen, and Mauthausen. Haas studied in Berlin and Vienna, and became director of a lithographic printing house in his birthplace, Opava. After the war, he returned to Czechoslovakia to become one of the leading political cartoonists of the Communist press. In 1955 he left for East Germany. He is represented in museums in Prague and East Berlin.

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[Avigdor Dagan]

HAAS, LUDWIG (1875–1930), German politician. Born in Freiburg, Baden, Haas practiced law in Karlsruhe, where he was a city councilor from 1908 to 1919. In 1912 he entered the Reichstag as a member of the Progressive People's (later Democratic) Party. On the outbreak of World War I Haas volunteered for the army and was decorated for distinguished service on the Western front. At the end of 1915 he was seconded to the German military government of occupied Poland as head of the Jewish department, where he worked in close contact with Emanuel Carlebach and Pinchas *Kohn in an attempt to reorganize Polish Jewry. The Jewish community statute, which was the fruit of this collaboration, regulated the life of Polish Jewry until the end of the Polish republic in 1939. During the war he protested against the census of the Jewish soldiers in the German army (1916) because of its antisemitic connotation. After the 1918 revolution in Germany, Haas became minister of the interior in the first republican government of Baden. He continued to represent his party in the Reichstag, and became its chairman in 1929. Haas founded the *K-C Jewish student society at Freiburg, supported the Reichsbanner Schwarz-Rot-Gold (1924), and was active in the *Central-Verein deutscher Staatsbuerger juedischen Glaubens (Central Union of German Citizens of the Jewish Faith).

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HAAS, SOLOMON BEN JEKUTHIEL KAUFMANN (d. 1847), Moravian rabbi and author. Haas studied under Benjamin Wolf Loew, rabbi of Kolin, then became a member of the *bet din* of Holleschau and later rabbi of Strassnitz (Moravia). Haas is the author of glosses to all four parts of the Shulḥan Arukh. Those to *Yoreh De'ah, Oraḥ Ḥayyim*, and *Even ha-Ezer* were published under the title *Kerem Shelomo* (Pressburg, 1840, 1843, and 1846 respectively), which was highly praised by Moses *Sofer, Nehemiah *Trebitsch, and Haas's teacher Benjamin Wolf Loew. He later made extensive additions to it. Those to *Ḥoshen Mishpat* were published in the *Likkutei Ḥaver ben Ḥayyim* of F. Plaut (Munkács, 1855). Other works, still in manuscript, include a volume of sermons of considerable interest for the cultural history of the time, and a collection of poems, *Benot ha-Shir* (completed in 1820), consisting of secular songs and plays, some of them translated from German into Hebrew.

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[Joseph Elijah Heller]

HAAS, WILLY (1891–1973), German essayist, critic, and translator. Born in Prague, where he studied law, Haas belonged to the literary circle of Franz *Werfel, Paul *Kornfeld, Max *Brod, and Franz *Kafka. While still a student he published in the *Herder-Blaetter* (1911–12), which was an early organ of the young German-Jewish poets of Prague. Moving to Berlin after the war, in which he served as officer, Haas pursued his career as a journalist, writing film reviews and screenplays and publishing among other things an essay in 1922 on his spiritual teacher Hugo von *Hofmannsthal emphasizing his Jewishness (in: *Juden in der deutschen Literatur*, ed. G. Krojanker), for which he was criticized by Hofmannsthal himself. Haas founded and edited the weekly, *Die literarische Welt*, from 1925 to 1933, which soon turned out to be one of the most important intellectual platforms in the Weimar Republic. With the rise of Nazism Haas went back to Prague trying to continue his weekly under the title *Die Welt im Wort*, and in 1939 to India working for a British film company. He returned to Germany in 1947 and joined the editorial staff of *Die Welt* in Hamburg. Haas dealt with the more profound problems of contemporary literary and cultural life and became one of postwar Germany's leading critics and essayists. He published books on Brecht (1958), Hofmannsthal (1964), the Belle Époque (1967), and his autobiography, *Die literarische Welt* (1957), where he gives a detailed account of his life in three countries.

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[Rudolf Kayser / Andreas Kilcher (2nd ed.)]

HAASE, HUGO (1863–1919), German socialist leader. Born in Allenstein, East Prussia, and a lawyer by profession, Haase became a socialist with a deeply humanitarian approach. He was first elected to the Reichstag as a Social Democrat in 1897 and after August Bebel's death in 1912 led the socialist faction. As a lawyer and attorney he defended the Social Democrats Karl Liebknecht and Otto Braun. At the second Socialist International, Haase worked for Franco-German friendship and the prevention of a European war. On the outbreak of World War I in August 1914 he was persuaded by the majority of the party that this was a war of self-defense and supported the German government, saying: "In the hour of danger we will not leave the Fatherland in the lurch." In 1915, however, he joined Karl Kautski and Eduard *Bernstein in a plea to stop the war, and left the Social Democrats to form the Independent Social Democrat Party which fought against the government's annexationist policies. In 1918, on the defeat of Germany and the outbreak of revolution, Haase became one of six members of the provisional government and for a time shared the presidency of the Council of the People's Deputies. He soon resigned, on the ground that the majority Socialist Party had deviated from the strict socialist line toward the bourgeois democratic establishment, and he formed his own left-wing opposition group in the Weimar National Assembly. After the foundation of the Communist Party he supported the reunion of the left-wing opposition with the Social Democratic Party. Haase was attacked by a German nationalist in October 1919 and died later as a result of his injuries.

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HA-ASIF (Heb. הָאָסִיף), six literary annuals, published in Warsaw intermittently from 1884 to 1894 and edited by Nahum *Sokolow. *Ha-Asif* was the first attempt to bring Hebrew literature to the masses at a popular price: volume 1 reached a circulation of 12,000, an unusual achievement for the period. Editorial policy, which favored cultural Zionism, considered Ereẓ Israel as one of the solutions to the Jewish problem, "however, to put all our trust in one suggestion is a great danger." Consequently *Ha-Asif* favored constructive action on behalf of Diaspora Jewry mainly in the cultural and intellectual realms. *Ha-Asif 's* ample volumes were filled with a variety of materials. The earlier volumes featured a practical, almanac-type section, which was dropped in the later issues, completely literary in content. Sokolow wrote the annual review in which literary matters were stressed. Among his colleagues were D. Frischmann, M. Weber, and I.Ḥ. Zagorodski. The contributors to the literary section included the leading authors of the period. Shalom Aleichem first published his original stories in Hebrew in *Ha-Asif.* In the Jewish studies section, which also occupied a prominent position, almost all Jewish scholars of note participated. Some published complete books (S. Bernfeld, translation of M. Kayserling's book on the Spanish and Portuguese Jews; *Ha-Asif* 4 (1887)). Others published ancient manuscripts. Sokolow's detailed reviews of new books and journals in Jewish studies dominated the criticism section. E. Atlas, another critic, published a series of sharp critical articles which are still of some relevance to contemporary criticism. Criticism of rabbinical literature – which, in general, was ignored by Hebrew periodicals – was published by I. Suwalski (vol. 4). *Ha-Asif* also contained articles about the Jews of Ereẓ Israel in the 19th century (J. Goldman, vols. 1–4 and Z. Wissotsky, vols. 4 and 7). J.D. Eisenstein published a survey of Jewish life in the United States (vol. 2). It also contained a section devoted to general sciences, including medical, scientific, and technical materials. The first Hebrew article on the flora of Ereẓ Israel also appeared in *Ha-Asif.* The success of *Ha-Asif* brought about the appearance of similar annuals. According to Sokolow, the mass circulation of *Ha-Asif* was a main cause of the creation of the Hebrew press (1886).

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[Getzel Kressel]

HAAVARA, a company for the transfer of Jewish property from Nazi Germany to Palestine. The Trust and Transfer Office Haavara Ltd., was established in Tel Aviv, following an agreement with the German government in August 1933, to facilitate the emigration of Jews to Palestine by allowing the transfer of their capital in the form of German export goods. The Haavara Agreement is an instance where the question of Jewish rights, Zionist needs and individual rescue were in deep tension. Jewish organizations outside of Germany had declared a boycott against German goods and hoped to delegitimate the Nazi regime. The Zionists saw this agreement as a way of attracting Jews to Palestine and thus rescuing them from the Nazi universe even if that meant cooperation with Hitler. For a time the Nazi program of making Germany Judenrein and the Zionist policy of seeking *olim* coincided. The amounts to be transferred were paid by prospective emigrants into the account of a Jewish trust company (PALTREU – Palestina Treuhandstelle zur Beratung deutscher Juden) in Germany and used for the purchase of goods, which the Haavara then sold in Palestine. The proceeds, in Palestine currency, were paid to the emigrants living in Palestine. The rate of exchange was adjusted from time to time by the Haavara according to the disagio, necessitated by the subsidy which the Haavara granted the Palestinian importers, to make up for the steadily deteriorating value of the Reich mark, so the German goods could compete with other imports. The ensuing disagio, borne by the emigrants, accordingly increased from 6% in 1934 to 50% in 1938. The major part of the transfer proceeds provided the 1,000 Palestine Pounds (then $4,990) necessary for a "capitalist" immigration certificate of the Mandatory administration, but also for other categories of immigration, such as Youth Aliyah, students, and artisans as well as for the transfer of public funds. The transfer weakened the boycott of German goods declared by many Jewish organizations around the world, and thus met with considerable opposition. The controversy was settled at the Zionist Congress in Lucerne (1935) which decided by a vast majority in favor of the transfer and placed the Haavara under the supervision of the *Jewish Agency. The Zionists sought to attract immigrants to Palestine, most especially the affluent German Jewish immigrants and the Germans sought to get rid of their Jews, increase their exports and a propaganda victory by dividing the Jews regarding the boycott. The Haavara continued to function until World War II, in spite of vigorous attempts by the Nazi Party to stop or curtail its activities. The total transfer amounted to LP 8,100,000 (Palestine Pounds; then $40,419,000) including LP 2,600,000 (then $13,774,000) provided by the German Reichsbank in coordination with Haavara. The Haavara transfer was a major factor in making possible the immigration of approximately 60,000 German Jews to Palestine in the years 1933–1939, and together with the money invested by the immigrants themselves, in providing an incentive for the expansion of agricultural settlement and for general economic development. It also served as a model for a similar arrangement with the Czech government and the immigration of several thousand Jews on the eve of World War II.

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[Ludwig Pinner]

HABAKKUK (Heb. חֲבַקּוּק; cf, Akk. *ḫambaququ* or *ḫabbaququ*, a fragrant herb), prophet at the time of the *Chaldeans' ascent to power in the early seventh century B.C.E. (Hab. 1:6), a time apparently after the Egyptian defeat at Carchemish (Jer. 46:2) and Hamath, when the Babylonian forces under Nebuchadnezzar occupied the area. The Book of Habakkuk is the eighth unit within the book of *tere ʿasar*, "the twelve," and consistently follows *Nahum in all textual witnesses. Habakkuk contains only three chapters (totaling 56 verses) and is traditionally divided into two parts according to content: narrative (chapters 1 and 2) and prayer (chapter 3). In many places the text is either enigmatic or corrupt. The Pesher Habakkuk from Qumran comments only on the first two chapters of our biblical book, thus supporting the view that the third chapter was not part of the original book (see below). The narrative consists of a series of five short prophetic utterances. The first (1:2–4) is a complaint (reminiscent of Jeremiah 12:1–2 and much of the book of Job) against God for allowing violence and injustice to prevail unchecked in the land, one of the great theological problems in biblical thought. The second utterance (1:5–12) is a divine oracle prophesying that the instrument of judgment – the Chaldeans – is near at hand. The depiction of the Chaldeans is ambivalent and its precise sense is debated. On the one hand, the Chaldeans are God's instrument; on the other hand, their description fits the typical biblical description of "the enemy" (e.g., Deut. 28:49–53; Isa. 5:26–30; Jer. 4:13; 5:15–17; 6:22–23). In 1:10 the prophet speaks of the Chaldeans' power in language usually reserved for describing the power of God: "And they scoff at kings, and princes are a derision to them" (cf. "who brings princes to nought, and makes the rulers of the earth as nothing" Isa. 40:23) and in the last words of verse 11: "guilty men, whose own might is their god" (in 1QpHab it is written "he makes his own might to be his god"). Thus, the instrument of justice is none other than the wicked enemy. The ambivalent description of the Chaldeans and the reiteration of the original question about divine justice have brought scholars to conclude that the Chaldeans are not the answer to the prophet's complaint but a heightened form of that complaint. When he speaks of the injustice in the world, Habakkuk is referring to the Chaldeans and their deeds. Like others who asked why the unjust thrive, Habakkuk relates the question to a specific historical situation. The third utterance (1:13–17) asks why God allows the wicked to devour the righteous, to which the fourth utterance (2:1–5) responds: eventually the wicked shall fail, but the righteous shall live by their faithfulness. The first biblical appearance of *qeẓ* ("end") in its apocalyptic sense is in Habakkuk, and subsequently in the Bible this usage is found exclusively in Daniel (8:19; 11:13, 27, 35; 12:4–13). Indeed, Dan. 10:14 looks like a "fulfillment" of Hab. 2:3.

The fifth utterance (2:6ff.) takes the form of five parables that begin with "woe to him" and stresses the punishment that the wicked will receive (some of the parables are found differently phrased in other books of the Bible, e.g., Isa. 14, 51; Jer. 22:13, which indicates their popularity among the people of Judah). The fifth parable contrasts idols – brilliantly ornamented, but utterly lifeless and dumb – to the divine glory of God, which strikes the whole world dumb.

The prayer comprising chapter 3 is divided into four sections (3:1–2, 3–7, 8–15, 16–19), the second and third sections recalling God's deeds, and the first and fourth constituting the essence of the prayer. Most scholars hold that chapter 3 was not part of the original Book of Habakkuk and bears no connection to the first two chapters. Other scholars, however, believe the entire book to be a single, continuous literary piece, and view chapter 3, which describes the punishment of the wicked, as a response to the questions raised in chapter 1. The prayer opens with "Upon Shigionoth" (3:1). The term *šiggāyôn* also occurs in the rubric of Ps. 7:1, and is probably borrowed from Akkadian *šigû* ("lamentation," "type of prayer"). The closing, in the manner of the Psalms with "For the Leader with string music" (*la-menaẓẓe'aḥ bi-neginotai*; 3:19), seems to be the introduction to another composition, now lost. In a spirit similar to that found in the beginning of the Blessing of *Moses, the Song of *Deborah, and Psalm 77 (17ff.), the prophet entreats the return of God's compassion. The prayer cites as precedent God's actions at the time of the Creation (Isa. 51:9; Hab. 3:2). Just as in other poetry in the Bible and in Ugaritic and Mesopotamian sources, the creator god had to fight off the forces of chaos such as the sea (Hab. 3:8, 9). References to historical battles combine with mythic ones. The sun and moon are personified and the ancient plague god *Resheph (3:5) brings pestilence. There may be a reference to the horned god Haby known from Ugaritic texts in Habakkuk 3:4. In the historical past, God delivered His people and His anointed one, smiting the wicked and "laying him bare from thigh to the neck" (Hab. 3:13). After recounting the past, the prophet looks to the future and prays: "May I be relieved on the day of trouble, when the [Chaldean?] people invade with their troops" (3:16). Habakkuk concludes by describing the effects of drought (3:17), a symbol of evil, but nevertheless his hope and faith: "yet I will rejoice in the Lord, I will exult in the God of my salvation" (verse 18).

The language of Habakkuk in general, and especially in the two middle sections of the prayer, is vigorous and rich, and abounds in ancient poetic and rhetorical forms, of which analogous examples appear in early biblical poetry (Blessing of Moses, Song of Deborah, etc.). It occasionally resembles Ugaritic poetry in construction, and at times also in the use of rhetoric (as in the use of climactic parallelism, 3:2, 8, 13), and archaic diction. Linguistic features that once argued for a late dating of the book (such as the absence of the definite article) might also be taken as signs of antiquity.

According to *Seder Olam Rabbah* 20, Habakkuk lived at the time of Manasseh (698–642 B.C.E.). Critical scholars now contend that he lived in the time of Jehoiakim (608–598 B.C.E.), and some place him earlier, at the end of Josiah's reign (639–609 B.C.E.), when the Assyrian kingdom was destroyed. However, Y. Kaufmann dates the prayer to the brief reign of Jehoiachin (597 B.C.E.). The hypothesis of B. Duhm that the word *Kasdim* (Chaldeans, 1:6) is to be emended to Kittim (Heb. כִּתִּים), and that it refers to the campaigns of Alexander the Great, has not been found acceptable. The *Dead Sea Scrolls show that as early as the time of the Second Temple the word "Chaldeans" was interpreted as referring to the Roman campaigns in the Orient in the sixties of the first century B.C.E. (see *Pesher).

According to legend, Habakkuk was the son of the Shunammite woman (Zohar, 1:7; 2:44–45). This identification is apparently based on his name, for the verb *ḥbq* ("to embrace") is employed in connection with the annunciation of the birth of the woman's son in II Kings 4:16. In the apocryphal story of Bel and the Dragon, which tells of Daniel's exploits against Babylonian idolatry, Habakkuk is presented as a contemporary of Daniel, probably because both mention the arrival of the Chaldeans (Hab. 1:6; Dan. 1:1). In the same story he is considered to be the son of Jeshua the Levite (Bel, 1). This reference is apparently to a levite family called Jeshua, which is mentioned in Ezra 2:40, et al. According to Rabbi Simlai (2nd generation *amora*), Habakkuk based all the 613 commandments received by Moses on the single principle that "the righteous shall live by his faith" (Hab. 2:4; Mak. 23b–24a). This may be a response to the Christian use of the verse by Paul as a prooftext for the doctrine of justification by faith rather than by works (Rom. 1:17; Gal. 3:11).

[Yehoshua M. Grintz and Dvora Briskin-Nadiv / S. David Sperling (2nd ed.)]

In the Arts

The prophet Habakkuk has inspired no literary works of major importance but is of some significance in art and music. He is identified with the prophet brought by an angel to nourish Daniel in the lions' den, and thus his attributes are an angel and a basket of bread. In Christian typography he is one of the prophets who foresaw the Nativity. He appears alone on the wooden doors of Santa Sabina, Rome (fifth century); in the 12th-century *Christian Typography* of Kosmas Indicopleustes (Vatican); and on the door of the Vierge Dorée (Amiens Cathedral, 13th century). The famous 15th-century statue by Donatello known as *Lo Zuccone* ("The Bald One") represents

Habakkuk. Formerly in the Florence Campanile, it is now in the Museo dell' Opera del Duomo, Florence. A 17th-century statue by Bernini in the Chigi Chapel at Santa Maria del Popolo, Rome, shows the angel lifting Habakkuk by his hair. He is frequently seen in company with Daniel. There are examples on fourth-century sarcophagi; on a sixth-century Coptic textile; again in the Kosmas Indicopleustes manuscripts; on a 13th-century bas-relief from the portal of the Virgin, Laon Cathedral; and on stained-glass windows in Auch (16th century) and Cambridge (17th century).

The psalm-like third chapter of Habakkuk is included among the *cantica* in the liturgy of all Christian denominations, and is generally sung to a simple psalmodic formula. There are a few art-music settings of this section, such as F. Giroust's *Domine quidvi auditionem* for chorus (1779) and, in the 20th century, cantatas entitled *Habakkuk* by György Kósa (1954) and Jacques Berlinski (b. 1913).

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HABAKKUK, PROPHECY OF, book attributed to Habakkuk, in an appendix to the sixth-century lists of Apocrypha, the Stichometry of Nicephorus and that of Pseudo-Athanasius. It is mentioned together with works of Baruch, Ezekiel, and Daniel. Further, the title of **Bel and the Dragon* in the Septuagint (but not Theodotion) reads: "From the prophecy of Habakkuk son of Jesus of the tribe of Levi." This story tells how Daniel was cast into a lion's den. On the sixth day of his imprisonment Habakkuk was taking food to the reapers in the field in Judea, when he was seized by the hair and miraculously transported to Babylon, where he gave the food to Daniel. This story appears in the *Life of Habakkuk* in the Pseudo-Epiphanian *Lives of the Prophets* (ed. Torrey, 28ff.) in a somewhat different version. The *Life* also ascribes to Habakkuk inter alia visions of the destruction, restoration, and subsequent destruction of the Temple. These might perhaps also reflect the Habakkuk apocryphon. The story is also known (apparently from Christian sources) in later Jewish works such as *Josippon*, *Chronicle of Jerahmeel* (ed. Gaster, 220ff.), and *Sefer Yuḥasin* (1925), 238.

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[Michael E. Stone]

HABAS, BRACHA (1900–1968), Hebrew writer and editor; wife of David *Hacohen. Born in Alytus, Lithuania, she was taken to Palestine in 1907. After a period of teaching she turned to journalism, serving on the editorial board of the newspaper *Davar* (1935–53) and of the Am Oved publishing house. Among other publications she edited *Davar li-Yladim* and *Devar ha-Shavu'a*. Her books include: *Ḥomah u-Migdal* ("Stockade and Tower," 1939); *Korot Ma'pil Ẓa'ir* ("Story of a Young Immigrant," 1942): *Derakhim Avelot* ("Paths of Mourning," on the DP camps and the Jewish Brigade, 1946); *David Ben-Gurion ve-Doro* (1952); *Pagodot ha-Zahav* ("Golden Pagodas," Burmese legends, 1959); *Benot Ḥayil* (on Palestinian ATS volunteers, 1964); *Ḥayyav u-Moto shel Joop Westerweel* ("The Life and Death of Joop Westerweel," 1964); *Tenu'ah le-Lo Shem* ("Movement without a Name," on volunteer work by veteran settlers among new immigrants, 1965); *He-Ḥaẓer ve-ha-Givah* ("The Yard and the Hill," the story of kevuẓat *Kinneret, 1968). A list of her works translated into English appears in Goell, Bibliography, 28, 88, 96.

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[Getzel Kressel]

ḤABBĀN, a town on the western border of *Ḥaḍramawt, formerly in the Wāḥidī Sultanate, an important junction and post on the incense way. It was the extreme southeastern settlement with a Jewish community. During the last generation of their life in *Yemen the Jews of Ḥabbān lived under the protection of Sulṭān Nāṣir ibn ʿAbd Allah ibn Muḥsin. The community of Ḥabbān was the religious and social center for the Jewish communities around it. It numbered about 450 people, most of them divided into five main families: Maʿṭūf, Hillel, Shammākh, Maifa'ī, and ʿAdanī. All of them were silversmiths and goldsmiths who wandered from one place to another to provide the Muslims with weapons and jewelry. In their wanderings they reached as far to the east at Mukallā, moving all over Ḥaḍramawt where Jews had not been allowed to dwell since the end of the 16th century. Some of them used to come home only for the High Holidays and Passover. With their leaving the country in 1949, however, the Jews of Ḥabbān carried with them the knowledge of working silver and gold which they had made their specialty.

Ḥabbāni Jews, like their Bayḍani coreligionists, lived in their own quarter (Ḥārat al-Yahūd), located on the down slopes of a hill. The sultan's palace separated the Jewish quarter from the Muslim quarter. The Jews lived in tall houses, two to five stories high, a situation against the ruling regulations throughout Yemen and other Muslim countries. There were two synagogues practicing a combination of the local old rite (*baladī*) and the newly imported Sephardi rite (*shāmī*). The synagogues also functioned as religious courts. The Jews of Ḥabbān were very different in their appearance and behavior from most other Yemenite Jews, as most of the discriminatory anti-Jewish Muslim regulations were not in force there.

They had long hair reaching down over their shoulders but no sidelocks, and did not wear black dresses but covered their bodies with multi-colored fabrics with a decorated belt, just like their Muslim tribal neighbors. The women tied nets decorated with silver jewelry around their heads and also wore wide silver belts. A few generations ago they apparently even used to carry weapons and took part in inter-tribal battles of the Muslims. There were no priests (Kohanim) and Levites among them. They were distinctive as well in terms of Jewish daily life. A few of them had already immigrarted to the land of Israel in the 1940s, but it was only after the establishment of the State of Israel that the community as a whole submitted their house keys to the local sultan and prepared themselves to immigrate to the new-born Jewish state. But the sultan did not give them permission and only after his unexpected death and the messengers of the State of Israel having paid a ransom for each of them were they allowed to leave for the British colony of *Aden and from there to fly to Israel. Most of them settled in their own settlement – moshav Bareket – where they could preserve their distinctive communal and religious life. Since their immigration they have attracted scholars in various fields and were the subject of many studies on communal life, folklore, music, health, and liturgy.

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[Yosef Tobi (2nd ed.)]

ḤABBAR, ḤABBAREI, persecutors of the Jews in Babylon, mentioned in the Babylonian Talmud. They created hardships for Jews, forbidding them to light lamps on their (the Ḥabbareis') festive days (Shab. 45a; Git. 17a), to perform burials and slaughter of animals (Yev. 63b) in accordance with Jewish law, and interfering with the proper observance of the festivals by the Jews (Beẓah 6a; see Rashi *ibid.*). The rise of the Ḥabbarei in Babylon may be established as occurring between the death of R. Ḥiyya the Great and that of Rabbah Bar Bar Ḥana, i.e., at the end of the first quarter of the third century C.E. (Yev. 63b). It is possible that the Ḥabbarei were Zoroastrian priests, fire worshipers, whose influence increased in Babylon in the course of that century after the rise to power of the Sassanid dynasty.

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[Moshe Beer]

HABE, HANS (pseudonym of **János Békessy**; 1911–1977), Budapest-born German novelist whose works reflect fierce opposition to the Nazis. Habe became the League of Nations correspondent of the *Prager Tagblatt* in 1935. On the outbreak of World War II he enlisted in the French army. He escaped from a German POW camp in 1940, and served in the U.S. forces for the rest of the war. In 1945 he founded the American-backed Munich *Neue Zeitung*. Habe's novels include *Drei ueber die Grenze* (1937: *Three over the Frontier*, 1939), *Weg ins Dunkel* (1951; first published as *Walk in Darkness*, 1949), and *Im Namen des Teufels* (1956; *Agent of the Devil*, 1959). The autobiographical *Ob Tausend Fallen* (1943; first published as *A Thousand Shall Fall*, 1941) describes the ordeal of foreign volunteers and loyal French troops deprived of arms and encouragement by the incompetent and defeatist French high command. His book on the assassination of President John F. Kennedy, *Der Tod in Texas* (1964), appeared in the U.S. as *The Wounded Land*. Habe also wrote an autobiography, *All My Sins* (1957); *Die Mission* (1965; *The Mission*, 1966), based on the *Evian Conference of 1938; and *Christopher and His Father* (1967), which deals with the question of Federal Germany's remorse. His autobiography was published under the title *Ich stelle mich – Meine Lebensgeschichte*.

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HABER, family of German bankers. SALOMON (SAMUEL) HABER (1764–1839), born in Breslau, moved to Karlsruhe toward the end of the 18th century, and set up a banking and finance house. He and his sons were prominent in the early industrial development of Baden and Wuerttemberg, and from about 1820 S. Haber and Sons became one of Europe's leading bankers. In 1829 hereditary nobility was bestowed on Salomon's son LOUIS (LUDWIG; 1804–1892). Frequent marriages with other Jewish moneyed families fortified the Habers' financial and social status, but when in 1847 the bank experienced difficulties it was the government of Baden which came to the rescue, and not the family connections. Louis' brother MORITZ (1798–1874) took part in the formation of the Bank fuer Handel und Industrie in Darmstadt, the forerunner of the Darmstaedter Bank. Together with his brother Louis he was also among the founders of the Vienna Kreditanstalt (1855), and in 1863 of the Bodenkreditanstalt. The youngest of the brothers, SAMUEL (1812–1892), settled in Paris where Moritz had to take refuge after he had killed his opponent in a duel in Karlsruhe.

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[Joachim O. Ronall]

HABER, FRITZ (1868–1934), German physical chemist and Nobel laureate. Haber was born in Breslau, the son of a prosperous chemical and dye merchant and an alderman of the city. After a period in industry and business, he went in 1893 to the Technische Hochschule at Karlsruhe, and in 1906 became professor of physical and electrochemistry. His work on carbon bonds led to a rule bearing his name. Turning to electrochemistry, he wrote *Grundriss der technischen Electroche-*

mie auf theoretische Grundlage (1898) and was a co-developer of the glass electrode. In 1905 he wrote *Thermodynamics of Technical Gas Reactions*. His most important work, started in 1904, was the synthesis of ammonia from hydrogen and nitrogen. His laboratory demonstration interested Bosch, Bergius, and the Badische Anilin-und Sodafabrik companies, and they eventually developed the process into a commercial operation. Haber was awarded the Nobel Prize in chemistry in 1918 "for the synthesis of ammonia from its elements"; this work of Haber was to be invaluable to the German military effort in World War I. In 1911 he was made director of the new Kaiser Wilhelm Research Institute in Berlin-Dahlem, and in 1914 this was turned over to war work, particularly gas warfare, starting with chlorine and ending with mustard gas. After Germany's defeat, he reconstituted his Institute, and in the 1920s it became probably the leading center of physical chemistry in the world. Haber was president of the German Chemical Society, and of the Verband deutscher chemischer Vereine (which he created), and after some months spent in Japan he created the Japan Institute in Berlin and Tokyo.

Haber left the Jewish faith, and with the Nazi accession to power in 1933 was not immediately threatened but he was ordered to dismiss all the Jews on the staff of his institute. He refused and resigned. His health, already poor, deteriorated. He went to a sanatorium in Switzerland, where he died. In 1952 a tablet was unveiled in Haber's memory at the Kaiser Wilhelm Institute.

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[Samuel Aaron Miller]

HABER, SAMUEL L. (1903–1984), U.S. economist and organization executive. Haber, who was born in Harlau, Romania, was taken to the U.S. in 1911. He received a B.A. from the University of Wisconsin in 1924. He worked as a researcher on labor and economic problems (1925–43), and then served in the U.S. Army, 1943–46. In 1947 Haber became director for Germany of the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee, where he headed an extensive program for approximately 200,000 displaced persons (DPs). He developed and directed programs to assist in their rehabilitation and immigration to Israel, the United States, and other amenable countries. In 1954 Haber was sent to Morocco to organize a comprehensive Jewish welfare program for more than 50,000 of the country's 240,000 Jews. In 1957 he established a welfare program for Jews in Poland, becoming the first JDC representative permitted to function in that country since 1950. After serving as assistant director general of JDC's European headquarters in Geneva (1958–64) and assistant executive vice-chairman in New York (1964–67), Haber was appointed to succeed the murdered Charles *Jordan as Joint executive vice-chairman in 1967. Although Haber retired from the JDC at the end of 1975, his co-workers honored him by electing him honorary executive vice president of the organization.

From the 1960s to the early 1980s Haber was also a frequent speaker at fundraising campaigns in American Jewish communities; he served as vice chairman of the American Council of Agencies; vice president of the Israel Education Fund of the United Jewish Agency; national chairman of the Associates Division of the American Friends of Hebrew University; chairman of the executive committee of the Institute of Contemporary Jewry of Hebrew University; consultant for the Jewish Studies program of Columbia University; and trustee of the interfaith Hunger Appeal, which he helped establish in 1978.

[Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

HABER, SHAMAI (1922–1995), Israel sculptor. He was born in Lodz, Poland, and in 1935 emigrated to Palestine where he studied in Tel Aviv and fought in the War of Independence. From 1949 he lived in Paris. He worked close to nature, and created portraits under the influence of such French masters as Charles Despiau. In 1954 he turned to abstraction. In 1962 he produced his first monumental work for the atomic reactor building at Naḥal Sorek (Nebi Rubin) in Israel. In 1965, together with Yitshak *Danziger, he created a monumental composition for the Israel Museum, Jerusalem. When he turned to abstraction Haber worked in stone. He used large blocks and assembled them in such a manner as to create a static relationship between the volumes and the spaces between them. The solitary presence of his sculpture in its surroundings has an archaic quality which is increased by his method of working the stone.

[Yona Fischer]

HABER, WILLIAM (1899–1988), economist and communal worker. Haber was born in Romania but immigrated to the U.S. in 1909. In 1937 he was appointed professor of economics at the University of Michigan in Ann Arbor, was chairman of the Department of Economics in 1962–63, and from 1963 to 1968 was dean of the College of Literature, Science, and the Arts.

Haber held important posts in U.S. government bodies, including that of chairman of the National Committee on Long Range Work and Relief Policy (1941); chief of the Planning Division of the Conference on Post War Relief Readjustment (1942); adviser on Manpower to the Director of War Mobilization (1945–46); and chairman of the Federal Advisory Council on Employment Security (1948–58). He was adviser on Jewish Affairs to Gen. Lucius Clay, Commander in Chief in Germany (1948–49).

Haber played a prominent role in Jewish organizations. He was chairman of the National Hillel Commission of B'nai Brith (1955–63) and of the Academic Council of the American Friends of the Hebrew University (1967). His main interest, however, was the *ORT organization. He was appointed president of the American ORT Federation in 1950, and continued in that office after his appointment as president of the Central Board of the World ORT Union in 1955. He retired from the ORT presidency in 1980, although he remained honorary president of the federation and the international group until his death. ORT created an award in Haber's honor in 1984, presented annually to people who have contributed to the federation's work or aims.

The University of Michigan also established an award in his honor. The William Haber Award is bestowed upon applicants who have created high-quality programs for the Jewish campus community.

Haber published some 20 books, including *Unemployment Relief and Economic Security* (1936), *The Michigan Economy* (1960), *Social Security: Programs, Problems and Policies* (1954, reprinted 1966), and *Unemployment Insurance in the American Economy* (with Merrill G. Murray, 1966). He also edited the book *Labor in a Changing America* (1966).

[Rohan Saxena (2nd ed.)]

HABERLANDT, GOTTLIEB (1854–1945), German plant physiologist. Born in Ungarisch-Altenberg, Hungary, Haberlandt rose to a professorship first at the University of Graz (Austria) and later at the University of Berlin. His contributions in the field of plant responses to environmental stimuli helped to establish plant physiology as a significant separate discipline within the biological sciences. In 1884 Haberlandt described the important relationship between the anatomy of plants and their physiological capacities in a classic volume, *Physiologische Pflanzenanatomie* (1884; *Physiological Plant Anatomy,* 1914). In utilizing function as a basis for establishing structural categories he anticipated 20th-century interest in physiological plant ecology. Later works include *Das Reizleitende Gewebesystem der Sinnpflanze* ("Stimuli Transmitting Tissue System of the Mimosa," 1890) and *Sinnesorgane im Pflanzenreich* ("Sense Organs of the Plant Kingdom," 1901) as well as numerous research reports dealing with the mechanism of plant tropisms, the significance of transpiration in the migration of nutrients, and the general functions of the vascular system.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Neue Deutsche Biographie*, 7 (1966), includes bibliography.

[George H. Fried]

HABERMAN, JOSHUA O. (1919–), U.S. Reform rabbi. Haberman was born in Vienna, where his education was interrupted by the German invasion of Austria in 1938. Fleeing to the United States, he earned his B.A. from the University of Cincinnati (1940) and M.H.L. from Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion, where he was ordained in 1945. HUC-JIR awarded him an honorary Doctor of Divinity in 1970. His first pulpit was in Mobile, Alabama (1944–46), where he worked to bring the Reform and Conservative communities closer together as rabbi of Congregation Shaarei Shamayim (the Government Street Temple). While serving as rabbi of Temple Beth Zion in Buffalo, New York (1946–51), Haberman founded the *Hillel Center at the University of Buffalo, acting as its first director (1946–47). In 1951, he became rabbi of Har Sinai Temple in Trenton, New Jersey, whose membership quadrupled under his leadership. Haberman chaired both the Trenton Board of Rabbis and the local Israel Bonds Drive; coauthored *Encounter for Reconciliation: Guidelines for Inter-religious Dialogue*, published jointly by the *Union of American Hebrew Congregations and the United Presbyterian Church of America; and continued to foster mutual understanding within the Jewish community. He also lectured at Rutgers University and served on the Executive Committee of the Central Conference of American Rabbis (1967–69).

In 1969, Haberman was appointed rabbi of Washington Hebrew Congregation. His predecessor had been a classical Reform rabbi who was the son of an Orthodox *rosh yeshivah*. Haberman was far more traditional and far more oriented toward Israel. He developed a dialogue with the Roman Catholic diocese of Washington, D.C., with evangelical Christian leaders, and with Imam Wallace D. Muhammad of the World Community of Islam in the West. He served as president of the Washington Board of Rabbis (1982–84), as well as on the Advisory Committee on Ethical Values of the United States Information Agency (1982–83) and on the boards of directors of the Ethics and Public Policy Center (1983–89) and the Jewish Institute for National Security Affairs (1985). In 1984, in anticipation of retiring from the pulpit, he founded the Foundation for Jewish Studies, which sponsors cultural and educational programs for the entire Washington Jewish community as well as interested adherents of other faiths. In 1986, Haberman became rabbi emeritus of Washington Hebrew Congregation and assumed the active presidency of the FJS. On a national level, he was a member of the board of alumni overseers of the HUC-JIR and served as president of the National Association of Retired Reform Rabbis (NAORR, 1999–2000). In 2001, he was the representative of Jewish participation in the National Cathedral's memorial service marking 9/11.

Haberman contributed articles to English and German publications and wrote three books, *Philosopher of Revelation: The Life and Thought of S.L. Steinheim* (1990); *The God I Believe In: Conversations about Judaism with 14 Prominent Jewish Intellectuals* (1994), and *Healing Psalms: The Dialogues with God that Help You Cope with Life* (2000). In addition, he taught at Georgetown University, Wesley Theological Seminary, and American University. He received the Brotherhood Award of the National Conference of Christians and Jews (1978) and the Elie Wiesel Holocaust Remembrance Award, conferred by the State of Israel Bonds (1992). Haberman's son is an Orthodox rabbi.

[Bezalel Gordon (2nd ed.)]

HABERMANN, ABRAHAM MEIR (1901–1980), bibliographer and scholar of medieval Hebrew literature. Born at Zurawno (Galicia), Habermann from 1928 was librarian at the Schocken Library in Berlin. He immigrated to Palestine in 1934 and served as director of the Schocken Library in Jerusalem until 1967. From 1957 he taught medieval literature at Tel Aviv University (professor, 1969) and taught at the

Graduate Library School of the Hebrew University. He was editor of the department of bibliography (Jewish printers) for the *Encyclopaedia Hebraica* and the department of medieval Hebrew poetry for the first edition of the *Encyclopaedia Judaica*. Habermann began his study of medieval literature in 1925, specializing in the Ashkenazi *piyyut* from the time of R. Ephraim ben Jacob of Bonn. A prolific writer, his books include *Ha-Madpisim Benei Soncino* (1933): *Gevilim; Me'ah Sippurei Aggadah* (1942); *Ha-Genizah* (1944); *Toledot ha-Sefer ha-Ivri* (1945); *Ha-Piyyut* (1946); *Ateret Renanim, piyyutim* and songs for Sabbath and festivals (1967); *Ha-Sefer ha-Ivri be-Hitpatteḥuto* (1968); *Sha'arei Sefarim Ivriyyim* (1969); and *Toledot ha-Piyyut ve-ha-Shirah* (1970), which is the first attempt at a survey of the history of Hebrew *piyyut* and poetry and its development in various cultural centers from post-biblical times to the Haskalah period. Habermann edited and compiled such diverse medieval works as: *Piyyutei Rashi* (1941); *Seliḥot u-Fizmonim* of R. Gershom Me'or ha-Golah (1944; new printing, 2004); *Gezerot Ashkenaz ve-Ẓarefat* (1946); *Niẓoẓot Ge'ullah*, an anthology of redemption and messianism (1949); *Maḥberot Immanu'el ha-Romi* (1950); *Even Boḥan* of Kalonymus ben Kalonymus (1956); Studies of the Dead Sea Scrolls, *Edah ve-Edut* (1952), and *Megillot Midbar Yehudah* (1959). Shortly after his death, the Habermann Institute for Literary Research was created in Lod (Lydda), Israel. In 1983 Z. Malachi published *Yad le-Heman*, a memorial volume in his honor.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Kressel, Leksikon, 1 (1965), 568f.

[Yehoshua Horowitz]

ḤABIB, ḤAYYIM BEN MOSES BEN SHEM TOV (16th century), rabbinical author. Among the Jews exiled from Portugal in 1497, he escaped to Fez. In 1505 he compiled over 3,000 responsa of Solomon b. Abraham *Adret, in *Sefer ha-Battim*. Ḥ.J.D. *Azulai heard of the existence of the manuscript in Fez. Joseph Samon, the author of *Edut Bi-Yhosef*, eventually took it to Jerusalem, where it came into the possession of Sussman Jawitz (1813–1881), father of the historian Ze'ev *Jawitz who had emigrated to Jerusalem from Warsaw (see introduction to *Berakhah Meshulleshet*, Warsaw, 1863). *Sefer ha-Battim* was published by Sussman's son Abraham, together with the glosses of Isaac Goldman who had also published Adret's novellae on tractate *Menaḥot*. Ḥabib's characteristic signature: "Ḥayyim b. Moses ibn Ḥabib whose knees did not kneel to Baal, nor to fire and wood," is probably an allusion to his flight from Portugal.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Fuenn, Keneset, 355; J.M. Toledano, *Ner ha-Ma'arav* (1911), 86; Azulai, 2 (1852), 21 no. 131.

[Simon Marcus]

ḤABIB, MOSES BEN SOLOMON IBN (c. 1654–1696), Turkish rabbi and author. He was born in *Salonika, a descendant of *Levi ben Ḥabib, and went to Jerusalem in his youth. He studied in the yeshivah of Jacob *Ḥagiz and from c. 1677 to 1679 he traveled as an emissary of Jerusalem, reaching as far as Budapest. In 1688 Ḥabib was appointed head of the yeshivah in Jerusalem maintained by the philanthropist Moses ibn Ya'ish, of Constantinople. In the following year, on the death of Moses Galante, Ḥabib was appointed to succeed him as chief rabbi of Jerusalem (1689). His grandson, Jacob *Culi, who published most of his grandfather's works, also had in his possession a number of other manuscripts which he used in his own work *Me-'Am Lo'ez* (Constantinople, 1733). A manuscript of his sermons is in the National Library in Jerusalem. The ascription to him of the *Eẓ ha-Da'at* (printed in *Or Ẓaddikim*, Salonika, 1799) has been questioned by S. Ḥazzan.

He wrote the following works: *Get Pashut* (Ortakoi, 1719), on the laws of divorce and *ḥaliẓah; Shammot ba-Areẓ* (Constantinople, 1727), consisting of "*Yom Teru'ah,*" on the tractate *Rosh Ha-Shanah,* "*Tosafot Yom ha-Kippurim*," on the tractate *Yoma*, and "*Kappot Temarim*," on the tractate *Sukkah* (Constantinople, 1731); and *Ezrat Nashim* (*ibid.*, 1731), on the laws of *agunah*. Ḥ.J.D. *Azulai states that most of Ḥabib's responsa were lost at sea; however some have survived, and have been published, part in *Kol Gadol* (Jerusalem, 1907), and part in the works of contemporary scholars (*Devar Sha'ul*, 1927). Moses also wrote a commentary on the Jerusalem Talmud entitled *Penei Moshe* of which tractates *Berakhot, Pe'ah*, and *Demai* are extant in manuscript (Sassoon Ms. 592).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: S. Ḥazzan, *Ha-Ma'alot li-Shelomo* (1859); Rosanes, Togarmah, 4 (1935), 326–8; 5 (1938), 14; Frumkin-Rivlin, 2 (1928), 89–91; M.D. Gaon, *Yehudei ha-Mizraḥ be-Ereẓ Yisrael*, 2 (1938), 241; Yaari, Sheluḥei, 298f.; J. Molcho, in: *Oẓar Yehudei Sefarad*, 5 (1962), 81ff.; Scholem, *Shabbetai Ẓevi*, 1 (1959), 200f.; D.S. Sassoon, *Ohel Dawid*, 1 (1932), 104–6; Lieberman, in: *Sefer ha-Yovel… A. Marx* (1950), 313–5; Benayahu, in: *Tarbiz*, 21 (1950), 58–60.

[Simon Marcus]

ḤABIBA, JOSEPH (beginning of the 15th century), Spanish talmudic scholar. Virtually no biographical details are known of Ḥabiba. His teachers were *Nissim b. Reuben (the Ran) and Ḥasdai *Crescas. Author of novellae to the Talmud and a commentary on Isaac *Alfasi known as the *Nimmukei Yosef*, he is regarded as the last of the *rishonim to comment on the Talmud and the *Hilkhot ha-Rif*. It was previously thought that Ḥabiba wrote commentaries only to those tractates of Alfasi on which Nissim b. Reuben did not comment, but it is now believed that his commentary covered the whole work. Only his commentaries to tractates *Mo'ed Katan, Yevamot, Bava Kamma, Bava Meẓia, Bava Batra, Sanhedrin*, and *Makkot* have been published in editions of the Talmud, but his commentaries to the tractates *Megillah* and *Pesaḥim* (1960) and to *Gittin* (1963) and *Avodah Zarah* in M.J. Blau (ed.), *Shitat ha-Kadmonim al Massekhet Avodah Zarah* (1969) have been published. His commentaries on *Berakhot, Shabbat, Ta'anit*, and *Ḥullin*, are still in manuscript. Of his novellae to the Talmud there have been published *Shevuot* (in *Beit ha-Beḥirah* of Menahem ha-Meiri; Leghorn, 1795), and *Ketubbot* and *Nedarim* (in the *Ishei ha-Shem, ibid.*, 1795, new ed. 1960).

In his commentary Ḥabiba usually quotes the *geonim*, the

Spanish *posekim until *Jacob b. Asher, and Yom Tov *Vidal of Tolosa. According to Malachi ha-Kohen (in his *Yad Malakhi*), Ḥabiba differs from Nissim in that he quotes the aforementioned authors and Yom Tov b. Abraham *Ishbili, and in that he commences each of the novellae with "the author says" and concludes with "thus far the words of the author," something not found in the works of other *rishonim*. It is this characteristic, as well as the numerous quotations from the works of Yom Tov Ishbili and Asher b. Jehiel, which serve as indubitable indications of the author of the *Nimmukei Yosef.* Ḥabiba's style is direct and succinct. Some see his commentaries as aimed at encouraging the study of Talmud rather than the *Hilkhot ha-Rif,* which, through its wide circulation, tended to displace the study of the Talmud. Consequently *Nimmukei Yosef* is regarded as a supplement rather than a commentary, the addition of passages of the Talmud omitted by Alfasi making the talmudic text readily available to the student. The *Nimmukei Yosef* is a valuable source for clarifying the opinions and approach of various *rishonim*, since in addition to quoting from their actual works he also gives oral traditions handed down by their pupils. He was highly regarded in later generations as an authoritative *posek*.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Malachi b. Jacob ha-Kohen, *Yad Malakhi* (Przemysl, 1888 ed.), 154d; Weiss, Dor, 5 (1904^{4}), 760f.; H. Tchernowitz, *Toledot ha-Posekim*, 1 (1946), 163f.; M.J. Blau (ed.), in: J. Ḥabiba, *Nimmukei Yosef al Massekhtot Megillah u-Fesaḥim* (1960), introd.; M. Margalioth (ed.), *Hilkhot ha-Nagid* (1962), 79; Waxman, Literature, 2 (1960), 112.

[Yehoshua Horowitz]

°**HABIBI, EMIL** (1922–1996), Israeli Arab poet and Knesset member. A Christian Arab born in Haifa, after 1948 he was a founder of the Israel Communist Party and a Knesset member on its behalf. He left the Knesset in 1972 to devote himself to editing *Al-Ittihad* and to his literary work. In 1983 he founded the Committee of Israeli and Palestinian Writers, Artists and Academics, on which he served as chairman until he died. In 1990 he founded the Arabesque Publishing House. In 1991 he withdrew from active political life. In 1992 he received the Israel Prize for literature and poetry. In 1995 he began publishing *Masharef,* a periodical of Palestinian literature. He wrote several novels as well as shorter items, many of which have been translated from Arabic into Hebrew. His writings, which opened a window to the Palestinian experience in general and in Israel in particular, express his special feeling for Haifa, the city of his birth, where he also chose to be buried. The inscription on his tombstone sums up this emotional and political connection: "I Stayed in Haifa."

[Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

ḤABIL, the name of four places inhabited by Jews at the time of their emigration from Yemen (1948–49). All four are located in the southernmost regions of present-day Yemen, or close to its border. Among the *genizah* fragments there is a letter of appointment from a *gaon* to a person, whose name has not been preserved, requesting that the latter undertake the collection of funds for the Babylonian Academy. A letter was sent to the inhabitants of al-Ṣawīl and al-Ḥabil, which was to be read to them so that they would make their contributions; these were to be sent to the head of the academy in San'a or the emissaries of the academies in Yaman and Yamāma.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: S.D. Goitein, in: *Tarbiz*, 31 (1961/62), 360–1.

[Haïm Z'ew Hirschberg]

HABILLO, DAVID (d. 1661), kabbalist of Safed and Jerusalem and emissary from Jerusalem. Habillo was the outstanding pupil of the kabbalist Benjamin b. Meir ha-Levi of Safed, whom he accompanied when he moved to Jerusalem. Ḥ.J.D. Azulai relates that the veteran rabbis of Jerusalem told him that Habillo lived there in 1652 and had a heavenly mentor (*maggid*). Habillo wrote a commentary on *Sefer Yeẓirah* which has remained in manuscript. During the 1650s he went to Turkey as an emissary from Jerusalem. He met Abraham Yakhini in Constantinople before 1660 and also the youthful *Shabbetai Ẓevi, who almost certainly learned Kabbalah from Habillo. When Shabbetai Ẓevi was subsequently compelled to leave Constantinople, he proceeded to Smyrna with Habillo, who died there on the ninth of Av. After his death a dispute arose between his son, JUDAH HABILLO, who claimed the inheritance left in Smyrna by his father, and the heads of the Jerusalem community, who claimed the money as the proceeds of the mission on their behalf. Ḥayyim *Benveniste, the *av bet din* of Smyrna, decided in favor of the son.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Azulai, 1 (1852), 23a no. 17; A. Freimann, *Inyanei Shabbetai Ẓevi* (1912), 141 no. 9; Frumkin-Rivlin, 2 (1928), 29, 34, 69f.; Yaari, Sheluḥei, 154, 283, 287; G. Scholem, in: *Zion*, 13–14 (1948–49), 61f.; Scholem, Shabbetai Ẓevi, 1 (1957), 138–40, 154.

[Avraham Yaari]

HABILLO (Xabillo), ELIJAH BEN JOSEPH (Maestro Manoel; second half 15th cent.), Spanish philosopher and translator of philosophical writings. Habillo was an admirer of Christian scholasticism, and translated some of the works of the Christian scholastics from Latin into Hebrew, including: Thomas *Aquinas' *Quaestiones disputatae, Quaestio de anima* ("*She'elot ba-Nefesh*"), *De animae facultatibus* ("*Ma'amar be-Koḥot ha-Nefesh,*" published by A. Jellinek in *Philosophie und Kabbala*, 1854), *De universalibus* ("*Be-Inyan ha-Kolel*"), and questions on Aquinas' treatise *De ente de essentia* ("*She'elot Ma'amar be-Nimẓa u-ve-Mahut*"); William of Occam's three treatises entitled *Summa totius logicae* ("*Perakim be-Kolel*"), to which he added an appendix, and *Quaestiones Philosophicae*; and the pseudo-Aristotelian *Liber de causis* ("*Sefer ha-Sibbot*"). It is also supposed that Habillo translated anonymously Vincenz of Beauvais' *De universalibus* under the title *Ma'amar Nikhbad be-'Kelal'* (see M. Steinschneider, Parma Ms. no. 457^{7}).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: S. Munk, in: OLZ, 7 (1904), 725; Munk, Mélanges, 303; Steinschneider, Uebersetzungen, 265, 470, 477, 483.

HABILLO, ELISHA (called **Mercado**; 1719–1792), rabbi of Sarajevo. Habillo studied under David *Pardo, author of *Shoshannim le-David*. He wrote *Avodat ha-Tamid* (Sarajevo, 1788), a commentary on the Sephardi liturgy for the whole year, together with the order of service for weekdays, with brief laws and explanations. In this work the author at times cites the explanations of Nehemiah *Ḥayon, only to dissociate himself from them at the end. He published his teacher's book of prayers for festivals, *Shifat Revivim* (Leghorn, 1787), including in the original his elegy on the ill-treatment by the Turks of the Sarajevo Jews who fled from the Austrians, and added a number of his poems. Habillo also wrote a commentary on the Passover *Haggadah* and on the Grace after Meals.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: M.D. Gaon, *Yehudei ha-Mizraḥ be-Ereẓ Yisrael*, 2 (1938), 242; Frumkin-Rivlin, 3 (1929), 97; Rosanes, Togarmah, 5 (1938), 177.

[Simon Marcus]

HABIMAH (Heb. הבימה; "the Stage"), repertory theater company; founded in Moscow in 1917 as the first professional Hebrew theater in the world, and now the National Theater of Israel. Its initiator was Nahum David *Zemach, who was joined by Menahem Gnessin and the actress Ḥannah *Rovina in Warsaw, but World War I halted their efforts. They met again in Moscow in 1917 and were soon joined by a number of young Jewish actors. Their idea was not simply to found a theater but to give expression to the revolutionary change in the situation of the Jewish people and especially to the revival of Hebrew. Zemach turned to the great Russian theater director Konstantin Stanislavski and adopted his famous "method." It was, in fact, their idealism which enabled the Habimah actors to overcome the great initial difficulties, first of all the economic problem of the revolutionary period. David Vardi, one of its founding members, wrote in his diary in September, 1918: "Today we held a meeting… On the agenda was the food problem. It was decided to send two members out to the country, to look for potatoes and flour… We were each allotted a [role]. Mine was to bring potatoes from the he-Ḥalutz farm to the Habimah cooperative kitchen…."

There were also political problems. The Yevsektsiya, the Jewish section of the Communist Party, lodged a protest with Stalin, the People's Commissar of Nationalities, against Habimah's very existence. Stalin, however, overruled their intervention (1920). In this struggle Zemach succeeded in enlisting the support of leading artists, writers, and political personalities, such as Lunacharski, the commissar for education and culture, who proved a true friend of Habimah. Maxim *Gorki was also an enthusiastic supporter. Habimah introduced plays of a type that had never been staged by Jewish troupes, and they were directed by great teachers, all of them non-Jewish disciples of Stanislavski.

Habimah first performed in 1918, presenting four one-act plays by Jewish writers. It became one of the four studios of the Moscow Art Theater. Habimah scored its greatest triumph with S. *An-Ski's *The Dybbuk*, which was the third play it staged. Bialik translated it into Hebrew and Joel Engel composed its musical score. Its first performance took place on Jan. 31, 1922, and it established Habimah's reputation, as well as that of Yevgeni Vakhtangov, a young director of Armenian origin who had been delegated to Habimah by Stanislavski.

The Dybbuk owed its triumph to its outstanding orchestration, its forceful symbolism, and its glaring contrasts, but mainly to the boundless enthusiasm of the company in its acting and singing. Even in the mass scenes, every person on the stage gave his individual, distinct contribution; every Ḥasid and every beggar stood for something different, and yet together they formed a team. Vakhtangov's method, which was an endless process of refining, came to its perfect expression in the beggars' dance in Act II. In 1926 Habimah left Soviet Russia and went on a tour abroad. *The Dybbuk* was hailed as an unusual phenomenon. In 1927, when Habimah arrived in the United States, the company split. Zemach and several actors decided to stay in the country. According to David Vardi, "differences arose between Zemach and some of the younger actors, who had taken a giant step forward, of which Zemach hardly took note."

Habimah visited Palestine in 1928–29 and presented two productions, *Ha-Oẓar* ("The Treasure") by *Shalom Aleichem and *Keter David* ("David's Crown") by Calderon, both under the direction of the Russian Alexander Diki. In 1930 the company went to Berlin, where it performed *Twelfth Night*, directed by Michael Chekhov, and *Uriel da Costa*, under the direction of Alexander Granovski. It finally settled in Palestine in 1931. In the course of time it added to its repertoire a great variety of plays derived both from Jewish literature (of messianic and biblical content) and from world literature. It sought to foster dramas depicting Jewish life in the Diaspora, which it succeeded in presenting with extraordinary authenticity. Its aim was to present all phases of Jewish historical experience.

For the next 17 years Habimah was under the direction of its own members, mainly Barukh Chemerinsky and Ẓevi Friedland, the former concentrating on Diaspora dramas and original Hebrew plays, and the latter on world drama. Eventually Habimah also invited foreign directors, such as Leopold Lindberg, Leopold Jessner, and Tyrone Guthrie. It was Guthrie's 1948 production of *Oedipus Rex* which inaugurated a new era in the life of the company.

In the period in which Habimah relied mainly on its own directors, progress was slow. Each new performance became a festive occasion and Habimah had its admirers, a Habimah "circle," and a youth studio, as well as its own periodical (*Bamah*); but the company failed to keep pace with the cultural and social transformation of the *yishuv*. It did not rid itself of expressionistic oddities, and young people, as well as immigrants from the West, kept away. It also did not absorb the young talent which was crying out for a chance to prove its mettle. The graduates of the company's school for the most part joined the *Cameri, whose founding caused a crisis for Habimah.

In April 1948, Habimah went on a tour of the United States, presenting four productions (*The Dybbuk, The Golem, Keter David*, and *Oedipus Rex*). Although acclaimed by the critics, Habimah failed to attract audiences. When the company returned to Israel in July, it had nothing in its repertoire to express the heroic period of the national struggle. There was also conflict over the company's organization. For years there had been opposition to the continued existence of Habimah as a "collective," for it was argued that such a structure had become an obstacle to the company's progress because of the undue protection that it provided to members who had failed to attain the required artistic standard. This conflict was to remain unresolved for another two decades. Relief came from an unexpected quarter, the "generation of 1948." Yigal Mossinsohn's play *Be-Arvot ha-Negev* ("In the Negev Desert") had its premiere in February 1949 and met with an enthusiastic response. It expressed the spirit of the times, the highlights being Aharon Meskin's masterful acting and the play's portrayal of the new Israel-born generation.

In the following years Habimah enlisted directors of world renown: André Barsac from France, Alexander Bardini from Poland, Sven Malmquist from Sweden, John Hirsch from Canada, and Lee Strasberg and Harold Clurman from the United States. Under their direction, Habimah successfully mounted high-quality productions. At the same time, it continued to employ its own directors – Ẓevi Friedland, Israel Becker, Shimon Finkel, Shraga Friedman, and Avraham Ninio.

In 1958, on the 40th anniversary of its first performance in Moscow, Habimah was awarded the title of "National Theater of Israel." The honorific award could not, however, conceal the company's shortcomings. There was neither an artistic authority nor a true collective, and conflicts between various factions, as well as financial difficulties, threatened the theater's very existence. Finally, in 1969, the members decided to dissolve the "collective." The Ministry of Education and Culture appointed its representatives to the management of Habimah, and a new administering director, Gavriel Zifroni, took over. In 1970 Habimah dedicated its beautiful renovated hall in the center of Tel Aviv. In the same year the veteran actor Shimon Finkel was appointed artistic director. In 1972 it opened the Bamartef small hall for experimental productions. In 1975, Yossi Yisraeli was named artistic director. In 1976, Ḥannah Rovina played her last role as the queen mother in Shakespeare's *Richard III*. In the same year, Shlomo Bar Shavit became artistic director. In 1978, Shmuel Omer was named general director and David Levin artistic director, replaced in 1985 by Omri Nizan. In 1986 Habimah went on tour to Moscow. In 1992, Shmuel Omer became both general and artistic director. In 1995 Yaakov Agmon replaced him, remaining at the helm until 2004. In 1995 Ilan Ronen established the Habimah's youth group, which aimed at advancing young actors. In 1997 Habimah produced *The Dybbuk,* its most popular play, to celebrate the theater's 80th birthday. Under Agmon's management, the theater began to produce successful musicals, such as *Bustan Sefaradi* ("Spanish Orchard") and *Mary Lou* (based on songs of the pop composer-singer Zvika Pick). In 2004 Habimah employed 80 actors performing in 33 productions.

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ḪABIRU (or better: **Ḫapiru**), an element of society in the Fertile Crescent during the greater part of the second millennium B.C.E. They are mentioned in more than 250 texts. From their earliest appearance in documents of the 18th century B.C.E., the Ḫabiru constitute a class of dependents, displaced people who originated from both urban and tribal sedentary populations, not from nomadic groups. In the early Assyrian and Babylonian period (18th–17th centuries) they appear in Cappadocia and in the kingdoms of Larsa, Babylon, Mari and the surrounding areas as bands of warriors attached to, and maintained by, the local rulers. Fifteenth-century documents of Alalakh (northern Syria) list the members of the Ḫabiru military units belonging to the adjacent towns. Nuzi documents of the same periods mention Ḫabiru units and individuals as receiving protection from the state. However, what is unique in these Nuzi documents is the number of contracts entered into between individual Ḫabiru men and women and wealthy citizens in which the relationship partakes of the character of both slavery and adoption. Hittite documents of the 14th and 13th centuries B.C.E. list the gods of the Ḫabiru among others who are signatories to international alliances. Hittite cult documents place the Ḫabiru (Ḫapiri) at the head of a list of subject and enslaved peoples or classes. Akkadian documents from Ugarit mention "the Ḫabiru [= SA. GAZ] of the Sun [= king of Heth]" and in Ugaritic alphabetic script *Ḫlb ʿprm* i.e., the Ḫabiru quarter of the city of Ḫalbu (not identical with the great city of Ḥalab). From the 15th to the 12th centuries the *ʿpr.w* appear in Egyptian documents as captives from Palestine-Syria, and as slaves of the state.

Along with their appearance as dependents and protégés in lands of stable government, independent groups of Ḫabiru appear in times of disintegrating rule and lack of central control. In the Mari period of clashes between nations and cities, the Ḫabiru appear as robber bands, which attacked and plundered settlements, either on their own or together with residents of nearby settlements. Similarly in Palestine-Syria during the *el-Amarna period (15th–14th centuries B.C.E.), the confusion that resulted from the clashes between the local princes and the Egyptian governors provided an opportune time for the bands of Ḫabiru to run wild. On their own, together with local people, or as mercenaries helping either the city princes or the Egyptians they contributed greatly to the general confusion that was characteristic of the period.

The Ḫabiru were of varied origin. In Mari, a band of auxiliary soldiers was called Iamutbalian Ḫabiru ("i̯amutbalāju

Ḫa-bi-ru"), the former being the name of a western Semitic tribe and of the territory west of Baghdad. Documents from Mari and Alalakh cite cities as the origin of most of the Ḫabiru listed. Some of the Ḫabiru in Nuzi came from Akkad, Assyria, etc. A significant element among the Ḫabiru of the El-Amarna period was mutineers against the local kinglets. Their names also testify to a varied ethnic makeup: an early Babylonian list includes Akkadian and Western Semitic names; in Alalakh the names are principally non-Semitic (which corresponds with the surroundings); and in Nuzi there is a mixture of Akkadian and non-Semitic names. The ease with which they absorbed everyone who wished "to be a Ḫabiru" (in the language of the documents) indicates that they were not distinguished by ethnic unity.

All those called Ḫabiru shared a common inferior status. Almost all were fugitives from their original societies, and, as strangers without rights, they made themselves dependent on lords. For a few it is specifically noted that they were fugitives from authority or from personal calamities, or ordinary scoundrels (cf. similar bands in Israel during the biblical period: Judg. 9:4, 26ff.; 11:3; and especially David's band, I Sam. 22:2). The circumstances in which the Ḫabiru emerged are unclear. There are vague indications of a western-Semitic origin: their name; a settlement of Amorite (= MAR.TU; see *Amorites) soldiers of the early Babylonian period, named *Ḫa-bi-ri* (KI); the fact that the documents about them begin to appear at the height of Amorite migration to Mesopotamia. It is possible that Amorite unfortunates, stripped of land and possessions, formed the original core to which a rabble of paupers, refugees, and criminals was attracted in the course of time, without consideration of ethnic origin.

Ugaritic and Egyptian writings indicate that the root of the word Ḫabiru is *ʿapiru* (noun form). The existence of the *ʿayin* in the cuneiform, in the sign *ḪA*, points to a western-Semitic origin, since ordinarily the initial *ʿayin* becomes an *ʾalef* in Akkadian which is not the present case. These writings also establish the pronunciation of the second syllable – *BI* in cuneiform must in this case represent *pi*, which makes it highly unlikely that the word is to be derived from *ʿBR*.

In many sources the ideogram SA.GAZ is interchangeable with the term "Ḫabiru." This ideogram is translated in late lexicographical lists by the word *ḫa-ba-tu*, meaning "robber," but also migratory workers, who in El-Amarna letter no. 318:11–12 are kept apart from the Ḫabiru. (The later lexical identifications are not conclusive evidence.) It is probable that in many places the ideogram was pronounced Ḫabiru, but there is no definite proof for this. Some read the ideogram as *ša-ga-šu* based on the variants SA.GA.AZ, SAG.GAZ, meaning "murderer" (as in Akkadian) or "restless, foul" (as in Aramaic and Arabic). In any event, it is clear that both SA.GAZ and Ḫabiru had a negative connotation, to the extent that at times (and many such instances appear in the El-Amarna letters) the terms were used as synonyms for mutineers and paupers.

[Moshe Greenberg]

Habiru and the Hebrews

The problem of the connection between the Ḫabiru and the Hebrews has been discussed for almost 150 years. The earlier stages of the problem are summarized by M. Greenberg (in bibl., 4–12, esp., 91–96; see R. de Vaux, W.F. Albright, M.P. Gray, J. Weingreen, J. Bottéro and E.F. Campbell in bibl.; see also *el-Amarna). For more recent discussion, see Additional Bibliography.

One cannot simply equate Ḫabiru with the "Hebrews" because it is clear that the Ḫabiru are always a social element, while "Hebrew" is at least sometimes equivalent to the ethnicon "Israel" (Gen. 40:15; 43:32; Ex. 1:18; 2:11; 3:18; 5:3) if not always (I Sam. 14:21; Na'aman 1986). Abraham was called *ʿivri* (Gen. 14:13) because he is a descendant of Eber (Gen. 10:25). Yet as a leader of an armed band able to form local alliances he fits certain social structural identifications with the Ḫabiru; other parts of the Israelites also could fulfill, for a short time, this traditional identification based on this structure (cf. Campbell, in bibl., 14). It is possible that a reminiscence of the negative connotation of Ḫabiru survives in the designation *eved ivri* (Ex. 21:2) or in the *ʿivrim* mentioned in connection with Saul in I Samuel 13–14 (although they may not be Israelites at all; see above).

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HA-BOKER (Heb. הַבֹּקֶר "The Morning").

(1) Daily Hebrew newspaper, published in Warsaw under the editorship of David *Frischmann from Jan. 14, 1909, until Aug. 20, 1909 (180 editions). Published with the Yiddish daily *Haynt*, to which Frischmann was a regular contributor, *Ha-Boker* was politically non-aligned. The editor was very exacting in the stylistic standard of the paper and intent upon attracting as contributors the best Hebrew writers and intellects of the day. Translations from world literature were also published in *Ha-Boker.* The paper had regular writers in London (Asher *Beilin), and in the United States (A. Fleishman), and occasional contributors elsewhere. Two current events filled up entire editions: the discovery of the *agent provocateur,* *Azeff, and the rebellion of the Young Turks in Turkey. Especially through the treatment of the latter, *Ha-Boker* took the stand, opposed to the official Zionist opinion, namely that the Young Turks would aggravate the already negative Turkish position on the Zionist undertaking (which indeed

proved the case). Extensive debates were conducted, too, on the topic of Yiddish-Hebrew, and the "Hebrew in Hebrew" teaching method.

(2) Daily Hebrew newspaper published in Tel Aviv, 1935–65. Right-wing circles of the *yishuv* founded *Ha-Boker* as their organ for General Zionism. The orientation of the paper was formulated in the first edition by M. *Dizengoff. A brief period of groping was followed by consolidation in the editorial staff, especially after J.H. Heftman became editor in chief (he served intermittently as sole editor or as coeditor with Perez *Bernstein). *Ha-Boker* is credited with several journalistic innovations in the country, especially with vivid reporting, then in its pioneering stages. The literary supplement was edited for years by Baruch *Karu (Krupnik). After Heftman's death, Y. Gruman served as the paper's editor, followed by P. Bernstein and G. Ẓifroni. With the formation of the Liberal Party (1961), which consolidated the two branches of General Zionism, this paper served as its organ, and as a forum for publicists and writers in sympathy with the party. Finally, with the formation of the Ḥerut Liberal Party bloc (*Gaḥal) in 1965, the two party newspapers, *Ḥerut* and *Ha-Boker,* were replaced by a new paper, *Ha-Yom*.

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[Getzel Kressel]

HA-BONIM (Heb. הַבּוֹנִים), moshav shittufi in central Israel, by the seacoast, 6 mi. (10 km.) northwest of *Zikhron Ya'akov, affiliated with Tenu'at ha-Moshavim, founded in 1949 by graduates of the Iḥud Habonim youth movement from South Africa and other English-speaking countries. They were later joined by Israeli-born youth and new immigrants from other countries. The economy was based on citriculture, livestock, etc. Ha-Bonim beach, a nature resort with marine species and unique plants, lies near the moshav. In 1968 Ha-Bonim had 150 inhabitants, rising to 249 in 2002.

[Efraim Orni /Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

HABOR (Heb. חָבוֹר), a river flowing through Mesopotamia for 218 mi. (350 km.) from north to south in the region of el-Jazira, the area between the Euphrates and Tigris rivers. It rises from Mt. Kharagah, and is joined by five tributary streams, emptying into the Euphrates north of Mari. The surrounding region was productive in antiquity; grain was raised mainly in the north while in the southern Habor Valley sheep and cattle, and later also horses, were raised. Beyond the northern Habor lay an important trade route, which started at Nineveh, the Assyrian metropolis, and ran by way of Nisibis, Gozan, and Haran to Carchemish on the Euphrates. This route was apparently used in the days of Abraham and even before. On the evidence of the remains excavated at Chagar Bazar, the Habor Valley was first settled in the Neolithic period. In the 18th century B.C.E., many attempts were made to channel the river's waters by means of dams and canals, as is known from the Mari letters of that period. In the 16th-14th centuries B.C.E. the region of the Habor was in the center of the mighty kingdom of Mitanni, and the area was reduced to ruins until it was revived in the 10th century B.C.E. The city of Gozan (Tell Halaf) became especially important, and according to the Bible the river was apparently named after it. The Assyrian conquest of the Habor district began in the ninth and eighth centuries. When insurrections in the conquered cities increased, one city after another was destroyed and the inhabitants deported. In their place Tiglath-Pileser III settled the Israelite exiles from Transjordan (I Chron. 5:26), and later Sargon II settled the exiles from Samaria there (II Kings 17:6; 18:11; cf. Pritchard, Texts, 284–5). Documents found in the excavations of Gozan prove the presence of Israelite exiles in this city (see *Gozan and Assyrian *Exile).

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[Michael Avi-Yonah]

ḤABSHUSH, SHALOM BEN YAḤYA (c. 1825–1905), head of a yeshivah in San'a, Yemen, *dayyan*, and author. A goldsmith by profession, he kept aloof from public office and communal affairs, and devoted himself to the study of the Torah. He was the last head of the San'a yeshivah, which closed down in 1905 during a siege and famine. He wrote two works, which were published together (Aden, 1893): *Korban Todah*, explanations and novellae on the *Mekor Ḥayyim* of R. Yaḥyā Ṣāliḥ b. Jacob, dealing with the laws of ritual slaughter and *terefot*; and *Shoshannat ha-Melekh*, an abridged version of the responsa *Pe'ulat Ẓaddik* of R. Yaḥyā Ṣāliḥ. It was written and possibly copied by the author himself in 1862. The abridged responsa are presented in the form of *halakhot* and verdicts. In the margins he added the *Gan Shoshannim*, which indicates the source of the *halakhah*. The part on *Oraḥ Ḥayyim* and *Yoreh De'ah* was published together with R. David Mizraḥi's commentary on the Shulḥan Arukh, *Shetilei Zeitim* (2 vols. 1886–96).

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[Yehuda Ratzaby]

HACKENBURG, WILLIAM BOWER (1837–1918), U.S. silk manufacturer and philanthropist. After becoming secretary of the Hebrew Relief Society in 1858, Hackenburg devoted a great deal of his time to doing philanthropic work in his native Philadelphia. He was a founder of the Jewish Hospital, being largely responsible for its development into a major public institution, a trustee of both the Baron de Hirsch Fund and Dropsie College, and a vice president of the Board of Delegates of American Israelites. In 1878 he supervised the latter organization's compilation of a statistical survey of American Jewry. He was also active in Russo-Jewish refugee relief work.

[Sefton D. Temkin]

HACKETT, BUDDY (**Leonard Hacker**; 1924–2003), U.S. comedian. Born in Brooklyn, New York, Hackett's wit and story-telling ability won him success on television in the 1960s. Previously he had performed in nightclubs and appeared in the Broadway farce *Lunatics and Lovers* (1954) and the comedy *I Had a Ball* (1965). In 1960 he won attention in David Susskind's television program *Open End*. This was followed by roles in such films as *All Hands on Deck* (1961); *Everything's Ducky* (1961); *The Music Man* (1962); *The Wonderful World of the Brothers Grimm* (1962); *It's a Mad, Mad, Mad, Mad World* (1963); and *The Love Bug* (1968). His distinctive voice also earned him a variety of vocal roles in animated films, such as the TV movie *Jack Frost* (1979); *The Little Mermaid* (1989); *Mouse Soup* (1992); and *The Little Mermaid II* (2000), as well as the 1992 TV series *Fish Police*.

Hackett's TV career encompassed frequent appearances on such shows as *What's My Line?*; *The Dean Martin Show*; *Rowan and Martin's Laugh-In*; and *The Tonight Show Starring Johnny Carson*, as well as a recurring role in the 1999 sitcom *Action*. He also played Lou Costello in the 1978 TV movie *Bud and Lou*.

Despite his success in movies and on television, Hackett preferred his nightclub work. He performed in clubs around the country, particularly in Las Vegas, where he ultimately became one of the top headliners in Vegas history. One of the pioneers of "blue" comedy, Hackett was noted for his risqué material and off-color language. But among his fellow comedians, he was regarded as an ingenious ad-libber and a comic who knew just how long to keep a joke or a routine in his act before it became stale.

Hackett devoted much time to a foundation combating Tay-Sachs disease, a malady that occurs mostly among Jewish children of Middle European background. He wrote *The Truth about Golf, and Other Lies* (1968) and *The Naked Mind of Buddy Hackett* (1974).

[Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

HACOHEN, DAVID (1898–1984), Israeli politician and diplomat; member of the First to Sixth Knessets. Hacohen was born in Gomel, Russia, the son of Mordecai ben Hillel *Hacohen, who immigrated to Ereẓ Israel with his family in 1907. In Gomel he went to a reformed *ḥeder*, and in Tel Aviv went to the Herzlia Gymnasium. Hacohen enlisted to the Turkish Army in 1916 and served in Anatolia. In 1919–23 he studied economics at the London School of Economics. Upon his return to Palestine in 1923 he was appointed manager of the Office for Public Works and Planning in the *Histadrut, which eventually became *Solel Boneh. During World War II he was *Haganah liaison officer to the British Army and British Intelligence. His house in Haifa served as the center of Free French Forces radio transmission to the Vichy-occupied Levant. For many years during the British Mandate, Hacohen served as a member of the mixed Arab-Jewish Haifa Municipality. Together with other *yishuv* leaders, he was arrested by the British on "Black Saturday," June 29, 1946, and interned at Latrun. After being a member of *Aḥdut ha-Avodah, Hacohen was elected to the First Knesset on the *Mapai list, and remained a member of the Knesset for 20 years until 1969, with a break in 1953–55, when he served as Israel's first ambassador to Burma. In the Second to Sixth Knessets he was chairman of the Knesset Foreign Affairs and Defense Committee. He led many of the Knesset delegations to the Inter-Parliamentary Union in Geneva, and was twice a member of its Executive.

David Hacohen's second wife was Bracha *Habas.

[Benjamin Jaffe / Susan Hattis Rolef (2nd ed.)]

HACOHEN, MORDECAI (1906–1972), rabbi and scholar. Born in the old city of Jerusalem, where his father, Rabbi Ḥaim, a well-known kabbalist who immigrated to Ereẓ Israel at the turn of the century, was leader of the service at the Western Wall for more than 50 years.

Rabbi Hacohen was educated at Jerusalem yeshivot and was ordained by Rabbis Abraham Isaac Kook, Joseph Ḥayyim Sonnenfeld and Abraham Ẓvi Schorr, head of the Ḥasidic Beth Din, whose daughter he married. With the establishment of the Hebrew University in Jerusalem in 1925 he enrolled as one of its first students.

He spearheaded and directed the Maḥzike Hadas network of institutions in Jerusalem with the aim of "bringing back" from among the secular population the "children who strayed away" – especially in the kibbutzim – to a renewed positive relationship with Jewish tradition. In line with these efforts, he published and edited (1943–49) a biweekly, *Nerot Shabbat* ("The Lights of Shabbat"), which was dedicated solely to the Shabbat, its content, meaning and beauty.

His literary works, which cover a wide range of topics, deal not only with academic subjects and theoretical halakhic problems, but also with relevant contemporary issues, and include *Al ha-Torah* (5 vols., 1956) and *Min ha-Torah* (5 vols., 1973), the popular and oft-reprinted collection of his original commentaries on the weekly portions of the Torah; *Midrash Bereshit Zuta* (1957); *Erke Midot be-Torat ha-Rambam* (1956; "Ethical Values in the Teachings of Maimonides"); *Kotel Ma'aravi* (1968); *Me'arat ha-Makhpelah* (1970).

After his death, Yad Ramah – a research and publication institute, commemorating his name and ideas – was established. Among the Yad Ramah publications are the following volumes of his collected essays: *Halakhot ve-Halikhot* ("Contemporary Issues in Halakhah"), *Mikdash Me'at* ("On Synagogue and Prayer"), *Ḥiddush va-Ḥeker* ("Talmudic Studies"), *Ishim u-Tekufot* ("Historical and Biographical Studies"), *Be-Einei Ḥazal* ("The World of the Sages"), and *Ha-Bayit ve-ha-Aliyah* ("Studies Concerning the Temple and Pilgrimage").

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HACOHEN, MORDECAI BEN HILLEL (1856–1936), Hebrew writer and Zionist. At the age of 18 he began publishing in Hebrew periodicals, such as *Ha-Levanon, Ha-Ẓefirah*, and *Ha-Kol*, and, from 1876, was on the editorial staff of *Ha-*

Shaḥar. In 1878–9 Hacohen, who was influenced by *Smolenskin's nationalism, published a long article sharply criticizing the Haskalah movement for having caused a spiritual crisis among the Jewish youth of Eastern Europe. No less effective was his article in **Ha-Meliẓ* (1879), depicting the dire economic plight of Russian Jewry. In 1878 he moved to St. Petersburg. In 1880 he wrote a comprehensive survey of Jewish agriculturalists in modern Russia for the Russo-Jewish periodicals. Hacohen joined the *Ḥibbat Zion movement in 1881 and, in the same year, published in **Ha-Maggid* his article "*Kumu ve-Na'aleh Ẓiyyon*" ("Arise and Let Us Go to Zion"), the first of a series on the new movement. In 1886 he wrote from a Jewish nationalist standpoint the first comprehensive survey of Smolenskin's career. He visited Palestine at the end of 1889 and published his impressions in *Ha-Meliẓ*. In 1891, in his native town of Mogilev, Hacohen founded two societies for promoting settlement in Palestine, visiting the country again on their behalf in that year. He reported on his journey in *Lu'aḥ Aḥi'asaf* 9 (1901) and 11 (1903) criticizing the colonizing activities of the Ḥovevei Zion and of their agent, Ze'ev Tiomkin. A delegate to the first Zionist Congress (1897), he was the first to deliver a speech in Hebrew. In 1907 he settled in Palestine. Hacohen, who was one of the founders of Tel Aviv, played an active part in the economic and cultural life of the *yishuv*. He helped to start the monthly youth magazine *Moledet*, of which he later became an editor. He was also one of the organizers of the Association of Hebrew Writers. Hacohen's articles are characterized by their practical approach to contemporary problems, as exemplified by his demand that Jewish nationalism be given a sound economic basis. Especially noteworthy is his essay on "The Literary Vision of Israel and Its Land," as expressed in the works of Smolenskin, George Eliot, Disraeli, and Baharav (*Ha-Shilo'aḥ*, vols. 2, 6, 11). His memoirs and diaries are also of historical and cultural importance.

His Hebrew works include a collection of articles and stories (2 vols., 1904); *Kevar*, memoirs (1923); *Olami*, memoirs (5 vols., 1927–29); *Milḥemet ha-'Ammim*, a diary of World War I (5 vols., 1929–30); *Atḥalta* (2 vols., 1931–42), a collection of articles on Ereẓ Israel in the years 1917–20; *Ḥayyim Naḥman Bialik* (1933); *Be-Sivkhei ha-Ya'ar ve-'od Sippurim* (1934); and *Sefer Shemot*, biographical sketches of Hebrew writers and Zionist workers (1938). A selection of Hacohen's Yiddish writings was published in the miscellany *In Mame Loshen* (1935). Two of Hacohen's articles in Russian, "Jerusalem and its Region" (1909) and "On the Balance of Trade of Jaffa Harbor" (1913), were reprinted in pamphlet form. On the 50th and 60th anniversaries of the beginning of his literary work, miscellanies were published in his honor, *Me-Erev ad Erev* (2 vols., 1904) and *Mi-Boker ad Erev* (1925), which also contain biographical and bibliographical material about him.

[Gedalyah Elkoshi]

HACOHEN, RAPHAEL ḤAYYIM (1883–1954), rabbi and communal leader. Born in Shiraz, Persia, he was taken by his parents to Jerusalem in 1890. After a thorough rabbinical education, he began to take an active part in all communal affairs of the *yishuv* and the then small settlement of Persian Jews. He founded an organization, Agudat Ohavei Zion, which aimed to improve the economic and cultural situation of the Persian Jews in Jerusalem. A devoted Zionist, he was a delegate to the Convention (Kenesiyyah) in Zikhron Ya'akov, organized by M. *Ussishkin in 1903. In 1922 he signed a memorandum to the Zionist Congress, outlining the conditions and requirements of the Persian Jewish colony in Jerusalem. In 1912 he established a Hebrew printing press in Jerusalem, which published many works of *Judeo-Persian literature. He himself was the author of *Shir u-Shevaḥah* (1905; 1921^2), a collection of songs and *pizmonim* of his family and of the Jews of Shiraz, and of an *Autobiography*.

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[Walter Joseph Fischel]

HADAD, an early Semitic god, first appears in texts written in the Old Akkadian dialect and in Eblaite (third millennium). He was one of the chief gods of the *Amorites and, later, the *Canaanites and Arameans. In Akkadian documents Hadad appears as Adad / Addu and in Ugaritic as "Hd." He also appears at *Emar in Syria. The name Hadad probably means "thunderer," and as god of the storm he is responsible for fertility as well as destruction. He appears together with the sun goddess as guarantor of the treaty between Ebla and Abarsal. A letter found at Mari (A. Roberts, 1968, 166–68, 18th century B.C.E.) refers to a prophet of Adad, reminding King Zimri-Lim of Mari that it was Adad who returned Zimri-Lim to his ancestral throne and who gave the king the divine weapons with which he had defeated the sea god. This ancient myth is echoed in Ugaritic sources in which Baal, also called Hd, defeats Yam the sea god, as well as in Ps. 89:21–6. The cult of Hadad persisted in Syria from the earliest period up to Roman times. By the ninth century B.C.E. Baal and Hadad had bifurcated, with Baal, the biblical rival of Yahweh, worshipped in Israel, the Phoenician homeland in Lebanon, and the Phoenician diaspora, and Hadad among the Arameans, where he headed the pantheon. The bullock was sacred to him, and the sheaf of wheat, symbol of fertility, was one of his symbols. His consort was Atar'ata (called Atargatis, "the Syrian goddess," in Greek sources).

The centers of the Hadad cult were Damascus and Baalbek, where he was identified with the sun god. There were temples of Hadad in Gozan-Sikanu, Sefire, Aleppo, Sam'al, and elsewhere. He was depicted on Syrian reliefs as a bearded man standing astride a bullock, holding shafts of lightning in his hands. In a later period he was depicted as a tall man wrapped in a tight garment decorated with emblems of the heavenly bodies, holding a threshing board in one hand and ears of grain in the other; next to him stand two bullocks. The Baal-Hadad cult was denounced by Elijah the prophet (I Kings 18) and by *Hosea. In Palestine Hadad was known by the epithet Rimmon (properly, Ramman, "thunderer"), and was worshiped in the Valley of Megiddo (cf. "…as the mourning of Hadadrimmon in the plain of Megiddon," Zech. 12:11). In the Aramaic Tel Dan Inscription (COS II, 162–63) the victorious Aramean king credits Hadad with preceding him and giving him victory over Israel.

In the Hellenistic period an altar was erected to Hadad near Acre. He and Atarʿata were also the chief gods of Hierapolis in Syria, but during the Hellenistic-Roman period the cult of the goddess gained in importance. When the Syrian cult spread west to the Greek and Roman cities, Hadad played only a secondary role.

Hadad appears in the Bible as the name of Edomite kings (Gen. 36:35; I Kings 11:14–25; I Chron. 1:46, 50) and is also a component of the names of Aramean kings Bar-Hadad, i.e., "Son of Hadad," hebraized as *Ben-Hadad (I Kgs. 20:1) and Hadadezer (II Sam. 8:3).

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[Michael Avi-Yonah / S. David Sperling (2nd ed.)]

HADAMARD, JACQUES SALOMON (1865–1963), French mathematician. Born in Versailles, Hadamard held chairs of mathematics at the Collège de France from 1897 and the Ecole Polytechnique from 1912 until his retirement in 1935. He was elected a member of the Academy of Sciences in 1912 and was the first to be awarded the Feltrinelli Prize founded by the Italians in 1955 to compensate for the absence of a Nobel Prize for mathematicians. A brother-in-law of Alfred *Dreyfus, Hadamard took an active interest in the Dreyfus case, and for 60 years was a member of the central committee of the Ligue des Droits de l'Homme founded at the time of the Zola trial in 1898. The dangers of Hitlerism were recognized by Hadamard at an early stage. He was a free-thinker, but worked to alleviate the plight of German Jewry. He was a member of the French Palestine Committee and of the administrative board of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. He escaped from France in 1941 to the United States, and moved to England to engage in operational research with the Royal Air Force. Hadamard produced important work in analysis, number theory, differential geometry, calculus of variations, functional analysis, partial differential equations, and hydrodynamics, and inspired research among successive generations of mathematicians. He published numerous papers and books. His *An Essay on the Psychology of Invention in the Mathematical Field* (1945; *Essai sur la psychologie de l'invention dans le domaine mathématique*, 1959) was published many years after his retirement.

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[Barry Spain]

HADAS, MOSES (1900–1966), U.S. classical scholar and humanist. After graduating from Emory University, Hadas proceeded to Columbia University, at the same time pursuing studies at the Jewish Theological Seminary of America, from which he received his rabbinical diploma. Appointed instructor in Greek at the former institution in 1925, he became associate professor in 1946 and full professor in 1953. Three years later he was elected to the prestigious John Jay Chair in Greek, which he occupied until his death. During World War II he served with the Office of Strategic Services in North Africa and Greece.

Hadas' cardinal contribution to classical studies in the United States was to bring them out of the narrower confines of textual criticism into the broad area of general humanistic interest. This he did through a series of spirited and elegant renderings of the Greek dramatists and romances (e.g., Heliodorus) and of Caesar, Tacitus, Seneca, and other writers. He also wrote popular histories of Greek and Latin literature (1950, 1952); a broad, if sometimes controversial, survey of the Greco-Roman age, entitled *Hellenistic Culture: Fusion and Diffusion* (1959); a study (with Morton Smith) of classical aretalogy; and, in a lighter vein, an entertaining ancilla to classical reading. Many of these works appeared in inexpensive paperback editions, and thus introduced the ancient masterpieces to the general reader.

Hadas was a major figure at Columbia University. Through the humanity of his writings and the urbane temper of his character and outlook, he left an indelible impression on several generations of students and readers alike, and he was among the foremost to remove the traditional fustian from classical studies.

Outside of the classical field, Hadas produced, among other works, a delightful rendering of Joseph ben Meir *Ibn Zabara's *Book of Delight* (1932) and *Fables of a Jewish Aesop* (1966), a translation of the fox fables of the 12th century *Berechiah ha-Nakdan. In his earlier years he was prominently identified with the Menorah movement in American universities.

[Theodor H. Gaster]

HADASSAH, THE WOMEN'S ZIONIST ORGANIZATION OF AMERICA, largest Zionist, Jewish, and women's organization in the United States, with 300,000 members. Hadassah first sent public health nurses to Palestine in 1912 and in the decades following played a leading role in developing the social welfare infrastructure of pre-State Israel. With a program budget of $125 million by 2005, Hadassah now provides vital funding for Israel's medical facilities and supports many health, educational, and vocational programs in Israel and the United States. Hadassah also offers its medical expertise and assistance in countries throughout the developing world.

Early History

Hadassah has its origins in a turn-of-the-century visit to Palestine by two American Jewish women. In 1909, soon after joining a New York City "Daughters of Zion" study group, the writer and editor Henrietta *Szold, along with her mother, visited the Holy Land for the first time. They were both shocked by what Szold described as the "misery, poverty, filth, disease" they saw there. Upon returning to New York, Szold proposed to her study group that they take up the practical work of relieving Jewish suffering in Palestine.

In 1912, 30 women attended a meeting at New York City's Temple Emanu-El to discuss this idea and agreed to form a new organization called "Daughters of Zion, Hadassah Chapter." The group elected Szold as president, drew up a constitution, and adopted a motto: "The healing of the daughter of my people." The group's first priority would be to provide health care to women and children in the *yishuv* (Jewish community of Palestine). Less than a year later, Hadassah's Alice *Seligsberg accompanied the first two Hadassah nurses, Rose Kaplan and Rachel Landy, on their voyage to Palestine. In 1913, the nurses opened a small clinic in Jerusalem, called a Nurse's Settlement, to deal primarily with maternity care and trachoma cases. The model for this project was the system of visiting nurses set up by Lillian *Wald at the Henry Street Settlement House in New York City's impoverished Lower East Side neighborhood.

The new organization changed its name to "Hadassah, the Women's Zionist Organization of America" at its first annual convention in 1914, declaring that its mandate was "to promote Jewish institutions and enterprises in Palestine and to foster Zionist ideals in America." Policy would be decided at future annual conventions with a central committee making decisions between conventions. Hadassah pledged to develop modern, American-style health and social welfare services in the *yishuv,* and promised members that their donations would go directly to support projects in Palestine.

After the outbreak of World War I, the Nurse's Settlement in Jerusalem was forced to close down in 1915. But the World Zionist Organization issued an urgent appeal for an emergency medical force to be sent to war-stricken Palestine. In 1918, Hadassah sent a 45-member medical team, the American Zionist Medical Unit (AZMU), to establish hospitals and clinics across Palestine. Hadassah established a Nurses Training School in Jerusalem and a School Hygiene Department and launched campaigns to eradicate malaria, cholera, trachoma, and other infectious diseases. Szold herself moved to Palestine in 1920 to administer Hadassah's ever-expanding network of health facilities and social welfare programs. The following year, the AZMU was renamed the Hadassah Medical Organization or HMO.

At a time when most Zionist organizations concentrated on political lobbying and land development to advance the Zionist cause, Hadassah's focus on health care, and on women and children, was sometimes criticized as frivolous charity work. But Hadassah's leaders replied that they were doing the nation-building work of creating a public health system. Indeed, Hadassah regarded its social welfare activities as women's distinctive contribution to the Zionist state-building effort. "It is the woman's part in constructive national work that Hadassah seeks to stress – the mother tasks," explained the organization.

Hadassah adopted a succession of projects pioneered by Progressive activists in the United States and adapted them for local use in the *yishuv.* First, Hadassah created a system of visiting nurses, infant welfare stations, pasteurized milk depots, and the *Tippat Ḥalav* or Drop of Milk program, which used donkeys to deliver containers of pasteurized milk to mothers and babies. Other projects included school hygiene programs, maternity education, nutrition education, domestic science programs, school lunches, and supervised playgrounds.

These types of community-based public health initiatives emphasizing the role of health education in preventive medicine had a measurable effect. Hadassah helped reduce maternal deaths as well as infant mortality rates, prevented the spread of infectious disease, and taught adults and children the importance of hygiene, sanitation, recreation, and nutrition.

Among Zionist organizations working in Palestine, Hadassah was also distinguished by its interest in creating a pluralistic and tolerant Jewish society in which Arabs and Jews lived harmoniously. A strictly nonsectarian policy meant that from the start Hadassah's services were available to all residents of Palestine regardless of nationality or religion. Hadassah leaders often claimed that this helped to reduce tensions between Arabs and Jews.

Women's equality was also central to Hadassah's Zionist vision. In the 1920s, as Jewish women in the *yishuv* organized to fight for their social and political rights, including property rights and the right to vote in local elections, Hadassah supported their cause.

The services and institutions that Hadassah established in Palestine were designed to promote the development of a modern, egalitarian, and cohesive Jewish society. But Hadassah's larger goal was the creation of an independent Jewish state which could survive without Diaspora assistance. Thus Szold and Hadassah demanded that Hadassah-initiated projects be transferred to local control and management as soon as it was feasible.

In the United States, Hadassah resisted enormous pressure from the Zionist federations to join in national fundraising campaigns and pool its donations with those of other organizations. Persevering through acrimonious and well-publicized clashes with other Zionist organizations, Hadassah fought to preserve its organizational autonomy and the right to fund and administer its own projects. These battles cemented Hadassah's reputation for organizational and financial integrity and won it the loyalty of growing numbers of American Jewish women. An expanding membership base made Hadassah – with 66,000 members in 1939 – the largest single Zionist organization in the United States in the interwar period. This support, in conjunction with a well-developed fundraising apparatus, allowed Hadassah to accomplish its goals in the *yishuv.*

The needs of American Jewish women were also high on Hadassah's agenda. The organization aimed to educate these women "not only to Judaism but to a realization of their civic and national responsibilities." Szold insisted that Hadassah establish only one chapter in each city so that it could include both immigrant and native-born women from all social and educational backgrounds. In an era when few women had access to higher education or professional opportunities, Hadassah membership gave women a chance to learn new skills and an opportunity to participate in public life. Many women were transformed by their Hadassah work, taking up public speaking, organizing and running chapters of the organization, writing publicity materials and, for some, getting involved at the national and even international level.

Szold formally resigned as Hadassah president in 1926 when the World Zionist Congress asked her to join its Palestine Executive with responsibility for the health and welfare portfolio. Nevertheless, Szold remained in close contact with Hadassah's leadership over the years, effectively giving the organization a supporting role in the Jewish self-government of pre-State Israel. At the same time, Szold left her imprint on Hadassah for the future: an emphasis on health, social welfare, and education; a concern with organizational efficiency and financial transparency; faith in women's abilities; and a commitment to developing Jewish community life in the United States as well as in Palestine (later Israel).

Throughout the 1920s and 1930s, Hadassah continued to expand its programs in the *yishuv.* With Jewish immigrants constantly arriving from all over the world, Hadassah's health care workers tried to inculcate modern, Western ideas of health and preventive medicine. These immigrants, wherever they came from, were considered superstitious and backward. Hadassah's workers combated poor nutrition, high rates of illiteracy, patriarchal (and in some cases polygamous) family structures, child labor, and child marriage.

By the 1930s, Hadassah had created a countrywide network of maternity and child welfare programs, as well as many hospitals and clinics. In keeping with its policy of devolution, Hadassah handed over many of its programs to local authorities, and was soon looking for a new focus. When Recha *Freier, a German Jewish Zionist, asked for Szold's help to get Jewish youth out of Germany, Hadassah found its new purpose. In 1935, Hadassah became the sole American sponsor of the Youth Aliyah movement which rescued Jewish children from Nazi Europe and brought them to Palestine to be raised communally on kibbutzim. During World War II and in the years following, Hadassah helped Youth Aliyah to rescue, house, and educate thousands of young European Jewish refugees. This work, in turn, prepared Hadassah for its later role in helping the new State of Israel absorb the children of the Middle Eastern and North African Jews who arrived, en masse, during the first decade of statehood.

Despite wartime stresses, and the burden of helping to care for Youth Aliyah children, Hadassah's attention to building facilities for health and education never flagged. In 1939, the Rothschild-Hadassah University Hospital, the first teaching hospital and medical center in the country, opened on Mount Scopus. In 1942, Hadassah established the Alice L. Seligsberg Trade School for Girls, the first such school in Palestine, followed in 1944 by a Vocational Guidance Bureau in Jerusalem, the forerunner of the still active Hadassah Career Counseling Institute.

In 1948, after an ambush killed 77 of its medical staff, Hadassah evacuated its medical facilities on Mount Scopus, and set up five temporary hospitals around Jerusalem. The new Hadassah-Hebrew University Medical Center in Ein Kerem was dedicated in 1960. In 1962, as part of Hadassah's Golden Anniversary celebration, a synagogue was dedicated at the Ein Kerem facility. The synagogue's 12 stunning stained glass windows depicting the 12 tribes of Israel were designed by artist Marc *Chagall and draw visitors from all over the world.

In 1967, after the Six-Day War, Hadassah returned to Mount Scopus and began to rebuild. Hailed as a milestone event for Hadassah as well as for Israel, thousands of people attended the rededication ceremony in 1975 when the new Hadassah-Mount Scopus Hospital was finally reopened.

In 1983 Hadassah jettisoned the unwritten agreement limiting its membership to the United States, and promptly began setting up Hadassah affiliates worldwide. The Hadassah International Medical Relief Association (now called Hadassah International) opened membership to all who wished to fundraise for, and otherwise support, Hadassah's medical work. Hadassah International groups in more than 30 countries are generating support for the Hadassah Medical Organization, as well as coordinating international professional exchanges and symposiums.

Modern Challenges

In the 1980s and 1990s Hadassah faced fresh challenges at home. While the economic pressure of supporting programs in Israel was mounting, Hadassah's membership was aging. With career and family pressures competing for their attention, fewer young women were joining the organization. To appeal to this younger generation, Hadassah developed new and expanded domestic programming, including more involvement in American social policy issues. The organization is now deeply engaged in advocacy at the state and national levels in the areas of health care, education, equality, and social justice, including everything from reproductive choice to gun control, environmental protection, immigration policy, and stem-cell research.

On other fronts, Hadassah training programs cultivate women's leadership and organizational skills. Groups like Educators' Councils, Nurses' Councils, and Attorneys' Councils give professional women both a forum for networking and a vehicle for contributing their professional skills to Hadassah. Organized "missions" or trips to Israel for Hadassah members show them what the organization has accomplished on the ground and make connections between American Jewish women and Israelis. On the local level, hands-on programs such as helping a women's shelter, or literacy tutoring, offer tangible results as well as a sense of community and connection with other Jewish women. Hadassah's Department of Women's Health promotes self-education to detect and prevent diseases which affect women and raises awareness of other pertinent health issues like genetics testing and counseling, and organ and tissue donation.

Young people are drawn into the orbit of Jewish community through Hadassah programs like the Training Wheels-*Al Galgalim* program which teaches parents and toddlers about Jewish traditions. Other programs for American Jewish youngsters include Young Judea clubs, summer camps, summer and year abroad programs in Israel, and campus-based programs.

In 1997, Hadassah established the first university-based research center devoted to the study of Jewish women – the International Research Institute on Jewish Women at Brandeis University – now renamed the Hadassah-Brandeis Institute.

In Israel, new immigrants and native-born Israelis alike still rely on many Hadassah-initiated and supported services. Hadassah's vocational education and career counseling programs help tens of thousands of adults each year to retrain and find employment. With Hadassah's continued financial and logistical support, Youth Aliyah has helped more than 300,000 children since 1935 and now serves over 12,000 youngsters yearly.

The Hadassah Medical Organization (HMO) is now a state-of-the-art diagnostic, research, and teaching center serving nearly a million patients from Israel, across the Middle East, and around the world each year. Cutting-edge medical research has led to breakthroughs and medical advances in areas such as Alzheimer's disease, cancer, cystic fibrosis, "cold" laser eye surgery, Post Traumatic Stress Disorder, Mad Cow disease, and more. The HMO also runs an extensive network of community-based health care programs and specialized outpatient clinics in locales across Israel.

The Hadassah University Medical Center – a tertiary care referral facility, teaching hospital, and research center where new medical techniques have been pioneered – consists of two hospitals in Jerusalem, one on Mount Scopus and the other in Ein Kerem, and five schools of the medical professions. All these institutions are run jointly by Hadassah and the Hebrew University. In 2004, a Center for Emergency Medicine was added to the hospital in Ein Kerem with the capacity to treat up to 120,000 trauma patients annually.

Hadassah's international programs have expanded dramatically over the years. Since 1980, more than 500 people from 70 countries have received an International Masters Degree in Public Health from Hadassah's Braun School of Public Health and Community Medicine – the newest of the HMO's five schools of professional medicine in Israel. The Hadassah Medical Organization runs cooperative projects in 112 countries throughout the developing world, including Asia, Africa, and Latin America, sending doctors and nurses to build and staff clinics, and offering medical training. Hadassah's medical personnel also offer emergency relief and assistance in response to catastrophes all over the world.

Hadassah's humanitarian work and commitment to the United Nations was recognized in 2001 when the United Nations Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) conferred on Hadassah special consultative status as a non-governmental organization (NGO). In 2005, the Hadassah Medical Organization, described as "an example to the world that hatred and suspicion can be overcome by people of goodwill," was nominated for the Nobel Peace Prize.

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[Erica Simmons (2nd ed.)]

HADASSI, JUDAH (ha-Avel) BEN ELIJAH (12th century), *Karaite scholar of Constantinople. His greatest work is the *Eshkol ha-Kofer* (or *Sefer ha-Peles*), which according to his own testimony he began in 1148. The work is arranged according to the Ten Commandments and alphabetically. Written partly in verse, it explains the *mitzvot* and the *halakhot* and the reasons for their observance in accordance with the specific commandment on which they depend. It represents an encyclopedic corpus of Karaite belief and knowledge as it existed in the author's time. According to Hadassi, Karaite doctrine derives and may be learned from the Torah and the Prophets by way of a complete system of homiletical exposition, which he specifies in detail. The discussion on the *mitzvot* is preceded by a comprehensive treatment of the rules of vocalization and grammar in the Bible. Hadassi believed in man's free will in matters of faith and methods of Torah study. The rationalist trend in Karaism is recognizable in his attacks on the legends in the Talmud and the customs and interpretations of the *Rabbanites. There is also a certain measure of social criticism in his argument that the Rabbanites circumvent the prohibition against lending money on interest. Hadassi sharply attacked Christianity and Islam, but, like his Karaite predecessors, he attributed the corruption of Christianity to the Apostles, especially St. Paul; he stated that "Jesus was an exemplary, wise, and righteous man from the first … the scholars encompassed him … and killed him as they killed other pious men who criticized them."

The description given of the world and nature by Hadassi evidently reflected the current beliefs of the Jews living in the Byzantine Empire. He had an unqualified belief in astronomy and accepted demons and sorcerers. He knew of strange creatures in distant lands – a mixture of images from rabbinic legends, ancient mythology, and Eastern tales – and also of "the tribes of Jeshurun hidden beyond the Sambatyon River."

Hadassi was thus a compiler rather than an original thinker, and in spite of his anti-Rabbanite bias he drew much of his material from Rabbanite sources. His Hebrew style, however, unlike that of his Rabbanite contemporaries, is awkward and not easily understandable and the rhymed arrangement often makes it obscure. *Eshkol ha-Kofer* was published by the Karaite press in Eupatoria, Crimea (1836). A few hymns by Hadassi are included in the official Karaite prayer book.

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[Haim Hillel Ben-Sasson]

HADAYAH, OVADIAH (1893–1969), rabbi. Hadayah was born in *Aleppo, Syria. In 1898 he was brought to Ereẓ Israel and settled in Jerusalem. He studied in Sephardi schools and yeshivot, including Yeshivat Porat Yosef, where from 1923 he taught both Talmud and Kabbalah. He was a member of the *bet din* of the Sephardi community of Jerusalem. From 1939 to 1950 he was chief rabbi of the Sephardi community in Petaḥ Tikvah, and from 1951 chairman of the rabbinical high court of appeals and a member of the chief rabbinate council. He revived the kabbalist yeshivah Kehal Ḥasidim Bet El in Jerusalem, previously housed in the Old City but destroyed in 1948 during the War of Independence. Attached to the yeshivah was a department for the training of rabbis, His works include *ʿEved ha-Melekh* on Maimonides; *ʿAvda de-Rabbanan*, on the Mishnah and Talmud; and the responsa *Va-Yikaḥ Ovadyahu, Yisrael ʿAvdi*, and *De'ah ve-Haskel.* He was awarded the Israel Prize for Rabbinical Literature in 1968.

ḤADDAD, EZRA (1903–1972), educator, author, and journalist. Ḥaddad mastered several languages, including Hebrew. He published Hebrew poems in the Jewish weekly *Yeshurun* (Baghdad, 1920) and from 1926 to 1951 he directed the Jewish schools al-Waṭaniyya and Shammāsh in Baghdad. After his immigration to Israel in 1951, he held leading executive positions in the Histadrut. In addition to his Hebrew poems, Ḥaddad published an Arabic translation of the *Travels of Benjamin of Tudela* (1945) together with notes and an introduction. He also wrote a textbook for the study of Hebrew.

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[Haim J. Cohen]

HADDAD, SARIT (1978–), Israeli pop singer. When Haddad first made a name for herself in the mid-1990s with her first album, *Niẓoẓ ha-Ḥayyim* ("Spark of Life"), she was on the well-trodden path of so-called Mediterranean, or Eastern, pop music. She did not offer anything new in terms of musical style, but her vocals set a new standard which numerous singers have since tried to emulate.

Haddad was born in Afulah as the youngest of eight children. When she was eight years old she taught herself to play the guitar, organ, and various percussion instruments, and, without her parents' knowledge soon began performing at local clubs. When she was 16 Haddad was discovered by impresario Avi Gaute when she performed in a beach show. Gaute took Haddad under his wing and began to develop her career, initially targeting the Sephardi community. On *Niẓoẓ ha-Ḥayyim* Haddad joined forces with well-known young Druze male vocalist Sharif and the album sold well. By now Haddad had become a star on the national Eastern music club circuit.

In 1997, Haddad broke into the international market after a Jordanian television director caught her act. A tour of Jordan was soon arranged, with Haddad performing under the assumed identity of a Palestinian singer. The tour was a success and was followed by the release of *Sarit Haddad Shara be-Aravit* ("Sarit Haddad Sings in Arabic"), which was also sold in Arabic-speaking countries.

In the same year Haddad's Israeli market presence grew significantly when she teamed up with top ethnorock group Teapacks (Tipex), and with her 1998 record *Ḥok ha-Ḥayyim* ("The Law of Life") she broke into mainstream Israeli culture.

Since then Haddad has achieved, and maintains, megastar status in Israel, and has performed in Europe and the United States. Every record she released was an immediate success; she was voted Singer of the Year several times and represented Israel at the Eurovision Song Contest in 2002, placing 12th.

[Barry Davis (2nd ed.)]

ḤADERAH (Heb. חֲדֵרָה), town in central Israel, in the northern Sharon, founded in 1890 by members of Ḥovevei Zion from Vilna, Kovno, and Riga who had bought the land a few months earlier. The area was swampy and infested with malaria, and the settlers underwent great suffering, with more than half dying of malaria in the first 20 years of Ḥaderah's existence. In 1895 Baron Edmond de *Rothschild began aiding the village, sending Egyptian workers to lay out the first drainage network and planting large eucalyptus groves; the eucalyptus tree soon became Ḥaderah's symbol. Dr. Hillel *Joffe worked indefatigably in combating the malaria in Ḥaderah. Although the disease ceased to constitute a problem from the late 1920s, the last vestiges of the swamps disappeared only in 1945, when a larger canal leading to the sea was dug. Whereas field and vegetable garden crops initially constituted main farm branches, citrus groves began to be planted before World War I and were greatly enlarged in the 1920s and 1930s. With the construction of the Lydda-Haifa railway in 1918–19, Ḥaderah became a railway station, and with the completion of the Ḥaderah–Petaḥ Tikvah highway in 1937, it also became an important crossroads, connected with Haifa in the north and the Jezreel Valley in the east. The number of inhabitants increased from 152 in 1898 to 320 in 1914, 450 in 1922, 3,372 in 1931, and 11,819 in 1948. Ḥaderah became a regional center, receiving municipal council status in 1936 and municipal status in 1952. During the first years of Israel's independence, after 1948, Ḥaderah doubled its population. In 1961 it had 26,000 and, in 1968, 31,100 inhabitants; of the latter, 40% were Israeli-born, 33% hailed from Europe and America, and 27% from Asia and Africa. In the mid-1990s, the population was approximately 56,100 and by the end of 2002 it was already 74,000. Although agriculture (carp ponds, bananas, cattle, poultry, beehives, flowers, etc., in addition to citrus and various field and garden crops) continued to develop, industry became the main element in the town's economy. Concentrated on a dune area in the northwest, it included the American Israel Paper Mills and Alliance Tire and Rubber Company (each with over 1,000 employed in 1970), food-preserve plants, and other enterprises. Near the estuary of the Haderah River there is a large electric power station run by Israel's Electric Company. As the center of a sub-district, Ḥaderah fulfills administrative functions and has the Hillel Joffe hospital and educational institutions. The large municipal area of 20 sq. mi. (50 sq. km.), extending over the sand dunes west to the seashore, provides ample space for expansion of residential and industrial quarters. During the al-Aqsa Intifada, commencing in 2001, Ḥaderah came under a number of terrorist attacks, including a suicide bombing at a bar mitzvah, which killed six and wounded 35.

The name Ḥaderah is derived from the Arabic *al-Khaḍrā*ʾ ("the Green"), referring to the color of the former swamp vegetation and to the algae-covered water of Naḥal Ḥaderah. The area around Ḥaderah was first settled in the Chalcolithic period; house-shaped pottery ossuaries with painted decorations from this time were found in excavations there in 1936. Bronze Age remains, as well as ruins of buildings, mosaics, and a Roman bridge, were also discovered. In the Crusader period the city was called Lictera after the Arabic name al-Khuḍayra. Because of the many swamps in its vicinity, the site was abandoned after the Crusades.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: L.I. Shneorson, *Mi-Pi Rishonim* (1963); E. Hadani, *Ḥaderah, 1891–1951* (Heb., 1951); *Yedi'ot Ḥaderah*, nos. 1–3 (1965–68); M. Smilansky, *Ḥaderah* (Heb. 1930, 1936^{2}); *Histadrut ha-Ovedim ha-Ivrim ha-Kelalit be-Ereẓ-Yisrael, Ḥaderah ha-Ovedet-le-Yovlah 1891–1941* (1941).

[Shlomo Hasson / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

ḤAD GADYA (Aram. חַד גַּדְיָא; "An Only Kid"), initial phrase and name of a popular Aramaic song chanted at the conclusion of the Passover *seder. Composed of ten stanzas, the verse runs as follows: A father bought a kid for two *zuzim*; a cat came and ate the kid; a dog then bit the cat; the dog was beaten by a stick; the stick was burned by fire; water quenched the fire; an ox drank the water; a *shoḥet* slaughtered the ox; the *shoḥet* was killed by the Angel of Death who in punishment was destroyed by God. Each stanza repeats the previous verses closing with the refrain: "*ḥad gadya*, *ḥad gadya*." Jewish commentators have invested "*Ḥad Gadya*" with a hidden allegorical meaning in which the kid symbolizes the oppressed Jewish people. It was bought by the father (God) for two coins (Moses and Aaron). The devouring cat stands for Assyria; the dog is Babylon; the stick represents Persia; the fire Macedonia; the water is Rome; the ox, the Saracens; the *shoḥet*, the Crusaders; and the Angel of Death, the Turks who in those days ruled Palestine. The end of the song expresses the hope for messianic redemption: God destroys the foreign rulers of the Holy Land and vindicates Israel, "the only kid." Other commentators have tried to interpret "*Ḥad Gadya*" as an allegorization of the *Joseph legend or of the relationship between body and soul as reflected in Jewish mysticism. The best-known Jewish interpretations of "*Ḥad Gadya*" are (1) *Kerem Ein Gedi*, by Judah b. Mordecai Horowitz (Koenigsberg, 1764); (2) a commentary by Jonathan *Eybeschuetz (Neubauer Cat Bodl. 1 (1886), no. 2246); (3) two commentaries by the Gaon of Vilna (e.g., in the *Haggadah Migdal Eder*, Vilna, 1923); (4) and a commentary by R. Moses *Sofer (*ibid.*). Most scholars agree, however, that the song was borrowed from a German folk song of the Hobelbanklied type ("*Der Herr der schickt den Jokel aus*") which, in turn, is based on an old French nursery song. Joseph *Jacobs (in notes to his *English Fairy Tales*, London, 1893) points to the analogy of "*Ḥad Gadya*" with Don Quixote and with certain Persian and Indian poems. The riddle of the motif and meaning of "*Ḥad Gadya*" was also dealt with by Christian writers, notably by Hermann von der Hardt, in his *Ḥad Gadia Historia Universalis Judaeorum in aenigmate* (Helmstadt, n.d.) and also by J.C. *Wagenseil, and by J.C.G. *Bodenschatz. The song seems to have originated in the 16th century and appears for the first time in a *Haggadah* printed in Prague (1590). It was never part of the Sephardi and the Yemenite rituals. It was incorporated into the *Haggadah (like the other concluding songs; see "*Eḥad Mi *Yode'a*") for the amusement of the children so that they might not fall asleep before the end of the *seder.*

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Kohler, in: ZGDJ, 3 (1889), 234–6; D. Goldschmidt, *Haggadah shel Pesaḥ, Mekoroteha ve-Toledoteha* (1960), 96–98; M. Kasher, *Haggadah Shelemah* (1961), 190f.; A.M. Habermann, in: *Maḥanayim*, 55 (1961), 140–3; D. Sadan, *ibid.*, 144–50; For detailed bibl. see Kohut, in: JE, 6 (1904), 128, and Davidson, Oẓar, 2 (1929), 224 no. 39.

HADID (Heb. חָדִיד), city in the northern Shephelah, in the western part of the territory of *Benjamin. It is mentioned together with *Lydda and *Ono among the cities to which the Babylonian exiles returned (Ezra 2:33; Neh. 7:37; 11:34). The city had strategic importance; it was fortified by the Hasmonean *Simeon who camped nearby during Tryphon's invasion (I Macc. 12:38; 13:13 – Adida). The battle between the Nabatean King Aretas and Alexander *Yannai took place near Hadid, and Vespasian later conquered it (Jos., Ant. 13:392; Wars 4:486). According to the Mishnah, it was already fortified in Joshua's time (Ar. 9:6). Eusebius describes it as being east of Lydda (Onom. 24:24 – Aditha) and it also appears on the *Madaba Map (no. 59). A mosaic pavement with figurative nilotic scenes was found there in 1940. The ancient town was situated on a hill northwest of the abandoned Arab village of al-Ḥadītha, 3½ mi. (6 km.) east of Lydda. In 1951, 60 Yemenite immigrant families founded a settlement called Ḥadid near the village. They were joined later on by immigrants from Romania. In the mid-1990s, the population was approximately 480 and in 2002 it numbered 555.

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[Michael Avi-Yonah]

HADITH, the science of Islamic tradition, applying particularly to the *sunna* (actions, sayings, virtues, opinions, and ways of life of *Muhammad). The hadith is one of the four fundamentals which form the background of **fiqh* (Islamic jurisprudence). It encompasses all the relationships between man and God and between man and man, including methods of prayer, fasting, pilgrimage, marital laws, and commercial affairs. The believer must be acquainted with the *sunna* of the Prophet and model his life in accordance with it; any deviation from the traditional path is a *bidʿa* ("a harmful innovation").

The first to hand down the hadith were the companions (*ṣaḥāba*) of Muhammad, who followed the course of Muhammad's life and heeded his words. After his death, masses of believers went to the companions in order to hear the *sunna* of the Prophet. The men of the second generation continued to propagate the tradition which they had received from the *ṣaḥāba*, handing it down to their followers. Thus, a chain of traditionalists was formed, the *isnād* ("support"), which preceded the texts (*matn*) themselves or the main part (of the teaching). At first, the hadith was handed down orally. A few of the traditionalists, however, wrote down the traditions for their personal use; these lists (*ṣaḥīfa*, "sheet") aided subsequent traditionalists, as well as the editors of the hadith. The editing of collections of the hadith began at the end of the *Umayyad period; the editors adopted two different methods: *musnad*, the classification of traditions according to the names of the traditionalists and *muṣannaf*, their classification according to subject, and editing according to the content. The oldest extant documents are a fragment on papyrus of the *ṣaḥīfa* by Ibn Lahīʿa (d. 790), found in Egypt and containing traditions which are mainly of an eschatological nature; the collection by Mālik ibn Anas (d. 795), *al-Muwaṭṭa*: a section of the collection of ʿAbdallah ibn Wahb (d. 812), also written on papyrus, which contains the sayings of the Prophet, the first caliphs, and the men of the second generation, mainly on ways of behavior and virtues; and the *musnad* of Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, which contains about 30,000 hadiths.

From the beginning of *Islam the believers attributed great importance to the hadiths as complementary and explanatory material to the *Koran. The principle that certain traditions of the Prophet were nullified by later sayings of the Prophet was accepted; many works were written on the subject. The most eminent Muslim scholars dedicated their efforts to the clarification of the unusual words which are found in the hadith.

The struggle between social movements, political parties, and various religious trends within Islam gave rise to an abundance of hadiths which were attributed to the Prophet. Some contradicted others, thus confusing the Muslim scholars of tradition. A special science was established which is concerned with meticulous investigation into the reliability of the men of the *isnād*, as to character, talent, propriety, and ideological attachment to the various social and political groups. The hadiths were classified as "genuine" (*ṣaḥīḥ*, the best category), "fair" (*ḥasan*, the middle category), and "weak" (*ḍaʿīf*) and were divided accurately and systematically according to their frequency, the number of authorities in the *isnād*, the relationship which existed among them (oral or written tradition), etc. During the ninth century six collections of hadiths (*muṣannaf*, see above) were written and accepted as reliable by Muslims: al-Bukhārī (d. 870), Muslim (d. 875), Abu Dāʾūd (d. 888), al-Tirmidhī (d. 892), al-Nasaʾī (d. 915), and Ibn Māja (d. 886). The works of al-Bukhārī and Muslim were particularly esteemed: the former contains 7,275 hadiths selected by the author from about 200,000 hadiths after a most meticulous examination. In the course of time many collections of hadiths were compiled; some are more comprehensive but not as esteemed as the six aforementioned works, which have been edited and commented upon in detail by Muslim scholars. The great interest in the hadith gave rise to a special movement of "searchers of knowledge" *(ṭullūb al-ʿilm)*, who wandered around the world in search of the scholars of the hadith in order to listen to their teachings. The influence of Judaism on the development of the *ḥadith* is evident not only in their content (see *Qiṣaṣ al-Anbiyāʾ* ("The Legends of the Prophets") and *Bible in Islam) but also in the form in which they have been handed down. There is a striking similarity between the *isnād* and the chain of masoretes in tannaitic and amoraic literature in the *halakhah* and the *aggadah* (cf. also the concept of "a ruling received by Moses at Sinai" and the opening of the tractate *Avot*: "Moses received the Torah at Sinai and handed it down to Joshua, Joshua to the Elders, the Elders to the prophets,…"). Judaism has also influenced the hadiths which deal with the daily conduct of man, man's relationship to God, ethics, piety, various customs, as well as legal affairs, marital laws, and rites. The influence of Christianity on the hadith is not as apparent.

[Meir Jacob Kister and Haïm Z'ew Hirschberg]

While the Jews and their religion, and the Israelites and their history, receive relatively scant attention in the hadith literature proper (especially in the aforementioned six canonical collections), other Islamo-classical genres composed primarily of hadith reports – including *sīra* (prophetic biography), *maghāzī* (chronicles of military campaigns) and above all *tafsīr* (Koran commentary) – devote considerable space to subjects Jewish. This distinction may be attributed to the central purpose of the *muṣannaf* hadith compilations – namely, to inculcate legal and behavioral norms as opposed to relating anecdotes of solely historical or anthropological interest – as well as to an increasing distaste on the part of medieval Muslim purists for the reservoir of Jewish material (known as *Isrā'īliyyāt*) that had infiltrated Islamic discourse since the faith's inception. Hadith reports as expressed in these various other frameworks (*sīra, maghāzī, tafsīr*) dwell at length on matters pertaining to the Jews, who are referred to with a certain rough interchangeability as *Yahūd, Banū Isrā'īl* or *ahl al-kitāb* (people of the book). They delve into issues such as ancient Israelite history; tales of the biblical prophets; the rocky relationship between the Children of Israel and their God (Allāh); Arabian Jews and their interaction with the fledgling Muslim community; Jewish theology, law, custom and ritual; the role and fate of the Jewish community in the Eschaton; the character of the Jews and the correct Muslim attitudes toward them; and more.

The information obtained by Muslims concerning Jewish norms and historiography and reflected in the hadith ranges from the impressively accurate (including near verbatim recapitulations of biblical and midrashic passages and relatively sophisticated rehearsals of Talmudic *sugyot*) to the confused, propagandistic and fantastic: Jews excise urine-splattered flesh, pluck each other's eyes out in retribution, are enjoined by the Torah to forego booty in war, and believe Ezra is the son of God as the Christians believe Jesus is the son of God; Jewish law forbids the consumption of geese and ducks, prohibits the use of sand for purification if water cannot be found, commands its adherents to slaughter a yellow heifer if an unidentified corpse is found in a field, etc. While ancient Israelites are on some rare occasions portrayed positively in the hadith literature, for the most part Jews of all periods are presented in a highly negative light. They are *Muḥammad's (as they were Jesus', as well as their own prophets') most intractable adversaries, who lost no opportunity to try and trip up the Arabian apostle and mock his message. They are conceived as the historical epitome of excess and evil and – having been abandoned by God as a result of such noxious traits – now also the model of misery. The Jews may be said to function as the emblem of all that Muslims should not be, a kind of *sunna* (exemplary tradition) in reverse.

[Z.A. Maghen (2nd ed.)]

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HADRACH (Heb. חֲדְרָךְ), city in Syria. Its identification is established by the biblical reference to the "land of Hadrach" in context with Damascus, Hamath, Tyre, and Sidon (Zech. 9:1). Some scholars also emend Ezekiel's description of the country's northern border from "the way of [Heb. *ha-derekh*] Hethlon" to "Hadrach-Hethlon," and accordingly locate it between the Mediterranean and Zedad (Ezek. 47:15). The city Hazrak is mentioned in an inscription of Zakir, king of Hamath and Lu'at (L's; c. 780 B.C.E.), who captured the city and resisted its invasion by a coalition of kings from northern Syria and southern Anatolia. In the eighth century, the Assyrians stormed the city three times before Tiglath-Pileser III succeeded in conquering it in c. 738 B.C.E. He reduced it to an Assyrian province, bearing its name; an Assyrian governor is still found there in 689 B.C.E.

Since Hadrach appears in Assyrian documents together with Mt. Saua (apparently Mt. al-Zāwiya), scholars locate the land of Hadrach between the valley of Unqi (Antiochia) in the north, Hamath in the south, and the Orontes in the west. The location of the city Hadrach, however, is disputed; it is most likely Kharake, near Mu'arat e-Nu'aman.

A note from R. Joseph b. Dormaskit to R. Judah indicates that in talmudic times Hadrach was thought to be located in the vicinity of Damascus (Sif. Deut. 1). In the Middle Ages, the seat of Gaon Solomon b. Elijah and his yeshivah was called Hadrach; this is possibly the city Javbar, two miles (3 km.) northeast of Damascus, where remains of an ancient synagogue have been found. Hadrach was still mentioned by the travelers of the 16th and 17th centuries, as the place where the "Synagogue of the Prophet Elijah" whose ruins subsist to this day, was situated.

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[Michael Avi-Yonah]

ḤAḌRAMAWT. A province of *Yemen, a coastal region of the south Arabian peninsula on the Gulf of Aden in the Arabian Sea, extending eastward from Yemen to Oman. Historically, the name refers to the Ḥaḍramawt sultanates, a collective term for the Qu'aiṭī and Kāthiṛī sultanates, which were loosely under a British protectorate of South Arabia, guided by the British resident at *Aden, until 1957. Society is still highly tribal, with the old Sayyid aristocracy descended from *Muhammad, traditionally educated and strict in their Shāfi'ī Islamic observance. Though Bible dictionaries derive Ḥaḍramawt from Hazarmaweth, a son of Joktan (Genesis 10:26–8), it actually derives from Greek *hudreumata* or enclosed watering stations at wadis. The frankincense trees that supplied the "Incense Road" grew to the east of the Ḥaḍramawt, in the Dhofar. Ḥaḍramawt was the country of two separate pre-Islamic kingdoms in south Arabia: Kathabān and Ḥaḍramawt. In pre-Islamic time Ḥaḍramawt was almost completely Jewish as local tribes such as the Kindah judaicized, but most of them became Muslim after the country was conquered by the army sent by Muḥammad. Jews, however, continued to live there under the end of the 15th century, when they were killed or expelled as a result of a Jewish messianic uprising. Since then the country was considered as a holy land where the tomb of the mythological prophet Hūd was found, so Jews were not permitted to reside there. Only in the western part were there in modern times some Jewish settlements, such as *Ḥabbān and Bayḥān. But the Jewish silversmiths and goldsmiths were allowed to wander all over the country to make a living. Some of them converted to Islam, probably at the end of the 19th century.

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[Yosef Tobi (2nd ed.)]

HADRAN (Heb. הַדְרָן; Aram. "we returned"), a term indicating both the celebration held on the completion of the study of a tractate of the Talmud (*siyyum*) and the type of discourse delivered on that occasion. The origin of the term is the formula found at the end of the chapters of the tractates of the Talmud – "*hadran alakh* chapter so-and-so" (at a later date the words "*ve-hadrakh alan*" were added). Two explanations of the term have been given: "We shall return to thee"; and indicating "beauty" or "splendor," a form of farewell salutation to the tractate comparable to "Homage to thee, O Altar!" (Suk. 4:5, see Lieberman, in: *Alei Ayin, Minḥat Devarim… S. Schocken* (1948–52), 81 n.33). The celebration and feasting held on such an occasion are mentioned in the Talmud (Shab. 118b–119a), and it is laid down that the meal ranks as a religious one (Sh. Ar., YD 246:26). As a result it can exempt a person from the obligation of fasting, as for instance on the Fast of the *Firstborn on the eve of Passover (*Mishnah Berurah*, OḤ 470:10), or exempt those who have adopted the custom of fasting on the anniversary of their parents' death. On it one may partake of meat and wine during the days of mourning between the First of *Av until the Ninth of Av (Isserles to Sh. Ar., OḤ 551:10). The essential elements of prayer recited at the conclusion of the study of a tractate (printed at the end of each tractate in most editions of the Talmud), which includes the enumeration of the ten sons of Rav Papa as a kind of incantation, is already mentioned by *Abraham b. Isaac of Narbonne in the *Sefer ha-Eshkol* (Z.B. Auerbach's edition, 2 (1968), 49, Sefer Torah no. 14; = S. Albeck's edition, 1 (1935), 159) in the name of *Hai Gaon, who observes that they refer to scholars from different eras and that they were not all the sons of the same Rav Papa. It also includes the expanded version of the *Kaddish de-Rabbanan*. The discourse delivered at this celebration took on a special character. By recourse to ingenious *pilpul* it aimed at connecting the end of the tractate with its beginning or with the beginning of the next tractate to be studied. A special literature of this type thus developed, which began to appear mainly at the beginning of the 18th century (the first discourse of this class is perhaps the one at the end of the novellae on *Bava Kamma* (1631) of Meir *Schiff (published Hamburg, 1747)). Because of their pilpulistic character they gave rise to opposition and criticism.

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[Shlomoh Zalman Havlin]

°**HADRIAN** (**Adrian**) **I**, pope (772–95). Under Hadrian's papacy the Second Council of Nicaea, which condemned iconoclasm, was held in 787. On several occasions when Hadrian intervened personally in the controversy over graven images, and again in letters to Empress Irene and to Charlemagne, he fulminated against the Jewish respect for the biblical command against images; finally he compared the iconoclasts – whom the Council of Nicaea eventually declared heretics – with the Jews. In several edicts attempting to regulate relations between Christians and Jews he forbade Christians to celebrate Passover with the Jews, to accept unleavened bread from the Jews, and to rest on the Sabbath "after the Jewish fashion." In a letter addressed in 794 to the bishops of Spain, Hadrian complained in passing that he had learned that "many people who claim to be Catholics live freely with Jews and unbaptized pagans, sharing both food and drink with them." He urged the bishops to see that nothing of the sort occurred again and that the regulations laid down by Church Fathers were followed.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: B. Blumenkranz, *Les auteurs chrétiens latins…* (1966), 142ff.

[Bernhard Blumenkranz]

°**HADRIAN, PUBLIUS AELIUS**, Roman emperor, 117–138 C.E. According to all the indications, Hadrian did not entertain any hostility toward the Jews at the beginning of his reign. On the contrary, it would appear that the Jews hoped for an improvement in their situation. Hadrian's first act, the execution of Lusius *Quietus, the governor of Judea, certainly appealed to the Jews. There is apparently an echo of the hopes raised by Hadrian's accession in the *Sibylline Oracles, which state that the man whose name is like that of the sea (H-adrian–Adriatic) will act favorably toward the Jews (5:46–50). There may also have been contacts between the Jews and the Roman government. Although there is no explicit information to that effect, it would appear that rumors began to spread that the Temple was to be rebuilt (cf. Gen. R. 64:10), but nothing practical resulted. It is not certain whether Hadrian issued decrees against Jewish observance before the

*Bar-Kokhba War (132–135). One opinion holds that the Jews were affected, even if unintentionally, by a decree issued by Hadrian forbidding castration, which was interpreted as including a prohibition of circumcision. Others reject any connection between this decree and circumcision, and are of the opinion that the decrees against circumcision and other observances were enacted after the war.

The emperor also decided to erect a gentile city on the site of destroyed Jerusalem to be named *Aelia Capitolina after himself. According to Dio Cassius this decision was made about two years before the Bar-Kokhba War and it is regarded by many as one of the chief causes of the Jewish revolt, even though the project was implemented only after the revolt had been crushed. Hadrian frequently visited parts of the empire. He visited Judea in 130 C.E., but there is no knowledge of any contact between him and the Jews during this visit, although in talmudic literature many conversations of Hadrian with R. *Joshua b. Ḥananiah are reported. According to those who date Hadrian's anti-Jewish decrees, especially with regard to Aelia Capitolina, before the revolt, the visit resulted in fanning the flames of discontent. A reference to the visit has been preserved in a coin which shows the province of Judea, in the guise of a woman, greeting the emperor on his arrival. It should be borne in mind, however, that the official view represented on the coin in no way reflects the attitude of the Jews. From Judea Hadrian proceeded to Egypt, returning in 131. During his sojourn in Judea and the neighboring countries the Jews outwardly kept the peace, but in 132 the revolt broke out in full force. Despite some initial successes of the rebels, Hadrian's commander, Julius Severus, succeeded eventually in crushing the revolt (see *Bar Kokhba). It was then, most probably, that Hadrian issued the harsh restrictive edicts against the study of the Torah and the practice of Judaism, including circumcision, making their observance capital offenses. Presumably it was in the subsequent persecutions that R. *Akiva and other rabbis were martyred (see the *Ten Martyrs). It was then also that Aelia Capitolina was constructed on the ruins of Jerusalem. A temple to Jupiter Capitolinus and an equestrian statue of the emperor were erected on the site of the Temple. These edicts of Hadrian remained in force until the time of his heir, Antoninus Pius, and in cruelty and scope they recall the decrees of Antiochus 300 years earlier. Hadrian's decrees give eloquent expression to the detestation felt by the emperor, "the friend of culture and enlightenment," for Judaism and his complete inability to understand it, as well as to the gulf between Judaism and the world of the Roman Empire.

[Uriel Rappaport]

In the Aggadah

To the rabbis, Hadrian was a symbol of wickedness and cruelty. His name is usually accompanied by the epithet "the wicked" or by the imprecation "may his bones rot" in Hebrew or Aramaic. In addition the appellation "the wicked kingdom" refers very frequently to Rome in the days of Hadrian. All manner of stories are related about the murder of Jews at the command of Hadrian after the fall of *Bethar. On the verse "the voice is the voice of Jacob" (Gen. 27:22) R. Johanan states that it refers to the voice of Emperor Hadrian, who "killed 80,000 myriads of people in Bethar" (Gen. R. 65:21; Lam. R. 1:16; 45). Nevertheless Hadrian appears in the *aggadah* in a more genial role which tends to emphasize his contacts with Jews, both scholars and the common people. He is said to have had discussions with Joshua ben Ḥananiah on the creation of the world (Gen. R. 10:3), and on resurrection, in which there appears the legend of the *luz*, the indestructible nut (coccyx) of the spinal column (*ibid.*, 28:3). Similarly, stories are told of him walking through Ereẓ Israel before the Bar Kokhba War and conversing with farmers. One of them describes him asking a centenarian who was planting fig trees whether he expected to eat of its fruits. The old man answered that as he had found fruit trees when he was born, so he was planting them for his children. Three years later, after the war, the man presented him with a basket of figs from that planting and Hadrian filled the basket with gold pieces (Lev. R. 25:5). These stories seem to be connected with the devastation caused by the war and the subsequent restoration of the previous fertility of the land, a fact specifically mentioned in connection with the aftermath of the war (TJ, Pe'ah 7:1, 20a).

[Louis Isaac Rabinowitz]

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HADUTA (also known as **Hedvata**) **BEN ABRAHAM** (c. 6th century), one of the early *paytanim* in Ereẓ Israel. His *piyyutim form a distinct group in *piyyut* literature because of their special subject material: a series of hymns commemorating the 24 watches (*mishmarot) of priests (cf. I Chron. 24:7–18), practiced in the time of the Second Temple. One *kerovah* is dedicated to each watch. A prayer commemorating the watches dated 1034, found in the Cairo *Genizah*, gives evidence of the custom of the Palestinian Jews, whereby on each Sabbath the name of the division belonging to that Sabbath was proclaimed. It thus emerged that Haduta's *kerovot* were not *kinot* ("dirges") for the Ninth of *Av, as had been supposed, but were recited in the Palestinian synagogues each Sabbath.

The hymns mention many details concerning the names and the dwelling places of the watches. They are thus an important source of information for research of Palestinian topography. Possibly the priests were still concentrated in certain defined localities in Haduta's time.

Haduta (הֶדְוָתָא, הֲדוּתָא) sometimes signed his name חֲדוּתָה, חֶדְוָתָה (with ח and ה instead of ה and א), and it is unlikely that there were two or three hymnologists of the same name.

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36–38; idem, in: *Tarbiz* 22 (1950/51), 28–42; P. Kahle, *Masoreten des Westens*, 1 (1927), texts; YMḤSI, 5 (1939), 111–20, texts.

[Menahem Zulay]

HA-EFRATI (Tropplowitz), JOSEPH (c. 1770–1804), Hebrew poet and dramatist. Born in Tropplowitz, Silesia, he was a tutor for several years, during which he wrote the first acts of *Melukhat Sha'ul* ("Saul's Kingdom"), a drama that was completed in Prague in 1793. Although many of his poems were published in the first issues of *Ha-Me'assef*, his principal work remains *Melukhat Sha'ul*. The Yiddish translation became part of the traditional *Purimshpil ("Purim play") in many Lithuanian and Polish towns. *Melukhat Sha'ul*, the first modern Hebrew drama of the Haskalah period, is noteworthy for its new egalitarian and humanistic ideas. Evidently influenced by Shakespeare, Goethe, Schiller, and von Haller, as well as M.Ḥ. *Luzzatto, Ha-Efrati was particularly successful in his depiction of a man in the grip of irrational forces. Yet critics have argued that the play's weakness lies in its flat characterizations of all personages except Saul. David, Jonathan, and Michal represent abstract ideas rather than lifelike characters. Ha-Efrati, however, improved upon all the numerous attempts throughout the Middle Ages to dramatize the tragedy of Saul. He portrayed the pathos of a suffering hero, ridden with envy and guilt, torn by fears and loneliness, and not merely a proud and jealous king. The drama very likely influenced J.L. *Gordon's *David u-Varzillai* and *Ahavat David u-Mikhal* (1857). Parts of a newly discovered book of Ha-Efrati's Hebrew poems were published by A.Z. Ben-Yishai (*Beḥinot*, 11 (Fall 1957), 59–71).

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HA-EMET (Heb. הָאֱמֶת, "The Truth"), the first Hebrew socialist periodical, published in Vienna during the summer of 1877. The idea of issuing a socialist organ for Jews originated in the revolutionary circles of Vilna. The editor and publisher (under the pseudonym Arthur Freeman) was Aaron Samuel *Liebermann. After he fled from Russia in 1875, Liebermann had at first attempted, unsuccessfully, to establish a bilingual periodical, *Ha-Pattish* ("The Hammer"), in Yiddish and in Hebrew, for both the Jewish masses and the *maskilim*. He received the support of the Jewish students' circle in Berlin, as well as Jewish revolutionaries such as Lazar *Goldenberg, Aaron *Zundelevich, and non-Jewish revolutionary leaders like P. Lavrov and V. Smirnov, editors of the periodical *Vperyod*. In its prospectus Liebermann announced that *Ha-Emet* would not concern itself with "religious and national issues" but with "the necessities of life" – "bread and work" and "the spoon and the fork question," which "took precedence over all other contemporary problems." The publication of the newspaper was motivated by "our love for our people solely in their capacity of human beings" and by a particular responsibility felt toward them "being conscious of their lives and their afflictions." As a newspaper issued legally, *Ha-Emet* maintained a cautious tone. Liebermann himself wrote almost all the articles (which were unsigned). It included poems by J.L. *Levin (Yahalal), who with M. Kamyonski actively promoted the newspaper in Russia. Its agent in Galicia and Ukraine was Rabbi A. Eisner. The publication of *Ha-Emet* provoked wide controversy in the Jewish press. The newspaper closed down after three issues through lack of funds and the prohibition on its entry into Russia. Its direct successor was **Asefat Ḥakhamim*, whose editor M. *Winchevsky was influenced by Liebermann. Photographic editions of *Ha-Emet* were published by Ẓ. Krol with appendixes (1938), and in Jerusalem (1967).

[Moshe Mishkinsky]

HAENDEL, IDA (1928–), violinist. Born in Chelm, Haendel studied as a child prodigy with Michaełowicz in Warsaw, and in 1933 won the conservatory gold medal and the first Huberman Prize with Beethoven's Violin Concerto. She then pursued her training in Paris and London with Flesch and Enesco, making her London debut in 1937. Her wartime activities included many concerts for Allied troops, National Gallery appearances, and a performance of Dvořák's Concerto at the composer's centenary Prom. She began her international concert career after World War II and came to be regarded as one of the leading soloists of her generation. She made tours in America, Russia, Europe, South America, and Asia. In 1973 she was the first Western soloist (with the London Philharmonic) invited to perform in China. Haendel's virtuoso technique won her admirers in both the concerto and recital repertoires. Among her first performances were Dallapiccola's *Tartiniana seconda*, (1957) and Alan Pettersson's Violin Concerto no.2 (1980), which was dedicated to her. Haendel was awarded the Sibelius Medal (1982), created a CBE (1991), and appointed Fellow of the Royal College of Music (2000). She published her autobiography, *Woman with Violin* (1970), and her career was the subject of a CBC-TV documentary (1988).

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[Naama Ramot (2nd ed.)]

HAEZRAḤI (originally **Brisker**)**, YEHUDA** (1920–1974), Hebrew novelist and playwright. Born in Jerusalem, he served in the British Army during World War II. He wrote several novels and plays, as well as numerous articles and sketches. Haezraḥi's works include *Ke-Ẓel Over* (1946), a novel; *Ananim ba-Sa'ar* (1947), a collection of stories; *Im Shaḥar* (1959), two novellas; a collection of three plays (1960) – *Ha-Te'omim*, *Ha-Mishtammet*, and *Ha-Seruv*; a novel, *Panim u-Massekhah* (1963); *Beit ha-Sefarim ha-Le'ummi ve-ha-Universita'i* (1967), a history of the national library at the Hebrew University;

and *Ir Even ve-Shamayim* (1968), a belletristic description of Jerusalem. He edited albums of the paintings of *Alva (1954), Nahum *Gutman (1965), and Yossi Stern (1965). (A list of his works translated into English appears in Goell, Bibliography, 67.)

His wife, PEPITA HAEZRAḤI (1921–1963), taught philosophy at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. She published works in English and in Hebrew in the fields of philosophy, aesthetics, and ethics.

[Getzel Kressel]

Following the reunification of Jerusalem after the Six-Day War, Haezraḥi played a leading part in the campaign to preserve the beauty of Jerusalem. He founded and became chairman of the Jerusalem Committee of the Council for a Beautiful Israel, and the works he published after 1967 reflected his absorption with this subject. They include *Yerushalayim Asher Baḥarti* (caricatures by S. Katz, 1970) and the text of the Sound and Light Program on the Tower of David, "A Stone in David's Tower."

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ḤAFEẒ ḤAYYIM (Heb. חָפֵץ חַיִּים), kibbutz in the southern Coastal Plain of Israel, 3 mi. (5 km.) S.E. of Gederah, affiliated with *Po'alei Agudat Israel. In 1937 Ha-Kibbutz ha-Me'uḥad members founded a village there, Sha'ar ha-Negev, but later moved north to establish their permanent settlement, *Kefar Szold. Afterward an Orthodox group, graduates of the Ezra youth movement in Germany, who previously worked on land near *Afulah, took over the site (1944). The kibbutz has intensive farming and also developed hydroponics to permit the literal observance of the *shemittah precepts. Ḥafeẓ Ḥayyim runs a guest house, recreation home, and water park geared to the needs of Orthodox Jews. Its farming includes field crops, citrus groves, dairy cattle, and poultry. The kibbutz used to own a towel factory, now in private hands. The kibbutz is named after Rabbi Israel Meir *ha-Kohen (Ḥafeẓ Ḥayyim). In 1968 its population was 360, and in the mid-1990s it grew to approximately 585. However, by 2002 it had dropped sharply to 382, as many of the young left the kibbutz.

[Efraim Orni]

HAFFKINE, WALDEMAR MORDECAI (1860–1930), bacteriologist. Born and educated in Odessa, Haffkine studied under the Nobel prizewinner Elie *Metchnikoff. He was offered a teaching post provided he converted to the Russian Orthodox Church, which he refused to do. Invited in 1889 by Metchnikoff, then at the Pasteur Institute, Paris, to become its librarian, he was later made assistant to the director. In 1892 Haffkine developed the first effective vaccine against cholera. Lord Dufferin, British ambassador to France, formerly viceroy in India, persuaded him to substitute India for Siam as the field-test area to combat cholera. In 1893, with a group of doctors and laboratory workers, Haffkine went through India inoculating, with excellent results, villagers who had volunteered for treatment. In 1896, when plague struck Bombay, the government sent him there to develop a vaccine against the plague. He succeeded within three months. Germany, Russia, China, and France sent scientists to study his methods and demands for his vaccine flooded his laboratory. In 1897, Queen Victoria named him Companion of the Order of the Indian Empire and in 1899 he was granted British citizenship.

In 1902 plague struck the Punjab, which received large quantities of vaccine. Nineteen of the tens of thousands inoculated contracted tetanus and died. Haffkine was charged with sending contaminated vaccine. An inquiry was launched as a result of which Haffkine was suspended and his pay forfeited. In 1904 he presented evidence in his defense at the Lister Institute, London, and the Pasteur Institute. Although Haffkine defended himself in the official inquiry and, subsequently, in scientific circles, it was only after the *London Times*, on July 29, 1907, published a long scientific defense of Haffkine that the government exonerated him. Haffkine returned to Calcutta with neither the promotion nor the salary increase he had been promised, to continue laboratory research until compulsory retirement at the age of 55.

Later Haffkine settled in Paris, where he participated actively in various Jewish organizations' efforts to create an independent Jewish state in Palestine. In 1919, with others, he presented a petition to the Peace Conference in Versailles, stressing minority rights for Jews in Eastern Europe.

In 1925 the Plague Research Laboratory he had founded in Bombay was renamed the Haffkine Institute in his honor. An observant Jew most of his life, in 1929 he created the Haffkine Foundation in Lausanne, bequeathing to it his fortune of $500,000, and stipulating that the interest be used to foster religious, scientific, and vocational education in yeshivot in Eastern Europe.

[Edythe Lutzker]

On August 17, 1971, V.V. Giri, president of India, unveiled a plaque at the entrance to the Petit Laboratory, Bombay, in memory of Haffkine. Another plaque in his honor was unveiled on September 21, 1972, at the Pasteur Institute in Paris.

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HAFKA'AT SHE'ARIM (Heb. הַפְקָעַת שְׁעָרִים), raising the price of a commodity beyond the accepted level, or that fixed by a competent authority.

Profiteering and Overreaching

The law of *Hafka'at She'arim* ("profiteering") is analogous to that of overreaching (**ona'ah*, "misrepresentation"), it being the object of the law in both cases to preserve a fair and just price. However, the law of overreaching – fraudulent or innocent (i.e., mistaken) – stems from a biblical prohibition (Lev. 25:14): the law was fixed that if the price exceeded the value by one-sixth, the seller must return this part to the purchaser; if the price was higher yet, the purchaser might demand cancellation of the transaction; conversely, if the price was too low, the law applies *mutatis mutandis* in favor of the seller. The law of profiteering on the other hand has its source in rabbinic enactment designed to prohibit the setting of prices in excess of the customarily accepted ones, even if the purchaser is aware of and agrees to the inflated price; "… even when he [the seller] says 'it cost me one *sela* and I want to earn two on it,' he has not transgressed the law of *ona'ah* but he is prohibited by rabbinic enactment from making a profit of more than one-sixth in essential commodities" (*Beit ha-Beḥirah*, BM 51b).

Price-fixing and Control; Prohibition against Profiteering

It would seem that in the mishnaic period there were fixed prices, apparently determined by a competent authority (BM 4:12, 5:7). There is evidence that in Jerusalem – prior to the destruction of the Temple – the market commissioners "did not supervise prices but measures only" (Tosef., BM 6:14); in Babylonia (at the commencement of the third century C.E.) there was supervision of prices at the instigation of the *exilarch (TJ, BB 5:11, 15a; TB, BB 89a). The sages of that period were divided, however, on this matter. Some expressed the opinion that "price inspectors do not need to be appointed" and that competition between merchants would suffice to stabilize the price while others were of the opinion that it was incumbent on the court to supervise the prices because of the "swindlers" who hoarded commodities toward a time when they might be in short supply in order to sell them at a high price (TJ and TB, BB 89a). Over the course of time the view favoring price supervision apparently became generally accepted (BB 89a; Yoma 9a) and thus it was decided in the codes: "But the court is obliged to determine prices and to appoint commissioners for this purpose, to prevent everyone from charging what he likes …" (Yad, Mekhirah 14:1; Tur and Sh. Ar., ḤM 231:20).

The scholars compared profiteering to the transgressions of "giving short measure of the ephah" (deceit with regard to *weights and measures) and to that of charging interest on loans (BB 90b; and see *Usury). In their opinion, the profiteer transgresses the biblical injunction "that thy brother may live with thee" (Lev. 25:36; *Sma* ḤM 231:43) and they regarded profiteers as "bandits who prey on the poor … on whom they concentrate their attention" (Meg. 17b and Rashi, *ibid.*). The prescribed punishment for them: "flagellation and they are compelled to sell at the market price" (Yad, Genevah, 8:20; Tur and Sh. Ar., ḤM 231:21). Authority to determine prices was given not only to the court, but also to local communal representatives: "and the townspeople are authorized to fix prices" (of wheat and wine, so as to maintain the price in a particular year – Rashi) "and measures and workers' wages, which they may enforce by means of punishment" (i.e., fines; cf. BB 89a and Rashi; Tosef. BM 11:23; BB 8b; see also **takkanot ha-Kahal*). It appears that already in the talmudic period, the law of profiteering was only applied to essential commodities such as wheat, oil, and wine, and this was confirmed in the codes: "Prices [of nonessentials] are not determined but everyone may charge what he likes" (Yad, Mekhirah 14:2 and standard commentaries ad loc.; Tur and Sh. Ar., ḤM 231:20).

The maximum profit generally permitted to the seller was one-sixth (BB 90a). Some of the authorities took the view that this rate applied to one selling his merchandise in bulk, without toil (a wholesaler); a shopkeeper, however, "selling his merchandise little by little, might have his toil and overheads accounted for in addition to a profit of one-sixth" (Tur and Sh. Ar., ḤM 231:20). They also decided that the rules concerning profiteering were only to take effect if imposed as measures of general application to all vendors, otherwise the individual could not be obliged to adhere to the permitted maximum rate of profit (*ibid.*).

Stringent Supervision in Ereẓ Israel

Particular care was taken to maintain a cheap supply of essential products in Ereẓ Israel, where no middleman between producer and consumer was tolerated: "It is forbidden to speculate in essential commodities in Ereẓ Israel but everyone shall bring from his barn and sell so that these [commodities] may be sold cheaply" (Tosef. Av. Zar. 4:1; BB 91a, Yad, Mekhirah 14:4; Sh. Ar. ḤM 231:23); however, it was decided that in the case of a commodity in free supply or where a middleman worked to prepare and process the product, such as baking bread from wheat, profit-making was permitted, even in Ereẓ Israel (Tosef. Av. Zar. 4:1; BB 91a and *Rashbam, Yad Ramah* and *Beit ha-Beḥirah ibid.*; Yad, Mekhirah 14:4; Sh. Ar., ḤM 231:23).

Measures to Prevent Profiteering

The sages sought in various ways to eliminate the factors which made for a climate for profiteering. Thus it was forbidden to hoard produce bought on the market, lest this cause prices to rise and bring losses to the poor, and in a year of famine no hoarding at all was permitted (not as much as a "cab of carobs"), not even of the produce harvested from one's own field (BB 90b; Yad, Mekhirah 14:5–7). In later *halakhah* storing of produce from the producer's own field was permitted, even in a famine year, for the sustenance of his family (Tur., ḤM 231:29) for a period of one year (Sh. Ar., ḤM 231:24). Produce hoarders, like profiteers, were compared to those who charged interest on loans (BB, 90b). In order to prevent profiteering, it was not permitted to export essential products from Ereẓ Israel, since this might cause a shortage and a consequent rise in prices (BB 90b–91a, Yad, Mekhirah 14:8; Sh. Ar., ḤM 231:26). With the same object in mind the rabbis laid down that the proclamation of a public fast (on account of drought) should not be announced for the first time on a Thursday as this would cause panic (out of fear of famine) at a time when everyone was preparing for the Sabbath, and this might lead to profiteering (Ta'an. 2:9).

In their war against profiteers the scholars made use of a deliberate *interpretation of the law. At a time when the numerous sacrifices required to be brought by a woman who had given birth caused the price of a pair of sacrificial birds (two doves) to be raised to a golden dinar (25 silver dinars), Simeon b. Gamaliel the Elder vowed: "I shall not sleep this night until a pair sells for a dinar" (i.e., silver; Ker. 1:7). He entered the court and taught that a woman who had had five definite births (and thus should bring five sacrifices) need bring one sacrifice only and might eat of the *zevaḥim* ("sacrificial animals"), i.e. is ritually pure, and that "the remainder is not obligatory upon her; that same day the price of sacrificial birds stood at a quarter [of a silver dinar per pair]." (*ibid.*); Rashi (Ker. 8a) comments: "though he interpreted the word of the law leniently, it was a time to campaign for the Lord (*et la'asot la-shem*) for if no remedy had been found, not even one [sacrifice] would have been brought." Some 1,600 years later, when the fishmongers of Nikolsburg, Moravia, greatly raised the price of fish, "having seen that the Jews were not deterred by expensive prices from buying fish for the Sabbath," the Nikolsburg community enacted a *takkanah* which prohibited everyone from buying fish for a period of two months. Asked whether this *takkanah* did not in some measure slight the honor of the Sabbath, M.M. *Krochmal, chief rabbi of Moravia, replied that in order to enable also the poor "to honor the Sabbath by [eating] fish" it were better not to buy fish for a few Sabbaths so as to bring down the prices, and he quoted the statements of Simeon b. Gamaliel (above), as a clear practical illustration of the saying: "It is well to desecrate one Sabbath, so that many Sabbaths be observed" (*Ẓemaḥ Ẓedek*, no. 28).

In the State of Israel

In the State of Israel there are a number of laws designed to combat profiteering in essential commodities. The Commodities and Services (Control) Law, 5718 – 1957, provides for various means of supervision over commodities declared to be subject to control by the minister charged with implementation of the law, enforcible on pain of imprisonment, fine, and closing down of a business, etc. The Tenants' Protection Laws, 5714 – 1954 and 5715 – 1955, control maximum rentals for residential and business premises and also limit the right of ejectment to grounds specified in these laws only. These laws are supplemented by the provisions of the Key Money Law, 5718 – 1958. The Restrictive Trade Practices Law, 5719 – 1959, restricts, among others, the artificial manipulation of price levels at the hands of a monopoly or cartel. In the Knesset debates preceding the passing of these laws, some members relied on Jewish law in support of their arguments (*Divrei ha-Keneset* vol. 7, p. 564; vol. 14, p. 1822; vol. 18, p. 2176; vol. 21, p. 169; vols. 23, pp. 372, 374, 383; vol. 24, pp. 2478, 2514).

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[Menachem Elon]

HAFSIDS (also known as **Banu Hafs**), *Berber dynasty of the 13th through 16th centuries in Ifriqiyah (*Tunisia and eastern Algeria of today), founded by the *Almohad leader Abu Zakariyya Yaḥya in 1230. Under his rule local Berber tribal disputes and unrest were pacified and economic activity through trade accords with Spain and Italy brought on prosperity. One of his sons, al-Mustansir, assumed the title of caliph in the 1250s, increasing the power of the dynasty to its zenith. By then the Hafsids had extended their influence to the borders of northern Morocco and Spain. Hafsid unity was interrupted by dissension under several of al-Mustansir's successors but was largely restored under the leadership of Uthmān in the 1430s. The dynasty came to an end when the *Ottoman Turks occupied parts of *Algeria and transformed Tunis into a *paşalik* in 1574.

With minor exceptions, the Jews under Hafsid domination benefited from the prevalence of cultural and commercial florescence. They traded in the Mediterranean with their co-religionists, notably in Italy, as well as with local merchants who constituted part of the Christian minority. Ifriqiyah's Jewry had been reinforced in the late 15th and early 16th centuries by an influx of Jews who were expelled from Spain. The military incursion of the Spaniards and Portuguese – the former oppressors of the Jews – into Ifriqiyah in the mid-16th century sowed panic among the members of the Jewish community, prompting many of them to flee from the larger cities into the desert. Their anxieties were short-lived, however. The conquest of the region by the Ottoman Turks in the latter half of the 16th century significantly improved their socio-economic and political status once again.

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[Michael M. Laskier (2nd ed.)]

HAFTARAH (Heb. הַפְטָרָה), a portion from the Prophets read after the reading from the Torah (see Torah, Reading of) on Sabbaths, festivals, and fast days. On Sabbaths and festivals it is read during the morning service, on fast days at the *Minḥah service only (with the exception of the Day of *Atonement and the Ninth of *Av when there is a *haftarah* after the Torah reading in both the morning and the afternoon service). There is, however, evidence that during the talmudic period a *haftarah* was read at *Minḥah* on Sabbaths (see Shab. 116b and 24a, and Rashi and Tos. ad loc.) and in some places the custom continued until the end of the geonic period (Sefer ha-Ittim, para. 181), but it is unknown today.

Unlike the Sabbath reading from the Pentateuch, which consists of a continuous reading of successive portions of the Five Books of Moses without any omission, the *haftarah* is a portion from a book of the Former or Latter Prophets. Only two prophetic books are read completely as *haftarot*: the Book of Obadiah, which consists of only 21 verses (for the portion *Va-Yishlaḥ* (Gen. 32:4–36:43), according to the Sephardi custom and that of Frankfurt on the Main), and the Book of Jonah, which is the *haftarah* for the *Minḥah* service of the Day of Atonement. There were two criteria which determined the selection of a particular *haftarah*. When no other considerations prevailed, the choice was determined by the similarity of the contents of the prophetic portion to those of the portion of the Pentateuch read. Thus the *haftarah* to the portion *Be-Shallaḥ* (Ex. 13:17–17:16), containing the Song of Moses, includes the Song of Deborah (Judg. 4:4–5:31); and to *Shelaḥ* (Num. 13:1–15:41), describing the incident of the 12 spies sent by Moses, it is Joshua 2:1–24, concerning the spies sent by Joshua; and so on.

For about one-third of the *haftarot*, however, this criterion is abandoned, and the choice for those Sabbaths is determined either by the calendar or by historical circumstances. For ten successive weeks, from the Sabbath before the 17th of Tammuz until the Sabbath before Rosh Ha-Shanah, the *haftarot* consist of the three *haftarot* of tribulation (*pur'anut*) and the seven of consolation (those from Isaiah 40–66). Special *haftarot* are read on a Sabbath which is also Rosh Ḥodesh, on the Sabbath which falls on the day before Rosh Ḥodesh, on the Sabbath before Passover, on the Sabbath of the *Ten Days of Penitence, and on the Sabbath (or Sabbaths) of Ḥanukkah. The choice of the *haftarot* for the Four Special *Sabbaths depends on the special additional portion read on these days, and not on the ordinary Sabbath portion.

On festivals and fast days the *haftarah*, like the Torah reading, consists of a portion appropriate to the festival. For *Minḥah* on fast days (apart from the Day of Atonement) it is always Isaiah 55:6–56:7. In a few cases the *haftarah* is not a continuous portion (cf. Meg. 4:4).

History

The origin of the custom of reading a portion of the prophets after the Torah reading is unknown. The most plausible suggestion (dating from not earlier than the 14th century) is that the custom was instituted during the persecutions by *Antiochus Epiphanes which preceded the Hasmonean revolt. According to this theory, when the reading of the Torah was proscribed, a substitute was found by reading a corresponding portion from the Prophets; and the custom was retained after the decree was repealed (Abudarham; see also *David in the Liturgy). Buechler, however, was of the opinion that it was instituted against the Samaritans, who denied the canonicity of the Prophets (except for Joshua), and later against the Sadducees.

The earliest reference to the actual reading of a *haftarah* is found in the New Testament. Acts 13:15 states that "after the reading of the law and the prophets" Paul was invited to deliver an exhortation. Another reference (Luke 4:17) states that during the Sabbath service in Nazareth the Book of Isaiah was handed to Jesus, "and when he had opened the book, he found the place where it was written," the passage being Isaiah 61:1–2. Unfortunately, the Greek word used there meaning "found" does not make it clear whether the passage read was fixed beforehand or whether it was chosen at random.

The earliest reference in talmudic literature to the specific selection of a *haftarah* is in Tosefta, *Megillah*, 4 (3): 1, which gives the *haftarot* for the Four Special Sabbaths. A *baraita* in *Megillah* 31a, which has later additions by the Babylonian *amoraim* who add the *haftarot* for the second days of the festivals (and who sometimes change the order of the *haftarot* as a result) – gives the *haftarot* for every one of the festivals, including their intermediate Sabbaths, as well as a Sabbath which is also Rosh Ḥodesh, the Sabbath which immediately precedes Rosh Ḥodesh, and Ḥanukkah. However, nowhere in the Talmud are the *haftarot* given for ordinary Sabbaths, which were not fixed until after the talmudic period. The only other mention of the matter in tannaitic literature is the prohibition against the reading of certain prophetic passages: the *haftarah* on the *Merkavah* (Ezekiel 1) according to the anonymous Mishnah (but permitted by R. Judah, and in fact it is at present the *haftarah* for Shavuot; cf. Meg. 31a), and Ezekiel 16:1ff. according to R. Eliezer (Meg. 4:10), which, despite his strong disapproval, was read in his presence (Meg. 25b). The same Mishnah (Meg. 4:10) permits the reading of II Sam. 11:1–17 ("the story of David," i.e., and Bath-Sheba), and the "story of Amnon" (*ibid.* 13:1ff.) providing the Targum is not read (see below). These passages would seem to indicate that in mishnaic times the choice of the *haftarah* was generally not determined, and as late as geonic times different *haftarot* were in vogue in different localities. Even some of the *haftarot* mentioned in the Talmud are not those established at the present time, and to this day there are certain variations of choice, mostly between Sephardim and Ashkenazim, but also between different Ashkenazi rites (particularly that of Frankfurt on the Main).

The most interesting is the *haftarah* for *Simḥat Torah. According to the above-quoted passage in Megillah 31a, the *haftarah* for Shemini Aẓeret (which in Israel is also Simḥat Torah) was I Kings 8:54ff. and for the next day (Simḥat Torah in the Diaspora) I Kings 8:22. The universal custom today, to read Joshua I on Simḥat Torah, is attributed either to Hai Gaon (Tos. ad loc.) or the *savoraim (Or Zaru'a, II 293). When the *Triennial cycle was in vogue in Ereẓ Israel, there was naturally a *haftarah* to each portion, and the number must therefore have been about 150. They are, to some extent, reflected in the **Pesikta Midrashim*. Similarly, there are *haftarot* for the second day of each festival in the Diaspora which are not read in Ereẓ Israel, where the second day is not observed.

Various suggestions have been made as to the connotation of the word *haftarah*. One opinion is that it corresponds to the Latin word *demissio*, since in Temple times the service ended with the *haftarah*. Abudarham regards it as meaning "taking leave of," i.e., of *Shaḥarit, when one, so to speak, "takes one's leave" of the scriptural reading.

Regulations and Customs

The person who reads the *haftarah* is called the *maftir* since he is also called to the reading of the last part of the weekly portion from the Torah. As he is not included in the minimum obligatory number of seven persons who have to be called up on the Sabbath (Meg. 32a), the custom later arose for the concluding passage of the portion to be read a second time for the *maftir* (see Tos. ad loc.). On festivals, Rosh Ḥodesh, and the Four Special Sabbaths, however, the *maftir* is called to the reading of the special additional portion for those days from the second scroll. With the completion of that reading, the *Sefer Torah* is raised and rolled up (see *Hagbahah and Gelilah) and only then the *maftir* reads the *haftarah*, preceding it with two blessings and concluding the reading with three blessings, to which, on Sabbaths and festivals, a fourth blessing is added, the formula of which is changed according to the nature of the day. The text is given in *Soferim* 13:9–14, with slight variations from the text as established today. The *haftarah* is sung with a special cantillation, and the custom has developed for the introductory blessings to be chanted with the same cantillation. The Sabbath *haftarah* has to consist of a minimum of 21 verses (Meg. 23a), but for the festivals 15 suffice (Rema, OḤ 284:1).

It is not obligatory for the *haftarah* to be read from a manuscript scroll, but may be read from a printed book. In some congregations, however, especially in Israel, the *haftarah* is read from a scroll of the Prophets. Despite the general prohibition against committing to scroll writing only sections of the Prophets, in contrast to the complete Book of the Prophets, an exception was made in the case of a book containing only the *haftarot*; such a book is, in fact, mentioned in the Talmud (Git. 60a). Since the *maftir* was not included in the seven called to the reading of the Torah, a minor is permitted to be called to that portion (Meg. 4:5). The custom has become almost universal, however, to reserve the reading of the *haftarah* for a *bar mitzvah boy, but this is largely in order to provide him with an opportunity to show his prowess. Some *haftarot*, however, are regarded as being of such importance that a minor, and in some places even a bar mitzvah, is precluded from reading them. They include the *Merkavah* (Ezek. 1) on Shavuot, the Song of David on the seventh day of Passover, the *haftarah* on the Sabbath of the Ten Days of Penitence, and the *haftarah* of *Shabbat Zakhor* (see Special *Sabbaths), in this last case because the Torah reading of the *maftir* is considered obligatory by biblical law.

During the talmudic period, when the biblical reading was accompanied by its translation into Aramaic, the translation of the Torah reading was given verse by verse, but that of the *haftarah* after every three verses (Meg. 4:4), unless each verse constituted a separate "paragraph." Isaiah 52:3, 4, 5 is quoted as an example (Meg. 24a). The person who read the *haftarah* was invited to "*pores al shema*" (Meg. 4:5), a phrase to which different interpretations are given, but in the context it appears to mean to continue as the reader of the service which follows.

[Note: The order of chapters three and four in the Mishnah Megillah is reversed in the Babylonian Talmud. The mishnaic references given are therefore to be changed accordingly when their discussion in the Talmud is given.

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[Louis Isaac Rabinowitz]

HAGAI, BARUCH (1944–), Israeli athlete in handicapped sports. Hagai is the only athlete in the world to win four consecutive gold medals in the Paralympic Games. He was born in Tripoli, Libya, and immigrated to Israel in 1951 at the age of seven. At the age of two he was stricken by polio. He began his career in 1960 in two sports: basketball and table tennis. In the 1964 Handicapped Olympics held in Tokyo he won a gold medal in table tennis and in the 50 meter breast stroke in swimming, as well as in the slalom race. In 1971 he won a gold medal in basketball in the World and European Championships for the handicapped. In 1972 he won a gold medal in table tennis in the Handicapped Olympics held in Heidelberg. In 1975 he won a gold medal in basketball in the World Championship for the handicapped. In 1976 he won a gold medal in table tennis in the Handicapped Olympics held in Toronto. In 1978 he won a gold medal in basketball in the European Championship. In 1980 he won a gold medal in basketball in the Handicapped Olympics held in Arnhem, The Netherlands. In 1981 he won a gold medal in basketball in the European Championship. In 1997 he received a special gold medal for his special contribution to national and international sport. He was named Sportsman of the Year in Israel on the 40th and 50th anniversaries of its independence. In 2001 he was awarded the Israel Prize for his contribution to handicapped sports in Israel. From the 1980s he coached other handicapped athletes.

WEBSITE: www.education.gov.il/pras-israel.

[Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

HAGANAH (Heb. הַגָּנָה), the underground military organization of the *yishuv* in Ereẓ Israel from 1920 to 1948. The idea of establishing a defense organization that would protect the *yishuv* throughout Ereẓ Israel was born during the Ottoman period. The head of *Ha-Shomer, Israel *Shoḥat, sent a memorandum to the Executive of the Zionist Organization at the end of 1912, suggesting the establishment of a country-wide organization for self-defense around Ha-Shomer.

Initial Organization

With the British conquest of Ereẓ Israel, it seemed that there would be no need for a Jewish defense organization, for a European power had assumed responsibility for the preservation of civil order with the aid of legally constituted forces from the *yishuv*. Especially in favor of this position was Vladimir *Jabotinsky. He viewed the perpetuation of the *Jewish Legion, which was established in the framework of the British army during World War I as a garrison in Palestine, as the best assurance of the peace and security of the *yishuv*. The Arab assault on the Jewish settlements in Upper Galilee in March 1920 (see *Tel Ḥai), the imminent danger to the settlements in Lower Galilee in the summer of 1920, and, above all, the failure of the self-defense activities openly organized by Jabotinsky during the Passover riots in Jerusalem in 1920 destroyed these illusions. Those who regarded themselves responsible for the defense of the *yishuv*, members of Ha-Shomer and soldiers of the Jewish Legion, came to realize that it was impossible to depend upon the British authorities and that the *yishuv* must create an independent defense force, completely free of foreign authority – in a word, an underground – for both security and political considerations. In contrast to Ha-Shomer, this organization should encompass masses of people and be subordinate to a public Jewish authority. The *Aḥdut ha-Avodah (A) conference at Kinneret in June 1920 accepted Ha-Shomer's resolution to disband and declared its own responsibility "to concern itself with the arrangement of defense matters." A committee was chosen "to organize a defense organization," and among its members were Shoḥat and Eliahu *Golomb. In September 1920 the *Gedud ha-Avodah (the "Joseph Trumpeldor Labor and Defense Legion") was established with the participation of ex-members of Ha-Shomer. In addition to their tasks as workers and guards, the members of the Gedud were to serve as a reserve force for the Haganah. In December 1920, the *Histadrut accepted responsibility for guard and defense matters at its founding convention, and at the first Histadrut council in March 1921, a defense committee was set up, consisting of Israel Shoḥat, Eliahu Golomb, Joseph *Baratz, Ḥayyim *Sturmann, and Levi Shkolnik (*Eshkol), and the first steps were taken toward training members and purchasing arms.

The riots of May 1921 caught the new defense organization unprepared, but they proved the necessity for its existence. Members were sent to Vienna to begin organizing the consignment of arms (revolvers and ammunition) to Palestine by various means (in beehives, refrigerators, steamrollers, etc.). In addition, the first course for Haganah instructors was run under the command of an ex-Legionnaire, Elimelekh Zelikovich ("Avner"). On Nov. 2, 1921 ("Balfour Day"), an organized group of defenders repelled an attack of an Arab mob on the Jewish quarter of the Old City of Jerusalem and prevented the slaughter of its inhabitants.

During the 1920s

At the outset of Haganah activities, there was friction in the organization's leadership, originating in disagreement over defense systems between ex-Ha-Shomer people and Golomb's group. The Histadrut leadership supported Golomb's group, and the friction finally led to the disassociation of the Ha-Shomer people from the activities of the Haganah and their concentration in the Gedud ha-Avodah, in which they created an underground within an underground by developing an independent network to acquire arms, providing training courses, and pursuing an unsuccessful attempt to develop ties with the Soviet Union (1926). Their major achievement was the arms' cache at Kefar Giladi.

When the ex-Ha-Shomer members left the Haganah framework, the leadership of defense affairs remained, in effect, in the hands of an ex-Legionnaire, Yosef Hecht, who received his salary from the Histadrut Executive and maintained loose contact with the secretary of the Histadrut, David *Ben-Gurion. He was aided in his work, especially in the northern areas, by Shaul Meirov (*Avigur) of kevuẓat Kinneret. In the 1920s the Haganah was composed of separate branches in the major cities, a few moshavot, and a few kevuẓot and kibbutzim. In the cities there were also local committees composed of people who collected money for defense purposes. Each city had a Haganah commander who received a salary from the local Haganah committee. All the rest of the members, whose number did not exceed a few hundred, served as volunteers, training on Saturdays and in the evenings – mostly with revolvers and hand grenades – and being mobilized for guard duty on the border line between the *yishuv* and the Arab population during critical days (the anniversary of the *Balfour Declaration – November 2, the Ninth of Av, the festival of al-Nabī Mūsā in Jerusalem, etc.). A national officers' course, which was held on Mount Carmel near Haifa (1925), strengthened the contact among the handful of commanders. From time to time, meetings were held among the chief commanders, who formulated the "Constitution of the Haganah" in 1924. Primitive arms caches were set up in Shekhunat Borochov near Tel Aviv, in Geva, Kinneret, and Ayyelet ha-Shaḥar. In reality, the Haganah in the 1920s was an underground of such limited scope that it was not necessary to subject its activities to civilian control. Characteristic of the spirit of this period were activities such as the assassination of Jacob Israel de *Haan in June 1924 or the blowing up of a house near the Western Wall in September 1927 in response to Arab provocation of Jewish worshipers.

The riots of August 1929 brought about a complete change in the Haganah position. During the first days of the riots, when there were almost no British security forces in the country and the Arab police force did not carry out its tasks, the meager number of Haganah volunteers with their limited supply of arms filled the gap and saved the Jewish communities of Jerusalem, Tel Aviv, and Haifa from mass slaughter. In contrast, massacre and destruction of property were rampant in those places in which the Haganah was absent or in which its organization was deficient (Hebron, Safed, Moẓa). A deep impression was made by the defense of Ḥuldah, in which a handful of Haganah members fought against thousands of Arab attackers until British forces evacuated them. Old rivalries were forgotten during the riots, and ex-members of Ha-Shomer joined the Haganah fighters and took part in organizing the defense of the cities and the settlements. They also turned their central arms cache in Kefar Giladi over to the Haganah.

1931–1935

After 1929, the need to maintain, expand, and strengthen the Haganah was recognized by all parts of the *yishuv*. Its central command, i.e., Hecht, was ordered to broaden the framework of the Haganah and facilitate greater public control over the organization and its activities, and the civil institutions of the *yishuv* were also called upon to provide full cooperation with the Haganah command. Hecht, who objected to these changes because they went against his concept of the clandestine nature of the Haganah, was relieved of his command. The crisis of command led to the secession of a group of commanders in Jerusalem, led by Avraham Tehomi, that joined together with Revisionist groups to form the *Irgun Ẓeva'i Le'ummi (IẒL) in 1931. In the same year civil institutions of the *yishuv* arrived at an agreement, by which the national command of the Haganah was established on the basis of equal representation – three representatives of the Histadrut (Golomb, Dov *Hos, and Meir Rutberg) and three non-labor representatives (Dov Gefen, Issachar Sitkov, and Sa'adyah Shoshani). The moving spirit in the command was Golomb, whose personal influence was greater than his position as one of the six members of the command and whose modest apartment on Rothschild Boulevard in Tel Aviv was open night and day to people of the Haganah and served as a kind of headquarters of the organization.

The years 1931–35 were a period of quiet development for the Haganah. The structure of the organization hardly changed, and the major administrative work was centered in the three urban branches, whose commanders were Ya'akov Pat (Jerusalem), Elimelekh Zelikovich (alias Avner, Tel Aviv), and Ya'akov Dostrovsky (*Dori, Haifa). These branches constituted the mainstay of the organization, and the membership in each branch numbered in the hundreds. Training methods, however, did not change and were concentrated, as before, in the study of the revolver and hand grenade in the cities and the use of the rifle in the villages. The influence of the national command strengthened with the institution of systematic annual officers' courses (in Ḥuldah and Gevat) and the development of the communications branch (consisting basically of visual communication – flags, lanterns, heliographs) and intelligence. The national command also handled the acquisition of arms, especially from abroad. In 1935 rifles and rifle ammunition began to be sent in barrels of white cement from Belgium. On Nov. 18, 1935, the British authorities confiscated 537 barrels containing arms in Jaffa port, and the incident aroused substantial excitement among the Arabs of Palestine. The Haganah also began to develop workshops to produce hand grenades. The rural settlements began to organize into "blocs," and by 1936 about 20 of these blocs were in existence. At the head of each was a bloc commander who was responsible for the training of its members, acquiring arms and protecting them, and gathering intelligence on the security situation in the area. The position of the Haganah in each bloc was largely dependent upon the initiative of its commander.

During this period, the basic principles of the Haganah consolidated as follows: to maintain complete independence of any non-Jewish factor; to accept the authority of the Jewish national institutions – especially the Political Department of the *Jewish Agency; to maintain a national framework independent of political parties; and to shun militarism for its own sake. The organization was built upon the devotion and voluntary service of thousands of members. The British authorities were aware of the existence of the Haganah, but initially took no serious steps to follow its activities, arrest its commanders or members, or find its arms caches.

The Policy of Restraint

The years 1936–39, those of Arab rebellion, in which the *yishuv* in both the cities and the countryside was under a perpetual siege and was attacked by Arab guerilla bands, were the years in which the Haganah matured and developed from a militia into a military body. It confronted riots by using methods learned from the previous disturbances. The Jewish quarters and settlements in the cities and countryside were surrounded by defense devices: wire fences, concrete positions, trenches, communication trenches, and floodlights. The Arabs made practically no attempts to attack these fortified areas, but they destroyed the harvests in the fields, chopped down orchards and forests, tried to disrupt Jewish transportation on the roads, and set out on a terrorist campaign that affected casual passersby, women, and children.

With the outbreak of the riots, the Jewish Agency declared that the *yishuv*'s response to Arab acts of terror would be "restraint" (*havlagah*). In addition to the moral side of the question, the Jewish Agency believed that a policy of restraint would lead to a positive response from the British authorities who would provide the beleaguered Jews with arms. In fact, the authorities cooperated with the Jewish Agency by establishing a broad formation of Jewish auxiliary police (*ghafirs*) dressed in special police uniforms and provided with arms (rifles, and, after a time, light machine guns). During the period of the riots, this formation developed, and its members were formed into the Jewish Settlement Police (JSP), whose stations were placed in all agricultural settlements and in many urban quarters in the country. This force served as a cover for the activities and training of members of the Haganah. Later the members of the Haganah began to "go beyond the fence" and to develop forms of active fighting; escorts and reconnaissance units went into the fields and roads and other groups set ambushes for Arab terrorists. In 1937 field squads (Peluggot Sadeh) were established under the command of Yiẓḥak *Sadeh and Elijah Ben-Ḥur, trained specifically for war against terrorist gangs. These units gained battle experience with the establishment of the Special Night Squads (SNS) under the command of Orde *Wingate, a British captain who was a proven friend of the Jewish cause. During the years of the riots, the Haganah protected the establishment of over 50 new settlements in new areas of the country (the *Stockade and Watchtower settlements). All attacks of Arab gangs that came to uproot these settlements (the largest of these were the attacks on Tirat Ẓevi, Ḥanitah, and Ma'oz) were repulsed.

In 1937 IẒL split and part of its members, together with its commander, Tehomi, returned to the Haganah. Only the Revisionist members continued the independent existence of the organization. It did not engage particularly in defending the *yishuv*, but in 1937–38 it carried out counter-terrorist acts against Arab civilians on the roads and in markets, from which the Haganah disassociated itself for moral and political reasons. Unofficial cooperation with the British authorities did not deflect the Haganah from its independent course. The demand of the authorities that the Haganah be disbanded and its arms be turned in was rejected, and the Haganah even increased its efforts to enlarge its supply of arms. The underground industry for the production of arms was enlarged. In 1937 an agreement was reached between the emissary of the Haganah, Yehudah *Arazi, and the Polish government whereby the Poles would supply the Haganah with arms (rifles, ammunition, and machine guns) that would be transported to Palestine in steamrollers and various types of machinery. Haganah instructors in Poland were also allowed to utilize Polish arms in training young Jews who were going to settle in Palestine. The Haganah was active in organizing the clandestine emigration of Zionist youth from Europe that began in 1934, and until the outbreak of World War II, it assisted the landing of close to 6,000 "illegal" immigrants on the shores of Palestine.

At the end of the riots in Palestine, the number of men and women in the 20 branches of the Haganah reached 25,000. Its arms stores contained about 6,000 rifles and more than 220 machine guns (in addition to the arms of the JSP). Changes were made in its high command. In 1937, Yoḥanan *Ratner was appointed head of the national command by the Executive of the Jewish Agency, and at the end of 1939 a general staff was established, headed by Ya'akov Dostrovsky (Dori). To finance the activities of the Haganah, a special system of donations and taxes, called Kofer ha-Yishuv, was organized, which continued to exist until the establishment of the State of Israel.

During World War II

With the anti-Zionist turn in British policy (White Paper of May 1939), a clash of opinion broke out in the *yishuv* in relation to the Haganah's main task. Non-labor circles wished to limit its activities to guarding settlements and urban quarters against Arab attackers. The Jewish Agency, however, wanted to turn the Haganah into the military arm of the *yishuv*'s struggle against the British White Paper policy, which was also the desire of most members of the Haganah. In 1941 the crisis was settled with the establishment of a security committee composed of representatives of all circles in the *yishuv* and given control over the Haganah.

With the outbreak of World War II, the Haganah was faced with new problems. On the one hand, it actively supported the volunteering to the Jewish units that were established in the framework of the British army. Many of the founders and members of the Haganah joined these units and did much to foster Jewish leadership in them and preserve their Zionist character. The members of the Haganah also developed networks for the clandestine acquisition of arms within the British army, and they cared for Jewish survivors and refugees in the countries of Europe in which they were stationed at the close of the war.

At the same time, the general staff continued its activities in Palestine and developed the defense forces of the Haganah itself. Its members were divided into a "Guard Force," based on older members, for the static defense of the settlements, and a "Field Force," based on younger members (up to the age of 35), who were trained for active defense activities. A special paramilitary youth movement (*Gadna) was established to train youth between the ages of 14 and 18. In addition, courses were held for commanders of all ranks, among which the most important was the annual course for platoon leaders at Juʿāra near Ein ha-Shofet. The secret arms industry also expanded and produced mortars, shells, and submachine guns. National general defense programs were formulated in the *yishuv* (Program A in 1941, Program B in 1945). Finally the intelligence service of the Haganah (Shay – short for *sherut yedi'ot*) was developed and reached a very high level of effectiveness.

In 1941, a mobilized formation of the Haganah – the *Palmaḥ (short for *Peluggot Maḥaẓ* – "crack units") – was established. It was a regular underground army whose units were located in kibbutzim in all parts of the country. The members of the Palmah earned a substantial amount of their living expenses by agricultural labor (14 days a month), and they received excellent training. When the German army stood at the gates of Egypt, contact was reestablished between the Haganah and the British military authorities and joint efforts were carried out in which hundreds of Palmaḥ members received commando training by British officers. At a later time, a paratroop unit was established in this cooperative framework, and 32 of its members parachuted in Europe into enemy territory to organize Jewish youth in Nazi-occupied territory for resistance against the Nazis. From the end of 1939, the Haganah legally published a monthly entitled *Ma'arakhot* that was devoted to military thought and studies of military planning.

In general, however, the British authorities were hostile to the Haganah and saw it as an obstacle to their anti-Jewish policy. In 1939–40 many members of the Haganah were imprisoned and searches were carried out to locate the arms caches. The British military forces met with opposition that gradually reached the stage of bloodshed (Ramat ha-Kovesh, 1943), and show trials were held against Haganah members accused of stealing arms from British military depots. In 1944 the dissident underground organizations (IẒL and *Loḥamei

Ḥerut Israel – Leḥi) began attacking the British, against the established policy of the Jewish Agency. The Haganah was charged with stopping the activities of IẒL after the latter refused to heed the warnings of the Jewish Agency. This task (called the "saison") was carried out mainly by volunteers from the Palmaḥ. This mission aroused bitter feelings, even in the ranks of those who carried it out, mainly because some of the imprisoned members of IẒL were turned over to the British authorities.

The Policy of Resistance

A short time after the end of World War II, when it became clear that the British government would not abandon its anti-Zionist policy of the 1939 White Paper, the Jewish Agency charged the Haganah with leading the "Jewish resistance movement" against this policy. A special committee (Committee X) was established to control the activities of this movement. The implementation of the resistance plan was entrusted to Moshe *Sneh, then head of the national command, and Yiẓḥak Sadeh, acting chief of staff. In order to coordinate all underground activities, an agreement was arrived at with IẒL and Leḥi. The insurgent activities in this common framework began on Nov. 1–2, 1945, with the coordinated attack on rail lines and equipment. At the center of the resistance activities was the "illegal" mass immigration from Europe and North Africa, whose organization on land and sea devolved on the Haganah and its various arms: the *Beriḥah and the Organization ("Mosad") for "Illegal *Immigration." In Palestine, units of the Palmah destroyed army and police equipment, and the Haganah organized mass demonstrations that clashed with the British police and army. In addition to these, IẒL and Leḥi carried out their activities with the approval of the Haganah. The activities were accompanied by illegal written and oral propaganda (the *Ḥomah* wall newspaper and the clandestine broadcasts of the "*Kol ha-Haganah*"). On June 17, 1946, these activities reached their height with the blowing up of all the bridges on the borders of Palestine by the Haganah forces. About two weeks later, on June 29 ("Black Saturday"), the British authorities responded by imprisoning the members of the Jewish Agency Executive and the Va'ad Le'ummi and by vigorous searches in the kibbutzim in order to catch members of the Palmaḥ and uncover the arms caches of the Haganah (a large store was uncovered at Yagur).

After "Black Saturday," the Executive of the Jewish Agency called for a pause in the resistance, but IẒL and Leḥi refused to obey this order and continued their armed attacks. The Haganah limited its armed struggle to attempts to score direct hits against the operational devices installed to interfere with "illegal" immigration (radar devices, boats that deported immigrants to Cyprus, etc.). The "illegal" immigration also increased and reached new heights with the refugee ship *Exodus 1947* (summer 1947) and the two giant ships, *Pan Crescent* and *Pan York*, which set sail at the end of 1947 with 15,000 immigrants on their decks. These actions were greatly aided by the Haganah delegation to Europe, headed by Naḥum Kramer (Shadmi), that organized Haganah units in the Jewish DP camps in Central Europe and Italy and in other Jewish population centers (France, Romania, Hungary, etc.). In Palestine the Haganah concerned itself with the security of settlements in new areas of the country, such as the northern Negev (11 settlements were established simultaneously at the close of the Day of Atonement, 1946), the Judean Mountains, and Upper Galilee. A substantial number of these settlers received military training in the Palmaḥ.

The commissions of inquiry that visited Palestine at the time (the Anglo-American Commission and the UN Special Commission on Palestine) met with representatives of the Haganah and drew conclusions that substantially affected the formulation of policy in 1947, namely, that in the event that a political solution desired by the Jews was arrived at, the Haganah would be able to withstand any attack, whether by the Arabs of Palestine or those of the neighboring states, without outside aid. In the spring of 1947, when a political solution began to be worked out (namely the UN plan for the partition of Palestine), David Ben-Gurion took it upon himself to direct the general policy of the Haganah, especially its preparation for the impending Arab attack, and appointed Israel *Galili head of the national command. The Haganah budget was substantially increased, and the purchase of arms was expanded by the emissary of the Haganah, Ḥayyim Slavin, who concentrated upon the acquisition of machinery to manufacture arms and ammunition from the United States. Preparations were made for the formation of new services and first and foremost an air force, which was initiated in the framework of the Haganah before the outbreak of World War II. By the eve of the War of Independence there were 45,000 members in the Haganah, about 10,000 of whom were in the Field Force and more than 3,000 in the Palmaḥ.

The War of Independence

At the outbreak of the War of Independence, the Haganah was prepared for its defense tasks. The Jewish settlements were fortified, and in accordance with a Haganah tradition from the days of Tel Ḥai, even settlements completely cut off from the main areas of Jewish settlement were not abandoned (such as the Eẓyon Bloc, the settlements of the Negev, and Yeḥi'am), although holding them cost the Haganah great efforts. The Haganah also increased its retaliatory actions against the attacks of Arab gangs on Jewish traffic, and the movement of vehicles was guarded by armed escorts. A general mobilization was declared in the *yishuv*, but the first major blows of the war fell on the mobilized formations of the Haganah, the JSP, and units of the Palmah, which in a short period of time comprised three brigades (Yiftaḥ, Harel, and Negev). At the same time the quick mobilization and training of the Field Force began, and it was divided into seven brigades (Golani, Karmeli, Alexandroni, Kiryati, Givati, Eẓyoni, and the Seventh Brigade). Superhuman efforts were made to purchase arms of every type, including heavy arms and planes in America and Europe.

In the first four months of the war the Haganah engaged mainly in defending the positions of the *yishuv.* One of the reasons for its defensive stance was the presence of the British army, which, during its evacuation from the country, interfered in battles, usually to the advantage of the Arabs. Great achievements were made in these defensive actions, such as repulsing an attack on Tirat Ẓevi, the Eẓyon Bloc, and convoys to Jerusalem and other places, but losses were very heavy (about 1,200 civilians and soldiers, including the 35 fighters, called the "Lamed He," on a mission to the Eẓyon Bloc and 42 people in a convoy to Yeḥi'am). The feeling in the *yishuv* and in the world at large was that the Haganah had overrated its ability to withstand the attacking forces, and this feeling made itself felt in the international attitude to the Jewish prospects in the Palestine conflict.

In the beginning of April 1948, however, a great change took place in the activity of the Haganah, that was connected with the completion of the organization of the new brigades and the first large shipments of arms that had arrived from Europe. The beginning of this turn came with Operation Naḥshon, in which the road to besieged Jerusalem was broken through and the major fortifications on the hills on both sides of the road were captured. During the same period, the attacks of semi-regular Arab forces on Mishmar ha-Emek and Ramat Yoḥanan, whose purpose was to break through to Haifa, were repulsed. A series of conquests began, starting with the capture of Tiberias (April 18) and followed by the battle for Haifa, which ended with Haganah forces holding the entire city. Safed was captured on May 12, and the next day Arab Jaffa surrendered to the Haganah command. With the evacuation of British forces from Jerusalem, Haganah forces controlled the new city, but the Jewish quarter of the Old City was forced to surrender to the Arab Legion of Transjordan on May 28. The Eẓyon Bloc also fell to the Arab Legion.

On May 15, 1948, Haganah forces faced the armies of the surrounding Arab states that had invaded Palestine. These were large armies whose equipment, including cannons and tanks, outweighed that of the Haganah. The assault of the Syrian army on the northern Jordan Valley was halted in a series of desperate battles, in which the Haganah used its first cannons. Forces of the Iraqi army were stopped at the borders of the hills of Samaria. The assault of the Arab Legion and the Egyptian army on Jerusalem, accompanied by indiscriminate cannon bombardment on the city, was repulsed. Heavy battles were waged in the Latrun area on the highway to Jerusalem. When the Haganah proved unable to occupy the Latrun area it paved a temporary road to the city, south of Latrun (the "Burma Road"), and thus ensured communication with Jerusalem. In the south, the advance of the Egyptian army was halted by the Palmaḥ, the Givati Brigade, and members of the settlements in the area, including Yad Mordekhai and Negbah.

In the midst of these battles, the provisional government of Israel decided to turn the Haganah into the army of the state. The transition was basically a formality, but it symbolized the end of an era. In the Order of the Day of May 31, 1948, the minister of defense, David Ben-Gurion, announced that with the establishment of the State of Israel, the Haganah abandoned its underground character and became the regular army of the state. The name of the Haganah was incorporated into the official name of the army of the new state: Ẓeva Haganah le-Israel (Israel Defense Forces).

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[Yehuda Slutsky]

HAGAR (Heb. הָגָר), Egyptian maidservant of *Sarah (Sarai). The tradition involving Hagar is preserved in two narrative cycles. The passage in Genesis 16:1–16 records how Hagar was given to Sarai's husband Abram as a concubine (1–13). When Hagar conceived, she became contemptuous of Sarai, who, in turn, abused her until she fled into the desert (4–6). There, by a spring, Hagar encountered an angel, who exhorted her to return (7–9) and gave her a favorable oracle concerning her future son to be named *Ishmael (10–12). Hagar named the place in honor of the event (13–14). Finally, she bore Ishmael (15). The second tradition (Gen. 21:8–21) records that after Sarai – now Sarah – had borne Isaac, she demanded the expulsion of Hagar and her son. According to the Septuagint, she was distressed to see Ishmael playing "with her son Isaac." Upon receiving divine reassurance (12–13), Abraham reluctantly banished Hagar (14ff.) to the desert, where she and Ishmael were saved from death by divine intervention (17ff.).

The problem of surrogate motherhood arises elsewhere in the Bible (Gen. 30:3) as well as in Hammurapi's code and in legal documents from the ancient Near East and Egypt spanning over a millennium. While there is as yet no exact parallel to the Hagar stories, these documents attest to the possibility of a slave's son becoming an heir, the slave woman's lack of deference to her mistress after bearing children (Hammurapi, 146), and the mistreatment of the slave by the mistress.

Contemporary critical scholarship regards the first tradition about Hagar as predominantly J (Jahwist), with P (Priestly) inserts comprising verses 1a, 3, 15–16; the second is agreed to be entirely E (Elohist). As a whole, however, the literary transmission of these narratives has long presented difficulties. The problems are both literary and chronological. The literary problems arise from the fact that both accounts involve the banishment of Hagar (16:6; 21:14), the encountering of an angel who provided an oracle (16:7–12; 21:17–18), and the presence of a well (16:14; 21:19). It has been suggested that two independent versions of Hagar's banishment originally existed, the first referring to her pregnancy and the second to the time after Isaac's birth. Consequently, some scholars resolve the assumed conflation by judging 16:9 to be a late redaction whose purpose was to give sequence to the narratives; others assume that the naming of Ishmael was deleted in the second tradition. These difficulties are lessened if the narratives are considered separate crystallizations of the Hagar-Ishmael saga, each one limited and both integrated by the root šmᶜ (שמע; 16:2, 11; 21:12, 17). Each would serve both as an independent version of the etiology of the Ishmaelite-Hagarite tribes and a literary foil for the Isaac theme interwoven through it. However, the combination has introduced a chronological problem which did not exist when these traditions stood alone. According to Genesis 16:16, Abraham was 86 years old when Ishmael was born and 100 when Isaac was born (21:5), which would make Ishmael more than 14 years old at the time of his banishment (21:10 ff.). This difficulty has resulted in various attempts to account for the conflation, as, e.g., the view that an account of the banishment of Hagar and her young son was combined with an account of the birth of Isaac in Abraham's old age.

As a female name Hagar is well attested in ancient Arabia in Palmyrene and Safaitic. There is probably no connection between Hagar and the Hagrites (Knauf), an ethnic group named in Chronicles (I Chr. 5:10, 19, 20; II Chr. 5:20). The etymology of Hagar is obscure, but some scholars have connected it with an Old South Arabic word meaning "city, area."

[Maurice Friedberg / S. David Sperling (2nd ed.)]

In the Aggadah

Hagar was the daughter of Pharaoh. When "Pharaoh saw the deeds performed on Sarah's behalf in his house, he gave Hagar to Sarah, saying; 'Better let my daughter be a handmaid in this house than a mistress in another's'" (Gen. R. 45:1). According to Philo (Abr., 251), Sarah testified about Hagar her handmaid, not only that she was a free woman of noble disposition, but also that she was a Hebrew in her way of life. Hagar was given to Abraham after he had dwelt ten years in the land of Canaan (Gen. 16:3) since a man having no children from his wife for ten years may not abstain any longer from the duty of propagation (Yev. 6:6). As soon as Hagar was with child she began to slander Sarah, saying to the ladies who came to visit her mistress, "My mistress Sarah is not inwardly as she appears outwardly. She pretends to be a woman of piety, but she is not, as she has prevented conception in order to preserve her beauty" (Gen. R. 45:4). When this came to the notice of Sarah she took Abraham to task for remaining silent at these taunts and she also made Hagar do servile work despite the fact that Abraham objected to any burden being added to that of childbearing (Gen. R. 45:6). Four or five angels visited her after she fled from Sarah but Hagar, who was quite accustomed to the appearance of these celestial beings in Abraham's household, was not at all startled (Gen. R. 45:7). When Hagar came to the wilderness, she took up the idol-worship of the house of her father Pharaoh (*ibid.*; PdRE. 30). However, she gave it up when it proved worthless (Targ. Yer. Gen. 21:16). Hagar is identical with Keturah, whom Abraham married after the death of Sarah (Gen. 25:1). She was so called, because after having gone astray after idols, she again attached herself to a life of virtue (*keturah*, lit. "attached"; Zohar, Gen. 133b; Gen. R. 61:4).

For the figure of Hagar in Islam see *Abraham; *Ishmael, sections on Islam.

[Elimelech Epstein Halevy]

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HA-GASHASH HA-ḤIVER (Heb. הגשש החיוור), Israeli comedy trio, including SHAIKE LEVI (1948–); GAVRI BANAI (1940–); and ISRAEL POLIAKOV (1941–). Ha-Gashash is the longest-running and most successful comedy team in the history of Israeli entertainment. Over the years the threesome have built up an audience from across the entire spectrum of Israeli society and all age groups. Their vast range of material, sketches, and songs has appealed to the highbrow and the lowbrow, and their language has spawned numerous expressions that have found their way into everyday speech.

Ha-Gashash was created in 1963 by promoter Avraham "Pashanel" *Desheh. Levi, Banai, and Poliakov had previously worked under Desheh as part of the *Tarnegolim* ("Roosters") singing troupe and when it disbanded Desheh suggested that they form a trio performing comic sketches and songs. Ha-Gashash's first show, entitled *Simḥat Zekinti*, premiered in 1964 with material written by actor-comedian Shaike *Ophir. The show was a great success and Levi, Banai, and Poliakov decided to keep the team together. Ophir also wrote material for the next production, *Tokhnit Dalet* ("Plan D"), which came out in 1966 and included songs written and arranged by Aryeh Levanon, some of which became hits.

In 1969 the threesome decided to try their luck in the mainstream music arena by entering that year's Israel Song Festival with a song called *Mayim le-David ha-Melekh* ("Water for King David"). True to their comic bent, Levi, Banai, and Poliakov added a comic visual effect to their singing by wearing overly short biblical-style tunics. By now Ha-Gashash ha-Ḥiver had become the most popular comedy team in the country.

In the early 1970s the group used material written by Yossi *Banai, who doubled as director, as well as sketches derived from the works of world-renowned satirist Ephraim *Kishon. The group also furthered its across-the-board musical appeal with a string of hits, such as Naomi *Shemer's *Yesh Li Ḥag* ("I Have A Holiday"). Ha-Gashash later released an entire album of Shemer numbers, including *Lu Yehi* ("If Only") and *Orḥim La-Kayiẓ* ("Summer Guests"), which sold well.

In 1984 the threesome contributed sketches to the Labor Party's political broadcasts for that year's general elections, some of which formed the basis of subsequent productions, such as 1985's *For a Fistful of Dollars* directed by Motti *Kirschenbaum. In 1990 Levi, Banai, and Poliakov decided to further their solo careers but temporarily regrouped after being awarded the 2000 Israel Prize. All three continued to work separately, both as actors and singers, but periodically appeared with new Ha-Gashash material.

[Barry Davis (2nd ed.)]

HAGBAHAH, GELILAH (Heb. הַגְבָּהָה וּגְלִילָה; "lifting and rolling" of the Torah scroll), the elevation and subsequent rolling together of the Scroll of the Law in the synagogue. *Hagbahah* is the raising of the open Torah scroll, so that the congregation may see the writing and testify: "And this is the Law which Moses set before the children of Israel" (Deut. 4:44); "According to the word of the Lord by Moses" (Num. 9:23). In the Sephardi ritual, Deuteronomy 4:24, 33:4 is immediately followed by Psalms 18:31. In the Reform ritual, "This Torah is a tree of life to those who hold fast to it; and of them that uphold it everyone is rendered happy" (Prov. 3:18) is recited instead. In the Ashkenazi ritual, this rite is performed after the reading from the Pentateuch and before the reading from the Prophets (*haftarah*). One person lifts up the Torah scroll in such a way that the congregation can see three columns of the writing. He then sits down and another person rolls the scroll, binds it, dresses it with a mantle, and replaces its various ornaments. This part of the rite is called *gelilah* ("rolling together"). In many ḥasidic synagogues *hagbahah* is made with an open scroll before the reading from the Torah and again after the reading, with a closed scroll which is then bound. In the Sephardi ritual, *hagbahah* is performed before the reading from the Pentateuch. The person who takes the Torah scroll from the ark opens it and carries it open to the reading platform. According to the Talmud, the person who performs the *gelilah* ceremony is honored even more than those who are called to the actual reading of the Pentateuch (Meg. 32a, see also: Sh. Ar., OḤ 134). In some places, it has become the custom to let the *gelilah* be performed even by minors (under the age of bar mitzvah) who are not qualified to be called to the Pentateuch reading. In the Western Sephardi rite, however, *hagbahah* is performed only by an honorary official or members of an honorary brotherhood (levantadores).

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HAGEN, town in North Rhine-Westphalia, Germany. A small Jewish community came into existence in Hagen during the early years of the 18th century. Among the town's 675 inhabitants in 1722 were four Jewish families, two of them glassmakers and two animal butchers. Little is known of the community in the following decades, but in 1799 there is evidence of a significant settlement of 23 Jews, mostly engaged in peddling. During the 19th century their numbers increased, and they were particularly prominent in the development of the textile industry. In this period they established a school and finally built a synagogue in 1859. By 1897 there were 470 Jews among the population. On the eve of the Nazi regime in 1930, there were 679 Jews in Hagen. The synagogue was set on fire in 1938, Jewish stores and homes were destroyed, and all Jewish men were deported to Sachsenhausen-Oranienberg and Dachau. Over the next year emigration intensified, with around 300 managing to leave during the entire Nazi period. The remaining Jews were deported between 1942 and 1943 via Dortmund to Theresienstadt and Zamosc and from there to Belzec, and later to Auschwitz directly. In all, 153 perished. By 1956 there were again 20 Jews living in Hagen. The synagogue in Hagen-Hohenlimburg (Hohenlimburg was incorporated into Hagen in 1975), which was damaged in 1938, was bought and restored by the city of Hagen in 1960. In 1986 it was opened as a memorial site (Alte Synagoge Hohenlimburg). The Jewish community numbered 38 in 1989 and 338 in 2004. Most of the members are immigrants from the former Soviet Union, who came to Germany after 1990.

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[Ze'ev Wilhem Falk / Michael Berenbaum and Larissa Daemmig (2nd ed.)]

HAGENBACH, village in Bavaria, Germany. The existence of a Jewish community in Hagenbach was first noted through its suffering during the *Rindfleisch massacres (1298). Nothing more is known of it until 1478, when the expulsion of Jews from nearby *Bamberg increased the numbers and importance of the Jewish communities in Hagenbach and the neighboring villages. The various communities lived under the protection of the country gentry and formed an association to provide common rabbinic leadership and to represent their shared interests before the governmental authorities. The local *Memorbuch, an important historical document, records that a synagogue and cemetery were consecrated in 1737. In 1813 an independent rabbinate was established, with its seat in Hagenbach, embracing 14 other small communities. In 1867 the community (totaling 126 persons) was united with that of *Baiersdorf, while in 1894 both were included in the rabbinate of Bamberg. The Jewish population numbered 88 in 1900 and only 24 in 1933. All left by November 1938. The community was not reestablished after World War II.

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HAGGADAH, PASSOVER (Heb. הַגָּדָה; "telling"), a set form of benedictions, prayers, midrashic comments and psalms recited at the **seder* ritual on the eve of *Passover.

INTRODUCTION

The *Haggadah* is based on the *seder* service prescribed by the Mishnah (Pes. 10), which had apparently been conducted in the form of a banquet. The observance of the precepts at the *seder* – the eating of the *pesaḥ* (the *paschal sacrifice), *matzah ("unleavened bread"), and **maror* ("bitter herbs"); the drinking of arba *kosot ("four cups of wine"); and the recital of the story of the exodus from Egypt (the narrative of the *Haggadah*) were integrated into this banquet celebration. Essentially, the *Haggadah* is an account of the Egyptian bondage, a thanksgiving to God for the redemption, and, in Temple times, a thanksgiving for the acquisition of the Land of Israel. After the destruction of the Second Temple, the latter was replaced by a prayer for the ultimate redemption. The purpose of the *Haggadah* ("*Ve-higgadta le-vinkha*" – "And thou shalt tell thy son," Ex. 13:8), one of the central commandments of the day, is represented by the narrative itself. Not written by any particular author, or group of authors, the *Haggadah* is not a "literary composition" in the accepted sense of the term. Its narrative is a collection of excerpts from the Bible, Mishnah, and Midrash, interpolated with the ritual performances: the **Kiddush*, the benedictions recited on the performance of precepts, and for food, *Grace after Meals, and the **Hallel*. Gradually, stories, psalms, and songs were added. Many recensions of the *Haggadah*, differing from one another to a greater or lesser degree, have been preserved in various manuscripts, mostly dating from the 13th to the 15th century, and also in fragments from the Cairo **Genizah*. Some halakhic works also contain the text of, and commentaries on, the *Haggadah* (see below: Manuscripts and Editions). In keeping with its compilatory character and the varied nature of its sources, the literary or logical nexus between the different sections of the *Haggadah* is not always discernible. The quotations, derived from a multiplicity of sources, have mostly been adapted to the needs of the *seder* service.

COMPONENT PARTS

(1) The **Kiddush*. It is not specific to the *seder* service but is prescribed for all the festivals.

(2) *Ha Laḥma Anya ("This is the bread of affliction") are the opening words of a declaration in Aramaic, designating the *matzah* as the bread of affliction and inviting the needy to join the meal. It ends with "This year we are here, next year may we be in the Land of Israel. This year we are slaves, next year may we be free men." There seems to be no clear connection between the three statements of the declaration. It appears to be a folk composition which was added to the *seder* liturgy after the destruction of the Temple.

(3) *Mah Nishtannah ("How is this night different"), popularly known as "the four questions," is according to the Mishnah (Pes. 10:4) apparently a formula with which the father can instruct his son. This formula passed through a number of stages till it assumed the forms which are to be found in the different recensions that are in use today.

(4) *Avadim Hayinu* ("We were bondmen") is an introduction to the formal narration of the exodus from Egypt, based on the views of Samuel (Pes. 116a). Passages of unknown origin supplement the narration stressing its importance.

(5) *Ma'aseh be-Rabbi Eli'ezer… Amar Rabbi Elazar* ("It is told of R. Eliezer… R. Eleazar b. Azariah said") is a story concerning the leading *tannaim*, followed by a discussion between them, whose purpose it is to emphasize the importance of the narration. While the story is preserved only in the *Haggadah*, the debate is cited in the Mishnah (Ber. 1:5) and in halakhic Midrashim (Sif. Deut. 130; Mekh., Pisḥa 16).

(6) The *baraita* of the Four Sons, also preserved in a halakhic Midrash (Mekh., Pisḥa 18) and in the Talmud (TJ, Pes. 10:4, 37d), but in a recension differing considerably from *Haggadot* in use today, incorporates all the biblical verses enjoining the narration of the exodus (Deut. 6:20; Ex. 12:26; 13:8; 13:14). It adapts them to four different types of "sons": the wise, the wicked, the simple, and the disinterested, who should be instructed according to the *halakhah* "that according to the understanding of the son the father instructs him" (Pes. 10:4).

(7) *Yakhol me-Rosh Ḥodesh* ("It might be thought that [this exposition should begin] from the New Moon [of Nisan]") is a tannaitic commentary on Exodus 13:8 (Mekh., Pisḥa 17), adducing exegetical proof that the narration of the exodus story is obligatory on the eve of Passover.

(8) *Mi-Teḥillah Ovedei Avodah Zarah Hayu Avoteinu* ("In the beginning, our fathers worshiped idols") is an introduction to the narration of the exodus story based on Rav as opposed to Samuel's view (see above *Avadim Hayinu*).

(9) A tannaitic Midrash on *Arami oved avi* (Deut. 26:5–8) – "An Aramean would have destroyed my father" (usually rendered: "A wandering Aramean was my father") which, according to the Mishnah (Pes. 10:4), everyone is obliged "to expound." This commentary, also preserved in the Midrashim based on the *Sifrei* (Sif. Deut. 26:5 (301), especially Mid. Lek. Tov, and Mid. Hag., ad loc.), is a haphazard selection of aggadic interpretations. In the *seder* ritual, it is prefaced with "Blessed be He who observes His promise… Go and learn what Laban the Aramean sought…," a passage not found in the Midrashim and apparently composed in the post-talmudic period.

(10) Commentaries of the *tannaim* on the miracle of the plagues and the division of the Red Sea during the exodus from Egypt are recited. In most Jewish communities these have been seen as a continuation of the preceding Midrash; their source is the *Mekhilta* (*Va-Yehi be-Shallaḥ* 6).

(11) *Kammah Ma'alot Tovot la-Makom Aleinu* ("How many goodly favors has the Almighty bestowed upon us") is a poem in two versions which is preserved only in the Passover *Haggadah*. The poem was composed during the Second Temple period and seems to have no direct connection with the *seder* service.

(12) The Mishnah of Rabban Gamaliel. It explains the significance of the Passover sacrifice, the unleavened bread, and the bitter herbs. Taken from the Mishnah (Pes. 10:5), it

was reworded (in a question-and-answer form) during the post-talmudic period.

(13) *Be-Khol Dor va-Dor* ("In every single generation") is a passage from the Mishnah (Pes. 10:5), or from an expanded Mishnah (*baraita*), which had been supplemented by a statement of Rava (Pes. 116b).

(14) The first two chapters of *Hallel* are recited, as prescribed in the Mishnah following Bet Hillel (Pes. 10:6).

(15) The benediction for redemption "Who redeemed us" is based on the ruling of R. Tarfon and R. Akiva in the Mishnah. After observing the commandments to eat unleavened bread and bitter herbs, the meal is eaten, followed by Grace after Meals. (According to the opinion of scholars such as Elbogen, Ginzberg, and Finkelstein, etc. it is obvious from the text of the *Mah Nishtannah* that at some stage in the development of the *seder* service this part of the ritual followed rather than preceded the meal.) The company then continues with the second part of the *Haggadah*.

(16) *Shefokh Ḥamatkha* ("Pour out Thy wrath") is a collection of verses whose theme is a supplication for vengeance on the nations that have oppressed Israel. The custom to recite these verses is attested since medieval times; their number and order differ according to the various rites.

(17) The last part of the *Hallel* is recited, as specified in the Mishnah (Pes. 10:7).

(18) *Yehallelukha Adonai Eloheinu al Kol Ma'asekha* ("All Thy works shall praise Thee") is a benediction of praise ("*Birkat ha-Shir*") in accordance with R. Judah's view (Pes. 118a).

(19) The Great *Hallel* (Ps. 136). Its recital became obligatory at a later date. (It is based on the *baraita* of R. Tarfon (*ibid.*).)

(20) *Nishmat Kol Ḥai* ("The breath of all that lives"), another version of the *Birkat ha-Shir* ("Benediction over the Song") is recited, in accordance with the view of R. Johanan (*ibid.*).

RITUAL ACTS

The text of the *Haggadah* is also divided according to the prescribed ritualistic acts of the *seder* service. Each textual section is headed by a descriptive phrase which, in some rites, is chanted as a separate litany. The sections are *kaddesh* (the *Kiddush*), *u-reḥaẓ* ("washing" of the hands), *karpas* (eating the "herbs" dipped in saltwater), *yaḥaẓ* ("dividing" the middle *matzah*), *maggid* (the "narration"), *raḥaẓ* ("washing" the hands for the meal), *moẓi-matzah* (the "benediction" over the *matzah*), *maror* (eating the "bitter herbs"), *korekh* (eating "bitter herbs with *matzah*"), *shulḥan orekh* (the "meal"), *ẓafun* (eating of the *fikoman* – the "last *maẓẓah*"), *barekh* ("Grace after Meals"), *hallel* (recitation of the second part of *Hallel*), and *nirẓah* (the closing formula). This Passover *Haggadah* and *seder* ritual follows the practice of the Pumbedita and Sura academies of Babylonia and was adopted by all the Jewish communities in the Diaspora. It completely superseded the ancient Palestinian recension which differed from it in certain respects (such as the omission of sections 4–7 listed above.

TEXTUAL ELABORATIONS

A tendency, however, existed to elaborate on the text of the *Haggadah* with midrashic and poetic sections. These additions are neither obligatory nor universally accepted: e.g., the tannaitic exposition *Ani Adonai ve-lo Aḥer* ("I the Lord and no other"; *Maḥzor Vitry*, 293) and an interpretation of *ve-natan lanu et mamonam* ("and gave us their substance"; the *siddur* of Saadiah Gaon, 143), the latter is derived from the *Mekhilta de-R. Simeon b. Yoḥai*, and was adapted to the *seder* ritual. Similarly, certain benedictions were expanded through the interpolation of *piyyutim* (e.g., in the *siddur* of Saadiah Gaon, 144). Among Oriental communities it is customary to recite in the first part of the *seder* service the hymn "And ye shall say: This is the offering of the Passover." In later times, hymns and roundelays were gradually incorporated into the *Haggadah*, and sung at the end of the *seder: *Az Rov Nissim* ("Of old, Thou didst Perform most Miracles at Night"; from a *kerovah* by *Yannai); *Omeẓ Gevurotekha* ("The Strength of Thy Might"; from a *kerovah* by R. Eleazar *Kallir); *Ki Lo Na'eh* ("For to Him Is it Becoming"; by an anonymous *paytan*); and *Ḥasal Seder Pesaḥ* ("Accomplished is the Order of the Passover"; from a *kerovah* by R. Joseph Tov Elem *Bonfils). Other hymns introduced are just folk songs composed for the entertainment of children, e.g., *Addir Hu ("Strong is He"); *Eḥad Mi *Yode'a ("Who Knows One?"); *Ḥad Gadya ("One Only Kid"). In other communities different *piyyutim* have been adopted: e.g., "On Passover in Egypt my Captives went forth Free"; "From the House of Iniquity, Seat of my Strifes" or "Home of my Medanite [captors]" (both are in the *Maḥzor Carpentras*); or "Who Wrought Wonders in Egypt" (*Maḥzor Romania*, Constantinople, 1510). In northern France it was customary to sing at the end of the *seder* "The Lovers Sing with Ringing Voice" (*Maḥzor Vitry*, 298).

COMMENTARIES

Textual difficulties in the *Haggadah* called for the annotation of the text. The earliest commentaries were written in a talmudic style and can be found in the halakhic works of the school of Rashi and his disciples (e.g., in *Maḥzor Vitry; Ha-Orah*, ed. by S. Buber, 1905; *Siddur Rashi*, ed. by S. Buber and J. Freimann, 1911; *Ha-Pardes*, ed. by D. Ehrenreich, 1824). The commentary attributed to R. *Samuel b. Meir is written in the same style. A more comprehensive and profound exposition is found in *Shibbolei ha-Leket* by R. Zedekiah b. Abraham *Anav (13th century; ed. by S. Buber, 1886), in which are incorporated some annotations by Isaiah di *Trani, as well as interesting novellae, by the author's brother. The two important commentaries composed in the 14th century were by R. Aaron b. Jacob ha-Kohen of *Lunel (in *Orḥot Ḥayyim*; it also appeared in Kol *bo) and by R. David b. Joseph *Abudarham (in his commentary on the prayer book; Venice, 1566). These early commentators merely annotated the text. They were not concerned with the investigation of the historical aspect of the *Haggadah* and did not refer to the sources of its different texts. This simple explanatory type of commentary came to a close in the 15th century with *Afikoman* by R. Simeon b. Ẓemaḥ *Duran, which until that time was the only commentary published as a separate book. After the 15th century, the commentators included material of their own in their expositions, both as an elaboration on the narrative and as a discussion of philosophical and theological concepts. R. Isaac *Abrabanel in *Zevaḥ Pesaḥ* (Venice, 1545; figure 3) poses 100 questions which he answers at length. With reference to the verse "Know thou of a surety…" (Gen. 15:13), he asks: "What benefit have we derived from the exodus from Egypt, in view of the fact that we are once again in exile?" In his reply he discusses the significance of the exile and the ways of Providence at great length, without establishing any direct connection with the text. The commentary thus becomes a separate discourse. Subsequent commentators, who followed his style, mostly annotated in an aggadic vein, while a few gave mystical interpretations, e.g., R. Eliezer *Ashkenazi in *Ma'asei Adonai* (Venice, 1583); R. *Judah Loew b. Bezalel (the Maharal) of Prague in *Gevurot Adonai* (Cracow, 1582), in which he also expounds halakhic matters; and the kabbalists R. Moses *Alshekh and R. Isaiah *Horowitz. The best known later commentators are: R. Jacob *Emden, R. *Elijah b. Solomon Zalman of Vilna, *Jacob of Dubno, Jacob b. Jacob Moses *Lorberbaum (of Lissa), and Moses *Sofer (Schreiber) who wove their homiletic compositions round and into the Passover *Haggadah*. R. Ḥayyim Joseph David *Azulai (18th century), known for his critical approach, also follows the above method in his commentaries on the *Haggadah*, though occasionally the critical view is discernible. Only in the 19th century did scholars begin to analyze the text, to clarify its sources, and to determine the original wording. This method was adopted by H. Edelman, E. *Landshuth, D. *Cassel, M. Friedmann, and D. Goldschmidt, whose commentaries were published in articles or in book form.

MANUSCRIPTS AND EDITIONS

Through the generations the Passover *Haggadah* has been one of the most popular works – perhaps the most popular – in Jewish religious literature. Many recensions, differing from one another to a greater or lesser degree, have been preserved in various manuscripts mostly dating from the 13th to the 15th century, and also in fragments from the Cairo *Genizah*. These manuscripts originate from all countries in which Jews have lived. Some halakhic works also contain the text of and commentaries on the *Haggadah*. Others are found in daily or festival prayer books; the majority, however, are separate works for use on the eve of Passover only. These manuscripts have not yet been adequately investigated; only a selected few, particularly the illuminated copies, have engaged the attention of scholars. In the seventh or eighth century the *Haggadah* was apparently compiled as a separate work by the *geonim*. The oldest extant version however is in the prayer book (*siddur*) of Saadiah Gaon (10th century; ed. by I. Davidson, S. Assaf and B.I. Joel, 1941); other early versions are found in Maimonides' *Mishneh Torah* (12th century) and in *Maḥzor Vitry* (11th century). Since the 15th century, the *Haggadah* has had more than 2,700 editions, either with or without commentaries. Later editions have included as many as 200 commentaries. The Haggadah has been translated into vernaculars used by Jews, e.g., Yiddish, Ladino, Judeo-Greek, Judeo-Arabic (in its various dialects), and Judeo-Persian, which are often printed together with the *Haggadah*. Oral vernacular renderings are traditional in those communities which have no printed literature in their spoken idiom (e.g., in modern Aramaic). The *Haggadah* has been rendered into a number of languages, and the translation, whether with or without commentary, is often included in the editions. "Emended" editions, which do not give the traditional but a substitute version, are customary in certain communities, e.g., the *Haggadah* of S. *Maybaum (1891), Caesar *Seligmann (Frankfurt, 1913), Guggenheim (Offenbach, 1927), the Central Conference of American *Rabbis (from 1905 onward), the Union of Liberal and Progressive Synagogues in London (1953), and the *Reconstructionist movement in the U.S. The tendency to "reform" the *Haggadah* exists also in Israel, especially in nonreligious kibbutzim which tend to emend the text of the *Haggadah* from year to year; as a rule, these editions do not appear in print, but in cyclostyled form only. The Karaites have composed a Passover *Haggadah* of their own, which is completely different from that of the Rabbanites, and consists of biblical verses and a few benedictions. It has been printed several times (Pressburg, 1879; Odessa, 1883; Vilna, 1900; Ramleh, 1953). *Haggadah* editions based on scientific analysis and research are by: H. Edelman (1845); E.L. Landshuth (*Maggid me-Reshit*, with an introduction, 1855); J.D. *Eisenstein (*Oẓar Perushim ve-Ẓiyyurim al Haggadah shel Pesaḥ*, 1920); C. *Roth (in English, 1939); D. Goldschmidt (with a commentary in Hebrew; 1947) and with an introduction on the history of the *Haggadah* and the texts of all the midrashic and paytanic additions in 1960; and M.M. *Kasher (containing Mss. recensions, *genizah* fragments, and a collection of commentaries, as well as a lengthy introduction, 1955).

[Ernst Daniel Goldschmidt]

ILLUMINATED MANUSCRIPTS

Introduction

During the 13th to 15th centuries the Passover *Haggadah* was one of the most popular Hebrew illuminated manuscripts in Sephardi as well as Ashkenazi or Italian communities.

The popularity of the *Haggadah* for embellishment at that time was the result of the fusion of several factors. To begin with, the crystallization of its text into a single received and authoritative version made it easier to extract the Passover *Haggadah* from the complete annual cycle of prayers contained in the *siddur* and to copy it as a separate book. Such a book, the record of the most important private, domestic ritual, performed with the entire family gathered around the Passover table, was a much more personal object, less subject to communal prescription and prohibition, and so lent itself to the expression of personal taste in enrichment more than any other sacred codex. Being instructive in nature, the illustrations may have served as a means of holding the interest of the children through the long Passover eve ceremony. Because of its comparatively small size, it was not too expensive for the head of a family to commission or purchase, nor too laborious for scribe to write and artist to illuminate. Nor is it a coincidence that, just at the time when illuminated *Haggadah* manuscripts began to appear as separate books, that is to say during the 13th century, new developments were coming to the fore in European manuscript production. The social and economic growth of town life at this period fostered an increase in the number of secular workshops concerned with the manufacture of books. Interest in learning and need for the written means of its transmission coincided with a feeling of freedom and security in the more established towns. At the same time, new techniques in the preparation of parchment, inks, colors, gold leaf, and other materials brought the acquisition of illuminated manuscripts within the reach of many citizens.

Even so, not every household in the Jewish community could afford to possess an illuminated *Haggadah*. Only the richer Jews, who, especially in Spain, were employed by princes or their courtiers and were therefore better acquainted with beautifully illuminated codices, would have the means to attempt the imitation of the fashion for such objects by commissioning the illumination of Hebrew books. Such commissions would present the artist with the problem of a subject matter which was new to him, and the problem was met by the fusion of traditional Jewish themes, motifs, and iconography, with the more fashionable styles and layout of contemporary Christian illumination, according to the style of the artist and the taste of his patron. In the 14th and 15th centuries, especially in Germany, a more popular type of illuminated *Haggadah* was developed which could reach many more patrons and more easily satisfy the growing demand. The pattern, system, and choice of subject in the illuminated *Haggadot* were influenced by Greek and Latin illuminated manuscripts, chiefly psalters, of a type common in the princely courts of Europe.

Types of Illustration

The range of *Haggadah* illumination was obviously dependent in the first place on the contents of the book, which can be roughly divided into four categories: textual, ritual, biblical, and eschatological. These four categories may be applied to all illuminated *Haggadot* of the 13th to the 15th centuries, whether Ashkenazi, Sephardi, or Italian. The most common textual illustrations are of the main elements of the Passover ritual according to Rabban *Gamaliel: *pesaḥ* (paschal lamb), *matzah* (unleavened bread), and *maror* (bitter herb). In fact, the *matzah* and *maror* may have been the earliest textual illustrations in the *Haggadot* of the ninth and tenth centuries and, judging from the fact that an example was found in the Cairo **Genizha*, may have derived from Egypt, Palestine, or Mesopotamia. Decorated initial words were common to most Hebrew illuminated manuscripts, though some were peculiar to the *Haggadot*. One example is the decorative construction of bold initial words, written one under the other on either side of the page, for the poem *Dayyeinu* ("It would have sufficed us"). This construction exists in eastern *Haggadot*, as well as in those included in the prayer book. In some *Haggadot* Rabban Gamaliel himself and his pupils are illustrated, as well as other rabbis mentioned in the text. Other textual illustrations include the "four sons," described in the narrative; the wise son was depicted as a rabbi, the wicked son as a soldier, the simple one as a boy, and the one who "does not know how to ask" as a jester. Some of the decorations are pictorial witticisms, such as the one of the man pointing at his wife while reciting *maror zeh* – "this bitter herb" or literal representations of the text, like the man leaving prison as an illustration to Psalm 118:3–7 in the *Sassoon Spanish Haggadah*. In Italian and Ashkenazi *Haggadot* there are even more literal illustrations of the Hebrew text, such as that of a man dressed for travel coming out of a town gate placed beside the text which begins, "Come out and learn what Laban the Aramite sought to do to Jacob"; or the picture of a naked woman to illustrate Ezekiel 16:7 as in the *Joel b. Simeon *Haggadah* in the British Museum.

The ritual illustrations are for the most part didactic, beginning with the preparations for Passover – the baking of the *matzot*, the killing of the paschal lamb, and the cleansing of the house and the dishes. Other illustrations show people reciting the *Haggadah* in the synagogue – a custom which was known in Spain – or leaving the synagogue; the family sitting round the *seder* table; the washing of the hands; the pouring, lifting, or drinking of the four cups of wine; the hiding and finding of the *afikoman*; and the eating of the various herbs. These genre scenes of medieval Jewish life depict the customs of various European communities by portraying their daily and festive dress, household utensils, furniture, and buildings and may have been invented at the time by the Jewish artists themselves for use in the *Haggadah*. Most interesting of all the categories are the biblical pictures. They begin as illustrations of the biblical and midrashic texts contained in the *Haggadah*, with the chief emphasis on the story of the Exodus, preceded by the history of the Patriarchs. The cycle was sometimes broadened to include other episodes ranging from the Creation, as in the Spanish *Sarajevo Haggadah* (see below), to Jonah under his gourd in the *Yahuda Haggadah* (Israel Museum, Jerusalem) and the *Second Nuremberg Haggadah* (Schocken Library, Jerusalem. Sometimes these biblical illustrations and the ritual pictures are intermingled. For example, the smearing of the lintel with blood is incorporated into a cycle of the preparations for Passover in the *Rylands Spanish Haggadah* (John Rylands Library, Manchester, England); and the baking of *matzot* is introduced into the Exodus story in the *Birds' Head Haggadah* (see below).

Many legendary episodes from early Midrashim are depicted along with the biblical illustrations, some being found in Sephardi as well as Ashkenazi *Haggadot*. Only a few can be mentioned here: Abraham cast into the fire by Nimrod; Joseph's meeting with the angel on his way to his brothers in Dothan, as in the *Golden Haggadah* (see below); Joseph's coffin thrown into the Nile by the Egyptians in the *Sarajevo Haggadah*; the testing of Moses by means of gold and a live coal in the *Kaufmann Haggadah* (see below); Zipporah feeding Moses in prison for seven years in the *Yahudah Haggadah*; and Moses receiving two tablets of the Law and passing on five – the Pentateuch – in the *Birds' Head Haggadah*. Some biblical illustrations are quite literal, such as a tongueless dog barking at the Israelites coming out of Egypt to illustrate Exodus 11:7 in the *Kaufmann Haggadah*.

The eschatological illustrations refer to the ultimate destiny of the Jewish nation and the fate of the individual Jew. One such representation is the entry of the righteous into paradise (Psalm 118:19), which is depicted in the *Birds' Head Haggadah*, for example, as the three Patriarchs led by an angel. In many *Haggadot* the passage "Pour out Thy wrath upon the nations that know Thee not" (Psalm 79:6) is an invitation to eschatological illustration. In the *Kaufmann Haggadah* an angel is seen pouring the contents of a cup over a group of people.

More common in Ashkenazi *Haggadot* is an illustration associated with the prophet Elijah, the traditional harbinger of the Messiah, who is to come riding on an ass, bringing vengeance on the unbelievers who have destroyed Israel and redeeming the Jewish nation. The custom of opening the door to Elijah during the recital of "Pour out Thy wrath" is illustrated in the *Washington Haggadah*. The final verse of the *Haggadah*, "Next year in Jerusalem," is illustrated in the *Birds' Head Haggadah* by a rendering of the newly built Jerusalem and its Temple, with Jews adoring it, while in the *Sarajevo Haggadah* the facade of the Temple is depicted. In the *Second Nuremberg Haggadah* the prophet Elijah is seen riding a donkey with the Israelites following him to Jerusalem.

Regional Schools

Three types of *Haggadot* are distinguishable on the basis of their illustrations and the way these are placed: Ashkenazi, Sephardi, and Italian. While some features are common to all schools, each regional school has some local trait peculiar to its *Haggadah*.

The rich Spanish *Haggadah* is usually composed of three parts: the text; full-page biblical miniatures; and a collection of the *piyyutim* recited in the synagogue during Passover week and on the Sabbath before Passover. The text of the Spanish *Haggadah* is very sparsely illustrated, mainly with textual and ritual representations, and the *piyyutim* section is barely decorated. The most significant artistic section is that of the full-page miniatures. The best known of about a dozen surviving specimens of this rich type of Spanish *Haggadah* are the *Sarajevo*, the *Kaufmann*, and the *Golden Haggadah*.

The full-page biblical miniatures that preceded the Spanish *Haggadot* may have been derived from the manner of illuminating the Latin psalter in England and France during the later Middle Ages, which in its turn was based on the "aristocratic" type of Greek psalter illumination of earlier Byzantine schools.

The Ashkenazi *Haggadot*, from France and Germany, are all decorated with illustrations in the margins surrounding the text. There are two main groups; the earlier one places ritual and biblical illustrations, literal representations of the text, adjoining the passages they interpret. Good examples are the 13th-century *Dragon Haggadah* from France, now in Hamburg, Germany, and the *Birds' Head Haggadah* of about 1300. The later group contains a consecutive cycle of pictures from any of the books of the Bible, placed with no direct relation to the *Haggadah* text. Examples of this decoration can be found in Jerusalem in the Schocken Library and in the *Yahuda Haggadah*. The famous *Darmstadt Haggadah*, of the first half of the 15th century, has very few textual and ritual illustrations, and none is biblical. Equally few appear in the *Erna Michael Haggadah* in the Israel Museum. Joel b. Simeon of Bonn was responsible for many illuminated *Haggadot*, both in Germany and in Italy; his best in the German style is the one in the British Museum. A crude but expressive example of his transition period is the *First Nuremberg Haggadah* in the Schocken Library. The *Washington Haggadah* illuminated in the Florentine style is one of his best.

The third type of *Haggadah*, the Italian, may have been the earliest of the three and the model for the others. Since no early Italian *Haggadah* has survived, however, the type must be reconstructed from later examples which have already been subject to other influences. In the 15th century, the Italian *Haggadot* must have been influenced mainly by the Ashkenazi type, since they contain marginal illustrations only. In the first half of the century the Ashkenazi influence is apparent chiefly in the general overall design. Following an influx of Jews expelled from Germany, a new group of Italo-Ashkenazi *Haggadot* emerged in which, though the style is Italian, the script and layout are Ashkenazi. In this group are the numerous manuscripts executed in the workshops of Joel b. Simeon, and those influenced by him. The *Haggadah* in the sumptuous *Rothschild Miscellany* in the Israel Museum is illustrated on traditional Ashkenazi lines in the Ferrarese style of about 1470.

The most outstanding examples of the illuminated *Haggadot* are discussed in greater detail below.

[Bezalel Narkiss]

Examples of Illuminated Haggadot

BIRDS' HEAD HAGGADAH (Israel Museum, Jerusalem, Ms. 180/57). So named because many of the human figures are depicted with birds' heads, this is probably the oldest surviving Ashkenazi illuminated *Haggadah* manuscript. It was discovered in 1946 by Mordekhai *Narkiss. It was copied in the south of Germany late in the 13th century by a scribe named Isaac who also copied the first volume of the *Leipzig Maḥzor*. Its illumination consists mainly of marginal text illustrations, depicting historical scenes from Exodus, and ritual as well as eschatological scenes. The style of the illumination, the bright colors, and the decorative motifs, though somewhat primitive, indicate its Upper Rhenish origin. Its name is imprecise because the artist uses other methods of human distortion, such as a boy with a bulbous nose, angels with blank faces, and Egyptians in helmets with lowered visors. The manuscript was reproduced in facsimile in 1967 accompanied by an introductory volume of essays.

[Bezalel Narkiss]

CINCINNATI HAGGADAH is a 15th-century illuminated script in the library of the Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati. It was copied in square Ashkenazi script on 69 vellum leaves by the scribe Meir b. Israel Jaffe of Heidelberg. It is decorated with painted initial-word panels, a decorative border, and miniatures in the margin illustrating the Passover ceremony and the text. The style of the miniatures and decorations indicate that the manuscript was executed in the late 15th century in southern Germany. Landsberger suggested that the scribe was also the artist of the *Haggadah*. This theory however has been challenged on the grounds that more than one artist seems to have worked on this manuscript. Moreover, it is unlikely that a scribe-artist would paint miniatures which obliterate his own script, as happens on several folios.

[Joseph Gutmann]

DARMSTADT HAGGADAH is an early 15th-century manuscript preserved in the Darmstadt Landesbibliothek (Cod. Or. 8). Its richly decorated folios are unusual for *Haggadot*. It was copied about 1430 by Israel b. Meir of Heidelberg in two full-page miniatures. The illustrations consist mainly of teachers, with male and female students, some in small frames and others in many-storied gothic frames, an unusual iconographic feature. The origin of these types must have been on contemporary "Heroes and square Ashkenazi script. Its decoration contained initial-word panels, a few fully framed borders, and Heroines tapestries" or frescoes showing Hebrew, pagan, and Christian worthies. The miniatures depict a hunting scene and a spring of youth. Little room is left in the manuscript for the text. Though the artist of the miniatures is unknown, the fact that the 15th-century art was not wholly dependent on church and court workshops made the emergence of an outstanding Jewish illustrator among the expert Jewish calligraphers possible. A facsimile reproduction was produced in 1927 in Leipzig.

[Robert Weltsch]

GOLDEN HAGGADAH (British Museum Add. Ms. 27210) is the earliest and most sumptuous of the illuminated Sephardi *Haggadot*. It contains the text of the *Haggadah*, a collection of 100 *piyyutim*, and 15 full-page miniatures illustrating the biblical story from Adam naming the animals up to the exodus from Egypt. The style of the miniatures and the text illustrations suggest that it was executed in Barcelona in the first quarter of the 14th century. It is based on the northern French gothic style of the late 13th century. The full-page miniatures, divided into four compartments each painted on a burnished gold background, were executed by two artists. The *iconography of the scenes derives from the illustrations of contemporary Latin manuscripts and from Jewish aggadic iconography which may go back to early Jewish Bible illumination. There is a companion manuscript of the second half of the 14th century in the British Museum (Or. Ms. 2884). A facsimile reproduction was produced in 1970 in London and New York (figure 7).

KAUFMANN HAGGADAH (Budapest, Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Kaufmann Collection, Ms. A422) is a 14th-century Spanish manuscript composed of two parts: 14 full page miniatures (fols. 1v–10, 57v–60) and an illustrated *Haggadah* (fols. 11v–56). The *Kaufmann Haggadah* has an incomplete miniature cycle of Exodus. The manuscript is incorrectly bound, as the entire group of full-page miniatures is dispersed, with some attached to the beginning of the manuscript (fols. 1v–10) and others to the end (fols. 57v–60). The facsimile edition of the manuscript, by the Hungarian Academy of Sciences in 1954, did even more to hinder an understanding of the cycle by printing the miniatures on both sides of the pages and omitting alternate blank pages, thus preventing a correct reconstruction of the sequence. The episodes represented in the extant miniatures begin with the discovery of the infant Moses and end with Miriam's song after crossing the Red Sea, with one miniature of the preparations for Passover eve (fol. 2). Among the biblical illustrations are many midrashic ones such as Moses removing Pharaoh's crown from his head. In most cases these illustrations are within the large, painted, initial-word panels, but sometimes they appear in the margins between the extended foliage scrolls. The *Haggadah* also contains some red, green, and purple filigree-work panels. The text illustrations are elaborate and contain, besides the usual rabbis, four sons, *matzah*, and *maror*, some repetitions of the biblical episodes depicted in the full-page miniatures, such as the labor of the Israelites (fol. 15v), the throwing of the male children into the river (fol. 27v), and the Israelites coming out of Egypt (fol. 43).

The Italianate style of the illumination is pronounced. In describing this *Haggadah* in the introductory volume of *Die Haggadah von Sarajevo*, J. von Schlosser attributed the style to northern Italy. In fact, it is Castilian of the late 14th century, characterized by many Italian stylistic elements. The Byzantine-Bolognese figure style and the very colorful, fleshy leaves support this assumption, as does the triple-towered castle – the emblem of the Kingdom of Castile – which is depicted in the center of the round, decorated *matzah* surrounded by four naked personifications of the winds blowing trumpets.

Sarajevo Haggadah (Sarajevo National Museum) is a 14th-century Spanish illuminated manuscript composed of the traditional three parts: 34 full-page miniatures (fols. 1v–34); illuminated *Haggadah* text (fols. 1*–50*); and *piyyutim* and Torah readings for Passover week (fols. 53*–131*). It is by far the best-known Hebrew illuminated manuscript, and has been reproduced in part twice during the last 70 years with scholarly introductions by H. Mueller and J. von Schlosser, and by C. Roth. The full-page miniatures in the *Sarajevo Haggadah* display the widest range of subjects even among the rich

Spanish *Haggadot*, from the Creation of the World to Moses blessing the Israelites and Joshua before his death, followed by illustrations of the Temple, preparations for Passover, and the interior of a Spanish synagogue. There are few full-page miniatures; most are divided horizontally into two framed sections, with some in four sections. Although the greater part of the iconography of the miniatures is derived from Latin Bible illumination of the Franco-Spanish school, some Jewish elements can be detected, as in the abstention from representation of God or any heavenly beings. Other Jewish aspects can be found in the text illustrations of the *Haggadah*, such as a miniature of Rabban Gamaliel and his students, and the *matzah* and *maror.* Stylistically, the illuminations are related to the Italian-gothic school prevailing in Catalonia in the 14th century. That the *Sarajevo Haggadah* originates from the Kingdom of Aragon can be inferred from three coats of arms displayed in the manuscript. The *Haggadah* reached the Sarajevo Museum when in 1894 a child of the city's Sephardi Jewish community brought it to school to be sold, after his father had died leaving the family destitute.

[Bezalel Narkiss]

WASHINGTON HAGGADAH (Library of Congress in Washington, D.C.) consists of 39 vellum leaves, 6 by 9 in. (15 × 22.5 cm.), written in square Ashkenazi script, completed by Joel b. Simeon in 1478. It has painted initial-word panels, and many marginal illustrations of the Passover ceremonies and the Exodus story. Although the illustrations depict German customs, their stylistic features and decorative elements indicate a late 15th-century northern Italian origin. The illustrations are closely related to those in other manuscripts believed to have been executed in the northern Italian workshop of the same scribe-illustrator. A facsimile was produced in 1965 with a preface by Lawrence Marwick.

[Joseph Gutmann]

PRINTED EDITIONS OF ILLUSTRATED HAGGADOT

Introduction

The earliest known edition of the *Haggadah* to be printed separately was produced in Spain at Guadalajara about 1482, on 12 pages in double column. Only a single copy is known to exist, and it may well be that other, perhaps earlier, editions have disappeared. The bibliography of the Passover *Haggadot* published by A. Yaari in 1960 includes 2,717 entries, but taking into account omissions and later editions, there can be no doubt that the total to the present date is at least 3,000. In the text of the *Haggadah* included in the prayer book according to the Italian rite (Casalmaggiore, 1486), there is a conventional representation of the *mazẓah*, as in some of the earliest *Haggadah* manuscripts, and these may be considered the earliest known illustrations to the printed *Haggadah*. The crudely executed but by no means ignorant illustrations in the Latin *Ritus et celebratio Paschae* (Frankfurt, 1512) by the Christian Hebraist Thomas Murner, drawn by his brother Beatus, may have been inspired by a Jewish model. In the extremely rare *Seder Zemirot u-Virkat ha-Mazon* (Prague, 1514) there are figure woodcuts on the same subjects which appear later in illustrated *Haggadot*, and may derive from some lost edition. Of the earliest known illustrated edition, hypothetically attributed to Constantinople about 1515, only fragments remain. From the worn state of some of the blocks it may have been a reprint. From these fragments it is obvious that the whole work must have been lavishly illustrated.

Prague Edition (1526)

The continuous record of the illustrated printed *Haggadah* begins with the *Prague edition of 1526. This magnificent work, with its profuse marginal cuts and decorations and its superb borders, is among the finest productions of the 16th-century press. The beauty of the work lies above all in the disposition of the type and the exquisite balance of the pages. Its most remarkable feature is three pages with engraved borders in monumental gothic style. The printers and publishers were Gershom Solomon Kohen Katz and his brother Gronem (Geronim). The artistic work was apparently executed partly by Ḥayyim Shaḥor (Schwartz), Gershom Kohen's collaborator, who sometimes signed his initials, and partly by a gentile assistant. Some of the decorative features were derived from non-Jewish works, including the Nuremberg chronicle of 1484. In recent years the Prague *Haggadah* has been reproduced repeatedly in facsimile. The cuts and illustrations in the publication were long imitated, deteriorating progressively as the years went by. The Prague edition of 1556 retained some of the original elements but this was not the case with the one published in 1590 or with other commonplace editions that continued to appear in Prague and elsewhere down to the mid-18th century. An interesting new edition, apparently by Ḥayyim Shaḥor, appeared in Augsburg in 1534. This, however, had little influence and only one complete copy is preserved.

Mantua Edition (1560, 1568)

The next important step in the record of the illustrated *Haggadah* was the Mantua edition of 1560, published by the *shammash*, Isaac b. Samuel. This reproduced the text of the Prague edition page for page and letter for letter in facsimile, but introduced new illustrations and marginal decorations which had already been used in non-Jewish publications and were in conformity with Italian taste. The format was repeated with remarkable success in another edition published in Mantua in 1568 by a non-Jewish firm which concealed its identity under the name Filipponi. The marginal decorations were specially recut for this production, which rivals the Prague edition of 1526.

Venice Editions

The Mantua editions served as precise models for a group of illustrated *Haggadot* in smaller format produced in rapid succession at the turn of the century (1599, 1601, 1603, and 1604) in Venice, which had become the great center of Jewish publishing. These converted the hybrid but impressive Mantua editions into a cohesive but unimpressive unity, reproducing every accidental decoration and copying every accidental marginal detail. The major illustrations at the foot of the pages were expanded into an entirely fresh series of 17 engravings, some of them appearing more than once. These illustrated the *seder* service, the subject matter, and the story of the Exodus. Thus, this is the first *Haggadah* which is consistently and systematically illustrated.

In 1609 the veteran printer Israel ha-Zifroni of Guastalla planned an edition with completely new illustrations. Printed for him by Giovanni da Gara, it was set in bold type, each page within an engraved architectural border. The illustrations were placed at the top or foot of almost every page in the early part of the volume, and more sparsely toward the end. There was one important innovation in this edition: in a series of small panels on an introductory page, the various stages in the Passover celebration are illustrated with men and women dressed in contemporary fashion; a later page similarly illustrates the ten plagues. These features were henceforth to become usual in illustrated *Haggadot*.

The illustrations of the first part of the service (before the meal) are almost wholly devoted to the exodus, while those in the second part (after the meal) deal with the biblical story in general and with the messianic deliverance. In 1629 a further edition based on ha-Zifroni's with a similar format was published in Venice by the Bragadini press. This continued to be reproduced, without any basic change but with increasingly worn types and indistinct blocks, until late in the 18th century. The illustrations continued to be copied in *Haggadot* printed in the Mediterranean area, especially in Leghorn, almost to the present day. Thus the pattern of the traditional illustrated *Haggadah* was established.

Amsterdam Editions

In 1695 there appeared in Amsterdam a new edition of the illustrated *Haggadah* which followed closely, in its general layout as well as in detail, the example of the now accepted Venetian prototype. The illustrations were, however, much improved by being engraved on copper. The artist was *Abraham b. Jacob, a former Protestant preacher. He chose many of the same incidental scenes as had appeared in the Venice *Haggadot*, but he drew them afresh, basing his work on the biblical pictures in the *Icones Biblicae* by Matthew Merian the Elder; he probably used the second edition of the work which had appeared in Amsterdam in c. 1655–62. Abraham b. Jacob also used miscellaneous scenes taken from other works by Merian. Thus the four sons of the *Haggadah* text (depicted together for the first time in one illustration) are miscellaneous figures brought together from various publications of Merian, without any attempt at grouping. The "wise son" and the "son who could not ask," for example, come from an engraving of Hannibal sacrificing before the altar, while the scene of the sages celebrating at Bene-Berak is reproduced – with some alterations – from Merian's picture of the feast given by Joseph to his brethren. The first map of Ereẓ Israel known in a Jewish publication was added on a folding page at the end of the book. A further edition of the work was produced in Amsterdam in 1712, with minor differences, and the name of the artist was omitted from the title page.

As the Venice *Haggadah* of 1609/29 was widely imitated in southern Europe, so the Amsterdam editions had an enduring influence on the *Haggadot* produced in the Ashkenazi world. The pictures were imitated, if not copied, time after time with increasing indistinctness in innumerable editions illustrated with woodcuts or steel engravings. Such editions appeared in Frankfurt in 1710 and 1775, in Offenbach in 1721, and in Amsterdam in 1765 and 1781. Throughout the 19th century and down to the present day the illustrations, including the four sons and the Passover at Bene-Berak, continued to be reproduced in ever-decreasing quality in hundreds of cheap *Haggadot* published on both sides of the Atlantic. The Amsterdam editions also inspired a number of illustrated *Haggadot* by 18th-century German Jewish manuscript artists, some of whom even improved on the original.

Some Later Editions

A few independently conceived *Haggadot* of the later period may be mentioned: the Trieste edition of 1864 with 58 original copper engravings of considerable artistic merit by K. Kirchmayer; the Prague edition of 1889 with illustrations by the Slovak artist Cyril Kulik; and the curious lithograph edition published in Poona in 1874 for the benefit of the Bene *Israel community. In the 20th century, editions have appeared illustrated (or in some cases entirely executed) by artists of the caliber of Joseph *Budko, Jakob Steinhardt, Arthur *Szyk, Albert Rothenstein, and Ben *Shahn, and in Israel by J. Zimberknopf and David Gilboa (d. 1976), the last being written in scroll form. The modified *Haggadot* produced for the kibbutzim are also almost always illustrated, sometimes by local artists.

[Cecil Roth]

MUSICAL RENDITION

Chanting and singing the texts of the *Haggadah* is generally observed in all Jewish communities, each one according to its peculiar style and custom. Although the celebration of the *seder* night is a family affair in which nobody is obliged to sing, it is customary to do so according to the example set by one's parents. From a musical point of view, the *Haggadah* text offers opportunities for solo chant as well as for responsorial and community singing. The scope of singing styles encompasses the simple chant (of the narrative and didactic sections), a more developed and melodious recitation that blends well with the responses of the company (for psalms and the old-style hymns), and melodies sung by all those present (for the more recent songs). The melodic recitations often come close to the simpler forms of synagogue chant; the Ashkenazi reader, for instance, largely uses the *Adonai Malakh Shteyger*, while the Jews of Iraq employ their *Tefillah* mode for some chapters. The psalms of the **Hallel* are usually intoned to the ancient patterns of psalmody (see Jewish *Music), and sung with great enthusiasm; already in the *Gemara* a proverb is quoted which says that singing the *Hallel* "cracks the ceiling" (TJ and TB, Pes. 7:12). The stanzas of the medieval poems that conclude the *Haggadah*, however, are given veritable song tunes in contemporary and past popular styles. These tunes vary from family to family and constitute a still unexplored treasure of folklore. Melodies in the folk style are normally attached to the poems *Addir Hu, Ki Lo Na'eh* (*Addir bi-Melukhah*), *Eḥad Mi Yode'a*, belonging to the widely disseminated category of "counting songs," and *Ḥad Gadya*. Less frequent are *Ḥasal Seder Pesaḥ* and the two acrostical hymns following it, as well as certain psalm verses and responsorial refrains in the earlier sections. The homelike atmosphere of *Haggadah* reading also permitted singing these poems in the vernacular. In the Ashkenazi community, this custom is not attested later than the 18th century, when it appears to have been abandoned. The Sephardim, however, not only continue singing the poems in the Ladino vernacular, but extend this even to more formal chapters such as *Ha Laḥma Anya*. There is an example from Bulgaria in which every Ladino verse is repeated immediately in Bulgarian and Turkish; the Bulgarian version was to serve the young generation, the Turkish text was meant for the older one, while Ladino was for all.

At some places it is regarded as a merit and even a duty to extend the celebration of the *seder* night by joyful singing, eventually accompanied by dance steps, for as long as possible. This custom, of course, has its roots in mystical concepts, but it did not remain confined to such circles and is honored by eastern and western communities as well. Ḥasidic *niggunim* ("melodies") are most often inserted by Ashkenazi celebrants. The *Haggadah* was also adapted by the Reform tendencies; there were several additions of music in rather dull style, but the substance was not touched. Kibbutzim in Israel have either designed their own tunes out of old and new elements or embellished tradition by additional songs and melodies. Israel songs (in the "classical" style of the 1940s and 1950s) are largely employed for stressing the national and seasonal aspects of Passover, and these tunes display their full charm in the traditional setting. A widely used "Kibbutz *Haggadah*" setting is that by Yehudah *Sharett. Another side-development was the use of the *Haggadah* for an oratorio, jointly undertaken by Max *Brod and the composer Paul *Dessau in 1933–35. There the traditional text has been expanded by selected scenes from the Bible and Midrash, and the music combines a declamatory style with the harsh harmonies of that period and full orchestral accompaniment.

[Hanoch Avenary]

FEMINIST HAGGADOT

Feminist *Haggadot* create a format for women's communal celebration of Passover by giving prominence to the experiences of women in the narrative of the exodus from Egypt and by acknowledging women's efforts to achieve full participation in Jewish communal and religious life. Inspired by the liberation and exodus imagery used by Civil Rights and New Left political activists, American Jewish women designed the first feminist *Haggadah* in 1971 for use in private women-only Passover *seder*s. The growth of Jewish feminism and new forms of religious expression during the 1970s and 1980s fostered the production of innovative rituals and liturgy among non-Orthodox religious Jews. A number of feminist *Haggadot* circulated and were adapted to fit the distinct concerns of each *seder*'s attendees. These *Haggadot* share many features in structure and content. Relying on classical midrashic texts, they give significant attention to female leadership in the exodus narrative. Miriam takes a central role in the *magid* and other sections of the *seder*, supplanting Elijah in portending redemption. The *Haggadot* present girls and women with historic Jewish female role models who struggled against oppression, including sexism within the Jewish community. Feminine or gender-neutral God language and feminine liturgical language are the norm.

In these *Haggadot*, the rituals and symbols of the traditional *seder* are revised or reinterpreted to relate to women's lives. Common features include: (1) modifications of the Four Questions to fit a *seder* consisting only of women and inclusion of questions about the need for female separatism, the reasons for the bitterness of women's oppression, and the potential for liberation; (2) the Four Sons are transformed into Four Daughters; (3) the Four Cups are presented as stages in women's emancipation or as representative of Jewish heroines; (4) the Ten Plagues are re-named as the plagues cast upon women in Jewish life, for example, blood represents the myriad ways that women's menses and reproductive capacity are blamed for excluding women from Torah study and communal privileges; (5) the *Dayyenu* song is altered to acknowledge advances in women's status and to voice dissatisfaction with incomplete emancipation; and (6) the *seder* foods and rituals are given multiple symbolic meanings relating to women's lives. New features include the Passover-themed songs of Debbie *Friedman; the use of *Kos Miryam* (Miriam's Cup), a goblet of water signifying Miriam's sustaining guidance in the wilderness; and the placing of an orange on the *seder* plate to acknowledge the contributions of gays and lesbians in the Jewish community. Most feminist *Haggadot* exist only in photocopied form. Hebrew Union College Library and Ma'yan: The Jewish Women's Project have archived many for research purposes.

[Jody Myers (2nd ed.)]

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HAGGAHOT (Heb. הַגָּהוֹת "glosses"; "corrections"), a term used both to mean the examination of manuscript and printed works in order to correct errors and in the sense of "glosses," i.e., notes and brief comments on the text.

This entry is arranged according to the following outline:

Correction of Errors
- CORRECTION IN THE CONTENT
- CORRECTION OF STYLISTIC OR GRAPHIC ERRORS
- INFLUENCE OF *HAGGAHOT* ON TEXT
- PROOFREADERS

Haggahot Literature
- GLOSSES ON THE CODES
- TEXTUAL NOTES AND EMENDATIONS

In the Bible, the verb, *haggiha* means to enlighten (cf. Ps. 18:29), and Kutscher conjectures that originally it had the same meaning when applied to books, since the main task of the *maggiha* (person making the *haggahah*) in the early period was to go over faded writing in order to "brighten" it.

Correction of Errors

Haggahah has been an integral element of writing and printing from the beginning since it is humanly impossible to avoid error. The types of error (both the authors' and the copyists') and correspondingly the categories of *haggahot* can be classified in two main groups.

CORRECTION IN THE CONTENT. This type of correction was mostly done by the author himself. In early literature with a large circulation the *haggahah* was done by scholars and experts. It was reported of Isaac Ruba, a *tanna* in the school of Judah ha-Nasi, that he had a corrected text of the Mishnah (TJ, Ma'as. Sh. 5:1, 55d). At a later period the *amora* Zeira complained that contemporary scholars did not correct the Mishnah in their possession in accordance with the version of R. Isaac (*ibid*). *Haggahot* of this type were done both on the basis of original and established texts, but at times they were also made at the discretion of the *maggiha*. Various scholars have pointed out *haggahot* of this later type which have found their way into the text of the Mishnah. Fragments of the *Mishneh Torah* of Maimonides in the author's own handwriting were discovered in the Cairo *Genizah* by M. Lutzki (d. 1976), who published them at the end of the Schulsinger edition (1947), and from them it is possible to trace the process of corrections and emendations whereby the final work was created. Manuscripts of Maimonides' commentary to the Mishnah, likewise thought to be in his own hand, have also been discovered and contain many of the author's *haggahot*; in some of them he changes his mind and gives a different opinion. The text of the *Ba'alei ha-Nefesh* of Abraham b. David of Posquières in the edition of Y. Kafaḥ (1965), a text emended by the author following the *hassagot* ("criticisms") of Zerahiah b. Isaac ha-Levi Gerondi, is a similar example. From this type of correction the "*Haggahot* literature" (see below) later developed.

CORRECTION OF STYLISTIC OR GRAPHIC ERRORS. This category consists essentially of technical mistakes resulting from such common copyists' errors as repeating the same word twice (dittography), omitting one of two similar adjacent letters or words (haplography), and missing words or lines because the same word occurs further on in a passage (homoioteleuton). In early times (and in Yemen until quite recently) there was also a class of errors which resulted from the practice of the "publishers" of those days of appointing a group of people (mainly slaves), skilled writers who wrote from dictation exactly what they heard (to this type belong such errors as *eilav*, "unto him," for *el av*, "unto father"). This type of error was obviated in copying the text of the Bible because of the prohibition against copying from dictation. The correction of such errors, made by others than the author himself, was done by comparing the text with an early or authoritative copy which adhered closely to the original text.

In early days a checked, original copy was deposited in the Temple, library, or archives, and whenever necessary the correct text was determined by it. The Midrash (Deut. R. 9:9) reports a tradition of a special **Sefer Torah* written by Moses and placed in the ark so that the correct text could be established (see S. Lieberman, *Hellenism in Jewish Palestine* (1950), 85f.). There are also reports of *Sifrei Torah* that were preserved in the Temple for the same purpose, and from them the *Sefer Torah* of the king was checked by the supreme *bet din*. The scroll was called "the Temple scroll," and texts were examined by a group of "book correctors" in the Temple, whose wages were paid from the public funds of the Temple treasury (Ket. 106a, Lieberman op. cit., 22); according to some commentators these correctors also examined the scrolls belonging to individuals and were also paid from the communal treasury. Similar scrolls were known which were regarded as especially accurate because they had been written by an expert scribe and had been meticulously checked; such a scroll was called "a checked (*muggah*) scroll." Examples were those written by Assi (Lieberman op. cit., 25). A medieval manuscript of the *Mishneh Torah* exists (Neubauer, Bod. Cat, no. 577) which was corrected on the basis of the author's text, and Maimonides confirms this by his signature at the end of the manuscript. Later this manuscript was kept at the *bet din*, and it was forbidden to use it for any purpose other than correcting later copies (according to the instructions in the colophon).

Uncorrected Torah scrolls were regarded as unauthoritative, and it was forbidden not only to use them but even to keep them (Ket. 19b); at a later period this prohibition was extended to include halakhic works (Sh. Ar., YD, 279). A complete set of halakhic rules was laid down for the correction of *Sifrei Torah* – their fitness for public reading being conditional on many details, including accurate *haggahah*. A scroll containing a certain number of errors was disqualified, and it was forbidden to correct it since the *haggahah* would spoil its appearance. If the errors were less numerous, an added letter could be erased or a missing one inserted. In the event of an error in the Divine Name, which it is forbidden to erase, it was sometimes the practice to peel off a layer from the parchment (Pitḥei Teshuvah to Sh. Ar., YD 276:2). The *haggahah* of *Sifrei Torah* is a purely technical task, as the text itself is naturally never emended and no discussion on the text of the Bible is found in talmudic literature (Lieberman, op. cit. 47). In some places, the scribe was made responsible for the *haggahah* (Resp. Rashba, pt. 1. no. 1056). There is evidence of the existence of corrected manuscripts of the Mishnah, such as "in an accurate Mishnah corrected from that of R. Ephraim" (*Maḥzor Vitry*, ed. by S. Hurwitz (1923^2), 536). The following correctors of the Mishnah are known from the era of printing: Joseph Ashkenazi; the "*tanna* of Safed," Samuel Lerma; Soliman Oḥana; Menahem de Lonzano; Bezalel Ashkenazi; and his pupil Solomon Adani.

INFLUENCE OF HAGGAHOT ON TEXT. The failure to distinguish between the two types of *haggahah*, as well as between corrections based on accurate texts and sources and those based on the judgment of the scribe, together with an exceptional caution against changing the actual text, caused the *haggahot* to be relegated to the margin instead of the text itself being corrected. As various copyists failed to appreciate this, the *haggahot* were subsequently incorporated into the body of the text. A critical examination in later ages revealed and indicated places where external *haggahot* had been arbitrarily and artificially included in the text (the question of the different sources of the material of the Babylonian Talmud and its transmission, which are known to have influenced the text, belongs to a different category). The *geonim* already pointed out this phenomenon (see M.M. Kasher, in *Gemara Shelemah*, Pesaḥim pt. 1 (1960), introd.). Despite this, it should be noted that in the main the text of the authoritative halakhic literature was meticulously preserved because of its importance in legal decisions and in leading a life in accordance with *halakhah*. The Jerusalem Talmud and the various halakhic and aggadic Midrashim were not preserved in a sufficiently corrected form, however, because the attitude to them was less punctilious. An example of how such *haggahot* creep into a text is found in the following story. Rabbi Ḥayyim of Volozhin once asked his teacher, the Gaon of Vilna, about the word, *ḥesed*, that appeared in a particular line of the *Zohar. The word seemed out of place. The Vilna Gaon answered that a number of lines were missing in the manuscript on which Rabbi Ḥayyim's printed edition was based. In the manuscript, the word, *ḥaser*, appears, implying that some lines were missing. The typesetter misread the word, replacing the letter, *resh*, with a *dalet* and inserting the word into the text. (see Y.D. Rubin (ed.), *Nefesh ha-Ḥayyim*, 1989, 461).

The *haggahot* of various scholars affected the text of the Talmud, and this custom apparently became so widespread that *Gershom b. Judah of Mainz (who is stated to have copied books, among them the Bible) found it necessary to impose a ban on those who emended books, although it seems that this step was unsuccessful in completely eradicating the practice. A few generations later Jacob *Tam came out sharply against the emendation of books (introduction to *Sefer ha-Yashar*). He described the method of his grandfather, Rashi, stating that he did not emend the text itself but noted his emendations in the margin. It was Rashi's pupils who corrected the text in conformity with these notes, and Tam criticizes them for it. He also differentiates between *haggahah* which consisted of erasing words and that which was merely addition. Among other things he reveals that his brother Samuel b. Meir (Rashbam) also frequently made *haggahot* in the body of the text. It is important to note that the present text of the Babylonian Talmud is considerably influenced by Rashi's emendations, in contrast to the *haggahot* of the tosafists and other scholars. Perhaps this fact is to be attributed to the attitude of Tam. In the age of printing this same process is encountered. Many of the *haggahot* of Solomon Luria have been introduced into the printed text of the Talmud, though he noted them in a special book and they were originally published in this form. In later editions of the Talmud, however, the text was already emended according to his notes (see below). The *haggahot* of Samuel Edels (the Maharsha), who was opposed to *haggahot* of the text (see his introduction), were nevertheless incorporated in the text.

PROOFREADERS. During the age of printing the influence of proofreaders and printers on the texts of books became increasingly important, and today it is occasionally possible to trace the methods of different proofreaders. After it had been established beyond doubt that the Leiden manuscript of the Jerusalem Talmud is the one from which the first edition was published in Venice (1523, by Bomberg), Lieberman showed in his essay on the tractate *Horayot* in the Jerusalem Talmud how great a share the proofreader – Cornelius Adelkind – had in establishing the present text (*Sefer ha-Yovel*… C. Albeck, 1963, 283–305). The research of R.N.N. Rabbinovicz on the text of the Babylonian Talmud provides a great deal of information on the activities of its first proofreaders. The most prominent of them was Ḥiyya Meir b. David, one of the rabbis of Venice, who was given the responsibility of correcting the whole Talmud edition by Bomberg in the course of three years (1520–23), as well as the commentary of Asher b. Jehiel. The proofreader of the first tractates of the Soncino Talmud (1484) was Gabriel b. Aaron Strasburg, and Rabbinovicz shows that his work is very faulty.

Gradually notes and corrections in the margins of books increased until they at times assumed the character of a textual apparatus. Still later these notes were even collected and issued in the form of independent works in which the word *haggahot* generally appeared in the title. The word is applied to many books, though their contents and character differ from one another.

Haggahot Literature

In the *haggahot* literature which developed, two main groups can be distinguished, the first constituting additions and supplements to the contents of the work – glosses – and the other consisting of emendations and notes to the text. The most prominent and best known of the first group were compiled on works of codification. An additional characteristic common to books of this category is that they lack formal structure and, since they were not authoritative, they were subjected to later adaptation and editing.

GLOSSES ON THE CODES. Such glosses were added to the great halakhic code, *Hilkhot ha-Rif*, of Isaac *Alfasi. Only fragments remain of the earliest gloss, the *haggahot* of his pupil, Ephraim (Abraham b. David, *Temim De'im* no. 68 and citations in the *Ha-Ma'or* of Zerahyah ha-Levi). One of the important motives for such works is the tendency to make the code reflect the views of the scholars of a particular country, and also apply to other spheres of the *halakhah*. It was with this aim that the great halakhic compilation, the *Mordekhai* of Mordecai b. Hillel, consisting of the rulings and responsa of German and French scholars, was compiled on the *Hilkhot ha-Rif.* In the manuscripts, however, the *Mordekhai* appears as a gloss to the work itself. The *Mordekhai* was not edited by its compiler and there are different versions and editions. In the 13th century Meir ha-Kohen, Mordecai's colleague and according to some his brother-in-law (both were pupils of Meir b. Baruch of Rothenburg), wrote his *haggahot*, called **Haggahot Maimuniyyot*, on the *Mishneh Torah*. It attempted to add to Maimonides' rulings the opinions and decisions of the scholars of Germany and France, and the views and responsa of Meir of Rothenburg occupy a prominent part of the work. As a result of this amalgamation of halakhic rulings there emerged a work which could serve as an authoritative halakhic code in different centers.

The *haggahot* of the tosafist *Perez b. Elijah of Corbeil to the *Tashbeẓ* of Samson b. Zadok was written for a similar purpose. Perez noted the customs and halakhic decisions of his teacher, Meir of Rothenburg, and added the customs and rulings of the French scholars. He also wrote *haggahot* to the *Sefer Mitzvot Katan* (*Semak*) of *Isaac b. Joseph of Corbeil, which are mainly a summation of the views of the early scholars. Because of the succinctness and brevity of the *Semak, haggahot* were added to it by many scholars from different localities. The best known are the as yet unpublished *haggahot* of Moses of Zurich (see Urbach, Tosafot, 450). To the comprehensive *Piskei ha-Rosh* of Asher b. Jehiel, who moved from Germany to Spain at the beginning of the 14th century, was added the *Haggahot Asheri* of Israel of Krems (14th century). In the main this consists of summarized quotations from the *Or Zaru'a* of Isaac b. Moses of Vienna and of the rulings of Hezekiah b. Jacob of Magdeburg (13th century) from whom he collected the rulings of Isaac b. Samuel.

The best-known *haggahot*, which had a decisive influence on the establishment of the *halakhah*, are those of Moses *Isserles of Cracow to the Shulḥan Arukh. Their purpose was both to supplement the rulings of Joseph Caro, who based himself upon the three *posekim*, Isaac Alfasi, Maimonides, and Asher b. Jehiel, with the rulings of the scholars of Germany, France, and Poland, and also to note the customs and decisions which were accepted by Ashkenazi Jewry where they differed from those accepted by the Sephardim. The *haggahot* of Isserles were noted on the margins of the Shulḥan Arukh and are based upon his *Darkhei Moshe* (Resp. Rema 131:3), and were copied and circularized by his pupils (on Sh. Ar. OḤ, Hilkhot Niddah, Cracow, 1570, on the whole Sh. Ar., *ibid.*, 1578). The notes and source references to the *Haggahot ha-Rema* were added later by others (first in the Cracow, 1607 edition). Isserles also compiled *haggahot* to other works such as *The Guide of the Perplexed* of Maimonides and the *Mordekhai*. With a similar purpose, Jacob Castro, chief rabbi of Egypt, also wrote *haggahot* to the Shulḥan Arukh – *Erekh Leḥem* (Constantinople, 1718) – which reveal many similarities with those of Isserles, but were not widely used.

This category of *haggahot* had several consequences, both positive and negative. On the one hand, they preserved fragments of large works which have been lost, apparently because of their size and the difficulties of transporting and copying them, or because they were superseded by the codes. On the other hand, it is possible that the abridgments and summaries actually contributed to the original works being forgotten (some were later rediscovered, e.g., the *Or Zaru'a, Ravyah*, and others).

TEXTUAL NOTES AND EMENDATIONS. In the *haggahot* literature of the second category, those of Solomon b. Jehiel *Luria of Lublin to the Babylonian Talmud are outstanding in their scope and importance. According to his sons, who published them separately under the title *Ḥokhmat Shelomo* (Cracow, 1581–82), he had no intention of committing his *haggahot* and comments to book form, but they served him as "notes and a prolegomenon to his major work, the *Yam shel Shelomo*." These *haggahot* were written in the margin to the Bomberg edition of the Talmud in which he studied. Although the proofreaders of this publishing house were noted scholars (see above), this edition contains many mistakes and errors. The *haggahot* were made by comparing the text with sources and parallels, and according to his sons, Luria made use of manuscripts of the Talmud, of Rashi, and of the *tosafot* in his possession. In the Talmud published at that time in Constantinople by the brothers Yavetz, these *haggahot* were appended to the various tractates, and sometimes corrections were made according to the *haggahot* in the body of the work and indicated in the margin. In the later editions they were incorporated into the text and cannot be detected without special investigation (numerous examples are to be found in the *Dikdukei Soferim* of R.N.N. Rabbinovicz). Luria also wrote *haggahot* to many other halakhic works. A. Berliner saw his *haggahot* to Maimonides in the town of Sokol (see Assaf in bibl.).

Also known are the *Haggahot ha-Baḥ* of Joel *Sirkes of Cracow, which he also inscribed on the margins of the first editions of the Talmud in which he studied. They were first published in Warsaw in 1824 as a separate work and thenceforth in the later editions of the Talmud. Like those of Luria, these *haggahot* greatly affect the understanding of the text of the Talmud and its commentaries, but in contrast to those *haggahot* which in many cases were based upon manuscripts, Sirkes' corrections were mainly according to linguistic considerations and internal comparisons within the Talmud itself. Among the outstanding scholars who devoted themselves to *haggahot* and emendations in this sense was *Elijah the Gaon of Vilna. According to tradition, his corrections and amendments covered the whole range of talmudic, midrashic, and kabbalistic literature. Although he himself published none of his *haggahot*, some were printed later, but not all have survived in an accurate and original form. Among his published *haggahot* are some of those on the Babylonian Talmud (in late editions starting Vienna, 1816–26), on the *Mekhilta* (Vilna, 1844), the order *Zera'im* of the Jerusalem Talmud (Koenigsberg, 1858), *Sifrei* (1866), Tosefta (firstly independently and later in the Vilna edition of the Talmud), and the *Sifra* (1959). Scholars have concerned themselves with the question whether Elijah of Vilna's *haggahot* are also based upon manuscripts and early versions or are the outcome of his own discretion. With regard to the Tosefta, S. Lieberman (*Tosefet Rishonim*, 3 (1939), introd.) has established that in essence they are derived from quotations of the text in the works of the *rishonim*, and apparently those on the Jerusalem Talmud also belong to this category.

In this category of *haggahot* are works which are less well known but of considerable importance, since through them the original readings of manuscripts and early printed works, from which the *haggahot* were taken, have been preserved. This phenomenon is especially notable in the works of Sephardi rabbis of recent centuries, who had access to manuscripts which they used frequently. Among them are *Haggahot Tummat Yesharim* (Venice, 1622) on *Avot de-Rabbi Nathan*, the *Sifra*, Alfasi, etc. Many such *haggahot* are also enshrined in the works of Ḥ.J.D. Azulai, who saw and used more manuscripts and early printed editions than any other author. In his first work, compiled in his youth, the *Sha'ar Yosef* (Leghorn, 1757) on *Horayot*, he made extensive use for the first time of the well-known manuscript of the Babylonian Talmud (now Ms. Munich no. 95, issued in photographed facsimile by H.L. Strack in Leiden in 1912), from which he corrected texts of the Talmud. His other works (see Benayahu's lists, p. 185–252) constitute a rich source of knowledge on the nature and existence of manuscripts in talmudic literature and of *haggahot* from them. This category of *haggahot* contained in the works of the Oriental scholars, which has scarcely been investigated, contains a considerable amount of material both on texts and contents of the works and is a fruitful field for historical and literary research into the history of talmudic literature.

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[Shlomoh Zalman Havlin]

HAGGAHOT MAIMUNIYYOT, a comprehensive halakhic work which is one of the most important sources for the halakhic rulings of the scholars of Germany and France. The author, Meir ha-Kohen of Rothenburg (end of the 13th century), was the distinguished pupil of *Meir b. Baruch of Rothenburg. He compiled it as a supplement and notes (see **Haggahot*) to the *Mishneh Torah* of Maimonides, and its first part was published in the Constantinople edition of the *Mishneh Torah* (1509), and has appeared in all subsequent editions. Of it, Levi ibn Ḥabib writes (Responsa, ed. Lemberg No. 130): "If the author of the *Haggahot* is a small man in your eyes, he is great in the eyes of all Israel." It may originally have been written on the margins of the *Mishneh Torah*, as it appears in early manuscripts, and as seems to be the case from the passages to which the words "written in the margin" are appended. Of the 14 books of the *Mishneh Torah*, the only books to which there are no *Haggahot* are *Hafla'ah*, *Zera'im* (save for a fragment at its end), *Avodah*, *Korbanot*, and *Tohorah*. The chief aim of the author was to attach the rulings of the scholars of Germany and France to the work of Maimonides, whose decisions and conclusions are in the main based upon the traditions and rulings of the scholars of Spain. This aim was the result of the great preoccupation with Maimonides' work in the school of Meir of Rothenburg (who also compiled works connected with Maimonides – see Urbach, 434ff.), as well as the need felt to adapt the work of Maimonides, which was spreading more and more as a comprehensive halakhic work, for use also in Germany and France.

The work is divided into two sections, one of glosses and notes attached to the *Mishneh Torah*, and the other – also called *Teshuvot Maimuniyyot* (first published in the Venice ed. of 1524) – appended at the end of each book of the *Mishneh Torah* and containing responsa by German and French scholars relevant to the topics dealt with in the body of the work. It is difficult to determine whether this division is the work of the author himself or was the work of a later editor, although it is early and already appears in early manuscripts of the work. This division is not absolute, however, and in the section of glosses one can still find responsa which, apparently in view of their brevity and direct connection with the *halakhah* under discussion, were not given separately (for examples see Urbach, 436 n. 20). On the other hand, the section of responsa contains non-responsa material (*ibid.*, n. 21).

There are differences between the editions of 1509 and 1524, some of which are material. The wording of the glosses in the Venice edition (from which the later editions were printed) is more original and the author generally speaks in the first person, while the wording of the 1509 edition shows signs of being a later version, and has obviously passed through adaptation and abbreviation at the hands of a later editor. In many places in the 1509 edition the passages end with the words: "thus far the language of R.M.K." (= R. Meir ha-Kohen); the editor even comments on the words of Meir ha-Kohen (see Hilkhot Zekhiyyah u-Mattanah 11:19; "however may the All-Merciful pardon Meir ha-Kohen…"). Certain passages appear in the Constantinople version which are absent from the Venice version, and vice versa. The Constantinople edition contains additions that may have been added by the editor, most of them taken from the *Sefer Mitzvot Gadol* (*Semag*) of Moses of Coucy, the *Sefer Mitzvot Katan* (*Semak*) of Isaac of Corbeil, the *Sefer ha-Terumah* of Baruch b. Samuel of Mainz, the *Ha-Roke'aḥ* of Eleazar of Worms, the *Seder Olam* of Simḥah of Speyer, etc.

From Urbach's comparison of the two editions there can be no doubt about the identification of Meir ha-Kohen as the author of the glosses, nor is there any reason to assume that other authors participated in it, as was assumed by S. Cohen and J. Wellesz. The close connection between the sections of the book is also beyond doubt, and there is no need to assume that Meir ha-Kohen made use of a preexisting collection of responsa. The section of glosses (Venice edition) contains references in many places to the section of responsa (see the list in Wellesz, p. 52, to which many additions can be made). It is difficult to determine whether these references are the author's own or the editor's. They do not, however, seem to replace responsa included in the glosses of the original work, which when taken out were left as mere references (see, e.g., the *Haggahot* Sheluḥin ve-Shutafin, 5 no. 6). The section of responsa is on the books *Nashim* (37 items), *Kedushah* (27), *Hafla'ah* (7), *Nezikin* (22), *Kinyan* (40), *Mishpatim* (71), and *Shofetim* (20), and contains a valuable collection of the responsa of the author's teacher Meir of Rothenburg, which in some cases gives a reading of greater value than other sources, while others are unknown from any other source. Also cited in it are responsa by Jacob Tam, Isaac b. Samuel ha-Zaken, Samson of Sens (copied from the *Nimmukim* of his pupil Jacob of Courson, who collected them into a book – see Resp. to Ma'akhalot Asurot, no. 13), and his brother Isaac b. Abraham, Simḥah b. Samuel of Speyer, Baruch b. Samuel of Mainz, etc.

No biographical details of Meir ha-Kohen are known other than that he was the pupil of Meir of Rothenburg; Mordecai b. Hillel ha-Kohen was his colleague and, according to some, his brother-in-law and colleague (Ishut 9, no. 1); and he lived in Rothenburg (Responsa to Shofetim, no. 16, where the reading should be "here Rothenburg" and not "in it, in Rothenburg"; see *Sefer ha-Parnas* (1891), no. 269). He attended upon his teacher when the latter was imprisoned in Wasserburg (Shab. 6 n. 6) and later in the fortress of Ensisheim (to Tefillah 14:5, according to the Constantinople ed.), and there discussed halakhic matters with him. His teacher sent halakhic responsa to him (Sefer Torah 7 n. 7; Tefillah 15 n. 1; Ishut 3 n. 15). In one responsum (Resp. Maharam of Rothenburg, ed. Prague, no. 78) he addressed him thus: "the lips of the priest preserve decisive Torah opinion [cf. Mal. 2:7], my intimate associate R. Meir ha-Kohen."

The supplements and variants of the Constantinople edition, which is now rare, were published in the El ha-Mekorot edition of the *Mishneh Torah* (1954–56), and in the Po'alei Agudat Israel edition (1944) to the books *Madda* through *Nashim*. A substantial number of manuscripts are known (in Jerusalem, Oxford, British Museum, Cambridge, Sassoon, and other libraries), but they have not yet been investigated and examined. The attempt of Allony to fix the date of the writing of the Cambridge manuscript (13.1) of the *Mishneh Torah* as 1230 instead of 1170 is a mistake, for he did not notice that it contains the *Haggahot Maimuniyyot*. I.Z. Kahana, who began to issue a critical edition of the rulings and responsa of Meir of Rothenburg (vols. 1–3, 1957–63), drew a great deal from the *Haggahot Maimuniyyot*, utilizing four manuscripts of the work.

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[Shlomoh Zalman Havlin]

HAGGAI (Heb. חַגַּי; "born on a festival"), prophet who lived in the post-Exilic period and whose book is the tenth in the Minor Prophets. The book of Haggai and chapters 1–8 of Zechariah appear to be part of the same redactional effort. Considering the small size of Haggai, there are numerous differences between the received Hebrew text and the Septuagint. Haggai's extant prophecies, never narrated in the first person, consist altogether of 38 verses, dating from the second year of the reign of Darius I, king of Persia, i.e., 520 B.C.E., between the first of Elul and the 24th of Kislev. It appears, however, that the prophet was previously well-known to the people and that his words carried weight (1:12). He is referred to (Hag. 1:13) as *malak* YHWH, often used of non-human messengers of YHWH. The author of Ezra-Nehemiah notes the important role he played in the rebuilding of the Temple (Ezra 5:1; 6:14).

His prophecies deal mainly with the construction of the Temple, and with the great events that the nation will experience in the future as a result. Haggai turns first to *Zerubbabel, son of Shealtiel, governor of Judah, and to Joshua, son of Jehozadak, the high priest (1:1–2), and then to the people (1:3–11), encouraging them not to postpone the construction of the Temple, but to begin immediately. He claimed that all the mishaps of poverty, famine, and drought which befell the nation were caused by the delay in the work. The people listened to Haggai's words despite their fears (1:13) and, led by Zerubbabel and Joshua, they began work on the temple. Although the new temple seemed poor in their eyes (2:3) Haggai assured the people that the second temple would be more richly adorned than the first temple (2:7–9; see below).

Three months later, on the 24th of Kislev (2:10–19), when the Temple's foundations were laid, Haggai proclaimed two new prophecies. He turned to the priests to seek guidance from them (cf. Jer. 18:18 "instruction from the priest"). He asked what the law is concerning a man who carries hallowed meat in the skirt of his garment which touches any food. They replied that the food does not become holy, but if a man made unclean by a dead body touches the food, the food does become unclean. From the fact that holiness is far less contagious than impurity, Haggai deduces that the achievement of holiness demands hard work: as long as the Temple was not built, despite the fact that sacrifices were being offered on the altar, the people were unclean. Only when the Temple is rebuilt will the Lord's blessing (Hag. 2:19) return. That very day (2:20ff.) the prophet uttered an oracle about Zerubbabel. He announced that God was about to shake the heavens and earth and overthrow the "throne of kingdoms and destroy the strength of the nations, overthrow the chariot and those who ride in it. The horses and their riders will come down, everyone by the sword of his brother" (Hag. 3:22). Haggai's words probably reflect the great disturbances that shook the Persian Empire in 522–21 until Darius I took full control as successor to Cambyses. As for Zerubabel, says Haggai, his time will come. Whereas Jeremiah had prophesied about Jehoiakim (22:24), "though Coniah the son of Jehoiakim king of Judah were the signet ring on My right hand, yet I would pluck thee thence," Haggai turned the curse into a blessing for his grandson Zerubbabel: "I will take you… and make you like a signet ring" (2:23). With Talshir, it is probably inaccurate to regard this vision as messianic in any utopian sense. It is rather about the restoration of the earthly Davidic monarchy and the rebuilding of the Jerusalem temple, for both of which there were still living eyewitnesses (Hag. 2:3). Haggai agrees with Isaiah 60:5 that "the wealth (*ḥayil*) of nations" will come to the temple (Hag. 2:7–9; the terms *ḥayil*, *kavod* and *ḥemdah* all mean "wealth"). But in contrast to Isaiah 60 and Zechariah 8:20–23, the nations themselves will not come to the Jewish temple. Israel's earthly kingdom will be renewed, the second temple will be richer than the first, but the gentiles will not be converted. The language of the book is difficult to classify as either prose or poetry (see e.g. 1:5–11; 2:6–9, 21–23). It is apparent that Haggai had recourse to earlier writings that would become "biblical." The prophet uses phrases from the Torah (cf. Haggai 2:5 with Ex. 24:8; Haggai 2:12 with Lev. 6:20; etc.). He alludes to Jeremiah's words (Jer. 22:24) which he reinterprets; and to the prophecies of Ezekiel (Ezek. 37:27) about the holy spirit resting upon the new Temple. He is similar to Zechariah, his contemporary, with regard to the greatness of Zerubbabel (*ibid.*, 3:8). The prophecies of Haggai were probably assembled not long after they were delivered. Fragments of Haggai are found in the *tere asar* (book of the 12 minor prophets) scroll written probably in the second century C.E. and unearthed in cave 5 at Wadi Murabbat. Probably encouraged by Haggai's legal questions to the priests (Hag. 2:12–13), rabbinic tradition credited Haggai with halakhic (legal) decisions (Yev. 16a; Kid. 43a). The sages (BB 15a) attributed the editing of the book to the elders of the Great Assembly.

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[Yehoshua M. Grintz / S. David Sperling (2nd ed.)]

HAGGAI (or **Ḥagga**; fl. c. 300 C.E.), Palestinian *amora*. Probably born in Babylon (TJ, Or 3:1, 63a; TJ, Av. Zar. 3:14, 43c), he went to Palestine, where after initial difficulties (Av. Zar. 68a) he became a prominent member of the academy of Tiberias and one of the principal pupils of *Zeira whom he often accompanied (TJ, Dem. 3:2, 23b) and in whose name he transmitted sayings (TJ, Kid. 3:2, 63d). In a dispute with *Ḥanina in a case of marital law, Haggai was praised by R. Hilla as a scholar of sound judgment (*ibid.*). Because of his important position in the academy he opened each study session while *Yose and Jonah closed them (TJ, RH 2:6, 58b). Haggai was also the pupil (according to Frankel, *Mevo ha-Yerushalmi*, 79b–80b, the associate) of Yose (BB 19b; TJ, Pes. 4:3, 31a; TJ, Kid. 3:3, 64a; see TJ, Shab. 1:5, 4a, where Yose calls him "rabbi"; cf. TJ, RH 2:6, 58b). In a case brought before *Aḥa he supported the view of his teacher Yose by an oath "By Moses," a formula often employed by him (TJ, Naz. 5:1, 54a; TJ, 4:3, 24a, etc.). Like Yose he held the view that the reason for the interdiction against looking at the kohanim while they are reciting the Priestly Benedictions is because it may distract them from proper concentration (TJ, Ta'an. 4:1, 67b).

His close pupil and associate was *Mana, the head of the academy in Sepphoris, who participated in Haggai's scholarly discussions (*ibid.*). Once Mana visited his sick teacher on the Day of Atonement and gave him permission to drink, but Haggai declined to avail himself of it (TJ, Yoma 6:4, 43d). His daughter was involved in lawsuits because she squandered her property (TJ, BB 10:15, 17d). His son Eleazar was a pupil of Mana's academy in Sepphoris (TJ, Shek. 7:3, 50c). Haggai appears to have lived for a while in Tyre (TJ, Ket. 2:6, 4a) and some sources hint at the fact that he migrated to Babylonia in the days of *Abbaye and *Rabbah since he is quoted in the Babylonian Talmud as having had discussions with them (e.g., BM 113b but see Dik. Sof. BM 169b, n. 100). The Haggai who ordered Jacob of Kefar Nibburaya to be punished by flagellation for falsely interpreting Scripture to the effect that fish must be slaughtered in the same way as animals and that the son of a gentile mother may be circumcised on the Sabbath is probably this Haggai and not *Haggai of Sepphoris.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Bacher, Pal Amor, 3; Hyman, Toledot, s.v.; J.L. Maimon, *Yiḥusei Tanna'im ve-Amora'im* (1963), 229–30; Ḥ. Albeck, *Mavo la-Talmudim* (1969), 323–5.

HAGGAI OF SEPPHORIS (third century C.E.), Palestinian *amora*. Born in Babylonia, one of the principle pupils of *Huna (the exilarch), he emigrated to Palestine where he joined the pupils of R. *Johanan. There is considerable confusion between him and another *amora* of the same name (see preceding entry). In fact, most authorities, including the classical ones (*Yiḥusei Tanna'im ve-Amora'im*, s.v. *Haggai*), do not distinguish between the two. Even accepting that there were two distinct men called Haggai (and there were more, see Albeck, *Mavo la-Talmudim*, 391), it remains difficult to determine which events recorded apply to the one and which to the other. Haggai transmitted halakhic rules in the names of Abba b. Avda, Abbahu, Isaac, Johanan b. Lakhish, Joshua b. Levi, Samuel b. Naḥamani, etc. When the coffin of his teacher Huna (probably the exilarch mentioned above, see Tos. to MK 25a; and TJ, Kil. 9:4, 32b–c) was brought (in 297 C.E.) to Palestine to be placed in a cave (sepulcher) at the side of *Ḥiyya's remains, Haggai was chosen to place his teacher's coffin there, a special honor and privilege (MK 25a). According to another version (TJ, Ket. 12:3, 35a) he was at that time an old man of over 80 and people suspected that he wished to enter the cave only to die at that chosen spot. Thus he asked that a rope be attached to his feet so that he might be pulled out from the cave after the burial of Huna.

In *Genesis Rabbah* (9:3) he quotes, in R. Isaac's name, an interpretation of I Chronicles 28:9 to teach that "even before thought is born in a man's heart, it is already revealed to God." Further (Gen. R. 60:2), based upon Genesis 24:12, he states that everybody needs God's grace, since even Abraham, in whose merit favor is granted to the whole world, was in need of divine grace for the success of the choice of a bride for Isaac. It is stated that when he appointed officials (*parnasim*) he handed them a Torah scroll to symbolize that authority comes only from the Law, as it is written, "By me kings reign… by me princes rule" (Prov. 8:15–16).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Bacher, Pal Amor; Hyman, Toledot, s.v.; J.L. Maimon, *Yiḥusei Tanna'im ve-Amora'im* (1963), 229–30; Ḥ. Albeck, *Mavo la-Talmudim* (1969), 287.

ḤAGIGAH (Heb. חֲגִיגָה); the last tractate – according to the customary arrangement – of the order *Mo'ed* in the Mishnah, Tosefta, and the Babylonian and Jerusalem Talmuds. It is also called *Re'iyyah* (so in the Zuckermandel edition of the Tosefta). The Mishnah contains three chapters. Chapters

1:1–2:4 deal with the laws of peace-offerings which were offered during the festivals (hence the name of the tractate) and with kindred subjects such as the duty of *pilgrimage (*re'iyyah*, "appearance," hence the alternative name of the tractate), and the laws of sacrifices during the festival in general. From 2:5 until the end of the tractate it deals with the laws of ritual purity and impurity connected with sacred objects and the Temple. The *mishnayot* 1:8–2:1 are entirely different from the rest of the tractate and have a character of their own. Nachman *Krochmal suggested that the original tractate *Ḥagigah* may have commenced with these two *mishnayot* (cf. Epstein, Tannaim, 46–47), which are a kind of introduction to the different categories of *halakhah* (which include laws of *Ḥagigah*) whose purpose is to emphasize the relationship of the Midrash to the *halakhah* and the tendency to depart from the previous method of deriving *halakhot* from direct exposition of Scripture (see **Midreshei Halakhah*). Chapter 1:7 is an addition from the Tosefta (Epstein, Tannaim, 48). Mishnah *Ḥagigah* preserves many traditions deriving from the Temple period and most of the scholars mentioned in it belong to that period. The Tosefta similarly contains three chapters and deals with similar themes, and the same applies to the two Talmuds. The Tosefta contains a series of aggadic traditions (2: 1–7) – including the famous story of the four "who entered *pardes*" – which expand upon the *ma'aseh bereshit* and Merkabah themes already mentioned in the Mishnah (2:1). These themes are further expanded and elaborated in the Babylonian (Ḥag. 11b–16a) and Jerusalem Talmuds (TJ Ḥag. 2:1, 77a–77d). This material, which forms a continuous and self-contained "mystical midrash" (cf. Weiss, Literary, 260–261), provided the foundation for much of the later literature of the *Merkabah mysticism, and the four "who entered paradise" (TJ, Ḥag. 2:1; Ḥag. 13b–15a) and even the medieval Kabbalah. *Ḥagigah* is currently available in various translations and editions.

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[Stephen G. Wald (2nd ed.)]

HAGIOGRAPHY. Although hagiographies, embellished accounts of biblical worthies, are not unknown in previous ages, particularly in the apocrypha (e.g., Lives of the *Prophets and Martyrdom of *Isaiah), in the Middle Ages they developed as a specific genre of literature, of which they constitute a major type (see *Fiction, Hebrew). These may be divided into two main categories according to the protagonist portrayed: (a) hagiographies whose heroes are ancient Jewish sages and martyrs (biblical and talmudic characters); (b) hagiographies whose heroes are medieval scholars, rabbis, and martyrs.

Different fields of medieval literature have adapted the hagiography to their specific needs. Ethical literature used it to exhort in the footsteps of the hero (see *Exemplum); Hebrew historical writings usually substituted the hagiography for the biography of medieval and ancient Jewish scholars. Medieval collections of Hebrew stories abound with hagiographic material; while in kabbalistic and ḥasidic literature, the hagiography was a formal literary device to convince the reader of the veracity of the Jewish mystics' visions.

Use of Biblical and Talmudic Material

Biblical and talmudic stories were freely adapted. In **Midrash Va-Yissa'u* (in A. Jellinek, *Beit ha-Midrash*, 3 (1938^2), 1–5), a narrative about Jacob and his sons, the characters are portrayed as medieval knights who fight over Shechem and other cities, in the same way as the Crusaders had fought in the capture of a city. Abraham and Moses were also subjects of individual works, embellished by hagiographic additions. So were the lives of talmudic sages; the medieval Midrash *Pirkei Rabbi Eliezer*, for instance, opens with a hagiographic account of *Eliezer b. Hyrkanus. One of the most typical examples of medieval hagiography is the story of the *Ten Martyrs, known also as *Midrash Elleh Ezkerah* (ed. by A. Jellinek, 1853). Some of the material is drawn from talmudic sources, but most of its treatment is within the framework of medieval themes and literary conventions. It is an account of the tortures inflicted by the Romans on 10 martyrs, most of them *tannaim* (the 10 martyrs had not been contemporaries and could not have been executed together); the story also inspired the composition of prayers and *piyyutim*, and became the cornerstone of Hebrew medieval martyrologic hagiography.

Use of Contemporary Stories and Personages

Hagiography of the Middle Ages which centered around medieval characters contains historical and biographical details, as well as fiction. Some of the legends included are entirely original, while others thematically belong to international hagiographic motifs. The miracle associated with Rashi when still in his mother's womb (that a wall opened to let his pregnant mother hide from a group of soldiers) is told about many other sages, and has nothing whatsoever to do with Rashi's personality or biography. Sometimes the heroes of such legends are purely fictional, and the hagiography thus is not even related to a historical personality.

The development of the hagiography in the Middle Ages is perhaps best exemplified by the evolvement of cycles of hagiographies centered around the leaders of the Ḥasidei Askhenaz: *Samuel he-Ḥasid, R. *Judah he-Ḥasid, his son, and *Eleazar ben Judah of Worms. The earliest known versions were found (in manuscript) and published by N. *Bruell (*Jahrbuecher fuer Juedische Geschichte und Literatur*, 9 (1889), 1–71). Different versions are extant in many later Hebrew and Yiddish collections. There are no hagiographies about these rabbis from their own time (12th and 13th centuries); the stories begin to appear in the 14th and 15th centuries. However, many of the hagiographies from these cycles point to the fact that the elaborate narrative about one of these rabbis sprang from a much simpler story that was told and written by that writer himself. In the simple narrative, the hero's name is not mentioned nor did he see himself as the hero. In one of his theological works, R. Judah he-Ḥasid has a five-line story about a rabbi who miraculously discovered some clothes that had been stolen from one of his pupils. A hagiography written in the 15th century, about R. Judah, contains a long and well-developed legend about the rabbi's discovery of a treasure which had been entrusted to a Jew and stolen from him, thus endangering the lives of a whole Jewish community. The core of the narrative is the same, but the plot was elaborated upon, many details were added, and the anonymous hero became R. Judah he-Ḥasid himself. Short descriptions, such as the one by R. Judah he-Ḥasid in Ḥasidei Ashkenaz literature of sorcerers and demons, were later expanded into hagiographies describing contests between the pietist sages and gentile sorcerers in the working of miracles and sorcery. While these early theological works receded into oblivion, the stories to which they gave birth survived and evolved into the fully developed genre of hagiography.

IBN EZRA AND OTHER SPANISH JEWISH SCHOLARS. One of the most prominent heroes of medieval Hebrew hagiography was R. Abraham *Ibn Ezra. Nothing in his actual biography justifies the stories told about him, except that he was a traveler, and visited many countries in the East and in the West. Abraham ibn Ezra became the "traveling hero" of a cycle of hagiographic legends. Disguised so that nobody would recognize him, in a dramatic moment he would reveal his true identity. In these tales, Ibn Ezra pokes fun at proud rich men, helps Jews in danger, and is the hero of both popular jokes and tragic legends. Ibn Ezra was a hero of fiction up to modern times, and in the 19th century, stories describing his miraculous adventures were still being printed.

Other Spanish Jewish scholars also became central figures of hagiographies. The beginnings of the Jewish center of learning in Spain were described by Abraham *Ibn Daud in his *Seder ha-Kabbalah* by means of the hagiographical story "The Four Captives." *Judah Halevi's pilgrimage to Jerusalem was the focus of a cycle of hagiographical stories; and this most rationalistic of Spanish Jewish scholars did not escape legends which told about his later adherence to the Kabbalah.

MARTYROLOGIC HAGIOGRAPHY. The martyrologic hagiography developed especially in Germany during the Crusades of the 11th–13th centuries. Thousands of Jewish martyrs became subjects of legends. The best known revolves about R. *Amnon, the alleged author of the prayer *U-Netanneh Tokef. Many other martyrs were described in a similar hagiographic manner in collections of historical writings and stories.

HAGIOGRAPHY AND KABBALAH. The most powerful creative force of Jewish hagiography in the Middle Ages was the Kabbalah. Kabbalists of the 12th and 13th centuries told legends about their teachers and mystical mentors. The first kabbalistic scholar in Provence, head of a school of kabbalists, Rabbi *Isaac Sagi Nahor ("the blind"), was described by his disciples as capable of distinguishing between a "new" and an "old" soul, i.e., between persons whose souls had entered the human form for the first time and souls that had transmigrated from previous existences (see **Gilgul*). In Spain, there were kabbalists who wove wonderful tales about the mystics of Germany. R. Isaac ha-Kohen of Segovia (the second half of the 13th century) told about the powers of Eleazar of Worms who, according to him, traveled on a cloud whenever he had an urgent trip to make.

THE ZOHAR AND LATER KABBALISTIC WRITINGS. The Zohar is full of hagiographic references to R. *Simeon b. Yoḥai, his son *Eleazar, and his disciples. Their wondrous deeds are incorporated into the homiletics that make up the whole work. When R. Simeon b. Yoḥai studied, for example, birds stopped flying all around, fire encircled him, and wonderful events happened to people in his vicinity. Among the many miracles attributed to him and his disciples by the author of the Zohar, some are founded solely on myth, e.g., the legends about his contradicting God's will and his prevalence, or his fight with the powers of darkness, the *Sitra Aḥra* ("The Other Side," i.e., Satan). The Zohar influenced later kabbalistic writings in which the same approach toward the mystics is adopted. Two anonymous 14th-century Spanish works, *Sefer ha-Kaneh* (Prague, 1610) and *Sefer ha-Peli'ah* (Korets, 1784), have for their central characters members of the family of the *tanna* R. *Neḥuna b. ha-Kaneh. A whole set of hagiographical stories is woven around each member of the family. Many of these stories describe a meeting of the heroes with heavenly powers.

The deterioration of the situation of the Jews in Spain (at the end of the 14th and during the 15th century) gave birth to a new kind of hagiography, also associated with the Kabbalah: stories about sages who had attempted to hasten the redemption in one way or the other. Some of these include much historical data, like the stories about the martyr Solomon *Molcho; others are purely fictional, like the story about *Joseph Della Reina, who almost succeeded in overcoming and enslaving Satan and *Lilith, but at the last moment, failed and became enslaved by them instead. From this period onward, Jewish hagiography is mostly concerned with messianic expectations and activity.

ISAAC LURIA AND OTHER SAGES OF SAFED. The hagiographic cycle of stories about Isaac *Luria, who lived in Safed in the years 1570–72, were the first to be compiled into a book. His disciples preserved and wrote legends describing his superhuman powers. There are two main versions of the cycle of stories about him: *Shivḥei ha-Ari*, a collection of letters written by R. Solomon Shlumil of Dreznitz, who described not only Luria, but other sages in Safed, and a later work, *Toledot ha-Ari which was dedicated to Luria almost exclusively. It includes more than 50 stories. Some of them describe mostly his supernatural knowledge, his ability to know the past and the future, what was happening at great distances and in heaven, and his power to read the thoughts and the hearts of other people. The other stories, which seem to be later additions to the original cycle, describe miracles which he was said to have performed. Even when taking into consideration these later additions, the dominant hagiographic motif in these cycles is the supernatural knowledge of Luria, and not the miracles he performed. Luria's greatest pupil, R. Ḥayyim *Vital, unlike his teacher, did not leave it to later generations to write and to compile the hagiographic stories about him. He did it himself. He kept a diary which was published under the title *Sefer ha-Ḥezyonot* (1866) and previously, in a shorter version, as *Shivḥei Rav Ḥayyim Vital* (1826). Like his teacher Luria, Vital also had messianic aspirations. Basing himself on the conjurations of witches, sorcerers, his own visionary dreams and his teacher's sayings, he saw himself destined for great deeds. Luria and Vital are also connected with the first famous version of "The Dibbuk" story (told in different versions in *Sefer ha-Ḥezyonot* and in *Shivḥei Rav Ḥayyim Vital*). The theme of the **dibbuk* later became one of the standard motifs in Jewish hagiography: the ability to drive out evil powers or strange souls which had taken hold of a human body.

The stories about the great sages of Safed spread throughout the Jewish world. Their development varied in form and according to geographic locales. In the east, hagiographic cycles had for their central figures especially R. Ḥayyim Joseph David *Azulai and R. Ḥayyim b. Moses *Attar; in the west and in Eastern Europe R. *Judah b. Bezalel Loew and R. Joel Ba'al Shem became the heroes of such legends. In the 18th and 19th centuries up to the beginning of the 20th century hagiographic stories about sages of later ages (after Luria) were still being collected and published.

Modern Jewish Hagiography

Modern Jewish hagiography is connected with the ḥasidic movement which began in Eastern Europe in the second half of the 18th century. With the publication of *Shivḥei ha-Besht* (Berdichev, 1815) the genre was brought to its highest artistic expression. The book is a compilation of hagiographic stories about the founder of the ḥasidic movement and his disciples, collected from manuscripts. The stories, written both in Hebrew and in Yiddish (since the 16th century, Yiddish being the main medium of expression for hagiographic stories in Eastern Europe), had circulated among the Ḥasidim since the *Baal Shem Tov's death in 1760.

Later ḥasidic leaders and their followers used the *Shivḥei ha-Besht* as a model for the writing of hagiographic stories about later ḥasidic sages. Consequently, there are hagiographic collections about almost every major ḥasidic rabbi, even those who lived in the early 20th century. The stories in these compilations are often about several sages and may be arranged according to a main theme, e.g., *The Revelation of the Ẓaddikim*, a collection of stories about the ways in which the greatness of the ḥasidic sages was revealed (see, e.g., S. Gavriel, *Hitgallut ha-Ẓaddikim* (1905)).

Side by side with the development of ḥasidic hagiography, another kind of hagiography came into being. These were hagiographies about the **Lamed-Vav Ẓaddikim*, the thirty-six anonymous and mysterious holy men, because of whose humble manner, just deeds, and virtue the world continues to exist. Many of the motifs of this cycle of legends are taken from older tales and hagiographies. Together with the ḥasidic stories, they take Hebrew hagiography into the 20th century.

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[Joseph Dan]

ḤAGIZ, family of Spanish origin which immigrated to Morocco after the expulsion decrees of 1492, and settled in Fez, where some of its representatives were at the head of the Castilian community of *Megorashim* ("the exiled"). ABRAHAM ḤAGIZ (I) (d. before 1563) arrived in Fez with the Spanish exiles when still very young. He was brought up and educated there and is the signatory of a *takkanah* of 1545. SAMUEL ḤAGIZ (I) (d. c. 1570) was probably the younger brother of Abraham; his grandson, Samuel Ḥagiz (II), in his *Mevakkesh ha-Shem* mentions some of his grandfather's biblical commentaries and credits him with directing an important yeshivah, as is also confirmed by his disciple, Samuel b. Saadiah ibn Danan. In the *takkanot* of Fez, Samuel's signature is almost always found together with those of the other Castilian rabbis and it also appears on ordinances and decisions of the years 1545, 1559, and 1568. JACOB ḤAGIZ (d. 1634), a signatory of the Castilian *takkanot* of Fez between 1588 and 1608 (cf. *Kerem Ḥemed*; s.v. *Malkhei Rabbanan*), is probably the son of Samuel Ḥagiz (I) and not the grandfather of Jacob *Ḥagiz, the author of *Halakhot Ketannot*. There is a controversy about this relationship which has not been resolved (J. Ben-Naim in his *Malkhei Rabbanan* completely confuses the two). SAMUEL ḤAGIZ (II) left Fez, his birthplace, about 1590, remained for some time in Tripoli, North Africa, then traveled to Venice where, in 1597, he published *Mevakkesh ha-Shem*, sermons on the Pentateuch, and *Devar Shemu'el*, a homiletic commentary on Deuteronomy. He then immigrated to Ereẓ Israel and settled in Jerusalem. ABRAHAM ḤAGIZ (II), signatory of decisions in Fez dated 1638, 1640, and 1647, remained in Morocco after the departure of Samuel (II), probably his older brother. Members of the family also settled in Ereẓ Israel.

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[Haim Zafrani]

ḤAGIZ, JACOB (**Israel**; 1620–1674), Jerusalem scholar. He was the son of Samuel Ḥagiz, who was rabbi of Fez, and son-in-law of Moses *Galante. During his youth he resided in various communities in Italy. In 1658 he emigrated to Jerusalem, where he headed a yeshivah founded and maintained by the Vega brothers of Leghorn, in which secular subjects and Spanish were also studied. Jacob himself, in addition to his Torah study, occupied himself with philosophy, astronomy, medicine, and grammar. He instituted several **takkanot* in Jerusalem, mainly in the field of divorce procedure. In contrast to his father-in-law, Jacob was a vehement opponent of *Shabbetai Ẓevi from the beginning, being one of the first to regard him as a false messiah, and he was one of those who excommunicated him in 1665. In 1673, he went to Constantinople, in order to publish his *Leḥem ha-Panim* but died before achieving this.

He was also the author of *Eẓ ha-Ḥayyim*, a commentary to the Mishnah (*Mishnayot*, Leghorn, 1652–56); *Halakhot Ketannot* (Venice, 1704), responsa; *Teḥillat Ḥokhmah*, a talmudic methodology, published with the *Sefer Keritot* of *Samson of Chinon (Verona, 1647); *Ein Yisrael*, an adapted edition of the *Ein Ya'akov* of Jacob ibn Habib with the additions of Leone Modena (Verona, 1645); *Petil Tekhelet* (Venice, 1652) a commentary on the *azharot* of Solomon ibn Gabirol; *Dinei Birkat ha-Shaḥar, Keri'at Shema u-Tefillah*, laws of the morning blessings, of the reading of the *shema* and of the *amidah* (Verona, 1648); *Almenara de la Luz* (Leghorn, 1656), a Spanish translation of the *Menorat ha-Ma'or* of Isaac *Aboab.

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[David Tamar]

ḤAGIZ, MOSES (1672–c. 1751), scholar, kabbalist, and opponent of Shabbateanism; son of Jacob *Ḥagiz. He was born in Jerusalem and studied with his grandfather, Moses *Galante. He appears to have quarreled in his youth with the rabbis and lay leaders of Jerusalem, for when in 1694 he left Ereẓ Israel to collect money to found a yeshivah in Jerusalem, damaging letters were sent after him to the communities to which he turned. Moses visited Egypt and then Italy, where in 1704 he published his father's *Halakhot Ketannot*. He traveled by way of Prague to Amsterdam where he made contact with Ẓevi Hirsch *Ashkenazi, then rabbi of the Ashkenazi community, and collaborated with him in an energetic struggle against Shabbateanism and its secret adherents. When in 1713 Ashkenazi and Moses refused to retract the excommunication of the Shabbatean Nehemiah *Ḥayon, a fierce quarrel broke out between them and the elders of the Portuguese community. In 1714 when Ashkenazi resigned his rabbinical office and left Amsterdam, Moses was compelled to leave with him. He went first to London with Ashkenazi, there continuing the fight against Ḥayon and his allies, and then to Altona, home of Jacob *Emden, Ashkenazi's son, where he resumed the struggle against Shabbateanism. Among those he attacked were Michael Abraham *Cardoso and even Jonathan *Eybeschuetz, and he took the offensive against Moses Ḥayyim *Luzzatto, inducing the rabbis of Venice to excommunicate him. In 1738 Moses returned to Ereẓ Israel and settled in Safed. He died in Beirut and was taken to Sidon for burial.

A talmudic scholar of the first rank and a prolific writer, Moses was assisted by a good grounding in secular knowledge and by a command of several foreign languages. In Altona he was friendly with Johann Christopher *Wolf, who mentions him in his *Bibliotheca Hebraica*.

His works include *Leket ha-Kemaḥ*, novellae on the Shulḥan Arukh, *Oraḥ Ḥayyim* and *Yoreh De'ah* (Amsterdam, 1697), and *Even ha-Ezer* (Hamburg, 1711); responsa *Shetei ha-Leḥem* (Wandsbeck, 1733); the ethical treatises *Ẓerror ha-Ḥayyim* and *Mishnat Ḥakhamim* (*ibid.*, 1728–31 and 1733 respectively); *Elleh ha-Mitzvot* (Amsterdam, 1713), on the numeration of precepts in Maimonides' *Sefer ha-Mitzvot*, on the Oral Law, and on Kabbalah; *Sefat Emet* (Amsterdam, 1697); and *Parashat Elleh Masei* (Altona, 1738), on the sanctity of the land of Israel. His literary activity also included the editing of many early books.

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[David Tamar]

HA-GOSHERIM (Heb. הַגּוֹשְׁרִים), kibbutz in the Ḥuleh Valley, Israel, affiliated with Ha-Kibbutz ha-Me'uḥad, first founded in 1943 as a Ha-Po'el ha-Mizrachi moshav called Neḥalim, the fourth of the "Ussishkin Fortresses" (see *Stockade and Watchtower). It was taken over in the summer of 1948 by the present group, whose nucleus is composed of settlers from Turkey. The settlers of Neḥalim meanwhile established themselves at the former *Templer colony of Wilhelma near Lydda. The 1951–52 split in Ha-Kibbutz ha-Me'uḥad brought new settlers – veteran members of *Kefar Giladi and other kibbutzim – to Ha-Gosherim in order to remain within their movement's framework. The kibbutz developed intensive farming (fruit plantations, field crops, and poultry) and operated a guest house. In the late 1980s it developed a depilatory device for women called Soft and Easy (later marketed as Epilady), selling over 25 million throughout the world, but the local company subsequently ran into financial difficulties and passed into private hands. Ha-Gosherim's population was 412 in 1968 and 526 in 2002. It is located near the Ḥurshat Tal Nature Reserve with its giant Tabor oaks, lawns, and pools fed by the Dan River. Ha-Gosherim, meaning "Bridge Builders," refers to the local topography – the Jordan headstreams, Iyyon (*Ijon), Senir, and Dan, spanned by a number of bridges.

WEBSITE: www.hagoshrim.org.il.

[Efraim Orni / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

HAGOZER, JACOB and **GERSHOM** (first half of the 13th century), father and son, *mohalim* (practitioners of circumcision, hence the name *Gozer*, a synonym for *mohel*) in Germany. Little is known of Jacob except that he composed a book on the laws of circumcision which served as the basis for a more comprehensive work on the same subject by Gershom, who also made use of the work of his uncle *Jacob b. Yakar of Worms. Gershom's works covered every aspect of the subject. Large sections from it were copied word for word and incorporated into two works by two anonymous *mohalim*. All that is known of the author of the first is that he was a nephew of *Ephraim of *Bonn and that he knew Jacob personally, received oral traditions from him, and quoted his customs and conduct. This author added many aggadic passages in praise of the precept of circumcision and its virtues, many local customs and medical details concerning circumcision, and various sermons delivered at such ceremonies. The book is of considerable value for its picture of the life of the Jews of Germany at that time and also contains important quotations from earlier literature for which there is no other source.

This *mohel*, like Gershom, introduced hygienic improvements into the circumcision ceremony and brought about the abolition of many unsound practices of ultra-conservative *mohalim*. The author of the second work was a pupil of *Eliezer b. Joel ha-Levi, himself a *mohel*, and quotes him and Gershom freely. At the end of the book is appended a collection of relevant passages from other works. The two books were published by Jacob Glassberg in his *Zikhron Berit la-Rishonim* (1892). They were the first books in the rabbinic literature of Germany wholly devoted to the laws of circumcision, and probably the first works in the whole of German rabbinic literature dealing with one specific subject.

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[Israel Moses Ta-Shma]

HAGRONIA (Lat. **Agranium**), town on the Euphrates. It served as a kind of citadel for the town of *Nehardea, as its name Akra ("fort") di Hagronia (BB 73b) testifies. After Nahardea declined as a religious center following its partial destruction by Papa bar Nazar in 259 C.E. (see *Odenathus), most of its Jews settled in Hagronia. Its Jewish community, though not large (BB 73b), was of considerable importance. Rava, head of the Pumbedita academy from 338 to 52, went from Maḥoza to Hagronia to proclaim a public fast (Ta'an. 24b) and it is reported that the exilarch lectured there during the second half of the fourth century (Yoma 78a). Its scholars were termed "the elders of Hagronia" (Shab. 11a). Many talmudic scholars are known to have been born there – Avimi (BM 77b), Judah (Av. Zar. 39a), Samuel b. Abba (BK 88a), Hilkiah (Yev. 9a), Eleazar (Ta'an. 24b), and Mordecai (Sot. 46b).

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[Moshe Beer]

HAGUE, THE (Dutch: **'s Gravenhage**, **Den Haag**), seat of the government of the Netherlands and capital of South Holland province. Jewish settlement in The Hague dates to the last decades of the 17th century. By that time two Portuguese Jewish congregations, Beth Jacob and Honen Dal, had been founded in The Hague. The two congregations joined together in 1743 under the latter and used the synagogue on the Princessegracht dating from 1726. The Ashkenazi community opened its own synagogue on the Voldersgracht in 1723. In 1694, Ashkenazi Jews purchased land for a cemetery on the present-day Scheveningseweg, where Portuguese Jews also buried their dead. By 1710 the cemetery was divided into two separate burial grounds. By the 18th century, growing wealth and international connections gave local Portuguese Jews a large measure of influence in all segments of Dutch society. The Portuguese community of The Hague also produced several important rabbis. By the late 18th century, however, general economic conditions worsened and reduced many members of the Portuguese community to penury.

Over the course of the 18th century, the Ashkenazi population of The Hague grew to surpass that of the Portuguese. Most Ashkenazi Jews still resided in the poor Jewish neighborhood near the center of the city.

The Emancipation Decree of 1796 totally transformed the legal and social status of Jews and the structure of the communities. As a result many Dutch Jews from the provinces migrated to The Hague, attracted by the importance of The Hague as the country's center of government.

The Jewish population of The Hague continued to increase throughout the 19th and early 20th centuries. Despite social changes, most of the Jews in The Hague continued to live in poverty in the large Jewish neighborhood. The relatively small population of well-off Jews, however, produced a steady stream of bankers, parliamentarians, painters, poets, and writers, as well as the first Jew to become a minister in the national government. The community also continued to produce prominent rabbis.

In 1844, a new Ashkenazi synagogue was consecrated at the Wagenstraat. Another Ashkenazi synagogue, located at the Voldersgracht, was completed in 1887. Smaller synagogues were scattered throughout the city. Despite the emancipation Jews continued to prefer Jewish schools for their children. Yiddish remained the language of instruction in Ashkenazi schools until the mid-19th century. Following the educational reform of 1857, The Hague's Jewish schools continued to operate as purely religious institutions. In 1920, all independent Jewish schools were closed and replaced by secular schools with optional religious instruction.

In 1836, a council was established to administer aid to the poor. The community maintained an old age home, orphanage, and hospital. Community members also formed all kinds of voluntary charitable organizations.

From the end of the 19th century until the eve of the World War II, the Jewish population of The Hague grew threefold. Jews settled throughout the growing city, leading to the establishment of additional prayer houses and voluntary organizations. A vibrant Jewish community also arose in The Hague's fishing village, Scheveningen, in part due to its popularity as a seaside vacation resort amongst the Jews of Antwerp. Polish Jews who settled in Scheveningen during and after World War I formed their own community and consecrated a synagogue on the Harstenhoekweg in 1926. In the same year, the Jewish community of the wealthy suburb of Wassenaar merged with that of The Hague.

The secularization of The Hague community, begun in the 19th century, continued in the 20th. New Jewish social, cultural, and sports organizations arose. In addition organizations aimed at Jewish youth were founded to counter a rising trend towards assimilation. Between the two world wars, Zionist and anti-Zionist organizations came to play a central role in Jewish life in The Hague. The wave of East European Jews who settled in Scheveningen following their expulsion from Germany after the Nazi takeover in 1933 became enthusiastic participants in local cultural, religious, and Zionist activities.

The 1930s saw the rise of Liberal (Reform) Judaism in The Hague, aided in part by the arrival of Liberal Jewish refugees from Germany. Despite strong opposition from the local Orthodox Jewish establishment, a Liberal Jewish community was founded in The Hague on the very eve of World War II.

Holocaust Period

The wartime occupation of the Netherlands by the Germans affected the Jews of The Hague just as it did Jews elsewhere. In May of 1940, the Germans established their central occupational administration for the Netherlands in The Hague. A significant number of Jews committed suicide.

In September 1940 all Jews not holding Dutch nationality were forced to leave the coastal regions of the Netherlands. Almost 2,000 Jews were expelled from The Hague and Scheveningen as a result. The Jews who remained in The Hague were subject to registration of person and property, dismissal from the civil service, and a ban on the practice of professions.

Late in 1940, the Jewish Coordination Commission was founded to represent Jewish interests. It was superseded a year later by the German-controlled Jewish Council (*Joodse Raad*). After the expulsion of Jewish children from public education in September 1941, a number of Jewish elementary schools, high schools, and vocational schools were established. These functioned until the very last deportations of Jews from The Hague in September 1943.

Between May 1940 and August 1942, anti-Jewish measures were implemented one after another. The situation worsened when a member of the Dutch Nazi Party (NSB) was appointed mayor of The Hague.

During the early months of the deportations, which began in August 1942, Jews were confined at the Scheveningen prison prior to being transported out of the city. The former Jewish orphanage on the Paviljoensgracht later fulfilled this function. Despite protests from the Council of Churches and, sometimes, aid from several quarters of the population, deportations continued until the last day of September 1943, the eve of Rosh ha-Shanah, the Jewish New Year. Approximately 80% of the 10,000 Jews of The Hague were deported. Most were murdered. Of the remaining 2,000, most survived the war in hiding.

During the war, almost all of The Hague's many synagogues were plundered, heavily damaged, or destroyed. Only the Portuguese synagogue survived the war undamaged.

Following the war, religious services were resumed at several locations. Eventually, the synagogues on the Wagenstraat and De Carpentierstraat were closed and their buildings sold. The former synagogue on the Wagenstraat today serves as a mosque. The present-day synagogue of The Hague's Orthodox Jewish Community is located on the Cornelis Houtmanstraat.

The Portuguese Jewish Community of The Hague was officially dissolved in the aftermath of the war and its synagogue on the Princessegracht sold to the Liberal Jewish Community, which has used the building since 1976. An extensive restoration of the building was completed in 1997.

The Jewish cemetery on the Scheveningseweg was restored during the late 1980s.

Today, almost all of the Netherlands' Jewish organizations have branches or offices in The Hague. The Hague is the seat of the Embassy of the State of Israel and of the Dutch-Jewish CIDI organization (Center for Information and Documentation Israel).

Throughout The Hague, plaques, monuments, and names of streets and institutions commemorate aspects of the Jewish past. In 1994, the L.E. Visserhuis Jewish old age home was opened on the Doorniksestraat in Scheveningen. The home commemorates *Visser, a famed Dutch Jewish jurist who, during the war, was expelled from his position as minister of justice.

In 2003 the remains of the archive of The Hague's Jewish community was returned to The Hague from Russia. The documents are now kept at The Hague's Municipal Archive.

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[Jelka Kröger (2nd ed.)]

HAGUENAU, Alsatian town in the Bas-Rhin department, E. France. The earliest information on the presence of Jews in Haguenau dates from 1235; in that year a blood libel was perpetrated against the Jews of the town, but thanks to the protection of the emperor, whose *servi camerae they were, they escaped harm. The Jews had to pay taxes to both the emperor and the municipality. The latter also protected them effectively, especially in 1338 against the *Armleder bands, but unsuccessfully at the time of the *Black Death: by February 16, 1349, the Jewish community had been destroyed. The first synagogue (the courtyard of which was used in 1352 for the wheat market) stood on the former Rathausplaetzel, later the Place de la Republique; the *mikveh* was situated on the bank of the Moder, on the site of the present municipal hospital. In 1354, the Jews returned to Haguenau and formed a new community. A house (number 8 of the present Rue du Sel) was then used as a synagogue. A good deal of Hebrew type was used in books printed in Haguenau between 1517 and 1520, among them works by

*Reuchlin and *Melanchthon. In 1528, *Joseph (Josel) b. Gershom of Rosheim obtained from the emperor the abrogation of an expulsion order issued by the town. Haguenau subsequently became a refuge for the Jews of the surrounding district on various occasions. During the second half of the 17th century, several Jews who had fled from Poland settled there. From 1660, there has been a rabbi in Haguenau. Notable rabbis included Meyer Jaïs, later chief rabbi of Paris, who held office in Haguenau between 1933 and 1938.

The community of Haguenau consisted of 34 families in 1735, 64 in 1784, and 600 souls on the eve of World War II. Of these, 148 persons died in deportation or on the battlefield. In 1968, the community numbered about 300 and at the outset of the 21st century around 700. The present synagogue on the Rue des Juifs (plundered by the Nazis and later renovated) was erected in 1821. The cemetery is known to have existed from the 16th century, but it was probably established during the Middle Ages. For a long time, it also served all the Jews of the region. The oldest epitaph preserved there dates from 1654.

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[Bernhard Blumenkranz]

HA-ḤINNUKH (Heb. הַחִנּוּךְ; "the Education"), an anonymous work on the 613 precepts (see *Commandments, 613) in the order of their appearance in Scripture, giving their reasons and their laws in detail. The various attempts to identify the author have proved unsuccessful; the most widely held view is that he was *Aaron b. Joseph ha-Levi of Barcelona, the identification being based on an obscure allusion in the introduction: "A Jew of the house of Levi of Barcelona." From certain references in the book (precept 400) it has been concluded that the author was a pupil of Solomon b. Abraham *Adret. The first edition (Venice, 1523) gives "Rabbi Aaron" as the author. In the opinion of S.H. Kook the basis for this identification lies in the introduction to precept 95: "out of fear of drawing near to the tabernacle of the Lord, the levites my brethren [*aḥai*] were purified and Aaron offered them." The proofreader of the second edition (*ibid.*, 1600–01) in fact based himself on this passage but he is mistaken because it is the biblical Aaron who is referred to and the text should read: "and the levites after [*aḥar*] being purified" (cf. Num. 8:21). This identification was already questioned by Ḥ.J.D. Azulai and other scholars, who have shown it to be completely without foundation. Elsewhere the name of the author is given as Baruch (David ibn Zimra, *Meẓudat David*, precept 206). The book was compiled at the end of the 13th century. Some deduced the date of its composition from the date 1257 mentioned in precept 326 with reference to the sabbatical years, but the passage in question is taken from the novella of Solomon b. Abraham Adret to *Avodah Zarah* 9a. The Vatican library contains a manuscript written in 1313.

The name of the book is taken by some as referring to its educational aim, to which in fact the author alludes at the end of the introduction: "To touch the heart of my young son and his companions in that each week they will learn the precepts that are included in the weekly portion of the Law" (see also *Meẓudat David*, precept 397). This is the reason both for the order in which the commandments are given, and its contents, which are mainly for the purpose of study and not to give the *halakhah*. The work follows a definite pattern: (1) a definition of the essence of the precept; (2) its source in the Written Law and the connection with its development in the Oral Law; (3) the principles of the precept and its reasons; (4) its main details.

The book is mainly based on the *Sefer ha-Mitzvot* and the *Mishneh Torah* of Maimonides, at times whole sections being copied verbatim (precepts 173, 485). The author used Ibn Ḥasdai's Hebrew translation of the *Sefer ha-Mitzvot*. He also used the works of other authors, including those of Alfasi and chiefly of Adret and Naḥmanides. The uniqueness of the work lies in the section dealing with the explanation of the principles of the precepts, especially "the simple description" (precept 98). His explanations are based on common sense. His style and presentation are clear and understandable befitting its educational aim for youth and ordinary people. Many editions of the work have appeared. The best known is that containing the commentary *Minḥat Ḥinnukh* of Joseph *Babad. Other well-known authors to devote compositions to it include Judah *Rosanes and Isaiah *Pick. It has been issued according to the first edition with notes, variant readings, and an introduction by C.B. Chavel (1962^5).

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[Shlomoh Zalman Havlin]

HAHN, ALBERT L. (1889–1968), German banker and economist. Hahn was born in Frankfurt and during the 1920s joined the Deutsche Effekten-und Wechselbank, in which his family had a sizable interest. In 1929 he became professor of economics at the University of Frankfurt. In 1939 he went to the U.S. and taught at the New School for Social Research in New York. He left the U.S. in 1950 and eventually returned to his teaching career at Frankfurt University. Hahn's main concern was the theory of money and credit. He consistently advocated a stable currency as a prime social safeguard. His many publications include *Volkswirtschaftliche Theorie des Bankkredits* (1920), *Common Sense Economics* (1956), *Fuenfzig Jahre zwischen Inflation und Deflation* (1963), *Ein Traktat ueber Waeh-*

rungsreform (1964), and *Nationale und internationale Aspekte der amerikanischen Währungspolitik* (1966).

[Joachim O. Ronall]

HAHN, JOSEPH BEN MOSES (c. 1730–1803), German talmudic scholar. Hahn was *dayyan* of the *bet din* of the combined communities of Hamburg, Altona, and Wandsbeck and was beloved as the preacher in the old as well as in the new *klaus* in Hamburg which was renamed after him. In the *Emden-*Eybeschuetz controversy he sided with the latter. In 1789, Saul *Berlin, the ill-famed son of R. Ẓevi Hirsch Berlin, published under the nom de plume Obadiah b. Baruch, *Mizpeh Yokte'el*, a criticism of the *Torat Yekuti'el* (Berlin, 1772) of Raphael *Kohen, the famous rabbi of the three communities. Hahn presided over the *bet din* which excommunicated the author on the grounds of his having libeled ha-Kohen. In another case he ruled that the body of a Jewish woman, executed by the civil authorities for poisoning her mother-in-law and sister-in-law, should be reburied in a Jewish cemetery without religious qualification or restriction, as she had been mentally disturbed at the time. He was said to have had an encyclopedic mind and memory.

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[Marvin Tokayer]

HAHN (Nordlingen), JOSEPH YUSPA BEN PHINEHAS SELIGMANN (1570–1637), German rabbi and author. Hahn spent all his life in Frankfurt. He was present during the *Fettmilch riots, the subsequent expulsion of the Jews from the city in 1614, and their triumphant return two years later after Fettmilch was hanged. Hahn was head of the Frankfurt *bet din* and of the local yeshivah. When there was no other incumbent, he also filled the office of communal rabbi. Hahn was a contemporary and colleague of Isaiah *Horowitz (Shelah). Hahn is best known for his book *Yosif Omeẓ* (Frankfurt, 1723). In 1718, Joseph Kosman, one of Hahn's descendants, published his own *Noheg Ka-Ẓon Yosef* in Hanau, in which he quoted freely from his kinsman's work, sometimes without indicating his source. Hahn's *Yosif Omeẓ* deals mainly with the laws and customs of the Jewish calendar and liturgy, particularly those prevalent in contemporary Frankfurt. He quotes the custom of reciting the hymn "*Lekhah Dodi" on Friday evenings as a "new" one, recently introduced. Hahn deliberately substitutes his own phrases for those which, in the original, refer to "going out" to meet the Sabbath, since this custom obtained only in Ereẓ Israel, where the hymn was composed; the words he substituted retain the acrostic of the author's name. Hahn also voiced his displeasure at the new custom of delaying the commencement of the evening service on the first night of *Shavuot until a late hour.

The *Yosif Omeẓ* is a valuable source book for the history of the contemporary Frankfurt Jewish community. Hahn mentions, for instance, the local Purim (Adar 20), instituted to commemorate the hanging of Fettmilch (no. 1107–09). He also records the comparatively slight damage suffered by the community as a result of the passage of soldiers through the area during the Thirty Years' War. The *Yosif Omeẓ* is written in a pious vein, and the concluding chapters are devoted to ethics. In the sections on pedagogy, Hahn deplored the ignorance of the Bible prevalent among rabbis of his day. He suggested that a boy who showed no sign of progress in the study of the Talmud by the age of 13 be withdrawn from its study and taught Bible instead.

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[Alexander Tobias]

HAHN, KURT (1886–1974), German-British educator. Hahn was born in Berlin and educated at both German universities and Oxford. While in Germany he conceived the idea of a coeducational boarding school which would emphasise self-discipline, enterprise, and physical fitness. In the 1920s Hahn founded Salem school, in Germany near Lake Constance, to put his ideas into practice. Hahn was a conservative close to monarchist circles in Weimar Germany; through them, Hahn met relatives of the boy who would later become Britain's Prince Philip. Arrested by the Nazis just after they came to power, as a Jew Hahn quickly emigrated to Britain and, with influential backing, founded Gordonstoun school in Scotland, run along lines similar to Salem school. Prince Philip (b. 1923) and, later, Prince Charles (b. 1948) and his two brothers received parts of their education at Gordonstoun. Hahn's influence on British public (i.e., exclusive private) schools was considerable. After 1953 Hahn returned to Germany, where he died.

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[William D. Rubinstein (2nd ed.)]

HAHN, MICHAEL (1830–1886), governor of the state of Louisiana. Born in Bavaria, Germany, Hahn was brought to New Orleans, La., as a child and was admitted to the bar in 1851. During the Civil War he supported the Unionist cause and was elected to Congress in 1863. He became governor of Louisiana in the following year – the first Jewish governor in the U.S. Hahn resigned the governorship in 1865 following his election to the Senate but never took his seat. He returned to Congress as a Republican in 1884 and served until his death.

HAHN, REYNALDO (1875–1947), composer and conductor. Born in Caracas, Venezuela, Hahn studied under Massenet at the Paris Conservatory. He wrote several light operas and songs which recall Massenet's melodic charm. His compositions include eight operas and light operas, incidental music to plays, pantomimes, ballets (notably *Le Dieu bleu* (1912) for the Diaghilev Ballet), two symphonic poems, chamber music, songs, an oratorio *La Reine de Sheba* (1926), and a Christmas mystery *Pastorale de Noël* (1908). From 1935 Hahn was music critic of *Le Figaro*. In 1945 he was appointed director of the Paris Opera. His book of recollections, *Thèmes variés*, appeared in 1946.

HAI BAR RAV DAVID GAON, head of the *Pumbedita academy from 890 to 898. Hai was *dayyan* in Baghdad for many years before he became *gaon*; he transferred the academy of Pumbedita to Baghdad (*Sha'arei Simḥah* of R. Isaac *Ibn Ghayyat, 1 (1861), 63–64). None of his responsa has been preserved, but some of those attributed to R. "Hai" without further definition, may be his. Harkavy attributes the *Sefer ha-Shetarot* ("Book of Documents") to him, but Wertheimer, L. Ginzberg, and Assaf hold more plausibly that the author of the *Sefer ha-Shetarot* was the famous *Hai b. Sherira. Several early Karaite scholars attributed to Hai a book of polemics against the Karaites on the subject of the intercalation of the month and the arrangement of the calendar; many scholars believe that this was Hai b. David.

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[Mordecai Margaliot]

HAI BEN NAHSHON, *gaon* of *Sura from 885–896. Both Hai's father and paternal grandfather, Zadok, had preceded him as *geonim* of Sura. In one of the few of his responsa which have been preserved he opposes the recitation of *Kol Nidrei on the eve of the Day of Atonement, since in his opinion authority for the granting of absolution from vows is no longer to be obtained. It seems that the Karaite al-*Kirkisani was referring to Hai b. Nahshon when he wrote that the *gaon* Hai and his father translated the *Sefer ha-Mitzvot* of Anan from Aramaic to Hebrew. If any credence can be given to this statement it can only mean that they subjected the work to a critical examination, or that they translated it in order to dispute with him and challenge his views.

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[Mordecai Margaliot]

HAI BEN SHERIRA (939–1038), *gaon* of Pumbedita and molder of the *halakhah* and the most prominent figure of his time. Of his youth nothing is known. From 986 he was the *av bet din* in the academy of *Pumbedita, acting as the deputy to his father Sherira *gaon*; in this role he left his mark upon the mode of studies and general orientation of the academy. According to some, he had a share in composing the *Iggeret Rav Sherira* (see *Sherira). Some time after he and his father had been released from prison, where they had been kept on a false charge, he became the *gaon* of Pumbedita, while his father was still alive, a position which he held for 40 years (998–1038). Although his position had been vied for by Samuel b. Hophni the latter withdrew his claim to the gaonate when Hai married his daughter. Students came to Hai's academy from Byzantium and from western Christian countries, from where queries were also sent to Hai. His ties with Spain and his influence upon *Samuel ha-Nagid in particular are well known.

Aside from his preeminence in rabbinic knowledge, he was well acquainted with the Persian and Arabic languages and with Arabic literature. While he permitted children to be taught Arabic writing and arithmetic, he warned against the study of philosophy (from a letter ascribed to him and addressed to Samuel ha-Nagid). He criticized his father-in-law, Samuel b. Hophni, "and others like him, who frequently read the works of non-Jews."

Hai occupies a central position in the history of the **halakhah*. Later generations regarded him as the supreme authority, declaring that "he, more than all the *geonim*, propagated the Torah in Israel … both in the east and in the west.… No one among his predecessors can be compared to him, who was the last of the *geonim*" (Abraham *Ibn Daud, *Sefer ha-Kabbalah*). The measure of his influence and the volume of his responsa, decisions, and comments can be gauged from the fact that approximately a third of all extant geonic responsa are his (some of them in conjunction with his father).

In his writings Hai set out in detail his approach to the principles of faith and to the requirements of community leadership. In his *piyyutim* he expressed with much bitterness his sense of living in exile from Ereẓ Israel. He was a mystic, who ascribed sanctity to the **heikhalot* literature, believing that whoever studied it in holiness and purity could ascend to the world of the angels and of the divine chariot (*merkavah*). Contrary to the view of his father-in-law, he believed "that God performs signs and awe-inspiring acts through the righteous, even as He did through the prophets." But he vigorously opposed those who believed that the divine names and charms were efficacious in changing the course of nature, declaring emphatically that its laws cannot be modified by such means. Vehemently antagonistic to any tendency toward anthropomorphism, he maintained that anthropomorphic passages in the *aggadah* were to be interpreted metaphorically. In his formulation of the ideals and values of the complete Jew, he described the rewards for observing divine precepts. These rewards greet the righteous and form "groups that go to meet the Divine Presence" and say to the righteous: "Ascend to your grade, stand in your division (in heaven), you who have conquered your evil inclination … who have borne the yoke of the commandments, and in your fear of Him have endured suffering."

Hai drew special attention to the duty of the *dayyanim* to guide and admonish the people, to take responsibility for people's conduct and to be accountable for their sins. He demanded that strong measures be taken against dissenters and thieves, and under certain circumstances even permitted recourse to Jewish courts of law. He was opposed to the absolute annulment of vows on the eve of the Day of Atonement, his formulation of the **Kol Nidrei* prayer being: "Of all vows…

which we have vowed… and have omitted to fulfill either through neglect or under constraint we pray that the Lord of heaven may absolve and pardon us." He adopted a tolerant attitude towards traditional local liturgical practices, but was opposed to delving into the reasons for them, insisting on "the observance of institutions introduced by those superior to our generations in learning and in caliber" (lit. "number"). He retained his physical and mental energies to the end. At the age of 99, a few months before his death, he replied with remarkable vigor to questions submitted to him. After his death, Samuel ha-Nagid eulogized him, saying: "During his lifetime he acquired all the choicest wisdom," and though "he left no child, he has, in every land, both east and west, children whom he reared in the Torah" (*Ben Tehillim*, 11).

[Haim Hillel Ben-Sasson]

Of Hai's works the following are extant: (1) fragments of the Arabic original of *Sefer Shevu'ot* (*Kitāb al-Aymān*; "A Treatise on Oaths"), and a Hebrew rendering by an unknown translator of the entire work entitled *Mishpetei Shevu'ot* (Venice, 1602; Hamburg, 1782); (2) fragments of the Arabic original of *Sefer ha-Mikkaḥ ve-ha-Mimkar* (*Kitāb al-Shirā wa-al-Baye*; "Treatise on Commercial Transactions"). This, his chief literary production, was translated into Hebrew by Isaac *Al-Bargeloni (Venice, 1602; Vienna, 1800), and another version is extant in manuscript; (3) *Sefer ha-Shetarot* ("Treatise on Documents"), containing the texts of various documents, such as a *ketubbah*, a *get*, etc. (published by Assaf in *Tarbiz*, 1 (1930), supplement). Fragments of Hai's commentary on several tractates of the Babylonian Talmud have also been preserved. The ascription of certain other works to Hai has, in recent years, been rejected. (4) Hai wrote numerous responsa. In 1986, T. Groner published a complete bibliography of Hai's responsa and his other works as well (see *Alei Sefer* 13, 1986). (5) To aid the study of Arabic, Hai wrote *Kitab Al-Hawi*, a comprehensive Hebrew/Aramaic-Arabic anagrammatic dictionary. It was very popular and in use through the end of the 13th century. A. Maman published 10 of the 32 folios of the dictionary. Only three folios had been previously published. The rest was extant only in manuscript (see *Tarbiz* 69, 3 (2000), 341–422).

To Hai are ascribed some 25 poems, most of which are prayers, *seliḥot*, and *piyyutim*, a few of them didactic poems on laws and etiquette and eulogies of contemporary personalities. Most of these are in meter and rhyme, but in form and content reveal very little similarity to Arabic poetry. For poetic power, pride of place should be given to a group of five *seliḥot* (not *kinot*) for the Ninth of *Av; these are without meter and rhyme and voice a bitter and vehement complaint in the manner of Job against the suffering endured by the Jewish people in exile in the face of its great faith in God. Hai's authorship of several poems, and even the fact of his having written poetry at all, which was questioned in modern times (from the beginning of research into the poetry of the Middle Ages) has now been confirmed.

[Jacob S. Levinger / David Derovan (2nd ed.)]

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HAIDAMACKS, paramilitary bands that disrupted the social order in Polish Ukraine during the 18th century. The name originated from the Turkish word *haida* meaning "move on!" The Haidamack movement was mainly the outcome of the social ferment which had already developed in the Ukraine toward the end of the 16th century and reached a peak in the Cossack uprising led by *Chmielnicki in 1648. The Haidamacks were mainly peasant serfs who had fled from the Polish landowners to the steppes beyond the River Dnieper. They were joined by poorer elements among the townsmen, sons of the impoverished nobility and clergy, members of heretical sects who had fled from Russia, and even Jewish renegades. The Haidamacks ambushed travelers or attacked small settlements, not for political reasons but principally for robbery accompanied by murder. However, they unwittingly served the political ends of the Russian administrators and the Russian Orthodox clergy since their persistent attacks helped to erode the position of the Polish kingdom in this period.

The Haidamack bands are first mentioned in documents dating from the beginning of the 18th century, but received a strong impetus in 1734, when dissensions broke out among the Polish nobility over the election of a new king. In 1768 the most violent Haidamack outbreak took place, known as Koliivshchina or (in Polish) Kolizczyzna, headed by Maxim Zhelesnyak (see below), in which religious, national, and social elements combined. The expulsion of the Jews or their destruction had long been the avowed purpose of insurgents in the Ukraine in the period of Chmielnicki and even earlier. The monks, who were the chroniclers of the period and the recorders of popular tales, glorified murder of the Jews and confiscation of their property as if they were deeds of piety. In addition, the Jews were a convenient target to attack because the competition in trade and commerce with the townsmen was so keen that the latter showed no disposition to defend Jews and would even divulge the movements of Jewish merchants to the Haidamacks. Most of the Jews were helpless against the brigands, and the Polish state authorities were not always able to defend them. The propaganda of the Russian Orthodox priests only intensified the hatred against the Jews. In this area the rivalry between the clergy of the Orthodox and Catholic churches accounts for the sharp rise in the number of *blood libels against the Jews from the fourth to sixth decades of the 18th century precisely in the region where the Haidamacks were active.

Most of the attacks made by the Haidamacks against the Jews took the form of robbery and murder of merchants traveling on the highway and assaults on Jewish tenant farmers living in isolated places and on inhabitants of small defenseless towns. During the years when the revolts increased (1734, 1750, 1768) even heavily fortified places were attacked, claiming large numbers of Jewish victims: 27 Jews were slaughtered in Korsun in 1734; 35 were murdered in Pavoloch in 1736. In the same year the Haidamacks captured the town of Pogrebishche and murdered 14 Jews; many others were wounded and their property stolen. Massacres of Jews took place in various towns in 1738 and 1742. A wave of attacks was perpetrated in 1750: Jews were killed in Vinnitsa, Volodarka, and in other cities. But these calamities were overshadowed by the wholesale massacres that took place in 1768 (known as the persecutions of Ukraine or of *Uman). Initially, about 700 people were killed in the city of Fastov including many scores of Jews. In the townlet of Lysyanka a Jew, a Polish priest, and a dog were hanged side by side to indicate the equality of their respective religions.

Zheleznyak, an active leader of the gangs, massacred the Jews who had been unable to escape from Zhabotin, Kanyev, and Korsun before going on to the fortified city of Uman, to which many thousands of Poles and Jews had streamed from other places out of terror of the Haidamacks. The treachery of the Cossack commander Gonta led to the surrender of the city on June 19, 1768, and there ensued a frightful massacre of its inhabitants. The Jews attempted to hide but were unsuccessful. Some fought heroically until slain by the enemy. The majority of Jews were murdered in the synagogue. A number of prominent Jews, required to pay a ransom, were brutally murdered after they had complied. The number of Jewish victims ran into thousands, the slayers sparing neither women nor children. The synagogues were razed and the Torah scrolls desecrated and burned. According to some records the number of victims reached 20,000, both Poles and Jews. Some of the Jews in the surrounding districts who attempted to flee to the border city of Balta, half of which was situated in Turkish territory, were caught by brigands, who laid waste to the city. The Jews in the entire southeastern portion of Poland were seized with terror. They placed their hopes on the commander of the Polish army, Branicki, and a special prayer was composed in his honor. Although Branicki himself did not take part in the war against the Haidamacks, he had severely punished their leaders and was for this reason regarded by the Jews as the savior of Polish Jewry. The revolt was suppressed by the Russian and Polish troops. The rebels were tried by Polish punitive units and the Haidamack movement came to an end. The memory of the Haidamacks lingered in Ukrainian lore and entered the national literature (*Haydamaky* (1841), by Taras Shevchenko). It became a legacy of the Ukrainian national movement, and the Ukrainian partisan bands that perpetrated pogroms on the Jewish population in 1919–20 and 1941–44 were referred to as Haidamacks.

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[Shmuel Ettinger]

HAIFA (Heb. חֵיפָה), port in Israel and commercial and administrative center of the north of the country. The city extends over the northwest side of Mt. Carmel and the coastal strip at its northern slope, and over the southern end of the Zebulun Valley and the northern edge of the Carmel Coast. Its total area is about 23 sq. mi. (60 sq. km.).

Early History

The earliest settlement in Haifa's vicinity was located at Tell Abu Hawam, a small port town founded at the beginning of the 14th century B.C.E. (Late Bronze Age) and was in existence until the Hellenistic period. The city was not a part of the area regarded as sanctified by the exiles returning from Babylon (see *Israel, Historical Boundaries). Haifa is possibly mentioned in the Persian period in the list of cities attributed to the geographer Scylax, between the bay and the "Promontory of Zeus," i.e., the Carmel. In the Hellenistic period the city moved to a new site, south of Bat Gallim (the old port had apparently become blocked by sand). Tombs from the Roman period, including Jewish burial caves, have been found in the vicinity. The major city in the region was Shikmonah, which Eusebius even identifies with Haifa (*Onomastikon*, ed. by E. Klostermann (1904), 108:31). Haifa is mentioned in Jewish sources as the home of R. Avdimos (Avdimi, Dimi) and other scholars (Tosef., Yev. 6:8). It was a fishing village whose inhabitants, like the people of Beth-Shean and Tivon, could not distinguish between the pronunciation of the gutturals *ḥet* and *ayin* (TJ, Ber. 2:4). According to the Talmud, the murex (shellfish yielding purple dye used for the *tallit*) was caught along the coast from Haifa to the Ladder of Tyre (Shab. 26a). Politically Haifa throughout this period belonged to the district of *Acre. Its Jewish inhabitants were on hostile terms with the Samaritans in neighboring Castra, a fortress built by the Romans. A *kinah* speaks of the destruction of the Jewish community, along with other communities, when the Byzantines reconquered the country from the Persians in 628. Haifa is not mentioned in the sources dealing with the first 400 years of Muslim rule in Ereẓ Israel. It appears again only in the mid-11th century: in 1046 the Persian traveler Nasir-i Khusrau relates that large sailing ships were built there. He also mentions date palms that he found there and the sand used by goldsmiths. In 1084, the *gaon* *Elijah ben Solomon ha-Kohen went from Tyre to Haifa to proclaim the New Year on the soil of Ereẓ Israel and to renew the ordination of rabbis and the gaonate there.

On the eve of the First Crusade Haifa is described as an important and well-fortified city. The Crusaders pushing southward initially spared the city but later laid siege and conquered it with the help of the Venetian navy (summer 1100). All Haifa's Jewish defenders (who comprised the majority of the city's population) and its Egyptian garrison were slaughtered, bringing to an end another brief but flourishing chapter in Haifa's history. During the Crusader era Jews apparently did not resettle in Haifa. The city remained a small fortress and an insignificant port under the shadow of its mighty neighbors, *Acre and *Caesarea; during this period it was the capital of a seigniory held by a Crusader family, Garcia Alvarez. The fortress of Haifa was destroyed in 1187 when Saladin dealt a crushing blow to Crusader rule. It was returned under the peace treaty of 1192 to the Franks during the Third Crusade (1192–1265). In the mid-13th century the city's fortifications were rebuilt by Louis IX, king of France, but in 1265 Haifa again fell, this time to the Mamluk Sultan Baybars who drove the remaining Crusaders from the country. During Baybars' systematic destruction of the coastal cities of Ereẓ Israel and Syria (to prevent their reoccupation by the Franks), Haifa was also razed (1291) and did not revive throughout the period of *Mamluk rule. The Carmelite Order was founded on Mt. Carmel in 1156, but the monastery was destroyed by the Muslims in 1291. From the time of its conquest by the Muslims until the 15th century, Haifa was either uninhabited or an unfortified small village. At various times there were a few Jews living there, and both Jews and Christians made pilgrimages to Elijah's cave on Mt. Carmel.

Ottoman Rule

Haifa was apparently deserted at the time of the *Ottoman conquest (1516). The first indication of its resettlement is contained in a description by the German traveler Raowulf who visited Ereẓ Israel in 1575. Haifa is subsequently mentioned in accounts of travelers as a half-ruined, impoverished village with few inhabitants. The expansion of commercial trade between Europe and Ereẓ Israel from the beginning of the 17th century improved Haifa's position. More and more boats began anchoring at the safer Haifa port in preference to the plugged-up bay at Acre. Haifa's revival as a flourishing port city is also to be credited to the emirs of the Turabay family, who ruled part of Ereẓ Israel at that time, and also Haifa. These local rulers also gave permission to the Carmelite monks to reestablish themselves in 1631, but only four years later the Muslims turned their church into a mosque. Later the monastery was rebuilt; in 1775 it was ransacked, and in 1821 it was destroyed by Abdullah, pasha of Acre. It was reestablished in 1828 and exists to this day.

At the beginning of the 18th century a new local ruler Zahir al-ʿUmar gained control of northern Ereẓ Israel and set up his capital in Acre. In 1742 Haifa again came into existence as a village or a small town located at the foot of Mt. Carmel near the present-day Bat Gallim quarter. It had a small Jewish community and a synagogue. In the middle of the century Zahir annexed Haifa as well. Unfortified and spread over a wide and vulnerable plain, Haifa was almost captured in 1761 by the Turks. To prevent its falling into his enemies' hands, Zahir ordered his soldiers to raze the city to the ground and scatter boulders in the anchorage; thus the ancient city of Haifa was demolished. Zahir provided his growing capital with a safe alternative port of call 1⅓ mi. (2 km.) southeast of ancient Haifa, on a strip of coast at the foot of the Carmel at an easily defensible point. Unlike the ancient city of Haifa, the new port was situated on the crossroad from Acre to *Jaffa. Zahir walled in the area and built another fortress on the slope above (known as the Burj, located on the site of Castrum Samaritanorum). The new city of Haifa grew up within these walls – retaining its old name.

18th–19th Centuries

Haifa gradually recovered and increased from an estimated 250 settlers in old Haifa at the beginning of the 18th century to 4,000 a century later. R. Naḥman of Bratslav spent Rosh Ha-Shanah of 5559 (1798) with the small Jewish community of Haifa. The composition of the population changed, mainly due to the growing influence of the Carmelite monks, so that in 1840 about 40% of the city's inhabitants were Christian Arabs living alongside the Muslim majority. Despite severe difficulties and opposition from the local inhabitants and the authorities, the Carmelite monks, with the aid of France, managed to hold on to the dark crypts above "Elijah's Cave" and also erected nearby the Stella Maris monastery. Its cornerstone was laid in 1827 and construction was carried out without incident under the Egyptian rule in force in Ereẓ Israel at that time (1831–40) which was well-disposed to Christians in general and especially to those under French protection.

The Egyptian conquest of Ereẓ Israel lent much impetus to Haifa's development, which was especially to the disadvantage of its rival Acre. The steamboats, which made their appearance at this time in eastern Mediterranean ports and contributed to the economic rebirth of Ereẓ Israel, used Haifa rather than Acre as their port of call. The consular representatives therefore began leaving Acre (which was also dominated by Muslim extremism) to settle in Haifa, with its large Christian population and better climate; the latter took over more and more of Acre's export trade, which had consisted largely of grain, cotton, and sesame seeds. In 1858 the walled city of Haifa was already overcrowded and the first houses began to be built outside the ancient city on the mountain slope. Ten years later the first German Templers arrived in the country from Wuerttemberg and built a colony, which became a model residential suburb, just west of Haifa. The members of this sect made important contributions to Haifa's development – they introduced the stagecoach, paved roads, and set up a regular coach service to Acre and Nazareth. The Templers also established Haifa's first industrial enterprises and applied modern methods in agriculture, crafts, and commerce. Toward the end of the century the Germans enlarged their settlement and built the first residential quarter on the top of the Carmel (near the present-day Merkaz ha-Carmel). In 1905 Haifa's position and importance was further strengthened when it was connected up with the Hejaz railroad which was then being laid between Damascus and the Arabian Peninsula; most of the exports from the fertile lands of the Hauran now passed through Haifa.

Revival of Jewish Settlement

Haifa's Jewish community expanded gradually. Very few Jews had apparently settled there when the ancient city was rebuilt at the beginning of Turkish rule. In 1742 it contained a small Jewish community, composed mainly of immigrants from Morocco and Algeria. In 1839 there were 124 Jews in Haifa; in 1864, 384; in 1871, 760; and in 1901, 1,041. Up to this time North African Jews still comprised the majority of the community, which also contained some Sephardi Jews from Turkey and a few Ashkenazim. (In 1917 the number of Jews rose to 1,400 of whom a third were of North African origin, a third Sephardi, and a third Ashkenazi.) In the last quarter of the century, the Jews comprised about one-eighth of the total population. They lived in the *Ḥarat al-Yahūd* ("Jewish quarter") inside the poor Muslim district in the eastern part of the lower city. Most of them barely subsisted by petty trade and peddling in Haifa or nearby villages. The importance of the Jewish community in the city increased with the arrival of members of the First and Second Aliyah from Eastern Europe, mostly from Russia. From the 1880s onward, and especially in the early 20th century, extensive Jewish commercial and industrial activity sprang up. During his visit to Ereẓ Israel in 1898–99, Theodor Herzl recognized Haifa's numerous potentialities as the future chief port and an important inland road junction. In his *Altneuland* (1902), the description of Haifa occupies a central place in his vision of rebuilt Israel. The laying of the cornerstone of the *Technion in 1912 marked the high point of the intensified Jewish activities and was a signal for further development projects.

On the eve of World War I, Haifa, with more than 20,000 inhabitants and a constantly expanding export-import trade, was the key city of northern Ereẓ Israel. A progressive European minority added to its cosmopolitan character and an extensive network of schools, most of them Catholic, provided a high standard of education. New residential quarters were added in the east and west and on the southern slopes of the Carmel and eventually embraced the ancient site of the city.

British Mandate Period

On September 23, 1918, after four centuries of Ottoman rule, Haifa was captured in fierce battles by the British forces. During the British Mandate, Haifa rapidly grew into a large modern city in which the Jewish population played an increasingly predominant role. In 1919 the Haifa-Lydda railroad was added to the narrow gauge Haifa-Ẓemaḥ-Dara line. In the 1920s and 1930s the road network which linked up the various parts of Haifa was greatly improved and extended.

The 1922 census recorded a population of 25,000 in Haifa, of whom more than 9,000 were Muslims, slightly fewer Christian Arabs, and more than 6,000 Jews. According to the 1931 census, it contained 50,403 residents, including about 20,000 Muslims, 15,923 Jews, and about 14,000 Christians. By 1944 the number of inhabitants had grown to 128,000 of whom 66,000 were Jewish, 35,940 Muslim, 26,570 Christian, and 3,000 Bahais. At the end of the Mandate (1948) the Jews comprised nearly two-thirds of the population (about 100,000 out of 150,000). The completion of the large harbor in 1934 produced a great burst of prosperity and Haifa became the main and practically only port of international repute in Ereẓ Israel, taking precedence over Jaffa. Haifa's economy was further strengthened by the completion in 1939 of the oil pipeline from Iraq to its Mediterranean terminus at Haifa and the large oil refineries near the city. At this time the port facilities encouraged many new industries, some of them the largest in the country (textiles, glass, bricks, petroleum products, cement, metal, ceramics, etc.), in Haifa and the vicinity, especially in the Zebulun Valley. Tension between the city's Arab and Jewish residents, in the Mandate period, however, impeded Haifa's development. The riots of 1936–39 in particular adversely affected the city's economy and business dwindled between the conflicting sides as well as trade with Syria and Lebanon. The Arab population, mainly concentrated in the lower city, obstructed the Jews on their way to the adjoining industrial areas and to the port and services adjacent to it (marine shipping companies, banks, transport, insurance, etc.), as more and more Jews from the 1920s onward settled in the Hadar ha-Carmel section (the continuation of the Herzliyyah district founded before World War I). Hadar ha-Carmel developed rapidly around the Technion, which was inaugurated in 1925. The Mandate authorities granted some municipal autonomy to the new Jewish quarter. The Jewish settlement in this period also climbed higher up the slope around Merkaz ha-Carmel, in the Aḥuzzat Herbert Samuel quarter, and in Neveh Sha'anan. When the land in the Zebulun Valley on the coast of the bay was purchased in 1928, the Zionist movement made its first venture into comprehensive urban planning, for which it engaged the British city planner Patrick Abercrombie. The area stretching from the southeast corner of the bay up to Acre was divided into functional regions – an industrial zone in the south near the port; a residential area in the center in which from 1930 onward the Kerayot were built (Kiryat Ḥayyim, Kiryat Bialik, Kiryat Motzkin, Kiryat Yam); and an agricultural belt in the north.

Toward the end of the British Mandate, both the Jews and the Arabs attempted to gain control over the city. The hostilities which broke out at the end of 1947 reached a peak on April 21–22, 1948, when the British suddenly decided to evacuate the city. In a lightning military action, the Haganah captured the Arab quarters and took over the city. Only about 3,000 of Haifa's 50,000 Arab residents chose to remain in the city; the rest, in response to the Arab High Command's orders, refused to accept Jewish rule and abandoned their homes.

In the State of Israel

Late in 1948 Haifa's population numbered 97,544, of whom 96% were Jews. At the end of 1950 there were 140,000 inhabitants; at the end of 1952, 150,600; at the end of 1955, 158,700; in 1961, 183,021; and at the end of 1967, 209,900. In the mid-1990s, the population was approximately 246,500, including 35,000 new immigrants. At the end of 2002 the population of was Haifa 270,800, making it the third largest city in Israel after Jerusalem and Tel Aviv. Of Haifa's non-Jewish population, 10% are Arabs, 60% of them Christian and 30% Muslim.

The built-up area of Haifa continued to expand along the shore area and on the slopes and ridges of the Carmel. The lower city (whose former nucleus had been largely left in ruins in 1948) was rebuilt as the "City" – Haifa's main business section. The population density on Hadar ha-Carmel (also a center for retail trade, services, and entertainment) increased until residents started moving to the upper Carmel. Housing projects on a large scale were erected, including extensive suburbs such as Kiryat Eliezer on the coast and southern Romemah on a ridge of the Carmel. Later, other neighborhoods sprung up on the upper Carmel, including Aḥuza, Carmelia, Vardia, and Denia (private homes on the southern slopes of the Carmel).

In the 1950s and 1960s a number of changes were made in the functional arrangement of the city with Haifa and Acre being conceived as the axes of a comprehensive regional scheme. In the Haifa Bay area the industrial zone extended north along the coastal dune strip up to Acre and included "Steel City." Residential quarters were built east of this zone. On Mt. Carmel the crest and narrow spurs branching off to the west and east were reserved for building and parks and orchards fill the gorges. Downtown Haifa extended westward, spilling over southward into the Carmel Coast area. After the establishment of the State of Israel, the port was greatly expanded and modernized and became the home port of Israel's fast-growing navy. The piers were tripled in number, the water level deepened, and many port facilities added, such as the Dagon storage silos with a 75,000 ton capacity. In 1954 an auxiliary port was built at the Kishon River outlet, its pier was lengthened in 1964 to 2,099 ft. (640 m.). A shipyard for building and repairing ships, a floating dock, and a jetty for Israel's fishing fleet were also built in the Kishon area (1959). Haifa continued to be almost the exclusive embarkation and debarkation sea point in Israel

Haifa's industry continued expanding in this period, especially in the bay area. Two factories in Israel for the production and assembly of cars were set up there, as well as large chemical and petrochemical industries, an industrial and craft center, a plant for producing organic fertilizers from waste, a plant for purifying sewage water, and numerous other industrial enterprises. Also located in Haifa are the national offices of the Israel Railways (including their large workshops), the Israel Electric Company, Solel Boneh (Israel's largest contracting company), Zim (the largest shipping company), and others. Employment in the port area, which provided work for a tenth of the city's population, and in Haifa's varied industry, drew a very large labor force to the city, which is the best organized in the country. From the 1980s, the southern outskirts of the city began to be developed as an economic center for hi-tech companies, including branches of some the world's largest corporations, such as Intel, Microsoft, and Elbit (an Israeli firm manufacturing weapons systems). Nearby there is a transportation center, including both a railroad station and main bus terminal. From 1951 until his death in 1969, the mayor of Haifa was Abba *Khoushi, formerly the secretary of the Haifa labor council. He did much to develop and beautify the city.

The *Bahai sect, with its world center in Haifa, built a gold-domed sanctuary and cultivated one of the finest and largest gardens in the country. In 1987 the Bahais begin to enlarge the gardens, added 18 hanging gardens running for a kilometer along the slopes of the mountain and thus linking the upper part of the mountain with the lower part. In addition, the Bahais built other buildings, among them a library and administrative building. Another unique feature of the city is the Carmelit, Israel's only subway, which was set up in 1959.

The educational system has received particular attention. Haifa University College (see *Haifa, University of) was founded in 1963 by the municipality under the academic supervision of the *Hebrew University. It was granted independent status and in 1970 it offered courses in the humanities and social sciences and had a department for training high school teachers. Enrollment in 1969/70 totaled 3,600 and the academic staff numbered 340. In 1967 the college was transferred to the university campus (designed by the architect Oscar Niemeyer) on the summit of the Carmel. In the early years of the 21st century Haifa University had approximately 13,000 students. The university is under continuous expansion, adding new departments each year. The *Technion has another 13,000 students, studying engineering and the exact and life sciences. Various cultural and social centers, public buildings, and museums have been built to house among other things the National Science Museum, the Railroad Museum, the Naval Museum, the Museum of Modern Art, the Japanese Art Pavilion, the *Haifa Municipal Theater, and the Haifa Symphony Orchestra. In addition, Haifa has a zoo and nature and prehistoric museum. One of the best-known community centers is the James de Rothschild Center. In 1963 a Jewish-Arab youth center, Bet Gefen, was opened through the efforts of Abba Khoushi, to help integrate the minority youth. The city of Haifa hosts three yearly festivals: an international film festival during the Sukkot holiday, a children's theater festival on Passover, and the Holiday of Holidays in December corresponding to the three religions holidays of the season: the Jewish Hanukkah, the Muslim Ramadan, and the Christian Christmas.

Haifa has not been immune to terrorist attacks. Four suicide bombings in 2001–2003 claimed dozens of lives and injured nearly 200 people.

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[Alex Carmel / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

HAIFA, UNIVERSITY OF. In 1970, the name of Haifa University College, founded in 1963, was officially changed to "University of Haifa" and in 1972 the Council for Higher Education granted the university full academic accreditation, including the right to award a B.A. degree in 24 departments and an M.A. in 12. The university, which is located on the Carmel Mountains, high above the city of Haifa, has faculties of Humanities and Social Sciences, Law, Science and Science Education, Social Welfare and Health Studies, Education, a graduate school for Business Administration, and a Center for Maritime Studies. It has about 13,000 students and 40 research centers in various fields. The Oranim Teachers' College and the Ohel Sarah College of the Emek became branches of the university. Subsequently the Ohel Sarah College became the independent Emek Jezreel College while the Oranim Teachers College continued partially to cooperate with the university in various fields of study. In 1984 the Hecht Museum, named for Reuven and Edith Hecht, was established on the campus. The museum exhibits Reuven Hecht's collections of Ereẓ Israel archeology and modern art. The university also runs an overseas study program for students from all over the world who wish to study in Israel. The library, which is situated in a specially designed modernistic unit, includes 700,000 volumes and has pioneered the use of computers for preparation of bibliographies and bibliographic data. It also includes material for psychological tests and audio-visual material. The Haifa campus houses the IBM building, thus enabling the university to cooperate with the high-tech industry.

WEBSITE: www.haifa.ac.il.

[Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

HAIFA MUNICIPAL THEATER, Haifa repertory company, founded in 1961 by the Haifa Municipality. It was the first theater in Israel to be initiated by a public body, as well as the first with a paying membership (subscribers were guaranteed five new productions each season). The theater was warmly welcomed by residents of Haifa, and from its inception had 12,000 subscribers. Unlike other theaters in Israel, the Haifa Municipal Theater began in a magnificent building with up-to-date stage equipment and a municipal subsidy which guaranteed its solvency. Its budget in 1967 was IL2 million, of which IL420,000 was subsidy. However, since there had never been a theater in Haifa before, it had difficulty in recruiting actors. Despite this handicap, it succeeded in presenting several excellent productions, among them Berthold Brecht's *The Caucasian Chalk Circle*, which was performed with great success in Israel in 1962 and at the Venice Festival in 1963, and Shakespeare's *Richard III* (1966), both staged by the Haifa Municipal Theater's first artistic director, Yosef *Millo. The repertoire of the Haifa Municipal Theater consists of classical, contemporary, and original Hebrew plays. In 1970 it recruited the avant-garde group of young actors and directors, led by Oded Kotler, who constituted *Bimat ha-Saḥkanim*. The 1970s were the golden age of Israeli theater, and the theater preformed plays by Yehosuha *Sobol, Hanoch *Levin, Hillel *Mittelpunkt, Yosef Bar-Yosef, Yaakov *Shabtai, and others. During these years Nola Chelton and a group of actors called the Project Group joined the theater and preformed several major plays. After Kotler, the theater was led by Amnon Maskin and later by Omri Nizzan and Noam Semel. Under their management the theater focused on Jewish-Israeli plays, the best-known being Sobol's *Ghetto* and *Jewish Soul*. *Jewish Soul* was the first Israeli play to participate in the Edinburgh Festival. *Ghetto* was shown at the Berlin Festival in the presence of the president of Germany. Later, both plays were shown at other international festivals. In 1987 the theater established a stage for plays in Arabic. In 1988 the theater found itself in the midst of public controversy over Sobol's politically charged *Jerusalem Syndrome*, a play written for Israel's 40th anniversary. The controversy led to the resignation of Sobol and Gedaliah Besser, the artistic directors. In 1990 Oded Kotler was reappointed to head the theater, a position he held until 1997. The theater continued to perform Israeli plays alongside foreign ones, but later faced financial problems, lost many subscribers, and failed to perform significant plays.

WEBSITE: www.haifa-theatre.co.il/mainPage.html

[Mendel Kohansky / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

HAILPERIN, HERMAN (1899–1973). U.S. Conservative rabbi and author. Hailperin was born in Newark, New Jersey, and educated in New York City, where he earned his B.A. from New York University (1919) and was ordained at the *Jewish Theological Seminary (1922). In 1933, he received his Ph.D. from the University of Pittsburgh, where he had arrived in 1922 to become the rabbi of the Tree of Life Congregation. Hailperin transformed the venerable synagogue (founded in the 1860s) into a model Conservative synagogue-center, while instituting a number of innovations more in line with Reform practice, such as the playing of an organ during worship services and abolishing the observance of the second day of festivals. His actions – which were rewarded by his congregation with a life contract – represented a challenge to the authority of the *Rabbinical Assembly, which had decreed that Conservative Judaism would attempt to revitalize the custom of *Yom Tov Sheni* (observing two days of major festivals in the Diaspora). Faced with the alternatives of either disciplining Hailperin – a former member of the RA's Executive Committee and Committee on Jewish Law and Standards – or abandoning its policy that decisions were binding on all members, the RA elected to relax its policy of binding decisions.

A scholar in the field of medieval philosophy and theology, Hailperin also taught Jewish history at the University of Pittsburgh and Duquesne University. He wrote three books: *A Rabbi Teaches: A Collection of Addresses and Sermons* (1939, commemorating the octocentennial of the birth of Maimonides); *Rashi and the Christian Scholars* (1963), an analysis of the influence of the Jewish sage's biblical commentary on medieval Christian scholars; and *The Three Great Religions: Their Theological and Cultural Affinities* (1978, posthumously).

[Bezalel Gordon (2nd ed.)]

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HAIMOVICI, MENDEL (1906–1973), Romanian mathematician. Born in Jassy, he completed his mathematical studies at the University in Jassy (1930). In 1932–33 he studied for his doctorate at the University of Rome, completing his thesis in 1933 in the field of the mechanics of fluids: "Sur l'écoulement des liquides pesants dans un plan vertical," presented in French to a committee headed by Tulio Levi-Civita. Upon his return to Jassy, Haimovici was appointed assistant lecturer at the Mathematical Seminary of the local university headed by Alexandru Myller, in the field of analytical geometry (1933–40). Excluded from the university by the racial laws during the Holocaust period, he returned to his position only after the collapse of the pro-Nazi regime, on August 23, 1944. In 1945 he became assistant professor, in 1946 full professor, and in 1948 chairman of the theoretical mechanics department at the university. In 1949 he became a corresponding member and in 1963 a full member of the Romanian Academy of Sciences, mathematical sciences section. In 1949 he became the director of the Mathematical Institute of the Jassy branch of the Romanian Academy of Sciences. Haimovici was a specialist in differential geometry and mathematical analysis. He made contributions to Finsler spaces, mechanics, theory of outer differential systems, and Pfaff systems of equations. He published numerous studies – books and articles – in these fields. His brother, ADOLF HAIMOVICI (1912–1993), was also a well-known mathematician, a specialist in geometry and professor of mathematical analysis at Jassy University.

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[Lucian-Zeev Herscovici (2nd ed)]

HAIMOWITZ, MORRIS JONAH (1881–1958), Yiddish writer. Born in Mir (Belorussia), where he studied at the yeshivah, he immigrated to the United States in 1902, spending the rest of his life in New York. He published his first story, "Blondzhendik" ("Erring," 1905) in the *Fraye Arbeter Shtime*, joined the literary group, Di *Yunge, and coedited their anthology *Yugend* (1907–8), in which he published his stories and essays. Later, he co-edited the miscellany *Literatur* (1910) and the almanac *Di Naye Heym* (1914). His novels about Jewish life in the U.S., and historical novels about Jesus and Shabbetai Ẓevi (*Yor 1666/426: Shabtay Tsvi in Shtambul,* "The Year 1666: Shabbetai Ẓevi in Istanbul," 1946), display a deep understanding of human nature and of historical events. In *Arum dem Man fun Natseres* ("Concerning the Man from Nazareth," 1924), he presented a novel interpretation and characterization of the early Christian movement and its leading personalities. He portrayed himself in the character of Levin in the novel *Oyfn Veg* ("En route," 1914).

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[Elias Schulman / Jerold C. Frakes (2nd ed.)]

HAINDORF, ALEXANDER (Zwi Hirsch ben Nessannel; 1784–1862), German educator and physician. In 1825 he founded at Muenster, Westphalia, an institution for the advancement of crafts among Jews and the training of teachers for Jewish elementary schools. An endowment by Haindorf's father-in-law enabled the school to train about 350 artisans in 50 years. The school had such an excellent reputation that the Prussian government permitted Christian pupils to attend it; in 1830 they outnumbered the Jews. One of Haindorf's aims was to promote the amalgamation of Judaism and Christianity, and in "slow and cautious imparting of Christian education" he saw a step in this direction.

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[Meir Lamed]

HAINOVITZ, ASHER (1939–), *hazzan*. Hainovitz was born in Jerusalem and studied *ḥazzanut* under Shelomo Zalman *Rivlin. He studied at the Jerusalem Rubin Academy of Music and later received his L.R.S.M. degree from the Royal Academy of Music of London. After serving as cantor in Bulawayo, Zimbabwe, Pretoria, and London he was appointed to the Central Yeshurun Synagogue in Jerusalem. He is the possessor of a sweet lyric tenor voice and has made the performance of Yiddish *lid* a specialty. Hainovitz is equally at home on stage and at the pulpit, both in Israel and abroad. He prides himself on being a *ba'al tefillah* ("master of prayer") at the pulpit. For the Rennanot Institute for Sacred Liturgical Music, he has recorded the entire *Ha-Yamim Ha-Nora'im nusaḥ* with organ accompaniment by Raymond *Goldstein. Other recordings include Yiddish song in *Ḥazzonim Zingt Yiddish.*

[Akiva Zimmerman / Raymond Goldstein (2nd ed.)]

HAITI, republic on the Caribbean island of Hispaniola, with a Jewish population of less than 30 persons (2002). Columbus landed there during his first voyage in 1492. In the second half of the 17th century the French gained control of the western part of the island of Hispaniola. By the treaty of Ryswich in 1607, Spain officially ceded this part of the Hispaniola to France which named it Saint Domingue or Haiti.

Individual Jews who left Dutch Brazil in 1654 used their expertise in sugar growing and settled on French plantations but never founded a congregation. The "Black Code" of 1685 ordering the expulsion of the Jews from the French islands caused them to leave Hispaniola. Only Jews holding special "Lettres patentes" could settle there. Most prominent were the members of the Jewish Gradis company, which had offices in Cap Francois (today's Cap Haitien), Sain Louis, Fond de l'isle a Vache, and Leogan. With the required permission, Jews arrived from Bayonne and Bordeaux (including the distinguished Mendes France family). They were joined by Jews from Curaçao, who settled mainly in Cap Francais (where they employed a cantor and a circumciser), Jeremie, Les Cayes, and in smaller numbers in Port au Prince. Jews also came from Jamaica and St. Thomas of the Virgin Islands. All of them were either Dutch, English, or Danish citizens. With the nomination of Jean Baptiste Charles Henry Hector Comte d'Estaing as governor of the French Windward Islands (Isles de Vent), the tolerable, semi-legal existence of the Jews in Haiti was put under the yoke of heavy taxation. Jews had to pay for the financing of infrastructure projects and for the maintenance of the army. An attempt was made to expel the Jews from Cap Francais.

In day-to-day life there was no real discrimination. Dr. Michel Lopez de Pas of Leogan was nominated as "Medecin du Roy" (Royal Physician), others were named as judges and to other public functions. Moron, a town of 12,000 in habitants, is named after the Curaçao Jew Simon Isaac Henriquez Moron, who owned a plantation there.

The Haitian slave rebellion at the end of the 18th century caused the exodus of the Jews to New Orleans, to other Caribbean islands, or to France. It is almost impossible to estimate the exact number of Jews residing legally or illegally in Haiti in the 18th century.

In the 1920s Jews from Syria and Lebanon, later joined by Jews from Germany and Eastern Europe, settled in Haiti. In time they numbered some 30 to 40 families, but no congregation was formed. With the unstable political and economic situation, in the 1990s only five or six families remained.

Relations of Haiti with Israel are usually friendly. In the 1970s Israel maintained an embassy in Port au Prince, which was later closed for financial reasons. In the early 21st century relations between the two countries were governed by non-resident ambassadors.

Israel's technical cooperation with Haiti is fruitful; Israel helped develop several regions in Haiti.

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[Mordechai Arbell (2nd ed.)]

HAJDU, ANDRÉ (1932–), Israeli composer, pianist, and ethnomusicologist. Born in Budapest, Hajdu studied composition and ethnomusicology with Kódaly at the Franz Liszt Academy. He spent two years among Hungarian gypsies collecting their songs. After the failure of the Hungarian uprising in 1956 he escaped to Paris, where he studied with *Milhaud and Messiaen. In the 1950s, Hajdu became acquainted with avant-garde music at the Darmstadt festivals, but preferred to compose in more traditional styles. In 1966, he immigrated to Israel, where he conducted research into ḥasidic music and taught composition at the Jerusalem Academy of Music and Dance, and later in the Department of Musicology at Bar-Ilan University, where he became a professor. In 2000 Hajdu was awarded the Israel Prize for his achievements in composition.

Hajdu composed in all major genres, including orchestral, chamber, and vocal music. His output includes many educational works, such as *The Milky Way* (1975–76), *Merry Feet* (1977), and *The Book of Challenges* (1991–99). Hajdu's style is pluralistic, and combines various tonal, modal, and post-tonal influences, with frequent use of humor and wit. This pluralism reflects Hajdu's personality, which he himself describes as full of contradictions, and his diverse background, as a religious Jew who grew up in an assimilated family.

Many of Hajdu's works are based on Jewish themes or texts, e.g, *Mishnayot* ("The Floating Tower"; 56 songs and choral pieces, 1971–73); *Teru'at Melekh* (for clarinet and strings, 1974) composed for Giora *Feldman; *The Prophet of Truth and the Prophet of Deceit* (for narrator and string orchestra, 1977); *Jonas* ("biblical opera," 1985–87); *Dreams of Spain* (cantata, 1991); *Kohelet* (for cello solo with three cellos, 1994). Among his other works are *Ludus Paschalis* (miniature opera, 1970), *Stories about Mischievous Children* (orchestra, 1976), *Instants suspendus* (for violin, 1978), *On Light and Depth* (for chamber orchestra, 1983–84), and *B.A.C.H.D.I.E.S.* (for instrumental ensemble, 2000). Hajdu published with M. Zakai, *Dialogue* (1999); and an essay: "Le théâtre intérieur: Eléments de mise en scène dans ma musique," in *Perspectives* (2003).

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[Yossi Goldenberg (2nd ed.)]

HAJDU, MIKLÓS (1879–1956), Hungarian journalist and author. Born in Gölle, Hajdu studied in Budapest. From 1897, he was on the editorial boards of *Budapesti Napló* ("Budapest Daily") and *A Nap* ("The Day"), later becoming editor of the latter. Bright in style, *A Nap* was the first "boulevard" type paper in Hungary. Hajdu had a keen interest in Jewish communal life and was one of the leaders of the liberal Isaiah Religious Society. He supported the Zionist cause before World War I and after the revolution of 1918 continued the struggle against assimilation within the framework of the Pest Neolog community. His literary works describe Jewish village life in western Hungary, and include *Gilead* (1914) and *Szeniczei Savuot* ("The Shavuot of Szenice," 1939). In 1939 he emigrated to Ereẓ Israel and settled in Tel Aviv.

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[Baruch Yaron]

HAJEK, MARKUS (1861–1941), laryngologist. Hajek, who was born in Yugoslavia, served in Vienna as assistant in the Rudolf Hospital and the University Polyclinic, and then became professor of laryngology at the University of Vienna. Hajek made fundamental contributions to anatomic, pathological, and clinical subjects in rhinolaryngology. He developed a systematic and scientific approach in the diagnosis and therapy of sinus ailments based on anatomical and pathological studies. He conducted studies on tuberculosis of the upper respiratory tract. He devised many practical instruments, suggested a new method of operation on frontal sinusitis, and improved the technique of extralaryngeal operations for cancer of the larynx. Hajek had to emigrate when the Nazis annexed Austria and died a destitute refugee in London. Among his publications are *Pathologie und Therapie der entzuendlichen Erkrankungen der Nebenhoehlen der Nase* (1899) which was translated into English in 1926, and *Syphilis of the Oral Cavity, Pharynx and Nasopharyngeal Cavity* (1928).

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[Suessmann Muntner]

HAJIM, JISRAEL (**Bohor**, also known as **Davico**; 1800–1880), author and printer; scion of a Sephardi family in Belgrade. Hajim lived in Vienna as well as Belgrade, where he belonged to the "Turkish" (i.e., Sephardi) Synagogue as *gabbai* and was also employed in the printing shops of Holzinger and Schmid, writing, editing, and typesetting Hebrew prayer books along with his own Ladino translations of the Psalms and other Biblical texts. He also produced an alphabetical guide for Jewish students called *Ḥinukh le-No'ar*. In the late 1830s he returned to Belgrade and worked for some 20 years as a Hebrew printer and editor in the print shop of the Serbian Prince Milosh. Hajim composed Judeo-Spanish or Ladino (sometimes referred to as Judesmo) introductions, translations, and commentaries on Hebrew texts. He is considered a pioneer in the literary usage of Ladino. He is credited with having declared: "*Byen avinturado sira il ki travajera nil ladinu*" ("Happy is he who writes in Ladino").

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[Zvi Loker (2nd ed.)]

HAJJĀJ (**Hagège**), **DANIEL** (1892–?), *Tunis-born publicist and Judeo-Arabic writer who immigrated to Paris in 1959. Hajjāj published, translated, adapted, and edited over 30 novels and worked on several local papers, while at the same time being employed in a series of professions – including pharmacist and typographer. Among his writings in Judeo-Arabic are "The Barber's Assistant" (1930), a short story followed by a collection of 1,000 Tunisian, Judeo-Arabic proverbs (*Mille proverbes tunisiens*), arranged in alphabetical order and "Tunisian Judeo-Arabic Literature" (1939), a survey of Judeo-Arabic literature and writers. He also founded and edited the scientific and artistic periodical *La Gaieté Tunisienne* (1913–15, 1933).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Attal, in: *Studies and Reports of the Ben Zvi Institute*, 3 (1960), 56–59, 46–48 (Heb. part).

[Robert Attal]

HAJNAL, ANNA (1907–1978), Hungarian poetess, writer, and translator, wife of I. *Keszi. Hajnal was born in Gyepűfűzes. In 1937–38 she was one of the editors of the literary journal *Argonauták* ("Argonaut"). Her poems are marked by perfection of form and metaphysical feeling. Her lyrical poems cover a wide area and include Jewish, especially biblical, themes, such as "*Tánc a frigyláda kőrű*" ("Dance Around the Ark of the Covenant") and "Job." The greatest of her Jewish poems, if not of all her poems, is certainly her long poem "Tiszta, tiszta, tiszta" ("Pure, Pure, Pure"), which she terms "a Jewish Dirge." It is a paraphrase of the ritual of **tohorah* (the traditional washing of the dead before burial). Both in form and in translation the poem is a masterpiece; the lyrical elements of the text, particularly of the Song of Songs and the thoughts of the mourners, are interwoven with unconventional inner dialogue. Among her published works mention should be made of her collected poems (1948); *Ébredj fel bennem álom* ("Wake Up My Innermost Dreams," 1935–48), and *Esõ esik-versek gyermekekenek* ("It Is Raining – Poems for Children," 1954).

[Baruch Yaron]

HAJÓS, ALFRÉD (1878–1955), architect and first Hungarian Olympic swimming champion (1896), designer of sports stadiums. His main project was the roofed swimming pool (1930) on Margaret Island in Budapest. Hajós was a convert to Christianity.

[Eva Kondor]

ḤAKAM AL, Baghdad family, members of which were rabbis of the community from the 18th to the 20th centuries. Moses Ḥayyim (1756–1837), rabbi and halakhic authority, was born in Baghdad. He served as rabbi of Basra for several years, and then—from 1787 until his death – as rabbi of Baghdad. The Jews of Baghdad continued to follow his decisions and takkanot. His novellae and sermons are scattered in the works of his contemporaries. ELIJAH BEN ḤAYYIM MOSES (1807–1859) was a rabbi, preacher, and kabbalist, and the author of *Midrash Eliyahu* (1862), a work on kabbalistic explanations of biblical and talmudic passages. He was also a wealthy and generous merchant. His son, JOSEPH ḤAYYIM (1833 (or 1835)–1909) was an outstanding scholar. His son JACOB (1854–1920), rabbi, kabbalist and preacher, succeeded his father (1909). He wrote: *Ẓiẓim u-Feraḥim* (1904), homilies on the Pentateuch and *Ze-*

khut Avot, which he appended to his father's work *Ḥasdei Avot* (1904). Several of his works, including responsa, and novellae on *aggadah*, are still in manuscript. Many of his novellae are scattered throughout his father's works. He was succeeded in turn by his son, DAVID.

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[Avraham David]

HA-KARMEL (Heb. הַכַּרְמֶל), Hebrew periodical published in Vilna under the editorship of S.J. *Fuenn. It first appeared as a weekly (1860–70) and later as a monthly (1871–80). *Ha-Karmel* was required by terms of its license to publish a Russian supplement. This supplement was a more extreme advocate of the enlightenment than its Hebrew equivalent. Fuenn was a moderate *maskil* who tried to bridge the gap between the traditionalist and liberal elements. He supported the policy of the Russian government toward the Jews, closer association of the Jews with the Russian nation and its culture, and advocated the transition to labor, especially agriculture. Among the contributors to *Ha-Karmel* were A.B. Lebensohn, Ẓ.H. Katzenellenbogen, M. Plungian, E. Zweifel, J. Eichenbaum, A.B. Gottlober, J.L. Gordon, Kalman Schulmann, J. Reifmann, A. Harkavy, Solomon Buber, S. Rubin, R.A. Braudes, and J.M. Pines. For a short time (1866–68), *Ha-Karmel's* editorial policy became more liberal and a number of articles by more radical authors appeared (A.U. Kovner, A.J. Paperna, and L. Kantor). Editorials came out in support of M.L. Lilienblum who also began to contribute to it. However, it soon resumed its more moderate course. The number of subscribers fluctuated between 300 and 500. *Ḥevrat Mefiẓei ha-Haskalah*, to which the periodical devoted much space from the time of the founding of that society (1863), supported *Ha-Karmel*, although not pleased with its moderate position. The literary level of the periodical was generally low, its language flowery, the poems (with the exception of those of J.L. Gordon) and stories few and poor, and the articles written in a cumbersome style. Permeated with a spirit of Russian patriotism, *Ha-Karmel* supported the Russification policy in the regions of Lithuania and Poland. The paper devoted much space to news of Jewish life in Vilna and its surroundings.

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[Yehuda Slutsky]

HAKDAMAH (Heb. הַקְדָּמָה), introduction to a book. The first known *hakdamah* is the introduction to the **Halakhot Gedolot*. In effect it is a sermon in praise of the Torah which its author saw fit to place at the beginning of his book as a preface. In medieval literature the *hakdamah* served as a literary genre and halakhic authors regarded themselves duty bound to attach a *hakdamah* to their works. Generally speaking the author in his *hakdamah* gives his motives for writing the book, and says something about its contents, but very often the *hakdamah* has important literary value of its own. Spanish and Italian authors also gave their *hakdamot* an aesthetic form by means of rhyme, meter, and even verses and complete poems, and some of them are literary gems. Especially noteworthy are those of Naḥmanides who wrote many fine *hakdamot*, of especial merit being those to his *Milḥamot ha-Shem* and his *Torat ha-Adam*. Some *hakdamot* are complete works, both in scope and in quality, and of these the introduction of Menahem b. Solomon *Meiri to his commentary *Beit ha-Beḥirah* on *Avot* is especially noteworthy. Occasionally the contents, purpose, and scope of the book cannot be fathomed without the *hakdamah*. Because the ordinary reader usually omits the reading of the *hakdamah*, some authors literally adjured copyists not to copy their works without the introduction, as did, for example, the author of **Ha-Ḥinukh*. So important was the *hakdamah* regarded that a popular proverb has it that "a book without a *hakdamah* is like a body without a *neshamah*" ("soul").

[Israel Moses Ta-Shma]

The *hakdamah* attained full development with Saadiah Gaon, in the tenth century. A systematic thinker, he found it necessary to explain what had motivated him to treat the particular subject he had chosen, thus laying the foundation of his thesis as well as apprising the reader of the content of the book he was presenting. He followed this pattern in his *siddur* and particularly in his philosophical work, the *Sefer ha-Emunot ve-ha-De'ot*. In his rather lengthy introduction he states that he wrote this book in order to resolve the doubts and confusions of his contemporaries concerning their traditional faith. The method followed by Saadiah Gaon was further developed and perfected by Moses Maimonides. He used his prefaces to certain orders, tractates, and chapters of the Mishnah, to sections of his great code, the *Mishneh Torah*, to expound his own philosophical ideas, in addition to elucidating such recondite subjects as the various degrees of ritual impurity dealt with in the order of *Tohorot* or the plants mentioned in the order of *Zera'im*. Thus, in the "Eight Chapters" prefacing his commentary on the tractate *Avot*, he unfolds a complete system of ethics, while in his introduction to the tenth chapter of the tractate *Sanhedrin*, where the afterlife is mentioned, he discusses resurrection, listing what he regards as the fundamentals of Jewish belief, the 13 "principles" of Judaism. Maimonides' philosophical magnum opus, the *Guide of the Perplexed*, has both a short dedicatory preface addressed to his favorite pupil for whom it was written, as well as a fairly extensive general introduction, outlining his understanding of the text of Scripture, which, according to him, cannot always be taken literally. He also cautions the reader not to judge the merit of his book by a few isolated statements but to consider it in its totality and with the same seriousness with which it was written. Among the medieval Jewish scholars whose prefaces to their works are worthy of note, Abraham ibn Ezra stands high on the list. In a rhymed introduction to his commentary on the Pentateuch, after dismissing as worthless four other methods of interpretation, he summarizes his own approach, namely that of a critical understanding of the biblical text, making use of all the aids of philology available, regardless of the conclusions to which such an approach may lead.

The prefaces of books by medieval Jewish authors started out, like those of the Muslim writers of the time, with praise of God. With the introduction of printing it became customary for publishers, editors, and even proofreaders to write prefaces asking the indulgence of the readers for typographical errors and mistakes due to other causes.

[Samuel Rosenblatt]

ḤAKETÍA, the Judeo-Spanish of North Africa. The Judeo-Spanish dialect spoken until two or three generations ago in the Jewish North African communities of *Morocco and *Algeria, and also the city Gibraltar, is known as Ḥaketía, Jaquetía, or Ḥakitíya. It is based on the language spoken by the Jews in *Spain before their expulsion. Ḥaketía is distinct from Judesmo, spoken in *Turkey and in the Balkans, hence its distinct name, the etymology of which is unknown – the root may be Arabic *ḥky* or *ḥkt* in the sense of speaking or conversing. The term thus applies only to the spoken dialect, which has borrowed many words from the neighboring Maghreb dialects, both Jewish and Muslim, and even from Spanish Arabic. This use of Arabic decreases with the rise in register, and may become negligible. So while the term Ḥaketía may be applied for convenience to the dialect as a whole, it must be remembered that the dialect also contains literary registers which use the general Judeo-Spanish koiné, namely Ladino, although Ḥaketía has its own distinct features. The most prominent is the high incidence of a velar-fricative realization [x] of the phoneme spelled in Hispanic Spanish with the letter "j" (*jota*) alongside the alternants characteristic of Judeo-Spanish, namely a voiced or voiceless post-alveolar sibilant [ʒ] or [ʃ].

In contrast with the Eastern Judesmo, Ḥaketía retained links with the Spanish of the Iberian Peninsula throughout the ages following the Expulsion because of its geographical proximity as well as Spanish and Portuguese presence in various North African coast cities: Ceuta, Melilla, Oran, Tangier, Arcila, and Larache. Its decline was greatly accelerated by the massive Spanish presence in Northern Morocco since 1860 when the city of Tetuan was conquered by Spain for two years, and more so since the establishment of the Protectorate in 1912. The intensive daily interaction between the entire Jewish population (not just merchants and the like) and the Spaniards greatly accelerated the transition from a "Hispanicized" form of Ḥaketía to almost pure Spanish. Sons of Ḥaketía speakers began to restrict their dialect to domestic circles (home and community) and to defined functions. In the resulting diglossia, Ḥaketía was the Low variety. This state of affairs was due to the threat, perceived by the young generation, of Ḥaketía to their linguistic image, as they were aspiring for education, progress, and cultural emancipation. Most of them did indeed achieve this goal, and modern Spanish, with all its assets, became their primary language. Today Ḥaketía remains in partial usage, limited to certain registers in the speech of these community members, most of whom have since emigrated from Morocco to Israel or to various Western countries. At this distance it seems Ḥaketía no longer poses a threat; it is no longer regarded as broken Spanish but rather as a language in its own right, with its own merits and history. Now people have begun to relive it, reconstruct some of its usages, and compose and act plays in it, albeit restricted to humoristic genres; Ḥaketía will probably never again be used in serious contexts.

The first to write a detailed, scientific account of the dialect was Joseph Benoliel in the 1920s. Most of what we know about Ḥaketía today is based on this account. Benoliel has salvaged much material belonging to the cultural tradition (oral texts, proverbs, etc.), grammar (phonology and morphology), and lexicon. He remembered the dialect as he had heard it in the second half of the 19th century, when it was still in current, spontaneous use. Respanification was already in progress, as was later verified with the discovery of the 1861–1875 protocols of the Tangier community committee, which showed many influences from Standard Spanish. Admittedly, these protocols represent an official register, but Spanish influence was also found in manuscripts of folktales and chronicles from the beginning of the 19th century.

Judeo-Arabic was also current in these communities. Judeo-Spanish/Judeo-Arabic bilingualism may explain the high portion of Arabic words in Ḥaketía. Further research could ascertain whether bilingualism was a communal or individual phenomenon, whether it was limited to men or included women, to what extent and what purposes each dialect served, whether a certain kind of diglossia emerged, and what part was played by *forasteros* ("strangers," i.e., immigrants from other Moroccan communities). The massive shift to modern Spanish in these communities can only be explained if we assume that the Arabic element was secondary in their speech. Further proof of that is the suppression of any Arabic elements as soon as the register was raised. High-register Ḥaketía is not represented in literary works, which are nonexistent in this dialect; it occurs rather in religious sermons, miscellaneous manuscripts, and prescriptive essays, such as *Dat Yehudit* ("Jewish Religion"), introducing women to their specific observance practices, by Abraham Laredo and Isaac Halevy, first printed in Livorno in 1827.

Scholars of both Spanish and non-Spanish origin have shown an interest in Ḥaketía (see bibliography). Important research has been conducted in academic institutions such as the Arias Montano Institute in Madrid, subsequently the CSIC (Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas). Most of the researchers, of cultural-historical orientation, were keen to collect documentation of the oral-literary tradition, romances, coplas, elegies, wedding songs, etc. These collections represent a high linguistic register, inclining towards "pure" Spanish, both old and new. Therefore the picture they supply of vernacular Ḥaketía is only partial. Most of the dialectal research conducted so far has concentrated on its description as a Romance language. The Arabic element is still unexplored, and the Hebrew element only partially studied. One major advantage of Benoliel's works is his concept of the dialect as a living vernacular, not just a literary language. Similarly, Iacob Hassan, who has dedicated a large number of studies to revision and analysis of literary texts, shows a keen interest in aspects of the vernacular. Both these scholars are also distinguished in their study of the Hebrew element in Ḥaketía.

Noteworthy fieldwork has been conducted by Alegria Bendelac, who interviewed and recorded hundreds of informants, publishing her studies in three volumes. Bendelac's *Los Nuestros…* (1987) is a book aspiring to sketch a portrait of the Ḥaketiphonic community in its native land by means of scores of transcribed texts acquired at recorded interviews. These texts reflect the spoken, everyday dialect in its diversity and registers. Bendelac's *Voces Jaquetiescas* (1990) is a kind of glossary of Ḥaketian expressions, where the writer notes that, despite its far-reaching overlap with Standard Spanish, it is still "alive and kicking," especially by virtue of its distinct intonation, phraseology, and connotations. In 1995 Bendelac published a dictionary that comprises not only what the writer found in Benoliel's book, but also material she collected in her recordings, including authentic quotations that demonstrate actual linguistic usage.

As stated, some of the current scholarly activity in the domain of Ḥaketía is conducted by both scholars and laymen who thereby express their longing for the past of the community, a past which looms up in the distance and projects its glory over the present. Of note is "Centro de estudios sefardíes de Caracas," which publishes books and a periodical called *Maghen*. Some individuals took the initiative to actively collect texts, such as Benazeraf's 1978 collection of Ḥaketía proverbs, while others continue to do so. This endeavor is most prominent in the field of modern artistic creativity: humoristic sketches, such as those written and performed by Solly Levy and the tapes recorded by the brothers Esther Aflalo and Mozi Cohen. These writers display an impressive mastery of the dialect. Although the Ḥaketía in their writings is reconstructed, their memory and praiseworthy talent can be relied upon, and the authenticity of their materials is convincing. The protocols of the Tangier community committee and other written documents may now be found on scholars' desks. As this work progresses, so will our state of knowledge in this field.

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[Yaakov Bentolila (2nd ed.)]

ḤAKHAM (Heb. חָכָם; lit. "wise" or "sage"), title given to rabbinic scholars. Originally, it was inferior to the title "rabbi" since a scholar who possessed *semikhah* was called "rabbi" while the lesser savant was called *ḥakham*, or "sage" (BM 67b f.). Afterward it was also utilized for ordained scholars (Tosef., Yev. 4:6). Another talmudic distinction was between *ḥakham* and *talmid* ("disciple"). The disciple was only expected to answer inquiries that pertained directly to his studies, while the sage was required to respond to questions in all areas of rabbinic scholarship (Kid. 49b). The title *ḥakham* was also used as a formal designation of the third in rank after the *nasi* and *av bet din* of the Sanhedrin (Hor. 13b).

Sephardi Jews later used the title *ḥakham* for their local rabbis (in London and Amsterdam, applied to the rabbi of the Spanish and Portuguese congregations, it is written Haham), and reserved the more honorable designation of rabbi for preeminent scholars (David Messer Leon, *Kevod Ḥakhamim*, ed. by S. Bernfeld (1899), 63 f.). Turkish Jewry designated its chief rabbi as **ḥakham bashi*.

ḤAKHAM, SIMON (1843–1910), author and Bible translator. Ḥakham was born in Bukhara, the son of a scholarly Baghdad emissary. He emigrated to Jerusalem in 1890. During his years in Jerusalem, he was active as editor, publisher, translator, and author. Among his major publications are *Shir ha-Shirim* (1904^2), *Midrash Petirat Moshe* (1897), prayers and *piyyutim* for holidays (1902), *Pitron Ḥalomot* (1901), the Passover *Haggadah* (1904), and *Targum Sheni* to *Megillat Esther* (1905). He edited and published *Sefer Shahzadeh we-Sufi ve-hu Sharḥ al ha-Sefer *Ben ha-Melekh ve-ha-Nazir* (1907) by Abraham ben Samuel ha-Levi (ibn) *Ḥasdai, which Elijah b. Samuel had translated into Judeo-Persian in 1684. He also published a Judeo-Persian translation of parts of the Shulḥan Arukh under the title *Likkutei Dinim* (1901–03), prepared by Abraham Aminoff, the leading rabbi of the Jerusalem Bukharan colony. He translated Abraham Mapu's biblical novel *Ahavat Ẓiyyon* (1912^2), and brought out part of the famous *Sefer Sharḥ Shahin al ha-Torah* (1902–4) by the 14th-century Judeo-Persian epic poet Maulana *Shahin of Shiraz, along with some of his own poetry.

His translation of the Bible into the Judeo-Persian of the Bukharan Jews was a monumental achievement which ranks him with the great Bible translators. He began his *tafsir* in 1906, and it appeared in successive volumes along with the Hebrew text, *Targum Onkelos*, and Rashi. By the time of his death he had completed the Pentateuch and the Prophets up to Isaiah 41:9; his collaborators completed the translation of the whole Bible.

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[Walter Joseph Fischel]

ḤAKHAM BASHI, the title of chief rabbi in the *Ottoman Empire, composed of the Hebrew work *ḥakham* ("sage," "wise man") and the Turkish word *bashi* ("head," or "chief"). At the end of 1836 or the beginning of 1837 the Ottoman authorities confirmed the first *ḥakham bashi*, Rabbi Abraham Levi, in Constantinople (see *Istanbul). According to a report in the official gazette of the empire this gesture was made at the request of those members of the community in the capital who were subjects of the sultan. They had no Christian-European powers behind them and were jealous of the honor of official confirmation that the government accorded to the Greek and Armenian patriarchs. Current research attributes the Ottoman authorities with imposing the *ḥakham bashi* on the Jewish community. The motivation for such a change in their policy regarding the Jews was the recent Greek war of independence that resulted in the establishment of a Greek state in 1832. As a result, the Ottoman Empire began a series of reforms that changed their relationship with various minority communities. Another factor was the improved relations with Great Britain, which was expressing increased interest in "Jewish Emancipation." Since European intervention assisted the Greeks in their war of independence, the Ottoman authorities were careful not to alienate other minority communities. This interpretation of events explains the fact that for over 30 years, the Ottoman Jewish communities regarded the *ḥakham bashi* with suspicion, to a great extent ignoring the rabbis who occupied the office. Thus, the *rav ha-kolel* was regarded as the religious leader. In 1864, when Rabbi Jacob Avigdor was appointed *ḥakham bashi*, his prestige as an esteemed scholar finally won over the Jewish community. His successor, also a scholar of great repute, Rabbi Yakir Geron (*ḥakham bashi* from 1863 to 1872), helped cement the communities positive attitude toward the *ḥakham bashi*. In any event, this was in fact a turning point in the policy of the Ottoman authorities, who hitherto had not interfered in the internal affairs of the Jewish community and for centuries past had given no official status to its representatives. The original copies or authentic texts of the *berat hümayun* (imperial confirmation of appointments) occurring from 1836 onward, which were also granted to chief rabbis in *Adrianople, *Salonika, *Izmir (Smyrna), Broussa (now *Bursa), and *Jerusalem, show that there was indeed a policy, the significance and consequences of which went beyond mere confirmation or appointments. Implicitly contained was an official recognition of the Jewish *millet (a religious communal organization of non-Muslims in the Ottoman Empire).

A *berat* was concerned with three interrelated matters: the religious powers of the *ḥakham bashi*, his powers as representative of the government, and the permission to read the Torah. Within his area of jurisdiction the *ḥakham bashi* was the supreme authority in all religious matters and in charge of all *ḥakhamim* and heads of the community. He alone was authorized to ban and excommunicate offenders and to prohibit their religious burial. The person and official residence of the *ḥakham bashi* enjoyed immunity which extended also to the *ḥakhamim* and officials subordinate to him. Disagreements on religious questions between *ḥakhamim* and the local

Muslim authorities were to be settled before the supreme authorities of the empire in Constantinople. As representative of the government the *ḥakham bashi* was responsible for the collection of government taxes. Government officials had to lend the *ḥakham bashi*'s officials every assistance in performing this task and place guards at their disposal. To protect his officials from molestation and restrictions when traveling, they were excused from wearing distinctive Jewish clothing and permitted to carry arms. They were thus exempt from two important provisions of the Covenant of *Omar. By an order of 1850 the religious heads of the four millets were required to collect the poll tax. Regarding the permission to read the Torah, the intention to grant rights to the community as a whole is conspicuous in a clause figuring in all *berat* texts; it declared that the reading of the Torah in the *ḥakham's* house and in other houses is permitted in the Jewish religion, as is hanging veils and candelabra where such reading takes place. This declaration was tantamount to the permission to establish permanent synagogues, and it constituted an ingenious circumvention of a prohibition contained in the Covenant of Omar, which was a source of many difficulties and an occasion for incessant extortion. The *berats* issued in provincial towns to the *ḥakham bashi* state expressly that they were granted upon the recommendation of the *ḥakham bashi* of Constantinople, who was thus the head of all the rabbis in the empire. This was why, in the event of a disagreement among the members of a community concerning the appointment of the local *ḥakham bashi*, the disputants would try to influence the *ḥakham bashi* of Constantinople. His decision not infrequently was based on other than objective considerations. From certain (especially Tripolitanian and Iraqi) sources it appears that a *ḥakham bashi* was sometimes sent from the capital without the local community having been consulted. The provincial *ḥakham bashi*s were technically on an equal footing with the *ḥakham bashi* in Constantinople. However, the central Ottoman authorities viewed the *ḥakham bashi* in Constantinople as the leader of the Jews throughout the empire.

It is clear that while the *ḥakham bashi*'s official functions enhanced his importance and prestige, they were not in themselves sufficient to grant him supremacy in the field of *halakhah* and religious jurisdiction. In fact, this post was sometimes assigned to a simple schoolteacher. Besides the *ḥakham bashi* who was described in French as temporal head (a translation of the Arabic-Turkish term *shaykh zamani*), there were *ḥakhamim* bearing the designation *rav ha-kolel* (chief rabbi) or spiritual head (*shaykh rūḥī*). It happened sometimes that a *ḥakham bashi* who had resigned or been deposed subsequently served as *rav ha-kolel*, just as *rav ha-kolel* (see *Kolel) was occasionally appointed *ḥakham bashi*. The powers vested in the *ḥakham bashi* show that he was regarded by the Ottoman authorities as their representative vis-à-vis the Jewish population, performing official functions on behalf of the Jews, and he was so regarded by the Jews themselves. His situation was further complicated by dissension between strictly traditionalist, anti-modernist members of the community and those favoring a general education and reforms in communal affairs. This situation accounts for the fact that of the five such chief rabbis officiating in the years 1836–63, three were deposed by the community and one was dismissed by the government because of his non-Turkish nationality. Three continued in office in the post of *rav ha-kolel*, which seems to indicate that they had been deposed as a result of clashes between the different factions within the community.

The first *ḥakham bashi* in Jerusalem was appointed by imperial firman in 1841. His Hebrew title **rishon le-Zion* was used by the Sephardi chief rabbis of Jerusalem. The "Organizational Regulations of the Rabbinate," confirmed by imperial firman in 1865 (see *Millet and *Community), describe in the first 15 clauses the status and powers of the *ḥakham bashi* as the head of the Jewish millet in the empire. The powers of the provincial chief rabbis have always been defined in the firmans issued on their appointment. In 1835 *Tripolitania again came under the direct rule of the Sublime Porte who introduced there the same order that existed throughout the empire. The first *ḥakham bashi* was appointed by imperial firman in 1874 and therefore Tripoli is not mentioned in the "Organizational Regulations of the Rabbinate" of 1865. The title became so common that it referred to the head of every small community. The title *ḥakham bashi* is still in use in the Turkish republic, which has in Istanbul the largest Jewish community of the territories which once belonged to the empire, except Israel. After *Iraq's separation from the *Ottoman Empire and the establishment of the British Mandate, *Baghdad Jewry was presided over by the deputy *ḥakham bashi* and spiritual head of Baghdad. This title was abolished in Iraq in 1932 and the title *ra'īs al ḥakhāmīm* came into use.

Holders of the office of ḥakham bashi

Abraham Levi Pasha	1836–1839
Samuel Hayim	1839–1841
Moiz Fresko	1841–1854
Jacob Avigdor	1854–1870
Yakir Geron	1870–1872
Moses Levi	1872–1909
Chaim Nahum Effendi	1909–1920
Shabbetai Levi	1920–1922
Isaac Ariel	1922–1926
Chaim Bejerano	1926–1931
Chaim Isaac Saki	1931–1940
Raphael David Saban	1940–1960
David Asseo	1961–2002
Isak Haleva	2002–

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Pe'amim, 44 (1990), 110–31; idem, in: *Asufot,* 11 (1998), 211–43; idem, in: *Zion*, 66 (2001), 201–25; A. Ha-Levi, in: *Pe'amim*, 55 (1993), 38–56; idem, in: *Yemei ha-Sahar: Perakim be-Toledot ha-Yehudim ba-Imperiyah ha-Otomanit* (1996), 237–71.

[Haïm Z'ew Hirschberg / David Derovan (2nd ed.)]

HAKHEL (Heb. הַקְהֵל; "assemble"). The Bible enjoins that "At the end of every seven years, at the time of the year of release, at the Feast of Tabernacles" there is to take place an assembly of the whole people, "men, women, children, and the stranger that is within your gates." The purpose of this assembly is "that they may hear and so learn to revere the Lord your God and to observe faithfully every word of this Teaching" (Deut. 31:10–13). This ceremony, called *Hakhel* ("assemble") after the opening word of verse 12, is mentioned only once in the Talmud (Sot. 7:8), but in great detail and includes an interesting historical incident. The Mishnah lays it down (*ibid.*) that the date referred to is on the first day of the festival of Sukkot after the close of the seven-year period of *shemittah, i.e., on the 15th day of the first month of the eighth year.

The Mishnah connects this ceremony with another passage which deals with an entirely different subject, namely the duties of the king as laid down in Deuteronomy 17:14–20 and which it calls "the Chapter of the King." According to the Mishnah it was at the *Hakhel* ceremony that the king read that and other passages. It is possible that the coalescing of these passages is due to the similarity of wording between the two, the passage quoted above, and the passage with regard to the king "that he may learn to fear the Lord his God to keep all the words of this law and these statutes to do them" (*ibid.*, 17:19).

The Mishnah states that a wooden platform was set up in the Temple court upon which the king sat. "The minister (*ḥazzan*) of the synagogue used to take a scroll of the Torah and hand it to the chief of the synagogue, and the chief of the synagogue gave it to the deputy high priest who handed it to the high priest who handed it to the king. The king received it standing and read it while seated." The passages read were not "all the words of the Torah" but selected passages from Deuteronomy; from the beginning to 6:19, the last verses of which are the first paragraph of the *Shema, the second paragraph of the *Shema* (11:13–21), 14; 22–27; 26:12–15; 17:14–20 ("the Chapter of the King"), and 27:15–26. He concluded the reading with eight benedictions, of which seven were identical with those pronounced by the high priest on the Day of Atonement (see Sot. 7:6) and the eighth (the fourth in number) for the festival instead of the one for pardon of sin pronounced by the high priest.

The continuity of the description of the ceremony in the Mishnah is interrupted by the information that despite the rule that the king read the passages while seated, "King Agrippa read it standing, for which he was praised by the rabbis," and continues with the moving story of the king, conscious of his mixed descent, bursting into tears when he read "thou mayest not put a foreigner over thee who is not thy brother" (Deut. 17:15) and the assembled people called out "thou art our brother." Most scholars identify this Agrippa who was so beloved of the people with *Agrippa I, who reigned from 41–44 C.E., the first of which years coincides with the year of *shemittah*. Others, however, ascribe it to *Agrippa II. In recent years in Israel an attempt has been made to revive a symbolical form of the *Hakhel* ceremony.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: ET, 10 (1961), 443–52; A. Beuchler, in: *11. Jahresbericht der Israelitisch-Theologischen Lehranstalt in Wien* (1895), 11–14; S. Goren, *Torat ha-Mo'adim* (1964), 127–38; S.J. Zevin, *Le-Or ha-Halakhah* (1957^2), 135–45.

[Louis Isaac Rabinowitz]

HAKHNASAT KALLAH (Heb. הַכְנָסַת כַּלָּה; "bringing in the bride," i.e., under the wedding canopy), a rabbinic commandment to provide a dowry for brides and to rejoice at their weddings (Maim. Yad., Avelim 14:1). The term is popularly applied to the provision of dowry for the poor brides. The precept is of such importance that it is permissible to interrupt even the (public) study of Torah in order to fulfill it (Meg. 3b and Tos. ad loc.). It is reckoned in the prayer book as among those deeds "for which a man enjoys the fruits in this world, while the stock remains for him for the world to come." (Hertz, Prayer, 17, version of Pe'ah 1:1 and Shab. 127a). A man who raises an orphan and enables her to marry is considered as continually doing acts of righteousness and justice (Ps. 106:3; Ket. 50a).

Communal charity collectors are permitted to use the funds they collected for other purposes for the dowry of poor brides (Sh. Ar., YD 249:15, and Siftei Kohen ad loc.). The Mishnah specified the minimum sum of 50 *zuz* to be given to a bride, but "if there was more in the poor funds they should provide for her according to the honor due to her" (Ket. 6:5). This minimal sum of "50 *zuz*" must be reassessed in every generation in accordance with its own economic conditions (Turei Zahav to Sh. Ar. YD 250:2). As in other aspects of communal Jewish charity, specific organizations were formed to supervise the collection and distribution of funds for the dowries and trousseaux of poor girls and orphans. These groups were often called Hakhnasat Kallah societies. In the ghetto of Rome, during the 17th century, for example such a society functioned actively (Roth, Italy, 364). Samuel Portaleone, an Italian preacher, in his description of seven charity boxes which existed in Mantua, Italy, in 1630, lists among them *hakhnasat kallah* (JQR, 5 (1893), 510). Hakhnasat Kallah societies have continued to function throughout the Jewish world.

In addition to aiding poor brides, the precept also demands that a person attend and rejoice at the marriage of any bride. It was considered meritorious to accompany the bride from her father's home to where the wedding ceremony was to take place (Rashi to Meg. 29a). This aspect of *hakhnasat kallah* may also be fulfilled by accompanying the bridegroom to the *bedekin* ("covering" the face) of the bride (Beit Shemu'el to Sh. Ar. EH 65:1). While it is also customary to dance before the bride and to praise her, Bet Shammai held that the virtues of the bride are not to be exaggerated, and that she is only to be praised "as she truly is." Bet Hillel, on the other hand, ruled that every bride should be regarded and praised as "beautiful and graceful" (Ket. 16b–17a).

The fulfillment of the precept of *hakhnasat kallah* should be performed humbly, modestly and in privacy, thus complying with the dictum "to walk humbly with thy God" (Micah 6:8; Suk. 49b).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: ET, 9 (1959), 136–43; Baron, Community, 1 (1942), 362ff., 2 (1942), 332f., 3 (1942), 212f.; I. Abrahams, *Jewish Life in the Middle Ages* (1920), 326; I. Levitats, *Jewish Community in Russia* (1943), 252; H.H. Ben-Sasson, *Hagut ve-Hanhagah* (1959), index.

HA-KIBBUTZ HA-ARẒI HA-SHOMER HA-ẒA'IR, a union of kibbutzim in Israel, founded in 1927 by the first collective settlements of *Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir pioneers. It regards itself as an avant-garde nucleus of the future socialist society in Israel and adheres strictly to the principles of collective life of its members and the collective education of their children. The first settlers arrived in Israel in 1919, and in 1922 established Bet Alfa, the first kibbutz of the movement. In 1936 the movement joined forces with the Socialist League and the two founded Mifleget Po'alim-Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓair in 1946. In 1948 the new party united with *Aḥdut ha-Avodah-Po'alei Zion to form *Mapam. New kibbutzim continued to be established into the statehood period. In 1970, Ha-Kibbutz ha-Arẓi comprised 75 kibbutzim with a population of about 30,000, while in the mid-1990s it numbered 85 kibbutzim. In 2000 it united with the second secular kibbutz movement, Ha-Tenu'ah ha-Kibbutzit ha-Me'uḥedet (Takam) to create the *Kibbutz Movement, now comprising 244 kibbutzim with a population of 115,600. Ha-Kibbutz ha-Arẓi ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir emphasized ideological unity and mutual economic aid among its member kibbutzim. It established the Kibbutz Arẓi Choir, the Sifriat Hapoalim press, and the daily *Mishmar*, which later became **Al-ha-Mishmar* and continued to appear until 1995.

For further details see *Kibbutz Movement, Ha-Kibbutz ha-Arẓi ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir.

[Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

HA-KIBBUTZ HA-DATI, a union of 16 religious kibbutzim in Israel, established in 1935 by members of *Ha-Po'el ha-Mizrachi. It combines religious practice with collective life and labor and exerted a political influence in the *National Religious Party by strengthening its left-wing faction, "La-Mifneh." The movement saw itself as a bridge between religious and secular people in Israel, and initiated projects to enhance understanding between these two groups. Eleven of the kibbutzim were founded before the establishment of the State of Israel, of which five were destroyed during the War of Independence (those of the *Eẓyon Bloc were overrun and destroyed by Arab forces) and were reestablished later. Three other kibbutzim became moshavim shittufiyyim, and left the movement, while eight additional kibbutzim were founded after 1948. Many of the religious kibbutzim are located in dangerous border areas, in settlements clusters aimed to assist one another. The founders of the kibbutzim were mainly Europeans, while over the years Bnei Akiva graduates from Israel and abroad joined them. In 1970 Ha-Kibbutz ha-Dati comprised 13 settlements with a population of about 4,000, while in 2004 it included 16 kibbutzim with a population of 8,000. The kibbutzim of Ha-Kibbutz Ha-dati base their economy on agriculture, industry, and tourism. The organizational structure of the movement is based on a council with 100 representatives from all the kibbutzim. The council, as the highest institution of the movement, meets every few years to discuss important issues. It appoints a secretariat with authority to make decisions between the council meetings. The secretariat, composed of 35 members, meets a few times a year. Day-to-day affairs are in the hands of an executive committee under a secretary-general chosen every four years.

For further details see *Kibbutz Movement, Ha-Kibbutz ha-Dati.

WEBSITE: www.kdati.org.il.

[Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

HA-KIBBUTZ HA-ME'UḤAD, a union of kibbutzim in Israel founded at a conference in Petaḥ Tikvah in 1927 by the first "large" kevuẓot, established primarily by pioneers of the Third Aliyah, including previous groups of *Gedud ha-Avodah ("Labor Legion"). In 1951 a split occurred in its ranks due to political and ideological tensions between *Mapai and the left-wing *Aḥdut ha-Avodah. The split led to the breakup of kibbutzim, the establishment of new kibbutzim, and large-scale population movement between kibbutzim. The Mapai-oriented members seceded, eventually founding the *Iḥud ha-Kevuẓot ve-ha-Kibbutzim. During the 1960s and the 1970s, the two movements became politically closer, until their reunion in "Takam" (the united kibbutz movement) in 1980. In 1970, Ha-Kibbutz ha-Me'uḥad numbered about 60 kibbutzim with a population of about 25,000–30,000. In 1980, Takam included 154 settlements with a population of 73,370. Its kibbutzim owned 206 industries and accounted for 40% of agricultural production in Israel. In 1996 the movement numbered 173 settlements with a population of 80,000. In 2000 it united with Kibbutz ha-Arẓi ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir to form the *Kibbutz Movement. The movement had close connections with two youth movements – Ha-Maḥanot ha-Olim and *Ha-No'ar ha-Oved ve-ha-Lomed. Day-to-day activity in Takam was in the hands of an executive committee. The highest institution of the movement is the general assembly, where each kibbutz has at least one representative. The movement sponsored a wide range of social and cultural activities.

For further details see *Kibbutz Movement, Ha-Kibbutz Ha-Me'uḥad.

[Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

ḤAKIM, ELIAHU (1925–1945), Jew executed in *Egypt in the Mandate Period. Ḥakim was born in *Beirut, and was brought to Ereẓ Israel by his parents at the age of seven. At the age of 17 he joined Leḥi. Together with Eliahu Bet-Ẓuri he was sent by his organization to *Cairo to assassinate Lord Moyne, then British Minister of State for the Middle East, whose seat was in Cairo. The attempt was successful, but Bet-Ẓuri and Ḥakim were apprehended. They were sentenced to death by a military court in Cairo on Jan. 1, 1945, and executed on Mar. 22. Their remains were interred in the Jewish cemetery of Cairo.

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ḤAKIM, SAMUEL BEN MOSES HA-LEVI IBN (?1480–after 1547), rabbi in *Egypt and *Turkey. Samuel came from a distinguished family of Spanish origin which had settled in Egypt. His father, Moses, was a personal friend of the governor of Egypt and, when difficulties arose, intervened on behalf of the Jews. Samuel studied in Egypt under the **nagid*, Jonathan ha-Kohen *Sholal, and at the beginning of the 16th century he was already regarded as one of the eminent Egyptian rabbis. He later left Egypt for Constantinople, where he also occupied an important position in the Jewish community, but it is difficult to ascertain in which year he made this move. According to a responsum it was c. 1517, but this seems to be a mistake for c. 1527, since there is extant a *haskamah* signed by Samuel and R. *David b. Solomon ibn Abi Zimra in Egypt in the year 1527 (Neubauer, Chronicles, 1 (1887), 158), a date confirmed by two manuscripts. His departure for Constantinople could not therefore have taken place before 1527, unless it be supposed that two scholars of the same name lived in Cairo at the same time, which is very difficult to accept. The problem of two Samuel b. Moses ha-Levi ibn Ḥakim (Hakam) is further complicated by the existence of Samuel Hakan who is definitely not identical with Samuel Ḥakim. Samuel was a friend of Moses *Hamon, physician to Sultan *Suleiman. He frequently engaged in sharp polemics with the important rabbis of his time and even strongly criticized a halakhic ruling made by Shalom *Shakhna b. Joseph of Lublin on the laws of *sivlonot* (the gifts given by the bridegroom to his bride on the occasion of their engagement) which appeared at the end of the novellae of *Aaron ha-Levi of Barcelona (?) to *Kiddushin* (1904), which perhaps points to contacts between the rabbis of Constantinople and Poland. In 1547 he published a collection of responsa of *Isaac b. Sheshet Perfet (Ribash) in Constantinople. The book was published in sections and Samuel followed the accepted Constantinople custom of distributing the sections to purchasers on the Sabbath, in the synagogue. Isaac ibn Lev complained that this custom was tantamount to engaging in business on the Sabbath. Samuel pointed to the precedent of the similar sale of such books as *Toledot Adam ve-Ḥavvah* (1516) of *Jeroham b. Meshullam and *Toledot Yiẓḥak* (1518) of Isaac *Caro. Furthermore, he said, the greatest rabbis had not protested against it.

Only a small number of Samuel's many responsa have survived; some are preserved in the works of his contemporaries such as the responsa of Joseph *Caro and *Levi ibn Ḥabib, and a few responsa are still extant in manuscript. He is frequently mentioned in contemporary and later responsa. Ḥakim was on friendly terms with the *Karaites of Constantinople and was well acquainted with their customs. In one of his responsa written before 1533 (still in manuscript) he expresses the opinion that they sin inadvertently, not deliberately, and should not be treated as apostates or the illegitimate offspring of forbidden marriages. It is therefore permitted to intermarry with them, to drink their wine, to eat of their *sheḥitah*, and to accept them as witnesses in matters of personal status. This original opinion, for which no parallel or supporting view could be found either in his own or in succeeding generations, aroused the most vehement opposition of the other authorities. Among them were David b. Solomon ibn Abi Zimra (Responsa, pt. 2, no. 796), Moses di *Trani (Responsa, pt. 1, no. 37), and Bezalel Ashkenazi (Responsa, no. 3). There are extant glosses by Ḥakim to the novellae of Solomon b. Abraham *Adret on the tractate *Shabbat*, as well as a short introduction to the *Masoret Seyag la-Torah* of Meir ha-Levi *Abulafia. The place and date of Ḥakim's death are unknown.

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[Abraham David]

°ḤĀKIM BI-AMR ALLAH, AL-, the sixth caliph (996–1021) of the Ismāʾīlī *Fatimid dynasty, which ruled in North Africa, Egypt, Palestine, Syria, and wide areas of the Arabian Peninsula. In the year 400 A.H. (1009–10 C.E.) a major change took place in al-Ḥākim's attitude toward the Muslim and Ismāʾīlī traditions and he issued proclamations which were decisive for the development of the *Druze faith and community, of which he was the founder. The harassment of Christians, which had begun several years previously, was intensified, and the Church of the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem was burned down. According to Christian and Muslim sources these persecutions also included the Jews, but these reports should be treated with caution. A *Megillat Miẓrayim* ("Egyptian Scroll") from 1012, which is extant in two versions, mentions al-Ḥākim as the protector of the Jews, who allegedly assembled in the Great Synagogue of Fustat to thank God that the caliph had saved them from a rioting mob. This favorable appraisal is confirmed in letters written by the heads of the Palestinian and the Fustat yeshivot which mention that al-Ḥākim subsidized their institutions. After 1012 the persecution also included the Jews; synagogues were burned, and there were instances of forced conversion to Islam. The difficulties ceased only in the last years of al-Ḥākim (1017–20). Christians and Jews were permitted to rebuild their places of worship and forced converts were allowed to return to their former religion. At that time al-Ḥākim openly presented himself as the incarnation of the deity. The two above-mentioned events undoubtedly were related. Early in 1021 al-Ḥākim disappeared, and it is believed that he was murdered. A rumor spread among his followers that he was hiding on Mount al-Muqaṭṭam (near Cairo) and would appear again in the fullness of time (after a thousand years). The first article of the Druze faith is that al-Ḥākim was the last incarnation of the deity; he cannot have died, and his followers, therefore, are awaiting his return *(raj'a)*. Al-Ḥākim's personality and Druze doctrines influenced later Jewish mystic movements. Joseph *Sambari (17th cent.) recounts in his chronicle *Divrei Yosef* (Paris, Alliance Israélite Universelle, Hebrew manuscript no. 22–23) the story of al-Ḥākim's persecutions. According to this version, the persecution of the Jews was caused by the Arabic translation of the Passover *Haggadah*, which tells of the drowning of the Egyptian king. Al-Ḥākim thought that this referred to him and forbade further translations of the *Haggadah*. Sambari further states that al-Ḥākim was murdered by his sister in the year 411 A.H., i.e., 1021.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: S. de Sacy, *Exposé de la religion des Druzes*, 2 vols. (1838); Mann, Egypt, 1 (1920), 30–7; 2 (1922), 35–6, 70; H.Z. Hirschberg, in: A.J. Arberry (ed.), *Religion in the Middle East*, 2 (1969), 332–5; EIS^2, 2 (1965), S.V. Durūz. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** S.D. Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society*, vol. 6, index; Y. Lev, in: *Asian and African Studies* (Haifa), 22 (1988), 73–91.

[Haim Z'ew Hirschberg]

HAKKAFOT (Heb. הַקָּפוֹת), term used to designate ceremonial processional circuits both in the synagogue and outside it, on various occasions.

Such circuits are mentioned in the Bible. There were, for instance, seven circuits around Jericho (once a day for six days, and seven times on the seventh day; Josh. 6:14–15). The Mishnah records that the *lulav* was carried around the Temple altar during the seven days of *Sukkot (Suk. 3:12). Although the *Gemara* makes no mention of similar circuits during Sukkot in the post-Temple period, both Hai Gaon (B.M. Lewin, *Oẓar ha-Ge'onim* (1934), Sukkah, 60, no. 151), and Saadiah Gaon (in his *Siddur*) mention the custom of making a circuit around the synagogue with the *lulav* and *etrog* on Sukkot. Nowadays a single circuit is made around the *bimah* on each of the first six days of Sukkot (except for the Sabbath) during the chanting of **hoshanot* at the close of the *Musaf* service. On *Hoshana Rabba, the seventh day of Sukkot, the procession around the *bimah* is repeated seven times. It is related that on this day, Hai Gaon used to make a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, and there make seven processional circuits around the Mount of Olives (*Sefer Ḥasidim*, ed. by J. Wistinetzki (1924^2), no. 630). The Torah scrolls are carried around the synagogue in processional circuits during both the *Ma'ariv* and *Shaḥarit* services on *Simḥat Torah (a custom first mentioned by Rabbi Isaac Tyrnau, 14th–15th century; *Minhagim* (Lunéville (1806), 51a). The Ḥasidim perform these *hakkafot* also at the conclusion of the *Ma'ariv* service on *Shemini Aẓeret. In Reform congregations, these *hakkafot* are performed on Shemini Aẓeret. In Israel where Simḥat Torah coincides with Shemini Aẓeret, many congregations perform *hakkafot* again after *Ma'ariv* at the completion of the festival. With the advent of the Jewish women's movement in the 1970s, particularly in the United States, there was an on-going attempt to include women above the age of bat mitzvah in traditional synagogue ritual. This effort has had an impact across the spectrum of contemporary Jewish life. By the beginning of the 21st century, it was not unusual in modern/centrist Orthodox circles to give women one or more of the congregational Torah scrolls with which to make *hakkafot* and with which to dance. In most Conservative/masorti and in all Reconstructionist and Reform congregations, women and men participate in the same *hakkafot* and dance together with the Torah scrolls.

Hakkafot are also performed on a number of other occasions. For instance, Torah scrolls are carried around in a processional circuit during the dedication of both synagogues and cemeteries. In a number of communities, it is customary for the bride to make either three or seven *hakkafot* around the bridegroom during the wedding ceremony. The Sephardim and Ḥasidim walk around a coffin seven times prior to burial. It is also customary to walk around the cemetery when praying for the sick.

On all of these occasions one may note the juxtaposition of the "magic circle" with the mystical figure of seven, and the implied attempt to dissuade *shedim* ("evil spirits") from intruding upon the object of attention. With regard to the funerary *hakkafot* it has been suggested that the purpose is to ward off the spirits of the dead man's unborn children and to appease them with symbolic gifts of money. It is also significant that *Ḥoni ha-Me'aggel's miracles were performed after he had made a circuit (in the form of a drawn circle), around the place on which he stood (Ta'an. 19a, 23a).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: ET, 10 (1961), 539; Eisenstein, Dinim, 105.

[Harry Rabinowicz / Rela M. Geffen (2nd ed.)]

ḤALAFTA (early second century C.E.), *tanna*, father of the well-known *tanna* *Yose. Ḥalafta lived in *Sepphoris where he was a leader of the community (Tosef., Ta'an. 1:14; RH 27a). His colleague was *Johanan b. Nuri who discussed *halakhah* with him; seemingly among his associates were also *Akiva (BB 56b, where Ḥalafta is called Abba Ḥalafta as also in Shab. 115a; Tosef., BB 2:10; Tosef., Kelim, BM 1:5), *Ḥanina b. Teradyon (Ta'an. 2:5), and *Eleazar b. Azariah (Tosef., Kelim, BB 2:2). It is possible that in the last years of the Temple he was living in Jerusalem since he transmitted an incident about Gamaliel the Elder (Tosef., Shab. 13:2). Several statements by him in *halakhah* and *aggadah* have been preserved, some by his son Yose (Kelim 26:6; Tosef., Bek. 2:19, et al.).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Hyman, Toledot, s.v.; J. Kanowitz, *Ma'arekhot Tanna'im*, 2 (1967), 107–9.

[Zvi Kaplan]

ḤALAFTA BEN SAUL (early third century C.E.), Palestinian *amora*. Ḥalafta taught *beraitot* which are cited both in the Jerusalem Talmud (Ber. 1:8, 3c; Pe'ah 2:6, 17a; Shev. 2:7, 34a;

Hag. 3:7, 79d, et al.) and in the Babylonian (Zev. 93b; MK 10a; see Dik. Sof. *ibid.*). It is possible that he is to be identified with the Taḥlifa b. Saul who taught a *baraita* quoted in the Babylonian Talmud (Men. 7b, et al.). An *aggadah* is also cited in his name (Ber. 29a). It has been suggested by some that he was the brother of Johanan b. Saul, and Yose b. Saul, a pupil of *Judah ha-Nasi.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Judah b. Kalonymos, *Yiḥusei Tanna'im ve-Amora'im*, ed. by J.L. Maimon (1963), 311 f.; Hyman, Toledot, 454, s.v.; Margalioth, Ḥakhmei, 313 f., s.v.

[Zvi Kaplan]

HA LAḤMA ANYA (Aram. הָא לַחְמָא עַנְיָא; lit. "Behold the poor bread"), opening words of an introductory paragraph of the Passover **Haggadah*. The announcement is in Aramaic, and is proclaimed at the **seder* service immediately after the conclusion of the *karpas* ceremony (in which greens are dipped in salt water; see *Passover *seder*).

The announcement is composed of three unrelated sentences. The first reads, "Behold this poor bread (or, 'bread of poverty'), which our fathers ate in the land of Egypt." This points to the centrality of the *mazẓah* ("the unleavened bread") in the Festival of Passover. The second sentence invites the poor to the Passover meal: "Let anyone who is hungry come in and eat; let anyone who is needy come in and make Passover." The third sentence reads, "This year we are here; next year we shall be in the land of Israel; this year we are slaves, next year we shall be free men."

The origins and exact purport of the *Ha Laḥma Anya* are obscure. Most early portions of the *Haggadah* were written in Hebrew and are mentioned in the Mishnah. The language and content of this announcement, however, suggest that it was composed in Babylon after the destruction of the Temple. The second sentence does find an almost exact analogy in the Talmud (Ta'an., 20b), where R. Huna is said to have exclaimed before his meals "Let every needy person come and eat." Mattathias Gaon, in the ninth century, claimed that this sentence of *Ha Laḥma Anya* had always been a *minhag avoteinu* ("custom of our fathers"; B.M. Lewin, *Oẓar ha-Ge'onim*, 3 (1930), *Pesaḥim* 112). Had this sentence been the central feature of the announcement, however, the *Ha Laḥma Anya* would be expected to open the *Haggadah*, and to precede the **kiddush* and *karpas*.

The present version of the announcement is probably a combination of several texts which date from the talmudic and post-talmudic periods. It has undergone several modifications. *Maimonides (Yad, appendix to *Ḥameẓ u-Matzah*) cites the present version with minor changes and a small addition. *Saadiah Gaon's text opens with the third sentence, and is followed by the second. He omits the first sentence altogether. In certain late medieval manuscripts, the first sentence reads, "Behold like this poor bread…." Most texts, including those of Maimonides and *Judah Loew b. Bezalel, have the simple version in use today, "Behold the poor bread."

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Davidson, Oẓar, 2 (1929), 116, no. 2; Liber, in: REJ, 82 (1926), 217–9; E.D. Goldschmidt, *Haggadah shel Pesaḥ ve-Toledoteha* (1960), 7–9; M.M. Kasher, *Haggadah Shelemah* (1955), 5–8 (Hebrew pagination).

[H. Elchanan Blumenthal]

HALAKHAH.

DEFINITION

The word "*halakhah*" (from the root *halakh*, "to go"), the legal side of Judaism (as distinct from *aggadah*, the name given to the nonlegal material, particularly of the rabbinic literature), embraces personal, social, national, and international relationships, and all the other practices and observances of Judaism. In the Bible the good life is frequently spoken of as a way in which men are "to go," e.g., "and shalt show them the way wherein they are to go and the work that they must do" (Ex. 18:20). Originally the term *halakhah* (pl. *halakhot*) had the meaning of the particular law or decision in a given instance, as in the frequent expression "this is a law given to Moses on Sinai" (*Halakhah le-Moshe mi-Sinai). This usage persisted, but side by side with it there developed the use of *halakhah* as a generic term for the whole legal system of Judaism, embracing all the detailed laws and observances. For instance, the Talmud (Shab. 138b) comments on "the word of the Lord" (Amos 8:12) that this means the *halakhah*.

The study of the *halakhah* in the rabbinic period and beyond it became the supreme religious duty. Because of its difficult subject matter and its importance for practical Judaism this study took precedence over that of any other aspect of Jewish teaching. Typical is the rabbinic saying that after the destruction of the Temple, God has nothing else in His world than the four cubits of the *halakhah* (Ber. 8a). The superiority of halakhic study over aggadic was expressed in the parable of the two merchants, one selling precious stones, the other small ware. Only the connoisseur comes to buy from the former (Sot. 40a).

The general assumption in the classical Jewish sources is that the *halakhah* in its entirety goes back to Moses, except for various later elaborations, extensions, applications, and innovations in accordance with new circumstances. Thus Maimonides (Yad, intro.) counts 40 generations backward from R. Ashi, the traditional editor of the Babylonian Talmud, to Moses and concludes: "In the two Talmuds and the Tosefta, the *Sifra* and the *Sifrei*, in all these are explained the permitted and the forbidden, the clean and the unclean, the liabilities and lack of liability, the unfit and the fit, as handed down from person to person from the mouth of Moses our teacher at Sinai." But the verdict of modern scholarship is that the *halakhah* has had a history and that it is possible to trace the stages in its development with a considerable degree of success (see below).

[Louis Jacobs]

DOGMATICS OF THE HALAKHAH

Sources of Authority

Like other legal systems, the *halakhah* is composed of different elements, not all of equal value, since some are regarded as of Sinaitic origin and others of rabbinical. Five sources can be differentiated:

THE WRITTEN LAW. According to the traditional concept of halakhic Judaism, the Written Law is not a collection of legal, religious, ethical statutes and the like deriving from separate sources, but a law uniform in nature and content and a revelation of the will of God – a revelation that was a single nonrecurring historical event (at Sinai). This law is considered to be a book of commandments, positive and negative, numbering 613 (see *Commandments, the 613).

STATEMENTS HANDED DOWN BY TRADITION (KABBALAH). On the verse "These are the commandments" (Lev. 27:34), the *Sifra* (*Be-Ḥukkotai*, 13:7) comments, "Henceforth no prophet may make innovations." Thus such commandments or injunctions the source of which is in the words of the prophets or the Hagiographa (referred to as Kabbalah) are generally regarded as of Sinaitic force, on the assumption that the prophets received them as an interpretation or as a *halakhah* given to Moses at Sinai. Thus, e.g., it is inferred from Jeremiah 32:44; "and subscribe the deeds, and seal them, and call witnesses," that the signature by witnesses to a document is a Sinaitic law (Git. 36a). At times, however, the *amoraim* conclude that the verse is to be regarded as a mere support (**asmakhta*), and the matter does not come within the definition of Torah law. An ambivalent attitude on their part toward traditional statements can be discerned; there is even in the Babylonian Talmud a rule: inferences concerning statements of the Torah may not be drawn from statements contained in Kabbalah (Ḥag. 10b; BK 2b; Nid. 23a).

From the dogmatic point of view, however, the statement of Naḥmanides (on principle 2 of Maimonides' *Sefer ha-Mitzvot*) and his differentiation seem correct; namely that wherever in the prophets and Hagiographa statements are made as commands and injunctions, they are merely an explanation of the Torah and have the same authority as the Oral Law, as tradition, while where statements are made by way of narrative, as "relating some event" (e.g., the case of sale in the Book of Jeremiah) they are of rabbinic status. The same applies to those laws designated in the Talmud as **takkanot* ("regulations") of the prophets, even if attributed to Moses himself. For the concept *de-rabbanan* ("of rabbinical authority") is not chronological but qualitative, so that such statements can be *de-orayta* (of Sinaitic authority) even if first revealed in the words of a late prophet, and *de-rabbanan* even if attributed to Moses, if they were transmitted as a *takkanah* or the confirmation of an ancient custom (e.g., the seven days of bridal festivity, the seven days of mourning).

THE ORAL LAW. The *Oral Law includes: the interpretation of the Written Law transmitted, according to the sages, in its entirety with its details and minutiae at Sinai; *halakhah*, e.g., given to Moses at Sinai in the restricted sense; and logical deduction.

Interpretation of the Written Law. This interpretation consists of two elements: that regarded as certainly handed down at Sinai; that intrinsically inherent in the written word, but made manifest through the interpretation of Scripture by means of the accepted hermeneutical rules (see *hermeneutics). According to talmudic tradition anything transmitted directly by tradition counts as *de-orayta* and is in every way equivalent to the Written Law, while difference of opinion is found with regard to *halakhah* inferred only by means of interpretation since the Talmud itself has no systematic dogma on the subject.

Maimonides and Naḥmanides differ on this. According to the former (*Sefer ha-Mitzvot*, principle 2), anything inferred by interpretation is *de-orayta* only if supported by a tradition. If the Talmud does not clearly testify to its having been transmitted, then it is "the words of the *soferim*" or *de-rabbanan*.

On the other hand Naḥmanides holds (gloss, ad loc.) that anything derived by interpretation is also *de-orayta* whether or not supported by a talmudic tradition, unless the Talmud states explicitly that this is *de-rabbanan* (in the language of the Babylonian Talmud: "It is *de-rabbanan*, the verse being a mere support"). Both from the statements of Maimonides, as well as from those of Naḥmanides, it follows that *halakhot* inferred by interpretation of Scripture may be divided into three categories: *halakhah* received from Sinai where the purpose of the interpretation is to explain it and to connect it with the scriptural verse; in these cases there is no dispute as to the content of the *halakhah* since the interpretation at times merely serves a mnemotechnical purpose; *halakhah* not received from Sinai, but deduced by the sages from the scriptural verse, where the interpretation is in most cases to the point and included in the meaning of the verse; *halakhah* which all agree to be an innovation and *de-rabbanan*, the purpose of the interpretation being to find a support for it in Scripture (e.g., the rabbinic injunction against marrying relatives of the second degree, derived from Lev. 18:30: "Therefore shall ye keep My charge" (Yev. 21a)).

Halakhah Given to Moses at Sinai. This designation is given to ancient *halakhot* for which there is no scriptural support (or at the most very faint support). Examples are quantities (in connection with **issur ve-hetter* and things ritually unclean and clean, such as an olive's bulk, a quarter of a log, etc., Er. 4a), or that **tefillin* must be square (Meg. 24b) and written on parchment (Shab. 79b). It is difficult to decide whether in the early tannaitic period they actually regarded such *halakhot* as having been given at Sinai or whether the term "at Sinai" is employed merely to indicate their antiquity in order to increase their holiness and thus to immunize them against challenge (see the commentaries of Samson of Sens and Asher b. Jehiel to Yad. 4:3; Jair Ḥayyim Bacharach, in his *Ḥavvot Ya'ir* (no. 192) enumerates about 70 such *halakhot*). See also *Halakhah le-Moshe mi-Sinai.

Logical Deduction. Sometimes the authors of the Talmud say of a certain *halakhah*, "it is self-evident," and as such it does not require scriptural proof since it is regarded as axiomatic; such as "whoever wishes to claim anything in the possession of his fellow must bring proof." To this category belong, strictly speaking, also fundamental concepts such as *ḥazakah*, the majority *rule, etc., since the scriptural verse adduced is only intended to provide a support for the *halakhah*. It is not the verse which is the source but logical reasoning and analogy.

SAYINGS OF THE SCRIBES (ELDERS). In talmudic literature, the expression *mi-divrei soferim* (of scribal origin) has two meanings: a statement in principle from the Torah but whose explanation is of scribal origin (see above, and e.g., Sanh. 88b); a statement decreed or enacted originally by the *soferim*, like "the second degrees of forbidden marriages are of scribal origin" (Yev. 2:4). What follows applies to the second meaning. Everything whose source is in statements of the scholars throughout the generations, from Moses to the present time, is called *de-rabbanan*. These teachings include: positive enactments (*takkanot*) made to protect the principles of religion and Torah, and negative enactments (*gezerot*) decreed to prevent breaches. From the verse "According to the law which they shall teach thee… thou shalt not turn aside from the sentence which they shall declare unto thee, to the right hand, nor to the left" (Deut. 17:11) it was inferred that it is a positive precept to obey the great *bet din* not only in everything applying to the text of the Torah, but also in everything that they found necessary to enact, and a warning is issued to anyone disregarding it.

The Authority of the Sages. In the Talmud the authority of the sages was defined as follows:

The sages have the power to abolish a biblical injunction (Yev. 89b–90b) in certain circumstances, such as: in monetary matters, on the basis of the rule that "deprivation of ownership by the *bet din* is valid"; in cases of the passive act of "refraining from an action" (*shev ve-al ta'aseh*), in which they forbade the **lulav* and **shofar* to be handled and used on the Sabbath, lest they be carried in a public domain (thus the rabbinic prohibition is the cause of the biblical precept being ignored!).

The *bet din* has the power to temporarily disregard a biblical precept in order to reinforce observance. Similarly the court "may inflict flagellation and other punishment not in accordance with Torah law, in order to erect a protective fence round the Torah," but such acts may not be defined as *halakhah* – which would imply that the ruling is of a permanent character. So too, if it saw a temporary need to suspend a positive precept, or to transgress an injunction, in order to bring many back to religion, or to save the community from being ensnared in a transgression, all in accordance with the need of the time but not for future generations (Maim. Yad, Sanhedrin 24:4; Mamrim 2:4). The classical example is Elijah offering sacrifice on Mt. Carmel at the time when the Temple existed (and sacrifice outside it was prohibited, Zev. 4b).

No restriction may be imposed upon the congregation if the majority cannot abide by it (BB 60b). So too no restriction may be imposed that would cause substantial loss (see, e.g., MK 2a) or excessive trouble. "It is preferable for them to transgress inadvertently rather than deliberately" (Beẓah 30a).

No court can abolish the decision of another contemporary court unless it be greater in wisdom and in number. The possibility of abolishing a restriction thus depends upon an important limitation: "It must be greater in wisdom and number" (Eduy. 1:5; for the meaning of this rule, which apparently prevents all possiblity of abolishing a *bet din* ruling, see Weiss, Dor, pt. 2, sec. 7 and Albeck in the supplements to Mishnah *Nezikin*).

At times the sages gave their pronouncements the same, and at times even greater, validity than those of the Torah. For example: "These days, enumerated in Megillat Ta'anit, are forbidden [for fasting], along with both the preceding and the following day. As to Sabbaths and New Moons, fasting on them is forbidden, but it is permitted on the preceding and following days. What is the difference between them? The latter are of biblical origin and words of the Torah require no reinforcement, whereas the former are of scribal authority and the words of the scribes require reinforcement" (RH 19a). Thus they were more stringent about the fulfillment of their *takkanot* than about the enactment of the Torah itself, because for the latter no danger of negligence was anticipated, as it was with their regulations. Many of the edicts and *takkanot* are anonymous, just as the early *halakhah* in general is anonymous: according to dogmatic conception they were all enacted and accepted by a vote of the great *bet din* in which, too, all disputed matters were decided. The modern historical approach, too, is close to this view, even though the concept "the great *bet din*" was not identical in all periods (see Ḥ. Albeck, in: *Zion*, 8 (1942–43), 85–93, 165–78; L. Finkelstein, *The Pharisees*, 1962^3). Notwithstanding, many *takkanot* and edicts are mentioned that are connected with the names of definite persons or places, such as Joshua b. Gamla, Simeon b. Shetaḥ, Bet Shammai and Bet Hillel, Gamaliel the Elder, Johanan b. Zakkai, Gamaliel of Jabneh, the scholars of Usha, Judah ha-Nasi, etc. There are also many *halakhot* that are attributed to biblical personalities such as Moses, Joshua, Samuel, David, Solomon, Hezekiah, Daniel, the prophets (and the men of the *Great Synagogue). The individuals enumerated appear as heads of *batei din*.

The distinction between the concepts *de-orayta* and *de-rabbanan* in the whole field of *halakhah* actually derives from the *amoraim*, but it already existed in the time of the *tannaim* and is recognizable by the penalties fixed for transgressions of the different categories, and there is also found the explicit expression "statements of the scribes" in contrast to "statements of the Torah" (e.g., Yev. 2:4; Par. 11:5–6; Yad. 3:2; Zev. 99b). But the views of the *tannaim* and *amoraim* on this matter do not completely coincide, and at times a matter which according to tannaitic sources appears to be *de-orayta* becomes in the era of the *amoraim de-rabbanan*. The difference between the two concepts *de-orayta* and *de-rabbanan* not only expresses itself in penalties (thus, e.g., the sacrifices which one who transgresses the words of the Torah must bring as an atonement for his iniquity are not imposed as an obligation on one transgressing a prohibition of the sages, but on the other hand the sages have the right to flog one transgressing their words with "stripes of correction" in order to punish and reform him); there is also a difference in the halakhic consideration: "In the case of doubt with regard to a biblical injunction the stringent view is accepted, in the case of rabbinical, the lenient" (Beẓah 3b; TJ, Er. 3:4).

CUSTOM. The word custom (Heb. *minhag*) has various meanings in talmudic literature, and not all have the same force, even though all serve as sources of *halakhah*.

Religious custom which can be relied upon where the *halakhah* is unclear: "Every *halakhah* that is unclear in the *bet din* and you do not know its nature, go and see how the community conducts itself and conduct yourself accordingly" (TJ, Pe'ah 7:5). Here the concept of custom is close to the concept of "consensus" in Muslim law in its original stage: the people as a whole do not err, and therefore custom decides the matter; its nature is as the nature of the *halakhah*. In the Babylonian Talmud this idea is expressed in the words "Go and see how the public are accustomed to act" (Ber. 45a), and this too is certainly what Hillel meant when he said: "Leave it to Israel; if they are not prophets, they are the children of prophets" (Pes. 66a).

Religious custom that is not publicly proclaimed as the official *halakhah* (see Ta'an 26b): here too, as in the previous section, the reference is not to a new custom but to fixing the norm in a *halakhah* concerning which there is a dispute, in accordance with the existing custom.

A custom that is in contradiction to the theoretical *halakhah* but by virtue of being a public custom, and that of conscientious people, has the power to cancel the *halakhah* (TJ, Yev, 12:1; Sof. 14, ed. Higger, 270f.): in these cases, the custom replaces the *halakhah*.

A custom introduced by a definite group – such as the citizens of a town, a group of pious men, women, professional groups, etc. – in some area of religious, social, or legal life, additional to the existing *halakhah*: such a custom serves as a source of *halakhah* which may not be altered and has the same authority as the words of the sages (see, e.g., Pes. 4:1; BM 7:1; et al.).

[Benjamin De Vries]

See also **Minhag*.

DEVELOPMENT OF HALAKHAH

The Early Period

Codes of law are found in the Pentateuch (Ex. 21–23:19; Lev. 19; Deut. 21–25) together with smaller collections and numerous individual laws. Biblical criticism explains the differences in style and the contradictions between one collection and another on the grounds that these groups of laws were produced in different circles at diverse times, e.g., in one collection the tithe is given to the levite (Num. 18:20–32) whereas in Deuteronomy it is retained by the farmer himself to be eaten in the place of the central sanctuary (Deut. 14:22–26). This kind of solution was not open to the Pharisaic teachers so that the early *halakhah* reconciles the two passages by postulating two tithes, the first (*ma'aser rishon*) to be given to the Levite and the second (*ma'aser sheni*) to be eaten in the place of the central sanctuary. Moreover, according to the traditional view, God conveyed to Moses together with the Written Law (*torah she-bi-khetav*) an Oral Law (*torah she be-al peh*). This latter embraced both the specific "laws given to Moses at Sinai" and the many interpretations of the written text now found in the rabbinic literature.

One of the main points at issue between the Sadducees and the Pharisees was the validity of this doctrine of the Oral Law, the Pharisees affirming and the Sadducees denying it. But this is to oversimplify the problem. It is obvious that some process of interpretation of the written texts must have begun at the earliest period since many of the texts are unintelligible as they stand (though this is very different from the affirmation that the interpretation was uniform and handed down unimpaired from generation to generation). Buying and selling, for example, are mentioned in the Pentateuch without any indication of how the transfer of property was to be effected. The law of divorce (Deut. 24:1–4) speaks of a "bill of divorcement," but gives no information on how this is to be written. Ezekiel 44:31 would seem to be an interpretation of the laws found in Exodus 22:30 and Deuteronomy 14:21 (Weiss, Dor, 1 (1904^4), 44–45). Jeremiah 17:21 is an interpretation of what is involved in Sabbath "work." It would appear certain that by about 400 B.C.E., after the return from Babylon and the establishment of the Second Temple, the Pentateuch had become the Torah (the Written Law) and there had begun to develop an oral interpretation of the Pentateuchal texts.

The identity of the men of the Great Synagogue, who are said to have flourished immediately after the return, is still a major problem, as is the relationship of this body to the "Scribes" (*soferim*; according to Frankel, *Darkhei ha-Mishnah* (1923), 3–7 et al.). The men of the Great Synagogue were the executive of a movement of Pentateuchal interpretation of which the "Scribes" formed the general body. However, more recent studies have demonstrated that the *soferim* were simply a class of biblical exegetes inferior in status to the "sages" so that it is illegitimate to speak of the period of the "Scribes" (Kaufmann, Y., Toledot, 4 (1960), 481–5; E. Urbach, in: *Tarbiz*, 27 (1957/58), 166–82). The Midrash process, in which the texts were carefully examined for their wider meaning and application, no doubt had its origin in this period. Another vexed question is whether the Midrash of a particular text is the real source of the law said to be derived from it or whether the law came first with the Midrash no more than a peg on which to hang it. The most convincing way of coping with the evidence on this matter is to suggest that the earliest Midrashim were in the nature of a real derivative process by means of which the deeper meaning and wider application of the texts were uncovered (although this must not be taken to exclude the existence of actual traditions for which texts were subsequently found). In the later Midrash the process is reversed.

The whole period down to the age of the Maccabees – on any showing the formative period in the history of the *halakhah* – is shrouded in obscurity. Y. Baer (in *Zion*, 17 (1951–52), 1–55) has argued that there was little pure academic legal activity at this period and that many of the laws originating at this time were produced by a kind of rule of thumb in which pious farmers in a comparatively simple form of society worked out basic rules of neighborly conduct, much in the same way as this was done among the Greeks in the age of Solon. Some of these rules can possibly still be detected among the earliest strata of the Mishnah, e.g., in the first chapter of *Bava Kamma*, which includes a formulation of the law of torts worded in the first person.

There are references in the sources to five pairs of teachers – the *zugot* ("pairs," *duumviri*) – beginning with Yose b. Joezer and Yose b. Johanan in the time of the Maccabees and ending with Hillel and Shammai in the time of Herod. The ethical maxims of these teachers are recorded in the Mishnah (Avot 1:4–5) but little legal material has been transmitted in their name. At this time, it was said, there was no legal debate in Israel (Tosef., Ḥ¦v́ŏ 2:9), i.e., the law was known or where in doubt was decided by the "great court" in Jerusalem.

Historically considered there is no question, however, of a uniform *halakhah*, even at this early period, handed down from generation to generation in the form the *halakhah* assumes in the tannaitic period. Apart from the great debates on legal matters between the Sadducees and the Pharisees, the *halakhah* in the books of the Apocrypha (and the writings of the Qumran sect) is not infrequently at variance with the *halakhah* as recorded in the Mishnah and the other tannaitic sources (e.g., the law of false witnesses in Susannah conflicts with the Pharisaic law as recorded in the Mishnah, Mak. 1:4). Even in the Pharisaic party itself the schools of Hillel and Shammai at the beginning of the present era differed on hundreds of laws, so that it was said that there was a danger of the Torah becoming two *torot* (Sanh. 88b).

A major problem here is the motivation behind the approaches of the two rival schools. The theory associated with L. Ginzberg (*On Jewish Law and Lore* (1955), 102–18) and L. Finkelstein (op. cit.) finds the differences in the different social strata to which the schools belonged. The school of Shammai, it is argued, was legislating for the upper classes, the wealthy landowners and aristocrats, while the school of Hillel was legislating for the poorer urban workers and artisans. Thus according to the school of Hillel the legal definition of a "meal" is one dish, whereas according to the school of Shammai it is at least two dishes (Beẓah 2:1). In most societies the woman has a much more significant role among the upper classes than among the lower. Hence the school of Hillel rules that a valid marriage can be effected by the delivery to the woman of the smallest coin – a *perutah* – whereas the school of Shammai demands the much larger minimum amount of a *dinar* (Kid. 1:1). The school of Shammai only permits the divorce of a wife if she is unfaithful whereas the school of Hillel permits it on other grounds (Git. 9:10). While there is undoubtedly some truth in the theory of social motivation it is too sweeping to be entirely adequate. Other motives, such as different exegetical methods, were also at work (see Alon, *Meḥkarim*, 2 (1958), 181–222).

The Tannaitic Period (c. 1–220 C.E.).

The debates between the schools of Hillel and Shammai set in motion new debating processes among the rabbinic teachers of first- and second-century Palestine, the *tannaim*. Prominent in the second century were the rival schools of R. Akiva and R. Ishmael, who differed in their concept of the Torah revelation and, as a result, in their attitude toward the scope of the *halakhah* (see A.J. Heschel, *Torah min ha-Shamayim* (first 2 vols., 1962, 1965). According to R. Ishmael's school "the Torah speaks in the language of men" (Sif. Num. 15:31) and it is therefore not permissible to derive new laws from such linguistic usages as the infinitive absolute before the verb. According to the school of R. Akiva it is legitimate to do this and to derive laws from the use of the particles *gam* ("also") and *et* (the sign of the accusative), for example in Pesaḥim 22b, since in the view of this school no word or letter of the Torah can be considered superfluous or merely for the purpose of literary effect. A later teacher characterized the methods of the Akiva school by telling of Moses on high asking God why He had affixed the decorative "crowns" to some of the letters of the Torah. God replies that after many generations there will arise a man, Akiva b. Joseph by name, "who will expound upon each tittle heaps and heaps of laws." Moses then asks permission to see Akiva and is transported across time to enter Akiva's academy where he is unable to follow the arguments! Moses is distressed but is later comforted when Akiva replies to the question of his disciples: "Whence do you know this?" by stating: "It is a law given to Moses at Sinai" (Men. 29b).

At the end of the second century R. Judah ha-Nasi edited the Mishnah, in which were summarized all the legal debates and decisions of the *tannaim*. Judah ha-Nasi is better spoken of as the editor of the Mishnah, not its author, since it is clear that his compilation is based on earlier formulations, particularly those of R. Akiva and his disciple R. Meir. Indeed it is possible to detect various early strata embedded in the final form the Mishnah has assumed. For instance, the Mishnah (Pes. 1:1) records a rule that a wine cellar requires to be searched for leaven on the eve of Passover and then records a debate between the schools of Hillel and Shammai on how this rule is to be defined.

The Amoraic Period (c. 220–470 C.E.)

Once the Mishnah had been compiled it became a sacred text second only to the Bible. The word of the post-mishnaic teachers in both Palestine and Babylon (the *amoraim*) was confined chiefly to discussion and comment on the Mishnah and to the application of its laws (and those found in the other tannaitic sources). It became axiomatic that no *amora* had the right to disagree with a *tanna* in matters of law unless he was able to adduce tannaitic support for his view. It must not be thought, however, that the *amoraim* were only concerned with practical application of the *halakhah*. A good deal of their work was in the field of abstract legal theory in which purely academic questions were examined and debated (see M. Guttmann, in *Devir*, 1 (1923), 38–87; 2 (1923), 101–64).

The *halakhah* of the Palestinian *amoraim* was eventually collected in the Jerusalem Talmud, that of the Babylonian *amoraim* in the Babylonian Talmud. With the "closing" of the Talmud this work virtually became the infallible source of the *halakhah*. Occasionally in the Middle Ages, as Weiss (Dor, 3 (1904^4) 216–30) has demonstrated, authorities would disagree with talmudic rulings. Maimonides, for example, disregards in his code any laws based on a belief in the efficacy of magic even though the laws are found in the Talmud and are not disputed there. Some of the *geonim* tended to adopt a more lenient attitude toward the talmudic laws governing the relations between Jews and gentiles on the grounds that the gentiles in their milieu (the Muslims) were not idolaters. But such exceptions were few. The history of post-talmudic *halakhah* is founded on the appeal to the Talmud as the final and overriding authority. "To it [the Talmud] one must not add and from it one must not subtract" (Maim., Comm. to Mishnah, intro.). Of the two Talmuds the Babylonian became the more authoritative for a number of reasons. The *halakhah* of the Babylonian Talmud is more highly developed and more comprehensive; the Babylonian Talmud is later than the Jerusalem and hence able to override the decisions of the latter; the textual condition of the Babylonian Talmud is in a more satisfactory state; the Babylonian *geonim* at Sura and Pumbedita were in direct succession to the Babylonian *amoraim* (so that the Babylonian Talmud became "our Talmud") and the hegemony of the teachings of Babylonia was considerably strengthened as a result of political developments, including the emergence of Baghdad as the seat of the caliphate. Maimonides (Yad, intro.) states the accepted view: "All Israel is obliged to follow the matters stated in the Babylonian Talmud. Every city and every province are to be coerced to follow all the customs which the sages of the Talmud followed and to obey their decisions and follow their enactments since all the matters in the Talmud have been accepted by all Israel. And those sages who made the enactments or introduced the decrees or ordained the customs or decided the laws, teaching that the decision was so, were all the sages of Israel or the majority of them. And they heard by tradition the main principles of the whole Torah generation after generation reaching back to the generation of Moses our teacher on whom be peace."

Rules for determining the actual decision in law from the labyrinth of legal debate and discussion that is the Talmud are provided by the Talmud itself and by the savoraic additions to the Talmud, and other rules were widely accepted by the post-talmudic authorities. The following, in addition to those mentioned above, are some of the more important of these rules which enabled the Talmud to serve as the final authority in *halakhah* even though it is not itself a code of law.

Where there is a debate between an individual sage and his colleagues the view of the majority is adopted (Ber. 9a). The school of Hillel is always followed against the school of Shammai (Er. 6b). In the many matters debated by Rav and Samuel the view of Rav is followed in religious matters and that of Samuel in civil law (Bek. 49b). Except in three specified cases the opinion of R. Johanan is followed against that of R. Simeon b. Lakish (Yev. 36a). Similarly, except in three specified cases the opinion of Rabbah is followed against that of R. Joseph (BB 114b). The decision of Rava is followed against that of Abbaye except in six specified cases (Kid. 52a). Wherever a talmudic debate concludes with the statement "the law is…" (*ve-hilkheta*) this ruling is adopted. The lenient opinion is adopted when there is a debate regarding the laws of mourning for near relatives (MK 26b). The rulings of later authorities are generally preferred to those of earlier ones (from Rava onward) on the grounds that the later scholars, though aware of the opinions of the others, still saw fit to disagree with them (*Sefer Keritut*, 4:3, 6). It is generally accepted that where a ruling is conveyed in a talmudic passage anonymously (*setama*) this implies unanimity among the final editors and is to be followed even if elsewhere in the Talmud the matter is a subject of debate (see Tos. to Ber. 20b and Yev. 116a). Halakhic decisions are not generally to be derived from aggadic statements (based on TJ, Pe'ah 2:4; see ET, 1 (1951^3), 62). This rule was not applied consistently and was occasionally departed from, particularly in the French and German schools in the Middle Ages for whom the entire talmudic material, including the *aggadah*, tended to be invested with infallible authority.

In spite of the "closing" of the Talmud (occasioned chiefly by the disturbed conditions at the end of the fifth century when the great Babylonian schools were closed for a fairly long period) and its acceptance as the final authority, new legislation could still be introduced under the heading of *takkanah* ("enactment"), of which there are many examples in the Talmud itself. By means of the *takkanah* it was possible to cope with new circumstances not covered by the talmudic law. From time to time the principle, found in the Talmud, was resorted to that "a court can inflict penalties even when these run counter to the Torah" if the times require it (Yev. 90b; see above). In Spain, for example, in the Middle Ages, the courts assumed the power to inflict capital and corporal punishment even though this right had long been taken from them according to the strict letter of the law (see Baron, Community, 1 (1942), 168–9 and notes).

Codification of the Halakhah

Teachers of the *halakhah* in the Middle Ages and afterward were of two main types. Firstly there were the legal theoreticians such as Rashi and the tosafists, whose main activity consisted of exposition of the classical legal texts of the Talmud and other early rabbinic works. These were known as the *mefareshim* ("commentators") and their writings were naturally utilized to determine the practical law even though this was not their own province. Secondly there were the *posekim* ("decision-makers") whose opinions in practical legal matters were accepted because of their acknowledged expertise in this field. The activity of the *posekim* was of two kinds: responsa and codification. Questions of law on which direct guidance from the Talmud was not forthcoming were addressed to the great legal luminaries and from time to time these responsa were collected, helping to form the basis for new codifications of the *halakhah*. Both the new and older laws were frequently classified and codified. The process of responsa and subsequent *codification has continued down to the present.

One of the earliest codes was the **Halakhot Gedolot* of Simeon Kayyara (ninth century). Isaac *Alfasi compiled an abbreviated, and with regard to some texts an expanded, version of the Babylonian Talmud in which only the conclusions of the talmudic discussions were recorded so as to provide a digest of talmudic *halakhah* in its practical application. Where the Babylonian Talmud has no rulings Alfasi followed decisions found in the Jerusalem Talmud. *Maimonides compiled his gigantic code, the *Mishneh Torah* (called, after his death, the *Yad ha-Ḥazakah*), in which he presented the final decisions in all matters of *halakhah*, including those laws which no longer obtained in his day, such as the laws of the sacrificial cult. *Asher b. Jehiel, known as the Rosh (Rabbenu Asher), compiled a code in which due weight was given to the opinions of the French and German authorities which frequently differed from those of the Spanish authorities as recorded by Maimonides. Asher's son, *Jacob b. Asher, followed in his father's footsteps in his code known as the *Tur* ("row," pl. *Turim*, properly the "Four Rows," so called because the work is divided into four parts).

By the time of Joseph *Caro there was much confusion in the whole realm of practical *halakhah*. In addition to the many differences between the codes, Jewish communities tended to differ in their application of the laws so that, as Caro remarks (*Beit Yosef*, Intro.), the Torah had become not two *torot* but many *torot*. In his great commentary to the *Tur*, called *Beit Yosef*, Caro sought to remedy the situation by working out a practical guide for a uniform application of the *halakhah*. His method was to follow a majority opinion whenever the three earlier codes of Alfasi, Maimonides, and the *Tur* disagreed and to rely on other authorities whenever this method of deciding was not possible. Caro's *Shulḥan Arukh contains the gist of his decisions as worked out in the *Beit Yosef*. Unfortunately, however, Caro's method weighted the scales in favor of the Spanish schools, since these were generally in accord with the views of Alfasi and Maimonides, against the German views as represented by Asher b. Jehiel and the *Tur*. The Shulḥan Arukh was thus incapable of serving as a practical guide to the German Jews and their followers in Poland, which from the 16th century became a foremost center of Jewish life. The remedy was provided by Moses *Isserles of Cracow who added notes to the Shulḥan Arukh, known as the MAPPAH, in which the German-Polish practices were recorded where these differed from the opinions of the Shulḥan Arukh. The Shulḥan Arukh, together with the *Mappah*, became the most authoritative code in the history of the *halakhah*, partly, at least, because it was the first code to be compiled after the invention of printing and was therefore sure of the widest dissemination.

The Shulḥan Arukh marked a turning point in the history of the *halakhah*. Even when later authorities departed from its rulings they did so reluctantly. Adherence to the Shulḥan Arukh became the test of Jewish fidelity. The "Shulḥan Arukh Jew" became the supreme type of Jewish piety. Earlier rabbinical authorities were known as **rishonim* while later ones were known as **aḥaronim*. Rabbinic authority even in modern times is much more reluctant to disagree with the *rishonim* than the *aḥaronim*.

The Authority of the Halakhah

Halakhah is the distinctive feature of Judaism as a religion of obedience to the word of God. It united Jews of many different temperaments, origins, and theological opinions, though the view ("pan-halakhism" as A.J. Heschel called it) that submission to the *halakhah* is all that is demanded of the Jew is a travesty of traditional Judaism. The major practical differences between Orthodox and Reform Judaism depend on the different attitudes of these groups to the *halakhah*. Orthodoxy considers the *halakhah*, in its traditional form, to be absolutely binding, whereas Reform, while prepared to be guided by the legal decisions of the past in some areas, rejects the absolute binding force of the traditional *halakhah*. Conservative Judaism adopts a midway position, treating the traditional *halakhah* as binding but feeling freer to interpret it and attempting to preserve the dynamic principle of legal development which, it claims, is typical of the talmudic period. The Orthodox rabbi, when faced with new halakhic problems raised, for instance, by the invention of printing and the use of electricity, will try to arrive at a decision by applying directly the ancient halakhic principles in the new circumstances. The Reform rabbi will be more inclined to consider the religious demands of the new age and will tend to operate within non-halakhic categories. The Conservative rabbi will try to utilize these latter in working out a fresh interpretation of the traditional *halakhah*.

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HALAKHAH LE-MOSHE MI-SINAI (Heb. הֲלָכָה לְמֹשֶׁה מִסִּינַי; "a law given to Moses at Sinai"). As part of the *Oral Law, a number of laws, possessing biblical authority but neither stated in Scripture nor derived by hermeneutical principles, are stated in rabbinic literature to be "laws given to Moses at Sinai." The term occurs only three times in the Mishnah (Pe'ah 2:6; Eduy. 8:7; Yad. 4:3) but is found frequently together with terms of similar import, in the other sources of rabbinic Judaism, particularly in the Talmud (such as – "there is a received *halakhah*"; "there is a received tradition"; or simply "received"). Similarly, according to the Jerusalem Talmud (Shab. 1:4, 3b) the expression "in truth they said" also belongs to this category (however, see BM 60a and Rashi s.v. *be-emet*).

Among the laws said to have been given to Moses at Sinai are the 18 defects which render an animal *terefah (Ḥul. 42a); the duty of walking round the altar with willows and the feast of water drawing, both on the festival of Tabernacles (Suk. 34a); the underside and duct of the *tefillin*, the parchment of the *tefillin*, that the straps of the *tefillin* be black and the *tefillin* themselves square (Men. 35a), and that they should have a knot (Er. 97a); the minimum quantities of forbidden foods to constitute an offense and the rules regarding interpositions on the body which invalidate a ritual immersion (Er. 4a); that only half the damage is to be paid when damage is done by pebbles flying from under an animal's feet (BK 3b); and that doubtful cases of levitical defilement, if occurring in the public domain, are to be treated as pure (Ḥul. 9b). It will be seen that all these refer to long-established rules which could not have been known without a tradition to that effect. The medieval commentators point out that on occasion the term, *halakhah le-Moshe mi-Sinai*, is used of much later enactments and is not always to be taken literally, but refers to a *halakhah* which is so certain and beyond doubt that it is as though it were a *halakhah* given to Moses at Sinai (Asher ben Jehiel *Hilkhot Mikva'ot*, 1 (at the end of his *Piskei ha-Rosh* to *Niddah*) and his *Commentary to Mishnah*, Yad. 4:3). In most cases, however, they explain it literally, i.e., that these *halakhot* were transmitted by God to Moses at Sinai. Modern scholarship is skeptical about the whole question, but it is clear that the rabbis themselves did believe in the existence of laws transmitted verbally to Moses.

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[Louis Jacobs]

HALAKHIC PERIODICALS. The first Jewish periodical to appear was the **Peri Ez-Ḥayyim* which first appeared in 1691. This journal consisted primarily of responsa to halakhic queries sent from all parts of the Dutch empire of its day; 13 volumes were published during the 116 years of its existence, until 1807.

Halakhic periodical literature continued to develop through the years. Noteworthy is the *Shomer Ẓiyyon ha-Ne'eman*, which appeared in Germany during the years 1846–56, under the guidance of Rabbi Jacob Ettlinger, containing, *inter alia*, responsa. The turn of the 20th century saw the growth of rabbinic halakhic periodicals in Eastern Europe, and eventually in America; e.g., *Ha-Pardes* which was originally founded in Poland in 1913, still appears in New York. Among the European periodicals, *Tel Talpiot* (Vac, Hungary), appeared from 1812–1938, and *Yagdil Torah* (Slutsk, Belorussia, 1908–28) are especially worthy of mention.

After World War II the center of halakhic activity naturally shifted to Israel, with the United States taking second place. *Sinai*, which was founded even before the war (Jerusalem, 1937–) includes contemporary and historical responsa.

The establishment of the State of Israel has generated an intensification of activity in applying *halakhah* to all facets of modern life – its technology, society and economy have all been the subject of halakhic research. It gave rise to *Ha-Torah ve-ha-Medinah*, published by the Rabbinical Association of Ha-Po'el Ha-Mizrachi (1949–62), which dealt with such topics as security, medical ethics, legislation, law applying to the Land of Israel and Family Law. Thus, among topics discussed in vol. 1 are: the right to grant clemency to those sentenced by the courts of Israel, the authority of the president and the institutions of elected government, and the legal status of spoils of war. Vol. 4 (1952) included articles on the rights of women according to the *halakhah*, and women's service in the armed forces; vols. 5–6, security measures in the State on the Sabbath and Festivals; vols. 7–8, the powers of municipal authorities according to the *halakhah*; vols. 11–13 (1960–62), the religious duty of *aliyah*, the prohibition against leaving Israel, and the liability of rabbis to taxation. *Or ha-Mizraḥ* (1959–), issued by the Ha-Po'el Ha-Mizrachi of the United States, is essentially a Diaspora equivalent of *Ha-Torah ve-ha-Medinah*.

Unlike the above two works, which appear under the aegis of a public body, *No'am* (1959–), "A platform for the clarification of halakhic problems," is a venture of the Torah Shelemah Institute of Jerusalem, and its scope is much wider. Among the practical problems dealt with are the use of the birth control pill (11:167), heart transplants (13:1), the transplanting of kidneys and artificial kidneys (14:308), artificial insemination (10:314), and even whether the laws of the Torah are applicable to a Jew on the moon (13:196). Among the other contemporary Israeli journals containing responsa, noteworthy are *Assia*, published in Jerusalem by the Dr. F. Schlesinger Institute for Medical Halakhic Research at Shaare Zedek Hospital (1969–), which acts as a forum for modern medical ethical problems; *Ha-Ma'yan*, published in Jerusalem by the Y. Breuer Institute (1952–); *Kol Torah* (Jerusalem, 1930–); *Torah She-be-al Peh*, published in Jerusalem by Mosad Ha-Rav Kook, consisting of the proceedings of the annual Oral Law Conferences devoted to various fields of current interest (1958–); *Moriah*, published in Jerusalem (1969–), and *Shma'atin* (1964–), a forum for dealing with problems in religious education. Devoted to Jewish Law (*Mishpat Ivri*) are *Diné Israel* (1969–), an annual published by the Faculty of Law of Tel Aviv University, and *Shenaton ha-Mishpat ha-Ivri* (1974–), published by the Institute for Research in Jewish Law at the Hebrew University Law School.

In America, *Ha-Darom* (1957–), published in New York by the Rabbinical Council of America, discusses a broad spectrum of modern halakhic questions. The English language *Tradition* (1958–), also published in New York by the RCA, includes a section, a "Survey of Recent Halakhic Periodical Literature" as well as halakhic articles and essays. *Talpiot* (1943–63), which was published in New York by Yeshiva University, is also worthy of mention.

[Menahem Slae]

HALAKHOT GEDOLOT (Heb. הֲלָכוֹת גְּדוֹלוֹת), halakhic code belonging to the geonic period.

Nature of the Code

The *Halakhot Gedolot* gives a systematic and comprehensive summary of all the talmudic laws. Although in general it follows the order of the tractates of the Talmud, it groups together the various *halakhot* scattered in the Talmud according to their logical order, and, contrary to the procedure adopted in the Mishnah and *Gemara*, first states the general principle before giving the details. It also assigns new names to certain groups of *halakhot*, and embodies laws (such as those dealing with sacrifices and some of those applicable to the priests) which were no longer observed after the destruction of the Temple. The decisions are founded on those of the Talmud and on the halakhic principles laid down by its sages. The work is based on the Babylonian Talmud but the author also makes use to some extent of the Jerusalem Talmud, which he refers to as "the Talmud of the West." Other sources are the responsa of Babylonian *geonim* and the halakhic work of the same period *Sefer ha-Ma'asim shel Benei Ereẓ Yisrael*. *Halakhot Gedolot* spread throughout Jewry, and in the course of time decisions of *Yehudai Gaon and those of a later date were incorporated into it. The earlier authorities often quote excerpts from it which are different, or entirely absent, from the extant work.

The *Halakhot Gedolot* has an introduction – it is the first rabbinic work to have one – and it is generally held that it was directed against the *Karaites and others who rejected the Oral Law. It is in two parts, the one comprising aggadic statements in praise of the Torah and its students; the other enumerating, for the first time, the 613 *commandments mentioned in the Talmud (Mak. 23b). They are classified according to the degree of punishment incurred in transgressing them and according to their common character. This list of 365 negative and 248 positive commandments, which provided the basis for similar elaborations in various *azharot, was severely criticized by Maimonides in his *Sefer ha-Mitzvot*, and defended by Naḥmanides.

Recensions of the Work

The work is extant in two recensions. The one (*Halakhot Gedolot 1*), published in Venice in 1548, is the Babylonian recension, which is the earlier and which preserves the original version. It was this recension that was used by the French and German scholars. The other (*Halakhot Gedolot 2*) was published by A. Hildesheimer on the basis of the Vatican manuscript (1892) and is, in the opinion of scholars, identical with *Halakhot Gedolot shel Ispamya* ("Spain"; Tos. to Yev. 48a, see below), the version used by the scholars of Spain, southern France, and Italy. Various excerpts from this Spanish recension are not found in *Halakhot Gedolot 1*, having been omitted by copyists. Moreover, the former contains later additions, commentaries, and supercommentaries, and also the names of *geonim* who lived after Simeon Kayyara (see below), the last *gaon* to be mentioned in it being Ẓemaḥ b. Paltoi (890 C.E.). This recension, which may have been compiled in North Africa (Kairouan), was called by the northern French scholars *Halakhot Gedolot shel Ispamya*, having reached them from Spain by way of southern France. There may also have been other recensions of the work, for a southern French author mentions "our *halakhot* of Simeon Kayyara that came from Ereẓ Israel" (*Ha-Ittur*, pt. 2 (1874), 22c), while various excerpts from *Halakhot Gedolot*, not contained in the other recensions, have been found in the Cairo *Genizah*.

Date and Authorship

The authorship and date of the *Halakhot Gedolot* have been the subject of many studies and given rise to conflicting views. The work has been variously ascribed to Sherira Gaon (A.E.

Harkavy (ed.), *Teshuvot ha-Ge'onim*, no. 376; *Zikkaron la-Rishonim ve-gam la-Aḥaronim*, 1/4 (1887)), Hai Gaon (D. Cassel (ed.) *Teshuvot Ge'onim Kadmonim* (1848) no. 87, et al.), by the scholars of Spain and Provence to Simeon Kayyara and to Yehudai Gaon by those of northern France and Germany. In his *Sefer ha-Kabbalah*, Abraham ibn Daud states that Simeon Kayyara lived before Yehudai Gaon and that the latter was the author of *Halakhot Pesukot, written in 741 C.E., which "he compiled from *Halakhot Gedolot*" (Ibn Daud, Tradition, 47f., see also 127, n. 18–19). S.J. Rapoport, following Abraham ibn Daud, held that *Halakhot Gedolot* is composed of two parts: the original *Halakhot Gedolot* of Simeon Kayyara and *Halakhot Pesukot* of Yehudai Gaon, which the latter's pupils incorporated into the former work. According to Rapoport, Yehudai Gaon's statements in *Halakhot Gedolot* can be recognized in two ways: by the Aramaic in which various passages are written, and by the word *pesak* ("legal decision"), which is associated with several statements and which, according to him, derive from *Halakhot Pesukot*. This, however, has been controverted by S.D. Luzzatto (*Beit ha-Oẓar*, 1 (1847), 53af.). Graetz maintained that the work was written by Simeon Kayyara who lived at the end of the ninth or the beginning of the 10th century, some 150 years after Yehudai Gaon had composed *Halakhot Pesukot*. I. Halevy held that the author of *Halakhot Gedolot* was a younger contemporary of the writer of *Halakhot Pesukot*, the latter work being a compilation of Yehudai Gaon's practical decisions, while the former, more theoretical work has its source in the Talmud. A. Epstein contended that *Halakhot Gedolot* was written in Sura by Simeon Kayyara about 825 and that its main sources were Aḥa of Shabḥa's *She'eltot* and Yehudai Gaon's *Halakhot Pesukot*. Seventy years later there was compiled the second recension of the work, the *Halakhot Gedolot shel Ispamya*, the first recension being ascribed by them to Yehudai Gaon.

Simeon Kayyara came from Bozrah in Babylonia, as is attested by Hai Gaon. The city of Bozrah is mentioned twice in *Halakhot Gedolot* (in *Hilkhot Ḥallah* and in *Hilkhot Eruvin*) and was under the spiritual authority of Sura. Indeed, many of the laws and customs mentioned in the work conform to those of Sura, and several of its legal decisions are cited in the name of *geonim* of Sura.

The work has been reprinted several times: Venice (1548), Lemberg (1804), Vienna (1811), Berlin (1888–92, ed. by A. Hildesheimer). The various editions include comments by Solomon Salem (Amsterdam, 1764), notes by S.A. Traub (1875), and the commentary *Sefat Emet* by A. Margalioth (1894).

Halakhot Gedolot-Halakhot Pesukot

A new edition of the *Halakhot Gedolot* is being published by Azriel Hildesheimer through the Mekiẓei Nirdamim publishers, Jerusalem, two parts of which have already appeared (part 1, 1972; part 2, 1980). This edition is based on manuscripts found in the Ambrosiana Library in Milan (henceforth M). Besides this manuscript there are two others which include the entire *Halakhot Gedolot* or most of it, both in the Vatican Library: the first (Ebr. 142) served as the basis of the edition of the *Halakhot Gedolot* (Berlin 1888–92), published by Azriel Hildesheimer, grandfather of the current editor, the other is (Ebr. 136, referred to as R). The *Halakhot Gedolot* published in Warsaw (1875) is based upon the Venice (V) ms. and the Paris (P). Other manuscripts from the *Genizah* are incomplete. Part of this latest Hildesheimer edition includes *halakhot* for the Seder Moed; part 2, Seder Nashim and the three Bavot of the order Nezikin.

Rabbi Isaac *Ibn Ghayyat and *Judah ben Barzillai, author of *Sefer ha-Ittim*, are among the first Spanish sages who quote extensively from the *Halakhot Gedolot* using the text B and the early Ashkenazi sages also rely on it and only rarely cite *halakhot* and variant readings from M.

According to Hildesheimer the author of the *Halakhot Gedolot* wrote only one edition and the many textual variants resulted from adaptations by various other parties, and it is difficult to determine which version is the original one. The M edition was not written in Kairouan and is not identical to the *Halakhot Gedolot shel Ispamya* as A. Epstein thought (*Kitvei A. Epstein*, 2 (1968), 399) though his opinion has been accepted by scholars dealing with the Geonic period. *Halakhot Gedolot* includes many citations from the Talmud which are of importance for the study of the talmudical text itself, since they include many textual variants, some of which, however, are derived from the explanations and commentaries of the author of *Halakhot Gedolot* which he interwove into the text of the Talmud. Hildesheimer's edition gives cross references to the Talmud which were missing in edition B. He has also noted the variances between the text of M and all the other versions of *Halakhot Gedolot.*

THE RELATION OF HALAKHOT GEDOLOT TO HALAKHOT PESUKOT. In contrast to the opinion of various scholars that Rabbi Yehudai Gaon was the author of the *Halakhot Pesukot* published by Sassoon from a manuscript entitled *Halakhot Pesukot of Rabbi Yehudai* (Jerusalem, 1951), Hildesheimer is convinced that *Halakhot Pesukot* is one of the versions of *Halakhot Gedolot* and that it is not identical with the *Halakhot Pesukot* of Rabbi Yehudai; the *Halakhot Pesukot* of the Sassoon manuscript was not written by Rabbi Yehudai Gaon but in a later period, making it impossible for the *Halakhot Pesukot* of the Sassoon manuscript to have served as the source of the *Halakhot Gedolot.* On the contrary, it is based on the *Halakhot Gedolot.* He reached this conclusion on the basis of the following: (1) the arrangement of the *Halakhot Pesukot* as a book divided into chapters according to subjects and topics in contrast to that of the *Halakhot Gedolot* which is based on the order of occurrence the *Halakhot* on the pages of the *Gemara* (especially in the three *Bavot* of *Nezikin*); (2) the citation of *halakhot* in the *Halakhot Pesukot* without noting their source and the deletion of long passages of the *Gemarot* which are given in the *Halakhot Gedolot.* In addition to this, *halakhot* are written out in full in the *Halakhot Gedolot.* In the introduction to the second part of the *Halakhot Gedolot* Hildesheimer cites other proofs to buttress his argument about the connection of the *Halakhot Gedolot* to the *Halakhot Pesukot.* S. Morell, on the other hand, maintains "that the *Halakhot Pesukot* is not an abridged edition of the *Halakhot Gedolot* but an independent work relying on early sources. The two works drew upon the same material and not from each other, the result being that the *Halakhot Pesukot* and *Halakhot Gedolot* are neither an abridgment or expansion but rather the same items arranged according to different systems." Morell is of the opinion that the *Halakhot Pesukot* of the Sassoon manuscript is one of the editions of the *Halakhot* of Rabbi Yehudai which served as a source for the author of the *Halakhot Gedolot.*

With regard to the talmudic topics (*sugyot*) in the *Halakhot Pesukot*, Morell tries to prove that there were other *beraitot* and statements available to the Talmudic sages which were not available to the author of the *Halakhot Pesukot* and vice versa. There are topics in the *Halakhot Pesukot* which are missing in the Talmud and there are intricate discussions in the Talmud which are missing prior to the *Halakhot Pesukot.* There is even an instance in which the Talmudic version is an abridgment of a longer original version retained in the *Halakhot Pesukot.* The sages of the talmudic *sugyot* and those of the *Halakhot Pesukot* used the same raw material which included *beraitot* and received texts of questions and answers, and they edited this material in different ways.

Note should also be taken of the linguistic research concerning the Babylonian Aramaic forms of language as evidenced by the *Halakhot Gedolot* (the Paris manuscript of 1402) which includes words vocalized according to the Babylonian system. Kutscher established the fact that the *Halakhot Pesukot* is the prototype of Babylonian Aramaic, the Aramaic of which is remarkably precise. In the *Halakhot Pesukot* examples of various Aramaic dialects are found: (1) the Aramaic of the texts of contracts in the *Halakhot Pesukot*, (2) Babylonian Aramaic of the quotations from the Babylonian Talmud, (3) Gaonic Aramaic. Some scholars feel that there is linguistic similarity between Babylonian Aramaic and Mandaic.

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[Yehoshua Horowitz]

HALAKHOT KEẒUVOT (Heb. הֲלָכוֹת קְצוּבוֹת), a collection of *halakhot* belonging to the geonic era, attributed to *Yehudai Gaon. *Halakhot Keẓuvot* contains *halakhot* pertaining to the mishnaic order *Mo'ed* and also laws of divorce, wine of gentiles, mourning, *tefillin, ẓiẓit, mezuzah, terefot*, and a special chapter entitled *Shimmush Bet Din* dealing with legislation coming within the jurisdiction of the *bet din*, such as matrimonial and civil laws. The work, written for the most part in fluent simple Hebrew, does not give the sources of the *halakhah* and confines itself to laws of practical application. It is clear now that the *Halakhot Keẓuvot* is not by Yehudai. Some suppose the book to have been written in Ereẓ Israel, but in the opinion of M. Margalioth, it was composed in southern Italy during the second half of the ninth century, shortly before 863. The author draws on the one hand on *Halakhot Pesukot* (as he did not have in his possession the *Halakhot Gedolot), and on the other on a Palestinian halakhic work similar to *Sefer ha-Ma'asim*. Many of the customs cited in the work are contrary to those of the *geonim* but conform with those prevailing in Italy, and the redemption money of a firstborn (see *Pidyon ha-Ben) is given in Italian currency. Likewise, many of its linguistic forms are found only in the works of Italian scholars and the book was known and accepted in Italy for centuries, Italian scholars making extensive use of it. Differences in traditional *halakhot* are attributable to special traditions existing in the place of composition.

Although the book was hardly recognized in Babylonia, the *geonim* paying no attention to it and ignoring it as a source in their decisions, in the European countries it came to be regarded as authoritative. Among those making use of it are *Gershom b. Judah, *Hananel, Judah al-Bargeloni, and Melchizedek of Siponto, and whole sections from it are quoted in works emanating from the school of Rashi, e.g., *Sefer ha-Pardes, Sefer ha-Oraḥ, Siddur Rashi, Maḥzor Vitry, Ma'aseh ha-Ge'onim*, and others. The chief importance of the book is historical, since it is the first halakhic work composed in Europe, and reflects the customs, methods of study, and style of the Jews of southern Italy, the first Torah center in the West. *Halakhot Keẓuvot* was first published by C.M. Horowitz in the collection *Beit Nekhot ha-Halakhot* (*Toratan shel Rishonim*, 1881).

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[Mordecai Margaliot]

HALAKHOT PESUKOT (Heb. הֲלָכוֹת פְּסוּקוֹת; "Decided Laws"), the first known halakhic work of the *geonim*, written in the eighth century and attributed to *Yehudai Gaon or to his pupils. It confines itself to those *halakhot* which are of practical application, arranging them according to subject matter: laws of *eruvin*, Sabbath, Passover, etc. Its language is the Aramaic of the Talmud (for the most part giving the actual wording of the Talmud) and it generally follows the order of the Talmud, only occasionally combining isolated or scattered *halakhot*. The author makes use of the halakhic Midrashim and the Tosefta and there are a few quotations from the Jerusalem Talmud and the *Sefer ha-Ma'asim*. In addition there are cited many explanations and traditions of the *savoraim* handed down by the *geonim*, and mention is made of some of the scholars belonging to the period of the *savoraim*.

Although much of the material in the *Pesukot Halakhot* corresponds to that of the *She'iltot* of R. *Aḥa and it is therefore probable that the author utilized it, it is also possible that both drew upon a common source, a collection of early interpretations available in the academy. Although the *geonim* ascribe the work to Yehudai Gaon, it should not be assumed that he compiled it himself. To explain away the fact that many of the *halakhot* in the *Halakhot Pesukot* differed from the accepted *halakhah*, the *geonim* and *rishonim* propagated the tradition that Yehudai was blind and that his disciples wrote the work ascribed to him. Yehudai is in fact frequently mentioned in the work, generally as *rosh metivta*, and his son, Joseph, is also mentioned once in the *Hilkhot Re'u*, the Hebrew translation of the work. Further evidence of the work not being wholly that of Yehudai may be seen in its inclusion of *Terefot de-Ereẓ Yisrael*, to which Yehudai was vehemently opposed (see Margalioth, in *Talpioth*, 8, 1963), although it may be that an early copyist added to the Babylonian work a section dealing with the *halakhot* in Ereẓ Israel to provide a parallel between the Babylonian and the Ereẓ Israel laws.

In consequence of this work, Yehudai achieved a reputation enjoyed by few in his time. *Pirkoi b. Baboi, his pupil, says of his master, "for many years there has been none like him… and he never said anything that he had not heard from his teacher… and Mar Yehudai of blessed memory added, 'I have never given any answer to a question for which there was no proof from the Talmud and I learned the law from my teacher, who had it from his own teacher.'" The intent of the above is apparently to emphasize the fact that the work is based on the two pillars of Talmud and tradition and, indeed, it contains no independent views, giving only the words of the talmudic sages or the traditions of the *savoraim* and early *geonim*.

Halakhot Pesukot filled a great need. Yehudai was in constant contact with the communities outside Babylon which turned to him with halakhic problems, and his realization that not everyone could find his way in the Talmud, and that it was impossible to turn to the *geonim* with every problem, led him to take on himself the task of giving the essence of the Talmud, the halakhic conclusion without the involved discussion. The work became indispensable almost as soon as it appeared, "most people turning to the digested *halakhot* saying, 'what concern have we with the Talmud?'" Paltoi, the *gaon* of Pumbedita, opposed this practice, fearing it would cause people to abandon the study of Torah (*Ḥemdah Genuzah*, no. 110).

Many adaptations and abridgments of the book were made, of which fragments have been found in the *genizah*. The scholars who published them gave them the names which were common among the *rishonim*, e.g., *Halakhot Ketu'ot, Halakhot Ketannot*, etc. One of these adaptations is the *Halakhot Keẓuvot, compiled in southern Italy during the first half of the ninth century.

The most important adaptation, which became even more widespread than the original, eventually displacing it, is the *Halakhot Gedolot (Venice, 1548) which absorbed most of the *Halakhot Pesukot*, and added to it a great deal of material from the sources. The *Halakhot Pesukot* was translated into Hebrew and Arabic shortly after it was written. The Hebrew translation (published from an Oxford Ms. by A.L. Schlossberg with an introduction by S.Z.H. Halberstamm in Versailles in 1886) was given the name *Hilkhot Re'u*, since it begins with Exodus 16:29, of which "*Re'u*" is the first word. The translation, executed in Ereẓ Israel, is the first of halakhic material from Aramaic into Hebrew to survive. Its literary standard is not high and many passages which it was difficult to translate were left in the original Aramaic. The translation contains many of the peculiarities of the style and script characteristic of the Jerusalem Talmud and the *Sefer ha-Ma'asim*. The beginning and end of the manuscript are defective, although the Cairo *Genizah* contains many excerpts from which the missing portions could be restored. In general, there is a need for a new scientific edition, since that of Schlossberg is defective and full of errors.

Many fragments of the Arabic translation have also come down, most containing a section of the Aramaic original, followed by the translation, although there are also fragments of a consecutive translation. In all probability there were a number of Arabic translations, testimony to the great popularity of this first halakhic code after the compilation of the Talmud.

Until 1911 *Halakhot Pesukot* was known only through quotations in the books of the early scholars. In that year, however, a manuscript of the work was found by David Sassoon in San'a, the capital of Yemen, and was published by his son Solomon (1951). This unique manuscript is in a fragmentary state; both the beginning and the end are lacking, as well as portions in the body of the text. (Many individual pages of the missing section, however, have been found in the Cairo

Genizah.) *Hilkhot Terefot* from the *Halakhot Pesukot* have been published recently from several remnants.

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[Mordecai Margaliot]

HALBERSTADT, city in Germany. The earliest document testifying to the presence of Jews in Halberstadt dates from 1261; in it the city promises its protection to the Jews "as in the past." It is probable that Jews were already settled in the city in 1189. A Jewish community (*Judendorf*) possessing a synagogue was first mentioned in 1364; it comprised 11 families in 1456, mainly occupied in moneylending. The Jews were expelled from Halberstadt in 1493; although some returned in the 16th century, they were expelled once more in 1595. Shortly afterward, several Jews again settled in the city and built a synagogue, which was destroyed during the Thirty Years War. In 1650 ten Jewish families were granted privileges allowing them to engage in business and moneylending, but forbidding them to build a synagogue. They were permitted to elect a rabbi in 1661. The authorities protected the Jews from the jealousy of Christian merchants and as a result the community had grown to 118 families (639 persons) by 1699. In 1689 Behrend *Lehmann, the powerful *Court Jew of Saxony and protector of the community, established a *bet midrash*, the renowned *klaus* (1707), and in 1712 permission was granted to build a new synagogue. Halberstadt then served as a center for the smaller communities in its environs (e.g., *Halle and *Magdeburg) and was the largest Jewish community in Prussia. Occupations of Jews in this period ranged from simple handicraft to finance and industry. The community was world renowned as a center for Torah study and philanthropy in the 17th and 18th centuries. In 1795 a school for children of poor families, called Hazkarat Ẓevi, was opened. It existed until shortly before the destruction of German Jewry. In the 1850s and 1860s some Hebrew works were printed in Halberstadt. A beautiful *maḥzor* was issued by H. Meyer: J.Z. *Jolles' *Melo ha-Ro'im* was edited by Y.F. Hirsch and printed at the press of J. Hoerling's widow (1859); B.H. *Auerbach's controversial *Sefer ha-Eshkol* appeared in 1867–79; and Elijah of Vilna's *Adderet Eliyahu* was published there. In the 19th and early 20th century the Hirsch family was outstanding in the industrial sphere and for its philanthropic activities.

Halberstadt was the center of Orthodox Jewry in Germany and until 1930 the central organizations of German Orthodox congregations and other Orthodox bodies were situated there. Several famous rabbis served in Halberstadt, including Ẓevi Hirsch *Bialeh, Hirschel *Levin, and members of the *Auerbach family. In 1933 there were 706 Jews in Halberstadt (1.4% of the total population). With the rise of Nazism, and its consequent economic and social pressure, many Jews began to leave. The community reacted to persecution by developing a complex of cultural and educational institutions, and formal relationships were retained with the governmental authorities. In October 1938, some 100 Polish Jews were expelled. On Nov. 10, 1938 the synagogue was first set on fire. Ninety Torah scrolls were desecrated in the streets; the synagogue was subsequently demolished. Some 40 Jewish men were arrested and sent to Buchenwald. Stores were looted and homes were wrecked. The Jewish school was closed in 1941. Between 1939 and 1942, 186 persons were deported; none returned. The only Jews who remained were intermarried.

In 1995 the Moses Mendessohn Academy was founded which is financed by the Federal State of Saxony-Anhalt, the city of Halberstadt, and private donors. It is located in a complex of buildings: the renovated former Klaus synagogue, the site of the former baroque synagogue, the former house of the cantor, and the renovated former bathhouse. The latter houses the Berend Lehmann Museum on Jewish history and culture, which was opened in 2001. It focused on the history of the Jews in Halberstadt as a model for Jewish history in Prussia. In 2005, 30 Jewish families from the former Soviet Union founded a new Jewish community.

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[Zvi Avneri / Larissa Daemmig (2nd ed.)]

HALBERSTADT, ABRAHAM BEN MENAHEM MENKE (d. 1782), German rabbi. Halberstadt studied under his father who was *dayyan* of Halberstadt, as well as under Jonathan *Eybeschuetz. In 1733 he published the Shulḥan Arukh, *Yoreh De'ah* in Amsterdam. In addition to his talmudic learning he acquired a profound knowledge of grammar, mathematics, and astronomy. In his interesting correspondence with his Berlin friend Jeremiah (who has been identified either with Jeremiah b. Naphtali Hirsch of Halberstadt or with Jeremiah b. Ephraim Segal who died in 1788), he expresses his views on the problems of contemporary German Jewry. In a letter written in 1774 he stresses the importance of the study of grammar and the Bible, and in another letter the next year he expresses his admiration for Moses *Mendelssohn and N.H. *Wessely, and suggests that the latter's *Yein Levanon* be used by rabbis as a basis for their sermons. He affirmed that the ignorance of grammar and secular subjects by many rabbis was the cause for their inability to understand correctly certain passages of the Talmud. In a letter in 1770, while emphasizing that all the accusations against Eybeschuetz were baseless, he nevertheless severely censured Eybeschuetz' careless conduct, and condemned the negative character of many of his pupils. His glosses to the Talmud, *Penei Avraham*, have remained in manuscript. He published the *Ba'alei Nefesh* (Berlin 1762) of *Abraham b. David (Rabad), adding to it glosses published in Venice (1741). He died in Berlin.

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[Yehoshua Horowitz]

HALBERSTADT, MORDECAI (also known as Mordecai of Duesseldorf; d. 1770), rabbi and grammarian. Born in the town of Halberstadt at the beginning of the 18th century, Mordecai studied under Abraham b. Judah Berlin, the local rabbi, and Ẓevi Hirsch Ashkenazi, the head of its yeshivah. He proceeded to Frankfurt in 1730 where he studied under Jacob ha-Kohen, author of *Shav Ya'akov*, whose rulings and responsa he quotes in his *Ma'amar Mordekhai* (nos. 10, 69, 70, et al.). He taught at the Halberstadt yeshivah and, on the recommendation of Jacob ha-Kohen, was appointed *av bet din* of Griesheim near Frankfurt (*Ma'amar Mordekhai*, nos. 2, 8, 14). He later served as rabbi of Darmstadt, and then at Duesseldorf (no. 23), where he remained until the end of his life. Requested by Samuel Heilmann of Metz and Joshua *Falk of Frankfurt to join in the ban against Jonathan *Eybeschuetz and to give his opinion about the amulets, Halberstadt was reluctant to attack Eybeschuetz personally and instead recommended that they content themselves with adverse criticism of the activities of the circles close to Shabbateanism. He was the author of the responsa, *Ma'amar Mordekhai* (Bruenn, 1790). Responsum no. 30 deals with the case of an animal in whose stomach was found a needle adhering to the midriff. The scholars of the Rhineland regarded such an animal *kasher* on the basis of responsa by Ephraim Solomon *Luntschitz and Isaiah *Horowitz (*ibid.*, 41b). Halberstadt proved with profound acumen that these alleged responsa were forgeries by the Bonn informer, Krauss, "who forged and testified falsely in the names of those great scholars." *Leḥem Eden*, a pamphlet containing the glosses of Halberstadt's son, MENAHEM MENDEL HALBERSTADT, is appended to the book. Mordecai Halberstadt also compiled a work on grammar that has remained in manuscript. His grandson, who published the *Ma'amar Mordekhai*, refers to him as "Mordecai *Balshan* [the 'linguist'], because of his profound knowledge of the holy tongue and Hebrew grammar."

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[Yehoshua Horowitz]

HALBERSTAEDTER, LUDWIG (1876–1949), Israel radiologist. Born at Beuthen (Bytom), Silesia, he was appointed head of the department of radiotherapy at the Cancer Institute at the University of Berlin in 1919, becoming professor there in 1929. When the Nazis came to power in 1933, he settled in Ereẓ Israel, where two years later he was made professor of radiology and radiotherapy at the Hebrew University, Jerusalem. He was also head of the radiobiology department of the university and director of the cancer department at the Hadassah University Hospital.

Halberstaedter was a radiobiologist and radiotherapist of international reputation. A pioneer in several fields, he investigated the nature of monkey malaria and together with von Prowazek discovered the Halberstaedter-Prowazek bodies widely believed to present a stage in the life history of the causal virus of trachoma.

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HALBERSTAM, ḥasidic dynasty, originating in western Galicia in the mid-19th century. The most important personality in the dynasty was its founder, ḤAYYIM BEN LEIBUSH (1793–1876). Born in Tarnogrod, on his mother's side Ḥayyim was a descendant of Ḥakham Ẓevi (Ẓevi Hirsch *Ashkenazi). Ḥayyim's father directed a *ḥeder*. In 1830 he was appointed rabbi of Nowy Sacz (Zanz). As a youth Ḥayyim was brought to *Jacob Isaac the ḥozeh ("seer") of *Lublin who strongly influenced him and he became a Ḥasid; he studied under Naphtali of *Ropczyce and Ẓevi Hirsch of *Zhidachov. Ḥayyim also studied with Ẓevi Hirsch of *Rymanow, Shalom Rokeaḥ of *Belz, and Israel of *Ruzhin. Ḥayyim administered his yeshivah in the best scholarly tradition of the old-style yeshivot in Poland. He would not permit his pupils to cultivate Ḥasidism until a late stage. Thus both Ḥasidim and *mitnaggedim* were attracted to his yeshivah. Known as strict in matters of learning and observance, he conducted his "court" modestly and discreetly and avoided the splendor and luxury customary at the "courts" of other *ẓaddikim* in that period. The main event in his public life was the dispute between the Ḥasidim of Zanz and Sadagora, which aroused a controversy that spread beyond Galicia and also involved the leading non-ḥasidic rabbis. The principal cause of the dispute lay in the basic difference between the Zanz pattern of Ḥasidism with its stress on traditional learning and ecstatic expression in religious life and the manner of life adopted by Israel of Ruzhin and followed by his descendants. They lived in almost literally royal style, in the utmost luxury and splendor, which aroused resentment and opposition particularly of the Ḥasidim of Zanz, and also of the conservative Ḥasidim of Galicia generally. The publication of Dov Baer of Lyova, the youngest son of Israel of Ruzhin, in which he renounced Ḥasidism and expressed his support of the Haskalah, gave the Ḥasidim of Zanz a weapon against the dynasty of Ruzhin. Ḥayyim issued a letter in which he openly expressed his strong reservations about the way of life of the Sadagora Ḥasidim. It was circulated throughout Galicia, and a stormy debate between the two ḥasidic groups ensued. A rabbinical convention in the Ukraine called for Ḥayyim's excommunication and even demanded that he should be handed over to the authorities. The dispute reached Ereẓ Israel, where it took on an added dimension in affecting the financial arrangements of the *ḥalukkah*, and apportionment of the money from Poland, to support the community in Ereẓ Israel. A number of rabbis, including Joseph Saul *Nathanson of Lvov and Dov Berush *Meisels, rabbi of Warsaw, Ḥayyim's brother-in-law, attempted to reconcile the opposing parties. The Hungarian rabbis intervened without success. After several months the dispute died down, but Ḥayyim remained consistent in his opinions on the matter. Ḥayyim wrote: *Divrei Ḥayyim* (Zolkiew, 1864), on ritual purity and divorce laws; responsa *Divrei Ḥayyim* (Lemberg, 1875), and *Divrei Ḥayyim* (Munkacz, 1877), ḥasidic sermons on Torah and the festivals. His works reveal a profound knowledge of the Talmud and commentaries, the *midrashim*, and medieval philosophical literature. He quotes widely from Judah Halevi's *Kuzari*, Maimonides, Naḥmanides, and Abraham ibn Daud. From later literature, he cites Isaiah Horowitz, Judah Loew of Prague, the prayer book of Jacob Emden, and his teachers in Kabbalah and Ḥasidism. An opponent of asceticism, Ḥayyim was an exponent of the ecstatic mode of prayer and developed the ḥasidic melody. In his writings he emphasized the duty of charity and criticized *ẓaddikim* who lived luxuriously.

Ḥayyim had eight sons. The most important was EZEKIEL SHRAGA OF SIENIAWA (1811–1899), considered a scholar and strict in matters of *halakhah*. He was responsible for the transcription and publication of Abraham b. Mordecai *Azulai's commentaries on the *Zohar, *Or ha-Ḥammah* (1896–98) and *Zohorei Ḥammah* (1881–82), and Ḥayyim *Vital's *Sefer ha-Gilgulim* (1875). In 1878 Akiva ha-Kohen Lieber of Yasienica studied with him and edited his posthumous work *Divrei Yeḥezkel* (Sieniawa, 1906), novellae, sermons on the Torah and for the holidays, and a few responsa. Other influential sons were BARUCH of Gorlice (1826–1906), DAVID of Kshanow (1821–1894), AARON of Zanz (d. 1906), *ẓaddik* and rabbi of Zanz and later of the region. SOLOMON BEN MEYER NATHAN OF BOBOVA (1847–1906), grandson of Ḥayyim, founded a large yeshivah, attracting youth and many Ḥasidim. His son BEN ZION (1873–1941) became celebrated for the beautiful melodies he composed and also attracted many Ḥasidim. He perished in the Holocaust. Ben Zion's son, SOLOMON (d. 2000), found refuge in the United States where he established a ḥasidic center in the Boro Park section of Brooklyn. In December 1959 he also founded the small settlement of Bobova, near Bat Yam, which has subsequently become a center for Bobova Ḥasidim in Israel. Solomon was replaced by his son NAFTALI, who died in 2005. Several descendants of Ḥayyim Halberstam moved to Slovakia where they served as rabbis. One of them, JACOB SAMSON OF CZHOW, settled in Klausenburg (Cluj), Transylvania, in 1917. Another descendant is JEKUTHIEL JUDAH (1904–1994), who later became the Klausenburg Rebbe. Although his wife and 11 children perished in the Holocaust, Jekuthiel survived and reestablished his court in the Williamsburg section of Brooklyn. In 1956 he founded Kiryat Zanz near *Netanyah in Israel. He later permanently settled in Kiryat Zanz, along with many of his Ḥasidim. His two sons succeeded him.

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[Pnina Meislish]

HALBERSTAM, DAVID (1934–), U.S. writer. Halberstam was the younger of two sons born in the Bronx to Charles, a military surgeon whose parents had immigrated from Poland, and Blanche (Levy), a schoolteacher whose parents had come from Lithuania. His father's work took him to Winsted, Connecticut, El Paso and Austin, Texas, and Rochester, Minn. In 1951 Halberstam graduated from Roosevelt High School in Yonkers, N.Y., where he wrote for the school newspaper, and he then attended Harvard College, where he became managing editor of the *Crimson*. Upon graduation in 1955, Halberstam chose to work in the South, his first job coming at *The Daily Times Leader* in West Point, Mississippi, the state's smallest daily newspaper, and seven months later he moved to *The Tennessean* in Nashville, where he covered the early Civil Rights movement. Halberstam joined the *New York Times* in 1960, working first in Washington before being assigned to the Congo, and then in September 1962 to the paper's bureau in Saigon. It was there that Halberstam became a legend as one of a small group of reporters who began to question and speak out against the official administration version of the war in Vietnam, which led U.S. president John F. Kennedy to request that Halberstam be transferred to another bureau. Halberstam's reporting earned him the George Polk Award in 1963 and the Pulitzer Prize in 1964 for international reporting. In January 1965 he was sent to Poland, where his reporting on the repressive and antisemitic policies of the Communist regime led to his being ordered to leave the country. Halberstam then reported from Paris, and in 1967 he left the *Times* to become a contributing editor for *Harper's*. He started writing books, including *The Making of a Quagmire: America and Vietnam During the Kennedy Era* (1965), *The Unfinished Od-*

yssey of Robert Kennedy (1969); and *Ho* (1971), a biography of Vietnamese revolutionary leader Ho Chi Minh. But it was his bestselling book, *The Best and the Brightest* (1972), a critical history of America's involvement in the Vietnamese conflict, which established Halberstam as an important commentator on American politics and power.

The enormous success of *The Best and the Brightest* led to a career in writing on a wide range of topics filled with anecdotes, metaphors, and a narrative tone usually seen in fiction. It included *The Powers That Be* (1979), which examined the influence of the news media on American society; *The Reckoning: The Challenge to America's Greatness* (1986), a comparative history of the Japanese and U.S. automobile industry; *The Next Century* (1991), on the diminishing educational standards and decline in economic productivity in the U.S.; *The Fifties* (1993), a look at the decade, embracing social change, politics, and technology and their impact on each other and the world, which was made into an eight-part television series; *The Children* (1998), about the youth who were part of the Civil Rights movement; *War in the Time of Peace: Bush, Clinton, and the Generals* (2001), a look at how U.S. domestic politics came to dictate foreign policy, which was a runner-up for the Pulitzer Prize; and *Firehouse* (2002), the story of the firefighters who sacrificed their lives on September 11, 2001. Halberstam also wrote fiction: *The Noblest Roman* (1961) and *One Very Hot Day* (1968).

Halberstam is also a leading sportswriter, beginning with *The Breaks of the Game* (1981), an account of his year spent with the Portland Trailblazers, considered among the best books ever written on professional basketball. He also wrote *The Amateurs: The Story of Four Young Men and Their Quest for an Olympic Gold Medal* (1985), a study of the world of sculling; *Summer of '49* (1989), a look at the drama of the 1949 pennant race; *October 1964* (1994), chronicling the season and World Series that was to become the last year of the New York Yankees dynasty; *Playing for Keeps: Michael Jordan and the World That He Made* (1999), documenting the making of a legend; *The Teammates: A Portrait of Friendship* (2003), about the 60-year friendships of baseball players Ted Williams, Dominic DiMaggio, Johnny Pesky, and Bobby Doerr; and *The Education of a Coach* (2005), an in-depth look at the life and career of NFL coach Bill Belichick of the New England Patriots. Halberstam also edited the anthology *Best American Sports Writing of the Century* (1999).

[Elli Wohlgelernter (2nd ed.)]

HALBERSTAM, ISAAC BEN ḤAYYIM (1810–1880), talmudist and author. Halberstam was born in Brody and belonged to a distinguished rabbinical family. He was a brother-in-law of Dov Berush *Meisels, rabbi in Cracow and Warsaw, in partnership with whom he directed a banking establishment in Cracow. After losing his fortune, Halberstam devoted himself exclusively to study. His novella to the Pentateuch, arranged in the order of the weekly portions, were published by his son, Solomon Zalman Ḥayyim, under the title *Si'aḥ Yiẓḥak* (1882).

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HALBERSTAM, SOLOMON (Zalman) ḤAYYIM (known from his acronym as **ShaZHaH**; 1832–1900), Polish scholar and bibliophile. Halberstam was born in Cracow and studied with his father, Isaac Halberstam, an eminent talmudist. During his years as a successful merchant in Bielsko (Bielitz), Poland, he collected rare books and manuscripts. He studied some and lent others to Jewish scholars. Halberstam was one of the founders of the *Mekiẓe Nirdamim society. In addition to scholarly articles and notes to the works of other scholars, he published with introductions and notes some of the manuscripts from his library, among them being *Yom Tov b. Abraham's novellae on tractate *Niddah, Ḥiddushei ha-Ritba* (1868); Abraham *Ibn Ezra's *Sefer ha-Ibbur* (1874); and *Judah b. Barzillai's *Sefer ha-Shetarot* (1898) and *Perush Sefer Yeẓirah* (1885). In 1890 he published *Kohelet Shelomo*, a catalog of his manuscripts which listed 411 items. After Halberstam's death most of his manuscripts were sold to the Judith Montefiore College in Ramsgate, England, and are now at Jews' College, London. The majority of the printed books in his library and a small part of his manuscript collection were acquired by the Jewish Theological Seminary in New York and the library of the Vienna community. Most of his correspondence is preserved in the library of the Jewish Theological Seminary. Halberstam also wrote notes to H. Michael's bibliographical work *Or ha-Ḥayyim* (in the Mosad ha-Rav Kook edition, 1965).

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[Abraham Meir Habermann]

HALBWACHS, MAURICE (1877–1945), French sociologist. In social psychology he investigated the problems of memory considered as a social fact and the influence of collective memory and tradition on beliefs, and traced the delicate interconnections between psychology and sociology. He combined an avid concern with sociographic investigation in various fields with his strong bent for theorizing in works on demographical statistics, on which subject he contributed to the *Encyclopédie Française*. He taught at the universities of Caen, Strasbourg, and Paris (after 1935), and a few months before his deportation and murder by the Nazis he was nominated to occupy the chair of social psychology at the College de France. He perished in the Buchenwald concentration camp. Among his works were *La théorie de l'homme moyen: Essai sur Quetelet et la statistique morale* (1913), *Les cadres sociaux de la mémoire* (1925, 1952^2), *L'évolution des besoins dans les classes ouvrières* (1933), *Morphologie sociale* (1934), *Esquisse d'une psychologie des classes sociales* (in *Enquêtes Sociologiques…*, 1938; repub. posthum., 1955; *The Psychology of Social Class*, 1958), *La topographie légendaire des Evangiles en Terre Sainte* (1941), *Psychologie collective* (1942), and *Mémoire et Société* (1949), posthumous.

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[Ephraim Fischoff]

HALEVA, ISAK (1940–), chief rabbi of Turkey from October 2002. Born in Istanbul, Haleva graduated from the Jewish high school there and continued his higher education at Jerusalem's Porat Yosef Yeshivah, from which he graduated with the title of rabbi in 1961. He served as a member of the Bet Din of Turkey's Chief Rabbinate and taught religion and ethics at the Jewish high school from 1963 until 2000. He also taught Hebrew and Jewish religion at Marmara and Sakarya universities in the faculty of theology. He was a member of the European Rabbis Conference. His son Naftali Haleva was a rabbi and member of the Bet Din.

[Rifat Bali (2nd ed.)]

HA-LEVANON (Heb. הַלְּבָנוֹן, "Lebanon"), the first Hebrew newspaper in Ereẓ Israel. *Ha-Levanon*, edited by Jehiel *Brill, Joel Moses *Salomon, and Michael Cohen, first appeared in Jerusalem in March 1863. The paper was established as the organ of the *ḥalukkah trustees at a time of strife within the Jerusalem Ashkenazi community.

Throughout the paper's career, Brill, the editor in chief and the paper's moving spirit, consistently held that Jews living in the old city of Jerusalem should found suburbs outside the city's walls in which to live. Further, the *yishuv* living on the *ḥalukkah* should turn to productive occupations, particularly farming. At the same time, however, Brill objected to Ḥovevei Zion's fervent advocacy of the settlement of Ereẓ Israel, claiming that the movement's plans were impracticable, fired as they were by imagination rather than by a thorough knowledge of conditions in the country. He did approve of feasible programs of settlement and throughout the years urged Ḥovevei Zion to adopt a realistic attitude. Among the settlement programs supported by *Ha-Levanon* were *Moẓa and Petaḥ Tikvah.

Contributors to the paper included journalists and scholars from abroad as well as from Jerusalem. *Ha-Levanon* engaged in a bitter controversy with the rival paper, *Ḥavaẓẓelet*, established in Jerusalem during the summer of 1863. As a result both papers closed down in 1864. After a year's interval, Brill revived *Ha-Levanon* in Paris, where it appeared as a biweekly until 1868 when it became a weekly. Although published in Europe, the paper appeared in Jerusalem on a monthly basis and continued to print much news of Ereẓ Israel, most of its articles, in fact, being devoted to *yishuv* affairs. The paper, especially in its literary supplement (*Kevod ha-Levanon*), printed diverse studies on Judaism and belles lettres (mostly translations), with leading local and foreign writers as contributors. Trapped in the siege of Paris during the Franco-Prussian War (1870–71) and the Commune, Brill depicted the latter for *Ha-Levanon*, and eventually he left for Germany where he revived *Ha-Levanon* in Mainz (1872) as a supplement of the German Orthodox paper *Israelit*. Becoming the Hebrew organ of Orthodoxy, it provided the forum for a bitter controversy with the religious Reform movement of M.L. *Lilienblum, J.L. *Gordon, and others. Concurrently, Brill continued to support every constructive plan relating to the *yishuv*. The Russian pogroms of the early 1880s brought about an ideological reorientation in *Ha-Levanon*. Brill severed his connection with the Orthodox circles and became a zealous advocate of the settlement of Ereẓ Israel. He conducted propaganda campaigns in Russia, and was responsible for the immigration to Ereẓ Israel of Jewish farmers who later founded the village of Ekron. At the end of 1882 *Ha-Levanon* ceased publication. In 1884 Brill settled in London, where he revived *Ha-Levanon* in 1886, but the paper closed on Brill's death that same year. A pioneer of the modern press in Ereẓ Israel, *Ha-Levanon* provided during its 20 years of existence the first opportunity for Hebrew journalists in Ereẓ Israel.

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[Getzel Kressel]

HALEVI, EZEKIEL EZRA BEN JOSHUA (1852–1942), one of the most prominent scholars and poets of Iraqi Jewry in recent generations; born in Baghdad and died in Jerusalem. In 1897 Halevi emigrated to Ereẓ Israel and settled in Jerusalem. He earned his livelihood as a preacher; he was also a communal worker, president of the committee of the Iraqi community, and one of the founders of the yeshivah Shoshannim le-David. Of the more than 10 books which he wrote, five were published, including *Arugat ha-Bosem* (1905), on the *aggadah*; *Tehillah ve-Tiferet* (1914), a commentary on the Book of Psalms; and also his *Simḥat Yom Tov* (c. 1934), which was a commentary on the Passover *Haggadah*.

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[Abraham Ben-Yaacob]

HALEVI, ḤAYYIM DAVID (1924–1998), Israeli rabbi and halakhist. Born in Jerusalem, Halevi studied in the Porat Yosef Yeshivah. He received his rabbinic ordination from the head of Porat Yosef, Rabbi Atiah, and from Chief Rabbi Ben-Zion Meir Ḥai Ouziel. During the War of Independence, he served in the "yeshivah" brigade, Tuvia. In 1948 he was appointed a neighborhood rabbi in Jerusalem and was Rabbi Ouziel's personal secretary. At the same time, he taught in Yeshivat

Sha'arei Zion. In 1951 Halevi became the Sephardi chief rabbi of Rishon Le-Zion. He served on the Rabbinic Council of the Israeli Chief Rabbinate and the Rabbinic Council of the Mizrachi Party from the mid-1960s. From 1974 to 1997 he served as the chief rabbi and head of the rabbinical court of Tel Aviv-Jaffa. In 1992 he campaigned for the post of chief rabbi of Israel, but lost. In 1996 he received the Israel Prize for Torah literature.

Throughout his life, Halevi's main concern was Jewish law. His numerous halakhic works are free of arcane terminology and rely more on straightforward logic than numerous quotes from halakhic literature. His works include *Bein Yisrael la-Ammim*, a treatise on the spiritual and political stature of Israel among the nations (1954); *Devar Mishpat*, three volumes on the laws of the Sanhedrin in Maimonides' code (1963–65); *Mekor Ḥayyim ha-Shalem*, a five-volume synopsis of Jewish law (1967–74); *Dat u-Medinah*, religion in modern Israel (1969); *Mekor Ḥayyim le-Ḥatan, le-Kallah u-le-Mishpaḥah* (1972) on marriage law; *Kiẓẓur Shulḥan Arukh Mekor Ḥayyim*, a summary of Jewish law widely used in schools in Israel; *Mekor Ḥayyim le-Banot* (1977); *She'elot u-Teshuvot Aseh Lekha Rav*, responsa, many of which deal with modern issues (1976–89); *Mayim Ḥayyim*, responsa (1991–98). Halevi also published a three-volume work on the weekly Torah readings, *Torat Ḥayyim* (1992–93), as well as a topical index to the Zohar, *Mafteḥot ha-Zohar ve-Ra'ayonotav* (1971).

Halevi was a courageous halakhist. He tackled many modern-day issues and was the first to issue a rabbinic prohibition against smoking.

[David Derovan (2nd ed.)]

HALEVI, JOSEPH ẒEVI BEN ABRAHAM (1874–1960), Israeli rabbi and halakhic authority. Halevi was born in Slobodka and studied in its famous yeshivah. In 1891 he settled in Ereẓ Israel, where in 1897 he was appointed *dayyan* and assistant to his father-in-law, Naphtali Herz ha-Levi, the first Ashkenazi rabbi of Jaffa. In 1902 on the death of his father-in-law, he served for a time as rabbi of Jaffa, but when A.I. *Kook was appointed rabbi of Jaffa, Halevi was appointed head of the first permanent *bet din* established there. During Kook's absence from Ereẓ Israel in World War I he took over his functions as rabbi of the Ashkenazi community and together with Ben Zion *Ouziel represented the Jewish community of Jaffa-Tel Aviv before the Turkish government. Following the expulsion of Jews from Jaffa-Tel Aviv by the Turks, Halevi went to Petaḥ Tikvah and to Rishon le-Zion, returning to Jaffa after the entry of the British into Ereẓ Israel. He continued to fill the office of *av bet din* also during the rabbinates of Aaronson (1923–1935), Amiel (1936–1945), and Unterman (from 1947).

Halevi was a prolific author. Most of the 17 books he wrote deal with the *halakhot* and precepts applying to the land of Israel, maintaining that with the beginning of the "ingathering of the exiles" attention should again be paid to these laws. The following are some of his works: *Hora'at Sha'ah* (1909), an exposition of the principles permitting the working of the land in the Sabbatical year by selling it to a gentile; *Hashkafah li-Verakhah* (1930), on the laws of the separation of the tithes; *Aser Te'asser* (1935), on *terumot and ma'aserot ("tithes"); *Neta ha-Areẓ* (1939), *Zera ha-Areẓ* (1941), *Kerem ha-Areẓ* (1943), *Leḥem ha-Areẓ* (1950); *Ḥovat Giddulei ha-Areẓ* (1953), dealing with the laws of **orlah, *kilayim* (mixed species) of seeds and trees, *kilayim* of the vineyard, the law of *ḥallah and the laws of *leket, shikhḥah and pe'ah; *Amirah Ne'imah* (1948; second series 1955 in two parts), halakhic expositions and novella; *Va-Tomer Ẓiyyon*, 2 pts. (1950–58), homilies on the Pentateuch; *Torat ha-Korbanot* (1959), an exposition of 288 *halakhot* in Maimonides' laws of the sacrifices. Most of his works follow a standard pattern. The basis is the text from Maimonides' *Mishneh Torah*, to which he adds the decisions of *rishonim* and the decisions based upon new developments. Although there is an element of casuistry in his works, in the main he aims at giving the practical *halakhah*. In 1958 he was awarded the Israel Prize.

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[Yehoshua Horowitz]

HA-LEVI, SASSON BEN ELIJAH BEN MOSES (also known as R. Sasson Smuha; 1820–1910), Baghdad rabbi and disciple of R. Abdullah *Somekh. Ha-Levi held the position of *dayyan* from 1841 to 1876. In 1860 he intervened to prevent the expropriation from Jewish hands of the traditional tomb of the prophet Ezekiel in the village of Kifl. From 1876 to 1879 he was *ḥakham bashi* of Baghdad. A controversy then broke out between him and several members of the community, who deposed him and appointed R. Elisha Dangoor in his place. A dispute ensued between the two during the years 1880 to 1885. The majority of the rabbis supported Dangoor, while some of the wealthy sided with Ha-Levi. The matter reached the chief rabbi of Constantinople, who decided in favor of the former. Ha-Levi composed two *piyyutim*, which have been included in books of liturgical hymns.

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[Abraham Ben-Yaacob]

HALÉVY (19th–20th centuries), French family of authors. LÉON HALÉVY (1802–1883) was born in Paris. He was the younger son of Elie Halfon *Halévy and younger brother of the composer Jacques François Fromental *Halévy. A scholar of distinction, Léon Halévy became assistant professor of French literature at the Ecole Polytechnique in 1831 and head of the antiquities department in the Ministry of Education six years later. Although his connection with the community was intermittent and he married a non-Jewess, he never abandoned Judaism. He evidently found official prejudice strong enough to prevent his advancement, and in 1853 retired from public life and became a writer. Doctrinally a Saint-Simonian, he was critical of the development of post-biblical Judaism, favoring a reformist return to the "primitive faith" on semi-Christian lines. Halévy's works include *Résumé de l'histoire des juifs anciens* (1825) and its sequel, *Résumé de l'histoire des juifs modernes* (1828). He also wrote two volumes of verse, rhymed translations and plays, which included tragedies and dramas such as *Luther* (1834) and *Electre* (1864) and some popular vaudeville comedies.

Léon's son, LUDOVIC HALÉVY (1834–1908), was a writer whose comedies, librettos, novels, and stories dealt with the gay life of the French during the Second Empire. In collaboration with Henri Meilhac he wrote the text for Bizet's opera *Carmen* (1875), and librettos for several operettas by Jacques *Offenbach, including *La belle Hélène* (1865), *La Vie parisienne* (1866), *La Grande-Duchesse de Gérolstein* (1867), and *La Périchole* (1868). Their play *Le Réveillon* (1872), based on a German drama, was later adapted for Johann Strauss' *Die Fledermaus*. Their greatest success was the comedy *Frou-Frou* (1870). With H. Crémieux, Halévy wrote the libretto for Offenbach's *Orphée aux enfers* (1858). His other works include the novels *Un Mariage d'amour* (1881) and *L'Abbé Constantin* (1882), and several volumes of memoirs, notably *L'Invasion* (1872). He was elected to the Académie Française in 1884. In his later years he revealed a consciousness of his Jewish heritage. Ludovic Halévy's two sons were the philosopher and historian Elie *Halévy (1870–1937), and the historian and essayist DANIEL HALÉVY (1872–1962). Although the latter graduated in Semitics and at first supported *Dreyfus, he became a reactionary and a convert to Catholicism. In later years Daniel Halévy even betrayed antisemitic tendencies, defending Marshal Pétain and the arch-antisemite Charles *Maurras. His ideological break with his old Dreyfusard friend Charles *Péguy provoked the latter's indignant criticism in *Notre jeunesse* (1910). Daniel Halévy's works include *Apologie pour notre passé* (1910), polemics with Péguy; *Charles Péguy et les cahiers de la quinzaine* (1918, 1941); *Cahiers verts* (1921–27); *La Fin des notables*, a history of the Third Republic (2 vols., 1930–37); and *Nietzsche* (1944).

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[Moshe Catane]

HALEVY, ABRAHAM H. (1927–), Israeli botanist. Halevy, a 10th-generation Israeli, was born in Tel Aviv and completed his undergraduate and graduate studies in biology and agriculture at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. After receiving his Ph.D. at the university in 1958, he went on to teach there, establishing the Department of Ornamental Horticulture in 1964 and serving as its chairman until 1985. He became a full professor in 1970 and was named Wolfson Family Professor of Ornamental Horticulture in 1982. He retired officially in 1995 but continued his research and supervision of doctoral and postdoctoral candidates as professor emeritus.

Halevy was a research fellow at the Plant Industry Station in Beltsville, Maryland, and served as visiting professor at Michigan State University in East Lansing and, on a regular basis, at the University of California at Davis. He is a renowned international expert on floriculture and horticulture. His research has contributed significantly to the advancement of commercial floriculture in Israel and throughout the world. The department he founded and developed has long been considered one of the leading horticultural research and teaching groups in the world. The research has centered on the growth, development, and physiology of florist crops, with specific interest in the physiology of flowering (including the development of ways to control and time flowering), senescence and post-harvest physiology of flowering, and the development of new floriculture crops.

Halevy was named a fellow of the American Society of Horticultural Science in 1983. In 1986 he founded the International Working Group on Flowering and its publication, *Flowering Newsletter*, and in 1999 he was elected to the Norwegian Academy of Science and Letters.

He received numerous citations and awards during his career. In 1990 the president of Israel honored him with the title "Maker of a Beautiful Israel." He was also the recipient of the Israel Prize for agriculture (2002). He was a prolific writer, with over 350 publications appearing in international refereed journals. His six-volume *Handbook of Flowering* is considered the most comprehensive treatise published to date on the topic.

[Ruth Rossing (2nd ed.)]

HALÉVY, ÉLIE (1870–1937), French philosopher and historian. He was the son of Ludovic and brother of Daniel (see *Halévy family). He was raised as a Protestant (his mother's religion). He became professor at the Ecole libre des Sciences politiques where he taught English history and European socialism. A Dreyfusard and a secular rationalist, he was a founder of the *Revue de Métaphysique et de Morale* and the Société française de Philosophie. His first work, *La Théorie platonicienne des sciences* (1896), dealt with Plato's negative dialectic as a way to positive construction. He applied this theory in a basic study of the Benthamite movement, *La formation du radicalisme philosophique*, 3 vols. (1901–04; *The Growth of Philosophic Radicalism*, 1928). His important *Histoire du peuple anglais au XIXe siècle*, 5 vols. (1912–32; *A History of the English People in the 19th Century*, 1924–34) covering the periods 1815–41, and 1895–1914 (he died before completing the rest), was an anti-Marxist interpretation of English history, stressing the role of religious factors in English political stability. He also wrote *The World Crisis of 1914–18* (1930), *L'ère des tyrannies* (1938) against fascism and communism, and *Histoire du socialisme européen* (1948; from his notes). Halévy favored transforming collective belief through compromise rather than fanaticism as the means to international peace. At the end of his life he was pessimistic, convinced that war was inevitable and that the fascist and communist tyrannies would be perpetuated. He played an important role in English as well as in French intellectual life.

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[Richard H. Popkin]

HALÉVY, ELIE HALFON (1760–1826), writer and poet in Hebrew and French. Born into an illustrious Jewish family in Fuerth, Bavaria, he received an Orthodox upbringing. As a young man he moved to Paris where he served as cantor, secretary of the community, and teacher. In Paris he acquired a broad general education and was greatly influenced by classical French literature. From 1817 to 1819 he edited and published a weekly journal in French, *L'Israélite Français*, which called for "Jewish enlightenment," and was animated by strong French patriotism. His only published book, *Limmudei Dat u-Musar* ("Teachings of Religion and Ethics," 1829), was a catechism for Jewish religious instruction. The tract is written in the spirit of the Haskalah and includes the decisions of the *Sanhedrin convened by Napoleon in 1807. His most important literary work, the poem "*Ha-Shalom*" ("Peace"), commemorated the cease-fire between France and England in 1802, when it was sung as a hymn, in both Hebrew and French, in the Great Synagogue of Paris. The poem was printed with a French and German translation by the imperial printing press in Paris, and reprinted in R. Fuerstenthal's *Ha-Me'assef* (1829, pp. 216–26). Written in the form of a classic Greco-Roman ode, it reflects the stormy period of the French Revolution and the subsequent wars and mirrors both the patriotic mood and the atmosphere of fear prevalent at the time. It remains a classic of the early period of modern Hebrew literature. Halévy was the father of the composer Jacques François Fromental *Halévy and the author and playwright Léon *Halévy.

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[Gedalyah Elkoshi]

HALEVY (Rabinowitz), ISAAC (1847–1914), Polish rabbinical scholar and historian. Halevy was born in Ivenets, now Belorussia. After studying at the Volozhin yeshivah, he settled in Vilna as a businessman, later turning to scholarship. Interested in Jewish education, he tried to find a way to reconcile the character of religious schools with the demands of the Russian government for reform. He lived in various cities, including Pressburg (Bratislava), Homburg, and Hamburg, in the last serving as *Klausrabbiner.* It was Halevy's idea of a world organization for Orthodox Jewry that led to the founding of *Agudat Israel in 1912. He took the initiative in founding the Juedisch-Literarisch Gesellschaft in Frankfurt, whose yearbook (JJLG) appeared from 1903 to 1933. Halevy's major work, *Dorot ha-Rishonim* (6 vols., 1897–1939; repr. 1967), is a grandly conceived history of the Oral Law, the talmudic-rabbinic tradition from biblical times to the *geonim.* Halevy brought a vast talmudic erudition, ingenuity, and originality to his work, but in extra-rabbinic studies he was self-taught; he knew neither Latin nor Greek and quoted classical sources from their translations into German. Halevy worked "backward." Commencing with the savoraic and geonic period, he proceeded to that of the *amoraim* and the *tannaim*, and then to that of the *soferim* and the "men of the Great *Synagogue." The last volume deals with the biblical period and is a sustained attack on the critical school and attempts, following D.Z. *Hoffmann, to prove the validity of the traditional view. The main purpose of the work was to demolish the historical theories advanced by such scholars as N. *Krochmal, S.J. *Rapoport, Z. *Frankel, H. *Graetz, and I.H. Weiss on the development of *halakhah* from earliest times. For Halevy, trained as he was in the old school, the Oral Law was revealed on Mount Sinai and was handed down unchanged; rabbinic controversies and the Palestinian-Babylonian differences in law and custom concern only the details of rabbinic enactments and extensions of the laws of the Torah. In his criticism of the historical school, which he accuses of tendentious misinterpretation, he writes with animosity and invective, and critics were not slow to point to the obvious shortcomings, both scholarly and literary, of *Dorot ha-Rishonim*. Nevertheless, it remains a major contribution to Jewish historical research.

[Yehoshua Horowitz]

O. Asher Reichel has now published the letters of Halevy, *Igrot R. Yizḥak Aizik Halevi* (Heb., 1972). The letters throw new light on Halevy. They reveal that he was not opposed to Haskalah or rabbis having secular knowledge and that he took an active part in halakhic questions of his time.

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HALÉVY, JACQUES (François) FROMENTAL ÉLIE (1799–1862), French operatic composer. He was born in Paris, the son of Elie Halfon *Halévy. He entered the Paris Conservatory at the age of ten, studied composition with Cherubini, and won the Rome Prize in 1819 for his cantata "Herminie." He taught at the conservatory from 1816, becoming professor of counterpoint and fugue in 1833, and of composition in 1840. His students included Bizet (who later became his son-in-law) and Gounod. Halévy's fame rests primarily on his grand opera *La Juive* (1835), and his comic opera *L'Eclair* of the same year, achievements which he never equaled. He composed about 20 operas (among them *Le Juif errant*; 1852), five cantatas, and ballets. His writings include memoirs of his activity in the Académie des Beaux Arts, of which he became permanent secretary in 1854.

Halévy's operatic style was greatly influenced by Meyerbeer, especially in the dazzling orchestration that was much in favor at the time. In *La Juive*, a renaissance story of a prince in love with a Jewess (libretto by Scribe), he portrayed effective characters in situations of dramatic tension: Eleazar's aria "Rachel, quand du Seigneur" has remained one of the star items in the repertoire of dramatic tenors.

Halévy's attitude to Judaism seems to have been consciously neutral. In 1820 he composed a "Marche Funèbre et De Profundis" for three voices (text: Ps. 130 in Hebrew), for the memorial service to the Duc de Berry in the synagogue in the Rue Saint-Avoye, now Rue du Temple. His cantata "Noé" (Noah) was completed post-humously by Bizet. Richard Wagner wrote in praise of Halévy's works, and also arranged a potpourri for two violins from his *La Reine de Chypre* (1841).

Halévy's brother Léon (*Halévy family) wrote one of the first biographies of Halévy, *F. Halévy, ses œuvres* (1863).

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[Josef Tal]

HALÉVY, JOSEPH (1827–1917), French Orientalist and Hebrew writer. Halévy began his career as a Hebrew teacher in his native Adrianople, Turkey, and later taught in Bucharest, Romania. In 1868 he visited Ethiopia under the auspices of the Alliance Israélite Universelle to study the Falashas (*Beta Israel). His report (not published), affirming the Jewishness of that forgotten tribe, led to a widespread philanthropic campaign on their behalf. The scientific results of his journey on the Beta Israel's language, literature, and customs, important in themselves, interested the French Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres, which subsequently commissioned Halevy to explore Southern Arabia for Sabean inscriptions. For self-protection he traveled in the guise of a Jerusalem rabbi collecting alms for the poor. Ḥayyim *Ḥabshush, a Yemenite Jew who acted as Halevy's guide, described this expedition in *Travels in Yemen* (Arabic text, ed. and summarized in Eng. by S.D. Goitein, 1941; Heb. tr., *Mas'ot Ḥabshush*, 1939).

The rich scientific harvest was 686 inscriptions, which were partly in Minean, a sister language of Sabean. Halévy published them under the title *Études Sabéennes* (1875; = *Journal Asiatique*, 1 (1873), 305–365; 2 (1874), 497–585). He also wrote reports of his journeys, *Rapport sur une Mission Archéologique dans le Yémen* (1872), and *Voyage au Nadjran* (1873). The researches were of importance not only for the knowledge of Sabean language and culture but for biblical studies as well. In 1879 Halévy began teaching Ethiopic at the Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes in Paris and became the librarian of the Société Asiatique. In 1893 he founded the *Revue Sémitique d'Epigraphique et d'Histoire Ancienne*, to which he contributed a great many articles on Semitic epigraphy and Bible studies. In the latter, published separately as *Recherches Bibliques* (5 vols., 1895–1914), he interpreted the first 25 chapters of Genesis on the basis of Babylonian-Assyrian discoveries, rejecting the Graf-Wellhausen documentary hypothesis (see *Bible: biblical criticism). He also discussed problems in the Bible in the *Revue des Etudes Juives, Revue Critique*, and *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*. Halévy dealt with recently discovered parts of the Hebrew texts of Ben Sira in *Le nouveau fragment hébreu de l'Ecclésiastique* (1902); with the origins of Christianity in *Etudes évangéliques* (1903); and with Ethiopian, particularly Beta Israel, literature in *Seder Tefillot ha-Falashim* (1876), *Te'ezaza Sanbat* ("Sabbath laws"; 1902), *La guerre de Sarsa-Dengel contre les Falachas* (1907), and others.

Prompted by his "Semitic" pride, Halévy argued obstinately against the view that Sumerian was a non-Semitic language, which with Sumerian culture and cuneiform scripts preceded its Semitic successors. Halévy rejected this now accepted view, believing Sumerian to be not a language but a hieratic, artificial script invented by the Assyrian-Babylonian priesthood for its own purposes. One of his works on this subject is his *Le Sumérisme et l'histoire babylonienne* (1900). In contrast to the assimilationist trend among French Jewry, Halévy was an ardent Hebraist and *Ḥovev Zion*. In his youth he was a regular contributor to Hebrew periodicals, such as *Ha-Maggid, Ha-Levanon*, and *Yerushalayim*, both in prose and in poetry, which were later collected and published under the title *Maḥberet Meliẓah va-Shir* (1894). The titles of his poems, such as "*Admat Avotai*" ("Land of My Fathers"), "*Al ha-Yarden*" ("By the Jordan,") and "*Tikvati*" ("My Hope") revealed his strong attachment to Ereẓ Israel. Halévy translated into Hebrew poems by Schiller, Byron, Victor Hugo, and others. In an article in *Ha-Maggid* of 1861 he proposed the establishment of a society, Marpei Lashon, for the development of the Hebrew language, an idea later realized in the Va'ad ha-Lashon ha-Ivrit and its successor, the Academy of Hebrew Language.

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[Hans Jacob Polotsky]

HALEVY, MEYER ABRAHAM (1900–1972), Romanian and French rabbi and scholar. Halevy was born in Piatra Neamt, Romania and studied at the Sorbonne, receiving his doctorate and his rabbinical diploma from the Seminaire Israélite de France in 1925. He was also a Diplomate at the Ecole des Hautes Etudes. In the same year he was appointed rabbi of Jassy, and in the following year to the Sephardi Community of Bucharest, and subsequently to the following congregations in the capital: Great Synagogue Jewish Center, 1925–35; Holy Unity Temple, 1935–40; Choral Temple, 1940–45; and Spiritual Union Congregation, 1946–63. From 1950 to 1963 he was Research Professor of Oriental, Classical and Numismatic Studies at the Romanian Academy and Lecturer on the History of Medicine at the Romanian Society of History of Medicine from 1955 to 1963.

During World War II he was continuously harassed by the authorities and arrested on a number of occasions because of the sympathy and spiritual care he extended to political prisoners during the German occupation. After the intervention of a number of important personalities, including

Pastor Martin Niemöller, and the payment of a ransom, he was permitted to leave Romania and settled in Paris, where he acquired French citizenship. He was appointed professor of Jewish history at the Seminaire Israelite de France, and Consistorial Grand Rabbi at the Tournelles Jewish Center, Paris. Halevy wrote numerous works in French and Romanian, including the Commentary of Joseph Bekhor-Schor on Leviticus (1924), *Le problème des Khazares* (1935), *Science et Conscience dans l'Histoire de la Médicine juive au XVe Siècle* (1957), and *La Médicine des Rabbins-thaumaturges au XVIIIe Siècle* (1955).

HALEVY, MOSHE (1895–1974), Israeli theatrical director and founder of the *Ohel Theater. He studied engineering in Moscow before joining the newly formed Habimah Studio as assistant director (1917). He left the company early, however, to found his own theater in Palestine and in 1925 established Ohel, a workers' theater under the auspices of the Histadrut. His first production, based on stories by I.L. *Peretz, was a great success, especially in the kibbutzim which, for many years, were to provide Ohel's main audiences. In his production of *Fishermen* (*Op Hoop van Zegen*) by Heijermans, he demonstrated his belief in the theater as an instrument for social betterment. For 25 years he directed almost all Ohel's productions, but left the company after disagreements in 1951. He engaged in other ventures, among them a small traveling Moshe Halevy Theater (1960), which continued until 1967. His autobiography *Darki Alei Bamot* ("My Stage Career") appeared in 1954.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Tidhar, 2 (1947), 953–4.

[Mendel Kohansky]

HALEVY, YOSEF (1924–), Israeli painter. Halevy was born in Tel Aviv and graduated from the Painting Teachers' School there. Of Yemenite origin and deeply imbued with Yemenite folklore, he chose as subjects for his early paintings his memories and his inner world, and in this period one sees wide brushstrokes, forming color planes and contoured patterns, with a clear development toward abstraction. In his second stage, the Yemenite background almost entirely disappears, and his painting is based more on color and form, the colors on the canvas being more spontaneous and expressive. In his third phase, the forms become smaller and Halevy gives expression to mythological and lyrical forms, suggesting figures that intermingle with each other, sometimes creating almost completely abstract patterns.

[Judith Spitzer]

ḤALFAN, ELIJAH MENAHEM (16th century), Italian physician, rabbi, and kabbalist. Elijah was the son of the astronomer Abba Mari Ḥalfan and grandson of Joseph *Colon. He was one of the Italian rabbis approached to express his view of Henry VIII's divorce from Catherine of Aragon, on which he gave an affirmative opinion. He was also a supporter of Solomon *Molcho. Both these facts aroused the opposition of the physician Jacob *Mantino who feared that the close relationship with the English king as well as with the messianic agitation of Molcho would render the pope unfavorably disposed toward the Jews. Ḥalfan wrote responsa (including one in which he favored instructing non-Jews in the Torah; Ms. Kaufmann, no. 156:1 from 1545) and Hebrew poems (several verses are extant in Ms.; Neubauer, Cat, no. 948: 1, 6). In a halakhic decision dated 1550, Elijah's name appears together with that of Meir Katzenellenbogen of Padua among others (Resp. Rema 56). He owned a valuable library in Venice, a catalog of which was published by A.Z. Schwarz (*Die Hebraeischen Handschriften der Nationalbibliothek in Wien* (1925), 145ff.).

An important epistle has been preserved in Ms. New York, JTS 1822, where Halfan describes the history of Kabbalah and the openness to this lore among Christians in the Renaissance. He envisioned this openness as a sign of messianism.

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[Umberto (Moses David) Cassuto]

HALFANUS (**Halfan**, **Chalfan**), family that migrated from Provence to Italy after 1394 and later moved to Prague and Vienna. The family was linked with the famous *Kalonymus family which was prominent in the Middle Ages. Most of its members were physicians and were well known for their scholarship in science and literature. ABBA MARI, a son-in-law of Joseph *Colon, lived in Italy and published in 1490 an elegy and a work on astronomy. His son was Elijah Menahem *Halfan. Another ABBA MARI (d. 1586) was a physician in Prague. His son ELIAS (1561–1624) lived first in Prague and was granted his licence as a physician by Rudolph II (1598). With Aaron *Maor Katan (Lucerna) he later achieved prominence as a physician and *dayyan* in Vienna, and was also known as a book collector. He was even proposed as an army surgeon.

A second Ḥalfan family living in Vienna later changed its name to Wechsler. Its members included ELIEZER BEN URI SHRAGA PHOEBUS (d. 1670), who was head of the community and was apparently the last person to be buried before the 1670 expulsion. His son URI SHRAGA PHOEBUS (c. 1640–1707) headed a yeshivah in Prague. His *Dat Esh*, responsa and novellae on Maimonides' *Yad Hilkhot Kilayim*, was published in Berlin in 1743.

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[Meir Lamed]

ḤALFON (Khalfon), ABRAHAM (late 18th century), rabbi in *Tripoli. Information about Ḥalfon is limited to the fact that his book, *Ḥayyei Avraham* (Leghorn, 1826), was published posthumously by his son Raḥamim. The *haskamot* (recommendations) for the book were written by two emissaries from Tiberias, Joseph ibn Samon and Samuel Shoshanah, indicating Ḥalfon's ties to that town. The book contains traditional explanations of the commandments in the Shulḥan Arukh (*Oraḥ Ḥayyim* and *Yoreh De'ah*). The explanations, based on the Talmud, the *Zohar, Ketem Paz* (a commentary on the Zohar), *Sefer Ḥasidim*, and *Penei David* by Ḥayyim Joseph David *Azulai, are lucidly and attractively presented and avoid wearying casuistry. The book was published in several succeeding editions: 1844, 1857, 1861. Several other works by him, halakhic and homiletical, are still in manuscript.

ḤALFON BEN NETHANEL HA-LEVI ABU SAĪʿD (12th century), wealthy businessman in Egypt. Ḥalfon's affairs extended from India and Yemen to Spain. Numerous letters, addressed to him from furthest parts of the Jewish Diaspora, which bear evidence of his generosity and wealth, have been found in the Cairo *Genizah*. He was a close friend of *Judah Halevi, who also appears to have been his relative. Some of the letters which were sent by the latter to Ḥalfon have been preserved. It seems that the contacts between them dated from the time of Ḥalfon's visit to Spain in order to arrange personal affairs. Halevi then wrote poems and letters in the former's honor which were published by H. *Brody. When on his way to Ereẓ Israel, Halevi stayed at Ḥalfon's home in Cairo from 1140 to 1141. One of Ḥalfon's brothers was R. Moses b. Nethanel, the *av bet din* of the tribunal of the *gaon* *Maẓli'aḥ b. Solomon Ha-Kohen.

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[Abraham David]

HALHUL (Heb. חַלְחוּל), town in the territory of Judah mentioned once in the Bible together with Beth-Zur and Gedor (Josh. 15:58). An Idumean village called Aluros (identical with Halhul) is referred to by Josephus (Wars, 4:522) as a fortified city which was destroyed by Simeon b. Giora along with Hebron during the Jewish War (66–70/73). Jerome mentions the city Alula belonging to Jerusalem near Hebron (Eusebius, Onom., 87:11–12). The "tomb of Jonah" was shown there. In the 14th century Jews were living in Halhul and according to tombstone lists compiled by medieval Jewish travelers, the grave of the prophet Gad was located there. Today, the Muslim Arab village Ḥalḥūl is located at the highest spot of the Judean Hills about 3,347 ft. (1020 m.) above sea level, 2.5 mi. (4 km.) north of Hebron. As a result of the proximity of Hebron, Ḥalḥūl expanded in the 1950s and 1960s; in 1968 the village had over 6,000 inhabitants. Fruit orchards and particularly vineyards constituted its principal farming branch. In 2005, including the surrounding villages, the population exceeded 50,000.

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[Michael Avi-Yonah]

HALICZ (Russ. **Galich**), small town formerly in Poland, now in Stanislaw district, Ukraine. The earliest information relating to Jews in Halicz dates from 1488. In 1506, the Jews there were granted a remission of their taxes because of hardship caused by war. Halicz had one of the few organized *Karaite communities to exist continuously in Eastern Europe. It was founded by Karaites from Lvov. They were accorded the same rights "as other Jews" by the Polish monarch in 1578. Until the close of the 18th century the Karaites formed the majority of the Halicz community. Records of 1627 show that 24 houses there were owned by Karaites and only a few by Rabbanites. Subsequently the Rabbanite community increased. In 1765 it numbered 258, while there were 99 Karaites, and in 1900 there were 1,450 Rabbanites and 160 Karaites. By 1921 the combined population was only 582 as a result of emigration. The Karaites lived in a separate street and worshiped in their own synagogue, built at the end of the 16th century.

The Karaite community looked for cultural guidance to their spiritual center in the East, since the forefathers of the founders came from Crimea and their native language was Tatar. When the links with the parent center became attenuated, the cultural level of the Karaites in Halicz became so poor that by the first half of the 17th century there was no one in the community qualified to serve as *ḥakham* (or *ḥazzan*). The situation improved with the arrival of an emissary from Jerusalem, David Ḥazzan, around 1640. He was followed (c. 1670) by two brothers, Joseph and Joshua. Joseph, who earned the encomium "Ha-Mashbir" ("the provider"), discharged the duties of *ḥakham* and composed *piyyutim* which were included in the Karaite prayer book. His descendants served as *ḥakhamim-ḥazzanim* of the Halicz Karaite congregation until the beginning of the 19th century, when the office was held by members of the Leonovich family. Karaite autonomy was recognized by the Austrian government during the period when Halicz was administered by Austria. Abraham, the first of the Leonovich *ḥakhamim*, was one of the Karaites to be influenced by the ideas of *Haskalah. He corresponded with some of the luminaries of the movement, including Naḥman *Krochmal and Abraham *Geiger, who on their part took an interest in Karaism. Later, around the beginning of the 20th century, with the strengthening of the Polish cultural influence, most of the Karaites tended toward assimilation while a few drew closer to the Rabbanites.

The community was destroyed by the Germans in 1942, when the Jews were deported to Stanislawow and Belzec.

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[Simha Katz]

HALICZ (Heb. הֶעֲלִיץ, **Helicz**, **Halic**, **Helic**), family of printers in Cracow in the 16th century. Three brothers, Samuel, Asher, and Elyakim, sons of Ḥayyim Halicz, established Poland's first Jewish press there in about 1530. Their name indicates that the family originally came from the small town of Halicz on the Dniester in eastern Galicia. Their type and page arrangements show they learned their craft (and probably obtained type and equipment) in Prague. It is likely that they left Prague because a royal order of 1527 designated Gershom Kohen as Bohemia's sole Hebrew printer; all other Hebrew print shops closed, and the brothers probably could find no further work there. The decorative borders for their opening pages were certainly brought by them from Prague. Three works listed by *Zunz as being from Cracow in 1530 were probably the earliest products of their press. These were a Pentateuch; Tur, *Yoreh De'ah*; and a Passover *Haggadah* (all otherwise unknown). Their earliest surviving works, both dating from 1534, were *Issur ve-Hetter* by R. Isaac Dueren and *Mirkevet ha-Mishneh*, a Hebrew-Yiddish Bible dictionary by a R. Anshel. Yet evidently they did not prosper, and Asher dropped out.

In 1535 Samuel and Elyakim produced R. David Cohen's *Azharot Nashim* in Yiddish, a work dealing with religious laws for women. Then Elyakim alone issued a Yiddish version of Asher b. Jehiel's *Oraḥ Ḥayyim*. Samuel spent 1536 in Oels, Silesia, where he and his brother-in-law printed a book of *Tefillot mi-Kol ha-Shanah* (Prayers for All Year) in large type. However, his books and equipment were destroyed in a fire and he returned to Cracow.

It was probably economic misery or possibly excessive pressure from the Polish church that made the three undergo baptism in 1537; they became Andreas (Samuel), Johannes (Elyakim), and Paul (Asher; or perhaps Asher became Andreas, and Samuel was Paul). Repelled by their act, the Jews boycotted them and would not even pay their debts. At the brothers' plea, King Sigismund I issued a decree dated March 28, 1537, commanding that Poland's Jews might buy only their books; no others were to print or sell Jewish works, and none might be brought in from other countries, on pain of a stiff fine. Yet, under tacit excommunication by the Jews, their plight only worsened. Believing, though, that the royal decree must improve matters, Johannes resumed printing in 1538–39, issuing mainly books for popular use.

Through their bishop, the desperate Halicz brothers sought and obtained a new royal decree on December 31, 1539, ordering the Jews of Cracow and Posen to buy their entire stock of some 3,350 volumes, valued at 1,600 florins. Pleading poverty, the two Jewish communities had their coreligionists in Lemberg (Lvov) included in the order. The complete stock of books was paid for in three years and destroyed. The Halicz firm went out of existence. In 1540 Johannes began printing Latin and Polish theological works. Paul, who became a Catholic missionary among the Polish Jews, printed a New Testament (Cracow, 1540–41), in a Judeo-German transcription of Luther's translation. He also produced *Elemental oder Lesebuechlein* (Hundsfeld, 1543), an instruction book in Hebrew for gentiles. Lukasz Halicz, a printer in Posen (1578–93), was apparently his son. Samuel returned to Judaism. After working as a bookbinder in Breslau, he went to Constantinople (c. 1550) and resumed Hebrew printing. He subsequently printed the Scriptures (1551–52; repenting of his conversion in the colophon); the "Story of Judith" (1552–53); and R. Isaac Dueren's *Issur ve-Hetter*, retitled *Sha'arei Dura* (1553). In 1561–62, when Samuel was no longer living, the name of Ḥayyim b. Samuel Ashkenazi, apparently his son, appears as the printer of the responsa of R. Joseph ibn Lev in part 2.

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[Charles Wengrov]

HALIVNI, DAVID WEISS (1927–), U.S. talmud scholar. Born in Poljana Kobielecka, Czechoslovakia (now Ukraine), Halivni was raised in Sighet, Romania, by his mother and his maternal grandfather, Isaiah Weiss, a prominent rabbinic scholar. Recognized as a talmudic prodigy (*ilui*), Halivni was ordained a rabbi in Sighet before reaching the age of 17. Upon the occupation of the Carpathian region by Germany, the family was confined to the ghetto of Sighet, and thence deported to Auschwitz, Halivni being transferred to forced labor in Silesia. The sole survivor of his family, Halivni was liberated from the concentration camp of Ebensee, in Upper Austria, in May 1945, and came to the U.S. in 1947. Through the coincidence of a relative of Saul *Lieberman being employed in the Bronx orphanage where Halivni was billeted, he soon met that scholar, and so was taken under the wing of the leading academician in the field of rabbinic literature. Following undergraduate studies at Brooklyn College, in tandem with residence in the Yeshivat Rav Chaim Berlin, and graduate study at New York University, Halivni pursued a doctorate of Hebrew letters under Lieberman at the *Jewish Theological Seminary of America (JTSA) where he joined the faculty as professor of Talmud and Rabbinics.

Halivni's early work included a study of the pseudo-Rashi commentary on the Babylonian Talmud's tractate *Ta'anit*, the misattribution of whose opening segment he first suggested on the basis of literary comparison and then confirmed by means of an early manuscript that he identified in the Seminary's library collection. In 1968, Halivni completed the first volume of his ongoing talmudic commentary, *Mekorot u-Mesorot* ("Sources and Traditions"). In the first stages of this work, often starting with difficulties noted by traditional commentators, Halivni developed a source-critical approach to the talmudic page, aiming to uncover earlier, variant readings and textual substrates altered in transmission. (This methodology, and aspects of Halivni's personality, provided a basis for characters and for a paradigm of critical talmudic study dramatized in the first two novels of Chaim *Potok.)

Halivni's great achievement was a complete re-conceptualization of the redaction of the Babylonian Talmud.

Appointed to the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, Halivni was awarded Israel's Bialik Prize in 1985 for his ongoing talmudic research; he also received honorary doctorates from a number of Israeli universities, as well as the University of Lund, Sweden, and JTSA. Halivni was also a charter participant in the Institute for Advanced Studies of Tel Aviv University.

In the mid-1980s, Halivni left the Seminary for a professorship at Columbia University and also participated in the founding of the *Union for Traditional Judaism and its rabbinical academy, the Institute of Traditional Judaism, where he served as rector. He also became the de facto and then official rabbinic adviser of a small group, which initially met for Sabbath services in the home of the infirm Louis Finkelstein and subsequently burgeoned into a large community on Manhattan's Upper West Side.

Halivni's books in English include *Midrash, Mishnah and Gemara: The Jewish Predilection for Justified Law* (1986), *Peshat and Derash: Plain and Applied Meaning in Rabbinic Exegesis* (1991), and *Revelation Restored: Divine Writ and Critical Responses* (1996).

In his later years, Halivni confessed something of a return to the mysticism of the ḥasidic milieu of his youth, expressed through a certain ecstasy in prayer (especially on days including memorial prayers), and also, most notably with regard to his scholarship, in terms of the doctrine of *ẓimẓum* – that is, divine contraction or withdrawal from the world.

Halivni is also the author of a memoir, *The Book and the Sword: A Life of Learning in the Shadow of Destruction* (1996). Reticent for decades about his personal experience of the Holocaust, Halivni had said, with reference to Sighet *ḥeder*-mate, fellow survivor, and long-time friend, Elie Wiesel, "He speaks [about the Holocaust], and I am silent; but when we are together, I shout, and he listens." With his often poignant and thoroughly frank autobiography, Halivni broke his silence to speak of the transfiguring impact of the devastation on the course of his life.

[Jonah C. Steinberg (2nd ed.)]

HALKIN, ABRAHAM SOLOMON (1903–1990), Orientalist and educator; brother of Simon *Halkin. Born in Novo-Bykhov, Russia, Halkin was taken to the U.S. in 1914. He was lecturer in Semitic languages from 1928 to 1950, and from 1950 to 1970 professor of Hebrew at the City College of New York. He also taught at the Jewish Theological Seminary from 1929 to 1970. In 1970 he settled in Jerusalem. Halkin edited part two of al-Baghdādī's *Muslim Schisms and Sects* (*al-Farq bayna al-Firaq*, 1935); the Arabic original and three Hebrew versions of Maimonides' *Iggeret Teiman* (1952); Ibn Aknin's Arabic commentary on the Song of Songs with a Hebrew translation, *Hitgallut ha-Sodot* (1964); and *Zion in Jewish Literature* (1964). He also worked on a new critical edition and Hebrew translation of Moses Ibn Ezra's *Kitāb al-Muḥāḍara wa-al-Mudhākara*, a classic work on Hebrew poetics, and wrote the introduction to a new edition of J.A. Montgomery's *The Samaritans: The Earliest Jewish Sect* (1968). He was editor of the *Encyclopaedia Judaica's* department of Judeo-Arabic literature and medieval translations. He also compiled *201 Hebrew Verbs* (1970) and translated *Crisis and Leadership: Epistles of Maimonides* (with D. Hartman, 1985).

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[Jacob Lassner / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

HALKIN, SHMUEL (1897–1960), Soviet Yiddish poet. Born in Rogachev, Belorussia, Halkin grew up in a ḥasidic home and early came under the influence of Hebrew poetry and wrote Hebrew lyrics. He dreamed of becoming an artist, but ultimately turned to Yiddish poetry and was encouraged by Peretz *Markish in Ekaterinoslav (now Dnepropetrovsk, Ukraine) and by David *Hofstein in Moscow. His first book of lyrics, *Lider* ("Poems"), appeared in 1922. Other volumes of poems and plays followed between 1929 and 1948. Until 1924, Halkin belonged to a Zionist circle and contemplated settling in Palestine, as is evident from a Hebrew song, *Shir ha-Ḥaluẓah*, written at this time and published in Israel after his death. In his autobiography, he acknowledged the influence of Judah Halevi and Solomon ibn Gabirol in the shaping of his lyric personality. Attacked for his Jewish nationalism, his nostalgic despair, and his deviation from the Communist party line on literature, he was compelled to recant his literary heresies. Thereafter, he avoided controversial themes and, in his 1932 poetic collection *Far dem Nayem Fundament* ("For the New Foundation"), formulated the Soviet writers' credo: "We write what we want to-/we write what we have to." He fruitfully worked with Yiddish theater: *Shulamis* (1940), a dramatic poem, based on *Goldfaden, and a verse drama, *Bar Kokhva* (1939), were staged in Moscow and by other theater troupes. In the latter he describes in a communist-ideological spirit the social and class differences between Bar Kokhba and R. Akiva on the one hand and the rich classes of Judea on the other. In 1939 he was decorated with the Order of the Sign of Honor. He translated some of Shakespeare's plays (most notably *King Lear*) and some of the works of Pushkin, Gorki, and other Russian authors into Yiddish.

His dramatic poem *Ghettograd* on the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising was scheduled for the Moscow Yiddish Theater in 1948, but the theater was closed when the Jewish *Anti-Fascist Committee was liquidated that year and Halkin was arrested as one of its prominent members and sent to a labor camp. He was released in 1955, rehabilitated, and, in 1958, decorated with the Order of the Red Banner. After his death in 1960, his native city named a street after him, and in 1966 a selection of his Yiddish lyrics was issued in Moscow. He was a cousin of Simon and Abraham S. *Halkin. His *Lider fun Tfise un La-*

ger ("Poems from Prison and Camp") was published in Tel Aviv in 1988.

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[Sol Liptzin / Gennady Estraikh (2nd ed.)]

HALKIN, SIMON (1898–1987), Hebrew poet, novelist, and educator. Born in Dobsk near Mohilev, Russia, he immigrated to the United States in 1914. He taught at the Hebrew Union College School for Teachers in New York City (1925–32), and after settling in Ereẓ Israel in 1932, he taught English at a Tel Aviv high school. In 1939, he returned to America and became professor of Hebrew literature at the Jewish Institute of Religion in New York. He was appointed professor of Modern Hebrew Literature at the Hebrew University in 1949.

In Halkin's works, metaphysical flights coalesce with earthly desires. This dichotomy already appears in his first novel *Yeḥi'el ha-Hagri* (1928) whose main character is torn between love of God and love of woman. It receives a more mature expression in *Be-Yamim Shishah ve-Leilot Shivah* (1929), a cycle of 36 sonnets; in "*Al Ḥof Santa Barbara*" (1928); and in "*Tarshishah*." These and other poems were collected in *Al ha-I* ("On the Island," 1945). Other motifs in Halkin's poetry are the tension between the death wish and the will to live, the loss of religious faith and the consolation which comes with the acceptance of the agony of living. In *Ma'avar Yabbok* ("The Ford of the Jabbok," 1965), Halkin deals in depth with the death motif. The speaker, obsessed with the love of his dead lover, discovers that the memory of love alone is able to sustain him through the agony of living. "*Ya'akov Rabinowitz be-Yarmouth*" is Halkin's maturest treatment of this theme. The poem depicts an encounter with a dead friend and writer and the ensuing dialogue across the chasm of death is punctuated by the knowledgeable irony of two men who have lived long and have learned the secret of resignation.

Halkin's works in literary criticism include *Arai va-Keva* ("Transient and Permanent," 1942), his unedited lectures on the history of modern Hebrew literature (mimeographed), and his English *Trends in Modern Hebrew Literature* (1950; 1970). The latter is a socio-historical appraisal of Hebrew writing during the last 200 years. Halkin also wrote *Zeramim ve-Ẓurot ba-Sifrut ha-Ivrit ha-Ḥadashah* (1984) and a volume of essays entitled *Ẓiyyonut le-lo Tenai* (1985). Though a longtime resident of the United States, he expresses a negative attitude toward American Judaism and insists that its spiritual resources are limited, a view which permeates his unfinished novel *Ad Mashber* (1945) and his monograph *Yehudim ve-Yahadut ba-Amerikah* (1946).

Of his numerous translations, that of Walt Whitman's *Leaves of Grass* (1952) is outstanding. He also translated Shakespeare's *Merchant of Venice* (1929) and *King John* (1947); Jack London's *Before Adam* (1921) and *The Sea Wolf* (1924); and Shelley's *A Defense of Poetry* (1928).

Nekhar, a collection of 11 short stories written over 40 years, appeared in 1972, and in 1981 the volume of poems *Ulai*. In 1975 Halkin was awarded the Israel Prize for Hebrew literature, and in 1977 there appeared his *Shirim*, consisting of his collected works. He has also translated George Seferis' early verse into Hebrew. In 1984 there appeared three volumes of his collected poems. A volume entitled *Sefer ha-Yovel*, with essays on Halkin on the occasion of his 75th birthday, was edited by B. Shahevitch. R. Weiser prepared a bibliography of Halkin's works (1975).

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[Eisig Silberschlag

HALL, MONTY (**Maurice Halperin**; 1924–), Canadian game-show host, producer. The son of a poor butcher, Hall was born in Winnipeg, Manitoba. Receiving a loan from a local businessman, he was able to attend the University of Manitoba, where he exhibited talent in both musical and dramatic productions and was elected president of the student body. After earning his B.S. in 1945, Hall served in the Canadian Army during World War II, where he emceed a number of army shows. In 1955, he moved to New York, where he worked as an anchor on NBC's radio and television program *Monitor*. In 1960, CBS brought Hall to Hollywood to become the emcee of their show *Video Village* and in 1963 Hall partnered with writer-producer Stefan Hatos to create *Let's Make a Deal*. The show turned out to be a wild success and ran for the next 23 years on all three major American networks, evolving into a pop-culture phenomenon and rendering Hall one of the most famous persons of his era. Throughout the 1970s, Hall emceed his own variety show specials and appeared as a guest on countless television shows such as *The Odd Couple* and *Love Boat*. On August 24th, 1973, Hall was immortalized when he received his own star on Hollywood's Walk of Fame. Beyond his television career, Hall's work in philanthropy has earned him over 500 awards, the most prestigious being the Order of Canada Award (the highest award Canada offers) bestowed upon him in 1988 for his humanitarian endeavors. For years, Hall was among the most, if not the most, prominent Hollywood entertainer to be directly involved in the organized Jewish community, contributing generously to the Jewish Federation and participating in synagogue life. Many attributed his unique participation to the education he had received in the close-knit Jewish community of Manitoba.

[Max Joseph (2nd ed.)]

HALL, OWEN (**James Davis**; 1848–1907), English playwright and journalist. Owner-editor of *The Bat* (1885–87), he chose his pen name as a result of gambling losses which led to his "owing all." Davis is mainly remembered as the writer of successful musical comedies, notably *A Gaiety Girl* (1894), *The Geisha* (1897), and *Florodora* (1899). He later edited a weekly, *The Phoenix*.

ḤALLAH (Heb. חַלָּה), a form of bread (II Sam. 6:19). The term also applies to the portion of dough set aside and given to the priest (Num. 15:19–20). The etymology of the word is traced either to the Hebrew root for "hollow" and "pierce" (Heb. חלל, *ḥll*), suggesting a perforated and/or rounded loaf, or to the Akkadian *ellu* ("pure"), referring to the bread's sacral use. Until new evidence allows more precision, however, *ḥallah* must be rendered "loaf" (parallel to the Hebrew word *kikkar*, cf. Ex. 29:23; Lev. 8:26). In the Bible, *ḥallah* is a bread offering subsumed under *minḥah*, the grain sacrifice. Commonly used in an unleavened form, and only rarely in a leavened form (Lev. 7:13; probably Num. 15:20), the bread is made with or without oil (Ex. 29:2, 23; Lev. 2:4; 7:12; 8:26; 24:5; Num. 6:15, 19).

[Jacob Milgrom]

Post-Biblical

According to the rabbis, the precept of setting aside *ḥallah* applies to dough kneaded from one of the *five species of grain (Ḥal. 1:1), since only from them can the bread (referred to in Num. 15:19: "when you eat of the bread of the land" etc.) be made, although Philo (Spec. 132) limits it to wheat and barley alone. The time of setting aside the *ḥallah* was derived by the sages from the words, "Of the first of your dough" – which they interpreted as meaning "as soon as it becomes dough" – hence one may eat casually of dough before it forms a ball in the case of wheat, and a lump in the case of barley (Sif. Num. 110), i.e., when the kneading is finished. If, however, it had not been set aside from the dough it must be set aside from the baked bread (*ibid.*). The Septuagint translates the word *ḥallah* as baked bread, and both Philo and Josephus (Ant. 4:71) also imply that the precept of setting aside the *ḥallah* applies to baked bread. The quantity of dough from which *ḥallah* must be taken is not explicitly stated in the Bible, and Shammai and Hillel already differed on the quantity (Eduy. 1:2). In later generations, however, the quantity was fixed, based on the words "Of the first of your dough," which was taken to mean "as much as your dough was," viz, "the dough of the wilderness." How much was this? It is written (Ex. 16:36): "Now an *omer* is the tenth part of an *ephah*" (Er. 83a–b). It was accordingly laid down that dough is liable for *ḥallah* if it is kneaded from a bulk of at least 43⅕ medium-size eggs (approximately 1¾ kg.; Maim. Yad, Bikkurim 6:15; Sh. Ar., YD 324:1), and as a mnemonic the sages pointed out that the numerical value of the word *ḥallah* is 43. Since the Bible does not specify the amount of *ḥallah* to be given, according to the letter of the law even a single barley corn exempts the whole dough, but the sages fixed a quantity in accordance with the size of the whole dough: "a householder whose dough is usually small sets aside 1/24; a baker sets aside 1/48." According to biblical law the obligation to separate *ḥallah* applies only to Ereẓ Israel, and "even in Israel there is no Torah obligation except when all Israel [i.e., the majority] are there" (cf. Ket. 25a). So that the obligation of *ḥallah* should not be forgotten, however, the rabbis made it obligatory to separate it nowadays too, and even outside Ereẓ Israel.

Ḥallah is one of the 24 perquisites of the priest (cf. Ezek. 44:30): "in order that the priests, who are always occupied with Divine service, should live without any exertion" (*Sefer ha-Ḥinnukh*, no. 385). *Ḥallah* must be eaten by priests in a state of ritual purity; the commoner who eats it deliberately is liable to the penalty of **karet*, and if eaten inadvertently must pay its value plus an added fifth to the priest, in the same way as a commoner who eats **terumah*. Nowadays since the obligation to give *ḥallah* is rabbinic and the priests are unable to eat it because of ritual uncleanness, it is customary to set aside an olive's bulk from any dough liable for *ḥallah* and to burn it. The precept of *ḥallah* is the subject of a special tractate of the Mishnah in the order *Zera'im* that bears its name and the Jerusalem Talmud also has a *Gemara* to it. The word *ḥallah* is popularly employed for the special Sabbath loaves.

[Israel Burgansky]

Women and Ḥallah

Domestic bread production has always been a largely female task. From the early rabbinic period, "taking *ḥallah*" was considered one of three *mitzvot* (commandments), together with *hadlakah* (kindling Sabbath *candles) and **niddah,* which women were obligated to perform. These three commandments are known as the *ḤaNaH* mitzvot, an acronym of *Ḥallah, Niddah*, and *Hadlakat ha-Ner,* which, in a play on words also evokes Hannah, the mother of the biblical Samuel, considered a model of female piety. A number of midrashic sources declare that these obligations are female punishments or atonement for the disobedience of the first woman in the Garden of Eden and her responsibility for human mortality (e. g. ARN^2 9, 42; Gen. R. 17:8; TJ, Shab. 2:6, 8b). According to the Mishnah (Shab. 2:6), women who neglect these commandments risk death in childbirth (also ARN^2 42). Popular vernacular *teḥinnot* or **tkhines,* supplicatory prayers for women from the early modern period, offer positive interpretations of this tradition. *Tkhines* to be recited while separating *ḥallah* recalled the ancient bringing of tithes, thus making women participants in ancient Temple worship and invoking the messianic era when the Temple rites would be restored.

[Judith R. Baskin (2nd ed.)]

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ḤALLAH (Heb. חַלָּה), the name of a tractate in the Mishnah, Tosefta, and Jerusalem Talmud dealing with portions that are to be removed from bread for the support of the priesthood. Although the original meanings of some key terms in Numbers 15:17–21, including *ḥallah* itself, are not entirely certain, the Jewish oral tradition interpreted the passage as a requirement to set aside a portion of the bread or dough to be consumed by the priests under conditions similar to the *terumah* that is taken from other produce, and which is commanded in similar phrasing. Nehemiah 10:38 demonstrates that the Torah's formula, "a portion for a gift unto the Lord," was understood as a stipulation that the *ḥallah* is directed to the priests, and is not a sacrificial offering.

An early tradition, attested in the Septuagint, rendered *arisoteikhem* in Numbers 15:20 as "your kneading troughs," implying that the obligation of *ḥallah* falls on the unbaked dough; however, the verse also makes reference to the "bread of the land," leading some early authorities (including Philo, Josephus, and Rabbi Akiva) to apply the precept to baked bread. The developed tannaitic *halakhah* determined that the *ḥallah* should initially be separated from the dough, but if one has not done so, the obligation remains in force after baking.

Out of the laconic and ambiguous biblical sources, the rabbinic treatises formulated an elaborate framework of precise rules and measures governing the separation of *ḥallah*. Several of the laws for *ḥallah* were derived through analogies with comparable areas of religious law, especially *terumah*. The definition of "bread" is equated with *five species of grain, employing the same criteria that apply to the leavened or unleavened bread for purposes of Passover, *eruv,* or vows. In most matters, the restrictions arising from *ḥallah's* sacred status are derived from those of standard *terumah*; i.e., it must be kept in a state of purity, and can be consumed only by priests and their household members when they themselves are in a state of purity. As with *terumah*, consumption of the *ḥallah* by a non-priest incurs a divinely executed death penalty or (if done inadvertently) restoration with an additional fifth. Also like *terumah*, *ḥallah* is not incumbent upon dough that is ownerless or that is part of the Torah's entitlement to the poor. The fact that the Torah introduces the precept with the words "When ye come into the land whither I bring you" was understood to imply that *ḥallah* is required only from bread from the Land of Israel; and the Mishnah discusses the halakhic borders of the land, instances where the grain crossed the borders during the process, etc.

The rabbis discuss several types of dough products whose function as bread is questionable or borderline. An ancient mishnah in *Eduyot* (1:2) records a disagreement between Shammai, Hillel, and the sages over the minimum quantity of dough that is subject to *ḥallah*. The Mishnah presupposes the view of the sages, as adapted by Rabbi Yosé: five quarter-*kav*s. Although it was understood that (as with *terumah*) the Torah stipulated no minimum proportion for the *ḥallah* vis à vis the whole loaf, the rabbis determined that it should be one twenty-fourth (or one twenty-eighth for professional bakers).

Because the bread was usually *ḥallah* by women in their homes, the sources dealing with *ḥallah* provide some valuable glimpses into the domestic lives of Jewish women in antiquity. From the halakhic discussions, we learn that they often prepared bread in shared facilities, about their state of dress during the process, about difficulties in maintaining the requisite purity standards during their menstrual periods and the stratagems that were adopted to avoid defilement (e.g., by working with amounts smaller than the legal minimum).

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[Stephen G. Wald (2nd ed.)]

HALLE, city in Germany. Although Jews may well have been present in Halle at the end of the 11th century, the first definite information on their settlement in the city comes from the second half of the 12th century. Then under the protection of the archbishop of Magdeburg, they were hated by the burghers: in 1206 their houses were burned or looted – some Jews were killed and the rest expelled from the city. However, in the mid-13th century there were again Jews in Halle, living in a special quarter, and mainly engaged in moneylending. in 1261, most of their property was confiscated by the archbishop, serving as a cause for a two-year war between the archbishop and the burghers. During persecutions accompanying the *Black Death (1350) the community was destroyed, but in the 14th and 15th centuries Jews returned once more to Halle. The renewed community existed until 1493, when the expulsion of the Jews was decreed. It possessed both a synagogue and a *mikveh*, and a cemetery existed long before 1350. Toward the end of the 17th century the elector of Brandenburg allowed several Jews to settle in Halle, to the dismay of the burghers. In 1693 a Jewish cemetery was officially designated and a synagogue dedicated in 1700. The government recognized the community in 1704. About 1708 a Hebrew printing press was set up in Halle by J.H. Michaelis, for whom the wandering proselyte printer Moses b. Abraham and his son Israel (of Amsterdam) printed a Hebrew Bible (1720). With the help of generous patrons, in 1709 Moses himself began to print some Talmud tractates.

The number of Jews in Halle increased from 12 families in 1700 to 50 in the middle of the 18th century. They were emancipated in 1808 and the community, numbering 150 persons, was given a constitution. In 1840 there were 167 members of the community, 443 in 1864, 660 in 1900, 1,902 in 1920, and 1,300 in 1933 (0.5% of the total population). The April 7, 1933, expulsion of Jews from the civil service resulted in the dismissal of 6 Jewish professors, 13 lawyers, and 41 Jews in public service. Zionist activities increased. After the Nazi rise to power; they won 4 of 10 seats on the community council. On Nov. 10, 1938, the synagogue and communal center were demolished. Two hundred men were arrested and sent to *Buchenwald; three of them lost their lives. In all, 584 Jews emigrated; 17 committed suicide. The rest were concentrated in "Jew houses" and used for forced labor. In 1942, 262 Jews were deported to the East; only 43 survived. On July 1, 1944, 92 were still living there protected by their non-Jewish spouses. The community was renewed after World War II and numbered 50 in 1966 (.02% of the population). A new synagogue was consecrated in 1953. Between 1953 and 1962 Halle was the seat of the Association of Jewish Communities in the GDR. After 1990 the membership, which had fallen to just five in 1989, increased due to the immigration of Jews from the former Soviet Union. In 2004 it numbered 731. In 1996 a liberal Jewish community was founded in Halle. It numbered 32 in 1996 and 200 in 2005. It is a member of the Union of Progressive Jews in Germany.

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[Zvi Avneri / Michael Berenbaum and
Larissa Daemmig (2nd ed.)]

HALLE, MORRIS (**Pinkowitz**; 1923–), U.S. linguist. Born in Liepaja, Latvia, Halle was educated in American universities, receiving his M.A. in linguistics from the University of Chicago in 1948 and his Ph.D. from Harvard in 1955. He began his teaching career as an instructor of Russian at North Park College, Chicago. Thereafter he lectured at Chicago and at Harvard. In 1951 he joined the faculty of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, where he became professor of modern languages in 1961. In the same year, he founded the university's doctoral program in linguistics. Halle taught linguistics, phonology, morphology, phonetics, and Slavic languages. Over the years he held positions at MIT ranging from assistant professor and department head to institute professor. He retired from MIT in 1996 and became institute professor emeritus.

Halle was renowned for his research in linguistic science. Russian, Slavic, and English were the languages most often involved in his linguistic studies. He also focused on the linguistic aspects of Swedish, Arabic, German, Polish, Old and American English, the dialects of southern Russia, and – in one case – Hebrew ("The Term *Canaan* in Medieval Hebrew," by R. Jakobson and M. Halle, in *For Max Weinreich on his 70th Birthday* (1964), pages 147–172). Halle noted the implications of the computer for linguistics, and co-authored "On the Recognition of Speech by Machine" (in *Proceedings of the International Conference on Information Processing 1959* (1960), 252–6). He received recognition for his book *The Sound Pattern of Russian* (1959), and for two books he co-authored, *The Sound Pattern of English* (with N. Chomsky, 1968) and *Preliminaries to Speech Analysis* (1952, 5th repr. 1963).

Regarded by many as the father of the modern study of speech sounds (phonological and phonetic theory), Halle also wrote *Fundamentals of Language* (with R. Jakobson, 1956), *English Stress* (with S. Keyser, 1971), *Problem Book in Phonology* (with G. Clements, 1983), *Language Sound and Structure* (1984), *Handbook of Phonological Theory* (with W. Idsardi, 1994), and *From Memory to Speech and Back* (2002). He edited, among other books, *Roman Jakobson: What He Taught Us* (1983).

Halle served as vice president of the Linguistic Society of America in 1973 and as president in 1974. For decades he was a member of the Linguistic Society of America, a fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, and a member of the National Academy of Sciences.

[Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

HALLEGUA, family of White Jews in *Cochin. Originally from Aleppo, Syria, the family provided communal leaders from the 17th century until the present day. One of the first recorded members was MOSES HALLEGUA (Aleguo), whose tombstone is dated 1666. The title and office of the *mudaliar* (head of the autonomous Jewish community in Cochin) fell to the Hallegua family when this hereditary position became vacant. When Anquetil-Duperron visited Cochin in 1757, JOSEPH HALLEGUA held the office. ḤAYYIM JOSEPH HALLEGUA, who moved to Bombay, was instrumental in publishing in 1846 the Marathi translation of the Passover *Haggadah* of the *Bene Israel.

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[Walter Joseph Fischel]

HALLEL (Heb. הַלֵּל), the general term designating Psalms 113–118 when these form a unit in the liturgy. These psalms are essentially expressions of thanksgiving and joy for divine redemption. *Hallel* is recited in two forms: (a) The "full" *Hallel*, consisting of Psalms 113–118. It is chanted in the synagogue on *Sukkot, *Ḥanukkah, the first day of *Passover (the first two days in the Diaspora), *Shavuot (Tosef., Suk. 3:2, Ta'an. 28b), and (in many synagogues) *Israel Independence Day. *Hallel* is also recited during the Passover *seder service (Tosef., Suk. 3:2), when it is known as *Hallel Miẓri* ("Egyptian *Hallel*") because of the exodus from Egypt which the *seder* commemorates (Ber. 56a; cf. Rashi ad loc.). On this occasion it is recited in two parts (Pes. 10:5–7; Maim. Yad, Ḥamez̤ u-Maẓẓah 8:5). (b) The "half" *Hallel*, consisting of the "full" *Hallel*, excepting Psalms 115:1–11, and 116:1–11. According to the Yemenite rite, the order is slightly different, based on Maimonides (Yad, Ḥanukkah 3:8). It is recited in the synagogue on the *New Moon (Ta'an. 28b; but see also Ar. 10a–b) and on the last six days of Passover (Ar. 10b).

The term *Hallel ha-Gadol* ("Great *Hallel*") refers only to Psalm 136 (Tosef. Ta'an. 3:5) which is recited during *Pesukei de-Zimra at the morning service on Sabbaths and on festivals (Tos. to Ta'an 26a). It is the daily psalm on the last day of Passover (Sof. 18:2), and is added to the *seder Hallel* (Pes. 118a; TJ, Pes. 5:7, 32c). According to the Mishnah (Ta'an 3:9), this psalm was sung on joyous communal occasions, e.g., the long-awaited rain after a period of severe drought.

In the Talmud, various origins are attributed to the custom of chanting *Hallel*. R. Eleazar claims that it was Moses and the people of Israel who first recited *Hallel*; R. Judah states that it was the Prophets who instituted its recitation for every occasion that the people of Israel should be redeemed from potential misfortune (Pes. 117a). The Talmud relates that *Hallel* was recited by the levites in the Temple (Tos. to Pes. 95b), and it was also chanted on Passover eve while the paschal lambs were being slaughtered (Pes. 5:7). *Hallel* became part of the synagogue service at an early stage, and in talmudic times, communities in Ereẓ Israel added it to the end of the evening service for Passover (TJ, Pes. 10:1, 37c). This practice later spread to the Diaspora (Sof. 20:9), and is still the custom among Oriental Jews and Ḥasidim (Sh. Ar., OḤ 487:4; but see Isserles ad loc.) and in most synagogues in Israel.

Hallel is recited on all major biblical festivals, with the exception of *Rosh ha-Shanah and the Day of Atonement; the solemnity of those occasions, when each mortal's destiny and fate is being decided, is deemed unsuitable for psalms of joy (Ar. 10b). Similar considerations caused these psalms to be omitted in a house of mourning on the New Moon and Ḥanukkah (Magen Avraham to Sh. Ar., OḤ 131:4). *Hallel* is not recited on *Purim, since the scroll of Esther is considered the festival's *Hallel* (Ar. 10b; Meg. 14a). One rabbinic tradition is that only the "half" *Hallel* is recited on the last six days of Passover because joy is mitigated by the calamity that then befell the Egyptian host when pursuing the Israelites (see Meg. 10b); another reason given is because no different sacrifice was offered each day (At. 10b). On Sukkot the *lulav* is waved during the refrains of Psalm 118:1–4, 25, and 29 (Suk. 3:9). *Hallel* may be recited at any time during the day (Meg. 2:5), although in the synagogue it is recited immediately after the morning service (RH 4:7). Special benedictions are recited before and after *Hallel* except at the *seder* service when no benediction is recited before it.

There is a difference of opinion among the early authorities as to whether the obligation to recite the *Hallel* is to be considered biblical or rabbinical (see *Sefer Mitzvot Katan* 146, *Yere'im ha-Shalem* 262; Maim. Yad, Ḥanukkah 3:6; *Sefer ha-Mitzvot*, ch. 1). The recitation on the New Moon is considered to be a custom (Ta'an. 28b), and there are some opinions that it is only recited in congregational prayers on that day. Similarly there are authorities who ruled that for the full *Hallel* the benediction should read "Blessed art Thou… who hast commanded us to finish (*ligmor*) the Hallel" instead of the customary "to read (*likro*) the Hallel." According to the *tosafot* (Sot. 32a, s.v. *Keri'at Shema*), *Hallel* may be recited in any language (see also Tosef., Sot. 7:7). It should be read standing (*Shibbolei ha-Leket* 173; Sh. Ar., OḤ 322:7), except at the *seder* service. Various traditions are related to the manner in which the *Hallel* is chanted. In some communities, it was sung antiphonally (Tosef., Sot. 6:2); in others (as is still the practice among Yemenite Jews) the congregation responded with *hallelujah* after each half of a verse (Suk. 3:10; TJ, Shab. 16:1, 16c). Among Ashkenazi Jews, it is customary to repeat Psalm 118:1, 21–29 (see Suk. 3:10 and 39a). Opinions and customs differ regarding the recital of Hallel on Israel Independence Day.

For musical rendition see *Psalms.

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HALLELUJAH (Heb. הַלְלוּיָהּ), liturgical expression occurring 23 times, exclusively in the Book of Psalms. Apart from 135:3, it invariably appears as either the opening (106, 111–3, 135, 146–50) or closing word of a psalm (104–6, 113, 115–7, 135, 146–50) or in both positions (106, 113, 135, 146–50). In all cases, with the exception of 135:3 and 147:1, the term is not part of the body of the psalm. This fact, together with its total nonappearance in those psalms cited in other biblical books (cf. Ps. 106:48 with I Chron. 16:36) and its restriction to the last divisions of the Psalter (cf. Ber. 9b), suggest a late coinage.

It is generally agreed that Hallelujah means, "praise [ye] the Lord." The plural imperative form of the verb would indicate that the term was a directive to the worshiping congregation in the Temple by the presiding functionary which was meant to evoke a public response. In the course of time it became an independent cultic exclamation so that the Greek-speaking Jews simply transliterated it (70, ʾΑλληούϊα). On the other hand, a consciousness of its composite nature is preserved in amoraic discussions as to whether the Hebrew should be rendered by the scribes as one word or two. (Pes. 117a; Sof. 5:10, TJ, Suk. 3:12, 53d;TJ, Meg. 1:11, 72a). A novel explanation is given by Joshua b. Levi who regards the final syllable as a superlative suffix and who translates the term, "praise Him with many praises" (Pes. 117a).

[Nahum M. Sarna]

In Music.

The tradition of rendering the word Hallelujah at the beginning and/or end of a psalm, by a special melodic phrase is certainly very old, judging by its survival in the usages of many Jewish communities. In some of them, the word is even added at the end of each verse on some occasions. The Yemenites prefix "Hallelujah" or "Ve-Hallelujah" to certain frestive *piyyutim*, which are therefore called *Halleluyot*. Christian tradition attests the practice of "Hallelujah-singing" from the earliest periods, especially in a form which may or may not have been taken over from Jewish practice: songs on the single word, in which the "lu" and "jah" syllables were drawn out as long flourishes, until they became the so-called *Jubilus* – a wordless ecstatic outpouring. In the Middle Ages these long Hallelujahs began to serve as the basis, in the lower or middle voice, of elaborate compositions in which the upper voices uttered a poetic expression of praise. Sometimes the word itself was split – as in the 13th-century three-voiced "*Alle*-psallite-cum-*luja*" (see A.T. Davison and W. Apel (eds.). *Historical Anthology of Music*, I (19642), 35). During the Renaissance and Baroque periods the *Jubilus*-like setting of the word *Alleluia* is found again, of course in the form of elaborate polyphonic compositions. The word also became a favorite vehicle for canons. The tradition continues until today, for example: the "Hallelujah chorus" in Handel's *Messiah,* Mozart's *Alleluja* for soprano and orchestra (actually the second part of his motet *Exsultate, jubilate*, K. 165), and the great *Alleluja* pieces in William Walton's *Belshazzar's Feast* (1929–31) and Arthur Honegger's *Le Roi David* (1921).

[Bathja Bayer]

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HALLER'S ARMY ("**Blue Army**"), force of Polish volunteers organized in France during the last year of World War I, responsible for the murder of Jews and anti-Jewish pogroms in Galicia and the Ukraine. The group was organized on the initiative of the Polish National Council (KNP), achieved French recognition in June 1917, and with the appearance in Paris in July 1918 of General Józef Haller (1873–1960) known for his struggles for Polish freedom within the framework of the Polish legions, command was transferred to him. The political direction lent by the National Council in Paris, headed by Roman *Dmowski, gave the group an extreme nationalistic character. The army had about 50,000 men who moved to the southeast front in Poland during the months of April, May, and June 1919. The addition of Haller's substantial forces to the regular Polish army enabled the Poles to conquer eastern Galicia. Foreign officers and the ties with France kept Haller's forces independent of the official Polish command, a fact exploited by Haller's soldiers (called the "Hallerczycy") for undisciplined and unbridled excesses against Jewish communities in Galicia. Attacks on individual Jews on the streets and highways, murderous pogroms on Jewish settlements, and deliberate provocative acts became commonplace. While these may have been on the initiative of individual soldiers, they were known to their officers, if not openly supported by them. In 1920, during the Polish offensive toward Kiev resulting from the Pilsudski-Petlyura alliance, anti-Jewish pogroms occurred in the region.

Haller, who was a member of the Sejm (parliament) in 1922–23, became a member of the Polish government-in-exile during World War II.

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[Moshe Landau]

HALLGARTEN, family of U.S. bankers. LAZARUS HALLGARTEN (d. 1875), a native of Frankfurt, Germany, arrived in New York in 1848 and in 1850 opened an office for exchanging immigrants' currency. By establishing connections with Frankfurt and other European banking centers, he and his partners developed a successful foreign exchange business. During the 1860s the firm became prominent as one of the largest gold bullion dealers in the United States. For its role on "Black Friday" (September 24, 1869) in stabilizing the price of gold that had been skyrocketed by the speculations of Jay Gould, the firm received official recognition by the United States Treasury. During the latter part of the 19th century the firm was engaged in the reorganization of the country's major railroads, and expanded its trading in bonds and stocks. In 1881 it became a member of the New York Stock Exchange. Meanwhile, Lazarus' sons CHARLES (1838–1908) and JULIUS (d. 1884) had joined the firm, and the financing of industrial combines became a major field for Hallgarten & Co. World War I saw an intensification of the firm's domestic business, and between the two world wars the firm acted as fiscal agents for many foreign governments, and established offices and representations in almost all the European financial centers. With the passing of the 1934 Securities and Exchange Act it limited itself to underwriting and general brokerage business. As late as 1950 the majority of the firm's active members were direct descendants of a partner of Lazarus Hallgarten. Most of the Hallgartens were interested in community activities as well as in the arts. Lazarus' son, Charles, who moved to Frankfurt and conducted the firm's banking affairs there, was especially active in philanthropic work. He held a leading position in the *Alliance Israélite Universelle, the Hilfsverein der Deutschen Juden, and the Jewish Colonization Association, and helped to organize efforts for the relief and emigration of the Jewish victims of the Russian pogroms. He was the founder of the Gesellschaft zur Erforschung Juedischer Kunstdenkmaeler (Society for Research of Monuments of Jewish Art). He also helped to found an association for public education and a legal aid office for women.

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garten (1908); W. Emrich, *Bildnisse Frankfurter Demokraten* (1956), 22–25; NDB, 7 (1966).

[Joachim O. Ronall]

HALLO, RUDOLF (1896–1933), German art historian, friend and successor of Franz Rosenzweig as head of the Freies Juedisches Lehrhaus in Frankfurt. Hallo was born in Kassel to a prominent family of court Jews and artisans, which included Israel Aron Hammerschlag of Prague and his grandson and namesake, who was made a Court Jew in 1657 by Frederick William of Brandenburg. The family tradition of painting, gilding, and synagogue decoration began in 1816, when Simon Hallo became an apprentice housepainter, the medieval painters' guild having opened to Jews in the wake of the Emancipation. The firm Gebrueder Hallo was founded in 1891 and moved to Tel Aviv in 1935.

Trained in classical art at the University of Goettingen, Rudolf Hallo contributed significantly to the founding of Jewish art history as a discipline and also wrote on biblical and archaeological subjects. His interest in art history, especially Jewish and Hessian provincial art and handiwork, carried on the family tradition on an academic level.

Franz Rosenzweig was the son of his mother's closest friend. Hallo married Gertrude Rubensohn, also a friend of Rosenzweig and one of his circle (see Rosenzweig's *Briefe*, 285, 288). Upon his incapacitation Rosenzweig designated Hallo to succeed him as head of the Lehrhaus (*Briefe*, 354). Because of differences between the two men concerning educational policy, which stemmed from deeper disagreements in philosophical outlook (cf. *Briefe*, 364, 365), Hallo resigned at the end of the summer trimester of 1923 (Briefe, 373). He returned to his native Kassel, and there became curator at a state museum, where he created a department of Jewish art. He continued writing and lecturing. Among Hallo's works are *Juedische Kunst aus Hessen und Nassau* (1933), *Juedische Volkskunst in Hessen* (1928), *Rudolph Erich Raspe* (1934, posthumously), *Geschichte der juedischen Gemeinde Kassel* (1931), and *Judaica* (1932, separate printing from *Religioese Kunst aus Hessen und Nassau*).

His son, WILLIAM W. HALLO, Assyriologist, was born in Kassel in 1928. He immigrated to the United States in 1940. Hallo taught Bible and Semitic languages at Hebrew Union College in Cincinnati (1956–62), and from 1962 taught Assyriology at Yale University, serving as curator of the Babylonian collection there. He published extensively on ancient Near Eastern and biblical subjects.

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[Joel Kraemer]

HALLO, WILLIAM (1928–), Assyriologist and Bible scholar. Hallo was born into a prominent Jewish family in Kassel, Germany. His father Rudolf *Hallo was one of the founders of the discipline of Jewish art history, and successor to Franz *Rosenzweig at the Franfurt Lehrhaus. His mother was Dr. Gertrude Rubensohn Hallo. William Hallo and his sisters were among a group of Jewish children who were sent out of Nazi Germany and other Nazi-held areas in 1939 to England as part of the *Kindertransport* program. Rejoined by their mother (his father had died in 1933), Hallo and his sisters came to the United States in 1940. He earned his B.A. at Harvard in 1950 and spent 1950–51 at Leiden University, Netherlands, on a Fulbright scholarship studying the languages of ancient Mesopotamia with F.R. Kraus, among others. He came to the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, where he earned his Ph.D. in 1955 under Ignace *Gelb. He was also an assistant to Benno *Landsberger. Between 1956 and 1962, Hallo taught at Hebrew Union College in Cincinnati. He left for Yale in 1962, where he was appointed curator of the Yale Babylonian Collection and professor of Assyriology, and spent the next 40 years at Yale. Within Assyriology, Hallo specialized in Sumerian literature, history, and language. Applying his work in Assyriology to biblical studies, Hallo pioneered in a "contextual" approach that shows the importance of comparing and contrasting the respective literatures. With K.L. Younger, Hallo edited the three-volume *The Context of Scripture* (1997–2002), a collection of ancient Near Eastern documents. A highly prolific professional scholar, Hallo brought some of the results of his scholarship before larger audiences through his contributions to the Torah Commentaries published by the Reform movement. He also translated Rosenzweig's *Star of Redemption* (1990).

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[S. David Sperling (2nd ed.)]

HALMI, ROBERT (1924–), U.S. executive producer. The legendary and prolific television producer Robert Halmi was born in Budapest, Hungary, the son of a playwright and a photographer. In 1944, he joined the Hungarian Resistance to hold off the Nazis in Poland. He was captured and sentenced to death but released when the Russians liberated Poland in 1945. In 1952 he emigrated to the U.S. and became a writer-photographer for *Life* magazine, specializing in exotic and dangerous places. His exploits included being stranded for three days on an Alaskan glacier, spending three months with a tribe of African pygmies, and flying hot-air balloons professionally. Halmi's film career began in 1962 when he started producing documentaries on outdoor subjects. By the mid-1970s Halmi had crossed over to producing feature films but he soon shifted his attention to television. He quickly established himself as the king of the mini-series, producing lavish, star-studded productions of classics. Halmi's credits include *Svengali* (1983), *Gulliver's Travels* (1996 Emmy Award), *20,000 Leagues Under The Sea* (1997), *The Odyssey* (1997), *Robinson Crusoe* (1997), *Moby Dick* (1998), *Merlin* (1998) and perhaps his most acclaimed achievement, *Lonesome Dove* (1989), which received seven Emmy Awards. In 1994 Hallmark Entertainment purchased Halmi's production company, RHI Entertainment, and promoted Halmi to chairman of the board. He went on to work with his son, Robert Halmi, Jr., who became president and CEO of Hallmark. Halmi, Sr. continued to produce two or more projects a season, such as *Animal Farm* (1999), *The Lion in Winter* (2003), and *The Five People You Meet in Heaven* (2004).

[Max Joseph (2nd ed.)]

HALPER, ALBERT (1904–1984), U.S. novelist. His first novel, *Union Square* (1933), on a radical theme, was an immediate success. His experiences in a mail order house in his native Chicago and in the Chicago central post office found expression in his novels *The Chute* (1937), *The Little People* (1942), and *The Golden Watch* (1953), a story of a West Side Chicago Jewish family. *The Chute* showed Halper in retreat from the Jewishness of his immigrant parents, presenting a wholly negative picture of American Jewish life. In *Sons of the Fathers* (1940), however, he portrayed Jewish customs and ceremonies with objectivity and even sympathy. *Atlantic Avenue* (1956) is a story of violence in New York City. He recounted his struggle as a writer in *Good-bye, Union Square, A Writer's Memoir of the Thirties* (1970).

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[Sol Liptzin]

HALPER, BENZION (1884–1924), Hebraist, Arabist, and editor. Halper was born in Zhosli (Zasliai), Lithuania. He emigrated to Germany and from there to England. In 1907 he began studying Semitics at the University of London. While at the university he also studied at Jews' College. In 1910 he spent a year in Egypt under university auspices. During this period he contributed regularly to the Hebrew periodical *Ha-Yehudi*. In 1911 Halper went to New York and worked as classifier and copyist of *genizah* fragments in the library of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America. In 1912 he became a Fellow at Dropsie College in Philadelphia, and from 1913 taught there in the departments of rabbinics and cognate (Semitic) languages. In 1923 he was advanced to the rank of associate professor of cognate languages. He also served the college as custodian of manuscripts. From 1916 to 1924 Halper was editor of the Jewish Publication Society of America.

Among the *genizah* fragments brought to Dropsie College by Cyrus Adler, Halper discovered a portion of *Sefer ha-Mitzvot* ("Book of Precepts") by the 10th-century halakhist and philosopher *Ḥefeẓ b. Yaẓli'aḥ. He translated it into Hebrew and published both the original Arabic text and the translation with an introduction and critical notes as *The Book of Precepts* (1915). His scholarly and at the same time popular anthology, *Post-Biblical Hebrew Literature* (Hebrew and English, 2 vols., 1921), presented some previously unpublished texts as well as critical notes and a glossary. Under the title *Shirat Yisrael* (1924), he published an edition and Hebrew translation of *Kitab al-Muḥadara wal-Mudhakara* (Book of Discussions and Remembrances) by the 12th-century Hebrew poet, Moses *Ibn Ezra, dealing with Hebrew prosody and, more generally, with Jewish life and literature. Halper's last important work was the *Descriptive Catalogue of Geniza Fragments in Philadelphia* (1924), which identifies and describes in detail nearly 500 fragments. Halper's first major essay, entitled "The Participle Formations of Geminate Verbs" (in ZAW, 30 (1910), 42–57, 99–126, 201–28), discussed Hebrew roots from אבב to תפץ. His major studies included "The Scansion of Medieval Hebrew Poetry" (in JQR, 4 (1914), 153–224), "An Autograph Responsum of Maimonides" (*ibid.*, 6 (1916), 225–9), "A Dirge on the Death of Daniel Gaon" (*ibid.*, 10 (1920), 411–20), and analyses of *genizah* discoveries and Jewish literature in Arabic (in *Ha-Tekufah*, 1923, 1924, 1928).

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[Meir Ben-Horin]

HALPERIN, HAIM (1895–1973), agronomist. Halperin was born in Russia and studied agriculture at the University of Kharkov, immigrating to Ereẓ Israel in 1924. He was a delegate to several Zionist congresses and founded the Ruppin Agricultural College and the Israel Agricultural Bank. On the foundation of the State he was appointed the first director-general of the Ministry of Agriculture. He was professor of agricultural economics at the Hebrew University and was for a time dean of the faculty. His *Agrendum* was translated into Japanese, among other languages. Halperin was the husband of Beba *Idelson. He was awarded the Israel Prize in 1973 and died shortly after.

HALPERIN, YEḤIEL (1880–1942), Hebrew educator. Born in Priluki, Ukraine, Halperin taught in Y. Adler's "progressive *ḥeder*" in Gomel and later in S.L. *Gordon's in Warsaw. In 1909 he established the first Hebrew kindergarten in Warsaw, and, in 1910, a Hebrew seminary for kindergarten teachers. At the outbreak of World War I (1914) Halperin moved to Odessa where he established a similar seminary. Emigrating to Palestine in 1920, he served as a supervisor of Hebrew kindergartens from 1922 to 1925, and was appointed head of the Kindergarten Department of the Lewinsky Teachers' Seminary in Tel Aviv (1926). In 1936 he founded a special college for kindergarten teaching in Tel Aviv, which continued to function until 1941. Halperin published a journal devoted to the Hebrew kindergarten, *Ha-Ginnah* (in Odessa, from 1918; then in Jerusalem from 1922). His collected works were published in three volumes: *Shi'urim be-Torat Ḥinnukh ha-Tinokot* (1944): *Be-Keren Zavit* (1945), kindergarten play songs; and *Mah Sipper Yare'aḥ Li* (1952), eight legends. His sons were the poet Yonathan *Ratosh and the philologist Uzzi Ornan.

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[Gedalyah Elkoshi]

HALPERN, BENJAMIN (Ben, 1912–1990), U.S. sociologist, educator, and Zionist. Halpern, who was born in Boston, Massachusetts, was active in the Zionist movement and Jewish affairs from his youth. He served as national secretary of the He-Ḥalutz Organization of America (1936–37), managing editor of the *Jewish Frontier* magazine (1943–49), and associate director of the departments of culture, education, and publications of the Jewish Agency (1949–56). In 1956 Halpern became research associate in Middle Eastern studies at Harvard University. He began his association with Brandeis University in 1962 and was subsequently appointed professor of Near Eastern studies there, retiring in 1981. He was a member of the Jewish Agency Executive from 1968 to 1972. Halpern's scholarly work was closely associated with his Jewish and Labor Zionist commitments and interests. His numerous publications, many of which were published in *Jewish Frontier* and *Midstream* magazines, deal chiefly with problems of Zionism, Israeli society, and the role of the Jews in U.S. society. In his *The American Jew: A Zionist Analysis* (1956), which deals with both the implications and realities of assimilation and differences and similarities between U.S. Jews and other Jewish communities, Halpern contends that Jews will never be completely accepted into U.S. life as long as they remain Jews. Halpern's most important book is *The Idea of the Jewish State* (1969^2), which traces the development of Zionism both as an ideology and a movement. He also wrote *Clash of Heroes: Brandeis, Weizmann, and American Zionism* (1987).

[Werner J. Cahnman]

HALPERN, GEORG GAD (1878–1962), economist and leading figure in the economic activities of the Zionist Organization. Born in Pinsk, Halpern studied economics in Germany (his doctoral dissertation was entitled *Die juedischen Arbeiter in London*, 1903). He became active in Zionist affairs in his youth and, beginning in 1903, he attended all Zionist Congresses. During the period of the *Democratic Fraction, he became a close associate of Chaim Weizmann and throughout the years served as an adviser for and administrator of the financial affairs and economic institutions of the Zionist Organization. He also wrote on economic affairs for the German press and was the director of an oil company. From 1921 to 1928 he was a director of the *Jewish Colonial Trust in London. Halpern was the moving force behind various economic institutions sponsored by the Zionist Organization: the Anglo-Palestine Bank, the Palestine Electric Corporation, *Keren Hayesod, the Land Development Co., etc. He settled in Palestine in 1933, founded the Migdal Insurance Co. (1934), and was a member of the board of Bank Leumi.

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[Getzel Kressel]

HALPERN, HARRY (1899–1981), U.S. Conservative rabbi. Halpern was born in New York City and earned his B.A. at City College (1919) and his Orthodox ordination from Yeshiva University's Rabbi Yitzhak Elchanan Theological Seminary (1922). While serving as rabbi of the Jewish Communal Center of Flatbush (1922–29), he earned his L.L.B. (1925) and J.D. from Brooklyn Law School (1926). He was ordained a second time, in 1929, at the *Jewish Theological Seminary, where he earned a D.H.L. in 1951. That year, he became rabbi of the East Midwood Jewish Center, one of the largest synagogue-centers in Brooklyn, where he was to spend his entire 48-year career. An early champion of intensive Jewish day school education, he founded the Rabbi Harry Halpern Day School, housed in his congregation's building, and was a guiding force behind the expansion of the Yeshivah of Flatbush, chairing its Board of Education. He was also president of the Brooklyn region of the *Zionist Organization of America (1947–49) and a member of its National Executive (1954–56).

Halpern rose to the highest positions of rabbinic leadership in metropolitan New York and nationally. He was a director of the Rabbinic Cabinet of the United Jewish Appeal of Greater New York, a founder and life trustee of the Commission on Synagogue Relations of the Federation of Jewish Philanthropies, and president of the New York Board of Rabbis (1961). He also served on the executive committee of the New York Division of the National Conference of Christians and Jews and was instrumental in organizing the Metropolitan New York Region of the *Rabbinical Assembly. His efforts led to his election as national president of the RA (1945–6), where he revived the quarterly *Conservative Judaism*, oversaw the publication of the Rabbinical Assembly *ketubbah* (as amended by Saul *Lieberman), and established a Committee on Tenure and Related Matters. His ambitious attempt at establishing a national *bet din* together with the Orthodox Rabbinical Council of America was rebuffed, however. Upon leaving office, Halpern became an activist chairman of the Joint Commission on Social Action of the Rabbinical Assembly and the United Synagogue (1956–61), lobbying against federal aid to private and parochial schools.

Halpern remained deeply connected with the Jewish Theological Seminary, as chairman of the Rabbinic Cabinet (1951–53), co-chairman of the Seminary Planning Commission, and a member of the Seminary's Board of Directors (1951–53). One of the founders of the institution's pastoral counseling program, he taught pastoral psychology and homiletics at the Seminary. In 1974, Halpern published *From Where I Stand*, a collection of columns he had written for the synagogue bulletin.

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[Bezalel Gordon (2nd ed.)]

HALPERN (Halperin), ISRAEL (1910–1971), Israel historian. Halpern was born in Bialystok, Poland, emigrated to Ereẓ Israel in 1934, began his teaching career at the Hebrew University in 1949, and became professor in 1963. His main interest was the history of East European Jewry, particularly *pinkasim* ("registers"). His publications include *Pinkas Va'ad Arba Araẓot*

("Minutes of the Council of the Four Lands," 1945); *Ha-Aliyyot ha-Rishonot shel ha-Ḥasidim le-Ereẓ Israel* ("Early Ḥasidic Immigration to Palestine," 1956); and *Takkanot Medinat Mehrin* ("Moravian Community Enactments," 1952). He also edited *Sefer ha-Gevurah* (3 vols., 1941, 1951^2), a historical-literary anthology of Jewish self-defense and martyrdom, and *Beit Yisrael be-Polin* (2 vols., 1948–54), a collection of essays on Polish-Jewish history. Halpern took a leading part in the work of the Israel Historical Society, and was coeditor of the journals *Zion* and *Shivat Ẓiyyon*, publications devoted to the history of Zionism. He was the brother of Lipman *Halpern, the neurologist.

HALPERN, JACK (1925–), Canadian inorganic and physical chemist. Born in Poland, he received his B.S. in 1946 and his Ph.D. in 1949 from McGill University. He joined the University of British Columbia (1950) and became professor of chemistry there in 1956, and later at University of Chicago (1962). Throughout his long and distinguished career, he conducted research on kinetics and mechanisms of inorganic reactions, catalysis, fast reactions, electron transfer processes, and coordination and organometallic chemistry. Among his many awards, he was named co-recipient of the 1994 Robert Welch Award in chemistry, which recognizes outstanding contributions to the field of chemistry for the betterment of mankind.

[Bracha Rager (2nd ed.)]

HALPERN, LIPMAN (1902–1968), Israeli neurologist, brother of the historian Israel *Halpern. Born in Bialystok, Poland, Halpern settled in Ereẓ Israel in 1934. In 1938 he was invited to start a neuropsychic outpatient clinic at the Hadassah University Hospital, Jerusalem and became head of the newly formed department of neurology in 1941. He was appointed to the faculty of medicine being formed at the Hebrew University-Hadassah Medical School in 1946, becoming dean of the faculty in 1965 and playing an active part in the development of medical education in Israel. In 1953 he was awarded the Israel Prize for medicine. Halpern won an international reputation for his research on extrapyramidal diseases, the sensory functions, functions of the frontal brain, and the dynamics of aphasia of polyglots. His major work was a study of posture and its relations to the functions of the organism and the influence of sensory stimuli on posture. He also drew attention to the influence of color on the organism. Among his publications is *Le Syndrome d'induction sensorimotrice* (1951).

HALPERN, MOYSHE-LEYB (1886–1932), Yiddish poet. Born in Galicia, Halpern emigrated to the United States in 1908, after participating in the Czernowitz Yiddish Language Conference, and lived mainly in New York. He associated with *Di Yunge*, but his style was at odds with their aestheticism. Early influenced by German literature, especially Heine and Expressionism, his first collection of poems, *In Nyu York* ("In New York," 1919) brought him recognition as a major Yiddish poet, followed by *Di Goldene Pave* ("The Golden Peacock," 1924). Two volumes entitled *Moyshe-Leyb Halpern* were published posthumously in 1934. Halpern was a rebel who, refusing to compromise his art, lived in poverty, earning some money by writing for satirical and left-wing Yiddish journals. In his poetry, Halpern invented a series of personae through which he expresses the conflicting ideas inherent in his work: social engagement and political skepticism, nostalgia for his heritage and brutal rejection of it, a tormented relationship to America, lyricism juxtaposed with self-mockery and disturbing language and imagery. His writing expresses his rejection of social injustice, his sympathy for the underprivileged, and his horror of war.

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[Sol Liptzin and Shlomo Bickel / Heather Valencia (2nd ed.)]

HALPHEN, family of Alsatian origin. They included ACHILLE-EDMOND HALPHEN, who compiled the standard collection of documents on French Jewish history *Recueil des lois, décrets, ordonnances… concernant les Israélites depuis la Révolution de 1789* (1851); FERNAND HALPHEN (1872–1918), Parisian composer, who was a pupil of Massenet and Fauré, and composed several orchestral pieces and songs, a one-act opera, and a sonata for violin and piano; GEORGES-HENRI HALPHEN (1844–1889), mathematician, born in Rouen, who taught at the Ecole Polytechnique in Paris and became a member of the Académie des Sciences: in 1881 his work on the classification of curves was granted an award by the Berlin Academy; ALICE FERNAND-HALPHEN (d. 1963) author of a monograph on Gracia Mendes *Nasi (1929); and LOUIS *HALPHEN, historian.

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HALPHEN, LOUIS (1880–1950), French historian. Born in Paris, he taught medieval history at the University of Bordeaux from 1910 until 1928 when he became a lecturer in the Paris Ecole des Hautes Etudes and later professor of medieval history at the University of Paris. In 1940 he fled to unoccupied France and taught at the University of Grenoble from 1941 until 1943, after which the Nazis took the city and he went into hiding. In 1944 he returned to Paris and resumed his teaching career at the Sorbonne. Halphen first gained importance as a medieval historian through two publications, *Le Comté d'Anjou au XIe siècle* (1906) and *Etudes sur l'administration de Rome au Moyen Age 751–1252* (1907). He adhered strictly to the sources, of which he had full command. In his *Initiation aux études d'histoire du Moyen Age* (1940, 1952^3), he provided an exposition of his methodology as a guide for young scholars. Among his works of broader scope are *L'essor de l'Europe,* *xie–xiiie siècles* (1932, 1948[3]), and *Les Barbares* (1926; 1948[5]) which he wrote for the series *Peuples et Civilisations*. In these books he emphasized the importance of relating European history to Asian and Islamic history. He also wrote *Charlemagne et l'empire Carolingien* (1947).

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[Joseph Baruch Sermoneta]

HALPRIN, ANN (**Anna**; 1920–), U.S. dancer, choreographer, and teacher. Halprin distinguished herself as an exponent of dance related to environment. She founded and ran the Dancers' Workshop in San Francisco (1948–55). Her first "environmental" work, *Birds of America* (1960), led to *Four-Legged Stool* (1961), *Esposizione* (1963), and *Parades and Changes* (1964). From the late 1970s Halprin organized events conceived as "rituals" in which males and females from the audience as well as performers are united in a single process. Her *Circle the Earth* (1981) was a call for peace and also served as a healing ritual; her *Planetary Dance: A Prayer for Peace*, performed in Berlin (1995) in commemoration of the 50th anniversary of the end of World War II, involved hundreds of participants. In 1997, she received the Samuel H. Scripps/American Dance Festival Award, honoring lifetime achievement in modern dance.

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[Amnon Shiloah (2nd ed.)]

HALPRIN, ROSE LURIA (c. 1895–1978), U.S. Zionist leader, born in New York City of a traditional Jewish family. She studied Hebrew and attended the Teachers' Institute of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America, Hunter College, and Columbia University. Rose Halprin served as president of Hadassah during 1932–34 and 1947–51. During 1934–39 she lived in Palestine, where she was Hadassah's Palestine correspondent. She was Hadassah's first representative to the Zionist General Council from 1939 to 1946. In 1946 she was elected to the Executive of the Jewish Agency for Palestine and continued in that office for more than 20 years. In 1955 she became acting chairman and from 1960 to 1968 she was chairman of the American Section of the Jewish Agency. During her Hadassah career, Rose Halprin served in many capacities. She was a member of the Board of Governors of the United Jewish Appeal and of the Hebrew University in Jerusalem.

[Gladys Rosen]

HALSMAN, PHILIPPE (1906–1979), U.S. photographer. Born in Riga, Latvia, Halsman became interested in photography at 15 when his father, a dentist, gave him an old camera. He studied engineering but gave it up and moved to Paris. When German troops were approaching in 1940, Halsman, after a decade as a successful portraitist, left for New York with an emergency visa, obtained through the intervention of Albert *Einstein, whom he photographed frequently. The first picture Halsman made in the United States, of an unknown model, Connie Ford, lying on an American flag fashioned from paper, was bought by the cosmetics company Elizabeth Arden for display, making the model, and photographer, famous. Halsman made a photograph of Salvador Dali with a ballerina on a city rooftop. It became the Picture of the Week for *Life* magazine. The two men became close friends, working together on a number of surreal images. Their successful collaboration resulted in 1954 in a book entitled *Dali's Mustache*, a light-hearted look at the artist's famous mustache. Halsman was responsible for more than 100 covers for *Life* magazine, then a weekly picture magazine. He achieved international acclaim for his portraits of Churchill and John F. Kennedy and the actresses Ingrid Bergman, Elizabeth *Taylor, and Marilyn *Monroe. In 1966 the United States engraved two of Halsman's portraits, of Adlai E. Stevenson and of Einstein, on postage stamps. One of Halsman's most famous series shows the rich and famous jumping for the camera. Marilyn Monroe jumps exuberantly, the Duke and Duchess of Windsor do so demurely and Richard M. Nixon does it rather prudishly. The *Jump Book* was published in 1959. Halsman was the first president of the American Society of Magazine Photographers.

[Stewart Kampel (2nd ed.)]

HALTER, MAREK (1934–), painter and writer. Halter was born in Warsaw but during World War II was exiled to Uzbekistan. After returning to Poland in 1945, he decided to study art in Paris. After a short period at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts, he preferred to study alone and undertook a long series of journeys in Latin America, the Middle East, Israel, and the United States. Halter was a particularly gifted draftsman, working in a free, speedy manner, linking delicate linear definitions with heavy areas of black paint. He illustrated a number of publications, including *Proverbs* and *Song of Songs* issued by Oved, Tel Aviv, and the poems of Perl Halter, edited by Massada, Tel Aviv. Albums of his drawings and screenprints were published in Paris, where a film was also made about his work. Halter also worked for the theater, in France and Spain, and designed stained-glass windows for the Great Neck Synagogue, New York. In addition to these diverse talents, Halter paints principally in oils. Much of his life and art is motivated by political ideals, not of a revolutionary nature, but idealistic objectives of a moralistic and democratic nature. His first one-man exhibition was at the Galerie Cimaise, Paris (1953); he also held exhibitions throughout Europe, in Argentina, Canada, and the United States, and at both the Tchemerinski and Gordon galleries in Tel Aviv. In 1976, Halter published his first book, *Le fou et les rois* (*The Jester and the Kings*, 1989), an autobiography with a marked political dimension. Then began a rich literary career, mainly consisting of historical sagas combining reflections on the fate of the Jewish people with a humanistic outlook: *La mémoire d'Abraham* (1983; *The Book of Abraham*, 1986) and its contemporarily focused sequel *Les fils d'Abraham* (1989; *The Children of Abraham*, 1986); *Le Messie* (1996); *Les mystères de Jérusalem* (1999); and *Le vent des Khazars* (2001; *The Wind of the Khazars*, 2003). In 1994, he directed a documentary on the *Righteous Among the Nations, *Tzedek*, whose principal interviews were collected in his 1995 book *La force du bien* (*Stories of Deliverance: Speaking with Men and Women Who Rescued Jews from the Holocaust*, 1998).

In 2003 Halter began publishing a trilogy devoted to biblical women: *La Bible au feminin: Sarah* (tr. 2004), *Tsippora* (tr. 2005), and *Lilah* (tr. 2006).

Besides his artistic activities, Halter was very active in promoting human rights, the fight against racism, and peace in the Middle East. He was chairman of the Andrei Sakharov Institute and the International Institute for Jewish Culture, co-founder of the French anti-racist movement "S.O.S. racisme," and involved in the first encounters between Israelis and PLO representatives.

[Charles Samuel Spencer / Dror Franck Sullaper (2nd ed.)]

ḤALUKKAH (Heb. חֲלֻקָּה), financial allowance for the support of the inhabitants of Ereẓ Israel from the contributions of their coreligionists in the Diaspora. In a wider sense, *ḥalukkah* denotes the organized method of this support and the institutions responsible for it, especially after the end of the 18th century. The support given by the Jews of the Diaspora to their brothers in Ereẓ Israel was customary even in ancient times and there are references to it in the periods of the Mishnah and the Talmud. Rabbis left Ereẓ Israel to seek contributions abroad for the support of Torah scholars. During the Middle Ages and especially during the following centuries, this method of support for the inhabitants of Palestine became widespread and encompassed the whole of the Jewish world. The fundamental idea on which the *ḥalukkah* is based is the conviction that Ereẓ Israel held the central position in the religious and national consciousness of the people, hence the special importance accorded to the population residing there. This population is not to be considered as any other entity of Jews, but rather as the representative of the whole Jewish people, the guardian of all that is sacred in the Holy Land; in this role it merits the support of the whole people. The Jews, in the lands of their dispersion, both communities and individuals, were conscious of their duty toward the *yishuv* and considered their support of it as an act of identification with it.

In the 16th century organized methods for the collection of contributions were established in large Jewish centers; the charity-boxes named for R. Meir Ba'al ha-Nes ("The Miracle-Worker") were a popular instrument for the collection of contributions. Communities and national communal organizations urged the public to fulfill its duty and contribute toward the *yishuv*. The communal organizations of Poland, Lithuania, Moravia, and elsewhere included special clauses in their regulations concerning the Palestinian funds and their collection, and even appointed officials for this purpose. The contributions were usually transferred to Palestine through commercial centers and harbor towns which maintained relations with the Orient. From the beginning of the 17th century, Venice was such a center and funds from Poland and Germany passed through there. In the 17th–18th centuries Leghorn also served this purpose. Amsterdam became a center for the contributions of Western Europe from the 17th century onwards. The most important center for the Palestinian funds was Constantinople; it was near Palestine and the capital of the Turkish government. There was also a spiritual affinity between its rabbis and those of Palestine. Contributions from Eastern Europe also passed through there. The Constantinople center not only handled contributions but also intensively encouraged their collection. During the first quarter of the 18th century, the community in Constantinople undertook the improvement of the financial position of the Jerusalem community and tried to extricate it from its heavy debts. A special tax was levied for this purpose and the expenses of Jerusalem were subject to the control of Constantinople.

From the beginning of the 19th century, Vilna attained a special importance as the center for the collection of contributions from Russia, and the Ashkenazi *Perushim* (followers of the Gaon R. Elijah of Vilna) community in Jerusalem depended on this center. In accordance with the (internal) Jewish regulations of 1823, this center had exclusive authority for the collection of all contributions in Russia; its decisions on the distribution of funds to beneficiaries and general expenses were binding. The Amsterdam center, which was reorganized at the beginning of the 19th century under the leadership of Ẓevi Hirsch *Lehren (1784–1853), was also of great importance. It appointed collectors in the important communities of Western Europe and received annual pledges from them. These funds were then distributed between the various communities of Palestine, according to a fixed scale and with the consent of the leaders of the *yishuv*. Besides these centers, which in their time served several countries, there were similar national centers at Frankfurt, Vienna, Prague, Pressburg, etc. The collection of contributions was made more efficient by special emissaries who left Palestine for the Diaspora and who described the difficulties in Ereẓ Israel in order to encourage the public in their duty toward the *yishuv*. These missions from Palestine, together with the support of the *yishuv*, were an ancient institution and played an important part in the mutual relationship and binding ties between the Diaspora and the Holy Land. The emissaries of Palestine reached the most far-flung areas of the Jewish world. Apart from this main object, they also gave religious and spiritual guidance, some of these emissaries being prominent scholars.

After the beginning of the 17th century, objections were raised against these missions in order to reduce the expenses involved in them. It was suggested that the collection of funds and their transfer be carried out by the communities themselves. The leaders of the *yishuv* opposed this plan for fear that the living relationship between Palestine and the Diaspora would be ruined, and with the absence of personal contacts, the needs of Palestine Jewry would not be satisfied. In spite of the objections, emissaries continued to visit the Oriental countries. On the other hand, the objections of the Amsterdam center were more determined and these missions were stopped in 1824. The leaders of the *yishuv* agreed to this arrangement but tried to circumvent it periodically by sending emissaries to Western Europe for special needs. Lehren was, however, adamant in his decision. At first, the contributions collected were destined for the scholars and the needy, without any distinction as to their land of origin. With time, however, especially during the last third of the 18th century, a tendency to allocate contributions to a defined section of the *yishuv* came into existence. This development was connected with the new Ashkenazi settlement in the country, and from then onward became a characteristic of the *ḥalukkah*. The first *Ḥasidim to emigrate to Palestine during the last quarter of the 18th century regularly received support from their colleagues in their country of origin. Similar arrangements existed for the *Perushim* who emigrated to Palestine and formed their own community at the beginning of the 19th century. As the Ashkenazim were a small minority and the funds contributed, according to prolonged tradition, were remitted to the Sephardi community, the former felt the necessity to assign the incomes from Eastern Europe for themselves alone. Once their numbers increased, the Ashkenazim requested that a portion of the contributions from the rest of Europe also be given to them. After the 1820s these demands were accepted and from that time regular arrangements were made between the two communities concerning ratios for dividing the income from Western Europe and other countries where Ashkenazi and Sephardi communities existed.

Until the end of the first third of the 19th century, there were two principal sections within the Ashkenazi community, the Ḥasidim and the *Perushim*. In the late 1830s, the Ashkenazi community began to break up into organizations based on the countries and regions of origin in Europe. One such organization, known as **kolel*, was characteristic and exclusively confined to the Ashkenazi *yishuv* in Palestine of the 19th and early 20th centuries. This sub-division into *kolelim* was due to economic factors, especially the desire of the emigrants of a given country to ensure themselves the incomes from their country of origin. The sub-division into *kolelim* was almost nonexistent among the Sephardim because they were not dependent on the *ḥalukkah* to the same extent as the Ashkenazim. However, even among them there were some who considered themselves to be discriminated against. Thus, the Georgians and the North Africans broke away from the general Sephardi community. The breaking-up process began in the 1830s when the immigrants from Germany and Holland formed their own *kolel*, the *kolel Hod* (abbreviation for Holland ve-Deutschland). In 1845 the *kolel Varsha* (Warsaw) was established and consisted of members of Polish origin who were dissatisfied with the leadership of the *Perushim* and who felt themselves discriminated against.

The fragmentation process was especially intensified in the 1850s when six *kolelim* were founded by emigrants of Eastern and Central European countries and regions. In 1858 the *kolel Hungaryah* (Hungary; *Kolel Shomerei ha-Ḥomot,* "*Kolel* of the Guardians of the Walls"), the most important one of the period, was established. The pupils of R. Moses Sofer, who had immigrated to Palestine, and those immigrants who had come from the countries of the Austro-Hungarian Empire during the 19th century belonged to this *kolel*. It was one of the largest *kolelim*, both numerically (about 2,500 souls in 1913), and in its real estate holdings; as such it was an influential factor in Jerusalem's communal life. Many of the members of this *kolel* stood out because of their religious zealotry and their opposition to any innovation. The *Neturei Karta* ("Guardians of the City"), the zealous faction of Jerusalem's religious Jews, emerged from this group. On the other hand, the first agricultural pioneers also came from this *kolel*. A further wave of subdivisions occurred in the 1870s, when another five *kolelim* were established. All of these, except one, separated themselves from the ḥasidic *kolel*, whereas those of the 1840s and 1850s had broken away from the old Ashkenazi community. In 1913 there were 26 Ashkenazi *kolelim* in Jerusalem.

The leadership of the *kolelim* was composed of rabbinical personalities. Abroad, a president, who was generally the most prominent rabbi of that country, was the head of the *kolel*. With the ḥasidic *kolelim*, it was the *rebbe* of that trend. Wealthy volunteers worked under the guidance of the president; the *kolel* leaders in Palestine, also prominent rabbis, were appointed by the leaders abroad, as were the communal workers and officials. The *kolel*, which functioned according to set regulations, was in close relationship with the country of origin of its members. The Sephardi *kolel* was led by the Sephardi chief rabbi, assisted by a council of rabbis.

The *ḥalukkah* arrangements were different with the Sephardim and the Ashkenazim. With the former *ḥalukkah* was only distributed to such scholars whose study was their profession, in accordance with the principle that the purpose of *ḥalukkah* was to support those who studied the Torah. The poor of the community only benefited from the *ḥalukkah* indirectly. The justification for this system was that the Sephardim were integrated in the country. They could earn their livelihood and were not dependent solely on *ḥalukkah*. In practice, with the absence of regular support, there were many poor in the community. In addition to the *ḥalukkah* for individuals, the Sephardi *kolel* also set aside a part of its income for general community expenditure. The *ḥalukkah* of the Ashkenazim was divided on the basis of a fixed sum per head. In addition to this, scholars received an additional allocation in accordance with their status. Occasionally, there were supplementary allocations derived from special contributions which the *kolel* received apart from its regular income. The *ḥalukkah* allocations differed from *kolel* to *kolel*, according to the income and the number of members. In 1913 the *ḥalukkah* of the Hungarian *kolel* was 100 francs for every person each year, while that of the Holland-German *kolel* was 360 francs for a couple with a further 80 francs for a child. These were the two most firmly established *kolelim*. Generally, the *ḥalukkah* allocation was far from sufficient to provide for the requirements of those who received it, and as the possibilities of gaining a livelihood were extremely limited in Jerusalem, most of the *ḥalukkah* beneficiaries lived in poverty. They and their *kolelim* were generally in debt. In light of this, there was a great deal of friction between the individual members of *kolelim* and between the *kolelim* themselves. Furthermore, the *kolel* leaders were targets for attack. The echoes of these *kolel* and *ḥalukkah* controversies were also heard abroad; there were many discussions in halakhic literature over these questions.

The division within the Ashkenazi community required the establishment of a body which would concern itself with the general interests of the community and deal with such matters the *kolelim* were not involved in. Consequently, the Va'ad ha-Kelali ("General Committee") of the Ashkenazi *kolelim*, on which each *kolel* had a representative, was established in 1866. The committee preoccupied itself with the general requirements of the community, such as the rabbinate, religious education, welfare, taxes, payments to the government, and the support of scholars. The committee also distributed *ḥalukkah* to persons who were not members of any *kolel*. Later its income came principally from America but also from other regions in accordance with arrangements made with various *kolelim*, though these were not always honored by the *kolelim*, who generally gave preference to their own particular interests.

The *ḥalukkah* was a decisive factor in the existence and the development of the Jewish population in Palestine. Its importance grew during the 19th century, when immigration reached serious proportions. At that time Palestine was economically poor and was ruled by a backward and corrupt government. Under these circumstances the *yishuv* could not have existed, much less have grown, had it not been organized within the framework of the *kolelim*, who provided for their people and gathered money from abroad. (The other non-Muslim communities in Palestine were also supported to a large extent from abroad.) The *kolelim*, which were responsible for the *ḥalukkah* distributions, played an important role in the development of urban settlement, especially outside the walls of the Old City in Jerusalem. The Jewish quarters, which were built after 1869 on the initiative of the *kolel* leaders, were an important factor in the territorial expansion of the Jewish population of Jerusalem. The Jewish population in the other three "holy cities" – Hebron, Safed, and Tiberias – also was essentially reliant on the *ḥalukkah*.

From the middle of the 18th century, criticism of the way and manners of life of the *yishuv* increased in the Jewish world of Western Europe. The *ḥalukkah* and its arrangements were the center of criticism in the writings of L.A. *Frankl, who visited Palestine in 1856, the historian *Graetz (1872), and Samuel *Montagu, in his report in 1875. The principal objection was that the *ḥalukkah* was also distributed to those who were neither scholars nor needy.

The criticism of the *ḥalukkah* intensified when the Ḥibbat Zion movement, which sought to build a society based on its own labor, was established. It challenged the very system of *ḥalukkah* and belittled its importance. The heads of the *kolelim* rejected this criticism and explained the necessity of the *ḥalukkah* in the prevailing social and economical situation. They also stressed its merits for the maintenance of the *yishuv*, the integration of immigrants, and the construction of new quarters. Even so, the deficiencies of the *ḥalukkah* were not unknown to members of the old *yishuv*, and calls for reform were voiced. The public discussion of this matter became one of the principal topics of the Hebrew writers in Palestine and abroad. The negative attitude toward *ḥalukkah* held by the Ḥovevei Zion was passed on to Zionist ideology, which regarded the old *yishuv* unfavorably. Current historical literature has been more favorable toward the old *yishuv* in light of its place as an important link in the renewal and revival of Ereẓ Israel. Consequently, the *ḥalukkah* is also looked upon with less criticism. With the beginning of the new *yishuv*, the importance of the *ḥalukkah* decreased continually, and after World War I it was limited to the circles of the old *yishuv*. In these circles, some *kolelim* still exist, but they have lost their former public importance. In practice, they have become charitable societies and their principal income is derived from their property and contributions given out of traditional sympathy.

[Nathaniel Katzburg]

Ḥalukkah and Women

Ḥalukkah payments were originally intended to enable Jewish men in the old *yishuv* to devote their lives to Torah study and prayer. Yet demographic data demonstrate that women, who were the majority of the Jewish population of Jerusalem (by far the largest Jewish community in the Holy Land) in the 19th century, also benefited significantly from *ḥalukkah*. Many of the Jewish women in the old *yishuv* were widows, poor and wealthy, who had come to the Holy Land to spend their remaining days visiting sacred sites and preparing themselves for the next world.

Ḥalukkah was distributed separately by the Ashkenazi and Sephardi authorities. All members of the Ashkenazi community, men and women, infants and children, received *ḥalukkah*; men who devoted themselves to Torah study were entitled to an extra allowance. In the Sephardi community *ḥalukkah* was distributed only to learned men and the impoverished. Thus, poor Ashkenazi women who had immigrated to the Holy Land could rely on this income.

In the course of the 19th century, an effort was made to link *ḥalukkah* to pious behavior by the enforcement of bylaws (*Takkanot Yerushalayim*) that applied to men and women alike. Transgressions meant loss of *ḥalukkah*. A number of these bylaws were directed at women; they prescribed certain forms of dress and forbade unchaperoned women from using the communal oven. Women were forbidden to attend synagogue at night and were forbidden to stay in synagogue courtyards after the Sabbath morning prayers. Any mingling between men and women was looked upon as a sin. A betrothed girl was forbidden to meet her fiancé, and a woman was not allowed to sell anything to gentile men. Husbands and fathers were expected to supervise the women of the family to preserve the sanctity of the community and to ensure that the family received its allotted share of *ḥalukkah*. According to these regulations every grown male was instructed to marry, and, if not, he was expelled from the city. Thus, *ḥalukkah* money not only provided for the material existence of the community, it was also used to regiment the behavior of all Jewish residents of the Holy Cities who relied on it for their daily needs.

[Margalit Shilo (2nd ed.)]

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HAM (Heb. הָם), biblical city in Transjordan where Chedorlaomer, king of Elam, and his allies defeated the Zuzim in their campaign against the rebellious Canaanite kings (Gen. 14:5). In this biblical reference, Ham appears between Ashteroth-Karnaim and Kiriathaim, both of which are located in Transjordan, and it has therefore been identified with Tel Ham, 4½ mi. (7 km.) south of Arbel (Irbid) in Gilead. The identification of Ham with a place of the same name in the list of Thutmose III (no. 118) is doubtful. At Tel Ham three megalithic walls and pottery from the Early Canaanite period have been found but no remains from the Patriarchal (Middle Bronze) Age have been uncovered there so far.

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[Michael Avi-Yonah]

HAM (Heb. חָם), one of the three sons of Noah. Although he is always placed between Shem and Japheth (Gen. 5:32; 6:10, et al.), he appears to have been the youngest of the three (9:24). The Bible relates how Ham observed Noah drunk and naked in his tent. He "saw his father's nakedness," implying in the biblical Hebrew a sexual act or even rape, i.e., sodomized him (cf. "see the nakedness" in Lev. 20:17, and see Sanh. 70a). In contrast, when he told his brothers of the incident, they at once covered Noah, doing so with the utmost delicacy (9:22–23). When Noah became aware of what had transpired, he cursed Canaan for his action: "Cursed be Canaan; the lowest of slaves to his brothers" (9:24–25). The reason for Noah cursing Canaan, and not Ham, is not clear. Actually "Ham the father of" in verses 18b and 22 seems to be a somewhat crude link between verses 18–19 and 20ff., in which Noah's sons are Shem, Japheth, and Canaan. Ugaritic epic poetry makes it clear that a son had the obligation to take special care of his drunken father, and not to disgrace him (cf. Isa. 51:17–18). Accordingly, the biblical depiction of Ham-Canaan's depravity is probably to be taken as an ethnic slur rather than as a reflection of Canaanite reality (see *Canaan, Curse of), a tendency continued in Jewish Midrash (see below). Ham had four sons, Cush, Mizraim, Put, and Canaan, who became the progenitors of numerous nations (Gen. 10:6–20). As the home of the most important nation descended from Ham, Egypt is poetically called "Ham" in one psalm whose date is controversial (Ps. 78:51), and "the land of Ham" in two late psalms (Ps. 105:23, 27; 106:22; cf. Genesis Apocryphon, 19:13). Egypt is apparently the nucleus of the Hamite genealogy, the others having been added because of geographical proximity or political ties.

[Max Wurmbrand / S. David Sperling (2nd ed.)]

In the Aggadah

Ham's descendant (Cush) is black skinned as a punishment for Ham's having had sexual intercourse in the ark (Sanh. 108b). When Ham saw his drunken father exposed, he emasculated him, saying, "Adam had but two sons, and one slew the other; this man Noah has three sons, yet he desires to beget a fourth" (Gen. R. 36:5). Noah therefore cursed Canaan (Gen. 9:25), Ham's fourth son, since through this act he was deprived of a fourth son (Gen. R. 36:7). According to another opinion, Ham committed sodomy with his father (Sanh. 70a) and Noah cursed Canaan because Ham, together with his father and two brothers, had previously been blessed by God (Gen. R. loc. cit.). Another tradition attributes the curse to the fact that it was Canaan who castrated Noah. Ham was nevertheless to blame because he informed his brothers of their father's nakedness (PdRE 23). Canaan was so wicked that his last will and testament to his children was: "Love one another, love robbery, love lewdness, hate your masters, and do not speak the truth" (Pes. 113b). Ham was also punished in that his descendants, the Egyptians and Ethiopians, were taken captive and led into exile with their buttocks uncovered (Isa. 20:4; Gen. R. 36:6). Ham was responsible for the ultimate transfer to Nimrod of the garments which God had made for Adam and Eve before their expulsion from the Garden of Eden. From Adam and Eve these garments went to Enoch, and from him to Methuselah, and finally to Noah, who took them into the ark with him. When the inmates of the ark were about to leave their refuge, Ham stole the garments and kept them concealed for many years. Finally, he passed them on to his firstborn son, Cush, who eventually gave them to his son, Nimrod, when he reached his 20th year (PdRE 24; *Sefer ha-Yashar*, Noaḥ, 22).

[Aaron Rothkoff]

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ḤAMA (of Nehardea; fourth century), Babylonian *amora* and head of the *Pumbedita academy from 356–377 C.E., in succession to *Naḥman b. Isaac. Ḥama was a native of *Nehardea (BB 7b and Rashi *ibid.*) and the term "*amora* of Nehardea" is stated to apply specifically to him (Sanh. 17b). He was evidently a disciple of Rabbah, whose teachings he transmitted (Ket. 86a). Ḥama's teachings and practices are referred to in several places in the Talmud (Ber. 22b; MK 12a, et al.). His legal decisions were approved by later generations as the authoritative law (BB 7b; Shevu. 48b). Ḥama made a living by selling goods where they were cheap at the higher cost prevailing in other markets, the purchaser transporting the goods there at Ḥama's risk (BM 65a; cf. 69b). It is stated that King Shapur of Persia asked Ḥama about the biblical source of Jewish burial rites (Sanh. 46b), which being quite different from those of the Persians seemed strange to him. Ḥama did not know. When Aḥa b. Jacob heard of this, he said "The world is run by fools! Why did he not cite the verse [Deut. 21:23] 'Thou shalt surely bury him the same day'?" However, since Shapur I – it is unlikely that Shapur II (310–379) is being referred to, since he was not on close terms with the Jews – reigned from 241 to 272, the reference is probably to another, earlier, Ḥama.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Hyman, Toledot, 456–8, s.v.; Margalioth, Ḥakhmei, 316, s.v.; Ḥ. Albeck, *Mavo la-Talmudim* (1969), 408f.

[Zvi Kaplan]

ḤAMA BAR BISA (end of second century C.E. to third century), Palestinian scholar, contemporary of *Judah ha-Nasi. He was the father of Oshaiah, and at times is referred to simply as "Father of Oshaiah" (MK 24a). He lived in the southern part of the country (TJ, Nid. 3:2). Judah ha-Nasi praised him before Ishmael b. Yose b. Ḥalafta (Nid. 14b; TJ, Nid. 2:1). Ḥama b. Bisa was a judge, and his halakhic teachings are mentioned in the Jerusalem Talmud in his name, as they were transmitted by Yose b. Ḥanina (TJ, Shev. 2:2, 33d.) and Judah b. Pazzi (TJ, Suk. 1:1, 52b), and there is also a reference to a question Ḥama posed before Ḥiyya pertaining to a halakhic matter (TJ, Nid. 3:2). In the Babylonian Talmud too, there is a quotation in his name on a question of *halakhah* (MK 24a). It is related that he had left his home and city for 12 years in order to devote his time to the study of Torah. Upon his return he did not wish to startle his family by his sudden reappearance. He stopped at the *bet ha-midrash* and sent word to his family, informing them of his arrival. His son Oshaiah came to welcome him but was unrecognized by the father. They engaged in scholarly discourse, and R. Ḥama was deeply impressed with the young man's erudition, regretting his failure to give his son an adequate education because of his long absence from home. To his great surprise he finally learned the identity of his son (Ket. 62b). Bisa, Ḥama's father, was also a prominent scholar. To these three generations of scholars, Bisa, Ḥama, and Oshaiah, Rami b. Ḥama applied the verse (Eccles. 4:12): "A threefold cord is not quickly burst asunder" (Ket. 62b; BB 59a). Opinion is divided as to whether this Oshaiah is identical with *Oshaiah Rabbah, the compiler of the *beraitot* (cf. Tos. to BB. 59a).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Bacher, Pal Amor; Frankel, Mevo, 85b; Hyman, Toledot, 458; Ḥ. Albeck, *Mavo la-Talmudim* (1969), 160.

[Zvi Kaplan]

ḤAMA BAR ḤANINA (third century), Palestinian *amora*. He lived in the period of Judah Nesi'ah (Shab. 38a), the grandson of Judah Ha-Nasi (but cf. TJ, Shab. 3:1, 5d for a different reading), and may have headed an academy at *Sepphoris as his father *Ḥanina b. *Ḥama had done (TJ, Shab. 6:2, 8a). Like his ancestors Ḥama was wealthy and built a synagogue in Sepphoris (TJ, Pe'ah 8:9, 21b). One of his close friends was *Oshaiah, and once, while visiting the synagogues of Lydda with him, Ḥama exclaimed: "What vast treasures have my ancestors sunk here [in erecting the synagogue]." Oshaiah responded: "How many lives have your ancestors sunk here! For were there not many needy people here who studied Torah in great poverty?" (TJ, Pe'ah 8:9, 21b; Shek. 21a). Although often mentioned as participating in halakhic discussions (Shab. 147b; TJ, Shab. 5:3,7c et al.), he distinguished himself particularly in the field of *aggadah*. Many of his homilies are quoted in his name by the aggadist R. Levi II, especially in *Midrash *Tanḥuma*. He explained the curtailed form of the Divine name and the word for "throne" in Exodus 17:16 to teach that as long as Amalek's offspring exist, God's name and throne are not complete (Tanḥ. B., Deut. 45), and Psalms 29:4, to the effect that at the Revelation at Mount Sinai, God spoke to the young and strong with power, whereas to the old and weak with majesty (Song R. 5:16).

Commenting on Deuteronomy 13:5, "Ye shall walk after the Lord your God," he asked: "How can man walk after God, of whom it is written 'The Lord thy God is a consuming fire'?" (Deut. 4:24) and explained that it comes to teach that "as God clothed the naked [i.e., Adam], visited the sick [i.e., Abraham after his circumcision], comforted the mourning [i.e., Isaac after the death of his father], and buried the dead [i.e., Moses], so should man pursue similar deeds of lovingkindness in imitation of God's ways" (Sot. 14a). Among his many other beautiful statements in the *aggadah* may be mentioned, "If a man sees that he prays and is not answered, he should pray again" (Ber. 32b) and "Great is penitence for it brings healing to the world" (Yoma 86a). He expounded Proverbs 18:21, "death and life are in the power of the tongue," to teach that by the power of speech a man can kill another man even at a distance (Ar. 15b). Hyman distinguishes between two scholars by the same name, the second one being the pupil of R. *Ḥiyya b. Abba (an *amora* of the third generation, c. 290–320).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Bacher, Pal Amor; Hyman, Toledot, 460–1; Ḥ. Albeck, *Mavo la-Talmudim* (1969), 237f.

HAMADAN, a city situated in the western part of *Iran. Hamadan is Ahmatha of the Bible (Ezra 6:2) which was the capital city of the Medes (708–550 B.C.E.). It is probable that Jews who were deported from Samaria to Media (II Kings 18:11) in about 722 B.C.E. by the Assyrian king Shalmaneser also settled in Hamadan. The city was called by the Achemenian kings, who replaced the Medes around 550 B.C.E., Hangmatana, Agbatana or Akbatana – probably meaning "gathering place." The biblical name "Ahmatha" does not occur in the Talmud, instead we find there the name as ḤMDN (Kid. 72a). The Persian Jews identify Hamadan with "Shushan ha-Bira," which obviously is a mistake.

The 10th-century *Karaite historian, Qirqisani (Kirkisani), mentions a rebellious Jewish individual by the name of Yudghan (perhaps Yehuda) of Hamadan who headed a movement in the eighth century against the Arab authorities of his time. In about 1167, Benjamin of Tudela estimated the number of Jews in Hamadan from 30,000 to 50,000. Around that time there probably existed there a yeshivah which functioned in connection with the Jewish authorities in Baghdad (see *Iggerot* of Samuel ben Ali).

Benjamin's travelogue (p. 57) is, so far, the earliest Jewish record which mentions the tradition held by the Persian Jews regarding the tombs of Esther and Mordecai in Hamadan. The tombs are also mentioned by the Judeo-Persian poet of the 14th century, Shāhīn, and about 300 years later by *Bābāi ben Lutf. The archeologist Ernst Herzfeld (pp. 104–107) suggested that the Queen Shushandokht, the wife of the Sasanian king Yazdegerd I (399–420), is buried under the mausoleum. However, Jews and Muslims alike regard these tombs as a holy site. The tombs are visited especially during Purim, in the month of Adar, by Jews from all over *Persia (Netzer, 1984, 177–184).

Rashid al-Dawlah, a great Jewish scholar, historian, and the first vizier to the Ilkhanids, was born in Hamadan (about 1247). He was accused of plotting to murder the Ilkhan and executed in 1318. The Jews of Hamadan, like Jews of many towns all over Iran, suffered mortal persecutions and forced conversions during the Safavid period (1501–1736). Their suffering is recorded in the Chronicle of Bābāi ben Lutf (JTS Ms 401, fols 55–60).

According to David de-Beth Hillel (pp. 102–103), who visited Hamadan around 1827, there were 200 Jewish families living among 100,000 Muslim inhabitants. Some Jews were physicians, others goldsmiths or wealthy merchants. The city also had about 1,000 Armenian families. Benjamin II was in Hamadan in 1850 and reported that the city had 500 Jewish families that had three synagogues and three rabbis (pp. 248–253). Two years later, the missionary Stern visited Hamadan for the purpose of converting its Jews to Christianity. He claimed that the Jews of Hamadan were enthusiastic to purchase and read the New Testament. He, too, reported that 500 Jewish families lived in the city in their own separate Mahalleh. He complained about the harsh treatment of the Jews by the Muslim clergy (244ff.). Rabbi Yehiel Fischel Castleman visited Hamadan in 1860 and described most of the Jews of the city as wealthy but hated by the Muslims (71).

Ephraim Neumark visited Hamadan in 1884 and wrote of the Jewish poor. He also described the solicitous efforts of the Christian mission in Hamadan, which opened a school in the city that the Jewish children attended free of charge and also helped the poor families materially and financially. Then he says: "There is not a family [in Hamadan] that has not been touched by the blight of the Bahāis bearing the banner of their mission. And what will happen when the faithful [Jewish] boys grow up in the Missionary School? God alone knows!" (pp. 80–81). The beginning of this blight was evidenced among the Jews first in Hamadan from which it spread to *Teheran, Kashan, and elsewhere. "Those who left the Jewish faith for this creed found refuge from [the] wrath of the king, Nāser al-Dīn Shah, in the shadow of the Christian mission, which lay in wait for their souls, for in their terror of the king, it served as a [sheltering] wall" (80–81). According to Neumark, there were about 800 Jewish families in Hamadan, approximately 150 of whom were Jews who had converted to the Bahāi religion (p. 81).

In 1892 there rose a fanatic, Mulla ʿAbdallah, in Hamadan who issued a *fatwā* to kill the Jews of the city if they refused to abide by restrictions imposed upon Jews, such as wearing the "Jewish patch." Later they were ordered to embrace *Islam or face the death penalty. For about 40 days Jews were afraid to leave their Mahalleh. The intervention of the central government together with the British consulate prevented a brutal massacre (BAIU, 18, (1892), 48; Levy, 756–762). Narrating the event, Levy argues that if one recalls the severe persecutions led by Mulla ʿAbdallah and the warm, friendly, supportive attitude of the Bahāi inhabitants towards the persecuted Jews, who were on the verge of annihilation, one can also understand the mutual affection evinced by believers of both these religions in Hamadan. Levy points out that during this time, about 30 Jews from the community's elite in Hamadan were forced to convert to Islam. Later, some of the converts turned to the Bahāi religion. According to Levy, the positive approach demonstrated by some of Hamadan Jews toward the Bahāi religion also rubbed off on Teheran's Jewish community and the other provincial towns.

Yehudah Kopeliovitz (Almog) visited Iran in 1928. Referring to the Jewish women's organization in Hamadan, which was founded around 1910, Kopeliovitz mentions that one paragraph (#12) in the charter of the "Hadassah Society for Jewish Women in Iran – Hamadan" stated that the society endeavors to influence the Jewish women not to take part in Bahāi meetings (handwritten papers are kept in the Ben-Zvi Institute, Jerusalem).

The geographer Dr. Abraham Jacob Brawer visited Iran in 1935 and during his visit to Hamadan, he was given an estimated number of 8,000 Jews out of a total population of 100,000. He felt that because of the government's closure of the city's Bahāi schools, Bahāi children were attending Jewish schools. He writes:

> As I was told, approximately one quarter of Hamadans Jews were converted to the Bahāi religion. The conversion movement was only halted 12 years ago during the new regime [of Reza Shah]. The return to Zion [Land of Israel] and the country's modernization put an end to the Jews' fascination with Bahāism. (p. 22).

According to the *Bulletin de Alliance Israélite Universelle* (BAIU, 1904, 169) there were about 5,900 Jews in Hamadan. This figure decreased to 3,000 in 1948, on the eve of the independence of Israel (Landshut, 63). It was reported that about 15 individual Jews lived in Hamadan at the end of the 20th century.

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[Amnon Netzer (2nd ed.)]

ḤAMADYAH (Heb. חֲמַדְיָה), kibbutz in the Beth-Shean Valley, affiliated with Iḥud ha-Kibbutzim. It was first founded as a *Stockade and Watchtower settlement by a moshav group in 1939, but was taken over by kibbutz Ḥermonim in 1942. Their initial difficulties were considerable due to the hot and dry climate and their proximity to the then Arab town Beth-Shean. A security problem again arose after the Six-Day *War (1967) when Ḥamadyah underwent frequent artillery barrages from Transjordan. The kibbutz developed various agricultural branches, and opened two industrial enterprises for furniture (mainly doors) and plastics. Ḥamadyah was also co-owner of Ganei Huga, a water and recreation park located nearby. Ḥamadyah's name, meaning "God-cherished," was adapted from an adjacent Arab village named after the Turkish sultan ʾAbd al-Ḥamīd. Its population was 260 in 1968 and 347 in 2002.

[Efraim Orni / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

HA-MAGGID (Heb. הַמַּגִּיד, "The Declarer"), the first Hebrew newspaper. *Ha-Maggid* began publication in 1856 in Lyck, eastern Prussia, under the editorship of Eliezer Lipmann Silbermann. Silbermann, whose writing talents were limited, was nevertheless a genuine pioneer in Hebrew journalism. Although periodicals had existed for a hundred years prior to the founding of *Ha-Maggid*, the problems of running a newspaper were different from those of running a literary, scientific, and social journal. The paper lacked journalists, publishers, and a news agency. Because the rhetorical biblical Hebrew of the time was not adapted to reporting news and making comments on current affairs, a new journalistic idiom had to be developed.

Ha-Maggid appeared as a weekly (except during its first few months) until it ceased publication in 1903. Until 1890 it was published in Lyck, then in Berlin, and from 1892 in Cracow. The paper grew in importance under David *Gordon, editor from 1858 to 1886, who made the paper of interest to all Jews by reporting both Jewish and general news. *Ha-Maggid* became a fount of information on Jewish life throughout the world during the second half of the 19th century. In a series of articles in 1863 and 1869, a time when the Hebrew press was either opposed or indifferent to nationalist ideas, Gordon took a strong stand in favor of Jewish settlement in Palestine. After the 1881 pogroms in Russia, *Ha-Maggid* fervently advocated Jewish nationalism and settlement in Ereẓ Israel. In this respect it served as a precedent for many of the Hebrew papers that followed.

Throughout the years the paper devoted a special section to Judaic studies, in which the greatest scholars of the day participated. Like most other papers of that period, *Ha-Maggid* espoused moderate Haskalah, i.e., accommodating the religious and traditional heritage to the needs of the time, insofar as the accommodation was not in violation of Jewish law. *Ha-Maggid's* contributors included representatives of all trends of thought. The paper also developed popular sections for science and technology (e.g., a medical section) thereby making Hebrew richer and more adaptable. After Gordon's death (1886) the paper began to decline, a process accelerated by the establishment that year of the Hebrew daily, **Ha-Yom*. In its later years *Ha-Maggid* was moved to Galicia and became the organ of the local Ḥovevei Zion movement. The paper's last editor, S.M. Laser, founded the weekly **Ha-Mizpeh* (1904) after *Ha-Maggid* ceased publication in 1903.

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[Getzel Kressel]

HAMAN (Heb. הָמָן), son of Hammedatha, the Agagite, according to the *Scroll of Esther, an official in the court of Ahasuerus who was superior to all the king's other officials. Resentful of *Mordecai the Jew, who was the only one among the servants of the king in the royal court who would not bow down to him, Haman decided to exterminate all the Jews, "the people of Mordecai" (3:6). To determine the day of the destruction he cast a lot (*pur*), and then received the consent of the king to publish a royal decree throughout the entire Persian kingdom proclaiming the extermination. Through Mordecai, however, the news reached Esther, who immediately set about saving her people. She invited Haman and the king to feasts on two consecutive nights, and at the second feast revealed to the king, in Haman's presence, the evil designs that the latter harbored against her people. In his anger, the king ordered that Haman be hanged on "the tree which Haman has prepared for Mordecai" (Esth. 7:10), and that his hanging be followed by that of his sons. The king then issued a decree permitting the Jews "to gather and defend themselves" on the day that had been set aside for their extermination (Esth. 8:11). This decree and the victory of the Jews over their enemies were the reasons for the establishment of the holiday of *Purim.

Various explanations have been offered to explain the name and designation of the would-be exterminator of the Jews. Among other suggestions, the name has been connected to the Elamite high god Huban/Humman. The name of Haman's father is clearer, appearing in almost identical form in the Elephantine Papyri as Haumadatha, "Given- by-Haōma" (= [Sanskrit *soma*], the deified sacred drug) (הומדת; Cowley, Aramaic, 8:2 = TAD B2.3:2; Cowley, Aramaic 9:2 = TAD B2.4:2), the name of a Persian military commander in the Jewish colony at Elephantine. The author of Esther traces Mordecai's line back to the Benjaminite Kish, father of Saul (2:5). The clear implication of Esther 3:2–4 is that anyone who was told that Mordecai was a Jew would immediately understand that it would be degrading for him to do obeisance to Haman. As such, the author must have intended the designation of Haman as "the Agagite" to indicate descent from Saul's opponent *Agag, king of Amalek (Deut. 25: 17–19; I Sam. 15; cf. Jos., Ant., 11:209). He was less interested in making ethnic connections between Persians and Amalekites than in connecting the present enemy with its traditional one. Although Saul displayed leniency toward Agag (I Sam. 15:9), the latter's distant descendant was not only a personal rival of Mordecai but an inveterate "enemy of the Jews" (Esth. 3:10, 8:1, 9:10; cf. 7:6) who had to be destroyed along with his 10 sons (7:10, 9:6–10; cf. Ex. 17:8–16 and Deut. 25:17–19).

In the Septuagint and the apocryphal *Additions to Esther*, the designation Agagite is replaced by the inexplicable terms Bugaean (LXX 3:1; 9:10; Add. Esth. 12:6) or Macedonian (LXX 9:24; Add. Esth. 16:10). The *Additions to Esther* describes Haman as bent upon delivering the Persian kingdom to the Macedonians (16: 14).

[Bezalel Porten / S. David Sperling (2nd ed.)]

In the Aggadah

In the Midrashim (Esth. R. 7–8; *Targum Sheni; Midrash Abba Guryon* and others) Haman is depicted as a foe of Israel typical of the times in which these writers of the Midrashim lived. The enemies of Israel maintained that the Jews were ungrateful to their benefactors and mocked the faithful of the nations in whose midst they dwelt. The feast that Ahasuerus prepared at the beginning of his reign is attributed by these same Midrashim to the evil designs of Haman, whose purpose was to undermine Israel with exotic foods and incestuous orgies, so that the Jews who attended this feast, against Mordecai's advice, would bring down upon themselves the destruction ordained by Heaven (Esth. R. 7:13). However, the decree was annulled as a result of the cries of the schoolchildren who were studying with Mordecai because they also were involved in the decree of extermination. A humorous piece of folklore relates that Haman was a barber for 22 years in the town of Kefar Karzum (Kefar Karnayim in Transjordan, or Kerazim), and his father was a bath attendant in the town of Koranis and these professions stood them in good stead later when Mordecai had to be dressed and bathed after he had been weakened by fasting. There is an interesting *aggadah* to the effect that all the various trees put forward a claim, on the basis of their virtues, that Haman should be hanged on them. The thornbush was chosen, however, since because it had no virtues, the wicked Haman should be hanged on it (Esth. R. 9:2).

Haman continued to be regarded as the prototype of the enemy of the Jews throughout the ages. It became customary to make a loud noise in the synagogues to drown out his name whenever mentioned in the Purim reading of the Book of Esther. Ironically, the custom has served to perpetuate Haman's memory.

[Yehoshua M. Grintz]

In Islam

Hāmān, according to the Koran, was one of the foremost advisers of Pharaoh-Firʿawn. He built a tower for his master, who planned to climb up to the God of Moses (Sura 28:5, 7, 38; 40; 38; 51:38–39). In Suras 29:38 and 40:25–26 Hāmān appears together with Firʿawn and Qārūn (Korah), who was also Moses' enemy.

[Haïm Z'ew Hirschberg]

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HA-MA'PIL (Heb. הַמַּעְפִּיל), kibbutz in central Israel in the Ḥefer Plain, affiliated with Ha-Kibbutz ha-Arẓi Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir, founded in 1945 by pioneers from Eastern and Central Europe, some of whom were veterans of World War II. It engaged in intensive farming, including field crops, citrus groves, fruit plantations, fishery, poultry, beehives, and dairy cattle. The kibbutz also operated a stocking and plastics factories. In 2002 the population was 465. The name, meaning "ascender," alludes to the *ha'palah* (see *Illegal Immigration).

[Efraim Orni / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

HAMAS (Arab. "zeal"; abbreviation of *harakat muqawama al-islamiyya* – Islamic Resistance Movement), Palestinian Islamic movement engaged in community activity and armed struggle against Israel; from 2006 the majority party in the Palestinian parliament and government. Hamas was officially founded during the first *intifada* in 1988 under the leadership of Sheikh

Ahmad Yasin (later assassinated by Israel) as a branch of the Muslim Brotherhood, operating both in the Gaza Strip and the West Bank. From its establishment it remained the main opposition to the *Palestine Liberation Organization and, from 1993, to the peace process. Throughout this period it launched particularly violent terrorist attacks against Israeli civilians while expanding its civil base through wide-ranging social services to the Palestinian population, including schools, hospitals, mosques, family centers, and welfare. Establishing its political bureau abroad to protect it against Israeli crackdowns, it also sought legitimacy by running in Palestinian elections. With increasing popular support and charges of corruption being leveled against the *Palestinian Authority, it scored an upset victory in the January 2006 parliamentary elections and formed a new government replacing the Palestine Liberation Organization in power. Attacks against Israel continued, however, until Israel again entered Gaza in summer 2006. For a summary of the latter events, see *Israel, State of: Historical Survey; for a detailed review of Israel's war against terrorism, see *Israel, State of: Israel Defense Forces ("The War against Terrorism"). See also *Palestine Authority; *Palestine Liberation Organization.

HAMASHBIR HAMERKAZI, the main wholesale supplier for consumers' cooperatives and labor settlements in Israel; the first economic agency to be established by the labor movement in Ereẓ Israel. It was founded (as Hamashbir) in 1916, during the economic crisis of World War I, to supply the working population with reasonably priced goods, and was reorganized as Hamashbir Hamerkazi in 1930. In addition to its wholesaling activities, it developed the consumers' cooperative movement all over the country, opened large stores in the main towns, and established factories, mainly in the textiles and food-processing industries, which were transferred to a separate company, Hamashbir Hamerkazi Le-Taasia. Hamashbir was affiliated to the *Histadrut, whose economic arm, Ḥevrat ha-Ovedim, was entitled to appoint a representative on its general management and intervene in matters of principle. Its general conference, consisting of delegates from collective and cooperative villages and of cooperative societies, elected a 71-member council, which appointed a general management of 21, which, in turn, chose the 10-man active management. Its turnover in 1968 was IL376 million ($107 million) and it supplied 800 cooperative stores in town and country. In the 1990s, as the Histadrut sold off its assets, it passed into private hands. Hamashbir Hamerkazi Le-Taasia ceased to exist.

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[Leon Aryeh Szeskin]

HA-MAVDIL (Heb. הַמַּבְדִּיל; "who distinguishes"), name of a hymn sung in the *Havdalah ceremony at the close of the Sabbath. The acrostic yields the name of the author Isaac the Younger (probably Isaac b. Judah *Ibn Ghayyat of Spain (1030–1089)). There are two versions of the hymn; in both the refrain starts: "May He who maketh a distinction between holy and profane pardon our sins (in most versions: "and our wealth"); may he multiply our offspring as the sand and as the stars in the night." The hymn was probably composed for the concluding service (*Ne'ilah*) of the Day of Atonement. One version is still recited as a *seliḥah piyyut* in the *Ne'ilah* service of some of the Sephardi rites (e.g., Algeria); the other, and better known version, has become the standard hymn for the *Havdalah* service in all Jewish rites, including the Karaite one.

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HAMBRO, JOSEPH (1780–1848), merchant and financier. Born in Copenhagen, the son of Joachim Hambro (1747–1806), a silk and cloth merchant, Joseph started his career as a peddler in the streets of his native city. At the age of 13 he went to Hamburg to be trained in a commercial firm and after his return prospered as a wholesale dealer. Hambro was the first in Denmark to run a steam mill, and he traded with the Danish West Indies. The government commissioned him to arrange a Danish-English public loan and to regulate economic relations between Denmark and Norway after the peace treaty of 1814. In 1820 Hambro was appointed court banker by the king of Denmark. At the age of 60 he settled in London, where later he was buried as a Jew in the presence of the chief rabbi although he had married a gentile. In his bequest Hambro left considerable sums to the community in Copenhagen. His son, CARL JOACHIM HAMBRO (1808–1877), was baptized with his father's consent at the age of 15. He established the great banking firm of Hambros (1839), which also negotiated public loans and was active in the financing of Danish railways and in the founding of the Great Northern Telegraphic Company. Neither father nor son forgot the community of Copenhagen although they remained aloof from the London Jewish community.

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[Julius Margolinsky]

HAMBURG, city and state in Germany, including the cities of *Altona and *Wandsbek from 1937.

The Sephardi Community

The first Jews to settle in Hamburg were Portuguese and Spanish Marranos, who arrived via the Netherlands at the end of the 16th century and at first sought to conceal their religion. When it was discovered that they had been observing Jewish customs, some of the inhabitants demanded their expulsion, but the city council, pointing to the economic benefits accruing from their presence, opposed the measure. Among the Jews were financiers (some of whom took part in the founding of the Bank of Hamburg in 1619), shipbuilders, importers (especially of *sugar, coffee, and *tobacco from the Spanish and Portuguese colonies), weavers, and goldsmiths. In 1612 the Jews of Hamburg paid an annual tax of 1,000 marks and by 1617 this sum was doubled. The kingdoms of Sweden, Poland, and Portugal appointed Jews as their ambassadors in Hamburg. Those who had come to Hamburg from Spain and Portugal continued to speak the languages of their native lands for two centuries and about 15 books in Portuguese and Spanish were printed in Hamburg from 1618 to 1756. (From 1586 Hebrew books, especially the books of the Bible, had been published in Hamburg by Christian printers, mostly with the help of Jewish personnel.)

As early as 1611 Hamburg had three synagogues, whose congregations jointly owned burial grounds in nearby Altona. In 1652 the three congregations combined under the name of Beth Israel. Uriel da *Costa lived in Hamburg in 1616–17; the local physician Samuel da *Silva wrote a pamphlet attacking him; the excommunication of da Costa by R. Leone *Modena was read publicly in the Hamburg synagogue. Shabbateanism swept the community in 1666; so certain were they of the imminence of the Messiah that the governing board of the community announced that the communal buildings were for sale. The rabbi, Jacob b. Aaron *Sasportas, was one of the few not carried away by the prevailing enthusiasm. At that time the Sephardi community, consisting of about 120 families, was still the only acknowledged Jewish community in Hamburg. When in 1697 the city unexpectedly raised the annual tax levied against the Jews to 6,000 marks, the majority of the rich Jews of Hamburg (most of whom belonged to the Spanish-Portuguese congregation) moved to Altona and Amsterdam.

Among the prominent Jews of Spanish and Portuguese origin who lived in Hamburg were the physician and author Rodrigo de Castro (1550–1627), R. Joseph Solomon *Delmedigo (1622–25 in Hamburg), the physician and lexicographer Benjamin *Mussafia (1609–1672), the grammarian and writer Moses Gideon Abudiente (1602–1688), the rabbi and writer Abraham de Fonseca (d. 1651), and the poet Joseph *Ẓarefati (d. 1680).

The Ashkenazi Community

From about 1600, German Jews were admitted to Wandsbek and in 1611 some of them settled in Altona, both cities under Danish rule. By 1627 German Jews began to settle in Hamburg itself, although on festivals they continued to worship at Altona, where the Danish king had permitted the official establishment of a congregation and the building of a synagogue in 1641. They submitted their disputes to the jurisdiction of the rabbi of the Altona congregation. Many Jews, fleeing from persecutions in Ukraine and Poland in 1648 arrived in Hamburg where they were helped by the resident Jews. However, most of these refugees soon left for Amsterdam since at that time the Christian clergy in Hamburg was inciting the inhabitants to expel the Ashkenazi Jews from the city, an expulsion which took place in 1649. Most went to Altona and a number to Wandsbek; only a few remained in Hamburg, residing in the homes of the Spanish-Portuguese Jews. Within a few years many of those who had been driven out returned to Hamburg, and in 1656 a number of refugees from *Vilna also found asylum there.

Most Ashkenazi Jews in Hamburg at that time were Danish subjects and officially belonged to the Jewish community of either Altona or Wandsbek, while others had officially registered as servants in one of Hamburg's Sephardi households to obtain legal status in the city. These "*Tudescos*" formed a congregation of their own. In 1671 the three Ashkenazi congregations – Altona, Hamburg, and Wandsbek – united to form the AHW congregation, with the seat of their rabbinate in Altona. One of the most famous rabbis of the merged congregation was Jonathan *Eybeschuetz who was appointed to the post in 1750. His equally famous adversary, Jacob *Emden, lived in Altona. R. Raphael b. Jekuthiel *Kohen, who served the community for 23 years, was one of the fiercest opponents of *Mendelssohn's translation of the Pentateuch (1783). The AHW congregation ceased to exist in 1811 when the French authorities imposed a single consistorial organization; the Ashkenazim and Sephardim united to form one congregation, the Altona community retaining its own rabbinate which was also recognized by the Jews of Wandsbek until 1864.

Around 1800, about 6,300 Ashkenazi and 130 Portuguese Jews lived in Hamburg, accounting for around 6 percent of the population. During the French occupation (1811–14), the Jews officially enjoyed full equality but suffered greatly under Marshal Davoust's reign of terror. In 1814, when the city had regained its independence, the Jews were again denied civil rights. The *Hep! Hep! riots of 1819 were especially severe in Hamburg, and similar outbreaks occurred in 1830 and 1835. While no ghetto or Jewish quarter existed in Hamburg, the Jews' right of residence was effectively limited to two areas until 1842, when large parts of the city were destroyed by fire. By 1850 they were granted citizenship, due in large measure to the efforts of Gabriel *Riesser, a native of Hamburg.

The Reform movement, which began in Berlin, eventually reached Hamburg. A Reform temple was dedicated in 1818, and in 1819 a new prayerbook was published to accord with the liturgical ritual of the new congregation. The rabbinate in Hamburg published the opinions of noted Jewish scholars to discredit the temple (titled *Elleh Divrei ha-Berit*, Altona, 1819) and prohibited the use of its prayer book. Isaac *Bernays, leader of the community from 1821 to 1849, espoused the cause of "modern Orthodoxy" and sought to endow the traditional divine service with greater beauty. In his day controversy flared up again when the Reform congregation occupied a new building and the more radically abridged and revised version of its prayerbook *Siddur ha-Tefillah* was issued (1844). At the time the Orthodox rabbi was Jacob *Ettlinger, founder of an anti-Reform journal.

Other German Jews who lived in Hamburg included Glueckel of *Hameln, the merchant and philanthropist Salomon *Heine (the uncle of Heinrich Heine), Moses Mendelssohn, the poets Naphtali Herz *Wessely and Shalom b. Jacob ha-Kohen, Isaac *Halevy, the author of *Dorot ha-Rishonim*, the art historian A. *Warburg, the philosopher Ernst *Cassirer, the psychologist William *Stern, Albert *Ballin, and the financiers Max *Warburg and Karl *Melchior. Among Orthodox rabbis of recent times worthy of note is Nehemiah *Nobel and among the Reform, C. *Seligmann and P. *Rieger. In 1884 the fortnightly *Laubhuette* and in 1900 the weekly **Israelitisches Familienblatt* began to be issued in Hamburg. The municipal library and the library of the University of Hamburg contain a large number of Hebrew manuscripts, listed by M. *Steinschneider. Nearly 400 Hebrew books were printed in Hamburg in the 17th–19th centuries. In the 19th century, the Jewish printers issued mainly prayer books, the Pentateuch, mystic lore, and popular literature.

The Jewish congregation of greater Hamburg was the fourth largest community in Germany. In 1866 there were 12,550 Jews at Hamburg and in 1933 about 19,900 (1.7% of the general population), including more than 2,000 at Altona. The last rabbi was Joseph *Carlebach, who was deported in 1942 and killed by the Nazis.

Holocaust Period

In the years 1933–37 more than 5,000 Jews emigrated; on Oct. 28, 1938, about 1,000 Polish citizens were expelled. The pogrom of *Kristallnacht* (Nov. 9–10, 1938), in which most synagogues were looted and closed down, caused an upsurge of emigration. In 1941, 3,148 Jews were deported to Riga, Lodz, and Minsk. In July 1942, 1,997 Jews were deported to *Auschwitz and *Theresienstadt. Nearly 8,900 Hamburg Jews lost their lives in the Nazi era (153 mentally ill were executed and 308 committed suicide), including those deported from places of refuge in Western Europe after the Nazi occupation. In this period the community was led by Max Plaut and Leo Lippmann (who committed suicide in 1943). A few hundred Jews, privileged or of mixed marriage, outlived the war. A concentration camp, Neuengamme, was situated near the city. A total of 106,000 inmates passed through its gates and more than half of them perished.

Since World War II

On May 3, 1945, Hamburg was liberated by British troops who offered aid to the few hundred Jewish survivors. On September 18 a Jewish community was organized, which reopened the cemetery, old age home, *mikveh*, and hospital soon after. By March 18, 1947 the community totaled 1,268, its numbers changing due to emigration, immigration, and a high mortality rate. In January 1970 there were 1,532 Jews in Hamburg, two-thirds of whom were above 40 years old. In 1960 a 190-bed hospital was opened and a large modern synagogue consecrated. Herbert Weichmann (b. 1896) was elected Buergermeister in 1965. An institute for German-Jewish history was founded in 1966. Within the Jewish community, several hundred Iranian Jews have formed a distinctive element during the last decades. As a result of the immigration of Jews from the former Soviet Union, the number of community members rose from 1,344 in 1989 to 5,019 in 2003.

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[Zvi Avneri / Stefan Rohrbacher (2nd ed.)]

HAMBURG, ABRAHAM BENJAMIN (**Wolf**; 1770–1850), German talmudic scholar. Hamburg was born in Fuerth and studied at the yeshivah of R. Meshullam-Solomon Kohn, the chief rabbi of Fuerth. He succeeded his teacher as head of the yeshivah, and in 1820 was appointed *moreh-ẓedek* ("spiritual leader") of the congregation, serving also as cantor and *mohel*. The appointment of a new chief rabbi, however, was indefinitely postponed and Hamburg was hard put to combat the inroads of the Reform movement into the community. In his correspondence with Moses *Sofer, who describes Hamburg as a "great man of high stature," he talks of his difficulties in building a communal *mikveh* (see M. Sofer, *Ḥatam Sofer, Yoreh De'ah* (1958^2), no. 214; *Even ha-Ezer*, 1 (1958^2), no. 82). By 1830, the adherents of the Reform movement had obtained a majority in the communal administration and had him removed from all his positions, except from that in the Klaus synagogue in which he had vested rights (it had been founded by one of his ancestors, Baermann Fraenkel). His yeshivah was closed and his opponents enlisted the help of the police in expelling his students, who numbered more than 100, from Fuerth. Ultimately, Hamburg himself was driven from the city and died heartbroken.

Hamburg's published works include sermons, responsa, talmudic novellae, and memorial addresses. *Sha'ar Zekenim* (Sulzbach, 1830) consists of sermons, eulogies, and ethical tracts. The latter half of the work also contains responsa addressed to former pupils and rabbinical contemporaries. *Simlat Binyamin* (Fuerth, 1840–41), Hamburg's other major work, is in three parts. The first contains responsa on *Oraḥ Ḥayyim* and *Yoreh De'ah*, and the second under the title *Naḥlat Binyamin* on *Even ha-Ezer* and *Ḥoshen Mishpat*, as well as *aggadot*; this section deals at length with the laws of circumcision. In the third section under the title *Sha'ar Binyamin* (unpublished) the author includes his own interpretations, additions, and novellae. One of his eulogies is in honor of his teacher, Solomon Kohn (*Kol Bokhim…*, Fuerth, 1820). He also paid homage to Sir Moses *Montefiore in a poem on his visit to Fuerth in 1841 together with Adolphe *Crémieux, on their return from the Orient. Hamburg taught and inspired a number of eminent disciples, among them Seligmann-Baer *Bamberger, and Moses Sofer.

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HAMBURGER, JACOB (1826–1911), German rabbi and scholar. Hamburger, who was born in Loslaw (Wodzislaw, Poland), served as rabbi in Neustadt (near Pinne, Poland) and Mecklenburg-Strelitz (Prussia). His most important work was his two-volume *Real-Encyklopaedie fuer Bibel und Talmud*, the first such work ever published in the German language (1874–83) dealing with the Bible and Talmud respectively. This he later extended into a three-volume *Real-Encyklopaedie des Judentums* (1874–1900, 1904–05^{3}), the third volume dealing with post-talmudic Judaism. Hamburger also began to write *Geist der Hagada*, an alphabetical anthology of talmudic and midrashic sayings, but only completed the letter A (1857). He also contributed the section on the Karaites and other matters to Winter and Wuensche's standard work on post-biblical literature, *Juedische Litteratur seit Abschluss des Kanons* (1894–96).

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[Alexander Carlebach]

HAMBURGER, MICHAEL (1924–), German-born English poet, translator and critic. Hamburger was born in Berlin and, with his family, settled in London in 1933. He was educated at Westminster School and at Oxford. At the age of 19, he translated a volume of Hoelderlin's verse into English. Hamburger held a variety of academic posts in Britain and the United States. While lecturing in German (1952–64), Hamburger wrote poems that dealt with increasingly somber themes, such as the *Eichmann trial. Among them are *Poems 1950–1951* (1952), *The Dual Site* (1957), *Weather and Season* (1963), and *In Flashlight* (1965). His other works include critical studies: a bilingual edition of Hoelderlin's poems (1967) and some of the translations in *O The Chimneys* (1967), poems on the Holocaust by Nelly *Sachs. His *Collected Poems,1941–1994* appeared in 1995.

[William D. Rubinstein (2nd ed.)]

HAMBURGER, SIR SIDNEY (1914–2001), British communal leader. Hamburger was probably the most prominent leader of the Jewish community in Manchester in the last decades of the 20th century. He served as mayor of Salford (a part of Greater Manchester) in 1968–69 and was concerned with a wide variety of Jewish and public causes in Manchester. For many London Jews, he was the public face of Jewish Manchester during the latter part of the 20th century. Hamburger was a member of British Mizrachi and was closely associated with fundraising for Bar-Ilan University. He was knighted in 1981. He was seen as perhaps the last in a long line of leading Jews resident in Manchester with a local power base independent of London Jewry.

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[William D. Rubinstein (2nd ed.)]

ḤAMDĪ, LEVI BEN YESHU'AH (1861–1930), hymnologist, *ḥazzan*, and preacher. Ḥamdī was born in *Sanʿa, Yemen, and emigrated to Palestine in 1891; he died in Jerusalem. In Yemen he was a Hebrew teacher, and his *ḥeder* was renowned for its progressive educational methods. In Jerusalem he became a Torah scribe, and also wrote amulets, charms, and lots. Many came to him believing that he was a man of great powers and a miracle worker. His strange behavior, possibly connected to his chronic illness and the deaths of his children in infancy, included self-mortification and fasts. He even exiled himself to Egypt in order to achieve the remission of his sins. Ḥamdī is generally known as a poet and *ḥazzan*. As a kabbalist, he thought that the poetry of Yemen was mystical and holy. He assisted A.Z. *Idelsohn in his research into Jewish melodies, and sang many Yemenite melodies for the latter to record. Ḥamdī composed hymns and prayers of supplication on such themes as the exile, the redemption, and Ereẓ Israel. In Yemen, he wrote prayers expressing his yearning for Ereẓ Israel. *Koveẓ Shirim*, a collection of his hymns and prayers, was published in Jerusalem in 1966.

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[Yehuda Ratzaby]

HAME'ASSEF (Heb. הַמְּאַסֵּף; lit. "the collector"), first Hebrew organ of the *Haskalah. Founded in 1783 in Koenigsberg by pupils of Moses Mendelssohn, *Hame'assef* was devoted to the education of youth, the increased use of the Hebrew language, and raising the general cultural level of the people. Although the organ was planned as a monthly, it actually appeared as a quarterly whose numbers were collected into annual volumes. The first three volumes were published in Koenigsberg from 1783 to 1786; the next three in Berlin, 1788–90; four issues of the seventh volume in Breslau, 1794–97; and three volumes of the renewed *Hame'assef* in Berlin, Altona, and Dessau (1809–11), after which it ceased publication. The editors in

Koenigsberg were Isaac *Euchel (who also participated during the first period in Berlin) and Mendel Bresslau; in Berlin and Breslau they were Aaron *Wolfsohn-Halle and Joel *Loewe (Brill). The renewed *Hame'assef* was edited by the poet, Shalom *Cohen. Many of the articles published in the periodical were unsigned. Mendelssohn's occasional contributions, for instance, do not bear his name. However, Naphtali Herz *Wessely, who was adviser to the organ, was an exception to this practice and signed his many poems and articles. In addition to Haskalah writers, a number of moderate rabbis also contributed to the periodical. The radicalism of Wolfsohn-Halle not only led religious Jews to shun *Hame'assef*, but also caused Wessely to cease writing for it. The organ's moderate Haskalah policy, which avoided breaking with tradition, was restored only when publication was renewed under Cohen. In the spirit of Haskalah, *Hame'assef*'s literary section published poems in praise of wisdom and nature, in denigration of obscurantism and idleness; festive poems, ethical parables, and hymns of praise to notable persons and kings. It also published linguistic articles, biblical exegesis, historical studies, biographies of famous Jews, reviews, news relevant to the Jewish world, translations of works from world literature, and supplements in German, which were occasionally printed in Hebrew letters. In its support of Hebrew, *Hame'assef* sometimes criticized East European Jews for their use of Yiddish. In its advocacy of pure language, the periodical sought to remain faithful to the language and metaphorical style of the Bible. Yet, despite this, it quoted rabbinical sayings and Aramaic expressions. Although its reportage of news and its educational articles were of immediate practical value, *Hame'assef* was mainly literary in character and somewhat detached from the concerns of daily life. The periodical hoped, perhaps naively, to prepare Jews for emancipation. Nevertheless, there occasionally appeared writings of a Jewish nationalist nature, such as Judah Halevi's *Ẓiyyon ha-Lo Tishali* printed in the 1789 volume, and the yearnings for Zion expressed in a number of the poems published in the renewed *Hame'assef. Hame'assef* became the symbol of the Haskalah movement, and Haskalah writers were called the "generation of *Me'assefim*." *Maskilim* of this time long lamented its demise and for many years the *Bikkurei ha-Ittim* (1821–32) of Vienna reprinted "the best of *Hame'assef*." Raphael Fuerstenthal's publication appeared in Breslau in 1829. Even beyond the borders of Germany, *Hame'assef*'s content and form were, for generations, the prototype for Haskalah organs.

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[Tsemah Tsamriyon]

HAMEIRI (Feuerstein), AVIGDOR (1890–1970), Hebrew poet, novelist, and translator. Hameiri was born in Dávidháza, Carpatho-Ukraine (then Hungary). His first Hebrew poem "*Ben he-Atid*," which appeared in the weekly *Ha-Mizpeh* (1907), was followed by others in various Hebrew journals. His first volume of verse, entitled *Mi-Shirei Avigdor Feuerstein*, was published in 1912. In 1916 he was captured by the Russians while serving as an Austrian officer on the Russian front, imprisoned in Siberia, and released in 1917 after the October Revolution. In 1921 he immigrated to Palestine, joined the staff of the daily *Haaretz*, and edited several critical journals. In Tel Aviv, he founded the first Hebrew social satirical theater, Ha-Kumkum (1932). Hameiri published various novels, short stories, and poetry collections that gave literary expression to his war experiences, the Third Aliyah, and later, the Holocaust. He also translated into Hebrew works of Heine, Schiller, Arnold Zweig, Stefan Zweig, and others.

Hameiri belongs to the earliest exponents of expressionism in Hebrew poetry. Sustained pathos, and strained and occasional exaggerated figures of speech characterize his work. He attacked the stagnation of Jewish life, described the gruesomeness and the frenzy of hatred that engulfed all of humanity during World War I and particularly the vulnerability of Jews to its consequences. After he settled in Palestine, he castigated the new Jewish society for not realizing its declared ideals. The key figures in his poetry are his mother, whom he lost in his childhood, and his grandfather, who raised him; the former becomes the symbol of Jewish motherhood and the latter – age-old Israel. Hameiri's power as a storyteller is revealed mainly in his realistic war stories. Their central theme is the peculiarly tragic fate of the Jewish soldier fighting wars which are not his. He loathes the bloodshed and the bestiality of combat, and yet, since he is an outsider, is unable to find comfort in the companionship of his fellow soldiers. In 1968 he was awarded the Israel Prize.

Sefer ha-Shirim ("The Book of Poems," 1933) contains his complete poetry up to its publication. His subsequent works of poetry included *Ha-Moked ha-Ran* ("The Singing Pyre," 1944), collected poems from 1933 to 1944; *Ḥalomot shel Beit-Rabban* ("Schoolboy Dreams," 1945), and *Be-Livnat ha-Sappir* ("In a Pavement of Sapphire," 1962). His works of fiction include the novel *Ha-Shigga'on ha-Gadol* (1950; *The Great Madness*, 1952; 1985; 1989); *Be-Geihinnom shel Mattah* ("In Lower Hell," novel, 1932; 1989); *Tenuvah* ("Produce," 1947^2); *Ha-Mashi'aḥ ha-Lavan* ("The White Messiah," novel, 1948); *Bein Laylah le-Laylah* ("Between the Nights," short stories, 1944); and *Sodo shel Socrates* ("Socrates' Secret," historical novel, 1955). A list of his works translated into English appears in Goell, Bibliography, 861–81, 2123–34.

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[Gedalyah Elkoshi]

HAMEIRI (Ostrovsky), MOSHE (1886–1947), rabbi and Mizrachi leader in Ereẓ Israel. Born in Karlin, Belorussia, Hameiri settled in Ereẓ Israel in 1897. He studied at yeshivot in Jerusalem and was ordained by Ḥayyim Berlin and A.I. Kook, becoming rabbi of the *Ekron settlement in 1912. Active from his youth in the Mizrachi movement, in 1919 he became one of the chief planners and organizers of the religious school system in Palestine. Hameiri taught Talmud at the Mizrachi Teachers' Seminary in Jerusalem. He was a member of the Va'ad Le'ummi executive, heading its department of local religious communities. Hameiri helped to organize the Chief Rabbinate in Palestine and was one of the founders of the Kiryat Moshe quarter in west Jerusalem. His books include *Ha-Middot she-ha-Torah Nidreshet Bahen* ("The Principles by Which the Torah is Expounded," 1924); *Mevo ha-Talmud* ("Introduction to the Talmud," 1935), a textbook for schools and teachers' seminaries; *Toledot ha-Mizrachi be-Ereẓ Yisrael* ("The History of Mizrachi in Ereẓ Israel," 1944); and *Irgun ha-Yishuv ha-Yehudi be-Ereẓ Yisrael* ("The Organization of the Jewish Yishuv in Ereẓ Israel," 1942).

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HA-MELIẒ (Heb. הַמֵּלִיץ, "The Advocate"), the first Hebrew paper in Russia. *Ha-Meliẓ* was founded in Odessa in 1860 by Alexander *Zederbaum with the assistance of his son-in-law, A.J. Goldenblum. Zederbaum obtained the license to publish the paper through his connections with the czarist authorities. *Ha-Meliẓ* was long the organ of the moderate Haskalah movement in Russia, although at times it served the extreme wing of the Haskalah, publishing the writings of M.L. *Lilienblum and J.L. *Gordon, advocates of religious reform. In the literary sphere, *Ha-Meliẓ* was involved in a bitter controversy concerning A.U. *Kovner and his destructive criticism of Hebrew literature (Kovner also sharply criticized *Ha-Meliẓ* in his *Ẓeror Peraḥim*, 1868). Appearing in Russia, where censorship was severe, *Ha-Meliẓ* defended the czarist regime, but also criticized it surreptitiously. Zederbaum introduced into *Ha-Meliẓ* the Hebrew journalistic article with all its virtues and defects and attracted contributors from among the best authors in Russia, such as *Mendele Mokher Seforim. After 10 years in Odessa, *Ha-Meliẓ* was transferred to St. Petersburg (1871) where it appeared until it ceased publication in 1904. As *Ha-Meliẓ* was pro-Russian, it advocated Haskalah, Jewish agricultural settlement in Russia, occupation in trades, and improving education while fostering traditional and religious values. Accordingly, it held a reserved attitude toward nationalist and Zionist ideals which were gaining impetus in the early 1880s. Only as Zionism grew stronger, and under the influence of A.S. *Friedberg, one of the paper's editorial assistants, did *Ha-Meliẓ* become the organ of the Ḥibbat Zion movement in Russia. In response to the growing interest in Zionism in the 1880s, *Ha-Meliẓ*, which had been a weekly, became a semiweekly in 1883 and a daily from 1886, until it ceased publication. For different reasons the paper did not appear for periods of various lengths, from a few months in 1871–72 and in 1879, to a few years, from 1874 to 1877. *Ha-Meliẓ* flourished in the 1880s and 1890s, particularly under the editorship of the poet Judah Leib *Gordon (1880–83, 1885–88). Promoting Hebrew literature in Russia during the second half of the 19th century, *Ha-Meliẓ* published the earliest writings of Aḥad Ha-Am, Bialik, and scores of other Hebrew authors and scholars in Russia and abroad. *Ha-Meliẓ* also published controversy which, descending to the personal level, bore negative consequences. When *Ha-Meliẓ* became the organ of the Ḥibbat Zion movement in Russia it published the best nationalist-Zionist journalism. For many years *Ha-Meliẓ* published various literary collections, introducing writers of all political and religious factions. On Zederbaum's death in 1893, the paper ceased to appear for a few months until it was taken over by Yehudah Leib *Rabinovich, who served as its last editor.

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[Getzel Kressel]

HAMELN (Hamelin), city near Hanover, Germany. Jews are first mentioned in the privileges granted to the town in 1277. The formula of the Jewish oath of Hameln, almost identical with the earlier formula of Dortmund, was recorded in the municipal ledger. In the early years of Jewish settlement there were no more than about 10 Jewish families, engaged mostly in moneylending under the protection of the municipal authorities. By the middle of the 14th century the number of Jews had grown significantly, and in 1344 they opened a synagogue. Shortly thereafter however, during the *Black Death persecutions (1349–50), the community ceased to exist. For the next two centuries only individual Jews settled in Hameln. By the middle of the 16th century their members had increased and a "Jewish Street" is mentioned in 1552. In 1590 Duke Henry Julius banished all the Jews from his provinces, but the Hameln town council, claiming its traditional right to control the fate of the Jews in the town, determined to ignore the order. Nevertheless, most of the Jews left. In her memoirs, Glueckel of *Hameln indicates that only two Jewish families lived there in 1660.

By the end of the 17th century the Hameln community had increased and a number of its members were among those attending the Leipzig fairs (1691–1763). A new cemetery was consecrated in 1743. Resident rabbis were appointed in the city until 1782. The 12 Jewish families in Hameln in 1777 had declined to five families in 1814 and risen again to 10 only in 1830. In 1832 the community was put under the jurisdiction of the rabbinate of Hanover and a school was established. A new synagogue was dedicated in 1879. The Jewish population numbered 86 in 1845; 149 in 1875; and 170 (0.6% of the total) in 1931. In 1933, when the Nazis took power, the Jewish population was 136. Jewish businesses were vandalized and the synagogue subject to arson. Jews emigrated or left for larger cities. There were only 86 Jews left by 1935. The synagogue was destroyed in 1938, the cemetery was desecrated and 10 Jews were sent to Buchenwald, two of them died there. The remainder of the community (44 in 1939) was deported in 1942. In 1963 a memorial to the Jews of Hameln was erected in the city. In 1997 a liberal Jewish community was founded. It is a member of the Union of Progressive Jews in Germany. It numbered 18 in 1997 and 200 in 2004. In 1998 another Jewish community was founded which is affiliated with the Central Council of Jewish Communities in Germany, the main Jewish organization in Germany. It numbered 331 in 2003. Almost all of the members of both communities are immigrants from the former Soviet Union. In 1999 the Jewish cemetery, desecrated during World War II, was reopened for use. In 2001 a new Jewish cemetery was opened.

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[Zvi Avneri and Ze'ev Wilhem Falk / Larissa Daemmig (2nd ed.)]

HAMENAḤEM, EZRA (1907–1993), Hebrew writer. Born in Skoplje, Serbia, he settled with his family in Ereẓ Israel in 1914. After receiving a religious education in the Old City of Jerusalem, he worked in a Jerusalem bank and then at Mosad Bialik, the Am Oved publishing house, and as editor of literary programs on the Israel radio. In the late 1930s, he began writing about the old and new cities of Jerusalem, particularly about their Oriental Jewish community. His collections of short stories include *Bein ha-Ḥomot* (1941), *Afar ha-Areẓ* (1948), *Be-Ẓel ha-Yamim* (1956), *Sippurei ha-Ir ha-Attikah* (1968), and *Mi-Sippurei Na'ar Yerushalmi* (1988).

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[Getzel Kressel]

HA-ME'ORER (Heb. הַמְּעוֹרֵר; "the Awakener"), a Hebrew monthly published in London in 1906–07 and edited by J.Ḥ. *Brenner. *Ha-Me'orer* began publication after the failure of the Russian revolution of 1905. While living in London, Brenner was involved in the Jewish and general labor movements there. Through this monthly, dominated by his sharp and nonconformist thinking, Brenner hoped to establish a Hebrew center in England at a time when there were few Hebrew papers in Russia. He was severely critical of complacency in Hebrew literature, which resisted original thought, and of the Jewish labor movement in Russia, which promoted Yiddish instead of Hebrew. In particular, Brenner denounced what he considered hollow verbiage current in the Jewish workers' movement on the one hand, and in the Zionist movement and its literature on the other.

Ha-Me'orer was the periodical in which Brenner first crystallized the approach characterizing the periodicals he later edited. His reactions to current affairs and to literature were a model of original, non-conventional thinking. In addition to printing stories and plays of his own and others, he also published poems, essays, and translations of Ibsen, Wilde, and Maeterlinck. Contributors to *Ha-Me'orer* were authors, old and young, who appreciated the editor's attempts to maintain a Hebrew paper single-handedly. After appearing for less than two years, however, the paper could no longer maintain itself and ceased publication. *Ha-Me'orer* greatly influenced young Jews and particularly the generation of the Second *Aliyah*.

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[Getzel Kressel]

HAMEROW, THEODORE STEPHEN (1920–), U.S. historian. Born in Warsaw, Hamerow spent his childhood in Poland, where his parents were members of the well-known Yiddish theater ensemble, the Vilna Company. He lived in Germany from 1921 to 1924 and then returned to Poland (1924–30). After emigrating to the United States in 1930, he studied at the City College of New York, Columbia University, and Yale University. He received his Ph.D. in 1951. He taught European, particularly German, history at the University of Illinois from 1952 to 1958 and was then appointed professor of history at the University of Wisconsin–Madison in 1958. He conducted research in Germany and was a Fulbright Research Scholar in 1962–63. From 1973 to 1976 he served as chairman of the history department at Wisconsin. Hamerow retired in 1991 as G.P. Gooch Professor of History.

His main studies, relating to 19th and 20th-century Germany, are *Restoration, Revolution, Reaction: Economics and Politics in Germany, 1815–1871* (1958); and *Otto von Bismarck, a Historical Assessment* (1962), which he edited. Other books by Hamerow include *The Birth of a New Europe* (1983), *Reflections on History and Historians* (1991), *On the Road to the Wolf's Lair: German Resistance to Hitler* (1997), and *Remembering a Vanished World: A Jewish Childhood in Interwar Poland* (2001).

[Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

ḤAMEẒ (Heb. חָמֵץ; "fermented dough"; cf. Ex. 12:39). *Ḥameẓ* is prohibited in Jewish religious usage in two instances, one of which has a purely theoretical application at the present day, while the other is of topical application. The first was the prohibition against offering up *ḥameẓ* of any kind (or honey) on the altar as a concomitant of sacrifices (Lev. 2:11, where it is referred to as *se'or*). *Se'or* and *ḥameẓ* are by no means synonymous. *Se'or* refers to the leavening agent, while *ḥameẓ* is the new dough to which the *se'or* is added, and it is expressly called *leḥem ḥameẓ* ("leavened bread"; Lev. 7: 13). This distinction is clearly shown by Exodus 12: 15: "Seven days you shall eat unleavened bread (*maẓẓot*); on the first day you shall remove leaven (*se'or*) from your houses, for whoever eats leavened bread (*ḥameẓ*) from the first day to the seventh day that person shall be cut off from Israel." Further corroboration of this distinction is furnished by a linguistic criterion: *se'or* is never used with the verb *akhal* ("eat"), since it is too sour to be edible. The leavened bread mentioned with regard to the sacrifices is given directly to the priest or is consumed by the worshiper (cf. Lev. 2: 12, 7: 13; 23: 17, 20). The instructions for the making of shewbread contain no prohibition of the use of leaven (Lev. 24:5–9) since it was not consumed but merely displayed. Post-biblical tradition, however, prohibits it (Jos., Ant. 3: 142, 255ff.; cf. Men. 5:1). It was permitted, however, as part of the sacrificial meal (Lev. 7: 13). The other is the complete prohibition of *ḥameẓ* (or anything containing it) during *Passover, which includes its consumption, deriving any benefit from it, and retaining it in one's possession (Ex. 12: 19). To this the rabbis added the prohibition after Passover of leaven which had been in one's possession during the festival (Pes. 2:2; 28b; Sh. Ar., OḤ 448). However, the author of the "Passover Papyrus" of Elephantine (Cowley, Aramaic, 21, p. 60ff.) felt that it sufficed to keep the leaven out of sight, i.e., stored away. Nonetheless he did follow the *halakhah*, in opposition to the stricter Samaritan view (a restored text), in maintaining that only fermented grain but not fermented fruit (wine) was included under the definition of leaven (H.L. Ginsberg, in: Pritchard, Texts, 491, esp. n. 6).

The criterion for rendering grain *ḥameẓ* is that on decomposition it ferments. This characteristic was stated to apply only to the five species of grain, usually translated as "wheat, barley, spelt, rye, and oats" (but see *Five Species). Other grains which, instead of fermenting, "rotted," were not regarded as coming within the prohibition of *ḥameẓ*; in this class, as is specifically stated, belong rice and millet (Pes. 35a). Despite this fact, Ashkenazi authorities, in contrast to Sephardi, not only forbid the use of rice (and millet) on Passover, but extend the prohibition to include a whole additional range of products which they regard as belonging to the category of *kitniyyot* ("pulse") or even "doubtful *kitniyyot*," including such foods as beans, peas, maize, and peanuts, since flour is made from them and thus people might come to use ordinary flour in such a way as to make it *ḥameẓ*. In practice, among Ashkenazi Jews the only flour used on Passover is "*maẓẓah* meal" (i.e., ground *maẓẓah*) and potato flour, while the Sephardim use rice.

Prohibited *ḥameẓ* is divided into three categories of descending stringency: *ḥameẓ gamur*, that which is "completely" *ḥameẓ*, i.e., one of the above fermented doughs and such derivatives as whisky; *ta'arovet ḥameẓ*, that which has in it an admixture of even the smallest amount of *ḥameẓ;* and *ḥameẓ nuksheh*, roughly, *ḥameẓ* which is unsuitable for food, such as writer's paste (Pes. 3:1). It is only for the first that the penalty of *karet is involved, although Maimonides (Yad, introd., negative commandment no. 198) regards the word *maḥmeẓet* (Ex. 12:19) as referring to *ta'arovet* which is therefore, according to him, forbidden by the Bible. The penalty of *karet* is involved, and the minimum amount for which liability is incurred is an olive's bulk.

Whereas the prohibition of most forbidden food is nullified if it is accidentally mixed in more than 60 times its volume of permitted food and this applies even to leaven mixed in permitted food being prepared for Passover prior to the festival – during Passover *ḥameẓ* can never be nullified in this way; the most minute admixture renders everything with which it has been mixed forbidden as *ta'arovet*. As a result, practically every food product which has not been specially prepared under supervision in order to ensure the complete absence of *ḥameẓ* is regarded as belonging to this category. For the same reason all vessels which have been used during the year are forbidden for use during the festival, unless they have been cleansed in accordance with halakhic requirements (see *Passover).

The period which it takes for flour mixed with water to begin fermenting is stated as the time it takes to walk a (Roman) mile (Pes. 46a); the authorities have established this as 18 minutes. This, however, applies to normal conditions and varies according to the circumstances. Thus, on the one hand, if the temperature of the water is above normal the process is accelerated; on the other hand, the continuous manipulation of the dough delays, and even prevents, fermentation (OḤ 459; for details see *Maẓẓah).

Ḥasidim, believing that there is a possibility that some of the flour in the *maẓẓah* may have remained unbaked, take up the extreme attitude of not eating *maẓẓah* or *maẓẓah* meal which has been soaked in water during the whole of the seven days of Passover; they permit it only on the eighth day (which obtains in the Diaspora).

The prohibition of *ḥameẓ* commences from the time that the paschal sacrifice used to be offered, at midday on the 14th of Nisan, but the period has been extended to two hours earlier (Pes. 28b).

Leaven in Jewish Thought

Leaven is regarded as the symbol of corruption and impurity. The "yeast in the dough" is one of the things which "prevents us from performing the will of God" (Ber. 17a). The idea was greatly developed in the Kabbalah. The New Testament also refers to "the leaven of malice and wickedness" which is contrasted with "the unleavened bread of sincerity and truth" (I Cor. 5:8). Similarly the word is applied to what was regarded as the corrupt doctrine of the Pharisees and Sadducees (Matt. 16: 12; Mark 8: 15).

It was applied particularly to the admixture of elements of impure descent in a family. (Fermented) "dough" was contrasted in this context with "pure sifted flour." Thus, with regard to purity of family descent, "All the countries are regarded as dough compared to Ereẓ Israel, while Ereẓ Israel is regarded as dough compared to Babylonia" (Kid. 71a). Ezra did not leave Babylonia until he had made its "Jewish population pure sifted flour" (by bringing up those of doubtful descent to Ereẓ Israel, *ibid.* 69b). The widow of a man of doubtful descent is referred to as a "dough widow" (Ket. 14b).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: S. Zevin, *Ha-Mo'adim ba-Halakhah* (1959^{7}), 231ff.

[Louis Isaac Rabinowitz]

ḤAMEẒ, SALE OF (Heb. מְכִירַת חָמֵץ). No **ḥameẓ* (leaven) may be present, or seen, in the house of a Jew during Passover. In addition to the prohibition against eating *ḥameẓ* or deriving any benefit from it, the Pentateuch explicitly states: "Seven days shall there be no leaven found in your houses" (Ex. 12: 19), "neither shall there be leaven seen with thee, in all thy borders" (Ex. 13:7). Any *ḥameẓ* which a Jew has kept over Passover becomes forbidden forever (Pes. 2:2 and 29a; Sh. Ar. OḤ, 448:3).

Disposal of Hamez

The disposal of all ḥameẓ which is in the possession of a Jew is carried out after the **bedikat ḥameẓ* ("search for leaven") has taken place on the eve of the 14th of Nisan. According to the *halakhah*, the *ḥameẓ* may be disposed of in three ways. It may be burnt (which must be done before 10 o'clock on the morning of the 14th of Nisan). It may be annulled by declaring, "May all leaven in my possession, whether I have seen it or not, whether I have removed it or not, be annulled and considered as the dust of the earth." It may also be sold. Since the first method might involve hardship, especially where large quantities of foodstuffs are involved, or where the *ḥameẓ* is used for business purposes, the *ḥameẓ* is sold to a non-Jew. This applies only to foodstuffs; utensils which have been used for ḥameẓ need only be washed and stored separately.

The Legal Character of the Sale

The transaction by which the *ḥameẓ* is sold must be of a legal character, carried out by means of a bill of sale. The purchaser must both lease the place in which the *ḥameẓ* is stored, and buy the *ḥameẓ* itself. The gentile thus becomes the legal owner of the *ḥameẓ* which the Jew, if he so desires, may buy back after Passover. The completion of the sale is effected by the signing of the contract and by the transfer of money, usually in the form of a down payment (see Modes of *Acquisition). The rabbinic insistence that such a bill of sale be in accordance with the requirements of the *halakhah*, and the inconvenience which would result were every Jew to attempt to sell his own *ḥameẓ* gave rise to the formal sale of the *ḥameẓ*. The Jewish vendor merely appends his signature to a composite document which grants power of attorney to sell his *ḥameẓ* to an agent (usually the local rabbi) who, in turn, arranges the contract with the non-Jewish buyer. The agent buys the *ḥameẓ* back after Passover, and restores it to its original owners. All the contracts are written in Hebrew although it has been suggested that the vernacular be used for the bill of sale so as to ensure the Gentile's understanding of the contract.

Stages of Development of the Transaction

Four distinct stages in the evolution of the transaction whereby *ḥameẓ* is sold can be traced in rabbinic literature. The first sales, referred to in the Talmud (Pes. 2:1; Tosef., Pes. 1:7; Shab. 18b; Pes. 13a, 21a), were clearly of a simple nature. Although the *Gemara* does not discuss any details, such a sale presumably involved the physical transfer of *ḥameẓ* from Jew to non-Jew "in the market place" (Pes. 13a). The beginning of the second stage, by which it became common practice to sell *ḥameẓ* to a non-Jew with the mutual understanding that the Jew would buy it back after Passover, is hinted at in the Tosefta (Pes. 1:24, also in TJ, Pes. 2:2, 28d). Although the author of *Halakhot Gedolot* (ed. by I. Hildesheimer (1892), 136) stipulated that there must be no suggestion of such an intention, the practice had clearly earned rabbinic consent by the time of the compilation of the Shulḥan Arukh (OḤ 448:3). The condition that the *ḥameẓ* must be physically transferred from the property of the Jew to that of the non-Jew still remained (*Magen Avraham*, Sh. Ar., OḤ 448:3). It was the observation of Joel *Sirkes (*Bayit Ḥadash*, OḤ 448) – that this caused considerable inconvenience to merchants – which initiated a new chapter in the history of the sale of *ḥameẓ*. He suggested that such inconvenience might be avoided by selling (or later leasing) the room in which the *ḥameẓ* was stored to the non-Jew, a transaction which involved a small down payment and the physical transfer only of the key to the room. In later times the official nature of the transaction was stressed by the writing of a bill of sale. A copy of such a document (in Judeo-German) written by R. Ezekiel *Landau of Prague is preserved in his son Samuel Landau's responsa (*Shivat Ẓiyyon* 11); others were sometimes printed in *Haggadot*. The final stage in the evolution of the sale of *ḥameẓ* was introduced by R. *Shneur Zalman of Lyady. Objecting to the blatant legal fiction involved in Sirkes' method, he proposed the idea of a "general" sale, with an agent acting on behalf of the Jewish vendor. Despite the opposition of numerous rabbis, including Solomon b. Judah Aaron *Kluger of Brody and R. Joseph Saul *Nathanson, this proposal has generally been accepted as the form of the sale of *ḥameẓ*.

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[Harry Rabinowicz]

HAMILTON, city in southern Ontario (total pop. 495,000 in 2001), with the eighth largest Jewish community in Canada (4,765). Hamilton Jewry comprised 1.3% of the Canadian Jewish population in 2001 compared with 1.4% in 1991, and 1.5% in 1981. Despite its small numbers, the community enjoyed an impressive array of institutions, including, for example, three active synagogues, a *mikveh* (ritual bath), a retirement and nursing home for the Jewish elderly (Shalom Village), a community center, and day and afternoon schools.

The community's Jewish population has reflected the larger Canadian experience. By 1941, Jews in Hamilton numbered some 2,600, with half identifying Yiddish as their mother tongue; by 1951, the number had risen to 3,000. Little population expansion occurred over the following two decades. However, this changed in the late 1960s and 1970s when the expansion of McMaster University attracted Jewish academics and medical professionals. In addition, between 1975 and 1980, some 300 Russian Jews settled in Hamilton, though the vast majority eventually left for Toronto. By 1981, the Canadian census listed 4,250 Jews in the Hamilton area.

The Jewish presence in Hamilton reaches back more than 150 years. In 1853 the city record identified 13 Jewish families. They formed the Hebrew Benevolent Society Anshe Sholom Hamilton. They were soon renamed the Jewish Congregation Anshe Sholom of Hamilton, constituting the first Jewish congregation in Hamilton and the first Reform congregation in Canada. All charter members were of German origin and the records were recorded in German. In 1874 Anshe Sholom women formed the Deborah Ladies Aid Society, the first Jewish women's charity society in Canada. Initially Orthodox in orientation, it aligned with Reform following changes to traditional liturgical practices and rituals.

Finding these changes unacceptable, a number of Orthodox Jews who had immigrated to Hamilton in the 1870s established the Beth Jacob congregation in 1883. In 1901 the congregation organized its Talmud Torah, and in 1908 the women formed a Ladies Aid Society. Its Orthodox orientation changed to Conservative in 1954. Membership peaked in the 1960s and 1970s. The congregation later proclaimed that it offered a fully egalitarian religious service. Immigrants from central Poland and Galicia founded the Adas Israel that served as the community's Orthodox congregation. In 1914 they adopted the name "Adas Israel Anshe Poilen." Known informally by its street designation, Cannon Street shul, its members formed a Loan Society in 1930 followed by a Ladies Auxiliary two years later.

For the community's first 75 years, Jews concentrated around the city's core. This area housed the synagogues (a total of five at one time), other communal institutions, and the vast majority of Jewish-owned commercial enterprises. As the Jewish population moved into west and southwest Hamilton, and to neighboring Dundas and Ancaster, there remained hardly any trace of this former institutional presence. Ironically, but hardly unique to Hamilton, Jews now reside in areas from which they were formerly barred owing to the presence of restrictive covenant practices.

The need to look after its own being understood, the number of institutions established to service the Jewish community was both impressive and extensive. Four organizations – the Hamilton Hebrew Institute, the Hamilton Jewish Relief Society, the Hamilton Free Loan Society, and the Israelitish Benevolent Society – attended to matters of financial assistance, immigration, and communal and civic affairs. They amalgamated in 1916 under the United Hebrew Association, which assumed responsibility for most philanthropic work. Other institutions helped shape the community's rich diversity. For example, the Grand Order of Israel Benefit Society was coordinated in 1907, and the Viceroy Reading Lodge of B'nai B'rith and the Council of Jewish Women were established in the city in 1921 and 1922, respectively. Formal participation in Zionist activity began with the formation of the Daughters of Zion in 1914 and the second Hadassah chapter in Canada in 1917. Shortly thereafter chapters of Pioneer Women and Mizrachi also organized. Organizations evolved and new ones were established to coordinate the integration of immigrants who arrived following World War II. The Council of Jewish Organizations was established in 1955 and represented the Jewish community locally and nationally, coordinating and overseeing matters pertaining to education, recreation, and culture. Renamed the Hamilton Jewish Federation in 1975, it served as the community's central Jewish organization.

While Jews in Hamilton endured antisemitism in the decades leading to and immediately following World War II, they successfully integrated into the mainstream. Several played prominent roles in the wider community as patrons of the arts and charitable campaigns. Their integration was also reflected in the community's changed occupational structure. While the earliest generations of immigrants were peddlers, storekeepers, and salespersons in the manufacturing trades (notably in steel, scrap, and auto parts), subsequent generations, university-educated, were active in various commercial enterprises and, not unexpectedly, proliferated the professions – accounting, education, law, dentistry, and medicine.

Demographically, the 2001 number of census-identified Jews in Hamilton represents a loss from the 5,165 recorded in 1991, the highest number ever. Indeed, the recent decrease reversed a trend of steady population growth during the preceding several decades. A closer examination of the available demographic figures reveals several features certain to impact on the community's ongoing organization, including the number of elderly, a decrease in school-age youth, and a steady increase in numbers living below the poverty line. In addition, with fewer family-based businesses where offspring are expected to succeed their parents, there is a greater tendency for younger persons to leave the community for larger urban centers. This out-migration will inevitably impact on the community's abilities to sustain the educational and cultural institutions it currently enjoys.

Despite the outflow of native Hamiltonians to larger centers, the community continued to support a vibrant institutional base and could experience growth in the foreseeable future. While university-age Jews may continue to leave, this movement could be more than offset by the arrival of newcomers attracted to the city for occupational opportunities, more affordable housing and other cost-of-living considerations, and the availability of a sound and potentially expanding Jewish infrastructure to cater to their religious, ethnic, and other requirements.

[William Shaffir (2nd ed.)]

ḤAMIẒ, JOSEPH BEN JUDAH (d. c. 1676), physician, philosopher, kabbalist, and communal leader. Born in Venice, from his youth Ḥamiẓ devoted himself to Torah and scholarship and was one of the outstanding pupils of Leone *Modena. In 1624 he received the degree of doctor of medicine and philosophy at the University of Padua. At the same time the rabbis of Venice decided to ordain him as rabbi. In honor of his graduation, his teacher and colleagues published a "collection of eulogies and poems" under the title *Belil Ḥamiẓ* (Venice, 1624; also in: *Seridim*, 1938). To Modena's distress, Ḥamiẓ came under the influence of esoteric teachings and joined the kabbalistic circles of Moses *Zacuto and *Aaron Berechiah b. Moses of Modena. In 1658 he and Zacuto published an expanded edition of the *Zohar Ḥadash* with glosses on the *Zohar, titled *Derekh Emet*. During the same period Ḥamiẓ began to write a commentary on the Zohar but ceased this work because he decided to move to Jerusalem. Thereafter all traces of him are lost.

During recent years two collections of his works have been found. I. Tishby discovered that a manuscript in Oxford University Library (Ms. Bod. 2239) is a collection of Ḥamiẓ's works written during the years 1667–75. From its contents it is clear that he was associated with Shabbatean circles and was active in the movement. E. Kupfer discovered that Ms. Parma 1283 was written by Ḥamiẓ in the town of Zante, where he stayed around 1666 on his way from Venice to Ereẓ Israel with his family. Apparently he delayed there because of the troubles that befell him: His wife and many members of his family who had accompanied him from Venice died in Zante. While staying there, he practiced as a physician, devoted much of his time to Torah, and was active in the life of the Jewish community. In 1674 he promoted the conference for the union of the communities in Zante, and was chosen to introduce **takkanot* for the united community.

From his writings in the Parma manuscript, it is clear that despite his devotion to Kabbalah and his association with Shabbatean activists he continued to be in doubt and disturbed. Even in his later years, side by side with kabbalist writings there are philosophical ideas and studies based on the school of Maimonides. Among the works in this collection is the *Pirkei ha-Musar u-Middot*, which he wrote as a kind of testament for his children.

Hamiẓ collected material from a variety of early kabbalistic material, including several books of Abraham *Abulafia and even earlier Kabbalah, and thus preserved material that is hardly known from other sources.

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[Ephraim Kupfer]

HA-MIẒPEH (Heb. הַמִּצְפֶּה; "the Watchtower"), a Hebrew weekly newspaper. Appearing in Cracow from 1904 to 1921 (with intervals during World War I), *Ha-Miẓpeh* was edited by Simon Menahem Laser. Laser, the last editor of **Ha-Maggid*, which ceased publication in 1903, wanted to maintain the Hebrew press in Galicia. His new paper had a religious Zionist orientation and was the faithful organ, without official status, of the *Mizrachi movement. At the same time it fought the opponents of Zionism, including both Ḥasidim and assimilationists. *Ha-Miẓpeh* reached its highest popularity at the time of the elections for the Austrian parliament, when it fought with extraordinary vigor the government-approved anti-Zionist pact between assimilationists and the ḥasidic rabbis. The paper also combated negative manifestations in the Zionist movement. Laser encouraged literary talents in Galicia. He discovered S.Y. *Agnon (then still known as Czaczkes), Avigdor *Hameiri, U.Z. *Greenberg, and many others who later became famous in Hebrew literature. Apart from Laser's journalistic pieces, the paper published studies, poems, stories, essays, feuilletons, and a humorous section for Purim. It was maintained throughout the years by Laser's efforts and without any subvention, even during World War I when he revived the paper after it had been forced to close. Laser was among the few who understood the nature of the Bolshevik regime's attitude toward the Jews, the problematic nature of the Balfour Declaration, and other political issues.

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[Getzel Kressel]

HAMLISCH, MARVIN (1944–), U.S. composer and arranger. Born in New York City, Hamlisch was the youngest student (at age seven) ever admitted to the Juilliard School of Music (which he attended until 1964). He is the composer and/or arranger of music scores for such films as *The Swimmer* (1968), *Take the Money and Run* (1969), *Bananas* (1971), *Save The Tiger* (1973) and *Kotch* (1971). In 1974 Hamlisch became the first individual to receive three Academy Awards in one night – one for best scoring of *The Sting*, one for best original dramatic score for the film *The Way We Were*, and one for best original song, "The Way We Were." He also received four Grammys for his work on *The Sting.* Hamlisch also won a Pulitzer Prize and a Tony Award for writing the script and composing the score of the Broadway musical *A Chorus Line* (1975).

His musical scores for other Broadway productions include *They're Playing Our Song* (1979), *Shirley Maclaine on Broadway* (1984), *Smile* (1987), *The Goodbye Girl* (1993), *Sweet Smell of Success* (2002), and *Imaginary Friends* (2003). Written by Neil Simon, *They're Playing Our Song* was based on the personal and professional relationship between Hamlisch and his long-time collaborator, lyricist Carole Bayer Sager. It was nominated for four Tony Awards, among them Best Musical.

Hamlisch also wrote the music for such films as *The Prisoner of Second Avenue* (1975), *The Spy Who Loved Me*

(1977), *Ice Castles* (1978), *Starting Over* (1979), *Chapter Two* (1979), *Gilda Live* (1980), *Ordinary People* (1980), *Seems Like Old Times* (1980), *Pennies from Heaven* (1981), *Sophie's Choice* (1982), *Three Men and a Baby* (1987), *January Man* (1989), *Shirley Valentine* (1989), *Missing Pieces* (1991), *Open Season* (1996), and *The Mirror Has Two Faces* (1996).

In addition to his work as a composer, Hamlisch is the principal pops conductor with the Pittsburgh Symphony Orchestra and the National Symphony Orchestra in Washington, D.C. He is the first person to hold such a position with either of those orchestras. In 1992 Hamlisch published his memoirs, *The Way I Was* (with G. Gardner).

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[Jonathan Licht / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

HAMLYN, PAUL, BARON (1926–2001), British publisher. Born Paul Hamburger in Vienna, the son of a professor of pediatrics, Hamlyn came to England with his family in 1933. He left school at 15 and changed his name to "Hamlyn," unlike his brother, the poet and translator Michael *Hamburger (1926–). After a series of odd jobs, including a period of work as a coal miner, Hamlyn became a book remainder merchant and then a publisher. By the late 1960s he was the head of a large-scale publishing conglomerate, IPC. He later became a partner with Rupert Murdoch in News International and Octopus Books. By the 1980s he had become one of the richest men in England, while his original firm, Paul Hamlyn Ltd., had absorbed such old-established publishers as Heinemann and Butterworth. A longstanding supporter of the Labour Party, Hamlyn was given a life peerage in 1998.

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[William D. Rubinstein (2nd ed.)]

ḤAMMAT GADER (Heb. חַמַּת גָּדֵר; **Emmatha**, **El Hamme**), ancient site on the right bank of the Yarmuk Valley, north of *Gadara (Umm Qeis) and to the southeast of the Sea of Galilee. It was a Jewish town in the Roman and Byzantine periods. Ḥammat contained several hot springs and these attracted settlers from earliest times. In talmudic times it was included in the territory of *Gadara, and the Talmud thus refers to it as "Ḥammat of Gadara." It was heavily populated in this period, and many visitors from the south, the Golan, and Galilee, including Judah ha-Nasi and his pupils, came to bathe in the springs. The Romans also used the springs during the bathing season. The ruins include a temple, a theater, a synagogue, and a large complex of baths.

[E. Cindof / Shimon Gibson (2nd ed.)]

In the Modern Period

The five thermal springs of Ḥammat Gader (the waters of the hottest and richest in minerals have a temperature of 124° F (51° C)) intermittently served local inhabitants for healing purposes. The place became a station on the narrow-gauge railway branch that connected Haifa through Ẓemaḥ with the Hejaz railway (traffic on the line was finally halted in 1946 when the Palmaḥ blew up a bridge crossing the Yarmuk near Ḥammat Gader). The border of the British Mandate of Palestine protruded eastward into the narrow Yarmuk gorge for 3 mi. (5 km.), thus creating a wedge, including Ḥammat Gader, of a few hundred meters width only, between Transjordanian and Syrian territory. In Israel's War of Independence (1948), the Syrians occupied the place when advancing toward Lake Kinneret; in the 1949 Armistice Agreement, the Ḥammat Gader tongue returned to Israel sovereignty, although it was declared a demilitarized zone where only the previous (i.e., Arab) inhabitants were permitted to return. Nevertheless in 1951, Syrian forces occupied Ḥammat Gader and held it until 1967. The Syrians turned the spot into a rest center for their officers and officials, building a mosque, hotel, bathhouses, and other installations. In the Six-Day War (1967), Ḥammat Gader returned to Israeli control. In the ensuing years, it was repeatedly shelled from Jordanian positions on the steep slope directly above it, and mines planted by terrorists caused a number of losses to Israel civilians. Because of the security situation, plans for developing Ḥammat Gader as a farming, tourist, and recreation center had to be postponed, and the group preparing to settle there had to erect its collective village, Mevo Ḥammat, 3 mi. (5 km.) to the northwest on the Golan plateau. Subsequently, however, it was developed into one of Israel's leading tourist sites with water sports, a crocodile farm, and other attractions in addition to the baths.

[Efraim Orni]

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HAMMATH (Heb. חַמַּת), city in the territory of Naphtali mentioned in the Bible together with Rakkath and Chinnereth (Josh. 19:35). Its name indicates the presence of hot springs. Most scholars identify Hammath with Hammath-Dor, a city of refuge and a levitical city (Josh. 21:32), which is generally located at Hammath Tiberias, south of Tiberias. No remains from the biblical period, however, have thus far been uncovered there, and the site of the ancient town should probably be identified with the early remains within the confines of Roman Tiberias. Hammath was famous for its hot baths in the Second Temple period (Jos., Wars 4:11; Jos., Ant. 18:36); when Tiberias rose to prominence in talmudic times, Hammath, one mile away and joined to Tiberias for halakhic purposes, also became well known (Meg. 2b; Tosef., Er. 7:2; TJ, Er. 6 (5); 13). After the destruction of the Second Temple, priests of the Maziah course settled there (*Baraita of the Twenty-Four Mishmarot*, 24); the Emmaus mentioned in the Mishnah *Arakhin* 2:4 may refer to the place. R. Meir was one of the many talmudic scholars who lived there. A Jewish community is attested there up to the time of the Cairo *Genizah*.

During the excavation of the foundations of bathhouses, two synagogues were discovered; the first was excavated by N. Slouschz in 1920 and the other by M. Dothan in 1961–63. The first, belonging to the transitional type of synagogue, consisted of a basilica-shaped hall without an apse. The facade oriented to Jerusalem contained four small marble columns which apparently supported a marble lintel above the Ark of the Law. The synagogue was paved with mosaics; fragments of the "seat of Moses" (cathedra) were found there, as well as a stone seven-branched *menorah*, carved in relief and decorated with a "button and leaf" pattern in the form of pomegranates. In the second synagogue four building phases were distinguished. (1) The earliest structure consisted of a public building (probably not a synagogue) with rooms surrounding a central courtyard. (2) A synagogue from the third century C.E. (3) Directly above this synagogue and using its columns was another synagogue built in the form of a basilica with an outstanding mosaic pavement which contained (from north to south): a dedicatory inscription flanked by two lions; a zodiac of a high artistic standard with the sun god Helios on his chariot in the center and representations of the four seasons in the corners; the Ark of the Law with *menorot* and other ritual articles. Inscriptions in Greek and one in Aramaic commemorate several builders, especially a certain "Severus, the pupil of the most illustrious patriarchs." The building, 47½ ft. (14½ m.) wide, contains a nave with two aisles east of it and to the west of it, an aisle, and a hall (women's gallery?). The synagogue is attributed to the beginning of the fourth century C.E.; in a later period a stationary *bamah* ("platform") was installed and the entrance was moved from the southern to the northern side. (4) Above the site of this synagogue another one was built in the sixth century with a slightly different orientation. It was basilica in shape, 62 × 49 ft. (19 × 15 m.) with an apse and a mosaic pavement with geometric designs.

Bathhouses have again been built at Hammath Tiberias in modern times. They are fed by five springs whose waters reach a temperature of 140°–144° F (60°–62° C) and contain graphite, iron, and magnesium chloride. Of curative value, they are widely used, especially in the winter seasons. The grave of R. *Meir Ba'al ha-Nes is reputed to be near Hammath Tiberias, and a large synagogue is situated on the site. The grave site became famous in the Jewish world beginning in the 18th century because of the collection boxes, named after R. Meir, widely distributed by emissaries of charitable institutions. It is an ancient custom to hold festivities and build bonfires near the grave on the 14th of Iyyar.

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[Michael Avi-Yonah]

HAMMER, ARMAND (1898–1990), U.S. industrialist and art collector. When studying at Columbia Medical School in his native New York in 1918, he joined his father's business, a chain of drug stores which was about to go bankrupt. Hammer demonstrated his business acumen when he bought quantities of medicine cheaply at the end of World War I and sold them as the price rose quickly, making $1 million.

After graduating medical school in 1921, he took off six months before beginning his internship and went to the U.S.S.R. His father was a member of the Communist party of America and a strong supporter of the Russian Revolution. Hammer went to help set up medical clinics in Moscow and other Russian cities. In the aftermath of the Revolution, the health-care system no longer existed and he made a significant contribution.

A businessman by nature, Hammer began arranging business deals for the Soviet Union. The first major one was an American wheat purchase in exchange for Russian furs and caviar. When Lenin saw Hammer's capabilities, the Russian leader gave the young man mining rights in Siberia. To show his appreciation, Hammer engineered deals involving Ford, U.S. Rubber, and other large companies with the Soviet Union.

Remaining in Russia for nine years until 1930, he and his brother, who had joined him, bought up Russian art treasures which were available for needed cash. He made another $1 million when Lenin granted him the exclusive rights to manufacture wooden pencils in the Soviet Union.

On his return to the United States with an enormous horde of art treasures, many from the royal Romanov family, he had trouble selling the works because of the Depression. To be innovative, he merchandized the paintings and other art objects through major department stores such as Macy's and Gimbels. His first book dealt with his adventures collecting art in Russia and was entitled *The Quest for the Romanoff Treasure.* During the next 25 years, he earned a major fortune buying and selling distilleries. He retired in California in 1956, but within a short time he bought the controlling interest in Occidental Petroleum Company, a company about to fail. He struck oil with several new leases, soon registering major profits amounting to $300 million a year. This company, under his leadership, became the largest oil company in the world under private ownership.

In the early 1970s his close relationship with the Soviet government resulted in his negotiating a major fertilizer purchase by the Russians from an American company worth $8 billion. His ties with Russia helped to reawaken his Jewish roots. Although secret at the time, it is now clear that Hammer intervened to seek to persuade Russian leaders to permit Soviet Jews to leave the U.S.S.R. in the 1970s – ultimately almost 200,000 then emigrated.

Although publicly non-committal about Israel and his Judaism until the 1980s, he visited the country secretly and also tried to help develop certain business ties for Israel with various countries, which had no relations with her. From the mid-1980s, he was active in getting refuseniks released and he flew Ida Nudel to Israel in his own plane when she was finally freed. He also invested in oil explorations in Israel and in offshore sites nearby, none of which produced any marketable finds. He died in his sleep only a few days before he was to have had a belated bar mitzvah.

[David Geffen (2nd ed.)]

HAMMER, REUVEN (**Robert A.**; 1933–), American-Israeli scholar, leader of Masorti/Conservative Judaism, and advocate for special needs students in Jewish schools.

Hammer received rabbinic ordination and a D.H.L. from the Jewish Theological Seminary and a Ph.D. in Communicative Disorders from Northwestern University. After serving as a chaplain in the U.S. Air Force and as a congregational rabbi, Hammer was prominent among the young Conservative rabbis and educators who made *aliyah* from North America in the early 1970s and created many of the institutions of what became Israel's Masorti (Conservative) movement.

He headed the Israel campus of the Jewish Theological Seminary in Jerusalem, and after taking part in the planning process that led to the creation of a Conservative seminary in Jerusalem, in 1984 he took on an additional role as director of the Seminary of Judaic Studies, which later grew into the Schechter Rabbinical Seminary and an academic institution, the Schechter Institute of Jewish Studies.

A decade later he served as his movement's representative on the Ne'eman Commission appointed to avert a crisis over "who is a Jew" in Israeli law after the courts insisted on government recognition of non-Orthodox conversions – the Conservative rabbi to serve in an official position vis-à-vis the government of Israel. He later represented the Masorti movement on the board of the Joint Conversion Institute whose establishment was sparked by the Ne'eman Commission's discussions.

In Israel's Masorti movement, Hammer served as the head of the Rabbinical Court for Conversion and chairman of the movement's Public Affairs Committee. Hammer also worked to further the interests of Masorti/Conservative Judaism in Israel and elsewhere through the Rabbinical Assembly, which he served as president of its Israel Region and later as president of the worldwide body.

Hammer's wide-ranging scholarly endeavors included teaching at the institutions mentioned above as well as the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, the David Yellin College of Education, and other academic institutions in Israel, Argentina, and Russia. His voluminous writings include *Sifre, A Tannaitic Commentary on Deuteronomy* (an English translation and commentary, 1986) and many works that brought Jewish scholarship to a wide audience: *Entering Jewish Prayer* (1994), *Entering the High Holy Days* (1998), and a collection of his own annotated translations of passages from midrash, *The Classic Midrash* (1994). He edited *The Jerusalem Anthology* (1995), a collection of documents and belles-lettres about Jerusalem over the ages. His magnum opus on the literary and theological appreciation of Jewish liturgy, *Or Hadash* (2003), takes the form of a commentary to the Conservative *Sim Shalom* prayerbook. The first of two volumes appeared in 2003.

Hammer was among the first vocal proponents of providing instruction and support designed to take into account learning disabilities and differences of learning style in North American Jewish education. While still living in the U.S., he undertook his doctoral studies in that field in order to be able to start programs for special education in synagogue schools, which were then non-existent. His book, *The Other Child in Jewish Education*, enjoyed decades of use and influence.

[Peretz Rodman (2nd ed.)]

HAMMER, ZEVULUN (1936–1998), Israeli political leader; member of the Seventh to Fourteenth Knesset. Hammer was born in Haifa, studied at the religious Yavneh high school, and joined *Bnei Akiva in 1945, later becoming a member of its national council, and a leader in many of its branches. He served in the IDF within the framework of *Nahal, and attended the National Security College. Hammer graduated from Bar-Ilan University in Jewish and Bible studies. From 1961 he headed the Students Association, and was a member of the presidium of the National Students Association, in which capacity he was in charge of the World Union of Jewish Students. After graduation he entered the teaching profession.

In the course of the 1960s he became leader of the *National Religious Party young guard. After the Six-Day War he acted to transform the NRP from a party whose focus was on religious affairs to a movement whose main concern was the preservation of the integrity of Ereẓ Israel and security. In 1974 he actively supported the establishment of the *Gush Emunim settlement movement. Hammer was first elected to the Seventh Knesset in 1969. From January 1973 to January 1974 he served as deputy minister of education and culture and in 1975–76 as minister of welfare in the first government formed by Yitzhak *Rabin. In 1976 he was largely responsible, with his colleague MK Dr. Judah Ben-Meir, for ending the "historical coalition" between the NRP and the *Israel Labor Party. In 1977–84 he served as minister of education and culture, introducing free education in high schools and pre-compulsory kindergartens. He introduced Holocaust studies in 10th grade, made an effort to enhance Jewish studies in non-religious schools, and established a Supreme Committee for Scientific and Technological Education. Despite sincere efforts, he failed to close the educational gap between the Ashkenazi and Sephardi Jewish sectors of the population, on the one hand, and between the Jewish and Arab sectors, on the other. In 1986–90 he served as minister for religious affairs, returning to the Ministry of Education and Culture after the Labor Party left the National Unity Government in March 1990. The

NRP did not join the government formed by Yitzhak *Rabin in 1992. After Joseph *Burg, whom he had helped get elected as leader of the NRP in 1977, resigned the leadership in 1986, Hammer was elected secretary general of the NRP. As leader of the NRP he tried to move away from extreme positions and acted to try to build bridges between the religious and secular communities in Israel. Following Rabin's assassination Hammer was one of the national religious leaders who called for serious soul searching in the national-religious movement. In the elections to the Fourteenth Knesset the NRP under Hammer's leadership managed to regain some of its lost strength, going up from its 4–6 seats in the Tenth to Thirteenth Knessets to nine.

In the government formed by Binyamin *Netanyahu in 1996 he was once again appointed minister of education and culture, as well as deputy prime minister, in which capacity he served until his death in 1998 after an illness.

[Susan Hattis Rolef (2nd ed.)]

HAMMERSTEIN, U.S. family closely associated with the development of opera and the popular musical theater in U.S. Its two most famous members were Oscar Hammerstein I (1847–1919) and his grandson, Oscar II (1895–1960). Born in Berlin, OSCAR HAMMERSTEIN I ran away from home, reached New York in 1863, and worked in a cigar factory. He soon became an important and wealthy figure in the industry. His passion, however, was for building opera houses. The Harlem Opera House, built in the 1880s, was his first. The Victoria (1899) was a successful vaudeville theater managed by his son WILLIAM. Altogether he built 10 opera houses and theaters in New York, in addition to an opera house in Philadelphia (1908) and one in London (1911). His Manhattan Opera House (1906), a venture in which his son ARTHUR (1873–1955) was closely involved, competed with the dominant Metropolitan Opera House until 1910, when the Metropolitan bought it out for $1.2 million. In its time the Manhattan helped to make grand opera exciting by bringing new talent and works to American audiences. His later ventures were less successful. OSCAR HAMMERSTEIN II, librettist, was born in New York, the son of William Hammerstein. He played an important role in developing the "musical play" into an integrated dramatic form. He worked for his uncle Arthur as a stage manager. By 1920 he had produced the books for three musicals. *Wildflower* (1923) was his first real success. Subsequently he collaborated on such Broadway musicals as *Rose Marie* (1924), *Desert Song* (1926), and *Show Boat* (1927). After some years in Hollywood, he formed his partnership with the composer Richard *Rodgers in 1943. Together they produced a series of successful musicals with a style and form of their own. These included *Oklahoma* (1943), *Carousel* (1945), *South Pacific* (1949), which won a Pulitzer Prize, *The King and I* (1951), and *The Sound of Music* (1959). The Rodgers and Hammerstein Foundation, New York, established a fund for cancer research in 1963, at the Hebrew University Hadassah Medical School, Jerusalem.

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[Harvey A. Cooper]

HAMMURAPI (the spelling of the name with a "p" rather than a "b" seems assured by the writing *ʿmrpʾ* in Ugaritic apparently "the [divine] kinsman is a healer," but interpreted by post-Kassite Babylonian tradition as *kimta rapaštu*, "widespread kinfolk"), the sixth king (1792–50 B.C.E.) of the first dynasty of Babylon, one of several Amorite kingdoms which rose in southern Babylonia in the aftermath of the fall of the third dynasty of Ur. Amorites spoke a West Semitic language with similarities to Aramaic and Hebrew. Because the cuneiform system lacks *ayin*, ḪA served as its approximation, the *ḫammu-*, corresponding to Hebrew *ʿam*, "people," "kin." As such the king's name is of the same type as Am-ram; Ammi-el etc. Sources for the reign of Hammurapi are his own inscriptions, including the lengthy prologue to the code which bears his name; year names in date formulas which, in keeping with established tradition, list an outstanding military, political, or domestic event by which the year is known; letters, both from Hammurapi's own chancellery, and from other centers, especially the large political archive from *Mari in the upper Euphrates valley; business documents; and legal texts. Since Hammurapi's Babylon has not been excavated, his own diplomatic archive has not been uncovered.

When Hammurapi assumed the throne, Babylon was a small city-state, his predecessors having limited themselves to maintaining their local rule against the ambitions of similar states in the vicinity and against the incursions of nomads. As seen from a document written in the generation before Hammurapi, and from the contemporaneous Mari letters, the situation in southern Babylonia during the early Old Babylonian period was such that each ruler managed to govern within the limited confines of his city-state, while the open interurban spaces were given over to the control of nomadic and seminomadic tribes who roamed the area. It was Hammurapi's accomplishment to weld these several city-states into a cohesive base from which to embark on the wider conquest of the rest of Mesopotamia.

To his contemporaries, Hammurapi was a somewhat lesser figure than he is thought to be today – a minor king in comparison to others, according to a Mari letter. Indeed, for the first 10 years or so of his reign, Babylon seems to have been at least partially subservient to Assyria, then ruled by Shamshi-Adad I. After the death of the latter during, or just after, Hammurapi's 10th year, Assyria began to decline, and a complicated political and military maze took form in Babylonia, expressing itself in a system of ephemeral alliances and counter alliances and reciprocal demands for military aid, each king continually jockeying for a more advantageous position. The serious rivals of Hammurapi were then Yarim-Lim of Yamhad (Aleppo), Zimri-Lim of Mari, Rim-Sin of Larsa, Amut-pi-el of Qatana, and Ibal-pi-El of Eshnunna, together with his Elamite allies.

For the middle 20 years or so of Hammurapi's reign, nothing militarily or politically decisive occurred and the year names of this period reflect in the main a time of intensive civic building and canal making. By the 29th year of his reign Babylon must have been strong enough to take on its rivals. That year initiated 10 years of intensive campaigning, which gave Hammurapi control of all of Mesopotamia. After a long period of seemingly friendly relations, Rim-Sin of Larsa was defeated in the 30th year of Hammurapi's reign; a coalition of forces from Assyria, Eshnunna, and Elam was defeated in the 31st year; Mari, in the 32nd; and Assyria was finally subdued in the 36th and 38th years. This seems to be the limit of Hammurapi's conquests, and there is no reason to identify him with *Amraphel of Genesis 14.

Hammurapi is best known for the so-called Code of Hammurapi (see *Mesopotamia). This is a misnomer, at least to the extent that it is not comprehensive. Modern scholarship tends to view the code as an abstract formulation of actual precedents in the form of ad hoc decisions of the king gathered from the state archives, plus an undetermined smaller element of deliberate, reforming legislation, all this cast in the traditional form of law codes consisting of a prologue, body of law, and epilogue. The actual function, if any, of this code is unknown, and it is never referred to in contemporary legal texts. The code reflects a tripartite division of society: an upper level of free men (*awīlum*), a class of state dependents (*muškēnum*, cf. Heb. *misken*, "poor"), and a slave caste (male *wardum*; female *amtum*), with no social mobility between classes. In other basic aspects, the code shows fundamental points of contact with the slightly older Eshnunna code, as well as with the Book of the *Covenant in Exodus 20ff.

The small amount of Old Babylonian literature preserved shows that this was a period of great and original creativity in Akkadian literature. It produced, furthermore, the last reliable formulation of the Sumerian traditions, and present knowledge of Sumerian language and literature is based, to a large extent, on the products of the contemporary scribal school. In religion, the rise of Marduk, the local god of Babylon, to the status of a great god, concomitant with the political rise of Babylon, should be noted.

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[Aaron Shaffer]

HAMNUNA, the name of several Babylonian *amoraim*.

HAMNUNA SABA ("the elder"), a pupil of Rav (BK 106a), mid-third century C.E. He transmitted his teacher's sayings (Er. 16b; et al.). Rav was fond of Hamnuna and taught him a number of apothegms (Er. 54a). He succeeded Rav as the head of the academy of Sura. According to the Talmud, statements of "the school of Rav" emanated from Hamnuna (Sanh. 17b). There are both halakhic and aggadic statements in his name, and many of the latter emphasize the duty of study of the Torah and the gravity of its neglect, e.g., "Jerusalem was destroyed only because they neglected the teaching of schoolchildren" (Shab. 119b); "Man is judged first in respect of study of Torah alone" (Kid. 40b). The Talmud also cites formulae of prayers uttered by him, some apparently composed by him (Ber. 11b; 17a; 58a; et al.). Hamnuna was an associate of Ḥisda (Shab. 97a; et al.) and Ḥisda once became so enthusiastic at his exposition that he said: "Would that we had feet of iron so that we could always run and listen to you" (see Ber. 41b and Rashi *ibid.*). It is stated that his body was transported for burial to Ereẓ Israel where miraculous events occurred on that occasion (MK 25a–b).

HAMNUNA, an *amora* of the beginning of the fourth century C.E. A native of Harpania in Babylonia (Yev. 17a), he resided in Harta of Argiz in the vicinity of Baghdad where he taught (Er. 63a; Shab. 19b). He was a pupil and colleague of Ḥisda (Er. 63a) who praised him highly to *Huna (Kid. 29b). He also studied under R. Judah (Shevu. 34a) and Ulla (Yev. 17a).

HAMNUNA ZUTA ("the younger"), fourth century C.E. The formula of the Confession of Sin, which he was accustomed to recite on the Day of Atonement, the opening words of which are "O my God! Before I was formed, I was not worthy," is included in the liturgy of that day. When requested to sing a song at the wedding of Mar, the son of Ravina, he sang: "Woe to us, that we must die!" asking his colleagues to join in with the refrain: "Where is the Torah and where is the Commandment that they may shield us?" (Ber. 31a).

Other *amoraim* of the same name, some with and some without appellations, who lived in the third and fourth centuries and whom it is difficult to identify, are referred to in the talmudic sources.

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[Zvi Kaplan]

HA-MODI'A (Heb. הַמּוֹדִיעַ), daily newspaper published in Jerusalem by the *Agudat Israel Party. Established in 1949 by Yitzhak Meir Levin, son-in-law of the Gur Rebbe, and edited by his son Yehudah Leib Levin, *Ha-Modi'a* ("The Herald") represented three streams in the **ḥaredi* world. In addition to the Gur Rebbe's own ḥasidic or "central" stream, there was the so-called "young" Agudat Yisrael identified with the Lithuanian (or "Litvak") stream, and the Shomrei Emunim (Guardians of the Faith) or Jerusalem stream.

When Yehudah Leib Levin died in 1981 he was replaced by a troika of three editors, Ḥayyim Knopf, Moshe Akiva Druck, and Yisroel Spiegel, representing the ḥasidic, Shomrei Emunim, and Lithuanian streams, respectively. In practice, while Knopf formally had the title of editor he handled the newspaper's business side, the editing being done by Druck and Spiegel on a rotation basis.

During the Levin period, the newspaper included four pages daily and six–eight pages on Sabbath and holiday eves. Content comprised mostly political news, including the full texts of speeches by its Knesset representatives, as well as news about the ḥaredi community. Supplements occasionally appeared such as to mark the death of a famous sage. Under the "troika," news coverage expanded to include national, financial, and foreign news.

The Lithuanian stream withdrew to form its own paper, **Yated Ne'eman*, in 1985 after Rabbi Eliezer *Shach resigned from the Council of Torah Sages over the question of the construction of a hotel in Tiberias on the site of Jewish graves. Shach was affronted by the newspaper's preference in 1982 for the Gur Rebbe's lenient ruling in the face of Shach's more stringent one in the matter. *Ha-Modi'a* subsequenlty became identified publicly with the ḥasidic stream of ḥaredim.

On Druck's death in 1992, he was replaced by Itzhak Tennenbaum. By 2000, Yisroel Schneider (of the ḥasidic or "central" stream) had become Knopf's right-hand man as acting editor. News coverage was expanded with special correspondents covering politics in addition to the Knesset, the military, economics, Jerusalem, and Bene Berak. A weekly economics supplement was introduced.

In addition to party journalism, *Ha-Modi'a* acts as an educational instrument in both an active and passive or filtering sense. The newspaper is controlled by a spiritual committee, whose censors examine the contents – editorial and advertisements – of each issue prior to publication. Sex-related matters and pictures of women are not printed in order to comply with ḥaredi strictures about modesty (*ẓeniyyut*). The names of women journalists on the newspaper are abbreviated. Crime is barely covered, entertainment and sport not at all. In aspiring to build the model Jewish society, the ḥaredi newspaper is also a channel for conditioning readers in the hisorical haredi view of Zionism as premature vis-à-vis the arrival of the Messiah, and for attacking state institutions like the Knesset and the Supreme Court for making decisions regarded as running counter to Torah values.

In the face of competition from a commercial ḥaredi press in the 1980s and 1990s the newspaper expanded. On Sabbath eve the newspaper has two supplements: one for general news features and a religious section containing articles by rabbis on the week's Bible reading, halakhic issues, and Jewish history. The separate religious section allows the ḥaredi Jew to avoid reading about non-religious matters on the Sabbath. Also added was a 16-page children's supplement. *Ha-Modi'a's* layout was conservative, with small print and headlines, though it added color.

In 2005, 25% of ḥaredim saw *Ha-Modi'a* daily and 26% on weekends. A 1995 survey found that 65% of *Ha-Modi'a* readers were ḥasidim, 31% were "uncommitted" ḥaredim (only 9% of Lithuanian ḥaredim saw the paper). Its influence was particularly wide given the fact that ḥaredim are not exposed to television or to secular newspapers. Economically, *Ha-Modi'a* was strapped financially, but the demographic trend toward large families in the ḥaredi community suggested that the newspaper's long-term chances for success were good.

Ha-Modi'a introduced three English-language daily and weekly editions, in Israel, the U.S., and Britain. The estimated circulation of the U.S. edition was 40,000. In accordance with the ḥaredi rabbinical ban on Internet, the newspaper does not maintain a website.

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[Yoel Cohen (2nd ed.)]

HAMON, family of Spanish and Portuguese origin which lived in *Turkey. ISAAC HAMON (second half of 15th century) was a physician in the court of King Abdallah of Granada. Following the Spanish expulsion the family settled in the *Ottoman Empire, where its members rapidly achieved fame as physicians of considerable influence in the courts of the sultans. JOSEPH HAMON "THE ELDER" (c. 1450–1518), a native of Granada, was the son of Isaac Hamon and settled in *Istanbul in 1492/93, just after the expulsion from Spain. He was court physician to the sultans *Byazid II (1481–1512) and Selim I (1512–20), and it seems that he was also the latter's counselor. Hamon accompanied the latter in his military expedition to *Egypt from 1516 to 1517 and died of disease in *Damascus during the return journey in 1518. According to Rabbi Joseph Garcon, Joseph served the two sultans for 25 years. His influence at the court of the sultan enabled him to assist his coreligionists when they were in danger. The best known and most important member of the Hamon family was his son MOSES (c. 1490–1554), who succeeded his father as the physician of the sultan Selim I and was also physician to *Suleiman the Magnificent (1520–1566). Moses soon became the leading court physician. He also wielded extensive influence as a result of his connections with the powerful court party, led by Roxolana-Khūrram, the favorite wife of Suleiman, and her son-in-law, the chief vizier Rustum Pasha. Shortly before his death, he was dismissed as a result of court intrigues. In times of need Moses employed his influence to help his brother Jews. For example, he obtained a firman from Suleiman the Magnificent protecting the Jews from *blood libels. According to this decree, all such libels were to be brought by the accusers before the Royal Dīwān instead of before an ordinary judge. Hamon also intervened with Sultan Suleiman in the affair of the properties of Gracia Mendes *Nasi, which had been confiscated in *Venice. When the community of *Salonica appealed to him (between 1539 and 1545) for assistance in dealing with powerful members who had disturbed the communal discipline by flouting new regulations, he had them brought to Constantinople where they were penalized by the government, which upon his request also sent a judge and an official to supervise the execution of the regulations.

Moses and his descendants (who are referred to as Evlad-i Musa, "children of Moses," in official documents) were exempted from the payment of certain taxes in recognition of their services to the country. Moses, who accompanied Suleiman in his campaign against *Persia in 1534, returned from *Baghdad with R. Jacob b. Joseph *Tavus, who, with the financial support of Moses, published the Torah, together with his own Persian translation and the Arabic translation of *Saadiah Gaon in 1546. In the synagogue, which was named after him, Moses maintained a yeshivah which was headed by R. Joseph *Taitaẓak of Salonica. He owned a valuable and rare collection of manuscripts, which included the *Codex Dioscorides* (a famous pharmaceutical work) of the sixth century which is now in Vienna. He also wrote several works on medicine, including an important one on dental cure, which is to be found in the Istanbul University Library.

JUDAH HAMON (d. 1578) was a court physician who settled in Adrianople and died there when he was 74 years old.

ABRAHAM YESHA HAMON (17th century), a descendant of Moses Hamon, was one of the Istanbul community's wealthy figures. He was known as a philanthropist and traveled to Venice in order to help the captives there. His name is mentioned in a letter from Istanbul's rabbis to Venice in 1675.

JOSEPH (d. 1577) son of Moses, was the physician of Suleiman the Magnificent and Selim II (1566–74). From the latter, he obtained the renewal of the rights of the Jews of Salonica in 1568. It appears that between 1559 and 1560, he maintained relations with the renowned Jewish physician in Salonica, *Amatus Lusitanus. Joseph belonged to the literary circle of Istanbul, which was led by Gedaliah *Ibn Yaḥia and which included the poets Saadiah Longo and Judah Zarko. Like his father, he also acted as a patron of Hebrew poets. His widow, Korshi, wrote a letter to Rabbi Judah *Abrabanel in 1578 in which she mentioned her children Judah and Av Hamon and her daughter and her son-in-law David.

JUDAH (d. 1644) was listed among the Jewish physicians serving Sultan Murad IV in 1618. He died childless and his will was discussed by the rabbis of Istanbul in 1644.

AV HAMON (d. c. 1650) was one of the renowned scholars of Istanbul in the 17th century who was involved in 1641 in the dispute about the rabbinate in the Sephardi congregation Neve Shalom. At that time he was old. In 1644 he requested the nullification of his brother Judah Hamon's will. His brother had bequeathed his property to scholars. The rabbis of Istanbul objected to Rabbi Av Hamon's request.

ISAAC (16th–17th century), another son of Joseph, also a physician. He declined a proposal of the Spanish government, which offered him a sum of money if he influenced the Ottoman government in negotiating a peace treaty with Spain. He was the father of the poet Aaron ben Isaac *Hamon.

In Istanbul there existed in the years 1603 and 1649 a so-called Hamon congregation.

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[Simon Marcus / Leah Bornstein-Makovetsky (2nd ed.)]

HAMON, AARON BEN ISAAC (early 18th century), Hebrew poet. Hamon, who lived in Constantinople and Adrianople, wrote a preface to Reuben Mizraḥi's *Ma'yan Gannim* (Constantinople, 1721): a poem published in Isaac Cheleby's *Semol Yisrael* (Constantinople, 1723), in which all the words begin with the letter שׂ (*sin*); and a considerable number of devotional poems. The latter are included in the poetry collections of Turkish Jews, and some of them even in the Karaite liturgy. He was influenced by the poetry of Israel *Najara and the latter's contemporaries. Hamon's poetry was popular and widely read.

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[Jefim (Hayyim) Schirmann]

HAMON, LEO (**Goldenberg**; 1908–1993), French lawyer and politician. Born in Paris to a family of Polish immigrants, Hamon practiced as a lawyer and following the fall of France in 1940 joined the Resistance. He was a member of the French Provisional Assembly (1944–45) and sat as a senator for the Seine department from 1945 to 1958. Hamon was a founding member of the Movement Republicain Populaire (MRP) but in 1954 joined the pro-Gaullist Jeune République. He continued to support de Gaulle after the latter became president of France in 1958 and in June 1969 was appointed spokesman of the French cabinet. Hamon was a professor of law at the University of Dijon from 1959 to 1960 and for the next four years at the Institut des Hautes Etudes d'Outre-mer. He served as vice chairman of the national television planning committee from 1965 to 1969 and was later a member of the Research Center in Constitutional Law of Paris 1 University. In June 1972 Hamon was appointed to a special post as secretary of state for "participation," i.e., the process of the participation of workers in the running of factories, in the government of Chaban Delmas, but held the position for only seven weeks, ceasing to be a minister when a reshuffle took place in July. His writings include *Le Conseil d'Etat juge du fait* (thesis, 1932), *De Gaulle dans la République* (1958), *La France et la guerre de demain…* (1967), *Une République présidentielle?: institutions et vie politique de la France actuelle* (with X. Delcros, 1975), *Socialisme et pluralité* (1976), *Acteurs et données de l'Histoire* (1979), *Juges de la loi: naissance et rôle d'un contre-pouvoir: le Conseil Constitutionnel* (1987), and *Lettre au Président de la République nouvellement élu* (1988). In 1991 he published his autobiography, *Vivre ses choix*, and a year later, in collaboration with R. Poznanski, an historical work on the life of Parisian Jews during the first months of the Nazi occupation: *Avant les premières grandes rafle: les juifs à Paris sous l'Occupation, juin 1940–avril 1941.*

HAMOR (Heb. חֲמוֹר; "ass"), the leading citizen of the town of Shechem in the time of the patriarch Jacob; his son was called Shechem (see *Dinah). Jacob bought a parcel of land from the sons of Hamor and built an altar upon it (Gen. 33:19–20). Joseph's bones were buried on this ground by the children of Israel when they returned from Egypt (Josh. 24:32). There are mutually contradictory data on the ethnic character of Hamor. In Genesis 34:2 he is called a Hivite, prince of the land. In the Alexandrine Septuagint he is called the Horite; while Genesis 48:22 indicates that the Amorites ruled in Shechem.

Hamor and his son were killed by Simeon and Levi in revenge for Shechem's dishonoring of their sister Dinah, after which the city was plundered and destroyed (Gen. 34). This deed aroused the anger of their father, Jacob (Gen. 34:30), and echoes of this linger in his deathbed blessings (Gen. 49:5–6). In S. Yeivin's view, this story would appear to be an early description of the domination by two of the Israelite tribes over a region of the land; therefore there is no mention of wars of conquest in the region of the hills of Ephraim in connection with the settlement of the land by the tribes (but see Bibliography for *Dinah).

The name Hamor is associated with the dwellers of Shechem in the days of *Abimelech: "Who is Abimelech and who is Shechem that we should serve him? Did not the son of Jerubbaal and his officer, Zebul, once serve the men of Hamor, the father of Shechem?" (Judg. 9:28). W.F. Albright believed, on the basis of Mari documents in which the phrase "to kill an ass" means "to conclude an alliance," that the phrase "the men of Hamor" as applied to the Shechemites during this period designates them as "allies." F. Willesen found further evidence for this hypothesis in a South Arabian inscription in which the word *ḥmrn* seems to mean entering into an alliance. The temple of the Shechemites is called Beth-El-Berith ("house of the god of the covenant or alliance"; Judg. 9:46). On the basis of the Arslan Tash (between Carchemish and Harran) plaques, Albright tried to identify the god bearing this epithet as the Canaanite Horon (see *Beth-Horon), god of treaties. The name Hamor (Himār) also occurs as a proper name among the early Arabs.

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[Ephraim Stern]

ḤANA BAR ḤANILAI (end of the third century C.E.), Babylonian *amora*. Ḥana belonged to the circle of R. *Huna (Meg. 27a), for whom he showed great respect, regarding himself as his pupil. When he saw R. Huna carrying his tools on his shoulder, he took them from him to relieve him of his burden (Meg. 28a). Ḥana was, apparently, a leader of the community in his city (Meg. 27a). He was well known for his wealth and famed for his charity. R. *Ḥisda states that there were 60 bakers working in his house during the day and a similar number during the night to provide bread for the poor; that his hand was always in his purse, ready to extend help to any deserving poor, sparing them the embarrassment of waiting; that the house had entrances on all four sides to facilitate their entry and anyone who entered the house hungry left it sated; also, that when there was famine in the land, he left food outside, in order that the poor who were ashamed to take it during daylight could help themselves in the darkness (Ber. 58b). Very little is known of his halakhic views; only once is he mentioned in a discussion with Ḥisda.

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[Zvi Kaplan]

ḤANA BEN BIZNA (third–fourth century C.E.), Babylonian *amora*. Ḥana was primarily an aggadist, most of his statements being quoted in the name of Simeon Ḥasida (Ber. 7a; 43b; Yoma 77a, et al.), whose name is otherwise unknown. One of them is, "Better that a man throw himself into a fiery furnace than put his neighbor to shame in public" (BM 59a, et al.). His contemporary, *Sheshet, admitted that Ḥana was his superior in the field of *aggadah* (Suk. 52b). Ḥana was judge in Pumbedita in *Naḥman b. Isaac's time (Ket. 50b; BK 12a) but he is also mentioned as being in Nehardea where, in spite of criticism he allowed himself to frequent pagan barber shops (Av. Zar. 29a). The *amora* *Joseph relied on his judgment in matters of *halakhah* (Suk. 47a).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Judah b. Kalonymus, *Yiḥusei Tanna'im ve-Amora'im*, ed. by J.L. Maimon (1963), 327–30; Hyman, Toledot, 463f., s.v.

[Zvi Kaplan]

HANAMEL (or **Hananel**; Heb. חֲנַנְאֵל, חֲנַמְאֵל), high priest in 37/36 B.C.E., reappointed in 34. According to the Mishnah (Par. 3:5) Hanamel was an Egyptian. However, Josephus states that he was a Babylonian. He was appointed high priest by Herod, who deliberately disregarded the obvious choice, Aristobulus, the younger brother of Mariamne. Herod's choice was dictated by his desire to withhold this office from any member of the Hasmonean family. In face of the protests of Alexandra and Mariamne, Herod was obliged to depose Hanamel and appoint Aristobulus in his stead, but Hanamel was restored to office after the murder of Aristobulus on Herod's instructions. The Mishnah mentions Hanamel as one of the high priests during whose term of office the *red heifer was burned.

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[Abraham Schalit]

HANAN THE EGYPTIAN (second century C.E.), *tanna*. He is mentioned in a *baraita* brought a number of times in the Babylonian Talmud (Yoma 63b, Zevahim 34b and 74a, Menaḥot 59b, Temurah 6b; cf. Tosefta Zevahim 3:6). The other two references to him in talmudic sources are contradictory, and one of them is uncertain. He is mentioned together with ben Azai and ben Zoma, as one of "those who argued before the sages" in *Jabneh (TB Sanh. 17b). On the other hand he is placed in Jerusalem before the destruction of the Second Temple, but only as an alternative reading in the text of a *baraita* in TB Ket. 105a.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Hyman, Toledot, 471.

[Zvi Kaplan]

HANANEL BEN ḤUSHI'EL (d. 1055/56), scholar, *posek*, and commentator. Hananel was born in *Kairouan, the son of *Ḥushi'el b. Elhanan. The early authorities refer to him as "of Rome," lending credence to the suggestion of Italian origin. Like his father, he was accorded the title *resh bei rabbanan* ("chief among the rabbis") by the Babylonian academies. After his death in Kairouan the title passed to *Nissim Gaon, his pupil. Hananel's most important work, which has not been completely preserved, was his commentary on the Talmud. Unlike Rashi, he limited himself to the subject matter only and did not give a running commentary, his main intention being to sum up the discussion and decide the *halakhah*. He relied greatly on the *geonim*, and in particular upon *Hai Gaon to whom he refers as "the *gaon*" without further qualification. In many places the commentary of Hananel is simply a word for word copy of Hai's commentary, sometime without acknowledgment. When he writes "we have received" a certain explanation – which contradicts the opinion of the *geonim* – the reference is to traditions received from his father or earlier Italian scholars, upon whose teaching he drew. The commentary contains explanations of many difficult words, chiefly in Arabic or Greek, most of which found their way into the *Arukh* of *Nathan b. Jehiel of Rome. Hananel was the first to make frequent use of the Jerusalem *Talmud, and he regularly compares it with discussions in the Babylonian Talmud. In consequence some scholars have exaggerated the importance of his influence upon the spreading of the study of the Jerusalem Talmud in particular. In addition to the Jerusalem Talmud, he also includes much from the Tosefta and the halakhic Midrashim in his commentary. It is not certain whether the commentary covered all the six orders of the Talmud, and in particular whether he wrote commentaries to those tractates whose subjects have no practical application. The following of his commentaries are extant: *Berakhot* (collected from published books and manuscripts in B. Lewin, *Oẓar ha-Ge'onim*, 1 (1928), appendix; the whole of the order *Mo'ed* (published in the standard editions of the Talmud); most of the order *Nashim* (also in *Oẓar ha-Ge'onim*, 7–11 (1936–42)); most of the order *Nezikin* (in the standard Talmud); and a fragment to tractate *Ḥullin* (ed. by B. Lewin, in: *Sefer ha-Yovel – J.L. Fishman* (1926), 72–79). The commentaries to *Horayot* (in standard Talmud edition) and *Zevaḥim* (the last three chapters, ed. by I.M. Ben-Menahem (1942)) attributed to him are not by him. This list shows that he also wrote commentaries to sections not of practical application (e.g., the second half of tractate *Pesaḥim* and the fragment of *Ḥullin* which includes chapter II).

Hananel's commentary gained wide circulation soon after its appearance, and served as the main bridge between the teaching of the Babylonian *geonim* and the scholars of North Africa and that of the scholars of Europe and Ereẓ Israel. *Eliezer b. Nathan was the first of the scholars of France and Germany to make use of and disseminate it, and Nathan b. Jehiel of Rome was the first of the Italian scholars. In Ereẓ Israel it was used first by *Nathan (*Av ha-yeshivah*) and in Spain by the author of *Sha'arei Shavu'ot* (see Isaac b. Reuben). Among the scholars of North Africa, extensive use was made of it by Isaac *Alfasi who copied very many of his rulings, both in his name and anonymously; in fact, the whole of Alfasi's work is based upon it. From Alfasi it passed to the scholars of Spain after him, such as *Joseph ibn Migash, *Maimonides, Meir ha-Levi *Abulafia, and others. In Germany and France the tosafists based themselves to a considerable extent on Hananel, and he is frequently quoted by them. All the *rishonim* laid great store on the readings of the Talmud embedded in his commentary, and he himself several times emphasized his readings. In addition to his commentary he wrote a *Sefer Dinim* whose nature is not known (see S. Assaf, *Teshuvot ha-Ge'onim* (1942), 51), and there are a number of citations from a book in *Hilkhot Terefot*. The *rishonim* quote his commentary to the Pentateuch and fragments of it have been collected by A. Berliner (in *Migdal Ḥananel*, 1876) and by J. Gad (*Sheloshah Me'orot ha-Gedolim*, 1950). Some of the *rishonim* erroneously attributed to Hananel the anonymous *Sefer Mikẓo'ot*.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: S.J.L. Rapoport, in: *Bikkurei ha-Ittim*, 12 (1831), 11–33; *Migdal Ḥananel* (1876), includes biography; S. Poznański, in: *Festschrift… A. Harkavy* (1908), 194–8 (Heb. pt.); Kohut, Arukh, 1 (1926^2), 12–13 (introd.); V. Aptowitzer, in: *Jahresbericht der Israelitisch-*

Theologischen Lehranstalt in Wien, 37–39 (1933), 3–50; (= *Sinai*, 12 (1943), 106–19); S. Abramson, in: *Sinai*, 23 (1948), 57–86; idem, *Rav Nissim Ga'on* (1965), index; Urbach, Tosafot, index.

[Israel Moses Ta-Shma]

HANANEL BEN SAMUEL (first half of 13th century), Egyptian (?) talmudist. There are no biographical details of Hananel, but he is known to have composed commentaries, which Ḥ.J.D. Azulai saw in manuscript, to the *Halakhot* of Isaac *Alfasi on several tractates of the Talmud. The commentaries to *Eruvin* (Margoliouth, Cat, no. 479) and *Kiddushin* (Neubauer, Cat, no. 438/7) are extant, but they have not yet been published. S. Abramson in his *Rav Nissim Ga'on* (1965) excerpted from the commentary to *Eruvin* many of the quotations there from Nissim Gaon's commentary on that tractate. According to one view Hananel was head of the academy of Fostat in Egypt and Peraḥyah b. Nissim was his pupil. According to Steinschneider, his father was the *nagid* Abu Manzur, Samuel b. Hananiah, but in the opinion of Mann this is impossible.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Steinschneider, Arab Lit, 227 nos. 166–7; S.D. Luzzatto, in: *Ha-Levanon*, 3 (1866), 285f.; idem, in: *Literaturblatt des Orients*, 11 (1850), 242–5; Carmoly, in: *Ha-Karmel*, 6 (1867), 94; J. Horovitz, in: ZHB, 4 (1900), 155–8; S. Poznański, *ibid.*, 186; Mann, Egypt, 1 (1920), 195 n. 2; S. Assaf, in: KS, 23 (1946/47), 237f.

[Shlomoh Zalman Havlin]

HANANI, ḤAIM (1912–1991), Israeli mathematician. Hanani was born in Slupca, Poland, and studied at the universities of Vienna (1929–31) and Warsaw (1931–34), where he received his M.A. Immigrating to Ereẓ Israel in 1935, he obtained his doctorate in mathematics from the Hebrew University in 1938. On his arrival in Ereẓ Israel, Hanani joined the Betar movement and later the Irgun Ẓeva'i Le'ummi, playing a central role in its activities in Jerusalem. As a result, he was arrested by the British in 1944 and, after a period of imprisonment at Latrun, was sent to detainee camps in Eritrea and Kenya. Returning to Israel after his release in 1948, he held various teaching posts, and was appointed associate professor of mathematics at the Technion, Israel Institute of Technology in 1955 and full professor in 1962. He was also dean of the faculty of mathematics. As adviser to the Ministry of Education from 1964 to 1967, Hanani urged the establishment of an institute of higher learning in the Negev, and when it became the University of the Negev in 1969 he was appointed its first rector. He has published numerous articles in the field of mathematics in Hebrew, German, French, and English.

HANANIAH (Hanina), nephew of Joshua b. Hananiah (second century C.E.), *tanna*. Some are of the opinion that Hananiah was the son of Judah b. Hananiah who is mentioned in a single source as the author of an aggadic statement (Sif. Deut. 306), but there is no doubt that his teacher was his uncle *Joshua b. Hananiah (Nid. 24b), and probably for this reason he is usually referred to as "Hananiah, nephew of Joshua b. Hananiah." The Talmud tells that when in Simonia, he gave a ruling without having authority to do so. R. Gamaliel expressed his displeasure until Joshua sent him a message, "It was on my instructions that Hananiah gave the ruling" (Nid. 24b). It also relates that on one occasion Hananiah went to Babylon during the lifetime of his uncle and then returned to Ereẓ Israel (Suk. 20b). This tradition may be connected to the incident described in a tannaitic Midrash, which states that while on their journey: "they remembered Israel … and they burst into tears and rent their garments… and returned to their place, saying: 'Dwelling in Israel is equivalent to all the precepts of the Torah'"(Sif. Deut. 80). For a reason that is not clear (Eccles. R. 1:8, 4), it seems that he returned to Babylonia where he remained until his death. In the well-known *baraita* that enumerates those scholars to whose locality it is worth going to study, he is mentioned: "After Hananiah, the nephew of Joshua, to the exile" (Sanh. 32b). According to the Talmud, Hananiah was the greatest of the scholars in Ereẓ Israel at the time of the Hadrianic persecutions which followed the failure of the Bar Kokhba revolt in 135, and with his departure the power of the Sanhedrin was diminished. As a result Hananiah permitted himself "to intercalate the years and to fix the new moons" in exile, in conformity with the *halakhah* that the greatest among the ordained scholars of the generation may do so outside Ereẓ Israel if he has not left his equal in the land. He continued to do so after the persecutions abated and Ereẓ Israel again became the center of Torah, because he regarded himself as the outstanding scholar of the generation and the scholars of Ereẓ Israel as inferior to him. The Jews of Babylonia followed his calendar, and in consequence the scholars of Ereẓ Israel took vigorous steps against him. Representatives were sent from Ereẓ Israel to Babylonia, but even after *Judah b. Bathyra of Nisibis demanded that the authority of the center in Ereẓ Israel be accepted, Hananiah refused to obey (TJ, Ned. 6:8; TB, Ber. 63a–b). Probably the most famous *halakhah* associated with the name Hananiah is the dictum quoted in TB Shab. 12a, 20a, et al. However, it has recently been questioned whether this *halakhah*, in the form in which it is brought in the Babylonian Talmud, can be of tannaitic origin (Friedman). In line with this, it has been suggested that behind this *halakhah*, ascribed in the Babylonian Talmud to the *tanna* Hananiah, lies a tradition ascribed in the Jerusalem Talmud to the *amora* Hananiah (Hanina) "comrade of the Rabbis" (Wald).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Halevy, Dorot, pt. 2 (1923), 190–205; Hyman, Toledot, s.v.; Allon, Toledot, 1 (1958), 151–2; 2 (1961), 75–6; A. Burstein, in: *Sinai*, 38 (1956), 32–7; 40 (1957), 387–8. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** S. Friedman, in: *Sidra*, 14 (1998), 77–91 (Heb.); S. Wald, in: *Sidra*, 19 (2004), 47–75 (Heb.).

[Zvi Kaplan]

HANANIAH (Hanina) BEN ḤAKHINAI (sometimes referred to simply as **Ben Hakhinai**; middle of the second century C.E.), *tanna* in Ereẓ Israel. Ḥananiah was "one of those who debated before the sages" in *Jabneh (Sanh. 17b). He was one of the distinguished pupils of *Akiva (Tosef. Ber. 4:18), who also taught him mystic lore (Tosef., Ḥag. 2:2; Ḥag. 14b).

He studied with Akiva in Bene-Berak for 12 years without once returning home (Ket. 62b), and his wife was held up as an example of a "helpmeet for him" because of her forbearance (Gen. R. 17:3). He then dwelt apparently in Sidon from where he sent a query to Akiva (Nid. 52b). He is quoted three times in the Mishnah, *Kilayim* 4:8, *Makkot* 3:9, and in *Avot* 3:4, where he states: "He who wakes up at night, or he who goes on his way alone, and turns his heart to idle thoughts, sins against himself." He is also mentioned several times in the Tosefta, one of his dicta there being: "He who deals falsely with his fellow denies God" (Shevu. 3:6). He also knew many languages (TJ, Shek. 5:1, 48d). According to one version in a late Midrash he was one of the *Ten Martyrs.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Hyman, Toledot, s.v.

[Zvi Kaplan]

HANANIAH (Hanina) BEN TERADYON (second century C.E.), *tanna* during the *Jabneh era, and martyr. Two halakhic precedents are brought in his name (Ta'an. 2:5; Tosef. Ta'anit 1:13), and a small number of explicit dicta in *halakhah* and *aggadah* are ascribed to him (Tosef. Mik. 6:3, cf. Men. 54a; Avot 3:2). A halakhic dispute between his son and his daughter is mentioned in the Tosefta (Kel. BK 4:17), and Sifre Deut. 307 briefly relates the story of his martyrdom, mentioning also his daughter. These traditions concerning his life, his family, and his martyrdom are further elaborated in the later talmudic aggadah. According to tradition, Hananiah was head of the yeshivah of *Sikhnin in Galilee (Sanh. 32b). When the news of the martyrdom of Akiva at Caesarea reached *Judah b. Bava and Hananiah, they said that his death was an omen that the land of Israel would soon be filled with corpses and the city councils (*Boule) of Judea abrogated (cf. Sem. 8:9, Higger's edition p. 154–5). This was apparently a reference to the destruction of Judea which followed the crushing of the *Bar Kokhba revolt and to the ensuing religious persecution by Hadrian. Hananiah's martyrdom was apparently also a part of these persecutions. He was sentenced to death for teaching the Torah and holding public gatherings in defiance of the prohibition against it, in order to foster Judaism. Unlike *Eleazar b. Parta who was arrested with him, Hananiah, when interrogated, admitted that he had been teaching Torah, since it was a divine command. He was sentenced to be burnt at the stake, his wife to be executed, and his daughter sold to a brothel. All three accepted their fate with equanimity, justifying the way of God, except that Hananiah was distressed that he had devoted himself only to study and not to philanthropic activity. He was burnt at the stake wrapped in the *Sefer Torah* (which he had been holding when arrested). To prolong his agony tufts of wool soaked in water were placed over his heart so that he should not die quickly. In answer to the wonder of his daughter at the fortitude with which he bore his sufferings, he answered, "He who will have regard for the plight of the *Sefer Torah*, will also have regard for my plight." It is stated that the executioner (*quaestionarius*), moved by his sufferings, removed the tufts and increased the heat of the fire, and when Hananiah expired he too jumped into the flames, whereupon a heavenly voice proclaimed that the two "are assigned to the world to come" (Av. Zar. 17b–18a; Sem. 8:12, D.T. Higger's edition p. 157–9). His daughter, who had been consigned to a brothel, preserved her virtue, and was eventually ransomed by *Meir who had married her sister, the learned *Beruryah. It is also related that one of Hananiah's sons associated with robbers (possibly the reference is to a group of political rebels) and when he was put to death, Hananiah would not permit him to be eulogized but applied to him censorious verses from the Bible (Lam. R. 3:16, No. 6; Sem. 12:13, Higger's edition p. 199–200). In the stories of the *Ten Martyrs in the **heikhalot* literature, the account of Hananiah's martyrdom is further embellished with mystical additions.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Bacher, Tann; E.E. Urbach, in: *Sefer Yovel le-Yiẓḥak Baer* (1960), 61–64.

[Moshe David Herr]

HANANIAH (Hanina) OF SEPPHORIS, Palestinian *amora* (late fourth century. C.E.). Probably a disciple of R. Phinehas, many of whose teachings he transmitted (TJ, Ma'as. 3:3, 50c; TJ, Or. 1:8, 61c, et al.), he is mentioned frequently in halakhic and aggadic conflict with his friend and contemporary Mana b. Jonah (TJ, Ḥal. 2:2, 58c; TJ, Pes. 3:1, 30a, et al.; also, TJ, Ber. 3:1, 6a; TJ, Ket. 1:2, 25b) who may have been his brother (TJ, MK 3:5, 82d). After the death of R. Jonah, Hananiah was head of the academy of Sepphoris but later resigned from his post in favor of Mana, and assumed the position of student under him (TJ, Ma'as. Sh. 3:9, 54c; TJ, Yev. 3:4, 4d, et al.). Because of this R. Hananiah was listed among those "who have relinquished their crown in this world, to inherit the glory of the world to come" (TJ, Pes. 6:33a). There is a geonic tradition to the effect that Hananiah emigrated to Babylonia (*Teshuvot ha-Ge'onim* Harkavy, §248), where he joined the circle of Rav Ashi (BB 25b; Ḥul. 139b); however it is obvious that, for chronological reasons, it is necessary to differentiate between the two Hananiahs.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Hyman, Toledot, s.v.; Z.W. Rabinowitz, *Sha'arei Torat Bavel* (1961), 406–7; Ḥ. Albeck, *Mavo la-Talmudim* (1969), 393–4.

[Zvi Kaplan]

HANANIAH SON OF AZZUR (Heb. חֲנַנְיָה בֶּן עַזּוּר), of Gibeon, prophet, contemporary of the prophet *Jeremiah (Jer. 28:1) and opposed to his teachings. Hananiah prophesied that Judah would be freed of the yoke of Babylon, that the Temple vessels would be returned, and that Jeconiah (i.e., Jehoiachin), the son of *Jehoiakim, king of Judah, would be restored as king in Jerusalem. The setting of his prophecy, as proclaimed in the fourth year of Zedekiah's reign of Judah (593 B.C.E.; Jer. 28:2–4), was the gathering of the representatives of Edom, Moab, Ammon, Tyre, and Sidon in Jerusalem to plan a coordinated activity against *Nebuchadnezzar. Jeremiah argued against this treaty in the name of God, for it would not succeed. He put a yoke on his neck to symbolize the yoke of Nebuchadnezzar and the kingdom of Babylon imposed by God for three generations (*ibid.* 27:1ff.). Thus, the prophets in Judah who predicted that all the Temple vessels and Jeconiah would be returned from Babylon were speaking false prophecies. It is not known whether Hananiah prophesied together with those prophets, or separately, though his prophecy coincided with theirs. To Hananiah Jeremiah responded "Amen" in bitter irony, but he added that a true prophet can only be one whose prophecies for good are fulfilled (cf. Deut. 18:18–22). Thus, in two years they would know if Hananiah spoke the truth. Hananiah, to give credence to his words, broke the yoke off Jeremiah's neck in public, as a sign of the breaking of the yoke of Nebuchadnezzar (Jer. 28:lo–11). Jeremiah proclaimed that the act was, on the contrary, not a symbol of the breaking of the yoke, but of the replacement of the wooden yoke by an iron one. He also predicted that Hananiah would die in that same year, and three months later Hananiah died (28:16–17).

[Yehoshua M. Grintz]

In the Aggadah

Hananiah was one of the prophets who misused the gifts with which he had been divinely endowed (Sif. Deut. 84). He is particularly criticized for using Jeremiah's prophecy of the defeat of Elam (Jer. 49:35) as the basis of his own forecast that a similar fate would befall the Babylonians (Jer. 28:2). He reached this conclusion, not as a result of prophecy, but by reasoning, arguing: "If Elam, which only came to assist Babylon, will be broken; how much more certain is it that Babylon itself will be destroyed" (Sanh. 89a). Jeremiah then challenged Hananiah to give some sign to indicate the validity of his prophecy that God would perform this miracle "within two full years" (Jer. 28:3). Hananiah retorted that Jeremiah first had to give some sign that his prophecies of gloom would be fulfilled. Initially reluctant to do so (because God's evil decrees can always be averted by repentance), Jeremiah eventually prophesied that Hananiah would die that same year. This prophecy was fulfilled; the reference to his death in the "seventh month" (which commences a new year), indicates that he died on the eve of Rosh Ha-Shanah, but commanded his family to keep the death secret for a few days in an attempt to discredit Jeremiah (TJ, Sanh. 11:5).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: W. Rudolph, *Jeremia* (Ger., 1947), index. IN THE AGGADAH: Ginzberg, Legends, 4 (1947), 297–8; 6 (1946), 389; I. Ḥasida, *Ishei ha-Tanakh* (1964), 158. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** T. Overholt, in: JAAR, 35 (1967), 241–49; J. Crenshaw, *Prophetic Conflict* (1971); R. Carroll, *Jeremiah* (1986), 440–50; H. Sun, in: BASOR, 275 (1989), 81–3; W. Holladay, *Jeremiah 2* (1989), 455.

HANAU, city near Frankfurt, Germany. The earliest documentary evidence for the presence of Jews in Hanau dates from 1313. During the *Black Death persecutions in 1349 the Jewish community of Hanau was destroyed and its synagogue confiscated. There were no more Jews in the city until 1429 when there were again two Jewish families living there. In 1603 Count Philip Ludwig II granted 10 Jewish families a privilege (*Judenstaettigkeit*) allowing them to settle in Hanau, build a special quarter (*Judengasse*), and erect a synagogue, which was dedicated in 1608. Previously, Jewish families had brought their dead to Frankfurt and then Windecken for burial, but a cemetery was consecrated in Hanau itself in 1603. By 1607 the community had grown to 159; 100 years later there were 111 families, or 600 to 700 individuals, resident in the city. In 1659 a conference of notables representing five Jewish communities took place in Hanau. Among the many talmudic scholars active in Hanau in the 17th and 18th centuries, best known was R. Tuviah Sontheim (1755–1830), *Landrabbiner* from 1798, and chief rabbi for the whole province of Hanau from 1824 to 1830. He was followed in office by Samson Felsenstein (1835–82).

In the 17th and 18th centuries Hanau developed into an important center of Hebrew printing. From Hans Jacob Hena's press, which was established in 1610, issued such important works as responsa by Jacob *Weil, Solomon b. Abraham *Adret, and Judah *Minz as well as Jacob b. Asher's *Arba'ah Turim*. Employing both Jews and gentiles, this press produced a great number of rabbinic, kabbalistic, and liturgical items within about 20 years. A hundred years later Hebrew printing was resumed in the city by H.J. Bashuysen, who published Isaac Abrabanel's Pentateuch commentary (1709). In 1714 Bashuysen's press was taken over by J.J. Beausang and was active until 1797.

During the last quarter of the 18th century several Court Jews lived in Hanau, mainly occupied as suppliers of the army. From 1806 the Jews were allowed to live in any part of the town, but full emancipation was not granted until 1866. The community numbered 540 persons in 1805, 80 families in 1830, 447 persons in 1871, and 657 at the turn of the century. In 1925 there were 568 Jews in Hanau and 447 in 1933. At that time there existed a synagogue, a cemetery, three charitable societies, and a religious school attended by 75 children.

Jews were active in many aspects of the commercial and industrial life of the town. However, Nazi economic boycotts had a telling effect so that the number of Jews had dwindled by May 1939 to 107. On Nov. 9/10, 1938, the synagogue was burned to the ground; the site was later cleared and title to it transferred to the city. The teachers' quarters owned by the community were demolished and many gravestones at the Jewish cemetery were overturned. The last 26 Jews of Hanau were deported in 1942 to Auschwitz and Theresienstadt. Another five Jews, partners of mixed marriages, remained in the town. In 1968, a few Jews resided in Hanau. In 2005 a Jewish community with about 130 members was refounded. The majority of the members were immigrants from the former Soviet Union.

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M.I. Pfeiffer, M. Kingreen, *Hanauer Juden 1933–1945. Entrechtung, Verfolgung, Deportation* (1998).

[Chasia Turtel]

HANAU, SOLOMON ZALMAN BEN JUDAH LOEB HA-KOHEN (1687–1746), Hebrew grammarian. Born in *Hanau where his father served as cantor, Solomon Hanau taught at Frankfurt. There, in 1708, he published *Binyan Shelomo*, a Hebrew grammar written in the form of casuistic criticism of earlier grammarians. The criticism led to resentment, and the leaders of the Frankfurt community demanded that he add to his work an apology to those whom he had "offended." Hanau moved to Hamburg. There he taught for a number of years and continued his linguistic research. He published *Sha'arei Torah* (Hamburg, 1718). The book was based on "natural inquiry" (i.e., on independent investigation of the language, deviating from traditional grammar wherever the author deemed it necessary). A brief essay on the scriptural accents, "*Sha'arei Zimrah*," was added to the book. *Yesod ha-Nikkud* (Amsterdam, 1730) is another minor work on the subject. His most famous work, *Ẓohar ha-Tevah* (Berlin, 1733), published in at least 12 editions, includes all his grammatical innovations. It influenced numerous grammarians of the Haskalah and the Revival period of the Hebrew language and was the book which set *Ben Yehuda (according to the latter's own statement) on the course which made him revive spoken Hebrew. Hanau answered the attacks of his adversaries in *Kurei Akkavish* (Fuerth, 1744).

In *Binyan Shelomo*, Hanau had already mentioned the linguistic "errors" (i.e., non-biblical-forms) contained in contemporaneous prayer books, and in *Sha'arei Tefillah* (Jessnitz, 1725, and three other editions) he recorded a number of these errors with his corrections. Apparently the book aroused the anger of the conservatives, and Hanau was compelled to leave Hamburg. He went to Amsterdam; a few years later he returned to Germany where he wandered from city to city (among others, Fuerth and Berlin), and died in Hanover. In 1735, while in Copenhagen, Hanau was engaged as a private tutor to Naphtali Herz *Wessely, then aged 10; Hanau, it seems instilled in his pupil an affection for the Bible and the study of the Hebrew language. Several essays by Hanau have survived in manuscript form, including *Ma'aseh Oreg*, an explanation of the grammatical passages in Rashi's commentary on the Torah, *Mishpat Leshon ha-Kodesh*, philosophical writings and commentaries on the Bible, and *Shivah Kokhevei Lekhet*, a work in Yiddish on the calendar.

[Chaim M. Rabin]

HANBURY, LILY (1874–1908), British actress, member of the Davis family which also included Julia *Neilson. She made her debut at the Savoy Theatre, London, in 1888, in a revival of W.S. Gilbert's *Pygmalion and Galatea*. Thereafter she acted under the management of Wilson Barrett and later Beerbohm Tree at His Majesty's Theatre, appearing in Shakespeare, Sheridan, and Ibsen. Her most successful roles were Ophelia, Portia, and Calpurnia. She married Herbert Guedalla in 1905.

HANDALI, ESTHER (d. ca. 1590), most famous among several Jewish women, known as **kieras*, who performed various services for the women of the royal harems in Istanbul. Handali, of Sephardi origin, worked with her merchant husband, Eliyah Handali, as an intermediary with the royal harem, buying and selling cosmetics, clothing, and jewelry. After her husband's death, and probably after the death of a previous *kiera*, the Karaite Strongilah, she began her independent activities in the harem of Sultan *Suleiman the Magnificent (1520–66). After the accession of Sultan Selim II to the throne Esther became the *kiera* of Nur Banu, Selim's beloved Venetian consort. This powerful and influential lady trusted and relied on her *kiera,* even when she became mother of a reigning sultan, following the accession of her son, Murad III (1574–95). Besides her services as supplier of luxury goods, Handali acted as a reliable intermediary, personal emissary, translator, and trustee at the highest levels, accumulating, during her many years at the court, a great fortune. Esther took part in Nur Banu's correspondence with the doge and senate of Venice. In a letter of December 18, 1582, written in Spanish, she mentioned some of her negotiating skills and discreet services on behalf of both sides. Nur Banu's two letters of September 1583 requested the Venetians to grant her *kiera*'s son, Salamon, a permit to conduct a lottery in Venice of "certain jewels which are suitable for Franks" (Skilliter, *The Letters,* p. 526).

Hebrew sources emphasize Esther's generosity and her acts of charity both covert and public. She used her money and connections to assist the needy in the Jewish community of *Istanbul, supporting widows and orphans as well as destitute merchants, sponsoring scholars, and subsidizing publications of Hebrew books. Following the great fire in Istanbul (1569) many refugees found shelter in her house. Esther Handali probably died around the year 1590, at a time when another well-known *kiera*, *Esperanza Malchi, was at the peak of her power. Due to the inconsistency of the sources and the fact that *kieras* were not always mentioned by name, Malchi's murder in 1600 has been wrongly connected with Handali.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: S.A. Skilliter, "The Letters of the Venetian 'Sultana' Nur Banu and her Kira to Venice," in: A. Gallotta and U. Marazzi (eds.), *Studia Turcologica Memoriae Alexii Bombaci Dicata* (1982), 515–36; M. Rozen, *A History of the Jewish Community in Istanbul: The Formative Years (1453–1566)* (2002), 205–7.

[Ruth Lamdan (2nd ed.)]

HANDALI, JOSHUA BEN JOSEPH (17th century), Turkish rabbi. Handali was born in Skopje in Yugoslavia. In his youth he moved to Salonika, where he studied under Ḥayyim Shabbetai. His first work, written in 1613, was a pamphlet on the laws pertaining to gifts from a groom to his bride (*sivlonot*). He was recognized as a halakhic authority and various Balkan communities turned to him with their problems. In 1621 he moved to Safed, where he was one of the pioneers of the Jewish resettlement. He later settled in Jerusalem where he is mentioned as being involved in the Shabbetai Ẓevi controversy. Toward the end of his life he interested himself in Kabbalah. Some of his responsa are included in his *Penei Yehoshu'a* (included in the collection *Me'orot ha-Gedolim*, Constantinople, 1739), and others in the *Benei Aharon* by Aaron Lapapa (Smyrna, 1674).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Frumkin-Rivlin, 2 (1928), 32.

[Simon Marcus]

HANDELSMAN, MARCELI (1882–1945), Polish historiographer. Born in Warsaw, Handelsman served as professor of general history at Warsaw University from 1915. He was head of the Warsaw Institute for History, and a member of the Académie des Sciences Morales et Politiques in Paris. Handelsman's historical research covered several fields. His first study dealt with punishment in early Polish law (*Kara w najdawniejszym prawie polskim*, 1907). His main areas of interest were the history of Poland from the time of its first partition in 1772, the Napoleonic era, and Franco-Polish relations. In these fields he published the following books: *Napoléon et la Pologne, 1806–07* (1909); *Francja-Polska 1795–1845* (1926); *Les Idées françaises et la mentalité politique en Pologne au XIXe siècle* (1927). Handelsman also wrote essays of general historiographical importance, on the development of the present-day nationalism, and on methodology and the interpretation of history. He had a progressive-realistic attitude to historical research and opposed the romantic-conservative school. Although he had converted to Christianity Handelsman was sent by the Germans to the Nordhausen concentration camp where he died.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: W. Moszczenska, in: *Kwartalnik Historyczny*, 63, no. 3 (1956), 111–50; Polska Akademia Nauk, *Polski Slownik Biograficzny* (1960–61); A.B. Boswell, in: *Slavonic and East European Review*, 25 (1946), 247–9.

HANDLER, MILTON (1903–1998), U.S. attorney. Handler was born in New York City. He graduated from Columbia Law School (1926) and served on its faculty from 1927. A specialist in trademarks and antitrust law in both private and public practice, Handler held posts on the National Labor Board, serving as special adviser to the Department of Agriculture (1933–34), U.S. Treasury Department (1938–40), Lend-Lease Administration (1942–43), Foreign Economic Administration, of which he was special counsel, and the U.S. attorney general's national committee to study antitrust laws (1953–55). In 1955–56 he was the chairman of the Special Commission to Study N.Y. State Antitrust Legislation.

During the movement for Israel's independence, Handler was chairman of the American Jewish Conference's Palestine Committee, member of the American Zionist Emergency Council (1944–48), and co-author of a report on Palestine submitted to the United Nations in 1947. In 1969 he was appointed chairman of the American Friends of the Hebrew University.

He retired from teaching at Columbia in 1972 and was named professor emeritus. In his honor, the Milton Handler Chair in Trade Regulation was established in 1974 at the Columbia University School of Law. Other honors accorded Handler include the Scopus Award from the American Friends of the Hebrew University (1963), the Medal of Excellence awarded by Columbia Law Alumni (1976), the Outstanding Research in Law and Government Award from the Fellows of the American Bar Association (1977), the Human Relations Award of the Lawyers' Division of the Anti-Defamation League Appeal (1979), and the John Sherman Award from the Antitrust Division of the U.S Justice Department (1988).

Handler's books and articles include *Antitrust in Perspective* (1957), *Cases and Materials on Trade Regulation* (ed., 1967^4), and *Twenty-five Years of Antitrust* (1973).

His wife, MIRIAM HANDLER, was active in American Jewish support for Israel. She served on the U.S. Manpower Commission Training within Industry (1943–45), was a member of the Hadassah National Board from 1947, and held other leadership positions with the American Friends of the Hebrew University and the American-Israel Cultural Foundation. In 1975 the Handler Auditorium on Mount Scopus at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem was dedicated in their name.

[Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

HANDLER, PHILIP (1917–1981), U.S. biochemist. Born on a New Jersey farm, Handler taught at Duke University, North Carolina, from 1939. He was a professor of biochemistry there from 1950 and in 1960 assumed the chair of biochemistry at the university. Handler's early research dealt with pellagra, a dietary deficiency disease. He and his collaborators showed that the vitamin nicotinic acid was a component of NAD and NADP, two coenzymes important in electron transfer in cells. Handler's later research was concerned with niacin and choline deficiency, purine metabolism, hypertension, and parathyroid tumors. Handler served at various times as president of the American Society of Biochemists and of the Federation of American Societies for Experimental Biology. He held leading positions in the National Science Foundation, including the chairmanship of the National Science Board, its policy-making body. In 1964 Handler was appointed to the President's Science Advisory Committee. In the same year he was elected to membership of the National Academy of Sciences and in 1969 became president of the Academy, a position he held until June 1981. In October 1981 he was awarded the National Medal of Science by President Reagan. He died in December of that year.

He was coauthor of *Principles of Biochemistry* (1954) and from 1957 was the editor of *Geriatrics*.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Current Biography Yearbook* (1964), 174–6.

[Samuel Aaron Miller]

HANDLER, RUTH MOSKO (1916–2002), U.S. entrepreneur, toy manufacturer, inventor of the Barbie doll and the Nearly Me breast prosthesis. Handler was born in Denver to first generation Polish immigrants, Jacob Joseph Mosko and his wife, née Ida Rubenstein. She married her high school boyfriend, Elliott Handler, and the two moved to Los Angeles in 1938.

The Handlers started their first business, plastic furniture, in their garage and Ruth sold products to Douglas Aircraft. During World War II a partner, Harold "Matt" Matson, and Elliot combined letters in their names to form another company, Mattel. They originally sold miniature picture frames but found dollhouse furniture to be more profitable. After Matson sold out to his partner, Elliot and Ruth Handler concentrated on manufacturing toys. In 1955 the Handlers pioneered a new way to market products directly to children by buying a year's worth of advertising on the new *Mickey Mouse Club* television show for which they created "Mouseguitar." Still it was the Barbie doll that would be their most successful product. During a trip to Europe Ruth bought a German doll, Lilli, for her daughter, Barbara. After buying the rights to market Lilli, Ruth made a few changes and put the Barbie doll on the market in 1959. Although Ruth Handler believed it was important for girls' self-esteem to play with a doll with breasts, critics have said that the doll's unrealistic measurements, translated to human size, 39″-18″-33″, could have the opposite effect. Mattel did adjust the doll's measurements over the years, but the proportions remained out of reach for most women. The enormous appeal of Barbie, her ever-changing wardrobe pieces and her entourage, including boyfriend Ken (named for the Handlers' son Kenneth), Midge, Barbie's best friend, and Allan, Ken's pal and Midge's beau, led Mattel to become a publicly owned company in 1960, and by 1965 Mattel was on the Fortune 500 list. Ruth Handler, who became Mattel's president in 1967, was indicted in 1978 for fraud and securities violations from the early 1970s. Handler, who was diagnosed with breast cancer and had a mastectomy in 1970, pled no contest, saying she wanted to work on her new business, based on the breast prosthesis she designed and called Nearly Me. She did public service to serve her sentence. Handler published an autobiography, *Dream Doll: The Ruth Handler Story* in 1995. She died in 2002 at the age of 86, at which time more than a billion Barbies had been sold in 250 countries. The phenomenal success of Barbie found the doll among items buried in the official Bicentennial time capsule.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: M.G. Lord. *Forever Barbie: The Unauthorized Biography of a Real Doll* (1994).

[Sara Alpern (2nd ed.)]

HANDLIN, OSCAR (1915–), U.S. historian. Handlin, who was born in Brooklyn, New York, graduated from Brooklyn College in 1934 and a year later earned his master's degree at Harvard University. He received his Ph.D. from Harvard in 1940 and taught history there from 1939. He directed the Center for the Study of Liberty at Cambridge, Massachusetts (1958–66), and in 1966 assumed the directorship of the Charles Warren Center for the Study of American History. After his retirement, he became the Carl M. Loeb University Emeritus Professor of History at Harvard.

A prolific writer, Handlin produced almost a book a year during his prodigious career. His works include the Pulitzer Prize-winning study of American immigrants, *The Uprooted* (1951), *Boston's Immigrants* (1941), *Chance or Destiny* (1955), *Al Smith and His America* (1958), *The Newcomers: Negroes and Puerto Ricans in a Changing Metropolis* (1959), *The Americans* (1963), *Children of the Uprooted* (1966), *Statue of Liberty* (1971), *A Pictorial History of Immigration* (1972), *The Wealth of the American People* (with his wife, Mary Handlin, 1975), *Truth in History* (1979), and *The Distortion of America* (1981).

By applying sociological insights to historical research, Handlin brought new evidence to bear on many controversial issues in American history, such as the nature of the Populists, the origins of antisemitism, the economic foundations of colonial slavery, and the conservatism of American immigrants. A vice president of the American Jewish Historical Society, his contributions to American Jewish history include *Danger in Discord: Origins of Anti-Semitism in the United States* (with M. Handlin, 1948); *Adventure in Freedom: Three Hundred Years of Jewish Life in America* (1954); "A Century of Jewish Immigration to the United States" (with M. Handlin), in AJYB, 50 (1948), 1–84; and *American Jews: Their Story* (1972).

[Hans L. Trefousse / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

HANFMANN, GEORGE MAXIM ANOSSOV (1911–1986), U.S. archaeologist. Hanfmann was born in St. Petersburg, Russia, and was educated at the University of Berlin. With the advent of the Nazis he was forced to leave Germany and went to Harvard. He became curator of classical art at the Fogg Art Museum in 1946 and professor of fine arts at Harvard in 1956. From 1958 he excavated at *Sardis as field director of the excavations in Turkey. He was largely responsible for the discoveries of the ruins and partial reconstruction of the Sardis synagogue. His earlier work specialized in Etruscan sculpture, but he extended his work by dealing with the interrelation between Greek and neighboring Near Eastern cultures in the Homeric and post-Homeric archaic age. Hanfmann's expertise ultimately encompassed Etruscan sculpture, Roman sarcophagi, Anatolian city planning, Hellenistic survivals in Byzantine art, Near Eastern narrative, and ancient technology, especially metallurgy.

In honor of Hanfmann and his contributions to classical archaeology and Greek and Roman art, the Hanfmann Lectureship was established in 1988 by the Archaeological Institute of America. Scholars who hold the position specialize in one or more of the subjects to which Hanfmann was dedicated.

Hanfmann's publications include *Season Sarcophagus in Dumbarton Oaks*, 2 vols. (1951), *Etruskische Plastik* (1956), *Roman Art* (1964), *Classical Sculpture* (1967), *Letters from Sardis* (1972), *From Croesus to Constantine* (1975), *Sculpture from Sardis* (1978), and *Sardis from Prehistoric to Roman Times* (with W. Mierse, 1983).

[Penuel P. Kahane / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

HANGCHOW, coastal capital of Chekiang province, E. China. It was the one of the largest cities in the world during the 14th century. At that time, it is generally believed, a Jewish community with a synagogue existed there. The Arab traveler Ibn Baṭṭūṭa in the first half of the 14th century described Hangchow as consisting of six cities, each with its own wall, and an outer wall surrounding the whole. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa "entered the second city through a gate called the Jews' Gate. In this city live the Jews, Christians, and sun-worshiping Turks, a large number in all." The Chinese Jew, *Ai T'ien, during a visit to Peking (Beijing) in 1605, told Matteo Ricci, the Jesuit missionary, about the presence of numerous Jews and the existence of a synagogue in Hangchow. Nothing is known of the further history of the community.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: H.A.R. Gibb, *Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, Travels in Asia and Africa 1325–1354* (1929), 293; A.C. Moule, *Christians in China before the Year 1550* (1930), 3.

[Rudolf Loewenthal]

ḤANĪF (pl. **Ḥunafā**), Arabic term which occurs many times in the *Koran in connection with true monotheism. The primary meaning and the origin of the word is still to be determined. In pre-Islamic times it seems to have been used for adherents of Hellenistic culture. *Muhammad uses it as a term for the God-fearing, righteous men in the pre-Islamic period, who followed the original and true religion. Abraham was one of them, Muhammad is his true follower, and Islam is the reappearance of the true faith distorted by Judaism and Christianity (e.g., Sura 10:105; 16:121, 124; 30:29). According to Muhammad's biographers, many such God-seekers who lived in Arabia during his lifetime, such as *Umayya ibn Abī al-Ṣalt, did not accept his prophetic mission to the Arabs. In later usage *ḥanīf* means Muslim.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: V.V. Bartold, *Muzulmanskiy mir* (1917), 48 (*Mussulman Culture*, 1934); Wensinck, in: *Acta Orientalia*, 2 (1924), 191; K. Ahrens, *Muḥammad als Religionsstifter* (1935), 17, n. 3; J.W. Hirschberg, *Juedische und christliche Lehren* (1939), index; N.A. Faris and H.W. Glidden, in: JPOS, 19 (1941), 1–13; W. Montgomery Watt, in: EIS^2, 3 (1966), s.v.

[Haïm Z'ew Hirschberg]

ḤANINA (**Hananiah**; **Comrade of the Rabbis**; end of the third-beginning of the fourth century), Palestinian *amora*. Ḥanina was born in Babylonia; in his youth he migrated to Ereẓ Israel and studied under Johanan among others (Men. 79b; Ber. 5b; et al.). Johanan was greatly distressed because he was unable to ordain him, but Ḥanina comforted him, saying: "It is because we are descendants of Eli the Priest; we have a tradition that none of this family is destined to be ordained" (Sanh. 14a). For this reason he was called *ḥaver* ("comrade") of the rabbis. He is frequently mentioned together with Oshaya, who was also a priest of the family of Eli that emigrated to Ereẓ Israel; they may have been brothers (*Yiḥusei Tanna'im re-Amora'im* (1963, 388)). Both earned their living by sandal-making. In illustration of their great piety, the Talmud relates that their workshop was in the market of the harlots for whom they made shoes, yet they never raised their eyes to look at them. The harlots, recognizing their piety, used to swear "by the lives of the holy rabbis of Israel" (Pes. 113b). Ḥanina's halakhic sayings are cited in the Talmud. Problems were directed to him (TJ, Ber., 1:1, 2b; MK 3:5, 82b), and in reply to a query about abolishing an accepted custom, he replied: "Since your ancestors were accustomed to forbid this, do not change the custom of your ancestors, that they may rest in peace" (TJ, Pes. 4:1, 30d). He sent *halakhot* in the name of Johanan from Ereẓ Israel to Babylonia (Yev. 58b). He disputed with Ilai in *halakhah* (Shab. 84b), and had discussions with Zeira (RH 13a). He also had connections with Rabbah and repeated *beraitot* before him (BM 6b; et al.). Some are of the opinion that Rabbah (b. Naḥamani) was his brother (see *Yuḥasin*. s.v. Rabbah bar Naḥamani). It has recently been suggested that behind the well-known *halakhah* ascribed in the Bavli (Shab. 12a, 20a, et al) to the *tanna* Hananiah, lies a tradition properly ascribed in the Yerushalmi to Hanina (Hananiah) "comrade of the Rabbis" (Wald).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Bacher, Pal Amor; Hyman, Toledot, s.v.; Ḥ. Albeck, *Mavo la-Talmudim* (1969), 241–3; S. Wald, in: Sidra 19 (Hebr.) (2004), 47–75.

[Yitzhak Dov Gilat]

ḤANINA BAR ḤAMA (early third century C.E.), Palestinian scholar of the transitional generation from *tannaim* to *amoraim*. Ḥanina was born in Babylon (TJ, Pe'ah 7:4, 20a), and studied there under a scholar called Hamnuna (TJ, Ta'an. 4:2, 68a). He went to Ereẓ Israel and lived in Sepphoris where he was a distinguished pupil of Judah ha-Nasi (TJ, Nid. 2:7, 50b). He transmitted information about the rulings and customs of his teacher (TJ, Ber. 3:5, 6d) who greatly admired him (Av. Zar. 10b). He was friendly with Ishmael b. Yose, with Bar Kappara, and with Ḥiyya, in whose presence Ḥanina boasted of the sharpness of his intellect, saying, "Were the Torah, God forbid, to be forgotten in Israel, I would restore it by means of my dialectics" (Ket. 103b; BM 85b). Ḥanina's colleagues were Rav, Jonathan, and Joshua b. Levi, and he went with the last to visit the Roman proconsul in Sepphoris (TJ, Ber. 5:1, 9a). According to the Jerusalem Talmud Ḥanina was not ordained by Judah ha-Nasi during the latter's lifetime, because he was vexed with him over a certain matter, but he ordered his son Gamaliel who succeeded him to ordain him (TJ, Ta'an. 4:2). According to a *baraita* quoted in the Babylonian Talmud, however (Ket. 103b), Judah ha-Nasi ordered before his death: "Ḥanina b. Ḥama shall preside," which Rashi explains as meaning to preside over the college. This indeed seems to be the meaning of the phrase in its context which deals with the appointments to be made in the college after Judah's death. Further it is stated that Ḥanina refused to accept this appointment "because R. Afes was two and a half years older than he." Afes was appointed, and only after his death did Ḥanina accept the office. Among his most prominent pupils were Johanan and Simeon b. Lakish and also Eleazar, who frequently transmits in his name. Eleazar's statement in the name of Ḥanina: "The disciples of the wise increase peace in the world, as it says [Isa. 54:13]: and all thy children shall be taught of the Lord, and great shall be the peace of thy children. Read not *banayikh* ['thy children'] but *bonayikh* ['thy builders']" (Ber. 64a; et al.) has become famous and is incorporated in the daily prayer book.

Ḥanina lived to a very advanced age (Ḥul. 24b). He earned a living by trading in honey (TJ, Pe'ah 7:4, 20b) and also practiced medicine, in which he was regarded as an expert (Yoma 49a). He harshly rebuked his fellow citizens of Sepphoris and bemoaned their hardheartedness (TJ, Ta'an, 3:4, 66c). He emphasized the value of rebuke in his statement: "Jerusalem was destroyed only because they did not rebuke each other" (Shab. 119b). He frequently spoke in praise of Ereẓ Israel (TJ, Pe'ah 7:4, 20b) and explained the description of Ereẓ Israel as *ereẓ ẓevi* (lit. "land of the hind," JPS "beauteous," AV "glorious"; Dan. 11:41) as follows: "Just as the skin of the hind cannot hold its flesh; so the land of Israel when it is inhabited can provide space for everyone, but when it is not inhabited it contracts" (Git. 57a). Ḥanina was strongly opposed to anyone leaving the land of Israel, and said of him, "He has abandoned the bosom of his mother, and embraced the bosom of a stranger" (TJ, MK 3:1, 81c). He was especially opposed to a priest leaving the country, even for religious reasons (*ibid.*).

Ḥanina's aggadic statements are numerous. He was of the opinion that the planets influence Israel too, and that "the constellation of the hour is the determining influence" (Shab. 156a). This influence, however, does not limit the activity of divine providence, since both witchcraft and constellations are subject to the providence of the creator "for if there be no decree from Him, they can do him no harm" (Rashi to Ḥul. 7b; cf. Sanh. 67b). The overall power of providence is stressed in his saying: "No man bruises his finger here on earth, unless it was so decreed against him in heaven" (Ḥul. 7b). But this emphasis does not nullify the value of man's freedom of will: "Everything is from heaven, excepting cold draughts, as it is written [Prov. 22:5]. Cold draughts [thus he understands the words usually rendered "thorns and snares"] are in the way of the froward; he that keepeth his soul holdeth himself far from them" (BM 107b). Moreover it is certain that no one should rely upon his constellation or upon providence in all that pertains to his character, since "Everything is in the hand of heaven except the fear of heaven" (Ber. 33b), but the attainment of the fear of heaven is not given to all men equally and for the same effort (*ibid.*). Ḥanina stressed the heinousness of profaning the Divine Name: "The Holy One was indulgent of idolatry – but He was not indulgent of the profanation of the Name" (Lev. R. 22:6); "It is better for a man to commit a transgression in secret – and not profane the Name of Heaven in public" (Kid. 40a). Among his other noteworthy sayings are, "He who lifts a hand against his fellow, even without smiting him, is called a sinner" (Sanh. 58b); "Let not the blessing of a common person be light in your eyes" (Meg. 15a); "The son of David will not come until the haughty in Israel are extinct" (Sanh. 98a).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Bacher, Pal Amor; Hyman, Toledot, s.v.; E.E. Urbach, in: *Sefer ha-Yovel le-Yeḥezkel Kaufmann* (1960), 141–6.

[Zvi Kaplan]

ḤANINA (**Hinena**) **BAR PAPA** (**Pappi**; end of third and beginning of fourth century C.E.), Palestinian *amora*. Ḥanina belonged to the circle of R. Johanan's pupils, Abbahu, Isaac Nappaḥa, Ammi, etc., though he only once actually quotes R. Johanan himself (TJ, BK 10:2, 71b.). He was renowned in the field of *aggadah*, and was considered an excellent preacher (Sot. 9a, et al.). He may have learned his *aggadah* from Samuel b. Naḥman whom he calls "rabbi" (TJ, Shev. 4:3, 35b). He was considered a paradigm of holiness (Kid. 81a) and even the night spirits feared him. It is related of him that he distributed alms at night (TJ, Pe'ah 8:9, 21b). When the Angel of Death came to take him, he requested another 30 days in which to revise his learning. The Angel of Death, who respected him deeply, granted this request, and when he died a pillar of fire separated him from the people (Ket. 77b).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Judah b. Kalonymus, *Yiḥusei Tanna'im ve-Amora'im*, ed. by J.L. Maimon (1963), 376–8; Margalioth, Ḥakhmei, 346–8, s.v.; Hyman, Toledot, 494–7, s.v.; Ḥ. Albeck, *Mavo la-Talmudim* (1969), 239 f.

[Zvi Kaplan]

ḤANINA BEN ABBAHU (c. 300), Palestinian *amora*. Ḥanina was the son of the famous *Abbahu who lived in Caesarea. He studied under his father and transmitted teachings in his name, as well as about him (Kid. 33b; TJ, Bik. 3:7, 65d; et al.), but later his father sent him to study at the yeshivah of Tiberias. When his father heard that instead of devoting himself to study there he was engaging in works of benevolence, he sent him a message: "Is it because there are no graves in Caesarea [cf. Ex. 14:11; the reverential interment of the dead being one of the highest of benevolent activities] that I sent you to Tiberias? For it has already been decided that study takes precedence over good deeds" (TJ, Pes. 3:7, 30b). Ḥanina apparently returned to Caesarea (TJ, Ket. 4:15, 29b) where he was a *dayyan* (TJ, Yev. 2:4, 3d) and is referred to also as "Ḥanina of Caesarea" (Song R. 1:20, no. 3). In addition to *halakhah*, aggadic sayings were transmitted in his name (TJ, Shab. 6:9, 8d; Lam. R., Proem 34; *ibid.* 2:1, no, 2; et al.).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Frankel, Mevo, 87b–88a; Hyman, Toledot, s.v.; Ḥ. Albeck, *Mavo la-Talmudim* (1969), 327–8.

[Zvi Kaplan]

ḤANINA BEN ANTIGONUS (first half of second century C.E.), *tanna*. According to the Talmud Ḥanina was a kohen (Bek. 30b), and it is seems that in his youth he lived in Jerusalem before the destruction of the Temple and was able to report certain details of that period (Tosef., Ar. 1:15; see also Kid. 4:5). Similarly, many of the teachings quoted in his name are on the subject of the Temple and its vessels (Bek. 6:3, 4, 10; Tosef., Shek. 3:15; Tosef., Suk. 4:15; et al.), which is the main subject matter of his quoted statements. He also transmitted a halakhic tradition in the name of R. Eleazar Ḥisma (Tosef., Tem. 4:10). It is told of his son that R. Judah and R. Yose sought his judgment on questions of ritual purity (Bek. 30b).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Hyman, Toledot, 479–80.

[Zvi Kaplan]

ḤANINA BEN DOSA (first century C.E.), *tanna*. Ḥanina lived in Arav in lower Galilee (north of the valley of Bet Netofah) and was a disciple-colleague of *Johanan b. Zakkai. More has been transmitted about his pious deeds and his wonders than about his dicta, and the little preserved is in the field of *aggadah*, confining itself to emphasis on the importance of good deeds: "He whose deeds exceed his wisdom, his wisdom shall endure; but he whose wisdom exceeds his deed, his wisdom will not endure. He in whom the spirit of his fellow creatures takes delight, in him the spirit of the All-present takes delight; and he in whom the spirit of his fellow creatures takes not delight, in him the spirit of the All-present takes not delight" (Avot 3:9–10). It was said of him "that he was praying when a scorpion bit him, but he did not interrupt his prayer. His pupils went and found it dead at the entrance to its hole. They said: Woe to the man bitten by a scorpion, but woe to the scorpion that bites Ben Dosa" (Tosef., Ber. 3:20; and cf. Ber. 5:5, TJ, Ber. 5:1 and Ber. 33a). Similarly it was said of him: "When Ḥanina b. Dosa died, men of deeds ceased and piety came to an end" (Sot. 9:15; cf. Tosef. Sot. 15:5). Of his wife too it was said that she resembled her husband in piety (BB 74b) and like him was "accustomed to miracles" (Ta'an. 25a). He was also praised for his integrity. The sages applied to him the phrase (Ex. 18:21) "men of truth" (Mekh., Malek 2). In the Talmud he was held up as an example of a completely righteous man (Ber. 61b), and described him as "one for whose sake God shows favor to his entire generation" (Ḥag. 14a). He refused to benefit from the property of others though he was destitute, and such remarkable things are related about this conduct that it was stated, "Every day a divine voice proclaims from Mt. Horeb: The whole world is sustained by the merit of my son Ḥanina, and Ḥanina my son subsists on a *kav* of carobs from one week to the next" (Ber. 17b). He was zealous in observing precepts: e.g., in the observance of the Sabbath, which he kept from midday on Friday (Gen. R. 10:8); in separating tithes (TJ, Dem. 1:3); and in returning lost property to its owner (Ta'an. 25a). His prayers were regarded as being specially accepted, and as a result he was frequently requested to pray for the sick and those in trouble (Ber. 34b; Yev. 121b). When the son of Johanan b. Zakkai fell ill, Ḥanina prayed for him and he recovered. Johanan b. Zakkai claimed that he himself would not have succeeded in achieving this and when his wife asked, "Is Ḥanina greater than you?" he replied, "No! but he is like a servant before the king, and I am like a courtier before the king" (Ber. 34b). The *aggadah* speaks extensively of the miracles that happened for him (Ta'an. 24b–25a; ARN[1] 8, 38). On one Sabbath eve at twilight he saw his daughter sad. He said to her: "Why are you sad?" She replied: "I exchanged my vinegar can for my oil can, and I kindled the Sabbath light with vinegar (and it will be extinguished)." He said to her: "My daughter, why should this trouble you? He who commanded the oil to burn will also command the vinegar to burn" (Ta'an. 25a).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Bacher, Tann; Hyman, Toledot, s.v.; G.B. Zarfati, in: *Tarbiz*, 26 (1956/57), 130ff.; E.E. Urbach, *Ḥazal* (1969) index.

[Zvi Kaplan]

ḤANINA BEN GAMALIEL (mid-second century C.E.), *tanna*. He was a son of Rabban *Gamaliel of Jabneh, and an older brother of the patriarch (*nasi*) *Simeon b. Gamaliel, who quotes his teachings (Tosef., Nid. 7:5). Ḥanina was apparently a disciple of *Tarfon (see Ned. 62a; Kid. 81b). He differed on *halakhah* with *Akiva (Nid. 8a) and with Yose ha-Gelili (Men. 5:8), and engaged in halakhic discussions with the disciples of Akiva (Tosef., Av. Zar. 4 (5): 12; Tosef., Nid. 4:5; et al.). He was also well-versed in the *aggadah* (MK 23a) and many *aggadot* are quoted in his name. He apparently died young, and because of this his younger brother was appointed to the position of *nasi*.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Hyman, Toledot, s.v.

[Zvi Kaplan]

ḤANINA (Ahonai) KAHANA BEN HUNA (the second half eighth century), *gaon* of Sura (769–774). A priest belonging to a significant priestly family, he let his nails grow, saying "the Temple will soon be rebuilt and they will require a priest qualified for *melikah*" (slaughtering the sacrificial bird by pinching the back of its neck; Yev. 1:15). Ḥanina was a student of *Yehudai b. Naḥman Gaon. His interpretations and rulings, found in the *Halakhot Gedolot*, were highly regarded by succeeding *geonim*. The value of the *sela* coin as determined by him has been incorporated in the text of the Talmud (Bek. 50a). Ḥanina was the teacher of Jacob b. Mordecai ha-Kohen, who was known among the *geonim* for his independent views, and also of Samuel, the first portion of whose *Midrash Asefah* has been included in the *Halakhot Gedolot*, in collections of geonic responsa, and also in the Midrashim of Yemen. Some passages of Ḥanina's works have been included in the Yalkut Shimoni.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: B.M. Lewin (ed.), *Iggeret R. Sherira Ga'on* (1921), 108; idem, *Oẓar ha-Ge'onim* (*Ta'anit*), pt. 2 (1932), 30; L. Ginzberg, *Geonica*, 2 (Eng., 1909), 31, 94, 113; Baron, Social^2, 7 (1958), 259f.; J. Mueller, *Mafte'aḥ li-Teshuvot ha-Ge'onim* (1891), 72.

[Meir Havazelet]

ḤANINA SEGAN HA-KOHANIM (first century C.E.), *tanna* living in the last years of the Second Temple, the designation *Segan ha-Kohanim* referring to the fact that he was deputy high priest (cf. Yoma 39a). He transmitted details about the Temple service both from his knowledge of his father's customs (Zev. 9:3) and from those of the other priests (Pes. 1:6; Eduy. 2:1–2), and about other customs prevalent in Temple times (Eduy. 2:3; Men 10:1; et al.). On the basis of his testimony cited in *Pesaḥim* 1:6, an extensive and ramified discussion is developed in the Babylonian Talmud (Pes. 14a–21a). The Mishnah also gives information about the customs of his family in the Temple (Shek. 6:1). His intense love of the Temple is expressed by a remark in connection with the prohibition against bathing on the Ninth of Av: "The house of our God merits that for its sake a man should forego an immersion once a year" (Ta'an. 13a). Two *halakhot* in his name are found in the Tosefta (Ter. 9:10; Neg. 8:6), both dealing with the laws of ritual purity. His aggadic sayings extol the virtue of peace: "Great is peace which is equal to the whole act of creation." He says that the word "peace" in the priestly blessing refers to domestic peace (Sif. Num. 42), and he enjoins, "Pray for the peace of the ruling power, since but for fear of it men would have swallowed up each other alive" (Avot 3:2), and in praise of Torah: "Everyone who takes the words of the Torah to heart… will have removed from him fear of the sword, fear of famine, foolish thoughts… fear of the yoke of human beings" (ARN^{1} 20, 70). According to Maimonides (Commentary to Mishnah, introd.), Simeon b. ha-Segan (cf. Shek. 8:5; Ket. 2:8) was the son of Ḥanina.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Hyman, Toledot, s.v.

[Zvi Kaplan]

ḤANITAH (Heb. חֲנִיתָה), kibbutz situated on the Israel-Lebanese frontier in western Upper Galilee, 4½ mi. (7 km.) E. of Rosh ha-Nikrah. Ḥanitah, affiliated with Iḥud ha-Kevuẓot ve-ha-Kibbutzim, was founded in 1938, at the height of the Arab riots, as a stockade and watchtower outpost, with the aim of gaining a foothold in a region until then devoid of Jewish settlement, and of closing the border gap through which armed gangs used to infiltrate from Lebanon. Ḥanitah became the epitome of the defense settlement and its foundation was the subject of the Hebrew opera *Dan ha-Shomer* by Shin *Shalom and Marc *Lavry (1945). First established by a *Haganah unit at a site known as "lower Ḥanitah," the settlement had to repel incessant attacks, two defenders falling the very night it was founded. A month later, "upper Ḥanitah" was set up on the permanent site at the top of the ridge. In 1939, a group of settlers from Eastern Europe took over. Arduous reclamation work was required to carve cultivable land (mainly for deciduous fruit orchards and vineyards) out of the rocky terrain overgrown with wild brush. Forests were planted and ancient woodlands in the vicinity restored. Ḥanitah established a large rest resort, which went out of business though guest rooms were still rented, a lens-making factory, and a factory for coating, laminating and metallicizing polyester film. Farming included fruit plantations, citrus groves, and field crops. Its population in 1968 was 390, rising to 610 in the mid-1990s and then dropping to 465 by 2002. Its name dates back to the second and third centuries C.E. and is preserved in the form Ḥanita (חניתא; Tosef., Shev. 4:9 and TJ, Dem. 2:1, 22b), today Khirbat Ḥānūtā at the site of the kibbutz.

WEBSITE: www.hanita.co.il.

[Efraim Orni]

HANKIN, YEHOSHUA (1864–1945), Ereẓ Israel pioneer, instrumental in acquiring large tracts of land for Jewish settlement. Born in Kremenchug, Ukraine, Hankin went to Ereẓ Israel in 1882 with his father, who was one of the founders of Rishon le-Zion. In 1887 the family moved to Gederah where he established friendly relations with the Arab *felaḥeen* and landowners, which helped him in negotiating for the purchase of land for the expansion of Jewish settlement. His first purchase, in 1890, was of the lands on which Reḥovot was established, and a year later he bought the land on which Ḥaderah was founded; he also purchased the lands on which the *Jewish Colonization Association (ICA) settlements in the Galilee and elsewhere were set up. In 1908, when the Zionist Organization began to engage in practical work in Ereẓ Israel and established the Palestine Land Development Corporation (for the purchase and cultivation of land for the *Jewish National Fund and private purchasers), Hankin joined this company. As early as 1897 he had negotiated for the purchase of the Jezreel Valley lands, but the first sale there was delayed until 1909, when Hankin at last succeeded in buying the lands of Kafr Fūla (10,000 dunams), on which Merḥavyah, the first Jewish settlement in the valley, was established. In 1915 he was exiled to Anatolia, Turkey, by the Turkish authorities, returning to Palestine three years later. In 1920 he purchased a large tract of land (51,000 dunams) in the Jezreel Valley, on which many agricultural settlements were later established (En-Harod, Tel Yosef, Nahalal, and others), and as a result he became known as "The Redeemer of the Valley." Seven years later he submitted to the Zionist leadership a daring 20-year plan for the acquisition of Palestinian lands; from 1932 he served as director of the Palestine Land Development Corporation. Hankin wrote *Jewish Colonization in Palestine* (1940, ed. and tr. by E. Koenig). He died in Tel Aviv and was buried on Mt. Gilboa opposite the land he redeemed in the Jezreel Valley, near the Harod spring. During his lifetime, he purchased more than 600,000 dunams of land, most of which passed into the possession of the Jewish National Fund. The moshav Kefar Yehoshu'a in the Jezreel Valley is named after him.

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[Gedalyah Elkoshi]

HANNAH (Heb. חַנָּה; "graciousness, favor"), wife of Elkanah, of the family of Zuph from Ramathaim-Zophim in the hill country of Ephraim; mother of the prophet *Samuel. Hannah appears in the Bible in connection with the birth of Samuel. Together with Elkanah and her co-wife Peninnah, she used to make the pilgrimage annually to the Temple in Shiloh to offer sacrifices (I Sam. 1:2–7; 2:19; the Septuagint and a fragment from Cave 4 at Qumran in 1:24). Though the favored wife of her husband, she was unhappy because she was childless for many years and taunted about it by her co-wife. As she once stood in the Temple, pouring out her bitter anguish inaudibly, with only her lips moving, and vowing to dedicate any son born to her to the Temple and the service of God, *Eli the high priest at Shiloh observed her and chided her for her apparently drunken behavior. On ascertaining its true cause, however, he added his blessing to her pleas. Hannah gave birth to a son, Samuel, and after weaning him brought him to the Temple, offered a sacrifice and a song of thanksgiving, and left him with Eli to serve in the Temple for life. Each year she would return to bring him a small cloak, when she went up with her husband to offer the yearly sacrifice. Eli blessed her and Hannah bore three more sons and two daughters (I Sam. 2:21).

The story of Hannah and the birth of Samuel is one of the most charming in the Bible. It is similar to other stories of barren mothers who late in life bore sons destined to be leaders of the nation, and to the story of *Rachel who was also the favored wife of her husband. Hannah's pledging her son before his birth is similar to the action of Samson's mother (Judg. 13), who pledged him as a *nazirite. This was a common practice of the period (although it was later forbidden – "a woman shall not pledge her son as a nazirite," Naz. 4:6). Amos 2:11–12 refers to prophets and nazirites jointly. It is worth noting that according to the Septuagint and the fragment from Qumran, 4QSama, Hannah dedicates her son specifically "as a nazirite for all time" who is forbidden to partake of wine and spirits (similarly in Ecclus. 46:13; Jos., Ant., 5:347). According to R. Nehorai (Naz. 9:5; Maim. Yad, Nezirut, 3:16) Samuel was a nazirite like Samson. Hannah's prayer served as the model for Mary's prayer in the New Testament (Luke 1:46–55), famously referred to as "Magnificat," its opening Latin word.

[Yehoshua M. Grintz]

In the Aggadah

Hannah was one of the seven prophetesses (Meg. 14a). It was at her instigation that Elkanah took a second wife after 10 years of marriage without children (PR 43, 181b). Once Peninnah had given birth, however, she ceaselessly taunted Hannah (cf. I Sam. 1:6), constantly reminding her of her childlessness (PR 43, 182a–b). The expression "O Lord of hosts" (I Sam. 1:11), which she was the first to use, implies: "Of all the hosts You have created, is it so hard to give me one son" (Ber. 31b), and to have contained the suggested criticism of God: "To which host do I belong? If the heavenly, then I will never die; if the mortal, then I should be able to give birth" (PR 43, 179b). The triple repetition of the phrase "thy handmaid" refers to her contention that she had not transgressed any of the three transgressions for which women die in childbirth (Ber. *ibid.*, cf. Shab. 2:6). Hannah was so assured of the righteousness of her case that not only did she "hurl words at God" (*ibid.*) but she even volunteered to feign adultery, so that she would have to undergo the ordeal of water, after which, according to the Bible, "she will be cleansed and shall conceive seed" (Num. 5:28; Ber. *ibid.*).

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HANNAH AND HER SEVEN SONS, a story told in II *Maccabees, Chapter 7, of seven brothers who were seized along with their mother by *Antiochus IV Epiphanes, presumably shortly after the beginning of the religious persecutions in 167/166 B.C.E., and commanded to prove their obedience to the king by partaking of swine's flesh. The brothers defiantly refused to do so. Encouraged in their resolve by their mother, they were executed after being put to frightful tortures. When the mother was appealed to by the king to spare the youngest child's life by prevailing upon him to comply, she urged the child instead to follow in the path of his brothers, and she herself died shortly thereafter.

The accounts of the manner in which she met her death differ. According to IV Maccabees, she threw herself into the fire. The Midrash states that she lost her reason and threw herself to her death from a roof, while according to **Josippon* she fell dead on the corpses of her children. The story, along with that of the martyrdom of the aged priest Eleazar (II Macc. 6:18–31), became the subject of the book known as the Fourth Book of Maccabees. In rabbinic literature the story is recounted as an instance of martyrdom during the Hadrianic persecution (Lam. R. 1:16, no. 50; Git. 57b; PR 43:180; SER 30:151). The martyrs were venerated in the Roman Catholic calendar of saints (Aug. 1) as the "Seven Maccabee Brothers," although the mother is also mentioned with them, their martyrdom being considered a prefiguration of later Christian martyrdoms. According to Antiochene Christian tradition, the relics of the mother and sons were interred on the site of a synagogue (later converted into a church) in the Kerateion quarter of Antioch. On this and other grounds, it has been suggested that the scene of the martyrdom was Antioch rather than Jerusalem.

Whatever its historical substratum, the story in II Maccabees and in all subsequent sources is doubtless an adaptation of a stock form of a terrible tragedy (cf. I Sam. 2:5 and Isaiah di Trani's commentary; Job 1:2, 19; Ass. Mos. 9; Jos., Ant., 14:429; BB 11a; Sem. 8:13). Drawing directly on II Maccabees, *Sefer Josippon* (c. 953) restored the story to its original Epiphanian setting. Although in II Maccabees and *Gittin* the name of the mother is not given, in other rabbinic accounts she is called Miriam bat Tanḥum, while in Syriac Christian accounts she is called Shamone and/or Maryam. However, the obvious association with I Samuel 2:5 impelled a Spanish reviser of the *Josippon* (ed. Constantinople, 1510, 4:19) to name the anonymous mother of II Maccabees "Hannah," by which name she has become famous, thanks to the dissemination of the longer (Spanish) version of *Josippon* and the medieval *piyyutim* in Hebrew, Arabic, and Judeo-Persian which are based on it. The shorter recension of the work (ed. Mantua, c. 1480, 126 f.) and the literature based on it continued to refer to her anonymously. The story has inspired many legends on the place of the martyrs' burial, as well as works of art, poetry, and drama on their martyrdom, down to modern times.

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[Gerson D. Cohen]

HANNATHON (Heb. חַנָּתֹן), city in the territory of Zebulun between Rimmon and Iphtahel (Wadi al-Malik) in Lower Galilee (Josh. 19:13–14). It is mentioned in two el-Amarna letters as Ḥinnatuni or Ḥinnatuna (ed. Knudtzon, 8, 245); in one it is referred to as the place where the kings of Shimron and Acre attacked a Babylonian caravan which was on its way to Egypt, and in the other, as the place where the king of Acre freed Labayu, king of Shechem, after he had been captured at Megiddo. Tiglath-Pileser III mentions Hannathon (Ḥinatuna) among the cities captured during his Galilean campaign in 733 B.C.E., together with Kanah and Jotbah. The site is generally identified with Tell al-Badaywiyya at the western end of the Bet Netofah Valley, on an important road near Rammun, Kanah, and Jotapata. Pottery dating from the Middle Bronze, Late Bronze, and Iron Ages has been found there. An alternative identification locates Hannathon at Khirbat al-Ḥarbaj in the southern end of the plain of Acre (but see *Achshaph).

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[Michael Avi-Yonah]

ḤANNELES, JUDAH LEIB BEN MEIR (d. 1596), rabbi and author, probably from Posen; known by the initials of his name, as "Maharlaḥ" (**M**orenu **ha**-**R**av **L**eib **Ḥ**anneles). Judah, the son of Meir of Tannhauser, was one of nine brothers, among them *Eliakim Goetz b. Meir, a leading scholar of Posen, Jacob *Temerls, and Akiva of Hotzenplatz. He is the author of *Va-Yiggash Yehudah*, a commentary on the *Arba'ah Turim* of *Jacob b. Asher, which he explains word by word, noting each halakhic ruling, giving its source and citing the various opinions. In his commentary Judah sought to complete the *Beit Yosef* of Joseph *Caro; he disagrees with Caro in several instances and also gives more accurate versions of the *Arba'ah Turim*, of which Caro was not aware. At times he even disagrees with Jacob b. Asher. He began the publication of his work toward the end of his life, and died before it was completed. His brother, Jacob Temerls, continued with the publication of *Oraḥ Ḥayyim* (Lublin, 1596–99). In the later editions of the *Arba'ah Turim*, beginning with that of Dyhernfurth (1791–96), a second corrected edition of *Va-Yiggash Yehudah* on *Oraḥ Ḥayyim* was published, in which the sources were omitted. Although the *Ḥiddushei ha-Ga'on Leib Ḥanneles* on *Oraḥ Ḥayyim* printed in the standard text of the *Arba'ah Turim* have been wrongly ascribed to him (being a selection of glosses from commentators compiled by the brothers Michael Simon and Joseph Maya the sons of the printer, Jehiel Maya), they nevertheless include many selections from Ḥanneles' work.

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HANNEMANN, PABLO (1906–?), Argentine sculptor. Born in Germany, Hannemann designed and illustrated several books for Jewish publishing companies before he immigrated to Argentina in 1937. In 1955 he founded an Argentine art school. He organized, together with two architects, the first Israeli industrial exhibition in Argentina. Besides carving in wood, he worked in concrete and made large sculptures, as he considered concrete to be the only true link with architecture. His sculpture is filled with Jewish content.

HANNOVER, ADOLPH (1814–1894), Danish scientist and physician, known for his experimental studies in histology and microscopic technique. Hannover's detection of a plant parasite on the salamander was of vital importance to medicine for it proved for the first time the significance of vegetative contagious matter in the transmission of infectious diseases. Hannover's use of chromium acid as a hardening agent contributed to microscopic technique. His treatises on the microscopy of the nervous system, on the construction of microscopes, on the retina, and on the nature of cancer were translated into many languages.

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[Julius Margolinsky]

HANNOVER, NATHAN NATA (d. 1683), preacher, kabbalist, lexicographer, and chronicler. During the *Chmielnicki massacres which started at the end of 1648, he had to leave his birthplace in Volhynia and he wandered through Poland, Germany, and Holland for several years. His sermons, delivered during those years of wandering, were compiled into a book covering the entire Pentateuch. In 1653 he went to Italy. In the same year in Venice, he published *Yeven Meẓulah* (Miry Pit), dealing with the Chmielnicki persecutions. He associated with the great kabbalists of the period: Samuel Aboab and Moses Zacuto of Italy; and those who had come from Ereẓ Israel – Ḥayyim Cohen, Nathan Shapira, and Benjamin ha-Levi of Safed. He studied the Kabbalah doctrines of the school of Isaac Luria for a number of years and enjoyed the munificence of patrons in Leghorn in 1654 and in Venice in 1655–56.

In 1660 in Prague, Hannover published *Safah Berurah* (Clear Language), a Hebrew-German-Latin-Italian conversation lexicon, text, and guidebook for travelers, and in 1662, *Sha'arei Ẓiyyon* (The Gates of Zion), a collection of prayers for *tikkun ḥaẓot* (midnight prayers), and for other kabbalistic rituals of the Lurianic school. These two books were the result of his studies in Italy. In 1662, he was appointed president of the *bet din* and head of the yeshivah in Jassy, Walachia, which was then a Turkish province. He was still in Jassy in 1666, the "year of redemption," when the Messiah was due, according to the beliefs of the Shabbatean movement. He is mentioned among those who wrote to Lithuania to announce the event. He spent about ten years in Jassy, and according to tradition, in Pascani too. He then moved to Ungarisch Brod, Moravia, on the Hungarian border, where he was preacher and religious judge. He was killed, while praying with the community, by Turkish soldiers who raided the town.

Hannover was a prolific writer, but most of his works, sermons and writings on the Kabbalah, were lost. Apart from the sermon *Ta'amei Sukkah*, printed in Amsterdam, 1652, and a kabbalistic writing on Purim, preserved in manuscript, only the three books published in his lifetime are extant. The subject matter and the style of these works are diverse, yet each had considerable influence for a long time. The prayer book, *Sha'arei Ẓiyyon*, was reprinted over 50 times, chiefly in Italy, Holland, and Central and Eastern Europe. The book served as a channel for introducing into the ordinary prayer book certain elements of the Lurianic Kabbalah, such as the *Berikh Shemei* prayer. *Safah Berurah* also had several editions, being published both under its own title and other titles in its original form and in a modified version. Up to the 19th century, it was used for the study of foreign languages in Central and Eastern Europe. It is still an important source for research into the Yiddish and the Hebrew used in the author's time.

The small book *Yeven Meẓulah*, on the Chmielnicki pogroms of 1648–52, has relatively few personal experiences of the author. It is mainly based on eyewitness accounts of others and hearsay evidence (including information Hannover found in print). This was the manner of writing of chroniclers of the period. Hannover's broader vision, lucid language, and simple and graceful manner of relating events gave the book an appeal it still retains. Among the Ashkenazi Jews, it was reprinted in the original version and in Yiddish translation, in almost every generation (including a Hebrew edition, 1945; a Yiddish edition, 1938), It was translated into French (1855), German (1863), Russian (1878), Polish (1912), and English (*Abyss of Despair*, 1950). The book has also been a source of information on the massacres of the Chmielnicki period to modern writers and poets like S. Asch and Minsky. Some historians have followed the narrative uncritically, without submitting it to historical analysis.

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[Israel Halpern]

HANNOVER, RAPHAEL LEVI (1685–1779), mathematician and astronomer. Born in Weikersheim, he worked as a bookkeeper in the house of Oppenheimer in Hanover, where he met the philosopher Leibniz and became his devoted pupil, studying mathematics, astronomy, and natural philosophy. He wrote two books in Hebrew on astronomy: *Luḥot ha-Ibbur,* astronomical tables for the Jewish calendar (Leiden-Hanover, 1756–7; Dessau, 1831) and *Tekhunat ha-Shamayim ve-Khol Ẓeva'am u-Mahalakham* (Amsterdam, 1756). He left several unpublished manuscripts.

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[Getzel Kressel]

HA-NO'AR HA-IVRI-AKIBA, pioneering and scouting Zionist youth movement with special attachment to the traditional values of Judaism. The movement was founded in Cracow as an organization of Jewish students in non-Jewish high schools. In 1924 Akiba united with similar youth organizations in western Galicia and assumed the character of a pioneering Zionist youth movement. A group that left the movement constituted the nucleus of the youth movement of the *General Zionists, Ha-No'ar ha-Ẓiyyoni. Akiba was active in Poland and to a lesser degree in Austria, Czechoslovakia, Greece, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, and Palestine between the two World Wars, during the Holocaust, and almost until the establishment of the State of Israel. Its pioneering members began to settle collectively in Palestine in 1930. They were among those who fought for Jewish labor in Petaḥ Tikvah, Be'er Ya'akov, Ekron, and Ḥaderah and were among the founders of Neveh Eitan, Usha, Bet Yehoshu'a, Bustan ha-Galil, Benei Zion, and elsewhere.

Before the Holocaust, the membership of the movement reached 30,000. At the 21st Zionist Congress (1939), the last before the war, the movement was represented by six delegates. The ideological foundation of Akiba was based on the following principles: both assimilation – as a pragmatic means to solve the Jewish problem – and the leftist movements – especially Communism – lead to the destruction of Judaism. The efforts of assimilationists for generations have ended in failure, and the same is true of leftist movements, which denied Jewish national identity. Akiba advanced the desire to create an original Jewish experience through a pioneering way of life in Ereẓ Israel and viewed Zionism as the perpetuation of Jewish history.

Akiba educated its members toward a positive attitude to the traditional Jewish way of life. This emphasis was important among semi-assimilated youth who had been drawn away from Judaism. Its guiding principle was that even those who doubted the values of faith must agree that the traditionally religious way of life embodies the original creation of the Jewish people and its unifying quality was still valid in the present. Therefore behavior in public and in Jewish institutions should not contradict the traditional way of life. During the Holocaust, the leaders of Akiba were among the heads of the Jewish fighting organizations and participated in the armed revolts in the Cracow ghetto (1942) and the Warsaw ghetto (1943). The ideological leader of the movement was Yoel Dreiblatt.

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[Moshe Singer]

HA-NO'AR HA-OVED VE-HA-LOMED (Heb. "Working and Student Youth"), Israel youth movement for boys and girls aged 9–18. It is an integral part of the *Histadrut. It was founded as Ha-No'ar ha-Oved in 1926 to conduct educational activities among working youth aged 13–18 and improve their wages and working conditions. Its founder and mentor was David *Cohen (d. 1976). The movement ran evening classes, which were taken over by the state in 1955; labor exchanges, taken over by the State Employment Service in 1959; and youth groups for ages 10–12, 13–15, and 16–18. Most of the instructors came from the kibbutzim of *Iḥud ha-Kevuẓot ve-ha-Kibbutzim and *Ha-Kibbutz ha-Me-'uḥad. In 1933 a group of members founded its first kibbutz, *Na'an, and it has provided founding members for about 40 kibbutzim in all. In 1959 Ha-No'ar ha-Oved merged with Habonim-Ha-Tenu'ah ha-Me'uḥedet to form the present organization. In 1970 it had about 100,000 members; somewhat more than one-third were working boys and girls and belonged to the trade sections, and the rest, most of them still at school, belonged to the educational groups. While it had no formal party affiliation, most of its youth leaders belonged to the *Israel Labor Party. At the outset of the 21st century the movement had hundreds of branches, centers, and clubhouses throughout Israel, used by Jewish, Arab, and Druze youth; including young people who work and study in the cities, development towns, kibbutzim, and young immigrants. The movement runs the Labor Union for Youth, which is the organization that acts as the legal representative of young working people in Israel. The movement focuses on involvement in Israeli society and initiates such educational activities as seminars, camps, and daily meetings. The counselors are movement graduates who postpone their military service for one year and work voluntarily in the movement centers or live as a group in development towns. The movement also has activities in the former Soviet Union in order to encourage and prepare young people to immigrate to Israel. At the end of the 1980s, a group of graduates established Merḥav, a movement of people aged 22–30 who live cooperatively in cities and villages and are active in educational work. Members of Merḥav established two new kibbutzim: Ravid and Eshbal, located in Galilee.

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[Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

HANOKH, SHALOM (1946–), Israeli rock singer-songwriter, among the most influential figures in Israeli rock since the 1970s. After teaming up with iconographic singer Arik *Einstein in 1967 he produced an extensive volume of work, ranging from blues-inflected songs to high-energy rock and gentle ballads.

Hanokh was born in kibbutz Mishmarot and spent much of his formative musical years writing songs with fellow kibbutz member singer-songwriter Meir Ariel. After being brought up on classical music, musicals, gospel, blues, folk music, and French chansons, Hanokh discovered the Beatles. When he was 18 a song he wrote called *Stav* ("Fall") was recorded by top singing duo of the time, Hedva and David.

Hanokh joined the IDF at the age of 19 and was eventually accepted into the Naḥal army band, although not as a soloist. During his military service Hanokh also found time to appear in civilian shows with performers such as Ḥanan Yovel, Menaḥem Silverman, and Eli Magen. In 1967, Hanokh wrote a satirical number called *Jacques Aboutboul*, together with Yossi Pollak. It was this effort that brought him to the attention of Einstein, already an established star in the Israeli pop world. Shortly after hearing Hanokh perform *Jacques Aboutboul* Einstein recorded four Hanokh compositions and one of the important duos in the annals of Israeli rock was born.

After his release from the army in 1968, Hanokh left his kibbutz, moved to Tel Aviv, and began a highly productive period during which he wrote the music for hits by numerous top performers, such as Yossi *Banai, Ili Gurelitzki, and Ḥanan Yovel. More importantly, he also wrote the music for *Prague* with which Einstein won the 1969 Israeli Song Festival. Between 1969 and 1970 Hanokh collaborated with Einstein on two albums, *Shablul* and *Plastelina*, appeared in the movie *Shablul*, and took part alongside Einstein in two episodes of the satirical program *Lul*. Hanokh then spent three years trying to develop an international career in London but failed and returned to Israel in 1973. He resumed his partnership with Einstein before his Israeli rock career took off in earnest with the formation of the country's first rock band, Tammuz.

In 1977 Hanokh released a melancholy album called *Adam Betokh Atzmo*, before returning to his original high-energy rock style. Further collaborations with Einstein ensued and, by the end of the 1970s, Hanokh was the top rock performer in Israel. In 1984 Hanokh released *Meḥakim le-Mashi'aḥ* ("Waiting for the Messiah"), his most successful album to date, and although his career had a few ups and downs in the interim, Hanokh remained the premier rock artist in Israel.

[Barry Davis (2nd ed.)]

ḤANOKH BEN MOSES (d. 1014), Spanish talmudist. The biography of Ḥanokh the son of *Moses b. Ḥanokh, is told in Abraham *Ibn Daud's *Sefer ha-Kabbalah* (*The Book of Traditions*, ed. by G.D. Cohen (1967), 65–71). On the death of his father in about 965, Ḥanokh was appointed rabbi of Córdoba and as a result was virtually chief rabbi of the whole of Muslim Spain. Joseph *Ibn Abitur, who was his equal in knowledge of Torah and excelled him in secular knowledge, competed with him for the post, but Ḥ *Ḥisdai ibn Shaprut decided in Ḥanokh's favor. When Ḥisdai died, the struggle was renewed, and on this occasion the caliph, al-Ḥakam II al-Mustanóir (961–76), confirmed the appointment of Ḥanokh; whereupon Ibn Abitur was put under the ban and left Spain. However, when the caliph died and the vizier al-*Manṣūr took control of the kingdom in Spain, a Jewish merchant, Jacob *Ibn Jau rose in power. The latter supported Ibn Abitur, Ḥanokh was dismissed from office, and Ibn Abitur was invited to return to

Spain. Ibn Abitur did not accept the invitation. Subsequently, Ibn Jau was imprisoned by al-Manṣūr and Ḥanokh was restored to office, serving until his death. From all the information that is available, it appears that Ḥanokh followed his father in all matters. He was an outstanding talmudic scholar, some of whose responsa were included in the contemporary gaonic responsa. Like his father, he worked to establish an independent Torah center in Spain. R. *Hai Gaon complains bitterly that Ḥanokh did not answer his letters. He had important disciples, the greatest of whom was *Samuel ha-Nagid.

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[Eliyahu Ashtor]

ḤANOKH OF ALEKSANDROW (1798–1870), ḥasidic *ẓaddik* and leader; son of Phinehas ha-Kohen of Lutomirsk. He became a disciple of *Simḥah Bunim of Przysucha (Pshiskhah) and Menahem Mendel of *Kotsk, and served as rabbi in *Aleksandrow near Lodz, and later in Nowy Dwor, and in Pressnitz. Ḥanokh spent most of his life in the circles of the Ḥasidim of Przysucha and their successors in Kotsk and Gur, and in 1866 Ḥanokh succeeded Isaac Meir *Alter as leader of Gur Ḥasidism (see *Gora Kalwaria). He settled in Aleksandrow which had become a center for Kotsk-Gur Ḥasidism. Ḥanokh continued the Kotsk trend in a mystical religious interpretation. He emphasized the value of Torah study which he termed "internal worship." Ḥanokh taught that every *mitzvah* must be performed from within and not merely externally. Man should dedicate his entire being to the performance of a *mitzvah* and in turn shall receive the strength of his being from the *mitzvah* he performs. His devotion effects a transformation in the world order and causes a divine emanation. Ḥanokh taught that while a man should occupy himself with the entire Torah and all the *mitzvot*, he should select one *mitzvah* for his particular attention. Of himself Ḥanokh states: "I have chosen the quality of humility."

Ḥanokh believed that everyone could follow the path of Ḥasidism by his own efforts, and that the *ẓaddik* was merely a guide. However, a compelling attachment exists between the *ẓaddik* and his community: "The true leader successfully serves God with the aid of the Ḥasidim who gather round him." Ḥanokh emphasized joy and happiness in life, but his joviality concealed a serious thinker. His teachings are distinguished by brevity and acuity. Only a few of his writings – responsa on halakhic questions, letters and sermons, poems and riddles – have survived in manuscript. Most of his teachings were recorded by his disciples and are published in *Ḥashavah le-Tovah* (1929); his stories and sayings are collected in *Si'aḥ Sarfei Kodesh* (1923).

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[Esther (Zweig) Liebes]

ḤANOKH ZUNDEL BEN JOSEPH (d. 1867), commentator on the Midrash. Ḥanokh lived in Bialystok (Poland), and devoted himself to writing commentaries on the Midrash. They are largely based upon the earlier commentators such as the *Mattenot Kehunnah* of Berman Ashkenazi, the *Yefeh To'ar* of Samuel Jaffe Ashkenazi, and the *Yedei Moshe* of Abraham Heller Ashkenazi, but he adds original comments. In the *Eẓ Yosef* he strives to give the plain meaning of the text and establish the correct readings, while the *Anaf Yosef* is largely homiletical (published together as *Yalkut al Petirat Aharon u-Moshe*, Warsaw, 1874). In addition to his commentaries on the classical Midrashim, the *Rabbah* (1829–34), and the *Tanḥuma* (1833), he also wrote commentaries on other midrashic works, such as the *Seder Olam Rabbah* (1845), *Midrash Shemu'el* (1860), *Aggadat Bereshit* (1876), and the *aggadot* in the *Ein Ya'akov* of Jacob ibn Ḥabib (1883). He also wrote a commentary on *Pirkei Avot* (1892), and *Olat ha-Ḥodesh* (1859), consisting of the prayers for the new moon, with a commentary. His commentaries on *Yalkut Shimoni* and the *Mekhilta* are still in manuscript.

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[Yehoshua Horowitz]

HANOVER (Ger. **Hannover**), city in Germany. Sources dating from 1292 note the presence of Jews in Hanover's "old city" (Altstadt). The period was one of significant expansion for the city and, therefore, Jewish moneylenders were welcomed and promised protection by the city council. A municipal law of 1303 prohibited anyone from molesting the Jews "by word or deed." The Jewish community grew significantly, and by 1340 ritual slaughter was permitted in the city. During the *Black Death persecutions the Jews were driven from the city. In 1369–71 only one Jew lived in Hanover until he, too, was expelled by the council, with the permission of the duke. In 1375 the dukes yielded to the city the privilege of admitting Jews and retaining their taxes. Shortly thereafter historical records again attest to the presence of Jews in the city. By 1500 several Jews also lived in the "new city" (in 1540, there were three families in the old city, and five in the new). During this period the Jews maintained a synagogue and a rabbi. In 1451 the bishop of Muenden forced the Jews of Hanover to wear the distinguishing *badge, and in 1553 the Jews were compelled to listen to the court preacher Urbanus Rhegius in the synagogue. Between 1553 and 1601 the dukes issued six orders of expulsion against the Jews, but they were either canceled or not carried out. Apparently the Jews who were under the protection of the city were not affected by these orders. In 1588 the council forbade all business connections with Jews, and for a long time Jews did not live in the "old city."

In 1608 the residence of six Jewish families in the "new city" is mentioned, but when they opened a synagogue it was destroyed by the burghers (1613). In the 17th century the dukes permitted the settlement of several wealthy Jews in the "new city." At the request of the Court Jew Leffmann *Behrens, a resident of Hanover, a rabbinate was founded for the Duchy of Hanover. In 1704 a synagogue was established in Behrens' home. In 1710 only seven Jewish families lived in the city, but subsequently their numbers increased considerably, reaching 537 in 1833. Hanover became an important center of Jewish learning and increasingly the residence for important Jewish figures in the financial world. A larger synagogue was built in 1870 and expanded in 1900. From 1848 to 1880 Solomon *Frensdorff, the masoretic scholar, headed a teachers seminary. Hebrew printing took place in Hanover during the 18th and 19th centuries. Among the more significant works produced was Jacob b. Asher's commentary on the Pentateuch (1838). Prominent rabbis of Hanover include Nathan *Adler (1831–45) and Selig Gronemann (1844–1918). The Jewish population numbered 1,120 in 1861 (1.9% of the total population), 3,450 in 1880 (2.8%), 5,130 in 1910 (1.7%), 4,839 in 1933 (1.1%), and 2,271 in 1939 (0.5%). On the eve of World War II Hanover had one of the 10 largest Jewish communities in Germany, with over 20 cultural and welfare institutions. The anti-Jewish boycott started even before the nationwide boycott of April 1, 1933, when the Karstadt Department story fired all its Jewish employees. There was anti-Jewish rioting in May 1933 and the attacks continued the next year. Jews understood their perilous plight; many left and others closed their business and professional practices. By 1938, 552 Jewish business and legal and medical practices in Hanover were no longer operating. As their public life as Germans narrowed, Jewish communal life became more intense. In October 1938, 484 Jews of Polish origin were expelled to Poland. On *Kristallnacht* the synagogue was burned, Jewish stores were looted and homes ransacked. The mortuary was also destroyed and the *mikveh* was wrecked. Three hundred and thirty-four men were arrested and sent to Buchenwald. In a rapid operation on September 3–4, 1941, 1,200 Jews were evicted from their homes and consigned to 15 "Jew houses." Deportations began in December 1941 and continued in March and July 1942, when the Jewish population was reduced to some 300. In February 1945 Jews married to non-Jews were deported. At least 2,200 Jews from Hanover died in the Holocaust. Some 100 survived within the city.

After the war 66 survivors of the prewar community returned. In 1963 a new synagogue was opened; in 1966 there were 450 Jews in Hanover (0.03% of the total population). In 1988 the European Center for Jewish Music was established at the University for Music and Theatre. It is devoted to the reconstruction and documentation of liturgical music. The Jewish community numbered 379 in 1989 and 3,898 in 2004. The membership increased due to the immigration of Jews from the former Soviet Union. Since 1997 the community has employed a rabbi. In 1995 a liberal community was established which had more than 450 members in 2005. It is a member of the Union of Progressive Jews in Germany. Hanover is the seat of two associations of Jewish communities in Lower Saxony: the association which is affiliated with the Central Council of Jews in Germany with nine communities (founded in 1953) and the association of liberal Jewish communities (founded in 1997) with seven members (2005).

Former German State

The Duchy of Hanover was formed out of the former territories of *Brunswick and Lueneburg in the 17th century. Duke Ernst August (1679–98) obtained the title of elector through the services of Leffmann Behrens, whose descendants continued in the service of the crown till the middle of the 19th century. Other prominent families of Court Jews were David, Cohen, and Gans. The dukes established their rights of taxation and guardianship over the Jews, expressed in the *Judenordnung* of 1723, in force until 1842, which severely restricted the number of Jews there. In 1808 the Jews of Hanover received civil rights either through annexation of the territory to France or its incorporation in the newly created Kingdom of Westphalia. These rights were abolished in 1815, and the basic 1842 legislation concerning the Jews confirmed discrimination against them by expressly excluding Jews from state posts. The Jewish oath was rescinded only in 1850. The Jews finally achieved emancipation three years after Hanover passed to Prussia (1866).

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[Zvi Avneri / Larissa Daemmig (2nd ed.)]

HANRAY, LAWRENCE (1874–1947), British actor. Born in London, Hanray directed the Liverpool Repertory Company from 1913 and took the company to London. In 1920 he joined

Everyman Theater, Hampstead, and played in the original production of *Loyalities*, 1922, and later revivals of this and other Galsworthy plays. He also acted in Chekhov, Ibsen, and Euripides and did a season in New York, 1927–28. From 1932 until his death he appeared in supporting roles in many British films, especially historical costume dramas produced by Sir Alexander *Korda such as *The Private Life of Henry VIII* (1933) and *Nicholas Nickleby* (1946).

HANSON, NORMAN LEONARD (1909–), South African architect. Hanson made a major contribution to the town planning of Ashkelon in Israel, designed the national headquarters of the South African Zionist Federation in Johannesburg (his birthplace) and the mining and geology block at the Witwatersrand University. He served on its faculty of architecture for many years. Hanson was president of the Institute of South African Architects in 1947. In 1963, he left South Africa to take up the chair of architecture at Manchester University.

[Louis Hotz]

HANTKE, ARTHUR (**Menahem**; 1874–1955), Zionist leader. Born in Berlin, the son of a religious family from the district of Posen, Hantke was in 1893 a founding member of the Juedische Humanitaetsgesellschaft, a society of Jewish students in Berlin, which in the course of time adopted a Jewish national outlook. He joined the Zionist Organization soon after it was founded in 1897. In 1905 he became a member of the Zionist General Council of the World Zionist Organization and was appointed director of the office of the Zionist Federation in Germany. From 1910 to 1920 he served as president of this organization. At the Tenth Zionist Congress held in Basle (1911) he was elected to the Zionist Executive, a post in which he was responsible for financial and organizational affairs. During World War I he was charged with important political tasks, one of which was to establish contact with the German Foreign Ministry on behalf of the Zionist Organization. After the publication of the *Balfour Declaration in London he attempted to obtain similar declarations from the Central Powers and succeeded in obtaining a pro-Zionist statement from the Austro-Hungarian foreign minister, Count Czernin (Nov. 17, 1917). After the war he lived for a time in London, where he continued to deal with organizational affairs of the Zionist Organization. In 1920 he was put in charge of the Central European department of the *Keren Hayesod and of the Berlin office of the Zionist Organization. In 1926 Hantke settled in Palestine, and from then he served (with L. *Jaffe until 1948) as the managing director of the head office of the Keren Hayesod in Jerusalem. The moshav Even Menaḥem on the Israel-Lebanese border is named after him.

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[Michael Heymann]

ḤANUKKAH (Heb. חֲנֻכָּה; "dedication"), an annual eight-day festival commencing on the 25th of Kislev. According to a well-founded tradition it was instituted by *Judah Maccabee and his followers. The term *ḥanukkah* is found in Hebrew and in Aramaic (ḥanukta) in rabbinic literature, while in Greek it is ὁ ἐγκαινισμὸς τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου, "dedication of the altar," (I Maccabees 4:59) and τὰ ἐγκαίνια, "feast of the dedication" (John 10:22, where it is an abbreviation of *ḥanukkat ha-mizbe'aḥ*, "dedication of the altar," of I Maccabees, and of *ḥanukkat beit Ḥashmonai*, "dedication of the Hasmonean Temple" in rabbinic literature). The sources which refer to Ḥanukkah yield little information on the institution of the festival. They were composed long (perhaps even generations) after its establishment; legends seem to be inextricably interwoven with the historical traditions. I Maccabees (4:36–59) states that Judah Maccabee, after defeating Lysias, entered Jerusalem and purified the Temple. The altar that had been defiled was demolished and a new one was built. Judah then made new holy vessels (among them a candelabrum, an altar for incense, a table, and curtains) and set the 25th of Kislev as the date for the rededication of the Temple. The day coincided with the third anniversary of the proclamation of the restrictive edicts of Antiochus Epiphanes in which he had decreed that idolatrous sacrifices should be offered on a platform erected upon the altar. The altar was to be consecrated with the renewal of the daily sacrificial service, accompanied by song, the playing of musical instruments, the chanting of **Hallel*, and the offering of sacrifices (no mention of any special festival customs is made). The celebrations lasted for eight days and Judah decreed that they be designated as days of rejoicing for future generations. Ḥanukkah, as the festival that commemorates the dedication of the altar, is also mentioned in the scholium of **Megillat Ta'anit*, as well as in the traditional **Al ha-Nissim* ("We thank Thee for the miracles") prayer for Ḥanukkah.

In II Maccabees (1:8; 10:1–5), the main aspects of Ḥanukkah are related as in I Maccabees. The book adds, however, that the eight-day dedication ceremony was performed on an analogy with *Solomon's consecration of the Temple (2:12). The eight days were celebrated "with gladness like the Feast of Tabernacles remembering how, not long before, during the Feast of Tabernacles, they had been wandering like wild beasts in the mountains and the caves. So, bearing wands wreathed with leaves and fair boughs and palms, they offered hymns of praise" (10:6–8). Ḥanukkah is, therefore, called *Tabernacles (1:9), or Tabernacles and Fire (1:18). Fire had descended from heaven at the dedication of the altar in the days of Moses and at the sanctification of the Temple of Solomon; at the consecration of the altar in the time of *Nehemiah there was also a miracle of fire, and so in the days of Judah Maccabee (1:18–36, 2:8–12, 14; 10:3).

Josephus, whose history of Ḥanukkah is based on I Maccabees, does not mention the term Ḥanukkah and concludes: "From that time onward unto this day we celebrate the festival, calling it 'Lights'" (Φῶτα, Ant. 12:325). He explains that the festival acquired this name because the right to serve God came to the people unexpectedly, like a sudden light (*ibid.*).

None of these writings mentions the kindling of lights on Ḥanukkah. Reference is first made in a *baraita*: "The precept of light on Ḥanukkah requires that one light be kindled in each house; the zealous require one light for each person; the extremely zealous add a light for each person each night. According to Bet *Shammai: 'On the first day, eight lights should be kindled, thereafter they should be progressively reduced' while *Hillel held that: 'On the first night one light should be kindled, thereafter they should be progressively increased'" (Scholium to *Megillat Ta'anit*; Shab. 21b). Another *baraita* states that the Hasmoneans could not use the candelabrum in the Temple since the Greeks had defiled it. They, therefore, took seven iron spits, covered them with zinc, and used them as a candelabrum (Scholium to *Megillat Ta'anit*). Indeed the sages of the second century C.E. observe that the candelabrum of the early Hasmoneans was not made of gold (Men. 28b; et al.). This tradition forms the core of the story, a later version of which relates that the Hasmoneans found in the Temple "eight iron bars, erected them, and kindled lights in them" (PR 2:5). Another *baraita* ascribes the eight-day celebration of Ḥanukkah to the kindling of the Temple candelabrum. It states that on entering the Temple, the Hasmoneans discovered that the Greeks had defiled all the oil, except for one cruse, which contained enough oil to keep the candelabrum burning for only one day. A miracle, however, happened and they kindled from it for eight days; in its commemoration a festival lasting eight days was instituted for future generations (Scholium to *Megillat Ta'anit*; Shab. 21b; cf. also *Scroll of Antiochus). All these stories seem to be nothing but legends, and the authenticity of the "oil cruse" story was already questioned in the Middle Ages.

Certain critics conjectured that the origin of Ḥanukkah was either a festival of the hellenized Jews or even an idolatrous festival that had occurred on the 25th of Kislev. Antiochus had, therefore, chosen the day to commence the idolatrous worship in the Temple. No allusion can be found in the sources to bear out this surmise. Ḥanukkah is also not connected in any way, except in calendrical coincidence, with the celebrations of the shortest day of the year (the birthday of the sun), or with the feasts of the Greek god Dionysius.

Most of the Ḥanukkah traditions complement one another, and what is lacking in one may be found in the other. Probably, during the eight-day dedication of the altar by Judah Maccabee, a second Tabernacles (analogous to the Second *Passover) was held because the festival had not been celebrated at its proper time. They observed the precept of taking the **lulav* in the Temple though not the precept of sitting in tents, for this was done at its proper time even by the partisans in the mountains. The custom of Simḥat Bet ha-Sho'evah ("the water-drawing festival"), with its kindling of torches and lamps in the courts of the Temple and the city of Jerusalem, seems likely to have been transferred as well from *Sukkot to Ḥanukkah. This was the general pattern of the festival as Judah instituted it. Before long, however, the custom of taking the *lulav* during Ḥanukkah was abolished and forgotten in time. The author of I Maccabees, who lived in Alexander Yannai's time, was unaware of the custom although it was still remembered in the Diaspora and is recorded by Jason of Cyrene and by the author of II Maccabees. Hints of a connection between Ḥanukkah and Sukkot are also preserved in rabbinic literature. The rejoicing with lights and illuminations in the Temple (after which Ḥanukkah came to be called Urim, "Lights") also became less common after a time so that Josephus no longer knew why the name "Lights" was given to the festival. By then, however, the custom of kindling lights on Ḥanukkah had spread to places outside Jerusalem, lights being kindled in the streets or in the homes. This variety of customs associated with Ḥanukkah is reflected in the *baraita* which discusses the controversy between the schools of Shammai and Hillel (see above) seemingly about the second half of the first century C.E. The custom of kindling the Ḥanukkah lights was then fixed by the sages as a rule for each man; thus it spread throughout Israel, and when other festive days mentioned in *Megillat Ta'anit* were revoked, Ḥanukkah remained as a holiday (RH 18b–19b). Consequently, Ḥanukkah evolved from a distinct Temple festival into a popular family one.

The *halakhah* prescribes that lighting the Ḥanukkah lamp should take place between "sunset and until there is no wayfarer left in the street. The lamp should be placed outside the entrance of the house. If a person lives on an upper story, it should be set on the window, nearest to the street. If he is in fear of the gentiles, the lamp may be placed inside the inner entrance of the house, and in times of danger, the precept is fulfilled by setting it on the table" (Scholium to *Megillat Ta'anit*; Shab. 21b). "Danger" not only existed in Ereẓ Israel during the Hadrianic persecution, but also in Babylonia, where Jews feared the *Habbarei who were fire worshipers (Shab. 45a). Perhaps because of the danger involved, Jews in Babylonia were most particular in the observance of the Ḥanukkah precepts; they decided that "because its purpose is to publicize the miracle," it takes precedence over the purchase of wine for *Kiddush* on the Sabbath (Shab. 23b). "Women are also obliged to kindle the Ḥanukkah lamp since they were also included in the miracle" (Shab. 23a). The precept is best fulfilled by kindling with olive oil; however, any oil may be used (*ibid.*). The Ḥanukkah lamp and the Ḥanukkah light may not serve any practical purpose (Shab. 21b). On kindling the lights, two benedictions are recited, one is a blessing on the lights and the other for the miracle; on the first night, "*She-Heḥeyanu*" (the blessing for the season) is added. The kindling of the light is followed by a short prayer which begins with the words "*Ha-Nerot Hallalu*" ("these lamps"; Sof. 20:4). A summary of the event, i.e., *Al ha-Nissim… Bi-Ymei Mattityahu* ("In the days of Mattathias") is recited in the **Amidah* prayer and in the Grace after Meals. The entire *Hallel* is said on each of the eight days. The reading of the law is from the portion of the Torah which describes the sacrifices brought by the princes at the dedication of the sanctuary, and the kindling of the candelabrum

(Num. 7:1–8:4); special *haftarot* are prescribed for the Sabbaths of Ḥanukkah. **Taḥanun* is not said and it is forbidden to eulogize the dead or to fast.

In medieval times, Ḥanukkah became such a popular festival it was said "Even he who draws his sustenance from charity, should borrow, or sell his cloak to purchase oil and lamps, and kindle" the Ḥanukkah light (Maim. Yad, Megillah va-Ḥanukkah, 4:12). In some communities, women did not work while the lights were burning, and often even during the whole of Ḥanukkah. It became the custom to feast on Ḥanukkah and, relying upon late Midrashim which associate the story of *Judith with Ḥanukkah, cheese was customarily eaten. Pancakes (*latkes*) are eaten in many Ashkenazi communities, and in Israel doughnuts (*sufganiyyot*) have become customary food for the festival. "**Ma'oz Ẓur Yeshu'ati*" ("Mighty Rock of my Salvation"), a hymn composed in Germany by a 13th-century poet about whom nothing is known except his name Mordecai, is usually sung in the Ashkenazi ritual after the kindling of the lights. The Sephardim recite Psalm 30. The origin of the custom to have an additional light, the *shammash* ("servant") with which the Ḥanukkah lights are kindled, is based on two injunctions: not to kindle one Ḥanukkah light with another; and not to use the Ḥanukkah lights for illumination.

Ḥanukkah celebrations were also expressed in ways of which the halakhists disapproved, e.g., in card playing which became traditional from the end of the Middle Ages. On Ḥanukkah, children play with a *dreidel* or *sevivon* ("spinning top"), and also receive gifts of "Ḥanukkah money." Among Sephardim, special feasts for the children and competitions for youths are arranged. In countries where Christmas became a popular family festival, Ḥanukkah, particularly among Reform Jews, assumed a similar form. In modern Israel, Ḥanukkah symbolizes mainly the victory of the few over the many, and the courage of the Jews to assert themselves as a people, which was the impetus of the national renaissance. This view found literary and artistic expression and is also reflected in such customs as the torch relay race which sets out from *Modi'in where the revolt broke out and the Hasmoneans are buried.

In Israel giant Ḥanukkah lamps, visible for great distances, are kindled during the feast atop public buildings, such as the Knesset building in Jerusalem.

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[Moshe David Herr]

ḤANUKKAH LAMP (also known as **ḥanukkiyyah** and Ḥanukkah **menorah**). The central ritual of the eight-day Festival of *Ḥanukkah is the kindling of a lamp that has receptacles for eight lights, one for each night. A ninth receptacle, called the servitor or *shammash*, is often included in the lamp as well. The festival began in 164 B.C.E., when *Judah Maccabee liberated the Jerusalem Temple from Greek control, resanctified it, and declared an eight-day celebration of "joy and gladness" (I Macc. 4:26–59). Yet, there is no record of exactly how Jews commemorated the holiday in the years following the rededication of the Temple. By the late first or early second century C.E., it was already the custom to kindle eight lights, as recorded in the Talmud. There was a disagreement between two important rabbinic schools in ancient Israel over how to light the lamps. Bet Shammai argued that one should light eight lights on the first night and decrease each night to one, while *Bet Hillel, which soon prevailed, preferred to light one lamp on the first night and increase it to eight (Shab. 21b).

No lamps survive from antiquity that can be identified definitively as Ḥanukkah lamps. It is likely that any of the secular oil lamp types known from the Greco-Roman and Byzantine Periods were used, including single- or multi-wick lamps of clay or metal, sometimes set on a stand, and hanging lamps. The Talmud describes two lamp types that could be used on Ḥanukkah: single dishes with eight wicks arranged around the edge (and covered with another vessel), and lamps with more than one spout (Shab. 23b).

It is not until the Middle Ages that the first lamps clearly designated for Ḥanukkah appear or are illustrated in Hebrew manuscripts. Many of these lamps were in bench form, characterized by a row of light receptacles on a strip or block, usually with an attached backplate. Among the earliest is a stone block with oil wells across the top, which bears the Hebrew inscription "For the commandment is a lamp, and the teaching is light" (Prov. 6:23). Found in Avigon, it has been variously dated between the 10th and 13th centuries. Metal lamps with triangular backplates for suspension on the wall and an openwork arcade of interlace arches, also with a Hebrew inscription, were made in Germany or northern France in the 13th century. Another type of wall lamp with a crenellated rectangular backplate is depicted in an Italian Hebrew manuscript of 1374 in the British Library.

While the form of the stone block lamp might have been derived from similar secular lighting devices called cresset stones, that of the sconce-form metal lamps seems to have been an innovation developed for Jewish ritual use. The secular sconces of the medieval period consisted of single brackets for candles that projected out from the wall; backplates were unknown until the 16th century. The development of a wall lamp for Ḥanukkah is based on the talmudic injunction to hang the lamp outside one's home, since its purpose is to publicize the miracle commemorated on the holiday. If one lived on an upper floor, one could place it in the window, and in times of persecution, on a table (Shab. 21b, 23b). These exceptions led to the addition of feet to backplate lamps, so they could stand on a table. Perhaps the earliest datable example of this custom is a German metal lamp created by Meir Heilprin in 1573–74.

The second basic form of the Ḥanukkah lamp is that of the candelabrum: a central shaft with four arms rising upward from each side, all in a single row. This shape is certainly based on that of the seven-branch candelabrum, or *menorah*, that was designed for the Tabernacle in the desert (Ex. 25:31–40); later versions illuminated the First and Second Temples. *Menorah*-form lamps probably were originally confined to synagogue use. The Rothschild Miscellany, written in Ferrara, Italy around 1470, contains the earliest depiction of a large standing synagogue lamp, consisting of a tall square column that widens at the top to hold eight candles. A 15th- to 16th-century synagogue lamp from Padua is in true *menorah* shape and has leaves projecting from the arms. Smaller *menorah*-form lamps probably for home use appeared in Frankfurt in the late 17th century.

A third lamp type kindled on Ḥanukkah in Europe during the medieval period consisted of a metal star-shaped oil receptacle with eight projecting spouts arranged in a circle. Suspended from the ceiling, it could serve as ordinary room illumination, Sabbath light, and Ḥanukkah lamp (if it had eight spouts). It continued in use for the festival at least until the 16th century, when it is mentioned in Moses *Isserles' notes to the Shulḥan Arukh, called the *Mappah*.

Rabbinic proscriptions governed certain developments in Ḥanukkah lamp form. One is the inclusion of a ninth light, the *shammash*. The basis for this light lies in the talmudic instruction that the lights of the Ḥanukkah lamp were sacred, and that one could not use them for ordinary illumination. Thus, in situations where there was no other light source, an additional lamp had to be kindled so one could see to perform other tasks. By the Middle Ages, Sephardi Jews developed the tradition of always placing a light next to the Ḥanukkah lamp. Ashkenazi Jews had a different custom, of kindling the eight lights with a ninth light, called a *shammash*, which they then set next to the Ḥanukkah lamp. This ninth light eventually became incorporated into the lamp itself, as exemplified by the 13th-century triangular metal lamps from Germany or northern France described above. This custom appears to have been widely adopted, since a *shammash* is found on the vast majority of lamps from subsequent periods and among all three traditions: Sephardi, Ashkenazi, or Mizraḥi.

Another aspect of form dictated by rabbinical rulings is the placement of all eight lights in a single row and on the same level. Talmudic sages required that each light had to be perceived as distinct from the others, in order to count as one of the eight. Lights in the round, such as eight lights around the rim of a dish, were acceptable as long as the dish was covered and the lights did not appear to be a single bonfire. The tradition of lights in the round was accepted by later Sephardi rabbis, for example Joseph *Caro in his early 16th-century authoritative code, the Shulḥan Arukh. However, for medieval Ashkenazi rabbis, the lights had to be placed in a single row and on the same level, with the exception of hanging star-shaped lamps. This position is reflected in Moses Isserles' Ashkenazi modification of the Shulhan Arukh in the later 16th century. To judge from the Ḥanukkah lamps produced since then, Isserles' injunction was followed by most Jewish communities around the world. However, lamps in the round or with semi-circular lights continued in use in the Netherlands in the 17th to early 18th century, and in Iraq, Yemen, and India in the 19th and 20th centuries. In addition, *menorah*-form lamps with arms of uneven heights continued to be made sporadically in Eastern Europe, Germany, and France into the 18th and 19th centuries, primarily for synagogues.

Since the earliest documented examples, Ḥanukkah lamps have generally borne some form of decorative element or imagery, whether on the backplates of bench lamps, the arms and shafts of *menorah*-form lamps, or on bases and supporting legs. Motifs include floral designs and scrollwork, animal and human figures, and architectural elements.

The centrality of Judah Maccabee and his military victory in the events of Ḥanukkah would suggest that he would often be depicted on the lamps used for the festival. However, he appears rarely until the 20th century. Instead, one of the most common motifs on bench lamps is the seven-branch *menorah* (sometimes represented as a nine-branch Ḥanukkah lamp). Its popularity began at least by the 18th century, and it was especially favored in Germany, Italy, and Eastern Europe through the 19th century. The explanation for the preference of the seven-branch *menorah* on Ḥanukkah lamps lies in the Talmud. In answer to the question of why Ḥanukkah is celebrated, the sages related a story not included in the earlier apocryphal books of the Maccabees of how, when it came to rekindle the Temple *menorah*, only one vial of sanctified oil could be found, enough for one day. But a miracle occurred, and the oil burned for eight full days (Shab. 21b). It is this later story that is cited as the reason for the holiday, and is referred to as the miracle of Ḥanukkah. When the Jerusalem Temple was destroyed in 70 C.E. and the Jews came under Roman rule, it is possible that rabbinic leaders chose to emphasize the spiritual aspects of the holiday and the hope for divine redemption of Zion, symbolized since antiquity by the *menorah*.

Many Ḥanukkah lamp backplates take the form of an actual building, or are ornamented with such architectural elements as columns, gables, and arches. The explanation for this usage is more complex, lying both in the vocabulary of general decorative arts throughout time and place, and in Jewish religious iconography. The suggestion that the use of architectural imagery on Ḥanukkah lamps symbolizes the ancient Temple may have some merit, based on the popularity of images of the Temple *menorah*. More explicitly Jewish references are found in East European lamps of the 18th and 19th centuries, whose backplates take the form of Torah arks.

The use of human imagery on Ḥanukkah lamps is quite circumscribed. Biblical or mythological figures were favored in Western and Central Europe, and later in the United States and Israel, but human representations appear to be absent in

Eastern Europe, North Africa, and the Middle East. This is understandable in Islamic lands, where iconoclasm was often predominant on ritual objects. However, this pattern may also represent varying attitudes on the part of different Jewish communities toward depicting living things, as proscribed in the Second Commandment. One popular figure was the biblical heroine, *Judith, who was found on lamps from Italy, Germany, and the Netherlands through the 18th century (and on later copies). While the original story of Judith contained no connection to the events or personages of Ḥanukkah, medieval rabbinical sources recounted a different version, in which Judith lived many centuries later than the apocryphal account, and was a descendant of Judah Maccabee's Hasmonean family. Judith's inclusion on lamps may also be related to her popularity in European art in general, where she symbolized a number of positive and negative traits, including civic and religious virtue.

Many of these motifs continued throughout the 20th century alongside newer developments in lamp design. One was the appearance of Judah Maccabee. In the early part of the century, his military victory reflected the Zionists' call for Jews to return to farm the land of Israel and defend it. Later, in the mid-20th century, Israel's struggle for independence with its miraculous victories echoed those of Judah Maccabee, and representations of Judah and of modern soldiers on lamps intensified. A second 20th century development was the outgrowth of modern design movements such as the Bauhaus, which eschewed surface ornamentation in favor of the purity of functional form. European artists such as David Heinz Gumbel and Ludwig Y. Wolpert brought this modern aesthetic to Israel in the 1930s, where they taught in the New Bezalel School; Wolpert later served as a stimulus for modernism in the United States upon his immigration to New York in 1956. Subsequent art and design movements influenced Ḥanukkah lamp form and decoration as well, as exemplified by the Abstract Expressionist synagogue pieces by Ibram Lassaw, and the Memphis-style lamps of Peter Shire.

Geographically, a number of distinctions can be seen in the materials, techniques, or forms favored from country to country. Wall-hung bench lamps were predominant in the Netherlands, Italy, North Africa, Iraq, and India, and probably represent Sephardi and Mizraḥi traditions. On the other hand, standing bench lamps were highly characteristic of Ashkenazi lands such as Germany, Austria, and Eastern Europe. Large *menorah*-form lamps were used in European synagogues, but were rare in Islamic lands and may be a late introduction. Smaller *menorah*-form lamps were used in homes primarily in Germany, the Netherlands, Austria, and Eastern Europe through the 19th century, becoming widespread during the course of the 20th century.

Silver, the most expensive material, was highly favored in Germany, Austria, and Eastern Europe, and rarer among other Jewish communities. Various rabbis over the centuries had recommended that Ḥanukkah lamps be made of gold and silver in order to celebrate the ritual in as magnificent way as possible. For example, Moses Makhir in the Land of Israel advocated in the 15th century that one should have a silver lamp even if only one light holder each night was of that material, an opinion echoed by Joseph Yuspa Hahn Noerdlingen of Germany in the 17th century. It is possible that economic circumstances and proximity to silversmithing centers influenced the ability of Jews to obtain silver lamps for Ḥanukkah.

Lamps of copper alloy (i.e., bronze or brass) are common in a number of countries, but can be distinguished from place to place by their materials and techniques. For example, sheet metal backplates were widely found in the Netherlands, Italy, and North Africa. However, Dutch backplates were executed in repoussé with reflective bosses, while those from North Africa were more often flat and covered with incised designs. In Italy, sheet metal backplates were flat with appliqué decoration. Bench-form lamps of copper alloy were also made by casting and were characteristic of Italy, Eastern Europe, the Netherlands, and North Africa. By contrast, cast *menorah*-form lamps for synagogue and home use were most common in Germany, the Netherlands, and Eastern Europe, but rare in Italy and absent in North Africa.

A large number of standing bench lamps of pewter were produced in southern Germany from c. 1750 to 1850, possibly as a less costly version of silver. Their forms resemble those of German inkstands of the same period. Wall-hung pewter lamps were also produced in the Netherlands in the 18th century. Lamps made of tin were characteristic of the Upper Rhine region of southern Germany, Alsace, and the Basel area.

Stone lamps are known from only three regions: France (where the unique medieval example was found), Morocco, and Yemen. Most are in block form with oil wells carved out along the top, although occasionally Yemenite Jews lit a star-shaped lamp more often used on the Sabbath.

A number of Jewish communities throughout the world did not use permanent lamps for Ḥanukkah. In Turkey, for example, Jews favored simple tin lamps that were discarded at the end of the festival. Jews in eastern lands such as Iran, Afghanistan, and Central Asia were known to use eight ordinary cups of metal or ceramic. Finally, in many countries the indigent would use more ephemeral materials such as egg shells, walnut shells, or even potatoes scooped out to hold the oil.

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[Susan L. Braunstein (2nd ed.)]

HA-OGEN (Heb. הָעֹגֶן; "the anchor"), kibbutz in central Israel in the Ḥefer Plain, affiliated with Kibbutz Arẓi Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir, founded in 1947. The founding settlers from Czechoslovakia and Austria were later joined by new members from other countries. In 1969 Ha-Ogen had 500 inhabitants and engaged in intensive farming, ran a plastic-tube factory, and was a partner in a rubber factory. The kibbutz also operated a recording studio, serving leading Israeli singers. In the mid-1990s, the population was approximately 600, dropping to 542 in 2002.

[Efraim Orni / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

HAOLAM, the central organ of the World Zionist Organization, published as a weekly from 1907 to 1950 (except for short intervals). Established on the initiative of N. *Sokolow during his service as general secretary of the World Zionist Organization, *Haolam* was a Hebrew counterpart of Die *Welt, the German-language official organ of the Zionist Organization. Like *Die Welt*, for most of the years of its existence *Haolam* also had a yellow cover, which, according to *Herzl, symbolized the transformation of the shameful "yellow badge" to a color of pride and respect. At first *Haolam* was edited in Cologne – the residence of David *Wolffsohn, then president of the Zionist Organization – and printed in Berlin. Sokolow, who was preoccupied with other affairs, left most of the editing to his assistant, A. Ḥermoni. It soon became clear that Western Europe was not the appropriate place to publish a Hebrew paper; moreover, most of the members of the Zionist Executive regarded the paper as a burden upon the budget. As a result, at the end of its second year of publication (December 1908), the paper was moved to Vilna, where it became the organ of the Zionist Organization in Russia, under the editorship of A. *Druyanow. In the spring of 1912, upon the initiative of M.M. *Ussishkin, *Haolam* was moved to Odessa and continued its publication there until the outbreak of World War I.

Publication was resumed in 1919, in London, which had by then become the seat of the Zionist leadership, with Abraham *Idelson as editor (until 1921). Idelson planned to transfer the paper to Berlin, which had become a center of Hebrew literary activity in the early postwar period, but he died before achieving his aim. It was not until 1923 that Idelson's plan was realized, and H. *Greenberg, S. *Perlman, and M. *Kleinmann became the new editors. The former two soon left the editorial board, leaving Kleinmann as the sole editor until his death in 1948. In 1924, when conditions in Germany took a turn for the worse, *Haolam's* editorial offices were again moved to London. For several years the printing was done in Paris. Its final move took place in 1936, when the paper was transferred to Jerusalem, which by then had also become the headquarters of the World Zionist Organization. Upon Kleinmann's death, his two assistants, M. Chartiner and M. Cohen, became its editors until February 1950, when the paper ceased to exist.

For two generations, *Haolam* served as a faithful reporter of events and developments in Zionist and Jewish affairs. It also had a literary section, which published articles and the complete works in installments of outstanding Hebrew authors and scholars (such as Sokolow's book on *Spinoza, A.A. *Kabak's work on Solomon *Molcho, S.L. *Zitron's history of Hebrew journalism, stories by *Abramovitsh (Mendele Mokher Seforim), etc.). The paper carried excellent informational columns, and A. Litai's column on events taking place in the *yishuv* has retained its value as an important historical source.

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[Getzel Kressel]

HA-ON (Heb. הָאוֹן; "strength"), kibbutz on the eastern shore of Lake Kinneret, Israel, south of *Ein Gev, affiliated with Iḥud ha-Kevuẓot ve-ha-Kibbutzim, founded in 1949. Some of its members are Israel-born, and others came from Eastern Europe and other countries. Until the *Six-Day War (June 1967) the kibbutz was constantly exposed to the Syrian gun emplacements directly above it on the Golan Plateau. Its farming included bananas, date palms, fruit orchards, field crops, carp ponds, and dairy farming. Ha-On was also a partner in the Lake Kinneret fishing cooperative and ran a metal factory. One of its economic mainstays was a holiday village with 96 guest rooms, a private beach, and special attractions like an ostrich farm, bird center, and paintball. In 2002 its population was 191.

WEBSITE: sites.tzofit.co.il/haoneng.

[Efraim Orni]

HA-OVED HA-ẒIYYONI (Heb. הָעוֹבֵד הַצִּיּוֹנִי "The Zionist Worker"), Israel labor movement founded as a *Histadrut faction at Ra'anannah on Nov. 22–23, 1935, by pioneer immigrants of General Zionist Youth from Eastern Europe, many of them members of kibbutzim. In Ereẓ Israel, these pioneers belonged to the General Zionist Organization but opposed its policy of boycotting the Histadrut. They worked inside the General Zionist movement to ensure its classless character and inside the Histadrut, which they regarded as the home of all trends in Jewish labor, to oppose class tendencies and the adoption of socialist symbols. There was much controversy on this subject inside the General Zionist movement, especially during the five years between a first gathering at Petaḥ Tikvah in 1930 and the foundation conference in 1935. Ha-Oved ha-Ẓiyyoni worked for the implementation of the principle of Jewish labor as an essential element in the upbuilding of the nation but not as a matter for class conflict. It established and built kibbutzim and moshavim for the implementation of the pioneering Zionist idea but not as instruments for socialism and demanded the establishment of nonparty labor exchanges allocating work on the basis of individual rights and qualifications.

After 1948, Ha-Oved ha-Ẓiyyoni helped to establish the Progressive Party and became part of its successor, the *Independent Liberal Party. It established six kibbutzim (in the framework of the movement of Ha-No'ar ha-Ẓiyyoni), 13 moshavim, five moshavim shittufiyyim, and five youth villages. In the Histadrut, it favored workers' participation in management and profits. It supported the maintenance of a pluralistic economy, with encouragement for all sectors. In the

1969 Histadrut elections it received 5.69% of the vote. Later on the movement was united with Ḥever ha-Kevuẓut.

[Moshe Kol]

HA-PARNAS, SEFER (Heb. סֵפֶר הַפַּרְנָס), work by Moses Parnas, one of the pupils of *Meir b. Baruch of Rothenburg, who lived in the first half of the 14th century. Almost nothing is known of its author. His work was well known to the scholars of Germany in the 15th century, such as Jacob *Moellin, Joseph *Colon, Israel *Isserlein, and Israel *Bruna. It was afterward lost, but was published in 1891 with notes by David *Luria as far as section 17, as well as those of its publisher, Moses Samuel Horowitz. This book is very typical of the works belonging to "the school of Meir of Rothenburg," and its author cites traditions, customs, rulings, and teachings of his master based both upon what he himself had seen, as well as culled and abridged from other collections, such as *Tashbeẓ* by Samson b. Zadok.

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[Israel Moses Ta-Shma]

HAPAX LEGOMENA (Gr. "once said"), words which are only once recorded in a certain kind of literature. Since the interest in Middle Hebrew lexicography arose comparatively late, Middle Hebrew texts are frequently not well-established philologically and new texts are often discovered, the interest in hapax legomena in Hebrew is, for all practical purposes, limited to the Bible or, more precisely, to biblical Hebrew. There are in biblical Hebrew about 1,300 hapax legomena (yet their precise number cannot be stated, since the exact definition is not clear as to whether or not they include homonymic hapax legomena). Most of them (about 900) are not too difficult to interpret, being derived from well-known biblical roots (as *ʿemdah*, Micah 1:11, *moʿomad*, Ps. 69:3, both denoting "standing ground," being derived from the well-known root עמד, "to stand"). About 400, however, cannot be derived from known biblical roots and are therefore more difficult to interpret. Occurring only once, their exact meaning is more difficult to establish from context than that of words attested more often. Except for this fact and the possibility that hapax legomena may have arisen through error in transmission, the philological treatment of hapax legomena does not differ from that of words occurring more often. The meaning of both is elucidated by comparison with other Semitic languages, which often makes it possible to establish the etymology of the word treated. Middle Hebrew has, of course, a special standing in this matter. Since the Bible, because of its small size and limited topics, has preserved only a small part of Hebrew vocabulary, it is often due to mere chance that a word occurs only once in the Bible, though there may be ample examples of it in Middle Hebrew (as in the case with *sullam* "ladder," Gen. 28:12). Even the sages of the Mishnah did not understand the hapax legomenon *we-teʾteʾtiha*, "and I will sweep it" (Isa. 14:23), except with the help of vernacular speech, as used by Rabbi's handmaid (RH 26b). Hapax legomena sometimes belong to removed subject matters (as Isa. 3:18 ff., describing the ornaments of Zion's daughters), and there are relatively many hapax legomena denoting animals, plants, and diseases (as *letaʾah* "lizard," Lev. 11:30; *luz*, "almond tree," Gen. 30:37; *ḥarḥur*, "fever," Deut. 28:22) and loan words (as *ʾappiryon*, "litter," Song 3:9). The Book of Job, with its special style and many Aramaisms, contains a relatively large proportion of hapax legomena, 145 in number, among them 60 without derivation from known biblical roots. The (much larger) Book of Isaiah has 201 hapax legomena, among them, again, 60 without derivation.

In Hebrew literature hapax legomena are called *ʾen lo ʾaḥ, ʾen lo ḥaver, ʾen lo reʿa ba-Miqraʾ*, "it has nothing alike, no brother, no fellow, no comrade in the Bible," or *millim boddedot*, "isolated words." *Saadiah Gaon wrote in Arabic *Kitāb al-Sabʿīn Lafẓa min Mufradāt al-Qurʾan* ("The Book of Seventy Hapax Legomena in the Bible"), dealing with over 90 (!) hapax legomena, which he explains by means of mishnaic words. It stands to reason that this book originally contained 70 words, and was expanded later, either by Saadiah himself or by others, yet preserving its original name. Although it is one of the oldest and most important philological works in the history of Hebrew linguistics, it is in its intention a polemic work against Karaites, endeavoring to prove the value of tradition from the linguistic point of view: without mishnaic Hebrew even the linguistic interpretation of the Bible is impossible.

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[Joshua Blau]

HAPHARAIM (Heb. חֲפָרַיִם), town in the territory of Issachar (Josh. 19:19), located between Chesulloth and Shunem on one side and Shion and Anaharath on the other. A place with the same name is mentioned in the Mishnah (Men. 8:1) as the source of fine wheat supplied to the Second Temple. Eusebius (Onom. 28:26) identified it with Aphraia, 6 mi. (10 km.) north of Legio (al-Lajjūn near Megiddo), which may point to the vicinity of Afulah. Recent scholars, relying on the spelling Afarayim in talmudic literature (Tosef., Men. 9:2; TB, Men. 83b), have proposed its identification with *Ophrah of Gideon (Judg. 6:11), and perhaps the *fr* in the list of Thutmose III. The site of Hapharaim is possibly at al-Tayyiba in the hills north of the Jezreel Valley. Another suggested identification, with Khirbat al-Farriyya near Megiddo, is less probable.

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[Michael Avi-Yonah]

HAPOEL (Heb. הַפּוֹעֵל "The Worker"), Israel workers' sports organization, affiliated with the *Histadrut. It had its beginnings in a Haifa soccer team in 1924. The countrywide association was organized in 1926 with a twofold aim: to provide opportunities for physical education and sport for the masses of Palestinian youth and to involve them in the labor movement. Hapoel members pioneered in naval and other activities in order to assist "illegal" immigration into Palestine. They also helped to establish settlements and were active in the *Haganah, the pre-state Jewish defense organization. Through Hapoel's efforts the number of swimming pools in the country increased and floodlit playing fields were opened making possible nighttime basketball and volleyball. Hapoel organized the Lake Kinneret swims in which some 10,000 swimmers participate annually, road marches, and long-distance foot races as well as sports conventions (*Poeliad*) with international participation. Hapoel's teams and individual contestants won championships in most of the fields of Israel sport. The organization also encourages sports activities in various places of work, such as factories, shops, etc. From 1927 Hapoel was affiliated with the International Labor Sports Organization. After the establishment of the state it played an important role in encouraging and organizing sports activities in the underdeveloped African countries. In 1968 there were more than 85,000 members of Hapoel in 600 branches throughout the State of Israel. In 2004 Hapoel supported 980 youth groups, 325 adult groups, and 765 sports associations in 28 different competitive sports branches, among them successful athletes who represent Israel in the Olympic Games and other international competitions. In addition, Hapoel was also affiliated with workplace teams, competing in 15 sports in the framework of workplace leagues.

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[Yehoshua Alouf / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

HA-PO'EL HA-MIZRACHI, religious pioneering and labor movement in Ereẓ Israel. Religious pioneers who settled in Ereẓ Israel in 1920–21 banded together and in April 1922 founded Ha-Po'el ha-Mizrachi, whose program stated that it "aspires to build the land according to the Torah and tradition and on the basis of labor, to create a material and spiritual basis for its members, strengthen religious feeling among the workers, and enable them to live as religious workers." The new framework was a product of the Third *Aliyah, which included many young people marked by their religious consciousness. They were pioneers and workers who viewed settling in Ereẓ Israel as a *mitzvah*, a religious commandment and task, but did not find a place in the existing labor community, despite the fact that socially they belonged to it. They opposed the prevalent view among workers in the 1920s that regarded religion as obsolete and adherence to the *mitzvot* as an obstacle to the building of the land according to socialist principles. The ideology of the new religious labor group was developed for the most part by Shemuel Ḥayyim *Landau, Isaiah *Shapira, Nehemiah Aminoaḥ, Isaiah Bernstein, Shelomo Zalman *Shragai, and Shimon Geshuri. It was called Torah va-Avodah (Torah and Labor), after the saying: "The world stands on three things: Torah, divine service (*avodah* – literally, work), and deeds of loving-kindness" (Avot 1:2). The sources of this ideology also included ideas from Polish Ḥasidism and from the system of "Torah with *Derekh Ereẓ*" of Samson Raphael *Hirsch.

The concept of Torah va-Avodah emphasized the demand for social justice and a productive life as an essential condition of the return to the homeland and as an integral part of a full religious life in Judaism. In view of the desiccation of Jewish life in the Diaspora, even greater emphasis should be placed on those elements which were practically excluded from Jewish existence outside Ereẓ Israel. The ideology proclaimed that complete Judaism is a synthesis of religious, social, moral, national, and political elements, realized mainly through personal commitment and creativity. All these aspects of national life must be inspired by the Written and Oral Law. Special emphasis was placed on the demand for social justice. "Only he who earns his living by his own labor is certain that his livelihood is free from the labor of others, from exploitation and fraud." "Morality and justice are links in a long chain of sanctification and purification of life, which originates in the acceptance of the rule of God." This outlook led its followers along the path of productivization and especially toward cooperative and collective agricultural settlement.

From its earliest appearance there were conflicts between Ha-Po'el ha-Mizrachi and *Mizrachi because of the former's socialist trends, though technically it was an organizational part of Mizrachi. On the other hand, it had differences with the *Histadrut, because of Ha-Po'el ha-Mizrachi's religious concept of the Jewish people, its opposition to the class struggle, and its demand for obligatory arbitration in labor disputes. In practice, it appeared as an independent element in the labor market. After an unsuccessful attempt to join the Histadrut in the 1920s, Ha-Po'el ha-Mizrachi acted as a part of the world Mizrachi movement. In 1925, however, it created a special body of its own in the Diaspora called Ha-Berit ha-Olamit shel Tenu'at Torah va-Avodah, which included Mizrachi youth groups and the pioneering Mizrachi movements in different countries. Thus Ha-Po'el ha-Mizrachi united an ideological movement, a labor federation, and a political party in one body.

As an ideological movement, Ha-Po'el ha-Mizrachi propagated its ideas and opinions in its organ *Netivah* (edited by Geshuri), in pamphlets and books in the Torah va-Avodah Library, and later on in *Moreshet*. It attracted to its ranks the religious kevuẓot united in *Ha-Kibbutz ha-Dati and established the pioneering youth movement *Bnei Akiva, which later on founded the yeshivah high school under the initiative of Moshe Ẓevi *Neriah. As a labor federation, Ha-Po'el ha-Mizrachi was active in the same areas as the Histadrut. It established employment bureaus and welfare institutions and was active developing Jewish labor, the *Haganah, and the organization of pioneering and "illegal" immigration. It founded economic enterprises such as Bank Ha-Po'el ha-Mizrachi; a mortgage bank, Adanim; the financial tool of the settlements, Yaniv; the construction company for housing, Mash'hav; and several cooperatives, united under one roof, Merkaz ha-Mosedot ve-ha-Mifalim ha-Kalkaliyyim shel ha-Po'el ha-Mizrachi. It also organized young religious workers in Ha-No'ar ha-Dati ha-Oved and established the sports organization, Eliẓur. In 1935 its women members organized the Women's League of Ha-Po'el ha-Mizrachi and later united with the Women's Mizrachi Organization of the *National Religious Party.

As early as the 1920s the movement started its settlement activity. At first, the common form was the *moshav ovedim, which seemed more suitable for the members of Ha-Po'el ha-Mizrachi than the kevuẓah or kibbutz. Sedeh Ya'akov, established in 1927 in the western Jezreel Valley, was the movement's first moshav. Ha-Po'el ha-Mizrachi had to overcome the opposition of the Histadrut and of the official Zionist institutions before it was recognized as an independent factor in settlement. Before 1948 eight moshevei ovedim were established, all in areas of regional settlement projects of the Zionist Organization. During the great immigration of the 1950s, Ha-Po'el ha-Mizrachi was allocated 20% of the settlement. In the course of five years, 40 moshavim of new immigrants, and later on, another 10, were added. In addition, four moshavim shittufiyyim were founded. All these were organized in the Iggud ha-Moshavim shel Ha-Po'el ha-Mizrachi, whose organ is *Ma'anit* (established in 1951).

From the early 1930s groups for collective settlement sprang up within Ha-Po'el ha-Mizrachi. These first religious kevuẓot or kibbutzim were formed by members of *Berit Ḥalutzim Datiyyim* (Baḥad) in Germany, the trainees of the Mizrachi youth *hakhsharah* ("training") in Poland, and later on, by the Ha-Shomer ha-Dati in Poland and in Galicia. They established Ha-Kibbutz ha-Dati in 1935. It established settlements from 1937, the first being *Tirat Ẓevi (after Ẓevi Hirsch *Kalischer) in the Beth-Shean Valley. Ha-Kibbutz ha-Dati followed a policy of *hityashevut gushit* ("bloc settlement"), concentrating a number of settlements in one area in order to develop fully its social-religious ideas and its strength as a religious factor in society. This policy forced it to go to the farthest frontiers of the existing settlement areas. A bloc of religious kibbutzim was created in the Beth-Shean Valley, the Eẓyon bloc in the Hebron mountains, and another bloc in the vicinity of Gaza. Before the establishment of the state (1948) Ha-Kibbutz ha-Dati movement numbered 16 settlements, 10 already set up and the rest about to be settled. Because of their location on the borders of the *yishuv*, the *War of Independence dealt them a severe blow. The Eẓyon bloc (including the three religious kibbutzim Kefar Eẓyon, Massu'ot Yiẓḥak, and Ein Ẓurim) was completely wiped out, most of the settlements at the approach to Gaza were destroyed (Be'erot Yiẓḥak and Kefar Darom), and the movement lost seven percent of its adult population. After the war, 12 of these settlements remained, and three became moshavim shittufiyyim.

The relations of Ha-Po'el ha-Mizrachi with the Histadrut developed after some violent conflicts in the late 1920s and the early 1930s concerning labor, settlement, and cooperation. In 1928 an agreement was reached on the distribution of labor and participation in Kuppat Ḥolim. The agreement did not fulfill the anticipated hopes, and Ha-Po'el ha-Mizrachi abrogated it in 1941. Despite the friction, more cooperation was achieved between the two federations after the establishment of general labor bureaus in the early 1940s. In the course of time, Ha-Po'el ha-Mizrachi joined the agricultural center of the Histadrut, its trade union department, and the teachers organization. However, the trend for a complete merger was never realized though its demand became even greater in light of the great religious *aliyah* after the establishment of the state. The majority in Ha-Po'el ha-Mizrachi preferred an independent framework. Ha-Kibbutz ha-Dati organized in the 1930s the religious sector of *Youth Aliyah. It directs the activities of Bnei Akiva, absorbs *Naḥal groups, and maintains *ulpanim* for new immigrants.

Ha-Po'el ha-Mizrachi entered politics almost from its inception, at first mostly as a function of its labor activity and of its affiliation with Mizrachi. In the Zionist Organization it acted as a part of Mizrachi. However, gradually Ha-Po'el ha-Mizrachi developed independent activity in the *yishuv* institutions and also in the Zionist Organization. From the 19th Congress in 1935, it was represented on the Zionist Executive by Moshe Ḥayyim *Shapira, who from that time served as head of Ha-Po'el ha-Mizrachi. It was represented on the Va'ad Le'ummi Executive by Shragai and later on by Zerah *Wahrhaftig. In the last elections of the Asefat ha-Nivḥarim in 1944, Ha-Po'el ha-Mizrachi received 9.5% of the total vote. It became a major factor in the religious community of the *yishuv*. The relations between Ha-Po'el ha-Mizrachi and Mizrachi were tense throughout their existence as separate organizations, while they were united only in the world center of the body called Mizrachi-Ha-Po'el ha-Mizrachi. The antagonism between the two was particularly bitter in Ereẓ Israel, where Mizrachi belonged to the non-labor camp and Ha-Po'el ha-Mizrachi had an agreement with the Histadrut. But the increasing strength of Ha-Po'el ha-Mizrachi in Ereẓ Israel led it more and more to a takeover of Mizrachi instead of separating from it. This trend eventually led to their merger and the establishment of the National Religious Party.

From the 1930s, when political activity began to occupy a prominent place in Ha-Po'el ha-Mizrachi, three main factions emerged in it. The El ha-Makor group leaned to the right, supporting the strengthening of ties with Mizrachi (as opposed to attachment to the labor movement) and advocating political activism against the Mandatory regime. La-Mifneh constituted the left wing, demanding the strengthening of links with the labor camp, joining the Histadrut, and seceding from the Mizrachi organization. It demanded political moderation, in the spirit of Chaim *Weizmann's policy, and more concern for settlement and movement activity. In the middle was the "centrist" faction, which took a compromising stand on political questions in the *yishuv* and Zionist policy. The main struggle for leadership in Ha-Po'el ha-Mizrachi took place between the "centrist" faction and the faction of the left-wing La-Mifneh.

In 1937 Ha-Po'el ha-Mizrachi was among the opponents of the partition plan, though, on the whole, it was closer than Mizrachi to Weizmann's leadership, stressing its loyalty to the Zionist and *yishuv* institutions and supporting the unification of all the forces of the country, including the dissident underground organizations (*Irgun Ẓeva'i Le'ummi and *Loḥamei Ḥerut Israel). Though its demands concerning religious matters, such as observance of the Sabbath and *kashrut* in public institutions, etc., were its political raison d'être, it took also an active stand on general questions, such as labor problems, immigration, defense, settlement, and social matters. With the establishment of the state, political matters came to the fore. Despite the foundation of the United Religious Front in the First Knesset, in which all religious parties took part (with the exception of Ha-Oved ha-Dati, which was represented by *Mapai), Ha-Po'el ha-Mizrachi maintained a certain independence, as, e.g., on the question of the conscription of women who were released from military service for religious reasons. In 1949 it defined its position by demanding to change the law of compulsory conscription of religious women to that of compulsory national service for them, and, as long as the law was not changed, it called on every observant young woman to be drafted into the religious units of the Naḥal.

Ha-Po'el ha-Mizrachi emphasized the need for religious Jews to participate actively in public life and deal with the general objectives of the people and the state, thus preserving a live connection between the religious tradition and public life, especially in legislation. Hence its approach to topical political questions (as, e.g., the integrity of the area of Ereẓ Israel after the *Six-Day War), appropriate legal arrangements affecting the entire nation (marriage and divorce), the public way of life (Sabbath law, observances of Sabbath and *kashrut* in the Israel Defense Forces), official religious institutions (the rabbinate, religious councils), and especially the securing of religious education for all who wish it. In the Knesset and the government, Ha-Po'el ha-Mizrachi acted as a compromising and unifying element both on foreign and domestic policy. It participated in practically all governments, twice causing a government crisis, first regarding religious education in immigrant camps, and again on the question of the items "religion" and "nationality" in the registration of population (known colloquially as the "Who is a Jew?" problem).

In 1956 Ha-Po'el ha-Mizrachi decided to merge with Mizrachi, both in Israel and in the Zionist Organization, and in July 1956 the *National Religious Party was established. The unified party acted in accordance with Ha-Po'el ha-Mizrachi principles. Thus, it was an initiator of the Government of National Unity prior to the Six-Day War in 1967. It also demanded action on the Arab refugee problem by settling them in Judea and Samaria and flexibility in negotiations with Arab states.

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[Moshe Unna]

HA-PO'EL HA-ẒA'IR (Heb. הַפּוֹעֵל הַצָּעִיר; "The Young Worker"), first newspaper of the labor movement in Ereẓ Israel; founded in 1907. After five years as a biweekly, *Ha-Po'el ha-Ẓa'ir* became a weekly, which it remained until it ceased publication in 1970. During its lifespan, the paper attained a continuity of publication enjoyed by no other Hebrew periodical. There were, however, periods during which the paper did not appear: it was discontinued in 1915 and renewed in the fall of 1918. *Ha-Po'el ha-Ẓa'ir* was edited by Yosef *Aharonovitch until 1923, and then by Yiẓḥak *Laufbahn until his death in 1948, and finally by Israel *Cohen. It was the organ of the Ha-Po'el ha-Ẓa'ir Party. When that party merged with *Aḥdut ha-Avodah to become Mifleget Po'alei Ereẓ Israel (*Mapai), the paper became the organ of Mapai (1930), and from 1968 of Mifleget ha-Avodah ha-Yisre'elit (*Israel Labor Party). *Ha-Po'el ha-Ẓa'ir* reflected the development of the Israel labor movement. The pioneers of this movement could not identify with the existing Hebrew papers, and established *Ha-Po'el ha-Ẓa'ir* with the meager resources at their disposal. The paper's ideology, expressed in its motto: "An indispensable condition for the realization of Zionism is the conquest of all branches of labor in Ereẓ Israel by the Jews," attracted all Second Aliyah workers until the founding of the Po'alei Zion paper *Ha-Aḥdut* in 1910. *Ha-Po'el ha-Ẓa'ir ex*pressed the party's persistent demand that the Zionist Organization implement practical Zionism, and also encouraged the use of Hebrew as the common language of the *yishuv. Ha-Po'el ha-Ẓa'ir* became the most distinguished paper in Ereẓ Israel during the Second Aliyah. Its contributors were among the best Hebrew authors and journalists, some of whom first appeared in print in this paper. Among the early regular contributors were: A.D. Gordon, J.Ḥ. Brenner, Ya'akov Rabinowitz, Rabbi Binyamin, S.Y. Agnon, Yiẓḥak Elazari-Volcani (then Wilkanski), and Moshe Smilanski. Its excellent literary supplement was edited during its first years by Devorah *Baron. A complete index of authors and subjects in *Ha-Po'el ha-Ẓa'ir* during the 50 years 1907–57 was compiled by Isa and G. Kressel in 1968.

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[Getzel Kressel]

HA-PO'EL HA-ẒA'IR (Heb. הַפּוֹעֵל הַצָּעִיר; "The Young Worker"), Ereẓ Israel labor party founded by the first pioneers of the Second Aliyah. Its full name was Histadrut ha-Po'alim ha-Ẓe'irim be-Ereẓ Israel – and it was called Ha-Po'el ha-Ẓa'ir for short. Ha-Po'el ha-Ẓa'ir was founded in Petaḥ Tikvah in the autumn of 1905 on the initiative of Shelomo *Ẓemaḥ and Eliezer *Shoḥat, who were among the first arrivals of the Second Aliyah in 1904. Its name symbolized the new character of the Jewish worker of the Second Aliyah, to be distinguished from that of the earlier workers (who had been organized since the beginning of the 1890s) and from *Po'alei Zion (the first of whose members began to arrive in the country at the same time). The new idea was expressed in the words carried as a motto on its newspaper for years: "An indispensable condition for the realization of Zionism is the conquest of all branches of labor in Ereẓ Israel by the Jews." Certain modifications were made in this definition after the revolution of the Young Turks (1908) because of the misunderstanding that might be aroused by the word "conquest." The wording was then changed to "the increase of Jewish workers in Ereẓ Israel and their consolidation in all branches of labor."

The uniqueness of this party was in its being the first indigenous workers' party in Ereẓ Israel. It groped to formulate an exact program for its activities, but its direction was clear to its founders and its members, and it was formulated a few years after the party's foundation by one of its first ideologists and the editor of its paper, Yosef *Aharonovitch. These were: to introduce the principle of labor into the official work program of Zionism; to spread the idea of the "conquest of labor" among the farmers and employers in Ereẓ Israel; to win over Jewish youth and inspire them to join the ranks of the "conquerors of labor"; and to pave the way for and assist the workers in Ereẓ Israel, who would set out to establish their place in labor.

From its foundation, Ha-Po'el ha-Ẓa'ir opposed Po'alei Zion because of the latter's acceptance of international socialism and the theory of the class struggle, which Ha-Po'el ha-Ẓa'ir felt were incongruous with the situation in Ereẓ Israel. There were also disagreements between the two movements over the relationship to Yiddish; Po'alei Zion began to publish its paper, *Onfang*, in Yiddish in 1907 (but later changed over to Hebrew) and fought for the use of Yiddish abroad. Nonetheless, there was complete cooperation between the two parties in almost every sphere of practical activity, in spite of the perpetual polemics in their newspapers. The idea of labor, which was the fundamental principle of Ha-Po'el ha-Ẓa'ir and its great innovation in Ereẓ Israel, was exalted a few years later by A.D. *Gordon (who never formally joined the party, but maintained strong ties with it and its press throughout his life) as an absolute and cosmic value in the life of man and in his inner and spiritual worlds. Labor was transformed from a means of livelihood into a supreme value, as an answer to the moral demand of the Jews.

At the time, the "conquest of labor" meant basically the competition of Jewish workers in the Jewish villages with Arab laborers who were willing to accept lower wages. There were members of the party who wished to propose other means of rooting the Jewish worker in the soil of Ereẓ Israel, e.g., by settlement on the land, and also requested the inclusion of city workers in the party's program. Eventually, a compromise was reached between the "conquest of labor" in the villages and the establishment of independent agricultural-workers' settlements. The members of Ha-Po'el ha-Ẓa'ir were among the founders of the "mother of kevuẓto," *Deganyah; among the initiators of the idea of the moshav ovedim (e.g., E.L. Joffe); and the founders of the first moshav, *Nahalal, after World War I. Politically the party was able to express its ideas only after the revolution of the Young Turks. It formulated them as "a Jewish majority, healthy in the economic and cultural sense." This political article was also connected with the "conquest of labor" and with rooting the Jewish laborer in Ereẓ Israel by perpetual encouragement of immigration (the party even published a manifesto which called for *aliyah*). The constitutional freedom afforded by the Turkish revolution was not regarded as valuable in itself, except as a means of reaching a Jewish majority in Ereẓ Israel.

The members of Ha-Po'el ha-Ẓa'ir participated in guarding the settlements and self-defense activities, but their relationship to *Ha-Shomer, which was established by members of Po'alei Zion, was one of reserve. The same is true of participation in volunteering for the *Jewish Legion at the end of World War I. However, there were those who supported enlistment in the Legion, and when the supporters eventually constituted a majority, the minority (which included A.D. *Gordon and other leaders) continued to oppose it. The party participated in Zionist congresses, beginning with the Eighth Congress in 1907, and maintained ties with the Ẓe'irei *Zion movement abroad. Before World War I, the party took steps to establish a world organization, an aspiration that was realized after the war at the Prague Conference (1920), which created the *Hitaḥadut from Ha-Po'el ha-Ẓa'ir in Palestine and Ẓe'irei Zion abroad.

Ha-Po'el ha-Ẓa'ir did not join *Aḥdut ha-Avodah (A) when it was formed in 1919 to unite all the workers of Ereẓ Israel because it regarded Aḥdut ha-Avodah as a branch of the world movement of Po'alei Zion. On the other hand, it participated in the establishment of the *Histadrut in 1920. In it Ha-Po'el ha-Ẓa'ir was a minority party, facing an Aḥdut ha-Avodah majority (26 delegates to 37 from Aḥdut ha-Avodah at the first conference, 36 to 69 at the second conference, 54 to 108 at the third conference) and struggling against it. A representative of Ha-Po'el ha-Ẓa'ir, Joseph *Sprinzak, was the first workers' representative from Ereẓ Israel to become a member of the Zionist Executive (1921). Members of Ha-Po'el ha-Ẓa'ir were also among the leaders of the Agricultural Workers' Organization in Galilee and Judea (Ha-Histadrut ha-Ḥakla'it ba-Galil u-vi-Yhudah) before World War I, which was the first nucleus of a roof organization for Second Aliyah workers, and were also the founders of the agricultural press in Hebrew, which reflected the agricultural experience of Jewish laborers (the editor was E.L. Joffe and among the first contributors was Berl *Katznelson).

The ideological evolution of Ha-Po'el ha-Ẓa'ir did not cease after World War I, especially with the rise of Chaim *Arlosoroff, who coined the term "popular Socialism," as distinct from the class struggle. Arlosoroff was influenced by the ideas of Gustav *Landauer and Martin *Buber (also a member of the party and among the participants in the Prague Conference) and the practical experience of his party in Ereẓ Israel. With the first consolidation of the kibbutz federations in the 1920s (*Ha-Kibbutz ha-Me'uḥad), the bloc of small kevuẓot was consolidated into Ḥever ha-Kevuẓot with ties to Ha-Po'el ha-Ẓa'ir (see *Iḥud ha-Kevuẓot ve-ha-Kibbutzim). In the controversy over forms of collective settlement (between the kibbutz and moshav), the party's stand was equally in favor of both forms. Ha-Po'el ha-Ẓa'ir adopted *Gordonia abroad, the first of whose members settled in Palestine in 1929 during the discussions over the merger with Aḥdut ha-Avodah. The pioneers of *Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir who arrived in Palestine with the Third Aliyah were also close to Ha-Po'el ha-Ẓa'ir, and only later did they part ways.

Ha-Po'el ha-Ẓa'ir had extensions in a number of countries, the most outstanding of which was in Germany. This branch was created after World War I, and its outstanding figures were Martin Buber, Georg *Landauer, Arlosoroff, and others. Ha-Po'el ha-Ẓa'ir's *aliyah* bureau in Vienna was a very impressive instrument after World War I; it was created by members of the party in Palestine and assisted and directed the first immigrants of the Third Aliyah. Ha-Po'el ha-Ẓa'ir created the first labor newspaper in Ereẓ Israel, called *Ha-Po'el ha-Ẓa'ir* (1907 in stencil and printed from 1908). With the cessation of publication during World War I, it was replaced by several journals until it could resume publication in 1918 (until 1970). The party also had a publishing house during the Second Aliyah called La-Am, which published tens of popular scientific pamphlets (in Hebrew translation), and after the war it published a social-literary monthly, *Ma'abarot*, edited by Jacob *Fichmann (1919–21). Ha-Po'el ha-Ẓa'ir laid the groundwork for the new Hebrew literature in Ereẓ Israel, and the best of its authors contributed to the party's periodicals and publications.

During its existence, the party held 21 conferences. At the last one (1929), it was decided by a large majority to merge with Aḥdut ha-Avodah. The union was carried out in the following year through the creation of a common party: Mifleget Po'alei Ereẓ Israel (Ereẓ Israel Workers' Party) – *Mapai. The most outstanding personalities in Ha-Po'el ha-Ẓa'ir, throughout its existence, were A.D. Gordon, Joseph *Vitkin, Joseph Aharonovitch, Yiẓḥak *Elazari-Volcani, E.L. Joffe, Joseph Sprinzak, Shelomo *Shiller, Eliezer *Kaplan, Shemuel *Dayan, Ẓevi Yehudah, Joseph *Baratz, and others.

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[Getzel Kressel]

HAPSBURG (Habsburg) MONARCHY, multi-national empire in Central Europe under the rule of the Hapsburg dynasty from 1273 until 1918; from 1867 known as Austro-Hungary. Its nucleus was *Austria and it included at different times countries with considerable Jewish populations (*Bohemia and *Moravia, and *Hungary from 1526), parts of Italy between 1713 and 1866. With the annexation of *Galicia (1772) and *Bukovina (1775) it became the state with the largest Jewish population in Europe. As the Hapsburgs were also Holy Roman Emperors, they were the supreme lords of the empire's *servi camerae regis (servants of the treasury), the Jews. The legal position of the Jewish communities varied, according to the differing legal status of the Hapsburgs in their hereditary lands (Austria, *Carinthia, *Syria, etc.), the countries of the Bohemian crown, the countries of the crown of St. Stephen (Hungary, *Transylvania, Croatia-Slavonia, and the Banat), Galicia, Bukovina, and from 1908 Bosnia and Herzegovina. However, it was based in principle on juridical and religious autonomy. After the marriage of *Maria Theresa to Francis Stephen, duke of Lorraine (1736), the Hapsburgs also bore the title of "King of Jerusalem."

During the period of the Counter-Reformation the Hapsburgs, protagonists of militant Catholicism, were influenced by the spirit of religious intolerance. Still, they tended to protect the Jews in their domains, in part because of Jewish fiscal contributions at a time of domestic and foreign war. They frequently sided with the Jews against the Estates, who were, as a rule, unfriendly to the Jews. However, it was the declared policy of the Hapsburgs to limit the number of Jews in their domains (see *Familiants Laws). Nevertheless Jewish communities often turned to the monarch with considerable success to annul decrees of banishment legislated by local authorities. The Hapsburg Empire was the first to conscript Jews for *military service, and *Joseph II's Toleranzpatents were the first laws to lift humiliating restrictions. From 1848 enjoyment of civil rights was made independent of religious affiliation, and from 1867 Jews enjoyed full civic equality in the empire. Jewish participation in the economic life of the empire was significant, particularly in its industrialization.

At the beginning of the 19th century developing nationalist ideologies of peoples within the empire were seeking expression with centrifugal effect. Jews were one of the elements, besides the army, bureaucracy, nobility, and the Catholic Church, to support the dynasty in preserving the empire's unity. Jews throughout the empire developed their own particular brand of patriotism and on the emperor's birthday synagogues were crowded. Both the emperor and the Jews recognized their mutual interest, with the Jews considering the sovereign to be their sole recourse against the antisemitic tendencies of nascent nationalisms. *Francis Joseph I in particular won the gratitude of the Jews for his frequent statements against antisemitism (see *Christian Social Party, Austria; Karl *Lueger; Georg von *Schoenerer; Karl Hermann Wolf; Ernst Schneider). Jewish politicians such as Adolf *Fischhof and Otto *Bauer were particularly aware of the danger to the monarchy in the conflicts between the nationalities, and they suggested remedies. Joseph Samuel *Bloch created an ideological foundation for Jewish patriotism. Theodor *Herzl's ideas were influenced by the monarchy's problem of contending with its competing nationalities. The dismemberment of the Hapsburg Empire brought into being successor states with nationalistic policies that indeed often proved to be disadvantageous for their Jewish minorities.

Alleged Jewish Descent

Antisemitic propaganda claimed that the Hapsburgs were contaminated with Jewish blood, the protruding lower lip characteristic of many of them being considered a racial mark! The allegation was based on the assertion that Roger II of Sicily (1095–1154), whose offspring intermarried with the Hapsburgs, had married a *Pierleoni, a sister of the Jewish antipope *Anacletus II. The claim became notorious when the Austrian noble Adalbert von Sternberg declared around 1900 that he could have Jewish blood only through his kinship to the Hapsburgs. Modern research dismisses the allegation.

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[Meir Lamed]

HARAN (Harran) (Heb. חָרָן; Akk. *Harrāni*(*m*), "caravan station").

Name and Location

Haran is located some 10 miles north of the Syrian border, at the confluence of the wadis which in winter join the Balikh River just below its source. It is strategically located about halfway between Guzana (Gozan) and Carchemish on the east-west road which links the Tigris and the Mediterranean, at the very point where the north-south route along the Balikh links the Euphrates to Anatolia. It is thus the traditional crossroads of the major routes from Mesopotamia to the west and the northwest (cf. Ezek. 27:23), and its very name in Akkadian (and Sumerian) implies as much. The biblical name Paddan-aram (Gen. 25:20 et al.), "the Aramean highway," seems to identify the same site by a synonym reflecting its later role as a center of Aramean settlement.

In the "Patriarchal Age"

Written sources first mention Haran in an Old Babylonian itinerary as an important crossroads and in a letter addressed to Yasmaḫ-Addu (= Adad), the Assyrian viceroy at Mari (c. 1790 B.C.E.). Another letter shows that Haran was an important center of the semi-nomadic "Benjamites." It alerts the king of Mari to the conclusion of a formal alliance between Asdi-takim, who was then king of Haran, and the (other) kings of Zalmaqum on the one hand, and the sheikhs and elders of the "Benjamites" on the other hand. This alliance was concluded in the temple of the moon-god Sin at Haran. The land of Zalmaqum was the object of an extended campaign by Šamši-Addu (= Shamshi-Adad) I of Assyria (c. 1815–1782 B.C.E.) and probably became subject to him together with Haran. With his death, however, the Old Assyrian Empire broke up and Haran was thus, apparently, an independent principality at the very time when, presumably, the biblical traditions reflect the sojourn of the Terahides in the area (Gen. 11:25). The migration of the Terahides parallels what appears to have been the movement of the moon cult from Ur to Haran, and the personal names of the Terahides reflect the geographical names of the Haran area. Specifically Serug, the grandfather of Terah, may be compared with the town of Sarugi (modern Seruj), some 35 miles west of Haran, and Nahor, his father (and second son) with the town of Nahur, probably located on the Upper Habor River due east of Haran. Terah's own name has been identified with Til (-sha)-Turahi on the Balikh south of Haran and his third son, Haran, recalls the name of the town, although the two names are spelled differently in Hebrew. At all events, the Mari letters document a political, social, and economic state of affairs in the latitude of Haran which makes entirely plausible the settlement there of at least five generations of pastoral Terahides. Albright has further suggested that they took advantage of the strategic position of Haran to engage in a far-flung trade, based on donkey caravans, in conjunction with Abraham and Lot, the son of his brother Nahor, who, he suggests, journeyed onward to Damascus, Canaan, and Sinai.

In the Late Second Millennium

Haran is not mentioned in the cuneiform sources of the Mitannian period. However, it probably belonged to that Hurrian state and was captured by the Hittites along with other Mitannian centers when it is first heard of again in the 15th century. Matiwaza, son-in-law of Shuppiluliuma, conquered the legitimate Mitannian ruler, Shuttarna III, with the help of Shuppiluliuma's son Piyashilli of Carchemish and presently had to cede Haran and his other conquests west of the Habor River to the latter. The first mention of Haran in Middle Assyrian documents occurs under Adad-Nirari I (c. 1304–1273 B.C.E.), who briefly conquered the Hittite vassal states as far as the Euphrates. His son Shalmaneser I (c. 1272–1243 B.C.E.) repeated these feats, as did his grandson Tukulti-Ninurta I (c. 1242–1206 B.C.E.), but in the 12th century newly entrenched waves of Aramean settlers began to make the region their own and the invasions of the Sea Peoples (c. 1200 B.C.E.) upset all of the traditional balance of power in the Near East. By the end of the 12th century, Haran was a center of Aramean settlement ruled by pretended or actual successors of the early Hittite royal houses. Hence the biblical names of this region, Aram Naharaim and Paddan-aram.

As Assyrian Crownland

While it is uncertain precisely when Haran passed under direct Assyrian rule, it is clear that it was one of the first of the more distant provinces to do so, for it always enjoyed a special status within the empire; was loyal to the king when other provinces revolted; never the object of a recorded Assyrian campaign in the first millennium; and even harbored the last Assyrian defenders when the cities of Assyria proper had already collapsed. In the years 615–12 B.C.E., the last king of Assyria, Ashur-uballit II, made a final desperate attempt at Haran to save the empire, and it was not until he fled Haran in 609 B.C.E. that the fate of Assyria was finally sealed. In the Neo-Babylonian period Haran was one of the centers of Nabonidus' religious-political activity.

Haran is identified with Sultan Tepe. An important library from the Babylonian period has been uncovered nearby.

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[William W. Hallo]

HARAN, MENAHEM (1924–), Bible scholar. Haran was born in Soviet Russia, where his father had him secretly taught the Bible by a tutor. Brought by his family to Palestine in 1933, Haran grew up in Tel Aviv and served in the Israeli army during the War of Independence. He earned his B.A., M.A., and Ph.D. at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem and, aside from visiting professorships in the United States and Europe, spent his entire academic career there. A student of Yehezkel *Kaufmann, much of Haran's work concentrates on biblical religion and cult, attempting to uncover the underlying conceptions of the Bible's detailed rituals. His studies of the cultic appurtenances, the cherubs, the ark, incense, and priestly garments compare the biblical material with the cultic realia of the larger ancient Near East. With Kaufmann, Haran dates the P(riestly) source of the Torah earlier than the D(euteronomic) source, but argues that P was made public at a later time. Against Kaufmann, Haran sees the E(lohistic) source as distinct, and views it as the inspiration of many of D's concepts. Haran believes that the four documentary sources identified by classical critics, J, E, P, and D extend beyond the Pentaetuch, through Joshua to Kings. Beginning in the 1980s Haran began to study the physical form of the Bible, including writing materials, scribal practices, and codicology. Yet another significant area of Haran's interest is study of canon and the process of canonization. His publications include *Libraries in Antiquity* (1996); *The Biblical Collection* (1996); and with M. Sæbø (eds.), *Hebrew Bible/Old Testament … Interpretation* (1996).

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[S. David Sperling (2nd ed.)]

HARARI, family of rabbis from *Aleppo. The founder of the family was MOSES (d. 1649). ISAAC BEN MOSES (d. 1810), rabbi of Aleppo and author of *Zekhor le-Yiẓḥak* (Leghorn, 1818), died in Safed. NISSIM BEN ISAIAH (d. 1830), referred to as Rafoul, was the author of *Alei Nahar* (Jerusalem, 1903). He died in Aleppo. MOSES BEN ISAAC (d. 1816) was *dayyan* in Aleppo, emigrated to Ereẓ Israel, and died in Jerusalem. R. ḤAYYIM SOLOMON (d. 1888) held the position of **Ḥakham Bashi* in *Damascus at the end of the 19th century. During the 20th century SHALOM (SELIM; d. 1938), who was born in *Jaffa, achieved distinction. He studied law in Constantinople and after the revolution of the Young Turks, he was appointed judge in *Beirut and later was member of the Court of Appeals in Jerusalem. After the occupation of *Lebanon by the French, he lived there and practiced law. In the 1930s he became president of the Jewish community of Beirut, where he died.

[Haim J. Cohen]

HARARI (Blumberg), ḤAYYIM (1883–1940), educator and author in Ereẓ Israel. Born in Dvinsk (then Russia), he began teaching at the Herzlia High School in Tel Aviv in 1906. One of the pioneers of the Hebrew theater, he established an amateur group called Ḥovevei ha-Bamah ha-Ivrit, in which he participated as a director, actor, and translator of plays. He contributed to the Hebrew press in Russia and Ereẓ Israel and edited two volumes on the festivals entitled *Sefer ha-Ḥanukkah* (1937) and *Sefer Tevet, Shevat, Adar* (1941). His articles and stories were collected in an anthology entitled *Kitvei Ḥayyim Harari* (2 vols., 1941–42).

His wife, YEHUDIT (1885–1979), educator and public figure in Ereẓ Israel, was the daughter of Aaron *Eisenberg, a founder of Reḥovot. In 1903 she founded the second Hebrew kindergarten in Ereẓ Israel in Reḥovot. She also taught at the Herzlia High School and the Levinsky Teachers Training College in Tel Aviv and was headmistress of the model school attached to the college. She published articles in the Hebrew press, and her books include *Bein ha-Keramim* (1947) and *Ishah va-Em be-Yisrael* (1959).

Their son, IZHAR (1908–1978), parliamentarian and lawyer, was born in Jaffa. He was active in the *Haganah and Ẓahal (*Israel, State of: Defense Forces) and was a member of the Knesset for the Progressive (later Liberal and *Independent Liberal) Party from 1949. He joined the *Israel Labor Party in 1968. He was the founder and chairman of the Israel Foreign Policy Association.

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[Abraham Aharoni/Benjamin Jaffe]

HARARI, ḤAYYIM (1940–), physicist. Born in Jerusalem, Harari completed his doctorate at the Hebrew University in 1965. From 1970 he held the Annenberg Chair in High Energy Physics at the Weizmann Institute of Science in Reḥovot, of which he served as president from 1988 until 2001. From 1978 he has been a member of the Israeli Academy of Sciences. He has published more than 100 articles on particle physics. In 1989 he was awarded the Israel Prize for exact sciences. He also served (1979–85) as chairman of the Planning and Budgeting Committee (VATAT) of the Council for Higher Education and chairman of the Supreme Committee of Science and Technology Education in israel ("MAHAR 98," 1991–92). In 2001 he became chairman of the Davidson Institute of Science Education at the Weizmann Institute and chairman of the Management Committee of the Weizmann Global Endowment Management Trust (New York).

[Bracha Rager (2nd ed.)]

HARARI, OVADIAH (1943–), Israeli aeronautical engineer. Harari was born in Cairo and came with his family to Israel in 1957. He studied aeronautical engineering at the Technion in Haifa where he recived his B.Sc. (1964) and his M.Sc. (1967). In 1966–70 he served as a project officer in the Israel Air Force in his profession. In 1978 he was appointed head of the Lavi fighter airplane project which employed about 1,800 people, half of whom were engineers. Subsequently he worked in executive and managerial capacities on various projects for Israel's Aircraft Industry (IAI). From 1997 he was executive vice president and chief operations officer for IAI. Harari was twice the recipient of the Israel Defense Prize, in 1969 and 1975. In 1987 he received the Israel Prize for technology and engineering.

[Gali Rotstein (2nd ed.)]

HARARI, SIR VICTOR RAPHAEL (1857–1945), Egyptian Jewish financier from Cairo. He began his career at the Egyptian ministry of finance, where he rose to the position of director general of the accounts department. In 1929 he was elected to the board of directors of the Egyptian National Bank and headed the boards of directors of many economic enterprises. He was knighted by King George V in 1928.

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[Haim J. Cohen]

HARBIN (Chinese: **Ha örl pin**), the capital of Heilung Kiang Province, in N. Manchuria, China. The modern development of Harbin began at the close of the 19th century, with the beginning of the Russian penetration of Manchuria. When Russia was granted the concession to build the Chinese Eastern Railway under the Russo-Manchurian treaty of 1898, Harbin became its administrative center with a 30-mi. (50 km.)-wide zone along the railway. In the same year, a number of Russian Jewish families went to Harbin with the official consent of the czarist government, which was interested in speedily populating the area, and which, consequently, granted them a better status than that of the Jews in Russia. Among the first Jews were F.I. Rif, the brothers Samsonovich, and E.I. Dobisov. Along with other minority groups (such as Karaites), the Jews were granted plots of land on the outskirts of the town. Not being allowed to work directly on the railway, they were active as shopkeepers and contractors.

By 1903 a self-administered Jewish community existed in Harbin, numbering 500 Jews. After the Russo-Japanese War of 1905, many demobilized Jewish soldiers settled in Harbin, followed by refugees from the 1905–07 pogroms. By 1908 there were 8,000 Jews in the city, and a central synagogue was built in 1909. Several institutions came into being within the community, including clubs, a home for the aged, and a hospital providing care for all other nationalities as well. A *ḥeder* was established in Harbin in 1907 and a Jewish secondary school (Yevreyskaya Gimnaziya) in 1909, which had 100 pupils in 1910. However, 70% of the Jewish pupils attended non-Jewish schools, because a numerus clausus did not exist for Jews in Harbin. The influx of Jewish refugees during World War I, the Russian Revolution (1917), and the Russian civil war sharply increased the Jewish community, which reached its peak – 10,000–15,000 – in the early 1930s. It numbered about 5,000 in 1939. A Jewish National Bank was established in Harbin in 1923 as well as a Jewish library. Between 1918 and 1930 about 20 Jewish newspapers and periodicals were also established. All were in Russian except the Yiddish *Der Vayter Mizrekh,* appearing three times a week with a circulation of 300 in 1921–22. The Russian-language weekly *Yevreyskaya Zhizn* ("Jewish Life", which until 1926 was called *Sibir-Palestina*) appeared from 1920 to 1940 with a circulation throughout Manchuria and North China. The Zionist movement, led by Abraham Kaufman, and several youth clubs played a major part in the life of the community. Until 1921 Harbin Zionists were affiliated to the Russian and Siberian Zionist Organization and participated in their conferences. When Zionism was outlawed in the Soviet Union, Harbin became an island of Russian-language Zionism. In the years from 1924 to 1931 the Soviet regime, largely preoccupied with internal problems, exercised only limited influence on Manchurian territory. During this time the Jews of Harbin enjoyed the same rights as all other foreigners, and were left alone to prosper. However, in 1928, when the Chinese Eastern Railway was handed over to the Chinese, an economic crisis broke out and many Jews left Harbin, some to the Soviet Union, others to Shanghai, Tientsin, etc. This situation changed drastically for the worse when Manchuria came under Japanese occupation (1931–45). The treatment of Jews became even more oppressive in World War II when the Japanese now allied with Nazi Germany and somewhat influenced by Russian right-wing emigrés adopted an antisemitic policy in some respects. Under Japanese rule, Jewish national life was kept alive by Zionist youth movements, particularly *Betar and *Maccabi, which organized Jewish cultural activities. Betar, which was the strongest Zionist youth organization, published a Russian-language magazine, *Ha-Degel* ("The Flag"). Until 1950 four synagogues existed in Harbin. Many Jews left Manchuria before the outbreak of World War II, for the U.S., Australia, Brazil, and other countries. During 1945–47, Harbin was under Soviet occupation, and Jewish community leaders were then arrested and sent to the Soviet interior. About 3,500 of the former "Chinese" Jews, most of them from Harbin, live in Israel, where they play an active role in all walks of life.

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[Rudolf Loewenthal and Noah W. Dragoon]

HARBURG, E.Y. (**Edgar "Yip"**; **Isidore Hochberg**; 1898–1981), U.S. songwriter. Born in New York to Orthodox Jewish parents, Harburg graduated from City College in 1921. After traveling through Latin America working for newspapers, Harburg turned to writing lyrics for Broadway musicals, such as *Walk a Little Faster* (1932), *Life Begins at 8:40* (1934), *The Show Is On* (1936), *Hold on to Your Hats* (1940), and *Bloomer Girl* (1944). His particular vein was the so-called "socially conscious," and his "Brother Can You Spare a Dime?" which he wrote during the Depression of the 1930s became a classic. He wrote the lyrics and co-authored the book for the witty Broadway musical *Finian's Rainbow* (1947) and wrote lyrics for *The Wizard of Oz* (1939), *Cabin in the Sky*, and other popular films. His songs "Over the Rainbow" and "Happiness Is a Thing Called Joe" won Academy Awards. A victim of the Hollywood blacklist, he returned to Broadway and wrote songs for such musicals as *Flahooley* (1951), *Jamaica* (1957), and *The Happiest Girl in the World* (1961). Among his other well-known songs are "April in Paris," "Home on the Range," "It's Only a Paper Moon," and "That Old Devil Moon." Harburg was inducted into the Songwriters' Hall of Fame in 1972. He wrote *Rhymes for the Irreverent* (1965) and *At This Point in Rhyme* (1976).

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[Jo Ranson / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

HARBY, ISAAC (1788–1828), U.S. author, journalist, teacher, and pioneer of Reform Judaism. Harby was born in Charleston, South Carolina. He became both teacher and journalist at the age of 16. He then began to study law, but the death of his father in 1805 left him the main support of a large family. He returned to teaching, opening a school at Edisto Island and then at Charleston. Finding journalism more profitable, Harby worked on various Charleston newspapers, editing several of his own not too successfully. A play, *Alberti*, was successful in Charleston in 1819, but Harby soon returned to teaching. After his wife's death in 1827, he left Charleston to establish a school in the more prospering metropolis of New York, but died soon after. Many tributes were paid him, including the publication of a memorial volume by his friend Abraham *Moise. A man of rare literary taste, and author of excellent dramatic criticisms, Harby played an important role in the establishment of the Reformed Society of the Israelites, the pioneer effort of Jewish religious reform in the United States. In 1824 a group of 47 members of Charleston's Congregation Beth Elohim unsuccessfully petitioned the congregation's board to modify the ritual, remove the Spanish and Portuguese archaisms and permit explanatory discourses in English. Later that year the Reformed Society of Israelites was organized. On its first anniversary, Harby delivered a discourse outlining the Society's aims; in 1827 he was elected president. His departure for New York and subsequent death left a void. Other leaders left Charleston, also for economic reasons, and by 1833 the Society dissolved. A number of Harby's literary, political, and religious essays appear in J. Blau and S. Baron (ed.), *Jews of the United States*, 3 (1963).

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[Malcolm H. Stern]

HARBY, LEVI MYERS (1793–1870), U.S. naval officer. Born in Georgetown, South Carolina, Harby joined the navy as a boy and was captured by the British during the war of 1812. He was cashiered from the navy in 1836 for siding with the secessionist Texans but was later reinstated. Promoted to captain, he fought in the Mexican War (1846) and the Bolivian War of Independence. Harby fought on the Confederate side in the American Civil War and distinguished himself in the defense of Galveston.

HARDEN, MAXIMILIAN (originally **Felix Ernst Witkowski**; 1861–1927), German journalist and polemist. He edited his periodical *Die Zukunft*, founded in 1892, with vigor, erudition, and an eye for intrigue that often exposed society and government circles. Born Witkowski in Berlin, he reacted violently against his Jewish origin, was baptized at 16, and changed his name. But he could not escape his ancestry, and among his German contemporaries he was the symbol of Jewish arrogance which they said was undermining Prussian militarism. His political articles written under the pen name "Keut" revealed a talent for satire. Two collections were published, *Apostata* (1892) and *Literatur und Theater* (1896). With irony and courage, Harden attacked William II and the neo-Byzantinism which surrounded him, championing the cause of the aging ex-chancellor Bismarck. *Die Zukunft* became the most influential German weekly of its time and the mouthpiece of liberal opposition to the Kaiser. For subjecting the monarch to ridicule, Harden was twice imprisoned. In 1906–07 he brought about the downfall of Prince zu Eulenburg, the Kaiser's most influential adviser, with revelations about his private life that scandalized the monarchy. During World War I he criticized the German high command and, after the abdication of the Kaiser, the revolutionary regime. In his later years he showed an interest in Jewish affairs. In 1900 he published Walter Rathenau's article "*Hoere Israel*" in *Die Zukunft*, and later expressed appreciation of the Zionist movement. *Die Zukunft* ceased publication in 1922; and an attempt was made on Harden's life that same year. Harden collected his articles in four volumes, *Koepfe* (1910–24). He also published in two volumes *Krieg und Friede* (1918). In 1983 an edition of

Harden's correspondence with Walter *Rathenau came out as *Briefwechsel 1897–1920*, ed. by. H.D. Heilige. In 1984 another edition of his correspondence with Björnsterne Björnson *Briefwechsel*, ed. by A. Keel, appeared, and in 1996 an edition of *Briefwechsel mit Maximilian Harden* with Frank Wedekind and Thomas and Heinrich Mann, ed. by A. Martin.

GEORG WITKOWSKI (1863–1939), his younger brother, was a leading German literary historian. He also embraced Lutheranism, but his abandonment of Judaism did not protect him from Nazi persecution. Witkowski lectured at the University of Leipzig, specializing in literature of the era of Goethe. His works include the *Geschichte des literarischen Lebens in Leipzig* (1909), and *Das deutsche Drama des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts* (1923). Between 1909 and 1933 Witkowski edited the *Zeitschrift fuer Buecherfreunde*.

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[Sol Liptzin / Konrad Feilchenfeldt (2nd ed.)]

°HARDENBERG, KARL AUGUST VON (1750–1822), Prussian chancellor from 1810, instrumental in enacting the edict concerning the civil status of the Jews (March 3, 1812). While administrating the principality of *Bayreuth-Ansbach for the Prussian king (1790/92–97), he had already dealt with the problem of Jewish rights and was in social contact with David *Friedlander and other members of the Berlin community. Considering that Jewish emancipation was a vital part of the general Prussian reforms, he stated that he was not prepared to approve any law which was based on more than four words: equal rights, equal duties. He did not, therefore, approve of the restrictions still contained in the edict. At the Congress of Vienna (1815) he once more advocated Jewish rights. While there, he was a frequent guest in Fanny von *Arnstein's house. He tried unsuccessfully to have Eduard *Gans appointed to Berlin University while Gans was still Jewish. D.F. *Koreff was his personal physician, adviser, and protégé. After 1815 Hardenberg continuously opposed the Prussian king and his reactionary ministers, who repudiated their promises of justice and equality for the Jews made during the Napoleonic wars, but since he remained in a minority in the cabinet his support was ineffectual. His diaries were published in 2000.

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[Meir Lamed]

HARDMAN (Salutski), JACOB BENJAMIN (1882–1968), U.S. labor leader and writer. Hardman, born Jacob Benjamin Salutski in Vilna, joined the Marxist Social Democratic Party as a young man, working as an organizer in Vilna in 1906 and in Kiev in 1907. After several arrests, he was exiled in 1908 by the czarist government for illegal political activities. Arriving in the United States in 1909, Hardman was elected secretary of the Jewish Language Federation of the Socialist Party at its founding in 1912. From 1914 to 1920 he edited *Naye Welt*, the federation's Yiddish weekly. Hardman joined the national executive of the Communist Worker's Party in 1921, but was expelled in 1923 for his criticism of the Jewish left's pro-Bolshevik line and its nihilistic approach to Jewish problems. From 1925 to 1944 he edited *The Advance*, organ of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers Union, and was a member of the executive of the Conference for Progressive Labor Action (1927–34). During World War II Hardman helped organize the American Labor Press Association, of which he became president, and from 1945 to 1953 he was editor of the periodical *Labor and Nation*. He was also editor of *American Labor Dynamics in the Light of Post-War Developments* (1928), *Clothing Workers in Philadelphia* (1940), and *House of Labor* (1951), and during the 1950s was director of research of the Columbia University project "Trends in Union Leadership."

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HARE (Heb. אַרְנֶבֶת, *arnevet*), according to the Pentateuch one of the prohibited animals (Lev. 11:6; Deut. 14:7). The Hebrew word is connected with the Akkadian *annabu* ("the jumper"). The Vulgate translates it from the Greek λαγώς ("a hare") as *lepus*. In spite of this the Septuagint gives the translation δασύπους, that is, "the hairy-legged." The Talmud explains that the wife of *Ptolemy Philadelphus, who according to tradition appointed 72 elders to translate the Pentateuch, was named Λαγώς and the translators made the change, apprehensive that the king might say: "The Jews have mocked at me and put my wife's name [as an unclean animal] in the Pentateuch" (Meg. 9b; TJ, Meg. 1:11, 71d).

The description in the Pentateuch of the *arnevet* as a ruminant raises a difficulty since the hare is not one, and hence some cast doubt on this identification. The reference, however, is apparently to the movement of its jaws when it eats and perhaps also to its habit of regurgitating the food it eats in the early morning hours and of later chewing it again, as in rumination.

In Israel there are three species of hare: in the coastal lowland, in the mountains, and in the Negev. It is extensively hunted, but its rapid propagation prevents its extermination. The *halakhah* mentions "the wool of hares" among those to which the law of *sha'atnez* ("the prohibition of wearing material containing wool and linen") does not apply (Shab. 27a), the reference here being apparently to the rabbit – *Dryctolagus cuniculus* – which the Romans bred extensively and which may have been introduced into Ereẓ Israel in mishnaic times. Some mistakenly identify the *shafan* (AV "coney"; JPS "rock-badger"), coney, mentioned in the Pentateuch alongside the hare, with the rabbit, and this is its common usage in modern Hebrew.

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[Jehuda Feliks]

ḤAREDIM (lit. "reverently fearful," from Hebrew *ḥared*, "fearful, trembling, pious"; common definition, ultra-Orthodox Jews).

Introduction

Orthodox Jews constitute the smallest major Jewish religious denomination. Although found in all principal areas of Jewish settlement, they are primarily resident in the United States and Israel. Numbering about 500,000 in the United States, the Orthodox constituted nearly 10% of American Jewry. About three-quarters of these are those called "Centrist Orthodox," Jews who choose a middle-way between whole-hearted acculturation to America and strict insulation from it. These are Jews who, although attached to *halakhah* (Jewish law, literally "the way"), value and receive a general education in addition to their intensive Jewish one (commonly by means of attendance at a Jewish day school), attend university, and embrace middle class aspirations of a professional career and material comforts. They share high concern for Israel, accept the idea of modern Zionism, and more than any other Jewish denomination, entertain the idea of moving to Israel, often but not always settling in the territories. While practicing birth control, American Centrist Orthodox Jews tend to have just under three children per family, giving them about a 33% greater fertility rate than the rest of American Jewry. Located mostly along the northeast corridor of the Eastern United States and in metropolitan Toronto and Montreal in Canada, they are also established in Los Angeles, Southern Florida, Cleveland, and Chicago.

In addition to Centrists, about a quarter of American Orthodox Jews qualify as *ḥaredim*, sometimes called "ultra-Orthodox." In Israel, conservative estimates have put the number of those qualifying as *ḥaredim* at between 250,000 and 300,000. Included here are not only Jews of Ashkenazi origins but also some of those of Sephardi, North African, and Middle-Eastern origins who are affiliated with Orthodox lifestyles and commitments, though not always in as consistent a way as their Ashkenazi counterparts. These latter Jews often effect a folk-religious attachment to *ḥaredi* rabbis and customs even as they sometimes deviate from some of the strict rules and regulations of the rabbis.

Definition

The term "*ḥaredim*" – once used to simply denote the religious – is today commonly reserved for those most extreme of Orthodox Jews who, although they have changed over time, claim to have made no compromises with contemporary secular culture or essential changes in the way they practice their Judaism from what the tradition and *halakhah* have sanctified throughout the ages. Yet *ḥaredim* are not simply pristine Jews who quiescently live a traditional Jewish life but rather culturally combative proponents of tradition who often seek to aggressively assert their connection to the ways of the past in the precincts of modernity, most often contemporary U.S. and Israel.

On the surface, they have used some relatively simple mechanisms to establish and maintain their traditional quasi-ethnic identity and the separation or insularity it demands. These include dressing (and grooming themselves) in ways that make them clearly stand apart from those in the surrounding culture. For men this means wearing a beard and long earlocks as well as black caftans and black hats (fur hats or *shtreimels* on the Sabbath for married or adult men), and often some form of knee pants and black shoes. For women it means dressing in modest clothing which covers most of the body and for the married among them, a head covering that may range from a kerchief over a shorn head for the most extreme to a wig for those less so. Variations are determined by sectarian affiliation within the *ḥaredi* world.

Ḥaredim also distinguish themselves by speaking Yiddish, a Jewish language that increasingly is limited only to them. In addition they have created environmental and residential barriers – segregated neighborhoods, for example – behind which they build their relatively insular neighborhoods and communities. They also send their children to private schools in which only those who share their values and lifestyle are included.

Beyond these relatively passive aspects of their identity, *ḥaredim* struggle actively against the influences of secular culture. Often this has led to their fighting to keep the contemporary lifestyle of permissiveness and sexual openness from entering their domains. In Israel this has taken the form of forcing the secular out of *ḥaredi* neighborhoods, demonstrating and militating against vehicular traffic on the Sabbath, fighting against what are viewed as the culturally corrosive effects of television, newspapers, or the posting of immodest advertisements in public, or against archeological digs in areas where they claim Jewish graves are to be found. In America, this has taken the form of struggling against legitimating non-Orthodox definitions of Judaism and Jews as well as trying to keep non-*ḥaredim* at a distance.

Groupings

Although to outsiders *ḥaredim* often appear to constitute a single ultra-Orthodox group, they are in fact subdivided into Ḥasidim who are organized around their fidelity to a particular charismatic rabbi-leader or *rebbe* on the one hand and *benei yeshivah*, those who identify with a particular academy of Jewish learning and its leading scholar (*rosh yeshivah*), students and interpretive traditions on the other. Within each of these two subcultures, there are divisions. Hence one group of Ḥasidim may clearly distinguish itself from another while those who are attached to one *yeshivah* may have little to do with those associated with another. Thus a *ḥaredi* is either a particular kind of Ḥasid, or a member of a particular *yeshivah* community, follower of a particular rabbi's interpretation of Jewish law. The divisions, supported by customs and quasi kin-group ties, may be so great as to erupt in conflict and even violence. Yet what divides these *ḥaredim* from one another pales in comparison with what divides *ḥaredim* in general from the rest of society. *Ḥaredi* identities take on a quasi-ethnic dimension as they become increasingly taken for granted because of common residence, endogamy, and a host of other instrumental links. They transcend time, place, and generation, precisely as does ethnicity.

Psycho-Social Worldview

Like ethnics, *ḥaredim* share a psycho-social worldview. This is their common (often hostile) perception of a world that opposes them and seeks to undermine their attachments to one another and to the tradition. They see themselves as an often lonely force endlessly combating obstacles, convinced that catastrophes of existence come as the inevitable culmination of past choices and experiences, which most contemporary members of secular society have made and had. While a few *ḥaredim* – most prominently Lubavitcher/Chabad Ḥasidim – have tried to engage and reach out to this world in order to try to bring it in line with their image of what is authentic, most *ḥaredim* are content to try to struggle against it by demanding it provide protection for their way of life or at the very least leave them alone. They view the culture of yesterday (as imagined nostalgically) as inherently more authoritative than today and as a genuine guide for tomorrow. They consider their lives as a service to God and Jewish tradition and the only true merit that which is prescribed by the Torah and its accepted rabbinic interpretations. In general, in the *ḥaredi* worldview, conformity to group norms and collective solidarity holds greater importance than individual self-actualization and personal liberty. Individuals only have merit insofar as they serve God and follow the dictates of tradition; that is their primary *raison dêtre*. To know precisely how to go about this, they must be guided by those who know the law and whose understanding is informed by the tradition – the rabbis.

The modern world may be used as an instrumentality to improve this service to God, but there is nothing about modernity – including science, medicine, and technology, all of which *ḥaredi* Jews utilize and exploit – which has ontological value in and of itself. The modern world is only to be valued insofar as it makes it more possible to serve God, continue Jewish tradition, and enhance Torah values. Studying Torah for as long as possible is thus the ideal for men, while women are expected to give birth to and rear children who will serve God and grow to be Torah scholars or the wives and mothers of scholars.

Although there are many other elements that distinguish *ḥaredim* from other contemporaries, Jews and even other Orthodox Jews, perhaps the most outstanding has to do with their attitude toward sexuality. Unlike mainstream and so-called modern Orthodox Jews who allow for the free mixing of males and females in social and educational settings, *ḥaredim* are scrupulous about separating the sexes from the earliest years of life. Not only do they offer separate education of males and females, they also discourage dating and the free selection of marital partners but rely instead on arranged marriages, usually accomplished by the very early twenties or late teens, and commonly to other *ḥaredim*. Although there are variations within the *ḥaredim* world, for the most part sexual relations between husband and wife are strictly regulated by Jewish law, custom, and habit. The aim of sexual relations is procreation, and *ḥaredi* men and women are expected to be fruitful and multiply; a childless *ḥaredi* couple is a rarity, their situation invariably the result of fertility problems. While pleasure plays a part in these relations between husband and wife, it is not expected to become central to the relationship. In some groups, for example followers of the Ger ḥasidic dynasty, sexual relations between a married couple are to be as brief and unemotional as possible. Thus for a Ger Ḥasid, almost any desire for extended sexual experience would be viewed as excessive and hence sinful. But even in the most liberal of *ḥaredi* groups, sexuality is to be rigorously regulated. Even husband and wife may only have sexual contact at certain times of the month (specifically, seven days after the end of the woman's menstrual period and after she has immersed herself in a ritual bath or *mikveh*) and even within the permitted period there are those *ḥaredim* who consider some times superior to others (the Sabbath, for example).

Hasidism, the Yeshivah World, and the Ḥaredim

Among Jews of Ashkenazi origin, most *ḥaredim* affiliate with Ḥasidism. There are many ḥasidic courts. In Israel the Gerrer Ḥasidim are probably the most numerous, followed by the Belzers, Vizhnitzers, and Lubavitchers. However, there are also other important groups who, although smaller in number, have had an impact on the character of hasidic life. These include Klausenbeger, Karliner, Lalover, Bobover, and Satmar Ḥasidim. In addition small sub-groupings, like the Toldos Aharon *ḥaredim*, who share many traditions with Satmar and distinguish themselves by their fellowship and attachment to traditions begun by Rabbi Aharon *Roth, play an important role through their activism on behalf of their customs and world view.

The *yeshivah* world, as distinguished from Ḥasidism, is populated by those who identify with a particular academy of Jewish learning and its leading scholars, students and interpretive traditions. These often see themselves as heirs of the *Mitnaggedim*, those who opposed the religious excesses of Ḥasidism and its cult of personality. In general, these *ḥaredim* represent the most liberal group within the *ḥaredi* world. They tend to allow for greater individual initiative as well as more extensive contact with the outside world.

While the differences between these two categories of *ḥaredim* are significant, when compared with other American Jews the similarities between them are striking. Over time, Hasidim have embraced the idea of *yeshivah* study over the pietism and zealotry that first shaped them during their emergence in Eastern Europe in the 18th and 19th centuries. On the other hand, the *yeshiva* world, which traces its primary origins to the same era in Lithuania, has transformed its attachment to its scholar-rabbis into a charismatic attachment to them in personality cults not altogether unlike those characteristic of Hasidim. Moreover, both Ḥasidim and the heirs of the Lithuanian-style *yeshivah* society today are both the most noticeable of Orthodox Jews and share a common goal of eschewing the values and many of the lifestyles of contemporary secular society and emphasizing instead a punctiliousness in religious ritual, a cultural separation from what they view as the corrupting influences of the outside world, and an attachment to the idea of preserving tradition, seen as a sacred order containing venerable truths and customs that may not be abrogated. Externally, they look and dress similarly, the men embracing black hats and coats and the women modest dress and head-coverings, and the use of Yiddish among themselves as their *lingua franca* and linguistic vehicle for keeping themselves separate from general society and bonded to one another. Although continuing to be attentive to what distinguishes them from one another, all share a common sense of being engaged in a culture war against contemporary secular culture in general and the principles of secular Zionism which has sought to redefine Jewish identity in particular. Zionism is also regarded as an expression of religious hubris and rebellion for it assumes that Jews can act to end a divinely imposed exile which, according to most *ḥaredim*, can only be ended when God acts.

Confrontation with Modernity

Because the inherent attraction of contemporary culture is so powerful, many Orthodox Jews have managed to find ways of entering the situation of modernity and the spirit of the times while still keeping strictly within the letter of the law. This has led *ḥaredim* to become partisans of the stringent rather than the lenient interpretations of Jewish law. The espousal of stringencies led *ḥaredim* to take on customs that were often beyond the demands of the Jewish law; another group – in order to demonstrate its greater piety – would find an even stricter interpretation. Thus there are repeated calls by *ḥaredim* to oppose any inroad of contemporary culture, whether this be acceding to the passing of cars through their neighborhoods on the Sabbath, allowing for archeological digs that "desecrate" Jewish graves, or countenancing immodest dress in their neighborhoods or even approving the wearing of wigs by married women rather than their shaving their heads and covering them with kerchiefs. Moreover, the requirements of the Jewish law are always enlarged in scope to include custom and folkway, and there are frequent efforts to shun material pleasures and insert an ascetic strain into Judaism.

The American *ḥaredim* could not and for a long time did not want to fight America, their new diaspora haven. They tried instead to ignore its culture whenever possible – even to the extent of some of the most extreme traveling through it inside their own buses – and saved their most active battling in the struggle to keep other, non-Orthodox Jews at bay. In America, the *ḥaredim* withdrew themselves from intra-Jewish organizations as much as possible, maintaining only the ties they needed to get money coming into their institutions. They vilified the Reform and Conservative Jews and were privately contemptuous of those who called themselves modern Orthodox. They refused to join most intra-communal Jewish organizations and even organized their own rabbinical association ("Agudas Ha-Rabonnim") that was made up of Orthodox rabbis who were not affiliated with the more mainstream Orthodox Rabbinical Council of America.

In America, the contra-acculturative Orthodox thus paid much attention to making money, the ultimate American power, and limiting the influence of non-Orthodox Jews in Jewish life, particularly in determining matters of personal status (deciding who was a Jew or who was married and divorced). The money, the result of an open society which provided many economic opportunities never before available to those who remained Orthodox, would give independence and help support the Orthodox way of life. For some this meant developing strength in the diamond trade, for others real estate, the garment industry, and in the last 25 years, the electronics business. Based on a community of people who trust one another and a no-nonsense approach to business which – somewhat akin to the Protestant ethic – reinvests profits and limits spending to necessities and charitable giving, seeing nothing inherently valuable in money except in what it can do to help maintain the Jewish way of life, these Jews succeeded in this goal.

Moreover, to keep America responsive to their needs, these Jews (like their other co-religionists) were careful to vote at election time, making increasingly certain that the parties and candidates knew that they voted in high numbers and en bloc. In this last regard, they allowed themselves to be publicly identified as Jewish voters – so much so that candidates seeking Jewish votes often have themselves photographed with *ḥaredim*, hoping that this will symbolize their attraction for all Jewish voters.

In Ereẓ Israel and later in the new Zionist state, *ḥaredim* also tried to recreate and resurrect their traditional experience. To these Orthodox Jews – even those who shared similar ḥasidic or *mitnagged* affiliations – their American counterparts were not really "*ḥaredim*"; they were "Americans." They read American newspapers, worked with Americans, spoke English, and had subtly been swept up by America and the ways of the gentile society. They could not really overcome so powerful a cultural giant as the American way of life. True *ḥaredim*, the Israelis maintained, fought relentlessly against all outside influences – including the host society – and did not allow themselves to be assimilated by the modern world even in the quest for funds for the institutions.

For Israeli *ḥaredim* this meant not serving in the Israel Defense Forces, viewed as a secular institution that would undermine the insularity and authoritative order of *ḥaredi* society. As part of an agreement made during the early years of the state, all male students studying in a *yeshivah* were exempted from the universal Israeli military draft while Orthodox girls were likewise exempted. For the men, this served to encourage increased *yeshivah* study for longer periods. Thus insulated in the *yeshivah* in order to remain free of the draft, *ḥaredi* men tended to become more extreme and stringent, and less compromising with the demands of contemporary secular society than did their American counterpart who went to work in the outside world and learned to yield and adjust to it more easily. It also made the Israelis more dependent on financial stipends from *ḥaredi* political parties who in turn drew funds from the government in return for their political support. Over time, *ḥaredi* educational institutions have absorbed increasing amounts of money devoted solely to maintaining the *ḥaredim* who spend their time in study in place of gainful employment. In addition, *ḥaredi* society depends heavily on "*gemaḥim*," communal charity organizations and philanthropic donations from abroad. This economic precariousness of a society that absorbs more money than it generates remains among the most severe crises confronting contemporary *ḥaredim*.

Outreach

While most *ḥaredim* remain inward-looking, concerned only with maintaining their own members, Lubavitcher Ḥasidim, at the urging of their late leader, Menachem Mendel *Schneersohn (d. 1995), have established a large outreach program serviced by emissaries who travel the world and try to bring back wayward Jews to a more stringent and Orthodox Jewish way of life. This large outreach effort has made the Lubavitcher Ḥasidim often the only *ḥaredim* with whom outsiders have had any sort of extended contact. In contrast to the disregard that most *ḥaredim* seem to have for those unlike themselves, the Lubavitcher attitude seems to have made friends for the *ḥaredi* way of life. The actual numbers that Lubavitcher *ḥaredim* have recruited to their version of Judaism, however, by most counts remains relatively small.

[Samuel C. Heilman]

The Challenge of Material Subsistence

While the *ḥaredi* population in Israel has maintained its coherence and single-mindedness, it has not been unaffected by the winds of change. Exposure to the ethos of a consumer society and a steadily worsening economic situation have created pressures from within, often coming from the woman of the house, on whose shoulders the financial burden of earning a living often falls in the absence of a working husband. Two factors have contributed to the increasing impoverishment of the *ḥaredim* in Israel: the mushrooming of the nonworking yeshivah population, which embraced some 80,000 men in the early 2000s, about half of them married, and the drastic cutback in welfare spending by the Israeli government in the face of the deep recession brought on by the second intifada and global factors. The system of army deferment and state support for "professional yeshivah scholars" has a long history in Israel. Originally the number of such scholars qualifying for support in the new state was just 400, earmarked to revive the lost yeshivah world of Europe. In 1968 their number was doubled. In 1977, as part of Menaḥem Begin's coalition agreement with the religious political parties, the quota was abolished and virtually all *ḥaredi* men who wished to do so could engage in protracted full-time yeshivah study. The inducements to remain in the yeshivah were great: a government stipend and perpetual draft deferment. In the United States, where such inducements did not exist, a different kind of yeshivah world had evolved. Ḥasidim, who lacked a strong scholarly tradition, would leave the yeshivah at around the age of 21 and enter the labor market, usually in low-paying, unskilled jobs, which indeed caused many with their large families to subsist beneath the poverty line. However, the "Lithuanian" *ḥaredim*, while prolonging their studies in a flourishing yeshivah world, though rarely beyond the age of 30, often combined vocational and even academic studies in suitable frameworks, like the *Touro college system, with yeshivah study, and consequently were able to get well-paid jobs in high-tech industries and other professions. In Israel no such socio-economic differentiation existed as between ḥasidim and "Lithuanians" in the United States. All stayed in the yeshivot under the Israeli system, including "Eastern" *ḥaredim* who had adopted the lifestyle of Ashkenazi *ḥaredim* under the influence of R. Eleazar *Shach, the mentor of their leader, R. Ovadiah *Yosef. Ironically, unlike the Lithuanian Jews of Europe, who had closed themselves in against the temptations of the outside world, Eastern Jews had never feared assimilation in the surrounding Muslim population and had therefore lived in a more open society in which working to earn one's keep was a natural part of life. It was only in Israel that they became "Ashkenazim."

Starting in the mid-1990s, bending to the pressure from within to raise the standard of living among *ḥaredim* and alleviate their traditional "voluntary poverty," *ḥaredi* rabbis began to show a certain measure of flexibility with regard to the subject of vocational training. However, their attitude has been ambiguous and they have often wavered in determining what is permissible. Nonetheless a number of frameworks were established permitting such study, like the Ḥaredi Center for Technological Studies in Bene Berak and Jerusalem, and thousands of men and women have enrolled over the years, though fewer than might have been expected. It is clear, however, that a new direction is tentatively being explored in keeping with economic and social realities. Though political realities could very well reinstitute a regime of government largesse and reverse the trend, it would seem that the *ḥaredi* world, too, is being affected by modern life.

[Fred Skolnik (2nd ed.)]

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HAREL (Heb. הַרְאֵל), kibbutz in the Jerusalem corridor, east of Ḥuldah, affiliated with Kibbutz Arẓi ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir, founded in October 1948. Harel was established on a site where hard battles had been fought four months earlier (see Israel *War of Independence). The first settlers were *Palmaḥ veterans of the Harel Brigade who had fought in the area and in Jerusalem; they were later joined by immigrants from various countries. Farming was based on deciduous fruit orchards, field crops, grapevines, etc. In more recent years the kibbutz set up a winery together with private investor, producing wines from the kibbutz's grapes. In addition, Harel owns a guesthouse with 33 rooms. Carob plantations and large forests have been planted in the vicinity, in the middle of which stands the Harel panorama tower. In the mid-1990s, the population was approximately 70, doubling in size to 145 by 2002.

[Efraim Orni / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

HAREL, DAVID (1950–), Israeli mathematician and computer scientist. Harel was born in London and immigrated to Israel in 1957. After service in the Israel Defense Forces (1968–71), he graduated with a B.Sc. in mathematics and computer science from Bar-Ilan University (1974), followed by an M.Sc. in computer science from Tel Aviv University (1976), and a Ph.D. from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (1978). He joined the faculty of the Department of Computer Science and Applied Mathematics of the Weizmann Institute of Science, Reḥovot, in 1980 and was appointed professor (1989), William Sussman Professor of Mathematics (1990), department chairman (1989–95), and dean of the Faculty of Mathematics and Computer Science (1998–2004). His past research interests include computability theory, program logic, and database and automata theory. His later interests were software and systems engineering, visual languages, synthesis and communication of smell, and modeling and analysis of biological systems.

He invented the language of statecharts and co-designed Statemate and Rhapsody, LSCs, and the play in/out methodology. One of his long-term goals was to adapt the language and tools of computer systems to model and simulate a complete multi-cellular animal such as the C. elegans worm. His national and international reputation is reflected by his many plenary and keynote lectures to conferences worldwide, membership on editorial boards, visiting professorships, and membership on international review committees. His awards include the Association of Computing Machinery's Karl V. Karlstrom Outstanding Educator Award (1992), the Israel Prime Minister's Prize for Software and Software Methods (1997), and the Israel Prize in computer science (2004). Harel has a major interest in education in his field and in science in general. He was a member of Israel's Higher Education Committee (1988–89) and of the Ministry for Education's High School Committee for Computer Science (1990–97). He also gave a series of lectures and organized programs on computer science for Israeli radio and television. His books, such as *Computers Ltd.: What They Really Can't Do* (2000) and *Algorithmics: The Spirit of Computing* (1987, 1992, 2004), are acclaimed as readable, outstanding computer science texts for specialists and general readers alike.

[Michael Denman (2nd ed.)]

HAREL, MENASHE (1917–), Israeli scholar in Ereẓ Israel studies. Harel is known for his field trips throughout Israel combining academic pursuits with hiking. Harel was born in Samarkand and immigrated to Israel in 1921. In 1941 he served as a Palmaḥ instructor in kibbutz Mismar ha-Emek. From 1943 until 1945 he was the Palmaḥ representative in Syria, engaged in education, teaching, and assisting Jews to immigrate to Israel. In 1948 he joined the IDF, serving until 1952. Among his missions in the IDF was the establishment of the Naḥal patrol. In 1955 he graduated in geography and historical geography of Ereẓ Israel from the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. In 1957 he received his M.A. degree in historical geography and archaeology from the Hebrew University. In 1963 he received his Ph.D. from New York University. From 1952 until 1961 he was a teacher at the David Yellin teachers seminary. From 1964 until 1969 he taught the methodology of geography at the Hebrew University and the Technion, and the historical geography of Ereẓ Israel at the Technion. From 1969 until 1981 he served as senior lecturer for geographical history in the Department of Geography and the School of Education at Tel Aviv University. From 1982 until 1987 he served as professor in the Department of Geography at Tel Aviv University, becoming professor emeritus in 1987. During these years he was a visiting professor at New York University, Clark University, and Hebrew Union College. Harel was a member of various public institutions and produced 12 books and six monographs among other publications, including *Travels in Israel* (1960), *Geography of Ereẓ Israel* (1960); *Sinai Journeys* (1963); *This is Jerusalem* (1969); *Journeys and Battles in Ancient Times* (1980); *Landscape, Nature and Man in the Bible* (1984); and *The Historical Geography of Ereẓ Israel* (1997). In 2002 he was awarded the Israel Prize for historical geography.

[Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

HAREL, YISRAEL (1938–), Israeli journalist and settlement leader. Born in Chernowitz, near Kovina, Ukraine, Harel emigrated to Palestine in 1947. He fought in the 1967 and 1973 wars, participating in the capture of the Old City of Jerusalem. In 1968 he was appointed managing editor of the revisionist daily *Ha-Yom*, and the following year joined *Maariv* as deputy editor of its weekend section. His employment was interrupted after he moved to the then illegal settlement of Ofra in 1976, and he subsequently joined *Yedioth Aharonoth* as a writer-at-large. A founding member of the Greater Israel movement, in 1980 he established the Council of Settlements of Judea, Samaria, and Gaza, acting as its secretary-general for the first seven years, and its chairman for the next eight years, to 1995. Harel's period at the council was characterized by intensive settlement activity (the number of settlements increasing from 20 in 1980 to 140 by the time he left) and by a pragmatic approach in the council's dealings with successive Labor and Likud governments.

Harel also founded and edited *Nekudah*, the council's monthly journal. Originally a magazine reporting the manifold activities of different settlements, it evolved into an intellectual journal campaigning for Jewish settlement, often featuring controversial writing, its voice influencing the nationalist agenda. While many of its contributors and readers were within the religious strata of the settlement movement, they also extended to the mainstream Israeli populations, including people identified with the Left. Never making a profit, its circulation hovered around 7,000.

Against the background of the Rabin assassination, Harel established the Forum for National Responsibility as a framework for dialogue between religious and secular Jews, which produced the so-called Kinneret memorandum. He wrote a book on religious Zionism.

[Yoel Cohen (2nd ed.)]

HARENDORF, SAMUEL JACOB (1900–1969), Yiddish playwright and journalist. Born in Chenzin, Poland, Harendorf worked on Jewish papers in Vienna and Prague, moving to England before World II. In 1940 he founded the Yiddish World News Agency and edited it until his death. Harendorf was author of *The King of Lampedusa* (1944), a play based on an incident in World War II, when a Jewish RAF pilot accepted the surrender of an Italian island in the Mediterranean. The play had the longest run in the history of the London Yiddish stage. He also wrote a play called *Hanna Senesh*.

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HA-REUBENI (Rubinowitz), EPHRAIM (1881–1953), botanist and pioneer in Ereẓ Israel. Born in Novo-Moskovsk, Ukraine, Ha-Reubeni settled in Ereẓ Israel in 1906 and worked as teacher of natural science in various high schools. In 1907 he founded the first museum of botany in Ereẓ Israel. Together with his wife Hannah (d. 1956) he founded in 1912 the Museum of Flora of the Bible and Talmud, in Rishon le-Zion. In 1936 they were transferred to the Hebrew University. He joined the academic staff of the Hebrew University in 1926 and in 1935 was appointed lecturer in botany of the Bible and Talmud. Ha-Reubeni contributed much to the investigation of plants in Ereẓ Israel, their uses and associated folklore. On the basis of their research, together with linguistic studies of plant names in Hebrew, Aramaic, Arabic, and other languages, the Ha-Reubenis did much to explain the ancient Hebrew botanical terms and to identify the plants mentioned in the Bible and Talmud. They wrote *Meḥkarim bi-Shemot Ẓimḥei Ereẓ Yisrael* (1930) and *Oẓar Ẓimḥei Ereẓ Yisrael* (1941).

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[Frederick Simon Bodenheimer]

HAREVEN, SHULAMITH (1930–2003), Israel author. Hareven was born in Warsaw, Poland; she arrived in Ereẓ Israel in 1940 and lived in Jerusalem. She served in the Haganah underground and was a combat-medic during the War of Independence. Later she worked with refugees and immigrants from various Arab countries and was one of the initiators of the Army Broadcasting Station for which she worked as correspondent during the Yom Kippur War. She began her literary career with a poetry collection, *Yerushalayim dorsanit* ("Predatory Jerusalem") in 1962, and later published novels, stories, books for children, and essays. Among these are the impressionistic novel *Ir Yamim Rabbim* (1972; *City of Many Days*, 1977), depicting life in Jerusalem under British Mandate, with Jews, Christians and Muslims sharing experiences and pleading tolerance. The story *Bedidut* ("Loneliness," 1980) tells about the desolate life of Dolly Jacobus, a Holocaust survivor, who marries into a veteran Jerusalemite family, yet fails to integrate and remains frustrated as a woman. Other books by Hareven include the novella *Sone ha-Nissim* ("The Miracle Hater," 1983), a historic miniature about the Exodus in the Sinai desert and the emergence of monotheism; *Navi* (1989; *Prophet*, 1990), and a collection of essays on political and socio-cultural issues which was translated into English under *The Vocabulary of Peace* (1995). A lifelong member of the Israeli Peace Movement "Shalom Akhshav," Hareven reported from Arab villages during the Intifada. She was the first woman to be elected as a member of the Hebrew Language Academy and was known for her rich, idiomatic Hebrew. A year before she died, her autobiography was published under *Yamim Rabbim* ("Many Days," 2002). Other translations into English include *Twilight and Other Stories* (1991) and the story "My Straw Chairs" is included in *The Oxford Book of Hebrew Short Stories* (1996). For translations into various languages see the ITHL website, www.ithl.org.il.

Her daughter GAIL HAREVEN (1959–), is one of the original voices among the younger Israeli prose writers. Born in Jerusalem, she studied behavioral sciences at Ben-Gurion University as well as Talmud and Jewish Philosophy at the Shalom Hartman Institute. She teaches creative writing and feminist theory and has published collections of stories, children books as well as plays. Among these are *Aruḥat Ẓohorayim im Ima* ("Lunch with Mother," 1993) and *Ha-Derekh le-Gan Eden* ("The Way to Heaven," 1998). In 2002, she received the prestigious Sapir Prize for her novel *My True Love* (2000).

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[Anat Feinberg (2nd ed.)]

HARF, HANNS (1914–2004), founder and rabbi of the Nueva Comunidad Israelita – NCI (Jews of German origin) in Buenos Aires, Argentina. Born in Monchengladbach, Germany, he studied in the University of Berlin Law School and learned theology, also in Berlin, at the Conservative rabbinical seminary from which he received rabbinical ordination and a Ph.D. On **Kristallnacht* (November 9–10, 1938) he was taken to the Oranienburg concentration camp. After his liberation he married Dr. Suse Hallenstein and immigrated to Argentina. He founded the NCI and the "Lamroth Hakol" communities in Buenos Aires and was active rabbi of the former for 60 years. He was also co-founder of the Seminario Rabínico Latinoamericano "Marshall T. Meyer" (Conservative rabbinical seminary) and professor there for homiletics. He was also active in Interfaith Christian-Jewish Associations and was well known for his liberal ideas. He participated in religious-oriented television programs. Until his last days, he dedicated his life to the members of his community.

HARF, SUSE HALLENSTEIN (1912–2002), librarian of Jewish Studies. Born in Hamburg, she studied theology and philosophy at the University of Berlin and was one of the last Jewish students permitted to receive a Ph.D. there. Later she worked as a librarian in the local rabbinical Conservative seminary. In 1962 she founded, together with Rabbi Marshall T. Meyer, the library of the Seminario Rabínico Latinoamericano, which became one of the best libraries of Jewish Studies in Latin America. She became head librarian, working in the library until her retirement in 1988.

HAR HA-MELEKH (Heb. הַר הַמֶּלֶךְ; "king's mountain"; Aramaic *Tor Malka*), a hilly district in Judah. It should probably be identified with the toparchy of Orine (Latin for "the hilly one," Pliny, *Natural History*, 5, 14:70), i.e., the district of Jerusalem in Hasmonean times (Josephus, War 3, 3:5 (54–55); Antiq. 12, I:I (7)) and this may very well be the same as the "hill country" mentioned in Luke (1:39–40, 65). The Protevangelium of James (c. 150 C.E.) also mentions Mary and Joseph going into "the hill country." According to the Talmud, "any mountain that is in Judah is Har ha-Melekh" (TJ, Shev 9:2, 38d). Its original borders thus extended from Gibeah of Saul (Tell el-Ful) in the north to Solomon's Pools in the south and from Kiriath-Jearim in the west to the ascent of Adummim in the east. The word *melekh* ("king") apparently indicates the Hasmonean kings beginning with Alexander Yannai. Har ha-Melekh, according to rabbinic sources, was very fertile and contained fields and vegetable gardens, olives, and grapes, and its fowls were sent to the Temple. After the destruction of the settlements in the district during the Bar Kokhba War (132–135), Har ha-Melekh was attached to the territory of *Aelia Capitolina. Its Jewish inhabitants were expelled and its produce, which continued to be supplied to Caesarea, was considered gentile produce and thus exempt from tithes. In later talmudic literature the true extent of its area was forgotten and villages in the Bet Guvrin district (e.g., Kefar Bish, Kefar Shiḥlayim) were erroneously attributed to Har ha-Melekh. The alleged number of its villages reached fantastic proportions ("60,000 myriads") and their populations are also highly exaggerated (TB, Git. 57a; Lam. R. 2:2, no. 4). B.Z. Luria proposed to locate Har ha-Melekh in the Mt. Ephraim range, in the direction of the Carmel, between Kefar Otenai and Narbata.

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[Michael Avi-Yonah / Shimon Gibson (2nd ed.)]

ḤARIF, family, many of whose members were rabbis in Poland from the 16th to the 19th centuries. Some regard the family as descended from *Shalom Shakhna b. Joseph of Lublin. They included MOSES HA-ZAKEN ("the elder") BEN ISRAEL (16th–17th centuries) – the first to be given the epithet *ḥarif* ("sharp-witted") – who served as rabbi of Kremienec, Lvov, and Uleynov. He was the author of *Seder Gittin* (still in mss.) which was in the possession of Ephraim Zalman Margolioth. ISRAEL, his son, headed a yeshivah in Lvov and was *av bet din* of Uleynov. MOSES PHINEHAS (1625–1702), son of Israel, was chief rabbi of Lvov, and presided over the Council of Four Lands in 1685. He was an opponent of the Shabbateans, and added supplements to his grandfather's *Seder Gittin*. ISRAEL, second son of Israel b. Moses, was born on the day his father died, and was given his name. He was *av bet din* of Alik. Of the sons of Moses Phinehas, ẒEVI HIRSCH (d. 1737) was the *av bet din* of Jaworow, and Jacob was *av bet din* of Leszniow and the province of Podolia. One son of Jacob, JUDAH LEIB, was *av bet din* of Korow, and another, SAUL (first half of 18th century), *av bet din* of Olesko, and later of Brody where he founded a *bet midrash* called after him. MOSES ḤAYYIM BEN ELEAZAR (1690–1760), grandson of Moses Phinehas, was rabbi of Komarno, Zloczow (1719), and Lvov (1724). After a violent controversy between him and Jacob Joshua *Falk concerning the rabbinate of Lvov, which arose out of an allegation by a proselyte that Moses Ḥayyim had influenced him to become a Jew, he was compelled to flee to Khotin, which was under Turkish rule, and he died there. JACOB ISAAC (?1710–1771), son of Moses Ḥayyim, changed his name to Hochgelerter, and in 1740 was appointed rabbi of Zamosc. His son JOSEPH (1740–1807) was rabbi of Jampol and Zamosc. His halakhic glosses, *Ḥiddushei Mahari*, were published in the *Zera Aharon* (Zolkiew, 1757). *Mishnat Ḥakhamim* (Lvov, 1792), the first part of his commentary to Maimonides' *Mishneh Torah*, was also published. His sons were ḤAYYIM BEN JOSEPH (1770–1809), rabbi of Ostrowiec, Hrubieszow, and Grabowiec, author of halakhic novellae entitled *Ḥut ha-Meshullash*, appended to his father's *Mishnat Ḥakhamim*, and ISAAC BEN JOSEPH (1771–1825), rabbi of Tarnograd, Chelm, and Zamosc, author of *Zikhron Yiẓḥak* (c. 1822), consisting of responsa and homilies.

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[Yehoshua Horowitz]

ḤARIF HA-LEVI, family of rabbis and scholars in Poland in the 17th and 18th centuries. The founder of the family was SOLOMON BEN ISAAC ABRAHAM of Przemysl (d. 1638), a pupil of Joshua *Falk, and son-in-law of Joseph ha-Kohen. He was rabbi of Lemberg when he died. His elder son, ISAAC SEGAL, was the son-in-law of Samuel *Edels, and rabbi of Rymanow. He was the ancestor of many generations of rabbis and scholars including Ephraim Zalman *Margalioth of Brody and Samuel Kamnitzer, great-grandfather of Eisik Segal of Lemberg. Solomon's second son, MOSES SEGAL, was rabbi of Polna and later head of a yeshivah in Lemberg. Moses' son, JOSEPH SEGAL (d. 1702), was rabbi of Przemysl, and the Ḥakham Ẓevi (Ẓevi Hirsch *Ashkenazi) said of him that his only transgression was his disobedience of the *takkanah* of Usha which laid it down that one should not give more than one fifth of one's income to charity. JEKUTHIEL ZALMAN SEGAL, son of Joseph, was the first rabbi of Drohobycz, appointed in 1670. Of his six sons, all of whom were rabbis, the most distinguished was ISAAC HA-LEVI. NATHAN NETA, another son of Jekuthiel, was rabbi and *av bet din* of Lemberg. He died apparently in 1776.

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[Yehoshua Horowitz]

ḤARIRI, family of kabbalists of the village of Ḥarir, in the district of Irbil, Kurdistan. ISAAC BEN MOSES (17th century), the founder of the family, lived in this village during the first half of the 17th century. He wrote the kabbalistic work *Naḥalat ha-Shem* and a number of religious *piyyutim*. His son PHINEHAS, who was attracted to Shabbateanism, was also a *paytan* and author. The sons of Phinehas, ḤAYYIM and ISAAC, were rabbis in the townlet of Rawanduz, in the district of Irbil. ABRAHAM BEN PHINEHAS (19th century) left six works in manuscript. His son MOSES was a teacher for beginners in Köi in the district of Irbil and owned a large library of religious books. He wrote at least three works, of which *Va-Yivḥar Moshe* was published in Baghdad in 1930. Moses' son Isaac was rabbi in Rawanduz.

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[Haim J. Cohen]

ḤARIZI, ABU ISAAC ABRAHAM (fl. c. 1100), Hebrew poet of Toledo, Spain. Moses Ibn Ezra mentions him in his poetics (tr. by A. Halkin, *Kitab al-Muhadara wal-Mudhakara* (1975), 40b) as being a contemporary of Abu Harun ibn Abi al-'Aysh. Judah *Al-Ḥarizi praises Abraham's verses in two passages in the *Taḥkemoni* (ed. by Kaminka (1899), 39, 41). It is uncertain whether he belonged to the same family as Judah al-Ḥarizi, being probably two generations older. A number of poems, known to have been composed by a "Ḥarizi" (*Maḥzor Aleppo*, *Siftei Renanot*, Karaite Rite and Ms.), may be Abraham's. There were, however, also other Ḥarizis (Ms. Adler 135 contains poems by a Simḥah Ḥarizi).

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[Jefim (Ḥayyim) Schirmann]

HARKAVI, YITZHAK (**Isaac**; 1915–2001), Zionist leader and educator. Born in Bialystok, Poland, he emigrated to Moisesville, Argentina, in 1926. He studied law in Santa Fe and was a teacher in the Hebrew schools of Moisesville and Santa Fe. In 1939 he moved to Buenos Aires where he worked as a teacher in the Jewish schools of the Cursos Religiosos network, and when Natan Bistritzky arrived in Argentina (1942), Harkavi directed the JNF office. An activist in the Poa'lei Zion Hitaḥdut party (connected to *Mapai – Labor Party in Ereẓ Israel) during the 1930s, he emerged as one of the key leaders of the Zionist Movement in Argentina. Harkavi promoted democratization of the Zionist Movement and addressing the youth, including direct elections and representation. He represented his Zionist party at the Central Zionist Council in Argentina from 1943, in DAIA, and in Vaad Hachinuḥ – Board of Jewish Education of AMIA (Jewish Ashkenazi Community of Buenos Aires). Harkavi was general secretary of the first Latin American Zionist Congress, held in Montevideo in 1945, and in the early 1950s was appointed president of the Central Zionist Council.

As teacher and director (from 1946) of the Buenos Aires Bialik Hebraist school, one of the most important Zionist schools in Argentina, Harkavi contributed enormously to the increasing influence of the young State of Israel in Jewish schools and communities in South America through the promotion of the Hebrew language. He also established the ICAI – Cultural Institute Argentina-Israel (in 1952) – under the sponsorship of the Israeli diplomatic representation. In 1950 he was appointed representative of the Jewish Agency for Latin America. Before moving to Israel in 1954 he succeeded in bringing an Israeli *shali'aḥ* as director for the Bialik school.

In Israel Harkavi was appointed the general secretary of the Mapai-Ichud Olami Party (1954–60) and Israeli ambassador to Uruguay (1960–63) and to Brazil (1968–73). He also served as a member of the Zionist Executive Council and head of the Department for Jewish Education and Culture in the Diaspora of the World Zionist Organization (1963–68).

[Yossi (Jorge) Goldstein (2nd ed.)]

HARKAVY, ALBERT (**Abraham Elijah**; 1835–1919), Russian Orientalist, scholar of Jewish history and literature. Harkavy was born in Novogrudok, Belorussia. He studied at Lithuanian yeshivot and at the universities of St. Petersburg, Berlin, and Paris. On his return to Russia in 1870 he began teaching ancient Oriental history. The opposition in certain circles to the appointment of a Jew to a university lectureship prompted the Russian government to cancel his post, and he was transferred to the department of Jewish literature and Oriental manuscripts at the Imperial Library in St. Petersburg. In 1877 he was made head of that department, remaining in that position for the rest of his life.

Harkavy started his literary and scientific work in 1861, publishing articles mainly in *Ha-Karmel* and *Ha-Meliẓ* on the natural and physical sciences and on current problems in education and literature. At about that time Harkavy started his research on the origin of the Jewish community in Russia. His efforts were part of the general efforts of the Wissenschaft des Judentums school to secure equality for Russian Jews. They based their claims on the ancient Jewish heritage in Russian language. Harkavy argued his theories in several essays and articles, and especially in his first Russian book, *O yazyke yevreyev,… i o slavyanskikh slovakh, vstrechayemykh u yevreyskikh pisateley* (1865), which also appeared in Hebrew as *Ha-Yehudim u-Sefat ha-Slavim* ("The Jews and the Slavic Language," 1867).

Harkavy claimed that the Jewish community in Russia was formed by Jews who migrated from the region of the Black Sea and Caucasia, where their ancestors had settled after the Assyrian and Babylonian exiles. These people, who preserved an ancient Jewish heritage, which they spread among the *Khazars, expanded through the Khazar kingdom westward to Czechoslovakia. Their spoken language was Slavic, at least from the ninth century on; not until the 17th century did it change to Yiddish, and that was because many Ukrainian Jews fled the 1648–49 pogroms to Poland, where Yiddish was spoken. This theory concerning the origins of Russian Jewry led to Harkavy's research into the history of the Khazars, the most important of which is his essay *Skazaniya yevreyskikh pisateley o khazarakh i khazarskom tsarstve* ("Jewish Authors' Reports on the Khazars and the Khazar Kingdom," 1874). The reports were few and sketchy but Harkavy showed uncanny knowledge and acumen in their interpretation.

An important part of his work was publishing Jewish manuscripts by Jewish authors that were in the possession of the St. Petersburg library, with his comments and critical notes. Among them were works by the later *geonim*, including Saadiah Gaon, Samuel b. Hophni, and Hai Gaon; and the Spanish sages, including Samuel ha-Nagid, Joseph ha-Nagid, Judah Halevi, and Abraham ibn Ezra. He also published manuscripts in the journals *Me'assef Niddaḥim* (16 issues, 1878–80) and *Ḥadashim Gam Yeshanim* (20 issues, 1886–1907); in the series of monographs he edited, *Zikkaron le-Rishonim ve-gam le-Aḥaronim* (7 issues, 1879–82), and in other publications.

Significant information in Jewish history is included in his comments on volumes three to eight of H. Graetz's *Geschichte der Juden*. Among the manuscripts he published were geonic responsa and the long version of "The Letter of King Joseph of the Khazars to R. Ḥisdai ibn Shaprut" and other manuscripts that the library acquired from the Karaite scholar Abraham Firkovich.

While working on Karaite documents it occurred to Harkavy that Firkovich had forged many of the manuscripts and tombstone epitaphs. He proved this claim in a series of articles and essays, of which the most significant were *Altjuedische Denkmaeler aus der Krim mitgetheilt von Abraham Firkowitsch 1839–1872* ("Ancient Jewish Monuments from Crimea…," 1876) and "*Po voprosu o iudeyskikh drevnostyakh naydennykh Firkovichem v Krymu*" ("On Jewish Antiquities Found by Firkovich in Crimea," in *Zhurnal Ministerstva narodnago prosveshcheniya*, 1877). Harkavy's keen, systematic analysis in this controversy placed him in the first rank of Jewish scholars of his time. Since Firkovich used his forgeries to obtain equality for the Karaites (but not for all the Jews) in Russia, Harkavy felt he was fighting for the whole of Jewry. The controversy escalated when the learned apostate Daniel *Chwolson of the University of St. Petersburg took Firkovich's side and defended his theories. Of his many articles about the Karaites the most significant are the one on Anan (in *Voskhod*, 1900) and his extensive research in *Ocherki istorii karaimstva* ("Notes on the History of the Karaites," 1896–1900).

Harkavy published in Russian a description of Samaritan scrolls of the Torah found in the St. Petersburg public library (1874), and with H.L. Strack a description in German of the Bibles found in Firkovich's collection (1875). He devoted a special essay in German, "*Neuaufgefundene hebraeische Bibelhandschriften*" (1884), to biblical manuscripts he acquired later. These descriptions are important from both paleographic and historical points of view, as the manuscripts contain various notes and comments added by the authors and copyists. Harkavy was esteemed by the czarist regime, and in the 1890s he was awarded a hereditary noble title and made an honorary member of several scientific societies in various countries. He was active in the Jewish community of St. Petersburg as the *gabbai* of the central synagogue and as a member of Mefiẓei

Haskalah be-Yisrael and Mekiẓei Nirdamim societies. A listing of his entire work through 1907, including 392 titles, was published by D. Magid with corrections and supplements by S.A. Poznański in a Festschrift published on the occasion of Harkavy's 70th birthday, *Zikkaron le-Avraham Eliyahu* (1908).

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[Abraham N. Poliak]

HARKAVY, ALEXANDER (1863–1939), Yiddish lexicographer. A relative of the Orientalist and historian Albert *Harkavy and grandson of the rabbi of Novogrodek (Yid. Navaredok), Harkavy was born in that Belorussian town. He had a traditional Jewish education, showed an early interest in languages, and acquired some knowledge of Hebrew, Russian, Syriac, German, and Yiddish in his teens. In 1878 Harkavy went to Vilna, where he was befriended by the Yiddish author Isaac Meir *Dik and wrote his first work, in Yiddish. He earned a living as a bookkeeper for *Romm, the Hebrew-Yiddish publishing house. After the pogroms of 1881 Harkavy moved to Warsaw and joined the *Am Olam movement, before immigrating to the United States, intending to settle in a Jewish collective agricultural colony. When the project did not materialize, he worked as a stevedore, farm laborer, and dishwasher, studying English intensively and then tutoring English and Hebrew privately.

Harkavy's love of Yiddish soon crystallized into a vocation, but for about ten years his search for a steady income sent him wandering. He was in Paris in 1885, returned to New York in 1886, taught Hebrew at a *talmud torah* in Montreal in 1887, where he published the first Yiddish newspaper (*Di Tsayt*), went to Baltimore in 1889 and there founded the short-lived periodical *Der Yidisher Progres*, before returning once more to New York in 1890. A year later his first popular textbook, *Der Englisher Lerer* ("The English Teacher"), was published, of which almost 100,000 copies were sold. Through this and other books in the "English self-taught" genre, such as his guide to writing letters, *Der Englisher Brivnshteler* ("The English Letter-Writer," 1892), Yiddish translations of classics, classroom lectures and popular expositions of American history and culture, New York Yiddish literary anthologies (*Der Nayer Gayst*, "The New Spirit," 1897–98; *Der Tsvantsikster Yorhundert*, "The Twentieth Century," 1900), and above all his Yiddish dictionaries, he became the teacher par excellence of two generations of immigrants. He translated *Don Quijote* into Yiddish (1910) and revised the King James English Bible and translated it into Yiddish for a dual-language edition (1926). His popular expositions included *Columbus, Entdeker fun Amerike* ("Columbus, Discoverer of America," 1892). He taught U.S. history and politics for the New York Board of Education and Yiddish literature and grammar at the Jewish Teachers' Seminary in New York, while also lecturing for the Workmen's Circle. He wrote a column called "Kol-Boy" ("Everything in It") for the *Abend-Post* and occasional articles for many Yiddish, Hebrew, and English papers and journals. In 1935 he published *Perakim me-Ḥayyai* ("Autobiographic Chapters"). His most lasting achievements were, however, in lexicography. His English-Yiddish and Yiddish-English dictionaries, encompassing about 40,000 Yiddish words, went through two dozen editions and reprints. His crowning work was the *Yiddish-English-Hebrew Dictionary* (1925; suppl. 1928; fifth reprint 1988), which played a significant role in educating East European Jewish immigrants in English and is still an outstanding example of a multilingual dictionary used by Yiddish speakers and lexicographers.

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[Mordkhe Schaechter / Jean Baumgarten (2nd ed.)]

HARKAVY, MINNA B. (1887–1987), U.S. sculptor, active in artistic and political circles. She is recognized for figurative sculptures with Expressionist tendencies that often address social issues in bronze, wood, and stone.

One of 10 surviving children born in Estonia to Yoel and Hannah Rothenberg, Harkavy immigrated to the United States in her early teens. She studied art in America and Europe, most notably with French sculptor Antoine Bourdelle, and showed her work at the Salon d'Automne and the Jeu de Paume in Paris. She graduated from Hunter College in Manhattan and married Louis Harkavy, a pharmacist who also published in Yiddish-language periodicals. Some of the artist's subjects were friends like art collector Leo Stein, singer Paul Robeson, and anarchist (and lover) Carlo Tresca. A copy of Harkavy's bust of Tresca was installed in his birthplace of Sulmona, Italy, after his 1943 assassination. Other works immortalize downtrodden or oppressed people, such as coalminers in the American Midwest and European Jews threatened by Hitler. Harkavy's celebrated bronze *American Miner's Family* (1931), owned by the Museum of Modern Art, features heads of the miner, his wife and children in a tableau of stoic resolve. The elongated terra cotta head of her *New England Woman*, displayed at the 1939 New York World's Fair, is reminiscent of African art and Modigliani. Harkavy's large stone sculpture *Two Men*, a comment on human communication, won first prize in a 1951 national sculpture competition held by the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

Harkavy was heavily involved in political advocacy and in organizing other artists. She was a founder of the New York Society of Women Artists in 1920, the American Artists' Congress, and the Sculptors' Guild, both in the 1930s. An activist in two languages, Harkavy represented the John Reed Club at a Communist anti-war conference in Amsterdam in 1932, and served on the Art Committee of the American Section of the Yidisher Kultur Farband (YKUF), the World Alliance for Yiddish Culture. Harkavy was deeply concerned with the fate of European Jewry. Her entry in the 1939 Sculptors' Guild Exhibition, *Lamentations: My Children Are Desolate Because* *the Enemy Prevailed*, portrays a mother with arms wrapped protectively around her child.

The artist participated in a variety of group exhibitions, including those organized by the Jewish Art Center in the 1920s and the John Reed Club in the 1930s, as well as at the Whitney Studio Club and, later, the Whitney Museum, from the 1920s to the 1950s. In the 1930s, she worked under the aegis of the WPA Fine Arts Program. A one-woman show was devoted to Harkavy at the Rhode Island School of Design in 1956. Her work is included in numerous prominent collections, including the Whitney and the Museum of Modern Art in New York, the Tel Aviv Museum, the Pushkin Museum in Moscow, the Hermitage in St. Petersburg, and several university museums. During her last decades, she taught students in her studio at the Ansonia Hotel in Manhattan. Harkavy died in New York, three months before her 100th birthday.

[Lauren B. Strauss (2nd ed.)]

ḤARLAP, JACOB MOSES BEN ZEBULUN (1883–1951), Ereẓ Israel rabbi. Ḥarlap was born in Jerusalem, where his father, who had emigrated from Poland, was a *dayyan* in the *bet din* of Moses Joshua Judah Leib Diskin. His main teacher was the Jerusalem scholar, Ẓevi Michael Shapira and under his influence Ḥarlap engaged in *Kabbalah and practiced asceticism. After Shapira's death, Ḥarlap published *Ẓevi la-Ẓaddik* (1907) in his memory, and arranged his writings for publication, publishing his halakhic work *Ẓiẓ ha-Kodesh* (two parts, 1920–51) with his own additions. When Rabbi A.I. *Kook arrived in Ereẓ Israel in 1904, Ḥarlap immediately came under his influence, and a bond of unusual intimacy developed between them which was strengthened by their common interest in Kabbalah and their leaning toward mysticism and poetic meditation. Ḥarlap was particularly attracted by Kook's thought which stressed the special role of the Jewish people as a whole, the sanctity of the Land of Israel, and the Zionist movement and its upbuilding of Ereẓ Israel – a first stage in the future messianic redemption.

When in 1908 the Sha'arei Ḥesed district of Jerusalem was established outside the Old City, Ḥarlap was appointed its rabbi. In 1912 he was appointed to the Eẓ Hayyim yeshivah. In 1918 he was one of the chief speakers at the meeting of the rabbis of Jerusalem with Chaim *Weizmann demanding that the Zionist movement confine itself to the political field, but he refused Weizmann's offer that he undertake the conduct of religious affairs in the *yishuv.* When the Merkaz ha-Rav yeshivah was founded in Jerusalem by Kook, Ḥarlap was invited to serve as head of the yeshivah and he continued in this post until his death. After the death of Rabbi Kook in 1935, many expected Ḥarlap to be chosen as chief rabbi, and in any case he was later regarded by many as his natural successor. On the establishment of the State of Israel Ḥarlap expressed orally and in writing his belief in "the beginning of the redemption"; at the same time he demanded an amelioration of religious standards. Ḥarlap never left Ereẓ Israel during his life and regarded it as a merit "that I never departed from holy confines and never [breathed] the air [or trod the] ground of the land of the gentiles."

Ḥarlap's main halakhic work is *Bet Zevul*, comprising his halakhic discourses, novellae on the Talmud and on Maimonides' *Mishneh Torah*, and halakhic responsa, in six parts, of which two were published in his lifetime (1942 and 1948) and the others between 1957 and 1966. His books on Jewish thought and religious meditation bear the general title *Mei Merom*. Seven volumes were published (1945 ff.), among them a discussion of Maimonides' *Shemonah Perakim*, tractate *Avot*, the High Holidays, and repentance. The central idea of these works is the need to purify one's heart, and sanctify one's life. The aim of the Torah is the perfection of man in thought and in action, the penetration of "the light and spark of holiness that dwells within the people of Israel" into "the depth of the nation's soul which will bring about the redemption." Among his other works are: *Hed ha-Ḥayyim ha-Yisre'eliyyim* (1912); *Tovim me-Orot* (1920), a defense of A.I. Kook's *Orot; El Am ha-Shem* (1943), some of his sermons and articles; *Imrei No'am* (1947), "words of comfort, and encouragement to the people of Israel"; and *Hed Harim* (1953), a collection of his letters to A.I. Kook.

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[Zvi Kaplan]

HARLAU (Rom. **Hârlău**), town in Moldavia, N.E. Romania. A Jewish settlement is known from 1742. In 1768 a Jew was authorized to establish a factory for window glass and a paper mill in Harlau. From 1751 the documents mention the "Jews' Guild," which in 1834 became the local community organization. The oldest of the five synagogues in Harlau was built in the 18th century. The community had a primary school (founded c. 1900), which was erected with the assistance of the *Jewish Colonization Association. There were also a *talmud torah*, a *mikveh*, and two Jewish cemeteries. Many Jews were *ḥasidim* of the *admor* of Pascani.

Antisemitic persecutions led half of the Jewish population of Harlau to immigrate to the United States during 1899–1900. However, at the same time Jews expelled from the villages settled in Harlau, so the Jewish population did not decrease. The community numbered 784 in 1803, 2,254 (56.6% of the total) in 1886, 2,718 (59%) in 1899, and 2,032 (22.3%) in 1930. The majority of both craftsmen and merchants enumerated in Harlau in 1913 were Jews. Following emancipation in 1919 the Jews took an active part in the municipal council. A small cooperative credit bank was founded in Harlau with the aid of the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee. Rabbis of Harlau included Israel Isaacson (b. 1895), a deputy in the Romanian parliament, who settled in Israel.

The Zionist movement was also strong in the 1920s and 1930s. Three local Zionist leaders, Sami Stern-Kochavi, Michael Landau, and Valter Abeles (three brothers-in-law) became Jewish-Romanian political leaders in Israel in the 1950s. During World War II some of the Jews in Harlau were deported to Botosani, and others to Jassy. There were 1,936 Jews living in Harlau in 1947. In 1969 approximately 60 Jewish families were living there and they maintained a synagogue. In 2005, 22 elderly Jews lived in Harlau.

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[Theodor Lavi / Lucian-Zeev Herscovici (2nd ed.)]

HARLOW, JULIUS (1931–), rabbi, liturgist, and editor. Born in Sioux City, Iowa, Harlow received his B.A. from Morningside College in Sioux City and then entered the Jewish Theological Seminary, where he was ordained in 1959. He then became associate director of the Rabbinical Assembly, the organization of Conservative rabbis.

Harlow carved out a unique place at the Rabbinical Assembly, working as the editor and chief liturgist for the Conservative movement for some four decades. He began as the secretary of a committee charged with editing a weekday prayer book. The project had lingered until the newly ordained Rabbi Harlow, working with the senior rabbis of the movement, brought it out within two years. It bore the marks of all his other liturgical work; a clarity of language and a crispness of style. By 1965 he had become the editor of the Rabbinical Assembly publications. Among his first project was a *Rabbi's Manual*, *Likute Tefiilah,* a small black book that rabbis brought with them to religious occasions, that contained the traditional liturgy. It won near universal acceptance in the movement and was used well beyond Conservative Judaism.

Harlow was sensitive to the twin revolutions of modern Jewish life: the Holocaust and the State of Israel, and the necessity of giving religious expression to both. This was clearly reflected in the *Maḥzor for Rosh Hashanah and Yom Kippur* (1972), in which he wove into the traditional matryology of *Eleh Ezkerah* themes of the Shoah, and composed the moving *Kaddish*, which used the dissonance between the well known words of the doxology and interspersed 17 – one less than *ḥai* (Heb. "life") – concentration camps and killing centers, the ghettoes and other sites of Jewish catastrophe, into the prayer. The insertion of these words and the places and experiences they represent means that even the most learned cannot recite the prayer by rote, and the magnification of the Divine name is brought down to earth, shattered by the painful reality of Jewish victimization.

His major project for the next decade was *Siddur Sim Shalom* (1985), which, unlike the widely used Silverman edition, could be used for weekdays as well as Sabbaths, and included many additional texts and readings. It is a complete *siddur* with readings and with *Pirkei Avot*. By 1994 a new version included a choice in the *Amidah* between including the Matriarchs or not, as the Conservative Movement became more egalitarian, more inclusive of women. Harlow was not pleased with some of the changes introduced into the *siddur* in the intervening decade. He objected in an essay published in the journal *Conservative Judaism*; Harlow noted that "changes based upon gender language referring to God disrupt the integrity of the classic texts of Jewish prayer, drive a wedge between the language of the Bible and the language of the prayerbook, and often misrepresent biblical and rabbinic tradition." A recent work, *Pray Tell: A Hadassah Guide to Prayer,* offers a wonderful guide to Jewish prayer representing many denominations. Even in retirement, Harlow continued his life calling, translating *Megilat Shoah* written by Avigdor Shinan of the Hebrew University, that seeks to formalize a text for reading on Yom Hashoah, primarily in the Conservative synagogue.

[Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

HARMAN (Herman), AVRAHAM (1914–1992), Israel diplomat and president of the Hebrew University. Born in London, Harman, who studied law at Oxford, settled in Palestine in 1938. From 1939 to 1940 he was in Johannesburg as a staff member of the South African Zionist Federation and then returned to Jerusalem to head the English Section of the Youth Department of the Jewish Agency. From 1942 to 1948 he was the head of the Information Department of the Agency, and after the establishment of the State of Israel Harman became deputy director of the Press and Information Division of the Israel Foreign Ministry. In 1949 he was appointed Israel consul-general in Montreal, Canada, and then became the director of the Israel Office of Information and counselor to the Israel delegation to the United Nations (1950–53). After a two-year period as the Israel consul-general in New York, Harman returned to Jerusalem in 1955 and was appointed a member of the Jewish Agency Executive, heading its Information Department. In 1959 he was appointed Israel ambassador to the United States, a post he held until 1968. His warm identification with the Jewish community and its problems brought him personal popularity wherever he served. Upon his return to Israel, Harman was appointed president of the Hebrew University, Jerusalem. He held that position until 1983, when he became university chancellor. The Institute for Contemporary Judaism and the chair of the Department of the History of the Jewish People at the Hebrew University are named for him. His wife, ZENA (1914–), was born in London and educated at the London School of Economics and Political Science. She served on several Israel delegations to the UN. In 1964 she was elected chairman of UNICEF (the United Nations Children's Emergency Fund). In 1969 she was elected to the Seventh Knesset on behalf of the Israel Labor Party.

HARMAN, JANE (1945–), U.S. politician, attorney, and college professor. Born in New York City to Adolph N. and Lucille (Geier) Lakes, Harman graduated from the Los Angeles public schools, Smith College (1966), and Harvard University Law School (1969). She married twice, to Richard Frank and to Sidney Harman, and had four children. The Harman family's wealth enabled her to mount costly campaigns. A six-term Democratic congresswoman, who represented the 36th congressional district of California in the United States House of Representatives, Harman was first elected to Congress in 1992. She gave up her seat in Congress in 1998 in an unsuccessful bid for governor of California. In 2002, upon her return, the House Democratic leadership appointed Harman to serve as ranking member on the Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence for the 108th Congress. As ranking member on the panel's Subcommittee on Terrorism and Homeland Security, Harman was at the forefront of all House actions made in response to the terrorist attack on the World Trade Center on September 11, 2001. Harman also served as a member of the House Select Committee on Homeland Security. Before her re-election to Congress in 2000, Harman was on the 10-member panel of the congressionally mandated National Council on Terrorism. Harman was fiscally moderate, but supported defense spending, thereby aiding defense and aerospace contractors in her district. She was a liberal on social issues, supporting abortion rights and pro-female and pro-child legislation.

Prior to being elected to the U.S. Congress, Harman was a lawyer, a staff member for California Senator John V. Tunney (1972–73), chief counsel and staff director of the U.S. Senate Judiciary Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights (1975–77), deputy secretary to the cabinet at the White House under President Jimmy Carter (1977–78), and special counsel to the Department of Defense (1979). An adjunct professor at Georgetown University Law Center (1974–75), Harman taught public policy and international relations at the University of California, Los Angeles where she was named Regents Professor in 1999.

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[Peggy K. Pearlstein (2nd ed.)]

HARMATZ, WILLIAM (**"Willie," "Bill"**; 1931–), U.S. jockey, winner of the 1959 Preakness Stakes. Born in Wilkes Barre, Pa., the youngest of nine children and the son of a cattle buyer, Harmatz grew up in California, where he excelled as a gymnast and was a member of the Los Angeles All-City team. After graduating from high school, Harmatz started working at a racetrack, and a career was born. He won 1,770 races between 1953 and 1971, including 12 $100,000 events, and won six consecutive races on April 23, 1954. In 1959 Harmatz won the Preakness aboard Royal Orbit, after finishing fourth at the Kentucky Derby and before finishing third at the Belmont Stakes. He received the Jockey's Guild Meritorious Award in 1957 and the George Woolf Sportsmanship Award in 1960. Harmatz co-founded the Jockey's Association in 1968 and was its executive director from 1972 to 1978.

[Elli Wohlgelernter (2nd ed.)]

HARNICK, SHELDON (1924–), U.S. songwriter. Born and raised in Chicago, Harnick began studying the violin while in grammar school. After service in the army for three years, he enrolled in the Northwestern University School of Music and earned a bachelor of music degree in 1949. Though his focus had been on the violin, Harnick developed skills as a writer of comedy sketches, songs, and parody lyrics. By the early 1950s, Harnick had moved to New York to try his skill on Broadway. His first song in a Broadway show, "The Boston Beguine," for *New Faces of 1952*, introduced theatergoers to the wry, subtle humor and deft wordplay indicative of a Harnick lyric. For the next few years, he contributed lyrics and songs to several Broadway shows before he joined up with Jerry *Bock to write their own musicals. Their first, *The Body Beautiful*, was a moderate success, and in 1959 they wrote *Fiorello!*, about the legendary, half-Jewish, combative former mayor of New York City. It won the Pulitzer Prize, the Tony award, and Drama Critics' Circle award as best musical of the year. Next was *Tenderloin* in 1960, set in the seamy Tenderloin district of late 19th-century New York. That was followed in 1963 by *She Loves Me*, a musical set in a pre-World War II ice cream parlor in Budapest whose songs like "Vanilla Ice Cream" and "She Loves Me" became classics.

These shows were a prelude to Harnick and Bock's greatest success, *Fiddler on the Roof,* in 1964, starring Zero *Mostel as Tevya the dairyman with five daughters. Working with the director-choreographer Jerome *Robbins and the book writer, Joseph Stein, they created a musical masterpiece that vividly evoked a vanished community while telling a story with universal and timeless appeal. *Fiddler*, based on a series of short stories by *Shalom Aleichem, earned the Tony award and a gold record for both its Broadway cast album and film soundtrack recordings. In 1971, with the Broadway production still running, the film version, starring Chaim *Topol, was released and played worldwide. The following year the stage production, with such songs as "Tradition," "Sunrise, Sunset," Do You Love Me?," and "Matchmaker, Matchmaker, Find Me a Match," became the longest-running show in Broadway history with more than 3,000 performances, until that record was eclipsed in 1979. Over the years, the show has been performed thousands of times all over the world in dozens of languages, common and obscure.

After *Fiddler*, Bock and Harnick collaborated on *The Apple Tree* in 1966, three one-act musicals, and *The Rothschilds* (1970), a musical based on the founding of the banking dynasty. The partnership foundered at that point, but Harnick went on to collaborate with a number of well-known Broadway and film figures, including Richard *Rodgers, Mary *Rodgers, Michel Legrand, and Joe Raposo. Harnick also provided English-language librettos for classical operas and oratorios, including works by Stravinsky, Ravel, Mozart, Bach, and Verdi. He also wrote the theme songs for two films, both with music by Cy *Coleman: *The Heartbreak Kid* in 1972 and *Blame It on Rio* in 1984.

[Stewart Kampel (2nd ed.)]

HARO (**Faro**), city in Castile, northern Spain. A charter (*fuero*) given to the city by Alfonso VIII (1158–1214) granted the Jews in Haro, who had aided him during the war against Navarre, a series of privileges which included arrangements concerning their security, the indemnity to be paid for the murder of a Jew, and release from various taxes. In the 13th century the community of Haro was the largest in the region of La Rioja. Around 1,000 Jews lived then in the town. Jews were permitted to fish in the river, to establish mills, and to engage in dyeing. Many Jews owned land, particularly vineyards. The *fuero* was later endorsed by Sancho IV (1284–95) and Ferdinand IV (1295–1312). Alfonso settled some Jews in the fortress but they also lived in the unwalled sections of the city. In 1305 they were authorized to choose their own judges in suits involving members of different faiths. The Jews of Haro were not directly hit by the 1391 massacres, but following the persecutions and the war of succession between Pedro I and Enrique of Trastámara the community declined drastically. An organized community continued to exist throughout the 15th century. In the second half of the 15th century some 250–300 Jews lived in Haro constituting no less than 10% of the general population. Jews owned lands and vineyards which they leased to Christians and Muslims. Some were potters. Prominent in the 15th century were the tax farmer Don Solomon Zadik and Samuel Cubo who represented the community in 1476 in a dispute with the town council regarding pasture land and the slaughterhouse. A census in 1492 at the time of the expulsion of the Jews from Spain showed that the community numbered 48 taxpayers who possessed 55 houses in the Mota quarter.

From the 12th century the Jews lived in the castle called "de la Mota." In the course of time it expanded and included adjacent areas. There are no remains of the Jewish quarter.

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[Haim Beinart]

ḤAROSET (Heb. חֲרוֹסֶת), paste made of fruit, spices, nuts, and wine which forms part of the *seder* rite on *Passover eve. It is symbolic of the mortar that the Jews made when they were slaves in Egypt. The word is of unknown origin. It has been suggested that it may stem from *ḥeres* (חֶרֶס, "clay"), because of the color resemblance. The ingredients vary in different communities; in most western countries, it is made of apples, chopped almonds, cinnamon, and red wine. In many Sephardi communities, however, the fruits, etc. that grew in Ereẓ Israel in Bible times – grapes, wheat (*maẓẓah* meal), dates, figs, olives, apricots, pomegranates, and almonds – are used. North Africans also include pine-nuts and hardboiled eggs, flavoring the paste with piquant and often pungent spices, such as ginger. Yemenites add other seasoning: e.g., chili pepper. In Israel, the bland occidental mixture is turned into a dessert by adding bananas, dates, candied peel, orange juice, and sugar. It is often served as a course of the meal.

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[Molly Lyons Bar-David]

HAROSHETH-GOIIM (Heb. חֲרֹשֶׁת הַגּוֹיִם), biblical locality, the seat of *Sisera, commander of the army of Jabin king of Canaan (Judg. 4:2). When Sisera heard that *Barak was assembling his army at Mount Tabor, he advanced from Harosheth-Goiim to the brook of Kishon, where Barak defeated him and drove his army back to Harosheth-Goiim (*ibid.* 4: 12–16). Various scholars have proposed to identify the site with either Khirbat al-Harbaj or Tell al-ʾAmar near al-Ḥārithiyya. These identifications, however, are disputed by B. Mazar, who argues that Harosheth-Goiim is not the name of a city but a general term designating the forested regions of central Galilee (cf. *Gelil ha-goyim*, "Galilee of the nations," Isa. 8:23), over which Sisera attempted to impose his rule. The root חרש in Hebrew and related languages means "forest"; the Septuagint also translates Harosheth as *drymos*, "forest" (Judg. 4: 16).

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[Michael Avi-Yonah]

HARRAN (**Hirsch**), **DON** (1936–), Israeli musicologist. Born in the United States, Harran received his B.A. degree at Yale University in Romance languages, and then gained his M.A. and Ph.D. in musicology at Berkeley. In 1965 he settled in Israel and was among the small group of founders of the Musicology Department at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, the first in the country, and became full professor in 1979. He was chair of the department, president of the Israeli Musicological Society, and vice president of the International Musicological Society. Harran earned a high international reputation as a meticulous, prolific, and original researcher. His primary area of specialization was the music of the Renaissance and early Baroque. His publications include more than a hundred articles and editions of late Italian madrigals and books on humanism in Italy, most importantly, *Word-Tone Relations in Musical Thought: From Antiquity to the Seventeenth Century* (Musicological Studies & Documents, 40, Neuhausen-Stuttgart: Hänssler-Verlag for the American Institute of Musicology, 1986). His life-long project has been the monumental critical edition of the music of Salamone Rossi (c. 1570–c. 1628), the great Jewish composer, on whom he also published an extensive monograph: *Salamone Rossi, Jewish Musician in Late Renaissance* (Mantua, Oxford University Press, 1999). In recent years he has focused on the research of Jewish music in later periods, as well as on studies of the setting of Psalm verses.

[Jehoash Hirshberg (2nd ed.)]

HARRIS, BARBARA (**Sandra Markowitz**; 1937–), U.S. actress. Born in Evanston, Illinois, Harris attended the Goodman Theater School and the University of Chicago. Generally acknowledged as one of the pioneering women in the field of improvisational theater, Harris began her career with the famous Second City improvisation troupe. She moved from there to Broadway, where she won a Tony Award for Best Actress for her performance in the musical *The Apple Tree* (1967). Her other Broadway performances were *From the Second City* (1961); *Mother Courage and Her Children* (1963); and *On a Clear Day You Can See Forever* (1965). She also starred in a stage production of *Oh Dad, Poor Dad …*, for which she won a Theater World Award in 1962.

Harris made her film debut in the bittersweet comedy *A Thousand Clowns* (1965) and went on to star in such films as *Oh Dad, Poor Dad…* (1967), *Plaza Suite* (1971), *Who Is Harry Kellerman and Why Is He Saying Those Terrible Things About Me?* (1971), *The War between Men and Women* (1972), *Mixed Company* (1974), *Nashville* (1976), *Freaky Friday* (1976), *Movie Movie* (1978), *The Seduction of Joe Tynan* (1979), *The North Avenue Irregulars* (1979), *Second-Hand Hearts* (1981), *Peggy Sue Got Married* (1986), *Dirty Rotten Scoundrels* (1988), and *Grosse Pointe Blank* (1997).

[Jonathan Licht / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

HARRIS, CYRIL KITCHENER (1936–), chief rabbi of the Union of Orthodox Synagogues, South Africa, 1988–2004. Born in Glasgow, Harris served as a rabbi in London (1958–87) before moving to South Africa. During his U.K. period, he also served as senior Jewish chaplain to Her Majesty's Forces (1966–71), as national director of the B'nai B'rith Hillel Foundation (1972–75), as chairman of the Rabbinical Association of the United Synagogue (1978–82) and as joint chairman of Mizrachi, Great Britain (1984–85). As South African chief rabbi, he was prominently involved in speaking out against the country's then racial policies and, with the commencement of the process of political reform, was at the forefront of Jewish leaders encouraging the Jewish community to identify with the new democratic dispensation. He was the co-founder of MaAfrika Tikkun, the Jewish community's initiative in respect of uplifting the disadvantaged in South Africa. Awards received included the Distinguished Leadership Award of the South African Jewish Board of Deputies (1997), the Commonwealth Jewish Council Award (2000, awarded jointly with his wife, Ann), the Jerusalem Prize for Communal Leadership (2002), and the International Keren Hayesod IUA & UCF Honorary Award (2004). Publications include *The Jewish Obligation to the Non-Jew* (1996) and *For Heaven's Sake: The Chief Rabbi's Diary* (autobiography, 2000).

[David Saks (2nd ed.)]

HARRIS, SIR DAVID (1852–1942), South African mining magnate, soldier, and politician. A cousin of Barney *Barnato, Harris went to South Africa from London in 1871, and made on foot the 600-mile journey from Durban to the diamond mines at Kimberley, where he worked for a time as a digger. His marriage to Rosa Gabriel in 1873 was the first Jewish wedding to take place in Kimberley. He became associated with Cecil Rhodes, and from 1897 to 1931 was a director of De Beers Consolidated Mines, founded by Rhodes and Barnato. On Barnato's death in 1897, Harris was elected to his seat in Parliament, where for 32 years he was esteemed as an authority on the diamond industry. Harris fought in several frontier wars in the Cape Colony, rising to the rank of lieutenant colonel. In the Boer War (1899–1902) he commanded the town guard of Kimberley during the historic 125-day siege. He was mentioned in dispatches and decorated for his services. Later he was knighted. Harris was one of the founders of the Griqualand West Hebrew Congregation and was its president for many years. His benefactions to the community included the site on which the Kimberley synagogue was built in 1875. In Parliament he frequently spoke on immigration and other matters of Jewish concern. Known as the "grand old man" of Kimberley, Harris told the story of his life in *Pioneer, Soldier and Politician* (1931). His Anglo-Boer War career is described in "Sir David Harris – Hero of the Siege of Kimberley," in: *Jewish Affairs*, vol. 54, no. 3 (1999).

[Louis Hotz]

HARRIS, JED (**Jacob Horowitz**; 1900–1979), U.S. theatrical producer. Born in Vienna, Harris was taken to the U.S. as a child. His first big success, *Broadway* (1926), had a three-year run. Other productions included *The Front Page* (1928), *Uncle Vanya* (1930), *The Inspector General* (1930), *Our Town* (1938), *A Doll's House* (1938), *The Heiress* (1948), and *The Crucible* (1953). At one period he had four successes running on Broadway and was reputed to have amassed and lost more than five million dollars. Regarded as an "irascible genius," Harris was the hero in Ben Hecht's novel *A Jew in Love* (1931) and Frederic Wakeman's *The Saxon Charm* (1947). Harris wrote *Watchman, What of the Night*? (1963) and *A Dance on the High Wire: Recollections of a Time and a Temperament* (1979).

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HARRIS, LOUIS (1921–), U.S. pollster and author. Harris was born in New Haven, Connecticut. He was educated at the University of North Carolina where he received his B.A. in economics (1942) and then entered the Navy. He was later trained in polling by Elmo Roper of Roper Poll fame, drafting columns and newspaper articles and learning the craft of the then emerging science. Harris formed his own firm, Louis Harris and Associates in 1956 and served as the pollster and political advisor for John F. Kennedy's presidential bid of 1960. In the next few years his influence broadened as he became the chief pollster for CBS News, later switching to ABC News. He simultaneously served as a newspaper columnist for such publications as the *Washington Post*, *Newsweek,* the *Chicago Tribune,* and New York's *Daily News*. The Harris poll became widely recognized, while polling itself became an indispensable and increasingly precise part of every political campaign and essential to business planning and marketing. With the advent of the computer, the processing of information became easier and the availability of information to process ever greater. Louis Harris and Associates advised candidates for public office at every level; both Democrats and Republicans are among clients who made use of their marketing services.

Harris left Louis Harris and Associates in 1992 and formed his own research firm, LH Research. He wrote many books and countless studies, some public and some quite private. From his publications one can note a particular interest in the racial issues that gripped the United States in the 1960s and the strained ties between the African American community and the Jews.

[Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

HARRIS, MARK (1922–), U.S. novelist and critic. Harris received a Ph.D. in 1957 from the University of Minnesota. He is best known for his books about baseball players, notably the Henry Wiggen novels: *The Southpaw* (1953); *Bang the Drum Slowly* (1956), which was made into a film in 1973; A *Ticket for a Seamstitch* (1957); and *It Looked Like For Ever* (1979). Harris also wrote "problem" novels such as *Trumpet to the World* (1946), *Something About a Soldier* (1957), and *Wake Up, Stupid* (1959). *City of Discontent* (1952) dealt with Vachel Lindsay, and *Friedman and Son* (1963) was a play about the conflicts of Jewish life. His novel *The Goy*, about a gentile professor grappling with the meaning of historical writing as well as the meaning of his own life, including his response to Jews, was published in 1970. His study of Bellow, *Saul Bellow, Drumlin Woodchuck*, was published in 1980. His autobiographical reflections can be found in *Mark the Glove Boy, or the Last Days of Richard Nixon* (1964), *Twentyone Twice: A Journal* (1966) and *Best Father Ever Invented: The Autobiography of Mark Harris* (1976). His novel *Speed* was published in 1990, followed by *Diamond: Baseball Writings of Mark Harris* (1994). He also edited *The Heart of Boswell* (1981).

[Lewis Fried (2nd ed.)]

HARRIS, MARVIN (1927–2001), U.S. anthropologist. Born in New York City, educated at Columbia University (A.B., 1949; Ph.D., 1953), Harris taught at Columbia from 1952 to 1981 and was graduate research professor at the University of Florida from 1981 until his retirement in 2000.

Marvin Harris was one of the originators of the anthropological theory known as cultural materialism and is perhaps the scholar most closely associated with it. He first proposed this approach in his book *The Rise of Anthropological Theory* (1968), which rejected the then dominant structuralist approaches associated with *Durkheim and *Levi-Strauss and their followers, which attribute changes in cultural development to changes in ideas rather than to material necessity. Cultural materialism, in attempting to account for the evolution of sociocultural systems, holds that the values and practices of a culture develop from the interaction of technology, the environment, population levels, and basic biological needs. Institutions like religion, law, or kinship systems – or human sacrifice, or the prohibition against eating cows or pigs – must have some function that gives a society a material advantage in its environment, or they would not have developed. Critics claim that cultural materialism is too deterministic and reductive, trying to explain too many diverse cultural phenomena too simply, but its fundamental insight – that societies are shaped by their material needs – has been incorporated into anthropological discourse, though the theory as a whole remains somewhat controversial. Its primary intellectual ancestors are Marx and Malthus, but it draws upon other sources as well.

Harris was concerned to participate in public debate, and most of his books were in fact written for a nonscholarly audience. Among his works for the general public are *Cows, Pigs, Wars, and Witches: The Riddles of Culture* (1974), *Cannibals and Kings: The Origins of Cultures* (1977), *Cultural Materialism: The Struggle for a Science of Culture* (1979), *Why Nothing Works: The Anthropology of Daily Life* (1983), *Good to Eat: Riddles of Food and Culture* (1986), and *The Sacred Cow and the Abominable Pig* (1987). His more scholarly work includes *Town and Country in Brazil* (1956), *Portugal's "Wards": A First-Hand Report on Labor and Education in Moçambique* (1958), *Minorities in the New World: Six Case Studies* (1958), *The Nature of Cultural Things* (1964), *Patterns of Race in the Americas* (1964), *The Rise of Anthropological Theory: A History of Theories of Culture* (1968), *Death, Sex, and Fertility: Population Regulation in Preindustrial and Developing Societies* (1987, with Eric B. Ross), *Food and Evolution: Toward a Theory of Human Food Habits* (1987, with Eric B. Ross), and *Theories of Culture in Postmodern Times* (1999).

[Drew Silver (2nd ed.)]

HARRIS, MAURICE (1859–1939), U.S. rabbi and communal worker. Born in London, he came to the United States at 10 and entered the business world. He studied at Columbia University earning his B.A. (1887), M.A. (1888), and Ph.D. (1889). He was ordained at Temple Emanu-El Theological Seminary, a short-lived affiliate of the famed New York Congregation (1884) and became the rabbi of Temple Israel in Harlem. His most important work was with the immigrant population. He was a founder of the Jewish Board of Guardians, the New York Society for the Prevention of Crime and a founder and president of the Federation Settlement and the Jewish Projectory, an organization designed to facilitate the successful absorption of the immigrants who flooded New York beginning in 1881. He was the author of several books, among them *History of the Medieval Jews* (1924), *The People of the Book*, 3 volumes (1929–1933*), Modern Jewish History* (1910, 1924, 1928), *Modern Jewish History from the Renaissance to the World War* (1922), *The Story of the Jew* (1919), *The Story of the Jew in America* (1921); and *A Thousand Years of Jewish History* (1927).

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HARRIS, MILTON (1906–1991), U.S. polymer and textile chemist. Born in Portland, Oregon, at the age of 16 Harris received his B.S. from Oregon State University (OSU) in chemical engineering and his Ph.D. in chemistry from Yale University in 1929. Harris spent a large part of his career in commercial research. In 1931 Harris was one of the founders of the institute for the study of textiles at the National Bureau of Standards. Their work resulted in fibers that were water-repellent, flameproof, and rotproof. He helped develop processes for permanent press in woolen goods and wash-and-wear cotton finishing. His work led ultimately to the development of synthetic polymers such as nylon, polyester, and plastics. He was director of research at the Textile Research Institute in 1938–44. In 1945 he founded his own research laboratory, which later became a subsidiary of the Gillette Company. He was director of research and vice president of Gillette from 1956 until his retirement in 1966. He was chairman of the American Institute of Chemists (1961–62) and later chairman of its board of directors. He edited *Handbook of Textile Fibers* (1954), and the dyes and textile section of *Chemical Abstracts* (1949–61). In addition to the Milton Harris Chair at OSU, his gifts have supported three scholarships, two teaching grants, and awards in chemistry, biochemistry, and basic research. His last major financial gift to OSU was a trust fund that will provide an endowment of roughly $2 million for the Department of Chemistry.

[Bracha Rager (2nd ed.)]

HARRIS, SIR PERCY ALFRED (1876–1952), English politician. Born in London and educated at Harrow and Cambridge, Harris was admitted to the bar in 1899, although by profession he was engaged in his father's mercantile business which traded with New Zealand. Harris retained a lifelong interest in that country, and published *New Zealand and Its Politics* in 1909. He traveled around the world three times and lived in New Zealand for three years. From 1907 to 1934 and from 1946 until his death he was a member of the London County Council and served as its deputy chairman from 1915 to 1916. In that year he returned to parliament as Liberal member for Harborough. Harris was elected for a second time in 1922 and sat continuously until 1945 when he retired. He was made a baronet in 1932 and from 1940 to 1945 was deputy leader of the Liberal Party in the House of Commons. His publications include *London and Its Government* (originally written in 1913 and rewritten in 1931) and an autobiography, *Forty Years In and Out of Parliament* (1947).

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[William D. Rubinstein (2nd ed.)]

HARRIS, SAM HENRY (1872–1941), U.S. theatrical manager. Born in New York, Harris produced many successful plays. Several of them won Pulitzer Prizes, such as *Icebound* (1923) by Owen Davis and *Of Thee I Sing* (1931) by George S. *Kaufman. His partnership with playwright George M. Cohan lasted 15 years and resulted in the production of about 50 plays. Among them were the Broadway successes *The Music Box Revue* (1921), *Rain* (1922), and *The Jazz Singer* (1925). In 1929 Harris lost a considerable fortune but managed to recoup it with *Once in a Lifetime* (1930) and Moss *Hart's Pulitzer Prize-winning *You Can't Take It with You* (1936).

Harris was considered one of the great gentlemen of the theater, renowned for his fairness and kindness to actors, writers, and others involved in show business. One of the Great White Way's most prolific independent producers, Harris presented more than 130 Broadway plays and musicals. They include *The Talk of New York* (1908), *The Little Millionaire* (1911), *Hamlet* (1922), *The Cocoanuts* (starring the Marx Brothers, 1925), *Chicago* (1926), *Animal Crackers* (starring the Marx Brothers, 1928), *Dinner at Eight* (1932), *Of Mice and Men* (1937), and *The Man Who Came to Dinner* (1939). Later productions performed in the theater owned and operated by the Estate of Sam H. Harris include *I Remember Mama* (1944), *Lost in the Stars* (1949), and *Five Finger Exercise* (1959).

[Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

HARRIS, SYDNEY (1917–), Canadian jurist, Jewish community leader. Harris was born in Toronto in 1917. He received his B.A. from the University of Toronto in 1939 and a law degree from Osgoode Law School in 1942. He was called to the Bar that same year. For 34 years Harris was a leading criminal lawyer appearing in courts at every level of the judicial system, including the Supreme Court of Canada. He was then appointed a judge in the Ontario Provincial Court. Among his more controversial cases was the 1978 trial of a gay Toronto newspaper charged with two different obscenity violations under the Canadian Criminal Code. In a decision still hailed as a major step in the struggle for gay rights and freedom of the press in Canada, Harris found the newspaper not guilty on both charges. After retiring from the bench in 1992, he served as a deputy judge, a member of the Ontario Assessment Review Board, and a member of the Council of Ontario Land Surveyors.

Harris was one of Canada's foremost postwar Canadian Jewish community leaders. As a member of the Canadian Jewish Congress for 60 years, Harris served as chair of Community Relations in the 1960s and as national president from 1974 to 1977. He was instrumental in lobbying the Canadian government on behalf of Soviet Jews and was a major proponent of hate propaganda legislation and active in the anti-Nazi campaign in Toronto in the 1960s. Harris also served as president of several other organizations, including the Jewish Vocational Service, Upper Canada Lodge of B'nai B'rith Canada, and the Canadian Council of Reform Congregations. In later years, he provided counsel to the leadership of the Canadian Jewish Congress. Harris was honored with the 1967 Confederation Centennial Medal and the 1973 Queen's Jubilee Medal.

[Frank Bialystok (2nd ed.)]

HARRIS, ZELLIG SABBETAI (1909–1992), U.S. linguist. Harris was born in Russia and was taken to the United States as a child of four. He graduated from the University of Pennsylvania and joined the faculty there in 1931. In 1946 he founded the first linguistics department in the country and in 1947 was appointed professor of linguistics. One of his best-known students was Noam *Chomsky.

In the late 1930s his interests shifted from Semitics to general linguistics. His early work was devoted primarily to the development of procedures of linguistic analysis. At the time, he wrote *Development of the Canaanite Dialects* (1939). His purpose was to devise a set of precisely formulated methods which, applied to data of a particular language, would yield a grammatical description of this language. This was completed in the late 1940s, and Harris then turned his attention to the study of connected discourse. He observed that formal operations of a general nature could be applied to the utterances of a discourse, reducing it to a "normalized" form. Procedures analogous to those of structural linguistics could then be applied, finally yielding a structural analysis of the discourse. This work led to an intensive investigation of the properties of the formal operations ("transformations"). Other investigations resulted in the development of computer programs for the analysis of language structure, many studies of the detailed properties of English syntax, and more abstract investigation of the formal properties of linguistic structures.

Harris helped to develop the adult education program for Israeli kibbutzim centered in Givat Ḥavivah.

Harris' major publications on his work are *Methods in Structural Linguistics* (1951), *String Analysis of Sentence Structure* (1962), *Discourse Analysis Reprints* (1963), *Mathematical Structures of Language* (1968), *The Form of Information in Science* (1989), and *A Theory of Language and Information* (1992). His book *The Transformation of Capitalist Society* was produced posthumously from a completed manuscript prepared for publication by M. Eden, W. Evan, and S. Melman (1997).

ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY: B. Nevin and S. Johnson (eds.), *The Legacy of Zellig Harris: Language and Information into the 21st Century* (2002).

[Noam Chomsky / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

HARRISBURG, capital city of Pennsylvania. Of a total population of 251,798 in Harrisburg City (48,950) and the surrounding Dauphin County, there were an estimated 5,164 Jews (according to a 1994 demographic survey). Cumberland County, across the Susquehanna River, had an estimated 1,821 Jews out of a population of 213,674. The first Jewish settlers in Harrisburg were immigrants from Germany and England; they arrived in the 1840s and assembled regularly for Sabbath and holiday services under the leadership of Lazarus Bernhard. In 1853, this group drew up the constitution for the first synagogue, Ohev Sholom, which was Orthodox until 1867, when it adopted Reform. Rabbi Philip David Bookstaber, spiritual head of the congregation from 1924 to 1962, was a leader of the Boy Scouts of America. Other congregations that formed since then were Chisuk Emuna (1884), now Traditional Conservative; Cong. Kesher Israel (1902), the leading Orthodox institution in central Pennsylvania; Temple Beth El (1926), egalitarian Conservative; and Machzike Hadas (1904), now known as Chabad-Lubavitch (ḥasidic). Other area synagogues include B'nai Jacob Synagogue, Conservative (on the National Registry of Historic Places), founded in 1906 in nearby Middletown (Dauphin County); Cong. Beth Shalom (1970), Reconstructionist, in Mechanicsburg; and Cong. Beth Tikvah, egalitarian, Carlisle, both in Cumberland County. Eliezer *Silver, who served as rabbi of Kesher Israel from 1907 to 1925, founded many of the community's services, including the Harrisburg Hebrew School, a *talmud torah*; the Hebrew Free Loan Society; and the Transient Home. Yeshiva Academy, providing secular and Jewish education to children from preschool through eighth grade, was one of the first Jewish day schools in the country outside a major metropolitan area. It was established (and renamed for) Rabbi David L. Silver, rabbi of Kesher Israel, and Aaron S. Feinerman. The Jewish Community Center was founded in 1915 as a YMHA, by Leon Lowengard; its name was changed in 1941, and it has occupied its current building since 1956. The Jewish Federation of Greater Harrisburg was formed in 2002 through the consolidation of the United Jewish Community (founded in 1933) and the Jewish Community Center. The Federation serves as the central fundraising agency, speaks officially for the community on both Jewish matters and Jewish-gentile community relations, promotes the quality and values of Jewish life, and publishes the biweekly newspaper *Community Review*. Agencies supported by the Federation include the Jewish Family Service, the Jewish Group Home (for the developmentally disabled), the Jewish Home, and The Residence, a senior living community on the campus of the Home. David Silver, rabbi of Kesher Israel from 1932 to 1983, was the driving force (with Horace Goldberger) of the Jewish Home. In addition to afternoon schools at a few area congregations, the Federation sponsors the Harrisburg Hebrew High School for public school students. The Harrisburg Jewish community had the highest per capita donation in the country to the UJA emergency fund during Israel's Six-Day War. For decades its leading philanthropist was businesswoman Mary Sachs, known as the "Merchant Princess." The late David Javitch founded the Giant Food Stores chain with one meat market in Carlisle in 1923; in 1968 his son Lee (now retired) took over as president of the chain, now a part of Ahold U.S.A. Companies.

Other community leaders have included Albert Hursh (d. 2004), who served the JCC and Federation professionally for eight decades; Rite Aid Corporation founder Alex Grass, who has served as chair of the Board of Governors of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, member of the board of United Jewish Appeal, and member and past chair of the Board of Governors of the Jewish Agency for Israel; and Lois Lehrman Grass, philanthropist and patron of the arts.

Until the 1940s most Jews were engaged in the merchandising of food, clothing, and furniture; the scrap business; and peddling. In the 1960s, many were engaged in manufacturing clothing, food distribution, retail merchandising, the professions, and state government positions. In 1958 attorney Gilbert Nurick was the first Jew to head the State Bar Association. The first community college in the state, Harrisburg Area Community College, was established mainly because of the efforts of Bruce E. Cooper, chairman of its board. In 1969, William Lipsitt became the first Jewish judge of a county court. By the 1990s, most Jews were found in the professions and state government positions.

[Barbara Trainin Blank (2nd ed.)]

HARRISON, LEON (1866–1928), U.S. rabbi. Born in Liverpool England, Harrison immigrated to the United States with his parents and studied in public schools, the City College of New York, and Columbia University. He then attended the Congregation Emanu-El Theological Seminary and was ordained by Kaufmann Kohler and Gustav Gottheil. His first pulpit was in Brooklyn and later he officiated in St. Louis. He first introduced Sunday services in St. Louis and later abandoned them for late Friday evening services. Deeply concerned socially, he was vice president of the Anti-Tuberculosis Society, director of the Tenement House Improvement Association, and a founder of the Social Settlement League and the Fresh Air Society in St. Louis. A wonderful preacher he delivered a eulogy at the funeral of Henry Ward Beecher and also gave the McKinley memorial address at the St. Louis Coliseum. He was the co-editor of the Semitics section of the *Editor's Encyclopedia*. A posthumous publication of his sermons was titled *The Religion of the Modern Liberal*.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: American Jewish Year Book, 5 (1903); *Universal Jewish Encyclopedia*; K. Olitzsky, I. Sussman, and M.H. Stern, *Reform Judaism in American: A Biographical Dictionary and Sourcebook* (1993).

[Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

HARRISON, LESTER (“**Les**”; 1904–1997), U.S. basketball coach, owner, and organizer; member of the Basketball Hall of Fame. Born and raised in Rochester, New York, “Laizer” Harrison began a lifelong involvement with basketball as a player at East High School and in the inaugural New York State Section V Basketball tournament in 1922, Harrison scored 18 points in his team's 22–18 victory over West High. Harrison played, coached, organized, and promoted professional basketball in New York State for the Rochester Seagrams, Ebers, and Pros from the 1920s through the 1940s, before forming a semi-pro team, the Rochester Pros, with his brother Jack in 1944. The next year the team – renamed the Rochester Royals – began playing in the National Basketball League, where Harrison coached the team to a 99–39 record and three straight NBL finals, winning the championship as well as being named Coach of the Year in 1946. Harrison led the way for a merger of professional basketball leagues by joining the Basketball Association of America for the 1948–49 season, leading the Royals to a 45–15 record, going 33–1 at home and getting to the finals. After the season the NBL merged into the BAA to form one league, the National Basketball Association. The Royals won the NBA championship in 1951, making Harrison the first of five Jewish coaches to win the NBA title. He stepped down as coach after the 1954–55 season, leaving with a six-season NBA record of 250–166, and a 10-season coaching career record of 394–220, along with five divisional titles. Harrison moved the Royals to Cincinnati before the 1957–58 season and sold the team the following year. Harrison was a member of the NBA's Rules Committee and Board of Directors, and was elected to the Hall of Fame in 1980.

[Elli Wohlgelernter (2nd ed.)]

HARRISSE, HENRY (1829–1910), U.S. historiographer. Born in Paris, Harrisse immigrated to the United States in 1849. After teaching in South Carolina, he became professor of French at the University of North Carolina and simultaneously prepared for the bar at its Law School. In 1857, he settled in Chicago and four years later in New York, dividing his time between the practice of law and writing on philosophy, French literature, and historiography. In New York, he met Samuel Barlow, the eminent attorney and Americana bibliophile, who stimulated his interest in the period of discovery. Together they published *Notes on Columbus* (1866). Harrisse's *Bibliotheca Americana Vetustissima*, which evaluated every book referring to America from 1493 to 1551 (1866; repr. 1922, 1958), established his reputation and, when he returned to Paris (1866) to practice law, he was acknowledged as an authority in American studies.

Among his other books on the period of discovery are: *Notes pour servir à l'histoire, à la bibliographie et à la cartographie de la Nouvelle-France et des pays adjacents, 1545–1700* (1872); *Ferdnand Colomb, sa vie, ses œuvres…* (1872); *Christophe Colomb, son origine, sa vie, ses voyages, sa famille et ses descendants* (2 vols., 1884–85); *The Discovery of North America* (1892); *Americus* (Eng., 1895); *John Cabot, the Discoverer of North America…* (1896); and *The Diplomatic History of America. Its First Chapter…* (1897).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: H. Cordier, *Henry Harrisse* (Fr., 1912); R.G. Adams, *Three Americanists* (1939).

[Maury A. Bromsen]

HARRY, MYRIAM, pen name of Mme. **Emile Perrault**, née Shapira (1875–1958), French author. She was born in Jerusalem, the daughter of Moses William Shapira; her mother was a former Protestant deaconess. Myriam was educated in

Berlin and Paris, where she became secretary to the French critic, Jules Lemaître. She led an active life and many of her experiences found their way into her stories. Her sensitivity to human suffering lent depth and color to such works as *La Conquête de Jérusalem* (1903), *La Divine chanson* (1911), *La petite fille de Jérusalem* (1914), *Siona chez les Barbares* (1918), *Siona à Paris* (1919), and *Le Tendre cantique de Siona* (1922). Myriam Harry also wrote accounts of her travels in Tunisia, Egypt, the Levant, Madagascar, Persia, Indochina, and Palestine. Three of these, *Les Amants de Sion* (1923), *La Nuit de Jérusalem* (1928), and *La Jérusalem retrouvée* (1930), show clearly her sympathy for the Zionist movement.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: A. Mailloux, *Myriam Harry* (Fr., 1920); *Le Monde* (March 12, 1958).

[Moshe Catane]

HARSHAV, BENJAMIN (**Hrushovski**; **H. Binyomin/Binyamin**; 1928–), literary theorist, scholar, and poet. Born in Vilna, Harshav studied in the U.S.S.R. during World War II and was active in the Zionist-Socialist movement in Germany before immigrating to Palestine in May 1948, serving in combat in the Israeli War of Independence and studying at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem and at Yale. He founded the Porter Institute for Poetics and Semiotics at Tel Aviv University, developing the approach of "constructive poetics." In the fields of literary theory, poetics, cultural semiotics, prosody, and comparative and Hebrew literature he published over 30 monographs, in addition to numerous edited and translated volumes (especially of poetry into Hebrew and, with Barbara Harshav, into English), among them: *American Yiddish Poetry* (1986), *The Meaning of Yiddish* (1990), *Language in Time of Revolution* (1993), *Shirat ha-Tekhiya ha-Ivrit* ("Poetry of the Hebrew Revival," 2 vols., 2000), *Marc Chagall and His Times: A Documentary Narrative* (2004), *Marc Chagall / The Lost Jewish World: The Nature of his Art and Iconography* (2006), and five volumes of his selected works in Hebrew (his important theoretical work especially in vols. 1–2; 2000). Beyond his long tenure at Hebrew University (1954–65), Tel Aviv University (1965–87), and Yale (from 1987), he held guest professorships and research fellowships at several universities in Europe and the U.S., and was a fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences. He founded and edited the scholarly journals *HaSifrut*, PTL *(Poetics and Theory of Literature)*, and *Poetics Today,* and the monograph series *Sifrut, Mashma'ut, Tarbut*. Harshav wrote poetry in both Hebrew (*Shirei Gabi Daniel*, 2000) and Yiddish (under the name [H.] Binyomin): *Shtoybn* ("Dust," 1948) and *Take oyf Tshikaves: Geblibene Lider* ("For the Sake of Curiosity: Remnant Poems," 1994).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Z. Ben-Porat (ed.), *Aderet le-Vinyamin*, 2 vols. (1999–2001); idem, in: *Poetics Today*, 22 (2001), 245–51.

[Jerold C. Frakes (2nd ed.)]

HART, English family, sons of Hartwig (Naphtali Hertz) Moses, formerly of Breslau, later of Hamburg. The elder son AARON HART (Uri Phoebus; 1670–1756) first studied and taught in Poland. After 1705 he was appointed rabbi of the Ashkenazi community in London in succession to Judah Loeb b. Ephraim Anschel. The appointment was largely due to the influence of his wealthy brother Moses. Aaron was implicated in a dispute concerning the divorce of a member of the community, in defense of which he published his *Urim ve-Tummin* (1707), the first book printed entirely in Hebrew in London and his only literary production. He continued as rabbi of the Great Synagogue until his death. His authority was recognized in the Jewish communities that were springing up in the provincial towns, and he may be regarded as being informally the first chief rabbi of Great Britain. Edward Goldney, an English conversionist, engaged in a disputation with him in the last years of his life. His brother MOSES (1675–1756) emigrated to England about 1697. Partly through the assistance and support of his cousin, the magnate Benjamin Levi, he amassed a fortune as a broker. In 1722 he rebuilt the Ashkenazi synagogue (later the Great Synagogue) at his own expense and continued to control it until his death. He was highly regarded in government circles and was partly responsible for British diplomatic efforts at intervention at the time of the expulsion of the Jews from *Prague in 1745.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: C. Roth, *History of the Great Synagogue* (1950), index; Busse, in: JHSET, 21 (1968), 138–47; Kaufmann, *ibid.*, 3 (1899), 105ff.; Adler, in: *Papers… Anglo-Jewish Historical Exhibition* (1888), 230–78; E. Goldney, *Friendly Epistle to Deists and Jews* (1759). **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** ODNB online for Aaron Hart and Moses Hart; Katz, England, 205–22, index; T. Endelman, *Jews of Georgian England,* index.

[Cecil Roth]

HART, AARON (1724–1800), early settler in Canada. Hart was a native of London of Bavarian-born parents. He immigrated to New York via Jamaica about 1752. At the time of General Jeffrey Amherst's capture of Montreal in 1760, Hart was a civilian supplier to the British troops. He stayed in Canada, settling in Trois Rivières, where he acquired considerable property and engaged in the fur trade and other commercial pursuits. As seigneur of Becancour, Hart recruited a militia battalion which bore his name. The second post office established in British Canada was located in his home, with Hart as postmaster. He played a leading role in the public life of Trois Rivières and was considered responsible for developing the town into an important trading center. The Hart family was identified with this city for more than a century. To avoid marrying outside his faith, Hart sailed to England and married his cousin Dorothea Catherine Judah, whose brothers had also settled in Trois Rivières. His prayer book reveals that he was an Ashkenazi Jew and kept his family records in Yiddish. By the time he died, Hart was reputed to be the wealthiest man in the British colonies.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Rosenbloom, Biogr Dict; R. Douville, *Aaron Hart* (Fr., 1938); A. Tessier, in: *Cahiers des Dix*, 3 (1938), 217–42; S. Rosenberg, *Jewish Community in Canada* (1970), index.

[Ben G. Kayfetz]

HART, ABRAHAM (1810–1885), first important U.S. Jewish publishing executive and leading Philadelphia Jew of his generation. Hart was born in Philadelphia of German Dutch parents. On the death of his father in 1823, he secured a job with Carey and Lea, the prominent publishing house founded by Matthew Carey. In 1829 he and Edward L. Carey established their own firm, E.L. Carey & A. Hart, which was soon in the first rank of American publishers. Among the authors they published were Macaulay, Thackeray, Longfellow, and James Fenimore Cooper. Although Carey died in 1845, Hart continued to use the name Carey and Hart until 1850, when his publications began to appear under the imprint A. Hart which he used until he retired in 1854. With his fortune made, Hart gave his time to civic activities and to investments in such fields as mining and sewing machines. He served as president of Mikveh Israel Congregation of Philadelphia for more than 30 years (1841–64 and 1867–76). Hart presided at the 1845 meeting that inaugurated the *Jewish Publication Society and was its president until a fire in his own building in 1851 wiped out almost the entire stock of the society's books. He was active in the agitation for a presidential pronouncement on the *Mortara Case in 1858. For three years beginning in 1866 he was president of the *Board of Delegates of American Israelites. Hart was treasurer of the Hebrew Education Society in the years 1848–75 and was the first president of *Maimonides College. During his time no Jewish development of note in Philadelphia, and virtually none nationally, took place without his support.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: H.S. Morais, *Jews of Philadelphia* (1894), 53–58 and index; E. Wolf and M. Whiteman, *History of the Jews of Philadelphia* (1957), 352–3.

[Bertram Wallace Korn]

HART, BENJAMIN (1779–1855), early Canadian army officer and magistrate. Hart was born in Trois Rivières, the third son of Aaron *Hart. In February 1811 he applied for a commission in the Lower Canada militia. Thomas Coffin, commander of the district, responded a year later advising against it on the grounds that Christian soldiers would not tolerate Jews in their midst. In August 1812 he wrote the governor refuting the objection with letters from a Catholic officer and a Protestant chaplain and pointing out Coffin's "private resentment" at being defeated by Benjamin's brother Ezekiel in the 1807 election. Nothing came of this exchange but despite this snub Benjamin Hart provided the sum of £1,000 to assist the paymaster in his needs. Shortly afterward Hart enlisted and saw active service in the War of 1812. Hart was justice of the peace in Montreal in 1837, and in the rebellion of that year and the following, he read the Riot Act and took an active role in quelling the disturbances, both as an army officer and magistrate. In 1826 he was president of the Shearith Israel Synagogue in Montreal.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Rosenbloom, Biogr Dict; J.J. Price, in AJHSP, 23 (1915), 137–40; S. Rosenberg, *Jewish Community in Canada* (1970), index.

[Ben G. Kayfetz]

HART, BERNARD (1763–1855), American merchant, father of Congressman Emanuel B. *Hart. Hart was born in London to a family which probably originated in Fuerth. He had immigrated to Canada by 1776–77 and appears to have lived and traded in both Montreal and New York City until about 1800. In 1799 he was married to a non-Jewess, Catherine Brett, ei-

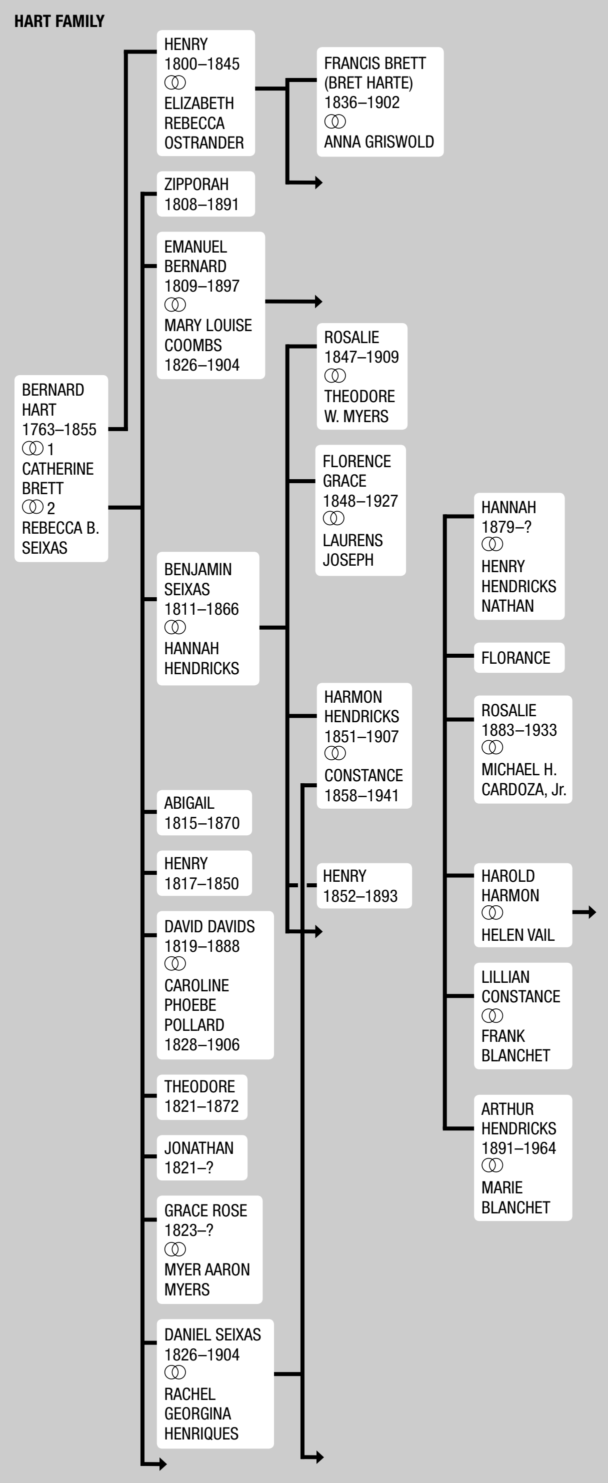
HART FAMILY
BERNARD HART 1763–1855 ⚭1 CATHERINE BRETT ⚭2 REBECCA B. SEIXAS
HENRY 1800–1845 ⚭ ELIZABETH REBECCA OSTRANDER
FRANCIS BRETT (BRET HARTE) 1836–1902 ⚭ ANNA GRISWOLD
ZIPPORAH 1808–1891
EMANUEL BERNARD 1809–1897 ⚭ MARY LOUISE COOMBS 1826–1904
ROSALIE 1847–1909 ⚭ THEODORE W. MYERS
FLORENCE GRACE 1848–1927 ⚭ LAURENS JOSEPH
HANNAH 1879–? ⚭ HENRY HENDRICKS NATHAN
BENJAMIN SEIXAS 1811–1866 ⚭ HANNAH HENDRICKS
FLORANCE
HARMON HENDRICKS 1851–1907 ⚭ CONSTANCE 1858–1941
ROSALIE 1883–1933 ⚭ MICHAEL H. CARDOZA, Jr.
ABIGAIL 1815–1870
HENRY 1817–1850
HENRY 1852–1893
HAROLD HARMON ⚭ HELEN VAIL
DAVID DAVIDS 1819–1888 ⚭ CAROLINE PHOEBE POLLARD 1828–1906
LILLIAN CONSTANCE ⚭ FRANK BLANCHET
THEODORE 1821–1872
ARTHUR HENDRICKS 1891–1964 ⚭ MARIE BLANCHET
JONATHAN 1821–?
GRACE ROSE 1823–? ⚭ MYER AARON MYERS
DANIEL SEIXAS 1826–1904 ⚭ RACHEL GEORGINA HENRIQUES

ther in Canada or New York, but the marriage was a brief one. Catherine bore him one son, Henry, in whom Bernard took no interest aside from financial support. Henry's son was the literary figure Bret Harte. By the time of Bernard Hart's second marriage, in 1806, to Rebecca Seixas, niece of *ḥazzan* Gershom Mendes *Seixas, Hart had become *parnas* of Shearith Israel Congregation in New York, a post which he held for three years. He was active in the affairs of the congregation for many years, especially in its burial society. Hart is reported to have served as a quartermaster in the New York State Militia in 1787, and as a major during the War of 1812. He was a member of the committees that established the first New York Exchange office in 1792, and the New York Stock and Exchange Board in 1817, serving as secretary of the latter 1831–53.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Rosenbloom, Biogr Dict, s.v.; D. Pool, *Portraits Etched in Stone* (1952), index; H. Simonhoff, *Jewish Notables in America* (1956), 239–42.

[Bertram Wallace Korn]

HART, CECIL M. (1883–1940), Canadian ice hockey pioneer. Born in Bedford, Quebec, a direct descendant of Aaron *Hart, Canada's first Jewish settler, Cecil Hart organized, managed, and played for the Star Hockey Club from 1900 to 1922. In 1910 he formed the Montreal City Hockey League, and his Stars became champions in 1914–15 and 1916–17. Hart organized the first international amateur hockey series between Canada and the United States. Entering professional hockey in 1921, Hart secured the Montreal Canadiens of the National Hockey League for a group of businessmen and became manager. For six straight seasons they reached the championship playoffs. The Canadiens won the Stanley Cup (emblematic of the world professional championship) in 1929–30 and 1930–31.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: B. Postal et al. (eds.), *Encyclopedia of Jews in Sports* (1965), 333–4.

[Jesse Harold Silver]

HART, DANIEL (1800–1852), Jamaican lawyer and politician. A merchant in Kingston for over 30 years, Hart was the first Jew to be granted civil and political privileges in Jamaica. He was the senior representative for the Parish of St. Mary in the Jamaican House of Assembly and in 1851 was appointed *custos rotulorum* (parish registrar). For many years, he was an alderman and a member of the assembly for the city and parish of Kingston, as well as a justice of the peace and assistant judge of the Court of Common Pleas.

[Bernard Hooker]

HART, EMANUEL BERNARD (1809–1897), New York City Democratic politician and leader of Jewish institutions. Hart was born in New York City, son of Bernard Hart, a New York Stock Exchange member, and Rebecca Seixas Hart. He began his political activity in 1832 as a Jacksonian Democrat, and became a member of the Tammany Society. He served for two terms as an alderman in New York City (1845–46). Defeated in his first campaign for the federal Congress, Hart won on the second try and served from 1851 to 1853. Among many other positions which he held throughout a long, but not particularly distinguished career of office-holding were surveyor of the Port of New York (1857–62); a commissioner of Immigration (1870–73); a New York Excise commissioner (1880–83); disbursing agent at the New York custom house (1885–89); and cashier in the New York County sheriff's office (1889–93). He was also an officer in the New York State Militia. In earlier years when he was not on the public payroll, Hart was a stock and bond broker, and in later years he was a merchant. Hart was a member of Shearith Israel Congregation, as was his father, and served as president of the Mount Sinai Hospital (1870–76), when the hospital's new structure on Lexington Avenue was dedicated. He was also president of the Hebrew Home for the Aged and Infirm.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Davis, in: AJHSP, 32 (1931), 99–111; M.U. Schappes (ed.), *Documentary History of the Jews in the United States* (1950), 285–6, 641.

[Bertram Wallace Korn]

HART, EPHRAIM (1747–1825), U.S. communal leader and stockbroker. Hart, who was born in Fuerth, Bavaria, went to New York before the outbreak of the American Revolution. After the British captured New York (1776), Hart moved to Philadelphia. He was one of the first members of the Spanish and Portuguese Synagogue in Philadelphia, dedicated in 1782. He returned to New York in 1787, became a stockbroker, and also speculated successfully in real estate. Hart was a charter member of the Board of Stock Brokers (1792). He served as an elector of Congregation Shearith Israel (1787) and was a founder of its burial society Hebra Hesed ve Emet (1802). Hart sat in the New York State Senate (1810) and was a business associate of John Jacob Astor.

HART, ERNEST ABRAHAM (1836–1898), British physician, medical editor, and humanitarian. Born and educated in London, during the Crimean War (1854) Hart led his fellow students in a successful appeal to the Admiralty to improve the status of the naval doctors aboard ship. At 20 he qualified as a specialist in opththalmology and in 1864 became an ophthalmologic surgeon and lecturer at St. Mary's Hospital in London. He introduced new methods in dealing with eye diseases, particularly in the treatment of aneurysm. Later he was appointed aural surgeon and dean of the medical school.

In 1858 he had begun writing for the medical journal, *Lancet*, and shortly thereafter was named coeditor. In 1866 he accepted the editorship of the *British Medical Journal*, the official publication of the British Medical Association. He expanded and improved the journal and through his efforts the membership of the Association increased rapidly. As chairman of its Parliamentary Bills Committee, he undertook a number of projects to eliminate the ills which militated against public health and sound social conditions in Britain. His exposure of the deplorable state of the London workhouse infirmaries led to the establishment of the Metropolitan Asylums Board and to better treatment of the sick among the poor. He campaigned against the evil of baby farming, and it was largely through his efforts that the Infant Protection Act was passed in 1872. Hart had a large part in securing legislation ensuring the quality of the milk supply in cities, in abating the smoke nuisance, bettering working conditions in factories, and safeguarding the health of workers. He worked for the amelioration of the plight of Irish peasants and for reclaiming of wasteland in Ireland. He attacked the Indian Government for its neglect in eliminating the conditions which produced cholera. He denounced the fraud of hypnotism and mesmerism in a series of articles, which appeared under the title of "The Eternal Gullible."

As a young man he had advocated the granting of equal rights to Jews in the columns of *Frazier's* magazine and in 1877 he published *The Mosaic Code*, which dealt with the hygienic laws of the Bible.

HART, EZEKIEL (1767–1843), early Canadian political figure. Hart was born in Trois Rivières, the second son of Aaron *Hart. He succeeded his father as seigneur of Becancour. In 1807 he was elected to the legislature of Lower Canada for Trois Rivières. Because of the sharp rivalry between the French and English camps he was prevented from taking his seat at the following session of the legislature in 1808. Regarding him as a member of the English faction the French-speaking deputies pointed out that as a Jew he could not take the oath "on the true faith of a Christian." He was reelected in May 1808, and in April 1809, he was again prevented from being seated.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Rosenbloom, Biogr Dict, 52; J.J. Price, in: AJHSP, 23 (1915), 43–53; S. Rosenberg, *Jewish Community of Canada* (1970), index.

[Ben G. Kayfetz]

HART, HERBERT LIONEL ADOLPHUS (1907–1992), British philosopher of law, generally known as H.L.A. Hart. Born at Harrogate and educated at Cheltenham, Bradford Grammar School, and New College, Oxford, in 1932 Hart became a barrister. From 1932 to 1940 he practiced at the Chancery Bar, and from 1939 to 1945 served in the British War Office. He returned to Oxford in 1945, becoming a fellow of University College, and professor of jurisprudence in 1952–68. His major writings include *Causation in the Law* (with A.M. Honoré, 1959), *The Concept of Law* (1961), *Punishment and the Elimination of Responsibility* (1962), *Law, Liberty and Morality* (1963), and *The Morality of the Criminal Law* (1964). Each of these works is characterized by the application of the techniques of contemporary philosophy to areas of serious legal and moral contention. In general, Hart's work stands in opposition to philosophical determinism, the notion that nobody can act differently from the way he does, and therefore cannot be held responsible for what he does. To accept this point of view would risk blurring the general recognition that a man's fate should depend upon his choice, and with it the whole way of conceiving human relationships. Not only in the law or in morally crucial situations, but also in our everyday transactions, we view one another as responsible and not "merely as alterable, predictable, curable, or manipulable things." From 1973 to 1978 he was principal of Brasenose College, Oxford. Hart visited Israel in 1964, giving the Lionel Cohen lectures in Jerusalem. He is regarded as one of the foremost exponents of the theory of "legal positivism."

ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY: ODNB online; J. Hart, *Ask Me No More* (1998); N. Lacey, *A Life of H.L.A. Hart* (2004).

[Avrum Stroll / Williiam D. Rubinstein (2nd ed.)]

HART, ISAAC (d. 1780), U.S. merchant. Hart, a Loyalist, left England about 1750, and established himself in Rhode Island. He soon became one of the wealthiest merchants in the colony, and his prominent position made Hart a leader of *Newport's Jewish community. He served on the committee which raised funds for the building of Newport's Touro synagogue, was one of the purchasers of the land it stands on, and his firm, Naphthali Hart and Company, erected the building. In 1780 the revolutionary government of Rhode Island exiled him with other Loyalists, and in December he was killed, supposedly during an American raid on Fort George in New York.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Rosenbloom, Biogr Dict, s.v.

[Neil Ovadia]

HART, JACOB (1745–1814), kabbalist and grammarian. He was the first native-born English scholar of this type in the modern period. A jeweler by profession, Hart took an active part in communal affairs in London and received rabbinical ordination in Europe some time between 1800 and 1804. Under his Hebrew name of Eliakim b. Abraham he published various works in Hebrew on religion, Kabbalah, and grammar. They include *Asarah Ma'amarot*, of which five treatises only were published, three of them in England (1794–99); *Milḥamot Adonai*, a polemic in defense of religion against science and philosophy, sharply criticizing Voltaire and other rationalist writers; *Binah la-Ittim*, a computation of the date of the end of the world (*keẓ*) according to the Book of *Daniel, predicting it for 1843; *Ẓuf Novelot* on kabbalistic subjects; an abridgment of *Novelot Ḥokhmah* by Joseph Solomon *Delmedigo with notes and a commentary in which Hart attempted to prove *creatio ex nihilo*. Two of his works were published in Berlin in 1803, *Ma'yan Gannim*, an abridgment of *Ginnat Egoz* by Joseph b. Abraham *Gikatilla, and *Ein ha-Kore* on the Hebrew vowels, which contends that the Ashkenazi pronunciation is correct. In the same year Hart published in Roedelheim the grammatical treatise *Ein ha-Mishpat*. His works indicate that Hart was a man of broad general education.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: A. Barnett and S. Brodetsky, in: JHSET, 14 (1940), 207–23; A. Barnett, *The Western Synagogue through Two Centuries* (1961), index.

[Cecil Roth]

HART, JOEL (1784–1842), U.S. doctor. Hart was born in Philadelphia and educated at the Royal College of Surgeons in London. Establishing himself in New York, Hart became a leader of the city's medical community. He was one of the charter members of the Medical Society of the County of New York (1806) and was among the group that founded the College of Physicians and Surgeons in 1807. Hart gave up his practice in 1817 to become United States consul at Leith, Scotland, a position he held until 1832. He then returned to New York where he practiced medicine until his death.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Rosenbloom, Biogr Dict, s.v.

[Neil Ovadia]

HART, KITTY CARLISLE (1910–), U.S. entertainer, arts administrator. Born in New Orleans, La., as Catherine Conn, she was brought up in Paris and in Switzerland. She was educated at the Sorbonne, the London School of Economics, and the Royal Academy of Dramatic Art in London. A singer and actress, she appeared in the *Marx Brothers' farcical film *A Night at the Opera* in 1935 after appearing in three films the previous year: *Here Is My Heart, She Loves Me Not*, and *Murder at the Vanities*. Known for her gracious manners and personal elegance, she dated George *Gershwin and married the playwright Moss *Hart in 1946. As Kitty Carlisle, she became a household name in the United States through appearances on the panel of the television program *To Tell the Truth*, in which three contestants aver to having the same secret. She also was a guest panelist for many years on the popular series *What's My Line?*, in which panelists try to guess the contestant's occupation. Both programs gave her an opportunity to showcase her wit and intelligence.

Taking on the real-life role of arts administrator, she headed the New York State Council on the Arts, a statewide agency, for many years and raised countless thousands to support cultural institutions large and small. She proved a tireless champion of the arts, and traveled throughout the state to see performances by professional and amateur organizations. She resumed her acting and singing career in the mid-1980s and appeared both in acting roles and as herself in film and television series. She retained her singing voice well into her nineties and her one-woman shows, played in various parts of the United States, included memories of her career, anecdotes of her experiences with the Marx Brothers and Gershwin, and theatrical stories about her late husband.

[Stewart Kampel (2nd ed.)]

HART, LORENZ (1895–1943), U.S. musical comedy lyricist. Born to immigrant parents, Larry Hart traced his descent through his mother from the German poet Heinrich *Heine. Hart graduated from the Columbia University School of Journalism in 1916. Although indifferent to academic studies outside literature and drama, Hart single-handedly changed the craft of lyric writing. He became the expressive bard of the urban generation that matured between the wars after he was introduced to a 16-year-old Richard *Rodgers by a mutual friend. Together the team of Rodgers and Hart created some of the greatest musicals of the first half of the 20th century. Hart was working in the theater for the *Shuberts, translating German plays, and Rodgers was writing variety shows at Columbia. The pair contributed to the Broadway musical *Poor Little Ritz Girl* in 1920 and by 1925 they had their own success on Broadway, *The Garrick Gaieties*, an intimate revue that was a counter to huge, flossy "girlie" productions. Rodgers and Hart believed that monotony was killing the musical and that songwriters had to integrate libretto, lyrics, and music. The two men were diametrically opposed in temperament, but not in artistic spirit. Rodgers was reserved, disciplined, and stern. Hart was emotional and earthy, quick with a joke, and effusively warm. Hart suffered from a mild dwarfism and was a homosexual at a time of great social repression. In his songs, Hart was interested in exploring a single moment of pure emotion. The pair's songs were written to work on two levels: they had to function within the plotline of the show and they had to transcend the show so that people could listen at home and appreciate the music. Hart's songs often worked on a third level. Unable to find a mate, Hart rarely wrote a requited love song. His output is dominated by dreams and fantasies, lovers dancing on the ceiling, funny, ugly valentines.

Nevertheless, the partners had a string of successes on Broadway, including *A Connecticut Yankee* in 1927, *The Boys From Syracuse* in 1938, *On Your Toes* in 1936, *Pal Joey* in 1940, and *By Jupiter* in 1943. Their songs became American classics: "The Girl Friend, Manhattan" ("We'll have Manhattan, the Bronx and Staten Island, too"), "Thou Swell," "You Took Advantage of Me," "I'd Rather Be Right," "Little Girl Blue," and "I Married an Angel," to mention a few. In the 1930s Hart wrote the lyrics for "Have You Met Miss Jones?," "The Most Beautiful Girl in the World," "The Lady Is a Tramp," "Blue Moon," "My Romance," "Where or When," and "Falling in Love With Love" from *The Boys From Syracuse*. The latter, based on *A Comedy of Errors*, was the pioneer adaptation of Shakespeare for musical comedy. Most of these songs were delicately oblique for a Depression-era audience that did not embrace sentimentality, but Hart penned the poignant "My Funny Valentine," a tribute to a homely lover; it became a classic American torch song.

By 1940 Hart and Rodgers decided that more of the naturalism of contemporary literature and drama had to be infused in musical comedy. In collaboration with the celebrated novelist John O'Hara they adapted his *Pal Joey*. The theme of a nice-looking young white song-and-dance man who could flirt and have sex with women was not easily digested by the American public. Most of the songs in the production were harshly witty. An older woman sings, "Take him, but don't ever let him take you." The show had a mixed reception but a decade later it was revived to enthusiastic audiences.

When wartime came, Hart was out of step with a patriotic public absorbed with traditional American values. The folksy *Oklahoma!* held no interest for him as he sank deeper into alcohol and depression, and Rodgers turned to Oscar *Hammerstein for a collaborator. But in 1943 Hart and Rodgers reunited for a revival of *A Connecticut Yankee.* On opening night, Hart slipped away and vanished for two days. He died a few days later of pneumonia.

[Stewart Kampel (2nd ed.)]

HART, MOSS (1904–1961), U.S. playwright. Born and raised on New York's East Side, Hart wrote his first play when he was 12 and gained early experience as a producer in Jewish clubs. His first success was *Once in a Lifetime* (1930), a satire on Hollywood written in collaboration with George S. *Kaufman. With Kaufman he went on to write *Face the Music* (1932), a satire on New York municipal government which became an Irving *Berlin revue; *As Thousands Cheer* (1933), a revue with music by Irving Berlin; *Merrily We Roll Along* (1934), a satire on Broadway; and two famous comedies, *You Can't Take It With You* (1936), which won a Pulitzer Prize, and *The Man Who Came To Dinner* (1939). On his own, Hart wrote the satirical *George Washington Slept Here* (1940); the libretto for the musical *Lady in the Dark* (1941); and *The Climate of Eden* (1952). Hart's direction of *My Fair Lady*, the 1956 musical based on Shaw's *Pygmalion*, was widely acclaimed. Hart's autobiography, *Act One* (1959), a modest but moving story, was filmed shortly after his death. He was married to Kitty Carlisle *Hart.

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[Bernard Grebanier]

HART, MYER (d. 1797), early American merchant, and a founder of the town of Easton, Pennsylvania, in 1752. Hart, an immigrant to the colonies, prospered with the town, and by 1763 was Easton's largest taxpayer and civic leader. Although he became a British subject in 1764, he actively supported the American Revolution. Hart was appointed to the Pennsylvania State Commission charged with the care of British prisoners of war, and in 1778 he testified that, despite contradictory reports, the Englishmen were well treated. In 1782 he moved to Philadelphia; his business there failed some years later.

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[Neil Ovadia]

HART, SAMUEL (c. 1747–1810), Nova Scotia merchant and politician. Hart is known to have settled in the British colony of Nova Scotia, to have been a dry goods merchant in Halifax in the 1780s, and to have lived at Maroon Hall, in Preston. He was a member of the small Jewish community which existed in Nova Scotia in the second half of the 18th century and which dwindled and expired by the mid-19th century. From 1793 to 1799 Hart was a member of the Nova Scotia House of Assembly for Liverpool Township, thus becoming the first Jew to sit in a legislative body in territory that was later to become Canada.

[Ben G. Kayfetz]

HART, SOLOMON ALEXANDER (1806–1881), English painter. Hart was the son of a Plymouth engraver and Hebrew teacher and moved with his family to London in 1820. First apprenticed to an engraver, Hart entered the Royal Academy as a student in 1823; three years later he exhibited a miniature portrait of his father. He continued for a time to paint miniatures for a livelihood. In 1828 he showed his first oil at the British Institute, and, two years later, *Elevation of the Law* (now in the Tate Gallery, London), also called *Interior of a Jewish Synagogue at the Time of the Reading of the Law* (depicting the interior of the former Polish synagogue in London). An associate of the Royal Academy in 1835 and a full member five years later, he was professor of painting at the Royal Academy from 1854 to 1863. In his last eighteen years he served there as librarian. Hart's crowded canvases usually illustrate famous episodes of English history, and are done in the formal, dignified academic style that matured in the Regency period. Paintings on Jewish themes are also frequent. His *Rejoicing of the Law in the Ancient Synagogue at Leghorn* represents the procession of the Scrolls on Simḥat Torah. His painting *Manasseh ben Israel* was destroyed in the London Blitz during World War II. His *Reminiscences of Solomon Alexander Hart, R.A.*, edited by Alexander Brodie, was published in 1882.

ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY: ODNB online.

[Alfred Werner]

HARTFORD, capital of Connecticut. Population of greater Hartford County, 870,000; Jewish population, 34,000 (2001).

Early History

Hartford's town records reveal an early Jewish presence in colonial times. General court proceedings in 1659 mention a certain "David the Jew," an itinerant peddler; in 1661 a party of Jews in the city was given permission "to sojourn in Hartford seven months"; in 1667 "Jacob the Jew" transported horses to New York; in 1669 "David Jew" and "Jacob Jew" were among the 721 inhabitants listed in the town records. Advertisements in *The Hartford Courant* in 1788 and 1801 contain references to a thoroughfare known as "Jew Street," but whether it was actually inhabited at the time by Jews or Jewish merchants is unknown.

Jewish settlement in Hartford did not begin in earnest, however, until the 1840s with the first wave of immigrants from Germany. In 1847 Congregation Beth Israel was formed with an initial membership of six; four years later it had 150 members "of thriving business and good standing in society." A B'nai B'rith lodge was established in 1851, and in 1854 a *Frauen Verein* was organized to provide mutual aid and serve as a center of social activities. In 1856 Beth Israel acquired its first permanent structure, a refurbished Baptist church, and engaged Rabbi Isaac Mayer (1809–1898), who served for 12 years. With growing affluence and acculturation, the congregation erected a new synagogue in 1876, and in 1878 dropped its traditional orientation to join the Reform Union of American Hebrew Congregations.

East European Immigration

As a result of the great East European immigration to America, Hartford's Jewish population increased from 1,500 in 1880 to over 7,000 in 1910 and to almost 20,000 by 1920. The new immigrants founded the Adas Israel Synagogue in 1884, the Agudas Achim Synagogue in 1887, and six other Orthodox synagogues in the ensuing years. Two East European rabbis, Isaac S. Hurewitz, who served in Hartford from 1893 to 1935, and Zemach Hoffenberg, who served from 1899 to 1938, ministered to these congregations. They were among the many rabbis who served for more than four decades. Other Jewish institutions and organizations sprang up: the Hartford Sick Benefit Association and the Hebrew Ladies Benevolent Society in 1898; the B'nai Zion Society, which sponsored a group of 12 Zionist clubs, also in 1898; the Hebrew Institute Talmud Torah in 1901; the Hebrew Home for the Aged in 1907; the Hebrew Home for Children in 1907; a *mikveh* in 1907; the Council of Jewish Women in 1910; and a chapter of the Labor Zionist Farband in 1914. In 1912 some 30 of these organizations merged to form the United Jewish Charities. A Hadassah chapter was set up by Henrietta Szold in 1914, and in 1918, through the joint efforts of five local branches of the Workmen's Circle, the Labor Lyceum opened its doors. Among the immigrants were some who added new dimensions to Hartford's economic life. Expert furriers from Russia helped make Hartford a center of the fur trade, and skilled Jewish carpenters and cabinetmakers introduced the reproduction of antique furniture.

Post-World War I

Between the two world wars, with the cutoff of mass immigration, Hartford's Jewish community grew at a slower pace; this period was primarily one of further consolidation and integration into the general life of the city. Hartford's first Conservative congregation, the Emanuel Synagogue, was organized in 1919. Its first Jewish country club, the Tumble Brook Country and Golf Club, was opened in 1922. Mount Sinai Hospital, the first and only Jewish hospital in the state, was established in 1923. The weekly *Jewish Ledger*, founded by Samuel Neusner in 1929, with Rabbi Abraham J. Feldman as editor, has chronicled Jewish activity in the city. In 1935 a Jewish Community Council was formed, and in 1937, the Jewish Welfare Fund; the merger of these two organizations into a single Federation in 1945 united all Jewish communal and philanthropic endeavors under one roof. A Yeshiva Day School, established in 1940 and later renamed the Bess and Paul Sigel Hebrew Academy of Greater Hartford, had nine grades, with several hundred students, in 1970. An eight grade Solomon Schechter Day School affiliated with the Conservative movement opened in 1971 and a Hebrew High School, supported by the communities of Springfield, MA, New Haven, and Hartford opened in 1996. By the mid 1990s more than 400 youngsters in the Greater Hartford area were receiving an intensive Jewish day school education.

During the post-World War II period, Jewish community life in Greater Hartford centered around the city's synagogues – 11 Conservative, eight Orthodox, and three Reform – and around its Jewish Community Center, built in 1955, with over 7,000 members. Prominent rabbis in the community have included Morris *Silverman (1923–1961), who edited and translated the standard *siddur* that was used in Conservative Congregations for half a century or more, Abraham J. Feldman (1925–1968), Abraham AvRutick (1946–1982), and William Cohen (1946–1994). In all, Greater Hartford had 132 Jewish philanthropic, religious, cultural, and social organizations (1970). During the post-war years, Hartford's religious leadership was unusually stable with many rabbis serving in their congregations for more than three decades including Rabbis Stanley Kessler (Beth El, 1954–1994); Hans Bodenheimer (Tikvoh Chadoshoh, 1942–1996); Henry Okolica (Tifereth Israel, New Britain, 1960–1993); Philip Lazowski (Beth Hillel, 1962–1995); Isaac Avigdor (United Synagogues, 1954–1993); Haskel Lindenthal (Teferes Israel, 1956–1993); Harry Zwelling (B'nai Israel, New Britain, 1936–1971); and Leon Wind (Beth Shalom, Manchester, 1946–1979).

The economic life of the Jewish population is concentrated in the professions and in business. Over one-fifth of Hartford's doctors, approximately one-third of its dentists and attorneys, and one-half of its certified public accountants are Jews. Jews own over half of Hartford's retail businesses, although, in the 1960s, fewer than 2% of the city's commercial bank executives and barely 1% of the executives in the 10 largest insurance companies were Jewish. In the last quarter of the 20th century those percentages changed dramatically as Jewish professional life increased, obstacles to Jews entering banking and insurance ended, and large chain stores replaced small retailers on many Main Streets in the United States. At the University of Hartford Jews comprise roughly 20% of the faculty and 33% of the student body. As is the tendency elsewhere, Hartford's Jews moved in increasing numbers to the suburbs, so that in 1970 the majority lived outside the city proper. There was a great white flight to the suburbs in the 1950s and 1960s and many of the synagogues and Jewish institutions were relocated from Hartford to West Hartford. In the 1990s Jews moved further into other surrounding communities including Glastonbury and the Farmington Valley towns of Farmington, Avon, and Simsbury.

Jews in Public Life

Between 1860 and 1969, 102 Jews were elected to city and town councils; 34 served in the state legislature since 1919. In 1933 Herman P. *Kopplemann became the first Jew from Hartford to be elected to Congress, where he served four terms. Some Hartfordites holding public office were Morris Silverman, chairman and member of the Connecticut State Commission on Human Rights and Opportunities from 1943; Bernard Shapiro, state welfare commissioner during 1959–70; Elisha Freedman, city manager, from 1963; M. Joseph Blumenfield, U.S. District Court judge from 1964; and Louis Shapiro and Abraham S. Bordon on the state judiciary. Annie Fisher was the first Jewish district superintendent of schools. During the mid to late 20th century, Hartford's best-known Jewish citizen was Abraham A. *Ribicoff, who was governor of Connecticut, served in the Cabinet of John F. Kennedy, and was then elected to the Senate.

Jews have played an active role in Hartford's educational and cultural life. They are prominent in the University of Hartford, Trinity College, and the Hartford Symphony. A Jewish president, Stephen J. Tractenberg significantly improved the University of Hartford and during his tenure the Maurice Greenberg Center for Judaic Studies was established. Trinity College also has a Judaic Studies program that adds to the intellectual life of the community.

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[Morris Silverman / Leon Chameides (2nd ed.)]

HARTGLAS, MAXIMILIAN MEIR APOLINARY (1883–1953), Zionist leader in Poland during the interwar period. Born in Biala Podlaska, Hartglas studied law at Warsaw University and from 1907 to 1919 practiced his profession in Siedlce. As a young student he joined the Zionist academic circle, beginning a long friendship with I. *Gruenbaum. At an early age he took part in the struggle for Polish independence, in Jewish defense, and in Zionist activities. He was among those who formulated the "work in the present" (Gegenwartsarbeit) program for Zionism at the *Helsingfors Conference (1906). In 1917 at the Third Zionist Convention in Warsaw he laid out "the foundations of the Zionist Organization in Poland," published in Polish in 1918.

In 1919 he was elected together with 10 others on the list of the Union of Jewish Members of the Sejm (Polish parliament). The Union demanded the recognition of Polish Jewry as a national community with the rights of a national minority, entitled to organize themselves as an autonomous entity. They opposed the Polish government's discriminatory policy toward the Jews. Hartglas served as defense attorney in several famous Polish trials in which the reason for the indictment was the fact that the accused were Jews. He was instrumental in obtaining the repeal in 1931 of antisemitic czarist laws in Poland's former Russian provinces. Hartglas served as chairman of the Polish Zionist Organization and was a member of the "Jewish Club" (Kolo Zydowskie) in parliament. He settled in Palestine in 1940 and joined the staff of the *Jewish Agency. Upon the establishment of the state (1948), he became director general and later legal adviser of the Ministry of the Interior headed by Gruenbaum. Throughout his life he published articles in various Jewish newspapers on the problems of Polish Jewry and Zionism in various languages, to which he added Hebrew after his settlement in Israel.

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[Shlomo Netzer (2nd ed.)]

HARTMAN, DAVID (1931–), rabbi and contemporary Jewish thinker in Jerusalem. Born in the United States to a family that had emigrated from the old *yishuv* in Jerusalem, Hartman received a traditional education in Jewish day schools, and then in the prestigious Lakewood yeshivah. His transfer to the Isaac Elhanan Seminary of Yeshiva University resulted in a major shift in his life, as he came under the influence of Rabbi Joseph B. *Soloveitchik, whose teachings would become the focus of much of Hartman's intellectual and spiritual quest. Soloveitchik represented, for the young Hartman, an exemplary combination of profound religious commitment and openness to the modern, Western intellectual world, a combination appropriate for the committed modern Jew. This combination of two worlds would become a central axis of Hartman's thought.

Following his rabbinic ordination by Soloveitchik, Hartman served several congregations in the U.S. and Canada, while completing his graduate studies at Fordham University, a Jesuit institution. This exposure to believing Christians, deeply committed to their religion but open to the world outside of religion, and to other religions, left an indelible impression on Hartman, and is clearly reflected in his thought. After receiving his Ph.D. he began his academic career, in addition to continuing his rabbinical work, and became professor of philosophy at McGill University. After his immigration to Israel in 1971 he joined the faculty of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, and was promoted to professor of Jewish thought.

Hartman regarded his immigration as having religious-theological significance. Only in the Land of Israel, he believed, can one realize a full Jewish life. In the Diaspora, Jewish life is limited to the private realm and to the synagogue, and does not encompass the entire person. By contrast, in Israel, and only in Israel, the Jew is obligated to comprehensive political responsibility; this responsibility, in turn, bears religious and theological significance. Hartman is thus prominent among contemporary Jewish thinkers in emphasizing the religious significance of Zionism, climaxing in the establishment of the State of Israel and reflecting the theological imprint of the covenant at Sinai. In that covenant, the Jewish people received exclusive and absolute responsibility for interpreting the Torah and implementing it in the world, and the return to Zion expands that covenant into history. God, who gradually withdrew from direct control of history, entrusted it to human responsibility. Today, with the return to Zion, the Jewish people has realized its responsibility by reestablishing Jewish life in all areas of life. For Hartman, the importance of the State of Israel thus lies in the very possibility of establishing Jewish life, and not in its being a metaphysical program of redemption. In this regard, Hartman was close to such other thinkers as Yeshayahu *Leibowitz, Eliezer *Berkovits, and his friend Eliezer *Goldman, each of whom, in his own way, pointed out the necessity of the state for Jewish life, without attributing to the state any metaphysical significance. In adopting this position, Hartman distanced himself from the view of his teacher Soloveitchik, who did not draw a metaphysical, theological map of Israel's redemption, yet regarded the establishment of the State as the Jewish people's response to the direct metaphysical challenge posed by God in history. For Soloveitchik, historical events are the voice of the "lover" who is knocking (Song of Songs 5:2) and who awaits his people's response. Hartman, on the other hand, regarded the Zionist enterprise as an exclusively human endeavor, which is the culmination of the historic covenant at Sinai.

This sense of responsibility led Hartman to accept the challenge of restoring the possibility of a new Jewish dialogue, integrating commitment to Jewish tradition with openness to the present, and took upon himself the task of establishing a new *bet midrash* to serve this vision. In 1976 a group of young men and women joined Hartman in this search for a new way to express their connection to tradition. Most of them were graduates of religious Zionist education, who felt basically uncomfortable regarding the relation of the present to the past. Hartman offered them a new way of studying, which in cultural terms is a dialogue with tradition, and which in religious terms is the realization of the covenant at Sinai and the implementation of the Torah in human life. This group of young men and women became the foundation stone of the Shalom Hartman Institute in Jerusalem, which has since then become a leading institution of Jewish research, frequented by scholars from diverse disciplines and different fields of Jewish studies, but sharing the recognition of the need to shape a new dialogue between present and past. Hartman's approach has become a recognized school of thought in Jewish studies, combining the best of classical scientific research with contemporary inter-disciplinary approaches, thus making possible a new approach to Jewish tradition. This school of thought is a realization of Hartman's religious-theological vision, even if not all its members share his theological presuppositions.

The Shalom Hartman Institute is not merely a theoretical *bet midrash* for a scholarly elite. It promotes a wide range of educational activities, including training teachers for Jewish studies in Israel and the world; seminars for Jewish communal and intellectual leaders from Israel and abroad; and, more recently, training senior officers in the Israel Defense Forces in Jewish identity and values. Hartman himself remains active in all these diverse areas of the Institute's program.

Beyond his institutional and educational activity, Hartman is among the leading Jewish theologians today. While always remaining indebted to his teacher Soloveitchik, Hartman continually rejects Soloveitchik's strict existential stance and refuses to adopt the philosophy of fracture and contradiction which typifies Soloveitchik's later thought. For the same reason, he rejects Leibowitz's conclusions. Although, like Leibowitz, Hartman recognizes the decisive role played by the believer in shaping the religious world, he rejects Leibowitz's idea that at the essence of Judaism lie a rupture and contradiction with the world of moral values. To the contrary, for Hartman this is the very meaning of the covenant at Sinai: God establishes a covenant with people as they are, with the totality of their values and conceptions. The believer is not required to withdraw from his human world, but to locate the covenant in the heart of human life itself. In this respect, Hartman is close to Eliezer Goldman. Both Hartman and Goldman emphasized, in different contexts, the fact that the realm of religious life is not located outside the totality of human life, but at its center. The difference between them is that Goldman regarded religious decisions as nourished by a cultural and social understanding of human existence, and by an analysis of the meaning of the *halakhah*, whereas Hartman regarded these decisions as founded on the theological significance of the covenant at Sinai.

Hartman may be considered an *a priori* modernist, for whom modern values are accepted as a matter of principle, and make possible a renewed and more mature encounter with Jewish tradition, as opposed to an *a posteriori* position, such as we find in Soloveitchik's later thought, according to which Judaism develops internally, as a closed system, independently of the external world, but is forced by circumstances to participate in the external world. Hartman's position thus reflects a Hegelian view of history, in which a later stage is more important and decisive. Unlike Hegel, however, in Hartman's view the later historical stage permits a renewed return to the beginning and a more profound insight into what is latently present in earlier formative stages. For instance, in Hartman's view, the neutralization of God in the world, which post-Nietzschean modernists expressed imperfectly as the death of God, is not opposed to Judaism. To the contrary, the neutralization of God is the profoundest significance of the covenant at Sinai. In contrast with the creation of the world and the exodus from Egypt, in which God acts alone, at Sinai God turns to people. The belief in the covenant at Sinai, therefore, is for Hartman not grounded on a past historical event, but on the partnership between people and God. Jewish history is a continual expression of the historic imprint in which people take on an ever-increasingly active role. This imprint began in the period of the Talmud, with the cognition that God does not act in history: "The world behaves in its customary way" (*olam ke-minhago noheg*). Whereas in the biblical period the encounter with God was immediate and direct, for the rabbis the relationship with God was intermediated by halakhic norms. Hartman's preference for the talmudic over the biblical period is based not only on his Hegelian orientation, but is also a matter of principle, in two regards. First, whereas the biblical period was theocentric, seeing God as the exclusive agent in nature and history, the talmudic period was more anthropocentric, shifting attention away from the divine drama of creation to the real history of people, who are now responsible for God's presence in the world, by studying Torah, observing the commandments, and prayer. The talmudic approach is thus more responsive to the modern insistence on retaining autonomy and personal freedom. Hartman's later thought regards the formation of a sovereign Jewish community in the State of Israel as an additional stage in this process of increasing human responsibility for the divine presence in the world. Second, biblical thought makes the material status of the human being dependent on human actions. This dependence, however, opens the way for the belief in "other gods" who also are capable of assuring material blessings. In Hartman's opinion, the talmudic world-view, and especially Maimonides' subsequent revolution, saved Judaism from such idolatrous belief.

The struggle against idolatry, which was thus a major factor in Hartman's preference for the talmudic period, also points to the great proximity between Hartman's thought and that of Leibowitz: they both maintain a transcendent conception of God and both understand the struggle against idolatry in terms of rejecting the contingent and immanent roles attributed to God. They also share the view that the subject of idolatry is not necessarily another, foreign god, but an erroneous conception of God's status in the world.

The transcendent conception of God, together with the emphasis on the centrality of human religious activity, enabled Hartman to develop a type of religious pluralism, based on the idea that revelation reflects the divine desire to encounter people in their finitude and historical context, and to develop a dialogue with them in their own language. This approach enabled Hartman to a universalization of the covenant, to include not only Jews but also believers from other religions. This radical interpretation, in turn, enabled Hartman to reinterpret religious commitment. Instead of the classical understanding of religious commitment in terms of objective truth which is universally valid, Hartman's theology posits religious commitment as the believer's loyalty to his or her faith. Different believers have diverse religious commitments, and none can claim exclusivity of commitment; yet their commitments are not thereby harmed.

Hartman's emphasis on the autonomous, human dimension could have led him to conclude that belief is an entirely private and voluntary affair. In opposition to this view, he repeatedly emphasized the decisive role of community. The believer does not encounter God alone and isolated from the experience of the real and historic Jewish community; the believer is thus a partner in a historical covenant with God, and is not a founder of a new covenant.

Hartman's thought may thus be characterized both as continued interpretation of Maimonides and Soloveitchik, the two thinkers who had greatest impact on him, and as constructive dialogue with such modern and post-modern thinkers as Charles Taylor, Alastair MacIntyre, Richard Rorty, and others.

Hartman's works include *Maimonides*: *Torah and Philosophic Quest* (1976); *Joy and Responsibility: Israel, Modernity and the Renewal of Judaism* (1978); *A Living Covenant, The Innovative Spirit in Traditional Judaism* (1985); *Crisis and Leadership: Epistles of Maimonides* (Eng. tr., 1985); *Conflicting Visions, Spiritual Possibilities of Modern Israel* (1990); *A Heart of Many Rooms, Celebrating the Many Voices within Judaism* (1999); *Israelis and the Jewish Tradition, An Ancient People Debating its Future*, (2000); *Love and Terror in God Encounter, The Theological Legacy of Rabbi Joseph B. Soloveitchik*, vol. 1 (2001).

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[Avi Sagi (2nd ed.)]

HARTMAN, GEOFFREY (1929–), child survivor of the Holocaust and scholar. Born in Frankfurt, Germany, Hartman was sent on a Kindertransport to England in 1939. He spent the war years in Waddeston with 19 other boys, on the estate of James Rothschild. In 1945, he came to the United States where he was reunited with his mother. Hartman attended Queens College in New York City and earned his Ph.D. at Yale where he taught for almost 40 years. He was the Sterling Professor Emeritus of English and Comparative Literature at Yale and project director and faculty advisor to the Fortunoff Video Archive.

Hartman became acquainted with the Holocaust Survivors Film Project in 1979 through his wife's participation. When the project's founders decided to expand to include survivors' testimonies from around the country, Hartman, both a project board and Yale faculty member, urged the university to assist the effort. He recognized the importance and urgency of preserving Holocaust testimony and believed the university's expertise in collections and cataloguing would make it an ideal home for the project. With his encouragement and Yale's president, A. Bartlett Giamatti's support, almost 200 testimonies were deposited at the Sterling Memorial Library in 1981. Professor Hartman became faculty advisor and was actively involved in directing the project's development and growth. "The original thought about the archive was that when we reached a collection of 1,000 testimonies, we'd close shop," said Hartman. "But our feeling changed, and we decided that any survivor who wanted to tell his or her story should be heard." The project became the Fortunoff Video Archive in 1987. The Archive now houses over 4,300 testimonies recorded in more than 20 languages.

Hartman is an iconoclastic scholar of international repute in the field of contemporary criticism. Trained at Yale as a comparatist, and part of "The Yale School" in the 1970s and 1980s, his name is associated with the theory of deconstruction. His range of thinking, however, cannot be confined to one school of thought. Hartman's ideas regarding the synergy of the theoretical and the practical and the relationship between the text and its reader have shaped the field of criticism. This profound approach also underlies his reading of Holocaust testimony.

In addition to his large body of works in literary criticism, Hartman has written extensively on Holocaust memory. Both his own experiences and those recorded in the Archive, have informed Hartman's work, which includes *Holocaust Remembrance: The Shapes of Memory*; *The Longest Shadow: In the Aftermath of the Holocaust*; and *Scars of the Spirit: The Struggle Against Inauthenticity*. He is also the author of and has co-authored numerous related articles. In his writing he probes the subject of Holocaust memory in all of its complexities; finding a balance between authentic remembering and meaningful representation; the effect of and integration of trauma and Holocaust memory in survivors' lives; and how traumatic memories play out in the consciousness of the larger society as well.

[Beth Cohen (2nd ed.)]

HARTMANN, HEINZ (1894–1970), psychoanalyst. Hartmann, who was born in Vienna, was a leading theoretician in psychoanalysis and a pioneer in the field of psychoanalytic ego psychology. In 1939 he published his paper *Ich-Psychologie und Anpassungsproblem*, translated into English in 1958 as *Ego Psychology and the Problem of Adaptation*. Like Anna *Freud, he emphasized the activities of that psychic construct, the ego, as no less important than that of the drives, the id. He pointed out the importance of man's adapting to an "average expectable environment" as a function of the ego. In the same paper, he defined the "conflict-free sphere of the ego" – where patterns of behavior develop independently of unconscious intrapsychic conflict; they do so either, primarily, through inborn autonomous ego functions or, secondarily, by gaining autonomy from the conflicts which helped bring them about. A student of Freud, Hartmann amplified and elaborated numerous aspects of psychoanalytic theory, including the relation of intrapsychic events and of psychoanalysis to the environment, to society, and to the social sciences. He emigrated to Switzerland in 1938 and in 1941 settled in the United States. He served as president of the International and New York Psychoanalytic Associations (1951–57 and 1952–54 respectively). In 1959 he was made honorary president of the International Association.

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[Rafael Moses]

HARTMANN, MORITZ (1821–1872), German author and revolutionary. Hartmann was born in Dušniky, near Přibram, Bohemia. One of the first Jewish youngsters in Bohemia to receive a general high school education, Hartmann demonstratively abandoned Judaism as a youth, although he never formally converted to Christianity. Extolling the Hussites and the revived Czech national feeling of his time in *Ein Tage aus der Böhmischen Geschichte* (1845) and *Kelch und Schwert* (1845), he transferred the Jewish yearning for Zion to the Czech longing for independence and spoke of Prague as the "Slavic Jerusalem." Austrian objections to Hartmann's pro-German sympathies resulted in his flight to Leipzig and eventually to Paris, where he met *Heine and George Sand. Returning to Prague in 1847, he was briefly imprisoned and then became the central figure in "Young Bohemia," a group of German writers which included Siegfried *Kapper (later Hartmann's brother-in-law) and Friedrich Hirsch-Szarvady, later a Hungarian nationalist. Faced with the anti-Jewish excesses of the 1840s, Hartmann blamed the Czech people for the Prague disturbances and for the antisemitic tendencies of Czech nationalist leaders such as Karel Havliček-Borovský. He turned to German liberalism, and in 1848 he was elected delegate to the revolutionary German national assembly in Frankfurt, where he was a popular idol of the extreme left and was made a member of the assembly's delegation to Vienna.

Following Windischgraetz's suppression of the revolution, Hartmann became a fugitive and expressed his disappointment and anger with the liberals in his satirical *Reimchronik des Pfaffen Mauritius* (1849). His experiences during the 1848 Revolution and abortive Baden uprising were summarized in *Bruchstuecke revolutionaerer Erinnerungen* (1861), edited by H.H. Houben as *Revolutionaere Erinnerungen* (1919). Hartmann earned his living as a foreign correspondent, particularly during the Crimean War (1854), after which he moved first to Paris and then to Geneva, where he taught German literature from 1860 onward and married a Protestant. Following the general amnesty of 1868 he returned to Vienna and joined the editorial staff of the *Neue Freie Presse*. The many novellas which Hartmann published during the 1850s–1860s include a few stories on Jewish themes. His collected works in 10 volumes (ed. W. Vollmer) appeared posthumously in 1873–74 and a selection of his letters (ed. R. Wolkan) in 1921.

His son, LUDO MORITZ HARTMANN (1865–1924), was a prominent Austrian Social Democrat and, as a result of his atheism and political activities, was denied a chair in history at the University of Vienna until after the fall of the Hapsburgs in 1918. Ludo Hartmann founded the *Vierteljahresschrift fuer Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, his major work being a comprehensive *Geschichte Italiens im Mittelalter* (4 vols., 1897–1915). He was the Austrian republic's ambassador in Berlin from 1918 until 1921.

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HARTOG, LEVIE DE (1835–1918), jurist and Orientalist. Born at Gorinchem, Holland, he was professor of public law at the University of Amsterdam from 1877 to 1906, and served from 1887 on the board of trustees of the Nederlands Israëlietisch Seminarium, the Jewish theological seminary of Amsterdam. Hartog published a textbook on Dutch public law, collated the Leiden manuscripts for M. Steinschneider's *Alfabeta de-Ben-Sira* (Berlin, 1858), and wrote a biography in Dutch of his teacher of Oriental languages, R.P. Dozy.

[Frederik Jacob Hirsch]

HARTOG, SIR PHILIP JOSEPH (1864–1947), British educator. His mother was Marion Moss (1821–97), who with her sister Celia had published pioneer sketches of Jewish history in English. Hartog, who was born in London, began his career as lecturer in chemistry at Owens College, Manchester (1891). He served as academic registrar of the University of London from 1904 to 1920. Hartog did extensive chemical research and published the results of his investigations on the thermochemistry of the sulphites, the flame spectrum of nickel compounds, and the latent heat of steam. He was associated with the founding of the School of Oriental and African Studies in London. He was a member of the Viceroy's Commission on the University of Calcutta, India, in 1917. From 1920 to 1925 Hartog served as the first vice chancellor of the University of Dacca, Bengal. He was instrumental in the creation of the National Foundation for Educational Research, London, to study the nature and purpose of school examinations. He played a leading role in the improvement of school and college examinations. In 1930 Hartog was knighted for distinguished public service. In 1933 he went to Palestine as chairman of the committee of inquiry on the organization of the Hebrew University in Jerusalem. In the same year he became chairman of the Jewish Professional Committee to assist refugees from Germany. He was chairman of the Liberal Jewish Synagogue and active in the Anglo-Jewish Association and Board of Deputies of British Jews. Hartog's works include: *The Writing of English* (1907), *Blaise Pascal* (1927), *Joseph Priestley and his Place in the History of Science* (1931), *Some Aspects of Indian Education, Past and Present* (1939), and *Words in Action* (1947).

Hartog's brother, NUMA EDWARD (1846–1871), was a mathematician who had attracted attention when in 1869 he had graduated as Senior Wrangler and Smith's Prizeman at Cambridge University but as a Jew had not been admitted to a fellowship. It is generally believed that Hartog's case led to the passage by Parliament of the Test Act, 1871, which removed religious barriers to holding fellowships at Oxford and Cambridge. Numa Hartog died of smallpox at the age of only 25. Their cousin was the philosopher H. *Bergson.

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[Ernest Schwarcz]

HARTOGENSIS, BENJAMIN HENRY (1865–1939), U.S. jurist, historian, and civic leader. Hartogensis, born in Baltimore, was a lifelong resident there, practicing law from 1893. He wrote for the Baltimore *Sun* and *Baltimore American*, and for Jewish publications, including the (Philadelphia) *Jewish Exponent*, of which he was an associate editor, and the *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society.* Hartogensis' major interests were legal and historical, particularly the history of religious liberty in America, including Jewish law (especially marital) and biblical influences on American law. A leader in civic and Jewish organizations, Hartogensis was a founder of Baltimore's night schools and the Baltimore branch of the Alliance Israélite Universelle. He established the Jewish legal section of the Baltimore Law Library.

[Robert S. Goldman]

HARVEY, LAURENCE (1928–1973), British actor. Born Hirsch Moses Skikne in Lithuania, Harvey was brought up in South Africa, the son of a building contractor. He went to England after World War II and achieved his first big success at Stratford-on-Avon in *Romeo and Juliet* (1954), which he also played on the screen. Starring roles followed in the musical *Camelot* (1964) and in many feature films. He was at his best in cynical roles of the British realistic school such as in *Room at the Top* (1959), for which he received a "Best Actor" Oscar nomination, and *Darling* (1966), as well as in *The Manchurian Candidate* (1962).

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HARZFELD (Postrelko), AVRAHAM (1888–1973), labor leader in Ereẓ Israel. Born in Stavishche, Ukraine, he studied at the yeshivot of Berdichev and Telz, receiving a rabbinical diploma. In 1906 he joined the Russian Socialist Zionist Party (SS), for which he was twice arrested and imprisoned for two years in Vilna. In 1910 he was sentenced to life imprisonment with hard labor in Siberia, but in 1914 escaped from Siberia and reached Ereẓ Israel, where he worked as an agricultural laborer in Petaḥ Tikvah and was active in the labor movement. During World War I he played an important role in helping Jews who had been arrested by the Turks, including members of the secret *Nili group. Harzfeld was a member of *Po'alei Zion (1914–19), *Aḥdut ha-Avodah (1919–30), and *Mapai (from 1930) and was one of the founders of the *Histadrut in 1920. From 1919 he was a prominent member of the Histadrut's earlier Central Agricultural Council (Ha-Merkaz ha-Ḥakla'i) and in over 40 years of office played an important role in planning agricultural settlement in Palestine. He initiated many settlement projects and followed with dedication and diligence the development of new settlements throughout the country. For more than 40 years, including the difficult *Stockade and Watchtower period, there was hardly an establishment of a new settlement at which Harzfeld was not personally present. He was a member of the Zionist General Council from 1921, a member of the directorate of the Jewish National Fund from 1949, and a Mapai Knesset member in the first, second, and third Knesset. Harzfeld was awarded a special Israel Prize in 1972, in appreciation of his lifelong service to the State. He became known for the "ḥasidic" atmosphere of enthusiastic group singing, which he introduced in intervals at the meetings of Zionist and *yishuv* bodies.

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[Gedalyah Elkoshi]

ḤASAN, ABU ALI JEPHETH IBN BUNDĀR (second half of 11th century), thought to be one of the first of the Yemenite *negidim* who lived in *Aden between the 11th and early 14th centuries. His name indicates he was of Persian origin. According to *genizah fragments and tombstone inscriptions, Jewish leadership was transferred from *San'a to Aden, because of the rising importance of the latter's port as a center of trade between *Egypt and *India. According to documents connected with Ḥasan's name, he was active during the second half of the 11th century until approximately its close. One of the documents contains the date 1409 of the Seleucid era (1097/98 C.E.).

As a wealthy man who engaged in trade with India and served as a "traders' official" in Aden, i.e., a colleague and representative of the traders, Ḥasan was also a public leader. He was called "the head of the communities," meaning that he had authority over the Jewish communities of southern *Yemen. His title **nagid* is found in the eulogy of the Tunisian trader Abraham b. Peraḥyah b. Yajo for his son Maḍmūm: "And all the community called him *nagid* the son [*nin*] of a *nagid*" (*nin* being son according to Targ. Onk., Gen. 21: 23). Ḥasan's descendants were also wealthy traders who signed agreements with tribal chiefs and pirates in control of the sea routes from Egypt, by way of the Red Sea, to India, thus assuring freedom of navigation and trade. They were also called *negidim* and were active in public life in Yemen. They had connections mainly with the Palestinian academy in Egypt.

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[Eliezer Bashan (Sternberg)]

ḤASAN (Hussein) BEN MASHI'AḤ (tenth century), Karaite scholar. According to *Ibn al-Hītī he lived in Baghdad, where he held religious *disputations with the Christian scholar Abu Ali ʿIsā ibn Zarʿa. *Sahl b. Maẓli'aḥ states that Ḥasan had disputations with *Saadiah Gaon (d. 942), which seems chronologically unlikely. Ḥasan also wrote a polemical treatise against Saadiah, passages of which are incorporated in the *Eshkol ha-Kofer* of Judah *Hadassi and in a manuscript in Leningrad. A remark of *Ibn Ezra in the introduction to his commentary on the Pentateuch suggests that Ḥasan wrote biblical commentaries.

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[Leon Nemoy]

ḤASDAI (Ḥisdai), name of four Babylonian exilarchs. ḤASDAI BEN BUSTANAI lived in the 7th century. Both he and his brother Baradoi served as exilarchs following the death of their father, *Bustanai, in about 670. The two brothers attempted to undermine the position of the sons of their father's Persian wife, alleging that she had the status of a female prisoner of war who had not been manumitted.

ḤASDAI BEN BARADOI (d. 733?) was exilarch at the beginning of the 8th century. He was the father-in-law of R. Natronai b. Nehemiah, the head of the Pumbedita academy. Various legends are told about him in Arab chronicles. His son Solomon was exilarch from 733 to 759, if not later. His second son, David, was the father of *Anan, founder of the Karaite sect. ḤASDAI BEN NATRONAI was exilarch during the first half of the 9th century.

ḤASDAI BEN DAVID BEN HEZEKIAH (the Second) was exilarch in the 12th century (d. before 1135). During this period the office of exilarch gained in prestige, and its bearers had great influence at the court of the caliph Muhammad al-Muktafi, who appointed him as exilarch. Benjamin of Tudela, the 12th-century traveler, reports that Ḥasdai was one of the teachers of David *Alroy, the false Messiah. His son Daniel took his place as exilarch. Abraham *Ibn Ezra may have met him during his visit to Baghdad in 1139. He died a year before *Pethahiah of Regensburg's visit to Baghdad in about 1175.

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[Abraham David]

HASEFER, official publishing house of the Federation of Jewish Communities in Romania. Founded in 1990 in Bucharest for the purpose of publishing Rabbi Moses *Rosen's works, it was expanded after his death (1994). The president of the Federation, Nicolae Cajal, aimed to build a spiritual bridge between Jews and Romanians in order to fight antisemitism by presenting Jewish spirituality, history, and contribution to civilization to people who would not know of them in the Communist period. It was also a period of growing interest in Jewish studies in Romania. The publishing house was enlarged and created in a way similar to that of Judaica publishing houses in other countries. The philosopher, social scientist, and literary critic Zigu Ornea was appointed director in 1995 because of his experience as director of the Minerva publishing house in Bucharest. Funding came from the Federation of Jewish Communities and from the Romanian government department for minorities. The name Hasefer ("The Book") was taken from the former bookshop of the same name that had existed in Bucharest between the two world wars, owned by Henry (Herman) Steinberg. After Zigu Ornea's death, the assistant director, Alexandru Singer, took over as director (2003). By April 2005, Hasefer had published 260 books, mainly in Romanian on the subjects of Judaism, Jewish philosophy and history, Romanian Jewish history, Holocaust, Yiddish literature, and Israeli literature. Among the well-known authors published in Romanian translation are Isaac Bashevis *Singer, Andre *Neher, Saul *Bellow, Primo *Levi, Moshe *Idel, Nava Semel, Moses *Mendelsohn, *Josephus Flavius, and *Philo of Alexandria.

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[Lucian-Zeev Herșcovici (2nd ed.)]

HASENCLEVER, WALTER (1890–1940), German poet and playwright. Born in Aachen of a Jewish mother and a non-Jewish father, Hasenclever served in the German army during World War I but his experiences made him a pacifist. After 1918 he worked for a time as a foreign correspondent in Paris and the U.S. Leaving Germany in 1933, he eventually settled in France. After the French collapse in 1940, Hasenclever was twice interned and, fearing the arrival of the Nazis, committed suicide in a detention camp near Aix-en-Provence. A friend of the critic Kurt Pinthus and of Franz *Werfel, Hasenclever was an early expressionist who became famous with his revolutionary drama, *Der Sohn* (1914). This dealt with the conflict between the generations and preached resistance to blind authority. Three verse collections were *Der Juengling* (1913), *Tod und Auferstehung* (1917), and *Gedichte an Frauen* (1922). His pacifist ideas were expressed in the plays *Der Retter* (1916), and *Antigone* (1917), while satire and pathos distinguished such later dramas as *Die Menschen* (1918), *Gobseck* (1922) and *Mord* (1926). In *Jenseits* (1920) Hasenclever briefly turned to the occult. From the late 1920s he wrote plays in a more comic or ironic spirit, such as *Ehen werden im Himmel geschlossen* (1928) and *Napoleon greift ein* (1929). He also wrote German versions of foreign plays and films, one of his collaborators being Ernst *Toller. His drama *Muenchhausen*, written in 1934, appeared posthumously in 1952. His collected works in five volumes (ed. D. Breuer and B. Witte) appeared in 1990–97 and a selection of his letters in two volumes (ed. D. Breuer and B. Kasties) appeared in 1994.

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HA-SHAḤAR (Heb. הַשַּׁחַר), Hebrew journal which was published and edited in Vienna by Peretz *Smolenskin from 1868 to 1884. During these 16 years, 12 volumes of *Ha-Shaḥar* were published. In theory *Ha-Shaḥar* was a monthly; in practice, however, the financial and organizational difficulties caused prolonged interruptions in its regular appearances. In his first article "*Petaḥ Davar*" ("Preface") Smolenskin describes its aims: the diffusion of *Haskalah; war against its Orthodox opponents, especially the Ḥasidim: war against assimilationists and religious reformers; and defense of the national values of the nation and the Hebrew language. Smolenskin molded the image of *Ha-Shaḥar* as an independent and militant journal. *Ha-Shaḥar* was initially designed mainly for Russian Jews. Because of Russian restrictions against the Hebrew press, however, it was published in Vienna, from where copies were sent to the offices of the censor in Russia before distribution through agents in Russia. Sometimes, an article which the censor was liable to reject was published in a special supplement, and sent to the subscribers in Russia in sealed envelopes separately from the regular copy. Outside Russia as well, *Ha-Shaḥar* acquired a large audience of readers, especially in Austria, Galicia, and Romania. The number of subscribers to the annual fluctuated between 800 to 1,300.

Subscriptions covered only a part of the expenses even though the publisher did not pay fees to his writers and carried out himself a large part of the proofreading and the distribution of the copies to the subscribers. Smolenskin invested his own money in *Ha-Shaḥar* and was supported by contributors from among the well-to-do *maskilim*, and subsidies from the *Alliance Israélite Universelle in Paris and the Ḥevrat Mefiẓei ha-Haskalah ("Society for the Dissemination of the Haskalah") in St. Petersburg.

Ha-Shaḥar published belles lettres and articles dealing with Jewish scholarly matters and current affairs. Among the Hebrew writers of the generation who contributed were M.D. *Brandstadter, R.A. Broides, the poets J.L. *Gordon, A.B. *Gottlober, J.L. *Levin (Yehalel), I. *Kaminer, S. *Mandelkern, and M.M. *Dolitzki. There, too, Smolenskin published his novels (*Ha-To'eh be-Darkhei ha-Ḥayyim, Simḥat Ḥanef, Kevurat Ḥamor, Ha-Yerushah, Nekam Berit*). The works are written mainly in the flowery *maskil* style. Most condemn the rabbinical orthodoxy of the time and especially the Ḥasidim, but at the same time assail the assimilationist *maskilim*. Socialistic undertones are heard especially in Yehalel's poetry (*"Kishron ha-Ma'aseh,"* and others).

In the area of Judaic studies *Ha-Shaḥar* published works of scholars from Western and Eastern Europe, including Solomon *Rubin, David *Kahana, Y. *Reifman, S. *Buber I.H. *Weiss, S. *Sachs, Meir *Ish-Shalom (Friedmann), A. *Jellinek, J.H. *Gurland, A.E. *Harkavy, Ḥ.Z. *Lerner, A. *Krochmal, E. Shulman, and D. Holub. *Ha-Shaḥar* also published letters of Jewish scholars and authors of the early Haskalah: S.J. *Rapoport, S. *Luzzatto, and J. *Perl. Most of the book reviews were written by Smolenskin.

Of prime historical importance were the articles which dealt with current problems. Smolenskin himself published his major articles on Jewish problems in which he introduced his nationalist ideology. These views, and especially his attack on *Mendelssohn, the cultural hero of the Haskalah, alienated many of his supporters, and by the end of 1880 Smolenskin was forced to discontinue publication. With the rise of the Ḥibbat Zion movement in the wake of the pogroms of 1881, Smolenskin renewed the publication of *Ha-Shaḥar* which now openly advocated the Ḥibbat Zion program for Jewish settlement in Ereẓ Israel. Smolenskin filled *Ha-Shaḥar* with dozens of articles on the new movement. He attacked the Alliance Israélite Universelle, which had once supported him, for their opposition to Jewish settlement in Ereẓ Israel. E. *Ben-Yehuda, M.L. *Lilienblum, A.S. *Friedberg, A.A. Sirotkin, and others now wrote in *Ha-Shaḥar*. In spite of his weakening state of health, Smolenskin continued to publish *Ha-Shaḥar* until his death, after which his brother, Y.L. Smolenskin, published the last four copies, completing the 12th volume.

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[Yehuda Slutsky]

HA-SHILO'AḤ (**Ha-Shillo'ah**; Heb. הַשִּׁלֹחַ). Hebrew literary, social, and scientific monthly in Russia until World War I. Founded in 1896, *Ha-Shilo'aḥ* was first edited by *Aḥad Ha-Am in Odessa and Warsaw and printed in Berlin and Cracow until after the Russian revolution of 1905. From 1907 to 1919 it was edited and printed in Odessa, while from 1920 until it ceased publication in 1926, it was edited and printed in Jerusalem. Altogether 46 volumes appeared in 23 years of publication (there were intervals during which the monthly did not publish, e.g., the Russian revolution of 1905, in 1915 under the czarist regime, in 1919 under the Soviet regime).

Aḥad Ha-Am intended *Ha-Shilo'aḥ* to be a journal devoted to Zionism, Jewish scholarship, and belles lettres in a style accessible to the general reader. Not believing in art for art's sake, he was interested in making literature serve the monthly's general objectives of Zionism and "usefulness" to the people. This approach was attacked by young authors (*Berdyczewski, in particular) and the controversy helped determine the course of Hebrew literature in the early 20th century. *Ha-Shilo'aḥ* expressed Aḥad Ha-Am's bitter antagonism to Herzl and political Zionism, which elicited a strong reaction from the Zionist movement. The writing in *Ha-Shilo'aḥ* was free of rhetoric, the result of the great effort Aḥad Ha-Am spent, as his letters testify, in guiding the writers and editing their work. Thus the monthly, which only printed material of high quality, was from its inception a novelty in Hebrew periodicals. Aḥad Ha-Am's successor, Joseph *Klausner, who edited the monthly from 1903 until it ceased publication, followed a similar policy, but devoted more space to belles lettres and the works of such authors as J.Ḥ. *Brenner, I.L. *Peretz, S. *Asch, Z. *Shneour, and S. *Tchernichowsky. Ḥ.N. *Bialik, many of whose works were printed in *Ha-Shilo'aḥ*, coedited volumes 13–21. Most of Aḥad Ha-Am's essays also appeared in *Ha-Shilo'aḥ*, both while he was editor and after.

Ha-Shilo'aḥ revolutionized all genres of Hebrew literature and journalism. It became a model of Hebrew writing, both in form and content, and authors regarded it as an honor to publish in the journal. Indeed, the writings in *Ha-Shilo'aḥ* remain of interest and value today both for the subject matter and the style they introduced into Hebrew literature. Unlike Aḥad Ha-Am, Klausner was an adherent of political Zionism, yet *Ha-Shilo'aḥ* reflected all the trends within Zionism. When Klausner immigrated to Ereẓ Israel in 1920, *Ha-Shilo'aḥ* resumed publication in Jerusalem, and from 1925, Jacob *Fichmann, editor of the literary section, coedited the monthly. In Jerusalem the journal did not enjoy the same importance as it had in Russia. There were already a number of newspapers and periodicals in Ereẓ Israel where, in addition, the atmosphere in which *Ha-Shilo'aḥ* had thrived in Russia was lacking. A bibliography of the writings and authors printed in *Ha-Shilo'aḥ* was compiled by Joshua Barzilai-Folman (1964).

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[Getzel Kressel]

HASHKIVENU (Heb. הַשְׁכִּיבֵנוּ; "cause us to lie down"), initial word of the second benediction after the *Shema of the daily evening prayer. This prayer for protection during the night is mentioned in the Talmud (Ber. 4b) and is considered as an extension of the **Ge'ullah* benediction which precedes it. There are two versions of this prayer, the Sephardi liturgy employing a shorter version for Friday evenings in view of the discouragement of supplication on the Sabbath (TJ, Ber. 4:5, 8c; also I. Davidson et al. (eds.), *Siddur Rav Sa'adyah Ga'on* (1941), 27 and iii). The prayer closes on weekdays with the benediction: "Blessed art thou, O Lord, who guardest thy people Israel for ever" (which uses the Babylonian text), whereas on Friday evening it ends: "Blessed art thou, O Lord, who spreadest the tabernacle of peace over us, over Israel and over Jerusalem" (which was the Palestinian text). The Midrash to Ps. 6:1 attributes the inclusion of the prayer in the evening service to the fact that the *ẓiẓit*, which perform a protective function, are not worn during the night.

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HA-SHOMER (Heb. הַשּׁוֹמֵר, "The Watchman"), association of Jewish watchmen in Ereẓ Israel, which was active between 1909 and 1920. It was founded by pioneers of the Second *Aliyah, many of whom had been active in revolutionary movements and Jewish self-defense in Russia, and were critical of the methods used to protect life and property in the Jewish settlements based upon non-Jewish guards (Bedouin, Circassian, Mughrebim, etc.). Most of them were members or sympathizers of the *Po'alei Zion Party. On the initiative of Israel Shoḥat, about 10 of them, including Izhak *Ben-Zvi and Alexander *Zeid, met in Jaffa in 1907 and founded a secret society called Bar-Giora, which aimed at winning the right to work and keep guard in the settlements and develop Jewish settlement in new areas. It adopted as its watchword a line from Ya'akov *Cahan's poem "*Biryonim*" ("Zealots"): "*Be-dam va-esh Yehudah naflah, be-dam va-esh Yehudah takum*" ("By blood and fire Judea fell; by blood and fire Judea shall rise"). The members of Bar-Giora were given responsibility for the protection of Sejera (now Ilaniyyah) in lower Galilee, and, in 1908, of Mesḥa (Kefar Tavor). On the initiative of Bar-Giora a wider organization, called Ha-Shomer, was established in April 1909 at a meeting in Mesḥa. It was headed by a committee of three: Shoḥat, Israel *Giladi, and Mendel Portugali. Bar-Giora, in effect, merged with the new body. Within three years, Ha-Shomer assumed responsibility for the protection of seven villages, among them Ḥaderah, Reḥovot, and Rishon le-Zion. Other settlements passed also to an all-Jewish guard system. Within a short time the Jews in Ereẓ Israel no longer relied on the protection of foreign consuls and powerful neighbors, but were capable of defending their lives and property. Ha-Shomer based its methods on a close study of the conditions in the country, the ways of the Ottoman authorities, and the character of the Arab bedouin and peasants. The *shomerim* spoke Arabic, wore a mixture of Arab and Circassian dress, and carried modern weapons; some of them became expert horsemen. In 1914 they numbered about 40, with another 50–60 candidates for membership and temporary auxiliaries; at harvest time, they could deploy some 300 men. Candidates had to undergo a year's trial and take a ceremonial oath after being approved by a two-thirds majority at the annual general meeting. The *shomerim*, with their picturesque dress and armament, were prominent in the life of the new *yishuv* and played an important part in settling new and disputed land. They were widely known in the Zionist movement, which supported them. *Yizkor*, a memorial volume in honor of their casualties, in Hebrew, Yiddish and German, had a great influence after World War I on Diaspora Jewish youth. Ha-Shomer was criticized by some circles, especially the supporters of the *Ha-Po'el ha-Ẓa'ir party, because of its independence and the fear that it might anger the Arabs. On the outbreak of World War I, Ha-Shomer had to go underground, and two of its leaders, Manya and Israel Shoḥat, were exiled in 1915 to Anatolia. Its difficulties were intensified by internecine dissensions, as a result of which a group of members, headed by Israel Giladi, left and founded southwest of Metulah the settlement of Kefar Giladi. In 1916 it started to recover: its members collected and stored arms, and organized the protection of Jewish property. Ha-Shomer opposed the espionage activities of *Nili because it endangered the Jewish community, and decided to execute Yosef *Lishanski, one of the Nili group who had escaped, in case he fell into the hands of the Turkish authorities and betrayed the secrets of the defenders. Lishanski was caught by the Turks, however, and told them all he knew. As a result, 12 *shomerim* were interrogated in Damascus and four of them imprisoned. During the British campaign in Palestine, members of Ha-Shomer joined the *Jewish Legion, while others joined the mounted police, which kept order in Galilee, and played a prominent part in the defense of *Tel Ḥai and Jerusalem. However, new elements in the *yishuv*'s leadership demanded the reorganization of defense on a broader basis under the discipline of the recognized Jewish authorities, public and political bodies. On the proposal of some of its new members, led by Eliyahu *Golomb and Yiẓḥak *Tabenkin, it was decided that the organization should disband and its members serve as the basis for a new defense system. On June 15, 1920, *Aḥdut ha-Avodah accepted the responsibility for the reorganization of defense, and Ha-Shomer ceased to exist as a separate body. Its members continued, however, to maintain contact and made an important contribution to the *yishuv*'s defense and its constructive efforts. Ha-Shomer was the first body in the Zionist movement and the Jewish *yishuv* which believed that the existence of an organized Jewish armed force would be a decisive factor in the realization of Zionism, and its example was an inspiration to the *Haganah and the pioneering youth movements.

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[Yehuda Slutsky]

HA-SHOMER HA-ẒA'IR, Zionist-socialist pioneering youth movement whose aim is to educate Jewish youth for kibbutz life in Israel. Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir had its roots in two youth movements that came into being in Galicia (then a province of the Austro-Hungarian Empire) before World War I: Ẓe'irei Zion, which emphasized cultural activities; and Ha-Shomer, primarily a scouting movement (based on the British model). During the war, when many thousands of Jews from the eastern part of the empire took refuge in Vienna, the two movements merged and took on the name Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir (1916). At the same time a similar development took place among the Jewish youth movements in the Russian part of Poland.

The early years of the movement coincided with the immediate postwar period, which was marked by a national and social awakening among the peoples of Europe, the October Revolution in Russia, and the great hope of standing on the threshold of an era of peace and progress. The ideology of the new movement was also profoundly affected by the persecutions to which East European Jewry was exposed at the time (the Petlura pogroms in the Ukraine, the pogrom in Lvov, etc.). On a spiritual level, Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir drew its inspiration from the *Ha-Shomer in Ereẓ Israel; the writings of A.D. *Gordon, J.Ḥ. *Brenner, J. *Trumpeldor; as well as from the romantic aura surrounding the revolutionary anti-czarist underground and its heroes. Other influences on the movement are to be found in the Free Youth Movement (the Wandervogel) as it was first developed in Germany before World War I and in the new philosophy, literature, psychology, and pedagogy of the time, which called for a reevaluation of existing modes of life and thought. Thus, Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir sought to create a synthesis between Jewish culture and the rebuilding and defending of Ereẓ Israel, on the one hand, and universal cultural and philosophical values, on the other, and this was to become a characteristic aspect of the movement's ideology.

Educational Method

Another characteristic of Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir is its educational method, which provides for an organic combination of "training and study groups" with the independent culture and life of youth as practiced by the Free Youth Movement, and also utilizing the symbols and the discipline of scouting. The movement puts special emphasis on the training of the individual and the development of the personality (in its early years Nietzsche's *Thus Spake Zarathustra* was very popular in the ranks of the movement). The basic pedagogic unit of Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir is the *kevuẓah* (in which the sexes are not mixed), several of which, of the same age groups, combine for certain activities to form larger, coeducational units, such as the *peluggah* ("company") and *gedud* ("batallion"). There are three age groups – the young level (age 11–14), known as *kefirim* ("cubs"), *benei midbar* ("sons of the desert"), or *benei Massada* (sons of Massadah); the intermediate level (15–16), known as *ẓofim* ("scouts"); and the adult level (from 17 upward) known as *bogerim* ("adults"), as well as *keshishim* ("oldsters") and *magshimim* ("implementers, those who fulfill"). Each level has its own program, which is adapted to its emotional needs and intellectual capacity. A local branch is a *ken* ("nest"), and it is headed by *hanhagat ha-ken* ("ken leadership"); a district branch is *ha-galil* and is headed by *hanhagat ha-galil*; while a national federation is headed by *ha-hanhagah ha-rashit* ("chief leadership") and the entire world movement is headed by *ha-hanhagah ha-elyonah* ("supreme leadership").

Before World War II, the Warsaw headquarters of the movement published two periodicals, both in Hebrew: *Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir*, which served as the organ of the movement as a whole and its adult level, and *Ha-Mizpeh*, which was the organ of the intermediate level. There was also a Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir publishing house in Warsaw, which put out books of educational content. The various national branches also had their own organs, either in Hebrew or the local languages.

Personal Fulfillment

Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir is also noted for its application of the principle of personally fulfilling the ideals of the movement. It fosters among its adherents radicalism in the original sense of the term – the search for the root of things and the demand for consistency of thought, analysis, and action; this leads to the principal obligation of the individual – that of personal fulfillment of ideals and conclusions. As a result, the movement took up the struggle against assimilation (including "Red" assimilation, i.e., the widespread phenomenon of Jewish youth and intellectuals being drawn entirely into communist or socialist movements, denying their Jewish identity, and abandoning Jewish values and their responsibility for the fate of the Jewish people). It fostered the use of Hebrew – as opposed to the local language – and created a pioneering Jewish atmosphere in its groups, a pedagogic measure culminating in the paramount obligation of its members – *aliyah* and life in a kibbutz. The strict application of the principle of personal fulfillment resulted in tens of thousands of young people passing through the ranks of Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir and being forced to leave the movement for failing to settle in Israel, failing to join a kibbutz, or failing to fulfill other demands put upon them by the movement. There were, of course, thousands who stood the test and settled in Ereẓ Israel in kibbutzim of Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir.

Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir insists on the organic continuity of its program, from the youngest level up to the personal fulfillment by its adult members in the form of membership in a kibbutz in Israel. The principle of personal fulfillment also accounts for the profound educational influence exerted by the *kevuẓah* leader. This derives not only from his way of life and the quality of his performance as their instructor, but also from the conviction on the part of the young members that whatever their leader demands of them, he is about to fulfill himself – settling in Israel and joining a kibbutz.

Beginnings in Ereẓ Israel

During the Third Aliyah, (1919–23) some 600 members of Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir settled in Ereẓ Israel. There was no institutional link between the various groups of these settlers or between them and the movement abroad. As a result, the strength of this first wave of Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir settlers was dissipated. They were dispersed all over the country and, to some degree, were not absorbed in kibbutz life. Furthermore, the removal of the most mature and most active members from the tasks they had fulfilled as instructors and guides caused a general slackening in the activities of the movement abroad. A severe crisis of "individualism" set in, known in the annals of the movement as "the great drift." It was not until 1927, when the Kibbutz Arẓi Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir was founded, that a permanent framework was established for the organized absorption of Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir settlers in

Ereẓ Israel and for the guidance of the movement abroad. In the period of the Third and Fourth Aliyah (up to 1926), Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir evolved its ideology. Slanted toward Marxism, it represented a synthesis between Zionism and socialism, between pioneering construction and class war. When the *Histadrut was founded (1920), the Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir kibbutzim failed to find a common language with any of the existing parties, and, instead of joining any of them, they declared themselves an independent group. Apart from its tasks in the kibbutzim, in the settlement of newcomers, and in education, the Kibbutz Arẓi also became a framework for the joint development of political ideology ("ideological collectivism") and for joint political action in the Histadrut and the Zionist Movement.

The World Movement

The World Federation of Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir was founded in Danzig in 1924. It had been preceded by the establishment of Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir movements in Romania, Lithuania, Latvia, the U.S.S.R. (in addition to the existing movements in Galicia, Poland, and Austria), and by the initiation of efforts on the part of the kibbutzim in Ereẓ Israel to cooperate in the organized and concentrated guidance of the movement abroad. More branches were founded in the period between the First and Second World Convention (the latter also held at Danzig in 1927) in Czechoslovakia, the U.S., Canada, Belgium, and Bulgaria. The founding of the Kibbutz Arẓi greatly enhanced the influence of Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir in Ereẓ Israel upon the movement abroad. Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir in the U.S.S.R., Latvia, and, to some degree, in Lithuania, however, did not accept the independent political orientation of the majority of the movement, and members of the movement in these countries who settled in Israel found their way to the *Aḥdut ha-Avodah Party (which in 1930 merged with *Ha-Po'el ha-Ẓa'ir to become *Mapai), and did not join the Kibbutz Arẓi upon its establishment. When the Kibbutz Arẓi was in its early stage, there was still hope that the split in the ranks of the movement would eventually heal, and thus the Second Convention decided to regard the Kibbutz Arẓi only as the "principal path for the movement." The Russian-Latvian minority in Israel, however, not only failed to join Kibbutz Arẓi, but became one of the founders of *Ha-Kibbutz ha-Me'uḥad (linked to Aḥdut ha-Avodah and later to Mapai); disappointed in its expectations, the Third Convention (held in Vrutky, Czechoslovakia in 1930) decided that the Kibbutz Arẓi was now the only correct path for Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir. The Russian-Latvian minority responded by seceding from the movement and forming "Neẓaḥ" (No'ar Ẓofi-Ḥalutzi – Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir – Scouting Pioneering Youth, see below).

On the Eve of World War II and the Holocaust

At the time of the Fourth World Convention (Poprad, Czechoslovakia, 1935), Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir had reached the height of its strength and achievements: groups in Hungary, Germany, Yugoslavia, France, Britain, Switzerland, Tunisia, Egypt, and South Africa had joined the movement, and there were encouraging beginnings in Latin America; membership totaled 70,000, with the majority about to go to Palestine or undergoing agricultural training, and with the adult members active in *Ḥe-Ḥalutz, the League for Labor Ereẓ Israel, the elections to the Zionist Congress, etc. The rising tide of fascism in Eastern and Central Europe forced the movement to organize itself for self-defense and for the continuation of its activities under conditions of semilegality or, if this should become necessary, as an underground movement.

When World War II broke out, large numbers of members seeking to escape from the invading German forces converged upon Vilna. A part of this Vilna group eventually joined other refugees in fleeing to the Soviet Union, where they fought in the ranks of the Red Army. Some succeeded in reaching Ereẓ Israel before the German-Russian war broke out (June 1941). Others, however, were ordered by the movement to return to Nazi-occupied territory, where they became outstanding activists of the Jewish resistance, the Jewish partisans, and the ghetto fighters. Mordecai *Anielewicz, the commander of the revolt in the *Warsaw ghetto, was a member of the Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir movement, and elsewhere in the Polish ghettos and in other countries under Nazi occupation the movement's members were among the leaders of the uprisings.

The Postwar Period

After the war, the surviving members of the movement prepared for *aliyah* and took an active part in the organization of the "illegal" immigration to Ereẓ Israel and the rehabilitation and reeducation of the surviving refugee children in the displaced persons camps in Germany and Italy. In the wake of the political developments in Eastern and Central Europe, the little that had remained of the movement soon dissolved. Henceforth, Ha-shomer ha-Ẓa'ir centered its activities particularly upon Latin America, and members from this area are to be found in most of the movement's kibbutzim in Israel. Branches of the movement continue to exist also in North America, Western Europe, South Africa, and Australia. The Fifth World Convention, held in 1958, was the first to meet in Israel, which had by then become the seat of the headquarters of the movement. Branch offices also existed in Paris, New York, and Buenos Aires. Their task was to direct the work of the emissaries of Kibbutz Arẓi dispatched to the various countries.

Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir in Israel

The Israel Federation of Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir naturally occupied a special place among the various branches. When the federation was first established (in 1930), the principles and methods applied by the movement in its work in the Diaspora had to be adapted to the conditions prevailing in Ereẓ Israel, where the problems of Jewish youth were radically different and where the kibbutz was not far away. The relative importance of the Israel movement in the World Federation and as a reservoir of manpower for the Kibbutz Arẓi grew from year to year, and it also played an ever-increasing role in the establishment of new Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir kibbutzim and the consolidation of existing kibbutzim. The first kibbutz founded by graduates of the movement in Ereẓ Israel was Nir David in the Beth-Shean Valley, established in 1936. (See also *Mapam.)

U.S.-Canada

The movement was founded in North America in 1923. Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir has found it difficult to make headway in the American Jewish community, with its economic prosperity, its lack of a youth-movement tradition, and the philanthropic character of its Zionist movement. Nevertheless, there are a number of kibbutzim in Israel in which U.S. Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir graduates predominate (such as Ein ha-Shofet, Kefar Menahem, Hazor, Galon, Sasa, and Barkai). In the course of time, the American movement was also instrumental in the establishment of adult groups (Americans for Progressive Israel, linked to Mapam in Israel), made up of people who were attracted by the Zionist-socialist orientation of Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir. In the U.S. the movement had its own organ, *Young Guard* and maintained branches in Detroit, Boston, New York, Los Angeles, and, in Canada, in Montreal and Toronto, as well as training farms for the specific purpose of preparing for *aliyah* and kibbutz life. In the early 21st century it had a few hundred members and ran camps in Liberty, New York, and Perth, Ontario.

Great Britain

The movement was founded in Great Britain in the late 1930s, by Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir members among the refugees from the continent, and by members of He-Ḥalutz and Habonim, who were attracted by Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir ideology. While it made progress during the war and the immediate postwar period, the movement has not succeeded in recovering the losses in its ranks caused by the *aliyah* of its founders and leading members (in the period 1946–1950), nor has it yet been able to reach the second generation, British-born Jewish youth. Branches exist in Manchester and in London. In Israel, Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir settlers from Britain are found primarily in the kibbutzim Ha-Ma'pil, Ha-Zore'a, Yasur and Zikim.

South Africa

Founded in 1935, the movement has branches in Johannesburg and Capetown. In Israel, South African *ḥalutzim* of the movement have settled in Shuval, Barkai, Naḥshon, and Zikim.

Australia

Australian Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir was founded in 1953, with branches in Melbourne and Sydney. Its settlers in Israel are concentrated mainly in Nirim.

[Peretz Merhav]

Neẓaḥ

Neẓaḥ was established in 1930 as the result of a split in Hashomer ha-Ẓa'ir, and was disbanded during World War II. The origins of Neẓaḥ are in the Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir in Russia at the beginning of the Soviet regime. During this period many groups of Jewish scouts existed in Russia; some were affiliated with *Maccabi, while others had no affiliations.

Ha-Shomer Ha-Ẓa'ir in Russia held its clandestine founding convention in Moscow in 1922 and established itself as a country-wide movement. During David *Ben-Gurion's visit to Russia in 1923 the movement's basic ideology became personal fulfillment through *aliyah* and pioneering in Ereẓ Israel. Although illegal and persecuted by the authorities, Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir grew in size and had as many as 20,000 adherents throughout Soviet Russia. Its last "Information Page" was circulated as late as 1932, and there is evidence that some of its groups continued to exist even after that date.

The first *ḥalutzim* of this movement went to Palestine in 1924 and founded a Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir kibbutz from the U.S.S.R. on the shores of Lake Kinneret (now kibbutz Afikim). Their underground existence in Russia had prevented their attending the founding convention of the world movement of Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir and upon their arrival in Ereẓ Israel they discovered that there were substantial differences between them and the movement that developed outside Russia. They advocated membership in one of the existing labor parties (from 1930 this party was Mapai). They also opposed the creation of Ha-Kibbutz ha-Arẓi as a separate federation of kibbutzim of Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir and proposed joining kibbutzim from other movements in a single federation (which later became ha-Kibbutz ha-Me'uḥad); they disagreed with the ideological transformation which took place in Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir, and turned it from a pioneering youth movement into a political body advocating, in one of its planks, the "socialist revolution" in the leftist meaning of the term.

The struggle inside Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir went on for six years, ending in the secession of the Russian Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir from the movement and the creation of Neẓaḥ, which adhered to the original ideology of the Russian Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir. The new movement was composed of the Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir from Russia, Latvia, Estonia, and Lithuania, and was later joined by the *Blau-Weiss (or Tekhelet Lavan) movement, in Austria, Czechoslovakia, and Yugoslavia. It also maintained close ties with the Borissia movement of Transylvania, and, in its last years, with the *Iḥud Habonim in England and America. Members of Neẓaḥ may be found in Afikim, Kefar Giladi, Ein Gev, Kinneret, Ne'ot Mordekhai, and other kibbutzim. Most of them became members of Mapai (from 1968, the Israel Labor Party).

[Joseph Israeli]

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ḤASIDEI ASHKENAZ, a social and ideological circle, with a particular religious outlook, in medieval German Jewry. The first centers of the movement were Regensburg in southern Germany and the communities of Speyer, Worms, and Mainz on the Rhine; from there, its influence spread over most of Germany and, to a certain extent, to France also. Its main literature was composed during the first half of the 13th century. This movement developed in the spiritual and social atmosphere of the Jewish communities in German towns of the 12th and 13th centuries. **Kiddush ha-Shem* (martyrdom) was an extremely important factor in its formation. Another significant factor was the challenge of the Christian pietist movements. It reacted against the pressure from these trends in Christianity and was also influenced by them. Added to these was the movement's feeling of spiritual supremacy derived from its own strength and duties to God and the nation.

The Literature of the Circle

The literature of the Ḥasidei Ashkenaz developed in two different directions. The movement produced some ethical works, intended to influence the mass of the Jews and direct them toward rigorous observance of the commandments and the moral values of Judaism (see *Ethical Literature). Most important of these works was the *Sefer *Ḥasidim*, which continued to influence Jewish ethical thought throughout the centuries, and remained an active force in shaping Jewish ethics until modern times.

The second direction in which the Ḥasidei Ashkenaz developed was the writing of a vast body of esoteric works, some containing mystical elements. According to the traditions of the Ḥasidim themselves, this esoteric lore reached them through a long chain of verbal tradition, beginning in Italy in the eighth century. This tradition was carried mainly by the *Kalonymus family, which was transferred in the ninth century from Italy to Germany by one of the Carolingian emperors. Most of the prominent leaders of the Ḥasidei Ashkenaz were members of this family, notably *Samuel b. Kalonymus he-Ḥasid ("the Pious") in the second half of the 12th century, his son *Judah b. Samuel he-Ḥasid (d. 1217), and his pupil, *Eleazar b. Judah b. Kalonymus of Worms (d. c. 1230). The tradition continued to flourish in this family, and prominent among its bearers are some of the descendants of Judah he-Ḥasid: Moses, his son; *Eleazar b. Moses ha-Darshan; and Moses b. Eleazar, Judah's great-grandson. Other writers belonging to this circle were disciples of Eleazar of Worms, among them *Abraham b. Azriel, author of *Arugat ha-Bosem* and *Isaac b. Moses of Vienna, author of *Or Zaru'a*. The Kalonymus family represents the central group of the Ḥasidei Ashkenaz, authors of esoteric literature. There were, however, other groups or individuals who wrote such works without being in close touch with the core. Most of these works remained anonymous and very little is known about the place and time in which they were written. One of the most important is the **Sefer ha-Ḥayyim*, written about the turn of the 13th century by a ḥasidic scholar who was deeply influenced by Abraham *Ibn Ezra in formulating his theology, which also includes elements similar to some kabbalistic ideas. Another anonymous writer was the author of *Sefer ha-Navon*, a commentary on the verse "*Shema Israel*"; the author had no direct connection with the main group of the Kalonymus family, though apparently he had access to at least one work written by Judah he-Ḥasid.

Besides these scattered, anonymous writers it seems that there existed a group of mystical writers in the 12th and 13th centuries who are distinguished by their use of a pseudepigraphic *baraita* attributed to *Joseph b. Uzziel, known in Hebrew literature as the grandson of Ben Sira, the legendary son of the prophet Jeremiah (see *Ben Sira, Alphabet of). The *baraita* is mainly cosmological, closely related to *Sefer *Yeẓirah*. One of the earliest commentaries on this *baraita* is attributed to a scholar called Avigdor ha-Ẓarefati. Among the works which originated in this group was the commentary on *Sefer Yeẓirah* attributed to *Saadiah Gaon (not to be confused with Saadiah's true commentary on that work). The best-known writer of this group is *Elḥanan b. Yakar, who lived in the first half of the 13th century in England and France and wrote two commentaries on *Sefer Yeẓirah* and a theological work, *Sod ha-Sodot*.

The theology of the Ḥasidei Ashkenaz aroused some controversy in Ashkenazi Jewry; in *Ketav Tamim* Moses *Taku attacked their ideas as expressed in Judah he-Ḥasid's *Sefer ha-Kavod*, in the *Sefer ha-Ḥayyim*, which Taku erroneously attributed to Abraham *ibn Ezra, and in the sources of these ideas, especially the works of Saadiah Gaon, *Emunot ve-De'ot* and the commentary on the *Sefer Yeẓirah*.

Various sources were used in the formulation of Ashkenazi ḥasidic esoteric thought. There were, undoubtedly, some external, Christian influences, especially some of the neoplatonic medieval writings. In most cases these sources are unknown; only in one case, that of Elhanan b. Yakar, has it been established that he made use of material included in medieval Christian theological works. It is possible that some ideas came to the Ḥasidei Ashkenaz through verbal, not written, sources. As for the Jewish sources, the Ḥasidim made extensive use of *heikhalot* and *Merkabah literature, which they copied and quoted extensively, thus preserving some texts which might otherwise have been lost. They also made use of the works of some of the first medieval theological writers in Hebrew: Shabbetai *Donnolo, *Abraham b. Ḥiyya, and *Judah ha-Nasi of Barcelona; of special significance was the influence of Abraham ibn Ezra and there is hardly a ḥasidic work which does not, directly or indirectly, reflect his influence. However, the basic ideas of the Ashkenazi ḥasidic thinkers came from Saadiah Gaon, whose writings were known to them not in the 12th-century translation by Judah ibn *Tibbon, but from an earlier, poetic paraphrase in which the discursive, philosophical character of the works had been obliterated. No wonder, therefore, that the Ḥasidei Ashkenaz saw Saadiah as a mystic, similar to the ninth-century *Aaron of Baghdad (Abu Aharon) who came from Babylonia to Italy, and on whom they relied for some mystical knowledge, especially in the interpretation of prayer.

Theology

The basic idea which the Ḥasidei Ashkenaz tried to teach was the unity and incorporeality of God, opposing all anthropomorphic descriptions of God. In this their teachings were similar to those of the Jewish philosophers in Spain. The difference, however, lies in their concept of the intermediary powers between God and man. The Ḥasidei Ashkenaz accepted from Saadiah Gaon the idea that a supreme power, the *Kavod* ("Divine Glory"), also called the **Shekhinah*, is the subject of all the anthropomorphic descriptions of God in the Bible, but they differ from him in their concept of the essence of the *Kavod*. According to Saadiah the *Kavod* was created and was one of the angels, though supreme above all. Most of the Ḥasidei Ashkenaz described the *Kavod* as a divine being, emanating from God himself (though they did not have a special word for the concept of emanation, as did the kabbalists). Some writers even described a whole world of many *Kevodot*, thus using the neoplatonic concept of a ladder of emanated beings descending from the Godhead toward the created world. *Kavod* plays a prominent part in the doctrines of the Ḥasidei Ashkenaz: the soul is connected with the *Kavod*, or even emanates from it, and receives its spiritual sustenance from it. Some of the many writings on prayer, prayer exegesis, and instructions on the right way to pray, emphasize that prayer should be directed toward the Godhead itself and not the *Kavod*, thereby suggesting that there were tendencies in the circles of the Ḥasidei Ashkenaz to consider the *Kavod* as a divine entity toward whom prayers should be directed. However, all of them regarded the *Kavod* as the major divine entity exerting influence on events in the lower world.

The theology of the Ḥasidei Ashkenaz is deeply grounded in the idea of divine immanence, and they emphatically state that the Godhead is itself present within all created things, and not the *Kavod*. In this, Saadiah's influence is again paramount. The immanence of God is clearly expressed in the oldest remaining work of the Ḥasidei Ashkenaz, the **Shir ha-Yiḥud*, which was probably composed at the end of the 12th century. The idea of immanence was so central to their theology, that it was questioned why a man should turn toward heaven while praying when God was present everywhere. The answer was that in heaven dwelt the *Kavod*, and this was the revealed part of God, a sign toward which man should turn, though not one toward which he should direct his prayers.

The Ḥasidei Ashkenaz did not regard the regular laws of nature, man, and society as revealing God's true nature. These laws were arbitrary, and sometimes their purpose was adverse to God's intentions; that is, they were created in order to serve as a trial (*nissayon*) for the just and pious who must overcome them. Wonders and unusual happenings, however, and certainly the miracles which occur in the world, do reveal God's true nature, and the pious and learned scholar can interpret them in order to understand better the ways and nature of God. In this connection the Ḥasidim made extensive use of demonological phenomena, regarding them as a kind of miracle and trying to divine some theological moral from the analysis of such phenomena. Thus their literature contains probably the largest extant body of demonological and magical information in medieval Hebrew literature.

Secretly the Ḥasidei Ashkenaz also dealt in messianic speculation, though they tried to conceal this (thus it is almost unmentioned in *Sefer Ḥasidim*). Believing that the messianic age was about to dawn, probably around 1240, they expected retribution to be meted out to the gentiles for all the sufferings undergone by German Jewry in the dreadful age of the Crusades.

[Joseph Dan]

The followers of Ḥasidut Ashkenaz regarded themselves as bearers of a religious consciousness deeper than that generally prevailing and subject to religious duties severer than the accepted ones. The maximum was asked of the person able and willing to take upon himself the "restrictions of Ḥasidut," while a lesser standard sufficed for those who had not entered its circle. From the *tovim* (the "good"), the Ḥasidim (the "pious"), and the *ẓaddikim* (the "righteous"), a maximum of emotional fervor and utmost purification of soul and thought were demanded, together with exact attention to the details of both major and minor precepts. The other members of the community at large were divided into the *ra'im* ("evil ones") and the despotic ones – whom the Ḥasidim fought against – and the *peshutim* ("simple ones") – whom the Ḥasidim guided inasmuch as they were capable of observing and feeling. In its relations with the community and its institutions, the Ḥasidei Ashkenaz therefore fluctuated between two contrasting attitudes: between the desire for leadership and service, and the tendency among its members to seclude themselves in order to live their exalted individual lives.

Their Symbolism

The array of symbols of Ḥasidei Ashkenaz is based to a considerable extent on faith in the strength of the Holy Names and the mystic power of the letters of the Holy Language (Hebrew) and their combinations; these are the channels of man's communication with the celestial worlds, through study and prayer: "Every blessing and prayer … everything … according to its measure and its weight, its letters and its words; if it were not so, then our prayers would, God forbid, be comparable to the song of the uncircumcised nations." Love of the Creator played a dominant role in the doctrine of the Ḥasidei Ashkenaz and among the duties of the Ḥasid; this love must saturate all his senses and resources; its strength must lead him toward joy so that no void remained in his instincts through which sin or the thought of it might penetrate. In the writings of the Ḥasidim the fervor of their emotional love and joy is expressed in symbols and parables drawn from the experiences and emotions of sexual relationships.

"Prayer is called a service like the service on the altar; when the Temple existed, the angels rose heavenward in the flame of the sacrifices … and today … they rise in the prayer which issues from the heart; for prayer is like a ladder. If there is no devotion behind the words of any blessing, the ladder stops there." The perfection of the "ladder" is so conceived that "the pronunciation of every word must be prolonged, so that there is devotion in a man's heart for every word that issues from his mouth" (*Sefer Ḥasidim* no. 11). Inner devotion is achieved through external methods: the letters should be counted. Melodies should be appropriate: "For supplications and demands, a melody which causes the heart to weep; for words of praise, a melody which causes the heart to rejoice." However, he who is not a Ḥasid may be content with general devotion; simple men and women may be exempted from reciting the prayers in Hebrew, and in certain cases even exempted from saying them in their established form, as long as they devote their hearts to their Father in Heaven.

The supreme manifestation of love for God is *Kiddush ha-Shem* ("the sanctification of the Holy Name," i.e., martyrdom), a glory for which the Ḥasid yearns. In this act, he wages the war of the people of God against Christian heresy and serves the Creator by sacrificing his body. The Ḥasidim were among "the first of the martyrs" during periods of persecution. Their courage, their service of the *Kavod* and the Lord, and their self-sacrifice became an example for others.

In ḥasidic doctrine concerning the world and man, there are numerous occult elements. The Jew lives in a world and in a community in which, to a certain extent, the dead continue their association with the living; demons and spirits also encompass man from all sides and Judah he-Ḥasid even believed that they obeyed the *halakhah*. Sorcery is a concrete factor and a common occurrence in people's lives, and the teachings of the Ḥasidim contain many instructions and rules of conduct which serve as a protection against these powers. In these conceptions can be discerned the imprint of Christian superstitions current in their surroundings.

Ethical Views

The Ḥasidim make no reference to two inclinations in man – toward the "good" and the "evil" – and it appears that man is regarded as having only "one inclination"; the way in which this is used determines whether a deed is good or evil. The Ḥasidim therefore taught that the instincts, desires, and longings of the heart were to be turned toward the good side. According to them, mortification of the body was a method of repentance. They taught "commensurate repentance," that is, the acceptance, measure for measure, of affliction and degradation in return for the pleasure and the reward gained from sin; in some details these ideas show the influence of the notions and practices of repentance current among Christian monks. Mortification, however, had a merit of its own: the sufferings of the righteous vindicate the masses: "the Messiah bears the sins" of the nation and it is incumbent upon the Ḥasidim to adhere to this principle. In this approach there is undoubted evidence of Christian influence.

In relations between man and man, they demanded of themselves a mode of behavior according to "the law of Heaven," the application of absolute justice in the fullest sense of its spiritual significance and content; the "law of the Torah" was sufficient only for the man who was not a Ḥasid. There were some Ḥasidim who decided: "When two people come before the rabbi for him to dispense justice, if these two are of a quarrelsome disposition, the rabbi will apply the law of the Torah, even though a contrary decision would be reached according to the law of Heaven; if, however, these two are good and God-fearing men and heedful of the words of the rabbi, he must apply the law of Heaven, even if the law of the Torah requires the opposite." A practical example of this was their willingness to admit the testimony of "honest women." In their statements on the "two laws" lie occasional criticisms of the *halakhah* because of their demand for perfection of the soul. Some said that the punishments detailed in the Torah "corresponded to man's conception of what is unlawful" – that is, in respect of social codes of behavior, but "do not correspond to instinctive awareness" – that is, they do not accord with the standard by which the Ḥasid assesses sin, which gives due consideration to temptations and the difficulty of overcoming them.

From the words of the Ḥasidim there emerges a kind of cynical indifference toward those who mock them; to bear insult in this fashion they regarded as a pious virtue. In this they reveal the reaction of a minority which is resolute in its opinion and convinced of its uniqueness in the face of possible attacks from the majority and a clash with accepted habits. Their place in society can thus be deduced from this aspect of their doctrine. In the eyes of the Ḥasidim "humility for the sake of Heaven" is a virtue which elevates the soul of the individual, and through this the public attains stability and unity. Their extreme candor and their belief in the single uniform instinct in man brought them to realize the dialectic tension which is entailed when the way of life of the minority becomes known and honored by the many. They describe how "others honor themselves with their humility… they are greater than us and yet do not want to take precedence over anyone, as if to say, we are humble."

Social Doctrine

The social doctrine of the Ḥasidim assumes that the original and desirable situation is complete equality in respect of property and social status; inequality is the result of sin. However, they attributed moral significance to the unequal distribution of riches: wealth is given to the rich so that they may sustain the poor. In accordance with this, they were accustomed to give a tenth of their money to charity. Because of this outlook, the Ḥasidim were troubled by the problem of the criterion of uniformity – which does not draw any distinction between rich and poor – in the imposition of taxes and public obligations on individuals. They justified the prevalence of this system in public life through the fear that if individual considerations were taken into account, the "evil ones" would attempt to evade their responsibilities. However, they required that "good ones" judge for themselves, after the general imposition, their ability and duty to see whether they were capable of making restitution to the poor for that which had unjustly been taken from them. R. Judah b. Samuel he-Ḥasid and his colleagues even advised a man to forgo the public honor of a *mitzvah* purchased in the synagogue if someone was prepared to acquire it for a higher price; the reward for this *mitzvah* would belong to him who had relinquished it if he secretly gave to the poor the sum he had previously paid in public for the *mitzvah*.

This outlook resulted in some tension between the circle of the Ḥasidim and the community leaders on several occasions. The writings of the Ḥasidim contain a critical account of these leaders and their deeds; clashes between the leaders of the Ḥasidim and the community are also mentioned. It is evident that the Ḥasidim disapproved of several principles of the leadership, while many others in the community objected to the attempt at practical application of the doctrines of the Ḥasidim within the communities.

To the Ḥasidim family life is the basis and framework of piety. Love between man and woman is legitimate as long as it does not lead to sin; they also considered that this love had a definite spiritual content. A man fasts and prays in order to win the woman he loves. In their writings, they gave considerable thought to matchmaking, believing that love and family descent were commendable and desirable factors and considerations. Family descent was also regarded as a basic element in the preservation of the proper way of life of the community. However, they considered money as a negative factor and consideration in matchmaking, although they did not ignore its importance in practice.

Along with their emotional depth and mysticism, the Ḥasidim also preserved the tradition of meditation and study. Their respect for books is profound: in the *Sefer Ḥasidim*, the "righteous" bewail the fact that their libraries are scattered after their deaths. They believed that it was commendable not to haggle over the price of a book.

The attitude of the Ḥasidim to the non-Jewish world is imbued with the bitterness of those who battle against a successful foe and suffer cruel oppression. But even here, in several instances, it is possible to recognize the influence of the spiritual environment of Christianity and current ideas.

The Ḥasidei Ashkenaz became influential in the Jewish world, while at the same time they adapted many and profound elements foreign to that world. They were marked by a refinement of feeling and simplicity of thought, and were woven together by bonds of personal honesty and responsibility before the Creator. Even at its height, the movement comprised only a small group within German Jewry, but as a result of the example of its leading personalities and its growth from the spiritual climate of the time, it succeeded in leaving its imprint. The testaments and customs of the leading Ḥasidim greatly influenced the general way of life, as well as specific details, conceptions of *halakhah*, and the versions of prayers. From the second half of the 13th century onward they even exerted some influence over Spanish Jewry. The Jews of Poland-Lithuania of the late Middle Ages also pointed out with pride that "we are of the lineage of the Ḥasidei Ashkenaz," although the atmosphere of their social and religious life had undergone many changes since the time of the Ḥasidim.

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ḤASIDEI UMMOT HA-OLAM (Heb. חֲסִידֵי אֻמּוֹת הָעוֹלָם, lit., "The pious ones of the nations of the world"), a rabbinic term denoting righteous gentiles. The concept is first found (albeit in a limited form) in the Midrash. The *Yalkut Shimoni*, for instance, explains that the verse "Let thy priests be clothed with righteousness..." (Ps. 132:9) refers to "the righteous of other nations who are priests to the Holy One in this world, like Antoninus and his type" (Yal. Isa. 429). The notion that the *ḥasidei ummot ha-olam* also merit a place in the world to come (a true sign of their worthiness) is found in the Tosefta, which teaches that they are as eligible as any member of the House of Israel to a share in the hereafter (Tosef., Sanh. 13:2). This dictum is twice codified by Maimonides (Yad, Teshuvah 3:5), who also defines the concept (Yad, Melakhim 8:11): "All who observe the Seven Commandments"—obligatory to the descendants of Noah (see Noachide *laws) are *ḥasidei ummot ha-olam*, provided that they are motivated by belief in the divine origin and the authenticity of Moses' prophecy, and not by mere intellectual cogency. In the latter case they are to be considered only as "wise ones of the other nations" (*ḥakhmeihem*, according to some versions). Without specifically naming the righteous gentiles, Maimonides also equates "all human beings who ardently seek God... desire to worship Him, to know Him, and to walk uprightly in His ways...", with priests and levites (Yad, Shemittah 13:13). The concept of *ḥasidei ummot ha-olam* was elaborated and embellished in medieval Jewish literature. It is mentioned by such philosophers as Hasdai *Crescas (*Or Adonai* no. 364:4) and *Abrabanel (introduction to commentary to Isaiah), R. Isaac *Arama states, "Every true pious gentile is equal to a 'son of Israel'" (*Akedat Yiẓḥak*, ed. Venice, ch. 60). The concept is mentioned in a legal context in the Shulḥan Arukh (YD 367:1, Be'er ha-Golah). The Zohar states that all gentiles who do not hate Israel, and who deal justly with the Jews, qualify as *ḥasidei ummot ha-olam* (Exodus, 268a).

Since World War II the term has been used for those non-Jews who helped Jews to escape the Nazi persecutions. (See *Righteous Among the Nations.)

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[H. Elchanan Blumenthal]

ḤASIDIM (Heb. חֲסִידִים, "pietists"), term used in rabbinic literature to designate those who maintained a higher standard in observing the religious and moral commandments. The various definitions in rabbinic literature of the *ḥasid*, and the more numerous accounts given there of them and their actions, clearly indicate that the image of the *ḥasid* was not identical at all times and in all circles. The sources reflect a broad spectrum of religious types, each distinguished in its own way, but common to all is a divergence from what was regarded as conventional behavior and the normal standard that was deemed praiseworthy, as is evident from the appellation *ḥasid*.

The precise period of the *ḥasidim ha-rishonim* ("first ḥasidim") mentioned in rabbinic literature cannot be determined. Statements about them recount their virtues, which were utter devotion to fulfilling the *mitzvot* with a total disregard of any danger, extreme solicitude for human relations to the extent of transcending the strict requirements of the law, a fear of sin expressed by avoiding anything that might possibly lead astray or to the commission of sin, and by a constant readiness to undergo purification and to seek atonement for any doubtful sin by offering sacrifices. Before praying the early *ḥasidim* would meditate for an hour in order to direct their hearts to God (Ber. 5:1), nor did they interrupt their prayers even in the face of possible danger (Tosef., Ber. 3:20; TB, Ber. 32b). They refrained on a weekday from doing anything that involved the slightest apprehension of ultimately desecrating the Sabbath (Nid. 38a). They would bury thorns and broken glass deep in their fields, "placing them three handbreaths deep in the ground so that the plow might not displace them" and people stumble over them (Tosef., BK 2:6). The *tanna* R. Judah stated that "the early *ḥasidim* were eager to bring a sin offering," but since they did not inadvertently commit sins "they made a free-will vow of naziriteship that they might bring a sin offering" (Tosef., Ned. 1:1; TB, Ned. 10a). They were accustomed to making a free-will offering of a suspensive guilt offering (*asham talui*), and this type of sacrifice "became known as the guilt-offering of the *ḥasidim*" (Ker. 6:3; Tosef., Ker. 4:4).

Akin to the *ḥasidim ha-rishonim* are the "*ḥasidim* and men of action" (*ḥasidim ve-anshei ma'aseh*). This phrase does not indicate two distinct groups of people – the *ḥasidim* were so called on account of the special good deeds which they performed and the miracles vouchsafed them by virtue of these good deeds. The only extant tradition states that during the "Rejoicing of the Water-drawing" (*simḥat bet ha-sho'evah*) "they used to dance with lighted torches and sing songs and praises." Some of them used to say, "Happy my youth, that has not put to shame my old age"; others, "Happy my old age, that has atoned for my youth" (Suk. 5:4; Tosef., Suk. 4:2). Outstanding representatives of the "*ḥasidim* and men of action" were *Ḥoni ha-Me'aggel, his grandsons *Abba Hilkiah and Ḥanan ha-Neḥba (Ta'an. 23a), and *Ḥanina b. Dosa who lived at the end of the Second Temple period and whom the Mishnah regards as the last of the "men of action" (Sot. 9:15; the reading in TJ is "*ḥasidim*"). These men did not belong to the class of the halakhists, and there was even certain opposition to them (cf. Ta'an. 23a; Ber. 34b). Expressive of their deep faith and implicit belief in God's omnipotence are the deeds of the "*ḥasidim* and men of action" and the remarks that accompanied them on various occasions. Thus Ḥanina b. Dosa entertained no doubts when he said, "He who commanded oil to burn will also command vinegar to burn" (Ta'an 25a), for to them the miraculous was regarded as quite natural. When a poisonous lizard bit Ḥanina b. Dosa and died, he brought it on his shoulder to the *bet ha-midrash*, commenting simply: "See, my sons, it is not the lizard that kills, it is sin that kills" (Ber. 33a). The contents, motifs, and form of several stories related in the sources about "a certain *ḥasid*" (e.g., Tosef., Pe'ah 3:8; TJ, Shab. 15:3, 15a; BK 50b, 80a) indicate that the stories refer to these early ones (BK 103b). A difficulty is posed by the statement that "wherever the Talmud speaks of a certain *ḥasid* it refers either to Judah b. Bava or Judah b. Ilai" (Tem. 15b). However, this may mean no more than that these *tannaim* were the ones who reported such stories.

Despite the differences in time and conditions, the conduct and deeds of the *ḥasidim* and men of action bear a certain resemblance to the stories in the Bible about the earlier prophets, in that their influence derived not from the power of their exhortations but from the force of their deeds, courage, and sense of dedication. The rabbis gave expression to this in their homiletical interpretation of Genesis 2:5, "And there was not man to till the ground," on which they commented: "There was no man to cultivate people's allegiance to God, such as Elijah and Ḥoni ha-Me'aggel" (Gen. R. 7; and see Theodor-Albeck, 117, n. 5).

The early *ḥasidim* created no organization or sect but were active as individuals, each in his own vicinity and time. Nor can they be identified with the *Essenes, as various scholars from the 19th century onward (Frankel, Geiger, Derenboug, Kohler) have sought to do, for what is known about them does not accord with the descriptions of the Essenes in Philo, Josephus, Pliny, and others. Y. Baer has assigned to the "early *ḥasidim*" a central place in the history of Second Temple times, identifying them with the sages who flourished in the pre-Hasmonean period. Thus he contends that the Great Synagogue was a development of *ḥasidim* and sages, that its continuity was preserved by the *zugot, and that these *ḥasidim* are to be identified with the Essenes and with Philo's *Therapeutae. He believes that they were the first exponents of the *halakhah* as embedded in the earliest layers of the Mishnah, and that they laid the foundations of the entire structure of faith as reflected in the ascetic-spiritual-martyrological aspects of statements in the *aggadah*, Midrash, and Philo's writings. This account of them does not, however, accord with what is reported in rabbinic sources about the early *ḥasidim* and their activities. They were not the creators of the ancient *halakhah*, nor the initiators of a philosophic and mystical teaching. The fact that they lived a simple and modest life with a minimum of material needs – "Ḥanina my son is satisfied with a *kav* of carobs from one Sabbath eve to another" (Ta'an. 24b) – does not constitute asceticism. Manifestations of abstinence among talmudic scholars are not remnants of outworn ancient ascetic teaching of the early *ḥasidim*, but are connected with the circumstances of a much later period. Moreover, the tannaitic period preserved a memory of them as being specifically distinguished and separated from the sages as a whole. Furthermore, the type of *ḥasid* of that period differed in outlook from the early *ḥasidim*. Thus *Hillel, who in his teachings incorporated ideas inherited from the early *ḥasidim*, is the author of the aphorism that "an ignorant person cannot be a *ḥasid*" (Avot 2:5). Nor could there be any piety without the study and knowledge of the Torah (see ARN^{1} 12, 56; ARN^{2} 27, 56). When Hillel died, they said of him: "Alas, the humble man, alas the *ḥasid* [is no more]" (Tosef., Sot. 13:4), his eminence in the Torah having been combined with humility (Lev. R. 1:5), and with implicit trust in the Almighty (Ber. 60a), and "all his actions were for the sake of Heaven." But Hillel, whose personality comprised many other aspects as well, was not regarded as one of the early *ḥasidim*, and yet precisely he and those who followed in his footsteps represent the *ḥasid*-sage.

Generally the term *ḥasid* came later to refer to ideal and exemplary behavior in some sphere of life. A *ḥasid* is one who declares "what is mine is yours, and what is yours is yours" (Avot 5:10) and "he whom it is hard to provoke and easy to pacify" (*ibid.* 5:11). This and other definitions are far removed from the ways of the early *ḥasidim*. There was moreover a definite line of abstinence and of extreme asceticism which reached full maturity and became a characteristic feature of the *ḥasid* only in the amoraic period. This trend started after the destruction of the Second Temple "when the abstinent ones increased in Israel" (Tosef., Sot. 14:11), seeking in fasts a substitute for atonement, now denied to them with the cessation of sacrifices. At the beginning of the second century these expressions of abstinence vanished but reappeared to spread with greater force during the persecutions following the Bar Kokhba revolt. Ben Azzai, of whom it was said that "whoever sees Ben Azzai in a dream can hope to attain piety" (Ber. 57b), proclaimed extreme abstinence from all earthly pursuits, declaring, "Let the world be sustained by others" (Tosef., Yev. 8:4; Yev. 63b). A similar circumstance is reflected in R. Meir's homiletical interpretation that "Adam was a great *ḥasid*" (see Er. 18b; Gen. R. 20, ed. Theodor-Albeck, 195). At the end of the tannaitic period there once again appear sages who, in their extreme demands, spontaneous reactions, and miraculous deeds, are reminiscent of the early *ḥasidim* and the men of action. Of such a type was *Phinehas b. Jair who defined and enumerated the steps leading to *ḥasidut* regarded by him as a stage in the attainment of the holy spirit (Sot. 9:15).

In the amoraic period extreme conclusions were drawn from Akiva's principle that suffering is to be lovingly accepted as the ultimate goal of anyone who serves God, the same interpretation being applied to man's normal suffering – and not only to times of persecution – as a punishment for sins. But while a *ḥasid* therefore prays that he may suffer, not everyone is privileged to have such prayers answered, and accordingly some pious *amoraim*, instead of awaiting suffering, deliberately afflicted and mortified themselves. This was done by Ḥiyya b. Ashi (Kid. 81b), Zera (BM 85a), Mar b. Ravina (Pes. 68b). Not that all the *amoraim* agreed that self-denial entitled one to be called a *ḥasid* (Ta'an. 11b), Simeon b. Lakish declaring that "a scholar may not afflict himself by fasting because thereby he lessens his heavenly work" (*ibid*). There were also *amoraim* called "*ḥasid*," such as Ameram the Ḥasid (Kid. 81a; Git. 67b), Simeon the Ḥasid (Ber. 43b) and Mar Zutra (Ned. 7b), who acquired this title not on account of acts of mortification but of other virtues and deeds. The Ḥasid Huna declared anyone who has a fixed place for prayer to be a *ḥasid* (Ber. 6b), R. Alexandri that "whoever hears someone curse him and keeps silent is called a *ḥasid*" (Mid. Ps. to 16:11). A certain criticism was leveled against "the *ḥasidim* of Babylonia" – the *amoraim* Huna, Ḥisda, and Naḥman – in the Babylonian Talmud itself, which disparagingly contrasted their humility and courtesy with those of the Ereẓ Israel sages, although the latter were known for their hardness (Meg. 28b; and see Ḥul. 122a). In principle, the *ḥasid* is one who does more than is required of him by the letter of the law, and *halakhot* which go beyond the strict legal requirements are termed by the *amoraim* "the Mishnah of the *ḥasidim*" (TJ, Ter. 8:10, 46b; or "the measure of the *ḥasidim*" (BM 52b). The popular test of a *ḥasid* was if his prayer for rain was answered (Ta'an. 23b). In the days of both the *tannaim* and the *amoraim* the sages were displeased with ignorant people who adopted the standards of the *ḥasid* (Shab. 121b; and see TJ, Av. Zar 2:3, 41a). Simeon b. Lakish even maintained that "if an ignorant man is a *ḥasid*, do not dwell in his vicinity" (Shab. 63a). On R. Joshua's statement in the Mishnah that a foolish *ḥasid* is to be included among those who bring destruction upon the world, the two Talmuds quote instances of the *ḥasid* who, on account of his rigid observance of the *mitzvot* and of his abstinence, refrains from saving his fellow from death (TJ, Sot. 3:4, 19a; TB Sot., 21b).

Colloquially, the term "*ḥasid*" was used to designate a just, upright, and good person, this inexact usage being sometimes found also in literary sources: "it fits him to become just, *ḥasid*, upright, and faithful" (Avot 6:1); "even as the earlier righteous men were *ḥasidim*" (ARN^{1} 8, 38; and see TJ, Sanh. 6:9, 23c, where *Simeon b. Shetaḥ and someone who flourished in the days of King David are referred to as *ḥasidim*). Inscriptions on Jewish epitaphs at Bet She'arim and in Italy contain, alongside δίκαιος ("righteous"), the term ὅσιος which is found in the Septuagint both for *ḥasid* and for *yashar*, an upright man.

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[*Encyclopaedia Hebraica*]

ḤASIDIM, SEFER (Heb. סֵפֶר חֲסִידִים, "Book of the Pious"), major work in the field of ethics, produced by the Jews of medieval Germany. It comprises the ethical teachings of the *Ḥasidei Ashkenaz movement in the 12th and early 13th centuries. Two versions of the book have survived, one printed in Bologna and the other found in manuscript in Parma.

Tradition attributes the entire *Sefer Ḥasidim* to R. *Judah he-Ḥasid (the Pious) of Regensburg (d. 1217), the great teacher of Ashkenazi Ḥasidism. There is some proof, however, that the first two "*maḥbarot*" (groups into which the book is divided) of the Parma version were written by Judah's father, R. Samuel b. Kalonymus he-Ḥasid. This is substantiated by a study of their style. These two "*maḥbarot*" discuss the fear of God and repentance. Some of the passages in *Sefer Ḥasidim* bear close similarity, in language and ideas, to the ethical introductions to the *Roke'aḥ*, the halakhic work by R. Eleazar of Worms. A number of scholars, therefore, conclude that R. Eleazar, R. Judah's most prominent disciple, was the author of some of the passages in *Sefer Ḥasidim*, and probably its editor. It is equally possible, however, that R. Eleazar used portions of the *Sefer Ḥasidim* in his writings, as he did with other mystical works of his teacher. No conclusive proof is to be found as to what extent R. Eleazar participated in the authorship of the work; whereas there is a clear statement by R. Judah's son, Moses, describing how R. Judah wrote two pages of *Sefer Ḥasidim* (Ms. Guenzburg 82, 64b) in the last week of his life. It can be concluded that *Sefer Ḥasidim* was written by R. Judah he-Ḥasid, and that some material was added to it from the writings of his father R. Samuel. A problem nevertheless exists regarding the origin and development of the work. Some of the earliest quotations from the *Sefer Ḥasidim* found in the Ashkenazi ḥasidic writings of the first half of the 13th century are in neither of the two known versions. It is possible that parts of the original *Sefer Ḥasidim* were lost early in the development of the two versions that survived.

Many of the passages in *Sefer Ḥasidim* are homiletic and exegetic in nature, explaining the ethical, and sometimes the philosophical or mystical, meanings of biblical verses or talmudic sayings. Most of the passages, however, discuss only ethics, and do so in direct connection with everyday life. *Sefer Ḥasidim* is the prime example of pragmatic and realistic ethical teachings in Jewish ethical literature; it takes into account the special characteristic of every case, the psychology of the person discussed, the historical and economic situation, and the person's special relationship to other people. This approach renders *Sefer Ḥasidim* the most important historical source for the study of everyday Jewish life in medieval Germany; it throws light especially on economic and religious relations of Jews with gentiles. The book has some descriptions of actual incidents, clarifying the situation in Germany during and after the disasters brought by the crusaders on Jews in Germany and France. Later Jewish ethical works influenced by *Sefer Ḥasidim* retained its strict and uncompromising adherence not only to the commandments, but to the entire body of religious ethics. The book instructs the pious man how to resist temptation and avoid any situation which may lead to sin. It teaches how to dress, to speak, to pray, to work, and to sleep; how to choose a wife and to select friends; how to harmonize between the necessities of existence and the requirements of religious life; which city is suitable for a pious person to live in and which is not; the right relationship between teacher and pupil; how to choose a righteous teacher; in what fields one may have commercial contact with gentiles and how to treat them, and many other subjects. No other Hebrew work in ethics covers so much ground and devotes such close attention to realistic detail. All later writers in the field of ethics in Ashkenazi literature used *Sefer Ḥasidim* as a basis; many of them added very little to what they had taken from it. After the 15th century, writers of *halakhah* used the work as an authority, sometimes the final authority, on the Jewish way of life.

The Bologna version was printed in 1538 and later in numerous other places (including Jerusalem 1957, edited by R. Margaliot). The Parma manuscript was published by J. Wistinetzky (Berlin, 1891–94) and in 1924 at Frankfurt, with an introduction by J. Freimann. The manuscripts found in a number of libraries are incomplete, each containing only a tenth of the whole work. Scholars who have compared the two versions reached the conclusion that the Parma one was the earlier and more reliable. It comprises more than 1,900 passages, whereas the Bologna version has less than 1,200. The Parma version has many duplications and inconsistencies, which were either omitted or harmonized in the Bologna edition. There the passages are better arranged and a system is apparent, whereas the Parma manuscript seems, in places, unedited and chaotic. The Bologna edition was probably edited and changed later by an editor who may have lived in France, probably before 1300. In the Parma version the transliterated vernacular words are in "German," whereas in the Bologna edition they are in "French."

The book is compiled from independent passages (*simanim*), arranged in groups (*maḥbarot*), sometimes under titles describing the subject of the single group (*maḥberet*), e.g., "witchcraft," "books," "prayer," etc. Titles such as "This is the Book of the Just" (*Sefer Ḥasidim*), "*Sefer Ḥasidim* on the Book of Proverbs," or "This also is *Sefer Ḥasidim*" are to be found in the Parma version as well. It is evident that the book was compiled from smaller collections which themselves were compiled from independent passages.

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[Joseph Dan]

ḤASIDISM, a popular religious movement giving rise to a pattern of communal life and leadership as well as a particular social outlook which emerged in Judaism and Jewry in the second half of the 18th century. Ecstasy, mass enthusiasm, close-knit group cohesion, and charismatic leadership of one kind or another are the distinguishing socioreligious marks of Ḥasidism.

This article is arranged according to the following outline:

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  - **Early Opposition**
  - **Ḥasidism and Haskalah**
  - **Martin Buber and His Successors**
- DEVELOPMENTS IN ḤASIDISM AFTER 1970
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  - **Descendants of First Generation**
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- THE MUSICAL TRADITION OF ḤASIDISM
  - **Problems of Definition and Research**
  - **The Place of Music in Ḥasidic Thought**
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    - THE REBBE AS MUSICAL LEADER
    - THE MUSICAL GENRES
  - **Tradition and Renewal in Ḥasidic Music**
  - **Research and Collections**

HISTORY

Beginnings and Development

The movement began in the extreme southeast of *Poland-Lithuania, and was shaped and conditioned by the tension prevailing in Jewish society in the difficult circumstances created by the breakup of Poland-Lithuania in the late 18th century and the three partitions of the country. This combined with the problems inherited as a result of both the *Chmielnicki massacres and the *Haidamack massacres. The framework of Jewish leadership was shaken, and the authority and methods of Jewish leaders were further undermined and questioned in the wake of the upheaval brought about by the false messianic and kabbalistic movements of *Shabbetai Ẓevi and Jacob *Frank, the shadow of the latter lying on Ḥasidism from its inception. As well as furnishing an ideological background, *Kabbalah, combined with popular traditions of ecstasy and mass enthusiasm, provided constructive elements for a new outlook in religious and social behavior. The earlier messianic movements and authoritarianism of the community leaders prevailing at that time, combined with the necessarily individualistic leadership of the opposition to such authoritarianism, coalesced to accustom the Jewish masses to charismatic as well as authoritative leadership. Mystic circles in Poland-Lithuania in the 18th century combined to create ḥasidic groups (*ḥavurot*) with a distinct pattern of life, mostly ascetic, sometimes with their own synagogue (for example, the so-called *kloyz* of the ascetic Ḥasidim of *Brody). These circles were noted for their special behavior during prayer, for their meticulous observance of the commandments, and also by their daily life. Their prayers were arranged for the most part according to the Sephardi version of Isaac *Luria. They were not looked upon favorably by the official institutions of the community because of the danger of separatism and because of their deviation from the accepted religious customs. Some among them secluded themselves, and spent their days fasting and undergoing self-mortification. Others were ecstatic – "serving the Lord with joy." These groups were quite small and closed; their influence upon the general public was very small.

At first, *Israel b. Eliezer Ba'al Shem Tov (the Besht) appears to have been one of a number of leaders characterized

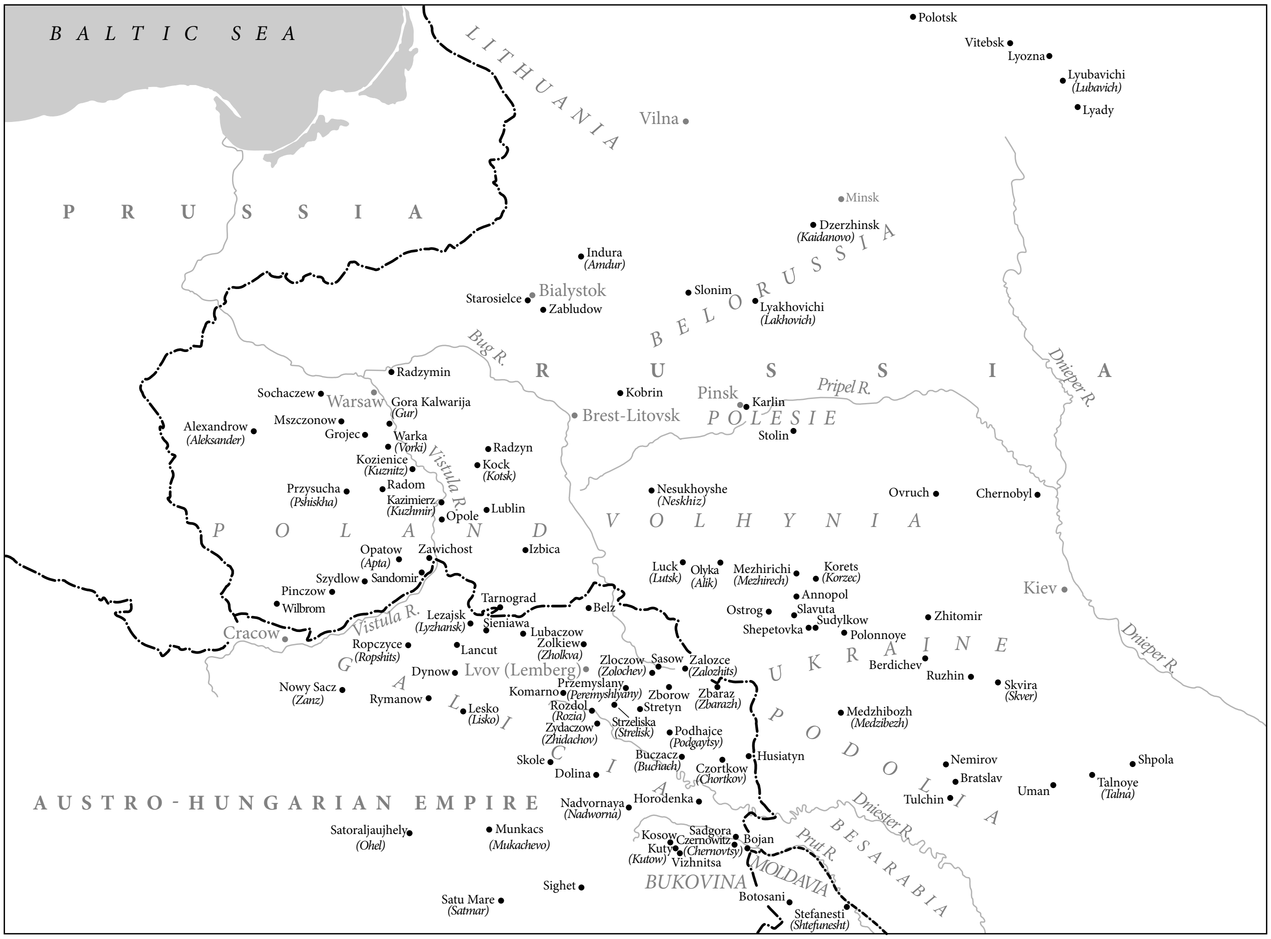
BALTIC SEA
LITHUANIA
PRUSSIA
Polotsk
Vitebsk
Lyozna
Lyubavichi
(Lubavich)
Lyady
Vilna
Minsk
Dzerzhinsk
(Kaidanovo)
BELORUSSIA
Indura
(Amdur)
Starosielce
Bialystok
Zabludow
Slonim
Lyakhovichi
(Lakhovich)
Bug R.
RUSSIA
Dnieper R.
Radzymin
Sochaczew
Warsaw
Gora Kalwarija
(Gur)
Kobrin
Brest-Litovsk
Pinsk
Karlin
Pripet R.
POLESIE
Stolin
Alexandrow
(Aleksander)
Mszczonow
Grojec
Warka
(Vorki)
Kozienice
(Kuznitz)
Vistula R.
Radzyn
Kock
(Kotsk)
Przysucha
(Pshiskha)
Radom
Kazimierz
(Kuzhmir)
Opole
Lublin
Nesukhoyshe
(Neskhiz)
Ovruch
Chernobyl
POLAND
VOLHYNIA
Opatow
(Apta)
Zawichost
Izbica
Szydlow
Sandomir
Pinczow
Wilbrom
Luck
(Lutsk)
Olyka
(Alik)
Mezhirichi
(Mezhirech)
Korets
(Korzec)
Annopol
Kiev
Tarnograd
Belz
Ostrog
Slavuta
Sudylkow
Shepetovka
Polonnoye
Zhitomir
Cracow
Vistula R.
Lezajsk
(Lyzhansk)
Sieniawa
Lubaczow
Zolkiew
(Zholkva)
Ropczyce
(Ropshits)
Lancut
Dynow
Lvov (Lemberg)
Zloczow
(Zolochev)
Sasow
Zalozce
(Zalozhits)
UKRAINE
Berdichev
Ruzhin
Skvira
(Skver)
Dnieper R.
Nowy Sacz
(Zanz)
Rymanow
Lesko
(Lisko)
Komarno
Przemyslany
(Peremyshlyany)
Zborow
Zbaraz
(Zbarazh)
Rozdol
(Rozia)
Stretyn
Zydaczow
(Zhidachov)
Strzeliska
(Strelisk)
Podhajce
(Podgaytsy)
Medzhibozh
(Medzibezh)
GALICIA
PODOLIA
Skole
Dolina
Buczacz
(Buchach)
Czortkow
(Chortkov)
Husiatyn
Nemirov
Bratslav
Tulchin
Uman
Talnoye
(Talna)
Shpola
AUSTRO-HUNGARIAN EMPIRE
Nadvornaya
(Nadworna)
Horodenka
Dniester R.
Satoraljaujhely
(Ohel)
Munkacs
(Mukachevo)
Kosow
Sadgora
Czernowitz
(Chernovtsy)
Bojan
Kuty
(Kutow)
Vizhnitsa
Prut R.
BESARABIA
MOLDAVIA
Sighet
BUKOVINA
Satu Mare
(Satmar)
Botosani
Stefanesti
(Shtefunesht)

Main centers of Ḥasidism in Europe. Alternative names in Yiddish, Polish, Russian, and German are given in parentheses.

by ecstatic behavior and an anti-ascetic outlook. A popular healer who worked with magic formulas, amulets, and spells, he attracted to his court, first at Tolstoye and then at Medzibozh, people who came to be cured, to join him in ecstatic prayer, and to receive guidance from him. Israel also undertook journeys, spreading his influence as far as Lithuania. After his "revelation" in the 1730s, which marked the beginning of his public mission, he gradually became the leader of ḥasidic circles; drawn by his personality and visions, more and more people were attracted to the ḥasidic groups, first in Podolia, then in adjacent districts in southeast Poland-Lithuania. Unfortunately it is not possible to fix their number but more than 30 are known by name. Both Israel himself and his whole circle were deeply convinced of his supernatural powers and believed in his visions. Some who came within his orbit continued to oppose him to some degree (see *Abraham Gershon of Kutow, *Naḥman of Horodenko, and *Naḥman of Kosov); under his influence others turned away from ascetic talmudic scholarship to become the theoreticians and leaders of Ḥasidism and Israel's disciples (see *Dov Baer of Mezhirech and *Jacob Joseph of Polonnoye). At his death (1760) Israel left, if not a closely knit group, then at least a highly admiring and deeply convinced inner circle of disciples, surrounded by an outer fringe of former leaders of other ḥasidic groups who adhered to him while dissenting from his views to some extent, and a broad base of devout admirers in the townships and villages of southeast Poland-Lithuania. His outlook and vision attracted simple people as well as great talmudic scholars, established rabbis, and influential **maggidim*.

After a brief period of uncertainty (c. 1760–66), the leadership of the second generation of the movement passed to Dov Baer of Mezhirech (known as the great *maggid* of Mezhirech), although he was opposed by many of Israel's most prominent disciples (e.g., Phinehas Shapiro of Korets and Jacob Joseph of Polonnoye), and many of this inner circle of his opponents withdrew from active leadership, a fact of great significance for the history of Ḥasidism. Nevertheless, Ḥasidism continued to propagate and spread. *Toledot Ya'akov Yosef* (1780), by Jacob Joseph of Polonnoye, embodied the first written theoretical formulation of Ḥasidism, transmitting many of the sayings, interpretations, and traditions of Israel Ba'al Shem Tov, and Jacob Joseph continued with these expositions in subsequent works. From Dov Baer's court missionaries went forth who were successful in attracting many scholars to Ḥasidism and sending them to the master at Mezhirech to absorb his teaching. Due to illness he did not often meet with his disciples. Unlike the Ba'al Shem Tov he was not a man of the people, and favored young scholars whose intellectual foundation did not dampen their ecstatic tendencies. From the new center at Volhynia, Ḥasidism thus spread northward into Belorussia and Lithuania and westward into Galicia and central Poland (see *Shneur Zalman of Lyady, *Levi Isaac of Berdichev, Aaron (the Great) of *Karlin, and Samuel Shmelke *Horowitz). At this time Ḥasidism even penetrated into the center of opposition to it, in Vilna. Many local ḥasidic leaders became influential as communal leaders and local rabbis.

Ḥasidic groups went to Ereẓ Israel creating a far-flung and influential center of ḥasidic activity, notably in Tiberias. Israel Ba'al Shem Tov intended to go to Ereẓ Israel, but for some unknown reason turned back in the middle of the journey. His brother-in-law Abraham Gershon of Kutow went there in 1747, settled in Hebron, and six years later moved to Jerusalem where he established contact with the mystical group "Beth El," which had been founded by the Yemenite kabbalist Sar Shalom *Sharabi. Other Ḥasidim went to Ereẓ Israel, some settling in Tiberias. The newcomers made no notable impression on the Jews settled there. In 1777 a group of Ḥasidim of Ryzhin emigrated to the Holy Land under the leadership of *Menahem Mendel of Vitebsk. There were many who joined the caravan who were not members of the ḥasidic camp, and it numbered at the time of its arrival in Ereẓ Israel about 300 people. The newcomers settled in Safed but after a short while Menahem Mendel and some of his followers moved to Tiberias. Some remained in Safed, others moved to Peki'in, and so it was that the Ḥasidim spread over Jewish Galilee. Even in the very year of their immigration persecution against the Ḥasidim began in Galilee, for *Mitnaggedim* in Lithuania sent collections of "evidence" against the Ḥasidim after they had left. The Sephardim in Safed participated in the controversy and sided with the *Mitnaggedim*. In 1784 Menahem Mendel built a house for himself and in it there was a synagogue. The Ḥasidim sent emissaries to collect money on their behalf and laid the foundation in Ryzhin, Lithuania, and in other places for the permanent support of the Ḥasidim of the Galilee.

The basic pattern of ḥasidic leadership and succession emerged in the third generation of the movement (c. 1773–1815). The spread and growth of Ḥasidism, both geographically and in numbers, the diversified and illustrious leadership of charismatic individuals who became heads of local centers, each developing his own style of teaching and interpretation of the ḥasidic way of life, the breakup of former lines of communication and of cultural ties caused by the partitions of Poland-Lithuania (1772, 1793, and 1795), and last but not least the pressures brought to bear on ḥasidic communities by the struggle against Ḥasidism – all these factors contributed to the decentralization of leadership of the ḥasidic world and consequently to an ever-growing diversification of ḥasidic thought and variation in the ḥasidic way of life. From this generation onward, there were always a number of contemporaneous leaders, each claiming the allegiance of his followers. In the main, both leadership and allegiance were handed down from generation to generation and thus arose both the dynasties of ḥasidic *ẓaddikim* and the hereditary camps of their followers. At times the living charismatic force reasserted itself anew, as in the case of *Jacob Isaac ha-Ḥozeh ("the seer") of Lublin, who began to lead a community in the lifetime of his master, *Elimelech of Lyzhansk, without his blessing, or Jacob Isaac *Przysucha who led a community in the lifetime of his master, though without leaving him. Descent from the first leaders of Ḥasidism did not inevitably guarantee preeminence (see *Abraham b. Dov of Mezhirech) nor was it a defense against bitter attacks on unconventional leadership (see *Naḥman of Bratslav, the great-grandson of the Ba'al Shem Tov).

In this third generation, the new pattern of leadership assured the victory of Ḥasidism over its opponents and its increasing spread throughout Eastern Europe. With the inclusion of Galicia in the Austrian Empire, Ḥasidism also gained adherents among Hungarian Jewry (see *Teitelbaum family, *Mukachevo). At this time Ḥasidism also developed systematic schools of theology, such as the more intellectual and study-centered *Ḥabad Ḥasidism. Some ḥasidic personalities, like Levi Isaac of Berdichev, were venerated by all Jewry as models of piety and love of humanity. The spiritual outlook and pattern of leadership of the practical *ẓaddik* (see below) also crystallized in this generation. Clearly, with such diversification in leadership and attitudes, from this generation on there was considerable and open tension between the various dynasties and courts of Ḥasidism, which sometimes flared up into bitter and prolonged conflicts (see, for example, *Naḥman of Bratslav, *Belz, *Gora Kalwaria (Gur), *Mukachevo, *Kotsk).

By the 1830s the main surge of the spread of Ḥasidism was over. From a persecuted sect it had become the way of life and leadership structure of the majority of Jews in the Ukraine, Galicia, and central Poland, and had sizable groups of followers in Belorussia-Lithuania and Hungary. With the great waves of emigration to the West from 1881, Ḥasidism was carried into Western Europe and especially to the United States. In the West its character was gradually, but ever more rapidly, diluted and its influence became more external and formal. With the abatement of the struggle against Ḥasidism by the end of its third generation and its acceptance as part of the Orthodox camp, Ḥasidism attained the distinction of being the first religious trend in Judaism since the days of the Second Temple which had a self-defined way of life and recognizable rite of worship, but yet was acknowledged (albeit somewhat grudgingly) by those who differed from it as a legitimate Jewish phenomenon.

Opposition to Ḥasidism

This recognition came only after a bitter struggle. However, only in Lithuania and possibly Ryzhin in the last 30 years of the

18th century did this struggle show clear signs of an organized movement. Except for this period, the opposition to Ḥasidism was confined to local controversies. The anti-ḥasidic camp was inspired by the ideas, fears, and personality of *Elijah b. Solomon Zalman, the Gaon of Vilna, who influenced the communal leadership to follow him in his opposition to Ḥasidism. To the Gaon, Ḥasidism's ecstasy, the visions seen and miracles wrought by its leaders, and its enthusiastic way of life were so many delusions, dangerous lies, and idolatrous worship of human beings. Ḥasidic stress on prayer seemed to him to overturn the Jewish scale of values in which study of the Torah and intellectual endeavor in this field were the main path to God. Aspersions were also cast on Ḥasidism because of the supposed hidden influence of the secret teachings of Shabbateanism and in particular of the almost contemporaneous Jacob Frank. Various ḥasidic changes in the knives for **shehitah*, and even more so in their change from the Ashkenazi to the Sephardi prayer rite, were seen as a challenge to Orthodoxy and a revolutionary rejection of traditional authority.

Writings of rabbis contemporaneous with the Besht reveal some suspicion and derision (Moses b. Jacob of Satanov in his *Mishmeret ha-Kodesh*, Solomon b. Moses *Chelm in his *Mirkevet ha-Mishneh*, and Ḥayyim ha-Kohen *Rapoport). In 1772 the first and second **ḥerem* were proclaimed against the Ḥasidim, ḥasidic works were burned, and the first pamphlet against Ḥasidism, *Zemir Ariẓim ve-Ḥorvot Ẓurim*, was published. The Ḥasidim countered with a *ḥerem* of their own and with burning the *Zemir Ariẓim*; at the same time Menahem Mendel of Vitebsk and Shneur Zalman of Lyady tried to approach Elijah of Vilna, but to no avail. In 1781 another harsh *ḥerem* was proclaimed against the Ḥasidim: "They must leave our communities with their wives and children… and they should not be given a night's lodging; their *sheḥitah* is forbidden; it is forbidden to do business with them and to intermarry with them, or to assist at their burial."

The struggle sharpened during the 1780s and in particular in the 1790s. Not infrequently both Ḥasidim and their opponents denounced each other to the secular authorities (see *Avigdor b. Joseph Ḥayyim, *Shneur Zalman of Lyady), leading to arrests of various ḥasidic leaders and mutual calumnies of a grave nature. With the crystallization of the movement of the *Mitnaggedim* in Jewish Lithuania on the one hand and the appearance of the *Haskalah as an enemy common to all Orthodoxy on the other, the bitterness and ferocity of the struggle between Ḥasidism and its opponents abated, though basic differences remained on estimation of the Jewish scale of values, the place of the leadership of *ẓaddikim*, and the permissibility of certain ecstatic traits of the ḥasidic way of life; sometimes latent and sometimes active, these differences never wholly subsided. The code for the Jews which came out in Russia in 1804 permitted each Jewish sect to build special synagogues for itself and to choose special rabbis for itself, and thus legalization was given to the Ḥasidim in Russia. In the conflict between the *Mitnaggedim* and the Ḥasidim, it was the Ḥasidim who were eventually victorious.

The wars of Napoleon and especially his Russian campaign (1812) aroused a strong reaction among the Jewish community. The Jews of Poland and Russia were located on opposite sides of the front. These wars gave birth to many ḥasidic traditions, whose degree of trustworthiness is unknown. According to them *ẓaddikim* "participated" in the battles, giving their magical thrust for one side or the other. In addition to the legendary material, there are two tested facts. Levi Isaac of Berdichev was at the top of the list of Jewish contributors to the war effort of the Russians against Napoleon (1807). Shneur Zalman of Lyady ordered his Ḥasidim to spy on behalf of Russia, by explaining that "if Bonaparte wins, the wealthy among Israel would increase and the greatness of Israel would be raised, but they would leave and take the heart of Israel far from Father in Heaven" (*Beit Rabbi*).

Modern Period

In the late 19th century and up to World War II various ḥasidic dynasties and camps entered the political life of modern parties and states. Ḥasidim were the mainstay of *Agudat Israel (and see also *Maḥzike Hadas).

This change constituted a new stage in the development of the ḥasidic movement. Alongside the spiritual leaders a growing class of secular activists developed. The expansion of the ḥasidic camp and its penetration to positions of authority and public responsibility in the communities gained influence for the activists who recognized the authority of the *ẓaddik* and submitted to his leadership. Yet, sometimes the *ẓaddik* was only a tool in their skillful hands. Through all of this Ḥasidism finally lost more and more of its spiritual character; it was eventually cut off from its kabbalistic sources and turned instead to organization.

To be sure, this process did not take place without sharp battles, and even in later generations there were *ẓaddikim* who tried to raise anew the foundations of the Ḥasidism of the Ba'al Shem Tov. Generally, the institutionalization of Ḥasidism continued to a greater degree and notable changes took place in its content. Spontaneity gave way to routine forms.

In the second half of the 19th century the expansion of Ḥasidism stopped. With the greater – albeit moderate – tendencies toward the secularization of Jewish life, Ḥasidism shut itself in and passed from a position of attack to one of defense. The ideas of the Enlightenment, national and socialist ideals, and the Zionist movements shook the traditional Jewish way of life. Ḥasidism strongly opposed any change in the way of life and in spiritual values and alienated itself from the new forces which rose up among the Jews. The movement of Ḥibbat Zion was not welcomed in the courts of the *ẓaddikim*. At the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th centuries, the Jewish workers' movements were outside the ḥasidic camp. The numbers of Ḥasidim did not decline, but its power of attraction was failing. Only in one area did Ḥasidism produce something new: namely, a strong emphasis on Torah study. The first ḥasidic yeshivah was founded, apparently, by Abraham Bornstein of Sochaczew in the 1860s. At the end of the century the *ẓaddikim* of Lubavitch founded yeshivot of "Tomekhei Temimim." An attempt was also made to establish a yeshivah at Gur in Poland. It seems that by the study of Torah the ḥasidic leaders sought to immunize the ḥasidic youth from the "harmful influences" from outside. With this they repeated, in essence, the attempt of the *Mitnaggedim* of Lithuania, who were defending themselves from Ḥasidism.

In World War I (1914–18) and the first few years following it, the distribution of Ḥasidism changed. Many of the *ẓaddikim* who lived in the area of the battles were driven out of their towns or were forced to leave because of economic difficulties and threats to security. The vast majority of them escaped to the big cities and some of them remained there after the war. The collapse of the Austro-Hungarian Empire and the formation of new countries sometimes cut off masses of Ḥasidim from their leaders and they found themselves politically in Romania or Czechoslovakia. However, the most important and most tragic event in the lives of the Ḥasidim was the cutting off of the Russian branch, as the result of the Bolshevik regime.

The changes which took place in Jewish society in Eastern Europe in the period between the two World Wars (1918–39), and the problems which then faced the Jews, left their imprint upon the Ḥasidim of those countries. Ḥasidism continued in its conservatism. It was the main sector, and at times the only part of the Jewish population, which carefully maintained the tradition of dress, language, and education. The majority of Ḥasidim strongly opposed the Zionist movement and especially religious Zionism; they did not even encourage emigration to Ereẓ Israel which was growing during those years, although they did not interfere with it. However, many Ḥasidim did join the waves of emigration to Ereẓ Israel. Some of them founded Bene Berak, Kefar Ḥasidim, etc., and others settled in cities and concentrated themselves in special ḥasidic *minyanim*. They remained loyal to the *ẓaddikim* abroad, naming themselves after them, and maintained their connections.

During the Holocaust the ḥasidic centers of Eastern Europe were destroyed. The masses of Ḥasidim perished and, together with them, most of the ḥasidic leaders. *Ẓaddikim* who survived moved to Israel or went to America and established new ḥasidic centers there. Although many Ḥasidim were active in Ereẓ Israel and were enthusiastic supporters of the foundation of the State of Israel (see e.g., *Kozienice, *Gur, Lubavitch-*Schneersohn), for some of them this was a very late development, while others retained a bitter and active hostility to everything modern in Jewish life and culture and in particular to the State of Israel (see Joel *Teitelbaum of Satmar).

In the 20th century the philosophy of Martin *Buber and A.J. *Heschel and the works of such writers as Isaac Leib *Peretz helped to mold neo-Ḥasidism, which consequently had a considerable influence on modern Jewish culture and youth.

[Avraham Rubinstein]

United States

Ḥasidim emigrated to the U.S. within the great Jewish migration of 1880–1925, where they generally formed part of the larger body of pious immigrant Jews while frequently establishing *shtiblekh* of their own. They seem to have been less successful than non-ḥasidic immigrant Jews in transmitting their style of religious life to the next generation, because, apart from their *ẓaddikim*, who had remained in Europe, they apparently felt a fatalistic impotence to perpetuate the Judaism they knew. After World War I several *ẓaddikim* went to the U.S., including the Twersky dynasties from the Ukraine and the Monastritsh *ẓaddik*. They gathered followers but lacked the means and the sectarian fervor to establish a ḥasidic movement. This enervation ended with the arrival in 1940 of R. Joseph Isaac *Schneersohn, the *Lubavicher rebbe*, and the general revival of Orthodox Judaism in the U.S. from that date. A network of yeshivot and religious institutions was founded under the control of R. Joseph Isaac Schneersohn and his successor R. Menahem Mendel Schneersohn, and the unprecedented practice was initiated by Lubavitch Ḥasidim of vigorously evangelizing Jews to return to Orthodoxy. The Lubavitch Ḥasidic movement achieved wide attention and exercised some influence on the U.S. Jewish community.

Following World War II, surviving Polish and especially Hungarian Ḥasidim came to the U.S., including the *ẓaddikim* of Satmar (R. Joel Teitelbaum), Klausenburg-Sandz (Halberstam), and Telem (R. Levi Isaac Greenwald). The Hungarian Ḥasidim exhibited no interest in winning over other Jews and remained self-segregated. A small community of Ḥasidim, followers of the *ẓaddik* of Skver, established the suburban township of New Square, Rockland County, near New York City. Most Hungarian Ḥasidim concentrated in a few neighborhoods of New York City, shunned the daily press and the mass media, and rejected secular education with grudging acceptance of the state's minimum standards. Most controversial was the relentless hostility toward the State of Israel, especially of Satmar Ḥasidim, who published tracts and conducted public demonstrations against it.

[Lloyd P. Gartner]

Women and Ḥasidism

Ḥasidism brought no significant changes in women's legal or social status, and in some ways intensified negative views of women already present in traditional rabbinic Judaism and Jewish mystical traditions. Ḥasidic lore preserves descriptions of daughters, mothers, and sisters of rabbinic leaders who were renowned for their rigorous standards of personal piety; a few are reputed to have become leaders of ḥasidic communities. Among them are Sarah Frankel *Sternberg (1838–1937), daughter of ḥasidic Rabbi Joshua Heschel Teomim Frankel and wife of the *ẓaddik* Ḥayyim Samuel Sternberg of Chenciny, a disciple of the famed Seer of Lublin. After her husband's death, she is said to have functioned successfully as a *rebbe* in Chenciny and was highly regarded for her piety and asceticism. Her daughter, Hannah Brakhah, the wife of R.

Elimelekh of Grodzinsk, was an active participant in the life of her husband's court. A. Rapoport-Albert has pointed out that there is little written documentation about most of these women. She suggests that their authority was based on their connection to revered male leaders, writing that "Hasidism did not evolve an ideology of female leadership, any more than it improved the position of women within the family or set out to educate them in Yiddish" (Rapoport-Albert, 501–2). It is most likely that these "holy women" achieved their reputations for leadership because many important ḥasidic leaders refused to meet with women who sought their spiritual presence and advice. Female supplicants were directed, instead, to the rebbe's female relatives.

The only apparent instance of a woman who crossed gender boundaries to achieve religious leadership in a ḥasidic sect on her own was the well-educated, pious, and wealthy Hannah Rochel Werbermacher (1806–1888?), known as "The Maid of *Ludomir." Werbermacher acquired a reputation for saintliness and miracle-working, attracting both men and women to her own *shtibl* (small prayerhouse), where she lectured from behind a closed door. Reaction from the male ḥasidic leaders of her region was uniformly negative, and pressure was successfully applied on Werbermacher to resume an appropriate female role through an arranged marriage. Although her marriage was unsuccessful, it had the intended result of ending her career as a religious leader in Poland. Around 1860, she immigrated to Ereẓ Israel, where she again attracted a following of ḥasidic women and men, built her own study house, and presided at a variety of religious gatherings. After her death, her grave on the Mount of Olives became a site of devotion. While many other women throughout Jewish history have undoubtedly shared Werbermacher's piety and spiritual charisma, it was her inheritance and independent control of significant financial resources that allowed her to construct settings in which she could exercise these qualities despite male disapproval.

In its emphasis on mystical transcendence and male attendance on the *rebbe* during the Sabbath and festivals, to the exclusion of the family unit, Ḥasidism contributed significantly to the breakdown of the Jewish social life in 19th-century Eastern Europe. Similar tensions between family responsibility and devotion to Torah were also present among the non-ḥasidic learned elite of this milieu, where wives tended to assume the responsibility for supporting their families while husbands were studying away from home. The sexual ascetism of the homosocial ḥasidic courts and rabbinic yeshivot of the 18th and 19th centuries offered young men a welcome withdrawal from family tensions, economic struggles, and the threats of modernity. Similarly, the negative attitudes toward human sexuality endemic in these environments were often openly misogynistic, incorporating many demonic images of women from rabbinic, kabbalistic, and Jewish folklore traditions.

[Judith R. Baskin (2nd ed.)]

AFTER WORLD WAR II. The displacement of surviving ḥasidic communities after the genocide of the Holocaust created multiple diasporas with new roles and opportunities for women. While numerous ḥasidic dynasties reestablished yeshivot and religious governance in the new State of Israel, small communities also resettled and flourished throughout the English-speaking world, in South Africa, Australia, England, and Canada. Since the United States had already offered safe harbor to the Lubavitcher Rebbe in the prewar 1930s, assuring the centralization of the Chabad outreach wing of Ḥasidism in New York, Lubavitcher Chabad outposts expanded rapidly across North America. This movement offered a greatly expanded role for women and girls, due to the sixth and seventh Rebbes' emphasis on female education and missionary work.

Women served as important agents of faith and family life in the transmission of ḥasidic belief to new generations of followers, the *ba'alei teshuvah* of the postwar era. Where the ultra-Orthodox Satmar and Belz communities limited women's education to the minimum required by state law and, in the case of the Satmar communities of Monsey and Kiryas Joel, actively sought public accommodation of gender segregation customs, the Lubavitcher movement aggressively expanded female activism beyond the neighborhood sphere. This activism dovetailed with the emerging and secular women's movement in the U.S., transforming traditional ḥasidic women into advocates for a return to religious observance in an era of shifting gender roles. The proliferation of Chabad houses and outreach workers adjacent to secular college campuses made Lubavitcher women the most visible representatives of Ḥasidism for students curious about Jewish observance, while the number of Crown Heights women sent to lonely Chabad outposts served as a reminder of the Rebbe's trust in their religious values.

Lubavitcher educational institutions offering both English- and Yiddish-language studies for women grew far beyond the first Bais Rivkah girls schools of the 1940s to include a teacher-training seminary, an adult-education school called Machon Chana, and the *ba'al teshuvah* seminary Bais Chana in Minneapolis. Beginning in the mid-1960s, under the auspices of the N'shei Chabad women's organization, regular publications such as *Di Yiddishe Heim* and books on women's issues were produced from Crown Heights and circulated globally, permitting a number of women to attain public roles as authors and editors. Biannual conferences also brought together female activists, who enjoyed audiences with the Rebbe until his passing in 1994. Much of the focus in Lubavitcher women's campaigns involved urging more assimilated Jewish women to light candles and to observe the laws of family purity; attaining a greater level of observance by all Jews is thought to hasten the arrival of the Messiah.

[Bonnie J. Morris (2nd ed.)]

Ḥasidic Way of Life

LEADERSHIP PATTERNS. The personality and activities of Israel Ba'al Shem Tov, and the theories and traditions transmitted in his name and developed and augmented by his followers and disciples, shaped the pattern of leadership in Ḥasidism:

The leader was the *ẓaddik*, whose charismatic personality made him the paramount authority in the community of his followers. Tensions already evident at the time Dov Baer of Mezhirech assumed the leadership of the Ḥasidim, and the splintering of the leadership after his death, caused variations and sometimes deviations in this pattern, but in its essentials it remained unchanged.

All ḥasidic leadership is characterized by an extraordinary magnetism, given expression through various activities and symbols. The *ẓaddik* is believed in, devoutly admired, and obediently followed. From the end of the third generation of Ḥasidism, a dynastic style of leadership often developed, with generation after generation of a certain dynasty of *ẓaddikim* following in the main its own specific interpretation of the ḥasidic way of life and communal cohesion (e.g., the more intellectual and theoretical pattern with the Lubavitch-Schneersohn dynasty at the head of the Chabad wing; the enthusiastic and revolutionary teachings, style of leadership, and communal pattern of the Kotsk dynasty).

Laying differing stress on the various elements of ḥasidic belief and life-style, the *ẓaddik* provides the spiritual illumination for the individual Ḥasid and the ḥasidic community from his own all-pervasive radiance, attained through his mystic union with God. This union and the ensuing enrichment of his soul are used for the sake of the people, to lead them lovingly to their creator. The *ẓaddik* is a mystic who employs his power within the social community and for its sake. A wonder-healer and miracleworker, in the eyes of his followers he is a combination of confessor, moral instructor, and practical adviser. Also a theoretical teacher and exegetical preacher, with a style of preaching peculiar to *ẓaddikim*, he expounds his ḥasidic *torah* (Hebrew for the teaching of the *ẓaddikim*) at his table (in Ḥasidic parlance *der tish*) surrounded by his followers, generally during the third meal on the Sabbath (*se'udah shelishit*). For the individual Ḥasid, joining the court of his *ẓaddik* is both a pilgrimage and a revitalizing unification with the brotherhood gathered at the court, united around and through the *ẓaddik*. The Ḥasid journeyed to his *ẓaddik's* court at least for the High Holidays (although this practice later weakened) to seek his blessing, which was also entreated from afar. He submitted a written account of his problems (known as a *kvitl*), usually accompanying this with a monetary contribution (*pidyon*, short for *pidyon nefesh*, "redemption of the soul"). The money went toward the upkeep of the *ẓaddik* and his court (who were not dependent on or supported by any single community) and was also used to provide for the needs of the poor in the ḥasidic community. Serving as intermediaries between the *ẓaddik* and the Ḥasidim were the *gabbai* (the administrative head of the court) or the *meshammesh* (the *ẓaddik's* chamberlain), who from the first generation onward mediated between the *ẓaddik* and the Ḥasid in matters of *kvitl* or *pidyon*. In Ḥasidism the *ẓaddik* is conceived of as the ladder between heaven and earth, his mystic contemplation linking him with the Divinity, and his concern for the people and loving leadership tying him to earth. Hence his absolute authority, as well as the belief of most ḥasidic dynasties that the *ẓaddik* must dwell in visible affluence.

THE PRAYER RITE AND OTHER CUSTOMS. From its beginnings Ḥasidism developed its own prayer rite. In fact, the ḥasidic version of the prayers, though called *Sefarad*, is not identical with the Sephardi rite, nor with the Ashkenazi, but is a combination of (1) the Polish Ashkenazi rite; (2) changes made by Isaac Luria; and (3) the Sephardi rite of Palestine upon which Luria based his changes.

The result is a patchwork and was a source of great confusion. The ḥasidic version itself is not uniform, and there are many differences between the various ḥasidic prayer books. The first ḥasidic prayer book was that of Shneur Zalman of Lyady (Shklov, 1803). The main differences in ḥasidic prayer are: the recitation of the collection of verses beginning with I Chronicles 16:8 ("*hodu*") before **Pesukei de-Zimra*; in the *Kedushah*, they recite *Nakdishkha* in *Shaḥarit* and in *Minḥah, Keter* in *Musaf* (see **Kedushah*). Prayer for the Ḥasid is ecstatic and loud, involving song, body movements, shaking, and clapping.

In the first generations of Ḥasidism, while it was still a minority belief in most communities and under bitter attack, the Ḥasidim opened their own small prayer houses, called *shtiblekh*, a name which continued to be used. The separateness of the ḥasidic community was aggravated by their insistence on a specific type of highly sharpened (*geshlifene*) *sheḥitah* knife, a demand which both necessitated and permitted a separate ḥasidic *sheḥitah* with its own income and organization. The reason for this custom has not been sufficiently explained.

As by the mid-19th century Ḥasidism prevailed in most communities of the Ukraine, Volhynia, central Poland, Galicia, and in many in Hungary and Belorussia, the pattern of leadership based on the *ẓaddik* changed the character of local community leadership to a considerable extent. Local leaders and rabbis became subject to the authority of the *ẓaddik* whose followers were the most influential ḥasidic group in a given community.

The image and memory of past and present *ẓaddikim* are shaped and kept alive through the ḥasidic tale (*ma'aseh*), which is recounted as an act of homage to the living link between the Ḥasid and his God. As well as embodying the sayings of such teachers as Israel Ba'al Shem Tov, Levi Isaac of Berdichev, Naḥman of Bratslav, and Menahem Mendel of Kotsk, these tales reflect popular philosophy to a great extent.

The insistence of Ḥasidism from its inception on joy (*simḥah*) as the prime factor in the good Jewish life and the essential element of divine worship led to the importance of the ḥasidic dance and song as expressions of piety and group cohesion, whether in the *shtiblekh* in the individual community or when united together at the *ẓaddik*'s court and table. Ḥasidic influence was spread, but was also further splintered, by the widespread custom of giving support and something approaching the status of *ẓaddik* to descendants of a dynasty

ḤASIDIM (chart of the relationships of the leading ḥasidic dynasties, from the Ba'al Shem Tov to the 20th century)

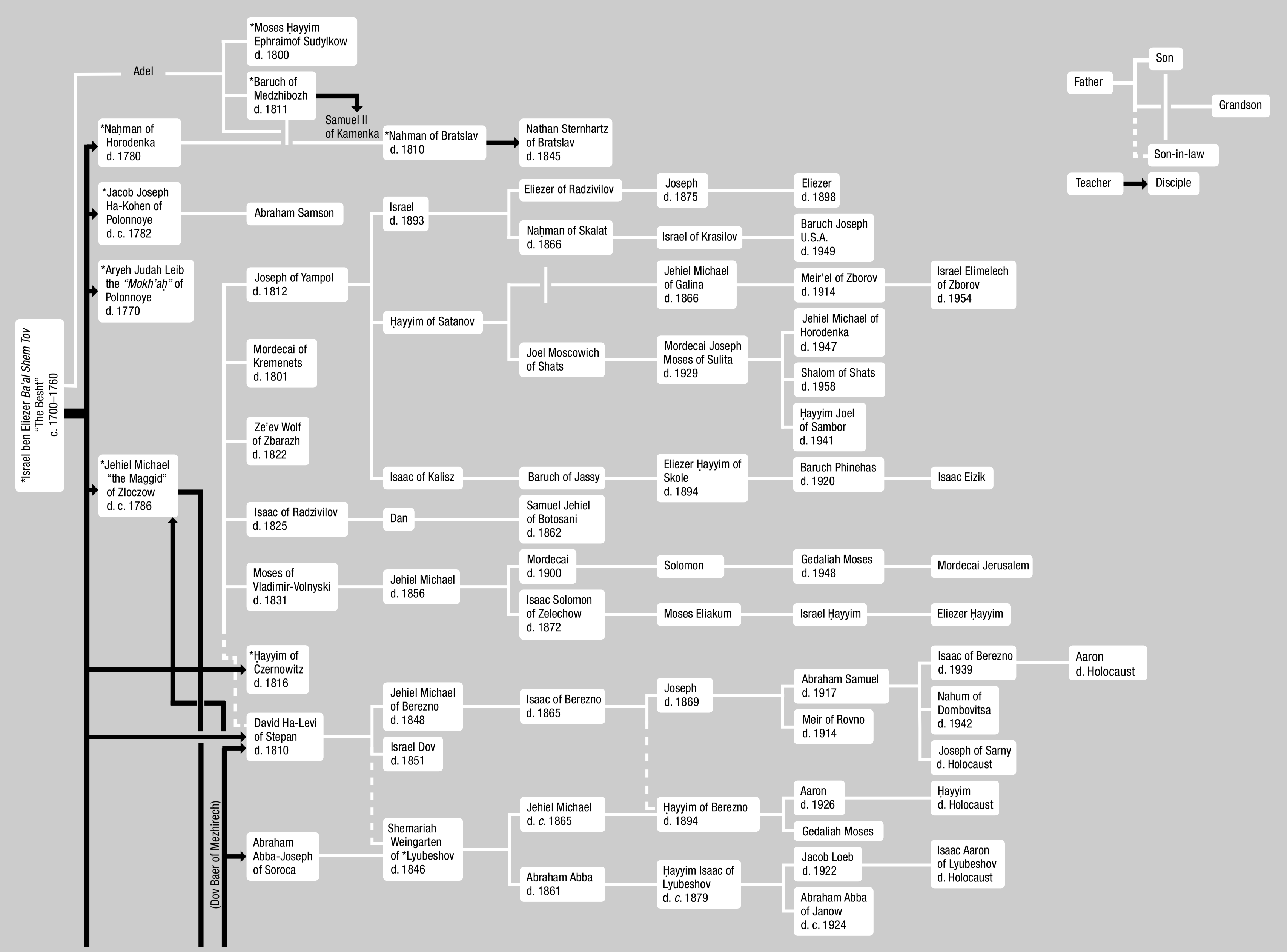
*Israel ben Eliezer *Ba'al Shem Tov*
"The Besht"
c. 1700–1760
Adel
*Moses Ḥayyim Ephraimof Sudylkow d. 1800
*Baruch of Medzhibozh d. 1811
Samuel II of Kamenka
*Naḥman of Horodenka d. 1780
*Naḥman of Bratslav d. 1810
Nathan Sternhartz of Bratslav d. 1845
*Jacob Joseph Ha-Kohen of Polonnoye d. c. 1782
Abraham Samson
*Aryeh Judah Leib the *"Mokh'aḥ"* of Polonnoye d. 1770
Joseph of Yampol d. 1812
Israel d. 1893
Eliezer of Radzivilov
Joseph d. 1875
Eliezer d. 1898
Naḥman of Skalat d. 1866
Israel of Krasilov
Baruch Joseph U.S.A. d. 1949
Ḥayyim of Satanov
Jehiel Michael of Galina d. 1866
Meir'el of Zborov d. 1914
Israel Elimelech of Zborov d. 1954
Joel Moscowich of Shats
Mordecai Joseph Moses of Sulita d. 1929
Jehiel Michael of Horodenka d. 1947
Shalom of Shats d. 1958
Ḥayyim Joel of Sambor d. 1941
Isaac of Kalisz
Baruch of Jassy
Eliezer Ḥayyim of Skole d. 1894
Baruch Phinehas d. 1920
Isaac Eizik
Mordecai of Kremenets d. 1801
Ze'ev Wolf of Zbarazh d. 1822
*Jehiel Michael "the Maggid" of Zloczow d. c. 1786
Isaac of Radzivilov d. 1825
Dan
Samuel Jehiel of Botosani d. 1862
Moses of Vladimir-Volnyski d. 1831
Jehiel Michael d. 1856
Mordecai d. 1900
Solomon
Gedaliah Moses d. 1948
Mordecai Jerusalem
Isaac Solomon of Zelechow d. 1872
Moses Eliakum
Israel Ḥayyim
Eliezer Ḥayyim
*Ḥayyim of Czernowitz d. 1816
David Ha-Levi of Stepan d. 1810
Jehiel Michael of Berezno d. 1848
Israel Dov d. 1851
Isaac of Berezno d. 1865
Joseph d. 1869
Abraham Samuel d. 1917
Meir of Rovno d. 1914
Isaac of Berezno d. 1939
Aaron d. Holocaust
Nahum of Dombovitsa d. 1942
Joseph of Sarny d. Holocaust
(Dov Baer of Mezhirech)
Abraham Abba-Joseph of Soroca
Shemariah Weingarten of *Lyubeshov d. 1846
Jehiel Michael d. *c.* 1865
Ḥayyim of Berezno d. 1894
Aaron d. 1926
Ḥayyim d. Holocaust
Gedaliah Moses
Abraham Abba d. 1861
Ḥayyim Isaac of Lyubeshov d. *c.* 1879
Jacob Loeb d. 1922
Isaac Aaron of Lyubeshov d. Holocaust
Abraham Abba of Janow d. c. 1924
Father
Son
Grandson
Son-in-law
Teacher
Disciple

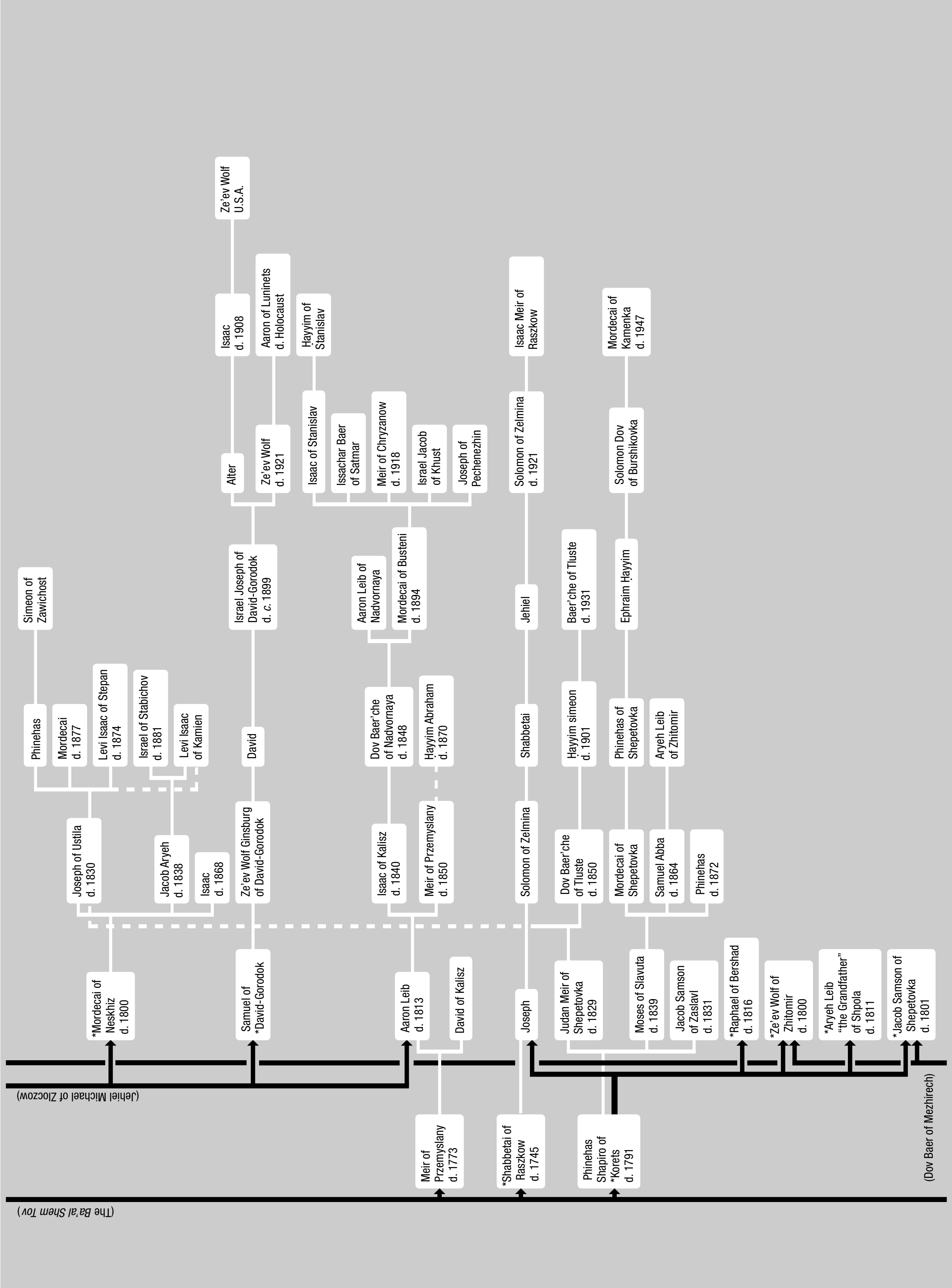
(The Ba'al Shem Tov)
Meir of Przemyslany d. 1773
*Shabbetai of Raszkow d. 1745
Phinehas Shapiro of *Korets d. 1791
(Jehiel Michael of Zloczow)
(Dov Baer of Mezhirech)
*Mordecai of Neskhiz d. 1800
Samuel of *David-Gorodok
Aaron Leib d. 1813
David of Kalisz
Joseph
Judan Meir of Shepetovka d. 1829
Moses of Slavuta d. 1839
Jacob Samson of Zaslavl d. 1831
*Raphael of Bershad d. 1816
*Ze'ev Wolf of Zhitomir d. 1800
*Aryeh Leib "the Grandfather" of Shpola d. 1811
*Jacob Samson of Shepetovka d. 1801
Joseph of Ustila d. 1830
Jacob Aryeh d. 1838
Isaac d. 1868
Ze'ev Wolf Ginsburg of David-Gorodok
Isaac of Kalisz d. 1840
Meir of Przemyslany d. 1850
Solomon of Zelmina
Dov Baer'che of Tluste d. 1850
Mordecai of Shepetovka
Samuel Abba d. 1864
Phinehas d. 1872
Phinehas
Mordecai d. 1877
Levi Isaac of Stepan d. 1874
Israel of Stabichov d. 1881
Levi Isaac of Kamien
David
Dov Baer'che of Nadvornaya d. 1848
Hayyim Abraham d. 1870
Shabbetai
Hayyim simeon d. 1901
Phinehas of Shepetovka
Aryeh Leib of Zhitomir
Simeon of Zawichost
Israel Joseph of David-Gorodok d. c. 1899
Aaron Leib of Nadvornaya
Mordecai of Busteni d. 1894
Jehiel
Baer'che of Tluste d. 1931
Ephraim Ḥayyim
Alter
Ze'ev Wolf d. 1921
Isaac of Stanislav
Issachar Baer of Satmar
Meir of Chryzanow d. 1918
Israel Jacob of Khust
Joseph of Pechenezhin
Solomon of Zelmina d. 1921
Solomon Dov of Burshikovka
Isaac d. 1908
Aaron of Luninets d. Holocaust
Hayyim of Stanislav
Isaac Meir of Raszkow
Mordecai of Kamenka d. 1947
Ze'ev Wolf U.S.A.

ḤASIDIM (continued)

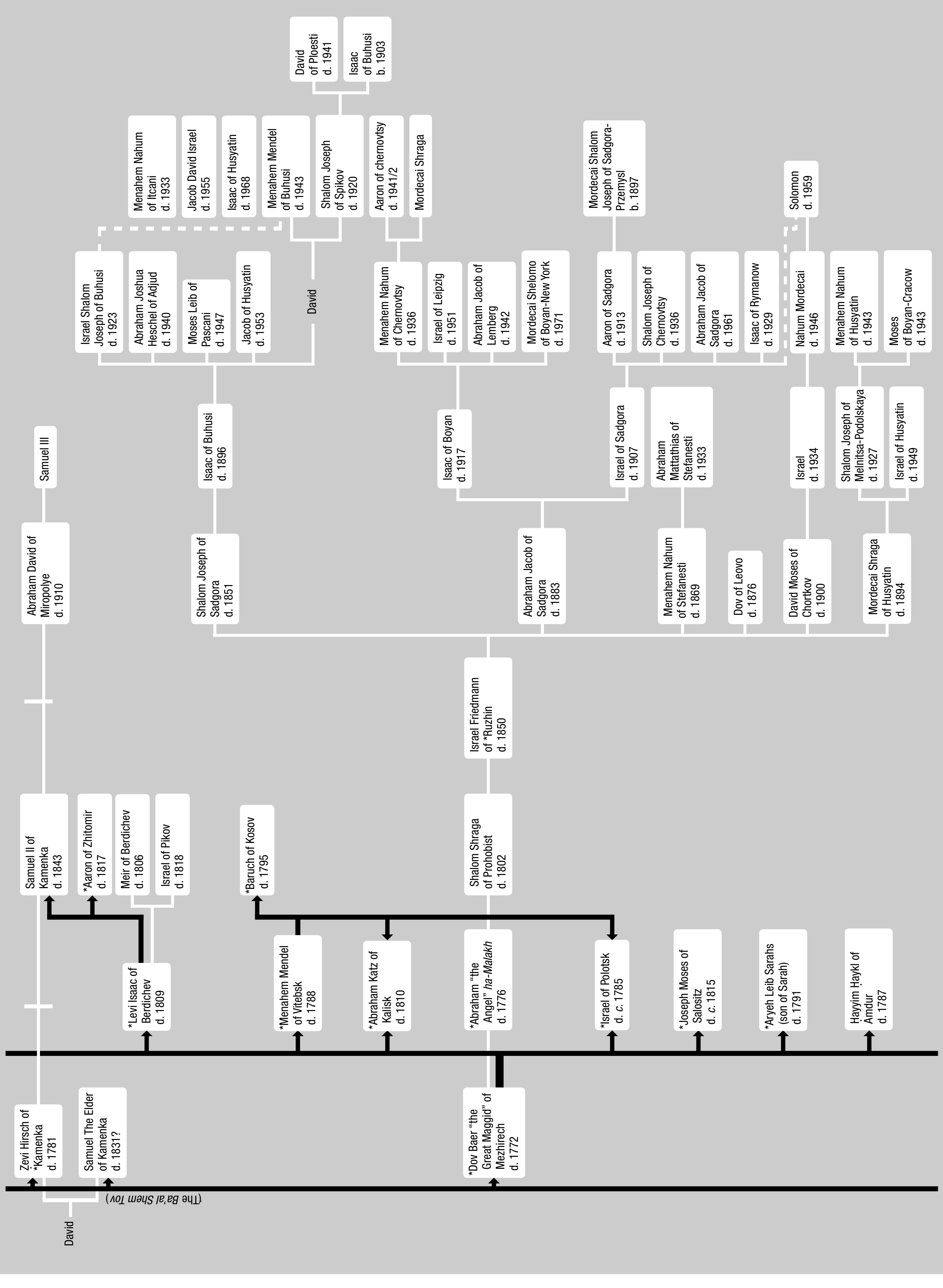
David
(The Ba'al Shem Tov)
Ẓevi Hirsch of *Kamenka d. 1781
Samuel The Elder of Kamenka d. 1831?
*Dov Baer "the Great Maggid" of Mezhirech d. 1772
*Levi Isaac of Berdichev d. 1809
*Menahem Mendel of Vitebsk d. 1788
*Abraham Katz of Kalisk d. 1810
*Abraham "the Angel" *ha-Malakh* d. 1776
*Israel of Polotsk d. *c.* 1785
*Joseph Moses of Salositz d. *c.* 1815
*Aryeh Leib Sarahs (son of Sarah) d. 1791
Ḥayyim Ḥaykl of Amdur d. 1787
Samuel II of Kamenka d. 1843
*Aaron of Zhitomir d. 1817
Meir of Berdichev d. 1806
Israel of Pikov d. 1818
*Baruch of Kosov d. 1795
Shalom Shraga of Prohobist d. 1802
Israel Friedmann of *Ruzhin d. 1850
Abraham David of Miropolye d. 1910
Samuel III
Shalom Joseph of Sadgora d. 1851
Abraham Jacob of Sadgora d. 1883
Menahem Nahum of Stefanesti d. 1869
Dov of Leovo d. 1876
David Moses of Chortkov d. 1900
Mordecai Shraga of Husyatin d. 1894
Isaac of Buhusi d. 1896
Isaac of Boyan d. 1917
Israel of Sadgora d. 1907
Abraham Mattathias of Stefanesti d. 1933
Israel d. 1934
Shalom Joseph of Melnitsa-Podolskaya d. 1927
Israel of Husyatin d. 1949
Israel Shalom Joseph of Buhusi d. 1923
Abraham Joshua Heschel of Adjud d. 1940
Moses Leib of Pascani d. 1947
Jacob of Husyatin d. 1953
David
Menahem Nahum of Chernovtsy d. 1936
Israel of Leipzig d. 1951
Abraham Jacob of Lemberg d. 1942
Mordecai Shelomo of Boyan-New York d. 1971
Aaron of Sadgora d. 1913
Shalom Joseph of Chernovtsy d. 1936
Abraham Jacob of Sadgora d. 1961
Isaac of Rymanow d. 1929
Nahum Mordecai d. 1946
Menahem Nahum of Husyatin d. 1943
Moses of Boyan-Cracow d. 1943
Menahem Nahum of Itcani d. 1933
Jacob David Israel d. 1955
Isaac of Husyatin d. 1968
Menahem Mendel of Buhusi d. 1943
Shalom Joseph of Spikov d. 1920
Aaron of chernovtsy d. 1941/2
Mordecai Shraga
Mordecai Shalom Joseph of Sadgora-Przemysl b. 1897
Solomon d. 1959
David of Ploesti d. 1941
Isaac of Buhusi b. 1903

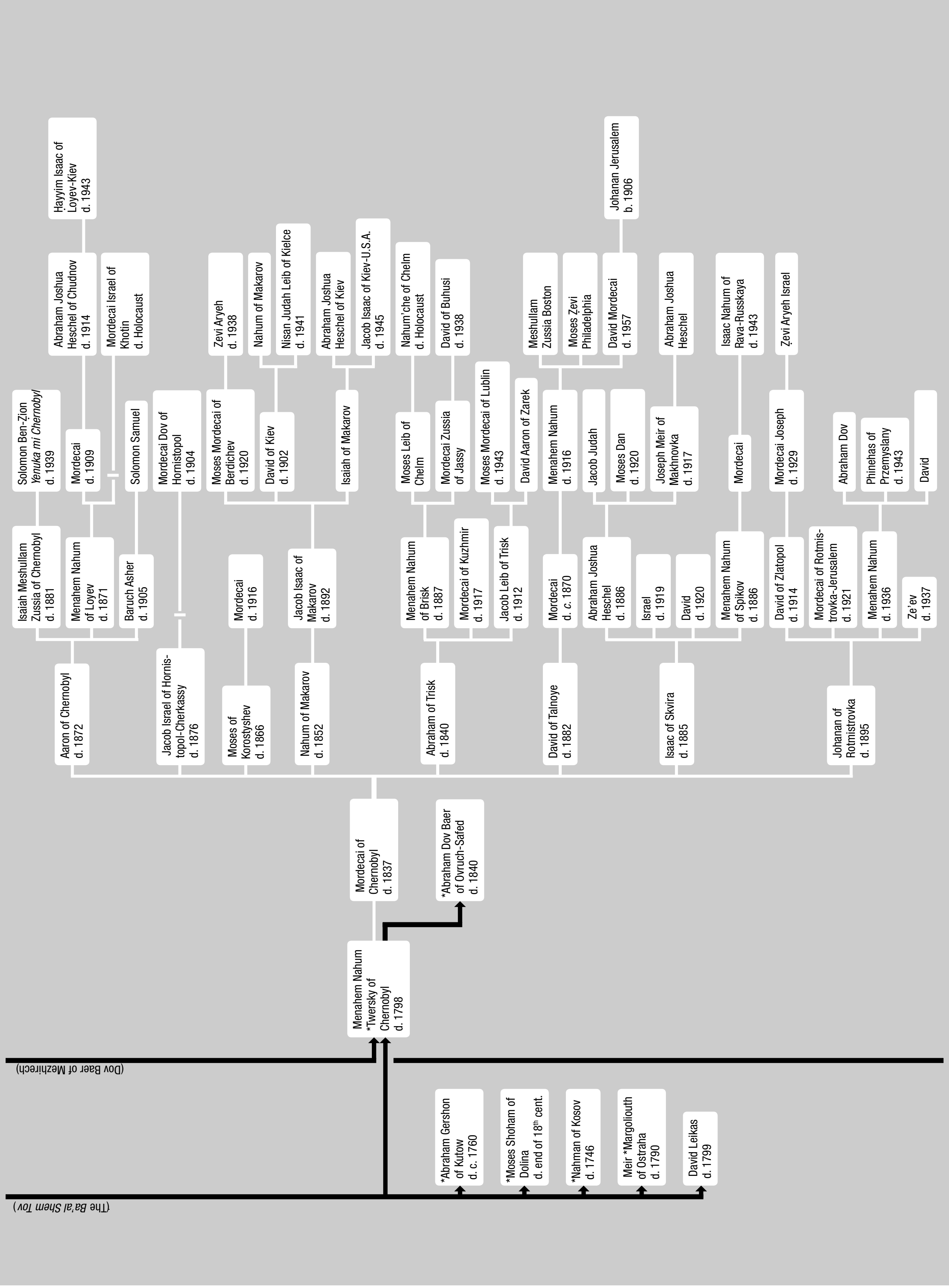
(The Ba'al Shem Tov)
(Dov Baer of Mezhirech)
*Abraham Gershon of Kutow d. c. 1760
*Moses Shoham of Dolina d. end of 18th cent.
*Nahman of Kosov d. 1746
Meir *Margoliouth of Ostraha d. 1790
David Leikas d. 1799
Menahem Nahum *Twersky of Chernobyl d. 1798
Mordecai of Chernobyl d. 1837
*Abraham Dov Baer of Ovruch-Safed d. 1840
Aaron of Chernobyl d. 1872
Jacob Israel of Hornis-topol-Cherkassy d. 1876
Moses of Korostyshev d. 1866
Nahum of Makarov d. 1852
Abraham of Trisk d. 1840
David of Talnoye d. 1882
Isaac of Skvira d. 1885
Johanan of Rotmistrovka d. 1895
Isaiah Meshullam Zussia of Chernobyl d. 1881
Menahem Nahum of Loyev d. 1871
Baruch Asher d. 1905
Mordecai d. 1916
Jacob Isaac of Makarov d. 1892
Menahem Nahum of Brisk d. 1887
Mordecai of Kuzhmir d. 1917
Jacob Leib of Trisk d. 1912
Mordecai d. c. 1870
Abraham Joshua Heschel d. 1886
Israel d. 1919
David d. 1920
Menahem Nahum of Spikov d. 1886
David of Zlatopol d. 1914
Mordecai of Rotmis-trovka-Jerusalem d. 1921
Menahem Nahum d. 1936
Ze'ev d. 1937
Solomon Ben-Ẓion *Yenuka mi Chernobyl* d. 1939
Mordecai d. 1909
Solomon Samuel
Mordecai Dov of Hornistopol d. 1904
Moses Mordecai of Berdichev d. 1920
David of Kiev d. 1902
Isaiah of Makarov
Moses Leib of Chelm
Mordecai Zussia of Jassy
Moses Mordecai of Lublin d. 1943
David Aaron of Zarek
Menahem Nahum d. 1916
Jacob Judah
Moses Dan d. 1920
Joseph Meir of Makhnovka d. 1917
Mordecai
Mordecai Joseph d. 1929
Abraham Dov
Phinehas of Przemyslany d. 1943
David
Abraham Joshua Heschel of Chudnov d. 1914
Mordecai Israel of Khotin d. Holocaust
Ẓevi Aryeh d. 1938
Nahum of Makarov
Nisan Judah Leib of Kielce d. 1941
Abraham Joshua Heschel of Kiev
Jacob Isaac of Kiev-U.S.A. d. 1945
Nahum'che of Chelm d. Holocaust
David of Buhusi d. 1938
Meshullam Zussia Boston
Moses Ẓevi Philadelphia
David Mordecai d. 1957
Abraham Joshua Heschel
Isaac Nahum of Rava-Russkaya d. 1943
Ẓevi Aryeh Israel
Ḥayyim Isaac of Loyev-Kiev d. 1943
Johanan Jerusalem b. 1906

ḤASIDIM (continued)

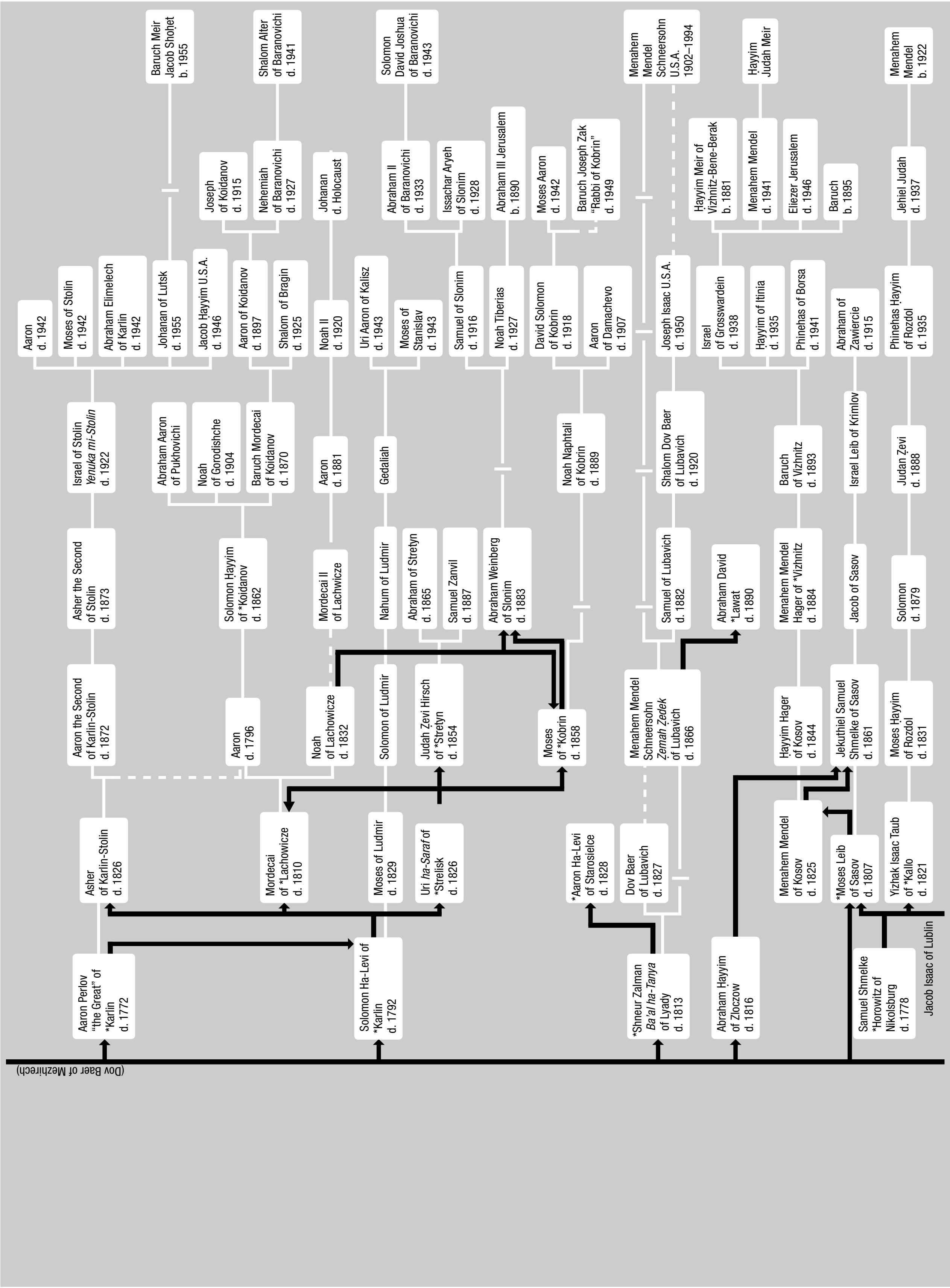
(Dov Baer of Mezhirech)
Aaron Perlov "the Great" of *Karlin d. 1772
Solomon Ha-Levi of *Karlin d. 1792
*Shneur Zalman *Ba'al ha-Tanya* of Lyady d. 1813
Abraham Ḥayyim of Zloczow d. 1816
Samuel Shmelke *Horowitz of Nikolsburg d. 1778
Jacob Isaac of Lublin
Asher of Karlin-Stolin d. 1826
Mordecai of *Lachowicze d. 1810
Moses of Ludmir d. 1829
Uri *ha-Saraf* of *Strelisk d. 1826
*Aaron Ha-Levi of Starosielce d. 1828
Dov Baer of Lubavich d. 1827
Menahem Mendel of Kosov d. 1825
*Moses Leib of Sasov d. 1807
Yizhak Isaac Taub of *Kallo d. 1821
Aaron the Second of Karlin-Stolin d. 1872
Aaron d. 1796
Noah of Lachowicze d. 1832
Solomon of Ludmir
Judah Zevi Hirsch of *Stretyn d. 1854
Moses of *Kobrin d. 1858
Menahem Mendel Schneersohn *Zemah Zedek* of Lubavich d. 1866
Ḥayyim Hager of Kosov d. 1844
Jekuthiel Samuel Shmelke of Sasov d. 1861
Moses Ḥayyim of Rozdol d. 1831
Asher the Second of Stolin d. 1873
Solomon Ḥayyim of *Koidanov d. 1862
Mordecai II of Lachwicze
Nahum of Ludmir
Abraham of Stretyn d. 1865
Samuel Zanvil d. 1887
Abraham Weinberg of Slonim d. 1883
Samuel of Lubavich d. 1882
Abraham David *Lawat d. 1890
Menahem Mendel Hager of *Vizhnitz d. 1884
Jacob of Sasov
Solomon d. 1879
Israel of Stolin *Yenuka mi-Stolin* d. 1922
Abraham Aaron of Pukhovichi
Noah of Gorodishche d. 1904
Baruch Mordecai of Koidanov d. 1870
Aaron d. 1881
Gedaliah
Noah Naphtali of Kobrin d. 1889
Shalom Dov Baer of Lubavich d. 1920
Baruch of Vizhnitz d. 1893
Israel Leib of Krimlov
Judah Zevi d. 1888
Aaron d. 1942
Moses of Stolin d. 1942
Abraham Elimelech of Karlin d. 1942
Johanan of Lutsk d. 1955
Jacob Ḥayyim U.S.A. d. 1946
Aaron of Koidanov d. 1897
Shalom of Bragin d. 1925
Noah II d. 1920
Uri Aaron of Kalisz d. 1943
Moses of Stanislav d. 1943
Samuel of Slonim d. 1916
Noah Tiberias d. 1927
David Solomon of Kobrin d. 1918
Aaron of Damachevo d. 1907
Joseph Isaac U.S.A. d. 1950
Israel of Grosswardein d. 1938
Ḥayyim of Itinia d. 1935
Phinehas of Borsa d. 1941
Abraham of Zawiercie d. 1915
Phinehas Ḥayyim of Rozdol d. 1935
Joseph of Koidanov d. 1915
Nehemiah of Baranovichi d. 1927
Johanan d. Holocaust
Abraham II of Baranovichi d. 1933
Issachar Aryeh of Slonim d. 1928
Abraham III Jerusalem b. 1890
Moses Aaron d. 1942
Baruch Joseph Zak "Rabbi of Kobrin" d. 1949
Ḥayyim Meir of Vizhnitz-Bene-Berak b. 1881
Menahem Mendel d. 1941
Eliezer Jerusalem d. 1946
Baruch b. 1895
Jehiel Judah d. 1937
Baruch Meir Jacob Shoḥet b. 1955
Shalom Alter of Baranovichi d. 1941
Solomon David Joshua of Baranovichi d. 1943
Menahem Mendel Schneersohn U.S.A. 1902–1994
Ḥayyim Judah Meir
Menahem Mendel b. 1922

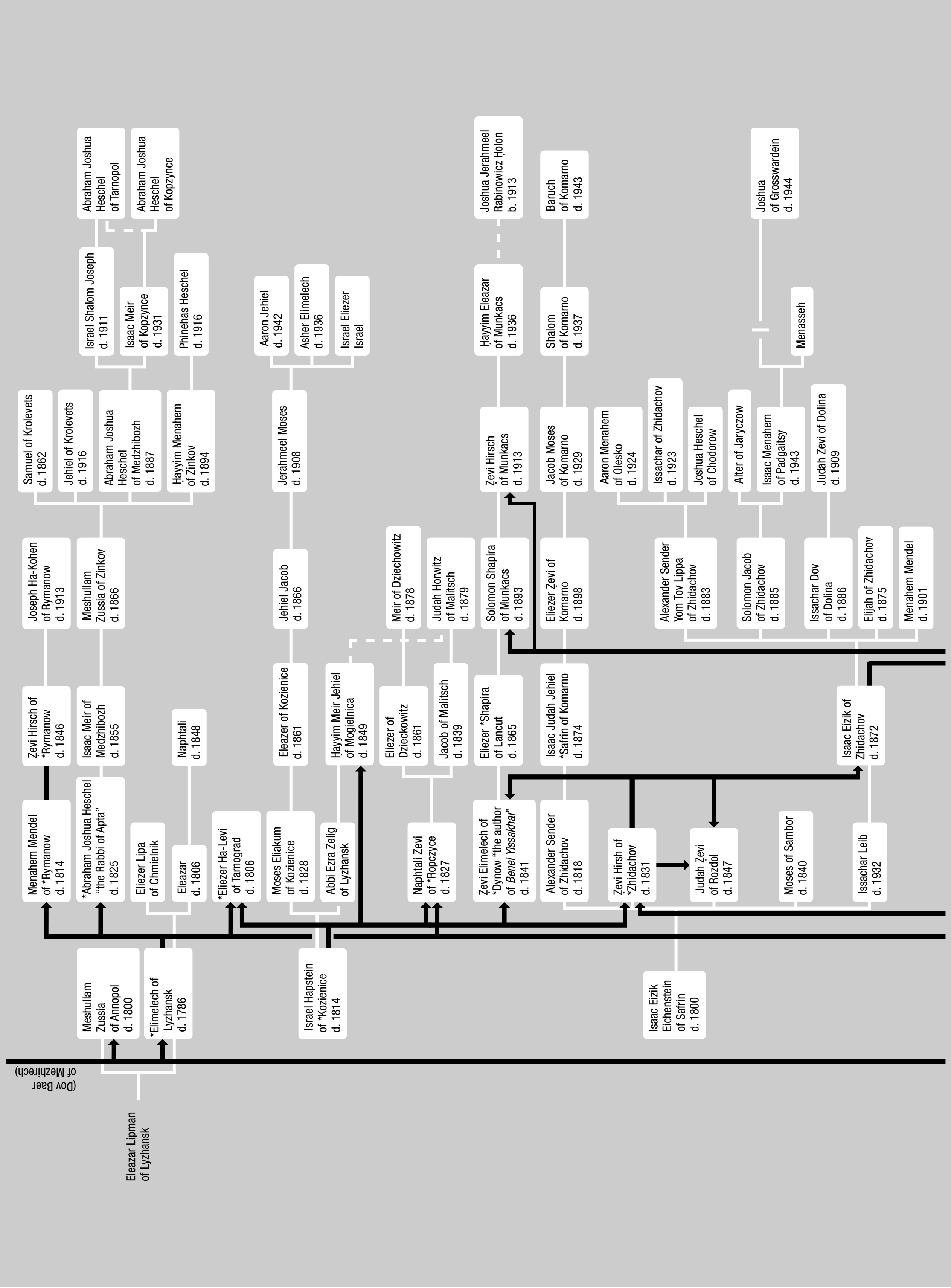
Eleazar Lipman of Lyzhansk
(Dov Baer of Mezhirech)
Meshullam Zussia of Annopol d. 1800
*Elimelech of Lyzhansk d. 1786
Israel Hapstein of *Kozienice d. 1814
Isaac Eizik Eichenstein of Safrin d. 1800
Menahem Mendel of *Rymanow d. 1814
*Abraham Joshua Heschel "the Rabbi of Apta" d. 1825
Eliezer Lipa of Chmielnik
Eleazar d. 1806
*Eliezer Ha-Levi of Tarnograd d. 1806
Moses Eliakum of Kozienice d. 1828
Abbi Ezra Zelig of Lyzhansk
Naphtali Zevi of *Ropczyce d. 1827
Ẓevi Elimelech of *Dynow "the author of Benei Yissakhar" d. 1841
Alexander Sender of Zhidachov d. 1818
Ẓevi Hirsh of *Zhidachov d. 1831
Judah Ẓevi of Rozdol d. 1847
Moses of Sambor d. 1840
Issachar Leib d. 1932
Ẓevi Hirsch of *Rymanow d. 1846
Isaac Meir of Medzhibozh d. 1855
Naphtali d. 1848
Eleazer of Kozienice d. 1861
Ḥayyim Meir Jehiel of Mogielnica d. 1849
Eliezer of Dzieckowitz d. 1861
Jacob of Malitsch d. 1839
Eliezer *Shapira of Lancut d. 1865
Isaac Judah Jehiel *Safrin of Komarno d. 1874
Isaac Eizik of Zhidachov d. 1872
Joseph Ha-Kohen of Rymanow d. 1913
Meshullam Zussia of Zinkov d. 1866
Jehiel Jacob d. 1866
Meir of Dziechowitz d. 1878
Judah Horwitz of Malitsch d. 1879
Solomon Shapira of Munkacs d. 1893
Eliezer Ẓevi of Komarno d. 1898
Alexander Sender Yom Tov Lippa of Zhidachov d. 1883
Solomon Jacob of Zhidachov d. 1885
Issachar Dov of Dolina d. 1886
Elijah of Zhidachov d. 1875
Menahem Mendel d. 1901
Samuel of Krolevets d. 1862
Jehiel of Krolevets d. 1916
Abraham Joshua Heschel of Medzhibozh d. 1887
Ḥayyim Menahem of Zinkov d. 1894
Jerahmeel Moses d. 1908
Ẓevi Hirsch of Munkacs d. 1913
Jacob Moses of Komarno d. 1929
Aaron Menahem of Olesko d. 1924
Issachar of Zhidachov d. 1923
Joshua Heschel of Chodorow
Alter of Jaryczow
Isaac Menahem of Padgaitsy d. 1943
Judah Ẓevi of Dolina d. 1909
Israel Shalom Joseph d. 1911
Isaac Meir of Kopzynce d. 1931
Phinehas Heschel d. 1916
Aaron Jehiel d. 1942
Asher Elimelech d. 1936
Israel Eliezer Israel
Ḥayyim Eleazar of Munkacs d. 1936
Shalom of Komarno d. 1937
Menasseh
Abraham Joshua Heschel of Tarnopol
Abraham Joshua Heschel of Kopzynce
Joshua Jerahmeel Rabinowicz Ḥolon b. 1913
Baruch of Komarno d. 1943
Joshua of Grosswardein d. 1944

ḤASIDIM (continued)

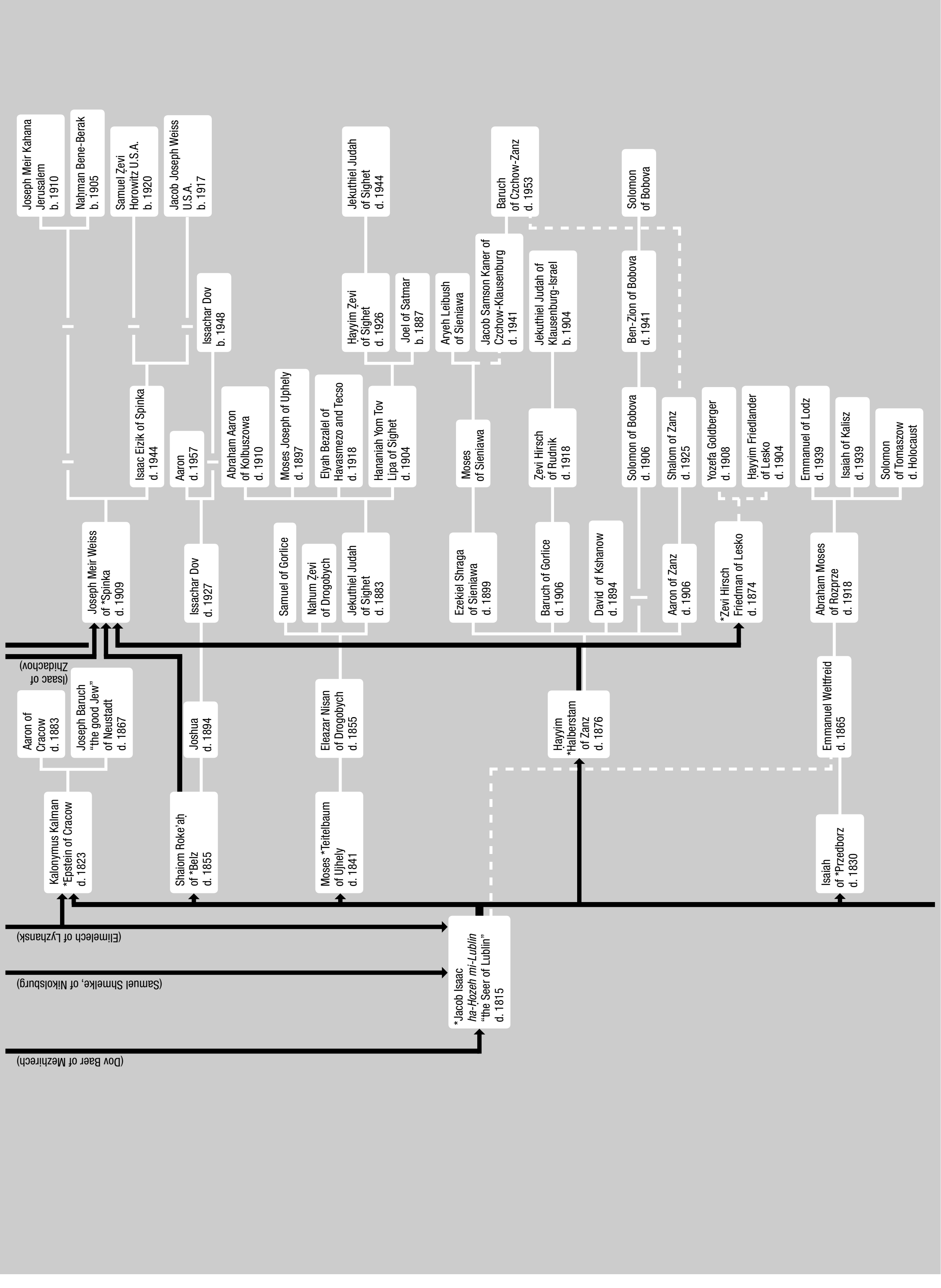
(Dov Baer of Mezhirech)
(Samuel Shmelke, of Nikolsburg)
(Elimelech of Lyzhansk)
(Isaac of Zhidachov)
*Jacob Isaac ha-Ḥozeh mi-Lublin "the Seer of Lublin" d. 1815
Kalonymus Kalman *Epstein of Cracow d. 1823
Aaron of Cracow d. 1883
Joseph Baruch "the good Jew" of Neustadt d. 1867
Shalom Roke'aḥ of *Belz d. 1855
Joshua d. 1894
Moses *Teitelbaum of Ujhely d. 1841
Eleazar Nisan of Drogobych d. 1855
Ḥayyim *Halberstam of Zanz d. 1876
Isaiah of *Przedborz d. 1830
Emmanuel Weltfreid d. 1865
Joseph Meir Weiss of *Spinka d. 1909
Issachar Dov d. 1927
Samuel of Gorlice
Naḥum Zevi of Drogobych
Jekuthiel Judah of Sighet d. 1883
Ezekiel Shraga of Sieniawa d. 1899
Baruch of Gorlice d. 1906
David of Kshanow d. 1894
Aaron of Zanz d. 1906
*Zevi Hirsch Friedman of Lesko d. 1874
Abraham Moses of Rozprze d. 1918
Isaac Eizik of Spinka d. 1944
Aaron d. 1957
Abraham Aaron of Kolbuszowa d. 1910
Moses Joseph of Uphely d. 1897
Elyah Bezalel of Havasmezo and Tecso d. 1918
Hananiah Yom Tov Lipa of Sighet d. 1904
Moses of Sieniawa
Ẓevi Hirsch of Rudnik d. 1918
Solomon of Bobova d. 1906
Shalom of Zanz d. 1925
Yozefa Goldberger d. 1908
Ḥayyim Friedlander of Lesko d. 1904
Emmanuel of Lodz d. 1939
Isaiah of Kalisz d. 1939
Solomon of Tomaszow d. Holocaust
Issachar Dov b. 1948
Ḥayyim Ẓevi of Sighet d. 1926
Joel of Satmar b. 1887
Aryeh Leibush of Sieniawa
Jacob Samson Kaner of Czchow-Klausenburg d. 1941
Jekuthiel Judah of Klausenburg-Israel b. 1904
Ben-Zion of Bobova d. 1941
Joseph Meir Kahana Jerusalem b. 1910
Naḥman Bene-Berak b. 1905
Samuel Ẓevi Horowitz U.S.A. b. 1920
Jacob Joseph Weiss U.S.A. b. 1917
Jekuthiel Judah of Sighet d. 1944
Baruch of Czchow-Zanz d. 1953
Solomon of Bobova

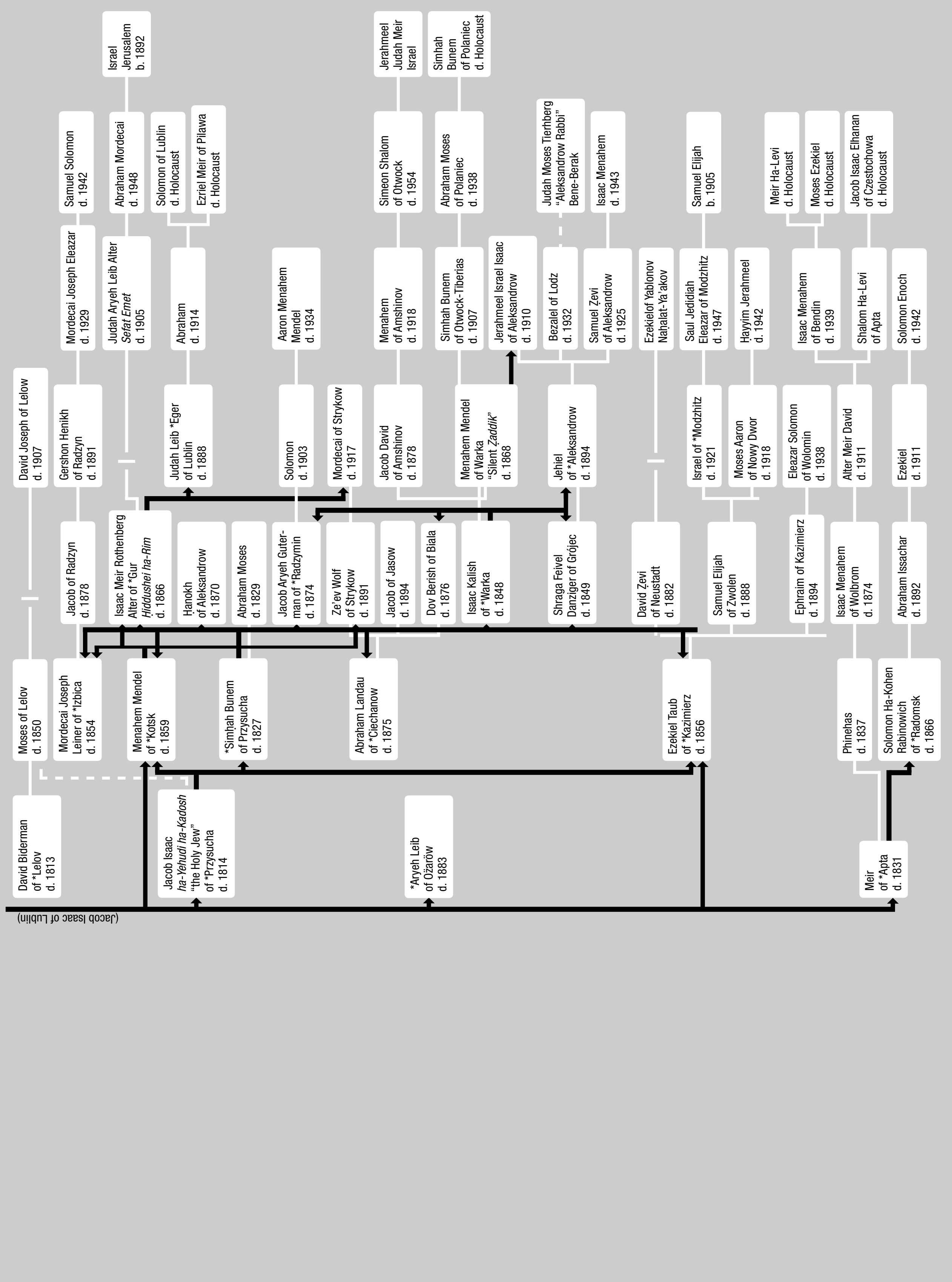
(Jacob Isaac of Lublin)
David Biderman of *Lelov d. 1813
Jacob Isaac ha-Yehudi ha-Kadosh "the Holy Jew" of *Przysucha d. 1814
*Aryeh Leib of Ożarów d. 1883
Meir of *Apta d. 1831
Moses of Lelov d. 1850
Mordecai Joseph Leiner of *Izbica d. 1854
Menahem Mendel of *Kotsk d. 1859
*Simḥah Bunem of Przysucha d. 1827
Abraham Landau of *Ciechanow d. 1875
Ezekiel Taub of *Kazimierz d. 1856
Phinehas d. 1837
Solomon Ha-Kohen Rabinowich of *Radomsk d. 1866
Jacob of Radzyn d. 1878
Isaac Meir Rothenberg Alter of *Gur Ḥiddushei ha-Rim d. 1866
Ḥanokh of Aleksandrow d. 1870
Abraham Moses d. 1829
Jacob Aryeh Guterman of *Radzymin d. 1874
Ze'ev Wolf of Strykow d. 1891
Jacob of Jasow d. 1894
Dov Berish of Biala d. 1876
Isaac Kalish of *Warka d. 1848
Shraga Feivel Danziger of Grójec d. 1849
David Ẓevi of Neustadt d. 1882
Samuel Elijah of Zwolen d. 1888
Ephraim of Kazimierz d. 1894
Isaac Menahem of Wolbrom d. 1874
Abraham Issachar d. 1892
David Joseph of Lelow d. 1907
Gershon Henikh of Radzyn d. 1891
Judah Leib *Eger of Lublin d. 1888
Solomon d. 1903
Mordecai of Strykow d. 1917
Jacob David of Amshinov d. 1878
Menahem Mendel of Warka "Silent Ẓaddik" d. 1868
Jehiel of *Aleksandrow d. 1894
Israel of *Modzhitz d. 1921
Moses Aaron of Nowy Dwor d. 1918
Eleazar Solomon of Wolomin d. 1938
Alter Meir David d. 1911
Ezekiel d. 1911
Mordecai Joseph Eleazar d. 1929
Judah Aryeh Leib Alter Sefat Emet d. 1905
Abraham d. 1914
Aaron Menahem Mendel d. 1934
Menahem of Amshinov d. 1918
Simhah Bunem of Otwock-Tiberias d. 1907
Jerahmeel Israel Isaac of Aleksandrow d. 1910
Bezalel of Lodz d. 1932
Samuel Ẓevi of Aleksandrow d. 1925
Ezekiel of Yablonov Naḥalat-Ya'akov
Saul Jedidiah Eleazar of Modzhitz d. 1947
Ḥayyim Jerahmeel d. 1942
Isaac Menahem of Bendin d. 1939
Shalom Ha-Levi of Apta
Solomon Enoch d. 1942
Samuel Solomon d. 1942
Abraham Mordecai d. 1948
Solomon of Lublin d. Holocaust
Ezriel Meir of Pilawa d. Holocaust
Simeon Shalom of Otwock d. 1954
Abraham Moses of Polaniec d. 1938
Judah Moses Tierhberg "Aleksandrow Rabbi" Bene-Berak
Isaac Menahem d. 1943
Samuel Elijah b. 1905
Meir Ha-Levi d. Holocaust
Moses Ezekiel d. Holocaust
Jacob Isaac Elhanan of Czestochowa d. Holocaust
Israel Jerusalem b. 1892
Jerahmeel Judah Meir Israel
Simhah Bunem of Polaniec d. Holocaust

who did not become *ẓaddikim* (the so-called *einiklakh*, "the grandsons"). Various other specific ḥasidic customs (e.g., the rushing to the *ẓaddik*'s table to obtain a portion of the remnants (*shirayim*) of the food he had touched) were contributing factors to the closeness of the ḥasidic group. The ecstatic prayer of the *ẓaddik* – mostly when reciting the Song of Songs or the *Lekhu Nerannenah* prayer on the entry of the Sabbath – which figures frequently in ḥasidic tales, was a powerful element in holding the group together.

The elements of ḥasidic song, dance, and tale later became influential in modern Jewish youth movements and helped to shape neo-Ḥasidism. From the end of World War I, the Ḥabad-Lubavitch movement led the underground struggle to maintain Jewish religious life and culture under communist regimes (see *Russia). Some ḥasidic dynasties took part in the creation of agricultural settlements in Israel (*Kefar Ḥasidim, *Kefar Ḥabad). In recent times, groups of young Jews in the United States have demonstrated their allegiance to protest movements through turning to ḥasidic modes of expression to embody their enthusiasm, specific cohesion, and adherence to Jewish identity.

[Avraham Rubinstein]

BASIC IDEAS OF ḤASIDISM

Creator and Universe

While it is true that many of the basic ideas of Ḥasidism are grounded in earlier Jewish sources, the Ḥasidim did produce much that was new if only by emphasis. With few exceptions, ḥasidic ideas are not presented systematically in the ḥasidic writings, but an examination of these writings reveals certain patterns common to all the ḥasidic masters. Central to ḥasidic thought is an elaboration of the idea, found in the Lurianic Kabbalah, that God "withdrew from Himself into Himself" in order to leave the primordial "empty space" into which the finite world could eventually emerge after a long process of emanations. This "withdrawal" (*ẓimẓum*), according to Chabad thought especially and to a considerable degree also to ḥasidic thought in general, does not really take place but only appears to do so. The infinite divine light is progressively screened so as not to engulf all in its tremendous glory so that creatures can appear to enjoy an independent existence. The whole universe is, then, a "garment" of God, emerging from Him "like the snail whose shell is formed of itself."

In a parable attributed to the Ba'al Shem Tov a mighty king sits on his throne, situated in the center of a huge palace with many halls, all of them filled with gold, silver, and precious stones. Those servants of the king who are far more interested in acquiring wealth than in gazing at the king's splendor spend all their time, when they are admitted to the palace, in the outer halls, gathering the treasures they find there. So engrossed are they in this that they never see the countenance of the king. But the wise servants, refusing to be distracted by the treasures in the halls, press on until they come to the king on his throne in the center of the palace. To their astonishment, once they reach the king's presence, they discover that the palace, its halls, and their treasures are really only an illusion, created by the king's magical powers. In the same way God hides Himself in the "garments" and "barriers" of the cosmos and the "upper worlds." When man recognizes that this is so, when he acknowledges that all is created out of God's essence and that, in reality, there are no barriers between man and his God, "all the workers of iniquity" are dispersed (*Keter Shem Tov*, I, 5a–b). In its context this parable refers to prayer. Man should persist in his devotions and refuse to be distracted by extraneous thoughts. But the idea that all is in God is clearly implied. The verse: "Know this day, and lay it to thy heart, that the Lord He is God in heaven above and in the earth beneath; there is none else" (Deut. 4:39) is read as: "There is nothing else." In reality there is nothing but God, for otherwise the world would be "separate" from God and this would imply limitation in Him (*Keter Shem Tov*, I, 8b).

The ḥasidic leader R. Menahem Mendel of Lubavich observes (*Derekh Mitzvotekha* (1911), 123) that the disciples of the Ba'al Shem Tov gave the "very profound" turn to the doctrine of the oneness of God so that it means not only that He is unique, as the medieval thinkers said, but that He is all that is: "That there is no reality in created things. This is to say that in truth all creatures are not in the category of 'something' [*yesh*] or a 'thing' [*davar*] as we see them with our eyes. For this is only from our point of view since we cannot perceive the divine vitality. But from the point of view of the divine vitality which sustains us we have no existence and we are in the category of complete nothingness [*efes*] like the rays of the sun in the sun itself… From which it follows that there is no other existence whatsoever apart from His existence, blessed be He. This is true unification. As the saying has it: 'Thou art before the world was created and now that it is created' – in exactly the same manner. Namely, just as there was no existence apart from Him before the world was created so it is even now."

As a corollary of ḥasidic pantheism (more correctly, panentheism) is the understanding in its most extreme form of the doctrine of divine providence. The medieval thinkers limited special providence to the human species and allowed only general providence so far as the rest of creation is concerned. It is purely by chance that this spider catches that fly, that this ox survives, the other dies. For the Ḥasidim there is nothing random in a universe that is God's "garment." No stone lies where it does, no leaf falls from the tree, unless it has been so arranged by divine wisdom.

Particularly during prayer but also at other times man has to try to overcome the limitations of his finite being to see only the divine light into which, from the standpoint of ultimate reality, he and the cosmos are absorbed. This transcendence of the ego is known in ḥasidic thought as *bittul ha-yesh*, "the annihilation of selfhood." Humility (*shiflut*) does not mean for Ḥasidism that man thinks little of himself but that he does not think of himself at all. Only through humility can man be the recipient of God's grace. He must empty himself so that he might be filled with God's gifts.

Optimism, Joy, and Hitlahavut

Ḥasidic optimism and joy (*simḥah*) are also based on the notion that all is in God. If the world and its sorrows do not enjoy true existence and the divine light and vitality pervade all, what cause is there for despair or despondency? When man rejoices that he has been called to serve God, he bestirs the divine joy above and blessing flows through all creation. A melancholy attitude of mind is anathema to Ḥasidism, serving only to create a barrier between man and his Maker. Even over his sins a man should not grieve overmuch: "At times the evil inclination misleads man into supposing that he has committed a serious sin when it was actually no more than a mere peccadillo or no sin at all, the intention being to bring man into a state of melancholy [*aẓvut*]. But melancholy is a great hindrance to God's service. Even if a man has stumbled and sinned he should not become too sad because this will prevent him from worshiping God" (*Ẓavva'at Ribash* (1913),9). Some ḥasidic teachers, however, draw a distinction between man's "bitterness" (*merirut*) at his remoteness from God and "sadness." The former is commendable in that it is lively and piercing whereas the latter denotes deadness of soul. A further result of the basic ḥasidic philosophy is *hitlahavut*, "burning enthusiasm," in which the soul is aflame with ardor for God whose presence is everywhere. Man's thought can cleave to God, to see only the divine light, and this state of attachment (*devekut*), of always being with God, is the true aim of all worship.

Love and Fear

The study of the Torah, prayer, and other religious duties must be carried out in love and fear. The bare deed without the love and fear of God is like a bird without wings. A ḥasidic tale relates that the Ba'al Shem Tov was unable to enter a certain synagogue because it was full of lifeless prayers, which, lacking the wings of love and fear, were unable to ascend to God. As observant Jews the Ḥasidim did not seek to deny the value of the deed but they taught repeatedly that the deed could only be elevated when carried out in a spirit of devotion. R. Ḥayyim of Czernowitz writes (*Sha'ar ha-Tefillah* (1813), 7b): "There is a man whose love for his God is so strong and faithful that he carries out each *mitzvah* with superlative excellence, strength and marvelous power, waiting in longing to perform the *mitzvah*, his soul expiring in yearning. For, in accordance with his spiritual rank, his heart and soul know the gracious value of the *mitzvot* and the splendor of their tremendous glory and beauty, infinitely higher than all values. And how much more so the dread and fear, the terror and trembling, which fall on such a man when he performs a *mitzvah*, knowing as he does with certainty that he stands before the name of the Holy One, blessed be He, the great and terrible King, before Whom 'all the inhabitants of the earth are reputed as nothing; and He doeth according to His will in the host of heaven' [Dan. 4:32], who stands over him always, seeing his deeds, for His glory fills the earth. Such a man is always in a state of shame and lowliness so intense that the world cannot contain it, especially when he carries out the *mitzvot*. Such a man's *mitzvot* are those which fly ever upward in joy and satisfaction to draw down from there every kind of blessing and flow of grace to all worlds."

This idea was applied to all man's deeds, not only to his religious obligations. In all things there are "holy sparks" (*niẓoẓot*) waiting to be redeemed and rescued for sanctity through man using his appetites to serve God. The very taste of food is a pale reflection of the spiritual force which brings the food into being. Man should be led on by it to contemplate the divine vitality in the food and so to God Himself. In the words of the highly charged mythology of the Lurianic Kabbalah, the "holy sparks" released by man provide the *Shekhinah* with her "Female Waters" which, in turn, cause the flow of the "Male Waters" and so assist "the unification of the Holy One, blessed be He, and His *Shekhinah*" to produce cosmic harmony. Because of the importance of man's role for the sacred marriage and its importance in the ḥasidic scheme, the Ḥasidim adopted from the kabbalists the formula: "For the sake of the unification of the Holy One, blessed be He, and His *Shekhinah*" (*le-shem yiḥud*) before the performance of every good deed, for which they were vehemently attacked by R. Ezekiel Landau of Prague (*Noda bi-Yhudah*, YD no. 93). (The redemption of the "holy sparks" was one of the reasons given for ḥasidic fondness for tobacco. Smoking a pipe served to release subtle "sparks" not otherwise accessible.)

***Kavvanah* and Ẓaddikism**

Is a program of sustained contemplation, attachment, and utter devotion to God (**Kavvanah*) really possible for all men? The ḥasidic answer is generally in the negative. This is why the doctrine of ẓaddikism is so important for Ḥasidism. The holy man, his thoughts constantly on God, raises the prayers of his followers and all their other thoughts and actions. In the comprehensive work on ẓaddikism, R. Elimelech of Lyzhansk's *No'am Elimelekh*, the *ẓaddik* appears as a spiritual superman, with the power to work miracles. He is the channel through which the divine grace flows, the man to whom God has given control of the universe by his prayers. The *ẓaddik* performs a double task: he brings man nearer to God and he brings down God's bounty to man. The *ẓaddik* must be supported by his followers. This financial assistance is not for the sake of the *ẓaddik* but for the sake of those privileged to help him. By supporting the *ẓaddik* with their worldly goods his followers become attached to him through his dependence on them, which he readily accepts in his love for them. Their welfare thus becomes his and his prayers on their behalf can the more readily be answered. The *ẓaddik* even has powers over life and death. God may have decreed that a person should die but the prayers of the *ẓaddik* can nullify this decree. This is because the *ẓaddik*'s soul is so pure and elevated that it can reach to those worlds in which no decree has been promulgated since there only mercy reigns.

But if such powers were evidently denied to the great ones of the past how does the *ẓaddik* come to have them? The rationale is contained in a parable attributed to the Maggid of Mezhirech (*No'am Elimelekh* to Gen. 37: 1). When a king is on his travels he will be prepared to enter the most humble dwelling if he can find rest there but when the king is at home he will refuse to leave his palace unless he is invited by a great lord who knows how to pay him full regal honors. In earlier generations only the greatest of Jews could attain to the holy spirit. Now that the *Shekhinah* is in exile, God is ready to dwell in every soul free from sin.

Social Involvement

The social implications of ḥasidic thought should not be underestimated. The sorry conditions of the Jews in the lands in which Ḥasidism was born were keenly felt by the ḥasidic masters who considered it a duty of the highest order to alleviate their sufferings. In the ḥasidic court the wealthy were instructed to help their poorer brethren, the learned not to look down on their untutored fellows. The unity of the Jewish people and the need for Jews to participate in one another's joys and sorrows was repeatedly stressed. The preachers who seemed to take a perverse delight in ruthlessly exposing Jewish shortcomings were taken to task by the Ba'al Shem Tov and his followers. The *ẓaddik* was always on the lookout for excuses for Jewish faults. R. Levi Isaac of Berdichev is the supreme example of the *ẓaddik* who challenges God Himself to show mercy to His people.

From the numerous anti-ḥasidic polemics (collected e.g., by M. Wilensky, *Ḥasidim u-Mitnaggedim*, 1970) we learn which of the ḥasidic ideas were especially offensive to their opponents. The doctrine that all is in God was treated as sheer blasphemy. The doctrine, it was said, would lead to "thinking on the Torah in unclean places" i.e., it would obliterate the distinction between the clean and the unclean, the licit and the illicit. The alleged arrogance of the claims made for the *ẓaddik* were similarly a cause of offense. The ḥasidic elevation of contemplative prayer over all other obligations, especially over the study of the Torah, seemed to be a complete reversal of the traditional scale of values. The doctrine of *bittul ha-yesh* was criticized as leading to moral irresponsibility. The bizarre practice of turning somersaults in prayer, followed by a number of the early Ḥasidim as an expression of self-abnegation, was held up to ridicule, as was ḥasidic indulgence in alcoholic stimulants and tobacco. The resort of the Ḥasidim to prayer in special conventicles (the *shtiblekh*), their adoption of the Lurianic prayer book, their encouragement of young men to leave their families for long periods to stay at the court of the *ẓaddik*, were all anathema to the *Mitnaggedim* who saw in the whole process a determined revolt against the established order.

[Louis Jacobs]

TEACHINGS OF ḤASIDISM

Origins of Ḥasidic Teachings

The teachings of Ḥasidism are as notable for their striking content as they are for the colorful literary form in which they are cast. Their sources, however, are readily traceable to kabbalistic literature and to the *musar* literature of Safed deriving from it. The first generation of ḥasidic teachers usually embodied their teachings in terse aphorisms. These, too, reflect the influence of the aforementioned literature. The first evidence of the spread of ḥasidic teaching dates from the 1750s and comes from the anti-ḥasidic polemical writings of the *Mitnaggedim*, their implacable opponents. Authentic ḥasidic teachings appeared in print only at the beginning of the 1780s. These published teachings of the Ḥasidim make no reference to the doctrines ascribed to them by their mitnaggedic opponents. For this curious fact, two possible explanations suggest themselves. Either the *Mitnaggedim* were guilty of exaggeration and distortion in their hostile description of ḥasidic doctrine or, in the interim, a process of internal criticism had moderated original ḥasidic teachings in the decades preceding their publication. The likelihood is that both factors were at work. This does not mean to imply, however, that the teachings of Israel b. Eliezer (the Ba'al Shem Tov) recorded by his disciples are to be regarded as having been censored, thus casting doubt on their authenticity. What is to be inferred is that the antinomian and anarchistic doctrines taught by certain circles were not incorporated into classical Ḥasidism. While no evidence of the specific character of such teachings is available, there can be no doubt of the existence of such groups.

The teachings of the earliest circles of Ḥasidim were transmitted in the name of Israel Ba'al Shem Tov, Judah Leib Piestanyer, Naḥman of Kosov, Naḥman of Horodenko (Gorodenka), and others. This was a group of decided spiritual (pneumatic) cast which also fashioned for itself a particular communal life-style, a community built not on family units but rather on meetings organized around prayer circles. As a matter of principle, this pattern served as the basis for the development of the classic ḥasidic community.

It may be said that for the first time in the history of Jewish mysticism, ḥasidic thought reflects certain social concerns. There is present a confrontation with distinctly societal phenomena and their transformation into legitimate problems in mysticism as such. This concern is expressed not in the establishment of specific liturgical norms or formulas devised for the convenience of the congregation but in such doctrines as the worship of God through every material act, and the "uplifting of the sparks" (*niẓoẓot*). In the teachings of the Ba'al Shem Tov and his circles these doctrines involved a sense of social mission.

Worship through Corporeality (Avodah be-Gashmiyyut)

One of the most widespread teachings of Ḥasidism from the very beginnings of the movement is the doctrine calling for man's worship of God by means of his physical acts. In other words, the human physical dimension is regarded as an area capable of religious behavior and value. From this assumption, a variety of religious tendencies followed. To be especially noted is the extraordinary emphasis placed on the value of such worship and the subsequent attempt to limit it to a devotional practice suitable only for spiritually superior individuals. In the teachings of the Ba'al Shem Tov, this doctrine developed in uncontrolled fashion, culminating in the tenet that man must worship God with both the good and the evil in his nature.

The ideological background of worshiping God through such physical acts as eating, drinking, and sexual relations was suggested by the verse "in all thy ways shalt thou know Him" (Prov. 3:6). For if it is incumbent upon man to worship God with all his natural impulses by transforming them into good, then obviously the realization of such an idea demands involvement in that very area in which these impulses are made manifest – the concrete, material world. In addition, the revolutionary views concealed within the interstices of the teachings of the Ba'al Shem Tov make it clear that corporeal worship (*avodah be-gashmiyyut*) saves man from the dangers of an overwrought spiritualism and retreat from the real world. This is expressed by Jacob Joseph of Polonnoye, a disciple of the Ba'al Shem Tov, in the name of his teacher: "I have heard from my teacher that the soul, having been hewn from its holy quarry, ever ought to long for its place of origin, and, lest its reality be extinguished as a result of its yearning, it has been surrounded with matter, so that it may also perform material acts such as eating, drinking, conduct of business and the like, in order that it [the soul] may not be perpetually inflamed by the worship of the Holy One blessed be He, through the principle of the perfection [*tikkun*] and maintenance of body and soul" (*Toledot Ya'akov Yosef*, portion *Tazri'a*). The point made here in advocacy of corporeal worship is largely psychological and not theological.

The theological concept designed to reinforce the affirmation of corporeal worship is grounded in the dialectical relationship that operates between matter and spirit. In order to reach the spiritual goal, man must pass through the material stage, for the spiritual is only a higher level of the material. The parables of the Ba'al Shem Tov of the "lost son" point to the theological function served by the concept of "corporeal worship." The son, in foreign captivity, enters the local tavern with his captors, all the time guarding within him a hidden secret which is none other than the key to his redemption. While his captors drink only for the sake of drinking, he drinks in order to disguise his true happiness which consists not in drinking but rather in his "father's letter" – his secret – informing him of his impending release from captivity. In other words, there is no way to be liberated from the captivity of matter except by ostensibly cooperating with it. This ambivalent relation to reality forms a supreme religious imperative.

Social Consequences of the Doctrine of "Corporeal Worship"

The dialectic tension between matter and spirit or between form and matter – the conventional formulation in Ḥasidism – assumes social significance and the polar terms come to denote the relationship between the *ẓaddik* and his congregation. In this context, the opposition between spirit and matter is conceived so as to create a seeming tension between the inner content of the mystical act and the forms of social activity. It is within the community, however, that mystical activity should be achieved though, of course, in hidden fashion. Those who surround the *ẓaddik* are incapable of individually discerning the moment in which the transformation of the secular into the holy occurs. This indispensable transformation can be experienced only communally. Therefore, the community of Ḥasidim becomes a necessary condition for the individual's realization of the mystical experience. It became the imperative of Ḥasidism to live both in society and beyond its bounds at one and the same time. The social and psychological conditions necessary for fulfillment of "corporeal worship" are rooted not alone in the disparity between form and matter, i.e., between the masses and the *ẓaddik*, but rather in the inner spiritual connection between the two. Only the presence of a basic common denominator makes possible the appearance of a mystical personality which grows dialectically out of otherwise disparate elements. The *ẓaddik* represents the "particular amid the general." The absence of such integration precludes the consequent growth of the spiritual element.

In the teachings of the Ba'al Shem Tov, little stress is placed on the theories of the Lurianic Kabbalah centering on the "uplifting of the sparks." Nevertheless, these theories later served as the theoretical justification for the necessity of *avodah be-gashmiyyut*. The Lurianic theory, as interpreted by the Ḥasidim, maintains that through contact with the concrete material world by means of *devekut* ("communion" with God), and *kavvanah* ("devotional intent"), man uplifts the sparks imprisoned in matter. In this context, the concept of *avodah be-gashmiyyut* carries with it a distinct polemical note, since it is asserted that its validity has particular application to the sphere of social life. Thus, a major religious transvaluation finds expression in the creation of a new system of social relations. This is exemplified in the instructions given by the Ba'al Shem Tov granting permission to desist from *devekut* during prayer in order to respond to some social need. He indicates that should a man be approached during a period of *devekut* by a person wishing to talk to him or seeking his assistance he is permitted to stop praying since in this latter action (i.e., in directing his attention from prayer to his fellow) "God is present." Here, the temporary abandonment of the study of Torah (*bittul Torah*) and of *devekut* is justified by the fact that this encounter too constitutes part of the spiritual experience of the "spiritually perfect man." As a result, the meaning of religious "perfection" is determined by a new system of values.

In the teachings of the Ba'al Shem Tov's disciple, Dov Baer, the Maggid of Mezhirech, these motives disappear. The direction of thinking assumes a completely typical spiritualistic character. *Avodah be-gashmiyyut* is conceived of as an indispensable necessity although it is covertly questioned whether every man is permitted to engage in it. A pupil of one of the Maggid's disciples, Meshullam Feivush of Zbarazh, specifically states that it was not the Maggid's intention to proclaim *avodah be-gashmiyyut* as a general practice but rather as a practice intended for an elite immune to the danger of the concept's vulgarization. One of the Maggid's most important disciples, Shneur Zalman of Lyady, mentions the practice with a touch of derision. Nevertheless, it came to occupy a central place in the literature of Ḥasidism. The meaning and limits of the concept served as a focal point of an ongoing controversy among the movement's proponents.

The Ethos of Ḥasidism

From the moment that the formula *yeridah le-ẓorekh aliyyah* ("the descent in behalf of the ascent") became established in the context of the emphasis placed upon it by the Ba'al Shem Tov, a certain perturbation of the traditional system of ethical values in Judaism was imminent. Although the precise limits of the descent into the region of evil were still open to debate, the acceptance in principle of man's mandate to "transform" evil into good, through an actual confrontation of evil in its own domain, was an idea definitely unwelcome in any institutionalized religion. The classical example of dealing with this problem propounded in the teachings of the Ba'al Shem Tov was that of the encounter with evil in the sphere of human impulses: "A man should desire a woman to so great an extent that he refines away his material existence, in virtue of the strength of his desire." The significance of this statement lies in its granting a warrant to exhaust the primordial desires without actually realizing them; it is not a dispensation for the release of bodily desires through physical actualization but through their transformation. This concept is of great importance to an understanding of the significance of confronting evil, as it points to the peculiar inner logic implicit in the idea of *avodah be-gashmiyyut* as found expression in the ethical sphere.

Within the framework of the concept of "descent" (*yeridah*) – a concept over which Ḥasidism wavered a great deal – can be included the idea of the "descent" of the *ẓaddik* toward the sinner in order to uplift him. This "descent" carries with it bold ethical implications in that it justifies the "descent" into the sphere of evil and demands the consequent "ascent" from the domain of sin. A moral danger is of course implicit in the real possibility that a man may "descend" and thereafter find himself unable to achieve the consequent ascent. Here again, the very act of confronting evil requires an independent valuation, admitting of no previous criticism or censorship, although such confrontation was regarded as the special prerogative of men of "spirit," i.e., the *ẓaddikim*. Thus, out of the teachings of the Ba'al Shem Tov arose a primary imperative to turn toward material reality and the worldly inferior sphere. If only in moral terms, this demand grew from a basic ethical-religious claim that man is not at liberty to abstain from the task of transfiguring the material world through good.

The teachings of the Maggid of Mezhirech reveal a more restrained doctrine on the one hand, and an interiorization of spiritual problems on the other, evidenced by the greater degree of introspection and inwardness characteristic of the mystic. In the Maggid can be discerned a tendency toward an increasing spiritualization, accompanied by greater moral restraint. Among the followers of the Maggid, however, developments took place in very different directions. In the courts of some *ẓaddikim* the influence of the thinking of the Ba'al Shem Tov was apparent in the doctrines they broadcast, propagating social responsibility and a communal mysticism. These centers of teaching developed primarily in Galicia, the Ukraine, and also in Poland at the court of the rabbi of Lublin. This last school reached a crisis point during the period of its heirs in *Przysucha, *Kotsk, and *Izbica, when it began to cast doubt on the large majority of accepted ḥasidic doctrines, especially on their moral significance. At the same time Chabad Ḥasidism in Belorussia developed in the direction of a rationalized religious life by preserving pre-ḥasidic moral biases, and by shunning the mystical adventurism of the Ba'al Shem Tov and even the Maggid of Mezhirech, which in its attempt to spiritualize reality, had propounded as necessary the confrontation with evil and laid down the conditions for this conflict, while seeing in the "uplift of the sparks" its great mission. Nevertheless in the person of Dov Baer, son of Shneur Zalman of Lyady, the founder of Chabad Ḥasidism, can be discerned a thinker with a tendency toward a pure and aristocratic mysticism, a fact which establishes his affinity to the views of the Maggid of Mezhirech, although this holds true only in terms of this aristocratic bent. In terms of an "ethical mentality," as it were, Dov Baer is a representative of his father's line of thought.

Prayer

In the second and third generation of Ḥasidism, some Ḥasidim testified to the fact that, in their view, the major innovation of the Ba'al Shem Tov lay in his introducing in prayer a fundamentally new significance as well as new modes of praying. The author of *Ma'or va-Shemesh*, a disciple of Elimelech of Lyzhansk, writes, "Ever since the time of the holy Ba'al Shem Tov, of blessed and sanctified memory, the light of the exertion of the holiness of prayer has looked out and shone down upon the world, and into everybody who desires to approach the Lord, blessed be He…" This can be understood to mean that the Ḥasidim saw in the doctrine of the Ba'al Shem Tov two things as essentially one: the radiance (of the light of holiness) and new hope, and the revived exertion (involved in the holiness of prayer). These dual motifs began to function as guidelines for ḥasidic prayer, in the following senses:

(1) The origins of prayer lie in the conflict with the external world, known as "evil thoughts." Prayer requires a great effort of concentration if man is to overcome the tendency of the plenitude of exterior reality to permeate his consciousness. This quite natural permeation to which man responds instinctively is considered in Ḥasidism as the "wayfaring" of thought and as such is the very opposite of its concentration, which requires a negation of the world, a turning away from it, and is based on man's ability to achieve pure introspection devoid of all content. The function of this introspection is to achieve the utter voiding ("annihilation") of human thought

and to uplift the element of divinity latent in man's soul. The transformation of this element from a latent to an active condition is understood as true union with God, the state marking the climax of *devekut* ("clinging to God," "communion with God"). Prayer, then, is regarded as the most accessible foundation for the technique of *devekut* with God. The spiritual effort involved in prayer was considered so strenuous as to give rise to the ḥasidic dictum "I give thanks to God that I remain alive after praying."

(2) The two stages described as constituting the process of prayer are: *dibbur* ("speech") and *maḥashavah* ("thought"). In passing through the first of these stages man contemplates the words of the prayer through visualizing their letters. Concentrated attention on these objects before his eyes gradually depletes the letters of their contours and voids thought of content, and speech, the reciting of the prayers, becomes automatic. Man continues to recite the prayers until an awesome stillness descends upon him, and his thought ceases to function in particulars; he establishes a connection with the divine "World of Thought" which functions on transcendent and immanent perceptible levels at one and the same time. This immanent activity is identical with the revelation of the "apex," the inner "I." In the wordplay of the Ḥasidim: "The I (אני) becomes Nought" (אין); in the "flash of an eye" a condition of utter annulment is established, and this is the state of nothingness the mystic seeks to achieve.

(3) For Ḥasidism the significance of prayer lies neither in beseeching the Creator and supplicating Him, nor in focusing attention on the contents of prayer. Rather, prayer is primarily a ladder by means of which a man can ascend to *devekut* and union with the Divinity. Ḥasidism did not embrace the Lurianic doctrine of *kavvanot* since it failed to accord with the primary intent of *devekut*. However, in spite of all the individualistic tendencies inherent in prayer through *devekut*, the Ḥasidim did not belittle the importance of communal worship, nor did they demand of the Ḥasid that he achieve *devekut* outside the bounds of the community and the halakhic framework of prayer. When there arose problems of prayer through *devekut* within the framework of the time sequence conventionally set for prayer, there were those Ḥasidim who chose to dispense with the framework, and even allowed a man to worship outside of the time limits set for prayer, provided that he infused his prayer with *devekut*. However, as a result, the Ḥasidim quite rapidly felt themselves in danger of jeopardizing the framework of the *halakhah*, and, for the most part, they recanted and accepted the authority of the existing frameworks.

(4) *Devekut*, which became the banner under which Ḥasidism went forth to revitalize religious life and modify the traditional hierarchy of values in Judaism, quickly led to a confrontation between it and the daily pattern of existence of the Ḥasid. Not only was traditional worship and its significance brought face to face with new problems, the same held true for *talmud torah*. The reason for this lay not in a fundamental revolt against the study of the Torah as such, but rather in the fact that *devekut* laid claim to the greater part of man's day and left little time for learning. In this confrontation *devekut* gained the ascendency, though there can be discerned in ḥasidic sources a tendency to strike a balance with the problematic nature of prayer, in order to prevent the study of Torah being swallowed up in mysticism. In the 19th century a distinct reaction in the direction of scholarship at the expense of *devekut* took place in certain ḥasidic "courts."

The performance of the *mitzvot*, too, and all man's actions attendant upon them, was overshadowed by *devekut*, as the fulfilling of the *mitzvot* was assessed in terms of the *devekut* achieved by man. In the new hierarchy of values the *mitzvah* itself became a means – and only one of several – to *devekut*. The widespread ḥasidic slogan "Performance of the *mitzvah* without *devekut* is meaningless" bears supreme testimony to the fact that the new mystical morality came to terms with traditional Jewish patterns on a new plane.

The existential status of man was conceived anew in Ḥasidism, and an attitude of resignation toward the world was emphasized. The Ḥasid was asked to rejoice in order to obviate any possibility of self-oriented introspection which might lead him to substitute, as his initial goal, personal satisfaction for the worship of God. The Ḥasidim went to great lengths to crystallize the primary awareness that they were first and foremost "sons of the higher world."

ḤASIDIC LITERATURE

Ḥasidic literature comprises approximately 3,000 works. No comprehensive bibliography is as yet available, although partial bibliographies exist, mostly as part of the general catalog of Hebrew literature. These include such works as *Seder ha-Dorot, Shem ha-Gedolim he-Ḥadash, Oẓar ha-Sefarim*, and *Beit Eked Sefarim*, in which ḥasidic works are listed. In more detailed fashion, the literature of Ḥasidism has been catalogued by G. *Scholem in his *Bibliographia Kabbalistica* (1933). A detailed bibliography of Bratslav Ḥasidism can be found in the pamphlet known as *Kunteres Elleh Shemot* (1928), also edited by G. Scholem. In addition, there is a detailed bibliography of Chabad Ḥasidism, compiled by A.M. Habermann, called *Sha'arei Ḥabad*, which can be found in the Salman Schocken jubilee volume *Alei Ayin* (1952).

Ḥasidic literature began to appear in print in 1780; the first published work was *Toledot Ya'akov Yosef* (Korets, 1780) by Jacob Joseph of Polonnoye. The following year saw the publication of *Maggid Devarav le-Ya'akov* (Korets, 1781), a work of the teachings of Dov Baer of Mezhirech. The earliest works of Ḥasidism were printed at Korets (Korzec), Slavuta, Zhitomir, Kopust, Zolkiew, Przemysl, Leszno, Josefov, and at several other places. Speculative works were the first type of ḥasidic literature published; it was only in the 19th century that anthologies of ḥasidic tales came into their own, and successive anthologies began to appear in print. Several manuscripts of major importance in the canon of speculative writings, which were composed in the 18th century, were first published in the 19th century. As they gradually acquired authoritative standing among the Ḥasidim, these works were frequently reprinted.

Speculative Literature

The great bulk of Ḥasidism's speculative literature was compiled in the manner of homiletic discourses (*derashot*) on selected passages from the weekly Torah readings as well as from other portions of Scripture. For the most part, it consists of recorded literature and not original writings. The homiletic framework, traditionally used for expository purposes throughout the literature of Judaism, served as background for ḥasidic ideas as well. The reader can immediately feel the ḥasidic "pulse" in each and every homiletic sermon, which reveals the presence of a distinct type of propaganda designed to spread the aims and ideas of its authors. The associative context underlying these homiletic sermons is highly complex, for it relies not only upon exegesis of scriptural passages but also on the vast range of rabbinic literature throughout the ages, on the literature of the *halakhah* from the *rishonim* to the *aḥaronim*, on the early and Lurianic Kabbalah, and on the *musar* literature of Spain and Safed. The language of these writings is influenced by the oral nature of the *derash*, in which scant attention is paid to either syntax or to artifices of style, and the idiomatic characteristics of Yiddish have left their mark on the sentence structure of the Hebrew.

Expository Pamphlets and Letters

Conscious of the need to clarify the complexities of their teachings, in order to define them with as great a degree of precision as possible, the Ḥasidim adopted a special form of writing, the expository pamphlet. This was not done with the intention of creating a new literary genre, but as a way of replying to contemporary problems over which opinion was divided. Among the important literature of this class are the *Tanya* (Slavuta, 1796) by Shneur Zalman of Lyady and *Kunteres ha-Hitpa'alut* by his son, Dov Baer. In this class, too, fall Dov Baer's prefaces to several other works. In addition, the prefaces to the writings of *Aaron of Starosielce, Shneur Zalman's foremost disciple, should be classified as belonging to this genre, although they can stand in a class of their own. Similarly, the *Derekh Emet* (1855) by Meshullam Feivush of Zbarazh, is close to an expository pamphlet in its content, while in form it is epistolary. Treatises of the explanatory type, shorter and more compressed, appear in several well-known letters, such as those of *Ḥayyim Ḥaikel of Amdur, Menaḥem Mendel of Vitebsk, and *Abraham b. Alexander Katz of Kalisk, and a type of epistolary literature, known as the "*Iggerot ha-Kodesh*" of Shneur Zalman of Lyady and Elimelech of Lyzhansk, was widely dispersed; among the richest of these collections of letters is the *Alim li-Terufah* (1896) by Nathan Sternherz of Nemirov, a disciple of Naḥman of Bratslav. Apart from this category of writing there exists a wealth of epistolary literature dealing with both current affairs and with the social problems of the Jewish communities of the time; these letters are primarily of historical importance.

Kabbalistic Writings

Notwithstanding the differences of opinion within the ḥasidic community over the relative importance of close study of the Lurianic Kabbalah – differences resulting from a variety of factors – Ḥasidism counted among its adherents several of the leading kabbalists of the age. While Elijah b. Solomon, the Gaon of Vilna, expressed particular interest in the Kabbalah of the Zohar, ḥasidic kabbalists were largely influenced by Cordoverianic and Lurianic Kabbalah. Outstanding among ḥasidic writers of kabbalistic texts were the *maggid* Israel of *Kozienice, Ẓevi Hirsch of Zhidachov, and Jacob Ẓevi Jolles, author of a lexicon of Lurianic Kabbalah entitled *Kehillat Ya'akov* (1870). It is noticeable that the kabbalistic commentaries of these Ḥasidim are not always integrated within the framework of their ḥasidic teachings, but here and there it is possible to discern traces of ḥasidic thought in their commentaries on the Zohar and on the *Eẓ Ḥayyim* of Ḥayyim *Vital. A more pronounced attempt at integrating the two trends of thought, though in the direction of Kabbalah, becomes evident when the works in question are ḥasidic writings which attempt to locate their origins and sources of continuity in the Kabbalah.

Halakhic Writings

Eighteenth-century Ḥasidism did not give rise to many halakhic treatises; the best-known works of this type are the *Shulḥan Arukh* (Kopust, 1814) by Shneur Zalman of Lyady, and the writings of his grandson, the Ẓemaḥ Ẓedek. Polish Ḥasidism revitalized the scholastic tradition; prominent scholars among them were Isaac Meir of *Gur, author of *Ḥiddushei ha-Rim*, and Gershon Ḥanokh of Radzyn (see *Izbica-Radzyn), who reinstituted the custom of wearing a blue-fringed garment, or *ẓiẓit tekhelet*. Galician Ḥasidism, too, had outstanding men of learning like Ḥayyim *Halberstam of Zanz, author of *Divrei Ḥayyim* (1864), and Isaac Judah Jehiel of Komarno.

Liturgy

Although it was not ḥasidic practice to create a new liturgy, nevertheless exceptional cases are known in which Ḥasidim composed and instituted novel prayers. There were those Ḥasidim who were accustomed to add Yiddish words to their prayers, and there were also prayers which were composed and recited as additions to the conventional liturgy. Typical examples of these additional and spontaneous prayers are found in Bratslav Ḥasidism. Phinehas of Korets paid particular attention to modifications in the liturgy and even added changes of his own, which have come down in manuscript only. The *Siddur ha-Rav* of Shneur Zalman of Lyady did much to establish specific liturgical norms for the adherents of Chabad Ḥasidism.

Vision Literature

Visions were favorably regarded by the Ḥasidim, but they were allowed scant publicity and their publication was limited. In spite of this there remain a few writings which hint at the existence of visionaries. Writings by one of them, Isaac Eizik of Komarno, were widely circulated; a selection appeared in print: *Megillat Setarim* (1944).

Narrative Literature

The literature of the ḥasidic movement is generally known largely through its treasury of tales and legends. The first collections appeared in the early 19th century; the earliest of these was the *Shivḥei ha-Besht* ("Praises of the Ba'al Shem Tov"), edited by the *shoḥet* of Luniets, and published in 1805 in Kopust. This purported to be a documentary monograph, but there is no doubt that it is simply a collection of stories which, however, contain a measure of historical fact. To some extent the *Shivḥei ha-Besht* is an imitation of the *Shivḥei ha-Ari* (Constantinople, 1766); however, there are few examples of this *shevaḥim* genre in ḥasidic literature. Few biographies or autobiographies appear in ḥasidic writings; exceptions are Nathan Sternherz of Nemirov on Naḥman of Bratslav and the works of some 20th-century biographers.

From the mid-19th century, hundreds of story anthologies began to appear. These early anthologies should not be seen as truly documentary; rather they are stories reflecting the ethos of Ḥasidism. Each story consists of a specific lesson embedded in a social or historical situation, narrating a single event and expressed in the conventional manner of "once upon a time…" From this point, the narrative situation evolves into a moral homily. The stories have a simple narrative basis; the time element is insignificant and there are no epic descriptions. The events of the story serve only as a framework for the lesson it contains, and the situation is of a spiritual and not a historical nature. In this manner, the epigrammatic element is also highlighted. It is characteristic of this type of story to recount events in the first person, thus lending the narrative a touch of authenticity, that is, the air of having been passed down by word of mouth from generation to generation. At times the stories are told in the name of some famous person, mentioned by name; at others, they are presented in the name of "a certain Ḥasid." Every ḥasidic dynasty saw to it that collections of its own stories were compiled. Fairly frequently, collections were published containing stories belonging to several dynasties, originating in the same geographical region, such as Poland, Galicia, and Ukraine.

The tradition of collecting and publishing ḥasidic tales continued down to the present century, still deriving its authority from the oral tradition. Some better-known collections are: *Sefer Ba'al Shem Tov* (1938), *Mifalot Ẓaddikim* (1856), *Teshu'ot Ḥen* (Berdichev, 1816), *Nifla'ot ha-Sabba Kaddisha* (2 vols., 1936–37), *Irin Kaddishin* (1885), *Nifla'ot ha-Rabbi* (1911), *Si'aḥ-Sarfei Kodesh* (1923), *Ramatayim Ẓofim* (1881), *Abbir ha-Ro'im* (1935), *Heikhal ha-Berakhah Iggera de-Pirka* (1858), *Kehal Ḥasidim* and *Siftei Ẓaddikim* (1924). Several 20th-century men of letters have compiled collections of ḥasidic tales, notably *Berdyczewski, Martin Buber, Eliezer *Steinman, and Judah Kaufman (Even Shemuel). Buber's anthology was published in English as *Tales of the Ḥasidim*.

INTERPRETATIONS OF ḤASIDISM

From its beginnings the ḥasidic movement has attracted the attention of both supporters and opponents in each succeeding generation. Anti-ḥasidic polemics were in print even before the movement's own writings were first published. Although in the main, complaints were voiced against the eccentric practices of the sect, among the accusations can be discerned matters of principle which were destined to figure prominently on both sides in the modern debate over Ḥasidism.

Early Opposition

The earliest opponents of Ḥasidism, such as Moses b. Jacob of Satanov, author of *Mishmeret ha-Kodesh* (Zolkiew, 1746), charged the Ḥasidim with avarice, boorishness, and contempt of the *halakhah*. In the 1770s, more adverse testimony began to accumulate; among the more important of these are the works of Israel Loebel, *Ozer Yisrael* (Shklov, 1786) and *Sefer ha-Vikku'aḥ* (Warsaw, 1798). Loebel accused the Ḥasidim of changing the liturgical conventions from the Ashkenazi to the Sephardi; of praying according to Isaac *Luria's doctrine of *kavvanot*; of praying with exaggerated joy when proper devotion demands tears and repentance; and of praying with wild abandon and with accompanying bodily movements. Solomon of Dubna, a follower of Moses *Mendelssohn, reproached the Ḥasidim for pride and high-handedness, and for a propensity to drunkenness. A more inclusive attack, embracing a wide range of accusations dealing mainly with the Ḥasidism's changes in traditional Jewish ways and practices, was made by Mendelssohn's teacher, Israel of Zamosc, author of *Nezed ha-Dema* (Dyhernfurth, 1773). Inveighing against both the spiritualism of their religious demands and the "moral corruption" of *ẓaddik* and Ḥasid alike, Israel of Zamosc pointed to evidence of the movement's bias toward separatism revealed in their changes in customs, such as the wearing of white and the adoption of the blue-fringed garment (*ẓiẓit tekhelet*) with the fringes worn on the outside. Among the ritual and spiritual claims of the Ḥasidim he denounced: the pretension to a profound religiosity; the practice of ritual bathing prior to morning and evening prayers in order to become worthy of the Divine Spirit; abstinence and fasting; spiritual arrogance; the claim to be "visionary" seers; breaking down the "walls of the Torah"; advocating the doctrine of "uplifting the sparks" (niẓoẓot) in the act of eating according to the doctrine of *tikkun*; and introducing a "new liturgy of raucousness." Among their immoral practices he counted cupidity, hypocrisy and abomination, gluttony, and inebriation.

Israel of Zamosc did not assemble his charges into an ordered exposition of the nature of Ḥasidism; nevertheless, they served as the basis for an interpretation of Ḥasidism which found expression in the writings of the most profound, systematic, and recondite of Ḥasidism's opponents – Ḥayyim of Volozhin (*Volozhiner), a disciple of Elijah b. Solomon Zalman, the Gaon of Vilna. In his book *Nefesh ha-Ḥayyim* (Vilna, 1824), in which the term Ḥasid is discreetly omitted, the principles of an interpretation of Ḥasidism as a novel religious phenomenon are first adumbrated. Ḥayyim of Volozhin presented Ḥasidism as a spiritual movement which ignores a cardinal principle in Judaism, namely that where the very nature of a *mitzvah*, as well as its fulfillment, is jeopardized by an idea, the latter should be set aside. Equally, where new values – lofty though they may be – threaten to come into conflict with tradition, the latter should be upheld. He rarely voiced an objection to specific ḥasidic practices but objected on a theoretical basis to matters of fundamental belief in Ḥasidism which appeared to him as dangerous. In so doing, he managed to detach his polemic from its historical context. Ḥayyim of Volozhin saw the spiritual uniqueness of Ḥasidism as follows:

(1) Ḥasidic teachings imparted a new significance to the concept of "Torah for its own sake," an idea which Ḥasidism understood as "Torah for the sake of *devekut*" ("communion") with God. According to Ḥayyim the study of the Torah for itself alone (and not for the sake of *devekut*) had a value transcending the fulfillment of the *mitzvot* themselves.

(2) Ḥayyim objected to the centrality in ḥasidic thought of the necessity for "purity of thought," since in his opinion the essence of the Torah and *mitzvot* did not necessarily lie in their being performed with "great *kavvanah* and true *devekut*." Here, Ḥayyim of Volozhin pointed out the opposition between mysticism and the *halakhah*. He emphasizes the dialectic process by which the performance of a *mitzvah* with excessive *kavvanah* leads to the destruction of the *mitzvah*. The very act of fulfilling the *mitzvah* is the fundamental principle and not the *kavvanah* accompanying its performance. He therefore challenged Ḥasidism on a matter of basic principle: performing *mitzvot* for the sake of heaven, he stated, is not a value in itself.

(3) He regarded the ḥasidic attempt to throw off the yoke of communal authority as social amoralism.

(4) He objected to the practice of praying outside the specified times set for prayer and to the consequent creation of a new pattern of life.

Ḥasidism and Haskalah

By the 1770s Ḥasidism had already come under the fire of the Haskalah. In Warsaw Jacques Kalmansohn published a scathing criticism of the social nature of Ḥasidism, as did Judah Leib Mises in his *Kinat ha-Emet* (Vienna, 1828). However, the writer who displayed the most striking talent for caricature and pointed satire sarcasm was Joseph *Perl of Tarnopol in his booklet *Ueber das Wesen der Sekte Chassidim aus ihren eigenen Schriften gezogen im Jahre 1816* ("On the Essence of the Ḥasidic Sect, Drawn from their own Writings in the Year 1816"; Jerusalem, National Library, Ms. Var. 293). The intent of his essay was to portray the material and spiritual conditions of the Ḥasidim in the lowest terms and to exert pressure on the Austrian authorities to force all the Ḥasidim to receive a compulsory education within the state-run school system. Perl's major contention was that as a socio-religious phenomenon Ḥasidism was an anti-progressive factor owing to its spiritual insularity and its social separatism: in spirit it was idle and passive and as a social group it was unproductive.

A more ambivalent view of Ḥasidism appears in the memoirs of Abraham Baer *Gottlober (*Abraham Baer Gottlober un Zayn Epokhe*, Vilna, 1828), who, when he later adopted the principles of the Haskalah, became convinced that it was Ḥasidism which had facilitated the spread of the Haskalah movement, in that it constituted a critical stage in the life of Judaism. Ḥasidism, according to Gottlober, threw off the yoke of rabbinical authority and in so doing opened the first sluicegate for the advance of the Haskalah. He also believed that Ḥasidism lay at the root of the crisis involving the Shulḥan Arukh. It displaced Shabbateanism and the Frankist movement, and tarnished the glory of "rabbinism." Gottlober evinced a particular admiration for the Chabad Ḥasidism because of their affinity to the Haskalah. However, Ḥasidism itself he regarded as a social movement which was disintegrating in its very essence because its criticism was internally directed.

Toward the end of the 1860s and the beginning of the 1870s there began to appear in print selections of the writings of E.Z. *Zweifel, under the title *Shalom al Yisrael*, a work which came to the defense of Ḥasidism, attempting to interpret its teachings on the basis of Ḥasidism's own authentic sources. In his balanced and informed argument, the author undertook an analysis of fundamental ḥasidic sayings and teachings, pointing out their significance and underlining, too, their uniqueness in comparison with Kabbalah. As a *maskil*, he had, of course, reservations about the "popular" elements of Ḥasidism, and about a number of its social aspects. Among the *maskilim* most influenced by *Shalom al Yisrael* was Micha Josef Berdyczewski, whose interpretation of Ḥasidism in his book *Nishmat Ḥasidim* (1899) was couched in romantic terms. Viewing the movement as a Jewish renaissance, an attempt to break down the barriers between man and the world, he saw in Ḥasidism "joy and inner happiness" and the opportunity to worship the Lord in many different ways.

Martin Buber and His Successors

Martin Buber was influenced by Berdyczewski, and in principle adopted his opinions, but his thesis was far more profound. Buber's first works on Ḥasidism are written in the spirit of mysticism, such as *Die Geschichten des Rabbi Nachman* (1906; *Tales of Rabbi Nachman*, 1962^2) and *Die Legende des Baalschem* (1908; *Legend of the Baal-Shem*, 1969^2). From his existentialist teachings, which he developed and consolidated during the 1930s and 1940s, Buber utilized the principle of dialogue as a criterion for understanding the essence of Ḥasidism, which he saw as giving support to the direct encounter, active and creative, between man and the world surrounding him. According to Buber, especially in his mature work *Be-Fardes ha-Ḥasidut* (1945), the dialogue of encounter reveals the reality of God; the cosmos is potentially holy, the encounter with man makes it actually holy. Buber sought to locate the origin of this fundamental concept, which he called pan-sacramentalism, in the ḥasidic doctrine of the worship of God through the corporeal and worldly dimensions of man's being, and attempted to view through this aspect the revival of Judaism that found expression in Ḥasidism as opposed to the *halakhah*. The ḥasidic renaissance was seen by Buber as a fresh and living religious phenomenon, and also as a process of social and communal consolidation of novel educational importance. He believed that the *ẓaddikim* gave expression to this new educational and religious meaning, for every *ẓaddik* represented a special experience acquired as a result of the encounter through dialogue. Particularly emphasizing the concrete and historical import of Ḥasidism, Buber placed little value on the abstract ideas of Ḥasidism, the intellectual games of the Kabbalah, and its millenarian hopes and expectations, being convinced that Ḥasidism had liberated itself from these elements and constructed a realistic experience of life. Buber understood the ḥasidic imperative "Know Him in all thy ways" as transcending the bounds of the *mitzvot* as religious experience over and above the *halakhah*. The element of mystery in Ḥasidism has been studied by Hillel Zeitlin.

A scathing attack on Berdyczewski and Buber was made by the Zionist *maskil* Samuel Joseph Ish-Horowitz, who, early in the 20th century, brought out a series of articles which later appeared in booklet form under the title of *Ha-Ḥasidut ve-ha-Haskalah* (Berlin, 1909). "Modern" Ḥasidism, known as neo-Ḥasidism, was taken to be that of Berdyczewski and Buber. In his work, the Ḥasidism of the Ba'al Shem Tov is depicted as a wild, undisciplined movement, while the Ba'al Shem Tov himself is shown as a charlatan influenced by his rustic surroundings and by the Haidamak movement. According to Horowitz, Ḥasidism contributed no new truths or ways of looking at the world: it simply appropriated to itself the vocabulary of the Kabbalah without fully understanding its implications, and colored it with quasi-philosophical notions "belonging to the household mentality and chronic psychology of the ghetto." Modern or neo-Ḥasidim (specifically Berdyczewski and Buber) attempted to discover in Ḥasidism ethical values and a positive popular force, in particular in the ḥasidic "joy," which they interpreted as a protest against the dejection produced by the conditions of the Diaspora, but for Horowitz the Shabbatean movement was to be preferred to Ḥasidism, as it took an upright stand, advocating a breaking free of the bonds of the Diaspora and the ghetto. Horowitz dismissed the claims that Ḥasidism was a movement of revival and revolt as little more than arrant nonsense; Ḥasidim, far from rebelling against the rabbinate, kept the *mitzvot*, minor as well as major. He contended that the neo-Ḥasidim were deceiving themselves by interpreting the values of Ḥasidism in secular terms, which he regarded a perversion of history in the spirit of a new humanism. He believed that Ḥasidism was continuity and not revolt, and that the neo-Ḥasidim did violence to its true nature by viewing it as a revolutionary movement in Jewish history.

In recent years a criticism of Buber's views of Ḥasidism has been put forward by Gershom Scholem and Rivka Schatz. Opinion is also divided on the messianic significance of Ḥasidism, between Benzion Dinur and Isaiah Tishby, on the one hand, and Scholem on the other. J.G. Weiss (1918–1969) did remarkable work on Ḥasidism in many of his essays, most of which appeared in the *Journal of Jewish Studies*. He contributed much to the understanding of Bratslav Ḥasidism. Rivka Schatz's *Ha-Ḥasidut ke-Mistikah* ("Ḥasidism as Mysticism," 1968), a phenomenological analysis of Ḥasidism on the basis of available texts, attempts to answer certain fundamental questions concerning the spiritual aims of Ḥasidism and assesses the value attaching to ḥasidic innovations.

[Rivka Shatz-Uffenheimer]

DEVELOPMENTS IN ḤASIDISM AFTER 1970

Ḥasidism maintained a period of expansion and development. Not only did all existing ḥasidic dynasties continue to exist, in many instances they introduced new branches. There even came into being dynasties which linked themselves in the vaguest of manners to ones which had existed in Eastern Europe. Groups which had not been directly affiliated with Ḥasidism took upon themselves ḥasidic garb and recognized ḥasidic leadership, accepting a dynasty's *rebbe* as their own. This is especially noticeable among Hungarian emigrés. In this way R. Joseph Greenwald, the rabbi of Papa, became the *admor* (ḥasidic rabbi) of Papa, and his sons, R. Jacob Hezekiah and R. Israel Menaḥem have also become *admorim*. R. Johanan Sofer became the *admor* of Erlau, and R. Israel Moses Duschinsky, a member of the *bet din* (rabbinic court) of the ultra-Orthodox community (*edah ḥaredit*) became an *admor*. R. Raphael Blum of Kashoi – New York also became an *admor*.

This period of dynamic growth included the widespread building of housing for Ḥasidim and even led to competition – who builds more, whose *bet midrash* (study hall) is larger, with the erection of *talmudei torah, yeshivot, kollelim*, girls' schools, and even kindergartens. The networks of the *admorim* keeps on growing. The various ḥasidic groups establish new centers in addition to the area in which the *admor* himself lives. In Israel the Gur Ḥasidim set up centers in Ashdod, Arad, Ḥazor ha-Gelilit, and Immanuel – with the senior leadership in Jerusalem sending people to live in the new centers. The Vizhnitz group established new centers in Jerusalem and Reḥovot, the Belz established a new center in Ashdod, the Boyan Ḥasidim in the new town of Betar, the Lubavitch in Kefar Chabad, Kiryat Malakhi, and Safed.

The large ḥasidic groups have garnered great political influence which has led to friction. The Belz Ḥasidim left Agudat Israel, feeling that they had not been given the political weight they felt they deserved, and joined the "Lithuanians."

Later Ḥasidic Literature

Original ḥasidic literature has continued to be widely distributed. The most astounding range is that of the Lubavitcher group. Scores of basic books on and by the *ẓaddikim* of the dynasty, particularly by the current *admor*, are printed one after the other. Of the letters of the leader, R. Menaḥem Mendel Schneersohn, 18 volumes had been published by 1990.

Of the basic works of the *ẓaddikim* of the current generation (the past 20 years), we can cite *Imrei Emet* by R. Abraham Mordecai Alter of Gur (4 volumes) and *Beit Yisrael* by his son, R. Israel (5 volumes); *Imrei Ḥayyim* by R. Ḥayyim Meir of Vizhnitz and *She'erit Menaḥem* by R. Menaḥem Mendel of Vishiva; *Be'er Avraham, Divrei Shemu'el, Zikhron Kadosh, Netivot Shalom, Torat Avot* by the *admor* of Slonim; *Divrei Yo'el*, in 14 volumes by R. Joel Teitelbaum of Satmar, and another number of volumes on his teachings; *Ginzei Yisrael, Oholei Ya'akov, Pe'er Yisrael, Naḥalat Ya'akov, Abir Ya'akov* by the *ẓaddik* of the Rozhin line; *Ne'ot ha-Deshe* by the Sochaczew *ẓaddikim; Kol Menaḥem* by R. Menaḥem Mendel Taub of Kalov; *Avodat Elazar* by R. Israel Eleazar Hofstein of Kozienice; *Emunat Moshe* by R. Judah Moses Tiehberg of Aleksandrow; *Kedushat Mordekhai* by R. Moses Mordecai Biederman of Lelov; *Avodat Yeḥi'el* by R. Jehiel Joshua Rabinowitz of Biale; *Ẓidkat ha-Ẓaddik* by R. Joseph Leifer of Pittsburgh; *Yikra de-Malka* by R. Mordecai Goldman of Zweihl; *Zekher Ḥayyim* by R. Ḥayyim Judah Meir Hager of Vishiva.

Additional works are *Shefa Ḥayyim*, 5 volumes by R. Jekutiel Judah Halberstam of Zanz–Klausenberg *Birkat Moshe* by R. Moses Leib of Pascani *Or ha-Yashar ve-ha-Tov* by R. Ẓevi Hirsch of Liska *Divrei Yeḥezke'el Sheraga* by R. Ezekiel Shraga Lifshitz of Strupkov; and *Esh Da'at* and *Be'er Moshe* by R. Moses Jehiel of Izirov, in 10 volumes.

Dozens of anthologies on the early ḥasidic ẓaddikim have been published. Among them are *Avnei Zikkaron*, the Seer of Lublin; *Imrei Pinḥas*, R. Phineas of Korets; *Yalkut Menaḥem*, R. Menaḥem Mendel of Riminow; *Likkutei Shoshanim* of R. Moses Ẓevi of Savran; *Midbar Kadesh* by R. Shalom of Belz; and *Ner Yisrael*, by the *ẓaddikim* of the Rozhin dynasty. A specialist in preparing these anthologies is R. Elisha Hakohen Faksher.

There have been several new luxury editions of ḥasidic works with added information, and institutions devoted to publishing them have been set up. Most prominent are the Ginzei Maharitz Institute which produces the works of the *admor* of Biale and that of R. Abraham Isaac Kahn of Shomerei Emunim.

Among these fresh editions are *Ohev Yisrael* by the rabbi of Apta; *Me'or Einei Ḥakhamim* by R. Meir of Korotsyshev; *No'am Elimelekh* by R. Elimelech of Lyzhansk; *Avodat Yisrael* of the *maggid* of Kozienice; *Amud Avodah* by R. Baruch of Kosov; *Panim Yafot* of R. Phineas of Frankfort; and *Peri ha-Areẓ; Ẓidkat ha-Ẓaddik; Ẓemah Ẓaddik; Kedushat Levi; Kol Simḥah*; and many others. There is almost no ḥasidic work which has not been reproduced in the United States and Israel; they are simply too numerous to mention all.

From later ḥasidic interpretive literature, there have been editions of *Netiv le-Tanya* by Prof. Moshe Halamish, and *Torat ha-Ḥasidim ha-Rishonim* by Menaḥem Mendel Wischnitzer. The teachings of R. Menaḥem Mendel of Kotsk were the subject of three new books by Israel Ehrlich, Simḥa Raz, and Saul Maislish. New editions of *Shivḥei ha-Besht* were prepared by S.Y. Agnon and Pinḥas Sade. *Orot Yismaḥ Yisrael* by M.H. Tiehberg also appeared.

Biographical literature devoted to Ḥasidim has also been prominent. Among the works are *Enẓiklopedyah shel ha-Ḥasidut*, vol. 1; *Tiferet she-be-Malkhut; Ha-Ḥasidut be-Romanyah*, and *Be-Sedei ha-Ḥasidut* by Yiẓḥak Alfassi; *Rebbi Levi Yiẓḥak mi-Berditchev* by Yisrael Ehrlich; *Rebbi Ẓevi Elimelekh mi-Dinov* by Nathan Ortner; *Raza de-Uvda* by R. Ẓevi Hirsch Rosenbaum; *Arzei Levanon* by R. Eleazar Arenberg; *Abirei ha-Ro'im* by Israel Ehrlich; *Ẓaddikim vi-Yrelim* by Isser Kliger; *Ẓaddik Yesod Olam* by D. Werner; *Ba'al Shem Tov* by M. Eidelbaum; *Ha-Shevil ve-ha-Derekh, Ẓaddikei ha-Ḥasidim be-Ereẓ Yisrael, Hod u-Gevurah*; and *Ereẓ Yisrael shel Ma'alah* by Jehiel Greenstein; *Kedosh Yisrael* by Nathan Elijah Roth; *Ish ha-Pele* by Menashe Miller; *Ha-Mufla be-Doro* by A.Y. Tykozki; *Ha-Tekhelet* by Menaḥem Burstein; *Ohel Yosef* by R. David Halachmi (Weisbrod); *Merbiẓei Torah be-Olam ha-Ḥasidut*, 3 pts., by Aaron Sorasky; *Perakim be-Mishnat ha-Ḥasidut* by M.S. Kasher; *Admorei Tchernobyl* by Israel Jacob Klapholz; and *Kotsk* by Prof. Abraham Joshua Heschel. There have also appeared a series of biographies on Lubavitch *ẓaddikim* by Abraham Ḥanoch Glitzstein; five books on the R. Menahem Mendel Schneersohn, the Lubavitch *admor; Bi-Netivei Ḥasidut Izbica-Radzin* by S.Z. Shragai; *Enẓiklopedyah le-Ḥakhmei Galiẓiyyah* ("Encyclopaedia of the Sages of Galicia") – most of whom were ḥasidim – by Meir Wender who also wrote *Ohel Shimon; Tal Orot* by Aaron Jacob Brandwein; *Tehillot Eliezer*, the story of R. Eliezer Zusya Portugal of Skolen; *Ha-Rav mi-Apta* by H.Y. Berl and Yiẓḥak Alfassi (two books on the same subject); *Be-Libbat Esh* by Aaron Sorasky; *Bet Karlin-Stolin* by Jacob Israel; and *Or ha-Galil* by Jacob Shalom Gefner.

With regard to scholarly literature on Ḥasidism, one should note the scientific edition of the *Maggid Devarav ke-Ya'akov* by Rivka Shatz; editions of *Toldot Ya'akov Yosef* and *No'am Elimelekh* by Gedaliah Nigal; *Shivḥei ha-Besht*, a photographed manuscript edition with annotations by Joshua Mundshein; *Ḥasidim u-Mitnaggedim*, 2 pts., by Mordecai Wiliensky; *Sifrut ha-Hanhagot – Toldotehah u-Mekomah be-Ḥayei Ḥasidei ha-Besht* by Ze'ev Gross; *Bi-Ymei Ẓemiḥat Ha-Ḥasidut* and *Ḥasidut Polin – Megamot bein Shetei Milḥamot ha-Olam u-vi-Gezerot 1940–1945*, both by Mendel Pikarsh; *Ha-Ḥasidut ve-Shivat Ẓiyyon* by Yiẓḥak Alfassi; a scientific edition of *Shalom al Yisrael* by A.Z. Zweifel prepared by A. Rubenstein; *Mishnat ha-Ḥasidut bi-Khtavei Rebbi Elimelekh mi-Lizhansk*, a dissertation by Gedaliah Nigal; *Rebbi Naḥman mi-Breslav: Iyyunim bi-Sfarav* by Judith Kook; *Meḥkarim Be-Ḥasidut Breslav* by Joseph Weiss; *Ha-Sippur ha-Ḥasidi* by Joseph Dan; *Torat ha-Elohut ve-Avodat ha-Shem be-Dor ha-Sheni shel Ḥabad* by Rahel Elior; *Mishnato ha-Iyyunit shel R. Shne'ur Zalman mi-Lyady* by Moses Halamish; *Ma'aseh Ḥoshev*, studies on the ḥasidic story by Joel Elstein; *Ba'al ha-Yesurim* by Avraham Isaac Green; and *Ha-Sipporet ha-Ḥasidit, Toldotehah u-Noseḥah* by Gedaliah Nigal.

Publications of Chabad or Breslav are the majority of those which appear in languages other than Hebrew. A few of the English-language works available are *The Ẓaddik: R. Levi of Berdichev* by Samuel Dresner; *Ideas and Ideals of the Ḥassidim* by Aaron Milton; *Ḥassidic Celebration* by Elie Wiesel; *Legends of the Ḥassidim* by J.R. Mintz; *Maggid* by J.J. Shochet; *Until the Mashiach – R. Nachman's Biography* and *The Ḥasidic Masters and their Teachings* by Arie Kaplan; and *Ḥassidism and the State of Israel* by Harry Rabinowicz.

A special type of ḥasidic literature is the publication of letters by *ẓaddikim*. The letters of the Lubavitcher *rebbe* Menaḥem Mendel Schneersohn were mentioned above. The letters of Israeli *ẓaddikim* were reprinted by Y. Bernai. Munkacs *ẓaddikim* have had their letters published in *Igrot Shappirin*. There have also appeared a collection of the letters of the author of *Sefat Emet* from Gur; letters of Chabad ḥasidim; and *Igrot Ohavei Yisrael*.

One should also mention the discovery of hitherto unknown manuscripts by *ẓaddikim* which were first published in the period under discussion, such as *Or Yehoshua* by R. Abraham Joshua Heschel Kopzynce, *Mishkenot ha-Ro'im* by R. Menaḥem Nahum Friedman of Boyan, and *Zikhron Moshe* by R. Moses Eichenstein. There are many more examples.

[Yitzhak Alfasi]

Publications

Ḥasidic publications are very influential. Besides the ongoing first-rate, general ḥasidic series, such as *Kerem ha-Ḥasidut, Naḥalat Ẓevi*, and *Siftei Ẓaddikim*, every self-respecting branch in Ḥasidism has its own publications. The Gur Ḥasidim find their voice for general representation in the daily newspaper, *Ha-Modia* in Israel, which always has at least one ḥasid of Gur on its editorial board. The other Gur publication, *Kovez Torani Mercazi Gur*, is devoted to Torah learning. The Lubavitch movement produces countless materials, including the weekly *Siḥat ha-Shavu'a* and *Kefar Ḥabad* in Israel and the *Morgen Journal* in New York, which is a general weekly with strong Lubavitch influence.

Other weeklies of the same type as *Siḥat ha-Shavu'a* appear in various countries. Belz Ḥasidim publish *Ha-Maḥaneh ha-Ḥaredi*: the Satmar group in the United States has the weekly *Der Yid*. Monthlies are also produced: *Az Nedaberu* by Vizhnitz Ḥasidim, *Tiferet Yisrael* for the Boyan Ḥasidim, *Bet Aharon ve-Yisrael* of Karlin Ḥasidim, and *Kerem Shelomoh* by Bobover Ḥasidim in the U.S.

Other regularly appearing periodicals are *Mesillot* of the Sadigora group; *Shevil ba-Pardes* from followers of R. Ashlag; *Naḥalatenu* by the Biale Ḥasidim in Bene Berak and *Ma'ayanei ha-Yeshu'ah* from the Biale-Lugano-Jerusalem group; *Or Kaliv* from the Kaliv Ḥasidim. The Nadvoznaya (Nadwozna) group publishes *Si'aḥ Sarfei Kodesh*, and the Klausenberg Ḥasidim produce *Zanz. Or ha-Ganuz* is by the Lelov (Lelow) Ḥasidim of Bene Berak. *Torah Or* is published by the Seret-Vizhnitz group in Haifa. The followers of R. Alter of Lelov produce *Or Yahel* and Breslav Ḥasidim publish *Or ha-Ẓaddik*. Skvira Ḥasidim have *Be-Oholei Ya'akov* and Aleksandrow Ḥasidim produce *Karmenu. Kol Emunim* is the organ of followers of Reb Ahrele, while *Mayyim Ḥayyim* is a Torah anthology published by Nadwozna Ḥasidim. *Bet Yisrael* is produced by Kuznitz Ḥasidim and *Ohel Moshe* belongs to Schotz-Vizhnitz Ḥasidim. Most of these works are written in modern Hebrew and are well-designed, employing many photographs.

SURVEY OF ḤASIDIC DYNASTIES

Descendants of First Generation

There are no direct descendants of the founder of Ḥasidism, the Ba'al Shem Tov, but there are people directly related to R. Dov Baer of Mezhirech, the second leader of the movement. Among those named Friedman, the most senior rabbi as well as one of the most revered was R. Isaac Friedman of Bohush–Tel Aviv. His followers established an important center for him in Bene Berak. During the Holocaust, Friedman was well known for saving many refugees and for helping the Zionist underground in Romania. R. Avraham Jacob Friedman of Sadigora, a member of the Council of Great Torah Scholars of Agudat Israel, was well versed in all facets of Jewish culture and knew several languages. He succeeded his father, R. Mordecai Shalom Joseph, in Tel Aviv in 1978.

Other descendants of R. Dov Baer of Mezhirech were R. Nahum Dov Breuer, who was made *rebbe* after the death of his maternal grandfather, R. Mordecai Solomon Friedman of Boyan (1971). His style of leadership was characterized by moderation, modesty, and exemplary demeanor. This vibrant group has hundreds of followers and is centered in Jerusalem. In 1985, R. Samson Dov Halperin of Vaslui carried on in place of his father, R. Jacob Joseph Solomon of Vaslui, in Tel Aviv.

Another dynasty harking back to the first generation of Ḥasidism is that of Peremyshlyany, from which the Nadwozna dynasty headed by the Leifer-Rosenbaum family branched off. In this family, the sons became *admorim* while their father was still living, so that the "Old Admor," Rabbi Itamar of Nadwozna–New York–Tel Aviv, saw a fourth generation of his family's ḥasidic leadership in 1972.

R. Itamar's sons were:

(1) R. Ḥayyim Mordecai of Nadwozna–Bene Berak, the only *admor* who succeeded in turning this branch into a group with a large, significant following. He lived in Jaffa and then moved from there to Bene Berak. His son, R. Jacob Issachar Ber, the only one to use the name Nadwozna explicitly, continued the expansion begun by his father.

(2) R. Issachar Ber Rosenbaum of Strezhnitz–New York (1981) – all of his sons became *admorim*. These included R. Asher Mordecai of Strezhnitz–New York, R. Meir of Mosholow–New York, R. Yiẓḥak Isaac of Cleveland–Ra'ananah, R. Joseph of Kalush–New York; R. Yiẓḥak Isaac of Zutchka–Bene Berak, a great Torah scholar who published widely on current issues, and who relinquished his father's Tel Aviv locale in favor of Bene Berak, while his son R. Israel was an *admor* in New York.

(3) R. Asher Isaiah Rosenbaum, the *admor* of Bucharest–Ḥaderah–Bene Berak, a very captivating figure.

Additional members of this dynasty were the *admorim* R. Shalom Leifer of Brighton–New York; R. Meir Isaacson of Philadelphia; R. Aaron Moses of Khust–New York, and his son

R. Barukh Pinḥas Leifer in Jerusalem; R. Jacob Joseph Leifer of Ungvar (Uzhgorad)–New York; R. Joseph Leifer of Petah Tikvah; R. Yeḥiel Leifer of Jerusalem; R. Meshullam Zalman Leifer of Brooklyn; R. Levi Isaac Leifer of Jerusalem (the last four are the sons of R. Aaron Aryeh of Timisoara–Jerusalem.); R. Meir Leifer of Cleveland; R. Issachar Ber Leifer of Bania–New York; R. Aaron Yeḥiel of Bania–Safed; R. Joseph Meir, the son of R. Meshullam Zalman of Brooklyn.

The Kretchnif (Crachunești) family is a particularly important branch of this group. R. David Moses Rosenbaum settled in Reḥovot and developed, at his own initiative, a large ḥasidic following. His son, R. Menaḥem Eliezer Ze'ev, who took over from his father at an early age, firmly established and expanded this dynasty. His brothers, who spread out throughout Israel and set up local *batei midrash* (Talmudic learning centers), were R. Israel Nisan (who went to New York) in Kiryat Gat; R. Meir of Bene Berak who took on the name Peremyshlyany; R. Samuel Shmelka in Jaffa whose family name is that of the city Bitschkov. The *admor* R. Ẓevi, who moved from Kiryat Ata to Jerusalem, also belongs to this family. A significant place in this group is held by the *admor* R. Abraham Abba Leifer of Pittsburgh–Ashdod, who was succeeded by his son R. Mordecai in 1990.

The descendants of R. Yeḥiel Mikhal of Zlotchow, also a member of the first generation of Ḥasidism, continued to hold direct positions of leadership through the *admorim* of the Zweihl family, which has lived in Jerusalem for four generations. The *admor*, R. Abraham Goldman, the son of R. Mordecai, was very involved in public affairs and was one of the few *admorim* in a position of leadership who did not come from the yeshivah world but through public life.

The Moscowitz family, to which many *admorim* belonged, mainly in Romania, was also part of this dynasty. In recent times, among the *admorim* of this family were R. Joel Moscowitz of Schotz (Suczawa)–Manchester, Montreal, London, and Jerusalem; R. Jacob Isaac of Jerusalem; R. Naftali of Ashdod; R. Jacob of Bene Berak; R. Israel David of New York; R. Moses Meir of Schotz–Har Nof (Jerusalem); R. Joseph Ḥayyim of Flatbush; and R. Isaac Eleazar in the United States.

Another link to this clan is through the Rabinowitz family of *admorim* from Skole. R. Israel Rabinowitz lived in New York and at the end of his life moved to Tel Aviv. After his death in 1971, no one took his place. His brother, R. David Isaac, lived in Brooklyn and was followed by his grandchildren, R. Abraham Moses Rabinowitz, who was the oldest, and R. Raphael Goldstein, his son's son-in-law.

Of this dynasty, there were also R. Shalom Michaelowitz of Rishon le-Zion–New York, R. Samuel Halevi Josephov of Haifa, and R. Yeḥiel Mikhal of Zlotchow–Netanyah, who was part preacher, part *rebbe*.

Of the descendants from Chernobyl belonging to the Twersky family there are scores of *admorim*. Exceptionally successful were the ẓaddikim from Skvira: R. Isaac of Skvira–New York who moved to Tel Aviv in 1978 towards the end of his life; R. Eleazar of Skvira Flushing, New York, who was followed by his son, R. Abraham, in 1984. R. Abraham's son, R. Solomon, was the *admor* in New York. R. David of Skvira, following his father R. Jacob Joseph, established a large ḥasidic center, New Square in New York, with branches in London and Israel. R. David the second of Skvira–Boro Park was very well versed in medicine and had connections to hospitals in New York. His brother, R. Mordecai, was in Flatbush.

Of the house of Skvira, although not bearing the name, was R. Abraham Joshua Heshel of Machnovka, who continued as *admor* in Russia as well. In his old age he immigrated to Israel and settled in Bene Berak, where he established an important center. His sister's grandson, R. Joshua Rokach, replaced him.

The name Chernobyl itself was used by R. Jacob Israel in New York and by his son R. Solomon who took over from him, as well by as R. Meshullam Zusha of Chernobyl (1988). His sons were R. Nahum of Bene Berak and R. Isaiah in New York.

The *admorim* of the Ratmistrovka family immigrated to Palestine before the Holocaust. The latest *admor* was R. Johanan. His sons continued the dynasty: R. Israel Mordecai of Jerusalem and R. Hai Isaac in the U.S. Another member of this family was R. Ẓevi Aryeh of Zlatpol, who settled in Tel Aviv in 1968.

Of the Talnoye family, R. Moses Ẓevi of Philadelphia (1972) and R. Meshullam Zusha (1972) of Boston were *admorim*. The only one active in the late 20th century was R. Johanan of Montreal–Jerusalem.

The *admor* of Korostyshev was R. Isaac Abraham Moses, who succeeded in emigrating from Russia and settled in Bene Berak (1985).

The sixth Chernobyl dynasty was that of Cherkassy. The original founder of this line, R. Jacob Israel, had no sons and was succeeded by his daughter's son, R. Mordecai Dov in Hornistopol, who changed his surname to Twersky. The *admor* in the third quarter of the 20th century was R. Jacob Israel, who settled in Milwaukee, Wisconsin (1973). All of his sons had academic degrees and were very effective ḥasidic leaders. His sons were R. Solomon Meshullam Zalman, who established himself as an *admor* in Denver (1982), and R. Jeḥiel-Michal, who took his father's place in Milwaukee.

Of the seventh dynasty of Chernobyl, that of Trisk, in recent times was R. Jacob Leib of Trisk–London–Bene Berak. His sons were R. Ḥayyim of London and R. Isaac of Bene Berak. Also related to the Trisk family was the *admor* R. Ḥanokh Henikh of Radomyshl–Jerusalem. His grandson established institutions in Jerusalem in the name of Trisk.

There is no continuation of the eighth line, Makarov.

Of the other dynasties devolving from the first generation of Ḥasidism – Korets, Rashkov, Kaminka – there are a few remnants. R. Abraham Shapiro of Tluste (Tolstoye)–New York (1972) left no descendants in the position of *admor*. The only one left of the Korets-Shapiro family was R. Salomon Dov Shapiro of Shipitovka–New York, who managed to escape from Russia.

Descendants of Second Generation

Karlin Ḥasidism was represented after the Holocaust by R. Johanan Perlov, who lived in New York and Jerusalem. After his death, a segment of his followers looked to R. Moses Mordecai Biderman of Lelov as their leader, giving him – against his wishes – the title of the *admor* of Lelov–Karlin. Following his death, these Karliners made the Lelover rabbi's son, R. Simon Nathan Neta, their new *admor*. When R. Simon refused to add the term Karlin to his title, the Karliner Ḥasidim broke away from him and made R. Aaron ha-Kohen Rosenfeld their *admor*. Most of the Karlin Ḥasidim, mainly the younger members, designated R. Johanan's grandson, R. Baruch Jacob Halevi Shohat, as the *admor* of Karlin–Stolin. He was the second *yanuka* (very young person chosen as *admor*) in the history of this branch of Ḥasidism, and when he grew up he displayed excellent characteristics of leadership. He lived in New York, visited Jerusalem regularly, and planned to settle there. Karlin-Stolin operated a network of educational institutions.

The Ostrog (Ostraha) Ḥasidim had no one to replace R. Abraham Pinḥas Sepharad of New York upon his death in 1950.

The Lyzhansk Ḥasidim were led by the *admorim* R. Moses Isaac Gevirtzman of Antwerp (1977) and his replacement, R. Jacob Leizer of Antwerp. In the late 20th century, another descendant, R. Elimelech Schiff of Lyzhansk–Jerusalem, began to act as *admor* of Lyzhansk.

Lubavitch Ḥasidism was led by R. Menahem Mendel *Schneersohn of Lubavitch–New York until his death in 1994. He had great influence among all circles of Torah Judaism and was noted for his superb organizational abilities, his literary capabilities, and his religious and political activities the world over. This combination is a rarity in ḥasidic circles. His literary output is unparalleled in the ḥasidic world. For over 40 years he was a dynamic, creative leader.

The descendants of R. Ḥayyim Tyrer of Chernovtsy (Czernowitz) included R. Moses Lupowitz of Bucharest–Tel Aviv (1985).

The Zbarzh-Brezhen dynasty included R. Ẓevi Hirsh Halperin of Brezhin–New York, whose children perished in the Holocaust. A relative, R. Elḥanan Heilperin, lived in London.

Of the Linitz-Rabinowitz dynasty there were two *admorim*: R. Jacob Meshullam of Monastritsh–Philadelphia–Ramat Gan (1971), and R. Ben Zion Joseph Rabinowitz of Orel–United States–Givatayim (1968). The only *admor* of this line in the late 20th century was R. Gedalyahu Aaron Rabinowitz of New York–Jerusalem. He spent a long period in Moscow as an emissary from Israel.

Descendants of Third Generation

Of the Neskhiz dynasty, the *admor* was R. Nahum Mordecai Perlow of Novominsk. His son, R. Jacob, who replaced him, was well learned in Torah and active in charitable works. He occupied a central role in Agudat Israel and lived in Brooklyn.

The Olyky dynasty ended upon the death of R. Ẓevi Aryeh Landa in New York in 1966.

The Kalov dynasty had two successors. One was R. Menaḥem Mendel Taub of Rishon le-Zion-Bene Berak, a very energetic, active *admor* who frequently appeared before Sephardi audiences. Among his important projects was "Bar bei Rav," a day of concentrated studies. The other was R. Moses ben R. Menaḥem Mendel of New York, who came from a different branch of the family.

Descendants of the *maggid* of Kozienice were R. Moses David Shapira of Gwozdiek and R. Abraham Elimelech Shapira of Grodzisk, who left no successors. In the early 21st century, there was Rabbi Elimelech Shapiro of Piaseczno-Grodzisk, who lived in Bet Shemesh, the only *admor* who considered himself an official Zionist. He was the son of Yeshayahu Shapira, a founder of Ha-Po'el ha-Mizrachi. The other *admor* was Samson Moses Sternberg, his grandson, the son of his daughter and the *admor* Rabbi Israel Eliezer Holstein of Kozienice, who lived in Kefar Ḥasidim-New York-Tel Aviv. He attracted many followers at his Tel Aviv base.

This period saw the deaths of all of the *admorim* deriving from R. Abraham Joshua Heschel of Apta. R. Moses Mordecai Heschel of Kopzynce–New York passed away at a young age in 1976, after having been appointed to replace his father – R. Abraham Joshua Heschel. R. David Mordecai Heschel of New York died in 1964, and R. Isaac Me'ir Heschel of Medzhibozh–New York–Haifa died in 1985. There was a center named in honor of the founder in Jerusalem directed by R. Isaac Meir Feinstein, the son of R. Abraham Joshua Heschel. He did not bear the title *admor*.

An exceptionally successful ḥasidic dynasty was that of the family named Hager, which originated with R. Menaḥem Mendel of Kosov – the author of *Ahavat Shalom*. The most outstanding of them was R. Moses Joshua Hager of Vizhnitz–Bene Berak, who headed the Mo'eẓet Gedolei ha-Torah of Agudat Israel. He had thousands of Ḥasidim the world over. His brother, R. Mordecai, lived in Monsey, New York, and he also enlarged the circle of his followers. R. Eliezer Hager of Seret-Vizhnitz was the leader of a large group in Haifa. In addition to gathering many more followers around him, he established branches in Jerusalem and Bene Berak. R. Naftali Hager was the leader of the Vishiva (Viseul de Sus)–Bene Berak Ḥasidim, but he did not take upon himself the title of *admor*. R. Moses Hager was the *admor* of Itnia in Bene Berak, but he had a limited circle of followers. A member of this family was R. Menaḥem Mendel Chodorov of Talnoye–Vizhnitz, who settled in New York. He was the author of *Be-Mo'ado*. A new Vizhnitz group, called Vizhnitz Ḥasidim, was established in Haifa and was led by R. Menaḥem David Hager.

Descendants of Fourth Generation

In the last quarter of the 20th century, the Lelov dynasty had three *admorim*: R. Abraham Solomon, who was centered in Jerusalem; R. Simon Natan-Neta, who was located in Bene Berak and was followed, as stated above, by a large section of the Karlin Ḥasidim; and R. Alter, who lived in Bene Berak. They succeeded their father, R. Moses Mordecai Biederman of Lelov–Jerusalem–Tel Aviv–Bene Berak, who had died in 1988. He was the last of the special personages in Ḥasidism and the only one about whom "wonder-making" stories were told. His leadership was unusual and unique. Other descendants of the founder of this line were members of the Horowitz family of Boston. R. Moses Horowitz of Boston lived in New York, and when he died in 1985 his son R. Ḥayyim-Abraham took his place.

R. Moses' brother, R. Levi Isaac of Boston, was one of the most outstanding figures among all current *admorim*. Most of his Ḥasidim were American-born, and he was the only *admor* who preached in English as well as Yiddish. He had excellent relations with physicians and hospitals and his generosity was legendary.

Admorim of the Zhidachov-Komarno dynasty of the Eichenstein-Safrin families were R. Ḥayyim Jacob Safrin of Komarno–New York–Jerusalem, whose son R. Shalom succeeded him, and his son R. Menaḥem Monish (d. 1990) in Bene Berak, where he established a yeshivah and large *bet midrash*. R. Menaḥem Monish was succeeded by his son.

Admorim of the Eichenstein family were R. Menashe Isaac Me'ir Eichenstein of Klausenberg-Petah Tikvah, he was succeeded by R. Dov Berish Eichenstein, who was in turn followed by his son, R. Joshua. R. Matityahu Eichenstein, who lived in New York, and R. Nathan Eichenstein who lived in Tel Aviv. Neither have successors as *admorim*.

An established line is the Zhidachov dynasty of Chicago. The current *admor* is R. Joshua Heshel, the son of R. Abraham Eichenstein, who is a third-generation Chicagoan. More distant members of the Zhidachov-Komarno line were R. Yeḥiel Ḥayyim Laavin of Makova and R. Moses Kleinberg of Cracow, who lived in Antwerp. This group had no significant center.

The Ropshitz dynasty of the Horowitz and Rubin families had dozens of *admorim*. R. Judah Horowitz of Dzikow-Tarnobrzeg refused to become an *admor* and only accepted the role at an advanced age, when he moved to London. Upon his death (1990), leaving no sons, the line ceased. His nephew, R. Joshua, was the *admor* of Dzikow in New York. A Dzikow center in Jerusalem was run by R. Yeḥezkel Horowitz, the grandson of another brother of R. Judah, who was not an *admor.*

R. Abraham Ẓevi Horowitz of Ozikow settled in New York, and his son, R. Shalom, succeeded him. R. Raphael Horowitz of Kolomea also settled in New York, as did R. Judah Horowitz of Stettin; R. Israel David Horowitz of Schotz (Suczawa); R. Isaac Horowitz of Melitz, the author of *Kevod Shabbat* and *Birkat Yiẓḥak*; and R. Ḥayyim Shlomo Horowitz of Stryzov, whose son, R. Israel-Jacob-Joel, succeeded him. R. Abraham Simḥah Horowitz of Melitz settled in Jerusalem (1973).

The *admorim* of the Rubin family were R. Abraham David Rubin of Lancut–New York (1963) and his son, R. Shlomo, who succeeded him; R. Joseph David Rubin of Sasov-New York; R. Sender Lipa Rubin of Roman–Romania; R. Issachar Berish Rubin of Dombrova – New York; R. Isaac Rubin of Jawozow–Jerusalem; R. Issachar Berish Rubin of Dolina–New York; R. Sender Lipa Rubin of Wolbrow-New York; R. Shalom Yeḥezkel Shraga Rubin of Zeshinov-New York, (one of the greatest bibliographers of modern times, who was well versed in many fields and the author of *Pinnat Yikrat* on the Tomashov community written under the pseudonym Shalom Lavi. After his death, his son R. Aryeh Leibush Ben-Ẓiyyon was given the title *admor*); R. Simḥah Issachar of Tomashov – New York; the brothers, R. Menaḥem Mendel of Muzaly, R. Samuel Shmelka of Sulyca; R. Mordecai David Rubin of Szaszregen – all of whom lived in New York; R. Abraham Joshua Heschel Tubin of Los Angeles; R. Naftali Ẓevi Rubin of Dombrowa – New York; and R. Simḥah Rubin of London.

Of the dynasty of R. Me'ir of Apta, the *admor* was R. Issachar Ber Rottenberg of Vyadislov–New York, who was an able leader of the rabbinic association founded by the Satmar Ḥasidim. His son succeeded him.

Of the dynasty of R. Uri of Strelisk were the rabbis of the Landman family, most of whom lived in Romania. In recent times there were R. Levi Isaac Landman of Tarnopol–New York, R. Ẓevi Landman of Baku–Nahariyyah (1965) and R. David Landman of Bucharest, who lived in Netanyah.

Of the line of "ha-Yehudi ha-Kadosh" ("The Holy Jew") there remained only the *admorim* of the Biale family. The *admor* R. Yeḥiel Joshua Rabinowitz survived the Holocaust and reestablished Biale Ḥasidism in Tel Aviv and later on in Jerusalem and Bene Berak. Upon his death, four of his sons were recognized as *admorim*. The youngest, R. Ben-Ẓiyyon, who was a rabbi in Lugano, used the family name Biale and his center was in Jerusalem. His brother, R. David Mattityahu, who was responsible for the group's institutions during his father's tenure, established an important center in Bene Berak, with a branch in Jerusalem. The third brother, R. Ẓevi Hirsh, called himself the *admor* of Przysucha. The fourth son, R. Jacob Isaac, also lived in Bene Berak.

Of the dynasty of R. Moses Teitelbaum of Ujhely, considered to be Hungarian Ḥasidism, the one who occupied the central position in the entire world of Ḥasidism was R. Joel Teitelbaum of Satmar, an exceptionally brilliant scholar. He established a very solid organization with dozens of institutions. He was the most extreme of the ḥasidic *ẓaddikim*, and in addition to a number of books on Jewish learning he published two books against Zionism and the State of Israel. He had no sons, and upon his death his nephew, R. Moses Teitelbaum, became the group's leader. Previously he had been the *admor* of Sighet, but he then changed his title to the *admor* of Satmar. His appointment led to the formation of factions within Satmar Ḥasidism. The group calling itself Benei Yoel ("the sons of Joel"), inspired by his widow, Feige, was vociferous in its opposition to him. Another segment gave the title *admor* to his disciple, R. Yeḥiel Michal Leibowitz, and they were called the Ḥasidim of the rabbi of Nikolsburg. R. Yeḥiel Michal was a scholarly young man who modified the extremism of his mentor to a significant degree. A further faction which studied in the yeshivah, headed by Rabbi Menaḥem Mendel Wachter who was considered a Satmar ḥasid – left with the head of the *yeshivah* to Lubavitch Ḥasidism. All of this internal friction was widely publicized, with acrimonious mutual recriminations, and even various incidents.

Other *admorim* in the Teitelbaum family were R. Naftali of Ecsed; R. Yekutiel Judah of Lados–Zanz–New York; R. Alexander Samuel of Kolbuszowa–New York; R. Joshua Ḥayyim of Tscenjowic–New York, and his sons, R. Aaron and R. Samuel; R. Hananyah Yom Tov Lipa of Volove–New York; and R. Mordecai David of Hussakow–Beersheba.

Of the lineage of R. Ẓevi Elimelech of Dynov–Shapira, the following were *admorim* in recent times: R. Israel Shapira of Blazowa (a Holocaust survivor who lived to the age of 100, the oldest *admor* of this generation) his stepson, R. Levi Judah, who took on the surname of Shapiraand who was his successor; R. Eliezer Shapira of Kovesd–New York (1973); the *admor* of the Munkacs line, R. Baruch Rabinowitz, who inherited the title from his father-in-law, R. Ḥayyim Eleazar Shapira. R. Baruch, who was able to draw thousands of Ḥasidim, relinquished the position of Munkacs *admor*, although he did establish his own *bet midrash* (school) in Petaḥ Tikvah. Of his sons, R. Moses-Leib was the very successful *admor* of Munkacs in New York and established a Ḥasidic empire; R. Jacob was the *admor* of Dynov in New York.

Of the Ozarow-Epstein line, there remained only the *admor* R. Moses Jehiel, author of *Esh Dat* and *Be'er Moshe* (1971). An exceptionally talented scholar, he was awarded the Israel Prize in 1967. His daughter's son, R. Tanḥum Benjamin Becker, who succeeded him, had his *bet midrash* in Tel Aviv.

The *admorim* of the Dombrova-Ungar line were R. Jacob Isaac of Dombrova–New York and R. Israel Aaron of Kaschau (Kosice)–Montreal. Affiliated with this lineage were the *admorim* of the Spiegel family: three brothers, R. Elḥanan Johanan of the Bronx; R. Moses of Brooklyn; and R. Phineas Elijah of Long Beach. Belonging to the generation following them were R. Jacob Isaac of Boro Park, R. Moses, and R. David, who were sons of R. Phineas Elijah.

Of the Wisnicz-Lifshitz family line, the *admorim* were R. Moses Lifshitz of Philadelphia–Jerusalem (1975) and R. Ezekel Shragai Lifshitz, whose title was *admor* of Strupkov after his mother's father, who was R. Abraham Shalom Halberstam of Strupkov. He lived in Jerusalem and earned a reputation as a scholar. His son, R. Abraham Shalom, was the *admor* of Sieniawa.

There was no continuation of the Buczacz (Wahrman) and Radoshitz (Baron, Finkler) dynasties. A young man, R. Aharontchik, attempted to reestablish the Radoshitz line, and it was named after him.

The *admoriut* of the Belz Ḥasidim is still one of the largest dynasties in Ḥasidism. The *admor*, R. Issachar Ber who received the title at a very young age, replacing his uncle – R. Aaron of Belz – displayed excellent leadership qualities, although his uncommon resoluteness made him opponents. He turned out to be a true nonconformist. His followers numbered in the thousands and his center in Jerusalem was one of the largest in the ḥasidic world.

The importance of the other *admorim* of the Rokach family was limited to their own circles. Among them were R. Moses Rokach of Kozlov, who had a huge library in New York and who was succeeded by his son-in-law, R. Jehiel Michal Rottenberg; R. David of Montreal, and R. Hanina of Turkow; and R. Baruch Rokach of Skahl who lived in New York.

Descendants of the founder of the line, R. Shalom of Belz, include R. Hananiah Yom Tov Lipa Teitelbaum of Sasov, the founder of Kiryat Yismaḥ Moshe in Ganei Tikvah; his son, R. Joseph David, who was his successor; R. Joel of Kiralhaza–New York; R. Ḥayyim Meir Jehiel Shapira of Narol–Bene Berak; R. Ḥanokh Ḥenikh Ashkenazi of Rzeszoz-Jerusalem; R. Abraham Alter Pollak of Petaḥ Tikvah, who was also a descendant of R. Joseph Meir of Spinka but was raised by his stepfather, R. Aaron of Belz.

Of the Stretyn-Langner-Brandwein family, the following served as *admorim*: R. Uri Langner of Krihynicze–New York who was a prolific scholar; R. Solomon Langner of Toronto; R. David Flam of Montreal; R. Yiẓḥak Isaac Langer of Toronto; R. Abraham Brandwein of Piatra–Neamt–Haifa; R. Judah Ẓevi Brandwein of Tel Aviv–Jerusalem, who was known as the "rabbi of the Histadrut." In the late 20th century those bearing the name Stretyn were R. Shalom Flam of New York, whose mother belonged to the Langner family, and R. Aaron Jacob Brandwein of New York who refused to take any money from his followers or members of his *bet midrash*. A very talented scholar, he owned a large, significant private library.

Of the descendants of R. Ezekiel Panet there were three *admorim*, brothers who lived in New York, and bore the name Dej in their title. They were R. Ẓevi Meir of Dej, who also had a *bet midrash* in Bene Berak, and Rabbis Judah and Elimelech Alter.

Of the line of R. Joseph of Tomaszow (Frishman), there remained only R. Joshua of Tomaszow, who survived the Holocaust while losing all of his family. After he died in 1974, there was no successor.

Descendants of Fifth Generation

The Kazimierz (Kuzhmir)–Modzhitz dynasty was continued through R. Israel Dan Taub, who succeeded his father as the *admor* of Modzhitz, and replaced him on Mo'eẓet Gedolei ha-Torah of Agudat Israel. He was a renowned Torah scholar. A cousin of his in America also became an *admor* and caused a split among the Modzhitz Ḥasidim in America.

Of the descendants of R. Isaac of Warka – the Kalish family – only the Amshinov branch still exists. The last member of the Warka family, R. Jacob-David-Baruch, died in 1983. The Amshinov group had two *admorim*: R. Isaac who lived in New York and was one of the oldest and most senior of the *admorim* since he had held the title since before the Holocaust, and R. Jacob Aryeh Isaiah Milikovsky who replaced his grandfather, R. Jerahmiel Judah, who died in 1976. This young *admor* gained a group of followers despite unusual practices, such as, for example, making *havdalah* (separation of the Sabbath from the weekday) on Sunday afternoon.

The famous Kotsk dynasty was represented by R. Menaḥem Mendel Morgenstern, whose *bet midrash* was in Tel Aviv. He was not an official *admor*, since he earned a living from business. He printed the Torah teachings of his father and his grandfather. Another *admor*, R. Yeḥiel Meir Morgenstern, lived in New York but died with no successor.

The dynasty with the largest number of *admorim* is Zanz of the Halberstam family. Prior to the Holocaust, hundreds of its members had founded dynasties and even now they are very numerous.

The most important sectors of this group are the Bobov Ḥasidim, under the dynamic leadership of R. Salomon of Bobov, who had thousands of Ḥasidim and educational institutions as well as other projects, and the Zanz-Klausenberg Ḥasidim, led by R. Jekutiel Judah Halberstam, an exceptional Torah scholar, which had centers throughout the world, specifically in Netanyah, where they had also established the modern Laniado hospital.

Other, active Zanz descendants were R. Ḥayyim of Czchow–New York, R. David of Kashanov–New York, R. Ezekiel David of Parkrzwice–New York, and his son R. Jehiel, R. Jekutiel Judah of Sieniawa, R. Moses Aryeh of Nasoid–New York, R. Jacob of Szczakowa–Jerusalem, and his son R. Naftali. His son, R. Meir, who had been an office worker, began to serve as *admor* with the title of the *admor* Ropczyce. R. Jacob's son-in-law, R. Joshua Wagshal, was the *admor* of Lancut. Also included were R. Israel of Zhimgorod–New York, R. Aryeh Leibush of Zhimgorod–New York, R. Naftali of Gribov–New York, R. David Moses of Dinov and R. Abraham Abish Kanner of Chekhov–Haifa, whose *bet midrash* continued to function without an official *admor*.

Other Zanz ḥasidic groups were led by R. Shalom Ezekiel Shragai Rubin and R. Ezekiel Shragai Lipshitz of Stropkov who were mentioned above with their families. These two men added the name Halberstam to their family names.

The Radomsk (Rabinowitz), Kaminka (Rosenfeld), Kobrin (Palier), and Radzymin (Gutterman) dynasties had no continuation.

The Izbica-Radzyn dynasty found no direct successor from the Leiner family, and R. Abraham Issachar Engelrad, a Holocaust survivor and brother-in-law of the last *admor* of Radzyn, R. Samuel Solomon Leiner, was chosen *admor*. A large center was established for him in Bene Berak. A Radzyn center was also set up in the United States, directed by the *admor* R. Mordecai Joseph Leiner (d. 1991), the son of R. Jeruham of Radzyn.

The Gur dynasty is focal in Polish Ḥasidism. Before the Holocaust it was the largest ḥasidic group in Poland and since its leader, R. Abraham Mordecai Alter, looked favorably upon settlement in the Land of Israel, many of his followers immigrated to Palestine. The dynamic leadership of his son, R. Israel, the author of *Beit Yisrael* (1977) brought new vitality to the Gerer Ḥasidism, making it the largest ḥasidic group in Israel. Continuing the leadership, in his own distinctive manner, was the *admor*, R. Simḥah Bunim Alter.

The Ciechanow line of the Landa family was another Polish ḥasidic group, and was led by R. Abraham Landa, the *admor* of Strykow (a branch of this ḥasidic division), who first lived in Tel Aviv and then in Bene Berak. He had a fine reputation as a scholar.

The Lithuanian Slonim Ḥasidism was led by R. Shalom Noah Brazovsky, well-versed in Torah learning, who directed the Slonim yeshivah and was the son-in-law of the last *admor* R. Abraham Weinberg of Tiberias–Jerusalem. R. Abraham was chosen since there was no direct descendant of the Slonim *admor* and R. Abraham was related to the founder of the line. A number of Ḥasidim did not accept the choice of R. Shalom Noah and gave the title to R. Abraham Weinberg, a young Torah scholar, who belonged to the family of the Slonim *admor*. He settled in Bene Berak, established a yeshivah, and gained the fierce loyalty of his followers. R. Abraham Joshua Heschel Weinberg, an *admor* who had been in business and who was a direct descendant of the Slonim family, died in 1978 and his sons did not succeed him.

Of the Wielopole–Frankel family, the only ones to serve as *admor* in this period were R. Solomon-Zalman, and R. Ben Ẓiyyon. R. Solomon Zalman's nephew, R. Joseph, was an *admor* in Flatbush, New York.

Descendants of Sixth Generation

Those ḥasidic groups established in the sixth generation of Ḥasidism continue to function.

The Lublin dynasty of the Eiger family is represented by the *admor* R. Abraham Eiger, a Holocaust survivor, who lives in New York.

The Sochaczew dynasty of the Bornstein family, reestablished after the Holocaust, was hard hit by the tragic death in 1969 in a traffic accident of R. Menaḥem Solomon, for whom a great future had been expected. His son, R. Samuel, was appointed to take his place.

The Aleksandrow dynasty, led by the Danziger family, which had been the second largest ḥasidic group in Poland with thousands of members, found it very difficult to reconstitute itself after the Holocaust. The survivors appointed as *admor* R. Judah Moses Tiehberg, the son-in-law of R. Bezalel Yair Danziger of Aleksandrow, who had not been the main *admor* of the group. The selection was not accepted by everyone and internal friction prevented the expansion of Aleksandrow Ḥasidism. R. Judah Moses' son, R. Abraham Menaḥem, was given the title *admor* in 1973 and gave new vitality to the group, establishing new branches and institutions. He changed his surname to that of the dynasty, Danziger. He, too, however, could not do away with the internal strife. An opposition group appointed R. Jehiel Menaḥem Singer of New York as *admor* and upon his death his son succeeded him.

The Wolborz dynasty was reconstituted only recently with the arrival in Israel of R. Ẓevi Turnheim from Brazil. He set up a *bet midrash* in Bene Berak which was very active.

The Sambor court of the Ulis family was led by R. Eleazar of Montreal. Another descendant, R. Efraim Eliezer, who served as a rabbi in Philadelphia and lived to a very advanced age, did not fill the role of *admor*, but after his death his grandson became the Sambor *admor* in Jerusalem.

The Tash (Tass) dynasty of the Lowey-Rotenberg family continued along its two lines. Tash was represented by R. Meshullam Feish Lowey, who established a large, very successful ḥasidic neighborhood in Montreal and by R. Ḥayyim Solomon of Khust in New York. For the Rotenberg family, the *admorim* of the Kason line were R. Menaḥem Israel of Boro Park and R. Meshullam of Boro Park, who were the sons of R. Moses Samuel of Kosoni, R. Jacob of Monsey and R. Joel Ẓevi of Williamsburg, the sons of R. Mordecai Rotenberg of Salka–Kosoni, and R. Asher Isaiah, the son of R. Moses (the second) of Kosoni.

R. Ẓevi Elimelech Panet, a descendant of this line on his mother's side, established his own *bet midrash*, in the name of Kason, in Bene Berak.

Of the Liska-Friedlander line, the *admorim* were R. Solomon of Liska, R. Moses David of Borgopzund and R. Yoska of Lisk, and the latter's son, R. Ẓevi, succeeded him.

Of the Spinka dynasty of the Weiss-Kahana families, there were several *admorim*: R. Jacob Joseph Weiss was the most outstanding of the Spinka *admorim*. He conducted a large network of institutions centered in New York, where he lived. After his death in 1989, the line was carried on by his three sons, R. Naftali Ḥayyim in Los Angeles, R. Israel in Bene Berak, and R. Meir in Boro Park. Two other sons died while their father was still alive. R. Naḥman Kahana was the Spinka *admor* in Bene Berak until his death in 1977, when his sons were chosen as *admorim*, with R. Moses Eliyakim in Bene Berak and R. Baruch, the *admor* of Karlsburg, in Jerusalem. R. Joseph Meir Kahana was the *admor* of Spinka in Jerusalem. In 1978 his title was divided between his sons, R. Mordecai David and R. Alter, the *admor* of Zhidachov, in Jerusalem. R. Ẓevi Kahane was the *admor* of Spinka in Los Angeles and R. Ẓevi Hirsch Horowitz was the Spinka-Kareli *admor* in Williamsburg.

Of the B'kerestur dynasty, the *admorim* were R. Issachar Dov Rubin and R. Naftali Gross.

The *admor* of the Hadas court was R. Eliezer Fish of Williamsburg.

The dynasty of "Rebbe Aharele," an independent dynasty in Beregszaz and Jerusalem, was continued by his son, R. Abraham Ḥayyim Rata in Bene Berak, a unique personality, and his son-in-law, R. Abraham Isaac Kahn, who greatly increased the number of his followers. His *bet midrash* was a center of Jerusalem zealousness in content and in form.

Of the dynasty of R. Judah Leib Ashlag, another independent line which did not bear the name of a city, there were three *admorim*, the son, R. Baruch Shalom in Bene Berak, and two grandsons, R. Ezekiel Joseph and R. Simḥah Abraham. They were sons of R. Solomon Benjamin Ashlag, the son of the founder of the dynasty. The uniqueness of these *admorim* is in their teaching of Kabbalah in public and in disseminating information about it.

The Entradam-Naszod line of the Freund family was represented by a non-direct descendant, R. Moses Aryeh Halberstam, who lived in New York. The rabbi of the Edah Ḥaredit in Jerusalem, R. Moses Aryeh Freund, was a direct descendant of the line and therefore functioned, to a great degree, like an *admor*.

Of the Bikszad dynasty, the successors were R. Nahum Ẓevi Fish and R. Moses Aryeh Lev, both of whom are in the United States.

In the post-Holocaust generation, new *admorim* became effective. R. Eliezer Zusya Portugal, the Skolener *rebbe*, gained his reputation for rescuing children and educating them after the Holocaust. Following his death his son, R. Israel Abraham, replaced him as *admor*. The father and son established a network of institutions in Israel under the name of "Ḥesed le-Avraham." Others are R. Isaac Huberman of Ra'anannah (1978); R. Zavel Abramowitz of Rimnitz, who was in the United States; R. Avraham Fish in Jaffa; R. Asher Freind in Jerusalem. All of them gained reputations as "wonder-workers" and attracted followers.

Sometimes a name comes up as a "wonder-worker." A noted example is R. Eleazar Abu-Ḥazeira of Beersheba. The phenomenon of recognizing an *admor* has been developing among Sephardi communities and deserves its own study.

The Braslav Ḥasidism, which had been exceptional ever since it was founded, continued to expand greatly. The increase in followers led to the establishment of different groups in Jerusalem, Safed, and a group revolving around R. Eliezer Solomon Shick. He was also a "new" Braslaver, who set up a ḥasidic center in Jabne'el in Galilee. He was considered the greatest disseminator of Braslav teachings, with his publication of hundreds of booklets of the teachings of R. Naḥman of Braslav. Braslav Ḥasidism has dozens of books of various types in distribution spreading its teachings.

THE MUSICAL TRADITION OF ḤASIDISM

Problems of Definition and Research

By one definition, the field of ḥasidic music would include all music practiced in ḥasidic society. By another, and related, definition, any music performed in "ḥasidic style" is ḥasidic. A further possibility could be to define ḥasidic music by its content, i.e., by those musical elements and forms, which distinguish it from any other music. So far, such distinctions have not been formulated according to the norms of musical scholarship. The Ḥasidim themselves also possess criteria – formulated in their own traditional terms – according to which they judge whether a melody is "ḥasidic" or not, and to which dynasty-style and genre it belongs. These, too, have not yet been translated into ethnomusicological terms. Moreover, none of the existing studies of ḥasidic music has as yet managed to furnish a systematic description of the ḥasidic repertoire or even part of it. First steps in this direction were made by by Y. Mazor and A. Hajdu from 1974. A pioneer effort was made by A.Z.I *Idelsohn, the tenth volume of whose *Thesaurus* is devoted to ḥasidic music. Idelsohn based his analyses on very loosely defined form and scale types – criteria, which are not sufficient for an exclusive and thorough definition. The fundamental difficulty lies in the anthologist character of the body of material, which he assembled as a base for his analysis. Idelsohn's 250 items include vocal music, instrumental music, liturgical pieces, dance tunes, folk songs in Yiddish, etc., and are taken from various and often distant dynastic repertoires. A systematic description requires analyzing the material first by sub-units, such as dynastic repertoires or genres (dance tunes, prayer melodies, or instrumental music, etc.). A comparative summary of these would then reveal the basic aspects of ḥasidic music. Nowadays the location of these units has itself become difficult, because of the far-reaching changes, which have occurred during the last 70 years in the ḥasidic communities, especially as a result of the Holocaust. The original communal frameworks were for the most part destroyed, although attempts were made to reconstruct them in other places (chiefly in Israel and the U.S.). For some dynasties this proved impossible, since all that remained of them were a number of survivors living in various countries that could, at best, try to preserve the remnants of the tradition in their personal memory. Other dynasties did achieve a renascence around new geographical centers but the interference of new external and internal factors could not but cause radical changes in the traditional patterns, including all aspects of the musical repertoire.

Two opposing tendencies can be discerned in the present-day repertoire. On the one hand, there is the attempt to preserve the traditional functions with their traditional melodies as strictly as possible such as Sabbath and festival prayer customs and, to a certain extent, the *tish* (i.e., rabbi's table assemblies). However, the desire to preserve tradition could paradoxically lead to major or minor changes, as happened with the Vizhnitz and Karlin ḥasidim, who made a special effort to collect forgotten *niggunim* and to reincorporate them into the pertinent ritual occasions. These changes often affected the repertoire of ritual events that up until then had maintained their distinctive traditional character. Furthermore, original elements appear in, and are stimulated by, those occasions on which both the adherents of diverse dynasties and non-ḥasidic Jews come together and influence each other, such as weddings, *Simḥat Torah celebrations, and the *hillulot* of *Lag ba-Omer and the Seventh of Adar. These events have created a distinctive repertoire, which arose mainly in Israel and the U.S. after World War II; it is made up chiefly of dance and "rejoicing tunes," which were originally linked with specific functions and dynasties and have now been detached from their earlier framework and adopted by this "pan-ḥasidic" public. Here, many melodies have been furnished with new words; individual dynastic traits have been eroded, and the repertoire has absorbed a number of recently composed melodies. This repertoire, however, has not accepted melodies, which are too exclusively associated with a specific dynasty, nor the slow *tish* tunes. This "pan-ḥasidic" phenomenon is found even among those ḥasidim whose communities did achieve a renaissance after the Holocaust, such as Boyan, Gur, Vizhnitz (see mus. Ex. 8).

The historical dimension of ḥasidic music poses problems of its own. In fact, we still do not know whether ḥasidic music developed out of an existing tradition and repertoire or was created as a new style in response to the new social and spiritual conditions established by the rise and development of ḥasidic society. Without this knowledge any historical theory about ḥasidic music would be farfetched. In any case one must take into account the dynastic filiations and interrelations, geographical proximity or isolation, and the importance of the "court musicians" and *klezmerim* as transmitters of musical elements from one dynastic center to another.

The Place of Music in Ḥasidic Thought

Joy and its principal means of expression – song and dance – have been important values of the ḥasidic movement since its inception in the second half of the 18th century and the ḥasidic leaders devoted increasing attention to music and dance in their writings. This signified an innovation in Jewish culture, in contrast to the general attitude of the Ashkenazi rabbinical establishment to music. A thorough survey of the musical evidence in the literary sources, and their interaction with oral traditions, is not yet available, but a beginning has been made at the Jewish Music Research Center at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem (see Mazor 2002). The literary evidence has been expressed in different ways:

(1) Sayings of *ẓaddikim* and their disciples about the virtues of music: They appear either as part of a story or as independent maxims and discourses in their writings. They also include kabbalistic interpretations of the **shofar*, its tones and its liturgical functions (see, e.g., the writings of Jacob Joseph of Polonnoye, *Nahman of Bratslav).

(2) The musical activities of the *ẓaddikim*: Stories about these activities began with *Israel ben Eliezer Baal Shem Tov himself (see, e.g., *Shivḥei ha-Besht*). These also include stories about the creation of particular melodies by *ẓaddikim* or their "court musicians," and descriptions of the miraculous properties were sometimes attributed to such melodies.

(3) Musical elements in the ḥasidic tales: The most fascinating of these can be found in the tales of R. Naḥman of Bratslav (see especially the "Tale of the Seven Beggars").

(4) Miscellaneous stories and descriptions by the opponents of Ḥasidism: a most valuable contribution is furnished by the polemic writings of those who, from the beginning, constantly poured their scorn on the Ḥasidic predilection for singing and dancing. Their very vehemence and undoubted exaggerations demonstrate the difference between the two cultures, and the importance they accorded to music. Because of the lack of explicit descriptions in the early Ḥasidic literature

(for reasons which are as yet unclear), these anti-Ḥasidic writings are all the more important as historical sources.

The central place of music in ḥasidic life is anchored in their musical ideology. Ideological differences between the various streams of Ḥasidism as well as recurring conceptual changes throughout the generations are reflected in their attitude to music. In their approach to music, a prominent conceptual change involves the movement of ḥasidic thought from the theosophical sphere to the psychological one, e.g., from the divine to the human soul. In the early ḥasidic writings, magical and theurgical conceptions prevailed that were rooted in the theosophical kabbalistic doctrine, in particular that of the Lurianic Kabbalah. These conceptions affirm human deeds, including musical activity, as having the power to affect the *sefirot* (Godhead) and, as a result, the entire world. Naḥman of Bratslav (1772–1810), for example, discusses the power of the tune of the prayer in *Likkutei Moharan*. Later generations abandoned the view that one can influence the divine world with music and ascribed this power only to the *ẓaddik*.

This change occurred under the leadership of R. *Dov Baer, the Maggid of Mezhirech (1704–1772) and especially through the teachings of some of his disciples. According to this view music was part of contemplation, of the soul-seeking required to reveal its divine source, and allowing communion with God, *devekut*, to take place. One witnesses, then, a drift from the emphasis put on music in textual context to the belief that music can act in its own right, whether connected to a text or not. In the opinion of some *ẓaddikim* and their adherents, music and singing were ranked even higher than explicit prayer. In consequence, ḥasidic melodies are mostly sung without words, though some are adapted to brief verses from the prayer book or *piyyutim*. However, some *niggunim* remained with a fixed text, such as the recitative *niggunim* of the Sabbath **zemirot*, *Kol Mekaddesh* and *Barukh Adonai Yom Yom*, and dance songs of Lag ba-Omer (see Hajdu-Mazor. *101 Ḥasidic Dance Niggunim*, nos. 8–10). In addition, a drift took place from the performance of music in the individual, meditative sphere towards a predominant collective expression of the entire congregation. Today only the Lubavitch (Chabad) and Bratslav movements engage in both individual and collective performance. Yet, in some dynasties certain *niggunim* are performed by the Rebbe himself.

Since most ḥasidic songs are textless, such a predominance of the melodic element over the textual aspect may well be directly linked with this doctrine. The primacy of the melody characterizes even the sung parts of ḥasidic prayer: instead of rendering the text, the ḥasidim actually perform the melody into which the words are freely interpolated. Some of these renditions often sound as if the text did not exist at all. An extreme example is the singing of the Sabbath *zemirot* by the Slonim ḥasidim, which is entirely textless: they have the words well in mind without uttering a single syllable.

The *niggun* as an expression of innermost emotions that cannot be expressed through words is considered as a means for the *ẓaddik* to plumb the depths of a person's soul, and to discover whether that person is evil or pious. It also enables him to refine that person's soul and raise it to a higher level of existence. As for simple people, who have not achieved the level of the *ẓaddik*, the *niggun* can help them to attain spiritual elevation, either through singing, or passively, by listening. Hearing the *ẓaddik* singing a *niggun*, provides the ordinary person with a foothold at the edge of the world of the Sacred.

Musical Acculturation

Adopting tunes from surrounding non-Jewish cultures is a hallmark of ḥasidic music. Leading ḥasidic sages tried to explain this phenomenon of musical acculturation and even gave to it the force of a religious duty. For example, R. Naḥman of Bratslav approved of singing gentile music as a way to attract God's increased attention to His people's sufferings at gentile hands and to induce Him to redeem them. A more typical view holds that sacred melodies in gentile music have been, as it were, taken captive by evil forces in the constant struggle between divine forces and the forces of evil. The "divine sparks" (*niẓẓoẓot*) hidden in them, await redemption. *Ẓaddikim* and their emissaries, wherever they lived, were constantly seeking out melodies with a "sacred flavor" in order to redeem the sparks and restore them to their heavenly source. Thus, local gentile, folk and popular melodies (Russian, Polish, Ukrainian, Romanian, Hungarian, Turkish, and Arabic) left a strong stamp on ḥasidic music. The plurality of melodic styles has brought about the opinion that ḥasidic music could not be considered as an autonomous ethnomusical unit. But such an attitude disregards the obvious processes of transformation and re-creation, which occurred in these tunes through their adoption by ḥasidim

Occasionally, ḥasidim borrowed gentile folksongs with the original texts, but endowed them with a new meaning in the spirit of Ḥasidism, justifying the texts as being allegorical (see mus. ex. 1). Some of the original songs or melodies, were preserved together with the story (apocryphal or real) of how it came to be "lifted up" from the "sphere of impurity," and by whom. Such are, for instance, the songs attributed to R. Yitzhak Eizik Taub of Kalov (one of which is illustrated in example 2).

Dynastic Styles

Which dynasties have a characteristic musical style and which dynasties share a common style? Ḥasidim with a musical ear insist that they can identify the dynastic origin of a tune at first hearing and claim that the *niggunim* of certain dynasties have a unique musical flavor. There are indeed a few characteristic features that can be associated with specific dynasties. For example, in dynasties closer to the West – Bobov, Gur, and Modzhitz – there is a strong Western influence, which finds expressions through a harmonic-tonal conception traceable to operatic melodies, modern cantorial compositions, and polyphonic elaboration (see mus. ex. 3). Romanian and Hungarian influences appear in dynasties in Transylvania, Hungary, and the Carpathian Ukraine such as Vizhnitz, Satmar, Munkacs, and Kalov without the tonal-harmonic thinking.

The melodic framework shows the traits found in the surrounding ethnic cultures: modes, pentatonic, and some scales with the augmented second. The *tish niggunim* of the Gur, Vizhnitz, and Modzhitz ḥasidim, whether sung to *zemirot* or with liturgical texts, are distinguished by their length. Some *niggunim* of the Vizhnitz ḥasidim resemble cantorial compositions and are sung by the *kapelye* (choral group) in a variety of polyphonic textures, such as parallel thirds, canons, and other imitative techniques, sometimes over an ostinato (see mus. ex. 4).

Ḥasidic marches can be found mainly in the repertoires of Gur, Vizhnitz, and Modzhitz ḥasidim; they are less frequent in other dynasties.

Dance niggunim of the Bratslav ḥasidism show the influence of their Ukrainian surroundings. The melodies are mostly short, simple in form, and in general do not exceed the range of one octave. Their melodic elements do not differ significantly from those of the Carpathian and Transylvanian dynasties described above (see: Hajdu-Mazor, *101 Hasidic Dance Niggunim*, nos. 23–26). The northern area – Belorussia and Lithuania – comprises the centers of Chabad, Karlin, and Slonim Ḥasidism. Russian motives and traits of performance are found in the Chabad repertoire, although part of it is also influenced by the Romanian *doina* style (see: Zalmanoff, no 303–304). The singing of the Karlin ḥasidim is distinguished by a strong rhythmic emphasis on every beat, while the melodic range is limited and often does not exceed the fifth. The melodies are built on progression by seconds and on the variation repetition of brief motifs (see. mus. ex. 11). Since the Karlin ḥasidim are now concentrated in Israel, and this style is closely related to several styles found in the Near East, the question arises whether these traits were already present in the original Karlin repertoire, or whether they entered and dominated it only after the reconstitution of the community in Palestine and Israel; but in the absence of older recordings and notations it must remain unanswered.

There is another specific phenomenon in the singing of some ḥasidic communities. We can define it as a gradual but continuous rise of pitch, sometimes to impressive proportions, as among the ḥasidim of Boyan, Lubavitch, and Slonim. The latter have an even more peculiar way of singing which has no parallel in other dynasties: the constant and somewhat irregular shifting of the melodic phrases upwards, through chromatic and even microtonal displacement, resulting in a continuous shifting of the tonal center. The impression it gives is one of a wide-ranging melody, though the motifs and phrases themselves (without the shifting) should give only a very small range. The upward shift can be also found in other dynasties, such as Chabad, but appear there only as an imperceptible "creeping."

The Place of Music in Ḥasidic Life

The role of music in Ḥasidic life is intrinsically different from that of other communities. The latter distinguishes between music sung in the synagogue – which is the center of community's religious life – and music belonging to everyday life. In Ḥasidic society the house of the *ẓaddik*, as well as the *shtibl*, is the spiritual and religious center for prayer and for events where much singing was involved, such as the *tish*. The aura of sanctity, which enveloped everything that took place in the *ẓaddik*'s house, therefore extended itself also to those musical activities of the Ḥasidic community, which were not strictly speaking a liturgical activity. In consequence, the boundary between sacred and secular music became blurred: secular forms such as marches and waltzes could be taken over for prayer tunes, and tunes used for dances could be furnished with texts from the liturgy. Since the dance was also considered a sanctified action it was and still is found even in the synagogue, before, between, and after certain prayer services.

THE REBBE AS MUSICAL LEADER. Many ḥasidic leaders were highly musical; some also earned fame as gifted *ba'alei tefillah* (prayer-leaders) or composers. Such leaders cultivated their communities' musical repertoire and encouraged original creativity, or drew gifted composer-*ḥazanim*, together with their *kapelyes*, to their "courts." Very famous were the *ḥazanim* Nissan Spivak ("Nissi Belzer," 1824–1906) in Sadgora, Yosef Volynetz ("Yosl Tolner," 1838–1902) in Talnoye and Rakhmistrivke (Rotmistrovka), Jacob Samuel Morogovski ("Zeydl Rovner," 1856–1942) in Makarov and Rovno, Pinḥas Spector ("Pinye Khazn," 1872–1951) in Boyan and its branches, and the *menagnim* (musicians) Yankl Telekhaner in Koidanov, Stolin, Lechovitch, and probably Slonim, and Jacob Dov (Yankl) Talmud (1886–1963) in Gur.

A new type of leadership emerged after the Holocaust, stemming from the danger that the musical tradition would disappear with the annihilation of entire communities. The late *rebbe* of Vizhnitz (Ḥayyim Meir Hager, 1888–1972), who reestablished his community in Israel, felt this danger, and took steps to revive the musical tradition, and at the same time encouraged the inclusion of *niggunim* of other ḥasidic sources. He also established a *kapelye* that would sing in the polyphonic style, and would perform works of *ḥazzanim* from the past.

The musical leadership of the *rebbe* also finds expression during the *tish*. Some *rebbes* sing all the *niggunim* on their own, while the congregation joins in only at specified places. Other *rebbes* conduct the *tish* through subtle cues – they signal to the congregation, or the *kapelye,* with a hand gesture or even with a glance. The late Vizhnitz *rebbe* used to conduct the singing of his congregation, correcting the congregation when the *niggun* was sung inaccurately. In some communities, the *rebbe* has a special sign to bring about greater excitement in the singing. Among the Vizhnitz, the excitement reaches its peak when the *rebbe* stands up; among the Boyan, this happens when the *rebbe* claps his hands. The latter also try to affect the tempo and as a result, a *niggun* may be rendered with unusual changes of tempo (Mazor 2004).

Among the Belz ḥasidim, who were known as "not musical," a veritable revolution took place when the current Vizhnitz *rebbe*'s son-in-law, Yissachar Dov Rokach, became the *rebbe* of Belz. The encouragement of original musical creations, together with the establishment of a *kapelye*, modeled on that of Vizhnitz, brought about a new and unique repertoire in addition to the traditional *niggunim*. The current *rebbe* of Karlin has directed the collection of Karlin traditional *niggunin* from all possible sources, even from the National Library in Jerusalem, in order to revive them. The guarding of the tradition included the prohibition to take the *niggunim* out of the congregation, whether through publication, recording, or handing over the scores to individuals from outside the community.

THE MUSICAL GENRES. *Niggun* (Yid. *nign*, from *nagen*, which probably meant "singing" in biblical Hebrew) is the ḥasidic term for a musical unit, i.e., a "tune," be it sung (with or without words) or played. All this is opposed to the current meaning of the term in modern Hebrew, which uses it for playing only. The *niggun* is the central musical manifestation of ḥasidic life. The term is not applied to the prayer **nusaḥ*, or the cantillation of the *masoretic accents, or other types of popular songs. While the latter are conditioned by the textual factor, the *niggun*, even when sung with words, is conceived as a completely autonomous musical entity. Most *niggunim* are sung without any words, with the frequent use of carrier syllables such as *Ah, Ay, Oy, Hey, Bam, Ya-ba-bam, ti-di-ram*, etc. Others have a partial text underlay. One *niggun* may also be sung to various texts. Where a *niggun* has a fixed text, the setting shows that the melody came first and the words were fitted to it afterward; even where it is known that a *niggun* was composed specifically for a certain text, the result sounds as if the text had been adapted to the melody.

Of all the dynasties, Lubavitch alone has successfully evolved a kind of "*niggun*-theory," through which it tries to explain ḥasidic musical activity, and to distinguish between different genres. Hasidic musicians ("*menagnim*") of various dynasties use different terms to classify *niggunim*, and as a result some genres are referred to with more than one term.

1) *Tish* ("table") *nigunim*. These make up the core of the ḥasidic repertoire, and constitute the major part of melodies sung at the assembly of the *rebbe*'s table. Most have stylistic similarities to the Lubavitch genre of *devekut* (adhesion) *niggunim,* also called *hitva'adut* (gathering) tunes. In other dynasties they are known as *hisorerus* (awakening)*, makhshove* (meditation), *moralishe* (moral)*, hartsi* (hearty), or bet (begging) *niggunim*. All are characterized by slow tempi, expressing serious, meditative and even sad moods and by metrical or free rhythm (see: mus. ex. 5). Sometimes this free rhythm is combined with metrical sections resulting in a variable tempo. One of the most widespread types resembles a slowed-down *mazurka,* with the first beat changing, perhaps under the influence of the well-known Hungarian metric formula (see mus. ex. 6). In some dynasties, such as Chabad and Vizhnitz, these *niggunim* show the impact of East European folk forms, such as the Romanian *doina* (called by them "*a volach*" or "*vulechl*"); in others, such as Modzhitz and Bobov, they are influenced by West European art music (e.g., operatic melodies). The length of such a *niggun* may vary. It is divided into sections, called "*fal*" in Yiddish or designated by the Aramaic term *bava* ("gate"). Their number can go from two to seven and in exceptional cases can reach 32, as in the *Ezkerah* of R. Israel Taub of Modzhitz (M.S. Geshuri, *Neginah ve-Ḥasidut be-Veit Kuzmir u-Venoteha*, pt. 2 (1952), pp. 9–18). Most *tish niggunim* are textless. The texts of the others are generally taken from the Sabbath and **zemirot* or from the liturgy (see mus. ex. 6–7).

2) Dance *niggunim* – called also *tentsl* or *freylekhs*. Other terms used by Polish ḥasidim are *hopke*, *dreidl*, or *redele*. Many dance *niggunim* have the following characteristics: duple meter; fast tempi; a periodic or symmetric structure in multiples of four bars; few sections – between one to five (the structure a-b-c-b being the most frequent); a small range, generally not more than one octave – sometimes only a fifth or a sixth; and a small number of motives (see Hajdu-Mazor, *101 Hasidic Dance Niggunim*, no 87–92). Some tunes consist of one or two motives and their developments (see mus. ex. 8). The most common tonal framework is that of the minor hexachord (aeolian mode), extended sometimes by a lower or higher second. Others of these *niggunim* use different scales characterized by the augmented second (see mus. ex. 9). Dance tunes are performed mainly at weddings and rejoicing festivals such as Simḥat Torah and Lag ba-Omer, but have an important role at the ḥasidic *tish* and synagogue prayers. About a third of these niggunim has fixed texts, mostly short, taken from biblical verses or from the liturgy, and fitted to the melody through the repetition of words or parts of sentences. A related category is called "tunes of rejoicing," which possess all the above characteristics but is sung in a slower tempo and mostly without dancing (see mus. ex. 10).

3) March and waltz. These joyful tunes were adopted from, or influenced by, non-Jewish cultures from Central Europe (mostly Polish and Austro-Hungarian). They are mostly used at the *tish* or for prayer but not used for dancing or marching; they are generally sung slower than their gentile counterpart. Most *niggunim* of these types are sung without text. They can be used in Sabbath and holiday services and applied to poetical texts such as *Lekha Dodi*, *El Adon*, *Ki Anu Amekha*, *Ki Hine ka-Ḥomer*, *Ha-Yom Te'amẓenu*, etc. The Vizhnitz repertoire includes *niggunim* having some characteristics of a march despite their triple meter. They call them "marsh" but they could be better called "marsh-vals".

4) Other genres. In addition to the types of *niggunim*, the ḥasidic repertoire includes *badkhones* (jester's tunes sung with Yiddish rhymed verses), bilingual songs, and compositions in the style of choral music composed by cantors.

Tradition and Renewal in Ḥasidic Music

The main way to determine whether music in ḥasidic society grew from an existing tradition or mapped out new paths is to look for parallels in the music of non-ḥasidic communities in and after the 18th century. Two dominant musical elements are common to the ḥasidic and non-ḥasidic prayer of the communities of Eastern Europe: The modality (in Yiddish, *shtayger*) and the recitative style. The extensive use among ḥasidim of the term "*Velts Nusakh*" for the style of liturgical recitative common to both ḥasidim and *mitnaggedim* applies also in this sense. The specific character of prayer among Karlin ḥasidim, as well as certain characteristic elements in the so-called "Volhynia *Nusakh*" (which has survived among offshoots of Ruzhin Ḥasidism – Boyan, Sadegora, Czortków, etc.) and in the *nusah* of such communities as Vizhnitz, Zydaczów and its offshoots (Spinka, Kosoni, Tass), may be attributed to the preservation of old local traditions. One can see in the polyphonic practice of certain communities (such as Boyan and Vizhnitz), a continuation of polyphonic practice before the rise of Ḥasidism.

Research and Collections

Toward the end of the 19th century, Yoel Engel (1898), Sussmann Kisselgof (1912), and the former Jewish Historical Ethnographic Museum (1912–14) took in Russia the first steps in collecting and transcribing ḥasidic music (as a part of Jewish music). As for Moshe *Beregovski (1927–46), he was mainly devoted to instrumental and wordless vocal genres. The collection of ḥasidic melodies, their analysis and classification in the context of ḥasidic social life and religious thought, has been a major focus of documentation and research work at the Jewish Music Research Center in Jerusalem since its inception in 1964. This recorded material is cataloged at the National Sound Archives (NSA) of the JNUL. Recently some ḥasidic communities felt the need to produce documentation of their own. This led to the establishment of the archives of the Lubavitch, Modzhitz, and Karlin-Stolin heritage including recordings and notations of music as well as comments.

[A. Hajdu and Y. Mazor (2nd ed.)]

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Musical Examples

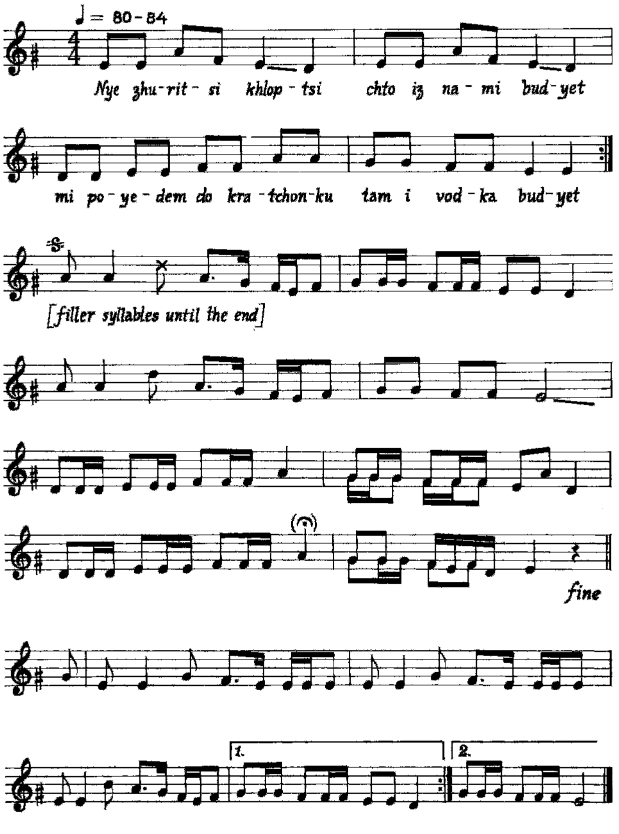
♩= 80-84
Nye ʒhu-rit- si khlop - tsi chto iʒ na - mi bud-yet
mi po - ye - dem do kra - tchon-ku tam i vod - ka bud-yet
[filler syllables until the end]
fine
1.
2.

Example 1. Ḥabad. Nie Zhuristi Khloptsi. *"Rejoicing" and dance niggun for a devotional gathering (hitva'adut) and festive occasions, derived from a Ukrainian song. Said to have been sung by the followers of the "Middle Admor," Dov Ber b. Shneur Zalman of Lyady, on their pilgrimages to his court. The second and third sections are probably an original ḥasidic development of the basic tune. This is also sung to a Yiddish text,* Gits nit kayn Nekhten. *Recorded by Y. Mazor at Kefar Ḥabad, 1969 (Jerusalem, J.N.U.L., National Sound Archives, Yc 121/16–17). Transcription Y. Mazor.*

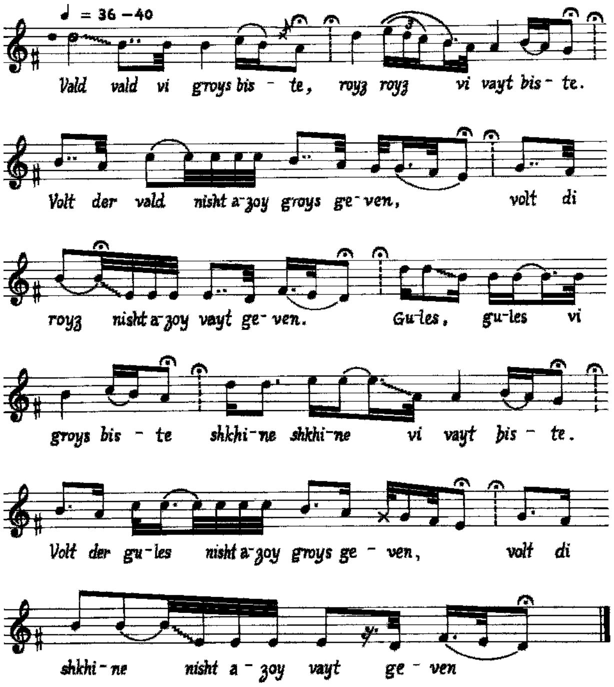
♩ = 36 –40
Vald vald vi groys bis - te, royʒ royʒ vi vayt bis - te.
Volt der vald nisht a-ʒoy groys ge-ven, volt di
royʒ nisht a-ʒoy vayt ge-ven. Gu-les, gu-les vi
groys bis - te shkhi-ne shkhi-ne vi vayt bis - te.
Volt der gu-les nisht a-ʒoy groys ge - ven, volt di
shkhi-ne nisht a - ʒoy vayt ge - ven

Example 2. Kalov. Vald, Vald, *attributed to R. Isaac of Kalov. Present distribution not ascertained. Recorded by Y. Mazor in Jerusalem, 1967, from a descendant of a family of Zhikiv Hasidim (Jerusalem, Israel Institute for Sacred Music, M72/943). Transcription Y. Mazor. R. Isaac is said to have taken the tune from a shepherd's love song, changing the words in the second part to demonstrate the allegorical meaning: "Forest (Diaspora), how enormous thou art / Rose /(*Shekhinah*), how far thou art./ Were the forest (Diaspora) not so great/then were the rose / (*Shekhinah*) not so far.*

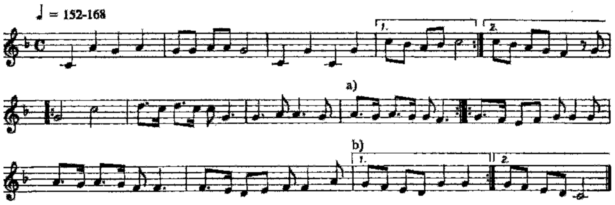
♩ = 152-168
1.
2.
a)
b)

Example 3. Dance Nigun. *Sung by Gur and Modzhitz Hasidim. Recorded by Y. Mazor, at Jerusalem 1966, from Rahmistrovka Hasid and his sons (Jerusalem, J.N.U.L., National Sound Archives, Y 3678/1). Transcription Y. Mazor.*

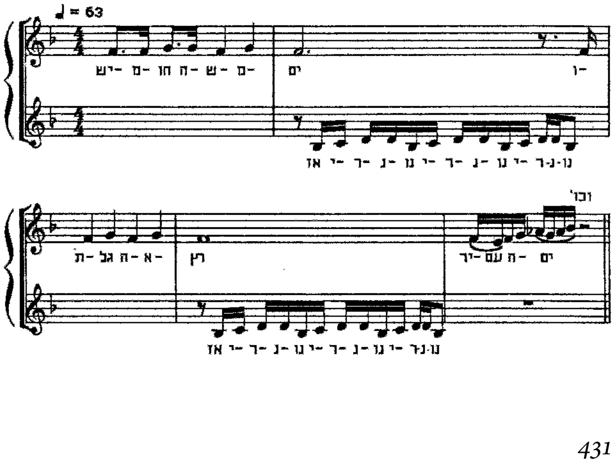

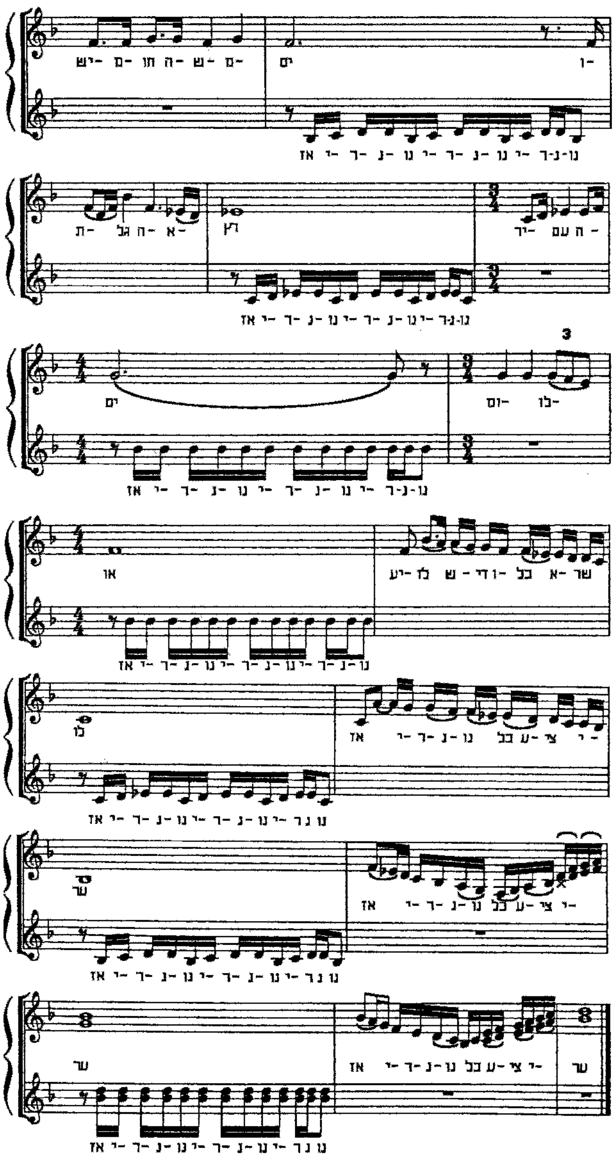

Example 4. Vizhnitz. Part from *Shira la-Shem* ("Song to the Lord") for choir, sung at devotional gatherings. Recorded by Y. Mazor, at the wedding of the Rebbe's son, Bene-Berak, 1976 (Jerusalem, J.N.U.L., National Sound Archives, Yc 1007/8). Transcription Y. Mazor.

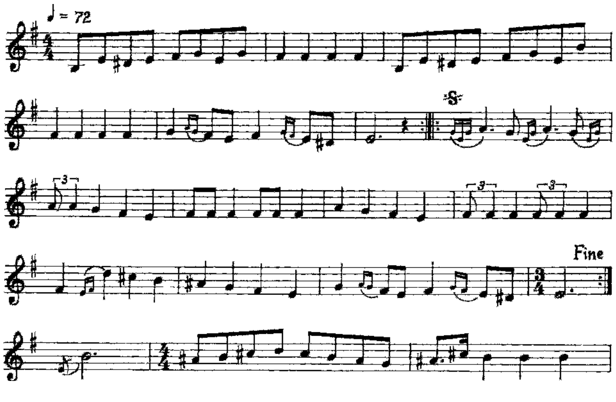

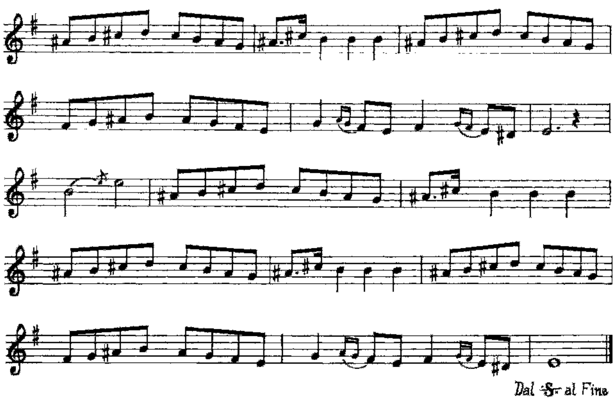

Example 5. Ḥabad. *Hitva'adut (gathering) niggun for devotional gatherings and festive occasions. Transcribed by E. Avitzur from S. Zalmanoff, Jerusalem 1980. From S. Zalmanoff (ed.)* Sefer ha-Niggunim, *3rd volume, 1980.*

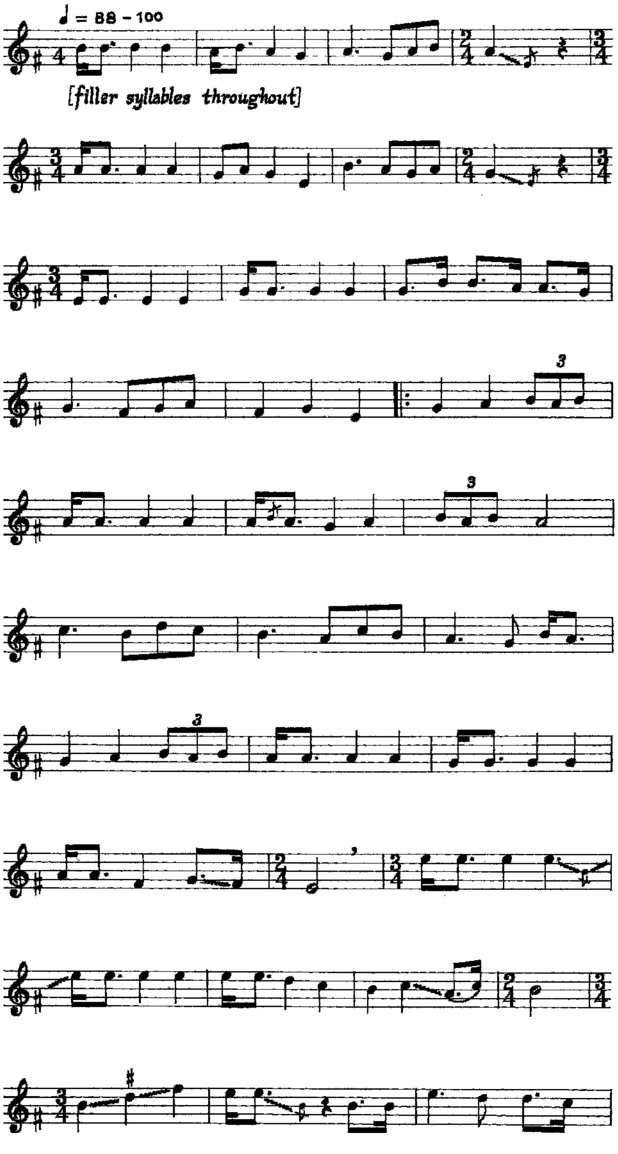
♩ = 88 - 100
[filler syllables throughout]

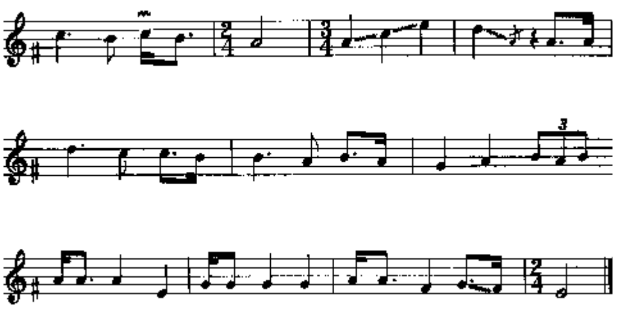

Example 6. Karlin. Textless niggun, *sometimes also sung to the words of* Yah Ekhesor. *Believed to be old. Recorded by Y. Mazor in Jerusalem, 1970, when sung at a Karlin wedding before the entry of the bridegroom (Jerusalem, Israel Institute for Sacred Music, M74/962). Transcription A. Hajdu.*

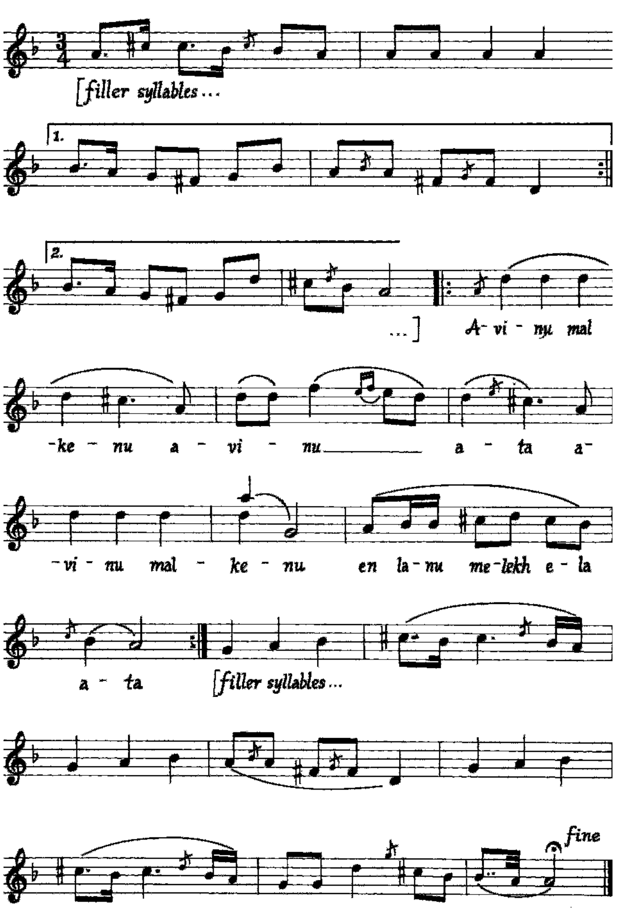
[filler syllables...
1.
2.
...] A-vi-nu mal
-ke-nu a-vi-nu a-ta a-
-vi-nu mal-ke-nu en la-nu me-lekh e-la
a-ta [filler syllables...
fine

Example 7. Ḥabad. Avinu Malkenu *("Our Father, our King"),* niggun *for a devotional gathering, sometimes also sung during the* Avinu Malkenu *prayer. Attributed to R. Shneur Zalman of Lyady. From S. Zalmonoff (ed.),* Sefer ha-Niggunim, *1949.*

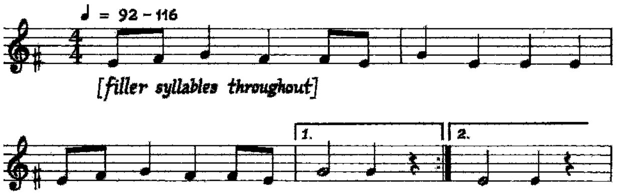
♩ = 92 – 116
[filler syllables throughout]
1.
2.

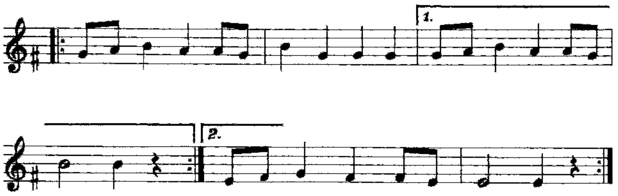

Example 8. Pan-ḥasidic. Dance niggun, *of unknown provenance, nonspecific in function. Recorded by Y. Mazor in Bene-Berak, 1957, as played by a Jerusalem* klezmer *group (Jerusalem, Israel Institute for Sacred Music, M39/490). Transcription A. Hajdu.*

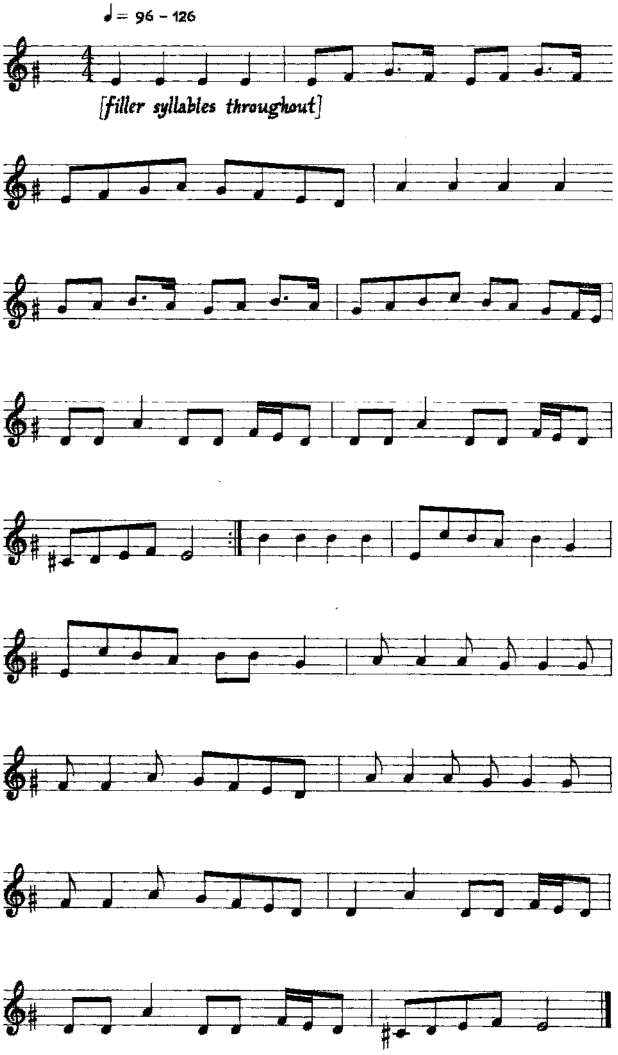
♩ = 96 – 126
[filler syllables throughout]

Example 9. Ḥabad. "Rejoicing" and dance niggun *for a devotional gatherings and festive occasions. Recorded by Y. Mazor at Kefar Ḥabad, 1967, on the "Feast of redemption" (19th Kislev), at the devotional meeting in the yeshivah (Jerusalem, Israel Institute for Sacred Music, M33/514). Transcription A. Hajdu.*

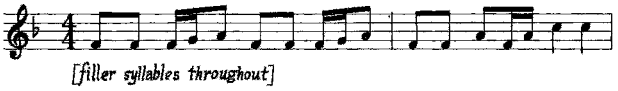
[filler syllables throughout]

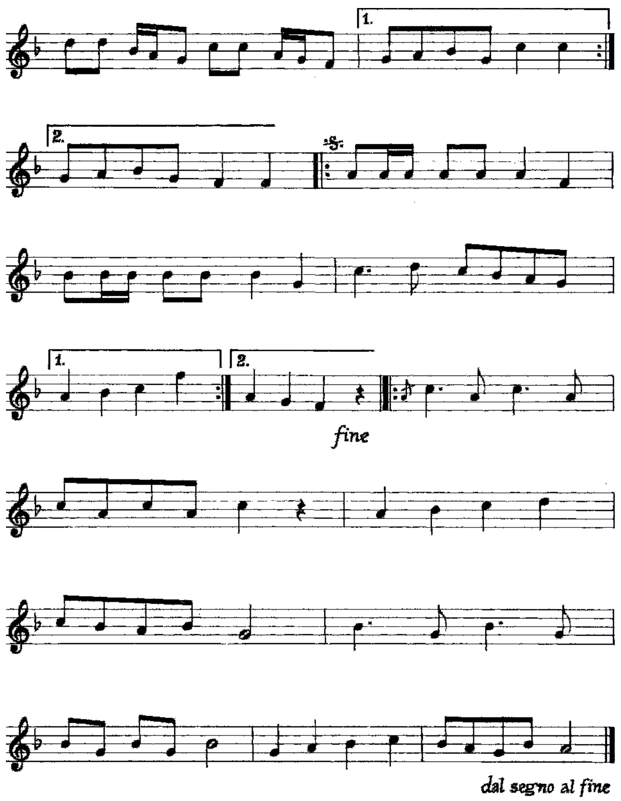

Example 10. "Rejoicing" niggun *for various occasions. Sometimes sung to the text* Ashrenu mah tov helkenu *("Blessed are we, how goodly is our portion"). From S. Zalmonoff (ed.),* Sefer ha-Niggunim, *1949.*

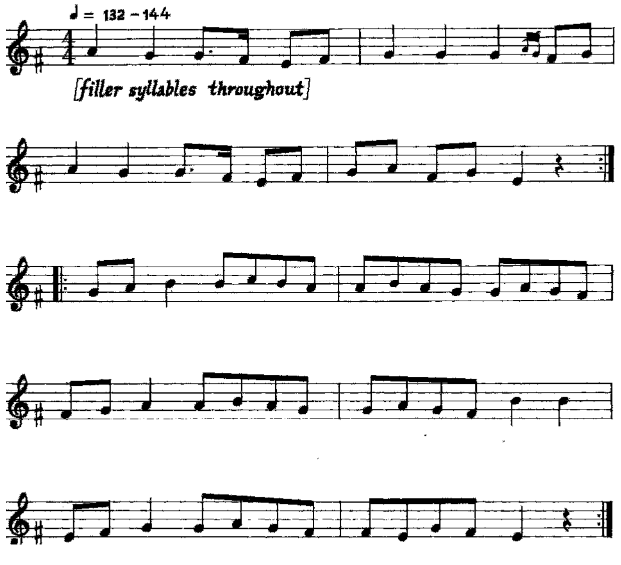

Example 11. Karlin. Opening niggun *for the* hakkafot. *At present sung also in many other ḥasidic communities. Recorded by Y. Mazor, In the* Yeshivat ha-Matmidim, *Jerusalem on Simhat Torah night 1966 (Jerusalem, Israel Institute for Sacred Music, M33/514). Transcription A. Hajdu. In Israel the tune was used by the pioneers of the Fourth Aliyah (1924–1931) as a wordless dance-song, and adapted by M. Ravina to the text of* Kol Dikhfin *in the Passover* seder.

HASKALAH (Heb. הַשְׂכָּלָה), Hebrew term for the Enlightenment movement and ideology which began within Jewish society in the 1770s. An adherent of Haskalah became known as a *maskil* (pl. *maskilim*). The movement continued to be influential and spread, with fluctuations, until the early 1880s. Haskalah had its roots in the general Enlightenment movement in Europe of the 18th century but the specific conditions and problems of Jewish society in the period, and hence the objectives to which Haskalah aspired in particular, all largely differed from those of the general Enlightenment movement. Haskalah continued along new and more radical lines the old contention upheld by the Maimonidean party in the *Maimonidean Controversy that secular studies should be recognized as a legitimate part of the curriculum in the education of a Jew. For Jewish society in Central Europe, and even more so in Eastern Europe, this demand conflicted with the deeply ingrained ideal of Torah study that left no place for other subjects. As in medieval times, secular studies were also rejected as tending to alienate youth from the observance of the precepts and even from loyalty to Judaism.

The Haskalah movement contributed toward *assimilation in language, dress, and manners by condemning Jewish feelings of alienation in the **galut* and fostering loyalty toward the modern centralized state. It regarded this assimilation as a precondition to and integral element in *emancipation, which Haskalah upheld as an objective. The *maskilim* also advocated the productivization of Jewish occupation through entering *crafts and *agriculture. The emphasis placed on these common objectives naturally varied within Jewish society in different countries and with changing conditions. Greater emphasis was placed on assimilation, and it became more widespread in Western and Central Europe than in Eastern Europe. Here the struggle for secular education and productivization was continuous and strong (see also Haskalah in Russia, below).

Beginning and Background of Haskalah

Moses *Mendelssohn is generally considered to be the originator of the Haskalah movement (the "father of the Haskalah"). However, this opinion has to be corrected in that a desire for secular education had already been evinced among the preceding generation of German Jews, and some individual Jews in Poland and Lithuania, during the 1740s. Knowledge of European languages could be found among members of the upper strata of Jewish society there many years before. Mendelssohn considered that a Jewish translation of the Bible into German was "a first step toward culture" for Jews. It seems, however, that he was doubtful about encouraging the spread of Haskalah among Jewry. When in the early 1780s it was proposed to translate certain works into Hebrew so as to lead the Jewish people to abandon "its ignorance and the opposition to every sensible reform," Mendelssohn "thought that any enterprise of this sort would indeed not be harmful, but neither would it be very beneficial" (see Solomon Maimon, *An Autobiography* (1947; repr. 1967), 97). Mendelssohn was opposed to *education of Jewish and non-Jewish children together; he was also against the *Toleranzpatent* issued by Emperor Joseph II, fearing that the method of education proposed there would lead Jews to *apostasy.

The birth and growth of the Haskalah movement were considerably facilitated by the policies of the absolutist regimes of Germany, Austria, and Russia during the 18th century, which deprived the Jewish community leadership of its coercive authority, such as exercise of the right of **herem* ("ban"). Large-scale commercial transactions undertaken by the *Court Jews at this time brought the upper classes of Jewish society in contact with non-Jewish circles, and as a result there formed a section of the Jewish community which diverged from the traditional way of life. Others open to influence by Haskalah were individual Jews, frequently Jewish peddlers who often migrated to new localities without a communal organization or rabbis, where the individual was consequently left to himself.

Haskalah had a positive impact on the status of Jewish women. Many wealthy Jews hired tutors to teach their daughters modern European languages and other accomplishments. Elite women who acquired German and French language and culture played a significant role in transmitting the ideas and literature of the Enlightenment into the Jewish community. In traditional Jewish society girls had received only minimal religious training; now, instruction in music and modern languages together with exposure to a new world of secular novels, poetry, and plays distanced young women from brothers and husbands whose lives were restricted narrowly to commerce and finance. It is not surprising that many of these wealthy and accomplished women found success in a *salon society where gentiles and Jews mixed socially. Sometimes, these social contacts led to divorces from Jewish husbands, conversions to Christianity, and marriage to gentile suitors, often from the nobility. The number of Jewish women who followed this course was small and their motives in doing so were complex. However, some of the women who abandoned Judaism were integrated into the dominant upper-class culture and society. In making the choices they did these women experienced "at an early date and in a gender-specific way the basic conflict between group loyalty and individual emancipation that would torment so many European Jews in the two centuries to follow" (Hertz, *Jewish High Society*, 198).

The experience of the "salon Jewesses" was not typical for most Western and Central European Jewish women as Haskalah rapidly transformed Jewish life. Generally, gender tended to limit the assimilation of Jewish women since most had few contacts with the non-Jewish world. Confined to the domestic scene, restricted in their educational opportunities, and prevented from participating in the public realms of economic and civic life, women's progress to integration was halting and incomplete in comparison to Jewish men. Nevertheless, Haskalah had a far reaching impact on gender relations, following the lead of Mendelssohn, himself, who opposed arranged marriages and advocated love matches (Biale, *Eros and the Jews*, 153–58).

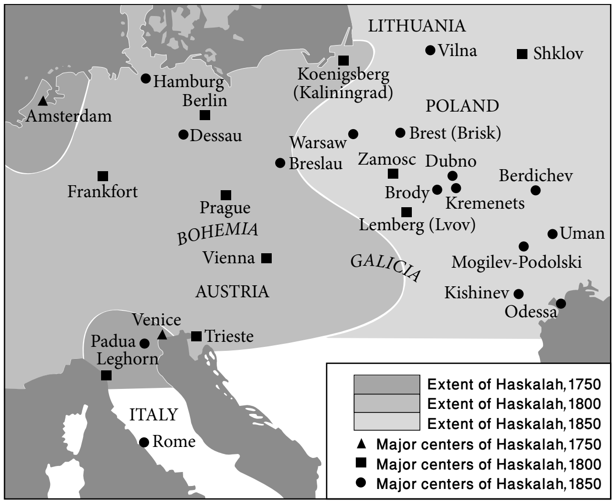

The spread and main centers of the Haskalah in Europe. From H.H. Ben-Sasson (ed.), History of the Jewish People, *Tel Aviv, 1969.*

Haskalah operated as an active trend within German Jewry in the space of one generation. Its influence first spread in *Galicia (which passed to Austria with the partition of Poland) and later in Lithuania and other provinces of the Russian *Pale of Settlement.

There were also countries where attitudes similar to those adopted by the Haskalah circles in Germany had been manifest among Jews earlier, where they were unaccompanied by disintegration of Jewish tradition. In Italy, men who had studied medicine and were well acquainted with philosophy and the classics, as well as Christian theological literature, held rabbinical positions. The prestige won by Jewish physicians of note was generally considered an asset and encouragement to the Jewish community (see Isaac Cantarini, *Et Keẓ* (Amsterdam, 1710) 1b). In Italy also, study of Kabbalah was compatible with secular studies (see Jacob Frances, in: I. Frances, *Metek Sefatayim*, ed. by H. Brody (1892), 74; Moses Hayyim *Luzzatto).

Early stirrings of a positive appreciation of secular culture among Jews had even appeared in Germany by the first half of the 18th century and were manifest earlier among some traditional scholars and leaders like *Tobias b. Moses Cohn the physician, author of *Ma'aseh Tuviyyah*, Jonathan *Eybeschuetz, or Jacob *Emden. More positive and active participation in general culture still combined with a traditional outlook is reflected in Israel *Zamosc and Aaron Elias Gomperz, who wrote his *Ma'amar ha-Madda* (1765) to point out the importance of the sciences (see also below).

The specific approach characterizing Haskalah was expressed by those to whom secular culture and philosophy became a central value which raises man to the highest spiritual level, possibly not below that of religious meditation, and for whom it symbolized the sublime aspect of man, who by his initiative can achieve progress in and dominate nature. They considered that such culture would elevate both the human and social stature of the Jew. The new spirit prompted a number of Haskalah writers to compose works popularizing science in Hebrew, like Mordecai Gumpel b. Judah Leib Schnaber (d. 1797; published under the name Marcus George Levisohn). Articles on natural sciences were published in the first Hebrew secular monthly *Ha-Me'assef* (see below) by Baruch Lindau (1759–1849) and Aaron Wolfsohn Halle.

Haskalah, like its parent the European Enlightenment movement, was rationalistic. It accepted only one truth: the rational-philosophical truth in which reason is the measure of all things. During the 1740s some of the youth had already begun to study Maimonides' *Guide of the Perplexed*. Haskalah accepted Enlightenment *Deism, giving it a specifically Jewish turn. Gotthold Ephraim *Lessing, in the parable of the Three Rings in *Nathan der Weise*, rejected the claim of any religion to represent the absolute truth. Mendelssohn held that there was nothing in the Jewish faith opposed to reason and that the revelation on Mount Sinai did not take place to impart faith but to give laws to a nation, because faith cannot be achieved by decree, while the laws which were given on that occasion were designed to serve as the laws of a unique Jewish theocratic state. Mendelssohn thus attempted to remove Judaism from the struggle between Enlightenment and revealed religion. The attitude of such Jews toward tradition underwent a radical change. The conception of Divine Providence in favor of Israel, the belief in the election of Israel, and the religious reasons advanced for the exile of Israel were weakened and the anticipation of Israel's future redemption began to wane.

While Mendelssohn and Naphtali Herz *Wessely, the pioneer of Haskalah education, did not doubt the sanctity and the authority of the Oral Law, they tried to demote the study of Talmud from its supreme position in Jewish education. Mendelssohn, in his letter to Naphtali Herz *Homberg, stressed the importance of actions and the study of the Bible in order to preserve the society of "true theists" (i.e., Judaism), while the Talmud is not mentioned there at all. This anti-talmudic mood was widespread. Study of the Talmud was not included in the curriculum of the "Free School" founded in Berlin in 1778 (see below). Wessely expressed this approach in the words: "We were not all created to become talmudists." Representing the most radical wing of Haskalah, David *Friedlaender was openly glad that the yeshivot were declining. The Talmud was also criticized in Russia. Abraham *Buchner, a teacher in the rabbinical seminary of Warsaw, even wrote a book entitled *Der Talmud in seiner Nichtigkeit* ("The Talmud in its Emptiness," 2 vols., 1848). In Galicia, Joshua Heschel *Schorr claimed that although the Talmud was historically important, its legal decisions were outdated socially and spiritually and hence no longer binding. Later Moses Leib *Lilienblum, too, considered the Talmud important but demanded from the rabbis, in the name of the "spirit of life," reform in *halakhah*.

In Western Europe and the German states, especially the northern German states, observance of *halakhah* was already being neglected before the advent of the Haskalah movement. Mendelssohn reacted sharply against the tendency to ignore the burden of the precepts found among persons close to him, some of whom even denied Divine Revelation to Moses. Among the *maskilim* who frequented Mendelssohn's home there were, according to Solomon Dubno, "a group of men who were to be suspected of having discarded the yoke of the Torah." This negation of halakhic precepts, which was often coupled with contempt toward the whole of Judaism, also served as a factor leading to mass apostasy among the Jewish bourgeoisie of *Berlin and its surroundings.

Linguistic Assimilation

Linguistic assimilation increasingly became a hallmark of Haskalah. In Germany, as well as in Alsace-Lorraine, wealthy Jews had begun to have their children taught German and French at the close of the 17th century to facilitate both their business and social contacts with non-Jews. French became the language of the "elite" in Jewish circles, where the reading of general literature became widespread. In the 1780s there were "the daughters of Israel, who are all able to speak the language of the gentiles with eloquence, but cannot converse in Yiddish" (*Ha-Me'assef* (1786), 139). By the 1790s the younger generation of the Jewish bourgeoisie of Berlin had begun to adopt German as their spoken language. A negative attitude toward Yiddish developed. German writers had claimed in the past that the Jews had been able to deceive non-Jews by the use of Yiddish in business transactions, and as a result decrees had been issued compelling Jews to write their commercial documents and keep their books in German.

Apparently Mendelssohn was influenced by these claims and even thought that Yiddish was ridiculous, ungrammatical, and a cause of moral corruption. He initiated translation of the Pentateuch into German, in order to induce Jews to use this language (see *Bible: Translations, German). Wessely approved wholeheartedly of the measures which Joseph II introduced against the use of Yiddish (*Ha-Me'assef* (1784), 178). David Friedlaender called for the removal of Yiddish as the language of instruction in the *heder* and Jewish schools; in his opinion the use of Yiddish was responsible for unethical conduct and corruption of religion. He translated the prayers into German, "the language spoken by the inhabitants of these regions," because the Yiddish translations "were repulsive to the reader in their style and contents" (*Ha-Me'assef* (1786), 139). The *maskil* Zalkind *Hourwitz also suggested that the Jews be prohibited from employing either Yiddish or Hebrew for bookkeeping and business contracts, not only for transactions between Jews and Christians but also between Jews themselves, in order to prevent fraud.

A move against Yiddish in favor of the "mother tongue" (in this case, Dutch) was initiated by the *maskilim* in the *Netherlands during the period of French rule there. A Jewish weekly began to appear in Dutch in 1806. In 1808 a society was formed in Amsterdam for translation of the Bible and the prayer book into Dutch, as well as for the publication of textbooks in Hebrew and Dutch, the establishment of new schools, and the training of suitable teachers for them.

King Louis Bonaparte issued a decree in February 1809, in force from Jan. 1, 1811, prohibiting the use of Yiddish in documents. Sermons in the synagogues were to be delivered in Dutch, while Dutch was to be the language of instruction for Jewish youth. The *consistory of the Netherlands ordered that notices in the synagogues be published in Dutch only, and all correspondence between the communities and the consistory was to be conducted in Dutch only. In France, the *maskilim* encountered no difficulties in their struggle against Yiddish in favor of French. French had been widely spoken among Jews before the Haskalah period. *Berr Isaac Berr preferred Mendelssohn's German translation of the Pentateuch to the one existing in Yiddish until a proper Jewish-French translation had been made. In Hungary, the *maskilim* were active in substituting Hungarian for the Yiddish vernacular during the 1840s. Hungarian became the language of instruction in the Jewish schools of several communities and preachers even began to employ this language in synagogues.

Development of Hebrew

Hebrew was not only of central importance to people like Jacob Emden and Jonathan Eybeschuetz, who apparently wished that Jews should be able to speak fluent Hebrew; Mendelssohn also considered the Hebrew language a national treasure. In his *Kohelet Musar,* 3 issues (1750), he called for an extension of its frontiers, on the example of other living languages. Cultivation of Hebrew was also one of the aims of the *Biur,* the commentary on the Pentateuch initiated by Mendelssohn. For these scholars Hebrew meant biblical Hebrew. Study of the Bible held a central position in the educational program of the Haskalah movement, whereas both the content of the Talmud and even more so the style of Hebrew used in the 18th century, and by earlier Ashkenazi rabbis, drove Haskalah scholars to reject the post-biblical layers in the Hebrew language. The interest shown by German gentile scholars in the Bible and its language also contributed to a certain extent to the preference of Haskalah circles for biblical Hebrew, though from the beginning some voices expressed reservations toward this extremist approach (see also *Ha-Me'assef* (1784), 185).

Ha-Me'assef served as the organ of the Haskalah in its Hebrew aspect. It was published regularly between 1783 and 1790, with difficulties until 1797, and revived from 1809 to 1811. It was published by the Doreshei Leshon Ever ("Friends of the Hebrew Language") in Koenigsberg founded in 1783, and renamed in 1786 Shoharei ha-Tov ve-ha-Tushiyyah ve-Doreshei Leshon Ever ("Seekers of Good and Wisdom and Friends of the Hebrew Language"). Even *Ha-Me'assef* published articles in German; its publication ceased through extreme assimilation of the adherents of Haskalah, in particular in Germany and Austria. German attracted younger and progressive circles. The literary contribution by the so-called **Me'assefim* generation was an important stage in the development of Hebrew language and literature. Hebrew became a vehicle for secular and professional scientific expression. *Maskilim* also contributed much to research in grammar and purity of expression. In Eastern Europe Hebrew remained the language of Haskalah literature for a longer period, appealing to a much wider public with deeper roots in Jewish culture than in Central and Western Europe. The *maskilim* there further developed and enlivened Hebrew (see Haskalah in Russia, below).

Education

The adherents of Haskalah shared the rationalist belief in the boundless efficacy of a rational education. They therefore turned to a change in the curriculum and methods of teaching as the main means of shaping a new mode of Jewish life. The first school to be guided by this ideal was founded in Berlin in 1778 and named both Freischule ("Free School") and Hinnukh Ne'arim ("Youth Education"). It was primarily designed for children of the poor and was without fee. The curriculum included study of German and French, arithmetic, geography, history, natural sciences, art, some Bible studies, and Hebrew. The school had a revolutionary effect on Jewish education, for it heralded the transfer of the center of gravity from Jewish studies to general subjects. The school was successful from the beginning; only half of its 70 first pupils came from poor homes. Wessely's welcome of Joseph II's educational proposals for Jews (*Divrei Shalom ve-Emet*, 4 pts. (1782–85)) and his call to the Jews of Austria to establish schools on this pattern were an outcome both of the success of the Freischule as well as the fear that if Jews themselves did not take the initiative, Jewish children would be compelled to attend the state schools. In this work Wessely set out both a detailed program and a basic philosophy for Haskalah education. German Jews of the upper social strata were ready for this program, though it aroused much rabbinical opposition, influenced from outside Germany.

In the same year (1785), the bishop of Mainz admitted 19 Jewish boys to the general school without difficulties. Many programs for Haskalah education were proposed, some drawing on the experience of Italian Jewish and Sephardi schools, whose curricula were considered near to Haskalah aims. The question of education was widely discussed in *Ha-Me'assef.* Some radical *maskilim* demanded that German and arithmetic should be taught to begin with and Hebrew reading and writing be added at a later stage. David Friedlaender sought to introduce German as the language of instruction in all subjects and the teaching of selected chapters of the Bible of ethical value to both boys and girls. In regard to religious instruction, he also suggested that only the ethical precepts be taught.

The *maskilim*, who despised the old-style Polish teachers, the *melammedim*, whom they considered uncouth and uncultured, were not satisfied with criticism alone. On their initiative new schools sprang up in Berlin, Dessau, and Frankfurt on the Main, among other places, in which Hebrew and general studies were taught. A limited number of hours were usually devoted to Hebrew studies, while study of the Talmud was almost completely abandoned. Several educators wrote textbooks where the educational aims of the Haskalah movement found expression. The first to be written were the *Toledot*

Yisrael (Prague, 1796), on Jewish history by Peter *Beer; *Imrei Shefer* (Vienna, 1816) and *Bne-Zion* (Ger., *ibid.*, 1812), religious and moral readers for young people by Naphtali Herz Homberg. In 1807 a confirmation ceremony for boys in German, in imitation of the Christian custom, was introduced in the school at Wolfenbuettel, whence it spread to the other Jewish schools in Germany.

The influence of Haskalah also penetrated to Orthodox circles who were compelled to respond to the demands of the times. Even R. Ezekiel *Landau agreed that it was necessary "to know language and writing"; although "Torah is the main thing," "one should grasp both." R. *David Tevele of Lissa conceded to the emperor's request "to teach the children to speak and write the German language for an hour or two." The first "integral" schools (in which Jewish and general subjects were taught) were opened by the Orthodox in Halberstadt and Hamburg (see also Samson Raphael *Hirsch; *Neo-Orthodoxy).

Haskalah brought a considerable change in the education of girls. The daughters of the wealthy elite, who generally studied under private teachers, were taught European languages and music and played an important role in introducing European culture and Enlightenment ideas into Jewish life. The *maskilim* also began to show concern for the education of the daughters of the poor. Schools for girls were established in the 1790s in Breslau, Dessau, Koenigsberg, and Hamburg. The curriculum generally included some Hebrew, German, the fundamentals of religion and ethics, prayers, and arithmetic; there were also schools where the writing of Yiddish, handiwork, art, and singing were taught.

Schools with curricula based on the educational ideals of Haskalah were also established in France and other Western European countries. On the example of the "integral" schools in Germany, similar schools were also founded in East European countries. In 1813 a school was founded by Josef *Perl in Tarnopol (Galicia), where in addition to Bible, Mishnah, *Gemara*, and Hebrew grammar, the subjects of Polish, French, arithmetic, history, and geography were also taught; the language of instruction was German and there were also classes for girls. A similar school was established in Lvov in 1845. In Warsaw, three schools in which the language of instruction was Polish were established by Jacob *Tugendhold in 1819; two schools for girls were also established here.

With the foundation of the new schools, the problem of training teachers arose. Isaac *Euchel, David Friedlaender, and Judah Loeb *Jeiteles were among the first *maskilim* to raise this problem. Special institutions were established, but on many occasions the rabbinical seminaries also served this purpose. The first teachers' training seminary was opened in Kassel in 1810 by the consistory of the kingdom of Westphalia, followed by others through the first half of the 19th century. A seminary for teachers and rabbis was opened in Amsterdam in 1836 and a seminary for teachers in Budapest in 1857. Secondary schools did not develop anywhere. Only the Philanthropin school at Frankfurt extended its curriculum in 1813 to include a secondary science-orientated section providing six years' studies after the four years of elementary classes. Some private institutions of a commercial-science orientation were established in Berlin. Those who went on to secondary studies generally attended non-Jewish institutions.

GOVERNMENT INTERVENTION IN JEWISH EDUCATION. The educational ideals of Haskalah largely coincided with the aims set out for "improvement of the Jews" (see *emancipation) and their education as conceived by "enlightened" absolutist rulers. Typical were the edicts issued by Joseph II for the Jews of Bohemia (1781), Moravia (1782), Hungary (1783), and Galicia (1789). The Jews were ordered to establish "normal" schools or to send their children to the state schools; Jews were also permitted to enter secondary schools and universities. Anyone who studied Talmud before completing the school curriculum was liable to be sentenced to a term of imprisonment; marriage was prohibited without a certificate of school attendance.

As a result of these edicts, 42 schools were opened in Moravian communities by 1784, 25 in Bohemia by 1787, and about 30 in Hungary by the end of the 1780s. In Galicia 104 schools were established but were closed down in 1806 during the period of reaction for fear of the "harmful" influence of the "anti-religious" Jewish teachers. Naphtali Herz Homberg was appointed to supervise the program in Galicia. In most German states the process of government intervention in the education of the Jews occurred at the beginning of the 19th century. Usually the Jews were ordered to establish secular schools for the education of their children or to send them to the general schools. There were also some states in Germany which at first did not authorize the Jews to establish separate schools and preferred that education be given to the Jewish children in the *ḥeder* or the public schools. In Prussia the general schools were opened to Jewish children in 1803; until 1847 the separate Jewish schools were recognized only as private schools. The trend toward Germanization was especially marked among the large Jewish population in the Polish region of former *Great Poland.

Some states also intervened in regard to yeshivot. They began to demand that the rabbis should have a general education and especially instruction in philosophy. In 1820 Francis I of Austria issued a decree obliging rabbis to acquire secular education and employ the language of the country in prayers and sermons. A rabbinical seminary, the first of its kind was opened in Padua in 1829. This was followed up in many states and in different forms through the first half of the 19th century (see: *Rabbinical Seminaries).

The advocates of "improvement of the Jews" (see *emancipation; C.W. von *Dohm) considered the restructuring of their occupations from moneylending and trade to productivization through taking up crafts and agriculture to be an essential element in and precondition for accomplishing both betterment of their character and their position. In the main the *maskilim* accepted this social and economic program as well as the criticism of Jewish life it implied. They hoped that productivization would bring a moral regeneration as well as change the image of the Jew for enlightened Christians. In the new schools established by the *maskilim* in Germany (see above), instruction in crafts was also introduced and some also took care that their graduates should be apprenticed to Christian craftsmen. In various German states, societies to care for the interests of Jewish apprentices were organized. In Berlin a society for the Promotion of Industry was established in 1812 following the emancipation law issued in Prussia that year. Its objective was "to awaken and promote as much as possible the creative spirit among members of the Jewish religion by means of support and encouragement" and to "courageously refute the old-established opinion that we supposedly have an exclusive tendency to commerce" (see also *Joseph II; *Crafts). Naphtali Herz Homberg advocated manual work which he considered was necessary from the moral as well as economic aspect. Homberg based his opinion on sayings of the rabbis in the Talmud in praise of labor and condemned the prevailing attitude of contempt toward the "worker" within Jewish society. Like Mendelssohn, he did not completely reject commerce from the aspect of its utility for society, but considered that the creativity of manual labor surpassed commerce from the aspect of social morality. Phinehas Elijah *Hurwitz complained that "the majority of our people do not want their sons to be taught crafts because they say with pride and arrogance that the occupation of crafts is shameful for us." He considered that commerce contributed to hatred of the Jews and to the allegation widespread among non-Jews that the Talmud teaches the Jews how to deceive them.

Cooperating with the authorities of the enlightened absolutist states and other regimes to promote general education and productivization among Jews, with the majority agreeing on the need for improvement of the Jews and the desirability of their assimilation, Haskalah circles found it natural to emphasize the complete loyalty which Jews acknowledged to the secular rulers as their protectors, and to the country and state as the framework for their security of life and autonomy. The *maskilim* did not content themselves with the traditional prayers for the king. Laudatory poems were written in honor of Frederick the Great of Prussia, noted for his "love" of the Jews. The Austrian emperor, Joseph II, was also honored with enthusiastic poems of praise and thanksgiving. Their enthusiasm for reform led a number of *maskilim* to advise the authorities how to "improve" the Jews without paying attention to whether these improvements were desired by them or not. Some collaborated with the authorities and bypassed the regular heads of the Orthodox communities not hesitating to slander them, a method used by Naphtali Herz Homberg and his staff of teachers in Galicia.

Trends in Ideology

An ahistoric stand, inclination to assimilation, and desire for emancipation helped to erode messianic hopes in Jewish society, at the close of the 17th and the first half of the 18th century, a trend apparent in Amsterdam, Italy, and Germany. The general anti-messianic position taken by *maskilim* was aided by the failure of the *Shabbetai Zevi movement. Jacob Emden quoted Jonathan Eybeschuetz as having preached that the main achievement of the Messiah for the Jews would be that "they would find clemency among the nations" – a traditional expression for attainment of a better legal and social status. The messianism of Jacob *Frank was oriented to nihilistic religious experience and to the conditions of contemporary Jewish existence in Poland. Some have regarded these attitudes as the catalysts of the anti-halakhic movement and the weakening of messianic hopes in Haskalah. Mendelssohn adhered in principle to the messianic hope, though he considered that it did not have "any influence on our civic behavior" – at least not in places where "they have treated the Jews with tolerance"; in his view the redemption would come through the Divine Will alone, though he once gave his opinion that the return of the Jewish people to Erez Israel could be a political-secular event, during a world war. A few *maskilim*, according to Mordecai Schnaber, equated the Messiah with the reign of universal peace and toleration. Zalkind Hourwitz in his *Apologie des Juifs* (Paris, 1789) thought like Mendelssohn that the effect of messianic faith on the actual behavior of Jews was similar to the influence of the certainty of death on human activity; "this does not prevent them… from building, sowing, and planting in every place where they are permitted to do so."

After emancipation was attained a further weakening of messianic faith set in. When latter-day *maskilim* began to combine Haskalah ideology with a nationalist Jewish attitude their anti-messianic stand became a starting point for aspirations for redemption by natural agency (see *Hibbat Zion; *Zionism). Mendelssohn, however, regarded the Torah as a kind of divine legislation intended for the Jewish society and state only; but he saw this type of Jewish unity as a society of theists; nationalism per se was absent in his theory regarding the Jews.

Many *maskilim* identified themselves emotionally and expressly as "Germans." In his German writings, Mendelssohn repeatedly uses the phrase "we Germans," and he criticized use of the expression "Germans and Jews" instead of "Christians and Jews" by Johann David *Michaelis. After Jewish emancipation had been attained in France in 1791, Berr Isaac Berr proclaimed: "By Divine Mercy and the government of the people, we have now become not only men, not only citizens, but also Frenchmen." The *Assembly of Jewish Notables convened by Napoleon in 1806 coined the term "Frenchmen of the Mosaic religion." It also declared that "the Jews are no longer a nation" and that "France is our fatherland." From 1807 the appellation "*israélite*" in France (in German "*Israelit*") also spread to the German states. The change expressed trends to assimilation as well as a tendency to efface former appellations for Jews that had become connected with an odious image. Both fitted in with Haskalah ideology.

Haskalah ideology was one of the foundations of the *Reform movement in the Jewish religion. The idea of reform had already been conceived by David Friedlaender in 1799. Through his influence the first steps in reform were taken by Israel *Jacobson, in the state of Westphalia. Friedlaender himself began to introduce reform in religion in Berlin after the Jews of Prussia had obtained their emancipation in 1812. He called for exclusion from the prayer book of all prayers for the return to Zion and the dirges on the destruction of the Temple, and demanded that prayers be recited in German; with this he also desired that the "society of true theists," after the expression of Mendelssohn, continue to exist. Haskalah ideology was also the basis for the efforts and achievements of the founders of the *Wissenschaft des Judentums in 1819 (see also Zacharias *Frankel; Abraham *Geiger; Marcus *Jost; Moritz *Steinschneider; Solomon Judah *Rapoport; Nachman *Krochmal; Samuel David *Luzzatto; Leopold *Zunz).

The beginnings of a renewed modern interest in Jewish history are already found in the generation of Mendelssohn and Wessely. In *Ha-Me'assef*, a special section was set aside for "biographies of eminent Jewish personalities" in which popular articles were written on Maimonides, Don Isaac Abrabanel, Moses Raphael de Aguilar, Isaac Orobio de Castro, and others. In these articles the first efforts were also made to bring to light ancient sources. The program of *Ha-Me'assef* also included the publication of works on the biographies of "living Jewish scholars." Accordingly Isaac *Euchel wrote a biography of Mendelssohn, and David *Friedrichsfeld a biography of Wessely (the two works were however published after the deaths of Mendelssohn and Wessely). In addition, a section of *Ha-Me'assef* was to deal with "the innovations taking place among our people which concern all the Jews, on their freedom in some countries, and the education of their youth… for the utility of youth with a quest for knowledge." Biographies of eminent Jewish personalities were also published in *Shulamit*. However, serious research into Jewish history on a wide scale was taken up by Haskalah circles when the poet and scholar Solomon *Loewisohn published his work *Vorlesungen ueber die neuere Geschichte der Juden* in Vienna in 1820, the first Haskalah attempt to present a general view of Jewish history from the earlier Diaspora period down to the time of the author.

Haskalah thus became one of the mainsprings of a renewed study of the nature of Judaism and the fate of the Jewish people. Mendelssohn attempted to demonstrate the superiority of Judaism over Christianity in his description of Judaism as a rational religion and of the practical precepts as the laws of the former Jewish state (and possibly also a future state) and as symbols of the ideals of the rational faith. Mendelssohn apparently thought that even at the millennium, when the whole world would submit to the "yoke of the Kingdom of Heaven," the Jews would still be obliged to observe the precepts because their function as "symbols," as educational factors, would never be abrogated. This was because Mendelssohn did not believe in the entire perfectibility of mankind in any period, seeing that "the whole of humanity is in constant motion, either in ascent or decline." Even though Mendelssohn did not say so explicitly, it may be assumed that his references to the election of Israel and its mission were not only intended to explain the past but also to indicate the situation in the future.

During the 19th century further attempts were made in the Haskalah camp to define the nature of Judaism. Some regarded Judaism as a "spiritual religion" in contrast to the idolatrous religions which were "religions of nature" and in contrast to Christianity, which served as the battleground between the elements in the Jewish "spiritual religion" and the idolatrous elements (Solomon *Formstecher). Others regarded Judaism as a moral religion, a religion of the heart and the emotions, in contrast to Hellenism, the religion of cold reason (S.D. Luzzatto, and others). N. Krochmal defined the faith of Israel as belief in the Infinite "Absolute Spiritual One" and considered this to be the secret of the eternity of the Jewish people. The growing development of historical consciousness supplanted traditional views on the fate of Israel in Haskalah thought. Exile was no longer conceived as a chastisement meted out by Providence, but the result of natural historical factors. In the West, emancipation was generally regarded as the end of the Exile (see *Galut*). However, the difficult struggle for emancipation, which in Germany extended over several decades, awakened some doubts on the future of the Jews in Europe and here and there some far-reaching conclusions, such as emigration to America or a return to Palestine (Mordecai Manuel *Noah; *Salvador; Moses *Hess).

[Azriel Shochat/Judith R. Baskin (2nd ed.)]

Haskalah in Russia

Haskalah was introduced into Russia from Western Europe, particularly Germany. It was brought to the communities of Lithuania and Ukraine by merchants, physicians, and itinerant Jewish scholars from the close of the 18th century. As early as the 1780s some Jews in towns of Lithuania and Poland were subscribers to the *Biur* of Moses Mendelssohn and *Ha-Me'assef* of the German *maskilim*. The earliest *maskilim* in Eastern Europe were Israel Zamosc, Solomon Dubno, Judah *Hurwitz, Judah Loeb *Margolioth, Baruch *Schick, and Mendel *Lefin. They maintained direct relations with the *maskilim* of Berlin, but when spreading Haskalah in their own environment they based themselves formally on the views of *Elijah b. Solomon Zalman, the Gaon of Vilna, and regarded themselves as his disciples. Baruch Schick, who published several works on mathematics and astronomy, wrote in his introduction to his translation of Euclid (Amsterdam, 1780) that he had heard the Gaon state that "in proportion to a man's ignorance of the other sciences, he will be ignorant of one hundred measures of the science of the Torah." Solomon Dubno contributed to the *Biur,* Mendelssohn's commentary on the Bible. Phinehas Hurwitz published the *Sefer ha-Berit* (Bruenn, 1797), a type of encyclopedia of various sciences, combining ethical observations and research in the spirit of moderate Haskalah. *Manasseh b. Joseph of Ilya, who was persecuted by the zealots for his free ideas, also belonged to this circle. As customary at this time, all these authors sought and obtained the written approval of outstanding rabbis for their works.

At the close of the 18th century the wealthy *maskil* Joshua Zeitlin established a center for *maskilim* and traditional Torah scholars on his estate near Shklov. In his large library they were able to dedicate themselves to their studies and religious perfection. Included in this group were Baruch Schick and Mendel Lefin of Satanov. These *maskilim* made use of their relations with the Russian authorities as merchants, purveyors, and physicians, and submitted proposals to the administration for the improvement of the situation of the Jews by admitting them to various crafts, by the encouragement of agricultural settlement, and by the opening of modern schools for the Jews (memoranda of Jacob Hirsch of Mogilev, 1783; of Nathan Note *Notkin of Shklov, 1797; of the physician Jacob Elijah Frank of Kreslavka (Kraslava), 1800). The *maskilim* already concerned themselves with spreading education among the masses during this period. While having reservations against the use of Yiddish, they wrote works in that language for the education of the people. The physician Moses Markuse published *Sefer Refu'ot* in Poritsk, Volhynia, in 1790 in which he offered, as well as medical advice, guidance on the education of children. In 1817 the merchant Chaim Haykl *Hurwitz of Uman published his *Tsofnas Paneakh*, an adaption of the work of J. Campe, *Die Entdeckung von Amerika*.

A small group of *maskilim* organized themselves in the new community which was established in St. Petersburg at the close of the 18th century. Their outlook was expressed in the Russian pamphlet *Vopl docheri iudeyskoy* (1802), published in a Hebrew version, *Kol Shavat Bat Yehudah*, in Shklov a year later. Written on the occasion of the debate on the Jewish problem which then took place within the Russian government, it took up the defense of the Jewish people, and included a plea that kindness and mercy be shown to it. A few years later its author, Judah Leib *Nevakhovich, became an apostate, as did his patron, the merchant Abraham *Peretz, the son-in-law of Nathan Note Notkin. These conversions, as well as the information concerning the epidemic of conversions among the *maskilim* of Germany, stiffened the hostility and suspicions felt by the mass of Jews in Russia toward the *maskilim*. They became a considerable obstacle in the spread of Haskalah there.

During the 1820s the Haskalah movement was revived in Lithuania and Southern Russia. Its promoters were emigrants from Galicia, such as the "Brodysts" in Odessa, as well as Jews from Courland, influenced by German culture, and the inhabitants of the townlets bordering upon Prussia and Courland (Raseiniai; Zagare). During this period the *maskilim* gained a hold in Vilna, one of the centers of commerce with Western Europe. The *maskilim*, who dressed in German style and insisted on speaking pure German among themselves instead of Yiddish, which they regarded as a corrupted German dialect, were referred to by the masses as "Deytshen" or "Berliners." One of their main aims was to establish modern Jewish schools in which the pupils would be taught general subjects and Jewish studies in the German language. In 1822, Hirsch Hurwitz (son of the above-mentioned Chaim Haykl Hurwitz) founded a school in Uman based on the "Mendelssohnian system." Of even greater importance was the foundation of a Jewish school in Odessa under the direction of Bezalel *Stern (1826). Similar schools were subsequently founded in Riga, Kishinev, and Vilna. During those years, the program of the *maskilim* was elaborated by Isaac Dov (Baer) *Levinsohn (Ribal) of Kremenets in his *Te'udah be-Yisrael* (Vilna, 1828) and *Beit Yehudah* (*ibid.*, 1839). The essence of this program was the establishment of a network of elementary schools for boys and girls in which the pupils would study Jewish and general subjects, as well as some kind of a profession; it also included the foundation of high schools for the more talented children, the promotion of productivization, particularly agriculture, among the Jewish masses, and departure from Yiddish in favor of "the pure German or Russian language."

The *maskilim* endeavored to organize themselves under the difficult conditions for free organization in general and for the Jews in particular during the reign of Czar Nicholas I. In many towns small groups of *maskilim* were established, among them the Shoharei Or ve-Haskalah ("Seekers of Light and Education") society founded by Israel Rothenberg in Berdichev, the Maskilim Society in Raseiniai, and the Maskilim Group led by the author Mordecai Aaron Guenzburg in Vilna, which established its own synagogue, Taharat ha-Kodesh, in 1846. Harassed by censorship, they struggled to publish their works, which included the first Hebrew literary periodical there, *Pirhei Zafon* (Vilna, 1841). Among them a modern Hebrew literature began to emerge. Mordecai Aaron Guenzburg wrote stories based on Jewish, general, and Russian history, adapted from non-Jewish sources or collected from other authors in this period. During the following years, Kalman *Schulmann proceeded with this enterprise. A number of poets wrote on secular subjects in lyrical Hebrew, many expressing the ideas of Haskalah. The most prominent in this group were Abraham *Dov Lebensohn (Adam ha-Kohen), whose first collection of poems, *Shirei Sefat Kodesh*, was published in Leipzig in 1842, his son Micah Joseph *Lebensohn (Mikhal), and the leading Haskalah poet, Judah Leib *Gordon. Abraham *Mapu created the Hebrew novel, and his *Ahavat Ziyyon* (Vilna, 1853) has become a landmark in the history of Hebrew literature. Despite their opposition to Yiddish, the Haskalah authors wrote works in this language in order to propagate their ideas among the masses by means of stories and works of popular science. The most outstanding of these authors, Isaac Meir *Dick, wrote hundreds of stories which were published in Vilna and Warsaw. Israel *Axenfeld and Solomon *Ettinger wrote stories and plays in the Haskalah spirit. Many of their works could not be published because of the censorship and were circulated in manuscript.

Even in the period of oppression and anti-Jewish legislation during the reign of Nicholas I, the *maskilim* looked upon the Russian government as a supporting force in their struggle for the realization of their ideas. In memoranda submitted to the authorities, they called for the imposition of reforms on the masses, such as change of their traditional dress for the European clothes of the period, and the strict supervision of Hebrew printing presses which were to be reduced to two or three in the whole country in order to make this possible. The government accepted these proposals and had them enforced. The *maskilim* found particular satisfaction in the government's program to establish a network of governmental Jewish schools in which the language of instruction would be German (later Russian). During the early 1840s the government entrusted Max *Lilienthal, the principal of the Jewish school of Riga, with the execution of this program. He was assisted by the local *maskilim* in every town. During the 1840s and 1850s many such schools were founded in the towns of the Pale of Settlement. Their Jewish teachers were drawn from *maskilim* circles who were granted the status of government functionaries. In Vilna and Zhitomir, government rabbinical seminaries were established. Their students were exempted from military service and were trained with the aim of becoming the future teachers and rabbis of the Jewish communities. In these schools and seminaries, which were financed by special taxes imposed on the masses (*candle tax), a new class of *maskilim* was educated. They received their education in Russian, and their ties with the Hebrew language and Jewish tradition were flimsy.

Haskalah received considerable stimulus through economic changes, particularly when a wide class of Jews engaged in liquor contracting emerged. As a result of their contracts with government officials, they and their employees required a knowledge of the Russian language, arithmetic, and other sciences. There thus arose a whole class of thousands of families who were no longer dependent on Jewish society from the economic and social point of view. These Jews wore the non-Jewish dress, neglected the observance of the religious precepts, shaved their beards, and were drawn closer to the Russian language and culture. The *maskil* of the former generation had been self-taught, familiar with Jewish literature, whose principal education was drawn from German literature, as well as from the *Hokhmat Yisrael* ("Jewish Science") literature. In contrast, the new *maskil* received his education in a Russian-Jewish school or in a general Russian school and was conspicuous for his considerable alienation from Jewish tradition.

The period of the important reforms at the beginning of the reign of Alexander II and the suppression of the Polish uprising in 1863 gave a strong impetus to the spread of Haskalah among the masses of Jewish youth. The Jewish press, whose founders, journalists, and publishers were essentially *maskilim*, played a decisive role in this development. Among newspapers outstanding for their struggle in favor of Haskalah were the Hebrew **Ha-Meliẓ* (founded in 1860) and the Yiddish **Kol Mevasser* (1862), issued by A. *Zederbaum and first published in Odessa. The first newspapers issued by the Russian-oriented *maskilim* also appeared in Odessa, **Razsvet* and *Sion* (in 1860/61) and *Den* (1869–71), to which the leading Russian *maskilim* contributed. The older authors were joined by new ones, among them S.J. *Abramovitsh (later Mendele Mokher Seforim), who wrote in Hebrew and Yiddish, I.J. *Linetzky (Yiddish), L. *Levanda, and G. Bogrov (Russian). Their writings produced a more advanced stage in Haskalah ideology, which found its expression in the saying of the poet J.L. Gordon: "Be a man when you go out and a Jew in your home." This press called for an alliance between the Jewish *maskilim* and the Russian government in order to fight "those in darkness" from within, especially the Hasidim and their *ẓaddikim*, and to support the governmental Russification policy throughout the Pale of Settlement. During the 1860s the institution of *kazyonny ravvin* ("government-appointed rabbi") was introduced. Its candidates were drawn from the ranks of the *maskilim* who had been educated in the Russian-Jewish schools.

In 1863, on the initiative of the richest Jews of the capital (the *Guenzburg, *Polyakov, and *Rosenthal families), the Hevrat Mefizei ha-Haskalah ("*Society for the Promotion of Culture among the Jews of Russia") was founded in St. Petersburg. This society came to the assistance of *maskilim* in the provincial towns, particularly high-school students, and encouraged the publication of Haskalah literature in Hebrew, Yiddish, and Russian.

Most of the *maskilim* believed the general assumption that Russia, in the wake of the other European states, was about to declare the emancipation of the Jews. The rights which had been granted to certain Jewish circles, such as the large-scale merchants (1859), intellectuals (1861), craftsmen (1865), and members of the medical profession (physicians, pharmacists, male nurses, midwives, etc.), seemed to point in that direction. The introduction of the general obligation of military service (1874), which included important concessions in the conditions and period of service for those with a Russian education, prompted many parents to send their children to the Russian schools. While in 1870 only 2,045 Jewish children studied in Russian secondary schools, by 1880 their numbers had increased to 8,000.

During this period there were two marked trends among the *maskilim*. One called for a rapid association with the Russian nation, even to the point of assimilation. The Hebrew language (and all the more so Yiddish) was merely regarded as a temporary instrument for spreading Haskalah among the retarded masses. At most, adherents to this trend recognized the need for the promotion of *Wissenschaft des Judentums* in the Russian language. This was the path which had been adopted by West European Jewry and along which Russian Judaism was also to be led. On the other hand, the standard-bearers of a nationalist ideology which called for the fostering of the Hebrew language and loyalty to Jewish nationalism also raised their voices. The voice of this trend was the newspaper –**Ha-Shahar* (1868–84), published by Peretz *Smolenskin in Vienna but particularly addressed to Russian Jewry. Smolenskin sharply criticized the Mendelssohnian Haskalah and called for the promotion of Jewish nationalist values. During this period, however, he was a lone voice. To the majority of the *maskilim* it appeared that the historical evolution which had taken place in Western Europe would also overtake Russian Jewry. Some opinions considered this evolution to be natural and desirable, even drawing some far-reaching conclusions from it (A.U. *Kovner), while others expressed their regrets with regard to it (J.L. Gordon, in *Le-Mi Ani Amel*, 1871).

A significant change, however, occurred in the lives of the Russian Jews during the 1870s. The breakthrough into the general economy and Russian culture by the Jews resulted in the emergence of a powerful anti-Jewish movement, whose spokesmen included leading Russian intellectuals (Aksakov; Dostoyevski). A press inciting the Russian masses against the Jews and warning them of "domination" by the Jews, especially intellectuals, over the country was created. The reaction that set in in Russia in the wake of Alexander II's assassination at first resulted in anti-Jewish pogroms (1881–83) and later in severe restrictions of Jewish rights. One of these, the *numerus clausus, was especially designed to bar the way of the Jewish youth to the Russian schools.

The *maskilim* reacted to this situation in various ways. Those of the older generation attempted to adhere to their policies and placed their faith in "progress" which would eventually be victorious and bring the anticipated emancipation. This circle of Jewish-Russian intelligentsia centered around the newspaper *Voskhod* (St. Petersburg, 1881–1906). A considerable section of Jewish youth joined the Russian revolutionary movement with the hope that the fall of the czarist regime would eliminate all restrictions, and that the Jews would be assimilated and rapidly absorbed within the Russian people so that the Jewish problem would automatically disappear. Another section of the older generation and the intellectual Jewish youth resorted to Jewish nationalism. They established the *Ḥibbat Zion movement which considered that the solution of the Jewish problem in Russia lay in the emigration of the Jews to Ereẓ Israel where they would engage in productive occupations. They called for an alliance with the Jewish masses who were attached to their traditions and language in order to realize this project. The organ of this sector was the Jewish-Russian newspaper *Razsvet* (1879–83) and later *Ha-Meliẓ*. Haskalah, as an ideological trend on the Jewish scene, now ceded its place to the new trends, all of which – even if they violently criticized Haskalah from various directions – had received many of their ideas from it.

Even if from the historical point of view Russian Haskalah was a continuation of the Central European it nevertheless possessed an originality stemming from the particular character of Russian Jewry. The large number of Jews in that country and their great concentrations in the towns and townlets of the Pale of Settlement prevented the Haskalah movement from degenerating into a rapid course of assimilation and disintegration, as had occurred in Western Europe. In Russia the new Hebrew literature became a permanent fact and not an ephemeral phenomenon as in the West. Haskalah produced, even if in opposition to its own ideology, a secular literature in Yiddish, especially of Yiddish fiction. It gave rise to an alert Jewish press in three languages, Hebrew, Yiddish, and Russian. It also bequeathed to the nationalist movement, and particularly to the Zionist movement, the idea of productivization of the Jewish masses and their transition to labor in general and agricultural work in particular.

In the last three decades of the 19th century, the Haskalah in Eastern Europe had a significant literary impact on Jewish women as both readers and writers. As in Western and Central Europe, women preceded men in their knowledge of European languages and culture and as readers of secular Jewish literature in both Yiddish and Hebrew, particularly fiction and poetry. Often, women readers introduced new ideas into their families which contributed to the undermining of the values of traditional society. Reading of worlds and opportunities previously unimagined, they exerted a strong influence against the cultural constraints of their restricted society, sometimes encouraging the men in their circles to defect from the limitations of the yeshivah world (I. Parush, *Reading Jewish Women*).

Numerous female authors wrote and published poetry and prose in Hebrew, Yiddish, and particularly Russian periodicals between 1870 and 1914. Some came from the shtetl; others, the daughters of prosperous middle-class urban Jews, attended gymnasia, learned European languages, and earned university degrees. Among women writing in Hebrew was Sarah Feiga Meinkin Foner (1855–1936) of Dvinsk, Latvia, the first woman to publish a Hebrew novel (*The Love of the Honest* (Vilna, 1881–83)). She went on to write children's stories, a novella, and a memoir (C. Balin, "*To Reveal Our Hearts*," 22–23). Miriam Markel-Mosessohn (1839–1920), an excellent Hebraist who became a protégée of Judah Leib Gordon, mainly devoted herself to translating European literature into Hebrew and journalism, apparently believing it was inappropriate for a woman to write original works in Hebrew.

[Yehuda Slutsky / Judith R. Baskin (2nd ed.)]

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HASKAMAH (**Askamah**; Heb. אַסְכָּמָה, הַסְכָּמָה; "agreement," "approbation"), in Jewish literature, a term with several meanings: (1) Rabbinic approval and approbation of the legal decisions of colleagues, usually attached to the original legal decision and circulated with it. These *haskamot* sometimes amplify the original, by including additional sources and pointing out implications. (2) In the Spanish and later also in the Italian and Oriental communities, the term was used for the statutes and ordinances enacted by the communities (see **Ascama*). (3) In the philosophical literature of the Middle Ages, "consensus," "harmony between entities," "pre-established harmony" (see Klatzkin, Thesaurus Philosophicus 1, 185–6). (4) More commonly, the recommendation of a scholar or rabbi to a book or treatise.

This entry deals with the last meaning.

ORIGINS AND HISTORY. Various opinions have been offered on the origin or development of the *haskamah* for books. Some see the influence of the *approbatio* of the Church, others see it as resulting from the papal action of 1553 in the dispute between the publishing houses of *Bragadini and Giustiniani which resulted in the burning of the Talmud (see *Censorship). The first *haskamah* appeared in the 15th century, in the *Agur* by Jacob Landau (Naples, c. 1490), the first Hebrew book printed during its author's lifetime; it was signed by seven rabbis. The *haskamah* for Elijah Levita's *Sefer ha-Baḥur* (Rome, 1518) signed by the rabbi of Rome, threatens excommunication for republication within 10 years. Thus the *haskamah* fulfilled the function of a copyright, the period of protection extending from five to 25 years. The *haskamah* in Joseph Caro's *Bedek ha-Bayit* (Venice, 1606) is signed by three rabbis (the number of *haskamot* varied from book to book); and it concluded with a declaration by the sexton that he has read it in all the synagogues of Venice. With the introduction of title pages in the 16th century, *haskamot* came to be printed at the beginning rather than at the end of a book.

Thus, the *haskamah* developed from a recommendation to an expression of approval to a method of protecting the author's rights and finally to a form of self-censorship to protect the Jewish community against the church censorship and later to counteract kabbalistic, pseudo-messianic, and Haskalah tendencies. Thus, at the Rabbinical Synod of Ferrara of 1554, it was enacted that no book should receive its first printing without prior approbation of three rabbis of the particular region. Similar *takkanot* were issued in Poland in 1594 and 1682. Such restrictions were used to prevent the spread of the heretical Shabbatean doctrines, or to protect the printers of the expensive Talmud editions. This led to many disputes and litigations. The majority of *haskamot* issued in the 17th and 18th centuries originated in the centers of Hebrew printing, such as Venice, Amsterdam, and Constantinople. *Haskamot* were usually written in a combination of Hebrew and Aramaic, frequently using the florid style of rabbinic writings. They sometimes contain bibliographic, biographic, and geographic data, which, though not always exact, are an important source for historians and scholars, and bibliographers like Roest, Wachstein and Wiener utilized this source.

Abuses

Haskamot have been much abused. Often their place and date were intentionally altered. Some writers, eager to have *haskamot* appended to their works, forged signatures and *haskamot*, as was the case in Nehemiah Ḥayon's *Ha-Kolot Yeḥdalun* (Amsterdam, 1725). Earlier *maskilim* used forged approbations to their works in order to deceive the pious reader. Others printed only part of the book which had received the *haskamah*, and some authors published their books on inferior paper with unclear type. As a result some *haskamot* included such specifications as "the condition of this *haskamah* that the printing of this book should be completed within two years" or "on condition that the printer should print the book on white paper with black ink." These factors, and others as well, made many rabbis reluctant to write *haskamot*. Samson *Wertheimer was ready to approve only the works of relatives or scholars who were poor. Some writers of approbations made no secret of the fact that they had been given to help the author financially (see Abraham ha-Kohen's *Beit Ya'akov*, Leghorn, 1792). Some rabbis denied *haskamot* to any book which dealt with Jewish law; others were ready to add their names only if a well-known rabbi had already given his *haskamah*. Still others protested that they had no time to read the entire book, or that they were not sufficiently acquainted with the subject; which did not prevent some from granting their approbation merely on the reputation of the author.

Some authors were not eager to obtain the *haskamah* of rabbis who could not read the work; thus Moses Mendelssohn did not request *haskamot* for his books, nor did Raphael ha-Kohen for his *Torat Yekuti'el* (Berlin, 1772); other authorities disapproved of them altogether (Responsa *Ḥatam Sofer* HM 41); Ezekiel Landau used his *haskamah* to the Prague Pentateuch of 1785 to express his disapproval of Mendelssohn's Pentateuch edition. Between 1499 and 1850, 3,662 haskamot were issued, the majority in Eastern Europe. Authors of religious books are still anxious to print a *haskamah* by a prominent rabbi or authority. In secular works the worldwide custom of using a preface or an introduction by a well-known authority fulfills the same role.

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[Moshe Carmilly-Weinberger]

HASKELL, ARNOLD LIONEL (1903–1980), British ballet critic and author. In 1927 Haskell started his career with a firm of London publishers, devoted himself to ballet and in 1930 was joint founder of the Camargo Society, which was influential in the revival of ballet in England. For three years Haskell was critic of the *Daily Telegraph* (1935–38). He was director of the Royal Ballet School from 1946 and a governor of the Royal Ballet from 1957. In 1954 he advised the Dutch government on the formation of a National Ballet. His books on ballet were important in the cultivation of popular taste. Among them were *Balletomania* (1934), a word he introduced into the English language; *Diaghileff* (1935); *The Making of a Dancer* (1946); *In His True Centre* (1951), his autobiography; *The Russian Genius in Ballet* (1963); *What is Ballet*? (1965); and *Heroes and Roses* (1966).

HASKIL, CLARA (1895–1960), Romanian pianist, of Sephardi background. Born in Bucharest, Haskil studied at the Conservatory in 1901 and made her debut in Vienna 1902 as a child prodigy. She studied with Richard Robert and later in Paris with Cortot.

Her technique and capacity for poetic expression won her a great reputation. Though a muscular disorder severely impeded her career, she continued playing concerts during periods of remission, making numerous appearances with Ysaÿe, Enesco, Casals, and Grumiaux and appearing as a soloist with major symphony orchestras in Europe and America. She lived in Paris from 1927 until 1940, when the German invasion forced her to flee the city. In 1949 she acquired Swiss nationality.

Haskil was made a Chevalier of the Legion d'Honneur in belated recognition of the inimitable clarity and eloquence of her playing. Her interpretation of Beethoven, Schumann, Schubert, and especially Mozart was profoundly sensitive and unique. She made memorable recordings of the complete Beethoven sonatas for violin and piano with Grumiaux as well as of several Mozart concertos. A Clara Haskil Prize was established at the International Music Festival in Lucerne.

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[Naama Ramot (2nd ed.)]

HASMONEAN BET DIN (Heb. בֵּית דִּין שֶׁל חַשְׁמוֹנָאִים); according to a talmudic source (Sanh. 82a; Av. Zar. 36b) "the court of the Hasmoneans decreed that an Israelite who had intercourse with a heathen woman is liable to punishment on account of נשג״א" (NShGA), a mnemonic designating four counts of liability: נִדָּה (*niddah*; "a menstruating woman"), שִׁפְחָה (*shifḥah*; "a maidservant"), גּוֹיָה (*goyah*; "a gentile"), and אֵשֶׁת אִישׁ (*eshet ish*; "a married woman"). A second tradition in the Talmud has Z instead of A, designating *zonah*, "harlot." There is no further mention of this Hasmonean court, and it has therefore been suggested, that the reference is to a temporary court set up early in the Hasmonean revolt, to fill the void created by the death of the religious leaders of the period. If this is so, it would appear that this court was responsible for the ruling that defensive battle is permissible on the Sabbath (I Macc. 2:39–41). However, it is more likely that the court was created after the establishment of Hasmonean rule in Palestine following the early successes of Judah and his brothers. Derenbourg claims that the court existed toward the end of the second century B.C.E., during the reign of Simeon and the first years of John *Hyrcanus. He further suggests that Hyrcanus changed the name of the court from *Bet Din shel Ḥashmona'im* to *Sanhedrin during the last years of his rule, following the schism with the Pharisees. Other scholars tend to identify the Hasmonean court with the "sons of the Hasmoneans" mentioned in the Mishnah (Mid. 1:6; in Yoma 16a, Av. Zar. 52b the reading is "house of Hasmoneans") as having "hidden away the stones of the altar which the Greek kings had defiled," but there is insufficient proof of this. Likewise, there is no reason to identify, as does I.H. Weiss, the Hasmonean *bet din* with the "Great Synagogue" of priests and elders that officially appointed Simeon high priest and leader of the nation (I Macc. 14:28; see *Asaramel). The most likely solution of the problem is that the Hasmonean court "was the private council of the Hasmoneans at the peak of their power." If this is so, the Hasmonean court was established by John Hyrcanus toward the end of his reign, or by his son Alexander Yannai during his struggle against his Pharisaic enemies. This court may have been responsible for the harsh treatment of the Pharisaic rebels. It was composed of Sadducean followers of the Hasmonean king (cf. Jos., Ant., 13:408ff., which relates how the Pharisees avenged their martyrs in the days of Queen Alexandra).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Derenbourg, Hist, 84ff.; Weiss, Dor, 1 (1904^4), 102f.; Frankel, Mishnah, 43.

[Isaiah Gafni]

HASMONEANS (Gr. ʾΑσαμωναίος; Heb. חַשְׁמוֹנָאִים), title for Maccabees in Josephus (Ant., 12:263), Mishnah (Mid. 1:6), and Talmud (Shab. 21b), but nowhere occurring in the Book of Maccabees. Josephus derives the name from the great-grandfather of Mattathias, Asamonaios. Probably the name is to be connected with the village of Heshmon (Josh. 15:27). It has also been suggested to connect the name with Hushim (I Chron. 8:11) or the place Hashmonah (Num. 33:29, 30). The Hasmoneans headed the rebellion against the Seleucid kingdom, established an autonomous Jewish state, annexed the most important regions of Ereẓ Israel, and absorbed a number of neighboring Semitic peoples into the Jewish people. These achievements were not only of major importance to Jewish history, but also left their impact on humanity as a whole. The successful rebellion of the Hasmoneans assured the continued existence of the Jewish religion and contributed to the decisive influence of monotheism in Western culture and history. Through the policy of the Hasmoneans, initiated after the rebellion, the Jewish people ceased to play a marginal role in history and exercised influence for generations to come.

The Hasmoneans were a priestly family, probably one of those which had moved from the territory of Benjamin to the lowlands of Lydda in the last days of the First Temple. They belonged to the Jehoiarib division of priests, who lived in *Modi'in on the border of Samaria and Judea. When the restrictive edicts of Antiochus were extended to the country towns and villages of Jewish Palestine, *Mattathias b. Johanan, then the head of the family, raised the banner of revolt in Modi'in, uniting under his leadership all those who were opposed to Antiochus' policy. After Mattathias' death in 167/166 B.C.E., his son *Judah Maccabee, a military genius, succeeded him as leader of the revolt. He scored a number of victories against the Seleucid army, and achieved the conquest of Jerusalem and the purification and rededication of the Temple in 164 B.C.E. (see: *Ḥanukkah). Judah continued to strive for the autonomy of Judea. He won additional victories against the Seleucid forces and in 161 B.C.E. established an alliance with Rome. Though Judah's death in battle slowed down somewhat Judea's progress toward independence, his brothers Jonathan and *Simeon continued his policy, taking advantage of the waning political star of the Seleucid dynasty to strengthen their own influence and to extend the borders of Judea. They annexed the districts of Lydda, Ramathaim, Ephraim, and the Ekron region, conquered Jaffa port, and seized control of the fortresses of the Acra in Jerusalem and Beth-Zur. The appointment of *Jonathan Apphus, the youngest son of Mattathias, to the high priesthood in 152 B.C.E., made this office one of the Hasmoneans' main sources of power. In 143–142 B.C.E., Demetrius II recognized the independence of Judea, and in 140 B.C.E. a decree was passed by the Great Assembly in Jerusalem confirming Simeon as high priest, ruler, and commander of the Jewish people and making these offices hereditary. Simeon's son, John *Hyrcanus (134–104 B.C.E.), continued the territorial expansion. He conquered Idumea, Samaria, and portions of Transjordan, and forcibly converted the Idumeans to Judaism. The internal crisis produced by a rift between the Hasmoneans and the Pharisees began during his reign. John's heir, *Aristobulus I (104–103 B.C.E.), was the first Hasmonean to arrogate to himself the title of king. Aristobulus continued the policy of conquest, compelling the Itureans in the north to become proselytes. During the reign of his brother, Alexander Yannai (103–76 B.C.E.), who succeeded him, the Hasmonean state reached the zenith of its power. The whole of the sea coast, from the Egyptian border to the Carmel, with the exception of Ashkelon, was annexed to Judea. Yannai also extended his rule over some of the Greek cities of Transjordan and strove to establish absolute authority as king and as high priest. It was his latter capacity which brought him into open conflict with the Pharisees. Yannai's wife, Salome Alexandra (76–67 B.C.E.), continued her husband's foreign policy, but reached an understanding with the Pharisees on internal affairs. Pompey's annexation brought the independence of the Hasmonean state to an end. Though the Romans allowed *Hyrcanus II, the oldest son of Alexander Yannai, to remain high priest and ethnarch, they abolished the monarchy and also detached large areas from Judea. Much had been gained, however – Judea proper, as well as Galilee, Idumea, many parts of Transjordan, the coastal plain and the coastal belt remained Jewish in character and culture for a long time as a result of the Hasmoneans' policy. The last to attempt to restore the former glory of the Hasmonean dynasty was *Antigonus Mattathias, with the help of the Parthians. His defeat and death in 37 B.C.E. at the hands of the Romans brought the Hasmonean rule to

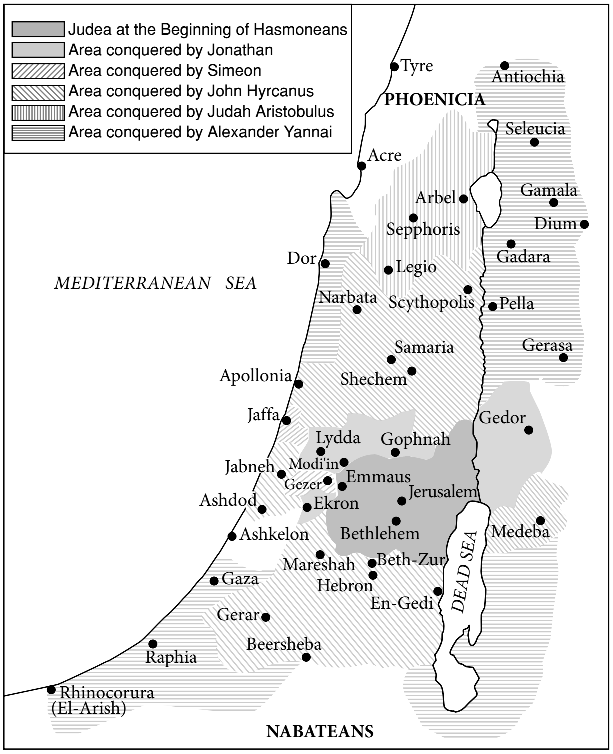
Judea at the Beginning of Hasmoneans
Area conquered by Jonathan
Area conquered by Simeon
Area conquered by John Hyrcanus
Area conquered by Judah Aristobulus
Area conquered by Alexander Yannai
Tyre
Antiochia
PHOENICIA
Seleucia
Acre
Arbel
Gamala
Sepphoris
Dium
Dor
Gadara
Legio
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
Narbata
Scythopolis
Pella
Samaria
Gerasa
Apollonia
Shechem
Jaffa
Gedor
Lydda
Gophnah
Jabneh
Modi'in
Gezer
Emmaus
Ashdod
Ekron
Jerusalem
Ashkelon
Bethlehem
Medeba
DEAD SEA
Mareshah
Beth-Zur
Gaza
Hebron
En-Gedi
Gerar
Beersheba
Raphia
Rhinocorura
(El-Arish)
NABATEANS

Expansion of the Hasmonean kingdom, 167-76 B.C.E. After Zev Vilnay (ed.), New Israel Atlas, *Jerusalem.*

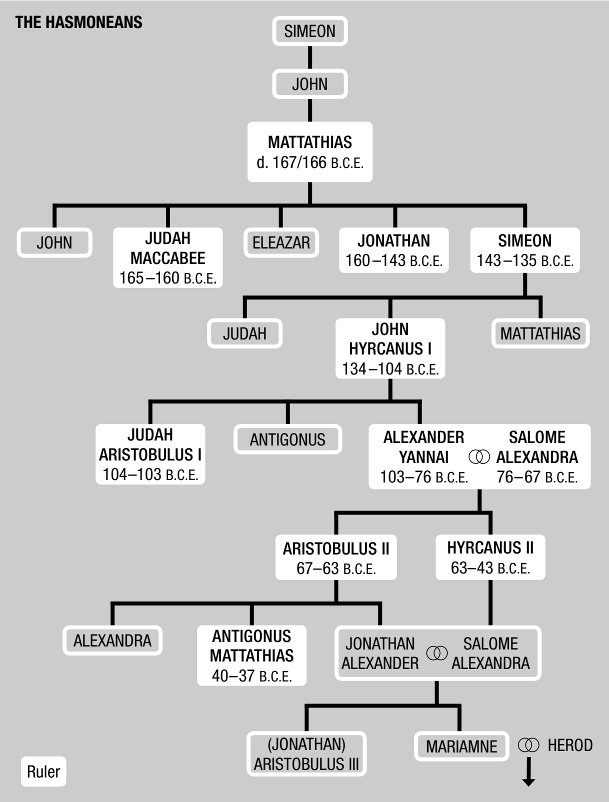
THE HASMONEANS
SIMEON
JOHN
MATTATHIAS d. 167/166 B.C.E.
JOHN
JUDAH MACCABEE 165–160 B.C.E.
ELEAZAR
JONATHAN 160–143 B.C.E.
SIMEON 143–135 B.C.E.
JUDAH
JOHN HYRCANUS I 134–104 B.C.E.
MATTATHIAS
JUDAH ARISTOBULUS I 104–103 B.C.E.
ANTIGONUS
ALEXANDER YANNAI 103–76 B.C.E.
SALOME ALEXANDRA 76–67 B.C.E.
ARISTOBULUS II 67–63 B.C.E.
HYRCANUS II 63–43 B.C.E.
ALEXANDRA
ANTIGONUS MATTATHIAS 40–37 B.C.E.
JONATHAN ALEXANDER
SALOME ALEXANDRA
(JONATHAN) ARISTOBULUS III
MARIAMNE
HEROD
Ruler

a close, and prepared the way for Herod. Herod, however, at the height of military success had strengthened his position by betrothal to the granddaughter of Hyrcanus II, Mariamne, whom he subsequently married. The popularity of his sons by her, Alexander and Aristobulus, and of their grandson (Herod Agrippa I) was due to their Hasmonean descent. (See Chart: Hasmonean Family).

[Menahem Stern]

In the Arts

A vast number of literary works have been inspired by the heroism of Mattathias and the embattled Maccabees and by the martyrdom of Hannah and her Seven Sons, as recounted in the Apocrypha. In 1722 Antoine Houdar de La Motte published his French lyrical tragedy *Les Machabées*, but it was not until the 19th century that the subject achieved wider popularity among writers. I.B. Schlesinger's Hebrew epic *Ha-Ḥashmona'im* (1816) was followed by *Die Mutter der Makkabaeer* (Vienna, 1820), a late historical drama by the German visionary Zacharias Werner, and by a more conventional tragedy, Alexandre Guiraud's *Les Machabées, ou le Martyre…* (Paris, 1822). Interest in the theme first reached a peak in the mid-19th century with dramas including *Die Makkabaeer* (1854) by Otto Ludwig, J. Michael's *Die Hasmonaeer* (1856; with music by V. Lachner), and a traditional Jewish interpretation of the story by Leopold Stein (1810–1882), also entitled *Die Hasmonaeer* (1859). Three later treatments of the subject were poems by Seligmann *Heller entitled *Die letzten Hasmonaeer* (1865); *The First of the Maccabees* (1860), a historical novel by the U.S. Reform pioneer Isaac Mayer *Wise; and Minnie Dessau Louis' *Hannah and Her Seven Sons* (1902). In the Far East, Joseph *David (Penker) produced *The Maccabeans* (1921), a drama in Marathi. Between the world wars, the Brazilian novelist Antonio Castro published *A Judéa e os Macabeus* (1930) and Izak *Goller wrote *Modin Women* (1931), one of his plays on biblical themes. Under the impact of Nazism, the Holocaust, and the birth of the State of Israel, several Jewish writers returned to the heroic theme of the Hasmonean revolt. Abraham Lavsky published a Yiddish historical novel, *Di Khashmonayim Helden oder di Makkabeyer* (1941); the U.S. author Howard *Fast wrote the novel *My Glorious Brothers* (1948). Of these, Fast's was easily the outstanding and best-known work. A work on a related theme was the Israel author Moshe *Shamir's historical novel *Melekh Basar va-Dam* (1954; *The King of Flesh and Blood*, 1958), which dealt with the career of the later Hasmonean ruler Alexander Yannai. Innumerable plays and stories devoted to the Ḥanukkah festival have been written for children, including many by Jewish authors and religious leaders in the United States.

The Maccabean wars have proved somewhat less attractive to artists. *Maccabeans*, a painting by the Austrian artist Jehuda Epstein, shows the beginning of the Jewish revolt. Boris *Schatz sculptured a heroic figure of Mattathias, formerly in the Royal collection, Sofia, Bulgaria. Gustave Doré produced dramatic engravings of Mattathias' call to arms and of the heroic death of Eleazar, brother of Judah, who was crushed by an elephant which he slew in battle (I Macc. 6). Another episode (I Macc. 9) – the battle of Jonathan and Simeon against Bacchides, a friend of the Syrian king, as transmitted by Josephus – was treated by the 15th-century French artist Jean Fouquet in his illuminations to the *Jewish War* and *Antiquities of the Jews*. Jonathan Maccabee appears on tapestries woven in Brussels in the 15th century, of which three portions have been preserved, showing Jonathan's coronation and receipt of gifts from other kings. A subject more commonly treated was the story of the seven martyred brothers, "Maccabees" only by association with the Apocryphal books (II Macc. 7), who preferred torture and death to being compelled to eat the flesh of swine. This became very popular in medieval Europe: the seven "Maccabean Martyrs" were canonized, Christians holding them to represent the Church Militant, while Antiochus symbolized the Antichrist. A church of the Seven Holy Maccabees stood in Lyons, France, and there was a chapel of the Maccabees in the cathedral of Saint Pierre, Geneva. Artists represented the Martyrs with amputated hands, together with Hannah, their mother. The Virgin with seven swords sometimes appears beside the figure of the latter. The theme also occurs in an eighth-century fresco at Santa Maria Antiqua, Rome, in medieval illuminated manuscripts, on the 13th-century southern portal of Chartres Cathedral, and in a 15th-century painting attributed to the Maître de Saint-Gilles (Amiens Museum). In the late Renaissance Jacopo Bassano painted the same subject.

In music there were a few compositions about the Hasmoneans dating from the late 18th and early 19th centuries, of which only Ignaz Seyfried's melodrama *Die Makkabaeer* (c. 1835) was of significance. Anton *Rubinstein's opera *Die Makkabaeer* (première in Berlin, 1875), for which Solomon *Mosenthal wrote the libretto after Otto Ludwig's drama, had only a brief stage career, yet it became a source of pride for East European Jewry. The aria *Leas Gesang* became a favorite at musical recitals and it was also arranged for instrumental combinations. Together with *Der heilige Sabbath* it can be found in the *Lider-Zamelbukh* edited by S. Kisselgoff (1911), with the text translated into Yiddish by A. Rivesman and into Hebrew by Saul *Tchernichowsky (no. 83–4). A comparison with the ḥasidic dance *Ladier Chabadnitze* (no. 62) in the same collection shows where the roots of the melody lie. Michael *Gnessin's *Makkavei*, a Russian "symphonic movement" for soloists, choir, and orchestra, was written after the composer's visit to Ereẓ Israel in 1922 and was first performed in 1925. Handel's oratorio *Alexander Balus* (1777; première in 1748), with libretto by Thomas Morrell, touches on the Maccabean theme.

The theme of the Seven "Maccabean" Martyrs also achieved a degree of popularity from the end of the 17th century and throughout the 18th, inspiring an opera by Johann Wolfgang Franck (1679) and oratorios by various composers, including Attilio Ariosti (1704), Francesco Conti (1732), and Antonio Sacchini (1770). In Johann Heinrich Rolle's *Thirza und ihre Soehne* (1781), the story is ostensibly about Christian martyrs, but the characters and content are identical with the history of the Maccabees. A later example is Vittorio Trento's opera *I sette Maccabei* (1818).

The "Story of Hannah" has a permanent and honored place in the religious folksong traditions of Mediterranean and Near Eastern Jewry and it is generally sung by women on the Ninth of Av. The songs are in the vernacular and their poetical and musical form resembles the historical ballads of the various surrounding gentile cultures; only the tradition as such is the common "Jewish" element. The poems are not infrequently found in manuscripts or printed booklets of *kinot*, but the tradition is basically oral and it probably occurs throughout the vast area from North Africa to Persia and from the Ladino-speaking communities of Greece and Turkey to the Yemen.

See also *Judah Maccabee in the Arts.

[Bathja Bayer]

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HA-SOLELIM (Heb. הַסּוֹלְלִים; "the Trail Blazers"), kibbutz in Lower Galilee, Israel, 5 mi. (8 km.) northwest of *Nazareth, affiliated with Iḥud ha-Kevuẓot ve-ha-Kibbutzim and aligned politically to Ha-No'ar ha-Ẓiyyoni (Independent Liberals) movement. It was founded in 1949 as the first Jewish settlement in the region. The original settlers were Israel-born and other veterans of World War II, who were later joined by new immigrants from North America. In 1969 various fruit orchards, beef cattle, and field crops constituted its principal farm branches. The *Bet Netofah Storage Lake for the National Water Carrier is located near the kibbutz. Ha-Solelim was one of the first kibbutzim to introduce peripheral neighborhoods for nonmember residents who wished to enjoy rural life without being part of the collective. The kibbutz now operates as an association with cooperative activities in the fields of education, culture, welfare, and security. It also operates guest rooms and an art gallery. In 1968 it had 216 inhabitants. By the mid-1990s, the population had grown to approximately 305, and at the end of 2002, after expansion, it stood at 557.

WEBSITE: www.hasolelim.org.il.

[Efraim Orni / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

HASSAGAT GEVUL (Heb. הַסָּגַת גְּבוּל), a concept which originally had specific reference to the unlawful taking of another's land; later it was extended to embrace encroachment on various economic, commercial, and incorporeal rights of others.

Encroachment on Land

IN SCRIPTURE. The original meaning of the term *hassagat gevul* was the moving (cf. *nasogu aḥor*, Isa. 42:17) of boundary stones or other landmarks from their resting places into the bounds of another's adjoining area of land, for the purpose of annexing a portion of the latter to one's own land. Naḥmanides' comment on the passage, "Thou shalt not remove thy neighbor's landmark, which they of old time have set, in thine inheritance which thou shalt inherit in the land that the Lord thy God giveth thee to possess it" (Deut. 19:14), is that Scripture speaks here "in terms of the present," i.e., of the usual situation, since it is common for landmark removal to take place in respect of ancient landmarks set up "of old time" which are not generally known and familiar. The prohibition against removal of the landmark is repeated in the enumeration of curses for recital on Mount Ebal (Deut. 27:17). The exact marking of land boundaries was already emphasized in patriarchal times, as may be gathered from the description of the field in *Machpelah bought by Abraham from Ephron the Hittite (Gen. 23:17), and this was also the case in other countries of the ancient East. Many boundary stones, engraved with invocations and curses against their removal, have been found in ancient Babylonia.

Removal of the landmark is exhorted against and castigated in the books of the prophets and the hagiographa (Hos. 5:10; Prov. 22:28, 23:10). In Proverbs too the reference is to the "present" and usual situation, namely removal of ancient landmarks set by earlier generations. In the Book of Hosea the castigation is directed against the princes, the strong, and in Proverbs it is hinted that the weak, the fatherless, were the main sufferers. In Job too removal of the landmark is mentioned among other injustices perpetrated on orphans, widows, and the poor (24:2–4).

IN THE TALMUD. In the talmudic period the abovementioned passage from Deuteronomy 19:14 was given a literal interpretation and the special prohibition against landmark removal was held to be applicable to land in Ereẓ Israel only. The fact that the enjoinder, "Thou shalt not remove the landmark," appears after it is already stated that "Thou shalt not rob," was held to teach that anyone who uproots his neighbor's boundaries breaks two prohibitions, robbery and removal of the landmark, but that this was the case in Ereẓ Israel only, since it is written "… in thine inheritance which thou shalt inherit in the land…" (*ibid.*), and outside Ereẓ Israel only one prohibition (robbery) is transgressed (Sif. Deut. 188). The *halakhah* was likewise determined in later times (Maim. Yad, Genevah 7:11; Sh. Ar., ḤM 376:1).

Land robbery, even outside Ereẓ Israel, has been regarded with great severity in Jewish law. The Talmud speaks of persons specially engaged in land measuring and the fixing of precise boundaries; surveyors are specifically instructed to make accurate calculations – down to the last fingerbreadth – and not to measure for one in summer and for the other in winter, since the measuring cord shrinks in summer (and expands in winter; BM 107b and Rashi *ibid.*; 61b; BB 89a; Maim. Yad, Genevah 8:1–3; Sh. Ar., ḤM 231:16–18).

IN THE CODES. It is explained that the general distinction made in Jewish law between *genevah* and *gezelah* (see *Theft and Robbery) – the former taking unlawfully by stealth and the latter openly with violence – applies also to the matter of trespass on land: "A person who removes his neighbor's landmark and encloses within his own domain even as much as a fingerbreadth from his neighbor's domain is a robber if he does so with violence and a thief if he does so stealthily" (Yad, Genevah 7: 11; Sh. Ar., ḤM 376; from the *Semag, Lavin*, 153 it also appears that this was understood to be the version of Sif. Deut. 188). The opinion was expressed by some of the *posekim* that the prohibition against robbery or theft – in relation to trespass on land – forms part of the *de-rabbanan* (Oral Law) and not the *de-oraita* (Written Law) law, since land is never stolen but always remains in its owner's possession; this opinion is however contrary to the plain meaning of the abovementioned statements in *Sifrei* (Tur, ḤM 371:10, 376; *Perishah, ibid., Sma.* to YD 371:2).

The great severity with which trespass on land has been regarded in Jewish law is illustrated in a responsum of Solomon b. Abraham *Adret (Rashba) concerning the following matter: "A person trespassed and built a wall within his neighbor's yard, thereby appropriating therefrom a cubit of land to his own, and then built a big house supported on this wall; now the owner of the yard comes to demolish the other's whole building." Asked whether in terms of the *takkanat ha-shavim* ("*takkanah* of restitution," see *Theft and Robbery) the trespasser might pay for the value of the land taken without having to demolish the building in order to restore the land to its owner, Rashba replied in the negative: "The *takkanat ha-shavim* was instituted in respect of movable property only, and in respect of land it was not stated that he [the injured party] should sell his property and break up his inheritance" (Resp. vol. 3, no. 188).

Widening of the Concept

The first manifestations of a widening in the doctrine of *hassagat gevul* are traceable back to talmudic times, when various *halakhot* were derived from the doctrine by way of **asmakhta*. Thus the doctrine was cited in support of the prohibition against withholding from the poor (all or anyone of them) their gleanings from the produce of the field (Pe'ah 5:6; on the meaning of the term *olim* and *al tasseg gevul olim*, see Albeck, *Mishnah, ibid.*). The prohibition against *hassagat gevul* was similarly invoked to lend a quasi-legal recognition to an individual's right (copyright) in respect of his own spiritual or intellectual creations: "Whence can it be said of one who interchanges the statements of Eliezer with those of Joshua and vice versa, so as to say of pure that it is unclean and of unclean that it is pure, that he transgresses a prohibition? It is taught: 'you shall not remove your neighbor's landmark'" (Sif. Deut. 188). Even the prohibition against marrying a pregnant woman or one weaning a child (i.e., by another man, for reasons of the possible threat to the welfare of the embryo or child), is supported by the doctrine of *hassagat gevul* (Tosef. Nid. 2:7; see also Mid. Tan., Deut. 19: 14; Comm. R. Hillel, Sif. Deut. 188).

Trespass on Economic, Commercial, and Incorporeal Rights

Post-talmudic economic and social developments fostered the need to give legal recognition and protection to rights which had not become crystallized within any accepted legal framework during the talmudic period. Some of these rights found legal expression and protection through an extension of the prohibition against landmark removal, so as to embrace also encroachment on another's economic, commercial, and spiritual confines.

TENANCY RIGHTS. Jewish places of settlement in the Middle Ages were restricted – at times voluntarily, at other times by force – to particular streets or quarters. Hence the demand by Jews for dwellings in these particular places frequently exceeded the available supply, and sometimes a prospective Jewish tenant would offer a landlord a higher than customary rental in order to have the existing tenant evicted, the more so since the *halakhah* excluded neither an offer to pay a high rental nor eviction of a tenant upon termination of his lease. In order to fill the breach against this undesirable social phenomenon, various *takkanot* were enacted in the different centers of Jewish life. These *takkanot*, aimed at protecting tenants from eviction, were reconciled with the principles of Jewish law through a widening of the doctrine of *hassagat gevul* to take in also the tenant's right to remain in occupation of the premises hired by him. The earliest of these *takkanot*, akin in content to the tenants' protection laws found in many modern legal systems, are attributed to the time of *Gershom b. Judah (tenth century; for the text, see Finkelstein, Middle Ages, 31).

In a 13th-century *takkanah* of the community of Crete (Candia) it was laid down that: "A person shall not encroach on his neighbor's boundaries by evicting him from his home… from today onward no Jew shall be permitted… to offer an excessive payment or rental to any landlord in order to gain occupation of his house… and thereby cause him to evict the existing Jewish tenant, for this is a transgression against 'cursed be he that removes his neighbor's landmark,'" not only was the offender to be fined, but the *takkanah* also prohibited anyone to hire the house in question for a full year from the date of its being vacated (*Takkanot Kandyah*, ed. Mekiẓe Nirdamim, p. 16). Similar *takkanot* were customary in different Jewish centers during the Middle Ages (see, e.g., Ferrara *takkanot* of 1554, in: Finkelstein, Middle Ages 93 f., 302, 305).

TRESPASS IN MATTERS OF COMMERCE AND THE CRAFTS. In tannaitic times the opinions of most sages inclined in favor of free commercial and occupational competition (BM 4: 12, 60a–b; BB 21b). In the third century C.E., moral censure of someone setting up in competition with a fellow-artisan was expressed by some of the Palestinian *amoraim*, although without any legal sanction (Kid. 59a; Mak. 24a; Sanh. 81a). In the same century, in Babylonia, *Huna laid down the legal principle that a resident of a particular alley operating a handmill could stop a fellow-resident from setting up in competition next to him, because this involved an interference with his source of livelihood (BB 21b). This view was not, however, accepted as *halakhah*, and at the end of the fourth century it was decided by Huna b. Joshua that one craftsman could not restrain a fellow craftsman and resident of the same alley from setting up business (in the same alley), nor even the resident of another town from setting up in the same town, as long as the latter paid taxes to the town in which he sought to ply his craft (BB 21b). Even so, however, there was no definition of the legal nature and substance of even this limited right of restraint, nor was it enforced by any sanctions upon infringement, such as the payment of compensation.

With the restriction of Jewish sources of livelihood in the Middle Ages, and the resulting intensified competition, the whole question once more came to the fore. A Jew who with much effort and money had succeeded in acquiring a monopoly in a particular commercial field stood to lose his investment and livelihood through the competition of a fellow-Jew. From the tenth century onward, the question of a right of monopoly, its scope and sanctions, came to be widely discussed in the literature of the responsa and the codes. This discussion took in the *ma'arufyah* (a form of private monopoly) *takkanah*, which prohibited encroachment on the *ma'arufyah* of a fellow-Jew (*Or Zaru'a*, BM 10a, no. 28). Legally, the *ma'arufyah* right was a full-fledged right, capable of being sold (Resp. *Ge'onim Kadmoniyyim* 151) and was even discussed in relation to whether it passed on inheritance (Resp. *Ḥakhmei Ẓarefat va-Loter* 87). The law of the *ma'arufyah* was not free of dispute, and as late as the 16th century Solomon *Luria differed thereon in a number of material respects (Resp. Maharshal, 35, 36; *Yam shel Shelomo*, Kid. 3:2); yet he too recognized extension of the doctrine of *hassagat gevul* to include a prohibition against infringement of another's livelihood, and the majority of the *posekim* accepted the overall law of the *ma'arufyah* (Sh. Ar., ḤM 156:5 and standard commentaries; *Ir Shushan*, ḤM 156:5; *She'erit Yosef* 17).

Various *takkanot* have come down concerning the restriction of competition, particularly with reference to the acquisition of a right of lease or concession. In medieval times, particularly in Poland, a substantial proportion of the tax-collection concessions granted in respect of the wine trade, mints, border-customs, salt-mines, distilleries and saloons, etc., were concentrated in the hands of Jews, and various *takkanot* were enacted to restrict the competition in this field that had led to higher rentals and reduced profits (Halpern, Pinkas, 11 f.; *Pinkas Medinat Lita*, nos. 46, 73, 87, 104; Resp. Bah., Yeshanot 60; *Masot Binyamin* 27; Resp. Maharam of Lublin 62; *Takkanot Medinat Mehrin*, p. 86, no. 259; *Ḥavvot Ya'ir*, 42).

Setting up in competition with a fellow-artisan or professional was similarly restricted in various fields. Thus a *melammed* ("teacher") was prohibited from encroaching on a colleague's confines by taking one of the latter's pupils into his own *ḥeder* (Takk. Cracow of 1551 and 1638, quoted by P.H. Wettstein, in: *Oẓar ha-Sifrut*, 4 (1892), 580 (second pagination) and it was likewise decided with reference to ritual slaughterers (*Ba'ei Ḥayyei*, ḤM pt. 2, 80; *Naḥalah li-Yhoshu'a*, 29; *Mishpat Ẓedek*, vol. 3, no. 14), the offender in this case being regarded as a robber who could be deprived of the remuneration received for such *sheḥitah* (Resp. *Divrei Ḥayyim*, pt. 2, YD 20) which might possibly even be declared ritually unfit (Resp. Shneur Zalman of Lyady, 9; see also Meshullam Roth, *Kol Mavasser*, pt. 1, no. 17).

An interesting development in this field is related to the office of rabbi. As late as the 15th century, it was decided by Israel *Isserlein and Jacob *Weil that a scholar holding the office of rabbi in a particular town could not restrain another from holding a similar office there, even though the latter would interfere with the former's prospects of earning remuneration in return for services such as arranging weddings, divorces, and the like. This decision was based on the reasoning that accepting a remuneration for such services was essentially contrary to the *halakhah* and its permissibility was not easily justifiable, and therefore it could hardly be recognized as an occupation or source of livelihood to be protected from the encroachment of competitors (*Terumat ha-Deshen, Pesakim u-Khetavim* 128; Resp. Maharyu, 151; *Rema*, YD 245:22). This *halakhah*, however, underwent a change in the light of new economic and social realities. Already in the mid-17th century it was stated that even if competition of this kind was not prohibited in law, "perhaps there is reason for protesting against it on the grounds of custom" (*Siftei Kohen* to Sh. Ar., YD 245:22, n.15); and at the commencement of the 19th century the change was also given legal recognition when Moses *Sofer (Resp. *Ḥatam Sofer*, ḤM 21) explained that the rule which held the law of *hassagat gevul* to be inappropriate to the rabbinate was only applicable "to that particular period when a rabbi was not engaged in the same way as a worker… but every scholar led the community in whose midst he lived and as such remuneration for *gittin* and *kiddushin* came to him naturally… but nowadays a rabbi is engaged – sometimes from another town – for remuneration, in the same way as any other worker and the community is obliged to provide him with his livelihood; we are not deterred from the acceptance of such reward, and therefore any one encroaching on the rabbi's confines is in the position of a craftsman setting up in competition with his neighbor." and "a rabbi who does so is disqualified from his position" (Resp. *Shem Aryeh*, OḤ 7).

The legal basis for the restriction of competition, with imposition of sanctions, was found in an extension of the legal doctrine of *hassagat gevul* to include encroachment on the confines of another's trade and source of livelihood. An interesting insight into the manner in which the said extension was arrived at is offered in the method of interpretation adopted by Solomon *Luria (despite his advocacy of greater freedom of competition). In the case of a person ousted by his neighbor from a concession to a customs post, Luria reasoned that the defendant might be held liable for the pecuniary loss suffered by the other party even though it was decided law that there is no liability for **gerama* (a form of indirect damage) in tort. Luria relied on Roke'aḥ's statement that anyone interfering with another's source of livelihood falls within the enjoinder, "Cursed is he who removes his neighbor's landmark," a statement Luria explained on the basis that this passage seemed to be redundant in the light of the prior scriptural injunction, "You shall not remove your neighbor's landmark," unless it was accepted that this passage related to trespass in the field of bargaining. Luria's decision accordingly was that the customs post be restored to the first concessionary without cost, or the defendant compensate him for the damage caused (Resp. Maharshal 89). Other scholars regarded trespass on a neighbor's trading interests as an integral part of the prohibition against trespass on another's right of tenancy (see Resp. Maharam of Padua 41).

COPYRIGHT. The first hints at recognition in Jewish law of the ownership of incorporeal property were given as early as tannaitic times. Thus it was stated, "a person who eavesdrops on his neighbor to reproduce his teachings, even though he is called a thief, acquires for himself" (Tosef., BK 7:13), and support for the prohibition against interchanging one scholar's statements with another's was found (Sif. Deut. 188) in the passage, "Thou shalt not remove thy neighbor's landmark." At the end of the 12th century the same passage was quoted by Judah he-Ḥasid in warning an heir against complying with a direction in the will of his deceased father to inscribe the latter's name as the author of a book, even though it was known to have been written by someone else (*Sefer ha-Ḥasidim*, ed. Mekize Nirdamim, nos. 17–32). It was nevertheless only from the 16th century onward that copyright became a defined legal right, protected by sanctions and partially based on the extended doctrine of *hassagat gevul*.

As in other legal systems, this development arose from the spread of printing and a need for the protection of printers' rights. As early as 1518 an approbation (*haskamah*) to the *Sefer ha-Baḥur* of Elijah *Levita contained a warning, on pain of ban, against anyone reprinting the book within the following 10 years. In the mid-15th century, when Meir *Katzenellenbogen complained to Moses Isserles about the appearance of a rival edition of Maimonides' *Mishneh Torah* (shortly after his work had been printed by Katzenellenbogen), Isserles responded by imposing a ban on anyone purchasing the *Mishneh Torah* from Katzenellenbogen's competitor (Resp. Rema 10). Thereafter it became customary to preface books with approbations containing a warning against trespass in the form of any unauthorized reprint of the particular book within a specified period. Halakhic literature contains detailed discussions on various aspects of encroachment on printers' rights. Thus Isserles imposed his abovementioned ban on anyone purchasing the *Mishneh Torah*, because in that instance it would not have availed against the printer, a non-Jew. Other scholars held the opinion that the ban should be imposed, not on the purchasers of the book – as this would cause study of the Torah to be neglected – but on the printer instead, except if he be a non-Jew (*Zikhron Yosef*, ḤM 2; Resp. *Ḥatam Sofer*, ḤM 89). Unlike Isserles, who confined the operation of his ban (to purchasers) within the country concerned only, other scholars extended operation of the ban to printers everywhere (Resp. *Ḥatam Sofer*, ḤM 41 and 79). In most cases the period of the prohibition varied from three to 15 years, but was sometimes imposed for as long as 25 years. Some of the scholars held that a prohibition imposed against trespass on a printing right takes effect from the date of the approbation in which it has been formulated, but other scholars held the prohibition to come into effect upon commencement of the printing (Halpern, Pinkas 486; Resp. *Shem Aryeh*, ḤM, 20; *Mayim Ḥayyim*, YD 44; Resp. *Sho'el u-Meshiv*, pt. 1, no. 44).

The above prohibition was mainly justified on grounds of the printer's need for an opportunity to recover his heavy outlay through the subsequent sale of the printed product, since reluctance to undertake any printing in the absence of such protection was likely to send up the price of books and cause study of the Torah to be neglected by the public. In this regard there was a fundamental difference of opinion among scholars concerning the fate of the prohibition once the printer had sold the whole of his edition, i.e., prior to expiry of the period of his protection. According to some scholars the prohibition remained fully effective against all other printers, but others held that continuation of the printer's protection, after he had already obtained his remuneration, was itself likely to cause the price of books to rise and to contribute to the neglect of study (*Ḥatam Sofer*, ḤM 79; *ibid.* Addenda no. 57; *Parashat Mordekhai*, ḤM 7; *Tiferet Ẓevi*, YD 62; *Mayim Ḥayyim*, YD 44; *Pitḥei Teshuvah*, YD 236:1; *Ateret Ḥakhamim*, YD 25). This was the central halakhic issue in the dispute, at the beginning of the 19th century, between the respective printers of the Slavuta edition of the Talmud (the brothers Shapiro) and the Vilna-Grodno edition (the widow and brothers Romm).

Out of this discussion grew the recognition given, in later generations, of the existence in Jewish law of a full legal right in respect of one's own spiritual creation. Thus Joseph Saul *Nathanson, rabbi of Lvov, distinguished between printing the work of others, e.g., the Talmud, and printing one's own work, stating that in the latter event "it is clear that he has the right thereto for all time… for with regard to his own [work] a person is entitled to decree that it shall never be printed without his permission or authority… and this right avails him against the world at large" (*Sho'el u-Meshiv*, pt. 1, no. 44). In support of this opinion, Nathanson had reference to the copyright offered the patent-holder of an invention under general Polish law, adding that the effect of an author's restriction against any reprint of his work within a specified period was not to prohibit what would otherwise be permissible, but, on the contrary, to authorize others to reprint his work upon expiry of the period specified because "even if no express restriction is imposed… this remains prohibited as *hassagat gevul* by the law of the Torah" (*ibid.*). A similar view was expressed by Naphtali Ẓevi Judah *Berlin concerning the individual's right in respect of his own teachings; he held that the individual might treat these as he would his own property – save for its total destruction, because it was a *mitzvah* to study and to teach others (*Meshiv Davar*, pt. 1, no. 24).

This view was not, however, generally accepted by the halakhic scholars. Thus Isaac *Schmelkes saw no reason why others might not reprint a book – even if first printed by the author himself – once the original edition had been completely sold; "everyone retains the right to study and to teach… why should another not be able to benefit his fellow men and print and sell cheaply?" (*Beit Yiẓḥak*, YD, pt. 2 no. 75). In his opinion Nathanson's analogy of a patent-right offered no real support for the correctness of his view, since in that case the perpetuity of the right derived from royal charter, without which others might freely copy the inventor's model, and furthermore, a work relating to the Torah was to be distinguished from any other work of the spirit inasmuch as "the Torah was given to all free of charge… not to be used with a view to gaining remuneration" (*ibid.*). At the same time Schmelkes conceded the validity of a restriction imposed against reprint of a book within a specified period, not as a matter of *halakhah*, but in pursuance of the general law of the land, by virtue of the rule of **dina de-malkhuta dina* ("the law of the land is law").

The doctrine of *hassagat gevul* strikingly illustrates one of the paths for the development of Jewish law, namely extension of the content of a legal principle beyond its original confines, in a search for solutions to problems arising through changes in social and economic conditions.

[Menachem Elon]

Hassagat Gevul (Trespass) in the Publishing of Manuscripts

The Jerusalem Rabbinical court (5715 / 861, PDR I 276) heard a case involving a claim of *hassagat gevul* by a person who engaged in the business of publishing manuscripts and who had published R. Isaiah di-Trani's commentary on various books of the Bible. As he was about to publish di Trani's commentary on other books of the Bible, it was brought to his attention that another person intended to publish the same manuscript with the commentary on those books. He therefore petitioned the court for an injunction to prevent him from doing so, on the grounds that he had already given public notification of his intention to publish the commentary on those additional works, and hence it was a case of trespass.

The court discussed various aspects of the limits of business competition (see *Business Ethics) and, at the end of its decision, cited R. Hayyim Halberstam of Zanz (*Resp. Divrei Hayyim*, ḤM 56), who states that the custom of prohibiting the purchase of books from any printer who encroached on the rights of another printer "was based on the words of the *geonim* who preceded us," and was conditional upon a significant rabbinical figure having agreed to the publication by the first printer. He added that this prohibition had acquired the status of a custom (*minhag*), and was therefore valid even if it was contrary to the laws of the Torah.

The court ruled that there was no difference in this regard between a person who had invested funds in the printing of books and one who had invested resources in the preparation of manuscripts for printing. However, in the case in question, the plaintiff, i.e., the first printer, had not only failed to obtain an approbation from a rabbinical authority warning anyone against encroaching on his rights in this work but, according to the court, had not even given due notice of the fact that he was about to publish the commentary on the other books as well. Moreover, the defendant had not used the original invention of the plaintiff or his work, and therefore should not be forbidden to publish the commentary on those books.

Trespass by Infringement on a Monopoly

In the *Atlantic* case (CA 6126/92 *Atlantic v. Doug Frost*, PD 50(4) 471), the Supreme Court of the State of Israel relied on the prohibition against *hassagat gevul* in the context of encroachment upon commercial competition. A fishing company, which for many years had been the only entity operating in a particular part of the fishing sector, had gone bankrupt. This collapse was the result of competition from another company that had begun operating in the same line of business.

The competitor imported much larger quantities of merchandise into Israel without tax than was permitted by the authorities, resulting in a steep drop in prices and the plaintiff's bankruptcy. The court (Justice Z. Tal) examined the issue against the background of the Unjust Enrichment Law, 5738 – 1978 (see *Unjust Enrichment). This law, as is apparent from the preamble to the draft bill, derives from Jewish legal sources (pp. 482–83 of the judgment); hence, in this case as well Justice Tal based his ruling on the provisions of Jewish Law. The Court likened the case to the above-cited law of *ma'arufyah*, establishing the right of a person who had received a permit to engage in a particular area as a legally recognized monopolist, and determined that the plaintiff had grounds to prevent the defendant from engaging in competition with him, and possibly even to restore any profit which the defendant had earned as a result of his unfair competition.

The Law in the State of Israel

The Copyright Act (1911) and the Copyright Ordinance (1924), both of which originated in ordinances from the time of the British Mandate, determine the scope of the prohibition against publication and reproduction of works, including translating, processing, recording or copying such works, and the remedies – both civil and criminal – available for a breach of copyright.

The Performers' Rights Law 5744 – 1984 determines the entitlement of an artist performing artistic, literary, dramatic or musical works, not to have copies made of his performances without his consent, and his right to royalties for the use of his works.

LEGAL PROTECTION OF "MORAL RIGHTS" IN THE STATE OF ISRAEL. In a 1981 amendment, the Copyright Ordinance (1924) was amended, and section 4A was added, bearing the title "Moral Rights." This section established an author's right to have his name applied to his works and to object to any modification to his works liable to prejudice his honor or reputation. A violation of this right constitutes a civil wrong, according to Israeli torts law (see *Torts). The explanation of the draft bill states that

> In contrast to the belated recognition… by other countries of an author's intellectual property rights, the talmudic Sages were cognizant of such rights even in earliest times. An author's right to have his name applied to his own work is established both in the Sages' praise for "one who reports a saying in the name of the person who said it" [of whom it is stated that he "brings redemption to the world" – (TB, Meg. 15a ME). and the comparison drawn between a person who does not credit the author of a composition and a thief: One who attributes other people's ideas to himself is even worse than one who steals a tangible asset. By prohibiting "theft of words," the Sages demonstrated the value attached to wisdom in general, because someone who "wears another person's prayer shawl" causes a situation in which there is "no advantage to the wise person over the fool." The obligation to report a statement in the name of its maker is not merely moral in character: some authorities regarded a "stealer of words" as a "thief" to all intents and purposes, and even applied penal sanctions against those who published other people's works in their own name…" (Draft Bill 5741, p. 238).

In a similar vein, in the Q*imron* case the Supreme Court addressed the Jewish legal perspective on the protection of copyright and intellectual property (CA 2790/93 *Eisenman v. Qimron*, PD 54(3) 817). A U.S. researcher published, without permission, parts of a study conducted by an Israeli scholar, who had devoted 11 years to reconstructing fragments of a scroll from the Second Temple period found in the Qumran caves. The court (Justice Y. Turkel) stated that "The roots of this important principle also derive from Jewish legal sources, which emphasizes the magnitude of the sin of a person who fails to report statements in the name of those who made them." Justice Turkel cites the words of R. Isaiah ha-Levi Horowitz, who states: "It is a great principle to report sayings in the name of those who said them, and not to steal sayings from those who said them, for such theft is worse than stealing money… How great, in my eyes, is the sin of a person who cites an interpretation that has been published in a book, or which he has heard, and fails to mention the name of the original maker or writer of the interpretation" (*Shnei Luḥot ha-Brit, Shavuot*, 183:2).

Regarding encroachment on the business and commercial rights of others, see *Business Ethics.

[Menachem Elon (2nd ed.)]

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HASSAGOT (Heb. הַשָּׂגוֹת), name given to rabbinic works wholly devoted to the criticism, usually negative, of earlier books. *Hassagot* literature is a part of a much wider literary genre, including *tosafot on the one hand, and on the other, supplements in the style of the *Sefer ha-Hashlamah* of *Meshullam b. Moses. They appeared initially in the time of *Saadiah Gaon, when rabbinical "books" in the modern sense were first written, the first book of *hassagot* apparently being one by Mevasser against Saadiah. *Hassagot* literature reached its peak in the 12th century, especially in Provence, the best known author of such works undoubtedly being *Abraham b David of Posquières (*ba'al ha-hassagot*). From the 14th century onward this class of literature began to decline, taking more and more the form of *haggahot, limited in content and generally relegated to the margins of the books.

Only a small number of *hassagot* works were thus termed by their authors. The first such is Jonah *Ibn Janaḥ's work against the grammatical works of Judah *Ḥayyuj. It was translated from the original Arabic into Hebrew by Judah ibn *Tibbon, and given the title *Sefer ha-Hassagah*, thus giving the word *hassagah* its present meaning. *Zerahiah ha-Levi, a friend of Ibn Tibbon, also uses this term with the same meaning in the introduction to his *Sefer ha-Ma'or*. Some *hassagot* works (such as the above-mentioned book of Mevasser) confine themselves to exposing the errors of the text under review, but most offer alternative views and opinions, and sometimes as in the case of Abraham b. David, even defend, explain, and supplement the text in question. *Hassagot* literature embraces a wide range of subjects, including *halakhah*, theology, and grammar. Likewise, writers of *hassagot* differ in their aims, from Mevasser who attacked, apparently on a personal background, the whole of Saadiah's literary work, classifying his *hassagot* according to chapter headings, through *Dunash b. Labrat who wrote *hassagot* on the works of his teacher Saadiah with pure academic interest on linguistic and biblical subjects alone, to Naḥmanides, who was prolific as a writer of *hassagot* (on the *Sefer ha-Mitzvot* of Maimonides, the *Sefer ha-Ma'or* of Zerahiah ha-Levi, and on the *hassagot* of Abraham b. David on *Alfasi). The *hassagot* of Naḥmanides were all written with the sole purpose of defending his predecessors, Alfasi and the author of the *Halakhot Gedolot, against the criticisms which had been leveled against them.

Some *hassagot* were written in order to justify local customs, such as those of Zerahiah on Alfasi, and some in order to undermine a scholar's authority, such as those of Meir *Abulafia on Maimonides. Most writers of *hassagot* confine themselves to important and prominent personalities, such as those mentioned above. Of the critics of Alfasi, mention should be made of his pupils, Ephraim and Joseph *Ibn Migash, whose books are not extant. Particularly noteworthy are the scholars of *Lunel, whose *hassagot* of Maimonides were written for their own instruction and were sent by them to Maimonides in order to elicit replies from him.

The *hassagot* have a style of their own. They are brief, pungent, and provocative. Their sometimes astonishing brusqueness is merely external and, in practice, was not taken amiss. The brevity of style was designed to strike a chord of decisiveness.

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[Israel Moses Ta-Shma]

HASSAN, Spanish-Moroccan family whose most famous member in Spain was JAHUDA ABEN HAÇEN, the ambassador of Aragon to Granada in 1287. A refugee in Morocco, SHEMAYYAH HASSAN countersigned *takkanot* ("regulations") in Fez (c. 1575). During the 17th century, his family settled in Salé and Tetuán. Shem Tov and DAVID HASSAN extended their affairs to Gibraltar, where SIR JOSHUA *HASSAN was the first head of government (1964–69). In 1790, the Spanish consul in Tetuán, SOLOMON HASSAN, was hanged upon the order of the sultan Moulay Yazd. A branch of the family then settled in Mogador, whence RAPHAEL HASSAN (d. after 1825), author of *Leḥem Oni* (1834), left for London. In Tetuán, the financier SALVADOR HASSAN (d. after 1879) represented Spain and Italy, and his sons represented Portugal in Tangier, where they founded an important banking company.

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[David Corcos]

HASSAN, SIR JOSHUA (**Abraham**; 1915–1997), Gibraltar lawyer and politician. Born in the British colony of Gibraltar to a Sephardi family of North African origin, Hassan was admitted to the bar in 1939. Mayor of Gibraltar from 1945 to 1950 and again from 1953, he was chief member of the Legislative Council from 1950 to 1964. In that year he became chief minister, a post equivalent to that of premier, and championed the right of the colony to remain under British rule and not to be transferred to Spain. He lost the position as a result of the elections in 1969. Hassan was a devoted and observant Jew and president of the management board of the Jewish community. He was also active in Zionist affairs and was president of the Jewish National Fund Commission for many years. Even while holding the highest offices, Hassan continued to go from house to house collecting the contents of the J.N.F. boxes. He became a queen's counsel in 1954 and in 1963 received a knighthood. Hassan again served as chief minister of the Gibraltar legislative council from 1972 to 1987.

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ḤASSĀN IBN ḤASSĀN (second half of tenth century), Spanish astronomer, who was called by some Ḥassān ibn Mar Ḥassān and by others Ali ibn Mar Ḥassān It seems that Ḥassān was not his father's personal name but his family name. Ḥassān was a *dayyan* in Cordoba. That he lived in the tenth century can be inferred from the date 972 C.E., which he used in his calculations. He was an astronomer who followed the system of al-Battānī, writing three works which were in the possession of Jewish astronomers in *Spain and in Eastern countries during the Middle Ages but were later lost.

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[Eliyahu Ashtor]

HASSENFELD, SYLVIA KAY, U.S. philanthropist, community activist. Hassenfeld was born in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, after World War I, the daughter of Sophie and Joseph Kay. After marrying Merrill Hassenfeld, she moved to Providence, Rhode Island, and joined his family members in their extensive service to the Jewish and local community. As the Hassenfeld's family business expanded from pencil manufacturing to the Hasbro Corporation, one of the foremost global manufacturers of toys and games, Sylvia Hassenfeld became involved with the Hasbro Children's Foundation, Hasbro Children's Hospital in Providence, and other philanthropic initiatives. She also occupied Jewish communal positions of increasing responsibility and influence, chairing the National Women's Division of United Jewish Appeal, serving as a member of the Board of Governors of the Jewish Agency for Israel, and becoming the first female president of the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (JDC). During Hassenfeld's tenure as president of the JDC from 1988 to 1992, she worked to protect the Jewish populations of Eastern Europe as the communist Soviet Union dissolved. She also supported the Israeli government's efforts to airlift Ethiopian Jews to Israel. After her term as president of the JDC was over, she became the chairman of the board of the JDC. Hassenfeld was a longtime advocate for Israel and a major figure in the Jerusalem Foundation. Other Jewish communal activities included sitting on the boards of the United Israel Appeal, the Memorial Foundation for Jewish Culture, and the Council of Jewish Federations. She was on the boards of the New York University Medical Center, the Paul Nitze School of Advanced International Studies at Johns Hopkins University as well as the Hasbro Children's Foundation. She was also appointed a member of the United States Holocaust Memorial Council. In 1994 the American Jewish Historical Society honored her with the Emma Lazarus Statue of Liberty Award, an award that was noted in the Senate of the United States. As one of the few women to achieve such stature in the world of Jewish philanthropy, Hassenfeld was an important and effective member of the American Jewish community.

[Melissa Klapper (2nd ed.)]

HASSID, WILLIAM ZEV (1897–1974), U.S. biochemist. Born in Jaffa, Hassid served in the British Army in World War I, then went to the U.S. in 1920. He became professor of plant biochemistry at Berkeley, California, 1950, and of biochemistry, 1959. His field of research was in structural carbohydrate chemistry and on carbohydrate metabolism in plants. He was the chairman of the Carbohydrate Division of the American Chemical Society and a member of the National Academy of Sciences.

HASSIDEANS (**Assideans**; Greek form of Hebrew *Ḥasidim*; "pious ones"), religious group or sect which originated in about the third or fourth century B.C.E. It centered around the revival and promotion of Jewish rites, study of the Law, and the uprooting of paganism from the land. The date of origin cannot be known with certainty. The Hassideans are first mentioned by name during the persecutions of Antiochus IV (Ephiphanes), king of Syria (175–164 B.C.E.), when its members joined the Maccabean opposition led by Mattathias in his revolt against the Syrians. They formed the nucleus of the Maccabean revolt and refused to compromise in any way with the Hellenizing policy of the Syrians. The Hassideans were exposed to torture and death for their refusal to desecrate the Sabbath and other Jewish observances. In I Maccabees 2:41 it is recorded that they were "mighty men in Israel… such as were devoted to the Law." In I Maccabees 4 they are described as welcoming peace with the Syrians when the latter offered them assurances of religious liberty. The Hassideans ceased to cooperate with the Hasmoneans (the successors of Judah the Maccabee) in their fight for political independence.

Certain references to the **Ḥasidim* are found in the Psalms (12:2, 30:5, 31:24, 38:28, et al.), but it is doubtful that these accounts refer to the *Ḥasidim*. The passages speak of the efforts of the Ḥasidim to observe the Law, their persecutions by their adversaries, and their struggles against their enemies. References to *Ḥasidim* in the Mishnah and the Talmud (Ber. 5:1, Hag. 2:7, Sot. 3:4, Avot 5:10, and Nid. 17a) may refer to the Hassideans or merely to pious individuals of a later period. The Talmud refers to the strict observance of the commandments by *Ḥasidim*, to their ardent prayers, which they would not renounce even at the risk of their lives, and to their rigid observance of the Sabbath. Because of their meticulous observances the Hassideans have been linked with the *Essenes, but scholarly consensus places them as the spiritual forerunners of the *Pharisees.

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[Menahem Mansoor]

HAST, MARCUS (**Mordechai**; 1840–1911), *ḥazzan* and composer. Born in Praga, near Warsaw, Hast served as *ḥazzan* in Warsaw, Torun, and Breslau, and from 1871 in the Great Synagogue in Duke's Place in London. He published the traditional repertoire of the London synagogue, together with some of his own compositions, in *Oẓar ha-Rinnah ve-ha-Tefillah* (1874, with Michael *Bergson), *Seder ha-Avodah* (1879), and *Avodat ha-Kodesh* (1910). He also composed some cantatas and oratorios on Jewish subjects (*Bostanai, Azariah, The Death of Moses, The Destruction of Jerusalem*), conducted the Amateur Choral Society, and founded the Association of Cantors of Great Britain. Some of his synagogal compositions were included in the collections edited by his son-in-law Francis Lyon *Cohen.

HATCHWELL, SOL (or **Suleika**; 1820–1834), Jewish martyr of Morocco, where she is known as "Sol ha-Ẓaddikah." After Sol Hatchwell had visited Muslim friends in her native Tangier, two Moors testified that she had recited the *Shahāda* (Muslim declaration of faith). In spite of her vigorous protests, she was henceforth, according to Muslim law, considered a Muslim. Her case was brought before the sultan of Morocco, who ordered that she be brought from Tangier to Fez. Despite alternating offers of honor and threats, she refused to renounce

Judaism. Condemned to death, she was publicly beheaded in Fez. For a long time, her martyrdom remained a historical topic, inspiring numerous Jewish and non-Jewish authors. The authors of legends, novels, plays, and *kinot* adopted the story of the "Jewish heroine" as their theme; the painter Dehodencq depicted her in his painting known as "The Torment of the Jewess." Her tomb in the cemetery of Fez became the site of pilgrimages of both Jews and Muslims.

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[David Corcos]

HA-TEKUFAH (Heb. הַתְּקוּפָה; "The Season"), Hebrew periodical devoted to literary, scientific, and social subjects which appeared (first as a quarterly, then as an annual) intermittently between 1918 and 1950. *Ha-Tekufah* received the financial backing of Abraham Joseph *Stybel, a philanthropist who had placed David *Frischmann in charge of launching Hebrew literary projects on an unprecedented large scale. Accordingly, Frischmann established both the Stybel publishing house, and launched *Ha-Tekufah*, serving as the editor of both projects. The first volume of *Ha-Tekufah* appeared in Moscow early in 1918, before the Bolshevik regime had decided to suppress Hebrew literature. Frischmann published the works of the world's best authors and scholars. The literary standards of the periodical were high. Frischmann encouraged young authors, for example Eliezer *Steinman. In all respects and not least for its beautiful graphic work, *Ha-Tekufah* was a rare phenomenon in Hebrew literature. Following the suppression of Hebrew in Russia, Frischmann moved to Warsaw where he published issues 5–15. After his death in 1922, he was succeeded by Ya'akov *Cahan and F. *Lachower. When Stybel's publishing house underwent a crisis, *Ha-Tekufah* was moved to Germany and volumes 24–27 (1928–30) were edited in Berlin by Benzion *Katz, S. *Tchernichowsky, and S. *Rawidowicz. The twin volume 26/27 (1930) lists Berlin–Tel Aviv as its places of publication. Volumes 28–29 (1936) were edited by Ya'akov Cahan and published in Tel Aviv. Finally, *Ha-Tekufah* moved to the United States, volumes 30–35 (1946–1950) appearing in New York, edited by E. *Silberschlag and Aaron *Zeitlin (the last volume by Zeitlin alone).

Ha-Tekufah is a treasure trove of Hebrew literature of all genres, including belles lettres by many of the leading writers of the time. Its scholarly articles and translations were also by the leading figures in their field. The contributors to *Ha-Tekufah* are listed in an index appended to volume 25 (author's name only), and in an index (authors and subjects) to all the volumes prepared by J. Barzilai-Folman (1961).

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[Getzel Kressel]

HA-TENU'AH LE-MA'AN EREẒ ISRAEL HA-SHELEMAH (The Land of Israel Movement), a nation-wide grouping founded in the immediate aftermath of the Six-Day War, which aimed at ensuring the permanent retention by Israel of the territories occupied in that war. Its membership embraced political elements of the Right and Left, including a particularly strong group of the left-wing *Ha-Kibbutz ha-Me'uḥad as well as most of the Young Guard of the *National Religious Party. Its first manifesto, published in September 1967, was signed by leading writers, including S.Y. *Agnon, Ḥayyim *Hazaz, Nathan *Alterman, and U.Z. *Greenberg, high-ranking army officers of the IDF Reserve, and leaders of commerce and industry, as well as university teachers, rabbis, and members of the various kibbutz movements. The manifesto laid down three basic propositions: first, that the Jewish people was bound both by its history and by its responsibility to the future to retain possession of the entire area of the Land of Israel as circumscribed by the cease-fire lines of June 1967, which were to become the permanent borders of the State; second, that no Israeli government had a mandate for surrendering any part of this inalienable trust; third, that the key to the integration of the new areas lay in immigration and intensive settlement.

The movement campaigned by means of mass meetings throughout the country, as well as by political lobbying among all the partners to the government coalition. From April 1968, it began publishing its own bi-weekly paper, *Zot ha-Areẓ*. It was directly involved in the resettlement of Jews in *Hebron in 1968, and less directly in other settlement projects on the West Bank and the Golan Heights. In 1970, a group sympathetic to the ideas of the Land of Israel Movement was formed in the U.S. under the name of "Americans for a Secure Israel." This group publishes a periodical, *Outpost*, which appears at irregular intervals.

After the adherence of the Israeli government to the U.S. peace proposals (associated with the so-called "Rogers Plan") in the summer of 1970 and the subsequent withdrawal of Gaḥal from the government coalition, the Land of Israel Movement spearheaded a "National Committee to Oppose Withdrawal," which included leading members of the main political parties both of the government and the opposition, with Dr. Chaim Yaḥil as chairman.

In 1973, a group of leading members of the Land of Israel Movement joined the new Center Block (Likud) under the leadership of Menaḥem *Begin. The group was represented in the Likud list by General (Res.) Avraham Yoffe and by the writer Moshe *Shamir, and Yoffe was elected to the Eighth Knesset as a result of the elections held on December 31, 1973.

In March 1976 this group joined with the Independent Center and the State List (led by Yigael Hurvitz) to form a new party, La'am ("For the People"), which became the third largest component of the Likud. In the elections to the Ninth Knesset in May 1977, La'am gained eight seats with Moshe Shamir representing the Land of Israel group. The Likud was now in power and the Land of Israel group was at the center of the political map with the majority of La'am supporting its position.

Throughout this period, the original Land of Israel Movement, led by Zvi Shiloaḥ, remained in existence as a non-party forum. In September 1977 it formed an association with Gush Emunim and with the En Vered Circle (a group of Labor veterans from the moshavim). All these elements were united in a common determination to develop and extend Israeli settlements beyond the Green Line, and in particular in Judea and Samaria. They withdrew their support from the Begin administration after the signing of the Camp David accords in September 1978, and finally found a means of expressing their radical opposition to the government peace plans through a new formation, the Land of Israel Loyalists (Berit Ne'emanei Ereẓ Israel) set up at the end of 1978. This body had a wide political base both within and outside the government coalition. Led by such personalities as Professor Yuval Ne'eman, Yigael Hurvitz, Moshe Shamir and Moshe Tabenkin, it aimed at rallying mass opposition to the proposed autonomy plan and the peace agreements with Egypt.

A significant development came in October 1979 with the establishment of Tnu'at ha-Teḥiyah ("The Movement for Revival") consisting of the chief elements of Berit Ne'emane Ereẓ Israel with the exception of a group led by Yigael Hurvitz which remained in the government coalition resuming the name of Rafi. Teḥiyah was set up as a full-fledged political party inexorably opposed to the autonomy plan and to further concessions to Egypt. Prominent in its leadership were two members of the Ninth Knesset, Geulah Cohen and Moshe Shamir, who withdrew from the Likud in order to identify with the new party as a right-wing opposition. Professor Yuval Ne'eman had a central role in a collective leadership which included Gershon Shafat and Rabbi Eliezer Waldman (central figures in Gush Emunim) as well as Dr. Israel Eldad, Professor Yair Sprinzak, Israel Shenkar and Zvi Shiloah. Teḥiyah mounted a public campaign in 1980 prior to the elections for the Tenth Knesset (in those elections, held in June 1981, Teḥiyah won three seats). The effect of this political challenge was widely felt, especially among the Likud factions and in the National Religious Party. Whilst some were inclined to rejoice at the removal from their midst of the "Land of Israel Loyalists," thinking this would free them for a more moderate political line, others felt that the new development dictated a firmer stand on the part of the older established parties in all that concerned concessions to Egypt, autonomy and settlement on the West Bank. A major feature in Teḥiyah's platform was the emphasis on the need to combine religious and secular elements of the country in a single political framework.

With the electoral success of Teḥiyah and the rise of the more aggressive *Gush Emunim the movement gradually lost its attraction for the younger generation.

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[Harold Harel Fisch]

HA-TIKVAH (Heb. הַתִּקְוָה; "The Hope"), anthem of the Zionist movement, and national anthem of the State of Israel. The poem was written by Naphtali Herz *Imber, probably in Jassy in 1878, and first published as "*Tikvatenu*" ("Our Hope") in his *Barkai*, 1886 (with the misleading note "Jerusalem 1884"). Its inspiration seems to have been the news of the founding of *Petaḥ Tikvah; the themes of the poem, together with those of Imber's "*Mishmar ha-Yarden*" ("Guarding the Jordan"), show the influence of the German "*Die Wacht am Rhein*" and "*Der Deutsche Rhein*" (the "River" and "As long as" motives) and the Polish patriots' song which became the national anthem of the Polish republic ("Poland is not lost yet, while we still live"). In 1882 Imber read the poem to the farmers of *Rishon le-Zion, who received it with enthusiasm. Soon afterward – probably in the same year – Samuel Cohen, who had come to Palestine from Moldavia in 1878 and settled in Rishon le-Zion, set the poem to a melody which he consciously based on a Moldavian-Romanian folk song, "*Carul cu Boi*" ("Cart and Oxen"). In an atmosphere in which new songs and adaptations became folk songs almost overnight because folk songs were needed, and at a time when no one thought of copyright, the melody became anonymous in an astonishingly swift process of collective amnesia. Thus even Abraham Zvi *Idelsohn, who settled in Jerusalem in 1906, approached it as a purely folkloric phenomenon; in his *Thesaurus* (vol. 4, 1923) he published the first of his comparative analyses of the melody, which have been widely accepted and copied since, not always with the proper credit. The true history of "*Ha-Tikvah*" was rediscovered independently by Menashe *Ravina and by an Israel amateur musicologist, Eliahu Hacohen. The Moldavian "*Carul cu Boi*" is itself only one of the innumerable incarnations of a certain well-known melodic type (or pattern) found throughout Europe in both major and minor scale versions. Probably the earliest printed version of "*Ha-Tikvah*" with its melody is found in S.T. Friedland, *Vier Lieder mit Benutzung syrischer Melodien*… (Breslau, 1895).

Many, but not all, of the changes which intervened between the original text and early forms of the melody of "*Ha-Tikvah*" and the current version can still be retraced through songbooks, memoirs, etc. Some of these arose spontaneously; others were made on purpose, either to modify the text according to contemporary opinion or literary criteria, or to achieve the Sephardi syllable-stress instead of the old-fashioned Ashkenazi stress of the original. The standard harmonization is the one established in 1948 by the Italian conductor Bernardino Molinari, who orchestrated "*Ha-Tikvah*" for the *Israel Philharmonic Orchestra; another orchestration by Paul *Ben-Haim is also current. The first English translation of the poem was made by Israel *Zangwill, the first German one by Heinrich *Loewe. In religious Zionist families there is a tradition of singing Psalm 126 (*Be-Shuv Adonai et Shivat-Ẓiyyon*) with the *zemirot to the melody of "*Ha-Tikvah*." The words can be found in several of the traditional collections of religious poetry published in Near Eastern communities during the past 50 years, and "*Ha-Tikvah*" was therefore entered by Israel *Davidson in his *Oẓar*.

Two competitions for a Zionist anthem, the first proclaimed in *Die Welt* in 1898 and the second by the Fourth Zionist Congress in 1900, came to nothing because of the unsatisfactory quality of the songs composed or suggested. At the Fifth Zionist Congress in Basle in 1901 one of the sessions concluded with the singing of what was still called "*Tikvatenu*." During the Sixth Zionist Congress (Basle, 1903), it was sung by dissenting factions. The Seventh Zionist Congress (Basle, 1905) ended with an "enormously moving singing of '*Ha-Tikvah*' by all present," a moment which can be said to have confirmed its status. Although already proposed by David *Wolffsohn, the formal declaration of "*Ha-Tikvah*" as the Zionist anthem was only made at the 18th Zionist Congress in Prague in 1933. Under the Mandate, "*Ha-Tikvah*" was the unofficial anthem of Jewish Palestine. At the Declaration of the State on May 14th, 1948, it was sung by the assembly at the opening of the ceremony and played by members of the Palestine Symphony Orchestra at its conclusion. However, "*Ha-Tikvah*" has not been given official status as a national anthem by a proclamation of the Knesset.

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[Bathja Bayer]

HATOKAI, ALDIN (1944–), Israel laborer. Hatokai was awarded the Israel Prize in 1986 for managing a work crew of Jews, Muslims, Druze, and Circassians in an exemplary manner and setting an outstanding example as an employee of the American-Israeli Paper Mills in Ḥaderah.

HATRED (Heb. שִׂנְאָה), overt or covert ill will. The Torah explicitly prohibits hatred of one's fellow in the verse "Thou shall not hate thy brother in thine heart" (Lev. 19:17). Hatred is understood by the rabbis as essentially a matter of mental disposition, as implied in the phrase "in thine heart." One who expresses hostility to his fellow through word or deed, although he violates the commandment "love thy neighbor" and injunctions against injury, insult, vengeance, etc., is not, according to most rabbinic authorities, guilty of the specific sin of hatred referred to in Lev. 19:17 (Sifra, Kedoshim; Ar. 16b; Maim. Yad, De'ot 4:5, *Sefer ha-Mitzvot*, prohib. 302; *Ḥinnukh* 238). The reasons are, apparently, that covert hatred is the more vicious form (*ibid.*) and that a person can defend himself against open hostility (I.M. Kagan, *Ḥafeẓ Ḥayyim* (Vilna, 1873), 13, n. 7). The Talmud is emphatic in its denunciation of hatred. Hillel taught that the essence of the entire Torah is, "What is hateful to you, do not do to others," all else being "commentary" (Shab. 31a). Hatred of one's fellow creatures "drives a man out of this world" (Avot 2:16). One who hates his fellow is considered a murderer (DER, 11).

Gratuitous Hatred

(Heb. שִׂנְאַת חִנָּם). According to the Talmud gratuitous hatred is the most vicious form of hatred, and the rabbis denounce it in the most extreme terms. In their view the Second Temple was destroyed as punishment for this sin (Yoma 9b; cf. Story of Kamẓa and Bar Kamẓa, Git. 95b). It is equal to the three paramount sins of idolatry, fornication, and murder (Yoma 9b).

Halakhic Implications of Hatred

According to all rabbinic authorities one who hates (that is, one who, out of enmity, has not spoken to his fellow for three days) is ineligible to serve as a judge in cases involving his enemy; according to some he may not even be a witness (Sanh. 27b). Certain relatives of a woman (e.g., mother-in-law, stepdaughter) may not testify concerning the death of her husband, for fear they may harbor hidden enmity (Yev. 117a).

Permissible Hatred

It is proper to hate the wicked. "Do not I hate them, O Lord that hate Thee?" (Ps. 139:21); "The fear of the Lord is to hate evil" (Prov. 8:13). The same thought is expressed in the Talmud (Pes. 113b). Exhortations to hate all manner of evil abound in the Bible (e.g, Ex. 18:21; Ps. 26:4). God Himself hates every form of immorality (e.g., Deut. 12:31; Isa. 1:14; Ps. 5:6) because of its harm to mankind, since God Himself cannot be affected (Saadiah Gaon, *Beliefs and Opinions*, 4:4). The enjoinder to hate evildoers applies, however, only to impenitent and inveterate sinners, those who pay no heed to correction (Maim. Yad, Roẓe'aḥ 13:14; *Ḥinnukh*, 238).

The Bible, nevertheless, distinguishes between the person as such and the sinner in him, "As I live, saith the Lord, I have no pleasure in the death of the wicked, but that the wicked turn from his way and live" (Ezek. 33:11). One must assist even one's enemy in transporting his burden (Ex. 13:5) for otherwise "he may tarry [by the wayside]" and endanger his life (BM 32b; Pes. 113b). Furthermore, in order to learn to subdue one's baser inclinations, one must give priority to aiding the wicked over the good (BM 32b; Maim. Yad, Roẓe'aḥ 13:13). Thus, the true object of proper hatred is the sin, not the sinner, whose life must be respected and whose repentance effected. Beruryah, wife of Rabbi Meir, offered her interpretation of Psalm 104:35, "Let sins [*in loco* – sinners] cease out of the earth," and thereby admonished her husband to pray not for the destruction of sinners but for their regeneration (Ber. 10a). It is forbidden to rejoice at the downfall of even those sinners whom it is proper to hate: "Rejoice not when thine enemy falleth" (Prop. 24:17). Thus, since one can never be certain of one's motives, of the absolute wickedness of the sinner, and of whether one has discharged or is indeed even capable of completely discharging his obligation to reform the sinner, the rabbis stress the obligation of loving all men: "Be of the disciples of Aaron, loving peace and pursuing peace, loving your fellow creatures and drawing them near to the Torah" (Avot 1:12).

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[Joshua H. Shmidman]

HATRY, CLARENCE CHARLES (1888–1965), British company promoter. Born in London, the son of a silk merchant, Hatry was educated at St. Paul's. In 1910 he took over his father's silk business and promptly went bankrupt. Notwithstanding this setback, he emerged within a few years as a successful insurance broker. With the temporary boom created by the end of the World War I, Hatry developed into probably the best-known company promoter in Britain, buying, consolidating, and then selling virtually any company he could find, often amalgamating them into poorly conceived trusts and making and losing several fortunes. Just before the 1929 Wall Street crash, when rumors of a large-scale swindle involving Hatry began to circulate in the City of London, he voluntarily confessed to fraud and, in 1930, was sentenced to 14 years' imprisonment for defrauding his customers of an estimated £15 million. Released in 1939, Hatry reemerged in the post-1945 period as a reformed businessman, owning London's famous Hatchard's Bookshop and other firms. Just after his release from prison he also managed to write an intelligent book on immigration and minority groups, *Light Out of Darkness* (1939). He is said to have been depicted in numerous detective stories of the time in which a swindler is murdered, including Ngaio Marsh's *Death at the Bar* (1939).

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[William D. Rubinstein (2nd ed.)]

HATVANY-DEUTSCH, a 19th-century family of Hungarian industrialists and landowners, originally from the province of Arad. In the 20th century members of the family achieved distinction as painters, writers, and patrons of the arts. Its founder was IGNAC DEUTSCH (1803–1873), who established Hungary's first sugar refinery in the 1820s. Under his sons, BERNÁT and JÓZSEF (I) DEUTSCH, the business expanded and made an immense contribution to the Hungarian national economy. As a reward the brothers were raised to the nobility in 1879 and authorized to add "de Hatvan" ("Hatvany") to their surname, the town of Hatvan, east to Budapest, having become the center of their industrial operations.

József I's son, SÁNDOR HATVANY-DEUTSCH (1852–1913), was, like his father and grandfather, born in Arad. He continued the development of the family business and founded the Hungarian manufacturers' association, but he was also a noted patron of the arts. He helped to establish various charitable institutions and received a barony in 1908. Sándor's sons gained distinction in Hungarian cultural life. The elder, LAJOS HATVANY (1880–1961), author, literary critic, and journalist, wrote in Hungarian and German. Born in Budapest, he entered the literary life of the Hungarian capital and, as a young man, was a founder of the literary periodical *Nyugat*. A generous supporter of aspiring writers, he was a prominent champion of Endre Ady (1877–1919), the great Hungarian poet. Among the journals which Lajos Hatvany edited before and during World War I was *Pesti Napló* ("Pest Journal"). His political outlook was radical and he took an active part in the democratic October Revolution of 1918. At the outbreak of the Communist Revolution of 1919 he went to Vienna, but returned to Budapest in 1927 and gave himself up for trial. He was found guilty of treason and libeling the Hungarian people, and sentenced to a short term in prison. On his release he resumed his writing career, but with the advent of the Hitler regime, he was again forced to leave the country in 1938. He spent World War II in England and returned to Hungary in 1947. During the 1950s he was condemned to silence, and was only granted recognition after 1959.

Lajos Hatvany's studies and criticisms were thorough. A convinced assimilationist and himself converted, he never ceased to deal with the problem of the Hungarian attitude toward Jews, and of Jewish assimilation and nationalism. His great trilogy, *Urak és emberek* ("Gentlemen and People," vol. I, 1927; complete, 1963^2), depicts the history of a Jewish family at the turn of the century and is a clear reflection of his own internal struggle. An English version of the first part appeared in New York as *Bondy Jr.* (1931). His other works include *Die Wissenschaft des Nichtwissenswerten* (1908), a satire on philological exaggerations; *Die Beruehmten* (1913), a drama; *Das verwundete Land* (1921); *Gyulai Pál estéje* ("The Sunset of Paul Gyulai," 1911, 1960^2); and *Ady – cikkek, emlékezések, levelek* (1959^2).

The second son of Sándor was the painter FERENC HATVANY (1881–1958). Like his brother Lajos, he was born in Budapest and converted to Christianity. As a student he came under the influence of Adolf *Fényes. He acquired a fine collection of 19th-century French paintings and some of his own nudes and still lifes are displayed in the Budapest Museum of Fine Arts. He settled in Paris about 1947 and died in Lausanne.

The descendants of Ignac Deutsch's other son, Bernát, also attained importance in Hungarian public life and a few of them remained within the Jewish fold. Bernát's son, JÓZSEF (II) HATVANY-DEUTSCH (1858–1913), collaborated with his cousin Sándor in the development of the sugar industry, and his banking and other financial interests made him one of the wealthiest Jews in Hungary. Active in Jewish communal affairs, he was a trustee and benefactor of the Budapest rabbinical seminary and a generous supporter of the Hungarian Jewish Literary Society (IMIT). He also established pioneering welfare and sickness benefit schemes for workers in his factories. In 1908 József II, like Sándor, was created a baron and became a member of the Hungarian parliament's upper house. He died in Germany. József II's children were the author LILI HATVANY (1890–1967), the political writer ANTONIA HATVANY-DEUTSCH (b. 1894), and the industrialist and writer BERTALAN HATVANY (1900–1980). Born in Budapest, Bertalan was a successful businessman, and a patron of literature, one of the writers whom he supported being the great Hungarian poet, Attila József (1905–1937). An active

Zionist and a generous contributor to the movement, he held views similar to those of the *Berit Shalom on the problem of peace between Jews and Arabs. Bertalan Hatvany left Hungary in 1939, spent some time in Australia, and then settled in Paris. His early travels are reflected in books such as *Ázsia és a nacionalizmus* ("Asia and Nationalism," 1931); *Ázsia lelke* ("The Soul of Asia," 1935, which includes much of Jewish interest, including impressions of Ereẓ Israel); *Konfuciustól Nehemiásig* ("From Confucius to Nehemiah," 1936); *A kínai kérdés története* ("History of the Chinese Question," 1938); and *Az út és az ige könyve* ("The Book of the Way and the World," a translation of Tao-te Ching, 1957).

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[Baruch Yaron]

HAUBENSTOCK-RAMATI, ROMAN (1919–1994), composer. Haubenstock-Ramati was born in Cracow, where he worked as a radio conductor from 1947 until 1950. He then spent some years in Israel, heading the Central Music Library, Tel Aviv, and teaching composition at the Rubin Academy of Music there. In 1957 he settled in Vienna, where he directed the reading of modern scores for the Universal Edition (1957–68). Later he was appointed professor of composition at the Vienna Musikhochschule (1973–89), where he continued the Schoenberg tradition in his teaching, being himself a late representative of the Second Viennese School. In the 1950s Haubenstock-Ramati was impressed by the mobile sculptures of Alexander Calder and strove to express their kinetic energy in his music series of *Mobiles* (1957–58). The composer created variable forms in which components can be varied, repeated, or combined; he also developed his own system of graphic notation. The combination and confrontation of mobile and stable forms dominate his compositions of the 1960s, especially the opera *Amerika,* 1962–64, based on the novel by *Kafka.

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[Yulia Kreinin (2nd ed.)]

°HAUPT, PAUL (1858–1926), U.S. Orientalist and Bible scholar. He taught from 1880 at the University of Goettingen. In 1885 he was appointed to head the incipient Oriental Seminary in Johns Hopkins University in Baltimore, Maryland, U.S., but he continued to lecture at Goettingen each summer until the outbreak of World War I. His more than 500 publications in German and English (as well as one Hebrew article on the Pentateuchal sources, 1895) and his training of several generations of Semitic philologists significantly influenced American biblical and Oriental studies.

The scholarly writings of Haupt are governed by the empirical historical method with full employment of linguistic and philological data. His first essay, "The Oldest Semitic Verb Form" (in JRAS, 1878), showed that the Akkadian present is probably the most archaic verb form preserved in the extant Semitic languages. His biblical commentaries on the Song of Songs (1902), Ecclesiastes (1905), Nahum (1907), Esther (1908), and Micah (1910) emphasize Hebrew metrics. In *Purim* (1906) he discussed the origin of the Purim festival, tracing it to the Persian Nauroz feast, and in *Midian and Sinai* (1909; = ZDMG, 63 (1909), 506–30) he argued for the historical and cultural maturity of the Mosaic era. In his semipopular writings, Haupt was very productive, but whimsical and pontifical. Influenced by the writings of E. Burnouf, he wrote two learned articles on the Aryan ancestry of Jesus, which were later used by the Nazis as propaganda against the Jews. His original writings were supplemented by his editorial work on important series of Orientalia and Biblica. He edited with W.R. Harper the early volumes of *Hebraica* and with Friedrich Delitzsch the *Assyriologische Bibliothek* and *Beitraege zur Assyriologie und semitischen Sprachwissenschaft*. Three series of Oriental studies published by Johns Hopkins University were under his supervision. He also edited the *Polychrome Bible* (1893, 1896–1904) and with H.H. Furness edited the English translation of selected portions.

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[Zev Garber]

HAUPTMAN, HERBERT AARON (1917–), U.S. mathematician and Nobel laureate in chemistry. Hauptman was born in New York City and received his B.S. at City College (1937), M.A. at Columbia University (1939), and Ph.D. from the University of Maryland (1954) in mathematics after serving in the U.S. Navy in World War II from 1942. He was a staff member of the Naval Research Laboratory in Washington, D.C. (1947–70), before joining the crystallography group of the Medical Foundation of Buffalo (now the Hauptman-Woodward Medical Research Institute), where he became research director in 1972 and then president. He was also research professor in the departments of biophysical sciences and computer science of the University of Buffalo. Hauptman's research work stems from his collaboration with the physicist Jerome Karle starting in 1947. They developed mathematical methods for establishing the structure of complex molecules which could previously only be determined by time-consuming, classical crystallographic techniques of more limited scope and accuracy. He was awarded the Nobel Prize jointly with Jerome Karle (1985), the only mathematician to have received the award in chemistry. His Nobel lecture discusses the integration of direct and mathematical techniques for establishing molecular structure. Subsequently he continued to refine these methods, which are in universal use in basic and medical research and in drug design. He remained actively involved in the work of the institute named after him, which studies protein structure, protein interactions, and the alterations predisposing to disease. His many honors include the Gold Plate Award of the American Academy of Achievement (1986), election to the U.S. National

Academy of Sciences (1988), and an honorary degree from Bar-Ilan University (1990).

[Michael Denman (2nd ed.)]

HAUPTMAN, JUDITH (1943–), U.S. scholar of rabbinics, rabbi. Born in Brooklyn, New York, Hauptman was a graduate of the Yeshivah of Flatbush in 1961. She then enrolled in Barnard College. After a year there, she moved to Jerusalem and spent three years studying at the Hebrew University; she then returned to Barnard College and received her bachelor's degree in economics in 1967. At the same time, she also earned a bachelor's of Hebrew literature in Talmud from the Seminary College of Jewish Studies. Hauptman continued her studies by entering the graduate program in rabbinics at JTS, receiving her masters degree in Talmud in 1973 and pursuing her doctorate under the supervision of David *Weiss Halivni. When she completed her graduate studies in 1982, she became the first woman to ever be awarded a Ph.D. in the field of Talmud and Rabbinics.

Hauptman then joined the faculty of the Jewish Theological Seminary, where she served as the assistant dean of the Seminary College of Jewish Studies, held the Rabbi Philip R. Alstat Professorship in Talmud, and was appointed the E. Billie Ivry Professor of Talmudic and Rabbinic Culture.

One of the major focuses of Hauptman's scholarly work has been in the synoptic study of rabbinic texts: the study of parallel and related texts found in different documents as a means of exploring the historical development of laws, traditions, and documents in rabbinic culture and writing. Her first book, published in 1988, was *Development of the Talmudic Sugya: Relationship Between Tannaitic and Amoraic Sources*, which addresses the place of early, "tannaitic" literature in the rabbinic culture of study that ultimately produced the two Talmuds. Hauptman became a pioneer in a growing new approach, one that sees in the Tosefta materials which predate the Mishnah and out of which mishnaic material was developed.

A second prominent focus of both Hauptman's scholarly and other work has been Jewish feminism. In the early 1970s she was a member of Ezrat Nashim, a group advocating for the greater inclusion of women in Jewish ritual in the Conservative movement, including the ordination of women as rabbis. In 1972, she published "An Assessment of Women's Liberation in the Talmud" in the journal *Conservative Judaism*, and two years later her essay "Images of Women in the Talmud" appeared in the collection *Religion and Sexism*, edited by Rosemary Ruether; she went on to publish numerous works analyzing rabbinic attitudes and legislation regarding women. This aspect of Hauptman's work is exemplified by her book *Rereading the Rabbis: A Woman's Voice*, published in 1998. In this work, Hauptman examines the historic development of rabbinic legislation in a number of areas relating to women and women's lives – marriage and divorce, social relations between the sexes, dowry and inheritance, etc. – in order to demonstrate a consistent trend toward greater (though still unequal) rights and protections for women over time. Her 1993 articles "Some Thoughts on the Nature of Halakhic Adjudication: Women and Minyan" and "Women and Prayer: An Attempt to Dispel Some Fallacies," both in *Judaism*, became the basis on which JTS Chancellor Ismar *Schorsch revised JTS policy to allow full participation for all women in egalitarian services at the seminary.

Having trained rabbis for more than a decade and having advocated the ordination of women, Hauptman applied to the rabbinical school of the JTS. The result was quite surprising. Citing concerns about the potential conflicts that might arise if Hauptman were to sit in classes with those who were her students on other occasions, Chancellor Schorsch denied her application. Undeterred, she subsequently enrolled in the Academy for Jewish Religion, and was ordained as a rabbi in 2003.

[Gail Laibovitz (2nd ed.)]

HAURAN (Heb. חַוְרָן), region in northeastern Transjordan, today part of Syria. The name occurs for the first time – as *Hauranu* – in the account of Shalmaneser III's expedition against Hazael of Aram-Damascus in 841 B.C.E. Tiglath-Pileser III in 733/2 B.C.E. turned it into an Assyrian province called Haurina. This is apparently the Hauran mentioned by Ezekiel in the only biblical reference to the place (47:15–18). In describing the ideal boundaries of Ereẓ Israel, Ezekiel cites on the north "Hazer-Haticcon [probably Hazer-Inum] which is by the border of Hauran" and on the east "between Hauran and Damascus." The Septuagint reads here "Auranitis"; the suffix *-itis* indicates that it was a Ptolemaic administrative district. In 198 B.C.E the district of Hauran was taken from the Ptolemies by the Seleucids and with the decline of that kingdom it became the possession of the Itureans who held it also at the beginning of Roman rule. In order to restrain the inhabitants of adjacent *Trachonitis who were in the habit of raiding the convoys of Damascus, Augustus in 23 B.C.E. assigned the Hauran (together with Trachonitis and Batanaea) to Herod who settled Jews there in military colonies (Jos., Ant., 15:343; Wars, 1:398). It remained in the domain of the Herodian dynasty, passing from Herod's son Philip to Agrippa I and Agrippa II and with the death of the latter it was attached to Syria. At the end of the third century the Hauran was transferred to Provincia Arabia of which it remained a part until the end of Byzantine rule. The Hauran flourished during the Roman period when many cities were founded there including Canatha and Dionysias-Soada. As it was located in Jewish territory, the Hauran was one of the places in the Second Temple period where beacons were lit to announce the approach of Rosh Ha-Shanah and the festivals. After the signals were received at the Hauran from Agrippina (Grapina)-Kawkab al-Hawā they were transmitted to Bet Bitlin (RH, 2:4). The Hauran's border with the Nabatean kingdom in the Roman period can be very precisely established by inscriptions and eras used for dating purposes. The border included al-Mushannaf, Bosana (Būsān), Ḥabrān, Dionysias-al-Suwayda, and Karak in the Hauran. In Roman times it is therefore apparent that the concept of the Hauran had expanded and also included the fertile valley known today as al-Nuqra. The borders of Hauran thus reached Arabia along Wadi al-Dhahab in the south, the slopes of the Jebel el-Druze (Druze Mountain) in the east, Trachonitis in the north, and the Bashan (in the limited sense) and the city of Dion in the west.

Jewish settlement in the Hauran continued in talmudic times; several rabbis bore its name (e.g., Ḥunya de-Berat Huran; TJ, Shek. 1:1, 46a). In the fourth and fifth centuries Christianity became deeply rooted in the Hauran as is indicated by the participation of bishops from the Hauran in church councils and the many ruins of churches found there. These churches inherited the independent style of the Eastern tradition which had evolved in the architecture and ornament of the buildings of the Hauran as early as Roman times and which also influenced synagogues in the Galilee. As in other border districts, Arabic influence increased in the Hauran in the Byzantine period. It was incorporated in the kingdom of Benu Ghassān under Byzantine protection but in 634 the Arabs conquered it without undue effort. The Hauran thereafter declined until *Druze from Lebanon began settling there in the 18th century. Following the riots in Lebanon between Druze and Christians in 1860, Druze settlement in the Hauran increased considerably and the region today is called Jebel el-Druze (Mount of the Druzes). Geographically the term Hauran comprises three separate concepts: (1) Mt. Druze itself, 5,900 ft. (1,800 m.) high; (2) the mountain, its slopes, and the el-Nuqra valley; and (3) all of the eastern part of northern Transjordan from Damascus to the Yarmuk. About 80,000 Druze live in the region.

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[Michael Avi-Yonah]

HAURWITZ, BERNARD (1905–1986), U.S. physical scientist. Haurwitz was born in Glogau, Germany, and studied mathematics and science at the Universities of Breslau and Gottingen before getting his Ph.D. in geophysics at the University of Leipzig under the supervision of Ludwig Weickmann (1931). After a lectureship in Leipzig (1931–32), he visited the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT) and the California Institute of Technology. Electing not to return to Nazi Germany, he worked at the University of Toronto as a Carnegie Institution fellow (1935–37) and with the Canadian Meteorological Service (1937–41). He returned to MIT as associate professor (1941–47) before moving to New York University as professor and chairman of the newly formed meteorology department and research associate at the Woods Hole Oceanographic Institution. He moved to Boulder, Colorado, initially as professor of geophysics at the University of Colorado and research associate at the High Altitude Observatory (1959–64), and then to the National Center for Atmospheric Research to direct the Advanced Study Program (1964–67). On retirement (1976) he became senior research associate. During the period 1964–85 he was also research associate and then visiting professor at the Geophysical Institute of the University of Alaska in Fairbanks. Haurwitz's research interests centered on dynamic meteorology, defined as the application of mathematics and physics to studying the atmosphere and ocean tides. He was a theoretician who also excelled in precise observation and analysis. He made major contributions to analyzing the physical state of the upper atmosphere and its effects on ocean tides, the influence of solar activity on the atmosphere, and the nature of noctilucent clouds which form at very high altitudes and usually at high latitudes. His work had practical applications to weather forecasting, of particular importance during World War II. Haurwitz was a renowned teacher and his papers and books are models of clarity. His honors included election to the U.S. National Academy of Sciences (1960), the Carl-Gustaf-Rossby Award of the American Meteorological Society (1962), and the Bowie Medal of the American Geophysical Union (1972). He served on the Board of Governors of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. Haurwitz was twice married, the second time to the scientist Marion Wood. He was passionate about hiking and skiing, activities that largely influenced his choice of working location. He died in Fort Collins, Colorado.

[Michael Denman (2nd ed.)]

HAUSDORF, AZRIEL ZELIG (1823–1905), a precursor of the *Ḥibbat Zion movement and pioneer of Jewish settlement in Ereẓ Israel. Born in Myslowice, Silesia, Hausdorf attended a yeshivah until the age of 20, when he went to London. He left in 1847, to settle in Jerusalem. He was a translator and expert on Jewish subjects for the Austrian consul and also represented the Jews at the Prussian consulate. He thus helped to protect the rights of refugees from Russia and Poland who did not enjoy the protection of a foreign power. When Baron Gustave de *Rothschild visited Ereẓ Israel, Hausdorf assisted him in founding the Misgav la-Dakh Hospital in the Old City of Jerusalem. He was a founder of the Ḥevrat Ahavat Zion, formed by members of Kolel Hod (Holland-Deutschland community), which bought a plot of land in the vicinity of the Temple Mount (1858), in order to found the Battei Maḥaseh quarter for the poor. The *kolel* sent him to Holland and Germany, where he acquired the support of Ẓevi Hirsch *Kalischer. He helped to acquire various plots of lands (near Jaffa and at Moẓa).

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[Geulah Bat Yehuda (Raphael)]

HAUSDORFF, FELIX (1868–1942), German mathematician. Hausdorff was born in Breslau, and was professor of mathematics at Greifswald from 1913 to 1921 and at Bonn from 1921 until his retirement in 1935. Together with his wife he committed suicide in 1942 in order to avoid the deportation order of the Gestapo. Hausdorff was an authority on set theory and its applications to sets of points and real analysis. His textbook *Mengenlehre* (Leipzig, 1935) is recognized as one of the great classics of set theory. The depth and simplicity of his research into fundamental problems was a source of inspiration in the rapid development of modern mathematics. Hausdorff was devoted to music and literature and published belles lettres under the pen name of Paul Mongré.

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[Barry Spain]

HAUSER, EMIL (1893–1978), violinist and teacher. Born in Budapest, Hauser became a teacher at the Hoch Conservatory, Frankfurt, in 1913, and joined the Adolph Busch Quartet. In 1917 he formed the Budapest String Quartet, in which he played first violin, until emigrating to Palestine in 1932. He founded the Palestine Music Conservatory, Jerusalem, in 1933, which was the first professionally oriented music school in the country with a comprehensive program for all instruments, theory, composition, history, and Arab music. Hauser headed the chamber music class at the Juilliard School of Music, New York, from 1947 until 1959 and Pablo Casals' master courses in Zermatt, Switzerland, for four years. His *Interpretation of Music for Ensemble* was published in 1952.

[Jehoash Hirschberg (2nd ed.)]

HAUSER, HENRI (1866–1946), French historian. Hauser was born and educated in Oran, Algeria, but made his career in France. He was professor of ancient and medieval history at the University of Clermont-Ferrand (1893), taught modern history at the University of Dijon (1903), and after 1921 economic history at the University of Paris. Hauser's works include *L'enseignement des sciences sociales* (1903), *Travailleurs et marchands dans l'ancienne France* (1920), and *Les débuts du capitalisme* (1927). In *L'impérialisme américain* (1905), he prophesied the decline of Europe and dominance of the United States, and his *Méthodes allemandes d'expansion économique* (1915) pertained largely to the role German industry had upon the outbreak of World War I. When the Nazis occupied France in 1940, he fled to the south where, in hiding and despite failing eyesight, he completed a study on the economic thought of Richelieu.

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[George Schwab]

HAUSER, PHILIP MORRIS (1909–1994), U.S. sociologist. Hauser was born in Chicago, where he also studied, receiving his Ph.D. from the University of Chicago in 1938. From 1938 until 1947 he was deputy director at the U.S. Bureau of the Census; in 1947 he was appointed professor of sociology at the University of Chicago. He was president of the American Sociological Association (1967–68) as well as the American Statistical Association and the Population Association of America.

Hauser worked on various studies of population, urban problems, and city planning. He continued the ecological emphasis of the Chicago School of Sociology, and channeled it demographically. He founded the University of Chicago's Population Research Center, a leading center for the study of demographic processes. He served as its director until 1979. Hauser became the Lucy Flower Professor Emeritus of Urban Sociology at the University of Chicago in 1974.

An internationally known demographer, Hauser was an active proponent of population control in the United States and elsewhere. He also took an active interest in the civil rights movement. Especially concerned with the consequences of racial segregation and overpopulation, Hauser was a member of Chicago's board of governors of the Metropolitan Housing and Planning Council (1958 to 1970) and served as a consultant for the city's Department of Development & Planning and the Department of Health. In 1963 he became chairman of the Advisory Panel for the Desegregation of the Chicago public schools

His works include *Government Statistics for Business Use* (1946), *Population and World Politics* (1958), *Housing a Metropolis* (1960), *The Population Dilemma* (1963), *Handbook for Social Research in Urban Areas* (1967), *Differential Mortality in the United States* (with E. Kitagawa, 1973), *Social Statistics in Use* (1975), and *The Challenge of America's Metropolitan Population Outlook, 1960 to 1985* (with P. Hodge).

[Werner J. Cahnman / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

HAUSER, RITA ELEANOR (1934–), U.S. lawyer and U.N. representative known for her interests in world peace, human rights, and philanthropic ideals. The elder of two daughters of Nathan and Frieda Abrams, Hauser received her B.A. from Hunter College in 1954, did graduate work in France on a Fulbright Scholarship, and attended Harvard Law School where she was one of the first women students. Hauser's advanced degrees included a Ph.D. in political economy from the University of Strasbourg in France; an LL.B. from New York University Law School, and the French equivalent of an LL.B. (a License en droit) from the University of Paris Law Faculty. An international lawyer, Hauser was senior partner and counsel in the New York City law firm Strook, Strook, and Lavan for more than 20 years. Raised in a Republican family, Hauser became involved in high-level Republican politics, where she was recognized as a distinguished strategist and speech writer. Hauser was appointed as the U.S. Representative to the United Nations Commission on Human Rights from the late 1960s to the early 1970s and was also a member of the United States delegation to the United Nations General Assembly. While serving at the U.N. Hauser met Golda *Meir, who encouraged her engagement with Jewish issues and Middle East politics. As head of the International Center for Peace (1984–91) Hauser was instrumental within the team brokering the Oslo Accords between the Palestine Liberation Organization and the State of Israel. In her capacity as chair of the International Peace Academy (which is affiliated with the United Nations), Hauser was also invited by the Palestine Elections Committee to serve as an official observer of the 1996 Palestinian elections. Hauser and her husband, Gustave, the parents of two children, created the Hauser Foundation, a philanthropic organization "that aims to illuminate the vital role that the nonprofit sector and nongovernmental organizations play in aiding societies to discover and accomplish important public purpose." The Hauser Foundation also focused specifically on conflict resolution in the Middle East. Hauser was the founding chair of the Advisory Board of the RAND Center for the Middle East Public Policy (an acronym, RAND, was derived from the contraction of research and development). Hauser was director of the International Institute for Strategic Studies in London and served on the boards of the New York Philanthropic Society and the Lincoln Center for Performing Arts. She also served as vice chair of the Dean's Advisory Board of Harvard Law School, as national co-chair of the Harvard University Campaign, and on commissions of the U.S. Department of State and at the Brookings Institution. In 2001 President Bush appointed her to the U.S. President's Foreign Advisory Board and to the U.S. President's Intelligence Oversight Board.

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[Marla Brettschneider (2nd ed.)]

HAUSNER, BERNARD (1874–1938), rabbi, Polish Zionist leader, and representative of Poland in Palestine. Born in Czortkow, Galicia, he studied at the University of Vienna and at the rabbinical seminary there, graduating in 1901. He taught religion at the secondary schools of Lemberg (1899–1914) and was rabbi and spiritual leader of the Lemberg Jewish community for the two years that the city was occupied by the Russians (1914–16). He also served as military chaplain in the Austrian army on various fronts (1916–18). After the war he became a leader of the Zionist movement, particularly of Mizrachi, in Poland. He served as a member of the Sejm (Polish parliament) from 1922 to 1927, when he settled in Palestine. In 1926 Hausner published a treatise in Polish on the financial rehabilitation of Poland, which earned him the reputation of an economic expert. In Palestine, he served first as economic adviser to the Polish government and later (1932–34) as Polish consul in Tel Aviv. Both in Poland and Palestine, Hausner took an active part in public affairs and published essays on Jewish subjects (in Polish), as well as a Polish translation of the *maḥzor.*

His son was GIDEON *HAUSNER (1915–1990), chief prosecutor in the *Eichmann trial.

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[Getzel Kressel]

HAUSNER, GIDEON (1915–1990), Israeli lawyer. Hausner was born in Lvov (Lemberg) where his father Bernard *Hausner was rabbi. He came to Ereẓ Israel in 1927 and after graduating from the Hebrew University in 1941 and from the Law School in 1943 entered private practice. He was lecturer in Commercial Law at the Hebrew University from 1954 to 1960, when he was appointed Attorney General, serving until 1963. In this capacity he served as chief prosecutor in the *Eichmann Trial, about which he wrote *Justice in Jerusalem* (1966, 1967^2). Speaking in the name of the Jewish people in a powerful opening statement and telling the story of the Holocaust with the aid of over 100 witnesses and 1,600 documents, Hausner became the voice most clearly identified with the trial and the achievement of a final reckoning with one of the most monstrous figures of the Nazi era. Hausner was a member of the Knesset from 1965 to 1981, representing the Independent Liberal Party and was chairman of its parliamentary group from 1967 to 1974. He was a minister without portfolio in the Israeli cabinet from 1974 to 1977. He was chairman of the Israel Association for Human Rights since 1965 and of the Council of Yad Vashem from 1969.

°HAUTVAL, ADELAÏDE (1906–1988), French psychiatrist and Righteous Among the Nations. Born in Hohwald (Bas Rhin), France, to a Protestant family, Hautval studied medicine in Strasbourg and after her qualification worked in several psychiatric wards. In April 1942, traveling to her mother's funeral, she was arrested trying to cross the demarcation line separating the two zones of France without a permit. Awaiting her trial in Bourges prison, she vehemently protested the harsh treatment of Jewish prisoners who were incarcerated there. The reply she received was, "As you wish to defend them, you will follow their fate." Sent to Auschwitz with a convoy of women prisoners, she arrived there in January 1943. She reportedly bore a sign, stitched on her overcoat, with the inscription: "A friend of the Jews." At Auschwitz, she helped hide a group of women afflicted with typhus and looked after them as best as she could. She was then asked by the SS garrison doctor, Eduard Wirths, to participate in the sterilization experiments practiced on the bodies of Jewish women in the infamous Block 10, which involved removing their ovaries either surgically or by means of radiation in order to produce sterility. Hautval told Wirths that she was completely opposed to these experiments. Wirths was surprised that she would object to a program whose ultimate purpose was the preservation of a superior race. Wirths asked her, "Cannot you see that these people are different from you?" and she answered him that there were several other people different from her, starting with him. After her confrontation with Dr. Wirths, she was advised to stay out of sight; she feared retribution but was not punished. Moved to the nearby Birkenau camp, she continued to practice medicine and heal the prisoners as much as possible, considering the circumstances, until August 1944, when she was transferred to the Ravensbrueck women's camp in Germany. She survived and was liberated in April 1945. In 1963, she appeared in London at the trial of Leon Uris vs. Wladyslaw Dering. Uris, in his book *Exodus*, had mentioned the experiments perpetrated by Dering and others on bodies of prisoners in Auschwitz, without the use of anesthesia, and Dering had consequently sued Uris for libel. A witness for the defense, Hautval refuted Dering's claim that it was futile to disobey orders in Auschwitz, since in Dering's words, "to refuse would be sabotage," adding that in Auschwitz "all law, normal, human, and God's law were finished." Hautval, by contrast, maintained that SS orders to remove women's ovaries could be gotten around in such ways as to avoid punishment. Justice Lawton in his summing up of the evidence to the jury described Dr. Hautval as "perhaps one of the most impressive and courageous women who has ever given evidence in the courts of this country [England]." Years later, recalling the Holocaust, she stated: "This unspeakable horror could have been avoided. If only this organized contempt of humanity, this megalomaniac insanity, had been confronted by a civilized world – lucid, courageous, and determined to safeguard its primary values." On a visit to Israel in 1966, to plant a tree in the Garden of the Righteous at Yad Vashem, after being honored the previous year with the title of Righteous Among the Nations, she stated, "The return of the people of Israel to their own country is an accomplishment concerning not only itself but the world at large.... Israel has always played a gestative, fermentative role, due to which it was hated or respected. Its mission in the world continues. May Israel remain faithful to it. The entire history of the Jewish people demonstrates the primacy of spiritual forces. Hence, its undertaking cannot but be successful."

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[Mordecai Paldiel (2nd ed.)]

HAVANA, capital of Cuba; general population: 2,180,000 (2001); estimated Jewish population 1,000 (82% of the Jews in the country).

During colonial times Havana was considered by Spain as "the key to the Americas" for its important strategic location. It was the meeting point of the treasure fleet on its return to Spain. Historians assume that *Crypto-Jews were present among the inhabitants of Havana as well as among the merchants from non-Catholic countries who were involved in illegal commerce with the Spaniards.

The first Jewish group to settle in Havana after Cuban independence (1902) came from the United States. They founded the United Hebrew Congregation in 1906. They were followed by Sephardim, mainly from Turkey, whose communal congregation, Shevet Ahim, was founded in 1914. In the 1920s thousands of Jews from Eastern Europe arrived in Cuba, hoping to use it as a stepping stone to the U.S. Many of them settled in Havana, where they founded the Centro Israelita (Jewish Center) in 1925, together with a large number of social, religious, cultural, and political organizations. In the late 1930s and during World War II Havana became a temporary haven for thousands of Jews fleeing Nazi Germany, using loopholes in Cuba's immigration laws. In May 1939, however, Havana was the scene of the tragic episode of the S.S. **St. Louis*, whose passengers were refused landing and were compelled to return to Europe, where many of them perished in extermination camps.

Following World War II the Havana community prospered both economically and socially. In 1951 the Ashkenazi community laid the cornerstone for the Patronato, a magnificent building that symbolized the social mobility and prosperity of Havana Jews. When the Sephardim inaugurated their Sephardi Center, Fidel Castro was already in power.

The Cuban revolution of 1959 marked the decline of Havana Jews. Following the nationalization of private business, around 90% of them emigrated from Cuba, most of them to the United States. The government respected the right of the Jewish community to continue its religious life, but the demographic decline, the emigration of lay and religious leaders, and the influence of the atheistic policy of the state had a growing impact on Jewish life. In 1973 Cuba severed its diplomatic relations with Israel, and the isolation of Havana Jews increased. The deterioration of communal life continued until the late 1980s, when 752 Jews (82% of the total in Cuba) were registered in the community's records for the distribution of products for Passover, sent annually by the Canadian Jewish Congress.

Since 1990 the community in Havana experienced a great revival. The collapse of Communism in the Soviet Union forced the Castro government to look for new sources of hard currency, and Cuba was opened to tourists and foreign investors. The community in Havana receives moral and material support from Jewish organizations, especially from the *Joint Distribution Committe. Today there are three religious congregations functioning in Havana – the Patronato (with a Conservative synagogue), Adath Israel (Orthodox), and the Sephardi Center. In addition there are several other groups, including the B'nai B'rith, the Women's Organization, and ORT. For a detailed history of Havana Jews (including bibliography) see *Cuba.

[Margalit Bejarano (2nd ed.)]

HAVA (also known as **Hana** or **Fava**) **OF MANOSQUE**, surgeon in early 14th century Provence. Hava was one of many Jewish women active in medicine during the Middle Ages. She belonged to a prominent medical family; her husband and son were also surgeons and she probably apprenticed with a relative. In late 1321 or early 1322 Hava faced court charges over her treatment of a Christian who had injured his testicles; the court wanted to know if Hava had palpated the wound. She answered in the negative because her son, Bonafos, had assisted in the treatment. Hava gave the instructions and designated the necessary medicines, while her son had physical contact with the patient.

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[Cheryl Tallan (2nd ed.)]

HAVAS, GÉZA (pen name, **K. Havas Géza**; 1905–1945), Hungarian journalist, born in Nagykanizsa. In 1936 he joined the review *Szép szó*, whose editor was the poet Attila József. He chose the Nazi economists as his target and wrote incisive articles against them. He also edited collections of essays on socialism and wrote a study on Magyar lyrics of the 20th century, *Új magyar lira* (1940). From 1941 he was interned in labor camps and in 1944 was deported to Germany. He died in the concentration camp of Guenskirchen, near *Mauthausen, a few hours before the arrival of the U.S. Army.

ḤAVAẒẒELET (Heb. חֲבַצֶּלֶת), Hebrew newspaper, first published in Jerusalem in 1863, discontinued after approximately one year, revived at the end of 1870, and continued until close to the outbreak of World War I. Founded by Israel Bak, a pioneer of the Hebrew press, *Ḥavaẓẓelet* began publication after **Ha-Levanon* on July 13, 1863 in the wake of a controversy which broke out in Jerusalem concerning the affairs of the Eẓ Ḥayyim school. It opposed the position taken by *Ha-Levanon*, its journalistic rival. So fierce was the dispute that both papers were forced to discontinue publication in 1864. When *Ḥavaẓẓelet* resumed publication in 1870, Bak's son-in-law, I.D. Frumkin, gradually moved into the editorial staff, and soon became its editor. In the last years of the paper his son Gad Frumkin also served as editor.

The paper was the organ of the Ḥasidim, who were a minority among the general Ashkenazi *yishuv* in Jerusalem, mainly composed of *Mitnaggedim*. *Ḥavaẓẓelet* opposed the leadership of the Ashkenazi *yishuv* and supported the programs for the settlement of Israel (see S. *Berman, Rabbi J. *Alkalai) which were opposed by Ashkenazi rabbis of Jerusalem. In 1873 it launched an attack against the controllers of the *ḥalukkah* funds and those countered with a boycott against *Ḥavaẓẓelet* and its editor. Frumkin advocated the "productivization" of the Jewish community in Israel, especially by means of agriculture, and opposed Sir Moses Montefiore's programs because of his excessive sympathy for those in charge of the *ḥalukkah*. He encouraged young forces from among the members of the *yishuv* to participate in the newspaper.

Ḥavaẓẓelet appeared originally as a monthly, and from the second copy of the second year as a weekly, continuing as such for several decades. Only in its last years was the format enlarged, and the paper was published three times a week (1908–10); in the end it was printed again as a weekly. In 1870–71 a Yiddish supplement (*Die Roze*) came out. The literary supplement was called *Pirḥei Ḥavaẓẓelet*. In 1882, under the editorship of A.M. Luncz, there was published a foreign language supplement called *Gazette de Jerusalem*, and in 1884, the supplement *Mevasseret Ẓiyyon* appeared under the editorship of Eliezer Ben-Yehuda.

After the pogroms in Russia in the beginning of the 1880s the paper advocated *aliyah* and encouraged the first immigrants to settle on the land of Petaḥ Tikvah. With the arrival of the first wave of *aliyah* from Russia and from Yemen, the paper endeavored to ease their absorption both in agricultural work and in Jerusalem. Frumkin invited Ben-Yehuda to Jerusalem from Paris to work on the *Ḥavaẓẓelet*. Ben-Yehuda's publication of his own independent newspaper, *Ha-Ẓevi* in the autumn of 1884, gave rise to an antagonism between *Ha-Ẓevi* and *Ḥavaẓẓelet*. *Ḥavaẓẓelet* soon became the mouthpiece of the older generation of the *yishuv* in Jerusalem, while *Ha-Ẓevi* supported the new *yishuv*, especially the agricultural villages. The former, which in the beginning had been in opposition to the *ḥalukkah*, now became its loyal supporter. It now rejected the program of enlightenment that it had advocated in the 1870s, turned against the modernists of the *yishuv*, and later opposed political Zionism.

Gad Frumkin tried to revive the flagging spirit of the *Ḥavaẓẓelet* at the beginning of the present century, but his energy was curbed by his father. While this newspaper died out, a new press with an entirely different direction rose in its place. *Ḥavaẓẓelet* nevertheless raised a generation of writers and scholars, mainly from the old *yishuv*, who later filled distinguished positions in literature, science, and public life in Jerusalem and Ereẓ Israel. In 1954 a selection of the writings of I.D. Frumkin from the volumes of the *Ḥavaẓẓelet*, together with a comprehensive introduction and comments, was published in Jerusalem.

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[Getzel Kressel]

HAVDALAH (Heb. הַבְדָּלָה; "distinction"), blessing recited at the termination of Sabbaths and festivals, in order to emphasize the distinction between the sacred and the ordinary, with regard to the Sabbath (or festival) that is departing and the ordinary weekday. *Havdalah* is one of the most ancient blessings: according to the Talmud "the men of the *Great Synagogue instituted blessings and prayers, sanctifications and *Havdalot* for Israel" (Ber. 33a). Some authorities hold that the obligation to recite the *Havdalah* derives from the Pentateuch. According to the Babylonian Talmud, it was originally inserted in the *Amidah*, but subsequently "when they became richer – they instituted that it should be said over the cup of wine; when they became poor again – they inserted it again into the prayer" (*ibid.*). Three views are mentioned in the Jerusalem Talmud (Ber. 5:2, 9b): (1) *Havdalah* was originally inserted in the *Amidah* and then also transferred to the cup of wine "for the benefit of the children"; (2) it was originally instituted over the cup of wine; (3) it was instituted in both places at the same time. Because of these variations, there were four opinions, already in the time of the *tannaim*, on the place of *Havdalah* in the *Amidah*. Moreover, in accordance with most of the *tannaim*, the present practice is to recite the proper *Havdalah* blessing over the cup of wine, while in the *Amidah* only mention of it should be made. At a much later date, in the middle of the medieval period, the custom began to develop of reciting *Havdalah* over a cup of wine in the synagogue as well, in order to exempt those who had no wine (cf. Ta'an. 24a).

The text of the *Havdalah* ceremony over a cup of wine developed over a long period of time and, in the Ashkenazi version, a number of verses were added at the beginning as "a good omen" (Tur, OḤ 296:1). These usually commence with, "Behold, God is my salvation," etc. (Isa. 12:2–3). This introduction is followed by three blessings – over wine, spices, and light – inserted in the *Havdalah* arrangement much before the time of *Bet Hillel and Bet Shammai, who already differed about their text and order (Ber. 8:5), even though R. Judah ha-Nasi instituted the last two over the cup of wine merely for the benefit of his household (Pes. 54a). The purpose of the blessing over light – "Who createst the light of the fire" – is to show that work is now permitted and to stress the departure of the Sabbath. The blessing over the wine itself stems from the duty to recite *Havdalah* over a cup of wine, as in the case of *Kiddush. The reason for the blessing over spices has not been clarified. The *rishonim* explained it as compensation to the Jew for the loss of the "additional soul" which traditionally accompanied the Jew throughout the Sabbath (see Ta'an. 27b; Sof. 17:5; and see Tos. to Pes. 102b); other reasons have also been suggested (Tur, OḤ 296).

The *Havdalah* blessing itself, the fourth and final, according to the order of the prayer, was known from early times in various versions, differing primarily in the number of distinctions (e.g. "between the Sabbath and the other days of the week") they contained. In the Talmud (Pes. 103b; TJ, Ber. 5:2, 9b) it is laid down that "He who would recite but few distinctions, must recite not less than three, but he who would proliferate must not recite more than seven." R. Judah ha-Nasi, however, recited only one, the distinction "between the holy and the profane" (Pes. loc. cit.). Poetic versions containing seven distinctions have been preserved in the *Genizah* fragments (see Zulay in bibl.). Similarly with its wording in the *Amidah* of which various versions are known in the liturgies, of the different communities and in the *Genizah* fragments (see Zulay, bibl.).

Havdalah over a cup of wine is customary also when the Sabbath is immediately followed by a festival, since the festival's stringency is less than that of the Sabbath (Ḥul. 26b). Combined in this case with the *Kiddush*, its wording is: "Who makest a distinction between holy and holy." The order of this *Kiddush-Havdalah* is indicated by the well-known acrostic *yaknehaz (*yayin* ("wine"), *Kiddush, ner* ("candle"), *Havdalah, zeman* ("season" = *she-heḥeyanu*)). This *Havdalah* is mentioned in the evening blessing for the sanctification of the day and the combined formula, fixed by *Rav and *Samuel in Babylonia, is known as "the pearl of Rav and Samuel" (Ber. 33b). When the termination of the festival is followed by a working day, *Havdalah* is recited without candle or spices.

There are many customs connected with *Havdalah*: the pouring of some of the wine on the ground as an omen of blessing (cf. Er. 65a), and hence the custom of overfilling the cup (Turei Zahav to OḤ 296:1); passing the last drop of wine in the cup over the eyes (cf. PdRE 20), and extinguishing the lamp with the remaining drops; when saying the blessing over the light, some look at their fingernails and some at the lines on their palms (S. Assaf, *Sifran shel Rishonim* (1935), 177). After *Havdalah* it is customary to chant special hymns, the best known being: "May He who sets the holy and the ordinary apart," originally instituted for the termination of the Day of Atonement, and "Elijah the prophet." Other songs and hymns said before or after *Havdalah* are mostly based upon the Jerusalem Talmud (loc. cit.).

[Israel Moses Ta-Shma]

The Spice Box (Hadas)

In the ceremony of *Havdalah*, it is customary for a box of aromatic *spices to be handed round accompanied with an appropriate blessing. In medieval Europe, sweet-smelling herbs such as myrtle (Heb. *hadas*) were generally used for this purpose. For this reason, the spice box came to be known as a "*hadas*" when spices were substituted for herbs. The moment of transition is marked by Rabbi Ephraim of Regensburg in the 12th century, who recorded that he said the blessing not over a branch of myrtle, but over spices contained in a special glass receptacle. This is probably the earliest mention of a special spice box. The earliest extant example, however, dates from about 1550. It originated from the synagogue at Friedberg, Germany and is now in the Jewish Museum, New York. Another example, dated 1543, was formerly in the Landes museum at Kassel but was lost when the museum was destroyed by the Nazis. The spice box has taken a large variety of forms and has inspired craftsmen to fantasy and often to whimsy. Among the Ashkenazi Jews it often took the form of a fortified tower. It has been suggested that this form was adopted because spices, which came from the Orient, were so valuable that they had to be stored in the castle or city hall. It is also thought to have been derived from the ritual implements of the Church, such as the monstrance and thurible, which also took this form, as the implements of the Church were executed by the same gentile craftsmen as those of the synagogue. A "Jewish monstrance" commissioned from a Frankfurt silversmith in 1550 is thus probably a spice box. The tower form could be imitated from a local tower or church steeple, surrounded by a balustrade, surmounted with a pennant and carrying a clock face indicating the conclusion of the Sabbath. It was executed in silver, sometimes engraved to resemble masonry, and later in filigree. Human and animal figures were placed around the tower: biblical worthies, soldiers, musicians, various synagogal officials such as the *shoḥet* (ritual slaughterer) with his knife, the scribe with his pen and inkwell, the *Schulklopfer* with his hammer (who woke worshipers for morning prayers), or sometimes a Jew holding a beaker of wine and performing *Havdalah*. A variant of the tower form was executed in northern Italy in the 18th century, where it was covered with delicate filigree work, studded with semiprecious stones and adorned with enamel plaques depicting scenes from the Bible. Spice boxes were also made in many other forms, such as animals, fish, birds, flowers and fruit, and even windmills. There was also the simpler form of round, square, or rectangular boxes. On occasion the spice box was combined with the taperholder used in the *Havdalah* ceremony. The spices were contained in a drawer beneath the taper, which was sometimes supported by a figure. In the East small jars and boxes were used to keep the herbs. In Persia these were jars with elongated necks, sometimes filled with rose water. As a result of the revival of Jewish ritual and synagogal art in Israel and the United States after World War II, spice boxes have been designed and executed by eminent artists in a contemporary manner.

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ḤAVER, 16th-century family of rabbis, originally from Damascus. The best-known members of the family are Isaac and his son Ḥayyim. ISAAC (d. 1541) was a rabbi and *posek*. According to Moses *Basola, before 1522 he was the head of the Sicilian community of Damascus and a physician. He discussed halakhic problems with Jacob *Berab I. He died in Damascus and in 1564 his remains were taken by his son ḤAYYIM, to Safed for burial. Ḥayyim was already an important rabbi of Safed before his father's death, since his signature appears on a ruling of 1536 together with those of other great Safed halakhists (see Responsa *Avkat Rokhel*, of Joseph Caro, no. 124). He was apparently called to Damascus to succeed his father. In 1546, in accordance with his father's custom, Ḥayyim sent to Safed from Damascus the yearly calendar of the Sicilian community. He appears to have returned to Safed after a number of years and to have become one of the members of the *bet din* of Moses di *Trani, his signature appearing on a halakhic ruling of 1557 together with that of Di Trani and Shem Tov Bibas (Moses di Trani, Responsa *Mabit*, 1:287). A ruling by Ḥayyim from his Damascus period appears in *Avkat Rokhel* (no. 114). He died in Safed. ISAAC, one of his sons, is mentioned in a responsum of 1567 (*Mabbit*, 2:88). Apparently JOSHUA ḤAVER, the friend of Israel *Najara and a merchant in Syria, was also a member of this family.

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[Abraham David]

ḤAVER, ḤAVERIM (Heb. חָבֵר, pl. חֲבֵרִים; "member"), the name for those belonging to a group that undertook to observe meticulously both the laws of **terumah* ("heave-offering") and **ma'aser* ("tithing") as well as the regulations of impurity and purity. The regulations binding the obligations of the *ḥaver* were already laid down in the time of Hillel and Shammai, since Bet Hillel and Bet Shammai differ about the details. A candidate for membership of the group was not immediately accepted as a full *ḥaver*, but was subjected to a period of education and probation. The candidate declared his readiness "to accept the obligations of a *ḥaver* in the presence of three *ḥaverim*" (Bek. 30b). He was first accepted "for wings" (Tosef., Dem. 2:11), according to S. Lieberman, one who washed his hands before eating and before touching ritually clean food (*Tosefta ki-Feshutah* (see bibliography), pt. 1, 214). In the next stage he undertook more stringent obligations of ritual purity, undertaking "that he would not give *terumah* or *ma'aser* to an **am ha-areẓ*, nor prepare ritually clean food for him, and that he would eat ordinary food in a state of ritual purity" (Tosef., *ibid.*, 2:2; Lieberman, *ibid.*, 210; see Dem. 2:3). After undertaking to observe all the obligations of a *ḥaver* he underwent a period of probation – 30 days according to Bet Hillel and 12 months according to Bet Shammai – before being accepted as a full *ḥaver.* Anyone could join the group, including women and slaves (Tosef., Dem. 2:16–17), on condition that they undertook to fulfill the aforementioned obligations. No candidate was exempted from the conditions of acceptance ("even a scholar had to undertake them," *ibid.*, 2:13). Joining the group of *ḥaverim* meant separation from those who were not *ḥaverim* – from the *am ha-areẓ* – raising many problems in daily life, even in the life of the family, when some members were *ḥaverim* while others were not. In pursuit of their aims the *ḥaverim* did not isolate themselves from society or create special centers for themselves, nor did they form an organized group with officeholders having particular functions. Detailed *halakhot* were evolved to regulate relations between them and their environment in all spheres of life.

It is not possible to determine the exact period of the group's first emergence. The fact that the *halakhot* dealing with the *ḥaver* were mainly transmitted in the names of the

**tannaim* who lived after the Bar Kokhba revolt does not suffice to support the opinion of A. Buechler (see bibliography) who ascribed them to the era of Usha and even assigned them to the priests of Galilee. Not only is this contradicted by some sources, as stated, that Bet Shammai and Bet Hillel differed on details of these *halakhot* (see Tosef., Av. Zar. 3:9–10 for the period of Rabban Gamaliel), but other evidence also conflicts with Buechler's opinion. It has long been recognized that the arrangement for accepting *ḥaverim* is reminiscent of the description given by Josephus (Wars, 2:137) of the acceptance into the fold of the Essenes, and parallels have been pointed out with the school of the Pythagoreans. The discovery of the Scroll of the *Manual of Discipline in the Judean desert throws new and important light on the subject. It is a document of a society in Ereẓ Israel, describing its life and regulations. There are indeed differences between the two; the Dead Sea group was a fraternity whose members lived communally and shared their possessions. Nevertheless the regulations with regard to ritual purity and many of the arrangements for initiation were common to both, and the same phrases and expressions occur in both. It seems reasonable to suppose that the various groups of *ḥaverim* among the Pharisees too were not all of one character and certainly did not always conduct themselves in all matters with the same degree of stringency. The differences are still reflected in those tannaitic statements which incorporate earlier *halakhot*.

It seems that originally when the *ḥaverim* were few in number their regulations were more stringent, but as they came to be accepted by wider circles a more lenient tendency developed. There are explicit references to this effect. "At first they said that a *ḥaver* who becomes a tax collector is to be expelled. Later they said that as long as he is a tax collector, he is not trusted, but if he withdraws from it, he is to be trusted" (Tosef., Dem. 3:4). It would also appear that *halakhot* which are quoted as disputes between *tannaim* are in actual fact merely transmissions of *halakhot* from different times, as for instance: if they regret becoming *ḥaverim*, they can never again be accepted, so claims R. Meir; R. Judah says: If they regret it publicly they can be accepted, but if clandestinely (i.e., they disregarded the regulations in private, but behaved in public as *ḥaverim*) they are not to be accepted (because of their hypocrisy); R. Simeon and R. Joshua b. Korḥa say: They may be accepted in both cases (*ibid.* 2:9). Meir's view represents the remnant of the strict rules of a group of *ḥaverim*, which, by the way, have a parallel in the scroll of the Manual of Discipline 7:1: "And if he cursed… then he shall be set apart and never again return."

The fact that most of the *halakhot* of the *ḥaverim* were taught during the era of Usha does not point to the time they came into existence but to the fact that at that time the regulations were renewed with the purpose of making *halakhot*, which at one time were of concern to small groups of *ḥaverim*, into the *halakhot* of the community as a whole. Meir took a stringent view while his colleagues favored a more lenient one. The renewal of these *halakhot* after the Bar Kokhba revolt can be ascribed to the general tendency towards asceticism then prevailing. However, it seems that, in practice, these stringencies were confined to scholars and their disciples, so that in the time of the *amoraim* "*ḥaver*" became a synonym for a scholar, so that it was said "The *ḥaverim* are none other than the scholars" (BB 75a; cf. the expression "*ḥaverim* of Torah" TJ, Ber. 1:1, 2d; Tanh., Niẓẓavim, 4; Lieberman in: *Tarbiz*, 2 (1930/31), 106), and it seems that in Babylon the Palestinian *amoraim* were called "*ḥavurah*" ("group of *ḥaverim*"; Shab. 111b; "the lion of the *ḥavurah*"; Pes. 64a).

The Post-Talmudic Period

In the academies of Babylon during the geonic period the three scholars sitting in the first row after the seven heads of the **kallah* called **allufim* ("chiefs") were known as *ḥaverim*. At the close of the geonic period this title was also bestowed upon important scholars outside the academy, such as Jacob b. Nissim and Saadiah b. Ephraim of Kairouan. In the academies of Ereẓ Israel, an ordained scholar was called "*ḥaver* of the Great Sanhedrin," and the 70 members of the academy were called collectively "*ḥavurta kadishta*" ("holy association"). The five *ḥaverim* after the *gaon* and the head of the academy were referred to by number, "third of the *ḥavurah*," "fourth of the *ḥavurah*," etc. A candidate for the *ḥavurah* was called *me'uttad la-ḥavurah* ("destined for the *ḥavurah*"). The designation was also widened figuratively into "the most eminent *ḥaver* of the *ḥavurah*," "the splendor of the *ḥaverim*," and "the glory of the *ḥaverim*," etc. In the 11th century the title *ḥaver* was added to the names of the *dayyanim* heading the communities of Ereẓ Israel, Syria, and Egypt, who were apparently ordained by the yeshivah of Ereẓ Israel. The title was also current in the academy of Fostat (a letter of 1441 mentions "our teacher and master, R. Pethahiah Kohen, the *ḥaver* of the Great Sanhedrin"). In Arabic-speaking countries the term "*ḥaver*" became a synonym for an educated man and a scholar and found its way into the Arabic language. The Jewish scholar in Judah Halevi's *Kuzari* is called in the Arabic original "Al-Ḥibr." In France, Italy, and Germany, it was used as a designation for young scholars, *benei ḥavurah* (*Or Zaru'a*, pt. 2, nos. 91 and 329; see Urbach, in: *Tarbiz* 10 (1938/39) 32 n.17). Only in the 14th century when the appointment of a rabbi in Germany depended upon ordination and the granting of the title *morenu*, did the title *ḥaver* become an indication of official recognition of exceptional merit in Torah learning. Its attainment was bound up with the fulfillment of certain conditions which varied from country to country and from one period to another. In the *takkanot* of the communities and regional councils of Poland, Lithuania, and Moravia, the conditions of the right to bear this title, together with a preferred status in the community, concessions in taxation, and other privileges, were laid down. The additional privileges granted to the bearers of the title brought the communal leaders to lay down the conditions for attaining the titles, even though they were granted by rabbis. The decline of the institutions for Torah study at the end of the 17th century in Poland and Lithuania brought with it also a modification of the requirements for the title of *ḥaver*, and it tended to become a mere title of respect.

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[*Encyclopaedia Hebraica*]

ḤAVER IR or **Ḥever Ir** (Heb. חֲבֵר עִיר; חֶבֶר עִיר), a phrase whose exact vocalization and therefore meaning is uncertain. If the reading is *ḥaver ir* (lit. "an associate of the city"), it refers to an individual; if it is *ḥever ir* (lit. "a town association") the reference is to a specific association or organization. The latter reading could also imply a congregation or the religious quorum (*minyan*) required for public worship. The Mishnah (Ber. 4:7) records a difference of opinion as to whether the individual may himself recite the *Musaf* prayers or whether they may only be said publicly by the *ḥever ir*. In this context the phrase seems to mean a *minyan*. A similar conclusion is reached from the discussion concerning the differences between the order of the sounding of the *shofar* during private worship and public *ḥever ir* (RH 34b).

The rules regarding deportment at a funeral and in a house of mourning seem to indicate that the phrase refers to a specific communal fraternal society. The *ḥever ir* must participate in a man's funeral but not a woman's (Sem. 11:2). Neither was the *ḥever ir* obligated to extend condolences on the day that people gather the bones of relatives for reburial in ossuaries (Sem. 12:4). When the *ḥever ir* was present at the house of mourning, visitors were permitted to bring less costly food, since there were then many people to be fed (Ḥul. 94a; Sem. 14:13). In Jerusalem, there originally were *ḥavurot* ("associations") for participating in joyful events such as marriage and circumcision and in gathering the remains of the dead and comforting mourners (Tosef. Meg. 4 (3):15; Sem. 12:5). It may be that these *ḥavurot* were the precursors of the *ḥever ir*, or that they functioned together with it. They differed in that the *ḥavurot* were voluntary organizations whereas the *ḥever ir* was officially appointed by the townspeople as their representatives in performing these meritorious deeds.

Nevertheless, there are also instances where *ḥaver ir* seems to be the correct reading. After transient visitors to a town are assessed for charity, they may demand reimbursement for distribution to the poor in their own communities before their departure. However, when a *ḥaver ir* is in charge of the communal charity, no refund is granted and the *ḥever ir* uses it at his discretion (Meg. 25a–b, Rashi ad loc.). Likewise, the poor man's tithe could be given to the *ḥaver ir* who used it at his discretion (Tosef., Pe'ah 4:16). A kohen who had a disqualifying blemish was not permitted to utter the Priestly Benediction publicly, since the people would be distracted by it. If he is also a *ḥaver ir*, however, he may recite the benediction, since he is so well known that they will pay no attention to his disability (Tosef., Meg. 4 (3):29).

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[Harry Freedman]

HAVILAH (Heb. חֲוִילָה), name mentioned five times in the Bible, both as a personal and place name. The name Havilah was applied to the territory watered by the Pishon River (Gen. 2:11), which was noted for choice gold, bdellium, and lapis lazuli (Gen. 2:12). Josephus and most Church Fathers identified the land of Havilah with the Ganges Valley. While the proper identification is still unknown, there are various theories concerning its location. The association of the land of Havilah with the products mentioned above supports Y.M. Grintz's identification of Havilah with Aualis, an Abyssinian district mentioned in Greek and Latin sources. This Havilah, or Aualis, is perhaps the Meluḫḫa referred to in cuneiform records and identified as the Egypt of the period of the Cushite dynasty; however, this latter point is especially questionable in relation to Havilah. Friedrich Delitzsch located the land of Havilah in the Syrian Desert, west and south of the Euphrates. P. Haupt, who regarded the Pishon as the belt of water formed by the Kerkha, Persian Gulf, and Red Sea, identified Havilah with Arabia. In E.A. Speiser's view, the identification of the whole geographic background revolves around the proper location of the biblical Cush, which is identified either as an African kingdom (Ethiopia) or as the Mesopotamian kingdom of the Kassites (Akk. Kaššû). Speiser prefers the latter identification. Thus the background of Havilah remains that of the Garden of *Eden in Babylonia (Persian Gulf). According to Cassuto, the common element in all five references to Havilah is the ethnic ties between the various peoples located on either bank of the Red Sea. The Bible, however, distinguishes the Havilah that serves as one of the boundaries of Ishmaelite territory from all other places named Havilah, with the qualifying phrase "by Shur, which is close to Egypt" (Gen. 25:18). It was in the area between this Havilah and Shur that Saul defeated the Amalekites and captured Agag, their king (I Sam. 15:7). The personal name Havilah appears in the Table of Nations (Gen. 10:7 = I Chron. 1:9) and in Abrahamic genealogies (Gen. 10:29 = I Chron. 1:23). In the former, Havilah is one of the five sons of *Cush the son of Ham. In the latter, Havilah is the sixth generation in lineal descent from Shem. The latter Havilah, the son of Joktan, apparently stands for a locality in South Arabia, as do Hadoram (Gen. 10:27), Sheba (Gen. 10:28), and Ophir (Gen. 10:29).

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[Mayer Irwin Gruber]

ḤAVIV, AVSHALOM (1926–1947), Jew executed by the British in Palestine. Ḥaviv was born in Haifa and when he was two years old his parents moved to Jerusalem. While still a secondary pupil in Bet ha-Kerem he joined the IẒL. After serving in the *Palmaḥ in En-Ḥarod under the "year of service" program, he returned to Jerusalem where he renewed his activity in IẒL, relinquishing studies at the Hebrew University. Together with Meir Nakar and Yaacov Weiss he was a member of the group which was given the task of ensuring the retreat of the members of IẒL who performed the daring break into the prison of Acre in 1946, but failing to hear the agreed signal for retreat, they remained there too long and were captured. They were sentenced to death on May 16, 1947, and were hanged in Acre prison on the 12th of Av of that year, together with Eliezer Kashani and Mordekhai Alkaḥi.

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ḤAVIV-LUBMAN, AVRAHAM DOV (1864–1951), pioneer of Jewish settlement in Ereẓ Israel. Born on a Jewish agricultural settlement, Graitzevo, near Mogilev, Ḥaviv-Lubman joined the Ḥovevei Zion movement and, in 1885, moved to Ereẓ Israel. He went to live in Petaḥ Tikvah with his uncle, Mordekhai Lubman, who worked as a land surveyor for Baron Edmond de *Rothschild. He disliked the settlement's traditional way of life and moved to Rishon le-Zion, where he struggled together with others against the baron's paternalistic management of the new agricultural settlement. He was a founder of the Aguddat ha-Koremim ("The Vintners' Association"), which took over the supervision of the baron's wine cellars. For 16 years he was at intervals head of the local council of Rishon le-Zion. He wrote memoirs of his childhood and the early days of settlement in Ereẓ Israel entitled *Mi-Sippurei ha-Rishonim le-Ẓiyyon* (1934) and *Benei Dori* (1946), as well as a monograph on Rishon le-Zion (1929).

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[Yehuda Slutsky]

HAVRE, LE, major port, N. France. From about the beginning of the 18th century, Jews, especially from *Bordeaux and its environs, wished to settle in Le Havre. In 1714, *Louis XIV ordered the town to expel all foreign Jews except "those who call themselves 'Portuguese.'" Around 1725, however, two Jewish families of German origin, the Hombergs (who were converted after a while) and the Lallemends, settled in Le Havre and obtained letters of naturalization. In 1776 the town once more refused several Jews permission to reside there in spite of their "royal passports" (actually valid for Paris). An organized community was founded in the mid-19th century. A new community, reconstituted after World War II, had a population of about 1,000 in 1969 and possessed a synagogue and community center.

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[Bernhard Blumenkranz]

HAVURAH. The havurah, or Jewish fellowship group, encompasses "a wide range of approaches in which relatively small groups of Jews come together regularly for programs which include Jewish study, celebration, and personal association" (Reisman, 1977). Use of the Hebrew term *ḥavurah* (pl. *ḥavurot*) as a social institution has its origins in the small communities of Pharasaic Jews from which emerged rabbinical Judaism over 2,000 years ago. In contemporary usage, the havurah refers to an attempt to restore a sense of Jewish community to North American Jewish life. In contrast to the synagogue, the havurah is distinguished by the personal responsibility assumed by members for their religious and social activities, rather than delegating them to the rabbi or other institutional officials.

Contemporary havurot emerged through two different and unrelated avenues. In the early 1960s, the Reconstructionist movement, which had espoused fellowship groups since its inception in the 1930s, established havurot to give substance to the teachings of Rabbi Mordecai Kaplan to transform the Jewish community. After becoming an independent denomination in 1968, Reconstructionists continued to create havurot as a substitute for, or adjunct to, its synagogues.

In the late 1960s, inspired by the counterculture of that period, many havurot were created predominantly by Jewish students who combined their Jewish seeking with political activism and opposition to the Vietnam War. Notable among these havurot were Chavurat Shalom in Somerville, Massachusetts (1968), the New York Havurah (1969), and Fabrangen in Washington, D.C. (1970). Havurot in this period also often adapted Ḥasidic motifs such as communalism, mysticism, ecstatic singing, and transcendence, both to restore what members felt was missing from Jewish life, and to emphasize their rejection of the conventional "corporate" synagogue.

The havurah may thus be considered a postmodern institution in that it celebrates the "cultural, and social transformations that have come together in the contemporary period and that include a movement away from the modern idea of a universalistic rational culture and toward a multicultural reality that celebrates the value of the local and the particular and attempts a new openness to premodern forms and motifs" (Kepnes 1996).

By the early 1970s the havurah had become an accepted part of the American Jewish scene, and were divided between independent and synagogue-affiliated havurot. Research conducted at that time found that most havurah members were young families with young children, closely resembling the demographics of synagogue members. However, they demonstrated a higher level of personal observance than synagogue members and were more likely to espouse liberal or radical political opinions. Since 1974, an annual summer retreat has been sponsored by the National Havurah Committee, the organizing body of independent havurot; by 1982 it was estimated that 20% of Reform congregations had one or more havurot.

Today there are several hundred independent havurot, primarily in the U.S., although the idea has spread to Canada, Israel, and several European countries. Approximately one-third of all Conservative and Reform congregations have one or more havurot, and some 40 havurot are affiliated with the Reconstructionist movement. While their loose organization makes it impossible to gather precise statistics about havurot, their influence on American Jewish life far exceeds their modest numbers. Havurah members occupy positions in academic Jewish studies, cultural organizations, Jewish federations, Jewish education, and the rabbinate. The egalitarianism of the havurah has become a fixture in American Jewish life, especially with regard to Jewish feminism. Other innovations inspired by the havurah and adopted by many Jewish organizations include retreats, the exercise of creating imaginative, non-rational midrash, the use of Hasidic *niggunim* (melodies), Jewish folk music, and the revival of Jewish crafts.

Indeed, the havurah example has stimulated the creation of new Jewish institutions such as the Elay Hayyim Jewish Retreat Center in New York State, and the proliferation of *minyanin* (prayer and study groups) in cities across the United States. As the havurah continues to evolve, the children of havurah members of the 1960s have themselves founded second-generation havurot, and National Havurah Conference's annual retreat has become a multi-generational event.

In addition, unaffiliated and highly mobile young Jews increasingly incorporate computer communications into their creation of postmodern Jewish fellowships and communities. An example of this is Kehillat Hadar in New York, founded in 2001 with seed money from the Jewish Federation of New York, a trans-denominational egalitarian community with members in their 20s and 30s who use a World Wide Web site and electronic mailing list to organize and schedule study, celebration, and social action in rented facilities. Similarly, Mishpacha, funded by the Memorial Foundation for Jewish Culture, is an online havurah providing interaction and Jewish learning for young Jewish parents.

The havurah has not become as stable and self-sustaining a Jewish institution as the synagogue. However, for four decades it has provided an avenue of involvement for Jews who seek to express their Judaism in a small, self-directed group, while stimulating innovation in the larger Jewish community. It is still too soon to determine if the recent experiments influenced by the havurah will have similar influence and longevity.

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[Peter Margolis (2nd ed.)]

HAVVOTH-JAIR (Heb. חַוֹּת יָאִיר), an area in northern *Gilead (Num. 32:41; I Kings 4:13; I Chron. 2:22), also ascribed to the *Bashan and to the *Argob district, that was part of the kingdom of *Og of Bashan (Deut. 3:14; Josh. 13:30). According to A. Bergman (Biran), the city of *Ham was originally the center of the region. After Og's defeat at *Edrei, the region was occupied by *Jair, son of Manasseh, and named after him (Num. 32:41). A nomadic population called Ya'uri, Yari, or Yaḥiri, is known from Assyrian documents to have been in the area of the Euphrates beginning with the 13th century B.C.E., and some scholars assume that groups of these nomads reached Gilead and were gradually incorporated into the Israelite tribes. The meaning of *havvoth* is apparently "villages," i.e., groups of tent camps of nomads or seminomads surrounded by loose stone walls (in the *Nuzi documents, the word *khawu* designates a stone wall around a field). The half-tribe of Manasseh, cattle breeders who had settled in Transjordan, probably had many such camps and moved with their herds from one to another in search of pasture (Num. 32). According to Judges 10:3–5, Havvoth-Jair was named for *Jair, the Gileadite, who judged Israel for 22 years and was buried at Kamon (modern Qamm) in Gilead. According to I Chronicles 2:22, however, it may have received its name from Jair, son of Segub, of the tribe of Judah. The villages of Jair are again mentioned in Solomon's sixth administrative district under the son of Geber from Ramoth-Gilead; the villages were joined to Argob in Bashan (I Kings 4:13). The area was later lost to Aram and annexed by Geshur (I Chron. 2:23). *Jeroboam II seems to have retaken it for a short time (I Chron. 5:11–17), but it was finally conquered and depopulated by *Tiglath-Pileser *III (I Chron. 5:26).

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[Michael Avi-Yonah]

HAWAII, the 50th state of the United States; admitted in August 1959. Jewish beginnings in Hawaii are shrouded in myth. Ebenezer Townsend, Jr., a sailor on the whaling ship *Neptune*, wrote in the ship's log on Aug. 19, 1798, that the king came aboard ship and brought "a Jew cook with him." This may or may not be true, but it is the first mention of Jews in connection with Hawaii.

A Torah scroll and *yad* ("pointer") owned by the royal family of Hawaii show a connection between it and the early

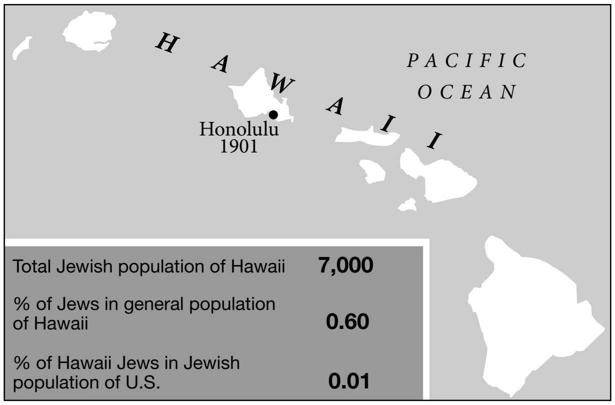
HAWAII
PACIFIC OCEAN
Honolulu 1901
Total Jewish population of Hawaii 7,000
% of Jews in general population of Hawaii 0.60
% of Hawaii Jews in Jewish population of U.S. 0.01

Jewish population of Hawaii, 2001.

Jewish community. How the scroll and *yad* came into the possession of King David Kalakaua is not clear. The *Daily Pacific Commercial Advertiser* of Dec. 24, 1888, states that Queen Liliuokalani, Kalakaua's successor, had the scroll draped around the inside of the tent at Her Majesty's bazaar. As late as 1930, the Jewish community borrowed the scroll from the descendants of the royal family for use on holidays. The *yad* and the scroll have recently been donated to Temple Emanuel, a Reform congregation. Because of its condition, it is no longer used for ritual purposes, but can be seen on display.

It is believed that Jewish traders from England and Germany first came to Hawaii in the 1840s. A few American Jews came from California at the end of the 19th century, but there was no organized Jewish community until the founding of the Hebrew Benevolent Society in 1901. The same year marked the consecration of a Jewish cemetery at Pearl City Junction. In 1923 the National Jewish Welfare Board (JWB) established the Aloha Center for Jewish military personnel. In 1938 the Honolulu Jewish community was established. Temple Emanuel was organized in 1951. The temple had a membership of 300 families in the early 21st century. In 1971 Congregation Sof Ma'arav, a Conservative synagogue, was founded. In 1975 the Aloha Jewish Chapel, a synagogue for military and ex-military, was built at Pearl Harbor. Chabad of Hawaii was established in 1990 and maintained regular services and a small presence. During the 1990s Jewish synagogues were established on Maui, the island of Hawaii, and Kauai.

The total Jewish population probably numbered about 10,000 in 2005, with the majority in Honolulu on the island of Oahu. This is out of a state population of 1,236,100. Because of the large number of unaffiliated Jews, this number is only an approximation. The population is both youthful and largely transient. Most of the Jews arrived since World War II; some were stationed there during the war and after the war returned with their families. A few have been there for 40 years or more. Since statehood in 1959 the population of the state has almost doubled. The influx of new people included many Jews and many in the professions, such as medicine, law, university teaching, government services, both federal and state. A number went into real estate and other businesses. As of 2005, three of the last four attorneys-general of the state were Jewish. The governor, Linda *Lingle, was also Jewish. She was a member of all three congregations. A men's club and sisterhood were affiliated with Temple Emanuel. A B'nai B'rith Lodge and a Hadassah Chapter were organized. In 2004 a Hillel chapter was established at the University of Hawaii at Manoa in Honolulu. Religious services were held regularly by all three congregations. There were no specific Jewish neighborhoods; Jews lived everywhere and were active in all aspects of Hawaiian life, feeling very much at ease in Hawaii's multiracial society.

[Gertrude C. Serata / Robert Littman (2nd ed.)]

HAWK, bird of prey. Two genera of hawk are found in Israel, the *Accipiter* and the *Falco*, these being referred to respectively in the Bible as *neẓ* (AV, JPS = hawk) and *taḥmas* (AV, JPS = "nighthawk"), mentioned among the unclean birds that are prohibited as food (Lev. 11:16; Deut. 14:15). The *neẓ* is generally identified with the sparrow hawk (*Accipiter nisus*), which nests on trees in various places in Israel, pounces in flight on its victims, particularly small birds, and is recognizable by its bright abdomen streaked with dark lateral stripes. It winters in Israel and some migrate to southern lands, as mentioned in Job (39:26). The Pentateuch refers to "the *neẓ* after its kinds." In Israel there are two other transmigratory species that belong to this genus. But the expression *neẓ* may also include other genera of birds of prey. Thus, for example, the *aggadah* says that Israel is like a dove which the *neẓ* seeks to devour (Song R. 2:14, no. 2), the reference here being to a bird of prey larger than the hawk, such as the *buzzard which preys upon doves (the *Accipiter* hunts only small birds: see Ḥul. 3:1) or the saker falcon (*Falco cherrug*) which in certain countries is trained to pursue birds and animals. Of the genus *Falco* there are several species in Israel, the most common being the non-migratory kestrel (*Falco tinnunculus*) which preys upon birds and field mice and is apparently the biblical *taḥmas*, a word meaning "robber, bandit."

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[Jehuda Feliks]

HAWN, GOLDIE (1945–), U.S. actress. Hawn, whose mother was Jewish and father Presbyterian, was born in Washington, D.C. She first found work on the short-lived television series *Good Morning, World* and then achieved almost instant stardom on the successful television comedy-variety show *Laugh-In* (1968–70). Hawn left the cast for motion pictures and achieved major status immediately in her first film, *Cactus Flower*, winning an Oscar for Best Supporting Actress (1970). She has since starred in such films as *There's a Girl in My Soup* (1970); *Dollars* (1971); *Butterflies Are Free* (1972); *The Sugarland Express* (1974); *The Girl from Petrovka* (1974); *Shampoo* (1975); *Foul Play* (1978); the hugely successful *Private Ben-*

jamin, for which she was nominated for a Best Actress Oscar (1980); *Seems Like Old Times* (1980); *Bird on a Wire* (1990); *Best Friends* (1982); *Swing Shift* (1984); *Protocol (1984); Wildcats (1986); Overboard (1987); Deceived* (1991); *Housesitter* (1992); *Crisscross* (1992); *Death Becomes Her* (1992); *The First Wives Club* (1996); *Everyone Says I Love You* (1996); *The Out-of-Towners* (1999); *Town and Country* (2001); and *The Banger Sisters* (2002). Nominated for eight Golden Globe Awards, she won one in 1970, along with her Oscar, for Best Supporting Actress in *Cactus Flower.* Hawn is the mother of actress Kate Hudson.

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[Jonathan Licht / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

HÁY, GYULA (**Julius**; 1900–1975), Hungarian and German playwright. From 1919 Háy lived in Germany but after 1933 moved to the U.S.S.R., returning to Hungary in 1945. While *Isten, császár, paraszt* ("God, Emperor, Peasant," 1940) was popular in Hungary, a number of Háy's Marxist dramas were successful in pre-Nazi Germany and later in East Berlin. These include *Haben* (1938) and *Gerichtstag* (1946). Jailed after the 1956 revolution, Háy moved to West Germany in 1966.

His autobiography, *Born 1900*, appeared in English in 1974.

°**HAY, JOHN MILTON** (1838–1905), U.S. statesman who supported Romanian and Russian Jewish rights. Hay was a secretary of state under presidents William McKinley and Theodore Roosevelt from 1898 to 1905. He was involved in U.S. diplomatic representations during this period on behalf of Romanian and Russian Jews. In 1902, at the urging of American Jewish leaders including Oscar S. Straus and Jacob H. Schiff, Hay addressed a note to the signatories of the Berlin Treaty of 1878 protesting Romania's violation of that treaty by its restrictions on Jews. Following the *Kishinev pogrom of 1903, again after Jewish pressure and with an eye to domestic political considerations, Hay publicized a protest petition drawn up by B'nai B'rith.

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[Morton Rosenstock]

ḤAYDĀN. A town and a region in north *Yemen, after which all Jews living there were called Ḥayādinah, in about 40 small communities such as Ṣaʿdah, Baraṭ, Qal'ah, Ghālib, Harāḍ, and Mashhad. Known also as Ḥaydān al-Shām (in the north), to distinguish it from another Ḥaydān in the south-west. The earliest information about the Jews of Ḥaydān is a document from 1670, dealing with the division of a house in Ṣanʿā (*Sanʿa) among three brothers of the Ḥaydānī family. The existence of the Jews of north Yemen among the Muslim majority was not based on the Muslim discriminatory rules (*ghiyār*) as in other places in Yemen and other Muslim countries, but on the tribal pre-Islamic system, where the Jews, as other weak segments of the society, were *jār*s (neighbors) whom the Sheikhs had to protect on behalf of their honor. There are many testmonies about wars waged by an Arab tribe, in consequence of killing or hurting a Jew protected by that tribe, against another tribe from which the killer came. As a result of their special status, the Jews of north Yemen did not wear sidelocks, the most distinctive sign in the appearance of the Yemenite Jew. Many of them were expert in the art of repairing the Arabs' weapons and could even carry weapons and sometimes took part in tribal wars. They also could live among the Muslims in more than two-story houses in contrast to the rule in other places. Another of their major occupations was silversmithing. Although we have scant information about the Jews of north Yemen in some sources like the account of the traveler R. Baruch b. Samuel of Pinsk (1833), they were first exposed to scholars only after Joseph Halévy and Ḥayyim Ḥibshūsh wrote the accounts of their travel to that area in 1870. Subsequently some of the Jews emigrated from N. Yemen, such as A. Tabib, Z. Glusqa, and M. Kappara, and published books about the Jews living there. These Jews began to immigrate to the Land of Israel in 1907, and two personalities later became prominent leaders of the Yemenite community: Abraham Tabib and Zekharyah Glusqa. They settled in Reḥovot and Rishon le-Zion and engaged in agriculture, playing a leading role in the promotion of Jewish labor. Another movement of *aliyah* took place in the mid-1940s, led by R. David Ẓadok ha-Levi. They wandered in Yemen for two years until they reached *Aden and later arrived in Israel on the "Magic Carpet" in 1949 with their countrymen. They settled in nearby Kiryat Ekron and Kefar Gevirol (near Reḥovot).

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[Yosef Tobi (2nd ed.)]

HAYDEN, HENRI (1883–1970), painter. Hayden was born in Warsaw, and arrived in Paris in 1907 to join a compatriot, *Marcoussis. Hayden's first major influence was Gauguin, but he soon came under the spell of Cezanne, notably in his first major painting "The Chess Players at La Rotunde," exhibited in 1914. Through the poet and critic André Salmon he met Juan Gris and Jacques *Lipchitz, who introduced him to Cubism. In due course he became a colleague of Picasso, Metzinger, Andre Lhote and Robert de la Fresnaye. The dealer Leonce Rosenberg put him under contract and bought his entire studio. His Cubist masterpiece "The Three Musicians" (1920) is now in the National Museum of Modern Art, Paris. From 1922 he adopted a more figurative style and returned to landscape. In 1939 he was forced to leave Paris and went to live in the remote French countryside, where he became a close friend of the writer Samuel Beckett. On his return to Paris in 1944 Hayden found his studio ransacked and most of his Cubist paintings missing. In the last 20 years of his life Hayden enjoyed renewed fame and popularity. His landscapes and still lifes combine a simplified Cubism with a new lyrical sense of color.

[Charles Samuel Spencer]

HAYDEN, MELISSA (1928–), U.S. ballerina. Hayden's dramatic power and virtuoso technique marked her as one of the outstanding dancers in America. Born Mildred Herman in Toronto, Canada, she trained early to be a dancer and at 17 went to New York, where she attended the School of American Ballet. After dancing in the ballet corps of Radio City Music Hall, she joined Ballet Theater in 1945, became a soloist, and joined the New York City Ballet in 1950, where she was named principal dancer in 1955. During her first season there she danced leading roles in *Illuminations, The Duel*, and *Age of Anxiety*. She also created roles in George Balanchine's *Agon, Firebird, Midsummer Night's Dream*, and other works of the repertoire. In 1963, she danced *Swan Lake* and *Coppélia* with the National Ballet of Canada. In her book *Melissa Hayden – Offstage and On* (1963) she explained her approach to dancing for the benefit of young people. From 1977 to 1983 she directed her own ballet school and from 1983 taught ballet at North Carolina School of the Arts. Hayden was awarded the Handel Medallion, New York's highest award for cultural achievement. She wrote *Off Stage and On* (1963), *Ballet Exercises* (1969), and *Dancer to Dancer* (1981).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: IED, 3, 351–52.

[Marcia B. Siegel / Amnon Shiloah (2nd ed.)]

HAYES, ISAAC ISRAEL (1832–1881), U.S. explorer. Born in Chester, Pennsylvania, Hayes volunteered in 1853 as ship's surgeon on Kane's expedition to the North Pole in search of Sir John Franklin. His ship was icebound in Kane's Basin for two years, during which time Hayes took part in many sledge expeditions, on one of which he discovered and explored Grinnell Land. With nine of the ship's crew he also attempted to reach Opernavik (Greenland), and get help for the stranded ship (1854). Although he was forced to return to the ship, the following summer the whole crew made use of the route he had taken to make their escape. In 1860 Hayes sailed from Boston in command of the schooner *United States* in an attempt to discover the open water which he maintained surrounded the North Pole. After wintering in Kane's Basin, he continued north by sledge. He finally observed what he thought was the open polar sea but which in fact was the Kennedy Channel, which opens into the Arctic via the Mall Basin. He returned to Boston in 1861. He made his last trip to the Arctic in 1869, when he was accompanied by the American artist, William Bradford. Later in life he became a member of the New York Assembly.

The careful notes made by Hayes on his expeditions were a valuable contribution to natural history, meteorology, glaciology, and hydrology, and were included in the annals of the exploration society. He also took the first photographs of the Arctic. His writings include *An Arctic Boat Journey* (1860), *Physical Observations in the Arctic Seas 1860 and 1861* (1867), *The Open Polar Sea* (1867), *Cast Away in the Cold* (1868), and *The Land of Desolation* (1871).

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HAYES, SAUL (1906–1980), Canadian Jewish community official, lawyer. Born in Montreal, Hayes was the voice of the Jewish community of Canada from the late 1930s through the 1960s. A graduate of McGill University and a lawyer, Hayes' first job was as a lecturer in the university's School of Social Work in 1934. He soon joined a prominent Montreal law firm.

But law was not Hayes' primary interest; Jewish community service was. And so when industrialist Samuel *Bronfman became president of a struggling and ineffective Canadian Jewish Congress in January of 1938, Hayes eagerly accepted his invitation to become its director. Through the CJC's United Jewish Refugee Committee, which he headed for many years, Hayes led the battle against the antisemitsm that permeated Canada in the 1930s and 1940s. As well, and perhaps more importantly, he organized Canadian Jewry – along with a very small number of non-Jewish organizations – to lobby a hostile government to let in some of the desperate Jews of Europe looking for a haven from Nazi persecution.

Hayes was the Jewish community's first native-born civil servant. He was a passionate and eloquent spokesman for its interests. For almost 40 years he appeared before parliamentary committees, met with hundreds of cabinet ministers, legislators, and bureaucrats, wrote countless speeches and articles, and represented Canadian Jewry at international meetings, including the founding conference of the United Nations in San Francisco in 1945 and the Paris Conference on Post-War Peace Treaties in 1946. He well deserved the description of him by Yaacov Herzog, Israel's ambassador to Canada in the 1960s, as "the foremost civil servant of the Jewish people."

What Hayes was most proud of were his contributions to the modernization of a highly restrictive Canadian society. He was instrumental in forcing federal and provincial governments in the postwar period to adopt laws against racial and religious discrimination in housing and employment, was an early proponent of multiculturalism, was highly influential in persuading dubious Canadian authorities to allow into the country thousands of Jewish immigrants following the war, and was a member of an innovative royal commission which crafted legislation against hate-mongers. He also lobbied successfully to create a Jewish education system in Quebec largely funded by the provincial government.

A lifelong Zionist, Hayes created the Israel Bond Association in Canada, paved the way for Canadian investment in Israel, and led the fight against the *Arab boycott of the Jewish state. In representing Israeli interests in Canada, Hayes often played a more important role than Israel's ambassador in Ottawa.

Hayes retired from the Canadian Jewish Congress in 1974, the same year he was appointed to the Order of Canada, the nation's highest honor.

[Irving Abella (2nd ed.)]

HAYNT (הַיינְט), leading Yiddish daily in Warsaw before World War II. It was founded in 1908 by the Hebrew-Yiddish journalist Samuel Jacob Jackan and two Zionists, the brothers Noah and Nehemiah *Finkelstein, as a continuation of the daily *Yidishes Tagblat*, which they had published from 1906. Its first issue appeared on Jan. 22, 1908, with Jackan as editor and a staff that included David *Frischmann, Hillel *Zeitlin, Hirsch David *Nomberg, and Moshe Bunem *Justman ("B. Yeushzon"). *Haynt* supported Zionist ideology and in 1909 reached the unprecedented circulation of 70,000. In 1910 another Yiddish daily *Der Moment* was founded in Warsaw, edited by Ẓevi *Prylucki, which attracted some members of *Haynt's* staff. In the ensuing continuous competition *Haynt* maintained its lead. It attracted readers by publishing stimulating articles and thrilling novels in serial form, and also offering prizes (among them a trip to Ereẓ Israel). By 1914 its circulation had risen to more than 100,000. Its staff at that time included Sholem *Asch, Menahem *Boraisha, Abraham *Goldberg, Shemarya *Gorelik, Z. Wendroff, A.L. Jacobowitz, J.A. Leizerowicz, H.D. Nomberg, David Frischmann, Isaac Leib *Peretz, and *Shalom Aleichem. *Haynt* took a firm Jewish national stand in the elections to the fourth *Duma in 1912. It also fought the assimilationists in Warsaw in the Jewish communal elections of that year. In 1915, *Haynt* was closed down by the Russian authorities but reopened a few months later, when Warsaw was captured by the Germans. In independent Poland *Haynt* was deprived of many readers in the Ukraine and other regions not included in Poland's boundaries. It reached an agreement with the daily *Dos Yidishe Folk*, published from 1919 by the Zionist Organization of Poland, becoming an organ of the Zionist Organization and replacing Jackan with Yehoshua *Gottlieb as editor. From 1921 Abraham Goldberg was the editor, but the paper's basic policy was determined by Yiẓḥak *Gruenbaum. In 1932 *Haynt* passed to the ownership of a cooperative composed of members of the editorial board and employees. After Goldberg's death in 1933, Aaron Einhorn and Moshe Indelmann edited the paper until its last issue on Sept. 22, 1939, on the eve of the German occupation of Warsaw. Leading contributors of *Haynt* included Vladimir *Jabotinsky (until 1933), B. Singer, I.J. Singer, Osias *Thon, Gershon Levin, Jacob *Lestschinsky, Z. *Segalowitch, Nahum *Sokolow, Ephraim *Kaganowsky, Ezriel *Carlebach, Z. *Shneour, and M. *Kipnis. It also issued periodicals in Yiddish and Polish, as well as two newspapers in Hebrew: the daily *Ha-Boker* (1909), edited by David Frischmann, and the weekly *Ba-Derekh* (1932–37).

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[Gedalyah Elkoshi]

HA-YOM (Heb. הַיוֹם, "the Day"), the first Hebrew daily newspaper. Published in St. Petersburg for 25 months, Feb. 12, 1886, to March 12, 1888, *Ha-Yom* was edited by Judah Leib *Kantor, who enjoyed the regular help of David *Frischmann and Judah Leib *Katzenelson. The Hebrew press had existed for 30 years when *Ha-Yom* appeared, and the Hebrew newspapermen of that time regarded the venture with skepticism and even derision. But Kantor's persistence overcame all obstacles and the paper appeared daily, in large format, with news gathered by telegrams received directly from the Russian telegraphic agency.

Another innovation was *Ha-Yom*'s simple and clear style, by means of which Kantor hoped to dislodge the stilted Hebrew still dominant in the press. The editor proved that a Hebrew paper could report on political and social events as efficiently as a paper in any other language and *Ha-Yom* actually became a European-style daily. The editorials and political articles were usually written by Kantor, while Frischmann regularly published feuilletons as well as the first of his famous literary letters, and Katzenelson contributed articles on science. Reporters from London, the U.S., and other Jewish centers contributed to the paper, which also printed substantial reports from Ereẓ Israel. However, the paper could not hold its ground owing to the rivalry with *Ha-Meliẓ* and *Ha-Ẓefirah*, which by the admission of its editors, Judah Leib *Gordon and Nahum *Sokolow respectively, reluctantly became dailies in order to compete with *Ha-Yom*. Another cause for its failure was its reserved and even cool attitude toward the Ḥibbat Zion movement. The paper proved, as Kantor said in his introduction to the first issue, that "the Hebrew language had the resources to discuss everyday life as it did in the old days."

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[Getzel Kressel]

ḤAYON, NEHEMIAH ḤIYYA BEN MOSES (c. 1655–c. 1730), kabbalist with Shabbatean tendencies. Because of the bitter dispute which centered around Ḥayon, the information about his life is full of contradictions and must be sifted critically. His ancestors came from Sarajevo, Bosnia. From there, his father moved to Ereẓ Israel after spending several years in Egypt where, according to his own testimony, Ḥayon was born. As a child, he was taken to Jerusalem, grew up in Shechem (Nablus) and in Jerusalem, and studied under Ḥayyim Abulafia. At the age of 18 he returned to Sarajevo with his father and married there. His enemies claimed that from that time on he was known for his adventures. He traveled widely throughout the Balkans and spent several years in Belgrade until its occupation by Austria in 1688. He may have joined his father as an emissary to Italy for the ransoming of captives from Belgrade. According to the testimony of Judah Brieli, Ḥayon was in Leghorn in 1691. Later he served for a short time in the rabbinate of Skoplje (Üsküb), Macedonia, at the recommendation of one of the great rabbis of Salonika.

He returned to Ereẓ Israel c. 1695 and lived for several years in Shechem (Nablus). After his first wife's death, Ḥayon married the daughter of one of the scholars of Safed. Ḥayon was well versed in exoteric and esoteric lore. From his youth, he was attracted to Kabbalah and he knew the Shabbatean groups intimately. His kabbalistic doctrine evades the issue of Shabbetai Ẓevi's messianic claims, but is based on principles common to Shabbateanism. When Ḥayon received the pamphlet *Raza de-Meheimanuta* ("The Mystery of the True Faith"), attributed to Shabbetai Ẓevi by his sectarians, he claimed that he himself wrote it and that it was revealed to him by Elijah or by the angel *Metatron. Changing its name to *Meheimanuta de-Khula* he began to write a detailed commentary. In the meanwhile, he lived briefly in Rosetta, Egypt, and from that time he became known as one who engaged in practical Kabbalah. When he returned to Jerusalem (c. 1702–05), hostility developed between him and R. Abraham Yiẓḥaki who for several years leveled many accusations against Ḥayon (but never directly accused him of Shabbateanism). Later, he returned to Safed and from there he went to Smyrna, apparently intending to publish his long commentary to *Meheimanuta de-Khula* and to find supporters for a yeshivah, which he wished to establish in Jerusalem. On his return to Jerusalem, the rabbis began to harass him and he was forced to leave Ereẓ Israel. He went to Italy via Egypt (1710–11). According to the testimony of Joseph *Ergas, in Leghorn, Ḥayon disclosed to him his belief in Shabbetai Ẓevi. In 1711, in Venice, he published his small book *Raza de-Yiḥuda* on the meaning of the verse on the unity of God, *Shema Yisrael*, as an abridgment of his larger work to which he added, in the meantime, a second commentary. The rabbis of Venice gave approbations to this booklet without understanding its intent. The book did not arouse controversy. Later, Ḥayon moved to Prague where he was received with great honor in scholarly circles and gained approval for *Oz le-Elohim*, his main work, and *Divrei Neḥemyah*, a book of sermons. David Oppenheim approbated *Divrei Neḥemyah* and Ḥayon altered the approbation to include the kabbalistic *Oz le-Elohim* as well. R. Naphtali Cohen, who at first befriended Ḥayon, kept him at a distance after a rumor got about that connected him with the *Doenmeh in Salonika. Ḥayon traveled via Moravia and Silesia to Berlin where, in 1713, supported by the wealthy members of the community, he succeeded in publishing *Oz le-Elohim*. It was daring of Ḥayon to publish a text which in many manuscripts was circulated then as a work of Shabbetai Ẓevi. With great acumen, he tried to prove in his two commentaries that this doctrine was firmly based in the classical texts of the Kabbalah. In some passages, he criticized the works of *Nathan of Gaza and Abraham Miguel *Cardozo, in spite of his doctrine being basically close to Cardozo's. Ḥayon's innovations were a new formulation of the principles of the beginning of Emanation and the difference between the First Cause which he calls *"Nishmata de-Kol Ḥayyei"* ("Soul of All Living Beings") and the **Ein-Sof* ("The Infinite Being"). What the kabbalists call *Ein-Sof* is in his opinion only the extension of the Essence (of God) or the *Shoresh ha-Ne'lam* ("the Hidden Root," i.e., God), but paradoxically enough this Essence is finite and it possesses a definite structure, **Shi'ur Komah* ("Measure of the Body of God"). Ḥayon thought that Isaac Luria's doctrine of *Ẓimẓum* ("withdrawal") must be understood literally and not allegorically. His doctrine of the three superior *parẓufim* ("aspects of God"), *attika kaddisha, malka kaddisha*, and *Shekhinah*, differs from the theories of other Shabbateans only in details and in terminology. His book may by defined as a strange mixture of basically Shabbatean theology and exegetical acumen by which he read the new theses into the *Zohar and the Lurianic writings. He prefaced his book with a long essay in which he argued, apparently hinting at the unorthodox sources of his thought, that it is lawful to learn Kabbalah from everyone, not only from those who conform to traditional Orthodox criteria. *Divrei Neḥemyah* contained a long sermon in which it was possible to see an indirect defense of the apostasy of the Doenmeh sect in Salonika, but which could also be interpreted as criticism of them. In June 1713 Ḥayon left Berlin for Amsterdam. Apparently he knew of the hidden Shabbatean tendency of Solomon *Ayllon, rabbi of the Sephardi congregation. Indeed, Ḥayon received the patronage of Ayllon, his *bet din*, and the *parnasim* of the community. However, a bitter and complex struggle developed between the supporters of Ḥayon and those of Ẓevi *Ashkenazi, the rabbi of the Ashkenazi community, and of Moses *Ḥagiz who knew of Ḥayon's early quarrels in Ereẓ Israel and recognized the Shabbatean "heresy" in his opinions, when they investigated his book. In this controversy, relevant factors (the true views of Ḥayon and his Shabbateanism) and personal factors (the arrogant behavior of Ẓevi Ashkenazi, personal antagonisms) are mingled. Essentially, the accusers of Ḥayon were right but from a formal and procedural point of view the Sephardi *bet din* was right. The quarrel aroused strong emotions, at first in Amsterdam, in the summer and the winter of 1713, and it swiftly spread to other countries. Naphtali Cohen apologized for his previous approval of Ḥayon and excommunicated him. So did Italian rabbis to whom both sides turned for support. The leaders were Judah Brieli of Mantua and Samson Morpurgo of Ancona. Most of the participants in the controversy had not actually seen the books of Ḥayon and depended only on the letters from both sides. The major pamphlets against Ḥayon are: *Le-Einei Kol Yisrael* (the judicial decision of Ẓevi Ashkenazi and letters from him and from Naphtali Cohen; Amsterdam, 1713); *Edut le-Yisrael* (*ibid.*, 1714); works by Moses Ḥagiz including *Milḥamah la-Adonai ve-Ḥerev la-Adonai*, also including the letters of many Italian rabbis (Amsterdam, 1714); *Shever Poshe'im* (London, 1714); *Iggeret ha-Kena'ot* (Berlin, 1714); *Tokhaḥat Megullah ve-ha-Ẓad Naḥash* by Joseph Ergas (London, 1715); and *Esh Dat* by David Nieto (London, 1715). This book and several leaflets also appeared in Spanish. The *bet din* of the Sephardim published in Hebrew and in Spanish *Kosht Imrei Emet* (Amsterdam, 1713; in Spanish, *Manifesto*). Ḥayon answered his critics in several books and pamphlets in which he defended his views but denied that they contain any Shabbatean doctrine. They include *Ha-Ẓad Ẓevi Ashkenazi*; (Amsterdam, 1714); *Moda'a Rabba* (1714, including his biography); *Shalhevet Yah* (against Ergas), also including the pamphlets *Pitkah min Shemaya, Ketovet Ka'aka*, and *Iggeret Shevukin* (1714). His polemics against Ergas' *Ha-Ẓad Naḥash*, called *Naḥash Neḥoshet*, is found in Ḥayon's handwriting (Oxford, Ms. 1900). Because of the controversy he had aroused, Ḥayon did not succeed in publishing his second comprehensive work on Kabbalah, *Sefer Ta'aẓumot*. A complete manuscript of the work is preserved in the library of the *bet din*, formerly that of the *bet ha-midrash*, in London (62).

Ẓevi Ashkenazi and Moses Ḥagiz were forced to leave Amsterdam. However, the intervention of the rabbis of Smyrna and Constantinople, who excommunicated Ḥayon and condemned his works in 1714, decided the struggle against Ḥayon, whose supporters advised him to return to Turkey in order to obtain the annulment of the excommunication. Ḥayon returned and attempted to achieve this but he succeeded only partially. In his old age, he went back to Europe where in the pamphlet *Ha-Kolot Yeḥdalun* (1725) he published some documents in his favor. His journey was unsuccessful because Moses Ḥagiz again came out against him in the booklet *Leḥishat Saraf* (Hanau, 1726) where he threw suspicion on several of the documents, or on the circumstances under which they were signed. Most of the communities did not allow him access and even Ayllon refused to receive him in Amsterdam. Ḥayon wandered to North Africa and apparently died there before 1730. According to Ḥagiz, his son converted to Catholicism in order to take revenge on his father's persecutors and was active in Italy.

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[Gershom Scholem]

HAYS, family established in the New World in the first quarter of the 18th century, when MICHAEL HAYS (d. 1740) emigrated from Holland to New York. Michael's sons JACOB (d. 1760), SOLOMON, ISAAC (d. 1765), and JUDAH (1703–1764) and their descendants flourished in the American colonies. Jacob was active in building Congregation Shearith Israel in New York City in 1730. Jacob's sons BENJAMIN (d. 1816), MICHAEL (1753–1799), and DAVID (1732–1812) became farmers in Westchester County, and all actively supported the American cause during the Revolution, Benjamin by fighting in the army, Michael by permitting colonial troops to use his farm to store supplies. To keep the rebel army from utilizing the stores, the British army seized Michael's farm in 1776 and did not restore it until 1782. After the war Michael served in the New York State Constitutional Convention. The youngest brother, David, operated a store in Bedford in addition to his farm. He married into the *Etting family. While he was serving with the American army, Loyalists, who were attempting to keep supplies from reaching the colonial forces, burned his home, his store, and the rest of Bedford on the night of July 9, 1779. David's eldest son, JACOB (1772–1850), converted to Christianity and in 1802 was appointed high constable (chief of police) of the City of New York, a position he held until a year before his death.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Rosenbloom, Biogr Dict.

[Neil Ovadia]

HAYS, ARTHUR GARFIELD (1881–1954), U.S. lawyer and civil liberties advocate. Hays, who was born in Rochester, New York, practiced law in New York for 20 years. In 1925 he abandoned his private practice to become general counsel of the American Civil Liberties Union. He represented clients without remuneration in numerous cases involving the violation of freedoms guaranteed by the Bill of Rights. Hays served as co-counsel with Clarence Darrow in 1925 in the celebrated Scopes anti-evolution case which became known as the "monkey trial." Although Scopes was convicted for violating a state law which prohibited the teaching of any theory that denied divine creation, the trial compelled the State of Tennessee to abandon the enforcement of this law. Hays was involved in the defense of Sacco and Vanzetti, and the Scottsboro Boys whose death sentence for alleged rape was reversed by the U.S. Supreme Court. He also defended Dmitrov and other Communists tried in Germany for the Reichstag fire, pleading through a German as the Nazis would not permit Hays, a Jew, to plead himself. After World War II, he helped the occupation forces to re-create democratic institutions in Germany. Hays was never prepared to confine his defense of liberty only to the causes for which he had sympathy. Thus, although he detested Nazism, he joined the attorney of Friends of New Germany in seeking an injunction against a police commissioner in New Jersey who had closed all halls to Nazi meetings (1937). He wrote several books, among them *Trial by Prejudice* (1933), *Democracy Works* (1939), and his autobiography, *City Lawyer* (1942).

[Alan Reitman]

HAYS, DANIEL PEIXOTTO (1854–1923), U.S. lawyer. Hays who was born in Westchester County, New York, received his LL.B. from Columbia University Law School in 1875. A member of an old and prominent New York Jewish family, he was the grandson of Benjamin Etting Hays (1779–1858) and a descendant of Jacob Hays (see *Hays family), who went to the New York Colony in the 1720s. Active in New York City and Westchester County politics for many years, Hays served as president of the Harlem Democratic Club, as delegate to several New York State Democratic conventions, and was appointed head of New York City's Municipal Civil Service Commission by Mayor Gilroy. Hays vigorously supported the presidential candidacy of Grover Cleveland in *City and Country*, a Nyack, New York, newspaper owned by him. Hays was also extremely active in Jewish communal affairs, serving on the executive committee of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, as trustee and secretary of the Jewish Publication Society, and president of the Young Men's Hebrew Association. He was also a founder of the *American Hebrew*. His *Collected Poems* appeared in 1905.

[Abram Kanof]

HAYS, ISAAC (1796–1879), U.S. physician. Hays, a descendant of Michael Hays' son Isaac (see *Hays family), was born in Philadelphia. He graduated from the University of Pennsylvania (1816) and received an M.D. there (1820). An oculist, he was one of the pioneers in the study of astigmatism and color blindness, and he invented a scalpel for use in cataract surgery. Hays's contribution extended beyond his specialty. He was the editor of several important journals, one of the founding members of the American Medical Association (1847), and wrote the code of medical ethics which has been adopted throughout the United States.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Rosenbloom, Biogr Dict, s.v. *Hays, Isaac*^{3}.

[Neil Ovadia]

ḤAYYAT, JUDAH BEN JACOB (c. 1450–c. 1510), kabbalist. Ḥayyat was born in Spain and studied Kabbalah under Samuel ibn Shraga. Around 1482 he addressed basic questions on Kabbalah to Joseph *Alcastil, who answered him at length. After the expulsion of the Jews from Spain in 1492 he suffered many hardships on sea voyages and in North Africa. In 1494 he reached Italy and for several years lived in Mantua where at the request of Joseph *Jabez he wrote in the early 16th century a detailed commentary on *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut*, an early kabbalistic work that was widely circulated among contemporary kabbalists in Italy. The commentary, titled *Minḥat Yehudah*, was published together with the *Ma'arekhet* in Ferrara in 1558 and in several later editions. It is considered one of the outstanding works of Kabbalah in the generation of the Spanish Expulsion. More than a commentary on the *Ma'arekhet* it is an independent, systematic work whose intention and major views differ greatly from those in the book which it supposedly intends to expound.

Ḥayyat was a radical representative of the Kabbalah of the *Zohar, in contrast to the Kabbalah of Abraham *Abulafia, which was accepted in Italy, and to the semi-philosophical Kabbalah of Isaac b. Abraham ibn *Latif, which Ḥayyat harshly criticized. He was one of the first to quote at length passages of the Zohar and the *Tikkunim* and based his kabbalistic theory on their sayings. He had reservations about philosophical commentaries on the Kabbalah which circulated in Italy. He also disputed against the *Iggeret Ḥamudot* of Elijah of *Genazzano which identified the **Ein Sof* ("the Infinite") with the first *Sefirah* ("emanation"). Concerning the essence of the *Sefirot*, Ḥayyat mainly concurred with the view of Menahem *Recanati. The process of creation is explained, according to him, by the double movement of expansion and contraction of the divine will. Creation is nothing but a realization into actuality through the divine will of the potential hidden unity of the *Ein-Sof.* Ḥayyat had a recognizable influence on all 16th–17th century Kabbalah. Even those who falsely wrote under names of earlier authors used his works at length. His supercommentary on Recanati's commentary to the Pentateuch has not been preserved.

[Gershom Scholem]

Ḥayyat was probably acquainted with the Italian Kabbalah as represented by Johanan Alemanno with his penchant for a more philosophical understanding of this lore and for Abraham *Abulafia's Kabbalah. Ḥayyat's book represents a successful attempt to establish the Spanish Kabbalah in a center in which other forms of this lore had been studied.

[Moshe Idel (2nd ed.)]

BIBLIOGRAPHY: G. Scholem, in: *Tarbiz*, 24 (1954/55), 174–206; E. Gottlieb, in: *Studies in Mysticism and Religion Presented to G. Scholem* (1968), 63–86 (Heb. section). **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** M. Idel, "Encounters between Spanish and Italian Kabbalists in the Generation of the Expulsion," in: B. Gampel (ed.), *Crisis and Creativity in the Sephardic World* (1997), 189–222.

ḤAYYIM ABRAHAM RAPHAEL BEN ASHER (d. 1772), Jerusalem rabbi and kabbalist. Ḥayyim was a member of the *bet din* of Raphael *Meyuḥas, and later *av bet din* in Jerusalem. Toward the end of his life, in 1771, he was appointed *rishon le-Zion* (Sephardi chief rabbi). In 1731 (or 1734) he published in Constantinople the *Sha'arei Kedushah* of Ḥayyim *Vital. Between the years 1734 and 1765 he traveled as an emissary of Jerusalem, seeking contributions in Constantinople, Italy, France, and Egypt. Ḥayyim was a signatory of the *Shetar Hitkasherut* ("articles of association") of the society of kabbalists. Head of the yeshivah Yefa'er Anavim in Jerusalem, he cosigned the *takkanah* forbidding bachelors between the ages of 20 and 60 from residing in Jerusalem. He gave approbations to many works, among them the *Zivḥei Shelamim* of Judah Diwan (Constantinople 1728), and the *Shulḥan Gavoha* of Joseph Molkho, Salonika, OḤ 1756; YD 1764. He died during a famine and plague that raged in Jerusalem.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Frumkin-Rivlin, 3 (1929), 98f.; Yaari, Sheluḥei, 289–91; Rosanes, Togarmah, 5 (1938), 240, 243; Katsh, in: *Sefunot*, 9 (1964), 323–35.

[Simon Marcus]

ḤAYYIM BEN ABRAHAM HA-KOHEN (c. 1585–1655), kabbalist, born in Aleppo. His ancestors went to Ereẓ Israel after the expulsion from Spain (1492) and later settled in

Aleppo. Ḥayyim was the disciple of Ḥayyim *Vital during his last years in Damascus, and he left an interesting story about his growing attachment to the study of Kabbalah under his teacher. Later, he was one of the rabbis of Aleppo. Ḥayyim wrote numerous works in the course of a 20-year period, which are listed in the introduction to his book *Torat Ḥakham*. During a long sea voyage, which he undertook in order to bring these manuscripts to print, the ship was attacked by pirates off Malta. He saved himself by jumping into the sea near the coast, but all his manuscripts were lost. He states that he decided to write them again. Around 1650 he set out again for Constantinople where he stayed two to three years. The first part of his book *Mekor Ḥayyim*, a detailed kabbalistic commentary on the rules of the Shulḥan Arukh, was published here. At the end of 1652 he was in Smyrna; later he went to Venice and returned through Zante to Aleppo. Through the mediation of Samuel *Aboab of Verona he had published in Venice the large volume of sermons, *Torat Ḥakham* (1654), with the kabbalist Moses *Zacuto acting as proofreader. Another part of *Mekor Ḥayyim*, called *Tur Bareket*, was published by the brothers Raphael and Abraham b. Danan in Amsterdam in 1654. In the same year Ḥayyim set out again for Italy where he published two additional parts, *Tur Piteda* and *Tur Yahalom* (Leghorn, 1655). He died in Leghorn during the publication of his last book which thus remained incomplete, and only single sections have survived as pamphlets. All his commentaries on the Shulḥan Arukh have been published in two volumes (1878). In Leghorn, he introduced Nathan *Hannover to Isaac *Luria's Kabbalah. Hannover included in his *Sha'arei Ẓiyyon* a lament by Ḥayyim for the *Tikkun Ḥaẓot* (midnight prayer), *Kol be-Ramah Nishma*, which has since become part of every edition of this midnight liturgy. Among his commentaries on the Five Scrolls, only *Ateret Zahav* on Esther, explained both according to the literal meaning (*peshat*) and the Kabbalah, in the author's handwriting (Jerusalem, JNUL, Ms. 8° 1581), and *Torat Ḥesed* on Ruth, have been preserved. The last, however, was published by the kabbalist David Lida as his own, under the title *Migdal David* (Amsterdam, 1680). This plagiarism was known in kabbalist circles even before it was made public by Ḥ.J.D. *Azulai in *Shem ha-Gedolim*. In his books Ḥayyim quotes only portions from throughout the *Zohar, and sometimes also the sayings of his teacher Vital, but most of his presentation is not based on other sources "and all his words are as if written from Sinai" (Nathan Hannover, introduction to *Sha'arei Ẓiyyon*). A prayer book with kabbalistic meditations by Ḥayyim is extant in several manuscripts (two at the Ben-Zvi Institute in Jerusalem). Ḥayyim "was very careful not to write amulets," and was also opposed to those who spent too much time in prayer, wasting thus the whole day upon mystical meditations. Among kabbalists he was considered more of a theoretical scholar than a practical mystic.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Michael, Or, no. 844; M. Benayahu in: *Sinai*, 34 (1953), 162–64, 194–7; idem, *Sefer Toledot ha-Ari* (1967), index.

[Gershom Scholem]

ḤAYYIM BEN BEZALEL (c. 1520–1588), talmudic scholar. Ḥayyim was born in Posen, and was the eldest of four brothers, all rabbis, the most famous being *Judah Loew b. Bezalel of Prague (the Maharal) who mentions him in his responsa (no. 12). Ḥayyim studied first with Rabbi Isaac Sepharadi in Posen. From him, Ḥayyim acquired his abiding love for Bible study and the in-depth study of Rashi's commentary. As a young man he studied in the yeshivah of *Shalom Shakhna at Lublin where he was a contemporary of Moses *Isserles. His final teacher was Rabbi Solomon Luria, the Maharshal. From him, Ḥayyim acquired a method for studying *halakhah* as well as a dislike for halakhic codes (see below), Ḥayyim settled in Worms in 1549 where he lived in the home of his uncle, Jacob b. Ḥayyim, the local rabbi, succeeding him in 1563. He subsequently left to become rabbi of Friedberg, remaining there until his death.

When Isserles published his *Torat Ḥattat* on *issur ve-hetter* (on the dietary laws), Ḥayyim published a vigorous polemic against it in his *Vikku'aḥ Mayim Ḥayyim*. The introduction to the work was couched in such strong language both against Isserles and Joseph *Caro that it was omitted from editions after the first (Amsterdam, 1712), but has been reproduced in full by Tchernowitz (see bibl.). Ḥayyim's criticism was a general one against all those who presumed to publish halakhic codes which purported to give the final definitive *halakhah*, since they lead to neglect of the early authorities and can be used with disastrous results by the unlearned. Of Joseph Caro he comments that after saying "who am I to decide between the opposing views of the great authorities?" he then proceeds to do so. "It is like a man who says, 'I have the greatest respect for what you say, but you are lying'!" The main target of his criticism, however, is Isserles' work. The *Torat Ḥattat* ("Law of the Sin-Offering") was rightly named, he said, since it, albeit unwillingly, causes people to sin, and it "even borders on *ḥillul ha-Shem* (Profanation of the Name of God)." In the same way as Moses set up the Copper Serpent with the best of intentions, yet when it became an object of idolatry Hezekiah did not hesitate to destroy it, so would he act with regard to this work of the "later Moses." He felt that Isserles should at least have stated that his work was only to be used by qualified scholars. (He himself had spent 16 years in composing a similar work, but only for his private use, and when one of his students purloined it and copied it, he sternly reproved him and destroyed the copy.) In addition to his general criticism he specified three reasons for his opposition: (1) Isserles had amended the code of Caro which reflected the Sephardi *minhag* to make it accord with the Polish *minhag*, but he had completely ignored the differences between the Polish and the German *minhag*, which was more authoritative and ancient. (2) He had introduced a new element of leniency when "considerable (financial) loss" or "exceptional circumstances" (*she'at ha-deḥak*) were involved. (3) He abolished the *halakhah* in favor of unsubstantiated custom.

Ḥayyim wrote a number of other works. His *Sefer ha-Ḥayyim*, which he wrote in two months while he was confined to his house on account of a plague in 1578, is a moral and ethical dissertation. In style and language it is reminiscent of the pietistic works, and in fact his brother refers to him as "he-Ḥasid." In general, Ḥayyim was not in favor of the study of philosophy. He thought that only advanced students should study philosophy, even Jewish philosophy. As for the study of Kabbalah, Ḥayyim praised the *mekubbalim* (Kabbalah practitioners) for their ability to enter God's palace, yet he was critical of their abandoning the "small interests of the King," namely the study of Talmud and Halakhah. His *Eẓ Ḥayyim* on Hebrew grammar (written in 1579) is still in manuscript. He was inspired to write it because of the criticism of Christian Hebrew scholars who accused the Jews not only of neglecting the study of Hebrew in favor of the Talmud, but even of forbidding it. He admits that he used the grammatical works of these detractors as one of his sources. He attributes the neglect of the study of Hebrew grammar to the fact that in the "bitter and long exile … it was impossible to encompass all subjects in the curriculum, for which reason alone the early authorities, especially the Ḥasidei Ashkenaz, confined their instruction to the Talmud" (Introduction). He also wrote *Be'er Mayim Ḥayyim*, a supercommentary on Rashi's Pentateuch commentary in response to the great popularity enjoyed by Rashi's commentary but the lack of true comprehension of Rashi's work. Ḥayyim's work focuses on the correct translation of the Torah text, the grammatical comments made by Rashi, and those aspects of his commentary that are unique. In addition, Ḥayyim wrote *Iggeret ha-Tiyyul* (Prague, 1605) consisting of explanations of talmudic passages using the methods of *Pardes, (*peshat*, *remez*, *derash*, *sod*) in alphabetical order.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: A. Gottesdiener, in: *Azkarah… A.I. Kook*, 4 (1937), 265f.; Ḥ. Tchernowitz, *Toledot ha-Posekim*, 3 (1947), 91–100; A. Siev, *Ha-Rema* (1957), 47–49; H.H. Ben Sasson, *Hagut ve-Hanhagah* (1959), 15, 35 n. 3. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** E. Zimmer, *Rabbi Chaim ben Bezalel of Friedberg* (Heb., 1987); **WEBSITES:** http://www.torah.org; http://chareidi.shemayisrael.com.

[Alexander Tobias / David Derovan (2nd ed.)]

ḤAYYIM BEN HANANEL HA-KOHEN (second half of the 12th century), French tosafist. Ḥayyim lived in Paris and was a distinguished disciple and admirer of Jacob *Tam about whom he said that he would have defiled himself (referring to the prohibition against defilement of a kohen through contact with the dead) had he been present at his death (cf. Tos. to Ket. 103b). Ḥayyim wrote *tosafot* to several talmudic tractates and is quoted in the printed *tosafot* and in many other *rishonim*. "On him" said Isaac the Elder, "rested the honor of the entire generation." Ḥayyim opposed immigration to Palestine, stating that "in our generation the commandment to live in Palestine does not apply," as it was impossible to observe many commandments connected with the land (*ibid.*, 110b). However, he considered Jewish existence in the Diaspora as temporary. Ḥayyim was the grandfather of *Moses b. Jacob of Coucy, author of the *Semag*, and among his most prominent disciples was *Samson b. Abraham of Sens.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Urbach, Tosafot, 107–10; V. Aptowitzer, *Mavo le-Sefer Ravyah* (1938), 250.

[Zvi Meir Rabinowitz]

ḤAYYIM (Eliezer) BEN ISAAC "OR ZARU'A" (late 13th century), German rabbi and halakhic authority, called "Or Zaru'a" after the famous work composed by his father, *Isaac b. Moses of Vienna. Ḥayyim was orphaned in his early youth. His principal teacher was Meir b. Baruch of Rothenburg, whose opinions he frequently cited. He also studied under such eminent scholars as Asher b. Jehiel and Ḥayyim b. Moses of Wiener-Neustadt. His permanent places of residence were Regensburg, Neustadt, or Cologne and he is said to have spent some years in France. Ḥayyim is considered one of the last of the tosafists. While his father, Isaac b. Moses, the author of the *Or Zaru'a*, is mentioned numerous times throughout the **tosafot* commentaries, Ḥayyim is only mentioned in the *Tosafot Yeshanim*, a variant version of the *tosafot* commentaries.

Ḥayyim's responsa (Leipzig, 1865; repr. Jerusalem, 2002, with commentary) are especially valuable for the light they shed on the people, places, and events of his time. Thus he mentions (no. 110) a rabbinical synod which he attended at Mainz in about 1288, in which one of the matters discussed was the taxes imposed on the Jews by Rudolf of Hapsburg. In the same responsum he refers in passing to R. Meir of Rothenburg's imprisonment (see also no. 164). Some of the responsa provide important source material on Jewish-Christian relations in the 13th century. Most of Ḥayyim's decisions are based on those of the French and German halakhic authorities, particularly on his father's *Or Zaru'a*. His abridged version of that codification, which he entitled *Kiẓẓur Or Zaru'a* (or *Simanei Or Zaru'a*), summarized each section of the original work, omitted the legal discussions, and included his own views together with those of other scholars. From the many references to the *Kiẓẓur Or Zaru'a* in German rabbinic literature of the 14th and 15th centuries it is clear that his abridgment enjoyed long popularity. An important aspect of Ḥayyim's work is the lively correspondence he conducted with many of his contemporaries. It is believed that he addressed inquiries even to the Spanish scholar Solomon b. Abraham *Adret (Resp. Rashba, pt. 1, no. 572).

Knowledge about the life and teaching of Ḥayyim "Or Zaru'a" derives from a book of responsa of which he was the author and a book of homiletic sermons (*derashot*) which was published under the title *Derashot MHR"H, Halakhic Decisions of Rabbi Ḥayyim Or Zaru'a*, first ed. according to Parma MS Moscow by Yitzḥak Shimshon Lange (Jerusalem, 1973).

The book of *Derashot* contains homiletic treatises on 25 portions of the Torah, summing up various laws and customs. Both his responsa and homiletic treatises contain a wealth of material throwing light on relations between Jews and their gentile surroundings. He endeavors throughout to provide the Jews of Ashkenaz with guidance in their dealings with the hostile gentile environment. From the copious historical material found in his responsa, much can be learned about the Jewish communities (*Kehillot*), their internal organization, leadership, rights, and obligations. We also learn how he grappled with the challenges and dangers of living as a Jew in the midst of a medieval, gentile society.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Wellesz, in: MGWJ, 48 (1904), 211–3; idem, in: REJ, 53 (1907), 67–84; 54 (1907), 102–6; Freimann, in: JJLG, 12 (1918), 314 (index), s.v. *Chajim Elieser b. Isak Or Sarua*; M. Pollak, *Juden in Wiener-Neustadt* (1927), 8, 35, 39; Urbach, Tosafot, index, s.v. *Ḥayyim b. Yiẓḥak*; Y. Horowitz, "Rabbi Ḥayyim Or Zaru'a and his Relationship to Gentiles" (Hebrew), in: *Proceedings of the 9th World Congress of Jewish Studies*, Division B, vol. 1 (Jerus., 1986), 107–112. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** M.M. Rozner, in: *Piskei Rabbenu Asher: Mesekhet Megillah* (1999); Y. Horowitz, in: *Hevrah ve-Historiyah* (1980), 93–102; Y. Ta-Shema, in: *Sinai*, 66 (1970), 339–46.

[Shlomo Eidelberg / Yehoshua Horowitz / David Derovan (2nd ed.)]

ḤAYYIM BEN JEHIEL ḤEFEẒ ZAHAV (13th century), German talmudist. Ḥayyim studied under his father and under *Samuel of Evreux. Many of his responsa are included in the responsa of *Meir b. Baruch of Rothenburg (ed. by M. Bloch, 1895, nos. 188–9, 209, 241, 249, 296–8, 339–41, 355–6, 382–3, 461–3). In a responsum (no. 241) he affirms that he filled the post of "emissary of Kolonia," probably Cologne. It has been therefore assumed by some that he was a member of the Cologne *bet din* and represented the community before the government. He was probably given the appellation "*Ḥefeẓ Zahav*" because of his book bearing this title, but from the endings of many of the responsa (nos. 189, 241, 339) it can also be deduced that his father was the author of the book. It appears that Ḥayyim was a colleague of Samuel b. Menahem, the teacher of Meir of Rothenburg, since in one responsum (no. 188) he refers to him as "my associate." This Ḥayyim is not to be identified with Ḥayyim b. Jehiel, the brother of *Asher b. Jehiel.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Michael, Or, no. 876; H. Gross, in: MGWJ, 34 (1885), 313 f.; Germ Jud, 1 (1934), 151, 484; 2 (1968), index; I. Agus, *Rabbi Meir of Rothenburg*, 1 (1947), xxvi, 106, 129, 131, 146–8, 160 f.

[Yehoshua Horowitz]

ḤAYYIM BEN SAMUEL BEN DAVID OF TUDELA (14th century), talmudic scholar of Tudela, Spain. Ḥayyim was a pupil of Solomon b. Abraham *Adret, and the latter's responsa contain a number addressed to Ḥayyim. For some time Ḥayyim was in France, where he studied under *Perez b. Elijah. His main work is the *Ẓeror ha-Ḥayyim* (published in 1966), consisting of the laws appertaining to blessings, prayer, Sabbaths, and festivals, arranged according to the order of the calendar; it is based on views of various French, Provençal, and Spanish scholars but chiefly upon his teachers, Adret and Perez, though he does not mention them by name. His other work, *Ẓeror ha-Kesef*, on topics in *Ḥoshen Mishpat*, is still in manuscript. These books (referred to by the *rishonim* as the *ẓerorot*, "bundles") were in the possession of later scholars (but cf. Resp. Ribash, no. 396), who made use of and quoted them. This was particularly so in the case of the 16th-century Safed scholars, including Joseph *Caro. In this work, Ḥayyim alludes to a book of sermons he wrote, and Masud Ḥai Roke'aḥ, at the beginning of his *Ma'aseh Roke'aḥ* (Venice, 1742), quotes Ḥayyim's commentary to the tractate *Mo'ed Katan*, which is also cited by Bezalel *Ashkenazi in *Kelalei ha-Shas* (in Ms.). Among Ḥayyim's relations was Joseph ha-Dayyan, referred to respectfully several times in the responsa of Isaac b. Sheshet (Ribash).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Michael, Or, no. 904; S.H. Yerushalmi, *Mavo le-Sefer Ẓeror ha-Ḥayyim* (1966).

[Israel Moses Ta-Shma]

ḤAYYIM BEN SOLOMON TYRER OF CZERNOWITZ (c. 1760–1816), rabbi and ḥasidic leader; born near *Buchach, Galicia. A disciple of *Jehiel Michael of Zloczów, he later served as rabbi in Mogilev, Kishinev, Czernowitz and district, and Botoşani. He had a profound knowledge of rabbinical literature and mysticism, was an eloquent preacher and a talented writer. He did much to spread Ḥasidism and opposed the spread of *Haskalah in Romania. His resistance to certain government decrees forced him to relinquish his office in Czernowitz in 1807. In 1813 he immigrated to Ereẓ Israel and settled in Safed. He wrote the following works, which were published in many editions: *Siddur shel Shabbat* (Mogilev, 1813); *Be'er Mayim Ḥayyim* (Sudilkov, 1820, with Pentateuch; Czernowitz, 1849); *Sha'ar ha-Tefillah* (Sudilkov, 1825); and *Ereẓ ha-Ḥayyim* (Czernowitz, 1861).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Frumkin-Rivlin, 3 (1929), 78; S.J. Schulsohn, in: *Jeschurun*, 15 (1928), 419–26.

[Avraham Rubinstein]

ḤAYYIM ḤAYKL BEN SAMUEL OF AMDUR (d. 1787), ḥasidic leader in Lithuania. At first *ḥazzan* in Karlin, and a teacher in the little town of Amdur (Indura), near Grodno, he was attracted to *Ḥasidism through Aaron the Great of *Karlin. Ḥasidic sources relate that he subjected himself to excessive fasting and self-mortifications before he made the acquaintance of Dov Baer, the Maggid of Mezhirech. Becoming one of Dov Baer's most prominent disciples he founded a ḥasidic center in Amdur after the death of his teacher in 1773. A profound thinker and an enthusiastic and fearless propagandist of Ḥasidism, Ḥayyim was the ḥasidic personality most hated by the *Mitnaggedim* in Lithuania in the 1780s, and was a considerable factor in the outbreak of a second round of polemics between the two factions in 1781. He is described in somber tones in the literature of the *Mitnaggedim*, especially in the writings of *David of Makow. In *Shever Poshe'im* (in M. Wilensky, *Ḥasidim u-Mitnaggedim*, vol. 2, 1970) he and his associates are discussed with scorn. The *Mitnaggedim* persecuted him to such an extent that Ḥayyim was compelled to leave Amdur for a while and to stay in a village. He was undeterred by these persecutions, however, and continued to lead his congregation as *ẓaddik* until his death, bequeathing his position to his son Samuel.

Ḥayyim taught that God is infinite and men cannot comprehend Him. However, there is much latent power in man's intellect and by losing his own sense of being, he can be drawn nearer to and be united with his source. Ḥayyim therefore preached a complete negation of the human will before the divine will. The observance of a *mitzvah* was interpreted as an act desired by God, and it is only this desire of God's which imparts validity to the *mitzvah*. It is also forbidden to serve God for the purpose of attaining the World to Come or other rewards. Ḥayyim is revealed as an extreme spiritualist: "We should forget ourselves as a result of our adhesion to Him." One should despise this world: "He who prays for his sustenance should be ashamed for doing so." If "I have set the Lord always before me, then I have no time to consider the events which befall me, for God surely knows of my needs better than I do myself." When a man stands before the Creator, all his limbs should tremble for fear of the Lord so that he does not know where he is standing, so much has he meditated on His essence. If, at that time, evil thoughts enter his mind, he should not repel them. On the contrary, this gives him the opportunity to elevate these thoughts to their source. If a man has sinned, he should rather endeavor to unite himself to the soul of the *ẓaddik,* as a result of which he will adhere to God.

His sermons were collected in *Ḥayyim va-Ḥesed* (1891, 1953^{2}), including "rules of behavior" and letters to his followers, some of which had been previously published in *Iggeret ha-Kodesh* (Warsaw, 1850).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: M. Wilensky, *Ḥasidim u-Mitnaggedim* (1970), index; M.H. Kleinemann, *Mazkeret Shem ha-Gedolim* (1967^{2}), 49–55; W. Rabinowitsch, *Lithuanian Ḥasidism* (1970), index; R. Schatz, *Ha-Ḥasidut ke-Mistikah* (1968), index; A. Rubinstein, in: *Aresheth*, 3 (1961), 193–230

[Moshe Hallamish]

ḤAYYIM JUDAH BEN ḤAYYIM (17th–18th century), talmudist, rabbi of Janina (Ioannina), Greece. Ḥayyim Judah was born in Salonika, where he studied under Solomon *Amarillo, whose daughter he married. Toward the end of his life he emigrated to Jerusalem, where he had many disciples, among them Solomon Havdalah, a member of the *bet din* of Abraham Yiẓḥaki and in his old age rabbi of Jerusalem. Ḥ.J.D. *Azulai speaks of having seen a volume of Ḥayyim's responsa in manuscript. He carried on a halakhic correspondence with Samuel Florentin, author of the responsa *Me'il Shemu'el*, and others. His responsa are found in the works of others, e.g., *Kerem Shelomo* (Salonika, 1719) and *Zera Avraham* (Constantinople, 1732).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Fuenn, Keneset, 356; Azulai, 1 (1852), 58, no. 28; Rosanes, Togarmah, 4 (1935), 329; 5 (1938), 287.

[Simon Marcus]

ḤAYYIM PALTIEL BEN JACOB (late 13th–early 14th century), German talmudic scholar. Ḥayyim Paltiel was a pupil of *Eliezer of Touques, and also, apparently, of *Meir b. Baruch of Rothenburg. He traveled through the cities of Bohemia and served as rabbi of Magdeburg. His questions to Meir of Rothenburg are included in the Cremona (1557, nos. 32–34), Prague (1608, no. 226), and Lemberg (1860, no. 507, et al.) editions of the latter's responsa and a number of his responsa to other scholars are also included in these collections. Of great historical importance is the responsum (Lemberg ed. no. 476) he wrote in 1291 from Magdeburg on the subject of the **Ḥerem ha-Yishuv.* He was one of the first – if not the first – to add the self-effacing epithet *tola'at* ("worm") to his formal signature, Ḥayyim Paltiel Tola'at (abbreviated to *Ḥapat*). One of his responsa to two of his pupils was forwarded by them to *Asher b. Jehiel for his opinion (Resp. Rosh, Kelal 30, no. 4). Ḥayyim Paltiel's chief importance lies in his *Sefer ha-Minhagim*, which contains the customs for the whole year, referring to benedictions, prayers, and festivals, according to the Ashkenazi rite. The work was later used by Abraham *Klausner, who adapted and amended it, and added other customs and explanations. The connection between the work of Klausner and that of Ḥayyim Paltiel was first suggested by H.J. Ehrenreich in the introduction to his edition of Klausner's *Minhagim* (1929), and was proved beyond doubt when Paltiel's work was discovered and published in *Kirjath Sepher* by D. Goldschmidt (see bibliography). Ḥayyim Paltiel thus emerges as one of the first authors of the *Minhagim books, which gained wide popularity in 14th-century Germany and which laid the foundation for the spread of the version known in essence as *nosaḥ Ashkenaz* ("the Ashkenazi rite"). It is probable that he is identical with the Ḥayyim Paltiel whose biblical explanations are extensively quoted in a still unpublished manuscript of a Bible commentary by a 14th-century French scholar.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Ziemlich, in: MGWJ, 30 (1881), 305–16; Abraham Klauser, *Sefer ha-Minhagim*, ed. by H.J. Ehrenreich (1929), introd.; D. Goldschmidt, in: KS, 23 (1946/47), 324–30; 24 (1947/48), 73–83; Urbach, Tosafot, 456.

[Israel Moses Ta-Shma]

ḤAYYIM (Ben) SHABBETAI (known as **Maharhash – Morenu Ha-Rav Ḥayyim Shabbetai**; before 1555–1647), rabbi in Salonika. He studied under Aaron Sason, and subsequently became head of the yeshivah of the "Shalom" community. Many of his pupils became leading authorities such as Solomon ha-Levi, Isaac Barki, Ḥasdai ha-Kohen *Peraḥyah, and David *Conforte. It is not clear whether Jacob Ruvio or Ḥayyim Shabbetai was appointed to the post of chief rabbi by the leaders of the Salonikan communities in 1638, but certainly after Ruvio's death in 1640, Ḥayyim Shabbetai served as chief rabbi. In point of fact, he had been referred to as "the great rabbi" as early as 1622. He devoted himself assiduously to congregational matters, introducing many important regulations, and was regarded as the outstanding halakhic authority of his time, questions being addressed to him from communities near and far. Only part of his works have been published. These include novellae on the tractate *Ta'anit* and on the last chapter of tractate *Yoma*, published in the *Torat Moshe* of his son Moses (Salonika, 1797); responsa on *Even ha-Ezer* (Salonika, 1651); and *Torat Ḥayyim* (3 parts, Salonika, 1713, 1715, 1722), responsa. The second part of this last work is preceded by a *Kunteres ha-Moda'ah re-ha-Ones*, on contracts entered into under duress, which was published separately (Lemberg, 1798) with a commentary by Jeremiah of Mattersdorf and his son Joab. Ḥayyim also wrote *Torat ha-Zevaḥ*, on the laws of slaughtering and inspection and *Seder Gittin* (unpublished). Many additional responsa are to be found in the works of his contemporaries and disciples. He was also rabbi of Kahal Shalom Synagogue in Salonika in which position he was succeeded by his son Moses.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Conforte, Kore, index; Michael, Or, 412; Toiber, in: KS, 8 (1932), 275f.; Rosanes, Togarmah, 3 (1938), 175–8; I.S. Emmanuel, *Gedolei Saloniki le-Dorotam*, 1 (1936), 294–6, no. 448; idem, *Maẓẓevot Saloniki*, 1 (1963), 298–301, no. 685; Benayahu, in: *Sinai*, 34 (1954), 164f.

[Abraham David]

ḤAYYOT, MENAHEM MANISH BEN ISAAC (d. 1636), Polish and Lithuanian rabbi. Ḥayyot's father served as rabbi of Prague. He himself was rabbi of Turobin, Moravia, apparently while very young, and later became a rabbi in Vilna. No biographical details of him are known but he is quoted in the works of many of his great contemporaries, such as Ephraim of Vilna in his *Sha'ar Efrayim* (Sulzbach, 1688) and Samuel Bacharach of Worms in his *Ḥut ha-Shani* (Frankfurt, 1679). His son-in-law was Joseph Josefa *Horowitz. His tombstone was the oldest in Vilna. Of his works the following have been published: *Kabbalat Shabbat*, also entitled *Zemirot le-Shabbat* (Prague, 1621), Sabbath songs; an elegy, *Kinah le-Ḥurban*, on the fire in Posen in 1590 (Prague, 1590?); and a fragment of his supercommentary to Abraham ibn Ezra to Exodus 3:15 (see Herschkowitz, bibliography). In the catalogue of David *Oppenheimer there is mention also of a manuscript of *Derekh Temimim* (no. 375) by Ḥayyot, a commentary to the weekly portion of the Law, *Balak*, giving the plain meaning as well as homiletical and kabbalistic interpretations.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: S.J. Fuenn, *Kiryah Ne'emanah* (1915^2), 67–70; H.N. Maggid-Steinschneider, *Ir Vilna* (1900), 1f.; M. Herschkowitz, in: *Sinai*, 59 (1966), 97–127.

[Itzhak Alfassi]

ḤAYYUJ, JUDAH BEN DAVID (c. 945–c. 1000), the most important Hebrew grammarian towards the turn of the 10th century. About his life little is known. He was born in Fez and arrived at Córdoba in 960 when the dispute between *Menahem b. Jacob ibn Saruq and *Dunash b. Labrat was at its height. It is doubtful whether he should be identified with Judah b. David, one of the three students of Menahem who composed *Teshuvot al Dunash ben Labrat,* the two others being Isaac ibn Kapron and Isaac ibn *Gikatilla (ed. by Z. Stern in 1870).

His works include (1) *Kitāb al-Tanqīṭ* or *Kitāb al-Nuqat* ("Book of Vocalization") was translated into Hebrew by Abraham Ibn Ezra. It includes grammatical and masoretic matters, dealing mainly with nouns. (2) *Kitāb al-'Af 'āl Dhawāt Ḥurūf al-Līn* ("The Book of Weak Letter Verbs"), translated into Hebrew by Moses ha-Kohen ibn Gikatilla, by Ibn Ezra, and by Isaac b. Eliezer ha-Levi (1458); parts of an anonymous translation have been found. (3) *Kitāb al-'Af 'āl Dhawāt al-Mithlayn* ("The Book of Geminate Verbs"), translated into Hebrew by Moses ha-Kohen ibn Gikatilla and Ibn Ezra (entitled *Po'ole ha-Kefel*).

(4) *Kitāb al-Nutaf* ("Book of Plucked Feathers"); Ibn Ezra called the book *Sefer ha-Korḥah* ("Book of Baldness"), and this later became corrupted to *Sefer ha-Rokḥah*. In this book he intended to explain the difficult verses in the eight books of the Prophets by linguistic method. There are extant parts on Joshua, Judges, Kings, Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel, which include discussions of individual words, as well as a discussion on the importance of the *meteg* and other accents for understanding the Hebrew language.

The originals and the Hebrew translations of (1) (2) and (3) were published by J.L. Dukes (1844), G.W. Nutt (1870), and M. Jastrow (1897). Remnants of the Arabic original of (4) and their translation into modern Hebrew were published by P. Kokovtsov (see bibl.), S. Abramson, I. Eldar, and N. Allony. Recently, all these and other remnants were republished by N. Basal in *Kitāb al-Nutaf* (2001).

In his two works on the verb, Ḥayyuj developed the view that all Hebrew roots are made up of three letters, one of which, however, may be interchanged when conjugated with a weak letter, and may be elided or assimilated to a letter with a *dagesh*. This is a departure from the earlier view which recognized two-letter roots (בל, רע, קם, תם) and even some one-letter roots (the ז and the ט of ויז and ויט). According to G. Goldenberg (*Leshonenu* 44 (1980), 281–292), however, Ḥayyuj's major invention was not the tri-literality of the Hebrew verb but rather his concept of s?*sin layyin*.

His works spread rapidly throughout the Eastern countries and even became popular in Germany. Jonah ibn Janāḥ completed in his *Kitāb al-Mustalḥaq* the material missing in Ḥayyuj's works. Based on Ḥayyuj's theory, Ibn Janāḥ also wrote a comprehensive biblical Hebrew grammar and lexicon. Moses ha-Kohen ibn Gikatilla (?) prepared a synopsis in *Mukhtaṣar Ḥayyuj* (synopsis of Ḥayyuj's works); copies of these books were found in the Cairo *Genizah*. Several works following Ḥayyuj's footsteps were written, including *Sefer ha-Shoham*, by Moses b. ha-Nesi'a, and *Sefat Yeter* by Isaac b. Eliezer ha-Levi. All the work on Hebrew language and biblical exegesis since Ḥayyuj has been based on his ideas, and much of what he said, as well as his terminology (coined later on in Hebrew), is used to this day.

See also *Linguistic Literature, Hebrew.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: W. Bacher, *Die grammatische Terminologie des Jehuda b. Dawid Hajjug* (1882); idem, in: J. Winter and A. Wuensche, *Die juedische Litteratur,* 2 (1894), 159–61; B. Drachman, *Die Stellung und Bedeutung des Jehuda Hajjug* (1885); M. Jastrow (ed.), *The Weak and Geminative Verbs in Hebrew by Abu Zakariyya Yahya ibn Dawud of Fez* (1897); Steinschneider, Arab Lit, 119; S. Poznański, in: JQR, 16 (1925/26), 237–66; H. Hirschfeld, *Literary History of Hebrew Grammarians and Lexicographers* (1926), 35–40; P. Kokovtsov, *Novye materialy…*, 2 (1916), 1–74 (Russ. pt.), 1–58; S. Pinsker, *Likkutei Kadmoniyyot* (1860), index; D. Yellin, *Toledot Hitpatteḥut ha-Dikduk ha-Ivri* (1945), 113 f., Abraham b. Azriel, *Arugat ha-Bosem*, ed. by E.E. Urbach, 2 (1947), 140; N. Allony, in: *Minḥah li-Yhudah [Zlotnick]* (1950), 67–83; idem, in: BM, 16 (1963), 90–105; P. Kokovtsov, *Mi-Sifrei ha-Balshanut ha-Ivrit* ed. by N. Allony (1970).

[Nehemya Allony / Aharon Maman (2nd ed.)]

ḤAYYUN, ABRAHAM BEN NISSIM (d. 1500), Portuguese scholar; a pupil of Joseph b. Abraham *Ḥayyun, rabbi of Lisbon. He was among the Jews who left Portugal after the decree of expulsion was issued in 1496, settling in Constantinople. He wrote *Imrot Tehorot*, an ethical work (Constantinople, 1515–20; Salonika, 1595; and Jerusalem, 1876), and *Ma'amar be-Mofetim*, on miracles described in the Bible (mentioned by Abraham b. Solomon Ḥayyun at the end of Joseph Ḥayyun's *Millei de-Avot*).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: M. Kayserling, *Geschichte der Juden in Portugal* (1867), 74; Benjacob, Oẓar, 41 no. 786; A. Yaari, *Ha-Defus ha-Ivri be-Kushta* (1967), 79, 128.

ḤAYYUN, JOSEPH BEN ABRAHAM (d. 1497), last rabbi of the Jewish community of Lisbon before the expulsion. Among his distinguished disciples were Abraham b. Nissim *Ḥayyun and Joseph *Jabez. While Ḥayyun was still in Lisbon, Isaac *Abrabanel consulted him on various halakhic questions, concerning one of which he composed a tract, *Maggid Mishneh*. After the decree of expulsion from Portugal was issued in 1496, Ḥayyun went to Constantinople, where he died shortly afterward. His published works are a commentary on the Book of Psalms (Salonika, 1523), and *Millei de-Avot*, a commentary on *Avot* (Constantinople, 1578; republ. Venice, 1606); a number of his notes on the order of the *haftarot* are included in *Likkutei Man* (Amsterdam, 1764). Other works remain in manuscript.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Benjacob, Oẓar, 324 no. 1106, 641 no. 380; Ben-Sasson, in: *Sefer Yovel le-Y. Baer* (1960), 217 ff., 220; idem, in: *Zion*, 28 (1961), 56 ff., 60; A. Yaari, *Ha-Defus ha-Ivri be-Kushta* (1967), 128.

HAZA, OFRA (1957–2000), Israeli singer. Haza was born in the Hatikva quarter of Tel Aviv to parents who had come from Yemen. She started singing as a child and at the age of 12 was accepted into the "Hatikva Quarter workshop" under the direction of Bezalel Aloni. Having completed her army service, she took part in 1979 in the movie *Shlager* where she sang the "freiha" song (lyrics, Assi Dayan, music, Zvika Pik), which became a huge hit and send her to the top of all the charts. She was crowned "singer of the year" four years in a row (1980–1983) and in 1983 represented Israel at the Eurovision song contest. She soared to international fame when her song *Galbi* ("My Heart"; 1984) was reworked for the European market and became a best seller. Another Hebrew Yemenite wedding song of the famous poet Shalem Shabazi, *Im Nin'alu*, went through a similar process and sold two million copies in Europe alone. After her performances in New York in 1989 she recorded the album "Desert Wind" (1989) and noted singers such as Paul Anka and Cliff Richards recorded duets with her. In 1998 the producer Steven Spielberg invited her to perform the theme song in his animated epic *Prince of Egypt* and she did this in the 29 languages the film was translated into. She also gave her voice to the character of Yokhebed. In spite of her international success she remained faithful to the Israeli public and her performances drew huge crowds. She participated and won first prizes in the music festival and the festival of children music. Her repertoire was based in great part on Yemenite singing.

She was asked to come to Oslo to sing when Yitzhak Rabin, Shimon Peres, and Yasser Arafat received the Nobel Peace Prize. She received second prize at the Eurovision contest.

Ofra Haza recorded 25 albums, including seven in foreign languages recorded in Europe and in the United States.

[Nathan Shahar (2nd ed.)]

HAZAEL (Heb. חֲזָאֵל; "God has taken note"), king of Aram-Damascus (c. 842–798 B.C.E.). According to an inscription of Shalmaneser III, King of Assyria (858–24), Hazael was the "son of a nobody" – who took the throne after Hadad-ezer (Adad-Idri) disappeared or died following his defeat by Shalmaneser (RIMA 3, p. 118). He founded a dynasty in Damascus during the unsettled period that also witnessed the accession of *Jehu in Israel and *Athaliah in Judah.

According to I Kings 19:15–16, Hazael was to be anointed king of Damascus by *Elijah, as Jehu was to be anointed king of Israel. When, thereafter, Ben-Hadad (= Hadad-ezer) lay ill, *Elisha directed Hazael, a royal servant, to tell Ben-Hadad that his illness was not fatal, but that in fact Ben-Hadad would not survive, and that Hazael would be king. The unclear text of II Kings 8:7–15 has usually been understood to mean that Hazael smothered Ben-Hadad in order to usurp the throne of his master (see, e.g., *Ben-Hadad and Pitard in Bibliography, but contrast Rashi and Gersonides a.l. as well as Lemaire). Hazael immediately began the attacks on Israel predicted by Elisha, attacking *Ramoth-Gilead and seriously injuring Joram of Israel (II Kings 8:28–29).

During the campaigns of Shalmaneser III in the West, Aram, under Ben-Hadad (or Hadadezer), had stood at the head of a southern Syrian coalition which effectively repulsed the Assyrian armies under Shalmaneser at the battle of *Karkar in 853, and thereafter in 848 and 845. In 841, when Shalmaneser again campaigned in the West, Hazael alone resisted, withstanding a siege of Damascus, while Tyre, Sidon, and Israel became vassals of Assyria. A punitive campaign by Shalmaneser in 838 again failed to subdue Damascus, and the Assyrians withdrew, leaving Hazael the undisputed power in southern Syria. Hazael then began a series of attacks on Israel which resulted in the period of Aram's greatest territorial control and Israel's greatest weakness. At the end of the reign of Jehu, Hazael conquered all the Israelite lands east of the Jordan, and took possession of the highlands of Galilee (II Kings 10:32–33; Amos 1:3). After Jehu's death he overran the entire territory of Israel, proceeding south along the coast to Gath on the border of Judah (II Kings 12:18–19). Hazael completely humbled the kingdom of Israel throughout the reign of Jehoahaz (II Kings 13:1–3, 7, 22), dominated the trade routes to Arabia, probably conquered all of Philistia, and even threatened Jerusalem, retreating from the city only upon the payment of a heavy tribute by Joash, king of Judah (II Kings 12:19; cf. II Chron. 24:23–24). So great was Hazael's power and domination over Israel and Judah that the resumed expeditions of Assyria under Adad-Nirari III in 805 were viewed as a liberation, and Adad-Nirari was acclaimed a deliverer (II Kings 13:5). As Dion has observed, the Aramean king who claimed victory over Israel and "the house of David" in the Tel Dan Inscription (COS II, 161–62) was most likely Hazael. The mention of the victorious king's father in that inscription would seem to conflict with the biblical characterization of Hazael as a royal servant and the Assyrian "son of a nobody," but both accounts may be "enemy propaganda" (Dion: 1999, 153–54).

Some interesting artifacts remain from Hazael's reign, of note is the ivory bed plaque inscribed as "belonging to our Lord Hazael" (*lmr'n ḥz'l*) that was discovered at Arslan Tash (the Assyrian provincial capital Hadattu). A horse's nose piece found in Samos, Greece, in 1984 and inscribed in Aramaic marks the year that Hazael "crossed the river" (COS II, 163).

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[Tikva S. Frymer / S. David Sperling (2nd ed.)]

HAZAI, SAMU (1851–1942), Hungarian army officer and minister. Born in Rimazombat, Hazai graduated from the military academy in Vienna. He taught at the Ludovika Military Academy of Budapest and at the officers' school, of which he later became director. He was made Hungarian minister of defense in 1910 and was later given a barony and raised to the rank of fieldmarshal-lieutenant. During World War I, Hazai instituted several emergency laws, and later was in charge of recruitment for the entire Austro-Hungarian army. After the collapse of the empire in 1918 he was arrested for a short time by the Hungarian revolutionary government, and later played no further part in public affairs. Hazai converted to Christianity in his youth and had no interest in Jewish matters.

ḤAZAK (Heb. חֲזַק; "be strong"), a salutation of well-wishing based on Moses' address to Joshua "Be strong and of good courage" (Deut. 31:7; 31:23; cf. II Sam. 10:12; Haggai 2:4). A fuller version, *Ḥazak, ḥazak venitḥazzak* ("Be strong, be strong, and let us be strengthened"), is recited at the Torah reading in the synagogue when one of the five books of the Pentateuch is completed (Isserles to Sh. Ar., OḤ 139:11). In the Sephardi ritual, the person who returns to his seat after having been called up to the Reading of the *Torah is greeted by his neighbors with *Ḥazak u-varukh* ("Be strong and blessed"); he replies *Barukh tihyeh* ("Be blessed"), or *Kulkhem berukhim* ("Be you all blessed").

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Eisenstein, Dinim, 129.

ḤAZAKAH (Heb. חֲזָקָה; lit. "possession," "taking possession"), a term expressing three main concepts in Jewish law: (1) a mode of acquiring ownership; (2) a means of proving ownership or rights in property; (3) a factual-legal presumption (*praesumptio juris*) as to the existence of a particular fact or state of affairs. In its first connotation *ḥazakah* creates a new legal reality, unlike the latter two cases where it is merely instrumental in proving or presuming an existing one. For *ḥazakah* in its connotation of possession see also *Evidence, *Ownership, *Property. For (1) see *Acquisition, Modes of.

HAZAKAH AS PROOF OF OWNERSHIP

Immovable Property

Possession per se of immovable property (*karka* or *mekarke'in*, lit. "land," as opposed to *metaltelin*, "movable property") known to have belonged to another does not displace the title of the legal owner (*mara kamma*, "first owner") thereto, for "land is never stolen" (*karka einah nigzelet*; BK 95a; TJ, BK 10:6, 7c) and "is always in the possession of its owner" (BM 102b). The possessor is accordingly required to prove that he acquired the property in a legally recognized way. If, however, he has held undisturbed possession in the manner of an owner for a period of three consecutive years, without protest from the previous owner, the possessor's plea that he purchased the property or received it as a gift (from the first owner or his father) and that the deed thereto has been lost, is believed. Where his possession is not accompanied by such a claim of right (*she-ein immah ta'anah*) but merely with the contention that "no one ever said anything to me," the *ḥazakah* is not established (BB 3:3). Where the property is purchased or inherited from another, the holder's mere plea (some scholars require proof on his part) that the deceased or seller held possession of the property in the manner of an owner, for even one day, will validate the occupier's *ḥazakah*, for "he cannot be expected to know how his father came by the property" (Rashbam, BB 41a). For this reason the court would "plead the cause" of the heir or purchaser (BB 23a), to the effect that he came by the property in a lawful manner.

In Jewish law *ḥazakah* is part of procedural law B 170a; for this reason the laws of *ḥazakah* are treated by Maimonides in *hilkhot To'en ve-Nitan* and not in the book on *Kinyan*), in contrast with the Roman law *usucapio* of the Twelve Tables, which is a matter of the substantive law whereby ownership is created by virtue of possession for a period of two years. The *ḥazakah* of Jewish law is somewhat akin to the possession in the Roman *praescriptio longi temporis* of the end of the second century C.E., according to which possession of property for 10 or 20 years effectively established title, if accompanied by *iusta causa*. There, however, possession is equally effective even if it transpires that ownership was acquired in a defective manner *ab initio*, in contrast with the Jewish law, where "he who possesses a field by virtue of a deed which is found to be defective, his *ḥazakah* is not established" (Tosef., BB 2:2; BB 32b; cf. TJ, Shevu. 6:2, 37a, where a contrary opinion is expressed).

PERIOD OF POSSESSION. According to some *tannaim* (BB 36b and BB 3:1; *Tanna Kamma*) *ḥazakah* always requires possession for a period of three full years (this period is mentioned already in the Hammurapi code, sec. 30–31). Rava, a Babylonian *amora* of the first half of the fourth century, explains the length of this period on the ground that it is not customary for a purchaser to preserve his title deed for longer than three years, and that thereafter the first owner is not entitled to demand production of the purchaser's deed (BB 29a). In the case of a field producing one annual crop only, the period is 18 months according to Ishmael and 14 months according to Akiva, i.e., a period sufficient for the cultivation and enjoyment of three crops; a period covering the production of three crops – even if enjoyed in one year – is sufficient, according to Ishmael, in the case of a field of diverse trees whose fruits are harvested in different seasons (BB 3:1). According to Judah, a *tanna* of the second century, the period of three years applies in the case of an absent (abroad, "in Spain") owner (BB 3:2), but one year suffices where both the first owner and the occupier are present in the same country (Tosef., BB 2:1; according to BB 41 a *ḥazakah* is immediately effective in the latter case). An analogous distinction is made in the Roman *praescriptio longi temporis*, between possession *inter absentes* (20 years) and *inter praesentes* (10 years). Some scholars (Gulak, Karl) are of the opinion (based on BB 3:2) that in ancient *halakhah* the law of *ḥazakah* was applicable only when both parties were in the same country; at the commencement of the amoraic period, this *halakhah* was interpreted as having been instituted because of "conditions of emergency" (BB 38a–b), whereby there was no means of travel between various districts within Ereẓ Israel; in times of peace, however, *ḥazakah* is effective even in the absence of the first owner. However, the question of the operation of *ḥazakah* between parties in different countries remained a disputed one even during the early amoraic period (TJ, BB 3:3, 14a).

MANNER OF EXERCISING POSSESSION. Possession must be held "in the manner in which people normally use the particular property" (Yad, To'en ve-Nitan 11:2); it must therefore be held for an uninterrupted period, unless it is local custom to cultivate the field one year and leave it fallow the next (BB 29a). It is a requirement that the possessor not only cultivate the field, but that he also enjoy its fruits, "for the essence of *ḥazakah* is the gathering of fruit…," without which evidence of all his other activities on the land will not avail (TJ, BB 3:3, 14a; BB 36b).

PROTEST. Protest on the part of the first owner within the period of three years interrupts the occupier's *ḥazakah*, because it has the effect of warning the occupier to preserve his title deed as proof of ownership. In ancient *halakhah* this protest (variously called עֲרָר or עַרְעָר (*arar*; Tosef., BB 2:4; TJ, BB 3:3; BB 39b) and מְחָאָה (*meḥa'ah*; BB 29a, 39a et al.) by the *amoraim* of Ereẓ Israel and Babylonia respectively), served the procedural function of commencing litigation (analogous to the Roman *litis contestatio*) and was accordingly required to be made before the court. Doubt was already cast on this requirement by the *amoraim* of Ereẓ Israel (TJ, BB 3:3), and according to the Babylonian *amoraim* protest requires no more than that it should be made known to the public (*gillui milta le-rabbim*) by the first owner, or that he make a statement before witnesses that he maintains his interest in the property (BB 39b). In the fourth century the Babylonian *amoraim* prescribed a formula for the protest: "*Peloni* is a robber who occupies my land by robbery and on the morrow I shall bring suit against him," but an unqualified statement: "*Peloni* is a robber" is not an effective protest (BB 38b–39a), lest the occupier plead that "he merely insulted me and therefore I did not look to my deed" (Yad, To'en 11:7). Protest before two witnesses – not necessarily in the presence of the occupier – suffices, for the fact thereof is bound to come to the occupier's notice one way or another (BB 38b, 39b; Yad, To'en 11:5).

Any reasonable explanation for the lack of protest is a bar to effective *ḥazakah*. For this reason *ḥazakah* does not operate between husband and wife or parent and child, each in respect of the other's property, for in these cases the one party is not fastidious about the other's use of the property (BB 3:3; *Teshuvot ha-Rashba ha-Meyuḥasot le-ha-Ramban*, no. 93). In suits between other related parties, the issue of *ḥazakah* is decided by the court on the merits of the evidence in each case, depending on "whether one brother relied on the other in the running of his affairs," etc. (Resp. Rashba, pt. 1, no. 950; Tur and Sh. Ar., ḤM 149:6–8). Nor is *ḥazakah* gained by artisans (building contractors), *partners, metayers (אריסין – tenants receiving a share of the crop; see *Hiring and Letting), and guardians (see *Apotropos; BB 3:3), for they occupy by license (*reshut*; BB 42b; TJ, BB 3:5) and there is therefore no purpose in making protest against them. Possession will also not lead to *ḥazakah* when the first owner is unable to make protest, whether for lack of communication with the occupier because of emergency conditions (BB 38a–b; see above) or because the occupier came on the property by the use of force, "like those of a certain family who are prepared to commit murder for monetary gain" (BB 47a). The exilarchs ("of that time") were also barred from gaining *ḥazakah* because the property owners "stood in awe of them" (i.e., of making protest; Yad, To'en

13:2; BB 36a; Rashbam ad loc.; Joseph b. Samuel *Tov Elem, *Teshuvot Ge'onim Kadmonim* no. 48, ascribes the lack of protest to the pleasure derived by the owners from the exilarch's use of their property). Nor could others gain *ḥazakah* over the property of the exilarchs, for the latter did not "hasten" to protest, because they were able to take forcible possession of their property or because they were not particular, on account of their wealth, about others using their property (BB 36a and Rashbam *ibid.*; *Ge'onim Kadmonim*, no. 48; *Bet ha-Beḥirah*, BB 36a). A non-Jew who acquires forcible possession and a Jew who derives his title through him do not gain *ḥazakah* over the property of a Jew (BB 35b), though in the time of R. Joseph, in Babylonia, it was decided otherwise, for there was a "judicial system which permitted no person to exercise duress against any other person" (*Beit ha-Beḥirah*, BB 36a and Git. 58b).

PLURALITY OF OCCUPIERS AND SUCCESSIVE OWNERS. *Ḥazakah* may be gained through someone occupying on behalf of the person claiming *ḥazakah*, as in the case of the tenant to whom the claimant lets the dwelling (BB 29a); and possession by one partner on behalf of another is similarly effective if each of them has occupied the property for part of the three-year period, provided that this partnership arrangement between them was publicly known (BB 29b; *Beit ha-Beḥirah*, BB 29b; Yad, To'en 12:5 – "since they are partners, they are as one"). The required period for *ḥazakah* is cumulative both as against successive "first owners" and in favor of successive possessors, who respectively derive title from their predecessors (Tosef., BB 2:7–8). At the commencement of the amoraic period, Rav determined that the combined period for which possession was held by both the seller and the purchaser would only be cumulative in the case of a sale by deed, as in this manner the matter would become public and the "first owner" aware that a cumulative *ḥazakah* was challenging his ownership.

ASPECTS OF HAZAKAH IN POST-TALMUDIC TIMES. Aspects of *ḥazakah* were discussed by the *posekim* against the prevailing social and communal background. One matter discussed was the application of *ḥazakah* to a permanent seating place in the synagogue, which became an asset capable of being alienated and inherited (Sh. Ar., ḤM 162:7; Rema and *Pitḥei Teshuvah* ad loc.). Some of the scholars recognized the application of *ḥazakah* thereto (Meir ha-Levi Abulafia and others), but stress was laid on the difficulty of establishing uninterrupted synagogue attendance at all appointed services for three years – a requirement for effective *ḥazakah (Shitah Mekubbeẓet* and Nov. Ritba to BB 29b). Some scholars excused absence on account of illness or mourning (*Beit ha-Beḥirah* BB 29a) and even occasional absence for pressing business reasons (Responsa Rashba pt. 1, no. 943; Tur, ḤM 140:16; *Beit ha-Beḥirah* BB 29a differs), and the latter view prevailed (*Beit Yosef* ḤM 141:2; Rema ḤM 140:8). On the other hand, *ḥazakah* was generally not recognized as extending to public and communal property such as consecrated property, *talmud torahs*, charitable institutions, and the like, for "who shall make protest?" (Rashba, pt. 1 no. 642), and when recognized, *ḥazakah* was held to be effective only under special circumstances and in respect of property in the care of appointed officials or seven representative citizens (Tur and Sh. Ar., ḤM 149 end).

Many of the discussions of this period centered on relationships between Jews of different social status and between Jews and their gentile neighbors. The talmudic *halakhah* precluding others from gaining *ḥazakah* of the property of exilarchs and vice versa was discussed by Solomon b. Abraham *Adret and *Asher b. Jehiel in relation to the property of Jews who held official positions and exercised authority. Both decided that the cases were not analogous, for the exilarchs functioned as "quasi-royalty" and "… in these generations a Jew who should find favor with the king does not impose such awe…" as would deter the owner of property from protesting (Resp. Rosh 18:17; Resp. Rashba, pt. 1, no. 941; Tur, ḤM 149:13; *Sma* ḤM 149, no. 18; *Siftei Kohen* ḤM 149, n. 12). The question of *ḥazakah* in relation to a non-Jew or a Jew deriving title through him was frequently treated and the decision made dependent on the prevailing attitude of the central government toward the particular Jewish community: "In a case where the Jew can bring the non-Jew before the court of the land, a Jew deriving title through a non-Jew has *ḥazakah*" (Ravyah, quoted in *Mordekhai* BB 3:553; Rah quoted in the Nov. Ritba, BB 35 and see Ha-Ittur's dissenting opinion; cf. also Tur and Sh. Ar., ḤM 149:14 and 236:9; BB 55a and commentators ad loc.). Some of the *halakhot* of *ḥazakah* relating to immovable property were applied also in the matter of *Ḥezkat ha-Yishuv* ("the right of domicile").

Movable Property

Contrary to the rule in the case of immovable property, "movables" are in the *ḥazakah* of the person having the physical possession thereof even if the plaintiff brings witnesses that the movables are known to belong to him, and the former's plea that he acquired them according to law is accepted (Yad, To'en 8:1; Tur, ḤM 133:1; source of the rule: BB 3:3; Tosef., BB 2:6; only "the launderer has no *ḥazakah*"), except when the chattels are known to be stolen property (BK 68b, 94b; Sh. Ar., ḤM 354:2). The authorities were in dispute on the requirement of a plea of right on the part of the possessor in the case of movables (*Shitah Mekubbeẓet* BB 28b). *Ḥazakah* of movables is gained forthwith, possession for a period of two or three days and sometimes even one hour – depending upon the subject matter – being sufficient (BB 36a and Rabbenu Gershom ad loc.; also Rashbam BB 42a). However, not every *tefisah* ("taking of possession," "seizure") establishes valid *ḥazakah*, thus "… if they saw him hiding articles under his garments and he came out and said 'these are mine' he is not believed," unless there is a reasonable explanation for this type of behavior, as in the case of articles which are habitually concealed and the like (Shevu. 46a–b).

The rule excluding the operation of *ḥazakah* as between "first owners" and possessors standing in a special relationship toward each other (see above) applies also to movables, e.g., in the case of the artisan, the bailee, etc. (BB 3:3; Tosef., BB 2:5–6). Similarly it does not operate in respect of "articles which are made to be given on loan or hire" (Shevu. 46a–b), where the first owner may account for the fact that movables of this type are found in the hands of the possessor on these grounds. On the other hand, the first owner's claim that these movables were stolen from him is not believed, for this is an admission that they were not lent and "we do not presume a man to be a thief" (Shevu. 46b; Rosh and Ran ad loc.). Most commentators include in the category of "articles which are made to be given on loan or hire," all chattels "which are likely to be lent by their owners" (Rif and Ran to Shevu. 46b). According to this view, only chattels which their owners fear may be damaged, such as certain types of books (Rashi to Shevu. 46b), or those which are particularly valuable, such as articles of silver and gold (*Terumat ha-Deshen*, no. 335), are not to be considered as made to be given on loan or hire. This view is opposed by Maimonides, who holds that such a view in effect invalidates in respect of most movables – the principle that a thing must be considered to be the property of the person in whose possession it is found. Maimonides distinguishes between articles which are "likely to be given on loan or hire" – in which category he places all movables – and things which are "made to be given on loan or hire," defined by him as articles which in a particular locality are specifically made with a view to their being borrowed or hired for a fee and not for sale or home use, such as "large copper kettles for cooking at celebrations," *ḥazakah* being included in the latter case only (Yad, To'en 8:9); other articles may also come within the latter category but only where their owner has witnesses to prove that he has constantly lent or hired them out and that he holds them for such purpose (To'en 8:9 and 10 and Rabad's stricture thereon).

SPECIAL CATEGORIES OF MOVABLES. In the case of slaves, a period of three years is required for effective *ḥazakah* (BB 3:1). Animals (livestock) were apparently deemed to be like other movables in the tannaitic period, i.e., *ḥazakah* was effective immediately; this may be deduced from the existence of a special ruling precluding shepherds from acquiring *ḥazakah*, as in the case of the artisan and bailee (Tosef., BB 2:5). At the commencement of the amoraic period, Simeon b. Lakish determined that the normal rule of *ḥazakah* did not apply in respect of livestock (BB 36a), for they "stray from place to place" (TJ, BB 3:1, 13d) and therefore "the fact of detaining it under his hand does not constitute proof, for it went of its own accord into his *reshut*" (i.e., domain; Yad, To'en 10:1). Differing opinions were expressed with regard to establishing *ḥazakah* in respect of chattels not falling within the normal rule, e.g., articles made to be given on loan or hire and livestock; some of the *posekim* expressed the opinion that in these cases *ḥazakah* is never established; others held that it is established after a period of three years; and some held that there is no fixed period for effective *ḥazakah*, the court having the discretion to decide the matter in each case (*Yad Ramah* BB 36a; Rashbam BB 36a; Nov. Ritba BB 36a; Nov. Rashba BB 46a; Tur, ḤM 133:10 and 138:1–2; Resp. Maharam of Rothenburg, ed. Prague, no. 180).

See also *Limitation of Actions. For *ḥazakah* in relation to servitudes (*ḥezkat tashmishim*) and torts see *Servitudes.

ḤAZAKAH AS A LEGAL-FACTUAL PRESUMPTION

This occurs in a number of forms:

(1) A legal presumption of the continued existence of a once-ascertained state of affairs, until the contrary be proved – "an object is presumed to possess its usual status" (Nid. 2a), e.g., that the flesh of an animal is presumed to be forbidden as having been cut from a living animal until it is ascertained that it was ritually slaughtered; once slaughtered, the animal's flesh is presumed to be permitted unless the manner in which it became *terefah* becomes known (Ḥul. 9a); that the husband is alive at the time that the bill of divorce is handed to the wife, even though he was old or ill when the agent or *shali'aḥ* left him (Git. 3:3); similarly the presumptions of normal health and fitness, referred to variously as *ḥezkat ha-guf* (Ket. 75b), *ḥezkat bari* (Kid. 79b; BB 153b), and *ḥezkat kashrut* (BB 31b).

(2) A legal presumption of the existence of a fixed and accepted custom or of the psychological nature of man, such as the following: that an agent fulfills his mandate (Er. 31b); that a woman does not have the impudence to declare (falsely) in her husband's presence that he has divorced her (Yev. 116a) and she is therefore believed; that a debtor does not settle his debt before due date, therefore his plea (without proof) that he repaid the debt before due date is not believed (BB 5a–b); that a **ḥaver* does not allow anything which is untithed to leave his hands and therefore if he dies leaving a silo full of produce, this is presumed to have been tithed (Pes. 9a); that no man affixes his signature to a document unless he knows the contents thereof, and he cannot therefore plead that he did not read or understand its contents (PDR 1:293–5).

(3) Legal presumptions permitting a conclusion of fact to be inferred from particular surrounding circumstances. Presumptions of this kind were relied upon even in cases of capital punishment, as if the conclusion had been proved by the evidence of witnesses: "we flog … stone and burn on the strength of presumption" (Kid. 80, and examples there quoted), "even where there is no testimony on the matter" (Rashi ad loc.). Similarly, in certain circumstances a woman reputed to be married to a particular man was held to be his wife (Yad, Issurei Bi'ah, 1:21, as per TJ, Kid. 4:10).

Support for the validity of the latter presumptions was found in the law of the Torah that the penalty for "one who curses or smites his father" is death: "how do we know for sure that he is his father? Only by way of presumption" (Yad and TJ, loc. cit.; in Ḥul 11b, the aforesaid *halakhah* concerning "one who smites his father" serves as a basis for deduction of the *majority rule).

[Menachem Elon]

IN THE MIDDLE AGES AND EARLY MODERN TIMES

Hazakah was one of the main normative concepts of Jewish economic and social life. In the course of time it was applied to the most varied rights and objects: e.g., right of settlement in a given community, rights over a certain clientele, as well as rights to seats in a synagogue, and the right to exercise certain honorific functions at religious services.

Since it fitted into the structure and spirit of the guilds and civic economy and social morality, *ḥazakah* developed and proliferated. Based in principle on talmudic law (see above), its widening application came through communal authorities enacting new *takkanot to meet new circumstances (see *Arenda, Councils of the *Lands, *Ḥerem *ha-Yishuv*, **Ma'arufyah*, and *Poland-Lithuania). For that reason it was mainly the lay leaders of the communal administration (*kahal*), not the rabbi, who passed final judgment on the protection of tenancy and other acquired rights. The dispensation of *ḥazakah* ultimately rested upon the goodwill of the community and its leaders. As a result, practices varied in different communities, from town to town, and certainly from country to country. The prohibition on settling in a community without permission (*ḥerem ha-yishuv*) was the source of one of the main forms of *ḥazakah*. *Ḥazakah* proper generally applied to tenant protection, whereby no Jew was permitted to rent from a gentile owner a house occupied by another Jewish tenant without the latter's consent, a right the latter usually acquired after three years of occupancy. The purpose of the prohibition was to prevent raising the rents of old or new tenants. An ordinance attributed to Gershom b. *Judah stated that the house of a gentile from which a Jew had been evicted might not be leased by another Jew for an entire year. Even houses owned by Jews were included in similar decisions by the conference of Candia in 1238 and by some halakhists. At a meeting of elders in Ferrara in 1554 it was resolved:

> Whereas there are some who infringe the *takkanah* of R. Gershom, which forbids any Jew from ousting another Jew from a house rented from a Christian landlord, and whereas such offenders claim that when the landlord sells his house the Jewish tenant thereby also loses his *ḥazakah*, we therefore decree that though the Christian owner sell his house, the right of the Jewish tenant to retain possession is unchanged; any Jew who ousts him is disobeying the *takkanah* of R. Gershom and also this *takkanah*, now newly enacted."

In Italy this law, which was recognized by the authorities, was called *jus gazaga* or *casaca*. The Lithuanian Council of the communities adopted a rule in 1623 that a house owned by a gentile and rented to a Jew who had a *ḥazakah* on it might be sold to another Jew by permission of the head of the *bet din*. The buyer thereby also acquired the *ḥazakah*. However, if he did not move into the house himself, he had to grant the tenant priority in occupying the house. The same ordinance was made to apply to a store in the market-place which was also governed by the three-year *ḥazakah* rule; in this case the buyer had to recompense the tenant for his *ḥazakah* costs. Although few *ḥazakah* records remain for Polish Jewry in the days when its council functioned, the communal law was enforced in Poland also. The practice was particularly prevalent in countries where Jews could not own lands, or were restricted to crowded ghettos or voluntarily inhabited Jewish quarters. The rule was a necessity to prevent exorbitant rent. In Spain, where Jews could own land, the *ḥazakah*, or *praescription*, applied to ownership of land as well as to rentals. Since *ḥazakah* was an important property right, it was negotiable, testable, and used as a dowry. The *kahal* made it an important source of income.

In Russia *ḥazakah* persisted long after the abolition of the *kahal* in 1844. The leaders of the Minsk community sold possession of a gentile's store to a Jew and bound every future *kahal* to protect this man's right to the acquired option on the property. The same enforcement of acquired rights was practiced with equal stringency within the Jewish community: merchants were shielded against outside competition; there were rules against the importation of meat and wine and many other protectionist regulations; artisans could acquire a form of *ḥazakah* on a customer, *ma'arufyah*, whereby no other craftsman was permitted to do work for him; a person could acquire rights to a seat in the synagogue, to a Torah Scroll, or to ornaments loaned to the congregation for its use. The term *ḥazakah* also applied to tenure of communal workers. In Moravia a law was passed that a rabbi who refused to appear in court to be tried, or engaged in trade, could lose his tenure and be dismissed.

[Isaac Levitats]

Ḥazakah as a Legal-Factual Presumption

The second category mentioned above – i.e., reliance on the presumed nature and behavior of human beings – also includes another form of legal presumption, pertaining to a will written by a person in a life-threatening situations. The context may either be that of a *shekhiv me-ra* (a person presumed to be dying), or that of a healthy person who regards himself as being in a life-threatening situation. In both cases the assumption is that the will reflects the testator's full and binding intention. Moreover, in the case of a deathbed will (i.e., the will of a *shekhiv mera*) the will is valid even without a *kinyan*, because we assume that, due to the unique circumstances of its making, it reflected the person's final decision (Maimonides, Yad, Zekhiyah u-Matanah 8.2, 4, 24, 26.)

In an Israeli Supreme Court decision in the *Koenig* case (FH 80/40 *Koenig v. Cohen*, 36(3) PD 701), Justice Menachem Elon held that this halakhic rule should determine the interpretation of Section 23 of the Succession Law, 5725 – 1964. Section 23 utilizes the term *shekhiv me-ra.* Justice Elon ruled that the use of this talmudic term indicates its origin in Jewish law regarding a deathbed will, and hence the applicability of the Jewish law to such a case. The decision in the *Koenig* case related to a case in which a woman left a will on a piece of paper without a date or signature just before she killed herself. The justices disputed the legal validity of the will, and Justice Elon contended that the will should be seen as a deathbed will and therefore valid, notwithstanding its deficiencies and flaws, on the basis of the aforementioned legal presumption. (*ibid*, pp. 733–738.; cf. *Acquisition, *Succession)

Another legal presumption is that "a son does not dishonor his father" (*Resp. Zikhron Yehudah* § 92; R. Judah b. R. Asher [Asheri]). In the *Hager* case the Supreme Court based its ruling on this presumption (CA 1482/92 *Hager v. Hager* judgment 47(2) 793; per Justice Elon, p. 806). The case concerned a disagreement between the widow and the parents of the deceased. The widow had unilaterally erected a tombstone on the grave. The parents applied to the Court, requesting it to order that the engraving on the tombstone be changed, inter alia, because it did not include the names of the deceased's parents. On the basis of the aforementioned legal presumption the Court ruled in the parents' favor, determining that the deceased would not have wished to distress his parents by omitting their names from his tombstone.

[Menachem Elon (2nd ed.)]

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ḤAZAN, YA'AKOV (1899–1992), Israeli political leader and leading figure in the *Mapam socialist party; member of the First to Seventh Knessets. Born in Brest Litovsk in Russia. Ḥazan studied in a reformed *ḥeder*, then later at a Hebrew high school and the Warsaw Politechnicum. In 1915 he was one of the founders of the Hebrew Scout movement in Poland, which developed into *Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir, and of the *He-Ḥalutz movement in Poland. In 1923 he immigrated to Palestine, where he worked as a farm laborer and in the draining of swamps before settling in kibbutz Mishmar ha-Emek and participating in the foundation of *Ha-Kibbutz ha-Arẓi, the kibbutz movement of Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir in 1927. For many years he was a member of the *Histadrut Executive. Together with Meir *Ya'ari he headed Ha-Kibbutz ha-Arẓi, and later Mapam. While Ya'ari was more of an ideologue and writer, Ḥazan was a brilliant orator and charismatic leader. Until the mid-1950s he supported, together with Ya'ari, a pro-Soviet line. In the Knesset he was Mapam's main spokesman on foreign and defense issues. In the Third, Fourth, Sixth, and Seventh Knessets, when Mapam had representatives in the government, neither he nor Ya'ari accepted ministerial positions. Prior to the elections to the Ninth Knesset in 1969 he was one of the architects of the establishment of the Alignment between Mapam and the *Israel Labor Party, and fought against those who wished to dissolve it. Within Mapam he was considered to be relatively hawkish in his positions. However, in 1984 those within Mapam who objected to the establishment of the National Unity Government between the Alignment and the *Likud gained the upper hand, and Mapam returned to being an Independent parliamentary group in the Knesset. In 1989 Hazan received the Israel Prize for exemplary lifelong service to Israeli society. Among other writings he published the autobiographical *Yaledut u-Ne'urim* on his childhood and youth.

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[Susan Hattis Rolef (2nd ed.)]

ḤAZANI, MIKHA'EL YA'AKOV (1913–1975), Israeli politician; one of the leaders of the *National Religious Party. Ḥazani was born in Bedzin, Poland, and studied at a rabbinical seminary. Immigrating to Ereẓ Israel in 1931, he became a prominent member of the Lamifneh faction of *Ha-Po'el ha-Mizrachi. He was one of the pioneers settling Kefar Jawitz and a supporter of Jewish settlement in the Lower Galilee. Considered one of the founding fathers of religious settlement, he was an enthusiastic supporter of the development of Gush Katif. The name of Moshav Katif was changed in 1975 to Neẓer Ḥazani in commemoration of him; it was evacuated in 2005 along with the other settlements in Gush Katif.

Ḥazani was elected to the Knesset in 1951. Specializing in economic affairs he was appointed vice chairman of the boards of the Bank of Israel and the Mizrachi Bank. He was appointed deputy minister of education in 1969 and succeeded Yosef Burg as minister of social welfare in 1970. He was reappointed in the short-lived government of Golda Meir, formed on March 10, 1974, but submitted his resignation on April 2 as a result of his disagreement with his party's attitude on the question of "Who is a Jew?"

On October 30, 1974 Ḥazani was again given the portfolio of social services when the National Religious Party rejoined the coalition and he served in this capacity until his death in 1975.

HAZAZ, ḤAYYIM (1898–1973), Hebrew writer. Born in Sidorovichi (Kiev province), Hazaz received a traditional and secular education, studying Hebrew and Russian literature. From the age of 16 (1914), when he left home, to 1921 he moved from one large Russian city to another. During and after the Russian Revolution he worked in Moscow on the Hebrew daily *Ha-Am* and at the time of the *Denikin and Wrangel pogroms he was in the Ukraine from where he escaped to the Crimean Mountains (1920). Hazaz went to Constantinople in 1921 where he lived about a year and a half and then moved to Western Europe, spending nine years in Paris and Berlin. The German capital had for a short time in the early 1920s become the Hebrew literary center after the Russian one had been destroyed by the revolution. Early in 1931 he left for Ereẓ Israel and settled in Jerusalem. Hazaz was politically active much of his life. He was the president of the Israel-Africa Friendship Association from 1965 (when it was founded) until 1969. After the Six-Day War (1967) Hazaz was prominent in the Land of Israel movement calling for settlement in the territories occupied during the war and for their permanent inclusion in the State of Israel.

Early Period – Russia

Hazaz began his literary career in Russia, publishing in *Ha-Shilo'aḥ* (1918, 274–84) under the pseudonym Ḥ. Ẓevi "*Ke-Vo ha-Shemesh,*" a sketch, followed half a year later by his only short poem, "*Al ha-Mishmar,*" dedicated to Saul Tchernichowsky. "*Meri*" and "*Ma'amar Moshe Rabbenu*" also appeared in *Ha-Shilo'aḥ* (1925, 1926), but under his own name. Hazaz published much during this period; his stories were well received and he gained wide acclaim. Many of his stories are set against the background of the Russian Revolution, among these are: "*Mi-Zeh u-mi-Zeh*" ("From This and That," in *Ha-Tekufah*, 21 (1924), 1–32); "*Pirkei Mahpekhah*" ("Chapters of the Revolution," *ibid.*, 22 (1924), 69–97); and "*Shemu'el Frankfurter*" (*ibid.*, 23 (1925), 81–184). The overall theme is the fate of the Jewish *shtetl* and the chaos and destruction wrought in its traditional way of life by the revolution whose impact is however only implicitly expressed. It is reflected in the interaction of forces from within and from without rather than directly represented by any single character. In all three stories only one non-Jewish revolutionary appears. Hazaz' fundamental interest in the revolution is thus on the level of human relations and understanding where it sowed bewilderment and confusion. The brief and concise description of events, trends, emotions, and characters and the fragmentary dialogue lend reality and immediacy to the narrative. However, the division of characters into the young revolutionary generation on the one hand and the anti-revolutionary older generation on the other is somewhat schematic. The general pervading mood is one of destruction in which the old world is wrenched from its axis while the new world is as yet not clearly focused. Thus the older generation, in the throes of tragedy, gains the sympathy of the reader. The young, however, are neither accused nor derided and even the irony directed against them is mild. Hazaz rewrote two of the stories: "*Mi-Zeh u-mi-Zeh*" became "*Nahar Shotef*" ("Flowing River," 1955, 1958, 1968), and "*Pirkei Mahpekhah*" became *Daltot Neḥoshet* ("Copper Doors," 1 vol., 1956; 2 vols., 1968). Best among the revolutionary stories, "*Shemu'el Frankfurte,*" has as a protagonist a revolutionary idealist, a Jesus-like figure, whose noble character leads him to a martyr's death. The story was excluded from his collected works and the author has stated that it needs rewriting (*Ma'ariv*, Sept. 26, 1969). At this time Hazaz also wrote a number of works not on the *shtetl* theme. "*Ḥatan Damim*" ("Bridegroom of Blood," in *Ha-Tekufah*, 23 (1925), 149–72), a prose poem, unfolds against the stark Midian desert. Zipporah, the wife of Moses, is portrayed as a tragic figure abandoned by her husband who had become a man of God. Modern in tone, the work is a lyrical masterpiece. It appeared in all of Hazaz' editions (in four slightly different versions) including a bibliophilic edition. *Be-Yishuv shel Ya'ar* ("In a Forest Settlement," 1930), Hazaz' first novel, is set in the early 1900s during the Russo-Japanese war. The plot centers around a Jewish family living among gentiles "in a forest settlement" and evolves against a background of revolutionary ideas and the disintegration of tradition. The gentile characters are tall strong woodcutters closely tied to their native soil. On the surface the members of the Jewish family seem to be living peacefully but beneath the apparent calm lurks the reality of the Jew's rootlessness. This alienation casts him simultaneously in a derisive and in a tragic light. The Jewish characters seem to be haunted by a fatalistic pessimism which affects everything they do. Thus they view their moving to the countryside and their abandoning of traditional values as determined by fate. The parodic and satiric figure of the young *melammed*, a revolutionary who expounds Marxian theories, also believes that his failure to be active in political affairs is predetermined by fate. The underlying symbol of cutting down the trees is imbued with Jewish characteristics. *Be-Yishuv shel Ya'ar* has not been included in any edition of Hazaz' works. He called it "a book full of printing errors and sown with some wild oats. This book does not exist for me" (*Ma'ariv*, Dec. 29, 1967), and yet he thought of rewriting it (*Ma'ariv*, Sept. 26, 1969).

Ereẓ Israel

Reḥayim Shevurim ("Broken Millstones," 1942) marks the beginning of Hazaz' Ereẓ Israel period. Six stories are still set in the Jewish *shtetl* while the remaining three depict life in Ereẓ Israel. The themes of the Diaspora stories – poverty, the *bet ha-midrash* and Torah study, interest on loans, loafers' banter, *maskilim* and gentiles, and riots – were also treated by his predecessors, but his individualistic outlook and style invested them with new meaning, originality, and verve. In "*Shelulit Genuzah*" ("The Hidden Puddle"), the protagonist, Eliah Kotlik, a pauper, runs away from his ever-nagging wife. The story is built upon a series of "flights" which reach their climax in his escape from Reb Kamatzel, who owes him money. Kotlik's last flight is of a moral nature motivated by the precept of the Torah not to harass an impoverished debtor. The contrast between the first and last flights points up the spiritual growth of the hero: the fleeing victim of the first flight turns into the fleeing persecutor of the last. On another level, the last flight reveals the shortcomings of the value system of modern society in contrast to that of traditional Judaism. Despite its debased material conditions, the Judaism of the *shtetl* was imbued with a great humanitarian spirit. Kotlik's jump into the muddy puddle is thus a symbolic act: he disturbed "… the stagnant puddle which had been contemplating the heavens." "*Adam mi-Yisrael*" ("A Jew") is a story episodic in structure whose narrator, the protagonist's son, relates the wanderings of his father from *bet midrash* to *bet midrash* and his death at the hand of rioters. A *shtetl's* mute cry on the day of a riot permeates "*Ashamnu*" ("We Have Sinned"), an ideational story. The quelled attempt at rebelling against the conventional behavior of the *galut* Jew in the face of danger serves but to heighten the anguish of the writhing *shtetl*. The tone, bitter and hostile, carries a note of choked helplessness. The structural framework of "*Dorot Rishonim*" ("First Generations") is a retrospective view of the destroyed *shtetl* on which Hazaz lavishes praise. The aura of stability and spiritual harmony of the *shtetl* is however disturbed by a sense of imminent danger. Ereẓ Israel is the locale of "*Ha-Tayyar ha-Gadol*" ("The Big Tourist"). The protagonist, a grotesque character, is drawn against the background of a satiric-humoristic description of the numerous holy historical sites that seem to spring up all over Ereẓ Israel. Hazaz' second major work, *Ha-Yoshevet ba-Gannim* ("Thou That Dwellest in the Gardens," 1944), is a novel which narrates the experiences of three generations of Yemenites living in Ereẓ Israel. The generation of elders is represented by an old man who dreams of the Messiah and tries to calculate his advent. Moving in a visionary world of his own, his sanity at times is doubted. His son represents the second generation that has thrown off the burden of the traditions of Yemenite-Jewish culture, but at the same time has not adapted to the cultural milieu of Israel. The third generation, the young daughter, though alive to the new environment, is unable to strike deep roots in the new culture and her integration remains superficial. *Avanim Roteḥot* ("Boiling Stones," 1946), his third book, is comprised of 10 stories, the first of which is the second edition of "*Ḥatan Damim.*" "*Galgal ha-Ḥozer,*" "*Ba'alei Terisin,*" and "*Yeraḥem ha-Shem*" are sketches of Yemenite life. "*Harat Olam*" and "*Ḥavit Akhurah*" depict the life of German-Jewish immigrants in Ereẓ Israel. Humor and tragedy become inextricably intertwined especially when a ludicrous, grotesque, and mixed-up Israeli intrudes upon their life and creates even greater confusion. "*Esh Bo'eret*" and "*Drabkin*" are insights into the lives of immigrants from Eastern Europe. The former describes the naive devotion of *ḥalutzim* who, despite overwhelming hardships, escaped from Russia. In the latter the protagonist, Drabkin, is an embittered Zionist who in the Diaspora had dedicated his life to the rebuilding of the homeland but in Ereẓ Israel was unable to find a significant role to play in its life. Drabkin's rejection is psychological. Having been badly received on arrival he projects his frustrations onto his ideals. The gap between ideals and their practical realization is questioned by a number of Hazaz' heroes. In "*Ha-Derashah*" ("The Sermon"), perhaps the most famous of his works, the hero, Yudke, strongly criticizes the accepted notions of Zionism. He objects to Jewish history which he describes as a boring chronicle of massacre and futility; a history created by the gentiles rather than willed by the Jewish people. He exhorts the Haganah leaders to wipe this humiliating and soiled record of a sorely tried people from the consciousness of the "new Jew." Jews of the past, he argues, wallowed in the tragedy of exile, they really did not wish to be redeemed. Traditional Judaism while praying for redemption was actually bent on preventing it. The story has many artistic flaws; on the first level it is clearly didactic and verbose. Another level, however, which gives the story dramatic impact, is created by the hero, a psychologically motivated round character, whose inner conflicts become apparent during his sermon; by the catcalls which his speech evokes; and by the network of imagery interwoven through the fabric of the story.

Hazaz' most comprehensive work, *Ya'ish* (4 vols., 1947–52), is set within an ethnological framework and traces the life of Ya'ish, a young Yemenite Jew. An ascetic and a dreamer, he abandons his mysticism upon his arrival in Ereẓ Israel. The work is a deep psychological probing into the inner recesses of Ya'ish's mind. Hazaz demonstrates an amazing familiarity with Yemenite culture and its rich religious heritage. These form a closely woven pattern within which the trials and conflicts of the protagonist are enacted. The emotional range and tension of the hero's struggles are filtered through the agonizing experience of a man whose fertile imagination and hallucinations are those of a kabbalist, whose perception is deep and penetrating, and whose inner struggles reveal a suffering divided soul. A network of symbols is woven through the fabric of the story highlighted by such fantasy scenes as Ya'ish's ascent to heaven where he converses with the angels. The Yemenite world with its local color and folklore is vividly and realistically conveyed and Ya'ish's life, steeped in mysticism, stands out in sharp relief against the backdrop of the humdrum life of the community. During the time that Hazaz wrote *Ya'ish*, he also published *Be-Keẓ ha-Yamim* ("At the End of Days," 1950) a play set in Germany (Ashkenaz) during the time of *Shabbetai Ẓevi; the theme of redemption not only creates the mood but is the motivating force of the dramatis personae. Despite the historical setting, the confrontation of ideas and concepts transcends time and place. The hero, a zealous advocate of messianism, faces a hostile public led by the rabbi who is the very embodiment of rationalist orthodoxy. The central theme of the drama is similar to that of "*Ha-Derashah*"*:* Jews suffer exile because they lack the courage to be redeemed. *Daltot Neḥoshet* (1956), an adapted and extended version of "*Pirkei Mahpekhah*," was considerably revised stylistically. The author expanded the descriptive passages and restrained the expressionistic outbursts of the narrator whose personal feelings and attitude toward the revolution are now that of an outsider, the "objective observer." Instead of the earlier stormy fearful mood, the style is freighted with minute ironic descriptions. A retrospective tone weaves its way through the fabric of the story deflecting, and at times distorting, the narrator's angle of vision. *Ḥagorat Mazzalot* ("The Zodiac," 1958) is a collection of three stories: "*Ofek Natui*," "*Ḥuppah ve-Tabba'at*," and "*Nahar Shotef.*" The plot of "*Ofek Natui*" ("Horizon") unfolds against the background of the Lachish region, an area developed for agricultural settlement in the 1950s; the theme is again the basic Jewish problem of Diaspora versus "redemption." The protagonist of "*Ḥuppah ve-Tabba'at*" ("Canopy and Wedding Ring") is an old Tel Avivian woman who lost all her sons in the Holocaust. She supports herself through peddling notions in cafes and donates her last penny toward the writing and consecration of a *Sefer Torah*. This symbolic act underlines her death which comes to her while she has a vision on the seashore. She leaves life, in which she was an alien, to go to a world where she belongs. *Nahar Shotef*, an adaptation of "*Mi-Zeh u-mi-Zeh,*" shows similar stylistic changes as those effected in *Daltot ha-Neḥoshet. Be-Kolar Eḥad* ("In the One Collar," 1963; translated into French and Swedish) harks back to the struggle waged by the Jewish underground against the British in Palestine. The protagonists, young Jewish fighters condemned to death, cheat the hangman by committing suicide (the story is based on an actual occurrence). The question of Diaspora, redemption, and *Kiddush ha-Shem is also a major theme here. The concept of self-sacrifice as an ideal holy to man is present in all of Hazaz' works.

A revised edition of all his writings appeared in 1968. Hazaz more than once rewrote many of his works and while claiming that he remained faithful to the essence of his writings (*Moznayim*, 26 (1968), 261), he also insisted that whoever only read his early writings, without rereading them in the later editions, would not know him (*Ma'ariv*, Dec. 29, 1967). Hazaz' writings are extensive geographically, historically, and ethnographically. Geographically, he ranges over an area that extends from the far north of Russia to the south of Yemen, from Germany in the west to Ereẓ Israel in the east. Historically his creative imagination encompasses biblical times, prior to the revelation at Mount Sinai, extending to the Second Temple period before the destruction of the Temple, the messianic dreamers in Germany, the prerevolutionary period and the revolution years in Russia, the riots in the Diaspora and in Ereẓ Israel, the Holocaust generation and the one that has been resuscitated out of its own ashes, the fighters for Israel's freedom, and the new settlement in Israel. Ethnographically he roams over much of the Diaspora (from Russia to Yemen), probing into the life of different segments of the Jewish people and portraying them in their original dwellings and in their new homes. His themes form a network of fundamental ideas and phenomena of contemporary Jewish life, which he relates to the history of the nation. The modern Jewish period he sees as a link in the great chain of Jewish national history and of the different Jewish historical epochs: "These are multivariant parts of culture of one national personality which have been welded together" (*Hed ha-Ḥinnukh*, no. 37 (1968), 7). This concept of unity is also reflected in Hazaz' style and language, whose imagery and multiplicity of meaning are rooted in the ancient sources, thus encompassing and integrating simultaneously sources and originality. The wealth of his linguistic associations and his original imagery, at once real and fictitious, are the hallmarks of his style. Hazaz in his writings drew on his very wide knowledge of Talmud and Midrash to weave an intricate literary pattern. Thus many of his references and allusions are somewhat obscure to the average modern reader. In his revisions he has tended to minimize Arabic idioms which he had used extensively to create an effect of colloquial speech. He also deleted kabbalistic and *gematria* allusions and plays on cryptic words to arrive at a more limpid style. All his revisions thus have a sense of novelty and freshness. A movement from the tragic to the grotesque and satiric can be discerned in most of Hazaz' writings, especially in his later works. He uses different stylistic devices to achieve the tragic-comic. In his Russian tales the *shtetl* often rises to tragic stature, only to sink into caricature. A juxtaposition of sublime beliefs and the pettiness of those who profess them strikes the tragic-comic note in the Yemenite tales: thus the exalted redemptive theme of *Ha-Yoshevet ba-Gannim* is offset by parody; and the tragic moments in *Ya'ish* are undermined by the absurd. The play *Be-Keẓ ha-Yamim* borders on the tragic-grotesque. Hazaz was awarded the Israel Prize for literature in 1953.

[Jacob Bahat]

Hazaz was awarded the Bialik Prize for the second time in 1971 and the following year the Annual Prize of the American Academy for Jewish Research. In 1973 there appeared a collection of 16 short stories under the title *Even Sha'ot*, one of which, "*Otto ha-Ish*," has been translated into English, French, German, Spanish, Swedish, and Russian.

The first work published after his death by his wife, as his executor, was *Pa'amon ve-Rimon* (1975), consisting of 20 short stories written between 1969 and 1973. It was followed by *Mishpat ha-Ge'ulah* (1977), a collection of his essays and public addresses delivered on various occasions between 1950 and 1973, and in the same year a third printing of his 15 volumes was published in a paperback edition (Am Oved).

Hazaz was one of the initiators of Bet Ha-Sofer, the Hebrew Literary Center in the Old City of Jerusalem, and after his death the building was named in his honor.

An English translation of Hazaz's *Daltot Neḥoshet* (*Gates of Bronze*) was published in 1975. A French translation of *Be-Keẓ ha-Yamim* (*A la Fin des Temps*) was published in 1977 and an English translation entitled *The End of Days* 1982. "Raḥamim" appeared in G. Abramson (ed.), *The Oxford Book of Hebrew Short Stories* (1996). For English translations see: Goell, Bibliography, 2140–69, 2648, 2817; see also Spicehandler, in *Ariel* 1967. For further translations see ITHL at www.ithl.org.il. For a bibliography of Hazaz's works see R. Weiser (1992).

[Aviva Hazaz]

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HA-ẒEFIRAH (Heb. הַצְּפִירָה, "The Dawn"), a Hebrew paper appearing in Warsaw intermittently between 1862 and 1931. Founded as a weekly in 1862 by Ḥayyim Selig *Slonimski, *Ha-Ẓefirah* was devoted to science and technology, the only Hebrew paper of its kind during the 1860s and 1870s. The space devoted to news and Jewish scholarship was negligible. Slonimski, who had written scientific books in Hebrew from the 1830s, sought a regular forum for tracing the development of the sciences, which were expanding rapidly in those years. S. *Abramovitsh (Mendele Mokher Seforim), writing on science and technology, contributed regularly, but Slonimski was the principal contributor to most issues. The paper ceased publication after six months when the editor was appointed principal of the rabbinical school in Zhitomir. When that institution closed down in 1874, Slonimski revived *Ha-Ẓefirah*. Unable to obtain a permit in Russia, he published the paper in Berlin in the summer of 1874, with the aid of J.L. *Kantor. Although still mainly devoted to the sciences, Kantor introduced into the paper topical articles, political commentaries, and reports from Russia and other countries. Finally, Slonimski obtained his license and the paper again appeared in Warsaw from September 1875 until it ceased publication.

In Warsaw, too, Slonimski devoted the bulk of the paper to science and the rest to sections then common in the Hebrew press. In 1876, however, when Nahum *Sokolow began writing for the paper, its character changed as he increasingly supplemented scientific writing with topical articles and surveys of current affairs. Originally only a regular contributor, Sokolow became acting editor, then chief editor, and finally the author of almost all articles appearing in the paper. In the early 1880s he gradually reduced the size of the science section and made the paper more like its contemporaries, only more vibrant. Thanks to his introduction of variety into the paper's content, *Ha-Ẓefirah* enjoyed a wide circulation. Sokolow's name became synonymous with *Ha-Ẓefirah* and his articles on various subjects attracted many readers both among the *maskilim* and the Ḥasidim. Following *Ha-Yom's* lead, *Ha-Ẓefirah* became a daily in 1886, and began to provide an opportunity for new writers. Because Sokolow was deeply rooted in Polish Jewry, the paper served as the principal organ of Polish Jewry for almost two generations. *Ha-Ẓefirah* also printed reports from most of the Jewish centers throughout the world, particularly Ereẓ Israel and the United States. Sokolow realized the importance of innovation and novelty in journalism. Accordingly, he periodically changed the paper's format and writing style, to meet changing tastes. The attitude of Sokolow and the paper toward the Ḥibbat Zion movement and political Zionism was at first reserved, but after the First Zionist Congress *Ha-Ẓefirah* was faithful to Herzl.

Ha-Ẓefirah ceased publication early in 1906 when Sokolow became secretary of the World Zionist Organization. In 1910 the paper was revived with Sokolow as a regular contributor but edited by several of his disciples. During World War I the paper again ceased publication, but was reissued as a weekly in 1917 and as a daily in 1920. It did not appear from 1921 to 1926, when it was revived only to be discontinued again in 1928. *Ha-Ẓefirah* appeared for the last time in 1931, the year it permanently ceased publication. Among the paper's later editors were Isaac *Nissenbaum, Yiẓḥak *Gruenbaum, Joseph Heftman, and A.A. *Akaviah.

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[Getzel Kressel]

ḤAẒER, ḤAẒERIM (Heb. חָצֵר, חֲצֵרִים).

(1) a biblical term for seminomadic settlements on the edge of the Negev that were fenced in but not walled. The *ḥaẓerim* occupy an intermediate position between nomadic encampments and settled towns (Josh. 21:12, where it is translated as "villages"), but in the course of time some of them developed into towns (cf. Hazar-Gaddah, Hazar-Shual, Josh. 15:27–28, etc.). A similar meaning is apparently expressed by the term *ḥagar* (from the root meaning "to fence in"). Place names combined with *ḥagar* are frequently mentioned in the Negev in the lists of *Shishak's conquests; in later sources the term refers to the Roman *limes*. The Avvim, who were absorbed by the invading Caphtorim (Philistines), also lived in *ḥaẓerim* in the south as far as Gaza (Deut. 2:23). In the Targum Yerushalmi, *Ḥaẓerim* is considered a locality and is identified with Rafah.

[Michael Avi-Yonah]

(2) ḤAẒERIM (Heb. חֲצֵרִים), kibbutz in the northern Negev, Israel, 4½ mi. (7 km.) W. of Beersheba, affiliated with Iḥud ha-Kevuẓot ve-ha-Kibbutzim, founded by graduates of Ha-Ẓofim, among them "Teheran Children" and Israeli-born youth on the night of Oct. 6, 1946, on which 10 other new settlements were simultaneously set up in the South and Negev. In the first 10 years of its existence, Ḥaẓerim sought ways to

treat its desert loess soils and overcame isolation and siege in the *War of Independence (1948). The kibbutz economy was based on field crops (mostly irrigated), fruit orchards, cattle, and an industrial enterprise, Netafim, for drip irrigation equipment, which became its economic mainstay with sales in over 100 countries, 24 subsidiaries and plants (including facilities in Cuba and China), and sales of $230 million in 2002. The population of the kibbutz in 2002 was 791.

[Efraim Orni / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

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HAZEROTH (Heb. חֲצֵרוֹת, *ḥaẓerot*). (1) The second station of the Israelites on their journey eastward from Mount Sinai to Ezion-Geber between Kibroth-Hattaavah and Rithmah in the wilderness of Paran (Num. 11:35; 33:17–18). At Hazeroth, Miriam and Aaron "spoke against" Moses because he had married "a Cushite woman," and in punishment Miriam was "shut up" for seven days, during which the people waited there (*ibid.* 12:16). Hazeroth is also mentioned in the Bible together with Di-Zahab (Deut. 1:1). Its identification is dependent on the location of Mount Sinai. Those scholars who accept the traditional view of Mount Sinai at Jebel Musa identify Hazeroth with the oasis of ʿAyn al-Ḥaḍra, northwest of Dhahab (Di-Zahab?). Others who identify Mount Sinai with Jebel Ḥilāl locate Hazeroth at another ʿAyn al-Ḥaḍra in its vicinity.

(2) A Hazeroth is mentioned on the Samaria ostraca among the places paying tribute of wine and oil to Samaria in the time of the Israelite kingdom. It is possibly identical with ʿAṣīra al-Shamāliyya, 3 mi. (5 km.) north of Shechem.

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[Michael Avi-Yonah]

ḤAẒEVAH (Heb. חֲצֵבָה), moshav in the central Aravah Valley, southern Israel, about 23 mi. (38 km.) S. of Sodom, affiliated with Tenu'at ha-Moshavim. It was founded in 1965 as a *Naḥal border outpost settlement. The moshav lies about 3 mi. (5 km.) southeast of the spring, oasis, and ancient site by that name (*Notitia Dignitatum*, ed. by O. Seeck (1876) gives *Eisiba*, ʿAyn Ḥuṣub in Arabic), where Iron Age sherds were found. Under Roman rule, Ḥaẓevah was a border castle at an important road junction, and a military unit, the second cohort of the Gratiana Legion, was stationed there. Under the British Mandate, a police station was set up near the spring, which is the most abundant in the Israeli part of the Aravah Valley. In November 1948, the occupation of Ḥaẓevah by Israel forces lifted the siege of Sodom and led to the conquest of the whole Negev. In the early 1950s an experimental station, mainly for the propagation of forest trees, was established at the oasis. In the 1960s, the existence of rich groundwater reserves in the area was confirmed. Two small settlements exist nearer the spring, a village of private farmers and a group of immigrants, mainly from North America. The moshav economy was based on farming, mainly vegetables and hothouse flowers. In addition, fruit plantations, vineyards, and ornamental fish were cultivated. Tourism was another source of income, including guest rooms, catering, guided tours, and jeep treks. In the mid-1990s, the moshav's population was approximately 520, dropping to 420 in 2002.

[Efraim Orni / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

HAZKARAT NESHAMOT (Heb. הַזְכָּרַת נְשָׁמוֹת; "mentioning of the souls"), memorial prayer. In the Ashkenazi ritual, it is said after the reading of the Torah, during the morning service of the last day of Passover, Shavuot, and Sukkot (the three pilgrimage festivals), and on the Day of Atonement. In the Sephardi rite it is recited also on the Day of Atonement eve before *Ma'ariv.*

The prayer is divided into three sections; the principal part opens the prayer with the words, "*Yizkor Elohim*" ("May God remember… the soul…"). In common language the prayer has therefore become known as *Yizkor* or *Mazkir. Hazkarat Neshamot* expresses the fervent hope that the departed souls will enjoy eternal life in God's presence. There is evidence that this custom dates back to the period of the Hasmonean wars (c. 165 B.C.E.) when *Judah Maccabee and his men prayed for the souls of their fallen comrades and brought offerings to the Temple in Jerusalem as atonement for the sins of the dead (II Macc. 22:39–45). The belief that the meritorious deeds of descendants can atone for the departed appears frequently in aggadic literature (Hor. 6a; TJ, Sanh. 10:4, 29c; Sif. Deut. 210; Tanh. Berakhah 1; et al.). However, *Hai Gaon and his pupil *Nissim b. Jacob (c. 1000 C.E.) opposed the custom of praying for the departed on festivals and on the Day of Atonement, and of donating to charity on their behalf. They believed that only the actual deeds performed by a person during his lifetime count before God. Nevertheless, the memorial prayer became one of the most popular and cherished customs, especially in the *Ashkenazi ritual. Historically, it gained its significance through the *Crusades and through the severe persecutions that took place in Eastern Europe during the 17th century when thousands of Jews died as martyrs. They were all inscribed in the death rolls (called *kunteres or memorbuch*, or *yizker-bukh*) of their communities and commemorated in the memorial prayers held on the three festivals, on the Day of Atonement and, in some congregations, on the Sabbaths during the *Omer period (between Passover and Shavuot). In time, the death rolls came to include names not only of martyrs, but also of other members of the community, and the custom of memorial prayers for individuals evolved. After the memorial prayer for relatives, in the Ashkenazic rite the prayer *El Male Raḥamim is recited for those who have died. Nowadays, a special prayer is frequently added for the victims of the Nazi Holocaust and for the Jewish soldiers who died in wars, particularly in Israel. The traditional memorial service concludes with the recital of *Av ha-Raḥamim. The Torah Scroll(s) which had been taken out for the Reading of the Law is (are) returned to the Ark and the *musaf* service follows. In the Sephardi ritual, instead of reciting the *Hazkarat Neshamot* after the Torah service, everyone who is called to the Torah, after blessing it, recites a memorial prayer for his relatives. *Hazkarat Neshamot* mentions charitable offerings "for the repose of the departed souls" (Sh. Ar., OḤ 621:6) and in Orthodox synagogues, it is customary to promise donations during the service. It is also customary that those whose parents are still alive leave the synagogue during the entire *Hazkarat Neshamot* prayer. In the Conservative ritual, several introductory readings and appropriate Psalm verses in Hebrew and in the vernacular, as well as sections for meditation and special responsive readings in that language, were added to the traditional text of *Hazkarat Neshamot*. In the Reform ritual, the memorial service is held only on the last day of Passover and on the Day of Atonement as part of the late afternoon service before *Ne'ilah. This service consists of a shortened version of the traditional text, the recital of Psalm 23 and of selected poems by Ibn *Gabirol, *Judah Halevi, and *Baḥya b. Joseph, and of readings and meditations expressing the transience and evanescence of life and the merits of those who have lived an exemplary life. Solemn music accompanies this *Hazkarat Neshamot* service which concludes with the entire congregation reciting the *Kaddish. Synagogues are usually well attended by both men and women on the days that *Hazkarat Neshamot* is said; in some congregations these days have become occasions for major sermons by the rabbi.

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[Meir Ydit]

ḤAZKUNI, ABRAHAM (b. 1627), rabbi and kabbalist. Ḥazkuni, who was born in Cracow, was a disciple of Yom Tov Lipmann *Heller. He published a summary of Isaac *Luria's *Sefer ha-Kavvanot* under the title *Zot Ḥukkat ha-Torah* (Venice, 1659). His commentary on the *Zohar, *Shetei Yadot* consisting of two parts, *Yad Ramah* and *Yad Adonai*, was lost through the negligence of the printer, with the exception of eight pages which are preserved in Oxford and New York (JTS). Ḥazkuni's son Jacob later published his father's commentary on the Pentateuch under this same title (Amsterdam, 1726). Ḥazkuni also wrote *Zera Avraham*, a two-part work containing casuistic *derashot* on the Torah; *Yode'a Binah*, of unknown content; and novellae to the tractates *Beẓah* and *Mo'ed Katan*. He died in Tripoli.

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[Samuel Abba Horodezky]

HA-ẒOFEH (Heb. הַצּוֹפֶה).

(1) Daily Hebrew newspaper, published in Warsaw from 1903 to 1905. Following the journalistic tradition of **Ha-Yom*, *Ha-Ẓofeh* was well-balanced in its presentation of items of both Jewish and general interest, and upheld a Zionist point of view. Published daily, without interruption, the paper was managed by Y.A. Eliashov who also provided substantial financial support. Its first editor, A. *Ludvipol, was succeeded by H.D. *Nomberg. Ludvipol's regular staff included Simon *Bernfeld, Reuben *Brainin, A.L. Levinsky, I.L. *Peretz, and J. *Klausner, each of whom contributed material in his own field, e.g., stories, critical essays on Hebrew, Jewish and general literature, articles of political content, and feuilletons. Among the many other contributors to *Ha-Ẓofeh* were Hillel *Zeitlin, Mendele Mokher *Seforim, S. *Asch, Ḥ.N. *Bialik, S. *Ben-Zion, Y.D. *Berkowitz, I. *Bershadski, Y. *Gruenbaum, S. *Tchernichowsky, Ya'akov *Cahan, S.A. *Horodezky, V.Z. *Jabotinsky (he began his Hebrew writing here), M.L. *Lilienblum, J. *Fichmann, Itzhak *Katzenelson, Yaakov *Rabinowitz, Judah *Steinberg, Jacob *Steinberg, and Moshe *Smilansky.

Ha-Ẓofeh was bitterly opposed to the *Uganda Scheme. During the Sixth *Zionist Congress (1903), it reached the peak of its circulation (almost 15,000 subscribers), because of its reporting of Herzl's opening remarks on Uganda in a telegram (something hitherto unheard of in the Hebrew press), and also because of its representation at the Congress by Brainin, Bernfeld, Ludvipol, and Ḥermoni. A free copy of all of Bialik's poems was presented to its subscribers while subscribers to **Ha-Shilo'aḥ* were granted a substantial discount. The newspaper was discontinued in 1905, during the first Russian revolution, mainly because members of the *Bund struck against the publishing house in which the paper was published.

Ha-Ẓofeh conducted the first short-story contest in Hebrew literature. Y.D. Berkowitz won first prize, and his story was published, together with other worthy entries and the opinions of the judges, in *Kovez Sippurim* (1904).

[Getzel Kressel]

(2) Daily paper published in Tel Aviv. Established in August 1937 as the organ of the World Mizrachi Movement, it initially published three times a week and was edited by *Rabbi Benjamin (Yehoshua Redler-Feldman), and from December it was published daily and edited by Mordekhai *Lipson. The paper's editor-in-chief was Rabbi Meir *Bar-Ilan. Lipson was succeeded by Yeshayahu Bernstein.

Under Shabbetai Don-Yaḥia's (S. Daniel)'s editorship (1951–80) the newspaper generated support and understanding for the modern Orthodox outlook that the establishment of the State of Israel was the beginning of the messianic redemption, and that modern Orthodoxy should become an integral part both of the state's institutions such as the armed forces, and of the general population.

During the 1948–67 period key subjects the newspaper's op-ed and editorial columns dealt with at length were the relationship between religion and state, with particular attention to the budgetary needs of the state religious eductation sector, and to strengthening the chief rabbinate insttution – which was in effect a creation of the modern Orthodox sector. In 1961 Ben-Gurion criticized the paper, after the paper criticized him for a speech attacking the modern Orthodox community.

The newspaper gave expression to different shades of party opinion between Po'alei Mizrachi and Mizrachi. When Daniel was elected to the Knesset on the National Religious Party list, he resigned after only a month, preferring his work as *Ha-Ẓofeh's* editor. The newspaper led a hand-to-mouth existence, and several times faced closure. Its lack of resources limited news coverage. Though many rabbis and religious educators were among its readers it failed to widen its readership to the larger modern Orthodox public. The newspaper had a highly regarded weekly literary supplement mostly including Torani literature and edited by Yehoshua Shemesh, who became the paper's deputy editor.

The change in agenda of the NRP's Young Guard after the 1967 war found expression editorially inside *Ha-Ẓofeh*, which embraced the right of Jewish settlement in a Greater Land of Israel. Moshe Ishon, who was editor from 1980 to 1997, produced skilled polemics on the subject. After the 1993 Oslo accords, the newspaper found itself in direct conflict with the Likud government. Statements of leading Zionist rabbis castigating withdrawal from biblical territory were given prominence – raising afresh the question of the relationship between modern Orthodoxy and contemporary state institiitions like the army. With the modern Orthodox dividing into three strata: the moderate veterans, the *ḥaredi le'ummi*, and the right the newspaper found itself having to appeal to all.

When Ishon retired in 1997 at the request of the paper's directors, facing ever-dwindling ciruclation as readers transferred their loyalties to the general press with its superior news coverage, the newspaper changed direction with the appointment of Gonen Ginat, a journalist who turned the paper into a bold tabloid with racy headlines. In revamping the news coverage, he recruited younger journalists. Chayuta Deutsch was appointed literary editor, widening the scope from Torah literature to the broad range of Israeli literature. Haggai Huberman was the settlements correspondent. The paper investigated the relationship between Shin Bet agent Avishai Raviv and Yigal Amir, Rabin's assassin. It also played an important part in generating opposition among the modern Orthodox camp to the Sharon government's withdrawl from *Gush Katif in 2005. At times the paper became so scurrilous – such as accusing ḥaredi girls' seminary students of engaging in prostitution – that Ginat on several occasions was forced to apologize in the paper's pages.

Circulation in 2005 was 12,000 daily and 18,000 on Sabbath and holiday eves. In 2005 the National Religious Party sold the paper to Shlomo Ben Zvi, a religious newspaper tycoon, owner of *Mekor Rishon*, a nationalist quality weekly, Radio Kol Chai, a ḥaredi-orientated radio station, and founder of Techelet, an expermental Jewish tradition television channel. The newspaper maintains a website.

[Yoel Cohen (2nd ed.)]

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HAZOR (Heb. חָצוֹר), a large Canaanite and Israelite city in Upper Galilee. It is identified with Tell al-Qidāḥ (also called Tell Waqqāṣ), 8¾ mi. (14 km.) north of the Sea of Galilee and 5 mi. (8 km.) southwest of Lake *Ḥuleh. The city was strategically located in ancient times and dominates the main branches of the Via Maris ("Way of the Sea") leading from Egypt to Mesopotamia, Syria, and Anatolia.

Canaanite Hazor is mentioned in the Egyptian Execration Texts (19th or 18th century B.C.E.) and is the only Palestinian town mentioned (together with Laish) in the Mari documents (18th century B.C.E.) where it appears as a major commercial center of the Fertile Crescent with caravans traveling between it and Babylon. It is also frequently mentioned in Egyptian documents of the New Kingdom, in the city lists of Thutmoses III (where it appears together with Laish (*Dan), *Pella, and *Kinnereth), and of Amenhotep II and Seti I. In the *el-Amarna letters, the kings of Ashtaroth and Tyre accuse Abdi-Tirshi, king of Hazor, of taking several of their cities. The king of Tyre furthermore states that the king of Hazor left his city to join the *Habiru. In other letters, however, Abdi-Tirshi – one of the few Canaanite rulers to call himself king proclaims his loyalty to Egypt. Hazor is also referred to in the Papyrus Anastasi I (probably from the time of Ramses II).

The Bible contains a direct reference to the role of Hazor at the time of Joshua's conquests. *Jabin, king of Hazor, headed a league of several Canaanite cities against Joshua in the battle at the waters of *Merom: "And Joshua turned back at that time, and took Hazor, and smote the king thereof with the sword. For Hazor beforetime was the head of all those kingdoms… and he burnt Hazor with fire… But as for the cities that stood on their mounds, Israel burned none of them, save Hazor only – that did Joshua burn" (Josh. 11:10–13). Hazor is also indirectly mentioned in the prose account of *Deborah's wars (Judg. 4) in contrast to the "Song of Deborah" (Judg. 5) which deals with a battle in the Jezreel Valley and does not mention Hazor. According to I Kings 9:15, the city was rebuilt by Solomon together with *Megiddo and *Gezer. The last biblical reference to Hazor records its conquest, with other Galilean cities, by *Tiglath-Pileser III in 732 B.C.E. (II Kings 15:29). In Hasmonean times, Jonathan and his army, marching northward from the Ginnosar (Gennesar) Valley during his wars against Demetrius, camped on the plain of Hazor near *Kedesh (I Macc. 11:76). Josephus locates the city above Lake Semachonitis (Ant. 5:199).

Hazor was first identified with Tell al-Qidāḥ by J.L. Porter in 1875 and again by J. Garstang in 1926. The latter conducted soundings at the site in 1928. Four large campaigns of excavations – the James A. de Rothschild Expedition – took place between 1955 and 1958, under the direction of Y. Yadin on behalf of the Hebrew University, with the aid of PICA, the Anglo-Israel Exploration Society, and the Israel government. A fifth campaign took place in 1968.

The site of Hazor is composed of two separate areas – the tell proper covering some 30 acres (120 dunams) and rising some 130 ft. (40 m.) above the surrounding plain, and a large rectangular plateau, about 175 acres (700 dunams) in area, north of the tell. The latter is protected on its western side by a huge rampart of beaten earth and a deep fosse, on the north by a rampart and on the other sides by its natural steep slopes reinforced by glacis and walls.

Lower City

Garstang had concluded from his soundings that the large plateau (enclosure) was a camp site for infantry and chariots and since he found no Mycenean pottery (which first appears in the area after 1400 B.C.E.), he dated Hazor's final destruction to about 1400, the date he ascribed to Joshua's conquest. The excavations, however, revealed that the enclosure was not a camp site but that the entire area was occupied by a city with five levels of occupation. It was first settled in the mid-18th century B.C.E. (Middle Bronze Age II), to which the fortifications date, and was finally destroyed sometime before the end of the 13th century B.C.E. The discovery of Mycenean and local ware from the 13th century helped to disprove Garstang's date of its fall. Seven areas in different parts of the lower city were excavated and the same chronology was found in all. The first city (stratum 4) was followed by a settlement (stratum 3) from the end of the Middle Bronze Age II (17th–16th centuries) which was razed by fire. The city was rebuilt in the Late Bronze Age I (stratum 2, 15th century). This stratum represents the peak of Hazor's prosperity together with the 14th-century city (stratum Ib) in which time Hazor was the largest city in the area in the land of Canaan; City 1b suffered destruction in undetermined circumstances. The last settlement in the lower city (stratum Ia) was a reconstruction of the previous one and with its fall, before the end of the 13th century, occupation ceased in the lower city. Its destruction, both here and in the contemporary city on the tell, is to be ascribed to the conquering Israelite tribes, as is related in detail in the Book of Joshua.

In the southwestern corner of the lower city (area C) a small sanctuary was found on the foot of the inner slope of the rampart. It dates from stratum Ib and was rebuilt in Ia. A number of basalt steles and statuettes were found in a niche in one of the walls, one with two hands raised toward a divine lunar symbol – a crescent and a circle, and a statuette of a seated male figure with its head intentionally broken off. Benches for offerings line the walls of the temple. A pottery cult mask was found in a potter's workshop nearby as well as a bronze standard plated with silver and bearing a relief of a snake goddess.

Rock-cut tombs with an elaborate network of tunnels connecting them were found in the eastern sector of the lower city (area F), dating from the earliest stratum. A large building (probably a temple) with thick walls was constructed there in the next city which used the older tunnels for a drainage system. In the next stratum (stratum II) a temple was built. In stratum 1b the area assumed a definite cultic character and a large monolithic altar with depressions for draining the sacrificial blood stood there.

In several areas, a large number of infant burials in jars were found beneath the floors of houses from stratum III.

Four superimposed temples were found in area H, at the northern edge of the lower city. The earliest (stratum III) consisted of a broad hall with a small niche – a sort of holy of holies. South of the hall was a raised platform reached by several finely dressed basalt steps. The next temple was substantially the same in plan but a closed court was added and an open courtyard south of it. The court was entered through a broad propyleum. The courtyard contained a large rectangular *bamah* ("high place") and several altars. A clay model of a liver, inscribed in Akkadian, found in a pile of debris nearby, was intended for use by the priest-diviners and mentioned various evil omens. A bronze plaque of a Canaanite dignitary wrapped in a long robe was also found. In stratum 1b, the temple was composed of three chambers built on a single axis from south to north: a porch, a main hall, and a broad holy of holies with a rectangular niche in its northern wall. In its general plan it resembles several temples found at Alalakh in northern Syria as well as the temple of Solomon. A row of basalt orthostats (which may have belonged originally to the previous temple) forming a dado around the interior of the porch and the holy of holies which is very similar to some found at Alalakh and other sites, shows distinct evidence of northern influence. On either side of the entrance to the porch stood a basalt orthostat with a lion in relief (only one was found, buried in a pit). The following temple (stratum 1a) shows only minor alterations. Two round bases found in front of the entrance to the hall are apparently similar to the Jachin and *Boaz of Solomon's temple. The many ritual vessels (probably reused from the previous temple) include a basalt incense altar, with the emblem of the storm god in relief – a circle with a cross in the center, ritual tables and bowls, a statuette of a seated figure, cylinder seals and a scarab bearing the name of Amenhotep III. Outside the sanctuary were found fragments of a statue of a deity with the symbol of the storm god on its chest. The god had stood on a bull-shaped base.

A succession of city gates and walls ranging in date from the founding of the city to its final end was found in area K on the northeastern edge of the lower city. The gate from stratum III was strongly fortified, with towers on either side and three pairs of pilasters in the passage. A casemate wall adjoining it is the earliest example of this type found thus far in Ereẓ Israel. A similar series of gates was found in the 1968 season on the eastern edge of the lower city.

Upper City

Five areas were excavated on the tell proper where 21 levels (with additional sub-phases) of occupation were uncovered.

Settlement began here in the 27th century B.C.E. (end of the Early Bronze Age II), and, after a gap between the 24th and 22nd centuries, it was resettled in the Middle Bronze Age I (stratum XVIII). From the period of Hazor's zenith (15th century) parts of a large palace (the residence of the king?) and temple were uncovered which contained part of an orthostat with a lioness in relief similar to the lion orthostat from the contemporary temple in the lower city. Stratum XIII, the last Late Bronze Age city on the tell, shows the same signs of destruction in the 13th century as were found in the lower city. The upper city, however, in contrast, was resettled after a short interruption, but not in the form of a true city. Most of its constructions are still of a seminomadic character – silos, hearths, and foundations for tents and huts. These remains are essentially identical with those of the Israelite settlements in Galilee in the 12th century and indicate that the majority of this settlement occurred only after the fall of the cities and provinces of Canaan.

Stratum XI is an 11th-century, unfortified Israelite settlement, with a small high place. Only from the time of Solomon onward did Hazor return to its former splendor, though on a smaller scale than in Canaanite times. Solomon rebuilt and fortified the upper city (stratum X) with a casemate wall and a large gate with three chambers on either side and two towers flanking the passage. These are identical with the fortifications he constructed at Gezer and Megiddo (cf. I Kings 9:15). The following city was destroyed by fire and rebuilt by the House of *Omri in the ninth century (stratum VIII) which erected a strong citadel covering most of the western part of the tell (area B). The citadel is symmetrical in plan with two long halls running from east to west and surrounded on three sides by chambers. The entrance was ornamented with proto-Aeolic capitals and a monolithic lintel. Near the citadel were a number of public buildings. The citadel was strengthened in the eighth century and continued in use until Hazor's conquest by Tiglath-Pileser III in 732 B.C.E.

A large storehouse with two rows of pillars in the center (mistakenly interpreted as Solomon's stables by Garstang) also dates to stratum VIII (House of Omri). Stratum VI (eighth century) was destroyed by an earthquake, possibly the one which occurred in the days of *Jeroboam II, mentioned in the Book of Amos. The last fortified city at Hazor is represented by stratum V, and after its destruction by the Assyrians the city remained uninhabited except for a temporary unfortified settlement (stratum IV). A large citadel in stratum III was evidently constructed by the Assyrians and continued in use in the Persian period. Another citadel, from stratum I, is attributed to the second century, i.e., the Hellenistic period.

In the 1968 season a large underground water system was discovered at the center of the southern edge of the mound facing the natural spring below. It has the same plan (although on a much larger scale) as the famous one at Megiddo, and was hewn out of the rock at the same period, i.e., the ninth century B.C.E. (Hazor stratum VIII).

[Yigael Yadin]

Later Excavations and Chronology

Since 1990 excavations have been conducted at the site by A. Ben-Tor. Limited remains from the Early Bronze period were found in deep soundings (Strata XXI–XIX), mainly from the EB II and EB III with a fine assemblage of Khirbet Kerak ware. Only a handful of shards are known from the Intermediate Bronze Age (Stratum XVIII). Hazor flourished in the Middle Bronze Age II (Strata pre-XVII, XVII, XVI and post-XVI in the upper city; Strata 3–4 in the lower city) with the lower city being settled for the first time with impressive defense systems (earthen rampart and moat, and gateways) and the corner of a palace. Cuneiform tablets date from this period: a clay liver model, a bilingual Sumero-Akkadian text, a legal document, and an economic text and a fragment of a royal letter. The Late Bronze Age strata (upper city: Strata XV–XIII; lower city: Strata 2–1A) were separated from the preceding Middle Bronze Age city by a substantial destruction layer (Stratum post-XVI). The Late Bronze Age city included a number of major architectural monuments such as the earthen ramparts, the city gates, and the temples (the Stelae Temple in Area C; Orthostat Temple in Area H). Stratum XIV was destroyed in a fire and this may have been at the time of Seti I (end of the 14th century B.C.E.). The final phase of occupation in the Late Bronze Age was also destroyed. Yadin attributed this to the Israelites as described in Joshua 11:10. The exact date of this destruction is still unclear. The settlement in the Iron Age I (Strata XII–XI) was not very impressive, consisting mainly of storage pits and foundations of temporary structures. Monumental structures belong to the Iron Age II–III (Strata X–IV) and these include the fortifications: a six-chambered city gate and casemate walls. They were dated by Yadin to the 10th century (following I Kgs. 9:15), but attempts have recently been made to lower this date. Later works include the construction of a wall around the acropolis and the hewing of a water supply system. Hazor was conquered and destroyed in 732 B.C.E. An Assyrian citadel and palace are known (Stratum III), as well as a few remains from the Persian and Hellenistic periods (Strata II–I).

[Shimon Gibson (2nd ed.)]

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ḤAZOR (ha-Gelilit; Heb. חָצוֹר (הַגְּלִילִית), development town with municipal council status in eastern Upper Galilee, N.E. of Rosh Pinnah and 2½ mi. (4 km.) S. of the mound of ancient Hazor. The site was chosen in 1950 and its first housing schemes were ready in 1953, taking in immigrants from the Rosh Pinnah *ma'barah* and newcomers and having a population of 895 by the end of that year. Large numbers of immigrants, principally from Middle East and North African countries, were housed at Ḥaẓor, but many of them left after a short interval, due to poor local conditions. Later, when economic opportunities improved, the population grew again and reached 5,250 at the end of 1969. In the mid-1990s, it was approximately 8,190, and at the end of 2002 it reached 8,550, on a municipal area of 2 sq. mi. (5.2 sq. km.). Ḥaẓor's assets have been a favorable location for communications, a rich farming hinterland in the Ḥuleh Valley, an ample water supply, and the availability of level ground for industrial enterprises. A drawback has been the proximity of two other towns – Safed and Kiryat Shemonah. Income has been considerably below the national average.

[Shlomo Hasson / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

ḤAẒOR ASHDOD (Heb. חָצוֹר אַשְׁדּוֹד), kibbutz in the southern Coastal Plain of Israel, affiliated with Kibbutz Arẓi Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir. It was founded together with 10 other settlements in the south and the Negev on Oct. 6, 1946, by a group which had previously founded *Gevulot as a Negev outpost. The members were joined by pioneer youth from the U.S., Bulgaria, and other countries. Ḥaẓor Ashdod had a population of 535 in 1968 and 560 in 2002. The kibbutz engaged in farming based on field crops and poultry and a number of successful enterprises, including Solbar Industries, manufacturing soy protein concentrates with sales in 45 countries, Danor, specializing in soy phytochemicals, and SafePlace, specializing in safety accreditation. The name Ḥaẓor is assumed to be historical as it is mentioned by Eusebius (Onom. 20:1; 30:22, et al.). The name of the nearest city, *Ashdod, was later added to distinguish between the kibbutz and the development town *Ḥaẓor, situated in Galilee.

WEBSITE: come.to/hatzor.

[Efraim Orni / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

HA-ZORE'A (Heb. הַזּוֹרֵעַ; "the Sower"), kibbutz on the western outskirts of the Jezreel Valley, Israel, affiliated with Kibbutz Arẓi Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir. It was founded in 1936, during the Arab riots, by a group of the Zionist pioneer Werkleute movement from Germany. Later, immigrants from Bulgaria, Syria, and other countries joined the settlement, which in 1968 had 610 inhabitants. The population rose to approximately 1,030 in the mid-1990s but declined to 915 in 2002. Its economy has been based on highly intensive farming, including the breeding of ornamental fish and water lilies, a Quality Control Center with a laboratory for calibration tests, and a factory for polyethylene packaging material. Its well-known furniture factory was closed down. The Manasseh Forest, one of Israel's largest forests, is located nearby. Ha-Zore'a has an art and antiquities museum, Bet Wilfred Israel, housing inter alia Wilfred *Israel's Far Eastern art treasure collection.

WEBSITE: www.hazorea.org.il.

[Efraim Orni / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

HA-ZORE'IM (Heb. הַזּוֹרְעִים), religious moshav in eastern Lower Galilee, Israel, affiliated with the Ha-Po'el ha-Mizrachi moshav association. It was founded in 1939 on land provided by the Palestine *Jewish Colonization Association. The settlers, who came from several countries, engaged mainly in raising field crops, livestock, and orchards. In the course of the years farming failed to support the settlers and today only a few still earn their livelihoods in agriculture (poultry, dairy cattle, and vegetables), with most working outside the moshav. Remnants of an ancient village assumed to be Serungiya (or Sirgunya) in the talmudic period (Gen. R. 1:6) were found here. The present settlement initially bore this name but the name of the founding group ("the Sowers") was later officially recognized. In 1968 its population was 300, rising to 400 in 2002, with expansion underway.

WEBSITE: www.hazorim.co.il

[Efraim Orni / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

ḤAZZAN (**Hazan**), Turkish family, apparently of Spanish origin. Many of its members were scholars. In addition to Israel Moses b. Eliezer *Ḥazzan, the following members of the family may be mentioned. JOSEPH BEN ELIJAH ḤAZZAN (d. after 1694) was a pupil of Joseph *Trani, colleague of Ḥayyim *Benveniste in Constantinople, and the teacher of Abraham Israel Ze'evi. From Constantinople he proceeded to Smyrna, and from there to Jerusalem, where he died. He was the author of *Ein Yehosef* (Smyrna 1735), on *Bava Meẓia*, and some responsa – most of his responsa were destroyed in a fire together with other manuscripts; *Ein Yosef* (Smyrna, 1675), homilies on the weekly readings of the Bible; and a commentary on the *Ein Ya'akov*, to which he refers in the preface to the *Ein Yosef*. A commentary on the Pentateuch has also remained in manuscript. ḤAYYIM (d. 1712), his son, was one of the rabbis of Smyrna. He later served as a rabbi in *Egypt and then proceeded to Jerusalem. Queries were addressed to him from different countries. During 1704–7, together with Abraham Rovigo, he traveled in Western Europe as an emissary of the Jerusalem community. He continued alone to Eastern Europe and died in Mir, Lithuania. He was the author of *Shenot Ḥayyim* (Venice, 1693), sermons on the Pentateuch, as well as novellae and responsa left in manuscript. His son DAVID (18th century) was one of the scholars of Jerusalem, where he had been born. In the 1720s he traveled in Western Europe as an emissary of the Jerusalem community, then proceeded to Smyrna, where he established a printing press. David was the author of *Ḥozeh David* (Amsterdam, 1724), a commentary on the Psalms; *Kohelet Ben David* (Salonika, 1748), on Ecclesiastes; *Agan ha-Sahar* (Salonika, 1750), on Proverbs; and other works.

Jacob Ḥazzan (d. 1802), a Jerusalem scholar, was also an emissary of the Jerusalem community from 1770 to 1775 in Turkey, Western Europe, and Poland. JOSEPH RAPHAEL BEN ḤAYYIM JOSEPH (1741–1820), known as *ha-Yare'aḥ* from the first letters of his name (Y-osef R-aphael b. Ḥ-ayyim), was a rabbi in Smyrna. In 1811 he proceeded to Hebron and after two years went to Jerusalem where he was appointed *rishon le-Zion*. He was the author of *Ḥikrei Lev* (7 vols., Salonika-Leghorn, 1787–1832), novellae on the four parts of the Shulḥan Arukh, and *Ma'arekhei Lev* (Salonika, 1821–22) in two parts, homilies. His sons were Eliezer, Elijah Raḥamim, Isaac, and ḤAYYIM DAVID; Ḥayyim *Palaggi was his grandson. ELIEZER (d. 1823) was a rabbi in Jerusalem, where he died. His works, *Ḥakor Davar, ʿAmmudei ha-Arazim*, on the *Sefer Yere'im* of Eliezer of Metz, and kabbalistic novellae have remained in manuscript. He was the father of Israel Moses *Ḥazzan. ELIJAH RAḤAMIM (d. 1840) was a rabbi of Smyrna and the author of *Oraḥ Mishpat* (Salonika, 1858), on the Shulḥan Arukh *Ḥoshen Mishpat*. He left in manuscript responsa, sermons for Sabbaths and festivals, and *Even ha-Mikkaḥ*, on the *Mikkaḥ u-Mimkar* of *Hai Gaon. A number of his responsa are contained in the *Ḥikrei Lev* of his father. ḤAYYIM DAVID (1790–1869) was born in Smyrna. At the age of 20 he went to Constantinople and in 1840 he was appointed rabbi in Smyrna. He settled in Jerusalem in 1855 and in 1861, succeeding Ḥayyim Nissim Abulafia, was appointed *rishon le-Zion*. He was the author of *Torat Zevaḥ* (Salonika, 1852), on the law of *sheḥitah; Nediv Lev* (2 pts. Salonika-Jerusalem, 1862–66), responsa; *Yitav Lev* (Smyrna, 1868), homilies; *Yishrei Lev* (*ibid.*, 1870), various novellae; and other works in manuscript. SOLOMON ḤAZZAN (d. 1856) was rabbi of *Alexandria and died in Malta. He was the author of *Sefer ha-Maʿalot li-Shelomo* (1894), a compilation of biographies of scholars not included in the *Shem ha-Gedolim* of Ḥ.J.D. Azulai. ELIJAH BEKHOR BEN ABRAHAM (d. 1908), grandson of Ḥayyim David, was born in Smyrna. In 1872–74 he went to North Africa as an emissary of the Jerusalem community. In 1874 he was appointed rabbi of *Tripoli and from there went to Alexandria, where he died. He was the author of *Taʿalumot Lev* (Leghorn-Alexandria, 1879–1902), responsa in four parts; *Neveh Shalom* (Alexandria, 1894), on the customs of Alexandria; *Zikhron Yerushalayim* (Leghorn, 1874), on love of the Holy Land; and other works.

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[Simon Marcus]

ḤAZZAN (pl. **Ḥazzanim**) (Heb. חַזָּן, חַזָּנִים), cantor officiating in a synagogue; used in this specific sense since the Middle Ages.

History of Role and Function

The word frequently occurs in talmudic sources, where it denotes various types of communal officials, most prominently the *ḥazzan ha-keneset*. This official performed certain duties in the synagogue, such as bringing out the Torah scrolls for readings (Sotah 7:7–8) and blowing a trumpet to announce the commencement of the Sabbath and festivals (Tosef., Suk. 4:12). He was not, however, regularly required to chant the synagogue service but could do so by request (TJ, Ber. 9:1, 12d); in talmudic times there was no permanent cantor and any member of the congregation might be asked to act as *sheli'aḥ ẓibbur* (TJ, Ber. 5:3, 9c). It was during the period of the *geonim* that the *ḥazzan* became the permanent *sheli'aḥ ẓibbur*. Among the factors which contributed to this change were the increasing complexity of the liturgy and the decline in the knowledge of Hebrew, together with a desire to enhance the beauty of the service through its musical content. The *ḥazzan ha-keneset*, who traditionally guarded the correct texts and selected new prayers, was a natural choice. When **piyyutim* began to take an important place in the liturgy of the synagogue, it was the *ḥazzan* who would recite them and provide suitable melodies. Some of the *paytanim* were themselves *ḥazzanim*. The recitation of the *piyyutim* was called *ḥizana* (*ḥizanatun*) by the Arabic-speaking *paytanim* and the Hebrew equivalent *ḥazzanut* (*ḥazzaniyyah* among Sephardi communities) came to refer to the traditional form of chanting the whole service, and later to the profession of cantor also.

During the Middle Ages the status of the *ḥazzanim* rose, and they were given better salaries, longer tenure of office, and more communal tax exemptions. The post of *ḥazzan* was "the most permanent and continuous synagogue office, one which underwent relatively few changes after the early Middle Ages" (Baron, Community, 2 (1942), 100). In Northern Europe eminent rabbis served as *ḥazzanim*, among them Jacob *Moellin ha-Levi (Maharil) of Mainz (c. 1360–1427), who established strict norms for Ashkenazi *ḥazzanim* and some of whose chants are still in use. Gradually, the qualifications demanded of a *ḥazzan* became fixed. He was required to have a pleasant voice and appearance, to be married, to have a beard, to be fully familiar with the liturgy, to be of blameless character, and to be acceptable in all other respects to the members of the community (Sh. Ar., OḤ 53:4ff.). These strict requirements were modified occasionally, but were rigorously enforced on the High Holy Days. Ironically, the growing popularity of the *ḥazzan* made him the most controversial communal official. His dual role of religious representative and artistic performer inevitably gave rise to tensions (which persist in modern times). In many communities priority was given to a beautiful voice and musical skill over the traditional requirements of learning and piety. Leading rabbis castigated the *ḥazzanim* for needless repetition of words and for extending their chanting of the prayers with the sole purpose of displaying the beauty of their voices.

The emancipation of European Jewry led to important changes in the style and content of synagogue music. Traditional melodies were now set down in musical notation with harmonies to be sung by *ḥazzan* and choir. New melodies were composed under the influence of modern European musical trends and techniques. The pioneer in this field was Solomon *Sulzer, chief *ḥazzan* in Vienna from 1825 to 1890; he was closely followed by Samuel *Naumbourg of Paris, Louis *Lewandowski of Berlin, Hirsch *Weintraub of Koenigsberg, Moritz *Deutsch of Breslau, Abraham *Baer of Goteborg, Sweden, and many others. The ḥasidic movement, where the rabbi recited the prayers, and parts of the Reform movement which substituted the plain reading of the liturgy for the office of *ḥazzan*, remained outside this development. Indeed the joyful tunes of the Ḥasidim gradually became popular with many Orthodox communities. The use of the organ and mixed choirs introduced by the *Reform movement radically changed cantorial music. Hebrew and German prayer texts were chanted to German chorale tunes; these replaced the traditional prayer music. Rabbi Isaac M. Wise, architect of American Jewish Reform, substituted the plain reading of liturgy for the office of *ḥazzan*. Only a few houses of worship retained *ḥazzanim* (e.g., Alois Kaiser) who tried to develop a tradition of American synagogue music. Classical reform in the U.S. was modified under the impact of the Zionist movement and East European immigration, and pressure grew to restore traditional forms of worship. Two *ḥazzanim* who became professors, A.W. Binder at the *Jewish Institute of Religion and A.Z. Idelsohn at the *Hebrew Union College, reintroduced traditional liturgy and music into Reform rabbinical studies.

The period from the end of the 19th century until World War II is described as the "Golden Era of *Ḥazzanut*." Cantorial music had a singular appeal to the Jewish masses, who would fill their synagogues to overflowing in order to hear an outstanding *ḥazzan*. Improved communications enabled leading *ḥazzanim* to tour Jewish communities on a far greater scale than previously, thus increasing their reputations, sometimes to legendary proportions. They were equated with the great operatic tenors of the time, whose style they grew to imitate. Even non-Jews were attracted to the synagogues to hear famous *ḥazzanim* and Gershon *Sirota was invited annually to sing for the czar. Following the mass emigration of Jews from Eastern Europe to the U.S., great *ḥazzanim* like Sirota, Josef *Rosenblatt, Mordechai *Herschman, and Zavel *Kwartin gave concert tours in America, where all of them, except Sirota, remained. They were able to command enormous salaries and fees for concerts and High Holy Day services.

A major factor in building up the reputations and perpetuating the fame of the great *ḥazzanim* was the development of sound recordings, beginning with the first cantorial disk made by Sirota in 1903. Furthermore, lesser *ḥazzanim* adopted the style and melodies of the great cantors which they learnt from the records, and the singing of famous musical compositions became a chief attraction of synagogue services. In the postwar period prominent *ḥazzanim* included Moshe *Koussevitzky and his brothers Jacob, Simchah, and David, Leib *Glanz, Israel Alter, Moshe Ganchoff, Pierre Pinchik, Leibele Waldman, Sholom Katz, and, in the younger generation, Moshe Stern. Some, such as Richard *Tucker and Jan *Peerce, achieved international fame as operatic tenors, but retained their contact with the synagogue through recordings and High Holiday and Passover services. In Israel the development of *ḥazzanut* lagged behind the U.S. However, the regular radio programs devoted to both Ashkenazi and Sephardi *ḥazzanut* had a large following. Many of the world's leading *ḥazzanim* sang in Israel and a cantorial conference was held there in 1968. *Ḥazzanim* served in the chaplaincy corps of the Israel army, but only the large towns employed *ḥazzanim* on a regular basis. A number of successful *ḥazzanim* were attracted to the U.S., Great Britain, and South Africa, where the financial rewards were much greater. Most major Jewish communities in the world had professional associations of *ḥazzanim* and several bulletins and journals were regularly published. An important factor in assuring the future development of *ḥazzanut* was the growth of cantorial training schools, in the U.S. (at Yeshiva University, the Jewish Theological Seminary, and the Hebrew Union College), in Great Britain (at Jews' College), and in Israel (at the Selah Seminary in Tel Aviv, and elsewhere).

[Hyman Kublin]

Later Developments

ISRAEL. In the 1970s the growing shortage of qualified *ḥazzanim* in the Diaspora was partly met by the increasing tendency on the part of Israeli *ḥazzanim* to officiate in communities in the Diaspora on the High Holy Days. A number of Diaspora *ḥazzanim* who immigrated to Israel, on retirement devoted themselves to the training of *ḥazzanim* (among them was Shelomoh Mandel of Johannesburg). In 1979, the Israel Institute for Religious Music in Jerusalem issued *Ve-Shinantam Le-Vonecha* for the teaching of the cantillation of the Bible according to the various traditions, Ashkenazi, Sephardi, Moroccan, and Yemenite, edited by its director Judah Kadaki, with the expert advice of Prof. I. Yeivin and Dr. Avigdor Herzog. In 1980 it issued two records of the traditional liturgy recordings of the prayers of the Jews of Salonika and Libya.

The First World Conference on Jewish Music, held in Jerusalem in 1978, included various aspects of *ḥazzanut.*

From 1977, an annual "*Ḥazzanut* Week" was held in Tel Aviv with the regular participation of David Koussevitzky. In 1978, the *ḥazzan* Shelomoh Ravitz, who has been in Tel Aviv since 1932, was appointed a "Yakir Tel Aviv" (Distinguished Citizen of Tel Aviv). Synagogue choirs are rare in Israel, but that of the Central Synagogue of Haifa, established by the *ḥazzan* Leon Kornitzer, was regarded as one of the best in the world, and celebrated its 40th anniversary in 1979. From 1950 it was conducted by Isaac Heilman.

The 1980s saw the gradual disappearance of *ḥazzanut* from synagogues in Israel, with only a few synagogues employing professional cantors. The only synagogue in the country with a permanent choir for Sabbaths and holidays was the Great Synagogue in Jerusalem, led by Eli Jaffe. Concert *ḥazzanut* was replacing synagogue *ḥazzanut* as the number of well-attended cantorial concerts continued to grow. In 1986, Dr. Mordecai Sobol established the Yuval Ensemble, composed of cantors, singers, and instrumentalists. The ensemble appeared in liturgical music concerts throughout Israel; it also took part in the Israel Festival in 1991. Cantorial training schools were founded in Tel Aviv, Bat Yam, Petaḥ Tikvah, and Jerusalem. The Renanot Institute, directed by Ezra Barnea, continued the dissemination of the melodies of the various Jewish communities. Tape recordings were produced for the High Holy Day, Festival, and Sabbath prayers and for the Passover *Seder* in the style of the different Jewish communities.

The series of books edited by Yehuda Kadari, *Ve-Shinantem le-Vanekha*, for the study of Torah cantillation in the tradition of the various Jewish communities, was completed. Renanot published *Mi-Zimrat Kedem*, edited by Edwin Seroussi, on the life of the Turkish cantor and Rabbi Isaac Algazi, one of the greatest Sephardi cantors.

The Tel Aviv Beth Hatefutsoth Museum's Center for Jewish Music, under the direction of Dr. Avner Bahat, began operations in 1982 and among other things has produced tapes of prayers in the traditions of the Jewish communities of Koenigsberg and Danzig sung by Cantor Naftaly Herstik as well as of works by the composer Alberto Hamzi. Tel Aviv University's music department marked the 80th birthday of Prof. Ḥanoch Avenary, an outstanding contemporary scholar of Jewish music and *ḥazzanut*, with a special edition of its journal, *Orbis Musica.* Two books by Akiva Zimmerman appeared in Tel Aviv, *Be-Ron Yaḥad* (1988), on the world of liturgical and Jewish music, and *Sha'arei Ron* (1992), on *ḥazzanut* in responsa literature and Jewish law. In 1992, upon the 50th anniversary of the death of the singer and cantor Joseph Schmidt, there was established in Tel Aviv a public committee to perpetuate his memory. Thus far there has appeared a memorial tape with selections of prayers and songs from Joseph Schmidt's repertoire sung by Cantor Moshe Stern. This tape was produced by the curator of the Jewish museum in Augsburg, Ayala-Helga Deutsch.

Prof. Isaac Bacon of Beersheba and Bar-Ilan universities published a book in 1991 containing the tunes of his father, Cantor Hirsch Leib Bacon. This is the first time the melodies of this cantor, who was extremely well known in Galicia, have appeared in print. Worthy of note is the book of melodies published by Dr. Zvi Talmon, *Pa'amei ha-Heikhal* (1992), which offers tunes for Sabbath and Festival prayers and is a continuation of his first book, *Rinat ha-Heikhal* which appeared in 1965.

EUROPE. England was the only country in Europe which had organized *ḥazzanut* activity. The Cantors Association organized concerts on Ḥanukkah and Lag Ba-Omer and published an annual *Cantors Review*, edited by Elie Delieb. In Belgium, Pinḥas Khallenberg, who for 43 years had served as *ḥazzan* of the Central Synagogue in Brussels, died. He had also served as the senior Jewish chaplain of the Belgian army and was known as a painter and writer.

Leo Rosenblatt, for close to half a century *ḥazzan* in the Central Synagogue of Stockholm, retired. His *Ha-Shirim asher le-Yehudah* was published by the Cantors Assembly of New York in 1979.

The memorial day in honor of Salomon *Sulzer in commemoration of 100 years since his death was marked in his city of birth, Hohenems, with the naming of a street after him. In 1990, the Austrian government produced a special postage stamp in his honor. In 1985 Prof. Ḥanoch Avenary published a book devoted to Sulzer and his times. An important work for the field of *ḥazzanut, Hebrew Notated Manuscript Sources up to circa 1840*, written by Prof. Israel Adler, head of Jerusalem's Center for Jewish Music, appeared in 1985.

Three works treating liturgical traditions of Amsterdam Jewish communities appeared; *Shirei Ḥazzanei Amsterdam,* edited by Cantor Hans Blumenthal, is devoted to the prayer services of the Amsterdam Ashkenazi congregation, while *Tenu Shevaḥ ve-Shirah* and *Mi-Yagon le-Simḥah* edited by Cantor Abraham Lopes Cardozo, addresses itself to the tunes of Amsterdam's Portuguese community.

In England the status of *ḥazzanut* declined and the London synagogues were forced to reduce cantors' salaries. In 1988 a concert including cantorial music was given in commemoration of the 50th anniversary of *Kristallnacht.*

Soon after the collapse of the Communist regime in Eastern Europe, concerts of cantorial music were held in Poland, Hungary, Romania, and the area of the former U.S.S.R. with the participation of cantors from Israel and the United States. An academy for Jewish music and *ḥazzanut* was established in Moscow with the support of the Joint Distribution Committee and Cantor Joseph Malovany, its director.

The chief cantor of the Vienna Jewish community, Abraham Adler, who retired in 1992 after holding the position for 17 years, published two volumes of his works as *Zeluta de-Avraham.*

The final stamp minted by East Germany prior to its reunification with West Germany in 1991 featured the composer Louis Lewandowski, who had been the choir conductor at the Oranienburgerstrasse synagogue in Berlin, a synagogue destroyed on *Kristallnacht* and now being restored.

In 1985 a Joseph Schmidt Archive was established in Rueti near Zurich. The collection contains recordings, documents, announcements, and much other material on the life history of the singer and cantor Joseph Schmidt. The initiator of the archive and its director is Alfred Fassbind, who in commemoration of the 50th anniversary of Schmidt's death published a biography on him. The book, *"Ein Lied geht um die Welt" – Spuren einer Legende, Eine Biographie – Joseph Schmidt* (1992), includes the first discography of Schmidt's recordings.

UNITED STATES. The various cantors' associations continued to conduct schools for *ḥazzanut*, and in addition they existed in conjunction with Yeshiva University (Orthodox), the Jewish Theological Seminary (Conservative), and the Hebrew Union College (Reform).

The Cantors Assembly of the United States, the largest of its kind in the world, published a quarterly *Journal of Synagogue Music*, as well as compositions by individual outstanding *ḥazzanim*, both past and present day, many of them hitherto unknown.

The oldest association of *ḥazzanim* in the United States, "the Jewish Ministers'" Cantors' Association of America expanded its activities and for the first time in many years held a conference in Atlantic City in 1980, on Ḥazzanut in the Eighties.

The largest center in the world for cantorial music is the United States, where great changes took place in the field of *ḥazzanut* in the 1980s and 1990s. Orthodox synagogues hardly employ any professional cantors, and in Conservative and Reform synagogues the main function of the cantor is that of musical director. Most of the Orthodox cantors belong to the Cantorial Council of America which holds a convention yearly and publishes an annual volume.

The Cantors Assembly held two conventions in Israel, one in 1987, marking 20 years of a united Jerusalem, and the second in 1992, noting 25 years of a united city. In addition, in 1991, during the Gulf War, a delegation of its members went to Israel and gave concerts as a sign of identification with the State of Israel. A special committee, led by Cantor Sol Mendelson, was set up to maintain links with Israel.

Among cantorial activities of note in the U.S. were Special Sabbaths organized by Park Synagogue in New York City devoted to the works of cantors and composers of earlier generations as well as contemporary ones. In charge of music activities in Park Synagogue was the cantor David Lefkowitz and the conductor Abraham Kaplan.

In commemoration of 100 years since the death of Solomon Sulzer a symposium was held in his memory sponsored by the Hebrew Union College, the Jewish Theological Seminary of America, the Leo Baeck Institute, and the Austrian Cultural Institute. Selections of prayers set to his music were aired and a special exhibit was mounted in his memory. The director of the event was Dr. Neil Levin.

Among the most famous U.S. cantors of this generation were Shlomo Katz (d. 1982), David Koussevitzky (d. 1985), Samuel Malovsky (d. 1985), and Ẓevi Aharoni (d. 1990). In Aharoni's honor, the University of Florida at Boca Raton established a memorial room which houses the important books in the fields of cantorial and Jewish music.

Books of notes in the sphere of cantorial music which appeared in the U.S. include *Chosen Voices* (1989) by Mark Slobin, surveying the history of *ḥazzanut* in the U.S.; *Synagogue Song in America* (1989) by Joseph A. Levin; and *The Golden Age of Cantors* (1992), edited by Velvel Pasternak and Noah Schall, which contains works by cantors of the "Golden Age" in America, biographies, an introduction by Irene Heskes, and cassettes tapes of the cantors performing their works.

Compact discs containing cantorial music have begun to appear; some feature contemporary cantors, others are recordings of music which previously appeared on phonograph records. There are also now video tapes of cantors. Of particular interest is a video made in 1990 by the National Center for Jewish Film of Brandeis University and produced by Sharon Puker Rivo and Cantor Murray E. Simon. It is of a film originally made in 1931 with the cantors Yossele Rosenblatt, Mordechai Herschman, Adolf Katchko, David Roitman, and Joseph Shlisky. Added to the film now are explanatory comments by the cantor, Prof. Max Wohlberg.

[Akiva Zimmerman]

Women in the Cantorate

Throughout most of Jewish history the cantor, or *ḥazzan*, was male. Ordination of women as cantors began in the United States in the 1970s. Between 1975 and 2000, several hundred female cantors were ordained. The major Jewish legal (halakhic) issue to be overcome was that of a woman fulfilling the obligation (*ḥiyyuv*) of public prayer for men who would say "Amen" to her blessing (*berakhah*). This ability and responsibility of the representative of the congregation (*shali'aḥ ẓibbur*) to fulfill the obligation (*le-hoẓi et ha-kahal*) for the community is central to the cantorial role. Because of this representative role, many traditional legal scholars believe that it is more complex to invest women as cantors than it is to ordain them as rabbis.

The Reform movement was the first to ordain women as cantors. As of 2005, three-quarters of all graduates from Hebrew Union College's (HUC) School of Sacred Music in New York were women. Worldwide, more than half of Reform cantors are women and there is some concern that the role of cantor in the Reform movement will be redefined into a female profession.

In the Conservative movement, the number of female cantors grew from zero to 30 percent between 1985 and 2005. Unlike the protracted national process that preceded the acceptance of women into the Rabbinical Assembly and as students in the rabbinical school, the 1984 admission of women to the cantorial program of the Cantors Institute of the Jewish Theological Seminary (JTS), where women had always been admitted as students of Jewish music, was accomplished by the decision of JTS chancellor Ismar *Schorsch. This led to some resentment among cantors in the field. Although JTS first ordained women cantors in 1986, the professional association of Conservative cantors (Cantors Assembly) did not admit them to membership until 1990.

By 2005, U.S. Reform (Hebrew Union College), Conservative (Jewish Theological Seminary), and Reconstructionist (Reconstructionist Rabbinical College) movements, as well as trans-denominational programs at Gratz College in Philadelphia and Hebrew College in Boston had formal training programs for cantors which ordained women. These *ḥazzanim* not only led services and educational programs; they also presided at life-cycle events, such as weddings and funerals.

[Rela M. Geffen (2nd ed.)]

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ḤAZZAN, ISRAEL MOSES BEN ELIEZER (1808–1863), rabbi and author. Ḥazzan was born in Smyrna, and in 1811 went with his father to *Jerusalem, where he studied in the yeshivah of his grandfather Joseph Raphael *Ḥazzan. In 1842 Israel was appointed a member of the *bet din* in Jerusalem and in 1844 journeyed to London as an emissary of the Jerusalem community. During his stay in London he wrote a pamphlet, *Divrei Shalom ve-Emet*, against a pamphlet issued by the recently established Reform movement in England; and another pamphlet against the decisions of the Rabbinical Synod at Brunswick under the title *Kinat Ẓiyyon* (Amsterdam, 1846). The same year he joined a group established for the purpose of fighting the Reform movement. He later went to Rome, where he was appointed rabbi (1847–54), and interceded on behalf of the Jews of Italy in the court of Pope Pius IX. From Rome he proceeded to Corfu, where he was rabbi for five years. He was then invited to *Alexandria, serving as rabbi and *av bet din* there until the end of 1862. He then settled in *Haifa but died in *Beirut, where he had gone on account of ill-health. His remains were taken for burial to Sidon since it was regarded as being within the borders of Ereẓ Israel. Ḥazzan also wrote *Naḥalah le-Yisrael* (Vienna, 1851), on the obligation of deciding laws of inheritance according to Torah; *Kedushat Yom Tov (ibid.*, 1855), against the attempt in Italy to abolish the second day of the festivals; and *She'-erit ha-Naḥalah* (Alexandria, 1862), a dispute between a merchant and two emissaries of Ereẓ Israel. It was later combined with the *Naḥalah le-Yisrael* (1862) but is part of a work *Neẓaḥ Yisrael*, which has remained in manuscript and is an attack on the *Vikku'aḥ al Ḥokhmat ha-Kabbalah* of S.D. *Luzzatto. Other works are *Iyyei 'ha-Yam*, in two parts (pt. 1 Leghorn, 1869; pt. 2 is still in manuscript), a commentary on the responsa of the *geonim*, and *Kerakh shel Romi* (Leghorn, 1876), responsa. Still in manuscript are *Ḥoker Lev,* responsa, and *Yismaḥ Lev,* sermons preached in Jerusalem and during his activity as an emissary.

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[Simon Marcus]

HE (Heb. ה; הֵא) the fifth letter of the Hebrew alphabet; its numerical value is therefore 5; pronounced as a fricative laryngeal. The earliest Proto-Canaanite form of the *he* is a pictograph of a calling (or praying) man 𓀠, 𐩠. This developed in South Arabic into 𐩠 and in the Phoenician script into 𐤄. Variants of the latter form survived in the Hebrew 𐤄, Samaritan ࠄ, and Greek (and Latin) "E", where it became the vowel *epsilon.* The Aramaic *he* unified the two lower horizontal bars into one vertical 𐡄. This form was adopted by the Jewish script, but later the left vertical separated from the upper horizontal stroke ה. The Natatean *he* joined the two downstrokes 𐢄 and thus the Arabic ه developed. ה׳ is used as an abbreviation for the Divine Name. It is also frequently found on *amulets where it signifies the five fingers of the hand. See *Alphabet, Hebrew.

[Joseph Naveh]

HEAD, COVERING OF THE. Jewish tradition requires men to cover the head as a sign of humility before God, and women, as evidence of modesty before men, although the Bible does not explicitly command either men or women to cover the head.

Men

According to the description of the priestly garb in Exodus (28:4, 37, 40), the high priest wore a miter (*miẓnefet*), and the ordinary priests a hat (*migba'at*). It was generally considered a sign of mourning to cover the head and face (II Sam. 15:30, 19:5; Jer. 14:3–4; Esth. 6:12). In talmudic times, too, men expressed their sense of grief while mourning by covering their heads, as did *Bar Kappara after the death of *Judah ha-Nasi (TJ, Kil. 9:4, 32b; TJ, Ket. 12:3, 35a). A mourner, one on whom a ban (**ḥerem*) had been pronounced, and a leper, were, in fact, obliged to cover their heads (MK 15a), as was anyone who fasted in times of drought (Ta'an. 14b). These people had to muffle their heads and faces. It was considered an expression of awe before the Divine Presence to conceal the head and face, especially while praying or engaged in the study of mysticism (Ḥag. 14b; RH 17b; Ta'an. 20a). The headgear of scholars was an indication of their elevated position (Pes. 11b); some of them claimed that they never walked more than four cubits (about six feet) without a head covering (Shab. 118b; Kid. 31a; also Maim. Yad, De'ot 5:6, and Guide 3:52). The custom was, however, restricted to dignified personages; bachelors doing so were considered presumptuous (Kid. 29b). Artistic representation, such as Egyptian and Babylonian tablets or the synagogue at Dura Europos, generally depict Israelites, (and later Jews) without head covering. On the other hand, some rabbis believed that covering a child's head would ensure his piety and prevent his becoming a thief (Shab. 156b).

According to the Talmud (Ned. 30b), it was optional and a matter of custom for men to cover their heads. Palestinian custom, moreover, did not insist that the head be covered during the priestly benediction (see J. Mueller, *Ḥilluf Minhagim she-bein Benei Bavel u-Venei Ereẓ Yisrael* (1878), 39f., no. 42). French and Spanish rabbinical authorities during the Middle Ages followed this ruling, and regarded the covering of the head during prayer and the study of the Torah merely as a custom. Some of them prayed with a bare head themselves (Abraham b. Nathan of Lunel, *Ha-Manhig* (Berlin, 1855), 15b, no. 45; *Or Zaru'a*, Hilkhot Shabbat 43). Tractate *Soferim* (14:15), however, rules that a person who is improperly dressed and has no headgear may not act as the *ḥazzan* or as the reader of the Torah in the synagogue, and may not invoke the priestly benediction upon the congregation. Moreover, the covering of the head, as an expression of the "fear of God" (*yirat shamayim*), and as a continuation of the practice of the Babylonian scholars (Kid. 31a), was gradually endorsed by the Ashkenazi rabbis. Even they stated, however, that it was merely a worthy custom, and that there was no injunction against praying without a head cover (Maharshal, Resp. no. 7; *Be'ur ha-Gra* to Sh. Ar., OḤ 8:2). The opinion of David Halevy of Ostrog (17th century) is an exception. He declared that since Christians generally pray bareheaded, the Jewish prohibition to do so was based on the biblical injunction not to imitate the heathen custom (**ḥukkat ha-goi; Magen David* to OḤ 8:2). Traditional Jewry came to equate bareheadedness with unseemly lightmindedness and frivolity (*kallut rosh*), and therefore forbids it (Maim. Yad, De'ot 5:6).

The covering of the head has become one of the most hotly debated points of controversy between Reform and Orthodox Jewry. The latter regards the covering of the head, both outside and inside the synagogue, as a sign of allegiance to Jewish tradition, and demands that at least a skullcap (Heb. *kippah*, Yid. *yarmulka*) be worn. Worship with covered heads is also the accepted rule in Conservative synagogues. In Reform congregations, however, it is optional.

[Meir Ydit]

Women

It was customary for most women in the ancient Near East, Mesopotamia, and the Greco-Roman world to cover their hair when they went outside the home. In biblical times, women covered their heads with veils or scarves. The unveiling of a woman's hair was considered a humiliation and punishment (Isa. 3:17; cf. Num. 5:18 on the loosening of the hair of a woman suspected of adultery; III Macc. 4:6; and Sus. 32).

In talmudic times, too, married women were enjoined to cover their hair in communal spaces (e.g., Ned. 30b; Num. R. 9:16). In a society so highly conscious of sexuality and its dangers, veiling was considered an absolute necessity to maintain modesty and chastity. If a woman walked bareheaded in the street, her husband could divorce her without repaying her dowry (Ket. 7:6). Some rabbis compared the exposure of a married woman's hair to the exposure of her private parts (Ber. 24a), and forbade the recitation of any blessing in the presence of a bareheaded woman (*ibid.*). The rabbis praised pious women such as Kimhit, the mother of several high priests, who took care not to uncover their hair even in the house (Yoma 47a; Lev. R. 20:11). Nevertheless, covering the head was a personal imposition and restriction from which men were glad to be exempt. According to Sotah 3:8, men differ from women in that they may appear in public "with hair unbound and in torn garments." In Eruvin 100b, one of the disadvantages or "curses" that is cited as an inevitable part of being female includes being "wrapped up like a mourner." Some aggadic sources interpret this custom as a sign of woman's shame and feeling of guilt for Eve's sin (Gen. R. 17:8; ARN² 9; Er. 100b and Rashi ad loc.; cf., also, the opinion of Paul in I Cor. 11:1–16). Girls did not have to cover their hair until the wedding ceremony (Ket. 2:1). It gradually became the accepted traditional custom for all Jewish women to cover their hair (see Sh. Ar., EH 21:2).

In the early modern period the practice of a woman's shaving off all her hair upon marriage and covering her head with a kerchief (*tichal*) became widespread in Hungarian, Galician, and Ukrainian Jewish communities. Justifications for this stringency were to ensure that a married woman's hair would never be exposed and to eliminate the possibility of a woman's hair rising to the surface during her ritual immersion in the *mikveh*, rendering it invalid. Opponents argued that shaving the head would make a woman unattractive to her husband. Toward the end of the 18th century some circles of women began to wear a wig (*shaytl*). This "innovation" was opposed by certain Orthodox authorities such as Moses *Sofer (see A.J. Schlesinger, *Lev ha-Ivri*, 2 (1928³), 109, 189) but continued to be widely practiced. In the early 21st century, a diverse range of customs connected with hair covering are followed by Orthodox Jewish women. Among some modern Orthodox women, there has been renewed interest in various modes of covering the hair after marriage. Many women who are not Orthodox continue the custom of covering their hair in synagogue.

[Judith R. Baskin (2nd ed.)]

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HEAD, EDITH (1897–1981), U.S. costume designer. Head was born Edith Claire Posener to Max and Anna Posener (née Levy) in San Bernardino, California. When her mother divorced and remarried, Edith took her stepfather's surname, Spare, and adopted his Roman Catholic faith. The family moved to Los Angeles when Head was 12. She received an undergraduate degree from the University of California at Berkeley and a master's degree in French from Stanford University in 1920. She returned to Southern California to teach at the Hollywood School for Girls. When asked to teach an art course at the school, Head signed up for night classes at the Otis Art Institute and then the Chouinard School of Art. In 1923, she married Charles Head, but the couple divorced in 1938; however, Head would use his surname for the rest of her life. Head responded to an advertisement from Paramount for a costume design artist in 1923 and won the position by borrowing designs from art school students at Chouinard. In 1927, she was appointed assistant to Travis Banton, Paramounts chief costume designer. Her first film credit as a costume designer was for the Mae West film *She Done Him Wrong* (1933). In 1938, Head became the first woman to lead a studio's costume department. Barabara Stanwyck even had Head written into her contract after her deft handling of the numerous costume changes in *The Lady Eve* (1941). In 1945 she started making regular appearances on Art Linkletter's *House Party* to give fashion advice to women, which was followed by her advice books *The Dress Doctor* (1959) and *How to Dress for Success* (1967) and later a syndicated advice column. In 1946, she worked on the film *Notorious*, which began a 30-year collaboration with director Alfred Hitchcock. Head received her first Oscar nomination for costume design in 1948 for *The Emperor Waltz*; she was nominated a total of 34 times in her career, winning Oscars for *The Heiress* (1949), *Samson and Delilah* (1949), *All About Eve* (1950), *A Place in the Sun* (1951), *Roman Holiday* (1953), *Sabrina* (1954), *The Facts of Life* (1960), and *The Sting* (1973). When Paramount failed to renew her contract in 1967, Head went to Universal, where her six-decade career finally came to an end in 1981 with her 1,131st film, the Steve Martin comedy noir *Dead Men Don't Wear Plaid* (1982).

[Adam Wills (2nd ed.)]

HEAPS, ABRAHAM ALBERT (1885–1954), Canadian Labour leader, politician. Heaps was born in Leeds, England and attended school until 13, when he went to work to help support his family. He apprenticed as an upholsterer, and opened his own workshop and managed a large furniture store before he immigrated to Canada in 1911.

Once in Winnipeg, Heaps worked as an upholsterer for the Canadian Pacific Railway and became active in the local labor movement. He also joined the English branch of the Social Democratic Party of Canada, and was a pacifist in World War I. After two failed attempts to secure a seat as alderman, Heaps was elected in a 1917 by-election and subsequently won his seat easily.

Heaps was one of the main leaders of the Winnipeg General Strike, heading the strikers' Relief Committee. He was charged with seditious conspiracy and, after his release on bail, traveled to various Canadian cities to raise support and funds for the defense of the strikers. His conducted his own defense at his 1920 trial, and was the only one acquitted of the eight charged with seditious conspiracy.

After several years in the insurance business, Heaps was elected in 1925 to the federal House of Commons. He served as a Member of Parliament representing the heavily Jewish riding of Winnipeg North until 1940, first for the Independent Labour Party and then for the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation (CCF). He served as parliamentary whip for the CCF after 1935, and with the head of the CCF, J.S. Woodsworth, he strongly advocated the passage of social legislation, such as the federal old age pension and unemployment insurance.

Heaps' greatest sense of failure was his inability to convey the threat of the totalitarian regimes in Russia, Italy, and especially Germany. Resorting first to quiet diplomacy, he tried in vain to convince the federal government to open Canada up to desperate Jewish refugees from Hitler's Germany. He was no more successful with the public condemnation of the government of Mackenzie King. Despite Heaps' often-stated belief in the complete and vigorous prosecution of the Canadian war effort in World War II, Woodsworth's opposition to the declaration of war in September 1939 made Heaps suspect as well, and he was defeated in the federal election of 1940. Heaps subsequently held several government jobs, before moving to Montreal, where he briefly worked in the dress industry and as an arbitrator of labor disputes before his retirement.

Heaps married Bessie Morris (d. 1938) in 1913, and they had two sons, David and Leo, both of whom earned the Military Cross for distinguished wartime records. Leo also served with the Israeli army during the War of Independence. Heaps remarried in 1947, to Fanny Almond.

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[Henry Trachtenberg (2nd ed.)]

HEART (Heb. לֵב, *lev*, pl. לִבּוֹת, *libbot*; לֵבָב, *levav*, pl. לְבָבוֹת, *levavot*). The corresponding Hebrew words only sometimes have the meanings in question but many translators and writers on Bible are, or act as if they were, largely unaware of the fact.

STRICTLY ANATOMICAL SENSES OF LEV AND LEVAV

Senses That Do Not Include the Heart

BREAST. The current English translations reveal an awareness that in Nahum 2:8 [7] *levav* means not heart but breast and rightly represent the women as "beating their breasts"; but breast is no less certainly the meaning of *lev* in Exodus 28:29–30 (three times in all). Again, in II Samuel 18:14–15, since it is only the attack of 10 of Joab's henchmen that finishes Absalom off after their leader has stuck three darts into the victim's *lev*, those darts must have been stuck, not into his heart, but into his breast. Somewhat similar is the case of II Kings 9:23–24. Jehoram is trying to flee from Jehu in his chariot, but an arrow from Jehu's bow overtakes him and strikes him "between the arms." Now, the rendering of some recent Bible translations (most recently NEB), "between the shoulders," is perhaps too free, but it is historically correct, since it can be seen on contemporary Assyrian reliefs that the lowness of the chariot floor compelled the charioteer to extend his arms horizontally when, like Jehoram here (verse 23), he held the reins in his hands. Add to this that the ground was level (Jezreel), and Jehu only a short distance behind Jehoram, and one must wonder what view of the course of the arrow through the hapless Omrid's chest was adopted by the same translators to account for the statement that "the arrow pierced his heart." What the words *va-yeẓe* (*wa-yeẓe'*) *ha-ḥeẓi mi-libbo* do mean is – word for word – "and the arrow emerged from his breast." Probably Jeremiah 17:1 is still another instance. This sense of *lev*, by the way, is not confined to biblical Hebrew (see Sot. 1:5; Mak. 3:12). The word *ḥazeh* ("breast"), unlike its Aramaic etymon, seems to have been used only of animals so long as Hebrew was a living language.

THROAT. This is what *lev* means in Isaiah 33:18; Psalms 19:15; 49:4; Job 8:10; Ecclesiastes 5:1. *Lev* is either parallel to *peh* ("mouth") or associated with the root *hgy* (which always denotes audible sounds, including the coo of the dove (Isa. 38:14; 59:11), the growl of the lion (Isa. 31:4), and the twang of the lyre (Ps. 92:4), and never silent meditation), or both, with the exception of Job 8:10, in which *lev* alternates with the *peh* of the otherwise identical phrase in 15:13. In fact, *lev* is the proper word for "throat" in biblical Hebrew, *garon* taking its place only where the former would be misunderstood (as where *lo᾿ yehgu be-libbam* would have meant not, "They cannot utter sounds with their throats," but "They do not speak sincerely," see Hos. 7:14).

Senses that Include the Heart

Even where the word *lev* clearly refers to something inside the body cavity, it does not always mean specifically the heart. It doubtless does when it is paired with "kidneys" (Jer. 11:20; 17:10; Ps. 7:10; 73:21), but probably more often it merely conveys the general idea of "the insides, the interior of the body"; and from this sense derives its use with *yam*(*mim*) ("sea(s)") and *ha-shamayim* ("the air" or "space") to express the notions "(far) out at sea" and "(high) up in the air (in space)" (Ex. 15:8; Ezek. 27:4, 25–27; 28:2, 8; Ps. 46:3; Prov. 23:34).

NOT STRICTLY ANATOMICAL SENSES OF LEV AND LEVAV

The interior of the body is conceived of as the seat of the inner life, of feeling and thought. Strong feeling is conceived of as a stirring or heating of the intestines (*me῾ayim*) – Isaiah 16:11; Jeremiah 4:19 [20]; Lamentations 1:20 – as well as of the heart – Deuteronomy 19:6; Jeremiah 48:36; Psalms 39:4. Gladness is a function not only of the heart (e.g., Prov. 23:15) but also of the kidneys (Prov. 23:16; cf. Jer. 12:2b), which also urge a certain course on a man. But it is the *lev*(*av*) that figures most often in references to the inner life, both emotional and – and this is its special sphere – intellectual. That is why when *lev*(*av*) is mentioned alone it is often hard to decide whether the underlying physical concept is specifically the heart or the inwards generally. At any rate, the Bible never mentions about the *lev*(*av*) anything that is literally physical, such as a heartbeat; nor does it ever mention any literal pain or ailment of it. That somebody's "heart" is sick means that he is grieving; that Israel's "heart" is obstructed (older translations, regrettably, "uncircumcised") signifies that it is religiously stubborn and intractable – cutting away the obstruction of Israel's "heart" of course means making it religiously reasonable. So, too, that a man says something "in his heart" means that he says it to himself, or thinks it; that he is "wise of heart" means that he is intelligent or skillful. One who has no "heart" is a dolt. A faithful English translation is precisely one that in most cases does not contain the word "heart," but either substitutes "mind," or sometimes "spirit," or – quite often – does not render the noun at all; for it is often hard to feel, let alone express, the differences between such pairs as "gladness of 'heart'" and plain "gladness," "he rejoiced 'in his heart'" and the bare "he rejoiced," etc. On the other hand, in the interests of both aesthetics and usefulness, "heart" should be substituted in English for the emotional kidneys and intestines of biblical Hebrew: the King James "my bowels were moved for him" (Song 5:4) is not either more beautiful or more enlightening than something like "my heart yearned for him." Finally, on the one hand the word *levav* illustrates biblical Hebrew's lack of a terminology for distinguishing clearly between mind (or "soul") and body; for when Psalms 104:15 says that bread fortifies a man's *levav* while wine cheers a man's *levav*, the first *levav* means "insides" if not actually "body," but the second one means "spirit." Nevertheless, the words *lev* and *levav* enable the language to come close to distinguishing between the two, the former by juxtaposition with *basar* (בָּשָׂר) the latter by juxtaposition with *she᾿er* (שְׁאֵר), two words meaning "body" (lit. "flesh"; see Ps. 73:26; 84:3; Eccles 2:3; 11:10). Psalms 73:26 helps us to detect the fact that the word ראשׁ (*ro᾿sh*; "head") in Isaiah 1:5 is a corruption, due to contamination by the *ro᾿sh* in the following verse, of an original *she᾿er*, the restoration of which yields for Isaiah 1:5b the sense, "Every body (not just the head but the entire body, see verse 6) is sore and every spirit is anguished."

[Harold Louis Ginsberg]

IN THE TALMUD AND AGGADAH

The rabbis adopted the biblical view that the heart is the seat of the emotions, and they applied this notion to every sphere of human action and thought. It is doubtful if they were aware of the circulation of the blood and the part played in this by the heart, but they did state that "all the organs of the body are dependent on the heart" (TJ, Ter. 8:10, 46b). In the list of ailments and maladies which render an animal *terefah* – defects from which they cannot recover – is the perforation of the heart (Ḥul. 3:1).

However, most of the references to the heart in talmudic literature belong to the sphere of ethics. When each of the five disciples of *Johanan b. Zakkai was asked to express his view on "the good way to which a man should cleave and the evil way which he should shun," Johanan gave his approval to the answers of R. Eleazer b. Arakh, "a good heart" and an "evil heart," since "the answers of all the others are included in his" (Avot 2:9). The heart is the seat of all emotions, both good and bad, and commenting on the fact that the longer form *levav* is used in Deuteronomy 6:5 "thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart," the Talmud emphasizes that even the evil inclination can be impressed into the service of

God, "with both thy inclinations" (the good and the bad; Ber. 54a). The frequently quoted statement, "the All Merciful requires [only] the heart" is not found in that form in the Talmud, but is stated by Rashi (to Sanh. 106b) on the basis of an assertion of similar content.

Prayer is referred to as "the service of the heart" (TJ, Ber. 4:1, 7a). The word **kavvanah* ("intention," "direction") is found in its fuller and in its verbal form as "the direction of the heart." Thus a person who in the course of reading reaches the **Shema* at the time for the obligatory reading of that passage as part of the liturgy: "If he directed his heart he had fulfilled [this obligation]" (Ber. 2:1). The **etrog*, which is regarded as the fruit of perfection, is compared on the basis of its shape to the heart (Lev. R. 30:14). The hypocrite is described as he who is "one thing in the mouth and another in the heart" (BM 49a). On the verse "I communed with my own heart" (Eccles. 1:16) the Midrash (Eccles. R. 1:16) enumerates over 60 emotions of the heart, "the heart sees, hears, speaks, falls, stands, rejoices, weeps, comforts, sorrows, can be arrogant, can be broken, etc.," each one demonstrated by an appropriate verse from Scripture.

For the halakhic problems connected with heart transplants, see *Transplants.

[Louis Isaac Rabinowitz]

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HEARTFIELD, JOHN (1891–1968), German photographer, graphic artist, and caricaturist; pioneer of artistic photomontage and collage. Born in Berlin as Helmut Herzfeld, he enrolled at the Munich Arts and Crafts School in 1908 and at the Berlin Arts and Crafts School to continue his studies in 1913. In 1916, as a protest against German hostilities against England he changed his name to John Heartfield. At the end of World War I, in 1918, he joined the German Communist party (KPD) together with his friend George Grosz. In 1917 they founded the satirical journal *Die Pleite* ("The Crash") together with John's brother Wieland, for which he created his first political and satirical posters directed against Fascism by using the technique of photomontage. In 1929, at the International Werkbund exhibition in Stuttgart, he showed several of his collages and photomontages in journals and as book covers under the heading *Benuetze Foto als Waffe* ("Make Use of Photography as a Weapon"). He also illustrated *Deutschland, Deutschland ueber alles*, a satirical book written by Kurt Tucholsky. As a member of the Communist Party and on the staff of the *Arbeiter-Illustrierten-Zeitung*, a weekly newspaper for working people, he published satirical attacks and was already a thorn in the side of the Nazis and had to flee after their rise to power in 1933. He was able to continue his activities first from Prague and later from Paris, where he met Walter *Benjamin in 1935. In 1938, he settled in London and received permission to work as a freelance cartoonist in 1943. After the war, he returned to East Berlin, became a much-honored professor there at the Academy of Fine Arts, and had many exhibitions in Communist Berlin, Warsaw, Moscow, and Prague. Most of Heartfield's montages foreshadow the catastrophe of World War II, such as the cover of a journal under the title *Italy in Chains* (1928). Among his most famous posters was the one called *As in the Middle Ages… So in the Third Reich* (1934), featuring a dead body braided onto the swastika.

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[Philipp Zschommler (2nd ed.)]

HEBER (Heb. חֶבֶר and חֵבֶר; "community").

(1) Heber son of Beriah son of *Asher son of Jacob (Num. 26:45) was among those who accompanied Jacob to Egypt (Gen. 46:17). He is the eponymous ancestor of the Asherite clan Heber (Num. 26:45). The importance of the clan is evident from the centrality of the genealogical listing of the sons of Heber among the Asherites (I Chron. 7:32–39).

(2) Heber the *Kenite, a descendant of Hobab, the father-in-law of Moses (Judg. 4:11), and the husband of *Jael (Judg. 4:17, 21; 5:24), who slew *Sisera. Heber had previously separated himself from the Kenites, the descendants of Hobab who dwelt in the Negev among the *Amalekites, and pitched his tents near Elon-Bezaanannim (Judg. 4:11; cf. I Sam. 15:6).

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HEBRAISTS, CHRISTIAN (1100–1890). Factors governing gentile enterprises in Hebrew scholarship prior to the latest phase of more widespread secular attitudes may be distinguished as (1) motivation; (2) scholarly facilities; and (3) occasion; appreciation and assessment of these ought to suffice to set the achievements of gentile Hebraists in the context of the cultural background, including economics, geography, and politico-religious history relevant in each case. Such considerations ought to precede the arbitrary division into chronological periods. Since, however, time and place cannot be ignored, the section numbers that follow will be used for reference back.

(1) **Motivation**. (a) Study of the "Old" Testament and of New Testament origins and presuppositions. It was generally assumed that the Latin Bible (in whatever textform lay before the scholar) corresponded exactly, or at least virtually, with the Hebrew original; but (aa) in the later Middle Ages it was occasionally glimpsed, and from Erasmus' time more frequently appreciated, that the Hebrew Bible and its primary versions each have their own internal text history. (b) Christian commitment to self-identification with the religious experience of Jesus, the apostles and the early Church, which had been formed by reaction to the Hebrew Bible, the institutions, and at first also the language of the Synagogue. This sometimes led to (bb) interest in post-biblical Jewish institutions and their

exploration through verbal contacts with Jews and later from literary sources. The synchronistic assumptions of traditional Judaism regarding the coevality from Sinai of the Pentateuch and the institutional elaboration of Jewish life at its contemporary phase of development (as the modern scholar would consider it) were not questioned, except insofar as the Gospels may obliquely query them. The Christian student thus regarded his Jewish informants as an organically living, though theologically fossilized specimen of the personal, domestic, social, jurisprudential, ethical, and speculative realities of ancient Ereẓ Israel. Curiosity was often aroused by the presence of a vigorous Jewish life as an enclave within Christendom and in part independent of its presuppositions. This also acted as a spur to (c) missionary activity toward the Jews, expressed not only in preaching but (cc) by engagement in controversial disputations. This could easily slip into (d) antisemitism, and the unscrupulous exploitation of rabbinic literature for purposes of anti-Jewish propaganda. (e) The revival of learning in the West, and a religious humanism, discovered anew the notion of the classical language and its literature, and as explained more fully below could accommodate Hebrew within the same intellectual approach. Finally, there is (f) incipient Orientalism, and the exploitation of the Semitic versions of the Bible both as a bridge to the vocabulary, etc., of the cognate languages and as themselves affording tools for the understanding of biblical and post-biblical Hebrew and Aramaic. Archaeological interest, which arose only recently, belongs in this category; its predecessor, the antiquarianism of pilgrim and traveler, falls properly within (b).

(2) **Facilities for Scholarship**. (a) The availability of sources of information regarding Hebrew, Jews, and Judaism of a traditional, approved, and so scholastically recognized caliber, either scattered through the patristic writings, the greatest of which were read and reread throughout the western Church, or encyclopedically arranged. (aa) The invention of printing affected not only the availability of these but also the diffusion of post-scholastic tools – grammars and dictionaries of Hebrew – that could supersede them. (b) The availability of teachers of Hebrew, locally or through migration or invitation: either Jews (who, though unsystematic, were mostly learned in their "lore"), or apostate Jews, or gentiles who had achieved a real competence. (c) Finally, institutions with libraries and endowments: originally the monasteries and the mendicant orders, and later the colleges and universities, *ex hypothesi* institutions for professed Christians, but at the latest stage sometimes modified so as to accept Jews as students and as teachers *de jure*.

(3) **Occasion**, i.e., individual or mass movement and its consequences in interaction. (a) Medieval Christian scholars migrated from northern Europe, especially to Italy and Spain, in search of learning. (b) Jewish scholars and informants moved on, driven by persecution, expulsion, or economic stress, but (bb) sometimes for less urgent causes, and occasionally with a preparedness to accept Christian baptism. (c) Conquests, treaties, revolutions, ecclesiastical settlement or realignment, or liberalizing reform, frequently forced (and occasionally attracted) large-scale movements of Jews. (d) A common language for Jewish tutor and gentile pupil (e.g., Norman French, or English), or mutual intelligibility through closeness of their respective dialects (e.g., Judeo-German and High German, or (Judeo-)Spanish and Latin).

The 12th Century

During the first Christian millennium the Church produced two substantial Hebraists, *Origen and *Jerome (i.e., Hieronymus), whose biblical commentaries were widely read. These, together with *Philo and *Josephus, constituted the basic sources of information on Hebrew and Jewish matters, their data often being taken over unacknowledged. Of the two streams of transmission one was encyclopedic and the other exegetical. Isidore of Seville (seventh century) drew heavily on Jerome in his *Etymologies*, which became the standard work of reference, being utilized in particular by Bede (d. 735) and successively by Hrabanus Maurus and the latter's pupil Walafrid Strabo (c. 808–49). The exegetical tradition is likewise one of plagiarization of the standard Christian commentaries on each book of the Bible.

By the early 12th century this material was being digested, often so succinctly as to reach almost catchword proportions, in the gloss that was becoming a marginal and interlinear accompaniment to manuscripts of the Latin Bible. The gloss also incorporated some matter taken from the encyclopedic stream, and was itself a literary undertaking suggested by the glossation of the standard Western authorities in medicine and law. It seems highly probable that this Christian technique of dealing with voluminous material reckoned to give the "approved" interpretation of an authoritative text was deliberately adopted by *Rashi (1030–1105) as the model for his own succinct running commentaries on the Hebrew Bible and the Talmud.

Rashi's commentaries, which spread rapidly and with acclaim from the Rhineland over Jewish Europe, constitute the first important occasion for a fresh advance in gentile Hebraism. They were not pitched at a specialist rabbinic readership, but were meant for the ordinary educated Jew, and it was generally the latter (or his apostate mutation) rather than the professional rabbi to whom the Christian student turned for help. Northern France, particularly Paris and its environs, formed the locale, and "Romance" the *lingua franca*, as testified by the Cistercian Stephen Harding (d. 1134). Motivation (1, a) was central, but (1, cc) was also operative; for religious controversy with the Synagogue, actively prosecuted by the early Church, had revived in Carolingian times. It stimulated a Jewish apologetic in the commentaries of Rashi and his successors, but little of substance is known about the Christian side in these early public disputations.

Christian initiative came from the abbey of St. Victor, 1110, and its daughter house in England, Wigmore. Hugh of St. Victor, who taught in Paris from about 1125 until 1141, set himself the task of rehabilitating the literal-historical sense of Scripture that had traditionally in Christian exegesis been reckoned the mere handmaid of allegory. His endeavor brought him to the Jews, and to the fallacious assumption – shared by his successors – that all interpretation deriving immediately from Jewish sources must, *ex hypothesi*, be "literal," including midrashic assertions which the Jews themselves would not have regarded too seriously as "facts": for the bare "letter" of Scripture was all that the Jews were deemed to possess. Hugh consulted them regarding their understanding of the Prophets; he also learned some Hebrew, sometimes preferring a literal Latin translation to the established Vulgate reading. Deriving his knowledge from oral informants, he quoted matter found in Rashi, Joseph *Kara, and *Samuel b. Meir (Rashbam). Hugh's pupil *Andrew, an Englishman, was likewise dependent on oral sources, whereas the latter's own pupil, Herbert of Bosham, who was still using oral informants, could clearly read Rashi for himself. But Bosham's commentary on Psalms never circulated. Andrew's extensive works, which cover the Pentateuch and utilized matter from his contemporary Joseph *Bekhor Shor, were widely read in monastic libraries in England and France. They were not only exploited by *Nicholas de Lyre (see below), but were plagiarized by Peter the Digester, author of the standard medieval *Historia Scholastica*, and by preachers (e.g., Archbishop Stephen Langton) whose sermons circulated widely in written form.

During the 12th and 13th centuries Christian scholars were prosecuting their search for the philosophical and scientific texts of Greek antiquity and late antiquity in Italy, Sicily, southern France, and Spain. This sometimes brought them to Jewish interpreters, or to Hebrew versions of Aristotle and others made from the Arabic; but their concern with the intermediate Hebrew was incidental only, except insofar as it related to *Maimonides and – later on – other philosophers of Judaism who had written in Arabic and had been translated into Hebrew. It is a fair assumption – but no more – that the Latin-speaking translators of these Arabic texts, such as Gundissalinus, would have acquired some Hebrew alongside their study of Arabic. But in those cases where they were either dependent on a Hebrew version, or were collating one with its antecedent Arabic, they may very well have relied entirely on a Jewish collaborator.

The Rise of the Mendicant Orders

The year 1210 saw the foundation of the Franciscans, whose Hebrew interests were mainly motivated by (1, b), and 1215 that of the Dominicans or Preachers, who, responding primarily to (1, c) and (1, cc), sited their houses when possible near Jewish quarters or actually within them, as at Oxford. Their missionary zeal was directed also toward Muslims, and consequently to Spain where many Jews spoke Arabic, and led a few Dominicans to study Arabic and others Hebrew; they may have established a Hebrew school at Paris in about 1236. The efforts of the Franciscans have left more trace in England, due largely to the encouragement of Robert Grosseteste (d. 1253), bishop of Lincoln, and to the pioneering endeavors of Roger *Bacon, himself an author of Greek and Hebrew grammars, who grasped the cognate nature of Hebrew, Aramaic, and Arabic. An interlinear glossation of the Hebrew Bible (*superscriptio Lincolniensis*) reflects in its name Grosseteste's encouragement: it follows the Hebrew word order with syllabically literal faithfulness, and often reflects Rashi's exegesis and develops his Norman-French glosses. The Psalms version survives complete, and fragments of other parts of the Bible, but coverage was probably not completed; and Henry of Cossey, a Cambridge Franciscan (d. 1336), in saying that the Church had "not yet" authorized the version, may imply domestic aspiration or a serious project. The collaboration of Jews, possibly reluctant and still faithful rather than apostates, has been proved. Thus facility (2, b) was apparently available preeminently in France and England, and the English expulsion of 1290 (occasion type 2, b) may have increased potential consultants in Paris and elsewhere.

The result of this (and doubtless other unrecorded) interest, alongside motive (1, aa; see below) was the enactment of the ecclesiastical Council of Vienne (1312) – thanks to the efforts of the Arabist Raymond Lull – that two teaching posts each for Greek, Hebrew, Syriac, and Arabic should be established at Paris, Oxford, Bologna, and Salamanca respectively. In Oxford the converted Jew John of Bristol taught Hebrew and Greek for a few years from 1321, and in Paris and Salamanca the Hebrew chair was staffed for about a century, but that of Paris certainly thereafter lapsed. The *superscriptio* was forgotten, possibly being overshadowed by the commentary of the Franciscan Nicholas de Lyre to the entire Bible. Leaning on Andrew and heavily impregnated by independent use of Rashi, it was later supplemented by the apostate Paul of Burgos (see Pablo de Santa *Maria) (d. 1435) from *Ibn Ezra and *Kimḥi. The Christian student apparently now felt that he could skip the Hebrew text, and its linguistic study hibernated until the late 15th century. Lyre's supplemented "*Postillae*" became, alongside the *Historia Scholastica* (see above), the standard source for Jewish exegetical matter; Lyre's work was the first Christian commentary to reach print (1471–72), long retaining its place.

The other contributory stimulus (1, a; 1, aa) was the endeavor to correct and standardize the text of the Latin Vulgate, initiative here lying with the Dominicans, although the Franciscan *correctoria*, profiting from their predecessors' experience, were more influential. The general effect, however (in default of print), was to leave confusion worse confounded, as Bacon (criticizing the Dominican *correctoria*) pointed out with great emphasis; the reason partly being failure to separate the task of establishing the "best" Vulgate text (i.e., the purest or the fullest, according to standpoint), from that of collating the current (let alone the most primitive) Latin text with the current Hebrew, whose uncompromised originality was presupposed. Such Hebrew expertise as is evinced in this work is associated with the Dominican Hugh of St. Cher (d. 1263) of Paris, and with the Franciscan William of Mara (fl. 1280), whose Hebrew scholarship was enthusiastically acclaimed by Bacon. The only permanent effect of this activity was a unified chapter division since adopted (with slight exceptions) by Jews in the Hebrew text as well.

Missionary activity in Spain also led the Dominicans to investigate post-biblical Jewish literature, with a view to the refutation of matter therein allegedly incompatible with Christianity. In Raymond *Martini the Dominicans produced a scholar unusually versed in rabbinic literature, whose controversialist *collectaneum* (*Pugio fidei*) contains some extracts – now considered genuine – from Jewish sources which are no longer extant. A similar 13th-century enterprise, by French Dominicans led by Theobald, excerpted a number of allegedly objectionable *extractiones de Talmude* (including some from Rashi's commentary), the continued influence of which even into the age of print is only now becoming clearer. The *Pugio Fidei* remained a standard source for anti-Jewish polemic, which hovered between motives (1, cc) and (1, d). In the public *Disputations (1, cc) forced on the Jews, initiative came largely from apostates and from the Dominicans; and since most of the apostates (e.g., Pablo *Christiani, or Gerónimo de Santa Fé, alias Joshua (al-) *Lorki) were at best amateur rabbinists of inferior competence to their Jewish respondents, the Hebrew scholarship adduced on the Christian side was largely repetitive. After the Reformation, Protestant tractarians were able somewhat to enlarge the repertoire (see e.g., Johann *Eisenmenger).

Jewish Scientific Writings

In addition to Christian concern in the Hebrew Bible and messianic and similar passages in talmudic literature, there sometimes was an interest in Hebrew texts which were recognized as being both Jewish, and also creatively new, in a way that Talmud and Midrash were not: namely, scientific writings. This does not refer to the recovery of the older Greek texts through Arabic and Hebrew versions as described above, but rather to the near contemporary works – medical, mathematical, astronomical, etc. – of Abraham Ibn Ezra, *Abraham b. Ḥayya (Savasorda), Maimonides, and others. In Jewish philosophy the most significant production, Maimonides' *Guide of the Perplexed*, early became available in a Latin translation that relieved aspirant students of learning Hebrew. The same applies to the older medical writings of Jews, especially Isaac *Israeli, while the Jewish authorship of the *Fons Vitae* by Ibn *Gabirol (Avicebron) was apparently early forgotten. But by the 13th–14th centuries the scientific writings of Jews (mainly of Spain) were being sought by Christians in southern Europe, and occasionally (via these southern countries) further north; thus, Kepler was to put himself to trouble to see astronomical matter included in works of *Levi b. Gershom (Gersonides).

The presence, from 1391 onward, of many converted Jews in Spain, and after 1492 of many crypto-Jews, facilitated such studies (2, b; 2, c): not only because Hebrew teachers were relatively easy to find, and to employ (as being professedly Christians) *de jure* in the universities, but also because these "converts" had often carried with them into their Christian conformity an interest in, and familiarity with, earlier Jewish science, and themselves maintained the tradition in Latin (or Spanish), alongside the contemporary work (up until 1492) of their still faithful kinsfolk.

The Kabbalah, Italy, and the Renaissance

Spain was also the birthplace of the Zoharic Kabbalah, the wider impact of which was first felt in the communities of Italy and Provence, where (as in Spain) Jewish instructors could easily be found. Italy stands out, already in the 15th century, for Christian kabbalistic interests. Motivation was ambivalent (1, bb; 1, c; 1, cc). The *Zohar's ascription to R. *Simeon b. Yoḥai in late antiquity being presupposed, it was reckoned authentically Jewish, and consequently not open to repudiation by Jews if adduced controversially by Christians. Moreover, features of the kabbalistic system were deemed to be not merely coherent with Christian trinitarianism but indeed potentially to underwrite it. By the end of the 15th century, Kabbalah had become a significant discipline of study for a few Christian humanists – e.g., *Pico della Mirandola and *Egidio da Viterbo – who were really competent in Hebrew and Jewish Aramaic. Such names mark the crowning achievement of medieval Christian Hebraism, which is marked off (though still a continuity) from modern Hebrew studies by the work of Johann *Reuchlin and the age of print. Five outstanding 16th-century scholars in the field were Pietro Columna *Galatinus, Francesco *Giorgio, Guillaume *Postel, Guy Le *Fèvre de la Boderie, and Benito *Arias Montano. This Hebrew interest, as the outcome of the religious humanism of the Renaissance, is linked by the same parent to the Hebrew scholarship of the Reformation, in which the same atmosphere largely prevailed – and the Christian kabbalists could never have made such remarkable progress but for the encouragement of Hebrew in Italy by prince and prelate during the earlier part of the 15th century. A revised attitude (1, e) toward Greek and Roman antiquity, as having discovered the vehicle for certain permanent values in a linguistic meticulousness that could consequently be considered "classical," easily set the language of the Hebrew Bible alongside them: since biblical values (as read with a Christian glossation) were considered permanent, biblical Hebrew, no less than Plato's Greek or Virgil's Latin, must be acknowledged to be "classical." Post-biblical Hebrew might, as a corollary, have been scorned as debased and post-classical, but it was not; perhaps because, inarticulately and paradoxically, the Christian humanists sensed a continuity of a sort between post-biblical Judaism and Christianity, unlike the discontinuity with paganism. Consequently, despite the conviction that the Church had displaced the Synagogue as the authentic embodiment of the message of the "Old" Testament, the supposedly obsolete institutions and theology of Judaism – presumed still to be those of apostolic times – remained worth investigating.

Such academic motivations were reinforced by (1, c) conversionism, and led not merely to the study of Hebrew – occasionally even as a spoken language, with Jewish or apostate assistance – it also stimulated the collection of Hebrew manuscripts, not as curiosities but as appropriate to any humanist's library that purported to be well equipped. Typical of the enterprise may be considered Giannozzo *Manetti, who at the encouragement of Nicholas v laid the foundations of the Vatican Hebrew collection. At the turn of the 15th–16th centuries such interest flourished sufficiently to lead to the foundation of a few "trilingual" colleges – in Alcala (Spain), thanks to the patronage of Cardinal *Ximenes (Cisneros), in Paris (College de France), at Oxford (Corpus Christi College), at Louvain, Vienna, and conceivably elsewhere. In some cases these arrangements were absorbed in, or replaced by professorships (see below); elsewhere they may have petered out. But in England the tradition of "trilinguality" (to be carried further, in ideal, by Robert Wakefield's tract (1524) on the *laus et utilitas* of Arabic, Aramaic, and Hebrew) passed into some of the grammar schools then being founded, e.g., Colet's refounded St. Paul's (London) – there to survive, admittedly in an attenuated form, except in the case of Merchant Taylors' School, where it was prosecuted vigorously into the 20th century.

The Reformation and the Age of Printing

For approximately 50 years (1490–1540) the following three independent factors invigorated each other: (A) The emergence of a cadre of near-modern type scholars, preeminently J. Reuchlin and C. *Pellicanus, capable of training successors on the basis of comprehensive and categorically articulated grammars of at least biblical Hebrew accidence, which they themselves composed. These grammars were substantially influenced by David Kimḥi's. (B) The spread of the *printing press, and the demands of Christian Hebraists for Hebrew type – a need met in northern Europe at first by blockcutting for each word. Pride of place again belongs to Italy, where movable Hebrew type-font had already been well developed by Jewish printers; the enterprise of the Christian printer Daniel Bomberg of Venice stands out. Enjoying the patronage of Leo x, and availing himself of the editorial services of really expert rabbinists (including the convert Jacob b. Ḥayyim of Tunis, and Elijah *Levita) Bomberg gave Europe both its first "rabbinic" bibles (i.e., Hebrew texts with parallel Jewish commentaries), and the first complete edition of both Talmuds. The presence of these volumes, often from an early date, in academic libraries across Europe may be a significant pointer to Hebrew interest locally. Pellicanus' Hebrew grammar was the first to be printed (Strasbourg, 1504); Reuchlin's (Pforzheim, 1506) also contained a vocabulary. With these basic tools, which were rapidly improved, the modern foundations of western academic Hebrew may be considered laid. (C) The movement toward ecclesiastical reform that ended in the emergence of nation-centered Protestant churches independent of Rome owed much to the claim – ultimately a quasi-dogma – that authority lay not in the tradition of the western Church controlled by the papal curia, which had encrusted the Bible with its own interpretation (parallel to the procedure of rabbinic Judaism), but in the unadulterated text of the Bible itself. Hence the need for study of the biblical languages, and for producing improved translations – soon into the vernaculars of Europe, but also into Latin (e.g., that by Xanctes (Santes) *Pagnini, 1528). Pagnini's was a Catholic enterprise and when the Council of Trent asserted the "authenticity" of the Latin Vulgate, this was on grounds of its embodying of and linkage with "officially" endorsed patristic exegesis (analogous to the position of Targum Onkelos within Judaism), and not by way of depreciation of the greater accuracy of the new translations. But the result was that, until recent times, Catholic vernacular versions have continued to be made from the Latin, with the significant exception of the Spanish Bible, which was a Jewish production made in Italy, and accepted by the curia through (ex-) Marrano channels.

Together, these trends brought about the establishment of professorships of Hebrew in the universities, both in Catholic countries and under the reformed churches, in part as an item of governmental policy; the "Regius" chairs at Oxford and Cambridge, for example, being founded by Henry VIII in 1540. Henceforth, however, gentile Hebraism in Europe flows along divided streams – one Catholic, and the other in the countries of the Reform.

Post-Reformation Catholic Hebraism

The Counter-Reformation focused Catholic Hebrew scholarship almost exclusively on the Hebrew Bible, Jewish interests that had engaged men like Pico della Mirandola being left for Protestants. The major achievements were consequently the polyglot editions of the Bible (Antwerp, 1569–72, and Paris, 1628–45). But paradoxically it was an Italian Cistercian, *Bartolocci, and his successor Imbonati, whose *Bibliotheca Magna Rabbinica* (Rome, 1675–93) laid the foundations of Jewish bibliography, thereby adding to Hebrew scholarship a dimension from which Jewish no less than gentile Hebraists have benefited. In the late 18th century G.B. de *Rossi in Parma likewise set himself to widen Hebrew academic horizons once again.

The Protestant Countries

In the reformed countries, most Hebraists were members of the nationally established church concerned; but ecclesiastical and political frontiers break down in the case of Hungary, where a preponderant number of the Hebrew scholars were Calvinists, many of them having studied abroad. Protestant masoretic studies produced in the 17th century some notable editions of the Bible, particularly those of the Dutchmen Leusden and van der Hooght; but the crowning achievement was the publication in London (1657) of the most elaborate polyglot Bible ever produced, by a scholarly team led by B. *Walton. But during the later 16th and early 17th centuries the making of vernacular bible versions was earnestly prosecuted, having begun with Luther's German from 1523 and *Tyndale's English from 1530, both made direct from the Hebrew. The names of those responsible for the English "Authorised" Version (King James', 1611) are all known, and included some of the best contemporary Hebraists and Orientalists (see *Bible, Versions, English). The high frequency with which from 1504 onward Hebrew grammars were published (and reprinted) must imply a student market greatly outnumbering the names of those Christian Hebraists known to us as such from their publications; many others, theologians and lawyers, etc., from, e.g., Wittenberg, Jena, Leipzig, or Basle – place-names that occur time and again on the title pages of grammars – must have carried away an ability to read the Hebrew Bible, and their casual use of it in their writings can often be traced from the indexes, or the occurrence of Hebrew typeface, in their collected works.

Two Hebrew presses – at Basle and Leiden – stand out as academically adventurous. Sebastian *Muenster who published (1542) a post-biblical Hebrew grammar, issued from Basle a number of rabbinic texts, some with Latin translations, in which he enjoyed the cooperation of Paulus Fagius. The *Buxtorf dynasty carried on and extended the same editorial activity, producing translations of several of the classical texts of medieval Judaism, including *Judah Halevi's *Kuzari* and Maimonides' *Guide*, as well as the first large-scale *Lexicon Chaldaicum Talmudicum et Rabbinicum* (1639). The Leiden and Amsterdam presses, especially the former (as also to a lesser degree those of Lund and Uppsala) printed many Hebrew publications including the doctoral dissertations of students of Jewish texts, as presided over by their teachers. The typical set task, from the later 16th century until toward the end of the 18th, was to translate into Latin a tractate of the Mishnah, or a section of Maimonides' Code, or the commentary of Rashi, Ibn Ezra, or *Abrabanel, to part or all of one of the biblical books (Rashi to the whole Hebrew Bible was published in Latin by J.F. *Breithauft (1710–13)). Although any system will presumably have depended on a teacher's own interests and assignments to his pupils, probably with little attention to work being done elsewhere, the amount of rabbinic literature thus haphazardly placed in the hands of readers of Latin is impressive.

Other enterprises rank as fresh groundbreaking, such as *Scaliger's communication with the Samaritans of Nablus. Dutch and (even more so) English trading connections with the Levant gave some scholars opportunity to visit Turkey as chaplains, the preeminent example being Edward *Pococke, whose Hebrew scholarship won genuine acclaim from contemporary levantine rabbis. John *Selden, as a lawyer, developed remarkable insight into the workings of *halakhah*, and the body of rabbinic learning applied to the exegesis of the New Testament (an enterprise that had continental parallels) by J.B. *Lightfoot was highly considered indeed. Chrestomathies for introducing students were also being produced, e.g., *Reland's *Analecta Rabbinica* (Utrecht, 1702). Reland's pupil A. *Schultens (d. 1756) first systematically exploited Arabic for the elucidation of Hebrew vocabulary. Among the Puritans of New England, the *Mayflower* had included one or two with a knowledge of Hebrew in its passenger list, and H. *Ainsworth is to be reckoned a "professional"; otherwise, through the 18th century American Hebraism was an affair of amateurs, some of them by no means negligible in competence, typified by Ezra *Stiles of Yale.

The Nineteenth Century

After approximately 1800 two new factors reduced the spate of rabbinic dissertations. One was the growth, after J.D. Michaelis' study of the Mosaic Law (1770–75), of the modern source-analytical study of the Hebrew Bible, largely elaborated regarding the Pentateuch by K.H. *Graf, and classically stated by J. *Wellhausen in 1889. This diverted the attention of Hebraists in the reformed countries back toward the Bible, especially since the decipherment of cuneiform yielded, from the middle of the century onward, an increasing body of highly relevant new source material. The other factor was Jewish emancipation, which produced a few Jews of the type of *Zunz and *Steinschneider who were academically trained in the Western sense and eager to apply modern scholarly techniques and categories to Jewish material, to whose attentions contemporary Christian Hebraists were apparently content to resign it. Conceivably the change of attitude in Germany, where hitherto much rabbinic scholarship had been prosecuted by gentiles, may be linkable to reaction against the liberalism that had produced Jewish emancipation. The net result was that what had hitherto counted as Hebrew scholarship split into two quasi-independent disciplines, namely, Old Testament scholarship, which maintained a nodding acquaintance with the newly recognized discipline of Oriental or Semitic studies; both largely ignoring "Jewish" scholarship as having little more to contribute to their respective disciplines, and as falling in an academic no-man's-land between East and West. There was thus a gap of approximately a century in the cultivation by Christian scholars of rabbinics as a tool for New Testament and other late-antique studies, until its relevance was rediscovered in the 20th century, and enhanced in importance when the Dead Sea Scrolls began to be investigated.

The history of gentile Hebrew scholarship cannot be properly written until the careers and achievements of its practitioners have been not only assessed but also correlated. The list of names which follows makes no claim to completeness. (See Table: Christian Hebraists.) The Hebrew competence of those listed prior to about 1500 may prove, on investigation, sometimes to have been less than repute has credited to the individual concerned, but these early students have been given the benefit of the doubt. After about 1500 minimal qualifications for inclusion are tenure of an official academic or para-academic teaching post for Hebrew, or defense of a thesis on a rabbinic subject, or the publication of a Hebrew grammar (authors of the multitudinous manuscript Hebrew grammars extant in libraries have not been included, unless otherwise qualified). So far as is known, the list includes no name whose bearer was of Jewish parentage but who himself apostatized. With one or two readily intelligible exceptions, it excludes all who died after 1890. This year – that of the death of F. *Delitzsch, and following that of the publication of Wellhausen's documentary hypothesis – may be taken as the division between post-Reformation Hebrew scholarship and the accommodation of Hebrew and Jewish subjects within Semitics, the Hebrew Bible nevertheless sometimes still being felt to be a preserve of the Christian theologian, which prevails in the modern secular university and some of its confessional counterparts.

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[Raphael Loewe]

Christian Hebraists

Name	Country-(ies)	Dates	Religious Confession	References
Aarhus, Peter Sim.	Denmark	fl.1711	Calvinist	**St. 57**
Abicht, Johann Georg	Germany	1672–1740	Lutheran	
Abram (Abrahamus), Nicolaus	France	1589–1645	Jesuit	**DBF**
Abresch, Petrus	Holland	1736–1812	Reformed Ch.	**NNBW; BWPGN; NBW**
Abundachus, Joseph Barbatus Memphiticus	Egypt, England, Flanders	1st half of 17th c.	Jesuit	**NBU**
Ackermann, Leopold	Austria	1771–1831	Catholic	**BLK Oest; OBL; ADB**
Acoluthus, Andreas	Germany	1654–1704	Lutheran	**ADB**
Addison, Lancelot	England	1632–1703	Anglican	**St. 59; DNB**
Adler, Jacob Georg Christian	Denmark	?1756–1834		**St. 60; Dansk; NBU; ADB**
Aegidius da Viterbo, *see* Viterbo, Aegidius da				
Agelli, Antonio	Italy	1532–1608	Theatine	**DBI; Enc. It; NBU**
Ainsworth, Henry	England, Holland	?1569–?1623	Brownist	
Ajtai, A.Mihály	Hungary	1704–1776	Calvinist	**Marm; Szin.**
Akai, Krisóf	Hungary	1706–1766	Catholic	**Marm; Szin.**
Alabaster, William	England	1567–1640	Anglican, then Catholic, then Anglican	**DNB**
Alber, Johann	Hungary	1753–1830	Catholic	**Marm; Szin.**
Alberti, Paul Martin	Germany	17th–18th c.	Protestant	**NBU**
Albert(in)a Katherina	Bohemia	late 17th c.		**Heb. Bibl. 20, 66.**
Allen, John	England	1771–1839		**DNB**
Allix, Peter	France, England	1641–1717	Huguenot	**St. 62; DNB; NBU; Enc. Br.^{11}; DBF**
Alstedius, Johann Henr.	Hungary	1588–1638	Calvinist	**Marm; Szin; Zov.**
Alting, Jacobus	Holland	1618–1679	Calvinist	
Alting, Johann Heinrich	Holland	1583–1644	Calvinist	**NNBW; NBU; ADB; Enc. Br.^{11}**
Amama, Sixtinus	Holland	1593–1629	Calvinist	
Amandus van Zieriksee	Belgium	c.1450–1524 (34)	Franciscan	**NBU; NNBW; ADB.**
Ambrogio, Teseo	Italy	1469–1540		
Amersfoordt, Petrus	Holland	1786–1824		**NNBW; NBW; BWPGN; NBU**
Amman (Ammonius), Kaspar	Germany, Belgium	c. 1450–post 1524	Augustinian	**ADB; NDB; NBW; Walde; Geiger**
Amoena Amalia of Anhalt	Germany	d. 1625		**Heb. Bibl. 20, 66**
Ancherson, Matth.	Denmark	1682–1741		**St. 88; Dansk**
Andala, Ruard	Holland	1665–1727	Reformed Ch.	**NNBW; NBU**
Andreas de León, *see* Zamora, Andreas de León				
Andrew of St. Victor	England	12th c.	Victorine	
Andrew, James	Scotland, England	1774(?)–1833		**Venn; Index Eccles.**
Andrewes, Lancelot	England	1555–1626	Anglican	**DNB**
Andrewes, Roger	England	c.1590–1635	Anglican	**DNB**
Andrews, Benjamin	England	1785–1868	Wesleyan	**JHS Misc. 4, 75**
Anna Sophia of Hessen	Germany	c. 1658	Catholic	**Heb. Bibl. 20, 66**
Anna Urban, *née* Weissbrucker, *see* Urban, Anna Weissbrucker				
Ansgarius, *see* Anchersen, Matth.				
Anslus, Gerebrard		*fl.* 1640		**St. 89**
Antonia, Princess of Wuerttemberg	Germany	d. 1679		**Heb. Bibl. 20, 67; JQR, 9 (1896/97), 509-14**
Apáczai, Csere János	Hungary	1625–1659	Calvinist	**Marm; Szin; Zov.**
Apáti, Miklós	Hungary	1662–1724	Calvinist	**Marm; Szin; Pap.**
Aretius (= Marti), Benedictus	Switzerland	?1505–1574		**DHBS; NBU; ADB**
Arias Montano, Benito	Spain, Low Countries	1527–1598	(nominal) Catholic	
Armengaud, Blasius	France	d. 1314		**St. 18; Europ. Ubers. 6, 19**
Arnd, Carol	Germany	1673–1721		**NBU**
Arnd(ius), Joshua	Germany	1626–1686		**St. 91; NBU**
Arnold of Villanova	Spain, France, Sicily	c.1230–1313		**St. 18; Europ. Ubers 6, 20; DBF**

Christian Hebraists (continued)

Name	Country-(ies)	Dates	Religious Confession	References
Arnoldi, Michael	Holland	1658–1738	Calvinist	**St. 92; NNBW; NBW; BWPGN**
Artoæpus (Bekker), Petrus	Germany	d. 1563	Protestant	**NBU**
Ashworth, Caleb	England	1722–1775	Dissenter	**DNB**
Aslakssen, Cort (Conrad Aslacus)	Norway Denmark	1564–1624	Lutheran	
Asp, Matthias	Sweden	1696–1763		**SBL**
Assemani, Joseph Simeon	Lebanon, Italy	1687–1768	Maronite	
Aubry, Esaias	?France, Germany	c. 1730		**St. 95**
Audran, Prosper Gabriel	France	1744–1819	Jansenist	**DBF**
Aurivillius, Carl	Sweden	1717–1786		**Svensk; NBU**
Aurogallus (Goldhahn), Matth.	Germany	c.1490–1543		**ADB; NBU**
Avenarius, *see* Haber- mann, Johannes				
Bacon, Roger	England	c. 1214–1292	Franciscan	
Bahrdt, Carl Friedrich	Germany	1741–1792	Lapsed Lutheran	**ADB; NBU; EB**
Baillie, William	Ireland	b. 1795		**Heb. Grammar, Dublin, 1840**
Baldi, Bernardino	Italy	1553–1617	Augustinian	**St. 96; DBI**
Baldovius, Jo.		*fl.* 1636		**Heb. Grammar, Leipzig, 1636**
Balduin, Dorothea	Hungary	1685–1739	?	**Marm; Szin.**
Bang, Thomas	Denmark	1600–1661	Lutheran	**Dansk; NBU**
Baratier(us), Johann Philip	Germany	1721–1740	Reformed Ch.	**St. 97; NBU; EB**
Barbatus, Joseph, *see* Abundachus, Joseph Barbatus Memphiticus				
Barker, Samuel	England	1686–1759		**DNB**
Barker, William Higgs	England	1744–1815		**DNB**
Barnard, Samuel	U.S.A.	*fl.* 1825		**Heb. & Aramaic Grammar, Philadelphia, 1825**
Barozzi (Barocius) Francesco	Italy	1537–1604		**St. 98; DBI; NBU**
Bartolocci, Giulio	Italy	1613–1687	Cistercian	
Bashuysen, Heinrich Jakob van	(Holland), Germany	1679–1738	Reformed Ch.	
Basnage, Jacques de Beauval	France, Holland	1653–1723	Reformed Ch.	
Bate, Julius	England	1711–1771	Hutchinsonian	**DNB; NBU**
Báthori, G. Mihály	Hungary	1631–1669	Calvinist	**Szin; Zov; Dan**
Bayley, Cornelius	England	1751–1812	Methodist, later Anglican	**DNB**
Bayly, Anselm	England	1719–1794		**DNB**
Baynes, Ralph	England, France	c.1504–1559	Catholic	**St. 101; DNB**
Beck(ius), Matthias Friedrich	Germany	1649–1701	Lutheran	**St. 102; ADB**
Beck, Michael	Germany	1653–1712	Lutheran	**ADB; NBU**
Beckmann, Jo. Christ.	Germany	*fl.* 1677		**St. 103**
Bedwell, William	England	1561 or 62–1632	Anglican	**St. 104; DNB; NBU**
Beekman, Jacob	Holland	17th c.		
Beelen, Jo. Theodor	Holland	*fl.* 1841		**St. 105**
Beeston, William	England	b. 1798		**Pre-masoretic (“Hieronymean”) Heb. grammar, London, 1843**
Beke, Matth.	Holland	*fl.* 1708		**St. 106**
Békés, János	Hungary	17th c.	Calvinist	**Dan**
Bekker, Georges Joseph	Germany, Belgium	1792–1837		**BN Belg.**
Bekker, Petrus, *see* Artopæus (Bekker), Petrus				
Bél, Mátyás	Hungary	1684–1749	Lutheran	**Szin.**
Bellarmino, Roberto Francesco Romolo	Italy	1542–1621	Jesuit, Cardinal	**Enc. It.; Enc. Br. ^{11}; NBU**
Bellerman, Jo. Joachim	Germany	1754–1842		**ADB; NBU**
Benedicti, Jean	France	*fl.* 1584	Catholic	
Benivieni, Girolamo	Italy	1453–1542	Catholic	**Enc. It.; NBU; Roth, Renaissance, p. 146**

Christian Hebraists (continued)

Name	Country-(ies)	Dates	Religious Confession	References
Bennett, Thomas	England	1673–1728	Anglican	**DNB; NBU**
Benoit, J., *see* Benedict; Jean				
Benzelin	France	*fl.* 1826		**Heb. grammar, Paris, 1826**
Benzelius, Ericus	Sweden	1675–1743		**St. 312; Svensk; SBL; NBU**
Beregszászi, Pál	Hungary	18th c.	Calvinist	**Venet.**
Berkeley, George	Ireland	1685–1753	Anglican	**DNB**
Bernard, Edward	England	1638–1696/7		**St. 107; DNB; NBU**
Bernard, Hermann Hedwig	Austria, England	1785–1857		
Beronius, Magnus Olai	Sweden	1692–1775		**St. 137; Svensk; SBL**
Besange, Hieronymus von	Austria	1726–1764 (?)	Benedictine	**BLK Oest.**
Besnyei, György	Hungary	1730–70	Calvinist	**Marm; Szin.**
Bialloblotzky, Christoph Heinrich Friedrich	Germany, England	d. 1869	Lutheran	**ADB**
Bibliander (Buchmann), Theodore	Switzerland	1504–1564	Reformed Ch.	**DHBS; NBU; ADB**
Bidermann, Jo. Gottlieb	Germany	1705–1772		**ADB**
Binans, Jean François de	France?	?		
Bindrim, Johann Georg				**Parkes n. 57; Ugolini 26, 332**
Bircherod, Jan. (Jacob Jensen?)	Denmark	1624–1688		**St. 109; Dansk**
Biscioni(us), Antonio Maria	Italy	1674–1756		
Blancaccius, Benedictus	Italy	*fl.* 1608		**Heb. grammar, Rome, 1608**
Blankenburg(ius), Fridericus	? Germany	*fl.* 1625		**Heb. grammar, Strasbourg, 1625**
Blayney, Benjamin	England	1728–1801		**DNB; NBU**
Blebelius, Thom.	Germany	*fl.* 1587		**Heb. grammar, Wittenberg, 1587**
Blech, Wilhelm Philipp	Germany	*fl.* 1864		**Heb. grammar, Danzig, 1864**
Bloch, Søren Niklas Johan	Denmark	1772–1862		**Dansk**
Boberg, Andreas	Sweden	1678–1756		**SBL**
Bochart, Samuel	France	1599–1667	Calvinist	**NBF; EB; JE; ERK**
Bode(c)ker (Bodiker), Stephan	Germany	1384–1489	Praemonstratensian	**St. 52; Walde; A. Hauck, Kirchengesichte Deutschlands, v, 1177.**
Bodley, Thomas	England	1545–1613	Protestant	
Boeckel, Ernst Gottfr. Adolf	Germany	1783–1854		**ADB**
Boehm, Johann	Germany	d. 1535		**Walde**
Bohemus, Johann (?identical with foregoing)				**Heb. grammar, Wittenberg, 1636**
Boeschenstein, Johann	Germany	1472–1540		
Boettcher, Julius Friedrich	Germany	1801–1863	ADB	
Bogáthi, Fazekas Miklós	Hungary	1548–c 1590	Unitarian	**Marm; Szin; Kohn; Zov.**
Bohlius, Samuel	Germany	d. 1639	Lutheran	**St. 113**
Bois (Boys), John	England	1561–1644	DNB; Enc. Rel. Kn.	
Bo(u)lduc, Jacques	France	d. 1646	Capuchin	**DBF; NBU**
Bongetius, Jo.	? Italy	*fl.* 1717		**Heb. grammar, Rome, 1717**
Boote (Boate, Botius, etc.), Arnold (Arnt)	Holland, Ireland	1600– 1653 (?)	Reformed Ch.	**DNB; NNBW 4**
Boré, Eugene	France	1809–1878	Lazarite	**St. 114; DBF; NBU**
Bore(e)l, Adam (junior)	Holland	1603–1666 or 67	St. 115; NNBW 6.	
Borgwall, Andr.	Sweden	18th c.		**St. 269**
Borrha(us), Martin, *see* Cellarius, Martin				
Bosch, Jacobus	Holland	d.c. 1771		**NNBW 7**
Bosham, Herbert of	England, France	d. after 1190		
Bouget, Jean	France, Italy	1692–1775		**DBF; NBU**
Boulaese, Jean	France	1530– 1579 (?)	(nominal) Catholic	
Bouquett, Philip	France, England	1699–1748	Huguenot (?)	**DNB**
Bourdelot, Jean	France	d. 1638		**St. 116; DBF; NBU**

Christian Hebraists (continued)

Name	Country-(ies)	Dates	Religious Confession	References
Bowman, Thomas	England, Ireland	1819–c.1882		**Heb. grammar, Edinburgh, 1879–82 (completed by A. H. Bowman)**
Braemsonius, Anders Henriksen, *see* Brunchmann (Braemsonius), Anders Henriksen				
Braun, Johannes	Germany, Holland	1628–1708	Reformed Ch.	**Ugolini; NNBW 6**
Brecht, Jo. Reinhart	?	?	Lutheran	**Parkes (from Meuschen)**
Breithaupt, Johann Friedrich	Germany	1639–1713	Lutheran	
Brett, Richard	England	1567(?)– 1637		**DNB**
Brighenti, Giovann Antonio	Italy	d. 1702		**St. 118; MGWJ 1895–6, 458**
Brodaeus (Broad), Thomas	England	c.1577–1635		**St. 119; A. Wood, Ant. Oxon. ii, 593**
Brodberg, Nicholas	Sweden	18th c.		**St. 269**
Broughton, Hugh	England, Holland	1549–1612	Puritan	
Brown, William	Scotland	1766–1835	Presbyterian	**DNB**
Bruerne, Richard	England	1519(?)–1565		**DNB**
Brunchmann (Braemsonius), Anders Henriksen	Denmark	1690–1761		**Dansk**
Brunnerus, Jos.	Germany (?)	*fl.* 1585		**Heb. grammar, Freiburg, 1585**
Buchanan, Claudius	Scotland, India	1766–1815	Anglican	**DNB; EB; NBU**
Bucher, Samuel Friedrich	Germany	d. 1765		**Ugolini; NBU**
Buchmann, Theodore, *see* Bibliander (Buchmann), Theodore				
Budde (Buddeus), Joh, Franz	Germany	1667–1729	Lutheran	**St.122; ADB; NBU; EB**
Budny (Budnée, Budnaeus), Szymon	Poland	d. 1595	Socinian	**Polski Slownik Biogr.; NBU**
Buercklin, Georgius Christianus	Germany (?)	17th–18th c.		**Heb. grammar, Frankfurt, 1699**
Buettner, Christoph Andreas	Germany	1708–1774		**ADB**
Bullman, E.	England	*fl.* 1795		**Heb. grammar, London, 1795**
Burger, Nicol.	Denmark	?		**Heb.-Chald. Lexicon, Copenhagen, 1733**
Burgh, William (de)	Ireland	1800–1858		**Heb. grammar, Dublin, 1847**
Burgonovo, Archangelus de (Angiolo Pozzi)	Italy	*fl.* 1564	Franciscan	**St. 123; Wadding i, 13, Sbaralea Suppl. i, 101**
Burleigh (Burley), Francis	England	d. 1619		**Venn**
Burman, Frans	Holland	1628–1679	Reformed Ch.	**NNBW 4; ADB; NBU**
Burrell, Andrew	England	*fl.* 1739		**Heb. grammar, London, 1739**
Bush, George	U.S.A.	1796–1859	Presbyterian, later Swedenborgian	**D Am. B**
Buxtorf, Johann I	Switzerland	1564–1629	Calvinist	
Buxtorf, Johann II	Switzerland	1599–1664	Calvinist	
Buxtorf, Johann Jacob I	Switzerland	1645–1704	Calvinist	
Buxtorf, Johann (Jacob) III	Switzerland	1663–1732	Calvinist	
Bynaeus, Antonius	Holland	1654–1698	Reformed Ch.	**NNBW 6; NBU**
Byng (Bing(e)), Andrew	England	1574–1651/2		**DNB**
Bythner (Buttner), Victorinus	Poland, England	1605(?)–1670(?)		**DNB; NBU**
Caddick, Richard	England	1740–1819		**DNB**
Cademannus, Jos. Rud.	Austria	d. 1720		**St. 128**
Calasio(-ius), Mario di	Italy	c. 1550– 1620	Franciscan	**NBU; Enc. Br.[11]**
Calcio, Ignazio	Italy		*fl.* 1753	**Heb. grammar, Naples, 1753**
Calepinus, Ambrosius	Italy	1455–1511		**Biog. Univ. 6, 392**
Caligniis, Alanus Reffaut de		*fl.* 1541		**Heb. grammar, Paris, 1541**
Callenberg, Joh. Heinr.	Germany	1694–1760	Protestant	
Calonges, Madame de	?	?		**St. Z. f.H.B. xx, 67**
Calov(-ius) (Kalau), Abr.	Germany	1612–1686	Lutheran	**ADB; NBU; Enc. Br.[11]**
Calvert, James	England	d. 1698	Nonconformist	**NBU**

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Name	Country-(ies)	Dates	Religious Confession	References
Calvoer (Calvor), Kaspar	Germany	1650–1725	Lutheran	**ADB; NBU**
Calvert, Thomas	England	1606–1679	Puritan	**DNB**
Calvin, Jean	France, Switzerland	1509–1564	Reformer	
Caminero, Francisco Xavier	Spain	?		
Campen(-sis), Jan (Johannes) van	Holland, Germany	c. 1490–1538		**St. 129; NNBW vi, 259; NBU**
Campoi, János	Hungary	17th c.	Calvinist	**Kohn; Marm.**
Canini(us), Angelo	Italy, Greece, France	1521–1557		**St. 130; NBU**
Capito(Koepfel) Wolfgang Fabricius	Alsace, Switzerland	1478–1541	Benedictine, turned Reformer	
Capnio, *see* Reuchlin, Johann				
Cappellanus, Claude	France	d. 1667		**St. 131**
Cappel(le), Jacques	France	1570–1624	Huguenot	**NBU; Enc. Rel. Kn.**
Cappel[le](-lus), Louis	France	1585–1658	Huguenot	**NBU; Enc. Br. ¹¹**
Carpzov, Joh. Ben. II	Germany	1639–1699	Lutheran	**St. 132; NBU; ADB**
Carpzov, Joh. Gottlob	Germany	1679–1767	Lutheran	**St. 132; NBU; ADB**
Cartwright, Christopher	England	1602–1658	Anglican	**St. 133; DNB**
Castell, Edmund	England	1606–1685/6	Anglican	
Castro, Joh. (? José) Rodriguez de	Spain	1739–1796 (?)		**St. 135; NBU**
Castronovate, Jos. de	?	16th c. (?)		**St. 241**
Cate, Gerhardusten	Holland	1699–1749		**NNBW 4, 403**
Cayet, Pierre Victor Palma	France	1525–1610	Protestant, then Catholic	
Cellada, Diego (Didacus) de	Spain	1586–1661	Jesuit	**Bibl. Comp. De Jèsus, ii, 936**
Cellarius, Christ.	Germany	(?) 1638– 1707		**NBU; ADB**
Cellarius, Joh.	Germany	*fl.* 1518		**St. 136; L. Geiger Ztschr. Gesch. Jud. Deutschl. iv, 116**
Cellarius (Borrha(us)), Martin	Switzerland	1499–1564		**B. Riggenbach, M.B., 1900; E. Bonjour, Univers. Basel, 1960**
Celsius, Olaus, Sen.	Sweden	1670–1756		**St. 137; Svensk; NBU**
Ceporinus (von Wisendangen) Jakob	Switzerland	1499–1526 (?)		**Hist. Biogr. Lex. Schweiz, vii, 523**
Cevallerius (Chevalier), Petrus	Switzerland	*fl.* 1578– 1594		**Hist. Biogr. Lex. Schweiz, ii, 560**
Chatterton (Chaderton), Laurence	England	*fl.* 1611		**DNB**
Chenery, Thomas	England	1826–1884		**DNB**
Cher, *see* Hugh of St. Cher				
Chéradame, Jean	France	*fl.* 1537		
Chevalier (Cevallerius), Ant. Rud.	France, England	1507–1572	Huguenot	**St. 138; DNB; NBU**
Chiarini, Luigi	Italy, Poland (?)	1789–1832	Catholic	**St. 139; NBU**
Chilius, Andr.	Low Countries	?		**St. 140**
Christmann, Jacob	Germany	1554–1613		**St. 141; ADB; NBU**
Chrysococca, Georgios, *see* Georgios Chrysococca				
Chytraeus, Andr.	Sweden	*fl.* 1706		**St. (S.V. Lundius)**
Chytraeus (Kochhaff), David	Germany	1530–1610	Protestant	**St. 141; NBU; Geiger, Zeitschr. Gesch. Jud. Deutschl. iv, 107**
Cibo, Wife of Jo. Duke of Camerino	?	*fl.* 1550		**Zeitschr. f. Heb. Bibl. xx, 67**
Cinqarbres, Jean, *see* Quinquarboreus, Johannes				
Ciselius, Phil. (?)	Holland	*fl.* 1696		**St. 142**
Cisneros, Francisco, *see* Ximénez (Jiménez) de Cisneros, Francisco				
Clajus (Klai), Johannes	Germany	1535(?)–1592		**ADB; NBU**
Clanner, J.G. (?)	?	*fl.* c. 1726		**St. 143**
Clark (Clerke), Richard	England	*fl.* 1611		**DNB**
Clark (Clericus), Samuel	England	*fl.* 1667		**St. 145; Bodl. Cat. 847**
Clavering, Robert	England	1671–1747	Anglican	**St. 144; Bodl. Cat. 847; DNB**

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Name	Country-(ies)	Dates	Religious Confession	References
Claymond, John	England	1457(?)–1537		**DNB; R. Loewe, Heb. Union Coll. Ann. 28, 1957**
Clenardus (Cleynaerts), Nicolaus	Flanders	(?)1495– 1542		**NNBW; BN Belg; ADB; Enc. Br. ^{11}**
Clerc (Le Clerc), Jean-Thomas	Switzerland (French)	1657–1736	Huguenot (Remonstrant)	**NNBW; NBU; Enc. Br. ^{11}**
Clericus (Le Clerc), David	Switzerland	1591–1654		**Hist. Biogr. Lex. Schweiz, iv, 639**
Clericus, Samuel, *see* Clark, Samuel				
Clodius, David	Germany	1644–1684	Lutheran	**ADB**
Clodius, Jo. Chr.	Germany	1676–1745		**St. 146; ADB; NBU**
Cluverus, Jo.	?	17th c.		**St. 147**
Cnollen, Adam Andreas	Germany	1674–1714		**St. 148; M. Brann, D. Kaufmann Mem. Vol., p. 392**
Cnollen, Jos. Nicol.	Germany	17th c.		**St. 148**
Cocceius, Johannes, *see* Koch, Joh.				
Codde (Coddaeus), Guilh. van der	Holland	1575–1625 (?30)	Reformed Ch.	**St. 150; Bodl. Cat. 848; NNBW**
Collier, William	England	1742–1790		**Venn**
Collin, C.E.	Germany	*fl.* 1705		**St. 151**
Colomils, Paul	France, England	1638–1692	Huguenot- Anglican	**DNB; NBU**
Colvill, Abr.	Germany	*fl.* 1670		**St. (after 151)**
Conant, Thomas Jefferson	U.S.A.	1802–1891		**D. Am. B. Enc. Br. ^{11}**
Connelly, Thaddeus	Ireland	*fl.* 1823		**Proverbs, Irish-Engl. Heb., Dublin 1823**
Cornaro–Piscopia, Cornelia (?Eleonora), Lucr. Helena	Italy	1646–1684		**NBU; Zeitschr. f. Heb. Bibl. xx, 67**
Cossey (Costessey), Henry of	England	d. 1336	Franciscan	**Loewe, Heb. Union Coll. Ann. 28, 1957, 212**
Costus, Petrus	France	*fl.* 1554		**St. 152, Bodl. Cat. 849**
Cotta, Jo.Fr.	Germany	1701–1779		**St. 153; NBU; ADB; Enc. Br. ^{11}**
Covell, John	England	1638–1722		**DNB; NBU**
Cramer, Anna Maria	Germany	1613–1627		**Zeitschr. f. Heb. Bibl. xx, 67**
Cramer, Dan	Germany	1568–1637	Lutheran	**ADB; NBU**
Cramer, Gabriel (Elisée)	Switzerland	1822–1888		**B. Prijs, Basl. Heb. Drucke, 1964, 470, 318**
Cramer, Joh. Jacob	Switzerland	1673–1702		**St. 154, Bodl. Cat. 213; Hist. Biogr. Lex. Schweiz, ii, 642; NBU; ADB**
Cramer, Joh. Rudolph	Switzerland	1678–1737		**St. 155, Bodl. Cat. 849; Hist. Biogr. Lex Schweiz ii, 642; ADB; NBU**
Crawford, Francis	Ireland	*fl.* 1855		**Trans. Royal Ir. Acad. xxii (1855), 371 f.**
Cregut(us), Ant.	Switzerland (?)	*fl.* 1660		**NBU**
Crenius, Thom.	Germany	1648–1728		**St. 156, Bodl. Cat. 850; NBU**
Crocius, Lud. Mich.	Germany	*fl.* 1673		**St. 157**
Croius, Jo.	England	18th c.		**St. 158**
Cross, Walter	England	17th c.		**Br. Mus. Cat.**
Csécsi, János	Hungary	1689–1769	Calvinist	**Marm; Szin; Pap.**
Csekei, Pál	Hungary	18th c.	Calvinist	**Dan**
Csepregi, Ferenc	Hungary	1700–1758	Calvinist	**Marm; Szin; Zovanyi**
Csomos, János	Hungary	1730–1768	Calvinist	**Szin; Zovanyi**
Cudworth, Ralph	England	1617–1688	Anglican	
Cun(aeus), Peter van der	Holland	1586–1638	Reformed Ch.	**NNBW; ADB; NBU**
Cunitzen (Cunitia), Maria	?	?		**Zeitsch. f. Heb. Bibl. xx, 67**
Curtius, Sebastian	?	*fl.* 1645 (?)		**Heb. grammar, Geismar, 1645**
Czuppon, György	Hungary	1755–1820	Catholic	**Szin.**
Dachs, Friedr. Bernh.	Holland	*fl.* 1726		**St. 159; Bodl. Cat. 833**

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Name	Country-(ies)	Dates	Religious Confession	References
D'Allemand, J.D.	Germany	*fl.* 1837		**Heb. grammar, Munich, 1837**
Dailing (Deyling), Sal.	Germany	1665(?77)– 1755	Lutheran	**ADB; NBU**
Dalmaki, Laurentius	Hungary	*fl.* 1643		**St. 124b, Nachtrag p. 120**
Danz, Joh. Andr.	Germany	1654–1727		
Dassow(-vius), Th.	Germany	d. 1721		**St. 161; ADB**
Dávid, Ferenc	Hungary	1520–1579	Unitarian, Sabbatarian (Davidist)	**Kohn; Szin; Zov; E. Kiss, 1912**
Davies, Benjamin	Welsh-Canadian	1814–1875		**DNB**
Davis, Johan.	England	(?)1625– 1693		**DNB**
Debreczeni, Petkó János	Hungary	17th c.	Calvinist	**Dan**
Debreczeni, Szücs János	Hungary	1630–1671	Calvinist	**Zov; Dan**
de Dieu, Louis	Holland	1590–1642	Calvinist	**NNBW 8, 395; B.N. Belg; NBU; ADB**
Delitzsch, Franz Julius	Germany	1813–1890		**ADB; Enc. Br.^{11}**
del Rio, Martin Ant.	Flanders, Spain	1551–1608	Jesuit	**B.N. Belg; NBU; ADB; Cath. Enc.**
Densing, Herman	Holland	1654–1722		**NNBW 8; NBU**
Dereser, Thadd. Ant.	Germany	1757–1827		**ADB; NBU**
Dertsik, János	Hungary	19th c.	Calvinist	**Szin.**
d'Espence, Claude, *see* Espencaeus, Claude				
Diederichs, Jo. Christ. Wilh.	Germany	1750–1781		**NBU**
Diest, Henr. van	Holland	b. 1595		**NNBW 4, 504**
Diest, Samuel van	Holland	d. 1694		**NNBW 4, 505**
Dieterich, Joh. Con.	?	?		**Ugolini 30, 1278**
Dietrich, Franz Ed. Chr.	Germany	1810–1883		**ADB**
Dilherr, Joh. Mich.	Germany	1604–1669	Lutheran	**ADB**
Dillingham, Francis	England	d. 1625	Anglican	**DNB**
Dindorf, Th. Imm.	Germany	?		**Heb. & Chald. Grammar, Leipzig, 1801**
Diószegi, KalmFr PFI	Hungary	1628–1669	Calvinist	**Szin; Zov; Dan**
Disma, P.	Italy	*fl.* 1757		**St. 162; Zedner, 198**
Disney, William	England	1751–1807		**DNB**
Dithmar, Justus Christ.	Germany	1677–1737		**St. 163; ADB; NBU**
Doederlein, Jo. Chr.	Germany	18th c.		**St. 295**
Doeleke, W.H.	Germany	*fl.* 1822		**Heb. Grammar, Leipzig, 1822**
Donatus, Franc.	Italy	c.1598–1635	Dominican	**St. 165, Nachtrag p. 121**
Dorothea Maria, wife of John, Duke of Saxe-Weimar	Germany	17th c.		**Zeitschr. f. Heb. Bibl. xx, 67**
Dove, John	England	*fl.* 1746		**St. 165 note, Bodl. Cat. 894**
Dowling, Ed. Dowman	England	*fl.* 1797		**Heb. Grammar, London, 1797**
Drusius (Driesche), Joh. van den I	Holland	1550–1616	Calvinist	**St. 166, Nachtrag p.121; NBU; ADB; Enc. Br.^{11}**
Drusius (Driesche), Joh II	England	1588–1609		**St. 167, Bodl. Cat. 895**
Dufour, Thom.	France	*fl.* 1642	Benedictine	**Heb. Grammar, Paris, 1642**
Du Monin, Jean Edouard	France	1557–1586		
Duncan, William Wallace	England	*fl.* 1841		**Heb. Lexicon, London 1841**
Duns Scotus, Joh.	Scotland	1265(?)– 1308 (?)	Franciscan	**St. 1, 50; DNB; NBU**
Dunster, Henry	New England (U.S.A.)	1609–1659		**DNB**
Du Plessis–Mornay, *see* Mornay, Philippe de				
Easton, Adam	England	d. 1397	Benedictine	**St. 1; DNB**
Eath, Augustinus	?	?		**G. Meuschen, Nov. Test. ex Talmude Illustr. 197, 17**
Ebert(-us), Jac.	Germany	1549–1614		**St. 168; Bodl. Cat. 901; NBU**
Ebert(us), Theod.	Germany	d. 1630		**St. 169; Bodl. Cat. 901; NBU**
Edzardus, Esdras	Germany	1629–1708	Lutheran	**ADB; NBU**

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Name	Country-(ies)	Dates	Religious Confession	References
Eggers, Jo.	Switzerland	*fl.* 1719		**St. 170**
Egidio da Viterbo, *see* Viterbo, Aegidius da				
Einem, Joh. Justus von	Germany	*fl.* 1714– 1736		**St. 171; NBU**
Einsiedel, Marg. Sybilla, widow of Conrad Loeser	Germany	*fl.* 1670		**Zeitschr. f. Heb. Bibl. xx, 67**
Eisenmenger, Joh. Andr.	Germany	1654–1704	Lutheran	
Eisentraut, Alex., *see* Sancto Aquilino (Eisentraut), Alexius				
Elisabeth, Abbess of Pfalz	Germany	d. 1680		**Zeitschr. f. Heb. Bibl. xx, 67**
Elius, Matth. (? apostate Jew)	Germany	?		**St. 173**
Eloise, wife of Abelard	France	d.c. 1163		**Zeitschr. f. Heb. Bibl. xx, 68**
Elwert, Chr. Gottlieb	Germany	*fl.* 1822		**Heb. Lexicon, Reutlingen, 1822**
Engestroem, Jo.	Sweden	*fl.* 1733		**Heb. Grammar, Lund, 1733**
Engotler, Jos.	Austria	*fl.* 1758		**Heb. Grammar, Gratz 1758**
Ens, Petrus	Holland	18th c.		**NNBW 8, 487**
Ercsei, Daniel	Hungary	1754–1809	Calvinist	**Marm; Szin; Zov.**
Erdósi, Sylvester JFnos	Hungary	1504–155?	Catholic	**Marm; Szin; Zov; János Balazs, E.S. Budapest, 1961**
Erpen(-ius), Thom. van	Holland	1584–1624	Calvinist	**NNBW; ADB; NBU; Enc. Br. ^{11}**
Ertel, János	Hungary	1710(?)– 1757	Lutheran	**Venet.; Marm; Szin; Zov.**
Esenwein, M.	Germany	17th c.		**JQR, 9 (1896/97), 509–4**
Esgers, Jo.	Holland	18th c.		**St. 175**
Espencaeus (d'Espence), Claude	France	1511–1571	Catholic	**NBU**
Etheridge, John Wesley	England	1804–1866	Methodist	**DNB**
Eugubinus, *see* Steuco (Steuchus Eugubinus), Agostino				
Ewald, Geo. Heinr. Aug.von	Germany	1803–1875		**ADB; NBU**
Faber, George	Germany	17th c.		**Heb. Grammar, Nuremberg, 1626**
Faber Boderianus, *see* Le Fèvre de la Boderie, Guy and Nicolas				
Faber Stapulensis, *see* Le Fèvre d'Etaples, Jacques				
Fabricius, Ern. Christ.	Germany	*fl.* 1792		**St. 176. Bodl. Cat. 977**
Fabricius, Friedr.	Germany	1642–1703		**St. 177; NBU**
Fabricius, Guido, *see* Le Fèvre de la Boderie, Guy				
Fabricius, János	Hungary	1678–1734	Lutheran	**Marm; Szin.**
Fabricius, Laurentius	Germany	1555–1629	Lutheran (?)	**R. Dan, Journ. Jew. Stud. 19 (1968) 72**
Fabricius, Phil. Jac.	Germany	17th c.		**St. 177, note; Bodl. Cat. 977**
Fabricius, Theod.	Germany	1501–1570		**NBU**
Fagius (Buchlein), Paulus	France, England	1504–1549	Anglican	**St. 178; Bodl. Cat. 977, 3080; DNB; ADB; NBU**
Fahländer, Jo.	Sweden	18th c.		**St. 269 (Lundius)**
Fairclough, Richard	England	1553–1630		**Foster; Venn**
Farkas, György	Hungary	171?–1776	Lutheran	**Marm; Szin; Zov.**
Farkas, Jakab	Hungary	1630–167?	Calvinist	**Szin; Dan**
Faust(-ius), Joh. Friedr.	Germany	*fl.* 1706		**St. 180**
Feilmoser, Adr. Benedict	Austria	1777–1831		**ADB**
Fekler, Ignaz Aurel	Austria	1756–1839	Lutheran	**B.L.K. Oest.**
Fell, John	England	1625–1686		**DNB**
Fell, Margaret	England	1614–1702	Quaker	**L. Roth, Journ. Sem. Stud. 6 (1961), p. 210**
Ferenczi, Tobias	Hungary	1701–1767	Catholic	**Marm; Szin.**
Ferrand, Louis	France	1645–1699		**St. 181; NBU**

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Name	Country-(ies)	Dates	Religious Confession	References
Fessler, Ign. Aurelius	Germany	1756–1839		**ADB; Enc. Br.^{11}**
Feuardent, Francois	France	1539–1610	Franciscan	
Ficino, Marsiglio	Italy	1433–1499	Catholic	**St.A. 35b; J. Perles, Rev. Etudes Juives, 12, 244–57**
Field, Frederick	England	1801–1885		**DNB**
Figueiro, Petrus	?Flanders	*fl.* 1615		**St. 182, Bodl. Cat. 981**
Fitz–Gerald, Gerald	Ireland	*fl.* 1799		**Heb. Grammar, Dublin 1799**
Flavigny, Valérian de	France	d. 1674		**NBU**
Floravanti, Gerónimo	Italy	1554–1630	Jesuit	**Bibl. Comp. de Jèsus 3, 791**
Fockens, Herman Fr. Th.	Holland	1794–1868		**NNBW 8, 552**
Foecklerus, Jo.	Holland	*fl.* 1658		**Heb. Grammar, Amsterdam, 1658**
Fontanella, Franc.	Italy	*fl.* 1824		**Heb. Lexicon, Venice, 1824**
Foreiro, Francisco	Portugal	1510–1581	Dominican	**NBU; Grande Enc. Port. e Brasil. 11 (1940), 623**
Forster (Föster, Forsthemius, or Vorstheimer), Johann	Switzerland	1496–1558	Lutheran	**Heb. Lexicon, Basle, 1557**
Fourmont, Etienne (sen.)	France	1683–1745		**St. 183; NBU; Enc. Br.^{11}**
Fox, George	England	1624–1691	Quaker	**DNB; L. Roth, Journ. Sem. Stud. 6 (1961), 208**
Franciscus, Maria	?	?	Capuchin	**St. 183b, Nachtrag p.121**
Franck, Sebastian	Germany	1499–1542		**St. 184; ADB; Enc. Br.^{11}**
Franke (Francus), Gregorius	Germany	*fl.* 1634		**Heb. Lexicon, Hanover, 1634**
Franz, Wolfgang	Germany	1564–1628	Lutheran	**ADB**
Frey, Jo. Ludw.	Switzerland	1682–1759		**St. 185; ADB; NBU**
Freytag, Geo. Wilh. Friedr.	Germany	1788–1861		**ADB; NBU; Enc. Br.^{11}**
Friedrichson, D.	Germany	*fl.* 1871		**Heb. Grammar, Mainz, 1871**
Frischlin, Nicodemus	France	(?)1547– 1590		**NBU; ADB; Enc. Br.^{11}**
Frischmuth, Joh.	Germany	1619–1687	Lutheran	**ADB; NBU**
Fritsch, Ernst Aug.	Germany	*fl.* 1838		**Kritik of grammar, Frankfurt, 1838**
Frommann(-us), Erhard Andr.	Germany	1722–1774	Catholic (?)	**St. 186; ADB; NBU**
Fronmueller, Conrad	Germany	*fl.* 1679		**St. 186 (bis)**
Fullenius, Bernardus	Holland	1602–1657		**NNBW 3, 426**
Fuller, Nicholas	England	1557(?)– 1626	Anglican	**St. 187; DNB; NBU**
Gaffarel(lus), Jacques	France	1601–1681	Catholic	**St. 188, Nachtrag p.121; NBU**
Gagnier, John	France, England	1670(?)– 1740		**St. 189; DNB; NBU**
Galatinus, Petrus Columna	Italy	1460–1540	Franciscan	**St. 190, Nachtrag p. 121**
Galliccioli, Joh. Baptist	(Austria), Italy	1733–1806	Catholic	**B.L.K. Oest.**
Garcia Blanco, Antonio	Spain	?		
Garzias, Dominicus	Spain	*fl.* 1598	Catholic	
Gastabled, Franciscus, *see* Vatable, François				
Gataker, Thomas	England	1574–1654		**DNB; NBU**
Gaudia, Barthol. Valverdio	Spain	?		**St. 192**
Gaulmin, Gilbert	France	1585–1665	Catholic	**St. 193; NBU**
Gebhard, Brandanus Heinr.	Germany	1657–1729	Lutheran	**ADB**
Geitlin, Gabriel	?	*fl.* 1856		**Heb. Grammar, Helsingfors, 1856**
Gejerus, Martin	Germany	1614–1680		**St. 194, Nachtrag p.121; ADB**
Gelbe, H.	Germany	?		**Heb. Grammar, Leipzig, 1868**
Génébrard, Gilbert	France	1537–1597	Catholic	**St. 195, Nachtrag p.121, Bodl. Cat. 1026, Add; NBU**
Gennaro, Sisti	Italy	*fl.* 1747		**Heb. Grammar, Venice 1747**
Gentius (Gentz), Georg	(Germany), Holland	1618–1687	Lutheran	**St. 196, Nachtrag p.121; NNBW ix, 277; NBU**
Georgios, Chrysococca	Greece	1340– 1356 (?)		**St. A. 24, Heb. Übers 629**
Gerard of Cremona	Italy	c. 1114– 1187		**Enc. Br.^{11}**

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Name	Country-(ies)	Dates	Religious Confession	References
Gerhard, Jo. Ernest G.	Germany	1621–1668		
Gerhard, Jo. G.	Germany	1582–1637	Lutheran	**ADB; NBU; Enc. Br.[11]**
Germber, Hermann	Germany	*fl.* 1604		**St. 197, Bodl. Cat. 1009; ADB**
Gerrans, R.	England	*fl.*1784		**St. 197 (with reservations)**
Gersdorff, Henrietta Kath. Friesen	Germany	17th c.		**Zeitschr. f. Heb. Bibl. xx,68**
Gesenius, Fr. Heinr. Wilh.	Germany	1786–1842		**ADB; NBU; Enc. Br.[11]**
Geyer (Geier), Martin	Germany	1614–1680	Lutheran	**St. 194; ADB**
Gezelius, Jo.	Lithuania	1615–1690		**NBU**
Gibelius, Abr.	?	*fl.* 1603		**Heb. Grammar, Wittenberg, 1603**
Giggeius (Giggeo), Ant.	Italy	d. 1632		**St. 198, Bodl. Cat. 1018; NBU**
Gill, John	England	1697–1771	Baptist	**St. 199; DNB; NBU**
Giorgio (Zorzi), Francesco	Italy	1460–1540	Franciscan	**Meuschen, Nov. Test. ex Talmude Illustr., 173, 17**
Giraud, l'Abbé	France, Poland	*fl.* 1825		**Heb. Fr. Vocab., Vilna, 1825**
Gireandeau, Bonar	France	*fl.* 1758–1778		**Heb. Grammar & Lex., Paris, 1758, 1778**
Giustiniani (Justinianus), Agostino	Italy, France	c. 1470–1536	Dominican	
Glaeser, Jos.	Germany (?)	*fl.* 1832		**Heb. Grammar, Ratisbon, 1832**
Glaire, Jean Baptiste	France	b. 1798		**Heb. & Aramaic Grammar, Paris, 1832**
Glass(-ius), Solomon	Germany	1593–1656	Lutheran	**ADB; Enc. Br.[11]**
Gleichgross, György	Hungary	1669–1712	Lutheran	**Marm; Szin; Zov.**
Godwyn, Thomas	England	1587–1642	Anglican	**DNB; Trans. Jew. Hist. Soc. Eng. vi (1912), 58**
Goez, Georg	?	?		**Ugolini, 30, 1160**
Goldhahn, Matth., *see* Aurogallus, Matth.				
Golius (Gohl), Jac.	Holland	1596–1667	Calvinist	**NNBW; ADB; NBU**
Gomarus	Holland	17th c.		**Prof. Groningen in 1630s**
Gousset (Gusset), Jacques	France, Holland	1635–1704	Protestant	**NNBW; NBU**
Graf, Karl Heinr.	Germany	1815–1869		**Enc. Br.[11]**
Grajal, Gaspar	Spain	16th c.		**Enc. Univ. Illustr. Eur.-Amer. 26, 967**
Granberg, Nic.	Sweden	*fl.* 1723		**St. 357 (S.V. Schulten)**
Grapo (Grappius), Zach.	Germany	1671–1713	Lutheran	**ADB; NBU**
Graser, Conrad	Germany	d. 1613		**St. 200**
Green, William	England	1714(?)– 1794		**DNB**
Gregori, Greg.	?	?	Lutheran	**Meuschen, Nov. Test. ex Talmude Illustr., 215, 18**
Greissing, Bálint	Hungary	1653–1701	Lutheran	**Marm; Szin; Zov.**
Greve (Greeve), Egbert van	Holland	1754–1811		**NBU**
Grey, Lady Jane	England	1537–1554		**Zeitschr. f. Heb. Bibl. xx, 68**
Grey, Richard	England	1694–1771		**DNB; NBU**
Groddeck, Gabr.	Germany	1672–1709		**St. 201, Bodl. Cat. 1022; NBU**
Groenewoud, Jacob Cornelis Swijghuisen	Holland	1784–1859		**Heb. Grammar, Utrecht, 1834**
Groll, Adolf	Hungary	1681–1743	Catholic	**Marm; Szin; Zov.**
Grotius (de Groot), Hugo	Holland	1583–1645	Remonstrant	**NNBW; NBU; ADB; Enc. Br.[11]**
Gualtperius, Otto	Germany	*fl.* 1590		**Heb. Grammar, Wittenberg, 1590**
Guarin, Pierre	France	1678–1729		**NBU**
Guevas, Aloysa Sigaea de	Spain	d. 1569		**Zeitschr. f. Heb. Bibl. xx, 69**
Guidacerio(-ius), Agathius	Italy	1477–1540	Catholic	**St. 202, Bodl. Cat. 1022; NBU**
Guise, William	England	1653(?)– 1683		**St. 203, Bodl. Cat. 1022; DNB**
Gundissalinus (Gundisalvo, Gundusalvi) Dominicus	Spain	*fl.* 1150		**Enc. Univ. Euro-Americana 27, 323; J.T. Muckle, De Anima of D.G., Toronto, 1940**

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Name	Country-(ies)	Dates	Religious Confession	References
Guertler, Nic.	Germany, Holland	1653/4–1711	Calvinist	**NNBW 6, 654; ADB; NBU**
Guete, Heinr. Ernst				
Gusset, Jacques, *see* Gousset, Jacques	Germany	*fl.* 1782		**Heb. Grammar, Halle, 1782**
Guyenne, Madame de	France	c. 1625		**Zeitschr. f. Heb. Bibl. xx, 68**
Gyarmathi, Samuel	Hungary	1751–1830	Calvinist	**Venet., Zov.**
Gyarmazi, István	Hungary	17th c.	Calvinist	**Dan**
Gyles, J.F.	England	*fl.* 1814		**Heb. Grammar, London, 1814–1816**
Gyöngyösi de Heteny, Paul	Hungary, Russia	1707–1769	Lutheran	**B.L.K. Oest.**
Haarbrccker, Theod.	Germany	19th c.		**Continued (Halle, 1843) Schnurrer's Tanhum Yerushalmi on Judges.**
Haas (Hasse), Jo. Gottfried	Germany	1737–1815		**ADB; NBU**
Habeler, Jakab	Hungary	1722–1793	Catholic	**Marm; Szin**
Habermann (Avenarius), Johannes	Germany	1520–1590		**Heb. Grammar, Wittenberg, 1562; Neu. Deutch. Biogr. 1, 467**
Habert, Susanna	France	d. 1633		**Zeitschr. f. Heb. Bibl. xx, 68**
Hackspan, Theodoric	Germany	1607–1659		**St. 204, Bodl. Cat. 1025; ADB; NBU**
Haener, Joh. Henr.	?	1682–1701	Lutheran	**Br. Mus. Cat.**
Halenius, Engelbert	Sweden	1700–1767		**St. 205, Bodl. Cat. 1877; no. 45; Svensk**
Haller, Albrecht von	Switzerland	1708–1777		**St. 206; ADB; NBU; Enc. Br.^{11}**
Hamaker, Hendrik Arent	Holland	1789–1835		**NNBW; NBU**
Hambraeus, Jonas	Sweden, France	1588–1671		**Svensk; NBU**
Hamelsveld, Ysbrand van	Holland	1743–1812		**NBU**
Hamius, Jac.	Germany	*fl.* 1624		**Heb. Grammar, Hamburg 1624**
Hanel, Melchior	Bohemia	*fl.* 1661		**St. 207; Bodl. Cat. 796**
Haner, György	Hungary	1672–1740	Calvinist	**Marm; Szin; Pap.**
Hanewinkel, Gerhardus	Germany	*fl.* 1636		**Heb. Grammar, Bremen, 1636**
Hanne(c)ken, Meno (Memnon)	Germany	1595–1671		**St. 208; ADB**
Hannes, Edward	England	d. 1710		**DNB**
Happelius, Wigand	Switzerland	*fl.* 1561		**Heb. Grammar, Basle, 1561**
Harding, John	England	d. 1610		**Foster**
Harding, Stephen	England, France	1060(?)–1134	Cistercian	**Trans. Jew. Hist. Soc. Eng. 17(1953) 233; DNB; NBU**
Hardt, Anton Jul. van der	Germany	1707–1785		**St. 209, Bodl. Cat. 1094**
Hardt, Hermann van der	Germany	1660–1746	Lutheran	**St. 210, Bodl. Cat. 1032; ADB; NBU**
Hare, Francis	England	1671–1740	Anglican	**DNB; NBU**
Harrison, Thomas	England	1555–1631		**DNB**
Harrison, Thomas	England	1716–1753		**Venn**
Hart, John	England	?		**C. Roth, Bodl. Lib. Record, 7 (1966), 244**
Hartmann, Ant. Theodor	Germany	1774–1838	Protestant	**St. 213, Nachtrag p.121; ADB; NBU**
Hartmann, Joh. Melchior	Germany	1764–1827		**ADB; NBU**
Hartmann, Jo. Phil.	Germany	*fl.* 1708		**St. 211**
Hase, Christ. Gottfr.	Germany	*fl.* 1750		**Heb. Linguistic Study, Halle, 1750**
Haselbauer, Franz	Austria	1677–1756	Catholic	**B.L.K. Oest.**
Hasse, Jo. Gottfried, *see* Haas, Jo. Gottfried				
Hautecourt, Hen. Philipponneau de	France, Holland	1646–1715	Huguenot	**NNBW**
Havemann, Christoph.	Germany	17th c.		**St. 214**

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Name	Country-(ies)	Dates	Religious Confession	References
Havemann, Michael	Germany	1597–1672	Lutheran	**ADB**
Hebenstreit, Joh. Chr.	Germany	1686–1756	Protestant	**St. 215, Bodl. Cat. 1033; NBU**
Hedmann, Cl.	Sweden	18th c.		**St. 216, Bodl. Cat. 682**
Heeser, Johann.	? Germany	*fl.* 1716		**Heb. & Chald. Lex., Harderov, 1716**
Heidegger, Joh. Heinr.	Switzerland	1633–1698	Reformed Ch.	**ADB; NBU; Enc. Br.[11]**
Heilbronn, Anna	Hungary	18th c.	Calvinist	**Marm; Szin.**
Heinsius (Heinzs), Dan	Flanders, Holland	1580(?)–1655	Reformed Ch.	**NNBW; B.N. Belg.; ADB; NBU; Enc. Br.[11]**
Helen, John	England	d. 1839		**inf. from C. Roth; his Modern Judaism untraced; Gentleman's Magazine**
Hellmann, Laur.	Sweden	18th c.		**St. 137, Bodl. Cat. 1877**
Helman, Andr.	Sweden	18th c.		**St. 357 (sv. Schulten)**
Helmont, Joh. Baptist van	Holland	1577–1644	Protestant	**(untraced)**
Helner, Samuel	Hungary	18th c.	Calvinist	**St. 243, Bodl. Cat. 1582; Marm; Szin.**
Heltai, Gáspár	Hungary	1520–1574	Calvinist	**Szin; Zov; Erzsébet Székely, H.G., Budapest, 1957**
Helvicus, Christophorus	Germany	1581–1616	Lutheran	
Helwig (Helvicus)	Germany	1581–1617	Lutheran	**St. 220, Nachtrag p.121, Bodl. Cat. 1038; ADB**
Hempel, Ernst Wilh.	Germany	*fl.* 1776		**Heb. Grammar, Leipzig, 1776**
Henry of Hessen (Langenstein)	Germany	1340–1397		**NBU**
Hepburn, (Jas.) Bonaventura	Scotland, Italy	1573–1620	Minim	**St. 221, Bodl. Cat. 1382; DNB; NBU**
Hertel, W. Chr.	Austria	*fl.* 1735		**Heb. Grammar, Gratz, 1735**
Hesse, Anna Sophia von	Germany	*fl.* 1658	Catholic	**Zeitschr. f. Heb. Bibl. xx, 66**
Hetzel (Hezel), Joh. Wilh. Friedr.	Germany	1754–1829		**NBU**
Heyman, Johannes	Holland	18th c.		
Hiller(-us), Matth.	Germany	1646–1725	Protestant	**ADB; NBU**
Hilliger, Joh. Wilh.	Germany	1667–1701	Lutheran	**Br. Mus. Cat.**
Hilpert, Jo.	Germany	*fl.* 1651		**St. 222, Bodl. Cat. 1875**
Hilvai, János	Hungary	1720(?)–1769	Calvinist	**Marm; Szin; Zov.**
Hincks, Edward	Ireland	1792–1866		**DNB**
Hinkelmann, Abr.	Germany	1652–1695		**St. 223; ADB; NBU**
Hinlopen, Jelmer	Holland	18th c.		**NNBW 8, 777**
Hirth (Hirtius), Joh. Friedr.	Germany	1719–1784		**St. 224, Bodl. Cat. 1043; ADB; NBU**
Hochstet(t)er, Andreas Adam	Germany	1668–1717	Protestant	**St. 225; ADB**
Hody, Humphrey	England	1659–1707		**DNB; NBU**
Hoffmann, Jo. Ge.	Germany	*fl.* 1767		**Heb. Grammar, Giessen, 1767**
Holland, Thomas	England	d. 1612		**DNB; C. Roth, Bodl. Lib. Record, 6 (1966), 245**
Hollenberg, W.	Germany	*fl.* 1861		**Heb. Grammar, Berlin 1861**
Holten, Albert	Germany	*fl.* 1675		**St. 226**
Hombergk, Joh. Friedr.	Germany	1673–1748	Reformed Ch.	**ADB**
Hommel, Karl Ferd.	Germany	1722–1781		**St. 227, Bodl. Cat. 1046; ADB; NBU**
Honert, Taco Hajo van den	Holland	1666–1740		**NNBW**
Honorius	Scotland	*fl.* 1452	Cistercian (?)	**St. A. 27**
Hooght, Everardus van der	Holland	*fl.* 1686		**Heb. Grammar, Amsterdam 1686**
Hoornbeck, Joh.	Holland	1617–1666	Dutch Ref.	**NNBW; ADB**
Horche, Heinr.	Germany	1652–1729	Separatist	**ADB**
Horne, Robert	England	1519(?)–1580		**DNB; L. Roth, Journ. Sem. Stud. 6 (1961), 206**

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Name	Country-(ies)	Dates	Religious Confession	References
Hottinger, Joh. Heinr.	Switzerland	1620–1667	Swiss Ref.	**St. 228, Nachtrag p.121, Bodl. Cat. 1038; ADB; NBU; Enc. Br.^{11}**
Hottinger, Joh. Heinr. II	Germany	1681–1750	Swiss Ref.	**St. 229, Bodl. Cat. 1048; ADB; NBU**
Hottinger, Joh. Jakob	Switzerland	1652–1735		
Houbigant(-ius), Chas. Franc.	France	1686–1783		**NBU**
Houting, Hendrik	Holland	*fl.* 1695	Calvinist	**St. 230, Bodl. Cat. 1048**
Hrabski, János	Hungary	1625–1678	Calvinist	**Szin; Zov.**
Hubschmann, I. Matth.	Germany	*fl.* 1751		**Heb. Grammar (Geschwinder Hebraer), Eisenach, 1751**
Huerga, Cipriano de la	Spain	?		**Colomils, Ital. et Hisp. Orientalis, index (only).**
Huet, Pierre Daniel	France	1630–1721	Jesuit	**NBU; Enc. Br.^{11}**
Hufnagel, G.F.	Germany	*fl.* 1795		**St. 231, Bodl. Cat. 2720, Add. 1049**
Hugh of St. Cher	France	1200(?)–1263	Dominican	**Enc. Br.^{11}; Smalley, Study of Bible in M. Ages^{2}, 398**
Hugh of St. Victor	Flanders, France	1078(?)–1141	Victorine	**NBU; Enc. Br.^{11}; Smalley, op. cit., 398**
Hugo Insulanus, T.				**St. 232**
Huldrich(-icus), Joh. Jac.	Switzerland	1683–1731		**St. 233, Bodl. Cat. 1049; NBU**
Hulse(-ius), Ant.	Holland	1615–1685	Calvinist	**St. 234, Bodl. Cat. 1049; NNBW**
Hulsius, Paul	Holland	1653–1712	Dutch Ref.	**NNBW**
Hunt, Thomas	England	1696–1774		**DNB; NBU**
Hupfeld, Hermann Chr. Karl Friedr.	Germany	1796–1866		**ADB; NBU; Enc. Br.^{11}**
Huré (Hureus), Car.	France	1639–1717	Jansenist	**NBU**
Husen, Franc. van	Holland	*fl.* 1676		**St. 235, Bodl. Cat. 1050**
Hussgen, Johannes, *see* Oecolampadius, Johannes				
Huszi, György	Hungary	1710–1768	Calvinist	**Marm; Szin; Zov.**
Hutter(-us), Elias	Germany	1553– 1607(?)		**ADB**
Hyde (H(e)ydius), Thomas	England	1636–1703		**St. 236, Bodl. Cat. 1050; DNB; NBU; Trans. Jew. Hist. Soc. Engl., Index**
Iken(ius), Conrad	Germany	1689–1753		**St. 237, Bodl. Cat. 1054; ADB; NBU**
Imbonati(-tus), Carlo Guiseppe	Italy	1650(?)–1696	Cistercian	**St. 238, Bodl. Cat. 1052; NBU**
Jacobi, J. Ad.	Germany	*fl.* 1797		**Heb. Grammar, Jena, 1797**
Jacob(s)(-bius), Henry	England	1608–1652		**St. 239; Foster**
Jahn, Joh.	Austria	1750–1816		**ADB; NBU; Enc. Br.^{11}**
Janvier (Januarius), René	France	1613–1682	Benedictine	**St. 240, Bodl. Cat. 1249; NBU**
Jarrett, Thomas	England	1805–1882		**DNB**
Jean François de Binans, *see* Binans, Jean François de				
Jehne, Lebr. H.S.	Germany	*fl.* 1790		**Heb. Grammar, Altona, 1790**
Jenei, György	Hungary	17th c.	Calvinist	**Dan**
Jennings, David	England	1691–1762	Dissenter	**DNB; NBU**
Jetzius, Paul	Germany	*fl.* 1729		**Heb. Grammar, Stettin, 1729**
Jiménez de Cisneros, Francisco, *see* Ximénez de Cisneros, Francisco				
Johannes Luccae	Italy	*fl.* 1406		**St. A. 31, 254, Nachtrag p. 87, Heb. Bibliog. xv, 39; Z.D.M.G. 25, 404**
Johannson, Th. Carl	Denmark	*fl.* 1835		**Heb. Grammar, Copehagen, 1835**
Jones, William	England	1746–1794		**DNB; NBU**

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Name	Country-(ies)	Dates	Religious Confession	References
Jong, P. de	Holland	1832–1890		**NNBW 1, 1227**
Jud(ä), Leo	Germany, Switzerland	1482–1542	Reformer	**ADB; NBU; Enc. Br.**^{11}
Junius (Du Jon), Franc.	France, Holland	1545–1602	Huguenot	**NNBW**
Jurieu, Pierre	France, Holland	1639–1713	Huguenot	**NNBW; NBU; Enc. Br.**^{11}
Justinianus, Aug., *see* Giustiniani, Agostino				
Juynboll, Dietrich Will. (Joh.?) van	Holland	1802–1861		**NNBW**
Kalau, Abr., *see* Calov(ius), Abr.				
Kallai, Kopis János	Hungary	1645–1681	Calvinist	**Zov; Dan**
Kalmár, György	Hungary	1726–178?	Calvinist	**Marm; Szin; Zov; Pap.**
Kals, Joh. Guil.	Holland	b. 1702		**NNBW**
Kalthoff, J.A.	Germany	*fl.* 1837		**Heb. Grammar, Ratisbon, 1837**
Kamarási, Pal	Hungary	1693–1735	Calvinist	**Szin; Zov; Pap.**
Kampen, Jan van, *see* Campen(-sis), Jan van				
Kaposi, Samuel	Hungary	1660–1713	Calvinist	**Marm; Szin; Zov.**
Károlyi, Gáspár	Hungary	1529–1592	Calvinist	**Marm; Szin; Zov; K.G. Budapest, 1958**
Kaszaniczky, Ádám (de Nagy Selmecz)	Hungary	1748–1804	Catholic	**Marm; Szin**
Katona Gelei, István	Hungary	1589–1649	Calvinist	**Marm; Szin; Zov; Károly Brassay, G.K.I. Hajdunanas, 1903**
Kehe, G.J.	Russia	?		**Meuschen, Nov. Test. ex Talmude Illustr. 264, 23**
Kekkermannus, Balth.	Germany	*fl.* 1625		**Heb. Grammar, Hanau, 1625**
Keller, Gottl. Wilh.	Germany	17th c.		**St. 243, Bold. Cat. 1582**
Kelp, Márton	Hungary, (Germany?)	1659–1694		**Szin; Zov; ADB**
Kemink, H.H.	Holland	1817–1861		**NNBW 3, 676**
Kemmel, János	Hungary	1636–1685	Calvinist	**Marm; Szin; Dan**
Kennicott, Benjamin	England	1718–1783		**DNB; NBU**
Keresztes, József	Hungary	1846–1888	Calvinist	**Szin; Zov.**
Keresztesi, Pál	Hungary	1711–1734	Calvinist	**Marm; Szin.**
Kereszturi, Bálint	Hungary	1634–1680	Calvinist	**Marm; Szin; Zov.**
Kern, Mihály	Hungary	1731–1795	Calvinist	**Marm; Szin; Zov.**
Kerssenbroich, Hermanus	Germany	*fl.* 1560		**Heb. Grammar, Cologne, 1560**
Kesler (Chesselius, Ahenarius), Joh. Conrad	Switzerland	1502–1574	Lutheran	**Ugolini 28, 766; Enc. Rel Kn.**
Keyworth, Thomas	England	1782–1852		**DNB**
Kiber, David, *see* Kyber, David				
Kihn, H.	Germany	*fl.* 1885		**Heb. Grammar (with D. Shilling), Freiburg, 1885**
Kilbye, Richard	England	1561(?)–1620		**DNB; NBU**
King, Geoffrey	England	c.1567–1630		**Venn**
Kingsmill, Thos. Reg.	England	*fl.* 1605		**DNB**
Kircher, Athanasius	Germany, France, Italy	1602–1680	Jesuit	**St. 244, Nachtrag p.121, Bodl. Cat. 1584; ADB; NBU**
Kirschner, Conrad, *see* Pellicanus, Conrad				
Kismarjai Weszelin, PFI	Hungary	1600–1645	Calvinist	**Marm; Szin; Pap; Dan**
Klai, Joh., *see* Clajus, Johannes				
Klemm, Jac. Friedr.	Germany	*fl.* 1783		**Heb. Grammar, Tübingen, 1783**
Klemm, Joh. Christ.	Germany	*fl.* 1745		**Heb. Lex., Tübingen, 1745**
Kloppenburgh, Joh.	Holland	1592–1652		**NNBW; NBU**
Knipe, Thomas	England	1638–1711		**DNB**
Knollys, Manserd	England	1599(?)–1691	Baptist	**DNB**

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Name	Country-(ies)	Dates	Religious Confession	References
Knorr von Rosenroth, Christian	Germany	1636–1689	Lutheran	**St. 245, Bodl. Cat. 1586; ADB; NBU**
Knowlles, Richard	England	*fl.* 1600		**Grk. & Heb. Grammar, London, 1600**
Koch, Friedr. Christ.	Germany	*fl.* 1740		**Heb. Grammar, Jena, 1740**
Koch (Cocceius), Johannes	Holland	1603–1669	Calvinist	**St. 149, Bodl. Cat. 847; NNBW; ADB; NBU; Enc. Br.^{11}**
Kochhaff, David, *see* Chytraeus, David				
Kocsi Csergö, István	Hungary	1700–1726	Calvinist	**Marm; Szin; Zov.**
Kocsi Major, Ferenc	Hungary	1680–1743	Calvinist	**Marm; Szin**
Kocsi Sebestyén, István	Hungary	1761–1841	Calvinist	**Marm; Szin; Zov.**
Koecher, Herm. Friedr.	Germany	*fl.* 1783		**St. 246, Bodl. Cat. 1586**
Koenig, Gu.	Germany	*fl.* 1847		**St. 348**
Koenig, Sam.	Switzerland	1670–1750		**St. 248, 332, Bodl. Cat. 245–6**
Koepfel, Wolfgang Fabricius, *see* Capito, Wolfgang Fabricius				
Koeppen, Nic.	Germany	*fl.* 1709		**St. 249, Bodl. Cat. 2372**
Koeppen, Nic.	?	*fl.* 1720–1730	Lutheran	**St. 249**
Köleséri, Samuel	Hungary	1634–1683	Calvinist	**Marm; Szin; Zov.**
Komáromi, Csipkes György	Hungary	1628–1678	Calvinist	**Károlyi Gáspár, K.C.G. Budapest, 1940**
Koolhaas, Jo. Christoph.	Germany	*fl.* 1670		**Heb. Grammar, Coburg, 1670**
Koolhaas, Willem	Holland	1709–1773		**Br. Mus. Cat.**
Körösi, Mihály	Hungary	1706–1775	Calvinist	**Marm; Szin; Zov.**
Körösi, Uri János	Hungary	1724–1796	Calvinist	**Marm; Szin; Zov.; I. Goldziher, K.U.J., Budapest, 1908**
Kosegarten, Joh. Gottfr. Ludw.	Germany	1792–1860		**St. 250, Bodl. Cat. 720; ADB; NBU**
Krafft, Karl	Germany	*fl.* 1839		**St. 251, Bodl. Cat. 1589**
Kraut, Paul	Sweden	*fl.* 1703		**St. 252**
Kromayer, Jo.	Germany	1576–1643		**NBU**
Kuemmel, Caspar	Germany	*fl.* 1688		**Heb. Grammar, Würtzburg, 1688**
Kyber (Kiber), David	Alsace	16th c.		**St. 253, Bodl. Cat. 1950**
Kypke, Georg David	Germany	1724–1779		**NBU**
Lakemacher, Joh. Gottf.	Germany	1695–1736		**St. 254, Bodl. Cat. 1593**
Lamy, Bernhard	France	1646–1715	Catholic	**Ugolini 32, 572; Enc. Rel. Kn.**
Landrianij, Ignazió	Italy	1579–1642	Catholic	
Lang, Kristóf	Hungary	164?–170?	Calvinist	**Marm; Szin; Zov.**
Lange, J. Christian	Germany	1669(?)–1756	Lutheran	**St. 255, Bodl. Cat. 1596; ADB; NBU**
Lange(-ius), W.	Germany, Italy	*fl.* 1710		**St. 256, Bodl. Cat. 1596**
Langenes, Henr.	Holland	*fl.* 1720		**St. 257, Bodl. Cat. 1887**
Langenstein, Heinr. von, *see* Henry of Hessen				
Langier, Jo. Jac	?	?		**St. 258**
Lapide, Cornelius B (van den Steen)	Flanders	1566–1637	Jesuit	**B.N. Belg; Enc. Br.^{11}**
Laskai, Matko János	Hungary	1605–1663	Calvinist	**Szin; Dan**
Latouche, Auguste	France	*fl.* 1836		**Heb. Grammar, Paris, 1836**
Laurence, Richard	England	1760–1838		**DNB**
L'Avocat, Jean Bapt.	France	*fl.* 1755		**Heb. Grammar, Paris, 1755**
Layfield, John	England	d. 1617		**DNB**
Lazzarelli, Lodovico	Italy	1450–1500		
Le Clerc, Jean Thomas, *see* Clerc, Jean Thomas				
Lederlin, Joh. Heinr.	Alsace	1672–1737		**St. 259; ADB; NBU**

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Name	Country-(ies)	Dates	Religious Confession	References
Lee, Edward	England	1482(?)–1544		**DNB; NBU; F. Perez Castro, Alfonso de Zamora, 1vii**
Lee, Samuel	England	1625–1691	Puritan	**DNB**
Lee, Samuel	England	1783–1852		**DNB; NBU**
Le Fèvre (Fabèr Boderianus) de la Boderie, Guy	France, Flanders	1541–1598	Catholic	**NBU; Colomiès, Gallia Orient.; F. Secret, Le Zôhar chez… chrétiens, 139**
Le Fèvre de la Boderie, Nicolas	France, Flanders	1550–1613	Catholic	**F. Secret, ibid.**
Lefèvre d'Etaples (Faber Stapulensis), Jacques	France	1455(?)–1537(?)	Evangelical	**NBU; Enc. Br.^{11}**
Lehmann, Ge. Heinr.	Germany	1619–1699		**St. 259b, Nachtrag p.121, Bodl. Cat. 233**
Leib, Chilian	Germany	1471–1548		**St. 260, Berlin Cat. i, 53, ii, v (MS 77)**
Leigh, Edward	England	1602–1671	Puritan	**DNB; NBU**
LeLong, Jac.	France	1665–1721		**St. 261, Bodl. Cat. 1599, Addenda; NBU; Enc. Br.^{11}**
Lemoine, Henry	England	1766–1812		**DNB**
L'Empereur, Constantin van Oppyck	Holland	1591–1648		**St. 174, Nachtrag p.121, Bodl. Cat. 971 NNBW 8, 1031; ADB (S.V. Emp.)**
Lent, Joh. B	Germany	*fl.* late 17th c.	Reformed Ch.	**Ugolini 23, 1020**
Lenz, Jo. Leonh.	Germany	*fl.* 1700		**St. 262**
Leo, Christopher	England	*fl.* 1836		**Heb. Grammar, Cambridge, 1836**
León, Andrés, *see* Zamora, Andreas de León				
Leön, Luis de	Spain	1527–1591	Catholic	**NBU; Enc. Br.^{11}**
Leopold, Em. Friedr.	Germany	*fl.* 1832		**Heb. & Chald. Grammar, Leipzig, 1832**
Lepusculus, Sebastian	Switzerland	1501–1576		**St. 263, Bodl. Cat. 1604**
Le Tartrier, Adrien	France	*fl.* 1586		
Lethenyei, János	Hungary	1723–1804	Catholic	**Marm; Szin.**
Lette, G.J.	Holland	1724–1760		**NNBW 10, 515**
Leusden, Joh.	Holland	1624–1699	Calvinist	**St. 264, Leiden Cat. 3; NNBW 9, 601; NBU**
Lewis, Thomas	England	1689– 1749 (?)		**DNB**
Leydekker (Leid-), Melchior	Holland	1642–1721/2	Calvinist	**St. 265, Bodl. Cat. 1622; NNBW; NBU**
Liebentanz, Mich.	Germany	before 1701	Lutheran	**Ugolini 7, 1034**
Lightfoot, John	England	1602–1675		**St. 266; DNB; NBU**
Lindberg, Jac. Christian	Denmark	b. 1797		**Heb. Grammar, Copenhagen, 1822; NBU**
Lippomani, Marco	Italy	*fl.* 1440		**St. A. 33, Heb. Übers. 320 A. 411; MS Bodl. Neubauer 2174**
Lischovini, János	Hungary	166?–172?	Calvinist	**Marm; Szin.**
Lisznyai, K. Pál	Hungary	1630–1695	Calvinist	**Marm; Szin; Zov.**
Lively, Edward	England	1545(?)– 1605		**DNB; E. Rosenthal, Essays…S.A. Cook (ed. D.W. Thomas), 1950**
Lizel, Geo.	Germany	1694–1761		**Heb. Grammar, Speyer, 1739; ADB**
Lloyd, Henry	England	1795–1831		**Venn**
Loescher, Valentin Ernst	Germany	1672/3–1749	Lutheran	**ADB; NBU**
Loeser, Margaret Sybilla, *see* Einsiedel, Margaret Sybilla				
Losa, Isabella	Spain	1491–1564		**Zeitschr. f. Heb. Bibl. xx, 68**
Loscan, Joh. Friedr.	Germany	*fl.* 1710		**St. 266a**

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Name	Country-(ies)	Dates	Religious Confession	References
Losius, Joh. Justus	?	18th c.		**St. 267, Bodl. Cat. 675**
Losontzi Hányoki, István	Hungary	1709–1780	Calvinist	**Marm; Szin; Zov.**
Louis de Valois, of Alais	France	*fl.* 1646		**F. Secret, Rev. Et. Juives 126 (1967), 423**
Louise Amoena	Germany	17th c.		**Zeitschr. f. Heb. Bibl. xx, 68**
Lowndes, Is.	?	*fl.* 1837		**Heb. Grammar in Greek, Malta, 1837**
Lowth (Louth), Robert	England	1710–1787		**DNB; NBU**
Lucca, John of, *see* Johannes Luccae				
Lucrecius, *see* Widmanstetter, Johann Albrecht				
Ludolf, Susanna Magdalena	Germany	*fl.* 1700		**Zeitschr. f. Heb. Bibl. xx, 68**
Ludovicus Sancti Francisci, *see* São Francisco, Luiz de				
Ludwig (Ludovicus,-ci), Christ. L.	Germany	1663–1732		**St. 268, Bodl. Cat. 1632**
Lull(-ius) (Lully), Raimon	Spain	1235(?)–1315		**St. A. 33, Hebr. Übers. 475; NBU; Enc. Br.^{11}**
Lund, David	Sweden	1666–1747	Lutheran	**St. 269, Bodl. Cat. 274; NBU**
Lund, John	Denmark	1638–1684	Lutheran	**ADB**
Luther, Martin	Germany	1483–1546	Reformer	**ADB; NBU; Enc. Br.^{11}**
Lyre (Lyra), Nicholas de, *see* Nicholas de Lyre (Lyranus)				
McCaul, Alexander	Ireland, England	c. 1799–1863	Anglican	**St. 270, Bodl. Cat. 871, 1844; DNB**
Macha, Joh.	Austria	1798–1845 (?)	Catholic	**B.L.K. Oest.**
Mádi, János	Hungary	1705–1772	Calvinist	**Marm; Szin; Zov.**
Madrigal, Alfonso Tostado, *see* Tostado, Alfonso de Madrigal				
Magnus, György	Hungary	1645–171?	Calvinist	**Marm; Szin; Zov.**
Mai, Joh. Heinr. (jun.)	Germany	1688–1732		**St. 271, Hamburg Cat. vi**
Major, József	Hungary	1739–1790	Lutheran	**Szin.**
Makai, Gergely	Hungary	17th c.	Calvinist	**Marm; Szin; Zov.**
Malamina, Caesar	Italy	*fl.* 1774		**St. 272 (+293 suppl.)**
Maldonado, Juan de	Spain	1533–1583	Jesuit	**Enc. Univ. Illustr. Eur.-Amer. 32, 498**
Mall, Sebastian	Germany	*fl.* 1808		**Heb. Grammar, Landshut, 1808**
Manetti, Gianozzo	Italy	1396–1459		**St. A. 35, Nachtrag p. 87; NBU**
Manfred Hohenstaufen, King of Sicily	Italy	1233–1266		**St. A. 34, Heb. Übers, 268; NBU; Enc. Br.^{11}**
Manger, Samuel Hendrik	Holland	1735–1791		**NNBW 9, 644**
Manjacoria, Nicholas	Italy	*fl.* 1145	Cistercian	**R. Loewe, Cambr. Hist. of Bible, ii, ed. G. Lampe, 1969, 144 f.**
Mansperger, Joseph Julian	Austria	1724–1788	Catholic	**B.L.K. Oest.**
Mara (Mare), William de (la)	England, France	*fl.* 1280	Franciscan	**DNB; R. Loewe, op. cit., 149f.**
Marchina, Maria	Italy	d. 1646		**Zeitschr. f. Heb. Bibl. xx, 68**
Marck, Joh. van	Holland	1655/6–1731	Calvinist	**NNBW**
Maria Eleonore, wife of Ludwig Philipp of Pfalz	Germany	*fl.* 1669		**Zeitschr. f. Heb. Bibl. xx, 68**
Maria Elizabeth, daughter of Christian Albrecht	Germany	(?)1680–1741		**Zeitschr. f. Heb. Bibl. xx, 68 +B.N. Belg. (M.E. Theresa Josephine)**
Mariana, Juan de	Spain	1536–1624	Jesuit	**NBU; Enc. Br.^{11}**
Marini, Marco	Italy	1541–1594	Augustinian	**St. 273**
Marlorat(-us) du Pasquier, Augustin	France	c. 1506–1562 (? 3)	Reformer, (Calvinist)	**NBU**
Marperger, Bernhard W.	Germany	1682–1746	Lutheran	**ADB**
Marsham, John	England	1602–1685		**DNB; NBU**

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Name	Country-(ies)	Dates	Religious Confession	References
Marsilius Ficinus, *see* Ficino, Marsiglio				
Marti, Benedictus, *see* Aretius, Benedictus				
Martinet, A.	Germany	*fl.* 1873		**Heb. Grammar (with G. Rigeler), Bamberg, 1873**
Martinez, Martinus	France	*fl.* 1548		**Heb. & Aramaic Grammar, Paris, 1548**
Martinez Cantalapiedra, Martin	Spain	?		**untraced**
Martini, Christoph. Sam.	? Germany	?	Lutheran	**Meuschen, Novum Test. ex Talmude Illustr., 212, 18**
Martini, Jo. Benjamin	Germany	*fl.* 1710		**Meuschen, 266, 25; Br. Mus. Cat.**
Martini, Raimundo (Raymond)	Spain	d. 1282	Dominican	
Martinius, Petrus	France	*fl.* 1568	Protestant	**Heb. Grammar, Paris, 1568**
Martinus, Dirck (Theodoricus) Martens	Flanders	*fl.* c. 1520		**Heb. Lex., Louvain, c.1520**
Mártonfalvi, Tóth György	Hungary	1635–1681	Calvinist	**Szin; Zov; Dan.**
Martyr, Peter (Pietro Martire Vermigli)	Italy, Alsace, England, Switzerland	1500–1562	Augustinian, turned Reformer	**DNB; NBU**
Masclefius, Franc.	France	1662–1728		**NBU**
Masius (Maes), Andreas	Flanders, Italy	1514/5–1573	(nominal) Catholic	**B.N. Belg.; ADB**
Matthias Aquarius	?	*fl.* 1581		**St. 274, Nachtrag p. 121**
Matthias, Elias Germanus	Germany	?		**St. 275; Monats. Gesch. u. Wiss. Jud., 1895/6, 280**
Maurer, Fr. J.V.D.	Germany	*fl.* 1851		**Heb. & Chal. Lex., Stuttgart, 1851**
Mayr, George	Germany	1565–1623		**NBU; Heb. Grammar, Ausburg, 1616**
Medgyesi, PFl	Hungary	1605–1663	Calvinist	**Venet.; Szin; Zov; Dan**
Meelfuehrer Joh. M.	Germany	1570–1640		**St. 276, Nachtrag p.122; D. Kaufmann Mem. Vol., 462**
Meetkerke, Edward	England	1590–1657		**DNB**
Megerlin, David Fr.	Germany	d. 1778		**St. 277**
Meier, Ernst Hein.	Germany	1813–1866		**Heb. Lex. Mannheim, 1845**
Meinhart, Geo. Friedr.	Germany	1651–1718	Lutheran	**Ugolini, 23, 812**
Meinigius, Christ. Gottl.	Germany	*fl.* 1712		**Heb. Lex., Leipzig, 1712**
Melanchthon (Schwarzerd), Philipp	Germany	1497–1560	Reformer	
Melchior, Alb. Wilh.	Germany	1685–1738		**NNBW**
Melchior, Joh.	Germany	1646–1689		**ADB**
Melius, Juhász Péter	Hungary	1536–1572	Calvinist	**Kohn; Marm; Szin; Zov.**
Mellissander, Casparus	Flanders	*fl.* 1586		**Heb. Grammar, Antwerp, 1586**
Menochio, Giovanni Stefano	Italy	1575/6–1655	Jesuit	**NBU**
Menschen, Gerhard, *see* Meuschen, Gerhard				
Merc(i)er (Mercerus), Jean	France	d. 1570		**St. 278, Bodl. Cat. 1748; NBU**
Metcalfe, Robert	England	1590(?)–1652		**DNB**
Metzlar	Holland	19th c.		**untraced**
Meuschen (Menschen, Musculus), Gerhard	Germany	1680–1743		**NBU**
Meyer (Meier), Joh.	Holland	(?)1651–1725 (?)	Calvinist	**St. 279, Bodl. Cat. 1753; NNBW**
Meyer (Mayer), Joh. Fr.	Germany	1650–1712	Lutheran	**ADB; Ugolini, 1, 378, 23, 792**
Michaelis, Joh. David	Germany	1717–1791		**ADB; NBU; Enc. Br.[11]**
Michaelis, Joh. Heinr.	Germany	1668–1738		**St. 280; ADB; NBU**
Midhorp, Joh.	?	*fl.* 1562		**St. 281, Bodl. Cat. 552 (no. 3562a)**
Mieg, Joh. Fried.	Germany	1642–1691 (?)		**St. 282; Rev. Et. Juives 20, 266; ADB**
Mill, David	Holland	1692–1756	Calvinist	**St. 283, Bodl. Cat. 1756; NNBW**

Christian Hebraists (continued)

Name	Country-(ies)	Dates	Religious Confession	References
Mill, Joh.	England	1645–1707		**DNB; NBU; Ugolini 6, 1145**
Mill, William Hodge	England	1792–1853		**DNB**
Milner, John	England	1628–1702	Non-juror	**DNB; NBU**
Milton, John	England	1608–1674	Puritan	**DNB; L. Roth, Journ. Sem. Stud. 6 (1961), 213**
Mirandola, Giovanni Pico della	Italy	1463–1494		
Misztótfalusi, Kis Miklós	Hungary	1650–1702	Calvinist	**Marm; Szin; Zov; Zador Tordai, M.K.M., Budapest, 1965**
Mitternacht, Jo. Seb.	Germany	*fl.* 1645		**Heb. Grammar, Jena, 1645**
Moeller,Helena Sybilla Wagenseil	Germany	*fl.* 1700		**Zeitschr. f. Heb. Bibl. xx, 69**
Molinaea, Maria	?	17th c.		**Zeitschr. f. Heb. Bibl. xx, 68**
Molitor, Christoph.	Germany	*fl.* 1659		**St. 285**
Moller, Daniel	Germany, Hungary	1642–1712	Calvinist	**Marm; Szin; NBU; ADB**
Molnar, János	Hungary	1757–1819	Calvinist	**Venet; Szin; Zov.**
Molza–Porrino, Tarquinia	Italy	(?)1542–1617		**Zeitschr. f. Heb. Bibl. xx, 68; NBU**
Montagnana, Petrus	Italy	*fl.* 1478		**St. A. 40**
Montaldi, Jos.	Italy	*fl.* 1789		**Heb. & Chald. Lex., Rome, 1789**
Montano, Benito Arias, *see* Arias Montano, Benito				
Montfalcon(-ius), Bern. de	France, Italy	1655–1741		**St. 286, Bodl. Cat. 1758; NBU; Enc. Br.**[11]
Moonen, Arnold	Holland	1644–1711	Reformed Ch.	**NNBW**
More, Alexander	Scotland	1616–1670	Calvinist	**DNB; NBU**
Moré, Eugéne	France	*fl.* 1837		
More, Henry	England	1614–1687		**St. 288, Bodl. Cat. 2804, no. 6409b; DNB; NBU**
Morgan, Robert	England	1665–1745		**S. Levy, Jew. Hist. Soc. Engl. Misc. 4 (1942)**
Morgan, William	Wales	1540(?)–1604		**DNB**
Morin, Jean	France	1591–1659	Protestant, converted to Catholicism	**St. 287; NBU**
Morini, Stephanus	France, Holland	1624/5–1700	Catholic (?)	**NNBW 10, 651; NBU**
Mornay, Philippe de (Du Plessis–Mornay)	France	1549–1623	Huguenot	**NBU; NNBW; Enc. Br.**[11]
Moser, Ph. N.	Germany	*fl.* 1795		**Heb. & Chald. Lex., Ulm, 795**
Mosheim, Joh. Lorenz von	Germany	c. 1694–1755	Lutheran	**ADB; NBU; Enc. Br.**[11]
Mott, John	England	*fl.* 1740		**?=J.M. (Thurston, 1699-1776); Venn**
Moyne, Etienne le	France, Holland	1624–1689	Huguenot	**NNBW 10, 634**
Mudge, Zachary	England	1694–1769		**DNB**
Muenden, Christian	Germany	1684–1741		**ADB**
Muenster, Sebastian	Germany, Switzerland	1489–1552	Franciscan, turned Lutheran	**St. 292, Nachtrag p.122, Bodl. Cat. 2012 f; NBU; Enc. Br.**[11]
Muhl, Jos.	Germany	?		**St. 290**
Muhle(-ius), Hein.	Germany	1666–1730/2	Lutheran	**St. 289, Bodl. Cat. 2004; ADB**
Muis, Simon Marotte de	France	1587–1644		**St. 291, Bodl. Cat. 2009; NBU**
Muller, August	Germany	*fl.* 1878		**Heb. Grammar, Halle, 1878**
Muller, Joh. Mart.	Germany	1722–1781	Lutheran	**ADB; NBU**
Muller, Ludw. Christian	Germany	1734–1804 (?)		**ADB; NBU; Heb. Grammar in Danish, Copenhagen, 1834**
Muntinge, Herman	Holland	1752–1824		**NNBW**
Murner, Thomas	Alsace	1475–1537 (?)	Franciscan	**St. 293, Bodl. Cat. 2017; NBU; ADB; Enc. Br.**[11]
Musculus, *see* Meuschen, Gerhard				
Myerlin, David Fr.	Germany	d. 1778		**untraced**
Mylius, Andreas	Germany	*fl.* 1639		**Heb. Syntax, Königsberg, 1639**

Christian Hebraists (continued)

Name	Country-(ies)	Dates	Religious Confession	References
N. (G.N.), *see* Norwich, William				
Naegelsbach, Carl W.E.	Germany	(?)1806–1859		**ADB; Heb. Grammar, Leipzig, 1856.**
Nagel, Joh. Andr. Mich.	Germany	1710–1788		**St. 295, Nachtrag p. 122, Bodl. Cat. 2030; ADB**
Nagy, János	Hungary	19th c.	Calvinist	**Szin.**
Nánási, Lovász József	Hungary	1701–1757	Calvinist	**Marm; Szin; Zov; Dan**
Neale (Nelus), Thomas	England	1519–1590 (?)		**St. 296; Bodl. Cat. 2059; DNB**
Neander, Conradus Burgens.	Germany	*fl.* 1589		**Heb. Grammar, Wittenberg, 1589**
Nebrija, Antonio de	Spain	15th–16th c.		**B. Hall, in Studies in Church Hist. 5 (ed. G.J. Cuming), 1969, 125, 134**
Neckam (Nequam), Alexander	England, France	1157–1217	Benedictine	**Loewe, Med. & Renaissance St., 4, 1958, 17f.**
Nerrelter, David	Germany	*fl.* 1700		**Meuschen, Nov. Test. ex Talmude Illustr., 221, 18**
Newcome, Henry	Ireland, England	1729–1800		**DNB; NBU**
Newton, James William	England	*fl.* 1808		**Heb. Grammar, London, 1808**
Nicholas de Lyre (Lyranus)	France	(?)1270–1340	Franciscan	
Nicholas of Manjacoria, *see* Manjacoria, Nicholas				
Nicholson, I.	England	*fl.* 1836		**tr. Ewald's Heb. Grammar, London, 1836**
Nicolai, Jo. Fried.	Germany	1639–1683		**ADB**
Nifanius, Christian	Germany	1629–1689	Lutheran	**ADB**
Niger (Nigri), Peter, *see* Schwarz, Peter				
Niger, Radulphus	England	13th c.		**St. A. 46**
Niloe, Jac.	?	?	Reformed Ch.	**Meuschen, Nov. Test. ex Talmude Illustr., 252, 19 Noble, James**
Nolde, Christian	Denmark, Holland	*fl.* 1650–1680	Lutheran	**Meuschen, op. cit. 202, 18**
Norberg, Olav	Sweden	*fl.* 1708		**St. 269, Bodl. Cat. 2372**
Norrellius, Andr.	Sweden	1677–1749		**St. 298, Bodl. Cat. 2804; Svensk**
Norwich, William (=G.N.)	England	d. 1675		**St. 294, Bodl. Cat. 1875, no. 28**
Novarini, Aloysius	Italy	1594–1650		**NBU**
Novenianus, Phil.	Germany (?), France	*fl.* 1520		**St. 299; Heb. Grammar, Paris, 1520**
Oberleitner, Franz Xavier	Austria	1789–1832	Benedictine	**B.L.K. Oest.**
O'Byrne	England	c. 1800		**"Prof." Heb., Swansea**
Occitanus, Andreas Real, *see* Realis Occitanus, Andreas				
Ockley, Simon	England	1678–1720		**DNB; NBU**
Odhelius, Laur.	Sweden	(?)1664–1721 (?)		**St. 300**
Oecolampadius (Hussgen, Husschein) Johannes	Switzerland	1482–1531	Reformer	
Offerhaus, Christiaan Gerhard	Holland	18th c.		**untraced**
Offredus, Ludovica Saracena	France	*fl.* 1606		**Zeitschr. f. Heb. Bibl. xx, 69**
Olearius (Oelschlaeger), Gothofred	Germany	1604/5–1685	Lutheran	**ADB; NBU**
Olearius (Oelschlaeger), Johannes	Germany	1546–1623	Lutheran	**ADB**
Olshausen, Justus	Germany	1800–1882		**ADB**
Onderliczka, János	Hungary	18th c.	Calvinist	**Marm; Szin.**
Opfergeld, Friedr.	Germany	1668–1746		**St. 301, Bodl. Cat. 2078; ADB**
Opitz, Heinr.	Germany	1642–1712	Lutheran	**ADB; NBU**
Opitz, Joshua Heinr.	Germany	1542–1585	Lutheran	**Meuschen, Nov. Test. ex Talmude Illustr. 18, 15; ADB**
Opitz (Opitius), Paul Friedr.	Germany	1684–1745		**St. 302; ADB; NBU**
Orchell, Francisco	Spain	?		**untraced**

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Name	Country-(ies)	Dates	Religious Confession	References
Osborn, William	England	*fl.*1845		**Heb. Lex., London, 1845**
Osiander, Luc.	Germany	1534–1604		**ADB; Heb. Grammar, Wittenberg, 1569**
Osterbröck, Aggaeus	?	?		**St. 303**
Otho (Otto), Joh. Heinr.	Switzerland	d. 1719		**St. 304, Bodl. Cat. 2080**
Otrokócsi, Fóris Ferenc	Hungary	1648–1718	Catholic	**Venet.; Szin; Zov; Pap; Ferenc Fallenbuechl O.F.F., Esztergom, 1899**
Otto, Gottlieb	Germany	*fl.* 1788		**Heb. Grammar, Leipzig, 1788**
Ouatablé, Franciscus, *see* Vatable, François				
Ouseel (Oisel, Loisel), Phil.	Germany	1671–1724		**St. 305; NBU**
Outhuijs, Gerrit	Holland	*fl.* 1822		**trs. J. Lelong on Polyglot**
Outram (Owtram), William	England	1626–1679		**DNB**
Outrein, Johan. d'	Holland	1662–1722		**NNBW**
Overall, John	England	1560–1619		**DNB**
Owmann, Mart. Jac.	Germany	*fl.* 1705		**St. 306**
Paggi, Angiolo	Italy	*fl.* 1863		**Heb. Grammar, Florence, 1863**
Pagnini(-nus, -no), Santes (Xanctes)	Italy, France	c.1470–1536	Dominican	**St. 307; NBU**
Palkovic, Georg	Austria	1769–1850	Lutheran	**B.L.K. Oest.**
Palm, Joh. Henricus van der	Holland	1763–1840		**NNBW**
Palmroot, Johan.	Sweden	1659–1728		**St. 308, Bodl. Cat. 2083; Svensk**
Pareau, Jean Henri	Holland	1761–1833		**NNBW**
Parkhurst, John	England	1728–1797		**DNB; NBU**
Parschitius, Daniel	Germany	*fl.* 1662		**Heb. Grammar, Rostock, 1662**
Pasini(-nus), Giuseppe Luca	Italy	1687–1770		**St. 309; NBU**
Pasor, Matthias	Holland, England	1599–1658		**NNBW; DNB; ADB; NBU**
Pastritius, Joh.	?	?		**St. 310**
Pataki, István	Hungary	1640–1693	Calvinist	**Szin; Dan.**
Patzschius, H.D.	Germany	*fl.* 1778		**Heb. Grammar, Lcneburg, 1778**
Paul (Paolo)	Sicily	*fl.* 1475	Dominican?	**St. after 310, Nachtrag, p. 87**
Paulinus, Simon	Sweden (?)	*fl.* 1692		**Heb. Grammar, Abo, 1692**
Pause, Jean de la, *see* Plantavit(ius) de la Pause, Jean				
Péchi, Simon	Hungary	c.1565–1642	Sabbatarian (Unitarian)	
Pedro, Dom, Emperor of Brazil	Portugal	I 1798–1834 II 1825– 1891		**NBU; Enc. Br.^{11}**
Pellican(-us Rubeaquensis; Kirschner, Kürsner), Conrad	Alsace, Switzerland	1478–1556	Franciscan, later Zwinglian	**St. 311, Nachtrag p. 122; ADB; Enc. Br.^{11}**
Penaforte, Raymundo of	Spain	c.1180–1275	Dominican	**NBU**
Penne, Jacobus	France	*fl.* 1699		**F. Secret, Rev. Ét. Juives 126(1967), 429**
Pepercorne, James Watts	England	*fl.* 1840		**S. Levy, Misc. Jew. Hist. Soc. Engl. 4, 1942, 78**
Pereszlényi, Pál	Hungary	17th c.	Catholic	**Venet.; Szin.**
Perez Bayer, Franc.	Spain	1711–1794		**Enc. Univ. Illustr. Eur.-Amer. 43, 665**
Peringer, Gustav	Sweden	1651–1710		**St. 312; Svensk**
Peritz, Ismar	U.S.A.	19th c.		**untraced**
Pertsch, W.H.F.	Germany	*fl.* 1720	Lutheran	**St. 313, Bodl. Cat. 2095**
Peter of Alexandria	Italy (?)	1342	Augustinian	**St. A. 38**
Peter Niger (Nigri), *see* Schwarz, Peter (Nigri)				
Peter of St. Omer	France	*fl.* 1296		**St. A. 42, Heb. Übers. 610**
Petermann, H.	Germany	*fl.* 1868		**Heb. Formenlehre nach… Samaritaner, Leipzig, 1868**

Christian Hebraists (continued)

Name	Country-(ies)	Dates	Religious Confession	References
Petit, Pietro Giovanni de	Italy	d. 1740		**St. 314**
Petit, Sam.	France	1594–1643		**Colomils, Gallia Orient. 169f; NBUColomils, Gallia Orient. 169f; NBU**
Petraeus, Nic.	Denmark	*fl.* 1627		**Heb. Grammar, Copenhagen, 1627**
Petraeus, Severus	Denmark	*fl.* 1642		**Heb. Grammar, Copenhagen, 1642**
Pettersson, J.	Sweden	*fl.* 1829		**Heb. Grammar, Lund, 1829**
Pfalz, Elisabeth of, *see* Elisabeth, Abbess of Pfalz				
Pfeiffer, Augustus	Germany	1640–1698	Lutheran	**St. 315, Bodl. Cat. 2098; ADB; NBU**
Pfeiffer, Aug. Fr.	Germany	1748–1817		**ADB; NBU**
Philippe, E.	France	*fl.* 1884		**Heb. Grammar, Paris, 1884**
Philipps, Will. Thos.	England	*fl.* 1830		**Heb. Grammar, Bristol, 1830**
Picinello, Felipe	Spain (?), Italy	?		**Meuschen, Nov. Test. ex Talmude Illustr., 196, 18**
Pico della Mirandola, Giovanni, *see* Mirandola, Giovanni Pico della				
Picques, L.	France	*fl.* 1670		**St. 316**
Pike, Samuel	Scotland	*fl.* 1802		**Heb. Lex., Glasgow, 1802**
Pilarik, Andrés	Hungary	1640–1702	Calvinist	**Szin; Zov; Dan**
Pilarik, Esaias	Germany (?)	*fl.* 1677		**Heb. Grammar, Wittenberg, 1677**
Pilarik, István	Hungary	1644–1717	Calvinist	**Szin; Zov; Dan**
Piscator (Fischer), Johan.	Germany	1546–1625		**ADB**
Pistorius (de Nida), Joannes Nidanus	Germany	1546–1608	Protestant, later Catholic	**St. 317, Bodl. Cat. 2406; ADB; NBU**
Placus, Andreas	Austria	*fl.* 1552		**Heb. Grammar, Vienna, 1552**
Plantavit(ius) de la Pause, Jean	France	1576–1651	Protestant, later Catholic	
Plato of Tivoli (Tiburtinus)	Spain	*fl.* 1116		**St. A. 44, Heb. Übers. 971; NBU**
Pocock(e), Edward	England	1604–1691		**DNB; Jew. Hist. Soc. Engl. index, s.v.**
Pocock(e), Edward	England	1648–1727		**DNB**
Pontack(-ous), Arnold	France	d. 1605		**St. 319, Bodl. Cat. 2110**
Pontack	England	(?)1638–1720 (?)		**DNB**
Pontus de Tyard, *see* Tyard, Pontus de				
Po(o)le, Matthew	England	1624–1679		**DNB; NBU**
Porter, Joh.	Ireland, England	1751–1819		**Venn**
Porter, John Scott	Ireland, England	1801–1880	Unitarian	**DNB**
Postel(-lus), Guillaume	France, Italy	1510–1581	(expelled) Jesuit, later heretic	**St. 320, Bodl. Cat. 2111; F. Secret, Le Zôhar chez... Kabbalistes chrétiens, 1958, 140; NBU**
Prache, Hilaric	Germany, England	1614–1679		**St. 321**
Prado, Laur. Ramirez de	Spain	?		**Colomiés, It. et Hisp. Orientalis, index (only)**
Praetorius, Abdias (Gottschalk Schultz)	Germany	1524–1575		**ADB; Heb. Grammar, Basle, 1558**
Preiswerk, S.	Switzerland (?)	*fl.* 1838		**Heb. Grammar, Geneva, 1838**
Prideaux, Humphrey	England	1648–1724		**St. 322, Bodl. Cat. 2112; DNB; NBU**
Prosser, James	England	*fl.* 1838		**Heb. Grammar, London, 1838**
Pruckner, Andr.	Germany	1650–1680		**Meuschen, Nov. Test. ex Talmude Illustr., 201, 18**

Christian Hebraists (continued)

Name	Country-(ies)	Dates	Religious Confession	References
Prufer, K.E.	Germany	*fl.* 1847		**Kritik of Heb. Grammatology, Leipzig, 1847**
Pusey, Edw. Bouverie	England	1800–1882		**DNB**
Puteus, Archangelus Burgonovo, *see* Burgonovo, Archangelus de				
Quadros, Diego (Didacus) de	Spain, Italy	*fl.* 1733		**Heb. Grammar, Rome, 1733**
Quenstedt, Joh. Andreas	Germany	1617–1688	Lutheran	**ADB; NBU**
Quinquarboreus (Cinqarbres), Johannes	France	d. 1587	Catholic	**St. 323, Bodl. Cat. 2127; NBU**
Quirinus, Laurus	*?*	*fl.* 1462–1471		**St. A. 45**
Quistorp, Johann. (sen.)	Germany	1584–1648		**ADB**
Rabe, Joh. Jac.	Germany	1710–1798		**St. 324; ADB**
Rachelius, Joach.	Germany	(?)1618–1669		**Heb. Grammar, Rostock, 1615; ADB; NBU**
Ráczböszörményi, János	Hungary	1649–1677	Calvinist	**Szin; Zov; Dan**
Raedt, Al(h)art de	Holland	(?)1645–1699 (?)		**NNBW**
Rainolds (Reynolds), John	England	1549–1607		**DNB; NBU**
Ransom, Samuel	England	*fl.* 1843		**Heb. Grammar, London, 1843**
Raphelengius, Franciscus	Netherlands	1539–1597	Catholic, later Calvinist	**St. 325, Heb. Übers. 653, Bodl. Cat. 2130, 3084; B.N. Belg; ADB**
Rau (Ravis, Ravius), Christian	Germany, England, Sweden	1613–1677		**DNB; NBU; NNBW**
Rau, Joach. Just.	Germany	*fl.* 1739		**Heb. Grammar, Königsberg, 1739**
Rau, Seebald	Germany, Holland	1721–1818		**NNBW; NBU; ADB**
Rau, Seebald Fulco Johan.	Holland	1765–1807		**NNBW; NBU**
Ravelingen, François van, *see* Raphelengius, Franciscus				
Raymund Martini, *see* Martini, Raimundo				
Raymund de Penaforte, *see* Penaforte, Raimundo of				
Real(-is) Occitanus, Andreas	France, Holland	*fl.* 1646	Franciscan	**F. Secret, Rev. Ét. Juives, 126, 423**
Reimann, Jacob. Friedr.	Germany	1668–1743		**ADB**
Reina, Casidoro de la	Spain	?		**Bible translator**
Reineccius, Chr.	Germany	1668–1752		**St. 326; ADB**
Reinke, Laurent	Germany	1797–1879	Catholic	**Heb. Grammar, Munster, 1861; ADB**
Reiske, Johann	Germany	(?)1641–1701	Lutheran	**ADB; NBU**
Reiske, Joh. Jacob	Germany	1716–1774		**St. 327; ADB; NBU; Enc. Br.[11]**
Reland, Adrian	Holland	1676–1718	Calvinist	**St. 328, Bodl. Cat. 2137; NNBW; NBU; Enc. Br.[11]**
Renan, Joseph Ernest	France	1823–1892	Lapsed Catholic	
Rendtorf, Joh.	Germany	?		**St. 329**
Reuchlin, Antonius	Germany	*fl.* 1554		**St., Bodl. Cat. 1142, no. 2**
Reuchlin (Capnio), Johann	Germany	1455–1522		
Reudenius, Ambr.	Germany	*fl.* 1586		**Heb. Grammar, Wittenberg, 1586**
Révai, Miklós	Hungary	1740–1807	Calvinist	**Szin; Zov; Jòzsef Melich, R.M., Budapest, 1908**
Reyher, C.	Germany	*fl.* 1825		**Heb. Grammar, Gotha, 1825**
Reynolds, John, *see* Rainolds (Reynolds), John				
Rezzonius, Franc. (sen.)	Italy	1731–1780		**St. 331; Assemani, Cat. Vat. xivii**
Rhenferd. Jac.	Holland	1654–1712	Lutheran	**St. 332, Bodl. Cat. 2140; NNBW; NBU**

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Name	Country-(ies)	Dates	Religious Confession	References
Ribera, Francisco de	?	1537–1591	Jesuit	
Richard of St. Victor	Scotland, France	12th c.	Victorine	**B. Smalley, Study of Bible in Mid. Ages.^{2}, 1952, 106f.**
Richardson, John	England	c.1564–1625		**DNB**
Richart	?	*fl.* 1335	Dominican	**St. A. 49**
Riegler, G.	Germany	*fl.* 1835		**Heb. Grammar, Bamberg, 1835**
Ries, Dan. Christ.	Germany	*fl.* 1787		**Heb. Grammar, Mainz, 1787**
Riesser, Joh.	Germany	*fl.* 1692		**Heb. Grammar, Marburg, 1692**
Rigelet, G.	Germany	*fl.* 1873		**Heb. Grammar (with A. Martinet), Bamberg, 1873**
Ritmeier, Chr. Hen.	Germany	*fl.* 1697		**St. 333, Bodl. Cat. 2312, 2146**
Rivet, André	France, Holland	1573–1651	Calvinist	**NNBW; ADB; NBU**
Rivinus, Tileman Andreas	Germany	1601–1656		**St. 334, Bodl. Cat. 2148**
Ro(h)an, Anna Princess of	France	(?)1584–1646	Reformed Ch.	**Zeitschr. f. Heb. Bibl. xx, 69; NBU**
Robertson, James	Scotland	1714–1795		**DNB**
Robertson, William	England	d.c. 1680		**DNB**
Roblik, Elias	Austria	1689–1765	Catholic (secular priest)	**B.L.K. Oest.**
Robustellus, Jos. W.	Italy	*fl.* 1655		**St. 335**
Rodriguez de Castro, José	Spain	1730–1799		**Enc. Univ. Illustr. Eur.-Amer. 51, 1282**
Rogers, John	England	1778–1856		**DNB**
Rohrbacher, René Franc.	France	(?)1789–1846		**Heb. Grammar, Metz, 1843; NBU**
Roht, Eberhard Rudolf	Germany	?	Lutheran	**Ugolini 29, 568**
Rolle (Rooles, Roales), Robert	England	*fl.* 1555–1585		**Roth, Bodl. Lib. Record, 7, 1966, 243; Foster**
Romaine, William	England	1714–1795		**DNB; NBU**
Römer, Maria Barbara Lehmann von	Germany	*fl.* 1700		**Zeitschr. f. Heb. Bibl. xx, 68**
Ron, Joh.	England	*fl.* 1637		**Heb. Grammar, London, 1637**
Ronnow, Magn.	Holland (?)	*fl.* 1690		**St. 336, Bodl. Cat. 239**
Roorda, Taco	Holland	b. 1801		**Heb. Grammar, Leiden, 1831**
Rosenbergius	Germany	*fl.* 1590		**Heb. Grammar, Wittenberg, 1590**
Rosenmuller, E.F.C.	Germany	*fl.* 1822		**Heb. & Chald. Lex., Halle, 1822**
Rosenroth, Chr. Knorr von, *see* Knorr von Rosenroth, Christian				
Röser, Jakab	Hungary	1641–1689	Calvinist	**Marm; Szin; Zov**
Rosselius, Paul	Germany	*fl.* 1618		**Heb. Grammar, Wittenberg, 1618**
Rossi, Giovanni Bern. de	Italy	1742–1831		**St. 337, Bodl. Cat. 2151, Add.; NBU; Filippo-Ugoni, Della Litteratura Ital., appendix**
Rota, Orazio	Italy	*fl.* 1775		
Row, John	Scotland	(?)1598–1672 (?)		**DNB**
Rowley, Alexander	England	*fl.* 1648		**Haber la-talmidim, London, 1648**
Roy, ?	U.S.A.	*fl.* 183?		**Heb. Lex., N.Y., 183?**
Rubeaquensis, Pellicanus, *see* Pellican, Conrad				
Ruckersfelder	Holland	18th c.		**untraced**
Rumelinas, Ge. Burchard	Germany	*fl.* 1716		**Lex. Biblicus, Frankfurt, 1716**
Rus, Johann Reichard	Germany	1679–1738	Lutheran	**Meuschen, Nov. Test. ex Talmude Illustr. 94, 15, 18**
Ruschat, Abr.	Holland	*fl.* 1707		**Heb. Grammar, Leiden, 1707**
Rutgers, Antonie	Holland	1805–1884		**NNBW 2, 1244**
Sa, Manoel de	Portugal, Italy	1530–1596	Jesuit	**NBU**
Sacy, Antoine-Isaac Sylvestre de	France	1758–1838		**St. 33, Bodl. Cat. 2257; NBU**
Sadler, John	England	1615–1674	Puritan	**DNB**
St. Cher, Hugh of, *see* Hugh of St. Cher				
Salchli, Joh. Jac.	Switzerland	1694–1774		**St. 339; ADB**

Christian Hebraists (continued)

Name	Country-(ies)	Dates	Religious Confession	References
Salmeron, Alfonso	Spain, Ireland	1515–1585	Jesuit	**NBU; Enc. Br.[11]**
Salome, S.C.	England	*fl.* 1825		**Heb. Grammar, London, 1825**
Sanden, Bernh. von (sen.)	Germany	1636–1703	Lutheran	**ADB**
Sanden, Bernhard von (jun.)	Germany	1666–1721	Lutheran	**ADB**
Sanctius (Sanches), Caspar	Spain	1553–1620	Jesuit	**Meuschen, Nov. Test. ex Talmude Illustr. 181, 17**
Sancto Aquilino (Eisentraut), Alexius	Germany	1732–1785	Carmelite	**Heb. Grammar, Heidelberg, 1776; ADB**
Sandbichler, Alois	Austria	1751–1820	Augustinian	**B.L.K. Oest.**
São Francisco, Luiz de	Portugal	*fl.* 1586	Franciscan	
Saravia, Hadrian a	France, Holland, England	1531–1613	Huguenot	**DNB; NNBW; B.N. Belg; NBU**
Sarchi, Philip	Austria, England	*fl.* 1824		**Essay on Heb. Poetry, London, 1824**
Sartorius, Joh.	Holland	1500–1570 (?)		**NNBW; ADB**
Sartorius, Joh.	Hungary	1656–1729 (?)	Calvinist (?)	**St. 340; Dan; ADB**
Saubert, Johann	Germany	(?)1638–1688 (?)	Lutheran	**St. 341, Bodl. Cat. 2505; ADB**
Saurin, Jacques	Holland, England	1677–1730	Huguenot	**NNBW; NBU**
Scaliger, Joseph Justus	France, Holland	1540–1609	Calvinist	**S. Reinach, Rev. Ét Juives 88, 1929, 171 f; NNBW; ADB; Enc. Br.[11]**
Scerbo	Italy	*fl.* 1888		**Heb. Grammar, Florence, 1888**
Schaaf, Carolus	Germany, Holland	1646–1729		**Heb. Grammar, Leiden, 1716; NNBW**
Schach (Scacchi), Fortunato(-tus)	Italy	1570–1640	Augustinian	**Ugolini 32, 806**
Schadaeus, Elias	Alsace	*fl.* 1591		**Heb. Grammar, Strasbourg, 1591**
Schaefer, Lud. Christoph.	Germany	*fl.* 1720		**Heb. Lex., Berburg, 1720**
Schauffler, Wilh. Gottl.	Germany, U.S.A.	1798–1883		**Heb. Grammar in Span., Smyrna, 1852; D Am. B**
Scheidt (Scheidius), Balth.	Alsace	1614–1670	Lutheran	**St. 342; ADB**
Scheidt (Scheidius?), Everard	Holland	1742–1794		**Heb. Grammar, Harderwick, 1792; NNBW**
Scheltinga, Theodorus	Holland	1703–1780		**NNBW 9, 975**
Scherlogus, Paul	?	?	Catholic	**Meuschen, Nov. Test. ex Talmude Illustr., 24, 14–17**
Scherping, Jacob	Sweden	*fl.* 1737		**St. 343**
Scher(t)zer(-us), Joh. Adam	Germany	1628–1683		**St. 344, Bodl. Cat. 2563; ADB**
Schi(c)k(h)ard(us), Wilhelm	Germany	1592–1635	Lutheran	**St. 345, Bodl. Cat. 2564; ADB; NBU**
Schindler, Valentin	Germany	d. 1604		**St. 346, Bodl. Cat. 2566; ADB**
Schleidan (Sleidanus), Joh.	Germany	1506/7–1556	Catholic, later Lutheran	**ADB; NBU; B.N. Belg; Enc. Br.[11]**
Schleusner, Joh. Friedr.	Germany	1759–1831		**ADB**
Schlevogt (Slevogt), Paul	Germany	1596–1655	Lutheran	**ADB (Slevogt)**
Schmid, Anton	Austria	1765–1855	Catholic	**B.L.K. Oest.**
Schmidt, Joach. Friedr.	Germany	*fl.* 1708		**Heb. Grammar, Frankfurt, 1708**
Schmidt, Johan. Andr.	Germany	1652–1726	Lutheran	**ADB; Meuschen, Nov. Test. ex Talmude Ilustr., 73, 15**
Schmidt, Karl Benjamin	Germany	*fl.* 1789		**Heb. Grammar, Lemgo, 1789**
Schmied(t), Sebast.	Alsace	*fl.* 1656	Lutheran	**St. 347, Bodl. Cat. 2568**
Schnabel, Hieronymus Wilh.	?	?		**Meuschen, op. cit. 255, 19**
Schnelle(-lius), Sebald	Germany	1621–1651		**St. 348, Bodl. Cat. 2569**
Schnurrer, Christ. Friedr.	Germany, England	1724–1822		**St., Bodl. Cat. 2668; ADB**
Schoettgen, Johan. Christian	Germany	1687–1751	Lutheran	**St. 350**
Scholl(-ius), J.C.F.	Germany	?		**Hebr. Laut. u. Formenlehre, Leipzig, 1867**
Scholz, Hermann	Germany	*fl.* 1867		**St. 351; NNBW B.N. Belg; ADB; NBU**

Christian Hebraists (continued)

Name	Country-(ies)	Dates	Religious Confession	References
Schotanus, Christ.	Holland	1603–1671	Reformed Ch.	
Schottanus, Andr.	Flanders, Spain, France, Italy	1552–1629	Jesuit	**St. 349, Bodl. Cat. 2572; ADB**
Schramm, David (Agricola)	?	*fl.* 1615		**Heb. Grammar, c. 1615 (?Place)**
Schreckenfuchs, Erasmus Oswald	Germany	1511–1575		**St. 353, Bodl. Cat. 673, no. 3**
Schreier, Norbert	Hungary	1744–1811	Catholic	**Szin; Zov**
Schroeder, Johan. Friedr.	Germany	*fl.* 1823		**Heb. Lex., Leipzig, 1823**
Schroeder, Jo. Joachim	Germany	1680–1756		**St. 354, cf. Bodl. Cat. 2574; ADB**
Schroeder, Nicolaus Wilh.	Hungary, Holland	1721–1798	(?) Calvinist	**NNBW; ADB**
Schubert, Heinr. Fr. W.	Germany	*fl.* 1830		**Heb. Grammar, Schneeberg, 1830**
Schudt, Johan. Jacob	Germany	1664–1722	Lutheran	**St. 355; ADB**
Schuenemann, Chr. Heinr.	Germany	*fl.* 1709		**Heb. Grammar, Leipzig, 1709**
Schult, Johan.	?	*fl.* 1696		**St. 356, 308**
Schulten, Carl	Sweden	*fl.* 1725		**St. 357, Bodl. Cat. 2574; Svensk**
Schulten(s), Albrecht	Holland	1686–1756		**NNBW; NBU; Enc. Br.^{11}**
Schultens, Heinrich Albert	Holland	1749–1793		**NNBW; NBU; Enc. Br.^{11}**
Schultens, Johan. Jac.	Holland	1716–1778		**NNBW; NBU; Enc. Br.^{11}**
Schultz, Gottschalk, *see* Praetorius, Abdias				
Schul(t)z, Johan. Chr. Friedr.	Germany (?)	*fl.* 1785		**Heb. Lex.**
Schupart, Johan. Geo. (? Gottfried)	Germany	1677–1730	Lutheran	**ADB; Heb. Grammar, Leipzig, 1709**
Schurman(n), Anna Maria	Holland	1607–1678		**Zeitschr. f. Heb. Bibl. xx, 69; ADB; NBU**
Schwab, Johan. P.	Germany	*fl.* 1745		**St. 358, Bodl. Cat. 2030, no.7**
Schwarz, Johan. Conr.	Germany	1677–1747	Lutheran	**ADB**
Schwarz (Nigri), Peter	Germany, Spain	c. 1435– c. 1483	Dominican	**St. A. 41; NBU**
Schwenter, Daniel	Germany	1585–1636		**St. 359, Bodl. Cat. 2575; ADB**
Scio, P.	Spain	?		**Bible translator**
Scot(t), Michael	Scotland, Italy	(?)1175–1234		**DNB**
Scots, David	Scotland	(?)1770–1834		**DNB**
Sebastianus, Aug. Nouzanus(enus)	Germany	*fl.* 1530		**St. 360, Bodl. Cat. 2576**
Sebutia, Caccelia	Italy	*fl.* 1683		**Zeitschr. f. Heb. Bibl. xx, 69**
Securius, PFI	Hungary	1659–1721	Calvinist	**Szin; Pap**
Seffer, G.A.	Germany	*fl.* 1845		**Heb. Grammar, Leipzig, 1845**
Seidel(-ius), Casp.	Germany	*fl.* 1638		**St. 361, Bodl. Cat. 2579**
Seidenstuecker, Johan. Heinr. Phil.	Germany	1765–1817		**ADB; Heb. Grammar, Helmstedt 1791**
Seidenstuecker, W.F.F.	Germany	*fl.* 1836		**Heb. Grammar, Soest, 1836**
Seiferheld, Jos. Laur.	Germany	*fl.* 1763		**St. 362, Bodl. Cat. 2031, no. 11; S. Back, Jcd. Literaturbl., 1892, 2**
Seineccerius, Nicolaus	Germany	*fl.* 1584		**Heb. Grammar, Leipzig, 1584**
Selden, John	England	1584–1654	Puritan	
Senepin	France (?)	*fl.* 1888		**Heb. Grammar in Fr., Freiburg, 1888**
Serarius, Nicolaus	Germany	1555–1609	Jesuit	**Ugolini, 24, 898; ADB**
Setiers, L.P.	France	*fl.* 1814		**Heb. Grammar, Paris, 1814**
Seyfried, Christ.	Sweden	*fl.* 1664		**St. 363, Bodl. Cat. 1079, 2594**
Seyfried, Henr.	Germany	*fl.* 1663		**St. 364**
Sgambati(us), Scipio	Italy	1595–1652		**St. 365**
Sharp, Granville	England	1735–1813		**DNB**
Sharp, Thomas	England	1693–1758		**DNB; NBU**
Shaw, Thomas	England	1694–1751		**DNB; NBU**
Sheringham, Robert	England, Holland	1602–1678		**St. 366, Bodl. Cat. 2594**

Christian Hebraists (continued)

Name	Country-(ies)	Dates	Religious Confession	References
Shilling, D.(?)	France	*fl.* 1883		**Heb. Grammar, Lyons, 1883**
Sigebert of Gembloux	Flanders	d. 1113		**St. A. 51; Sitzungsber. Wiener Akad, 1859, 29, 309; R.Loewe, Cambridge Hist. Bible, 2, ed. G. Lampe, 1969, 141–3**
Sigonio, Carlo	Italy	(?)1520– 1584		**Enc. Biogr. Ital; NBU; Enc. Br.11**
Sike (Sykes), Henry	England	d. 1712		**Venn**
Simon, Richard	France	1638–1712	(expelled) Oratorian	**NBU; Enc. Br.11**
Simonis, Johan.	Germany	*fl.* 1741		**Onomasticon Vet. Test., H. Halle, 1741**
Sjöbring, P.	Sweden	*fl.* 1836		**Heb. Grammar, Uppsala, 1836**
Skinner, Ralph	England	16th–17th c.		**St. 367; Jew. Hist. Soc. Engl. Misc. 4, 1942, 62f.**
Slaughter, Edward	England,	1655–1729	Jesuit	**DNB; B.N. Belg.**
Sleidanus, Johan., *see* Schleidan, Johan.				
Slevogt, Paul, *see* Schlevogt, Paul				
Slonkovic, Martinus	Poland	*fl.* 1651		**Heb. Grammar, Cracow, 1651**
Smal(l)ridge, George	England	1663–1719		**DNB**
Smith, Frederick	England	*fl.* 1870		**Tr. Ewald's Heb. Grammar, London, 1870**
Smith, John	U.S.A.	*fl.* 1803		**Heb. Grammar, Boston, 1803**
Smith, Miles	England	1568–1624		**DNB**
Smith, Thomas	England	1638–1710		**St. 368, Bodl. Cat. 2646; DNB; NBU**
Sőlősi, Pál	Hungary	166?–1688	Calvinist	**Dan**
Sommer, Gottfr. Christ.	Germany	*fl.* 1734		**St. 369; Scholem, Bibliography. Kabbalistica, no. 1081; Monats. Gesch. u. Wiss. Jud., 1895/6, 423**
Somosi, P. János	Hungary	1625–1681	Calvinist	**Szin; Dan**
Somossi, János	Hungary	1783–1855	Calvinist	**Szin; Zov; Dan; János Erdélyi, S.J., Sárospatak, 1864**
Sonneschmid, Johan. Justus	Germany	*fl.* 1720–1770	Lutheran	**St. 370**
Sonntag, Christoph.	Germany	1654–1717	Evangelical Lutheran	**ADB**
Spalding, Geo. Ludw.	Germany	1762–1811		**St. 371; ADB**
Spalding, Robert	England	d. 1626		**Venn**
Spannheim, Friedr. (sen.)	Holland, Switzerland	1600–1649		**ADB; NNBW; NBU**
Spannheim, Friedr. (jun.)	Holland	1632–1701		**NNBW; ADB**
Speidelius, Johan. Chr.	Germany	*fl.* 1731		**Heb. Grammar, Tübingen, 1731**
Spelman, Henry	England	(?)1564–1641		**DNB; NBU; R. Loewe, Heb. Union Coll. Annual, 28, 1957, 221 n.74**
Spencer, John	England	1630–1693		**DNB; NBU; Trans. Jew. Hist. Soc. Engl. 8, 100f.**
Spencer, Philip Jacob	England (?), Germany	17th c.		**JQR, 9 (18–96/97), 510**
Sprecher, Johan. Died.	Germany	*fl.* 1703		**St. 372, Bodl. Cat. 1079, no. 25**
Springer, Daniel	Germany	1656–1708		**St. 373, Bodl. Cat. 2651**
Squier (Squire, Squyer), Adam	England	d. before 1588		**Roth, Bodl. Library Record, 7, 1966, p. 243; Foster**
Stadler, Johan. Ev.	Germany	*fl.* 1831		**Heb. Lex., Munich, 1831**
Staemmer, Christoph van	Holland (?)	*fl.* 1661		**St. 374, Bodl. Cat. 1445, 2651**
Stancaro(-rus), Franciscus	Italy	1501–1574	Reformer	**ADB; NBU; Heb. Grammar, Basle, 1547**
Stapleton, Thomas	England	1535–1598	Catholic	

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Name	Country-(ies)	Dates	Religious Confession	References
Starck (Starke), Heinr. Bened.	Germany	1672–1740	Lutheran	**Heb. Grammar, Leipzig, 1705; ADB**
Starckius (Starke), Sebast. Gottfr.	Germany	d. 1710		**St. 375; ADB**
Steen, Cornelius van den, *see* Lapide, Cornelius B (van den Steen)				
Steenbach, Joh.	?	?		**St. 376**
Steiner, Johan.	?	*fl.* 1600		**St. 376, n. 1**
Steinersdorff, Johan. Christ.	Germany	*fl.* 1747		**Heb. Grammar, Halle, 1747**
Steinmetz, Joh. Andr. (? Adam)	Poland (?)	1689–1762		**St. 377, Bodl. Cat. 1391, no. 3; Zeitschr. f. Heb. Bibl. 1, 112; ADB**
Steinweg, Geo. Friedr.	Germany	*fl.* 1753		**Heb. Grammar, Halle, 1753**
Stengel, Lib.	Germany	*fl.* 1841		**Heb. Grammar, Freiburg, 1841**
Stenhagen, G.	Sweden	*fl.* 1705		**St. 269, Bodl. Cat. 682, no. 29**
Steuco (Augustinus Steuchus Eugubinus), Agostino (Steuco de Gubbio)	Italy	1496–1549	Augustinian	**NBU; Enc. Br.[11]**
Stier, Ewald Rud.	Germany	1800–1862		**Heb. Grammar, Leipzig, 1833; ADB; Enc. Br.[11]**
Stier, G.	Germany	*fl.* 1857		**Heb. Lex. Leipzig, 1857**
Stiles, Ezra	New England (U.S.)	1727–1795	Congregationalist	**D. Am. B.; Enc. Br.[11]**
Stock, Joseph	Ireland	1740–1813		**DNB**
Stolberg, Balthasar	Germany	?	Lutheran	**Meuschen, Nov. Test. ex Talmude Illustr., 52, 15**
Stolle, Johan. Henr.	Germany (?)	*fl.* 1691		**St. 328**
Strauch, Aegidius (Giles)	Germany	1632–1682	Lutheran	**ADB**
Stridzberg, Nic. H.	Sweden	*fl.* 1731		**St. 380**
Struvius, Johan. Julius	Germany	*fl.* 1697		**St. 381**
Stuart, Moses	U.S.A.	1780–1852		**Heb. Grammar, Andover, New Hants, 1821; D. Am B. Enc. Br.[11]**
Stubbs, Wolfran	England	d. 1719		**Venn**
Stuckuis, Joannes Guilhelmus	Holland (?), France, Switzerland	1542–1607	Protestant	
Suetonio, Agostino	Italy	?		**St. 383, Heb. Übers. xxvii, line 7**
Summenhardt, Konrad	Germany	(?)1466–1502		**St. A. 23; ADB**
Sur(r)enhusius(-huis, -huysen), Wil.	Holland	1666–1729	Calvinist	**St. 382, Bodl. Cat. 2663; NNBW; NBU**
Sussex, Augustus Fred. Duke of	England	1773–1843		**DNB; NBU**
Swan, G.	Sweden	*fl.* 1706		**St. 269, cf. 384, Bodl. Cat. 682, no. 29**
Sykes, Arthur, Ashley	England	(?)1684–1756		**DNB**
Sykes, Henry, *see* Sike, Henry				
Sylvester, Johannes	Hungary	16th c.		**“Grammatica Hungarolatina”; Robert Dan, S.J., Magyar Könyvszemle 1969, 2**
Sypkens, Hendrik	Holland	19th c.		**NNBW 9, 1097**
Szántó, István	Hungary	1541–1612	Catholic	**Szin**
Szatmári, Ötvös István	Hungary	1620–1665	Calvinist	**Szin; Zov; Dan**
Szatmár–Némethi, Mihály	Hungary	1638–1689	Calvinist	**Szin; Zov**
Szatmárnémeti, Mihály	Hungary, Holland (?)	1667–1709	Calvinist	**Szin; Zov**
Szatmárnémeti, Samuel	Hungary	1658–1717	Calvinist	**Marm; Szin; Pap**
Szatmáry, Orban Samuel	Hungary	1711–1757	Calvinist	**Marm; Szin**
Szatmáry, P. Daniel	Hungary	1769–1818	Calvinist	**Marm; Szin**
Szegedi, István	Hungary	1505–1572	Calvinist	**Kohn; Szin; Marm**

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Name	Country-(ies)	Dates	Religious Confession	References
Székely, István	Hungary	151?–156?	Calvinist	**Szin; Pap; Károly Mohácsy, Károlyi Gáspár, Budapest, 1948**
Szemiot, Alexander	Austria, Poland	1800–1835	Catholic	**B.L.K. Oest.**
Szenczi, Molnár Albert	Hungary	1574–1634	Calvinist	**Venet; Szin; Zov**
Szentiványi, Márton	Hungary	1653–1705	Catholic	**Marm; Szin**
Szigmondy, Samuel	Austria	*fl.* 1828	Heb. Grammar, Vienna, 1828	
Szilágyi, Péter	Hungary	167?–1723	Calvinist	**Szin; Zov; Dan**
Tailor, Francis *see* Tayler, Francis				
Talbot, James	England	1665–1708		**Venn**
Tanfield, Elisabeth	England	1579–1639		**Zeitschr. f. Heb. Bibliography. xx, 69**
Tarnóczi, Márton	Hungary	1620–1685	Lutheran	**Marm; Szin; Zov**
Tarnow, Johan.	Germany	1586–1629	Lutheran	**ADB**
Tayler (Tailor, etc.), Francis England		*fl.* 1630–1660		**St. 385, Bodl. Cat. 2670**
Taylor, Edward	New England (U.S.A.)	d. 1729	Puritan	**American Nat. Biogr.; Norman S. Grabo, E.T.**
Taylor, Jacob	Pennsylvania (U.S.A.)	18th c.		**Inf. From C. Roth;? = author of almanac for 1745, Philadelphia**
Taylor, Jeremy	England	1613–1667		**DNB; L. Roth, Journ. Sem. Stud. 6, 1961, 204**
Taylor, John	England	1694–1761	Dissenter	**DNB**
Teigh, Robert	England	*fl.* 1611		**trs. Gen.-Kings, King James' Bible**
Tena, Luis de	Spain	d. 1622		**Enc. Univ. Illustr. Eur. Amer., 60, 848**
Terentius, Johan. Gerhardi	Holland	b. 1639		**St. 385 n. 1, Bodl. Cat. 169, no. 1133**
Theobald (Therebald)	France	*fl.* 1250 (?)		**St. A. 53**
Theunitz, Johan. Antonii	Holland	1569–1637 (?)		**NNBW**
Thiele, E.E.	Germany	*fl.* 1795		**Heb. Grammar, Jena, 1795**
Thiersch, H. Wilh. Josias	Germany	1817–1885		**ADB; Heb. Grammar, Erlangen, 1842**
T(h)irsch, Leopold (O.?)	Austria	1733–1788	Jesuit	**B.L.K. Oest. Heb. Grammar, Prague, 1784**
Thomason, George	England	d. 1666		**DNB; Trans. Jew. Hist. Soc. Engl. 8, 1918, 63f.**
Thompson, Richard	Holland, England	d. 1612/3		**DNB**
Thorndike, Herbert	England	1598–1672		**DNB**
Thorne, William	England	(?)1568–1630		**DNB; Roth, Bodl. Lib. Record, 7, 1966, 246 n.1**
Thuri, György	Hungary	157?–160?	Calvinist	**Marm; Szin; R. Dan, Journ. Jew. Stud., 19, 1968, 71f.**
Thysius, Antonius	Flanders, Holland	1565–1640		**B.N. Belg; NNBW; ADB**
Til, Sal. Van	Holland	1643–1713	Calvinist	**NNBW; NBU**
Tingstadius, Johan. Adam	Sweden	1748–1827		**Svensk**
Tissard(us), François	France	*fl.* 1508		**Heb. & Greek Grammar, Paris, 1508**
Tofeus Dobos, Mihály	Hungary	1624–1684	Calvinist	**Szin; Zov; Dan; Jószef Koncz, T.M., Budapest, 1893**
Top, Alexander	England	*fl.* 1629		**Read Sephardic cursive letter from David Reubeni; trs. Psalms, 1629**
Torriano, Car.	England	1727–1778		**Venn**

Christian Hebraists (continued)

Name	Country-(ies)	Dates	Religious Confession	References
Tostado (Tostatus), alfonso de Madrigal	Spain	c.1400–1455		**NBU**
Townley, James	England	1774–1833	Methodist	**DNB; Misc. Jew. Hist. Soc. Engl., 4, 1942, 75**
Traegard, E.	Germany	*fl.* 1755		**Heb. Grammar, Greifswald, 1755**
Transisalanus, Johann., *see* Campen, Jan (Johannes) van				
Trigland, Jac. (nepos)	Holland	1583–1654	Calvinist	**St. 386, Bodl. Cat. 2686; NNBW**
Trilles, Vincentius	Spain	*fl.* 1606		**Heb. Grammar, Valencia, 1606**
Trithemius (Johann Heidenberg of Tritheim), Johannes	Germany	1462–1516	Benedictine	**ADB; NBU; Enc. Br.^{11}**
Trivet(h) (Trevet), Nicholas	England	(?)1258–1328	Dominican	**DNB; B. Smalley, Study of Bible in Mid. Ages^{2}, 400; R. Leowe (ed. V.D. Lipman), 3 Cent. Anglo- Jew. Hist., 1961, 136, 141**
Trost(-ius), Martinus	Germany (? Syrian)	1588–1636		**ADB; Heb. Grammar, Copenhagen, 1627**
Tullberg, Hamp. Kr.	Sweden	*fl.* 1834		**Heb. Grammar, Lund. 1834**
Tyard, Pontus de	France	1521–1605	Catholic	
Tychsen, Oluf Gerard	Denmark, Germany	1734–1815		**St. 387, Bodl. Cat. 2687; ADB; NBU; Enc. Br.^{11}**
Tydeman, B.F.	Holland	1784–1829		**NNBW 2, 1461**
Tympe, Johann Gottfr.	Germany	(?)1697–1768	Lutheran	**ADB**
Tyndale, William	England, Flanders	c.1490–1536	Zwinlian	
Uchtmann, Alard	France	*fl.* 1650		**St. 388, Bodl. Cat. 2659**
Udall (Uvedale), John	England	(?)1560–1592		**DNB**
Ugolino(-ini), Blasio	Italy	(?)1700–1770	Catholic (Jewish apostate?)	
Uhlemann, Friedr. Gottl.	Germany	1792–1864		**Heb. Grammar, Berlin, 1827; ADB**
Ulmann, Johan.	Alsace	*fl.* 1663		**St. 389, Bodl. Cat. 2691**
Uranius, Henricus	Switzerland	*fl.* 1541		**Heb. Grammar, Basle, 1541; B. Prijs, Basl. Heb. Drucke, 1964, pp. 97, 126**
Urban, Anna Weissbrucker	Germany	16th c.		**Zeitchr. f. Heb. Bibl. xx, 66; Heb. Bibl., 20, 66**
Urbanus, Rhegius Henr.	Germany	*fl.* 1535		**St. 390; L. Geiger, Zeitschr. f. Gesch. d. Juden in Deutschl. 3, 105**
Uri (Ury), Johan.	Hungary, England	1726–1796		**St. 391, Bodl. Cat. 2695; DNB**
Ursinus, Johan. Heinr.	Germany	1608–1667		**ADB; NBU; Ugolini, 21, 766**
Ussermann, Aemilian	Germany	1737–1798	Benedictine	**ADB; Heb. syntax, Salisbury, 1764**
Ussher, James	Ireland	1581–1656		**DNB; NBU**
Uythage, Cn. Cor.	Holland	*fl.* 1680		**St. 392, Bodl. Cat. 2696**
Valckenier, Johan.	Holland	b. 1617		**NNBW 10, 1071**
Valera, Cipriano de	Spain, England	b. 1531		**Foster; Venn**
Valensis, Theoph.	Germany	*fl.* 1631		**Heb. Grammar, Leipzig, 1631**
Valeton, J.P.P.	Holland	19th c.		**untraced**
Vallensis, Joannes	France	*fl.* 1545		**Heb. Grammar, Paris, c. 1545**
Valois, Louis de, *see* Louis de Valois				
Valperga, Tommaso di Caluso	Italy	1737–1815		**Heb. Grammar, Turin, 1805; NBU**
Valverdius, Bartholomaeus	Spain, Italy	*fl.* 1581		**St. 393**
Varenius, August	Germany	1620–1684	Lutheran	**St. 394; ADB**
Vásárhelyi, K. Péter	Hungary	160?–1660	Lutheran	**Szin**
Vasseur, Joshua le	France	*fl.* 1646		**Heb. Grammar, Sedan, 1646**

Christian Hebraists (continued)

Name	Country-(ies)	Dates	Religious Confession	References
Vatable(-blé, -blus, Ouatablé, Gastabled), François	France	c.1490–1547		**St. 395, Bodl. Cat. 2699; NBU**
Vater, Johan. Severin	Germany	1771–1826		**Heb. Grammar, Leipzig, 1798; ADB; NBU**
Vedelius, Nicolaus	Germany, Holland	1592–1642		**NNBW**
Vehe, Matth. (? Mich.)	Germany	*fl.* 1581		**St. 396; ADB**
Venema, Herman	Holland	1697–1787		**NNBW**
Venetus, Franc Geo. (Zorzi), *see* Giorgio (Zorzi), Francesco				
Venusi, Johann Bernhard	Austria	1751–1823	Cisterian	**B.L.K. Oest.**
Verbrugge, Otho	Holland	1670–1745		**NNBW 9, 1186**
Verestói, György	Hungary	1698–1764	Calvinist	**Marm; Szin; Zov**
Vermigli, Pietro Martire, *see* Martyr, Peter				
Verschuir, Johannes Hendrik	Holland	1735–1803		**NNBW**
Verseghy, Ferenc	Hungary	1757–1822	Catholic	**Marm; Szin; S. Krauss, Egy. Phil. Közl.,1899, 214–32**
Vesey, Gergely	Hungary	18th c.	Calvinist	**Marm; Szin**
Veszelin, Pál Kismariai	Hungary, Holland	d. 1645		**Szin**
Veszprémi, B. István	Hungary	1637–1713	Calvinist	**Szin; Zov; Dan**
Viccars, John	England	1604–1660		**DNB**
Vicinus, Jos. de, *see* Voisin, Joseph de				
Vieira, Eman.	Holland (?)	*fl.* 1728		**Heb. Grammar, Leiden, 1728**
Vigenlre, Blaise de	France	1523–1596	(nominal) Catholic	
Vignal(-ius), Pierre	France	*fl.* 1562–1612		**P. Colomils, Gallia Orientalis, p. 146**
Villalpando, Juan Bautista	Spain	1552–1608	Jesuit	**NBU**
Villanova, Arnaldo de	Spain	(?)1230–1313		**NBU; Enc. Br.^{11}**
Vinding, Johan. Paul	Holland	*fl.* 1633		**St. 397, Bodl. Cat. 1837, note.**
Viterbo, Aegidius (Egidio) da	Italy, France	1465–1532	Augustinian (cardinal)	
Vitringa, Campegius	Holland	1659–1722	Calvinist	**NNBW 10, 1122; NBU; Enc. Br.^{11}**
Viweg, Chr.	Germany	*fl.* 1685		**Heb. Grammar, Jena, 1685**
Vizaknai, U. Mihály	Hungary	1654–169?	Calvinist	**Szin; Zov; Dan**
Vloten, Willem van	Holland	1780–1829		**NNBW 8, 1304**
Voetius, Gysbertus	Holland	1589–1676		**NNBW; NBU; Enc.Br.^{11}**
Vogel, Geo. Johan. Ludw.	Germany	1742–1776		**Heb. Grammar, Halle, 1769; ADB**
Vogelsangh, Reinerus	Holland	1610–1679		**NNBW 10, 1128**
Voisin (Vicinus), Joseph de	France	c.1610–1685		**St. 398, Bodl. Cat. 2269**
Volborth, Jo. Karl	Germany	1748–1796		**Heb. Grammar, Leipzig, 1788; ADB**
Vonck, Cornelis Hugo (? Valerius)	Holland	1724–1768		**NNBW**
Vorst(-ius), Will. Hen- drik van der	Holland	d. 1652	Remonstrant	**St. 399, Bodl. Cat. 2709**
Vorstheimer, Joh., *see* Forster, Johann				
Vosen, Christ. Hermann	Germany	1815–1871	Catholic	**Heb. Grammar, Freiburg, 1854; ADB**
Voss(-ius), Dionysius	Holland	1612– 1633(?)		**St. 400, Bodl. Cat. 2710; NNBW; NBU**
Vossius, Gerhard Jan	Holland, England	1577–1649	Reformed Ch.	**DNB; ADB; NBU**
Vossius, Isaac	Holland, Sweden, England	1618–1689	Anglican	**DNB; NNBW; ADB; NBU**
Vriemont, Emo Lucius	Holland	1699–1760		**NNBW; NBU**
Wachner, Andr. Geo.	Germany	*fl.* 1735		**Heb. Grammar, Göttingen, 1735**
Wachter, Johan. Geo.	Germany	1663–1757		**Scholem, Bibl. Kabbalistica, no. 1164; ADB; NBU**
Waeijen, Johan van der	Holland	1639–1701		**NNBW 10, 1148**
Wagenseil, Helena Sybilla Möller, *see* Moeller, Helena Sybilla Wagenseil				

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Name	Country-(ies)	Dates	Religious Confession	References
Wagenseil, Johann Christoph	Germany	(?)1633–1705 (?)		**St. 401, Nachtrag, p. 122, Bodl. Cat. 189, Add. p. 1xxv; ADB; NBU; Enc. Br.[11]**
Wagner, Christian	?	?		**St. 402**
Wakefield (Wakfeldus), Robert	England	d. 1537		**St. 403, Bodl. Cat. 2713; DNB**
Wakefield, Thomas	England	d. 1575		**DNB**
Wallin, Geo (jun.)	Germany	*fl.* 1722		**St. 404**
Walreven, Didericus Adrianus	Holland	1732–1804		**NNBW 9, 1276**
Walther, Johan.	?	*fl.* 1710		**St. 405**
Walther(-us), Christ.	Germany	*fl.* 1705		**St. 406, Bodl. Cat. 1875 no.30**
Walther, F.	Germany	*fl.* 1884		**Heb. Formlehre, Potsdam, 1884**
Walther(-us), Michael	Germany	1638–1692		**Heb. Grammar, Nuremberg, 1643; ADB**
Walton, Bryan	England	1600–1661		**DNB**
Warner, Levinius	Germany, Holland	1619–1665		**St. 407, Bodl. Cat. 2714, Leiden Cat. ix; NNBW**
Wartha, Johann Paul	Austria	1714–before 1800		**Heb. lexicon & grammar, Styria, 1756, Prague, 1743; B.L.K. Oest.**
Waser(us), Kaspar	Switzerland	1565–1625		**Heb. Grammar, Basle, 1600; ADB**
Wasmuth, Matth.	Germany	1625–1688	Lutheran	**Heb. Grammar, Kiel, 1666; ADB; NBU**
Weckerlin, Chr. Ferd.	Germany	*fl.* 1797		**Heb. Grammar, Stuttgart, 1797**
Weemes, John, *see* Wemyss, John				
Wegner, (?) Gottfr.	Germany	1644–1709		**ADB**
Weidmann (? Wiedemann), J.	Germany	?		**St. 295, 408**
Weiganmei(e)r, Georg	Germany	1555–1599		**St. 409, Bodl. Cat. 2715**
Weinmann, Johan.	Germany	1599–1672		**ADB**
Weissbrucker, Anna Urban, *see* Urban, Anna Weissbrucker				
Weitenauer, Ignaz	Austria	1709–1783	Jesuit	**B.L.K. Oest.**
Wemyss (Weemes), John	Scotland	c.1579–1636	Presbyterian	**DNB; J. Bowman, Jew. Quart. Rev., 39 (1949), 379f.**
Wenrik, Johann Geo.	Austria	1787–1847	Catholic	**B.L.K. Oest.**
Wessel, Johan.	Holland, Germany, Switzerland	1419–1489		**St. A. 35; ADB; NBU; Enc. Br.[11]**
W(eszelin), Kismariai Paulus, *see* Veszelin, PFI Kismariai				
Wet(t)stein, Johan. Jakob	Switzerland, Holland	1693–1754	Remonstrant	**NNBW; ADB; NBU; Enc. Br.[11]**
Wetzel, Joh. Chr. Friedr.	Germany	1762–1810		**Heb. Grammar, Berlin, 1796; ADB**
Weyers, Hendrik Engelinus	Holland	1805–1844		**NNBW 10, 1191**
Weymar, Daniel	Germany	*fl.* 1677	Lutheran	**Ugolini, 11, 646**
Wheeler, H.M.	England	*fl.* 1850		**Heb. Grammar, London, 1850**
Wheelocke, Abr.	England	1593–1653		**DNB**
Whittaker, John William	England	(?)1790– 1854		**DNB**
Wichmannshausen, Johan. Christoph.	Germany	1663–1727	Lutheran	**ADB**
Widmanstetter(-stadt, -stadius), Johann Albrecht or Lucrecius	Austria	1506–1557	Catholic	**St. 410; ADB; NBU**
Widmarius, Abdias	Holland	1591–1668		**NNBW 7, 1319**
Wiedemann, J., *see* Weidmann (? Wiedemann), J.				
Wiesendanger, Jakob, *see* Ceporinus, Jakob				
Wilkins, David	England	1685–1745 (?)		**St. 411, Nachtrag, p.122, Bodl. Cat. 2726; DNB**
Willard, ?	U.S.A.	*fl.* 1817		**Heb. Grammar, Harvard, 1817**

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Name	Country-(ies)	Dates	Religious Confession	References
Willemer, Johann	Germany	?	Lutheran	**Meuschen, Nov. Test. ex Talmude Illustr., 58, 15**
Willet, Andrew	England	1562–1621		**DNB**
Willis, Arthur	England	*fl.* 1834		**Heb. Grammar, London, 1834**
Willmet, Joannes	Holland	1750–1835		**NNBW 10, 1222**
Wilson, Charles	England	*fl.* 1782		**Heb. Grammar, London, 1782**
Wilson, Daniel	England, India	1778–1858		**DNB**
Wilson, John	Scotland, India	1804–1875		**Heb. Grammar in Marathi, Bombay, 1832; DNB**
Win(c)kler, Johan. Friedr.	Germany	1679–1738		**St. 412, Bodl. Cat. 1081, no. 37; ADB**
Winer, Johan. Geo. Bened.	Germany	1789–1858		**St. 413, Bodl. Cat. 2726; ADB; Enc. Br.[11]**
Winkler, ?	Germany (?)	18th c.		**St. 412; J.C. Wolf, Bibl. Hebr. ii, 1264, no. 69**
Wisendangen, Jakob von, *see* Ceporinus, Jakob				
Witter, Henr. Bernh.	Germany	*fl.* 1703		**St. 414, Bodl. Cat. 2726**
Wittig, Johan. Sigmund	Germany	*fl.* 1802		**Heb. Grammar, Wittenberg, 1802**
Witzius, Hermann	Holland	1636–1708		**NNBW 3, 1445**
Woeldicke, Marcus	Denmark	1699–1750		**St. 415, Bodl. Cat. 1877, no. 43**
Wolder(-us), David	Germany	d. 1604		**Heb. Grammar, Hamburg, 591; ADB (?)**
Wolf(f), Geo.	Germany	*fl.* 1557		**St. 416**
Wolf(f)(-ius), Johann Christian	Germany	1683–1739		**St. 417, Bodl. Cat. 2730, Add., Introd. xxxiv; ADB; NBU**
Wolf(-ph), Johan. Jac.	Switzerland	(?)1521–1571 (?)		**St. 419; ADB (?)**
Wolf, Johann W.	?	d. 1751		**untraced**
Wolfe, J. Robert	England	*fl.* 1860		**Heb. Grammar, London, 1860**
Wolfer(d)us, Michael	Holland	1627–1664		**NNBW 10, 1234**
Wolff, Johann Henr.	?	*fl.* 1726		**St. 418**
Wollaston, William	England	1659/60–1724	Deist	**DNB; NBU; A. Altmann, Trans. Jew. Hist. Soc. Engl., 16, 1949, 184f.**
Wolters, Ludovicus	Germany	*fl.* 1718		**Selecta e Sohar et Rabboth, Bremen, 1718**
Worm, Christian	?	?		**St. 420**
Wotton, William	England	1666–1726 (?)		**St. 421, Bodl. Cat. 2734; DNB; NBU**
Wuelf(f)er, Johan.	Germany	1651–1724	Lutheran	**St. 422, Bodl. Cat. 2734; ADB (s.v. Daniel W.)**
Wuerttemberg, Antonia, Princess of, *see* Antonia, Princess of Wuerttemberg				
Ximénez de Cisneros, Francisco	Spain	1436–1517	Franciscan	
Yeates, Thomas	England	1768–1839		**DNB**
Young, Robert	Scotland	1822–1888		**DNB; Jew. Hist. Soc. Engl., Misc. 4, 1942, 79**
Zabler, Jób	Hungary	1628–1664	Lutheran	**Szin; Zov; Dan**
Zamora, Andreas de León	Spain	?		**St. 64; J.C. Wolf, Bibl. Hebr. 2, 1167, 1180**
Zanolini, Antonio	Italy	*fl.* 1747		**St. 423**
Zasio, Andrés	Hungary	1740–1816	Calvinist	**Szin**
Zeleny, Franc.	Bohemia	*fl.* 1756		**Heb. Grammar, Prague, 1756**
Zeller, Andr. Christoph.	Germany	*fl.* 1711		**St. 424, Bodl. Cat. 1878, 2760**

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Name	Country-(ies)	Dates	Religious Confession	References
Zeltner, Geo. Gust.	Germany	1672–1738		**St. 425, Bodl. Cat. 2761, Add; ADB; NBU**
Zieriksee, Amandus van, *see* Amandus van Zieriksee				
Zorzi, Francesco Georgio (Franciscus Venetus), *see* Giorgio, Francesco				
Zsigmondi, Samuel	Hungary	1788–1833	Lutheran	**Szin**
Zwingli, Ulrich (Huldreich)	Switzerland	1484–1531	Reformer	**NBU; ADB; Enc. Br.^{11}**

HEBREW BOOK TITLES.

Bible

A number of book titles are mentioned in the Bible, i.e., "Book of the Generations of Man" (Gen. 5:1), "*Book of the *Covenant" (Ex. 24:7 etc.), "Book of the Wars of the Lord" (Num. 21:14), "Book of Jashar" (Josh. 10:13; II Sam. 1:18), and "Book of Chronicles of the Kings of Judah and Israel." The Pentateuch itself is variously named as the "Book of the Law of Moses" (Josh. 8:31) or the "Law of God" (Josh. 24:26), later becoming the *Torah in short, or *Ḥamishah Ḥumshei Torah* ("Five Books of the Torah") or *Ḥummash*. Together with Prophets and Hagiographa this became in due course the Bible (Gr. Βιβλία lit. "Books") or in Hebrew *Kitvei ha-Kodesh* ("Holy Scriptures"). A term like *Ketuvim* originally described the Hagiographa only, but then was extended to the entire biblical canon. Still later, the title *Esrim ve-Arba'ah*, the 24 books (of the Bible) occurs. The *abbreviation תנ"ך (*Tanakh*), the first letters of the three sections in the Hebrew Bible – *Torah, Nevi'im, Ketuvim* – is now the most popular term. The term *Mikra* (or *Kera*) is also used in the Mishnah and Talmud for the Bible (or a verse thereof; Ned. 4:3; Shab. 63a; Ta'an 5a; TJ, Ket 35:3). For the titles of individual books in the Bible, in particular of the Pentateuch, it is necessary to go back to the Septuagint where they appear as Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy, terms describing, more or less, the contents of the books. In later Hebrew usage, the first or one of the first words of each book (*Bereshit, Shemot, Va-Yikra, Ba-Midbar,* and *Devarim*) was adopted as a title, which was a widespread practice among Greeks as well. Titles in Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha describe putative authors and/or contents (e.g., Wisdom of Ben Sira).

Talmudic Era

In the Mishnah and Talmud the names of orders and tractates reflect contents rather than authorship, but the unwieldy size of tractate *Nezikin*, homonymous with the entire order, led to its being divided into *Bava Kamma, Bava Meẓia*, and *Bava Batra* ("the first, middle, and last gate"). Chapters, which were not numbered, are quoted by one or several initial words. Alternatives to the title Talmud ("study") are *Gemara* ("learning"), or the abbreviation שַׁ"ס (*shas*), for *Shishah Sedarim*, the six orders of the Mishnah and Talmud, a title which resulted from the Church's banning of the Talmud and the consequent censorship. The oldest Midrashim, like the commentaries on the books of the Pentateuch, take their titles either from these books (e.g., *Torat Kohanim* "priestly law" but later **Sifra*), from their use as textbooks (e.g., *Sifrei de-vei-Rav*, "schoolbooks"), or from their hermeneutic character (**Mekhilta*). Aggadic Midrashim bear either the generic name of Midrash added to that of the biblical book (e.g., *Midrash Shemu'el* or *Midrash Tehillim*) – sometimes with the word *Rabbah* ("great") added (*Midrash Bereshit Rabbah*, see *Genesis Rabbah etc.) or that of a talmudic teacher reputed to be its compiler (e.g., *Midrash Tanḥuma*, which is also called *Yelammedenu* from the characteristic opening phrase of each chapter, and the *Pesikta de-Rav Kahana*). Later Midrashim have more fanciful titles (see below) such as *Lekaḥ Tov* ("Good Teaching," Prov. 4:2), *Shoḥer Tov* ("Seeker of Good," Prov. 11:27), etc. Midrash אבכיר (*Avkir*) derived its name from the initials of the concluding peroration. אמן בימינו כן יהי רצון ("Amen, in our days, may it be [His] will").

In geonic literature titles express the general nature of their compilations, such as *Halakhot Gedolot* or *Halakhot Pesukot* ("Great Rules"; "Decided Rules") or these together with the author's name (e.g., *She'iltot* – ritual questions (and answers) – of Aḥai Gaon; the *seder* of Rav Amram, or of Saadiah Gaon).

Middle Ages

In the Middle Ages, with the great increase in Hebrew literature of all sorts, there was a proliferation of titles, which may be roughly classified as follows:

NAMES AS TITLES. The names or abbreviations of names of the leading exegetic or halakhic authors are now used to describe their works, such as Rashi (whose Talmud commentary was also called by the generic name *Kunteres*, from *commentarius*), RaSHBA (R. Solomon b. Abraham Adret), RoSH (R. Asher b. Jehiel), Mordecai (b. Hillel), etc. often the particular nature of the work (*tosafot*, "glosses"; *ḥiddushim*, "novellae"; *she'elot u-teshuvot*, "responsa") is indicated in the name. Later the names of authors appear as part of titles taken from a biblical phrase such as *Ein Ya'akov* (Deut. 33:28) by Jacob ibn Ḥabib; *Kaftor va-Feraḥ* (Ex. 25:33) by Estori Farḥi; *Paḥad Yiẓḥak* (Gen. 31:53) by Isaac Lampronti or *Magen Avraham* by

Abraham Gombiner. Combinations of names with the word *beit* ("house of"), *sha'ar* or *sha'arei* ("gate" or "gates of"), *minḥat* and *korban* ("offering of"), *derekh* ("way of"), *even* ("stone of"), *yad* ("hand of"), etc. are very frequent. While almost all titles in medieval (and post-medieval) religious literature began with the word *sefer* ("book of") in some cases the word *maḥberet* or *maḥbarot* ("composition of") was used in combination with the author's name, e.g., *Maḥbarot Menaḥem* (b. Saruk, a dictionary); *Maḥbarot Immanu'el* (of Rome, poems). The author's desire for anonymity, stemming from a genuine or assumed modesty, was in constant conflict with that of perpetuating his or his father's name; the result was devious titles, both concealing and revealing. Thus Joseph ibn Kaspi ("silver," of L'Argentière, 13th–14th centuries) incorporated this byname in all his works: *Adnei Kesef* ("Sockets of Silver," Ex. 26:19), *Ḥaẓoẓerot Kesef* ("Silver Trumpets," Num. 10:2), *Kesef Sigim* ("Silver Drops," Prov. 26:23), etc.

TITLES REFLECTING CONTENTS. In the Middle Ages this way of titling books was widely adopted. Saadiah Gaon called his treatise the *Book of Beliefs and Opinions*, and the title of Judah Halevi's philosophic dialogues, *Kuzari* ("The Khazars") reflects their imaginary framework. Similarly, titles such as Ibn Gabirol's *Mekor Ḥayyim* ("Source of Life"), Maimonides' *Guide of the Perplexed*, and Albo's *Ikkarim* ("Principles") express the basic idea or purpose of the works in question. In the same vein Maimonides called his code *Mishneh Torah* ("Repetition of the Torah" alluding both to Deut. 17:18 and to Judah ha-Nasi's Mishnah), though it was later called the *Yad ha-Ḥazakah* ("The Strong Hand," Deut. 34:12), since the numerical value of *yad* is 14, the number of books into which the code is divided. There are several works called "Book of Precepts" (*Sefer Mitzvot*), one by Maimonides (originally in Arabic), one by *Moses of Coucy, and the *Sefer Mitzvot Katan* of *Isaac b. Joseph of Corbeil. Israel Najara wrote a short manual of *sheḥitah* for youngsters, to which he gave the equivocal title of *Shoḥatei ha-Yeladim* ("Slaughterers of Children").

METAPHORICAL TITLES. These occasionally overlap with the previous categories, as can be seen from examples mentioned above. However, most of these fanciful appellations do not provide the uninformed reader with any clue to the true contents of the work. Jacob b. Asher called his code *Arba'ah Turim* ("Four Rows") from the four rows of precious stones on the high priest's breastplate (Ex. 28:17); Joseph Caro named his code Shulḥan Arukh ("Prepared Table"; Ezek. 23:41); and Moses Isserles titled his annotations to it *Mappah* ("Tablecloth"). Early halakhic compendia bore such titles as *Eshkol* ("Cluster of Grapes"), and *Shibbolei ha-Leket* ("Gleanings of Corn"). In his work *Levushim* ("Garments"), Mordecai Jaffe named each of the 10 sections with one of the epithets of the biblical Mordecai's attire (Esth. 8:15). Solomon ibn Gabirol called his astronomic treatise *Keter Malkhut* ("The Royal Crown"); the kabbalistic classic is known as the *Sefer ha-Zohar* ("Book of Splendor") and kabbalistic literature in general indulged in euphuistic titles which usually expressed some mystical idea as well; e.g., *Eẓ ha-Ḥayyim* ("Tree of Life") by Ḥayyim Vital and *Tomer Devorah* ("Palm Tree of Deborah") by Moses Cordovero.

The **gematria* system of using the numerical value of letters and words also played a great part. Thus the responsa of Simeon b. Ẓemaḥ Duran were named *Tashbeẓ* – this was not only the abbreviation of *Teshuvot Shimon ben Ẓemaḥ* and the biblical term "chequer-work" (Ex. 28:4), but also its numerical value was 792, the number of responsa included in the work. In some cases an abbreviation based on initials displaced the title in common parlance: a typical example (apart from the classic case of Rashi) is *Shelah* (for *Shenei Luḥot ha-Berit*). The author, Isaiah Horowitz, became generally known as Ba'al ha-Shelah, and sometimes by paradoxical rebound the book was popularly called by this latter title. Similarly the Pentateuch commentary ascribed to Jacob b. Asher, author of the *Arba'ah Turim*, is known as the *Ba'al ha-Turim* (cf. Zerahiah ha-Levi's commentary *Me'orot* on Alfasi, known as *Ba'al ha-Ma'or*).

The importance the Jews attached to a man's literary or scholarly work caused authors like those mentioned above to be known almost exclusively by the titles or abbreviations of titles of their books, such as the SHeLaH just mentioned, or the Ḥatam Sofer (title of Moses Sofer's works: responsa, novellae etc.), the Ḥafeẓ Ḥayyim (Israel ha-Kohen of Radun, after his ethical treatise of that name), the Ḥazon Ish (Abraham Isaiah Karelitz, after the title of his novellae).

Some titles seemingly chosen simply from biblical personal or place names – e.g., *Avi'ezer* (by Eliezer b. Joel ha-Levi); *Taḥkemoni* (by Judah Al-Ḥarizi); *Tishbi* (by Elijah Levita) – usually contained an allusion to the author's name.

INITIAL WORDS AS TITLES. As with biblical and midrashic literature, medieval works were also occasionally called by their initial word or words, e.g., *Tanya*, the title of a 14th-century ritual and one popularly given to Shneur Zalman's *Likkutei Amarim*.

"FOLLOW-UP" TITLES. These were often used for commentaries, like the previously mentioned *Mappah* for the Shulḥan Arukh. Shem Tov Falaquera gave his commentary to Maimonides' *Moreh Nevukhim* the title *Moreh ha-Moreh* ("Guide to the Guide"), and N. Krochmal wrote a *Moreh Nevukhei ha-Zeman* ("Guide for the Perplexed of the Time"). Solomon b. Abraham Adret's *Torat ha-Bayit* ("Law of the House," Isa. 30:9) was criticized by Aaron ha-Levi in his *Bedek ha-Bayit* ("Repair of the House," II Kings 12:6) and this was countered by Adret by his *Mishmeret ha-Bayit* ("Guard of the House," *ibid.*, 11:6). Samuel b. David ha-Levi's *Turei Zahav* ("Circlets of Gold") prompted Shabbetai Kohen to write *Nekuddot ha-Kesef* ("Studs of Silver," cf. Songs 1:11). Further classifications and subclassifications can and have been made. For translators the older Hebrew book titles sometimes present a problem.

MODERN TIMES. While the medieval manner of entitling rabbinic books has continued into modern times, as exemplified by Rabbi A.I. (Ha-Kohen) Kook's responsa (*Da'at Kohen, Ezrat*

Kohen, Mishpat Kohen) and other writings (*Iggerot Ra'ayyah, Olat Ra'ayyah*, etc. – *Ra'ayyah* (**R**av **A**braham **Yi**ẓhaq **Ha**-Cohen) being an abbreviation of his name), modern writers in Hebrew follow the prevailing standards in Western literature and scholarship, without abandoning recourse to the former Hebrew tradition. Examples are the titles of some of S.Y. Agnon's novels and short stories (such as *A Guest Who Stays Overnight*, Jer. 14:18) and M. Shamir's *King of Flesh and Blood*, a frequent midrashic phrase.

HEBREW COLLEGE, transdenominational institution of Jewish higher education located in Newton Centre, Massachusetts. Founded in 1921 and first located in Roxbury, then the center of Boston Jewish life, through its several generations the college has followed the dynamism of the Boston Jewish community, relocating with post-World War II Jews to suburban Brookline in 1953, then to Newton in 2001.

At one time locally based and focused mainly on the Boston and New England Jewish community, the contemporary Hebrew College serves the American and worldwide Jewish community, via an array of degree and other educational programs designed for the entire gamut of the life cycle. That includes training for early childhood educators, day school and Hebrew school educators, a Prozdor for middle and high school students, Camp Yavneh, a summer camp for Jewish youth, degree programs ranging from bachelor's and master's degrees to rabbinic and cantorial ordinations, Hebrew language intensive Ulpan, and a host of adult learning opportunities including the two-year course known as *Me'ah*. Its mission has always been to provide a link between the world of higher education, academic Jewish studies, and the Jewish community.

Its birth in 1921 reflected several trends in American, American Jewish, and modern Jewish history. The rise of new ideologies in the wake of the breakdown of Jewish communal and cultural life meant a new approach to the question of a new culture and new identity for Jews. This involved centrally new approaches to education, as the vehicle for cultural transmission. The college, founded primarily by Hebraists, Zionists, legatees of the East European Haskalah, along with its sister institutions in other American cities like Philadelphia, Baltimore, Cleveland, and Chicago, to name a few, expressed these trends in its commitment to Hebrew language and culture. Its first location, Roxbury, lay at the heart of the burgeoning Jewish ethnic and religious community of Boston.

Its founding also stemmed from a particular moment in American Jewish life. The considerable energy that the immigrants expended in integration and acculturation, and the host of ethnic social welfare institutions created by them, (such as burial societies, free loan networks, *landsmenschaften*, synagogues), had not been matched by equal investment in Jewish educational institutions. This stemmed from lack of funds, the paucity of resources such as trained educators and few rabbinic immigrants, and some degree of disinterest and disagreement about what Jewish education should be. After World War I, there arose a series of Bureaus of Jewish Education, centralized institutions that began to create a momentum for routinizing and standardizing Jewish education, which would include the building of modern *talmud torahs* and the training of teachers to staff those new sorts of congregational and community schools.

These developments suggest the importance of the American context, particularly ideas of cultural pluralism on the one hand, and Progressivism on the other. Cultural pluralism, as articulated by figures like Randolph Bourne and Horace Kallen, saw America as a republic of nationalities, a symphony with distinctive parts contributing to a greater whole, an entity dependent upon those parts for their enduring existence. No matter the internal debates about what Jewish culture should be, Jews as an ethnic group had a right to exist, and should maintain group cohesion, so went this worldview. The college, with its de-emphasis of religious ideology and its embrace of the Jewish cultural heritage, dovetailed beautifully with such pluralism.

So too with Progressivism, which saw organization as a key to solving the myriad challenges of modern life. The increasing professionalization of modernity, the belief in rationalism and rational methods for creating organizations to problem solve, found expression in American higher education. The early part of the 20th century witnessed young Jews at institutions like Columbia's Teacher's College, where they imbibed the ideas of thinkers such as John Dewey. The head of the New York City Jewish *Kehillah*'s Bureau of Jewish Education, Samson *Benderly, inspired a whole generation of such future Jewish educational leaders. These men and women went on to found schools and summer camps like Yavneh; they played key roles in the emerging Hebrew College movement. Yavneh in particular signaled the belief that culture must be actualized through living experience, in formal and informal contexts. They also believed that modernized culture required intellectual deliberation. Method was necessary to rethink and re-engineer teacher training, the writing of new textbooks, the building of new schools.

Trends in postwar America contributed to the college's reformulation of its program, if not its larger purpose. The founding of the State of Israel, and declining interest in intensive Jewish supplementary education, led to the weakening of Hebraism as an ideology and as an approach to Jewish education. For a considerable time, the college was the one place where Jewishly interested intellectuals could seriously pursue advanced academic Judaic studies. The list of prominent alumni includes the journalist Theodore White, and academics such as Walter Ackerman, Arnold Band, Ben Halpern, Paula Hyman, Frank Manuel, and Isadore Twersky, men and women of diverse religious and Jewish ideological perspectives who went on to prominent academic careers at UCLA, Brandeis, Harvard, and Yale.

The explosion of academic Jewish studies challenged the college's mission in that regard. In its place has come the new emphasis upon adult Jewish learning, as the baby boom has created a new adult culture of interest in education throughout the broader American middle class, particularly in the areas of religion and spirituality. The College, together with the local Jewish Federation, created *Me'ah* in 1994, to meet this need. The program features a curriculum-based two-year program of academically taught adult Jewish learning, bridging the gap between classical Jewish texts, history and ideas, and the cognitive and affective needs of adults. Today the program reaches dozens of communities throughout Boston, New York, and elsewhere in America, with an enrollment in the thousands.

In its most recent phase it has truly become a national institution, recruiting students literally from around the globe, who may also study from around the globe via the Internet and the college's online offerings, including an M.A. degree.

Hebrew College represents the twin modern dynamics of building and subverting in Jewish cultural life. It maintains Jewish life while it changes it, incorporating the modern tensions between ethnicity and religion. It accepts classical notions of what constitutes Jewish culture, for example biblical and rabbinic texts, even as it experiments with new genres such as modern Hebrew literature that serve to expand our notion of the Jewish cultural canon. In recent years this has taken on programmatic form as the college embraced rabbinic and cantorial training, and moved – albeit transdenominationally – to a greater degree of openness to trends in contemporary spiritual life such as neo-mysticism.

Similarly, the College embodies interesting structural tensions of being Jewish in America. It espouses the virtue of Jewish community, and sees itself as among the vanguard of institutions training Jewish leaders, albeit in an American context much more comfortable with individualism and liberalism. Its physical place, situated alongside of the Andover Newton Theological School, the oldest Protestant seminary in America, symbolizes the college's increasing receptivity to participating in the larger American realm of higher religious education. It remains both communally based as well as academically elitist, striving to maintain the standards American Jews associate with academic excellence. Nowhere is this more in emphasis than in the college's commitment to adult learning, which attempts to bridge the distance between the folk and the elite as bulwarks of contemporary Jewish life.

[David Benjamin Starr (2nd ed.)]

HEBREW GRAMMAR.

The following entry is divided into two sections: (i) an Introduction for the non-specialist and (ii) a detailed survey.

(I) HEBREW GRAMMAR: AN INTRODUCTION

There are four main phases in the history of the Hebrew language: the biblical or classical, the post-biblical or neo-classical and rabbinic (which includes medieval scholarly writings and continued until the latter part of the 19th century), and the modern. In biblical times Hebrew was a living, spoken language but, from the centuries immediately preceding the Christian era, it ceased to be the vernacular. Nevertheless, biblical Hebrew persisted as the language of the Scriptures and as a model for compositions of a devotional nature. Because it was transmitted from one generation to the next, over many centuries, as a written language which found oral expression only in pious recital, its structure became artificially fixed.

It is remarkable, however, that the basic structure of the language has remained constant throughout all its stages of development. In the post-biblical and modern phases there was a progressive accretion in vocabulary by the creation of new words in accordance with the inherent laws of the language and by borrowing. Yet, divergencies in grammar were, for the most part, not fundamental, but peripheral. Thus a general introduction to the Hebrew language would best be served by confining it to the biblical phase and, where relevant, by pointing out divergencies which appeared in the later stages. The scheme of biblical Hebrew grammar is derived from the literature of the Hebrew Bible, known as Masoretic (from מַסֹּרָה (*massorâ*) "tradition").

Understanding the Patterns of Biblical Hebrew Grammar

An understanding of the patterns of biblical Hebrew grammar, as opposed to the mechanical learning of a catalogue of seemingly irrational rules, may be achieved by recognizing that the formulation of these rules rests on three main principles:

1. the adoption of agreed conventional signs in writing to represent the spoken word, as it was traditionally transmitted and articulated;

2. deliberate adjustments in spelling, in conformity with any spontaneous modification in the articulation of the spoken word, due to natural fluctuations caused by inflection;

3. statements, in concise but adequate terms, of forms of Hebrew thinking, as expressed in speech.

The aim of this article is not to present a comprehensive scheme of Hebrew grammar, but to demonstrate that there is a rationality underlying it. To achieve this end, items of grammar will be selected to illustrate how the above three principles are translated into formal Hebrew grammar. Occasional analogies from other languages will be cited to show that, in other languages also, elements of grammar reflect articulated speech and thought processes.

The Hebrew alphabet consists of consonants only. The reader of a Hebrew consonantal text – if he was proficient in the language – automatically supplied the appropriate vowels, as determined by the context. Anyone familiar with English would know automatically whether the context of a sentence requires him to read the consonantal word r-d as "red," "rid," or "rod." Similarly, anyone who knows Hebrew well would immediately recognize from the context whether אם (*ʾm*) is to be read as אִם (*ʾim*, "if") or אֵם (*ʾēm,* "a mother"), or whether דבר (*dbr*) is to be read דָּבָר (*dāḇār*, "a word"), דֶּבֶר (*deḇer*, "a plague"), דִּבֵּר (*dibbēr*, "he spoke"), or דֹּבֵר (*doḇēr*, "speaking").

When Hebrew ceased to be a spoken language, the uninitiated were unable to supply the relevant vowels to a consonantal text. It was realized that some apparatus had to be devised to indicate vowel-sounds as aids to reading. There were two stages in the development of such an apparatus. The first was the employment of the weak letters ה, ו, י (*h, w, y*) to serve also as vowel indicators. ו (*w*) represented both the o and u sounds, so that מות (*mwt*) could be read as either מוֹת (*môt*, "death of") or מוּת (*mût*, "dying"). י (*y*) indicated both the i and e sounds; מי (*my*) could be read as either מִי (*mî*, "who?") or מֵי (*mê*, "waters of"). The terminal silent ה (*h*) generally indicated the a vowel-sound, but sometimes also the e sound, so that מה (*mh*) could be read as either מָה (*mâ*) or מֶה (*meh*), both meaning "what." This device was employed in the texts of the so-called Dead Sea Scrolls and is maintained even today in modern Hebrew writing.

Though this system reduced the area of possible error, it was clearly unsatisfactory, because it was not exact. In the eighth century C.E. the Tiberian system of vowel-points was devised to represent all the vowel-sounds, as traditionally held. This apparatus was generally adopted and is still in use.

Among Jews of European origin, the influence of their vernaculars on the articulation of Hebrew consonants led to the coalescing of several pairs of consonants. א and ע are both silent, כּ and ק are both pronounced as the same *k* sound, ב and ו are both articulated as *v*, ס, שׂ, and also ת among Ashkenazi Jews are pronounced as *s*, while in Israel the תּ and ת are both pronounced as *t*. However, it should be realized that, in biblical times, each Hebrew consonant had its own particular phonetic value, as is still the case among Oriental Jews in the recital of their sacred Hebrew texts. In ancient Israel there was a clear difference in sound between, for example, the word אִם (*ʾim*, "if"), and עִם (*ʿim*, "with"), the latter being articulated with a back-throated guttural sound. Similarly one could distinguish between אַתָּה (*ʾattâ*, "you," masc. sing.) and עַתָּה (*ʿattâ*, "now"). There was a clear distinction in sound between the words כֹּל (*kōl*, "all") and קוֹל (*ḳôl*, "a voice"), for the latter was articulated as a distinctive back-throated *k*.

The operation of the three above principles in the formulation of rules of Hebrew grammar can now be dealt with.

1a. When a vowelless letter stands at the beginning or in the middle of a word, the convention is to place two dots, vertically arranged (:), under it, as שְׁמוּאֵל (*šmûʾêl*, "Samuel") and יִצְחָק (*yiṣḥāk*, "Isaac"). This sign is known as שְׁוָא (*šwāʾ*, probably meaning "speed"), which for convenience is spelled *shewa*. It indicates that the letter under which it appears has no full vowel. It was found that, when articulating a syllable beginning with a vowelless letter, a quick, vowel-like sound was involuntarily induced (something like the quick *e* in the word "because"). The *shewa* under such a letter is known as *vocal* and is represented in transcription by a diminutive *e;* thus the first example is transcribed *šɛmûʾêl*. At the end of a syllable in the middle of a word, as in יִצְ/חָק (*yiṣ/ḥāk*), the *shewa* under the vowelless letter is a silent ("quiescent") one.

The peculiarity of speech indicated by the vocal *shewa* suggests that the ancient Israelite could not articulate a word beginning with two consonants without involuntarily giving the first (i.e., the vowelless) letter a quick vowel-like sound. He would have pronounced the word *black* as *bɛlack*. This peculiarity is shared by the Arabs, who would pronounce this word as either *balack* or *iblack*. In modern Hebrew, however, owing to the influence of European languages, there is no difficulty in articulating a word beginning with two consonants. The first example would be articulated as *shmuel*.

b. In the Hebrew alphabet there are six letters which under certain conditions are pronounced hard (*b, g, d, k, p, t*) and, in other situations, are pronounced *soft* (*ḇ, g̱, ḏ, ḵ, p̱, ṯ*). When such a letter is hard in speech, the convention in writing is to place a dot in it, called by grammarians דָּגֵשׁ (*dageš*, "piercing") *lene*, or *light dageš* (בּ, גּ, דּ, כּ, פּ, תּ). When such a letter is soft in the spoken word, it is left without any dot in it (ב, ג, ד, כ, פ, ת).

To the question as to when these letters are pronounced hard and when soft, the answer may be given that it seems that the vocal organs of the ancient Israelites were so conditioned that, when one of these letters began a syllable, and no vowel immediately preceded, they pronounced it hard, as פָּרַשׂ (*pāraš*, "he spread") and יִסְ/פֹּר (*yis/pōr*, "he will count"). It follows, then, that when one of these letters was at the end of a syllable, as יִפְ/רֹשׂ (*yip̱/rōś*, "he will spread"), or in the middle of a syllable, as בְּכֹל (*bɛḵōl*), or at the beginning of a syllable but with a vowel immediately preceding, as סָ/פַר (*sā/p̱ar*, "he counted"), the letter was pronounced soft. When the word פָּרָה (*pārâ*, "cow"), whose initial letter is hard, receives the prefixed conjunction, it becomes וּפָרָה (*ûp̱ārâ,* "a cow"); the speaker automatically softens the letter after the vowel sound. In modern Hebrew, however, this rule is not always observed in fluent speech.

c. If a letter in the middle of a word is doubled in articulation, the convention is to write a single letter only, but with a dot in it. The word for "thief" is גַּנָּב and represents the spoken גַּנְנָב (*gannāḇ*). This dot, indicating a doubled letter, is known as *dageš forte*, or *strong dageš*, to distinguish it from the other *dageš*, the light one, which indicates the hard letter, as the גּ in this example. However, the six letters (*b*, *g*, *d*, *k*, *p*, *t*), when hard, may be doubled in the middle of a word, as שַׁבָּת, representing שַׁבְבָּת (*šabbāt*), in which case the *dageš* is theoretically both *lene* and *forte.* It should be noted here that the guttural letters (א, ה, ח, ע), by their very nature of being either weak (inaudible) or throat letters, cannot be doubled in articulation, so that, in writing, they do not receive a *dageš forte.* Strangely enough, this also applies to the letter ר (*r*).

The doubling of a letter is by no means arbitrary; it is usually due to some natural phenomenon in speech. In anticipation an English composite word may be quoted, derived from Latin, with the negative prefix in-. The combination *inlegal* is articulated *illegal* and actually spelt phonetically. This is exactly what happens in Hebrew. When, for example, the two words מִן (*min*, "from") and שָׁם (*šām*, "there") are spoken together in the natural flow of speech, they become a composite word. The combination מִנְשָׁם (*minšām*) is articulated as מִשְׁשָׁם (*miššām*) but written מִשָּׁם, with the *dageš forte* indicating the double letter. This phenomenon of speech is described in the following rule of grammar: "When a vowelless נ (*n*) stands between two vowelled consonants, it is assimilated to the consonant immediately after it, giving rise to the doubling of the latter."

2. In many English words the spelling has not kept pace with changes in pronunciation. The word *daughter* is pronounced *dauter,* but the persistence of the medial *gh* in the spelling suggests that originally it must have been articulated with a guttural-like sound, as in the parent German word *tochter.* The American spelling of some words shows an arrested attempt towards writing words phonetically: *plough* is spelled *plow* and though is sometimes written as *tho*, but the trend did not develop consistently. In Hebrew, however, every modification in the articulation of words, usually due to the effect of inflection or the presence of a peculiar letter, is faithfully reproduced in writing by corresponding adjustments in spelling.

a. The first example is the two-syllabled word דָבָר (*dāḇār,* "word, matter, thing"), which begins with an open syllable (i.e., one ending in a vowel) and has the stress on the second syllable. The plural is formed by attaching the ending –ִים (*-îm*) and the stress moves on to this new syllable at the end. The speaker, hurrying on to the stressed syllable at the end, quite naturally elides the vowel ָ (*ā*) in the first (*open*) syllable. It becomes דְבָרִים (*dεḇārîm*), and not דָבָרִים (*dāḇārîm*); the first syllable, now vowelless, is written with the vocal *shewa*. The modification in articulation is paralleled by the corresponding adjustment in the spelling. (An analogy of this phenomenon in speech is the English word *médicine*, which, with an accession at the end and the moving forward of the stress, becomes *medicinal* – almost *mdícinal.*)

b. The next example introduces a characteristic usage in Hebrew. In an expression such as "(the) word of Moses," דָבָר (*dāḇār,* "word") and מֹשֶׁה (*mōšeh*, "Moses") are so closely associated that they become one compound idea; in fluent speech they are virtually one composite word and the stress is mainly on the second half of the composite word. The effect is similar to that in the example just quoted. That is, דָבָר (*dāḇār*) has received an accession at the end and the stress has moved forward, so that the vowel in the first (open) syllable is elided and a secondary effect is that the vowel in the second (closed) syllable is shortened. The combination is pronounced דְבַר־מֹשֶׁה (*dεḇar-mōšeh*) and written as such. The first noun is so dependent upon the second one that it is said to be in the construct state. This natural shortening of the vowel in the closed syllable of a word in the construct state is seen also in the combination of יָד (*yāḏ,* " hand") with מֹשֶׁה (*mōšeh*) in the expression "(the) hand of Moses" – יַד־מֹשֶׁה (*yaḏ-mōšeh*).

c. It was noted earlier that a vowelless נ (*n*) between two vowelled consonants is assimilated to the following letter which, in consequence, is doubled and that, in writing, this doubling is represented by a *dageš forte* – מִנְשָׁם (*minšām*) becoming מִשָּׁם (*miššām*). When, however, the letter following the vowelless נ (*n*) is a guttural (א, ה, ח, ע) or ר which cannot be doubled in articulation, a natural adjustment is made. When the phrase "from a man" – מִן אָדָם (*min ʾāḏām*) – becomes a composite word in the flow of speech (hypothetically מִנְאָדָם, *minʾāḏām*), the vowelless נ (*n*) is assimilated, but the following letter cannot be doubled. The resultant form מִאָדָם, (*miʾāḏām*) leaves the first syllable open, i.e., ending in a vowel. Since the natural tendency was to pronounce an open syllable with a long vowel (unless that syllable was stressed, in which case the effect was the same), the short vowel (*i*) in the first syllable is automatically prolonged by the speaker to …(*ē*) and the combination becomes מֵאָדָם (*mēʾāḏām*), the spelling being adjusted to conform with the modification in speech.

d. The following example of a rule of grammar appears superficially to be irrational and yet, on examination, it reflects a normal fluctuation in speech which is represented phonetically by the written word. The possessives are expressed by particles suffixed to the noun as "a house is old," "my house is old." The feminine singular noun, such as תּוֹרָה (*tôrâ,* "Torah") with a suffix ("my Torah") becomes תּוֹרָתִי (*tôrāṯi*). How can one account for the apparent insertion of the letter ת (*t*) before the suffix? Arabic provides the perfect analogy.

In classical (literary) Arabic, nouns have three case endings. The feminine singular noun "city" is *madīnat*un (nominative), *madīnat*in (genitive), and *madīnat*an (accusative). In colloquial Arabic, however, the case-endings are dropped, leaving the form *madīnat* for all cases, but it is actually pronounced *madīna* (or *medīna*). The final *t* is not articulated (like the tendency in America to pronounce the word *breakfast* as *breakfas*). However, when this *t* is in the middle of a word and it has a vowel, as with a possessive suffix attached ("my city" being *madīnatī*) it is, of course, clearly articulated.

Scholars have pointed to the same phenomenon appearing in the transition from pre-biblical to biblical Hebrew. There are indications that, originally, Hebrew nouns had case-endings, like Arabic: the word for Torah was *tôrāṯ*u (nom.), *tôrāṯ*i (gen.), and *tôrāṯ*a (acc.). The case-endings were dropped and the resultant form תּוֹרָת (*tôrāṯ*) was pronounced תּוֹרָה (*tôrâ*) and spelled that way. As with Arabic, it was the final ת (*t*) which was not articulated but, when it is medial with a vowel, it is, of course, clearly articulated – "my Torah" could only be תּוֹרָתִי (*tôrāṯî*). Because the final ת (*t*) was not articulated, it was dropped in spelling; when it is medial and audible, it is present in the spelling.

The tendency to drop a final *t* sound is present in other languages. In Ireland the well-known surname *McGrath* is actually pronounced *McGra.* The French say *il est* ("he is") pronounced *il-ē* but as a question it is *est-il?* ("is he?" – pronounced *ēt-il*), the medial vowelled *t* being quite naturally articulated. More striking still, and akin to the situation in Hebrew, is the French *il a* ("he has"), which, as a question, is *a-t-il?* ("has he?"), with the medial vowelled *t* articulated and reappearing in the spelling.

3. In biblical Hebrew the main idea of an expression is stated first and it is then qualified, limited in application or

modified by what immediately follows. "My word" is, in Hebrew thinking, something like "word, mine" – דְּבָרִי (*dɛḇārî*), the main idea being "word," which is first expressed and then limited to "mine" by the following particle י (*î*). "A big house" is, in the Hebrew order of thought, "a house (the main idea), a big (one)" (qualifying it) – בַּיִת גָּדוֹל (*bayiṯ gāḏôl*). It follows logically that the phrase "the big house" is, in Hebrew thinking, "*the* house, *the* big (one)"– הַבַּיִת הַגָּדוֹל (*habbayiṯ haggāḏôl*) and "my big house" will be "house, mine, *the* big (one)" בֵּיתִי הַגָּדוֹל (*bêṯî haggāḏôl*). The rule which is then enunciated is "the adjective follows the noun it qualifies (and agrees with it in gender and number), and if the noun is specific (as indicated by the definite article or the possessive suffix) the adjective following the noun has the definite article." In the same pattern of thought the adverb follows the noun it modifies; "exceedingly good" is "good, exceedingly" – טוֹב מְאֹד (*tōḇ mɛʾōd*).

THE VERB. In the structure of the Hebrew verbal system one again detects characteristic thought processes. Whereas medieval and modern Hebrew adopted the European concept of past, present, and future tenses, in biblical Hebrew no such notion was formulated. Instead acts or states of being were viewed as either completed or incompleted. The completed state, referring to something finished or done, generally corresponds to the notion of the past tense but, with certain verbs, it may indicate a European present tense. The form זָכַרְתָּ (*zāḵartā*) could mean "you remembered" but, since the basic sense is "our state of remembering is completed," it could imply "you remember." The incompleted state, indicating something not yet finished or not yet done, generally refers to the future but with a few verbs it could imply a continuing present. תִּזְכֹּר (*tizkōr*) could mean "you will remember" but, since the basic notion is "our state of remembering is incompleted," i.e., it is still going on, the derived sense could be "you keep on remembering," that is "you are mindful of." Unhappily, grammarians have adopted the terms perfect and imperfect – as used for Latin and Greek conjugations of verbs – but these do not accurately represent the biblical Hebrew concept.

It is to be noted that in the completed state, it is the act or state of being which is regarded as the main idea. Thus the verbal element is expressed first and is limited or applied to the person (in the example given the particle תָּ – (*tā*) for אַתָּה – *ʾattâ*, "you," masc. sing.) which immediately follows. In the incompleted state, however, what seems to be more prominent in the mind of the speaker is the person who is about to do, or is in the process of doing, something. Thus the element representing the person (in the example the תּ, *t*) is stated first and the verbal element follows.

The Western notion of the present tense is represented in Hebrew by the participle, e.g., זֹכֵר (*zōḵēr,* "remembering"), preceded by the appropriate personal pronoun. "You remember" is, in Hebrew, אַתָּה זֹכֵר (*ʾattâ zōḵēr*). Since the Hebrew participle is virtually a verbal adjective, the thought underlying that expression is "you (are) a remembering (person)."

There are seven forms in the Hebrew verbal system. The first may be regarded as basic and the other six as derived forms, as in the following scheme:

I. SIMPLE ACTIVE: שָׁבַר (*šāḇar,* "he broke"). This is the completed state. It has also the incompleted state, participle, imperative, etc., and all these are conjugated with persons, numbers, and genders.

II. SIMPLE PASSIVE, but, with some verbs, the passive has also something of a reflexive effect. Its form is נִשְׁבַּר (*nišbar*), meaning "he (or "it") was broken." However, from the simple active רָאָה (*rāʾâ*, "he saw") the derived form of this category נִרְאָה (*nirʾâ*) means "he was seen," but this produces the extended sense "he showed himself," that is, "he appeared."

III. INTENSIVE ACTIVE. Derived from the simple active שָׁבַר (*šāḇar,* "he broke") is the intensive form שִׁבֵּר (*šibbēr*) (with the middle root-letter doubled to express intensity) and the derived sense is "he smashed," "he shattered." It will be realized that a derived form in this category must produce a new idea by extension, so that only such verbs which lend themselves to such an extension, by which a new idea is derived, can be included in it.

IV. INTENSIVE PASSIVE. This is simply the passive of III and its form is שֻׁבַּר (*šubbar,* "he (or "it") was smashed/shattered."

V. CAUSATIVE ACTIVE. The notion of *causative* is present in a few English verbs. "To seat" is the causative of "to sit" and "to fell" is the causative of "to fall." Since only a limited number of simple active verbs can be extended with a causative effect which produces a new idea, the verb גָּדַל (*gāḏal*, "he was great") is selected, of which the derived causative is הִגְדִּיל (*higdîl*, "he caused to be great," i.e., "he enlarged"). Of the verb רָאָה (*rāʾâ*, "he saw") the derived causative is הֶרְאָה (*herʾâ,* "he caused to see," "he let one see," "he showed"). Of the (weak) verb בָּא (*bāʾ*, "he came") the derived causative הֵבִיא (*hēḇiʾ*, "he caused to come") produces the sense "he brought."

VI. CAUSATIVE PASSIVE. This is the passive of V and its form is הָגְדַּל (*hogdal*), meaning "he (or "it") was made great," i.e., was enlarged.

VII. REFLEXIVE. Again, for the sake of clarity, another verb is taken as the parent of this derived form. From the simple active נָשָׂא (*nāśāʾ*, "he lifted up," "he raised up"), the derived reflexive is הִתְנַשֵּׂא (*hiṯnassēʾ*, "he raised himself up") and this, in turn, produces the sense "he boasted."

The terminology devised by the early Jewish grammarians to designate the above seven verbal forms has been universally accepted. They firstly considered the simple active to be קַל (*ḳal*, "light"), while the other six were said to be כְּבֵדִים (*kɛḇēdīm*, "heavy"), since each one of them received additional letters or syllables. These six *heavy* forms were subdivided into the following categories. Taking as their basis the verb פָּעַל (*pāʿal*, "he did"), they designated the simple passive as a נִפְעַל (*nip̄ʿal*), i.e., a "was done" form. The intensive active was called a פִּעֵל (*piʿēl*), i.e, a "did intensively" form and its passive a פֻּעַל (*puʿal*) i.e, "was done intensively" form. The causative was designated a הִפְעִיל (*hip̄ʿil*)*i*, i.e., a "caused (one) to do" form and its passive a הָפְעַל (*hop̄ʿēl*), i.e., a "was caused to be done" form. The reflexive became the הִתְפַּעֵל (*hiṯpaʿēl*), i.e., a "did to oneself" form. Though this system may appear to be clumsy and cumbersome, its adoption as the standard, universal terminology has avoided the multiplicity of terminologies in different languages.

THE WEAK VERB. Hebrew has very few examples of irregular verbs, in which a complete conjugation is made up of two different roots. One such example is the verb שָׁתָה (*šāṯâ*, "he drank"), of which the derived causative form, with the meaning "he caused to drink," "he gave to drink," "he watered, irrigated," is not הִשְׁתָּה (*hištâ*) but הִשְׁקָה (*hiškâ*), from a different root, namely שָׁקָה (*šāḵâ*). There are, however, many verbs which, because of a peculiar letter in the stem, diverge from the normal or regular and these are known as *weak*. The reader will now be familiar with the categories of peculiar letters which bring about modifications in the articulated word. Examples of these as they affect the verb are given below:

a. The letter נ (*n*). The incompleted state of the normal verb שָׁמַר (*šāmar*, "he kept, watched") is יִשְׁמֹר (*yišmōr*, "he will keep, watch"). However, of the verb נָטַר (*nāṭar*) (which has the same meaning) the incompleted state is not יִנְטֹר (*yinṭōr*), for the medial, vowelless נ (*n*) standing between two vowelled consonants is assimilated to the next letter, which is thereby doubled, so that the resultant form of this word is יִטֹּר (*yiṭṭōr*) – a divergence from the normal.

b. Guttural letters (א, ה, ח, ע) and ר. It was noted above that the characteristic of the *piʿēl* (intensive) form is the doubling of the middle root-letter, as שִׁבֵּר (*šibbēr*, "he smashed"). When this medial letter is a guttural or ר, which cannot be doubled in articulation, the preceding vowel is prolonged. "He glorified" is not פִּאֵר (*piʾēr*) but פֵּאֵר (*pēʾēr*), "he refused" is not מִאֵן (*miʾēn*) but מֵאֵן (*mēʾēn*), thus producing a deviation from the normal. (Note: This always happens with the weak gutturals א and ע. With the harsh guttural ה and ח, no doubling takes place but, because of their harsh nature, the preceding vowel seems to merge with the letter (נִחַם – *niḥam*, "he comforted") and so the prolongation of that vowel is arrested.)

c. The weak letters (א, ה, ו, י). Taking again as the standard the verb שָׁמַר (*šāmar*, "he kept"), one with a medial weak letter ו (*w*) will deviate from the normal in the following way. "He arose," which one might have expected to be קָוַם (*ḳāwam*) deteriorates into קָם (*ḳām*); the weak ו melts into the vowel-sounds in which it is placed. The spelling is adjusted to the modified form. A verbal root with a terminal silent א also induces a deviation from the normal. "He found" is not מָצַא (*māṣaʾ*), for the terminal א is silent, so that, in actual sound, the syllable is open, i.e., ending in a vowel. Since the open syllable was usually pronounced with a long vowel, the speaker automatically prolonged it and the resultant form became מָצָא (*māṣāʾ*).

In this instance also the early Jewish grammarians devised a rather cumbersome terminology to denote categories of weak verbs, which has been universally adopted. It was based on the word פֹּעַל (*pōʿal*) which was their term for "verb." If the first root-letter was weak, they referred to it as the פ (*pe*) of the root, the second root-letter as the ע (*ʿayin*) of the verb and the third root-letter as its ל (*lameḏ*). For example, the verb נָטַר (*nāṭar*) was designated as a פ״ן (*pe nun*), i.e., initial נ, verb; the verb פֵּאֵר (*pēʾēr*) was described as an ע״א (*ʿayin ʾalep̄*), i.e., medial guttural, verb; the verb קָם (*ḳām*), whose root-letters are קום, was designated as an ע״ו (*ʿayin waw*), i.e., medial ו, verb; the verb מָצָא (*māṣā*) became known as a ל״א (*lameḏ alep̄*), i.e., terminal א, verb.

The structure of Hebrew grammar, of which a partial sketch has been given here, has not changed appreciably through the centuries, from biblical times to the present day. It manifests itself even in the highly evolved spoken and written Hebrew of contemporary Israel. The realization that Hebrew grammar reflects natural phenomena in speech and characteristic forms of thought leads to an understanding and appreciation of the genius of the language.

For a different view of Hebrew morphology in general and of the verbal system in particular, see U. Ornan, *Ha-Millah ha-Aḥaronah – Mangenon ha-Ẓurah shel ha-Millah ha-Ivrit* (2003).

[Jacob Weingreen]

(II) HEBREW GRAMMAR: DETAILED SURVEY

PHONOLOGY

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Introduction

1. DEFINITION OF TOPIC. The Hebrew language is very old; but even in the oldest portions of the Bible, written more than three thousand years ago, it is a fully formed literary vehicle. No language, however, can remain unchanged over so long a period. Hebrew was subject to change, though for almost half its existence it was preserved only in writing, as a literary language. Nevertheless, an intelligent Hebrew speaker, of

the level of an Israeli high school graduate, can read and understand literature written in Hebrew from the very earliest times to the most modern. Furthermore he will find in the Hebrew language of each of the periods many elements actively used in modern speech. Many highly civilized societies from time to time rewrite the literary products of past generations to make them more comprehensible to the modern reader, sometimes wholly translating, at others, merely replacing the obsolete by more modern terms. By contrast, Hebrew literature such as the Bible, Mishnah, Midrashim, medieval poetry, etc., are today taught in schools in their original form, and may be read by the community at large. Hebrew thus appears to have maintained its original uniformity; yet linguistic analysis reveals that this uniformity is in fact limited and in part imaginary. The relative uniformity of Hebrew results primarily from two factors: the graphic representation of the language, and its morphology. Hebrew today is written, as it was in the past, in an alphabet in which all the letters represent consonants. Although several of these letters may, in specific circumstances, also indicate vowels (and in modern times even more so than in the past), this does not alter the general character of Hebrew writing, in which only a part of the total sounds are fully expressed: the part represented consists of those sounds which are naturally more stable and not given to radical change, while those sounds given more naturally to change are not represented by the writing. The employment of vowel points to express these sounds is very limited, and even nowadays does not determine the form of the written Hebrew word. This retention of the relatively constant element, and elimination of the element given to change, are great aids in understanding the written Hebrew word regardless of its date of origin. However, the factor primarily responsible for the uniformity of the language is Hebrew morphology. In the accepted vocalization of the Bible, the morphology of biblical Hebrew was fashioned in accordance with one tradition, the Tiberian. This tradition was not only accepted as the norm, but in the eyes of many even became sanctified. The morphology of biblical Hebrew in the Tiberian tradition determines the nature of the grammar of written Hebrew in general, and even new elements, whether taken from other periods or traditions of the language, or originally foreign elements, are adjusted to comply with the regulations of Hebrew morphology. In contrast to the relative stability of morphology and writing, the meaning and the function of grammatical forms and vocabulary and pronunciation have been variable. The particular pronunciation reflected by the accepted vocalization tradition of the Bible (even now mandatory for a vocalized word), is still heard today, but not all of its details are together represented in any one tradition. Closest to the pronunciation of the original vocalizers is that of the Yemenite and Babylonian communities (cf. below, Table 3: Consonants as Pronounced by Various Communities). The grammatical description given below refers to the language as it is written in modern times; a description of the various periods of the Hebrew language is given in the entry *Hebrew Language; and the distinctive traits of the various living traditions are discussed in the article *Pronunciations of Hebrew.

2. WRITING AND SPELLING. Hebrew is written in two sets of symbols, letters and vowel points; the first is, of course, mandatory, while the latter is reserved, primarily for the areas of education, poetry, prayer books and, to a limited extent, publications intended to reach a very wide audience. The basic alphabet consists of 22 letters; to these one must add five (ך, ם, ן, ף, ץ) used in final word position only, another seven (בּ, גּ, דּ, כּ, פּ, תּ, שׁ/שׂ), whose individual pronunciation is re-

Table 1:
The Letters

	A	B	C
א	ʾ (?)	ʾ	ˈ*
בּ	b	b	b
ב	b̲ (bh)	v	v
גּ	g	g	g
ג	g̅ (gh)	g̅	g
דּ	d	d	d
ד	d̲ (dh)	d̲	d
ה	h	h	h
ו	w	w	w
ז	z	z	z
ח	ḥ	ḥ	h̲
ט	ṭ	ṭ	t
י	y	y	y
כּ ךּ	k	k	k
כ ךְ	k̲ (kh)	k̲	kh
ל	l	l	l
מ ם	m	m	m
נ ן	n	n	n
ס	s	s	s
ע	ʿ (?)	ʿ	ˈ*
פּ	p	p	p
פ ף	f ; p̄	f	f
צ ץ	ṣ	z̲	z̲
ק	ḳ ; q	q	q
ר	r	r	r
שׁ	š (sh)	š	sh
שׂ	ś	ś	s
תּ	t	t	t
ת	t̲ (th)	t̲	t
ג׳	–	ǧ	ǧ
ז׳	–	ž	ž
צ׳ ץ׳	–	č	č

* Generally this Hebrew letter is not represented and the sign is used only in special circumstances.

Punctuation[1]

		A[2]	B	C
Ḥireq	—ִ	i	i	i
Ṣere	—ֵ	e (ẹ)	é	é
Segol	—ֶ	ae (ä, ẹ)	e	e
Pathaḥ	—ַ	a	a	a
Qameṣ (long)	—ָ	å̄ ā	a	a
Qameṣ (short)	—ָ	å ; o (ọ, ɔ)	o	o
Ḥolem	וֹ	o	o	o
Qibbuṣ	—ֻ	u	u	u
Šureq	וּ	u	u	u
Šewa[3]	—ְ	e	e	e
Ḥaṭef Segol	—ֱ	æ	ĕ	e
Ḥaṭef Pathaḥ	—ֲ	a	ă	a
Ḥaṭef Qameṣ	—ֳ	o	ŏ	o
Dageš as מּ[4]		mm	mm	mm

1) Some of the vowel signs are accompanied by letters (*matres lectionis*) which are not part of the system of vocalization e.g., ִי , ֵי , ָא .
2) In A the length (or absence of it) in the vowels is represented in accordance with linguistic considerations.
3) The term *šewa* indicates both a reduced vowel and the absence of any vowel after the consonant; in the latter case it is not transliterated.
4) The *dageš* is also a double valued sign. In the letters בג״ד כפ״ת it indicates a different phonetic character and not necessarily gemination. Whether these letters, when pointed with *dageš*, also indicate geminated consonants depends on syllable structure; thus the correct transliteration of בּ – by b or by bb – for example demands a knowledge of Hebrew grammar. The *dageš* is placed in the letter ה at the end of a word when the letter is pronounced consonantal h, and does not indicate gemination. In accordance with its function the *dageš* is variously called *forte* (for gemination), *lene*, and *mappiq*. Similarly a dot above ש indicates a pronunciation difference between š and ś.

flected only in vocalized writing, and three (ג׳, ז׳, צ׳) used in words of foreign origin only. All but four of the letters represent consonants only, while א, ה, ו, and י are used at times to indicate the presence of specific vowels. These letters, when not representing consonants, are called *matres lectionis*. Of the 13 vocalization signs, 12 are intended to represent vowels, and one represents changes in consonants. The various systems used to transliterate Hebrew into Roman script generally reflect two different approaches. The first transliterates the Hebrew alphabet into graphemes of the particular language in accordance with the spelling conventions of that language. This gives rise to a plethora of conventions according to the languages concerned. The other system attempts to transliterate Hebrew so that the letters and vowels will be perfectly or nearly perfectly represented. This system demands the addition of diacritic signs to the Roman alphabet. Table 1: Hebrew Letters and Punctuation is a synoptic table of three methods of transliteration.

The "A" system is used largely in linguistics or when an early Hebrew text is being transliterated. "B" and "C" were established by the Academy for Hebrew Language in 1957 in order to represent living Hebrew. "B" is used in catalogs, title pages, and maps. The sole difference between "B" and "A" is in the letters ב and צ where "B" represents the official modern pronunciation; this is also true with regard to the long *qameṣ* which is not differentiated from the *pathaḥ*. "C," on the other hand, intended for popular use, as in road and street signs, eliminates most of the diacritic signs, and simplifies the vocalization. The appearance of the unvocalized Hebrew word is likely to be different from the vocalized word even in its letters. This is due to the tendency to add *matres lectionis* in non-vocalized writing, in positions where they would be unacceptable in vocalized writing. For this reason it is also called "full spelling."

Phonology and Morphophonology

3. CONSONANTS. Table 2: Point and Way of Articulation summarizes the inventory of consonants in modern Hebrew, but they are not all at once present in any one of the varied pronunciation systems. The consonants are listed in accord with their general phonetic value, though some have more than one realization (כּ, ל, ר). This variety is of a wider scale in Hebrew than in most other languages because the speakers of Hebrew are of diverse language backgrounds, and this background is apparent even in the generation whose mother tongue is Hebrew and who are, themselves, monolingual. The range of differences within each consonant is not represented in the table. Those consonants in squares are part of the Tiberian pronunciation (see *Masorah), and are therefore represented in modern writing; they are, however, normally not differentiated in the general or official pronunciation. They can still be heard in liturgy and worship (on שׂ see below) in some communities, and even in the speech of the older generation. The consonants in circles are not pronounced by a large part of the general populace and have been assimilated to בֿ, כּ, תּ. Their independence is maintained in the language in so far as their influence is felt in inflection and declension of words. Those consonants in dotted squares can be heard at times in originally Hebrew words in special situations, or in careless speech, as *ḥežbon* (חשבון), but are not independent except in words of foreign origin, as in *žargòn* (jargon), *žurnal* (journal); they do not determine the character of the Hebrew language in any area of grammar. Therefore, they will be referred to as "foreign," as distinct from "inherited."

If the foreign consonants and those which appear in squares are subtracted, it will be found that the total of inherited consonants in official modern Hebrew is 25, and the incidence of three, circled in the table, is very limited. In other words, the total varies between 22 and 25. This state of affairs changes in regard to the inventory of the consonantal phonemes. The phoneme, by definition, is that unit which only in distinction to another in the same position, performs the function of distinguishing between two words. The phoneme can be of more than one sound (ideally this is always the case), and all these sounds are related to each other as allophones (= variants). Not everyone is agreed as to the number of phonemes in the language, a problem which exists not only in Hebrew. It depends on how we evaluate sounds in foreign words, personal names, or rare words. For example, פּ, פ hardly ever occur in identical surroundings in Hebrew; where the one is

Table 2: Point and Way of Articulation

Point of Articulation	**Way of Articulation**										
	Plosive		**Nasal**	**Lateral**	**Rolled**	**Affricate**		**Fricative**		**Semi-Vowel**	
	Unvoiced	**Voiced**		**Voiced**		**Unvoiced**	**Voiced**	**Unvoiced**	**Voiced**		
bilabial	p פּ	b בּ	m מ							w ו	4
labiodental								f פֿ	v בֿ		2
interdental								t̠(θ)תֿ	d̠(δ)דֿ		2
dental (tongue tip and upper teeth)	t תּ	d דּ	n נ	l ל	r ר	z̠ צ (ts,c)		s ס	z ז		(8)6
alveolar (tongue tip or blade and teeth ridge)			n נ	l ל		č צ׳	ǧ ג׳	š שׁ	ž ז׳		4(6)
alveolo-palatal (tongue blade and teeth ridge)								ś שׂ			1
velarized alveolar (tongue blade and back, and teeth ridge)	ṭ ט							ṣ צ			2
palatal										y י	1
velar	k כּ	g גּ						k̠(χ)כֿ	ḡ(γ)גֿ		4
uvular	q ק										1
pharyngal								ḥ ח	ʿ(ʕ)ע		2
glottal	ʾ(ʔ)א							h ה			2
	6	3	2	1	1	2	1	9	6	2	33

found the other is not (as וּפָנִים/פָּנִים and not וּפָּנִים/פָנִים); they are, therefore, allophones of the same phoneme. When, on certain rare occasions each sound may be heard in the same environment, there will be no difference in the meanings of the words. Generally, one of the forms of the word is considered incorrect in proper speech, as קִצְבָֿה opposed to קִצְבָּה. However, if foreign words are considered, the difference between p and f proves to be distinctive as in the words פּונקציה (*punkcya* = puncture) opposed to פונקציה (*funkcya* = function). To the extent to which such words enter the language of less educated persons there is more likely to be created a split between the p (פּ) and f (פֿ), and each is liable to appear in the same conditions. With regard to the written language, these rare phenomena are to be ignored, and the count will include 22 consonantal phonemes of the 25 consonants mentioned above, since כֿ בֿ פֿ are allophones of כּ בּ פּ and together are three phonemes. The consonantal phonemes can be divided into nine groups in accordance with their point of articulation:

bilabials	ו ,מ ,ב ,פּ	4
dental	זסצ רלנ דת	8
alveolar	שׁ	1
velarized alveolar	ט	1
palatal	י	1
velar	גּ ,כּ	2
uvular	ק	1
pharyngeal	ע,ח	2
glottal	א ,ה	2 (= 22)

A pronunciation different from the one described above would show some slight differences in the localization of the phonemes. Ignoring the "foreign" consonants, the difference between the consonants in Hebrew and those (estimated) in proto-Semitic is in the number of fricative and affricative sounds only. Some of these sounds originate in Hebrew and did not exist in proto-Semitic (labio and dental fricatives), some palatals existed but were phonemes in proto-Semitic, while they are allophones in Hebrew (as כֿ). Similarly, all those proto-Semitic consonants which have disappeared from Hebrew are fricatives and were assimilated to other Hebrew fricatives, while in Aramaic, for example, the proto-Semitic fricatives were assimilated to the plosives (דֿכר in proto-Semitic became זכר in Hebrew and דכר in Aramaic). There are three types of articulation which determine phonemic contrasts in the consonants: voice, emphasis, and nasality. The voiced/unvoiced distinction has five pairs: ב, ד, ג, ז, ע opposed to ח, ס, כּ, ת, פּ; the emphatic/non-emphatic pairs are ט, ק opposed to ת, כּ; and nasality affects six consonants: ב, פּ (together an archiphoneme) opposed to מ; and נ (dental and not alveolar), ת opposed to ד. Voice and nasality are phonetic qualities, whereas emphasis does not denote a clearly defined common phonetic quality of the relevant phonemes. The most that can be said is that these sounds are produced partially with the back portion of the mouth. The plosive/fricative quality which in our arrangement does not determine the phonematicity of ב, כ, פּ, is the determining difference between א and ה. There are those who are of the opinion that א is a voiced consonant, but this results from a desire to produce a symmetrical phonological scheme and has no foundation in actual articulation. Only if it is assumed that the ה is voiced (as in Arabic) is the difference between א and ה not one of plosive/fricative, but one of voice. The determining features do not necessarily have to rule all consonantal oppositions; for example, voice is a determining quality in ten (or at the most twelve) sounds only, and there are voiced consonants (ל, נ, ר) which do not have unvoiced pairs, and unvoiced consonants (ט, ק, צ, שׁ) which do not have voiced pairs.

4. CONSONANTS AS PRONOUNCED BY VARIOUS COMMUNITIES. The official, model, most careful pronunciation of Hebrew, used, for example, by radio announcers, especially in reading selections from the Bible (and sometimes called "Semitic," or "Eastern"), is the result of a mixture of different systems of pronunciation used for generations in the various communities. This mixture is not precisely the result hoped for by those who were instrumental in the rejuvenation of Hebrew speech; generally, it can be said that, of those sounds which were distinctive to only one community, more were omitted from the official and general pronunciations than were accepted. The consonants of the official pronunciation are reviewed in the section entitled Consonants above according to their general phonetic value; therefore, it will be instructive to review synoptically the consonants as they were articulated in the past in the different Jewish communities (still occasionally used in prayer and liturgy), from which the sounds of modern Hebrew were extracted. Such a review will indicate what shades of pronunciation are likely to be heard, primarily in the speech of the older generation in official Hebrew.

Table 3: Hebrew Consonants indicates that some consonants were retained in all pronunciations while others were lost or assimilated to other similar sounds. If we arrange them next to the 29 consonants of the vocalizers of the Bible, the following picture emerges: 11 stable consonants (בּ, דּ, י, כּ, כֿ, ל, מ, נ, פּ, פֿ, תּ) are preserved in all traditions (nine, if we omit כֿ and פּ which developed in a unique manner in the Samaritan tradition); eight consonants א, גּ, ה, ז, ס, ר, שׂ, שׁ are retained by most of the pronunciations and changed in a few; and ten consonants בֿ, גֿ, דֿ, ו, ח, ט, ע, צ, ק, תֿ are changed in most of the pronunciations. It emerges that differences in pronunciation are mainly in two groups: five consonants ח, ט, ע, צ, ק which are "semitic" (gutturals and emphatics) and five others בֿ, גֿ, דֿ, ו, תֿ; of which at least four בֿ, גֿ, דֿ, תֿ; tend to lose their fricativeness.

5. בגדכפ״ת. As already pointed out, in the official language only ב, כ, פ are pronounced in two ways – hard and soft (spiranted) – but in vocalized spelling ג, ד, ת are similar to them in every way. The distribution of hard and soft allophones is not given to simple phonologic definition, and there are exceptions in both directions. However, since the distribution of the soft allophone is greater than the hard one, finding it in positions which contradict the rules is not a radical deviation. On the other hand, a hard allophone where it would be expected to find the soft constitutes a clear exception and, in proper modern speech, is even less common than in biblical Hebrew. The following are the rules for their distribution:

A) The hard consonant always appears when (1) there is gemination, as שַׁבָּת, סִכָּה, סֻכָּה, סִפֵּר and (2) even when ungeminated, if it is not preceded directly by a vowel, as: בַּיִת, הַשְׁבָּתָה; כֶּסֶף, מִכְתָּב, פֶּה, מִסְפָּר.

B) The spiranted consonant appears (1) when ungeminated and preceded directly by a vowel, as: שָׁבַת, סִיכָה, סוֹפֵר; (2) when it is the second part of a cluster in one syllable, either at the beginning or the middle but not at the end of the word, as דְּבַשׁ, כְּבִישׁ, כְּפָר; צָ־רְפַת, רָ־כְבָה, מַרְ־כְּבוֹתָיו; עִזְּבוֹנוֹת (= עִזְ־זְבוֹנוֹת). Opposed to these are: יֵבְךְּ, יִשְׁבְּ (rare forms likely to appear in poetry) נֵרְדְּ, שָׁמַרְתְּ and (3) when it is the second part of a cluster which divides into two syllables (opposed to rule A 2) in the following morphological types:

(i) *Nouns*: (a) In the plural forms of nouns of the type פְּעָלִים, פְּעָלוֹת as: מַלְ־כֵי, דַּרְ־כֵיהֶם, אָסְ־פֵיהֶם; מַלְ־כוּת (construct) בִּרְ־כוֹתָיו, כַּנְ־פוֹתֵיהֶם, נִדְ־בוֹתֵיכֶם. (b) In declension of פְּעָלָה forms even in the singular, as: נִדְ־בָתוֹ, עַרְ־בַת. (c) In the declension of פָּעֵל, פְּעֵלָה forms in singular and plural even in those words where the *ṣere* is not retained, as: חַנְ־פֵי, חֶשְׁ־כַת. (d) In פַּעְלָן and derived forms, as חַנְ־פָן, עַגְ־בָנִיָּה, צַרְ־כָנוּת; the same is true for פַּעַלְתָן forms, where the spirant is expressed in writing only, as גַּאַוְתָן, רַעַבְתָן. (e) In פַּעְלוּת forms, such as מַלְ־כוּת, עַצְ־בוּת. (ii) *Verbs*: (f) In the conjugation of the infinitive *qal*, as: כָּתְ־בִי, בְּמָלְ־כוֹ. (g) In the conjugation of the imperative *qal*, as כָּתְ־בָה, כִּתְ־בוּ, כִּתְ־בִי.

Generally: (h) In all forms of verbs and nouns when the syllable preceding בגדכפ״ת is closed in declension, as: מַאֲרָב – מַאַרְ־בֵי, מַעֲרָכָה – מַעַרְ־כוֹת, מַעֲרָב, יֶעֱרַב – יַעַרְ־בוּ, נֶאֱסַף – נֶאֶסְ־פוּ. (i) In all forms of words after a closed syllable to which is prefixed one of the servile letters בוכ״ל with the exception of the *qal* infinitive with ל, as: וּנְ־פֹל, כִּזְ־בוּב, כִּסְ־פֹּר, לִלְ־בָבוֹ, לִזְ־בוּב, בִּלְ־בָבוֹ, בִּנְ־פֹל, וּלְ־בִנְךָ, וּרְ־כַבְתֶּם, וּרְ־כַב, but לִשְׁ־כַּב, לִסְ־פֹּר, לִשְׁ־בֹּת. Two exceptions worthy of note due to their frequency in the language are: שְׁתַּיִם, and the second person fem. perfect ending תְּ – as in לָקַחַתְּ, שָׁמַעַתְּ, in which a hard ת is retained contrary to the above rules.

Note: The distribution of the plosive and spiranted allophones of בגדכפ״ת is quite complicated, but can be ordered in accordance with the above rules with regard to the official language and the speech of intellectuals. In other social strata, and in the speech of children, these rules are not maintained, however; at times the plosive allophone dominates and at times the spirant (for example: יִתְפֹּס by analogy to the perfect תָּפַס; כִּבֵּס from the imperfect יְכַבֵּס). A further weakening of these rules is due to the foreign words in Hebrew which contain a p or f which is not in accordance with the aforementioned rules (cf. section on Consonants above).

6. אהח״ע. These consonants are similar in that (1) they cannot be geminated; (2) they do not usually close a syllable;

Table 3: Hebrew Consonants as Pronounced by Various Communities

	IRANIAN					Babylonian	Yemenite	Moroccan	Sephardi	Portuguese	ITALIAN				ASHKENAZI			SAMARITAN
	Persia	Western Persia	"Little" Persia	Bukhara	Dagestan (Mountains)						South	Central	North-east	North-west	Lithuania	Poland	Germany	
א	ʔ , –	ʔ , –	ʔ , –	ʔ , –	ʔ , –	ʔ	ʔ	ʔ	ʔ	ʔ	–	–	–	–	ʔ , –	ʔ , (h), –	ʔ , –	ʔ , –
בּ	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b, (p)	b
בֿ	v , (β) , w	v , (β) , w	v , (β) , w	v , (β) , w	v , (β) , w	(β) , b	v , (β) , b	w , b	b, v	b	v	v , (b)	v	v , (w)	v	v	v	b, (f)
גּ	g	g	g	g	g	g	ǧ	g	g	g	g	g	g	g	g	g	g	g
גֿ	γ	γ	γ	γ	γ	γ	γ	γ	g; γ	χ	g	g	g	g	g	g	g	g
דּ	d	d	d	d	d	d	d	d	d	d	d	d	d	d	d	d	d , t	d
דֿ	d	d	d	d	d	d , (δ)	δ	d	d , δ	d	d	d	d	d	d	d	d , t	d
ה	h	h	h	h	h	h	h	h	h , ʔ	h	–	–	–	–	h	h	h	ʔ , –
ו	v , (β) , w	v , (β) , w	v , (β) , w	v , (β) , w	v , (β) , w	w	w	w	w , v	w	v	v , (w)	v , w	v , w	v	v	v	w , b
ז	z	z	z	z	z	z	z	z	z	z	dz	dz	z	z	z	z	z	z
ח	h	ḥ	h	ḥ , (h)	ḥ	ḥ	ḥ	ḥ	ḥ , χ	χ , (ʁ)	χ	χ	χ	χ	χ	χ	χ	ʔ , ʕ , –
ט	t	t	t	t	d	ṭ	ṭ	ṭ	ṭ , t	t	t	t	t	t	t	t	t	ṭ
י	y	y	y	y	y	y	y	y	y	y	y	y	y	y	y	y	y	y
כּ	k	k	k	k	k	k	k	k	k	k	k	k	k	k	k	k	k	k
כֿ	χ	χ	χ	χ	χ	χ	χ	χ	χ	χ	χ	χ	χ	χ	χ	χ	χ	k
ל	l	l	l	l	l	l	l	l	l	l	l	l	l	l	l	l	l	l
מ	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m
נ	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n
ס	s	s	s	s	s	s	s	ś	s	s	s	s, (z)	s	s	s , ś , (š)	s	s	s
ע	ʔ , –	ʕ	ʔ	ʔ , ʕ	ʕ	ʕ	ʕ	ʕ	ʔ , ʕ	ʔ , ŋ	ŋ	ŋ	ŋ	ŋ	ʔ , ŋ , y	ʔ , y	ʔ	ʔ , ʕ , –
פּ	p	p	p	p	p	p	p	p	p	p	p	p	p	p	p	p	p	f , (bb)
פֿ	f	f	f	f	f	f	f	f	f	f	f	f	f	f	f	f	f	f
צ	s	s	s	s	s	ṣ	ṣ	ṣ	ṣ , c	c	c	c	c , (s)	c , (s)	c	c	c	ṣ
ק	G , (k) , ʁ	G, (k)	G	G , (k) , ʁ	G, ʁ	q	q	q	q , k	k	k	k	k	k	k	k	k	q , (ʔ)
ר	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r , γ	r , γ	r , γ	r
שׁ	š	š	š	š	š	š	š	ś	š	š	s (š)	s , (ž) , (š)	s , (š)	s , (š)	s , š , (ś)	š , ś	š	š
שׂ	s	s	s	s	s	s	s	ś	s	s	s	s	s	s	s , š , (ś)	s	s	š
תּ	t	t	t	t	t	t	t	t , (c)	t	t	t	t	t	t	t	t	t	t
תֿ	t	t	t	t	t	θ	θ	c , t	t , θ	tʰ	d	d	d	d	s , š , (ś)	s	s	t

Notes: (1) Research into the various traditional pronunciations is still far from able to present all the information clearly tabulated; in fact it is only just beginning. Therefore, the table contains only those sounds described in the scientific literature, and it must be noted that the quality of these descriptions is not uniform, nor do they all attain the same level of precision. Still the table reflects the situation generally. It should be noted that the term "Sephardi" does not represent a homogenous community but one spread over Europe and Asia. This accounts for the high number of variants. (2) The horizontal line next to *'alef, heh, ḥet, 'ayin*, indicates that this consonant is not pronounced at all; when this line appears with a consonant it indicates that in certain environments it is not articulated, or that part of the community does not pronounce this consonant. (3) A consonant in parentheses is a less common variant or is limited to certain instances (as f, bb in the Samaritan tradition). (4) The consonants are listed in accordance with the rules of the International Phonetic Association. (5) For further details of pronunciation of the various communities see *Pronunciations of Hebrew.

(3) they generally influence the vowel which precedes them either in quality, or by creating a vowel similar to that with which the syllable is or should have been, closed; (4) they are vocalized with *ḥaṭefs* when they are not in syllable final position as: (1 and 3) (בֵּאֵר) instead of ‡ בְּאְאֵר; מְטֹהָר instead of ‡ מְטֻהְהָר (2, 3, and 4); נֶאְדָּר instead of ‡ נִאְדָּר; נֶחְמָד instead of ‡ נִחְמָד; מַעְבָּרָה opposed to מִשְׁטָרָה; רוּחַ instead of ‡ רוּחְ; רֵיחַ instead of רֵיחְ; גָּבוֹהַּ instead of ‡ גָּבוֹהְּ; נִצַּח opposed to נִסֵּךְ; מַעֲלִית opposed to מַרְבִּית; פָּעֳלוֹ opposed to קָדְ־שׁוֹ. As a result of these qualities, they are classified under the heading of 'gutturals,' a name which has been accepted even though it does not accurately describe all of them from the point of view of their articulation.

א.

In modern speech, this consonant never closes a syllable. Still, there are some who, in certain words such as מַאְפֵּלְיָה, נֶאְדָּר, יַאְדִּים, are careful to close the syllable with the א because they are so vocalized in the Bible, a fact which is also exploited in writing poetry. On the other hand, (1) א always disappears at the end of a word, as מָצָא, צֵא, מָלֵא, מָבוֹא, נָשׂוּא, חֵטְא, שָׁוְא, וַיַּרְא (compare וַיַּשְׁקְ, נֵרְדְּ); (2) within the word it sometimes disappears, and at other times receives a *ḥaṭef* vowel. This situation is not the result of precise phonological conditioning, but differs in different morphological situations, as מָצָאתִי, לֵאלוֹהִים, תְּבוֹאנָה, תֹּאמַר; but מְצָאֵךְ, בּוֹאֲכֶם, נְשׂוּאֲכֶם, תָּאֵךְ, and not מְצָאךְ, תָּאךְ, בּוֹאכֶם, etc.; (3) unlike the biblical norm the א rarely disappears between a *šewa* and a vowel, but in several forms this is always the case: רָאשִׁים (from ‡ רְאָשִׁים), מָאתַיִם opposed to מְאַת. (When not pronounced it sometimes does not appear in the written word, and this is the rule in the imperfect of פ״א verbs in first person singular, as: אֹמַר from אֹאמַר, לוֹמַר, כְּלוֹמַר (from the root אמר). In the Bible this elision is more common.

ה.

(1) Feature number (3) of א is the rule with respect to ה: (a) when used as the definite article and coming after ב, כ, ל. For example: בַּדָּבָר, כַּדָּבָר, לַדָּבָר (but וְהַדָּבָר!);

(b) In the imperfect and participial forms of *hifʿil* and *hufʿal*, as יַפְקִיד, מַפְקִיד, נוֹדִיעַ, מוּשָׁב from ‡יְהַפְקִיד, ‡מְהַפְקִיד, ‡נְהוֹדִיעַ, ‡מְהוּשָׁב, but in the infinitive the ה is retained: כְּהוֹדִיעוֹ, לְהַפְקִיד, etc. It is also retained in a number of personal names, as: יְהוֹנָתָן, יְהוֹרָם alongside יוֹנָתָן, יוֹרָם and יהודה alongside יוּדה.

Note: Some generations ago there was a tendency to retain the definite article and forms like כהדבר, להדבר were common. Today this is maintained in the words לְהַבָּא כְּהַיּוֹם, but the form כַּיּוֹם is also used.

(2) The ה tends to be assimilated to the preceding consonant when it is part of a pronomial suffix –הוּ, –הָ; שְׁמָרַתּוּ (rare form שְׁמָרַתְהוּ), יִשְׁמְרֶנּוּ (rare form יִשְׁמְרֶנְהוּ), שְׁמָרַתָּה, יִשְׁמְרֶנָּה (rare form יִשְׁמְרֶנְהָ).

(3) It tends to be elided in the pronomial suffix הוּ after –ִי as פִּיו, אָבִיו, שְׁמַרְתִּיו (the rare forms פִּיהוּ, אָבִיהוּ, שְׁמַרְתִּיהוּ, etc., are found mainly in poetry) and almost always is elided after –ָ: שְׁמָרוֹ (from שְׁמָרָהוּ).

ח.

Even in pronunciations in which there is no difference between this consonant and the spiranted כ, it maintains its independence in that it acts as a guttural and not as one of the בגדכפ״ת. It does not become a כּ and prefers those vowels preferred by gutturals, as: נִצַּח opposed to נִסֵּךְ (only uneducated speakers, if they pronounce the כ as a ח are likely to equate them, for example saying סוֹמַכַת instead of סוֹמֶכֶת and vice versa).

ע.

Even in the pronunciation which identifies this sound with the א, the ע is kept separate in different phonetic contexts. In this way it is similar to that pronunciation which maintains the ע as an independent sound. For example, it tends to be pronounced with the furtive *pathaḥ* (נוֹסֵעַ opposed to נוֹשֵׂא) and often demands a vowel different from the vowel used for א as: יַעֲבֹר opposed to יֶאֱסֹף, and לַעֲבֹד opposed to לֶאֱבֹד. This independence is further realized in various morphological situations.

7. OTHER CONSONANTS. נ followed directly by another consonant is usually assimilated to it; only the נ which is part of the root is not usually assimilated to אהח״ע; in some roots and other forms this is also the case (perfect נָפַל, imperfect יִפֹּל; perfect נָהַג, imperfect יִנְהַג; perfect נָדוֹן, imperfect יִדּוֹן; perfect נֵעוֹר, imperfect יֵעוֹר; infinitive לִפֹּל but לִנְגֹּעַ, etc.).

צ pronounced as ẓ (= c) is a compound sound and can be heard in speech when ס and ת are contiguous, as, for example, in בית־ספר (a common spelling mistake among children is ביצפר!). It still acts in Hebrew as one sound (monophonematic), and it is impossible to demonstrate oppositions in meaning which depend on the opposition (ẓ/ts); the fact that ẓ can be only one of the elements of a root is itself proof of this assumption.

שצסז.

The clusters תס, תש, טצ, דז where the ת (ד or ט) is the t of the *hitpaʿel*, are impossible and the order is reversed to סת, שת, צט, זד. Also rare are the clusters תס etc., when the ת (or ד or ט) are elements of the root. In fact, in the words or forms derived from these roots a vowel usually appears between them – תשש, תסס. However, since the Middle Ages these combinations have appeared in a few words where the t is part of the root, as הִתְשִׁיר, מַתְסִיס.

Note: It is possible to prove that the שׂ was an independent sound in biblical times and was so considered by the vocalizers of the Bible. Still, here and there, there are examples of the merging of this consonant with the ס in the Bible as in כעש alongside כעס, and in rabbinic Hebrew many of the words and roots with שׂ in the Bible appear with ס, as: סִיחָה instead of: שִׂיחָה etc. Hundreds of years have passed since שׂ ceased to exist as an independent sound and became ס in all Jewish pronunciations and שׁ in the Samaritan pronunciation. Only the spelling recognizes the differences between שׂ and ס, and in certain instances this is an aid in differentiating homonyms, as: שָׂרַר = rule / סָרַר = rebel, שָׂכַר = hired / סָכַר = closed, סְמִיכָה = diploma / שְׂמִיכָה = a blanket. The medieval *paytanim* used to put a word beginning with שׂ between נ and ע in their acrostics even though the biblical poets put it together with שׁ (Psalms 118); similarly there were lexicographers in the Middle Ages who placed words beginning with שׂ with those beginning with ס that is, according to their pronunciation rather than their graphic form.

ו״י.

These two sounds (if the ו is pronounced bilabially) are to be classified as being between a consonant and a vowel, also in their function in the language. Unlike other consonants, they interchange with vowels in specific instances and they are geminated like consonants. The ו at the beginning of a word or as the first element in a root was rare and was generally replaced by י; thus even in modern Hebrew there are very few words which begin with ו. [In the pronunciations of most of the communities which contain the spiranted ב, there is a tendency to pronounce the ב and ו identically, the ב at times being pronounced as a ו (bilabially) and vice versa. But even in this case only the ו retains the above relationship to the vowels, never geminated into a בּ. Only in the Samaritan pronunciation did the ו become a ב in most positions, after the soft ב was entirely lost.]

8. GEMINATION AND CLUSTERS. Besides the gemination of a consonant caused, in Hebrew as in other languages, by the occasional immediate sequence of that consonant namely when a root consonant comes into contact with an affixed formative (for example הִתַּמֵּם < הִתְ־תַּמֵּם, כָּרַתָּ < כָּרַתְתָּ, נָתַנּוּ < נָתַנְ־נוּ), gemination is very common in Hebrew and serves to create nominal and verbal forms. Some call a geminated consonant in Hebrew a "long consonant" parallel to a "long vowel," but this comparison is justified neither by the phonetic process which takes place (the syllable boundary is within the consonant; a difference is felt, for example, between lengthened ז in תִּזְכְּרוּ and the regular geminated pronunciation of the ז in תִּזָּכְרוּ), nor by the function in the language which it fulfills.

(1) Every form which has a geminated consonant, can have that consonant replaced by a cluster of two consonants but never by one alone, and thus פִּלְפֵּל, פִּרְנֵס, פִּקֵּד are all of the same verbal type, and דַּיָּן and פַּרְנָס are considered to be of the same nominal type; (2) A cluster of two consonants at times becomes a geminated consonant, and the two forms may even exist side by side (לִפֹּל, לִנְפֹּל). (3) A geminated consonant may split into a cluster of two consonants (common in Aramaic, rare in Hebrew), and in some of the words which have a two consonant cluster in Hebrew today there was originally a geminated consonant, as: גַּלְמוּד (from גַּמּוּד), שַׁרְבִיט (from ‡שַׁבִּיט). (4) The limitations regarding the vowel before the last consonant in the syllable, are also in force for the vowels which precede a geminated consonant. Therefore, a geminated consonant functions just like a cluster of different consonants, being more limited only in that it cannot come at the end of the word (compare צֵל (< צֵלְלְ) opposed to כָּרַתְּ, נֵפְטְ (< כָּרַתְתְּ, opposed to שָׁמַרְתְּ)). At the beginning of a word a geminated consonant can be found only when the first consonant is not part of the root but a formative element, as: תְּתַרְגֵּם, מְמֻכָּן (see below); or when the word comes after the interrogative מַה (מַה־זֶּה), thus constituting a phonetic unit (in the Bible this is common in various combinations of words and vowels). In addition to geminated consonants, there are times in modern Hebrew, especially in the speech of young girls, when, as an expression of emotion, a consonant is lengthened, as *yof-f-f-fi* (יוֹפִי), but this has no grammatical function.

There is a tendency to eliminate gemination, especially when the geminated consonant is vocalized with a *šewa*; and thus the gemination is usually eliminated in י with *šewa* and in the מ of the participle after the definite article, as הַמְסִבּוֹת, הַיְקָבִים (= they are causing; but הַמְּסִבּוֹת (= parties)). However, this tendency is overruled by morphological considerations (הַמְּסַפְּרִים and not הַמְסַפְּרִים; but in the Bible הַמְבַקְשִׁים). The tendency to eliminate becomes the rule when the consonant involved is either אהחע״ר or the spiranted allophones of בגדכפ״ת which are never geminated. In other words, five phonemes cannot be geminated. (In the Samaritan pronunciation the ר is geminated just as any other consonant, and this was also the case in the Hebrew of Septuagint times.) Many Hebrew speakers today do not commonly geminate consonants in their speech, but they maintain those conditions which derive from gemination and determine the form of the word, as the hard פּ in סַפָּר (a barber) and the spirant in סָפַר (counted) etc. According to the rule, a cluster of more than two consonants is impossible in Hebrew. A cluster at the beginning of a syllable is realized generally by a *šewa* inserted between them. Clusters of more than two consonants are found only in international words used in Hebrew, for example סטראטגיה (alongside אס־טראטגיה). In the middle of a word a cluster of three consonants is conceivable. This is especially true when the first element in the cluster is a geminated consonant as, שַׁבְּלוּל (<‡ שַׁבְּבְלוּל), שִׁמְּרוּ (<‡ שִׁמְמְרוּ), which is usually articulated with the addition of a *šewa* between the geminated consonant and the one following it. In "inherited" words a cluster at the end of a word is possible if it ends in a plosive (for example קֹשְׁטְ, נֵרְדְּ, יֵבְךְּ, but תֵּפֶן). In international words this rule does not always apply (סוֹצְיאַלִזְם, פִּילְם), but modern pronunciation tends to insert a *šewa* in such cases.

9. VOWELS. There is no essential difference between the two types of sounds – vowel and consonant – the difference being rather one of degree; in fact, the semi-vowels ו and י are proof that it is possible to pass from one category to the other. The consonants are classified above according to three criteria: point of articulation, method of articulation (open or closed), and the action of the vocal chords (voiced or unvoiced). Since the vowels are all voiced and articulated in the open position, we are left only with the criterion of point of articulation, that is, the relative closeness of the organs of articulation to each other. In articulating the vowels, actual contact is not conceivable; the basis for classification is, therefore, the movement of the tongue and the working of the lips (the traditional Hebrew names for the vowels, *pathaḥ, qameṣ*, etc., are an attempt to

describe the opening of the mouth and the activity of the lips). Following the direction in which the tongue is raised during the articulation of the vowels, we may divide them into "front," "central," and "back." Generally, a rounding of the lips is an accompanying feature of back vowels, and spreading the lips an accompanying feature of front vowels, but rounding and spreading of the lips are possible in all the types of vowels. The section on consonants above mentioned the great variety of consonants heard from the Hebrew speaker and the reasons for them. The vowels, by their very nature, are even more variegated. For the consonants it is at least possible to establish ideal standards for official speech, but there are no set standards applicable to the vowels. There have been no studies to date which can supply information as to the exact phonetic makeup of the vowels in modern Hebrew, but this deficiency does not prevent a phonemic description, since the variations in the vowels are not distinctive and do not affect the meanings of words. Therefore, it will be sufficient to classify the vowels generally into: front: *i, é, e*, represented in writing by ִ *ḥireq*, ֵ *ṣere*, ֶ *segol*, and ֱ *ḥatef segol*; central; *a*, represented by ַ *pathaḥ*, ָ *qameṣ (gadol)*, and ֲ *ḥatef pathaḥ*, and *ĕ*, represented by the *šewa*; back: *o* represented by ֹ *ḥolem*, ָ *qameṣ qaṭan*, and ֳ *ḥatef qameṣ*, and *u* represented by וּ *šureq* and ֻ *qibbuṣ*. By using average measurements the relationship among the vowels can be graphically described in the following way:

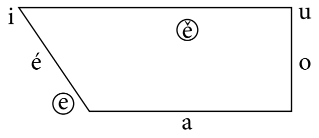

Since only the general values of the vowels have been mentioned, it emerges that the number of vowels is close to the number of vowel phonemes, which are all the above, save the two circled, i.e., the *segol* and the *šewa*. Regarding the phonemic value of a sound there are likely to be differences of opinion (see section 3, Consonants, above), and the doubts which might be raised about this classification will, therefore, be discussed in sections 12 and 13, on The Phonological Status of the Vowels and The *Šewa* and *Ḥaṭef*s, below. Many Hebrew speakers do not differentiate between e and é, and even those who do differentiate do not always apply the *ṣere* and the *segol* respectively where demanded by the rules of vocalization. Even among those who do differentiate, there are some who articulate the *ṣere* almost as a dipthong *ey*. Note that *ḥaṭefs* differ phonetically from the *šewa*, and do not represent independent qualities but are identical to full vowels.

10. VOWEL QUANTITY. In the common pronunciation the vowels are not differentiated as to length, only the *šewa* being of shorter duration than the other vowels. Experimental methods have proved that the vowel in an accented syllable is slightly longer than the vowel in an unaccented syllable, but this difference is not discernible by the ear, since no semantic difference depends on a vowel length. (In English, by contrast, this is a distinguishing feature, cf. [it] (it), opposed to [i:t] (eat).) In fact it may be said that the vowels in Hebrew are isochrons (of equal length). However, since there is long standing tradition in Hebrew of dividing the vowels into "long" (lit. big) and "short" (lit. small), an aspect which is also relevant to the rules of punctuation, this division will now be considered. The differentiation originated in an attempt to divide the vowels according to length (compare O-mega and O-mikron in Greek), that is: long and short. The Spanish grammarians of the Middle Ages felt that the *qameṣ* (pronounced "a"), the *ṣere, ḥolem, šureq*, and full *ḥireq* (with *yod*) were long vowels, while the *pathaḥ, segol, qameṣ* (pronounced "o"), *qibbuṣ* and *ḥireq* (without *yod*) were short vowels. They considered that there were five qualities of vowels (a, i, e, o, u) and that these were either long or short. This division is a reflection of the "Sephardi" pronunciation, but it must be recognized that in that pronunciation the accent also caused a lengthening of the vowel, and so the "short" vowels in accented syllables were long (for example פֶּה is pronounced with a long vowel even though it is a *segol*; the same is true for the *pathaḥ* of שָׁמַרְתִּי). The opposite is true for "long" vowels which are next to the accented syllable and are pronounced short (an exact description was given by R. Joseph Kimḥi in the 12th century). In the 19th century, which was interested in comparative historical study, this principle of division was accepted by Hebrew linguistics with one change: the symbol representing a vowel (excluding the *šewa* and *ḥaṭefs*) represents only quality, and that quality can be either long or short. The length is not determined by the symbol or by its place in the word (contrary to Kimḥi, above), but rather in accordance with comparative grammar. As a result of these considerations long vowels are those which generally remained unchanged in the declension of the word, while those which change are either short or lengthened in special phonetic conditions. Thus, for example, the *ṣere* of מֵת (dead) is always long while that of שֵׁן (tooth) is short (except for biblical pausal forms); similarly, the *ḥolem* of חוֹל is always long, while that in חֹל is short (except in pausal forms). This differentiation between originally long vowels and secondarily lengthened vowels gave rise to a threefold distinction: "long" vowels (that is originally long), "middle" (that is lengthened), and "short." However, the term "middle" never achieved wide acceptance. This division, unlike that proposed by Kimḥi, is not rooted in any real tradition of Hebrew pronunciation, but is entirely based on theoretical considerations, which assume a Hebrew pronunciation among the Masoretes, when they determined the vocalization of the Bible. Early evidence, such as Greek transliterations and well-based considerations, tends to justify the assumption that in early Hebrew there was a difference in the length of vowels, and that the behavior of the vowels as it appears in the vocalization of the Bible reflects the ancient division as to length. There is, however, no proof that these differences of length existed at the time of the vocalization of the text. In any case the vowel signs are indicative of seven qualities only (excluding the *šewa* and *ḥaṭefs*).

Phonematic investigation does not indicate any semantic differences dependent on vowel length. Such proofs as חוֹל (*ḥōl*) = sand opposed to חֹל (*ḥol*) = secular or profane, or עֵד (*ʿēḏ*) = witness, opposed to עֵד (*ʿéḏ*) = a piece of cloth, are misleading, since according to the traditional division the vowels are "long" in both pairs of words and the assumption that the vocalizers differentiated is completely unproven. According to the traditional pronunciation two pairs of homonyms can be seen, each of which arose in specific situations. The difference between the vocalization of official Hebrew today and that which is the assumed basis of the rules of vocalization – which are obligatory even today – lies not (at least from the phonemic point of view) in quantity, but in the change of quality of several vowels. Though it is claimed that Hebrew vowels are isochronic phonemes, this does not mean that in Hebrew speech all *a* vowels, for example, are of the same length in all situations. But on the other hand, the difference between מִן (*min*) = from, and מִין (*mīn*) = type, does not indicate that the vowel system is to be divided into long and short. The truth is that confronting such pairs is artificial since the two words differ in their syntax and linguistic position.

11. VOWELS AS PART OF THE SYLLABLE. From the discussion above it is clear that a description of vowel distribution should be on two levels: (1) the vowels as pronounced today; (2) the use of the vowel signs. In describing the written language it is impossible to ignore the distribution of the vowel signs, since it is not only an important part of Hebrew spelling, but helps to understand the morphophonemic relationships. Table 4: Syllables reflects the distribution of the vowels which are listed according to type of syllable and place of accent in the word.

12. THE PHONOLOGICAL STATUS OF THE VOWELS. From the above it is clear that there are altogether five phonemic vowels – *i, e, a, o, u*. This can be ascertained from a consideration of the possible oppositions, ten in all ($\frac{5 \text{ x } (5-1)}{2}$) .We also see that all possible oppositions are utilized only in (a) open syllable, whether accented or not and in a (b) closed accented syllable; in an (c) unaccented closed syllable many oppositions neutralized, as the examples below will show.

In syllables of the types (a) and (b) *i* is defined by its opposition:

1) to é in נֵר/נִיר; שְׁכֵנָה/שְׁכִינָה;
2) to *a* in דָּן/דִּין; רַק/רִיק; פָּעַל/פָּעִיל; שָׂרָה/שִׁירָה; רַחֵם/רִחֵם;
3) to *o* in שׁוֹר/שִׁיר; בְּכוֹרָה/בְּכִירָה;
4) to *u* in צוּר/צִיר; אֲמוּרָה/אֲמִירָה; נֶחַמוּ/נִחֲמוּ;
é is defined by its opposition to *i* (see above);
5) to *a* in גָּר/גֵּר; עַד/עֵד; צָדָה/צֵדָה;
6) to *o* in קוֹץ/קֵץ; כָּבוֹד/כָּבֵד; גְּדוֹלָה/גְּדֵלָה;
7) to *u* in גּוּר/גֵּר; שְׁכוּנָה/שְׁכֵנָה;
a is defined by its oppositions to *i* and é (see above);
8) to *o* in שׁוֹר/שָׂר; אָמוֹר/אָמַר; קוֹרָה/קָרָה;
9) to *u* in שׁוּר/שָׂר; אָמוּר/אָמַר; צוּרָה/צָרָה;
o is defined by its opposition to *i, é, a* (see above);

Table 4: Hebrew Syllables

	open syllable		**closed syllable**	
vowel	**Accented**	**Non-Accented**	**Accented**	**Non-Accented**
	יִ֫פֶן, שִׁ֫ימוּ;	רִחֵם, כִּישׁוּר;	מִן, מִין;	גִּבַּרְתִּי, שִׂמְחָה;
i – ḥireq	חָנִ֫ינוּ;	אַבִּירוּת;	–;	אוֹיִבְךְ;
	רַבִּי	קוּ֫מִי	תַּבְשִׁיל	–
	סֵ֫פֶר;	עֵנָב, מֵיטָב;	אֵ֫לֶּה;	–;
é – ṣere	הוֹצֵ֫אנוּ;	מַקְהֵלָה;	הֵסֵ֫בּוּ;	–;
	צֵא, הַקְנֵה	–	לֵב, לֵיל, מֵסֵב	–
	מֶ֫לַח;	נֶאֶמְרוּ, יֶחֱזַק;	נֶ֫גְבָּה;	נֶגְדּוֹ;
e – segol	סוּסֶ֫יךָ;	–;	–;	מַקֶּלְכֶם;
	מִרְעֶה	דֶּ֫שֶׁא, הֶ֫גֶה	אֱמֶת, בַּרְזֶל	קֹ֫דֶשׁ
patah	קָ֫מוּ, נַ֫חַל;	שָׁמַר, יַעַבְרוּ, נַחֲלָה;	גַּג;	מַלְכּוֹ;
a – and	עָשָׂ֫הוּ, שְׁמָרַ֫נִי;	מִשְׁמָרוֹ;	הוֹרַדְנוּ;	הוֹרַדְתֶּם;
qameṣ	שִׁמְךָ, מַלְכָּה	–	עוֹלָם, דּוֹנַג	ר֫וּחַ, בֹּ֫חַל
ḥolem	קֹ֫דֶשׁ;	צָהֳרַ֫יִם, גֹּרַשׁ, קוֹנֶה;	קָמְנָה, תְּשׁוּבְנָה;	כְּתַבְתִּי, קָרְבַּנְכֶם;
o – and	נָדוֹ֫נוּ;	אַרְצוֹתֵיהֶם	קָטֹ֫נְתִּי;	כְּתָנְתָּם;
qameṣ qaṭan	פֹּה, מַלְכּוֹ		אָדֹם, כָּבוֹד	–
šureq	קוּ֫מוּ;	רֻחַם, סוּגַר;	–;	וּלְקַחְתֶּם, חֻלְצָה;
u – and	תָּקוּ֫מוּ;	מַלְבּוּשִׁים;	–;	מַשְׂכֻּרְתּוֹ;
qibbuṣ	בָּנוּ	אָ֫חוּ	יַלְקוּט, מַלְבּוּשׁ	–
šewa	–;	אֳנִיָּה, חֲמוֹר, גְּבוּל;	–;	–;
and	–;	נוֹחֲלִים, שׁוֹמְרִים;	–;	–;
ḥaṭefs	–	–	–	–

* Accented syllables are marked by a single quote. Notes to Table 4:

(1) The examples show the vowels (a) in an opening syllable, (b) in a medial syllable (c) in the word final syllable; between each type there is a semicolon. Although there is no real difference between the first two categories, examples are cited for the sake of completeness. This enables us to see whether a certain vowel cannot appear in one of the syllables of the word, which situation is indicated by a dash.

(2) In each type examples are given for orthographical reasons. A comma is placed between them. This gives us a view of the distribution of the vowel signs. It may be concluded that each of the six vowels, except for *é*, can appear in all positions of the word. *é* alone does not appear in a closed unaccented syllable. The *šewa*, is – phonemically – the realization of a cluster, but from the phonetic point of view it is a syllable peak, and appears only in an unaccented syllable. The *ḥatef*s are to be classed with the šewa, and even those who pronounce the *ḥatef*s as full vowels do not produce any change in the above distribution picture. However, if the uses of the vowel signs and their relationship to the vowels which they represent are investigated, it will be seen that, unlike the vowels themselves, their use is limited and conditioned by the type of syllable in which they appear, and the rule is as follows: (1) *šere*, *ḥolem*, *qameṣ gadol*, and *šureq* do not appear in unaccented closed syllables; (2) *qameṣ qaṭan* and *qibbuṣ* do not appear in closed or open accented syllables. This shows that there is a connection between the distribution of vowel signs and accentuation. This relationship cannot be explained if only the accepted Hebrew pronunciation is considered; but must be seen against the phonetic values of the signs in the pronunciation of the Tiberian vocalizers. Similarly there is apparently a relationship between the type of syllable and the use of the full vowel signs (with ו and י), cf. the use of the *ḥolem* without a ו in קָטֹנְתִּי. This relationship is also not comprehensible given the modern pronunciation, but only on the basis of Hebrew pronunciation in the ancient past, when two important factors were in force: quantitative differences of vowels and a tendency to express that quantitative difference in the writing, as, for example, עוֹלָם opposed to אֹמֵר. This presents one of the greatest problems in teaching proper vocalization, for without the clear presentation of the historic background it is, of necessity, a mechanical process.

10) to *u* in שׁוּק/שׁוֹק; אָמוּר/אָמוֹר;

u is defined by its oppositions to the other vowels (see above).

In syllables of type (c) only the following oppositions are found:

i (1) to *a* in דִּבֵּר/דַּבֵּר; (2) to *o* as הִפְקַדְנוּ/הָפְקַדְנוּ; (3) to *u* in חִיַּבְנוּ/חֻיַּבְנוּ; פִּנָּה/פֻּנָּה; *a* opposed to *i* (see above); (4) to *o* in עַצְמוֹ/עָצְמוֹ; (5) to *u* as חַפָּה/חֻפָּה; הַקֵּשׁ/הֻקַּשׁ. It will be seen, therefore, that *é* is not opposed to any vowel in this position and that *o/u* are not opposed; however, variants like אָמְנָם/אֻמְנָם and הָפְקַד/הֻפְקַד are found in Hebrew. In fact, most of the oppositions are derived from the conjugations of the verb, where *o/u* indicates the passive and *a/i* the active forms, and even in this area the oppositions are limited. This is the result of a process in ancient Hebrew, during which oppositions of short vowels in closed syllables were eliminated; and when the use of the internal passive in post-biblical Hebrew was minimized the scope of these oppositions was, automatically, greatly reduced.

In the above description the *e* (*segol*) was not included in the phonemes although there are cases where a difference of meaning between a pair of words is reflected in the relationship between the *segol* and some other vowel, as: אֶרְאֶה/אַרְאֶה; עֶרֶב/עֵרֶב; לֶחֶם/לַחַם (= solder). Though the *segol* is a very common vowel, such cases are quite rare and we cannot therefore assume the opposition *segol* to another vowel in the structure of the language. It is correct to see the *segol* as an allophone of the *ṣere*. If the forms אֶרְאֶה/אַרְאֶה through the whole of their paradigms, are investigated, it will be seen that the opposition in all conjugated forms is *a/i*, as, for example תִּרְאֶה/תַּרְאֶה; only in the first person singular is this *i* represented by a *segol*, since the *i* does not appear after an *alef* in a closed syllable (when not geminated). The *é* should have taken the place of the *i* but *é* cannot appear in an unaccented closed syllable. This complimentary relationship between *é* and *e* is common in all forms of the conjugation and declension of ל״י roots, as: מִקְנֶה/מִקְנֵה (construct state); מִקְנֵהוּ, מִקְנֵינוּ/מִקְנֶיהָ; לֵב/לֶב (possible in construct state); בֵּן/בֶּן (construct); and others. On the other hand *e* is found at times in the same environment as *é* in נֵדֶר/נֶדֶר; נֵצַח/נֶצַח; יֵתֶר/יֶתֶר; שֵׂכֶל/שֶׂכֶל; בֹּהֶן/בֹּהֵן; פֶּתַח/פֵּתַח and others without any distinction. It may, therefore, be concluded that at times *e* is a conditioned allophone which becomes mandatory in certain environments, and at times – under different conditions – it is (in very limited scope), an optional allophone (cf. N.S. Trubetzkoy, *Grundzuege der Phonologie*, p. 46, regarding *d/t*). Examples such as עֶרֶב (evening)/עֵרֶב (wasp) which both contain the phoneme *é* should be considered homonyms as are their plural forms עֲרָבִים and as is עָרֵב (pleasant/guarantor) etc. (The fact that the *segol* appears only with the א and is a conditioned vowel, and not independent, is also seen clearly in the forms אֶעֱלֶה/אַעֲלֶה; the *segol* does not appear in the rest of the *qal* paradigm, as ‡תֶּעֱלֶה/תַּעֲלֶה, but all the forms save the first remain homonymous.)

Note: Although in modern Hebrew the *segol* must be considered to be an allophone of the *ṣere*, it is possible to prove that in ancient Hebrew the *segol* is a reflex, in all cases, of an original *a* and was an allophone of *a*.

13. THE ŠEWA AND ḤAṬEFS. A) The grapheme known as the *šewa* (ְ) represents two independent phonetic values: the absence of a vowel, and a very short vowel, which can be described as central and vague. In grammatical terminology the former is called *šewa quiescens* (שווא נח) and the latter *šewa mobile* (שווא נע). Only the second type interests us in our study of the behavior of the language. Indeed this term, *šewa*, has become accepted in general linguistics as describing a vowel of this quality. In Hebrew the *šewa* cannot rightfully be listed with the phonemes, since no difference in meaning depends on the *šewa* (the same applies to *ḥaṭefs*). The *šewa* must be regarded as a conditioned vowel which appears in clusters of consonants, whether, historically, the *šewa* comes in place of a full vowel (גְּדוֹל<גָּדוֹל) or the absence of a vowel (מַעְבָּר<מַעֲבָר compare מַעְבָּרָה). Therefore, phonetic differences such as פָּסוּל–פְּסוּל or זְרוֹעַ–זָרוֹעַ have the following phonologic makeup: */pasul/:/psul/, /zaroʿ/:/zroʿ/*. In Hebrew the *šewa* is never accented and is always found between two consonants.

B) Since there is one grapheme, the *šewa*, for two values, the grammarians established rules indicating when the *šewa* was to be pronounced as mobile (נע); however, the pronunciation of the vocalizers who instituted the *šewa* sign differs from the Sephardic pronunciation, whose rules are accepted in the pronunciation of official Hebrew today. In common speech, different groups of speakers pronounce the *šewa* differently, or do not sound it at all. The following are the rules for educated speech: the *šewa* is pronounced (a) at the beginning of a word (קְנֵה, בְּדִיל, גְּבוּל); (b) when it is the second of two *šewas* (יִשְׁמְרוּ); c) when it comes with a *dagešed* consonant (יִפְּלוּ); d) after a vowel in an open syllable (יִי־רְאוּ, שִׁי־רְכֶם). Since the ability to distinguish the length of vowels has been largely lost, only a trained ear can determine which is an open syllable followed by a consonant plus *šewa* mobile, and which a syllable closed by the first of a cluster of consonants. Only when the cluster consists of a geminated consonant is the difference clear: גָּדְלוּ, סָבְרוּ are at times pronounced (*sav-ru*) (*gad-lu*), but not גָּלְלוּ, סָבְבוּ (*savĕvu*) (*ga-lĕlu*). This differentiation was passed by analogy to words like קִ־לְלַת, קִ־לְלוּ, whose first syllable is – historically – closed. In this way a differentiation developed between רִנַּת and רִ־נְנַת which was apparently unknown to early Hebrew, where both were pronounced simply (*rin-nat*); only in certain prosodic situations could רננת be pronounced (*ri-nĕnat*).

C) There are those who, in addition to the two types of *šewa* mentioned, find in Hebrew a third type which they call *šewa* medium בֵּינוֹנִי or מְרַחֵף. This is a *šewa* which comes after a "small" vowel (see above Vowel Quantity): (1) if the following consonant is a spirantized בגדכפ״ת, as מַרְבָּד, מַלְכֵי (see section on בגדכפ״ת above); (2) with an originally geminated consonant, as אִלְמִים (compare singular אִלֵּם), הַמְקִימִים (sing. הַמֵּקִים); (3) with the first consonant of a cluster as רִנְנַת (see above). This *šewa* medium is not a separate phonetic entity, but in types (1) and (2) the *šewa* is quiescent, that is, it does not represent any vowel in pronunciation, and in type (3) may be pronounced as a *šewa* mobile, as pointed out above. Phonetically there is no such thing as a *šewa* medium which is between the quiescent and mobile; it is a fiction created to explain certain phonetic developments which are not uniform. There are some grammarians (Bergstraesser and others) who tend to see in the *šewa* medium an independent historical entity, i.e., a *šewa quiescens* where once there was a vowel, while others see in it an independent phoneme (Birkeland, p. 55). However, a sound which is not an independent part of the order of sounds (since it is either *quiescens* or *mobile*) cannot be considered a phoneme. It must be remembered that both the *šewa* and *ḥaṭefs*, as well as the absence of any vowel, are likely to appear in Hebrew in a position where once there was a vowel (שָׁ־מְרוּ, in pause שָׁמָרוּ; שִׁמְ־רוּ, in pause, שְׁמֹרוּ) or where there was no vowel at all (נֶ־אֱמָן opposed to נִשְׁ־מָר, זַעְ־פּוֹ, כַּעְ־סוֹ but נַ־עֲרוֹ).

D) In the official language the grapheme *šewa* reflects one sound (ĕ) in all phonetic situations where it is pronounced. In ancient Hebrew this sound varied between ă and ĕ, and tended to assume the sound of the neighboring vowels. This fact is reflected in personal names which have been transmitted in their Greek or Latin pronunciations as: סְדוֹם Sodom, שְׁלֹמֹה Solomon, נְתַנְאֵל Nathanael, גְּדֵרָה Gedera. In the pronunciation of the vocalizers the *šewa* was generally ă (this caused it to be interchanged with the *ḥaṭef-pathaḥ*), and it changed, according to ancient rules, toward the sound of the neighboring vowel when the *šewa* is next to אהח״ע. This feature can still be heard in the pronunciations of several communities where כְּמוֹ and נְקִיָּה are pronounced *kămo, năqiyya* and not *kĕmo, nĕqiyya*. The different nuances of the *šewa* in official Hebrew are the *ḥaṭefs* (if pronounced quickly), and these sounds are interrelated with the consonants א, ה, ח, and ע; only rarely is a *ḥaṭef* found with a different consonant, as דֳּמִי, כְּתֻנּוֹת, צִפֳּרִים. In the Hebrew of the vocalizers the *šewa* and *ḥaṭef-pathaḥ* represented one quality; in the official pronunciation today the *šewa* and *ḥaṭef-segol* are equal, the latter with a guttural.

As opposed to what has been said above, on the relationship between the *šewa* and the *ḥaṭefs*, it is possible to claim, that semantic differences are dependent on the *ḥaṭefs*, unlike the *šewa*, and as a result the *ḥaṭefs* are phonemes. The differences are of the type אֲנִי/אֳנִי, חֲדָשִׁים/חֳדָשִׁים, עֲלִי/עֱלִי, חֲלִי/חֳלִי. However, as pointed out above regarding the *segol* (in section 12, The Phonological Status of the Vowels, above), it may be said that the *ḥaṭefs* are reflexes of the *šewa* – the result of a cluster of consonants – while the choice as to which nuance of the *šewa* is used in a particular instance depends, to a great extent (at least with regard to the *ḥaṭef-qameṣ*), on the quality of the full vowel found in the same position in other forms of the word; thus חֲדָשִׁים follows חָדָשׁ and חֳדָשִׁים follows חֹדֶשׁ. The oppositions of the *ḥaṭefs* are only apparent; the real oppositions being between the full vowels; there is thus the possibility of *ḥaṭef* interchanges within the very same word, as in שִׁבֳּלֵי– שִׁבֳּלִים, דְּמִי–דֳּמִי, אֲמָרְכֶם–אֱמָרְכֶם–אֱמֹר, אֲכָלְךָ–אֱכֹל.

Note: Diachronically, and also from the phonologic synchronic point of view, the furtive *pathaḥ* must be considered the same as a *ḥaṭef* which is pronounced *before* the guttural. However, unlike the *ḥaṭef*, the furtive *pathaḥ* is always pronounced as a full *a* vowel.

14. THE ACCENT. The accent in Hebrew falls on one of the last two syllables of the word. On the ultimate syllable it is called מלרע (*milraʿ*) and on the penultimate מלעיל (*milʿel*). It is impossible to determine clear phonological rules for each type of accentuation since the situation in Hebrew is the result of a complicated development, not all of which is clear today. One may say that in Hebrew the ultimate accentuation is dominant, while the penultimate is found:

A) in the noun:

1) in segolate forms, i.e., when preceding the final consonant there is

a) a *segol* (מֶלֶךְ, סֵפֶר, כֹּתֶל, שׁוֹמֶרֶת, כֹּתֶבֶת, מִסְפֶּרֶת, תִּלְבֹּשֶׁת);

b) a *pathaḥ* – if the last consonant is ה, ח, or ע (קֶבַע, מֶלַח, גֹּבַהּ, תֵּמַהּ) or if the consonant before the last is א, ה, ח, or ע (נַעַל, נַחַל, רַהַב, שֹׁהַם, תֹּאַר);

c) *ḥireq* if the consonant before the last is י (לַיִל, בַּיִת). In all of these forms the common feature is that the unaccented vowel is lost in declension. To this category belong also those nouns ending in an open syllable with *segol, ḥiriq*, or *šureq*, which when declined place a consonant for this vowel, as אַחְוֵי–אָחוּ, יָפְיוֹ–יֹפִי, דִּשְׁאוֹ–דֶּשֶׁא; this is also the case for the demonstrative אֵלֶּה;

2) nouns (and other words) to which are suffixed locative ָ–ה or the dual ending ַ–יִם (אַרְצָה, מִצְרַיְמָה, שָׁמָּה; מַיִם, מִסְפָּרַיִם similarly הֵן = הֵנָּה, הֵמָּה, לַיְלָה);

3) nouns (and other words) to which are suffixed the possessive pronouns: ֶ–ךָ, ַ–יִךְ, –הוּ, –הָ, –נוּ (סוּסֶיךָ, עָלֶיךָ, עֵינַיִךְ, מַטֵּהוּ, אוֹתָנוּ, אָחִינוּ, מַלְכֵּנוּ, חָזֶהָ, אָבִיהָ); similarly –מוֹ, which today is only found in poetry (עָלֵימוֹ, בָּתֵּימוֹ).

B) in the verb:

4) in the perfect: before the suffixes –תִּי, –תָּ, –נוּ (הִשְׁכַּמְנוּ, שִׁבַּרְתָּ, שָׁמַרְתִּי);

5) in the imperative and the imperfect: before –נָה (תְּשַׁבֵּרְנָה, שְׁמֹרְנָה);

6) in addition to those instances mentioned in (4) and (5): in *hifʿil* of all forms, excluding ל״י forms, and in עו״י and ע״ע forms in *qal* and *nifʿal*, and in ע״ע forms even in *hufʿal*, in forms ending ָ–ה, ִ–י, –וּ (הוּסַבָּה, יָסֵבּוּ, טוֹבוּ, בֹּאִי, קָמוּ, הַגִּידוּ, הַגִּידָה);

7) in verbs with suffixed object –נִי, –הוּ, –נּוּ, –הָ, –נָּה, –נוּ (יִמְצָאֻנוּ, יִשְׁמְרֶנָּה, יִשְׁמְרוּהָ, יֹאכְלֻנּוּ, יֹאכְלֵהוּ, קָנָהוּ, יֹאחֲזֵנִי, שְׁמָרַנִי).

C) in certain forms which today appear only in poetry, such as the pausal forms (יִשְׁמֹרוּ, שָׁמָרוּ, אָנֹכִי, אָנִי) or the inversive tenses (וַתָּגֶד, וַיָּשֶׂם, וַיָּקָם).

There are exceptions to the above rules: the accent is on the penultimate in the third person fem. sing. perfect with pronominal suffixes שְׁמָרַתַן, שְׁמָרַתַם, אֲהֵבָתֶךָ, אֲהֵבָתְךָ, the accent is on the ultima in the inversive perfect tense וְשָׁמַרְתָּ, וְשָׁמַרְתִּי.

If for the moment the segolate nouns and the forms appearing in inverted tenses are excluded, it may be concluded that the penultimate accent appears in Hebrew only when the word ends in an open syllable; this, to a certain degree, reflects the early division of ultimate and penultimate accents in Hebrew.

In the Bible the accent is given to change from penultimate to ultimate (as in עוּרִ֫י in Judg. 5:2) and especially from ultimate to penultimate in word groups, but there are no cases of enclisis, only proclisis. In modern Hebrew, however, enclitic forms are common not only in speech but also in poetry; as opposed to אֱמָר־לִ֫י, בּוֹא־נָ֫א, שְׁמַע־נָ֫א we find אֱמֹ֫ור־לִי, בּ֫וֹא־נָא, שְׁמַ֫ע־נָא; however, this is not considered the norm. Proclitic forms are common in construct. In speech there are certain tendencies to penultimate accentuation which differ from the rules given here, but they are not considered correct (as שָׁמַ֫רְתֶּם). The accentuation of foreign and borrowed words and personal names must be considered separately. The rules of accentuation in the original languages have affected the accentuation of the borrowed words, so that at times even syllables before the penultimate are accented. In personal names the emotional factor cannot be ignored, and feelings such as love and indulgence affect the accentuation. However, the standard which is demanded by the Academy for Hebrew Language and used in broadcasting is the ultimate accentuation, and so the norm is אוּנִיבֶרְסִיטָ֫ה and not אוניבר֫סיטה or אוני֫ברסיטה, and similarly רָחֵ֫ל and not רָ֫חֵל. On the other hand, foreign words with Hebrew suffixes are usually accented in keeping with the norm, as אוניברסיטא֫ות, ליגאליות֫ה. The tendency to penultimate accentuation is found in the pronunciations of many communities, and in Samaritan Hebrew has become the rule.

Accentuation has phonemic value in Hebrew, since it is a distinguishing feature between certain pairs of words – בָּ֫נוּ (in us) / בָּנ֫וּ (they built), בָּ֫אָה (she is coming) / בָּאָ֫ה (she came), ק֫וּמִי (imp. fem. sing.) / קוּמִ֫י (infinitive with pron. suf.). Hebrew accentuation is "stress" type (dynamic accent) and by its nature is likely to affect the vocalization. In fact it causes changes in the vowels of a word depending on their nearness to the accent (see section 16. Interchange and Elision of Vowels, below).

15. THE DIPHTHONGS. The diphthong is – by definition – the combination of two vowels within one syllable. The diphthong is created when the point of articulation glides from place to place within the one breath. More precisely it is a combination of a series of vowels, but it is sufficient to indicate the extreme vowels, i.e., the opening and the concluding (or the intended conclusion). Thus instead of the sign *a..e..é..i*, the sign *ai* (or *ay, ai̯*) is used. By its very nature one of the parts of the diphthong is primary, and the other secondary, or accompanying. If the diphthong begins with the accompanying element it is called rising (as *u̯a*); if it ends with this element it is called falling (*au̯*).

In Hebrew grammar, combinations such as וַ, יָו, ־ִיו, ־ֵי, ־ַי, וי are called diphthongs. However, in Hebrew it is the falling diphthongs that are of significance because of the morphological changes they cause. The use of the term diphthong in Hebrew is therefore limited to cases of a vowel with "semi-vowel," ו or י (see section 7. Other Consonants, above). A combination of two vowels in one syllable, whether caused by the splitting of one vowel into two (as in the frequent pronunciation of the *ṣere, ey*), or by the proximity of a certain vowel to ה, ח, or ע (furtive *pathaḥ*) – which is realized phonetically by being split into two syllables – concerns Hebrew grammar only as far as establishing the phonetic facts. In fact the term diphthong does not accurately describe the combination of a vowel and ו in the regular pronunciation of modern Hebrew, where it is a combination of a full consonant (v) and vowel. However, this combination can be regarded as a diphthong because in the pronunciation of some communities it is actually articulated as such, and because it interchanges morpho-phonemically with vowels, unlike the combination of vowel plus spiranted ב which is phonetically its equal. In the interchanges the early history of this combination is still apparent. (The fate of the early *aw, ew,* etc., in modern Hebrew is similar to that of the same diphthongs in late Greek.) From the point of view of function it is clear that the Hebrew diphthongs are syllables with a consonant; not a phoneme in the precise meaning of the word, but a bi-phonematic element. The only interchange within the provenance of the rising diphthong is the וי"ו החיבור (*waw copulative*) becoming וּ (*u*) before a cluster of consonants and before ב, ו, מ and פ as וְשֵׁם but וּשְׁ־מִי; וְנָתַן but וּמָשַׁךְ; וְיֶלֶד but וּוֶרֶד. In all other changes of vowel the *waw copulative* acts in the same way as the consonants ב, כ, and ל. The total of diphthongs is eight, that is ו with *i,e,a,u*, and י with *i,a,o,u*. The falling diphthongs which are always maintained and do not interchange are *iw, ew, uw* (אָחִיו, עִוְרִים; כִּסְלֵו, גֵּו; וּו־לָדוֹת); *oy, uy* (גָּלוּי, נוֹי) while the other diphthongs are replaced in the paradigm of the word by vowels, or are split into two syllables. Even though there are no absolute rules, there is great consistency, especially with regard to the diphthongs *aw, ay.* The main points are as follows:

A) *iy. iy* is used only when the accompanying element is geminated, as סִיּוּם, עִבְרִיָּה, עִבְרִיִּים, קִיֵּם. The combination *iyyi* is at times interchanged with *i* as צִים = צִיִּים, עִבְרִים = עִבְרִיִּים.

i appears in all other situations, such as: מִימִינוֹ, בִּירוּשָׁלַיִם, לִיהוּדִים (in poetry there is sometimes to be found מִיְמִינוֹ, בִּיְרוּשָׁלַיִם, לִיְהוּדִים). The morphological variant ־יָּה (feminine ending) / ־ִית is connected with this phenomenon.

B) *aw. aw* is found (a) within the word (1) when the accompanying element is geminated, and (2) in the syllable preceding the *heh locale*; and (b) at the end of a word when it concludes that word.

o is found within the word in an unaccented syllable; as far as this rule is concerned "within the word" includes the end of the word in construct, provided that the syllable is closed.

awe is found at the end of a word, when, after the diphthong that should rightfully appear, there is a consonant and an accented syllable, that is always in the absolute state.

Note: "End of the word" includes monosyllabic words. Examples for the interchange *awe/aw/o* are: /מוֹת־/מוֹתוֹ/הַמָּוְתָה

עָנָו, סְתָיו; צַו/צַוֵּה; כְּגוֹן/גּוֹנוֹ/גָּוֶן; חֲצַרְמוֹתִי/חֲצַרְמָוְתָה/חֲצַרְמָוֶת; מָוֶת בָּנָיו.

c) *ay. ay* is found (a) within the word (1) when the accompanying element is geminated, and (2) in the syllable preceding the *heh locale*, and (b) at the end of a word when the syllable ends with it and is not a construct form.

é is found within the word in an unaccented syllable (and here "within the word" includes the end of the word in construct forms); *e* is found in the same positions as é, and in place of it before the pronomial suffixes ךָ–, הָ–; *ayi* comes at the end of a word, when, after the diphthong that should be there, there is a consonant and the syllable is accented. Examples for the interchange *ayi/ay/é/e* are סוּסֶיךָ/סוּסֵיכֶם, סוּסֵינוּ/סוּסַי סוּסַיִךְ, סוּסֶיהָ; בַּיִת/הַבַּיְתָה/בֵּיתוֹ; בֵּית־; מַיִם/מֵי־/הַמַּיְמָה; לַיִל/לַיְלָה/לֵיל־; דֵּי־/דַּי/דַּיּוֹ; חַי/חֵי־; מָתַי. Exceptions to the above rules are found in both directions, and in modern Hebrew more so than in the past. The important exceptions are the following:

The diphthong is found (a) where gemination has disappeared (see 8. Gemination and Clusters) as: וַיְחִי (see וַיֶּחִי), הַיְהוּדִים; (b) in words where the accompanying element is felt to be essential for maintaining the paradigmatic connection, as in רַוְחָה, שַׁוְעָה, עַוְלָה (which are connected etymologically to רֶוַח, שֶׁוַע, עָוֶל), שָׁלַוְתִּי, מַיְמִינִים, הַיְשַׁר, מַוְרִידִים (but מוֹרִידִים from יָרַד!). A vowel is at times found alongside a split diphthong, as: לֵיל alongside לַיִל, אֵין alongside אַיִן, אוֹן alongside אָוֶן (with a semantic difference), צִים alongside צִיִּים, עִבְרִים alongside עִבְרִיִּים. Today the tendency (apparently also in other areas) is to exploit the phonetic variants –יִּים –ים for semantic distinctions. Comparative grammar teaches that in various words which today have a vowel, there was originally a diphthong (for example סוֹף, יוֹם) and in several instances this fact is reflected in the plural forms, as שְׁוָרִים from שׁוֹר, שְׁוָקִים from שׁוּק, דְּוָדִים from דּוּד (also דּוּדִים), לְוָחִים from לוּחַ (alongside לוּחוֹת). At times – completely exceptional – a vowel other than the ones listed in the rules above interchanges with a diphthong; for example *i* in the already archaic form, in the Bible, עִירֹה (ass; Gen. 49:11) and in the common word עִיר (town), where not only the archaic plural עֲיָרִים (Judg. 10:4) hints at an original diphthong, but even the derivative word עֲיָרָה (small town) (through עֲיָרוֹת) retains this connection; *e* is found alongside é in גֶּיא.

Generally it can be said:

1) finding a vowel in a position where a diphthong is expected is part of a general tendency of early Hebrew, and in many words and forms there is no remnant of this original diphthong;

2) finding a diphthong in a position where a vowel is expected is an increasing tendency of later and modern Hebrew, due to the morphological considerations stated above, and thus there is to be heard not only שָׁמַיְמָה but also שָׁמַיְמִי (not considered a literary form), דַּוְקָא, כַּוְנֵן, דַּיְסָה (and cf. Bialik in *Ha-Berékhah*; גַּוְנֵי גְּוָנִים). Variants such as עַוְלָה/עוֹלָה (cf. Job. 5:16; עַוְלָתָה/עֹלָתָה Ps. 92:16) שׁוֹעַ/שֶׁוַע (Isa. 22:5) are not produced in modern Hebrew.

The expansion of the diphthong and even its splitting into two syllables occurs in late Hebrew even more than in modern official speech: it is found in medieval Mss. and in modern Samaritan Hebrew. The special relationship between the diphthong and vowel affects the spirantization of the בגדכפ״ת (see section 5. בגדכפ״ת above) when near a diphthong. Within the word the diphthong usually acts as a vowel and causes the spirantization of בגדכפ״ת, as in הַיְבָמָה, הַיְבוּל, בַּיְתָה, מָוְתָה but שָׁלַוְתִּי.

Examining the diphthong and its interchanges, we learn that:

a) *ay, aw* display almost (cf. above *aw* (a) 2: *ay* (a) 2) identical traits: this is not the case in, for example, biblical Aramaic and later Jewish Aramaic, where *ay* is still found without gemination, whereas *aw* is always interchanged with a vowel. In an effort to limit the occurrences of the diphthong (which is common in Canaanite) by interchanging it with a vowel, Samaritan Hebrew went much further than classical Hebrew (although there are parallels in Jewish traditions); the original *aw* diphthong has disappeared completely while the *ay* diphthong appears only rarely;

b) the type of syllable – open or closed – and the place of accentuation affect the diphthongs and their interchanges. Still, it is impossible to establish pure phonological criteria for the above rules, since the phonological rules which governed biblical Hebrew with great regularity have long ceased to operate with respect to the quantity of the vowels and the structure of the syllable, and a new situation has developed in which the morphological factor has become dominant. This new situation, reflected in the vocalization of the Bible, continues to spread. Mention should be made not only of interchanges of the diphthong but to all vowel changes, to be discussed below, and accentuation discussed above. In these it is possible to discern morphophonemic phenomena and in fact morphophonemics plays an important role in Hebrew grammar. This may explain the large number of exceptions to phonological rules, especially in matters of the vowel system. These exceptions can be grouped into morphological rules (cf. above *aw* b); *ay* b); cf. also section 5. בגדכפ״ת above and the *Historical Note* in section 16 on Interchange and Elision of Vowels, below).

The dominance of morphological principles over phonological is one of the features of a literary language which continues to be used many generations after certain phonological rules have ceased to be operative and are exchanged for other rules.

16. INTERCHANGE AND ELISION OF VOWELS. In the light of the above-mentioned assumptions that vowel quantity is not a distinguishing feature in Hebrew (see section 10. Vowel Quantity, above), and that almost any vowel quality can appear in every type of syllable (see section 11. Vowels as Part of the Syllable, above), the fact that a given vowel is maintained in all the forms of a paradigm but interchanged with another vowel in a different paradigm is rather surprising. This is a complicated aspect of Hebrew grammar which cannot be understood without resort to its historical background. Con-

sideration will be given first to the phenomena themselves, excluding those interchanges caused by א, ה, ח, and ע (see section 6. אהח״ע above).

A) Interchange of Vowel with Vowel.

1) *é* is interchanged

(a) with *i*, as מְסִבִּים/מֵסֵב, מָגִנִּים/מָגֵן, יְקִלֵּנִי/יָקֵל, עִנְּבֵי־/עֵנָב, הִנָּם/הֵן, קִנִּים/קֵן, לִבּוֹ/לֵב, סִפְרִי/סֵפֶר;

(b) with *e*, as בֶּן/בֵּן (construct), מַקֶּלְךָ/מַקֵּל, יִתֶּנְךָ/יִתֵּן, יוֹצֶרְכֶם/יוֹצֵר; and in biblical forms used today only in poetry, as: וַיֵּ֫לֶךְ/יֵלֵךְ, וַיָּ֫קֶם/יָקֵם;

(c) with *a*, as: זְקַן־/זָקֵן (construct), תִּשָּׁמַרְנָה/תִּשָּׁמֵר, קַן/קֵן, תֵּלַדְנָה/תֵּלֵד (construct), מַקַּל־/מַקֵּל, כַּנּוֹ/כֵּן, יְשַׁנְתִּי/יָשֵׁן. But: é is retained in מֵת: מֵתוֹ, עֵד: עֵדְךָ, חֵיק: חֵיק (construct), תִּשָּׁמֵר: תִּשַּׁמֵרְנָה, הֵיכָל: הֵיכְלִי, אֵין: אֵינְכֶם; in certain construct forms *é* is retained alongside *e* as: לֵב: לֶב, אֵשׁ: אֶשׁ; *i* is not interchanged in: שִׁיר: שִׁירוֹ, נִיצוֹץ: נִיצוֹצֵי, בִּיתָן: בִּיתָנֵי, נִחֵם: נִחַמְנוּ.

2) *e* is interchanged

(a) with *i*, as in יְפֵהפִיָּה/יְפֵהפֶה, פִּיּוֹת/פֶּה, כַּרְמִלּוֹ/כַּרְמֶל, גַּרְזִנּוֹ/גַּרְזֶן, בַּרְזִלָּם/בַּרְזֶל, כִּבְשָׂה/כֶּבֶשׂ, צִדְקוֹ/צֶדֶק;

(b) with *a*, as in מַפְסַלְתְּךָ/מַפְסֶלֶת, שׁוֹמַרְתּוֹ/שׁוֹמֶרֶת, מַלְכּוֹ/מֶלֶךְ; in biblical forms such as: וַיֹּאמַר/וַיֹּאמֶר (pausal), וַיֵּלַךְ/וַיֵּלֶךְ;

(c) with *e*, as in: יִקְנֵהוּ/יִקְנֶה, שְׂדֵה־/שָׂדֶה, קוֹנֵהוּ/קוֹנֶה.

3) *a* is interchanged with *i*, as in: מַס, מִסִּים, סִפִּים/סַף, בִּתָּם/בַּת, גִּתִּים/גַּת, פִּתָּה/פַּת, but maintained in עַמִּים/עַם, חַגִּי/חַג, גַּלֵּי/גַּל, גַּגּוֹת/גַּג.

There are forms where both possibilities exist: e.g., סַנְסַנִּים, זַלְזַלִּים, but even in modern Hebrew סַנְסִנָּיו is also found, and the same is true for גַּלְגַּלִּים, גַּלְגִּלֵּי and גַּלְגַּלִּים, גַּלְגַּלֵּי.

4) *o* is interchanged with *u*, as in: רֻבָּם/רֹב, חֻלּוֹ/חֹל, מָעֻ־ נְסוּגוֹתִי/נָסוֹג, מְנוּסִי, מְנוּסָה/מָנוֹס, מְתוּקָה/מָתוֹק, יְסֻבֵּנִי/יָסֹב, זֻם/מָעֹז but is retained in: שׁוֹר: שׁוֹרָם, חוֹל: חוֹלוֹ, מָלוֹן: מְלוֹנוֹת. But there is also עֹז: עָזִי.

5) *u* is interchanged with *o*, as in: קוּם, תְּקֹמְנָה, וַיָּקָם/יָקוּם (infinitive).

B) Elision of Vowels.

Here we refer both to *šewa quiescens*, which is phonetically a zero vowel, and to the *šewa mobile*, which is a zero vowel from the phonemic aspect, but realized as an ě vowel in a cluster of consonants. In fact the distribution of the *šewa*s depends solely on the type of syllable, and each can replace the other.

1) *é / šewa* as in: בִּמְ־ מְס־בִּים/מֵסֵב; לִסְ־פָרִים, סִפְ־רִים/סֵפֶר כִּסְ־ מַקְ־דְחוֹ/מַקְדֵּחַ; נִבְ־לָתוֹ/נְבֵלָה; חַבְ־רֵי/חָבֵר; עֲנָ־בִים/עֵנָב; סִבִּים חֲפֵצֵי: חָפֵץ; הֵיכָלוֹת: הֵיכָל; (יִתְ־תְּנוּ=) יִתְּנוּ/יִתֵּן; יוֹ־צְרוֹ/יוֹצֵר; אוֹת/כִּסֵּא; בְּרֵכָתָם: בְּרֵכָה; מַקְ־דְחוֹ/מַקְדֵּחַ; לִשְׂ־מֵחַי, שְׂמֵחַי: שָׂמֵחַ.

2) *e / šewa*, as in: לִמְ־לָכִים, מְלָ־כִים/מֶלֶךְ; יוֹ־צְרוֹת/יוֹצֶרֶת.

3) *a / šewa*, as in: לִזְ־קֵנֵי־, זְקֵ־נִים/זָקֵן; דִּבְ־רֵיהֶם, דְּבָ־רִי/דָּבָר בִּרְ־כַּת/בְּרָכָה; דִּבְ־שָׁהּ/דְּבַשׁ; כִּתְ־בֵי /כְּתָב; שְׂמֵ־חֵי/שָׂמֵחַ; זִקְ־נֵיכֶם ,ם, חַטְּאֵיהֶם; בִּרְ־כוֹתֵיהֶם; יִלְ־בְּשׁוּ/יִלְבַּשׁ; and others but: חָרָשׁ: חָרָשֵׁי; : חַטָּאִים; עֲיָרָה: עֲיָרוֹתֶיהָ; יִלְבָּשׁוּם and others.

4) *o / šewa*: שִׁבְּ־בֳלִים (= שִׁבֳּלִים); קָדְ־קֳדִים/קָדְקֹד; שִׁבֹּלֶת; יִשְׁ־מְרוּ, יִשְׁ־מְרֵם/יִשְׁ־מֹר; מַחְ־לְקוֹת/מַחְלֹקֶת; (צִפְּ־פֳּרִים =) צִפֳּרִים/צִפֹּר; יְ־כָלָה/יָכֹל but כְּתֹבֶת: כְּתוּבוֹת, כְּתוּבוֹתֵיהֶם; מַשְׂכֹּרֶת: מַשְׂכּוּרוֹת and many others; some people retain the *o* even in the nouns שִׁבֹּלֶת, צִפֹּר and מַחְלֹקֶת.

The phenomena listed above present a many-faceted and complicated picture of vowel changes. The main points are as follows:

A) The vowels *e, a, o* in an open syllable or in an accented closed syllable tend to be interchanged or elided when the word is declined (the same is true when the word serves as the basis for a derivation; as סִפְרוֹן: סֵפֶר). However, in a closed unaccented syllable, they are always retained in all declensions and conjugations of the word: (N.B. In this regard the imperfect verbal forms are independent "words," and we are not to treat their vowels in connection with the perfect).

B) In *e* vowels the phenomena is limited to that morphological type called "segolate nouns." Since *e* is an allophone of /*é*/ (see sections 2. Writing and Spelling; 12. The Phonological Status of the Vowels, above), the interchange *e* / *é* is not of the type under discussion, and in fact its conditions and results are different from the other changes. Phonemically, there are no *e* interchanges, but these are part of *é* changes. The interchanges of *u* vowels are common only in a few forms and this vowel is not elided. In fact the historic basis for this change differs from that of the other vowel changes, and the only factor they have in common is that of accent.

C) The conditions for the interchange of *e, a, o*, and their elisions are clear: the place of the accent and the structure of the syllable. When an accented closed syllable becomes unaccented the above vowels tend to interchange; in an open syllable whose accent has been removed the vowel tends to be elided.

D) With regard to elision the noun acts differently from the verb, while the verb itself acts differently according to whether or not it has a pronomial suffix. A verb without pronomial suffixes elides the vowel next to the accent; a noun elides the vowel penultimate to the accent, the verb with suffixes acts at times like the noun (especially in the *qal* perfect) and at times like a verb without suffixes.

For example, in the verb (without suffixes): *š$\overset{2}{a}$m$\overset{1}{a}$r*, *š$\overset{3}{a}$m$\overset{2}{ě}$r$\overset{1}{a}$*; *y$\overset{2}{a}$š$\overset{1}{é}$n*, *y$\overset{3}{a}$š$\overset{2}{ě}$n$\overset{1}{u}$*; *y$\overset{2}{i}$šm$\overset{1}{o}$r*, *y$\overset{3}{i}$šm$\overset{2}{é}$r$\overset{1}{u}$*; *y$\overset{2}{i}$š$\overset{1}{a}$n*, *y$\overset{3}{i}$š$\overset{2}{ě}$n$\overset{1}{u}$*; *y$\overset{2}{i}$tt$\overset{1}{é}$n*, *y$\overset{3}{i}$tt$\overset{2}{ě}$n$\overset{1}{u}$*; with suffixes; *y$\overset{3}{i}$šm$\overset{2}{ě}$r$\overset{1}{é}$ni*; *y$\overset{3}{i}$tt$\overset{2}{ě}$n$\overset{1}{e}$nnu*;

In the noun: *l$\overset{2}{é}$v$\overset{1}{a}$v*, *l$\overset{3}{ě}$v$\overset{2}{a}$v$\overset{1}{i}$*, *b$\overset{4}{i}$$\overset{3}{l}v\overset{2}{a}v\overset{1}{i}$*; *b$\overset{6}{ě}l\overset{5}{i}$ v$\overset{4}{v}$$\overset{3}{o}t\overset{2}{é}k\overset{1}{e}$m*; *z$\overset{2}{a}q\overset{1}{a}$n*; *z$\overset{3}{ě}q\overset{2}{é}n\overset{1}{i}$*, *l$\overset{4}{i}$$\overset{3}{z}q\overset{2}{e}n\overset{1}{o}$*;

In the verb with suffixes *š$\overset{2}{a}$m$\overset{1}{a}$r*, *š$\overset{3}{ě}$m$\overset{2}{a}$r$\overset{1}{a}$ni*, *$\overset{4}{u}$$\overset{3}{š}m\overset{2}{a}r\overset{1}{o}$*; *šaḵal* (in pause *š$\overset{2}{a}$ḵ$\overset{1}{é}$'aḥ*), *š$\overset{4}{ě}$ḵ$\overset{3}{é}$ḥ$\overset{2}{u}h\overset{1}{u}$*; *y$\overset{2}{i}lb\overset{1}{a}$š*, *y$\overset{3}{i}lb\overset{2}{a}$š$\overset{1}{é}$ni*;

E) As regards the very consistency of elision, the verb differs from the noun, and the behavior of the *o, é*, vowels differ from that of the *a* vowel.

1) In a verb without suffixes the elision is consistent;

2) In the noun, *é* and *o* tend to be maintained while *a* tends to be elided.

3) In the verb with suffixes *e* and *o* are elided while in the same position *a* is maintained as: *yišmor: yišměréni, yittén yittěnéni*: but *yilbaš, yilbašéni*.

F) Although the phonetic conditions – accentuation and syllable structure – are determining factors, it is impossible to classify – phonologically – all the various vowel changes without involving the morphological factor. In fact, it is only possible to depict the vowel system by listing the various morphological types in which one or the other situation occurs. Even within the morphological types there are variations which confuse the Hebrew speakers. As far as the official language is concerned, the Academy for Hebrew Language determines what is correct in each type.

G) *Historical Note*: This complicated situation, full of phonological inconsistencies, is the result of the change which took place in early Hebrew when there were still quantitative differences in vowels (see section Vowel Quantity). When quantity ceased to be free and phonemic – that is, when the language no longer accepted short vowels in open syllables – it lengthened or elided such vowels (depending on their relationship to the accent). In this way there developed either long syllables (that is, consonant plus long vowel, or consonant plus short vowel plus consonant) or syllables with *šewas* (or *ḥaṭefs*). As a result, in the paradigm of a given word which contained an original short vowel there were forms with long vowels (that is the vowel was lengthened because of the accent and this in turn caused a change in quality) alongside forms with short vowels (in a closed syllable), or elided vowels. At the same time, there are words with original long vowels which are maintained in all the declensions of the word, for example:

1) עֵדָה (= assembly): *ʿēḏā* (<*ʿidat*): *ʿăḏāṯi: ʿēḏot: ʿāḏōṯēḵā:* עֵדָה (= feminine witness): *ʿēḏā: ʿēḏātī: ʿēḏōṯ: ʿēḏōtēḵā*;

2) גִּבּוֹר: *gibbōr* (<*gibbār*): *gibbōrěḵem*: *gibbōrīm*: צִפּוֹר *ṣippor* (<*ṣippur*): *ṣippurḵem: ṣippŏrīm.*

Since a short vowel in Hebrew has become mechanically lengthened or elided by the stress, the basis for interchange and elision of originally short vowels has been lost. As a result of reciprocal influences, originally short vowels have begun to act as long vowels and vice versa. *é* and *o* were originally both long and short, and as long vowels played a key role in maintaining what were originally short vowels in declension and conjugation (compare כְּתוּבּוֹת, צִפֹּרָה, לֵדַת, זֵעַת). *a*, which was originally a short vowel (the original long vowel was *ō*), affected originally long *ā* which in certain instances (as in the words כְּתָב, קָרְבָּן) did not become *ō*, and so was later elided in positions where other *a* vowels would normally be elided; therefore, one can find כְּתָבֵי, קָרְבְּנֵיהֶם, etc. Beginning in mishnaic Hebrew, many words entered Hebrew from Aramaic with what was originally a long *ā*, and these maintained the *ā* in their declension; in this manner the relative symmetry of biblical Hebrew, which maintained ā only in few morphological types, was disturbed. Another factor disturbed the vowel *šewa* relationship: the existence of vowels (originally short) in syllables that became open after the cancellation of gemination (see section on Gemination and Clusters above) in all the declensions of the word. So, for example, פָּרָשׁ (<פַּרְרָשׁ) meaning "horseman," caused פָּרָשׁ meaning "horse" (II Sam. 1:6, Ez. 27:14) to retain the *a* vowel after the פ, and not elide it in the manner that the *a* vowel was elided after the ג of גָּמָל. The verb (without suffixes) in Hebrew is less given to change than the noun and to a greater extent reflects the early relationships (and not only in this regard). The noun, however, is subject to the influence of analogy; there are thus, from the phonologic point of view, many more contradictions in the paradigm of the noun. The great confusion with regard to interchanges made it necessary for the Academy for the Hebrew Language to establish the rules for maintaining or eliding a vowel. The Academy based these rules on morphological and semantic principles, i.e., principles which are at variance with precise phonetic processes.

17. INTERCHANGES DUE TO SOUND COMBINATIONS. In addition to the changes already discussed, there are changes in Hebrew caused by the chance sequence of sounds in the word. The natural tendency of the speaker is to conserve effort in his speech, and to try to minimize sharp changes in the use of one or the other of the organs of speech. In fact, speech is full of the assimilation of one sound to the other. Only when this assimilation is particularly sharp is the change felt. Since the consonants are more stable than the vowels, they tend to change less; cf. the changes due to assimilation, e.g., the נ to the neighboring consonant, the exchange of ת with ט or ד when close to צ or ז (see section 7. Other Consonants, above). At other times, a sequence of similar sounds demands a greater effort from the speaker and he tends to dissimilate them, as: displacement of ו by י in the plural form עֲרָיוֹת (from עֶרְוָה, but קְצָווֹת!) or י by א in עַרְבִיאִים alongside עַרְבִיִּים (but there is no יְהוּדִיאִים!) or הֲגָאִים alongside הֲגָיִים. Many variants in Hebrew comparable to הַשְׁקָאָה/הַשְׁקָיָה are occasionally used to distinguish differences of meaning, as הַלְוָאָה/הַלְוָיָה, הוֹרָאָה/הוֹרָיָה. In this class of variants is the plural ending ָ–יוֹת/ָ–אוֹת found commonly in loan words from the period of mishnaic Hebrew. Another type of change, called metathesis, is found in Hebrew in words like שַׁלְמָה/שִׂמְלָה, כֶּשֶׂב/כֶּבֶשׂ. More common are the vowel changes due to environment. This causes the *šewa/ḥaṭef* change after א, ה, ח and ע; *a* is preferred over é in שְׂמַח (opposed to שְׁמֵר) and over *i* in יַעֲמֹד opposed to יִשְׁמֹר, אֶשְׁמֹר against יִשְׁמֹר (but אִשָּׁמֵר is found alongside אֶשָּׁמֵר). Medieval manuscripts contain many more changes than are common in the official language, and some of the common forms in modern Hebrew can be explained as a result of this practice. So the common plural of מֵסֵב is מְסִבִּים, but the plural מְסֶבִּים (מְסֶבִּין) is simply a variant of מְסִבִּים, which assumed one of the meanings of the word. Among the changes whose origin is the desire to dissimilate the following are noteworthy:

1) A change which is active to a certain extent and noticeable in modern Hebrew: – *u* or *o* in a syllable next to a syllable with *u* or *o* is interchanged with *i* or *é*. This is found not so much in the inflection of words as in the derived forms. In inflection: נִכְחוֹ from נֹכַח; in derived forms חִיצוֹן, תִּיכוֹן, רִאשׁוֹן from חוּץ, תּוֹךְ, רֹאשׁ, and חִלּוֹנִי instead of ‡חֻלּוֹנִי (from חֹל); in this way the *i* of שִׁלְטוֹן can be understood as opposed to שָׁלְטָן; similarly in all *paʿul* participles with the suffix וּת– the *u* tends to be changed to *i*, פְּעִילוּת; in a combination of words לוּלֵא from לוּ לֹא.

2) The exchange of *a* by *e* is found in the definite article (also in the word מַה), given certain conditions in the word;

this change is not properly maintained in the spoken language.

MORPHOLOGY

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Introduction

1. DEFINITION OF THE SUBJECT. There is considerable disagreement as to which linguistic features are to be included in the area of morphology. Generally, semiticists have commonly included the discussion of parts of speech and the changes which they undergo as a result of their declension, as well as word-formation, in discussions of morphology. This is usually from the "form" aspect alone, without entering into investigations of the uses of these forms in speech. This latter problem is included in the study of syntax. The exceptions to this rule are Gesenius' Hebrew Grammar (29th edition) which was written by Bergsträsser (incomplete) and the Mishnaic Grammar by M.Z. Segal, which include the functions of the forms in their discussion of morphology. Another problem is, what is to be included in the term "form": a part of a word which does not have an independent existence? A word? A combination of words with a specific meaning or a particular structure (compound)? Or a feature such as the word order in the sentence which in some languages is morphological? Those who take morphology in its simplest, most straightforward meaning, include the linguistic form and exclude meaning, and distinguish between Lexical Morphology and Syntactic Morphology on the one hand, and, parallel to these, between Lexical Semantics and Syntactic Semantics, on the other hand (cf. S. Ullman, *Principles of Semantics* (1957), 33ff.). The preceding statement has not discussed all the methods of systematization but has merely alluded to the wide gulf which separates the different systems. The following description includes in the term "form": a form which is not in itself an independent word; an independent word; and to a limited extent the unit which supersedes a single word, if it is a lexical unit. This discussion of the structure of a linguistic form also includes its functions in the expression.

2. THE ROOT AND THE STEM (גזרה). A study of series of Hebrew words which are related semantically, such as:

a) שׁוֹמֵר, שְׁמִירָה, מִשְׁמָר, מִשְׁמֶרֶת, שְׁמוּרָה, שִׁמּוּרִים; שָׁמַר, שִׁמֵּר, נִשְׁמַר, etc., and

b) פּוֹקֵד, פְּקִידָה, פִּקּוּד, פָּקַד, מִפְקָדָה, תַּפְקִיד, פִּקָּדוֹן; פָּקַד, פִּקֵּד, הִפְקִיד, הִתְפַּקֵּד, etc., will immediately demonstrate that there are a number of consonants in each of the words, which contain the common semantic element (even if only in a general way) and a number of vowels or vowels plus consonants which serve to qualify the meaning which is common to the entire family, to the particular, specific meanings of the various words or forms. The group of consonants found in each word of the above examples (a) שמר (b) פקד is called the root while the rest is called the formative (see section Phonology: 4. Consonants as Pronounced by Various Communities above). In Hebrew as in the other Semitic languages the root is always made up of a group of consonants. This is not the case in English, for example (and other Indo-European languages), where the roots also include vowels, as: "cut," "boy," "love." Only in certain cases are there those who call the consonants common to a group of words the root, as: s-ng, in the words, song, sing, sung, while others will choose one of these words and refer to it as the root, the other forms which differ from it being called the derivatives of that root. Clearly, the Hebrew root is only the abstract basis of a family of words used in the language, and does not denote the origin from which these words are derived, as it is hard to assume any level of the language in which the speaker was able to pronounce consonants alone as words. However, the fact that it is an abstraction is not to say that it is a grammatical fiction and merely a technical tool for the analysis of linguistic forms; it is in fact a living reality, an integral part of the structure of the language, which every Hebrew speaker feels. The root is not simply a prehistoric residual or an inherited element but a reality which is continually being produced in the language, and to a certain extent modern Hebrew suffers from a hypertrophy of root production. The reality of the root in Hebrew is seen from the modern roots דוח, טלפן, אכלס, נטרל which are derived from the abbreviation דו"ח (דין וחשבון) through the verb דִּוֵּחַ, and from the words "telephone," אוכלוס ("population"), and "neutral," by eliding the vowels. This is done even though the vowels in these foreign words are an intrinsic part of the word, without which they would not retain the meaning they have as a Hebrew root. In slang and children's talk new roots are formed more easily – whether from Hebrew words such as צברח in the word מְצֻבְרָח from the phrase מצב רוח, or from foreign words such as בלף from bluff. However, only a small number of these words enter more educated speech. This is adequate proof of the reality and vitality of this phenomenon.

The norm for a root is three consonants, and this is in any event the minimum needed for formation of a verb. Hebrew, however, still recognizes roots of one consonant (especially in particles and pronouns) such as ז (in the words זֶה, זוֹ, זוּ), פ (in the words פֶּה, פֹּה), כ (in the word כֹּה); two letter roots, such as: יָד, בֵּן, עֵץ, אָב, חָם, but these are doubtless vestiges from an ancient period, when Hebrew had not yet separated from other Semitic languages. However, this is no longer a productive method for producing new roots in Hebrew. The standardization of the root to three consonants took place in the proto-Semitic period. Hebrew also contains a number of roots with four or more consonants. In the earlier stages of the language they are few, but today they have been greatly expanded, as for example תפקד from the noun תַּפְקִיד, which is in turn derived from פקד, or מספר from מִסְפָּר originally from ספר. The verb, however, needs a minimum of three consonants and whenever a verb is created, a root (at least of three consonants) is implied, even from a one-consonant root like זהי (in זֶהֱה, זִהוּי) from ז, or from a two-consonant root like אחי (אִחָה, אִחוּי) from אח, דמם (דֶּמֶם, דִּמּוּם) from דם. There is still no conclusive proof whether עו״י (see section 23. Paradigm of Mute Forms, below) verbs and ע״ע verbs are derived primarily from original two-consonant roots or from three-consonant roots one of whose consonants is elided under specific phonetic situations (cf. Biblical Hebrew). However, it is important to note that structurally in the historical period these verbs are integrated into the three consonantal root system and follow its rules, so that verbs of the form קָם, דָּן in the perfect, generate nouns and other forms like קִיּוּם, דַּיָּן. Theoretically, in all words which can be analyzed to a root, all the consonants of the root are present. These consonants of the root usually appear in all the forms, but as a result of phonetic processes, some of which took place in the earliest stage of Hebrew, there are cases where one (and occasionally even two) of the root consonants was weakened and does not appear in all of the derived forms of the root. For example, as a result of the tendency of the *nun* to be assimilated to the following consonant (cf. section Phonology: 7. Other Consonants) one finds forms such as יִפֹּל, מַפָּלָה, from נפל, and as a result of the elimination of the diphthong (see section Phonology: 15. Diphthongs) we find in Hebrew יִבְנֶה from the root בני against בִּנְיָן, בַּנַּאי and others. In systematization of the Hebrew forms, and in categorizing the words grammatically, one must consider this feature which affects the external forms of words without necessarily weakening its association with the other forms and words derived from the same root. In accordance with the structure, it is customary to divide the Hebrew roots into two main groups (stems) called Strong Verbs and Weak (Hollow) Verbs. The three consonants פעל are used as the symbol of the root and in accord with the place of elision the weak verbs are divided into the following stems: פ״א (that is, the weakening takes place in the first consonant of the root and is the consonant *alef*, and similarly) פ״ו, פ״י, פ״נ, ע״ו, ע״י, ל״א, ל״י (usually called ל״ה because of the spelling of the perfect form like קָנָה). A separate category is assigned to the roots with duplication or the ע״ע which stand between the strong and weak verbs.

3. THE "BASIC ELEMENT." There are, however, a considerable number of Hebrew words – excluding verbs – in which morphological analysis does not yield a root in the form described above but a combination of consonants and vowels, whether (a) the word is an independent form (a "free" form, as in the Indo-European root discussed above) or (b) it does not appear as an independent form (a "bound" form) or (c) it is a loan word or (d) it is an old inherited part of the language. Thus a group of related words such as פִּנְקָס, פִּנְקְסָן, פִּנְקְסָנוּת, פִּנְקְסוֹן, does not yield a Hebrew root פנקס, just as the words טֶלֶפוֹן, טֶלֶפוֹנַאי, טֶלֶפוֹנָאוּת, although there is a Hebrew root טלפן, cannot be derived from that root since the formatives *é-é-o, é–é-o-ay* do not exist in Hebrew. In both these groups of words the "elements" פִּנְקָס and טֶלֶפוֹן, being independent words in the language, are not susceptible to further morphological analysis. The same is true for original Hebrew words such as אֶצְבְּעוֹנִי and מְחִירוֹן, which semantically have no connection to צבע, and מחר, but retain their connection to אֶצְבַּע, מְחִיר which are independent words. This phenomenon is especially noticeable in those cases where the "elements" do not serve, or, because of their makeup, are unable to serve, as independent words, such as מדיניות (the independent word is מדינה), צורני (the independent word is צורה), ירושלמי (the word is ירושלים), רשימון (the word is רשימה and not רשים), תברואן (the word is תברואה), בַּקָּשֹׁנֶת (the word is בקשה: familiar usage). A "basic element" of this type is parallel to a root insofar as the derived forms and their semantic content are directly related to it and not its root, even if it can be analyzed further into a root. For the concept "basic element" which we have introduced into the morphological analysis of Hebrew we use, in Hebrew, the term נטע (plant) which is found in a grammatical text of the Middle Ages.

Note: Attention should be paid to the difference between the concepts "basic element" as used here and "base" which is used by some scholars in morphological analysis. They refer to a specific form of a noun or verb which is itself a combination of a root plus pattern. It is the base to which other morphemes or suffixes are added, thus שָׁמַר is the base of שָׁמַרְתִּי etc. or כַּלְבּ is the base for כַּלְבּוֹ, כַּלְבָּם, כַּלְבּוֹן. The base is an historical genetic concept (cf. Brockelman, *Grundriss*, 1, 287; Bauer & Leander, 246). The term "basic element," however, refers to a structure parallel to the root and of the same level, in that it cannot be further analyzed without losing its semantic relation to the word which is based upon it.

In biblical Hebrew the formation basic element + formative was rare and found mainly in nouns with the ending

־ִי (denoting belonging in the widest sense; cf. section 9. Suffixes); in modern Hebrew this formation is much more common, and in fact it was already in wider use in tannaitic Hebrew, with the adaptation of many foreign words. At times, when there is no clear-cut morphological analysis as with רְשִׁימוֹן, or as with words such as אֱמְדָּן, סֶלְחָן, קָרְבָּן there is some doubt as to which type of formation it is. Words like קרבן can be analyzed *qorb+an* or *QRB+.o..an* (QoRBan). In such instances one must fall back on semantic analysis. If there is a semantic connection between the word and the root, and this formative is found in the Hebrew language and forms are built up in this way – then one is dealing with a root, but if there is no semantic connection with the root or such a morpheme is not known in the language (cf. above טֶלֶפוֹן) then this form is the result of a "basic element" plus a formative. So רַגְזָן is easily analyzed: a root plus the morpheme *a.an.*, while מרגיזן (in children's language) must be analyzed as a basic element (מרגיז) plus the formative *an*, for if this were not the case the causative quality, which is not expressed in the root but in the *hif'il* formative included in the "basic element" which is the *hif'il* participle, would be lost.

4. THE FORMATIVE AND THE MORPHEME. The formative is that element – a phoneme or group of phonemes – with which a word is created, whether from a root or a "basic element." In Hebrew morphology it is possible to speak of two types of formatives: one which is combined with the root and in Hebrew linguistics is traditionally called the משקל (pattern); and one added to the "basic element" and is either a prefix or a suffix. The formative called משקל is always an infix, because it comes within the root, but can also be a prefix and infix at one and the same time as in: mišMaR, or an infix and a suffix as: KišRon; or a prefix, infix and suffix as with mišBeẓet. This formant is always discontinuous while the one which comes with the "basic element" is always continuous. The group of patterns which make up one verbal paradigm is called a conjugation (בנין) as: šaMarti, šaMaRta, šaMaR. (In the early days of Hebrew linguistics in the Middle Ages the terms משקל and בנין were used interchangeably.) In the common spoken language there is also a "minus formative" discernible, where a word is developed by removing a part of the word which serves the basis of the derivation (this is called a back-formation), as the elision of the ־ִי in the words פסיכי, אנטיפאטי: resulting in פסיך, אנטיפאט. In this way a differentiation is achieved between the description of the quality (adjective) and its subject (substantive). Literary language includes non-accentuation (the accentuation which has phonemic value in Hebrew, cf. Phonology: 14. The Accent) of one of the elements of a compound and so a difference is achieved between the preposition עַ֫ל יד and על יָ֫ד when both words are given their full meaning. Formations such as מגדל אור>מגדלור, יכול אני>יכולני (in this last word the plural מִגְדָּלוֹרִים as against מִגְדְּלֵי אוֹר is proof for that formation) come into being by eliding part of the compound. In the section on "Basic Element" it was stated that the "basic element" could be a word in itself used in Hebrew or something different or less than a word. In the formation of "basic element" plus formative, attention should be paid to the third category, where the formative plays a special role. While Hebrew can absorb foreign words easily, Hebrew grammar does not absorb elements which are foreign to its structure. It has already been seen that it is impossible to form a Hebrew verb from a foreign word if a root is not abstracted from its consonants (cf. טלפן). Similarly, Hebrew has difficulty in absorbing words which are adjectives or adverbs without first giving them a Hebrew form. This is not the case with other nouns. Words like בנק, כלור, אידיאליסט, אידיאליזם, ריאליזם, טנק and many others were assimilated into Hebrew without any serious attempt to exchange them for Hebrew innovations. This is not the case with words such as banker, chloric, realistic, psychic, and clerical; if they appear in Hebrew whether in their English, French, German, or other form, they remain foreign. In order to derive Hebrew forms two methods are used: either the Hebrew formative is added to the foreign word like קלריקלי (clerical+*i*), ריאליסטי, etc., or the corresponding foreign formative is exchanged for a Hebrew one, like: בנקאי (אַי in place of -er), כלורי (־ִי in place of -ic), טרגיקון (Tragik + er), היסטוריון (histor + ion), etc. In each instance the grammatical element which determines the category of the word in the original language is replaced by a Hebrew element. Were it not for this process the word could not be assimilated into Hebrew, and would certainly not be able to serve as the basis for other derived forms. A similar situation is the addition of the feminine ending ־ָה to words which are borrowed from a language in which they are feminine even though they do not have a special feminine ending or are not used as the feminine at all. The Hebrew feminine form lends to the borrowed word a Hebrew form which makes its declension simpler, as אוניברסיטה (plural אוניברסיטאות), פונימה (phoneme). A special function of the Hebrew formative is, therefore, to adapt foreign words to a Hebrew form. This type of formation has not yet been thoroughly investigated, nor has it been described.

Unlike the roots and "basic elements" which develop in modern times, the formatives (not only the pattern formatives) are mostly inherited from earlier times and fixed. They change as to their function and semantic value, which at times differ in modern Hebrew from what they were in biblical or earlier Hebrew. Still, it cannot be said absolutely that no new formatives are being created in Hebrew. The history of different languages shows that formatives generally originate from independent words whose meaning has become blurred as a result of the wide use of a particular compound, or by transferring an element from a word which already exists in the language (the so-called metanalysis). Thus in post-biblical and modern Hebrew the compound היה + participle is used to express continuous (durative) and repeated (iterative) action, and so there is a difference between הוא היה אומר and הוא אמר.

In biblical Hebrew היה, even when found in a similar syntactical frame, is not the formative element (auxiliary word) it is in modern Hebrew. Still, even in modern Hebrew היה has not become fixed as a formative only in the strict sense. However, in literary Arabic, for example, of the compound *sawfa yaḫruğu* (סופו לצאת in rabbinic Hebrew, "He will go out") only *sa* remains from the first word (*sayaḫruğu*) and this becomes the formative for expressing the future. Spoken Arabic knows of other such formatives. An investigation of modern Hebrew is likely to reveal several other candidates for new formatives, one of which is ש with the imperfect verbal form to express desire: שילך = (נא) ילך. In the literary language this formative developed from a certain syntactic combination. By analogy a new formative was created in modern Hebrew (probably as a result of a sarcastic expression), טרון– from the word תיאטרון, and it serves to refer to a place where performances are presented, as: זירהטרון (circus), צ׳יזבאטרון (a satirical theater), and בובהטרון (puppet theater). In literary Hebrew נֶת– is used as a diminutive form (as טִפֹּנֶת, קְטַנְטֹנֶת). This is a new formative. Some centuries ago וֹנִית– was used (cf. עַלְמוֹנִית, נַעֲרוֹנִית) coined in accordance with אֲדוֹנִית (fem. counterpart of אדון) or חִיצוֹנִית (fem. of חִיצוֹן). The attempts to reestablish the *šafel* (שקם, שכפל, שכתב, שכנע), which in ancient Hebrew had no position and certainly no fixed function (words of this form are always borrowed), are all parts of this process. To summarize: not even the area of the formative is completely closed to new addition or limited to its original complement. The root, "basic element," and formative are the three components to which the Hebrew word can be analyzed, and each, individually, is the minimal meaningful morphologic unit which cannot be divided further and which has semantic content, in other words: morphemes.

Note: Some modern linguists use the term morpheme as the basis of their morphologic analysis of the Hebrew language and do not see any need for the term formative. But even they cannot ignore the traditional concept, the root, completely (nor do they eliminate the concept of pattern); instead they speak of a root morpheme. But it seems that in a language such as Hebrew, where the root is a vital and living element (see section 2. The Root and the Stem), one must relate to the fundamental difference between the abstract "root" and the "formative," which is the element that generates a real word, a noteworthy stage in any morphologic analysis, even though both elements are similar in that they are minimal units – morphemes. The morpheme is a concept in morphology which includes inflection and derivation, while the formative is reserved for the process of derivation. Inflection is generally an automatic process, depending on the type of word (noun, verb, etc.); derivation is always a new process.

5. PARTS OF SPEECH. The elements discussed above combine to make words. It is common to sort the words into categories called "parts of speech." Traditionally, Hebrew grammar differentiates (as did Aristotle) between three types only: noun, verb, participle. However, for several generations, under the influence of the grammar of various European languages, the division into nine parts of speech has become part of Hebrew grammar. There is no area of modern linguistics where the differences between scholars are more pronounced than in the division into parts of speech. It has been correctly claimed that the criterion for the accepted division is not consistent; at times it is the form and at times the content, or a mixture of the two. The logical demand to categorize the words based on differences in form leads to the conclusion: "every language has its own scheme. Everything depends on the formal demarcations which it recognizes" (E. Sapir, *Language*, 1949, 119). It must be admitted that it is not easy to fulfill this prerequisite. In our opinion it is better to analyze Hebrew in accordance with the traditional division into three parts of speech since it is thus possible to include the formal criterion more precisely. A sharp distinction exists between the noun and the verb. The verbal nouns, the participle, and the infinitive belong morphologically to the category of nouns, although syntactically there are features common to them and the verb. Regarding particles, there is not always a sharp distinction between them and the noun; some are inflected like the noun (עִמְּךָ like יָדְךָ) or have other qualities which are like the noun, while only the conjunctions and the interjections are entirely different from the noun and the verb. But there are particles (prepositions) which can, in accord with their morphological behavior, be classified as "nouns" (תַּחַת, אחור־אחורֵי, אֵין־אַיִן, בֵּין). Also from a syntactical point of view the only clear division is between the noun and the verb (a "verbal sentence" has a verb as a predicate; a "nominal sentence" has a noun or particle as a predicate). The division into nine parts of speech confuses, since it confounds meaning (substantive, adjective, number) with the criterion of form and does not necessarily follow from an analysis of Hebrew speech.

Noun Formation

PATTERNS. To the problem of how many patterns there are in Hebrew and what they are, there is apparently a simple answer; if the word is analyzed to its root then the pattern is left after eliding the root consonants. But, surprisingly enough, there is a great divergence between what is commonly presented in the grammars and scientific literature (particularly that not written in Hebrew during the last generations) and the practical grammars (especially those written in Hebrew) based on the long internal Jewish tradition. Suffice it to point out that a standard work such as Bauer and Leander's Hebrew Grammar lists about 80 patterns for the noun while the "traditional" count (since David *Kimḥi) is about 290. It is not in the nature of the language observed that the difference between these two systems lies, since few new patterns have been added to biblical Hebrew. The critical difference is the method of observation. The traditional method depends on a descriptive approach, in which each form is considered to be another pattern, while the accepted scientific system is based on a historical-diachronic approach, in which are classified together all nouns even if they appear in different forms if they were the same in the early (sometimes even prehistoric) stages of the language; that is, the criteria come from outside the linguistic stage being described. Following are some examples of different types of classification.

a) The nouns: מֶלֶךְ, נַחַל, תַּיִשׁ, לַיִל, לֵיל, עִיר, גְּדִי, גַּן

"Traditional" system	*"Scientific" system*
1. פֶּעֶל pat: מלך, נחל	these are all part of the *qatl* pattern because their original forms were: *‡malk, ‡naḥl, ‡tayš, ‡layl, ‡ʿayr, ‡gady, ‡gann*
2. פַּיִל pat: תיש, ליל	
3. פֵּיל pat: לֵיל	
4. פִּיל pat: עיר	
5. פְּעִי pat: גדי	
6. פַּל pat: גן	

b) The nouns: שָׁלוֹם, כָּבוֹד, רָחוֹק, גָּדוֹל, אָדֹם, עָבֹת, גָּב(וֹ)הַּ, עָשׁוֹק, כָּרוֹז, כְּתָב, קְרָב are classified:

"Traditional" system	*"Scientific" system*
1. פָּעוֹל pattern: All nouns till כתב (but some point to the differences in declension)	1. *qatāl*: שלום, כבוד, כתב, קרב.
a) elimination of the *qameṣ* שלום, etc., b) maintaining the qames כרוז etc., c) gemination of the 3rd radical אדם.	2. *qatul*: a) אדם, עבת, גבה b) רחוק, גדול 3. *qatūl* (?) *qatāl* (?): כרוז, עשוק.
2. פְּעָל pat: כתב, קרב.	

c) The nouns: רַתּוֹק, קַנּוֹא, שִׁכּוֹר, גִּבּוֹר, צִפֹּר, קַנָּא, קַשָּׁת, רַכָּב, אַיָּל are classified:

"Traditional" system	*"Scientific" system*
1. פַּעוֹל pat: רתוק, קַנּוֹא	1. *qattāl* pat: all except איל, צפר
2. פִּעוֹל pat: שִׁכּוֹר, גִּבּוֹר, צִפּוֹר	2. *qattal* pat: איל
3. פַּעָל pat: קנא, איל	3. *quttul* pat: צפר

(Another less acceptable division in the scientific system:

qattāl: רתוק, קַנּוֹא	*quttol*: שכור, צפור
qattal: קנא, איל).	

A further difference: the nouns with the addition ־ָה as: אַיָּלָה, נֶחָמָה, גַּנָּה are independent patterns in the "traditional" system, *qatl, qattāl, qattal* in the "scientific" grammar. The examples show that none of the methods is entirely consistent. Traditional grammar does not distinguish between מֶלֶךְ with two *segols* and נַחַל with two *pathaḥs* and מֶלַח with a *pathaḥ* and a *segol*, while historical grammar is at times confused about the original form, and forced to establish patterns such as קְטִיל, קְטוּל (with *šewa*!). The criteria upon which we should base the different patterns in Hebrew from a descriptive structural point of view, will be given below with examples.

Note: In confronting the "traditional" and "scientific" methods of classification two typical forms of classification have been used, but it should be remembered that in each there are differences (especially in the "traditional") which affect the final count of patterns. While David Kimḥi (12th cent.) counted 290 patterns, Jonah ibn Janāḥ (11th cent.) counted about 80 (if one eliminates about 60 which are patterns of personal names). He already classified diverse forms such as אֶרֶץ, עִיר, עֲיָרִים, פֶּתִי, נֵרְדְּ under the same pattern.

7. PRINCIPLES OF PATTERN ANALYSIS. It is clear from the above that the "scientific" methods describe the way the Hebrew word was created from its proto-semitic form and are essentially interested in prehistory and not the historical reality. On the other hand, the "traditional" system is found to describe the external appearance of the noun, even if that appearance is unique among the forms which make up the paradigm of that noun, and due entirely to chance as a result of the coincidence of certain sounds in the word. For example, מֶלֶךְ, נַחַל, בַּיִת have two syllables in these forms only, while in other forms of the declension of the singular, the base is of one syllable: מַלְכּ־, נַחֲל־, בֵּית־ as in the nouns יום, ליל, עם. The analysis of patterns must be done on two levels: first the nouns must be analyzed as they appear: that is the root and the formative element must be distinguished; then the common features in appearance must be investigated in relation to the structure of the root ("stem") and each group will yield its pattern. Just as every group of words with a basic common meaning will yield a "root," so too from a group having common formation features the "pattern" will emerge. On both levels of the analysis the process is only descriptive and refers to the language in the given circumstances. It may be said that the relationship of the "appearance" to the "pattern" is as the phone to the phoneme or the morph to the morpheme. In the process of the analysis the following rules will be carefully considered:

1) The need to distinguish between nouns derived from roots by patterns and nouns derived from a basic element + formative. For example: כַּרְטִיסָן, לַהֲטוּטָן, though there is a root כרטס (note: כַּרְטֶסֶת) להט, are to be analyzed כרטיס + ־ָן, להטוט + ־ָן as סמרטוטר = סמרטוט + ־ָר (see section 3. The Basic Element). These are not of concern here. One must be especially wary of nouns ending in the feminine as: אַיָּלָה, יַבָּשָׁה : אילה is to be analyzed אַיָּל + ־ָה, יבשה however, is to be analyzed יבש + *a..a-a*.

2) Pattern formations are (primarily) the result of the relationship between the consonants of the root and the vowels and consonants which are not part of the root. The relationships between the root consonants themselves, such as the hollowness of certain roots (see the section: 2. The Root and the Stem) or the repetition of one or two of the consonants, do not affect the concept of pattern, nor the declensions which are connected to the structure. Pattern is an abstraction and the appearance of the word is its realization. This principle is not properly reflected even in scientific grammar books where the patterns *qattīl* and *qatlīl*, for example, are separated as are others, although from the point of view of the number of root consonants there is no difference between them (see Phonology: 8. Gemination and Clusters) nor is there a difference in the way they are declined. Repetition of a root consonant can have an expressive function, but is not a matter of the pattern. From this point of view, דַּפְדֶּפֶת, טַפְטֶפֶת, כַּרְטֶסֶת, רַכֶּבֶת (= רככבת) are of the same form, as are נִדְנוּד, סִבּוּב (= סבבוב), סִדּוּר (= סדדור), and פִּלְפֵּל, אִלֵּם (= אללם) and דַּיָּן (= דיין), פַּרְנָס.

3) As a result of vowel interchanges (cf. Phonology: 15. The Diphtongs; 16. Interchange and Elision of Vowels) a dif-

ferentiation must be made between those changes which affect the meaning of a word and those conditioned changes which do not. For example the vowels which follow the formative מ in the nouns מִזְמוֹר: מַעֲצוֹר, מִזְבֵּחַ: מַסְמֵר do not indicate a pattern change (although they produce different appearances!) whereas the three respective vowels after the צ in מַעֲצָר מַעֲצֵר מַעֲצֹר determine three different patterns. The same is true for the vowels of the formative in מִפְקָד: מֶפְקָד or in מַעֲמָד: מָעֳמָד which determine different patterns, while the change מָעֳמָד: מֶעֱמָד does not determine different patterns.

4) As to the "appearance" one must consider its connection to the root, and in all the declensions of the noun in a specific paradigm, a form may be picked out and established as representative of the pattern, as long as the form chosen serves to clarify the others in accord with the rules of the language. The linguist is liable to discover that in Hebrew very often the declined form and not the dictionary form ("*casus rectus*" or absolute form) is the one which is most representative of the pattern. This is a result of certain developments in the language which caused change in the absolute form of the word. So from *qullo, qullot*, the form *qol* (lightness, easiness) could easily be understood according to the rules of vowel interchange (see section Phonology: 16. Interchange and Elision of Vowels) but not the opposite (the absolute *qull* is not possible!); there is, indeed, the homonym *qol* (voice) in the absolute which declines as *qolo, qolot*. Clearly one appearance (as *qol*) is liable to produce more than one pattern and vice versa. At times this method of analysis is likely to agree (although without intention) with the historical method, but very often it will yield different results. If the decision that *qull* is of the *qutl* pattern is in agreement with the historical position, the decision that *qol* is not of the *qatl* pattern (*qawl* in Arabic) or the *qal* pattern (*qāla* in Aramaic, and so in the Silwan inscription) but of the *qol* pattern, is opposed to the accepted historical point of view. Any agreement with the historical position is indicative of the fact that here and there the early state is still reflected in the modern makeup of the language.

5) From the above (4) it is clear that the patterns as they are determined by the structure of modern Hebrew must be arrived at not from the vocalized forms but from the pronunciation which does not recognize quantitative differences, recognizing instead a total of five vowel phonemes (see section Phonology: 12. The Phonological Status of the Vowels).

8. DETERMINING THE PATTERNS. In accord with the above principles the various stages in determining the patterns of the noun can be described: Example I: (1) מֶלֶךְ, (2) צֶדֶק, (3) סֶגֶל, (4) סֵפֶר, (5) אֶבֶן, (6) עֵדֶר, (7) יֶרַח, (8) נֶצַח, (9) צַד, (10) גַּן, (11) עַיִר, (12) גָּוֶן, (13) בְּכִי, (14) חֲצִי, (15) חֵטְא, (16) דֶּשֶׁא, (17) בֶּכֶה, (18) עֵד, (19) לֵיל, (20) שׁוֹר, (21) אוֹן. In almost all of them the three root-consonants are immediately recognizable, and in some of them when they are declined in singular or plural (בִּכְיוֹ, צְדָדִים, חֲטָאִים). In many there is an obvious connection with other nouns (צַדִּיק, מְלוּכָה, מְאֻבָּן, etc.), or to a verb (בָּכָה, גִּוֵּן) – indicating that these forms are derived from roots and not from a basic element. They can be divided, based on appearance, as follows:

פֶּעֶל: 1, 2, 3, 5, 7, 8, 16, 17
פֵּעֶל: 4, 6
פַּל: 9, 10
פֵּל: 15, 18, 19
פַּיִל: 11
פָּוֶל: (or פָּעֶל): 12
פּוֹל: 20, 21
פְּעִי: 13, 14

In all there are at least eight different appearances (some differentiate between פֵּל and פֵּיל [לֵיל]). Checking the structure of the roots (= "stems") we find five types: (a) strong (1–8), (b) ע״ו/ע״י (11, 12, 18, 19, 20, 21), (c) ל״א (15, 16), (d) ל״י (13, 14, 17), (e) ע״ע (9, 10). Since the types of consonants in the roots do not determine the pattern (cf. principle 2) it is fundamentally possible for all the words to be variations of one pattern, if it can be shown that with regard to the vocalizations attached to the root (the formative) there is no difference between them. In accordance with the declension of the following (a) מַלְכִּי, יַרְחִי, גַּנּוֹ, אַבְנֵיכֶם, etc. (b) צִדְקוֹ, סִפְרוֹ, עֶדְרוֹ, בִּכְיוֹ, צִדּוֹ the diachronic approach is likely to distinguish two patterns *qitl* and *qatl*, and, based generally on comparative reasoning, these nouns will be included in one of the two patterns, especially recognizable in the ע״ו/ע״י stems since some of the nouns have a diphthong and others a simple vowel (cf. section on Phonology: 15. The Diphtongs). On the other hand, the descriptive grammar of Hebrew in its historical setting will abstract from these forms three patterns:

a) *pi/aʾl* 1–17, (20?)
b) *pel* 18, 19
c) *pol* 21, (20?)

Since for many generations (a fact which is already evident in the vocalization of the Bible) the form פעל is declined with an *i* after the first root-consonant, while *a* appears only if the first or second root-consonant is אהח״ע, and in a number of ancient words (as מַלְכּוֹ), therefore the interchange *a/i* is conditioned and this pattern may be called *paʿl* or *piʿl*; both have been absorbed in historical Hebrew to one pattern. On the other hand the ancient group which included 11, 18, 19, has been broken up and there is no longer any similarity in their behavior; this leads to the need for a *pel* pattern; the same is true for 12, and 20 is more properly placed in (a) because of its plural שְׁוָרִים.

Example II: (1) מִשְׁמָר, (2) מַעֲמָד, (3) מַחְמָד, (4) מַסָּע, (5) מַדָּע, (6) מֵידָע, (7) מוֹדָע, (8) מָקוֹם, (9) מָדוֹן, (10) מִמְצָא, (11) מִבְנֶה, (12) מַעֲשֶׂה, (13) מָסָךְ, (14) מֵסַב, (15) מַשָּׁק.

They are commonly divided into:

מִפְעָל: 1, 2, 3, 10
מִפְעֶה: 11, 12
מַפָּל: 4, 5, 15
מֵיפָל: 6
מוֹפָל: 7
מָפוֹל: 8, 9

מָפָּל: 13
מֵפַּל: 14

An investigation of the structures yields seven types: (a) strong 1–3; (b) פ״נ 4, 15 (מַשָּׁק meaning touch, is related to the root נשק); (c) פ״ו/פ״י 5–7 (there is no root נדע to which מַדָּע may be related); (d) ע״ו/ע״י 8–9; (e) ל״א 10; (f) ל״י 11–12; 13 ע״ע (compare the verb סכך), 14, 15 (מַשָּׁק meaning noise is related to the root שקק). The diachronic approach will establish for these 15 nouns of eight appearances two patterns *maqtal* and *miqtal*. The last is indicated only in 14, just as the first is derived from the rest except for 1–3, 10–12; these cannot be historically included with certainty in either of the two patterns. But in accordance with principles no. 2 and 3 above one pattern, *mafʿal,* can be determined whose first vowel is easily distinguished in all the nouns except for 14 and for that reason a better symbol would be *ma/ifʿal*.

It must be noted that there is no permanence in the language; relationships to roots are constantly being eliminated and new relationships develop. A word which cannot be analyzed into a root and pattern is a basic element. The two words אִישׁ, שִׁיר are similar in their appearance, the second is related to the root שיר (שִׁירָה, מְשׁוֹרֵר, שָׁר) and so is analyzed according to the pattern *pi/aʿl* while the first was not related until modern times to any family of words, and when the root איש was created (אִיֵּשׁ, מְאֻיָּשׁ) its morphological status was changed. Consistency demands that we analyze words with fewer than three root-consonants such as יָד, שָׂפָה, פֶּה (which are actually relics of a period which preceded the three-root system!) as “basic elements,” until there will be a family of words which will relate them to a root. In this way the 290 appearances in the “traditional” grammar will be reduced to about 90. About 50 of these are infix types, and the rest are prefix-infix-suffix types. The consonantal elements which precede the root are (in alphabetical order) א (אַזְכָּרָה), ה (הֶבְדֵּל), י (יַלְקוּט), מ (מַאֲכָל, מַלְבּוּשׁ, מוֹסָד), נ (נַפְתּוּלִים), ת (תַּלְמוּד). The elements of the pattern which follow the root are: ־ָה (קַבָּלָה, פִּשְׁרָה), ־ֶת (מִסְגֶּרֶת, מִשְׁקֹלֶת), וֹן (עִקָּרוֹן), ־ָן (אֶמְדָּן). From this great number of possible patterns in Hebrew there are today no more than 25 which are productive (this is a general impression and not the result of an exact statistical investigation). If one ignores the patterns used for participles and infinitives (*nomina actionis*), which are automatically formed with the verb, then the infixed *pi/aʿl* is especially productive for concrete and abstract nouns, such as: כֶּבֶל, מֶרֶק, פֶּסֶל, קֶצֶר, מֶנַע; *po/uʿl* mainly for abstract nouns: אֹרֶךְ, קֹצֶר, אֹדֶם but also, עֹתֶק, טֹפֶס; while *paʿal* is used to indicate profession or permanent character: סַפָּן, נַגָּן, שַׁדָּר, נַגָּח. The prefixed and suffixed patterns which are productive are the ones with מ before the root and a “feminine” ending such as מַזְמֵרָה, מִסְפָּרָה, מִנְהָלָה, מִקְטֶרֶת, מִכְפֶּלֶת, etc.

9. SUFFIXES. Although the creation of forms through patterns is dominant in Hebrew (verb patterns should be added to noun patterns), ancient Hebrew once created forms from the basic element + suffix. The changeover from one type of word formation to the other can be illustrated by two examples. (1) basic element + formative > pattern. The nouns רְעָבוֹן, רָעָב are differentiated by the suffix –וֹן and it is likely that this was added to the basic element רָעָב, just as –וֹן was added to ראש (there is no such root) and ראשון was formed. However, in various nouns which are formed in this way, a syllable + an open vowel which in antiquity must have become lengthened, are changed to a closed syllable by gemination of the next consonant. According to the accepted rule: לָבָן: לְבָנִים is equivalent to קָטָן: קְטַנִּים and which was *qatal+on* could develop into *qattalon* leading to פִּעָלוֹן. In historical Hebrew while רעבון can still be analyzed as basic element רָעָב + suffix –וֹן, צִמָּאוֹן is a *piʿʿalon* pattern, and cannot be analyzed as צָמָא +–וֹן. The same word in the Samaritan pronunciation, however, *ṣằmằmʾon* enables us to see the older stage and can be analyzed as צָמָא +–וֹן parallel to רעבון.

(2) Noun pattern > basic element + formative. The words מַלְכוּת, גַּבְהוּת, עַמְקוּת, גַּדְלוּת, יַהֲדוּת are each made up of two morphemes which are obtained through the analysis: roots מלכ, עמק etc. and the formative *.a..ut*, and cannot be analyzed into the stems מַלְכּ (note מַלְכוּת and not מַלְכּוּת!), עָמֹק or עמוק, יהודי and the suffix וּת, but in אֱנוֹשׁוּת the analysis is necessarily אֱנוֹשׁ + וּת. At times both types of creation function alongside each other as in the synonyms אַדְנוּת (אדנ + the pattern *.a..ut*), אֲדוֹנוּת (the basic element אָדוֹן + the suffix *ut*). Though it is possible that the pattern containing וּת was formed from a basic element and a formative as in example (1) (since the element וּת was probably created as a result of metanalysis from ל״ו), historically one first finds in Hebrew words with וּת which are analyzed by patterns and only later those which are analyzed “basic element” + formative. Note that this type of formative is common in names of people and places.

The suffixes can be divided into two groups: those which have fallen into disuse (obsolete) and those still used. The suffixes which are no longer in use and are not productive, are at times not recognized even by the expert as formative elements. Still, they should not be ignored, and should be included in a descriptive grammar, since there is still a relationship between a noun with such a suffix and a noun without it. Furthermore, the availability of the early classical sources creates new forms through formatives which have been considered unproductive and long dead (cf. נִ״י(ת) = below). Of the suffixes in common use, some are very productive.

Obsolete suffixes:

a) vowels: –הֹ, –וֹ, are found mainly in personal names, as שלמה, עדו, מגדו, but also חַיְתוֹ (= חית), בנו (= בן; perhaps the ו of בשעתו, בזמנו which was originally the third person suffix whose value was weakened because of the weakening of the syntactic connection, also belongs to this category). ־ֶה, ־ֵה: אִשֶּׁה (fire-offering), לִבְנֶה (in this way the singular of בָּטְנִים: בָּטְנָה was formed several decades ago. Today this form is considered incorrect.), אריה (from ארי cf. אֲרָיוֹת). ־ָה ≤: so-called “*he* locale,” found originally and mainly in adverbs denoting places as in שָׁמָּה, הָלְאָה, לְמַטָּה. See also ־ָתָה below.

b) vowels and consonants: –ב in the place name שעלבים

which includes שעלב (תַעלב in Arabic) = fox. ־ַג: the name אבישג, in use even today as opposed to אבישי, the ג is considered to be a formative element regardless of its origin. ־יָה: מַאְפֵּלְיָה, מֶרְחַבְיָה, כְּנוּפְיָה; also to be analyzed in this way אַסְפַּקְלַרְיָה (from *specularium*), as there is the basic element אַסְפַּקְלָר. ־יָן: עֲבַרְיָן the basic element עֲבַר, connected with the noun עֲבֵרָה (cf. the noun, ירושלמי, no 3). ־ל: כַּרְמֶל, עֲרָפֶל, סֵפֶל (the biblical word סף is found in poetry, as Bialik's לבי סף דמעה), עַרְסָל (basic element עֶרֶס), גבעול. ־ם: רֵיקָם, אָמְנָם, חִנָּם, סָלְעָם, פִּתְאוֹם and in personal names like מִרְיָם. ־ן: צִפֹּרֶן, יְשׁוּרוּן, כְּנַעַן, גַּרְזֶן, זְבוּלוּן (this analysis is arrived at from comparative grammar).

־נִּית(ת): קְדוֹרַנִּית, אֲחוֹרַנִּית. The new words: קְדוֹרַנִּי, קְדוֹמַנִּית, קְדוֹמַנִּי have been created analogically. ־ַת: Primarily in personal names (including those recently created) such as בָּשְׂמַת, אָסְנַת, יוֹנַת, רִנַּת. The nouns מְנָת (= מנה) and שְׁנַת (= שָׁנָה) can be so analyzed. This suffix is also found in place names: נָצְרַת, דּוֹבְרַת, שָׁמְרַת. ־ָתה ≤: Originally this is the so-called "*he* locale" suffix which is added to nouns with feminine endings, but when this function disappeared (as in the noun לַיְלָה = ליל) it became a suffix which is used particularly in poetic language עֶזְרָתָה (= עֶזְרָה), ישועתָה (= ישועה) and others.

Common suffixes:

a) Vowels:

־ָה: Common feminine suffix in declension, and used to indicate: (1) collectives such as גּוֹלָה, "all those exiled," דָּגָה = "all the fish." As to the nouns חִטִּים: חִטָּה, שִׁקְמִים: שִׁקְמָה, etc. the plural always indicates the collective, while the form with the ־ָה suffix indicates the collectives or one of the items in it, according to context; (2) an artificial as opposed to the natural limb מִצְחָה, בִּטְנָה.

־י: also called the "relation suffix," since it relates the noun with this suffix to another by attributing to the new noun some quality of the noun serving as its "basic element." יְרוּשַׁלְמִי = of Jerusalem, רַגְלִי = on foot, יְמָנִי = on the right side, רָאשִׁי of the head (in the concrete and borrowed senses; see above, section 4. The Formative and the Morpheme).

b) Vowels and consonants:

־ַ(א)י: It may be that this was originally two suffixes which were consolidated. One, which is used in personal names such as יַנַּאי (< יוחנן), זַכַּאי (< זכריה), etc., and one parallel in function to ־ִי (and used in Aramaic parallel to Hebrew ־ִי). Usually it indicates a professional such as עִתּוֹנַאי, חַשְׁמַלַּאי, חַקְלַאי. (This form should not be confused with the ל״י verbal form זַכַּאי, "innocent" derived from the root זכי in the פַּעָל pattern; the name זַכַּאי is זכ(ריה) + אי!)

־וֹן (־וֹנִי): Its modern use is preeminent (1) to create diminutives: סִפְלוֹן, דֻּבּוֹן, גַּנּוֹן; (2) to indicate publications which appear at regular intervals such as עִתּוֹן, שְׁבוּעוֹן, שְׁנָתוֹן, יַרְחוֹן and lists of similar items such as מִלּוֹן, שִׁירוֹן, חִידוֹן, תַּקָּנוֹן. But there are other nouns derived in this way and the formative fulfills other functions. The combination י + ־ון becomes ־וֹנִי in words like צַהֲבוֹנִי, צִמְחוֹנִי.

־וּת: Used primarily for abstraction (see above in this section).

־וֹת: Common suffix for feminine plural used (1) adverbially רַבּוֹת, ישירות, and (2) for collective and abstract nouns such as: מֻסְכָּמוֹת, מפורסמות, נסתרות.

־ִית, ־יָּה: Combinations of the relation suffix ־י and the feminine suffix, are used (1) for diminutive: כַּפִּית, יָדִית, מַצִּיָּה, עוּגִיָּה; (2) a workshop or gathering place סַנְדְּלָרִיָּה, כְּרִיכִיָּה, פְּנִימִיָּה, כְּנֵסִיָּה; (3) a collection of things צִמְחִיָּה, תַּקְלִיטִיָּה, סִפְרִיָּה.

־ִים, ־ִין: Originally the plural suffix, they are used (1) with adverbs (plus the preposition) such as לסירוגין, במישרין, לחלוטין; (2) for abstract nouns such as נעורים, ניחומים.

־ָן: Today mainly used to indicate the subject of an action as רַפְתָּן, תַּכְסִיסָן, לַהֲטוּטָן (see above section 3. "The Basic Element").

־ָתן: Functions as ־ָן and originates in nouns which end in ־ָה as גאותן (conceited) and through metanalysis תָן as opposed to ־ָן became more expressive: רַעַבְתָן a very hungry person, כרסתן = one having a large stomach.

־ָר: Loaned from Latin-*arius* and is found in original Hebrew words such as סְמַרְטוּטָר, נַחְתּוֹמָר, עוּגָבָר, serves the same function as ־ָן.

־נֶת: For diminution (see section 4. The Formative and the Morpheme).

The above survey indicates that the suffixes, like the noun patterns, are morphemes, every one of which has more than one semantic function, and at times these functions are quite dissimilar and it is difficult to find a logical connection between them (cf. for example ־וֹן). The reason is that Hebrew is a very old language and in the course of time the formatives changed their functions, or new functions were added to them, without eliminating the words which were derived from them when their prime function was different.

10. PREFIXES AND COMPOUNDS. Words formed by the addition of prefixes ("secondary derivatives") as are common in Indo-European languages such as the English print, offprint, reprint, imprint and come, income, outcome, overcome, become, are unknown in Hebrew, which expresses these different notions by different noun patterns or by compounding words, or by different roots, as in (1) דפוס, תדפיס, הדפסה חוזרת, מִטְבָּע; (2) בוא, הכנסה, הוצאה, התגברות, היות or היעשות. Nevertheless, there are already compounds in biblical Hebrew which might be taken to be a prefix + a "basic element" when the prefix is a word of negation, as in: לא־אל, לא־עם (Deut. 32:21), אל־מות (Prov. 12:28): no-god, no-nation, no-death.

This is in fact the common way for analyzing compounds in modern Hebrew not only of the אי־צדק (injustice), אי־שימוש (disuse) type but also בין־לאומי (international), חד־צדדי (unilateral, one-sided), חד־שיח (monologue), דו־שיח (dialogue), על־אנושי (super-human), תת־עורי (hypodermic), אין־סופי (infinite), קְדַם־מקצועי (prevocational), בתר־מקראי (post-biblical), חוץ־לשוני (extra-lingual), and others. It is true that these and similar compounds were developed under the influence of Indo-European equivalents and indeed a deliberate attempt was made to achieve Hebrew equivalents for idioms which are basically technical terms. Such compounds gradually became assimilated into the common language and generated compounds like חד־סטרי (one-way) and חד־פעמי (unique) which are not entirely parallel to the English forms (but compare the German *einmalig* = unique). The fact that such foreign words are analyzed as including prefixes, cannot dictate that the Hebrew analysis be done in the same way; that must be done in accordance with the manner in which these words are integrated into the Hebrew system. It will be demonstrated that there is really no difference between this form and the existing compounds in Hebrew. A compound of two or more words which become one indivisible word, so that at times the original elements are no longer recognizable, is almost unknown in classical Hebrew; of this form are the early words בליעל, בלימה, כלום (כל מה), משהויין (plural of משהו> מה שהוא) and the modern words מִגְדָּלוֹר, רמזור, דחפור, כדורגל; in slang and affected speech compounds such as ארחיפרחיטורה (טורה + ארחי פרחי) "a student parade from the school of architecture," are formed.

There are, however, many combinations of more than one word in Hebrew, which due to their wide use have become fixed formally with fixed semantic values; they can be called compounds. The compound is usually the necessary condition and the first step toward merging the separate elements into one word. Various types and levels of construction can be differentiated:

1) Where one is in construct state; two nouns are joined, the first ("*nomen regens*") is qualified by the second ("*nomen rectum*"). This is the reverse of the situation in Indo-European languages: for example מלאכת־יד = hand-work, the same order is common in a compound of a noun and its adjective מלאכה קשה = hard work. The opposite order is possible, as in English, if the first part is a noun of quantity or vague, and therefore of wider meaning than the second part, which limits scope of the first word, as in: שלש קלשון (1 Sam. 13:21) – trident, משנה כסף (Gen. 43:12; but Gen. 43:15 כסף משנה!) = double money, דרום אפריקה South Africa, צפון אמריקה North America (but קוטב הצפון = North Pole). There is no clear formal criterion to establish when a combination is a regular construct or when it is a fixed compound; the semantic content may help but it is not an absolute criterion. Still it may be pointed out that deviation from the normative grammatical rule which demands that the article be placed before the second word (*nomen rectum*) (בית הספר and not הבית ספר) does, to some degree, indicate that the combination is felt to be a fixed compound, and so we find התל אביבי, הבר מצוה (in the Bible בית הלחמי), הבעל קורא, המגן דוד. Indeed, this rule is obligatory with numerals: השבע עשרה (and never שבע העשרה) and is also the case for names of books such as הבית יוסף, השולחן ערוך. Another indication found in the older sources is the addition of the plural to the *nomen rectum* בית המבשלים (Ezek. 46:24), בית פרסות (שלושה) (Oholot 8:12), similarly the addition of the feminine ending to the *nomen rectum* as in Phoenician רבכהנת = רבת הכהנים. Still these possibilities have not become integrated into literary Hebrew, though they are found in slang as the plural of טוב מאד (the grade "Excellent") = טובמאודים. There are, however, some compounds, such as ברנש: plur. ברנשים, ברוז (< בר אוז): plur. ברוזים, fem. ברוזה, which reveal this formation principle. There is, therefore, no absolute formal differentiation between a fixed compound and the construct state of two nouns.

2) Where the form of the compound is two words joined by *waw* and at times even without it, as in: משא ומתן, דין וחשבון, יום יום (יום יומי). This last is the rule in the second decade (11–19) of the numerals as שבעה עשר (but שבעה ועשרים or עשרים ושבעה!). Regarding this type there is a syntactic test which indicates if it is a compound: if the adjective and the predicate are in the singular: המשא ו(ה)מתן נמשך, דין וחשבון מקיף. Already in the medieval Hebrew grammars we find עמם מסורה (segol =) שלש נקודות.

3) Another type is the compound of noun with an adjective as לשון (ה)רע, יום טוב, לבד(ה)גס, קרן־הקיימת. Here a possible formal test is the use of the article with the second word only.

In short, there is in Hebrew a basis for compound words becoming fixed lexical units, but the limits of the construction are not sharp. It is not difficult, therefore, to include in this category the formation which some see as second derivatives: such as בין לאומי. Since the two qualities which are commonly used to distinguish it from a compound, (a) the order in agreement with English and (b) the definite article being placed normally before the first term as הדו־תנועה (the "deviate" form due to hyper-correction דו־התנועה is also heard!), are not unique to this formation at all. It must also be noted that while in English most of the prefixes are not independent words the situation in Hebrew is the opposite. Only very few elements, foreign or loan words like ארכי, אנטי, do not function as independent words. The fact that most of the compounds have the relation suffix ־ִי, that is, they are used as adjectives, is a statistical fact, but is not grammatically meaningful, since forms which do not serve as adjectives such as תת־לשון (hypoglossus), תת־תזונה (undernutrition), are also found, though not as frequently.

In the discussion of compounds two types should not be excluded: (1) the derivation of words from commonly used abbreviations, עכו"ם (עובד כוכבים ומזלות) and thus עכומי; סכו"ם (= סכין כף ומזלג); להד"ם (לא היו דברים מעולם) and thus להדמי (a word used in poetry); this form is especially common in military jargon, and mention need only be made that this was how the word סַמָּל (sergeant) was created (= סגן מחוץ למניין), and many names of weapons, as תּוֹלָר (= תותח ללא רתע); and (2) blending two elements taken from two different words and making one word out of them, as in דחפור (דחף + חפר) מדחן (=מד + חניה). Early examples are פלמני (<פלוני + אלמוני) and זוטר (<זוט + זעיר).

11. THE DECLENSION OF THE NOUN. *Gender.* In nouns as in most pronouns and most of the verbal forms there are two genders, masculine and feminine, but only the feminine is normally marked. This mark in the singular establishes the gender whereas the feminine or masculine plural marks are not decisive. There are a number of nouns both for feminine

forms of living things and inanimate objects which are feminine although they do not have the usual grammatical symbol and there are also nouns which are grammatically bisexual.

The feminine endings are

1) ָ-ה as טובה (masc. טוב), מלכה (masc. מלך), פקידה (masc. פקיד), שומרה (masc. שומר), יולדה;

2) ֶ-ת, ַ-ת, as גְּבֶרֶת (<גבירְתְּ) but used as fem. of גֶּבֶר, not of גְּבִיר), שומרת (masc. שומר), נוסעת (masc. נוסע);

3) ִ-ת as טַבָּחִית (masc. טַבָּח), עתונאית (masc. עתונאי);

4) וּת–, the abstracting formative (see no. 9) which also implies the feminine mark;

5) It is common for the ending including ת to signify the feminine and at times ת as a root consonant is so taken by the speaker, thus שבת, פת (the root is פתת and the pattern is *pi/aʿl*) are feminine, and on the other hand the ending וּת- was not considered, especially in medieval Hebrew, a feminine mark.

All these suffixes are derived under different conditions from the primitive ending *-at* which still exist in the inflected forms. There are feminine nouns which do not have a feminine suffix such as אֶרֶץ, גֶּפֶן, בְּאֵר, אֶצְבַּע, עַיִן, יָד, שֵׁן, אָתוֹן, רָחֵל, עֵז, אֵם, and especially geographical names like לונדון, מצרים, בני־ברק, תל־אביב, ירושלים. There are even nouns which are used both as masculine and feminine like כּוֹס, לָשׁוֹן, שֶׁמֶשׁ, דֶּרֶךְ. In the course of time some nouns changed gender; an example is שדה which is masculine in biblical Hebrew and (commonly) today, but is feminine in tannaitic Hebrew. In some nouns which do not have a feminine ending there are even today ambivalences regarding the gender: the word שלד is feminine in literary language and masculine in the spoken, while the opposite is true regarding גֶּרֶב. Feminine nouns with no feminine symbol are a reflection of the division in the very early (prehistoric) period of Hebrew, when the criterion of sex was not the determining factor which was a different scale of values, probably one with many grades.

Number. There are three numbers: singular, dual, and plural, but the dual is found only in nouns. Only the dual and plural are marked by special suffixes indicating their number. The suffixes are:

ִ-ים (ִ-ין) for plural: generally used with nouns without the feminine suffix such as מלכים (sing. מלך), נופים (sing. נוף) but it is sometimes also found in nouns with the feminine ending such as: שָׁנִים (sing. שָׁנָה), תְּאֵנִים (sing. תְּאֵנָה), שְׂעוֹרִים (sing. שְׂעוֹרָה). The suffix ִ-ין, very common in talmudic and rabbinic literature, is also found elsewhere, but is uncommon in simple language. In that literature the suffix (ין) ים appears with nouns that have a feminine ending such as שמיטין (sing. שמיטה) more so than in present-day literature.

ָ-וֹת, –אוֹת (ָ-יוֹת) for plural: is used generally with names that have a feminine ending but is also found with masculine nouns (and so used is considered florid) and so there is not only מַלְכוּת (sing. מלכה), חידות (sing. חִידָה) but also קוֹלוֹת (sing. קוֹל), אָבוֹת (sing. אב), חובות, which only the context can indicate if it is the plural of חובה or of חוב. It should be noted that many nouns can be made plural in two ways, such as מדרשות, מדרשים. At times homonyms are differentiated by their plural forms as עֶצֶם: עֲצָמִים (substance), עצמות (bones). The suffixes (ָ-יוֹת) ָ-אוֹת have been used since tannaitic times and are common in words dating from then. However, they are also used in new words (by analogy or to simplify the declension) and so we find not only the old words פרפראות (sing. פרפרת), מקואות (sing. מקוה), תיאטראות (sing, תיאטרון), מרחצאות (sing. מרחץ) but also the new גְּמְלָאוֹת (sing. גמלה), אוניברסיטאות (sing. אוניברסיטה), פקולטאות (sing. פקולטה).

ַ-יִם originally indicated duality, as in יָדַיִם, שְׂפָתַיִם, כְּנָפַיִם, רַגְלַיִם but those nouns which have this suffix maintain it even for the ordinary plural such as ארבע ידַיִם, שש כנָפַיִם. However, the function of this suffix to indicate the dual exclusively is retained in several nouns as we see from שלש שנים/שנתַיִם, ארבע פעמִים/פעמַיִם, and חמשה שבועות/שבועַיִם. Similarly there is a difference between גלגלַיִם (a tool) and שלשה גַּלְגַּלִּים, as there is between אוֹפַנַּיִם (an apparatus) and אוֹפַנִּים, among others. This suffix is very productive in technical nomenclature. Basically the suffix ַ-יִם is added to the singular noun (in its inflected form) as שָׁנָה: שְׁנָתַיִם, רֶגֶל: רַגְלַיִם, but at times it is added to the plural form of the noun as in דּוֹר: דּוֹרוֹתַיִם.

In addition to the numbers mentioned above, there is in Hebrew a list of collective nouns and abstract nouns which appear with all of the suffixes mentioned but do not have a singular form (*pluralia tantum*), such as קִדּוּשִׁים, בְּתוּלִים, נְעוּרִים (the singular קדוש has a different meaning), גירושין (sing. גירוש has a different meaning), שָׁמַיִם, מַיִם, פיפיות, כְּלוּלוֹת, מְפֻרְסָמוֹת.

State. Every noun can appear in one of three states: absolute, construct, and with pronominal suffixes. Everything stated above regarding the gender and number refers to the absolute state. From the morphologic point of view the absolute includes nouns with a preposition or article (היום, למחר) since these only affect their syntax and not their form (their vocalism is not influenced). When the noun is in the construct or has pronominal suffixes its form usually changes; the feminine ending ָ-ה changes to ַ-ת and ִ-ים(ין), ַ-יִם to ֵ-י (the plural and dual are the same). Only a relatively small number of nouns do not change in declension (that is when in construct or with pronominal suffixes) while the majority change in accordance with the rules for vowel changes (See Phonology, 15. The Diphthongs and 16. The Interchange and Elision of Vowels). There is no fixed system in the grammar books to arrange the different ways of declining the nouns into a set number of classes as is the case for Greek or Latin. But at least 11 declensions can be identified and some scholars determine 14. A description of their qualities has no place in this review but belongs in a grammar.

Often the form of the noun in construct is the same as its form with pronominal suffixes as in דבר: דְּבַר־הנביא, דְּבַרְכֶם and שמחות: שמחות־הילדים, שמחותינו but at times it is the same as the absolute form as in כֶּלֶב: כֶּלֶב־בית, כַּלְבִּי and שׁוֹמֶרֶת: שׁוֹמֶרֶת־לילה, שׁוֹמַרְתֵּנוּ. The pronoun which is added to the noun expresses the concept of ownership – in its widest sense – relative to the subject of the pronoun. The form of the pronoun differs when in the singular, the plural, or the dual. This feature is not logical since the subject of the pronoun does not change if the noun is plural. It is the result of internal phonetic development and metanalysis (part of the noun in masculine plural is merged together with the pronoun), and is not paralleled in classical Arabic or in ancient Aramaic (in later Aramaic a similar situation developed); in biblical Hebrew there are still remnants of the early situation (אֲבוֹתֵיהֶם = אֲבֹתָם). Following is the list of pronouns with examples of the declension of the noun קול.

Pronominal Suffix

Singular Noun

–ִי	my voice קוֹלִי	1st Person Sing.
–ְךָ	your voice קוֹלְךָ	2nd Person Sing. Masc.
–ֵךְ	your voice קוֹלֵךְ	2nd Person Sing. Fem.
–וֹ	his voice קוֹלוֹ	3rd Person Sing. Masc.
–ָהּ	her voice קוֹלָהּ	3rd Person Sing. Fem.
–ֵנוּ	our voice קוֹלֵנוּ	1st Person Plural
–כֶם	your voice קוֹלְכֶם	2nd Person Plural Masc.
–כֶן	your voice קוֹלְכֶן	2nd Person Plural Fem.
–ָם	their voice קוֹלָם	3rd Person Plural Masc.
–ָן	their voice קוֹלָן	3rd Person Plural Fem.

Plural Noun

–ַי	my voices קוֹלוֹתַי	1st Person Sing.
–ֶיךָ	your voices קוֹלוֹתֶיךָ	2nd Person Sing. Masc.
–ַיִךְ	your voices קוֹלוֹתַיִךְ	2nd Person Sing. Fem.
–ָיו	his voices קוֹלוֹתָיו	3rd Person Sing. Masc.
–ֶיהָ	her voices קוֹלוֹתֶיהָ	3rd Person Sing. Fem.
–ֵינוּ	our voices קוֹלוֹתֵינוּ	1st Person Plural
–ֵיכֶם	your voices קוֹלוֹתֵיכֶם	2nd Person Plural Masc.
–ֵיכֶן	your voices קוֹלוֹתֵיכֶן	2nd Person Plural Fem.
–ֵיהֶם	their voices קוֹלוֹתֵיהֶם	3rd Person Plural Masc.
–ֵיהֶן	their voices קוֹלוֹתֵיהֶן	3rd Person Plural Fem.

These are the standard forms of the pronouns, but in poetry and in flowery style in general there are several variations found, especially in biblical Hebrew. The above pronouns are used also with the prepositions such as עם, את, מן, על; some with the pronominal suffixes usual for the singular nouns (as עִמִּי, אִתּוֹ) and some with those used for the plural noun (as עָלַי, תחתיו). It should be noted that in prepositions –ָךְ as opposed to –ֵךְ in nouns is found (עִמָּךְ, לָךְ) and –ָנוּ in place of –ֵנוּ; this latter being also used in the noun כל to form כֻּלָּנוּ.

Besides this, the synthetic, method for indicating possession, there exists an analytic method, by the use of the word של. Expressions such as קוֹלִי, קוֹלָם and הקול שלי, הקול שלהם, are of equal value. For this reason there are those who call של a "separated pronoun." Actually, however, this is a syntactic method, since של originates (already in the earliest stages of the language) from the relative clause in which the relative particle is attached to the preposition. Thus the expression הקול שלי is to be analyzed as "the voice which I have" exactly the same as הקול שצועק "the voice which is crying," and in certain instances the preposition ב fills the same function as the preposition ל, for example = הַפַּחַד שֶׁבִּי = הפחד שֶׁלִּי פַּחְדִּי, but the compound… של, since it is so common, became one word parallel to a pronoun and competed with the pronoun successfully in common speech and in those cases where there is a morphological difficulty in declining the noun (as in foreign words or words with the definite article, which cannot be joined to a pronoun) and personal names or where there is a semantic difficulty. Fundamentally, the preference for one way over the other is a matter of style and not of grammar.

12. PRONOUNS. *Personal Pronouns.* When the person is not expressed through pronouns which are attached to the noun (see section 11. Declension of Nouns) or the verbs (see section 20. Inflection of Objective Pronouns), they are independent words whose forms are as follows:

Singular		Plural
אני, אנוכי	1st Person	אנחנו, אנו
אתה	2nd Person Masc.	אתם
את	2nd Person Fem.	אתן
הוא	3rd Person Masc.	הם, המה
היא	3rd Person Fem.	הן, הנה

There are also several variations in form and usage in the ancient language which are no longer used. The first person singular אנוכי whose use declined and completely disappeared by the end of the biblical period, is now found in modern Hebrew not only in poetry but also in general use, for emphasis. The pronouns הֵמָּה and הֵנָּה are considered archaic forms, and are only used in poetic writing. These personal pronouns are used only as subjects in the sentence; the pronominal object is expressed by the pronominal element suffixed to the verb or the preposition, or to the word אות (absolute אֶת) as אותך, אוֹתָם. It should be noted that the double forms for first person in singular and plural, is a distinctive feature of Hebrew among the other Semitic languages, and only in Ugaritic is there a duplication in the first person singular pronoun.

Demonstrative Pronouns. These pronouns are used to indicate something before the speaker, whether close-by or far off (deictic use), or something which has already been mentioned in the discussion (anaphorically). Today the distinction between the near and far demonstrative is more precise then it was in the ancient language. For that which is near, זה (masc.), זאת, זו (fem.) = this (sing.) and אלה, אלו, הללו (poetry also אל(ה)) = these (pl.); for that which is far: ההוא (masc.), ההיא (fem.), הַלָּזֶה, הַלָּה (masc.), הַלָּז (masc. and fem.), הַלֵּזוּ (fem.) = that (sing.), and ההם (masc.) ההן (fem.) = those (pl.). אותו, אותה, אותם, אותן can be substituted for the above but also express intense identification, "that same." The fact that in the past there was no differentiation between near and far, is seen from expressions like זה לזה and מזה ומזה (not: זה לההוא, מזה ומההוא). In certain instances the demonstrative force of the definite article has been maintained, as in היום, הלילה and in literary style it is used more frequently not only in these fixed forms. The use of the definite article in a direct address as: !הדוד is basically demonstrative. The third person singular pronoun is used as a demonstrative in expressions such as הוא שאמרתי: "that is what I said" and היא שעמדה לאבותינו: "it is that which stood for our fathers." When compounded with the interrogative pronoun like מי זה, מה זה, or such words as עתה זה the demonstrative force of the pronoun is weakened and it becomes an element of the emphasis.

Interrogative Pronouns. מי = "who," מה = "what," are not declinable, nor are איזה, איזו, אלו (אי) = "which." There is a variation of מַה: מֶה the use of which is subject to the same rules as the definite article, but which is found unconditionally with the interrogative pronoun בַּמֶּה. איזה is actually the demonstrative, with the addition of the interrogative אי, found also in the words איפה, איכן (= היכן). In plural the forms אי אלה, אי אלו were shortened for phonetic reasons to אילו(ה) and became identical to the demonstrative. Due to ambiguity the singular forms איזה and איזו are also commonly used in the plural (איזה אנשים היו שם) and it should be noted that the demonstrative element זה which can come to strengthen the interrogative מי as stated above, appears in tannaitic literature also with איזה as: ?אי זו? איזו זה and this is positive evidence for the crystallization of the compound איזה (which appears in the Bible as two words, and in which זה is used to strengthen the interrogative אי), into the interrogative pronoun.

Indefinite Pronouns. Except for the words פלוני (פלונית) אלמוני (אלמונים, אלמונית) ="somebody" and כלום, מאומה "nothing, something," there are no special words in Hebrew to express indefiniteness, and the interrogative words are used for that purpose as in מי לחיים, מי למות = "some for life – some for death," דבר־מה = "something" and especially in relative expressions such as עשה מי שעשה = "somebody did it." The words איש, אדם (בן) are also used to indicate the indefinite as is the pronoun אתה. (The indefiniteness of the subject is often indicated by use of the plural verb without a pronoun, as in: בעבר עשו את הדבר כך וכך היום עושים בדרך אחרת = "in the past they used to do it so; nowadays they do it differently.")

Relative Pronouns. The relative in as far as it is expressed syndetically (cf. Syntax) is made up of אשר or ש plus the pronoun (generally the personal pronoun) but in certain syntactic situations the pronoun is not explicitly stated: האיש שיושב (= האיש שהוא יושב), "the man who is sitting," המקום שהייתי (= המקום שהייתי בו), "the place in which I was." In verbal sentences the relative is ש, אשר, while in nominal sentences the definite article has that function, as in האיש היושב = האיש אשר יושב (in biblical Hebrew the demonstrative is also used in this way (cf. Job 19:19) as is the definite article before the verb as in ההרימו (Ezra 8:25). A relative pronoun can be a subject or an object and come directly after a preposition as: את שראה "whom he saw," לשכמותו = "to one such as him," לשעבר = "in the past," על ידי שנתן = "by his having given," but generally the use of correlatives is preferred, as: על ידי העובדה שנתן, על ידי כך שנתן, לאיש כמותו, את מי שראה. Sophisticated style prefers to forego the use of the modern correlatives such as עובדה and כך.

Reflexive and Reciprocal Pronouns. Reflexivity can be expressed synthetically, by verbal conjugations or analytically; since the tannaitic period the analytic method is preferred over the synthetic. In this construction the possessive pronoun suffixed to the prepositions is used, עשיתי דבר זה בי ולא בו = "I did it to myself and not to him"; הוא ניסה את הנסיון עליו ולא על חברו = "he experimented on himself and not on his friend," or suffixed to certain nouns such as the limbs of the body, ראש (דמו בראשו = "his blood is on his head"; "it's his own fault"), נפש (שומר נפשו = "he looks after himself"), גוף (הוא גופו אמר לי = "he himself said to me") and others especially with the noun עצם: איבד עצמו לדעת ("he deliberately destroyed himself" – suicide), בא בעצמו ("he himself came"), etc. The noun איל, as in מאליו, מאליהם, is also used in this way. From this last noun Aramaic produced the word ממילא, which was borrowed in Hebrew, and is a word whose sole purpose is to express reflexivity.

In early Hebrew reciprocity was also expressed synthetically, as נדברו = "they spoke with each other," התראו = "they saw each other," שניהם מצטרפים = "they join each other," but in the post-biblical period this method was abandoned and reciprocity was expressed analytically by repeating the demonstrative, as זה לזה, זה עם זה, or by expressions like, איש... חברו, איש... רעהו, אישה... אחותה; e.g., דברו איש אל רעהו, דברו זה עם זה, etc.

This review of the various pronouns indicates that this part of speech in Hebrew has unique aspects not only from the formal point of view (one and two consonant roots; no differentiation of gender and number as in מי and איזה) but also in function, i.e., the lack of clear demarcation between demonstratives, relatives, interrogatives, and indefinitives. In other words even in modern Hebrew the early situation is clearly reflected; one pronoun can be used freely for all the above functions. The differentiation of function (which is not new) is the result of a long process and can be compared to the exchange, in Hebrew, of paratactic structures, common in ancient Hebrew, for hypotactic structures using well-defined conjunctions for different purposes.

13. PARTICLES. In this category are to be classified all those words which are not nouns or verbs and whose common function is to indicate grammatical relationships. There are the following types:

Prepositions. Prepositions, which appear only with nouns, such as ב (in), ל (to), על (on), מן (from), על־פי (by).

Adverbs. Adverbs such as מאוד, במאוד (very), חנם (gratis), ישירות (directly), בעקיפין (indirectly), לא (not), אמנם (certainly).

(The term adverb, however, does not accurately describe the situation in a language like Hebrew since this type of word can qualify a noun as well, גדול מאוד = "very big," גבּוֹר מאוד = "very strong," or זה אמנם שלחן = "this (is) surely a table.")

Conjunctions. Conjunctions which join words and sentences such as ו, אף, גם, and those which join only sentences like אם, כי, מפני ש..., בשביל ש..., (ש) עד. The examples indicate that different layers are immediately recognizable. Primary words (i.e., whose origin is not obvious) such as: בוכ"ל which exist as proclitics, אם, לא; words whose origin is obvious, such as חנם (< חן), בעקיפין, and words which are derived from sentences, such as כיצד, whose original form כאיזה צד is still found, יען (shortened imperfect form from יענה). Synchronically, two kinds can be recognized: (a) those which formally behave like nouns – having suffixed pronouns (בי, לו, על פיו) – and those which do not behave like nouns or verbs, and (b) those which are syntactically nouns and can serve as the predicate of a nominal sentence, such as ראובן פה, דבר זה כיצד? and those which are unable to be used in this way (conjunctions). The above examples indicate how easy it is to form prepositions in Hebrew, and in fact the development in this area is great (many examples being influenced by foreign constructions), as in: הודות ל... (older: בגלל, בזכות), בהתאם ל... (older: לפי), למרות (older: עם, עם ש...), which are considered less elegant than the older forms. Actually every noun can be used as an adverb, the criterion for the noun being not morphological but its syntactic use. In the sentence בשוגג ראובן עשה דבר זה ("Reuben did this thing unwittingly"), the word בשוגג can mean "as an unwitting person," but in שרה עשתה דבר זה בשוגג ("Sarah did this thing unwittingly"), it must be an adverb because there is no accord in gender between שוגג and שרה. So, too ראובן עשה ביודעים as opposed to עשה ביודע. The limited ability of the language to express adverbs as a special formal category is compensated by the syntactic devices mentioned as well as others.

14. NUMERALS. The numeral in Hebrew is a unique phenomenon and extremely complicated, both morphologically and syntactically. In part there are parallels in the other Semitic languages, and it is presumably a common residue from proto-Semitic. The numerals are expressed in Hebrew (a) by words which indicate units אֶחָד (1), שְׁנַיִם (2), שָׁלוֹשׁ (3), אַרְבַּע (4), חמש (5), שש (6), שבע (7), שמונה (8), תשע (9), עשר (10); (b) by the suffix ים– which is added to the numerals שלוש־תשע (30 = שלשים, 90 = תשעים) and עשר (20 = עשרים) and; (c) by the words 100 = מאה, 1000 = אלף, 10,000 = רבוא (archaic form and rarely used today). These basic words are compounded in different ways and from them are derived the various forms for particular use. There are different forms for the cardinal numerals, ordinal numerals, and fractions, but the ordinals and fractions exist only for the first ten, and must be expressed syntactically for the rest of the numerals.

Cardinal Numbers. There are two forms, the masculine: אחד, שנים, שלש, ארבע..., and the feminine: אחת (אחד+ת), שתים (< שְׁנְתַּיִם), שלשה, ארבעה..., but it is exceedingly strange that in Hebrew, as in Semitic languages in general (for a discussion see Robert Hetzron, *Journal of Semitic Studies*, 12 (1967), 180 ff.), there is no syntactic agreement between the cardinals (and any derived numerals) from 3–10 and their referents; the masculine numeral is used as an adjective or predicate for a feminine noun and the feminine numeral for a masculine noun; as in שלשה בנים (or בנים שלושה), שלש בנות (בנות שלש). When the object counted is not referred to, the masculine or feminine numerals can be used. The numerals 1–10, 100, 1000 have both absolute and construct forms, but are used with the counted object in either form, not according to any grammatical rule, as in: שלושה אנשים, שלושת אנשים, עשרה אלפים, עשרת אלפים אנשים, אלפי אנשים. The feminine construct form is also commonly used in the first decade for feminine nouns as in שלושת נשים, which is always the case with pronouns, and so not only שְׁלָשְׁתָּם but also שְׁלָשְׁתָּן (not, שלשן!). Pronominal suffixes are not used with the numerals 11–99; only in the early literature do we find חֲמִשֶּׁיהֶם (II Kings 1:14). On the other hand, pronominal suffixes are used for 100 and 1000 as in באלפיהם, במאתנו ("in our century") as is the dual and plural. For the second decade of numerals two constructions are used; construct in the feminine numeral as שלוש עשרה, and the connection of the two terms without the *waw* in the masculine numeral as שלושה עשר (cf. no. 10). Note, too, that the second part of the numeral in the second decade has a different form than it has in the first decade, thus: עָשָׂר (not עֶשֶׂר) masc., עֶשְׂרֵה (not עֲשָׂרָה) fem. For 20–90 the connection with *waw* is common today as: עשרים ושלשה with the ten first followed by the unit but also the reverse order שלשה ועשרים which was common in different periods, and is not very uncommon in literature. However, in the second decade such a construction is considered exceptional (cf. Ez. 45:12 חמשה ועשרים שקלים, עשרה וחמשה שקל; it is the rule in the Aramaic of Elephantine), just as the compound by construct in the masculine חֲמֵשֶׁת עָשָׂר אֶלֶף (Judg. 8:10) or שְׁמֹנַת עָשָׂר אֶלֶף (Judg. 20:25) would be considered exceptional today.

Numerals from 2–10 demand plural nouns only (חמישה איש for example, is considered to be incorrect), from ten upward the noun can be either singular or plural (שלשים איש, שלשים אנשים) and it should be noted that the Academy of the Hebrew Language has suggested that the plural be used to prevent mistakes in the first decade as mentioned above. Combinations of numbers above 100 can be made in different forms (in addition to the possibility of a different order for the tens and units as pointed out above). 3755 can be שלושת אלפים שבע מאות וחמשים וחמישה or שלשת אלפים ושבע מאות וחמשים וחמישה or שלשת אלפים שבע מאות חמשים וחמישה. The last seems to be the most common. It should be noted that a number like 3715 is rendered generally שלשת אלפים שבע מאות וחמשה עשר so that the ו is in the last possible place in the compound.

Ordinal Numbers. There are two types: masculine and feminine. From 3–10 its form appears to be derived from a basic element whose pattern is *paʿil*, as חמישית, רביעי, שלישי, etc. For 1 both the numeral ראשון (from ראש) and אחד serve. The fact that the number "one" has an ordinal form which is not connected etymologically to the cardinals is common to other Semitic languages. From 11 on the ordinal does not have an independent form and the cardinal fulfills that function also: הבית העשרים וחמישה, השנה השלוש עשרה. The common use of the singular of the ordinal (from the third ten and up) הבית העשרים וחמישי (as in Arabic) is considered incorrect. Ordinality can also be syntactically expressed, by using the cardinal as a *nomen rectum* in the construct state: השנה העשרים וחמש = שנת עשרים וחמש, שנה חמישית = שנת חמש. Just as in the construct the numeral is always the *nomen rectum* so when it is an adjective it also comes after the noun, as, האיש השלישי and not the opposite.

Fractions. For ½ the noun חצי is usually used. But, מחצית, מחצה, are also used; for ⅓, ¼, ⅕ on, the feminine ordinal form חמישית, רביעית, שלישית is used, but רביע, שליש or רבע (also רֹבע), חֹמש are also possible. From ⅙ to ⅒ only the form with –ִית is used. Note that while the suffixes –ית, –יה are elsewhere similar in origin and function (cf. section 9. Suffixes), in the numerals there is a differentiation: עשירית = ⅒, עשיריה = group of ten, חמישית = ⅕, חמישיה = a group of 5.

Multiples. Multiples are often expressed by –ַיִם; שבעתיים = ×7 (not 7×2).

Distributives. Expressed by repeating the number as in שנים שנים.

In summation it may be said that there is nothing in Hebrew morphology to compare with the numeral for different forms and types of usages and syntax, and that the numeral best reflects the special nature of Hebrew morphology which includes, side by side, the very old with the new. "The uniqueness of Hebrew in our day and the source of its problems is that nothing in it has died and so there exist – and are in use – different chronological layers side by side, not on top of one another as in languages with a historic continuity" (Z. Ben-Ḥayyim, "An Ancient Language in a New Reality," *Lešonenu Laʿam*, Jerusalem, 1953, 43–44).

[Zeev Ben-Hayyim]

Verb Formation

15. WHAT IS TO BE CLASSED AS THE VERB. The verb, a part of speech easily identifiable according to all theories and in all languages (including, of course, Hebrew), can be characterized from three points of view: semantically, the verb denotes an action or a change of state or the existence of a state; morphologically, it is usually accompanied by an indication of its grammatical subject, whether as a separate word or as an affix or as both; and syntactically, it functions as the main part of the predicate (see Syntax).

Forms of the Hebrew verb that never (or only sometimes) include an explicit reference to the subject, such as the infinitives and the verbal noun, are considered borderline cases between verb and noun. There are two extreme views on what is to be included in the paradigm of a Hebrew verb. According to one view, the paradigm comprises only such forms as distinguish persons and tenses, and hence each בִּנְיָן ("conjugation") is taken to be a separate verb. For others, however, the paradigm of the verb includes also the conjugations, which are regarded as belonging to one verb if they have a common root. There are also some who treat two or more of the conjugations (but not all) as part of the same paradigm, for example פָּעַל – נִפְעַל or פִּעֵל – פֻּעַל – הִתְפַּעֵל. The best English translation for בִּנְיָן would be "verb pattern," not "conjugation." The latter term is however kept in the following, since it is commonly used in English works dealing with Hebrew morphology.

16. THE CONJUGATIONS. The verb paradigms are treated almost identically in all accounts, whether traditional or modern, scholarly or pedagogic. There is unanimity on the existence of seven principal conjugations, to which most verbs are related, and also of certain other patterns that have only rare and partial exemplification.

The most acceptable names for the conjugations are based on the form of the third person singular masculine past of a regular root, i.e., of a root having all its consonants in all forms of the paradigm. From the very beginning of Hebrew grammar in the Middle Ages the root פ'ע'ל' has been used for this purpose, under the influence of Arabic grammar. Accordingly, the names of the conjugations are הֻפְעַל, הִפְעִיל, הִתְפַּעֵל, פֻּעַל, פִּעֵל, נִפְעַל, פָּעַל (or הָפְעַל). However, because of the peculiarity of the consonant ע in Hebrew (see Phonology 6), this root has disadvantages which do not apply to the corresponding root in Arabic:

(1) ע cannot be doubled and therefore the names of the conjugations הִתְפַּעֵל, פֻּעַל, פִּעֵל lack the principal formal characteristics of these conjugations, namely, the doubling of the middle radical, e.g., ב in דִּבֵּר (*dibber*), ל in שֻׁלַּח (*šullaḥ*), ג in הִתְרַגֵּל (*hitraggel*).

(2) When the ע is the first in a consonantal cluster, it is separated from the following consonant by a semi-vowel חטף (see above, §13), i.e., *ă, ĕ*, or *ŏ*. This type of vowel is not found, however, in corresponding verbs that do not have ע in that position. Contrast דָּרְשׁוּ (*darěšu*) with פָּעֲלוּ (*paʿălu*), גְּדִי (*gĕdi*) with עֲדִי (*ʿădi*).

(3) The ע generally does not close a non-final syllable. When it does according to its pattern, it must be followed by a חטף. Contrast שִׁמְרִי (*šimri*) with גַּעֲרִי (*gaʿări*).

(4) The ע sometimes causes changes in preceding vowels, as in the last example (see below §22).

In the 19th century, scholars began to look for another root that would serve to denote the conjugations and decided on ק'ט'ל'. This root has two advantages:

(1) none of its consonants has any peculiarities; and

(2) it is found (sometimes in certain variations) in almost all Semitic languages. On the other hand, Hebrew grammarians have pointed out that this root had a serious disadvantage from the educational point of view: its meaning ("to kill") is unpleasant.

Recently, it has been recognized that it is in fact possible to use the root פ'ע'ל', provided that it is transcribed phonemically without reference to the phonetic properties of the ע. For this purpose, we have repeated (i.e., doubled) the consonant in the Hebrew representation as well as in the transcription. The names of the seven conjugations, according to this approach are: *paʿal* (פָּעַל), *nipʿal* (נִפְעַל), *piʿʿel* (פִּעֵעל), *puʿʿal* (פֻּעַעל), *hitpaʿʿel* (הִתְפַּעֵעל), *hipʿil* (הִפְעִיל), *hupʿal* (הֻפְעַל). Since the transcription in Latin symbols is phonemic and not phonetic, the פ is always symbolized by /p/, even when phonetically it has the value [f]; likewise there is no need to distinguish between פַּתָּח and קָמָץ, both being symbolized by /a/.

Other names have been proposed for the conjugations, which identify them semantically (see below), in particular קַל ("light") and כָּבֵד ("heavy"). Originally, these names covered all seven conjugations: קַל for פָּעַל and נִפְעַל; כָּבֵד for פִּעֵל, פֻּעַל, and הִתְפַּעֵל and כָּבֵד נוֹסָף ("supplemented heavy") or גּוֹרֵם ("causative") for הִפְעִיל and הֻפְעַל. However, the original application was later forgotten. In popular usage and in most textbooks, קַל alone has been retained, but it is restricted to the פָּעַל conjugation. Occasionally, הַבִּנְיָן הַגּוֹרֵם ("the causative conjugation") is used for הִפְעִיל and הַבִּנְיָן הַכָּבֵד ("the heavy conjugation") for פִּעֵל. The decision whether or not conjugations with a common root are to be treated as part of the same verb has great practical significance, not only grammatically but also lexicographically. Dictionaries of modern Hebrew list nouns according to their initial consonants, disregarding whether the consonants are radicals or not, so that, e.g., מִקְרָא appears under מ and תִּלְבֹּשֶׁת under ת. However, many follow the practice of dictionaries of biblical Hebrew in listing verbs, regardless of conjugation, according to the first radical, e.g., הִלְבִּישׁ under ל next to לָבַשׁ, and נִכְנַס under כ, next to כָּנַס, and sometimes, in the same way, even verbs without a corresponding form in פָּעַל, e.g., הִתְכּוֹנֵן under כ, because of its root כ'ו'נ'. Some modern popular dictionaries, on the other hand, enter the form of the third person masculine singular past for each conjugation, e.g., הִתְרוֹמֵם under ה and נִכְנַס under נ, thus following (though probably unconsciously) the view that verbs from the same root in different conjugations are to be treated as independent verbs. (For the advantages of this view for grammar and semantics, see below.)

17. A CONSIDERATION OF EARLIER VIEWS ON THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE CONJUGATIONS. Those adopting the view (traditional for all Semitic languages) that conjugations of verbs from the same root constitute one paradigm must consider the semantic relationship between the various conjugations. In the extreme formulation of this view, every conjugation is said to have a particular meaning in relation to the "basic form" of the verb, the form פָּעַל. An attempt along these lines has been made, in particular, for biblical Hebrew (see Biblical Hebrew 9). It has resulted in the fabrication of imaginary forms that do not appear in the Bible, and also in the neglect of some forms that do, for example, the נִפְעַל conjugation.

A similar, though less extreme, position is generally taken in textbooks. These also treat the פָּעַל conjugation as the basic form, said to be semantically "simple," but they attempt to establish a semantic relationship for each root between the פָּעָל conjugation and other conjugations, it being assumed that each of these makes some addition to the basic meaning of the פָּעַל. The principal additional meanings, expressed synthetically by a change in the form of the verb, are said to be passive, reflexive, reciprocal, strengthening, durative, iterative, causative, change in state, declarative, and deprivative. Thus, for example, the נִפְעַל is said to express the passive when the active agent is found with the פָּעַל, e.g., שָׁבַר ("he broke") – נִשְׁבַּר ("it was broken") or הִפְעִיל, e.g., הִרְגִּיעַ ("he soothed") – נִרְגַּע ("he was soothed"); reflexive, e.g., נִשְׁמַר, נִזְהַר ("he took care of himself"); or reciprocal, e.g., נִדְבְּרוּ ("they spoke to one another"). The פִּעֵל is said to express the strengthening, e.g., שָׁבַר ("he broke") – שִׁבֵּר ("he smashed"); the durative, e.g., רָקַד ("he danced") – רִקֵּד ("he danced for a long time"); repetitive, e.g., קָבַר ("he buried") – קִבֵּר ("he buried many"); causative, e.g., לָמַד ("he learned") – לִמֵּד ("he taught"); or deprivative, e.g., שֵׁרֵשׁ ("he uprooted"). The פֻּעַל is said to be the passive equivalent of verbs with the same root in פִּעֵל. The הִתְפַּעֵל is explained as denoting the reflexive, e.g., הִתְרַחֵץ ("he washed himself"); reciprocal, e.g., הִתְלַחֲשׁוּ ("they whispered to each other"); passive chiefly when the active is in the פִּעֵל, e.g., בִּשֵּׁל ("he cooked") – הִתְבַּשֵּׁל ("it was cooked"); or strengthening, e.g., הִתְנַשֵּׁם ("he breathed strongly"). The הִפְעִיל is said to denote the causative, chiefly when the active is in the פָּעַל, e.g., מָלַךְ ("he reigned") – הִמְלִיךְ ("he made [him] a king"), and consequently changes the verb from intransitive to transitive, e.g., יָשַׁב ("he sat") – הוֹשִׁיב ("he caused to sit," "he set"), or from unitransitive to ditransitive, e.g., אָכַל ("he ate") – הֶאֱכִיל ("he fed"); a change of state, e.g., הֶעֱשִׁיר ("he became rich"), especially a change of color, e.g., הִלְבִּין ("it became white"); or declarative, e.g., צַדִּיק ("righteous") – הִצְדִּיק ("he declared as righteous," "he justified"). The הָפְעַל is considered the passive equivalent of the הִפְעִיל. In addition, some verbs with a "simple" meaning like that of the פָּעַל appear in other conjugations, e.g., נִכְנַס ("he entered"), רִחֵף ("he hovered"), הִתְנַגֵּד ("he opposed"), הִמְתִּין ("he waited").

However, this view of the semantic relationships of the conjugations, with the פָּעַל taken as the basic conjugation, does not sufficiently fit the facts. Even a partial examination of Hebrew verbs shows that, except for פֻּעַל and הָפְעַל (which almost always have a predictable relationship with פִּעֵל and הִפְעִיל respectively), we cannot automatically predict the meaning of a root in one conjugation from that of the same root in another conjugation. Though there are many instances of predictable semantic relationships between the conjugations, like those given above, in many instances verbs of the same root have no relationship at all or have an unpredictable relationship, e.g., דִּבֵּר ("he spoke") – הִדְבִּיר ("he subdued"); מָהַר ("he bought a wife") – מִהֵר ("he hastened"); בָּצַר ("he gathered grapes") – נִבְצַר ("it was withheld") – בִּצֵּר ("he fortified"); סָפַר ("he counted") – סִפֵּר ("he told") – הִסְתַּפֵּר ("he had his hair cut”); סָפַק (“he clapped hands”) – סִפֵּק (“he supplied”) – הִסְפִּיק (“he made enough”) – הִסְתַּפֵּק (“he had sufficient”); הֶאֱמִין (“he believed”) – הִתְאַמֵּן (“he trained himself”). It may well be that at an early period of the language, the conjugations constituted a paradigm of predictable semantic relationships similar to the paradigm of changes of person and tense within a conjugation, but as a consequence of the development of meanings of verbs throughout the history of the language, the conjugations cannot now be recognized as belonging to one paradigm.

Similarly, there was once a fixed semantic relationship between nouns of different patterns belonging to the same root. Indeed, even in contemporary Hebrew there are such relationships, e.g., between nouns denoting people with particular occupation such as סַפָּר (“barber”) and the corresponding noun for the place of work, מִסְפָּרָה (“barber shop”). In general, new nouns have been formed in recent times on the appropriate patterns, e.g., קָטִיף (“season for picking fruit growing on trees”) and תָּלִישׁ (“season for picking fruit growing on low bushes”) for the seasons of agricultural work; מִרְפָּאָה (“clinic”) and מִכְבָּסָה (“laundry”) for places of work. Nevertheless, each noun is treated as an entirely independent noun; the semantic relationship between nouns of the same root has not resulted in their being considered one noun with various patterns.

18. THE EXTENT TO WHICH A PREDICTABLE RELATIONSHIP EXISTS BETWEEN THE CONJUGATIONS. Two forms have predictable relations when they fulfill two conditions: (1) if one of them exists, it follows that the other exists too; (2) when the meaning of one of them is known, the meaning of the other one is self-explanatory. Only forms having predictable relationships with other forms can be considered as belonging to the same paradigm, since only these can be freely used by a speaker though he has never heard them before and are unambiguous to the hearer though he has never encountered them before. For example, within one conjugation there are predictable relationships between forms varying only in person or tense, such as שָׁמַרְתָּ–שָׁמַרְתִּי or אֶשְׁמֹר–שָׁמַרְתִּי. Similarly, the relationships between verbs in פִּעֵל and הִפְעִיל and verbs of the same root in פֻּעַל and הָפְעַל, respectively, are virtually predictable. There is not complete predictability because some intransitive verbs in פִּעֵל, e.g., טִיֵּל (“he went for a walk”) and רִחֵף (“he hovered”), and in הִפְעִיל, e.g., הִסְמִיק (“he became red”) and הֶחְלִיד (“he [it] became rusty”) either do not have corresponding forms in פֻּעַל or הָפְעַל or, if they do, these do not express a passive meaning.

Predictable relationships between פָּעַל and נִפְעַל (with respect either to the existence of one form if the other exists or to the stipulated semantic relationship) apply only to some verbs. Thus, there is no corresponding form in the other conjugation for יָרַד (“he descended”), נִבְהַל (“he was alarmed”), or נִשְׁבַּע (“he swore”), and a predictable active-passive relationship is lacking between יָשַׁב (“he sat”) – נוֹשַׁב (“it was inhabited”); כָּנַס (“he assembled”) – נִכְנַס (“he entered”); or יָשֵׁן (“he slept”) – נוֹשַׁן (“he was old”). Even less predictable are the relationships between פָּעַל and פִּעֵל. It is impossible to know whether the change from פָּעַל to פִּעֵל will entail strengthening, lengthening, repetition, causation, or some other meaning, which might be completely different from that of פָּעַל, e.g., שִׂחֵק (“he played”) – שָׂחַק (“he laughed”), חִנֵּךְ (“he educated”) – חָנַךְ (“he inaugurated”), בִּשֵּׁל (“he cooked”) – בָּשַׁל (“it ripened”). Moreover, there are many verbs in פִּעֵל that have no corresponding forms in פָּעַל, e.g., טִיֵּל (“he went for a walk”), זִנֵּב (“he routed the rear”), חִדֵּשׁ (“he renewed”), חִיֵּךְ (“he smiled”), צִוָּה (“he commanded”).

Similarly, it is impossible to be confident that the הִפְעִיל will express the causative of the פָּעַל, since many verbs in הִפְעִיל do not have any semantic connection with the same root in the פָּעַל, or have an unpredictable relationship, e.g., יָרַק (“he spat”) – הוֹרִיק (“it became green”); סָרַט (“he scratched”) – הִסְרִיט (“he filmed”); רָצָה (“he wanted”) – הִרְצָה (“he lectured”). Furthermore, there are some verbs in הִפְעִיל whose passive is in נִפְעַל as well as in הָפְעַל (occasionally with some difference in nuance), e.g., הִרְתִּיעַ (“he deterred”) – נִרְתַּע, הִדְפִּיס (“he published”) – נִדְפַּס, and these somewhat disturb the predictability in relationship between הִפְעִיל and הָפְעַל.

There is certainly no predictable relationship between פָּעַל and הִתְפַּעֵל. Not only are there two large categories of semantic relationships, exemplified, on the one hand, by רָחַץ (“he washed”) – הִתְרַחֵץ (“he washed himself”), and on the other, by כָּתַב (“he wrote”) – הִתְכַּתֵּב (“he had a correspondence with [someone]”), but there are also many verbs appearing in only one of these conjugations, e.g., גָּזַל (“he robbed”) and הִתְקָרֵר (“he caught a cold”), or which have independent meanings in the two conjugations, e.g., סָפַר (“he counted”) – הִסְתַּפֵּר (“he had his hair cut”). The semantic relationships between other conjugations, such as פִּעֵל – הִתְפַּעֵל or פִּעֵל – הִפְעִיל are also unpredictable in similar respects.

An awareness of this situation requires a consideration of the conjugations not as an inflection of one verb but as a set of different verb patterns related by derivation. The relationships between פִּעֵל and פֻּעַל and between הִפְעִיל and הָפְעַל may perhaps be an exception to this generalization.

19. THE INFLECTION OF THE VERB. The inflection of a verb includes all forms of the verb that vary in pronominal subject or object, e.g., יִשְׁמֹר (“he will guard”) – יִשְׁמְרֵהוּ (“he will guard him”), gender, number, tense, and modality. In traditional literary language, modal differences are chiefly expressed synthetically in the verb itself by certain additions to the normal forms, e.g., אֶשְׁמֹר – אֶשְׁמְרָה, but sometimes auxiliary verbs have this function (see Syntax). Differences in tense include not only the distinctions between past, present, and future, but also forms having a modal character, e.g., the imperative, and those that lack a time distinction, e.g., the construct infinitive, the absolute infinitive, and the action noun. These last three can be used in nonverbal functions as well as the present form which can also function as a noun in all respects. The affixed pronominal forms, which by their characteristics and by their place in the verb determine not only the

subject and object but also the tense, are the inflectional morphemes, and are attached to the basic form, the inflectional base. The relationship between the inflectional base and the inflectional morphemes is similar to that between basic element and formative (see above 3. The Basic Element; 4. The Formative and the Morpheme), except that the combination of the latter results in a new word with a separate entry in the dictionary, since it is a derivational process and lacks the completely predictable semantic relationship of an inflectional process. In the פֻּעַל, הָפְעַל, and הִתְפַּעֵל conjugations, the same base serves for all the tenses, but in the other conjugations different bases are used, as can be seen in the table below. The existence of more than one inflectional base in a paradigm is not unique to the conjugations: there are some noun patterns with the same feature.

Inflectional Bases in the Conjugations. (In phonemic transcription, in which *šewa* is not marked; see Phonology: 13. The *Šewa* and *Ḥaṭef*s.) (See Table: Hebrew Grammar 1.)

The same inflectional morphemes are used for the same tense in the various bases, though between base and affixed morpheme there may develop sometimes transitional phones and other phonetic phenomena that can be described precisely in a few rules. The inflectional morphemes of past and imperative are suffixes, while those of future are prefixes, except that in the second and third person plural, and in the second person feminine singular there are also suffixes identical with those of the imperative. The inflectional morphemes of the participle are those for gender and number in nouns (see 11. The Declension of the Nouns) and do not vary with change of person. In addition, the forms of the participle in all the conjugations except פָּעַל and נִפְעַל are prefixed by the morpheme *m* (sometimes a vowel is inserted after the *m*, see below). The inflectional morphemes of the construct infinitive resemble the inflectional morphemes of nouns (see above 11. The Declension of the Nouns). Every verb which can be followed by an object (usually only a direct object) can take, after the inflectional morphemes already mentioned, an additional inflectional morpheme, the objective pronoun (for details, see below 21. Inflections of Weak Verbs).

Table: Hebrew Grammar 1

	Past	Participle	Future	Imp.	Inf.
Paʿal	*šamár*	*šomér*	*šmór*		šmór
		lebéš	*lbáš*		
Nipʿal	*nišmár*		*hiššamér*		
Piʿʿel	*dibbér*		*dabbér*		
Puʿʿal		*dubbár*			
Hitpaʿʿel			*hitgabbér*		
Hipʿil	*hitḥíl*		*hatḥíl*		
Hupʿal		*huḥláṭ*			

Note: The following changes affect the inflectional base of the הִתְפַּעֵל:

(1) When the first radical is ז, ס, צ, שׁ, or שׂ it precedes the *t* (see Phonology 6, 17). This change is optional if the first radical is ד or ט.

(2) The *t* is changed to *d* after ד and ז, and to *ṭ* after ט and צ.

The following are the affixed pronominal inflectional morphemes denoting the subject:

To the inflectional base (= –) of the Past

Singular:	1st Person	Common	– *ti*
	2nd Person	Masculine	– *ta*
		Feminine	– *t*
	3rd Person	Masculine	– *ø*
		Feminine	– *a*
Plural:	1st Person	Common	– *nu*
	2nd Person	Masculine	– *tem*
		Feminine	– *ten*
	3rd Person	Common	– *u*

To the inflectional base (= –) of the Future

Singular:	1st Person	Common	ʾ –
	2nd Person	Masculine	*t* –
		Feminine	*t – i*
	3rd Person	Masculine	*y* –
		Feminine	*t* –
Plural:	1st Person	Common	*n* –
	2nd Person	Masculine	*t – u*
		Feminine	*(*t – na*)
	3rd Person	Masculine	*y – u*
		Feminine	*(*t – na*)

To the inflectional base (= –) of the Imperative

Singular:	2nd Person	Masculine	– *ø*
		Feminine	– *i*
Plural:	2nd Person	Masculine	– *u*
		Feminine	– *(*na*)

*The masculine forms of the same person are usually used instead of these. The form given in parentheses is the prevailing one in biblical Hebrew, but nowadays it is considered a possible variant only. To some extent, especially in the colloquial language, the masculine form of the second person plural in the past is also used for feminine. See also note 8 of the following section.

20. CHANGES IN THE BASE. The following rules describe the principal changes affecting the form of the verb when the inflectional morpheme is affixed to the base:

(A) Prefix.

(1) *h* at the beginning of the base is omitted after future and participle prefixes (but not when ב, כ, or ל come before the construct infinitive).

t + *hiššamér* → *thiššamér* → *tiššamer*
y + *hatḥíl* → *yatḥíl*
but *l* + *hitgabbér* → *lhitgabbér*

(2) When by adding a consonant before a base, the result is a form with a cluster of three consonants at the beginning, a vowel (generally *i*) is inserted between the first two consonants, namely between the prefix and the first conso-

nant of the base. (This is a general rule which applies to the future and infinitive of *paʿal*, as well as to many other forms, e.g., below 7).

n + šmór → nšmór → nišmór

(3) After the prefix ʾ, the vowel *e* instead of *i* is used in rule 2 and when a preceding *h* is omitted (rule 1). See also the beginning of 22. Inflections of Weak Verbs.

ʾ + šmór → ʾšmór → ʾešmór

ʾ + hitgabbér → ʾhitgabbér → ʾitgabbér → ʾetgabbér

There are a few exceptions, chiefly in biblical Hebrew, where *i* follows the prefix ʾ.

(B) Suffix.

(4) The vowel before the last consonant of the past base, whether *é* or *í*, changes to *á* before any suffix beginning with a consonant.

dibbér + ti → dibbárti; hitḥíl + ta → hitḥálta

(5) When the suffix is a vowel, the vowels *é*, *ó*, and *á* before the last consonant of the base generally remain only in forms used in classical Hebrew, especially at the end of a sentence. ("Pausal forms.")

huggáš + a → huggáša

hadál + i → ḥadáli

šamár + u → šamáru

However, they disappear (become *šewa*) in the regular form of the verb, when the accent is on the syllable of the suffix.

šamár + á → šamrá (or *šamᵊrá*)

dibbér + u → dibbrú (= *dibbᵊru*)

See below for some uses of pausal forms in contemporary Hebrew. However, the vowel *i* does not disappear:

hitḥíl → hitḥílu

(6) The vowel *í* in the imperative and future base of הִפְעִיל changes to *é* before the suffix *–na*.

t + hatḥil + na → tatḥélna

And in the imperative before the suffix *ø, í* changes to *é*:

hathíl + ø → hatḥél

(7) If through the disappearance of *é, ó*, or *á* (according to 5) a cluster of three consonants is created at the beginning of the word, a vowel is inserted between the first two (as in 2). When the third consonant is *b, k, p* – it is realized as the corresponding fricative variant, i.e., *v, x, f.*

šmór + i → šmóri → šmrí → šimrí (imperative of פָּעַל), and similarly with construct infinitive, e.g.,

l + šmór + ó → l + šmró → l + šomró → lšomró.

(8) The vowels *a* and *e* in an open syllable before the accent disappear when the accent moves to the end of the bases:

labéš + im → labešim → lbešim

šamár + tém → šamartém → šmartém

In colloquial language, the suffix – *tem* is unaccented. It is used for both masculine and feminine. Since the accent does not shift, *a* and *e* do not disappear:

šamár + tem → šamártem (col.)

(9) The vowel *é* in the last syllable of the participle base (except for the base *labéš*) disappears when a suffix beginning with a vowel is attached to the base. (Such a suffix attached to a participle, which is a nominal suffix, is always accented. But see the next rule.)

mdabbér + ím → mdabbrím

šomér + á → šomrá

(10) If the suffix *–t* (but not *–át*) is attached to the participle base as the feminine inflectional morpheme, the result is a form ending in two consonants, which is treated like the segholates (see above 6).

nišmár + t → nišmárt → nišmáret → nišméret

mdabbér + t → mdabbért → mdabbéret

Notes:

(1) The attachment of the suffix ø to the base usually does not affect the form of the base, except for phonetic changes, e.g., the change of קָמָץ to פַּתָּח in the last syllable of the base (but see rule 6, above).

šamár (= שָׁמָר) + *ø* → *šamár* (= שָׁמַר).

(2) The theoretical form of the base is also the form that is realized at the end of a sentence. In general, the "pausal forms" of all the persons are the forms from which it is possible to produce the regular forms by the rules of inflection detailed above. It should be further noted that some "pausal forms" are sometimes used in ordinary speech, and not necessarily at the ends of sentences, e.g., הַהַצָּעָה לֹא הוּבָנָה כָּרָאוּי, הָבוּ לָנוּ.

21. THE INFLECTION OF OBJECTIVE PRONOUNS. (1) For the objective inflection the forms of the verb containing the subjective pronoun serve as the inflectional base (see 19, 20). The inflectional morphemes denoting objective pronouns are as follows:

Singular:	1st Person	Common	*ni*
	2nd Person	Masculine	*ka*
		Feminine	*k*
	3rd Person	Masculine	*hu, w, o*
		Feminine	*ha, h*
Plural:	1st Person	Common	*nu*
	2nd Person	Masculine	*kém*
		Feminine	*kén*
	3rd Person	Masculine	*m*
		Feminine	*n*

These inflectional morphemes are, in the main, attached to all the bases of the verb, but there is not always free variation in the inflectional morphemes of the third person singular, the choice of which sometimes depends on the nature of the base. Thus, the morphemes *h* and *o* are not affixed to the base *šamárti*, and others like it. The inflectional morphemes affixed to participle bases are generally the possessive inflectional morphemes of the noun (see above, 11).

(2) Changes in the Base. These inflectional morphemes generally cause changes in the vowels of the base, because the accent of the base usually moves forward when the inflectional morpheme is attached. As a result of the movement of the accent, vowels disappear, mainly according to regular phonetic principles (see Phonology 16).

šamárti + kém → šmartikém

(see above 20, rule 8.)

šamáru + ni → šmarúní

tišmóri + m → tišmrím

(the base vowels *á*, *ó* disappear, see above 20. Changes in the Base, paragraph no. 5.)

A striking change in the past form ending in *tém* or *tén* is the change of this suffix to *tú* when this form serves as the base for the objective inflection.

šmartém + ni → šmartún

(3) Transitional Phones. In several bases transitional phones are created between the base and the inflectional morpheme:

(1) The vowel *í* is added to the base of the second person feminine singular past:

šamárt + hu → šmartíhu

šamárt + nu → šmartínu

(2) *t* is added to the base of the third person feminine singular past with shift of accent:

šamára + ni → šmarátni

šamára + kém → šmaratkém

(3) The vowel *á* is added to the base of the third person masculine singular past:

šamár + nu → šmaránu

šamár + m → šmáram

But before the morpheme *k* (second person feminine singular) the inserted vowel is *é*:

šamár + k → šmarék

(4) The vowel *é* is added to the future bases ending in a consonant:

tišmór + ni → tišmréni

yilbaš + m → yilbašém

The vowel *á* of the future and imperative base of *lbáš* pattern does not disappear, unlike *é* and *ó* in other future and imperative bases. (See Phonology 16:2, 4.) Contrast future bases ending in a vowel, e.g.,

tišmóri + ni → tišmríni

yišmóru + m → yišmrúm

yilbášu + n → yilbašún

The transitional vowel *á* (and sometimes *é*) is affixed to the infinitive base:

lišmór + ni → lšmoréni (cf. 20.2)

laqáḥat + m → lqaḥtám

22. INFLECTIONS OF WEAK VERBS. This concept is first discussed above in 2 (end), where it is stated that because of a phonetic characteristic of one of the radicals it may sometimes happen that two realizations of the same pattern may be different. The simplest change is that resulting from the peculiar phonetic characteristics of the gutturals א, ה, ח, and ע (see Phonology 6, Morphology 16). Their presence sometimes necessitates a vowel not found in the corresponding form without a guttural, e.g.,

yišmór/yaḥboṭ; yilbaš/yeḥdal

In these cases, the high vowel *i* is replaced by a lower vowel, *e* or *a*, next to a guttural. (See also rule 3 in 20.) In addition, between a non-final guttural and the following consonant a vowel חטף is sometimes inserted, usually corresponding to the preceding vowel, e.g., *yaḥămol, yeḥəzaq, yoʿŏmad*, but also *muʿămad*. In the case of ה, ח, and ע if as the third radical it ends the word, and there is no vowel *a* preceding it, then a preceding *a* is inserted, e.g., *niẓẓéaḥ, yaškíaḥ*. With respect to א in this situation, see below 24.4. The impossibility of doubling the gutturals and ר (Phonology 8, Morphology 16) causes changes in preceding vowels when doubling is required in corresponding forms. The changes are from short vowels to long vowels, and are known in grammar as "compensation for the *dageš*." Sometimes, the change is expressed merely orthographically, e.g., in the pattern *ydabber*:

יְפָאֵר, יְפָרֵשׁ instead of יְפַרֵשׁ ‡, יְפַאֵר ‡

but sometimes it is also audible in modern pronunciation, e.g., in the pattern *mdubbar*:

מְגֹהָץ, מְיֹעָר instead of מְגֻהָץ ‡, מְיֻעָר ‡

פֵּרֵשׁ, תֵּאֵר instead of פִּרֵשׁ ‡, תִּאֵר ‡

Apart from the gutturals and ר, there are two characteristics that cause changes in the forms:

(1) Assimilation, when one consonant completely assimilates another consonant, usually regressive assimilation.

‡*yinpol → yippol*; ‡*yilqaḥ → yiqqaḥ*

(2) Elision, when one of the radicals is א, ו, or י:

qarʾú, but *qratém*

yašanta, but *tišán* (‡ *tiyšán*)

šaléw, but *šalíti*

The conditions for these changes are that, for assimilation, the assimilated consonant be at the end of a non-final syllable, and for elision, the elided consonant be at the end of any syllable. (See below, in this connection, forms of verbs with identical second and third radicals, e.g., סב, נסב.)

23. PARADIGMS OF ASSIMILATED FORMS. Typical of paradigms of assimilated forms is the presence of duplication of consonants in the middle of the verb. These paradigms are more often known as paradigms of defective verbs. This term derives from a study of the written language, since in the Hebrew script duplication is indicated by only one letter (with a point, "*dageš forte*," inserted in it). As a result, when a consonant is assimilated to its neighbor, one letter is missing from the script, that of the assimilated consonant. The term *assimilated* derives from a study of the phonetic characteristics of the language and an observation of the phonetic processes of assimilation as the principal characteristic typifying the membership of the root in this paradigm. However, there are a few instances in these paradigms of omission of a consonant and not its assimilation.

1. Defective פ״נ and Defective פ״י (Better: assimilated פ״נ and assimilated פ״י). The paradigm of this type with most roots is known as defective פ״נ (see Phonology 7), which comprises roots whose first radical is נ. This נ is assimilated to the second consonant of the root in certain circumstances, e.g.,

‡ *yinpol (//yišmor) → yippol*

‡ *ninẓal (//nišmar) → nizẓal*

As stated at the end of 22, this assimilation occurs only when the assimilated consonant comes at the end of a non-final syllable. Most roots with נ as the first radical belong to this paradigm, but not all: sometimes the נ appears even when the condition exists for its assimilation. This is so when the second radical is a guttural, e.g:, *yinham, yanʿim*. (There are only two or three roots where the נ is assimilated to a guttural in some forms.) And it is so in a sizeable number of other roots, e.g., *yanẓiḥu, yinbor*, especially in verbs or forms that have been coined in recent times. It is worth pointing out that the facility for assimilating the נ has become a means of distinguishing between different meanings, e.g., *yanbiṭ* ("will cause to bud") versus *yabbiṭ* ("will look"), *yangid* ("will put contradictory items") versus *yaggid* ("will tell"), including meanings of verbal nouns, e.g., *hangada* versus *haggada, hankara* ("alienation") versus *hakkara* ("consciousness"). The root ל׳ק׳ח׳ is generally included in this paradigm because of the assimilation of its first radical, even though it is ל and not נ.

A parallel paradigm is that of defective פ״י, which comprises roots whose first radical –י– assimilates to the second. There are only six or seven roots in this paradigm, e.g., *yẓb* (*yaẓẓib, hiẓẓib*), *yẓq* (*niẓẓaq, niẓẓoq*). The bases of verbs that are defective פ״נ and פ״י hardly differ from those of regular paradigms, which are detailed in 20, and the same changes of base occur, which are included in those rules. The exception is that the imperative bases in פעל (*lbaš, šmor*) tend in the פ״נ and פ״י paradigms to lose the first radical without any substitution, e.g., *pol* (for *npol*), *gaʿ* (for *ngaʿ*). In these imperative forms there is therefore a true loss and not an assimilation (see Biblical Hebrew 10). With the root נתנ the last נ is assimilated to the following consonants in cases like *natánti* → *nattáti* and in לָתֵת. This last form is to be understood as a development of a feminine infinitive, in which *t* is added to the radicals. Other infinitives like this occur mainly in biblical Hebrew, e.g., יְכֹלֶת, לְאַהֲבָה. This construction as an infinitive is not productive nowadays, and most instances that are still used belong to the פ״נ or פ״י paradigms, e.g., לָגֶשֶׁת, לָטַעַת, לָרֶדֶת, לָדַעַת. A similar process has occurred with the biblical form לָלַת for the root י׳ל׳ד׳, which must be understood as *laladt* → *lalatt* → *lalat.*

2. Verbs with duplicated second radical or geminates are usually included among the defective paradigms. This can be justified not because in certain forms one letter is written symbolizing both the second and third radicals, e.g., סַבּוּ, but because in other cases the last radical is entirely omitted, e.g., סַב, נָסַב. But two points must be made clear: (a) In the inflections of roots in this paradigm, assimilation does not take place, since the two neighboring consonants written with gemination are identical; there is nothing unique in their being symbolized by one letter, since all gemination is symbolized in Hebrew script by one letter. Gemination is similarly symbolized by one letter in words like *natánnu* (נתנו), *karátti* (כרתי). (b) The omission of the third radical in forms like סַב, נָסַב is only a realization rule, a phonetic rule, and does not convey anything about the theoretical structure of the word. The omission occurs, therefore, on the final level of the language, since there is a general rule in Hebrew that gemination of consonants does not occur at the end of a word, one consonant alone remaining instead. A theoretical form like *sabb* changes, therefore, to *sab* without any assimilation, just as with words like לֵב, דֹּב, חֹק, in all of which gemination occurs with the last radical when it appears in the middle of the word, e.g.,לִבִּי, דֻּבִּים, חֻקּוֹ. (See Table: Hebrew Grammar 2.)

Table: Hebrew Grammar 2

	Past Participle	Future Imp. Inf.
Paʿal	*sább*	*sóbb*
		qáll
Nipʿal	*nasább*	*hissább*
Piʿʿel	*sobéb*	
Puʿʿal	*sobáb*	
Hitpaʿʿel	*hitsobéb*	
Hipʿil	*hesébb*	*hasébb*
Hupʿal	*husább*	

The regular inflectional morphemes (19) are attached also to the bases of this paradigm, and rules 1, 3–5, 8–10 set out in 20 apply also to these bases, e.g.,

t + *hitsobéb* → *thistobeb* → *tistobeb* (20.1)
ʾ + *hitsobéb* → *ʾestobeb* (20.3)
sobéb + *ti* → *sobábti* (20.4)
sobáb + *u* → *sobábu* (pausal form) → *sob*^{ə}*bu* (20.5)
nasább + *á* → *nasabbá* → *nsabbá* (20.8)
m + *sobéb* + *ím* = *msob*^{ə}*bím* (20.9)
m + *sobéb* + *t* → *msobébt* → *msobébet* (20.10)

The principal phenomena that are peculiar to the rules for affixation of inflectional morphemes to bases of geminates are as follows:

Prefixed Morpheme: (1) a transitional vowel appears between the prefixed morpheme and the future bases of פָּעַל if the accent is on the base. Before the base *sobb* the transitional vowel is *a*, while before the *qall* it is *e*:

y + *sóbb* → *y* + *a* + *sóbb* → *yasóbb* → *yasób*
y + *sóbb* + *u* → *y* + *a* + *sóbb* + *u* → *yasóbbu*
y + *qáll* + *u* → *y* + *e* + *qáll* + *u* → *yeqállu*

The same applies when ל is affixed to the infinitive base:

l + *sóbb* → *lasóbb* → *lasób*

Suffixed Morpheme: (2) when a suffix beginning with a consonant is attached to a base ending with gemination, the transitional vowel *o* is generally inserted between them, with *e* instead of *o* preceding – *na*:

sább + *ti* + *sább* + *ó* + *ti* → *sabbótii*
sább + *tém* → *sább* + *o* + *tém* → *sabbotém*
hissább + *na* → *hissább* + *é* + *na* → *hissabbéna*

(3) However, there are forms lacking this transitional vowel which lose the gemination of the base before a suffix beginning with a consonant, as if it was at the end of the word:

hissább + *na* → *hissábna* = [*hissávna*]
hussább + *ta* → *husábta* = [*husávta*]
hesébb + *nu* → *hesábnnu* = [*hesávnu*]

(4) The vowel *e* before gemination of the base is changed to *i*, and *o* to *u* when the accent is after the gemination:

sóbb + na → *sóbb + é + na* → *subbéna*

m + hesébb + ím → *mesébbím* → *msibbím*

(5) As usual with a consonant cluster whose first consonant is *h*, a half-vowel appears in this situation:

hasébb + nu → *hasébb + ó + nu* → *hsibbónu* → [*hăsibbónu*]

24. PARADIGMS OF MUTE FORMS. The term "mute" refers to the phonetic process occurring to various inflectional forms in which the consonants א, ו and י of the root cease to be pronounced, becoming mute. (With respect to ה, see below.) Subclassification of these paradigms is based on the identity of the mute consonant and on its place in the root: mute פ״א; mute פ״י; mute ע״ו; mute ע״י; mute ל״א; mute ל״י. There are very few instances of mute פ״ו and mute ל״ו; these are therefore usually not treated separately, but are included under mute פ״י and mute ל״י respectively.

1. Mute פ״א. There are only five roots in this paradigm. א is mute chiefly in future forms of פָּעַל, e.g., יֹאכַל, יֹאבֵד, יֹאפֶה. There are a few instances of other forms with mute א, e.g., נֹאחֲזוּ. The vowel *o* appears in a syllable in which א is mute.

2. Mute פ״י. This paradigm comprises two subclasses, distinguished by the vowel of the syllable in which י is muted: חִירִיק, e.g., יִישַׁן, יִינַק; or צֵירֶה, e.g., יֵשֵׁב, יֵדַע. This latter subclass is assigned by many grammarians to defective פ״י paradigm, chiefly because the letter י is not written in many of the forms. It is true that in the inflectional base of future, imperative, and infinitive of פָּעַל the first radical is omitted (see below in the table of bases in this paradigm: *réd*). However, the defective paradigms are characterized not by omissions, but by the assimilation of a consonant to its neighbor, and in this paradigm there is no such assimilation (compare above, 23:1). Consequently, this subclass belongs to the mute paradigms. Historically, only forms with חִירִיק as vowel of prefix give convincing proof of an original י as first radical, while those with צֵירֶה suggest an original ו. The difference is not apparent in the future forms of פָּעַל, but it is very clear in the הִפְעִיל: הֵינִיק, הֵישִׁיר as opposed to הוֹרִיד, הוֹשִׁיב. The vowel *o* following the ה is the result of monophthongization of *aw,* the original forms probably being ‡*hawrid*, ‡*hawšib* (see Phonology 15), while הֵינִיק, הֵישִׁיר result from the monophthongization of ‡*hayniq,* ‡*hayšir.* (Evidence of this is also to be found in forms like מֵיְמִינִים, מֵיְשִׁירִים, where monophthongization has not taken place.)

Inflectional Bases of Mute פ״י *Paradigm.* The bases of פֻּעַל, פִּעֵל, and הִתְפַּעֵל are identical to those of regular verbs, see 19. (See Table: Hebrew Grammar 3.) The rules for inflection given in 20 apply to all inflections in this paradigm. Special attention should be paid to the following:

(1) The first radical י is mute when by rule 20.2 it is preceded by the vowel *i*:

Table: Hebrew Grammar 3

	Past	Participle	Future	Imperative	Infinitive
Paʿal	*yarad*	*yoréd*	*réd*		*redt*
	yašen		*yšan*		*yšon*
Nipʿal	*nolád*			*hiwwaléd*	
Hipʿʿil			*holíd*		
			heníq		
Hupʿal		*hurád*			

t + yšán → *tiyšán* → *tišán* (rule 20.3 does not apply);

(2) Before the base for future, imperative, and infinitive of פָּעַל *réd*, the transitional vowel *e* is inserted:

t + réd → *t + e + réd* → *teréd*

(3) The infinitive base of פָּעַל given in parentheses follows a development characteristic of the segholates, e.g., *rédt* → *rédet*, and the transitional vowel *a* is inserted before it and after the prefix *l*, e.g., *l + rédet* → *l + a + rédet* → *larédet* (when the infinitive is in the construct state, no transitional vowel is inserted).

3. Mute ע״ו–ע״י. The distinction between ע״ו and ע״י is evident only in the inflectional base for the future, imperative, and infinitive of פָּעַל, exemplified by *qum* in ע״ו and *šir* in ע״י.

Since this description is res tricted to contemporary Hebrew, there is no discussion of the difficult problem, still disputed, as to whether the roots of this paradigm were originally bilateral and at a later stage ו or י developed between the two consonants, or whether they were originally trilateral and subsequently the middle consonant, ו or י, was muted (see Biblical Hebrew 10, Morphology 2). For our purpose it is sufficient to point out that the name of this paradigm is based on the second possibility. On the other hand, there is evidence of the formation of regular trilateral roots (19) through the development into a consonant of a medial ו or י e.g., תִּוֵּךְ from תּוֹךְ, בִּיֵּן from ב'י'נ'. However, it should be mentioned that most of the creations are in פִּעֵל (as in the above examples) or in פֻּעַל and הִתְפַּעֵל (e.g., מְגֻוָּן, הִתְגַּיֵּר), that is to say in patterns where the middle radical should be doubled and hence greater attention is paid to it. When the development of a medial ו or י does not take place, the inflection for פִּעֵל, פֻּעַל, and הִתְפַּעֵל in this paradigm is identical to that of geminates described in the preceding section.

Inflectional Bases of Mute ע״ו–ע״י *Paradigm.* The inflectional morphemes detailed in 20 are affixed to these bases according to rules 1, 3, 4, 5 (but rule 5 does not apply to the bases *qám, nakón*), 6, 8, 10 listed in 20. (See Table: Hebrew Grammar 4.) In addition, transitional vowels are formed according to rules 1 and 2 stated for the geminates (see section on verbs with duplicated radicals in Paradigms of Assimilated Forms above), with only a slight difference: the transitional vowel of the prefix is always *a* (except for the base of the verb בּוֹשׁ – which serves both past and future – where it is *e*). The following rules are peculiar to this paradigm:

Table: Hebrew Grammar 4

	Past and Participle	Future Imp. Inf.
Paʿal	*qám*	*qúm* *šír*
Nipʿal	*nakón*	*hikkón*
Hipʿil	*heqím*	*haqím*
Hupʿal	*huqám*	

(1) The vowel *ú* of *qúm* changes to *o* before the suffix –*na*:

qúm + *na* → *qómna*

(2) The vowel *ó* generally changes to *u* before the transitional vowel *ó*:

nakón + *t* → *nakón* + *ó* + *t* → *nkunót*

Here are some additional examples of the production of forms:

(1) (rule 1) *t* + *haqím* → *taqím*

(2) (rule 3) ʾ + *hikkón* → *ʾikkon* → *ʾekkón*

(3) (rule 4) *heqím* + *ta* → *heqámta*

(4) (rule 5) *huqám* + *u* → *huqámu* (pausal form) → *huqmú*,

but

qám + *u* → *qámu*

nakón + *a* → *nakóna*

(5) (rule 6) *haqím* + *na* → *haqémna*

(6) *heqámtém* (rule 4) → *hqamtém* (rule 8) → [*hăqamtém*] (by rule 5 in the geminate paradigm)

(7) *m* + *huqám* + *t*→ *muqámt* (rule 1) → *muqámet* → *muqémet* (rule 10).

Examples of the rules for transitional vowels:

(8) *t* + *qúm* → *t* + *a* + *qúm* → *taqúm* (geminates – 1) but *n* + *boš* → *nebóš*

(9) *heqim* + *ta* → *heqím* + *ó* + *ta* (geminates – 2) → *hqimóta* (rule 8) → [*hăqimóta*] (geminates – 5)

For an example where a transitional vowel is not formed, see (3) geminates.

4. Mute Third Radical. With respect to the roots in this paradigm too, it can be argued that they were originally bilateral with a third consonant developing in the final position. Indeed, there is evidence in several cases of such a development (see above, Morphology 2: א'ח'י', ז'ה'י'). However, the more common view is that these roots were originally trilateral and the final consonant was muted in certain circumstances. This view finds support in the history of Hebrew and other Semitic languages. It is worth pointing out that Hebrew has only a few instances of the existence of ו as a third radical (as in שָׁלַוְתִּי), apparently because already at an early stage the ו in such roots was changed to י. It should also be mentioned that the popular name ל״ה is based on the written language and not the spoken, since while the third person masculine singular past forms of these roots are indeed written with final ה, a consideration of the whole of the inflection shows that the final consonant is really י, e.g., in forms like the passive participle רָצוּי or verbal noun in פָּעַל, רְצִיָּה *rẓiya* (like *šmira*); verbal noun in פִּעֵל *niqquy* (like *dibbur*); and in various noun forms, e.g., *niqqayon*. Finally, it may be noted that in many instances there is an overlap between roots in the paradigms ל״א and ל״י, e.g., הַשְׁקָאָה (as well as הַשְׁקָיָה) from ש'ק'י', הַרְצָאָה from ר'צ'י'. The reverse phenomenon is especially common: forms with a root from the paradigm ל״א but with their inflection following that of ל״י, e.g., בִּטּוּי (ב'ט'א'). In mishnaic Hebrew this was the general practice, which was apparently reinforced through the influence of contemporary Aramaic, in which the ל״א paradigm was completely lost and its forms became identical to those of ל״י. However, it would not be correct to argue that this is a phenomenon restricted to mishnaic Hebrew: the transition is reflected in the pointing of the biblical text, and most of the instances can be explained as deriving from an internal phonetic development, namely, the elision of א when it is second in a consonantal cluster, e.g., חוֹטְאִים ← חוֹטאים. Forms common in mishnaic Hebrew, e.g., מָצִינוּ, יָצְתָה serve nowadays merely as stylistic variants.

Inflectional Bases of Mute ל״א *Paradigm.* The inflectional morphemes listed in 19 are affixed to the bases of this paradigm and the rules detailed in 20 apply (with the reservations stated immediately below for rules 4 and 10). (See Table: Hebrew Grammar 5.) The following rules are specific to this paradigm:

(1) ʾ is mute at the end of a word, and in the middle of a word before a suffix beginning with a consonant:

qoréʾ → *qoré*

qaráʾ + *ti* → *qaráti*

milléʾ + *ta* → *milléta*

Similarly:

m + *hitmalléʾ* + *t* → *mitmallét*

i.e., rule 10 of 20 does not apply to this paradigm, because the elision of ʾ prevents the creation of a segholate form.

(2) Instead of rule 4 of 20 the following rule applies to this paradigm: *a* and *i* in past bases (except of פָּעַל) change to *e* before suffixes beginning with a consonant:

niqráʾ + *ti* → *niqráti* (rule 1) → *niqréti*

hiqríʾ + *nu* → *hiqrínu* (rule 1) → *hiqrénu*

Note: In a small number of roots in the past base of פָּעַל the second vowel is always *é*, e.g., *ẓaméʾ*, *maléʾ*.

5. Mute ל״י.

Table: Hebrew Grammar 5

	Past	Participle	Future Imp.	Inf.
Paʿal	*qaráʾ*	*qoreʾ*	*qraʾ*	*qróʾ*
Nipʿal	*niqráʾ*		*hiqqareʾ*	
Piʿʿel	*milléʾ*		*malléʾ*	
Puʿʿal		*mulláʾ*		
Hitpaʿʿel		*hitmalléʾ*		
Hipʿil	*hiqríʾ*		*haqriʾ*	
Hupʿal	*huqráʾ*			

Inflectional Bases of Mute ל״י *Paradigm.* (See Table: Hebrew Grammar 6.) It is easy to see that the distinction between the past bases and the other bases in this paradigm lies primarily in the final vowel, which is *á* in the past and *é* in the other bases. The following rules specify what is characteristic of this paradigm:

(1) The suffix *a* of the third person feminine singular past changes into *ta* (and is then classed with suffixes beginning with a consonant).

(2) The infinitive is formed by the affixation of a special suffix *ót* to the base (and this is then classed with suffixes beginning with a vowel).

(3) The final vowel of all the bases is omitted before a suffix beginning with a vowel, and in such a case the accent is on the vowel of the suffix (this rule replaces rule 5 in 20):

baná + *u* → *banú*
haqné + *i* → *haqní*
l + *naqqé* + *ót* → *lnaqqót*

Note: To take account of "pausal forms," ancient inflectional bases must be considered, e.g., *bakáy* + *u* → *bakáyu* (rule 5 in 20).

(4) The vowel *á* in past bases changes to *i* when a suffix beginning with a consonant is added in bases of פִּעֵל, פֻּעַל, and הִפְעִיל, and to *e* in other bases and occasionally in bases of פִּעֵל and הִפְעִיל:

baná + *nu* → *banínu*
niqqá + *ti* → *niqqíti* (or *niqqéti*)
hiqná + *ta* → *hiqnéta* (or *hiqníta*)
nibná + *tém* → *nibnetém*

In addition rules 1, 2, 3, 8 detailed in 20 apply to the inflection of this paradigm:

t + *hibbané* → *tibbané* (20, rule 1)
t + *bné* → *tibné* (20, rule 2)
ʾ + *bné* →ʾ*ebné* (20, rule 3)
ʾ + *hibbané* → ʾ*ebbane* (20, rule 3)
baná + *tém* → *banitém* (rule 4 of this paradigm) → *bnitém* (20, rule 8)

but *l* + *hibbané* + *ót* + *m* (objective pronoun) → *lhibbanotám* (without change of the vowel *a* of the base).

Table: Hebrew Grammar 6

	Past	Participle	Future Imp. Inf.
Paʿal	*baná*	*boné*	*bné*
Nipʿal	*nibná*	*nibné*	*hibbané*
Piʿʿel	*niqqá*	*naqqé*	
Puʿʿal	*nuqqá*	*nuqqé*	
Hitpaʿel	*hitnaqqá*	*hitnaqqé*	
Hipʿil	*hiqná*	*haqné*	
Hupʿal	*huqná*	*huqné*	

[Uzzi Ornan]

SYNTAX

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SYNTAX

1: THE INFLUENCE OF FOREIGN WORKS ON HEBREW SYNTAX

1.1: The Traditional Grammars

The first Hebrew grammarians devoted their attention chiefly to phonology and morphology, generally omitting special, ordered chapters on syntax. Some study was, however, made into the syntactical connections between adjacent or related words. This usually appears in traditional grammars when they deal with the system of accents. Many centuries passed before syntactic questions such as agreement of gender and number between different words in a sentence were first discussed comprehensively in a Hebrew grammar (*Miqne Avram* by Abraham de *Balmes, 1523).

1.2: Neglect of Syntax

This neglect seems to be due to the influence of the treatment of syntax in languages such as Latin, Greek, or Arabic, where the function of a word is generally shown by its form, and especially by the suffixes attached to it. The grammarian might therefore suppose that syntax essentially consists of such case suffixes, so that Hebrew, which lacks these suffixes, "has no syntax," or at least its syntax is not central to the language. The grammarian might therefore persuade himself that he should rather devote his energies to phonology and morphology. This conception of syntax continued to influence the treatment of Hebrew syntax even in the period of "scientific grammar," when philologists included a separate chapter on syntax in their Hebrew grammars. Until very recently, syntax was considered a study which attempted to reveal the logic behind language and thus external reality. For several centuries Latin was thought to be the most complete expression of logic and reality. Hence, while grammarians such as Gesenius, Ewald, or König and their modern counterparts such as Pereẓ and Segal treat Hebrew syntactic phenomena in great detail, their approach is not based on linguistic formal criteria derived from a study of Hebrew, but on categories of "reality" as reflected in Latin and as "laid bare" in Latin syntax.

1.3: Conventional Syntax in Other Languages

It is well known that this defect has affected the treatment of syntax in other modern languages, including English. For example, grammarians have continued even recently to discuss the distinction between dative and accusative in English, as if the formal differences between them – noticeable in Latin but hardly at all in English – reflect relationships in external reality, and as if these relationships need to be considered in the syntax of every language, even where no distinction between them is made in the language.

1.4: Conventional Hebrew Syntax

Hebrew grammarians likewise saw Hebrew syntax as reflecting reality and the relationships existing in it, rather than as a formal study of the way words are linked and sentences are linked. For example, the Latin distinction between "direct object" and "indirect object" (see section Object below) is based upon the difference between a word that was an obligatory complement to a verb and was linked to it directly, i.e., without the word being preceded by a preposition, and a word which, while being an obligatory complement to a verb, needed a preposition before it. But in Hebrew what was called a "direct object" is under certain clear (and very frequent) conditions preceded by the preposition אֶת. "Direct object" in Hebrew, then, was applied not to a word with a certain status (or function) in the sentence, but to a word that designated a substance. That substance had a certain status in "reality" and had a certain relationship with another substance existing in the world. This relationship is realized by an action passed from this second substance to the one designated by the word which is "direct object." In other words, this syntax deals not with the grammatical relationships between words but with the relationships in the real world between what the words signify. A good illustration of this treatment of syntax appears in the comment usually quoted in the section dealing with the "direct object": "Sometimes the preposition לְ appears before the direct object instead of the preposition אֶת (for example in the biblical verse הָרְגוּ לְאַבְנֵר, II Samuel 4:30)." In this comment "direct object" is stated by the fact that a person is directly affected by the action, that is to say it is a person existing in the world that makes it "direct object" and not a linguistic relation existing in the sentence.

2: THE PARTS OF SPEECH

2.1: The Parts of Speech and External Reality

This conception of the word as reflecting reality is evident in what is traditionally the opening chapter of books on syntax: the chapter dealing with the "parts of speech." Since the early grammarians believed that reality was reflected best in Latin, it is precisely here that there is the greatest influence of Latin (and Greek) syntax. In these languages the function of a word can be recognized through its form, largely because of the many case suffixes that these languages have; hence, it was natural for the forms to serve as a basis for the treatment of functions. But in Hebrew it is exceptional for form and syntactic function to correspond, as in הַבַּיְתָה contrasting with הַבַּיִת. Only in the verb is there a regular correspondence, since it has merely one function, namely, to be the predicator of the sentence. It is reasonable to suppose that without the influence of foreign works on syntax the chapter on the "parts of speech" would have been the introduction to a treatment of morphology rather than of syntax. Indeed, the earliest medieval grammarians did include a discussion of the "parts of speech," which they then divided into three only: noun, verb, and particle (מִלָּה – literally "word"). They defined "noun" and "verb" semantically (for example, "a word denoting a substance or concept," "a word denoting an action or state"), while "particle" (comprising whatever was not regarded as "noun" or "verb") was defined by the function it had of linking other words. But, particles were also termed "sense words," since they supplied sense to the sentence. (See above 5. Parts of Speech in section Morphology above.)

2.2: The Classification into Parts of Speech

The division into three parts of speech was preserved in Hebrew grammar even when the division into nine parts of speech, traditional in Greek and Latin (and also in modern languages), entered Hebrew grammar. The nine were grouped under the three earlier parts as follows:

A. *noun*: 1. noun (substantive) 2. adjective 3. numeral 4. pronoun

B. *verb*: 5. verb

C. *particle*: 6. conjunction 7. preposition 8. adverb 9. interjection

2.3: A Criticism of the Conventional Classification

The division into nine parts of speech is also largely based on the meaning of words. That is to say, the assignment of a word to a particular part of speech is generally decided not by its formal features nor by its function, but by the concept it denotes. As a result, the classification suffers from several defects:

(1) Not every word denotes a concept. For example, conjunctions merely denote that words are linked to each other. In practice, therefore, grammarians define different parts according to different criteria: meaning, function, and sometimes even form.

(2) The meaning of a word depends on its context, and therefore the same word type is likely to be considered as belonging to several parts of speech, depending on the context of the particular word tokens. For example, in the sentence הַשּׁוֹמְרִים מְטַיְּלִים הַלַּיְלָה (The watchmen are walking around tonight) the first word is considered a noun and the second a verb, and the same applies to the sentence הַמְטַיְּלִים שׁוֹמְרִים הַלַּיְלָה (The hikers are on guard tonight). The third defect of this classification follows from the previous two:

(3) The division into parts of speech does not establish exclusive sets, since many words belong to more than one part of speech. It is this third defect in particular that has led some prominent linguists to deny any value to the classification into parts of speech. Yet this classification, virtually in its entirety, is generally accepted even in the most modern Hebrew textbooks, although it is clear that in many ways it does not fit the facts of the Hebrew language. Thus, many scholars claim that there is no basis for distinguishing in Hebrew between noun and adjective, since every adjective can be considered a noun (e.g., חָכָם, גִּבּוֹר), and clearly many nouns originally served as adjectives (e.g., לְבָנָה, חַמָּה). It is true that this claim is made particularly for biblical Hebrew, but it is true also for modern Hebrew. It applies to the forms of the participle, which can be taken as nouns, as adjectives, or as verbs. This last possibility is especially evident in modern Hebrew, where the forms of the participle are given in the verb paradigm, though formally they resemble nouns.

3: SENTENCE TYPES

A sentence is a syntactical unit built from a word or words of which each one (or a combination of them) fulfills a specific syntactical function as a "sentence-part." This unit can stand by itself, can sometimes be connected to other similar units – whether preceding it or following it, and whether they are articulated by the same speaker or by others – and it is intonated in a manner which members of that language-group recognize as a complete articulated unit which does not lack a continuation. The sentence has an additional typical attribute: it is recursive, i.e., this unit can include in it a further internal sentence or sentences, each one of which fills a function as a sentence-part (see below). Unlike many other languages, the Hebrew sentence – apparently also in its deep structure (see below 3.1: Structural Analysis) – does not have to include a verb (see below 4.23: Nominal Sentence and Verbal Sentence). On the other hand the Hebrew sentence may be a single word which is a verb, since the Hebrew verb includes a pronoun. Transformational rules (see below Structural Analysis) are likely to influence the sentence and reduce it to a single word which is not a verb; however, this attribute can be found in many languages.

3.1: Structural Analysis

Modern linguistic theory considers grammar to be a set of generative rules for the language. A central place is occupied by what are called transformational rules. Transformational rules are also generative rules, but they apply to sentences or parts of sentences derived from simpler generative rules. Transformational rules change the order of words in a sentence, produce conjoinings and dependencies within sentences or between sentences, replace words by other words or formatives by other formatives, delete sentences or parts of sentences, etc. According to this theory, one must distinguish between the surface structure of a language and its deep structure. The latter includes the generative and transformational rules and also most of the semantic links that appear "on the surface." So far, only a few works have been written on Hebrew grammar according to this theory or under its influence, and even these follow its earlier formulations. Consequently it is neither possible to describe here the "deep structure" of Hebrew, nor to survey the transformational rules that operate in the language, except in those areas where a few details have been discovered. The following description is therefore essentially a survey of surface structure, taking into account works written according to the classical method.

3.11: CLASSIFICATION OF SENTENCES. A classification of sentences according to their surface structure yields four types of sentences: (1) simple sentence, (2) multiple-unit sentence, (3) compound sentence, and (4) complex sentence.

This classification is usual in books on Hebrew syntax, except that some authors treat together the multiple-unit sentence and the compound sentence, while some do not treat the compound sentence at all, because "there is nothing to deal with in the compound sentence except what we find in its parts as separate sentences" (Segal).

3.12: THE SIMPLE SENTENCE. A simple sentence is a sentence in which each part is realized by one word. This seems the best definition, even though there are some problems with it. For example, several adjectives may be attached to one noun to form a noun phrase. At first sight each one might be considered adjectival to the same noun, and yet in most cases the sentence will be regarded as simple, e.g., הַמְּעִיל הַשָּׁחוֹר הֶחָדָשׁ שֶׁלִּי נִקְרַע (My new black coat was torn). Another problem is that sometimes the function of the predicator is realized by a verb phrase, one word of which is the main verb while the rest are auxiliaries, e.g., הַשִּׁיעוּר מַתְחִיל לְהֵרָאוֹת מְעַנְיֵן (The lesson begins to appear interesting). Here the three final verbs together realize the function of predicator. The problem of adjectives in a noun phrase can be solved by recognizing that sometimes an adjective is not attached directly to the noun, which forms the nucleus of the noun phrase, but to the whole of the preceding phrase – the phrase of noun + adjective. In the above example, the correct analysis for the constituency of the adjectives is (3 (2 (1 הַמְּעִיל הַשָּׁחוֹר 1) הֶחָדָשׁ 2) שֶׁלִּי 3) נִקְרַע, compare the English equivalent (My (new (black coat))) was torn. First the words הַמְּעִיל הַשָּׁחוֹר (the black coat) form a phrase; then to this phrase as a unit the following adjective הֶחָדָשׁ is attached, forming the phrase (הַמְּעִיל הַשָּׁחוֹר) הֶחָדָשׁ; finally שֶׁלִּי is added, relating to the whole of the preceding phrase שֶׁלִּי ((הַמְּעִיל הַשָּׁחוֹר) הֶחָדָשׁ). This explanation is based on one of the important principles of structural linguistics, "the theory of immediate constituents" (IC). A close examination reveals that each of the adjectives belongs to a different adjectival category, i.e., has a different function within the sentence. There are indeed many more parts of the sentence than is traditionally supposed (see below). The problem with auxiliaries is solved by considering them morphemes attached to the center of the predicator ("the main verb") to give it some modal or aspectual nuance (see below 4.45 Infinitive as Object). The auxiliaries also vary in their function. If they are regarded as realizing certain parts of the sentence, then they too are additional parts of the sentence.

3.13: THE MULTIPLE-UNIT SENTENCE. The multiple-unit sentence is a sentence in which one of the parts is realized by several words linked to each other by parataxis (sometimes expressed by a conjunction), e.g., "אָבִיךָ וְאִמְּךָ דוֹאֲגִים לְךָ" (Your father and mother are anxious about you), "הָבֵא כַּפּוֹת וּמַזְלְגוֹת" (Bring spoons and forks). Some exclude from this type such sentences as have verbs that are linked paratactically, e.g., "הוּא הִתְרַחֵץ, הִתְלַבֵּשׁ וְיָצָא לַעֲבוֹדָה" (He washed, dressed, and went out to work); "וַיֹּאכַל וַיֵּשְׁתְּ וַיָּקָם וַיֵּלַךְ וַיִּבֶז" ("and he did eat and drink, and rose up, and went his way. So Esau despised his birthright," Gen. 25:34), maintaining that such a structure should be classed as a compound sentence (see 3.14: The Compound Sentence). The motivation for this view is that a construction containing a subject and a predicator is considered to be a sentence, and this definition applies to the verb, every form of which contains a subject-pronoun. Since a group of consecutive sentences linked paratactically is termed a compound sentence, the sentences in the above example should be considered compound sentences. In an analysis of the sentence (to be more precise, an analysis of the surface structure of the sentence) this approach is advantageous.

3.14: THE COMPOUND SENTENCE. The compound sentence is traditionally subclassified according to the type of linking: addition, contrast, choice, or result. It is obvious that this classification is essentially semantic. Though there is a practical need for it, it is doubtful whether it has a place in a theoretical treatment in syntax, at least as long as syntax is concerned only with surface structure (but see below 6.31: Coordination in section Links beyond the Sentence).

3.15: THE COMPLEX SENTENCE. The complex sentence is defined as a sentence one or more of whose parts is realized by a sentence (rather than by a word or a phrase). In every complex sentence there is therefore an embedded sentence. Since the embedded sentence performs, as a sentence, a function within the complex sentence, one can say that it is subordinate in the complex sentence. Some therefore define a complex sentence as follows: It is a sentence consisting of at least two sentences, which are linked by the subordination of one sentence to another. According to this view, the subordinated sentence is termed the dependent sentence, and the subordinating one the main sentence. But one should rather say that one sentence is a part of the other, and, in the same way as a sentence-element expressed by one word, it generally relates to one of the parts of the sentence as an independent unit. For example, if its function is that of adjunct, it is linked to the noun (irrespective of the noun's function), as in הַיֶּלֶד שֶׁרָאִינוּ אֶתְמוֹל חָזַר כְּבָר לְבֵיתוֹ (The boy, whom we saw yesterday, has already returned to his home) or רָאִיתִי אֶת הַיֶּלֶד שֶׁבָּא מִן הַכְּפָר (I saw the boy who came from the village). Similarly "וְשָׁמְמוּ עָלֶיהָ אוֹיְבֵיכֶם הַיּוֹשְׁבִים בָּהּ" ("and your enemies that dwell therein shall be astonished at it," Lev. 26:32) as opposed to "כָּכָה יַעֲשֶׂה ה׳ לְכָל אוֹיְבֵיכֶם אֲשֶׁר אַתֶּם נִלְחָמִים אוֹתָם" ("for thus shall the Lord do to all your enemies against whom ye fight," Josh. 10:25). Adjunct sentences are divided into relative clauses, as in the above examples, and adjunct-content sentences to be discussed below, in 4.38: Relative Clause. If adverbial, such a sentence is linked to the verb-predicator, e.g., חָזַרְנוּ מִן הַטִּיּוּל לִפְנֵי שֶׁשָּׁקְעָה הַשֶּׁמֶשׁ (We returned from the hike before the sun set). Even when the subordinated part is subject, it can be said to be chiefly linked to the predicator, e.g., מִי שֶׁטָּרַח בְּעֶרֶב שַׁבָּת יֹאכַל בְּשַׁבָּת (Whoever exerts himself on the Sabbath eve will eat on the Sabbath). The last example demonstrates the inappropriateness of the term "dependent" for the subordinated sentence, since it can realize one of the main functions of the sentence, that of subject, and hence "main" is likewise inappropriate for the subordinating part of the complex sentence. For other types of sentence structure, see 4.23: Nominal and Verbal Sentences, 4.24: Identifying Sentence, 4.25: Attributive Sentence, 4.26: Focusing Sentence, and 4.27: Indefinite Sentence.

3.2: Pragmatic Classification

Other analyses of sentences may be made according to the speaker's commitment to what is being said or according to his attitude to what is being said.

3.21: THE SPEAKER'S COMMITMENT. The speaker's commitment is discernible from the form of the sentence: declarative, exclamatory (or optative), and interrogative ("yes-no" question or "specific" question, i.e., question specifying type of information required). In modern Hebrew "yes-no" questions generally differ from declarative sentences merely in intonation, though sometimes – particularly in the written language – a question may be prefaced by a word indicating that the sentence is a question, e.g., הַאִם or כְּלוּם. In any event, the structure of the sentence remains the same when it serves as a "yes-no" question. In a specific question the sentence is introduced by the appropriate interrogative word, e.g., מָתַי (when), אֵיךְ (how), מַדּוּעַ (why). See below for the order of words in such questions. The same applies to the exclamatory sentence. Any declarative or interrogative sentence can be considered an exclamatory sentence when rendered by an exclamatory intonation. Investigation into Hebrew syntax must include intonation to allow for such a classification of sentences. But so far no research in this field has been published. We must therefore be content with the general observation that for a Hebrew sentence to be interpreted as a question it must be said with a rising tone, particularly toward the end, and in any case the last syllable must be heard as being on a higher pitch than the penultimate. On the other hand, in a declarative sentence the last syllable is lower in pitch than the penultimate. Specific questions vary and it is difficult to state what their characteristic intonation patterns are. However, it is important to point out that specific questions can function exactly as they are, as embedded (subordinated) sentences in a complex sentence, and then obviously they do not have an interrogative intonation.

3.22: THE SPEAKER'S ATTITUDE. The attitude of the speaker toward what is said in the sentence or toward one of the details in it, and the extent of his belief in what is said, can be expressed in three ways: (1) parenthetically, e.g., הַסּוּס, יִמַּח שְׁמוֹ, מִתְגָּרֶה בִּי (The horse – damn it – is annoying me);

(2) by a verb, by a subordinating expression, or by a sentence, the sentence transmitting the main content being subordinated to them, e.g., יִתָּכֵן שֶׁמָּחָר יֵרֵד שֶׁלֶג (It is possible that tomorrow snow will fall), יְהִי רָצוֹן שֶׁתֵּלֵד אִשְׁתִּי זָכָר ("May it be [God's] will that my wife bear a male child"), or תָּבוֹא שֶׁאֱלָתִי (וְ) מִי יִתֵּן ("Would (lit. who will give) that my desire be fulfilled"). See also Subordinators in 6.321: Links beyond the Sentence – אֲשֶׁר; (3) through certain auxiliaries (modal auxiliaries) that are attached to the nucleus of the predicator, e.g., מִסְפַּר הַמּוֹרְדִים עָלוּל לִגְדֹּל (The number of rebels may increase). See 4.45: Infinitive as Object.

4: THE PARTS OF THE SENTENCE

4.0: A Syntactic Framework

A syntactic analysis of surface structure means the identification of a string of words as a sentence and the identification of the function in the sentence of each word or group of words. The process of identification and analysis will be better understood if the sentence is compared to an elastic frame that can be expanded as required. The frame contains a string of words and each word or group of words appears within an inner frame, a frame symbolizing a part of the sentence. This conceptual framework underlies the definitions given above of types of sentences. Identification of a word's function in a sentence means determining in which inner frame to put the word; identification of sentence type means recognizing the composition of the inner frames in the external, sentence frame. The structure of the sentence is illustrated as follows with each term designating a frame making up a part of the sentence:

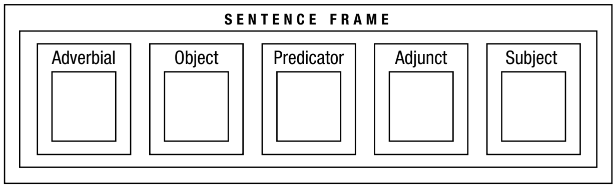

Note: The order of the parts of the sentence given from right to left is not intended to represent their actual order. On this, see below.

The frames shown here are filled with words. They are "elastic," that is to say they can "stretch" and contain more than one word. When one or more frames of the parts of the sentence is filled by a sentence, the sentence frame covering all the frames is termed a "complex sentence" and the sentence filling one of the parts of the sentence is termed an "embedded sentence." The features of an "embedded sentence" are generally the same as those of other sentences. An embedded sentence can itself contain within one of its internal frames another embedded sentence. This feature of the sentence – its recursiveness – allows for the possibility, at least theoretically, of expanding it to an infinite length.

4.1: The Division into the Primary Five Parts

Traditionally, Hebrew syntax distinguishes five parts of the sentence: (1) subject, (2) predicator, (3) adjunct, (4) object, (5) adverbial. It should be noted that this does not correspond to the division into subject and predicate, which is traditional in the grammars of many languages. On this, see 4.2: Subject and Predicator; 4.21: Predicator and Predicate. The first two parts are called the principal parts of the sentence, and the other three the subsidiary parts of the sentence or complements. The adjunct is complement to any noun whatever its function may be; the object and adverbial are complements to the predicator, but see 4.53: Sentence Adverbial. Some parts of the sentence are traditionally subclassified. A distinction must be made between two types of subclassification: (1) a part of the sentence is designated variously according to the nature of the words realizing it, e.g., the usual distinction between different kinds of adverbial: place, time, cause, result, etc.; (2) a part of the sentence is itself divided into two parts, each of which denotes a different syntactic functions, e.g., a predicator can be said to be composed of two parts: copula and predicator. (Some designate as extended predicator the part of the sentence comprising both of these.) The first type of classification is generally based on non-syntactic surface-structure features. For example, the distinction between place adverbial and time adverbial is determined merely by the meaning of the word filling the frame adverbial. A frame complementing a verb and filled by אֶתְמוֹל (yesterday) or אַחֲרֵי אַרְבָּעִים יוֹם (after 40 days) is called time adverbial, whereas if it is filled by כָּאן (here) or by בִּרְחוֹב פְּלוֹנִי (at X Street) it is called place adverbial. It is doubtful whether such a classification is relevant to the surface structure analysis, though obviously there are many occasions even here when it is necessary to make such distinctions (cf. 4.5: Adverbial). On the other hand, the classification of a part of the sentence into different internal parts is clearly relevant to all levels of syntax, since each part fulfills a different syntactic function and is distinct from the other parts of the sentence. For example, it is not enough to say that the phrase מַתְחִיל לְהֵרָאוֹת מְעַנְיֵן (begins to seem interesting) is the predicator in the sentence הַשִּׁעוּר מַתְחִיל לְהֵרָאוֹת מְעַנְיֵן (The lesson begins to seem interesting). To describe the internal composition of this part of speech: one part functions as predicator-nucleus (מְעַנְיֵן – interesting), while the others are attached to it, their function being to express the aspect (מַתְחִיל – begins) or the modality (לְהֵרָאוֹת – to seem) of the predicator-nucleus. These deserve attention from writers on syntax and an appropriate term, such as predicator-auxiliaries. Generative rules are needed for the ways in which the predicator-auxiliaries combine with the predicator-nucleus. Unfortunately, this area has not yet been sufficiently investigated in Hebrew. In the literature on Hebrew syntax there are only a few scattered remarks on such distinctions. In what follows each of the traditional parts of the sentence is surveyed in turn, with comments where possible on any subclassification.

4.2: Subject and Predicator

In syntax it is usual to define these two parts of the sentence in relationship to each other. The justification for doing so is that what determines whether a word fulfills the function of subject is the existence of a relationship between that word and another word with the function of predicator in the sentence. This relationship called Nexus by Jespersen – whether it exists between words actually appearing in the sentence or whether it exists only in the deep structure of the sentence – is a necessary condition for sentence status. It is not, however, a sufficient condition, since some types of Nexus appear in a frame which is not a "sentence," though it is the consequence of a transformation applied to a sentence, e.g., הֲלִיכַת הָרוֹפֵא (the doctor's walk) derived from הָרוֹפֵא הָלַךְ (the doctor walked) or אֲנִי חוֹשֵׁב אוֹתוֹ לְחָכָם (I consider him wise) the last two words of which are derived from הוּא חָכָם (He is wise). It is usual to define subject and predicator semantically, e.g., "The subject is the word denoting the substance spoken about in the sentence, the predicator is what is said about this substance." However, the question that the speaker is posing is not always amenable to an unequivocal answer. Moreover, sometimes it is clear that what is being spoken about in the sentence is not denoted by the word that is subject, but by a word with a different syntactic function. For example, in the sentence חַם לָהּ (She is warm, literally, Warm is to her) the topic of the sentence is third person singular feminine, but the corresponding pronoun is not the subject of the sentence. As elsewhere in syntax, one ought to use formal rather than semantic criteria to define "subject," "predicator," and the other parts of the sentence. If a straight definition (such as "The subject is…") seems too difficult, we can define the parts of the sentence operationally. The following is an example of such an operational definition of subject and predicator (following Ornan, *The Syntax of Modern Hebrew*): If one has a word that by itself constitutes a sentence, and if (1) the word is a verb, and one can substitute for it a combination of that verb and a subjective pronoun – הוּא (he), הִיא (she), etc., agreeing with it in gender and number, and this combination is likewise a sentence, then in this new sentence-frame the function of the subjective pronoun is termed "subject" and that of the verb is termed "predicator"; or if (2) the word is a noun, and one can substitute for it a combination of that noun and the verb הָיָה (be) agreeing with the noun in gender and number, and this combination is likewise a sentence, then in this sentence-frame the function of the noun is termed "subject" and that of the verb is termed "predicator." (On concord, see 5.11: Concord Between Subject and Predicator.) Substitution is an important factor in this definition. Indeed, it is a central principle in structural linguistics. According to this principle, words, phrases, or parts of words that are substitutable within a given frame, form a grammatical class. The above definition can be extended by the method of substitution to include all the words or phrases filling the function of subject in the given frame and all those filling the function of predicate. For that purpose the above definition must be supplemented: "Any word, or group of words, that can replace a word filling the function of subject, likewise fills the function of subject, provided that the resultant sentence does not thereby become deviant." A corresponding addition can be made for the definition of the predicator.

4.21: PREDICATOR AND PREDICATE. As noted above the division of the sentence usual in Hebrew syntax differs from that usual in the grammars of many languages, though Hebrew grammarians have not sufficiently considered the difference. In particular, a distinction should be made between the Hebrew concept נָשׂוּא (predicator) and the general concept "predicate." The parts of the sentence in the predicate are the predicator, the object, the adverbial, and any adjunct to these parts. The predicator is the nucleus of the predicate, with all the other parts in the predicate the complements of the predicator.

4.22: THE COPULA. The predicator itself can be expressed by more than one word. Modal or aspectual predicator-auxiliaries were mentioned above (in 4.1: The Division into the Primary Five Parts, cf. 4.5: Adverbial). To these should be added the past and future forms of the verb הָיָה (be), since when the predicator is expressed by a noun or participle these may be combined with it to denote time, e.g., וְקַיִן הָיָה עוֹבֵד אֲדָמָה (Cain was a tiller of the earth). In this use the verb הָיָה fills the function of copula, which is also considered a predicator-auxiliary. Similarly, the forms of the third person pronoun – הוּא, הִיא, הֵם, הֵן – are used as copulas. This type of copula is used for emphasis (but 5.23: Copula Concord). Some consider the negative word אין as a copula, since "like the third person pronouns" it can be combined only with a noun or a participle (see below). However, it is more correct to consider as copula only the pronominal attached to this negative word. Thus, it is true that there is a copula in the sentence אֶסְתֵּר אֵינֶהָּ מַגֶּדֶת (Esther does not tell), but it is the pronominal suffix in אֵינֶהָּ (literally she-not), while in אֵין אֶסְתֵּר מַגֶּדֶת there is no copula. It should also be noted that הוּא, הִיא, הֵם, הֵן can be combined with the predicator even when it is a verb in the past or future, e.g., עֲצַת יְהוָֹה הִיא תָקוּם (see 4.25: Attributive Sentence; 4.26: Focusing Sentence; 5.23: Copula Concord).

4.23: NOMINAL SENTENCE AND VERBAL SENTENCE. It is usual in Hebrew syntax to distinguish between nominal sentences and verbal sentences according to whether the predicator is a noun or verb. This distinction was borrowed from Arabic syntax, but in Arabic it depends on the first word of the sentence: if it is a noun, the sentence is nominal; if it is a verb, the sentence is verbal. Opinions differ when the predicator in Hebrew is a participle. In earlier Hebrew the participle was regarded as a noun and hence a sentence whose predicator was a participle was considered a nominal sentence. However, in modern Hebrew the status of a participle having the function of a predicator is identical with that of a verb, and consequently it is doubtful whether it is correct to consider such a sentence in modern Hebrew as a nominal sentence. Opinions also differ when the predicator consists only of a prepositional phrase, as in הַיֶּלֶד בַּבַּיִת (The boy [is] in the house). Generally, books on Hebrew syntax assign such sentences to the class of nominal sentences. Some maintain that a sentence whose predicate is a prepositional phrase has no predicator and therefore it cannot be a nominal sentence, but instead should be termed a verbal sentence without a predicator. The presence or absence of predicator (expressed by a verb) is the sole difference, according to this view, between these sentences and sentences such as הַיֶּלֶד יָשַׁב בַּבַּיִת (The boy sat in the house), הַיֶּלֶד הָיָה בַּבַּיִת (The boy was in the house). The word בַּבַּיִת (in the house) serves in the sentences exactly the same function of complement to the predicator (in this instance, adverbial).

4.24: IDENTIFYING SENTENCE. Nominal sentences (in the restricted meaning of the term) where the state of determination of the subject and predicator is the same – whether they are both determined or both undetermined – are called equative or identifying sentences. With such sentences, e.g., מִלְחָמָה הִיא מָוֶת (War is death), it is sometimes impossible to decide which is subject and which is predicator except by the context. At all events, each of the parts identifies the other, the predicator being called the identifying predicator. Of particular interest are cases where the second part of the sentence is realized by a subordinate sentence, e.g., יְהוָֹה אֱלֹהֵיכֶם הוּא הַנִּלְחָם לָכֶם (The Lord your God is the one who fights for you). There is no basis for the view that in such a structure the first part יְהוָֹה אֱלֹהֵיכֶם is always the subject and the second part הַנִּלְחָם לָכֶם is the predicator. On the contrary, the first part usually has the function of predicator.

4.25: ATTRIBUTIVE SENTENCE. When the subject is determined and the predicator is undetermined, the predicator's function is to attribute what is denoted in the subject to the class possessing the characteristic denoted by the predicator, e.g., in יוֹסֵף הוּא פָּקִיד (Joseph is an official) the attribution is to the class of officials. Such a predicator is termed an attributive predicator.

4.26: FOCUSING SENTENCE (EXTRA-POSITION). This last structure formally belongs to the focusing sentence structures, but this term is usually assigned to sentences such as הַוָּתִיקִים – אִישׁ אֵינוֹ שָׂם לֵב אֲלֵיהֶם (The veterans – nobody pays any attention to them) or סַבָּא – הוּא אֵינוֹ מִתְעַיֵּף לְעוֹלָם (Grandpa – he is never tired). The structure of such a sentence is explained in current syntax as the result of a transformation from another sentence in which the first word of the focusing sentence appears in the second part of the sentence in place of the pronoun that agrees with it in gender and number: אִישׁ אֵינוֹ שָׂם לֵב אֶל הַוָּתִיקִים (Nobody pays any attention to the veterans), סַבָּא אֵינוֹ מִתְעַיֵּף לְעוֹלָם (Grandpa is never tired). With a focusing sentence (in the restricted sense of the term) the first word, or first endocentric phrase, is always to be considered the subject of the sentence, while whatever comes after it is the predicate. The predicate itself is an embedded sentence, and hence the focusing sentence is always a complex sentence. Others maintain that the focusing sentence is merely a simple sentence with a change in the order of the words. In any case, all agree that the noun appearing initially in a focusing sentence is very much more emphasized than it would be in a simple sentence.

4.27: INDEFINITE SENTENCE. It is worth noting that there are sentences without a subject, in particular where the predicator-nucleus is realized by an infinitive linked to a modal auxiliary, e.g., אֶפְשָׁר לְהַבְחִין בְּכָךְ מִיָּד ([It is] possible to discern it immediately), cf. 4.45: Infinitive as Object. However, many will argue that אֶפְשָׁר (possible) alone is predicator, and the string of all the other words in the sentence is the subject. In any case, this sentence is an indefinite sentence, that is to say a sentence whose understood subject is any man or men in general.

4.3: Adjunct

The adjunct differs from the other parts of the sentence in that by definition it cannot serve as nucleus for another part of the sentence, nor can it be linked to any part except a noun, irrespective of what function the noun fills in the sentence. Any word to which an adjunct serves as a nucleus, is considered in Hebrew syntax also as an adjunct.

4.31: MORPHOLOGICAL CLASSIFICATION OF ADJUNCTS. From a morphological point of view, seven types of adjunct can be distinguished:

(1) attributive adjunct; (2) possessive pronoun adjunct (whether affixed or independent); (3) adjunct in the construct case; (4) prepositional phrase adjunct; (5) adjunct before nucleus; (6) appositive; (7) embedded sentence. These types are exemplified as follows:

(1) הָאִישׁ הַזָּקֵן הֶאֱזִין בְּסַבְלָנוּת (The old man listened patiently);

(2) הַכּוֹבַע שֶׁלִּי נָפַל לַמַּיִם (My hat fell into the water);

(3) קִירוֹת הַבַּיִת מְכֻסִּים אֵזוֹב (The walls of the house are covered with moss);

(4) הַזָּקֵן מִנַּהֲרַיִם הֵקִים אֶת הַמִּפְעָל (The old man from Nahrayim set up the enterprise);

(5) שְׁלוֹשָׁה סוּסִים דּוֹהֲרִים (Three horses are galloping);

(6) רְאוּבֵן, הַבְּכוֹר, יָרַד לְמִצְרַיִם (Reuben, the firstborn, went down to Egypt);

(7) הַנַּעַר, שֶׁלֹּא יָדַע בֵּין יְמִינוֹ לִשְׂמֹאלוֹ, הִסְכִּים בְּרָצוֹן (The lad, who could not distinguish between his right and left, agreed willingly).

All these types of adjunct appear to be transformed from other structures. With uncertainty as to the source of adjuncts of type (5), all have their source in the predicator (cf. 5.12: Predicator Transformed into Adjunct) or, in some cases, in another part of the predicate. Thus, the following set of sentences can be seen as the source of the adjuncts in the above examples:

(1) הָאִישׁ זָקֵן; הוּא הֶאֱזִין בְּסַבְלָנוּת (The man is old; he listened patiently);

(2) יֵשׁ לִי כּוֹבַע; הוּא נָפַל לַמַּיִם (I have a hat; it fell into the water);

(3) לַבַּיִת יֵשׁ קִירוֹת; הֵם מְכֻסִּים אֵזוֹב (The house has walls; they are covered with moss);

(4) הַזָּקֵן גָּר בְּנַהֲרַיִם (קָשׁוּר בְּנַהֲרַיִם); הוּא הֵקִים אֶת הַמִּפְעָל (The old man lived in Nahrayim (he is connected with Nahrayim); he set up the enterprise);

(6) רְאוּבֵן הוּא הַבְּכוֹר; הוּא יָרַד לְמִצְרַיִם (Reuben is the firstborn; he went down to Egypt);

(7) הַנַּעַר לֹא יָדַע בֵּין יְמִינוֹ לִשְׂמֹאלוֹ; הוּא הִסְכִּים בְּרָצוֹן (The lad could not distinguish between his right and left; he agreed willingly). At present it is not clear what the source is for an adjunct denoting quantity. On concord with the adjunct, see 5.12: Predicator Transformed into Adjunct, and 5.3: Determiner Concord.

4.32: RESTRICTIVE AND NONRESTRICTIVE ADJUNCT. Only a few works dealing with Hebrew syntax mention the distinction between restrictive adjunct and nonrestrictive adjunct, sometimes merely to indicate that a nonrestrictive adjunct "is not an adjunct." An example of a restrictive adjunct would be if a man having three sons and wanting to say something about the eldest says בְּנִי הַגָּדוֹל לוֹמֵד כְּבָר בָּאוּנִיבֶרְסִיטָה (My grown-up son is already studying at the university). The function of the word הַגָּדוֹל (grown-up) is that of restrictive adjunct, distinguishing this son from the others. An example of a nonrestrictive adjunct would be if a man with one son wants to say something about him and wants incidentally to mention that he is grown-up; he says בְּנִי הַגָּדוֹל לוֹמֵד כְּבָר בָּאוּנִיבֶרְסִיטָה (My grown-up son is already studying at the university). The function of the word הַגָּדוֹל (grown-up) is then that of nonrestrictive adjunct. This distinction is important, and in practice has also a formal expression, particularly in intonation, but sometimes also in punctuation. There is no pause between the nucleus and a restrictive adjunct: the pitch of the latter rises slightly, and it has greater stress. On the other hand, there is a slight pause between the nucleus and a nonrestrictive adjunct: the pitch of the latter falls slightly, and it has a lighter stress. If the nonrestrictive adjunct is long, it is usual to put a comma before it. Usually there is no comma before a restrictive adjunct, even when it is a subordinate embedded sentence (despite the official rules for punctuation, which require a comma before every adjunct that is a sentence).

The structural ambiguity of the adjunct can be explained in transformational grammar. The adjunct is transformed from the predicate of another sentence, this sentence being the continuation of a preceding sentence. The same subject serves these two sentences, both of which are deleted by a deletion transformation and hence do not appear in the text. But the subject of the second sentence does not always refer to the same quantity of substances or material that the subject of the first sentence refers to. When it refers to a lesser quantity, the adjunct in the transformed sentence is a restrictive adjunct; when it refers to the same quantity, the adjunct is nonrestrictive. The sources of the above examples are therefore in the following two sets of sentences:

(a) He has three sons. יֵשׁ לוֹ שְׁלוֹשָׁה בָּנִים

One of them is grown-up. אֶחָד מֵהֶם גָּדוֹל

He is studying at the university. הוּא לוֹמֵד בָּאוּנִיבֶרְסִיטָה

His grown-up son is studying at the university (restrictive adjunct). בְּנוֹ הַגָּדוֹל לוֹמֵד בָּאוּנִיבֶרְסִיטָה

(b) He has one son. יֵשׁ לוֹ בֵּן אֶחָד

He is grown-up. הוּא גָּדוֹל

He is studying at the university. הוּא לוֹמֵד בָּאוּנִיבֶרְסִיטָה

His grown-up son is studying at the university (nonrestrictive adjunct). בְּנוֹ הַגָּדוֹל לוֹמֵד בָּאוּנִיבֶרְסִיטָה

4.33: POSSESSIVE PRONOUN AS ADJUNCT. Some explanatory comments on several of the types of adjuncts enumerated above are called for. The possessive pronoun as adjunct: in "deep grammar" its source is in a sentence denoting possession, e.g., יֵשׁ לוֹ אָח (He has a brother) → אָחִיו or הָאָח שֶׁלּוֹ (his brother). The possessive pronoun affix, e.g., in אָחִיו, and the independent possessive pronoun, e.g., שֶׁלּוֹ, are not entirely free variants, but sometimes the appearance of one or the other is conditioned (see below). It is worth noting that in written Hebrew the use of the affix is between ten and fifteen times more frequent than the use of the independent form. As far as can be ascertained from the few studies in this area, the use of the affix is greater in spoken Hebrew, but more substantial studies are required before one can establish the relative frequency with any certainty.

The most obvious conditions favoring the appearance of the independent form of the possessive pronoun are the following:

(1) when a second possessive pronoun is used to emphasize an affixed possessive pronoun, e.g., כַּרְמִי שֶׁלִּי לֹא נָטַרְתִּי (I did not tend my own vineyard);

(2) when the nucleus is a proper noun, e.g., לֹא יַעֲזֹב וְלֹא יִטֹּשׁ אֶת מֶנְדֶּלִי שֶׁלּוֹ (He will not desert his Mendele);

(3) generally with a foreign or borrowed word, e.g., הַטֶּלֶפוֹן שֶׁלּוֹ מְצַלְצֵל (His telephone is ringing);

(4) with a noun-numeral, e.g., בִּשְׁנוֹת הַשְּׁלוֹשִׁים שֶׁלּוֹ (In his thirties);

(5) with a noun in the construct state, e.g., דִּירַת הַשְּׂרָד שֶׁלּוֹ (His official residence);

(6) with a word that was not originally a noun, e.g., ?אַתָּה מוּכָן לְהָפֵר אֶת הַ"בְּרֹגֶז" שֶׁלְּךָ (Are you ready to cancel your anger?);

(7) with a phrase that is used metaphorically, e.g., גַּם בְּאַרְבַּע אַמּוֹת שֶׁלָּנוּ (Even within our "four cubits");

(8) when the nucleus has two meanings and the rarer meaning is intended, e.g., הָעִיר הִתְפַּרְסְמָה בַּצַּדִּיקִים שֶׁלָּהּ (= בָּאַדְמוֹרִים) (The city was famous for its "pious men" = ḥasidic rabbis);

(9) when the nucleus is used euphemistically, e.g., !זֹאת מַצִּיעִים לִי הַ"יְּדִידִים" שֶׁלִּי (My "friends" suggest it to me!). Haim Rosén (see bibliography) has argued that the difference in usage between the two forms corresponds to the difference between inalienable possession (e.g., the family relationship or the parts of the body) and alienable possession. This proposal seems dubious.

4.34: THE CONSTRUCT STRUCTURE. An endocentric phrase consisting of nouns, or words that have nominal function, the order of which cannot be changed without changing the meaning of the phrase, is said to be in the construct state. This phrase may be in three structures:

(1) Close construct state, when two nouns are linked without interruption (except for the definite article), e.g., בֵּית הָאִישׁ (The man's house). On the changes in form of the first noun, see above, Morphology. The second noun does not change.

(2) Loose construct state when the word שֶׁל interrupts between the two nouns, e.g., הַבַּיִת שֶׁל הָאִישׁ (The house of the man).

(3) Reduplicated construct state, when a possessive pronominal affix agreeing in gender and number with the second noun is attached to the first noun, and the word שֶׁל is put between the nouns, e.g., בֵּיתוֹ שֶׁל הָאִישׁ (The (his) house of the man). The two last structures are termed dismembered construct states. There are other ways as well of making the construct state discontinuous, for example by the preposition לְ or מִן, e.g., צִנְצֶנֶת מִזְּכוּכִית (A glass container). It is difficult to say under what conditions the three types of construct states are in free variation and when one of them must be used. But it is clear that there are certain phrases that can only be used in one type of construct state, e.g., חֲנֻכַּת הַבַּיִת (the inauguration of the home), זוּטוֹ שֶׁל יָם (the floor of the sea). With other phrases, the meaning changes if a different type is used, e.g., זֶה דְּבַר הַמְּפַקֵּד (This is the message of the commander), זֶה דָּבָר שֶׁל הַמְּפַקֵּד (This item belongs to the commander); בֶּן עֶשְׂרִים (twenty years old), בְּנָם שֶׁל עֶשְׂרִים (the son of twenty). In a construct state consisting of two words the nucleus is usually the first word, while the second word is the adjunct, e.g., עֲבוֹדַת אֱלִילִים (the worship of idols). For other possibilities, see 4.36: Adjunct before the "Head." If it consists of three or more words, usually the second and later words are each adjunct to the immediately preceding word, and the combination is in turn adjunct to the immediately preceding word. For example in the phrase עֲבוֹדַת אֱלִילֵי זָהָב (the worship of idols of gold), זָהָב (gold) is adjunct to אֱלִילִים (idols) and אֱלִילֵי זָהָב (idols of gold) is adjunct to עֲבוֹדָה (worship):

Noun Phrase

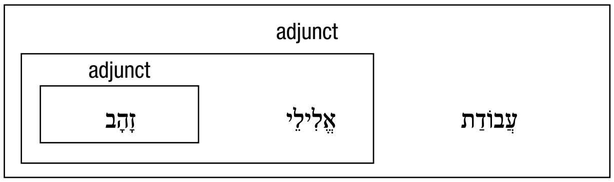

In an analysis of surface structure, the words in construct state are classified semantically; in deep grammar they can be classified according to the function they perform in the underlying structure from which the construct state has been transformed.

4.341: Classification of Types of Construct Structure. The following are the chief meanings attributed to the *nomen rectum* (the last noun of the construct phrase; following Pereẓ): (1) the owner of what is denoted by the *nomen regens* (the last but one of the phrase), e.g., גַּן הָאִכָּר (the farmer's garden); (2) the material from which is made what is denoted by the *nomen regens*, e.g., כְּלֵי כֶּסֶף (vessels of silver); (3) the genus of what is denoted by the *nomen regens*, e.g., עֲצֵי שִׁטִּים (trees of acacia wood); (4) the characteristic of the *nomen regens*, e.g., לְשׁוֹן שֶׁקֶר (an expression of falsehood); (5) the limit of application for the characteristic expressed in the *nomen regens*, e.g., נְקִי כַּפַּיִם (clean of hands); (6) the content of the *nomen regens*, e.g., סִפְרֵי מוּסָר (books of ethics); (7) the agent of the action expressed as a verbal noun in the *nomen regens*, e.g., נְשִׁיכַת שׁוּעָל (the bite of a fox); (8) the object of the action expressed as a verbal noun in the *nomen regens*, e.g., הַדְלָקַת נֵר (the lighting of a candle); (9) the instrument used for the result expressed in the *nomen regens*, e.g., שְׂרוּפוֹת אֵשׁ (burnt by fire); (10) the place of the *nomen regens*, e.g., אַרְזֵי לְבָנוֹן (cedars of Lebanon); (11) the time of the *nomen regens*, e.g., חֲזוֹן לַיְלָה (the vision at night); (12) the cause for the fact in the *nomen regens*, e.g., חוֹלַת אַהֲבָה (sick through love); (13) the result of the *nomen regens*, e.g., גִּשְׁמֵי בְּרָכָה (rains of blessing); (14) the purpose of the *nomen regens*, e.g., מִזְבַּח קְטֹרֶת (altar of incense). In addition, sometimes the *nomen rectum* denotes the name of the *nomen regens*, e.g., נְהַר פְּרָת (the river of Euphrates), and sometimes it emphasizes the *nomen regens* or its quantity by repetition of the same word in the plural, e.g., עֶבֶד עֲבָדִים (slave of slaves). When the *nomen regens* is בַּעַל (master) or אָדוֹן (lord) the *rectum* is its property (the converse of 1 above). According to transformational theory every phrase in the construct state is a transformation from another structure, for example (cf. Ornan):

(The farmer has cows) לָאִכָּר יֵשׁ פָּרוֹת → פָּרוֹת־הָאִכָּר
(The fish has a sword – its characteristic) לַדָּג יֵשׁ חֶרֶב → דַּג־הַחֶרֶב
(The pen is made of iron) הָעֵט עָשׂוּי מִבַּרְזֶל → עֵט־בַּרְזֶל
(The moon is in the form of a sickle) הַיָּרֵחַ הוּא בְּצוּרַת חֶרְמֵשׁ → חֶרְמֵשׁ־הַיָּרֵחַ
(The land is called “Canaan”) הָאָרֶץ נִקְרֵאת ”כְּנַעַן“ → אֶרֶץ כְּנַעַן
(The Jordan flows through the valley) הַיַּרְדֵּן זוֹרֵם בְּתוֹךְ בִּקְעָה → בִּקְעַת־הַיַּרְדֵּן
(The child is healthy) הַיֶּלֶד בָּרִיא → בְּרִיאוּת הַיֶּלֶד
(Jackals howl) תַּנִּים מְיַלְלִים → יִלְלַת תַּנִּים
(The dog (habitually) guards the flock) הַכֶּלֶב שׁוֹמֵר אֶת הַצֹּאן → כֶּלֶב צֹאן
(The old man walks in the morning) הַזָּקֵן מְטַיֵּל בַּבֹּקֶר → טִיּוּל הַבֹּקֶר (שֶׁל הַזָּקֵן)

Since the structure of the construct state can be transformed from a large number of different sources, it is clear that it has a large number of possible meanings. However, in practice many meanings are ruled out, since the speaker knows the meanings of the words and the context in which the structure appears. There is in fact no ambiguity in a construction such as פָּרוֹת הָאִכָּר (the farmer's cows) since the meaning of the words allows only one possible interpretation, namely that the farmer is owner of the cows (and not the reverse, for example). Nevertheless, there are instances where the construct state is ambiguous. This might arise, e.g., when the *nomen regens* is a verbal noun derived from a transitive verb, since the *rectum* can then be agent of the action (subject in a background sentence) or recipient of the action (object in a background sentence). For example, בְּחִירַת הַנָּשִׂיא (the choice of the president) could be interpreted as a transform of הַנָּשִׂיא בָּחַר (The president chose) or (מִישֶׁהוּ) בָּחַר אֶת הַנָּשִׂיא (X chose the president). It has been claimed that in such cases the close construct state is selected for one meaning and the loose one for the other, בְּחִירַת הַנָּשִׂיא being interpreted solely as “X chose the president” while the transform of “the president chose” would be הַבְּחִירָה שֶׁל הַנָּשִׂיא (cf. Haim Rosén in the bibliography). An examination of considerable material drawn from newspapers and modern literature does not support the claim.

4.35: PREPOSITIONAL PHRASE ADJUNCT. An adjunct realized as a prepositional phrase is the result of one or the other of two transformations:

4.351: Prepositional Phrase Adjunct as Sentence Remnant. (1) It may be a remnant of a sentence in which it functioned as an adverbial. When the sentence is embedded in another sentence, the subject and predicator are deleted and the adverbial becomes an adjunct to the subject of the other sentence. This is illustrated in the following example:

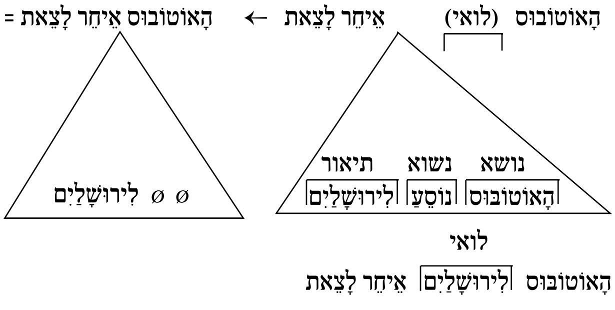
הָאוֹטוֹבּוּס (לוּאִי) אֵיחֵר לָצֵאת ← הָאוֹטוֹבּוּס אֵיחֵר לָצֵאת =
נושא
נשוא
תיאור
הָאוֹטוֹבּוּס
נוֹסֵעַ
לִירוּשָׁלַיִם
ø ø לִירוּשָׁלַיִם
לוּאִי
הָאוֹטוֹבּוּס לִירוּשָׁלַיִם אֵיחֵר לָצֵאת

It is worth demonstrating how this explanation appears in the usual formulation of the generative-transformationalists. The two sentences are first placed one after the other:

Representation of הָאוֹטוֹבּוּס יְאַחֵר לָצֵאת
(The bus will leave late): $\text{NP}_i + \text{VP}_j$
Representation of הָאוֹטוֹבּוּס נוֹסֵעַ לִירוּשָׁלַיִם:
(The bus travels to Jerusalem): $\text{NP}_i + \text{VP}_k + \text{PP}$
$\text{NP}_i + \text{VP}_j + \text{NP}_i + \text{VP}_k + \text{PP}$
(1) (2) (3) (4) (5)

However, under certain conditions (e.g., when the subjects of the two sentences are two instances of the same nominal structure, if the referent of the subject is identical in both sentences), a transformation applies which changes the order of the words. In place of the order given above (left to right) the words are ordered (1) (3) (4) (5) (2), i.e:

$\text{NP}_i + \text{NP}_i + \text{VP}_k + \text{PP} + \text{VP}_j$

The second sentence is parenthetically included, as it was, in the first: הָאוֹטוֹבּוּס (הָאוֹטוֹבּוּס נוֹסֵעַ לִירוּשָׁלַיִם) אֵחֵר לָצֵאת. Now an obligatory transformation applies, which deletes the second instance of NP, and adds instead a relative (אֲשֶׁר, שֶׁ, or הַ). The result is NP_i + *še* + $\text{VP}_k + \text{PP} + \text{VP}_j$, i.e., הָאוֹטוֹבּוּס שֶׁנּוֹסֵעַ לִירוּשָׁלַיִם אֵחֵר לָצֵאת. However, this sentence can again be transformed as follows:

Structural Description: NP_i + *še* + VP + PP + VP_j
Structural Change: (1) (2) (3) (4) (5)
(1) Ø Ø (4) (5)

The relative ש and the internal predicator VP are deleted, leaving only $\text{NP}_i + \text{PP} + \text{VP}_j$: הָאוֹטוֹבּוּס לִירוּשָׁלַיִם אֵחֵר לָצֵאת

4.352: Prepositional Phrase with Verb Transformed to Noun. (2) The prepositional phrase is a remnant as before. However, the verb which is complemented is not deleted, but transformed into a noun, the phrase changing from complement of a verb to complement of a noun, that is to say an adjunct. For example:

adverbial *adjunct*
הוּא הָלַךְ לְבֵית הַסֵּפֶר → הֲלִיכָתוֹ לְבֵית הַסֵּפֶר
הַיְלָדִים טִיְּלוּ בַּבֹּקֶר → הַטִּיּוּל בַּבֹּקֶר

We should treat as a special case prepositional phrase adjuncts introduced by מִן (= מִ) (from) when they designate the place of origin or of action of what is denoted by the noun serving as nucleus, e.g., הַזָּקֵן מִנַּהֲרַיִם (the old man from Naharayim), הַמְכַשֵּׁפָה מִפָּרִיס (the witch from Paris). It is not clear what is the source sentence from which these adjuncts are transformed.

4.36: ADJUNCT BEFORE THE “HEAD” (CENTER, NUCLEUS). A pre-nucleus adjunct generally denotes quantity, and it comprises cardinals, dividers, measures, and words such as הַרְבֵּה (much), רֹב (the majority of), שְׁאָר (the rest of), קְצָת (a little), מִבְחַר (the best of).

Cardinals agree with the nucleus in gender, and in the case of units of measurement, also in number, e.g., חֲמִשָּׁה אֲנָשִׁים (five men), חָמֵשׁ אַמּוֹת בַּד (five cubits linen), שְׁנֵים עָשָׂר דּוּנָם אֲדָמָה (twelve dunams of land). The numbers 3–10 are likely to be in the construct state before the nucleus, especially when the latter is determined, number 2 generally so, while number 1 appears after the nucleus when the latter is singular (אִישׁ אֶחָד), and in the construct state before the nucleus when it is determined and plural (אַחַד הָאֲנָשִׁים).

Nouns for containers, such as בַּקְבּוּק (bottle), פַּח (can), may serve as measuring units for liquids or for bulk solids such as קֶמַח (flour), or פֵּרוֹת (fruit), provided the reference is to mass-produced vessels of fixed size, e.g., הֶחָבִית מְכִילָה שְׁלוֹשָׁה פַּחִים (The barrel contains three cans), אַרְבַּע תֵּבוֹת תַּפּוּזִים (four boxes of oranges). It has not yet been established whether there is in modern Hebrew a systematic semantic difference (as Haim Rosén has claimed) between measures appearing in a close construct state, e.g., שְׁנֵי שַׂקֵּי קֶמַח (two sacks of flour), in a loose construct state, e.g., שְׁנֵי שַׂקִּים שֶׁל קֶמַח, or in apposition, e.g., שְׁנֵי שַׂקִּים קֶמַח. Similarly nouns for shapes, provided reference is to shapes with a more or less fixed size, can serve as measures for solids, e.g., שְׁנֵי כִּכְּרוֹת לֶחֶם (two loaves of bread).

4.37: APPOSITION. Two nouns one of which has the function of adjunct to the other, but without their being in the construct state relationship, are said to be in apposition. An appositive is transformed from a noun predicator. If the predicator from which it is transformed functioned as identifier in an identifying sentence (cf. 4.24: Identifying Sentence), the appositive also functions as an identifying appositive, e.g., מִרְיָם הִיא הָאָחוֹת הָרָאשִׁית (Miriam is the matron). הִיא נִמְצֵאת בְּחֻפְשָׁה (She is on leave) → מִרְיָם, הָאָחוֹת הָרָאשִׁית, נִמְצֵאת בְּחֻפְשָׁה (Miriam, the matron, is on leave). When the predicator is attributive (cf. 4.25: Attributive Sentence), the appositive is an attributive appositive, e.g., לֵוִי הוּא ד״ר לְמִשְׁפָּטִים (Levi is a doctor of law). הוּא הִתְמַנָּה לְמַרְצֶה (He has been appointed lecturer) → לֵוִי, ד״ר לְמִשְׁפָּטִים, הִתְמַנָּה לְמַרְצֶה (Levi, a doctor of law, has been appointed lecturer). Books on syntax generally note that the appositive follows the nucleus. Hence, in שְׁלֹמֹה הַמֶּלֶךְ (Solomon the king), הַמֶּלֶךְ is said to be appositive, while in הַמֶּלֶךְ שְׁלֹמֹה (King Solomon), the proper noun שְׁלֹמֹה is said to be appositive. But on the basis of the semantic identity of the two phrases, it has been proposed that an attributive noun denoting status, occupation, or title that is attached to a proper noun should be considered an appositive even when it precedes the proper noun, e.g., הד״ר לְמִשְׁפָּטִים לֵוִי הִתְמַנָּה לְמַרְצֶה (Doctor of Law Levi has been appointed lecturer). In such cases the appositive has a determiner.

As with the adjectival adjunct, all appositives can be divided into restrictive and nonrestrictive. Other types of appositives are appositional compounds, e.g., כֻּרְסָה = מִטָּה (divan bed) and quantifying apposition, e.g., שְׁלוֹשָׁה אֲנָשִׁים (three men). Certain introductory expressions appear before identifying appositives, e.g., כְּלוֹמַר (that is to say), דְּהַיְנוּ (that is), בְּיִחוּד (especially). Another characteristic of the identifying appositive is that the preposition before the nucleus is sometimes repeated before the following appositive. It seems that this only applies when the appositive is nonrestrictive. Such a repetition is obligatory when the nucleus is a pronoun and the following appositive is a noun, e.g., אָמְרוּ עָלָיו עַל רַבִּי עֲקִיבָא (They said about him, about Rabbi Akiva).

4.38: RELATIVE CLAUSE. An adjunct sentence is a transformation of a complete predicate and not just of a predicator, e.g., הַמַּחֲזֶה הָעֳלָה אֶמֶשׁ לָרִאשׁוֹנָה (The play was put on last night for the first time). הוּא וַדַּאי יִזְכֶּה לְהַצְלָחָה (It will certainly meet with success) → הַמַּחֲזֶה שֶׁהֻעֲלָה אֶמֶשׁ לָרִאשׁוֹנָה וַדַּאי יִזְכֶּה לְהַצְלָחָה (The play which was put on last night for the first time will certainly succeed). The condition for this transformation is that the noun appearing in one sentence will also appear in the other sentence. In the transformed adjunct sentence this noun is deleted and is replaced by a pronoun agreeing with it in gender and in number. However, if the noun functioned as subject of the sentence before its transformation, then generally gender and number concord with the predicator is sufficient and a pronoun is not inserted. See further on this, 5.22: Pronoun Concord in a Relative Clause. The indicators of the subordination of the adjunct are שֶׁ and אֲשֶׁר (virtually in free variation), and ה under certain conditions (cf. 6.32: Subordinators in Links beyond the Sentence). Adjunct sentences may also be asyndetic, cf. 6.322: Word Order in Links Beyond the Sentence. Another category of adjunct sentence must also be distinguished, namely the adjunct content-sentence, e.g., הַהַשְׁעָרָה שֶׁיֵּשׁ חַיִּים עַל הַמַּאְדִּים נִתְבַּדְּתָה (The supposition that there is life on Mars has been proved false). The source for the content-adjunct is not in the predicate of a preceding sentence but in the object sentence of a preceding sentence. It is formed when the verb complemented by the object is converted into a noun. The source of the content-adjunct in the above example is in the object of the following sentence. שִׁעֲרוּ שֶׁיֵּשׁ חַיִּים עַל הַמַּאְדִּים (It was supposed that there is life on Mars) → הַהַשְׁעָרָה שֶׁיֵּשׁ חַיִּים עַל הַמַּאְדִּים (The supposition that there is life on Mars…), cf. the similar phenomenon in 4.35: Prepositional Phrase Adjunct and 4.352: Prepositional Phrase with Verb Transformed to Noun, a prepositional phrase as adjunct. There is no element in a content-adjunct which agrees in gender and number with the noun to which the adjunct is attached. Introducing words of the subordination of the content-adjunct are שֶׁ or כִּי. If the content-adjunct is transformed from a question, the interrogative word serves as an introducing word of subordination, e.g., הוּא דָּאַג: מַה יַּעֲשֶׂה בָּעִיר הַגְּדוֹלָה? זֶה לֹא נָתַן לוֹ מָנוֹחַ (He worried: What would he do in the big city? This gave him no rest) → הַדְּאָגָה מַה יַּעֲשֶׂה בָּעִיר הַגְּדוֹלָה לֹא נָתְנָה לוֹ מָנוֹחַ (The anxiety about what he would do in the big city gave him no rest). When the content-adjunct begins with an infinitive there is no other introductory word of subordination, e.g., נִכָּר אֶצְלָם הָרָצוֹן לְהִתְבַּלֵּט (In them could be seen the desire to excel).

4.4: Object

Grammars of European languages and of Arabic, also accepted in Hebrew grammars, have long defined the object semantically (e.g., "The word denoting the substance to which the action expressed in the predicator passes is called the direct object. If the action is merely connected with it, the word is called the indirect object").

4.41: OBLIGATORY COMPLEMENT AND OBLIGATORY PREPOSITION. The syntactic definition of an object is based on its being obligatory, or "close," complements of the verb-predicator. Optional complements are adverbials (cf. 4.5: Adverbial). In many instances it is possible to distinguish sharply between an obligatory complement, e.g., the prepositional phrase consisting of ב and a following noun as complement to the verb הִשְׁתַּמֵּשׁ (use) and an optional complement, e.g., the same phrase as complement to the verb הָלַךְ (walk). הִשְׁתַּמֵּשׁ בַּחֶדֶר (He used the room), as opposed to הָלַךְ בַּחֶדֶר (He walked in the room). Usually the preposition introducing an obligatory complement cannot be changed, for example, we cannot replace the preposition ב linked to the verb הִשְׁתַּמֵּשׁ by another preposition. Sometimes there is a restricted range of permissible substitutions though generally only one additional preposition is allowed, e.g, נִתְמַנָּה כ... = נִתְמַנָּה ל... (He was appointed as…). Sometimes a change of preposition effects the meaning of the verb, e.g., קִנֵּא ב... (He envied) ... ≠ קִנֵּא ל... (He suspected). A preposition introducing an obligatory complement is called an obligatory preposition. It can be considered a part of the lexical entry for the verb. Although at first sight the obligatory preposition must always accompany its verb, there are certain conditions, apparently varying with particular items, under which it can be omitted. In all probability one should speak of varying degrees of obligatoriness in Hebrew (cf. 5.5: Obligatoriness). Moreover, the same verb may appear also without requiring a particular preposition. Since the obligatory preposition is part of the verb's lexical entry, it must be concluded that such a verb should be given two separate lexical entries, one when the obligatory preposition is a part of it, and the other when the verb appears without an obligatory preposition. Generally the two entries will have different meanings, e.g., עָבַד (He worked) – עָבַד עַל (He worked upon); הִתְגַּלְגֵּל (He wandered around) – הִתְגַּלְגֵּל ל... (He was transformed into); הִשְׁתַּגֵּעַ (He became mad) – הִשְׁתַּגֵּעַ אַחֲרֵי (He longed desperately for). The difference can cause ambiguities since a particular preposition not required by the verb in a certain occurrence can nevertheless be attached to it as an optional complement. Hence, the combination of the same verb and preposition can be followed by either an object or by an adverbial. In such instances, of course, the distinction is not so easy to make. At all events, dictionaries do not adequately distinguish between prepositions that are obligatory to a certain degree, and optional prepositions.

4.42: DIRECT AND INDIRECT OBJECT. The terms "direct object" and "indirect object" derive from European or Arabic grammars. They were originally intended to distinguish between objects preceded by a preposition and those linked directly to a verb without an intervening preposition. Hebrew, however, has a preposition – אֶת – which appears before a direct object. Thus, the use of this term in Hebrew does not correspond to its original use. On the other hand, אֶת generally appears only before an object which is a determined noun, and many writers point to this as justification for the use of the term in Hebrew. It has also been argued that אֶת should not be regarded as a preposition at all, but merely as an indicator of determination. In practice there is no essential syntactic distinction between direct object and indirect object, since all objects are obligatory complements. A subclassification of obligatory complements based on the nature of the obligatory preposition should include אֶת, even though אֶת can be replaced under certain conditions by Ø, which is merely a variant of אֶת. It seems that here too the influence of foreign grammars has been excessive.

4.43: TRANSITIVE AND INTRANSITIVE VERB. These terms are entailed by the preceding terms. Generally, those defining object semantically will define "intransitive verb" and "transitive verb" semantically, e.g., "a verb whose action passes to another body is a transitive verb," while an intransitive verb is a verb "whose action does not pass to others, but affects only the actor." It is obvious that in such definitions "verb" means the lexical entry of the verb, comprising all its forms in all its occurrences. A moment's thought will show, as Jespersen has shown, that the action of many transitive verbs does not pass to another body. The syntactic approach should be applied here too and each verb classified in the sentence in which it appears. That is to say, one should not refer to a verb in this respect as a concept comprising all the possible forms distinguished in the grammar, but as a given form appearing in a given sentence. The tokens of the verbs and not their entries or their types should be classified as transitive and intransitive. In the sentence הַמַּלָּח מְעַשֵּׁן סִיגָר (The sailor is smoking a cigar), מְעַשֵּׁן is considered a transitive verb since it has an obligatory (close) complement, while in the sentence הַמַּלָּח מְעַשֵּׁן (The sailor is smoking) or הַמַּלָּח מְעַשֵּׁן בִּלְהִיטוּת (The sailor is smoking eagerly) it is an intransitive verb since it does not have a complement or it has an optional complement.

4.44: FIRST AND SECOND OBJECT. When in the same sentence there are two objects with the relationship between them of subject-predicator, i.e., nexus (cf. 4.2: Subject and Predicator), it is usual to call them first object (the object performing the function of subject in that relationship) and second object (performing the function of predicator), e.g., הָרוֹפֵא חָשַׁב אֶת הַחוֹלֶה לְבַדַּאי (The doctor considered the patient an impostor), underlying which is the sentence הַחוֹלֶה בַּדַּאי (The patient is an impostor). Only certain verbs can appear in such a sentence, verbs denoting the attitude or opinion of the person designated in the subject to what is designated in the first object. This attitude, or an action resulting from this attitude, is expressed in the second object. Thus, in the above the attitude of the doctor to the patient is expressed in בַּדַּאי (an impostor). Similarly, מוֹצֵא אֲנִי מַר מִמָּוֶת אֶת הָאִשָּׁה (I find woman more bitter than death) – הָאִשָּׁה (woman) is first object, מַר מִמָּוֶת (more bitter than death) second object. Here another structure should be mentioned, namely sentences in which the object is a subordinate sentence beginning with a subordinator, e.g., הָרוֹפֵא חָשַׁב שֶׁהַחוֹלֶה בַּדַּאי (The doctor thought that the patient was an impostor). In biblical Hebrew the word הִנֵּה (behold) often opens the subordinate sentence, e.g., וּפַרְעֹה חֹלֵם...וְהִנֵּה מִן הַיְאֹר עֹלֹת שֶׁבַע פָּרוֹת ("and Pharoah dreamed… and, behold, there came up out of the river seven kine," Genesis 41:1, 2) and וַיַּרְא וְהִנֵּה חָרְבוּ פְּנֵי הָאֲדָמָה ("and he looked, and behold, the face of the ground was dried," Genesis 8:13). See also 4.51: Circumstance Adverbial.

4.45: INFINITIVE AS OBJECT. A complex sentence whose predicator is a verb denoting saying or thinking and whose object is an inner sentence, e.g., הִבְטַחְתִּי שֶׁאָבוֹא (I promised that I would come) with שֶׁאָבוֹא (that I would come) as object, can be expressed also as הִבְטַחְתִּי לָבוֹא (I promised to come) with לָבוֹא (to come) as object. The infinitive לָבוֹא is transformed in this case from אֲנִי אָבוֹא (I will come), containing subject and predicator. Sometimes the infinitive has its own complements, e.g., in the sentence הַמְפַקֵּד דָּרַשׁ מִן הַחַיָּלִים לְהִשָּׁמַע לוֹ (The officer required the soldiers to obey him), לוֹ is object, obligatory complement to לְהִשָּׁמַע (to obey) while לְהִשָּׁמַע לוֹ (to obey him) is object of דָּרַשׁ (required). However, sometimes an identical surface structure should not be treated in this way because the first verb in such a combination is an auxiliary verb while the infinitive is the nucleus of the phrase with the function of predicator. "Auxiliary verb" has a wider range in this sense than is accepted for some languages, including English. These verbs complementing the nucleus of the predicator comprise modals and aspectual verbs, viz. verbs denoting the speaker's attitude toward the content of the sentence, the attitude of the person designated as subject toward the content of the rest of the sentence, or the point of time in the action, its duration, its recurrence, etc. For example: הַגֶּשֶׁר עָלוּל לְהִשָּׁבֵר (The bridge is likely to break), הַמְפַקֵּד נֶאֱלַץ לְהַמְתִּין (The officer was forced to wait), הַגֶּשֶׁר מַתְחִיל לְהִשָּׁבֵר (The bridge is starting to break), הַגֶּשֶׁם מוֹסִיף לָרֶדֶת (The rain continues to fall), הָאִכָּר נוֹהֵג לִשְׁתּוֹת (The farmer is accustomed to drink). It ought to be added that besides the infinitive (the most usual form), the nucleus in such combinations may also take on such forms as participle, e.g., הִתְחִיל מְפַקְפֵּק (He began doubting); verbal noun preceded by the preposition ב, e.g., הִרְבָּה בַּאֲכִילָה (He ate a lot, literally: He increased in eating); or finite verb identical in person and tense to the auxiliary, the two verbs being coordinated by the conjunction ו, e.g., חָזַר וְקָרָא (He again read, literally: He returned and read); another aspect is expressed by repeating the same verb itself: הֵם הָלְכוּ וְהָלְכוּ (They walked for a long time). There have been hardly any studies in this area of Hebrew, and there is still no complete list or categorization of these auxiliaries.

4.46: INTERNAL OBJECT. An internal object is the term applied to a verbal noun functioning as object to a verb of the same root. The internal object is usually not an obligatory complement. It has one of two functions: (1) to emphasize the verb serving as predicator, e.g. לִגְזֹל גְּזֵלָה, לִמְעֹל מְעִילָה, לִגְנֹב גְּנֵבָה וּלְהִסְתַּלֵּק (To embezzle (misuse), to rob, to steal – and to disappear). This use is a modern counterpart of the use of the infinitive absolute in biblical Hebrew, e.g., הָלוֹךְ הָלְכוּ הָעֵצִים (The trees have surely gone); (2) to serve as nucleus to an adjunct when the combination of nucleus and adjunct functions as adverbial to a predicator, e.g., the phrase יְשִׁיבָה כְּבֵדָה וּמְאֻשֶּׁשֶׁת (a heavy and firm sitting) in the sentence יָשַׁב הַכַּפְרִי יְשִׁיבָה כְּבֵדָה וּמְאֻשֶּׁשֶׁת (The villager sat heavily and firmly). A direct object is usually not determined, and therefore the preposition אֶת rarely precedes it.

4.5: Adverbial

The adverbial is an optional complement of the predicator (or of the sentence as a whole, cf. 4.53: Sentence Adverbial). Adverbials generally begin with a preposition, if we exclude a few words considered adverbs, e.g., פֹּה (here), אֶתְמוֹל (yesterday), יַחְדָּו (together), הֵיטֵב (well), or temporal words, e.g., יוֹם (day), which in this function generally appear without anything added before them (though two adjacent instances of such words may appear, e.g., יוֹם יוֹם (every day), שָׁנָה בְּשָׁנָה (year by year), similarly טִפִּין טִפִּין (drop by drop)) and if we exclude the locative expressed by a noun to which is added an unstressed *a*, e.g., צָפוֹנָה (northwards), הַבַּיְתָה (home(wards)). The prepositions used for this purpose are the same prepositions introducing obligatory complements, except for אֶת. (See 4.51: Circumstance Adverbial.) In Hebrew syntax, as in the syntax of other languages without cases, it is usual to classify adverbials not formally – a method used in languages with cases – but according to content. Thus, often the following adverbials are distinguished, or at least some of them: place, time, cause, purpose, manner, measure, circumstance, condition, concession, and result. Not all of these appear in every book, nor do the authors agree on the ascription of a phrase to the same adverbial. Thus, there are differences with respect to phrases denoting duration of time, e.g., עָבַד שָׁלוֹשׁ שָׁעוֹת (He worked three hours). Different authors designate such a phrase as time adverbial, measure adverbial, or manner adverbial. Studies on the deep structure of adverbials have scarcely been written, apart from some work on the circumstance adverbial, which is recognized as a transformation of a predicator under certain conditions, e.g., הַיַּלְדָּה חָזְרָה עֲיֵפָה (The girl returned tired) ← הַיַּלְדָּה חָזְרָה (The girl returned); הִיא הָיְתָה עֲיֵפָה בְּאוֹתוֹ זְמַן (She was tired at that time). It may be supposed that research in this area will show that the traditional categories of adverbials, now based on semantic distinctions in surface structure, derive from deep structure.

4.51: CIRCUMSTANCE ADVERBIAL. The circumstance adverbial is also called "circumstance adjunct," since like adjuncts it agrees in gender and number with subject or object, e.g., הַיְלָדִים יָצְאוּ שְׂמֵחִים (The children went out happy), פָּגַשְׁתִּי אוֹתָם מְאֻשָּׁרִים (I met them happy). In both instances the agreement derives from the same source. The adjunct is transformed from a predicator – an adjective or participle – and so is the circumstance adverbial, except that with the latter the predicator denotes not a permanent phenomenon, but one that is contemporaneous with the action expressed by the predicator in our sentence. Thus, in the sentence הַיַּלְדָּה חָזְרָה עֲיֵפָה (The girl returned tired) the girl is said to be tired at that time. If tiredness was a permanent characteristic, the adverbial עֲיֵפָה would have been changed into an adjunct: הַיַּלְדָּה הָעֲיֵפָה חָזְרָה (The tired girl returned). On the other hand, the circumstance adverbial does not have to be attached to a subject or object, and these do not function as nucleuses to it. Moreover, the circumstance adverbial is not determined, even when the noun it is related to is determined. This adverbial can be expressed by a participle form preceded by the preposition ב, e.g., הוּא נִכְנַס לָעִנְיָן בְּמִתְכַּוֵּן (He entered into the affair intentionally). The adverbial differs in these features from the adjunct. (For the difference between circumstance adverbial related to the object and second object, cf. 4.44: First and Second Object.) Since the predicator is the source for both circumstance adverbial and adjunct, we cannot accept the suggestion that the circumstance adverbial be termed "circumstance predicator." The transformation of the predicator does not necessarily produce a circumstance adverbial. Furthermore, terms for the parts of the sentence in surface grammar are not generally based on their transformations from deep structure. A circumstance adverbial can be realized by a complete sentence. This sentence, considered a subordinate sentence, is linked to the independent part by the conjunctions בְּלֹא שֶׁ, בְּלִי שֶׁ, כְּשֶׁ, and ו, or it is juxtaposed to the independent sentence without a conjunction, e.g., הַיַּלְדָּה הִצְבִּיעָה עַל הַשּׁוֹדֵד כְּשֶׁהִיא רוֹעֶדֶת מִפַּחַד (The girl pointed to the robber while she was trembling with fright), הוֹלֵךְ לוֹ יְדִידֵנוּ בַּדֶּרֶךְ, הַשָּׁמַיִם הַכְּחֻלִּים מֵעַל רֹאשׁוֹ וְהַנַּחַל לִימִינוֹ (Our friend walks along, the blue skies above his head and the brook on his right). In circumstance sentences, the predicator is realized by a participle form (or the sentence lacks a predicator, cf. 4.23: Nominal Sentence and Verbal Sentence). See also 5.13: Predicator Transformed into Circumstance Adverbial.

4.52: TYPES OF CONDITIONAL ADVERBIAL. The conditional adverbial is unique among the adverbials. In the rare instances when it is realized as a nominal phrase in a simple sentence it will normally begin with… בְּמִקְרֶה שֶׁל (in case of), but it is chiefly realized as a subordinate sentence in a complex sentence. The conditional adverbial is called רֵישָׁה (protasis) whether it appears at the beginning or end of the sentence, while the rest of the sentence is called סֵיפָה (apodosis). The conditional adverbial can be distinguished grammatically, and not just semantically. Moreover, the two chief categories – real condition and hypothetical condition – are also formally distinguishable. Conditional sentences also have their own intonation patterns.

A "real condition" denotes something that has happened, is happening, or will happen and whose existence entails a result expressed in the apodosis part of the sentence. The chief signs of an adverbial of real condition are (1) special subordinating conjunctions – כַּאֲשֶׁר, כְּשֶׁ־, אִם; (2) the word order in the protasis; (3) the place of the protasis in the sentence; (4) the dependence of the tense of the verb in the superordinate part on that of the verb in the conditional part. Sometimes several of these signs come together, cf. 6.322: Word Order as Indication of Subordination in section Links beyond the Sentence.

A "hypothetical condition" is one which at the time it is said is known not to be fulfilled. The speaker speculates as to the possible results if the condition had been fulfilled.

The traditional conjunctions for a hypothetical condition are לוֹ, אִלּוּ, and in the negative לוּלֵא, אִלּוּלֵא. The introductory אִלְמָלֵא (אִלְמָלֵי), used mainly in literature, is sometimes interpreted as positive and sometimes as negative. In modern Hebrew (also in some places in biblical Hebrew) אִם is used also for a hypothetical condition. This use is accompanied by a verb form consisting of הָיָה (verb "be") plus participle, e.g., אִם הָיִיתָ אוֹמֵר לוֹ (If you had said to him), which is usually interpreted as a hypothetical condition indicating that the speaker knew the other had not said it. On the other hand, אִם אָמַרְתָּ לוֹ (If you said to him) is interpreted as a real condition, denoting that the speaker does not know whether the other had said it or not, but it is certainly possible that he said it. The sign of an unreal condition here is not a special conjunction (אִלּוּלֵא, לוּלֵא, לוֹ as opposed to אִם) but the form of the verb (הָיָה + participle as opposed to past tense). The verb in the apodosis of a hypothetical condition also has the form הָיָה plus participle, irrespective of the verb in the protasis.

A double condition is one in which the speaker sets out both the result of the fulfillment of the condition and the result of its lack of fulfillment. This structure is also known as תְּנַאי בְּנֵי גָד וּבְנֵי רְאוּבֵן (a condition of the children of Gad and the children of Reuven), cf. Numbers 32:29–30.

An emphatic condition with negative followed by positive (see below), is apparently related to the double condition and is derived from it by a deletion transformation. For example, לֹא יִכָּנֵס אָדָם לְמַחֲנֶה צְבָאִי אֶלָּא אִם (כֵּן) הֻרְשָׁה לְכָךְ (A person may not enter a military camp unless he is expressly permitted), which is presumably before the transformation לֹא יִכָּנֵס אָדָם לְמַחֲנֶה צְבָאִי אִם לֹא הֻרְשָׁה לְכָךְ; יִכָּנֵס אָדָם לְמַחֲנֶה צְבָאִי אִם (כֵּן) הֻרְשָׁה לְכָךְ (A person may not enter a military camp if he is not expressly permitted; a person may enter a military camp if he is expressly permitted).

A concessive sentence is a conditional sentence the content of whose apodosis is reversed as far as can be determined from its presumed protasis and the subject matter of the whole sentence. It also appears to be derived from a double condition, where neither the fulfillment nor the lack of fulfillment of the condition can change the result. For example, the sentence אִם לֹא תַּעֲמֹד עַל שֶׁלְּךָ – לֹא תְּקַבֵּל, וְגַם אִם תַּעֲמֹד עַל שֶׁלְּךָ – לֹא תְּקַבֵּל (If you don't defend your own, you will not receive anything, and even if you defend you own you will not receive anything) can be contracted to אִם לֹא תַּעֲמֹד עַל שֶׁלְּךָ וְגַם אִם תַּעֲמֹד עַל שֶׁלְּךָ – לֹא תְּקַבֵּל (If you don't defend your own and even if you defend your own, you will not receive anything). (The introductory formula for such a structure can be "אִם...אוֹ אִם...", "גַּם אִם...(וְ)גַם אִם", "בֵּין שֶׁ...וּבֵין שֶׁ..."). If from such a structure the condition which is more probable in the context is deleted, the result is a concessive sentence: גַּם אִם תַּעֲמֹד עַל שֶׁלְּךָ – לֹא תְּקַבֵּל (Even if you defend your own you will not receive anything). A concessive sentence can also come from a series of conditional sentences in which one element is changed every time until the series comprises a wide range of topics the last of which is the converse of the first. When only the last is expressed, the rest of the possibilities are understood, deduced *a fortiori*. For example, in אֲפִילוּ אִם יִקְרְאוּ לִי אֶבּוֹלִיצְיוֹנִיסְט, לֹא אַסְגִּיר אֶת הַכּוּשִׁי (Even if they call me an abolitionist, I shall not hand over the Negro), what is also clear is that עַל אַחַת כַּמָּה וְכַמָּה לֹא אַסְגִּיר אֶת הַכּוּשִׁי אִם יִקְרְאוּ לִי בִּשְׁמוֹת גְּנַאי פָּחוֹת חֲרִיפִים, אִם לֹא יִקְרְאוּ לִי כְּלָל בִּשְׁמוֹת גְּנַאי, אוֹ אִם יְשַׁבְּחוּנִי עַל כָּךְ (All the more so, I will not hand over the Negro if they call me names that are less derogatory, if they do not use any derogatory names against me, or they praise me for it).

4.53: SENTENCE ADVERBIAL. Some adverbials do not complement the predicator, but are comments adding details to what is said in the sentence as a whole, e.g., בְּמַקְלִי עָבַרְתִּי אֶת הַיַּרְדֵּן (With my staff I crossed the Jordan), דַּרְכָּם נִמְשְׁכָה בִּשְׁתִיקָה (Their journey continued in silence). These are not predicator adverbials but sentence adverbials or situation adverbials. A subordinate clause can also realize this function, e.g., הוּא נִכְנַס לְעֶצֶם הָעִנְיָן בְּלֹא שֶׁנִּתְכַּוֵּן לְכָךְ (He went into the heart of the matter though he did not intend to do so). Following N. Chomsky's works on transformational grammar, it has been claimed by some authors, that in many cases place and time adverbials, as well as some other adverbials, should be considered as sentence adverbials, e.g., פֹּה הַנְּעָרוֹת נָאוֹת (Here the girls are nice) (see Rubinstein, *Lešonenu*, 35).

4.54: PREPOSITIONS AS INTRODUCERS OF ADVERBIALS. Grammars do not give a complete list of prepositions introducing classes of adverbials, but a large number can be extracted from the examples they give. A fuller list is provided of conjunctions introducing subordinate sentences functioning as adverbials. Below is a list of the main prepositions and conjunctions serving as introducers to adverbials:

Place Adverbial: prepositions – בְּ, לְ, מִ, אֶל, אֵצֶל, מִמַּעַל לְ, מִתַּחַת לְ, עַל, עַל גַּבֵּי, עַל יַד, עַל פְּנֵי; conjunctions – בְּמָקוֹם אֲשֶׁר, בְּמָקוֹם שֶׁ (and other prepositions preceding מָקוֹם שֶׁ, or מָקוֹם אֲשֶׁר, eg. מִמָּקוֹם אֲשֶׁר, מִמָּקוֹם שֶׁ, אֶל מָקוֹם שֶׁ).

Time Adverbial: prepositions – בְּ, כְּ, לְ, מִ, אַחַר, אַחֲרֵי, לִפְנֵי, עַד; conjunctions – לְאַחַר שֶׁ, אַךְ, מֵאָז, טֶרֶם, טֶרֶם שֶׁ, קֹדֶם שֶׁ, בְּעֵת שֶׁ, כָּל אֵימַת שֶׁ, כֵּיוָן שֶׁ, בְּעוֹד, כָּל עוֹד, מִדֵּי, מִשָּׁעָה שֶׁ, מֵעֵת שֶׁ, לִכְשֶׁ, בְּשָׁעָה שֶׁ, כָּל זְמַן שֶׁ, and also the above prepositions (except בְּ, לְ) in combination with שֶׁ, e.g., כְּשֶׁ, מִשֶּׁ, אַחֲרֵי שֶׁ, לִפְנֵי שֶׁ, or (except בְּ, לְ, מִ) in combination with אֲשֶׁר, e.g., לִפְנֵי, עַד אֲשֶׁר, כַּאֲשֶׁר, אַחֲרֵי אֲשֶׁר, אֲשֶׁר.

Manner Adverbials: prepositions – בְּ, כְּ, לְ, מִ, מִתּוֹךְ, כְּמוֹ, יוֹתֵר מִ.

Measure Adverbials: prepositions – כְּ, עַד.

Cause Adverbials: prepositions – בִּשְׁבִיל, מֵחֲמַת, הוֹדוֹת לְ, בְּ, מִ, בִּגְלַל, מִפְּנֵי, לְרֶגֶל, בְּשֶׁל; conjunctions – עַל, מִשּׁוּם שֶׁ, הוֹאִיל וְ..., יַעַן כִּי, יַעַן, עֵקֶב, בַּאֲשֶׁר, כִּי, שֶׁכֵּן, מִכֵּיוָן שֶׁ, לְפִי שֶׁ, מֵאַחַר שֶׁ, and several of the above prepositions followed by שֶׁ, e.g., בִּשְׁבִיל שׁ, מִפְּנֵי שֶׁ.

Purpose Adverbials: prepositions – לְ, לְמַעַן, לְשֵׁם, בִּשְׁבִיל, כְּדֵי; conjunctions – לְמַעַן, לְמַעַן אֲשֶׁר, בִּשְׁבִיל שֶׁ, כְּדֵי שֶׁ.

Conditional Adverbials: prepositions – בְּמִקְרֶה שֶׁל; conjunctions – אִם, כִּי, כְּשֶׁ, בִּזְמַן שֶׁ, לִכְשֶׁ (and other introducers of time adverbials) מִי שֶׁ, כָּל מִי שֶׁ.

Concessive Adverbials: prepositions – לַמְרוֹת, עַל אַף; conjunctions – עִם כָּל, בְּכָל, אִם כִּי, אַף אִם, אַף שֶׁ, אַף עַל פִּי שֶׁ, אֲפִילוּ, אַף כִּי, גַּם כִּי, גַּם אִם.

Result Adverbials: prepositions – וְ, עַד כְּדֵי, עַד לְ, עַד (in a negative sentence or in a rhetorical question); conjunctions – עַד כִּי, שֶׁ, עַד שֶׁ, עַד אֲשֶׁר.

Equative Adverbials: prepositions – כְּאִלּוּ, כְּמוֹ, כְּ, בְּ; conjunctions – בְּמִדָּה שֶׁ, כָּל כַּמָּה שֶׁ, כְּכֹל אֲשֶׁר, כְּמוֹ שֶׁ, כִּלְעֻמַּת שֶׁ, כְּדֶרֶךְ שֶׁ, כְּשֵׁם שֶׁ, כְּמוֹ שֶׁ, כְּשֶׁ, כַּאֲשֶׁר.

The independent part of the sentence is introduced by correlative conjunctions, e.g., אַף, כָּךְ, כָּכָה, כֵּן.

Comparative Adverbials: preposition – מִ; conjunctions – יוֹתֵר מִמַּה שֶׁ, יוֹתֵר מִשֶּׁ, מֵאֲשֶׁר, מִשֶּׁ. Sometimes the whole sentence is a rhetorical question: the comparative adverbial opens with a conjunction such as הֲלֹא, הִנֵּה, אִם, וּמַה, הֵן while the independent part is introduced by a correlative conjunction, e.g., כָּל שֶׁכֵּן, עַל אַחַת כַּמָּה וְכַמָּה, קַל וָחֹמֶר, וְאֵיךְ.

Below are examples of other uses:

Instrumental Adverbial: בְּ (colloquially also עִם) – הִכָּה בְּפַטִּישׁ (He hit with a hammer).

Price Adverbial: בְּ (also בְּעַד) – קָנוּ בְּכֶסֶף רָב (They bought with a great deal of money).

Concomitant Adverbial: בְּ (also עִם) – יָצְאוּ בִּרְכוּשׁ גָּדוֹל (They went out with a lot of property).

Coordinate Adverbial: עִם – הָלַךְ עִם חֲבֵרוֹ (He went with his friend).

Material Adverbial: מִ – הַקִּיר בָּנוּי מִלְּבֵנִים (The wall is built of bricks).

Oath or Promise Adverbial: e.g., שֶׁכֹּה אָמוּת אִם, חֵי נַפְשִׁי שֶׁ, בְּחַיַּי שֶׁ.

5: DEPENDENCY WITHIN THE SENTENCE

In Hebrew, as in other languages, sometimes a word or a form involves the appearance of another word or form in the same sentence or in a neighboring sentence. The reciprocal relationship between the words is called "dependency." Dependencies within the sentence are classified as (1) concord in gender and number (5.11–5.23), (2) concord of determination (5.3–5.4), (3) obligatory appearance (5.5), and (4) order of parts of sentence (5.6).

5.11: CONCORD BETWEEN SUBJECT AND PREDICATOR. The basic concord rule in Hebrew is the rule requiring that as far as possible the predicator should agree in gender and number with the subject. When the predicator is a verb, participle, or adjective, it always appears in a form agreeing in gender and number with the subject (see below 5.14: Lack of Concord between Subject and Predicator; 5.25: Lack of Concord in Adjunct Sentences on instances of lack of concord), e.g. הַזְּמַן קָצָר, הַמְּלָאכָה מְרֻבָּה, בַּעֲלֵי הַבַּיִת דּוֹחֲקִים וְהַפּוֹעֲלוֹת עֲצֵלוֹת (The time is short, the work is great, the masters of the house are pressing, the female workers are lazy). When the predicator is an adjective or participle, agreement of gender between subject and predicator in the plural is always determined by the singular form of the subject. That is to say, it is irrelevant whether the plural suffix of the noun is –ִים or –וֹת. If the noun is masculine, the plural suffix of the adjective predicator is always –ִים, e.g., הָאָבוֹת זְקֵנִים (The fathers are old), since in the singular we have הָאָב זָקֵן, and of course הַבָּנִים חָרוּצִים (The sons are diligent) with a singular הַבֵּן חָרוּץ. Similarly, with a feminine noun the plural suffix of the adjective is always –וֹת, e.g., הַתְּאֵנִים יְבֵשׁוֹת (The figs are dry), since the singular is הַתְּאֵנָה יְבֵשָׁה, and obviously הַבָּנוֹת חָרוּצוֹת (The daughters are diligent) with a singular הַבַּת חָרוּצָה.

It is different when the predicator is a noun. Nouns do not always have gender inflection, nor is the meaning of the plural form always the same as that of the singular. Therefore, when such a noun realizes the function of predicator, it is sometimes impossible for the predicator and subject to agree in gender or number, e.g., הַשָּׁלוֹם הוּא תִּקְוָתֵנוּ (Peace is our hope), מִלְחָמָה הִיא מָוֶת (War is death), הַמַּחְסָנִים הֵם הַמִּכְשׁוֹל הָאַחֲרוֹן (The stores are the last obstacle). Nevertheless, sometimes a noun that normally is not inflected for gender did receive gender inflection when used in new ways. For example, the noun כּוֹכָב (star) was used as predicator for both male and female when it was first applied to an actor, e.g., גְּרֶטָה גַּרְבּוֹ הִיא כּוֹכָב גָּדוֹל (Greta Garbo is a great star). But after a time the form כּוֹכֶבֶת was created, e.g., דָּלִיָּה לָבִיא הִיא כּוֹכֶבֶת יִשְׂרְאֵלִית (Dalia Lavi is an Israel star).

5.12: PREDICATOR TRANSFORMED INTO ADJUNCT. When the predicator is transformed to the function of adjunct (see 4.31: Morphological Classification of Adjuncts), the agreement with subject is preserved, i.e., when the predicator in the source construction agrees with the subject, the adjunct transformed from it agrees in gender and number with its nucleus, e.g., הַזְּמָן הַקָּצָר לֹא הִסְפִּיק (The short time was not sufficient), הַפּוֹעֲלוֹת הָעֲצֵלוֹת פִּטְפְּטוּ (The lazy female workers chattered),אֶסְתֵּר הַמַּלְכָּה הָיְתָה יָפָה (Esther the queen was beautiful). But if the predicator in the source construction is a noun that cannot be inflected, then the appositive, which is the result of the transformation, does not necessarily agree in gender and number with its nucleus, e.g., הַשָּׁלוֹם, תִּקְוָתֵנוּ, עוֹדֶנּוּ רָחוֹק (Peace, our hope, is still far off), הַקַּרְקַע, סְלָעִים, לֹא תֵּעָבֵד (The ground, rocks, will not be tilled). When a predicate containing a verb as predicator is transformed into a subordinate sentence with the function of adjunct (see 4.38: Relative Clause), the predicator continues to agree with the nucleus in gender and number, e.g., הַיְלָדִים [הַיְלָדִים שִׂחֲקוּ בֶּחָצֵר] לֹא הִרְגִּישׁוּ בַּמִּתְרַחֵשׁ (The children [The children played in the courtyard] did not notice what was happening), הַיְלָדִים שֶׁשִּׂחֲקוּ בֶּחָצֵר, לֹא הִרְגִּישׁוּ בַּמִּתְרַחֵשׁ (The children, who played in the courtyard, did not notice what was happening).

5.13: PREDICATOR TRANSFORMED INTO CIRCUMSTANCE ADVERBIAL. Similarly, the circumstance adverbial also agrees in gender and number with the subject or object, since it is also a transform of the predicator (cf. 4.51: Circumstance Adverbial). There is also a requirement of concord between a circumstance sentence and one of the parts of the independent sentence in which it appears, e.g., הִיא דִּבְּרָה וְעֵינֶיהָ מַבְרִיקוֹת

(She spoke, as her eyes were flashing). In many circumstance clauses, however, no concord exists, at least in the surface structure, e.g., וַיַּעֲמֹד בְּמִשְׁעוֹל הַכְּרָמִים, גָּדֵר מִזֶּה וְגָדֵר מִזֶּה (And he stood in the path of the vineyard, a fence here and a fence here = between two fences).

5.14: LACK OF CONCORD BETWEEN SUBJECT AND PREDICATOR. In some instances there is no concord between subject and predicator. Usually, this results from a difference between the grammatical gender or number of the noun and the natural gender or number of the person or entity denoted by the noun (Hebrew has no neutral), as in the following cases:

(1) *Collective noun.* When the noun denotes a group of individuals, its form is singular, but its predicator can be in the plural, agreeing with the content rather than the form, e.g., הַחֶבְרֶה רָצוּ לָלֶכֶת (The group wanted to go. Colloquial). The number of collective nouns with this usage seems to be fewer in modern Hebrew than in earlier periods of the language.

(2) Proper nouns that have the plural or dual form are always combined with a predicator in the singular and take the grammatical gender corresponding to the natural gender of the person, e.g., רַחֲמִים הָלַךְ (Raḥamim went off), תָּמָר חָזְרָה (Tamar returned), יוֹנָה הָלַךְ (Jonah went off (when the reference is to a male)), יוֹנָה הָלְכָה (Jonah went off (when the reference is to a female)).

(3) Names of countries are always in the feminine, whatever the form of the noun, e.g., וַתִּכָּנַע מוֹאָב בַּיּוֹם הַהוּא (Moab surrendered on that day), מִצְרַיִם שָׁלְחָה צָבָא לְתֵימָן (Egypt sent an army to Yemen), יַרְדֵּן הִכְרִיזָה עַל מַצַּב חֵרוּם (Jordan proclaimed a state of emergency), אַרְצוֹת־הַבְּרִית יָזְמָה וְעִידַת שָׁלוֹם (The United States initiated a peace conference).

(4) *Pluralis majestatis.* The noun is in the plural not to indicate plurality but out of respect to the person designated. Modern Hebrew includes in this category אֱלֹהִים (God) and also בְּעָלִים (owner), e.g., לֹא נִמְצָא בְּעָלָיו שֶׁל הַכֶּלֶב (The owner of the dog was not found).

5.21: PRONOUN CONCORD IN A FOCUSING SENTENCE (EXTRA-POSITION). Gender and number concord in a sentence is sometimes not the basic concord between subject and predicator (5.11–5.13), but the result of a transformation deleting a noun and replacing it with a pronoun. The substituted pronoun always agrees in gender and number with the deleted noun. Since there is usually another instance of the same noun elsewhere in the sentence, the pronoun agrees in gender and number to this other instance, as in the example given in 4.26: the sentence אִישׁ לֹא שָׂם לֵב אֶל הַוָּתִיקִים (Nobody paid any attention to the veterans) is transformed into a focusing sentence when the noun הַוָּתִיקִים (the veterans) is taken from its place and put initially while in its place is introduced a third person masculine plural pronoun, agreeing with it. Since the deleted noun followed a preposition, the substituted pronoun also follows the preposition and hence is attached to it. The resulting sentence is אִישׁ לֹא שָׂם לֵב אֲלֵיהֶם – הַוָּתִיקִים (The veterans, nobody paid any attention to them). The same applies when the focused part functioned as subject in the source sentence, e.g., סַבָּא אֵינוֹ מִתְעַיֵּף אַף פַּעַם (Grandfather never gets tired). When the subject is extracted from this sentence and placed initially, a third person masculine singular pronoun is introduced in its place, agreeing with סַבָּא (Grandfather). Since the noun is not preceded by a preposition, neither is the pronoun. The resulting sentence is סַבא – הוּא אֵינוֹ מִתְעַיֵּף אַף פַּעַם (Grandfather, he never gets tired). The pronoun agreeing with the focused part is called referring pronoun or "binder". As explained in 4.26: Focusing Sentence, the first noun in a focusing sentence is the subject and the rest of the sentence is the predicate. Consequently, the basic concord rule between subject and predicate applies here too; the element in the predicate agreeing with the subject is the referring pronoun.

5.22: PRONOUN CONCORD IN A RELATIVE CLAUSE. When the predicate of a focusing sentence is transformed into an adjunct sentence (4.38: Relative Clause), the concord between subject and predicate is transformed into concord between the noun nucleus and the adjunct sentence: הַוָּתִיקִים [הַוָּתִיקִים – אִישׁ לֹא שָׂם לֵב אֲלֵיהֶם] הֵחֵלּוּ לְהִתְאַרְגֵּן בְּאִרְגּוּנִים נִפְרָדִים (The veterans [The veterans, nobody paid any attention to them] began to organize themselves in separate organizations → הַוָּתִיקִים, שֶׁאִישׁ לֹא שָׂם לֵב אֲלֵיהֶם, הֵחֵלּוּ לְהִתְאַרְגֵּן בְּאִרְגּוּנִים נִפְרָדִים (The veterans, to whom nobody paid any attention, began to organize themselves in separate organizations). Even when the focused part was subject in the source sentence, e.g., סַבָּא – הוּא אֵינוֹ מִתְעַיֵּף אַף פַּעַם (Grandfather, he never gets tired), the whole of the predicate can be transformed into an adjunct sentence. However, if there is already subject-predicator concord in this sentence, for example when the predicator is a verb or there is a copula in the predicate, then this concord is usually sufficient. In this case, the adjunct sentence does not contain the subject pronoun, e.g., סַבָּא, שֶׁאֵינוֹ מִתְעַיֵּף אַף פַּעַם, חִיֵּךְ בְּסַלְחָנוּת (Grandfather, who never gets tired, smiled forgivingly) and not… ‡סַבָּא, שֶׁהוּא אֵינוֹ מִתְעַיֵּף אַף פַּעַם, חִיֵּךְ בְּסַלְחָנוּת, or הָאִישׁ שֶׁהָלַךְ בַּדֶּרֶךְ, לֹא חָזַר (The man, who went off on a journey, did not return), and not הָאִישׁ, שֶׁהוּא הָלַךְ בַּדֶּרֶךְ, לֹא חָזַר ‡. This does not apply to a nominal sentence that does not have subject-predicator concord, e.g., הַמַּחְסָנִים הֵם הַמִּכְשׁוֹל הָאַחֲרוֹן (The stores[they] are the last obstacle), the source of which is in the identifying sentence הַמַּחְסָנִים – הַמִּכְשׁוֹל הָאַחֲרוֹן (The stores – the last obstacle), cf. 4.24: Identifying Sentence. The relative clause formed from the predicate includes the pronoun הֵם, which agrees with the subject: הַמַּחְסָנִים שֶׁהֵם הַמִּכְשׁוֹל הָאַחֲרוֹן עוֹלִים בָּאֵשׁ (The stores, which are the last obstacle, are going up in fire). On whether the subject pronoun (הוּא, הִיא, הֵם, הֵן) is copula or referring pronoun of a focused part, see below 5.23: Copula Concord.

5.23: COPULA CONCORD. The source of the copula (see 4.22: The Copula) is a referring pronoun in a subject-focusing sentence, cf. the examples in 5.21: Pronoun Concord in a Focusing Sentence and 5.22: Pronoun Concord in a Relative Clause. However, the subject pronoun is also used in sentences where the focused part is not felt to be emphasized in any way (4.24:

Identifying Sentence). This appears to have happened for two reasons:

(1) Subject-focusing sentences became common in nominal sentences in the present tense by analogy with nominal sentences in the past and future tenses, that is speakers tended to insert a word agreeing with subject in gender and number between subject and predicator, or more precisely, to link such a word to the predicator (not necessarily putting it before the predicator) as they do with sentences in the past or future. Since this word (an inflected form of הָיָה (be)) does not introduce any emphasis to the sentence in the past or future, the emphasis is also lost in sentences with subject pronouns in the present tense.

(2) In certain constructions that lack subject-predicate concord, and particularly in sentences without a predicator the desire for "leveling" activates speakers, i.e., the need is felt to add something that will produce subject-predicate concord, in order that such constructions can enter the regular framework of Hebrew sentences, in which there is subject-predicator concord. We can explain in this way the obligatory appearance of the pronoun as a copula in sentences such as הַפִּגּוּר הוּא בְּיִצּוּר דְּשָׁנִים (The delay is in the production of fertilizers), הָעֲלִיָּה הִיא בַּשָּׂכָר (The rise is in salary), which are transformed from sentences פְּלוֹנִי מְפַגֵּר בְּיִצּוּר דְּשָׁנִים (X is lagging in the production of fertilizers), הַשָּׂכָר עָלָה (The salary rose) respectively. (See E. Rubinstein, for another explanation.) Usually the copula agrees with the subject. However, there are cases where the copula agrees with the predicator, when several words separate the subject from the copula and the copula is next to the predicator. In the colloquial language, and sometimes in writing, some use זֹאת, זֶה, זֶהוּ, זֹהִי (or זֹאתִי) as copula. There is also quite frequent use of הִנּוֹ or הִנֵּהוּ and other inflected forms of הִנֵּה as copula.

5.24: OTHER CASES OF CONCORD. (1) A possessive pronoun agreeing with a noun mentioned after it is to be found in the double construct state: בֵּיתוֹ שֶׁל הָאִישׁ (the man's house), חֶרְדָּתָם שֶׁל הַהוֹרִים (the parents' dread), cf. 4.34: The Construct Structure.

(2) A pronoun attached to a preposition and referring to a noun mentioned after it is to be found in the apposition structure אָמְרוּ עָלָיו עַל רַבִּי עֲקִיבָא (They said about him, about Rabbi Akiva), cf. 4.37: Apposition.

(3) A demonstrative pronoun introducing an identifying sentence agrees in gender and number with the noun appearing as part of the complement in the identifying sentence, and not with the noun in the preceding sentence to which the pronoun refers, e.g., הַשְּׁאֵלָה יְדוּעָה, אֲבָל זֶה עִנְיָן אַחֵר (The question is well-known, but this is a different matter); זוֹ פִּסְקָה חֲדָשָׁה (… this is a new paragraph); אֵלֶּה דְּבָרִים נְדוֹשִׁים (… these are matters that are well-known), cf. also 6.12: Demonstrative Pronouns. The same applies if the reference is to something mentioned after the identifying sentence, e.g., זֹאת הַתּוֹרָה (This is the law) or אֵלֶּה הַחֻקִּים (These are the statutes), when the details come after such a sentence.

The demonstrative pronoun זֶה can be attached to an undetermined noun or to an undetermined construct state. The noun or construct state then becomes determined. That is to say, בַּיִת זֶה is equivalent to הַבַּיִת and בֵּית אֲבָנִים זֶה to בֵּית הָאֲבָנִים. Agreement in gender and number between pronoun and preceding noun is obligatory.

5.25: LACK OF CONCORD IN ADJUNCT SENTENCES. (1) Adjunct content-sentences (see 4.38: Relative Clause), which are not transformed from a predicate but from an object sentence (on which there is no obligatory concord in gender and number with anything outside the sentence), do not require concord with the noun nucleus transformed from the verb-predicator in the source sentence.

(2) Introductory expressions, especially for adverbial sentences (see 4.54: Prepositions as Introducers of Adverbials), e.g., בְּאֹפֶן שֶׁ, שָׁעָה שֶׁ, מָקוֹם שֶׁ. The sentence subordinated by such an expression does not include a referring pronoun agreeing with אֹפֶן, שָׁעָה, מָקוֹם, etc., e.g., כָּל פַּעַם שֶׁנַּפְשׁוֹ הָיְתָה מָרָה עָלָיו (every time that he felt depressed). It means that the noun in the introductory expression loses its semantic force, in whole or in part, and becomes entirely or virtually a grammatical word. Its "adjunct sentence" is not really an adjunct sentence. The introductory expression can also subordinate a sentence with a different function, for example as subject, e.g., הַאִם לֹא הִגִּיעָה הַשָּׁעָה שֶׁתִּתְאַחֵד חָכְמַת יִשְׂרָאֵל עִם שְׂפַת יִשְׂרָאֵל? (Has the time when the wisdom of Israel will be united with the language of Israel not come?).

(3) Pronoun substitute. In some adjunct sentences the place adverbial שָׁם (there) replaces a pronoun attached to a preceding preposition, e.g., הַחַלּוֹן שֶׁהִצְטוֹפְפוּ שָׁם יוֹנִים... (the window where the doves crowded, literally the window which doves crowded there). The substitution of שָׁם for an inflected preposition is found in the Bible, e.g., אֶרֶץ כְּנַעַן, אֲשֶׁר אֲנִי מֵבִיא אֶתְכֶם שָׁמָּה (the land of Canaan, where I shall bring you).

(4) If in the source the nucleus was the object of אֶת in the adjunct sentence, the appearance of אֶת with an inflected pronoun agreeing in gender and number with the nucleus is not obligatory. For stylistic reasons it is normally omitted, unless the omission will lead to ambiguity. For example, חֹמֶר שֶׁשָּׁמַע מִפִּי מוֹרָיו אוֹ קָרָא בֶּעָבָר (material that he heard from his teachers or read in the past) and not חֹמֶר שֶׁשָּׁמַע אוֹתוֹ מִפִּי מוֹרָיו אוֹ קָרָא אוֹתוֹ בֶּעָבָר (literally, material that he heard it from his teachers or read it in the past). It is normally possible to add in any such adjunct sentence the preposition אֶת inflected to agree with the nucleus.

(5) When the nucleus is a verbal noun or abstract noun with the same root as the predicator in the adjunct sentence. In such a case there is no referring pronoun in the adjunct sentence, e.g., הָאֵבֶל שֶׁמִּתְאַבֶּלֶת עַל בְּנָהּ (the mourning which she mourns for her son). This phenomenon is presumably connected with the characteristics of the internal object.

(6) "Space words." When the nucleus is only required for grammatical purposes, namely for the attachment of an ad-

junct sentence, words devoid of semantic content, such as indefinite pronouns or demonstrative pronouns, e.g., מַה, כָּךְ, זֶה, or words with a very general semantic content, e.g., דָּבָר (thing), עֻבְדָּה (fact) are used. Such a nucleus does not require the presence of a referring pronoun in the adjunct sentence that is attached to it, whether the nucleus sums up what is said before or whether it comes after an obligatory preposition as introduction to what is to follow. For example: לְאַבָּא אָמְרָה כִּי אֶת אֲרוּחַת הַצָּהֳרַיִם הוּא אוֹכֵל הַיּוֹם בְּמִסְעָדָה, מַה שֶּׁהוּא שָׁמַע מִתּוֹךְ שְׁתִיקַת הַכְּנָעָה (She told Father that he is eating lunch today at a restaurant, which he heard in submissive silence). However, sometimes the "space words" are not entirely devoid of semantic content and denote something more than a word like דָּבָר or עֻבְדָּה, e.g., בִּמְלֹאת שִׁבְעִים שָׁנָה לְהַדָּחַת בֵּית הַמְּלוּכָה הַפּוֹרְטוּגָלִי, תַּאֲרִיךְ שֶׁחָל אֶתְמוֹל (At the end of seventy years following the dethronement of the Portuguese monarchy, a date which fell yesterday…) or הוּא נֶחְבַּשׁ בְּמַחֲנֶה רִכּוּז, מָקוֹם שֶׁמֵּת אוֹ נֶהֱרַג בֵּין 1939 לְ־1941 (He was imprisoned in a concentration camp, a place where he died or was killed between 1939 and 1941).

5.3: Determiner Concord

Determination is not recursive. It follows that the four methods of determination exclude each other: (1) the definite article; (2) a proper name; (3) a noun in combination with a possessive pronoun; (4) a *nomen regens* in the construct state. Determiner concord exists between a nucleus-noun and an adjective serving as its adjunct, i.e., either both words are determined or neither are determined: נְיָר חָלָק (smooth paper), הַנְּיָר הֶחָלָק (the smooth paper). In mishnaic Hebrew and to some extent in biblical Hebrew it is possible for the adjunct to be determined while its nucleus is not determined, e.g., מַיִם הָרָעִים (the evil waters), יָם הַתִּיכוֹן (the Mediterranean Sea), יוֹם הַשִּׁשִּׁי (the sixth day). This phenomenon is seldom found in modern Hebrew. Determiner concord does not have its source in the deep grammar. It is a surface phenomenon: the adjunct adjective receives determination even though the predicator, which served as its source, was not determined. The cause of determination is attraction: determination of the noun attracts determination of the adjunct adjective attached to it. The attraction of the definite article from the noun to the adjunct applies even to a demonstrative pronoun following a noun with the definite article (see section 5.24: Other Cases of Concord), since corresponding to בַּיִת זֶה (this house) we can have הַבַּיִת הַזֶּה without a difference in meaning being felt between these phrases. The same applies to the construct state relationship. Here too if the noun is determined by the definite article and the pronoun זֶה follows, the article is also attached to the pronoun בֵּית אֲבָנִים זֶה – בֵּית הָאֲבָנִים הַזֶּה (this house of stone). In the phrase הַבַּיִת הַזֶּה there is therefore a double determination. This is a clear example of redundancy, unique in determination, since determination is not recursive, i.e., a noun that is already determined cannot accept additional determination.

5.4: Restrictions on Determination

The non-recursiveness means that the definite article cannot be combined with a proper name, nor with a noun with an inflected possessive, nor with a *nomen regens*; a proper name cannot be combined with the definite article (unless the name has been changed into a common name, or if the definite article is part of the name, e.g., הַיַּרְדֵּן, הַלְּבָנוֹן (the Jordan, the Lebanon)) nor with a possessive pronoun and it cannot be a *nomen regens*; a noun inflected for the possessive cannot be a proper name (unless it became an independent item, not connected with the common noun), cannot be combined with the definite article, and cannot be a *nomen regens*; a *nomen regens* cannot be a proper name unless it is a shortened name, e.g., רִאשׁוֹן for רִאשׁוֹן לְצִיּוֹן, נַחֲלַת for נַחֲלַת יְהוּדָה; it cannot be combined with the definite article or with a possessive pronoun, but if the construct state is taken to be a compound the definite article can precede it, e.g., הַכַּדּוּרֶגֶל (the football). It should be added, however, that two (or more) people with the same name may be referred to with a definite article preceding the name in plural "שְׁתֵּי הַשִּׁפְרוֹת." Determination by the demonstrative pronoun זֶה, which may precede or follow the noun, does not come under this rule: זֶה can come in addition to the above four methods. But if זֶה follows a noun with the definite article or the construct state with the definite article, the definite article must precede: הַזֶּה (see 5.3: Determiner Concord). When זֶה follows a noun determined by another method, the definite article is not obligatory but optional: כּוֹבָעִי זֶה (or, כּוֹבָעִי הַזֶּה) (my hat), אַבְרָהָם זֶה, אַבְרָהָם הַזֶּה (this Abraham), but בַּיִת זֶה (this house) – הַבַּיִת הַזֶּה, בֵּית אֲבָנִים זֶה (this house of stone) – בֵּית הָאֲבָנִים הַזֶּה.

5.5: Obligatoriness

Obligatoriness in the widest sense refers to the obligatory appearance of a word or form as a result of the existence of another word or form in the same sentence. It signifies roughly what is signified by "dependency" in the sentence but from the standpoint of one element in the dependency, either the active element or the passive one. For example, when the word אֶתְמוֹל (yesterday) appears in a verbal sentence the verb normally is in the past. Here, what has been made obligatory is the element signifying that the verb is in the past form, while what made it obligatory is the word אֶתְמוֹל. A further instance is the infinitive following certain auxiliaries, e.g., הִתְאַמֵּץ, מֻכְרָח, עָשׂוּי, עָלוּל (cf. 4.45: Infinitive as Object). Other auxiliaries require either an infinitive or a certain form of the verb, i.e., a participle, or a verbal noun, e.g., הִתְחִילוּ לְהָבִין (they began to understand), הִתְחִילוּ מְבִינִים (they began understanding), הִמְעִיט לְדַבֵּר (he spoke less, literally: he lessened to speak), הִמְעִיט בְּדִבּוּר (literally: he lessened in speech). In a narrow and more usual sense, obligatoriness is used to denote the obligatory appearance of a particular preposition when there is in the same sentence a particular verb requiring the preposition. For example, the appearance of the preposition בְּ is required by the verb הִשְׁתַּמֵּשׁ (cf. 4.41: Obligatory Complement and Obligatory Preposition). Compared with English, the rules are less stringent in this respect, since there are various cases when certain "obligatory" prepositions can be omitted without affecting the meaning of the verb. In most cases when an obligatory preposition is retained, the meaning of the verb without the preposition differs discernibly from its meaning with the preposition, e.g., דָּלַק (burn) – דָּלַק אַחֲרֵי (pursue after); הִתְגַּלְגֵּל (roll) – הִתְגַּלְגֵּל לְ (change to). When the verb does not have another meaning, then under certain conditions the obligatory preposition can be omitted, e.g., לְ after הִתְכַּוֵּן (intend) can be omitted before a subordinate sentence beginning with שֶׁ, e.g., הִתְכַּוַּנְתִּי שֶׁתָּבוֹאוּ (I intended you to come). It is also possible to retain the preposition לְ here, but it would then be necessary to add a space-word between לְ and שֶׁ, e.g., הִתְכַּוַּנְתִּי לְכָךְ שֶׁתָּבוֹאוּ, cf. 5.25, (6): Lack of Concord in Adjunct Sentences – "Space Words." This area of degrees of obligatoriness, i.e., when the obligatory preposition can be omitted, has not been sufficiently investigated in Hebrew. The preposition אֶת is required (after certain verbs) only before a determined noun (it may be omitted, however, for stylistic reasons) but if an undetermined noun follows, its omission is obligatory. Some phrase the rule differently: "Before an undetermined noun the obligatory preposition אֶת is changed to the obligatory preposition Ø." Obligatory prepositions are retained in many cases when the verb is converted into a verbal noun, e.g., הָרְדִיפָה אַחֲרֵי הֲנָאוֹת הַחַיִּים (the pursuit after the pleasures of life), הַזִּלְזוּל בַּסַּכָּנָה (the contempt for danger). This area too requires further investigation.

5.6: The Order of the Parts of the Sentence

Concord between different parts of the sentence in gender, number, and person; marking of the subject pronoun in the verb form (Morphology – 19. The Inflection of the Verb); presence of prepositions, particularly presence of אֶת to mark the "direct object" – all these allow a reduction in Hebrew of restrictions on the order of the parts of the sentence. While comprehensive investigations have not been undertaken into the order of parts of the sentence in modern Hebrew, it is possible to say in general that word order is fairly free, and usually what the speaker wishes to emphasize he says at the beginning of the sentence. Below is given a list of restrictions (more or less accepted by all) on the order of the parts of the sentence. Nevertheless, in some instances the strict observance of them is more a matter of style than of syntax. The influence of word order in other languages can sometimes be discerned.

(1) When the sentence begins with an object or adverbial and the predicator is a verb, the predicator follows the object or adverbial and the subject comes after the predicator. The rule applies particularly when the verb is in the past or future, e.g., אֶתְמוֹל הִפְלִיגָה הָאֳנִיָּה – (Yesterday sailed the boat) הָאֳנִיָּה הִפְלִיגָה אֶתְמוֹל – (The boat sailed yesterday). In colloquial Hebrew, sometimes in writing also, there are cases where this rule is not kept.

When two complements of the predicator occur in the sentence, for example two different objects or an object and an adverbial, the speaker is free to give them in any order. But if one of them is an inflected preposition, i.e., the complement includes a personal pronoun, the inflected preposition precedes the second complement. If both of them are inflected prepositions, the order is free, unless one of the words is אֶת with a pronominal inflection, in which cases it comes first. For example: רָאִיתִי אֶת הַיֶּלֶד אֶתְמוֹל (I saw the child yesterday); רָאִיתִי אֶתְמוֹל אֶת הַיֶּלֶד (I saw yesterday the child) – but: רָאִיתִי אוֹתוֹ אֶתְמוֹל (I saw him yesterday) and not ‡רָאִיתִי אֶתְמוֹל אוֹתוֹ (literally: I saw yesterday him). לָקַחְתִּי אֶת הַסֵּפֶר מֵאֲחוֹתִי (I took the book from my sister); לָקַחְתִּי מֵאֲחוֹתִי אֶת הַסֵּפֶר (I took from my sister the book) – לָקַחְתִּי אוֹתוֹ מִמֶּנָּה (I took it from her) and not ‡לָקַחְתִּי מִמֶּנָּה אוֹתוֹ (literally I took from her it).

(3) Interrogative words, coordinating conjunctions, and the various subordinating conjunctions appear at the beginning of the sentence, whether the sentence is independent or subordinate. But a few subordinating words such as אִם כֵּן, עַל כֵּן, לָכֵן, sometimes occur not at the beginning of the sentence they are connecting but within it, e.g., לָכֵן שָׁאַלְתִּי אוֹתוֹ מַדּוּעַ לֹא בָּא (Therefore I asked him why he did not come), שָׁאַלְתִּי אוֹתוֹ, עַל כֵּן, מַדּוּעַ לֹא בָּא (I asked him, therefore, why he did not come). The coordinating word גַּם (also) links the word after it to one of the words preceding it in that sentence or in a preceding sentence. Hence, גַּם can appear in various places in the sentence. In speech גַּם sometimes occurs after the word it is linking (undoubtedly under the influence of foreign languages). For example: גַּם שָׁתִיתִי [וְ]אָכַלְתִּי (I ate [and] also I drank); הָיָה שָׁם גַּם הַנָּשִׂיא (Also the president was there). The latter sentence implies a previous statement that others were there.

(4) There is still no adequate investigation in modern Hebrew of the order of the parts of the noun phrase, i.e., the order of the various adjuncts relative to the nucleus. But if there is no special reason for changes, the order seems to be as given below (the degree of confidence in this order is sufficiently high for the first five parts, though in the rest it is less; the parentheses denote that it is possible to omit that part and pass on to the next, and still preserve a noun phrase): (quantity adjunct +) noun phrase nucleus (+ *nomen rectum* adjunct) (+adjective adjunct) (+separate possessive pronoun adjunct) (+demonstrative pronoun) (+prepositional phrase adjunct) (+appositional adjunct) (+subordinate sentence adjunct). For example: שְׁנֵי מְעִילֵי הַצֶּמֶר הַחֲדָשִׁים שֶׁלִּי הָהֵם מֵאַנְגְלִיָּה, מַתְּנַת דּוֹדִי, שֶׁהִגִּיעוּ בְּדִיּוּק לִפְנֵי שָׁבוּעַ, נֶעֶלְמוּ. (Those two new woolen coats of mine from England, my uncle's gift, which arrived exactly a week ago, have disappeared; literally: Two coats of wool – new – mine – those – from England – the gift of my uncle – which arrived exactly a week ago – have disappeared). "A special reason for change" (above) includes the wish for emphasis, an afterthought, and the length of the adjunct, particularly when it is a subordinate sentence. An attached possessive pronoun may accompany any noun.

(5) Any noun can be placed initially as a focused part (cf. 4.26: Focusing Sentence). Though as a result the general word order is changed, within the source sentence now serving as predicate the word order remains as it was, with the referring pronoun taking the place of the focused noun, cf. also 6.322: Word Order as Indication of Subordination.

6: LINKS BEYOND THE SENTENCE

Although speech consists not only of the combination of words, but also of the combination of sentences, the links between sentences in the same discourse have not been described in books on syntax, and in fact have not been given a linguistic description at all. Those dealing with the combination of sentences do so within theories of rhetoric or composition and pay attention not to grammatical questions but to literary and logical structure. In this respect some changes occurred in the early 1950s, when Z.S. Harris began linguistic analyses of a whole discourse, which can include much more than one sentence and can sometimes consist of a dialogue between two or more speakers. In doing so, even though some previous scholars had already dealt with this topic, he laid the foundations for the development of modern linguistic views on deep structure. As stated in the section 3.1: Structural Analysis above, there are few descriptions in Hebrew as yet which are based on those assumptions, still there are works in Hebrew that describe some of the material related to the problem of links beyond the sentence, for example the uses of the various subordinating conjunctions. The following survey covers these topics: (1) anaphoric references in sequentially related sentences; (2) elliptical sentences related to previous sentences; (3) ways of combining sentences.

6.1: Anaphoric Reference in Sequentially Related Sentences

6.11: PERSONAL PRONOUNS. Those rules of pronoun concord applying within the sentence, e.g., in a focusing sentence or in a relative clause, apply also when the pronoun is in a different sentence, which follows the one with the noun, even though the two sentences do not have any other grammatical links. Moreover, the pronoun in the new sentence (if indeed the second instance of the noun has been deleted and a pronoun has replaced the noun) normally cannot be omitted as happens under certain conditions in adjunct sentences. Thus, the deletion of the second instance of a noun and its replacement by a personal pronoun happens not only in a focusing sentence or in a relative clause but in general, whether the first noun is in the same sentence (in surface structure) or in a preceding sentence. The personal pronoun therefore agrees in gender and number with the noun, even though only the first instance of the noun remains. For example: רָאִיתִי אֶת הַיֶּלֶד. הַיֶּלֶד חָזַר לְבֵית הַסֵּפֶר (I saw the child. The child returned to school), רָאִיתִי אֶת הַיֶּלֶד. הוּא חָזַר לְבֵית הַסֵּפֶר (I saw the child. He returned to school).

6.12: DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUNS. (1) A demonstrative appearing in a sequentially related sentence but not functioning as adjunct sometimes refers back to a noun in a previous sentence. However, if its function in the sequentially related sentence is that of subject or predicator, it must agree in gender and number with the predicator or subject respectively of the sequentially related sentence and not with the noun in the preceding sentence to which it refers (cf. 5.24, (3): Other Cases of Concord). For example: הֵבֵאתִי אוֹתוֹ אֶל הַדִּירָה; "זֶה יִהְיֶה בֵּיתְךְ" אָמַרְתִּי (I brought him to the apartment. "This will be your home," I said). The same applies to the demonstrative כָּזֶה and its inflectional variants, e.g., יֵשׁ לִי עֲשָׂרָה פְּקִידִים גְּרוּעִים; אֵינֶנִּי רוֹצֶה עוֹד פָּקִיד כָּזֶה (I have ten rotten clerks; I don't want another clerk like that). (See H. Rosén, ʿ*Ivrit Tova*, for another explanation.)

(2) Sometimes the demonstrative does not refer to a noun in the preceding sentence, but to the whole of the content of the sentence or to a part of it. In such a case there is no requirement for concord with a particular element in the preceding sentence. Generally the demonstrative is then זֶה, e.g., הַיְלָדִים שָׁכְבוּ לִישׁוֹן. זֶה הָיָה בְּשָׁעָה עֶשֶׂר (The children went to bed. That was at ten). A sequentially related sentence with such a structure can introduce stories, e.g., זֶה הָיָה בַּחֲנֻכָּה... (It happened at Ḥanukkah). By doing so, the narrator plunges the reader straight into the story, making him feel that he is not at the beginning of the story. Another possible explanation: זֶה refers in these cases to something unknown which is to be explained later, so that the reader becomes anxious to know what is coming.

(3) The definite article should also be mentioned here, since its appearance before a noun indicates a reference to the previous appearance of the noun and confirms that the two instances of the noun have the same referent, e.g., אִישׁ הָיָה בְאֶרֶץ עוּץ, אִיּוֹב שְׁמוֹ. וְהָיָה הָאִישׁ הַהוּא תָּם וְיָשָׁר (There was a man in the land of Uz, whose name was Job. And that man was perfect and upright). The fact that sometimes the definite article appears before the first appearance (in surface structure) of a noun does not invalidate this claim, since in such a case it may be supposed that a previous sentence containing a non-determined instance of the noun has been deleted as a result of a transformation. Here belong also various adjuncts, restrictive and nonrestrictive alike (4.32: Restrictive and Nonrestrictive Adjunct). There is no doubt that the sentences in which these appear are linked to preceding sentences, whether they are retained or deleted.

6.2: Fragmentary Sentences

Usually every sentence has two parts, a subject and a predicate. However, in Hebrew, as in other languages, there are short sentences that cannot be divided in this way. Some have called them single-element sentences, analyzing them according to their surface structure. But from the point of view of deep grammar they should be considered as remnants of normal sentences, with subject and predicate, from which some parts (subject and/or predicate or parts of the latter) have been deleted. Here belong expressions of agreement with or opposition to a preceding sentence (usually said by another speaker), e.g., כֵּן (Yes!), לֹא (No!), אוּלַי (Perhaps!), these being remnants of the predicate. Sentences such as רוּחַ. שֶׁמֶשׁ. חַם (Wind. Sun. Warm.) are used in literature and not necessarily in sequentially related sentences. The part that would complete them and make them into proper sentences has been omitted, because it can be understood or because it is unimportant, and not because it has been mentioned previously.

6.3: Sentence Connection

Two juxtaposed and linked sentences may be related in one of two ways: (1) The two sentences have equal status syntactically and are linked by coordination (see 3.14: The Compound Sentence above); (2) The two sentences have a different syntactic status, one of them being subordinate to the other (see 3.15: The Complex Sentence above).

6.31: COORDINATION. It is customary to classify the kind of relations between two coordinated sentences by the relation of the content of the sequentially related sentence to that of the preceding sentence. The relation may be (1) addition; (2) contrast; (3) alternative; (4) explanation or conclusion; (5) result.

Coordinated sentences may be juxtaposed without a coordinating marker between them (asyndetic coordination), but generally in modern Hebrew the coordination is marked by a coordinator (syndetic coordination). Some coordinators mark only one of the above types of coordination, others mark more than one kind. Coordinations of types (1) and (3) can comprise more than two consecutive sentences. In that case the coordinator can come merely between the last sentence and the one preceding it. When the coordination is expressed without a coordinator, it generally requires a special intonation, particularly for coordinations of explanation and result, and a significant pause before the sequentially related sentence suggests the content-type of the coordination. Sometimes the coordination is marked by a coordinator before the first sentence. Every such coordinator has available a correlative between that sentence and the sequentially related sentence, e.g., לֹא רַק..., כִּי אִם גַּם... (Not only… but also…). Sometimes, however, the correlative is omitted, the speaker being content with the appropriate intonation.

The coordinators:

(1) coordination of addition: לֹא דַי... אֶלָּא ; ...וְ... ; ... גַּם ...
...לֹא רַק... אֶלָּא גַּם ; ...אַף... ; ...וְלֹא עוֹד אֶלָּא שֶׁ... ; (וְ) גַּם ; גַּם... ; שֶׁ...
...לֹא זוֹ בִּלְבַד... אֶלָּא שֶׁ ; לֹא רַק... (כִּי אִם) גַּם... ;

(2) coordination of contrast: ; אֶלָּא... ; ...וְ... ; ...אֲבָל...
לֹא... כִּי אִם... ; אֵין... אֶלָּא... ; אוּלָם... ; ...אַךְ... ; רַק... ; ...אֶפֶס...

(3) coordination of alternative: ;אוֹ שֶׁ... אוֹ... ; אוֹ שֶׁ... אוֹ שֶׁ...
...אוֹ...

(4) coordination of reason or conclusion: ;...מִכָּאן שֶׁ...
כְּלוֹמַר... ; ...שֶׁהֲרֵי...

(5) coordination of result: לָכֵן... ; ...עַל כֵּן... ; ...לְפִיכָךְ...

6.32: SUBORDINATION. A subordinated sentence realizes a function within another sentence (see 3.15: The Complex Sentence above). From the point of view of the other sentence "a link outside the sentence" does not apply, but from the point of view of the subordinated sentence that is the nature of the link.

Subordination is chiefly marked in Hebrew by words exclusively used to mark subordination, by words that mark either coordination or subordination, and by the order of the sentence elements, whether within the subordinated sentence or in the place of the subordinated sentence within the superordinate sentence. Intonation is also criterial for the nature of the sentence, but since descriptions of Hebrew intonation have not yet been published there will merely be occasional comments in this area. The following survey will cover only (1) words marking subordination; (2) the order of the sentence elements.

6.321: Subordinators. שֶׁ is the most general subordinator. It can introduce an adjunct sentence and an object sentence (after verbs of saying), and can combine with other words to introduce various adverbial sentences (cf. 4.54: Prepositions as Introducers of Adverbials). In historical grammar שֶׁ is considered to have evolved from an ancient demonstrative pronoun, the ancient subordination marker זוֹ (found in biblical Hebrew) being pointed to as a transitional form between demonstrative pronoun and subordination marker. But even if this claim can be proved right historically, it should not be taken into account in a consideration of the function of שֶׁ in modern Hebrew. It now serves solely as a subordination marker and there is no trace in it of an ancient demonstrative pronoun. No concord of any kind applies between it and what precedes it, and therefore it does not serve as "substitute for the subject," as some authors have alleged.

אֲשֶׁר. Although this word is typical of biblical Hebrew (where שֶׁ appears only in late passages), modern Hebrew uses it too. Indeed, אֲשֶׁר is found in all levels of the contemporary language, particularly as a stylistic variant for שֶׁ, when the latter occurs too often for the speaker's taste. This variation is restricted, since שֶׁ cannot be replaced in all its uses by אֲשֶׁר, this being one of the reasons for the relative infrequency of אֲשֶׁר as compared with שֶׁ in literary modern Hebrew. אֲשֶׁר cannot introduce the following structures which are related in deep structure and can be transformed from one another: (1) adjunct content-sentences (see 4.38: Relative Clause); (2) object sentences which can be transformed into adjunct content-sentences; (3) subject sentences derived from such object sentences by the change of the predicator verb from active to passive, or by its replacement by modal predicators such as טוֹב (good), יָפֶה (fine), הַלְוַאי (would that), חֲבָל (a pity), which express the attitude of the speaker to what is said in the subordinated part. The following are examples:

Object content-sentence	*Adjunct content-sentence*
יָדַעְתִּי שֶׁרוּת עוֹבֶדֶת	הַיְּדִיעָה שֶׁרוּת עוֹבֶדֶת
(I knew that Ruth works)	(the knowledge that Ruth works)
Subject content-sentence	*Subject content-sentence*
טוֹב שֶׁרוּת עוֹבֶדֶת	נוֹדַע לִי שֶׁרוּת עוֹבֶדֶת
(It's good that Ruth works)	(It became known to me that Ruth works)

In such sentences אֲשֶׁר can only be used exceptionally, in highly rhetorical language. Likewise, אֲשֶׁר does not introduce indirect speech, and generally it does not precede the participle.

כִּי introduces indirect speech, adjunct content-sentences, object sentences from which adjunct content-sentences can be transformed, and subject sentences derived from these object sentences by a change of the verb-predicator from active to passive. כִּי therefore is used in all structures not open to אֲשֶׁר. However, כִּי cannot introduce a subject sentence when the predicator is an initial modal expression such as הַלְוַאי (would that), חֲבָל (a pity), הַלְוַאי שֶׁיֵּרֵד שֶׁלֶג (would that snow will fall), but not הַלְוַאי כִּי יֵרֵד שֶׁלֶג ‡. Similarly, כִּי cannot introduce relative clauses. Another function of כִּי is to introduce adverbial sentences of cause (and in biblical Hebrew, also time and condition adverbials).

הַ introduces relative clauses that begin with the participle form of the verb, which agrees in gender and number with the nucleus.

ו mostly marks coordination rather than subordination. However sometimes, and especially in literature, it introduces a sentence that is or seems to be subordinated to the preceding sentence, when the subordinate sentence is one of circumstance, comparison, result, or purpose, e.g., הַנַּעַר יָצָא לַדֶּרֶךְ וְיָדָיו רֵיקוֹת (The lad went out and his hands were empty) – circumstance; הַשֶּׁמֶשׁ זָרְחָה, הַשִּׁיטָה פָּרְחָה, וְהַשּׁוֹחֵט שָׁחַט (The sun shone, the acacia blossomed, and the slaughterer slaughtered) – comparison; בַּקֵּשׁ רַחֲמִים וְיִסָּלַח לְךָ (Seek mercy and you will be forgiven) – result; מַה נַּעֲשֶׂה וְנִנָּצֵל? (What shall we do and we shall be saved?) – purpose. See also 4.54: Prepositions as Introducers of Adverbials.

6.322: Word Order as Indication of Subordination. Generally, the order of the parts of the sentence in a subordinated sentence does not differ from that in an independent sentence (5.6: The Order of the Parts of the Sentence). But word order in relative clauses and conditional sentences may influence the nature of the link between them and the sentences in which they appear. In conditional sentences the place of the subordinated sentence may determine the nature of the link, usually together with other factors, such as intonation.

(1) A relative clause beginning with an inflected preposition that agrees in gender and number with the nucleus (see 5.21: Pronoun Concord in Focusing Sentence; 5.22: Pronoun Concord in a Relative Clause) can occur without the initial subordinator שֶׁ (or אֲשֶׁר) e.g., רָאִיתִי אֶת הַבַּיִת בּוֹ גָּר אָחִיךָ (I saw the house in which your brother lives), as opposed to רָאִיתִי אֶת הַבַּיִת שֶׁאָחִיךָ גָּר בּוֹ. It is usual to term such a relative clause as an asyndetic relative clause, since it lacks an initial conjunction. It may be argued that a marker of subordination is present, though not the usual שֶׁ, the inflected preposition filling also that function besides its function within the relative clause. In biblical Hebrew an asyndetic relative clause may occur also without this condition e.g., יֹאבַד יוֹם אִוָּלֶד בּוֹ. A relative clause without an inflected preposition may appear without a marker of subordination if it has a verb in the future agreeing with the nucleus and preceded by the negative participle בַּל, e.g., אֱמוּנָה בַּל־תְּעֻרְעַר (a faith that cannot be uprooted). It is impossible to add the subordinator שֶׁ or some other subordinator in initial position here. In such a structure the negative participle לֹא can replace בַּל but it is then possible to add שֶׁ or אֲשֶׁר, e.g., כֹּבֶד שֶׁלֹּא יְתֹאַר (weight that cannot be described) or כֹּבֶד לֹא־יְתֹאַר.

(2) Conditional sentences (see 4.52: Types of Conditional Adverbial) can be expressed without an initial conditional word under certain restrictions: (a) the protasis must come first, (b) the predicator must come first in the protasis. The absence of the conditional word is usual in legal language, e.g., מָצָא אָדָם חֵפֶץ, יְבִיאֶנּוּ לְתַחֲנַת הַמִּשְׁטָרָה הַסְּמוּכָה (A man has found an object, he shall bring it to the nearest police station). The future form of the second verb expresses not the condition, but the intention of the whole sentence to serve as a permanent instruction in all cases to which the condition applies. Similar conditional sentences are found in literature. However, they are not instructions, but refer to recurring events. In these the second verb may also be in the past, e.g., מָצָא כַּפְתּוֹרִים – הֱבִיאָם לְאִמּוֹ; מָצָא מַסְמְרִים – הֱבִיאָם לְאָבִיו (He found buttons – he brought them to his mother; he found nails – he brought them to his father). Proverbs may likewise have this form, e.g., in biblical Hebrew, מָצָא אִשָּׁה – מָצָא טוֹב (He found a wife – he found a good thing). When such sentences are said orally, the conditional sentences have characteristic intonation patterns. In the colloquial language, too, there may occur conditional sentences without an introductory conditional word. Only sentence order, word order, and intonation show them to be conditional, e.g., יִרְצוּ – יֹאכְלוּ, לֹא יִרְצוּ – לֹא יֹאכְלוּ (They will want – they will eat; they won't want – they won't eat). A change of sentence order, of word order, or of intonation will necessitate a conditional word, e.g., יֹאכְלוּ, אִם יִרְצוּ; לֹא יֹאכְלוּ, אִם לֹא יִרְצוּ (They will eat if they want; they will not eat if they don't want).

[Uzzi Ornan]

The following is not intended to serve as an exhaustive bibliography, but rather as an aid to the interested reader seeking additional information. It includes entries of three types:

(1) General research works on Hebrew linguistics and contemporary language problems.

(2) Publications containing particularly extensive bibliographical material.

(3) Publications presenting a wide variety of approaches.

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HEBREW IMMIGRANT AID SOCIETY (HIAS), international immigrant and refugee service. HIAS was founded in New York City in 1881, when the Russian Emigrant Relief Committee, a temporary body established to help Jews escaping Czarist Russia, formed the Hebrew Emigrant Aid Society. The new organization provided meals, transportation, and employment counseling to arrivals at New York's Castle Garden, the main immigrant-processing center of that time. In 1882 the first Jewish shelter was established on the Lower East Side. In 1889 the shelter adopted the name Hebrew Sheltering House Association and was reorganized by East European Jewish immigrants under the Hebrew name, Hachnosas Orchim. In 1909 the Hebrew Sheltering House Association (1884) and the Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society (1902) merged. Responding to the growing needs of Jewish immigrants from Eastern Europe, the organization soon grew to national dimensions, providing help in legal entry, basic subsistence, employment, citizenship instruction, and locating of relatives for nearly half a million newcomers to the United States during the organization's first decade. Under President John L. Bernstein (1917–26), HIAS offices were opened in Eastern Europe and the Far East.

In 1927 HIAS joined the Jewish Colonization Association (ICA) and the European Emigdirect to form the collectively run HICEM. Although the economic depression of the 1930s resulted in demands for additional domestic services to Jewish communities all over the world, most of HICEM's efforts were devoted toward financing and assisting emigration from Nazi Germany and finding outlets for refugees from Eastern and Central Europe in Western Europe and South America. HIAS continued its European activities throughout World War II, while imploring Western governments to open their gates wider to Jewish war refugees. In 1945 HIAS dissolved its partnership with HICEM, and in 1949 it cooperated with the *American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (JDC) in forming the Displaced Persons Coordinating Committee. As in previous years, HIAS continued to fight against restrictive U.S. immigration laws following World War II, and worked with Israel and with other Jewish immigrant services.

In 1954 HIAS merged with the United Service for New Americans and the JDC Migration Department into the United HIAS Service, a single international agency which helped thousands of East European and North African immigrants – especially following the Hungarian revolt of 1956 and the Middle East crises of 1956 and 1967 – to find new homes, mainly in Western Europe, the United States, and South America. Today about 30 percent of HIAS's budget comes from the U.S. Department of State; the remainder comes from private donations.

During the 1980s there were tensions between HIAS, representing the American Jewish community along with some of the Soviet Jewry movement's agencies, and the Israeli government over whether and how to aid Soviet Jews seeking freedom in countries other than Israel. The Israeli government felt that the Soviet Jewry movement was a Zionist movement and that since it had issued the visas under which Soviet Jews were able to leave, all Soviet Jews should go to Israel and emigrate, if they so chose, from Israel to other countries. HIAS, some local federations, and the Union of Councils felt that the Soviet Jewry movement was a human rights and human freedom issue and therefore, they were prepared to assist Soviet Jews just as they assisted Jews leaving other lands of oppression. The divisions were deep. Each side was faithful to the truth of their experience. In the end HIAS helped those Soviet Jews who wished to come to the United States directly and local federations assisted in the resettlement.

In addition to its world headquarters in New York City, HIAS maintains offices in Buenos Aires, Charlotte, N.C., Djabal and Goz Amir, Chad, Kiev, Moscow, Nairobi, Quito, Ecuador, Tel Aviv, Vienna, and Washington, D.C. Since its beginnings in 1881, HIAS has helped more than 4.5 million people to immigrate to the United States and other countries of safe haven around the world.

[Morris Ardoin (2nd ed.)]

HEBREW LANGUAGE. This entry is arranged according to the following scheme:

PRE-BIBLICAL
BIBLICAL
THE DEAD SEA SCROLLS
MISHNAIC
MEDIEVAL
MODERN PERIOD

A detailed table of contents precedes each section.

PRE-BIBLICAL

Nature of the Evidence
The Sources
Phonology
Morphology

Pre-biblical Hebrew, for the purposes of this article, refers to the Hebrew language as reflected in written documents up to and including the 12th century B.C.E. (Taanach, cf. below). This study is limited to an analysis of the written evidence which reflects the Hebrew spoken in Palestine during the pre-biblical period. (No attempt will be made to reconstruct Proto-Hebrew (‡) forms based on the masoretic Hebrew found in the Bible). Evidence of this type exists for the period from the mid-20th to the 13th centuries B.C.E.

Nature of the Evidence

There is no corpus of texts written in pre-biblical Hebrew, but only toponyms and single words transcribed into syllabaries which were not able to render accurately the consonants and vowel patterns of Hebrew. This material is written in the Egyptian and Akkadian syllabaries and care must be exercised in reconstructing the language upon which these transcripts are based.

The Akkadian syllabary (as a result of Sumerian influence) was unable to represent gutturals except for *ḫ*. Therefore, these transcriptions cannot help to determine which of the Proto-Semitic gutturals were still in use in pre-biblical Hebrew. However, whenever a guttural was pronounced it was usually rendered by an *ḫ*, e.g.,

נְחֹשֶׁת	*nu-ḫu-uš-tum* (EA 69:28)
עָפָר	*ḫa-pa-ru* (EA 141:4; also *a-pa-ru*, EA 143:11)
זְרוֹעַ	*zu-ru-uḫ* (EA 287:27)
צֹהֲר	*zu-uḫ-ru-ma* (EA 232:11)

The Egyptian material, while more faithfully representative of the consonantal system, did not have a clearly defined vowel system. As far as the vocalization of the Egyptian material is concerned, this study bases itself on W.F. Albright's *Vocalization of the Egyptian Syllabic Orthography* (VESO).

In discussing the verbal scheme of pre-biblical Hebrew, it must be carefully determined if a particular form is pure Canaanite, or whether it is in fact simply poor Akkadian, or the result of contamination – a combination of Akkadian and Hebrew elements (cf. the discussion on *yaqattal* forms, Morphology no. 5 below). When assessing place names, it is necessary to remember that they are conservative by nature, and do not always undergo the same linguistic changes as other words (e.g., *Ak-ka* Phonology no. 5). It is important, too, to remember that place names are often lexically difficult and may at times be non-Semitic in origin (cf. Hazor Phonology no. 5). Naturally, such words are expected to behave differently than the norm of pre-biblical Hebrew. Finally, it must be remembered that Canaanite itself was probably under the strong influence of Amorite, and that some forms found in the transcriptions may be directly due to this influence.

Keeping these factors in mind, and remembering that there is no corpus of pre-biblical Hebrew as such, but words or groups of words written in non-Hebrew syllabaries, it is surprising how much can actually be said about the phonology and morphology of the earliest stage of Hebrew.

The Sources

(1) The Egyptian material consists of lists of Canaanite personal and place names. In 1909, Burchardt published all the words and Hebrew parallels known at that time. Much more important are the Execration texts, published first by Sethe, and supplemented by Posener. These are texts inscribed on vases and contain the names of potential rivals; it was assumed that with the smashing of the vase, the opponent would also be destroyed. These texts date from the mid-20th to the late 19th centuries B.C.E. The Egyptian material is completed by an 18th-century list of Egyptian slaves (The Hayes List) which contains more than 30 North-West Semitic names, and was published by Albright. In all, there are 150 names from the period between 1900 and 1750 B.C.E.

(2) At Taanach (5 mi. (8 km.) south of Megiddo), some important cuneiform material was unearthed by the archaeologist E. Sellin in 1903–04. It contains six letters written in cuneiform Akkadian, which date from the 16th–15th-century B.C.E. period and were edited by the Assyriologist F. Hrozny in 1904. The letters appear to have been written by Canaanite scribes (especially the first two), and in several instances their native speech is clearly reflected in the strange Akkadian forms found in the letters. This material was supplemented by another letter found at Taanach and published originally by D.R. Hillers in 1964; it is written in alphabetic cuneiform and dates from the 12th century B.C.E. (cf. F.M. Cross's republication of this letter).

(3) It has long been recognized that many of the Ur III and Old Babylonian names found in Akkadian sources do not reflect standard Akkadian, but a distinct dialect or language. The traditional division of Semitic languages sets Akkadian off as East Semitic, and it was naturally agreed that these names, if they are not Akkadian, must be West Semitic. In 1926, Th. Bauer collected and analyzed about 700 names of this type in his work *Die Ostkanaanaeer* and argued (following Landsberger) that these names were Canaanite (but originated east of the Tigris, hence were East Canaanite). Since many of these names were prefaced by the Sumerian ideogram *MAR. TU*, which is equivalent to the Akkadian *amurru* ("west"), the people who bore these names came to be known as Amorites. Other scholars (Albright) have suggested that the language was a dialect (eastern) of Canaanite, while some (Goetze) feel that Amorite and Ugaritic make up a separate division within North-West Semitic. Since Bauer's publication, the number of known Amorite names has virtually tripled; a more up-to-date study can be found in Huffmon's *Amorite Personal Names in the Mari Texts* (with a complete bibliography of the problems of Amorite). It is not clear whether the designations *MAR. TU* (Sumerian) and *amurru* (Akkadian) were originally independent terms or linguistic equivalents. In the older (Ur III) period, persons described as *MAR. TU* have names which are often not Semitic, while in the later (Old Babylonian) period, many persons with West Semitic names are not designated in this way. This fact has prompted scholars to distinguish two linguistic strains: one called Amorite (Ur III) and the other East Canaanite. It seems clear today that the relationship between these two groups is much closer than originally thought and both may be referred to as Amorite (cf. Gelb, in JAOS, 88 (1968), 39–47).

The similarity between many Amorite names and names found in the Egyptian Execration texts, points to the importance of this material for the study of pre-biblical Hebrew. There undoubtedly were many points of similarity between the Amorite West Semitic dialect and the language of Canaan; Amorite, however, is not Canaanite as seen clearly from the fact that *ā* does not go to *ō* (the Amorite *s* = the Canaanite š is also significant).

(4) Possibly the most important source which has direct bearing on the language spoken in Canaan in pre-biblical times are the *Tell el-Amarna letters (EA). Discovered in 1887 at Tell el-Amarna, in Egypt, these letters contain the

correspondence between the ruling Egyptian court and their vassal princes in Canaan. The letters are ostensibly written in Akkadian, which was at that time (14th century B.C.E.), the lingua franca of the Near East. However, the Canaanite scribes were not fully conversant with the Babylonian language they attempted to write, and constantly substitute Canaanite forms and idioms for the Babylonian, producing a real "*Mischsprache*" which, when analyzed, yields much information about the scribes' native tongue. There is, in fact, at least one Canaanite proverb written entirely in the language of the scribe: *ki-i na-am-lu tu-um-ḫa-zu la-a ta-ka-bi-lu u ta-an-si-ku qa-ti amelim ša yi-ma-ḫa-aṣ-ṣi*: (meaning, "If ants are smitten, they do not accept [the smiting quietly], but they bite the hand of the man who smites them") (EA 252:16–19; cf. Albright, in BASOR, 89 (1943), 29–32).

More important than the native influence on the Akkadian in these letters are the Canaanite glosses which the scribe wrote in the margins of the text (in the Akkadian syllabary) as the equivalents to Akkadian words in the body of the letter. For example, in a letter from Jerusalem (EA 287:27), the Akkadian *qat* has the gloss *zu-ru-uḫ* is equivalent to the Hebrew *zəroa*ʿ (זרוע, "hand"). In the Akkadian syllabary ʿ = *ḫ*; and *ō*, which was non-existent, was transcribed as a *u*; therefore, *zu-ru-uḫ* is the exact equivalent to the Hebrew זרוע.

The reasons for writing these glosses are unclear. The scribe may have written the Canaanite gloss for an Akkadian word he was not sure of, and filled in the proper form later. This explanation is the most likely since the gloss is always the exact equivalent of the Akkadian word in the text, and the scribe surely did not expect the gloss to clarify the text for the Egyptian reader. Still, whatever the reason, these glosses remain the most direct evidence of pre-biblical Hebrew.

The letters were given an excellent edition by Knudtzon (with some help by Weber and Ebeling) in 1915. Further texts were published by Dossin, Gordon, Schroeder, and Thureau-Dangin (for complete references cf. R. Borger, *Handbuch der Keilschriftliteratur*, 1 (1967), 238). This was supplemented by fine grammatical studies by Boehl, Ebeling, Dhorme, Albright, and Moran (cf. bibliography).

The material is presented under two headings: Phonology and Morphology. Each grammatical point is given separate treatment with the appropriate title preceding the evidence. When necessary, any differences between the earlier (Egyptian) and the later (cuneiform) material are noted and explained.

Phonology

(1) *ḥ* AND *ḫ*. These two Proto-Semitic consonants are not distinguished in the Hebrew script. The Phoenician-Canaanite alphabet contains only one grapheme for these two consonants indicating that the language for which this alphabet was developed did not differentiate between these two sounds. The Tiberian vocalization shows that the reading tradition also did not distinguish between the two sounds, as a diacritic was not used to differentiate between them (as opposed to *š* and *ś*). Greek material indicates some differences in transcribing the ח, but this seems to be rooted in secondary and dialectical developments. It is, therefore, necessary to look elsewhere to determine whether Hebrew ever differentiated between the *ḥ* and *ḫ*. The material written in cuneiform (Taanach, Amorite, Amarna) is of no help here since the Akkadian syllabary only recognizes the consonant *ḫ*; thus the distinction, if it did exist, could not be represented in that syllabary. The Egyptian material, however, is of crucial importance.

The early Egyptian material clearly distinguishes between *ḥ* and *ḫ*:

ḥa-ar-pu in Canaanite ‡*ḥarbu*, Hebrew *ḥereb* (VESO XII, A, 4); while

ḫu-ru in Canaanite ‡*ḫurru*, Hebrew *ḥor* (VESO XIII, A, 5).

In the later Shoshenq list (c. 950), the etymological *ḫ* seems to have merged with *ḥ*, as: *bt ḥ*(*w*)*rn* (Beth-Horon) (which etymologically is probably *ḫ*). This indicates that the Egyptian (Amarna) documents reflect the state where the assimilation of *ḫ* to *ḥ* was becoming finalized, and that this later state is reflected in the Shoshenq list.

It is difficult to accept the position (Goetze) that where these consonants are differentiated, it is as a result of Amorite (!) influence. Amorite was written in the cuneiform syllabary which could not differentiate between *ḫ* and *ḥ*, so there are no objective grounds for assuming that Amorite made this distinction. This position can only be justified by the assumption that Ugaritic and Amorite form a subgroup within North-West Semitic, and that the Ugaritic differentiation was maintained in Amorite. But there is no real evidence that this distinction was maintained in Amorite, and it is more reasonable to assume that cuneiform writing limited the Amorite pronunciation of gutturals just as it did the Akkadian. While there was clearly an Amorite influence in Canaan, there is no reason to assume that some early stage of Hebrew could not have differentiated between *ḫ* and *ḥ* as in the early Egyptian material.

(2) INDEPENDENCE OF THE Ś PHONEME IN PRE-BIBLICAL HEBREW. The fact that only two graphemes are used in biblical Hebrew to distinguish the three sounds *s, ś, š,* (*ś* and *š* are distinguished by means of a diacritic) reflects the situation in the language from which the alphabet was borrowed, and not directly on Hebrew. The fact that Greek and Latin transcriptions were unable, at a much later date, to distinguish between the three sounds is not relevant, since there is only one Greek-Latin grapheme *s* (σ) which parallels the early Hebrew sibilants.

In biblical Hebrew the three phonemes *s, ś,* and *š* are kept distinct. This is also the case in Epigraphic South Arabic, while in the other Semitic languages these three phonemes have coalesced into two. This indicates that the situation reflected in biblical Hebrew is primary, and not the result of a late innovation.

In the pre-biblical cuneiform material, this distinction is difficult to recognize (where only *s* and *š* are distinguished), while the Egyptian material seems clearly to indicate that the distinction between these three phonemes was carefully maintained. Here *š* and *ṯ* were transcribed by the sign for *s*, while *š* was represented by *š*, so that etymological *ś* and *š* were kept distinct:

Ya-si-r-ʾi-ra, in Hebrew ‡Yasirʾel (ישראל, "Israel") (VESO III B3);

sa-ʿa-ra-ta, in Canaanite ‡*śaʿar*(*a*)*t*(*a*), in Hebrew *saʿara* (שערה, "hair") (VESO V A 13); while,

ša-ʿa-ra, in Hebrew *šaʿar* (שער, "gate") (VESO XV A 4).

(3) *ṯ* AND *š*. The Hebrew-Phoenician alphabet has only one grapheme for these two Proto-Semitic consonants, and they both seem to have coalesced into *š*.

The early Egyptian material seems to indicate that the distinction between these two phonemes was still maintained. In these transcriptions both *ṯ* and *ś* are written with an *s*:

ʾa-ṯi-ra, in Canaanite *ʾasira*(*a*), in Amarna *asiru*, in Hebrew *ʾasir* (אסיר);

ṯu-pi-ir, in Canaanite *soper*, in Hebrew *sofer* (סופר), but *ʿstrt* (*ʿaṯtartu*) = Astarte (Burchardt 285);

ḥa-da-sa-t (*hadaṯatu*), in Canaanite *hadaš*(*a*)*t*(*a*), in Hebrew *ḥadaša* (חֲדָשָׁה, "new") (VESO XII, A, 6).

But *š* is transcribed as *š* in the word *qa-di-š*, in Hebrew *qadoš* (קדש) (VESO XC9).

However the same lists mention *ša-ʿa-ra*, in Canaanite ‡*ša-ar*, in Hebrew *šaʿar* (שער, "gate") (VESO V, A, 14) (from *ṯaʿaru*), indicating that the *ṯ* was unstable even here and that it tended to merge into *š*. In the Shoshenq list, the *š* and *ṯ* are undifferentiated: *šbrt* = *šibbolet* (from *ṯibbolet*?). In short, the *ṯ* was already on its way to coalescing with the *š* in the period of the early material, and by the time of the Shoshenq list and biblical Hebrew, it had disappeared as a separate phoneme.

The Amarna evidence is difficult to interpret. On the one hand, the difference in spelling between La-ki-si (EA 288:43) and Ša-ak-mi (EA 289:23) in the Jerusalem letters indicates that in that area *š* and *ṯ* were kept etymologically distinct (*š* in Ša-ak-mi must be from *ṯ*, cf. Ugaritic *ṯkm*, as well as the fact that it is written with an *s* in the Egyptian transcriptions (VESO XIV A 15); and *š* in masoretic Hebrew). However, it has been noted (Goetze) that the spelling La-ki-ši also appears in the Jerusalem letters (EA 289:13) and that the cuneiform signs for *sa, si, su*, serve as scribal variants for *ša, ši, šu*.

(4) *ʿayin* and *ḡyin*. These two phonemes, which have coalesced into *ʿayin* in biblical Hebrew, are still distinguished in the Egyptian material.

ʿn-qn-ʿa-m(a), in Canaanite En-qne-ʿ-am(ma), in Hebrew Yoqnĕʿam (יקנעם) (VESO V, A, 6), while

ʿa-ḏa-ta, in Canaanite ‡Ḡazzat(a), in Amarna, Azzati, Hazati, in Hebrew Azzah (עזה, Gr. Γαζα) (VESO XVI, A, 11).

However, we also find *ša-ʿa-ru*, in Hebrew שער ("gate") < *ṯaεru* (VESO V, A, 14), which would indicate that *ḡ* > ʿ, as it has in biblical Hebrew. Here too, it must be pointed out that while the transcriptions prove that the distinction between the two phonemes still existed in early Hebrew, the distinction was fast disappearing. The cuneiform material can be of no help as the syllabary does not (generally) distinguish between these consonants.

In a published letter from Taanach (BASOR, 173 (1969), p. 45–50), dated the late 13th or early 12th century B.C.E., the name *pʿm* (*puʿm*) appears. If this name is related to the Ugarit *pḡm*, this would indicate that *ḡ* < ʿ. (This letter is written in an alphabetic orthography (related to Ugaritic?), and it may be assumed that if the *ḡ* = ʿ distinction still existed in Canaanite, it would have been represented in this way).

(5) LONG *a* (*ā*) BECOMES LONG *o* (*ō*). All the relevant material indicates that this shift, which is considered unique in Canaanite (of the classical Semitic languages), took place as early as the 15th century B.C.E. An instance from Amorite is especially interesting. The name of a northern city appears as Ḫaṣura (Hazor). Since the *ā* > *ō* shift did not take place in Amorite at all, this seems to indicate that the situation in Canaan in the 15th century B.C.E. was already post shift. (However, care must be taken in this case since the name is etymologically unclear and its vocalization may reflect a non-Semitic pronunciation.) All other relevant material indicates that when the Amarna period started the shift had already taken place in Canaanite.

(a) *Egyptian Material. Bi-ʾa-ru-ta*, in Canaanite *beʾrot*, in Hebrew באר (VESO X, C, 4)

(b) *Amarna Canaanite* (*Many Examples*). *a-nu-ki* (EA 287:66, 69), in Hebrew אנכי; *ṣu-un-nu* (EA 263:12), in Hebrew צאן; *ru-šu-nu* (EA 264:18), in Hebrew ראשנו. The place name Ak-ka, in Hebrew עכו reflects a conservative pronunciation.

(c) *Taanach*. Interestingly enough the only indication for this shift in Taanach is the name Gu-li which may be derived from the Canaanite Goʾeli, Hebrew גואל (I 3) (but cf. below). However, other place names, such as Ra-ḫa-bi (IV 22), Hebrew רחוב, and Ma-gi-id-da (V 15), Hebrew מגדו, seem to indicate that this shift had not yet taken place. (Another possible reading for the name in IV 22 is Elu-ra-pi-i, Hebrew רפא.)

Unfortunately, all the Taanach evidence is in the form of personal and place names, and it may be that although the shift had taken place generally, these names had preserved an older pronunciation. It is also possible that the shift had not yet taken place in the pre-Amarna period, or, at any event, not in the south of Canaan. The only evidence to the contrary is the name Gu-li which may be part of the Canaanite Gu-li-Adad (Albright), or the Hurrian Guli-Tešub (Maisler (Mazar)), in which case it is not relevant to the problem. The sum of the evidence seems to indicate that in Taanach, in the period preceding Amarna (16th–15th century) the shift *ā* > *ō* had not yet taken place.

(6) THE PROTO-SEMITIC *n* IS ASSIMILATED TO THE FOLLOWING CONSONANT. In biblical Hebrew, the ProtoSemitic *n* is assimilated to the following consonant. The prebiblical material shows that this process was in a state of flux and that in the early period the *n* was not as consistently assimilated as later on.

The Egyptian *Bi-in-ti-ʿ-n-t* is in Canaanite ‡*Bint*(*i*)-*ʿanat* ("daughter of Anat"; Canaanite *bint* = Hebrew בת). In other words the *n* of בת remained unassimilated (VESO VI B 12).

In Amarna there is both *gitti* < *ginti* as well as *ginti* (Hebrew *gat*), indicating that the tendency to assimilate the *n* did exist, but had not yet reached the proportions of biblical Hebrew where it is the norm in these circumstances. *La-bi-tu* < *labintu* (EA 296:17) is also found in Amarna.

(7) *aʾ* > (*ā*) > *ō*. The Amarna material indicates that this change had already taken place in Hebrew:

(a) *ru-šu-nu* (EA 264:18), *roš* (ראש, "head") reflects the following development: *rōš* < *rāš* < ‡*raʾš*.

(b) *zu-u-nu* (EA 263:12); *ẓon* (צאן, "sheep") here too we assume *zōn* < *zān* < *zaʾn*.

The Egyptian material generally reflects the later stage, as in the name *ršqdš* (*rš* = ראש) (VESO X, C, 9), but *ru-ʾu-š* (*a*) is also found (VESO X, C, 7). Ru-ʾu-š(a)-qdš, in Canaanite ‡Roš-qids, is explained by Albright as being a Canaanite back formation of *roʾ*(*o*)*š* from *rōš*, on the analogy of the plural *raʾšim* (ראשים) which was probably dialectic (VESO III, E, 6). Another possible interpretation is that this name preserved the earlier pronunciation (cf. the name Ak-ka (עכו) in Amarna Hebrew (Phonology, no. 5).

(8) MIMMATION. Mimmation, known in early Akkadian, is almost unknown in biblical Hebrew, except for a few fixed forms like אמנם, יומם, חנם. The earlier material preserves several interesting examples. In the Execration texts, the city of Jerusalem is transcribed as ꜣwsꜣmm (= Urusalimum). Similarly, the Taanach letters indicate a high rate of mimmation, especially in the Canaanite letters. (In Amarna there is a marked decrease in the use of mimmation, an indirect indication that the Taanach letters precede the Amarna letters).

Morphology

(1) CASE ENDINGS. The Semitic languages had originally three basic cases: nominative, accusative, and genitive, which were differentiated by suffixes (in singular *-u,-a,-i*). Especially prominent in the early history of the language, they generally fell into disuse. In biblical Hebrew, the nominal case endings have generally been lost, except for certain compound names like מתושלח, and possibly poetic forms like בנוֹ בעור, and חיתוֹ ארץ. The *heh localis*, long thought to be a preserved accusative in biblical Hebrew, has to be reevaluated in the light of the Ugaritic evidence. In Ugaritic, which does not generally employ the *mater lectionis*, there is the word *šmmh* which would indicate that the *h* has consonantal force (cf. Speiser, in: *Israel Exploration Journal*, 4 (1954), 108–115).

Both the Egyptian material and the cuneiform material from Amarna indicate that case endings were still in use at that time. In the earlier Egyptian lists, place names usually end with *-u*, but the tendency was for *-a* to replace *-u* in later material, e.g., Ayaluna, Ašqaluna, Ṣiduna, and Ḫaṣura. This indicates that before the case endings were completely dropped, there was a period where these final short vowels were confused and the cases were no longer grammatically distinguished.

Boehl has shown (see also Dhorme, in: RB, 23 (1914), 347–8 = *Recueil E. Dhorme* (1951), 460–1) that the case endings in Canaanite are by and large not confused and the distinction between the different cases is maintained. Examples of the use of the nominative *-u*:

a-pa-ru (עפר) EA 141:4
ru-šu-nu (ראשנו) EA 264:18
The genitive *-i*:
sa-aḫ-ri (שער) EA 244:16
a-na-yi (אֲנִי) EA 245:28
The accusative *-a*:
ḫa-an-pa (חנף) EA 288:7
mu-ur-ra (מֹר) EA 269:16

These case endings were elided in Hebrew after the Amarna period and are very rare in biblical Hebrew.

(2) THE FIRST PERSON SINGULAR INDEPENDENT PRONOUN: *ʾanoki*. The *ʾanoki* form is found in Amarna Hebrew (*a-nu-ki* EA 287:66, 69). In late biblical Hebrew, this form becomes rare and is almost always replaced by *ʾani*.

(3) THE DUAL ENDING: *-ay*(*m*)*a*. In Amarna, the dual ending is known from the word *hi-na-ia* ("my (two) eyes" (nom.)) (EA 144:17). A similar form is known from Taanach *iṣma-ga-re-ma* (II, 8) ("two Chariot wheels"), with the Canaanite dual endings.

(4) FIRST PERSON POSSESSIVE SUFFIX: *-nu* (OUR). *Ti-mi-tu-na-nu* ((and you) "killed us"), in Amarna (EA 238:33).

THE VERB (1) CAUSATIVE PREFIX *ha-*. The Hebrew causative prefix *ha-* appears in Amarna as *ḫi-* (attenuation). The example is from EA 256:7, *ḫi-iḫ-bi-e*; it is clearly a Hebrew form which is impossible in Akkadian. The scribe used the Hebrew החביא for the common Akkadian verb of the same meaning, *puzzuru*.

(2) THE ENDING OF THE FIRST PERSON SINGULAR OF THE QATALA FORM: *-ti, qatalti*. In Amarna, *qatalti* forms appear, e.g., *ba-ni-ti* "I built" (EA 292:29).

TENSES. The Hebrew verbal scheme, which consists (primarily, cf. below) of two tenses, differs radically from the Proto-Semitic system. The two tenses: a prefixed one indicating incompleted action (imperfect), and the suffixed one indicating completed action (perfect), are secondary. It is possible to give approximate dates for the introduction of these verbal forms from the cuneiform evidence for early Hebrew.

(3) QATALA PRETERITE FORM. The *qatal*(*a*) form, which in Akkadian is the basis of the stative form (a nominal not a verbal form in Akkadian), is found in Amarna serving also as the Hebrew preterite form. For example:

la-ma-ad ("he has learned") (EA 196:30).
ša-al ("he questioned") (EA 289:10).

(4) YAQTUL IMPERFECT FORMS. The Amarna evidence points clearly to the fact that the *yaqtul* imperfect form had already been developed in Canaan. However, as Moran has pointed out, this function was not exclusive with this form. His work on the Amarna letters from Byblos led him to the conclusion that the imperfect indicative had two functions:

(a) present future; (b) past iterative. The passage EA 104:17–36, which Moran quotes, is instructive. The verb *lequ* ("take") appears three times in the prefixed form *tilquna*, once as a present, once as a future, and once as a past.

> *miya mārū Abd-aširta ardi kalbi šar māt Kašši u šar māt Mitanni šunu u tilqûna māt šarri ana šāšuna panânu tilqûna ālāni ḫazānīka u qâlāta annû inanna dubbirū rābiṣaka u laqû ālānišu ana šāšunu anumma laqû al Ullaza šumma kiʾamma qâlāta adi tilqûnu āl Ṣumuru u tidûkūna rābiṣa u ṣāb tillati ša ina Ṣumura.*
>
> Who are the sons of Abd-aširta the slave and dog? Are they king of the Kassites or the king of the Mittani that they take the royal land for themselves? Previously they used to take the cities of your governors, and you were negligent. Behold! now they have driven out your commissioner and have taken his cities for themselves. Indeed, they have taken Ullaza. If you are negligent this way they will take Simyra besides, and they will kill the commissioner and the auxiliary force which is in Simyra.

(5) YAQATTALU FORM OF THE VERB. The *yaqattal* form of the verb, attested to in the Akkadian present and the Ethiopic indicative, is generally thought to be missing from North-West Semitic. There are, however, certain forms found both in Amorite and in Amarna Hebrew which seem to indicate that an independent *yaqattal* form may have existed in North-West Semitic.

In Amarna Hebrew, the forms which seem to be of the *yaqattalu* pattern are, e.g., *tidabbibu* (EA 138:49)("they speak") and *i-paṭ-ṭar* (EA 2:46) ("he loosens"). However, the situation is not so simple. Even if the gemination in these forms is accepted as being genuine, they can be explained as Akkadian present forms with the Amarna Canaanite *i-* prefix in place of the Akkadian *a-*. In other words, these would not be genuine Canaanite forms but blends of Akkadian stems with Canaanite prefixes which were produced when speakers of Canaanite tried to write Akkadian.

In Amorite there are also certain names which give the impression of being *yaqattal* forms: e.g., the names *yabanni* (Akkadian: *ibanni*) and *yanabbi* (Akkadian: *inabbi*). Huffmon feels that these names can be properly compared to Ugaritic (cf. *piʿel* of *bāna* in post-biblical Hebrew), and do not necessarily reflect North-West Semitic *yaqattal* forms. Personal names, such as I-ba-as-si-ir and Ya-ba-an-ni-AN, are in his opinion clearly *piʿel* forms. There is therefore, in his opinion, no unambiguous evidence which indicates that there were in fact *yaqattal* forms of the verb in early North-West Semitic.

However, it has been pointed out (Von Soden, in: *Die Welt des Orients*, 3 (1964), 180) that the situation in Amorite is not at all clear:

(a) It is noteworthy that all the *yaqattal* forms that have been found in Amorite are derived from three weak verbs (excepting *ibassir* which may not even be Canaanite);

(b) Some of the roots, like *yanabbi* ("he calls") and *yabanni* ("he builds, makes") are not found as *piʿel* forms in Akkadian. The obvious conclusion is that these are not *piʿel* forms at all but the present of a true *yaqattal* form. (Some of the other names which appear in Amorite: *yabassi, yaḫatt/ṭṭi, yamatt/ṭṭi*, and *yasaṭṭi* are lexically unclear, and cannot be used as evidence.)

The fact that this form is clearly found in a North-West Semitic dialect (Amorite) may indicate that the Amarna Canaanite material should be reassessed. It may be that those forms which appeared to be Canaanite-Akkadian contaminations are true Canaanite Hebrew forms.

(6) YAQATULA (SUBJUNCTIVE) FORM OF THE CANAANITE VERB. In biblical Hebrew, the moods of the imperfect stem have a limited use (opposed, for example, to classical Arabic). The situation in pre-biblical Hebrew is more difficult to determine. Since Akkadian has a homophonous morpheme, known as the *ventive* (a modal suffix in Akkadian which indicates motion toward the speaker or focus of attention; e.g., *illik* ("he came"), *illikam* ("he came here")), a large number of relevant occurrences of the suffix *-a* (with *ya/i/u/qtal* forms) are readily explained, at least at first glance as examples of the *ventive*.

Moran has proposed that true *yaqatula* forms are identifiable by semantic means and that they are specifically used in two instances (*Orientalia*, 29 (1960), 1–19):

(a) to express a wish, request, or command – *yi-sa* LUGAL ("may the king come forth").

(b) in clauses of purpose or intended result – *ib-lu-ṭa* ("so that I may live").

The fact that the biblical Hebrew form, known as the cohortative, has the same functions as the Byblian Amarna (a group of Amarna letters from Byblos) *yaqtula*, indicates that the Hebrew cohortative is a continuation of this "subjunctive" (H. Bauer and P. Leander, *Historische Grammatik der hebraeischen Sprache* (1922), 273; P. Joüon, *Grammaire de l'Hébreu Biblique* (1923), 315 n. 1).

(7) TAQTALU(NA) THIRD PERSON MASCULINE PLURAL FORM. There seems to be some evidence from Amarna which points to the fact that a *taqtalu*(*na*) third person masculine plural form existed in pre-biblical Hebrew, as in Ugaritic (cf. Boehl, p. 53 and Moran, in: *Journal of Cuneiform Studies*, 5 (1951), 33–35). Hints of this form are also found in biblical Hebrew: e.g., ותקרבו in Ezekiel (37:7) as well as ותקרבון and ותאמרו in Deuteronomy (5:21).

(8) INFINITIVE ABSOLUTE USED AS A FINITE VERB. In biblical Hebrew there are a few clear cases of the use of the infinitive absolute form of the verb with finite force. ושבח אני (Eccles. 4:2) ונהפוך הוא (Esth. 9:1) are the clearest examples of this phenomenon, paralleled by the *qtl/yqtl ʾnk* construction found especially at Karatepe. The fact that this was a fairly regular construction in Early Hebrew (and North-West Semitic in general) is shown by the many examples in the Amarna letters: e.g., (from Amarna), *u ma-ti-ma šu-ut* ("and when he died truly") where the form *matima* is an infinitive absolute followed by the independent pronoun with the force of an independent verb (cf. Moran, in *Journal of Cuneiform Studies*, 4 (1950), 169–72).

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BIBLICAL

The Names
Ancient Evidence (Inscriptions and Transcriptions)
The Masoretic Text
- CONSONANTS
- VOWELS
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- PRONOUNS
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The Names

Biblical Hebrew is also called early Hebrew in contradistinction to living middle Hebrew, as reflected in the Mishnah, the older portions of the Talmud and early Midrash; to written middle Hebrew, as it was used after its extinction as a living language; and to modern Hebrew. It is known mainly from the Hebrew portions of the Bible (i.e., the whole Bible with the exceptions of its quite restricted *Aramaic parts, i.e., two words in Gen. 31:47; Jer. 10:11; Dan. 2:4–7:28; Ezra 4:8–6:18), which constitutes a rather limited corpus. The name "Hebrew Language" itself does not occur in the Bible; instead, it is called the "language of Canaan" (Isa. 19:18) and "Judean" (II Kings 18:26, 28; Isa. 36:11, 13; Neh. 13:24, in the last passage already in accordance with the late, post-exilic usage, which extended the term "Judean" to the nation). Not until about 130 B.C.E. (in the prologue to Ben Sira) does εβραϊστι – occur to denote old Hebrew. Josephus and the New Testament, however, use this term both of Hebrew and Aramaic (in contradistinction to Greek).

Ancient Evidence (Inscriptions and Transcriptions)

Only slight additional material can be adduced from inscriptions and transcriptions, which is not only due to their limited extent. The most important old Hebrew inscriptions are the calendar of *Gezer (c. 10th century B.C.E.), ostraca of *Samaria (from the eighth (?) century B.C.E.), the inscription of *Siloam (c. 700 B.C.E.), the *Lachish and Tel *Arad letters (sixth century B.C.E.). Their linguistic evaluation is impeded by their consonantal script, even the vowel letters being less frequent than in the Masoretic Bible Text. Thus î and *ú* in a medial position are often unmarked (as *ʾš* Siloam 2 = *ʾiš* ("man"), *ṣr* Siloam 3; 6 = *ṣûr* ("rock"). Nevertheless, some new, grammatical material may be derived from them, as the monophthongization of diphthongs even in stressed syllables outside Judah (cf. *qṣ* Gezer 7, *qayiṣ* ("summer"); cf. the pun of the prophet Amos (8:2) of this word with *qẹṣ* ("end"); *yn* in the Samaria ostraca, *yáyin* ("wine") or the ending-*ô*, which is considered by some scholars as dual nominative ending in *status constructus* (*yrḥw* ("two months"), Gezer passim), and even the attestation of forms occurring exceptionally in the Bible (as *hyt* Siloam 3 = *hayâṯ* ("she was"), a rare form of the third person feminine perfect of *verba tertiae yôd*, instead of the usual *hâyṯâ*) is of help. Moreover, they often contain additions to the limited vocabulary of Biblical Hebrew.

Akkadian, Greek, and Latin transcriptions, on the other hand, mark the vowels as well, thus making the recognition of grammatical structure possible. Yet the special conditions of both the transcribed and the transcribing language has to be taken into account, besides the intricacies of transcription itself. Disregard of these pitfalls inevitably results in misinterpretations, as when P. Kahle regarded the double pronunciation of *b, g, d, k, p*, and *t* as artificial, *inter alia* because Origen (185–204 C.E.) and Jerome (342–420 C.E.) deviate in their transcriptions. Kahle did not take into account the fact that Greek and Latin at that time had no means of differentiating between aspirates and spirants (cf. e.g., the use of χ for Arabic *k* in the Greek papyri of Nessanah, because *k* was at least slightly aspirated; see Blanc in *To Honor R. Jacobson* (1967), 298). Moreover, with the exception of Origen's transcription of coherent texts, and words quoted by Jerome, these transcriptions are limited to proper names and thus make an insight into the lingual structure rather difficult. Nevertheless, they are by no means unimportant. Sometimes they exhibit Aramaized forms as against the Hebrew feature according to the Masorah (as Akkadian *sa-me-ri-na-ai*, Septuagint Σεμερωυ, Σαεμηρώυ; cf. Ezra 4:10, 17 *šâmráyin*, as against masoretic *šômrôn*), and vice versa (as masoretic *Bnê ḇraq*, cf. modern *Ibn ibraq*, as against Akkadian *ba-na-a-a-bar-qa*, Septuagint Βαυαιβακάτ [!]). In some cases the noun formation is different (as Akkadian *am-qa-ru-na*, Septuagint ʾάκκάρώύ, exhibiting *qaṭṭâlôn* (masoretic *qiṭṭâlôn*), as against masoretic *ʿeqrôn*, reflecting the parallel *qiṭlôn*; or masoretic ʾέrεκ corresponding to Septuagint ʾΟπέχ, Akkadian *Uruk* (also *Arku?*)). Septuagint ʾΑμμάυ and Akkadian (*Bīt-*) *Ammānu* exhibit the stage preceding masoretic *ʿammōn* (cf. Septuagint variant lecture ʾΑμμών). Even more important are transcriptions exhibiting features preceding the masoretic vocalizations, as Akkadian *a-u-si* (Hosea) presumably still containing the diphthong, or Akkadian *ḫa-za-ki-a-a-a*, which, as against masoretic *Ḥizqiyyâ*, perhaps still exhibits the preservation of *a* in the second and first syllables (cf. also Septuagint ʾΕζεκίας). Since Greek may distinguish between long and short *e/o* by using η, ω and ε, ο, respectively, Greek transcriptions may even be very important for the recognition of grammatical structures (forms like Septuagint Ησαν = masoretic *ʿêśâw*, exhibit, it seems, the oldest attestations of the lengthening of vowels in pretonic open syllables). This situation may sometimes be complicated by later sources exhibiting forms that are considered to be earlier, as when the masoretic so-called *segolata* (as *zéḵεr* – "remembrance"), similarly transcribed in the Septuagint (as Γαθερ – *geṯer*), still appear *apud* Origen as monosyllables (as ζεχρ = *zẹḵεr*).

The Masoretic Text

The Masoretic Text is also not easy to evaluate. It is made up of three historically distinct elements, viz. (in order of their antiquity and stability) the consonantal text, the vowel letters, and the system of diacritical marks for vowels and cantillation.

In the course of time, even the consonantal text underwent changes – an altering in pronunciation led to a change in spelling (since *śîn* was pronounced as *samek̲*, the latter was rarely substituted for it, as *stâw* ("winter"), Song of Songs 2:11 instead of the original ‡*śtâw*). Similarly, antiquated forms were replaced by more usual ones (cf. e.g., II Sam. 22:37, 40, 48 *taḥatẹnî* ("under me"), as against *taḥtây*, Ps. 18:37, 40, 48, representing the more usual and, presumably, later form), and synonyms replaced obsolete words (cf. parallel passages occurring, e.g., in Chronicles as against Kings, or readings exhibited by "vulgar" Qumran biblical texts). It is even possible that puristic redactions expurgated usages still alive, in favor of literarily preferred features (as Bergstraesser, in: ZATW, 29 (1909), 40ff. assumed for *šε* being superseded by *ʾăšεr*). On the other hand, the differences between Masoretic manuscripts (in contradistinction to the Samaritan version) are so few that this uniformity has to be explained according to the "one-recension" (or even the "archetype") theory.

More conspicuous are differences in the usage of the vowel letters *ʾ, h, w, and y*: in the Masoretic Text, as a rule, but not always, etymologically long vowels, with the exception of medial *â*, are marked by one of these letters. The spelling, however, was more defective than in available texts (cf. also the spelling of inscriptions discussed *supra*), at least at the time of the Septuagint, and there are some differences between the Tiberian and other traditions. Nevertheless, the uniformity mentioned above obtains, as a rule, also in the sphere of the vowel letters. However it has to be assumed that changes affected vowel letters (just as the consonantal text) as obsolete forms were superseded by later ones, and this is exhibited by variant readings occurring in "vulgar" biblical passages found in Qumran. In the Masoretic Text this development is reflected by the so-called *ktîv*, ("what is written") and *qrê* ("what is to be read"), two variant readings of which the *ktîv*, occurring unvocalized in the text, is rejected in favor of the *qrê*, adduced vocalized on the margin (in many Bibles, however, the *ktîv* is adduced in the text with the *qrê's* vocalization, thus causing confusion). Sometimes the *ktîv* exhibits an older feature, given up in favor of the later *qrê* (and in many manuscripts what is adduced as *qrê* in other manuscripts, has already penetrated into the text as a single reading). Thus, it seems that the archaic perfect third person plural feminine *-h*, to be read *-â*, as exhibited by *ktîv*, was superseded by the ending *-û* in *qrê*. Moreover, the pronominal suffix *-ô* of the third person singular masculine, after nouns terminating in a consonant, is still sometimes archaically spelled with *h* in *ktîv*, as against the more usual spelling with *w* in *qrê*. (Sometimes, however, the spelling with *-h* is the only spelling transmitted.) In other cases the *ktîv* exhibits the later feature. Thus *ʾty*, representing *ʾattî* ("you") (feminine singular), presumably due to Aramaic influence (cf. the Samaritan version and DSIa), sometimes occurs as *ktiv*, the *qrê* being *ʾatt*. The same applies to the perfect second person singular ending *-ty*, to be read *-tî*, which was superseded by *-t*.

The latest stage is exhibited by the vowel and cantillation marks, which developed between c. 600 C.E. (the date of the final redaction of the Talmud, in which they did not yet occur) and the beginning of the 10th century (from which period dated manuscripts have been discovered), but is based on a much older tradition. The only vocalization and cantillation system in use is the so-called Tiberian vocalization. It represents the most elaborate system and is the only one completely preserved. Therefore, it serves as the main base for the grammatical investigation of biblical Hebrew. In principle, however, the other vocalization systems are equally important, i.e., the Babylonian system, which includes several sub-species, and the so-called Palestinian. One has also to take into consideration the Samaritan tradition of pronunciation, and important linguistic features may also be elicited from the Dead Sea Scrolls. The most important innovation, differentiating Tiberian (and one subsystem of Palestinian) vocalization from the others is change of *â* to *å*, thus coinciding with *å* < *u*. (This feature seems to be very late, however, not after Jerome's time.) There are also other divergences, such as less attenuation of *a* to *i* in closed unstressed syllables according to the Babylonian vocalization (as *šäḇʿâ* = Tiberian *šIḇʿâ*, which, *obiter dictum*, already penetrated into Babylonian), a wider supersession of the perfect *paʿil* by *paʿäl*, and the preservation of *ä* in the perfect, imperfect, imperative, and infinitive of *hitpaʿel*. Yet even the Tiberian system exhibits inconsistencies, and it is difficult to establish whether they are due to the mixture of readings of different subschools (cf. those of *Ben Asher, whose readings have been accepted, and *Ben Naphtali), to chance, or to the desire to be over-accurate. Yet, in spite of all these difficulties in proper linguistic evaluation, the main features of biblical grammar are quite clear.

Despite the multilayered character of the linguistic tradition, the Bible, though stretching over many hundreds of years and emanating from different parts of Palestine, exhibits a surprisingly uniform language. This is due to its being a standardized literary language, on the one hand, and the later changes the text underwent (see *supra*) on the other. Nothing is known from the Bible even about dialectal differences, with the exception of the fact that the Ephraimites pronounced *sibbólεṯ*, rather than *šibbólεṯ* (cf. also *supra* for more far-reaching monophthongization outside Judah). Post-Exilic books, however, exhibit certain special features which are also found in Middle Hebrew (and sometimes in Aramaic), such as the prevalent use of *ʾăni* for *ʾânôḵî*, and of *ʾet* with pronominal suffixes rather than their direct annexation to the verb, and the usage of the participle becomes more frequent. Moreover, these books evince a penchant for *scriptio plena*. On the other hand, poetry, in contradistinction to prose, exhibits certain peculiarities, as the longer forms of the prepositions *ʾelê, ‡ʿalẹ,*

ʿadẹ ("to, on, till") as against prosaic *ʾel ʿal ʿad* respectively, the less frequent use of the definite article, of the object marker *ʾet* and the relative pronoun, further the use of endings -î /-*ô* in the noun in *status constructus* (-*î* in additional cases as well), the pronominal suffix -*mô* ("their/them"), the use of *status constructus* when preceding prepositions, and the extended use of the shortened imperfect.

CONSONANTS. Biblical Hebrew uses the following letters to mark consonants (four of which may also serve as vowel letters, *v. supra*): א = ʾ, ב = *b*, ג = *g*, ד = *d*, ה = *h*, ו = *w*, ז = *z*, ח = *ḥ*, ט = *ṭ*, י = *y*, כ = *k*, ל = *l*, מ = *m*, נ = *n*, ס = *s*, ע = ʿ, פ = *p*, צ = *ṣ*, ק = *q*, ר = *r*, שׁ (or שׂ) = *š* (*ś*), ת = *t*. The letters *k, m, n, ṣ*, and *p* have special forms in final position. The inventory of Hebrew consonantal phonemes, as marked by these letters, is reduced as against the Proto-Semitic one, Hebrew *z* representing Proto-Semitic *z* and δ, Hebrew *ḥ* Proto-Semitic *ḥ* and *ḫ*, Hebrew *ṣ* Proto-Semitic *ṣ, ḍ*, and *ẓ*, Hebrew ʿ Proto-Semitic ʿ and *ġ*, and Hebrew *š* Proto-Semitic *š* and *ṯ*. On the other hand, some of the letters in the early period might have been polyphonic, as no doubt was ש, marking, in the Judean dialect at least, both *š* and *ś* (differentiated in Tiberian vocalization, e.g., by a point above the letter on its right or left side respectively). It has been claimed that ח and ע were polyphonic as well, exhibiting *ḥ* /*ḫ* and ʿ /*ġ* respectively, and that reminiscences of this feature were still alive at the time of the Septuagint, which transcribes ח and ע by *zero* /χ and *zero* /γ respectively, χ and γ roughly corresponding to *ḫ* and *ġ* respectively. On the other hand, these transcriptions may be due to difficulties of transcribing sounds lacking in Greek (cf., *mutatis mutandis*, the transcription of Arabic ʿ by Greek γ; see Violet, in: OLZ, 4 (1901), 384ff., and the papyri of Nessana, transcribing Arabic *ḫ* and *ḥ* as a rule by *zero*, once Χαλέδ, Χομαης] by χ; *ġ* by γ, but once by *zero* [ʾΑζαλής]. *B, g, d, k, p*, and *t* after vowels developed into spirants (even in juncture; differentiated in Tiberian vocalization by the absence of a point, the so-called *dageš lene*, in them, as against the point in stops), thus entailing the polyphonic use of them in writing. Yet, at first at least, these stops and spirants did not represent different phonemes, and even *if* they did so later (cf. *perhaps ʾalp̱ē* – "thousands," *status constructus* as against ‡*ʾalpē* – "2,000" *status constructus*), their phonemical load was very small: this, however, depends on the moot question of the phonemic status of *šewa, v. infra*. It was in the later biblical Hebrew as well that *ś* coalesced with *s*, and this entailed rare cases of mixing them up in spelling (cf. *supra*). Other important sound shifts, affecting consonants in certain positions, are initial *w* very early becoming *y* (with the notable exception of *w* – "and"), which then often analogically penetrates into medial position as well; the dropping of intervocalic *h* (as ‡sûsahu becoming *sûsô*); and *w* and *y* dropping in many positions (as ‡*yiʿnawu* > *yaʿănε*, – "he will be humble," ‡*galaya* > *gala* – "he went into exile") and ʾ in some positions (*ʾaʾkilu* > *ʾôḵẹl* [pause] – "I shall eat"). *N* preceding a consonant is assimilated to it. At a later phase, the laryngals and pharyngals became weakened and were no longer apt to be doubled (this applies to *r* as well); as compensation, the vowel preceding them is often lengthened in this situation. Moreover, ə following them appears in the Tiberian vocalization as ǎ, ę ε, and å, and these sounds usually develop after pharyngals and laryngals not followed by a vowel in the middle of the word. Moreover, these consonants often change *i* / *u* into *a* (*i* at least into ε). Doubling of final consonants is given up (as ‡*sall* > *sal* ("basket")) (with the partial exception of *tt* occurring e.g., in *ʾatt* ("you," feminine singular)), and this occurs even in medial position when followed by a consonant (as *tâsoḇnâ* ("they will turn," feminine)), and also when the originally following ə has become *zero*, (as ‡*wayyəhî* > *wayhî* ("it was")).

VOWELS. The vowels according to the various vocalization systems differ: mention has already been made that in Tiberian vocalization (and in one subsystem of Palestinian) *â* shifted to *å*. Babylonian vocalization does not differentiate between *a* and ε. Whereas the consonantal script is phonemic (and in some cases even polyphonemic), the vowel marks, especially according to the Tiberian system, can designate auxiliary vowels as well (cf., e.g., the so-called furtive *pattaḥ*, automatically developing before final *h, ḥ*, and ʿ after vowels other than *a* and *å*). On the other hand, the Tiberian vocalization is polyphonic as well, since absence of vowel, and ə are marked by same sign -ְ, *šewa* (but in other vocalization systems absence of vowel is not marked at all, this being also the case with final letters in the Tiberian system, with the exception of *k, t* as stop, and final consonant clusters); it is perhaps the most important moot question of Hebrew vocalization, whether -ְ has or has not to be analyzed as a phoneme, since, e.g., the phonemic status of spirantic *b, g, d, k, p*, and *t* largely depends on it (cf. *supra* ‡*ʾalp̱ê* as against *ʾalpê*; if -ְ has to be accorded a phonemic static, *ʾalp̱ê* has presumably to be phonemicized as *ʾaləp̱ê*, and then the spirantization would merely result from the preceding vowel). At any rate, historical ə may develop into *zero*, and vice versa. The Tiberian vocalization (and at least a part of the others) denotes (with the exception of *šewa* and its allophones ǎ, ĕ, and ẹ) quality rather than quantity: this is demonstrated mainly by the use of the same sign (-ָ = *å*) to mark both historical *â* and *u*, as well as by the parallel occurrence of *a*/ε, accounted to be short, and *ẹ*/*o*, regarded as long, in certain paradigms (as the verbal paradigms *pâʿal, pâʿẹl, pâʿol*, the nominal paradigms *qáṭal* (*ṭ* being *h, ḥ*, or ʿ), *qέṭέl* as against *qẹʾṭel, qóṭel*; for the usage of *pʿl, qṭl v. infra*); therefore, length as marked in this article rests on historical reconstruction of a linguistic stage preceding that of the Tiberian vocalization (another change as against Tiberian vocalization, as used in this article, is that, as a rule, vowels were transcribed in accordance with the Sephardi pronunciation, -ָ, as a rule, transliterated by *â* rather than by *å*).

The vowels of the Tiberian system (with the exception of *šewa* and its allophones mentioned above) are (the Tiberian vowel signs, are, as a rule, sublinear, whereas the other systems use superlinear vocalization): -ַ = *a*, -ָ = å, -ֶ = ε, -ֵ = *ẹ*, -ִ = *i*, -ֹ or וֹ = *o*, -ֻ or וּ = *u*. Since no quantitative distinctions exist, there is no difference whether or not a vowel sign is followed by a vowel letter (as between ִ and ֵ; ִי and ֵי, or ֹ and וֹ respectively) and even ֻ and וּ are identical: their respective use depends only on whether or not the consonantal text exhibited vowel letters. Whereas the inventory of Hebrew consonants is restricted against the Proto-Semitic one (see *supra*), that of the Hebrew vowels is extended: Proto-Semitic had, it seems, a system of three short (*a:i:u*, at an earlier stage presumably *a:i /u*) and three long vowel phonemes (*â:î:û*) only, which, of course, were differently actualized. Tiberian *a* mainly stems from Proto-Semitic *a*, and also from *i* in closed stressed syllables (*lex Philippi*, as ‡*ḥafiṣtâ* > *ḥafaṣtâ* ("you wanted")), Tiberian *å* from Proto-Semitic *a, â*, and *u* (in the last case, pronounced according to Sephardi pronunciation *o*, as against *â* in the other cases), Tiberian ɛ from Proto-Semitic *a, i*, and *ay* (when preceding *å*), Tiberian *ẹ* from Proto-Semitic *i* and *ay*, Tiberian *i* from Proto-Semitic *i, î*, and *a* (in unstressed, closed syllables, see *supra*), Tiberian *o* from Proto-Semitic *u, â* (in formerly stressed syllables, then often analogically spreading to other positions as well), and *aw*, and Tiberian *u* from Proto-Semitic *u* and *û*. As shown, the diphthongs *aw* and *ay* were monophthongized, becoming *o* and *e* respectively. Sometimes, they are preserved, as normally before double *w* and *y*, e.g., *gawwḵâ* ("your back"), *ḥayyîm* ("life"), and in other conditions, like *mnūḥayḵî* ("your rest," Ps. 116:7) and *ʿawlâ* ("wickedness"). In closed syllables bearing the main stress *aw* and *ay* were split into two syllables, as ‡*tawk* = *táwɛḵ* ("middle"), ‡*bayt* >< *báyiṯ* ("house"), *iy* often becomes î, especially after prepositions (as ‡*liyhûḏâ* > ‡*lîhûḏâ* ("to Judah"); so also ‡*miyyəḏê* > ‡*miydê* > < *mîḏê* ("from the hands of…"). In Babylonian vocalization *yə*, especially in initial position, is graphically represented by *yi*, which, according to some scholars, is intended for the pronunciation of *ī* (as *yirâ* ("be afraid!"), as against *yərâ*), and similarly in Tiberian vocalization *w*- ("and") before labials, and consonants followed by ə, becomes *u* (as *umélɛḵ* ("and king")). Moreover, according to the Ben Naphtali school of the Tiberian system, medial *əyi* is apt to shift to *i. ə* (marked by *šewa*) developed from original short vowels in open syllables two or four syllables before the stress (as ‡*ladabaraykúmu* > *ləḏiḇərẹḵém* later *ləḏIḇrẹḵém*, ("to your things");sometimes short vowels in open pretonic syllables are reduced (as ‡*masmẹrîm* > *masmrîm* ("nails"); so always in *status constructus* and prepositions, bearing only secondary stress or no stress at all, as ‡*dabar*- > *dəḇar*-); in other cases again the following consonant is doubled, thus enabling the retention of the short vowel, as *qṭannâ* ("small," feminine); as a rule, however, pretonic short vowels (especially *a*) in open syllables are lengthened (as ‡*dabar* > *dâḇâr* ("thing"), ‡*ʿinab* > *ʿẹnâḇ* ("grape"), as well as in open stressed final syllables. In closed stressed final syllables vowels are lengthened, as a rule, in nouns in *status absolutus* (as *yâḏ* ("hand")), but not in *status constructus* (as *yaḏ*-) and in verbs (as *kâtaḇ* ("he wrote")), presumably because the latter lost their short final letters earlier, thus terminating in closed syllables. Eventually, however, short final vowels were generally omitted.

STRESS. The stress is transmitted by the cantillation marks: it falls on the last or the penultimate syllable. Because oxytones are more frequent, in this article, as a rule, only paroxytones are marked as such. Since, as a rule, the penultimate syllable is stressed when no final syllable was lost, whereas the last syllable bears the stress, when the word terminated in a short final vowel at an earlier stage, a stage of general paroxytone accent may be reconstructed. The few exceptions, as *kâṯḇ’â* ("she wrote"), *kâṯḇû* ("they wrote"), and similar perfect, imperfect, and imperative forms, further e.g., *yâḏḵ’ā* ("your (masculine singular) hand"), also exhibiting exceptional reduction of the vowel in the syllable preceding the stress (see *supra*), have to be regarded as later forms, the original syllable pattern being preserved in the pausal forms *kâṯ’âḇâ, kâṯ’âḇû*, and *yâḏ’ēḵâ*. An even later stage of stress is exhibited by the so-called *segolata*, in which the cluster was split at a very late stage (as ‡*sipr* > *sepɛr* ("book"); cf. *supra* for the transcription of these forms). An early stage of Proto-Hebrew stress may tentatively be reconstructed by the assumption (cf. *supra*) that it was *stressed â* that shifted to *ô*.

PRONOUNS. Hebrew (as Semitic) word formation exhibits, as a rule, tri-radical structure: the main meaning is carried by the (generally three) radical consonants, while the vowels only add shades to it. Yet particles (as much as not of nominal origin) and pronouns deviate from this structure, pronouns also allowing word composition, a feature alien to Semitic linguistic system (as *hallâzĕ* ("this"), compounded from the demonstrative that serves as definite article as well+*lâ*+*zĕ*).

"I" is expressed by *ʾănî* and *ʾânôḵî*, both occurring in pause as *ʾ’ânî* / *ʾân’ôḵî*, exhibiting a more original stress structure (as in the case in pause in most cases, cf. *supra*; for *ʾân’ôḵî* being the original form; cf. also the preservation of *â*, as well as *ô* < ‡*â* peculiar to stressed syllables, *v. supra*). The same is the case for pausal *ʾ’âttâ* (also *ʾ’attâ*) as against the context form *ʾattâ* ("you," masculine singular). In some rare cases *ʾattâ* is spelled defectively without the usual final *h*, i.e., *ʾt* (e.g., 1 Sam. 24:18), always as *ktîv*, in others again *ʾt* is vocalized *ʾatt* (e.g., Num. 11:15). For *ʾ’áttî* (*ktiv*) occurring for *ʾatt* ("you," feminine singular), *v. supra*. For *hi*(ʾ) ("she"), *hû* (ʾ) ("he") is substituted as *ktîv* in the Pentateuch, for which, as *qrê perpetuum, hî*(ʾ) is read. היאה, הואה ("he, she"), as occurring in the Qumran scrolls, exhibiting long forms with final vowels, are, it seems, due to secondary analogical formation. For the regular *ʾănáḥnû* ("we") *náḥnû* occurs rarely, and once (Jer. 42:6) the *ktîv ʾnw*, identical, it seems, with mishnaic *ʾ’ânû*. Whereas *hem* and *hémmâ* (Babylonian *häm* and *hämmâ*; "they"), *ʾattẹn* (once, Ezek. 13:20) and *ʾatt’ẹna* (Babylonian *ʾattän* and *ʾatt’ännâ*, "you," feminine plural) alternate, *he’nna* (Babylonian *hẹ’nnâ*; "they," feminine plural) is the only existing form, rather than ‡*hẹn. ʾattɛm* ("you," masculine plural) is the only existing form in the masoretic text, *ʾtmh* (*ʾattémâ* or perhaps *ʾattẹ’mmâ*) occurring only in "vulgar" versions found in Qumrân, presumably exhibiting (as does *hẹmmâ*) a late analogical formation. For marking possession, etc., and direct object, identical pronominal suffixes attached to nouns, prepositions and verbs respectively are used in Hebrew (and in Proto-Semitic), the only difference between them being in first person singular, -î denoting "my" (and, as a rule, attached to prepositions) and *-nî* "me." If the word to which the pronominal suffixes are attached terminates in a consonant, it is, as a rule, preceded by a "connecting" vowel, *a* being the favorite vowel after perfect, *ẹ* after imperfect and imperative. Yet before *-ḵɛm /ḵɛn* the "connecting" vowel is missing (as *yɛḏḵɛm* ("your hand") as against, e.g., *yâḏẹ'nû* ("our hand")). The absence of the "connecting" vowel before the pronominal suffix of the second person singular masculine (as *yâḏḵâ* ("your hand")), however, is secondary, see *supra*. On the other hand, pausal forms such as *lâḵ* ("to you," masculine singular) display the omission of the final syllable. *-ḵâ* is sometimes spelled with a final *h*, and this spelling becomes more frequent in the Qumran scrolls. After nouns, prepositions, and imperfect forms terminating in consonants the pronominal suffix of the second person feminine singular is *-ẹḵ*, rarely *-âḵ* (*kullâḵ* ("you in your entirety"), presumably influenced by *lâḵ* ("to you" where the *â* belongs to the particle) or *-ẹḵî*. *-ô* ("his"), spelled archaically also with *-h, v. supra*, is sometimes superseded by *-ẹḥû-*, which is the regular suffix only after imperfect, imperative, and nouns terminating in ɛ, but becomes more frequent in the Qumran scrolls. After perfect forms, *-ô* and *-âhû* alternate. *Tagmúl'ôhî* ("his benefits," Ps. 116:12), instead of ordinary *tagmûlâw* (*-âw* being the usual suffix after plurals), exhibits Aramaic influence. For *-âh* ("her"), also used after perfect (the consonantal value of the *h* being marked by a point in it, the so-called *mappîq*), quite often *-â* occurs (without *mappîq*, the *h* used as vowel letter only). For *-ḵɛn* (second person plural feminine), *-hɛm, -hɛn* (third person plural masculine and feminine respectively), forms with final *-â* rarely occur: *-ḵɛnâ, -hĕmâ*, and *hɛnâ* respectively, and even *ḵɛm* (second person plural masculine) is attested in the Qumran scrolls with final-*â*, where this ending is especially frequent. For-*hɛm* the archaic poetical *-mô* occurs. For-*ân* (which together with-*âm* replaces *-hɛn* and-*hɛm* respectively after nouns and perfect forms terminating in consonants, whereas-*êm* is used after imperfect forms for the masculine) after nouns *ʿânâ* is rarely attested. In nouns terminating in the plural ending-*ôṯ*, for *ôṯẹhɛm* /-*ôṯẹhɛn* ("*their,*" *masculine/feminine*) *-ôṯâm* / *-ôṯân* occurs. Suffixes after imperfect and imperative forms, as well as after certain particles, are sometimes preceded by *-ɛn*, the so-called *nûn energicum*, as *yḇârăḵɛnhû* ("he will bless him"), generally assimilated to the following consonant, as *yakkɛkkâ*, ("he will smite you"), or assimilating a following *h*, as *yišmrɛnnû* ("he will keep him").

The demonstrative pronouns *zę* (masculine singular), *zôṯ* (feminine singular, rarely *zô*),"*ẹll ɛ* (plural, rarely *ʾẹl*) ("this"), exhibiting the alternation of δ -root in singular and *l* -root in plural, well known from other Semitic languages, are, if used attributively, preceded by the definite article, in analogy to the usage of attributive adjectives (as *hayyôm hazzɛ*, "this day"). This construction is to be regarded as later than that occurring in Middle Hebrew, exhibiting both the noun and the attributive demonstrative pronoun without the definite article (as *yôm zɛ*). Accordingly, a phrase like *ballaylâ hû* (instead of the regular *ballaylâ hahû*, exhibiting the use of the third person of the personal pronoun as "that" – demonstrative), in which the definite article is attached to the noun, rather than to the demonstrative, is, it seems, the intermediary stage. The definite article *ha-* (with doubling of the following consonant) has still retained its demonstrative force in phrases like *hayyôm* ("this day, today"). On the other hand, *zɛ* is sometimes used as presentative, or as relative pronoun (as is also *zû*). *Mâ/mɛ* ("what"), spelled *mh*, with doubling of the following consonant (this doubling is a real one, not like that called *dḥîq* or *ʾâṯê mẹraḥîq*), has presumably, partly at least, to be derived from ‡*mah/* ‡*mɛh*. "Who" is *mî*.

TENSE SYSTEM. The Hebrew tense system, besides the imperative (in second person only, in form closely related to the imperfect), consists of four finite forms, *viz.* the perfect and the consecutive (the so-called conversive) perfect, the imperfect and the consecutive (conversive) imperfect. The consecutive tenses are preceded by *w-* ("and"), which before the imperfect has the basic form *wa* (with doubling of the following consonant). It is a moot question whether this system marks aspects (without any notion of time) or rather time. At any rate, in biblical prose at least, these forms seem to denote time, since the difference between perfect and consecutive imperfect, referring to the past, and imperfect and consecutive perfect, referring to the future/present respectively, depends, it would seem, on the syntactical environment only: as a rule, whenever it makes the use of *w-*, etc. ("and") possible, the consecutive forms are used, in accordance with the demanded time, otherwise simple imperfect/perfect are applied. Besides the indicative, the imperfect has a cohortative (especially in the first person), formed by the ending *-â*, (also occurring after consecutive imperfect and the singular masculine of the imperative), and a jussive. The latter, though often coinciding with the indicative, even more resembles the consecutive imperfect, both being formed from the apocopate; the main difference between them is the paroxyton stress of the consecutive form (presumably an archaic feature, reflecting the stage in which, see *supra*, general paroxyton stress obtained, the indicative being ‡*yafʿálu* > *yafʿál*, the apocopate ‡*yáfʿal*. The jussive was then more fully adjusted to the stress pattern of the indicative than the consecutive imperfect). In *verba tertiae y*, apocopate forms of the imperative occur as well. As to the consecutive perfect, it often exhibits oxyton stress, as against the paroxyton stress of the perfect. Yet this oxyton stress is, it seems, secondary, since syllable structure is in accordance with the paroxyton stress (as *wəʾâḵalt'â* ("and you shall eat"), parallel to *ʾâḵáltâ* ("you ate"), rather than ‡*waʾăḵalt'â*).

The perfect is formed by afformatives, which in the first and second persons resemble the endings of the personal pronouns (but first person singular terminates in *-tî*). The third person singular masculine has the ending *zero*, the feminine *-â*, the plural-û.

Less clear are the formatives of the imperfect, which uses the prefixes *ʾv* (*v* marking any vowel) for first person singular, *tv* for second person, and third person feminine, *yv* for third person masculine, and *nv* for first person plural. Other persons are indicated, apart from the mentioned prefixes, by suffixes as well: *-î* (rarely *-în*) in second person feminine singular (as *tišmʿî* "you will hear"), *-û* (rarely *-ûn*, which, very seldom, penetrates into the third person plural of the perfect as well) in second and third person masculine plural (as *tišmʿû /yišmʿû* ("you/they will hear")), and *-nâ* in second and third person feminine plural (as *tišmaʿnâ* ("you/they (feminine) will hear"); rare is the *yv* prefix in third person feminine, as *yʿaămoḏnâ* ("they (feminine) will stand," Dan. 8:22)). The imperative has no prefixes, but the same suffixes; for-*nâ* very rarely ‡*-n* occurs: *šmáʿan* (< ‡*šmáʿn*) ("hear (feminine plural)!," Gen. 4:23) (in most cases forms of the imperfect and imperative terminating in *n* are considered as *scriptio defectiva*, and vocalized *-nâ*).

Among infinite forms, the Hebrew verbal system possesses a participle, which may behave as a noun (it may, e.g., stand in *status constructus* and be negated by *ʾʾẹn*, the negation of nominal sentences), on the one hand, and as a finite verbal form, on the other (it may, e.g., govern direct object and be continued by a consecutive finite form, as *makkẹ ʾiš wâmẹṯ* ("if one smites a man and he dies"), although the participle stands in *status constructus*). Among the two infinitive forms, the so-called *infinitivus constructus* has usual infinitive functions, as *mẹṭîḇ naggẹn* ("he who excels in playing," Ezek. 33:32); *wayyẹrɛḏ…* lirʾôṯ ("and He descended… to see," Gen. 11:5). Very often the *l-* form is used even when not in final sense, exhibiting the coalescence of *l* with the infinitive, as *ḥâfẹṣ… lahămîṯẹnû* ("He wanted… to kill us," Judg. 13:23; in Middle Hebrew this form becomes the only existent infinitive form). It is also used as gerund, as *bârâ… laʿăśôṯ* ("he created… in making," Gen. 2:3). The so-called *infinitivus absolutus*, so called, because it does not stand in *status constructus* nor is it governed by preposition, is a peculiar blend between verbal noun and verbal interjection. It is, besides its rare infinitive functions, mainly used as internal object (as *bêrakṯâ ḇârêḵ* ("surely you have blessed," Num. 23:11), as a rule preceding the finite verb (as *môṯ yûmâṯ* ("surely he will be killed," Gen. 26:11); also replacing modal adverbs (as *wayyẹlɛḵ hâlôḵ wəʾâḵôl* ("he went while eating," Judg. 14:9), and as substitution of finite verbal forms (as *zraʿtɛm harbẹ whâbẹ mʿâṭ ʾâḵól wʾẹn-lśoḇʿâ*, "you have sown much, but brought home few, you have eaten, but not to satiety," Hag. 1:6), mainly of the imperative (as *zâḵôr ʾɛt-yôm haššabbâṯ* ("be mindful of Sabbath")).

VERB PATTERNS. Of all word classes it is the verb that has the most conspicuous patterns, although patterns as such are one of the main characteristics of Semitic languages in general and of Hebrew in particular. These patterns are characterized by a certain vowel sequence, which, interwoven with the trilateral root, together with the repetition or doubling of radical consonants, as well as the addition of certain formative consonants, reflects various modifications of the root connected with specific meanings. It is customary to denote the verbal themes by the root *pʿl* (which, however, has the disadvantage of not being able to denote the doubling of the second radical, since ʿ cannot be doubled) in accordance with the vocalization of the third person masculine singular of the perfect. The usual verbal patterns in biblical Hebrew are the ground theme *pâʿal* (also called *qal*); its reflexive-passive *nifʿal; piʿẹl*, exhibiting doubling of the second radical and denoting intensive and factitive action, its passive *puʿal* and reflexive-reciprocal theme *hiṯpʿaẹl*, the causative *hifʿîl* and its passive *hofʿal*. Beyond these themes a stage may be reconstructed which, with the exclusion of *nifʿal*, exhibits a well-balanced system:

	Ground pattern	Double pattern	Causative pattern
	pâʿal	*pʿiel*	*hifʿîl*
internal passive	‡*puʿal*	*puʿal*	*hofʿal*
t-form (reflexive reciprocal)	‡*hiṯpâʿal*	*hiṯpaʿẹl*	‡*hiṯafʿẹl*

From the patterns marked by a double dagger (‡) only remnants exist. The inner passive of *paʿal* disappeared because of its resemblance to the inner passive of perfect *piʿẹl* and imperfect *hifʿîl*, being superseded by *nifʿal*, which, besides its original reflexive meaning, acquired passive functions as well; it can only be recognized by its perfect being identical with *puʿal*, the passive of *piʿẹl*, its imperfect with *hofʿal*, without a corresponding *piʿẹl /hifʿîl. Hiṯpáʿal* subsisted in *hiṯpâqḏû* ("they were counted") only (which is mixed up with its passive *hoṯpâqḏu*) whereas the very existence of *hiṯafʿẹl* is dubious, depending on the analysis of forms like *təṯaḥărê* ("you will compete"), *wattẹṯaṣṣaḇ* ("and she stood").

In *pâʿal*, the neutral perfect forms *pâʿẹl* and especially *pâʿol* are being superseded by *pâʿal*. In the imperfect and imperative *yafʿol /pʿol* and *yafʿal /pʿal* respectively are alive, *yafʿil /pʿil* being absorbed by *hifʿil* and not really subsisting but in some "weak" roots. From vestiges a stage may be reconstructed exhibiting the imperfect forms *yafʿol* (and *yafʿil*) as against *yifʿal*, cf. *yɛḥɛlaš* as against *yaḥăloš; yêḇôš* as against *yâqûm; yêqal* as against *yâsoḇ*. The only living *infinitivus constructus* is *pʿol, pʿal* (as *liškaḇ* ("to lie"); the stop *k*, as against *ḵ* in *šḵaḇ*, is due to the coalescence of *l* – with the infinitive, *v. supra*) being marginal and *pʿil* existing in some "weak" verbs only. Feminine forms of the *infinitivus constructus* are attested as well, as *ʾahăḇâ* ("to love"). The *infinitivus absolutus* has the form *pâʿôl, ô* in the second syllable also occurring in other themes. The active participle, originally belonging to *pâʿal*, is *pôʿẹl*, whereas *pâʿẹl* and *pâʿôl* are the original participles of *pâʿẹl* and *pâʿol* respectively, yet losing ground against *pôʿẹl*. The passive participle is *pâʿûl* (whereas the participle of the internal passive of *pâʿal* is *puʿâl* and *piʿol*, with redoubling of the second radical, as *ʾukkâl* ("eaten"), *yillôḏ* ("born")).

Nifʿal, exhibiting attenuated *i* in its first syllable, still preserves *a* in some "weak" roots. In the imperfect, the imperative and the infinitive (the two latter forms have a *hi-* prefix), the *n*, immediately preceding the first radical, is assimilated to it; the last radical of these forms is, as a rule, preceded by Tiberian ẹ, but Babylonian *ä*. In contradistinction to all the other themes, with the exception of the ground theme, the participle is not formed with the prefix *m-*, but in accordance with the perfect (*nifʿâl*).

Piʿel exhibits *a* in perfect in the second syllable about as often as ẹ; in the Babylonian vocalization *ä* (corresponding to *a* /ɛ) prevails, and some few verbs (as *dibbɛr,* "he spoke") exhibit ɛ according to Tiberian vocalization as well. In the imperfect, etc., the first radical is followed by *a*, the second by *ẹ* in the Babylonian system sometimes by *ä*).

Hiṯpaʿẹl sometimes exhibits *a* in its third syllable in all forms (with the exception of the participle), especially in pause, and in the Babylonian vocalization the corresponding *ä* prevails. If the first radical is a sibilant, it precedes the *t* (as *hištappẹk* ("to be poured")). Sometimes, the *t* is assimilated to the first radical (as *hiṭṭammẹ /hiṣṭaddẹq* ("to be defiled/to clear himself")).

In *hifʿîl* the vowel of the prefix is *i* in the perfect (*a* occurring in "weak" verbs only), *a* in the other forms; that of the second syllable, as a rule, stressed î, before consonantal afformatives in the perfect *a*, in the imperfect, etc.*ẹ*, which is exhibited also by *infinitivus absolutus* and those forms of the imperative and jussive which lack conjugation endings and pronominal suffixes. The *h* of the prefix is, as a rule, dropped in the imperfect.

Pu'al and *hofʿal* have the vowel sequence *u /o-a*, characteristic of the internal passive.

WEAK VERBS. Verbs are that class of words in which triliteralism is most strictly carried out. Nevertheless, some verbal classes, *viz. mediae infirmae* and *geminatae*, cannot be explained on the assumption of sound shifts operating on triliteral roots only: they have to be considered as partly emerging from biliteral roots, blending with forms of triliteral roots, which underwent changes because of "weak" letters; and this may apply to other "weak" verb classes as well.

Verba primae n assimilate the *n* to the immediately following second radical, this being in accordance with the general behavior of *n* (see *supra*). Moreover, those having the imperative *pʿal* in the ground theme, drop the *n* in it (as *gaš* ("approach")), as well as in the *infinitivus constructus*, which terminates in the feminine ending *-t* (as ‡*gašt* > *gɛšɛṯ*). The same is the case with *nâṯan* ("to give"), which is the only verb *primae n* having an *i* – imperfect (*yittẹn*)*: tẹn,* ‡*tint* > *tẹṯ*. It is also the only verb *tertiae n* which assimilates this *n* to consonantal suffixes, as *nâṯattî* (as against e.g., *sâḵantî*, where the *n* is analogically restored). It may be due to the influence of *nâṯan*, that its antonym *lâqaḥ* ("to take") treats its *l* like an *n: yiqqaḥ, qaḥ, qáḥaṯ*. Also some *verba primae y* (especially those having ṣ as their second radical, as *niṣṣaḇ* ("he stood") as against *hiṯyaṣṣẹḇ*) and *mediae infirmae* (as *massîg̱* ("removing") as against *nâsôg*) behave like *primae n*.

Verbae primae y form *yafʿil* imperfect, its imperative and its infinitive omitting the *y: yâšaḇ* ("to seat"), *têšẹḇ* (with assimilation of the prefix vowel to the following one), *šẹḇ, šɛḇeṯ* (< ‡šiḇt, ə with feminine ending); *yâḏaʿ* ("to know"), *têḏaʿ* (< *tədẹǎʿ*, cf. the infinitive-noun *dêʿâ*)*, daʿ, dáʿaṯ. Hâlaḵ* ("to go") behaves similarly: *têlẹḵ, lẹḵ, lɛḵɛṯ. Yâḵol* ("can") has the solitary imperfect *yûḵal. Nifʿal* has in perfect and participle *ô* (*nôlaḏ* ("was born"), *nôlâḏ*, exhibiting the prefix vowel *a*, cf. *supra*, as does the whole paradigm of *hifʿîl*, as *hôlîḏ*), the other forms, as a rule, exhibit *w* as first radical. *Hofʿal* has û (as *hûḇal*, "he was brought").

In *verba tertiae infirmae, y* has superseded *w.* Forms without suffixes have the same endings in all themes: *-â* in perfect (and *əṯâ* in feminine singular third person), *-ɛ* in imperfect and participle, *-ẹ* in imperative, *-ôṯ* in construct infinitive. Consonantal afformatives are preceded in perfect by *-ẹ* or *î* in unstable distribution, *î* only being used in *pâʿal* (as if continuing *pâʿil*); *ˆɛnâ* (ˆɛ < *ẹ* [< *ay* due to assimilation to the following *â*, pronounced *å*]) is the suffix of imperfect second and third person, and imperative second person, plural feminine. Before vocalic afformatives *y* and the preceding vowel drop (as *ʿâśû-* ("they did"), ʿǎśî ("do," feminine singular)). In jussive and the consecutive imperfect the second radical syllable is omitted (as *têʿâś*, "let it be done"); final double consonants thus arising are simplified (as *wayman* ("and he appointed"); so also in the shortened form of the imperative: *ṣaw* ("order!")). Final consonant cluster may be preserved, if the second consonant is a stop (as *wayyeḇk* ("and he wept")), or as a rule, broken up (as *yîrɛḇ* < ‡*yîrb* ("let it multiply")).

In *verba tertiae* ʾ, the ʾ is dropped (preserved as vowel letter only) in final position and a preceding short vowel lengthened (as ‡*mâṣaʾ* < *mâṣâ*, ("he found")). Before consonantal afformatives of the perfect ʾ is dropped, *â* (ָא) being the preceding vowel in *pâʿal* (as *mâṣâṯî*) and, it seems, in *puʿal* and *hofʿal* (the only instance being *hûḇâṯâ* ("you have been brought, Ezek. 40:4)). *ê* (ֵא) in the other perfect forms (as *yârẹṯî* ("I feared," *pâʿẹl* form of the ground theme), *niqrẹṯî* ("I was called")), as well as in the feminine singular of the participle (as *mûṣẹṯ* ("being brought out")). The suffix of imperfect second and third person and imperative second person, plural feminine, ends, as in *tertiae y*, in *-ˆɛnâ,* yet exhibiting ʾ as vowel letter, rather than *y* as in *tertiae y.*

Verba mediae infirmae exhibiting in the first and second persons of the perfect of the ground theme short vowels (as *qamtî*, "I stood up"), but long ones in the third (as *qâm*, corresponding to the *pâʿẹl-* form *mẹṯ* ("he died") and the (synchronically) *pâʿol*-form *bôš* ("he was ashamed")). In the (regular, jussive, and consecutive) imperfect, the imperative and *infinitivus constructus* of the ground theme, *verba mediae w* exhibit û, etc., as *yâqûm, y'âqóm, wayyâqom* (with *qâmâṣ qâṭân* in the last syllable), *qûm, qûm* (but second/third person feminine plural *tâšoḇnâ*, along with *təmûṭˆɛnâ*, exhibiting, as do *mediae geminatae*, the same ending as *tertiae y*)*; mediae y* î, etc., as *yâśîm* ("he will put"), *yaśẹm, wayy'âśɛm* (these forms being identical with the corresponding *hifʿîl* forms; therefore ground themes of *mediae y* are apt to pass to *hifʿîl*, as *bántâ* ("you understood") to *hẹb̠în*), śîm, *śîm*. The old *yifʿal* imperfect is preserved in *yẹb̠ôš*. The active participle is identical with the perfect, but in contradiction to it is always oxyton (this applies to the other themes and to *mediae geminatae* as well), even before vocalic afformatives: perfect *qâm, qʾâmâ, qʾâmû, ʿmêt̠, mʾê̄t̠â, mʾê̄t̠û, bôš, bʾôšâ, bʾôšû*, as against participle *qâm, qâmʾâ, qâmʾîm, qâmʾôt̠, mêt̠ʾâ, bôšʾâ*, etc. The imperfect and imperative too have paroxyton stress before vocalic afformatives, and this applies to perfect, imperfect, and imperative *nifʿal* and *hifʿîl* and *mediae geminatae pâʿal, nifʿal, hifʿîl* and *hofʿal* as well. Perfect and participle *nifʿal* is like *nâsôg̠* ("to retreat"), *hifʿîl* like *hêqîm, mêqîm* (where the preformative has the same vowel as that of the perfect); the perfect consonantal afformatives of these two themes as well as of *pâʿal, nifʿal*, and *hifʿîl* of *mediae geminatae* are preceded by *ô*, as *nəsûg̠ôt̠î* (exhibiting *û* rather than *ô* in the radical syllable), *hăb̠îʾôt̠îw* ("I brought him," along with *hẹb̠ʾẹt̠î*; rarely also forms like *wahăqẹmônû* with *ẹ* occur). *Nifʿal* imperfect, etc., exhibits *ô* (as *yissôg̠*). *Hofʿal* (as also that of *mediae geminatae*) is formed on the analogy of primae *y*. For *piʿẹl, puʿal*, and *hitpaʿẹl*, in classical language *polẹl*, etc., is used: *qômẹm, qômam, hit̠qômẹm* (externally identical with the *pôʿẹl*, etc., forms of *mediae geminatae*, in which (along with forms like *sibbẹb̠, gullal, hit̠ḥammem*) forms like *sôb̠ẹb̠, gôlal, hit̠gôlẹl* are used for *piʿẹl*, etc. From both verb groups *pilpẹl*, etc., themes may be derived, as *gilgẹl* from *gll* or *ṭiltẹl* from *ṭwl*).

Besides "strong" forms, *verba mediae geminatae*, as a rule, exhibit forms containing one radical syllable with doubling of the second (= third) radical (which, however, is simplified when not followed by a vowel, as *pâʿal rab̠* ("was much"), *nifʿal timmaqnâ* ("they will be consumed")). Along with them forms with reduplication of the first radical occur, the so-called Aramaic formation, together with the doubling of the second radical (as *hoššammâ* ("its being desolate")), and without it (as *wayyiqqdû* ("and they bowed")). Forms without any reduplication are also attested (as *yâzmû*, ("they will plan")). In the imperfect of the ground theme, *yafʿol* (as *yâsob̠*, consecutive imperfect *wayyʾâsọb̠*) corresponds to a perfect (when without ending or with vocalic afformatives) and participle built according to the "strong" pattern (as *sâb̠ab̠, sâb̠əb̠û, sôb̠ẹb̠*), whereas *yiʿfal* (derived from adjectives exhibiting *a* in their sole syllable, the final consonant being doubled when followed by afformatives, as *yẹqal* ("he will be easy") from *qal* ("easy")) has them in the "one radical syllable" form (as *qal, qállâ, qállû, qal, qallâ, qallîm, qallôt̠*). From the *yafʿil* imperfect only remnants exist (as *yâg̠ẹn*, "he will defend"). Perfect/participle *nifʿal* have two forms: *násab̠/nâsâb̠* (also participle *nâg̠ẹl*) *and nâb̠oz/nâb̠ôz*, and the same applies to imperfect/imperative: *yiddam* and *yissob̠. Hifʿîl* perfect has *a* (as *hêqal*) or *ẹ* (as *hẹḥẹl*; the Babylonian system *ä* only), the imperfect *ẹ* (as *yâqẹl*; the Babylonian has sometimes *ä*), the participle ˆ*ẹ* in both the radical and prefix syllable: *mˆẹsˆẹh̠* (as have some perfect forms, *v. supra*).

SUBSTANTIVES. Both triliteralism and the development of patterns is less conspicuous in nouns than in verbs. There exists a set of biradical substantives with a fixed vowel, which, by their meanings, demonstrate that they belong to the oldest stratum of the language: *yâd̠* ("hand"), *dâm* ("blood"), *dâg* ("fish"), *bˆẹn* ("son"), *šˆẹm* ("name"), *ʿêṣ* ("tree"), *šânâ* ("year"), *śâp̠â* ("lip," in plural transferred to triradical scheme by the inclusion of the feminine ending: *sip̠t̠ôʾt̠ˆɛk̠â*), etc. The notion of patterns is best developed in verbal nouns, in participles and infinitives, as *qiṭṭûl* (*q, ṭ, l* denoting the three radical letters respectively) belonging to *piʿẹl*, moreover in nouns with *m*-prefix, especially in *nomina instrumenti* exhibiting *maqṭẹl*, less in those with *t*-prefix. The suffixes include *-ôn* and *-ût̠* (containing the feminine ending as well). Among nouns without affixes *qâṭîl, qaṭṭîl* are frequent in adjectives, *qâṭôl*, plural *qṭullîm*, denotes color adjectives, *qiṭṭẹl* bodily or mental faults, *qaṭṭâl* intense qualities and occupations. One-syllabic nouns, terminating in a consonant cluster, open the cluster, mostly by *ɛ* (*segol*, the so-called *segolata*, see *supra*), as *yɛlɛd̠* ("child") ‡*yald, ŝɛb̠ɛt̠* ("to sit") < ‡*šibt* (in pause *yâled̠; šʾâbet̠*, yet *mɛlɛk̠* and most nouns having original *qiṭl* pattern do not change in pause).

Substantives are used in different *status:*, in *status absolutus*, when standing alone; in *status constructus*, when closely attached to a following noun (the so-called *nomen rectum*, historically a genitive; the *nomen rectum* defines and, when itself determinate, determines the noun in *status constructus*); and *status pronominalis*, when attached to a pronominal suffix, which stands in the same relation to the noun as the *nomen rectum* does. The feminine ending is either *-â* (in *status constructus* and *pronominalis -at*, etc., exhibiting an earlier stage), or *-t*; sometimes these feminine endings alternate, as when *-â* used in *status absolutus* and *t* in *status constructus* and *pronominalis*, as *mɛrkâb̠â* ("chariot"), *mirkɛb̠ɛt̠-* (< ‡*mirkab̠t*, exhibiting the opening of the final cluster, as in the *segolata*), *mɛrkab̠tô*. The dual is rather reduced, being as a rule used with "two," "two hundred," some nouns denoting time and mainly with objects which naturally occur in pairs, especially the double members of the body. Its ending is *-áyim*, that of the masculine plural *-îm*, the *status constructus* and *pronominalis* of both -ˆ*ẹ* (historically to be derived from the dual), which is also added to the *status pronominalis* of the feminine plural ending *-ôt*. The so-called *segolata*, including one-syllabic nouns with feminine ending, as *yaldâ* ("girl"), form their plural from bisyllabic stems, exhibiting *â* after the second radical: *ylâd̠îm* ("children"), *ylâd̠ôt̠* ("girls"). Mention must also be made of the unstressed locative ending *-â* (spelled *-h*, < ‡*ah*, as intimated by Ugaritic), as *ṣâʾp̠ônâ* ("northward"), also occurring between *status constructus* and its *nomen rectum*, as *midbárâ dammɛśɛq* ("to the wilderness of Damascus").

ADJECTIVES. The boundaries between substantives and adjectives are rather blurred. There are relatively few patterns exclusive to one of these word classes (as *segolata* mainly for substantives, *qâṭôl*, plural *qṭullîm* for color adjectives). Adjectives invariably have feminine forms ending in-*â/t*, masculine plural terminating in-*îm* and feminine plural in-*ôt*; substantives, on the contrary, need not have special feminine forms and also feminines without endings occur (as *ʾâṯôn* ("she-ass")). Moreover, in the substantives *singularia/pluralia tantum* occur, and the plural ending-*îm* may be attached to feminine substantives (as *ʾiššâ* ("woman"), plural *nâšîm*), and even more often *vice versa* (as *ʾâḇ* ("father"), plural *ʾâḇôṯ*). Yet some substantives exactly behave as adjectives in this respect (as *yɛlɛḏ*, *yaldâ, ylâḏîm, ylâḏôṯ*). Adjectives proper do not have *status pronominalis*, yet substantival usage of adjectives (and sometimes also *vice versa*) is frequent. Sometimes adjectives may occur in *status constructus*, yet their usage is very special (as *nqî ḵappáyim* ("clean as regards hands")), and it may not be substituted by *status pronominalis* (as if ‡*nqîhɛn*; but this may apply sometimes to substantives in *status constructus* as well). Some syntactical usages, however, seem to be possible for adjectives only, rather than for substantives, as the use of modifiers like *məʾôḏ* ("very"), *yôṯẹr* ("more"). The simplest solution would perhaps be to set up three different classes: substantives, adjectives, and finally nouns, which would then include both word classes, as far as their special character cannot be defined by formal criteria. Adjectives used as attributes are preceded by the governing noun.

NUMERALS. As to the cardinal numbers, *ʾɛḥâḏ*, feminine *ʾaḥáṯ* ("one") is mainly used as adjective, *šnáyim*, feminine *štáyim* (sic! with *t* as stop, exhibiting a quite exceptional initial cluster) "two," as substantive, governing the counted noun in *status constructus: šnẹ-*, feminine *štẹ-*, or following it in *status absolutus*. As to the numbers three to ten, those with zero-ending refer to feminine nouns, whereas those with *-â* (*in status constructus -at/-t*) to masculine ones, a common Semitic feature, in opposition to the other noun classes. They precede or follow the counted nouns in *status absolutus*, but they may precede them in *status constructus* as well (historically an archaic feature): this is the rule with definite nouns, as well as with *yôm*, etc. The "ten" in the numbers 11–19 is *ʿâśâr* for masculine, *ʿɛśrẹ* for feminine, spelled *ʿśrh*; it is uncertain whether it exhibits an alleged feminine ending *-ẹ*, since in Ugaritic it is spelled with final *h*, thus intimating a consonantal ending. The ordinal numbers have special forms only from one to ten, exhibiting the theme *qṭîlî*, with the exception of *šiššî* ("sixth"), and perhaps *šênî* ("second"). "First" is *rîšôn*, a relatively late form, as it is customary in Semitic language, the older usage being the use of the cardinal number "one," still persisting in biblical Hebrew.

PREPOSITIONS. Prepositions, as far as etymologically transparent, are as a rule nouns in *status constructus/pronominalis*, as *ʾẹṣɛl* ("near, by"), *ʾeṣlḵâ; ʿal-*, poetical *ʿălẹ* ("on"), *ʿălẹḵɛm*, the suffix *-ẹḵɛm* originally exhibiting the final *-y* root, rather than a plural suffix. Through the influence of prepositions like *ʿălɛḵɛm*, other prepositions too govern plural suffixes, as *táḥaṯ* ("under"), *taḥtệḵɛm*. Among the three uni-consonantal prepositions, only *l-* ("to"), and *b-* ("in, by") govern pronominal suffixes (as *lḵâ, lâḵ, lâḵɛm*), but *k-*, originally a demonstrative element, governs pronominal suffixes mainly by means of *-mô-*: *kâmʾôḵá, kmôḵɛm*. *Min* ("from") as a rule assimilates its *n* to the following consonant (as *mibbnô* ("from his son"), *mikk*ɛm, cf. also *mẹhɛm*, with lengthening of the vowel preceding the pharyngal not capable of doubling); before some suffixes *min* is doubled, as *mimmɛ́nnî* < ‡*minminî* ("from me"), along with poetical *minnî*. There are two prepositions *ʾẹṯ*; one denoting "with," has the form *ʾittô*, etc., before pronominal suffixes, the other, used as optional mark of determinate direct objects, the forms *ʾôṯô*, *ʾeṯḵɛ́*m; sometimes, however, these two sets become mixed up. Since the impersonal passive may govern objects (as indirect object, e.g., *yḇullaʿ lammɛ́lɛ́ḵ* ("the king will be afflicted," II Sam. 17:16)) or a direct one, e.g., *maṣṣôṯ yẹʾâḵẹl* ("unleavened bread shall be eaten," Ex. 13:7), it may govern *ʾẹṯ* preceding the definite object as well, e.g., *ʾɛ́ṯ-kol-dḡê hayyăm yêʾâsẹp̱ lâh*ɛm ("shall all the fishes of the seas be collected for them?" Num. 11:22).

NEGATION. As word negation and in verbal clauses *lô* is used, in nominal clauses *ʾẹn*, in prohibition *ʾal* with the imperfect (jussive; but, as in Semitic languages in general, never with the imperative).

CLAUSE FORMATION. It is in the domain of clause formation that Hebrew has best preserved the ancient Semitic character. In contradistinction to Arabic, it has not relinquished free sentence structure in favor of systematization. Yet, although it has lost, like Aramaic, the case and mood endings, it has not been affected by a similar syntactic formlessness. The boundary lines between main and subordinate clauses are blurred, since *w-* ("and") may precede the main clause following the subordinate one; cf. also *w-* introducing the main clause after phrases like *wayhî ʾim…, w-…* ("and it happened, when…, then…"). Circumstantial clauses resemble main clauses even more, mainly differentiated by the use of different tenses. Moreover, the number of subordinate conjunctions is relatively small, the most important ones being the relative pronoun *ʾăšɛr*, also used as introducing substantive clauses, *kî* introducing substantive and causal ones, conditional *ʾim* and hypothetical *lû*. Very frequent is the presentative *hinnẹ*, often followed by a participle marking the future.

VOCABULARY. The vocabulary of biblical Hebrew is, in accordance with the limited size of the Bible, restricted, exhibiting many words from the field of religion, morals, and emotion. Loan words include those borrowed from Akkadian, as a rule through the intermediary of Aramaic, the influence of which becomes strong in later language.

[Joshua Blau]

THE DEAD SEA SCROLLS

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DISCOVERY

The discovery of the *Dead Sea Scrolls (= DSS, 1947) provided an important missing link in the development of Hebrew (= *H): a period which spans biblical Hebrew (= BH) and mishnaic Hebrew (= MH), extending from about the middle of the second half of the first century B.C.E. to 200 C.E. Before this discovery the only extant text dating back to this period (BH to MH) were fragments of the Book of *Ben Sira found in the Cairo *Genizah. Fragments found in the excavations at *Masada, however, indicate that the language used in the *Genizah* fragments is corrupt and does not faithfully represent the original text.

During the last centuries B.C.E., BH ceased to be a spoken language. Insofar as H was spoken, it was apparently, more or less, of the type that later emerged as MH. The literary language, which is represented by the DSS language, tried to hew as closely as possible to late biblical Hebrew (= LBH), as represented, for example, by the Books of Chronicles, which originated during the first centuries of the Second Temple period. Thus the language of the DSS should be considered as the last offshoot of LBH.

MAIN ELEMENTS OF THE LANGUAGE OF THE DSS

The DSS language, which apparently served only as a literary vehicle, is composed of the following elements: (1) BH; (2) Official Aramaic; since Aramaic (= A) had become, even before the destruction of the First Temple (586 B.C.E.), the lingua franca of the Near East and apparently also the vernacular of (nearly?) the whole of Syria-Palestine, it influenced the development of H; (3) vernacular H (the later MH) which increasingly infiltrated literary H.

The above three elements were the most important in the shaping of the language of the DSS which, however, also reveals novel traits, especially in spelling and phonology. These elements, apparently reflecting the linguistic situation in Palestine during the period in question, stem from the fact that (4) the educated classes apparently spoke Greek; (5) the vernacular of the common people was (apparently) an A dialect (or dialects) slightly different from literary A, Official Aramaic, the so-called A of the empire; (6) neither BH as transmitted, nor vernacular MH, was uniform (there being mainly two traditions: the Tiberian and the Babylonian, each with its own vocalization; sometimes the Babylonian forms emerge in the DSS); (7) there are many elements of Samaritan Hebrew (= SH) in the language of the DSS; (8) the possibility that archaic forms survived in the language of the DSS that had disappeared from H (known from the vocalization of the Jews and the reading traditions of the Samaritans) cannot be excluded.

Negative factors were also decisive in the formation of the DSS language: (9) an ever-decreasing knowledge of BH, resulting in a situation where archaic and rare words and forms of BH became obscure to the average literate Jews. In his writing, which in intention was to be BH, the literate Jew was inclined to replace obsolete words and forms with common and familiar ones. Thus a kind of basic BH, which included the above elements, came into being; (10) certain biblical words in the vocabulary of the DSS, whose meaning had become obscure (known today through modern research), not used in their original meaning but according to the interpretation given to the words by the members of the sect and their contemporaries; (11) the scrolls contain words that might have been taken over from other languages or dialects of Palestine or the neighboring territories, but have since disappeared entirely (e.g., the language of the Edomites, living in southern Judea); (12) it is possible that some new words in the DSS were common in the H or A vernacular(s) and by mere chance are not in the transmitted H and A sources.

The elements that compose the language of the DSS might have varied with the different writers. There are, for example, sources in which the role played by MH is much more prominent (e.g., the *Copper Scroll) than in other sources. The complexity of the picture that emerges from the DSS is the reason why there is as yet no solution for many of the linguistic problems in the DSS, and the outline of this language, given below, can only be tentative.

SOURCES

Biblical Texts

The complete *Isaiah* (1QIsa^{a}) is one of the most important scrolls of the DSS. The language, which is "vulgar" (i.e., the intention was not to render the text exactly as transmitted), is a "modernization" of the original Isaiah, as represented by the Isaiah type of the Masoretic Text (= MT) whose language was modified so that the contemporary reader might more easily understand the text. As has been noted above, the average reader was scarcely able to understand the MT properly, and often unable to read it correctly. Therefore, copyists often substituted the contemporaneous forms for the original ones even in the case of proper nouns. For example, the form עוזיה, ישעיה, representing the type that became common mainly after 586 B.C.E. (the destruction of the First Temple), is used instead of the original עוזיהו, ישעיהו which represents the dominant type during the previous period.

Most of the biblical texts of the DSS are practically identical with those of the masoretic Bible. Fragments of "vulgar" texts from other books of the Bible, such as Exodus and Psalms, were, however, also found. The linguistic differences between these texts and the masoretic Bible are more or less to be attributed to the tendency to "modernize."

Non-Biblical Texts

The most extensive non-biblical texts are the Manual of *Discipline; the *Thanksgiving Psalms; the *Pesher Habakkuk, a commentary on the Book of Habakkuk; and the *War Scroll. These texts originated with a certain sect (generally identified with the *Essenes). A few fragments of non-canonical writings were also found, such as, The Book of *Jubilees and *Ben Sira* whose Hebrew version had until that time been practically unknown (see above Discovery). The *Zadokite* documents, as represented by the fragments found in the *Genizah*, do not reflect the original language of the DSS. (As with the Book of Ben Sira found in the *Genizah*, their language was also changed by the copyists of the Middle Ages.)

LANGUAGE OF THE DSS

Isaiah is the only DSS text which has been extensively dealt with from the linguistic point of view. The following survey, therefore, will be based mainly on the language of this scroll.

Spelling

The DSS employ the *scriptio plena* to make reading easier (there existed as yet no vowel signs) and to eliminate, as far as possible, A pronunciation. For example, לא ("not") was spelled לוא, otherwise the reader might have read it as לָא (*lā*) as in A (indeed, the Samaritans in their Bible substitute the A form for the H). Plene spelling with ו abound to indicate the phones (*u, o*), not only where these vowels represent an original dipthong (*aw*) that turned into an (*ō*), e.g., יום ("day"; a spelling common also in the MT), or an original long vowel, e.g., שלוש ("three"; which is fairly common in MT), but also for originally short, later lengthened, vowels, e.g., עול ("yoke"; this type of spelling is rare in MT), and short vowels that were not lengthened, e.g., אוזנים ("ears"; very rare in MT), and even half vowels, e.g., חולי ("illness": = חֳלִי; extremely rare in MT). To a lesser extent, the same applies to the use of י, e.g., מית ("dead"; = מֵת in MT), אבניטך (= אַבְנֵטְךָ, "your girdle"). א was also used as a vowel letter to indicate the vowel (*a*), e.g., יאתום ("orphan"; the spelling is extremely rare in MT). As a word final י might be used instead of ה indicating an (*e*) type vowel, e.g., יעני ("he will answer"). Generally there is no real consistency in the spelling. The word "head," for example, has different spellings: ראש, ראוש, רואש, רוש. The DSS share these types of plene spellings with MH, especially as preserved in the manuscripts.

The DSS, mainly, in the *Isaiah Scroll* and only sporadically elsewhere, developed another type of plene spelling where a digraph (two letters) indicates one vowel (like the English *ea* ("beat") as against *i* ("bit")). This type of spelling is exemplified at the end of words: וא indicated (*ō*), יא indicating (*i*), e.g., in the above mentioned לוא ("not," the א is original and the ו is added); בוא ("in it," the ו is original and the א is added); כיא ("because," the א is added). These spellings appear also in the middle of words, e.g., ראוש, רואש ("head"), but in this case the א is practically always original, while the ו (and י) are added. As to consonant spelling, שׂ at that period turned into ס, thus the spelling סאי (= שאי "lift up") is found. There is, however, also the inverse where through a hypercorrection מאס ("to despise, reject") is spelled מאש.

Phonetics and Phonology

An outstanding feature of the language of the DSS is that the laryngeals ה, א and the pharyngeals ע, ח, which became weakened, are sometimes dropped and sometimes confused with each other. For instance, תנתו (= תאנתו "his fig"), יבור (= יעבור "he will pass"), מנחל (= מנהל "leader"), סלה (= סלע "rock"). These pronunciations are a characteristic of SH and Samaritan Aramaic (= SA). According to both Talmuds, the Jews of Beth-Shean and Haifa, probably influenced by the Greek vernacular, could not pronounce these phones properly. (The same applies to European immigrants in Israel, since European languages also lack these phones. They do, however, exist in Arabic and the Yemenites, therefore, pronounce them properly.) It is then possible that the weakening of these phones in the DSS occurred under the impact of Greek.

Morphology

PRONOUNS. *Independent Personal Pronouns.* Instead of את ("you" fem.), אתי is sometimes found. This form (rare in masoretic BH), which at first sight seems to be archaic, is probably an Aramaism (the same happened in SH). Instead of הוא ("he") and היא ("she") very often הואה and היאה are employed in the DSS. These spellings might reflect archaic forms that disappeared from masoretic BH (see above, Main Elements of… DSS, 8), but the possibility of an analogous new formation cannot be excluded. אתמה = אתם ("you" plural) is no doubt a late form parallel with the form transmitted by the Samaritans orally in reading their Bible (despite the spelling אתם pronounced אתמה). אנו ("we") appears several times in the non-biblical scrolls (MH), in BH only once as *ketib.*

Personal Suffix Pronouns. The type ךָ (דְבָרְךָ) ("your word") is very often spelled plene דבריכה/דברכה (plural). The spelling disproved the theory of P. Kahle who believed that the vocalization of the Masoretic Text came into being under Arabic influence (after the seventh century C.E.!). The type ידו ("his hand") is sometimes spelled ידיו, since apparently, as in SH, יו was pronounced (*o*) and both ו and יו could be used indiscriminately. The type בניה ("her sons") is sometimes spelled plene בניהא/ה; the type דברכם ("your word") is often spelled דברכמה (as in SH); the type דברם ("their (masc.) word") is often spelled דברמה (by analogy); and the feminine suffix הן is sometimes spelled הנה (original? or a new formation by analogy). There is a strong tendency to use forms like רוחהו (= רוחו "his spirit"), a BH poetic form, while forms like עלוהי (= עליו "upon him") are A.

The Verb

PERSONAL SUFFIXES. Instead of the type שמרתְ ("you (fem.) watched"), the type שמרתי is sometimes used; it appears in the Song of Deborah (Judg. 5:7) whose language is archaic. The type apparently died out in BH but reentered the language under A influence, mainly in the late books of Jeremiah and Ezekiel (mostly as *ketib*, but not as *qeri*). It seems obvious, therefore, that the same influence is responsible for its emergence in the DSS (and in the Samaritan *Pentateuch). This is not the only known case where an archaic form disappeared from H and reentered the language through A, thus creating the impression of an archaic survival. As to the type שמרתמה (MT שמרתם "you (plur.) watched") it also parallels the Samaritan oral transmission (but spelled שמרתם) and is, as אתם אתמה < (see Morphology, Independent Personal Pronouns), a later development.

OTHER FEATURES. Instead of מסיר ("is taking away") (*hifʿil*) there is מהסיר, which again reflects the impact of A. Spellings like ישפול (= יִשְׁפַּל, "he will be degraded") indicate that an original (*a*) imperfect might turn into an (*o*) imperfect; such spellings are prevalent in MH and A dialects.

PAUSAL FORMS. Instead of the imperative form דִּרְשׁוּ ("seek"), there is דרושו, which is either an A form, or an H pausal, occurring also in BH according to the Babylonian vocalization. There seems to be little doubt that the forms of the type תזכורי ("you will remember") and אתמוכה (see below; pausal forms in the context) penetrated the DSS from MH. These forms are still found in the manuscripts (see Mishnaic Hebrew Language) and even entered the Christian Palestinian Aramaic (= ChPA) dialect from MH. The long imperfect forms of the type אתמוכה ("I would like to uphold") (expressing wish, etc.), which often take the place of the normal imperfect אתמוך, continue a trait fairly common in LBH (e.g., Ezra). The assumption of R. Meyer that the DSS employed a tense not found in masoretic BH, the so-called present future (as in Akkadian), is unfounded. However there is as yet no clear-cut solution to forms like ישופטני (= יִשְׁפְּטֵנִי).

Among the new noun patterns one especially worth mentioning is *quṭl* (= *qoṭel* in masoretic H) which sometimes appears as *qoṭol*, e.g., אוהול ("tent") = אֹהֶל; cf., masoretic מֹלֶךְ = "Moloch" in the Septuagint; kindred forms also appear in ChPA.

SYNTAX

Although very little research has been done in the field of syntax, a few characteristics can be mentioned. Biblical syntax is employed, including the use of the conversive ו(*waw*), yet the copyist of *Isaiah* (see above Sources) occasionally substitutes a form belonging to the contemporaneous spoken idiom, e.g., instead of ואת כל אלה ידי עשתה ויהיו כל אלה ("All these (things) my hand has made") he used… והיו כל אלה ("and so all these things came to be (mine).") (Isa. 66:2). Biblical syntax requires here the imperfect plus the conversive ו. In MH the perfect is followed by the perfect plus ו; it is then the MH construction substituted for the BH one. Asyndetic relative clauses (= without the relative pronoun אשר) are still found in BH. Since they disappeared from MH and A, the writer is inclined to add the "missing" relative pronoun אשר and instead of בדרך תלך ("the way you should go") (Isa. 48:17) he creates the normal clause: בדרך אשר תלך. Sometimes he employs other means to evade the problem: in Isaiah 62:1 וישועתה כלפיד יבער ("and her salvation is as a burning torch") where there is no אשר after כלפיד he turned יבער into תבער; לפיד thus is no longer the subject of יבער but ישועתה becomes the subject of תבער. The translation now is "and her salvation will burn like a torch."

אשר לוא plus the imperfect seems to be employed as a prohibitive in the non-biblical scrolls, e.g., אשר לוא ילך איש ("no one shall walk") which might have its parallel in MH and in the H and A letters of Bar Kokhba. The infinitive plus ל is sometimes used as a command, e.g., לשלח הואה מאתם ("They shall banish him") (LBH) and mainly negated by לוא as a prohibition, e.g., ולוא לסור ("and not to turn aside") also with אין, e.g., ואין לצעוד ("not to walk"). The same use is found in A inscriptions in Jerusalem: לא למפתח (lit., "not to open"), practically unknown in BH; it is also found in Punic (a Canaanite dialect of the Northern African coast); and it perhaps has its parallel in a certain Greek usage (found also in a Greek inscription in Jerusalem). It is impossible to pinpoint the origin of this use.

In the Book of Chronicles (LBH) the use of the accusative particle את with the pronominal suffix is generally avoided as in the *Manual of Discipline* (see above Sources). This is also the case in MH (as represented by the language of the *tannaim* only) which in this respect is a direct offshoot of the DSS.

Note אבית (= בבית "in the house"), and kindred forms, as in MH and Punic. Types like לאין שרית ("without a remnant") is to be found in LBH.

STYLE

In this area, too, more research is required. One point certainly deserves to be mentioned. The non-biblical scrolls are full of either biblical quotations, most of which are slightly different from the original, or of biblical allusions where the meaning is often not quite clear but the reference of the allusion is known, for instance, כי בשררות לבי אלך למען ספות הרוה את הצמאה "I follow my own willful heart – to the utter ruin of moist and dry alike" (i.e., everything) (Deut. 29:18) is alluded to by וילך בדרכי הרויה למען ספות את הצמאה out of which sense can hardly be made.

VOCABULARY

The vocabulary of the DSS consists of native and foreign elements (loans and loan translations).

Native Elements.
These comprise BH, MH, and H of undefinable origin that does not occur in any other H source, but might be original (or a loan? see above Main Elements of… DSS, 8 and 12).

BIBLICAL HEBREW. BH has to be subdivided according to its sources: (1) archaic BH (= ABH); (2) standard BH (= SBH); (3) LBH. BH should also be divided into: (a) words that survived unchanged; (b) words that are used in a morphologically changed form; (c) words whose meaning changed; (d) words whose meaning changed owing to a certain interpretation of their original meaning which had been forgotten; (e) words which are new morphologically and semantically, but which arise "legitimately" from BH.

ABH. אדיר ("mighty"), האזן ("to listen"), מעון ("dwelling place").

SBH. SBH is very much in evidence. אדון ("lord"), חלק ("to divide"), מערכה ("line of battle"), עת ("time"). Thanks to the DSS, MH, and SA it has been shown that the BH מסר means "to count" (> "to hand over").

LBH. Since the Hebrew of the DSS is the last offshoot of LBH (above Discovery), the presence of LBH words is not surprising, e.g., זוע ("to move") (intransitive), מדע ("knowledge?" "opinion?"), מדרש ("interpretation, study"), עמד ("to get up") instead of קום, פשר ("explanation"),שר ("prince" (= "angel")), כוהן הרואש ("high priest"). The case of קץ ("time, epoch") is striking. Its proper meaning in LBH, "time" (and not only "end"), was (re)discovered mainly because of its usage in the DSS. These instances represent words that have survived unchanged (type a.)

BH מָשְׁזָר (participle of *hofʿal*) (= "twisted thread") appears as משוזר (obviously a participle of *puʿʿal*); the root נדב is used as *nifʿal* (with the meaning of *hitpaʿʿel* = "to volunteer"); לַהַב ("flame, blade (of sword)") is found as לוהב. The plural of איש ("man") sometimes appears as אנושים (as if it were the plural of אנוש "man," which does not occur in BH). These instances represent words that are used in a morphological changed form (type b).

גורל ("lot") is also used for "group" and עצה ("counsel") as "council." מבקר ("inspector") goes back to the BH root בקר ("to visit" > inspect). דשא (מועד) "spring (time)" (like Akkadian and Epigraphic South Arabic) in BH is "herbage"; זרק ("javelin, dart"). These instances represent words whose meaning changed (type c).

חרישית (= "stormy wind") apparently goes back to the interpretation of Jonah 4:8, but the meaning is obviously not the original (an instance of type d).

MISHNAIC HEBREW. גודל ("thumb") = (אֻ)גוּדָל in MH; כנסת ("assembly"); תלמוד ("learning"); מועט ("little"); מלאה ("pregnant woman" – this word occurs in the *Temple Scroll*); גבל ("to knead"); זעטוט ("youth (young man)"); ממון ("wealth"); נחשול ("wave"); and הלכה ("rule"?) might be MA or A. But בית משפט ("court") is perhaps a loan translation of the MH בית דין. Several technical terms of the sect also are found in mishnaic sources, e.g., קרב ("admission," lit., "to bring near"), or רבים (= "the many") which seems to be one of the names of the sect. However, רוב apparently means "many" (only?) as in BH, but not "majority" as in MH.

HEBREW OF UNKNOWN ORIGIN. (א)בדן (a kind of brocade?) whose root does not occur in BH. The roots מזז and תחם are as yet unexplained.

Foreign Elements
These are (1) A loans and loan translations; (2) Persian loans; (3) Greek and Latin loan translations.

ARAMAIC LOANS AND LOAN TRANSLATIONS. (MH vocabulary itself derives from A) דוכי ("purification") = the H root זכה. Typical for the language of the DSS is the root סרך used as a verb ("to draw up in battle order") and as a noun (meaning "order, battle order, ordinance, prescription"). It seems to be a loan word from A, but the meanings mentioned above are nearly unknown in A. The meaning of the root סדר (verb and noun), employed as a military term, is close to סרך and is apparently also A; אוחזי אבות ("intercessors") is a loan translation from A, going back to Akkadian.

PERSIAN LOANS. רז ("secret") and נחשיר ("battered") should be mentioned here. The latter shows the impact of the life at the court of the Persian governor.

GREEK AND LATIN LOAN TRANSLATIONS. Since there are no Greek and Latin loans in the DSS, it seems to be dangerous to hazard any suggestion concerning loan translations. However, if מגדל ("tower, turret") denotes a military structure and if the same holds true for the Greek πύργος and the Latin *turris*, there is reason to believe that some kind of connection exists between Indo-European words and Hebrew words. Even if it is assumed that the term יחד ("community") goes back to BH, the fact that the sect chose this term might have been influenced by the Greek κοινωνία. But כנפים ("wings") as a military term cannot be taken as a sign of Latin influence.

PROBLEMATIC ELEMENTS. Several words, among them תעודה, are not entirely clear, both with regard to their meaning and with regard to their development.

THE INFLUENCE OF THE DSS UPON CHRISTIAN GREEK

Scholars found a number of terms in the DSS which parallel Greek terms in the New Testament, e.g., "sons of light" (Luke 16:8). There is reason to believe that the Greek ἐπίσκοπος, a technical term of early Christianity (> "bishop"), reflects the term מבקר ("overseer") of the sect. The Greek τάγμα found in *Josephus, designating the sect of the Essenes, seems to be a loan translation of the term סרך which, as in the compound word סרך (היחד), was employed by the sectarians as the name of their sect.

Words and phrases quoted can be traced with the help of concordances and E.Y. Kutscher's indexes.

[Eduard Yecheskel Kutscher]

MISHNAIC

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INTRODUCTION

The destruction of the Second Temple probably brought the continuous development of biblical Hebrew (= BH) (together with its last branch, the Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls) to an end. With the destruction of the religious and spiritual center, the standard literary language disappeared, and its place was taken by the vernacular, namely mishnaic Hebrew (= MH). The recent discovery of the Bar Kokhba letters, some of which are in MH, supports this view. It is, however, most likely that MH had already existed previously for hundreds of years as a vernacular. Its influence can be detected in the later books of the Bible, e.g., the Chronicles and Esther, but it was not employed as a literary language until after the destruction of the Second Temple.

TYPES OF MISHNAIC HEBREW

Two main types of MH should be distinguished: (1) The language of the *tannaim*, i.e., the Hebrew (= H) of the Mishnah, the Tosefta, the halakhic Midrashim, and the *baraitot* in the two Talmuds. (It seems, however, that the *baraitot* of the Babylonian Talmud were influenced by the language of the *amoraim*, see (2)). It may be assumed that these literary works go back to a time when MH was still spoken, most probably until the end of the second century C.E. (see below). The language of the *tannaim* is known (a) in the form as used in Palestine (often vocalized with the Tiberian vocalization); (b) in the form it was transmitted in Babylonia, sometimes vocalized with the Babylonian vocalization. (2) The language of the *amoraim*. A distinction, however, must also be made between (a) the language of the Palestinian *amoraim* (the Hebrew in the Palestinian Talmud and the aggadic Midrashim); (b) the language of the Babylonian *amoraim* (the Hebrew in the Babylonian Talmud). Since at this period (third–fifth centuries C.E.), MH was probably no longer a spoken language in Palestine – certainly not in Babylonia – it may be assumed that, as in modern H, this dialect was mixed with BH, as well as with Aramaic (= A) of the respective areas (more than tannaitic H). As a result, the H of the *amoraim* cannot be employed as a trustworthy basis for the study of MH (on further difficulties, see infra second drawback of Segal – The Problem of the Sources of MH).

Besides the above three categories, mention should be made of the language of prayer and benediction which also in the language of the *tannaim* contains elements from BH. Even in general prose the BH elements in tannaitic sources might in a few cases be quotations or allusions from the Bible rather than living elements.

GEOGRAPHICAL PROVENANCE OF MISHNAIC HEBREW

It may be assumed that MH was the vernacular only in Judea which was resettled by the Babylonian exiles in the sixth and fifth centuries B.C.E. In the rest of Palestine, especially in Galilee which had been conquered by the Maccabees (second century B.C.E.), A was apparently the only vernacular. The few A words in the New Testament also point to this conclusion, since the major New Testament figures came from Galilee. After the Bar Kokhba revolt (132–135 C.E.), however, when the Romans had nearly annihilated the whole population or sold them into slavery, the number of settlements in Judea was greatly diminished. The rabbis and their disciples moved to Galilee bringing with them their language and the tannaitic literature written in it, i.e., MH. On the other hand, their children, born in an Aramaic-speaking environment, did not continue to speak H. As R. Meir (a contemporary of R. Judah ha-Nasi) states: כל הדר בארץ ישראל וקורא קרית (קריאת) שמע שחרית ערבית ומדבר בלשון הקודש הריהו בן העולם הבא. ("Anyone who dwells in Ereẓ Israel, recites the *Šema*ʿ morning and evening, and speaks in the 'Holy Tongue' is assured a place in the world to come," Sif. Deut. 333 and parallels). While there were still Jews who spoke MH, its position was already shaky and was in need of some kind of strengthening. The statement of R. Judah ha-Nasi: בארץ ישראל לשון סורסי למה? או לשון הקודש או לשון יונית ("In Ereẓ Israel why Syriac (i.e., Aramaic)? Either the 'Holy Tongue' or Greek," BB 82a) shows that the language of his contemporaries was mainly A.

The few Jews who continued to live in Judea possibly still spoke H. An indication of this may perhaps be found in the statement of R. Jonathan (fourth century C.E.) from Eleutheropolis, southern Palestine, who recommended עברי לדיבור ("Hebrew as the vernacular," TJ, Meg. 71b, bot.). This indicates that MH had not completely died out in this area, but in Galilee it was nonexistent. R. Johanan (the first Palestinian *amora* who was still a disciple of R. Judah ha-Nasi) had to emphasize that in MH the correct plural of רָחֵל ("ewe") is in a certain case (Epstein) רְחֵלוֹת and not רְחֵלִים as in BH. (His maxim was לשון תורה לעצמה ולשון חכמים לעצמן ("The language of the Torah is a language by itself and the language of the sages is a language by itself" (Hul. 137b)). The assumption that MH died out because the *tannaim* moved to Galilee explains why the disciples of R. Judah ha-Nasi had to ask his maidservant the meaning of such H words as מַטְאֲטֵא ("broom") (occurring in the Bible) and חֲלַגְלוֹגוֹת ("purslane") which were unclear to them (Meg. 11a). It may be assumed that the (old?) maidservant had moved from Judea to Galilee with R. Judah's household, and, therefore, spoke H. On the other hand, the (young?) disciples, who may have been born in Galilee, did not know the meaning of these words.

THE PROBLEM OF MISHNAIC HEBREW

The religious reformer A. Geiger, who was the first to write a scientific grammar of MH, thought that MH had never been a spoken language, but had been artificially created by the rabbis to facilitate their halakhic discussions. He was not the first to hold the opinion that MH was not a "normal" H dialect; some medieval Jewish scholars considered it to be a "corrupt" BH to a large extent. Since the concept of linguistic development was unknown in the Middle Ages, medieval scholars could see the reason for the differences between BH and MH only as deliberately wrought changes. Geiger, however, lived at a time when the historical study of languages and their development was taken for granted. H. Graetz, S.D. Luzzatto, and J. Levy, contemporaries of Geiger, strongly opposed his views. However, they, like Geiger, did not substantiate their arguments with tangible proofs and Geiger's view came to be accepted by all contemporary non-Jewish and some Jewish scholars until Segal refuted it convincingly.

In an article published at the beginning of the 20th century (JQR 1908), M.H. Segal showed Geiger's views to be unfounded. He demonstrated that MH was a natural outgrowth of BH (by BH is meant, besides the archaic poetic H and the standard prose, also late biblical Hebrew (= LBH) such as the language of the Books of Chronicles and the Book of Esther) and the natural link coming after LBH. As an example, consider the independent first person singular pronouns אָנֹכִי – אֲנִי (= I) both of which are found in BH. In LBH there is a distinct trend toward the use of אֲנִי. Moreover in the Books of Chronicles, which parallel the Books of Samuel and Kings to a great extent, אָנֹכִי is replaced by אֲנִי (e.g., I Chron. 21:10 = II Sam. 24:12). In MH only אֲנִי survived. Were MH an artificial language, it would be impossible to understand how the rabbis, not being modern linguists, were able to choose only the elements which belong to LBH. The situation is understandable, however, if it is assumed that MH was the natural continuation of LBH.

MH also has forms which are to be found neither in BH nor in A. Were Geiger correct in assuming that MH was an artificial creation, representing a mixture of BH and A, these novel forms in MH could not be explained, for example, where did MH get the pronoun אָנוּ ("we," found once in the Bible (Jer. 42:4) as *ketib*)? Clearly Geiger's opinion is in this form totally unfounded (see following par.).

The recent discoveries in the Judean Desert, especially the letters of Bar Kokhba and his contemporaries, some of which are written in MH, have dispelled all doubts as to Segal's conclusions. These letters show – as was rightly pointed out by Milik – that MH was a living natural language. As a matter of fact, however, both Segal and Geiger were right. MH was a living language in Palestine only until about 200 C.E., the time of the *tannaim*, but a dead language during the time of the *amoraim*.

THE PROBLEM OF THE SOURCES OF MISHNAIC HEBREW

Segal committed two methodical errors in his study which he repeated in the grammars of MH composed later: (1) he tried to minimize the extent of the influence of A on MH; (2) he based his work on the printed texts of MH rather than on manuscripts, which was an especially grave scholarly misjudgment.

The studies over the past decades of J.N. Epstein, H. Yalon, and S. Lieberman have shown that the printed texts are unreliable. This does not refer only to normal scribal errors, but it can be shown that during the Middle Ages the copyists, and later the printers, tried to harmonize MH with BH because they considered departures from BH in MH as mistakes. This "correcting" tendency led to a complete distortion of the linguistic structure of MH.

The following examples will prove this point. A glance at any dictionary of MH will show that the word "man" occurs in the BH form אָדָם. Since Segal's works appeared, however, hundreds of examples of the spelling אָדָן have been discovered in manuscripts of the Mishnah, Tosefta, the Palestinian Talmud, and the aggadic Midrashim (Epstein). It was corrected out of existence in printed versions, and in manuscripts where the form אָדָן does appear the beginnings of correction can already be observed (see, e.g., Ms. Kaufmann to Ber. 1:8). This phenomenon may be taken as clear proof of the widespread tampering with the printed text: the form אָדָן has completely disappeared from the printed texts on which the existing dictionaries of MH are based.

The following is another example: Segal states in his grammar that the second person singular masculine possessive (and objective) pronoun in MH is identical with the biblical form ךָ e.g., דְּבָרְךָ ("your word"). Mainly on the basis of vocalized manuscripts of mishnaic literature, as well as the oral reading tradition especially of Yemenite Jews, H. Yalon has shown that the correct form in MH is ־ָךְ, i.e., דְּבָרָךְ. The form was still known to be MH by the disciples of the medieval grammarian *Menahem b. Jacob ibn Saruq and is preserved until this day in the prayer book of the Sephardi (and Yemenite) ritual, e.g., נַקְדִּישָׁךְ וְנַעֲרִיצָךְ ("Let us sanctify you and glorify you"). In the prayer book of the Ashkenazi ritual, however, these forms have been "corrected" by the grammarians. Only in *piyyutim* are traces of the form still to be found, e.g., in the *piyyut* for *Hoshanah Rabba: (הושע נא למען) אֲמִתָּךְ (למען) בְּרִיתָךְ ("Your truth and your covenant"). Early transcriptions on the Hexapla (third century C.E.) and in the writings of *Jerome (fourth and fifth centuries C.E.) lead to the same conclusion. They superimposed it, however, on the biblical text (Ben-Ḥayyim). In the Sephardi communities there were also disputes as to whether this ending should be retained or dropped because the grammarians demanded the eradication of the "error." Recently, it has been shown that the second person singular feminine possessive pronoun suffered a similar fate. In manuscripts the ending ־ִיךְ is found; thus דְּבָרִיךְ and not דְּבָרֵךְ. Both these suffixes go back to A.

Having come to the conclusion that MH, as it appears in the printed texts, is unreliable, the problem arises: On what uncorrupted source can a description of MH be based? It can also be shown that even manuscripts of the Mishnah, the Tosefta, and the halakhic Midrashim are linguistically unreliable. The problem is to find a manuscript which the copyists have changed only to a minimal extent. The same problem exists with regard to the A of the Palestinian and Babylonian Talmuds. As to the Palestinian Talmud, the problem was solved mainly by comparing its A portions to the language of the contemporary Galilean inscriptions composed in A. Those manuscripts which were linguistically the closest to the Galilean inscriptions were thus linguistically most reliable. Concerning MH, this procedure was more difficult since inscriptions or parchments written in MH, such as the Bar Kokhba letters, are quite rare.

With the aid of reliable manuscripts of the Palestinian Talmud, it is possible, however, to identify good manuscripts of MH. It may be assumed that if the A portions of the text were not corrupted by the copyists, then the H portions are also reliable. With the help of these manuscripts, the few existing H inscriptions, transcriptions of Hebrew–Aramaic words in the New Testament, in Greek inscriptions, and in the writing (transcriptions) of certain Church Fathers, it was possible to establish the most salient criteria for determining how to identify uncorrupted manuscripts. In general, the copyists harmonized the spelling conventions of MH with those of the Bible and the Babylonian Talmud. Thus, if it were possible to show that the words in a particular manuscript had spellings and forms which differed from those found in the Bible and in the Babylonian Talmud, but were parallel to forms found in inscriptions and in the Greek transcriptions from Palestine, then it would be proved that the manuscript represented Palestinian MH close to its original form.

The following are a few examples to illustrate the above methodology:

(1) In good manuscripts of MH there is the form לעזר instead of the biblical אֶלְעָזָר. This form is found in contemporary Palestinian inscriptions and in the New Testament. On the other hand, it is nonexistent in Babylonian manuscripts and sources. This shows that manuscripts with the form לעזר represent a Palestinian version.

(2) The name Shammai is always spelled שמאי in the Babylonian Talmud. In good manuscripts of the Mishnah it is spelled שַׁמַּיִ or שַׁמַּיִי. It can be demonstrated that the orthography ־י, ־יי is the Palestinian representation of the final diphthong *ay*. (The problem of the final *ḥiriq* (*e*) remains as yet unsolved.) On the other hand the Babylonian orthography is ־אי.

With the aid of several other distinguishing features, it was possible to identify several good manuscripts, in particular the following: the Kaufmann manuscript of the Mishnah (entirely vocalized), the Parma manuscript of the Mishnah (partially vocalized), the Cambridge manuscript published by W.H. Lowe (unvocalized), and fragments from the Cairo *Genizah*. The first two manuscripts mentioned above are vocalized with Tiberian signs, though in a vulgar manner since the punctuator, who had a "Sephardi" pronunciation, interchanged *qameṣ* with *pattaḥ*, *ṣere* with *segol* (and *qameṣ qaṭon* with *ḥolem*). The above sources represent, more or less, Palestinian tannaitic H. On the other hand, the Sifra manuscript (which is good) and certain Mishnah fragments from the Cairo *Genizah*, both with Babylonian vocalization, reflect tannaitic H as preserved in Babylonia.

With regard to the language of the Palestinian *amoraim*, the Vatican Ms. Ebr. 30 of Bereshit Rabbah, as well as the *Genizah* fragments of the Palestinian Talmud, were found to be reliable. Reliable sources for the H of the Babylonian *amoraim* have as yet to be determined.

The following description of MH is based, in the main, on the Kaufmann manuscript. Occasionally, reference will be made to Babylonian vocalized forms known mainly from the Sifra (see previous par.) and from *Genizah* fragments of the Mishnah (published mainly by P. Kahle and studied by E. Porath and recently by I. Yeivin).

Spelling

The spelling is more plene than that of BH. Not only the so-called long vowels (*ū, ō*) are spelled with ו (*waw*) e.g., שׁוֹמֵר ("guard"), but also short and even half vowels are indicated by ו, e.g., עֳומָרִים ("sheaves") (the punctuator crossed out the ו). The same applies, more or less, to the different varieties of *i-e-ε* (long and short) being spelled with י (*yod*), e.g., לִיקְרוֹת ("to read"). Even א (*ʾalep*) is (rarely) used to indicate (*a*), e.g., שְׁיָארָה ("caravan") (also, cf., the following par.). ו and י, used as consonants, are often doubled, thus: וו, יי. The vowels *e, ε* as word finals might be indicated by י, cf., יווני = Yavne (see the following par.). Sometimes even spellings reminiscent of the Dead Sea Scrolls are found, like לִיקְרֹאוֹת ("to read"); the etymological א plus the ו indicating (*o*). As the above-mentioned שְׁיָארָה indicates, א could be used as a vowel letter for *a*.

Phonetics

CONSONANTS. The consonantal inventory of MH is identical with that of BH. Though, undoubtedly, some change took place in their realization (= pronunciation) during the period under discussion, there is no foundation whatsoever for Kahle's assumption that the laryngeals and pharyngeals were completely lost. Nevertheless, some interchanges of these phonemes are found. It is known that in Tivon, Haifa, Beth-Shean, and in the academy of Eliezer b. Jacob ע (*ʿayin*) and א (*ʾalep*) were interchanged. According to the Babylonian Talmud, the Galileans were unable to distinguish between א (*ʾalep*), ה (*he*), ח (*ḥet*), and ע (*ʿayin*) in their A vernacular, a statement which, however, seems exaggerated. The laryngeals and pharyngeals were apparently confused mainly in the large urban centers, as a result of Greek influence. MH, as transmitted, has only been slightly influenced by this confusion and there are only a few places in the Mishnah where the *amoraim* are in doubt as to whether the correct reading is with א or ע, e.g., אֵיד or עֵיד ("festival") (Mishnah Av. Zar. 1:1).

It is quite possible, however, that the linguistic change ע < ח (*ḥet* > *ʿayin*) took place (as in Galilean Aramaic), e.g., עָג עוּגָה ("he made a circle") (Mishnah Ta'an.3:8). Final *mem* in non-declined words very often turns into *nun* אָדָן < אָדָם or הֵם > הֵן (see above the Problem of the Sources of MH). בֿ (*ḇet* = ב without *dageš*) and ו (*waw*) merged. Thus they were interchanged in manuscripts, e.g., יַבְנֶה (place name) is spelled יווני. Interchanges between ק (*qop*) and כּ (*kap*) are very infrequent. More common is the interchange בּ (*bet*) and פּ (*pe*), e.g., שְׁעָרִים = לְהַפְקִיעַ שְׁעָרִים (= לְהַבְקִיעַ) לְהַבְקִיַע ("to raise prices arbitrarily") (Ta'an. 2:9). Initial א (when followed by a half vowel?) is sometimes dropped (+ its vowel) cf. above לעזר אלעזר (The Problem of the Sources).

VOWELS. The vowels of MH at first glance also seem identical with those of BH. There is, however, reason to assume that some change took place, thus instead of *ḥiriq qaton* a type of *ε* (*segol*) was pronounced, and instead of *qibbuẓ* a type of *o* (*qameṣ qaṭon* – *ḥolem*). However, even in manuscripts, very few examples of this pronunciation have survived, apparently as a result of the "corrections" of copyists under the influence of BH, e.g., הֶלֵּיל, חוּצְפָּה etc. = הִלֵּל (proper noun), חוּצְפָּה ("ḥuẓpa"). This type of pronunciation parallels that known from the transcriptions of the Septuagint and from vocalized texts of Galilean Aramaic.

ASSIMILATION AND DISSIMILATION. Assimilation of consonants in MH occurs more or less under the same circumstances as in BH. Vowels, as in Galilean Aramaic, preceding labials tended to be realized as *o* (*u*) e.g., מְסֻבִּין < מְסִבִּין (in the *Haggadah* of Passover "reclining") (Ben-Ḥayyim). ר (*reš*) seems to have had the same effect on vowels as labials. This accounts for forms like קַרְדֹּם > ‡ קוֹרְדּוֹם (BH) ("spade"), etc. (also cf. the Greek name of the river יַרְדֵּן = *Yordan*(*ēs*)). A long ī apparently could turn a preceding half vowel (*šewa* (:)) into an *i*, e.g., בִּיסִיד (instead of בְּסִיד) ("with lime").

Dissimilation of a consonant occurs in the word מַרְגָּלִית μαργαρίτις ("pearl") and of a vowel in the Greek word נִימוֹס (from Greek νόμος ("law") (on the pattern of תִּיכוֹן (תּוֹכוֹן) – תּוֹךְ ‡ > ("inside," "central").

Metathesis occurs in נמיל (("port"), לִמֵן in the Palestinian form), the Babylonian form of the Greek λιμήν.

Morphology

PRONOUNS. *Independent Personal Pronouns*

Comparative Table

(not all the vocalizations of MH are documented)

Mishnaic Hebrew		Biblical Hebrew	
אֲנִי		אֲנִי,אָנֹכִי	
אַתְּ	אַתָּה,אַתְּ	אַתְּ (אתי)	אַתָּה
הִיא	הוּא	הִיא	הוּא
אָנוּ		אֲנַחְנוּ, נַחְנוּ	
אַתֶּן (?),אַתֶּם	אַתֶּם, אַתֶּן	אַתֵּנָה, אַתֶּן	אַתֶּם
הֵם,הֵן	הֵם,הֵן	הֵנָּה	הֵם,הֵמָּה

In MH (and already in LBH) אָנֹכִי had disappeared. אַתְּ as a masculine pronoun is apparently a borrowing from A. אָנוּ is an internal H development. The vocalic endings of הֵמָּה and הֵנָּה disappeared. Final ם (*mem*) was apt to appear as ן(*nun*) (see above Phonetics, consonants), therefore in both the pronoun and the verb the plural masculine and feminine forms merged (see following pars. on possessive pronouns and verb (the conjugation)).

The independent personal pronouns furnish a good example for the elements which make up MH: (1) BH; (2) A; (3) internal H development.

Possessive Suffixes

(not all the vocalizations of MH are documented)

Mishnaic Hebrew		Biblical Hebrew	
	דְּבָרִי		דְּבָרִי
דְּבָרִיךְ	דְּבָרָךְ	דְּבָרֵךְ	דְּבָרְךָ
דְּבָרָהּ	דְּבָרוֹ	דְּבָרָהּ	דְּבָרוֹ
	דְּבָרֵנוּ		דְּבָרֵנוּ
דְּבַרְכֶן,-ם	דְּבַרְכֶם,-ן	דְּבַרְכֶן	דְּבַרְכֶם
דְּבָרָם,-ן	דְּבָרָם,-ן	דְּבָרָם	דְּבָרָם

Note: Instead of the ending ־ָן, ־ָם there occurs also an ending -ים, generally corrected to -ן, the י being crossed out (Epstein, Kutscher). It is found also as an object suffix of the perfect. The second person singular masculine (Yalon) and feminine (Kutscher) forms are the result of A influence. (On the interchange מ (*mem*) > נ (*nun*), see above Phonetics.)

Independent Possessive Pronouns. MH developed an independent possessive pronoun – שֶׁל (geminated ל), e.g., שֶׁלִּי ("mine"). The distribution between this pronoun and the suffixed forms is still unclear as are the rules governing the use of the definite article in this case. The beginning of this development is to be found in the biblical form אֲשֶׁר ל- (= MH -שֶׁ), e.g., בְּמִרְכֶּבֶת הַמִּשְׁנֶה אֲשֶׁר לוֹ ("in the chariot of his second-in-command," Gen. 41:43).

Demonstrative Pronouns. *Near Deictic Pronouns.*

Mishnaic Hebrew		Biblical	
זוֹ	זֶה	זֹאת (זֹה,זוֹ)	זֶה
אֵלּוּ		אֵלֶּה	

Instead of זֹאת which predominates in the Bible, זוֹ, found mainly in LBH, occurs in MH. It is possible that this word entered MH from another dialect. (If it is assumed that the form developed in MH from the BH זֹאת, it is impossible to explain the loss of the final ת (*taw*). The form אֵלּוּ perhaps developed under the influence of plural verbal forms, such as כָּתְבוּ, etc. It is unclear under what conditions the definite article is employed with the noun and the demonstrative pronoun.

Far Deictic Pronouns. Alongside the forms הַהוּא, הַהִיא, etc., there are the following forms in MH: הַלָּה, הַלָּז for the masculine and the feminine, הָאֵילוּ־הַלָּלוּ (הַלֵּילוּ) for the plural. The particle אֶת with suffixed pronouns acts as a demonstrative pronoun (preceding the noun), e.g., אוֹתוֹ הַיּוֹם ("that day"). The reflexive pronoun is created by using עֶצֶם ("bone") (very much like the English "(my) self," e.g., קוֹנֶה אֶת עַצְמוֹ "he acquires himself (= his freedom)"); הוּא עַצְמוֹ ("he himself"). The relative pronoun is -שֶׁ, which appears both in archaic BH and in LBH.

Since -שֶׁ can scarcely go back to אֲשֶׁר of BH and besides is paralleled by the Akkadian *ša*, here too (see Near Deictic Pronouns) an H dialect different from BH may be assumed as its origin.

VERB. *Verbal Roots.* The verbal root pattern *xyx*, e.g., כָּרוֹךְ ("to wrap") only emerges in MH while four radicals, e.g., from ע״ו roots of the type לְנַעֲנֵעַ ("to shake"), or by duplicating the last radical, e.g., עַרְבֵּב ("to mix") already appear in BH.

Conjugations. The *puʿʿal* has practically disappeared (the participle excepted). The perfect of *hitpaʿʿel* practically disappeared and the form *nitpaʿal* (corrupted in the printed editions to *nitpaʿʿel*) occurs instead (only twice in the Bible). It is apparently a blend of *nitpaʿʿal* and *hitpaʿʿel*. In the פ״ו verb an *ʾettapʿʿal* conjugation (borrowed from A) exists (extremely rare).

In addition to the *hipʿil* there is also a *šapʿel* conjugation (assumed to be borrowed from Akkadian through A) which is conjugated like the *paʿʿel*, e.g., שַׁחְרֵר ("to liberate"). Traces of the passive *qal* are found in the פ״נ verbs, e.g., ‡נוּטַּל ("taken"), etc., however it might be a recreation in MH as in modern Hebrew נֱשַׁכְתִּי ("I was bitten") and not נִשַּׁכְתִּי which is identical with the *piʿʿel* (here an active form). This usage was extended to other verbs, e.g., נוצר(??) ("saved").

The exact meanings of the various conjugations still remain to be clarified. The following is a tentative description:

The *qal* is generally identical with the *qal* of BH, i.e., it can indicate a simple action (transitive or intransitive) and it can serve as a denominative even in a case like פָּרָה חוֹלֶבֶת (lit., "a milking cow"). There is, however, a conspicuous difference in the intransitive verbs. While in BH a form like גָּדַלְתָּ can mean both "you were great" and "you became great" (even "you are great"), in MH only the second meaning occurs, e.g. גָּדְלָה ("grew" < "she became great"); the first meaning has to be expressed by means of the auxiliary הָיָה, plus the participle or adjective, e.g., הָיָה גָּדוֹל.

Nipʿal also seems generally to be identical with BH, i.e., it can be a reflexive נִטְמַן ("he hid himself") and also נִשְׁאַל ("he asked for himself"), apparently in a reciprocal meaning נֶחְלְקוּ ("they disputed"), but generally a passive, e.g., נֶאֱכַל ("it was eaten up"), and perhaps also with a new meaning to express perfectivity (inchoation), e.g., זָכוּר אֲנִי ("I am remembering") but אֲנִי נִזְכָּר ("it comes to my mind"). In BH *qal* זכר is employed in both meanings. Maybe נִכְנַס ("he entered") has to be explained the same way (cf., וַיֵּאָסֵף "he entered," Num. 11:30).

Piʿel, as in BH, expresses intensive action, meaning repeated action, or an action performed on many objects (Yalon) (cf., BH אֹתָם בַּתָּוֶךְ ...וְאֶת הַצִּפֹּר לֹא בָתָר (*piʿel*) וַיְבַתֵּר (*qal*) ("and cut them in two… but he did not cut up the bird," Gen. 15:10)); or when the work is performed by many actors, e.g., הָיוּ מְתַלְּשִׁין ("they were plucking"); also as a denominative, e.g., מְעַשְּׁנִין ("to fumigate"); even in a privative sense מְיַבְּלִין ("to remove wens"), and as a causative מְיַלְּדִין ("to help in childbearing"). The *piʿel* also can serve in an intransitive meaning as an inchoative בִּיכֵּירוּ ("began to ripen"). A few cases of this last meaning already appear in BH, e.g., פִּתְּחָה ("has been opened," lit., "has opened"). In some cases the *piʿel* seems to have dislodged the *qal* without change of meaning, e.g., עִיבֵּר ("he passed") (Pes. 3:8), but whether it is a general feature of MH (Ben-Hayyim) has still to be established (cf., BH דֹּבֵר ("speaking") *qal*, but generally the *piʿel* is employed).

Hiʿpil, as in BH, serves as a causative מַשְׁחִיטִין ("cause to slaughter"), as a denominative הִגְרִיל ("he cast lots") as in the *piʿel* (also *nipʿal* and *qal* to a certain extent). It also serves as an inchoative הֶעֱשִׁיר ("he grew rich").

The *hopʿal* served as a passive of the *hipʿil.*

The *hitpaʿʿel-nitpaʿʿal* is mainly employed, as in BH, as a reflexive, e.g., נִסְתַּפַּג ("he dried himself"), also as an inchoative, e.g., נִשְׁתַּטָּה ("he went mad"), a reciprocal נִשְׁתַּתְּפוּ ("they became partners"), and very often as a passive נִתְגַּלָּה ("it became uncovered"), rare in BH. In contrast to BH where it serves as a denominative very often meaning "to pretend to," e.g., מִתְעַשֵּׁר ("he pretends to be rich"), in MH this meaning does not occur and in the *hitpaʿʿel* it means "to become rich" (cf. *Hipʿil*). The *šapʿel* is a causative (but conjugated as a *piʿel*).

Prefixes and Suffixes of The Tenses. As with personal pronouns, the masculine and feminine forms in the perfect of the verb also coalesced as a result of the phonological development of final ם (*mem*) > ן (*nun*), thus כתבתם – כתבתן. The loss of the feminine plural forms in the imperfect is the result of a different process. All the archaic forms of BH, e.g., imperfect forms with the ending *n* (ן) such as תִּשְׁמְרוּן ("you (plur.) will guard") disappeared from MH (in spite of the fact that some of them were identical with the parallel A forms).

	Perfect	
	כָּתַבְתִּי	
כָּתַבְתָּה		כָּתַבְתְּ
כָּתַב		כָּתְבָה
	כָּתַבְנוּ	
	כְּתַבְתֶּן,-ם	
	כָּתְבוּ	

(Note the full spelling of כתבתה). It should be noted that MH (as in the Dead Sea Scrolls) very often uses the pausal forms also instead of the contextual form. This is always the case in the *hopʿal*, e.g., הוּקְדָּשׁוּ לַמִּשְׁכָּן ("they were dedicated to the Tabernacle," Zev. 14:10).

	Imperfect	
	אֶכְתֹּב	
תִּכְתֹּב		תִּכְתְּבִי
יִכְתֹּב		תִּכְתֹּב
	נִכְתֹּב	
	תִּכְתְּבוּ	
	יִכְתְּבוּ	

Participle (Imperative and Infinitive). The main changes in the participle are in the feminine singular only the ֶ-ת ending is used: שׁוֹמֶרֶת ("guarding") (except for the ע״ו, and ל״י (ל״א) verbs to a certain extent), while the plural masculine employs, besides the ending ים- also ִ-ין (A). In the imperative, the feminine plural is replaced by the masculine plural (cf., imperfect above). The participle can be negated by לֹא and not only by אין, while the infinitive is negated by שֶׁלֹּא ל, e.g., שֶׁלֹּא לַחְתּוֹם אֵינוֹ רַשַּׁיי (= רַשַּׁאי) ("it is not permitted not to seal").

Verb Classes. Strong Verb. In the *qal* perfect only the patterns קָטַל and קָטֵל (חָשֵׁיכָה "it became dark") have survived, while in the participle all three forms, attested in BH; קוֹטֵל, קָטֵל, (e.g., דָּלֵק "burning") and the only case of קָטֹל = יָכוֹל (("he) can," "is able") appear. (Incidentally, the feminine and the plurals, not attested in BH Hebrew, are יְכוֹלָה, יְכוֹלִין, יְכוֹלוֹת.) In the "imperfect" there seems to be a tendency to turn (*a*) forms (of the intransitive verb) into (*o*) forms, cf., יִקְרוֹשׁ ("it should congeal"). The spelling indicates an (*o*) imperfect; the punctuator of the manuscript, however, crossed out the ו (*waw*) and vocalized יִקְרַשׁ (also see verbs ע״ח). In the *hitpaʿʿel* imperfect there appear, though rarely, also forms like תִּתְחַבֵּר ("consort") (Avot 1:7).

Weak Verb. פ״א verbs: the infinite of *qal* is patterned after the 'imperfect'; לוֹמַר ("to say") etc. (cf., Spelling above), לוֹכַל ("to eat").

פ״ע verbs: note the form נֶעֱשָׂה ("it was done") (= נַעֲשָׂה in BH).

ע״ח verbs: in the imperfect and imperative the (*a*) turns (always?) into (*o*), e.g., יִשְׁחוֹט ("he shall slaughter") שְׁחוֹט ("slaughter") (see above the strong verb).

ל״א and ל״י verbs: The ל״א verbs generally turned (as in A) into ל״י verbs: sometimes, however, the former spelling is retained, e.g., קָרִינוּ ("we have read"), but יִקְרָא ("he shall read"), לִקְרוֹת ("to read"); in לִקְרֹאוֹת ("to read") the original א appears, in spite of the ל״י form (see above Spelling); in the perfect the ending of the third person singular feminine is often ָ-ת, e.g., הָיָת ("she was"). This ending, found also in BH (rarely) in the strong verb, is in BH considered mainly an archaic survival. Its emergence in the ל״י verb in MH cannot be attributed to A influence since it does not occur in the other verbal classes. It seems that this form entered MH from a non-biblical Hebrew dialect in which the original הָיָת ‡ had not become הָיְתָה. The ending ת (*taw*) is also found in the other conjugations but in the *nipʿal* there are, besides forms like נִיכְוֵות ("she burnt herself"), such forms as נִיטְמֵת ("she became unclean") where the form of the original ל״א verb is identical with the feminine singular of the present. But the same form can also occur in an original ל״י form נִישְׁבֵּית ("she was taken prisoner"). Naturally, the biblical forms with the ending תָה also occur. In the participle *qal* there are two forms, e.g., קוֹנֶה ("he buys") and זָכָה ("he takes possession," "he gains," "he obtains a privilege").

פ״י verbs: the infinitive of the *qal* is patterned after the imperfect, e.g., לֵירֵד ("to go down"). The same applies to פ״נ verbs: לִיתֵּן ("to give"); note forms like לִיטוֹל ("to take") where the נ is assimilated (which is not the case in BH).

ע״ו verbs: *qal*, there are also participle forms like חוֹלוֹת (rare in BH) ("they (fem.) dance"); in the infinitive and in the "imperfect" also forms like לָדוּן (also לָדוּן and לָדִין) are found (cf., ע״י verbs). There are in BH perfect *qal* forms like קָם ("he got up"), טוֹב ("he was good"), and מֵת ("he died"), paralleling similar forms in the strong verbs. From the second pattern only בּוֹשׁ survived ("he was ashamed"), as did מֵת. In the perfect of *nipʿal* forms like נָדוֹן and נִידּוֹן ("he (it) was judged or he (it) was discussed"), in the participle נִידּוֹן, are employed. There is also נָמוּךְ ("low, short") but in the Babylonian vocalization נָמוֹךְ. In the *hipʿil* there are forms like הוֹבִיר ("he left (the field) fallow") (patterned after פ״ו). In the geminated conjugations (*piʿʿel, puʿʿal, hitpaʿʿel*) the forms derived by doubling of the third radical (practically) disappeared; forms like הִתְכּוֹנֵן ("he intended" (from כּוּן)) are replaced (practically always) by the נִתְכַּוֵּן type, the second radical being geminated, as in the strong verb.

ע״י verbs: they disappeared almost entirely by (1) turning into ע״ו; דִּין mostly appears (in the "imperfect") as דּוּן; (2) or by being transferred to the *hipʿil* (since the "imperfects" are identical); participle *qal;* שָׂם ("putting" via imperfect יָשִׂים) > מֵשִׂים (participle of *hipʿil*), only once in BH.

Geminate Verb. There is a tendency in the *qal* perfect and participle to employ the intransitive verbs with the transitive forms, i.e., they are patterned after the strong verb: e.g., גּוֹשֶׁשֶׁת ("(ship) touches (the ground)" – in Hebrew it is intransitive), but רַבּוּ ("they multiplied") (intransitive form). In the imperfect the so-called A forms do not seem to occur (יְיַצָּנוּ ("to keep it cool," Shab. 22:4) is not a clear-cut case). In the *nipʿal* the geminate verbs are generally treated as strong verbs, e.g., נִימְדַּד ("was measured"), נִימְדָּד ("is being measured"), תִּיקָּצֵץ ("let it be cut off"). There seem to be very rare cases of forms like נִימּוֹקוּ ("they were defeated") patterned after ע״ו verbs. In the geminated conjugations *piʿʿel, puʿʿal, hitpaʿʿel* (as in the ע״ו verbs, see above) only the strong verb forms appear.

With the verbs הָיָה and חָיָה short form יְהֵא (= יִהְיֶה) is employed in the imperfect, while in the imperative the root הוה (A) is used often even in the A form הֱוִי (= H הֱוֵה) ("be" sing.); הווּ (= H הווּ) ("be" plur.). The root חי sometimes appears in the participle *qal* as a geminate חי (חיי) ("he lives"), like קַל ("he is easy"), but according to spelling חיה, obviously to be vocalized ‡חָיֶה (like זָכֶה above) but corrected in the manuscripts to חי.

Tenses. The tense system of BH underwent a radical change in MH. The following forms disappeared: the long imperfect of the type אֶשְׁמְרָה ("I will guard"); the short imperfect of the type יַעַל ("he shall go up"); the forms with the consecutive ו (*waw*) (וַיִּשְׁמֹר, וְשָׁמַר) the absolute infinitive שָׁמוֹר. The infinitive construct only survived with the preposition ל, e.g., לִשְׁמוֹר ("to guard"), sometimes even when the preceding verb governs the preposition מִן, e.g., אָסוּר מִלִּרְחוֹץ ("(he) is forbidden to wash"). The new system comprises: (1) the perfect (which also serves as a preterit);

(2) a practically new periphrastic form: היה ("be") (mainly used for the past but also for the future and imperative) plus the active and passive participle to indicate repeated, usual, concurrent, etc., action (rare in LBH).

The participle is employed as present and future. A new periphrastic form (mainly employed when the future needs a clear-cut indication, especially when in contrast to the present) came into being: infinitive ל + דַּע מֵאַיִן בָּאתָה וּלְאַיִן אַתָּה הוֹלֵךְ וְלִפְנֵי מִי אַתָּה עָתִיד לִיתֵּן דִּין וְחֶשְׁבּוֹן, עָתִיד ("Know whence thou art come, whither thou art going, and before whom thou art designed to give an account and reckoning"). Contrary to BH the imperfect does not denote future anymore: it turned into a modal form expressing wish or intention (in the first person) or command (in the third person). It is also used after an imperative, as שְׁמוֹר לִי וְאֶשְׁמוֹר לָךְ ("guard for me and I shall (will) guard for you") and as a subjunctive, after the relative pronoun – שֶׁ. The imperative survived apparently unchanged. The passive participle, mainly the *qal* of intransitive verbs, is employed with certain verbs as a kind of present perfect-present אֲנִי יָשׁוּב ("I am sitting (seated)"). מְקוּבָּל אֲנִי ("I have received") (rare in BH).

It should be noted that MH, as A, very often uses the proleptic suffix with verbs, e.g., the common expression y אָמַר לוֹ רבי x לרבי (instead of y לרבי x אמר רבי).

NOUN. The noun forms are generally the same as those in BH, though some became more widespread, especially some of the verbal nouns of the *qal*. About 15 different noun forms are used as verbal nouns of the *qal*, among them the noun pattern קְטִילָה should be especially noted, e.g., אֲנִינָה ("grief"). This noun pattern in BH as a verbal noun (e.g., אֲכִילָה ("eating")) is rare, in the Mishnah, however, there are 130 examples. Its influence was so great that it was able to change the biblical form of שְׂרֵפָה ("conflagration") to שְׂרִיפָה. In the ל״י (and ל״א) verbs this form may appear in the קְטִיָּה. pattern, e.g., בְּרִיָּה ("creature, creation"), קְרִיָּה. ("reading"), etc. Though rare, the form קְטֵילָה is also found, such as כְּנֵיסָה ("entrance"). The form קְטָלָה is also rare (though common with verbs that denote sound), e.g., צְוָוחָה ("shouting"). A new form is גָּזֵל ("robbery"), חָנֵק ("strangulation"). Verbal nouns with suffixes are also found, e.g., פִּדָּיוֹן ("redemption"). (The word does not occur in the absolute state in the Bible.) The number of A patterns is relatively small, e.g., כְּלָל ("general rule"), פְּרָט ("specification"); with the prefix מ (*mem*): מִכְנָס ("bringing in"), showing that A had a minor influence in this field.

The verbal noun of the *piʿʿel* is קִטּוּל. or קַטָּלָה (both BH but the latter is a borrowing from A). In the *hipʿil* also the A form הַקְטָלָה (already in the Bible) predominates along with הֶקְטֵל, e.g., הֶקְטֵר ("burning" ("of offering")). In the ל״י verbs, the form in Babylonian sources is, e.g., הוֹרָאָה ("instruction"); whereas in Palestinian sources it is הוֹרָיָה. The form הֶקְטֵל, e.g., הֶקְטֵר, is, in fact, identical with the absolute infinitive in BH. (As in BH, the *segol* is an allophone of *pattaḥ*). In the Babylonian vocalization it may appear both as הַקְטֵל and הִיקְטֵל (in certain cases). The passive and reflexive conjugations do not have their own verbal nouns and employ the verbal nouns of the corresponding active conjugations, e.g., וִידּוּי ("confession of sin") from לְהִתְוַדּוֹת. It should be noted, however, that the *nipʿal* infinitive הִכָּרֵת, occurring in the Mishnah also as

כָּרֵת ("extermination"), serves as a verbal noun; even a plural form occurs כָּרֵתוֹת.

The form with the ending ־ָן (*-ān*) is a *nomen agentis* (the agent) noun pattern which is peculiar to MH. In Palestinian manuscripts, these appear mainly as גּוֹזְלָן ("robber"), רוֹצְחָן ("murderer"), etc. (The vocalization is not uniform.) In Babylonian sources mainly the forms גזלן and רצחן occur. The origin of this form is still unclear. The *nomen agentis* for *qal* of the קָטוֹל pattern, e.g., לָקוֹחַ ("buyer") might be of A origin. It should be noted that MH tried to develop a special form to represent the result of an action, namely קְטִילָה (practically nonexistent in BH). The only example of this form is חֲתִיכָה ("a piece") alongside the verbal noun חֲתִיכָה ("cutting").

Alongside of the construct there is the paraphrastic (the circumlocuted) construct state which uses the particle של. As Yalon has demonstrated, this word was attached to the *nomen rectum* (if this was determined) and contained the definite article, e.g., ‡רִבּוֹנוֹ שֶׁל הָעוֹלָם = רִבּוֹנוֹ שֶׁלָּעוֹלָם ("master of the world"). How and when של was separated from the noun and ceased to contain the definite article is not entirely clear. In the Bar Kokhba letters של is separated from the following word, which, however, has the definite article. This shows that the dialect of the Bar Kokhba letters is not identical with MH as it is known today.

In the של phrase there are four types. In three of them של includes the definite article:

(a) הַיַּיִן וְהַחוֹמֶץ שֶׁלַּגּוֹיִם ("wine or the vinegar of Gentiles") (Av. Zar. 2:3). (b) with the prolectic suffix אֵידֵיהֶן שֶׁלַּגּוֹיִם "the festivals of the Gentiles"). The difference in meaning of these two constructions is not entirely clear. In each phrase both nouns are determined. (c) נִבְרֶשֶׁת (= נברשת) שֶׁלַּזָּהָב ("a golden candlestick") (Yoma 3:10). (d) לָשׁוֹן שֶׁלִּיזְהוֹרִית ("a thread of crimson wool"). In each of these phrases both nouns are undetermined. The reason for the difference between the two last constructions is not clear.

Plural. Besides the plural with ־ִים, ־ִין, and ־וֹת, a plural with the ending ־ָאוֹת in Babylonian sources, ־ָיוֹת in Palestinian sources occurs, e.g., מֶרְחֲצָאוֹת = מֶרְחֲצָיוֹת ("bathhouses"). The plural of nouns ending in ־וּת is not ־ֻיוֹת, as in the Bible, but ־ִיוֹת, e.g., מַלְכִיּוֹת ("kingdoms"). A double plural of compound nouns, such as, רָאשֵׁי שָׁנִים ("new years") occurs (cf., for example, the form אַנְשֵׁי שֵׁמוֹת, found in Chronicles, to אַנְשֵׁי שֵׁם ("famous men") which appears in Genesis).

The rules governing the use of the definite articles are still not entirely clear. It should, however, be pointed out that a noun with an accompanying adjective generally does not take the definite article, e.g., לַיְלָה הָרִאשׁוֹן ("the first night"). Other usages, such as, הַכֹּהֲנִים גְּדוֹלִים ("the high priests") which appear to be exceptions to the rule require further investigation (cf., הכהן גדול in the Dead Sea Scrolls).

PARTICLES. While there are many new adverbs and conjunctions, such as, בִּנְתַּיִם ("meanwhile"), כְּדֵי ("in order to"), עַכְשָׁיו ("now"), כֵּיצַד ("how"), noteworthy is אבית instead of בְּבֵית. It seems that the biblical prepositions have remained to a greater extent than the other particles, as in the case of the language of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Punic. Some usages which should be especially noted are the following: ־ל is used to a great extent for ־ב, e.g., הָיְתָה תְּרוּמָה לְתוֹךְ פִּיו ("the *terumah* was in his mouth"). Many verbs take either one of the following prepositions: ב or ל. ל also indicates the accusative (rare in BH but common in A). The prepositions עד – על interchange (as they do in Galilean and Samaritan Aramaic). The copulative ו (*waw*) sometimes acts as an explicative ו (*waw*), e.g., מְבָרֵךְ עַל הַטּוֹבָה וּמֵעֵין עַל הָרָעָה ("A man should say the benediction for good fortune regardless of any consequent evil") (in German: *und zwar*).

In particles of negation besides אֵין ("not"), employed in nominal sentences including participles (note the declension: אֵינִי, etc. אֵינָהּ / אֵינוֹ – "he/she is not"), also לֹא is used to negate participles. The A loan לָאו is used mainly in the phrase אִם לָאו ("if not"). אֵי ("אֵין") occurs apparently only before א, e.g., אֵי אַתֶּם ("don't you"). The expression "yes," which is absent in BH, in MH appears as הין (from A).

SYNTAX. Owing to the radical changes that occurred in the tense system of MH (see above), the syntax of MH looks very different from that of BH. However, since research in syntax has to be based on good manuscripts (see The Problem of MH), the picture is as yet not entirely clear.

The following may more or less be stated: in the verbal sentence generally the verb seems to precede the subject but not always. A verb can take a verbal complement in three ways: (a) infinitive plus ל (as in BH); (b) the participle הִתְחִיל בּוֹכֶה ("he started weeping") (rare in BH);

(c) a relative clause, צָרִיךְ שֶׁיֹּאמַר ("he must say"). In the past conditional the construction participle plus הָיָה is preferred, אִלּוּ (negative לוּלֵא) opening the sentence, e.g., אִילּוּ הָיִיתִי יוֹדֵעַ לֹא הָיִיתִי נוֹדֵר ("Had I known (that this was so) I would not have made my vow"). Interrogative sentences which expect a negative (?) answer begin with כְּלוּם. Relative sentences are more numerous than in BH since in MH subordinate clauses are used instead of the biblical infinitive plus ב or כ (not occurring in MH).

In the comparative sentence often יוֹתֵר is added, e.g., רַע יוֹתֵר מִסודמיין ("worse than the Sodomites") (Tos. Shab. 7:23).

While in BH the passive is used almost only if the agent is unknown (with very few exceptions), in MH it seems to be employed even if the agent is known, e.g., הַנּוֹלָדִים מִן הַסּוּס ("all offspring from a horse," lit., "born by a horse"). The agent is expressed by מן and by ל, e.g., נֶאֱכָלִים לַכֹּהֲנִים ("are eaten by the priests"). As noted, the syntax of MH has to be restudied on the basis of good manuscripts.

VOCABULARY. A great part of BH vocabulary disappeared from MH including even words indicating close relation, דּוֹד ("uncle") or parts of the body, such as, בֶּטֶן ("belly"), בֹּהֶן ("thumb") was replaced by גּוּדָל (אגודל). As is well known these two fields are the most resistant to change in every language. Less amazing is the fact that vocabulary used only in the poetic parts of BH did not generally survive in MH, e.g, חָרוּץ ("gold"). The vocabulary of MH is composed of the following elements: (1) Hebrew; (2) loanwords from Persian, Akkadian, Greek, Latin, and Aramaic.

Hebrew. The Hebrew element has many facets:
(a) BH whose meaning remained the same, such as, יָד ("hand"), רֶגֶל ("foot"), בַּיִת ("house"), מַטֶּה ("staff"), יָצָא ("to go out"), שָׁמַע ("to hear"), רָאָה ("to see").

(b) BH words which took on a different form (in the following examples the first word is the biblical form and the second the mishnaic): מַשּׂוּאָה – מַשְׂאֵת ("flares," "fire signs"), לְכַשֵּׁל – לְהַכְשִׁיל ("to cause to stumble"), יָמִין – יַמִּין ("right hand") (Aramaic?), זָג – זוֹג ("grape-peel"), חֵיל – חַיִל ("surrounding wall"). Some words found in the Bible are only in the singular whereas in MH they occur also in the plural, e.g., שְׁמִטָּה – שְׁמִיטִים ("sabbatical year"). In particular this is the case with collective nouns, such as פְּרִי – פֵּרוֹת ("fruit"), יָרָק – יְרָקוֹת ("vegetable"). Some words found only in the plural in the Bible occur in MH in the singular. such as, בָּטְנָה (= בּוֹטְנָה – בָּטְנִים "pistachio"). Verbs, such as תרם (תרם < תרומה < רום), from the BH root רום, in *hip'il* לְהָרִים ("to raise"), with the preformative ת (*taw*) formed the noun תְּרוּמָה ("heave offering"). MH derived from תְּרוּמָה a new root תרם which is now used instead of BH לְהָרִים. Nouns were formed from verbs, e.g., וַעַד ("meeting place") < הִוָּעֵד ("to meet"), וִדּוּי ("confession of sin") < הִתְוַדּוֹת ("to confess") where the biblical aversion to *waw* as the first radical did not apply anymore.

(c) Some nouns which apparently changed their gender under A influence, e.g., כּוֹס ("goblet") which became masculine while שָׂדֶה ("field") became feminine.

(d) A biblical element which changed semantically but not morphologically. Some words are concrete in the Bible and abstract in MH, e.g., נָהוֹג "to lead," in MH "to behave." Similarly גָּזוֹר in MH means only "to decide" and not "to cut." עוֹלָם in the Bible means "eternity," but in MH "world." Some words were semantically restricted, e.g., צְדָקָה "righteousness" and "charity," in MH means only "charity." חַג ("holiday") refers only to "Sukkot" in MH and עֲצֶרֶת ("assemblage") only to "Shavuot." It is sometimes difficult to decide whether a particular biblical root changed its meaning or the root in MH is simply homophonic, for example, פָּסוֹל in the Bible means "to hew," with the derived noun פְּסוֹלֶת ("refuse") (cf., נְעוֹרֶת "tow"). From פְּסוֹלֶת a denominative *qal* verb was formed ("to declare unfit"); there may, however, be a different root here (as found in Arabic). But the root לְהִתְחַטֵּא ("to ingratiate himself") is certainly not identical with the Hebrew root חטא ("to sin"), but is an A root.

(e) Non-biblical Hebrew elements. It is certain that the Bible does not contain the whole vocabulary of the biblical period, as shown by personal names and inscriptions (cf., the word זדה in the Siloam inscription (as yet unexplained) and נצף appearing on weights (meaning apparently "half," cf., Arabic). Therefore at least some of those roots which cannot be proven to be foreign loans are probably survivals from the biblical period and only incidentally did not appear in the Bible. This is, of course, impossible to prove in most cases. Sometimes, it cannot be determined whether the form originated in H (or in a Hebrew-Canaanite dialect) or in a neighboring dialect (such as Edomite (?)). It seems probable that most of these words are of H (or Hebrew-Canaanite) origin. Consider, for example, the root חָזוֹר ("to return") (in Eastern Aramaic הדר – חדר; in Western Aramaic חזר, apparently a borrowing from Hebrew). This root may have reached H through one of the Canaanite dialects. On the other hand, the root of לְהִתְעַכֵּב ("to be delayed") is less certain. (There is no certain parallel in the other Semitic languages.) The certainty is greater for agricultural terms or for parts of the body, e.g., סָרָף (שָׂרָף) ("resin"), which do not occur in other Semitic languages. The form of the word טְחוֹל ("spleen") shows its Hebrew-Canaanite origin. Since the Arabic cognate is *ṭiḥāl* and *ā* appears here as *ō*, as in Hebrew-Canaanite (a change which did not occur in A loanwords), the H origin of the word seems more or less to be certain. The root מסוק ("to harvest olives") is probably Hebrew since it has no cognate in the other Semitic languages. It was only by chance that these roots did not occur in the Bible, or maybe they were current in a different H dialect (regarding מסוק compare the biblical root נקוף with a similar meaning) but not in BH. In order to clarify the relationship between MH and BH, and especially A, the vocabulary of the former should be studied thoroughly on the basis of excellent manuscripts and according to different fields in semantics.

Loanwords. Persian. The Persian hegemony in Palestine lasted only 200 years and Persian consequently did not leave a strong mark. Administrative terms such as גִּזְבָּר ("treasurer"), already found in the Bible, occur, but not מַרְכּוֹל (the Palestinian form) – אמרכל (the Babylonian form) ("a high official"). The word וֶרֶד ("rose") seems to be Iranian. The fact that the word begins with ו (*waw*) points to its non-Hebrew origin (but see above Vocabulary (b)).

Akkadian. Most Akkadian words in MH were borrowed through an A intermediary. Some words, however, do not appear in A. The Akkadian-Sumerian אַפַּר ("meadow") is hardly found in the A dialects. On the other hand אֶמָּתַי ("when"), parallel to BH מָתַי, is found in several A dialects. Many Akkadian mercantile terms, such as, שְׁטָר ("writ"), גֵּט ("writ (of divorce)"), תַּגָּר ("merchant"), אָרִיס ("tenant farmer") from the Akkadian root *erēšu* ("to plough") have entered MH, as have terms from the material culture, such as, דַּף ("page") (of Sumerian origin). The root זוז ("to move") is also of Akkadian origin. It is possible that the meaning of לָקוֹחַ ("to purchase"), found mainly in MH, is an Akkadian calque (loan translation). That is apparently why when לָקוֹחַ ("to take") also acquired the new meaning "to purchase," the BH לָקַח אִשָּׁה ("to take a wife," i.e., "to marry") changed in LBH to נָשָׂא אִשָּׁה.

Greek. Many administrative, religious, mercantile, material culture (excluding agriculture), and even everyday words were borrowed from Greek. From the Greek word זוֹג ("yoke") a denominative verb was formed; similarly אֲוֵיר (אָוֵיר?) ("air") and הֶדְיוֹט ("simple person") are Greek. There are mercantile terms: פִּינְקֵס ("account book") and סִיטוֹן ("wholesale provision dealer"): household terms: קָתֶדְרָה ("chair with a back"), and פְּרוֹזְדוֹד (corrupted in the printed versions פְּרוֹזְדוֹר) ("vestibule"): administrative terms: סַנְהֶדְרִין (Greek "assembly"), and לְקַלֵּס ("to praise," mainly a king or a high official); urban terminology: מטרופולין ("city"), פלטין ("palace"), and לְמֵן (נמל in Babylonian sources of MH ("port")); food terms: כְּרוּב ("cabbage"). The expression (דָּרַשְׁתָּ) יָפֶה ("you have (well) explained") (in BH יָפֶה = beautiful) seems to be a calque, as is apparently הִשְׁלִים ("he did") (Lieberman).

Latin. The few Latin loanwords are from the administrative and military spheres, e.g., לִיבְלָר ("scribe"), לִגְיוֹן ‡ ("legion"), נוֹמְרוֹן ("troop of soldiers") אסתרטה – סרטה ("street"), קָרוֹן ("wagon"), סַפְסֵל ("bench"), and טַבְלָה ("table").

Other Languages. Assuming that the language of the Edomites who settled in Palestine was closer to Arabic than to H (there is, however, no proof of this), it may be hypothesized that the word שׁוֹבָךְ ("dovecote"), Arabic *šubbak* ("window"), was borrowed from Edomite. The Arabic *š* was taken into Hebrew without the linguistic change to שׂ. According to an opinion in the Talmud, the expression יוֹנֵי הוֹרדסיוֹת (the second word appears in various forms) in the Mishnah means "doves of the king Herod," which (according to Josephus) he raised in his home. חוֹטֶם ("nose"), from a rare biblical root, brings to mind the nose ring (חָטָם) of the camel. This word may have come into Hebrew from the language of a people that still employed camels (from Edomite?); the assumption is, of course, purely speculative.

Influence of Aramaic. Unlike the above languages whose influence on MH was felt mainly in the vocabulary, A had a far-reaching impact and left its mark on all facets of the language, namely, orthography, phonetics and phonology, morphology including inflection, syntax, and vocabulary. There is room for investigation as to whether MH was a Hebrew-Aramaic mixed language. This question may be posed owing to the fact that A had a pervading influence in all spheres of the language, including inflection, which is generally considered to be impenetrable to foreign influence. It is possible, however, that because of the symbiosis of A and Hebrew-Canaanite the two exerted a mutual influence (see especially phonology).

Orthography. All of the peculiarities mentioned above as being in MH are found, more or less, in the Palestinian Aramaic dialects as well, especially Galilean and Christian-Palestinian Aramaic, and even in the eastern dialects.

Phonetics and Phonology. The fact that the consonantal phonemes (according to biblical A also the vocalic phonemes) are from a synchronic point of view identical in both languages – a phenomenon without parallel often even in different dialects of the same language – is noteworthy. There is reason to believe that this is due to Hebrew-Canaanite: from A inscriptions it is known that there were several phonemes in A which did not exist in Hebrew-Canaanite. Common to H and A are the double realization בג"ד כפ"ת (*b g d k p t*); the weakening of the gutturals to a greater or lesser extent in most of the A dialects; and common assimilation and dissimilation phenomena (with regard to ר (*reš*), especially in Galilean Aramaic).

Inflection. The independent personal pronoun אַתְּ ("you" masc.) and the possessive pronouns ־ָךְ, ־ִיךְ (see above Pronouns) are clear indications of A influence. With regard to the verb, the influence was weaker. The A root הוה appears maybe even with an A vocalization (see above). The loss of the *puʿʿal* is paralleled in A, whereas the *hopʿal* still exists as opposed to the A dialects where it disappeared (with the exception of the early dialects). The rare occurrence of the *ʾettapʿal*, the development of the *nitpaʿʿal*, and the rejection of forms such as תִּשְׁמְרוּן (see above conjugations) point to an anti-Aramaic trend. A influence was less felt in the noun patterns.

Tenses and Syntax. The tense system completely parallels that of Galilean Aramaic and is close to that of Christian-Palestinian and Samaritan Aramaic. It is also similar to that of Eastern Aramaic. The assumption that the whole tense system is influenced by A seems to be inescapable. Note, however, that biblical Aramaic and the old A inscriptions show that this system is not original with A. Even though there still is no real comprehensive study on the syntax of MH and the Western Aramaic dialects, there seems to be a far-reaching parallelism between them.

Vocabulary. It is clear that A influence is considerable in this category. Absolute proof is provided by loanwords having an A root consonant which differs diachronically from the Hebrew cognates (ד, ט, ע, ת), or by loanwords in which a difference arises because of the Hebrew Canaanite vowel shift *ā* > *ō*. Thus, for example, הִתְחַטֵּא ("to ingratiate"), אירַע ("to occur") < A ערע, Hebrew-Canaanite ערץ ‡ are all A; similarly, אֶילָּא ("but") אִם לֹא = אֶן לָא in BH, שָׁעָה ("hour"). Even in the numerals there are A elements, e.g., שְׁתוּת ("a sixth") and תּוֹמֶן ("an eighth"). As is well known also the numerals are most resistant to penetration of foreign elements.

In other cases the decision may be in favor of an A influence, e.g., אֶמְצַע ("middle"), מָמוֹן (?) ("money"), and many more. There is still no up-to-date work on this subject. All the studies published in this field are unreliable.

There are also many calques, such as, סָגַר = אָחַז ("he closed"). Similarly the fact that in MH כּוֹס ("goblet") is masculine and שָׂדֶה ("field") is feminine goes back to A influence.

Due to A influence there are occasionally in MH words which are archaic in the Bible (but in general such words disappeared from MH), e.g., עוֹנָה ("time"), – יְמוֹת ("days") as in the phrase יְמוֹת הַחַמָּה ("the sunny season").

A biblical word might change in form because of A influence, e.g., גֵּיא (בֶן) הִנֹּם in the Bible, but גֵּיהִנָּם ("Gehenna") in MH (with a different meaning). This is the traditional pronunciation in several Jewish communities.

DIALECTS OF MISHNAIC HEBREW

The early state of affairs as represented by the manuscripts will be discussed here and not the differences between the living traditions of the different Jewish communities (mainly the Yemenite, Sephardi, and Ashkenazi). It is certain that there were differences between the Babylonian and Palestinian traditions. It is even possible to assume that archaic forms which later changed in the Palestinian tradition occasionally remained in the Babylonian tradition. Consider the following example: according to the transcription of the New Testament it is known that the old form of רבי ("rabbi") was רַבִּי. This form was preserved in the Babylonian vocalization tradition, but in Palestinian manuscripts the vocalization is רֶבִּי (רִבִּי) and even רְבִּי. Greek transcriptions from Palestine, and later transcriptions in Italy, prove that the first two forms are correct Palestinian forms. They were also preserved in the traditions of various communities. The form מוּעָט ("small part") is found mainly in Babylonian sources. The normal form מְמוּעָט is found mainly in Palestinian manuscripts (also מועט). However in the Dead Sea Scrolls the Babylonian form מועט occurs. A clear difference between Palestine and Babylonia is indicated by such forms as הוֹדָאָה ("thanks") (Babylonian) as opposed to הוֹדָיָה (Palestinian). Similarly גזלן (Babylonian) and גּוֹזְלָן (Palestinian).

It seems that even in Palestine there were dialectical differences and though the indications are few concerning the vocabulary, the evidence of the Talmud on certain points may be accepted. רְפָפוֹת ("shutters") were called by one *tanna* רְעָדוֹת. Besides this, it is difficult at the moment to find other differences, such as, the interchange א – ע (*ʿayin*) – (*alep*) attributed to the academy of Eliezer b. Jacob. The MH of the Bar Kokhba letters is slightly different from that which has been transmitted. של is not connected to the word following it. The *nomen rectum*, however, has the definite article (as opposed to the situation in the printed editions of MH texts). Instead of את, there is (as in Punic) ת, e.g., תכבלים = אֶת הַכְּבָלִים ("the chains") (perhaps this form will be discovered in good manuscripts). The word אזי ("then") found in these letters is not present in normal MH.

There seem to be traces of an H dialect which was not identical with BH. If this is not assumed, then it is difficult to explain the exclusive use of זו instead of זֹאת (*zō* + *t*) since there is no way of explaining the loss of the ת (*taw*). It is preferable to assume that זו came to predominate in MH from another H dialect in which this archaic form existed. (זו already occurs in the Bible.) The forms הָיָה ("she was") and קָנָה ("she bought") are even more to the point (see above weak verb). The regular biblical form הָיְתָה and קָנְתָה developed from קָנָת ‡ + *ā* which was taken over from the other verbal classes. It is impossible to understand how a retrogression would occur in MH; these forms are thus better explained as intrusions from a dialect in which the process קָנְתָה < קנת did not take place. (Survivals of the archaic form occur in the Bible and in the Siloam inscription.)

MISHNAIC HEBREW OF THE PALESTINIAN AMORAIM

This dialect has been studied on the basis of Vat. Ms. Ebr. 30 of Bereshit Rabbah. On the one hand it has been found to have a considerable mixture of BH and on the other to contain independent forms that are found in MH but not in tannaitic sources. (They occur in very few cases and must have been corruptions). Thus, זאת occurs as an adjective, e.g., הלבנה הזאת ("this moon"). The far deictic pronouns הַלָּה ("that") and הַלָּז ("that one") disappeared and were replaced by אוֹתוֹ ("him"), etc. These changes are to be regarded as internal H developments, though the last was perhaps influenced by A. The ending ת is sometimes found in the third person feminine perfect in verb classes other than ל"ה (A influence). In the imperfect first person singular, the first person plural form is sometimes employed (as in Galilean Aramaic). This usage is found only once in the Mishnah. As in BH the construct infinitive without ל- occurs, e.g., מִבּוֹא (מִן + בּוֹא). As opposed to MH the following differences should be noted: (1) internal H development; (2) admixture of BH; (3) increased A influence.

MISHNAIC HEBREW OF THE BABYLONIAN AMORAIM

This dialect has not yet been studied (see below). The word אשפה ("trash") as against אַשְׁפּוֹת (in the tannaitic Hebrew) may point to independent development.

[Eduard Yecheskel Kutscher]

Kutcher's description is still valid in its main features. However, since the 1970s research in MH has made considerable progress. While the description above is based on the Mishnah according to Ms. Kaufmann, in recent years other MSS of the Mishnah have been described, such as Paris, Parma 497, Deinard, Maimonides' Autograph, and Genizah fragments. Haneman's description of the verb system in Ms. Parma 138 can serve as a model for the "classic" MH verb system. Other tannaitic as well as amoraic sources were investigated, such as the Tosefta, Sifra, Palestinian and Babylonian Talmuds. Traditions contained in old sources and oral traditions were described, such as Yemen, Aleppo, Tunisia, Italy, early and late Ashkenazi traditions, the Karaite tradition, and others. The Babylonian Punctuation tradition is presented in detail in Yeivin's monumental work. Syntax is described according to Ms. Kaufmann of the Mishnah and there is a full description of the tense system.

In these descriptions many features were recognized to be typical of MH. The following are a few examples: It was proved that a doubling of ר was common in certain traditions of MH. The relative pronoun ש is vocalized with *sheva* in some circumstances, such as שְׁהוּא (these two phenomena are very rare in the Masoretic Vocalization of the Bible). Some conjugations of the verb (or modifications of old conjugations) were established: *nufʿal* as a variant of *nifʿal* in verbs I-y and I-n, e.g. נֻטַּל (instead of the common נִטַּל); *pŒ > el* and *nitpŒ > al* (instead of *paʿʿel* and *nitpaʿʿal*), e.g., מְזָמֵן; *nitpaʿʿal* in participle can take the form נִתְפַּעֵל (instead of the common

מִתְפַּעֵל). For the meaning of the conjugations, it was claimed that the *hif'il* can serve for the same meaning as the *qal* (as it is claimed of the *pi''el*).

In the field of vocabulary, Moreshet's lexicon lists and discusses all the verbs in MH not found in the Bible. According to his findings, there are about 500 new verbs in MH, of which two-thirds can be attributed to Aramaic influence. In this field mention should also be made of the Historical Dictionary Project of the Academy of the Hebrew Language, which produced a full concordance of tannaitic and amoraic literature according to reliable MSS (of other periods). This concordance gives an accurate list of the vocabulary of MH and serves as a fundamental tool of research in this field.

The richness and variety revealed in so many reliable sources enabled Bar-Asher to sort and arrange MH sources according to two criteria (he deals exclusively with the Mishnah, but in fact his observations are valid for all tannaitic and amoraic sources): (1) Palestinian vs. Babylonian branches, e.g., while in Palestinian sources (such as Ms. Kaufmann of the Mishnah) we find the verb נתאלמנה, in Babylonian sources (such as quotations from the Mishnah in the Babylonian Talmud) the verb is נתארמלה. Although the last verb was probably borrowed from A, it is an ancient borrowing, as it occurs already in the Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls. (2) Western vs. Eastern traditions, which differ mainly in the realization of written texts; e.g. while in the Western traditions a doubling of ר is almost nonexistent, it is quite common in the Eastern traditions of MH. Many of these differences seem to go back to ancient times and may have existed when MH was still a living tongue.

[Yochanan Breuer (2nd ed.)]

MEDIEVAL

INTRODUCTION
THE LANGUAGE OF PIYYUṬ
SAADIAH GAON
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SPANISH HEBREW POETRY
    Influence of Arabic on the Language of Secular Poetry
ORIGINAL PROSE WORKS AND TRANSLATIONS
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        LEXICON
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INTRODUCTION

After Hebrew as a spoken language was replaced by Aramaic, it became a written language whose history is from and for books alone. The principal sources for the writers were Biblical Hebrew and Mishnaic Hebrew and these met the needs of all forms of written expression: religious and secular poetry, letters, books on science, and philosophy.

Hebrew became a second language, existing side by side with the vernacular languages spoken by Jews wherever they happened to be. Such a duality was quite normal in the Middle Ages; spoken Arabic existed alongside classical Arabic, other languages were spoken where Latin was the literary medium. Although it became a written language, Hebrew did not remain petrified, limited to passages quoted in their original form and meaning, but lived "an active life" in written texts. New topics, whether in original writings or in translations, necessitated an expansion of the language, especially in the coining of new terms for concepts and subjects not found in the Bible, the Mishnah, or the Midrashim, e.g., philosophy, medicine, etc. Responsa which had to deal with everyday subjects, not found in earlier halakhic responsa, also led to linguistic innovation, especially in vocabulary. Since it was a written language, many new forms were invented for literary purposes: rhetorical language and stylistic embellishment, especially in poetry. It is difficult to evaluate the changes on linguistic grounds alone, particularly in poetry; the language was, as it were, raw material for stylistic variation.

In a living language which serves as a natural means of spoken communication, an innovation is any new form which carries a specific meaning (morphological-semantic innovation). Innovation of this kind occurred in the written language in books of science, especially as translations of new concepts which had previously been unknown to the Hebraic world and had no equivalents in Hebrew, e.g., *agron* (more correctly *egron*; "a dictionary"), *mahut* ("essence"). New meanings were added to existing words; this is a common feature of poetry as a means to enrich the language. In *piyyuṭ*, though not only there, use was made of the system of "alternate forms," whereby existing words could change their form – according to regular patterns of analogical formation, and also irregularly – without any change in meaning. These are morphological-stylistic changes, but not semantic. This technique is generally foreign to the spoken language where every form has its own specific meaning.

The linguistic changes of the written language, unlike those of the spoken tongue, do not take place of their own accord, through the operation of analogy, leveling, attraction, etc. They owe their existence to the needs of artistic and stylistic embellishment and are premeditated rather than spontaneous (as will be explained below). They include changes in frequency – rare words become common – sometimes because of the different frequency in the language of influence, sometimes because of a deliberate choice of words felt to beautify the language. Some innovations rose from a linguistic understanding of the processes of analogical word formation (הֵיקֵּשׁ) available in the language of their execution; others arose from the contact between written Hebrew and the spoken vernacular, or from the influence of a source language upon its Hebrew translation. A description of written Hebrew should include the different periods, places, and styles in which it was written. Each had its own attitude to the original sources; some were sparing in innovation, others rich in additions; some preserved words as they found them, others changed both form and meaning (whether intentionally or not). The different languages with which Hebrew came in contact must also be discussed: the Aramaic of the Midrashim and the Talmud which at the beginning of the period wielded its influence as a spoken vernacular and at the end of the period as a written language which stayed alive as the vehicle for study of the Babylonian Talmud (and to some extent of the Zohar); Arabic, from the period of the *geʾonim*; Middle High German which had considerable influence on the language of the Jews of Germany; there are even signs of French influence (e.g., in the language of Rashi) and Italian (a little in *Megillat Aḥimaʿaẓ*, 1504, and rather more in the language of *Immanuel of Rome). There is a strong connection between the form which written Hebrew took and the nature of the culture and society which supported it. The language of poetry in Spain flourished against the background of the Golden Age of Spanish culture, in imitation of the craft of Arabic poetry. The Midrashic folk language in Germany, unaffected by the rigors of syntax and grammatical rules, is well explained by the humble character of this Jewish community which was influenced by the liturgy and the *halakhah* of Ereẓ Israel, took hardly any interest in science and grammar, and lacked any social or cultural environment advanced enough to provide a model for literary creation.

The Hebrew language will be described mainly, but not solely, by reference to the language of prominent figures in the world of literature or Jewish intellectual life. An account will also be given of the link between the ideas of the grammarians and the writing of good Hebrew. Nothing will be said of the pronunciations of Hebrew (for phonological developments, see *Pronunciations of Hebrew).

THE LANGUAGE OF PIYYUṬ

The first revival of Hebrew after its extinction as a spoken vernacular was in the *piyyuṭ* in Ereẓ Israel, where there was a considerable return to written Hebrew, not only as a language from which to quote but as a linguistic activity aimed at increasing the vocabulary with newly derived nouns and verbs. The *piyyuṭim* were religious poems used as prayers in public worship. Some scholars have placed the beginning of liturgical poetry as early as the third or fourth century (J. Schirmann); others have put forward later dates. The generally accepted opinion is that they date from the fifth–sixth century, in Ereẓ Israel, and were written against a background of Midrashim and spoken Aramaic. The *piyyuṭim* are a blend of Biblical Hebrew, eminently suitable for ceremonial religious poetry of a national character, and Mishnaic Hebrew, without which it would have been impossible to give them the homiletic, midrashic content which is their main characteristic. Zunz seems to have been the first to name the *piyyuṭim* "Midrashim in the guise of poetry," and it is customary nowadays to emphasize that they are versified homilies (e.g., Mirsky). The linguistic blend is apparent not only in the choice of vocabulary but also in the grammar. The extensive revival of verbs in *binyan puʿal*, the co-occurrence of short and long tense forms, the use of the absolute infinitive and to a limited extent of the conversive *waw* are typical of Biblical Hebrew; the use of *binyan nitpaʿal*, and complex infinitive forms like מלקטל, etc., derive from Mishnaic Hebrew.

The unique feature of the language of the *piyyuṭim*, however is not the blend of Biblical and Mishnaic Hebrew but its particular variety of linguistic innovation. Though the verse of the earliest known *payṭanim*, *Yose b. Yose and *Yannai, was not overcharged with difficult words in unusual declensions, the language of all the *payṭanim* was customarily referred to as *ʾaẓ qoẓeẓ* after the *piyyuṭ* read on Purim (a *qerobah to Parshat Zakhor* by Eleazar *Kallir):

אָץ קוֹצֵץ בֶּן קוֹצֵץ קְצוּצַי לְקַצֵּץ
בְּדִבּוּר מְפוֹצֵץ רְצוּצַי לְרַצֵּץ
לֵץ בְּבוֹא לְלוֹצֵץ פֻּלַּץ וְנִתְלוֹצֵץ
כְּעָץ מְחַצְּצִים לְחַצֵּץ כְּנֵץ עַל צִפּוֹר לְנַצֵּץ

The evil man, son of an evil man, ran
to cut down my persecuted ones;
With slander my broken ones to destroy;
The evil one when he came to do evil
was destroyed and the evil was done to him,
When he advised to shoot the shooters
like a hawk upon a bird to prey.

i.e., Haman, son of Hamdata, ran to cut down the Jews, to destroy them with slander. When the evil man came to do his evil deed he himself was destroyed and the evil was done to him; when he gave counsel that Israel be shot with arrows.

Many typical features of the *piyyuṭim* are indeed to be found in this poem: allusive phrases (קוֹצֵץ בֶּן קוֹצֵץ, also in the Midrash, מְחַצְּצִים), innovations in verb forms (פֻּלַּץ) and forms like כְּעָץ which has both עָץ for יָעַץ and כְּ before an inflected verb. The poem demands explication, not only linguistically but as a riddle, with its reminiscences of the Bible and the Midrashim, its brevity, and its wealth of allusive phrases. *Saadiah Gaon, whose language has much in common with the writings of the liturgical poets, was aware that the language of some of the *piyyuṭim* was faulty (see his introduction to the *Agron* (more correctly *Egron*) and his note to his *siddur*, p. 225). The main critic was Abraham *Ibn Ezra who described the language of Kallir as "a breached city, with no walls" (commentary to Eccles. 5:1) and said of the liturgical poets in general that "they do not know how to speak correctly, they strive to use hard words, and say תַּחַן instead of תְּחִנָּה" (in his book *Safah Berurah*). There were also many other harsh critics.

The following were the characteristic features of liturgical poetry:

(a) The method of creating verb forms; what has been called "one rule for all conjugations, defective and reduplicative." This was the most highly criticized feature (Zulai, *The Liturgical School of Poetry of Saadia Gaon*, p. 7, bibl.). Examples are עָשׂ for עָשָׂה (conjugating a ל״ה verb as though it were ע״ו), סָע for נָסַע (ע״ו for פ״נ), עָץ for יָעַץ (ע״ו for פ״י) and so on. However, this mixture is only found in the perfect. Forms like יָעוּשׁ (the imperfect of עוּשׁ if it were an ע״ו verb) and יָסוּעַ do not occur. Even in the perfect most of the forms can be explained simply as deletion of the first (סַע from נָסַע) or last (עָשׂ from עָשָׂה) letter; only a few isolated forms show a real conversion to a different conjugation, usually to ע״ו, in other forms of the perfect, e.g. חַזְתָּה, פַּצְתָּה. A more plausible approach, therefore, is to describe this method of conjugating verbs (which was not explained by the liturgical poets themselves) in the terms used by Saadiah Gaon in the second chapter of his *Sefer Ẓaḥot*, as deletion of the initial or final letter of a particular form, and not necessarily of the root consonants, by analogy with certain biblical forms: סָע after יִסַּע, עָשׂ after וַיַּעַשׂ and so on. The deletion of the *nun* is thus not conditioned by *šewa naḥ*, nor is the deletion of the *he* by the shortened imperfect form. Forms such as מַעַשׂ, תֶּחִי, and תַּאו can similarly be explained as deletion, by analogy with מַעַל־מַעְלָה in the Bible. With the recognition of the tri-consonantal basis of the Hebrew root (by *Ḥayyuj) such forms were strongly criticized by grammarians and poets in Spain, and this technique, much used by Saadiah Gaon, almost disappeared from secular poetry after the period of the *payṭanim*. (N.B. such forms as בָּט, פָּץ, etc. are not evidence that the weak roots were considered biconsonantal. Menahem and Dunash, who were unaware of the tri-consonantal nature of such conjugations, established the root שב for verb forms like שׁוּב, יָשַׁב and נָשַׁב, yet did not mix the conjugations in their writings, and derived the forms in accordance with biblical use. They never substituted קמית for קַמְתָּ for example).

(b) The liturgical poets created many new words by conjugating roots in all the *binyanim*; for them the *binyan* was part of the automatic inflectional system, like tense and person. The later poets of Spain saw the *binyan* as non-automatic, not subject to unrestricted analogical extension, confined to forms found in biblical Hebrew and mishnaic Hebrew. Not so the writers of the *piyyuṭim*. They derived many words from nouns: סִמְדֵּר (from סְמָדַר), זִלְעֵף (from זַלְעָפָה), הִבְטִין (from בֶּטֶן), and even from adverbs and particles: טֵרְמַנִי from טֶרֶם and לְבַלְעֵד from בִּלְעֲדֵי. They also incorporated derivational affixes and suffixes as root letters: לְהַתְשִׁיר from תְּשׁוּרָה by analogy with mishnaic לְהַתְרִים from תְּרוּמָה. This abundance of morphological variation is the hallmark of liturgical poetry, and has been vilified as bizarre by its critics. The grammarians and some of the poets in Spain rejected the alternate forms because they "changed the holy writ" (Dunash ben Labrat's reply to Saadiah Gaon, 95), stating "we shall read every word in the form in which we found it" (*ibid.*). Abraham Ibn Ezra declares: "a man must use a word in the form in which it is found" (*Moznayim*, 33). (A similar statement was made by Moses Ibn Ezra in *Širat Yisrael*, 148). Both Abraham and Moses Ibn Ezra criticized the use of given verbs in *binyanim* in which they did not occur in the Bible. Dunash denounced a change in noun forms but allowed the use of different *binyanim*. The early critics rejected these changes because they wanted to preserve biblical Hebrew; later critics deprecated poets who adopted different forms and made innovations which did not contribute to the sense of the poem.

Criticism of the language of *piyyuṭ* is intrinsically criticism of its style. Abraham Ibn Ezra mentions four flaws – two concerning the language and the other two content and poetic devices: the *piyyuṭ* is (1) influenced by a foreign tongue, i.e., the Aramaic of the Talmud; full of (2) grammatical errors; (3) riddles and fables obscure in meaning; and (4) homilies. In comparison to the prayers, the *piyyuṭ* is obscure in language and style and is unfit to be used in liturgy (Comm. Eccles. 5:1). Basically, however, the language of the *piyyut* is difficult because of its many allusions: עֲמוּסִים ("the encumbered") standing for "the Children of Israel," אֵיתָן ("the strong") for "Abraham," etc. Many of the forms, drawn from the Midrashim, were more difficult for the Jews of Spain than those of Ereẓ Israel who knew the Midrashim well. Graetz sharply criticized the *piyyuṭ*, while Samuel David Luzzatto explicitly defended Ha-Kallir: "not because of ignorance and duress did he write it so, but to embellish the style," (introd. to *Maḥzor Roma*, 1861), "Eleazar Kallir was not tongue-tied but for his wisdom and of his own will did he write it" (Letter to S.J. Rapaport, 1884). Zunz described the language of the *piyyuṭ* with great understanding and he knew that it was written for the taste of that generation (*Ha-Derašot be-Yisra'el*, pp. 184–5). In his opinion the plenitude of vocabulary serves as an ornament of style, and many forms are simply "nonce words," not meant to be established as part of the language (see bibl.).

The liturgical poets left nothing in writing which would inform us of their view of language and style, but it is clear that they regarded an active, prolific use of derivational inflections as one of the glories of the language. The wealth of forms is similar to the technique of listing synonyms (the liturgical poets liked to fill a line with a long list of synonyms or near-synonyms), the use of word play, and the use of a recurrent rhyme word. The invention of new forms which do not carry new meanings creates both a richness of sound and a degree of synonymy which are among the rhetorical techniques of liturgical poetry. For Bialik also, criticism of the literary value of the *piyyuṭim* is inseparable from criticism of their language: "the period of Ha Kallir and his disciples was a time of infatuation with liturgical poetry, which became more and more sentimental" (*Širatenu ha-Ẓe'ira*). He condemned the "makers of acrostics" and the "tasteless stammerers" whose language was "like the gravel (אבני חצץ) of *aẓ qoẓeẓ*."

(c) The letter *kap* (-כ standing for כַּאֲשֶׁר as well as -כ for כְּמוֹ) can be prefixed to an inflected verb: גֵּר צֶדֶק נִצַּחְתּוֹ כָּנֶחֱלַק לוֹ לָיְלָה "you made the righteous proselyte prevail at midnight" (Yannai in "*Wa-Yehi ba-Ḥaẓi ha-Laylah*"). So also כְּהָלְכוּ, כְּדִבַּרְתָּ, כְּיֵלֵךְ. This is a characteristic feature of liturgical poetry in Ereẓ Israel. Dunash regarded the prefixing of כ to verbs in the perfect tense as a rule of analogy from biblical practice (הֶהָלְכוּא, Josh. 10:24 – replies to Saadiah Gaon, 114). In his poem against *Menahem ibn Saruq he uses the form כְּשָׁקַט. Although Ibn Janaḥ permitted the use of *kap* before a perfect tense for reasons of scansion (to provide an iamb (Harikma 45–46)) it was not used in secular poetry in Spain, undoubtedly due to the influence of the grammarians. Saadiah Gaon used *kap* before perfect tenses, but in *Sefer Ẓaḥot*, written late in life, he denounced its usage. Examples of *kap* before perfect tenses are also to be found in the writings of Hai Gaon. However, in those communities which drew their inspiration from the Midrashim, the halakhah and the liturgical poetry of Ereẓ Israel, this linguistic feature continues to occur, and not only in acrostics. In *Megillat Aḥima'aẓ* (Italy, 1054) we find כְּבָאוּ, כְּשָׁמְעוּ, and in the German elegies and poems written about the horrors of the Crusades we find כְּהָלַךְ and כְּפָחֲזוּ.

From the Spanish period until the Enlightenment, the liturgical poets were charged with ignorance of grammar. It would be going too far to say that they had no understanding of language; their view of word creation is not in line with accepted grammar. A realization of the motives which led to such abundance of morphological-stylistic innovation can bring us closer to understanding the liturgical poet as a deliberate, if inartistic, manipulator of language. In recent years new light has been thrown on the language of the *piyyuṭim* as a linguistic and not merely a stylistic phenomenon. Study of Palestinian Aramaic and the language of Hebrew Midrashim written in Ereẓ Israel has revealed that the language of the *piyyuṭim* is based on "Palestinian idiom" (Zulai). Words thought to be arbitrary innovations invented by the liturgical poets have been shown to be rooted in the language of the Midrashim and the Targum. Yallon has pointed out words which passed from the Midrashim to the *piyyuṭim* (גהר meaning reproof, פנה meaning look, יאש meaning weak, לִבֵּב meaning shout, ברור meaning strong and existing, and others). Expressions from the Hebrew spoken in Ereẓ Israel survived in the *piyyuṭim*: קְפִידַת רוּחַ – severity – and זְרִיקַת תְּפִלּוֹת – prayer (noted by Zulai), or מוֹדַע for תְּעוּדָה document, and מַסְפֵּק – danger (Shalom Spiegel). S. Lieberman has also pointed out the affinity to midrashic language (see bibl.). The language of Ereẓ Israel can elucidate difficult passages in liturgical poetry, and makes it clear how the creation of the poets was natural and not artificial. A comprehensive description of the language of the *piyyuṭim* against the background of the languages of Palestine and the attitudes to grammar out of which it took shape would contribute greatly to a clearer understanding of this first important manifestation of written Hebrew.

SAADIAH GAON

It was Saadiah Gaon who brought about the great revival of Hebrew writing in Babylon. Actually, even before his time the use of Hebrew in writing had not been set aside completely. In Ereẓ Israel there had been liturgical poetry, Midrashim and collections of legal decisions, the best known, *Sefer ha-Ma'asim* ("The Book of Court Cases" or "Judgments"), was collected at the beginning of the geonic period.

After the period of Saadiah Gaon the Palestinian *geonim* continued to write a good Hebrew, and Ibn Janaḥ affirms that "the men of Tiberias excelled all others in the purity of their Hebrew." In the talmudic academy of Damascus, which took over from that of Ereẓ Israel, *halakhah* and metrical, rhymed prose were written in Hebrew (in the 11th century). The same kind of thing occurred in Babylon. In the Talmud short extracts from the *amoraim*, consisting of a presentation of the problem and a brief discussion, are written in Hebrew; detailed discussion in Aramaic comes later. At the end of the eighth century Pirkoi ben Baboi wrote chapters of *halakhah* in good Hebrew. The collections of halakhic decisions, *Halakhot Pesukot* of Yehudai Gaon and *Halakhot Gedolot* of Simeon Kayyara both contain sections in Hebrew. Needless to say they derive from Palestinian literature, but they do bear witness to the fact that even in Babylon, Hebrew had not given way completely to Aramaic, and was used for special purposes, e.g., for halakhic decisions. Several Aramaic books on *halakhah* were translated, or translated and edited in Hebrew, notably *Halakhot Re'u to Halakhot Pesukot* and the book *We-Hizhir* to the responsa of Aḥai of Shabḥa. Conventional opinion (Poznansky, Epstein, Assaf, and Ginzberg) holds that the translations were done in Ereẓ Israel, or at the very least in Greece and Italy, since Hebrew translation could only have been carried out where Babylonian Aramaic was unknown. Nevertheless, according to S. Abramson it is quite possible that they were written in Babylon when Aramaic had given way to Arabic. Therefore the *Halakhot Pesukot*, for instance, was translated into Arabic too. Linguistic features regarded as typically Palestinian – אָדָן for אָדָם, לוֹכַל as the infinitive of אכל – cannot therefore be taken as evidence of the place of composition; the translators in Babylon could well have considered language of Ereẓ Israel a fitting model for good Hebrew. If they were written in Babylon, it could not have been earlier than the time of Saadiah Gaon.

Saadiah Gaon introduced the writing of liturgical poetry in Hebrew into Babylon. He was followed by *Hai Gaon, whose language is generally simple, but very similar in its techniques of word creation, patterns, and usage to Saadiah's language. Saadiah Gaon brought a consciousness of the need for beauty to the writing of Hebrew. In the introduction to his dictionary, the *Agron*, he writes of Hebrew as a woman who had been slighted when the Children of Israel preferred the imperfect foreign tongues of exile to her own beauty of expression. The *Agron* was designed to fashion Hebrew into a proper instrument for the writing of poetry. It is commonly held that the language of Saadiah Gaon is a link in the chain connecting the language of the *piyyuṭim* and the language of Spanish Jewish poetry; this view is expressed primarily in "The Liturgical School of Poets of Saadiah Gaon" by Menahem Zulai. The language of Saadiah Gaon is far removed from the biblical purism of Spanish Jewish poetry, as we shall see. However, though it is true that it shares features with the language of the *piyyuṭim*, and continues this tradition, it also foreshadows in several ways the approach to language of the Spanish poets. Saadiah Gaon wrote *piyyuṭim* in Hebrew as well as polemical literature *Essa Meshali, Sefer ha-Galuy* and *halakhah* (*Sefer ha-Mo'adim*). He wrote an introduction to his *Agron*, his grammar of Hebrew (*Sefer Ẓaḥot*), philosophy (*Emunot ve-De'ot*) and responsa in Arabic. It was he who initiated this duality in Jewish writing in the Middle Ages: Hebrew for poetry, and Arabic for prose, even for those who honored Hebrew, the mistress, more than Arabic, the serving maid (expression of Al-Ḥarizi in his book *Taḥkemoni* and Solomon ibn Gabirol in *Ha-'Anaq*).

It was Saadiah Gaon who introduced the concept of "pure" language – *zaḥot ha-lašon* – to Hebrew writings and grammar (on the basis of Isa. 32:4), thereby creating a Hebrew cognate of the Arabic *faṣāḥa* which is also etymologically related to the Arabic term *taṣḥīḥ*. "Pure" language for Saadiah Gaon is a linguistic ideal, beautiful, clear, and correct, with all forms derived according to proper rules of analogical formation, free from errors of irregular word formation. Analogy (הֶיקֵּשׁ) is permitted to operate according to biblical patterns which, in his opinion, were "fertile" but not according to infertile patterns. This view of purity of language matches the primary concept of *faṣāḥa*. Later, "purity" will be able to express various linguistic and stylistic qualitative features that affect poetic ornamentation and rhetorical figures (such as plays upon words and synonyms). According to Saadiah "purity" of language is not just the passive use of received vocabulary; it welcomes innovation, since it is linguistic activity that shows knowledge of the language and makes it beautiful. Thus Saadiah Gaon used Hebrew like the liturgical poets who preceded him. He created new verbs by using existing roots in all the *binyanim*, each with its special meaning, e.g., מַקְוֶה – giving hope, הַנְפִּישׁ gave rest (נֹפֶשׁ), לְהַחְדִּיל (from חָדַל) and so on. He formed verbs from nouns: הִתְהִים (from תְּהוֹם), הִמְעִין (from מָעוֹן).

In deverbal derivation Saadiah used the various nominal patterns which he regarded as nouns of action (infinitives), though not other noun-forms: שִׂטְמָה, דִּרְשׁוֹן, טְפִיפָה, לַעַט (hatred) these are the commonest types – and also מִדְבָּק (for דְּבִיקָה), מִגְלַעַת "quarrel"), מַחֲמֹרֶת ("restriction" for חוּמְרָה). Like the liturgical poets he changed the form of extant words without changing the meaning, as he himself stated explicitly (with respect to word expansion and deletion in the second section of *Sefer Ẓaḥot*, and with respect to the variations in the form of nouns derived from verbs, see replies of Dunash, 122): *wa al-ma'nā wāḥid* "the meaning is one," i.e., the different forms are "equivalent in meaning," differing only in "articulation."

(a) He used expanded forms of words in accordance with techniques which he explained in his grammatical writings (he referred to expansion as *tafḵim*): סִדְסֵד for יָסַד, דּוֹתֵת (from דָּת), לְדוֹגֵג for לָדוּג, תִּלְתֵּל for תָּלָה, סתסת for סתת, אימימה for אימים ("horror"). Lengthened forms of the imperative and the imperfect like those of the infinitives are used without any implications of modality: יָבִיאָה, יוֹצִיאָה, יַעֲלֹזָה, לְנַשְּׂאָה.

(b) He omitted letters in various word forms, on the model of contractions found in the Bible: עָט, בָּט, פָּץ, סָע – shortened perfects; לְהַעַל – shortened infinitive; מַעַל for מַעֲלֶה – shortened present participle; תְּחִיָּה – תְּחִי, חֲזֶה – חֵז, מַעֲשֶׂה – מַעַשׂ – shortened verbal nouns; and of course many shortened imperfects – (תִּ)תְאוּ, תַּהַג – since this form does not carry any jussive meanings and can be used to form further shortened forms without any effect at all on the shade of meaning.

(c) He used alternative forms of words by analogy with doublets found in the Bible: עָרִיס for עֲרִיסָה ("dough" like גְּלִילָה – גָּלִיל); כפור – כפורת, יסוד – יסודת (like יבוש – יְבֹשֶׁת); חֶפְצוֹן (from חֵפֶץ, like חרבון from חֹרב) and so on. The explanations given earlier for the word creation of the liturgical poets are made explicit in the writings of Saadiah Gaon. All these derived forms, he says, come easily to the language; they are mere changes in form which do not necessitate any special shade of meaning. In Saadiah Gaon's opinion, the principal source for Hebrew writing is the Bible, though he also made no small use of mishnaic Hebrew. Choice was dictated by the needs of style. He did not think of biblical Hebrew and mishnaic Hebrew as separate entities; the latter simply completed the documentation of the words in the former. Like the Arab grammarians of his time, he lacked any historical sense of earlier and later periods in the development of the language. He thought that all the words in the Bible were fit for use, including the rarest and oddest; further words could only be created by the operation of analogy on this vocabulary. He continued the tradition of the liturgical poets in his use of allusive phrases: בְּנֵי אֶלְעָד ("children of eternity") for the Children of Israel and פְּרִיזָה for the Temple and many others. Liturgical poetry was a source of literary inspiration for Saadiah Gaon in many ways: specific usages, nonce-words, allusive phrases, rhyme and alphabetical arrangement, and such words and expressions as צֶרַח, פֶּצַח, נֶשֶׁם, גַּיְא ("valley," i.e., land), יָחִיד ("unique," i.e., Isaac), גַּבְנֹן ("peak," i.e., Mt. Sinai). Liturgical poetry was a source of style and thematic material, but not of linguistic innovation *per se*; he would not accept any new forms which did not satisfy his own linguistic principles. Such words, he thought, could be invented by anyone who knew the language and had the inclination. The main features he shares with the liturgical poets is his constant use of derivation without change of meaning. In the following respects he foreshadows the language of Jewish poetry in Spain

(1) There was a close relation between his linguistic inventiveness and his views on language; like the poets of Spain he remained faithful to the rules of grammar (though since his conception of the language was different, the results are also different).

(2) It was he who initiated the criticism of the language of the *piyyutim* (in the Arabic introduction of the *Agron*, and *Siddur* p. 225).

(3) Though he continued to use the techniques of the liturgical poets, he did so with reservations. He derived nouns according to the patterns of verbal nouns only, and placed restrictions of the freedom to create new words by analogy. (In Spain also, *vide infra*, innovations were more frequent with verbs than with nouns). Therefore like the Spanish poets he made considerable use of participles, active and passive, as adjectives (פּוֹתֵל – "crooked," כָּחוּד – "hidden").

(4) He used short and long tense forms freely, without any distinctive modal significance, and this lack of specific meaning facilitated morphological innovation by analogy. The Spanish poets did the same (*vide infra*).

(5) The rules of analogy are binding as far as the derivational inflections are concerned, but a word may have many different shades of meanings. Saadiah Gaon did not always use a word in the sense in which he translated it in his translation of the Bible. He translated תֶּבֶל as "punishment" (in Ar. *Dāhiya*) and then uses תַּבְלִית – by analogy with חֶרֶס – חַרְסִית (*Siddur Sa'adyah Ga'on* p. 198) – in the sense of "abomination." He translates אֲרֶשֶׁת שְׂפָתַיִם in Psalms 21:3, as "permission" (Ar. *isti'dhāna*) and explains this interpretation by reference to Ezra 3:7; in his poetry he uses אוֹרֵשׁ and רוֹשֶׁה as synonyms, with the meaning "say." The technique of allusive phrases also depends on the view of language that a word may have many meanings, all available for use.

(6) Saadiah Gaon had his own opinions as to which were the proper patterns for analogical word formation, and the frequency of a word had no relevance. A typically mishnaic word which occurs only once in the Bible is considered biblical. The Spanish poets took the same stand.

A conventional explanation of the language of liturgical poetry holds that it was not difficult for its audience, who were learned in the Midrashim. Saadiah Gaon certainly thought the *piyyuṭim* difficult to understand, and regretted that most people had a scanty knowledge of the language. He thought that people liked *piyyuṭim* even though they did not understand them (*Siddur Sa'adyah Ga'on* p. 156). Prayers and entreaties (בַּקָּשׁוֹת), by which a man might draw near to his Creator, were written by Saadiah Gaon in language devoid of allusions and morphological innovations, lest the language mar the prayers and therefore were praised by Abraham Ibn Ezra (commentary to Eccles. 5.1.). True innovations are scarce in the language of Saadiah Gaon, and occur not in his poetry but when he needs to coin technical terms; for these, like the Spanish writers (*infra*) he uses the method of loan-translation. He borrows both the concept and the way of expressing it: אגרון (lit., "hoard") for dictionary, a loan-translation of the Arabic *ǧamhara*, (a verbal noun). There are other synonyms for dictionary in Arabic from the roots *ǧml, ǧmʿ* and *ʾiḥatawā*, all meaning "hoard" or "collect" יסוד, from Ar. *ʾaṣl* (root).

Arabic Influence

The influence of Arabic is more strongly felt in his views on language than in his actual grammatical innovations. His grammatical theory is strongly influenced by the opinions of Arab grammarians on analogy, e.g., in his abundant use of the קֶטֶל pattern (as most fertile *fiʿl, faʿl*, and *fuʿl* in Arabic) in not differentiating between what would now be called the infinitive (קָטוֹל) and the verbal noun (קְטִילָה). There are very few Arabicisms in his language, even fewer than in the poetry of Spain (*infra*): צרחת בה – the root צרח is common in liturgical poetry, but the meaning "declare" and the use of the preposition ב are from Arabic עֵץ נִגְדַּעַת (in *Tešubot ʿal-Ḥiwwi* 4) where for reasons of rhyme the word עֵץ ("tree") is construed as feminine, as in Arabic. In his translation into Arabic he preferred words which were alike in sound to the Hebrew, and sometimes did the same in his own writing. In the introduction to the *Agron* he uses the expression חוֹדֶרֶת for "woman," from the expression יוֹשֶׁבֶת פְּנִימָה בַּחֲדָרִים. This is close to נָוֶה which means "wife" in the writings of Saadiah Gaon and is etymologically similar to the Arabic *al-Muḵdara* (girl kept indoors).

SPANISH HEBREW POETRY

Spanish Jewry followed the spiritual center that was in Babylonia as far as the *halakhah* was concerned; however in literary writing an important innovation took place there in comparison to both Ereẓ Israel and Babylonia. The duality – Hebrew for poetry and Arabic for prose – which started with Saadiah Gaon was fulfilled to a large extent in the literary activity of the Jews of Spain. Arabic replaced Aramaic as the vehicle for non-poetic expression (mainly *halakhah*) and became the language for prose writing (grammar, medicine, philosophy, exegesis, etc.) although there were still scientific books written in Hebrew (see below). Hebrew was used for poetry although some secular poetry was written in Arabic and Aramaic.

The Hebrew of poetry in Spain underwent a fundamental change when secular poetry became a separate and respectable literary genre. The beginnings of secular poetry are to be found in the polemic writings of Saadiah Gaon (which are the forerunners of poems of personal quarrels and denigration) and secular poetry became an accepted art – important and widespread in Spain – starting with the wine and war poems of Samuel ha-Nagid (d. 1055).

The earliest liturgical poets in Spain (especially Isaac ibn Ghayyat, Ibn Abitur, and Ibn Khalfon) drew their linguistic and stylistic inspiration from the *piyyutim*; they wrote mainly sacred poetry, in the same style and language as other liturgical poets, uninfluenced by the Arabs as the Arabs had no religious poetry. But secular poetry, a personal art (unlike religious poetry which was designed for public worship), was the product of Arab culture, and took shape in the image of Arabic poetry with which it competed by imitation. Liturgical poetry could not provide suitable vehicles for the writing of secular poetry. Linguistic change actually crystallized in secular poetry, under the influence of Arabic; iambic meter was taken over, and there is a close tie between the meter and the formation of words and verbal conjugations. In religious poetry it was used only sparingly; *Keter Malḵut* by Solomon ibn Gabriol, for example, is written in one of the meters of liturgical poetry, with a fixed number of syllables per line. The move towards biblical purism, as understood by the poets of the Middle Ages, began in secular poetry.

The choice of Hebrew for poetry and Arabic for prose is closely interlinked with the move towards a biblical Hebrew. The writing of secular poetry in Hebrew was supported by the continued writing of religious poetry in Hebrew (which there was no cause to write in Arabic). The linguistic duality had its counterparts in the surrounding culture: old Spanish for speech and Latin for writing in Christian Spain, Andalusian Arabic for speech and the Classical Arabic of the Koran for poetry in Muslim Spain. The Jewish poet would rather make a careful, diligent, accurate study of the language of the Bible than learn how to write the language of the Koran. He had to choose between two languages which both required considerable study. (Prose was written in Middle Arabic, which did not need special study.) Perhaps, however, the fact that it suited his background is of little account compared with the national and religious feeling that biblical Hebrew had a special status, was a "superior language," a "very choice tongue" (Solomon ibn Gabirol in *Sefer ha ʿAnaq*) and "a wondrous language" the best of all the languages, and of course richer and more beautiful than Arabic (Al-Ḥarizi in the first chapter of *Taḥkemoni*). See also the speech of the companion in Judah Halevi's *Sefer ha-Kuzari*, Part 2, 68.

Biblical Hebrew was extolled as a "pure" language by no means inferior and indeed superior to the "pure Arabic" which was used for poetry. It was eminently suitable for the writing of verse comparable with Arabic verse, since it had similar virtues: (a) The similes, metaphors, and other figures of speech in the Bible were well suited to poetic style. In the last chapters of his book *Širat Yisraʾel*, Moses Ibn Ezra quotes examples from the Bible for every one of the rhetorical figures used in Arabic poetry. (b) The tradition of a fixed vocalization could serve as a basis for the iambic measures introduced from Arabic poetry. (c) The study of the grammar of biblical Hebrew was highly developed in the Middle Ages; there were few references to features of mishnaic Hebrew and the Hebrew of the period in grammar books. Arabic poetic language was also subjected to perpetual scrutiny by Arab scholars. (d) Biblical commentary added to the vocabulary a wealth of meanings and shades of meaning which were essential to a richness for poetic expression.

The introduction of a wide range of subjects – passion and wine, war, dispute, lampoon and jest, elegy, panegyric and self-aggrandizement, love, friendship and marriage – was accompanied by the use of iambic meters. Instead of every line containing a fixed number of syllables, there was a regular alternation of full vowels and *šewa naʿ*, i.e., reduced vowels. Dunash ben Labrat is usually considered the first to introduce iambic meters into Hebrew poetry. He used "well-scanned newly invented distinguished metrically constrained poetic forms" (Replies of Dunash to Menahem 4, 19). And this view is confirmed by the accusations leveled against Dunash by the disciples of Menahem, that he abused the forms of the language: "our holy tongue destroyed and left it null and void, because he had employed a foreign measure" (Replies of the disciples of Menahem 7, 44.) Menahem's disciples themselves phrased their replies in iambic measures, to show that their condemnation did not stem from poetic incompetence. The iamb was soon accepted by all poets as the proper measure for secular poetry. In the beginning it was difficult to adjust to the new meter; Al-Ḥarizi said of the language of the period when the iamb was first introduced that "the writers of the time wrote bad measures." It was the meter which usually determined the choice of words: שֶׁ or אֲשֶׁר, אָז or, אֲזַי, אֲנִי or אָנֹכִי, depending on the needs of the rhythm. Sometimes it even led to a change in the basic form of the word (e.g., קְרַב, with a *šewa*, for קֶרֶב); Ibn Janaḥ realized that the exigencies of meter could open the way to deviations from proper inflection (*Ha-Riqma*, 226–7). Many long and short tense forms were chosen to fit the meter (imperfect forms ending in וּן, e.g., יְרִיבוּן for יָרִיבוּ, were very useful) and rare words became common because they could provide iambs. לְמַעַן (from Neh. 6:13) or בְּיַעַן (which occurs only once in the Bible, in the combination יַעַן בְּיַעַן) were regularly used in place of יַעַן. The letter *he* with a *šewa* at the beginning of a word for emphasis (הֲכִי, "indeed"; הֲלִי, "indeed to me") fitted the meter and was grammatically acceptable (Ibn Janaḥ, *Ha-Riqma*, 68: "*he* to establish or verify a fact").

"Pure" language is, above all, grammatically accurate, and Spanish Hebrew poetry, especially secular poetry, is characterized by the poet's strict adherence to the rules of grammar (an approach which, as has been pointed out above, begins with Saadiah Gaon). In his *Sefer ha-Riqma* Ibn Janaḥ notes linguistic usages of the poets and affirms that a poet should not be blamed for linguistic deviations necessitated by the requirements of poetic forms (pp. 226–7 and p. 275); it even happened that poems were corrected by their readers according to the rules of grammar (*Ha-Riqma*, p. 275). In his book *Širat Yisraʾel*, Moses Ibn Ezra teaches the art of writing poetry. Matters of grammar, which "add salt to the food," are explained first, before any discussion of decorative figures, and the poet is told which grammar books are worthy of study before he is referred to any books on prosody (p. 100). Poets who "did not follow the grammarians" are condemned (p. 65) see also Al-Ḥarizi in *Taḥkemoni* ch. 18). The ideal form of poetic language is given full expression in *Širat Yisraʾel* from which the above are quotations. Essentially it is a matter of adherence to all the rules of the grammar of biblical Hebrew, with no innovations in form due to analogy, since "the language must be imitated, but without creating new words" (147). Verbs must not be used except in the *binyanim* in which they occur in the Bible (148). The given form of a word must not be changed. Care must be taken not to turn masculine into feminine or singular into plural, or vice versa. However, according to his system it is permissible to create new forms in the infinitive, קטול (149), and it follows from the general trend of his remarks (though he does not say so explicitly) that a verb could be inflected in all the forms of the given *binyan*: short and long tense forms, and *hip̠ʿil* on the model of יְהַכִּין, which was convenient for iambic meter. The ban on analogical word formation is a reaction against the copious use of such forms by the liturgical poets. (A similar opinion to Moses Ibn Ezra's can be seen in Abraham Ibn Ezra's *Ẓaḥut*, 26, with reference to the ban on analogy for nouns, by contrast with verbs and in the replies of Dunash to Saadiah Gaon, no. 95). However, there was not a single poet who abstained completely from morphological innovation, and even Moses Ibn Ezra allowed himself a few new forms, as he himself admitted (p. 156–7). In his opinion, his language was tainted with error because of human weakness, and lack of skill in his early poetry.

Moses Ibn Ezra's deviation into analogy are few: תְּבוּנָיו (the Bible has the form תְּבוּנוֹת), עֲלוּמוֹתַי (for עֲלוּמַי), מִגְדָּנַי (for מִגְדְּנוֹתַי), מַעֲצָב (for מַעֲצֵבָה or עֶצֶב in the Bible), and אַהַב, גַּחַל singular forms derived from אֲהָבִים, גַּחֲלֵי – though incorrectly since the correct singular forms occurring in the Bible are אַהֲבָה and גַּחֶלֶת. Moses Ibn Ezra's purity – *ẓaḥot* – of biblical language and abstention from morphological innovation are maintained to a fairly similar extent by Judah Halevi and Abraham Ibn Ezra. However in their work there are also exceptions, giving every secular poem a flavor of liturgical language. A further feature the secular lyrics share with the *piyyuṭim* is the use of allusive phrases: יְחִידָה (unique) for soul, צִיר (messenger) for Moses, יְקוּתִיאֵל for Moses, and so on. Considerable use of word derivation is made by Samuel ha-Nagid, who wrote when the language of Spanish poetry was just beginning to take shape (גֶּוַע אקדָח) אקדָחה ,שִׁבְרָה חֲרִיזָה ("hope"), and innovations in the *binyanim*. Indeed in his own time he was censured for his use of analogical word formation, especially in the creation of nouns (*Širat Yisrael*, 67). Solomon ibn Gabirol also has many new forms not found in the Bible (David Yellin counted 1,500), and though most are found in his sacred works, there are some in his secular poetry: חֶפְשׁוֹן, בְּהִיקָה, תַּחַן, etc. The most serious offense in the eyes of Moses Ibn Ezra was the creation of verbs and adjectives from nouns; no wonder he criticized Solomon ibn Gabirol for such forms as מְיֻשָּׁפָה, מְשֹׁהָמָה and פְּנִינִיָּה (*Širat Yisraʾel* 151).

Most violations of the ban on analogy are to be found in the *binyanim*; it is more difficult to avoid using verbs in active and passive conjugations than to refrain from inventing new noun forms. The use of passive conjugations – *puʿal* and *hop̄ʿal* – is particularly common in the language of poetry, partly under the influence of Arabic. Various forms of verbal nouns were fashioned – חֶפְצוֹן, גֶּוַע, בְּהִיקָה, – and many participles, active and passive, since this was the only way of creating adjectives (none of the adjectival patterns were productive). Singular forms were derived from plurals to a degree exceeding the limits prescribed by Moses Ibn Ezra (Al-Ḥarizi has סַנֵּור from סַנְוֵרִים, and Ibn Ezra has פָּלִיל from פְּלִילִים used in the sense of "judge"). Even more frequent are plurals for singular: אַחְלָמוֹת, לְשָׁמִים, נְרָדִים and רְפָשִׁים (plural forms are much used in rhyming). Nevertheless, fundamentally and in comparison to liturgical poetry and to poetry of Saadiah Gaon on the one hand and to Hebrew prose literature on the other, secular poetry should be regarded as faithful to the given forms of biblical vocabulary. Innovations of language are of course far commoner in religious poetry. Certain of the techniques found in the *piyyuṭim*, anathema to those believers in "pure" language who hearkened to the grammarians, do occur in religious poetry: כְּ plus perfect tense (in Ibn Khalfon and quite frequently in Solomon ibn *Gabirol) and the use of "shortened perfects" such as עָט (for עָטָה) and סָט (for סָטָה) in Solomon ibn Gabirol.

Moses Ibn Ezra believed that analogical innovation marred the purity of biblical Hebrew, but sparing use of mishnaic Hebrew did no harm: "If we avail ourselves sometimes of the language of the Mishnah, this is acceptable, since its words are pure Hebrew" (p. 59). The language of secular poetry, unlike sacred poetry is free of forms typical of the *piyyuṭim*. Not only literary motives and content-words from the Mishnah are used, אִסּוּר, תְּנַאי מִדְרָשׁ etc., – but also form-words such as כָּאן, פְּרָט לְ-, צָרִיךְ. The word כְּאִלּוּ is popular, and the structure לְקְטֹל + מ (*yaday kebedim mi-lesapper* – Judah Halevi) is quite common. *Binyan nitpaʿal* appears sporadically (Abraham Ibn Ezra *niṭrapeʾta*), and not because of acrostic composition; Moses Ibn Ezra writes יִשְׁתַּבַּח in place of the biblical יְהֻלַּל. Samuel Ha-Nagid, a great talmudic scholar, especially introduced Mishnaic-Hebrew usage. At the end of the period, from the 13th century onwards, the adherence to biblical Hebrew weakened; Meshullam di Farra, for example, has more usages from the Midrash and even from the languages of his time, סְפִירָה from the kabbalists, בַּהֲמִי, etc. It should be recalled that it was not frequency and provenance of a word which determined its value. Not merely were rare words acceptable in poetry, but a word that occurred only once or twice in the Bible and regularly in the Mishnah was nevertheless regarded as biblical; it was used as commonly as a biblical word, and not sparingly like the mishnaic vocabulary. The alternation between שֶׁ and אֲשֶׁר is thus between two biblical words, and words of the קְטִילָה pattern (very common in the poetry of Samuel ha-Nagid for example), though regarded by present-day linguistic research as typically mishnaic, are treated as biblical on the strength of אֲכִילָה, חֲנִינָה, and other biblical examples.

Despite the restraints on analogy, there were ways of diversifying the vocabulary; any *binyan* could be used in the long forms (לְכַפְּרָה, יְרִיבוּן) and in the short forms (תְּשַׁו, יִתְעַל) in exact conformity with the conventions for adding or subtracting letters found in the Bible. In consequence, and by contrast with the language of liturgical poetry, forms like עָט for עָטָה and מַחַן for מַחֲנֶה are scarcely found in Spanish poetry. The free use of lengthened and contracted imperfect forms, which are useful for rhyming and scansion, derives from the writer's belief that such changes of form, unlike changes of *binyan*, had no effect upon the meaning. Medieval grammarians did not interpret the lengthened imperfect as cohortative, or the shortened imperfect as jussive (see Ibn Janaḥ, *Ha-Riqma* p. 96). Hence the license to use such forms freely accorded with the grammatical theory of the period. And there was similar freedom to meet the stylistic demands of poetry by using the *waw* conversive, pausal forms, possessive suffixes on the model of עֲלֵימוֹ, מְנוּחָיְכִי, and the imperfect *hip̄ʿil* forms like יְהָכִין, יְהַפְרִיד (even Moses Ibn Ezra, though not to excess). The restrictions on analogy reduced the abundance of forms, but the language of secular poetry is rich in means of expression, since the poets gave the biblical vocabulary a wealth of meanings. The formal, grammatical features of a biblical word were binding, but not the semantic. (Once the tri-consonantal form of the root was fully established, changes in the interpretation of a word – as revealed by the dictionaries – exceed changes in the formal analysis of root and declension – as revealed in the grammar books.) Abraham Ibn Ezra and Moses Ibn Ezra, for example, insisted on the correct use of a word, in accordance with its meaning in context, and were aware that a word might have different meanings, related and quite unrelated.

The poets were well aware that a particular word had been interpreted in different ways by the lexicographers, the commentators, and the translators, and this enabled them to choose whichever meanings they required for their poetry. They used duality of meaning to rhyme a word with itself, (צִמּוּד שָׁלֵם). *Al-Ḥarizi does this in *Ha-ʿAnaq* and Moses Ibn Ezra in his poem *Ha-ʿAnaq*, also known as *Taršish*. The latter rhymes אֵיד ("misfortune") with אֵד ("mist"), and צִיר ("pain") with צִיר ("messenger") and צִיר ("door"). Judah Halevi writes דְּלָקוּנִי אֲהָבֶיךְ וְאַחֲרֶיךְ דָּלַקְתִּי ("my love inflamed me and I pursued thee"), using דלק in two different senses. אַגְמוֹן (Isa. 9:30) is used by Al-Ḥarizi with the meaning "fortress" (as interpreted by *Ibn Janaḥ) and by Samuel ha-Nagid with the meaning "branch" (as translated by Saadiah Gaon). Many words may be interpreted with the aid of the medieval dictionaries, and these interpretations are supported by the biblical commentators and the translators. Moses Ibn Ezra combines שִׁוָּה ("placed") with שִׁוָּה ("straightened") and שִׁוָּה ("lied-deceived"), in accordance with Ibn Janaḥ's interpretation of the word *yešawwe* in Hosea 10:1 as "will lie." For Solomon ibn Gabirol *qol ha-tor* is "the voice of salvation," as in the translation of Targum Jonathan. Moses Ibn Ezra, Samuel ha-Nagid, Al-Ḥarizi and others used the word אֲשִׁישָׁה with the meaning "chalice," an interpretation given to this biblical word by a few commentators. Moreover, the poets could add meanings at their own discretion, as their poetic talents dictated. Since the range of meanings was quite open, the influence of Arabic on poetic language, though on the whole restricted, was felt mainly in the meanings of existing words and not in the creation of new ones.

Influence of Arabic on the Language of Secular Poetry

Whereas the Hebrew of scientific works was deeply influenced by Arabic, the language of poetry was not greatly affected by Arabic other than in the meanings of words and the frequency of rare words. Some words took over the functions of their Arabic cognates but, in addition to the Arabic usage, a source could usually be found for this new meaning in the Bible, sanction was given by the grammarians, and further incentive for the use was provided by the demands of scansion: ל is used to mean "because," as in Arabic, and as found by Ibn Janaḥ in the Bible (*Ha-Riqma* 55:13), וְאִם to mean "nevertheless," ostensibly like the Arabic *wa'in* but actually found in the Bible (Num. 36:4; Jer. 5:4).

The process of loan-translation, which so enriched the technical vocabulary of Hebrew in the Middle Ages was restricted in poetic language to literary symbols (in literature these are similar to technical terms): עֹפֶר ("doe"), צְבִי ("deer") for "beloved" – *ğazal* in Arabic; זמן ("time"), *yamim* ("days") for "hostile fate" – *dahr, zamān* in Arabic; *gan* ("garden") for "paradise," Arabic *ğanna; perud* for "a parting of lovers" – Arabic *tafriqa*, contrasting with *perida*, which expressed the separation of death; מוּסָר *musar* ("right conduct") for "erudition" – Arabic *adāb* (as in Saadiah Gaon's translation to Prov. 1:2); the expression *aḥi musar* derives from Arabic, and means "a learned man." *Midbar* ("desert") for "graveyard," and a few other expressions are reminiscences of similar Hebrew figures of speech to be found in the Bible or the Midrashim. Sometimes a word acquires a new meaning from the range of meanings carried by its Arabic cognate; even in these cases there is usually a biblical source, with Arabic influencing the preference for a particular usage and turning rare expressions into common ones: שָׁב meaning "became" (Ar. *ʿāda*) – וְשָׁבָה הָאַהֲבָה אֵיבָה ("and love turned to hate"; Al-Ḥarizi). The source of this usage is Isaiah 29:17. עַד for "even" (Ar. *ḥattā*) הֶבָגְדוּ בִי עֲדֵי אָבִי וְאִמִּי "they betrayed me, even my father and my mother" – Moses Ibn Ezra, with authority for the usage in Judg. 4:16; מַעֲנֶה for "meaning" (Ar. *maʿnā* as in the Targum version of Prov. 1:1); עַם for "people" (Ar. *qawm*) – as in Judges 9:36 – אהב for "want" (Ar. *ahabba*).

Words acquire the meaning of their phonetic (and sometimes etymological) counterparts, even when there is basically no identity of meaning. אֲבָל, in addition to its usual meaning of "but," often signifies "and even more," as Ar. *bal* and authority can be found in Genesis 17:19. The usual synonym for אֲבָל, i.e., אוּלָם also acquired the same meaning: כּוֹכָבָיו צִצִּים וְאוּלָם בַּסְתָיו פָּרָחוּ "his stars were flowers, moreover, in winter they bloomed" (Solomon ibn Gabirol). פֶּלֶךְ is regularly used to mean "the wheel of heaven" (Ar. *falak*), גִּיל is "generation" (Ar. *gˇil*), יעד means "promise" (Ar. *waʿda*), שָׁם means "afterward" (Ar. *thumma*). שׁוֹעֵר for Shem Tov *Falaquera means מְשׁוֹרֵר ("poet"; Ar. *šaʿir*), not the usual medieval interpretations for שׁוֹעֵר in the Bible. יָרֵחַ בְּהִלּוֹ (Al-Ḥarizi) is "a new moon" – Arabic *hilāl. Iggeret haqura* (Samuel ha-Nagid) is a "despised letter" – Arabic *haqira*. Whereas דָּפוֹק means "hasten" in the poetry of Khalfon, in the language of Samuel ha-Nagid and Judah Halevi the root דפק means "flow" (At. *dafaqa*) and is used as in Arabic figures of speech to describe the flow of tears. חֵשֶׁק is frequently used as love due to its similarity to Arabic *ʿašaqa*; נַעֲמָה is "an ostrich" (Arab. *naʿāma*), מְמוּלָּח is "beautiful" (Ar. *maliḥ*), and רָכַב אֳנִיּוֹת ("traveled on a ship") is also coined after an Arabic expression and הֵנָּה for "here" (Ar. *hunā*).

In translations the prepositions which follow a verb are much influenced by the source language, especially if it is a spoken tongue (see below on the language of the translations).

In the "pure" Hebrew of secular poetry, however, the prescriptions of the grammarians were preserved and the usage of the Bible was followed for most prepositions. Arabic influence explains נָטָה בִּי for "moved me" (Judah Halevi), נָסַע בְּ- for "transported," עָבַר בְּ- "transferred" (Moses Ibn Ezra); in Biblical Hebrew, however, one can find quite similar usages (יָצָא בְּמָחוֹל, נִבָּא בִּדְבָרִים). Solomon ibn Gabirol wrote וָאֶתְמַהּ מִשְּׁלֹמֹה for "surprised at," apparently as in Arabic *taʿağaba min* and was criticized for it by Moses Ibn Ezra (*Širat Yisrael* 154). There are also characteristic features of poetic language which have no clear links with Arabic: טוּר for "a line of poetry," תֵּבֵל for "the world below," פֶּגֶר for "a body," not a corpse. Features of medieval Hebrew which are common in the language of medieval translations are found only sparingly in poetry: nouns ending in -וּת which were regularly masculine in prose, are treated on a few occasions as masculine in poetry: דְּמוּת נִמְשָׁל (Judah Halevi) הָיָה פְּתַיּוּת (Al-Ḥarizi) לְבָבוֹת גְּדוֹלוֹת (Al-Ḥarizi) – this phenomenon is explained below in the section on the translations.

ORIGINAL PROSE WORKS AND TRANSLATIONS

Those poets who disparaged the writers of Arabic as "guarding the vineyards of others" themselves wrote scientific works in Arabic – on philosophy, *halakhah*, science, poetics, geography, etc. They include Saadiah Gaon, Ibn Gabirol, Judah Halevi, Moses Ibn Ezra and Al-Ḥarizi. Ḥayyuj, Ibn Janaḥ and others even wrote studies of Hebrew grammar in Arabic.

Just as various factors combined to produce a secular poetry in Hebrew, and in biblical Hebrew at that, so the writing of prose and the kind of Hebrew used for translations and original works were interconnected. The Arabs wrote prose in Middle Arabic, with none of the ideal "purity" of the language of the Koran reserved for poetry. And the Jews knew how to write this kind of Arabic (by contrast with the language of the Koran, which required special study). For prose writings they had hardly any linguistic tools to hand, unlike the language of sacred verse which provided a beginning for the writing of secular verse. There was the mishnaic tradition of prose writings on *halakhah* but Arabic had taken over the function of talmudic Aramaic, and was judged appropriate for writings on *halakhah*, especially where everyday matters were concerned. Since there was no need to set up a form of Hebrew which should rival the unrhymed Arabic of scientific writings in beauty they could write either in Arabic or in a different Hebrew from that of poetry, with no obligation to observe the rules of "purity" described above. The proportion of mishnaic Hebrew and biblical Hebrew varies from writer to writer. Abraham Ibn Ezra and Abraham b. Ḥiyya (d. c. 1136) both wrote original Hebrew. The former – a grammarian, poet, and biblical commentator – tended to write a biblical Hebrew and preferred forms like לֹא רַק to אַף כִּי, אֵין...אֶלָּא to כָּל שֶׁכֵּן and so on; the latter used many talmudic expressions: אַגַּב גְּרָרָא, לְהַלָּן, סְפֵקָא, כְּדַאי. The language of prose is mixed, though the writers could write a more biblical Hebrew close to the style of the *maqāma*, when they chose to, and this applies not only to the poetry of the translators – Abraham Ibn Ezra, Al-Ḥarizi, Ibn Ḥasdai but to passages of rhymed prose interspersed among the testamentary injunctions of Judah ibn *Tibbon to his son or in the letters of Abraham son of Maimonides etc. In his introduction to the translation of *Ḥoḇot ha-Leḇaḇot* ("Duties of the Hearts") Judah ibn Tibbon explains that he used biblical or mishnaic Hebrew, "whichever seemed closer, and as occurred to me at the time of translation." (It was, for example, convenient for him to translate *min ḥaythu* by the biblical word בַּאֲשֶׁר which is close to it, but the expression *lā illā* becomes mishnaic לֹא אֶלָּא.) In its syntax the language of prose is close to mishnaic Hebrew – there are no conversions of tense, no long or short verb forms – but the repertoire of conjunctions is considerably mixed (אַף עַל פִּי שֶׁ-, לְפִי שֶׁ-, כֵּיוָן שֶׁ-, טֶרֶם, לְמַעַן, יַעַן, etc.).

The language of the hundreds of translations carried out from the 11th to the 15th century, and the language of original works written in Hebrew in the style of the translations (e.g., the works of Albo, Crescas, and Levi b. Gershom) is sometimes called Tibbonian Hebrew, after the five generations of Ibn Tibbons who translated into Hebrew innumerable books written in Arabic by Jews and Arabs. Samuel ibn Tibbon called his father Judah "the father of translators," though there had been earlier translations for almost a hundred years. The "translatorese" in original writing derives from the general influence of Arabic, from imitations of language patterns created by the translators, and from the strong attraction of Arabic literature which, though not translated literally, was summarized, with a flavor of the original remaining in the summary. Of course, in kabbalistic literature in original Hebrew there is no more Arabic than sentence patterns derived from the translators, and some terminology, but these traces of Arabic are clearly discernible, both in Kabbalah and in Maimonides' *Mishneh Torah*.

Though there are nearly as many styles as there are writers or families of writers, it is possible to give a general description of the language of prose that came under Arabic influence. Since it contains many deviations from the forms described by the medieval Hebrew grammarians, Tibbonian Hebrew was sometimes used as a pejorative term for poor, inelegant Hebrew. But it was not usually the result of deliberate carelessness, or lack of respect for the grammarians. Judah ibn Tibbon in the introductions to his translations of *Ḥoḇot ha-Leḇaḇot* and *Sefer ha-Riqma*, and his son Samuel in his introduction to his translation of Maimonides' *Moreh Neḇukhim* ("Guide of the Perplexed") explained the difficulties arising from the tendency of the translator to adhere closely to the source language text (and they both realized that the similarity of the two languages actually strengthened this tendency). Hebrew was inadequate, they thought, to express the full richness of Arabic, and they asked readers to correct mistakes of language.

From the "explanations of strange words" which Samuel ibn Tibbon appended to his translation of the *Guide of the Perplexed*, we learn that after he had completed the translation he changed several Arabic-influenced words to better, more Hebrew equivalents: *kihun*, a borrowing from the Arabic *kihāna* (though with a Hebrew declension!) was replaced by קסם; the expression עַל דַּעְתִּי modeled on the Arabic *ʿalā raʾyī*, even though it can be given biblical authority (Job 10:7), was replaced by כְּפִי דַּעְתִּי, since the greater frequency of the latter expression gives a more Hebrew flavor to the language. In his testamentary injunction to his son Samuel, Judah ibn Tibbon implored him to preserve "the purity (*ẓaḥut*) of the language," and to beware of Arabisms.

As the language of Spanish poetry should be judged by its appropriateness to prosody and poetic style, so the language of prose should be judged by its suitability to translation and for the skill of the writer as a translator. The principal writers who concerned themselves with the problems of translations were Al-Ḥarizi (*Taḥkemoni* ch. 18, and his preface to his translation of Maimonides' introduction to the Mishnah), Moses Ibn Ezra (*Širat Yisrael* p. 112), Judah and Samuel ibn Tibbon in the introductions quoted, and Abraham b. Ḥasdai in his introduction to his translation of Isaac Israeli's *Sefer ha-Yesodot*. The last three explained that there were "places which were liable to bring the translator into error," and the Ibn Tibbons listed the mistakes that were liable to be caused by too close an adherence to the source language text: confusion of masculine and feminine genders, prepositions, meanings of words, etc. They all described the mistakes as stemming from the "translator's bother." "Translatorese" is evident even in the *Maḥberot Iti'el* which Al-Ḥarizi translated from the *maqāmāt* of Al-Ḥariri. Despite their poetic style, with biblical interpolations, Arabic influence is more noticeable in them than in *Taḥkemoni*, which he wrote in original Hebrew. The latter has also more Arabic usages than his other poetry, since even though not actually a translation it is based on Arab sources.

For a full understanding of the language of prose, the degree of adherence to biblical and mishnaic Hebrew, the scope of Arab influence in all its aspects, and the particular Arabic patterns which affected the Hebrew, it is necessary to classify all the features of the language, distinguishing those which were deliberate innovations (mainly terminology) and those which were accidental, caused by too close an adherence to the source. There are some features which are hardly found outside translations, e.g., a singular verb preceding a plural subject (excluding the verb הָיָה, which was quite commonly found in the singular before a plural). Samuel ibn Tibbon tried to avoid this Arab grammatical rule of concord, as he explains in the introduction to his translation of *Moreh Neḇukhim*. Features of common occurrence include -ל to denote cause and שָׁב in the sense of "become." The Hebrew language of the beginning of the period, before it became a language of translation, can be judged as a separate entity, capable of influencing those who were faithful to it in their writings (e.g., Abraham Ibn Ezra and Abraham bar Ḥiyya), by contrast with the source language which had all the tools of expression for translation ready to hand. It is worth examining the language of those who did not know Arabic and wrote in the style of the translators, and the language of those who did know Arabic but who did not draw much upon Arabic cultural sources for content, e.g., the kabbalists and writers on *halakhah*.

It is not surprising that Al-Ḥarizi, who wrote in the first chapter of *Taḥkemoni* that Hebrew "is narrow but may turn broad to us, short but will suffice for all of us," strove to enrich it from its own sources, avoiding Arab loan-words. But Judah ibn Tibbon, who felt that "Hebrew is insufficient for all purposes of speech" (in the introduction to his translations of *Ḥoḇot ha-Leḇaḇot*), since biblical and mishnaic Hebrew did not contain the wherewithal for handling new topics, took over many features of Arabic, a richer language in his eyes. However, though it is customary to describe the language of Al-Ḥarizi as simple, correct, elegant, and more biblical (Baneth, Mirsky), it is also full of all kinds of features showing Arabic influence, though not to excess. On the other hand, the Ibn Tibbons also used many specifically Hebrew expressions, out of opposition to Arabic, sometimes consistently and sometimes replacing expressions that showed Arabic influence.

Abraham Ibn Ezra criticized the language of the liturgical poets (in his commentary on Eccles. 5:1) but in the self-same critical passage he wrote that Kallir, as it were, "described the rose *on* fear," תֵּאַר אֶת הַשּׁוֹשַׁנָּה בְּאֵימָה (as in Ar. *waṣafa bi*) and that he was "surprised *from* him" תָּמַהּ מִמֶּנּוּ (Ar. *taʿağab minhu*) and that he fled *off* the passage," בָּרַח מִן הַפָּסוּק (Ar. *haraba min*). None of these traces of Arabic are to be found in the *poetry* of Abraham Ibn Ezra.

Notwithstanding his decision to write a good Hebrew, Judah ibn Tibbon made a rule of preferring to impart the idea with precision rather than "use as good a style as he would prefer" (introduction to *Ḥovot ha-Levavot*). This method proved its worth; his translation of *Ḥobot ha-Lebabot* superseded that of Joseph Kimḥi, which was more grammatical but less accurate and his son's translation of the *Guide of the Perplexed* replaced that of Al-Ḥarizi, which aimed at a greater beauty of language at the expense of accuracy.

The Components of Arabic-Influenced Hebrew

LEXICON. (a) With all the abundance of innovation and wealth of terminology that accompanied the new ideas, the number of words borrowed with their original form and usage is extremely small; most of the borrowings take the form of loan-translations. Most of the terms in philosophic works were translated into Hebrew (one of the Arabic loans is מַשָּׂאִיִּים for "peripatetic," though Al-Ḥarizi translates it הַהוֹלְכִים). The Arabs themselves translated almost all the Latin and Greek terms into Arabic. It was actually in the natural sciences and allied subjects that more words were borrowed. This is immediately apparent if we compare Moses ibn Tibbon's translation of *Millot ha-Higgayon* ("Words of Logic") where he translated all the technical terms, with his translation of Maimonides' *Hanhagat ha-Beri'ut* ("Management of Health") where foreign words like אשרוב ("syrup"), names of plants, and foods remain untranslated, as they do in other translations of books on medicine in the Middle Ages. The borrowed words are all in forms and patterns which can easily be adapted into Hebrew and thus absorbed in the language and inflected just like any other word: לַחַן ("melody"), קֹטֶר ("caliber"), קֹטֶב ("pole"), מֶרְכָּז ("center"), אוֹפֶק ("horizon") הָנְדָסָה ("geometry"), תַּאֲרִיךְ ("history"), עִלָּה ("disease"), אַקְלִים ("region"), חֹקֶן ("enema"), עָצָל ("muscle"). Some of them came into general use and became thoroughly Hebraized – אֹפֶק, תַּאֲרִיךְ – while others were in limited use like עָצָל in the works of Nathan ha-Me'ati ("the Italian Tibbon"), or נוע ("type"), which was rare, and used by Nahum ha-Ma'arabi in the translation of *Iggeret Teiman* in place of the more usual סוג and מין.

Samuel ibn Tibbon regarded borrowings as the major class of "strange words" and preferred native Hebrew words, changing כִּהוּן to קֶסֶם, and giving to גֶּשֶׁם, in the sense of "body," biblical authority – Isaiah 44:14 – though this is not the usual meaning attributed to this verse in the medieval dictionaries. Al-Ḥarizi who as we have seen wished to widen Hebrew from within, suggested נְקֻדָּה and עַמּוּד instead of מֶרְכָּז, מַסְמֵר instead of קֹטֶב, אֲלַכְסוֹן instead of קֹטֶר, and חֹמֶר רִאשׁוֹן instead of הִיּוּלִי. However, in his explanation of foreign words he also includes קֹטֶר and קֹטֶב. He uses two terms for one thing and this suggests that he was unaware of the importance of preserving uniformity of terminology. Other translators also tried to find Hebrew alternatives for loan-words: Nahum ha-Ma'arabi used עַמּוּד in place of קֹטֶב, whilst Abraham Ibn Ezra prefers סַדָּן. Abraham b. Ḥiyya who composed original scientific works before the language of translation had become fixed, quoted Arabic words as such, e.g., "the center of the circle, which in Arabic is called *markaz*." He uses the term תִּשְׁבֹּרֶת ("geometry," "plane," a loan-translation of Ar. *taksīr*) and prefers בְּרִיחַ to קֹטֶר, though occasionally he uses קֹטֶב.

(b) Words are sometimes introduced that are similar in *sound* to their Arabic counterparts, and generally any similarity in meaning or etymological connection is either lacking or very slight. "Grammatical inflection" (in Ar. *taṣrīf*) is translated by Dunash צֵרוּף, though נְטִיָּה would be more appropriate as a loan-translation (see (c) below).

Judah ibn Tibbon calls apical consonants אוֹתִיּוֹת הַדְּלִיקָה after al-Muḏalaqa, which should etymologically be הַזְּלִיקָה. The waw consecutive is called ו״ו עוֹטֶפֶת, from the Arabic *ʿaṭafa*, מָחוּל means "absurd," like *muhāl*, פֶּרֶק means "difference" (Ar. *farq*), גֶּדֶר means the mathematical "to the fourth power" (Ar. *ğaḏr*), לָכֵן is used with the meaning "but" (Ar. *lākin*) and נִצָּב is both "accusative case" and the vowel "*a*" (Ar. *naṣb*). Sometimes a biblical word which bears a phonetic resemblance to an Arabic word is used as a translation and the new meaning is given authority by biblical commentary, which was also influenced by the comparison with Arabic. חִידָה is translated as "talk" (Ar. *ḥadīth*), the translation used by Saadiah Gaon for this word in Proverbs 6:16 and the explanation given by Ibn Janaḥ in his book of roots, under חוד. The Arabic *ʿurūq* is sometimes translated גִּדִים דּוֹפְקִים, i.e., arteries, and a biblical parallel is found in the word עֹרְקַי (*ʿoreqay*; Job 30;17), which most medieval commentators interpreted in accordance with the Arabic. It should be pointed out that this kind of innovation is very close to borrowing; the borrowed word, however, is taken over with a change of form to a Hebrew declension, or is attached to an existing Hebrew word.

(c) The most prolific source of word creation was loan-translation. Among the new words created were אֵיכוּת (Ar. *kayfiyya*), מַהוּת (Ar. *mahiyya*), כַּמּוּת (Ar. *kamiyya*), and many other verbal nouns with suffix וּת-, which was used to express abstractions. However, Arabic words were mainly translated by existing Hebrew words. Most of the deliberate innovations used by translators for the enrichment of the means of expression and for accuracy, are in the realm of terminology: בִּנְיָן ("conjugation"; Ar. *mabniyya*), מִשְׁקָל ("declension"; Ar. *wazn*), שִׁמּוּשׁ הַלָּשׁוֹן ("language usage") and עֲשִׂיַּת הַלָּשׁוֹן ("language manipulation"; Ar. *istiʿmāl*), גָּזַר, also קָצַב, חָצַב, כָּרַת all meaning "inflect" (Ar. *ištaqqa*), מִלִּים נִרְדָּפוֹת ("synonyms"; *mutarādifāt*) מִלִּים מִשְׁתַּתְּפוֹת ("homonyms"; Ar. *muštaraka*), מָקוֹר ("infinitive"; Ar. *maṣdar*), מִקְרֶה ("Abstract noun"; Ar. *ḥadaṯ*). נָשׂוּא ("predicate" of a verbal sentence; Ar. *maḥmul*), הַגָּדָה ("predicate" of a nominal sentence; Ar. *ḫabar*), בְּחִינָה ("aspect"; Ar. *iʿtibār*), מֻפְשָׁט ("abstract"; Ar. *muğarrad*), בְּכֹחַ ("potential") and בְּפֹעַל ("actual"; Ar. *bi al-quwwa* and *bi al-fiʿl*;), מַצְפּוּן ("conscience"; Ar. *ḍamir*), חִבּוּר ("a book"; Ar. *taʾlif*), הַתְחָלָה ("principle"; Ar. *mabdaʾ*), הַכָּה ("duplicate"; Ar. *ḍaraba*). There are also loan-translations which did not provide any technical terminology: בְּשִׁלּוּחַ ("absolutely"; Ar. *biʾiṭlāq*), חֻבַּר עַל ("agreed"; Ar. *uğmiʿa ʿalā*), הִסְכִּים לְ-, נָאוֹת לְ- ("matched," "fit"; Ar. *wāfaqa*) בִּקְצָת הַיָּמִים ("one day," adv., Ar. *fī baʿḍi al-ayyām*). Since every loan-translation that makes use of an existing word also involves extending the meaning of that word in accordance with the range of meanings of its Arabic counterpart, it is difficult to distinguish between loan-translation and semantic borrowing. Perhaps the fundamental difference between them is the degree of intention. When the motivation is the need to translate an existing Arabic technical term (it is mainly technical vocabulary that is at issue, though non-technical expressions also occur) we speak of loan-translation; when it is the unintended effect of adherence to the Arabic text that leads to certain lexical associations, we speak of semantic borrowing.

(d) The following are examples of extension of meaning by semantic borrowing: עִנְיָן ("meaning"; Ar. *maʿnā*), לָקַח ("begin"; Ar. *ʾaḫaḏa*), אִגֶּרֶת ("essay"; Ar. *risāla*), בֵּאוּר ("proof," "lecture"; Ar. *bayān*), גּוֹבֵר ("common"; Ar. *ġālib*), רֶמֶז ("advise"; Ar. *ʾišāra*), דִּין ("religion"; Ar. *dīn*), כְּמוֹ ("approximately"; Ar. *naḥwa*), רוֹצֶה ("mean"; as in רוֹצֶה לוֹמַר ("mean to say; Ar. *yurīd*), בְּחֹק ("concerning"; Ar. *bi ḥaqq*), אֶצְלִי ("in my opinion"; Ar. *ʿindi*). Sometimes an extension of meaning derives wholly or mainly from a similarity in sound, with or without any etymological connection: זִיֵּף acquires the meaning "deny" from Arabic *zayyafa*; זִיֵּן ("decorate"), חַג ("pilgrimage"), things which are מְפִיקִים are "suitable" (Ar. *muwāfiq*).

(e) A feeling for the Arabic language governed the choice of particular Hebrew words, and affected the frequency of words whose use in Hebrew was restricted; this gives a distinctly Arabic flavor to the language. רָאָה ("see") means "think," a use found in mishnaic Hebrew, אָמַר ("say") means "order," חָשַׁק ("love"), חוּשׁ ("feeling") and not רֶגֶשׁ (because of Ar.

ḥassa), חִלּוּף (“difference”; Ar. *Iḵtilāf*) and not שׁנִי or הֶבְדֵּל, חִדּוּשׁ (“accident”) more common than מִקְרֶה or מְאוֹרָע (Arab. *ḥadat*). What is a borrowing with one writer may be recognized as a legitimate Hebrew usage by another. Samuel ibn Tibbon, for example, quotes from the introduction to Maimonides’ *Sefer ha-Madda*ʿ the expression לֵידַע שֶׁיֵּשׁ שָׁם מָצוּי רִאשׁוֹן to know that there is a God – as clear proof of Arabic usage in the original Hebrew writings of Maimonides, and understandable therefore in a translated text (Introduction to his translation *Moreh Neḇukhim* – this is a usage of type (b) as analyzed above). Yet since there are rare examples in mishnaic Hebrew of שם used to mean “in reality” and not as a locative, it may well be that Maimonides had found this Hebrew source in rabbinic literature for himself. Samuel Ibn Tibbon’s father-in-law, Jacob Anatoli, thought that Maimonides found a source for this non-locative use of שָׁם in Ezekiel (in his book *Malmad ha-Talmidim* p. 113a) as illustrated by S. Abramson, which would make it an example of class (e). Expressions of the form תַּכְלִית הַשְּׁלֵמוּת (“the peak of perfection”) a literal translation of Arabic *Ġāyat al-Kimāl* – were widely used, and a source was found for them in Psalms 139:22 – תַּכְלִית שִׂנְאָה. Typical words include זוּלַת (as a translation for *ġayr* and *duna* in their various meanings) and בִּלְתִּי (to translate *ġayr* and *ʿadam*). Samuel ibn Tibbon acknowledged that his innovations led to new homonymy when he himself added new meanings to existing words (the fifth class of “strange words”).

The following are the new kinds of homonymy created: 1. In addition to its usual meaning in the language, the word received a new technical sense: שֶׁבֶר is a term for the Hebrew vowel *ḥireq*; and, not particularly technical: *ḥida* means “talk” (Ar. *ḥadaṯ*, see above) but also retained the meaning of the *ḥidoṯ* of the Queen of Sheba, and thus also signifies “allegory” in kabbalistic literature and Maimonides’ *Mishneh Torah*. Sometimes homonymy is transferred from Arabic to Hebrew; *bāb* in Arabic means “rule,” “chapter of a book,” and “explanation,” and all these meanings were taken over by the Hebrew שַׁעַר. Arabic *ḥarf* means both “letter of the alphabet” and “particle,” and both meanings were transferred to the Hebrew אוֹת. הַעְתֵּק translates *naqala* both in the meaning “translate” and also “hand down (by tradition),” though “tradition” is just as commonly rendered by קַבָּלָה. 2. A Hebrew homonym is paralleled by different Arabic words, in different *binyanim* or patterns: מַאֲמָר is both “essay” (Ar. *maqāla*) and “category” (Ar. *maqūla*); הִשִּׂיג means both “add,” a loan-translation of Arabic *alḥaqa* (fourth *binyan*), and “appeal,” like the Arabic verb *lāḥaqa ʿalā* (third *binyan*). 3. The Hebrew homonyms translate two different Arabic words: עוֹבֵר means “possible” – (Ar. ğ*aʾiz*) and “past” – (Ar. *māḍi*); מְדַבֵּר is “logical” – (Ar. *nāṭiq* – “believer” in the philosophy of *al-kalām*) and also the grammatical term “first person,” – (Ar. *mutakallim*). הִשִּׂיג means “understood” (Ar. *adraka*) and “added” (Ar. *alḥaqa*). העתקה is “translation” (Ar. *naql*), one of the types of metaphor (Ar. *mağāz*), and “transmigration of souls” (Ar. *tanāsuḥ*). 4. The homonymy derives from the falling together of a loan-translation and a phonetic equivalent; גֶּדֶר is both “definition,” loan-translation of *ḥadd*, and “to the fourth power” Arabic *ğaḏr*. As regards the principles whereby the vocabulary could be expanded, there are equivalences between the language of scientific prose and the language of Spanish poetry, though the degree of expansion in prose is far greater, due to the needs of writing on new topics rich in new terms and concepts. The case is different with morphology and syntax, where derivations in general and those derived from Arabic in particular abound in prose yet are hardly found at all in poetry. Since the language of prose was not subject to the principles of *ẓaḥut* (“purity”) which mainly affect the formal aspects of grammar, and since its counterpart was an intermediate variety of Arabic, which had a different degree of adherence to the strict rules of classical Arabic, it even deviated from the rules of grammar established in the grammatical writings of the period. It was not an elegant language, and its foreign features were conspicuous, but its freedom to innovate helped to fashion it into a precise language of scholarship, capable of expressing abstract, scientific ideas.

The following are the salient features of the language of prose:

NOUN MORPHOLOGY. The use of the suffix morpheme ־ִי (called in Ar. *nisba*) to turn a noun into an adjective meaning “possessing, related to, having the quality of” was productive, almost automatic: דִּבְרִי, שִׁמּוּשִׁי, גַּשְׁמִי; Arabic gave new life to this suffix (found in the Bible), which most frequently occurred as in Arabic without the infixed *nun* after short words or words ending in a vowel: רוּחִי, תּוֹרִי, צוּרִי, חוּשִׁי, גּוּפִי (for גּוּפָנִי, צוּרָנִי, etc.). This morpheme does not feature in the linguistic innovations of Saadiah Gaon and was rare in poetry, which used participles instead: מְדַבֵּר for דִּבְרִי (“logical”), or phrases like בַּעַל גֶּשֶׁם for גַּשְׁמִי and אֲחִי מוּסָר for מוּסָרִי etc. Moses Ibn Ezra also considered this kind of innovation contrary to analogy (unproductive) for the morphology of “pure” poetic language (*Širat Yisrael*, 151, apropos the derivation of פְּנִינִיָּה from פְּנִינָה, which is “mere cleverness”).

In varieties of Hebrew which were closer to mishnaic Hebrew, and more restrained in their enthusiasm for Arabic, this derivation was replaced by the typically mishnaic pattern: קַטְלָן e.g., in the writings of Abraham bar Ḥiyya – שַׁקְרָן for שִׁקְרִי (“something containing lies” not “one who lies”), עַמְלָן for מַעֲשִׂי, “practical” (contrasted with שִׂכְלִי “intellectual”), דַּבְרָן for דִּבְרִי (“logical”). The morpheme-*uṯ* creates abstract nouns and can be combined with nouns: נֶצַח נִצְחוּת “eternity,” רֵיק – רֵיקוּת”vacuum,” רָגִיל – רְגִילוּת “regularity,” גַּשְׁמִי – גַּשְׁמִיּוּת “corporeality,” and with verbal nouns: הִתְרַשְּׁמוּת, הֶאָצְלוּת, הִפָּעֲלוּת. Sparing use had been made of this device by the liturgical poets (דַּכְּאוּת, וַתִּיקוּת), apparently under the influence of the infinitive with the suffixed definite article in Aramaic (אִתְעָרוּתָא), but in the language of Saadiah Gaon it is not used at all and it is extremely rare in Spanish poetry. In prose it became indispensable, one of the preferred productive morphemes, even in the prose writings of the poets (Abraham Ibn Ezra uses דַּגְשׁוּת and דַּיְקוּת). In Arabic the suffixed morpheme

-ut was borrowed from Aramaic, and is quite limited in distribution; this is not an example of Arabic influence.

The use of the masculine gender for nouns formed with וּת- is characteristic, and though Samuel ibn Tibbon found authority for this in the Bible (אָחַז בְּשָׂרִי פַּלָּצוּת "a shudder seized me" in the introduction to his translation of *The Guide for the Perplexed*, quoting Job 21:6) the abundance of these forms in the masculine clearly derives from Arabic: Nouns ending in וּת- are masculine in Arabic, and a considerable number of the new words formed in Hebrew with this morpheme derive from Arabic infinitives which are also masculine: גַּשְׁמוּת (Ar. *tağsim̄*), נַצְחוּת (Ar. *taʾbīd*), הִשְׁתַּדְּלוּת (Ar. *iğtihād*), and many more. Use of the masculine gender also spread to those words, few in number, where the suffix corresponds with the feminine abstract noun suffix in Arabic: אֵיכוּת כַּמּוּת, מַהוּת, though these words were also used in the feminine. Words with the suffix ית- were also used in the masculine and Samuel ibn Tibbon found authority for this usage also in the Bible (וְאַחֲרִיתְךָ יִשְׂגֶּא; Job 8:7). Sometimes words are used in the grammatical gender of their Arabic counterparts: אֱמֶת is masculine – אֱמֶת גָּמוּר (Arab. *ḥaqq*); דַּעַת is also masculine דַּעַת בָּרוּר (Arab. *ʿalm*). Words used in the feminine include טֶבַע, אִי (Ar. *ğazīra*), כֹּחַ (Ar. *quwwa*), מִנְהָג (Ar. *ʿāda*), כַּדּוּר (Ar. *kurra*), and סִפּוּר (Ar. *qiṣṣa*). They are of course also used in the masculine, in accordance with the tradition of the language, and the proportion of Arabic or Hebrew usages varies with the writer's talent and grammatical knowledge. In addition to the masculine use of אֱמֶת the form אֲמִתָּה is very common, due to Arabic *ḥaqiqah*. When a masculine plural is formed by adding *-oṯ*, attributive adjectives characteristically take the same ending: גְּדוֹלוֹת, מְקוֹמוֹת יְדוּעוֹת, סוֹדוֹת עֲצוּמוֹת, סְפֵקוֹת, (but שֵׁמוֹת מִשְׁתַּתְּפִים). This formal correspondence may have been helped by the rule in Arabic that inanimate plurals take adjectives in the feminine singular. When the translator was faced with *asrār ʿaṣima*, the adjective was drawn towards the feminine, though not feminine singular; since there was no precedent in Hebrew for a structure like "סוֹדוֹת גְּדוֹלָה" such a form was naturally rejected. Middle Arabic had also begun to challenge the rules of congruence in Classical Arabic, and tended toward greater uniformity. Since Arabic had only one form and syntactic usage for what are usually described nowadays as the infinitive (קָטוֹל) and the verbal noun (קְטִילָה), both these forms are used interchangeably in the language of prose, e.g., הַרְחָקַת הַגַּשְׁמוּת וְהַעֲמִיד הָאַחְדוּת "removal of corporeality and establishment of uniformity." Arabic *Ġāyat al-Taḥaffuẓ* is translated both תַּכְלִית הַשְּׁמוֹר and תַּכְלִית הַשְּׁמִירָה and this is the reason that the use of the infinitive with the definite article is common: הַהֵעָשׂוֹת, הַהִתְעַצֵּל (Saadiah Gaon also makes no distinction between these forms. The inability of the infinitive to take the definite article begins with Samuel ha-Nagid, and in the language of poetry neither the absolute nor the construct infinitive is used as verbal nouns.) The abundant use of fused construct forms (i.e., without *šel*) can be attributed to the influence of Arabic construct forms, as can the use of the definite article before an adjective in the construct form: הַחֵזק הַלֹּבֶן, הַמְחֻיַּב הַמְּצִיאוּת and especially before the comparative הַיּוֹתֵר חָשׁוּב. This is the Arabic feature of marking as definite any construct form which is not a noun, the so-called "unreal construct." The tendency to use two construct forms with a single dependent noun – פּוֹשְׁעֵי וְרִשְׁעֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל ("the evil and wicked of Israel") – may be due to the influence of Middle Arabic.

VERB. In the introduction to his translation of *Guide of the Perplexed*, Samuel ibn Tibbon acknowledges the tendency of a translator to be drawn towards the קֶשֶׁר (his term for preposition) used with the verb in Arabic, e.g., *qibbel le-* instead of *qibbel min*. Arabic prepositional usages, infrequent in the language of poetry, are quite common in prose:

מִתְפַּלֵּא מִן, נִפְלָא מִן (Ar. *taʿağaba min*); מתרעם מִן (Ar. *ġaḍaba min*); חקר עַל (Ar. *fataša ʿan*); מקיף ב (Ar. *ʾaḥāta bi*), הבטיח ב (*waʿada bi*); חסר אל (Ar. *iftaqara ilā*); and so are התנגד עַל, קרוב מִן, גינה מִן, לא יתכן מִן, etc.

Sometimes the preposition adds a specific meaning as in Arabic: הֶאֱמִין = אָמַר בְּ- for "believe in" (Ar. *qāla bi*). Intransitive verbs of motion are made transitive by the "causative *bet*" like in Arabic; this usage is also found in poetry, but to a much greater extent in prose; הִתְגַּלְגֵּל בְּ- ("rolled"). עָף בְּ- ("set flying"), etc.

Judah and Samuel ibn Tibbon were aware of the influence of the Arabic *binyanim* on the Hebrew verb, but apparently did not consider this such a serious defect as the influence of the prepositions; in poetry too the amount of analogical formation and innovation in the verb was greater than in the noun and the particles. The main development was the increase in the use of the *hitpaʿel*, which translated three Arabic *binyanim: tafāʿala* (as הִתְחַסֵּר, Ar. *tanāqasa*); *tafaʿʿla* (פֹּעַל מִתְעַבֵּר "transitive verb," Ar. *mutaʿadd*, הִזְדַּכֵּר "remember," Ar. *tazakkara*, הִסְתַּפֵּק "be in doubt," Ar. *tašakkaka*); *iftaʿala* (שֵׁמוֹת מִשְׁתַּתְּפִים "homonyms," Ar. *muštaraka*, מִתְחַלְּפִים "different," Ar. *muḫtalifa*, הִסְתַּכֵּם "agree," Ar. *ittafaqa*, מִתְאַחֵר "later, following," e.g. הַגְּאוֹנִים הַמִּתְאַחֲרִים, Ar. *mutaʾaḫḫir*).

In Middle Arabic, these *binyanim* had largely supplanted the "internal passives," hence: הִתְבָּאֵר (Ar. *tabayyana*) instead of בֹּאַר (Ar. *buyyina*), הִתְיַלֵּד "was created" (said of rainbow, water, etc., Ar. *tawallada*), etc.

The use of *hitpaʿel* as a passive in place of passives with internal vowel modification is not simply continuation of mishnaic practice, since the Ibn Tibbons also introduced many forms of "internal" passives. The increase in the use of passive conjugations, in prose and in poetry, is attributed to the influence of Arabic. The "internal" passives – *puʿal*, and *nip̄ʾal* – were used mostly in impersonal structures: יְחֻיַּב, יְסֻפַּק, יְעֻיַּן, יְזֻיַּן, יְכֻסַּף, יְרֻצֶּה. New auxiliary verbs were created חָזַר, שָׁב in the sense of "become" (Ar. *ʿāda, rağaʿa*), לֹא סָר, לֹא זָז meaning "keep (doing something)" (Ar. *mā zāla*) and עָשָׂה, שָׂם, "make," with an objective complement – עָשָׂה הַסָּפֵק בָּרוּר ("make doubt clear, clarify doubt"; Ar. *ğaʿala*). Tenses converted by *waw* were almost no longer employed. The modal forms of the verb, jussive and cohortative, were scarcely used in medieval Hebrew prose. In poetry the long and short forms of the imperfect were used simply as morphological variants, not expressing modal ways as they were understood by Hebrew grammarians to appear in the Bible, without any influence from verbal patterns found in Classical Arabic. The language of prose dispensed with these forms, since it had no need of a multiplicity of forms for embellishment. Middle Arabic, which had lost some verb forms, may also have contributed to the general picture and helped to eliminate long imperfects in וּן since in North Africa and Spain it was the short forms which were used in the plural. A Past Continuous or a Past Habitual, like the Arabic *kāna yafʿal* occurs: *hava yabo* (a usage also found in Saadiah Gaon and in the *maqāmāt* of Al-Ḥarizi). The combination of כְּבָר and the imperfect is used to express possibility, by analogy with Arabic *qad*; in fact, כְּבָר as an equivalent for *qad* is increasingly used, both in the language and in grammatical description. Ibn Janaḥ (*Sefer ha-Šorashim*, s.v. כְּבָר) explained that כְּבָר was like Arabic *qad*, and expressed "the existence of a thing." By using כְּבָר as an equivalent of *qad* the following tenses were formed: pluperfect: הָיָה כְּבָר עָשָׂה; future perfect: יִהְיֶה כְּבָר עָשָׂה. This pattern is found mainly in the language of translation, but also occurs elsewhere (e.g., in the writings of Crescas, 14th century). However, it had already begun to fade from the grammatical stock of medieval Hebrew a few generations after the end of the period of the translations. But the use of כְּבָר plus the perfect to signify time and for emphasis כְּבָר יָדַעְתָּ, כְּבָר נִתְבָּאַר equivalent to the Arabic *qad*, was much more in line with the spirit of the language, and Arabic accounts merely for its widespread distribution. As in Arabic כְּבָר was placed before the verb, as in mishnaic Hebrew where this usage originates, and not after the verb, as occurred occasionally in mishnaic Hebrew and quite commonly in varieties of Hebrew influenced by languages where the equivalent of כְּבָר (*schon, déjà*) come after the verb. There are, however, examples of כְּבָר occurring after a verb, mainly when the verb is in a subordinate clause: מַה שֶּׁשָּׁמַעְתִּי כְּבָר מִטַּעֲנוֹת הֶחָבֵר ("… those statements of the companion which I have already heard"; beginning of the *Kuzari*).

SYNTAX. The use of the demonstrative without *he* (the definite article) before a noun with *he* is very common: אֵלּוּ הַדְּבָרִים, זֶה הָאִישׁ. The structure with the demonstrative before the noun and no *he* – אוֹתוֹ הָאִישׁ, as in mishnaic Hebrew – is preferred to הָאִישׁ הָהוּא, the biblical form. Though there are a few examples in the Bible to serve as precedents (זֶה הַיּוֹם Ps. 105), and an equivalent structure in late Aramaic (הָדֵין עָלְמָא), Arabic was certainly the major factor: *hādhā al-walad, dhalika al-walad*. This usage is not found at all in the writings of Saadiah Gaon and hardly in poetry, but occurs frequently in the original prose writings of Abraham b. Ḥiyya, Maimonides, and Al-Ḥarizi. However, there are many places where the Ibn Tibbons used forms like הַדְּבָרִים הָהֵם, הָאִישׁ הַהוּא in their translations, even when this meant deviating from the word order that confronted them in the Arabic text: *ḏalika al-rağul*. The use of relative clauses with no conjunction after an indefinite antecedent (אִישׁ עִיֵּן בְּ- for אִישׁ שֶׁעִיֵּן בְּ-, מְלָאכָה צְרִיכָה נִסָּיוֹן for מְלָאכָה שֶׁצְּרִיכָה נִסָּיוֹן) is also the exact counterpart of an Arabic structure (*sifa*). This structure can also be given biblical authority (שָׂרִים זָהָב לָהֶם) but comes in prose much more than in poetry. Elegant translators added the definite article, in places where it did not occur in Arabic, in order to bring the structure closer to the form prevalent in mishnaic Hebrew and to a considerable extent also in biblical Hebrew (compare Aḥiṭub's translation of *Millot ha-Higgayon* with Moses ibn Tibbon's). Moreover, the Ibn Tibbons added quite a few relative clause markers (שֶׁ, אֲשֶׁר, -הַ) where none existed in Arabic, and translators like Al-Ḥarizi and Aḥiṭub are not free from asyndetic relative clauses. Such clauses are also found in original texts which were influenced by the language of the translations, e.g., *Beit ha-Beḥira* by Ha-Me'iri, written in Provence at the end of the 13th century.

Relative clauses were also formed, on the modal of the Arabic *naʿt sababī*, in which the adjective or participle is predicative to a following noun, and agrees with it in number and gender, but preserves an indirect link with the antecedent with which it shares the same category of deixis, definite or indefinite: הַמִּדּוֹת הַמְסֻפָּר בָּהֶן הַבּוֹרֵא ("the qualities (feminine plural) attributed (masculine singular) to the Creator (masculine singular)"). This structure occurs most frequently when the predicate in the relative clause is a passive participle and impersonal: צֹרֶךְ הַלָּשׁוֹן הַמָּעְתָּק אֵלָיו (Judah ibn Tibbon's introduction to Ḥoḇot ha-Leḇaḇot) הַדְּבָרִים הַמֻּזְהָר מֵהֶם וְהַמְצֻוֶּה בָּהֶם ("things (masculine plural) warned against (masculine singular) and commanded (masculine singular)" (Moses ibn Tibbon's translation of *Sefer ha-Miẓwot*). Also based on Arabic is the common structure with מִן...מַה, מִן...מִי (and similar structures with other words replacing מַה and מִן), where the first part of the sentence functions restrictively: מַה שֶּׁיֵּשׁ אִתִּי מִן הַטְּעָנוֹת וְהַתְּשׁוּבוֹת (the beginning of Ibn Tibbon's translation of the Kuzari; "what I have of claims and answers," i.e., those claims and answers that I have). Similarly מַה שֶּׁעָשׂוּ לָנוּ הַמִּצְרִים מֵעָוֶל וְחָמָס, מַה שֶּׁהִתְאַמֵּת וְהִתְבָּרֵר מִמַּאַמְרֵי הַתּוֹרָה, etc. This structure, modeled on Arabic, survived at least until the 18th century. Gershon b. Solomon composed his *Šaʿar ha-Šamayim* in the second half of the 13th century. All scholars are agreed that he did not know Arabic. His book, "a breviary of the wisdom of nature," was based on scientific works translated from Arabic. He picked up this structure, new to Hebrew, from the books he studied and he understood how to use it correctly. He writes for example: חוּשׁ הָרְאוּת לְכַוֵּן הַנָּאוֹת לוֹ מִמַּאֲכָל וּמַשְׁקֶה ("the appropriate from food and drink," i.e., those foods and drinks which are appropriate). In the spirit of Arabic are the many object-noun clauses in place of infinitives: נִרְצֶה שֶׁנֵּדַע ("we shall want that we shall know"; instead of נִרְצֶה לָדַעַת "we shall want to know"; compare the Arabic *nurīdu an naʿrifa*; נִצְטַוֵּינוּ שֶׁנַּעֲנִישֵׁהוּ ("we were ordered that we should punish him") instead of נִצְטַוֵּינוּ לְהַעֲנִישׁ אוֹתוֹ ("we were ordered to punish him"), רָאִיתִי גַּם כֵּן שֶׁאֲחַבֵּר חִבּוּר ("I decided to compose….") Subordinate clauses are also common after words such as רָאוּי, צָרִיךְ, etc. and are modeled on Arabic *ʾan* clauses introduced after such verbs e.g., צָרִיךְ שֶׁנִּתְבּוֹנֵן ("it is necessary that we look”) for אָנוּ צְרִיכִים לְהִתְבּוֹנֵן (“we must look”; compare the Ar. *yağibu ʾan*).

By contrast, infinitives are frequent in place of subordinate adverbial clauses of time, purpose, reason, and comparison: אַחֲרֵי בָּאֲרִי for “after I had explained” (Ar. *baʿad tabayyuni*); לִהְיוֹתוֹ for “because he is” (Ar. *likawnihi*); כְּאָמְרוֹ (“as he says” or “as it says in the text”; Ar. *kaqawlihi*). Under the influence of Arabic the use of אֶת before a direct object diminished and the use of cognate objects increased e.g., תָּמַהּ תְּמִיהָה. The circumstantial use of participles is common אָמַר הַנָּבִיא מִתְחַנֵּן (“the prophet said, imploring”; Ar. *qāla al nabī mutašafiʿan*). The use of the objective complement is also frequent: יָשִׂים הַסָּפֵק בָּרוּר (“he will make the uncertainty clear,” i.e., will clarify it.).

Literal translation produces structures which are the exact image of the original Arabic text: וּתְחִלַּת מִי שֶׁמָּצָא זֶה הַדַּעַת i.e., the first who found… (Ar. *awwal man ʿamada ʿalā*). The use of the prefix מִי – for listing details and explanations (called in Ar. the *mīm al-mubayyina*) was transferred from Arabic, when it was not translated by such words as כְּגוֹן, כְּמוֹ (“such as”) which is the usual method. Though not mentioned by grammarians like Ibn Jannaḥ, it is found in untranslated Hebrew, even in thoroughly Hebrew contexts such as Maimonides’ Mishneh Torah: כָּל הַבְּרוּאִים מִמַּלְאָךְ וְגַלְגַּל (“all created things, such as, angels…” *Yesodei Torah* 4, 1).

In the Bible the word אָמְנָם adds emphasis and by virtue of this usage is employed to translate typically Arabic structures. Due to its phonetic similarity to Arabic *ammā* it is used to emphasize the subject: וְאָמְנָם הָרִאשׁוֹנוֹת צְרִיכוֹת בֵּאוּר (“as for the first ones, they need proof”). And because of its phonetic similarity to Arabic *innamā* it can emphasize a following predicate. Other words are also used to translate *ammā* and *innamā* – אֲבָל, אִם, אוּלָם, אֲשֶׁר לְ- – even by the Ibn Tibbons. Al-Ḥarizi, who to some extent preferred אֲבָל, very often tried to side-step such structures altogether. However, the use of אָמְנָם to emphasize what follows, a structure modeled on Arabic syntax, is very common in works which drew their Arabic inspiration from the translations written in the 13th and 14th centuries: they occur frequently, for example, in the writings of Cordovero, who lived in the 16th century.

Translators who were nearly always led to render the Arabic *lā ilā* by לֹא...אֶלָּא very seldom managed to use לֹא אֶלָּא to translate the Arabic *innamā*. The merits of original, untranslated texts are noteworthy by comparison with the language of the translations. Samuel ibn Tibbon translated the words of Maimonides (*Guide of the Perplexed* 2, 44): הַנְּבוּאָה אָמְנָם תִּהְיֶה בַּמַּרְאָה אוֹ בַחֲלוֹם (“prophecy will only be in a vision or a dream”; in Ar. the word *innamā* comes after the word for prophecy). But Maimonides himself wrote (*Hilkhot Yesodei Torah* 7, 2) אֵין רוֹאִין מַרְאָה בִּנְבוּאָה אֶלָּא בַחֲלוֹם (“no vision of prophecy is seen except in dream…”).

MAIMONIDES

This example from Maimonides of a Hebraic structure, לֹא... אֶלָּא rather than the use of אָמְנָם in imitation of an Arabic pattern, is not unique. Asyndetic relative clauses are rare in the *Mishneh Torah*, and many of the laws begin after the fashion of mishnaic Hebrew: צוּרוֹת שֶׁעֲשָׂאוּם (“shapes that have been made”), אֶפְרוֹחִים שֶׁקִּנְּנָה בָּהֶם (“chicks for whom a nest has been made”). נָבִיא שֶׁיַּעֲמֹד לָנוּ (“a prophet who shall represent us”) etc. Subordinate clauses are preferred to infinitives, and particularly worthy of comparison are the many occasions where Maimonides uses כְּמוֹ שֶׁנֶּאֱמַר or בְּעִנְיָן שֶׁנֶּאֱמַר as against כְּאָמְרוֹ, which Moses ibn Tibbon uses in his translation of Maimonides’ *Sefer ha-Miẓwot*.

In vocabulary also, the Hebrew of Maimonides tends to be free from Arabic influence. Whereas Samuel ibn Tibbon writes of קֹטֶב הַתּוֹרָה (“the pole of the Law”; in his translation of *Guide of the Perplexed*), in line with the Arabic figure of speech, Maimonides himself wrote עַמּוּד הַחָכְמוֹת – “the pillar of wisdom” (introduction to *Sefer ha-Maddʿa*) – see above on the respective uses of עַמּוּד and קֹטֶב. He wrote גֹּלֶם וְצוּרָה and not גֶּשֶׁם וְצוּרָה (“matter and form”), נִתְבָּרֵר and not נִתְבָּאַר (explained), which is a loan translation of *tabayyana*, מְאֹרָע and not חִדּוּשׁ (event; Ar. *ḥadaṯ*) though he did also use the words נִתְבָּאַר (meaning “explained and proved”) and יִתְחַדֵּשׁ (meaning “take place”). Maimonides took great care with the language of *Mishneh Torah*; he wanted it to be “clear and precise” (as he wrote in the introduction) and chose to use not the language of prophecy or the language of the Talmud (i.e., Aramaic) but “the language of the *Mishnah* so that it will be easy for the majority” (as he wrote concerning the *Mishneh Torah* in his introduction to *Sefer ha-Miẓwot*). In fact, he used typically mishnaic forms more than was usual in the language of the translations: הֵיאָךְ, לֵילָךְ, לֵידַע – and particularly the use of a proleptic pronoun נִתְּנוּ לוֹ לְמֹשֶׁה, which is not a feature of Arabic-influenced medieval Hebrew.

For all his conscious preference for “the language of the Mishnah,” Maimonides interlarded his prose with many biblical expressions, not just vocabulary items but whole phrases in a rhetorical style replete with biblical quotations: מָרֵי נֶפֶשׁ (“bitter of soul,” Prov. 31:6), מְפֻזָּר וּמְפֹרָד (“dispersed and scattered,” Esth. 3:8) בְּלוֹיֵי סְחָבוֹת (“cast off remnants,” Jer. 38:11), כְּמַר מִדְּלִי (“a drop in the bucket,” Isa. 40:15), etc. There are undoubtedly traces of Arabic influence in the language of Maimonides, but they nearly all derive from Arabic features in Hebrew texts written by his predecessors, and most of them have their roots in Hebrew: prefixed ל – to indicate cause, prefixed מ – for exemplification (see above), עִנְיָנוֹת רְחוֹקוֹת instead of עִנְיָנִים רְחוֹקִים; דַּעַת in the masculine, אֲמִתָּה for אֱמֶת; מִסְתַּפֵּק מִן meaning “be doubtful about…”; הָעוֹבְדֵי אֱלִילִים (“idol worshippers”) with the definite article preceding the construct form; הִשִּׂיג meaning “understand”; הֶעְתִּיק meaning “hand down by tradition” (Ar. *naqala*); the technical terms עִקָּר “principle,” צוּרָה (“form”); עִלָּה וְעָלוּל (“cause and effect”); מָצוּי רִאשׁוֹן (“first entity” – a term for God). A typical feature of his prose is the translation into Hebrew of most of the Aramaic expressions in the Talmud: שָׁלַם הָעִנְיָן for סְלִיק עִנְיָנָא (“the matter is complete”); כָּל הַמִּתְגַּבֵּר זָכָה for כָּל דְּאַלִּים גְּבַר (“whoever is in power wins”); בֶּן מֶצֶר for בַּר מִצְרָא (an immediate neighbor); and many more. Maimonides’ language is closest to the style of learned medieval Hebrew in passages of philosophical reflection (especially in Yad, *Yesodei ha-Torah*), and it is these sections which best show how superior and "Hebraic" his style is by comparison with the language of the Ibn Tibbons.

ITALY

In the year 1054, in Italy, Ahimaaz b. Paltiel, descendant of a line of liturgical poets, wrote his *Megillat Aḥimaʿaz*, the genealogical record of his family. The language of his book is naturally akin to that of the liturgical poets. There are many features of mishnaic Hebrew (*binyan nitpaʿal*, proleptic use of pronouns as in יֶשׁ לוֹ לְאָדָם, demonstratives as in אוֹתָם הַיָּמִים, words such as שֶׁכֵּן, צָרִיךְ, סָבוּר etc.), enriched by biblical Hebrew in the form of interlarded quotations, morphology, syntax and vocabulary: *waw* conversive, infinitival phrases as in בְּבוֹא, בְּהַגִּיעַ, lack of innovation in *puʿal* and so on. A form like לֵילְכָה, with a mišnaic infinitive – לֵילֵךְ – and a biblical lengthening, testifies to the blend of language varieties! Like the liturgical poets that preceded him, he combined -כְּ with a perfect tense – כְּרָאוּ, כְּבָט, made much use of allusive phrases (שׁוֹשַׁנָּה, "rose" = Israel), and employed the typically liturgical vocabulary: רָשָׁה (for "said, command"), בְּכֵן, גֶּשֶׁם, פְּצִיחָה (for "then") etc. Traces of Italian influence on the language are slight but well defined (פֵּרְקוֹן for "fork," and see below with respect to the use of טֶרֶם). The initial use of a demonstrative (זוֹ הַמְּדִינָה) in the language of Aḥimaʿaẓ may derive from late Aramaic, or from the occasional use of the structure in mishnaic Hebrew, or possibly even from Italian or Arabic, as in the case of מִזֶּה הָעִנְיָן in the writings of Shabbetai Donnolo, who preceded him by almost 100 years. This book was written before the language of Spanish poetry had taken definite shape, but Immanuel of Rome, who lived in the middle of the 13th century, and who wrote a clearly biblical Hebrew, studded with quotations, though enriched with mishnaic features and even references to the Mishnah, was well versed in Spanish poetry, as he himself bears witness. Since he followed the trend of Spanish poetry and drew upon its language as a source of inspiration, he makes use of innovations and words whose frequency has risen under the influence of Arabic: סָר meaning "stop," שָׁב for "become," אִנּוּן for "grief" (Ar. *ʾanna*), כְּמוֹ for "approximately," תִּשְׁבֹּרֶת ("geometry"), גֶּשֶׁם ("body"), אֱלוֹהִי ("theological"), לִמּוּדִי ("mathematical"), the pattern מִן...מַה (see above, p. 1631f.) and so on. The imprint of Italian is inestimably greater on his style than on that of Ahimaaz; he wrote poems in Italian and introduced the sonnet into Hebrew poetry. Italian accounts for the use of the following words in the masculine: תֵּבֵל, בֶּטֶן, רֶגֶל, צִפּוֹר, אֶצְבַּע, and of the following in the feminine: זָקָן, שַׂעַר, חֶסֶד, etc. פֶּרַח, a name of a coin, is a loan translation of the Italian "florin" and the pattern הַשֶּׁלּוֹ is a reflection of *il suo*.

Shabbetai Donnolo, a physician who lived in the 10th century in southern Italy, also wrote in a style blended of mishnaic and biblical Hebrew, and the result is entirely different from the language of the Ibn Tibbons. In addition to technical terms borrowed from Latin and Greek, his language also shows Italian influence: בֶּטֶן in the masculine (like *il ventre*), טֶרֶם and מִטֶּרֶם take on the meanings of Italian *avanti* i.e., first of all, better: נָאֶה לָרוֹפְאִים לֵידַע טֶרֶם הַבְּשָׂמִים ("it is good for doctors, *first of all* to know perfumes"). Ahimaaz too uses *terem* in the sense of "before anything else."

Obadiah of Bartinoro wrote his letters from Ereẓ Israel (in the middle of the 15th century) in a language basically biblical but enriched with mishnaic features, and showing signs of Italian influence, apart from a few usages, mainly in loan words – *cottimo* for "piece work," *capitano* for "captain" etc.

THE KARAITES

The Hebrew of the Karaites has not yet been described as a distinct variety. For the moment it must suffice to say that the rhymed polemical writings resemble those of Saadiah Gaon and the language used by the *geʾonim* in their liturgical poetry. The writings of Daniel al-Qūmisī (ninth century), Sahl b. Maẓli'aḥ, and Solomon b. Jeroham (10th century), for example, are largely biblical in style, and richly studded with quotations, but also contain freely derived verb forms, in all the *binyanim*, and noun declensions of which the most productive are קְטִילָה, קִטְלוֹן and קֶטֶל. The Karaites fought against the oral tradition, and Saadiah Gaon countered their arguments by pointing out the indispensability of mishnaic Hebrew for understanding the Bible (in his *Perush Shivʿim Millim*); their language, however, is not a pure biblical Hebrew. None of them abstained completely from mishnaic usage, not merely as regards such content words as were vital in the debate on oral law (הֶתֵּר, אִסּוּר, גְּזֵרָה, תַּקָּנָה, מִדְרָשׁ, etc.) but also structures and form words characteristic of the Mishnah: *binyan nitpaʿal*, צָרִיךְ שֶׁ-, רָאוּי לְ-, אוֹתָהּ הַשָּׁנָה, etc. And their vocabulary included words typical of liturgical poetry: רָשָׁה ("say, command"), צָרַח, פְּצִיחָה, etc.

The Karaites were much influenced by Arabic culture, and their prose style is therefore marked by the influence of Arabic; it is very close to the language of the Ibn Tibbons (see *Eškol ha-Kofer* by Hadassi, written in Istanbul in the 12th century). But its specific features are worth special study. There are certain terms characteristic of Karaite Hebrew, some of which occur nowhere else: נִזְכָּרִי and נְקֵבָתִי ("masculine" and "feminine"), עַדְפָּנוּת ("advantage"), כֶּתֶם ("impression"), אֶפַע ("event"), הֱיוֹתוּת ("existence"), and so on.

For recent studies of Karaite Hebrew see Maman in Bibliography.

Samaritans

From the 13th and 14th centuries onwards the Samaritans composed prayers and other works in Hebrew influenced by Arabic. A full description has not yet been made; Cowley has offered initial research as has Z. Ben Ḥayyim (*Tarbiz* 10). A necessary line of investigation will have to be how this Hebrew could exist independent of extra-biblical Hebrew (Ben Ḥayyim, *Lešonenu Laʿam*, 1969).

See also Ben Hayyim, *Ivrit va-Aramit Nusaḥ Shomron*, vols. 1–5 (1957–77).

PROVENCE AND NORTHERN FRANCE

The Jews of Provence came under the influence of Spanish Jewry; it was in the towns of Provence (mainly Narbonne and Lunel) that the work of the Ibn Tibbons and the Kimḥis in translation was carried out. It is not surprising, therefore, that Menahem ha-Me'iri from Provence (14th century) wrote his book *Beit ha-Beḥira* in a style containing all the typical features of "Tibbonian" Hebrew. The influence of Arabic is marked, especially in the introduction, and not in the body of the work, which is a summary of halakhic judgments. Nevertheless, even the actual discussion of *halakhah* shows far more Arabic influence than the Hebrew of Maimonides' *Mishneh Torah*.

Unlike the Jews of Provence, the Jews of northern and eastern France had strong cultural and social ties with the Jews of western Germany – "Ashkenaz" – and it was in the towns of Champagne, the Rhine Valley and Lorraine that Ashkenazi Hebrew was fashioned. The Hebrew of Rashi and the French authors of Tosafot (talmudic commentary) is close to Ashkenazi Hebrew, as regards its sources and constituent elements, but the language of influence is Old French, not Middle High German; the influence is much smaller than the corresponding influence of German on Ashkenazi Hebrew.

The influence of French accounts for the increased use of the verb *ʿasa* in the Hebrew of Rashi, by analogy with "*faire*," e.g., עָשָׂה בְּרָכָה, though such forms do occur in mishnaic Hebrew. Also from French is the use of בַּיִת and בָּשָׂר in the feminine. But the French background is most marked in the direct quotation of Old French words in order to explain the Hebrew: "רֹשֶׁם, in French *cogneau*," etc. The language of Rashi is generally excellent, accurate Hebrew; it is largely mishnaic, enriched with biblical words and forms, even his commentary on the Talmud, e.g., תִּפְעַלְנָה, infinitival clauses like בְּבוֹא, בְּשׁוּבִי, the lengthened imperfect, and figurative expressions such as לִבּוֹ דָוֶה עָלָיו ("his heart grew faint" – see Lam. 5:17), הוֹן עָתֵק מְאֹד ("very great riches" – see Prov. 8:18), though on a modest scale compared with the rhetorical figures in the rabbinical style. In his commentary on the Bible he made sparing use of Aramaic, and only in fixed expressions: כְּמָה, דְּאִיתְּמַר דִּכְתִיב, and a wide use of the Aramaic prefix *de-* but in his commentary on the Talmud and in *Siddur Rashi* he did use Aramaic and not only technical terms; his language in this respect can be described in the same terms as we shall use for the language of rabbinical Hebrew in general. Rashi created new words and patterns; his understanding of Hebrew grammar and his ability as a stylist give him a special place among the writers of Hebrew in Ashkenaz.

ASHKENAZIC AND RABBINIC HEBREW

The Jews of Ashkenaz (western Germany and eastern France) had close ties with Ereẓ Israel, and this relationship is very evident in their *piyyutim* (Gershom ben Judah Me'or ha-Golah, Jacob Tam, Meir of Rothenburg etc.), which continued the language and grammar of Palestinian liturgical poetry, though on a more modest scale. However, in the responsa, in the books on ritual, in community records, and to some extent, also in books dealing with their trials and tribulations, there is apparent, already from the 11th century, the beginnings of the blended style known as rabbinical Hebrew, found in its most characteristic form in the responsa written in Poland, mainly from the 16th century. It is composed of mishnaic Hebrew, biblical Hebrew, Aramaic (largely from the Babylonian Talmud), a certain amount of Arabic-influenced Hebrew, the influence of Middle High German in Ashkenaz, and once the center of Ashkenazi Jewry had moved to Poland the influence of Yiddish, whose German component was the same kind of German as that spoken by the Jews of Ashkenaz.

The Influence of German on the Hebrew of the Jews of Ashkenaz and the Influence of Yiddish on Hebrew in Poland

The status of Hebrew in Ashkenaz as compared with Middle High German was different from its status in Spain compared with its sister-tongue Arabic. In Germany the two languages in contact were from different families and far apart in form and structure. It is the strangeness of the effect of the influencing language that is most marked, though the very distance can also tone down the influence. The Ibn Tibbons were well aware that it was the closeness of Arabic to Hebrew which secured it such huge influence. From Arabic Hebrew borrowed a few words in Hebrew declensions; from German, at the beginning of the period, no words were borrowed at all, and they were quoted as foreign whenever they were needed in explanation: "כְּוִיָּה or in German *brennt*" (Eleazar b. Nathan, 11th century). Loan words begin to appear in Hebrew in Poland from the 16th century, more in the questions that were posed than in the responsa of the rabbis, and almost all of them dealing with everyday life, hardly any concerned with matters of ritual. They include names of colors and clothes, food, and diseases. Words were also borrowed for which Hebrew equivalents existed: *Diamant* (יַהֲלֹם), *Juwelen* (תַּכְשִׁיטִים) etc. It is the language of the Ḥasidim and the *Mitnaggedim* in the 18th century which is most full of loan words.

Whereas Spanish Jewry was bilingual as far as writing was concerned (Hebrew and Arabic), in Ashkenaz Hebrew served as the sole written language. The literary language of the surrounding culture was mainly Latin, though Middle High German was also beginning to be used in writing for epic poetry, courtly lyrics and sermons. The Middle High German used in sermons to bring people to confession, repentance and fear of sin could well have influenced Ḥasidim of Germany by virtue of the subjects themselves but only as a literary language heard in sermons out of doors, not as a written language. Its influence should therefore be considered as that of a spoken vernacular not as a vehicle for literary expression. The Jew did not regard it as an enlightened, respectable language, worthy of competition with such an excellent tongue as Hebrew. They did not imitate it, they did not translate from it, and they had very little occasion to adopt from it terms and concepts that needed a Hebrew guise. The main effect is felt in passages dealing with everyday life: the account books of the religious congregations, responsa dealing with everyday affairs, accounts of troubles and persecutions.

When Polish Jewry replaced German Jewry as the spiritual center, a change began to take place in the status of Yiddish, transferred to a Slavic environment (though there had been earlier written documents in Yiddish); it became henceforth a normal second written language. Among the responsa written by Moses Isserles, Solomon Luria and others in Poland in the 16th century there are also some written in Yiddish. No study has yet been made on the relation of Hebrew and Middle High German in Germany as compared with that of Hebrew and Yiddish in Poland. Generally speaking, the German element in the Hebrew of Ashkenaz is close to that in the Hebrew of Poland; it is only in the language of the Ḥasidim and the *Mitnaggedim* in the 18th century that the influence of Yiddish is far more profoundly felt.

In the history of Ashkenazi Hebrew, a special place is reserved for the language of *Sefer Ḥasidim*, a collection of tales and customs attributed to *Judah he-Ḥasid from Regensburg and written or collected by his disciples in the 12th and 13th centuries. The spirit of modesty and humility typical of those ascetic God-fearing Ḥasidim permeated not only the subject-matter but also the language, which was very close to the spoken variety, abounding in anacolouthon, unstylized, without interlarded quotations or figurative embellishment. The vocabulary of the book is small, sufficient for the needs of the subject-matter, with no concern for the needs of style, and the influence of Middle High German is quite strongly felt. The influence of Middle High German and the German element in Yiddish is best described by reference to the *Sefer Ḥasidim* and the responsa written in Germany and Poland. The following are some of the most noteworthy features: there is considerable use of prepositions in the German manner, though Hebrew prepositional usages were not rejected completely; they are also used, the proportion depending on the writer, the translator or the context (as already noted, the influence of German is more marked in passages dealing with everyday affairs: גָּנַב לְ- instead of גָּנַב מִן, ... מתגָאה מִן ("proud of"") as in *sich rühmen von*; יָדַע מִן as in *wissen von*. The preposition אַחֲרֵי takes on the uses of *nach* – שָׁלַח אַחֲרָיו ("send for him"), and so on. The preposition עַל is used like *auf*: קָנָה עַל הַשּׁוּק ("bought in the market") *auf den Market*; הָיָה עַל הָרְחוֹב ("was in the street") – *auf der Strasse*; הִמְתִּין עַל פְּלוֹנִי ("wait for someone") – *auf jemand*; and even more in the language of the Ḥasidim in the 18th century: נָסַע עַל שַׁבָּת, קֶמַח עַל פֶּסַח etc. Though the possessive construct pattern found in the Bible is commoner than the prepositional structure with *šel* found in mishnaic Hebrew, there are exceptional cases where a prepositional structure with *min* is used, in imitation of *von*: גַּבַּאי מִן הַצְּדָקָה ("a collector of charity"). There are a few loan translations, mainly for the purpose of expressing concepts from daily life: בֵּית הָעֵצָה (*Rathaus*); בֵּית עֲנִיִּים ("poorhouse"); בֵּית יְתוֹמִים ("orphanage"). Much commoner is the extension of the meaning of the Hebrew word in accordance with the meanings of its Middle High German equivalent: נֶגֶד or כְּנֶגֶד means "approximately," a secondary meaning of *gegen*, and in later Hebrew סָבִיב לְ- is used in this sense, like *um*. יָדַע means "be able" as well as "know," since *koennen* has both meanings; הַפָּסוּק עוֹמֵד כָּתוּב (as in Ger. *steht*), תּוֹפֵס means "hurry" (*chappen*), עָזַב means "let" (*lassen*), אֵיזֶה means "some" as well as "which," both meanings of *welche*; לְהוֹזִיל means "agree" (from *billigen*); חוֹלֶה אֵצֶל הַקֹּר "sick because of the cold," a secondary meaning of Middle High German *bi* (the similarity between אֵצֶל and עַל יְדֵי may have helped). In the responsa, the phrase הָיָה לוֹ expresses duty and obligation, not permission and ability as in mishnaic Hebrew and Aramaic; this is the meaning of Middle High German *hân ze*. Very common is the use of מַה as a relative pronoun – מַעֲשִׂים מַה שֶּׁחָפֵץ שֶׁיַּעֲשֶׂה "deeds that he wants to perform" (*Sefer Ḥasidim*) – like Middle High German *was*. One new sentence structure came from Middle High German: a subjective clause whose predicator was a modal adjective (אָסוּר "forbidden," צָרִיךְ "necessary," טוֹב "good") could begin with the word אִם, which gave it the force of a conditional clause – יֵשׁ דְּבָרִים שֶׁאָסוּר אִם יְלַמֵּד לַאֲחֵרִים "there are things which it is forbidden that (or "if") he teaches (them) to others." A similar structure with *ob* is found under such conditions in Middle High German.

German also produced a marked increase in the use of features which already existed in Hebrew though less conspicuously. רַק in the prepositional sense of "but" is found in the Bible אֲשֶׁר לֹא תְדַבֵּר אֵלַי רַק אֱמֶת ("tell me nothing but the truth"; I Kings 22:16) – and this biblical stylistic feature occurs in Spanish Jewish poetry. In Ashkenazic Hebrew רַק is also used as a conjunction in the sense of "but, however," before a verbal clause; it also occurs in the form רַק שֶׁ presumably under the influence of Middle High German *nur*, which means both 'but' and 'only.' An example is חָס לִי לִרְאוֹת כָּזֶה וְלֹא לִמְחוֹת וְרַק כָּל זֶה עֲדַיִן הוּא שׁוֹרֶשׁ רֹאשׁ וְלַעֲנָה "God forbid I should see such a thing and not protest, *but* all this is still a source of evil and corruption" (from the 17th century *Shenei Luḥot ha-Berit*). עַד occurs with the meaning "as long as," found in biblical and mishnaic Hebrew, and assisted by the fact that *bis* carries this meaning. In the Bible אָז sometimes comes at the beginning of the apodosis in a conditional sentence: לוּלֵי תוֹרָתְךָ שַׁעֲשֻׁעָי אָז אָבַדְתִּי בְעָנְיִי (Ps. 119:92) "if thy law had not been my delight *then* I should have perished in my troubles." In Ashkenazic Hebrew the high frequency of אָז after a conditional or temporal clause can be attributed to the corresponding use in German of *denn*, e.g., in the language of Berthold from Regensburg, a preacher at the time of the *Sefer Ḥasidim*. The normal pattern is thus אִם יִהְיֶה בְּהַגְרָמָתוֹ אָז כָּל הַקָּהָל פְּטוּרִים "if he is the cause, *then* the whole congregation is exempt."

The large number of expressions in German with *machen* is matched in Ashkenazic Hebrew by the number of expressions with עָשָׂה, though a few such phrases can be found in the Midrashim: עָשָׂה חֶרְפָּה, עָשָׂה נְזִיפָה, עָשָׂה עַוְלָה, עָשָׂה עֲבֵרָה, עָשָׂה רְצִיחָה, etc. The influence of German also explains the number of expressions like הָיָה לוֹ עָוֶל, הָיָה לוֹ בּוּשָׁה, הָיָה לוֹ צַעַר. Here it is the frequency which is affected, since they are not a complete innovation in Hebrew. The use of *sich* as a reflexive object leads to the use of inflected עֶצֶם in Hebrew translation – equivalents; to the few examples found in mishnaic Hebrew are added מְסַגֵּל עַצְמוֹ (“adjust oneself”), מַחֲזִיק עַצְמוֹ (“hold oneself,” i.e., avoid, as in Ger.) תּוֹפֵס עַצְמוֹ (“consider oneself”). It was also used with verbs in *binyan hitpaʿel*, which in such cases lost reflexive meaning: מִתְקַשֵּׁט עַצְמוֹ (“adorn oneself”), מִתְלַבֶּשֶׁת עַצְמָהּ כְּכוֹמֶרֶת (“dresses herself as a priestess” – *Sefer Ḥasidim*), etc.

German could also lead to a diminution in frequency of occurrence: the relative infrequency of אֶת as compared with biblical and mishnaic Hebrew can be explained by the absence of any corresponding particle in German. Similarly the reduction in the use of the definite article corresponds with its reduced use in Middle High German; נָטְלוּ כֹּל and not… הַכֹּל is modeled on the use of *alles*.

No new tense forms were created in Ashkenazic Hebrew, but to some extent the systemic relationships of existing forms were reorganized (see Rabin in bibl.). In *Sefer Ḥasidim* the use of the participle for both present and future indicative is well marked: לֶעָתִיד לבוֹא מִתְפַּלְּלִים. The imperfect יִקְטֹל serves as present and future subjunctive, expressing doubt, possibility etc.: הַזֶּרַע שֶׁל גֵּר יִהְיֶה צַדִּיקִים “the seed of a proselyte may produce righteous men.” And this systemic relationship between קוֹטֵל and יִקְטֹל corresponds with the opposition between present-future indicative and present-future subjunctive in Middle High German, where the expression of futurity by means of modal auxilliaries – *will, soll* – was still rare. Moreover, since there is a firm foundation for this division of function between קוֹטֵל and יִקְטֹל in mishnaic Hebrew and Aramaic, the novelty is felt more strongly in the use of the pattern הָיָה פּוֹעֵל not only as a past continuous (a usage inherited from mishnaic Hebrew) but also as a functional, though not formal, equivalent of the past subjunctive in Middle High German: וְהָרַב לֹא הָיָה מְלַמְּדוֹ בְּחִנָּם “the rabbi *would not* teach him for nothing” (*Sefer Ḥasidim*, section 585). This use is also not a complete innovation, since it resembles the combination הָיָה and present participle in unfulfilled conditions in Aramaic and in mishnaic Hebrew (אִלּוּ הָיִיתִי יוֹדֵעַ “if I had known,” הֲוָא אמינא); what is new is the systemic relationship between קָטַל and הָיָה קוֹטֵל, corresponding to the past indicative and past subjunctive in Middle High German. There are examples in Ashkenazic Hebrew of the sequence of tenses found in German: רָאָה בַּחֲלוֹם שֶׁהָיָה רוֹכֵב עַל סוּס אָדֹם “he saw in a dream that he was riding on a red horse” (in *Sefer Ḥasidim*); the tense in the subordinate clause is marked as past, like the main clause, and not present, which is normal in Hebrew.

The Role of Mishnaic Hebrew in Ashkenazic Hebrew

The language of Jews who studied Talmud naturally made great use of mishnaic Hebrew. It should be noted that *Sefer Ḥasidim* actually uses forms that are not particularly common, e.g., *binyan nup̄ʿal* – נֻצַּל (“was saved”), נֻטַּל (“was taken” – and the pattern הַקְטִילָה as verbal noun for *binyan hip̄ʿil* – הַרְעִיבָה, הַפְסִידָה. The most productive derivational pattern by far was קַטְלָן from mishnaic Hebrew; the innovations include שַׁדְּכָן, עַצְרָן (“miser”), מַטְבְּעָן, שְׁתַדְּלָן (“coiner”), שַׂמְחָן, עַוְלָן, פַּשְׁרָן, etc.

The Role of Biblical Hebrew

Ashkenazic Hebrew took from all varieties known to its writers; the Hebrew of the Bible was absorbed from the stratum of biblical Hebrew in the liturgy, from the weekly readings of the law and from the *haftara*. Hence the use of אָז, יִתָּכֵן, לְמַעַן, יַעַן, טֶרֶם, and so on. And unlike Arabic-influenced prose, Ashkenazic Hebrew also made use of lengthened tense forms: אֶכְתְּבָה, יִשְׁמְרוּן and the future with *waw* conversive. This tense is seldom found in *Sefer Ḥasidim* and relatively infrequently in the prose of Rashi, but it began to occur with increasing frequency until it became a distinguishing mark of rabbinic Hebrew. The increasing use of rhetorical figures from the Bible may have helped to establish it in the language; fragments of verses which contained a *waw* conversive were directly quoted as part of the rhetorical figure, and thus made their way into rabbinic Hebrew. Biblical figures of speech are absent from the humble style of *Sefer Ḥasidim*, and used with taste and moderation by Rashi; in the language of Jacob Tam they are widespread (their flavor of *piyyut* derives from his being a liturgical poet), and they are quite common in the writings of Rabbi Meir of Rothenburg (end of the 14th century), for example. They are very common in the salutations, at the beginning of many of the responsa from Germany and Poland, though not only there. Some writers use them more, some less, depending on their individual taste and ability. Though most rhetorical figures derive from verses in the Bible, there are also some from mishnaic Hebrew, and even from Aramaic, all for the rhetorical adornment of the opening section of the letter, with no conception of the principle of purity of biblical language as a rhetorical virtue. The writers of the responsa begin שָׁמַעְתִּי וַתִּרְגַּז בִּטְנִי (“I heard and my stomach quaked”; Meir of Rothenburg); or צָלַלְתִּי בְּמַיִם אַדִּירִים וְהֶעֱלֵיתִי חֶרֶס (see Ex. 15:6, “I plunged into deep water and brought up nothing”; Moses Isserles); or וָאֶתֵּן אֶת לִבִּי לִדְרֹשׁ וְלָתוּר סִבּוֹתָיו בַּסְּפָרִים (see Eccles. 1:13, “I gave my heart to seek and search out its reasons in books” (a frequent figure)). They begin with a rhymed eulogy: (see Ps. 18:30, אִמְרָתְךָ צְרוּפָה וּמַרְחַשְׁתְּךָ עֲמֻקָּה וְצָפָה “thy word is perfect and thy feelings are deep…”; Meir of Rothenburg)). Sometimes the point of the quotation distorts the original meaning of the verse quoted: Simeon accuses Reuben in the words בִּפְלַגּוֹת רְאוּבֵן גְּדוֹלִים חִקְרֵי לֵב (see Judg. 5:16, “in the divisions of Reuben there were great heart-searchings” (a question addressed to Jacob Tam). Sometimes the form is changed: the Rabbi replies עִרְעוּרִים וְקוֹל (not הַקּוֹל קוֹל עָקֹב (יַעֲקֹב) – “the voice is the voice of the deceit.” Sometimes the spelling of the word is changed: הָאֶרֶז אֲשֶׁר בַּלְּבָנוֹן בָּאֵר (“the cedar of Lebanon is proof”) the reference is to Isaiah 40:16 where the form is actually בָּעֵר (“burns”; a quip from the responsa of *Šaʿar Efrayim*, 17th century).

The Role of Aramaic

In *Sefer Ḥasidim* there are slight touches of Aramaic – דִּכְתִיב, כִּדְבָעֵי, – and they are fairly restricted in Rashi’s commentary on the Bible. However, in Rashi's commentary on the Talmud, in the responsa of Jacob Tam, or in *Sefer ha-Rokeaḥ* of Eleazar of Worms, the amount of Aramaic acquires a status comparable to that of mishnaic Hebrew, since both constitute the language of the Talmud and the writers may not always have realized when they had moved from Hebrew to Aramaic.

The extensive use of Aramaic is not confined to the Aramaic *halakhah* under discussion, nor even to the technical terms alone (פְּלִיגֵי, צְרִיכָא, טַעֲמַיְהוּ, אַלְמָא, קָיְמָא לָן, etc.). דְּ- is used instead of שֶׁ in an otherwise completely Hebrew context, to mean "of" – הַפֶּרֶק דְּהַמַּסֶּכֶת (the chapter of the tractate); פִּנְקָס דְּוַעַד אַרְבַּע אֲרָצוֹת; הָרַב דִּשְׁפֵּירָא – and also to mean "that" – נִרְאֶה לִי דְּ- ("it seems to me that…"); אָמַרְתִּי דְּאָסוּר ("I said that it was forbidden"). Whereas as Rashi commenting on the Bible writes מִשּׁוּם שֶׁ-; כֵּיוָן שֶׁ-; אַף עַל פִּי שֶׁ- when he comments on the Talmud he writes כֵּיוָן דְּ-; מִשּׁוּם דְּ-; אַף עַל גַּב דְּ-. The verb forms מַיְירֵי and מַיְיתֵי are much used in Hebrew contexts, and sometimes complete clauses in Aramaic are interpolated. Generally the Aramaic phrases are quoted freely in new Hebrew contexts, though in the form and with the inflections found in the Talmud. The Hebrew most thoroughly mixed with Aramaic was written in Poland during the 17th and 18th centuries.

The Link With Arab-Influenced Hebrew

The Jews of Ashkenaz and the Jews of Spain maintained cultural ties, whether by means of responsa (e.g., when Asher ben Jeḥiel moved from Germany to Spain) or by reading each other's books. The kabbalists of Spain were interested in the Ḥasidism of Ashkenaz, in Germany they read the writings of Maimonides, Saadiah Gaon, and the *musar* book, *Ḥobot ha-Leḇaḇot*. In Poland several of the scientific works, all written in "Tibbonian" Hebrew, were well known.

Since Ashkenazic Hebrew reflects all the varieties of literature known to its writers, and since in principal there was no form of the language whose use was banned on stylistic and grammatical grounds, it is not surprising that several features of Arab-influenced Hebrew also occurred. The use of nouns ending with the suffixes -ִית and -וּת in the masculine is characteristic of rabbinic Hebrew (תַּכְלִית אַחֲרוֹן, פְּרִישׁוּת רַבָּנִי), and similarly plural concord of the form סוֹדוֹת גְּדוֹלוֹת (instead of גְּדוֹלִים). It is not clear whether this usage derives from Spanish Hebrew or whether it is an aspect of the general weakening of strict grammatical rules (it is possible that this is due to the fact that words ending in *-ut* and *-it* in Yiddish entered the neuter gender). Sometimes Arabic and German/Yiddish tended to produce the same result, e.g., the demonstrative without the article before the noun, reduced use of אֶת, the preposition מִן in דִּבֵּר מִן, סֵפֶר מִן and the comparative form יוֹתֵר טוֹב, יוֹתֵר נָאֶה, where the frequency and the order of words can be attributed to German (*mehr…*) and French (*plus…*), though Arab-influenced Hebrew also uses this structure as a translation of Arabic.

A deliberate, quite marked use of the Hebrew which took shape in Spain and Provence is found in Poland, mainly from the 16th and 17th centuries. Moses Isserles was a man of philosophic bent and apart from his responsa on matters of *halakhah* he also used the language of the *Guide of the Perlexed*: עִיּוּנִי, אֱלֹהִי, אַקְלִים ("region"), מַסְכִּים ("match, fit"), מֻשְׂכָּל, בָּרַח מִלַּעֲסֹק ("refrain from doing"…), עַל צַד הַשֵּׂכֶל and so on.

Forty years after the expulsion from Spain 16th-century Safed became a center for Jewish learning and Kabbalah whose greatest scholars generally wrote a Hebrew close to the Arabic-influenced variety of Spain and Provence, especially in Kabbalistic works where a style of writing had already been established in Spain (see, for example, the language of Moses Cordovero). In Safed, too, the use of lengthened tense forms and the *waw* conversive were introduced into the language of prose. Isaiah Horowitz, author of *Shenei Luḥot ha-Berit,* was educated in Poland and wrote an Ashkenazic Hebrew, but his style contained many of the distinguishing marks of Arabic-influenced Hebrew: the definite article before an infinitive e.g., הַהִשְׁתַּמֵּשׁ, רֹשֶׁם for "influence," מֻשְׂכָּל, מַסְכִּים meaning "match," אֱמֶת in the masculine, עַצְמוּת, מַהוּת and so on; after all, he was a kabbalist, immigrated to Ereẓ Israel, and wrote his book there.

The extreme case of the encounter between Spanish Hebrew and Ashkenazic Hebrew is the language of the 18th century Ḥasidim. Besides being stamped with the imprint of Yiddish to a greater extent than any preceding variety of Hebrew, it also continues the traditional prose style of Ashkenazic Hebrew (as exemplified in the responsa, in the *musar* books and especially in the well-loved *Sefer Ḥasidim*). But whereas stories of the *ẓaddikim* and passages dealing with everyday life are written mainly in Ashkenazic, rabbinic Hebrew, the philosophic literature of Ḥasidim is strongly marked by Spanish Hebrew; the ḥasidic writers continued the kabbalistic tradition of Isaac Luria, and took over the terms and expressions from kabbalistic literature and Spanish books of ethics such as *Ḥobot ha-Leḇaḇot*; רוּחְנִיּוּת ("spirituality"), אַחְדוּת ("unity"), גַּשְׁמִיּוּת ("corporeality"), בְּחִינָה, סְגֻלָּה, דְּבֵקוּת, בְּתַכְלִית, etc. (see M.Z. Kaddari in bibl.).

Influence of Hebrew on Yiddish

It was through rabbinic Hebrew, with its blend of all varieties, that Hebrew words found their way into Yiddish. From biblical Hebrew – אָז יִתָּכֵן, עַוְלָה; from mishnaic – אֲפִלּוּ, אֶפְשָׁר; from Aramaic – סְתָמָא, פְּשִׁיטָא, and even from Arab-influenced Hebrew, mainly via ḥasidic literature: גַּשְׁמִיּוּת, מְגֻשָּׁם, שְׁלִילָה, הֶעְדֵּר, etc. Many of the high frequency words most characteristic of Ashkenazic Hebrew, words occurring already in *Sefer Ḥasidim*, came into Yiddish: מֵאוּס ("obnoxious"), עוֹלָם (with the meaning "people," as in Aramaic כֻּלֵּי עָלְמָא), קָהָל ("an urban Jewish community"), מַמָּשׁ, מַעֲשֶׂה (in the language of the *Sefer Ḥasidim* it already has the meaning "story" as well as "deed"), תָּדִיר, אוֹדוֹת, אָז. The Hebrew derivational pattern most characteristically Yiddish – קַטְלָן – (in words like יַשְׁרָן יַקְרָן, בַּלְעָן, בַּטְלָן, etc.) is also the pattern most vital to Ashkenazic Hebrew.

Haskalah and Medieval Hebrew

The stylistic uniqueness of rabbinic Hebrew lies in its blend of different varieties of the language: only a few new words were coined, to meet the needs of writing about everyday life. By contrast, Spanish Hebrew was a professional tool, a necessary instrument for all kinds of scientific, philosophic and scholarly writing. The writers of the Haskalah turned their backs on rabbinic Hebrew for its careless grammar and because it represented the Judaism of the Talmud. For poetry and to a considerable extent for stories they adopted biblical Hebrew; however, for serious prose works some of the *maskilim* chose the Arabic-influenced language of Spain, especially for technical terms and expressions (see for example the extensive use of Tibbonian Hebrew made by Naḥman Krochmal in *Moreh Nebukhei ha-Zeman*).

The Hebrew language was a major concern of Haskalah writers. They were keenly aware of normative problems in writing and the need for linguistic research in Hebrew. Writers and grammarians like Naphtali Herz *Wessely, Judah Leib *Ben Ze'ev, and those who collected ancient texts made a decisive contribution toward the molding of the language and its modernization. The Haskalah may be seen as a preparatory period for the revival of Hebrew (see Modern *Hebrew Literature).

[Esther Goldenberg]

MODERN PERIOD

The growth of Hebrew as a modern language, spoken by masses and gradually used in all areas of life and thought, may be divided into three stages corresponding to periods in the history of modern Palestine: (1) 1881–1918 initiated by Eliezer *Ben-Yehuda's arrival in the country. He and his followers developed and propagated Hebrew in everyday life. (2) 1918–1948; under British rule when Hebrew was first considered a language of Palestine, and later (1922) one of the three official languages. During this time the Hebrew-speaking population increased rapidly, established many cultural institutions, including its own educational system up to university level, in all of which Hebrew, with few initial exceptions, became the only language used. (3) 1948– marked by the foundation of the State of Israel. Hebrew became the predominant language of the state, and was used in all branches of its activities: government departments, the army, etc., were integrated into the life of the Hebrew-speaking population. Gradually Hebrew was also spoken by non-Jewish citizens. Each of these three periods, characterized by the cultural background and the linguistic past of the immigrants who adopted Hebrew as their new language, has influenced its revolution.

[Eli Eytan]

At the time of the revival of Hebrew for everyday speech, the languages most current in the old *yishuv* (Jewish population) were *Yiddish, *Ladino, and *Arabic, while French and German formed the main channels to European culture. The immigrants of the first period, mostly from Eastern Europe, spoke Yiddish; many of them also spoke Russian or Polish and at least understood German. These languages influenced Hebrew but their effect, noticeable in new aspects of Hebrew, gradually decreased, and the impact of English grew. Since the end of World War I English had a marked influence on Hebrew because of the influx of British and other English-speaking government and army personnel and their closer contacts with the *yishuv*. The fact that the establishment of the State of Israel did not diminish this influence is due to a wide knowledge of English among the Israeli population through higher education and close acquaintance with English and American culture to which immigration from English-speaking countries contributed substantially.

Period of Revival (1881–1918)

Hebrew was spoken in Palestine even before the revival movement, but only as a *lingua franca* among Jews who had no other common language. This phenomenon also existed among Jews in many other countries in earlier periods. The revival, in contrast to early periods, however, saw the establishment of Hebrew as the sole or at least the principal language, i.e., a transformation from a language used only occasionally for special purposes by speakers of other languages to a language used by a community for all their communication needs – speaking, reading, and writing.

The revival took place in Palestine. When the British conquered the country, Hebrew was already one of the languages of Palestine. In General Allenby's published proclamation about martial law in Jerusalem, Hebrew was published on top, while Arabic was the second, before Russian and Greek, all considered languages used by the local population. On the other side of the sheet, the proclamation was published in (1) English, (2) French and (3) Italian, languages of the allies. Only toward the end of this period, Hebrew also began to be studied in the Diaspora to a limited extent.

Eliezer Ben-Yehuda's pioneer work for the revival of Hebrew would have failed had there not been at that time three conditions which proved essential to the process of revival: (1) There was no national language in Palestine. The inhabitants did not belong to a "nation" (in the Western sense), but were divided into religious-ethnic communities ("millets") that used a number of languages. Literary Arabic was the language of prayer, worship, and study for all Muslims including government workers and members of the Turkish army and, to some degree, for several Christian denominations. But millions of Muslims outside Palestine also used literary Arabic in a similar fashion, thus preventing it from being an exclusive national language. Turkish was used for political, governmental, and military matters all over the Ottoman Empire. The most common spoken language was local colloquial Arabic, which was used only as a spoken vernacular and thus deemed unworthy to be a national language. Other languages, such as French, Russian, Italian, Greek, and Armenian were used by certain millets, or as cultural languages. None of them, however, could be taken as a national language. (2) European nationalist thought, together with a yearning for a Hebrew renaissance, reached Palestine in the middle of the 19th century. Already in the 1860s young people in the Jewish communities of Palestine attempted to change the static way of life there. Newspapers, printing houses, and various workshops were founded, and settlements were established "outside the walls" (i.e., of the old *yishuv*). The lack of a national language in Palestine created the need for a common language for the developing society, and it was natural that Hebrew be considered worthy of this role; all the more so that Hebrew (in the Sephardi pronunciation) even before this had been the common language of different Jewish communities. (3) The fact that the original language of the country had been Hebrew provided a solid ideological basis for the revival of the language, and gave it an advantage which no other language had. Publication of such ancient Hebrew inscriptions or engravings as the Siloam inscription (1880) and the Mesha inscription (1868) made a deep impression upon the people of that generation and emphasized the connection between Hebrew and Palestine. The revival of the language symbolized the "Golden Age" of ancient Israel which was about to be renewed.

The major difficulty encountered in making Hebrew the sole (or principal) language of the country was in the area of vocabulary. There were few difficulties, if any, in the field of grammar. In Hebrew phonology the need for marking such new sounds as č, ž, ğ (to accommodate foreign words and non-Hebraic personal names) was met without difficulty by adapting the letters צ׳, ז׳, ג׳. (These sounds had previously been marked by combinations of letters such as טש, זש, דזש. ז׳ had been indicated for some time also by the letter י׳, undoubtedly through the influence of the French pronunciation of the letter *j*.) The problems of orthography were solved at once: "defective" orthography (כתיב חסר) was introduced. There were, certainly, difficulties in this area, and it is relevant to mention Ben-Yehuda's short-lived experiment in the use of "capital" letters for personal names (as in English and French). Morphology was not expanded, but newly invented words were usually styled according to existing morphological patterns. It is often possible to distinguish tendencies to use a certain pattern or a specific suffix, such as Ithamar *Ben-Avi's predilection for the suffix of relation (עמדה זכותית, יהודה מיידית). Although Hebrew syntax changed considerably during the days of the revival of the language, these changes were generally brought about unintentionally and without premeditation. (However, an apparent example of an intentional syntactical change is to begin sentences with a verb, like in Arabic, as was done for a time in newspapers.) In contrast, the need for new words was recognized from the start. Ben-Yehuda illustrates this in the following statement: "Have any of the readers (of Smolenskin) ever felt that in all of the circumstances of the different events that this very capable author brought into his stories, he never mentioned for example, the simple, common act, of tickling? This act which we meet often in every story in a living language we will never meet in the stories of Smolenskin, simply because he did not have a word for it. In spite of this his stories are well written. But whoever wishes to write something of wisdom and science, and especially someone like myself, who speaks Hebrew at home with the children, about everything in life, feels every moment a lack of words without which living speech cannot take place" (the Large Introduction," 12–13). Most of the efforts of those who revived the language were dedicated to answering this need.

The End of the Revival Period

The period of revival was characterized by reviving existing words, creating new ones, and enriching the language with words from Semitic sources (in the main) cast in the Hebrew mold. However, a large number of these words (several thousand) were rejected and have fallen into disuse. The pressing need to remedy the critical lack of words often led to hasty innovations. Those educated in literary Hebrew, especially the last generation of *maskilim* in Eastern Europe, did not readily accept this "manufacturing of words" in Palestine. They tended to be more careful in making innovations, preferring to adopt foreign words, especially "international" terms, the majority of which were of a Latin or Greek origin. This school of thought began to make its influence felt in Palestine from 1905 onward, with the Second Aliyah. The coming of the Third Aliyah from Eastern Europe, immediately after World War I, strengthened this view until in the late 1920s the influence of the "language of the revival" could hardly be recognized since many of its words were forgotten. The late books and journalism of Ithamar *Ben-Avi were a kind of "swan song" of the revival period, but even his language greatly reflected the above-mentioned changes. The end of the Ottoman Empire and the recognition of Hebrew as an official language in Palestine is therefore only one reason for fixing the end of World War I as the close of the "revival period." The other reason is that at this time the influence of those who demanded great caution in the formation of new words grew, and they were tolerant to foreign words as long as proper Hebrew terms had not been created with careful consideration.

See also Y.M. *Pines, Z. *Jawitz, the *Academy of the Hebrew Language.

[Uzzi Ornan]

Linguistic Problems of Modern Hebrew

PRONUNCIATION. Reviewing the first 22 years of the Va'ad ha-Lashon (*Zihkronot Va'ad ha-Lashon* I, 2nd ed. p. 4), Ben-Yehuda recalls the days when all the various pronunciations of Hebrew were heard in Jerusalem "from the Lithuanian to the Sephardi, from the Volhynian to the Yemenite and the Persian." The necessity to establish a standard pronunciation was under discussion for some time. At a meeting of teachers in 1885, for example, it was decided to teach Ashkenazi Hebrew for the first two years in Ashkenazi schools and then switch to Sephardi pronunciation, while in Sephardi schools the opposite should be done – in "order that they know both." By 1912, however, Ben-Yehuda continues, "by the nature of things the Oriental pronunciation, the one living among the Sephardim, had become dominant, and from Jerusalem it spread to all speakers of Hebrew in the country." This statement was a rough summary of the position which had developed in a relatively short time, but which, in fact, was – and is to this day – only a limited fulfillment of the original wish to adopt the Sephardi pronunciation. The phonetic inventory of the Ashkenazim, both of the old *yishuv* and new immigrants whose number rapidly grew, could not easily be replaced by the whole range of sounds found in genuine Sephardi speech. To give one example, any Ashkenazi could easily learn to pronounce both vowels of the verb עָצַר ("he restrained," etc.) as *a* and to stress its last syllable, instead of pronouncing the first vowel as *o* (as according to his Ashkenazi dialect), and stressing the first syllable. It proved, however, impossible for the vast majority of Ashkenazi Jews – except by sustained conscious effort to – pronounce the Sephardi (like Arabic) consonants ע [ʿ] and צ [ṣ]. עָצַר and אָצַר ("he stored up"), as well as many other pairs of linguistic forms, thus became homophonous, creating new problems in teaching orthography and grammar. This process of different phonemes coinciding in actualization even led to certain restrictions in the use of the existing vocabulary and in the possibilities of its enlargement. אָצַר, e.g., is hardly ever used in everyday speech, and a possible new noun מַאֲצָר ‡ would be rejected owing to its homophonous rival מַעֲצָר ("retention, arrest"). The difficulties, stemming from the homophony of originally distinctive features, constituted, and still do, one of the main arguments to continue trying to propagate a purer Oriental pronunciation. On the other hand, the common "Sephardi" pronunciation had meanwhile acquired a certain value of social superiority, since most of the leaders of the new *yishuv* came from Ashkenazi circles, and many Oriental Jews, whose original speech did contain the sounds in question, abandoned that part of their native phonetic inventory in order to imitate the speech of their social superiors.

At the first convention of the Hebrew Teachers' Association in 1903, the pronunciation issue was discussed, but no decision was taken, mainly because Eliezer Ben-Yehuda and David Yellin, members of the Va'ad ha-Lashon, held different views on the desirability and feasibility of one or the other feature of genuine Oriental pronunciation being adopted as standard. The debate went on until, in 1923, the Va'ad ha-Lashon decided to demand the following reform in the pronunciation of the Hebrew letters in question: ב without *dageš* = English *v*; ו = Arabic *wāw* and English *w*; ח = Arabic *ḥā* as distinct from כ without *dageš* = Arabic *ḫā* and German *ch* (as in "Bach"); ט = Arabic *ṭā*ʿ emphatic *t*; ע = Arabic *ʿayn*; צ = German *z* (*tz*); ק = Arabic *qāf* (emphatic velar); ת without *dageš* = Arabic *ṯā* and English unvoiced *th* (as in "thin").

It is noteworthy that this ruling does not follow the Sephardi tradition in all details. Here, both alternants of *bet*, one written with *dageš* (בּ) and the other without (ב), were pronounced by some Sephardi communities as *b*, and the settlers of Galilee, following their Sephardi teachers, had already adopted this pronunciation. The Sephardim also pronounced צ as emphatic unvoiced ṣ, like Arabic *ṣād*, while the pronunciation *tz* provided for in the ruling is Ashkenazi. Furthermore, nothing was said about the vowel *segol* (ֶ), which in Sephardi speech is not distinguished from *ṣere* ֵ), i.e., closed *ẹ*, while Ashkenazim and some Israeli speakers to this day distinguish *segol* from *ṣere*. The Va'ad ha-Lashon in this decision also omitted mentioning the difference in pronouncing *qameṣ* preceding *ḥaṭaf-qameṣ*, as in נָעֳמִי, which the Sephardim pronounce *Naʿomi* and the Ashkenazim (and most Israelis) *Noʿomi*.

The authority of the Va'ad ha-Lashon was not sufficient to enforce this reform in the face of already-established speech habits. Consequently, current Hebrew pronunciation differs from that of the Ashkenazim in the following details only: (1) *qameṣ-gadol* (ָ) = *a*; (2) *ḥolem* (וֹ) = *o*; (3) *taw* without *dageš* (ת) = *t*; (4) ultimate stress of most words, while penultimate stress is confined to some classes of words, as in classical Hebrew.

In the matter of stress, however, the Ashkenazi way has led to some more deviations from the Sephardi and classical Hebrew system. Many proper names of persons and places have penultimate stress in everyday speech: ('Raḥel; 'Moshe, 'Shlomo, 'Ḥẹfa, etc.), and the retracted accent has become, particularly in childrens' speech, a mark for names of things charged with some affective value: *'glida* ("ice cream"), *buba* ("doll"), etc. Penultimate and antepenultimate stresses are also characteristics of foreign borrowings: *komu'nisti* ("communist"), *rele'vanti* ("relevant") etc., notwithstanding their Hebrew suffix *-i; integ'razya* ("integration"), *uni'versita* or *univer'sita*; ("university"), etc.

Efforts to propagate a diction based on classical grammar and Sephardi pronunciation were especially made among broadcasters. The question, however, as to what this desirable correct diction entails and what can be attained was debated up to the late 1960s. Up to that time, the *Academy of the Hebrew Language had recommended to the Israel Broadcasting Service to observe the Oriental pronunciation of *ḥet* and *ʿayin*, the gemination of consonants with *dageš-ḥazaq*, as in *hassefer* (הַסֵּפֶר); *dibber* (דִּבֵּר); and the *šewa-na*ʿ, as in *devarim* (דְּבָרִים), *katevu* (כָּתְבוּ), *dibberu* (דִּבְּרוּ). This recommendation was followed to some extent. It is doubtful whether the Oriental diction, though preserved by some Jews of the Oriental communities and applied to Hebrew by Arab citizens, can still contribute to a reform in the speech of wider circles. On opposite trends see Bentolila in Bibliography.

SPELLING. In 1929 when the Va'ad ha-Lashon first published its quarterly *Leshonenu*, the editors stated in their programmatic introduction: "The problem of spelling has not yet been solved…. Some advocate grammatical spelling, others insist on 'full' spelling. This is why the editors have decided to use, for the present, the accepted grammatical spelling and add complete punctuation wherever the reading is doubtful… Thus, we have attained uniformity of spelling without deciding upon the problem itself." What is meant by "full spelling" (כְּתִיב מָלֵא) here is the method of employing, instead of vowel punctuation, vowel letters to supplement the letters admitted in the "accepted grammatical spelling" which, in turn, is a standardized biblical orthography. This system had been proposed by David Yellin and adopted in the summer of 1905 at the teachers' convention at Gederah. Although it has been taught in schools ever since, the debate on the problem never ceased, and actual usage outside, and partly inside, schools went its own way.

According to this system, every word is spelled in one way only, whether vocalization for vowels etc. is added or left out, e.g., בֹּקֶר ("morning"), בָּקָר ("cattle"), בִּקֵּר ("he visited"), and other words having the same three consonants all have the same written form in unvocalized spelling. Their intended reading is revealed by the context only, unless one or more significant vowel points are added to hint at it, e.g., בָקר, בִקר, בֹקר. Yellin's system of unvocalized spelling was based on the orthography that, as far as is known, had first been used by the writers of the Haskalah who tried to follow the Bible in all respects. But since the spelling of the words of the masoretic Bible is not uniform, i.e., the same or analogous forms are sometimes written *plene* and sometimes defectively (without vowel letters), orthography complying with biblical grammar had to be standardized. While the spelling with few vowel letters in fact causes the reader, who knows Hebrew, less difficulty than the inexperienced may expect, it has been under constant attack for other reasons: (1) It is taught in schools, but most writers and printers continue to insert the available vowel letters in the consonantal skeleton of the word in the same way in which Hebrew has been written for many centuries starting even before the rise of vocalization and continuing side by side with vocalized writing down to the present time. (2) It made the language hard to learn for new immigrants, etc., and occasionally caused even fluent readers to stumble. (3) It demanded of everyone a considerable knowledge of grammar or a rare accuracy in diction that would distinguish between long and short vowels, between geminated and ungeminated consonants, etc.

The advocates of "grammatical" unvocalized spelling, mainly teachers and grammarians, also have some weighty arguments to adduce: (1) Their system nowhere contradicts pointed "grammatical" spelling as preponderantly found in the Bible, prayer books, poetry, etc., and taught in schools in conjunction with grammar from which, in their view, it cannot be divorced. (2) They insist upon the ease with which a learner can pass from vocalized spelling to reading and writing texts with the same allowed vowel letters, but without vocalization. (3) They maintain that supplementary vowel letters obstruct the recognition of word roots and thus hamper learners of the language. (4) They emphasize the educational and cultural disadvantage of the simultaneous currency of two contradictory systems. (5) They stress the absence of generally accepted rules for, and the prevailing confusion in the use of, supplementary vowel letters.

This last point is aimed at the fact that many writers add, whenever they see fit, י for *i* or *e*; ו for *u* or *o*; and – particularly in foreign words – א for *a*; and use וו for consonantal ו and יי for consonantal י or the diphthong *ay*. Thus, סִבָּה may be found spelled סבה or סיבה; שְׂרֵפָה – שרפה or שריפה; קֹדֶשׁ – קדש or קודש; שֻׁלְחָן – שלחן or שולחן; אֲקָדֵמִי – אקדמי or אקאדמי or אקאדימי; עִוֵּר – עור, עוור, עיור or עיוור; בִּנְיָן – בנין, בניין or ביניין; דַּי – די, דיי or דאי.

When the Va'ad ha-Lashon published, in 1948, its "Rules for Unvocalized Spelling" (*Lěšonénu* 16, 82 ff.), this was the outcome of over 30 years of deliberations in general meetings of the Va'ad, in committees, and in subcommittees, where frequently also teachers and scholars from outside took part. The various proposals submitted and discussed included suggestions to equip the Hebrew alphabet for the representation of the vowel *a* and *e* by creating new letters. The use of Latin script for Hebrew was also advocated, as had been done earlier by Ithamar Ben-Avi and Ze'ev V. Jabotinsky. The principles underlying the rules are set forth in the introduction to the draft rules published in 1943 (*Lěšonénu* 11, 232 ff.) and will be summarized here:

> The rules must be founded upon the literary sources and the grammar of Hebrew, adapted to modern pedagogical and practical needs, and be acceptable to the public. Therefore, extreme innovations such as the use of א or ע or new letters as vowel signs are to be avoided. The aim is to regularize the spelling actually current and direct it in line with the general tendency of linguistic and cultural developments. For many generations two spelling systems, the vocalized and unvocalized, have existed side by side, and each has its domain of function. But while punctuation by now has fairly well-established rules, in unpointed spelling two contradictory systems compete, one with and the other without supplementary vowel letters; both of them sometimes intermingle in the same text. The evolution of orthography from its beginning to our days tends toward supplemented spelling; unvocalized orthography must therefore be based on it. This is by no means incompatible with grammar and correct pronunciation, for nowadays Hebrew, like any other living language, is naturally learnt by hearing, not from writing. The aim is to facilitate reading, and that is why, whenever supplemented spelling is liable to mislead, it must be dispensed with. Complete consistency is not sought, but this does not mean giving up the formulation of systematic and scientifically founded rules, it rather explains the exceptions recommended by the committee.

The rules themselves submitted for discussion and decision were substantially the same that were later adopted by the Va'ad ha-Lashon in 1948 and again confirmed, with few amendments, by the Academy of the Hebrew Language in 1969. The following words, each spelled without vocalization in accordance with the rules, followed by unvocalized grammatical spelling, and then again fully vocalized will illustrate the principal rules:

השולחנות כולם = השלחנות כלם = הַשֻּׁלְחָנוֹת כֻּלָּם; חולצה אדומה; חלצה אדמה = חֻלְצָה אֲדֻמָּה; בוקר = בקר = בֹּקֶר; מוח = מח = מֹחַ; תשמורנה = תשמרנה = תִּשְׁמֹרְנָה; עיקר = עקר = עִקָּר; זימן = זמן = זִמֵּן; ניתן = נתן = נִתַּן; עלייה = עליה = עֲלִיָּה; זיכרון = זכרון = זִכָּרוֹן; עירבון = ערבון = עֵרָבוֹן; פירש = פרש = פֵּרַשׁ; קירוב = קרוב = קֵרוּב; ייראה = יראה = יֵרָאֶה; ריאתה = ראתה = רֵאָתָהּ; עניין = ענין = עִנְיָן; הצייר צייר = הציר ציר = הַצַּיָּר צִיֵּר; בניי = בני = בָּנַי; חודשיים = חדשים = חָדְשַׁיִם.

Exceptions to the main rules, i.e., classes of words and letter combinations where no addition of vowel letters is allowed, are shown in these examples: קנה = קָנֹה; תאמר = תֹּאמַר (in these verb forms with quiescent א and ה, there is no וֹ for *o*); אמנם = אָמְנָם; חכמה = חָכְמָה; אנייה = אֳנִיָּה; טהרה = טָהֳרָה (*qameṣ-qaṭan* and *ḥaṭaf-qameṣ* are normally not rendered by וֹ); דיון = דִּיּוּן; נטיות = נְטִיּוֹת (*i* left unmarked when preceding -יוּ- or -יוֹ-).

It will have been noticed that this supplemented unpointed orthography still uses the following diacritical points: dots in וּ and וֹ to distinguish them from each other and from consonantal ו; in בּ, כּ, פּ to distinguish them from ב, כ, פ; and in הּ to mark this letter as the final consonantal *h*. While recommending this method, the Va'ad ha-Lashon had made it optional considering that the necessary printing types may not be available. The result could have been foreseen: almost nobody used the dotted letters, but wrote ו for both *o* and *u* and used וו to mark the consonant *w* (*v*), taking advantage of the alternative allowed by the Va'ad. Thus, in fact, בֹּקֶר was (and still is) written בוקר; שולחן – שֻׁלְחָן; דיבור – דִּבּוּר, etc., and הוועד – הַוַּעַד; עיוור – עִוֵּר, etc. When the Academy of the Hebrew Language adopted the rules of the Va'ad ha-Lashon in 1969, this alternative was abrogated and the basic ruling alone maintained.

The resolution of the Academy was submitted to the Ministry of Education and Culture and published with the minister's signature. A committee appointed by the ministry started consultations to decide at what stage and by what didactic methods supplemented unvocalized spelling should be taught in schools.

Since that time, the Academy revised the spelling rules once again. The decisions made in 1994 can be consulted in R. Gadish (ed.), *Kelalei ha-Pissuk, Kelalei ha-Ketiv Hasar ha-Nikud, Leshonenu La-Am*, special issue, 4th edition (2002).

VOCABULARY. How the vocabulary of the "dead" language was adapted to the requirements of expression in all fields of life and thought is taken by many as the most outstanding achievement of the revival period. True, in less than two generations, thousands of new words and new uses of words have become part of the Hebrew lexicon. However, in this respect at least, Hebrew never was really dead; in literature and occasionally in speech, new words were being coined continually, and while these activities did not cover all domains of life, contents were not restricted to religion, philosophy, poetry and the like. Medieval literature comprises works on medicine, mathematics, astronomy, and other sciences. Matters of daily life were dealt with, for example, in the vast *responsa literature, in itineraries, etc. and new impulses of modernization further widened their scope. To adduce only two examples, one of a more comprehensive character and the other one particular word: (1) many names of animals used today are not words invented by Ben-Yehuda or after him, but first appeared around 1870 in *Mendele Mokher Seforim's "Natural History"; (2) if the Hebrew word for "passport" occurring in medieval literature – תִּיּוּר (*tiyyur*) or כְּתַב־תִּיּוּר (*kètav tiyyur*) – had not been overlooked, there would have been no need for the recent use of the ancient word דַּרְכּוֹן (*darkon*, a coin) in this sense.

As the last example shows, new words have been formed for concepts that had already been expressed by other words in the past. *Bialik's idea (in his essay "*Ḥevlé Lašon,*" 1891) that total acquaintance with the store of the language ought to precede coining new words could not be followed, let alone his wish that a complete dictionary of all Hebrew writing should be the source for new word creations. In *Aḥad Ha-Am's view (put forward in his essay *Ha-Lašon we-Sifrutah*, 1909), the vocabulary could only be expanded by creative artists and thinkers who would be guided by the genius of the language. Bialik, though he agreed with him with regard to genuine autonomous creation, insisted upon the necessity to supply, even by designed regular activity, all the words needed, particularly those that had their semantic counterparts in other languages.

Bialik thus approved of, and later participated in, the work undertaken by Ben-Yehuda and the Va'ad ha-Lashon. While many words were, and are, to an ever-increasing degree, invented by writers and experts in their special fields, the principles and methods that guided Ben-Yehuda and his circle were followed by almost all authors of words, if not through conscious abidance, then by imitation and analogy.

The sources and ways for extending the vocabulary were expounded in *Zikronot Waʿad ha-Lašon* 1 (p. 7f.): (1) The best method to glean lexical items for modern use was "to search all departments of Hebrew literature and gather from them words…" If the meaning of an ancient word in its original context is doubtful, efforts should be made to clarify its interpretation; if, however, no decision can be reached, coining a new word is preferable to using a contested word. Thus, even today a biblical or later word may be submitted to the Academy for inclusion in a dictionary, but may be opposed by some members, or rejected by the majority, because commentators disagree on its meaning at its source. (2) As far as necessary, Aramaic words may be accepted, but these, unless they are already well known in their original form, are to be reshaped to fit Hebrew pattern and grammar, as happened to the Aramaic עוֹבָדָא (*ʿovada*) which became עֻבְדָּה (*ʿuvda*) ("fact"), changing both its vocalization and gender.

Ben-Yehuda's design to exploit freely the abundant vocabulary of Arabic has been accomplished to a limited extent only. Most of the words from an Arabic source found in literary and higher colloquial language are either medieval borrowings: אֹפֶק (*ʿofeq*), קֹטֶב (*qoṭev*), קֹטֶר (*qoter*), מֶרְכָּז (*merkaz*), and more, or are due to Ben-Yehuda himself: הֲגִירָה (*hagira*), הֶצְהָרָה (*haṣhara*), זִבְדָּה (*zivda*), אָדִיב (*adiv*), לְטִיפָה (*leṭifa*), etc. Later, few new words entered standard Hebrew from Arabic, presumably because the creators of the new vocabulary came in the main from circles who knew no Arabic. When borrowing from foreign languages, they preferred the European, often international, word to the Arabic one, e.g., נֵיטְרָלִיּוּת

(*neṭraliyyut*; “neutrality”) to the suggested חִיּוּד (*ḥiyyud*: from the Arabic *ḥiyâd*). It is all the more remarkable that substandard speech has a high proportion of Arabic words and phrases.

In earlier years, borrowing from non-Semitic languages was firmly rejected with the exception of words with a Hebrew-like form or already in frequent use, but this attitude was later abandoned. Yet, many speakers of Hebrew even today frown upon words taken from European languages, such as, אֲקָדֶמְיָה (*aqademya*) and אוּנִיבֶרְסִיטָה (*universita*) proving that such words are felt to be foreign unwieldy elements and that the prior general attitude in this respect did not merely stem from the extremism of a few. On the whole, however, international technical terms are now widely adopted not only in specialized publications but in newspapers and books for the general public. Colloquial speech, too, comprises many foreign words, partly perhaps due to a passing snobbish fashion. *Even-Shoshan’s seven-volume “New Dictionary” (1966–1970) contains 3,448 foreign, mainly international, words among its 33,549 basic items, and in the “Dictionary of Terms in Photography,” published by the Academy in 1966, there are 53 borrowed international words among its 700 items. An important restriction on the borrowing of words of non-Semitic origin is the structure of the Hebrew verb which is formed according to severe rules, e.g., that certain vowels must appear in certain positions in verb forms; that only a limited number of consonants can constitute a verb-root, etc. As a matter of course, the necessary coining of an original Hebrew verb often also leads to the replacement of the corresponding foreign noun.

According to the principles of the Va’ad ha-Lashon, words should be created “in agreement with the rules of grammar and analogy.” As far as possible, they are to be derived from roots found in biblical and talmudic literature and, in the second place, from Aramaic and other Semitic, especially Arabic, roots. To establish new scientific terms, one should aim at the essential signification, not the literal meaning, of the words of other languages. Newly coined words have not only to be grammatically correct, but pleasing to the ear and appropriate to the spirit of the language.

Contrary to the intention to avoid expressing only the literal and etymological meaning of the foreign word, loanshifts and loan-translations have been and are an ever-growing source for new uses of existing Hebrew words. As in every language throughout the ages, Hebrew words also contract new meanings under the influence of particular applications of corresponding words in other languages, and foreign compound words and phrases are rendered in Hebrew by literally translating their components. English “crane,” for the hoisting machine, French “grue,” etc. have brought about the Hebrew עֲגוּרָן (*ʿaguran*) derived from the name of the bird; and German “Kindergarten” has engendered גַּן־יְלָדִים (*gan-yeladim*; “garden” (of) “children”). Nowadays, the principle of such semantic borrowings is seldom debated; only innovations that are felt to be too farfetched and removed from prevailing usage are rejected. In word formation, modern Hebrew, for the most part, follows the methods inherited from former stages of the language. The available noun and verb patterns are used to the full for innovations. Yet, some possibilities of derivation and combination that in older Hebrew were realized in relatively small measure are now put to use more extensively and, as some maintain, even excessively. The following deserve special mention and exemplification:

(1) Many nouns and adjectives are derived from noun bases by adding suffixes:

(a) *-an*, fem. *-anit* for nouns, as in: חֲצוֹצְרָן (*ḥaṣṣeran*, “trumpeter”); תּוֹתְחָן (*totaḥan*, “artilleryman”); דּוֹדָן (*dodan*), fem. דּוֹדָנִית (*dodanit*, “cousin”); מַהְפְּכָן (*mahpĕḵan*, “revolutionary,” n.); תִּיקָן (*tiqan*, “cockroach,”), from תִּיק (*tiq*, “envelope,” i.e., the protective shell of the insect’s eggs).

(b) *-ay*, fem. *-aʿit* for nouns, as in: עִתּוֹנַאי (*ʿittonay*, fem. עִתּוֹנָאִית *ʿittonaʾit*, “journalist”); בּוּלַאי (*bulay*, “philatelist”); אֲוִירַאי (*awiray*, “airman”); מְכוֹנַאי (*mĕḵonay*, “machinist”); טֶלֶפוֹנַאי (*ṭelefonay*, fem. טֶלֶפוֹנָאִית (*ṭelefonaʿit*), “telephone operator”); סְטָטִיסְטִקַאי (*staṭisṭiqay*, “statistician”).

(c) *-on*, fem. *-ónet*, often for diminutive nouns: דֻּבּוֹן (*dubbon*, “young bear, teddy bear”); יַלְדּוֹן (*yaldon*, “small boy”), יַלְדֹּנֶת (*yaldonet*, “small girl”); שֵׁדוֹן (*šedon*, “sprite”).

(d) *-i*, fem. *-it*, mainly for adjectives: צְבָאִי (*ṣevaʾi*, “military”); גַּמָּדִי (*gammadi*, “dwarfish”); אַפְסִי (*afsi*, “amounting to nothing”); תְּהוֹמִי (*tĕhomi*, “abysmal”), עֲנָקִי (*ʿanaqi*, “colossal”). The suffix *-i* is also widely used to derive adjectives from compounded pairs of nouns, as in צְפוֹן־מִזְרָחִי (*ṣĕfon-mizraḥi*, “north-eastern”), from צְפוֹן־מִזְרָח (*sĕfon-mizraḥ*, northeast); גַּב־לְשׁוֹנִי (*gav-lĕšoni*, “dorsal,” in phonetics), from גַּב־לָשׁוֹן (*gav-lašon*, “dorsal surface of the tongue”); כְּלַל־אֱנוֹשִׁי (*kĕlal-ĕnoši*, “all-human, universal”). This mode of derivation, found in the Bible in gentilitial names, like בֶּן־יְמִינִי (*Ben-Yĕmini*, “Benjaminite”) and בֵּית־הַלַּחְמִי (*Bet-Hallaḥmi*, “Bethlehemite”), has also been extended to compounds whose first member is a quantifier, as in חַד־כִּוּוּנִי (*ḥad-kiwwuni*, “unidirectional”); דּוּ־לְשׁוֹנִי (*du-lĕšoni*, “bilingual”); רַב־צְדָדִי (*rav-ṣĕdadi*, “many-sided”); or a preposition, as in בֵּין־לְאֻמִּי (*ben-lĕʾummi*, “international”); קְדַם־מִקְצוֹעִי (*qĕdam-miqṣoʿi*, “pre-professional”): עַל־אנוֹשִׁי (*ʿal-ĕnoši*, “superhuman”).

(e) *-it*, for nouns, some diminutive (besides being the feminine form of *-i*): מְכוֹנִית (*mĕḵonit*, “automobile”); מוֹנִית (*monit*, “taxi”); יָדִית (*yadit*, “handle”); מַפִּית (*mappit*, “napkin”); תָּוִית (*tawit*, “label”).

(f) *-ut*, for abstract or collective nouns: בּוֹרְרוּת (*borĕrut*, “arbitration”): צִיּוֹנוּת (*ṣiyyonut*, “Zionism”); רוֹקְחוּת (*roqeḥut*, “pharmacology”); מְיַלְּדוּת (*meyallĕdut*, “obstetrics”); עִתּוֹנוּת (*ʿittonut*, “press”).

(g) Several of the foregoing suffixes may combine to form new derivations, such as: מַהַפְּכָנִי (*mahpĕḵani*, “revolutionary,” adj.); מַהְפְּכָנוּת (*mahpĕḵanut*, “revolutionism”); תּוֹתְחָנוּת (*totĕḥanut*, “artillery”); עִתּוֹנָאוּת (*ʿittonaʾut*, “journalism”); גַּמָּדִיּוּת (*gammadiyyut*, “dwarfishness”); אַפְסִיּוּת (*afsiyyut*, “worthlessness”).

(2) New nouns are built by joining elements of two other words, particularly when this is suggested or facilitated

by both words having one or more consonants in common or by the second word beginning with a glottal stop (*ʾalef*) which can easily be omitted. קוֹלְנוֹעַ (*qolnoaʿ*, "cinema") is but a simple joining of קוֹל (*qol*, "sound") and נוֹעַ (*noaʿ*, "movement"), while אוֹפַנּוֹעַ (*ʾofannoaʿ*, "motorcycle") joins אוֹפַן (*ʾofan*, "wheel") and נוֹעַ (*noaʿ*). Two original consonants are omitted in דַּחְפּוֹר (*daḥpor*), a blending of the verbal roots דחף (*d.ḥ.f.*) and חפר (*ḥ.f*(*p*)*.r*); with the recurring pair ח (*ḥ*) and פ (*f*(*p*)) inserted only once, the sequence דחפר (*d.ḥ.f*(*p*)*.r*) is left and shaped into a noun with the vowel sequence *a.o* frequent in nouns. On the same vowel pattern רַמְזוֹר (*ramzor*, "traffic light") is formed from the verbal root רמז (*r.m.z*, "to indicate") and the noun אוֹר (*ʾor*, "light") whose initial א *ʿalef* is elided. The popular creation שְׁמַרְטַף (*šěmarṭaf*, "babysitter") is compounded from שמר (*š.m.r.*, "to watch") and טַף (*ṭaf*, "children"), but the Academy prefers שׁוֹמֵר-טַף (*šomer-ṭaf*) modeled after the biblical שׁוֹמֵר־סַף (*šomer-saf*, "keeper of the door").

(3) Among verbal innovations the amount of denominative verbs is significant: רִשֵּׁת (*riššet*, "to cover with a net") comes from רֶשֶׁת (*rešet*, "net"); קִרְקַע (*qirqʿa*, "to ground [an aircraft]") from קַרְקַע (*qarqaʿ*, "ground"): נִתֵּב (*nittev*, "to pilot") from נָתִיב (*nativ*, "path"), and numerous others, especially scientific, technological, and military terminology. For such new active verbs, the pattern *piʿel* is preferred with *hifʿil* left far behind and *paʿal* (*qal*) almost entirely neglected.

(4) Many of these new denominative verbs are derived from nouns with prefixed or suffixed formatives. Thereby, new roots, mostly quadriliteral, have entered the language: מִרְכֵּז (*mirkez*, "to centralize"), with it the passive participle מְמֻרְכָּז (*měmurkaz*), and the action noun מִרְכּוּז (*mirkuz*) have been derived from מֶרְכָּז (*merkaz*, "center") to differentiate from the former verb רִכֵּז (*rikkez*, "to concentrate") which shows the original root רכז (*r.k.z*) מִסְפֵּר (*misper*, "to number") contains in its secondary root מספר (*m.s.p.r*) the consonants of מִסְפָּר (*mispar*, "number"), a noun derived from the primary root ספר (*s.f*(*p*)*.r*). The relation between תִּזְמֵר (*tizmer*, "to orchestrate"), תִּזְמֹרֶת (*tizmóret*, "orchestra"), and the primary root זמר (*z.m.r*) is similar. In a *piyyuṭ* by Eleazar *Kallir (of the early Middle Ages) there is the verb הִתְמִיר (*hitmir*) originating from תְּמוּרָה (*těmura*, "change") which in turn is based on the primary root מור (*m.w.r*); the verb הִתְמִיר (*hitmir*) has now passed from its remote literary source into modern use in the meaning "to substitute" in chemistry. From the primary root חמץ (*ḥ.m.ẓ*) Ben-Yehuda formed the noun חַמְצָן (*ḥamẓan*, "oxygen"), and this served as a base for the new verb חִמְצֵן (*ḥimṣen*, "to oxydize").

(5) Another way to form denominative verbs is to derive new roots from contractions or acrostics of compound words. Thus, from דִּין־וְחֶשְׁבּוֹן (*din-wě-ḥešbon*, "account, report") first the acrostic דּוּ"חַ (*duaḥ*, "report") came into use, and then the verb דִּוֵּחַ (*diwwaḥ*, "to report") was formed with the artificial root דוח (*d.w.ḥ.*). In order to obtain a Hebrew verb for "to internationalize," to which בֵּין־לְאֻמִּי (*ben-lěʾummi*, "international") did not lend itself, a contracted root בנאם(*b.n.ʾ.m*) had to be presumed to arrive at the desired verb בִּנְאֵם (*binʾem*) and its action noun בִּנְאוּם (*binʾum*, "internationalization"). However, this presumption is not so farfetched, since there is a Hebrew noun אֻמָּה (*umma*), besides לְאֹם (*lěʾom*) for "nation."

(6) In analogy to several verbs of the *šafʿel* formation inherited from biblical and later Aramaic and Hebrew, some new causative verbs and action nouns with the prefixed š- have been created from existing roots, mainly where other verb formations had already been exploited for the same root. To these innovations, some of which have been sanctioned by the Academy, belong שִׁחְזֵר (*šiḥzer*, "to restore"), root חזר (*ḥ-z-r*, "to return"), and its action noun שִׁחְזוּר (*šiḥzur*); שִׁקֵּם (*šiqqem*, "to rehabilitate") with שִׁקּוּם (*šiqqum*) as action noun, root קום (*q-w-m*, "to rise"); שִׁפְרֵט (*šifreṭ*, "to elaborate") derived from פְּרָט (*pěraṭ*, "detail"); שִׁכְפֵּל (*šikpel*, "to duplicate, multiply (written matter)"), etc. Among the first and most widely used of these new words were שִׁחְזוּר (*šiḥzur*) with the meaning of restoration of a previous condition inherent in its root חזר (*ḥ-z-r*), and שִׁקּוּם (*šiqqum*), which intrinsically only means "causing to rise, erecting," but was used in contexts entailing the connotation of "again." Many speakers, therefore, came to attribute this meaning of remaking or redoing to the *šafʿel* formation, and by way of vindicating this semantic shift, some even interpreted the prefixed š- as an abbreviated שׁוּב (*šuv*, "again"). On this assumption, more verbs and action nouns with initial š-, corresponding to English *re-*, have been formed and in part accepted: שִׁחְלֵף (*šiḥlef*, "to re-exchange"), root חלף (*ḥ-l-f*) – in another sense שִׁחְלֵף > שַׁלְחֵף (*šalḥef* < *šaḥlef*) is already found in the Aramaic of the Targum and Talmud; שִׁעֲרוּךְ (*šiʿiaruk*, "reassessment"), root ערך (*ʿ-r-k*); שִׁזְרַע (*šizraʿ*, "to resow"), root זרע (*z-r-ʿ*), שִׁגְזוּר (*šigzur*, "back formation" in linguistics), root גזר (*g-z-r-* "to derive"), etc.

(7) A considerable number of passive verbal adjectives has been adopted with the vowel sequence *a-i* inserted in the root and corresponding in meaning to French and English adjectives in *-able, -ible*. The first of these probably was שָׁבִיר (*šavir*, "breakable"), followed by קָרִיא, (*qari*, "readable," "legible"), סָבִיר (*savir*, "reasonable"), כָּבִיס (*kavis*, "washable"), חָדִיר (*ḥadir*, "penetrable"), דָּחִיס (*daḥis*, "compressible"), and more. However, this pattern has at all times served in the formation of other adjectives (as the biblical *ʿašir* "rich") and of nouns (as the biblical *qaṣir* "harvest"). Its application to defective roots meets with difficulties; its use is limited to derivations from *paʿal* (*qal*) verbs, and its corresponding abstract noun is ambiguous (e.g., דְּחִיסוּת *děḥisut* may be understood as "compressibility" and as "[state of] compression," from *daḥus*, "compressed"). Words of this semantic category are, therefore, also formed in other ways, either with the suffix *-i* appended to an action noun, as in שִׁמּוּשִׁי (*šimmuši*, "practical"), from שִׁמּוּשׁ (šimmuš, "practice, use"), or, as in classical Hebrew, either by the use of passive participles, such as, מִתְקַפֵּל (*mitqappel*, "collapsible," "folding"); נֶאֱכַל (*neʾěkal*, "edible"); מִטַּלְטֵל (*miṭṭalṭel*, "portable"), etc., or by compounding בֶּן־ *ben-* or בַּר־ *bar-* with abstract nouns, mostly action nouns, as in בֶּן־סֶמֶךְ (*ben semek*; "reliable"), בֶּן־בּוּז (*ben-buẓ* [Bialik],

"contemptible"); בַּר־בִּצּוּעַ (*bar-biṣṣua*ʿ "executable"); בַּר־בִּטּוּל *bar-biṭṭul*, "abolishable"), etc.

GRAMMAR. In 1905, the teachers' convention agreed to Yellin's proposal for a standardized orthography based on the biblical vocalization system. This, to a large extent, led to the acceptance of biblical Hebrew grammar for modern Hebrew. The spelling and vocalization adopted determined the form of words and their inflection, though in this sphere, too, usage had to be normalized to eliminate variations and prosodic peculiarities of the Bible text.

In 1910, this topic was discussed in a meeting of the Va'ad ha-Lashon in which Eliezer Ben-Yehuda, Yisrael Eitan, David Yellin, Aharon Masie, and Yosef Meyuḥas took part. The summary of this debate, published in *Zikronot Waʿad ha-Lašon* II (2nd ed., 1929, p. 17ff.) has lost little of its import; many of the arguments set forth then are still heard whenever there is doubt about the preferable form and inflection of a word or a class of words. The discussion then originated from one particular question, i.e., the correct plural for the mishnaic אֹגֶן (*ʾogen*, "rim, brim"), whether it should be אֳגָנִים (*oʾganim*) according to grammar based on the Bible, or (אָגְנִים אוגנים) (*ʾognim*) as found in mishnaic Hebrew. Many aspects of modern grammar were treated in the light of ancient literary sources during this debate.

In conclusion, the following resolution was proposed by D. Yellin and adopted: "We take from talmudic and midrashic literature words and expressions which we need and new grammatical forms supplementing those found in the Bible. Talmudic words accepted are to be given a Hebrew form whenever possible. For verbs no new forms are needed if in the Bible there are corresponding forms." The significant words in this resolution provide that neither in vocabulary nor in grammar should anything available in the Bible be replaced by elements from later literature. Regarding the special problem of the plural of nouns, such as אֹגֶן (*ʾogen*), both forms were admitted, but later the "Dictionary of Technical Terms," published in 1929 by the Va'ad with Ḥ.N. Bialik as one of its editors, contained only the plural form אֳגָנִים (*ʾoganim*) in conformity with biblical grammar.

The principles adopted by the Va'ad ha-Lashon were observed, with few exceptions, by teachers and in textbooks. According to these norms, the teaching of grammar, on the whole, not only excluded the divergent traditions of Hebrew and the innovations found in post-biblical literature, but also disregarded the language in which Hebrew literature had been written since the end of the Haskalah. It was to the principles of the Haskalah that normative grammarians now reverted. The literature before the revival of Hebrew speech in Palestine, especially since Mendele Mokher Seforim, had not submitted to the restrictions imposed by the Haskalah, but had freely blended biblical elements with talmudic and later grammatical forms as well as with words and phrases from all periods and even borrowings from modern European languages. However, as modern literature and speech have continued to grow, grammar based on the Bible has proved inadequate for all the new material.

The strict adherence to what was known and held in biblical grammar is well exemplified by A.Y. Shapiro in his *More Nevuké ha-Lašon* (Warsaw, 1909). The author corrects about 140 words and grammatical forms found in the writings and speech of his contemporaries, naturally according to his views on the Bible text and to the conclusions he draws from it. Thus, he rejects נֶאֱבַד for אָבַד; הִתְאַנֵּחַ for נֶאֱנַח; אֲרוּכָה for אֲרֻכָּה (fem. of אָרֹךְ, "long"), the infinitives לֵידַע, לֵישֵׁב, לֵילֵךְ, etc., for the biblical forms לָדַעַת, לָשֶׁבֶת, לָלֶכֶת, etc.; infinitives such as לִקְרוֹת for לִקְרֹא; יֹפִי both in the absolute and construct case for יְפִי; the imperfect אֶלְמוֹד for אֶלְמַד; עָמוּס for עוֹמֵס ("carrying, burdened"): הֶרְאָה אֶת... לְ... for הֶרְאָה אֶת... אֶת...; etc. Although the author, in an appendix, shows that some of these and other non-biblical forms are found in talmudic literature, he does not approve of their use in modern language. However, these forms and many more have in fact existed in the literature, or in certain traditions of Hebrew, for centuries and are accepted by some of the best modern writers, their selection being but a matter of personal style.

As Hebrew is the paramount unifying factor of modern national culture in Israel, a distinction had of necessity to be made between the standard language taught in schools and used in public addresses, broadcasting, and the like, and the individual idiom of creative writers and the traditions of the various Jewish communities in reading religious and other texts that naturally also influence their everyday speech. The work of establishing a normative grammar of modern Hebrew – one of the chief tasks of the Va'ad ha-Lashon and the Academy of the Hebrew Language – will understandably take a long time and, in fact, imposes itself constantly anew in response to cultural developments. However, once the foundations have been laid and become general usage, much can be left to natural growth without interference of any linguistic authority. Even today the greater part of new words and word forms used spontaneously by individuals already conforms to grammar rules.

The new, Hebrew grammar is gradually being built by two separate activities: by comprehensive discussion and decision on systematic divisions of grammar and by ad hoc instructions on particular problems submitted by writers, teachers, journalists, and other members of the public or arising from the work of terminological committees. The former course is naturally preferred, yet it is lengthy and cannot answer urgent needs; therefore, the latter is unavoidable, although its ad hoc directives have occasionally to be amended to agree with a subsequent comprehensive ruling.

The foremost aim of the Va'ad ha-Lashon in its systematic treatment of grammar was to decide on words for which the biblical text does not provide sufficient exemplary evidence or offers several divergent forms of one word, e.g., for the noun לְטָאָה ("lizard"), found only in this form once in Leviticus, two forms with pronominal suffixes may be inferred: לְטָאָתִי or לִטְאָתִי; by analogy, two forms for the post-biblical

מְחָאָה ("protest") would be possible; אֲגַם ("pool," "pond") has two inflected forms belonging to different paradigms: אֲגַמִּים and אַגְמֵיהֶם, both in Exodus. Whenever there was no doubt about the biblical form of a word, the Va'ad accepted this precept and allowed only very few exceptions dictated by firmly established usage, e.g., permitting כִּתְבֵי הַקֹּדֶשׁ ("Holy Scriptures") besides the form based on the Bible כְּתָבֵי הַקֹּדֶשׁ from כְּתָב with an unchangeable *qameṣ*. This principle inevitably led to a twofold treatment of words of one and the same morphological pattern: Words taken from the Bible went one way, and those coming from later sources or coined recently went another. Thus, the rule for nouns of the pattern *qĕṭal* to which כְּתָב belongs, lists the biblical words whose *qameṣ* is to be unchangeable, and provides for the change of *qameṣ* to *pattaḥ* or *šewa* only in words from later sources, such as שְׁטָר ("writ, note") – שְׁטַר־חוֹב ("note of debt," sing. construct state) – שִׁטְרֵי־חוֹב (plur. construct state).

When the Academy continued this work of the Va'ad ha-Lashon, the renewed debate led to a fundamental change. Now, the rules are to deal with modern Hebrew as a whole, and the dichotomy of its vocabulary by reason of its sources, whether biblical or post-biblical, has been abandoned. It is no longer a matter of course that for each biblical word its biblical inflection be accepted in the modern language. If this is to be done, and, in general, it is, the issue is open to discussion and subject to decision in accordance with the tendency to allow well-established traditions and usages their proper place, and to make each new rule as comprehensive as possible. Most of the rules still have their exceptions, of course, but these are few, and they sometimes include biblical forms or state their existence without recommending their use.

So far, only the rules for the inflection of nouns have been systematically discussed and partly established. The arrangement of the rules follows the alteration of the vowels in each class of nouns, this being the prominent feature in Hebrew inflection. Each rule is the outcome of a thorough examination of the ways in which the various sources of the language treated the vowels in inflection. The rules for *qameṣ gadol* and *pattaḥ* have been published (*Zikronot* 7–8, 1962, p. 91ff and 13, 1967, p. 7f.), and the rules for the other vowels were decided upon and issued by the Academy in later sessions, the most recent publication being in *Leshonenu La-Am,* 51–52 (2000–1), pp. 153–98.

As an example, paragraph 8 of section 2 in chapter I will be given here with some added remarks:

The *qameṣ gadol* is stable in the endings ־ָר, ־תָן, ־ָן in nouns denoting occupations and qualities, such as לַמְדָן – לַמְדָנֵיכֶם; בִּימָר – בִּימָרֵי; לַבְלָר – לַבְלָרֵיכֶם; גַּאַוְתָן – גַּאַוְתָנֵי; קַבְּלָן – קַבְּלָנֵי; סַנְדְּלָר – סַנְדְּלָרֵיכֶם; סְמַרְטוּטָר – סְמַרְטוּטָרֵי.

The *qameṣ* is stable in the nouns סִימָן – סִימָנֵי, אֵיתָן – אֵיתָנֵי, and in loanwords, such as גְּרָפוֹמָן, רוֹמָן, etc.

In other nouns, the *qameṣ* changes in inflection: שֻׁלְחֲנוֹת – שֻׁלְחָן (constr.); בִּנְיָן – בִּנְיְנֵי; עִנְיָן – עִנְיְנֵיכֶם; אֻמְדָּן – אֻמְדְּנֵי; פֻּלְחָן – פֻּלְחֲנֵי; סוּדָר – סוּדְרֵי; טִפְסָר – טִפְסְרֵי; קָרְבָּן – קָרְבְּנוֹתַי; עַכְבָּר – עַכְבְּרֵי; קוֹלָר – קוֹלְרֵיכֶם.

This paragraph presupposes paragraph 1 of section 1 which provides that "every *qameṣ gadol*, occurring in the absolute state in a stressed syllable, changes to *pattaḥ* in the singular construct state and before the pronominal suffixes ־כֶם, ־כֶן." Therefore, שֻׁלְחָן, e.g., in these two contexts becomes שֻׁלְחַן and שֻׁלְחַנְכֶם respectively.

Of the 21 words adduced as examples in this rule, only seven are biblical: אֵיתָן, שֻׁלְחָן, קָרְבָּן, בִּנְיָן, עִנְיָן, עַכְבָּר, טִפְסָר. (The last word, of Sumerian-Accadian origin, occurs twice in the Bible, once with *ḥireq* and once with *pattaḥ* in the first syllable.) Another nine words, partly Greek or Latin borrowings, are found in talmudic-midrashic literature: סוּדָר, קוֹלָר, סַנְדְּלָר, לַבְלָר, סִימָן, אֻמְדָּן, פֻּלְחָן, גַּאַוְתָן, קַבְּלָן, and one, לַמְדָן is found in medieval writings (and also in Yiddish), but there are many newly created words of the same formation. Two words are modern derivations from older ones: סְמַרְטוּטָר ("rag picker") from the talmudic סְמַרְטוּט ("rag") and בִּימָר ("stage technician") from the originally Greek בִּימָה ("stage"). The remaining two, גְּרָפוֹמָן, רוֹמָן, are contemporary loans from European languages.

The salient point here is that, without regard to their history, all these words are integrated in the modern vocabulary and divided with respect to their inflection not necessarily in conformity to biblical grammar. The fact that they do not behave uniformly in inflection has historical reasons. The group with changing *qameṣ* follows three of its members – שֻׁלְחָן, קָרְבָּן, עַכְבָּר – for which the Bible text has *šewa*, or *šĕwa compositum*, replacing *qameṣ* in the relevant inflected forms. The other group, with stable *qameṣ*, complies with the usual pronunciation of most of its members.

Outside of the systematic treatment of grammatical and other problems by the Academy, ad hoc solutions of specific questions deal not only with morphology, but with syntax and style as well. A few examples must suffice here. In the field of morphology it is often necessary to fix the exact spelling and vocalization of old words that have been handed down in several forms. The vowels of the talmudic noun גופן ("character of script") are uncertain; thus of the forms גֹּפֶן, גּוֹפָן, גּוּפָן which are found, the first has been chosen. Even for the verb הזיע ("to sweat," in the *hifʿil*, two vocalizations have been in use: הֵזִיעַ and הִזִּיעַ; the choice fell on הֵזִיעַ because it agrees with the root suggested by the inflection of the biblical noun זֵעָה ("sweat") which alone is in common use today (not יֶזַע). Committees on terminology, when proposing a new word, are often in doubt about its grammatical form. Thus, מְכָל ("container") has been selected instead of מֵכַל previously chosen by the Va'ad ha-Lashon. Foreign words admitted into the language require their Hebrew plural to be determined. Thus for the plural of מַקְסִימוּם ("maximum") the form מַקְסִימָאוֹת has been proposed in the same way as mishnaic Hebrew dealt with similar Greek and Latin nouns (וִילוֹן – Latin "vellum" – plural וִילָאוֹת).

Syntactic structure in translated literature and in journalistic writing has been greatly influenced by European languages (now mainly English). One of the results, for example, is the frequent appearance of non-restrictive, continuative relative clauses, such as, הַשּׁוֹטְרִים רָדְפוּ אַחֲרֵי הַגַּנָּב שֶׁנִּמְלַט לְתוֹךְ הַבַּיִת

הַקָּרוֹב. (“The police pursued the thief, who escaped into the nearest house”). Although this use is found neither in the colloquial language nor in that of writers whose Hebrew is considered exemplary, it is frequent in journalese and officialese. Some linguists do not condemn it on this level of the language, and the same applies to other syntactic structures, equally foreign to more elevated and conservative style.

Modern Hebrew as a Semitic language, with an ancient literary heritage still cherished and studied, was already exposed to the impact of the modern world and of modern non-Semitic languages when it only was the vehicle of literary revival and before it became a fully living language. Whoever took part in the revival of the language, in writing or in speech, was aware of this position, its requirements and consequences. But for the past 80 years at least, Ben-Yehuda and his collaborators and their successors have made a conscious effort to develop Hebrew and adapt it to modern use on the lines on which, in their view, it would have developed if its natural life had continued without interruption into the 20th century. In fact many other languages which have not passed a period of suspended animation now face problems quite similar to those of modern Hebrew. What Hebrew experienced now has happened to it before, for example, in the talmudic period and in the later Middle Ages, when not only new words were formed or borrowed and old words were used to refer to new objects, but the morphological, syntactic, and conceptual structure of the language changed in part, both by direct imitation of other languages and under the influence of their manner to organize the relation between words and concepts.

One of the characteristics of modern Hebrew is the speed of the changes in all respects. Thus it offers much interesting material to the linguist to show the trends of its evolution and to discover general linguistic facts and processes in it. Two phenomena: “Westernization” and “re-Hebraization” (much discussed in treatises on language policy, especially by Rosén, Ben-Ḥayyim, and Bendavid), in the recent development of the language are obvious to all observers. The “ancient language being in a new reality” absorbs concepts and forms of Western languages through cultural contacts, through more or less apt translation, immigration, and bilinguism, etc. The wish to strengthen the inherited Hebrew component is obvious and may be realized through extended Hebrew education, more intense study of classical writings, the growth of modern literature imbued with old language tradition and the increased number of its readers, competent guidance of language development and by adapting old forms to modern contents.

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HEBREW LITERATURE, MODERN.

The entry is arranged according to the following outline:

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- THE PALESTINIAN–ḤALUTZIC PERIOD (1905–1948)
  - **The Ottoman Period (1905–1917)**
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  - **The Genesis of Women's Hebrew Literature**
  - **Women's Prose Writing in the Period of the Yishuv (1882–1948)**
- THE ISRAEL PERIOD (1948–2005)
  - **Poetry**
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    - THE NEW WAVE
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DEFINITION AND SCOPE

For the purposes of this article the term modern Hebrew literature designates belles lettres written in Hebrew during the modern period of Jewish history.

The definition is more limited than the generally accepted notion that modern Hebrew literature includes everything written in Hebrew during the modern period (e.g., Y.F. Lachower, *Toledot ha-Sifrut ha-Ivrit ha-Ḥadashah* (1928–48); J. Klausner, *Historyah shel ha-Sifrut ha-Ivrit ha-Ḥadashah* (1930–1950) and others). This view has some validity concerning Hebrew letters written before 1914 when most Hebrew authors, in addition to belles lettres, wrote historical or philosophical works, journalistic articles, and even popular science, all of which were generally held to be "literature." Dov Sadan has suggested that a history of modern Hebrew literature should also include rabbinic literature written in the modern period, literature composed in other Jewish languages (particularly Yiddish), and even works of Jewish content composed in European languages (*Al Sifrutenu*, 1950). However while the influence of these types of literary endeavors in modern Hebrew literature must be taken into account by the historian, they are not in themselves an integral part of it.

The development of modern Hebrew literature represents an almost unique phenomenon in world literature. It is now generally assumed that Hebrew ceased being the spoken language of most Palestinian Jews even before the close of the biblical period, albeit evidence exists that small pockets of Hebrew speakers persisted even in the mishnaic period. In the Middle Ages, it became *leshon ha-kodesh* ("the sacred tongue") and the overwhelming number of books written in Hebrew were of a religious nature. Side by side with these religious works a secular or quasi-secular literature also developed – in Spain, Provence, and Italy. By the time modern Hebrew literature began, however, this literature was on the wane, even in Italy, its last stronghold. Moreover, modern Hebrew is, on the whole, the work of Ashkenazi Jewry and among them secular literature rarely appeared before modern times.

Hebrew was not only the literary language of medieval Jewry but also served as its *lingua franca*. Nevertheless, it had to be rendered flexible before it could adequately be used as a language to depict modern life. The literary problem created by the radical difference between Hebrew and Yiddish, which most of the Hebrew writers and readers spoke, became crucial with the rise of realism on the Hebrew literary scene. It was difficult to write in Hebrew realistic dialogue which was spoken in another tongue.

To some degree, too, the command of Hebrew was a class phenomenon. Large segments of the Jewish working class never attained sufficient competence in the language. It is therefore no accident that as Yiddish literature developed at the close of the 19th century, it not only enjoyed greater popularity but politically tended to be more radical than Hebrew literature. Moreover, it was natural that Hebrew would become the vehicle of the Zionist movement, while Yiddish, the language of the Diaspora, was that of Jewish movements which were Diaspora orientated. On the other hand, it would be oversimplifying matters to claim that the Yiddish-speaking masses were capable of understanding many of the sophisticated modernist poets and writers of fiction who were the proponents of Yiddish literature in its heyday. In any society most significant literature has always been and is still produced and read by the educated segment.

Unlike the authors of many "folk" literatures which developed in Europe during the nationalist period (19th century), Hebrew writers had the advantage of possessing a rich tradition and a large corpus of "classical" literature: the Bible, the Talmud, the Midrashim, the prayer book, medieval religious and secular poetry and prose, and the prose works of various pietistic groups. As modern Hebrew literature developed, the classical tradition proved to be a mixed blessing. Writers were overwhelmed particularly by the literary excellence of the Bible and often became discouraged in the face of its achievement. It is, however, to the credit of contemporary Hebrew writers that this is no longer a major problem. Without abandoning its classics, Hebrew writing is no longer frustrated by them.

From a statistical point of view Hebrew is a minor literature. It is currently estimated that there are approximately seven million people who speak Hebrew, of whom the large majority are either children or semiliterates in the language (including both poorly educated Israel natives and the very large number of immigrants who are highly educated but read European languages). Hebrew bestsellers have a circulation of 10,000–50,000. Hebrew poetry on the other hand is read by a comparatively large group of Israelis and dozens of volumes of verse are published annually. Being a "small" literature, written and read by a society whose intellectuals belong to a variety of language cultures, Hebrew literature is strongly subject to multifarious European literary influences. The interplay of Russian, Polish, English, French, and German literatures with Hebrew literature has greatly enriched the Hebrew literary scope and has given it its special flavor.

BEGINNINGS

Scholars disagree as to when modern Hebrew literature actually began. There are generally two schools of thought:

(1) those who adhere to Gershom *Scholem's views and consider the disruption of the medieval authority of the Jewish community in the wake of the Shabbatean debacle at the close of the 17th century the starting point of the modern age (Simon Halkin, *Modern Hebrew Literature* (1950), 29–32);

(2) those who hold that the German Haskalah (see below) of the latter half of the 18th century marks the beginning (J. Klausner; *Historyah* etc.; B. Kurzweil, *Sifrutenu ha-Ḥadashah: Hemshekh o Mahpekhah*?, 1959; Ḥ.N. Shapiro, *Toledot ha-Sifrut ha-Ivrit ha-Ḥadashah*, 1940). *Lachower, without reference to Scholem's thesis, opens his history with Moses Ḥayyim *Luzzatto (1707–1746) contending that not only was he the cultural heir to the Italian-Hebrew humanists of the 16th and 17th centuries, but was influenced by modern non-Jewish writers and by their secularist ideas (a view held by Ḥ.N. Bialik, Shalom Streit, N. Slouschz, and Avraham Shaanan). Scholem's thesis explains the inner causes which ultimately led to the development of the "anti-establishment" movements of the late 18th and early 19th centuries (Ḥasidism and Haskalah) and points out that proto-Haskalah ideas were current among the disillusioned Frankists in Prague during the 18th century ("*Mitzvah ha-Ba'ah ba-Averah*" in: *Keneset*, 2 (1937) see also *Commentary*, 51 (Jan. 1971), 41–70). However, the secularism which clearly identifies the modern period first received significant literary expression in Germany during the Enlightenment (for contrary opinions see B. Kurzweil, *Ba-Ma'avak al Erkhei ha-Yahadut* (1970), and Ḥ.N. Shapiro, *Toledot ha-Sifrut ha-Ivrit ha-Ḥadashah*).

Those who would begin modern Hebrew literature with Moses Ḥayyim Luzzatto agree that its basic characteristic is its secularism but assert that Luzzatto's plays were products of the "new spirit" and that these in turn affected subsequent modern Hebrew literature. Luzzatto's world view however was not modern. He was a kabbalist and the bulk of his works were religious and mystical. His poetics too are clearly based on medieval notions; *Leshon Limmudim* (1927) draws heavily on Quintilian. Moreover, while he influenced David *Franco-Mendes during his stay in Holland, his plays were not known to the early German Hebrew authors.

PERIODIZATION

Historians also disagree as to the periodization of modern Hebrew literature. Lachower follows a geographical-chronological pattern in the first two volumes of his history: (1) "From the Growth of the New Literature in Italy until the Decline of the Haskalah in the West" – Italy, Holland, and Germany (1750–1830); (2) "The Early Days of the Haskalah in the East until the Close of the Haskalah Period" – Austria, Galicia, and Russia (1820–1880). In volume 3 he shifts to a conceptual definition: "From the Beginnings of the Jewish National Idea until our Times" – Russia (1860–1920). *Klausner, proposing a more "literary" scheme, limits his history to the Haskalah (1781–1881) dividing it into three periods which are also defined conceptually and geographically: (1) the rationalist, pseudoclassical period (1781–1830) – the defense of the Enlightenment in Germany against the attack of the traditionalists; (2) the romantic period (1830–1860) – the reconciliation between religion and the Haskalah in Galicia; (3) the realistic period (1860–1881) – the attack of the Haskalah on religion in Russia and Poland.

B. *Kurzweil prefers a cultural-historical scheme distinguishing between (1) the "naïve Haskalah" which attempts to reconcile modernism with religion (1781–1830); (2) the militant reformist Haskalah (1830–1881) with its humanist-European orientation; (3) the period of disillusionment with European humanism (1881–1948). He argues unconvincingly that a fourth period, characterized by an apocalyptic vision of national sovereignty, begins with Uri Ẓevi *Greenberg. The schemes of Klausner and Lachower are faulty because they treat early modern Hebrew literature as a mature literature when in reality it possessed little aesthetic value prior to 1881. Most of the authors were provincial, used a cumbersome language, and hardly had acquired the European education and the standards of judgment which they were avidly seeking. Their works must therefore be considered as precursors of a literature which was to reach maturity only at the close of the 19th century.

The following scheme reflects more accurately the periodization of modern Hebrew literature:

I. The European Period (1781–1921)

(1) Haskalah Literature: the beginnings of modern Hebrew literature in Europe (1781–1881): (a) The German Haskalah (1781–1830); (b) The Galician Haskalah (1820–1860); (c) The Russian Haskalah (1840–1881)

(2) Modern Hebrew Literature in Europe: in Russia and Poland (1881–1920)

II. The Palestinian-Ḥalutzic Period (1905–1948)

(1) The Ottoman period (1905–1917)

(2) The Mandate period (1920–1948)

III. The Israel Period (1948 to the present)

THE EUROPEAN PERIOD (1781–1917)

Haskalah Literature: The Beginnings of Modern Hebrew Literature in Europe (1781–1881)

THE GERMAN HASKALAH (1781–1830). The first center of modern Hebrew literature developed in Prussia (particularly in the cities of Berlin and Koenigsberg) among the new Jewish merchant and managerial class, which had risen to social and economic prominence during the latter half of the 18th century. This new class discovered in the ideology of the German *Aufklaerung* ("Enlightenment"), with its emphasis on "reason," "good taste," and "the rights of man," a rationale that would justify their abandonment of many Jewish religious practices which had hindered their access to gentile society. It would also support their demand for social and political rights in a society which judged a man's worth by his ability and not by his origins. They believed that the realization of this ideology would transform the Jews into productive and enlightened citizens of the emerging modern state. When the Hebrew writers of Germany began propagating the "new philosophy" they selected the Hebrew word *haskalah* as the equivalent for the German *Aufklaerung*. Etymologically *haskalah* is derived from the root שׂכל denoting understanding, reason, or intelligence. *Haskalah* meant a commitment to reason rather than to revelation as the source of all truth, or, perhaps more correctly, the identification of revelation with reason. The *maskilim* averred that the practices, beliefs, and mores of Judaism and Jews must be in consonance with reason and that those which were not were basically not Jewish but distortions of the lofty purposes of Judaism.

The *maskilim* chose as a model the enlightened gentile merchant class which had accepted good taste and reason as its two social criteria. Their world view included not only the realms of science and philosophy but also the whole area of social behavior and aesthetics. Jews must not only abandon their medieval patterns of thought but also their outlandish manners, dress, and taste and adopt those which are in accord with the new order of things. The task of the *maskil* was *lehaskil* ("to be enlightened" and "to enlighten others"). For the *maskil*, education was not only the tool for the dissemination of the new truth but formed the very basis of his aesthetic theory. The prime purpose of literature was to educate the reader morally, socially, and aesthetically. Haskalah literature was therefore didactic and propagandist, aiming at bringing enlightenment to the "benighted" and backward Jewish communities of Germany and Eastern Europe.

It was natural for the Haskalah to choose Hebrew as its linguistic vehicle. The Yiddish dialects had no literary prestige at the time and were especially repugnant to *maskilim* who considered Yiddish to be a vulgar and ungrammatical corruption of German. Yiddish identified and isolated Jews from the general culture and underscored their cultural inferiority. On the other hand, Hebrew was not only the classical language of Judaism and the written language of its educated classes, but it also enjoyed enormous prestige in the non-Jewish world as the language of the Bible. Since educated and intelligent Jews of the old school could not read German, Hebrew served as the medium through which not only ideas of the Haskalah were disseminated but also, by means of appropriate translations and textbooks, as a vehicle to acquire German, the modern language most accessible to them. A major literary enterprise of the German Haskalah was the *Biur* (publ. 1780–1783), a German translation in Hebrew characters of the Pentateuch which was supplemented with a modern commentary in Hebrew (see Translations of *Bible). Thousands of Jews learned German through the *Biur.*

Moses Mendelssohn. The most significant personage of the German Haskalah, Moses *Mendelssohn, wrote mainly in German. In his literary and philosophical works he attempted to harmonize traditional Judaism with the new rationalist-deistic philosophy of his times. Mendelssohn also dealt with general philosophical problems and was accepted as a cultural, if not a social, equal in gentile circles – a symbol of the new type of Jew for both gentiles and Jews. Though he wrote very little Hebrew, he was the unchallenged leader of the German Haskalah and the initiator (or at least the one who encouraged) its main literary projects: the *Biur* and *Ha-Me'assef* (see *Me'assef*), the first Hebrew periodical. The *Biur* was at first favorably received by Western European traditional Jewry but soon, for fear that it would lead to cultural assimilation, was denounced as heretical. On the other hand, enlightened Jews hailed it as a major achievement. It served as a textbook to generations of East European Jews in the study of literary German, which in turn was a means to obtain secular knowledge. *Ha-Me'assef*, a Hebrew monthly magazine, modeled after the *Berliner Monatsschrift*, was founded in 1783 in Koenigsberg by a group of young *maskilim*. It appeared intermittently until 1829. All of the leading figures of the early Haskalah contributed to *Ha-Me'assef* including Moses Mendelssohn, Naphtali Herz *Wessely, Solomon *Maimon, David Franco-Mendes, Isaac Abraham *Euchel, Isaac *Satanow, and Shalom b. Jacob *Cohen. Its influence during the earlier years of the German Haskalah was great, but with the Germanization of Jewish intellectual life its circulation dropped off. Readers of German were unable to abide its lower literary and critical standards. From a purely literary point of view *Ha-Me'asef* was not very important. It is significant only as a pioneering project of modern Hebrew literature.

Naphtali Herz (Hartwig) Wessely. The leading Hebrew author of the German Haskalah, Naphtali Hartwig Wessely (Naphtali Hirsch Weisel), wrote only in Hebrew although he knew several European languages, including German. Through his pamphlet *Divrei Shalom ve-Emet* (1782), an impassioned plea in support of the edict of toleration (1781), he won renown as the foremost apologist of the Haskalah. In it he urged the adoption of modern educational methods and the need for "human" knowledge (science, history, and social ethics) as well as "religious" knowledge.

Wessely's main contribution to modern Hebrew literature however is *Shirei Tiferet* ("Poems of Splendor"), a long epic poem on the life of Moses; it is the major literary work of the German Haskalah (pts. 1–5, 1789–92; pt. 6 posthumously 1829). Judged by modern standards, the poem has small literary merit; while it is written in an almost purely biblical style, it is imitative and lacks the conciseness and concreteness of the original biblical account. Moses is cast in the rationalist image of the Haskalah and the entire work is permeated with Haskalah preachments. From a formal point of view, Wessely introduces the alexandrine (the 12-syllable heroic line prevailing in the French poetry of his day) which was to dominate early modern Hebrew poetry for half a century. Of particular interest are his prose introductions to the "books" of the poem which, although written in a period in which sentimentalism already predominates in German literature, still express earlier neoclassical views.

Types of Literature. The German Haskalah produced several epic poems besides the work of Wessely; most significant among them were Shalom b. Jacob Cohen's *Nir David* ("The Splendor of David," Vienna, 1834); Issachar Schlesinger's *Ha-Ḥashmona'im* ("The Hasmoneans," 1817); *Ḥayyei Shimshon* ("The Life of Samson") by Sueskind Raschkow (d. 1836); and Moses Frankfurt *Mendelsohn's *Toledot Avraham* and *Toledot Yosef.* Other poets influenced by the Italian Hebrew school of the 17th and 18th centuries composed closet dramas in verse which were either allegories imitating Moses Ḥayyim Luzzatto's *La-Yesharim Tehillah* ("Praise to the Upright," Amsterdam, 1743), or based on biblical themes: Shalom Cohen's *Amel ve-Tirẓah* (1862); *Gemul Atalyah* ("Athaliah's Retaliation," Amsterdam, 1770), by David Franco-Mendes (1713–1792), adapted from Racine's *Athalie*; and Joseph *Ha-Efrati's (Troppolowitz) *Melukhat Sha'ul* ("Saul's Reign," Vienna, 1794). A third genre was the Hebrew proverb or maxim in which Isaac Satanow excelled. He published *Mishlei Asaf* ("The Fables of Asaf") and its sequel *Gam Elleh Mishlei Asaf* ("Also These Are the Fables of Asaf"). Related to this genre are the *mikhtamim* (maxims in rhymed quatrain form) and the fable (Joel (Brill) *Loewe, Baruch *Jeiteles, and Judah Leib *Ben-Zeev). Except for the verse of Ephraim *Luzzatto, a contemporary of the German Haskalah who lived in Italy and later in London, no lyrical poetry of any merit was produced. Most of the poetry in this genre was a feeble imitation of contemporary German verse and moralistic or didactic in tone. Two poems worthy of mention are *Aggadat Arba Kosot* ("The Legend of the Four Goblets," Berlin, 1790), by the talented poet Solomon *Pappenheim, which after Wessely's epic is the most important poem of the period, and Solomon *Loewisohn's ode to the Hebrew language which he composed as a preface to his book *Meliẓat Yeshurun* ("The Poesy of Jeshurun," 1816).

The German Haskalah produced no remarkable narrative prose. The few pieces in *Ha-Me'assef* are merely sentimental prose poems. Mention should be made, however, of Aaron *Wolfsohn-Halle's *Siḥah be-Ereẓ ha-Ḥayyim* ("A Conversation in the Land of the Living"), a biting satirical sketch directed against the rabbis of his day, and Moses Frankfurt Mendelsohn's article on the history of the German Haskalah (in *Penei Tevel*, published posthumously in 1872). Solomon Maimon's contribution to Hebrew literature was insignificant compared to his role as a German post-Kantian philosopher and to his literary contribution as the author of an autobiography in German which influenced later autobiographical writing in Hebrew. He also wrote a number of works in Hebrew, almost all in philosophy, the physical sciences, and mathematics. His best Hebrew work, *Givat ha-Moreh* (Berlin, 1791), is a commentary on Maimonides' *Guide of the Perplexed*.

Ancillary Centers of the Early Haskalah. Besides the German authors, a number of *maskilim* continued the tradition of Hebrew writing in Italy. Foremost among them were Ephraim Luzzatto, whose *Elleh Benei ha-Ne'urim* ("These Young Men," London, 1768) contain the best lyrical poetry of the period, and Samuel *Romanelli. In Amsterdam a group of writers appeared who were influenced by Moses Ḥayyim Luzzatto or his disciples. In Alsace several poets wrote patriotic Hebrew poetry, the most notable being Elie Ḥalfan *Halevy. Not all "German" *maskilim* were natives of Germany. Solomon Maimon and Solomon b. Joel *Dubino were born in Lithuania, Isaac Satanow in Podolia, and Judah Leib Ben-Zeev in Poland. In Lithuania a subcenter of the Haskalah developed in the town of Shklov and from there moved to St. Petersburg where a number of Shklov's wealthy merchants settled (Joshua *Zeitlin, Nathan *Notkin, and Abraham *Peretz; for a short time the Galician author Menahem Mendel *Levin (Lefin) was a tutor in Peretz's home). The most important St. Petersburg *maskil*, Judah Leib *Nevakhovitch (Ben Noah), published a pamphlet in Russian that he had originally composed in Hebrew, in which he urged the emancipation of Jews.

The End of the German Haskalah. The rapid Germanization of German Jewry led to the displacement of Hebrew as the language of the enlightened Jewish middle classes in Prussia. Between 1794 and 1797 one issue of *Ha-Me'assef* was published annually. By 1797 only 120 subscribers remained. In the meantime a Jewish literature in German, including a literary journal, began to develop. It is no accident that it was reported that Aaron Wolfsohn-Halle, one of the editors of *Ha-Me'assef*, was unable to write Hebrew in his old age.

THE GALICIAN HASKALAH (1820–1860). From Prussia, the Haskalah movement spread to Polish Galicia. Prosperous Jewish merchants from Galicia involved in the export-import trade (exporting agricultural products to Germany and importing manufactured goods) often frequented the great trade fair at Leipzig where they met the new, enlightened German Jewish merchants. German-Jewish salesmen in turn came to the larger cities of Galicia bearing the new way of life with their wares. Centers of the Haskalah were soon established in Brody, Tarnopol, Lemberg, and Cracow in the early 19th century.

Demographically the Jewish population of Galicia was larger and more concentrated than that of Prussia. Intellectually, however, it was uninfluenced by the indigenous Slavic communities of the area whose cultural level was on the whole inferior to that of the Jews. Galician *maskilim* looked to German as the language of European culture. Politically, it was in the interest of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy to encourage Jewish, pro-Austrian elements as a separatist counterforce to Polish nationalism. Consequently, the assimilationist factors which affected Prussian Jewry were far less felt in Galicia.

The first Haskalah leader to come to Galicia was Naphtali Herz *Homberg who, in 1787, upon Mendelssohn's recommendation, was appointed chief inspector of German Jewish schools in Galicia by Joseph II. Despite the vigorous opposition of rabbinic and ḥasidic leaders, he established over a hundred modern Jewish schools in Galicia and Bukovina and opened a teachers seminary in Lemberg. Homberg's arrogance toward Jews and his subservience to the government earned him the hatred of Galician Jewry. They blamed him not only for the "heretical" views and practices taught at his schools but even more for his part in the imposition of the notorious and discriminatory candle tax from which he personally and illegally profited. Homberg also served as censor of Hebrew books. His critical and caustic reports about the backward social situation of the Jews and their inferior morals reinforced the antisemitic views of his patrons. In the wake of growing protests and accusations by the Jews, he was finally removed from his office in 1806 and the schools he established were gradually closed.

Far more significant for the development of the Haskalah in Galicia was M.M. *Levin (Lefin) who, like Homberg, came to Berlin in the 1780s and for a time was a member of Mendelssohn's circle. Mendel Levin ultimately returned to Galicia, living most of the time in Brody. There he became a leader of the first generation of the Galician Haskalah and a friend of N. *Krochmal, S. *Rapoport, Josef *Perl, and Jakob Samuel *Bick. Levin's major contribution to modern Hebrew literature, the development of a Hebrew prose style based on mishnaic Hebrew, was to affect subsequent prose writing. He is also one of the early writers of modern Yiddish.

A key literary figure of this early period is the poet Shalom Cohen. Polish born, he too came to Berlin in the 1780s joining N.H. Wessely's circle. After *Ha-Me'assef* ceased publication in 1797, he succeeded in reviving it in 1808 for a short time. In 1810, he was invited by Anton von *Schmidt, the Viennese gentile publisher of Hebrew books, to serve as editor of his publishing house. In Vienna he launched **Bikkurei ha-Ittim*, the first Hebrew periodical in the Austro-Hungarian Empire (Vienna). The journal was in the form of an almanac and at first served as a vehicle for the reprint of an anthology of *Ha-Me'assef*, but later included original articles. Anton von

Schmidt's publishing house played a major role in encouraging the new Hebrew literature. He employed leading *maskilim* as editors and proofreaders, published many of their books, and printed the two periodicals which were to serve as the forum of the Galician Haskalah, *Bikkurei ha-Ittim* (1820–1831) and *Kerem Ḥemed* (1833–1856).

The major contribution of the Galician Haskalah was in the area of Jewish studies. The first generation of German *maskilim* had attempted studies in this field but, except for some grammatical works, their achievements were awkwardly unprofessional. Only after the succeeding generation had shifted to German as their medium of expression did the golden age of *Wissenschaft des Judenthums dawn in Germany. In Galicia, however, Hebrew remained the language of modern Jewish scholarship. Foremost in the ranks of its scholars was Nachman Krochmal, the mentor of an entire generation. His *Moreh Nevukhei ha-Zeman* ("Guide of the Perplexed of the Time," 1851) is considered to be the philosophical statement of the period. An amorphous work, unfinished by its author and put together and published posthumously in 1851 by Leopold Zunz, it attempts to reconcile Judaism with the post-Kantian (mainly Hegelian) idealism, the prevailing philosophy of the age. Krochmal is the first to outline a scheme for Jewish history which not only explains the survival of Jewry in time but attributes to it an eternal existence because of the special relationship of God (The Absolute Spirit) to the Jewish people. With great erudition and intelligence he discusses almost all of the major problems of Jewish historiography, thus laying the groundwork for future historical research.

Less profound but still significant are the monographs of Krochmal's disciple Solomon Judah Rapoport which, in the main, constitute scholarly biographies of leading Jewish scholars in the medieval period (the series *Toledot Anshei Shem* which was published in *Bikkurei ha-Ittim* and *Kerem Ḥemed*). Although Samuel David *Luzzatto lived in Italy, his works also belong to the Galician Haskalah in whose journals he published and with whose scholars he was intimately involved. Luzzatto was a prolific writer who was involved in almost every scholarly, theological, and communal problem of his times (see his voluminous correspondence, *Iggerot Shadal* (1882–94)). His best work was in the areas of Hebrew and Aramaic grammar, biblical exegesis, and medieval Hebrew poetry.

From a purely literary point of view, the Galician Hebrew authors are to be credited for evolving the Hebrew prose satire. They not only influenced Hebrew style but introduced character types which would receive more sophisticated development in subsequent Hebrew fiction.

Galicia's most important satirist Josef Perl was a communal leader involved in educational reform who used his connections with the monarchy to foster the Haskalah. Perl's two satires *Megalleh Temirin* ("The Revealer of Secrets," 1819) and *Boḥen Ẓaddik* ("The Ẓaddik on Trial," 1838) were primarily directed against the new ḥasidic movement which had captured the imagination of the lower classes of Galician Jewry during the first half of the 19th century. Perl evinced a profound, if hostile, interest in Ḥasidism, studied its sources diligently, wrote the article on Ḥasidism in Peter *Beer's book on Jewish sects, and is said to have completed a book on Ḥasidism in German which was never published. *Megalleh Temirin*, written in an epistolary style, parodies the folkish ungrammatical Hebrew of the Ḥasidim. In keeping with the rationalist-modernist prejudices of a *maskil* Perl draws a grotesque picture of the ignorance, superstition, and gullibility of the Ḥasidim and the cunning of their leaders. Unwittingly, he creates a Hebrew prose style which imitates the Yiddish speech of his characters. In *Boḥen Ẓaddik*, he widens his satiric scope to include other classes of Galician Jewish society, even the *maskilim* themselves. Despite the satirical distortion, Perl's is the first attempt to depict the social context in Hebrew fiction and his cast of types often served as prototypes for the more sophisticated characters of later East European fiction.

Stylistically, Isaac *Erter chose a different path than Perl's. The high style of biblical Hebrew in which his satires are written seems to Hebrew readers of today to be out of keeping with his subject matter. He uses dream sequences or imaginary visions as vehicles for his satires. He spares no one: impoverished Ḥasidim, enlightened physicians, corrupt tax farmers who exploit the poor. In *Gilgul Nefesh* ("Transmigration of Souls," 1845) he uses a bestiary to satirize his characters. Although Erter is less basic to the development of Hebrew prose than Perl, his influence, even on as late a writer as S.Y. *Agnon, is discernible. The Galician Haskalah did not produce great poetry. *Maskilim* continued the tradition of adapting European poetic drama to fit the taste of their Hebrew reading contemporaries. Rapoport, whose poetic talent was decidedly limited, adapted Racine's *Esther* and *Athalie*, justifying his choice in terms of the importance of historical themes for the restoration of Jewish pride. Meir *Letteris adapted Goethe's *Faust*; he eliminated Christological references, set it in the mishnaic period, and identified Faust with the heretical *tanna* *Elisha b. Avuyah.

Letteris and Samuel David Luzzatto were the best of a number of poets who wrote lyrical, meditative, and eulogistic poetry. Other poets deserving mention are Aryeh Leib Kinderfreund (1788–1837), Baruch Shenfield (1787–1852), and Dov Ginzberg (1776–1811).

THE RUSSIAN HASKALAH (1840–1881). The Haskalah in Russia developed in two geographical centers – Lithuania (Vilna) and Belorussia (Kremenets Podolski). Vilna was influenced by the tradition of rationalist Orthodoxy developed among the disciples of *Elijah b. Solomon the Gaon of Vilna and by the German Haskalah. Haskalah came to Belorussia by way of Galicia with many of its earliest authors actually having lived in Galicia at various times.

Early Period. Historians of the Russian Haskalah aver that already during the German period proto-*maskilim* were to be found in Vilna, Shklov, and St. Petersburg, but it is generally agreed that the first Russian *maskil* of major significance was Isaac Dov (Baer) *Levinsohn of Kremenets Podolski. Levinsohn came into contact with almost all the leaders of the Galician Haskalah during his long stay in that province (1813–24). Following his return to Volhynia, he began a period of prolific publication primarily in the area of Jewish history, theology, and philology. His first major work, *Te'udah be-Yisrael* (1828), attempts to justify the Haskalah in terms of traditions and urges a reformation of the *ḥeder* system and the introduction of Hebrew grammar and German translation as aids to the understanding of the Bible. More significant are his apologetic-theological works: *Beit Yehudah* (1839), *Zerubbavel* (1863–64), and *Aḥiyyah ha-Shilloni ha-Ḥozeh* (1863). Levinsohn lacks historical and scientific methodology and he was only vaguely aware of current philosophical views about religion in general, and Judaism and Christianity in particular. The works are a defense of Judaism, especially the Talmud; he contends that the latter is a great encyclopedic work, full of wisdom and deep faith, and Judaism is a liberal religion – far more rational, liberal, and comprehensive than Christianity. Jesus he saw as a rabbinic Jew who never intended to found a new religion and whose moral teachings are all to be found in the Talmud. Jews rejected Jesus' political views, not his ethical program. Levinsohn also wrote a book refuting blood libels (*Efes Damin*, 1837) and published works on Hebrew philology.

In the field of belles lettres, Levinsohn composed two satires against Ḥasidism which were clearly influenced by Josef Perl's and Isaac Erter's works, but are inferior to them. He also wrote a volume of verse comprised of epigrams, satires, and occasional poetry of no literary merit whatsoever.

Poetry. Greater strides were made in the development of Hebrew poetry and prose fiction in Lithuania. Four important writers appeared at the close of the century who paved the way for the great Hebrew writers: Adam ha-Kohen *Lebensohn, his son Micah Joseph *Lebensohn, Judah Leib *Gordon, and the novelist Abraham *Mapu. Adam ha-Kohen Lebensohn is the first of a long line of Russian Hebrew poets. Essentially cerebral, his poetry is the product of the mental world of a Vilna *maskil* who viewed life as a somber enterprise and literature as having a serious ethical purpose. Lebensohn's personal life, beset as it was with economic difficulties in his early adult years and the untimely deaths of several of his sons, reinforced his basically tragic view of life. Restrained by the literary conventions of the times, his long poems, written in a pseudo-biblical style, were marred by verbosity, a penchant for punning, and an exaggerated tendency to intellectualize.

The emotional fire lacking in Adam ha-Kohen Lebensohn's intellectualized verse animates the poetry of his son Micah Joseph Lebensohn (Mikhal). Mikhal's talents were encouraged and nurtured by his father, who afforded him every opportunity to gain the European education which he, the father, lacked. Mikhal studied at German universities and was strongly influenced by the German Romantics. Although his style remains biblical, his Hebrew attains a remarkable flexibility and he does not hesitate to introduce neologisms. The poetry of his Berlin days is urban, with allusions to city parks, gas lamps, and carriages. He is also one of the first modern Hebrew poets to write love poetry. Many of his longer poems are on biblical themes but his attitude to biblical heroes often differs from the traditional view. For example, he is able to empathize with Sisera in *Ya'el ve-Sisra* ("Yael and Sisera"); the hero of *Nikmat Shimshon* ("Samson's Revenge") becomes a symbol of revolutionary ardor; and he identifies with Moses, in *Moshe al Har ha-Avarim* ("Moses on Mt. Abarim," all published in Mikhal's collection of poems *Shirei Bat Ẓiyyon* (1851)). Mikhal, sick with tuberculosis, like Moses will not reach the Promised Land. In *Ḥag ha-Aviv* ("Spring Holiday"), one of his most moving poems, the young poet bewails his tragic inability to relate to nature and to society because he is aware of his imminent death. In contrast to all his predecessors, Mikhal wrote genuine lyrical poetry. Unfortunately, he appeared too early on the Hebrew literary scene to attain the literary level to which his talents might have carried him had the language and the literature in which he wrote reached the maturity it was to gain half a century later.

The greatest literary figure of the Russian Haskalah, Judah Leib Gordon, was a poet, short-story writer, and militant journalist who dominated the literary scene until the 1880s. Emerging in the 1860s as a younger member of the Vilna Haskalah and a disciple of Lebensohn the elder, he was committed to what has been described as the realistic Haskalah. Although his poetry was written in biblical Hebrew and was often hampered by the bombast of biblical rhetoric, it reached beyond the limitations of its period. Most of it was also dominated by the reformist thrust of the Haskalah. Gordon, unlike his predecessors, not only questioned the "spirituality" of the traditional Jewish values of the rabbinic period but also those of the Bible. He demanded a more vital materialistic commitment to life. His rejection of the "impractical and overspiritualized" Jewish world of his childhood led him to depict traditional "villains" of the Bible in more positive terms. Thus in his long poem *Ẓidkiyyahu be-Veit ha-Pekuddot* ("Zedekiah in Prison," 1879), he justified Zedekiah's criticism of Jeremiah's unrealistic stress on the spiritual at a time of national crisis. Soldiers and statesmen, realistic men of affairs, and not prophets and scholars were needed to save the country. Gordon's poems frequently struck out against the unreasonable legalism of the rabbis and called vigorously for the improvement of the woman's status ("*Koẓo shel Yod*," 1869). A genuine lyricism pervades his poetic fables which, although drawn from the Midrash, Aesop, La Fontaine, and particularly Krylov, are original works. More than any of his predecessors, Gordon had an uncanny ear for the biblical idiom and was able to forge new phrases which retained the biblical cadences. Bialik was to acknowledge the debt which he and his generation owed to Gordon.

Prose. Abraham Mapu, the first modern Hebrew novelist, chose the historical novel (*Ahavat Ẓiyyon* (1853) and *Ashmat*

Shomeron (1865)) as his genre and in keeping with the general tendency of Hebrew writers preferred biblical themes to current topics. The difficulties in writing a contemporary social novel in Hebrew became manifest when Mapu himself tried to do so later in his career. Mapu, who knew French, was clearly influenced by both Eugène Sue and Alexandre Dumas *père*, whose long, involved, historical and social novels enjoyed great popularity during the period. *Ahavat Ẓiyyon* ("Love of Zion), set in the days of the kings of Judah, was also influenced by Moses Ḥayyim Luzzatto's two works *Migdal Oz* and *La-Yesharim Tehillah* even to the point that there exists evidence that the names of its two main characters were initially to be the same as those in *Migdal Oz*. The pastoral quality of the novel reflects not only the Haskalah's attitude toward agriculture but Luzzatto's as well. *Ahavat Ẓiyyon* became the first "best seller" of modern Hebrew literature. More ambitious, but less successful artistically, was Mapu's social novel *Ayit Ẓavu'a* ("The Painted Eagle," 3 vols., 1857–64). For all its structural faults, long-windedness, and inability to go beyond typology in its characterization, it constitutes the first attempt at depicting contemporary Jewish life in fiction. The characters are types that Mapu transposed from historical novels into the social context of the day; he also drew upon the satires of Erter and Perl. The infant state of modern Hebrew literature, the yet undeveloped Hebrew prose idiom, and the social and cultural situation of Russian Jewry hampered Mapu's effort. Nevertheless, his was a daring attempt to extend the new literature, thus paving the way for the next generation of Hebrew novelists who were to draw upon his typology.

In the generation following Mapu, Peretz *Smolenskin and Reuben Asher *Braudes contributed to the development of the Hebrew novel. Smolenskin, by far the more influential of the two, founded **Ha-Shaḥar* (1869–84), a journal which he was forced to publish outside of Russia to circumvent censorship restrictions. Abandoning his initial Haskalah assimilationism he embraced a fiery brand of Jewish nationalism which called for an ultimate return to Zion. Smolenskin's *Ha-To'eh be-Darkhei-Ḥayyim* ("Who Wanders in the Ways of Life," 3 vols. (1868–70)) became the novel of the generation. A character novel like *Ayit Ẓavu'a*, *Ha-To'eh be-Darkhei ha-Ḥayyim* is structured more competently than Mapu's work because it centers around the main protagonist (Joseph) who roams the Jewish Pale of Settlement in search of the meaning of life. The novel contains elements of the picaresque: Joseph wanders into the world of Jewish beggars, sees life in a yeshivah and the court of a ḥasidic rabbi, and travels as far as London, Paris, and Berlin. Smolenskin thus attempted to draw a panorama of Jewish life not only as it was lived inside Russia but also in Western Europe. Far more realistic than Mapu's, his fictional world is still considerably removed from life. The novel remained a rambling, poorly constructed work, full of Haskalah speculations about life, European culture and society, and the meaning of Jewish history. Although many of its characters were derived from Mapu and, like the latter's, are flat and drawn in black and white, Smolenskin extended their range.

More realistic and written with greater discipline were the novels of Reuben Asher Braudes. The plot of his unfinished novel *Ha-Dat ve-ha-Ḥayyim* ("Religion and Life," 1885) revolves around the struggle of a young *maskil* to liberate himself from the narrow world of his childhood town and become a European; it is, in part, drawn from the biography of Moses Leib Lilienblum. In *Shetei ha-Keẓavot* ("Two Extremes," 1888), the protagonist has liberated himself from tradition only to discover that the new secularism lacks the certainty and peace of mind afforded by the old Orthodoxy. Although Braudes was unable to free himself from the one-sided view of the Haskalah and often lapsed into ideological preachments, he came closer to the reality he attempted to depict than any other novelist of the period.

The Modern Period (1881–1917)

RUSSIA AND POLAND. By the 1880s, literary and political factors earmarked a new period in modern Hebrew literature. Almost a century of literary endeavor had been completed by then. Writers had a large corpus of literature to fall back on, a literature which had struggled with language, genre, and motifs and was ready for real artistic achievement. The cultural situation of East European Jewry had also undergone a radical change. A generation of writers had emerged that expressed its awareness of the secular-scientific orientated European culture through Hebrew literature. Although few writers could be called totally "European" in their point of view, a degree of sophistication had been attained that had been lacking in the previous generations. In the meantime European Romanticism, intimately bound to idealist philosophy, had given way to naturalism and realism – literary movements which were rooted in a more materialistic view of the universe. Influential Russian literary critics, like Pisarev and Chernyshevski, called for a more realistic form of writing and demanded a literature of social criticism. These attitudes were quickly picked up by some of the younger Hebrew critics who began publishing in the journals of the Russian Haskalah. Abraham Uri *Kovner, well versed in Russian positivist criticism, called for a realistic literature which would mirror the true character of the nation and lead to economic and social reform. He attacked the artificial biblicism which dominated much of Hebrew literature and commended the satires of Erter and Perl and Mapu's *Ayit Ẓavu'a*. A more realistic-materialistic literature was also advocated by Abraham Jacob *Paperna. Moses Leib Lilienblum in his *Olam ha-Tohu* ("Desolate World," 1873) attacked the idealistic Haskalah; he ascribed its use of romantic and unrealistic subject matter and theme to an escapism nurtured by the tragic and hopeless reality of Jewish life. Critics of the 1870s attacked the *batlanut* ("the impracticability") of Hebrew literature and denigrated most of its achievements.

Political and social events reinforced these new views. The rise of Russian reaction during the reign of Nicholas II, and particularly the pogroms of the early 1880s, which were either instigated by the czarist regime or at least actively encouraged by its political police, disillusioned the vast majority of the *maskilim*. The whole reformist program, grounded on the naïve belief that the only deterrent to the emancipation of Russian Jewry was its own religious obscurantism and its own economic and social backwardness, was thus put into question. A new empathy for the people, its way of life, and its aspirations now replaced the bitter sarcasm of the realistic Haskalah. The prejudice against the older way was softened by a more balanced evaluation of its significance. While Hebrew writers did not abandon their criticism of the old way, they were capable of greater artistic objectivity.

The new nationalism did not reject modernization; on the contrary, it defined Jewish life in terms of the values of European nationalism. A national literature must aim at an objective depiction of the condition of the people and it must use European aesthetic standards in the working out of its themes. The shift from universalism to particularism led also to the discovery of the individual. In the Haskalah period fiction and poetry tended to depict types. The literary type stood somewhere between the allegorical hero and the individualized character. With the new period a more individualized characterization manifested itself in fiction and poetry.

The literary activity of Moses Leib *Lilienblum serves as a paradigm of this transvaluation of values. Raised in an obscurantist ḥasidic environment, he began his literary career as a polemist advocating religious and social reforms. His autobiography *Ḥatot Ne'urim* ("Sins of Youth," 1876–99), a classic work of the period, eloquently describes his struggle toward freedom. Lilienblum, influenced by Joshua Heschel *Schorr, a radical Galician *maskil*, argues against the "divine authority" of the Talmud and the Shulḥan Arukh contending that although the halakhic laws had validity in their time, they should not be accepted uncritically by modern Jews. In the 1860s, he and J.L. Gordon were the leading proponents of reform. During the 1870s, he seems to have lost hope in theological solutions and turns to positivism, and even socialism, as the new alternative. After the 1880s, he despaired of Russian liberalism and embraced the Zionist nationalism of the Ḥibbat Zion movement, stressing the "Oriental" quality of Jewish life. He never lost his pragmatic view of the world and therefore rejected Aḥad Ha-Am's cultural nationalism as being unrealistic and vapid.

The Age of Aḥad Ha-Am. The most influential intellectual figure of the European period was *Aḥad Ha-Am (Asher Ginzberg), a brilliant essayist, who attempted to develop an integrated philosophy for the new nationalist movement. He was not an original thinker but was able to articulate an ideology out of contemporary ideas with which to meet the needs of many Hebrew intellectuals of his day. Aḥad Ha-Am had indicated, at various times in his career, that he planned to write a systematic exposition of his philosophy, but he did not carry out his program. Unfortunately the essay form, which was his medium, hardly lends itself to a systematic presentation of ideas.

Aḥad Ha-Am drew heavily on positivist, utilitarian ideas current in his days and on the then newly developed science of sociology. At the center of his philosophy he placed the nation, which he equated with society. Judaism was the system of ideas, laws, and mores which the Jewish nation had developed in order to preserve itself. Individuals are merely limbs of the nation. The nation is the constant factor in human history. The success and prosperity of the nation is the only reward which is vouchsafed to the ephemeral individual.

In times of national crisis or degeneracy, Judaism was forced to express itself in terms of the individual. Biblical Judaism was national and communal, but after the destruction of the Second Temple and the loss of national sovereignty, rabbinic Judaism was compelled to direct its appeal to the individual, and only then was the doctrine of individual salvation propounded. Natural redemption will follow when the center of gravity will shift from the selfish concern for individual prosperity, spiritual or material, to the broader concern for the welfare of the people as a whole.

In his system society, i.e. the nation, replaced God as the source of authority. Yet Aḥad Ha-Am was careful not to tamper with the *sancta* of Judaism. The traditional Jewish customs were justified in terms of the national culture and its values. At the center of the national culture he placed the prophetic ethic, its peculiar expression. "There is almost a general consensus about the moral genius of the Jewish people and that in this area the Jewish people stand above all other nations. It makes no difference as to how the Jewish people attained this talent or how it evolved among them" (in *Shinui Arakhim*). Aḥad Ha-Am obviously avoided a metaphysical explanation for the uniqueness of the Jew and yet at the same time asserted its existence. His definition of the national character, or as he called it the national spirit, saved him from a biological definition of nationality and lent a universalistic humanist dimension to his nationalism. The universal ethic finds its expression in the particularist culture of the Jew. Jewish cosmopolitanism was for Aḥad Ha-Am an inauthentic expression of the Jewish ethical idea. Universal values must be rooted in the concrete experiences of the people and within its culture, otherwise they will remain vapid generalities. Translated in terms of a specific culture, they must be properly assimilated so as to become a part of it.

The nation-society, an organic fact, has a will and a life of its own in his system. Nationhood is axiomatic and must be accepted on faith. The Jew who asked why he was a Jew was already inauthentic. In his past history, the Jew taught theology and played a central role in preserving the nation, but with the breakdown of religious authority the national idea became the rallying point of Judaism. Aḥad Ha-Am saw in Zionism the return to the national idea. The very effort to establish a Jewish settlement in Palestine would serve as a focal point around which the national "will" could rally. He did not believe that a mass return to the national homeland was possible; instead he conceived of the homeland as the future spiritual (cultural) center of the Jewish people wherever it resided. The spiritual center would not only preserve the people but would bring about a national cultural renaissance.

The national revival, however, cannot occur merely because of the practical needs of the nation for migration or for a refuge. Ereẓ Israel was a poor and underdeveloped country and settlement must be preceded by a renewal of the national will. The task of the nationalist intellectuals must be to educate the people toward the difficult struggle for national renewal. For the Jewish intellectuals who had lost their faith in traditional Judaism, Aḥad Ha-Am's cultural-humanist nationalism offered itself as a welcome solution. One could preserve not only one's group loyalty but a great part of Jewish mores and customs by shifting the source of authority from God to history and from community to nation. One could likewise retain the old ethical goals of Judaism by identifying them with the national culture. It is no small wonder that the majority of Hebrew authors rallied to Aḥad Ha-Am's banner.

Aḥad Ha-Am's role in modern Hebrew literature went beyond his ideology. From a literary point of view he is the father of the modern Hebrew essay. His Hebrew style, which draws a great deal on Maimonides' Hebrew, is lucid and well constructed. Moreover, as the editor (1897–1903) of the most influential Hebrew journal of the period, **Ha-Shilo'aḥ*, he set a high standard of literary taste for an entire generation of Hebrew writers. His conservative literary views, however, discouraged radical experimentation. He also insisted that writers of Hebrew belles letters should confine themselves to Jewish subjects. These two attitudes ultimately led to a revolt against his literary domination and he finally resigned his editorship of *Ha-Shilo'aḥ*.

The career of Sholem Yankev *Abramovitsh (Mendele Mokher Seforim) stands at the crossroads between the Haskalah and the nationalist period. Sociologically he still belonged to the Russian Haskalah, but aesthetically he was the harbinger of the new period with its stress on realism and artistic discipline. To Mendele belongs the double crown as the father of the new Hebrew literary style and the first serious writer in Yiddish. He began writing in the biblically orientated Hebrew style of the Haskalah, although even then his work *Ha-Avot ve-ha-Banim* ("The Fathers and the Sons," 1865) was influenced by Turgenev and is cast in a realistic mode. Mendele's penchant for realism led him in 1864 to abandon the inflexible and literary Hebrew of the Haskalah for the more vivid and folk-like Yiddish. He returned to Hebrew in 1886, writing original fiction or translating and recasting his Yiddish works. The style of these later works are a landmark in the development of modern Hebrew literature. The more simple Hebrew prose of mishnaic and talmudic literature and of the Hebrew prayer book replaced the high biblical Haskalah style that had characterized his earlier works, and with it he forged an idiom more akin to the realism which had become dominant in Hebrew fiction. Mendele's long short stories and novels were better structured than any of the prose works of his predecessors. He drew on the modern Hebrew literary tradition for his characters but added a new, realistic subtlety. The picaresque *Sefer ha-Kabẓanim* (1909; *Fishke the Lame*, 1960), for example, recalls Smolenskin's description of the society of beggars in *Ha-To'eh be-Darkhei ha-Ḥayyim*, but the prose and the characterization are infinitely more sophisticated. Mendele satirized the Jewish life of Eastern Europe so mercilessly that later patriotic critics have urged to expunge his works from school curricula because they "desecrate the memory of European Jewry." His portrayal, however, is not one-sided and he often depicts the folk piety and warmth of the Jews of the townlet with deep sympathy. Despite his emphasis upon the grotesque, the world he describes has a Jewish unity which even pervades the natural world; he "Judaizes" nature. Mendele's characters rarely develop beyond typology. Yisrulik, for example, in "*Susati*" (1911; *The Nag*, 1949) is a typical Jewish external student preparing for state examinations, and Binyamin in *Masot Binyamin ha-Shelishi* (1911; "The Travels of Benjamin the Third") is a typical impoverished and impractical member of the scholarly lower middle class. Mendele never became an active Zionist but his later works reflect the disillusionment with Russian liberalism ("*Susati*"). His meticulous devotion to the craft of writing became a model for the disciples of his Odessa school. Two of them, Ḥayyim Naḥman *Bialik and Shalom *Aleichem, were to become major literary figures in Hebrew and Yiddish literature respectively.

In contrast to the realism of Mendele's Odessa school, a neoromantic, impressionist center developed in Warsaw whose leading authors are David *Frischmann, I.L. *Peretz, and Micha Josef *Berdyczewski. The Polish Haskalah was far less practical and doctrinaire than that of Odessa. It tended to stress form and beauty rather than a central idea. Poland, moreover, if not completely removed from the literary influences of the Russian utilitarians, was drawn to the continent and was more sensitive to the new aestheticism which in the 1880s had captured the European literary imagination. David Frischmann laid great stress on style and form. He was the self-declared European of Hebrew letters, but for him Europeanism had little to do with a materialist view of the universe or even scientism but was a matter of aesthetic values and literary taste. His Hebrew prose has a limpid and almost lyrical quality; his plots are carefully rounded although not devoid of impressionistic lapses. In keeping with his aestheticism, he no longer describes the struggle of the generations in Jewish life as a clash between reason and tradition but as a struggle between beauty and life on the one hand and an unrelenting tradition on the other (*Be-Yom ha-Kippurim* (1881)). Frischmann's characters are often individuals whose irrational passion leads them to break with their tradition. He can also sympathize with the rigid traditionalism of the older generation and at the same time poke fun at the rationalist absurdities of half-baked *maskilim*. His secularist lyrical, biblical "legends" are one of his original contributions to Hebrew literature. Frischmann, through his knowledge of folklore and myth, created stories almost devoid of biblical ethos but which attempt to reconstruct the passionate world of the primitive quasi-pagan Hebrews ("*Meḥolot*" = Dances). The mythical-pagan setting contrasts strongly with the biblical stories and poems produced by such writers as Mapu or even Micah Joseph Lebensohn.

I.L. Peretz continues the Polish tradition. Unlike Frischmann, he shifted to Yiddish (in which language he wrote most of his works) in the middle of his career and became the proponent of Yiddishism after the revolution of 1905. His contribution to modern Hebrew literature, however, is also of great significance. Like Frischmann he attacks the realism of the Odessa school, dubbing it anachronistic. "In the world of general literature the sun of realism has set. It has been followed by materialism and then the decadents have raised their banner, but among us, so removed from the battlefield, realism is the new slogan which excites the heart" (*Ha-Ḥeẓ*, 1884). Peretz earned his place in Hebrew literature primarily as a prose writer of the 1880s and 1890s. His earlier short stories: "*Ha-Dibbuk ve-ha-Meshugga*" ("The Dibbuk and the Madman") and "*Hiẓtaddekut ha-Ne'esham*" ("The Alibi") were influenced by the sentimentalism of German-Jewish authors who wrote about East European Jewish life. The stories emphasize the individual rebellion of young Jews against the traditionalistic puritanism of their environment. His stories often took a psychological turn: *Be-Leil Zeva'ah* ("Nightmare") and "*Mi Anokhi*" ("Who Am I"), whose characters display a split personality. Peretz's ḥasidic tales, in the main, represent a humanistic-secularist, and especially romantic, reading of ḥasidic themes. Although they have been described as ḥasidlike, rather then authentically ḥasidic, Peretz is nevertheless one of the earliest Hebrew writers to portray Ḥasidism in a positive rather than a critical light. In his folk ḥasidic tales he uses an impressionistic sentimental style in an attempt to capture the pious rapture of his characters (kabbalists) and he often resorts to lyrical monologues or dialogues – "*Ha-Mekubbalim*" ("The Kabbalists"), "*Gilgulo shel Niggun*" ("Metamorphosis of a Melody"), and "*Bein Shenei Harim*" ("Between Two Mountains"). One of his best short stories, "*Oseh Nifla'ot*" ("The Magician"), is a folktale in which Elijah the Prophet appears as a magician who miraculously provides a *seder* for an impoverished pious family. (All of I.L. Peretz's were published in *Kol Kitvei I.L. Peretz* (1947).)

Perhaps the most skillful proponent of the Polish neoromantic style was Micha Josef Berdyczewski, whose work reflects the Nietzschean demand for a transvaluation of values. He put into question the entire value system of traditional Judaism with its stress on communal discipline and religious conformism at the expense of individualism. Challenging Aḥad Ha-Am's contention that there exists a mainstream in Judaism and arguing that there is no unified Jewish culture, he advanced the concept of a heterodoxy of Jewish experience. There is no rational evolution of a tradition but rather a series of miraculous and irrational revelations. Tradition always strove toward discipline, it controlled the outbursts of the spirit but was never able to contain them for long. During these periods of restraint Judaism lost its vitality. Berdyczewski insisted that the Judaism of his day was stagnant and must free itself of its restraining legalism and its intellectualism. He opposed Aḥad Ha-Am's attempt to provide a utilitarian-nationalist apology for tradition and to reconstruct a unified nationalist culture. Only the creative spark of the individual and the individualist dissent can lead to a national renaissance. The call for individualism and the individualist rebellion against the yoke of tradition and society also form the core of Berdyczewski's fiction. His characters often are Jews who try to escape the narrow world of their childhood but are psychologically incapable of making the break. They are lost souls moving in a limbo between traditional puritanism and modern libertinism, impotent physically and psychologically to live the life they desire. The impotence is often accentuated, not only by feelings of guilt toward their former system of values, but also by their deep group loyalty and their feelings of familial love (e.g., Nathaniel in "*Me-Ever la-Nahar*" ("Across the River" in *Kitvei M.Y. Bin-Gorion* (1960)). In Ḥasidism Berdyczewski discovered a dissenting, individualist movement which had broken with the loyalism and conformism of rabbinism. Stylistically, his Hebrew bears affinities to Frischmann's impressionist lyricism, but unlike the latter, he often cuts the flow of his prose either with impassioned outbursts or to indicate moments of doubt and despair.

The writings of M.Z. *Feuerberg also mirror the tragedy of loss of faith but, unlike the Berdyczewskian hero, the Feuerbergian protagonist, although he rejects the simple faith of his fathers, never crosses the line into the secular world which remains beyond his grasp. Feuerberg's hero lives in an irresolvable crisis. Naḥman in *Le'an* ("Whither," 1927), having lost the living God of Israel (tradition), finds no solace in the God of Aristotle (reason) who to him is lifeless and impotent. His anxieties, resulting from his loss of faith, ultimately drive him mad.

Most of Feuerberg's stories are autobiographical in which the basic concept is a variation of the same theme: the world of childhood secure in its faith is disrupted as the child or young hero experiences life. The process is inevitable. In a letter to Aḥad Ha-Am he wrote: "The new life extends its domain among us without the consent of literature. The old life is disappearing despite its sanctity and sublimity." Feuerberg's outlook, however, was not devoid of hope. He saw his disrupted world in a state of crisis but believed in the ultimate revival of the spirit of man: "Europe is sick now, everyone senses that society is collapsing and that its very foundations are rotten. Human society is weary and yearns for the word of God. The minor prophets who arise, Kant and others, last for only a century. We need a great prophet and lawgiver… Not only do we turn our face eastward, the entire West is journeying to the East. The greatest enemy of Judaism is the West… Therefore when you journey to the East, my brothers, do not go as the enemies of the East but as its sons and lovers" (*Le'an*).

The Age of Bialik. The achievement of Ḥayyim Naḥman *Bialik marks the high point in form and content of the European period in Hebrew literature. Most of Bialik's poetry was written between 1892 and 1917, the turbulent years which immediately preceded the Russian Revolution and the decline of the East European Jewish community. At the brink of catastrophe, Russian Jewry produced its greatest poet. In the genius of Bialik, a delicate balance is attained between the old traditionalistic culture nurtured on sacred books and on a medieval religiosity and the new European culture to which the products of the old culture now turned.

Bialik consciously accepted the Aḥad Ha-Am view that through cultural nationalism a synthesis between these two polar cultures could be established (*"Al Saf Beit ha-Midrash,"* 1894; *"Le-Aḥad Ha-Am,"* 1905). Baruch Kurzweil and others, however, have demonstrated that Bialik often unconsciously rejected the all-too-pat Aḥad Ha-Am solution and gave vent to the tragic despair that the lost paradise of faith cannot be regained ("*Levadi*" ("Alone)" 1910) "*Lifnei Aron ha-Sefarim*" ("In Front of the Bookcase," 1910)). He also writes about the clash between traditional Jewish puritanism, with its religious ethical imperatives, and the hedonistic-aesthetical orientation of the secularized Jews (*Ha-Matmid*, 1894–95). In his Zionist poems "*El ha-Ẓippor*" ("To the Bird") and "*La-Mitnaddevim be-Am*" ("To the Volunteers") he castigates both the people and its leaders for their shortcomings and in *Ha-Matmid* nostalgically reflects upon the piety and devotion of the past. The desperate struggle to discover the link between the past and the present is central to Bialik's poetry.

From the very outset of his career Bialik was totally committed to the national revival. His is therefore a poetry of involvement in his people's quest for a national identity and it expresses its tragic experience of persecution and massacre: "*Be-Ir ha-Haregah*" ("In the City of Slaughter"), 1904; "*Al ha-Sheḥitah*" ("On the Slaughter"), 1903. These nationalist poems earned him the title of *ha-meshorer ha-le'ummi* ("the national poet"). It would be a mistake, however, to limit Bialik's achievement to his nationalist themes, as profound as his involvement in them, and expression of them, might be. He was also a great lyric poet whose thematic scope embraced love and nature poems, folk poetry, and even children's verse. Even these poems, because they could be read on several levels – personal, nationalistic, and universalistic – were often interpreted as nationalistic by the one-sided criticism of his generation. Contemporary criticism has corrected this imbalance.

No modern Hebrew poet possesses Bialik's command of the vast resources of Hebrew literature. His vocabulary and symbols are drawn from a literary tradition that spans the entire literature of his people from the biblical period to the latest works written by his contemporaries. Bialik's knowledge served him not simply as a means to reproduce old phrases but to forge a new idiom capable of meeting the literary needs of a modern literature. He freed Hebrew poetry from the bonds of the Haskalah rhetoric and yet his poetry style remained essentially biblical. Unlike his predecessors, his line is not a composite of biblical phrases and half verses. Mastering the source from the inside, he creates his phrasing in the image of the biblical diction. Although he was not a great innovator structurally, and generally preferred the more traditional patterns of meter and rhyme, he developed the Hebrew prose poem, "*Megillat ha-Esh*" ("The Scroll of Fire," 1905) and his occasional experiments with symbol and myth ("*Megillat ha-Esh*," "*Metei Midbar*" ("The Dead in the Desert," 1902) extended the frontier of modern Hebrew poetry.

Bialik's impact on Hebrew literature was not altogether positive. His literary genius cast an entire generation into the shadow; its writers were dominated by Bialik's style and themes. Yet a number of significant Hebrew poets of the period were able to maintain a great degree of artistic independence. Foremost among them was Saul *Tchernichowsky, who by education and temperament was much more "European" than many of his contemporaries. Thematically and structurally he strove to introduce a more European poetry and therefore utilizes a large variety of European poetic structures (sonnets, idylls, ballads) and rhyme patterns. His poetry also expresses revolt against the puritanism of the Jewish tradition and its shunning of the plastic and the physical. Like Berdyczewski, he stresses the individualism of his characters and the revolt of healthy passion against the suppressive puritanism of the Jewish society. More radical than Frischmann, he sought to bring to the fore the pagan undercurrent which he believed had flourished in the biblical period. He found it embodied not only in the erotic passion of the biblical woman (*Ashtorti Li*), but in the suppressed prophecies of the "false prophets." Yet it would be a mistake to stress only this aspect of Tchernichowsky's work. As a humanist, he remained committed to the universalist goals of European culture despite the tragedy of terror and war ("*La-Shemesh,*" "To the Sun," 1919). He rejected, however, the traditionalistic belief that nature, passion, and physical prowess are antithetical to morality. Unlike Bialik, Tchernichowsky wrote extensively after his migration to Ereẓ Israel in 1931. Some of his landscape poems are among the finest composed in Israel ("*Ayit, Ayit*" 1936, "Eagle! Eagle!"). The Ereẓ Israel experience is also reflected in his patriotic verse ("*Re'i Adamah*" ("See Earth") 1938) and in his profound long poem "*Amma de-Dahavah*" ("People of Gold," 1937–40).

A third and less significant poet of Bialik's generation, Zalman *Shneour, expressed a rebellious and individualistic disillusionment with conventional mores. His poetry is often permeated with a pessimistic view of the future of European civilization as in *Yemei ha-Beinayim Mitkarevim* ("The Middle Ages are Approaching," 1915). In a literature which was in his day extremely puritanical, his verses are marked at times by a comparative erotic boldness. Shneour had a gift for descriptive poetry ("*Be-Harim*," "In the Mountains," 1908), but his diction often took on an immature and extravagant tone. His world is one of unbridled passion and instincts experienced by a sensitive poet who would have preferred a more idealist view of man but discovered that such a view is an illusion. Against this backdrop of blood and instinct, he describes the massacres of Jews in the Ukraine following the Russian Revolution and later in World War II. Erotic motifs also appear in his later work, the less successful series of poems on the theme of Israel's false prophets in biblical times (*Luḥot Genuzim*, "Hidden Tablets," 1941).

A very prolific poet of Bialik's school, Ya'akov Cahan, wrote verse in keeping with the great European Romantics. His poems are highly nationalistic. He frequently wrote closet drama dealing with historical Jewish themes. Bialik's school also produced two poets whose meditative lyrical poems have elicited renewed enthusiasm of contemporary Israel students of literature. Jacob *Fichmann wrote impressive landscape poetry in a terse but simple verse and Jacob *Steinberg, elliptic philosophical poetry. Deeply personal and pessimistic, Steinberg's poetry is almost devoid of the social and nationalist idea which were the earmark of his generation.

THE PALESTINIAN- ḤALUTZIC PERIOD (1905–1948)

The Ottoman Period (1905–1917)

The Second Aliyah brought an increasing number of Hebrew authors to Palestine; they settled mainly in the Jewish part of Jaffa. Among the major writers were: Shlomo *Ẓemach (1904); S. *Ben-Zion (1905); Yosef *Aharonovitch (1906); Mordecai ben Hillel *Hacohen, Rabbi *Binyamin (Radler), Uri Nissan *Gnessin, David *Shimoni (1907; Gnessin and Shimoni returned to Russia in 1908); S.Y. Agnon, J.Ḥ. *Brenner, *Raḥel (Bluwstein; 1909); Ya'akov *Rabinowitz, Ẓevi *Schatz (1910); Devorah *Baron, Yeshurun *Keshet (1911); and Asher *Barash, Jacob Steinberg (1914). They were preceded by several Hebrew writers who had settled in Ereẓ Israel during the 1880s (First Aliyah); the foremost among them, Eliezer *Ben-Yehuda, arrived in Jerusalem in 1881. Ben-Yehuda was not only the great advocate of the revival of spoken Hebrew but an important lexicographer who coined hundreds of new Hebrew words, many of which were absorbed by the revived language. He also was the father of modern Palestinian journalism. After serving on the editorial staff of I.D. *Frumkin's *Ḥavaẓẓelet*, he founded his own weekly, *Ha-Ẓevi*, in 1885 and in 1909 converted it into a daily. The paper often appeared under different names to avoid censorship restrictions. As editor, Ben-Yehuda adopted the sensational journalistic style then current in Paris. The historian and essayist Ze'ev (Wolf) *Jawitz lived in Ereẓ Israel between 1888 and 1897 and published romantic stories about the early agricultural settlements in the Sharon. Moshe *Smilansky, who arrived in 1891, wrote slightly more realistic stories about Palestinian life. He was the first to write Hebrew fiction about Arab life, using the pseudonym "Ḥawajah Musa."

Hebrew literature in Palestine acquired significance during the Second Aliyah, particularly after the founding of **Ha-Po'el ha-Ẓa'ir* (1907), the literary-political organ of the younger pioneers. The Palestinian short story grew out of the landscape of the old-new homeland. Jawitz's romantic picture of God-fearing, observant farmers who tilled their soil peacefully like their biblical ancestors gave way to the more realistic depiction of the hardships of pioneering, the life of disillusioned immigrants in Jaffa or Jerusalem (Brenner, Ẓevi Schatz, S. Ẓemach). Stylistically, the development of spoken Hebrew and its extension from the classroom, the library, and the study to the farm and the workshop not only lent a new flexibility to the language but also broadened its active vocabulary. Thus the poetry of Raḥel strives to capture the rhythms of new speech and, in contrast to the poetry of European Hebrew poets, scans in the Sephardi accent.

The most significant prose writer of the period is J.Ḥ. Brenner who began his literary career in Russia. Brenner was influenced by the Russian psychological school, particularly Dostoevski (he translated *Crime and Punishment* into Hebrew). His main characters are "underground" men, Jewish intellectuals who are unable to free themselves of the society against which they revolt because psychologically they have been thwarted by its restrictions. Brenner's writing, brutally honest, eschews sham or pretense; his sentences, clipped, often broken, and rarely polished, convey the hesitancy and the tension of his neurotic characters. The world he depicts is tragic and helpless, pervaded by a gloomy pessimism which holds no promise for a way out. His Palestinian stories followed those of his Russian period and except for the change of venue, the dark mood is hardly altered. His later works, however, point to a maturing of style and a greater concern for structure. Undoubtedly *Shekhol ve-Khishalon* ("Bereavement and Failure," 1920) is the best of his works.

Brenner's close friend, Uri Nissan Gnessin, spent only one year in Palestine and therefore geographically belongs to the European period of Hebrew literature. His experiments in style, particularly his use of the long, meditative, almost lyrical sentence to express the *Angst* ("anxiety") of his characters, his individual use of the interior monologue, and his psychological insight mark him as a forerunner of the Palestinian school.

S.Y. Agnon, who began writing in his native Galicia, arrived in Palestine in 1909, and at this time published his first mature works, including *Agunot* ("Forsaken Wives," 1909, in: *Ha-Omer*), under the pseudonym Agnon, which in 1924 became his official name. His best works which made such a great impact on Hebrew literature were, however, written after World War I.

The Mandate Period (1917–1948)

The upheavals which racked Russian Jewry in the wake of World War I and the Russian Revolution all but spelled the end of the Hebrew literary center in Russia. Following the revolution there was some attempt to start a Communist Hebrew literature in Russia but Hebrew was soon declared a counter-revolutionary language. Hebrew publications were banned, and many Hebrew writers, including Bialik, were thrown into prison. At the request of Maxim *Gorki, Lenin ordered their release. For a few years the exiled writers established a center in Berlin. In Poland and Lithuania a few writers maintained small subcenters. Some also migrated to New York where they reinforced the already existing U.S. Hebrew press (*Ha-Toren* and later *Hadoar*) and maintained a small center (see below, Hebrew Literature in the U.S.). But a seemingly inevitable process was propelling the majority of Hebrew writers to Palestine.

The pioneers of the Second Aliyah had begun to develop an indigenous Palestinian literature – the so-called "Ereẓ Israel genre." Their numbers, however, were small and they remained an annex of the European center. With the destruction of the old center, the Hebrew writers of Palestine came into their own. Bialik arrived in Tel Aviv in 1924 and shortly thereafter organized the Dvir Publishing House and the Hebrew Writers Association, and became the undisputed leader of the literary community. However, his contact with the new homeland left little impact upon his writing and the little poetry he wrote in the last decade of his life, which he spent in Palestine, was generally in the mode of his Odessa period. The writers of the Second Aliyah and the older immigrant authors who arrived after World War I formed a cohesive community. The younger writers of the Third Aliyah (1920–24) soon, however, began to question their literary leadership and gave expression to the radical changes in the social, political, and literary views which grew out of the trauma of World War I and the Russian Revolution.

Politically and socially, the younger writers were far more radical than their elders. While their Zionist commitment led them to reject the Leninist denial of Jewish nationalism (at least in the Zionist sense), they embraced the socialist ideal and its call for a radical change of the class structure of Jewish society. Whether Marxists or voluntarist socialists, they dreamt of a new social order often in terms of farm or city communes. Almost all of them were *ḥalutzim* who had come to build a new society. The Ukrainian pogroms and the general breakup of their home communities in Russia found expression in a somber pessimism which often led them to question the ideology they had embraced. Their youthful exuberance and a leap of faith which grew out of the camaraderie of fellow *ḥalutzim,* however, redeemed their idealism. Yiẓḥak *Lamdan's poem *Massadah* (1927), for all its expressionist rhetoric, is an honest document of the period.

POETRY. From a literary point of view, the well-rounded, learned phrasing of Bialik's school and its preoccupation with classical structure and clarity of expression was hardly in consonance with the mood of the younger writers and of European letters. Russian revolutionary writers had broken with classicism: the rhythms and wild images of poets like Aleksandr Blok and Sergei Esenin more aptly expressed the psychological world of these younger writers. At the same time, the new poetic diction of the Russian symbolists, the acmeists, and the German neoromantics (Stefan George, Rainer Maria Rilke, and Hugo von Hoffmannsthal) also left its mark on Hebrew poetry. The latter trends made their appearance in such poets as Avraham ben Yiẓḥak *Sonne, David *Vogel, and Yehudah *Karni.

The new literary views found expression in *Ketuvim*, a magazine founded by the Hebrew Writers Association in 1926, but soon taken over by the younger generation. Under the editorship of Eliezer *Steinman, who was soon joined by the poet Abraham *Shlonsky, it became the organ of the modernist group and disassociated itself from the sponsorship of its founders. Among the new writers who published in *Ketuvim* were: Ya'akov *Horowitz, Yiẓḥak Norman, Yisrael *Zmora, and later Nathan *Alterman, Lea *Goldberg, and Ezra *Sussman.

Abraham Shlonsky, Nathan Alterman, Uri Ẓevi Greenberg, and Lea Goldberg were the leading poets of the Palestinian period. From the very beginning of his career Shlonsky was the staunch advocate of modernism. As coeditor of *Ketuvim*, and the editor of *Turim* (1933–38), he openly challenged Bialik's literary authority, calling for a modern, individualistic, "de-theologized" Hebrew poetry and rejecting both the "logical" rationalist poetry of Bialik's school as well as its collective-nationalist orientation. He demanded the acceptance of spoken Hebrew and even slang usage as a legitimate form of poetic diction. Under the influence of the Russian revolutionary poets, Blok, Esenin, Mayakovski, and the French symbolists (Shlonsky lived in Paris between 1924 and 1925), he wrote poems which gave expression to the ennui and despair of his generation, particularly of the Jew who has suffered so much from war, revolution, and pogroms. "*Devai*" (1923–24), the title poem of his first volume of verse, is a long symbol-laden poem which takes up the malaise and the horror of modern secularized urban life and offers little hope for the future. In other poems Shlonsky returns again and again to the sheltered world of childhood, contrasting it with the lonely, desperate life of the *ḥalutz* torn between his dream of rebirth and the reality of his pioneering hardships ("*Le-Abba Imma*" (1927), *Ba-Galgal* (1927)). In his later works these themes receive a more mature treatment; Shlonsky somehow strikes a balance between the low-key symbolist influences and the more blatant surrealistic and even expressionist imagery. His urban hell now also embraces the fascist threat. At the same time, he continuously harks back to the primordial themes of soil and agriculture with their blessings of fertility and security.

Nathan Alterman and Lea Goldberg may be considered Shlonsky's disciples. Both were discovered by him and he encouraged their writing during their crucial years as beginners. Alterman continued and extended Shlonsky's experiments with new rhythms and the syntax of the spoken idiom. Simultaneous with his serious poetry, he wrote light verse not only for the musical comedy theaters which staged political satires and enjoyed popularity in the 1920s and 1930s, but especially for his weekly verse column *Ha-Tur ha-Shevi'i* ("The Seventh Column"), which enjoyed great popularity during the struggle against the British. From a stylistic point of view these media enabled him to develop a saucy, slangy diction. In retrospect, like Shlonsky, he did not stray too far from classical Hebrew, perhaps because in the 1920s and 1930s a literal language was needed to fill the lacuna left by the yet inadequate spoken tongue. Alterman's serious poetry was punctuated with wild expressionist metaphors and slangy or slang-like neologism. At his best he produced a score of impressive modernist poems which in their day had a major impact on the works of his younger contemporaries. Many of his poems have a ballad-like quality and have as themes: the love and death motifs of the romantic agony with the recurring figure of the dead lover returning to haunt his living mate; the poet as a wandering troubadour for whom the world is an inn; the urban ennui of the European city dweller; The raw vitality of Tel Aviv in which the new city is projected against a background of the horror of the European catastrophe and the desperate hope of the reborn homeland.

Lea Goldberg was influenced by the Russian acmeists and the symbolist German poets. She shunned the verbal extravagance of the expressionist, preferring calmer tones. Like the acmeists, she aimed at simple conversational diction and gave preference to more conventional poetic forms. Her themes were modern, however, and her verse expresses the sad wisdom of an urbane and mature artist who, despite her sophistication, was able to experience and give voice to the miracle of the poetry which lies behind the ordinary phenomena of nature and life.

Perhaps the most talented poet of the age, and far less accessible to schematic definition, is Uri Ẓevi Greenberg. Unlike his contemporaries, Greenberg rejected the humanist socialist ideologies of his contemporaries, positing bold gigantic strokes, a mystic, anti-rational, and quasi-racial conception of the destiny of the Jewish people. He draws the Jew with bold gigantic strokes, a God-elected figure living outside history. His tragedy grows out of his great refusal to fulfill his historic destiny as the bearer of the holy seed. European civilization is a satanic fraud which beguiles him and leads to his massacre. Only by accepting his historic vocation with all the horror and the glory its fulfillment calls into being will the Jew survive. From a formal point of view Greenberg's rejection of Europe leads him to seek poetic forms and cadences which are historically Jewish. His language and metaphors are drawn not only from biblical sources but also from later Hebrew literature, frequently from the Kabbalah. Although he is also capable of writing terse lyrical verse, he prefers the expressive cadences of biblical rhetoric. He, himself, acknowledges his stylistic debt to Walt Whitman.

In his poetry Shin *Shalom wedded a strong nationalist commitment with a mystical individualistic experience which often showed a deep psychoanalytic insight into the world of the self. The increasing momentum of his nationalist enthusiasm in his later poetry overshadows his personal experience and much of his lyrical force is lost. Yonathan *Ratosh successfully endeavors to give formal expression to the cult of Canaanite primitivism and paganism whose first signs appear in the prose of Frischmann and the poetry of Tchernichowsky. Ratosh strove to revive ancient poetic forms and metaphors by reconstructing mythical remnants preserved in biblical narratives and by drawing upon ancient Ugaritic poetry. Ratosh's preoccupation with Canaanite myth is related to his Canaanite political ideology that views Israel as a new nation which is no longer Jewish and must reintegrate itself into the Middle Eastern culture of the Fertile Crescent. This he believes can be done by picking up those strands of ancient Near Eastern myths which were abandoned after the Jews forsook the Middle East and became Europeans.

PROSE. The two leading prose writers of the period are S.Y. Agnon and Ḥayyim *Hazaz. Agnon's literary achievement is second only to Bailik's and his work encompasses large areas of the Jewish experience: Jewish Galicia of the remote past; the Galicia of his childhood; the Palestine of the Second Aliyah; the Jerusalem of the older traditionalistic settlement; Austria, Germany, and Galicia of the interbellum period; and Jerusalem of the British Mandate. His career marks the high point of the Polish-Galician strain in modern Hebrew literature with its stress on the emotional and nonrational experience of its protagonists. The influence of ḥasidic and Jewish pietistic folk literature are integrated in Agnon with the psychological, symbolistic, and existential mode of Scandinavian and Austro-Hungarian literature. His style is based, in the main, on the rabbinic-ḥasidic prose of the period immediately preceding the development of modern Hebrew but it also owes much to such early Galician Hebrew writers as Menahem Mendel Levin (Lefin) and Josef Perl and in its biblical tone (*Bi-Demi Yamehah* ("In the Prime of Life") for example) even to Erter. To the contemporary Hebrew reader it has a manneristic obsolescence deliberately reinforced by the Yiddish spelling of certain European words (*zuker* instead of the accepted *sukar* or *kahve* instead of *kafe*). Some critics see in his style an attempt to point up the paradox of writing modernistic stories in an ancient sacred tongue. Others explain it as an attempt to preserve the flavor of the Yiddish idiom used by many of his characters in his Galician stories.

Agnon's novels are landmarks in modern Hebrew literature. *Hakhnasat Kallah* (second rev. 1929; *Bridal Canopy*, 1937) is an attempt to depict the spiritual world of 18th-century Galician Jewry. From a structural point of view Agnon develops an indigenous Jewish literary form built around cyclical motifs drawn from pietistic literature (marriage, hospitality, wandering, etc.). It is essentially a character novel, and the hero R. Yidel is a quixotic personality who confronts life with a world view which is nurtured in the past. Traditional folk themes, the treasure and the cock, are imbued with modern symbolic significance. *Ore'aḥ Nata Lalun* ("A Guest for the Night," 1939), Agnon's attempt to describe the decline of East European Jewry after World War I, has for its hero a hesitant Palestinian Jew who returns to his native Galicia to seek the key to the forsaken synagogue. He is confounded by the realization that after the key turned up, it is he alone who is charged with the responsibility of keeping the synagogue open. *Temol Shilshom* ("The Days Before," 1945), probably the best modern Hebrew novel, is set in Ottoman Palestine and is a tale of two cities – Jaffa (Tel Aviv), symbolizing the new secular *yishuv*, and Jerusalem, representing the traditional Holy Land. Isaac Kummer ("he who comes" or "grief and sorrow") is torn between the two civilizations; unable to orientate himself toward either, he goes mad. The story within the story, that of Balak the dog, is one of the profoundest animal symbolistic fables in world literature. Agnon's use of fable (also the cock in *Hakhnasat Kallah*) has its roots in medieval Jewish literature and in early modern Hebrew literature (Erter and later in Mendele's "*Susati*"; "The Nag"). Agnon's range is wide and varied. Side by side with his pietistic fiction, there are modern existential love stories, such as: *Panim Aḥerot* ("Metamorphosis"), *Givat ha-Ḥol, Ha-Rofe u-Gerushato* ("The Doctor and his Divorcee"), and his posthumously published *Shirah* (1971). They are all animated by a profound understanding of the existential tragedy of modern man. Ḥayyim Hazaz's realism harks back to the Odessa school but is relieved by a penchant for the grotesque. His early works describe the milieu of Ukrainian Jewry during the period of the Russian Revolution (*Pirkei Mahpekhah* ("Chapters of the Revolution") and *Shemu'el Frankfurter*). Ukraine at the brink of the revolution forms the background of *Be-Yishuv shel Ya'ar* ("Forest Settlement"). After his migration to Palestine, Hazaz shifted to ḥalutzic themes and later to the depiction of the life of Israel's Yemenite Jews both in Israel (*Ha-Yoshevet ba-Gannim* and *Mori Sa'id*) and in Yemen before their migration (*Ya'ish*). Central to Hazaz's works is his insistence that Jewish redemption (Messianism and later Zionism) was not realized because the Diaspora Jew and Diaspora Judaism lacked the courage to risk everything for its fulfillment. Some of his characters also express the belief that redemption means the end of Judaism, others declare Zionism to be the negation of Diaspora Judaism: *Ha-Derashah* ("The Sermon") and *Be-Keẓ ha-Yamim* ("At the End of Days"), a play set in Poland during the time of Shabbetai Ẓevi (stories of Hazaz in *Kol Kitvei Ḥayyim Hazaz*, 1968). Like Agnon's, Hazaz's style is literary and its vocabulary and syntax differ from contemporary Israeli Hebrew. Unlike Agnon, he prefers the mishnaic, talmudic style developed by the Odessans which he, however, stamped with his own mark. To convey the speech of his various characters, he distorts his Hebrew, "Ukrainizing" it to record the speech of Ukrainian peasants, or Arabicizing it to convey that of Yemenite Jews.

Other leading prose writers of the Mandate period are Yehuda *Burla, one of the early modern writers of Sephardi descent, who wrote stories depicting Sephardi life in his native Jerusalem and in the Middle East; Asher Barash, a prolific short-story writer and novelist who wrote of Jewish life in his native Galicia and in Palestine; Devorah Baron whose short stories sensitively describe life in her native Belorussia; Gershon *Shofman whose psychological-lyrical short stories and sketches are an original type of narrative.

[Ezra Spicehandler]

WOMEN'S WRITING

The Genesis of Women's Hebrew Literature

Only recently has it become known that the history of women's writing in Hebrew literature starts in the mid-19th century, during the Haskalah period. Hitherto, it was generally assumed that as a result of women's ignorance of Hebrew and the canonical texts, the Hebrew Haskalah was a male movement. The very few women who dared to compose poetry or fiction were never considered to have initiated women's literature. That picture has changed as a result of the discovery of Hebrew writings by some 25 women in manuscript archives and Hebrew-language literary periodicals of the Haskalah period. The few known women writers now appear to have been part of a wider phenomenon. Even in this early period, several others not only read Hebrew but also put their knowledge of the language, their ability to express themselves, and their creativity to active use in writing.

Women gained a significant place in Hebrew enlightenment circles only in the latter half of the 19th century, mainly in Russia and Lithuania. Most of them expressed themselves in non-literary genres: various kinds of correspondence, social essays, and translations (of which the best known example is Miriam Markel-Mosessohn's Hebrew translation of a German-language work of history, which she called *Ha-Yehudim be-Angliyah,* 1869).

The only extant complete archive of a woman's correspondence is that of Miriam Markel-Mosessohn (1839–1920). However, other letters have survived in men's archives, such as those of Judah Leib Gordon (which contains letters by Rivka Rottner, Sheyne Wolf, Sarah Shapira, Nehama Feinstein, and others), Dr. Judah Loeb Landau, Perez Smolenskin, and Shneur Sachs. Other letters (for example by Sarah Cohen Nevinsky, Bertha Kreidman, and Shifra Alchin) were published in Hebrew Haskalah periodicals or collections of correspondence. Most of the letters demonstrate an excellent knowledge of Hebrew and a strong commitment to Haskalah ideas.

Another way in which *maskilot* sought to participate in maskilic creative endeavor was to publish feminine social essays in Haskalah Hebrew periodicals. Some of these essays (for example Sara Feiga Foner Meinkin's "*Ha-Aviv,*" 1876, and Marka Altschuler's "Thoughts on the Ninth of Av, My Birthday," 1880) focused on conventional maskilic "male" ideological themes. Others (like Taube Segal's "The Woman Question," 1879) expressed specifically female protests and a demand to improve girls' education.

Prior to the end of the Haskalah period, very few women published conventional literary works; we know of only three poets and one significant prose writer. Two of the poets wrote only two poems each: Hanna Blume Sulz of Vilna ("The Play," 1882, and "The Valley of Revelation," 1883) and Sara Shapira ("Remember the One Caught by a Horn," 1886, and "Zion," 1888). These poems display good knowledge of Hebrew and familiarity with canonical texts and Haskalah poetry. However, Sulz's poems are an example of the woman poet's failure when she surrendered to the masculine tastes of the time, losing her feminine authenticity. Shapira's poems are more authentic and therefore more successful, but her writing never developed into mature poetry.

A first poetic expression in Hebrew of the woman's world and her problems may be found in the writings of the Jewish-Italian poet Rachel *Morpurgo (1790–1879), whose works were collected in book form only after her death (*Rachel's Or-*

gan, 1890). Morpurgo's main achievements are in her poems of personal contemplation (including "See, This Is New," "Lament of My Soul," "Why, Lord, So Many Cries," "O Troubled Valley," "Until I Am Old"). A careful reading of these poems reveals a hidden, subtle level of significance, formed by the contrast between the canonical texts to which the poem refers and the poem itself. At this level we hear the voice of a woman describing her suffering and protesting her inferior status in Jewish society and culture.

Only one woman dared to write novels during the 1880s, Sarah Feiga Foner Meinkin, who published four Hebrew books, three of them works of fiction: *A Righteous Love, or The Pursued Family* (first volume 1881; the second was never published) *The Treachery of Traitors* (1891), and a children's didactic story, *Children's Way or A Story From Jerusalem* (1886). The fourth book was her memoirs (*Memories of My Childhood, or A Memoir of Dvinsk*, 1903). *A Righteous Love* is the first Hebrew novel by a woman. Although it seems merely to imitate male Haskalah novel-writing conventions, the author did not abandon her authentic female voice (from which she retreats in her later works). It comes out in the lively, persuasive, and colorful descriptions of the character and world of the heroine, Finnalia, her relationships (especially with other women), and her domestic life. Feminist criticism of her society also finds expression: When describing arranged marriages in Galicia, the narrator critically comments on fathers who use their daughters for business deals, "like horses and donkeys."

Sarah Feiga Foner Meinkin, however, was a unique phenomenon in her own times. Further Hebrew short stories by women were not published in Russia until the first decade of the 20th century. Thus, in 1902 the first stories by Devorah *Baron appeared in *Hamelitz* and in 1909 a small collection of short stories (*Kovez̦ Z̦iyyurim*) by Chava Shapira (1871–1943) was published. Both writers (Shapira wrote only a few more stories but Baron became a dominant writer) centered their stories around women's lives and thus mark the beginning of conscious female writing within a tradition of Hebrew women's writing.

[Tova Cohen (2nd ed.)]

Women's Prose Writing in the Period of the Yishuv (1882–1948)

From the very outset of the Zionist settlement movement, at the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th centuries, a smattering of writings by women, setting out their own vision of Erez̦ Israel, can be seen in the pages of the Hebrew-language periodicals of the time. In the Jewish communities of Europe, despite the increasing acquisition of culture and learning by women, very few of them had made so bold as to make their writings public. A woman writer was seen as deviating from accepted social norms, compromising the natural occupations of women as homemakers and mothers, and invading, by way of her creative activity, a realm that was reserved exclusively for men. Those women who nevertheless had the courage to publish their writings were received with derision and criticism so harsh as to deter others (see Sarah Feiga Foner Meinkin). However, things were different in Erez̦ Israel. Here, too, the creative efforts of women writers were either roundly criticized or ignored, but this no longer put them off writing. To be sure, if the Zionist revolution, particularly in its socialist stripe, had declared its pioneering endeavor to be an equal partnership of men and women, it had retreated from this declaration on the practical level from the moment the settlement effort got underway. In keeping with the traditional conceptions characteristic of the Diaspora, women were kept in the margins of public and nationalist activity and were expected to serve as "helpmeets" rather than equal partners in the leadership of the *yishuv*. However, the women did not keep quiet. Unlike their Diaspora predecessors, they were cognizant of their roles and contributions in advancing the Zionist endeavor, and they set out to fight for their rightful place in both the public and the literary arenas. For the women who took part in that endeavor, as settlers, laborers, or pioneers, the national revival was also a women's revival, and so also a women's literary revival. Women insisted on making their voices heard in the male-dominated public sphere of the *yishuv* and on continuing to publish their creative work, even if they met with rejection.

On the other hand, a perusal of anthologies, historiographies, and Hebrew literary studies concerned with the period of the *yishuv* reveals very little in the way of prose writing by women. Their literary output, it would seem, was largely confined to poetry, including that of *Raḥel Blaustein, Esther Raab, Lea *Goldberg, Elisheva Bichovsky, Anda Pinkerfeld-*Amir, and others. These poets, too, never received the support and encouragement they deserved from contemporary male poets and critics, but their poems nevertheless made their way into the public consciousness and became an inseparable part of the literary repertoire of the period. This fortune was not shared by the women prose writers, notwithstanding their literary productivity, which enriched the Hebrew bookshelf with dozens of novels, novellas, short stories, plays, stories for children and young adults, non-fictional works, essays, memoirs, and biographies. Only the fiction of Devorah Baron attracted the interest of literary critics and scholars. Baron's works certainly were outstanding in their aesthetic quality, but the exclusive focus upon them gave rise to the unfounded historiographical thesis that there was nothing much in the way of women's prose writing from Devorah Baron until Amalia *Kahana-Carmon, who began publishing her work in the 1950s. The impression was of a void during the period of the *yishuv* that began to be filled only in the early period of the state.

Who were the "unknown" women prose writers, and what did they write? They began arriving in Erez̦ Israel with the first waves of settlers, with aspirations not only to give vent to their creative impulses but first and foremost to fulfill their Zionist, or socialist-Zionist, commitment to building the Jewish national homeland. They were working women – their writing always emerged as a secondary occupation – who engaged in public and ideological activity within the rural or urban frameworks in which they lived: in the kibbutzim (Emma Levine Talmi, Ruhamah Hazanov, Rivkah Gurfein, Yehudit Mensch); in the moshavot (Yehudit Harari, Shoshanah Shababo); in Jerusalem (Shulamit Kelugai); and in Tel Aviv (Rachel Feingenberg, Shoshanah Sherira). Some of them started out in rural communities and later moved on to the city (Batyah Kahana, Sarah Gluzman, Rivkah Alper). In the rural settings, they were usually employed in agriculture or in education, while in the cities, aside from school and kindergarten teaching (Shulamit Flaum, Sarah Levy), they worked as journalists (Bracha Habas, Shoshanah Sherira, Miriam Tal), in the theater (Miriam Bernstein Cohen), or as laborers (Rachel Adiv and Pnina Caspi were factory workers). Devorah Baron was the only woman writer of the period to devote all her time to writing, after becoming a recluse in her home, which she did not leave for over 30 years (1922–56).

Taken together, these writers do not present a uniform typological visage; rather, they represented a multicultural cross-section of the various sectors of the *yishuv.* If most of them were secular, there were those who were religiously observant (Malka Shapira); and if the majority originated in Eastern Europe, there were those who hailed from Western Europe (Hannah Trager) and several from the Yemenite (Sarah Levy, Yonah Wahab) and Sephardi (Shoshanah Shababo) communities. Politically, they belonged to several different streams in the Zionist movement, some to the labor sector (Rivkah Alper belonged to the moderate wing, Emma Levine Talmi to the radicals), and some to the "civil" sector (Ira Yan, Shoshanah Sherira). Most were new immigrants, but a few were born in the country (Hannah Lunz Bolotin, Shoshanah Shababo).

The women prose writers of the *yishuv* can be grouped into three generations. Those of the first generation, born in the second half of the 19th century, immigrated to Ereẓ Israel with the first and second *aliyot*, in the years immediately before and after the turn of the 20th century, and began publishing their works from this period onward (Nehamah Pukhachevsky, Hemdah *Ben-Yehuda, Devorah Baron). Those of the second generation, born in the first decade of the 20th century, immigrated to the country and began publishing their works in the period between the two world wars (1918–1939 – Batyah Kahana, Rivkah Gurfein, and the native-born Shoshanah Shababo). Those of the third generation, born during the second two decades of the 20th century and brought to the country as young children, grew up for all intents and purposes as native Israelis (Sarah Gluzman, Pnina Caspi, Shoshanah Sherira, Yehudit Hendel) and began publishing their works in the 1930s and 1940s.

This diverse community of writers naturally produced a spectrum of women's narratives that varied in their social, political, and cultural perspectives. The plots ranged around two principal foci: (1) women's experience qua women: their self-awareness, motherhood, male–female relations, sexuality, relationships among women, the exploitation and oppression of women, and so on; and (2) women's experience as a function of their situation in Ereẓ Israel: their encounter with the land, the transition from conservative ways of living to freer ones, the absence of the older generation, women's isolation within the "united" collective, their struggle for a place in public life, their critique of the masculine character of the Zionist endeavor, and so on. These women's themes contributed to the creation of a unique female narrative, an integral part of which was a female version of the national narrative that had a distinctly different character from the dominant masculine one. If the latter was one of dramatic struggle, danger, and heroic death, the female narrative was one of gray, ongoing struggle for survival. If the masculine national narrative presented itself as the collective subject, giving every plot the power of a statement of historic vision, the female national narrative focused on the private and the everyday, which it treated in a restrained but critical tone.

A further distinctive quality of the female narrative was the presence, to varying degrees, of critical "feminist" tendencies. From the very outset of women's prose writing in the *yishuv*, two principal feminist positions may be discerned in it: a constructivist trend, trail-blazed by Hemdah Ben-Yehuda, and a melancholic one, whose first representative was Nehamah Pukhachevsky. According to the constructivist stance, women were destined, with time, to emerge from their marginal position in the society of the *yishuv.* Their increasing acquisition of learning and culture, particularly their reeducation to Hebrew culture and national consciousness, would surely advance their equality and centrality in the evolving national community. Ben-Yehuda spoke primarily of the centrality of women as mothers in constructing the new generation and emphasized how the quality of their mothering conditioned that of the entire nation. This optimistic feminism emerged in a variety of fictional narratives in which alternatives to the conventional portrayal of women posed models of strong-willed, self-confident women, able to stand their ground against patriarchal men (as in the works of Batyah Kahana, Sarah Gluzman, and Shoshanah Sherira).

The melancholic position took the shape of a more critical type of feminism. It excoriated the masculine Zionist activity that in practice replicated all the ills of the past, so that instead of realizing the liberal-nationalist rebirth of the people and of humanity, it rebuilt a reactionary society characterized by overweening hegemonies, new class hierarchies, and indifference to the weaker members of society, such as laborers, members of the Oriental Jewish communities, "others," and, of course, women. The writers who took this position sought to recount, from the perspective of women, the national narrative of those who stood in the margins of Zionism and the society it was creating and to expose the oppressive situation in which they found themselves. However, this critical protest was not voiced aggressively or stridently. On the contrary; it was muted and introverted, fluctuating between anguish and melancholy in a kind of drawn-out lament (as may be seen in the works of Ruhamah Hazanov, Pnina Caspi, Yehudit Mensch, and Miriam Tal).

These and other features led to the coalescence of a female meta-poetics. Although the writers emerged from different sectors and were informed by different ideological and literary worldviews, they may be seen as belonging to an "imagined community" – one that worked and created, consciously or unconsciously, according to a shared meta-poetics with several distinctive qualities. (1) Unlike contemporary male writers, who devoted little space to representations of women in their pioneering narratives, the women writers completed the missing half of the map by filling that void with their own creations. Moreover, they endowed women in the *yishuv* with a more powerful presence, allowed them to articulate themselves, and gave voice to all those representations of silent or silenced women. (2) Prose-writing in the *yishuv* devoted much discussion to the development of the "new Hebrew," while continuing to represent the "Hebrew woman" according to men's traditional conceptions, represented by just two archetypal contrasts: that between Eve and the she-demon Lilith, and that between the lover and the wife-mother. But women's prose was different; it endeavored to mold a new woman with a female Israeli character, in possession of a female Hebrew culture (anticipating the appearance of the native-born *sabra*). (3) The "literature of the homeland," as written by men, developed two primary genres: novels on the theme of settling the land, and documentary novels. Women writers, too, dealt in their own way with these genres, but they narrated them along the lines of romance, or "national romance," interweaving them with elements of legend and fantasy.

It is perhaps because of these gendered differences in poetics that the male literary community showed little understanding for and interest in women's prose, to the point of excluding and banishing it from the collective memory. That exclusion was not entirely all-encompassing; here and there a few male writers and critics encouraged women writers, particular in the early stages of their careers. Thus, Joseph Klausner read and commented upon the writings of Batyah Kahana; Yitzhak Lamdan, editor of the literary periodical *Gilyonot*, published the work of Shoshanah Sherira; Avigdor Hameiri facilitated the publication of Miriam Tal's first book; and Asher Barash, as editor of the Mitzpeh publishing house, published works by Rivkah Alper, Shoshanah Shababo, and Miriam Bernstein Cohen. However, this kind of partial, fleeting recognition did not lead to the public embrace of their work, nor were women's journals like *Ha-Ishah* (1926–29), *Devar ha-Po'elet* (1934–70), and *Olam ha-Ishah* (1940–48) successful at keeping the women prose writers of the *yishuv* in the public eye.

Only in the 1980s, when literary scholarship began to take an interest in feminist and gender theory and so also to take up the status of women writers as a topic of study, were these nearly forgotten writers rediscovered, as works by Yaffah Berlovitz, Orly Lubin, Avivah Ufaz, Tamar Hess, and others began restoring their writings to the collective memory of contemporary Israeli culture.

[Yaffah Berlovitz (2nd ed.)]

THE ISRAEL PERIOD (1948–2005)

The year of the establishment of the State of Israel, 1948, is a convenient date to mark the onset of the Israel period of modern Hebrew literature, although it actually began earlier. One of its leading literary figures, S. *Yizhar, published his first short story, *Efrayim Ḥozer la-Aspeset*, as early as 1938. Most of the younger generation of writers on the literary scene in 1948 were either native Palestinians or had come to Palestine in their childhood. The few who came in their youth or later had been so deeply involved in Zionist or Hebrew youth movements in the Diaspora that they too were culturally Palestinians. Hebrew was the mother tongue of these writers or at least their childhood language. The earlier Palestinian generation had by now forged a spoken language which had rid Hebrew of its somewhat pedantic character and the Hebrew of the new school was a natural language alive with colloquialisms and the echoes of childhood speech. Born into the Palestinian landscape, the younger authors viewed it more realistically than the older generation with its tendency to idealize the land of their Zionist dreams, on the one hand, and to recollect nostalgically the northern climes of their childhood on the other. For the new generation, the East European landscape existed only in the memory of childhood stories which they had read or heard from their parents. The change of geographic locus also affected their Hebrew style. The new secular Hebrew school de-emphasized rabbinic and medieval Hebrew studies and gave primacy to biblical and modern literature. The Hebrew of the new writers was more flexible than that of the older generation but not as learned. Yiddish language and literature hardly affected their style or choice of themes. While the older writers were generally influenced by Eastern or Central European literature, the new school, whose second language was usually English, was affected by British and, especially, American literature. Moreover, unlike many of their predecessors, whose knowledge of a European literature was intimate and acquired in the country in which it was spoken, most Israel writers knew European literature through translations or criticism in Hebrew. Many learned a European language only after they began to publish.

The more "natural" approach of the Israel writers often expressed itself in its questioning of the Zionist-Socialist ideology of the parent generation. This trend was discernible in the earliest of their works. S. Yizhar in *Efrayim Ḥozer la-Aspeset* questions the kibbutz ideology and whether it really succeeded in establishing an egalitarian society. Uri, the hero of M. *Shamir's *Hu Halakh ba-Sadot* ("He Walked Through the Fields," 1947), for all his sense of duty, is hardly representative of the new type of Jew which the kibbutz movement apparently intended to produce. The ideology crisis and its subsequent existential anxiety, already dominant in post-World War II European literature, was delayed in the first phase of Israel literature by the struggle for national independence.

Many of the younger writers were members of kibbutzim and associated with various left-wing movements. They served in the Palmaḥ, the crack army units of the War of Liberation, and subscribed to a Socialist-Zionist ideology. During this early phase, they embraced Andrei Zhdanov's doctrine of socialist realism which called upon writers to preach socialism but at the same time point out aberrations within the system. They favored an ideological literature with its stress on the collective we rather than on the introspective I. But even in this early phase the rise of existential dissent is discernible. Poets like *Gilboa and *Gouri, for example, speak of the darker side of personal experience found already in their early "life affirming" period.

By the 1950s the ideology crisis had set in: "Utopia" realized came to be seen as "utopia" lost. The enthusiasm of the War of Liberation and its victory gave way to the harsh reality of building the new state. Mass immigration, the unresolved conflict with the Arabs, the shift of Russian foreign policy, the necessity to compromise ideals in order that the state might survive militarily and economically, and the rise of careerism tended to erode the utopian ideals of the soldier-writer. National independence and the creation of the state had not resolved all problems. During the national struggle egoisms had been harnessed, following it, they seemed to burst forth. After the War of Independence some of the idealism that had led to the creation of the state paled and people began to pursue their own private ends. On the literary scene, the writer, his finger on the pulse of the nation, aesthetically expressed what the man in the street unconsciously felt. He chose to no longer subordinate his talent to a national cause to which he had often in the past consciously sacrificed his originality. Writers began to question the possibility of any ideology except subjective expression of their inner world. The prose and poetry in the late 1950s therefore took on an individualistic, existentialist, and even surrealistic tone expressing the anxieties of a generation disillusioned with ideologies. Their central theme is the alienation of modern man; their world that of the secularized, non-ideological urbanite. Rarely, except for their cultural or geographical context, does their writing deal with parochial Jewish topics. Yet, even when the Israel writer had rejected ideologies, he could not entirely escape the ethical imperatives of his Jewish tradition. Even before the Six-Day War his conscience had been disturbed by the Arab problem: the plight of the refugees whose solution could endanger the survival of the nation. After the war, which had come as a natural consequence of a long-term conflict, while accepting its harsh reality, he was perturbed by the military atmosphere. Perhaps the crisis following the war had already shifted the pendulum back to ideology.

Poetry

The leading poets of the early Israel period, Ḥaim Gouri, Amir Gilboa, Abba *Kovner, and T. *Carmi are connected in one way or another with the Palmaḥ. Gouri's early verse, *Pirḥei Esh* ("Flowers of Fire," 1949), perhaps more than any other poem, expresses the revolutionary Zionist ideology of his generation which "spoke in the first person plural." While throughout his career he retained his commitment to his youthful ideology (this was reinforced by the experience of the Six-Day War) his later poetry took on a more personal tone. His anguish, however, is often rooted in the lonely feeling of a man who has retained a truth that others have abandoned: "But I guard the walls of a city that died years ago." Amir Gilboa, unlike Gouri, was born in Europe and his poetry, even during the earliest phases, is permeated by the tragedy of the Holocaust in which his family perished. Gilboa also confronted the horror of the Holocaust when as a soldier in the Jewish brigade he encountered the remnants of European Jewry after World War II. Breaking with the Shlonsky-Alterman tradition, he not only introduces his particular individual blend of traditional and colloquial elements but a surrealistic atmosphere pervaded by dream sequences and childish memories. In his later phase these characteristics became more pronounced and he added to them a remarkable experimentation with Hebrew sounds, extracting from them poetic implications. Abba Kovner, like Gilboa, is a product of the European Zionist left. Unlike Gilboa, who had arrived in Ereẓ Israel in 1937 and had experienced the Holocaust indirectly, Kovner was in Eastern Europe during the Nazi period. He was the partisan leader of the Vilna ghetto and later became a high-ranking resistance commander. His is a modernist poetry in which he fuses themes of the national struggle and the anti-Nazi resistance with the personal tragedy of the partisan or Palmaḥ fighter. Surrealistic symbols and visions which recur throughout his work project a complex image of the war and the Holocaust.

T. Carmi, an American by birth, was one of the earliest new poets to draw upon modernist American and French techniques for his verse. (Simon Halkin had preceded him.) He combines a deep knowledge of European and American poetry with a mastery of traditional sources. Although his earliest volumes deal with "national" themes, the Holocaust, and the war even they, like his later works, have a subjective, existentialist perspective. In the 1950s he moved completely to a personal poetry which is intelligent, playful, and commands all the skills of the trade.

The second phase of Israel poetry is dominated by the work of Yehudah *Amichai in which are integrated the author's German Jewish Orthodox heritage and his Ereẓ Israel experience (arrived in Palestine in 1936). His use of daily speech, irony, metaphysical metaphors, and existentialist *Angst* have become the hallmarks of much of the poetry written by his younger contemporaries, who freely acknowledge their debt to him. These younger writers formed a literary group called *Akhshav* ("Now") which proclaimed the end of ideological poetry and broke with the Alterman-Shlonsky tradition. In later years Amichai personally disassociated himself from the group. Among the many talented poets of this generation are Nathan *Zach, Tuvyah *Ruebner, Dan Pagis, David Avidan, Dalia *Ravikovitch, and David *Rokeaḥ. At the same time, a new generation of poets began publishing; among the most promising are Meir Wieseltier, Mordecai Geldman, Ya'ir Hourvitz, Aryeh Sivan, and Israel Pincas.

Prose

The Palmaḥ generation produced realistic literature dealing in the main with their kibbutz experience and with their experiences during the War of Liberation. Prominent among them is Moshe Shamir, who in his novel *Hu Halakh ba-Sadot*, a best seller set during the War of Liberation, gives a realistic description of a Palmaḥ commander whose sense of duty seemed greater than his ideological commitment. *Pirkei Elik* (1952; *With his Own Hands*, 1970), a quasi-biographical work, is artistically the more interesting. Shamir's historical novel *Melekh Basar va-Dam* (1954; *A King of Flesh and Blood*, 1958) was very popular, while his later works are somewhat more experimental and have not enjoyed the popularity of his earlier novels.

S. Yizhar writes a more lyrical prose and his long novel *Yemei Ẓiklag* ("The Days of Ziklag," 1958) is undoubtedly the most important novel of the Palmaḥ generation. Despite its amorphous style, its lyrical repetitions, and its rather limited range of characterization, it expresses more than any other work the crisis of belief which shook the entire generation in the wake of the establishment of the State. S. Yizhar is one of the earliest authors who dealt honestly with the Arab question and expressed certain moral reservations with regard to handling the Arab refugee problem ("*Ha-Shavui*" "The Prisoner," 1949) and "*Sippur Ḥirbet Ḥizeh*," 1949).

Aharon *Megged began his literary career by writing seafaring short stories (*Ru'aḥ Yamim*, "Sea Wind," 1950) but turned to humor in his popular work *Ḥedvah va-Ani* ("Hedvah and I," 1954) and later to existentialist short stories and novels, such as *Yisrael Ḥaverim* (1955), *Mikreh ha-Kesil* (1960; *Fortunes of a Fool*, 1962); and *Ha-Ḥai al ha-Met* ("Living off the Dead," 1965). His characters, foiled by their own human weaknesses, are unable to adhere to the ideals (humanist-Zionist-socialist value system) they advocate and are therefore in a constant state of conflict.

Hanoch *Bartov, like Megged, depicts the challenge of the value system of the native Israeli confronted by a state he helped to create in which the new immigrants are not ideologically orientated and natives have become careerists: *Ha-Ḥeshbon ve-ha-Nefesh* ("The Reckoning and the Soul," 1953) and *Shesh Kenafayim le-Eḥad* ("Each Has Six Wings," 1954). He, too, writes about the Nazi catastrophe, as seen through the eyes of a Jewish Brigade soldier from Israel *Piẓei Bagrut* (1965; *The Brigade*, 1968). In his novel *Shel Mi Attah Yeled* ("Whose Are You, Boy," 1969), he returns to his childhood in Petaḥ Tikvah.

Poets like Amichai and Gouri have also written serious fiction. Amichai's *Lo me-Akhshav Lo mi-Kan* ("Not from Now nor Here," 1963), set in Jerusalem and in Germany, plumbs the Nazi Holocaust in an attempt to find meaning in it. He also wrote a volume of surrealist stories. Gouri's *Iskat ha-Shokolad* (1965; *The Chocolate Deal*, 1968) approaches the Holocaust theme through the relationship of two refugees. Of the younger prose writers, the more significant are Amos Oz (1939–), whose *Mikha'el Shelli* (1968) also alludes to the Arab problem; and Nissim *Aloni who writes brilliantly about his childhood in the Jaffa slums and is by far the most original Israel playwright. He combines a superb sense of the theater with a talent for the absurd. Benjamin *Tammuz writes nostalgically about his childhood in Tel Aviv (*Ḥolot ha-Zahav*, 1950; *Sands of Gold*, 1953); he has published a trilogy which centers around a picaresque hero, Eliyakum. Avraham B. *Yehoshua, published three volumes of short stories: *Mot ha-Zaken* ("Death of the Old Man," 1963); *Mul ha-Ye'arot* ("Facing the Forests," 1968); and *Tishah Sippurim* ("Nine Stories," 1970); *Three Days and a Child* (1970) is a collection of five short stories.

Aharon *Appelfeld delves into the inner world of his characters, who, like himself, are victims of the Holocaust. His central theme is the psychological residue of the Holocaust experienced by the characters years later. Thus he approaches the tragedy obliquely, writing in a lyrical prose which is simple, but freighted with nightmarish symbols. The deep religious mysticism which dominates Pinḥas *Sadeh's prose and poetry is not orthodox and at times takes on Christological overtones. Amaliah Cahana-Carmon's sensitive short stories deal with her childhood.

[Ezra Spicehandler]

The 1970s

The 1970s marked the passing of most of the prolific writers of this generation: S.Y. *Agnon (d. 1970) and Ḥayyim *Hazaz (d. 1973), two outstanding writers of prose fiction, and Nathan *Alterman (d. 1970), Lea *Goldberg (d. 1970), and Abraham *Shlonsky (d. 1973), three eminent poets. Only Uri Ẓevi *Greenberg, in his eighties, continued to write his exceedingly powerful, expressionist-mystical verse until his death in 1981.

Collected works of these authors appeared either shortly before or soon after their deaths. Most significant were the posthumously published works of Agnon, which were edited by his daughter, Emunah Yaron. These include the novels *Shirah* (1971), depicting Jerusalem's intellectual community of the 1930s and 1940s, and *Be-Ḥanuto shel Mar Lublin* ("In Mr. Lublin's Shop," 1974), set in Leipzig during World War I, *Ir U-Meloah* ("A City and its Fullness"), a monumental portrayal of Agnon's home town and for that matter of 1,000 years of Jewish life in Poland (1973), and *Sofer, Sippur ve-Sefer* ("Writer, Story and Book," 1978), a collection of traditional vignettes relating to the art of writing. Despite their sometimes incomplete form, these works reinforce the generally accepted view that Agnon was the greatest fiction writer of modern Hebrew literature.

Older poets, like Sh. *Shalom (*Ki Panah ha-Yom* – "The Day is Setting"; *Shai Lavan* – "*White Gift*," 1974) and Avraham *Broides (*Kol Od Odi* – "While I Still Am"), continued to publish poetry whose very titles reflect their stage of life. Yehoshua Tan Pai (1975) and Yonatan *Ratosh (d. 1981), who 30 years ago were looked upon as innovating trailblazers, published their collected works. Ezra *Sussman's (d. 1973) reflective prose poems *Keshet Nisan* ("April Rainbow," 1976) were extolled by the critics. The collected verse of Simon *Halkin appeared in 1977 (*Shirim*). Halkin has also rendered a learned translation of George Seferis' early verse. Gabriel *Preil, the only Hebrew poet of distinction living in the United States who chronologically belongs to this generation, continued to create highly lyrical, subjective poetry. Ephraim *Broido's long awaited translation of Shakespeare's sonnets won critical acclaim (1977).

Writers associated with the "Generation of 1948," such as Ḥaim *Gouri, T. *Carmi, Abba *Kovner, and Amir *Gilboa, were active. In *Mar'ot Geḥazi* ("Visions of Geḥazi," 1973), Gouri seemed to be reliving vicariously the fears, anxieties and the glory of the War of Independence in poems reflecting the Yom Kippur War. Carmi's selected poems *Davar Aḥer* appeared in 1973. In *Hitnaẓlut ha-Meḥaber* ("The Author's Apology," 1974), he too reacts movingly to the trauma of the Yom Kippur War, and his *El Ereẓ Aḥeret* ("To Another Land," 1977), contains highly sophisticated, ironic lyric poetry reflecting his two-year stay at Oxford. In *Raẓiti Likhtov Siftei Yeshenim* ("I Wish to Write Sleeping Lips," 1968) and *Ayalah Eshlaḥ Otakh* ("Gazelle, I Dispatch You," 1972). Amir Gilboa moved away from his originally surrealistic poetry to a more realistic and concrete world. There is a thinning out of metaphor, yet at the same time a dazzling display of aural experimentalism. With *Moaḥ* ("Brain," 1975). Dan Pagis moved from a Rilkesque poetry to a more economical and cerebral idiom. Ozer Rabin, a poet who writes comparatively few poems, produced an impressive volume of delicately meditative verse (*Be-Terem Ta'avor*, 1976). *Zelda surprised Israeli readers with moving religious poetry (*Al Tirḥak*, "Do Not Go Far," 1975).

Fiction writers were equally productive. Moshe *Shamir's *Yonah Be-Ḥaẓer Zarah* ("Pigeon in a Strange Yard," 1975) is part of a trilogy written in a realistic vein which attempts to depict the saga of several generations of Israeli settlers. Aharon *Megged has made a more courageous effort to vary his themes and style. In *Al Eẓim ve-Avanim* ("Just About Everything," 1974), he tries to portray the ugly Israeli without the usual stereotyping. His anti-hero turns out be a frustrated human torn between the moral values he inherited from his Zionist past and a crass, almost self-destructive realism. Megged explores the theme of disillusionment with Zionist leaders rather than ideology in *Maḥberot Evyatar* ("Evyatar's Notebooks").

Benjamin Tammuz's *Requiem le-Na'aman* ("A Requiem for Na'aman," 1978) also deals with the failure of the Zionist dream to transform Jews into an earth-bound "normal" people. Like many contemporary novelists, Tammuz examines the naive ideals of the early settlers of Israel and the disillusionment of their descendants.

Aharon *Appelfeld's *Badenheim, 1939* (English: Boston, 1981) recaptures the eerie inevitability of the approaching Holocaust as viewed through the eyes of alienated middle-class Jews vacationing at an Austrian summer resort. His novel *Tor ha-Pelaot* ("The Time of Wonders," 1978) tells the story of an assimilated Austrian-Jewish family before, during and after the Nazi period.

Interesting is the *Seneds' (Alexander and Yonat) experimentation with new techniques of novel writing, influenced by the modern anti-novel writers like Natalie Serraut (*Tandu* – "*Tandem*," 1974).

THE NEW WAVE. The New Wave is a term coined by the Israeli critic Gershon Shaked for the generation of prose writers which began publishing in the late 1950s and the 1960s but is equally applicable to the poets of this period as well. The movement expressed itself not only in its rejection of the earlier Zionist Socialist certainties but in its proclaimed indifference toward all ideologies. In the words of Shimon Sandbank, there was a "Withdrawal to a no man's land of existential *angst.*" The New Wave not only questioned the patriotic rhetoric which characterized some of the writing of the pre-State period, but called for a written idiom which was more concrete and closer to the spoken language. Their ideology was articulated in the *avant garde* magazines which were founded in the 1950s and 1960s, *Li-Kerat* ("Towards," 1953–54), *Akhshav* ("Now," 1957–to date) and *Yokhani* (1961–67).

Among the ideologists of the New Wave were the poet Nathan *Zach and the critic Gavriel Moked. Zach's iconoclastic criticism of poets like Alterman cleared the ground for the new poetry. Zach objected to Alterman's strict and regular metrics and what he called his high-blown diction and advocated the writing of more concrete, low-key poetry.

Zach, together with Yehuda *Amichai who chronologically belong to the 1948 group, and David *Avidan, wrote poetry which reflected the new poetics. When from time to time they had recourse to the phrasing of classical literature they would yank words and phrases out of their original context and give them an ironic twist. As is frequently the case the new style either influenced or was influenced by some of the more sensitive older poets such as Amir Gilboa and Abba Kovner. By the 1970s however, the poetry of the New Wave assumed an "after the battle" air. Nathan Zach almost ceased publishing poetry or criticism. Amichai appeared to be restating completely what he already had said (*Ve-lo al Menat Lizkor* – "So as Not to Remember," 1971; and *Me'aḥorei Kol Zeh Mistater Osher Gadol* – "Behind all This is Concealed Great Joy," 1974). David Avidan's troubador pyrotechnics, previously permeated by an air of youthful exuberance, have lost their verve.

The prose writers of the New Wave, on the other hand, played a leading role in Hebrew letters. A.B. *Yehoshua and Amos *Oz, whose short stories have been described by Hillel Barzel as meta-realistic, without entirely abandoning their symbolistic proclivities, moved closer to realism. This is evidenced in Yehoshua's bestselling novel *Ha-Me'ahev* (*The Lover*, 1976) and in Oz's *Har ha-Eẓah ha-Ra'ah* (*The Hill of Evil Counsel*, 1976). In *The Lover* the symbolic referents are less concealed. Although universal themes such as loss of innocence and aging underlie the story, it has specific Israeli-Zionist dimensions. There is not only veiled criticism of the failure of the post-1948 society to realize the Zionist-socialist ideologies of the past but an assertion of its inability to comprehend the present in terms of any ideology. Amos Oz's world is in a constant state of siege. The kibbutz, the fortified towns, are encircled by a primitive, vital and animal-like world which is ready to break in and destroy it. The state of siege is a hidden allegory pointing to the condition of modern man. In the end it is not Jews against Arabs but the clash between the destructive vital forces of the ego breaking against the ethical barriers of the id. In their quest for romantic fulfillment his female characters seem ready to surrender to the vitality of animal passion.

Amalia *Kahana-Carmon's work has greater affinity to that of the post-1948 generation. Her first collection of short stories appeared in 1966, *Bi-Khefifah Aḥat* ("Under One Roof"), and includes stories written in the late 1950s. With her novel *Ve-Yare'aḥ be-Emek Ayalon* ("And the Moon in the Valley of Ayalon," 1971) and her collection of three novellas, *Sadot Magneti'im* ("Magnetic Fields," 1977), she emerged as one of Israel's leading writers of fiction. Unlike Yehoshua and Oz, she uses a stream of consciousness technique influenced by Virginia Woolf. Kahana-Carmon's handling of narrative time is not chronological but psychological. Her major theme is the impossibility of sustained human relations, since such relationship means a surrender of that independence which alone can redeem one from the tragedy of the human condition. In the best short story in her latest book *Ḥadar ha-Ḥadashot* ("News Room"), Kahana-Carmon's style is elliptical, manneristic, elusive and freighted with all the ambivalences which mark an in-depth probing of the psychology of modern men and women.

Yiẓḥak *Orpaz, like Amaliah Kahana-Carmon, belongs to the 1948 age group but his writing is closer to that of the New Wave. While his earlier stories still retain a great deal of the realism of the 1948 group, his writing moves toward the more elliptical, involuted style of the psychological school. This is increasingly apparent in his post Six-Day War novels. *Masa Daniel* ("Daniel's Odyssey," 1969) describes how Daniel, a war-weary veteran, discovers the meaning of life through a mystical encounter with the well-springs of existence on an abandoned beach. His novel *Bayit le-Adam Eḥad* ("A House for One," 1975) is existentially religious in tone.

In *Sus Eẓ* (*Rockinghorse*, 1973) Yoram Kaniuk continues to explore the alienated Israeli. His hero Aminadav Sus Eẓ, an emigré living in New York, returns to his native Tel Aviv in the wake of the Six-Day War and proposes to make a film about the Tel Aviv of his childhood as an uncommercial exercise in self-examination. Kaniuk is at his best when he evokes the Israel of the 1930s. His artistic control of the spoken idiom and his masterful use of the stream of consciousness technique place him among the more effective writers of his generation. His story concludes with an ironic note; the film was a commercial success.

The achievement of the younger generation was mainly in poetry. The writers of prose have veered away from the fundamentally symbolist bias of their predecessors to a more realistic vein. Yitzḥak Ben-Ner, in *Shekiah Kafrit* ("Village Sunset," 1976), and Y. Koren, in *Levayah ba-Ẓohorayim* ("Funeral at Noon," 1976), set their stories in the more established communities of rural Israel.

Revolting against the anti-romantic, new-criticism type of poetry of the New Wave, the younger poets strive for a more decorative idiom. In part they take their cue from Amir Gilboa's experiments with sound and syntax. Many evoke a personal mythology in which beauty, music and free association are given free rein thus creating what Aharon Shabbetai called "the new sweet style," in which the logic of words gives way to the harmony of sound. Ya'ir Hourvitz speaks of his preferring "sea time" to "land time."'

Yonah Wallach's *Shirah* ("Poetry," 1976) tinkers with the subconscious mechanisms of feeling pushing boldly against the very borders which divide sanity from madness. In contrast, Moshe Sartal takes up the apocalyptical, mystical cadences of Uri Ẓevi Greenberg in *Basar al Gabei Geḥalim ve-Shirim Aḥerim* ("Meat Over the Coals & Other Poems," 1976). Aharon Shabbetai's *Kibbutz* (1974) was written when he was still much under the influence of the New Wave and is almost devoid of adjectives. His *Ha-Po'ema ha-Beitit* ("Domestic Poem," *Siman Kriah*, 6, 1974) is rich with images.

On the other hand, Mordecai Geldman, whose earlier poetry was suffused with pictorial opulence, began writing a sparser verse, without sacrificing musicality. "I want to say it still more/still more simply." Meir Wieseltier's approach to poetry is eclectic. He criticizes Zach for being "romantic" and "uncommitted." Zach took the "self" to be an autonomous being. Wieseltier considers his "self" exposed in all directions and susceptible to constant charges, to the direct impact of "things." In the title poem of his collected works *Kaḥ* ("Take," 1975), he takes on an anti-poetic, quasi-Mayakovskiesque tone.

Anti-romanticism carried to grotesque parody was characteristic of Hebrew playwright Ḥanoch Levin. His brutal exposé of the banality of urban living, its ugly loneliness, its cruel division between people "who make it" and "the slobs" excludes the slightest ray of hope in his society of the damned. Other playwrights who represent the New Wave in Hebrew drama of the 1970s are Hillel Mittlepunkt and Yehoshua Sobol.

[Avner Holtzman]

The 1980s and After

PROSE. Intense activity characterizes Hebrew prose since the 1980s, with members of various literary generations writing at the same time: From the "Palmaḥ Generation," which marked 60 years at the turn of the century since its appearance on the literary scene, to writers who were born in the 1960s and 1970s and made their debut in the 1980s and 1990s. The prose of this period is many-sided in theme and approach, enterprising and innovative in style and in its use of diverse literary techniques. Ideologically, this prose follows for the most part the long-established tradition which considered Hebrew literature to be a means for examining and grappling with the basic questions of Jewish-Israeli existence by exposing the collective tensions in individual characters and fates. Among the major concerns repeatedly treated are the making of Israeli identity and its relation to Jewish roots and Diaspora experience; the legitimacy and validity of the Zionist vision and the discrepancy between the initial Zionist project and its implementation; the recurrence of war and acts of terror and the inability to solve the more than 100-year old Arab/Palestinian-Israeli conflict in non-violent ways; the changes in the system of political, social, and moral values and in the mentality of the Israelis; the long shadow of the Holocaust, the inner world of the survivors as well as the duty and need to remember; problems of absorption, socio-ethnic differences and discrimination; and last, but not least, gender issues, primarily the status of women in Jewish/Israeli life and culture, and homoerotic proclivities. Grappling with these issues, writers turned to various genres and narrative modes such as the historical novel, the family saga, realistic allegories, expressionist and surrealist narratives or, more recently, to postmodernist narrative. Moreover, some authors, like Aharon *Megged, Moshe *Shamir, Abraham B. *Yehoshua, Amos *Oz, David *Grossman, Yoram *Kaniuk, and Gadi Taub, went beyond fiction and published collections of essays on social and political topics.

One of the striking phenomena is the astounding creative energy and tremendous output of the older writers, those commonly referred to as the "Palmaḥ Generation" or "Dor Ba-Areẓ." Moshe Shamir, one of the seminal voices of that group, completed his historical trilogy *Raḥok Mi-Peninim* in 1992, the saga of Zionist settlement and at the same time a sweeping epic following the various stages in the life of Leah Berman, a model type of the idealistic Jewish pioneer. During the last decade of his life, Shamir (d. 2004) published a book of poetry, a collection of stories, and a biographical novel on Avraham "Yair" Stern (2001), the legendary figure of the Leḥi underground organization, who in many respects personifies Shamir's national and political ideal. "The Jewish people faces a new Holocaust, initiated by the Muslim Arab world," Shamir warned, maintaining further that "the Arab terror has one goal: to annihilate the State of Israel."

Shamir's contemporary S. *Yizhar surprised Israeli readers in 1992: After 30 years of self-imposed silence, he published *Mikdamot* ("Foretellings"). This is a lyrical, impressionistic novel reconstructing the author's early childhood in pre-state Ereẓ Israel. The novel was followed by stories and novellas (*Ẓalhavim*, 1993, *Malkomiyah Yefefiyah*, 1998) in which the doyen of modern Hebrew prose displays his unparalleled art of storytelling, rich in sensual vivid images.

Two of the leading figures of the veteran generation passed away during the period. David *Shahar, who died in Paris in 1997, added further volumes to his monumental work *Heikhal ha-Kelim ha-Shevurim* ("The Palace of Shattered Vessels") and left behind a fragment *Har ha-Zeytim* ("The Mount of Olives"). Like Shahar, the other master of the modern Hebrew picaresque, Benjamin *Tammuz (d. 1989), also tried in his later works to view Zionism within the larger context of Jewish history, and to examine Zionist accomplishments and failings while reevaluating the Jewish heritage (e.g., *Requiem le-Na'aman*; 1987; *Requiem for Na'aman,* 1982). In his last work, *Ha-Zikkit ve-ha-Zamir* ("Chameleon and Nightingale," 1989), Tammuz presents the chronicles of a Jewish family over 1,300 years, integrating fiction, letters, diaries, and wills from the family archive. Ironically, the generation that celebrated the New Jew, the mythological Sabra, seems to have rediscovered the riches of the Jewish past. Tammuz, once committed to Canaanite ideology, was later fascinated by the mysteries of Diaspora existence. The belated encounter with Jewish life underlies also the works of Aharon Megged, Hanoch *Bartov, Nathan *Shaham, and other representatives of the "Palmaḥ Generation." Megged depicts the tensions between Hebrew and Jewish culture in his novel *Foigelman* (1987; *Foiglman*, 2003); deals with early idealists traveling to the Holy Land in *Duda'im min ha-Areẓ ha-Kedoshah* (1998; *Mandrakes from the Holy Land*, 2005); describes intrigues in the local literary scene in *Ha-Gamal ha-Me'ofef ve-Dabeshet ha-Zahav* (1982; "The Flying Camel and the Golden Hump"); recounts the joys and agonies of creative writing with humor and a touch of satire that verges on the grotesque in *Ga'agu'im le-Olgah* (1994) and *Nikmat Yotam* (2003). Bartov recollects the past in a realistic style, mingling humor with nostalgic longing (*Be-Emẓa ha-Roman*, 1988). He writes about loneliness in the big city of Tel Aviv (*Lev Shafukh*, 2001; "A Heart Poured Out"), and outlines the professional as well as personal frustrations of an aging Israeli (*Zeh Ishel Medaber*, 1990; "This is Ishel Speaking"). In 1987, Nathan Shaham published a story about four musicians and a writer in pre-State Israel, *Rosendorf Kevartet* (*The Rosendorf Quartet*, 1991), which many saw as his most accomplished work of fiction. Music figures in the novel as a metaphor for universal understanding and cosmopolitan identity, transcending nationalism and language. In the wake of the novel's success, both in Israel and abroad, Shaham followed up the adventures of the protagonists in the far less successful *Ẓilo shel Rosendorf* (2001; "Rosendorf's Shadow").

The writers known as "Dor ha-Medinah" (writers born in Ereẓ Israel in the 1930s) were equally prolific as was the movement known as the "New Wave" (G. Shaked) of the 1950s and 1960s. Yaakov *Shabtai's impressive final work, *Sof Davar* (*Past Perfect*), a masterpiece of Hebrew style and the stream-of-consciousness technique, appeared three years after his death in 1981. In her later works, Shulamit *Hareven (d. 2003) confronted seminal moments in Jewish history, going back to biblical times (*Soneh ha-Nissim*, 1983). Yehudit *Hendel was remarkably successful. Her early novels *Reḥov ha-Madregot* (1955; *Street of Steps*, 1963) and *Ha-Ḥazer shel Momo ha-Gedolah* ("The Yard of Momo the Great," 1969) were reissued (1998 and 1993, respectively) as was her first collection of stories *Anashim Aḥerim Hem* (2000; "They are Different"), one of the early literary attempts (1950) to confront the Holocaust. Hendel's trip to her native Poland resulted in a moving, perturbing book, *Leyad Kefarim Sheketim* (1987; "Near Quiet Places"). The death of her husband, painter Zvi Mairovitch, led to her extraordinary, lyrical memoir *Ha-Ko'aḥ ha-Aḥer* (1984;

"The Other Power"). Love, betrayal, loss, and bereavement are recurring themes in her prose, as in *Kesef Katan* (1988; *Small Change*, 2002), *Har Ha-To'im* (1991), and the novella *Terufo shel Rofe ha-Nefesh* (2002; "Crack-Up"). Another female writer, Ruth *Almog, published novels and stories giving prominence to the fate and the concerns of women, elderly people, and immigrants (*Shorshei Avir*, 1987; *Me'il Katon*, 1993). Together with Esther Ettinger, Almog published two bestsellers (*Me'ahev Mushlam*, 1995, and *Estelinah Ahuvati*, 2002).

The vigorous and versatile author Yoram *Kaniuk, published numerous novels and stories such as the family portrait *Post Mortem* (1992), *Od Sippur Ahavah* (1996; "Another Love Story"); the delightful *Hamalka ve-Ani* (2001; "The Queen and I"); recollections of time spent in New York (*Ḥayyim al Neyar Zekhukhit*, 2003; "I Did It My Way"); a fictitious account of a perturbing journey through Germany (*Ha-Berlinai ha-Aḥaron*, 2004; "The Last Berliner"); and books for children (*Wasserman*, 1988). Dan *Tsalka published the monumental epic mosaic *Elef Levavot* (1991). Yossel *Birstein (1920–2003), a Yiddish author hailed by some critics as the Hebrew Shalom Aleichem, published the novel *Panim ba-Anan* (1991), among others. Yitzhak *Orpaz, David Schütz, Naomi *Frankel, Ehud Ben Ezer and Amos *Kenan came out with new novels and collections of stories, as did Yitzhak *Ben-Ner with his realistic, often somber portraits of decadent contemporary Israeli society (*Protokol*, 1982; *Boker shel Shotim*, 1992; *Ir Miklat*, 2000).

Special attention was paid by critics and readers to new works by Abraham B. Yehoshua, Amos Oz, Yehoshua *Kenaz, Meir *Shalev and David *Grossman. Yehoshua continued to explore and modify the realistic-psychological family novel and the narrative of mono-dialogues, while constructing parallel plots and playing with hidden ideas and allegories. *Molcho* (1987; *Five Seasons*, 1989) depicts the tumultuous first year in the life of the widower Molcho and the mental process he undergoes in his pursuit of a new life. Jewish history and Zionist dreams underlie the novel *Mar Mani* (1990; *Mr. Mani*, 1992), the story of a Sephardi family over five generations. Jewish history in Spain and in Ashkenaz is featured in *Mas'a el Tom ha-Elef* (1997; *A Journey to the End of the Millennium*, 1999). The physical journey as a voyage into the subconscious is a leitmotif in Yehoshua's prose as in *Ha-Shivah mi-Hodu* (1994; *Open Heart*, 1996). In his latest novels, Yehoshua has returned to the political scene: In *Ha-Kalah ha-Meshaḥreret* (2001; *The Liberated Bride*, 2003) the Orientalist Yohanan Rivlin confronts the traditions and hardships of Israeli Arabs living in Galilee and of Palestinians in the West Bank; in *Sheliḥuto shel ha-Memuneh le-Mashabei Enosh* (2004) he tells the story of a Russian worker who is killed in a terror attack in Jerusalem as a kind of modern Passion, at times comic, at others serene.

The many shades of the collective Israeli experience are present in the prose works which Amos Oz, the best-known Israeli author abroad, has published over the past two decades. Oz addressed the changes in the political climate in Israel (e.g., *Menuḥah Nekhonah*, 1982; *A Perfect Peace*, 1985; *Kufsah Sheḥorah*, 1987; *Black Box*, 1989) as well as the relationships between Ashekanzi and Sephardi Israelis (e.g., *Kufsah Sheḥorah*); His landscapes vary from the Negev desert (*Al Tagidi Laylah*, 1994; *Don't Call It Night*, 1995) to the unappealing cityscapes of Bat Yam (*Oto ha-Yam*, 1998; *The Same Sea*, 2001). In his later novels (*Lada'at Ishah*, 1989, *To Know a Woman*, 1991; *Ha-Maẓav ha-Shelishi*, 1991, *Fima*, 1993; *Oto ha-Yam*) he gives prominence to trials and dreams of anti-heroes, men like Fima or Albert Danon. Moving away from his highly symbolical early stories, Oz experimented with narrative modes: He turned to the epistolary novel (*Kufsah Sheḥorah* or the story "*Ga'agu'im*"), structured his novel *Oto Ha-Yam* as poetic prose fragments which at times even rhyme, and merged the autobiographical with the fictional in his universally acclaimed work, *Sippur al Ahavah ve-Ḥoshekh* (2002; *A Tale of Love and Darkness*, 2004) which he defined as an "autobiographical novel".

David Grossman, the outstanding author to emerge during the 1980s, is equally innovative. His wide-ranging works deal with the Arab-Israeli conflict (e.g., *Ḥiyukh ha-Gedi*, 1983; *The Smile of the Lamb*, 1990) as well as the inadequacy of language to confront the Holocaust (in the highly ambitious *Ayen Erekh Ahavah*, 1986; *See Under Love*, 1989). Grossman also revisits his youth in Jerusalem in the 1960s (*Sefer ha-Dikduk ha-Penimi*, 1991; *The Book of Intimate Grammar*, 1994) and depicts the peculiar love relationship, an affair in writing, between Miriam, a married woman, and the younger Yair in *She-Tihiyi li Sakkin* (1998; *Be My Knife*, 2001), an epistolary novel containing intertextual allusions to Kafka's *Letters to Milena*. Time and again Grossman tests the power of language to convey meaning and emotions, and reflects on his own métier, the world of fiction. In 2002 he published *Ba-Guf Ani Mevinah*.

Exceptionally popular among Israeli readers is Meir Shalev, who made his literary début with *Roman Russi* (1988; *The Blue Mountain*, 1991), the chronicle of pioneering settlers in the Jezreel Valley. Shalev's novels (*Esav*, 1991; *Be-Veyto ba-Midbar*, 1998; *Fontanella*, 2002) combine realistic and fantastic elements, and his multi-layered narrative teems with biblical and mythic associations.

Yehoshua Kenaz is one of two prominent Israeli authors who shun publicity, declining interviews as well as all forms of public relations. But this has in no way affected the success and high reputation which he and Yoel *Hoffman have enjoyed. Kenaz, whose first novel, *Aḥarei ha-Ḥagim*, appeared in 1964 (*After the Holidays*, 1987), published remarkable novels dealing with the frailty of human relations, the loneliness of individuals in urban society (*Maḥzir Ahavot Kodmot*, 1997; *Returning Old Loves*, 2001), physical and mental decline (*Ha-Derekh el ha-Ḥatulim*, 1991; *The Way to the Cats*, 1994), or the disruption of adolescence and rites of manhood (*Moment Musikali*, 1980; *Musical Moment*, 1995). One of his finest accomplishments is the novel *Hitganvut Yeḥidim* (*Heart Murmur*, 2003), a book which has been compared to Yizhar's seminal *Yemei*

Ẓiklag: The story of a group of recruits in an Israeli army base in the 1950s presents individual lives and at the same time a kaleidoscope of Israeli society.

Like Kenaz, Yoel Hoffman was born in 1937, but unlike him – Kenaz is a Sabra who grew up in the "Moshava" – Hoffman's first year of life was spent in Hungary. He presents a world of uprooted Jews, Europeans who escaped the Holocaust by the skin of their teeth, yet remain strangers in Israeli society. They remain German Jews, their acquired Hebrew interspersed with German expressions, their dreams filled with longings for the culture they had to leave behind (*Bernhart*, *Kristus shel Daggim*). While Kenaz is a virtuoso of realistic style, Hoffman's prose is postmodern: instead of a traditional, linear plot, he writes an idiosyncratic narrative made up of enigmatic fragments in a private, Joyce-like language. Anecdotes, recollections, and observations both humorous and melancholy form a unique prose texture which poses a challenge to the reader.

The European world left behind and primarily the cataclysm of the Holocaust seem to engross the imagination of Israeli writers the more they recede in time. An attempt to map out the many prose works relating to the Shoah discloses various groups. The first comprises the survivors themselves. Innumerable books recollecting the traumatic years of humiliation, hunger, constant fear, brutal persecution, and above all the loss of family members, have appeared over the last 25 years. Quite a number of these "nonprofessional" authors, such as psychologist Shlomo Bresnitz (*Sedot ha-Zikaron*, 1993), Ruth Segal (*Goyah im Nemashim*, 2002), or Esther Eisen (*Imi Tafrah Kokhavim*, 2003), to name but a few, display remarkable literary subtlety. Established authors such as Uri *Orlev recounted their shattering experiences in the ghetto and the concentration camps in books for adults and young readers. Among the survivor-writers, however, Aharon *Appelfeld is unique in his obsessive descriptions of a world lost forever. In spare, unsentimental yet powerful prose, Appelfeld describes a prewar Jewish community that shut its eyes to reality; men and women who wander alone or in small groups across Europe, hoping to be saved; others who fail to escape death; antisemites, oppressors, and occasionally warm-hearted Christians who empathize with the victims and help them (*Katarina*). It is notable, however, that Appelfeld's survivors remain strangers in their new home, Israel. They cannot start a new life. Instead they are haunted by the past, or consciously indulge in memories of earlier days. Some even reject any hope for a new beginning, glorifying instead their years in the forests or in the camps, which they consider to have been their finest "heroic" hour.

Israeli writers born in Israel before the war, such as Yoram Kaniuk or Nathan Shaham, focused mainly on the emotional scars of the survivors while European-born authors who came to Palestine before the Holocaust – such as Naomi Frankel, Yehudit Hendel, or Shulamith Hareven – wrote about a childhood world left behind and the "otherness" of the survivors. David Schütz, born in Berlin in 1941, wrote compelling semi-autobiographical novels, such as *Ha-Esev ve-ha-Ḥol* (1978; "The Grass and the Sand"). Most impressive, however, is the prose written by the so-called "Second Generation": Israeli writers born after the Shoah who nonetheless felt the need to confront that unique chapter in Jewish history. David Grossman's novel *Ayen Erekh Ahavah* (1986) is a milestone in the works of Sabra authors on the Holocaust. Savyon *Liebrecht (b. 1948; *Tapuḥim min ha-Midbar*, 1986; *Apples from the Desert*, 1998; *Susim al Kevish Gehah,* 1988), Nava Semel (b. 1954; *Kova Zekhukhit*, 1985, "Hat of Glass"; *Ẓeḥok shel Akhbarosh*, 2001, "The Rat Laughs"), Ya'akov Buchan (b. 1946;*Yeled Shakuf,* 1998), Eleonora Lev (*Sug Mesuyam shel Yatmut*, 1999, "A Certain Kind of Orphanhood"), Hannah Herzig (*Temunot Meḥapessot Koteret*, 1997), Lizzie Doron (b. 1953; *Lamah lo B'at lifnei ha-Milḥamah,* 1998; *Hayetah Po Pa'am Mishpaḥah*, 2002), Lili Perry (b. 1953; *Golem ba-Ma'agal*, 1987, "Golem in the Circle"), Rachel Talshir (b.1957; *Ha-Ahavah Meshaḥreret*, 2001, "Love Macht frei"; *Pegishah bi-Keẓeh ha-Erev*, 2003, "Meeting at the Edge of the Evening"), Amir Gutfreund (b. 1963;*Shoah Shelanu*, 2000; "Our Holocaust"), to name but a few, depict the sufferings of the victims and the effect of the parents' traumatic experiences on their children who were often brought up amidst secrets and untold tales, and had to discover the truth for themselves years later.

The relationship between German persecutors and their Jewish victims is yet another aspect of the complex Holocaust theme, especially in the works of Savyon Liebrecht, Itamar Levy (b. 1956; *Agadat ha-Agamim ha-Aẓuvim*, 1990, "The Legend of the Sad Lakes") or Rivka Keren (b. 1946; *Anatomiyah shel Nekamah*, 1993, "Anatomy of Revenge").

Confronting the Holocaust inevitably sensitized the authors to the "otherness" of the survivors, who could not or would not conform to the model of the New Jew, the self-confident Sabra. The literature of the past decades shows that the survivors were only one group of outsiders who drew the attention of Israeli authors. Another group was the Oriental Jews, who immigrated to Israel from various Arab countries in the 1950s. Among the older generation (Sami *Michael, Shimon *Ballas, Amon Shamosh, Dan Benaya *Seri, Yitzhak Gormezano-Goren, Eli *Amir), recent years have seen many works on the hardships of and discrimination against immigrants and their children in overcrowded transit camp ("*ma'barot*"), in development towns or destitute city suburbs (such as south Tel Aviv). Among these are novels by Albert Suissa (b. 1951; *Akud*, "Bound,"1990), Sami Bardugo (b. 1970; *Yaldah Sheḥorah*, "Black Girl," 1999), Dudu Busi (b. 1969; *Ha-Yare'aḥ Yarok ba-Vadi*, "The Moon Goes Green in the Wadi," 2000; *Pere Aẓil*, "A Noble Savage," 2003), and Yossi Sucary (b. 1959; *Emiliyah ve-Melakh ha-Areẓ*, "Emilia," 2002). In fact, the growing self-awareness of the so-called Oriental writers combined with a feeling of long-suffering injustice have led to the founding of a press (Kedem) as well as a magazine (*Ha-Kivvun Mizraḥ*) promoting this literature.

Another social group which did not conform to the ideal of the secular, heroic Israeli and was thus ignored, occasionally even denounced by the dominant Zionist narrative, was that of religious and ultra-Orthodox Jews, who have recently become the subject of a growing number of novels and stories. Haim *Be'er (*Noẓot*, *Et ha-Zamir*, *Ḥavalim*), wrote partly autobiographical novels, often marked by biting criticism, about the ultra-Orthodox Jerusalem milieu in which he grew up. The hermetic world of religious Jews is also depicted by Dov Elbaum (b. 1970; *Zeman Elul*, 1997; *Ḥayyai im ha-Avot*, 2001), Yisrael Segal (*Ne'ilah*, 1990;*Vekhi Naḥash Memit?*, 2004), and by a significant number of women writers, who turned their back on the restrictive ḥaredi milieu in which they grew up. Among these are Yehudit Rotem, Yochi Brandes, Mira Magen (with novels like *Al Take ba-Kir*, 1997), Haya Esther (Godlevsky), and Hanna Bat-Shahar (a nom de plume for an Orthodox woman writer).

Indeed, the "other" in his various configurations has ousted the mythologized, self-confident Israeli from his dominant position and moved from the margins of Hebrew literature to center stage. Along with stories about various ethnic minorities (Sephardi, Bukhari, Iraqi Jews, or "yekkes"), the voice of new immigrants from the Soviet Union has made itself heard. Writers like Alona Kimhi, who was born in Lvov in 1966 (*Ani, Anastasia*, 1996, *I, Anastasia*, 2000; *Suzannah Bokhiyah*, 1999, *Weeping Susannah,* 2001), Marina Groslerner, who came to Israel at the age of six (*Lalya*, 2001), or Suzane Adam (*Kevisah*, "Laundry," 2000; *Maymia*, 2002), who was born in Transylvania and came to Israel at the age of 10, have written about their native country and their experience as immigrants in Israel, particularly in their earlier works. Born in Leningrad, Alex Epstein (b. 1971) came to Israel in 1980 and is one of the younger original writers who experiment with various narrative techniques, as in *Ahuvato shel Metapes Harim* ("The Mountaineer's Beloved," 1999) or in his dictionary-like novel *Milon Mahapakh* ("Honey Dictionary," 2000).

Beside these religious and ethnic minorities, women have made a sweeping entrance into male-dominated Hebrew literature, both as fictional figures and as writers. Cynical observers of the contemporary Israeli scene maintain that being a woman and writing about female concerns guarantee the publication and commercial success of a novel. The list of female writers who started publishing over the past three decades is impressive, especially in view of the few women writers in previous generations and the fact that the main issues of Israeli life – war, army life, professional success, political involvement etc. – were almost always represented by male characters. Along with established women such as Amalia Kahana-Carmon – one of the first and most vehement champions of gender issues – and Yehudit Hendel, many new names have joined the literary scene. Among these are Dorit Abusch (1955–), Leah Eini (1962–), Marit Ben Israel, Gail Hareven (1959–), Esty G. Haim (1963–), Yael Hedaya (1964–), Shifra Horn, Avirama Golan, Judith *Katzir (1963–), Ronit *Matalon (1959–), Dorit Rabinyan (1972–), Zeruyah *Shalev (1959–), and Shoham Smith (1966–). Their fiction addresses political and historical issues, social and ethnic themes as well as "typically" feminine concerns such as love, sexuality, betrayal and abandonment, menstruation, pregnancy, motherhood and female friendship, or the status and role of women in Israeli society.

The new gender-oriented literature also deals with homoerotic love. Yossi Avni (a pseudonym) published stories (*Gan ha-Eẓim ha-Metim*, "The Garden of the Dead Trees," 1995) and novels (*Arba'ah Aḥim*, "Four Brothers," 1998; *Doda Farhumah lo Hayetah Zonah*, "Auntie Farhuma Wasn't a Whore After All," 2002) depicting homosexual relations, as have Ilan Schoenfeld (*Rak Attah*, "Only You," 1998), Motti Auerbuch (*Elohim Nekheh Me'ah Aḥuz*, "God Is One Hundred Percent Disabled," 2003), Yossi Waxman (*Alexandria Yakirati*, "Dear Alexandria," 1988; *Liebchen*, 2004) and Dan Shavit (*Pitom Ra'iti Oto*, "Suddenly I Saw Him," 2004). Yehudit Katzir recounts a lesbian relationship between a young woman and her teacher in her novel *Hineh Ani Matḥilah* ("Here I Begin," 2003).

While the majority of Israeli writers cling to the realistic modes of expression and traditional conventions of characterization, some of the younger writers explore postmodernist techniques. No doubt the most outstanding of these (apart from Yoel Hoffman, mentioned above) is Orly *Castel-Bloom (b. 1960; *Doli Siti*, *Ḥalakim Enoshiyim*). Particularly popular among younger readers is Etgar Keret (1967–), who has published collections of mini-narratives and comics that shift between the funny and the serious, the real and the imaginary. These and other postmodernist writers are eager to debunk prevailing myths, to experiment and to shock; they play with language, probe metaphors and clichés, and underscore the inadequacy of words while creating their own vocabulary.

Other original voices in contemporary Hebrew literature include Gabriela *Avigur-Rotem (b. 1946; *Mozart Lo Hayah Yehudi*; "Mozart Was Not a Jew"; *Ḥamsin ve-Ẓipporim Meshuga'ot*, "Heatwave and Crazy Birds"); Yitzhak *Laor (1948–), Youval *Shimoni (b. 1955; *Me'of ha-Yonah*; "The Flight of the Dove," 1990; *Ḥeder*, "Room," 1999); Dror Burstein (b. 1970; *Avner Brenner*, 2003); Yoav Alvin (b. 1962; *Marak*, "Soup," 2002); Benny Barbash (b. 1951; *My First Sony*, 1994; *Hilukh Ḥozer*, "Rerun," 2003) Uzi Weill (b. 1964; *Le'an Holekh ha-Zikaron ke-she-Anu Metim*, 1996); Alon Ḥilu (with the historical-fictional novel *Mot ha-Nazir*, "Death of a Monk," 2004); Eran Bar-Gil (b. 1969, with his lyrical, reflective novel about identical twins handed over for adoption soon after their birth, titled *Parsah ve-Kinor,* "Horseshoe and Violin," 2005) and Eshkol Nevo (1971–) with the novel *Arba'ah Batim ve-Ga'agu'a* ("Osmosis," 2004), a fine example of the way collective Israeli experience and questions concerning the Zionist narrative are intertwined with the experience of individual protagonists.

The reproach sometimes voiced is that the new writers are a "private generation," less preoccupied with collective national and political themes than with selfish concerns, materialistic gratification, and immediate pleasure, but this is inaccurate. In some prose writers, the political is clearly present between the lines; others, like Etgar Keret, handle it with less pathos than previous generations, but with equal urgency. Troubled by recent political developments, Itamar Levy published *Otiyot ha-Shemesh, Otiyot ha-Yare'aḥ* ("Letters of the Sun, Letters of the Moon," 1991), Semadar Herzfeld recounts a Romeo-and-Juliet love affair between a Palestinian and an Israeli woman in *Inta Omari* (1994). Yitzhak Laor published *Am, Ma'akhal Melakhim* (1993) and *Ve-Im Ruḥi Geviyati*, and Boaz Neuman (1971–) wrote an autobiographical account with the ironic title *Ḥayal Tov* ("Good Soldier," 2001). Asher Kravitz (1969–) wrote a disturbing, albeit funny novel about an Israeli soldier disguised as a Palestinian (*Ani, Mustafah Rabinovitch,* 2004) and Gilad Evron (1955–) published a prose collection titled *Mareh Makom* (2003).

As the discussion on the literary canon continues and critics vary in their opinion of which prose works "qualify" as canonical, there has been a continuous expansion of so-called "popular literature." The weekly list of bestsellers features many writers who are often commercially more successful and popular than the leading canonical ones; their novels (e.g., Irit Linor, *Shirat ha-Sirenah*, *Benot Braun*) set up a mirror to the prevailing Israeli mentality and create a literary vogue that is later imitated by others (Michal Shalev, *Shevua'at Rachel*, 1997; Sheli Yechimowitz, *Eshet Ish*, 2001; Rakefet Zohar, *Ha-Aḥayot Schuster Nikhnasot le-Herayon*, 2002; Semadar Shir, *Roman Amiti*, 2002). Among the reasons for the proliferation of this inferior, titillating prose, is no doubt the ever-growing number of new publishing houses that are willing to take commercial risks and publish unknown young writers, as well as the dictates of a market that is dependent on ratings. Beside the long-standing publishing houses (Schocken, Am Oved Ha-Kibbuẓ ha-Me'uḥad and the associated Ha-Sifriah ha-Ḥadashah), new publishing enterprises have shot up like mushrooms. Among these are Keter, Zemorah-Bitan, Sifriat Maariv, Yedioth Ahronoth, Miskal, Kinneret and Kedem, Bavel, Ḥargol, Gevanim, Astrolog and Carmel. Mention should also be made of Keshet, Ram *Oren's privately owned press, which began by publishing its owner's commercially successful thrillers and later published also "pop"-literature (Kobi Oz) as well as bestsellers of considerable literary quality such as the novels of Avigur-Rotem and Zeruyah Shalev. Keshet is a major promoter of Israeli detective novels (Ram Oren), though others have followed suit. Amnon *Dankner has published a detective novel set against the emergence of Zionism, *Ha-Ish le-Lo Aẓamot*, "The Man without Bones," 2002; see also *Malkodet ha-Devash*, 1994). On the whole, the sophisticated Israeli thriller, a relatively new genre in Israeli fiction, has had tremendous success and includes writers of international repute such as Batya *Gur, Uri *Adelman, Shulamith Lapid, Amnon Jackont, and Agur Schiff.

Finally, at the initiative of publishers, editors, and literary scholars, major books by earlier generations have been reissued and some forgotten classics of early Hebrew literature rediscovered. These include the prose of David *Vogel, David Kimchi's family saga *Beit Ḥefeẓ* ("House of Hefetz"), Aharon *Reuveni's trilogy *Ad Yerushalayim*, as well as prose works by Y.H. *Brenner, M.Y. *Berdyczewski, D. *Frischmann, and A. *Hameiri, S. Yizhar, M. Shamir, H. Bartov, B. Tammuz, and others.

POETRY Over the past 25 years Israeli poets have alternated between politically oriented and meditative, personal poetry. The Lebanon War of 1982–83 as well as the First and Second Intifadas produced an impressive protest poetry. Two collections were published following the Lebanon War: *Ḥaẓiyyat Gevul* ("Crossing the Border") and *Ve-Eyn Tikhlah li-Keravot u-le-Hereg* ("Fighting and Killing No End"). The poetry that emerged in the wake of the Lebanon War and the uprisings of the Palestinians was written by established poets like Nathan *Zach, Yehuda *Amichai, Meir *Wieseltier, Moshe *Dor, Aryeh *Sivan, and Aharon *Shabtai as well as by newcomers to the literary scene: Maja *Bejerano (1949–), Rami Ditzany, Yitzhak *Laor (1948–), and Rami Sa'ari (1963–). Poets expressed shame, fear, rage, and helplessness. The political poems of Dalia *Ravikovitch were particularly impressive (see: *Ima im Yeled,* "Mother with Child"), and focused on the sufferings of the individual victim, especially the agony of mothers and children. The impact of the Gulf War was reflected almost immediately in Hebrew poetry; see, for example, the collections published by David *Avidan and Ilan Schoenfeld.

The tendency of contemporary Hebrew poets to reflect on their own medium – language – was seen in two anthologies edited by Ruth Kartun-Blum: *Shirah bi-Rei Aẓmah* ("Poetry in its own Mirror," 1982) and *Yad Kotevet Yad* ("Self-Reflexive Hebrew Poetry," 1989). Kartun-Blum also edited the volume *Me'ayin Naḥalti et Shiri* ("Writers and Poets on Sources of Inspiration," 2002).

The past two decades have also seen the passing of prominent poets of the older generation like S. *Halkin, A. *Yeshurun, Z. *Gilead, K.A. *Bertini and * Zelda, as well as of poets belonging to the "Palmah Generation" and the "Generation of the State" such as A. *Gilboa, A. *Hillel (Hillel Omer), Y. *Shalev, A. *Kovner, D. *Pagis, A. Sachs, and, in 2000, the internationally famous Yehuda *Amichai. The "Tel Aviv Circle," which dominated the scene in the 1960s and 1970s, lost two of its seminal figures: Yona *Wallach (d. 1985) and Yair *Hourvitz (d. 1988). Meir *Wieseltier, who belonged to that group, published a number of collections which gave impressive expression to intimate experiences, childhood memories, and current events (*Mikhtavim ve-Shirim Aḥerim*, *Maḥsan*).

Artistic maturity and a tendency to reflect on time, old age, and transience characterize the writing of veteran poets of the "Palmaḥ Generation" and the "Generation of the State," with new collections coming out as well as the publication of the collected works of H. *Gouri, N. *Zach, M. *Dor, A. *Sivan, Moshe Ben Shaul (1930–) and Ya'akov Besser (1934–). A tone of maturity and sobriety prevails also in the poems of Ori *Bernstein (who also published a sensitive, melancholy autobiographical novel in the genre of the *Bildungsroman*, *Safek Ḥayyim*, 2002). Asher *Reich, Tuvia

*Rübner, and Israel Pincas (b. 1935; *Geneologia*, 1997) published new books of poetry that tended to avoid abstraction and sentimentality. Instead, subtle reflection is expressed in a poetic language whose deeper connotations are masked by a simple, spoken style.

Blending together the world of scientific thought with recollections and immediate experiences scientist-poet Avner Treinin (1928–) published a number of original collections (*Euclidium*, 1985; *Zikhron ha-Mayim*, 1991). One of the consequences of abandoning the "high" diction used by previous generations was a more intimate access to the psyche and the observation of mental processes and crises. Among the first to turn inward was Yona Wallach, followed by poets like Leah Ayalon (*Daniel, Daniel*, 1988; *Yehudiyot ve-Yehudim*, 2001), Maja Bejerano (1949– ; *Bat Ya'anah*, 1978; *Anaseh Laga'at be-Tabur Bitni*, 1998), and others. Instead of romantic love, male poets (e.g., Aharon Shabtai in *Zivah*) and, more importantly, a considerable number of women depicted the sexual experience, celebrating the authentic erotic element and occasionally transforming their poetry into a manifesto for transsexuality. Indeed, bisexuality as well as homoeroticism figure prominently in contemporary Hebrew poetry as in the writing of Hezy Leskli (1952–1994; *Leah Goldberg ve-ha-Akhbarim*) and in poems by Ilan Schoenfeld (1960– ; *Leta'ah Mekhushefet*, 1981) or in the lesbian poetess known as Shez.

Others who made their debut during the past three decades and publish regularly are M. *Geldman (1946–);Yosef Sharon (1952– ; *Dibbur*, 1978; *Sippur Iti*, 1994), Zali Gurevitch (1949– ; *Shurah Pesukah*, 1984; *Sefer Yare'aḥ*, 1998), Ronny *Someck (1951– ; *Goleh,* 1976; *Bloody Mary*, 1994), Pereẓ Dror Banay (1947– ; *Ḥamẓan*, 1980; *Turkiz*, 1993; *Gevul Aḥaron le-Yofi*, 1999), Erez Biton (1942– ; *Minḥah Marokait*, 1976; *Ẓippor bein Yabashot*, 1989), Zvi Azmon (1948– ; *Kortekst*, 1993), Leah Ayalon, Sabina Messeg (1942– ; *Zeh ha-Yam ha-Zeh, Yam Kinneret*, 1998); Hava Pincas-Gan (1955–); Miron C. Izakson (1956–), Yonadav Kaploun (1963– ; *Ha-Keter ha-Afor*, 1987; *Bat Shelomo*, 1994); and Admiel Kosman (1957– ; *Higanu le-Elohim*, 1998), the last two coming from a religious background. Some poets, like Rami Sa'ari (1963– ; *Hineh Maẓati et Beiti*, 1988; *Kamah ve-Khama Miḥamah*, 2002), Dori Manor (*Bariton*, 2005; notably poetry which reverts to traditional forms and rhymed verse), and Amir Or (1956–) have also translated world poetry into Hebrew. An unusual voice is that of Maya Arad (1971–), a linguist living in Stanford, Calif., in the United States, who published a novel in rhymed verse (*Makom Aḥer Ir Zarah*, 2003), which tells the story of Orit, a soldier who has been asked to write a leaflet about Israeli identity and to help a lonely soldier who has just immigrated from Canada to feel at home. Inspired by Pushkin's *Eugene Onegin*, she spices her unusual poetic text, written in a seemingly old-fashioned rhyme scheme, with wit and humor. The poetry of Agi *Mishol (1947–) has attracted a great deal of attention from literary critics such as Dan Miron and from the media; as a result, she has advanced to the forefront of the contemporary scene. On the whole, however, Hebrew poetry arouses far less interest than prose. It is read by a coterie of loyal devotees, many of whom write and publish their own poetry. Poems are usually published in the literary supplements of the bigger newspapers, in literary journals such as *Moznayim*, *Iton 77*, *Siman Keriah*, *Keshet ha-Ḥadashah*, *Akhsahv*, *Dimmu'i, Ho!,* and *Mita'am*, or in special journals promoting poetry, such as *Ḥadarim* and *Helikon*. Publishers are reluctant to take the risk of publishing poetry; among the few who do so are Keshev, Eked, and Ha-Kibbuẓha-Me'uḥad, Tag, Even Ḥoshen, and Shufra. An important contribution to the dissemination of Hebrew poetry abroad is no doubt the English-language periodical *Modern Hebrew Literature*, published by the Institute for the Translation of Hebrew Literature, the *Tel Aviv Review,* and the magazine *Ariel*, which has been published intermittently for many years in various languages, including English, German, and French, and is sponsored by the Ministry for Foreign Affairs. Along with the translation of individual poems in various foreign periodicals and anthologies (e.g., T. Carmi's *Hebrew Verse*), a number of poets have had books of poetry published in foreign languages (Amichai, Dor, Reich). The new and updated edition of *The Modern Hebrew Poem Itself* (edited by Stanley Burnshaw, T. Carmi, S. Glassman, Ariel Hirschfeld, and Ezra Spicehandler; Wayne University Press, 2003) is highly recommended. It includes translations, interpretations of individual poems, and general articles on Hebrew poetry and prosody.

Finally, one should mention new editions as well as the collected works of leading poets of previous generations. The two main projects, both directed by Dan Miron, were the scholarly edition of Ḥ.N. Bialik's poetry (two volumes: 1983, 1990) and the complete work of U.Z. *Greenberg. Avner Holtzman is responsible for a new edition of Bialik's poems (Devir Publishing House, 2005) marking the 70th anniversary of his death. There has been a new edition of *Kol Kitvei Tschernichovsky* (1990–98), a collection of Lea Goldberg's poems (1989) and a new edition of *Shirei Raḥel* (1997). Yehuda Amichai's collected poems were published in five volumes shortly after his death (2002–04). A previously unknown book of David Vogel's poetry, *Le'ever ha-Demamah*, was published by Menaḥem Peri in 1983. Other poets whose work was collected after their death are Y. *Katzenelson, A. *Ben-Yitzhak, Y. *Karni, E. *Raab, A. Chalfi, A. *Gilboa, D. *Pagis, and Y. *Hourvitz. A selection of poems by Y. *Orland appeared in 1997.

[Anat Feinberg (2nd ed.)]

DRAMA

Introduction

The drama is one of the least developed forms of literary expressions in Hebrew literature. Some have attributed its modest achievements to the inherent contradiction between the monotheistic spirit of the Jewish religion and the dualism implicit in drama (A.J. *Paperna, I. *Zinberg, and others). Others have stressed the objection of the sages to the ritualistic and "heretical" aspects of the drama (J.H. *Schirmann) which emerged in the Western World (e.g., the medieval mystery, morality, miracle, and passion plays). Jewish tradition undoubtedly inhibited the development of the drama since the art of the theater was incompatible with the traditional way of life. The secularization of Jewish life, a process which started in the 18th century and stimulated the development of secular literature, did not, however, in its initial phases, mark a rise in dramatic art, nor lead to the establishment of independent Jewish theaters. The revival of spoken Hebrew lagged behind the revival of the written language, impeding the development of the Hebrew drama, a genre primarily dependent on the spoken idiom. Thus until Hebrew became a living tongue, there was little prospect that a vital Hebrew theater might flourish. The Jewish theatergoer, introduced to his secular foreign environment, found satisfaction for his dramatic needs beyond the limits of the Jewish pale.

Amateur and professional Hebrew troupes emerged in Eastern Europe and in Ereẓ Israel only at the close of the 19th century. The amateur Hebrew groups of Brody and Lodz and itinerant troupes, like I. *Katzenelson's, were the harbingers of the Hebrew theater in the Diaspora, where since Abraham *Goldfaden (1840–1906) the Yiddish theater had greatly flourished. The amateur theatrical troupe in Jaffa, on the other hand, was the precursor of the theater in Israel. By the 1920s there already existed in Ereẓ Israel a professional theater while in the Diaspora, *Habimah, the first professional Hebrew theatrical company (established 1917, premiere in 1918) gained a great reputation in Russia. It established itself in Tel Aviv in 1931.

The development of the Hebrew theater in the 20th century is linked with the Zionist movement, the revival of Hebrew as a spoken language, and the Jewish claim for cultural national autonomy. The linguistic and sociocultural reorientation in the attitude of the public to the theater gave new impetus to the Hebrew drama (intended for the stage) and brought about its continuous development in Hebrew literature.

Early Beginnings

Dramatic elements and dialogue are already found in the Book of Job and, at a later period, in the *piyyut* (the Hebrew liturgical hymn), for example "*Ozlat Yokheved*"; or in some of the polemical verse of Abraham *Ibn Ezra depicting the conflict between body and soul, summer and winter, water and wine. Hebrew drama as such was, however, written occasionally mainly in Italy and Holland as early as the end of the 16th century and during the 17th and 18th centuries. This period in the Hebrew drama is mainly characterized by sporadic isolated plays which failed to lead to a continuous development and by a "literary," nontheatrical structure of the play.

Judah Leone b. Isaac *Sommo's *Ẓaḥut Bediḥuta de-Kiddushin* ("An Eloquent Marriage Farce"), the first Hebrew play, was written in Italy under the influence of the 16th-century Italian comedy. Though first printed in 1618, it had apparently been written a few years earlier. Schirmann assumes that it was probably staged in connection with Purim. Unlike Jewish playwrights of the 17th and 18th centuries, Sommo was well versed in theatrical technique (his essay *Trattato sul arte rappresentativa* points to this fact); his language is not purely biblical but contains later Hebrew phrasing and idioms lending the play not merely a visual but also an auditory dimension. The plot, characters, and structure are borrowed from the *commedia dell'arte* and only the Jewish comic subject (related to halakhic problems) and the cultural atmosphere in the play are original.

Most Hebrew playwrights of the 17th and 18th centuries (from Sommo to Moses Ḥayyim *Luzzatto) were unable to free themselves from the influence of the "Mediterranean" culture. They tried to transpose the Italian and Spanish live theater into the Jewish cultural milieu. In their adaptation of dramatic elements to a language and themes remote from the theater, they forfeited the structural authenticity of the play.

Moses *Zacuto in *Yesod Olam* (Altona, 1874), a dramatization of the story of Abraham and Nimrod, imitates the Spanish auto, and in *Tofteh Arukh* (Venice, 1715, 1881^{2}), whose plot is the journey of the dead to hell, he follows the structure and content of medieval Christian allegorical plays. *Asirei ha-Tikvah* ("Prisoners of Hope," Amsterdam, 1673, Leghorn, 1771^{2}), by Joseph Penso de la Vega, is patterned according to the Spanish *commedia*. Both Zacuto and Penso published their plays in Amsterdam, which was then enjoying a late renaissance of Judeo-Spanish culture.

Plays written in Hebrew in Italy during this period drew on their foreign cultural environment for their dramatic form and style without reference to contemporary Hebrew drama, thus failing to create a continuous link. Immanuel *Frances wrote a few occasional plays for festivals, a dramatic dialogue on woman (1670), and a Purim play. The most significant playwright of the Italian school, Moses Ḥayyim *Luzzatto, had a definite effect on the development of the Hebrew drama. He wrote three different types of plays which had been influenced by the Italian allegorical and pastoral drama. *Ma'aseh Shimshon* ("The Story of Samson," 1724) serves as a paradigm to illustrate the dramatic genre in his work on literary theory, *Leshon Limmudim* (Mantua, 1727). The play, a monologue interspersed with a chorus and fragmentary dialogue, is not a genuine drama. His other two plays, *Migdal Oz* ("The Mighty Tower," 1837) and *La-Yesharim Tehillah* ("Praise to the Upright," Amsterdam 1743, 1954^{25}), show the influence of Guarini's pastoral drama, *Pastor Fido*. Luzzatto attempted to impose on Jewish moral themes and ethical language the Italian dramatic structure. (It has been suggested that these plays also allude to kabbalistic themes.) *Migdal Oz*, the story of young lovers who prevail over antagonists scheming against them, is an allegorical-pastoral drama. It is the earlier of the two plays and had no decisive influence on the Hebrew dramatic genre. Conversely, Luzzatto's *La-Yesharim Tehillah* greatly influenced the development of the Hebrew play in the 18th and 19th centuries. It is an allegorical drama in which the characters are personifications of positive and negative moral qualities. The theme is the victory of good over evil and the plot – the story of lovers who separate and then are reunited – represents the struggle of the forces of good to be united as one, and to have their virtue universally acknowledged. "Yosher" (uprighteousness) claims and finally wins "Tehillah" (praise). In his contest against "Tarmit" (deceit) and "Rahav" (conceit), he is helped by "Sekhel" (reason).

Haskalah Drama

La-Yesharim Tehillah was the first Hebrew play which exerted direct influence upon the subsequent Hebrew drama. Its dramatic and didactic elements affected Hebrew authors caught up in the *Haskalah movement as it moved from Western to Eastern Europe. Unrighteousness was viewed as a symbol of the Haskalah – the rational good which struggles against evil – seen as the anti-Haskalah forces. Plays written in this tradition were *Yaldut u-Vaḥarut* (Berlin, 1786) by the bookseller Mendel b. Ḥayyim Judah Bresslau (d. 1829); *Ha-Kolot Yeḥdalun o Mishpat Shalom* (Berlin, 1791) by S.A. *Romanelli; *Amal ve-Tirẓah* (Roedelheim, 1812, 1862^{3}) by Shalom b. Jacob *Cohen; *Tiferet li-Venei Binah* (Zhitomir, 1867) by A.B. *Gottlober; *Emet ve-Emunah* (Vilna, 1867) by Abraham Dov *Lebensohn; and *Mashal u-Meliẓah* (Paris 1867) by Meir Leib *Malbim. While in these plays the *maskilim* were usually the protagonists, Malbim used the genre in order to attack them. All the plays lack real characters, genuine dramatic dialogue, and a proper plot, but were a means through which the Hebrew writer, to whom the dramatic art was still foreign, was initiated into writing dialogue. The Haskalah literature was nontheatrical, even nondramatic, yet it heralded the beginning of a genuine drama.

Another important trend in Haskalah dramatic literature was the translation and adaptation of European plays on biblical themes into Hebrew and the composing of original biblical drama. The first author to develop the technique of adapted translation was the 18th century writer David *Franco-Mendes. In *Gemul Atalyah* (first printed in Amsterdam 1770, 1860^{3}), an adaptation based on Racine and Pietro Metastasio, Franco-Mendes altered the plot and structure of his neoclassic sources but did not write an original play. *Melukhat Sha'ul ha-Melekh ha-Rishon al Yeshurun* (Vienna, 1794), by Joseph *Ha-Efrati, though influenced by the German *Sturm und Drang* movement, Shakespeare, and Albrecht von Haller, is an original work with an ingenious and imaginative structure. The dramatis personae (David, Saul, Michal, and Jonathan), characters in their own right, are protagonists in a dramatic action which is not a struggle between good and evil but between noble heroes who are invested with moral qualities. The structure is defective, yet designed for the stage, and while the text includes "literary" passages unrelated to the plot (e.g., the play ends with Haller's poem "On Honor") which detract from the play, it nevertheless (as Paperna, one of the earliest Hebrew drama critics, asserted) paved the way for original Hebrew theatrical works on biblical themes.

Most playwrights, however, followed in the footsteps of Franco-Mendes – translating and adapting into Hebrew European plays on biblical themes. They were incapable of producing an original viable drama during this early phase of Hebrew literature. Not steeped in a dramatic tradition and lacking experience in the genre, they could not go beyond rhetorical writing. Plays written or adapted during this period were *Ma'asei Navot ha-Yizreʾeli* (Roedelheim, 1807) by Shalom b. Jacob Cohen; *On Ben Pelet* and *Ḥananyah Mishaʾel va-Azaryah* (in *Kinnor Na'im*, Vienna, 1825), by Samuel David *Luzzatto; *Sheʾerit Yehudah* (Vienna, 1827), an adaptation and translation of Racine's *Esther*, by S.J. *Rapoport; and *Shelom Ester* (Vienna, 1843), another rendition of the same play and a translation of Racine's *Athalie* (1835), both by Meir ha-Levi *Letteris. Basically, all these plays are dramatic failures. In his translation and adaptation of Goethe's *Faust*, which he called *Elisha ben Avuyah* (Vienna, 1865), Letteris deviated somewhat from the accepted practice of adapting neoclassic plays. He judaized the text, renamed the dramatis personae ("Faust" becomes "Elisha b. Avuyah,") and introduced character changes. Yet he remained faithful to the original dialogue, the general structure and even to certain key ideas, thus aborting his own attempt at genuine Hebrew dramatic creation.

The two didactic biblical plays by Naḥman Isaac *Fischman: *Mappelet Sisera* (Lemberg, 1841) and *Kesher Shevna* (Lemberg, 1870), though original in theme, do not differ in structure and didactic purpose from the allegorical dramas of the period.

The Haskalah period did not produce any real dramatists. It is the *Ḥibbat Zion generation which first prepared the ground for genuine Hebrew theater.

National Renaissance Period (1880–1947)

HISTORICAL MELODRAMA. Some of the trends of the Haskalah continued through the period of the national renaissance. Allegorical plays were still being written (cf. S. Zweibel's *Milḥemet ha-Ḥokhmah im ha-Sikhlut*, 1895) in the 1890s and some of the later historical and topical dramas also contain allegorical elements. The most common characteristic of the period was, however, the historical melodrama which had evolved from the Haskalah. Among the significant playwrights of the period is Judah Loeb *Landau, whose poetic dramas developed Haskalah themes and were written in the same ornate style. The theme is either the relationship of gentiles and Jews during crises in Jewish history, or the plays are permeated with the ideology of Ḥibbat Zion, as *Yesh Tikvah* (1893) and *Lefanim o Leʾaḥor* (1923, 19442). *Bar Kokhva* (1884), and *Aḥarit Yerushalayim* (1886) are historical plays whose protagonists Rabbi Akiva and Rabbi Johanan b. Zakkai expound ideas about freedom and the glory of Israel which were drawn from Nachman *Krochmal. F. Hebbel's *Herodes und Mariamne* served as a model for Landau's *Hordos* which is an attempt at a historical justification of Herod; it takes up his defense against the Jewish historical tradition which Landau felt had unjustly vilified him. The lofty spiritual values propounded by the *raisonneur* characters in the monologues of all three historical plays are neither complemented by the actual episodes in the play nor realized in the action. The plays are simple, not sophisticated, and their style and structure are as yet unsuited for the theater. His other two historical plays, written in prose, *Don Yiẓḥak Abrabanel* (1919) and *Yisrael Besht* (1923), are patterned on the historical "chronicle" drama. Thus the Hebrew historical play of that period is very much a "melodrama of ideas"; the playwrights were unable to create dramatic action that derived naturally from the cultural milieu it was supposed to represent.

One of the playwrights of the period was Meir Poner (1854–1936), whose *Joseph della Reina* (1904) is a dramatic adaptation of the story of this legendary character. The play is on two levels: the relationship of Jews and gentiles; and the relationship of man and God (in the manner of *Faust*). His other plays *Beit Eli* (1902), *Yemei Hordos ha-Aḥaronim* (1913), *Mot ha-Melekh Hordos* (1928), *Yehudah ben Yeḥizkiyyahu ha-Gelili* (1921), and others have as their main theme the freedom of the people of Israel; the plot, however, does not dramatically realize the rich texture of ideas. Poner's prose style, unlike Landau's uninspired, florid language, is quite original.

Hebrew writers of the 1930s and 1940s continued to write "melodramas of ideas," e.g., A.A. *Kabak's *Be-Himmot Mamlakhah* (1929) and *Bat Sanballat* (1934); and S. *Tchernichowsky's *Bar Kokhva* (1930). *Bar Kokhva* is replete with monologues on liberty by Rabbi Akiva and his wife Rachel; but the action of the plot centers around Bar Kokhba's betrayal of his people because of Havivah, the Samaritan. Tchernichowsky, however, failed to integrate the conceptual and melodramatic planes in the play. The ideas of the play are not realized in the action and therefore lack dramatic validity.

Most of Ya'akov *Cahan's plays are marked by a gap between a high view of existence and sentimental melodrama. In the King Solomon trilogy, *Shelomo u-Vat Shelomo* (1924, 1928), *Shelomo ve-Shulammit* (1942), *Malkat Sheva* (1945), the sentimental melodrama centers around Solomon's love for Shulamit, Ido's love for Solomon's daughter, and Solomon's love for the Queen of Sheba. Its ideological interpretation has a "Faustian" *Weltanschauung*. These plays are also marred by Cahan's inability to activate his ideas; his characters never gain the stature their positions demand, and the tone never rises above the sentimental. Most of his other plays are poetic drama but whether they are biblical like *Hoshe'a* (1956), *David Melekh Yisrael* (1921), *Ha-Nefilim* (1939–40), and *Leyad ha-Piramidot* (1939), or post-biblical plays: *Aḥer* (1950), *Rabbi Me'ir u-Veruryah* (1952) and *Yannai u-Shelomit* (1955); or nonhistorical prose plays: *Ken ha-Nesher* (1932), *Ha-Shali'aḥ* (1937), and *Terufo shel Ben Adar* (1939), they are mostly of the same caliber and texture. The style is very conventional and Cahan tends to embellish concrete dramatic reality with very ornate metaphors which are not always in keeping with the subject or theme. Some of Cahan's plays are, however, genuine melodrama: in *Yiftaḥ* (1945) no attempt is made to impose ideas on the plot and in *Be-Luz* (1940) they develop out of the action.

An earlier playwright, I.L. Mekler, in *Pilegesh ba-Givah* (1899), a dramatization of a biblical story, also stressed the drama of the play rather than its ideas. Yet most of the playwrights of "the melodrama of ideas" (S.D. Goitein, E.L. Jaffe, S. *Zemach, and others) created either stock characters or personifications of ideas which they failed to realize into fully developed dramatis personae. The American Jewish playwright Harry *Sackler made a significant contribution to the Jewish theater. Sackler wrote in Hebrew, in Yiddish, and in English. He was familiar with the theater and with stagecraft. *Yosi min Yokrat* (written in Yiddish, 1917, and translated into Hebrew by Sackler in 1921) is tragic in form. The plot revolves around the conflict between Yosi and his wife Yalta over the conduct of their daughter Ursilla, whose great beauty arouses men to passionate rivalry and ultimately to murder. The tragedy culminates in Ursilla's death. Yosi, prompted by rigid stringent moral convictions, kills his daughter because he believes that her beauty is an evil which spells disaster for all men. Although the play has dramatic impact, the dialogue fails to sustain the tragic intensity of the plot. In a number of other Hebrew plays (e.g., *Raḥav* (1934), *Ha-Derekh l-Elohim* (1964), *Yizkor* (1964)), which were printed in Yiddish before they were translated into Hebrew, the effect is basically melodramatic; Sackler fails to involve the characters in deep dramatic conflict. A mixture of humor and melodrama characterizes his Hebrew ḥasidic plays and playlets: *Nesi'at ha-Ẓaddik* (1936), *Ha-Ḥozeh Ro'eh et Kallato* (1932), *Kelappei Mizraḥ* (1933). Other works by Sackler resemble the chronicle play *Orot me-Ofel* (1936), a historical canvas of the persecution of Jews during the *Fettmilch riots in Frankfurt on the Main and alluding to Hitler's rise to power, and *Mashi'aḥ – Nosaḥ Amerikah* (Hebrew, 1933), a comic treatment of Mordecai Manuel *Noah's plan to found a Jewish state in the United States. Sackler's plays are well structured, the dialogue is simple and functional, and the stock characters find their actualization in social circumstances and historical garb. Some of them (*Yosi min Yokrat* and *Raḥav*) have been produced in the United States and in Israel.

The most frequently staged playwright of the 1930s and 1940s, Aharon *Ashman, began as a "ḥalutzic" writer (e.g., *Min ha-Meẓar* (1932); and *Ha-Adamah ha-Zot* (1942, which was successfully staged by Habimah) whose pioneering themes reflect the problems of his generation. He later wrote historical plays: the trilogy *Mikhal Bat Sha'ul* (first part printed in 1941), two parts of which were performed by Habimah; *Aleksandrah ha-Ḥashmona'it* (1947), used as a libretto for an opera by *Avidom; and *Ha-Ḥomah* (1938), written in the manner of the chronicle play. Most of Ashman's dramas have intricate plot structures in which simple characters become entangled in intrigues. The biblical or historical setting has little significance and serves only as an exotic background to the love story of the dramatis personae. While the melodramatic effects have a strong histrionic impact, his themes are superficial and trivial.

POETIC DRAMA. In contrast to the historical plays in which preference was given to the theatrical aspects over and against the poetic, dramatists like I. *Katzenelson, who is one of the finest Hebrew lyrical dramatists, stressed the lyricism of playwriting. Katzenelson, a prolific and versatile writer, wrote in a number of literary genres, both in Hebrew and Yiddish. Among the various types of plays he composed are *Tarshish* (1921), a realistic drama, produced in New York; *Ha-Ḥammah! Ha-Ḥammah!* (1907), a poetic, impressionistic one-act play performed at the gala opening of Habimah in Moscow (it later formed part of the trilogy *Anu Ḥayyim u-Metim*, 1913); *Ha-Ma'gal* (1911), a bedroom farce performed in Lodz; *Istharah* (1933); the biographical playlets *Ha-Matmid ve-Ẓillo* (1935) and *Mendele im ha-Kabẓanim* (1936); and plays for children about holidays and festivals. Katzenelson's most significant contribution to the Hebrew drama are his verse plays, poetic prose drama, and a number of lyrical dramatic fragments: *Ha-Navi* (*Ha-olam* 1912 – Act I; *Ha-Ẓefirah* 1918 – Act II; published in book form 1922); *Gilgal* (1911–13); *Amnon* (1938); and *Ḥanniba'al* (1947). While his plays in prose are dramatically effective, their themes and structures are conventional. Katzenelson's value as a dramatist lies in the high literary quality of his impressionistic plays, which are written in poetic prose. Intense dramatic situations are rendered lyrically, though in no way detracting from the interaction of dialogue and plot. His original interpretations of biblical and post-biblical historical themes and their poetic dramatic rendering are most expressive of Katzenelson's dramatic genius. In *Ha-Navi* the relationship between *Elisha and *Gehazi is the inescapable bond existing between a man and his shadow; in *Amnon*, Katzenelson characterizes Amnon, the heir-apparent to David, as a weakling, unfit to be king because he is incapable of rebelling against his father; in *Ḥanniba'al*, Hannibal, who is called upon to revenge the heinous crimes the Aryans committed against the Semites (the play was written in a German concentration camp), recoils from meting out vengeance. Katzenelson's verse plays have great literary merit from the point of view of language, but they are not theatrically effective.

Mattityahu *Shoham, a major figure in Hebrew literature, composed four biblical plays in verse which, because of their original style and structure and imaginative conception of historical events, are landmarks in Hebrew drama. *Yeriḥo* (1924), a dramatization of the fall of Jericho, has for its main characters Achan and Rahab, whose love for each other is symbolic of the attraction between the decadent culture of Jericho and the rigorous, vital Hebrew culture of the desert. In *Bilam* (1925–29), the subplot which portrays the tension between Balaam and Moses embodies the dramatic theme of conflict between the forces of darkness (Balaam) and the forces of light (Moses). The tension is resolved in Balaam's regeneration. *Ẓor vi-Yerushalayim* (1933) presents the theme of culture polarity through the characters of Jezebel, Elijah, and Elisha. Elisha's dissociation from Jezebel indicates a subtle change from Shoham's earlier view on the attraction between the Jewish culture and a foreign culture. In *Elohei Barzel Lo Ta'aseh Lakh* (1937) Gog, who personifies Aryanism, and Abraham, who represents Judaism, are locked in a relentless struggle which forms an allegorical superstructure to a plot that revolves around Sarah, Hagar, and Lot's daughters. Shoham through the power of his poetry endows language with a dimension of its own which is revealed in the dramatic tension between his symbols. While the dramatic content is embodied in symbols of fire and water (*Yeriḥo*), light and darkness (*Bilam*), and the vine and the lion (*Ẓor vi-Yerushalayim*), it is actualized not in the plot, or in the characters who remain mostly symbolic or allegoric, or in the dialogue. Shoham's dramas fall short as theater primarily because his "literary," idiosyncratic language is completely unsuited for the stage. Thus while his literary dramatic achievement is undisputed, his plays are theatrically not successful. Shoham's dramaturgical problems reflect those of contemporaneous Hebrew drama.

EXPRESSIONIST-HISTORICAL DRAMA. Among the writers who attempted to write expressionist-historical drama were Nathan *Agmon, Sh. *Shalom, and Ḥayyim *Hazaz. Agmon broke with the tradition of the conventional plot and in the plays *Yehudah Ish Kerayot* (1930), *Shabbetai Ẓevi* (1931), and *Be-Leil Zeh* (1934) emotional tension rather than coherent sequence is the cohesive factor. The dialogue is fragmentary and rhetorical; the characters tend to be symbolic and episodes grotesque. The structure of the plays, however, renders them unsuitable for the stage. Years later Agmon rewrote two of these plays: *Shabbetai Ẓevi* (1936) and *Be-Leil Zeh*, renamed *Leil Yerushalayim* (1953), trying to tone down the expressionistic effects. Although the adaptations are much closer to the realistic school, they lack the verve, spontaneity, and originality of the earlier plays. All three dramas have for theme crisis in Jewish history as manifest in the struggle between traditional conservatism, which acquiesces to exile, and the demand for messianic redemption. *Yerushalayim ve-Romi* (1939), a dramatization of *Josephus, and the Herzl trilogy, *Ḥevlei Gilgul* (appeared in complete form in 1960), are two of his plays which were originally written in a realistic style. Some later plays, *Maḥlefot Avshalom, Harostrat*, and *Don Quixote* (1960), while original and interesting in their approach and interpretation of the subject matter, fall short of their theatrical realization.

*Shin Shalom gave full vent to his expressionistic dramatic tendencies in the two poetic playlets *Shabbat ha-Olam* (1945, first appeared as *Elisha ve-ha-Shabbat*, 1932) and *Me'arat Yosef* (1934) which are not intended for the stage but are dialogues giving voice to the *Schrei* (the famous expressionist cry). *Elisha b. Avuyah, the protagonist of *Shabbat ha-Olam*, revolts against tradition and in *Me'arat Yosef* Josephus attempts to return to the primordial forces of life after the destruction of civilization. Shalom's characters are projections of the poet's "I" rather than genuine portrayals of the "I" of the personae of his plays. His characters are never fully rendered as independent human beings. His "ḥalutzic" plays *Yeriyyot el ha-Kibbutz* (1940) and *Adamah* (1942) are less expressionistic.

Ḥayyim Hazaz's play *Be-Keẓ ha-Yamim* (different versions: 1934, 1950, 1968), probably one of the outstanding achievements of contemporary Hebrew drama, is an expressionist play in which the author has carefully kept to the thematic and structural framework. Set in the time of Shabbetai Ẓevi, the theme of the drama is the tension between the polar concepts of exile and redemption. Yozfa, the "hero of redemption," attacks the smugness of the community, represented on the one hand by Yost and his friends who prefer the safety of the status quo to the disruptive and revolutionary challenge that redemption offers, and on the other hand by the beggars who misinterpret the significance of the deliverance. While the dramatis personae are infused with an exaggerated intensity, they fulfill their dramatic function as characters. Hazaz is original in his rhetoric style which remains within the confines of the language of the theater.

Hebrew historical drama during the national revival can point to a number of important literary works (e.g., the plays of Shoham). The discrepancy between the ideas of the playwright and his ability to realize them in a theatrical context is the reason why there were no major dramatic achievements during this period. Hebrew historical drama was also affected by a variety of Western literatures. Dramatists were eclectic and were influenced by many schools, plays, and a wide range of dramatic genres extending from French neoclassicism, to German classicism (Goethe), to Polish expressionism (S. Wyspiański).

ZIONIST MELODRAMA. The period of national revival (1880–1947) also saw the development of the play that dramatizes different facets of contemporary Jewish life. This type of play was a vehicle of expression in contemporary Yiddish literature as well, and some playwrights wrote in both languages.

The Zionist melodrama follows the tradition of the didactic Haskalah allegory and the historical "conceptual melodrama." J.L. Landau's *Yesh Tikvah* ("There is Hope," performed in Brody and published in 1893) is an early example. Shulamit, the heroine, is the daughter of the rich man of the town who must decide between Binyamin Ish Nadiv, the Zionist whom she likes, and Max Bilam, the assimilationist whom her father favors. In the end love and Zionism triumph. The play is a Zionist reading of allegories like M.Ḥ. Luzzatto's *La-Yesharim Tehillah. Lefanim Le'aḥor* (1923), another play by J.L. Landau, is much more complex. Its theme is an ideological struggle between Zionism and assimilationism for the souls of the youth and the whole community. The conflict is embodied in the dramatis personae: the rabbi of the community De Shneour Michal, a spiritual Zionist, and the aristocrat Steinbach, the man who wields power in the small town and whose daughter converts to Christianity at his instigation. In two other melodramas: *Ha-Sorer be-Veito* (printed in 1900) by I.H. *Tawiow and *Ba't ha-Rav o Giyyoret ha-Ẓiyyonut* (1904) by Jacob Gordon, Zionism serves as the criterion of the good. The Zionists are the positive characters and good overcomes evil. The structure of the Zionist melodrama thus follows the pattern of the Haskalah allegory where enlightened "nationalists" are juxtaposed with the "enlightened *maskilim*" and the assimilationists take the place of the religious reactionaries.

NATURALISM. Many of the plays of the national renaissance period bear affinity to the trends and forms prevalent in modern European drama, showing the influences of Ibsen's drama, Maeterlinck's symbolistic plays, and Hauptmann's social naturalism. Some of Peretz *Hirschbein's plays are markedly naturalistic while others are symbolistic. He wrote mostly in Yiddish but translated his own works into Hebrew. *Miryam* (1905), a conventional social melodrama about a poor and simple country girl, is a prime example of the influence of naturalism in Hebrew drama. She is seduced by the "landlord's" son and ends up in a brothel. The protagonist of the naturalistic play *Nevelah* ("Carrion," printed in 1905), Mendel Nevelah, is also a victim of society, here represented by his forefathers. Driven by suffering, he murders his own father and sinks into madness. *Bein Yaldei ha-Sadeh* (original Yiddish *Grine Felder;* Hebrew 1922), a comedy staged in Hebrew by Habimah, describes the comic confrontation between country Jews and Levi Yiẓḥak, a scholar from town.

Jacob *Steinberg, primarily a poet and short story writer, also wrote naturalistic social drama. The heroine of *Ḥankah* (1907), a play in the pattern of *Miryam*, is a pathetic girl who, persecuted by her stepmother, finally commits suicide. In *R. Leib Goldman u-Vitto* (1907), Steinberg dramatizes the eternal conflict of the generations as manifest in his time. *Bayit mul Bayit* (1908) by Zalman *Shneour, who is also mainly known for his poetry and prose rather than his plays, is a social drama in which prostitution is exposed by means of contrast with bourgeois life. Shneour's *Adam* (1926) is a lyrical dramatization of the story of Adam and Eve. Joseph Hayyim *Brenner's *Me-Ever la-Gevulin* (1907), a play comprised of a series of dialogue fragments, marks a chapter in the history of Hebrew drama and dialogue. Brenner's dramas, which he termed "plays and fragmentations of plays," use the dramatic fragmentation technique, a literary device also found in many of his prose works. Not well structured, the play is nevertheless interesting from the point of view of style, technique in dramatic dialogue, and theme. Its setting is the London of Jewish-Russian emigrants whose social customs and ideological struggles form the dramatic tension in the play. The protagonists, Yoḥanan and Ḥezkoni, despair of all socialist theories and regard suffering as the ultimate truth. Brenner, attempting to recreate the spoken word, evolved a kind of Hebrew-English dialect which was meant to be analogous to the Yiddish-English dialect in actual use. He thus brought the "language of the theater" closer to the "language of life." The playlets *Le-Et Attah* (1905) and *Erev u-Voker* (1908), written in a similar style, evince a better control of the medium and dramatically are realized more fully.

REALISTIC HEBREW DRAMA. One of the first exponents of realism in Hebrew drama is Yitzḥak Dov *Berkowitz who wrote a number of important plays, among them *Oto ve-et Beno* (1928 and performed by Habimah). The play follows a realistic Ibsenian technique and is a landmark in contemporary Hebrew drama. The theme, the relationship between an apostate father who wishes to return to Judaism and his son who has become a Jew hater, is comprehended within an analytical design and set against the bloody landscape of Russian pogroms during the Bolshevik Revolution. Two minor realistic plays by Berkowitz are *Ba-arazot ha-Reḥokot* (1928), a comedy on the life of Jewish immigrants in the United States whose lives are thrown into comic confusion through the arrival of Anton, a non-Jewish Russian farmer; and the social drama *Mirah* (1934), also set in the United States, and strongly influenced by Ibsen's *A Doll's House.*

Yitzḥak *Shenhar also wrote realistic drama, though of a different type. *Al ha-Gevul* ("On the Border," 1943) is about a group of pioneers who attempt to immigrate to Ereẓ Israel. Their efforts lead to a momentary reorientation in the life of a degenerating family; no real change, however, is effected. Chekhov's *Three Sisters* served the author as model. His protagonists are three brothers and the ideal and yearning for Ereẓ Israel replace the nostalgic longing for Moscow. To some extent Shenhar writes in the earlier tradition of translation and adaptation of European themes, topics, and literary structures to a Jewish milieu, ambiance, and cultural ideal. Some of the best authors of Hebrew literature tried their hand at naturalistic-realistic plays, a parallel school of which developed in Yiddish drama. This affinity between Hebrew and Yiddish drama is still more evident in the symbolistic and expressionistic techniques of I.L. *Peretz, H. *Leivick, and D. *Pinski, who wrote mostly in Yiddish.

SYMBOLISM AND EXPRESSIONISM. Isaac Leib Peretz (1852–1915) was one of the first symbolists and expressionists in Hebrew and Yiddish drama. *Ḥurban Beit Zaddik* (1903, had a number of versions, one in Hebrew) is a mystical play which dramatizes the decline of a ḥasidic *ẓaddik's* dynasty. Germinated in doubt, the degenerative process takes its full course, ending finally in heresy. The symbolistic technique is typical of Peretz's Yiddish plays. His social playlets are written in a naturalistic style, e.g., *Seḥufei Zerem* (1912) and *Ba-Shefel* (1924). P. Hirschbein also wrote symbolic plays: *Olamot Bodedim* ("Lonely Worlds," 1905) is set in a cellar where a group of wretched and oppressed people live in close proximity without talking to each other but "next to each other." In technique and atmosphere the play resembles M. Maeterlinck's *Les Aveugles* (translated into Hebrew in the same year). *Teki'at Kaf* (*Ha-Shiloaḥ* 18, 1908) bears similarity to S. *An-ski's *Dybbuk.* Its theme of innocent pure love, culminating in a blood bond between the young lovers, is enacted against the background of a contract sealed by their parents which, however, they later break. The breach leads to disaster and the young hero's death. The technique is symbolistic, as in the historical drama *Be-Ẓel ha-Dorot* (1922) and in the playlets *Al Yad ha-Derekh* (1907) and *Pirḥei Sedeh ha-Kevarim* (1907). Hirschbein's drama is thus marked by two distinct literary trends in European literature – naturalism and symbolism. A number of less important Hebrew playwrights also experimented with symbolism; none however attained the artistic level of the Yiddish dramatists. Their contribution to the Hebrew drama was the development of natural Hebrew style.

THE "ḤALUTZ" PLAY. Developed mainly in Ereẓ Israel, the "ḥalutz" play (or "*Maḥaze ha-Hityashvut,*" "the Settlement Drama") is defined by its subject matter: the story of the settlers in Ereẓ Israel, their problems, and their struggles. The underlying theme of the "ḥalutz" drama is to praise the pioneers and their efforts and to denounce all their opponents. Most of these plays were insignificant melodramas which at best were well constructed. The characters were drawn from the social milieu of Ereẓ Israel. Yehoshua Barzilai in *Ha-Baḥlan* ("The Disdainer" 1919: special edition), one of the early plays in the genre, transposed Molière's *Misanthrope* to the Ereẓ Israel landscape and its problems. "Ha-Baḥlan," the protagonist, hates his urban environment (Jerusalem) but when he comes face to face with the new settlement he has a change of heart. *Allah Karim* (1912), by L.A. Orloff-Arieli (1886–1943), has a more complex plot and is enacted within a pattern of intricate human relationships. The central character, Naomi Shatz, immigrates to Ereẓ Israel during the Second Aliyah and becomes engaged to one of the pioneers. She is, however, disappointed by the Jewish "pioneering" intellectuals and prefers the native Arabs (Ali, the pastry vendor) whom she sees as really belonging to the land. Set against the Arab-Jewish conflict, the play ends with Naomi's hope for a new Jewish generation whose character will be shaped by the native soil. *Allah Karim* heralds the development of "*Maḥaze ha-Safek*," "the Doubt play," a sub-genre of the "Settlement Drama" that accentuates the impotence of European newcomers in overcoming the hardships with which the physical and human reality in the Land of Israel confronts them. Although diminishing in number in course of the 1930s, in which the "positive," "optimistic" Settlement plays flourished due to the numerous anniversaries of veteran Jewish settlements and the establishment of new ones, the "Doubt play" prevailed until the ideological "earthquake" following the *Yom Kippur War* in 1973. David *Shimoni is another playwright of the "ḥalutzic" trend who extols the pioneering spirit (*Laylah ba-Kerem*, 1911) as does Haim *Shurer, whose dramatic canvas unfolds against the social problems of the pioneers. *La-Rishonah* (1920) dramatizes the conflict between the viticulturists of the village and their workers and the tension generated by the contradictory social and national views of the laborers themselves. Structured as a family melodrama, the viticulturist's daughter Michal falls in love with a laborer, David, her father's social antagonist. Shurer exposes the unreasonable extremism of the young people as they rebel against their parents. Only as the play draws to a close do the young come to acknowledge the right of existence of their opponents. Various "ḥalutz" plays continue to be written over a long period. *Roḥaleh* (1933) by Moshe *Smilansky is but a new version of an old subject. *Ha-Adamah ha-Zot*, by A. Ashman, has also for theme the pioneering spirit, acted out in a confrontation between father and son. Yoel Yoshpeh, a pioneer, opposes his son who seeks to escape from the village and to take Ḥannah, his beloved, with him. Ḥannah, however, loves Ya'akov, a worker on the moshav; *ḥalutziyyut* ("pioneering") wins out in the end and overcomes all obstacles. Though the melodramatic structure of the play is different, the class division of characters and concepts is the same, and the basic theme, the triumph of pioneering, remains the focal issue. Other plays written in this vein are *Bein Iyyim* (1928), by Mordekhai *Avi-Shaul, a drama of pathos in which the labor movement values of the protagonist, Yehoshua Ne'eman, are paramount; *Yeriyot el ha-Kibbutz* (1940) and *Adamah* (1942) by Sh. Shalom; *Ḥayyim* (1942) by Menaḥem Bader which also glorify the value of labor; and *Ha-Zaken* (1942) by Yehoshua *Bar Yosef, a realistic playwright, who draws on the prototype of A.D. *Gordon. In *Medurot* ("Bonfires") Alexander Karmon contrasts the martyr spirit of the hero to the values of his opponents and extols the role he takes in illegal immigration. While many of these pioneering plays are melodramas, some comedies on the subject were also written, e.g., A. Ashman's *Min ha-Meẓar* ("Out of Distress," 1932). The comic action revolves around the contention between two parties over the hand of Ellah, a pioneer. She has to choose between the temptation offered by the American family Stevens and the journalist Brown and the pioneering idealism of Yehudah. Ellah, of course, chooses the "good." The comedies *Banim li-Gevulam* ("Sons Return to their Border," 1945, performed by Habimah) by Asher *Beilin and *I Like Mike* by Aharon *Megged (1956) are constructed along similar lines.

Not all plays about Ereẓ Israel have for theme the problems of pioneering. Some dramatize other aspects and problems arising from life in Ereẓ Israel. A central theme is the conflict between generations and the struggle between tradition and those who rebel against it. M. Avi-Shaul in his dramatization of the conflict in *Ha-Maḥarozet* ("The Necklace," 1928) pits the old values of the Diaspora represented by Raphael Ḥai, a member of the Jerusalem Moghrabi (Moroccan) Jewish community, against the new life in Ereẓ Israel to which his daughter Mas'udah is dedicated. Bar Yosef's *Ya'akov ha-Zoḥek* ("Laughing Jacob," 1939) and *Be-Simta'ot Yerushalayim* ("In Jerusalem Alleys," 1941, performed by the *Ohel Theater) have similar themes. The dramatic tension is between the values of traditional Jewry of Safed and Jerusalem, and their children who rebel against the suppression of eroticism in their society. The conflict is not resolved but has its tragic "dissolution" in madness to which some of the characters are ultimately driven. Ithamar Ben-Hur's *Ha-Soreret* (1942) and M. Berger's *Me'ah She'arim* (1943) are similar. A different aspect of Ereẓ Israel was probed by A. Karmon who, in *Ba-Sevakh* ("Entanglement," 1926) and *Neginat ha-Em* ("Mother's Melody," 1928), dramatizes various intricate human relationships in kibbutz life (e.g., incest between a brother and a sister, family and education problems in a collective settlement). Only toward the end of the 1940s were some attempts made at introducing into Hebrew drama contemporaneous Western dramatic elements. Thus Ya'akov *Horowitz, who had earlier written an expressionistic play (*Gesher ha-Leẓim*, 1929), wrote in 1956 *Ani Roẓeh Lishlot* ("I Want to Rule"), a social-universal play which broke with the conventional "ḥalutz" drama, a trend that had continued into the early period of the state, though in a different garb.

Drama in Israel

Hebrew drama gained considerable impetus after the War of Independence. The establishment of the state accelerated the development of the Hebrew theater. The *Cameri (Chamber) Theater, established in 1944, promoted the realistic school. In the wake of the War of Independence a youth cult developed to which the stage also tended to cater. Most of the plays were a continuation of the "ḥalutz" play in theme and form, with the young fighters of the War of Independence replacing the young *ḥalutzim.* Two plays belonging to this category are Yigal *Mossinsohn's *Be-Arvot ha-Negev* ("In the Negev Desert," 1949, performed by Habimah), a melodrama about the defense of a besieged Jewish settlement during the War of Independence; and Moshe *Shamir's *Hu Halakh ba-Sadot* ("He Walked in the Fields," 1947, an adaptation of a novel by the same name), a love story set in a kibbutz. The two lovers are Uri, born on the kibbutz and now a soldier, and Mika, a survivor of the Holocaust. Both plays end in the death of the heroes. Similar plays are *Kilometer 56* (1949) and *Beit Hillel* (1951) by M. Shamir. The only exception to this wave of mythical self-glorification was Nathan *Shaham's *Hem Yagi'u Maḥar* ("They Will Arrive Tomorrow," 1949). In this realistic morality play, Jonah, the commander of an Israeli platoon, sends his comrades and two Arabs to their certain death on a landmined hill. Through this morally dubious act, fiercely condemned by his second in command, Avi (named after Abraham, the first legislator of the monotheist ethos), Jonah liberates himself and the remaining soldiers. The play is thus an early paradigm of the constant vacillation in Israeli drama (reflected even as late as 2005 in Yehoshua *Sobol's *Zeman Emet* ("The Moment of Truth") and in Yael Ronen's *Plonter* ("The Gordian Knot")) between vindication for any atrocities committed by Israelis against Arabs for survival's sake and fidelity to the humane tradition of Jewish morality.

Most of the plays of the 1950s are social dramas – distinguished by realistic-documentary or satirical-grotesque styles – in which the new developing society in Israel is criticized in the light of the values of the labor movement, e.g., A. Megged's *Ḥedvah va-Ani* ("Ḥedvah and I," 1964) and N. Shaham's *Kera Li Syomka* ("Call Me Syomka," 1950). The young dramatists of Israel's formative era (early 1950s) were primarily enraged by the "counter-revolutionary" symptoms of the new society. Corruption, bureaucracy, careerism, social inequality, and racial discrimination are criticized in realistic works which are all too often shallow: the new generation had ceased to uphold the cooperative and rural values of the pre-state Jewish population and had instead become bourgeois, trying to achieve its selfish ends at the expense of the young state, while the state on its part has been ungrateful to that part of the young generation that fought for its establishment.

The following list of topical plays shows that many of the best of Israel's writers tried through social drama to grapple with the problems that beset the decade: M. Shamir's *Sof ha-Olam* and *Aggadot Lod* (1958), Ḥ. *Bartov's *Shesh Kenafayim le-Eḥad* (1954), and N. Shaham's *Ḥeshbon Ḥadash* deal with the absorption of immigrants; Y. Mosinsohn's *Kazablan* (1958) and Judith *Hendel's *Reḥov ha-Madregot* (1955) describe the discrimination of the Oriental community by the hegemonic Ashkenazi veterans; and Ephraim *Kishon's *Shemo Holekh Lefanav* (1953) satirizes the new bureaucracy; Y. Mosinsohn's *Eldorado* depicts prostitution and crime among the socially deprived and stigmatized Oriental sectors (1963), Yosh's *Ani Rav ha-Ḥovel* deals with the big seamen's strike, and Yoram Matmor's fine Pirandellian play *Maḥazeh Ragil* (reminiscent in content and style of *Six Characters in Search of an Author*) denounces society's betrayal of the freedom fighters. The protagonists are usually conventional, typical, and local, representing only their way of life and the immediate situation in which circumstance has cast them. They therefore lack any kind of universality. They are either clerks, new immigrants, or Oriental Jews. The playwrights tried to draw Oriental types but in actuality they only imitated their manner of speech and customs, and not always successfully. The language of these plays comes close to slang and though it is more flexible than the dramatic language of earlier generations, it lacks "style." The episodes are in the form of "reporting" and the playwrights make no attempt at stamping on the world they had created their personal "literary" seal. The plays of the humorist E. *Kishon, *Shaḥor al-gabei Lavan, Af Millah le-Morgenstern, Shemo Holekh Lefanav*, and *Ha-Ketubbah* created a new type of comedy. In a way they were a continuation of the comedy staged by Matateh ("Broom"), a satirical theater founded in the late 1920s.

An outstanding play in its superior aesthetic quality is *Tura*, a psychological-mythical drama by Y. Bar-Yosef (1933–). It is set in the traditional Oriental Jewish community, and depicts the horrendous results of the devaluation of the patriarchal family and its codes in Israel's "melting pot" of the 1950s. The situation is aggravated by the fact that the protagonists become pawns within the tenacious grips of the codes of the traditional community, so that their violation by the young heroine sweeps the dramatic action to a climax which culminates in her "ritual" murder.

New developments in contemporary Hebrew drama were nevertheless apparent, even in the 1950s. Biblical and historical drama is manipulated as a religiously connoted prism for critique of political and moral problems. It gained fresh impetus with *Akhzar mi-Kol-ha-Melekh* (1955) by Nissim *Aloni; *Milḥemet Benei Or* (1956) and *Ha-Laylah le-Ish* by M. Shamir; *Tamar Eshet Er* (1947) by Y. Mosinsohn; *Yoḥanan Bar-Ḥama* (1952) by N. Shaham; *Bereshit* by A. Megged; *Ha-Dov* and *Shalosh Nashim be-Ẓahov* (both 1966) by Y. Eliraz; *Uriyyah ha-Ḥitti* and *Sedom Siti* (1959) by B. *Galai; *Massa le-Nineveh* (1963) by Y. *Amichai; and *Keter ba-Rosh* (1969) by Y. Shabtai. These plays are not cast in one mold: some, like Shamir's, are politically topical drama in which contemporary social problems (revolution, mixed marriages) are projected into the past. Others try to dramatize the past but the protagonists are motivated psychologically (*Tamar Eshet Er*). *Akhzar mi-Kol-ha-Melekh* ("Most Cruel of All – the King") is an interesting social-poetic interpretation of the period of division between the kingdoms of Judah and Israel. Replete with allusions to contemporaneous problems, warning against the dangers of separatism and internal *Kulturkampf*, the play has nevertheless an independent existence as a psychological-poetic drama which is bound neither by time nor place. Some brilliant and pungent parodies on the past were written by modern Israel authors. They follow either the comic-parodic style of contemporary French drama (Eliraz), or are modern poetic reinterpretations of biblical themes which shed a new light on the rather untended facets of the ancient myth (such as the depiction of the old, impotent, and unstable King David, who is nevertheless reluctant to retire and deal with the question of his political legacy in Shabtai's *Keter ba-Rosh*). Playwrights have also tried to achieve comic effects through the treatment of a lofty subject with bathos (Megged, Galai, Eliraz). All these dramatists show a certain originality of expression, form, and approach to the material. Among the finest and most problematic modern Hebrew dramatists is N. *Alterman. Nathan Alterman, primarily a poet, wrote very diverse plays: *Kinneret Kinneret* (1962), a kitsch-nostalgic new "settlement play" devised to idealize the courage of the pioneers; *Pundak ha-Ruḥot* (1963), a drama which, through obvious analogies with Goethe's *Faust* and Ibsen's *Peer Gynt*, deals with the dilemma confronting every great artist of having to choose between life, love, and familial happiness, on the one hand, and artistic success, glory, and loneliness on the other; Among Alterman's other dramatic work one should mention *Malkat Ester* (1968), a Purim farce, and *Mishpat Pythagoras* (1966), an allegorical-topical play. The predominant strength of Alterman's plays is their rich and multi-layered poetic language that thrives at the expense of a convincing and gripping dramatic plot and conflict.

The so-called "Holocaust Dramaturgy" is one of the main genres of the Hebrew-Israeli play. It rarely focuses on commemorating the historical catastrophe, but rather contemplates the Shoah's shifting repercussions on Israeli society or uses it as a socio-political metaphor. The Holocaust is presented in the plays written during the 1940s and 1950s as an image of impotence, and is juxtaposed with the sublime convention of the *Sabra*. This is the underlying premise of plays such as the above-mentioned *Hu Halakh ba-Sadot* ("He Walked in the Fields," 1947) by Moshe Shamir, in which Holocaust survivor Mika has to sacrifice her private dream of leading a normal life with her boyfriend, Uri, for the sake of fighting for the establishment of the state. So too in Nathan Shaham's *Ḥeshbon Ḥadash* ("A New Account," 1952), or Aharon Megged's *Hanna Senesh* (1958) which glorifies the bravery of the woman paratrooper who was executed in Nazi occupied Hungary in her attempt to save Jews, those weaklings who went to their death like "cattle to the slaughter." The only exception to this orientation is *Ba'alat ha-Armon* ("Lady of the Manor," 1956), by the poet Lea *Goldberg, who focuses on the juxtaposition between European culture and modern civilization (including Zionism). It is acted out against the background of the rescue of European Jewish children from forced conversion. The protagonists are an old Polish nobleman, who represents the declining European culture, and an Israeli woman, who embodies the new civilization. The author's obviously romantic sympathies tend toward the old gentleman and the fading world he embodies. The poetic realistic and allegorical plays of the 1960s manifest a shift in the Israeli attitude toward the Holocaust. They belie the recognition that a society cannot forgo its past, and present the world of the victims and Nazi accomplices as the analogous alter ego of the rootless cult of the mythologized *Sabra*. The foremost accomplishments in this category include Moshe Shamir's *Ha-Yoresh* ("The Heir," 1963), Yehuda Amichai's *Pa'amonim ve-Rakavot* ("Bells and Trains"), as well as Ben Zion Tomer's *Yaldei ha-Ẓel* ("Children of the Shadow," 1963). This interesting play deals with Holocaust children who do not become rooted in the new reality of Israel, though on the surface they seem to have adapted. The drama is enacted in the garb of a symbolic relationship between the young protagonist Yosef-Yoram and his uncle, Dr. Sigmund Rabinovicz, who had been a *Judenrat* member and a Kapo guilty of the extermination of his own family.

THE SIX-DAY (1967) AND YOM KIPPUR (1973) WARS AS TURNING POINTS. The turning point in the Hebrew drama's attitude to society was the euphoric mentality that overtook Israel after the sweeping victory in the Six-Day War (1967). This was followed by a period of collective self-reckoning, soul searching, and myth shattering in the wake of the humiliating surprise of the Yom-Kippur War (1973). Whereas Israeli drama before 1967 was basically positive toward the ideal of the "New Jew," post-1967 protest plays adopted an asocial, agnostic, and deconstructive position in order to warn society against the dangers of a militarist power-cult and the moral deterioration inextricably connected with the occupation of the Palestinians and the subordination of human values to the imperative of territorial expansion. In fact, one may argue that from 1967 to Rabin's murder in 1995 the core of Hebrew drama was politically mobilized, rhetorically militant, and ideologically leftist. This thematic and stylistic watershed was also accompanied by a higher degree of ripeness and professionalism in Hebrew dramatic writing thanks primarily to the efforts of Oded Kotler as the artistic director of the Haifa Municipal Theater to promote young dramatists.

Hanoch *Levin's satirical revues *At va-Ani ve-Hamilḥamah Haba'ah* ("You and I and the Next War," 1968), *Ketchup* (1969, performed in fringe theaters), *Malkat ha-Ambatiyah* ("Queen of the Bathtub"), staged in 1970 by the establishment Cameri Theater and swiftly closed due to public outcry, and Levin's censored *Ha-Patriyot* ("The Patriot," Neveh-Ẓedek Theater 1982), denouncing the Lebanon War, did not shrink from resorting to profane and provocative devices in order to slaughter the most sacred cows of Israel's collective value system: the ideal of the "justified war"; the cult of the fallen hero; bereavement and the admiration for the military; the avoidance of any chance for peace; the sanctification of land at the expense of life and ethics; and the ingrained racist attitude to Arabs. A.B. *Yehoshua (1936–), one of the foremost young authors of the 1960s, heralded in *Laylah be-Mai* ("A Night in May," 1969) the falling apart of Israeli society through the metaphor of the psychological disintegration of a complex Jerusalem family during the period preceding the Six-Day War. One of the most vehement adversaries of Israel's belligerent orientation, provinciality, and disdain for culture was Yosef Mundy, who, as a deliberate rhetorical provocation, proclaimed his Diaspora-cosmopolitan *Weltanschauung* and anti-Zionist disposition. Mundy's most accomplished play, *Zeh Mistovev* ("It Turns," 1970) takes place in a madhouse (a common dramatic metaphor for Israel): the allegorical megalomaniac Herzl, representative of political and expansionist Zionism, torments the humanist, individualistic Kafka. In the symbolist-surreal play *Moshel Yeriḥo* ("The Governor of Jericho," 1975), written after the Yom Kippur War, Mundy depicts the racist and demeaning side of Israeli conduct towards the Palestinians through the vulgar, sexist, and despotic figure of the governor of Jericho, the first biblical town to be conquered by the Hebrew tribes as they invaded the Land of Canaan. One of the major genres in which the Israeli reality has been effectively examined and criticized is the docudrama. The most notable dramatists who continuously work in this genre are Yitzhak Laor, Motti Lerner, Edna Mazya, Ilan Hatzor, Daniela Carmi, Hillel Mittelpunkt, Matti Golan, Amnon Levy and Rami Danon, Shmuel Hasfari, Miriam Kainy, and Yael Ronen. They employ the strategy of undermining the accepted "photographic" conventions from within, thereby upsetting the positive self-image of Israeli society traditionally reasserted by the theater. Docudrama was inaugurated in the early 1970s by the American-born Nola Chilton, who created a succession of "living paper" documentaries promoting a spectrum of social causes in "the other Israel." Her partner in these ventures was Yehoshua Sobol, one of Israel's most prolific, politically engaged, and internationally successful dramatists. Sobol was also one of the major dramatists who developed – in the wake of the 1973 War – the mode of soul-searching plays that dissect the national myths and explore their false nature. Sobol's *Leyl ha-Esrim* ("The Night of the Twentieth," 1976), based on a historical episode, analyzes the mistakes of the Zionist founding fathers through the narrative of a group of young pioneers in 1920, engaged in a profound and merciless process of soul searching about their motives and purposes before descending from a Galilean hill to a new settlement where they expect to exchange "murderous blows with the Arab occupants of the Land." Sobol employs and develops similar docudramatic strategies in a number of plays, most notably in *Nefesh Yehudi* ("The Soul of a Jew," 1982), which deals with Jewish self-hatred and reconstructs the biography of Otto Weininger, the misogynist and genial Viennese Jewish philosopher, and in *Palestinait* ("The Palestinian Woman," 1985). In the latter, Sobol delineates the ordeals of Samira/Magda, a fictional TV-drama character who is the alter-ego of its author. She tries "to crystallize the borders and meeting points between the Israeli Jewish and the Israeli Arab/Palestinian cultural, ethnic, and national identities" (F. Rokem). A relatively late achievement in the docudramatic revisionist vogue is Hillel Mittelpunkt's *Gorodish, o ha-Yom ha-Shevi'i* ("Gorodish, or The Seventh Day," 1993), a chronicle of the rise and fall of General Shmuel Gonen, a hero of the Six-Day War who became the scapegoat of the "defeat" in the Yom Kippur War, thus symbolizing the ideological bankruptcy of all of Israeli society.

Yet although mainly realistic, the trend of post-Zionist drama that began in the mid-1970s did not preclude stylized and fantastic plays. Yaakov Shabtai's *Namer Ḥavarburot* ("The Spotted Tiger," 1974) tells the story of Fink, half dreamer half charlatan, who at the end of the 1920s comes to the tiny township of Tel Aviv, a provincial resort of embittered, materialist, and desperate ex-pioneers. Fink brings with him a whiff of the wide world, hoping to establish an international circus in Israel with all its trimmings, including a spotted tiger, the symbol of speed, courage, and unearthly beauty. Being unable to live up to the imaginary dimensions of Fink's utopian dream, the petty, dystopian settlers of Tel Aviv bring about his death in a duel. In *Shitz* (1975) Hanoch Levin provides a biting satirical grotesque about the cynical Israeli philistines who are transformed by greed into warmongers who thrive on blood. Danny Horowitz's *Cherli Ka-Cherli* (1977) – a parody on the Israeli *Massekhet-* genre in the form of an oratorio for speaking voices and chorus – reflects the spirit of soul searching by offering an ironic dissection of the once sacred *Sabra* myth. The tradition of post-Zionist, non-realistic parables on the shattered ideals of the morally corrupt Israeli society is pursued on the threshold of the third millennium by several dramatists (Yehonatan Geffen, Eldad Ziv, Shlomi Moskovitch). They are, however, surpassed by the theatrical texts of the director and playwright Michael Gurevitch, whose phantasmagorias *Mila Aḥat shel Ahavah* ("One Word of Love"), *Ḥeyl Parashim Anu* ("We Are a Unit of Cavaliers") and *Osher* ("Happiness") constitute poetic stage legends that lend themselves to a plethora of interpretations.

THE MOBILIZATION OF HISTORICAL AND BIBLICAL DRAMA. The process of mobilizing the stage for political ends left its mark also on historical and biblical drama. Historical as well as biblical materials have served since 1967 for a critical illumination of local political and existential problems. Aharon Megged's *Ha-Onah ha-Bo'eret* ("The Burning Season," 1967) takes up the theme of Job in order to warn against the hazards of forgiving the Germans by accepting compensation and establishing diplomatic relations with Germany. Instead of being loyal to the biblical characterization of Job as a righteous and God-fearing patriarch who rightfully lives to see a happy end to his various ordeals, Megged presents him as a blind, "Holocaust-denying" person who deserves the recurrence of his tragic fate. The same biblical myth acquires a radically existential and agnostic interpretation in Hanoch Levin's *Yissurei Iyov* ("The Sorrows of Job," 1981). In the first part of this "Passion"-play we witness the descent and fall of Job presented as a catastrophic succession of episodic events, corresponding to the biblical narrative (apart from the omission of the prologue in Heaven); yet, in contrast to the Scriptures, the chain of events in Levin's play is the result of both human short-sightedness and selfishness as well as of Job's own moral corruption. In the second part we witness the increasing agony of Job on the verge of dying, having been speared on a pole by the Romans for refusing to renounce God. Becoming part of a circus spectacle, without being granted the sanctification of a martyr's death, Job's anti-heroic suffering is rendered as the epitome of the purposelessness of human existence, of the relativity of human happiness, not even an existential gesture of protest against a metaphysical void. Yaakov Shabtai's *Okhlim* ("Eating," 1979) is an updated version of the theft of Naboth's vineyard by Jezebel and Ahab. This canonical parable is directed against the apparently "legal" dispossession of the occupied Palestinian land, while *Jehu* by Gilad Evron (1992) – the story of a ruthless army commander who escapes the death sentence for disobedience, overthrows the reigning monarch, commits hideous crimes, and drives his chief supporter, Ziph, to commit suicide – has been interpreted as a parable on the man who pulls the strings, Ariel Sharon's cynical manipulations of Prime Minister Menachem Begin, which led to the war in Lebanon in the beginning of the 1980s. Rina Yerushalmi's *Bible Project* – consisting of two parts, *Va-Yomer Va-Yelekh* ("And he said and he went," 1996) and *Va-Yishtaḥu Va-Yar* ("And he bowed and he saw," 1998) – harnesses the biblical text itself to its peculiar political ends. Even a harmless biblical musical such as *Shelomo ha-Melekh ve-Shalmai ha-Sandlar* ("King Solomon and Shalmai the Cobbler") by Sammy Groenemann and Nathan Alterman has been deciphered in its Habimah revival in 2005 as an allegory on social exploitation.

THE HOLOCAUST AS SOCIO-POLITICAL METAPHOR. The 1973 Yom Kippur War, which shattered the invincible image of Israel, resulted in a growing awareness that the Holocaust and Israeli experiences are metonymical and interchangeable. The best-known play of the period is Yehoshua Sobol's *Ghetto* (1984). The play dared for the first time to present – through an alienating "German" epic style and a "profane" image of a theater company in the Vilna Ghetto – the symbiotic relations and reversible roles of the Nazi victimizer and the Jewish victim, thereby reflecting on Israel's belligerency against Lebanon and the occupied territories. Similar political attitudes were advocated by Motti Lerner in his docudramatary *Kasztner* (1985), acquitting the hero, Rezso Kasztner, of collaborating with the Nazis in liquidating Hungarian Jewry, and in Shmuel Hasfari's family plays *Kiddush* (1985) and *Ḥameẓ* (1995). The Acre Theater Center's stunning theatrical event *Arbeit macht frei mi-Toitland Europa* ("Work Liberates from the Dead Land Europe," 1991) marked the beginning of the fourth stage of Holocaust dramaturgy, with the second and third generations exposing and reacting to the deforming influence of the Holocaust experience on the collective psyche, on the socio-political *Weltanschauung* and the ethical norms of Israeli society. The fifth phase of Holocaust dramaturgy denotes a "normalization" in the Israeli attitude to the Holocaust, by either employing the Shoah as a relatively indifferent background for soap operas, as in Edna Mazya's *Sippur Mishpaḥti* ("A Family Story," 1996) and Savyon Liebrecht's *Sonya Mushkat* (1997) and *Sinit Ani Medaberet Elekha* ("Chinese I'm Talking to You," 2003), or by the complete role reversal between former victims and victimizers, thus disinheriting the Jews of their moral superiority, as in Aliza Ulmert's *Sonata Lifsanter* ("A Piano Sonata," 1994) and Hillel Mittelpunkt's *Madrikh la-Metayel be-Varsha* ("A Warsaw Tourist Guide," 1999) – both preoccupied with the sadistic *vendetta* of Israelis against partly innocent Polish citizens and their property.

ALONI AND LEVIN. The unrivaled poets laureate of Hebrew drama are Nissim Aloni (1926–1998) and Hanoch Levin (1943–1999). Even though their plays are saturated with references and allusions to the local milieu, both Aloni and Levin tend to "distance the evidence" of their theatrical, self-referential phantasmagorias to mythical, literary, and legendary regions, thus serving as vanguards of the universal-existential trend in Hebrew drama. Aloni's signature play *Ha-Nessikhah ha-Amerika'it* ("The American Princess," 1962) delineates, through the detached narrative of a dethroned monarch, murdered by his opportunistic son, the cultural and normative deformation of Israeli society. This small lyrical-ironic masterpiece, strongly affiliated with the French Drama of the Absurd in the 1950s, and some of Aloni's other plays from an opus of 11 plays altogether (for example, *Bigdei ha-Melekh*, 1961; *Ha-Kallah ve-Ẓayyad ha-Parparim*, 1966; *Ha-Dodah Lizah*, 1969; and *Eddie King*, 1975) mark the playwright's ongoing influence on Israeli drama and theater, as an antidote to the prevailing flat journalistic dramaturgy.

Dramatist and director Hanoch Levin was undoubtedly the most prominent and prolific (60 works) theater practitioner to emerge from the aftermath of the Six-Day War. In the domestic neighborhood comedies that followed his first satirical revues, e. g., *Ya'akobi and Leidenthal* (1972); *Ne'urei Vardaleh* ("Vardaleh's Youth," 1974); *Krum* (1975); *Popper* (1976); *Soḥarei Gummi* ("Rubber Merchants," 1978); *Halvayah Ḥorpit* ("A Winter Funeral," 1978); *Orezei Mizevadot* ("Suitcase Packers," 1983); *Melekhet ha-Ḥayyim* ("The Labor of Life," 1989), Levin unravels the Diaspora myths underlying the apotheosized Jewish-Israeli family, and develops his image of humankind as a beastly hierarchy of humiliater and humiliated, motivated exclusively by their basest drives and thanatopsic fears. Levin's final cycle comprises legendary-universal phantasmagorias or "Spectacles of Doom," as, for example *Hoẓa'ah La-Horeg* ("Execution," 1979); *Ha-Zonah ha-Gedolah mi-Bavel* ("The Big Babylonian Whore," 1982); *Ha-Nashim ha-Avudot mi-Troya* ("The Lost Women of Troy," 1984); *Kulam Roẓim Liḥyot* ("Everybody Wants to Live," 1985); *Ha-Yeled Ḥolem* ("The Child Dreams," 1993); *Pe'urei Peh* ("Open-Mouthed," 1985); *Kritat Rosh* ("Beheading," 1996); *Ha-Holkhim ba-Ḥoshekh* (1998). In *Ashkavah* ("Requiem," 1999) he composed his own funeral oration, and *Ha-Bakhyanim* ("The Weepers," 2000), based on the Agamemnon narrative, was conceived on his deathbed.

THE PRIVATIZED ERA. The second substantial reversal in Israeli drama took place in the 1990s and characterizes plays written and performed at the beginning of the third millennium. The interconnected historical and theatrical developments (from the Oslo Peace Accord to Rabin's murder and the second Intifada) produce a complete renunciation of communal ideals along with their formal objective correlatives. The personal, cosmopolitan, and humane note is most clearly evident in the upsurge of women's – not necessarily feminist or gender-conscious – dramaturgy and directing. Most of the female dramatists work in the more established, well-made pattern. Shulamit Lapid's *Rekhush Natush* ("Abandoned Property," 1988) relates the story of an aging, half-blind and bitter mother who was long ago abandoned by her husband, and now tyrannizes her daughters under the pretext of wishing to protect them. Playwright and director Edna Mazia presents provocative, mentally unstable, and attractive heroines, and also directed several of Anat Gov's plays, of which the best and most popular is *Ha-Ḥaverot Hakhi Tovot* (1999), which takes for its theme the inextricable bonds among girlfriends. The opposite pole consists of stylized, poetic dramatic and theatrical texts, such as Yossefa Even-Shoshan's *Ha-Betulah mi-Ludmir* ("The Virgin of Ludmir," 1997), and Ravid Davara's *Ha-Sirpad shel ha-Shakhen* ("The Neighbor's Thistle," 1999).

The idealistic, committed, and selfless Hebrew plays of the early settlement period in Ereẓ Israel have thus reached the extreme opposite pole, as has indeed the entire Zionist ideology which generated them. However, both drama and theater are still engaged in the same quest for social identity.

[Gershon Shaked / Gad Kaynar (2nd ed.)]

CRITICISM

Introduction – Beginnings of Literary Criticism

Hebrew literary criticism as a discipline has existed for the past 200 years only, but the rudiments of literary appreciation can be traced to medieval works on normative poetics and rhetoric. In *Shirat Yisrael* (written in Arabic (*Kitāb al Muḥadara wa-al-Mudhākara*), Heb. ed. (1924) by B. Halper), Moses *Ibn Ezra lays down the rules for writing excellent poetry, which he applies to his criticism on the Spanish poets, and discusses the problems of artistic creation. Critical evaluations of the Spanish poets are also found in Judah *Alḥarizi's *Taḥkemoni* (Constantinople, 1578; Tel Aviv, 1952) and *Immanuel of Rome, in *Maḥberot Immanu'el* (critical edition, Tel Aviv, 1950), devotes a section to poetry. He is either profuse in his praise of poetry or he deprecates it. The prevalent tradition of distinguished personalities prefacing books with *haskamot* ("agreements," i.e., favorable recommendations) can also be considered a forerunner of literary criticism although the *haskamot* were mainly apologetic and couched in a formal conventional style. Often, the authors themselves wrote introductions to their works describing their aims and motives. It was, however, in the 18th century that Hebrew literary criticism as a school began to evolve, growing out of a cultural atmosphere which was able to appreciate Hebrew literature not only for ethical and didactic values but also for its own sake. The centers of Hebrew literary criticism correspond geographically and chronologically to centers of modern Hebrew literature – they shifted from Italy and Germany in the 18th century to Austria-Hungary and Russia in the 19th century. Hebrew literary criticism developed significantly in Russia (including Poland and Lithuania) from 1860 to 1918, and in Ereẓ Israel from the beginning of the century to this day. Literary criticism also evolved in the United States, where, in the main, it dealt with Hebrew literature written in that country between the world wars. Although critical activity usually reflects the development of other literary forms, modern Hebrew criticism in its beginnings lagged far behind the development of the different genres in modern Hebrew literature. The situation, however, began to change with the rise of the Hebrew press, which became the main vehicle of critical expression, in Russia, in the 1860s.

18th Century – Normative-Aesthetic Approach

The development of aesthetic literary appreciation is primarily linked with the study of the Bible. Moses Ḥayyim *Luzzatto in his works on poetics and rhetoric draws mainly on the Bible for the many examples with which he illustrates his theories. His poetic methods and theories, however, are mostly influenced by medieval and contemporary Italian rhetoricians. In the *Bi'ur* (1780–83) project, a translation and exposition of the Bible in German, edited by Moses *Mendelssohn and his circle, aesthetic appreciation of the scriptural text formed an integral part of the exegesis. Influenced by 18th century German aesthetic thought, the introductions and commentaries are often an eclectic combination of neoclassical and sentimentalist views. Sometimes a psychological moralistic approach is in evidence and aesthetic distinctions are made, mainly in the poetical sections of the Bible. The discussion on rhyme and structure in Mendelssohn's commentary on "The Song of Deliverance" adheres to Robert *Lowth's aesthetic distinctions (*De Sacra Poesi Hebraeorum Praelechones*…, 1753; trans. from Latin by G. Gregory, London, 1787) in its emphasis on the connection between rhetoric and emotion. In Joel *Brill's preface to the book of Psalms (2 vols., Berlin, 1787–88) the influence of the author's mentor, Moses Mendelssohn, and that of Johann Gottfried von *Herder (*Vom Geiste der hebraeischen Poesie*, 1782; trans. by J. Marsh, *The Spirit of Hebrew Poetry*, 1833) can be discerned. Despite Brill's declared adherence to the Haskalah, he devotes much attention to the effects of poetry and rhetoric on man's senses and emotions. These are achieved through repetition, deliberate shifts in syntax, and the frequent use of similes and metaphors. Enumerating the qualities of the ideal poet, he distinguishes delicacy of feeling, imagination, wit, and psychological insight. Naphtali Herz (Hartwig) *Wessely in the introductions to sections of his epic composition "*Shirei Tiferet*" (5 vols., 1789–1802) on the Exodus from Egypt discusses the power of poetry and its characteristics. His view on the universality of poetry, the earliest literary form, is in the spirit of neoclassical thought which attempted to harmonize between reason and emotion. Temperate and cautious in his biblical exegesis, Wessely believes, however, that modern poetic interpretation of biblical themes is obviously superior to the biblical source itself, especially in the portrayal of the inner motivation of events and their causal connection. His many attempts at expounding in detail the relationship of his poetry to biblical and midrashic sources indicate his predilection for criticism.

In his discussion on the theory of literature, Isaac ha-Levi *Satanow in *Sefer ha-Ḥizzayon* (Berlin, 1785) confuses the elements of poetics, rhetoric forms, and general definitions of the essence of poetry. Stressing the didactic significance of poetry in some of the formulations, Satanow, a leading representative of the Haskalah, also points out the sensual and ecstatic elements of poetry which affect the reader. The emotional characteristics of the Sturm und Drang, already discernible in some of the works of Mendelssohn's disciples, became more prominent at the beginning of the 19th century and are given a distinctly personal expression in Solomon Lewisohn's *Meliẓat Yeshurun* (Vienna, 1816). Lewisohn integrates these elements with Longinus' concepts, gleaned from reading *On the Sublime* which enjoyed widespread popularity in the Germany and England of his day. *Meliẓat Yeshurun*, a book of normative poetics illustrated with examples from the Bible, but also from Wessely and Lewisohn himself, attempts to define poetic forms. The poet's personal emotional confession, written with dramatic pathos, intrudes on some of the explanations and definitions which are of an apparently prescriptive nature. Poetry, according to Lewisohn, is a phenomenon existing in and of itself and affecting the entire universe. He thus freed himself of the neoclassical distinctions which tried to create a balance between reason and sentiment, and to harmonize between aesthetic experience for its own sake and the didactic objective of the work, the latter, according to neoclassicism, having to guide poetry. Using biblical rhetoric, Lewisohn posits a normative order, in which he demonstrates how the sublime scriptural effects were designed to arouse reactions of wonder and amazement in the reader.

19th Century

CRITICAL REVIEWS. Parallel to normative aesthetic studies, reviews of new books began to appear in *Ha-Me'assef*

(1784–1811), the Haskalah journal in Germany. Its anonymous "News of Books" column was, at times, little more than disguised publicity by the author. On rare occasions, the criticism went into a more detailed discussion of the work, quoting excerpts either for the sake of a polemic argument or for purposes of apologetic praise. Although the annual **Bikkurei ha-Ittim* (1821–1832) published in Vienna was in the spirit of *Ha-Me'assef*, it did not cultivate literary criticism. Two articles in *Bikkurei ha-Ittim* (1832, p. 175–181) and in **Kerem Ḥemed*, 1839, 45–57, on the satirical writings of Joseph *Perl, by Solomon Judah *Rapoport, a major figure of the Galician Haskalah, are of significance. Despite the anti-ḥasidic undertone, Rapoport presents a discerning literary evaluation of the work itself, its relationship to reality, and alludes to the general tradition of satirical literature in Europe. Samuel Joseph *Fuenn's review of the poetry of Abraham Dov *Lebensohn in *Pirḥei Ẓafon* (Vilna, 1844, pp. 90–103) is one of the early important critical works to come from the literary center of Vilna. Fuenn is a precursor of the genetic chronological literary review which considers the background of the author as essential to the understanding of the actual work, thus anticipating later critics, e.g., A.J. *Paperna, M.L. *Lilienblum, and Ḥ.N. *Bialik, who also followed the method. Like his Haskalah contemporaries Fuenn advocated the *meliẓah* style (ornate biblical syntax) as ideal, but was, at the same time, aware of the tension between content and linguistic patterns in poetry. He considered the different stages of Lebensohn's work from the aspect of the poet's personal development – tracing his growth from his lyrical subjective period to his more universal meditative poetry. This detailed evaluation led to a well-reasoned textual reading of each poem. Nonetheless Fuenn's criticism tends toward undiscriminating generalizations and superlatives which were unsupported by a proper theoretical aesthetic foundation.

ENCOMIASTIC AND EPISTOLARY CRITICISM. Besides the satirical parodizing approach to book reviewing by Haskalah writers (mainly Perl and *Erter), literary appreciation also took the form of ornate encomiastic verse which praised the author and his work. This was in fact a continuation of the traditional *haskamah*. S.D. *Luzzato, A.D. Lebensohn, and J.L. *Gordon included such eulogies in their collected works and notwithstanding their florid style, these helped shape public opinion concerning the merit of certain works and authors.

While the value of this type of poetry was transitory, critical comments found in literary letters, written often for publication, helped shape contemporary taste. Among these are the letters of Samuel David Luzzatto and Judah Leib Gordon containing relevant critical remarks on their own works and that of their contemporaries. The normative approach to contemporary literature was also prevalent and Luzzatto for one, in discussing A.D. Lebensohn and Meir ha-Levi *Letteris, expressed strong views on the meter, rhyme, and ideas in their poetry.

"POSITIVIST SCHOOL." An important step in the development of literary criticism was the proliferation of the Hebrew press in Russia in the early 1860s. More liberal censorship regulations led to weekly publications. The unsigned short editorial review was very common in such periodicals as **Ha-Karmel* (1861–1879), **Ha-Ẓefirah* (1862–1931), and **Ha-Meliẓ* (1860–1904; and also in the **Ha-Maggid* 1856–1892), as was the topical article which related Hebrew literature to contemporaneous needs. The Hebrew press was also instrumental in disseminating the ideas of Russian positivist criticism of Vissarion G. Belinski and Dmitri I. Pisarev. Iconoclastic in character (major exponents were S.Y. *Abramovitsh (Mendel Mokher Seforim), A.U. *Kovner, A.J. Paperna), Hebrew criticism of the 1860s had revolted against the accepted aesthetic values of German neoclassicism and sentimentalism and had taken on more radical social orientation. Qualitatively (i.e., in the development of analytic and stylistic tools) it achieved little. Common to it was the polemical-sarcastic style, whose dominant feature was its concentration of inimical quotations, and the journalistic tendency to associate sociological matters with literary phenomena. Conversely, however, some critics of the group developed a distinctive personal approach.

UTILITARIAN-SOCIOLOGICAL TREND. With the appearance of A.U. Kovner (*Ḥeker Davar*, 1865 (first edition), *Ẓeror Peruḥim*, 1868) on the Jewish social and literary scene, a utilitarian-sociological trend developed whose aim was not only the evaluation of literature as such, but a social reformation of Russian Jewish life. The new ideas affected the choice of literary genres and critics began to express their reservations regarding poetry on biblical themes, preferring and encouraging literary vehicles such as social satire or the novel. Kovner developed the utilitarian tendency already formulated by some Haskalah authors. Challenging the accepted aesthetic concepts in Hebrew literature and rejecting its neoclassicist hypotheses, he distinguished between "idealist" and "realist" poets, as did his favorite Russian critic Pisarev. He strongly objected to the lofty and ornate style which he claimed had no real content, and called for the use of simple and natural language which would be intelligible to a wide reading public. As for the function of criticism, it should make bold demands, be unbiased, and not submit to conventional authority.

A.J. Paperna, Kovner's contemporary, was an even more fiery advocate of the didactic and theoretical approach to criticism. While fighting the uninspired and ornate conventions of the *meliẓah* poetry and condemning allegorical drama as obsolete (in his essays "*Kankan Ḥadash Male Yashan*," 1867; and "*Ha-Drama bi-Khelal ve-ha-Ivrit bi-Ferat*," 1868), he took great pains to enunciate the principles of literary theory to the Hebrew reader, and to define literary genres: epic, drama, and novel. His views were inspired mainly by the aesthetic theories of the Russian critic Belinski, but they were also rooted in classical aesthetics. Thus his demands for realism in Hebrew literature are aesthetically rather than socially motivated, forming criteria by which to measure the writer's creative talents.

M.L. Lilienblum's critical essays of the 1870s (and even of his Zionist period in the 1880s) were grounded in superficial positivism and utilitarianism in which ideological considerations led him to confuse literature with social pamphleteering. Reality was for him the sole criterion by which to arrive at "the truth of life." He judged Abraham *Mapu's novels accordingly and in his nationalist period criticized Judah Leib Gordon's poetry in the light of the "real" demands of the Ḥibbat Zion ideology as he understood them.

CULTURAL-HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE. Simultaneously, the short newspaper article was also extensively cultivated. Its principal exponents were P. *Smolenskin, editor of **Ha-Shaḥar* (Vienna, 1869–1884), and J.L. Gordon, writing for the weekly *Ha-Meliẓ* (mainly in the 1880s). These reviews, not exclusively on belles lettres, reveal not only a great sensitivity to questions of language and style, but also a more balanced cultural-historical perspective regarding contemporary Hebrew literature. Neither Smolenskin nor Gordon spared those authors whom they considered undeserving. Smolenskin is sometimes apologetic as regards the achievement of the Hebrew language which he considers fundamental to the Jewish national culture. His literary tools are rather superficial, and his comparison of Hebrew works with world classics are sometimes unrealistic. His principles of literary criticism are expressed in his definition: "The ability to describe scenes which are real to life and a style both beautiful and vigorous."

Late 19th Century – The Limits of Hebrew Literature

During the sudden growth of Hebrew criticism in the 1890s, attention focused on the basic problems of Hebrew literature rather than on practical and detailed criticism of individual works. On the one hand, there was a call for a Hebrew artistic revival which would be close to European literature and on the other a hesitancy and a conservatism arising out of a concern for authenticity and for the national objectives of Hebrew literature.

AESTHETIC APPRECIATION FOR ITS OWN SAKE. Two principal figures of this trend were D. *Frischmann and R. *Brainin. David Frischmann declared his criterion to be personal talent and the refinement of aesthetic taste. He tried to realize his goals through a criticism which was essentially negative, resorting not only to irony but even to controversy. Discussing works which he liked, he took on a lyrical pathetic tone, however, which, at times, became even hackneyed. His preference for the feuilleton form (an aesthetically orientated literary column) affected his critical writing since the feuilleton by definition must be playful and humorous, maintaining contact with the reader and underscoring the presence of the author's personality. Frischmann's egocentric tendency was given further free play in his "Letters about Literature" which he wrote at various times. He was particularly skillful in portraying authors and in depicting characteristic elements in their works. The aesthetic notions which he so profusely advocated were, however, rarely implemented in his own articles.

Reuben Brainin, like Frischmann, based his call for a literary revival on criteria drawn from Western literature. But while his tone was egocentric, he lacked the lyrical sentimental and ironic refinement so characteristic of Frischmann. His essays, particularly those written toward the end of the 19th century under the influence of G. Brandes and J.A. Taine, stressed biographical detail and the impact which environment and background have on the literary work. Brainin, rooted in the spirit of European literature, drew his examples and metaphors from the natural sciences. Comparing Hebrew literature with world literature, he was pessimistic as to its possibilities. Like Frischmann, Brainin had a propensity for sketching portraits, interlacing these with memoirs and anecdotes designed to interest readers of Hebrew dailies which began to appear in 1886. Brainin, however, lacked the analytic ability of the practical critic who discusses and relates to the specific work. He was interested in the writer's personal image rather than the literary work under discussion. His detailed article on Mendele Mokher Seforim's works, written at the turn of the century, is illustrated by ample citations from Mendele's writings. Brainin pointed out that Mendele's recording of Jewish life in Russia was of documentary import. (Frischmann used the same approach when writing about Mendele some years later.)

This orientation toward world literature is more clearly manifest in the criticism of Nahum *Sokolow despite the fact that he wrote in a more traditional "Jewish" style. His article (written in the 1890s) on experiments in naturalism in the Hebrew short story is a case in point. Sokolow's discussion of Zola's literary method bears witness to his knowledge of contemporary world literature and his ability to apply it to his own criticism. He makes few pronunciamentos which call for the cultivation of ties with world literature; instead, he maintains these ties in reality.

THE AHAD HA-AM AND BERDYCZEWSKI CONTROVERSY. While the debate on the orientation of Hebrew literature toward universal culture appears in Frischmann's and Brainin's essays, it takes a more serious turn in the controversy between *Aḥad Ha-Am and the Ha-Ẓe'irim (The Young Writers) group, headed by Micha Josef *Berdyczewski, which was conducted mainly in the monthly *Ha-Shilo'aḥ* (1897–1926) at the end of the 19th century. Though the discussions did not contribute directly to the criticism of specific works, they gave it impetus and inspiration. Aḥad Ha-Am's utilitarian approach, which denies literature its autonomous status, was in consonance with a trend already existing in Hebrew criticism. He considered speculative writing of prime importance. In his view of the historical continuity of Jewish literature, literary form was the product of a nation's conceptual framework. Aḥad Ha-Am, striving "to unite poetry and thought," saw it as a medium through which the existential problems of the Jewish people could be expressed. Yet he did not disregard the quality of a work of art: Literary description, he felt, contributed to animation of thought and to fostering national consciousness.

The purpose of literary criticism was to examine the relation of man's spirit to truth, goodness, and beauty. Aḥad Ha-Am aimed at a harmony between the logical moral elements in literature and its aesthetic quality. Yet he arrived at the paradoxical conclusion that it was not necessary to fulfill aesthetic needs within the sphere of Hebrew literature. These standards he declared in defining the program of *Ha-Shiloʾaḥ*, the literary journal he founded in 1896. Aḥad Ha-Am's preference for a literature of ideas rather than belles lettres reflects the doubts and the reservation of that epoch. Endowing his view of literature with a historic dimension, he claimed that the Jewish people was naturally inclined to ideas. His views were not superficially utilitarian and in fact he recognized the "beautiful" as a value in itself. He tended, however, to limit somewhat the space allocated to creative literature in **Ha-Shiloʾaḥ*. Pointing to the pressing human needs of the Jewish people, Aḥad Ha-Am's antagonist, Berdyczewski, warned against the danger of separating Jewish and universal values in literature. He believed that the time had come for creating a literature which would also fulfill a historical need. In calling for the autonomy of all literature, which he groups under the title "poetry," his views also tend toward the idealistic-romantic. For a literary work to affect reality, the writer does not necessarily have to be inspired by contemporaneous social and historical problems; it is rather the work created in isolation and through the individual author's own motivation that influences. He negates the genetic approach in analyzing an author and his work. The appearance of an author on the literary scene he saw not as the result of development, but as a miracle and he attributed to chance the fact that writers exist in the same environment, creating side by side. Berdyczewski left his mark on Hebrew literary criticism also in his short reviews. Using primarily the illustrative method, he quotes extensively in order to stress and exemplify the essential elements in a work. His criticism, basically subjective, reflects his own spiritual and aesthetic world. While giving striking and concise definitions, Berdyczewski also tends toward biased exaggeration.

SYNTHETIC APPROACH. J. Klausner's approach to the relationship between Hebrew and world literatures is simplistic-synthetic and his comparisons between the works of Hebrew writers and other poets are superficial. He firmly advocated the harmonization of Jewish and universal values and propagated his philosophical principles in his literary criticism. Biographical information is one of the basic elements in his criticism and his critical remarks are substantiated by many textual examples. Though Klausner, unlike Aḥad Ha-Am, stressed the special place of modern Hebrew literature in the life of the people, his evaluations are of a didactic and pedagogic nature. They tend to appraise literary works – of the Haskalah and his own period – in terms of their contribution to the national Zionist movement. Occasional normative ideological demands on contemporary literature can also be found in his criticism.

Early 20th Century – Aesthetic and Ideological Concepts

Among the young critics at the turn of the century M.M. *Feitelson deserves mention. Influenced by Russian 19th-century criticism, his aesthetic criterion was the relationship of fiction to life itself, but he also represents the trend which called for the freeing of Hebrew literature from its conceptual relationship to social ideas. His contemporary I.E. Lubetzki (in his essays as yet not collected) took an even more extreme stand on this issue. He claimed that the critical discipline should not be governed by actual ideological demands and aesthetic criticism should not be concerned with the conceptual and moral aspect of the work. He spoke of the need for "artistic documents" and not for "human documents." In contrast to Frischmann's aesthetic demands characterized by the critic's subjective sentimental attitude, Lubetzki proposed objectivity and pertinent criteria, advocating what he called a "science of literature" as a critical criterion. Lubetzki, however, did not implement his own ideas in his critical writings; instead, like his predecessors, he drew superficial comparisons either between literary works or between authors. He elucidated details but was unable to evolve an analytical system. To clarify literary concepts, he drew on the terminology of painting and music, a method which could not lead him to the realization of his scientific ideal.

CRITICISM BY POETS AND WRITERS. Criticism written by poets and authors at the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th centuries bears a special stamp. Subjective in its approach, it reflects the private world of the creative writer and his aesthetic concepts, and is lyrical and descriptive in style. The significance of this criticism lies in the fact that it is the product of the creative writer. To this category belong Berdyczewski's short, critical reviews mentioned above. *Bialik in his discussion on the development of Hebrew style and the essence of language points to the significant role played by Mendele Mokher Seforim and his successors in forging a new Hebrew prose. His treatment of the development of Hebrew poetry is not merely genetic but shows contemporary Hebrew literature to be an antithesis to earlier trends. In his article "*Shiratenu ha-Ẓeʾirah*" ("On Our Young Poetry," in *Ha-Shiloʾaḥ*, 16 (1906), 66–76), Bialik rebelled against the poetic and linguistic traditions of Hebrew poetry and hailed the generation of national renaissance. He acclaimed its outlook which sought to fuse the subjective and individualistic aims of the artist with the literary traditions and ideals of the nation. His many allusions to biblical and rabbinic sources often have a rhetorical reversal of meaning. They testify to his profound knowledge of tradition and to his fertile poetic imagination. Bialik also devotes special attention to the problems of literary creation, often projecting his own predicament as a poet. The relationship between author and language he sees as a dramatic struggle of the creative artist with formless matter. J. *Steinberg's literary essays, written in Ereẓ Israel mainly between the two world wars, sometimes appear similar to those written by Bialik. They, too, are highly sensitive to the problems of language and style, and insist upon verbal purism and idiomatic refinement. According to Steinberg, the essence of a work is to be found in the single syntactical unit which must be carefully scrutinized by the critic. While describing the atmosphere and the essence of the language of literature in general terms, Steinberg fails to deal with any specific work or text. At the same time, in his essays, he focuses mainly on the comprehensive phenomenon of contemporary Jewish culture and its historic roots. An interpenetration of literary criticism and fiction is reflected in Joseph Ḥayyim *Brenner's works. Literary criticism relevant to the actual situation sometimes motivates the plot of a story and in some of the introductions to his works, Brenner is ironically critical of his own literary manner but even more so of that of his contemporaries. Conversely, some of his critical and journalistic articles are written in fictional dialogue, thus expressing the author-critic's split personality, his inner conflicts and his fluctuation between hope and despair. Brenner's criticism is expressed in a variety of literary vehicles: the general review, criticism of one specific work, a general overview of all the aspects of an author's writings, and the lecture form. All of them are motivated by the wish to combine the social vision of the revival of the Jewish people and the normative aims of literature. In his attempt to remain faithful to his artistic ideals, Brenner seeks to establish a certain link between literary genres and historical and social conditions. Thus the truth of a work of art depends on the artistic integration of purpose and stylistic expression. His criticism encompasses both the moral teacher and the art critic, moralistic pathos and keen analytical ability which is expressed in an ironical-polemic style. Literature has socio-historical significance and reflects the changes taking place in Jewish society in modern times, but concurrently Brenner strives to uncover the aesthetic forces which go into creative art. This aim of reviving the Jewish people through literature did not always achieve full integration with the artistic ideal.

BEGINNINGS OF CRITICISM IN EREẒ ISRAEL. Brenner's literary activity is typical of the literary shift that occurred with the transfer of the literary center from Russia to Ereẓ Israel as far back as the Second Aliyah (prior to World War I). It served as a main link between the literary centers in the Diaspora and the new center evolving in Ereẓ Israel. This process is also reflected in the critical endeavors of Jacob *Rabinowitz, Jacob Steinberg, Shlomo *Zemach; and following World War I – Jacob *Fichmann, Fishel *Lachower, Joseph Klausner, and others. The immigration of authors and critics to Ereẓ Israel gave Hebrew criticism a special socio-national quality, though many of the critics preserved their individual character in their aesthetic and stylistic perceptions. The publication of critical articles (among them articles by Klausner, Lachower, and Fichmann) which had originally appeared in Russia were now presented to a new public in a new land and in a different historical context.

CRITICISM IN THE UNITED STATES. Parallel to the evolvement of the Ereẓ Israel center since the Third Aliyah (from the 1920s), a literary center evolved in the United States. Inspired by the national movement, the American critics followed the explanatory descriptive critical school (e.g., M. *Ribalow's and A. *Epstein's articles) reminiscent of Klausner, but they lacked his special personal and public pathos. At the same time, however, it introduced criticism of a more individualistic poetic nature by poets and writers (e.g., S. *Halkin and A. *Regelson during their American period and E. *Silberschlag and Y. Rabinowits). American Hebrew literary criticism, thematic in content, focused mainly on the specific manifestations and problems of Hebrew literature in the United States. This critical attitude was rooted in a wish to encourage the development of Hebrew literature in a foreign cultural environment. Concurrently, interest in world literature, hitherto hardly touched upon by Hebrew criticism, increased. Hebrew critics in the United States did not generally assimilate the methods of modern American criticism, but described in essay form Anglo-American artists, poets, and writers. World literature was analyzed and criticized for its own sake, and not only discussed by way of pronunciamentos and statements of principles.

EREẒ ISRAEL AFTER WORLD WAR I – OLD AND NEW CRITERIA. Hebrew criticism in Ereẓ Israel since the end of World War I in its method has been a continuation of the trends evolved at the beginning of the century, mainly because the same critics continued writing in the new center. Nevertheless, the critical essay has developed as a result of a further crystallization of the Hebrew language which allowed it to lend itself to the tools of modern study. Conversely, as a result of the remarkable growth of the Hebrew press, which served as a forum for the best critics, the brief critical article flourished. Research study of modern Hebrew literature, including different intermediate stages, ranging from the critical review to scholarly research, began in the 1930s. The polarity between the two domains reached its peak in the 1960s with the expansion of academic teaching of Hebrew literature and the persistent impetus of literary scholarly research in the world. Impressionist criticism continues to be one of the main trends, as does the tendency to regard the artistic creation as a continuation of the artist's life. The lines between poetic reality and actual reality are thus blurred and documentary elements are constantly looked for in the work of art under discussion. Accurate depiction thus becomes the artistic criterion. In contrast to this superficial realism there is conceptual criticism which seeks a common denominator for all the components in a work of art, while paying little attention to the influence of genre and style. As to method, there is on the one hand a tendency to deal with various literary components: characterization, description of nature, and conceptual goals, without exhaustively studying any one of them, and on the other hand use is made of examples, the choice of which is completely subjective, being in consonance with the critic's personal reading. Contrary to the above eclectic method, there is also a tendency to isolate each problem and discuss it without functional relation to the totality of the work. But even when discussing a single defined problem, the critic tends to arrive at a general evaluation of the work, thus reducing all the components to one essence. These trends are parallel, the critics stressing various aspects according to their inclinations, personal talents, and their ability to give their presentation and phrasing original expression. The critic's own personality counterweights the methodic weakness. The poet Jacob Fichmann, spanning the two periods and the two centers of Hebrew literature, was impressionistic in his criticism. He relates to works of art and authors not only by personal association, but also by examining the work in the light of its general significance. He usually describes the work as a whole, showing both sympathy and approval, and refrains from giving the author normative advice. In his essays, Fichmann developed a distinctive style, rich in description and lyrical metaphor, though lacking Bialik's force. Informative biographical elements and a general review of the work are woven into his personal impression of it. Fichmann's essays also possess a certain historical evolutionary dimension and include treatments of poets and novelists of the Haskalah period. He seeks to familiarize the reader with the authors' writings and their poetical value which extends beyond chronological and conceptual criteria. Fichmann's interpretations are generally impressionistic, derived at times from personal experience. He points out the mutual relationship between the critic-scholar and the critic-artist, thus advocating a synthesis between "scholarship and art." Impressionist criticism of this type is also to be found in the critical essays of Fichmann's contemporaries and disciples, but they lack his personal quality and status.

Mid-20th Century – New Perspectives

Hebrew criticism had a strong impetus in Ereẓ Israel in the 1940s. Critics who had started to write before World War I (e.g., S. Zemach, E. *Steinman, Y. *Keshet) had now attained original insight and had cultivated their own style. A number of new influential critics also appeared. D. *Sadan's analytical approach probed the hidden inner world of the author and of his work. He also underlined the recent tendency of extending the domain of Hebrew literature. At the same time, however, he emphasized its various ideological trends and the phenomenon of bilingualism as manifest in the mutual relation of Hebrew and Yiddish literatures. B. *Kurzweil sought to synthesize the intellectual sensitivity to the crisis of Judaism and to the shattering of the Jew's religious tradition in modern times with the artist's aesthetic formulation of this crisis through poetical and fictional symbols and motifs. S. Halkin continued to stress the significance of the secular-humanistic character of modern Hebrew literature. While discussing the author's individual poetical values, he pointed out their relation to trends and values current in Jewish society and emphasized their national pathos which formed a stimulating vehicle in Hebrew literature. A. *Kariv demanded a reevaluation of the literary heritage of European Hebrew literature, accusing its writers and proponents of having distorted in their writings East European Jewish life.

The increasing activity in criticism from the 1950s (after the War of Independence and the establishment of the State of Israel) underlines the tension between personal criticism in essay form and criticism based on scholarly criteria. Demands are made for the autonomous status of criticism as a special creative branch with its own distinctive characteristics extending beyond its interpretative task of "mediating" between the literary work and the reader (S. Zemach, I. *Cohen, and I. *Zmora). On the other hand, there are also normative trends attempting to direct literature from a spiritual and social point of view both as a creation of the contemporaneous generation and as the individual creation of the writer (A.Y. Kariv, A. *Ukhmani). Critics are also seeking to integrate the individualistic essay form, based on creative intuition, and literary analytical methods for examining the formal and literary qualities of a text. The search for such a methodical synthesis is variously approached in the critical works of S. Halkin, D. Sadan, and B. Kurzweil, who taught modern Hebrew literature at universities in Israel from the 1950s. The polarity between essay criticism and literary critical scholarship has intensified among the new generation of critics, most of whom have studied literature at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. At first they had been influenced by the essay tradition and by the normative-existential trends which they had adopted in their debates on the literature of the post-War of Independence period. At the same time, however, they evinced a certain sensitivity to the social and cultural processes that formed the background to the development of Hebrew literature during the last few generations. But mainly they assimilated methods of textual explication of the New Criticism school current in English-speaking countries and adapted the interpretation systems of the postwar Swiss and German schools. There are also slight traces of the Russian formalism of the 1920s and the 1930s to be found in modern Hebrew literary criticism. These influences led to a special sensitivity to problems of form, rhetoric, and structure, and to the development of genres, while the conceptual and historic aspects have become secondary and marginal. At the same time, there is a tendency to consider exhaustively every problem through maximum use of the textual data.

The tendencies to break completely with traditional literary criticism are growing. At the same time two diverse domains – literary criticism and literary research or study – each based on different principles, are still crystallizing. The process has found expression in *Ha-Sifrut*, a periodical (edited by B. Hrushovsky) which by its own stated purposes, and in fact, is a "Quarterly for the Study of Literature."

[Samuel Werses]

The 1970s and After

In the late 1960s and early 1970s, Hebrew literary criticism was transformed by the inauguration of two new academic journals: *Ha-Sifrut* ("Literature"), which was founded in 1968–69 and published by Tel Aviv University under the editorship of Benjamin Hrushovsky, and *Bikoret u-Parshanut* ("Criticism and Interpretation"), published from 1970 on by Bar-Ilan University, originally under the editorship of Baruch Kurzweil. If literary criticism until then had appeared alongside poetry and short fiction in literary journals such as *Moznayim*, *Likrat*, and *Akhshav*, it was now upgraded to an academic discipline, empowered and sustained by the use of theoretical literary models and critical tools borrowed from other text-oriented disciplines. Not for naught did Hrushovsky introduce his journal as "the first of its kind in Hebrew," in that its role was to be "entirely of a scholarly nature." As he wrote: "The science of literature, as a systematic discipline that has developed a methodology and theory of its own, accumulated clusters of knowledge in various and distinct areas, and generated methods of academic research and instruction, is a relatively young discipline."

This conceptualization of criticism as a "science" and a "young discipline" stirred up a controversy within the literary and academic communities, of which Kurzweil was the most vocal mouthpiece. In the introduction to his own journal, Kurzweil attacked Hrushovsky for proclaiming innovation where there was none. "Critical reading" and "the art of reading" (as Kurzweil called it) had always employed the methods and the poetic, aesthetic, and interdisciplinary theories that the "innovative" terminology was claiming for the "literary theory" and "scientific writing" of the new discipline. Moreover, if, by speaking of the "scientific" nature of "literary theory," Hrushovsky was referring to objectivity in the interpretation, and hence to the evaluation of literary texts, this too was deceptive, since objectivity was not "within the confines of what is attainable in the humanities." This does not mean that there are no restraints to subjectivity in the scholarly study of literature, but they are set by other disciplines in the humanities.

This debate signaled the beginning of a "new age" in the history of Hebrew literary criticism in the State of Israel. From here on, Hebrew literary criticism took three parallel courses, aimed at different types of audiences or consumers of criticism. The first, as discussed above, was that of academic literary journals published by the literature departments of various universities. Their aim was initially to provide a publication venue for their own scholars, though other scholars of Hebrew literature were invited to contribute as well. Thus, for example, Ezra Fleischer, editor of *Meḥkarei Yerushalayim be-Sifrut Ivrit* ("Jerusalem Studies of Hebrew Literature"), addressed the readers of the first issue (1981) with the following words:

> This first volume … contains articles written by academic staff members of the Department of Hebrew Literature at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem … Its gates will be open to all those engaged in the study of Hebrew literature, in Israel and abroad.

The same year saw the founding of *Meḥkarei Yerushalayim be-Folklor Yehudi* ("Jerusalem Studies in Jewish Folklore") and *Meḥkarei Yerushalayim be-Maḥshevet Yisrael* ("Jerusalem Studies in Jewish Thought"). *Dappim le-Meḥkar be-Sifrut* ("Papers in Literary Research"), published by Haifa University, was launched in 1984; *Sadan: Meḥkarim be-Sifrut Ivrit* ("Anvil: Studies in Hebrew Literature"), published by the School of Jewish Studies and the Katz Institute at Tel Aviv University, in 1996; and *Mikan: Ketav Et le-Ḥeker ha-Sifrut ha-Ivrit* ("From Here: A Journal for the Study of Hebrew Literature"), published by Ben-Gurion University of the Negev, in 2000.

Along with these purely academic journals, a number of "mixed" periodicals, publishing both theoretical articles and literary works, began to appear. Some of these were issued with the assistance of educational institutions (universities or research institutes) or were edited by scholars. Among these are *Siman Keriah*: *Rivon Me'orav le- Sifrut* ("Bookmark, a Mixed Literary Quarterly," 1972); *Alei Si'aḥ*: *Ha-Ḥugim le-Sifrut Brit Tenu'at ha-Kibbuẓim* ("Leaves of Discourse of the Literary Circles of the Kibbutz Movement," New Series, 1974); *Zehut: Ketav-Et le-Yeẓirah Yehudit* ("Identity: A Journal of Jewish Creativity," 1981), later reconstituted as *Mahut* ("Essence, 1989); *Efes Shetayim: Ketav-Et le-Sifrut* ("02 [the Jerusalem Area Code]: A Journal of Literature," 1992); and *Reḥov: Ketav-Et le-Sifrut* ("Street: A Journal of Literature," 1994).

A further context that began to be associated with literary criticism in the mid-1980s was that of broader cultural critique. This association was indicative of an effort to break out of the ivory tower of solipsistic intra-disciplinary discussion and open up, by means of critical, theoretical tools, to the multicultural representations of contemporary reality. A prime example of this development is the journal *Te'oriyah u-Vikoret: Bamah Yisrelit* ("Theory and Criticism: An Israeli Forum"), published from 1991 by the Van Leer Institute in Jerusalem. The journal is devoted to reflexive, "interdisciplinary, systematic, and ongoing" discourse among scholars and writers within the academic world and outside of it, focusing on subjects from the realms of the "locale, society, and culture." Other such journals, with varying percentages of academic content, include *Alpayim le-Iyyun, Hagut ve-Sifrut* ("2000: A Journal of Inquiry, Thought, and Literature," 1989); *Dimu'i: le-Sifrut, Omanut, Bikoret ve-Tarbut Yehudit* ("Image: A Journal of Literature, Art, Criticism, and Jewish Culture," 1990); *Mikarov: le-Sifrut u-le-Tarbut* ("Close Up: A Journal of Literature and Culture," 1997); *Ha-Kivvun Mizraḥ: le-Tarbut u-le-Sifrut* ("Eastward: A Journal of Culture and Literature," 2000); *Keshet ha-Ḥadashah: le-Sifrut, Iyyun u-Vikoret* ("New Rainbow: A Journal of Literature, Inquiry, and Criticism," 2002); and *Mita'am: Ketav-Et le-Sifrut u-le-Maḥshavah Radikalit* ("On Behalf: A Journal of Radical Literature and Thought," 2005).

Meanwhile, non-scholarly literary criticism continued to be published in the weekend literary supplements of the daily newspapers and in the periodicals that carried on the tradition of the literary magazine, such as *Iton 77*: *Yarḥon le-Sifrut u-le-Tarbut* ("Journal 77: Monthly of Literature and Culture," 1977); *Apirion: le-Inyanei Sifrut, Tarbut ve-Ḥevrah* ("Canopy: A Journal of Literary, Cultural, and Social Affairs," 1983); *Pesifas: Itton le-Shirah u-le-Meida* ("Mosaic: A Journal of Poetry and Information," 1987); *Ẓafon* ("North"), published by the Association of Hebrew Writers, Haifa (1989); and *Gag* ("Roof"), published by the General Association of Writers in Israel (1998).

The third direction was the publication of reviews in the literary or cultural sections of weekday editions of the daily newspapers. Here critics do not necessarily seek to evaluate or judge a literary work, but rather to share with readers the experience of reading and the impressions a book leaves. This kind of personal critique ultimately became accepted as legitimate, and it contributed, among other things, to the introduction of the bestseller list in the back pages of *Sefarim Haaretz*, the weekly book review supplement (launched in 1994) of the daily newspaper *Haaretz*.

Mention should also be made of the Hebrew-language websites devoted to literary criticism which began cropping up in the mid-1990s. A plethora of articles and essays of varying levels of quality may be found on these sites, some of them run by individuals and others by discussion forums. In some, the articles undergo selection and editing, in others not. These sites are open to a wide range of writers who wish to share their impressions and evaluations of literary works, including scholars seeking a wider audience for their writings.

This array of critical writing with its multiple aspects and directions marks the last three decades of the 20th century, during which it has absorbed the deconstructivist trends as well as the postmodernist theories. The encounter of Israeli literary scholarship with postmodernist theories (drawn from the fields of history, political science, sociology, and cultural studies), and even more so with post-colonialist and post-Zionist theories, shook the hegemonic community of literary critics. It led to new, subversive readings of foundational literary texts, and also to the unearthing and examination of "other" texts, which the critical elite had for years pushed to the literary margins for lack of interest or appreciation. Moreover, together with its gradual permeation by postmodernist critical tools, Hebrew literary scholarship continued to surprise its readers with a steady stream of innovative interpretations arrived at by means of modernist scholarly approaches, in which discussion of the classics of modern Hebrew writing remained a central concern.

Thus, new critiques were written of works by those writers who had heralded the rebirth of modern Hebrew: Ḥ.N. Bialik (by Shmuel Werses, Dan Miron, Hillel Barzel, Menahem Perry, Adi Tzemach, Yitshak Bakon, Zvi Luz, Reuven Tzur, Ziva Shamir, Uzi Shavit); Shaul Tchernikhowsky (Yosef Haefrati, Boaz Arpaly, Uzi Shavit, Reuven Tzur, Haim Shoham); Micha Joseph Berdyczewsky (Shmuel Werses, Tzipora Kagan, Joseph Even, Avner Holtzman, Yitzhak Ben-Mordehai); Y.H. Brenner (Yitzhak Bakon, Menahem Brinker, Boaz Arpaly, Nurit Govrin, Ariel Hirschfeld, Adir Cohen); U.N. Gnessin (Dan Miron, Zvi Luz, Dan Laor, Hamutal Bar-Yosef); Gershon Shofman (Nurit Govrin); S.Y. Agnon (Shmuel Werses, Gershon Shaked, Hillel Barzel, Hillel Weiss, Dov Landau, Yitshak Bakon, Dan Miron, Aliza Shenhar, Dan Laor, Nitza Ben-Dov, Yehudith Zweig Halevi); and Devorah Baron (Nurit Govrin).

There were also new treatments of writers active in the period of the *Yishuv* between the two world wars: Uri Zvi Greenberg (Dan Miron, Yehudah Friedlander, Benjamin Hrushovsky, Hillel Barzel, Shalom Lindenbaum, Reuven Shoham, Dov Landau, Ortsion Bartana, Lilian Guri, Hannan Hever); Avraham Shlonsky (Israel Levin, Hagit Halperin, Aviezer Weiss, Abraham Hagorni-Green, Shlomo Yaniv); Nathan Alterman (Dan Miron, Uzi Shavit, Ziva Shamir, Aharon Komem, Ruth Kartun-Blum, Dan Laor, Haya Shaham, Shoshana Zimmerman); Lea Goldberg (Tuvia Rivner, Abraham B. Yaffe, Ruth Kartun-Blum, Ofra Yaglin); and Yonathan Ratosh (Ziva Shamir, Dan Laor). The works of writers who came of age in the 1940s, 1950s, and 1960s (known collectively as "Dor ba-Areẓ" and "Dor ha-Medinah") are nowadays also considered as classics and therefore are subjected to scholarly discussion and research: Yehuda Amiḥai (Boaz Arpaly, Nili Gold-Scharf, Yehudit Zweig-Halevi, Yosef Milman, Yair Mazor); Amalia Kahana-Carmon (Abraham Balaban, Lily Ratok, Yael Feldman); Aharon Appelfeld (Lily Ratok, Yigal Schwartz, Yitzhak Ben-Mordehai); Amos Oz (Nurit Gertz, Abraham Balaban, Yair Mazor); Abraham B. Yehoshua (Nili Sadan-Levenstein, Yedidiah Yitzhaki, Nitza Ben-Dov).

Israeli literary research has also been broadened by its extension to several genres (satire, drama, epistle), thematic and prosodic structures of the Hebrew literature of the Haskalah, the 18th and 19th century Jewish Enlightenment (Shmuel Werses, Yehudah Friedlander, Dan Miron, Uzi Shavit, Ben-Ami Feingold, Tovah Cohen, Yehudit Zweig-Halevi, Menuhah Gilboa, Reuven Shoham, Naomi Zohar, Iris Parush).

As mentioned above, suggestions emerged for culturally and politically subversive ways of reading. At the beginning of the 1970s, semiotic reading was in fashion (Itamar Even-Zohar, Nurit Gertz, Zohar Shavit, Ziva Ben-Porat), while from the end of the 1980s political reading was in the ascendant. The latter can be seen in Ḥannan Ḥever's analyses of Hebrew poetry between the two world wars, particularly of the work of Uri Zvi Greenberg. Other examples include Nissim Calderon's studies of writings from the 1950s and 1960s (by Natan Zach, Yaakov Shabtai, David Avidan, Dalia Ravikovich, Hanoch Levin, and others); Yohai Oppenheimer's post-colonial readings of several classic works of prose and poetry (by Moshe Smilansky, Avot Yeshurun, and Yehuda Amichai); and Michael Gluzman's political reading of the male national body in the writings of Moshe Shamir and Benjamin Ze'ev Herzl.

A further innovative form of scholarly inquiry impelled by these anti-hierarchical trends was that of feminist and gender critique. The steady flow of new writing by women was accompanied by a burst of feminist and gender research, which undertook the reevaluation of works written by women since the establishment of the state (Lily Ratok, Pnina Shirav, Yael Feldman) and also rediscovered forgotten troves of writings by women in Hebrew. These new studies made it clear that literary women had played their part in the rise of modern Hebrew literature, from the Enlightenment, through the period of *Ha-Teḥiyah* (in the late 19th and early 20th centuries), and in the pre-state period (Iris Parush, Tovah Cohen, Yaffah Berlovitz, Dan Miron), and had conceived poetic alternatives of their own. Further scholarly inquiries examined the themes and poetics of women's writings, as expressed in modernist and postmodernist poetry and prose (Lily Ratok, Hannah Naveh, Haya Shaham, Orly Lubin).

Various dates were celebrated during the 1980s and 1990s to mark a centennial of Zionist endeavor. Thus, 1982 represented "a century of settlement" from the beginning of the first wave of Zionist settlement in 1882, while 1997 concluded "a century of Zionism," recalling the First Zionist Congress (1897). Likewise, literary critics commemorated a century of Hebrew literature in transition from the Diaspora to the homeland of the Jewish people. This anniversary fueled the attempt to mark the borders of Israel's cumulative written creative activity, with the aim of summing up its literary manifestations and expressions. These interim assessments were meant to systematize and categorize what was known about the past and to offer some insight into the present. The period of summation opened with Gershon Shaked's comprehensive five-volume historiographical work, *Ha-Sipporet ha-Ivrit 1880–1980* ("Hebrew Prose from 1880 to 1980"). Hillel Barzel undertook a history of modern Hebrew poetry, from the period of Ḥibbat Zion to the present, of which six volumes have thus far appeared. A third representative of this effort, Hannan Hever's *Sifrut she-Nikhtevet Mikan: Kiẓẓur ha-Sifrut ha-Yisraelit* ("Literature Written from Here: A Compendium of Israeli Literature") offers a historical-cultural survey of 50 years of literary life in the State of Israel.

Alongside these monumental works, there have been several partial historiographies which have endeavored to chart literary developments, processes, and trends, particularly since the establishment of the State, in the realms of drama (Haim Shoham, Gideon Shunami, Ben-Ami Feingold, Gideon Ofrat, Shimon Levi, Abraham Oz, Dan Oryan), poetry (Benjamin Hrushovsky, Dan Miron, Dov Landau, Aharon Komem, Yair Mazor, Reuven Shoham, Yehudith Bar-El, Rachel Weissbord), and prose (Shmuel Werses, Dan Miron, Hillel Barzel, Hannah Herzig, Hillel Weiss). The same has been done for the country's literary and cultural life, in the 50 years preceding the establishment of the state (Itamar Even-Zohar, Yaffah Berlovitz), in the first few decades of the 20th century (Zohar Shavit, Nurit Gertz, Avidov Lipsker), and in literary circles (in the 1940s, 1950s) like the Dor Ba-Areẓ group (Nurit Graetz, Hillel Weiss, Reuven Kritz) and the "Canaanites" (Nurit Gertz, Dan Laor).

This process of collection and discovery also posed the challenge of examining the writings of hitherto neglected literary schools, such as Ha-Mahalakh ha-Ḥadash ("New Course"; Joseph Even, Menuhah Gilboa) and the literature of the First Aliyah (Nurit Govrin, Yaffah Berlovitz).

The effort to summarize and categorize a century of modern Hebrew literature also brought forth the publication of numerous monographs on writers of both the early and later periods. Zvi Luz issued a series of monographs on poets, including half-forgotten ones from the pre-state period (Yosef Zvi Rimon, Jacob Fichman, Jacob Steinberg) and others from the periods of Dor Ba-Areẓ (Pinchas Sadeh, Ayin Hillel, Natan Yonatan, Ozer Rabin) and Dor ha-Medinah (Uri Bernstein). Additional monographs worth mentioning in this context are those of Aharon Komem (on David Fogel and Jacob Steinberg), Hannan Hever (on Avraham Ben-Yitzhak Sonne), Ruth Kartun-Blum (on Yocheved Bat-Miriam), Hamutal Bar-Yoseph (on Zelda), Reuven Shoham (on Esther Raab and Abba Kovner), Rachel Frankel Madan (on Jacob Horowitz), and Reuven Kritz (on Rachel Blaustein).

Special mention must be made here of the colossal opus of Dan Miron. Though he has not organized his studies as an ordered historiography, there is no period of modern Hebrew literature, from the Enlightenment through post-modernity, in poetry and in prose, to which he has not turned his scholarly attention (see his studies of such writers as Abraham Mapu, Mendele Mokher Seforim (Shalom Jacob Abramowitsch), Ḥayyim Naḥman Bialik, Uri Nissan Gnessin, Shmuel Yosef Agnon, Ḥayyim Hazaz, Nathan Alterman). Miron has also collected and edited the writings of a number of authors from different periods, adding his own comprehensive introductions and afterwords (as he has done for the writings of Yehudah Karni, Uri Zvi Greenberg, Abraham Halfi, Menashe Levine, K. Aharon Bertini, Ya'akov Orland, and Abba Kovner).

Most of these efforts to collect and summarize, on the one hand, and to open new avenues of research, on the other, were the initiatives of lecturers and scholars of literature at various institutions of higher education in Israel, made for the purpose of preparing textbooks and further reading materials for their students. These instructional aims led them to issue studies of foundational issues, such as genres (the ballad, by Shlomo Yaniv; fantasy, by Ortsion Bartana; the allegory, by Uri Shoam; utopia, by Leah Hadomi; the confession, by Hannah Naveh; the historical novel, by Ruth Sheinfeld; the idyll, by Joseph Ha'efrati, Hamutal Bar-Yosef, Rachel Frankel-Madan); literary schools (the neo-romantics, by Ortsion Bartana; decadence, by Hamutal Bar-Yosef); and prosody (Bejamin Hrushovsky, Uzi Shavit, Dov Landau, Reuven Tsur, Zvi Luz, Ziva Ben-Porat).

Further concerns of theme and genre that came in for scholarly attention at the end of the century include the literature of the Holocaust (Hannah Yaoz-Kest, Hillel Barzel, Dov Landau, Nurit Graetz, Ben-Ami Feingold, Ruth Sheinfeld, Avner Holtzman, Yitzhak Ben-Mordechai, Yigal Schwartz) and that of the labor and kibbutz movements (Leah Hadomi, Shula Keshet, Pinhas Genosar, Aviva Ufaz). Research on literature for children and young people also developed during this period, with the opening of departments at several universities and colleges and the work of various scholars (Adir Cohen, Aliza Shenhar, Zohar Shavit, Miri Baruch, Maya Fruchtman, Menahem Regev, Shlomo Harel, Menuhah Gilboa, Leah Hovav, Aviva Krinsky, Meira Karmi-Laniado, Ben-Ami Feingold, Bosmat Even-Zohar, Yael Dar). New journals focusing on the study of literature for young readers include:

Sifrut Yeladim va-No'ar ("Literature for Children and Youth"); *Be'emet?* ("Really?"); *Olam Katan: Le-Ḥeker Sifrut Yeladim ve-No'ar* ("Small World: A Journal for the Study of Literature for Children and Youth").

The publication of anthologies was also on the increase towards the end of the century. These include anthologies of critical articles and studies of Hebrew literature based on conference papers and edited by faculty members of literature departments; and collections devoted to the critique of single literary works, such as Shaul Tchernikhowsky's corona of sonnets, *La-Shemesh* ("To the Sun"); the short story *Ve-Haya he-Akov le-Mishor* ("The Crooked Shall Be Made Straight") by Shmuel Yosef Agnon; and Abraham B. Yehoshua's novel *Mar Mani*.

[Yaffah Berlovitz (2nd ed.)]

TRANSLATIONS OF HEBREW LITERATURE

The translation of Hebrew literature into foreign languages involves a number of unique problems; some are specific to the art of translation while others concern the publishing, marketing, and diffusion of a translated work. Translation from one European language to another is no small task, despite common linguistic and cultural features. Translation from Hebrew – a Semitic language – into a European language is even more difficult: the entire range of literary associations and cultural realia that in fact provide the literary flavor of the original work can rarely be rendered as is. Echoes of biblical or mishnaic Hebrew, or from the wealth of Jewish liturgy, can hardly be captured, and significant details of the Israeli everyday scene often require footnotes or clumsy explanations. Given these obstacles, literary translations from Hebrew sometimes reflect a variety of compromises and conflicting solutions. It is even difficult to evaluate the quality of a translation, and a number of experts checking a translation for its accuracy and literary value in the target language will generate an equal number of different views. Even so, an excellent translation is considered one that is as close to the original Hebrew as possible, while reading smoothly in the target language and conveying as much as possible of the original texture, music, and diverse layers of linguistic and cultural sources. In recent years, an excellent team of literary translators from Hebrew has crystallized and their highly professional work is the main reason for the outstanding reception of Hebrew literature in translation since the 1990s, mainly in European languages.

The international publishing marketplace provides another angle to the difficulty of introducing Hebrew literature to world readership. Given the limited audience in the writers' mother tongue – Israel has a population of 6.8 million – they naturally seek to expand it. And while authors in general want to be translated into foreign languages, for authors writing in Hebrew it is a must. On the other hand, whereas foreign colleagues writing in a widely known language may submit their work to a publisher in the original, Israeli authors are unable to do so because of the lack of competent readers in Hebrew at the disposal of foreign publishing firms. Even when a Hebrew title is highly recommended by Hebrew lectors or attracts international attention, the publisher – especially in English-speaking countries – will generally refrain from a commitment to publish before he receives a complete English translation of the work. Synopses and translated extracts may draw his attention to the book, but it will not necessarily generate a decision to publish. This applies primarily to authors who have already made their reputation in Israel but have yet to make their mark on the international scene. Thus a Hebrew author has to find a qualified translator into English, pay his fee, and prepare a synopsis – without any guarantee that the English translation will arouse genuine interest, and without even knowing whether his efforts will result in an offer to publish the translation.

Publication of translations in other languages is more complicated as the publisher must invest considerable sums in a translation, hence the decision process becomes longer and more complicated. The Institute for the Translation of Hebrew Literature, a non-profit organization founded in 1962, has been entrusted by the Israeli government with the task of promoting Hebrew literature in translation worldwide. It is responsible for a wide range of activities, such as commissioning translations of selected Hebrew literary works, publishing professional catalogues which introduce the titles, providing financial aid to foreign publishers who initiate publication of Hebrew works in translation, publishing a literary journal in English – *Modern Hebrew Literature* – which keeps the foreign reader abreast of the literary scene in Israel, building and maintaining an attractive website, initiating international translation conferences, participating in selected international book fairs. The Institute also maintains a unique Bibliographic Center. Established in 1972, its database lists all translations of Hebrew literature in 66 languages (over 45,000 bibliographic entries).

In recent years, the Institute for the Translation of Hebrew Literature has become more attentive to the buzz of the marketplace, hence a significant rise in the number of Hebrew authors and works in translation, and in the variety of languages in which Hebrew literature has become available.

Facts and Figures

From 1874 to 1974 (100 years), some 500 Hebrew books were published in translation. From 1975 to 2004 (30 years), we see this number increased to about 3,460. Today, the total number of books published in translation exceeds 4,000. The first Hebrew novel in translation was *The Love of Zion* by Abraham Mapu, published in Yiddish in 1874. From then until 1960, an average of five books were published per year. As of the 1960s, figures increased to 27 books per year. During the 1970s, Hebrew literature was translated into 25 languages, and this grew to 40 languages during the 1980s. Today, the number stands at 66 languages. If we compare the figures in the decade 1983–93 to those in the following decade, 1994–2004, we see that the number of books in translation increased from 956 to 1,743.

Furthermore, in certain languages the number of books has increased very significantly. Taking the same two 10-year periods: English increased from 346 books to 396 (+12%); German increased from 185 to 405 (+116%); Italian increased from 39 to 165 books (+350%); French from 107 to 158 (+40%); Spanish from 49 to 87 (+70%); Dutch from 63 to 98 (+50%). Today, nearly 60 Hebrew authors have been published in book form in more than five foreign languages – 20 authors have been published in more than 10 languages, and among these, three have been published in over 30 languages: Amos Oz, Ephraim Kishon, and Uri Orlev.

Translations of Books for Children and Youth

Hebrew literature for children and youth started appearing in translation only in the 1930s: English and German in 1936, French in 1946, Spanish in 1949, Italian in 1958. Translations into Arabic started to be published only in 1966. The largest number of children's books is now being translated into German, with 129 books to date, followed by English with 76, Italian with 50, Spanish with 38, Dutch with 30, Arabic with 29. One tends to assume that interest in adult fiction in a certain foreign market will arouse interest in children's books as well, that a writer of adult fiction who does well in a certain market will have his children's books published there too and that this will bring about more and more translations of other authors. But this is not entirely the case. If we compare the number of adult versus children's books translated over the past two 10-year periods (1983–93 and 1994–2004) we get the following results: In English, in the first 10-year period, children's books made up 6% of the total number of translated books; in the second, the percentage rises to 15%. In German, the percentage has not changed over the past 20 years, and stands at a steady 21%. Spanish increased from 6% to 29%, and Italian from 12% to 27%. As a point of reference, in Israel today, Hebrew books for children and youth constitute about 5% of the total published per year. Hebrew literature for children is now available in book form in 42 languages, 34 of which have been added since 1975. To the earlier eight languages (English, German, Dutch, French, Spanish, Italian, Polish, and Arabic), the following have been added: Afrikaans, Albanian, Asamiya, Bangla, Catalan, Chinese, Czech, Danish, Estonian, Finnish, Greek, Guajarati, Hindi, Hungarian, Japanese, Kannada, Korean, Malayalam, Marathi, Norwegian, Portuguese, Punjabi, Romanian, Russian, Serbian, Slovak, Slovene, Swedish, Tamil, Thai, Telugu, Turkish, Ukrainian, Urdu.

Translations into Arabic

Although literary translation activity from Hebrew into Arabic has developed over the years, it has been overshadowed by the political conflict in the Middle East. This conflict has influenced translation policy in the Arab countries as well as in Israel. The first novel translated from Hebrew into Arabic was Abraham Mapu's *The Love of Zion* (1899). A limited number of translations followed, until 1948. Between 1948 and 1967, translations were mostly published in newspapers and periodicals but a few books were published too, such as Yehuda Burla's novel, *In Darkness Striving*, an anthology of short stories, and a collection of works by Ḥ.N. Bialik. Publication of literary research and translated literary texts emerged in Arab countries only towards the end of the 1960s. A significant increase in number and frequency can be detected from 1967 up to the present. Records reflect some 80 translated books and 21 anthologies published during this period in Israel and Arab countries (mainly Egypt, Jordan, Lebanon, and Syria).

Translation into Special Languages

With the general flourishing of Hebrew literature abroad in the 1990s, new markets have opened up for Hebrew literature, and newly added languages have reflected the growing interest. Since 1990, 57 literary works have been published in Chinese, 63 in Japanese, 25 in Korean, and a few in each of the following: Georgian, Azeri, Armenian, Thai, Assamiya, Bongla, Gujarati, Marathi, Malayalam, Punjabi, Tamil, Telugu, Hindi, Kannada, Urdu. This wave of interest is still developing.

Anthologies and Special Journal Issues on Hebrew Literature

Anthologies and special issues of literary journals are considered to be the best way to enter a new market. Anthologies provide a taste of Hebrew literature and are bound, in the longer term, to generate interest in publishing whole books by the authors introduced in the general anthology. Special literary issues have an even better marketing effect as they usually have their own subscription system and the print run – normally a few thousand – can reach a focused readership which is a priori interested in quality foreign literature. Records show that some 428 anthologies of Hebrew literature are available in 40 languages. Among them, 162 volumes in English, 41 in French, 30 in Spanish, 28 in German, 26 in Russian, 25 in Italian. 105 anthologies were published between 1983 and 1993; in the 1994–2004 period, the number increased to 163 volumes.

All the above statistical data is from the Bibliographic Database of the Institute for the Translation of Hebrew Literature. Figures include whole books and anthologies only; individual poems and stories are not included.

[Nilli Cohen (2nd ed.)]

HEBREW LITERATURE IN THE UNITED STATES

Hebrew writing began in the United States shortly after the arrival of the first Jews in New Amsterdam (1654), but the period of modern Hebrew literature only starts after 1870 when Hebrew writers came to America during the mass immigration from Eastern Europe. They settled mainly in New York and between 1918 and 1940 the city served as a subcenter for modern Hebrew literature. Despite their efforts, the immigrant writers were unable to raise a generation of native American Hebrew authors and the older writers are not being replaced. The rapidly growing center in Israel likewise attracted several of the more talented authors. At present a small, diminishing group of aging Hebrew writers are living in the United States.

Hebrew writing in the United States may be divided into three periods:

I. 1654–1870 – the period of sporadic publication and literary curiosities

II. 1870–1918 – the early modern period

III. 1918–to the present – the modern period

Sporadic Publication and Literary Curiosities (1654–1870)

During the first two centuries of Jewish settlement in North America no major contribution was made to Hebrew letters. The Jewish population was small and unlearned in Hebrew. Sporadic attempts were, however, made to write and publish Hebrew works; and mention must be made of literary curiosities which have survived, such as the unpublished nomenclature by Judah *Monis, a converted Jew who taught Hebrew at Harvard College, and tombstone inscriptions: the elegy to Walter J. Judah who died in 1798 at the age of 20, or the rhymed epitaph on the grave of Samuel Zanvill Levy of New York City. Hebrew language and literature were also kept alive through publications of the Bible and works on Hebrew grammar. The latter were written both by Jews and by gentiles. A publication of the Bible, initiated by Jonathan P. *Horwitz of Philadelphia and continued by Thomas Dobson, appeared in 1814 and a Hebrew-English edition of the Pentateuch by Isaac *Leeser in 1845. Among the works on grammar there is John Smith's *A Hebrew Grammar Without Points* (Boston, 1803), Moses Stuart's *A Grammar of the Hebrew Language* (1835), and Isaac Nordheimer's *A Critical Grammar of the Hebrew Language* (New York, 1838; 1842).

Certain congregations showed a deep concern for the preservation of Hebrew as a language among Jews and for a sound Hebrew education. The New York synagogue Shearith Israel as early as 1731 "maintained some sort of Jewish schooling," and its constitution (1805) provides that "the fixed prayers shall forever be read in the Hebrew language." In 1830, Dr. Daniel L. Maduro Peixotto (1799–1843), a physician who favored the establishment of a Pestalozzi school, recommended that Hebrew should be taught there. These, however, can only be seen as isolated efforts which did not greatly influence the general Jewish cultural atmosphere in colonial America and in the early years of independence. Hebrew was so little known in the community at large that in Newport, toward the end of the 18th century, the Torah was read from a printed, vocalized text and not from a scroll.

Joshua Falk's *Avnei Yehoshu'a* ("Book of the Stones of Joshua," 1860), the first original work in Hebrew published in the United States, is a homiletic commentary on *Pirkei Avot* which also includes the classical text.

The Early Modern Period (1870–1918)

With the coming of large numbers of East European Jews to America, the influence of European Hebrew writing began to be felt. A small group of Hebraists who wanted to spread Hebrew culture made efforts to establish a Hebrew press. In a period of less than 30 years, 20 Hebrew journals appeared, most of which, however, were short lived, mainly because there was no receptive readership. The number of Jews conversant in Hebrew was limited despite the large waves of immigrants from Eastern Europe. The first independent Hebrew periodical, *Ha-Ẓofeh ba-Areẓ ha-Ḥadashah*, edited by Zvi Hirsch *Bernstein, appeared from 1871 to 1872. It slavishly followed the style and tone of contemporaneous East European Hebrew journals and, to a certain extent, the Anglo-Jewish press in America which had much earlier beginnings (1823). Unfortunately, no complete set of its issues has survived. Other major Hebrew periodicals during that period were *Ner Ma'aravi* (1895–97) and *Ha-Pisgah* (1889–1899 intermittently), which were of a high literary and journalistic standard, aroused hopes for a Hebrew renascence in America. *Ner Ma'aravi* in its first issue published a poem expressing the ardent longing for the development of Hebrew learning and Hebrew literature. *Ha-Pisgah*, edited by Zeev Wolf Schorr, an ardent lover of Zion, firmly tried to stimulate interest in Hebrew culture, and writers of the caliber of Saul *Tchernichowsky contributed to its literary columns.

Most of the periodicals of the early 20th century, like *Ha-Yom* (1909–13) and *Ha-Le'om* (1901–08), were close in style and character to their predecessors. Not until the appearance of *Ha-Toren* (as a monthly June, 1913–December, 1915; as a weekly March 3, 1916–March 18, 1921; as a monthly again May 1921–December 1925) did a real literary organ appear on the North American scene. But even *ha-Toren* did not rise to its full stature before the end of World War I, for there were not many good Hebrew writers, readers were not numerous, and libraries of Judaica and Hebraica were meager and, with few exceptions, insignificant.

Many of the American Hebrew writers were of East European origin and they were intensely patriotic about their new country. Judah David *Eisenstein translated the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States into Hebrew. Moses Aaron Schreiber, cantor of the Congregation Shaarey Tefila in New York, wrote a long poem, *Minḥat Yehudah* ("Offering of Judah"), for the centennial of American Independence (1876). The poem is a historical account of the American people and describes the mass of stricken humanity that surged to the shores of America. Abraham Luria dedicated a poem to President McKinley.

The fabric of traditional Jewish life changed under the impact of America; rabbinic responsa are flooded with names of towns in the United States. Questions on ritual from Kalamazoo and Leavenworth found their erudite answers in a halakhic work by Shalom Elḥanan Joffe, *Sho'el ka-Inyan* ("Asking to the Point"), which was published in Jerusalem in 1895.

Early American Hebrew writers were not uncritical of the American milieu: its vulgarism, optimism, its predilection for shallow panacea. Their denunciation of internal squabbles and communal ills was particularly keen. They were conscious of the effects of the democratization of society, the attendant ills of the leveling process, and they deplored the organized chaos in Jewish organizations. They could not reconcile themselves to the fact that stature and status were no longer coincidental.

The Jewish *Kulturkampf* was fought out with an intense bitterness in the United States. The war between the Reform and the Orthodox aroused Mayer Rabinowitz to publish *Ha-Maḥanayim* ("The Two Camps," 1888). Abraham Moses Shershevsky, rabbi in Portland, Maine, at the turn of the century lashed out against American Jewry:

"Just as our forefathers… crossed the sea and made the Golden Calf, so do their sons after them in this country; after they crossed the Atlantic, they bowed and prostrated themselves before the Golden Calf."

The Golden Calf became a standard metaphor. The poet Menahem Mendel *Dolitzki used it in his introduction to *Shirei Menaḥem* (1900), while another early author complains: "The basis of all things in America is the dollar… it's the method, it's the aim, it's the glory, it's the power…" Most Hebrew writers earned a precarious living. They were rabbis, teachers, or cantors. Some who were not fortunate enough to gain a livelihood as religious functionaries became peddlers. They never acquired wealth or even economic security.

Though American Hebrew literature cannot boast of a single drama or a single novel of importance at the beginning of the 20th century, two writers, Naphtali Herz *Imber and Gerson *Rosenzweig, exhibit a marked individuality. Imber, who became immortalized with the composition of *Ha-Tikvah*, the anthem of the Zionist movement and of the State of Israel, made an impact with his delicate lyricism. A note of mordant wit was injected into Hebrew literature by Rosenzweig with his merciless castigation of Jewish professions and occupations in the United States.

After World War I

The end of World War I marked an important milestone in the development of Hebrew literature. Eastern Europe, the center of creative efforts in the Hebrew language for over a century, relinquished its hegemony: The Communist Revolution had relegated Hebrew literature in Russia into insignificance and with the rise of the Nazis to power the splinter center of Hebrew literature which flourished in Germany after the end of World War I was destroyed. The Nazi occupation of Poland almost obliterated creative Hebrew writing there. The previously insignificant foci of Hebrew literature in Palestine and in the United States thus emerged to new significance.

Anglo-American literature which had exerted a negligible influence before World War I now became a potent factor in Hebrew literature. Hebrew poets in America – B. *Silkiner, E.E. *Lisitzky, H. *Bavli, S. *Ginzburg, S. *Halkin, A. *Regelson, M. *Feinstein, H.A. *Friedland, R. *Avinoam (Grossman), A.S. *Schwartz, and Noah *Stern – were not only stimulated by the literary environment of the United States but translated English and American poetry, and even prose and drama, into Hebrew. They translated several plays by Shakespeare; Walt Whitman's *Leaves of Grass* (transl. by S. Halkin *Alei Esev* (1952)); and many poems by Keats, Shelley, Yeats, and Frost.

The Hebrew poets in America led their European colleagues in critical appraisal of English and American literature, thus opening new vistas for modern Hebrew literature. Their subject matter was also drawn from the American milieu. Benjamin Silkiner (1882–1933) turned to Indian lore for his inspiration in *Mul Ohel Timmorah* ("Opposite the Tent of Timorah," 1910). He was followed by other poets. Israel *Efros devoted an entire book, *Vigvammim Shotekim* ("Silent Wigwams," 1933), to a love story of a white man and a half-Indian girl. Ephraim E. Lisitzky wrote his *Medurot Do'akhot* ("Dying Campfires," 1937) on the basis of Indian legends. Like Silkiner, he struggled with the theme of Indian civilization before its destruction, and like the older poet he tended to idealize the noble savage. Unlike Silkiner, he successfully adapted the unrhymed trochaic tetrameter of *The Song of Hiawatha* to his story of the warring sons of the vulture and sons of the serpent.

The greatest impact on Hebrew writers in America was, however, made by the Afro-American civilization: spirituals, folk songs, sermons, and the Afro-American sense of rhythm and flair for music. Hillel Bavli, in his critical article which included translations from Afro-American poetry, pioneered in the field of critical appreciation of the Afro-American. He was followed by Avinoam (Grossman), Simon Ginzburg, and, especially, by Lisitzky, who published a cycle of poems on Afro-American themes: *Be-Oholei Kush* ("In African Tents," 1953). Not only the exotic minorities but the American Anglo-Saxon caught the imagination of Hebrew writers in the U.S. Hillel Bavli's idyll *Mrs. Woods* (1937) is an American version of the idealized country folk. Israel Efros in his narrative poem "*Zahav*" ("Gold") created an American character, Ezra Lunt, against the background of the gold rush of 1849. Stories about Jewish immigrants and American gentiles were written by such writers as Y.D. *Berkowitz, H. *Sackler, H.A. Friedland, A. Soyer, S.L. *Blank, Y. *Twersky, S. Halkin, and R. *Wallenrod. Yitzḥak Dov Berkowitz in his stories about American Jewish life wrote almost exclusively about immigrants. *Ben Ereẓ ve-Shamayim* ("Between Earth and Heaven," 1924), a novel by Harry Sackler, traces the history of an immigrant family from the time it planned to come to the United States to its painful years of adjustment. He also wrote historical novels which depict the struggles of early Judaism against a Canaanite milieu, the conflicts of rabbinic and ḥasidic Jewry, and the strife of early American Jewry with its new environment. Like Sackler, Yoḥanan Twersky culled from the past and present material for his stories and novels. Among these are historical personalities such as Rashi, Uriel da Costa, Alfred Dreyfus, and Aḥad Ha-Am. Simon Halkin, on the other hand, tends to be introspective. The two novels, *Yeḥiel ha-Hagri* (1928) and *Ad Mashber* ("On the Brink of Crisis," 1945), set in a New York immigrant milieu, are essentially religious novels whose theme is the quest of modern man for faith in a society which has lost its God. Reuben Wallenrod deliberately abandoned the old themes and consciously and realistically explored the life of the first- and second-generation Jew in

America. Daniel *Persky, who for many years wrote a weekly humorous column in *Hadoar*, promoted Hebrew language and literature in the U.S.

Among the more significant literary critics of the older generation are A.A. *Epstein, whose *Soferim Ivrim ba-Amerikah* ("Hebrew Writers in America," 1953) is still a standard work, Menachem *Ribalow, and S. Halkin. Three periodicals of the 20th century fostered high-level essays and critiques of Hebrew and non-Hebrew writing: *Miklat* (1920–21), *Ha-Toren* (1917–25), and *Ha-Tekufah* (1930–31). They became defunct, but periodicals like *Hadoar* and *Bitzaron*, which began to appear in 1922 and 1940 respectively, still publish criticism. *Hadoar* owes its original impetus to Ribalow, an excellent journalist and a serious critic, who was succeeded by M. *Maisels; and *Bitzaron* to the learned and dynamic Rav Tzair (Ḥayyim *Tchernowitz). These periodicals, particularly *Hadoar*, were supported by a small group of enthusiastic Hebraists. Hebrew journalism in the U.S. is greatly indebted to Reuben *Brainin and Y.D. Berkowitz, the editors of *Ha-Toren* and *Miklat* respectively. The future historian will, perhaps, recognize the Berkowitz/Brainin/Silkiner triad as the fathers of Hebrew literature in the U.S.: Berkowitz as the Hebrew stylist and realist, Brainin as the champion of catholicity and literary tastes, and Silkiner as the author who introduced American themes and motifs into Hebrew literature.

On the whole, Hebrew literature in America became less potent. Gabriel *Preil, a modernist lyric poet influenced by American imagists, also won acclaim in Israel. Isaiah *Rabinovich continued to write serious criticism which questions the growing tendency of some Israeli critics to apply the methods of New Criticism to Hebrew literature. Arnold (Avraham) Band (1929–) published a major work on S.Y. Agnon. Aaron *Zeitlin, who arrived in the Unites States in 1939, expressed himself with equal ease in Hebrew and in Yiddish in a number of genres. His poetry is reflective and marked by mystical insights.

A number of American-Hebrew writers settled in Israel. S. Halkin and A. Regelson, although born in Eastern Europe, were educated in the United States and their poetry and criticism reflected their American experience. M. Maisels was an essayist and editor of considerable talent. Reuven Avinoam and T. Carmi were native Americans who spent most of their lives in Israel.

There seems to be little prospect that Hebrew writing in America will recover the force it had in its heyday. A small center, however, mainly nurtured by Israelis living in America and a limited American audience will probably survive.

For English translations of Hebrew works, see Goell, Bibliography.

[Eisig Silberschlag]

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HEBREW THEOLOGICAL COLLEGE (**Beis HaMidrash LaTorah**), Orthodox rabbinical school and institute of higher Jewish education; founded in Chicago, Illinois, in 1922, by Rabbis Saul Silber, Ephraim Epstein, Abraham Cardon, and Chaim Zvi Rubinstein. It was an outgrowth of the Hebrew high school, Yeshiva Etz Chaim, organized in 1899 and was the first Orthodox rabbinical institution in America to require courses in Bible, Jewish philosophy, and history, etc., in addition to Talmud and Codes. In 1970, about half of those ordained at the Hebrew Theological College were in the practicing rabbinate. Others served as teachers in yeshivot and religious high schools. Requirements for admission to the rabbinical school include a college degree and extensive preparation in Talmud and related Jewish subjects. Graduates receive a Bachelor's degree, as well as rabbinical ordination. Among its non-talmudic faculty was Eliezer Berkovits, professor of Jewish Philosophy. Its first president was Rabbi Saul Silber. In 1966 Simon Kramer, who was then president, brought Rabbi Aaron Soloveichik to serve as *rosh ha-yeshivah*. The rabbinical program was extended from two to three years and the course of talmudic study somewhat reorganized.

As of the 1990s the Hebrew Theological College has seen significant growth and development under the leadership of Rabbi Shlomo Morgenstern, *rosh ha-yeshivah,* and Rabbi Dr. Jerold Isenberg, chancellor. As of 2005 the yeshivah had ordained 391 rabbis. The 17 members of the Sam & Nina Bellows Kollel pursue advanced Torah learning, while serving as study partners (*ḥavrutot*) and role models to younger students.

Since 1997 the college has been affiliated with the Higher Learning Commission of the North Central Association of Colleges as an accredited institution. Hebrew Theological College houses two main collegiate divisions on separate campuses: the Beis Midrash (for men) and the Blitstein Institute (for women) with a combined enrollment of 214. Graduates receive a B.A. degree through its department of Talmud and Rabbinics (men only), the Bressler School of Advanced Hebrew Studies, and the Kanter School of Liberal Arts and Sciences. Additional majors are offered in: Accounting, Business, Computer and Information Sciences, Education (both Elementary Education and Special Education are recognized Illinois State Certification programs), English, and Psychology. An expanded science curriculum prepares students for graduate and professional studies in allied health sciences. Students enrolled in the college have the option of participating in a year abroad in Israel through HTC's Israel Experience Program. Hebrew Theological College also supports an Adult Degree Completion Program that provides accelerated degree programs.

The college's Saul Silber Memorial Library is the largest rabbinic library in the Midwest with over 75,000 books and manuscripts. The library's Lazar Holocaust Memorial Wing has significant holdings in Holocaust studies. The college regularly publishes several publications including the *Or Shmuel Torah Journal*, and the *HTC Academic Journal*.

Other programs of the college include a preparatory division, the Rabbi Oscar Z. Fasman Yeshiva High School for young men, whose 2005 enrollment was 173 and two summer camps: *Yeshivas HaKayitz*, a residential summer camp for boys in grades 7–12 and *Midreshet HaKayitz*, a program for girls in grades 9–12. The Community Services division provides annual lectures on campus as well as variety of classes throughout the community including the Chicago Jewish Medical Forum and an annual Medical Ethics *Yarchei Kallah*. A vibrant alumni association serves the institution's alumni throughout the year.

HTC's 10-acre Skokie campus, constructed in the late 1950s, includes a spacious Beis Midrash, modern classrooms and computer and science laboratories for both the college and high school programs. The campus also houses libraries, dormitory facilities, auditoriums, dining halls, apartments for faculty and married students, computer centers, fitness center, and Memorial Hall. The new, separate Chicago campus for the Anne M. Blitstein Teachers Institute for Women consists of classrooms, computer and science laboratories, library facilities, a student lounge, offices and student residences.

Hebrew Theological College's annual budget for 2004 was $6,000,000.

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[Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

HEBREW UNION COLLEGE-JEWISH INSTITUTE OF RELIGION (HUC-JIR) is the oldest rabbinical seminary in the United States. Dedicated to Jewish scholarship and the training of religious leadership for the Reform movement, it has campuses in Cincinnati, New York, Los Angeles, and Jerusalem. The school was founded in Cincinnati, Ohio, in 1875, by Isaac M. *Wise to offer "general rabbinical instruction … for the Jewish ministry." Wise was convinced that "Judaism would have no future in America unless … it would become reconciled with the spirit of the age" and the Jewish community found it possible to "educate American rabbis for the American pulpit." After a 25-year struggle, Wise succeeded in establishing a Union of American Hebrew Congregations (today: Union for Reform Judaism) whose primary object was the founding of HUC. President until his death (1900), Wise was succeeded by Kaufmann *Kohler (1903–21), Julian *Morgenstern (1921–47), Nelson *Glueck (1947–71), Alfred Gottschalk (1971–96), Sheldon Zimmerman (1996–2000) and David Ellenson (2001–). Initially intended as a rabbinical school for all American Jews, following adoption of the radical Pittsburgh Platform by Reform rabbis in 1885, it took on the character of a Reform denominational institution.

In 1922 Stephen S. *Wise founded the Jewish Institute of Religion (JIR) in New York to provide training "for the Jewish ministry, research, and community service." Students were to serve either Reform or traditional pulpits. Wise remained president until 1948. Housing JIR next to his Free Synagogue on West 68th Street, he hoped that its graduates would generate other Free Synagogues "animated by the same spirit of free inquiry, of warm Jewish feeling, and of devotion to the cause of social regeneration." JIR from the start inclined to Zionism, in contrast to HUC, which at the time did not favor Jewish nationalism. Motivated largely by budgetary difficulties, Wise accepted the prospect of JIR's merger with HUC once the biblical archaeologist Nelson Glueck assumed the presidency. Negotiations were completed in 1948 and in 1950 the two schools merged. In 1954 a school in Los Angeles was chartered and, in 1963, primarily as a result of Glueck's efforts, a Jerusalem campus, initially devoted to archaeology, was opened.

All rabbinical and cantorial students spend the first year of their studies at the Jerusalem campus, which also houses a rabbinical program for Israelis as well as a school and museum of biblical archaeology. The Cincinnati, New York, and Los Angeles campuses all offer a rabbinical program leading to ordination. The Cincinnati campus also has a graduate school for Jews and Christians, which is especially strong in studies focusing on Bible and the Ancient Near East. The Hebrew Union College Annual (founded in 1924) and the Hebrew Union College Press are also located in Cincinnati. The New York campus includes a School of Sacred Music, which trains cantors for the Reform movement, and a doctor of ministries program, whereas the principal School of Education and the School of Jewish Communal Service are both located in Los Angeles. The HUC-Skirball Museum in Los Angeles possesses a very rich collection of archaeological artifacts and general Judaica.

Situated on the 18-acre Clifton Avenue campus, the Cincinnati school also houses the *American Jewish Archives, which publishes its own journal, the American Jewish Periodical Center, a small museum of Judaica, the Center for Holocaust and Humanity Education, and, in conjunction with the University of Cincinnati, an Ethics Center. The Cincinnati Library and Rare Book Building contain some 450,000 volumes, 160 incunabula and 6,200 manuscripts, including the Eduard Birnbaum Manuscript Collection in Jewish Music, making it one of the foremost libraries of Judaica in the world. Smaller, but significant collections are housed at the other campuses.

The HUC-JIR faculty, which has included some of the most notable American and European scholars, has over 60 ranked members, many of them Reform rabbis. Among the scholars of international renown who taught at HUC-JIR in earlier years are the talmudists Moses Mielziner and Jacob Lauterbach, the philosopher David Neumark, the historians Jacob Mann, Guido Kisch, and Jacob Rader Marcus, the semiticist Julius Lewy, the musicologist Abraham Z. Idelsohn, and the biblical scholar Harry M. Orlinsky.

In 1972 Hebrew Union College became the first rabbinical seminary to ordain women as rabbis, and it regularly admits students regardless of sexual orientation. In the early 21st century the school was strongly oriented toward Zionism and to high academic standards. In recent years its curriculum has placed greater emphasis on practically oriented clinical pastoral education. It remains the only institution within the American Reform movement that prepares men and women for the various roles of spiritual, intellectual, educational, and communal leadership.

Although within Reform Jewry the congregational Union for Reform Judaism and the Central Conference of American

Rabbis are the more activist in taking stands on contemporary American and Jewish issues, HUC-JIR serves as the principal intellectual resource of the movement. By the year 2005 it had ordained more than 2,500 rabbis (of whom about 400 are women), invested 400 cantors, and graduated over 500 communal service workers and 300 educators.

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[Stanley F. Chyet / Michael A. Meyer (2nd ed.)]

HEBREW UNIVERSITY OF JERUSALEM. The first university established in Israel. The establishment of an institute of higher learning in Ereẓ Israel was first proposed by Hermann *Schapira in 1884 at the Kattowitz Conference of the Ḥovevei Zion, and again at the first Zionist Congress in 1897. A few years later, a group of young Zionists were inspired by Chaim *Weizmann, then a teacher at the University of Geneva, to make the foundation of such an institution a primary aim of the Zionist movement. The group, which included Martin *Buber and Berthold *Feiwel, brought the question before the Congress of 1901, and Herzl submitted a petition to the Ottoman sultan for permission to establish a university in Jerusalem.

The Congress of 1913 appointed a committee, including Weizmann and Judah L. *Magnes of America, to execute the project, but the outbreak of World War I prevented action. While the war with the Turks was still being waged, Weizmann, who had come to Ereẓ Israel as head of the *Zionist Commission after the issue of the *Balfour Declaration, initiated the establishment of the university. On July 24, 1918, 12 foundation stones of the university were laid on Mount Scopus, north of the Old City of Jerusalem. This site, incomparable in beauty and impressiveness, had been acquired before the war by Isaac *Goldberg from the estate of an English lawyer, Sir John Gray-Hill. The view commanded on one side the Holy City and Bethlehem, and on the other the rugged landscape of the Wilderness of Judea, the Jordan Valley, the Dead Sea, and the Mountains of Moab. Weizmann, the only speaker at the ceremony, concluded: "Here, out of the misery and the desolation of war, is being created the first germ of a new life.… In this university we have gone beyond restoration; we are creating during the war something which is to serve as symbol of a better future. In the university the wandering soul of Israel will reach its haven."

There was an interval of seven years before any faculty of the university could be opened. The first lecture was given in 1923 by Albert *Einstein on his theory of relativity, and he spoke the first sentences in Hebrew, which was to be the language of teaching. He was dedicated to the university, and had accompanied Weizmann to the United States in 1921 to apprise American Jewry of its significance. It was decided that, before undergraduate teaching was initiated, work should be in postgraduate studies and scientific research. Three tiny institutes of research were opened, in Jewish studies, chemistry, and microbiology. The university was to develop in two directions: on the one hand, it should be the center where the Hebrew tradition would be molded in its original language and in the light of general humanities; on the other, it should be a center of research in the natural and medical sciences, which would help the regeneration of the land. The former development was the work of Magnes, who settled in Jerusalem in 1923, and devoted himself to bringing the university into being. Weizmann and committees in England and the United States launched the effort for scientific research. The university was opened on April 1, 1925, by Arthur *Balfour, at an impressive ceremony attended by the High Commissioner, Sir Herbert *Samuel, General Allenby, Chaim Weizmann, Ḥ.N. *Bialik, *Aḥad Ha-Am, and Chief Rabbi *Kook.

The university did not at that time receive any grant from the Government of Palestine; it was the financial responsibility of the Jews of the world. The supreme governing body included Jews eminent in public or academic life in many countries. Weizmann was chairman of the board, and Magnes chancellor – later president. The university grew quickly. Following the inauguration, new institutions were added: Jewish studies (1924); Oriental studies (1926); mathematics (1927); general humanities (1928): philosophy and history, geography and archaeology, classical literature, English, and other languages; physics (1930); and biological sciences (1931). Demand grew for regular courses of postgraduate studies, leading to a Master's degree. Two faculties were constituted: humanities, and science and mathematics. The first degrees were awarded in 1931. At this stage, however, the authorities were opposed to the opening of professional schools for doctors or lawyers: learning should be acquired for its own sake, and research was the main objective. About half the students were from Palestine, and half from abroad. Some of the teachers now appointed were graduates of the university.

The Nazi persecution of Jews in Germany and their exclusion from institutions of higher learning gave fresh importance to the Hebrew University. It could take its part in the battle for academic freedom, and be a principal place in which exiled scholars and scientists could find a haven. Hebrew remained the language of instruction, and was rapidly adapted to the needs of modern learning and science. Vocabulary, based on biblical and rabbinical Hebrew, multiplied. The library, which was also the Jewish National *Library, grew to half a million books, housed in the principal building on Mount Scopus and containing one of the most valuable collections of Hebraica and Judaica. Before the outbreak of World War II, medical research was developed in laboratories attached to the university hospital, itself a gift of the *Hadassah Women's Zionist Organization. The hospital and medical center did valuable work for the Allies and the civilian population of the Middle East throughout the war. A school of agriculture at Reḥovot was added in 1940. At the end of the war, plans were made for large extensions, and new buildings were started on Mount Scopus.

The years between 1945 and 1948 were troubled. Both Jews and Arabs were in revolt and university progress was halted. The outbreak of riots and fighting at the end of November 1947, which followed the United Nations decision to partition Palestine into Jewish and Arab states, caused temporary suspension of academic work. Teachers and students were engaged in the defense of the National Home; and, in April 1948, an Arab mob attack which murdered a convoy of doctors, nurses, and students to Scopus compelled the evacuation of the Hadassah Hospital and Medical Center, in order to avoid further losses and bloodshed. The fighting during and after the War of Independence involved the university. The buildings were held against Arab attacks, but grave damage was done. During the first cease-fire, the United Nations mediator contrived to obtain agreement for demilitarization of Mount Scopus and the Mount of Olives. The university buildings were to remain an Israel enclave, surrounded by Arab land, and were occupied by a small body of Jewish police and caretakers.

The Israel-Jordan *Armistice Agreement, concluded in April 1949, included "an agreement in principle for restoration of the normal functioning of the cultural and humanitarian institutions on Mount Scopus, and free access thereto." An Arab-Jewish committee was to work out details. That, however, was not done, as Jordan refused to nominate representatives to the committee, and the enclave remained inaccessible to teachers and students.

In the summer of 1949 the university resumed its work in western Jerusalem, housed in a number of improvised and unsuitable buildings scattered over the town. The rooms for lectures were bare; there were no laboratories or equipment and very few books. At the same time, the creation of the State of Israel required intensified expansion of the university departments to provide the civil servants, teachers, doctors and lawyers, scientists and agronomists for building rapidly. The pre-faculty of medicine was transformed into a faculty (opened in 1949) for both undergraduate and postgraduate studies. A law faculty was opened in the same year, while the school of agriculture (later, renamed the Levi Eshkol Faculty of Agriculture) and the department of economic and social sciences also became faculties in 1952 and 1953 respectively, and the school of education was opened in 1952. An extensive new campus was dedicated at Givat Ram on a ridge of the Judean Hills in the west of the city. A department of business administration and a school of social work (1958/59) were added; the Institute of Oriental Studies (1926) was developed into a department of Asian and African studies (1962) and the Ben-Zvi Institute for research on the Jewish Communities in the Middle East (founded 1947) was affiliated. Other new departments were the Institute for Contemporary Jewry (1959/60), the institute for research in Jewish Law (1963), and the Library School. A bigger Hadassah University hospital (opened in 1961), a medical school for 500 students, and a dental school for 250 students were built on another site, at Ein Kerem on the outskirts of Jerusalem. Since 1929, the Hebrew University has had its own publishing house, the Magnes Press, which publishes significant work done at the university and produces two important series, *Scripta Hierosolymitana* and *Textus*, the latter devoted to Bible studies. The number of students rose from 1,000 in 1947/48 to 5,000 in 1958/59 and over 15,000 in 1969/70. During this period the academic staff increased from 200 to 1,430, many themselves graduates of the university. The National and University Library in 1970 contained 1¾ million books and numerous periodicals.

At Givat Ram, 150 acres of eroded limestone have been transformed into a new university campus with more than 50 buildings. This phoenix-like resurgence was made possible by the combined financial help of the state and of Jewish communities and individuals abroad. Government and Jewish Agency grants cover nearly two-thirds of the maintenance budget, and societies of friends of the university have given the funds for new buildings. The university has not, however, become a state institution. The government attaches no conditions to its contribution, has no administrative control, and nominates only a few lay members to the executive council. The university is open to all students without discrimination of sex, creed, color, or nationality. The number of students from abroad steadily mounted, and there was a large influx of Jewish students, most of them American, after the Six-Day War. In 1970, foreign students totaled 3,200, of whom some 1,200 came from the United States and some 50 were Asian or African. In addition, 205 were Arabs or Druze (45) including some from east Jerusalem and the Israel-held territories in Judea and Samaria.

The board of governors, meeting annually in Jerusalem, elects the president for a four-year term, approves the budget, and decides major issues of policy. Half the board consists of members resident in Israel. The control of the university is maintained by a senate, an academic body presided over by an elected rector, and an executive council, composed of a majority of lay members together with some academics. After Magnes, the presidents were: Selig *Brodetsky (1949–51), Benjamin *Mazar (1953–61), Giulio *Racah (acting; 1961–62), Eliahu *Elath (1962–68), and Avraham *Harman (from 1968). As a result of the Six-Day War, the university's original home on Mount Scopus was recovered, and the former building of the humanities faculty was put to immediate use. Studies were restarted in the Rosenbloom building, dormitories designed for 2,500 students, and a residential center for pre-academic studies opened. The original Hadassah-University hospital was rehabilitated and the Harry S. Truman Research Center, endowed by American Friends of the Hebrew University, has been erected on Scopus as part of the university. The faculty of law was transferred in 1969 to Mount Scopus. The university now has four campuses: Scopus, Givat Ram, and Ein Kerem in Jerusalem, and Reḥovot. It was invited to set the academic standards for the University College in Haifa, and, together with the Weizmann Institute of Science and the Haifa Technion, to do the same for the University of the Negev in Beersheba. In 1958, the Hebrew University opened branches of its law and social sciences faculties in Tel Aviv; but between 1966 and 1969 these were transferred to the University of Tel Aviv. The high quality of research done in Jewish Studies, the humanities and social sciences on one hand, and the natural, physical, and medical sciences on the other, has won encouragement and financial subsidies from U.S. government departments and private foundations in various countries, and has brought the Hebrew University worldwide recognition. It becomes more and more the university of the whole Jewish people.

[Norman Bentwich]

1970s

The decade of the 1970s was marked by expansion and consolidation. Prior to the Yom Kippur War of 1973, the university's student enrollment climbed to a peak of some 18,000 at the height of a period of growth in tertiary education. At the same time, the academic staff was enriched by the immigration to Israel of many scholars from the Western world as well as from the U.S.S.R.

Concurrently, the rebuilding of the campus on Mount Scopus proceeded apace both with regard to premises to house the academic work of the university and student accommodation, in particular that set aside for married students with young children.

Noteworthy in this period of expansion was the growth in the School for Overseas Students, where enrollment climbed to 1,000, with approximately another 1,000 attending the annual summer courses. The school offered courses varying in duration from one to four years, with teaching in English, French, Spanish and Russian, in addition to Hebrew. It now played a key role in strengthening Israel's ties with the younger generation of Diaspora Jewry.

A number of new research institutes came into being in response to fresh needs and possibilities; these were within the areas of Jewish studies, and those for the history and traditions of Jews in the Eastern and Western Diasporas, Slavic language and literature, international affairs, European studies, Soviet and East European research, Israeli society, economics and politics, energy resources; environmental sciences, lasers, marine sciences, agriculture, medicine, and dental medicine.

In line with the university's policy of serving Israel's needs for trained manpower, it also established, in conjunction with Hadassah, the Henrietta Szold-Hadassah-Hebrew University School of Nursing, the Hadassah-Hebrew University School of Occupational Therapy (both granting a bachelor's degree) and the Hebrew University-Hadassah School of Community Medicine and Public Health, which gives a master's degree. In 1975, the Institute of Advanced Studies was set up to provide a framework for the encouragement of scientific and scholarly leadership and the advancement of top level research. The institute offers fellowships to Israeli and overseas scholars, initially in the areas of mathematics, Jewish studies and economics.

The 1973 war was a turning point which marked profound changes within Israel, including severe cuts in public spending for tertiary education, and they affected the Hebrew University, where the stress was on consolidating the growth of past years. The Mount Scopus campus became a residential university city, providing accommodation for over 3,000 students and premises for the Faculty of Law, the School for Overseas Students, the Institute of Archaeology, the School of Education, first-year science studies for all the experimental faculties, the Harry S. Truman Research Institute, the Martin Buber Center for Adult Education and the Joseph Saltiel Center for Pre-Academic Studies. There were new buildings for the Faculty of Social Sciences, for the Faculty of Humanities and an undergraduate library for these faculties. These units moved from Givat Ram to Mount Scopus in the fall of 1981 as scheduled. The physical development of the university was thus virtually completed on all four campuses. Enrollment stood at over 15,000, of whom more than a third were engaged in post-graduate work. This latter figure marked the latest phase in the development of the university, making it the Jewish world's foremost center of advanced study. In addition, university extension courses, both on-campus and throughout the country, brought faculty members to the service of a further 12,000 people each year; while under special arrangements with a number of leading universities, notably in North and South America, the university also aided Jewish studies abroad in staffing and curriculum design and planning. With the growth of local universities in other Israeli cities, the Hebrew University, which had 70% of its student body coming from outside Jerusalem, increasingly served as a national institution.

The university's Authority for Research and Development coordinated the work of some 2,500 research projects underway at the university with funding received from over 500 different granting agencies. Much of this work and of the more than 3,000 books and papers issuing annually from the academic community were of direct practical importance to the State of Israel and its economic, scientific, and social development. Taken as a whole, the research record made the university an international center of scholarship which attracted hundreds of visiting academics from all parts of the world.

At the meeting of the board of governors held in May 1980, it was decided, despite the financial stringency prevailing, to proceed with the completion of the rebuilding of the Mount Scopus campus, in order to carry out the move of the Social Sciences and Humanities Faculties from Givat Ram in the spring and summer of 1981. The transfer from Givat Ram to Mount Scopus was completed in the summer of 1981 as scheduled.

[Devorah Getzler]

Developments from 1982

As the university re-established itself in the renovated and greatly expanded campus on Mount Scopus in the early 1980s, the consolidation of units that had been scattered in temporary quarters throughout Jerusalem during the 1948–67 "exile" from Mount Scopus enabled the Givat Ram campus to become primarily the university's science campus, incorporating lecture rooms and laboratories that had been in other locations. As part of this development, the Avraham Harman Science Library was opened at Givat Ram. At Mount Scopus, the Bloomfield Library for Humanities and Social Sciences opened its doors.

As enrollment continued to expand from the early 1980s level of some 16,000 students to close to 23,000 by the mid-1990s, the university sought ways to provide expanded dormitory facilities. This became a matter of high priority not only because of the natural growth in the number of Israeli students, but also because of the influx of immigrant students, particularly from the Soviet Union. The total number of dormitory accommodations has reached approximately 6,500.

A major development project initiated in 1995 was a new home for the Rothberg School for Overseas Students on Mount Scopus. The school had been located since 1971 in the Goldschmidt building on Mount Scopus, a facility which was unable to answer all the needs of a school that is now serving some 4,200 students a year in a multitude of programs geared to meet the specific needs of students from various countries.

In the Faculty of Science, the Belmonte Science Laboratory for Youth, opened in 1990, provides state-of-the-art facilities for use by high school science classes and their teachers – the only such laboratory in Israel built and operated exclusively for this purpose. The laboratory provides science enrichment for youngsters beyond that which would normally be available to them in their own schools.

At the Ein Kerem medical campus, a full story was added to the existing School of Dental Medicine in the mid-1990s. Besides providing needed additional space for the training of a new generation of dental practitioners and researchers, the new story will also contain the world's most advanced laboratory for experimentation and documentation involving dental implantations.

Also at Ein Kerem, the Faculty of Medicine proceeded with plans for a significant expansion of its facilities. A new building, the National and International Institute of Health, provided an improved infrastructure, enabling the faculty to increase its intake of new students and provide them with optimal learning conditions. It also provided more opportunities in teaching and research for talented Israeli scientists who have been compelled to seek adequate conditions abroad.

A major addition to the cultural life of Jerusalem took place on the Givat Ram campus with the development in the 1980s of the Jerusalem and University Botanical Garden, a facility open to the general public which provides a showcase of plant life from all over the world. The garden also included a Visitors Center in the Hank Greenspan Plaza. Another public attraction in Givat Ram are the windows by the artist Mordecai Ardon, dedicated in 1984. The windows, located in the Jewish National and University Library, conceptualize the prophet Isaiah's vision of peace.

Another development project was the opening in 1987 of the Astrid and Henry Montor Outdoor Sports and Recreation Center of the Mount Scopus campus. The first phase of this center is tennis courts. A soccer field, swimming pool, and track and field facilities were also planned.

NEW ACADEMIC PROGRAMS. An innovation in Israeli higher education was taken in 1985 with the opening of the Koret School of Veterinary Medicine at the Faculty of Agriculture in Rehovot – the country's first-ever school in this discipline. The school, along with the university's Veterinary Teaching Hospital in Rishon Lezion – the largest facility of its type in the Middle East – provide an opportunity for students who formerly were forced to go abroad to study this branch of medical science.

Another innovation in Israeli higher education came in the 1990s with the establishment of Israel's first B.A. programs in communications and journalism and in hotel studies. Israel's first Institute for European Studies was also established during this decade at the university.

Rapid expansion took place, in terms of equipment and numbers of students and faculty, in computer science. This trend was given further impetus due to the large influx of talented students from the former Soviet Union. The growth resulted in the creation of a separate Institute of Computer Science.

East Asian studies gained greatly in popularity among students at the university, bringing with it an expansion of staff and subject matter. In addition to Japanese and Chinese, the study of other East Asian languages and cultures was initiated, including courses in the Vietnamese, Thai, and Mongol languages.

In the area of programs for students from abroad, the Rothberg School for Overseas Students made great efforts to respond to the wave of immigration from the former Soviet Union. Besides offering courses taught in Russian, the school also initiated a special training program for Hebrew Ulpan teachers to provide a cadre of instructors to the large influx of new immigrants both within the university and elsewhere. Another service to the community was the formation of a special training program to prepare immigrant scientists as teachers of mathematics and science in Israeli high schools.

The Rothberg School for Overseas Students, in cooperation with the faculties of Humanities and Social Sciences, began offering in the mid-1990s new programs taught in English for graduate students around the world. An M.A. degree can now be earned in this manner.

An outreach to the public is the university program of adult education. This program offers a wide range of courses, taught in Hebrew, English, and Arabic, to those who find themselves with increasing leisure hours and a desire to expand their educational/cultural scope of knowledge.

Interdisciplinary study gained impetus throughout the 1980s and 1990s as the pursuit of knowledge and the development of new technologies began to erase old, increasingly artificial definitions of areas of expertise. A prominent example of this was the decision by the university to open a Department of Biotechnology in 1984, a unit jointly administered by the faculties of Science, Medicine, and Agriculture. Another area of interdisciplinary studies and research that gained increasing emphasis in the 1990s was that of environmental studies.

As an institution which has always stressed research (approximately one-third of the total student body is in graduate studies), the university began in the mid-1980s to institute programs designed to attract the most outstanding students and young researchers to its rolls. This was accomplished though the institution of special scholarships and individualized programs of study. One especially significant vehicle for furthering this goal was the establishment of the Golda Meir Fellowship Fund which, since 1984, has granted many hundreds of fellowships to outstanding graduate students, post-graduates, and young lecturers from Israel and abroad.

Close to 40 percent of all civilian research carried out in the country is conducted at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. In the closing decades of the 20th century, the university placed increasing emphasis on its role in the development of the Israel high-tech industry. The university's Yissum Research Development Company has grown over the years. The university is also a partner in the encouragement of new high-tech firms through a "scientific incubator" company.

The university was a pioneer in establishing contacts with Palestinian scholars as well as researchers from Arab countries even before the political movement towards peace began in the early 1990s. University units such as the Harry S. Truman Research Institute for the Advancement of Peace, the Sanford F. Kuvin Center for the Study of Infectious and Tropical Diseases and the Faculty of Agriculture were leaders in contacts with their Arab counterparts, much of which earned the financial support of Western governments and institutions. These contacts focused on joint research projects involving such topics as regional economics, water usage, environmental quality, education for tolerance, political solutions, and the overcoming of animal and human diseases endemic to the region.

In 2005 the university included eight faculties: Humanities, Natural Sciences, Social Sciences, Medicine, Dental Medicine, Law, Agriculture, Food and Environmental Sciences. The university had 15 schools: Applied Science, Business Administration, Dental Medicine, Education, Engineering and Computer Sciences, the Rothberg School for Overseas Students, Librarianship, Archive and Information Administration, the Medical School, the Nursing School, Food Sciences, Occupational Therapy, Pharmacy, Public and Community Medicine, Social Work, and Veterinary Medicine. Around 1,200 faculty members teach over 24,000 students, of which about half study in postgraduate programs. University alumni number about 90,000. On the university campuses there are 11 professional libraries in addition to the National Library. The university has 100 research centers. In 2001 university research facilities had sales of $12 million to industry. In 2005 the president of the university was Menahem Megidor and the chancellor was Haim D. Rabinowich.

[Jerry Barasch / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

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HEBRON (Heb. חֶבְרוֹן; Ar. **al-Khalīl**), city in Ereẓ Israel, 19 mi. (32 km.) S. of Jerusalem in the Judean Hills, 3,050 ft. (930 m.) above sea level. The name Hebron is explained as deriving from the root *ḥbr* (friend), the name *Ḥabiru, or the Arabic word *ḥaber* ("granary"). In the Bible, Hebron is also referred to as Kiriath-Arba: "Now the name of Hebron formerly was Kiriath-Arba; this Arba was the greatest among the Anakim…" (Josh. 14:15; see Anak, *Anakim; Ahiman, Sheshai, *Talmai). B. Mazar maintains that the name Kiriath-Arba implies that the city was a member of four (*arba*) neighboring confederated settlements in which the families of Aner, Eshkol, and *Mamre resided around the citadel of Hebron.

Biblical Period

Canaanite Hebron was located to the south of modern Hebron, on the strategic hill known as Jebel al-Rumayda, which was also the site of the later Israelite city. Numbers 13:22 states that Hebron was founded seven years before *Zoan, the capital of the Hyksos which was founded in about 1720 B.C.E. (cf. Jos., Wars, 4:530). Artifacts from this period – the middle Bronze Age – were found in a tomb in Wādī al-Tutāḥ; these included pottery, alabaster objects, and personal articles. At this time the name Hebron is connected with the Patriarchs, especially the purchase of the Cave of *Machpelah by Abraham from *Ephron the Hittite. Hebron, however, remained a Canaanite city; it was one of the important localities visited by the 12 spies (Num. 13:22). Hoham, the king of Hebron (Josh. 10:3), participated in the Battle of Aijalon against Joshua and was defeated there together with the other kings of Canaan. His city was conquered by Caleb son of Jephunneh (Josh. 15:13; Judg. 1:20).

After the death of Saul, David chose Hebron as his royal city and was anointed there as king over Judah (II Sam. 2:1–4). In addition, Abner was buried there (3:32) – his traditional tomb is still standing. The assassins of *Ish-Bosheth, the son of Saul, brought Ish-Bosheth's head to David in Hebron, and he ordered that they be hanged next to the pool in the town (4:12). Eventually David was anointed king over all Israel in Hebron (5:1–3). The city was also one of the *levitical cities and a *city of refuge (Josh. 21:13; I Chron. 6:42); it was an important administrative center and this was the reason why Rehoboam fortified it (II Chron. 11:10). In the division of Judah into districts during the Monarchy (cf. Josh. 15:54) Hebron was a city of the mountain district.

Post-Biblical Period

After the destruction of the First Temple the Jewish inhabitants of Hebron were exiled and their place was taken by Edomites, whose border extended to Beth-Zur. According to

Nehemiah 11:25, however, there were still some Jewish families living in the town; nevertheless, the Jews of Hebron did not participate in the construction of the walls of Jerusalem.

In I Maccabees 5:65 it is stated that Edomite Hebron was attacked by Judah Maccabee and its towers set on fire; the incorporation of the town into Judah, however, only took place after the conquest of Idumea by John Hyrcanus at the end of the second century B.C.E. With the conversion of the Idumeans, Hebron again became a Jewish city. King Herod built the wall which still surrounds the Cave of Machpelah. During the first war against the Romans, Hebron was conquered by Simeon Bar Giora, the leader of the Zealots (Jos., Wars, 4:529), and the city was plundered; it was later burned down by the Roman commander Cerealius (Jos., Wars, 4:554), but the Jews continued to live there. It appears that the population did not suffer during the Bar Kochba revolt. There are remains in the city of a synagogue from the Byzantine period. It was during this period that a church was erected over the Cave of Machpelah: the "very large village" of Hebron then formed part (together with the Botna fortress to the north) of the fortified southern border of the country.

[Michael Avi-Yonah]

Arab Conquest

It appears that Hebron fell to the Arabs without offering resistance. The Arabs, who honored the memory of Abraham, named the city Khalīl al-Raḥmān ("the beloved [i.e., Abraham] of [God] the Merciful"), or simply al-Khalīl; however, the name Ḥabrā or Ḥabrān is also found in Arabic sources. The first period of Arab conquest (638–1100) was a relief for the Jews of Hebron, as for the other Jews of Palestine, after the cruel Byzantine rule. There is, however, not much evidence about this period, but as more evidence is uncovered it becomes increasingly more probable that there was a permanent settlement in Hebron at that time. The testimony of historians from an earlier period and documents discovered in the course of time in the ***Genizah* give a fairly clear picture of the continuity of the Jewish settlement in Hebron. The first evidence is provided by the story which appears in several versions in both Muslim and Christian sources, which tells of the permission *Omar gave to the Jews to build a synagogue near the cave of Machpelah, as well as a cemetery. The popularity of this story indicates that it has a nucleus of historical truth at least. The Arabs converted the Byzantine church over the cave into a mosque. Under their rule the town grew, and the Arabs traded with the bedouin in the Negev and the people to the east of the Dead Sea. According to the tenth-century Arab geographer Al-Muqaddasī they also conducted a far-reaching trade in fresh fruit.

There is no real evidence about the nature and situation of the Jewish settlement in Hebron in the eighth, ninth, and tenth centuries. However, there is evidence of the existence of a *Karaite community there at the beginning of the 11th century (1001), and tangible evidence from later in that century about continuing Jewish settlement. From inscriptions and fragments of documents from the *Genizah* it is possible to formulate a genealogical reconstruction for four to six generations of two Hebron families, from which it can be seen that the Jewish population was concentrated around the cave of Machpelah and that the synagogue was built near the cave. One of these two families held the inherited title *he-ḥaver le-kivrei avot*, or *anshei kivrei avot*, and was in charge of maintaining the holy place. This even included the burying of the dead brought by Jews from near and far for burial close to the cave of Machpelah.

Crusader Rule

The Crusader rule (1100–1260) brought a temporary end to the Jewish settlement in Hebron. In 1100 the Crusaders captured the city, turned the mosque and the adjoining synagogue into a church and monastery, and expelled the Jews. There was probably no Jewish settlement in Hebron after that time – at any rate, there is no mention of the existence of Jews in Hebron. *Maimonides, who visited Hebron (1166), as well as *Benjamin of Tudela (c. 1171), *Pethahiah of Regensburg (1176), and Jacob b. Nethanel (second half of 12th century) make no mention of a Jewish settlement or of the existence of Jews in Hebron. It is possible that Jews began to settle again in Hebron toward the end of the period of Crusader rule, and by the beginning of the 13th century (1210) mention is made of a Jewish dyer "and his group" in Hebron (cf. A. Yaari, *Iggerot Ereẓ Yisrael* (1943), 7–83).

Mamluk Rule

The *Mamluks (1260–1517), who expelled the Crusaders finally from Palestine, made Hebron their district capital (c. 1260), at which time the Jewish settlement apparently began to be perceptibly renewed. *Naḥmanides, who immigrated to Palestine in 1267, wrote to his son that he could "go to Hebron to dig a grave for himself there" (Yaari, op. cit., 84). Such an action would have been unthinkable had there not been a Jewish settlement in Hebron.

It appears that the tolerant Muslim attitude toward the Jews which had existed in pre-Crusader times did not continue with the return of the Muslims to Palestine. In 1266 it was decreed that the Jews were not to enter the Cave of Machpelah, and this decree was strictly enforced until the 20th century. A Christian traveler who visited Hebron in the first half of the 14th century reported that "Christian and Jewish people are regarded by them [by the Muslims] as dogs, and they do not allow them to enter such a holy place" (cf. M. Ish-Shalom, *Masei Noẓerim le-Ereẓ Yisrael* (1965), 230). The prohibition is mentioned by both Meshullam of Volterra (1481) and Obadiah of Bertinoro (1488), who visited Hebron. They both recount that the Muslims "built a wall at the entrance of the cave, in which they made a small window through which the Jews pray." The number of the Jews was also small at that time – 20 households according to Meshullam and Obadiah of Bertinoro (A. Yaari, *Masot Ereẓ Yisrael*, (1946) 68–69). Nevertheless, although the Jewish settlement in Hebron was small, it was considered as very important by the Jews. This is seen in evidence found in both Christian and Jewish sources. At the end of the 15th century Christian pilgrims report about a Jewish pilgrimage to Hebron: "The Jews recognize them [the graves of the Patriarchs] and hold them in great esteem… and make pilgrimage there [to Hebron] from Jerusalem and even from other countries …" (the traveler Martin Kabatnik (1492), in M. Ish-Shalom, op. cit., 242). Obadiah of Bertinoro wrote in one of his letters that "there is a tradition among all the people of the land that burial in Hebron is better than in Jerusalem" (Yaari, *ibid.*).

The first evidence about spiritual and economic activity by the Jews of Hebron during the Mamluk period appears in the 14th century, but this is fragmentary, is derived from a single source, and is doubtful. R. Isaac Ḥilo from Larissa (Greece) reported in 1333 that the Jews were engaged in a prosperous trade in cotton, which they themselves wove and spun, and that they were also engaged in all types of glasswork. Some scholars maintain that the Venetian Jews who emigrated to Palestine after the Crusades introduced the art of glasswork to Hebron, but this is not certain (O. Avisar (ed.), *Sefer Ḥevron*, (1970), 89). R. Isaac Ḥilo of Larissa also reported about the spiritual activity of the Jews of Hebron, mentioning "an ancient synagogue [in Hebron] in which they prayed day and night." Some scholars doubt, however, whether this description stems from contemporary testimony or from hearsay.

Ottoman Rule

A definite turn for the better in the situation of the Jews of Hebron occurred during the Ottoman period (1517–1917), which began in Palestine in 1517. However, the Jews of Hebron did suffer misfortune and in this very year a great calamity befell the Jewish population of the town. In a parchment document, written at approximately the time of the event (1518), a man named Japheth b. Manasseh from Corfu tells about the attack by "Murad Bey, the deputy of the king and ruler in Jerusalem," on the Jews of Hebron. The results were very grave. Many were killed, their property was plundered, and the remainder fled for their lives to "the land of *Beirut." This same document also attests the stable situation of the Hebron community at that time. The very fact that the sultan's deputy took the trouble to have his armies plunder and loot Hebron in the hope of gaining wealth proves that the Jews of Hebron had considerable property. Furthermore, from the words in the same document "and they killed many people," it may be deduced that many Jews were there. The growth of the Jewish population of Hebron at the beginning of the 16th century is explained by the fact that some of those Jews who were expelled from Spain went to Hebron, probably contributing by their strength and wealth to the spiritual and material enrichment of the settlement.

In the course of the 16th century the influence of the Spanish *megorashim* (expellees) began to make its mark, especially in the realm of spiritual leadership. This stems from the emergence of two phenomena of note in the second half of the 16th century: the rising power of the Hebron settlement, on the one hand, and the decline of *Safed as a spiritual and economic center, on the other. The consolidation of the Hebron settlement took place in 1540 when Malkiel *Ashkenazi settled in the town. This multifaceted personality, who combined spiritual and practical greatness, organized communal life in Hebron both practically and spiritually. Ashkenazi's first act was to buy the courtyard in which the Jews of Hebron lived. This courtyard, which was surrounded by the stone walls of tall buildings, provided the Jewish community of Hebron with a degree of security. Ashkenazi built some additional buildings in the same location as the well-known synagogue, which was named for *Abraham the Patriarch. He also served as Hebron's first rabbi, and his legal decisions and customs were regarded by the Hebron community as irrevocable *halakhot* not only in his time but in subsequent generations as well. Toward the end of the 16th and at the beginning of the 17th centuries some of the most important kabbalists of Safed moved to Hebron. The most famous among these was Elijah de *Vidas, author of the well-known moralistic work *Reshit Ḥokhmah* and a student of Moses Cordovero and Isaac Luria, as well as Isaac Arḥa and Menahem b. Moses ha-Bavli, also disciples of Luria.

The teachings of the *Kabbalah and mysticism made a deep impression on the spiritual life of Hebron, and a spirit of asceticism was widespread. Isaiah Horowitz tells about the custom in Hebron of castigation and flagellation (*Ammud ha-Teshuvah*, a commentary on the tractate Yoma), which is an eyewitness description of castigations and a process of atonement which includes lashing, wearing sackcloth, being dragged, and the symbolic performance of the four judicial executions. Kabbalah and asceticism were prevalent in Hebron for approximately 300 years, until the settlement of the *Chabad Ḥasidim in the 19th century. Thus, the settlement in Hebron grew and became stabilized, although not from an economic aspect. The great majority of the population was economically dependent on continuous outside assistance, in the form of donations and contributions from abroad. The money came in two ways: donations which were sent directly to Palestine from abroad and contributions which were collected by emissaries who went abroad specifically for this purpose. Until the middle of the 17th century Hebron did not have its own emissaries; since the community was small and poor, it could not afford the large investment required for sending such an emissary abroad. Hebron was thus dependent on chance contributions from the Diaspora and on the general **ḥalukkah* among the four holy cities (*Jerusalem, Hebron, Safed, and Tiberias), from which Hebron received the smallest share (three parts out of 24). In the 16th century the charitable organization known as *Yaḥaẓ* was established. This was a kind of united fund whose name was a combination of the first letters of Jerusalem, Hebron, and Safed. It seems, however, that all these attempts did not greatly alleviate Hebron's difficult economic situation. This can be seen in "*Kol Kore*" (1616), which proclaimed to the Diaspora the difficult situation of Hebron's Jews. A central factor in their troubles was the huge debt owed by the community to the ruling authorities as a result of various decrees. Characteristic of the situation is the legend which tells about a tyrannical governor who forced the community to pay him thousands of grushim (coins whose value was equivalent to the German thaler) by threatening to burn half of the town and sell the other half into slavery (A.M. Luncz, in O. Avisar (ed.), *Sefer Ḥevron*, 306).

Nevertheless, in spite of the heavy tribulations, which included a plague, locusts, and harsh decrees by the authorities during the 17th century, the Jews of Hebron did not surrender their desire for spiritual survival. In the middle of the 17th century (1659) the famous philanthropist from Amsterdam, R. Abraham Pereira, established the yeshivah Ḥesed le-Avraham in Hebron. Distinguished rabbis and *ḥakhamim* lived in Hebron at that time. The yeshivah Ḥesed le-Avraham was a primary factor in the creation of this spiritual prominence of Hebron.

A difficult crisis befell the spiritual leadership of the town in the second half of the 17th century, after the visit of *Shabbetai Ẓevi in 1663 on his way to *Egypt. His visit made a great impression on the community. His disciples related that the people of Hebron stayed awake the entire night in order to see his wondrous deeds. He gained the adulation of the most important rabbis of Hebron, some of whom, as well as their descendants, maintained their faith in him even after his conversion. People like the kabbalist Abraham Conki and the emissary Meir ha-Rofe, and especially Nehemiah Ḥayon, devoted themselves to Shabbateanism.

The Shabbatean crisis had a very adverse effect on Hebron and led to both its spiritual and economic decline. There was no improvement during the 18th century, which was marked by disease, decrees of expulsion, a blood libel, and upheavals during the rebellion of Ali Bey and the Russo-Turkish War. Despite these troubles, there was a certain increase in population as a result of the breakdown of the Jewish settlement of Jerusalem in 1721 and the immigration of Abraham Gershon of Kutow (Kuty), the brother-in-law of Israel Baal Shem Tov. Abraham Gershon relates that in the single Jewish courtyard there was so little room that they could not even let him bring his family.

In the beginning of the 19th century the Hebron settlement gained some relief. In 1807 and 1811 the Jews bought and leased over 800 dunams of land. Nor was there stagnation in the spiritual life. First and foremost among the *ḥakhamim* of Hebron in the second half of the 18th and the beginning of the 19th centuries was Ḥayyim Joseph David *Azulai (called Ḥida). Mention should also be made of R. Mordecai *Rubio, the rabbi of Hebron and *rosh yeshivah* of Ḥesed le-Avraham, and Raphael Ḥazzan, author of halakhic works. There was a distinct improvement from a financial point of view as well, notwithstanding the robbery and oppression perpetrated by the authorities. Financial help came from several sources. The philanthropist Simon Wertheimer established a large fund which regularly supported the poor of Jerusalem, Hebron, and Safed. In 1814 Ḥayyim Baruch of Ostrava was appointed as the emissary of Hebron and he succeeded in organizing a network of funds which regularly provided Hebron with considerable amounts (O. Avisar op. cit., 131, 219). Sir Moses Montefiore, who visited Hebron in 1839 and was impressed with its beauty, also made generous contributions to the town. There is even evidence of independent economic progress made by the Jews of Hebron toward the second half of the 19th century. There were Jews who dealt in wine (1838), crafts, and trade (1876 and after).

The most significant development in the history of the Hebron settlement in the 19th century, however, was brought about by Chabad *Ḥasidim. The community was headed by R. Simon Menahem Ḥaikin who moved from Safed in 1840. Internal life was well organized; an agreement was signed between the Sephardi and Ashkenazi communities (in 1830 and 1842), and a close relationship was maintained between them. In the middle of the 19th century Elijah *Mani founded several public institutions, including the *bet ha-midrash* Bet Yaakov, and reorganized the Sephardi **kolel* in Hebron, freeing it from the administration of the Sephardi *kolel* of Jerusalem. He also revolutionized communal life by instituting a *takkanah* which stated that the *kolel* could subsidize only those actually engaged in studying the Torah. This step encouraged many of the inhabitants to begin to work, thus leading to a greater productivity in Hebron's economic life. There was even a hospital in Hebron by 1895, and the Jewish population reached 1,500 by the late 19th century.

An important contribution to Hebron's spiritual life was made by Ḥayyim Hezekiah *Medini, who founded a yeshivah for young people in Hebron. Four years previously (1900) R. Shalom Baer of Lubavich had established the yeshivah Torat Emet. Together with the religious education system, which reached the height of its development at the beginning of the 20th century, there was a parallel development in secular education, and in 1907 the German Hilfsverein set up the first school that included secular studies in its curriculum. Nevertheless, due to limited economic possibilities the Jewish population fell to 700 by 1910.

World War I and British Rule (1917–1948)

The flourishing period of the Jewish settlement in Hebron came to an end in 1914, with the outbreak of World War I. The young men were conscripted into the Turkish army, the channels of financial assistance were blocked, hunger and plagues created havoc among the populace, and the ghetto of Hebron was almost entirely emptied of its inhabitants after the closing of the *kolelim* in the town – except for the Sephardi *kolel*. The Hebron settlement underwent a grave depression. In 1918, however, when Hebron was captured by the British and World War I ended, the Jewish settlement began to recover. The education department of the Zionist organization established schools for boys and girls, as well as a kindergarten. The number of inhabitants was smaller than before the war (430 out of a total population of 16,000 in 1922) but their economic situation was stable. The spiritual situation, on the other hand, was poor – the yeshivot were impoverished and there were only 17 students. In 1925 the *Slobodka Yeshivah from Lithuania was established under the leadership of Rabbi M.M. Epstein, and the Jewish population rose to 700 in 1929 (out of a population of 18,000).

The year 1929 dealt a heavy blow to the Jewish settlement with the killing of many of Hebron's Jews by Arab rioters. The assault was well planned and its aim was well defined: the elimination of the Jewish settlement of Hebron. The rioters did not spare women, children, or the aged; the British remained passive. Sixty-seven were killed, 60 wounded, the community was destroyed, synagogues razed, and Torah scrolls burned. However, those who remained did not surrender and 35 families went to resettle in 1931. The community slowly began to rebuild itself, but everything was again destroyed in the upheavals of 1936. On the night of April 23, 1936, the British authorities evacuated the Jewish inhabitants of Hebron. The Jewish settlement of Hebron thus ended and only one inhabitant remained there until 1947.

After 1948

In 1948 Hebron was incorporated into the kingdom of Jordan. It was captured by the Israel army in the Six-Day War of June 1967, and Jews again returned to visit Hebron. The old Jewish quarter was found destroyed and the Jewish cemetery almost obliterated. According to the 1967 census, conducted by Israel, Hebron had 38,309 inhabitants, all of whom (excepting 106 Christians) were Muslim. In 1997 the city's population numbered 119,093 inhabitants, 18% of them refugees. Hebron has a smaller percentage of Palestinian Arab refugees than most other places of the West Bank.

On the eve of Passover 1968 a group of religious settlers went to reestablish the Jewish settlement. This new settlement encountered opposition both from the local Arabs and from official Israel sources as their move had not been authorized. The settlers had to fight for official recognition and the right to build a Jewish township in Hebron. In May 1968 the settlers were moved from their temporary quarters to the area occupied by the military government, thus acquiring the protection of the government but not the right to engage freely in economic activity. In 1970 the government decided to permit Jewish settlement in the town of Hebron and to build 250 housing units there. Through the influence of Hebron's mayor Muhammed Ali al-Jaʿbarī, the town remained relatively quiet under the Israel military government, although in 1968 and 1969 attacks repeatedly occurred on Israel soldiers, visitors, and settlers. There were several attacks on Jews who came to pray at the cave of Machpelah, as well as arguments about the right to pray there.

[Moshe Shapira]

Throughout most of its history Hebron's economy has been characterized by its position on the border of two regions – the farming area and the desert. Therefore, it has served as a marketplace for the exchange of goods between the peasants and the Bedouin shepherds. Even in the 1970s its economy was based principally on retail trade and on handicrafts such as pottery, glass blowing, and leather tanning. Hebron's built-up area, which expanded after 1948, extends mainly northward along the road leading to Bethlehem and Jerusalem and approaches the village of *Halhul.

[Efraim Orni]

Developments through 1972 and After

The new Jewish quarter adjacent to Hebron continued to develop. The building of the first 250 dwellings was completed and the quarter named Kiryat Arba, a former biblical name for Hebron. Government approval was given for the building of an additional 100 dwellings and at the end of 1972 Kiryat Arba had a population of almost 1,000, and a large industrial zone was under construction. Kiryat Arba was administered by an officer belonging to the military government, with an advisory committee of the inhabitants, under the provisions of the local (Jordanian) municipal law, though as Israel citizens individual residents were subject to Israel law. However, not all the settlers agreed to move to Kiryat Arba, and in 1981 they moved to the old Jewish quarter, which had been abandoned during the 1929 riots, taking possession of Bet Hadassah and the adjacent buildings.

Most of the residents were religious, and there were some disagreements between them and the government as a result of their demand for autonomous municipal status and the right to approve new candidates for housing in the quarter. Another important issue was the question of services at the Tomb of the Patriarchs (Cave of *Machpelah), which had served for centuries as a Muslim mosque. They objected to the agreement between Defense Minister Moshe Dayan and Muhammad Ali al-Jaʿbarī, the mayor of Hebron, on the scheduling of prayer services and other arrangements between Jews and Muslims, particularly at the Solemn Festivals.

Many Israelis regarded the re-establishment of a Jewish presence in Hebron, one of the Land of Israel's four holy cities, where Abraham had lived and David ruled, as an act of historic justice. There were complaints that the development of Kiryat Arba was too slow, and that it was being held up for political reasons. However, the new quarter was the target of criticism from left-wing and pacifist circles, who feared that its existence might prove an obstacle to an eventual peace settlement. The Jewish presence in the city created tensions between Arabs and Jews. During the first Intifada, Palestinian fire-bombing and rock-throwing attacks on Jews in and around the city were incessant, The tension reached its peak on Purim, February 25, 1994, when Baruch Goldstein, Kiryat Arba's medical doctor, entered the Cave of Machpelah during Muslim prayers and opened fire with an automatic weapon, killing 29 and wounding 100.

[Daniel Rubinstein]

As part of the Oslo Agreements, the majority of the territory of Hebron was handed over to the Palestinian Authority on January 17, 1997, with only some 35 Jewish families and

200 yeshivah students remaining in the city proper. There were some 5,600 Jewish residents in Kiryat Arba. However, the tension between both sides continued and was exacerbated from 2000 with the coming of the second Intifada. At the end of 2002 Kiryat Arba had 6,580 inhabitants and the Jewish settlement in Hebron numbered 500 residents. (See also *Israel, State of: Historical Survey.)

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°**HECATAEUS OF ABDERA** (fourth century B.C.E.), Greek historian and ethnographer. He evidently visited Jerusalem and was the first pagan who wrote extensively on the history of the Jews, incorporating it into his account of Egypt. A summary of it has been preserved in Diodorus, the first-century C.E. historian (60:3), via the ninth-century Photius (*Bibliotheca*, 224). The following is a summary of Hecataeus' report.

> From time immemorial there lived minorities in Egypt whose manner of sacrificing differed from that of the general population. When a plague occurred, the Egyptians expelled them. Some found refuge in Greece; the majority fled to Judea, then uninhabited. Their leader, Moses, founded Hierosolyma and its Temple, establishing a cult and a constitution which differed completely from any other. Because he believed that God is the master of the universe, Moses prohibited the presentation of the divine in a human form. The laws of marriage and burial differed from those among other groups of men, to whom the Jews adopted a hostile attitude. The Jews never had a king, but Moses assigned a prominent role to the priests, the chief of whom is said to receive messages from God. When he teaches the divine commandments, the assembled Jews prostrate themselves until the high priest concludes with these words: "Moses heard these words from God and he spoke them to the Jews." During the Persian and Macedonian occupations, Hecataeus concludes, many of their ancient institutions were modified.

Hecataeus' account, like those of Megasthenes and Theophrastus, is on the whole sympathetic to the Jews. He stressed the humaneness of such enactments as Moses' prohibition of infant exposure and his equal distribution of the land. His apparently high regard for the Mosaic constitution explains the popularity of pseudonymous books under his name. Hecataeus, according to the Letter of *Aristeas (v. 31), wrote to *Ptolemy II of Egypt asking him to invite 72 priests from Jerusalem to translate the Torah. This passage probably apppeared in Pseudo-Hecataeus' book called "On the Jews," from which Josephus has preserved extensive excerpts. The work treated conditions in Palestine during the period of Alexander's successors, the Diadochi, mentioning the high priest *Hezekiah (not elsewhere mentioned) recording the extent of Judea, and describing Jerusalem's Temple and cult. Many scholars, including H. Lewy, Tcherikover, and Guttmann, attribute this work to the genuine Hecataeus. They point, for example, to the statement that the Persians deported the Jews to Babylon, a slip a Jewish forger was unlikely to have made. There is no question, however, that Josephus' *Contra Apionem*, 1, 183–204, is the work of a pseudographer. Hecataeus indirectly criticized the Jews for not mixing with other nations; Pseudo-Hecataeus displays the fervor of an ardent Jew. The suspicion of forgery was already raised in the second century C.E. by Philo of Byblos, who wondered whether Hecataeus had become a Jewish convert. The author of this work may be labeled "Pseudo-Hecataeus I." Also forged, though by a different hand ("Pseudo-Hecataeus II"), is the book "On the Time of Abramus and the Egyptians" to which there are two known allusions. Josephus (Ant., 1:159) states that Hecataeus wrote a work about the patriarch, Abraham. Clement of Alexandria (*Stromateis*, 5:113) quotes nine lines from a drama attributed to Hecataeus, portraying the patriarch's smashing of the idols. The quotation was taken from a Jewish anthology of Greek poets and philosophers who purportedly subscribed to the truth or antiquity of biblical tenets. Scholarly opinion is divided over Pseudo-Hecataeus I, but there is a general consensus that Pseudo-Hecataeus II is a forgery. Pseudo-Hecataeus I is certainly earlier than the Letter of Aristeas, and was possibly written in the first half of the second century B.C.E. Pseudo-Hecataeus II antedates Josephus, and is perhaps as early as or even earlier than *Aristobulus.

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[Ben Zion Wacholder]

HECHAL SHLOMO, the former official seat of the Chief Rabbinate of Israel in Jerusalem, opened in 1958, Hechal Shlomo was built largely through the munificence of Sir Isaac *Wolfson, who named it in memory of his father.

Hechal Shlomo housed a number of institutions and organizations. The interior of its synagogue was brought from the synagogue of Padua, Italy. It also housed the Central Rabbinical Library and a Museum of Religious Art. Among the organizations under the aegis of Hechal Shlomo were the Union of Israeli Synagogues and the World Conference of Synagogues. Among its other activities Hechal Shlomo published an annual, *Shanah be-Shanah.* Today the building houses several religious Zionism organizations.

°**HECHLER, WILLIAM HENRY** (1845–1931), Christian Zionist. Hechler was born in Benares, India, where his father served as a missionary of the Evangelical Church. His father was of German origin and his mother was English, and as a result Hechler spoke both languages equally well. In 1871 he served as a missionary in Lagos, Nigeria, and in 1874 became the tutor of the children of *Frederick the grand duke of Baden, an uncle of Kaiser William II. When he failed in his attempts to be appointed Anglican bishop in Jerusalem, he became the chaplain of the British embassy in Vienna and served in that post from 1885 to 1910. He spent the rest of his life in London. Throughout his life, Hechler was engaged in mystical and messianic calculations, and when he became interested in the Jewish problem he sought its solution by calculating the date of the return of the Jewish people to Ereẓ Israel. After the pogroms in Russia in the early 1880s, he visited Odessa, where he met L. *Pinsker. From there he proceeded to Constantinople, bearing a letter to the sultan from Queen Victoria, in which the queen entreated the sultan to grant Russian Jews asylum in the Holy Land. The British embassy, however, refused to submit the letter. In his book *Restoration of Jews* (1884) Hechler traced the link between his mystical calculations and the Return of the Jews; his conclusion was that the redemption of the Jewish people would occur in the years 1897–98. When Theodor *Herzl's *Der Judenstaat* was published, Hechler dispatched a letter to the grand duke of Baden, dated March 26, 1896, to draw his attention to Herzl's work, "the first serious, quiet and practical attempt to show the Jews how they can reunite and form a nation of their own in the Land of Promise, given them by God." Thereafter Hechler devoted his efforts to establishing a close relationship between the grand duke and Herzl, and, through the help of the grand duke, between Herzl and William II. Until recently, these efforts were known only from Herzl's diaries and letters and statements made by contemporaries; their full scope came to light, however, with the discovery of the original correspondence involving Hechler, the grand duke of Baden, Herzl, and the kaiser.

In the second issue of *Die Welt*, Hechler published a comprehensive article containing his conclusion that the time of redemption had come and stating his conviction that Zionism was the ultimate solution. He attended the First Zionist Congress (1897), for which Herzl expressed his public appreciation. Hechler accompanied Herzl on his trip to Ereẓ Israel in 1898, when he was to meet the kaiser, and it was he who welcomed the Jewish delegation that presented the kaiser with an album of photographs depicting scenes from the new Jewish settlements. Another noteworthy effort made by Hechler was his attempt to arrange a meeting between Herzl and the czar through the czar's brother-in-law, the grand duke of Hesse. He visited Herzl on his deathbed, and it was to him that Herzl whispered the words: "Give my regards to all of them and tell that I gave my heart's blood to my people." Hechler retained his interest in Zionism throughout his life and also met Martin *Buber. He had a museum in his house, which included Montefiore's famous carriage. In his last will, he left it to the "Ereẓ Israel Museum" (the carriage was restored and is displayed in Jerusalem, next to Montefiore's windmill). In 1928 Hechler published his memories of Herzl in *Theodor Herzl, A Memorial* (ed. by M. Weisgal (1929), 51–52). Herzl depicted Hechler in *Altneuland*, under the name of Rev. Hopkins.

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[Getzel Kressel]

HECHT, BEN (1893–1964), U.S. novelist and playwright. Born in New York City, Hecht was brought up in Racine, Wisconsin. He rebelled against a college education and after a variety of jobs became a reporter first on the *Chicago Journal* then on the *Chicago Daily News*. The year he spent in Berlin as a foreign correspondent inspired his first novel, *Erik Dorn* (1921), while *1001 Afternoons in Chicago* (1922) and *Broken Necks* (1924) included pieces originally published in the Chicago press. Hecht first came to prominence as coauthor with Charles MacArthur of *The Front Page* (1928), a tough play about newspaper life. The two writers continued their partnership with a number of very successful film scripts throughout the 1930s and 1940s.

Hecht's portrayal of Jews in his earlier works, such as *A Jew in Love* (1931), was unsympathetic and sometimes even grotesque, but the rise of Nazism, which inspired his antifascist play *To Quito and Back* (1937), resulted in a sensational change in his attitude. In 1941 Hecht publicly proclaimed his Jewish nationalism and became a leading advocate of the dissident underground organization *Irgun Ẓeva'i Le'ummi, whose activities he championed in the American League for a Free Palestine and the Hebrew Committee of National Liberation. His sympathies were made clear in *A Guide for the Bedevilled* (1944), a controversial analysis of antisemitism, and in *A Flag is Born* (1946). The "illegal" immigrant ship bought by IẒL after World War II was called *Ben Hecht*. When during the War of Independence the Israel government ordered the sinking of the *Altalena*, an Irgun ship loaded with arms which arrived off Tel Aviv and refused to surrender them unconditionally to the Israel government, Hecht, who was one of the organizers of its dispatch, withdrew from further Zionist activity. He nevertheless maintained his sentimental attachment to the Revisionist cause, and manifested his partisanship in *Perfidy* (1961), a vitriolic attack on David *Ben-Gurion and the Israel "establishment" and an examination of the *Kasztner affair.

In the course of a 40-year career, Hecht enjoyed success as a controversial writer on many issues. His autobiography, *A Child of the Century* (1954), was a best seller. His other works include *Count Bruga* (1926); *20th Century* (1932); *A Book of Miracles* (1939); *The Sensualists* (1959); *Gaily, Gaily* (1963); and a book of recollections, *Letters from Bohemia* (1964).

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[Joseph Mersand]

HECHT, REUBEN (1909–1993). Israeli industrialist and Zionist activist. Hecht, the son of Jacob *Hecht, was born in Antwerp but grew up in Basle, and studied at the University of Heidelberg, receiving his doctorate in political science in 1933. Hecht was engaged in transport and shipping before emigrating to Ereẓ Israel in 1936. An active Revisionist from his student days, Hecht cooperated with Ze'ev Jabotinsky during his stay in Paris in 1933–34, joined the Irgun Ẓeva'i Le'ummi, and was sent by David Raziel to Europe in 1939 to organize "illegal" immigration. In 1941 he escaped with his wife from German-occupied Yugoslavia to Switzerland, where he intensively continued his political and rescue work as representative of the Irgun and the Hebrew Committee of National Liberation. After World War II he joined the family shipping combine, Neptun-Rhenania, of which he was president from 1963 to 1970. In Israel he obtained the first concession granted in the state for the erection of port grain silos and in 1951 established the Dagon Silo Company in Haifa. Among his other activities are the foundation of the Shikmona publishing company and the unique Dagon Archaeological Museum, devoted to the means of cultivation and storage of grain since the most ancient times.

Hecht served on numerous governmental, civic, cultural, and educational bodies, including membership in the Archaeological Council attached to the Ministry of Education and Culture, the International Council of Museums, Paris, the Bezalel Academy, the Israel Museum and the Israel Board of the American-Israel Cultural Foundation, of whose subcommittee for art, archaeology, and museums he was chairman until 1976. He was among the founders of Haifa University and a member in its board from 1971 until the day he died. In 1981 he established the Hecht Museum, located inside the university, and donated his private collections. In 1984 he was the first to receive an honorary doctorate from Haifa University.

He was awarded the Kaplan Prize for efficiency in 1960, in 1970 he was made an honorary citizen of Haifa, and in 1977 he was appointed personal advisor to the prime minister. In 1986 he was awarded a special humanitarian prize from the international *B'nai B'rith organization. He was awarded the Israel Prize in 1988 for exemplary lifelong service to society and the state.

HECHT, SELIG (1892–1947), U.S. biophysicist. Hecht was born in Glogau, Austria, and was taken to the United States as a child. He carried out extensive research in physical chemistry and physiology, both in the United States and elsewhere. He taught biophysics at Columbia University in New York from 1926 until his death. Hecht was a pioneer in the physiology of vision and propounded the photochemical theory of vision. His experiments showed that minute quantities of light are sufficient to cause a reaction by the human retina. Measuring the visual properties of insects, he proved that in terms of light sensitivity these are much the same as for creatures with eyes. He was also an exponent of popular science; in particular his *Explaining the Atom* was widely read.

[J. Edwin Holmstrom]

HECKERLING, AMY (1954–), U.S. writer, director, producer. Heckerling grew up in New York City. She attended the High School of Art and Design and though she studied photography during her time there, she opted to pursue a different path upon completing high school, and went to NYU's prestigious Tisch School of Arts to study film. Based on the short films she made as an undergraduate student, one of which starred her NYU classmate and future mega-producer Joel Silver, Heckerling was accepted to the American Film Institute's directorial program, from which she received a master's degree. Despite a slow start at breaking into the movie industry after completing her graduate work, Heckerling's feature film debut was wildly successful. This was *Fast Times at Ridgemont High* (1982), a comic look at modern, suburban teenagers that included such up-and-coming stars as Sean Penn and Jennifer Jason Leigh in its young cast. After *Fast Times*, Heckerling went on to make several consecutive box office duds, including *Johnny Dangerously* (1984) and *National Lampoon's European Vacation* (1985). Following these movies, Heckerling came up with the idea for her next project while pregnant with her daughter Mollie Israel. Heckerling turned her inspiration into *Look Who's Talking* (1987), the box-office smash in which an infant's internal monologue is conveyed by the voice of Bruce Willis. She also wrote and directed the cultural touchstone *Clueless* (1995), which launched the career of Alicia Silverstone. Besides her many career achievements, Heckerling is a politically active liberal and devoted environmentalist.

[Casey Schwartz (2nd ed.)]

HECKSCHER, ELI FILIP (1879–1952), Swedish economic historian. Heckscher was born in Stockholm, where he taught from 1909 to 1944 at the University College of Commerce. His books, which were translated into many languages, were the *Kontinentalsystemet* (1918; *The Continental System, an Economic Interpretation*, 1923), and *Merkantilismen* (1931; *Mercantilism*, 1935). Based largely on new sources, *Mercantilism* presents an analysis of the intellectual world of the mercantile system. The study which occupied the last years of Heckscher's life was *Sveriges ekonomiska historia från Gustav Vasa* (begun in 1935; *Economic History of Sweden Since Gustavus Vasa*, 1954). The author's death prevented him from continuing the study beyond 1815. Heckscher is regarded as one of the most important Swedish historians of his time.

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[Hugo Mauritz Valentin]

°**HEDEGÅRD, OSKAR DAVID LEONARD** (1891–1971), Swedish theologian. Hedegård edited and translated *Seder R. Amram Ga'on* for his doctoral dissertation (1951). He held various educational posts in the Swedish church and wrote a series of popular publications and handbooks on sacred history and New Testament theology. He co-edited (with A. Saarisalo) a Swedish interpreter's dictionary of the Bible, *Biblisk uppslagsbok, en handbok för bibelläsare* (1939, 1958^{3}). His two-volume *Nya Testamentet på vår tids språk* (1964–65), consists of several New Testament books translated into modern idiom.

[Ignacy Yizhak Schiper]

ḤEDER (Heb. חֶדֶר; lit. "room"), the common name for the old-fashioned elementary school for the teaching of Judaism. The name first occurs in the 13th century. The *ḥeder* was distinct from the *talmud torah*. Whereas the latter was a communal institution maintained by the community for poor children whose parents could not afford tuition fees, the *ḥeder* was a privately run institution, the teacher receiving his fees from the parents. It was generally housed in a room in the private house of the teacher, called the *rebbe* (Yiddish form of "rabbi") or *melammed*. Usually three classes were held concurrently; while the teacher taught one the children in the others went over their lessons. The age groups were from 3–5, 6–7, and 8–13. The teacher ruled with an iron hand and freely wielded his cane (*kanchik*). No secular studies were taught, the subjects for the three classes being, respectively, reading in the prayer book, the Pentateuch with Rashi, and Talmud. To the *rebbe* was sometimes added an assistant, called the *belfer* ("behelfer"). The *ḥeder* came under the withering attacks of the *maskilim*, who criticized the primitive methods and the restricted nature of the curriculum (cf. P. Smolenskin, *Ha-To'eh be-Darkhei ha-Ḥayyim*, 1 (1868), 4; J.L. Gordon, *Kol Kitvei…* (1899), 112–3) and toward the end of the 19th century attempts were made to introduce a "reformed *ḥeder*" (*ḥeder metukkan*) but without solid results. From the *ḥeder* the pupil proceeded to the yeshivah.

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[Louis Isaac Rabinowitz]

HEEGER, ALAN J. (1936–), U.S. physicist and material scientist and Nobel laureate. Heeger was born in Iowa. He was the first of his family to continue his education beyond high school and graduated from the University of Nebraska with a dual major in physics and mathematics. He received his Ph.D. in physics at Berkeley in 1961 while working part time for the Lockheed Space and Missile Division in Palo Alto, California. He joined the Physics Department at the University of Pennsylvania as an assistant professor in 1962 and was made full professor in 1967. At Penn he served as laboratory director and vice provost for research. In 1982 Heeger moved to the University of California, Santa Barbara, where he held the Presidential Chair and served as professor of physics and professor of materials. He headed a research group at the University's Center for Polymers and Organic Solids. Heeger holds approximately 50 patents, which have broad commercial potential for use in polymer electronics ("plastic" electronics) with applications in areas ranging from electroluminescent displays (for cell phones, PDAs, and laptops) to solar cells and integrated electronic circuits. In 1990 he founded UNIAX, which played a leading role in developing the science and technology of conducting polymers with many important contributions. UNIAX was acquired by DuPont in 2000. Heeger served on the board of directors of Konarka Technologies, Inc., SBA Materials, and RitDisplay (Taiwan), and was a venture partner in NGen Partners. His research efforts continued to focus on the science and technology of semiconducting and metallic polymers. Later interests included biosensors and the detection of specific targeted sequences on DNA.

Heeger is the recipient of numerous awards, including the Nobel Prize in chemistry in 2000, the Oliver E. Buckley Prize for Condensed Matter Physics, and the Balzan Prize for the Science of New Materials. He is a member of the U.S. National Academy of Sciences and National Academy of Engineering. Heeger has more than 700 publications in scientific journals.

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[(Gali Rotstein (2nd ed.)]

HEFER (Feiner), ḤAYIM (1925–), Israeli writer of light verse and song lyrics. Born in Poland, Hefer went to Palestine in 1936, served in the *Palmaḥ from 1943, and was one of the founders of Chizbatron, the army's popular entertainment troupe. His verse appeared widely in the Hebrew press, and he also wrote lyrics for satirical works for various theater groups and for literary programs in cabarets which he established together with Dahn *Ben-Amotz. Collections of his verse appeared in *Taḥmoshet Kallah* (1956), *Millim le-Manginot* (1962), and *Sefer ha-Pizmonim* (1981). Many Israeli composers, such as Alexander (Sacha) *Argov, Dov Seltzer, Moshe *Vilensky, Nurit *Hirsch, Mordechai *Zeira and Yoḥanan Zarai set his songs to music and they became quite popular. A series of poems on the *Six-Day War, including those he wrote for his weekly column in *Yedioth Aḥaronoth*, appeared in *Misdar ha-Loḥamim* (1968). He also wrote the lyrics for two original Hebrew musicals *Kazablan* (1966) and *I Like Mike* (1968). He was awarded the Israel Prize for Israeli song in 1983.

[Getzel Kressel]

ḤEFER PLAIN (Heb. עֵמֶק חֵפֶר), the central part of the Sharon Plain between the *Ḥaderah sand dunes in the north and

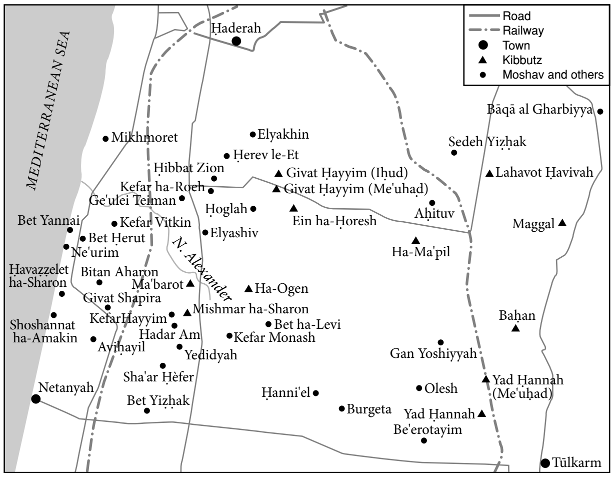
Road
Railway
Town
Kibbutz
Moshav and others
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
Haderah
Bāqā al Gharbiyya
Mikhmoret
Elyakhin
Ḥerev le-Et
Sedeh Yiẓhak
Ḥibbat Zion
Givat Ḥayyim (Iḥud)
Givat Ḥayyim (Me'uḥad)
Lahavot Ḥavivah
Kefar ha-Roeh
Ge'ulei Teiman
Ḥoglah
Ein ha-Ḥoresh
Aḥituv
Maggal
Bet Yannai
Kefar Vitkin
Bet Ḥerut
Elyashiv
Ne'urim
N. Alexander
Ha-Ma'pil
Ḥavazzelet ha-Sharon
Bitan Aharon
Ma'barot
Ha-Ogen
Givat Shapira
Mishmar ha-Sharon
Baḥan
Shoshannat ha-Amakin
Kefar Ḥayyim
Bet ha-Levi
Hadar Am
Kefar Monash
Avihayil
Yedidyah
Gan Yoshiyyah
Sha'ar Ḥefer
Yad Ḥannah (Me'uḥad)
Netanyah
Ḥanni'el
Olesh
Bet Yiẓhak
Burgeta
Yad Ḥannah
Be'erotayim
Tūlkarm

The Hefer Plain.

the *Netanyah-Tul-Karm road in the south. In 1928–29, the *Jewish National Fund (JNF) acquired the Wadi Hawārith lands initially comprising an area of some 8,000 acres. This purchase, one of the largest at the time, was made through aid extended by Canadian Zionists. A continuous chain of Jewish holdings was now created throughout the length of the Sharon to form the backbone of the Jewish settlement network. The first settlers, members of the moshav group "Irgun Vitkin," who arrived in the Ḥefer Plain in 1929, drained the swamps of the Alexander River which flows through the region from east to west, and planted trees to prevent the shifting of sand dunes. The legal land transfer was finalized and arrangements made with Bedouin who claimed tenant rights, while obstacles placed in the way by Arab nationalists and British Mandatory officials were dealt with. From 1931, permanent villages were set up, and in 1939–40, a further portion of the Ḥefer Plain ("Wadi Kabāni") was acquired, where additional settlements were later founded, partly by veterans of World War II. After the *War of Independence (1948), the settlement bloc was extended also eastward, in the direction of Tul-Karm. The Ḥefer Plain became one of Israel's most thoroughly developed and densely settled rural districts, with 32 villages (44, including the newer villages in the east). Farming is highly intensive throughout, with citrus groves and dairy cattle breeding as prominent features. Midrashiyyat Ruppin (named after A. *Ruppin), maintained by the *Histadrut and other bodies, was for a time a center of agricultural study and research. Numerous industrial enterprises were founded in its kibbutzim, and its seaside villages developed as bathing resorts.

[Efraim Orni]

ḤEFEẒ BEN YAẒLI'AḤ (**ha-Ashuri**, "the Assyrian"; probably second half of 10th century), Babylonian talmudic scholar. Few personal details are known about him save that he was a native of Mosul, was blind, and bore the identical titles of *alluf* and *resh kallah*, evidence of his high standing in the Babylonian academies. The claim that Ḥefeẓ lived in Kairouan, North Africa, has not been substantiated. The exact dates of his activity are unknown, but it is clear he was already recognized as a scholar at the beginning of the 11th century. Jonah *Ibn Janaḥ, for one, held him in great esteem. Ḥefeẓ was renowned among the scholars of Spain and Egypt as a grammarian and talmudic scholar, and is cited by such luminaries as *Alfasi, *Maimonides, *Judah b. Barzillai, *Baḥya ibn Pakuda, *Nathan b. Jehiel, and the lexicographers, Salomon ibn *Parḥon and Judah *Ibn Balaam. Maimonides specifically acknowledges that he was guided by him in his commentary on the Mishnah (*Maimonides' Letters*, ed. by Baneth (1944), 78). Because he wrote in Arabic, Ḥefeẓ's teachings were not known to French and German scholars.

His most important work is his *Sefer ha-Mitzvot* ("Book of Commandments"), probably the first comprehensive book of laws in Hebrew literature, including laws which no longer had practical application. Only fragments of this book are extant (see bibliography). Unlike the earlier *Halakhot Gedolot which follows the order of the Talmud, his book was arranged according to an inner logical system. His numeration of the precepts differed too from that of the *Halakhot Gedolot*. His method was to embark upon an extensive interpretation of each precept as treated in talmudic literature, including in the process many quotations from the Babylonian and Jerusalem Talmuds and the Tosefta with important variant readings, reflecting his closeness to the geonic sources. Statements of *Samuel b. Hophni are to be found in the book, though lack of exact chronological data leaves open the question as to who borrowed from whom. A work attributed to Ḥefeẓ is a lexicon of the *Halakhot Gedolot* (mentioned in lists of books from the *Genizah), a few quotations of which are to be found in the works of the *rishonim*.

French and German scholars alone refer to a certain *Sefer Ḥefeẓ*. It is first mentioned by *Eliezer b. Nathan, and later by his pupils and followers: *Eliezer b. Joel ha-Levi, *Isaac b. Abba Mari in his *Ittur,* *Isaac b. Moses of Vienna in his *Or Zaru'a*, *Mordecai b. Hillel in his *Sefer Mordekhai*, and others. All that is known of it is that it was a book of decisions written in Hebrew and including the orders *Nashim, Nezikin*, and *Mo'ed*. The great similarity – mostly as a result of copying – between this *Sefer Ḥefeẓ* and the anonymous *Metivot*, one of *Alfasi's sources, led various scholars to regard the *Sefer Ḥefeẓ* as identical with the book of Ḥefeẓ b. Yaẓli'aḥ. Subsequent study has shown, however, that they have nothing in common but the title. Fragments of the anonymous book have been collected by B.M. Lewin (see bibliography).

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[Israel Moses Ta-Shma]

HEFKER (Heb. הֶפְקֵר), ownerless property and renunciation of ownership. *Hefker* is property that is ownerless and can therefore be legally acquired by the person who first takes possession of it. There are two categories of ownerless property: (1) property that has never been owned before – such as wild animals and birds, fish of the river and ocean, and wild or forest plants (Maim. Yad, Zekhi'ah, 1:1–2); and (2) property that has ceased to belong to its former owner.

Property becomes *hefker* in two different ways, just as *ownership can generally cease in the same two ways:

(1) When it is clear that the property can no more return permanently to an individual's possession – for example, birds which have escaped (Ran on Rif, Ḥul. beginning of Ch. 11) – provided that no other person has acquired it. Similarly, the property of a proselyte who leaves no Jewish heirs becomes *hefker*, since his gentile relatives do not inherit from him.

(2) When the owner decides not to have it again in his possession, i.e., if he renounces it or if he gives up hope of recovering *lost property. As in all other instances of termination of ownership, such as **ye'ush*, the only formality required in the case of renunciation is the manifestation of the owner's intention, whether by word or conduct, as when he declares "this is renounced in favor of anyone who wants it" (Ned. 43a) or by any conduct to this effect. Thus, for instance, if a Jew purchases land from a non-Jew, the latter may vacate it on receipt of the purchase money, whereas the purchaser may not wish to acquire the land except in the prescribed manner in which it would be acquired from another Jew, i.e., by *shetar* or *ḥazakah* (see *Acquisition). It is thus possible that in the interval the field becomes ownerless and may be acquired by anyone taking possession of it (BB 54b), although in practice the secular law of the land would usually prevail to make the transfer effective. Similarly, the circumstances in which property is found may indicate that ownership thereof has been renounced, as in the case of "intentional loss" (*avedah mi-da'at*), i.e., when the owner knowingly leaves the property in a place where he is likely to lose it, such as produce scattered on the threshing-floor (BM 21a), or open jars of wine or oil in a public domain (BM 23b). The fact that ownership is relinquished by mental decision means that minors, having no "mind" in law, cannot dispose of their property by renunciation (BM 22b). For the same reason *hefker* created through a mistake of fact (see *Samson b. Abraham of Sens, Comm. Pe'ah, 6:1), or under duress (TJ, Suk. 4:2, 54b) is void.

There is a difference of opinion with regard to *hefker* between the schools of Shammai and Hillel. The former hold that a renunciation in favor of the poor only is valid, comparing it to **pe'ah* ("the corner of the field," Lev. 23:22), while the latter maintain that to be valid the renunciation must apply to rich and poor alike, as is the case with regard to *shemittah* ("the sabbatical year," Lev. 25:1–7). In R. Johanan's view both schools agree that renunciation in favor of all human beings, but excluding animals, or to all Jews, but not non-Jews, is valid, while Simeon b. Lakish maintains that the school of Hillel would regard it as invalid (TJ, Pe'ah 6:1, 19b). It is possible that the difference of opinion centers around the principle that where the renunciation is not of universal application, the renouncer, by preventing the property from being acquired by certain categories excluded from the renunciation, thereby retains some possession of it which is a bar to renunciation. However, where the owner disregards the possibility of it being acquired by those whom he excludes, he thereupon ceases to guard it and it passes out of his possession. The school of Shammai opines that the owner who renounces his property in favor of the poor has no fear that the rich may take possession of it, while the school of Hillel disagrees.

Ownership of property that has been lost ceases from the moment the owner gives expression to his despair of recovering it (see **ye'ush*). In the case of *hefker* there is a dispute as to whether it takes effect immediately upon renunciation, in which case the owner cannot retract, or upon the acquisition of the property by another (Ned. 43a; TJ, Pe'ah 6:1, 19b). A person may renounce his property for a fixed period, and if it is acquired by another within the stated period it becomes the latter's permanently. At the end of the stated period the renunciation is automatically annulled if the property has not so been acquired (Ned. 44a).

Hefker property is exempt from a number of commandments. It is free from the obligations of the gifts due to priests and levites, as from *terumah* ("heave offering"), tithes, and the giving of the firstborn of animals to the priest. Advantage was sometimes taken of this law to evade these obligations. The owners would renounce their property to evade their liability, subsequently reacquiring it before others could take possession of it. To prevent this an enactment was made restricting the ability to withdraw a renunciation to three days from the time it was made (Ned. 43b); within this period a renounced field remains subject to the various imposts, and owners would be afraid to make the renunciation apply for a longer period lest the field be acquired by someone else. However, there are different opinions as to the details of this enactment. Similarly, it was enacted that renunciation had to be made before three persons (Ned. 45a), so that it could be made public and people would be able to take advantage of it. Some scholars hold that the requirement of three witnesses is based on biblical law; others hold that in biblical law two witnesses suffice for this purpose, and that the need for three is a rabbinical enactment.

In the State of Israel, ownerless property belongs to the State, in accordance with the "State Property Law, 5711/1951." For acquisition of ownerless property, see *Acquisition. For *hefker bet din hefker*, see *Confiscation and Expropriation, **Takkanot*.

[Shalom Albeck]

Shemittah and Hefker

It has recently been proposed that the law of *hefker* be applied to solve the problem of *shemittah* (the Sabbatical year) in the State of Israel. The approach thus far adopted to solve this problem in practice has been that of the *heter mekhirah*, i.e., the temporary sale of the property on which the produce grows to a non-Jew, so that the law of *shemittah* does not apply. Rabbi Naphtali Ẓevi Judah Berlin (the *Neẓiv*, Resp. Meshiv Davar II.56) ruled that the prohibitions of the *shem-*

ittah year do not apply to property that has been made *hefker* by its owner, much like the rule that the prohibition of *ḥameẓ* on Passover does not apply to property that has been made *hefker* by its owner. Soon after the establishment of the State of Israel, it was suggested that the Neẓiv's ruling be used to obviate the application of *shemittah* prohibitions, by making the property *hefker*.This suggestion raises a number of issues, such as whether property can be made *hefker* for only a limited period of time, and whether it is possible to prevent another person from receiving ownership of property that has been made *hefker;* a number of responses were offered to these questions. At the time, the Chief Rabbinate discussed the suggestion but did not issue any ruling. Recently, the suggestion has again been raised.

[Menachem Elon (2nd ed.)]

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HEFTER, ALFRED (**Hidalgo**; 1892–1957), Romanian editor, journalist, and author. Born in Jassy and influenced by Marxism, Hefter published a pamphlet in this spirit in 1908 together with his brother, the Socialist journalist Jean Hefter (1887–1974). Alfred Hefter edited the symbolist magazine *Versuri şi Proză* in Jassy (1912–14), the paper *Arena* in 1918 (suspended by censor), and then *Lumea*, which appeared until 1924. Moving to Bucharest, he edited two papers there, but incurred government opposition and left for France, later moving to Geneva, Switzerland (1931), where he edited the French-language journal *Le Moment*. Having returned to Bucharest he had to leave again in 1941, settling in Jerusalem. In 1948 he left for France, and went to Italy, where he went into business. He died in Rome. His published works include *Cuvinte despre oameni* ("Some Words on People," 1913), *Din umbră* ("From the Shadow," 1913), and two dramatic works, *Ariana* (1915) and *Miros de iarbă* ("Smell of Grass," 1915).

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[Lucian-Zeev Herscovici (2nd ed.)]

ḤEFẒI BAH (Heb. חֶפְצִי־בָּהּ), kibbutz at the foot of Mt. Gilboa, Israel, affiliated with Ha-Kibbutz ha-Me'uḥad. It was founded in 1922 by pioneer youth from Germany and Czechoslovakia, who were soon joined by immigrants from Romania, and later from other countries. On the grounds of the kibbutz, the mosaic floor of the ancient *Bet Alfa synagogue was uncovered and is protected by a hall built over it. Ḥefẓi Bah's economy was based on intensive farming (field crops, fishery, dairy cattle, and poultry), and factories for water meters and plastic duct installations. The kibbutz also had guest rooms and a fish restaurant. In 1968, Ḥefẓi Bah had 500 inhabitants, dropping to 400 in 2002. The name, Ḥefẓi Bah, biblical in origin (Isa. 62:4), was taken over by the kibbutz from the name of the Ḥaderah suburb where its first members had their transit camp.

WEBSITE: www.hefzi.org.il.

[Efraim Orni / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

HEGEDÜS, ARMIN (1869–1945), **SEBESTYÉN, ARTUR** (1868–1943), and **STERK, IZIDOR** (1860–1935), winners of a competition for the design of Hotel Gellért (1909–1918), an eye-catching example of Secessionist architecture. Its thermal bath and swimming pool were planned later (1927) by Sebestyén whose projects also included buildings outside Hungary, such as cinemas in Odessa and Sofia. He was baptized. Among the main works of Hegedüs was the reconstruction of the Central Municipality building in Budapest, originally serving as barracks for invalid soldiers. Sterk designed factories, apartment houses, and department stores.

[Eva Kondor]

°**HEGEL, GEORG WILHELM FRIEDRICH** (1770–1831), German philosopher and culminating figure of German Idealism. After studies in philosophy (1788–90) and theology (1790–1793) at the Tuebingen seminary, he served as lecturer and professor at Jena (1801–07), Heidelberg (1816–18), and Berlin (1818–31). Hegel is important for Jewish history for two reasons: first, for his attitude to Judaism, which, because of his importance, was of major interest for many Jews throughout the first half of the 19th century; second, for his philosophy of history and religion in general, which influenced Jewish and other thinkers for an even longer period. Unfortunately most of his statements on these subjects were published only after his death, and were compiled based on his lecture notes and notes taken by his students. This circumstance, as well as the complexities of his language and his extraordinarily systematic thinking, makes his thought on Judaism and the philosophy of history and religion difficult to understand. Thus Hegel has become one of the most controversial figures in the history of philosophy.

Initially marked by anti-Judaic bias (in part inherited from Kant), Hegel changed his views on Judaism considerably during the course of his life. In his early writings, never intended for publication, he contrasted Greek folk religion, in which Divinity is immanent as beauty, with Jewish and, to some extent, Christian book religion consisting of positive, externally imposed law (in Christianity, sacred fact). This dichotomy is later abandoned as Hegel, rejecting his youthful romanticism, develops his dialectical method. Greek beauty and Jewish holiness are now on a par. There is truth in the Greek worship of man-made statues, for Divinity is in their beautiful making; yet, being man-made, their infinity is partly false, despite their beauty. Hence they are doubly demythologized – by the Roman Empire in life (the pantheon assembles and destroys all the pagan gods), and by ancient philosophy in thought. Judaism, in contrast, demythologizes from the start. Its infinite God, transcendent of and over against nature and man, reduces both to nondivine creatures. This achievement too, however, is bought at a price. Recognizing divine human nonunion, the Jew cannot in love be united with, but only in fear serve, a distant, holy Lord. Hence the place of reconciliation is taken by obedience to the law and confidence in the promised reward. Hence too, unlike the Greek-Roman world which universalizes its truth, the Jewish people most stubbornly remain in their particularity, despite the universality of their God, because of His unyielding transcendence. Obviously even Hegel's mature thought repeats once again the traditional Christian opinion since Paul, and fails to do justice to Judaism – to the divine-human union manifest, e.g., in the love of God, the messianic expectation and, perhaps above all, the covenant. This failure is partly due to the Christian component of his thought, partly to his doctrine of total reconciliation, antipathetic, e.g., to Judaism's absolute opposition to idolatry; partly to the restriction of his thought to an idealized biblical Judaism, and to his neglect and ignorance of rabbinic Judaism.

Methodically he developed as a system the "absolute" Idealism by which he tried to explain and reconcile the contradictions and tensions of his time. He saw these processes as part of a comprehensive and rational unity, which evolved through and manifested itself in a steady and dynamic process of contradictions, negations, and (preliminary) syntheses (Hegel himself did not use the term "synthesis," but rather the "Whole"). He applied this system of dialectics to explain the totality of science, art, history, and religion. In his system, religion and revelation are the same, for God – the "Absolute" – is perceptible only to the thinking mind, so that there is no contradiction between what religion believes and what reason sees.

These ideas had a wide impact, which did not cease with Hegel's death. The subsequent history of philosophy has recognized two opposing camps of successors, the so-called Right Hegelians and the more revolutionary Left Hegelians (the latter, also known as the Young Hegelians, include Bruno Bauer, David Friedrich Strauss, and the young Karl Marx, among others). Among Jewish circles it was the notion of development and progressive perfection of humanity that aroused particular interest, providing a basis for assigning to Israel a particular mission. Hegel thus affected such various Jewish thinkers as Samson Raphael *Hirsch, Heinrich *Graetz, Samuel *Hirsch, and Moses *Hess, a fact testifying to the many-sidedness and adaptability of his thought. These thinkers' critiques of Hegel's attitude toward Judaism, including Samuel Hirsch's profound, full-scale, Jewish critique, have, however, been ignored by all except Jewish scholars.

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[Emil Ludwig Fackenheim / Marcus Pyka (2nd ed.)]

HEGENHEIM, town in the Haut-Rhin department, E. France, 3 mi. (5 km.) W. of Basle. Fourteen Jewish families were recorded here in the census of 1689; the community increased steadily until in 1784, with 409 persons, it was one of the three largest in Alsace. From then onward, however, the numbers rapidly declined, and in 1936 only 36 Jews remained. The community had owned a cemetery from 1672, which served many other Jewish communities in Upper Alsace and from the 19th century was also used by the Jews of Switzerland. A monument has been erected in this cemetery in memory of the victims of the Nazi persecution.

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[Bernhard Blumenkranz]

HE-ḤALUTZ (Heb. הֶחָלוּץ; "the pioneer"), an association of Jewish youth whose aim was to train its members to settle on the land in Israel. The original meaning of the Hebrew word is the vanguard that leads the host on its advance (Josh. 6:13).

Origin of the Movement

The idea of He-Ḥalutz was conceived during the crisis that overtook Russian Jewry in the aftermath of the 1881 pogroms. This awakening was influenced indirectly by the Russian revolutionary movement, which called upon the intelligentsia to "go out to the people." Two of the societies that were formed at this time – *Bilu, which called for settlement in Ereẓ Israel, and *Am Olam, which advocated settlement in the United States – were pioneer movements that imposed the concepts of "self-fulfillment" upon their members and planned for collective or cooperative settlement. At the beginning of the 20th century, a Jewish youth movement made up of small groups gradually came into being. Menaḥem *Ussishkin gave impetus to this development in 1904, when he called for the establishment of "a general Jewish workers' organization made up of unmarried young people of sound body and spirit. Each member would be committed to settle for a period of three years in Ereẓ Israel, where he would render army service for the Jewish people, his weapons being not the sword and the rifle, but the spade and the plow" (in *Our Program*). Such movements arose under different names in various countries: in America He-Ḥalutz, founded by Eliezer *Joffe in 1905 (see below); in Russia, a number of societies, among them Bilu'im Ḥadashim (new Bilu'im) and He-Ḥalutz. They were encouraged by the Ereẓ Israel workers, who called for the settlement of *ḥalutzim* (A.D. Gordon in 1904, Joseph *Vitkin in 1905, the Ha-Po'el ha-Ẓa'ir in 1908, etc.) and sent emissaries abroad to urge young Jews to settle in Ereẓ Israel.

The *Ẓe'irei Zion movement included in its platform "the organization of *ḥalutzim* and their training for *aliyah*."

In the summer of 1906 the Ẓe'irei Zion held a conference of *ḥalutzim* (the Bilu'im Ḥadashim) that decided to impose upon the members of the movement the goal of settling in Ereẓ Israel and engaging in manual or intellectual labor in groups or as individuals, as well as studying Hebrew and Arabic. During the 11th Zionist Congress in Vienna (1913), Ẓe'irei Zion decided to establish a center for Russia and Poland and to include among its tasks "the training of *ḥalutzim* who are contemplating settlement in Ereẓ Israel." At the conference of Ẓe'irei Zion in Russia (Vilna, April 1914), Eliahu Munchik, an emissary from Ereẓ Israel, spoke on *aliyah* (immigration) and *ḥalutziyyut* (pioneering), and the conference decided to organize groups and establish a mutual aid fund for them. During World War I the movement came to a standstill except in Russia and the United States. In the U.S. David *Ben-Gurion and Izhak *Ben-Zvi attempted to establish a pioneering movement. In their Yiddish pamphlet, "*Printcipen un Oyfgaben*" ("Principles and Tasks," 1917), the guidelines were formulated as follows: "To create and organize the first workers' army for Ereẓ Israel" and to impose upon each member the obligation of "settling in Ereẓ Israel when the need arises." A few hundred youngsters joined the organization. At the end of 1917, when the call came to join the *Jewish Legion, these members of He-Ḥalutz in the U.S. volunteered for military service and went to Ereẓ Israel together with the other volunteers.

Russia

The February Revolution of 1917 opened up new possibilities for Zionist activities in Russia. An article on He-Ḥalutz by Ben-Zvi, published in *Yevreyskaya Zhizn* in April 1917, made a profound impression upon Jewish youth. The second conference of Ẓe'irei Zion, which convened in Petrograd in May 1917, adopted a resolution calling for "the education of the youth to the ideas of *ḥalutziyyut* and the organization of He-Ḥalutz groups to serve as the basis of Jewish national life in Ereẓ Israel." The *Balfour Declaration, issued in November 1917, greatly accelerated the process, and groups of *ḥalutzim* developed in Russia, Poland, Lithuania, Latvia, Galicia, Bessarabia, etc. At first the various groups had no connection with one another, but gradually they became part of a national organization and eventually a worldwide movement. In January 1918, the founding convention of the Russian He-Ḥalutz met in Kharkov. At this conference, a controversy, which dominated the movement for a number of years, arose between the "idealists," who argued that He-Ḥalutz should serve as a vanguard and assume tasks of outstanding importance for the Zionist movement, and the "materialists," who saw the movement simply as the organization of Jewish workers planning to settle in Ereẓ Israel.

In the spring of 1918, Joseph *Trumpeldor joined the organization of He-Ḥalutz. In July and September 1918, conferences of Zionist organizations and of He-Ḥalutz groups were held, and it was decided that the movement would be Zionist but nonpartisan and would accept for membership Jewish youth over 18 who recognized Hebrew as their national language and were preparing for settlement in Ereẓ Israel. Trumpeldor formulated these decisions in a Russian-language pamphlet titled *He-Ḥalutz*, which was widely distributed in Russia. On Jan. 6, 1919, the first conference of the movement, in which representatives of 23 groups in central Russia and Belorussia took part, took place in Moscow. Trumpeldor, who had lost hope of creating a Jewish army of 100,000 men in Russia that would march to Ereẓ Israel through the Caucasus, called for the establishment of a "military He-Ḥalutz" of 10,000 men to replace the British garrison in Ereẓ Israel. The conference decided upon a series of general principles: He-Ḥalutz is a nonpartisan association of workers who have resolved to settle in Ereẓ Israel in order to live by their own labor, rejecting exploitation of others' work; it will train its members for life in Ereẓ Israel, transport them there, and facilitate their absorption in the country; its final goal is the establishment of a sovereign Jewish nation in Ereẓ Israel; it accepts the authority of the Zionist Congress. Trumpeldor was elected president and asked to go to Ereẓ Israel to prepare the ground for the absorption of *ḥalutzim*. An executive body was elected and took up its seat in Minsk. In spite of the chaotic conditions prevailing in Russia during the civil war, He-Ḥalutz entered upon a period of rapid development. A wave of unorganized emigration began; it was made up of various groups of *ḥalutzim* who set out on the way to Ereẓ Israel along different routes – across the Romanian, Polish, Lithuanian, and Latvian borders and by way of the Black Sea and the Caucasian Mountains. The number of groups associated with the center grew to 120. When Trumpeldor fell at *Tel Ḥai (March 1920) the movement lost its natural leader, but he became the symbol of its ideals, as he had realized the aims of He-Ḥalutz – settling in Ereẓ Israel, working there, and being prepared to give one's life in its defense.

For He-Ḥalutz, the consolidation of the Soviet regime meant the beginning of a process that was to end in the total suppression of the movement. The *Yevsektsiya* (the Jewish "section" in the Communist Party) played a role in this process. When the He-Ḥalutz center, then in Moscow, applied to the authorities for official approval of its activities, it received the reply (March 18, 1918) that there was no need for official approval as long as the activities of He-Ḥalutz conformed to the laws of the Soviet Union. This rather equivocal reply (which at the time did not apply to the Ukraine and Belorussia) provided a basis, however uncertain, for the continued existence of the movement. In many places, its training farms dovetailed with the official efforts of "productivization" of those Jews who had lost their source of livelihood, and sometimes He-Ḥalutz was even officially encouraged to continue these training activities. The hasty and unorganized *aliyah* of *ḥalutzim*, however, adversely affected the development of the movement. In October 1920 another conference of He-Ḥalutz, which took place at Kharkov, emphasized the need for training *ḥalutzim* before their move to Ereẓ Israel. During the following years while the Jewish *shtetl* was rapidly being destroyed, the movement continued to develop, even though many branches, as well as entire areas, were out of touch with the center. In Odessa, for example, a special center for the Ukraine functioned independently. One group that had a considerable influence upon training of *ḥalutzim* in the early 1920s was the Volga Guard at Saratov, which later moved to Yartsevo, near Moscow, and established the J.Ḥ. *Brenner Work Battalion. In January 1922, the third He-Ḥalutz conference was held at Kharkov and was attended by delegates from Russia, the Ukraine, and Belorussia. Its participants were arrested and continued their deliberations in jail, but He-Ḥalutz continued its work. At the end of the year a training farm named Tel Ḥai was opened up in the Crimea.

At this juncture, the first signs of a split in the ranks of He-Ḥalutz made their appearance. Some of its members decided to adapt "He-Ḥalutz" to the state ideology in order to achieve official approval of its activities; others, however, felt that He-Ḥalutz should retain its nonpartisan character and disassociate itself from Communism. In April 1923 the Council of He-Ḥalutz met in Moscow and decided upon program guidelines, which included a paragraph defining He-Ḥalutz as an organic part of the Jewish and international working class and, recognizing the inevitability of the class war, declaring that the movement would fight against capitalism in all its forms. Another paragraph stipulated that members who "oppose the idea of the *kevuẓah* and who wish to plan their lives as members of a moshav ovedim would not be admitted to the training groups." These resolutions caused an uproar in He-Ḥalutz and a bitter controversy broke out. Ben-Gurion, who was in the Soviet Union at the time visiting its agricultural exhibition as a delegate of the *Histadrut, made an unsuccessful attempt to settle the dispute. In August 1923, when the He-Ḥalutz statute was given official sanction, the movement split into two factions: the "legal" faction, advocating class warfare and a collective way of life, and the "illegal" faction, which regarded itself as a national Jewish workers' movement.

The legal He-Ḥalutz strove to utilize the limited possibilities deriving from its status. Official branches were opened in various places (excluding, however, the Ukraine and Belorussia, where the official approval did not apply); a struggle was conducted, in public, with the Jewish Communist activists, and permission was obtained for the publication of a journal (*He-Ḥalutz*), which printed 3,000 copies and contained news from Ereẓ Israel. Members of He-Ḥalutz participated in official celebrations and holidays (May Day, the anniversary of the Revolution), displaying Zionist slogans and singing Zionist songs. He-Ḥalutz also joined the organizations designed to encourage the agricultural settlement of Jews in Russia (Ozet) and struggled inside these organizations against the design to turn them into instruments against *aliyah*. More training farms such as Ma'yan in the Crimea and Zangen near Moscow were established. The illegal faction of He-Ḥalutz carried on its activities underground and also succeeded in establishing training farms of its own, such as Mishmar in the Crimea (1924) and Bilu in Belorussia (1925). At the end of 1925 the factions had a total membership of 14,000.

The year 1926, however, was a turning point for the worse. News of the economic crisis in Palestine had a depressing effect, and many *ḥalutzim* – including some who had been members of the Work Battalion – returned from Palestine as disappointed men. At the same time the settlement of Jews on the land in the U.S.S.R. boasted considerable achievements, and it seemed to many that this was the proper way to the large-scale "productivization" of Russian Jewry. The Soviet authorities now persecuted both factions of He-Ḥalutz. No aid was forthcoming from the Zionist movement or the He-Ḥalutz movement abroad. In March 1928 the government canceled the approval it had given to one faction, and both were now illegal. The training farms of He-Ḥalutz were disbanded and their members had only one course left – to go to Ereẓ Israel after first spending years in jail and exile. Even this course was fraught with difficulties and eventually came to an end. Slowly the movement was suppressed, although efforts to keep it alive continued until 1934. Those members of He-Ḥalutz who had not succeeded in leaving for Ereẓ Israel remained in prison or exile, some to be liquidated during the mass purges (among them Shemu'el Schneurson, one of the leaders of the underground He-Ḥalutz who had returned from Ereẓ Israel in 1926 to take part in the underground work of the movement).

The He-Ḥalutz movement in Russia affected the development of the movement far beyond the confines of the country. Hundreds of *ḥalutzim* from Soviet Russia who passed through Poland, Romania, Lithuania, Latvia, etc., on their way to Ereẓ Israel were of significant help to the movement in those countries. The final severance of the He-Ḥalutz movement in Russia from the outside world and from Ereẓ Israel was one of the severest blows dealt to the Zionist Movement.

Poland

At the same time, the movement spread all over Europe, as well as overseas. In 1921 He-Ḥalutz conferences took place in no fewer than 25 countries in Eastern, Central, and Western Europe, the countries of North Africa and the Middle East, North and South America, and South Africa. With the suppression of all Zionist activities in the Soviet Union, the center of the movement was resituated in Poland. During the 12th Zionist Congress (Carlsbad 1921), the He-Ḥalutz organizations held their first world conference and decided to establish a world federation with headquarters in Warsaw. The movement in Poland began at the same time as in Russia (at the beginning of the century), but only at the end of the war did it become a mass movement. The growth of He-Ḥalutz in Poland was greatly encouraged by the Balfour Declaration and the renewal of ties with Ereẓ Israel, particularly with the workers' parties, as well as by the pauperization of the Jewish masses and the appearance of a young and inspired leadership that searched for a way to Jewish national freedom and the creation of a new Jewish society.

The program of He-Ḥalutz consisted of three basic, interdependent points: organization, training (*hakhsharah*), and *aliyah*. The last was the most difficult to achieve, as the British military authorities in Palestine were largely anti-Zionist and discouraged Jewish immigration. It was also deemed impossible to enter the country illegally by eluding the border control, since peace had not yet been restored and there were no land or sea communications. In spite of these obstacles, individual immigrants and small groups succeeded in entering the country; the groups grew in size and eventually the road of *aliyah* lay open. The first group to enter Ereẓ Israel in this manner was the "Bendin" group, consisting of six *ḥalutzim*. They left Poland in the summer of 1918 and made their way through Odessa and Constantinople, finally reaching Jaffa on Dec. 5, 1918, after they had risked their lives in a daring and arduous trip. A second group left Radom in November 1918. Originally numbering 15 persons, they were joined en route by 90 *ḥalutzim*. Their trip entered Zionist history as "The 105." Without passports and visas they passed through Czechoslovakia, Austria, Serbia, Croatia, and Italy, and time and again they were arrested, imprisoned, and beaten. Finally they reached Naples, where, lacking entry visas, they were unable to board a ship for Palestine. It was only after great efforts were made in their behalf (in which the author Axel Munthe, then a resident of Capri, also took part) that London authorized the issue of visas. When they landed in Egypt, they were imprisoned by the British military authorities, who suspected them of being "Bolsheviks." Finally, after six months of hardship, they reached Palestine. On their arrival by train from Egypt during Passover 1919, they were welcomed by almost the entire population of Tel Aviv. "The 105" had in fact inaugurated a new wave of immigration – the Third *Aliyah.

The reports of the arrival of the "Bendin" and Radom groups gave new encouragement to the movement in Poland. Branches were organized and training programs instituted in hundreds of towns and cities. Training was divided into two parts: ideological training (Zionism and social sciences, history and geography of Ereẓ Israel, and Hebrew) and practical training (vocational education, primarily in agriculture). Many *ḥalutzim* were employed by Jewish and gentile landowners (especially in Galicia) as individuals or in groups; but in the main the training was conducted on farms established and maintained by He-Ḥalutz. The largest and best known of the dozens of such farms were at Grochow (near Warsaw), Czestochowa, Grodno, Suwalki, and Bendzin. There were also training facilities in quarries (the best known of them, in Klosow, Volhynia), sawmills, textile factories, etc. The expansion of the training program was followed by an increase in *aliyah*.

In 1918 Russian *ḥalutzim* on their way to Palestine began entering Poland illegally. At first they came in small groups, but in the period 1919–23 the flow took on considerable proportions. The *ḥalutzim* came mostly from Podolia, the Ukraine, Volhynia, and Belorussia, and they converged on Vilna, Baranovichi, Rovno, Pinsk, and Warsaw. In the initial phase the Polish authorities tolerated their illegal entry on the basis of documents furnished by the Palestine Office of the Zionist Movement and provided the *ḥalutzim* with emigrants' passports on the assumption that their stay in Poland would be short. When immigration to Palestine was stopped in 1921, however, the Polish authorities took severe measures against the *ḥalutzim*, arresting and deporting them back to the Soviet border. It was only after the Zionist institutions had undertaken to speed up the departure of the *ḥalutzim* for Ereẓ Israel that the situation was alleviated. The Russian *ḥalutzim* established an organization of Russian and Ukrainian *ḥalutzim* in Poland, many of whom were placed in the Polish He-Ḥalutz training farms, while others were in *ḥalutzim* hostels and private employment. These refugees from Russia left an indelible imprint upon the Polish movement. Eventually the Russian *ḥalutzim* were able to go to Palestine, and the last transport of 400 arrived in Jaffa on May 3, 1923.

The Polish He-Ḥalutz movement established within its ranks He-Ḥalutz ha-Ẓa'ir, which maintained close relations with various Zionist youth movements, such as Dror (Freiheit), *Gordonia, *Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir, etc. The Polish He-Ḥalutz reached the height of its development during the Fourth and Fifth *aliyot*. In 1924, He-Ḥalutz in Poland had a membership of 1,700; in 1925 – 4,600; 1930 – 11,600; 1933 – 41,000. Members enrolled in the training program numbered 712 in 1925, 2,450 in 1926, 2,230 in 1932, 4,450 in 1933, 7,915 in 1935. The Polish movement also published a number of periodicals: *He-Ḥalutz*, *He-Atid*, *He-Ḥalutz ha-Ẓa'ir*, etc. In 1934 He-Ḥalutz inaugurated the "illegal" *immigration movement by dispatching the boat *Velos* with *ḥalutzim* from Poland and the Baltic states. In the late 1930s He-Ḥalutz cooperated with the *Haganah in organizing the *ḥalutzim* as "illegal" immigrants, in their transportation to Palestine, and in the struggle for opening the gates of Palestine. During World War II He-Ḥalutz members were among the most active resistance fighters against the Nazis.

Lithuania

He-Ḥalutz in Lithuania was established after World War I and based itself initially upon cooperative societies (in carpentry, tailoring, food processing, etc.). Due to lack of capital and experience, these cooperative societies did not last long, and they were replaced by agricultural training facilities. The main center of agricultural training was a farm run solely by He-Ḥalutz known as Kibbush. Memel, the German port annexed by Lithuania, was also a center of He-Ḥalutz activities; it had an urban cooperative, the members of which were engaged in a variety of activities, including marine and port operations. Memel was also known in the movement for its outstanding He-Ḥalutz House. Other urban He-Ḥalutz cooperatives existed at Kaunas, Siauliai, Vilkaviskis, Poniviez, etc. The membership of He-Ḥalutz in Lithuania ranged from 1,000 to 1,500.

Latvia

In Latvia, the He-Ḥalutz movement's main training farm was located at Altasmuza, near Riga. Originally the property of *OZE, it was transferred to He-Ḥalutz and also served as a school, with the teachers receiving their salaries from the state.

Other cooperatives existed at Dvinsk, Tukum, and Libau. In the period 1920–21, 150 *ḥalutzim* settled in Palestine and were followed by many more in the subsequent years.

Romania

He-Ḥalutz came into existence in Romania in 1918, when Bessarabia, Bukovina, and Transylvania were incorporated into the country. It was started by *ḥalutzim* who had fled from Russia and the Ukraine and had to spend periods of varying length in Romania before they were able to proceed to Ereẓ Israel. These *ḥalutzim*-in-transit established cooperatives of their own and also worked in the fields and forests. As a first step, the Romanian He-Ḥalutz acquired two training farms: one was later sold and replaced by the Massadah farm near Beltsy, and the other was near Jassy. Other farms were established near Galati and Bucharest. The capital for the acquisition of the farms and their maintenance was provided by a Friends of He-Ḥalutz Society. Most Zionist youth movements (Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir, Gordonia, Dror, *Ha-No'ar ha-Ẓiyyoni, *Bnei Akiva, etc.) participated in the activities of He-Ḥalutz. During the 1930s, when the antisemitic *Iron Guard rampaged the country, the He-Ḥalutz movement grew at a rapid pace, assisted by emissaries from Palestine. An important role was played by the Romanian ports, mainly Constanța, which were used by *olim* from all over Europe on their way to Ereẓ Israel. The passage of many thousands of *ḥalutzim* through the country served to accelerate the *aliyah* of Romanian *ḥalutzim* as well. During the war the Romanian ports made history when no fewer then 40,000 "illegal" immigrants to Palestine, using dozens of boats, set out from them. Romanian *ḥalutzim* functioning under Nazi rule as an underground organization fulfilled a vital task in organizing and safeguarding the "illegal" immigration, often at the risk of their lives.

Central Europe

Early manifestations of interest in *ḥaluziyyut* among a part of the Jewish youth in Germany, Austria, and what was later to become Czechoslovakia came to the fore during World War I. Officially, He-Ḥalutz was established in Germany at the end of 1918, and, as a first step, hundreds of *ḥalutzim* (calling themselves *Praktikanten* and organized in a *Praktikantenbund*) went out to work on farm estates in order to train for life in Ereẓ Israel. This experiment, however, did not last long, and He-Ḥalutz established a number of training farms of its own. The movement's farms were not successful either, and only one ("Ha-Mahpekhah" – "the Revolution") was able to maintain itself for any period of time. The lack of Zionist education and of a sizable working class among Central European Jewry prevented the development of He-Ḥalutz along East European lines. There were differences between the members of *Blau-Weiss and the *ḥalutzim* who had not been affiliated with this youth movement; the former had their roots in the German youth movement (e.g., the *Wandervogel*), and the revolutionary spirit of He-Ḥalutz in Eastern Europe was alien to them. This created difficulties in the merger of the two elements in one organization, which was technically achieved by the efforts of leaders on both sides. The differences between them, however, were never entirely overcome. Czechoslovakia was the country in which He-Ḥalutz was the closest in spirit and methods to the movement in Lithuania and Poland. The movement in Western Europe developed along lines similar to Central Europe.

United States

The first He-Ḥalutz organization in the U.S. was established in 1905, at the same time that a similar organization was formed in Odessa (Crimea). Its founders were a group of Zionist youth, most of whom were Russian immigrants from rural communities, who met in the Ha-Teḥiyah offices in New York and formed He-Ḥalutz to serve as the nucleus of a world movement to revive Jewish settlement in Ereẓ Israel. Anchored in *Po'alei Zion, the organization was led by Eliezer Joffe who wrote articles in several newspapers to enlist the participation of youth in settling in Palestine as pioneers. In 1906 Joffe published an article titled "The People's Road to Its Land," in which he staked the rebirth of the Jewish people on the dedication of young pioneers. Meanwhile, in 1905, Ḥalutzei Po'alei Zion was formed within Po'alei Zion, with branches in New York, Philadelphia, Montreal, Baltimore, and elsewhere. In 1908 the New York He-Ḥalutz group was absorbed into a new organization, Ha-Ikkar ha-Ẓa'ir, whose program remained nearly identical with that of He-Ḥalutz. During World War I, the U.S. He-Ḥalutz movement received a tremendous impetus from the presence of Ben-Gurion and Ben-Zvi, who tried to establish a He-Ḥalutz organization in the U.S. with the help of the Po'alei Zion party and published a Yiddish pamphlet, "*Printsipen un Oyfgaben*" (Sifriyyat He-Ḥalutz, 1917). Several hundred Jewish youth responded to its call for pioneers to rebuild a Jewish homeland through practical settlement rather than political or other means. The original goal of the movement was to settle pioneers at the earliest opportunity. However, when immigration to Palestine was restricted in 1926, the world He-Ḥalutz movement began to focus its emphasis on *hakhsharah* ("preparation" or "training") for potential pioneer youth.

Many Jewish youths were aroused by the Arab riots in Palestine and the subsequent British White Paper in 1929, and in 1932 the He-Ḥalutz Organization of America was formed with headquarters in New York and 20 city and rural branches across the U.S. and in Canada. In 1933 He-Ḥalutz rented its first *hakhsharah* farm, and it subsequently purchased farms at Creamridge, N.J. (1936); Heightstown, N.J. (1940); Poughkeepsie, N.Y.; Smithville, Ont.; and Colton, Calif. (1948) to train its members for agricultural work in Palestine. In 1935 Young Po'alei Zion embarked on a training program within the He-Ḥalutz framework, and in 1939 Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir joined He-Ḥalutz after nearly a decade of negotiations. By 1940 the He-Ḥalutz Organization of America included nearly all Zionist youth of the Labor and General Zionist wings. After the outbreak of World War II, He-Ḥalutz initiated industrial, aviation, nursing, and other technical training programs, while continuing its agricultural training. By 1948 He-Ḥalutz had grown from a few hundred members to 1,600, and since its inception several hundred members had emigrated to Ereẓ Israel. When the *hakhsharah* farms were liquidated in the mid-1950s, the activities of He-Ḥalutz were assumed by Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir, which had always maintained a large degree of autonomy. Nominally, however, the He-Ḥalutz Organization of America still exists. The only American group to support He-Ḥalutz financially was the American Fund for Palestinian Institutions.

Summary

When World War II broke out, He-Ḥalutz had a membership of 100,000. In 1927, according to statistics published by the Histadrut, 43% of all workers in Ereẓ Israel and 80% of the members of kibbutzim had been trained by He-Ḥalutz before settling in Ereẓ Israel. After the war, the world movement of He-Ḥalutz ceased to exist, although the activities that it had conducted were renewed on a smaller scale in Europe, the United States, and other countries. Pioneering youth movements, like all Zionist youth movements, now conduct their work under the auspices of the Youth and He-Ḥalutz Department of the World Zionist Organization.

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[Israel Ritov / Yehuda Slutsky]

HE-ḤALUTZ (Heb. "the Pioneer"), periodical of Jewish scholarship, edited by Joshua (Osias) Heschel *Schorr, which appeared in Lemberg, Breslau, Prague, Frankfurt on the Main, and Vienna from 1852 to 1889. Schorr, a second generation Galician *maskil*, devoted the periodical principally to incisive and radical criticism of the Talmud, attempting to prove by a series of studies that the talmudists had adapted Jewish tradition to their time and that later generations were therefore also permitted to do the same. Accordingly, Schorr argued that the words of the talmudists need not be accepted as necessarily applicable to modern times. Such pointed and bold criticism had almost never before been voiced in the Hebrew language. For his radical stand and the wit of his expression, Schorr was called the "Voltaire of Galicia." Publishing *He-Ḥalutz* with his own funds, Schorr, a man of wealth, could be independent. At first others who held similar views, such as Abraham *Geiger and Abraham *Krochmal, contributed to the periodical. Later, however, Schorr himself wrote all the material which included satires directed against the rabbis and topical articles, written in a critical, sarcastic vein, directed against the rabbinic-talmudic tradition. *He-Ḥalutz*, in turn, was denounced by all those it criticized. But this only served to increase the wit and sharpness of Schorr's writing. The scholarly research that appeared in *He-Ḥalutz* had the effect of supporting radical reform, although that was not the editor's intention. *He-Ḥalutz* greatly influenced M.L. Lilienblum and J.L. Gordon, the advocates of religious reform in Russia.

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[Getzel Kressel]

HE-ḤAVER, Zionist student organization established in 1912. Its membership consisted mainly of Zionist students from Russia who were attending universities in Western Europe, and the organization engaged in Zionist propaganda and led the struggle against assimilationist Jewish students. In Russia itself underground branches of He-Ḥaver existed in various cities, and upper classmen of the high schools also participated in them. In April 1917, when He-Ḥaver had a total of 100 branches, it held its first open conference in Petrograd, but after the October Revolution it had to revert to clandestine activity. The organization had its own organs: the Russian-language *Yevreyskiy student* ("Jewish Student") which appeared in Berlin from 1912 to 1914, in Petrograd from 1915 to 1918, and in Moscow in 1922 and 1923; and the Hebrew-language *He-Ḥaver*, of which two issues appeared in 1914. It sought to spread the knowledge of Hebrew, Jewish history, and of Ereẓ Israel among its members. In March 1924 the organization merged with the Zionist Students' Organization in the Ukraine and Kadimah in Belorussia to form the United Federation of Zionist Youth in Russia (or EVOSM, the initials of its name in Russian).

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[Yehuda Slutsky]

HEICHELHEIM, FRITZ MORITZ (1901–1968), ancient history scholar. He taught at the university of his native Giessen in Germany from 1929, but was dismissed in 1933 during the Nazi purge. Heichelheim then became a research scholar at Cambridge, England (1933–42), and later lectured at Nottingham (1942–48). From 1948 he taught Greek and Roman history at the University of Toronto. He was elected fellow of the Royal Society of Canada in 1966.

Heichelheim produced over 600 publications in economic history, numismatics, archaeology, and papyrology. His major work is *Wirtschaftsgeschichte des Altertums* (2 vols., 1938; translated and revised as *An Ancient Economic History from the Palaeolithic Age*, 3 vols., 1958–70). Other important publications include *Auswaertige Bevoelkerung im Ptolemaerreich* (1925); *Wirtschaftliche Schwankungen der Zeit von Alexander bis Augustus* (1930); "Roman Syria" (in: T. Frank (ed.), *An Economic Survey of Ancient Rome*, 4 (1938), 121–257); *The Adler Papyri* (with E.N. Adler et al., 1939); *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum*, vol. 4 (1940–65); and *History of the Roman People*, with C.A. Yeo (1962). Heichelheim also wrote extensively on classical Judaism. From 1951 he contributed a column, "Mind and Spade," to the *Jewish Standard* of Toronto and Montreal. He was president of the Jewish Historical Society of Toronto (1951–53), trustee of the Liberal Jewish Congregation "Habonim" (1956–61), and a member of the cultural commission of the Canadian Jewish Congress (1950–54).

[Sydney Eisen]

HEIDELBERG, city in Baden, Germany. Heidelberg is mentioned in the will of Judah b. Samuel he-Ḥasid (d. 1217), but the reference may be a later addition. The first reliable evidence for the presence of Jews in the town dates from 1275. In the years thereafter numerous Jews lived in Heidelberg until the community was decimated during the *Black Death (1349). However, soon afterward the elector Rupert I admitted Jewish refugees from Worms and Speyer in the face of local opposition, in return for a considerable payment. There is evidence that a well-organized community began functioning again, at the latest in 1357. Its development was halted abruptly, however, through the expulsion by elector Rupert II in 1391 of all the Jews in his domain, including those of Heidelberg. Among the 12 families driven out of their homes was Israel of Heidelberg, the copyist of the Darmstadt *Haggadah. Their houses, synagogue, bath, cemetery, and manuscripts were given to the university. From then till the mid-17th century only isolated settlements of individual Jews occurred. In 1660 the *Oppenheimer family arrived; Joseph Suess Oppenheimer, the powerful Court Jew, was born there in 1698. In 1700 11 Jewish families lived in Heidelberg, which was the seat of the chief rabbi of the Palatinate. Their number increased during the 18th century in spite of local opposition, and they were granted full civil liberty by the edict of 1808. They suffered during the Hep! Hep! riots of 1819 and during the revolution of 1848. The Reform movement had little success in introducing prayer in the vernacular into the Heidelberg synagogue. A Jewish elementary school was founded. Heidelberg University was among the first in Germany to accept Jews as students. At the end of the 19th century and beginning of the 20th, some illustrious Jews from Russia studied at the university including S. Tchernichowsky and J. Klausner. Among its professors were H. Schapira and E. Taeubler. The university was also traditionally a center of strong antisemitic agitation, and after 1933 Jewish students and professors were harassed and driven away.

In 1933 there were 1,100 Jews in the city (1.3% of the total population). The April 7 expulsion of Jews from the civil services resulted in the dismissal of 34 Jewish professors. By 1935 there was only one "full" Jewish student at the University, the remaining "Jewish" students were of mixed ancestry. Fourteen Polish Jews were expelled in October 1938. The synagogues were demolished on Nov. 10, 1938; its religious objects were confiscated and destroyed by university students. One hundred and fifty Jewish men were deported to Dachau, but later released. On Oct. 22, 1940, 339 Jews were transported to Gurs. One hundred Jews were saved from deportation by Protestant Evangelical Pastor Hermann Maas, who got them out of the country. He was subsequently recognized by Yad Vashem as a Righteous Gentile. From 1942 to 1945 a further 103 were deported, mainly to Theresienstadt. Eighteen returned after the war and joined the 50, of mixed marriages, who had outlived the war at Heidelberg. A new community came into being after World War II, numbering 139 persons in 1967. A new synagogue was consecrated in 1958. In 1979 the Central Council of Jews in Germany (Zentralrat der Juden in Deutschland) opened the Hochschule fuer Juedische Studien (University for Jewish Studies) in Heidelberg. From 2001 it offered a program for rabbinical training in cooperation with Orthodox, Conservative, and Liberal rabbinical seminaries in Jerusalem, New York, and London. In 1987 the Central Council of Jews in Germany established the Central Archives for research on the history of the Jews in Germany, which collects documents from Jewish communities, associations, organizations, and individuals. The Jewish community numbered 188 in 1989 and 550 in 2005. The membership increased due to the immigration of Jews from the former Soviet Union. A new community center was opened in 1994.

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[Zvi Avneri / Larissa Daemmig (2nd ed.)]

HEIDELBERGER, MICHAEL (1888–1991), U.S. biochemist and immunologist. Born in New York, he completed his undergraduate and graduate education at Columbia University. After earning his Ph.D. in chemistry in 1911, he joined the faculty of the Rockefeller Institute, where he worked from 1912 to 1927. In 1928 he joined the College of Physicians and Surgeons of Columbia University, where he became first professor of immunochemistry. After his retirement in 1955 he was visiting professor at Rutgers University until 1964, and subsequently adjunct professor of pathology at New York University. Heidelberger's research dealt with immunological reactions and a wide range of subjects in bio- and organic chemistry. His publications included *Advanced Laboratory Manual of Organic Chemistry* (1923) and *Lectures in Immunochemistry* (1956). Heidelberger was president of the American Association of Immunologists and of the Harvey Society. Heidlelberger was also a strong supporter of human rights. He won numerous honors throughout his life, including two Lasker awards in 1953 and 1978, for his work in the development of methods for the quantitative analysis of antibodies.

[Samuel Aaron Miller / Bracha Rager (2nd ed.)]

HEIDENHAIN, RUDOLF (1834–1897), German physiologist. Heidenhain, who was born in Marienwerder, was a convert to Christianity. He was appointed professor of physiology and histology at Breslau University in 1859. Heidenhain was considered one of the greatest of 19th-century physiologists; he laid the foundations for the recognition of the secretory mechanism as a system of intercellular physical and chemical processes. He described the active role of the kidney cells in the secretion of urine and proved that secretions, especially saliva, are products of the glands. This conception was based on his description of the cell structure of the salivary, mammary, gastric, intestinal, pancreatic glands, and in particular, of the histological changes in the glands while functioning. For this, he perfected histological methods, including one for staining the kidney cells, by the injection of indigo-carmine into the bloodstream. He started research into the mechanism of muscle contraction from the point of view of energetics and metabolism, paving the path for muscular physiology in later generations. His books include *Mechanische Leistung, Waermeentwicklung und Stoffumsatz bei der Muskeltaetigkeit* (1864) and *Physiologie der Absonderungsvorgaenge* (1880). His son MARTIN (1864–1949) was professor of anatomy at Tuebingen University and made important contributions to histology; he was one of the first cytologists.

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[Joshua O. Leibowitz]

HEIDENHEIM, WOLF (**Benjamin Ze'ev**; 1757–1832), Hebrew grammarian, masoretic scholar, exegete, and commentator on the liturgy. Born in Heidenheim, Germany, he studied with Rabbi Nathan Adler in Frankfurt. In 1788 he established himself in Offenbach, where he subsequently published Abraham ibn Ezra's grammatical work *Moznayim* (1791), with commentary and notes and part of an edition of the Pentateuch (up to Gen. 43:16) with a carefully corrected text of the Targum and several commentaries, together with explanations and a detailed commentary on Rashi by Heidenheim (*Torat Elohim Meforash*). He was obliged to abandon the project for financial reasons.

In 1798 he received a license to establish a German and Hebrew press in partnership with Baruch Baschwitz. In 1800 Heidenheim began the publication of his most famous work, the nine-volume edition of the *maḥzor*, *Sefer Kerovot* (Roedelheim, 1800–02), which went through numerous printings. The work included the first pure German translation (in Hebrew characters) of the liturgical poems for the festivals (individual pieces were translated by his friends Wolf Breidenbach and Baer Bing), a Hebrew commentary and a literary historical introduction, and an alphabetical summary of the liturgical poets. Heidenheim devoted great care to typographical setup as well as to the restoration of the correct text of the prayers. With this objective, he drew on manuscripts and occasionally on old printed texts. The prominent rabbis of his time approved of Heidenheim's work and also contributed notes and comments to many *piyyutim*. Despite the *haskamot* of these rabbis prohibiting the reprinting of Heidenheim's *maḥzor*, many pirated editions appeared in the 19th century.

His other works in the field of liturgy include a small edition of the daily prayers, *Sefat Emet* (Roedelheim, 1806), distinguished for its correctness and typographical beauty, which went through more than 150 printings; a larger prayer book, *Safah Berurah* (1825), with German translation in Hebrew characters; the ritual for Passover eve (Roedelheim, 1822–23); for Purim (1825); for the month of Av (1826); for the night of Shavu'ot and Hoshana Rabba (1830); and penitential prayers (Roedelheim, 1823). In the edition of the prayer book *Siddur li-Venei Yisrael* (1831), which presented his translation in German letters for the first time, Heidenheim made many concessions to efforts for reform in that he omitted individual prayers and printed a preface by Michael D. Creizenach on the prayers. In Orthodox circles, Heidenheim was very much blamed for this, just as his approval of the innovations of the Kassel Consistory (in his foreword to Menachem Mendel Steinhardt's *Divrei Iggeret*, Roedelheim, 1812) had shocked them. Heidenheim also made major contributions to the field of masoretic studies. He published the *Mishpetei ha-Te'amim* (Roedelheim, 1808) on biblical accents; and an edition of the Pentateuch in four different forms, all containing material important to the masoretic text and commentaries, as well as the editions of medieval masoretic texts. Works of later scholars heavily relied on Heidenheim's materials, both printed and manuscripts. Many of Heidenheim's works remained unpublished and most of his manuscripts were acquired by the Bodleian Library in Oxford.

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[Sefton D. Temkin]

HEIDINGSFELD, town in Bavaria, Germany. The name of a Jewish woman who perished there during the *Rindfleisch persecutions (1298) is recorded, perhaps reflecting the existence of a Jewish community at that time. In 1391 King Wenceslaus canceled all debts to the Jews, thereby impoverishing the local community. The privilege of *de non tolerandis Judaeis*, granted to the town in 1423, was rescinded eight years later when the Jews were granted residence rights along with the civil and economic privileges enjoyed by their coreligionists in other German cities. In 1498 only seven families lived in the town, but the community grew in numbers and importance in the following centuries. When in 1565 the Jews of the nearby bishopric of Wuerzburg were expelled, many settled in Heidingsfeld, which was excepted from the decree although it was then also under the jurisdiction of the bishop of Wuerzburg. In 1652 there were 19 Jewish households in Heidingsfeld. A year later the community's *pinkas* ("minute-book") was begun, a significant source for Jewish history in Germany from 1653 to 1774, as well as an important source for the community's continuing relationship with Ereẓ Israel in that period. In 1669 the second synagogue was built; a third, erected around 1780, was renovated in 1929. A cemetery was consecrated only in 1810. In the early 17th century Heidingsfeld became the seat of the chief rabbinate for Lower Franconia. However, in 1813 the office was discontinued and Abraham *Bing, then chief rabbi, obtained permission to move to Wuerzburg together with other Heidingsfeld Jews. The community declined from around 600 persons (20% of the total population) in 1805, the second largest community in Bavaria, to 150 (4%) in 1890. Anti-Jewish acts were a source of continuing concern in the early 19th century; riots took place in 1801, while during the *Hep! Hep! disturbances of 1819 homes were burned. In 1930 the town and community were incorporated into Wuerzburg. The synagogue was burned down on Nov. 10, 1938, and the eight Jewish families molested; all left the town soon after. After World War II, the U.S. occupation forces ordered the population to renovate the desecrated Jewish cemetery.

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HEIFETZ, JASCHA (1901–1987), U.S. violinist. Born in Vilna, Lithuania, Heifetz started playing at the age of three under his father's tuition, and later studied at the Vilna music school. At seven he played the Mendelssohn violin concerto in public and at 10 entered the St. Petersburg Conservatory, where his teacher was Leopold *Auer. In 1912 he played with the Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra under Nikisch. At the outbreak of the Russian Revolution, the family decided to emigrate and reached America via Siberia and Japan. Heifetz ultimately made his home in Beverly Hills, California. His playing early reached perfection, never relied on excessive display, and was marked by aristocratic restraint. It set a new style in violin mastery. He was acclaimed in the United States, toured abroad with triumphant success, and was received with enthusiasm in Russia in 1934. He appeared in Ereẓ Israel in 1925, and donated his fees for the promotion of music in Tel Aviv. He first played with the Israel Philharmonic Orchestra in 1950, and again in 1953, when his inclusion of a work by Richard Strauss (whose works were not played publicly in Israel because of his association with Nazism) in his programs provoked a bodily attack on him by an extremist youth, in which Heifetz was slightly injured. In later years he lived in semi-retirement. He was also an accomplished pianist, and made many transcriptions for violin and piano. Composers dedicated violin concertos to him, among them Sir William Walton, Erich *Korngold, Louis *Gruenberg, Joseph *Achron, and Mario *Castelnuovo-Tedesco.

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[Uri (Erich) Toeplitz]

HEIJERMANS, HERMAN (1864–1924), Dutch playwright and novelist. Heijermans grew up in Rotterdam, the eldest son of a prominent journalist, and started writing after an unsuccessful time in the rag business. In 1893 he became a theater critic for the Amsterdam-based daily *De Telegraaf*, while exploring the latest fashions in naturalism and symbolism in his plays and stories. After his dramatic encounter with the woman who would become his first wife, he intensified this exploration. He established a periodical called *De Jonge Gids* (1897–1903), largely filled by himself under a dozen pseudonyms and in the most divergent styles, and turned the encounter with his wife into the novel *Kamertjeszonde* ("Little Room Sins," 1898). He also turned to socialism, to which he would remain loyal for the rest of his life.

Heijermans' early works show both his interest in social questions and his struggle with Jewish identity. His concern for the fate of Jewry first manifested itself in *Ahasverus* (1893), a play about a Russian pogrom. A Hebrew version of this drama, *Ha-Noded ha-Niẓḥi*, appeared in 1917. In two novels, *Sabbath* (1903) and *Diamantstad* ("Diamond City," 1904), and in the play *Ghetto* (1898), Heijermans denounced the backwardness of traditional Jewry in the Amsterdam ghetto. A more compassionate attitude is apparent in the serials he published in newspapers under the pseudonym Samuel Falkland between 1894 and 1915. These stories, more than 800, were collected in 18 volumes.

After 1900 Heijermans slowly moved away from Jewish subject matter and concentrated on writing drama. *Op hoop van zegen* ("The Good Hope," 1900) movingly described the miseries of Dutch fishermen. *Schakels* ("Links," 1903) offered an ironic portrayal of domestic strife. Other plays include *Uitkomst* ("Outlet," 1907), *Eva Bonheur* (1917), and the satirical *De wijze kater* ("The Wise Cat," 1918).

Heijermans became the most important Dutch dramatist of his time, winning international acclaim. *Op Hoop van Zegen* was performed all over Europe. A Hebrew version, *Dayyagim* (1927), by Abraham *Shlonsky, was staged by the *Ohel company. Heijermans cooperated with directors like Konstantin Stanislavski, Max Reinhardt, and Otto Brahm. But after 1910 his international reputation faded and his national successes also decreased. In his last years he returned to the genre of the novel. *Droomkoninkje* ("King of Dreams," 1924) and its sequel, *Vuurvlindertje* ("Firefly," 1925) appeared posthumously.

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[Hans Goedkoop (2nd ed.)]

HEILBORN, ERNST (1867–1942), German author and literary historian. Born and educated in Berlin, Heilborn became the Berlin drama critic of the *Frankfurter Zeitung* in 1901. From 1911 he edited *Das literarische Echo*, a fortnightly of international character which, in 1924, changed its name to *Die Literatur*. He wrote realistic short stories and novels mostly set in the middle-class society of Berlin. The best known of these were *Die steile Stufe* (1910) and *Die kupferne Stadt* (1918). In *Zwischen zwei Revolutionen* (2 vols., 1929), Heilborn dealt with the social and artistic history of the German capital. The first volume, *Der Geist der Schinkelzeit*, surveyed the years from 1789 to 1848, while the second, *Der Geist der Bismarckzeit*, covered the period from 1848 to 1918. Heilborn's other works include *Novalis der Romantiker* (1901), *Das Tier Jehovahs* (1905), *Josua Kersten* (1908), and *E.T.A. Hoffman: der Kuenstler und die Kunst* (1926). He published a critical edition of the 18th-century German romantic poet Novalis' works: *Novalis: Schriften; Kritische Neuausgabe auf Grund des handschriftlichen Nachlasses* (1901). In 1936 he was forbidden to continue to write. In 1937, after a trip to Palestine, he returned to Germany. In 1942 he attempted to flee to Switzerland but was arrested and died in Nazi "protective custody."

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[Rudolf Kayser / Konrad Feilchenfeldt (2nd ed.)]

HEILBRON, SIR IAN MORRIS (1886–1959), British organic chemist. Born in Glasgow, he joined the staff of the Royal Technical College there. In World War I he was assistant director of supplies in Salonika. In 1920 he was appointed to the chair of organic chemistry at Liverpool University. In 1933 he became professor at Manchester University, and in 1937 professor of organic chemistry at Imperial College, London. In World War II he acted as scientific adviser to the Ministries of Supply and Production. In 1949 he resigned his chair to become the first director of the research association of the brewing industry. Heilbron's original publications deal mainly with a broad range of natural product chemistry. He was a pioneer in the steroid field, cholesterol, ergosterol, fucosterol, and others. He elucidated the structure of Vitamin A, isolated vitamin A^2 and worked on Vitamin D^2 and the synthesis of Vitamin A. He also worked on the chemistry of penicillin. His studies extended to polyenes and to acetylenic compounds and other fields of organic chemistry. With H.M. Bunbury he produced the monumental *Dictionary of Organic Compounds*. He was a Fellow of the Royal Society, a recipient of its Royal Medal, and president of the Chemical Society, 1948–50.

[Samuel Aaron Miller]

HEILBRON, DAME ROSE (1914–2005), English lawyer. Born in Liverpool, Rose Heilbron was admitted to the bar in 1939 and rapidly established a reputation as a criminal advocate of exceptional ability. In 1949, she was made a king's counsel and in 1956 she was made recorder (chief criminal judge) of Burnley, the first woman to be appointed a recorder in Britain. Vice president of the British Federation of Business and Professional Women, she was frequently cited as an example of the professional advance of women in a man's world. From 1974 until her retirement in 1988 she served as a Judge of the High Court (Family Division), the second British woman to be appointed to the High Court. She was created a dame in 1974.

[Israel Finestein]

HEILBRONN, city in Baden-Wuerttemberg, Germany. There apparently were Jews living in Heilbronn in the second half of the 11th century, as attested by an inscription found in an old synagogue mentioning Nathan ha-Parnas. By the end of the 13th century, their number must have been significant because on Oct. 19, 1298, the followers of *Rindfleisch massacred 143 Jews at Heilbronn. Jewish learning evidently flourished as the names of scholars and teachers are recorded among the martyrs. Jews had reestablished themselves in Heilbronn by 1316. They possessed a synagogue and a cemetery, and lived on a *Judengasse*, where non-Jews also resided. During the *Black Death persecutions between February and April 1349 the community was expelled and their property transferred to the city. Some returned in 1357 and in 1361 obtained royal protection. After 1411 King Sigismund granted the Jews of Heilbronn protection of life and property, limited taxation, freedom of movement, and judicial autonomy in Jewish lawsuits; a Jewish oath was to apply in cases tried before the city court. The Jews were expelled from Heilbronn three times during the 15th century, the last in 1490 when the synagogue and the cemetery were confiscated.

Subsequently, until the 19th century, there was no organized Jewish community in the city. Individual Jews were allowed into the city during the daytime on payment of a body-toll. Seven Jewish families settled in nearby Sontheim, where they built a synagogue in 1702.

After the grant of civil emancipation to the Jews in Wuerttemberg by the edict of 1828 a number of Jews settled in Heilbronn and became citizens there. The Jewish lawyer, Moritz Kallmann, was active in the revolution of 1848 and became a city councilor. The community, established officially in 1851, numbered 65 persons in 1858, 137 in 1862, 994 in 1885 (3.5% of the total population), 815 in 1900, and 900 in 1925 (2%). In Sontheim there were 88 Jews in 1822 (8.8%), 45 in 1855, 72 in 1870, and 59 in 1880. The Heilbronn community was liberal in its religious affiliation. Jewish children attended the general schools and received additional religious education in schools sponsored by the community. A large synagogue was built in 1877. A separate Orthodox community was established in 1911. At Sontheim a Jewish old-age home was established in 1907 and cared for 78 persons in 1937. During the Weimar period antisemitism was at a low ebb. There was even an attempt on Hitler's life in Heilbronn in 1926.

After the Nazi rise to power in 1933 the 790 Jews then living at Heilbronn were subjected to restrictions and discrimination, boycott of Jewish goods, vicious agitation in the press, and occasionally physical attacks. In 1936 the community was forced to establish its own elementary school. In October 1938, all Jews of Polish citizenship were deported back to Poland. On Nov. 10–11, 1938, the synagogue was set on fire, the windows of Jewish stores were smashed, and Jewish homes destroyed. Many Jews from Heilbronn were sent to Dachau. In August 1939 the community was officially dissolved. By 1941, around 600 Jews had emigrated. The others were deported to the East, along with 88 Heilbronn Jews who had found refuge in other localities. There were 10 Jews living in Heilbronn in 1967. In 2004 there were about 65 Jews living in Heilbronn who officially belong to the Jewish community of Wuerttemberg in Stuttgart. About 80% of them were immigrants from the former Soviet Union who came to Germany after 1990.

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[Ze'ev Wilhem Falk]

HEILBRONN, JACOB BEN ELHANAN (16th century), rabbi and mathematician. Born in Italy, Heilbronn studied in Prague and traveled through various German and Italian cities, earning his livelihood from teaching. For some time he was employed as a tutor to the children of Nehemiah Luzzatto in Venice. He finally settled in Padua, where he was appointed rabbi. Many scholars of renown addressed their halakhic queries to him, including Samuel *Archivolti, Simone *Luzzatto, Abraham Menahem *Porto, and Avigdor Cividal. Heilbronn is the author of *Seder Meliḥah* in Judeo-German, on the precept of salting meat, based on Moses *Isserles' *Torat Ḥattat* (Cracow, c. 1570), issued with a memorial address on the death of Avigdor Cividal (Venice, 1602); *Shoshannat Ya'akov* (Venice, 1623), mathematical riddles and elementary arithmetic, edited as a supplement to the *Orḥot Ḥayyim* (Prague, 1521) of R. Eliezer ha-Gadol; *Naḥalat Ya'akov* (Padua, 1623), responsa and halakhic novellae, dedicated to his benefactor Simḥah Luzzatto. In his approbation, R. Isaiah *Horowitz praises Heilbronn for his erudition, as did others in their exchange of responsa with him. Other responsa of Heilbronn are included in the *Mashbit Milḥamot* (Venice, 1606). He also translated into Italian *Seder Mitzvot Nashim* on women's religious obligations by Benjamin *Slonik of Grodno (Venice, 1606).

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[Jacob Hirsch Haberman]

HEILBRONN, JOSEPH BEN DAVID OF ESCHWEGE (d. 1771), masoretic scholar. He was a private tutor in Frankfurt and later moved to The Hague. He is the author of *Mevin Ḥidot* (Amsterdam, 1765), on the masorah. It contains a lengthy four-part prologue and is arranged according to the weekly portions of the Pentateuch. The book received the endorsements of the Ashkenazi and Sephardi chief rabbis of Amsterdam. In reply to an accusation by Asher Worms, author of *Seyag la-Torah*, that Heilbronn had either plagiarized his own work or was negligent in textual research, Heilbronn issued a pamphlet in defense of his position. Heilbronn also composed a prayer book on the liturgy of Simḥat Torah (Amsterdam, 1769). He died in Amsterdam.

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[Marvin Tokayer]

HEILBRUN, CAROLYN G. (1926–2003), U.S. academic, literary critic, and feminist writer; president of the Modern Language Association (1984). Born in New Jersey, the only child of Archibald and Estelle Roemer Gold, Heilbrun moved to New York City with her family in 1932 and lived there for the rest of her life. Privately schooled in childhood, she received her B.A. from Wellesley College in 1947. She married James Heilbrun in 1945, during her sophomore year. The couple had three children, born while Carolyn worked toward a Ph.D. in English at Columbia University. Heilbrun taught briefly at Brooklyn College, then at the Columbia School of General Studies, moving eventually onto the Graduate Faculty where she taught as a full professor until her resignation in 1992.

While still at Wellesley, Heilbrun published a prize-winning short story in the *Atlantic Monthly* that opened the vexed question of her sense of herself as a Jew. As a result of her parents' rejection of their Jewish identity, Heilbrun had grown up without any attachment to the Jewish community or knowledge of its heritage, observances, and beliefs. She was entirely unaware of the antisemitism endemic at Wellesley in the postwar period until she began to question, years later, her college's indifference to her achievements. In *Reinventing Womanhood* (1979) she wrote of her realization that "Wellesley had ignored me because I was a Jew." Eventually she would turn this new sense of herself toward the development of her feminism: "To be a feminist," she said, "one had to have had the experience of being an outsider."

Between 1961 and 2002, Heilbrun published nine works of non-fiction crucial to the development of feminist thought, including *Toward A Recognition Of Androgyny* (1973); *Reinventing Womanhood* (1979); *Writing A Woman's Life* (1988); *Hamlet's Mother And Other Women* (1990); *The Education Of*

A Woman: The Life Of Gloria Steinem (1995); *The Last Gift Of Time* (1997); and *Women's Lives: The View From The Threshold* (1999). In these works she taught women to recognize the possibilities latent in androgyny, to reinvent themselves as women, to appreciate the distinctive shape of women's lives, to seize control of the boundaries of life, and to reconsider the ambivalent power of male mentors on women's lives (*When Men Were the Only Models We Had* (2002)).

Heilbrun also published more than a dozen popular novels under the pseudonym "Amanda Cross," in which a beautiful academic, a Protestant detective named Kate Fansler, dazzles the world by solving its mysteries. These include *In the Last Analysis* (1964); *The James Joyce Murder* (1967); *Death in a Tenured Position* (1981); and *An Imperfect Spy* (1995).

Although the tensions for women within academic life were always comfortably resolved for Kate Fansler, her fictional alter ego, Heilbrun left Columbia in bitterness in 1992, over a fight to tenure several women in her department. She committed suicide at 77, in 2003.

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[Janet Burstein (2nd ed.)]

HEILBUT, ELEAZAR LAZI BEN JOSEPH BEN LAZI (1740–1814), rabbi and author. Heilbut was born in Berlin. He was first a *dayyan* in Posen and then succeeded Raphael b. Jekuthiel Susskind *Kohen as rabbi of the combined community of Hamburg, Altona, and Wandsbeck. He was the teacher of the literary historian and bibliographer, Heimann Joseph *Michael, who married his daughter. Heilbut compiled a work on the Shulḥan Arukh *Ḥoshen Mishpat*, the first part of which was published by his son Moses under the title *Mishnah de-Rabbi Eli'ezer ve-hu Dammesek Eli'ezer* (Altona 1815). He wrote a polemic against the *Mizpeh Yokte'el* of Saul *Berlin which was published without a title or the name of the author (*ibid.*, 1789). A large number of his works remain in manuscript. They include a work on the Shulḥan Arukh *Even ha-Ezer*, the manuscript of which was stolen from him; novellae and glosses to the Talmud, as well as commentaries on the minor tractates of the Talmud; an exegetical homiletical work on the Pentateuch with expositions of Rashi's commentary; and an alphabetical composition of all the rules of blessings with sources. His glosses to Joseph b. Wolf Heilbut's homiletical commentary to the Pentateuch, *Beitah Yosef*, are still extant (Neubauer, Cat. no. 1387/2).

[Samuel Abba Horodezky]

HEILMANN, YITZHAK (1906–1997), *ḥazzan* and choirmaster. Heilmann, was born in Lvov to a family of Belzer ḥasidim. He sang in the temple choir in Lvov with Cantor Yehoshua Moshe Saitz. Afterwards he was appointed assistant to the choir conductor Yisrael Faiwishis, with whom he learned to read and play music. When Faiwishis moved to Lodz, Heilmann was appointed choir conductor at the Lvov and the Gilead Synagogue. He was conductor of the Polish military orchestra and teacher at the Lvov Conservatory. In 1935 he moved to Belgium where he conducted the choir at the Central Synagogue of the *Shomre Hadass* community in Antwerp. He performed with his choir on the Belgian radio. During World War II he was in a refugee camp in Switzerland. He immigrated to Israel in 1949, and from 1950 was choir conductor in the Central Synagogue of Haifa for over 45 years.The choir was famous for the old Warsaw-style approach to choral music and performed frequently on *Kol Israel*. At first it was mixed (boys and men) but in the later years it was an adult male choir. He trained many cantors from among the choristers, including David *Ullmann, Moshe *Shavit, Mordekhai Ronen, Dov Keren, and Naḥum Malik, and composed hundreds of melodies for sections of the prayer service. In 1997, under the auspices of the Toronto Council of *ḥazzanim*, a three-volume set of Heilmann's compositions were published under the title *Shirat Itzḥak*.

[Akiva Zimmerman / Raymond Goldstein (2nd ed.)]

HEILPERIN, FALK (1876–1945), educator and Yiddish writer. Born in Nieswiez, Belorussia, Heilperin began his teaching career in Minsk in 1904. He first rose to prominence during World War I as director of a Yiddish secular school for refugee children. In 1916 he helped to organize a Jewish teachers' conference at Tambov, which proclaimed Yiddish as the basic language of the Jewish child at the elementary school level, but which also recommended Hebrew as a prescribed language. The Zionists attacked him violently for giving priority to Yiddish, the struggle between the Hebraists and Yiddishists reaching a climax at the first all-Russian conference of Jewish teachers, convoked in St. Petersburg during June 1917. There Heilperin appeared as the spokesman of secular Yiddish schools, maintaining that the mother tongue of the children should be the natural, normal language of instruction, that the government should be urged to provide compulsory elementary education for all children, and that Hebrew should be included in the curriculum for all Jewish classes. In 1918 he served as educational adviser to the Jewish ministry of the short-lived government of the Ukraine. In 1921 he joined the Jewish Teachers' Seminary in Vilna as a teacher of Hebrew and Yiddish and was active in YIVO during its early Vilna period. From 1900 onwards he published his writings in Hebrew and Russian and from 1906 also in Yiddish. He prepared readers, story books, and educational texts in both Hebrew and Yiddish, as well as simplified translations of world literature into Hebrew. He edited the first Yiddish magazine for children, *Grininke Beymelekh* ("Green Trees") and founded a publishing house for children's literature in Jekaterinoslaw. He translated the fairy tales of Andersen and the Grimm brothers into Yiddish as well as novels by Disraeli, Hamsun, Gogol, Twain, Chekhov, Schiller, and Tolstoy. With Max *Weinreich he published a widely used Yiddish grammar (1928), joined the literary circle of "Yung Vilne," and published several volumes of short stories and plays: *Ertseylungen* ("Tales," 1910), *Yidishe Mayses* ("Jewish Tales," 1917), *Oyfn Shvel* ("On the Threshold," 1918), *Mayses fun Fartsaytn* ("Ancient Tales," 1929), *Fun Opgruntn* ("From the Abyss," 1930). In 1938 he settled in Palestine, where the Ohel Theater produced a Hebrew version of his drama "Hordos" ("Herod," in: *Fun Opgruntn*).

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[Sol Liptzin / Tamar Lewinsky (2nd ed.)]

HEILPERIN, MICHAEL ANGELO (1909–), Swiss economist. Heilperin was born in Warsaw and educated in Geneva where he settled. He was appointed professor at the Graduate Institute of International Studies in Geneva. His main fields were money, banking, and international economics and he became prominent through his analysis of international monetary crises. His publications include *Trade of Nations* (1947, 1952^2); *Studies in Economic Nationalism* (1960); and *Gold and Monetary Order* (1962).

[Joachim O. Ronall]

HEILPERN (Raphael), YOM TOV LIPMAN BEN ISRAEL (1816–1879), rabbi and author. Heilpern was born in Rozan where his father was rabbi, and was appointed rabbi of Krewo in 1836. He later served in Kieidany, Ciechanowiec, Mezhirech, and finally in Bialystok (1859), where he died. His collection of responsa, *Oneg Yom Tov* (2 parts, 1880), was highly regarded in rabbinical circles. He also wrote a homiletical work under the same title (1906). Heilpern played an active role in communal affairs. Because of his opposition to certain communal notables who discriminated against the children of the poor in favor of the rich with regard to the selection for military service, he was accused of disloyalty to the Russian government, tried, and sentenced to several months of imprisonment.

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[Samuel Abba Horodezky]

HEILPRIN, U.S. family in 19th and early 20th centuries. MICHAEL HEILPRIN (1823–1888), who was born in Piotrkow, Poland, was a linguist, scholar, encyclopedist, and author. In 1842 Heilprin and his family went to Hungary, where he joined the Hungarian liberal movement soon after his arrival, and became well known as a writer and revolutionary poet during the Revolution of 1848. After the suppression of the uprising, Heilprin went into hiding and then fled to Paris for some months. He emigrated to the U.S. in 1856 and taught in Hebrew Education Society schools in Philadelphia until 1858, when he moved to Brooklyn to become an editor and contributor to *Appleton's New American Cyclopaedia* (1858–63). He later worked as an associate editor on the revised work (1872–76). He also wrote for the New York *Tribune* and contributed articles to E.L. Godkin's *Nation* from 1865 until his death, and was considered one of the foremost writers in the U.S. on European literature and politics. In the 1880s Heilprin was active in the work of the Emigrant Aid Society and advocated the establishment of colonies for Russo-Jewish refugees in Oregon, the Dakotas, and New Jersey (see *Am Olam). He wrote the two-volume *Historical Poetry of the Ancient Hebrews* (1879–80), of which a third volume was begun, but not completed.

Heilprin's elder son, ANGELO HEILPRIN (1853–1907), was a geologist, explorer, and author. He made several trips of exploration including one to the erupting volcano Mt. Pelée. He also went to the Arctic on a mission to bring relief to Peary (1892). His younger son, LOUIS HEILPRIN (1856–1912), who was born in Miskolc, Hungary, was an encyclopedist, too. He assisted his father in the revision of the *American Cyclopaedia* (1872–76), wrote the *Historical Reference Book* (1884), was an editor of *Nelson's Encyclopaedia*, an associate editor of the *New International Encyclopaedia*, and co-edited *Lippincott's New Gazetteer* (1905) with Angelo Heilprin.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: G. Pollak, *Michael Heilprin and his Sons* (1912).

HEILPRIN, JEHIEL BEN SOLOMON (1660–1746), Lithuanian talmudic scholar and historian. Heilprin, the son of the rabbi of Sokolov, studied Kabbalah and, according to legend, performed miracles. He served as rabbi first in Glussk (Bobruisk district), where his compilation of rules and regulations for the *ḥevra kaddisha* were preserved in his own manuscript for several generations. In 1711 he was appointed head of the yeshivah in Minsk. His method of teaching the Talmud, contrary to *pilpul*, caused friction between him and Aryeh Leib b. Asher *Gunzberg, who was also a *rosh yeshivah* in Minsk. Aryeh Leib later left Minsk, and Heilprin was able to continue in his own yeshivah, unhampered, and with the affection of his pupils.

Heilprin became famous mainly for his historical-chronological book *Seder ha-Dorot* (Karlsruhe, 1769), which is divided into three parts: (a) chronology of events and personages dated from the Creation to 1696; (b) the biographies and chronologies of the *tannaim* and *amoraim* in alphabetical order; (c) the names of Hebrew authors and books, listed alphabetically, up to Heilprin's period. In the first part of this work he made use of stories from the **Sefer ha-Yasha*r and the earlier chronological books, including *Ẓemaḥ David* by David *Gans, *Sefer Yuḥasin* by Abraham Zacuto, and *Shalsft ha-Kabbalah* by Gedaliah ibn Yaḥya. In the third part he used *Siftei Yeshenim* by Shabbetai Bass; Heilprin copied the list of books from this work with all its errors. The second part, devoted to the history of the *tannaim* and *amoraim*, is of utmost importance. Although Heilprin followed *Sefer Yuḥasin* in compiling the list of individuals, the history he wrote was the first modern-type biography of the *tannaim* and *amoraim*, being based on original research of the talmudic sources. In the introduction to his book Heilprin discussed the importance of the history of the *tannaim* to halakhic decisions.

Seder ha-Dorot was published a second time (Lemberg, 1858) with comments by Joseph Saul Nathanson, the rabbi of Lemberg. An improved edition of the book with a preface was later published by Naphtali Maskil le-Eitan (Maskileison; Warsaw, 1878). Heilprin also published annotations to the Babylonian Talmud (Vilna, 1880); *Erkhei Kinnuyim* (Dyhernfurth, 1806), a work similar to a concordance, listing the nouns and verbs in the Bible and Talmud: a new edition entitled *Kav Shalom* with notes and comments (letters (A–Ḥ) was published by S.Ẓ. Adler (Satu Mare, 1939).

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[Zvi Meir Rabinowitz]

HEILPRIN, PHINEHAS MENAHEM (1801–1863), Hebrew scholar and anti-Reform polemicist. Born in Lublin, Poland, he moved to Hungary in 1842 and, in 1859, emigrated to the U.S. Heilprin was opposed to reforms in Judaism and the moderation of his critical views on talmudic literature stemmed from a loyalty to Jewish tradition. In 1845 he wrote a sharp polemical work, *Teshuvot be-Anshei Aven* (signed S.M.N., the last letters of his names), directed against Samuel *Holdheim and his school, in which he expressed the view that Jews have a right to exist as a nation, and not merely as a religious community. Heilprin's second work *Even Boḥan* (1846), signed "Peli," contains a penetrating criticism of Abraham *Geiger's *Melo Ḥofnayim*, and a critical edition of Profiat *Duran's *Al Tehi ka-Avotekha*. An article on methods of talmudic textual criticism, "*Kevod Ḥakhamim Yinḥalu*," was published posthumously in *Bikkurim* (vol. 2, 1865).

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[Gedalyah Elkoshi]

HEILPRIN, SAMUEL HELMANN BEN ISRAEL (1675–1765), rabbi of Bohemia. Heilprin was born in Krotoszyn, and studied under Abraham b. Saul *Broda of Prague. He was rabbi of Kremsier (Kromeriz) in Moravia from 1720 to 1726 and from 1726 to 1751 of Mannheim, where he devoted himself particularly to strengthening the education system and established a yeshivah. In 1751 he succeeded Jonathan *Eybeschuetz as rabbi of Metz, remaining there for the rest of his life. While rabbi of Kremsier he was a firm opponent of Shabbateanism, and when in Mannheim he began to take an active part in the controversy against Eybeschuetz. He intensified his battle against him when in Metz as a result of the discovery of five amulets written by Eybeschuetz which increased his suspicion that Eybeschuetz did indeed belong to the Shabbatean sect. In 1752 Heilprin, together with the rabbis of Frankfurt, Amsterdam, and Hanover, excommunicated Eybeschuetz. Only a few of Heilprin's glosses to the Talmud have been published. These are to be found in the *Kol Yehudah* (Amsterdam, 1729) of Judah b. Ḥanina Selig of Glogau (5a, 15c, 52d) and there is a responsum by him in *Shav Ya'akov* of Jacob b. Benjamin Katz of Prague (pt. 2 (Frankfurt, 1742), no. 20). The eulogy on him delivered by Ezekiel *Landau, author of the *Noda bi-Yhudah*, is published in Landau's *Ahavat Ẓiyyon* (vol. 1 (Prague, 1827), sermon 6). His son, URI SHRAGA PHOEBUS, who died while on a visit to his father's grave in Metz in 1770, served as rabbi of the towns of Hanau, Lissa, and Bonn.

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[Yehoshua Horowitz]

HEILPRUN, ELIEZER LEIZER BEN MORDECAI (1648–1700), Galician rabbi. Heilprun was born in Jaroslaw (Galicia), and studied in Pinczow at the yeshivah of Saul Katzenellenbogen, father of his son-in-law, Moses Katzenellenbogen. His dialectical ability gained him the sobriquet of "R. Leizer Ḥarif" ("the sharp-witted"). He served as rabbi of Mezhirech and of Tomaszow, and in 1700 moved to Fuerth where he died. He left in manuscript glosses to the Talmud, sermons, responsa, rulings, and *hadranim* on tractates of the Talmud entitled *Si'aḥ ha-Se'udah* ("Conversations at Meals"), the *hadran* being delivered at a festive banquet held on the completion of the study of a tractate.

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[Yehoshua Horowitz]

HEIMANN, MORITZ (1868–1925), German author and essayist. Heimann was born into an Orthodox family in Werder. He received his Jewish education at home since his was the only Jewish family in the village. Despite Heimann's devotion to German culture and language, he appreciated Zionist and national Jewish thought. In his essay *Zionismus und Politik* (1917), written under the impression of World War I, he described the Jewish longing for a homeland as mainly a political issue, which should find its pragmatic solution apart from religious visions.

Heimann worked as the chief literary adviser to the Berlin publishing house of S. *Fischer between the years 1895 and 1923. There he had a profound influence on German literature during the first quarter of the 20th century. In those years he discovered and encouraged many talented young writers. His aphorisms, short stories, and psychological novellas were collected and edited by Oskar Loerke as *Prosaische Schriften* (5 vols., 1918–26). Of Heimann's plays, only *Armand Carrel* (1920) was moderately successful. Heimann's poems on Jewish themes include "Der Rabbi und der Fluss," a reworking of the talmudic legend about R. Phinehas ben Jair (Ḥul. 7a). His essays include an appreciation of his friend M.J. *Berdyczewski and a defense of the right of a Jew, Walter *Rathenau, to become a German cabinet minister. Heimann's drama *Das Weib des Akiba* (1922) idealized Jewish womanhood, personified in the wife of the heroic sage R. *Akiva, and was largely based on talmudic sources. Two posthumous volumes were *Die Spindel* (ed. I. Bin Gorion, 1937) and *Die Wahrheit liegt nicht in der Mitte* (1966), a collection of essays edited by Heimann's biographer, Wilhelm Lehmann.

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[Sol Liptzin / Noam Zadoff and Mirjam Triendl (2nd ed.)]

HEIMWEHR (Ger. "home defense"), a paramilitary organization, closely connected with the *Christian Social Party in Austria. Founded in 1919 on a stridently anti-Marxist platform, its energies were directed mainly against its social democratic counterpart, the *Schutzbund. For this reason it enjoyed the support of such baptized Jews as Rudolf von Sieghardt, the governor of the national bank, and the arms manufacturer Fritz Mandel. There was even a Jewish unit in the late 1920s. In December 1929 Jewish group leaders declared that they could no longer participate because of growing antisemitism which the organization identified with anti-Marxism. In the Korneuburger Program (1930) the organization proclaimed its affiliation to fascism against democracy and parliamentarianism. The Heimwehr became the decisive factor in Austrian politics after the outlawing of the Social Democratic Party (1934). After the collapse of the "Pfrimer coup" in 1931 the Styrian branch of the Heimwehr formed a common front with the National Socialists against the Jews. The Heimwehr was responsible for many of the anti-Jewish riots of the period.

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[Meir Lamed / Bjoern Siegel (2nd ed.)]

HEINE, HEINRICH (originally **Ḥayyim** or **Harry**; 1797–1856), German poet and writer. Though a celebrated romantic poet and a political writer, whose works provoked passionate discussion, Heine produced some of the greatest Jewish verse outside Hebrew or Yiddish. Heine's way of thinking was shaped by the contradictions between his Jewish origin and the intellectual tradition of the enlightenment and is characterized by a specific Jewish perspective on the significance and tradition of Scripture. During his early years his birthplace, Duesseldorf, was part of the Napoleonic Empire (1806–14). The rights of citizenship and equality before the law that the Jews enjoyed under French rule later found expression in works idealizing Napoleon and the achievements of the French Revolution. Although Heine, in childhood and later in his life, was spared the experience of direct persecution, he remained aware of the stigma of Jewishness. The disappointments that affected German liberalism and Rhenish Jewry after Napoleon's overthrow partly account for the conflicts and paradoxes that mark Heine's career.

The German Years (1797–1831)

Heine's ancestors on his father's side, long settled in northern Germany, included prosperous merchants and bankers. His mother came from a respected family of bankers and scholars who had lived in Duesseldorf since the mid-17th century. Heine's father, Samson Heine, was raised traditionally, but his family life was dominated by the secularized Judaism of his wife, Betty Heine (née Peira van Geldern). Heine received a religious education from a private Jewish school and after attending the regular school (1803–7), he was sent to the first Duesseldorf *lycée*. The founding principal of this institution, which had been established by the French government, Aegidius Jakob Schallmeyer, was an exponent of the late enlightenment in the Rhineland. In his early years Heine experienced the benefits of the assimilated status of the Jews under the French government. Although he was impressed and stimulated by what he heard about the Jewish tradition by his mother's late uncle, the traveler and adventurer Simon van *Geldern, who had visited the Holy Land, his knowledge of Judaism was fragmentary and superimposed on the ideas of the Enlightenment. In 1815 he left school and was sent first to Frankfurt and then later to Hamburg for training in business. In Hamburg he made further acquaintance with his father's family. His uncle Salomon *Heine was one of the wealthiest bankers in northern Germany. Some of Heine's early poems were inspired by a frustrated passion for Salomon's daughter Amalie. Some years later when he fell in love with her sister Therese, Salomon Heine again thwarted his nephew's aspirations. In 1818, after two years in his uncle's business, Harry Heine & Co was established as a branch of his father's Duesseldorf company. The business failed one year later, when his father went into bankruptcy because of the illness that eventually caused his death in 1828. Salomon Heine felt responsible for his nephew's further development and paid for his studies at the universities of Bonn, Berlin, and Goettingen (1819–25). In one way or another he helped him remain financially solvent for many years. In Berlin Heine became a disciple of the philosopher G.W.F. *Hegel, met some of the leading German writers and philosophers at the salons of Rahel (Levin) *Varnhagen von Ense and Elise von Hohenhausen, and published a well-received first verse collection, *Gedichte* (1822). He also joined the reformist *Verein fuer Cultur und Wissenschaft der Juden, becoming its secretary in 1822 and enjoying the friendship of such cultured German Jews as Eduard *Gans, Moses *Moser, Leopold *Zunz, Immanuel *Wohlwill, and Ludwig *Markus. The wider Jewish knowledge that Heine gained in their company was later reflected in works like the fragmentary *Der Rabbi von Bacharach* (1840), which he began in 1824. Berlin Jewry's indifference to the cultural aims and activities of the Verein led to its collapse, and Heine was incensed and disillusioned by the subsequent apostasy of some of the leading members. After abandoning plans for a journalistic career in Paris, he finally surrendered to the pressure of his environment. He was baptized as a Lutheran in 1825, adopting the Christian name of Johann Christian Heinrich. Heine soon became ashamed of his conversion, which was solely intended to facilitate the gaining of his doctorate of law at Goettingen and the pursuit of his career as a civil servant or academic. He was mistaken, for the doors remained closed: to Jews he was a renegade, to Christians an insincere turncoat or dangerous radical. Although Heine spoke of the baptismal certificate as an "admission ticket (*entrée billet*) to European culture," it gave him no advantages and for the rest of his life he suffered from the stigma of a convert.

With the *Reisebilder*, published in four volumes (1826–31), Heine, at the end of the romantic period, introduced into German literature a new and sometimes alarming style, which made him a much acclaimed but at the same time controversial writer. These travel sketches combined the characteristic tone of the German Romantic Movement with the ideas that arose from the French Revolution. He satirized religious bigotry and political reaction and pointed to the necessity of constitutions that would provide for parliamentary government and civil liberty. Their publication led to numerous discussions and a ban on the four volumes in several German states. The most incisive disputes arose with the poet August Graf von Platen (1829) and the writer and critic Wolfgang Menzel (1836), both of whom resorted to antisemitic polemics, which were to prove persistent in public opinion and literary criticism up to the first half of the 20th century. It is an irony that Heine found himself a target of massive antisemitic attacks for the first time in public after his conversion. Besides the *Reisebilder,* the collection of his early lyrical works, the *Buch der Lieder*, which was published in 1827, made him one of the most celebrated lyrical poets of the time.

Failing to obtain a chair at the University of Munich in 1828, and fearing sterner police action and a boycott of his works, Heine left Germany. He settled in Paris in 1831, after the liberal July Revolution in France. Four years later, the publication of his works was temporarily suspended by the parliament of the German confederation. Except for two short visits to his family in 1843 and 1844, he never returned to his native country.

The French Years (1831–1856)

In Paris, during the 1830s and 1840s a place of exile for writers and intellectuals from various European countries, Heine found a more congenial atmosphere. He admired the achievements of the 1830 revolution and praised the French capital as a "New Jerusalem." Through his journalistic contributions to the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung,* the *Morgenblatt fuer gebildete Staende*, *L'Europe littéraire,* and the *Revue des deux mondes* during his first French decade, Heine became an intermediary between the cultural traditions of France and Germany. His writings on France (*Ueber die franzoesische Buehne*, *Franzoesische Maler*) and Germany (*Die romantische Schule*, *Zur Geschichte der Religion und Philosophie in Deutschland*) were later collected in the four volumes of the *Salon* (1834–40). These works show that his view of German literature and philosophy was influenced not only by the thinking of Hegel and of Jewish emancipation but also by ideas derived from the Saint-Simonian movement, with which Heine came into contact during his early Paris years.

In the course of the 1830s he became the leading figure of a group of young German writers who were to be known in the history of German literature as *Junges Deutschland* ("Young Germany"). Yet he fell out with Ludwig *Boerne, the other prominent liberal German writer in Paris, who regarded him as a lukewarm revolutionary. Heine's views of his fellow exile, expressed after Boerne's death in *Ludwig Boerne. Eine Denkschrift* (1840), provoked enraged reactions by the liberal Germans writers of the time, for whom Boerne was an exponent of the republican idea. It is one of the paradoxical characteristics of antisemitism in 19th century Germany that in the course of the controversy even the conservative and nationalistic press, while rejecting Boerne's liberal ideas, accused Heine of being unprincipled and unscrupulous. The spreading of antisemitic stereotypes was thus employed to play off the two exponents of Jewish-German literature in the first half of the 19th century against each other. In response, Heine satirized the younger generation of political writers in the mock epic *Atta Troll. Ein Sommernachtstraum* (1843). His second mock epic, *Deutschland. Ein Wintermaerchen*, written in 1843 after a visit to Hamburg and satirizing reactionary German monarchies, made Heine again a target for nationalistic critics who decried him as frivolous and unpatriotic.

Heine's circle during his French years included numerous well-known writers and intellectuals of the time, such as Honoré Balzac, Alexandre Dumas, Théophile Gautier, Ferdinand *Lassalle, George Sand, Alexandre *Weill, and Karl *Marx. Another of his acquaintances was James Mayer de *Rothschild. In 1841 he married a non-Jewess, Augustine Crescence Mirat ("Mathilde"), an illiterate Paris shop assistant he had been living with for seven years. Following the death of Salomon Heine in 1844, the poet experienced a serious struggle for a promised annuity, and obtained it only on condition that he refrain from publishing critical memoirs on the Heine family. From 1848 up to his death in 1856 Heine was confined to his "mattress-grave." He himself believed that he suffered from a spinal disease. As no contemporary diagnosis has been handed down, recent research speculates most frequently about venereal infection. In spite of his condition he continued to work as a writer. The late works – *Romanzero* (1851), *Gedichte 1853 und 1854* (1854), *Gestaendnisse* (1854), *Lutezia* (1854) – poems, autobiographical reflections, and a compilation of his journalistic writings once more show the characteristic features of this style: they combine irony with pathetic metaphors emphasizing the tradition of German romanticism and the necessity of political and religious emancipation.

Heine and Jewish Tradition

Heine's Judaism has been a matter of controversial discussion. From a biographical point of view, one of the questions has been to what extent he saw himself as a Jew and as an exponent of Jewish culture in Germany. The problematic nature of this issue is due mainly to Heine's technique of blending biographical information and fictitious sketches in his works. Confronted with antisemitic attacks after the short period of Jewish emancipation under the French government, he began playing in his writing a confounding though fascinating game of hide-and-seek concerning his Jewish origin, which reveals his attempt to achieve a synthesis of European culture and Jewish tradition and in retrospect exposes the impossibility of his effort to become part of a Christian-dominated society.

The early tragedy *Almansor* (1823) is set in Grenada in medieval Spain and emphasizes the persecution of the Jews and Muslims under the reestablished reign of the Catholic kings. Within the historical setting of a drama, which refers to G.E. *Lessing's *Nathan der Weise* as well as to Heine's own situation in the early 1820s, the author reflected on the problem of Jewish identity within the Diaspora and the conflicts of apostasy. In the fragmentary novel *Der Rabbi von Bacherach*, which was drafted during his time as a member of the Verein fuer Cultur und Wissenschaft der Juden in Berlin, and published in 1840 as a reaction to the *Damascus Affair, he identified himself quite obviously with the cynical, freethinking Don Isaac *Abrabanel, though at the same time stressing the beauty of traditional Jewish ceremonies. He fiercely condemned both French diplomatic intrigues in Syria and the passivity of many French Jews in his "Damascus Letters" for the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung*, but his articles were published anonymously. His book about Ludwig Boerne was not only a justification of his own political ideas; it was also a polyphonic attempt to show his life in Paris, his suffering abroad in the tradition of the exile of Babylon. In the late *Romanzero* he included the *Hebraeische Melodien*, a title consciously borrowed from Lord *Byron's *Hebrew Melodies*; *Prinzessin Sabbat*, a fairy-tale evocation of the Jew's transformation on the day of rest; *Jehuda ben Halevy*, in praise of the great Jewish-Spanish poet and philosopher, and the tragicomic *Disputation*. *Romanzero* also contained other poems reflecting Jewish themes, as did his earlier collections of verse.

Not only the works that obviously refer to Jewish topics deal with the problem of Jewish identity. Almost every piece of Heine's prose or verse reflects in one way or another the conflict of his Jewish origin. His modernist view of Judaism is poised between identification with the history of the Jewish people, the Jewish tradition of Scripture, and a feeling of strangeness and exclusion. In some of his writings he stressed the curse of Judaism: the Flying Dutchman in the fragmentary picaresque novel *Aus den Memoiren des Herrn von Schnabelewobski* (1834) is but a figuration of Ahasuerus, the Wandering Jew. His early travel sketch *Ideen. Das Buch Le Grand*, which can be seen mainly as an attempt to rewrite romantic themes, plays with the Judaism of its author. Reflecting about the female figures in Shakespeare's dramatic works (*Shakespeares Maedchen und Frauen*, 1839), he gives Shylock, the Jew, a prominent position. Whereas in his early years Lessing, Shakespeare, Homer, and Cervantes became figurations of his own identity as a writer, in his last years Heine wrote a fragmentary poem, *Jehuda ben Halevy*, which points to the great Jewish poet as one of the ancestors of his writing.

One of the most controversial issues of Heine's Judaism has been the question of whether, in the years of the "mattress-grave," he returned to Jewish belief. When he published the epilogue to the *Romancero*, in which he quite frankly announced his return to a personal god, the reading public and the critics were shocked. Taking into consideration that the reproach of atheism has a long tradition within German literature and philosophy (Moses *Mendelssohn) and furthermore that one of the main features of Heine's writing is the idea of an emancipation of thought through an ironic and provoking style, and looking at his writings, which paradoxically stress the ideas of continuity and tradition rather than change, it seems as if Heine was always a man of faith – but faith without confession.

Reception

Up to the second half of the 20th century Heine remained one of the best-known and most controversial writers in German literature. In the first decades following his death the reading public, the critics, and the scholars emphasized the romantic tone of his early lyrical works and ignored his attempts to renew German romanticism by superimposing the poetical ideas of the romantics on the enlightened conceptions of political and religious emancipation. More than 13,000 recognized musical settings of his poetry supported this attempt. In the course of the decline of nationalism and chauvinism in the late 19th century, Heine's critics emphasized his Jewish descent and his sympathy for the achievements of the French revolution. Resorting to antisemitic stereotypes, critics like Heinrich von Treitschke and Adolf Bartels reviled him as a "*Vaterlandsverraeter*" (betrayer of his native country), both unprincipled and frivolous. One of the most influential voices in the early reception of his works was Karl *Kraus. In his essay *Heine und die Folgen* (1910) he pointed to the contrast between the depth of German thought and the frivolous French style, which in his view was introduced into German literature by Heine. It is one of the ironies of the reception of Heine's works that another Jewish writer perpetuated the stereotypes of earlier antisemitic judgments. Nevertheless Heine became one of the most influential German poets and writers. His works influenced Richard Wagner's *Flying Dutchman* and *Tannhaeuser* and inspired countless writers, including Matthew Arnold, George *Eliot, George B. Shaw, Charles Baudelaire, Friedrich *Nietzsche, Thomas *Mann, Giorgio *Bassani, Jorge Luis Borges, and Paul *Celan. Heine's influence has been traced in practically all of Western literature, and his poems have been translated into most languages, including English (by Humbert *Wolfe, Louis *Untermeyer, Hal Draper, and Terence J. Reed) and Hebrew (by David *Frishman and Yiẓḥak *Katznelson). Much of Heine's prose work has been translated into Hebrew by S. *Perlman. Outstanding among the works based on Heine's life is Israel *Zangwill's sketch "From a Mattress Grave" (in *Dreamers of the Ghetto*, 1898).

During the era of National Socialism in Germany (1933–45) Heine's writings were excluded from anthologies and schoolbooks, the publication of his works was suppressed, and on May 10, 1933, his works were burned together with the writings of many other Jewish-German writers and liberal thinkers. After the liberation of Germany in 1945 the East Germans proclaimed Heine an early socialist writer, whereas the West German reception stressed his works as part of the heritage of German culture that had not been abused for the ideological purposes of the Hitler regime.

As numerous editions and translations of his works, congresses, exhibitions, and monuments in Germany and many other countries throughout the world show, Heine has, 150 years after his death, been acknowledged not only as an outstanding poet and writer, but as the founding father of Jewish-German literature.

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[Godfrey Edmond Silverman / Sikander Singh (2nd ed.)]

HEINE, SOLOMON (1766–1844), German banker and philanthropist. Heine was born in Hanover, but moved to Hamburg where he opened a successful banking house. After the crisis of 1825 and the great fire of 1842 Heine, the only banker in Hamburg, continued to discount legitimate bills at the usual rate of 4% thus saving the credit of the city's trading community. Despite this public service, a substantial subscription to the city's rehabilitation loan, and numerous charitable contributions, including the establishment of Hamburg's Jewish hospital, he was refused citizenship and denied admission to the Chamber of Commerce. Heine made a provision that gentiles could use the hospital when civil rights were granted to the Jews of Hamburg, a condition fulfilled in 1864. His heirs moved the bank to Paris where it became one of the leading financial institutions. He was the uncle of Heinrich *Heine, whom he supported with an annual subsidy in his Paris period.

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[Joachim O. Ronall]

HEINE, THOMAS THEODOR (1867–1947), German graphic artist and cartoonist. Born in Leipzig of a Jewish father and a non-Jewish mother as David Theodor Heine, he studied art at Duesseldorf, and later made his home in Munich. Though he started as a painter, he became known as a poster designer and illustrator. He worked for *Fliegende Blaetter* and *Jugend*, Munich magazines, developing a varied technique and acuteness of expression. He was one of the founders of the satirical review *Simplicissimus* (1896) and its best known political caricaturist for 37 years. His biting caricatures satirizing the Prussian officer class, the German student corps and officialdom, spared no one. A cartoon satirizing Kaiser William II led to Heine's detention for a term. In 1926 Heine published his autobiography as a collection of essays, *Randbemerkungen zu meinem Leben*, in the monthly *Uhu* published in Berlin. When *Simplicissimus* aligned itself with the Nazis in 1933, Heine fled to Prague, where he published *Das spannende Buch* in 1935, a collection of his non-political drawings. Later Heine escaped to Oslo, where he remained in hiding for nine months. Finally he reached Stockholm and settled there. In addition to collections of his drawings, he published a short satirical novel *Ich warte auf Wunder* (1945; *I Wait for Miracles*, 1947). In 1947 the National Museum of Stockholm organized a comprehensive retrospective of the work that Heine had created during emigration.

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HEINE-HEIMOWITZ, MORRIS (1853–1943), theatrical organizer. An early member of the *Goldfaden troupe in Romania, he later formed his own company in Warsaw, touring Poland and Russia. In 1883, the czar's ban on Yiddish theater obliged him to leave for London, where the Jewish community helped him to migrate to the U.S. Subsequently Heine-Heimowitz leased theaters in New York and Chicago and managed movie houses. He also produced plays in Italian and Chinese.

HEINEMANN, FRITZ (1889–1970), German philosopher. Born in Lueneburg, he was a student of Hermann *Cohen and

Paul Natorp. He became a lecturer in philosophy at the University of Frankfurt on the Main in 1922 and served as professor there from 1930 to 1933. He was then forced to leave Germany, and taught philosophy at Oxford. His most important earlier works are *Der Aufbau von Kants Kritik der reinen Vernunft und das Problem der Zeit* (1913), *Plotinus* (1921), and *Titian* (1928). Of particular importance was his *Neue Wege der Philosophie: Geist, Leben, Existenz* (1929). In it Heinemann presented the first summary of the development of the philosophical schools, including existentialism, which became prominent after World War I. When he left Germany, he wrote *Odysseus, oder die Zukunft der Philosophie* (1939), and in the same year his book on the foundation of aesthetics appeared. This was followed by *David Hume, the Man and his Science of Man* (1940) and *Existentialism and the Modern Predicament* (1953). In *Odysseus* Heinemann developed a program for present-day philosophy. Contemporary philosophers, he argues, are being tested by experiences unique in the history of mankind. The philosopher has become an Odysseus. Heinemann demands of philosophers that they take advantage of these trials in order to enlarge the range and the tasks of philosophy. Hitherto philosophy has looked backward; now it must look forward. "We are the pioneers of the pioneers." In 1959 Heinemann edited *Jenseits des Existentialismus* (1957) and *Die Philosophie im 20. Jahrhundert* (1959), an encyclopaedic survey of contemporary philosophy for which he wrote some of the main articles. Heinemann holds that the various philosophical systems constitute "alternatives," not in the sense that the one negates the other but rather that it complements the other; they are different perspectives of the one truth which is not given to man directly. In remembrance the city of Lueneburg founded the Heinemann Archive in 1972.

[Samuel Hugo Bergman]

HEINEMANN, JEREMIAH (1778–1855), German writer, educator, and communal leader. From 1808 to 1813 he was a member of the Jewish consistory of Westphalia and from 1825 to 1831 was principal of a school in Berlin. Heinemann was one of the last of the German *maskilim* (see *Haskalah) in the tradition of the *Me'assefim and Moses *Mendelssohn, who sought to adapt Jewish life in Germany to modern times. In 1817 he founded and edited the eight volumes of *Jedidja*, a periodical of Jewish studies in German (1817–31), which appeared in a new series in 1839–41 and later as *Allgemeines Archiv des Judenthums* (1842–43). His Hebrew commentary to the Torah, *Be'ur la-Talmid*, was published in a new edition of the Pentateuch along with Mendelssohn's translation (1831–33). His publications include a collection of articles and letters written by and to Mendelssohn, books on Judaism and Jewish education, a German translation of Isaiah, and essays on the legal and cultural status of the Jews of Prussia.

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[Zvi Avneri]

HEINEMANN, YIẒḤAK (**Isaac**; 1876–1957), Israel humanist and philosopher. Born in Frankfurt, Heinemann studied at German universities, and at the Berlin Rabbinical Seminary. In the years 1919–38, he lectured in Jewish philosophy and literature at the Jewish Theological Seminary in Breslau, where he reached the rank of professor, and, from 1920 was editor of the *Monatsschrift fuer Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums. In 1939, he settled in Jerusalem, where he continued to pursue his studies of Jewish philosophy. He was awarded the Israel Prize for Jewish studies in 1955.

Heinemann's works, which deal with Hellenistic and medieval Jewish philosophy, as well as with *aggadah*, include: *Poseidonios' metaphysische Schriften* (1921–28); *Die griechische Quelle der "Weisheit Salomos"* (1921); *Die Lehre von der Zweckbestimmung des Menschen im griechisch-roemischen Altertum und im juedischen Mittelalter* (1926); *Philons griechische und juedische Bildung* (1931–32); and *Altjuedische Allegoristik* (1936). Two of his works were published in Hebrew: *Ta'amei ha-Mitzvot be-Sifrut Yisrael* (dealing with the reasons for the commandments, 1942–57), and *Darkhei ha-Aggadah* (on talmudic methodology in creating the *aggadah*, 1950). He contributed articles to various journals. He also published an abridged edition in English of Judah Halevi's *Kuzari* with introduction and commentary (1947).

Heinemann's clear and well-founded investigations were the result of his facing the problems of contemporary Judaism and standing up to the influences of European culture as well as German nationalistic hatred. He expounded his ideas in lectures, in German, *Zeitfragen im Lichte juedischer Lebensanschauung* (published in 1921), as well as in series of essays, such as *Die geschichtlichen Wurzeln des neuzeitlichen Humanitaetsgedankens* (1930), in which he discusses topical problems like militarism or pacifism, by analyzing historical attitudes which stem from either Greek or Germanic thought, or from Christianity, and comparing them with the Jewish viewpoint as reflected in Scripture. The Jewish attitude, he concluded, is the correct one, and the Jew should refer back to his own sources and find his place in world culture, not by refuting his faith, but rather by adhering to it. This motif recurs especially in his work on *Die Lehre von der Zweckbestimmung des Menschen*, where he attempts to show that while originally Jewish philosophy did accept ideas from Greek sources, this was done only after Aristotle and neoplatonism had been interpreted in a spirit close to Judaism and Christianity, and imbued with eschatological content. Moreover, Greek influence, in spite of creating a conflict, led to the emergence, in Judaism, of original thought which, in its turn, was imparted to European culture. Thus, Jewish thought in the Middle Ages constituted an essential link in the history of philosophy.

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[Eliezer Schweid]

HEJAZ (Ar. Ḥijāz), a region N.W. of present-day *Saudi Arabia, from the Gulf of ʿAqabah in the north to ʿAsir in the south along the Red Sea. The narrow coastal stripe (*Tihāmah*) is a dry, barren land, while the mountain chain (2100–2400 m and peaks topping 3000 m) is fertile due to plenty of precipitations. Because of its being the site of *Islam's holy cities *Mecca and *Medinah, it is significant in the Arab and Islamic historical and political landscape. The name *Hijāz* means sequestration, impoundment, signifying the mountain bar between the sea and the hinterland. Scattered oases, drawing water from springs and wells in the vicinity of the wadis, permit some settled agriculture. Of these oases, the largest and most important are Medinah and *Khaybar. According to a legend of Jewish source, but kept in Muslim writings, the first Jews arrived at the *Hijāz* when Moses dispatched an army to expel the Amalekites from the land of Yathrib (in time: Medinah). According to another legend, the second Jewish immigration took place in 587 B.C.E. with the destruction of the First Temple. Jews settled then in Wādī al-Qurāʾ, Taymā, Yathrib, and Khaybar. However, from epigraphic evidence recently excavated, the earliest Jewish settlement in the Ḥijāz dates from the reign of Nabonidus, son of Nebuchadnezzar of Babylon (6th century B.C.E). Nothing is known about later times, but Aramaic and Judeo-Arabic inscriptions at ʿUllā (biblical Dedan) and Madāʾin Ṣāliḥ (Ḥijrah) from the late third and early fourth centuries C.E. attest to the existence of Jewish settlements in the Ḥijāz at that time. Jewish sages such as ʿAnan b. Ḥiyya of Ḥijrah are cited in the Talmud (Yev. 116a). These communities strictly observed Jewish practical commandments and were even much more meticulous in questions of purity and impurity.

At the beginning of the seventh century C.E., there were three Jewish tribes living in Yathrib: Banū *Qaynuqaʿ,*Banū Naḍīr, and Banū *Qurayẓa. All three tribes were rich and powerful, and, also, were more civilized than the Arabs. Whereas the Arabs were all farmers, the Jews were the entrepreneurs of industry, business and commerce in Arabia, and they controlled the economic life of Yathrib. The two Arab tribes – Aws and Khazraj – were debt-ridden to the Jews perennially. Besides Yathrib, the strong centers of the Jews in Ḥijāz were Khaybar, Fadak, and Wādī al-Qurāʾ (Aylah, Maqnā, Tabūk). The lands in these valleys were the most fertile in all Arabia, and their Jewish cultivators were the best farmers in the country. Moreover, Arabs settling among the populous Jewish communities of Medinah, Taymā, and Khaybar often adopted Judaism.

The rise of Islam gradually resulted in the complete disappearance of Jews from the Ḥijāz. Already in *Muhammad's time the three Jewish tribes in Yathrib were destroyed, forcefully converted to Islam or expelled. The Jewish settlement in Khaybar and Wādī al-Qurāʾ, whom Muhammad recognized as protected people, existed as agricultural centers at least until the 11th century, as attested by letters sent by them to a *gaon* in Iraq regarding religious issues of agriculture. Since then there has not been any Jewish settlement in the Ḥijāz. Islamic tradition even invented a *ḥadīth* ascribed to Muhammad, who said to his wife before his death: "There shall not be two religions in the Ḥijāz". In days to come, the 16th to the 18th century, that saying would be the main religious argument for expelling the Jews of *Yemen, based on the claim that in this matter Yemen should be referred to like the Ḥijāz.

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[Yosef Tobi (2nd ed.)]

HEKDESH (Heb. הֶקְדֵּשׁ), consecrated property, property dedicated to the needs of the *Temple; in post-talmudic times the term *hekdesh* without qualification (*setam hekdesh*) came to mean property set aside for charitable purposes or for the fulfillment of any other **mitzvah*.

Consecration for the Temple Needs

The consecration of property was the means of providing for the upkeep of the Temple and the sacrificial services as detailed in Scripture (Lev. 2:7; II Kings 12:5–17, et al.). In the Temple period a person could consecrate property to either (1) the Temple treasury (*hekdesh bedek ha-Bayit*) that was utilized for maintaining and repairing the Temple buildings; or (2) the altar (*hekdesh Mizbeʾaḥ*) for the purchase of sacrifices, namely the animals, and meal- and drink-offerings brought to the Temple altar. If a man simply consecrated his property without specifying which of these two purposes he intended and such property included animals fit for sacrifice at the altar, the animals would be sold for sacrifice and the proceeds allocated to the Temple treasury; i.e., "simple consecration to the Temple treasury" (Tem. 7:2; Shek. 4:7, opinion of R. Eliezer; Maim. Yad, Arakhin 5:7).

IRREDEEMABLE AND REDEEMABLE. Consecration (Kedushat ha-Guf and Kedushat Damim)

Property could be consecrated with different degrees of sanctity: i.e., intrinsic sancitity (kedushat ha-guf), embracing all objects consecrated to the altar and fit for sacrificial purposes, such as animals, doves and pigeons, flour, incense, wine and oil; or monetary sanctity (kedushat damim), embracing objects consecrated to the Temple treasury, as well as objects consecrated to the altar that were not fit for sacrifice or disqualified because of blemish from use at the altar. Consecrated property of the former kind could not be redeemed, whereas the latter could and the redemption money applied to the purpose for which the property was consecrated. Redeemed property ceased to be sacred and was relegated to its former secular status; but objects fit for the altar could be redeemed solely for the purpose of sacrifice there, since "anything which is fit for the altar, is never released from the altar" (Men. 101a; Maim. Yad, Arakhin 5).

CREATION OF CONSECRATED PROPERTY. Contrary to the general principle of Jewish law that the transfer of ownership cannot be effected in a merely oral manner but requires the performance of a symbolic act such as *mesirah, meshikhah*, or *ḥazakah* (see *Acquisition), the rule is that simply an oral statement suffices to transfer the ownership of property from the common man (*hedyot*) to *hekdesh* ("Dedication to the Temple by word of mouth is equal to the act of delivery to a common person even if the property is situated at the world's end"; Kid. 1:6; TB, Kid. 28b–29a). This reference introduces the concept that consecrated property is in the ownership of God (*bi-reshut Gavoha*), and therefore can be transferred to Him by mere oral declaration, since "His is the earth and the fullness thereof" and "the earth is as a courtyard which acquires for Him" (TJ, Kid. 1:6, 61a; *Beit ha-Beḥirah*, Kid. 28b).

LEGAL IMPLICATIONS OF CONSECRATED PROPERTY. The principle that consecrated property is *bi-reshut Gavoha* and not in the ownership of a neighbor or the common man (*bi-reshut re'ehu* or *hedyot*) had the effect of placing such property to a large extent beyond customary legal relationships. Thus, neither the law of **ona'ah* was applicable to it, "even if a man sold a thousand dinars' worth for one dinar or one dinar's worth for a thousand" (BM 4:9; Tosef. BK 4:3; Maim. Yad, Mekhirah, 13:8; Tur and Sh. Ar., ḤM 227:29), nor the prohibition against *usury (BM 57b; Tur, YD 160). Similarly, no compensation was recoverable in *tort under any of the recognized heads of tort (see **Avot Nezikin*), in respect of damage caused by or to consecrated property – in terms of the rule that "there is tort in respect of the commmon man, but not in respect of consecrated property" (i.e., *Gavoha*; BK 4:3; TB, BK 37b; Tosef. BK 4:1; TJ, Git. 5:1, 46c; Rashi and Tos. BK 6b; Maim. Yad, Nizkei Mamon 8:1). Furthermore a man who stole consecrated property was not liable to pay double compensation and whoever slaughtered or sold it was only required to make good the capital value and was exempted from the four- or five-fold penalty (BM 4:9; Maim. Yad, Genevah 2:1; see also *theft and robbery).

So, too, the law on the different degrees of liability for damage or loss attaching to the four categories of bailees (see **shomerim*) did not apply to consecrated property, a bailee being exempted from taking the judicial oath or from paying compensation in respect of such property (BM 4:9; Shev. 6:5; Maim. Yad, Sekhirut, 2:1; Tur and Sh. Ar., ḤM 301:9). In strict law (*din Torah*) a man was exempt from the need to take the different forms of *oath (BM 4:9, Shev. 6:5; Maim. Yad, To'en 5:1; Tur and Sh. Ar. ḤM 95:1), but the scholars (BM 58a) prescribed that the oath, including the bailees' oath, was required even in respect of consecrated property in order that such property should not be lightly dealt with; the rabbinical decision on taking the oath had to be regarded – according to some of the **posekim* – as having the severity of biblical law (Maim. Yad, To'en 5:1). Consecrated property was also distinguished from other property in relation to its modes of acquisition. Thus, *hekdesh* could acquire from the common man and the common man from *hekdesh* by way of money (*kinyan kesef*), whereas one person could only acquire from another in one of the prescribed manners, such as by way of the formality of "drawing" (*meshikhah*; Kid. 1:6; Tosef. Kid. 1:9).

The institution of *hekdesh* bears a certain resemblance to the concept of a legal "*persona*" found in other legal systems. The two are nevertheless distinguishable because of the notion that consecrated property is in the ownership of God and does not belong to any legally created *persona*, as well as by the fact that to a large extent such property is not circumscribed by or subject to the customary legal relationships. Ishmael's opinion that *hekdesh* funds could be used to purchase wines, oils, and flours, in order that these could be sold to those requiring them for sacrificial purposes and the profits set aside for the sacred funds, was disputed by Akiva, who stated that there could be no trading for profit with the sacred funds (Shek. 4:3) – since "there must be no poverty where there is wealth" (Ket. 106b; see also Rashi (*mahadura kamma*) *Shitah Mekubbeẓet*, Ket. 106b and "lest loss be caused to the sanctuary" (Maim. Yad., Ar. 6:5)). The custodian of *hekdesh* was the treasurer of the temple (*gizbar*). It was his task to collect all consecrated property, supervise it, buy and sell according to the needs of the sacred funds, represent *hekdesh* at law, and "all *Melekhet ha-Kodesh* was done by him" (Tosef. Shek. 2:15; Maim. Yad, Kelei ha-Mikdash 4:18).

CONSECRATION AS A MITZVAH. Although it was considered a *mitzvah* for a man to contribute part of his assets for *hekdesh* purposes "in order to subdue his inclination to be parsimonious" (Maim. Yad, Arakhin 8:12, with ref. to Prov. 3:9), failure to do so involved no blame, in accordance with the biblical injunction, "But, if thou shalt forbear to vow, it shall be no sin in thee" (Deut. 23:23; Yad, Arakhin 8:12). Moreover, according to Maimonides, it was forbidden for a man to consecrate all his property, and "whoever did so acted contrary to the requirements of the law and committed a foolish rather than a pious act … placing himself at the mercy of his fellow beings …" (Yad, Arakhin 8:13). If a person nevertheless did so, the clothing of his wife and children would be excluded by law from the effect of his consecration (Ar. 6:5; Yad. Arakhin 3:14). Similarly, it was a *mitzvah* to fulfill an undertaking to consecrate by not later than the first festival after such an undertaking had been given and failure to do so after three festivals had passed was a transgression against the negative precept of "thou shalt not be slack to pay it" (Deut. 23:22; Yad, Ma'aseh ha-Korbanot 14:13).

MISAPPROPRIATION OF CONSECRATED PROPERTY (I.E., SACRILEGE, ME'ILAH BE-HEKDESH). Deriving a benefit from consecrated property – of either degree of sanctity – was forbidden for as long as it retained its sanctity, the enjoyment of such benefit being considered sacrilege (*me'ilah*; Me'il. 15a; Yad, Me'ilah 1:1). The inadvertent misappropriation of consecrated property of "monetary" sanctity (see above) by its transfer to another as *ḥullin* ("secular property") put an end to its sanctity and rendered it *ḥullin*; consecrated property of "intrinsic" sanctity (see above) retained its sanctity, however, and did not become secular (Kid. 55a; Me'il. 20a; Maim. Yad, *Me'ilah*, ch. 6).

Hekdesh after the Destruction of the Temple

After the destruction of the Temple the *tannaim* laid down that a man must no longer consecrate his property as this could give rise to complications if someone were to derive benefit from it, resulting in *me'ilah*. If a man did this, however, the property would be duly consecrated, but certain precautions would be taken: "if an animal – the door should be locked before it, so that it die of itself; if fruits, garments, or vessels – they should be left to rot; if coins or metal vessels – they should be thrown into the Dead Sea or the ocean so as to lose them" (Av. Zar. 13a and Rashi *ibid.*; Yad, Arakhin, 8:8). The Talmud records an incident from amoraic times where people ceased to frequent a bathhouse that had been consecrated, for fear of committing possible *me'ilah* (BM 6a–b).

CONSECRATION FOR THE POOR, OR FOR THE PURPOSE OF ANY OTHER MITZVAH. In post-talmudic times the term *hekdesh* was principally used, theoretically and in practice, to signify the dedication of property for a charitable purpose or for the fulfillment of some other *mitzvah*: "Since we no longer have the Temple, the unqualified consecration of property means consecration for synagogues or the poor" (Nov. Ri, Migash, BB 102b; see also Resp. Rashba vol. 5 no. 135; *Sefer ha-Terumot*, 46:4 and 8; *Beit ha-Beḥirah Av. Zar.* 13b); "… even if he said 'consecration to heaven,' his intention is for charity" (Duran, Solomon b. Simeon, *Sefer ha-Rashbash*, no. 361). Only if a person stated that he intended consecration proper to the altar or the Temple funds would the sanctity of *hekdesh* apply to the property concerned, as well as the prohibition against benefiting from it (Nov. Ri Migash, BB 102b. *Rama*, YD 258:1). Other scholars expressed the opinion that even in the post-Temple period the law was that if a man simply stated that he was consecrating property, without specifying for what purpose, the sanctity of *hekdesh* with the prohibition against deriving any benefit it would still be applicable – even if such a person in his heart envisaged an appropriation for the needs of *talmud torah* and the like. In the 13th century the example was quoted of a book found in Russia bearing the inscription that it had been given to *hekdesh* by a certain individual, and therefore studying from it was prohibited lest a benefit be derived from consecrated property (*Or Zaru'a*, Av. Zar., nos. 128 and 129). It was held that the proper way to overcome the prohibition was to approach a scholar with a request for the property to be "released" from its consecration on the grounds that the consecrator had repented of his undertaking – as in the case of a *vow (see Sh. Ar., YD, 258:1).

COMPARISON BETWEEN CONSECRATION FOR THE TEMPLE NEEDS AND CONSECRATION FOR THE POOR. The special rules laid down for consecration for the needs of the Temple did not generally apply to consecration for the poor or for the purposes of some other *mitzvah*; the latter were subject to the same laws as those governing the property of the common man (Tur ḤM, 95, in the name of R. Isaiah; see also Resp. Rosh 13:1) and "certainly there can be no question" of the law of *me'ilah* applying to consecration for the poor (Resp. Maharashdam, YD 208). In certain matters, however, the law of consecration for the Temple needs was extended to consecrations of the other kind. In the opinion of most halakhic scholars, the rule that "a mere declaration to the sanctuary is equivalent to transfer to the common man," was applicable also to *ẓedakah* (see *charity) and "whoever states 'I give such and such an object to charity'… may not retract" (Rif, *Halakhot*, BK 36b; Ran. Nov. Ned. 29b; Resp. Radbaz, no. 802; Sh. Ar., YD 258:13). Similarly, the laws of *ẓedakah* were applied in the case of consecration for the poor or for some other *mitzvah*, and in several respects these laws are similar to those of *hekdesh*; for example, the negative precept, "thou shalt not be slack to pay it" applies also to *ẓedakah*, with certain variations (RH 6a and Codes). It was also decided that the act of consecration would be effective even if couched in the language of *asmakhta* – since "the law of *asmakhta* does not apply to vows and consecrations" (Resp. Rif, no. 247; *Sefer Teshuvot ha-Rashba ha-Meyuḥasot le-ha-Ramban*, no. 255; see also Sh. Ar., YD 258:10).

LOANS AT INTEREST FROM HEKDESH FUNDS. The analogy between consecration for charitable purposes and consecration for the Temple needs – despite their substantial difference – provided the halakhic scholars with a solution to the problem of the permissibility of deriving profit from *ḥekdesh* monies (*ma'ot*), namely, the consecration (by endowment) of a capital fund whose income was to be set aside for the consecratory purpose. The customary and virtually the only means of deriving income from such monies, was by their loan against interest; however, if this was permissible with regard to consecration for the Temple, funds consecrated for the poor (i.e., *ẓedakah*) were regarded as property of the "common man" (see e.g., BK 93a) and could not therefore be lent at interest (Raviah, quoted in *Or Zaru'a*, Hilkhot Ẓedakah, sec. 30 and in Resp. of Meir of Rothenburg, ed. Lemberg, no. 478). At the beginning of the 14th century *Isaac b. Moses of Vienna, a pupil of Eliezer b. Joel ha-Levi (Raviah), decided that only such *ẓedakah* money as had already been allocated for distribution to a particular individual fell within the prohibition since thereafter it was as if the money already belonged to this individual; until such allocation, however, "the law of *hekdesh* applies [to *ẓedakah*] and there is no prohibition against earning interest. Accordingly, when people contribute money and stipulate that the capital is to be preserved but the income distributed to the poor, the law of *hekdesh* certainly applies to such capital and it may be lent against fixed interest which is prohibited by biblical law [*ribbit keẓuẓah de-oraita*] since it is not about to be distributed …" (*Or Zaru'a, ibid.*: the author at first states that this was his opinion prior to knowing that Raviah had laid down a prohibition on the same matter, but he gives no hint at all that he subsequently retracted). This problem, a vexatious one for medieval scholars and communal leaders, was also resolved by Solomon b. Abraham *Adret along similar lines, but on the basis of a different halakhic distinction. In reply to the question whether it was permissible to "lend at interest money contributed for the poor and held by treasurers" – which was customary at that time (Resp. Rashba, vol. 1, no. 669) – Solomon b. Abraham Adret replied that "the Law has only prohibited interest coming directly from the borrower to the lender," and here there is no lender since these monies have no specific owners and there is no specific share that any poor individual may recover from the treasurers, who distribute as they see fit – much, little, or none at all; hence lending at interest was prohibited only in respect of money consecrated for the specified poor, but "in the consecrations customary in our areas the poor are not specified and interest is permissible" (*Sefer Teshuvot ha-Rashba ha-Meyuḥasot le-ha-Ramban* no. 222). Solomon b. Abraham Adret added, however, that he instructed thus in theory only but not in practice, and "it is not desirable that this be done, lest the fence be breached" (*ibid*; but cf. idem, Resp. vol. 5, no. 249).

The far-reaching innovation contained in the two above-mentioned decisions was not accepted by other scholars. *Meir of Rothenburg took the view that the lending of *ẓedakah* money at fixed interest was a *mitzvah* stemming from a transgression, but in view of the prevailing custom he refrained from instructing the *hekdesh* trustee to act in any other way: "By reason of our sins, the matter has spread to become permissible throughout the kingdom, and the *gabba'im* sin but not for their own sake, because it is the sin of the whole community; I have not the power to protest and it is better that it be done by them inadvertently and not intentionally" (Resp. Meir of Rothenburg, ed. Lemberg, no. 479.) However, he wrote to questioners that thenceforth they were to refrain from the practice (cf. *ibid.*, secs. 234 and 425) and in his opinion money consecrated for the poor could only be lent at interest when the prohibition stemmed solely from rabbinical law, as was the law with regard to orphan money (*ibid.*, see also BM 70a). The same opinion was expressed by the latter's pupil, *Asher b. Jehiel, who added that this was "plain law requiring no proof" (Rosh 13:17, and 8 and also 10). This view was also accepted as the law in the Tur and Shulḥan Arukh (YD 160:18). It may be surmised that after the rabbis had prescribed a *hetter iska*; i.e., permission to take interest on loans of money given from any source whatever (see "*Shetar Iska*" in: Samuel b. Moses David ha-Levi, *Naḥalat Shivah*, no. 40; see also *Usury); this general permission reduced the need for the special permission innovated by Isaac b. Moses and Solomon b. Abraham Adret in respect of funds for the poor.

PURPOSES OF HEKDESH FUNDS. From the geonic period onward, the term *hekdesh* came to be widely used to denote the dedication of property for public or communal needs, for the benefit of the poor or the fulfillment of other *mitzvot*. The purposes for which such funds were endowed were many and diverse, as can be gathered from the responsa of the *geonim* and later scholars, and included such beneficiaries as: "the poor in general" (as early as the time of the *geonim*, Hai and Sherira, see S. Assaf, *Teshuvot ha-Ge'onim* (1927), 69, no. 59); "the poor relatives of the donor"; "synagogal needs" (Scrolls of Law, cantor's salary, etc.); "the ransom of captives" (e.g., Resp. Rif, no. 6); "*talmud torah*" and "those who cling to *Torat ha-Shem*" (presumably the same, Resp. Rashba, vol. 1, no. 1100); "the burial of the dead"; "dowries for orphans about to be married"; and many others. In various places it was laid down in *takkanot* that a portion of the fine imposed on a person convicted of a criminal offense was to go to *hekdesh* (see e.g., *Zikhron Yehudah*, 36). Many funds took their names from their particular localities, such as *Hekdesh Kahal Tortosa* (Resp. Rashba, vol. 1 no. 656), *Hekdesh le-Aniyyei Saragosa (ibid.* 617), *Hekdesh Ashkelona* (Resp. Rosh 3:13), etc. Testamentary bequests were also commonly expressed in wills in terms of *hekdesh*. The term was further used to describe particular institutions which served as *talmudei torah*, homes for the poor or the aged, hospitals, hospices for travelers, etc. (see e.g., Resp. Ranaḥ, no. 84, giving a detailed description of such *hekdesh* institutions in Constantinople). Halakhic literature, *takkanot* collections, and Jewish communal documents of the Middle Ages are richly studded with varied references to matters of *hekdesh* and its different purposes, offering material of much historical interest.

CHANGING THE PURPOSE OF HEKDESH FUNDS. A frequent question concerned the permissibility of changing the original purpose for which the *hekdesh* funds and the fruits thereof were designated. With regard to *ẓedakah* monies it was laid down that "the townsmen may convert the soup kitchen to a charity box and vice versa, and to divert their use to any purpose they think fit" (BB 8b, and Codes); in the opinion of Jacob b. Meir *Tam, the townsmen were at liberty to divert the funds even toward a purpose that was permissible but not obligatory (*devar ha-reshut*) such as the maintenance of the town guard (Tos. to BB 8b). On the other hand, it was decided that funds explicitly contributed for a specified purpose could not be diverted (Resp. Rambam, ed. Blau, no. 206; Resp. Ritba no. 206); a standing local custom relied on by the communal leaders for the diversion of funds from their stated purpose justified the assumption that a contribution was given subject to the said custom (S. Assaf, *Teshuvot ha-Ge'onim* (1927), 69, no. 59; *Sefer Teshuvot ha-Rashba ha-Meyuḥasot le-ha-Rambam*, no. 268), unless the contrary had been expressly stipulated (Resp. Rambam no. 206; Rema YD 259:2). In the discussions on this question, the nature of the charitable purpose played an important role and the principle was accepted that there could only be a change in charitable objects from a less to a more important one: e.g., funds for the synagogue or cemetery could be applied to the needs of a house of study or those of *talmud torah*, but not vice versa (Sh. Ar., YD 259:2). The same principle applied in the case of a field contributed for the purpose of the annual distribution of its produce to the poor, even when seven prominent townsmen agreed to a change of purpose, since the contributor had declared his intention that the field be used for this particular purpose only and any change would amount to "robbing the poor" (Resp. Rashba, vol 5, no. 269; in this case the change was prohibited even for the purpose of *talmud torah*, Sh. Ar., YD 259:2; see also PDR 1:359 f.). However, diverting funds was held to be permissible even of those destined for *talmud torah* or the support of the poor, for the purpose of redeeming captives, since this amounted to saving life and took precedence over all other charitable purposes (Sh. Ar., YD 251:14; 252:1).

ADMINISTRATION AND LEGAL PROCEDURE. *Hekdesh* is administered by an **apotropos* ("guardian" or "trustee") or *gizbar* ("treasurer") appointed by the benefactor or the court; the court is the higher guardian of *hekdesh* and in the administration the *apotropos* is subject to the court's supervision (*Sha'arei Uziel*, 1 (1944), 108–15; PDR, 2:34). The trustee must be godfearing, trustworthy, and experienced in negotiating transactions (Resp. Rambam no. 54), his task being to guard the *hekdesh* assets from all loss and to administer them faithfully in accordance with the purposes for which they were endowed and the instructions of the court (PDR 1:359 f.) If there is a strong suspicion concerning the good faith of his administration of the assets, the court is obliged to dismiss him from his position (PDR *ibid.*) but if he was appointed by the benefactor himself, he cannot be dismissed unless proved to have been derelict in his duties (PDR 2:27 ff.). In many places it was customary to appoint special supervisors, called *avi yetomim* ("father of orphans"), as a board of control over trustees, and this has been considered appropriate also for *hekdesh* assets (*Taz* to Sh. Ar., YD, 258:5; PDR loc. cit.).

Contrary to the rule evolved from talmudic law, that a three-year period of undisputed possession does not confer the title of *ḥazakah* ("presumptive ownership") in respect of *hekdesh* for public needs – because there is no one to protest on its behalf – it was decided by Solomon b. Abraham Adret that in his time *hekdesh* assets were so organized as to make it possible for them to be acquired by *ḥazakah*, "since here there are known owners and appointed treasurers, who have a part in such property and buy, sell, and barter with the knowledge of the *ḥavurah*" (i.e., society or corporate body; Resp. Rashba, quoted in *Beit Yosef*, ḤM 149, n. 37). It was also thus decided in respect of all *hekdesh* property supervised by treasurers (Sh. Ar., ḤM 149:31 and see Isserles' gloss thereto). On the question of the extent to which a charitable fund of such kind could be regarded as having a separate legal identity, see *Legal Person.

EVIDENCE IN MATTERS OF HEKDESH. In the post-talmudic period *hekdesh* was associated with an interesting development in the rules of evidence in Jewish law. In talmudic times the law was that persons connected with or having an interest in the matter under dispute were disqualified from testifying in regard to it (see *Witness) and a townsman could not therefore testify in a matter concerning the property of his town, unless he had renounced all benefit from such property (BB 43a and Codes). In terms of this halakhic ruling it was decided, as late as the beginning of the 11th century, that those who worshiped in a particular synagogue were disqualified from testifying in regard to *hekdesh* contributed for the benefit of that synagogue (Resp. Rif nos. 163 and 247). With the proliferation of public institutions and particularly as far as the community was concerned, the observance of the prohibition in matters involving the interests of such bodies represented an ever-increasing burden, with the result that new customs and **takkanot* established and confirmed the competency of such witnesses, "in all public matters, including *hekdeshot*, for if it were not to be so, who would there be to testify?… there would be no remedy where public needs are concerned … if competent witnesses have to be brought from outside … there would be found but one in a thousand" (Resp. Rashba, vol. 1, no. 680). This custom became the decided law enshrined in the Shulḥan Arukh (ḤM, 37:22; see also **takkanot ha-kahal*; taxation).

The concept of *hekdesh* in its later meaning was a creation of the post-talmudic historico-social situation, and was accompanied by a number of legal developments corresponding to the changes in the social fabric of Jewish life. The phenomenon of a term bearing two different meanings, of which *hekdesh* is an interesting example, offers evidence of one of the paths along which Jewish law has developed. Adherence to a common appellation for a concept with alternative meanings, despite the substantial difference between them, permitted the application of laws pertaining to the concept within one of its meanings – *hekdesh* or consecration for the Temple needs – to the concept within its alternative meaning – *hekdesh* or endowment for charitable purposes – for the purpose of solving certain problems emanating from the changing realities of everyday life.

In the State of Israel

In Israel *hekdesh* exists in two forms. First is endowment of property as approved by a religious court and administered in terms of religious law. Originally, Muslim law was applied, even in respect of non-Muslim endowments of this kind. In terms of the Palestine Order-in-Council, 1922, the Jewish community, as well as several Christian communities, were empowered to found *Wakf* or religious endowments and to administer them according to the religious law of the community in question. The second is the endowment of property for charitable purposes according to the civil, as opposed to the religious law, namely in terms of the "Charitable Trusts Ordinance." The ordinance subjects the charitable trust and the trustee administering it to the supervision of the courts and defines "charitable trusts" as "including all purposes for the benefit of the public or any section of the public within or without Palestine [now to be read "the State of Israel"], of any of the following categories:

(1) for the relief of poverty;

(2) for the advancement of education or knowledge;

(3) for the advancement of religion or the maintenance of religious rites or practices;

(4) for any other purpose beneficial, or of interest to, mankind.

[Menachem Elon]

In the Middle Ages the *hekdesh* was a communal shelter and infirmary for the poor, transient, and the sick. The term does not appear until the late Middle Ages, though Jewish *hospitals are found much earlier. By the 17th century every important community in Central and Eastern Europe had a *hekdesh* for the sick and the poor. The institution persisted into the 19th century. The size of the hospice ranged from a rented room to a house or group of small buildings. Most often it was located out of town near the cemetery. The *hekdesh* was administered by a local **ḥevrah*, usually named *bikkur ḥolim*, and supervised by the *kahal*. The **gabbai* of the association, often a local merchant, was expected to visit the hospice as often as several times a day and to supervise the work of the beadle, the physician, the surgeon, and the *hekdeshleyt* ("attendants"). The *hekdesh* was usually so unsanitary and dirty that a person would view with horror the prospect of staying there. The patients in Altona, about 1764, described themselves thus: "We the poor, fathers with children, lying-in women with their offspring, nursing mothers with their sucklings, old men and young men, all of whom are cast upon the bed of sickness, enduring our ailments, crushed, wasted; also we who are insane and distraught…" A British missionary who visited Minsk in the early 19th century writes: "In the Jewish Hospital we saw 45 young and old of both sexes, seemingly without any classification of disease, placed in several small rooms. They certainly presented one of the most appalling scenes of wretchedness I ever witnessed; filth, rags, and pestilential effluvia pervaded the whole place." Thus in Yiddish *hekdesh* became synonymous with disorder and disarray in the home, in a room, or concerning a person. Not until the modern hospital came into its own did the situation improve.

[Isaac Levitats]

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HEKHSHER (Heb. הֶכְשֵׁר; "approbation" or "attestation"), certificate issued by the rabbinate or by individual rabbis certifying that a certain food product has been prepared under their supervision and in accordance with the traditional dietary *laws, hence declaring it *kasher.* Such an attestation is also required for all foodstuff prepared for consumption on *Passover in which case it must also be free from all leaven (*ḥameẓ). The *hekhsher* certificate is now usually printed on the package of the product. Restaurants which are under the supervision of a rabbinate need a *hekhsher* (which is displayed on the premises), testifying that the food served by them is prepared in accordance with the traditional dietary laws and that a **mashgi'aḥ* oversees the kitchen. In some countries specific symbols have been adopted to indicate that the product is under supervision. The Union of Orthodox Hebrew Congregations in the U.S. uses Ⓤ (a "u" inside an "O" – **U**nion of **O**rthodox) and in that country there is also widespread use of various other *kashrut* supervising bodies that employ the letter "K", alone or in combination with other communally recognized symbols. In England the seal of the *bet din* is used. In certain states of America it is illegal to declare a product *kasher* if it is not, but for observant Jews that does not obviate the need for a rabbinic *hekhsher.*

ḤELBO (third–early fourth century C.E.), *amora*. Ḥelbo was apparently a Babylonian who migrated to Ereẓ Israel. In Babylon he studied under Huna (Ber. 6b, et al.) and under Ḥama b. Gurya, the pupil of Rav, in whose name he transmits Rav's statements (Shab. 37a, et al). In Ereẓ Israel he studied under Samuel b. Naḥman (TJ, Meg. 1:1, 70b, et al.) and transmitted sayings in his name (Gen. R. 78:1; Theodor-Albeck, 916 note). He was an associate of *Ammi (TJ, Kil. 9:4, 32c), Ulla Biraah (Meg. 4a), and Isaac Nappaḥa (Git. 59b–60a), and among his colleagues was apparently also the *nasi* Yudan (TJ, Ta'an. 2:1, 65a). Ḥelbo was childless and lived a lonely life (Yev. 64b; Ned. 39b–40a). His pupil was Berechiah (Gen. R. 78:1, et al.) who frequently transmitted his sayings, particularly in *aggadah* (TJ, Ber. 1:1, 2d, et al.). Among his noteworthy sayings are the following: "One must always be regardful of the honor due to one's wife, because blessings rest on a man's house only on account of his wife" (BM 59a); "whosoever partakes of the wedding meal of a bridegroom and does not cause him to rejoice transgresses the five voices mentioned in Jeremiah 33:11" (Ber. 6b); and "Proselytes are as injurious to Israel as a scab" (Kid. 70b) – an individual opinion presumably reflecting contemporary conditions which nevertheless in future generations influenced the attitude with regard to the acceptance of proselytes.

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[Zvi Kaplan]

HELD, ADOLPH (1885–1969), U.S. communal and labor leader and Yiddish journalist. Held, who was born in Borislav, Poland, was taken to the United States in 1892. He joined the staff of the Yiddish-language *Jewish Daily Forward, where he served as news editor from 1907 to 1912 and then as business manager from 1912 to 1917. From 1917 to 1919 he was a Socialist member of New York City's Board of Aldermen. In 1920 he was appointed European director of the Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society (HIAS), in which capacity he assisted hundreds of thousands of Jewish immigrants to the United States. Returning to America in 1924, he became president of the Forward Association, the paper's governing body, and of the Amalgamated Bank, whose main function it was to provide financial aid to the garment industry. In 1938 he was chosen national chairman of the Jewish Labor Committee. Held resigned his presidency of the bank in 1945 in order to become welfare director of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union. He was made general manager of the *Jewish Daily Forward* in 1962. In the years before his death he was also active in senior citizens' groups and took part in the campaign for the extension of Social Security benefits and the establishment of Medicare.

[Hillel Halkin]

HELD, ANNA (1873–1918), French actress. Born in Paris, Anna Held made her debut at the Folies Manguay, Paris, in 1895, and soon afterward was engaged by Florenz Ziegfeld for his first New York production. Later the two were married and she appeared in many plays, including Jean Richepin's *Mam'selle Napoleon* (1903). She toured the U.S. in 1903 in the title role of *The Little Duchess.*

HELD, MOSHE (1924–1984), Bible scholar. Held was born in Poland, brought to Mandatory Palestine in 1935 and raised in Tel Aviv. He entered the Hebrew University of Jerusalem in 1943. His studies, interrupted by service in the British army in World War II, were resumed in 1946, but delayed once again by Israel's War of Independence. He completed his M.A. in Hebrew literature at the Hebrew University, studying Hebrew and Arabic with D. Baneth, S.D. *Goitein, and H. Polotsky, studies which he later described as "sins of his youth." His academic direction took a new turn thanks to Umberto Moshe David *Cassuto, an Italian Jewish scholar, and a pioneer in the study of the *Ugaritic tablets of the second millennium B.C.E. unearthed in 1929. Cassuto urged Held to study Ugaritic at Johns Hopkins with W.F. *Albright. Albright, in turn, sent Held to study Akkadian (Assyro-Babylonian) at the University of Chicago under the great Assyriologist Benno *Landsberger, himself a German Jewish émigré of the Hitler years. After completing his Ph.D. at Hopkins (1957), Held came to Dropsie replacing Cyrus *Gordon who had moved to Brandeis. In 1959 Held began his visits to the Jewish Theological Seminary, where he was to continue as adjunct professor of Bible for 25 years. The JTS connection brought Held under the tutelage of H.L.*Ginsberg, to whom Held always referred as "my mentor." In 1966 Held came to the Middle East Department at Columbia, where he taught until his death. The two positions enabled Held to concentrate on the study of the Bible in its larger Near Eastern context. Held was a superb comparative philologist who, in accord with his teachers Albright and Landsberger, insisted that etymological comparisons had to take a backseat to contextual comparisons, or better, "interdialectal distributions." A passionate teacher, Held's Columbia position enabled him to train Jewish students at JTS and Christians at Union Theological Seminary in the serious reading of biblical texts against the background of the ancient Near East.

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[S. David Sperling (2nd ed.)]

HELDMAN, GLADYS MEDALIE (1922–2003), leader in women's tennis and sports media and founder of the professional women's tennis tour. Heldman was born in New York City, daughter of well-known New York attorney and judge George Z. Medalie. She married Julius Heldman, a 1936 U.S. junior tennis champion, in 1942 and later her whole family became involved in tennis. Heldman, who earned a B.A. from Stanford University in 1942 with Phi Beta Kappa honors, and an M.A. in medieval history from the University of California, Berkeley in 1943, started playing tennis after her two daughters were born. She achieved No.1 amateur ranking in Texas and No. 2 in the Southwest in 1954; she competed at Wimbledon in 1954 and participated in the U.S. Championships at Forest Hills. In 1951, Heldman received the Service Bowl awarded to "the player who yearly makes the most notable contribution to the sportsmanship, fellowship and service of tennis." She founded *World Tennis* magazine in 1953, serving as the publisher and editor-in-chief, and as a writer. She sold the magazine in the 1970s.

Heldman championed the founding of the women's professional tennis tour to provide more equity in prize money for women in a male-dominated sport. In 1970, nine top players, including Heldman's daughter JULIE (1945–), played in the first Virginia Slims Circuit tournament in Houston in 1970. The Virginia Slims Circuit later merged with the U.S. Tennis Association (USTA). Legendary tennis champion Billie Jean King wrote that, "With the invaluable help, support and guidance of Gladys Heldman" women tennis players were able to revolutionize their sport by establishing their own tennis tour.

Heldman and her family maintained an active role in tennis. In recognition of her tremendous contributions to the world of tennis, Gladys Heldman was inducted into the International Tennis Hall of Fame and the International Jewish Sports Hall of Fame. Julie Heldman won medals in singles and doubles tennis exhibition events at the 1968 Olympics and also won three gold medals in the 1969 Maccabiah Games. She was inducted into the International Jewish Sports Hall of Fame in 2002.

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[Linda J. Borish (2nd ed.)]

HELENA (first century C.E.), sister and wife of *Monobazus I, king of *Adiabene (cf. Jos., Ant., 20:17–96). Helena and her son *Izates became converts to Judaism in about 30 C.E. through the influence of Ananias, a Jewish merchant. When her husband died, she appointed Izates as king in accordance with his expressed wish. As was customary in the East, the other sons of Monobazus were imprisoned and were in danger of being put to death, but Helena and Izates sent them to Rome – a humane act probably dictated by their new religion. Only her son Monobazus II, who ruled for a short time after his father's death, remained in Adiabene. Helena spent the latter part of her life in Jerusalem, where she built herself a palace (Jos., Wars, 5:252; 6:355). When a famine raged in Judea at the time of Claudius (Ant., 20:51), she bought grain and figs in Egypt and Cyprus for the starving people. Echoes of this are found in the Talmud (BB 11a; TJ, Pe'ah 1:1, 15b; Tosef., *ibid.*, 4:18). Helena also made gifts to the Temple (Yoma 3:10), and was meticulous in the observance of the precepts of Judaism (Naz. 3:6). She died in Adiabene but her remains and those of Izates were transferred to Jerusalem by Monobazus, and interred in the mausoleum she had built at a distance of three stadia to the north of the city, known today as "the Tombs of the Kings" (Jos., Ant., 20:95; Jos., Wars, 5:55, 119, 147). Pausanius (*Graec. Descrip.* VIII, 16:4–5 (358)) provides a description of the Tomb of Helena and refers to a special mechanism that kept the door of the tomb closed. The inscription on the sarcophagus found by De Saulcy in the Tomb of the Kings was of great value in identifying Helena's tomb. The first line has the words מלכתא צדן and the second line מלכת א צדה. The language of both lines is Aramaic, but the script of the first line is Syrian and of the second, Hebrew. This proves that at least the second queen mentioned was Jewish and that she came from a Syrian royal family.

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[Abraham Schalit / Shimon Gibson (2nd ed.)]

HELENA AUGUSTA (c. 255–329 C.E.), mother of the Emperor Constantine and a pious convert to Christianity. In the writings of Geoffrey of Monmouth (c. 1100–1154) she is described as the daughter of the British King Coel of Colchester ("Old King Cole"), but this seems highly unlikely. Having originated from a modest background, serving for a while in Diocletian's court at Nicomedia, Helena was later at Constantine's side at the imperial court in Trier and was accorded great honor there. In the aftermath of Constantine's defeat of Licinius in September 324 C.E., Helena, who was about 80 years of age, made a journey to the Holy Land (between c. 325 and 327) to offer prayers at the holy places (described in Eusebius' *Vita Constantini*), and is said to have founded churches on the Mount of Olives (the Eleona Church) and at Bethlehem. Although not mentioned by Eusebius as having played any part in the building operations next to the Tomb of Jesus at Golgotha, it is difficult to make a sharp division between churches ascribed to Constantine and those attributed to his mother. Helena is also credited with the discovery of the true cross (*lignum crucis*) on which Jesus was crucified in a cistern not far from the place of his tomb, but scholars have questioned the authenticity of this tradition. Indeed, Eusebius does not mention the discovery at all and his absolute silence on this matter is quite telling (20 or so years later the first references appear mentioning the relics of the cross, e.g. Cyril of Jerusalem in 350 C.E.). Ambrose of Milan, however, in c. 395 C.E., is the first to mention Helena as the discoverer of the cross (*De Ob. Theod.* 46–48). According to Ambrose, Helena "…opened up the earth, scattered the dust, and discovered three crosses in disarray (*confusa*)." The holy cross still retained the inscription (*titulus*) and nails were also found. Thereafter, various embellished versions of the story exist, with faith rapidly ousting the facts from the tradition. Some versions refer to the holy cross being found lying between two crosses with an inscription (John Chrysostom, *Hom. In Joh.* 75:1, PG 59, 461) and others to the authenticity of the cross being verified by its ability to cure a sick woman (e.g., Rufinus, *Hist. Eccles.* 10:7–8). None of these early sources provide information regarding the exact find-spot of the cross. Recent archaeological researches show that the traditional place where the cross was supposed to have been found, at the Cave of the Invention of the Cross in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, was a subterranean cavity that was converted into a cistern no earlier than the 11th century. Helena died soon after her return to court. In the fifth and sixth centuries C.E. Helena was highly praised by Church historians and pilgrims for her discovery of the true cross and for her part in the Christian rebuilding of Jerusalem. In later tradition Helena was said to have been responsible for the foundation of most of the important churches in the Holy Land, notwithstanding the fact that some were built centuries after her death.

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[Shimon Gibson (2nd ed.)]

ḤELEẒ (Heb. חֶלֶץ), site of Israel's first oil field, which exploits oil-bearing strata discovered in 1955. It is located near a moshav of the same name in the southern Coastal Plain of Israel, 7½ mi. (12 km.) S.E. of *Ashkelon. In the later stages of the *War of Independence (1948), a hard battle was won there against the invading Egyptian army. The moshav, affiliated with Tenuat ha-Moshavim, was founded in 1950. Its first settlers came from Yemen, but later immigrants from Tunisia took over. In 1968, the moshav Ḥeleẓ had 510 inhabitants. Its economy was based on intensive field crops, vegetables, citrus, and dairy farming. The name Ḥeleẓ – connected with the Hebrew root meaning "to extricate" or "to pioneer" – was regarded as similar to that of the nearby abandoned Arab village Ḥulayqāt. After a drop in population, the moshav began to expand, its population rising from around 340 in the mid-1990s to 433 in 2002.

[Efraim Orni / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

HELFMAN, ELḤANAN (1946–), Israel economist. Born in the U.S.S.R., he lived in Poland until the age of 11, when his family moved to Israel. He studied economics and statistics at Tel Aviv University. He received his doctorate from Harvard in 1974 and became a professor at Tel Aviv University, holding the chair in International Economic Relations. In 1988 he was elected a member of the Israel Academy of Sciences. In 1989–91 he was the president of the Israeli Economic Association. In 1991 he was awarded the Israel Prize for social sciences. In 1995 he was awarded the Feher Prize from the Jerusalem Institute for the Study of Israel and in 1998 he was awarded the Bernhard-Harms Prize from the Kiel Institute for World Economics. In 2000 he was the president of the Econometric Society. In 2002 he was awarded the EMET Prize from the AMN Foundation for the Advancement of Science, Art and Culture and the Rothschild Prize from the Yad Hanadiv Foundation.

HELFMAN, HESSIA MEYEROVNA (1855–1882), Russian revolutionary. Born in Mozyr near Minsk (Belorussia) into a rich family, Hessia Helfman left home at the age of 16 and joined the revolutionary movement in Kiev. In 1875 she was arrested and was one of the accused in the "Trial of Fifty." She was sentenced to two years imprisonment and on her release was banished to Staraya Russa. She escaped, however, and joined the terrorist Narodnaya Volya party in St. Petersburg where she helped to run a clandestine press and distributed propaganda among students and workers. In 1881 Hessia Helfman was sentenced to death, together with five other revolutionaries, for complicity in the assassination of Czar Alexander II. Because she was pregnant at the time, her execution was delayed, and as a result of protests from abroad, the sentence was commuted to life imprisonment. She died in the Peter-and-Paul Fortress in St. Petersburg shortly after the birth of the child, which was taken from her. Hessia Helfman did not take part in the assassination itself and was the only Jewish person among the six condemned. Nevertheless antisemitic groups blamed the Jews for the murder of the Czar.

°**HELIODORUS** of Antioch, chancellor of *Seleucus IV Philopator (187–175 B.C.E.). The official title of chancellor (ὁ ἐπί τῶν πραγμάτων), by which he is described in II Maccabees 3:7, is also found in an official inscription (W. Dittenberger (ed.), *Orientis Graeci inscriptiones selectae*, 1 (1903), no. 247). When Simeon, "head of the Temple" in Jerusalem, denounced the Jews before Apollonius, commander of the Syrian army, claiming that there were treasures in the Temple which belonged to the king, Heliodorus was sent to Jerusalem to remove these treasures. Attempting to break into the Temple, he was suddenly smitten by two angels (II Macc. 3:7–40). It is probable that in fact Heliodorus was driven from the Temple by force. In 176 B.C.E. Heliodorus murdered Seleucus IV, and placed the king's young son upon the throne. Subsequently he had him removed also in order to obtain the throne for himself. However, Antiochus Epiphanes put an end to his rule. These events are perhaps reflected in *Daniel 7:7–8 and 11:20.

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[Abraham Schalit]

HELIOPOLIS (Gr., meaning "city of the sun"; Egyptian, **Iunu**; Heb., **On**), ancient city of lower Egypt situated about six miles N. of Cairo on the site of the modern village of El Matariyah. From earliest times Heliopolis was the cult center for the worship of the sun god, usually in his manifestation as Re, but also as Re-Horakhty and Atum. Although some form of sun worship existed from the beginning of recorded Egyptian history, it was not until the Fifth Dynasty (c. 2480–2340 B.C.E.) that the Helipolitan cult of Re achieved its preeminent position in the cosmogony of the Egyptians, a position which it retained well into the third century B.C.E.

Heliopolis is specifically mentioned four times in the Bible: Genesis 41:45, 45:50 and 46:20, where Joseph is given as wife Asenath, the daughter of Poti-Phera, the priest of On (who must have been the high priest of Re of Heliopolis); and Ezekiel 30:17, where the prophet foretells the destruction of Egypt by the hand of Nebuchadnezzar, the Babylonian king, and mentions Heliopolis among the great cities to be destroyed. The prediction of the destruction of Beth-Shemesh, "the House of the Sungod," in Jeremiah 43:13 is also probably a reference to Heliopolis. Another possible reference to the city is Isaiah 19:18, where, in view of the Egyptian context of the passage, the reading *ir ha-ḥeres*, or "city of the sun," as attested by Symmachus and Vulgate, is preferred by many scholars to the present masoretic text *ir ha-heres*, or "city of destruction."

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[Alan Richard Schulman]

°**HELLADIUS OF ANTINOUPOLIS** (fl. c. 310 C.E.), Greek grammarian, who notes, in a passage derived from the Alexandrian antisemitic Exodus tradition, as do *Nicarchus and *Ptolemy of Chennos, that Moses was called "Alpha" because of his leprous spots (alphoi), but cites Philo as a source (in no extant work, however).

[Louis Harry Feldman]

HELLENISM, term generally used by historians to refer to the period from the death of Alexander the Great (323 B.C.E.) to the death of Cleopatra and the incorporation of Egypt in the Roman Empire in 30 B.C.E. Egypt was the last important survivor of the political system which had developed as a consequence both of the victories of Alexander and of his premature death. The word Hellenism is also used to indicate more generically the cultural tradition of the Greek-speaking part of the Roman Empire between Augustus and Justinian and/or the influence of Greek civilization on Rome, Carthage, India, and other regions which were never part of the empire of Alexander. Finally, Hellenization is used with reference to Judea, Persia, etc. to indicate the penetration of elements of Greek civilization into territories which, though subject to Greco-Macedonian rule for a certain period of time, preserved their national culture with conspicuous success.

The words Hellenism and Hellenistic have a long history in which the text of the Acts of the Apostles 6:1 plays a central part because it opposes *Hebraioi* to *Hellenistai*. At least from the 16th century onward (J. Scaliger) this text was interpreted to imply a contrast between Jews who used Hebrew and Jews who used Greek in the synagogue service. D. Heinsius developed the notion that Jewish *Hellenistai* used a special Greek dialect *(lingua hellenistica)*, which is reflected in the Septuagint translation of the Bible. C. Salmasius denied the existence of such a special dialect (1643), but the notion of a special *lingua hellenistica* to indicate the Greek of the Old and New Testaments remained in circulation until the middle of the 19th century. In the 18th century in Germany, J.G. Herder used *Hellenismus* to indicate the way of thinking of Jews and other Orientals who spoke Greek. In 1820 in France J. Matter specifically connected the word *Hellénisme* with the thought of the Greek-speaking Jews of Egypt. J.G. Droysen stretched the meaning of the word to signify the period of transition from the pagan to the Christian world which started with Alexander. In 1833 he published a volume on Alexander the Great; and in 1836 and 1843 he published two volumes of *Geschichte des Hellenismus* embracing the century 323–222 B.C.E. He intended to continue his work in further volumes, but never did so, and it is not quite clear from what he says whether his original intention was to reach the age of Muhammad or to stop with Augustus. In 1877–78 he published a second (considerably modified) edition of these three volumes under the title of *Geschichte des Hellenismus* (which now included the reign of Alexander). The second edition, both in the German text and in the French translation by A. Bouché-Leclercq, became authoritative, and consolidated the notion of Hellenism as a special period of the history of antiquity characterized by a mixture of Greek and Oriental elements. Since Droysen, many historians have reexamined the political and constitutional history of this period; they include B. Niese, K.J. Beloch, A. Bouché-Leclercq, J. Kaerst, W.W. Tarn, E. Bickerman, and E. Will. But research has been particularly intense and productive in the field of economic and social history (U. Wilcken, M. Rostovtzeff, W. Otto, C. Préaux, and C. Schneider) and in the field of the history of religions (F. Cumont, R. Reitzenstein, H. Usener, P. Wendland, W. Bousset, A.D. Nock, and M.P. Nilsson). Droysen's notion of Hellenism has also deeply influenced the work of literary historians such as U. Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, F. Susemihl, F. Leo, E. Norden, and R. Pfeiffer.

The study of Greek influence on Judaism has developed into a special branch of research on which E. Bickerman, H. Lewy, S. Lieberman, V. Tcherikover, and M. Hengel, among others, have written with distinction. Research on Hellenism has been helped by archaeological discoveries, new inscriptions, and the constitution of a new branch of research, papyrology, since the beginning of the 20th century. Papyrology is especially relevant to the study of the Hellenistic period because a considerable portion of the papyri discovered in Egypt belongs to the last three centuries B.C.E.

However, a knowledge of the political history of Hellenism is hampered by the fragmentary nature of the surviving sources. The works of the great historians of the Hellenistic age (Hieronymus of Cardia, Duris, Timaeus, Agatharchidas, Phylarchus, and Posidonius) are all lost, with the exception of Polybius, and only fragments of his work remain. The only continuous account of the Hellenistic age is found in the short summary of the *Historiae Philippicae* by *Pompeius Trogus (end of the first century B.C.E.) written by Justinus in the second century C.E. Plutarch's *Lives* of some Hellenistic kings and politicians are of the utmost importance. Books I, II, and III of Maccabees are invaluable for Jewish history and must be supplemented by the relevant sections of Josephus' *Jewish Antiquities*. Strabo, Pliny the Elder, Pausanias, Galen, Athenaeus, and Diogenes Laertius, though all writing in the Roman Empire, provide essential information on Hellenistic science, social life, and customs.

The empire of Alexander the Great was the result of the military and intellectual cooperation of Greeks and Macedonians, who constituted the ruling class in the states emerging from the struggles of Alexander's successors. This collaboration was precarious in Greece alone, where consequently there was no political stability. The rivalries between Greek cities and the interference of the great Hellenistic states in Greek affairs led to Roman intervention at the end of the third century and ultimately contributed to the transformation of Greece into a direct Roman dependency in 146 B.C.E. The great Hellenistic states – Macedonia, Syria, Egypt, Thrace (for the brief period until 281 B.C.E.), Pergamum (at least after 240 B.C.E.) – though much stronger, had other sources of difficulty: they were faced by dynastic struggles in their midst, by frequent wars with their neighbors, and above all they had large native populations to control. The third century was the period of the greatest power and prosperity of these kingdoms. Almost everywhere during the second century B.C.E. the increasing inability of the Greco-Macedonian ruling class to prevent internal dissolution is noticeable. The Romans took full advantage of the difficulties of the Hellenistic states, played on the fear of social revolution among the wealthy Greeks, and exploited rivalries and native rebellions, with the result that they defeated and ultimately absorbed all the Hellenistic states. Macedonia, first defeated in 197, was reduced to impotence in 168 and transformed into a province in 149. Syria (the Seleucid state) was first deprived of some of its best Oriental regions by native rebellions (such as those leading to the creation of the Parthian and Bactrian states about 250 B.C.E.). Later it was defeated and mutilated by the Romans (188). The Jewish rebellion of the Maccabees contributed to the further decline of the Seleucid state, which was transformed into a Roman province in 64 B.C.E. Pergamum became a Roman province (province of Asia) in 129 B.C.E., Bithynia in 74. Egypt (the kingdom of the Ptolemies), as already noted, was incorporated by the Romans in 30 B.C.E. The last strong resistance of the Macedonian-Greek elements against the Romans was provoked and supported by Mithridates VI Eupator about 80 B.C.E. and ended in violent repression by the Romans. The last act of resistance against the Romans during the Hellenistic period in the East was not Greek, but Jewish.

In all the Hellenistic states Greek was the language of the aristocracy and the administration. The foundation of new cities (especially in the Seleucid kingdom) and of new villages (particularly in Egypt) contributed to the spread of Greek, but the peasants and the native priests kept the indigenous languages alive. Except in Judea, which had an original literature in Hebrew and Aramaic even under Greek rule, the important developments in literature were all in Greek. Even natives of Egypt and Babylonia wrote their histories in Greek (Manetho, Berossus; cf. Fabius Pictor in Rome). The schools and the gymnasia were organized according to Greek tradition: Homer, the tragedians of the fifth century (especially Euripides), and the orators and historians of the fourth century were the models of the new classicism. Erudition developed for its own sake and, notably in Alexandria and Pergamum, was under royal protection. The libraries of Alexandria were centers of research, besides containing extraordinary collections of manuscripts (apparently not confined to texts in Greek). Classicism notwithstanding, literature and art developed new styles, characterized by realism of detail and a tendency toward the idyllic and the pathetic. Modern scholars have recognized local trends not only in literature but also in art. They are, however, not so important as the essential unity of Hellenistic culture. Philosophy remained centered in Athens, but the great philosophic schools of the academy (Platonists), Peripatos (Aristotelians), Stoa (disciples of Zeno), and Porch (Epicureans) spread everywhere. There was also a revival (perhaps a transformation) of Pythagorean groups, which began to look like a religious sect. Natural sciences made enormous progress, and so did mathematics. Euclid, Apollonius of Perge, and Archimedes represent the culmination of Greek research in geometry and mechanics. Eratosthenes applied mathematics to geography and Aristarchus developed the heliocentric theory, but Hipparchus (who made fundamental discoveries in astronomy) persuaded the succeeding generations with his new version of the geocentric system. Scientific medicine flourished in Alexandria and elsewhere: The advances in anatomy (Herophilus), physiology (Erasistratus), etc., remained unsurpassed until the Renaissance. Pytheas explored new regions in the north. The philosopher Posidonius explained the tides.

Everywhere the new literature and art interested large strata of the Greek-speaking public, which was predominantly middle-class. If some poets were obscure and full of subtle allusions to the literature of the past (Callimachus, Lycophron, Euphorion, and to a certain extent Theocritus), others were easily comprehensible (Menander, Herodas, and perhaps Apollonius Rhodius). New prose genres, such as the erotic novel, were meant to appeal to a large public. There are signs that much of the literature now lost was fairly popular in character. Figurative art certainly had a wide appeal, as can be deduced from the amount of cheap, but graceful, figurines of this period. Improved techniques of work affected the lives of the many, and town-planning together with the easier economic conditions of private persons produced better housing in many places. But neither philosophy nor science meant much even to the middle class in the Greek-speaking cities. In religion the stronger influences came from the native populations, not from the upper (Greek or Hellenized) stratum. There was no sign that the gods of the Greek Olympus were dying: they went on performing miracles and acquiring new festivals and new sanctuaries. However, a progressive transformation of the old city cults was noticeable, with a new emphasis on free associations of devotees of a specific god, on mysteries, on spiritual notions such as philanthropy and purification. Dionysus became distinctly popular. At the same time Oriental gods – either with their original names (Osiris, Isis) or by identification with Greek gods (Hermes – Thot; Jupiter – Dolichenus) – were widely worshiped outside their original countries, with appropriate modifications of their cults. A curious case of a new god with old Egyptian roots was Serapis. Babylonian astrology gained many believers, even among philosophically educated Greeks. The Greek idea of Fortune (*Tyche*) increased in importance and was worshiped as a goddess, partly owing to Oriental influences. No doubt there were educated people who cared little for gods, either Greek or Oriental. Epicurus preached the indifference of gods to human events and Euhemerus reduced the gods to ancient human benefactors; yet the climate of the age was religious.

With all its regional and chronological differences, Hellenism is a cultural unity which corresponds to the existence of a uniform upper stratum of society and is reflected in the remarkable uniformity of the Greek language (the so-called *koiné*) from India to Gaul, wherever there was a Greek settlement. International trade both favored, and was favored by, this uniform upper stratum; Greek-speaking traders moved round the world. They were joined by more or less Hellenized Orientals and later by Italians. The slaves, the native peasants, and the Greek proletariat neither contributed much to, nor enjoyed the advantages of, this civilization.

It is much more difficult to speak of Hellenism as a political and institutional phenomenon, because conditions varied so profoundly from region to region. Monarchy was the unifying institutional fact. The king was supposed to own his own state by right of conquest (patrimonial monarchy). He was surrounded by a hierarchy of officials with specific functions. Monarchy was connected with religion by a dynastic cult. The army in each country was modeled on the Macedonian prototype which had ensured Alexander's victories. New military features included the use of elephants, the improvement of siege-engines, and the construction of bigger ships. The fact remains, however, that the political organization of Egypt was different from that of Syria, and both Egypt and Syria were of course different from Pergamum (where the king was much more the head of a Greek community) and from Macedonia, not to speak of the Greek city-states and leagues (Aetolia, Achaea, etc). Economic production, taxation, relations between natives and Greeks, and religious institutions varied greatly from state to state. The Ptolemies organized a state-controlled economy in Egypt which had no parallel elsewhere and slowed down urbanization. The Seleucid state included territories which differed from each other economically and socially. They were kept together (when they were kept together) by the royal army and the militarized Greco-Macedonian colonies. The Seleucids never made any serious attempt at central control of the economic affairs of their state.

The great paradox of the Hellenistic age is that a Greek-speaking man could move easily from country to country with a reasonable expectation of finding work and being well received everywhere – and yet he would not find himself at home anywhere outside his native city. Furthermore, from the end of the third century onward any Greek would also increasingly feel the presence of a new intimidating power – Rome. The structure of Hellenistic civilization was not weak, for it survived the defeat of Hellenistic states, but daily life seemed dangerous; and indeed wars and rebellions were frequent and increasingly catastrophic. Philosophy and religion both provided escape from worldly commitments and consolation for disappointments.

Here the Jews presented a remarkable exception. Confronted with Greek ideas, some attempted to combine Greek intellectual values with Hebrew ones; such efforts were more successful in Egypt than in Judea. However, even in Judea the Hellenizing movement under Antiochus IV came near to prevailing. Ultimately the Jews organized their culture and their political life on their own terms, as witnessed by the rise of the Essenes and Pharisees. The independence of Jewish intellectual life in the Hellenistic age is partly explained by the fact that while Jews took a great interest in Greek ideas, the outside world took relatively little interest in Hebrew ideas. The translation of the Bible into Greek did not mean that the Greeks read the Bible. The isolation in which the Jews lived, especially in Judea, was conducive to the creation of a style of thought and life which can be (and was) considered competitive with Hellenistic civilization.

[Arnaldo Dante Momigliano]

Hellenism and the Jews

Contact between Greeks and Semites, probably including Jews, seems likely to have occurred in Mycenaean times, as remains of Greek pottery in Palestine and Syria testify. Several interesting parallels between early Greek, especially that of Homer, and biblical vocabulary have been suggested, such as Homeric *amumōn* ("without blemish") and biblical *mum* ("blemish"), Homeric *machaira* ("sword") and biblical *mekherah* (Gen. 49:5), Homeric *erebos* ("darkness") and biblical *erev* ("evening") and *ma'ariv* ("west"), and Greek *kados* ("pitcher," in Archilochus) and Hebrew *kad* ("pitcher"). Parallels between Homeric and biblical motifs are generally less striking. The possibility of a link between the even earlier Minoan civilization and Jews, or at any rate Semites, suggested by the presence of Minoan pottery at Ugarit and supported by bilingual (Greek and Northwest Semitic) inscriptions in Crete dating from 600 to 300 B.C.E., awaits the decipherment of Linear A.

It was not until the time of *Alexander the Great, however, that the contacts between Greeks and Jews were revived and intensified. The fact that for two centuries Palestine was part of Hellenistic kingdoms, first of Ptolemaic Egypt and then of Seleucid Syria, made Greek influence on Jewish thought and life inevitable. In the first third of the second century B.C.E., a group of Hellenizing Jews came to power in Jerusalem. They were led by wealthy Jewish aristocrats such as Joseph son of Tobiah, and his son Hyrcanus, who were apparently attracted to the externals of Hellenism; their Hellenization was, at first, primarily social rather than cultural and religious. *Jason the high priest carried his Hellenizing to the extent of establishing Greek educational institutions, the gymnasium and *ephebeion*, and of founding Jerusalem as a Greek city, Antioch-at-Jerusalem. But Jason was only a moderate Hellenizer compared with *Menelaus, whose succession as high priest occasioned a civil war between their factions, with the *Tobiads supporting Menelaus and the masses of the people standing behind Jason. As the scholars Bickermann, Tcherikover, and Hengel have shown, it was the Hellenizers, notably Menelaus and his followers, who influenced Antiochus Epiphanes to undertake his persecutions of Judaism so as to put down the rebellion of the *Hassideans, who were supported by the masses of Jerusalem and who rebelled against the Hellenizers. Perhaps the account in the *Dead Sea Scrolls of the war between the sons of light and the sons of darkness reflects this struggle.

In the following year the fight of the Maccabees against the Hellenizers began. This struggle highlights the antagonism between the rich and highborn in the towns, who believed in finding a modus vivendi with Hellenism, and the peasants and urban masses, who could brook no compromise with their religious traditions. In victory the Maccabees were particularly ruthless toward the Greek cities of Palestine (of which there were 30) and their inhabitants, but their struggle was against the Greek cities as a political rather than as a cultural force. It is a mistake to regard the Hellenization of the Palestinian Jews as so deep that they would have been absorbed had not

Antiochus' persecution aroused a fanatic reaction. Similarly it is a mistake to look upon the Maccabees as despisers of Greek culture. In point of fact, Jonathan the Hasmonean, far from hating Greek culture, renewed the treaty of friendship with Sparta (Jos., Ant., 13:164–170) that the high priest *Onias I is said to have negotiated about 300 B.C.E. Alexander Yannai employed Greek mercenaries in his army (*ibid.*, 13:387), and from his time onward coins are inscribed with Greek as well as with Hebrew. The very Aristobulus who forced the Itureans to become Jews called himself "philhellene" (*ibid.*, 13:318). The rise of the Pharisees may be seen, to some degree, as a reaction against the Greco-Roman culture favored by the Sadducees, who were allied with the phil-Hellenic Hasmoneans. The Hellenic influence increased under Herod, who built a Greek theater, an amphitheater where Jews wrestled naked with Greeks, and a hippodrome in or near Jerusalem. Even Agrippa I, who is so highly regarded in rabbinic sources (Bik. 2:4, etc.), built a theater and amphitheater at Berytus (Jos., Ant., 19:335) and himself attended the theater at Caesarea (*ibid.*, 19:332–4).

Jews came to Egypt just before the end of the kingdom of Judah in the sixth century B.C.E. and fought as mercenaries, in all probability side by side with Greeks who had come for the same purpose. But large-scale emigration began with *Ptolemy I after the death of Alexander. Philo (*In Flaccum*, 43) reports that in his day the Jews in Egypt numbered a million. By that time there were large Jewish communities in Syria, especially Antioch (Jos., Wars, 7:43), Greece proper (Philo, *Legatio ad Gaium*, 281–2), Asia Minor (Jos., Ant., 14:213, 255–64; Philo, op. cit., 245), Cyprus (Jos., Ant., 13:284), Rome (Cicero, *Pro Flacco*,67), and Cyrene (Jos., Ant., 14:115), all of which were primarily Greek speaking.

The Hellenization of the Jews, both in Palestine and the Diaspora, consists in the substitution of the Greek language for Hebrew and Aramaic, the adoption of Greek personal names, the adoption of Greek educational institutions, the growth of a Jewish Hellenistic literature and philosophy, and religious deviation and syncretism as seen in legal institutions and in art (see *Diaspora). In Palestine, the predominance of Greek in ossuary inscriptions (the dates vary) so that of 168, 114 are in Greek only, the discovery of Greek papyri in the Dead Sea caves, and of Greek letters from leaders of the Bar Kokhba rebellion, and the presence of perhaps as many as 2,500–3,000 Greek words in the talmudic corpus, especially in the homiletic Midrashim composed for popular consumption, testify to what degree the Greek language had gained currency (see Rabbinical Knowledge of *Greek and Latin). The contact with Greek influenced, moreover, a number of developments in Hebrew phonology and syntax and led to the establishment of a number of Hebrew roots derived from Greek. Simeon b. Gamaliel went so far as to praise Greek as the only language into which the Torah could be perfectly translated (Esth. R. 4:12). Judah ha-Nasi remarked, "Why talk Syriac in Palestine? Talk either Hebrew or Greek" (Sot. 49b). It was said (Ḥag. 19b) of the second-century rabbi Elisha ben Avuyah, that he never ceased reciting Greek poetry. In the next century R. Abbahu knew Greek so well that he was able to pun in it (Gen. R. 14:2), and justified teaching his daughters Greek since it served as an ornament (TJ, Pe'ah 1:1, 15c). The fact that the Mishnah (Sot. end) records that during the war of Lusius *Quietus (117 C.E.) a decree was passed banning the teaching of Greek to one's son indicates that the rabbis regarded the use of Greek as a real danger, but the language continued in vogue.

It can hardly be maintained that Greek was used only by the upper classes and was restricted to commerce, or that it was restricted to those who needed it to communicate with the governing authorities; the Christian Hellenizers (Acts, 6:1), who apparently spoke Greek only and were thus more deeply affected by Hellenization, were not restricted to the higher classes. Josephus (Ant., 20:264) clearly indicates that ordinary freemen and even slaves in Palestine had learned many languages. However, his statement (*ibid.*, 20:263) that it had proven difficult for him to master Greek, especially the pronunciation, and the faulty Greek in many inscriptions indicate that the level of knowledge of Greek was not high. Even Josephus (Apion, 1:50) had to employ assistants to polish the Greek of his *De Bello Judaico.* The knowledge of Greek possessed by Jewish Christians in Palestine, however, because of their closer contact with Diaspora Jews and with non-Jews outside Palestine, must have been better; and recent scholarship has concluded that it is probable that Jesus himself sometimes spoke Greek.

In the Diaspora, the earliest Jewish inhabitants of Alexandria in the fourth century B.C.E., to judge from the papyri, spoke Aramaic; but so thoroughgoing was the victory of the Greek over the Hebrew language that after the third century B.C.E., with the exception of the Nash Papyrus, until 400 C.E., all papyri from Egypt pertaining to the Jews are in Greek. Similarly, of the 116 Jewish inscriptions from Egypt only five are in Hebrew, and they are, it appears, of late date (see *Alexandria; *Egypt, Hellenistic Period; *Zeno Papyri). Even in the Jewish community of Rome, which seems to have had a stronger identification with Judaism, only five of the 534 inscriptions are in Hebrew or Aramaic. Because the *Septuagint was regarded as divinely inspired, there appeared to be no need to learn Hebrew. Indeed, there is a very real question as to whether Philo, by far the greatest of the Alexandrian Jewish writers, knew more than a modicum of Hebrew; it is surely significant that whereas he tells so much of his Greek education he tells nothing about his Hebrew education.

Another aspect of Hellenization is the choice of Greek personal names. In Palestine the percentage is much lower than in the Diaspora, but the names of rabbis such as Abtolemus, Alexander, Antigonus, Symmachus, and Theodosius indicate that the process was at work even there. The fact that at least three-fourths of the personal names of the Jews of Hellenistic Egypt are of Greek origin is striking. The Jews often tried to choose Greek names similar in meaning or sound to their Hebrew names, but names derived from those of Greek or Egyptian deities are common. In Rome about half of the names of the Jews in inscriptions are of Latin origin, about a third are of Greek origin, and only about a sixth are derived from Hebrew or Aramaic.

Education was a key area of Greek impact. After the establishment of the gymnasium and *ephebeion* by Jason the high priest in pre-Maccabean times, there is no further information on Greek educational institutions established by Jews. However, in the first century Rabban Gamaliel had 500 students of Greek wisdom in addition to 500 students of Torah (Sot. 49b, et al.), although this permission to study Greek was granted to the house of Rabban Gamaliel only because of their special relationship with the Roman government. In Egypt the only known schools with Jewish content were the Sabbath schools, intended for adults, which, according to Philo (Spec., 1:62), taught the traditional Greek four cardinal virtues. On the other hand, there is mention of the eagerness of Jews to enroll their children of secondary school age in Greek gymnasia; and apparently, until they were excluded by the Emperor *Claudius in 41, they had succeeded in their efforts. Such an education initiated youths into the Greek way of life, especially athletics, its most characteristic feature. No Jew could have attended a Greek gymnasium without making serious compromises with his religion, for the gymnasia had numerous busts of deities, held religious processions, sponsored sacrifices, and participated in the athletic games associated with the festivals. Similarly, the fact that the 72 translators recommended that King Ptolemy watch plays (Letter of Aristeas, 284) and that Philo himself often attended the theater (Ebr., 177) shows that Hellenization had made deep inroads. It is not surprising that the rabbis (Av. Zar. 18b) forbade attendance at theaters, for ancient dramas were performed only at festivals of the gods in the presence of the altar and priests of the gods.

The most obvious instances of Greek influence are to be seen in Jewish literature of the Hellenistic period. In Palestine, even *Ben Sira, whose opposition to Hellenism before the Maccabean rebellion is manifest, has a number of aphorisms which seem to be derived from Aesop, Theognis, and Euripides. The *Testament of Joseph and the Book of *Judith show Greek influence in the introduction of erotic motifs found in Greek romances. Similarly, the Book of *Tobit, composed either in Palestine or Antioch in the second century B.C.E., shows Hellenistic influence in the form of its romance. Aside from Justus of Tiberias and Josephus, no Palestinian author is known who definitely wrote in Greek, and indeed there is no apparent Greek influence in the first century B.C.E. "Biblical Antiquities" of Pseudo-Philo. But in his paraphrase of the Bible, Josephus, in his eagerness to answer antisemitic charges, makes numerous changes. Thus his Abraham is presented as worthy of Greek political and philosophical ideals: he possesses skill in persuasion, the power of logical deduction, and scientific knowledge, and, in a show of liberalism, he offers to be converted by the Egyptians if he fails to convince them. Samson is an Aristotelian-like *megalopsychos* ("great-souled man"); Saul is a kind of Jewish Achilles; and Solomon a kind of Jewish Oedipus. Finally, Josephus' portraits of Moses and of Esther are in the tradition of Hellenistic romance, with emphasis on erotic elements. Indeed, the life of Moses used by Artapanus, Philo, and Josephus contained details borrowed from the legendary life of Pythagoras.

There has been much debate on the degree of Hellenic influence on the rabbis themselves. A number of tales about Hillel recall Socratic and Cynic anecdotes. Joshua b. Hananiah's discussions with Athenians, Alexandrians, and Roman philosophers (Bek. 8b; Nid. 69b; Sanh. 90b), Meir's reported disputations with the Cynic *Oenomaus of Gadara (Gen. R. 68:20) – a city a little east of the Jordan which also produced three other famous ancient Greek writers, Menippus the satirist, Meleager the poet, and Philodemus the Epicurean philosopher and poet – as well as Judah ha-Nasi's discussions with "*Antoninus"; Av. Zar. 10a–11a, etc.) and rabbinic condemnation of Epicureanism (Mish. Sanh. 11:1; Avot, 1:3; etc.), all reflect rabbinic interest in and concern about Hellenism (see Classical *Greek Literature). We know of only one rabbi, however, *Elisha b. Avuyah, upon whom Greek influence was so great that he actually became a Gnostic heretic.

It has been suggested that *Platonism influenced the rabbis with its theory of ideas, the notion that the soul possesses perfect knowledge before birth, and, above all, the method of dialectic. Moreover, a number of striking parallels in content and form between the Epicureans and the rabbis have been noted. The *Stoic ideal of the sage, as well as Stoic techniques of allegorizing and expounding law, influenced Philo, but it is doubtful to what extent they influenced the rabbis. The rabbis mention only two philosophers – Epicurus and Oenomaus – by name, and they do not use any Greek philosophical terms. The fact that they never mention Plato, Aristotle, or Philo would indicate that their information was probably drawn second-hand. Similarly the proverbs in rabbinic literature which have classical parallels probably represent contact not with Greek literature but with Greek speakers. The alleged influence of Hellenistic rhetoric upon rabbinic methods of interpretation is in the realm of terminology rather than of substance. The "fence" which the rabbis created around the Torah (see Avot 1:1) succeeded, on the whole, in keeping the masses of the Jews from succumbing to Greek culture, as the complaints about Jewish religious and social separateness (cf., e.g., Tacitus, *Histories*, 5:4) indicate. As to sectarian groups, it has been argued, with some degree of probability, that the communal organization and the strict rules for the administration of the Essenes and the Dead Sea brotherhood were directly influenced by Pythagoreanism and its revival, neo-Pythagoreanism. Josephus (Ant., 15:371), in any case, remarks that the Essenes followed the Pythagorean way of life.

The influence of Greek thought on Diaspora Jews starts with the Septuagint (the alleged meeting of a Jew with *Aristotle (Jos., Apion, 1:176–82) is fictitious). Recent investigators, on the whole, agree that there is no systematic pattern of Hellenizing, and that the Greek elements tend to be superficial and decorative rather than deep-seated and significant. Again, it was formerly thought that the language of the Septuagint was a kind of Jewish Greek which would be unintelligible to non-Jews; but the papyri show that the language is that of Hellenistic Egypt. Yet the fact that, for example, "Torah" was translated as *nomos* ("law"), *emunah* as *pistis* ("belief"), and *ẓedakah* as *dikaiosynē* ("justice") brought the connotations, especially Platonic, of these words to the Greek reader ignorant of the original. Hence Paul could preach antinomianism to an audience that looked upon the Torah as a law which could be repealed rather than as a way of life, and when the injunction *Elohim lo tekalel* (Ex. 22:24) was interpreted to mean "Thou shalt not curse the gods," it became a text for Philo (*De Vita Mosis*, 2:205; Spec., 1:53) and Josephus (Apion, 2:237; Ant., 4:207) to preach liberalism toward other religions. Apparently because they saw the danger in the adulation of the Septuagint by the Hellenistic Jews, the rabbis changed their initially favorable reaction to the translation (Meg. 9b) to a bitter comment (Sof. 1:7) comparing the completion of the Septuagint with the making of the golden calf. The stature of the Septuagint is obvious in the fragments of the Greco-Jewish historian *Demetrius, who already in the latter part of the third century B.C.E. followed the Septuagint's patriarchal chronology rather than that of the Hebrew text, though his Septuagint was not quite identical with any of our versions.

The Letter of *Aristeas, supposedly written in the third century B.C.E., but more probably about 100 B.C.E., apparently by an Alexandrian Jew who was a propagandist for the cooperation of Hellenism and Judaism, is addressed not merely or even primarily to non-Jews but rather to fellow Jews. The 72 elders to whom the translation of the Torah was entrusted are depicted as having had a good Greek education, and engage with the king in a symposium on ethics and politics reminiscent of those described by Plato, Xenophon, Athenaeus, Plutarch, and Macrobius. "Aristeas" (16) even goes so far as to identify Zeus with God. Social isolation is not a corollary of Judaism in his view. Among his contemporaries only the author of III Maccabees opposed the drive for citizenship of the Alexandrian Jews.

Other Alexandrian Jewish writers attempted to show that the Greeks had borrowed from the Jews. Thus the Jewish Peripatetic philosopher Aristobulus, in the second century B.C.E., asserts (in Eusebius, *Praeparatio Evangelica*, 13:12, 1–16) that Homer, Hesiod, Pythagoras, Socrates, and Plato were all acquainted with a translation of the Torah into Greek which had been made before the Persian conquest of Egypt (525 B.C.E.). The historian Eupolemus (c. 150 B.C.E.), perhaps a Palestinian, reports that Moses taught the alphabet to the Jews, who in turn passed it on to the Phoenicians, who transmitted it to the Greeks. The historian Artapanus (c. 100 B.C.E.) identifies Moses with the semilegendary Greek poet Musaeus and with Hermes-Thoth, and makes him the founder of navigation, architecture, strategy, and philosophy; Moses thus, far from hating mankind, as antisemites had charged, is a benefactor in the Hellenistic sense. Cleodemus (or Malchus), perhaps a Jewish historian, boasts that two of the sons of Abraham accompanied Heracles in his campaign against Libya and that Heracles married the daughter of one of them (Jos., Ant., 1:240–1).

Among the most obvious instances of Greek influence on Jewish writers are *Philo the Elder's epic poem *On Jerusalem* (c. 100 B.C.E.) in Homeric hexameters, and that of his presumed contemporary *Theodotus, a Samaritan, on the rape of Dinah. Ezekiel the poet, at about the same time, composed tragedies, of which a portion of one, *The Exodus*, is extant, a veritable exercise in Euripidean trimeters. Among Apocryphal books the Wisdom of Ben Sira, dating from perhaps the second century B.C.E., uses a number of technical terms drawn from Platonic and Stoic philosophy; and such a view as the preexistence of the soul is apparently drawn from Plato. It and its presumed contemporary, IV *Maccabees, are reminiscent of Cynic-Stoic diatribes. Furthermore, the latter shows Greek influence in its presentation of the Torah as teaching the four cardinal virtues; the arguments are pervasively Stoic, and the form of the disputation is modeled on Plato's *Gorgias*. Of Philo it was said already by Jerome (*De Viris Illustribus*, 11), "Either Plato philonizes or Philo platonizes." That his Hellenization transcends mere language can be seen in his description of Moses' education, which is presumably held up as an ideal. His Egyptian instructors are said to have taught him arithmetic, geometry, harmonics, and philosophy (*De Vita Mosis*, 1:23–24), the very subjects which constitute the higher education of Plato's philosopher-king (*Republic*, 521c–535a), while his Greek teachers are said to have taught him the rest of the regular school course – presumably, grammar, rhetoric, and logic. In his profound debt to Platonism Philo is similar to the author of IV Maccabees, his presumed contemporary.

Evidence of Greek influence on Jews of the middle and lower classes is largely dependent upon *papyri and art objects that have been discovered. The papyri show many instances of Jews using common Hellenistic law in their business life. The documents are drawn up as Hellenistic documents in a government notary's office. The most obvious violations of *halakhah* are seen in the loan documents: of the 11 that have come down only two do not charge direct interest. One of them is in a highly fragmentary condition and the other is subject to the interest of 24% if not repaid within a year. The one divorce document follows non-Jewish formulas completely; and, in direct violation of *halakhah*, there is no statement that it is the husband who is divorcing the wife.

Greek influence, as Goodenough has amply shown, is clearly to be seen in Hellenistic Jewish art and architecture. Thus Josephus tells that the courts and colonnades of the Temple built by Herod in Jerusalem were in the Greek style. Pagan and syncretistic art has been discovered in the synagogues of both Palestine and the Diaspora (especially at *Dura-Europos in Mesopotamia), in direct violation of stringent biblical and rabbinic prohibitions. It cannot be argued that these motifs were merely decorative, since they were employed in a similar way by earlier and contemporary pagans and by contemporary and later Christians. Goodenough has concluded that these figures had meaning as symbols; that these symbols constituted a sub-rational lingua franca among Jews and non-Jews alike, just as the Greek language provided a rational bond among them; and that they represented a kind of allegorization through art, of the sort that Philo had attempted through philosophy. Additional evidence that some Jews adopted certain pagan elements can be seen in the charms (that is, verbal incantations) and apotropaic amulets (or the material objects themselves containing graphic symbols used to ward off evil) which Goodenough has collected.

It is not surprising that contact with Hellenism should have produced deviations from Jewish observance. Philo (*Post.*, 35–40) mentions the extreme allegorists, who insisted on interpreting the ceremonial laws as only a parable: these are undoubtedly forerunners of Pauline antinomianism. Others relaxed their Jewish observance in order to become citizens of Alexandria, an act that involved worship of the city gods. Actual apostasy was apparently rare, though there is mention of the case of Philo's nephew, *Tiberius Julius Alexander, as well as those of Dositheos and Helicon, all of whom pursued careers at the imperial court. Philo on one occasion (Spec., 3:29) does attack intermarriage, but the virulent *antisemitism in Alexandria must have served as a deterrent. A more common reaction to the challenge of secularism was for Jews to cease religious observance except on the Day of Atonement (Philo, Spec. 1:186). Finally, there is some evidence that the one city where Christianity seems to have made real inroads in converting Jews was the one most deeply influenced by Hellenism, Alexandria.

See also *Bible (in Hellenistic Judaism); *Hellenistic Jewish Literature; *Cynics and Cynicism.

[Louis Harry Feldman]

Spiritual Resistance

One aspect of the contact between Hellenism (and Rome) and Judaism deserves special treatment, the spiritual resistance against their rule. The struggle of the Jewish people against Greek and Roman domination was accompanied by a literature which encouraged and intensified resistance. After military defeat it became frequently the only weapon, an important instrument of hope and survival. A significant trend in recent scholarship considers much of Jewish literature between Alexander the Great and the conquest of Islam as spiritual or religious resistance.

Resistance of this type was found among all the larger nations of the ancient Near East: the Babylonians and Egyptians under the Persians and the Egyptians and Persians under the Greeks who, in turn, developed a preponderantly cultural resistance under the Romans. The eastern pattern, however, was religious: foreign conquest destroys the sacred and just world order by which native king, cult, nature, and people function under the ruling god, a belief which was strengthened by the frequent misrule of the conqueror. A future cataclysmic reestablishment under a kingly redeemer must therefore right all wrongs. Meanwhile, a hereafter would punish or reward the individual. This apocalyptic scheme existed throughout the Near East: e.g., the *Oracle of Hystaspes* and the later *Bahman Yasht* (Persian), Sesostris and Ramses legends, *Demotic Chronicle, Oracle of the Potter* (Egyptian), *Babylonian Chronicle*, Ninos-Semiramis legend (Babylonian). Archaizing styles (e.g., script and literature, cf. *Coins, *Dead Sea Scrolls), clerical organization, and proselytism were also aspects of resistance.

Jewish spiritual resistance differed in some respects from this general pattern; here it was the weapon of a small people lacking the glory of an imperial past. It differed, further, in its intensity and perpetuity, its monotheism (though dangerously attenuated in the apocalypse) and, at times, its appeal to all classes from aristocracy to peasantry. It differed in a stronger stress on social justice inherited from biblical prophecy and the constant reference to past liberations in sacred scriptures. In his glorification of the Augustan restoration *Virgil may have combined classical concepts with eastern "Empire" apocalyptic ones (*Eclogue* 4; cf. Horace, *Epode* 16; Dan. 2 and 7). Oppression created obscure allusions (to Antiochus, Pompey, Nero, etc.) and secret code words in both *apocalypse and Talmud (e.g., Edom or Babylon for Rome adopted from here by Christian apocalyptic writers (Rev. 16:5) and perhaps in the Dead Sea Scrolls ("*Kittim*" in the Habakkuk Pesher)). Finally, Jewish resistance created an incomparably greater variety of literary sources and forms. Alongside the detailed apocalypse, with its violent cosmic vision, the psalm remained popular as a vehicle of resistance (Dan. 9:4–19; II Macc. 1:24–29; Psalms of Solomon, perhaps the heading of Ps. 30, et al.). Martyrology emerged, and many of its features were borrowed by emerging Christianity (II Macc.; IV Macc.; talmudic examples collected in *Midrash Elleh Ezkerah*, cf. H.A. Fischel, in JQR, 37 (1946/47), 265–80, 363–86). Alongside Diaspora historiographies, Palestinian works treated both biblical and contemporary history in the spirit of religious resistance (I Macc.; Jub.; *Pseudo-Philo*). Many talmudic dialogues ("Antoninus" versus Rabbi Hadrian and the Athenian wise men versus Joshua b. Hananiah), Alexander legends (Tam. 31b.ff., et al.), parables, and fables (Akiva, fox and fishes, Ber. 61b) have resistance aspects. Spiritual resistance is also manifest in the Hebrew examples of the erotic Greco-Oriental romance (Esth., Judith, Testament of Joseph, III Macc., Moses Romance). The talmudic sermon interpreted biblical passages, such as those of the unclean animals, as referring to Greece and Rome (Lev. R. 13, 5, et al.). The resistance aspects of liturgy, still little explored, may be considerable. Resistance is obvious and probably intentional in the symposiastic *seder* ritual (cf. S. Stein, in JJS, 8 [1957], 13–44).

The resistant writer freely added materials from foreign literature. Judith, some details of the Greek Lindus chronicle and Daniel and the Sibylline Oracle (Oriental prophecies) are among prominent examples. Similarly, the Midrash seems to have been acquainted with the Hellenistic critique of Rome's materialism and cruelty (cf. Shab. 33b and Cicero, *Academica* 21, 137; Meg. 6b; Pes. 119b, et al., and Dio. 13, 16, 31, 41ff., 121) and its "scandalous" foundation legend (Shab. 56b; Esth. R. 3, 5 and Justin 28:2, 8ff.; Horace, *Epode*, 16). Occasionally, resistance consisted in quietism, and the talmudic sage resembled (and was acquainted with) the Greco-Roman philosopher-rhetor who also often had to choose between martyrdom and withdrawal. The rabbis created much *_halakhah_ of decisive resistance value, especially legislation against emperor worship, later used by Tertullian among others. Naturally, resistance never excluded periods of accommodation, objective insights into the virtues of Greece and Rome (Avot 3, 2; Av. Zar. 2b; 18a; Gen. R. 9 end, 16, 4, et al.), and useful borrowings. Strangely enough, much earlier non-Jewish scholarship condemns Jewish resistance, totally oblivious to the fact that without it there would be no Western civilization as we know it.

[Henry Albert Fischel]

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HELLENISTIC JEWISH LITERATURE. To a general historian the term "Hellenistic" describes the literature of the period from the death of Alexander the Great (323 B.C.E.) until Rome's predominance in the Mediterranean (c. 30 B.C.E.). Sometimes the same general term is used to refer to Jewish material as well; thus, the Book of Ecclesiastes, early rabbinic literature, and the *Dead Sea Scrolls are sometimes referred to as "Hellenistic." More precisely, however, the term Hellenistic Jewish literature does not describe a historical period – nor even characterize a movement – but rather applies to a specific body of literature that was written in the Greek language; was transmitted only in the Greek language; or was preserved in one or more secondary versions derived from the Greek (though a number of these works have now been found in the original). Its two main centers were Palestine and Alexandria (Egypt), although other localities of the Diaspora may have contributed (see *Jason of Cyrene). Its temporal limits extend into the second century C.E., for the educated classes of the major cities of the Roman period continued to use Greek rather than Latin as the language of culture. Since the term Hellenistic Jewish literature refers to a subclass of the literature of a period, it is difficult to discuss it historically or in terms of genres in isolation from the rest of the literature of the same period. Traditionally, the material of this literature has been divided into Apocrypha, *Pseudepigrapha, and individual authors. Schuerer presents the material as either Palestinian or as Diaspora literature. Only recently, in the works of Joshua Gutmann, has there been an attempt at a systematic historical presentation.

The fundamental book of this literature is the Greek translation of the Bible, the *Septuagint. Although the story of its origin as told in the Letter of *Aristeas is probably propaganda, in fact an early date for this translation, at least of the Pentateuch, is very probable (the reign of *Ptolemy Philadelphus, 285–246 B.C.E.), testifying to the rapid loss of knowledge of the Hebrew language by the Alexandria Jewish community. The rest of the literature is greatly dependent on this text. In historical writing, for example, retelling of biblical history is found in the fragments of *Demetrius, *Eupolemus, *Artapanus, Aristeas, *Cleodemus, and *Thallus, in Pseudo-Philo's _Biblical Antiquities_, and in the first half of the _Antiquities_ of *Josephus, all couched in the language of the Greek translation with little or no reference to the Hebrew original. In more contemporaneous histories, such as I and II *Maccabees, *Philo's _Embassy to Gaius_, and Josephus' _Jewish War_, there is an obvious debt to the models of Thucydides and Polybius. With the exception of I Maccabees (probably), Pseudo-Philo, and the original of Josephus' _Jewish War_, all these histories were composed in Greek. The folkloristic elaborations on the biblical text found in this literature are more often translations from a Semitic original. Some are insertions into the biblical text, perhaps stemming from the original copy, such as the story of the three youths in I *Esdras 3:1–5:6 or the insertions in the Greek *Esther; others are additions, such as **Susanna or Bel and the Dragon, to the biblical Book of Daniel; still others, separate books in themselves, such as *Jubilees, *Tobit, *Judith, and the Ascension of *Isaiah, are further examples of stories told in a biblical manner. Artapanus and II and III Maccabees come closer to the dramatic manner of a Greek romance.

Books such as the Wisdom of *Ben Sira (Ecclesiasticus) continue the tradition of biblical wisdom literature. Little or no direct influence of Greek philosophy can be discerned in them; but in books like the Wisdom of *Solomon, especially in the latter half, and in IV Maccabees, Platonic and Stoic terminology and ideas are present. *Aristobulus and Philo explain Mosaic law as an anticipation of Greek philosophy, and they employ the Greek technique of allegory to reconcile these two traditions. Apocalyptic literature, as found in *Enoch, the Assumption of *Moses, IV Esdras, the Syrian and Greek *Baruch, and the Testaments of the *Twelve Patriarchs, owes much to the prophetic tradition, as well as to Greek popular lore, Stoicism, and Platonism. The Testament of Abraham, for example, is reminiscent of Plato's vision of Er at the end of the *Republic*. In poetry, at least in form, the Greek and the Semitic elements can be clearly distinguished. Semitic poetry uses parallelism; Greek poetry uses syllabic metrics. The Psalms of *Solomon and parts of the Wisdom of Ben Sira represent a continuation of the tradition of Psalms; the writings of *Philo the Elder and those of *Theodotus are in Homeric hexameters; *Ezekiel the poet writes in iambics. The Prayer of *Manasseh, however, shows how the Greek and Hebrew elements are not always clearly delineated, for this book, although probably written in Greek, is more akin to biblical poetry.

Finally, there is the question of the extent to which this literature was addressed to a pagan audience. Most of these books are too deeply steeped in Jewish tradition to have been meaningful except to either traditional or partially Hellenized Jews. Some books, such as Josephus' *Contra Apionem*, seem to be addressed specifically to non-Jewish audiences. The Pseudepigrapha which are ascribed to pagan authors, such as the *Sibylline Oracles, Pseudo-Hecataeus, or Pseudo-Phocylides, also belong to this category.

See also *Greek Literature, Classical; *Hellenism.

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[Marshall S. Hurwitz]

HELLER, U.S. Reform rabbinical family. MAXIMILIAN HELLER (1860–1929) was born in Prague and lived in the heart of the ghetto. He came to the United States in 1879, two years after his parents. Heller was ordained by Hebrew Union College in 1884, the second class of ordainees. After two years in Chicago, where he was assistant to Rabbi Bernhard *Felsenthal, and then Houston, Texas, for a year, he was named to the pulpit of Temple Sinai, New Orleans, and remained there for the rest of his life. Firmly grounded in Jewish scholarship, Heller was an able preacher and a felicitous writer. Though identified with the Reform movement, he took a position independent of the majority of his contemporaries, and in particular was an early adherent of Zionism. Out of respect for Rabbi Isaac Mayer *Wise, who was a mentor, Heller did not declare his Zionism until after Wise's death in 1900. Heller was active in furthering social causes in Louisiana and was a prolific writer for the Jewish press. During 1909–11 he was president of the Central Conference of American Rabbis, a position that was almost denied him because of his Zionism. He sought to reconcile Reform Judaism and Zionism at a time when most Reform rabbis were strongly anti-Zionist. He stressed that Zionism was the fulfillment of the prophetic vision and that the people and Zionism were "one and inseparable." His position, widely unpopular at the time, gained adherents over time. In 1912 he became professor of Hebrew at Tulane University.

His son, JAMES GUTHEIM HELLER (1892–1971), was born in New Orleans, receiving his B.A. from Tulane and his M.A. from the University of Cincinnati (1914); he was ordained at Hebrew Union College in 1916. His first position, interrupted by war service as an army chaplain, was as assistant rabbi at Congregation Keneseth Israel in Philadelphia. In 1919 he went to Little Rock, Arkansas, and in 1920 to the Isaac M. Wise Temple in Cincinnati, where he remained until his career in the pulpit came to an end in 1952. Like his father he was a devoted disciple and later a biographer of Wise, but also like his father his adherence to Zionism was strong. Heller was active in the Central Conference of American Rabbis, serving as president during 1941–43. At the 1942 convention he helped secure the adoption of a resolution favoring the creation of a Jewish division to fight in World War II, which brought about a crystallization of the anti-Zionist element that established the American Council for Judaism. A graduate of the Cincinnati Conservatory of Music, Heller was a keen musician and his compositions include several pieces for the synagogue. He received a prize from the Society for the Publication of America Music for a string quartet that he composed. Upon retirement he became president of the Labor Zionist Organization of America, and then joined the Israel Bonds organization as executive director. In 1965 he published *Isaac Mayer Wise, His Life, Work and Thought*.

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[Sefton D. Temkin / Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

HELLER, ARYEH LEIB BEN JOSEPH HA-KOHEN OF STRY (1745?–1813), Galician rabbi, a descendant of Yom Tov Lipmann *Heller. Heller was born in Kalisz, and studied under Meshullam Igra of Pressburg. In his youth he served as rabbi of the small town of Rozhnyatov, Galicia, where he lived in poverty, and there he wrote his works. He went from there to Lemberg where he was a teacher of Talmud. The publication of his *Keẓot ha-Ḥoshen* brought him fame, and in 1788 he was elected rabbi of Stry (Pol. Stryi), where he established a large yeshivah. Stry was a center of Ḥasidism, and although Heller violently opposed the Ḥasidim, the ḥasidic rabbis themselves held him in great esteem and referred to him as a "prince of the Torah." The *dayyan* David ha-Kohen attacked him and even published a work *Ahavat David vi-Yhonatan* in criticism of the *Keẓot ha-Ḥoshen* but the work had no repercussions.

Heller's *Keẓot ha-Ḥoshen* (2 pts., Lemberg, 1788–96), on the Shulḥan Arukh, *Ḥoshen Mishpat*, was acclaimed by scholars and students of yeshivot with unusual enthusiasm as soon as it appeared and to the present day is regarded as a classic work of halakhic *pilpul*. Jacob Lorbeerbaum, one of the important *posekim* of his generation, devoted a considerable portion of his *Netivot ha-Mishpat* (Zolkiew, 1809–16) to a polemic with Heller. Heller replied to the criticisms in a special work, *Meshovev Netivot*. Heller died before he completed the work, which covers only chapters 1–133 of the *Ḥoshen Mishpat*. As a result of this profound work Lorberbaum made considerable changes and additions to his work, even though he does not mention the name of his opponent. Beside Lorberbaum many other well-known contemporary rabbis discussed the *Keẓot* in their own works, which in itself is an unusual phenomenon. Heller's other works were also enthusiastically received by scholars: *Avnei Millu'im* (Lemberg, 1816) on the Shulḥan Arukh, *Even ha-Ezer*, and the *Shev Shemateta* (*ibid.*, 1804), an examination and clarification of the laws concerning cases which involve doubt. All his works have gone through many editions and all still serve as a cornerstone of the method of Torah learning in the yeshivot, despite the radical changes in method effected in the Lithuanian yeshivot by Ḥayyim *Soloveichik. These three works may therefore be regarded as classics in the accepted sense of the word. It is worthy of note that his method of study gained adherents both in Poland and Lithuania despite the difference in method in both places. The *Keẓot* combines great acumen with logical reasoning, and is distinguished by its scintillating analysis, and its emphasis on the inner logic of the *halakhah*. Specially worthy of note are the introductions which Heller wrote to his works, particularly that to his *Shev Shematata*. It freely combines sound logic, extensive erudition, and a profound acumen in its explanation of aggadic topics and ideas and morals. Heller had three sons: DAVID, who published the *Shev Shematata*; JOSEPH DOV, rabbi of Weicislaw; and HIRSCH, who was rabbi of Uzhgorod. His son-in-law Solomon Judah *Rapoport (Shir), edited Heller's later works, prepared them for publication, provided them with indices, and attached his own comments. Heller's brothers, whom he mentions frequently in his works, were also outstanding talmudists. His brother Judah *Heller appended to the *Keẓot ha-Ḥoshen* his *Kunteres ha-Sefekot*.

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HELLER, BERNARD (1897–1976), rabbi, teacher, author. Heller was born near Kishinev, Russia, and shortly after the pogrom there in 1903, came to South Philadelphia. He received a B.A. degree at the University of Pennsylvania in 1916, an M.A. degree in 1917 from Columbia University, and was ordained at Hebrew Union College in Cincinnati in 1920. After ordination Rabbi Heller served in Scranton, Pennsylvania, from 1920 to 1930 and became widely known for his religious, civic, and communal work. From the Scranton pulpit, he went to serve the B'nai B'rith Hillel Foundation at the University of Michigan, where he was awarded a Ph.D. degree in 1932. He was also awarded an honorary Litt.D. degree from the Jewish Theological Seminary of America.

In 1943 Heller was appointed to a commission established to eliminate prejudicial references to Jews in Catholic and Protestant textbooks. In 1949 he was named director of Restitution of Jewish Cultural Reconstruction, Inc., the agency charged with restoration of cultural property seized by the Nazis from Jewish people and institutions. From headquarters in Frankfurt-am-Main, Heller handled the distribution of the more than 30,000 confiscated volumes, many of them rare and valuable, which the Nazis had assembled for use in antisemitic institutes they hoped to establish after their victory.

In the early 1950s Heller traveled to India, where he served as rabbi of the liberal community of Bombay and then to Australia, and other parts of the world, where he lectured on Jewish topics and established Jewish study groups. From 1952 until his retirement he taught Jewish ethics and religion at the Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion and lived in New York in close association with students and faculty of this institution and of the Jewish Theological Seminary, where he was awarded an honorary D.D. degree.

Heller published a number of works. His *Epistle to an Apostate* (1951) was an answer to the attempts of apostates to belittle and even defame Judaism, emphasizing, however, that it was not to be regarded as an attack on Christianity but only as an attempt to enlighten without counter-proselytizing. In his *Dawn of Dusk?* (1961) Heller showed how the antisemitic ideas of medieval Europe had prepared the ground for Nazism, but he avoided blaming all Germans for the Holocaust. His best-known work, however, is *The Odyssey of a Faith* (1942).

After years of rabbinic service, Dr. Heller pursued his interests in business as one of the founders of the predecessor to the United Brands Corporation and also of the West Indies Investment Company in the U.S. Virgin Islands.

Dr. Heller was deeply concerned with the survival of the Jewish people and with the transmission of Jewish religious and cultural heritage. His life reflected his abiding interest in philosophy, in Jewish thought, and in scholarship. By the terms of his Last Will and Testament, Dr. Heller established the Dr. Bernard Heller Foundation for the benefit of Jewish education and for the welfare of the Jewish people in Israel. To date, the Foundation has distributed close to $10 million for these purposes. Dr. Heller frequently referred to himself as a trustee of his wealth for Israel.

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[Milton Ridvas Konvitz / Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

HELLER, BERNÁT (1871–1943), Hungarian scholar, Arabist, folklorist, and literary historian. Heller was born in Nagybicse, Hungary. He was ordained at the rabbinical seminary in Budapest, in 1896. From 1896 to 1919 he taught French and German and sometimes also Hungarian literature in a non-Jewish high school in Budapest. In 1919 he was appointed director of a newly established Jewish high school in Budapest. From 1922 to 1931 he taught Bible at the rabbinical seminary in Budapest, and thereafter he became superintendent of the Jewish schools in Budapest. Heller was a member of the ethnographical and Oriental societies of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. Deeply influenced by his teachers W. *Bacher and I. *Goldziher, Heller devoted his life to the study of *aggadah* and

Islam. He tried to interpret aggadic literature by comparing its themes, motifs, and sources to the literatures of other peoples. He was particularly interested in tracing themes common to *aggadah* and early Christian literature and *aggadah* and Islamic legendary literature. As a folklorist and general literary historian, he also wrote comparative studies on Western European literature, particularly on Jewish influences on Western European and Hungarian novelists and poets. Heller was the author of most of the articles on the legends of Islam and the legends surrounding biblical personalities for the *Encyclopaedia of Islam* (4 vols., 1913–36) and for the German *Encyclopaedia Judaica* (10 vols., 1928–34). During the last years of his life Heller devoted himself to the study of the Apocrypha. He translated the Book of Tobias and the Additions to Daniel for A. Kahana's *Ha-Sefarim ha-Ḥiẓonim* (1947). Among Heller's works are *Die Bedeutung des arabischen Antar-Romans fuer die vergleichende Literaturkunde* (1931) and "Das hebraeische und arabische Maerchen" (in J. Bolte and G. Polivka's *Anmerkungen zu den Kinder-und Hausmaerchen der Brueder Grimm*, 4 (1930), 315–418). He was a frequent contributor to the *Revue des Etudes Juives*, the *Jewish Quarterly Review*, and the *Monatsschrift fuer die Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums*. His devotion to his teacher I. Goldziher is reflected by his editing a volume in honor of his 60th birthday entitled *Keleti tanulmányok* ("Oriental Studies," 1910). He translated Goldziher's *Vorlesungen ueber den Islam* into Hungarian as *Előadások az iszlámról* (1912), and prepared a bibliography of Goldziher's works, *Bibliographie des oeuvres de Ignace Goldziher* (1927).

A gentle person, Heller greatly influenced many Hungarian rabbis. On his 70th birthday he was honored by a multilingual jubilee volume edited by A. Scheiber, *Jubilee Volume in Honour of Bernat Heller* (1941), which contains a bibliography of his writings.

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[David Samuel Loewinger]

HELLER, BUNIM (1908–1998), Yiddish poet. Born in Warsaw to a ḥasidic family, Heller became a devoted communist and was forced to flee Poland for Paris in 1937 because of his political activities, returning to Warsaw in 1939. After the Blitzkrieg, Heller fled to Bialystok, where he lived for two years before escaping to the interior of Russia, living for the balance of the war in Alma-Ata, Kazakhstan, before moving to Moscow for a brief period. In 1947, Heller returned to Poland, where he lived in Lodz and Warsaw and became active in several Yiddish literary organizations. In 1956, he left Poland for Brussels and, in 1957, settled in Tel Aviv where he lived the remainder of his life. A life-long committed communist, Heller contributed his poems, essays, and translations to the radical Yiddish press in France, Poland, America, Argentina, Uruguay, Brazil, and Israel. Heller is perhaps best known for his poems of his hometown Jewish community, including "In Varshaver Geto Iz Khoydesh Nisn" ("It Is the Month of Nissan in the Warsaw Ghetto," 1948).

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[Josef Schawinski / Marc Miller (2nd ed.)]

HELLER, ḤAYYIM (1878–1960), rabbinical and biblical scholar. Heller was born in Bialystok. From 1910 Heller served as rabbi in Lomza, Poland. In 1917 he settled in Berlin, where in 1922 he established a new type of yeshivah (Bet ha-Midrash ha-Elyon) for research in Bible and Talmud; his yeshivah attracted a number of graduates of Eastern European yeshivot, such as Samuel *Bialobocki and J.B. *Soloveitchik. In 1929 he joined the faculty of the Isaac Elchanan Theological Seminary, New York. After a short sojourn in Palestine, he returned to the United States, living first in Chicago and then New York. He published several volumes of novellae, including: the two-volume *Le-Ḥikrei Halakhot* (1924–1932); *Peri Ḥayyim* (Schulsinger edition of Maimonides' Yad, 1947); and *Kunteres be-Hilkhot Loveh u-Malveh* (1946). Other works, which are of great scholarly value, are: his critical edition of Maimonides' *Sefer ha-Mitzvot* (1914, 1946^{2}), based on two different translations (Mss. Munich 213, and Margoliouth, Cat, 2 (1904), nos. 503–5), the Arabic original, early editions, and others; an annotated edition of the *Peshitta* version of Genesis and Exodus in Hebrew characters (1927–29); the Samaritan Pentateuch (1923); a critical essay on the Palestinian Targum (*Al ha-Targum ha-Yerushalmi la-Torah*, 1921); and on the Septuagint, critical annotations to Mandelkern's Bible Concordance *Al Targum ha-Shivim ba-Konkordanzyah Heikhal ha-Kodesh* (1944), with an introduction in English. In German, Heller published *Untersuchungen ueber die Peshitta*, 1 (1911) and *Untersuchungen zur Septuaginta*, 1 (1932). Heller was one of the very few modern scholars who combined a vast and deep talmudic erudition of the traditional type with a thorough competence in the methods of textual research. He defended the traditional masoretic text against the Bible critics.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *H. Seidman, in: S. Federbush (ed.), Ḥokhmat Yisrael be-Ma'arav Eiropah* (1963), 96ff.; J.L. Soloveitchik, in: *Hadoar*, 40 (1961), 400ff.; T. Preschel, in: *Or ha-Mizraḥ*, 9 (1962), 74–76; 10 (1963), 52 (bibl.).

HELLER, HERMANN (1891–1933), German political scientist. Born in Austria he was active in the Socialist movement, and contributed to a non-Marxian social democratic theory, believing that it would more easily fit the framework of national traditions. He warned against the danger of Fascism and dictatorship and had to leave Germany early in 1933. He died that year in Madrid where he had been offered a professorship. Heller was one of the small group who revived political science in Germany in the 1920s, after it had stagnated through legal positivism and normativism from the middle of the 19th century. He was regarded as one of the leading political scientists of his time; as such he contributed the article on political science for the *Encyclopedia of Social Sciences* (1934). He placed political science firmly among the social sciences, stressed social power relationships as one of its major focuses, while denying the contention that political science is necessarily devoid of moral content. His major work, *Staatslehre*, was published posthumously and unfinished (1934).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: IESS, S.V.

[Edwin Emanuel Gutmann]

HELLER, JEHIEL BEN AARON (1814–1863), Lithuanian author and preacher. Heller was rabbi of Glusk (district of Volkovisk) before he became rabbi of Plungian where he remained until his death. Like his brother Joshua, Heller was a disciple of R. Israel *Salanter to whose journal, *Tevunah*, he contributed. He became a popular preacher of the *Musar movement, on various occasions delivering his sermons in German. His published works are *Shenei Perakim*, or *Kevod Melekh* (St. Petersburg, 1852), "published by order of the Russian government" and translated into German by Leon *Mandelstamm, dealing with the duty of loyalty to the ruler and obedience to the laws of the country, as laid down in the Bible and Talmud; *Ammudei Or* (1855), responsa, in his introduction to which Heller deplores the general neglect of Talmud study and expresses his apprehension of the attacks on Jewish beliefs by the protagonists of the *Haskalah; *Or Yesharim* (1857), a commentary on the *Haggadah* of Passover; and *Oteh Or* (1865), a commentary on the Song of Songs.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Fuenn, Keneset, 521f.; *Yahadut Lita* (1967), 46.

[Jacob Hirsch Haberman]

HELLER, JOSEPH (1923–1999), U.S. novelist and dramatist. Heller was born in Brooklyn, New York, and during World War II joined the Air Force. He attended college after the war and received a Fulbright to study at Oxford. He later worked as an advertising writer and manager for leading magazines and published short stories before turning seriously to literature. His bestselling novel *Catch-22* (1961, and later made into a film) was an outstanding satire on the military mind, based on World War II experiences. It was – and is – so popular that the phrase "catch-22" won a place in the English language. (Heller returned to the characters of Catch-22 with *Closing Time* [1994]). He also wrote the play *We Bombed in New Haven* (1968). His memorable dark novel about business culture, *Something Happened* (1974), was comically offset by his satirical portrait of an American-Jewish English professor in *Good as Gold* (1979). *God Knows* (1984) is the imaginary death-bed autobiography of King David, whose voice is shrewd, world-weary, as well as flamboyant. A recovery from illness led to Heller's *No Laughing Matter* (with Speed Vogel, 1986). His posthumous novel, *Portrait of an Artist as an Old Man* (2000), a mixture of large and often biting humor, traces the struggles of Eugene Pota to find his commanding theme before his reputation diminishes. Heller's own autobiography is *Now and Then: From Coney Island to Here* (1998).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: M.J. Bruccoli, *Joseph Heller: A Descriptive Bibliography* (2002); D. Craig, *Tilting at Mortality: Narrative Strategies in Joseph Heller's Fiction* (1997); S. Pinsker, *Understanding Joseph Heller* (1991); A. Sorkin, *Conversations with Joseph Heller* (1993).

[Lewis Fried (2nd ed.)]

HELLER, JOSEPH ELIJAH (1888–1957), Hebrew writer. Born in Ponivezh, Lithuania, Heller was a graduate of Berlin University, and lived in Russia and Germany, where he was one of the editors of the *Encyclopaedia Judaica* (German) and of the *Enẓiklopedyah Yisre'elit "Eshkol"* (1929–32). In 1938 he moved to London, where he taught and edited the Zionist Organization's journal, *Tarbut*. Heller published studies of Jewish and general philosophy in German, English, and Hebrew, and was a contributor to various Hebrew periodicals including *Haolam, Hadoar*, and others. His analysis of Aḥad Ha-Am's philosophy was published in *Aḥad Ha-Am, ha-Ish, Po'alo ve-Torato* (ed. by L. Simon, 1955). He also wrote *The Zionist Idea* (1947), *Ḥ.N. Bialik* (1944), and translated several of Plato's works into Hebrew.

[Getzel Kressel]

HELLER, JOSHUA BEN AARON (1814–80), Lithuanian rabbi and author. Heller was a preacher in Grodno and became successively rabbi of Polangen and of Telschi. He was a disciple of Israel *Salanter and played an important role in the *Musar movement. Heller fought against the inroads of secularism menacing Jewish religious life in Russia. He emphasized that teaching methods at the yeshivah must imbue the students with strong religious convictions. Heller contributed to the Hebrew periodical *Ha-Levanon* and published the following works: *Divrei Yehoshu'a* (1865), on Jewish ethics and philosophy outlining a full ethical "training program"; *Toledot Yehoshu'a* (1866), a commentary on *Avot*; *Ma'oz ha-Dat* (1873), a defense, in dialogue form, of the oral tradition extolling the wisdom of the talmudic rabbis; *Ḥosen Yehoshu'a* (1872), a guide to Torah study.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: D. Katz, *Tenu'at ha-Musar*, 2 (1954^2), 349–64; Fuenn, Keneset, 429.

[Jacob Hirsch Haberman]

HELLER, JUDAH (d. 1819), Hungarian talmudist. Heller was born in Kalisch, Galicia. He was a publican in one of the nearby villages but after losing his wealth and facing starvation, he moved to Lemberg, where he acted as tutor to the children of well-to-do parents. He met Joseph Teomim, author of the *Peri Megadim*, who was also a tutor in Lemberg. There Heller compiled his *Kunteres ha-Sefekot* and was in frequent contact with his brother, Aryeh Leib *Heller, author of the *Keẓot ha-Ḥoshen*, who at the time lived in Rozhnyatov near Lemberg. The brothers decided to publish the *Keẓot ha-Ḥoshen* pt. 1 (Lemberg, 1788) and to attach to it the *Kunteres ha-Sefekot*. The appearance of the work brought fame to the brothers, and as a result Judah was appointed rabbi in Hungary, first in Munkacs and then in Nagyszollos. In 1802 he was appointed rabbi of Sziget. In 1805 he refused an invitation to become rabbi of Grosswardein since, although it was a smaller community, he was unwilling to leave Sziget, where he remained for the rest of his life. Heller was an intimate of Moses *Sofer. Apart from his *Kunteres ha-Sefekot*, his *Terumat ha-Keri*, on the Tur and the Shulḥan Arukh, *Ḥoshen Mishpat*, has also been published (1858). He is also known to have compiled a work on the Bible, but the manuscript appears to have been lost.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: P.Z. Schwartz, *Shem ha-Gedolim me-Ereẓ Hagar*, 1 (1914), 376 no. 12; A. Stern, *Meliẓei Esh al Ḥodshei Nisan ve-Iyyar* (1930), 129–33; N. Ben-Menahem, *Mi-Sifrut Yisrael be-Ungaryah* (1958), 295–329.

[Naphtali Ben-Menahem]

HELLER, STEPHEN (1813–1888), Austrian pianist and composer. His first name originally was Jacob; he was baptized when his parents converted to Catholicism. Heller, who was born in Budapest, studied in Vienna, and became a virtuoso pianist. When illness interrupted his career, he accepted a post as a music teacher in Augsburg and turned to composing. In 1838 he settled in Paris, where he earned the respect of his contemporaries, especially Schumann. Heller wrote for the piano in a subtle, romantic, and evocative mood, and produced more than 150 short compositions. These were frequently played by pianists of his day, but since they were not suited for concert halls they were later rarely played.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Grove's Dict; Riemann-Gurlitt; MGG.

[Claude Abravanel]

HELLER, THEODOR (1869–1935), Austrian psychologist. Heller, who was born in Vienna, was among the pioneers of *Heilpaedagogik*, a form of clinical psychology devoted to the application of therapeutic techniques in an educational framework, operating generally under Freudian thought and theory. He founded the Heilpaedagogische Anstalt in Vienna, and wrote *Grundriss der Heilpaedagogik* (1904; 1925^3). His research covered the fields of child, adolescent, abnormal, and educational psychology. His published works include *Studien zur Blindenpsychologie* (1904), *Paedagogische Therapie fuer praktische Aerzte* (1914), and *Ueber Psychologie und Psychopathologie des Kindes* (1911; 1925^2). He was coeditor of *Enzyklopaedisches Handbuch des Kinderschutzes und der Jugendfuersorge* (2 vols., 1911).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: A. Grinstein, *Index of Psychoanalytic Writings*, 2 (1957), 860–1.

[Aaron Lichtenstein]

HELLER, YOM TOV LIPMANN BEN NATHAN HALEVI (1579–1654), Moravian rabbi, commentator on the Mishnah. Heller was born in Wallerstein, Bavaria. He received his education in the home of his grandfather, Moses Wallerstein, as well as, among others, from *Judah Loew b. Bezalel (the Maharal) of Prague. Besides his great talmudic knowledge, he engaged in the study of Kabbalah, religious philosophy, and Hebrew grammar and also acquired an extensive general knowledge, particularly of mathematics, astronomy, and natural sciences. In 1597, when only 18 years of age, he was appointed *dayyan* in Prague, and served in this office for 28 years, during which period he acquired renown for his profound knowledge and for his integrity. In 1625 he was appointed rabbi of Nikolsburg (Moravia) but in that same year moved to Vienna where he was elected *av bet din*. Through his endeavor the suburb of Leopoldstadt (at that time still outside the boundaries of Vienna) was confirmed as a special residential quarter for Jews. Heller saw to its communal organization and orderly administration, until the settlement became "a city filled with the qualities of wisdom, wealth, and honor" (*Megillat Eivah*). In 1627 he returned to Prague.

When, during the Thirty Years' War (1618–48), it was decreed that the Jews of Bohemia must pay a heavy tax to the government, the leaders of the Prague community, including Heller, imposed taxes upon its members to repay the loan which the community had borrowed to pay the impost. Several of the poor who opposed the assessment accused Heller of favoring the wealthy and, when their plot to remove him from office failed, slandered him to the emperor Ferdinand II, accusing him of contempt of the state and of insulting Christianity. He was imprisoned on June 25, 1629, and transferred to Vienna. When during the investigation he was asked how he dare defend the Talmud since it had been ordered to be burned by the pope, he replied: "Jews are obliged to obey the Talmud which is the main Oral Law." The sentence of death passed upon him by a court of Catholic priests was, "by grace of the emperor," commuted to a large monetary fine. Through the efforts of the Jews of Prague the other heavy penalties imposed were partly reduced. Instead of his books being banned, only the fragments on which he was condemned were erased, and the prohibition imposed on his serving in the rabbinate throughout the Austrian Empire was limited to the district of Prague. After spending 40 days in prison he returned to Prague in August 1629. He appointed the fifth of Tammuz, the day on which the order for his arrest was issued, as a fast day for all the members of his family. The details were described by Heller in his autobiography, *Megillat Eivah*.

In 1631 he removed to Poland, living first in Lublin and subsequently in Brest-Litovsk and Nemirov (among other things he composed a eulogy on the destruction of Nemirov in the *Chmielnicki massacres). From 1634 to 1643 he served as rabbi of Vladimir-Volynski. Heller took part in the rabbinical activities of the *Council of Four Lands and was one of the members of the permanent *battei-din* and one of the chief speakers at the conventions during the fairs in Lublin, Jaroslaw, and other places. He demanded that the **takkanot* and bans of 1587 prohibiting the purchase of rabbinic office be renewed and strengthened. This incited against him the anger of "those that hate without cause, and mendacious enemies." As a result of a calumny, a decree of expulsion from

Vladimir was issued against him, but this decree too was rescinded through the efforts of his influential friends in Warsaw. In 1643 he was called to serve in the Cracow rabbinate and after the death in 1648 of *Joshua b. Joseph, author of the *Meginnei Shelomo*, he also headed the Cracow yeshivah. During his residence in Cracow, Heller prepared a second edition of his *Tosefot Yom Tov* (Prague, 1614–17; Cracow 1643–44^2). Following the persecutions of 1648–49 he concerned himself with the amelioration of the lot of **agunot*. On his death Zelig Margulies testified of him that "he did not leave the wherewithal to purchase shrouds even though he was the *av bet din* of Cracow… all this, because he never took dishonest money" (Introd. *Ḥibburei Likkutim* (Amsterdam, 1715)). Contrary to popular belief, Heller was married only once. His wife's name was Rachel. In his commentary *Tosefot Yom Tov*, Heller mentions in various places his four sons, Moses, Samuel, Abraham, and Levi.

Heller's attitude toward non-Jews was very different from that of his teacher the Maharal of Prague. According to the Maharal, the election of the Jewish people by God reduced the divine image and innate spirituality of non-Jews. Heller disagreed, asserting that everyone, Jew and gentile, is judged by God according to his deeds. In addition, Heller did not believe that the talmudic proscription against "Greek wisdom" included all secular knowledge. He was particularly inclined toward all knowledge that increases the understanding of the world, including natural sciences and astronomy.

Along with his success as a rabbi, Heller failed at a number of his endeavors, which speak volumes concerning his character. He failed to expand the educational curriculum of Ashkenazi Jewry. He attempted but later abandoned his efforts to block the acceptance of Joseph *Caro's *Shulḥan Arukh*. His demand to prohibit the purchase of rabbinic office led to his arrest (see above), and he failed to pass on to the next generation his love of philosophy, astronomy, and science.

Of Heller's many works, which testify to his diversified scholarship, his commentary to the Mishnah is the most famous. He named this *Tosefot Yom Tov* because its purpose was to serve as an addition (*tosefet*) and exposition, supplement and work of source reference to the Mishnah commentary of Obadiah of *Bertinoro. Heller traced the sources of the Bertinoro commentary, explained obscurities, examined and also criticized its conclusions in the sphere of *halakhah*, and made linguistic comments. He explained the words grammatically, noted the *halakhah* on the basis of the Talmud and the **rishonim* and **aḥaronim* and took care to establish accurate readings, most of which he added to the second edition of his commentary, through clarification and elucidation of the text on the basis of various manuscripts and earlier published works. Heller endeavored to reconcile the contradictions between one Mishnah and another by means of straightforward and logical rationalization. All his comments are formulated with the utmost simplicity – and here he follows in the footsteps of his teacher Judah Loew b. Bezalel, who opposed the method of **pilpul*. Despite his positive attitude to Kabbalah, he refrained from relying upon it in deciding the *halakhah*, since "in explaining the Talmud, we have no dealings at all with esoteric matters" (*Ma'adanei Yom Tov*; Ber. 1). Heller even tried at one point to prevent the publication of kabbalistic works. When making halakhic decisions, he refrained from relying on kabbalistic leniencies or stringencies that ran counter to the plain sense of the Talmud. In his opinion the Mishnah might be interpreted differently from the explanation given in the Talmud, "providing no decisions which contradict the view of the authors of the *Gemara* are given" (*Tosefot Yom Tov* to Naz. 5:5). In his introduction he formulated his attitude to the commentary of Bertinoro: "My task, however, is to examine carefully in the Mishnah in order to see whether anything requires explanation that has not been explained in the commentary of the Rav [Bertinoro], or whether there is a contradiction from some other Mishnah to which he has not drawn attention, and also whether there is anything in his commentary for which an explanation and reason has to be given, as well as if there be any contradiction in the commentary itself, and more so from the Mishnah."

In his interpretation of the Mishnah, Heller endeavored to put into effect what Judah Loew impressed upon him in investigating the *halakhah*: the deduction of the halakhic ruling in the Mishnah. Through his examination of the text of the Mishnah he arrived at halakhic decisions since he was of the opinion that the Mishnah was to be accepted as the basis of the *halakhah*, while *Asher b. Jehiel (the Rosh) was to be regarded as a general decisor. He stressed this view in his *Ma'adanei Melekh ve-Leḥem Ḥamudot* (pts. 1 and 4, Prague, 1628, 1619; pts. 2 and 3 still in Ms., also entitled *Ma'adanei Yom Tov*). In his introduction to part 4 (entitled *Ma'adanei Melekh u-Filpula Ḥarifta*) he summarizes the development of the *halakhah* and deals especially with the importance of Isaac Alfasi, Maimonides, Asher b. Jehiel, and the latter's son Jacob, author of the *Turim*. After differentiating between the method of those who amplify, like Alfasi, and those who curtail, like Maimonides, he summarizes the contribution of Asher b. Jehiel and Jacob b. Asher and remarks that it is fitting that the work of the Rosh should be a guide for halakhic decision. In his exposition he seeks to supplement Asher b. Jehiel, to explain the contents of his writing, and to add new laws to them so that "all the children of Israel will turn to listen to Rabbenu Asher." A digest of the commentary, entitled *Ikkar Tosefot Yom Tov*, was published by Meshullam b. Joel Katz (Lemberg, 1790).

Of his other works, all of which are distinguished by their clarity of language and outstanding style, the following of his expository works should be mentioned: (1) a commentary on the *Beḥinat Olam* of Jedaiah ha-Penini (Prague, 1598); (2) *Ẓurat Beit ha-Mikdash* (*ibid.*, 1602) on the plan of the Temple according to the prophecy of Ezekiel; (3) glosses to the *Givat ha-Moreh* of Joseph b. Isaac ha-Levi (*ibid.*, 1611); (4) *Malbushei Yom Tov* (1895–97), **hassagot* and novellae on Mordecai Jaffe's *Levush* on *Oraḥ Ḥayyim* in two parts.

The following works have remained in manuscript: (5) *Tuv Ta'am*, a commentary on the kabbalistic part of Ḥiyya

b. Asher's commentary on the Pentateuch; (6) expositions on Abraham ibn Ezra's Pentateuch commentary; (7) *Leket Shoshannim* on the *Arugat ha-Bosem* of S. *Archivolti, who sent Heller the book for examination (*Tosefot Yom Tov*, to Tam. 7, end); (8) *Torat ha-Asham* on the *Torat Ḥattat* of Moses *Isserles; (9) *Parashat ha-Ḥodesh* on the laws of the new moon in Maimonides' *Mishneh Torah*; (10) *haggahot* to the *Kaftor va-Feraḥ* of Estori ha-Farḥi.

Beside his responsa (published in collections: *Ge'onei Batra'ei* (Turka, 1764), *Bayit Ḥadash ha-Ḥadashot* (Koretz, 1785), and *Ẓemaḥ Ẓedek* (Amsterdam, 1675)), a sermon (Prague, 1626), and approbations given in connection with his activities in the Council of Four Lands, Heller compiled various *piyyutim* and *seliḥot*, in connection with the massacres of 1618–20 in Prague and of 1648 in the Ukraine, which express with great fidelity the worries and sufferings of the Jews during the persecution in his lifetime. Exceptionally well-known is his autobiography *Megillat Eivah* (Breslau, 1818) which appeared in many editions (among others, with a German translation by Seligmann Kisch, Prague, 1849, with Yiddish translations, 1864, 1880, and with an English translation, 1991; see bibliography). This work, containing vivid descriptions of events in Heller's life and also of the communities of his time, serves as a valuable source for Jewish history in the first half of the 17th century. Of his Yiddish works intended for "the common people and women," his *Berit Melaḥ* (Prague, 1552?; Cracow, 1665) on the laws of salting and rinsing meat, and the Yiddish translation of Asher b. Jehiel's *Orḥot Ḥayyim* (Prague, 1626) should be noted. A letter of 1619 in Yiddish from Heller to a female relative, dealing with family matters, was published in 1911.

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[Josef Horovitz / David Derovan (2nd ed.)]

HELLER, ẒEVI HIRSCH (1776–1834), Galician and Hungarian rabbi. Born in Zamoscz, Galicia, Heller was already noted for his acumen in his youth and was designated "Hirsch Ḥarif" ("Hirsch, the sharp-witted"). His first rabbinate was in Brugl, Silesia, and in 1817 he was appointed head of the yeshivah in Brody, Galicia, and many of his students later became renowned talmudists, among them Ẓevi Hirsch *Chajes. Because of a calumny he was expelled from Brody and moved to Hungary. He first became rabbi in Ungvar, and c. 1820 was appointed rabbi of Bonyhad, where he served for 13 years. During this period the Reform controversy began, and its adherents in the town fought against him. As a result he accepted the invitation of the Ungvar community to return there in 1833, but later that year he was elected rabbi and *av bet din* of the community of Obuda (= Old Buda); however, after seven months there, he fell ill and died. Responsa to him are found in Moses *Sofer's *Ḥatam Sofer* (*Even ha-Ezer*, 1:94, 2:30).

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[Samuel Weingarten-Hakohen]

HELLERSTEIN, ALVIN K. (1933–), U.S. federal judge. Hellerstein was born in New York City in 1933. He received his B.A. from Columbia College in 1954. After graduating from Columbia Law School in 1956, he clerked for the Hon. Edmund Palmieri of the U.S. District Court for the Southern District of New York, and served in the Judge Advocate General's Corps of the U.S. Army from 1957 to 1960. He practiced law with the firm of Strook and Strook and Lavan in New York City for nearly four decades.

In 1998 President William J. Clinton nominated him to serve on the U.S. District Court for the Southern District of New York. In less than a decade on the federal bench, Hellerstein demonstrated skill in resolving complex issues. For example, he sustained the regulations issued by the administrator of the fund to compensate victims of the attack of terrorists on the World Trade Center in New York City on September 11, 2001.

Judge Hellerstein also displayed a strong commitment to the independence of the judiciary. He presided over the 2005 case in which, under the Freedom of Information Act (FOIA), the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) requested all the photos and videos that touched off the prisoner abuse scandal at Abu Gharib prison in Iraq. The government argued against disclosure on two grounds: national security and human rights, stating that publication of the photos would have the effect of causing American military personnel in Iraq to die and that "releasing the photos would reveal the prisoner's identities, a violation of their rights under the Geneva Conventions." After viewing eight of the photos, Judge Hellerstein concluded that civilians and detainees could be protected against insults and public curiosity by blocking facial characteristics, and ordered the production of the 144 pictures and videos in this redacted form. Judge Hellerstein wrote: "No one is above the law.… my task is not to defer to our worst fears, but to interpret and apply the law, in this case, the Freedom of Information Act, which advances values important to our society, transparency and accountability in government…. they are at the very heart of the values for which we fight in Afghanistan and Iraq. There is a risk that the enemy will seize upon the publicity of the photographs and seek to use such publicity as a pretext for enlistments and violent acts. But the education and debate that such publicity will foster will strengthen our purpose and, by enabling such deficiencies as may be perceived to be debated and corrected, show our strength as a vibrant and functioning democracy to be emulated…. "

Judge Hellerstein also rendered strong opinions on the First Amendment. In 2000 he ruled that postal employees may post political messages on a union bulletin board. In 2002 Hellerstein joined Judge Harold Baer of the federal court in Brooklyn in an opinion requiring the City of New York to allow the Ku Klux Klan to demonstrate, wearing their masks, in lower Manhattan. The two judges were of the view that the New York Anti-Mask law violated the First Amendment rights of Klan members to anonymous speech and that the city had engaged in discrimination on the basis of the viewpoint of the speakers, by enforcing the statute selectively. The appellate court reversed this view, and the Supreme Court declined to hear the case.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Cases: *ACLU v. Department of Defense*, F. Supp. 2d (SDNY 2005); *Burrus v. Vegliante*, 247 F. Supp. 2d 372 (SDNY 2000); *Church of American Knights of Ku Klux Klan v. Kerik*, 232 F. Supp. 2d 205 (SDNY 2002).

[Edward McGlynn Gaffney, Jr. (2nd ed.)]

HELLINGER, MARK (1903–1947), U.S. columnist and playwright. A reporter for the *New York Daily News*, in 1923 Hellinger became the first columnist to write regularly about Broadway. In 1930 he moved to the *New York Daily Mirror*. He wrote musicals, plays, film scripts, and novels, and the last *Ziegfeld Follies* to be produced by Ziegfeld himself in 1930.

In 1937 he went to Hollywood as a producer and became known as a master of screen violence. Some of the films he produced include *They Drive by Night* (starring George Raft, 1940); *Torrid Zone* (James Cagney, 1940); *High Sierra* (Humphrey Bogart, 1941); the comedy *Affectionately Yours* (Rita Hayworth, 1941); *Manpower* (Edward G. Robinson, 1941); the musical *Thank Your Lucky Stars* (Eddie Cantor, 1943); *Between Two Worlds* (John Garfield, 1944); *The Killers* (Burt Lancaster, 1946), which won the Edgar Alan Poe Award for Best Motion Picture; *Brute Force* (Lancaster, 1947); *The Two Mrs. Carrolls* (Bogart, 1947); and *The Naked City* (Howard Duff, 1948).

In 1931 *Moon over Broadway*, a collection of his short stories, was published. To find material and to add verisimilitude to the articles and stories he wrote, Hellinger researched real-life crimes, with the aid of such friends as gangsters Al Capone, Lucky Luciano, Bugsy Siegel, and Dutch Schultz.

In 1944 he worked as a war correspondent for Hearst newspapers.

In 1949 a theater on Broadway that had been built in 1930 was renamed in his honor. The Mark Hellinger Theater showcased such Broadway classics as *Two on the Aisle*, *My Fair Lady*, *The Sound of Music*, *On a Clear Day You Can See Forever*, *Sugar Babies*, *Merlin*, and *Tango Argentino*.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: J. Bishop, *The Mark Hellinger Story: A Biography of Broadway and Hollywood* (1952).

[Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

HELLMAN, CLARISSE DORIS (1910–1973), U.S. historian of science. Hellman was born and raised in New York City. She studied astronomy and mathematics at Vassar College, received an M.A. in the history of science from Radcliffe College in 1931, and her Ph.D. from Columbia University in 1943. Her dissertation, *The Comet of 1577: Its Place in the History of Astronomy*, was published by Columbia University Press in 1944 (rev. ed., AMS Press, 1971). Hellman taught as an adjunct professor of history of science at the Pratt Institute from 1951 to 1966 and also briefly at New York University from 1964 to 1966. From 1966 until her death she was professor of history at Queens College and the CUNY Graduate Center. A specialist in the history of Renaissance science, particularly astronomers and astronomy, Hellman edited and translated Max Caspar's biography *Johannes Kepler* (1959) and published articles and reviews on Tycho Brahe and Georg Samuel Doerffel, as well as Kepler. She was a fellow of the Royal Astronomical Society and the American Association for the Advancement of Science. As secretary of the U.S. National Committee of the International Union of History and Philosophy of Science (1958–60), she served as a delegate to the Ninth International Congress of the History of Science in Barcelona, Spain, in 1959, representing the National Academy of Sciences and the National Research Council. Her papers are found in the Columbia University Rare Book and Manuscript Library.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: P.E. Hyman and D. Dash Moore (eds.), *Jewish Women in America,* 1 (1997), 617–18; Obituary, *New York Times* (March 29, 1973).

[Harriet Pass Freidenreich (2nd ed.)]

HELLMAN, ISAIAS WOLF (1842–1920), U.S. banker. Hellman was born in Rickendorf, Bavaria. He immigrated to Los Angeles in 1859 with his younger brother, Herman. For six years he clerked in a cousin's dry goods store until in 1865 he bought a dry goods and shoe store of his own. Hellman early began to buy real estate, ultimately dealing in city lots, subdivision property, and ranch lands, and in time he became the largest single owner of property in Los Angeles. Allowing friends to keep gold dust and other valuables in his safe, he soon established the Hellman Temple and Company Bank (1868), which he sold to his partners a few years later. Hellman founded the Farmers and Merchants Bank of Los Angeles in 1871, beginning a career in banking which was to make him president or leading stockholder of a large number of banking enterprises in the Los Angeles area. Because of his staunch conservatism and unquestioned probity, Hellman was able to maintain the soundness of his banks in depressions and panics. He single-handedly brought an end to the boom of 1887 by restricting credit on speculative real estate, thus saving the city from serious potential damage. Hellman founded the Main Street Railway trolley line in Los Angeles, which he later merged into the Huntington and the Pacific Electric Street Railway Systems. In 1900 he moved to San Francisco to become president of the Nevada National Bank of San Francisco, later consolidated with the Wells Fargo Bank (1905), then with the Union Trust Company (1924), which was founded by Hellman in 1893.

A major philanthropist of his era, Hellman founded the first synagogue of Congregation B'nai B'rith in 1872, serving as its president (1871–82). In 1865, together with a Catholic and a Protestant associate, he contributed land for the establishment of the University of Southern California. He was especially generous in contributions to orphanages in the Los Angeles and San Francisco areas. Hellman served on the Board of Regents of the University of California (1881–1918). He was president of the Los Angeles Clearing House Association (1887–1900).

HERMAN WOLF (1843–1906) was the brother of Isaias, with whom he immigrated to Los Angeles. Like his brother, Herman was a pioneer in the economic development of Los Angeles. After working in a grocery business, he served as cashier in his brother's Farmers and Merchants Bank, then established the Merchants National Bank. It became one of the principal banks of southern California, later managed by his sons MARCO (b. 1878) and IRVING (b. 1883) until it closed in the depression of the 1930s.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: H. Newmark (ed.), *Sixty Years in Southern California, 1853–1913* (1916), passim; R.G. Cleland and F.B. Putnam, *Isais W. Hellman and the Farmers and Merchants Bank* (1965); L.P. Gartner and M. Vorspan, *History of the Jews of Los Angeles* (1970).

[Max Vorspan]

HELLMAN, JACOB (1880–1950), labor Zionist leader and editor. Born in Talson, Latvia, Hellman studied at yeshivot, and from 1897 at Frankfurt and the University of Marburg (where he was a pupil of Hermann *Cohen), completing his studies at the University of Berne in 1910. He took part in Zionist activities from his early youth, after having displayed some interest in the Territorialist movement and the Social Revolutionaries. He lived in Berlin and Riga and during the war years in Russia, where he became one of the founders of the *Ẓe'irei Zion movement. When he settled in Riga in 1919, he became one of the prominent leaders of Latvian Jewry, especially of the Zionist Socialist movement, and in 1920 was elected to the Latvian parliament. He edited various periodicals in Riga, including the Yiddish daily *Frimorgen* and as one of the founders of *Hitaḥadut he traveled on its behalf in various countries and became a member of the central body of the World Union of Po'alei Zion. In 1933 Hellman served as editor in chief of *Dos Naye Vort*, the Po'alei Zion organ in Warsaw, and remained in that post until 1936. After attending the 21st Zionist Congress (1939), he went to Argentina as the representative of the *World Jewish Congress. There he also became active in Zionist and general Jewish affairs and was a regular contributor to the press. His book *Yerusholaim* (in Yiddish) was published posthumously (1951; Hebrew translation, 1957). In 1952 his remains were transferred from Argentina and he was reinterred in Jerusalem.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: M. Gertz, *25 Yor Yidishe Presse in Letland* (1933), 30–38, 43–49; Y. Uri, *Ketavim Nivḥarim*, 2 (1967), 79–83; G. Ḥanokh, *Bi-Demi ha-Sa'ar* (1962), 209–10; *Yahadut Latvia* (1953), 421–3.

[Getzel Kressel]

HELLMAN, LILLIAN FLORENCE (1905–1984), U.S. playwright. Sources vary about the year of her birth. The Library of Congress lists it as 1906. The *New York Times*, the newspaper of record, in its obituary for her in 1984, listed her age as 79. She first worked for a publishing house and wrote short stories. Turning to the theater, she won instant fame with *The Children's Hour* (1934), a psychological tragedy about a schoolgirl's accusation of lesbianism against two of her teachers. The play ran for 691 performances in New York and was later made into a movie; it was banned in England. Her reputation was enhanced by *The Little Foxes* (1939), which portrayed a reactionary Southern family striving to maintain its position in face of social change. The play was adapted for the screen two years later and made into a successful opera, *Regina*, by Marc *Blitzstein (1949). She wrote an outspokenly anti-Nazi drama, *Watch on the Rhine* (1941), partly inspired by her experiences in Spain during the Spanish Civil War. Hellman's gift for dialogue and her remarkable stage technique were allied to a skill in handling strong, even unpleasant, themes. After *The Searching Wing* (1944), set in pre-World War II Europe and wartime America, came *Another Part of the Forest* (1946), a sequel to *The Little Foxes.* In the 1950s Hellman's career was arrested as a result of her refusal to incriminate fellow artists when called before the U.S. Congress's House Committee on Un-American Activities in 1952, at the height of the McCarthy era. Declaring that "I cannot and will not cut up my conscience to fit this year's fashions," she thereby resigned herself to several years of relative anonymity. *Toys in the Attic* (1960) dealt with problems of race and sex in her native New Orleans. Together with Richard Wilbur and Leonard *Bernstein, she also wrote *Candide* (1957), a comic opera based on Voltaire's satirical classic. Her own interpretation of her political history – which was and is controversial – is easily found in her memoirs: *An Unfinished Woman* (1969), *Pentimento* (1973), *Scoundrel Time* (1976), and her meditation, *Maybe, A Story* (1980). (In 1979, Mary McCarthy called Hellman "dishonest" as a writer and in 1980, Martha Gellhorn argued that *An Unfinished Woman* was, in the main, fiction.) Hellman's life and personality enjoyed renewed interest when her semi-autobiographical story of the wartime relationship between two women was made into a film, *Julia*, with Jane Fonda playing the part of Hellman.

For years, the great love of her life was Dashiell Hammett, a writer of classic crime novels such as *The Maltese Falcon* (1930) and *The Thin Man* (1934).

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[Joseph Mersand / Rohan Saxena and Lewis Fried (2nd ed.)]

HELMSLEY, LEONA (1920–), U.S. hotel operator and real estate investor. Leona Mindy Rosenthal Helmsley was born in Marbletown, N.Y. A high-school dropout, she was a model as a young woman under the name Leni Roberts, and a successful real-estate saleswoman. She was a real-estate agent when she met and began her involvement with Harry Helmsley (who would become her third husband), a then-married multimillionare real-estate investor who amassed his fortune as sole owner or in partnership with others in real estate worth about $5 billion. At his zenith, he held or controlled some of the most famous and admired office buildings in New York, including the Empire State Building; the Helmsley Building at 230 Park Avenue; the Lincoln Building at 60 East 42d Street; the Graybar Building at 420 Lexington Avenue; 1350 Broadway; the Flatiron Building; the Toy Center; and the Fisk Building at 250 West 57th Street. There were also large residential developments: Tudor City and Park West Village in Manhattan, Parkchester in the Bronx, and Fresh Meadows in Queens. He also had a stake in such major industrial properties as the Bush Terminal in Brooklyn and the Starrett-Lehigh Building in Manhattan. By 1989 he had become just as well-known for his hotels, particularly the Helmsley Palace on Madison Avenue. Leona was featured in many advertisements for the hotel as its demanding "queen," standing guard over the welfare of her guests. Other Helmsley hotels included the Park Lane on Central Park South and the Helmsley Windsor on West 58th Street. A supremely self-made man, Helmsley began his career in 1925 as a $12 a week office boy and ended it with great wealth as the head of far-flung Helmsley Enterprises but in the shadow of his forceful second wife, Leona, whom he married in 1972. Both were indicted for income tax evasion but Harry was found mentally unfit to stand trial. After legal moves to avoid prison failed, Leona began serving a four-year prison term in April 1992; she spent 18 months in a Federal prison in Danbury, Conn., before being transferred to a halfway house in Manhattan. She completed her sentence under curfew in the Helmsley apartment in the Park Lane. Harry died in 1997. He had no children and he left Leona his vast fortune.

With Leona in charge, Helmsley Enterprises began to divest itself of some non-hotel investments, including Brown, Harris, Stevens, Inc., a residential brokerage that Helmsley bought in the early 1960s. In 2002 she was sued by Charles Bell, a former employee, who said he was discharged solely for being homosexual. A jury agreed and ordered her to pay Bell $11.7 million in damages; a judge reduced this amount to $554,000. The story of her adult life was dramatized in the 1990 TV movie *Leona Helmsley: The Queen of Mean.*

[Stewart Kampel (2nd ed.)]

HELPERN (Halperin), MICHAEL (Mikhl; 1860–1919), socialist Zionist in Russia and pioneer in Ereẓ Israel. Born in Vilna, Helpern received a large legacy from his wealthy father and decided to devote it to the welfare of the Jews. He joined the Ḥovevei Zion after the pogroms in southern Russia (1881) and visited Ereẓ Israel in 1885. He traveled the length and breadth of the country on foot, and upon his return to Russia (1886) he suggested that the Ḥovevei Zion use his financial resources to establish an industrial enterprise in Ereẓ Israel. The suggestion was rejected, but Helpern accepted Judah Leib Pinsker's idea that he donate a large sum of money to purchase the lands of Yesud ha-Ma'alah. In 1886 he returned to Ereẓ Israel and settled in Rishon le-Zion, where he supported the workers' struggle against Baron Edmond de Rothschild's management, which resulted in the resignation of the chief official, Y. Osovitzky. After a visit to Russia at the end of 1890, he made a substantial contribution toward the purchase of land near Wadi Hanin in order to found a workers' settlement, Nes Ẓiyyonah.

In Russia he promoted Labor Zionism among Jewish youth. His major preoccupation, however, was the plan to organize a Jewish military force to conquer Ereẓ Israel and establish a Jewish government there. After the *Kishinev pogrom (1903), he played an important role in organizing Jewish self-defense in Russia. He collected money, gathered arms, and organized and headed fighting groups in Vilna and other towns. Helpern returned to Ereẓ Israel at the end of 1905, fought for the rights of Jewish labor in Jewish villages, and joined the small group founded by Joseph *Trumpeldor to establish a collective settlement. From his return until his death, he was a laborer and defense guard in various localities. He was wounded by Arabs one night when on guard duty in Tel Aviv.

Helpern continued to deliver speeches, devise plans, and compose memoranda to the Zionist movement on the political redemption of Ereẓ Israel by military means. Although he was admired by young people in Russia for his romantic idealism, he became increasingly alienated from the pioneers who had to face the struggles of existence in Ereẓ Israel at the beginning of the Second Aliyah period, so that in his last years he was almost completely isolated. He wrote several unpublished poems and plays in Yiddish on the theme of the destiny of the Jews. Givat Mikhael, a moshav near Nes Ẓiyyonah, is named after him. His colorful personality was the subject of a musical play "Days of Gold" by Shlomo Shva, presented by the Haifa Municipal Theater in 1965.

[Shlomo Breiman]

His son YERMIYAHU (Irma; 1901–1962), seaman and *Betar leader, was born in Smolensk, Russia, and was taken to Ereẓ Israel in 1913. In the late 1920s he joined Betar and became head of its school for instructors, leading it as a defense unit in Tel Aviv during the Arab riots in 1929. He later became a member of the world leadership (*shilton*) of Betar, organizing self-defense courses throughout Europe that trained thousands of Betar members. In 1934 he organized and headed Betar's naval training school at Civitavecchia, Italy. After the establishment of the State of Israel Helpern founded the marine museum in Eilat. He wrote pamphlets on military training, short stories, and several books: *Avi Michael Helpern* ("My Father Michael Helpern," 1964); *Via Dolorosa* (Heb., 1960); *Teḥiyyat Ha-Yamma'ut ha-Ivrit* ("The Jewish Maritime Revival," 1961).

[David Niv]

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HELPERN, MILTON (1902–1977), U.S. forensic pathologist. Helpern was born in East Harlem, New York, and educated in New York City public schools. He received his B.Sc. from City College in 1922 and M.D. from Cornell University Medical College in 1926. From 1954, he served as chief medical examiner of the City of New York and professor and chairman of the Department of Forensic Medicine at the New York University School of Medicine (1954–74) and was on the Faculty of Cornell University Medical College. He was co-founder of the American Academy of Forensic Sciences and the National Association of Medical Examiners.

Helpern was consultant in forensic pathology to many governmental agencies and lectured extensively. He brought attention to public health issues such as malaria among drug users, carbon monoxide poisoning, and Sudden Infant Death Syndrome. From 1968 he was president of the National Association of Medical Examiners, editor of the *International Microfilm Journal of Legal Medicine* from 1965, and coauthor of *Legal Medicine, Pathology and Toxicology* (1954^2). The Milton Helpern Library of Legal Medicine, established in 1962, was one of the finest of its kind. Helpern's basic philosophy held that forensic pathology cannot cure socioeconomic ills but it may be able to help society understand and prevent their tragic effects.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: M. Houts, *Where Death Delights: the Story of Dr. Milton Helpern and Forensic Medicine* (1967).

[Fred Rosner / Bracha Rager (2nd ed.)]

HELSINGFORS PROGRAM, a system of Zionist policy and activities in Russia and other Diaspora countries adopted at the third conference of Russian Zionists, which took place in Helsingfors (Helsinki) on Dec. 4–10, 1906. The Finnish capital was chosen as the site of the conference because conditions in Russia proper restricted meetings and the exercise of free speech. The conference dealt with fundamental problems of Zionism in general, and Russian Zionism in particular, as they appeared after *Herzl's death and the fading of his "diplomatic" Zionism and in view of the upheavals and constitutional changes in czarist Russia after the 1905 Revolution. The conference, which was meticulously prepared by meetings of Russian Zionist editors and journalists, formulated the idea of "synthetic Zionism," which stood for the simultaneous integration of parallel political and practical work in Zionism. It postulated the principle that the achievement of international recognition for a Jewish Ereẓ Israel would be the end, not the precondition, of systematic *aliyah* and settlement work. It was, however, the conference's resolution on "work in the present," i.e., among the Jewish masses in the Diaspora, that became famous both because of the innovation that it represented in Zionism and its practical consequences, particularly in Eastern Europe. The principal speaker on this subject was Isaac *Gruenbaum, who, with the experience of Jewish and Zionist work in Poland behind him, submitted the following formulation: Zionism opposes the Exile (*galut*), but does not oppose the Diaspora (*golah*). This principle was of particular importance for the Jews of Russia, who were then exposed to a variety of ideological influences besides Zionism. Other speakers on this subject included Vladimir *Jabotinsky and Leo *Motzkin. The "work in the present" resolution was based on Paragraph Two of the *Basle Program ("The organization and binding together of the whole of Jewry by means of appropriate institutions, both local and international, in accordance with laws of each country"), interpreting it as a directive to Zionists to organize the Jewish masses in the Diaspora as a national minority and lead them, in the Zionist spirit, in their daily life. The conference felt that such activity would "strengthen Diaspora Jewry and provide it with new cultural, material, and political means in its struggle for the creation of a sound national life in Ereẓ Israel." It envisaged a liberalized, democratic Russia with wide, autonomous rights for its non-Russian peoples, including the Jewish nation, which, through a comprehensive organizational framework, would exercise its political rights and its cultural, educational, and, in certain respects, even administrative autonomy both in Hebrew and Yiddish. The implementation of this program would transform Zionism from an activity remote from the Jewish masses – confined in the "diplomatic" and pioneering sphere – into a dynamic movement concerned with the actual needs of the Jews, particularly in Russia, as one national-cultural entity among many others. The spirit of the Helsingfors Program engendered and fostered new forms of Zionist activity, as, e.g., the wide network of modernized *ḥadarim* and secular Hebrew schools, active participation in the political life of the country wherever possible, etc.

In Russia, the Zionist movement was able to apply the political aspect of the new program only after the overthrow of the czar (1917), and then only for a short period, until the

Soviet regime liquidated the Russian Zionist movement. Unsuccessful attempts were made to apply this program in Galicia in the parliamentary elections during the period 1907–11. It was, however, implemented in Poland and the Baltic states after World War I. "Work in the present" remained a controversial program in Zionism. Its opponents contended that it caused a waste of effort in the Zionist movement, and that instead of being a means to an end – the creation of a Jewish nation in Ereẓ Israel – it could, in the course of time, become an end in itself.

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[Getzel Kressel]

HELTAI, JENŐ (originally **Herzl**; 1871–1957), Hungarian poet, playwright, and novelist. A cousin of Theodor *Herzl, Heltai studied law in his native Budapest but became a journalist. Between 1914 and 1918 he was the director of a Budapest theater and from 1916 was chairman of the Association of Hungarian Playwrights. A leading figure on the Hungarian literary scene during the first half of the 20th century, Heltai (who converted to Christianity) published his first verse anthology *Modern dalok* ("Modern Poems") in 1892. His themes were taken from urban life – an innovation in Hungarian poetry, which until then had been a rustic, folk type – and his poetry is a synthesis of the French chanson and Hungarian folk poetry. Heltai's plays include the comedy *A néma levente* (1936; English adaptation by Humbert *Wolfe, *The Silent Knight*, 1937) and *Egy fillér* ("One Penny," 1940), based on the life of Ferenc *Molnár. Heltai voiced his criticism of contemporary Hungarian society in a number of humorous plays and short stories. Several of his works, including the novel *Csárdás*, have been translated into English, Hebrew, and other languages.

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[Baruch Yaron]

HEMAN (Heb. הֵימָן), orchestral leader in Israel in biblical times. According to the Book of Chronicles, Heman was related, through the prophet Samuel, to the levite family of Korah and Kohath (I Chron. 6:18). The affiliation of Heman with Samuel indicates the increasing prestige of Heman's house. At first he worshiped together with Jeduthun (*ibid.* 16:41–42; cf. II Chron. 29:14–15) on the high places of Gibeon where the remains of the *Tabernacle were preserved. In taking the Ark up to Jerusalem (I Chron. 15:2–3), David participated together with the two families of singers, Asaph and Ethan; when the Temple was built by Solomon (*ibid.* 6:16ff.), David had already arranged to transfer Heman to Jerusalem (*ibid.* 25:1), where, together with the families mentioned, he could make music in the Temple, directing his sons (cf. *ibid.* 25:4–6). Heman and his sons, dressed in linen, made music (II Chron. 5:12), and performed their rites at the east of the altar. In one instance (I Chron. 25:5) Heman is called "the king's [David's] seer." I Chronicles 25 reflects the rise of the Hemanites at the expense of the Asaphites during Second Temple times.

Heman the Ezrahite

In the superscription of Psalm 88 the name Heman the Ezrahite is mentioned (similarly, the singer of Psalm 89 is called: Ethan the Ezrahite). "Ezrathite," the native, may indicate continuity with older Canaanite psalmody. According to this genealogy, which relates Heman to "sons of Korah," it appears that the writer establishes a relationship between Heman the Ezrahite and "the sons of Korah," such as exists between them and Heman in Chronicles (see above). But contrary to this I Kings 5:11 mentions Ethan the Ezrahite as well as Heman, Calcol, and Darda, "the sons of Mahol," as great sages who were surpassed in wisdom only by Solomon; and in I Chronicles 2:6 these four are taken as belonging to the family of Zerah b. Judah ("the sons of Zerah: Zimri, and Ethan, and Heman, and Calcol, and Dara"). Various theories have been advanced to reconcile these discrepancies, but it seems that the most probable view is that Ezrahite is identical with Zarhi (agreeing with I Chron. 2:6); Heman the Ezrahite is to be regarded as the father of the singers and related to the "sons of Korah." In ancient Israel singing and wisdom were associated. See, e.g., Psalm 49:4–5.

The Sons of Heman

According to I Chronicles 25:5 Heman had "fourteen sons," all of whom assisted "their father in song in the house of the Lord, with cymbals, psalteries, and harps." Since I Chronicles 6:18 establishes Heman's relationship to Korah, the sons of Heman are to be identified (see Abraham ibn Ezra to Ps. 42:1) with the sons of Korah, to whom Psalms 42–49 and 84–88 have been ascribed and who also are described as singers in the war chronicle dating from the days of Jehoshaphat (II Chron. 20:18). The sons of Heman are spoken of in the days of Hezekiah (II Chron. 29:12); they are not mentioned in the days of Josiah (ibid. 35:15); nor is anything said of them (and "the sons of Korah") in the genealogical lists of Ezra and Nehemiah. Perhaps this reflects a tradition that they were removed from office during the days of Josiah.

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[Yehoshua M. Grintz]

HEMAR (Hescheles), MARIAN (1901–1972), Polish author, satirist, and writer for the stage and screen. Born in Lemberg, Hemar began his career around 1920 as a poet and writer of revues. He wrote material for several Warsaw theaters and cabarets, among them the Quid Pro Quo, where he worked in collaboration with Julian *Tuwim. Together with such outstanding poets as Tuwim, Antoni *Slonimski, Jan Lechón, and Konstanty Galczyński, Hemar – who wrote under several other pseudonyms – produced many famous political skits and trenchant satires. He also wrote two comedies and a number of screenplays.

In 1939 Hemar left Poland and settled in London where, during World War II, he worked for the BBC's European Service and the Polish exile press and ran a Polish cabaret, the Bialy Orzel (White Eagle). In 1967, like many other uncommitted Jews, he felt the impact of the *Six-Day War and publicly affirmed his Jewishness and support for Israel and wrote the poem "*Sciana płaczu*" ("The Wailing Wall").

Hemar's verse collections include *Dwie ziemie świete* (Two Holy Lands, 1942), *Lata londyńskie* (The London Years, 1946), *Pisanki* (Ornamented [Easter] Eggs, 1946), and *Satyry patetyczne* (Pathetic Satires, 1947). Other works are *Adolf Wielki* (1943; *Adolf the Great*, 1943); a satirical diary, *Marchewka* (The Carrot, 1943); and a translation of Shakespeare's sonnets, *Sonety Szekspira* (1968).

[Stanislaw Wygodzki]

ḤEMDAT YAMIM (Heb. חֶמְדַּת יָמִים; "The Best of Days"), a major 18th-century Hebrew work of homiletics and ethics, comprising three volumes in the first four editions and four in the last two editions. Its impact on Jewish life and letters, first among the Ashkenazim, and later among the Orientals and Sephardim, has been very great. In modern Hebrew literature, the writings of S.Y. *Agnon have been especially influenced by the work's language and ideas. As it has come down, *Ḥemdat Yamim* is probably incomplete. The extant part deals with the halakhic observances and ethical behavior of a pious Jew who tries to attain the maximum religious elevation during the various holidays, fasts, and special days of the year. It is possible that a part of the work treating the ordinary days was lost because it was never printed.

Each section of the work is a homily in which the author substantiates his ideas by interpreting biblical verses and talmudic and midrashic sayings in homiletical sequences. The writings offer examples of some of the best rhetoric in Jewish homiletics, and the beauty of the sermons helped to endear the work to all readers. Although the author frequently raises halakhic problems, he does not deal with them in a purely halakhic manner – his main objective being to instruct the reader in the ḥasidic or pious way of life. A product of ethical kabbalistic literature, *Ḥemdat Yamim* was especially influenced by the Lurianic Kabbalah (see *Kabbalah, *Ethical Literature), which flourished in both Eastern and Western Judaism from the beginning of the 17th century. Accordingly, each chapter of the work stresses the mystically symbolic significance of the 613 commandments and of every custom and tradition carried out within the framework of Jewish religious life. The deeds performed in this world are seen as a reflection of mystical processes in the divine world. Through his religious acts the pious, observant Jew participates in a mythical drama of war between the mystical powers of good and evil. In a Jewry which accepted the Lurianic Kabbalah almost without exception, *Ḥemdat Yamim* had literary and practical value – people enjoyed both reading it and following its teachings.

The work was first printed by Israel Jacob b. Yom Tov *Algazi in Smyrna in 1731–32 (and subsequently five more times in the next generation). Although a major work and written only a few years before its publication, the author is unknown and the question of authorship remains one of the great mysteries in Jewish bibliography. That the work was written in the early 18th century and studied in depth by many of the best Jewish scholars and bibliographers heightens the irony of its anonymity. One fact seems clear, though some scholars have contested it in recent years, namely that the author was a *Shabbatean. Scholars have detected many Shabbatean ideas and allusions hidden in the work; the most obvious, pointed out in the 18th century by R. Jacob *Emden, the fanatic enemy of Shabbateanism, are the *notarikons* of *Nathan of Gaza, the prophet of Shabbetai Ẓevi, included in some of the work's *piyyutim*. This fact gave rise to the belief, accepted especially in the East, that Nathan of Gaza was the author of the entire work. Accordingly, Nathan is sometimes known as *Ha-Rav Ḥemdat Yamim* because of the common practice of calling an author by the name of his major work.

Although the book was written by a Shabbatean, it has been proved that Nathan of Gaza was not the author. First to disprove Nathan's authorship was Menahem Heilperin in *Kevod Ḥakhamim* (Jerusalem, 1896). Heilperin went even further, though unsuccessfully, in trying to demonstrate that the author had no connection with the Shabbatean movement. A recent effort to discover the author was made by Avraham Yaari in *Ta'alumat Sefer*, where he tried to prove that the author was Rabbi Benjamin ha-Levi, one of the major kabbalists in 17th-century Safed, who, according to Yaari, wrote the work during his old age in 1671–72. G. Scholem, in a thorough analysis, cited – among the many bibliographical and historical facts making Yaari's thesis unacceptable – the fact that *Ḥemdat Yamim* was written after R. Benjamin died.

Further insight into the work was provided by I. Tishby, who proved conclusively that the author of *Ḥemdat Yamim* made extensive use of works published in the beginning of the 18th century. Thus, the book could not have been written before the second, or even the third decade of that century, a time approximating the date of its publication. The comparison between *Ḥemdat Yamim* and the sources on which it is based reveals that many chapters of the work are in fact anthologies gleaned from many books. But by changing numerous details and transforming the special character of the individual sources, the author integrated his diverse sources into a new whole. The author quoted ancient and medieval sources faithfully, but used the subject matter of contemporary sources in any way which suited the literary character of his work. Many "personal" experiences reported by the author were in fact taken from other works and adapted to the demands of his style and purpose.

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[Joseph Dan]

HEMLOCK, the plant *Conium maculatum*, probably the Heb. ראש or רוש (*rosh*) of the Bible. *Rosh* is mentioned 11 times in the Bible, five together with *la'anah* ("wormwood"), as a simile for wickedness and for something evil and poisonous. The Authorized Version renders *rosh* as "gall," i.e., snake venom, but the Bible explicitly refers to it as a plant that puts out roots (Deut. 29:17) and flourishes in the fields (Hos. 10:4). Its poisonous fruits are called "grapes of *rosh*" (Deut. 32:32; which by transference was applied there to snake venom). It is a tall plant with which the elegist of the Book of Lamentations (3:5) sees himself surrounded and whose poison he fears. From this plant a poisonous potion was prepared (Jer. 8:14, 9:14). On occasion it was eaten, the psalmist (Ps. 69:21–22) describing the wicked surrounding him as coming to comfort him in his mourning and, instead of the mourner's meal, giving him *rosh* to eat. There is no exegetical or philological evidence by which to identify the scriptural *rosh*. A number of poisonous plants have been suggested for it as, for example, the colocynth. Among those deserving consideration, is the poppy (*Papaver somniferum*; see *Spices), for whose round seeds the name *rosh* ("head") is apt, and from the juice of which opium is prepared. This is mentioned in the Jerusalem Talmud (Av. Zar. 2:2, 40d) as a dangerous substance. Others have identified *rosh* with the plant *Hyoscyamus aureus*, which contains a poisonous and intoxicating juice. In Aramaic it is called *shikhrona* ("intoxicator"), a term also found in Josephus (Ant. 3:172ff.). The latter compares the crown above the gold plate of the high priest (Ex. 28:36) to its calyx, describing this plant in all its detail, the first morphological description of a plant in ancient Jewish literature.

Of all those proposed identifications the most reasonable is hemlock (*Conium*), a plant of the family of Umbelliferae, with a large inflorescence like an umbrella for which the name *rosh* ("head") is apt. It grows wild in fields and on the roadside in various parts of Israel. It contains a powerful poison.

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[Jehuda Feliks]

HEMP, the plant *Cannabis sativa* called *kanbus* in talmudic literature. The Mishnah speaks of its fibers as being woven with or without linen (Kil. 9:1). The prohibition of *sha'atnez* ("the mixture of wool and linen") did not apply to coarse garments and felt shoes, the products of overseas lands, the presumption being that they were sewn with hempen thread (Kil. 9:7). The Jerusalem Talmud (Kil. 9:5, 32d) notes that while in mishnaic times hemp was an important commodity because of the difficulty of cultivating linen, in the days of the *amoraim* linen replaced it. An interesting comment on the cultivation of linen and hemp in Europe at the end of the 12th century is given by Samson of Sens in his comment on the Mishnah in *Kilayim* (*ibid.*) that in his region linen was more expensive than hemp, whereas in Normandy and England it was very cheap. From another strain of hemp (*Cannabis sativa var. Indica*), grown in southern Asia, hashish is extracted. The use of hemp as a narcotic is extremely old. Herodotus (*Historia*, 4:75) mentions that the Scythians scattered hemp seeds on heated stones and inhaled the fumes. Hashish is not mentioned however in Jewish sources.

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[Jehuda Feliks]

HEMSI, ALBERTO (1897–1975), composer, ethnomusicologist, and music publisher. Born in Turgutlu (Cassaba), *Turkey, he attended l'Alliance Israélite Universelle (AIU) school and the local yeshivah. In 1907, he attended the Societé Musicale Israélite (SMI) in Izmir, studying composition with Shemtov Shikayar and cantorial music with Isaac *Algazi. In 1913, he won a scholarship to the Royal Conservatory of Music (Milan), where, from 1914 to 1915 and from 1917 to 1919, he studied piano with Guglielmo Andreoti, theory and composition with Renzo Bossi and Ettore Pozzoli, and musicology with Giusto Zampieri. In those intervening years, while serving in the Italian Army, he was wounded during a battle in northeastern Italy. In 1919, he returned to Izmir to teach piano and vocal music at the AIU and directed a youth orchestra at the SMI. From 1920, he became intensely interested in the traditional secular and liturgical music of the Sephardim, which he began to collect in Turkey, and from 1923 more intensively in Rhodes, where his family settled after the great fire in Izmir. In 1927, he moved to *Alexandria, where he founded Édition Orientale de Musique, the first Egyptian music-publishing house, and published a booklet, *La Musique Oriental en Egypte* (1930). He also founded a conservatory to propagate his ideas about Middle-Eastern music, served as music director of the Grand Eliahu ha-Navi Synagogue (1927–57), established the Alexandria Philharmonic Orchestra (1928–40), and continued his fieldwork (publishing the first-five fascicles of his *Coplas sefardies*). In 1957, fearing Nasser's political policies, he left for Paris to teach at the Séminaire Israélite de France. From 1958 he simultaneously assumed the music directorships of the Berith Shalom and Isaac Abravanel Synagogues. He studied ethnomusicology under Claudie Marcel-Dubois (1961–65) and was also active in French radio. His musical manuscripts and unpublished works are deposited in the Music Department of the Jewish National and University Library in Jerusalem. These works include *Coplas sefardíes, 10 fascicles* (Alexandria-Paris, 1932–1973); *Cancionero sefardi* published posthumously, edited by E. Seroussi et al. (Jerusalem, 1995), and *Maḥzor sefardi*, an edited collection of 200 liturgical melodies).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Grove Music Online.

[Israel J. Katz (2nd ed.)]

HENDEL, NEḤAMA (Helena; 1936–1998), Israeli folk singer. Born in Jerusalem, Neḥama Hendel started her career as a singer in *Lehakat ha-Naḥal,* the military entertainment troupe.

After her army service, she went to Paris for singing and acting studies. In 1957 she returned to Israel and was a member of the *Batzal Yarok* (Green Onion) entertainment troupe. A year later she participated as an actor in the American movie *Amud ha-Esh* and formed one of the first Israeli folk-style duos with Ran Eliran ("Ran and Nama"). She was known especially as a performer of old folk songs (Israeli and others in several languages), the first Israeli singer to evolve a soprano folk-style intonation, breaking a convention established by the "Yemenite altos" such as Bracha *Zefirah and Shoshana *Damari. In 1969 she left Israel for Germany with her husband and from 1984 she lived in Australia until her return to Israel in 1994. Among her recordings are songs of Ḥ.N. *Bialik, *Outside the Storm* (1997). A collection of most of her recordings was published in two CDs in 1998.

[Israela Stein (2nd ed.)]

HENDEL, YEHUDIT (1926–), Hebrew writer. Born in Warsaw to a rabbinic family, Hendel came to Palestine as an infant. The family settled in Haifa, the setting of many of Hendel's prose works. Hendel's stories were first published in *Mi-Bifnim* (1942), and subsequently appeared in various Israeli literary journals. Her first collection of stories, entitled *Anashim Aḥerim Hem* ("They are Different") appeared in 1950, followed by her first novel *Reḥov ha-Maderegot* (1956; reissued 1998; *Street of Steps*, English translation 1963), a social novel, depicting the disparity between two classes in the new Jewish state: the poverty-stricken, disadvantaged Oriental Israelis, living in downtown Haifa, and the established, influential Ashkenazi elite, living on Mount Carmel. Hapless Oriental characters, traumatized Holocaust survivors, and weary immigrants are the anti-heroes in Hendel's second novel, *Ha-Ḥaẓer shel Momo ha-Gedolah* ("The Yard of Momo the Great," 1969; reissued as *Ha-Ḥamsin ha-Aḥaron*, "The Last Hamsin" in 1993) which is set again in downtown Haifa shortly before the Six-Day War. Hendel, commonly associated with the "New Wave" in Hebrew literature, was one of the first Israeli novelists to foreground the fate and sufferings of ethnic minorities and of women in Israeli society. The novel *Ha-Koaḥ ha-Akher* ("The Other Power," 1984) is a lyrical elegy to her late husband, the painter Zvi Mairovitch, in which Hendel describes and contemplates on the nature and meaning of the creative process. No less personal is her next work, *Le-yad Kefarim Sheketim* ("Near Quiet Places," 1987), a moving account of a voyage she undertook to Poland, juxtaposing pastoral landscapes and the awareness of the shattering past, the concentration camps and a Jewish world lost forever: "One cannot avoid the feeling that Poland is a great cemetery," she writes. Sickness, death, loss and bereavement became major themes in Hendel's works. In the collection *Kesef Katan* (1988; *Small Change*, 2002) she tells of a woman dying of cancer ("My Friend B's Feast," included also in R. Domb (ed.), *New Women's Writing from Israel*) and of a man twice widowed; in *Har ha-To'im* ("The Mountain of Losses," 1991) she critically reflects on the state-organized ceremonies in military cemeteries, pleading for a genuine and heartfelt private ritual of mourning. Following the collection of stories *Aruḥat Boker Temimah* ("An Innocent Breakfast," 1996), Hendel published the novel *Terufo shel Rofe ha-Nefesh* ("Crack Up," 2002), a skillfully narrated psychological novel describing the disintegration of a man who marries the wife of his deceased best friend, the woman he had always loved. The marriage is marred by hallucinations and guilt feelings, overshadowed by the imaginary presence of the dead.

Some of Hendel's prose works have been adapted for stage, screen, and television. She was awarded the Jerusalem Prize and the Bialik Prize and is one of the few women writers to be awarded the prestigious Israel Prize for literature (2003). "A Story with No Address" is included in G. Abramson (ed.), *The Oxford Book of Hebrew Short Stories* (1996); "Small Change" is included in G. Shaked (ed.), *Six Israeli Novellas* (1999). For further information concerning the translation of Hendel's prose into various languages see the ITHL website at www.ithl.org.il.

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[Anat Feinberg (2nd ed.)]

HENDRICKS, U.S. family. URIAH HENDRICKS (1737–1798), who was born in Amsterdam, Holland, emigrated from London to New York in 1755. In 1764 he established a metals business there which his grandson Uriah continued as Hendricks Bros., the oldest Jewish business concern in America. He was one of the Tories who in 1776 signed a Loyalist address to the British general William Howe. Hendricks was a president of the Sephardi congregation Shearith Israel, in which his family was active for generations. Uriah's only son, HARMON (1771–1838), was born in New York and graduated from Columbia College. In 1812 he established one of the first copper-rolling mills in the United States in Soho, New Jersey, with his brother-in-law, Solomon I. Isaacs. This firm developed metal parts for warships, which were useful in the War of 1812. When the government issued war bonds in 1813, Hendricks subscribed $40,000. Hendricks was the leading New York Jewish philanthropist of his time, and he was president of Congregation Shearith Israel from 1824 to 1827. His sons, URIAH (1802–1869), HENRY (1804–1861), and MONTAGUE (1811–1884), carried on the copper firm, which then was handed down to Uriah's four sons, including JOSHUA HENDRICKS (1831–1893). Joshua's son HENRY HARMON HENDRICKS (1860–1904) was born in New York City. After some years as a practical chemist, he joined Hendricks Bros. and remained an active partner. A trustee of Congregation Shearith Israel, Hendricks belonged to many Jewish and secular organizations, including the National Arts Club and the American Association for the Advancement of Science. Another of Joshua's sons, EDGAR (d. 1894), married Lilian Henry. Their son HENRY S. HENDRICKS (1892–1959), born in New York City, associated himself with the law firm of Cardozo and Nathan. From 1926 to 1938 he practiced privately, then joined Hendricks, Robbins & Buttenweiser; he resumed private practice in 1947. Active in the Jewish Historical Society, for 25 years he presided over Congregation Shearith Israel, later becoming its honorary president.

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[Edward L. Greenstein]

°HENGSTENBERG, ERNST WILHELM (1802–1869), German Bible scholar. He earned his Ph.D. at Bonn (1823) after studying Hebrew and Arabic with G. Freytag, the prominent Orientalist. As editor of the *Evangelische Kirchenzeitung* (1827–69) he led an anti-rationalistic crusade which upheld the doctrine of infallibility in regard to the fundamental beliefs of Protestant Christianity. Hengstenberg belonged to the group of orthodox Christian scholars known as "Confessionalists," because of their adherence to such formularies as the Augsburg Confession. He is remembered principally for his *Christologie des Alten Testaments* (1829–35; *The Christology of the Old Testament*, 1854–58), a strictly Christian orthodox presentation of the Bible, which views the messianic prophecies on a spiritual plane and totally ignores their original historical setting. Adaptations of the hermeneutical principles of the Reformation are found throughout his biblical commentaries which include *Kommentar über die Psalmen* (4 vols., 1842–47; *Commentary on the Psalms*, 3 vols., 1845–48); *Prediger Salomo* (1858; *Commentary on the Book of Ecclesiastes*, 1860); *Weissagungen des Propheten Ezechiels* (1867–68; *The Prophecies of Ezekiel*, 1869); and *Beiträge zur Einleitung ins Alte Testament* (1831; *Genuineness of the Pentateuch*, 2 vols., 18547), a defense of the unity of the Pentateuch. He also wrote *Geschichte des Reiches Gottes unter dem Alten Bunde* (2 vols., 1869–71; *History of the Kingdom of God under the Old Testament*, 2 vols., 1871–72), *Die Opfer der heiligen Schrift* (1859), and *Egypt and the Books of Moses* (1843). Twelve of his books were translated into English to combat the inroads that critical scholarship was making among English readers.

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[Zev Garber / S. David Sperling (2nd ed.)]

HENKIN, JOSEPH ELIJAH (1880–1973), rabbi. Henkin was born in Klimovichi, Belorussia, where his father Rabbi Eliezer Henkin was head of the yeshivah. Leaving his native town, he studied for six years at the yeshivah of Slutsk under Isser-Zalman *Meltzer, who together with Baruch Baer *Leibowitz and Jechiel Michael *Epstein ordained him. After serving as rabbi in Kavkazskaya and as head of the yeshivah in Sokolov, Henkin immigrated to the United States in 1922 and settled in New York City. In 1925 he was appointed director of Ezras Torah, an organization founded in 1915 by the Union of Orthodox Rabbis to provide assistance to rabbinical scholars in war-torn Europe. Under his direction, Ezras Torah expanded into a general charity distributing hundreds of thousands of dollars annually to thousands of needy persons, raising funds honorably, and disbursing funds fairly. Paid a modest salary, he insisted that when he aged and cut down his hours of work, his salary be reduced accordingly. His stature derived from his person and not from the positions he held. Henkin was one of the leading authorities on Jewish law and was continually called upon to decide points of Jewish law. He was particularly authoritative on divorce procedure and on laws of Sabbath as they relate to the new technology. His writings also include such issues as the Holocaust, Zionism, and Jewish communal life. Originally opposed to the State of Israel, once it was established he gave it support. His published responsa appear in Chaim Bloch's *Even me-Kir Tiẓak* (1953) and in his own *Perushei Lev Ivra* (c. 1925). His son LOUIS HENKIN (1917–) became professor of international law and diplomacy at Columbia University.

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[Aaron Lichtenstein / Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

HENLE, ELKAN (1761–1833), an early advocate of emancipation in Bavaria. Son of a wealthy Fuerth court agent, Jacob Buttenwies(en) Henle, he published a number of books and pamphlets demanding the spread of education and enlightenment (Haskalah) among his coreligionists and opposing the view that the Jews were not ready for emancipation. His writings include *Ueber die Verbesserung des Judenthums* (Frankfurt, 1803); *Ueber die Verfassung der Juden im Koenigreiche Baiern und die Verbesserung derselben zum Nutzen des Staates* (Munich, 1811); *Die Stimme der Wahrheit in Beziehung auf den Kultus der Israeliten* (3 vols., Fuerth, 1827). His last work sharply criticized the reformist catechism of Alexander *Behr and opposed the formulation of a secular consistory in Bavaria.

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HENLE, JACOB (**Friedrich Gustav**; 1809–1885), German anatomist and pathologist. Henle, who is considered one of the outstanding histologists of his time, was a member of a well-known family in Bavaria and the grandson of the rabbi of Fuerth. He was baptized at the age of 11 by his parents. He studied medicine at Bonn, and was the outstanding pupil, and later assistant, of Johannes Mueller. He moved with the latter to Berlin, where he was appointed lecturer of anatomy in 1837. From 1840 he served as professor of anatomy and physiology at Zurich, from 1844 at Heidelberg, and from 1852 at Goettingen.

Henle was a great anatomist and one of the founders of modern medicine. The scope of his research work, from his first study of the cornea of the eye (1832) until the final one on the growth of man's nail and the horse's hoof (1884), was astonishing in its variety. His book, *Allgemeine Anatomie* (1841), was the first in which the study of the cell was presented as a professional branch, thus taking a definite step forward in medicine. While at Zurich, he founded the *Zeitschrift fuer rationelle Medizin*, in opposition to the obscure romantic medicine of his day.

His anatomical discoveries were numerous and at least a dozen microscopic structures in anatomy were named after him. He summed up his life's work on anatomy in his great book *Handbuch der systematischen Anatomie* (1855–71). He also made contributions to pathology. His book, *Pathologische Untersuchungen* (1840) included, among others, a chapter on miasmas and infections, in which he first expressed (long before ways were found to stain and identify microbes) the theory that infectious diseases were caused by specific microorganisms, a contention that was to be proved 40 years later by his pupil Robert Koch.

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[Joshua O. Leibowitz]

HENLE, MORITZ (1850–1925), cantor and composer. Born in Laupheim (Wuerttemburg), Germany, Henle became cantor and choral conductor and worked in various cities. In 1879, he was appointed chief cantor in the reformed Israelitischer Tempelverband of Hamburg, where he reintroduced biblical cantillation and Ashkenazi pronunciation. In 1905 he was among the founders of the Standesverein der juedischen Kantoren in Deutschland, which later became the Allgemeiner Deutscher Kantorenverband. His works include *Liturgische Synagogen-Gesaenge* (1900), for solo, mixed choir, and organ; a revised edition of the *Gesangbuch* of the Hamburg Synagogue (1887); and a setting of Byron's *Hebrew Melodies*. His leaning toward the East European style is discernible in the settings of prayers *Halokh ve-Karata, U-Netanneh Tokef,* and *Adonai Mah Adam*. Henle wrote articles on synagogue music, the training of cantors, and similar subjects, and was an advocate of moderate Reform.

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[Joshua Leib Ne'eman]

HENNA (Heb. כֹּפֶר, *kofer*), the plant *Lawsonia alba* whose leaves yield a much-used dye. Its English name is derived from Arabic. Henna is included among the spices growing in the garden of tropical spices to which the beloved maiden is compared in Song of Songs (4:12–13), while she compares her beloved to "a cluster of henna in the vineyards of En-Gedi" (*ibid.* 1:14). The Mishnah mentions henna alongside the rose among the aromatic plants that grow in Ereẓ Israel (Shev. 7:6). The henna of "Ashkelon in Judea" was praised by Pliny (*Historia Naturalis*, 12:51) and Dioscorides (*De materia medica*, 1:117). According to Josephus (Wars 1:181), the name of Herod's mother was Cypros (Κύπρος), that is *kofer*, and he called a fortress which he built "Cypros" after her. Henna is a shrub which is grown in various places in the Jordan Valley and in the Shephelah. Its aromatic flowers are arranged in clusters (hence the "cluster of henna"). From its root or leaves a powder is prepared which is soluble in water and produces a reddish-orange dye. Throughout the ages the peoples of the East prized this beautiful, fast dye which was used for dying the hair, the palms of the hand, the nails, and even the teeth. With it the Egyptians dyed mummies. The Talmud (TJ, Git. 69b) mentions henna as a remedy for a disease of the urinary organs. In Yemen, Jews smeared a bride's body with henna dye (the person doing it pays for the privilege with a wedding gift) and hence the name "henna night" given by them to a marriage. The custom is still maintained by several communities in Israel.

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[Jehuda Feliks]

HENOCHSBERG, EDGAR SAMUEL (1894–1966), South African Supreme Court judge. Born in Durban, he became king's counsel in 1939, and was raised to the bench in 1955. Maintaining a constant interest in Jewish affairs, Henochsberg was a founder, executive officer, and president of the Durban Jewish Club, Durban Hebrew Congregation, and Council of Natal Jewry. Active on behalf of many undenominational and humanitarian causes, he was emeritus commissioner of the South African Scout Council, a chairman of Adams College Educational Trust (for non-whites), and president of the Durban Bantu Children's Welfare Society. He served in Egypt during World War I. In World War II he was judge advocate with the South African forces, and later senior law adviser with the rank of lieutenant colonel.

[Lewis Sowden]

HENRIQUES (**Quixano Henriques**), Anglo-Jewish family. The family progenitor was MOSES HENRIQUES of Kingston, Jamaica, who married Abigail Quixano in 1768. The eldest son of this marriage, ABRAHAM QUIXANO HENRIQUES (18/19th cent.), immigrated to London, where he established himself as a West India merchant. His sons DAVID (1804–1870) and JACOB (1811–1898) were prominent communal workers and were among the founders of the Reform congregation in London in 1840.

Later members of the family include: HENRY STRAUS QUIXANO HENRIQUES K.C. (1864–1925), lawyer, communal worker, historian, president of the Board of Deputies of British Jews (1922–25), and author of the standard works *The Jews and the English Law* (1908) and *Jewish Marriages and the English Law* (1909). CYRIL QUIXANO HENRIQUES (1880–1976) was a civil engineer. He served in the Indian Civil Service before going to Palestine, where he was engineer for the Zionist Executive from 1925 to 1928. Returning to England he was active in Zionist affairs and a leader of the Nazi boycott movement of the 1930s.

SIR BASIL LUCAS QUIXANO HENRIQUES (1890–1961) was a social worker, a leading authority on juvenile delinquency, and an advocate of progressive Judaism. Born in London, Basil Henriques was educated at Harrow and Oxford, where he helped to edit a prayer book for the synagogue services conducted by the undergraduates. An officer during World War I, he wrote sermons and prayers, later issued in booklet form, for Jewish troops. Henriques devoted his principal efforts to helping underprivileged and delinquent youth in the East End of London. In 1915 he founded his first boys club. After World War I, Henriques and his wife established the St. George's Jewish Settlement. A gift of £65,000 from Bernhard *Baron enabled them to build more spacious premises, and they made their home there so that they could be close to the Settlement's members, who numbered in the thousands. As a magistrate and later chairman of the East London Juvenile Court, Basil Henriques' chief purpose was to understand the causes of juvenile delinquency and develop preventive social action. He visited boys' homes and prisons, suggested reforms, and took a great interest in the care of young Jewish offenders after their discharge. He made lecture tours throughout the world to spread his views on the prevention of juvenile delinquency and to advance the cause of progressive Judaism. After World War II he headed the anti-Zionist "Jewish Fellowship" which however dissolved on the establishment of the State of Israel. Basil Henriques was knighted in 1955 for his services as social worker and magistrate. He described his career in *The Indiscretions of a Warden* (1937) and *The Indiscretions of a Magistrate* (1950). He also wrote *The Home Menders* (1955). Sir Basil's wife LADY ROSA LOUISE HENRIQUES (1889–1972), a sister of Herbert Loewe, was a gifted artist and herself a noted social worker. She was chairwoman of the British *OSE, vice president of English *ORT, and chairwoman of the German section for Jewish Relief Abroad.

ROBERT DAVID QUIXANO HENRIQUES (1905–1967) was an author and soldier, who devoted his most productive years to writing, farming, and Anglo-Jewish affairs. Robert Henriques joined the British regular army, retiring in 1933. His first important novel, *No Arms, No Armour* (1939), was awarded various prizes. He returned to the army on the outbreak of World War II and served in the artillery and the commandos before reaching the rank of colonel as a planning officer on the combined operation staff of Field Marshal Montgomery. His awards included the U.S. Silver Star. His novel *Through the Valley* (1950), published in the U.S. as *Too Little Love*, was awarded the James Tait Black Memorial Prize. A member of the London Reform Synagogue and originally a vigorous opponent of political Zionism, Henriques underwent a "conversion" to Zionism at the time of Israel's *Sinai Campaign of 1956, which he recorded in his *100 Hours to Suez* (1957). He subsequently built himself a cottage in kibbutz Kefar ha-Nasi and paid annual visits to Israel. In his later years, he was president of The Bridge in Britain, an organization established to promote friendship between Britain and Israel. Robert Henriques' autobiographical novel, *The Commander* (published in 1967), deals with his commando career in World War II. Henriques' biographic fragments appeared in 1969 in *From a Biography of Myself.*

His other works include biographies of two Anglo-Jewish oil tycoons, *Marcus Samuel, First Viscount Bearsted* (1960) and *Sir Robert Waley-Cohen, 1877–1952* (1966).

Members of the Kingston, Jamaica, branch of the Henriques family, distinguished themselves in the development of Jamaica's industry and by their activity in civic affairs.

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[Zvi Hermon / Harold Harel Fisch]

°**HENRY IV** (1056–1106), German emperor. His measures defined the status of the Jews in Germany, sometimes in opposition to canon law (e.g., he allowed them to employ Christian wet nurses, and from 1097 permitted baptized Jews to revert to Judaism). In 1074 he exempted the Jews of *Worms from custom dues in imperial towns. His charters granted in 1090 to the Jews of *Speyer and later to those of Worms gave them far-reaching privileges, including the right to travel and trade throughout the empire. In the Worms charter Henry specifically stated that the Jews should come under no jurisdiction but his own, since "they belong to Our chamber." While in Italy during the First Crusade (1096), he urged the German princes to protect the Jews and begged the bishop of Speyer to shelter the survivors of the massacres; later he opened investigation on the theft of Jewish property during the riots. In 1103 Jews were included for the first time in a *Landfrieden* ("peace proclamation") of Mainz – along with clerics, women, and merchants – in which the emperor and his lords pledged to protect certain classes of people for a specified period of time.

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[Meir Lamed]

HENRY, BUCK (**Zuckerman**; 1930–), U.S. screenwriter and actor. Born in New York, Henry began his career at age 16 in the cast of the long-running Broadway production *Life with Father.* Henry saw military service with the army during the Korean War and afterwards found work writing jokes for the Steve Allen and Garry Moore television shows. Although he gained national attention as a writer/performer on the TV satire *That Was the Week That Was* (1964–65), his first big success was as co-writer with Mel Brooks of the hit comedy series *Get Smart* (1965–70). Henry became a member of the screenwriters' elite when he shared credit for the script of the feature film *The Graduate* (1967), and subsequently wrote the screenplays for such films as *Candy* (1968), *Catch-22* (1970), *The Owl and the Pussycat* (1970), *Is There Sex after Death?* (1971), *What's Up, Doc?* (1972), *The Day of the Dolphin* (1973), *Protoco*l (1984), *To Die For* (1995), and *Town and Country* (2001).

In 1978 he co-produced and co-directed *Heaven Can Wait* with Warren Beatty, and in 1980 he directed *First Family*, which he also wrote. As an actor, Henry appeared in many of his films, as well as making cameo appearances in a long string of other movies. Films in which he played a significant role include *Taking Off* (1971), *The Man Who Fell to Earth* (1976), *The Absent-Minded Waiter* (1977), *Strong Medicine* (1979), and *Curtain Call* (1999).

[Jonathan Licht / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

HENRY (Lyon), EMMA (1788–1870), English poet. The daughter of the Rev. S. Lyon, who opened at Cambridge England's first Jewish boarding school, Henry was one of the first English Jews to attract attention as a writer. Her *Miscellaneous Poems* (Oxford, 1812), dedicated to the Princess of Wales, carried a subscription list headed by the Prince Regent. Her son, Michael Henry, was an early editor of *The Jewish Chronicle.*

HENRY, JACOB (c. 1775–1847), North Carolinian of Bavarian parentage. Henry represented Carteret County in the state's lower chamber in 1808 and 1809, despite constitutional restrictions against non-Protestants. In December 1809, a motion denying him his seat on religious grounds was countered by Henry in an eloquent letter, possibly inspired by Judge John L. Taylor, asserting that "man ought to suffer civil disqualification for what he does… not for what he thinks." Holding that non-Protestants could make the laws, though not interpret or execute them, the House let Henry retain his seat. He later moved to Charleston, South Carolina.

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[Stanley F. Chyet]

HENRY, JULES (1904–1969), U.S. anthropologist. Henry taught at various institutions in the United States and Mexico and from 1947 taught at Washington University, St. Louis, Missouri. He served in various governmental agencies, such as U.S. Department of Agriculture and Office of War Information. As research associate and consultant he also served various national and international organizations, e.g., the World Health Organization and the National Institute of Mental Health. His special interests were in the interrelations of personality and culture; the anthropological approach to the study of education; the analysis of social structure and function; and the emotional problems of children and adolescents. He wrote *Culture Against Man* (1963), and *Jungle People…* (1964).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: B. Kaplan, *Studying Personality Cross Culturally* (1961), index.

[Ephraim Fischoff]

HENRY, MICHAEL (1830–1875), British journalist. Born in London, son of the poet Emma *Henry (Lyon), he worked in a Paris bank. Later he was a patent agent in London and then assistant to Abraham *Benisch, editor of the *Jewish Chronicle*. On Benisch's retirement in 1868, he succeeded him as editor and held the position until his death. Interested in Jewish education, he was secretary to the Stepney Jewish Schools. His collected essays, *Life Thoughts*, appeared in 1875.

HENRY OF WINCHESTER (13th century), the most notorious convert to Christianity in the medieval Jewish community of England. King Henry III was involved in the conversion of Henry of Winchester and ensured that he received at baptism his own name Henry. The king then also knighted him. In 1252 Henry was granted an allowance of 12 pence a day for life at the Exchequer and appointed king's notary at the Exchequer of Jews, apparently with responsibility for compiling the Hebrew plea roll, but this appointment was short-lived or wholly ineffective. His wife, Clarice, was also a convert. From the mid-1250s he was involved in buying and selling Jewish bonds in partnership with Moses of Clare and in 1261 commissioned to inventory bonds in six chests on behalf of the King. In 1278–79 he played an important part in a secret, but officially-approved, scheme for the purchase of silver made from coin-clippings, in order to accumulate evidence against those involved in this illegal activity to be used at their trials. He was subsequently allowed to purchase some of the forfeited property of those executed in the trials for resale at a profit in England and abroad.

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[Paul Brand (2nd ed.)]

HENSCHEL, SIR GEORGE (**Isidor Georg**; 1850–1934), conductor, singer, and teacher. He was born in Breslau and was active until shortly before his death as a conductor and singer. He was successively during his career a tenor, baritone, basso, and basso profundo. Henschel was the first conductor of the Boston Symphony Orchestra (1881–84), founded the

London Symphony Concerts (1886–97), conducted the Scottish Symphony Orchestra (1893–95), and taught singing at the Royal College of Music and the Institute of Musical Art in New York. He composed an opera, a requiem mass, and songs, and wrote *Personal Recollections of Johannes Brahms* (1907) and the autobiography *Musings and Memories of a Musician* (1918). He converted to Christianity in his youth. He was knighted in 1914.

HENSCHEL BROTHERS. Four artist brothers – AUGUST (d.1829), FRIEDRICH (d. 1837), MORITZ (d. 1862), and WILHELM (d. 1865) – who went from Breslau, Germany, and worked in Berlin from c. 1806 to 1829, when August committed suicide. They worked as a team, signing their work "the brothers Henschel," producing portraits in pastel and miniatures and also engravings which won them popularity. The subjects of their engravings included famous personalities, such as Fichte, scenes from the theater, patriotic illustrations, and "Scenes from the Life of Goethe." When August committed suicide, his brothers returned to Breslau where they lived in obscurity.

HENSEL, KURT (1861–1941), German mathematician. Professor of mathematics at Marburg from 1901, Hensel wrote on number theory and algebra. He edited *Crelle's Journal fuer Mathematik* (1901–36) and wrote the authoritative article "Arithmetische Theorie der algebraischen Funktionen" for *Encyklopaedie der mathematischen Wissenschaften* (1921).

HENSHEL, HARRY D. (1890–1961), U.S. industrialist and sports administrator. He was born in Rochester, New York, joined the Bulova Watch Company in Flushing, New York, in 1918, and by 1930 was one of its principal executives. Henshel devoted his spare time to sports administration; in 1911 he became chairman of the basketball committee of the Metropolitan Association of the Amateur Athletic Union. Henshel served as chairman of the United States Olympic Basketball Committee from 1952 to 1956. In World War II Henshel was a colonel with the U.S. Army in Europe. Henshel organized the U.S. Committee Sports for Israel and was a zealous worker on its behalf. He established a school of watchmaking for paraplegic war veterans. His son HARRY B. HENSHEL (1919–), who became president of Bulova, introduced the first successful phototimer for sporting events.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: B. Postal et al. (eds.), *Encyclopedia of Jews in Sports* (1965), 85f., 466.

[Jesse Harold Silver]

HENTOFF, NAT (1925–), U.S. music critic, journalist, novelist, author. The roots of Hentoff's dazzlingly variegated career are to be found in his boyhood in Depression-era Boston. The son of Russian Jewish immigrants, he grew up in the predominately Catholic city in the era of Father Coughlin, the virulently antisemitic "radio priest," whose broadcasts were followed avidly by Hentoff's neighbors. As a result, he was exposed early and often to antisemitism. Yet at the same time, commuting from the Jewish enclave of Roxbury to school at the famous Boston Latin, he heard and fell in love with jazz and was equally intoxicated by the city's fabulous libraries. This combination would lead him to a lifelong passion for social justice, a deep commitment to freedom of expression and the wonders of the written word, and a profound attachment to the music of America's dispossessed, both black and white.

By his own amused recollection, Hentoff was much too young for admission to the city's liquor-serving jazz clubs, but managed to sneak in anyway to hear the music. It was the beginning of a much-requited love affair, as jazz criticism became the launching pad for his writing career. He would work variously as a critic, disk jockey and columnist (later New York editor) for *Down Beat*. He was, typically, fired by the magazine in 1957 after he lobbied aggressively for them to hire African-American writers. He then wound up at the nascent *Village Voice*, where he agreed to work for free if they would let him write about anything but jazz. He remained at the weekly from then on, writing on education, race, and civil liberties. He also wrote regular columns on civil liberties for publications as radically different as *The Progressive* and the *Wall Street Journal*.

Hentoff's interest in race and jazz led him to yet another career path as a frequently honored author of books for young adults. In 1960 he wrote his first YA novel, *Jazz Country*, and followed it with several more, including *This School Is Driving Me Crazy* (1976) and *The Day They Came to Arrest the Book* (1982). He also wrote adult fiction, non-fiction, and a charming memoir, *Boston Boy* (1986).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Biography Resource Center, "Nat Hentoff," at: www.galenet.com.

[George Robinson (2nd ed.)]

HEP! HEP!, a derogatory rallying cry against the Jews, common in Germany; also the name given to a series of anti-Jewish riots that broke out in August 1819 in Germany and spread to several neighboring countries. Opinions differ as to the origin of the slogan. Some believe that it was the crusaders' rallying cry, derived from the initials of *Hierosolyma est perdita* ("Jerusalem is lost"). However, more likely it was originally an exhortatory cry for driving domestic animals, particularly goats, in Franconia.

The causes of the 1819 riots are highly complex and are rooted in the social and economic condition of Germany in the early 19th century. The Jewish demand for civil rights at the Congress of *Vienna aroused vicious opposition in academic circles. The antisemitic fulminations of J. *Fries were read aloud in the beerhouses and the anti-Jewish extremism of F. *Ruehs was vigorously supported by the nationalistic *Burschenschaften* (see *Students Associations). Romantic writers and liberal nationalist politicians such as H. *Hundt-Radowsky, E.M. *Arndt, Father Jahn, etc., identified the Jews with the conservative, anti-nationalist policies of *Metternich,

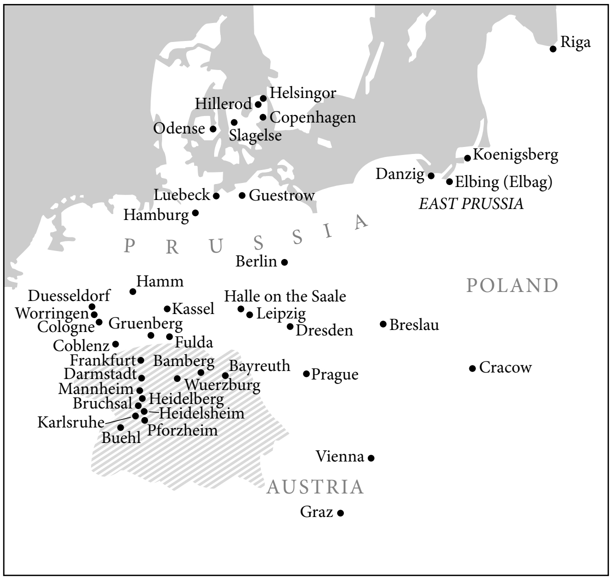

Sites of major Hep! Hep! riots in 1819. Shaded area denotes disturbances in rural districts of Bavaria, Baden, Hesse, and Wuettemberg.

who was accused of being in the pay of Jewish financiers. The bitterness of the population toward the new "upstart" class of Jewish financiers and bankers was expressed by K.B.A. *Sessa in a popular play, *Unser Verkehr* ("Our Crowd," 1815). The situation was further complicated in the rural areas of Baden, Hesse, and Bavaria by the indebtedness of the peasants to Jewish livestock traders and moneylenders. 1816 had been a year of severe famine, and serious unemployment plagued German factories. An entire series of postwar economic misfortunes was blamed on Jewish financiers and entrepreneurs.

The first anti-Jewish outburst occurred on Aug. 2, 1819, in Wuerzburg, after a period of tension between Jews and Christians over commercial and civil rights, and was initiated by students. The Jews fled as window smashing and looting continued, and returned only after troops had restored order. The riots spread to Bamberg, Bayreuth, and other localities in Bavaria. In Frankfurt, where the dispute over civil rights had been particularly bitter, the houses of the Rothschilds became a special object of attack. The senate with difficulty restored order by means of police and troops. Troops had to be called in at Leipzig, Dresden, and Darmstadt; riots occurred in Mannheim, Pforzheim, and the rural areas of Baden. In Heidelberg a volunteer contingent of students restored order. Danzig (Gdansk) was the only place in autocratic Prussia where riots took place; they were also rare in Austria. Anti-Jewish disturbances also took place in Riga, Cracow, and Prague. The serious riots in Hamburg on September 1 spread to Copenhagen, where rioters were sailors and burghers, and to the neighboring villages. They had to be suppressed by troops.

The authorities utilized the riots to argue that emancipation must be withheld from the Jews because of the obvious ill-will this aroused among the people. At the same time they did their best to suppress all details on the course of the riots. Jews also sought to suppress the details, and the significance of the riots was belittled in Jewish Enlightenment and Reform circles, the periodical *Sulamith barely taking note that they occurred lest this "weaken our coreligionists' love for our Christian fellow citizens." However, Jewish banks refused to do business with Christian merchants suspected of participating in the riots, and large numbers of Jews stayed away from the September fair in Frankfurt. Even more forceful had been the threat of the Rothschilds to leave both Frankfurt and Germany if the riots did not cease. The riots were a factor in speeding the process of assimilation and conversion among some Jews. Conversely, they influenced the foundation of the Verein fuer Kultur und Wissenschaft der Juden.

The Hep! Hep! cry was raised a few more times in Germany in the following decades and was again heard during the revolution of 1830. A. *Stoecker's antisemitic movement tried to revive the rallying cry but it was outdated, having been replaced by more virulent slogans.

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[Henry Wasserman]

HEPHER (Heb. חֵפֶר). (1) A royal Canaanite city mentioned in the list of kings defeated by Joshua (12:17); it appears between Tappuah (Sheikh Abu Zarad in the hill country of Ephraim) and Aphek (Ras al-ʿAyn at the sources of the Yarkon). The "land of Hepher" is included in one of Solomon's administrative districts together with Aruboth and Socoh (Ra's al-Shuwayka near Tulkarm; I Kings 4:10). On the basis of these topographical details, most scholars locate Hepher in the northern Sharon, in the area formerly known as the Wadi Ḥawārith, a region sparsely populated in antiquity, containing mostly swamps and woods. The Israelites were apparently unable to subdue the few Canaanite cities in this area until the time of David. The appearance of the name Hepher in the genealogies of Manasseh (Num. 26:33; 27:1; Josh. 17:2) has led various scholars to assume that some of the former Canaanite population had become integrated into the Israelite clans. Since Zelophehad, son of Hepher, had no male descendants (Num. 27:1; Josh. 17:3), and the names of some of his daughters correspond to known localities in the vicinity of Samaria, it has been suggested that these families were grafted onto the Israelite tribal system. The exact location of the city of Hepher is uncertain. Alt has proposed al-Ṭayyiba (Ophrah) south of Tūl Karm, and Mazar has suggested Tell al-Ifshār in the western Sharon, where pottery from the 16th century B.C.E. to the Roman period has been found. Others, however, locate Hepher in the northern part of the hills of Samaria on the assumption that all the clans of Manasseh were settled in this region.

(2) A city mentioned in the Talmud as the home of Tanḥum b. Ḥiyya, a pupil of Manna (TJ, Shev. 6:1, 36c). It was some 12 mi. (19 km.) from Sepphoris. The city has been identified with *Gath-Hepher, the traditional home of Jonah (II Kings 14:25) whose tomb is still venerated in the nearby village of Mashhad. Jerome (*Praefatio in Jonam*) and Benjamin of Tudela also locate the tomb in this vicinity (cf. Gen. R. 98:11).

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[Michael Avi-Yonah]

HEPPNER, ARON (1865–1938), German rabbi, historian, and archivist. Born in Pleschen, Posen province, Heppner served as rabbi at Koschmin from 1890, also at Jarotschin from 1906, administering both rabbinates until 1920 when Posen became Polish once more. Heppner settled in Breslau, where he continued to act as rabbi and teacher, but also founded and directed the archives of the community (from 1924). His scholarly interest was devoted to local Jewish history, first of his native province and later of Breslau. His main publications, apart from contributions on the history of Jewish families to periodicals and newspapers, were *Aus Vergangenheit und Gegenwart der Juden und der juedischen Gemeinden in den Posener Landen* (with I.J. Herzberg, 1909–29) and *Juedische Persoenlichkeiten in und aus Breslau* (1931). Between 1900 and 1926 he published a "Jewish-Literary Calendar."

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The solemn Tisha Be-Av prayer. Men are sitting on the floor and women are standing in the women's section, while the rabbi is blowing the shofar. From the *Rothschild Miscellany*, northern Italy, c. 1470. *Collection, The Israel Museum, Jerusalem. Photo: Z. Radovan, Jerusalem.*

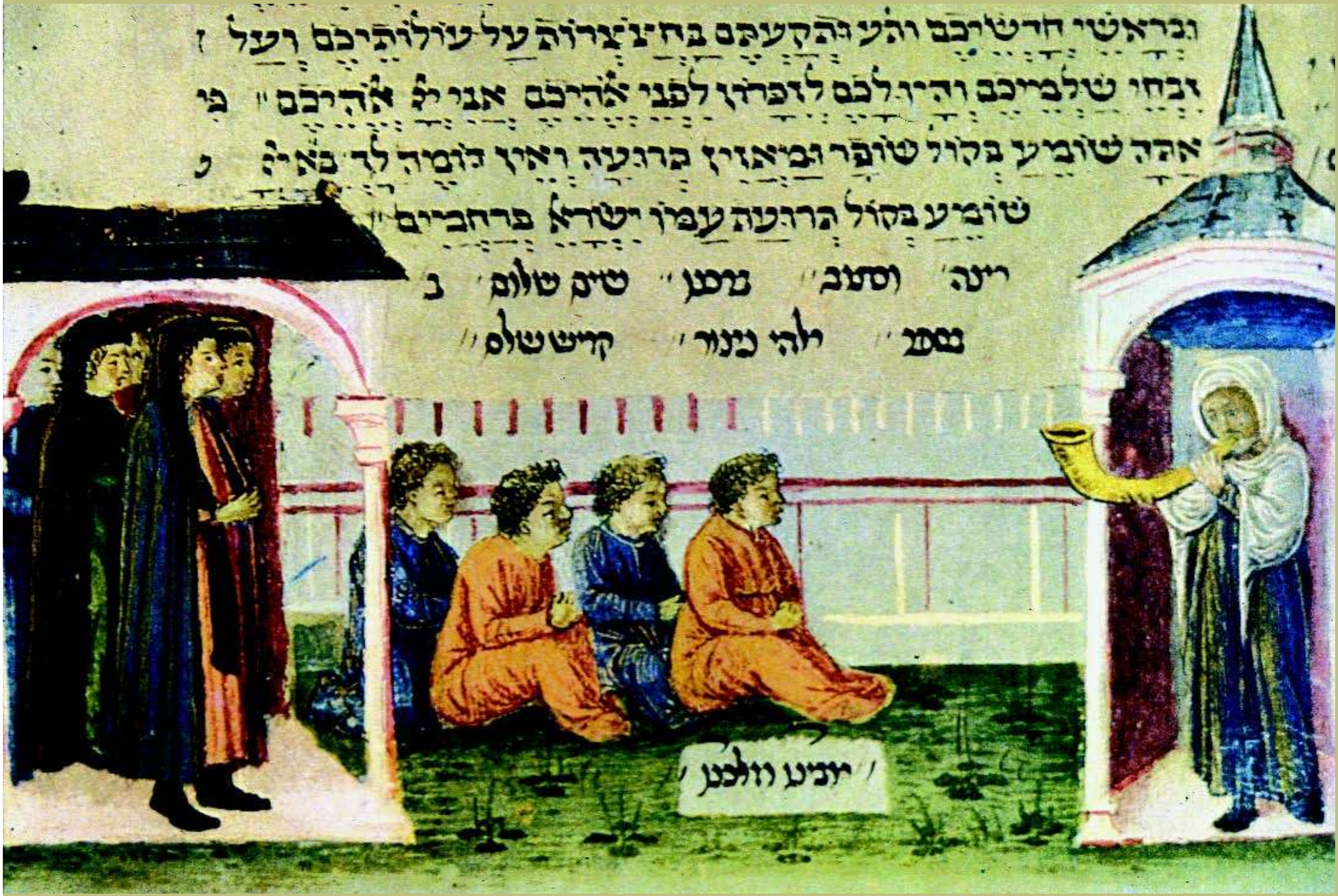
ובראשי חדשיכם ותקעתם בחצצרות על עולותיכם ועל
זבחי שלמיכם והיו לכם לזכרון לפני אלהיכם אני יי אלהיכם
אתה שומע קול שופר ומאזין תרועה ואין דומה לך ב״א
שומע בקול תרועת עמו ישראל ברחמים

Though the illumination of Hebrew manuscripts conceivably began in the Hellenistic period (330–63 b.c.e) and continued into the 20th century, it is essentially an art of the Middle Ages. Styles varied by region and period but the main inspiration was the Bible.

ILLUMINATED MANUSCRIPTS

Judaeo Persian Manuscript, Iran, 1686. 180/54 Fol. 38 r. *Collection, The Israel Museum, Jerusalem. Photo © The Israel Museum, Jerusalem.*

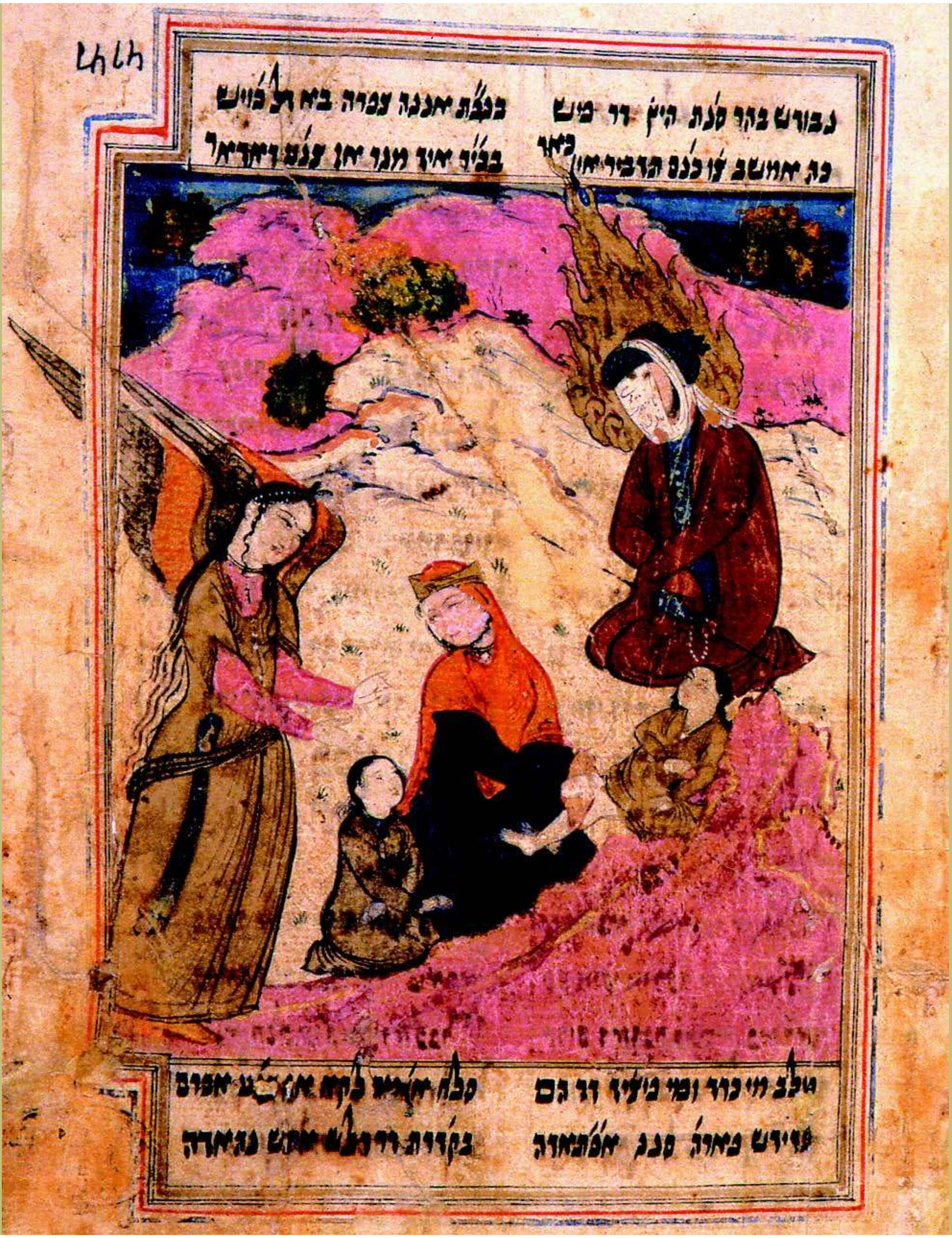

Different stages of ritual in the Kosher preparation of meat. From the "Golden Haggadah," an illuminated Hebrew manuscript, Spain, 1320. *British Library, London. Photo: Z. Radovan, Jerusalem.*

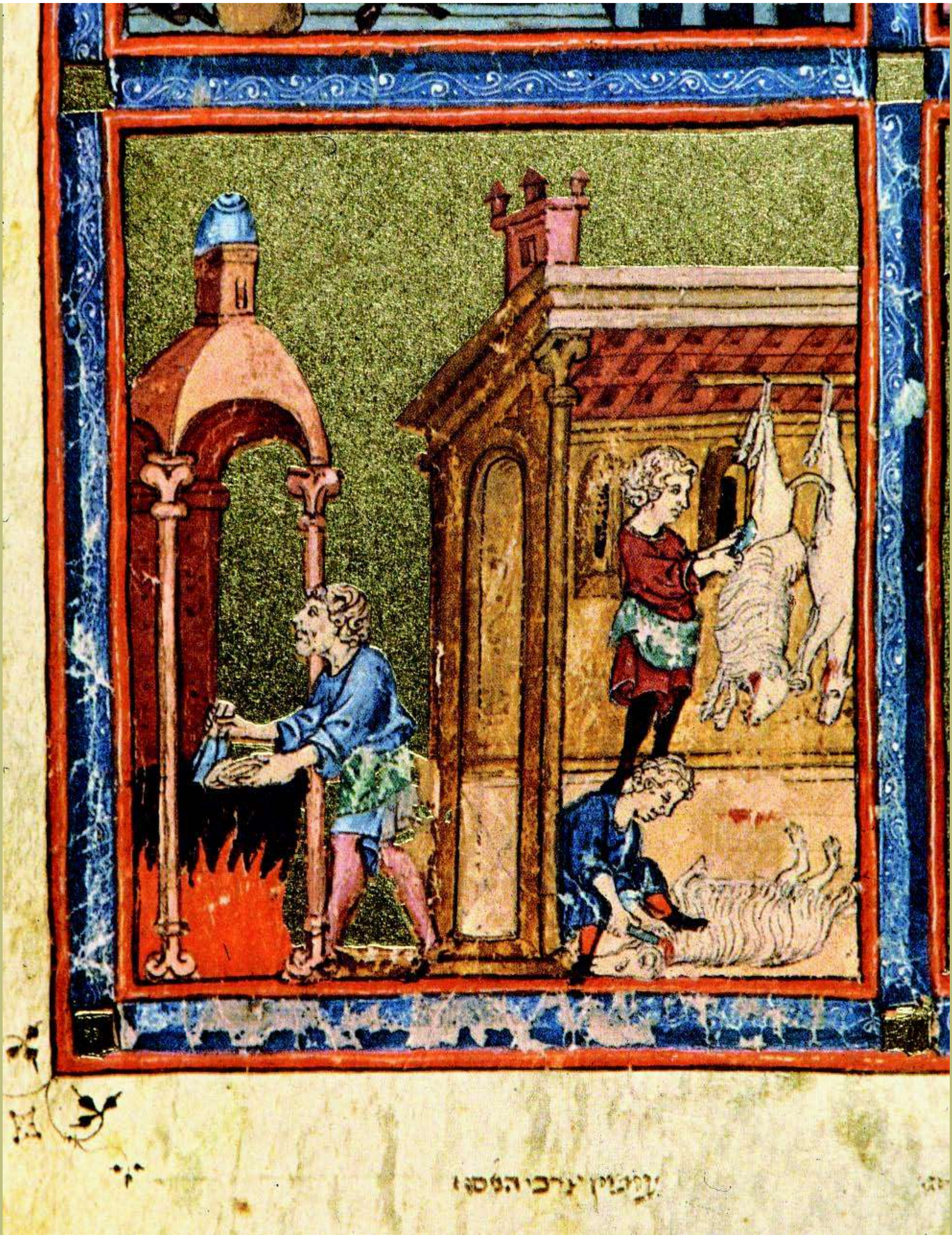

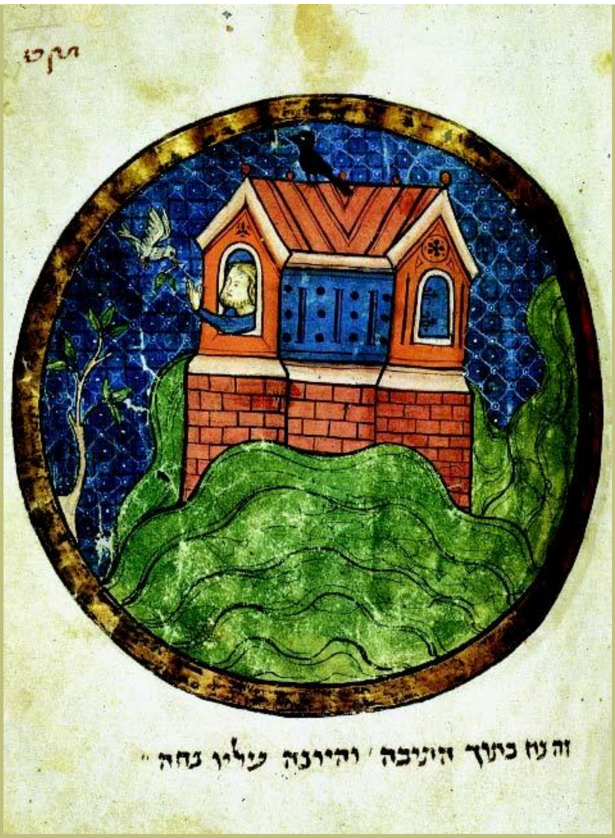

TOP LEFT: **Noah's Ark. The dove is returning with a branch in its beak, a sign that the flood water has receded. Hebrew Manuscript from northern France, c. 1280.** *British Library, London. Photo: Z. Radovan, Jerusalem.*

BOTTOM LEFT: **"Sacrifice of Isaac." Abraham holding the knife to sacrifice his son Isaac, with the angel holding his hand from striking the fatal blow. Hebrew Manuscript from northern France, c. 1280.** *British Library, London. Photo: Z. Radovan, Jerusalem.*

BELOW: **Moses receiving the Tablets of the Law and bringing them to God's people on Mt. Sinai. Page from the *Birds' Heads Haggadah*, the earliest illuminated manuscript from Germany, c. 1300. Ms. I 80/52. Parchment.** *Collection, The Israel Museum, Jerusalem. Photo: Z. Radovan, Jerusalem.*

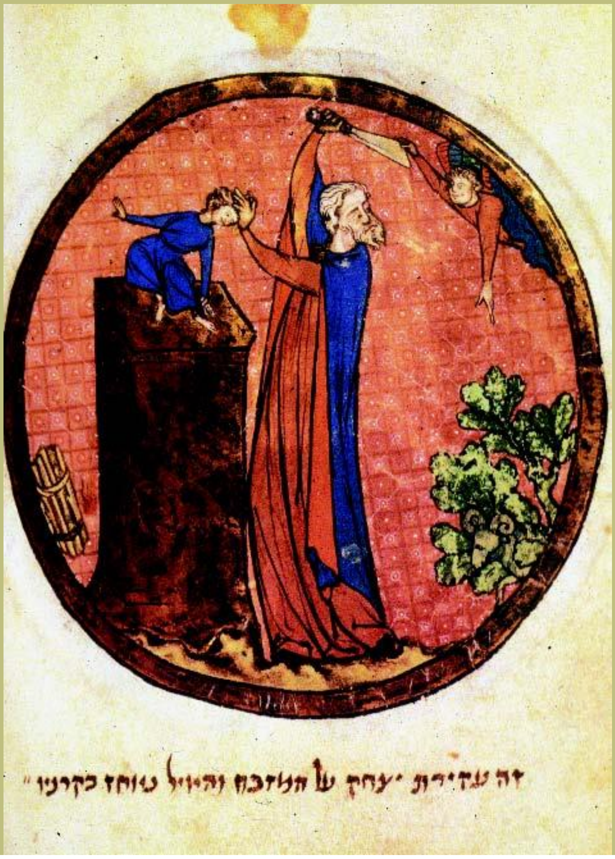

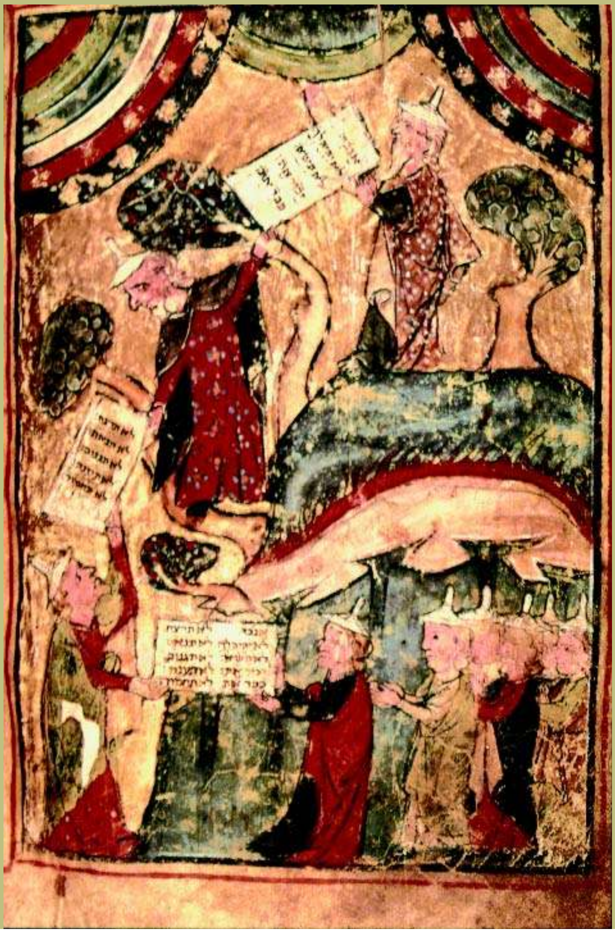

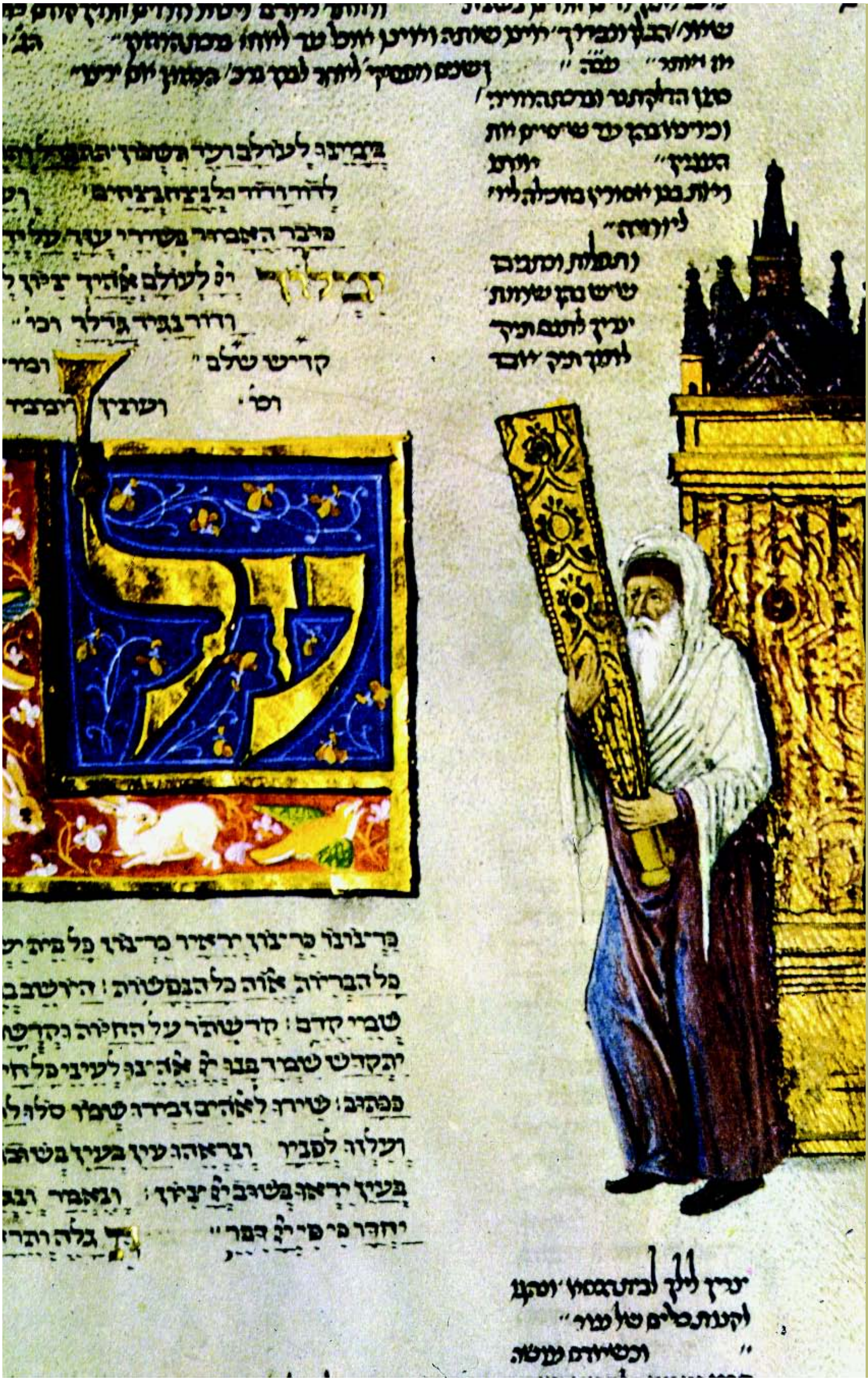

Al Hakol Yitgadal—”Magnificent above all.” The prayer preceding the Torah reading on Sabbaths and festivals. A man wearing a *tallit* (prayer shawl), holding a covered Torah, standing before a closed Torah ark covered by a *parokhet* (Torah ark curtain). From the *Rothschild Miscellany*, northern Italy, c. 1470. *Collection, The Israel Museum, Jerusalem. Photo: Z. Radovan, Jerusalem.*

Erna Michael Haggadah. Haggadah of German rite, Passover rules with commentary on the text and rules, Middle Rhine, c. 1400. Passover Eve table with seated men reading the Haggadah. A gold Sabbath oil-lamp hangs in the middle of the room. Pen and ink, tempera and gold leaf on parchment, handwritten, 35 X 25.5 cm. 181/18 M549-3-66, Fol. 40. *Collection, The Israel Museum, Jerusalem. Gift of Jakob Michael, New York, in memory of his wife, Erna Sondheimer-Michael, 1966. Photo © The Israel Museum, Jerusalem, by Moshe Caine.*

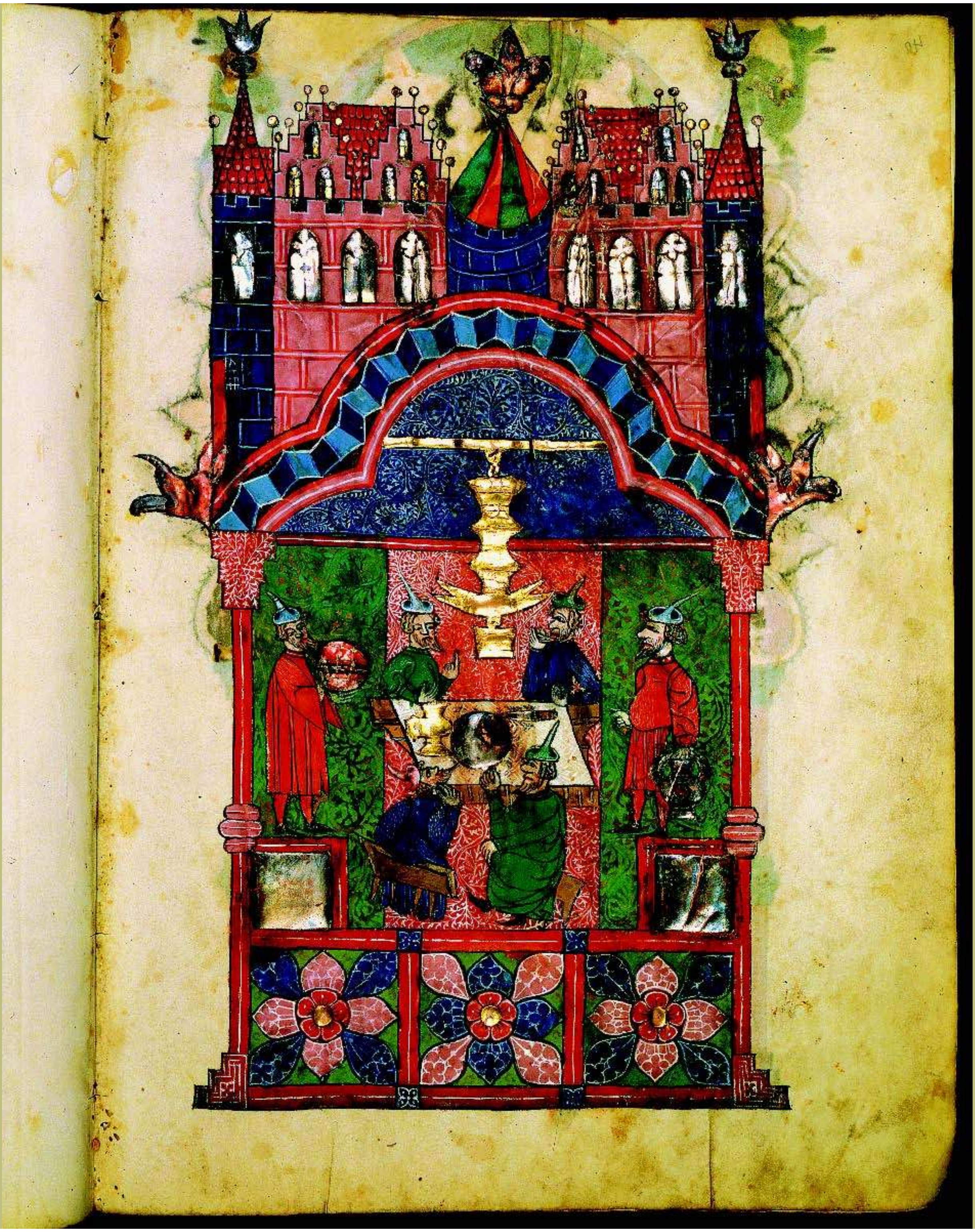

A carpet page from the *Damascus Keter*. Bible with masoretic notes, Spain, Burgos, 1260.
The scrolls and leaves are outlined by micrographic Masorah (the traditional textual apparatus of the Bible) and this in turn is surrounded by a frame of Masorah in large letters. This Bible was written by Menahem bar Abraham Ibn Malik in 1260. It was for many centuries the pride of the Damascus synagogue.
Jewish National and University Library, Jerusalem, Ms. Heb. 4°790. Photo: Z. Radovan, Jerusalem.

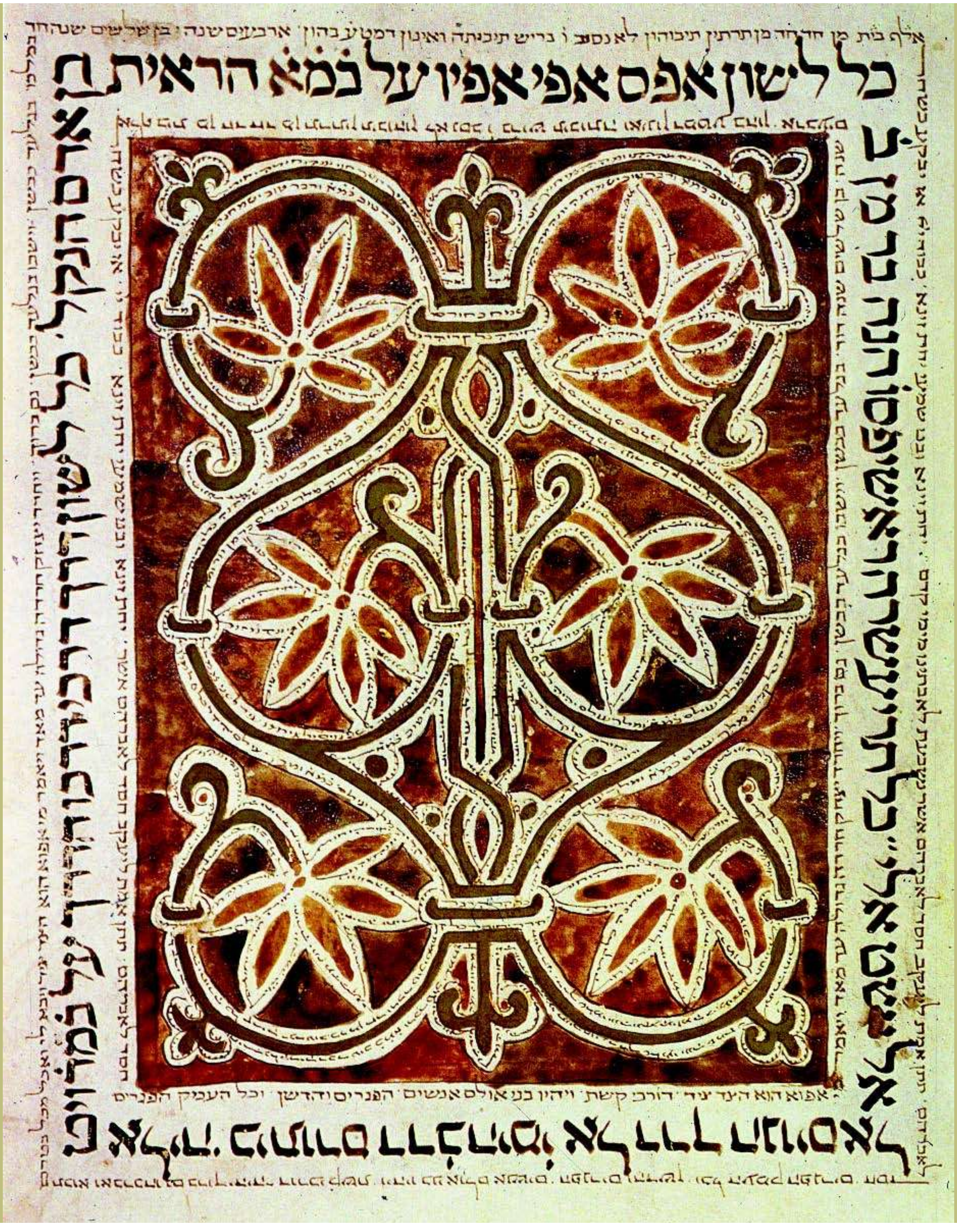

Illuminated Hebrew Manuscript of Avicenna's Canon of Medicine—Ibn Sinna's Canon (medical treatise), Italy, Ferrara, 15th century. The first chapter of each book contains a page with a decorative framed border illustrating the contents of that particular book. The style of the illustrations is Ferrarese of the late 15th century. *Bologna, University Library, Ms. 2197. Photo: Z. Radovan, Jerusalem.*

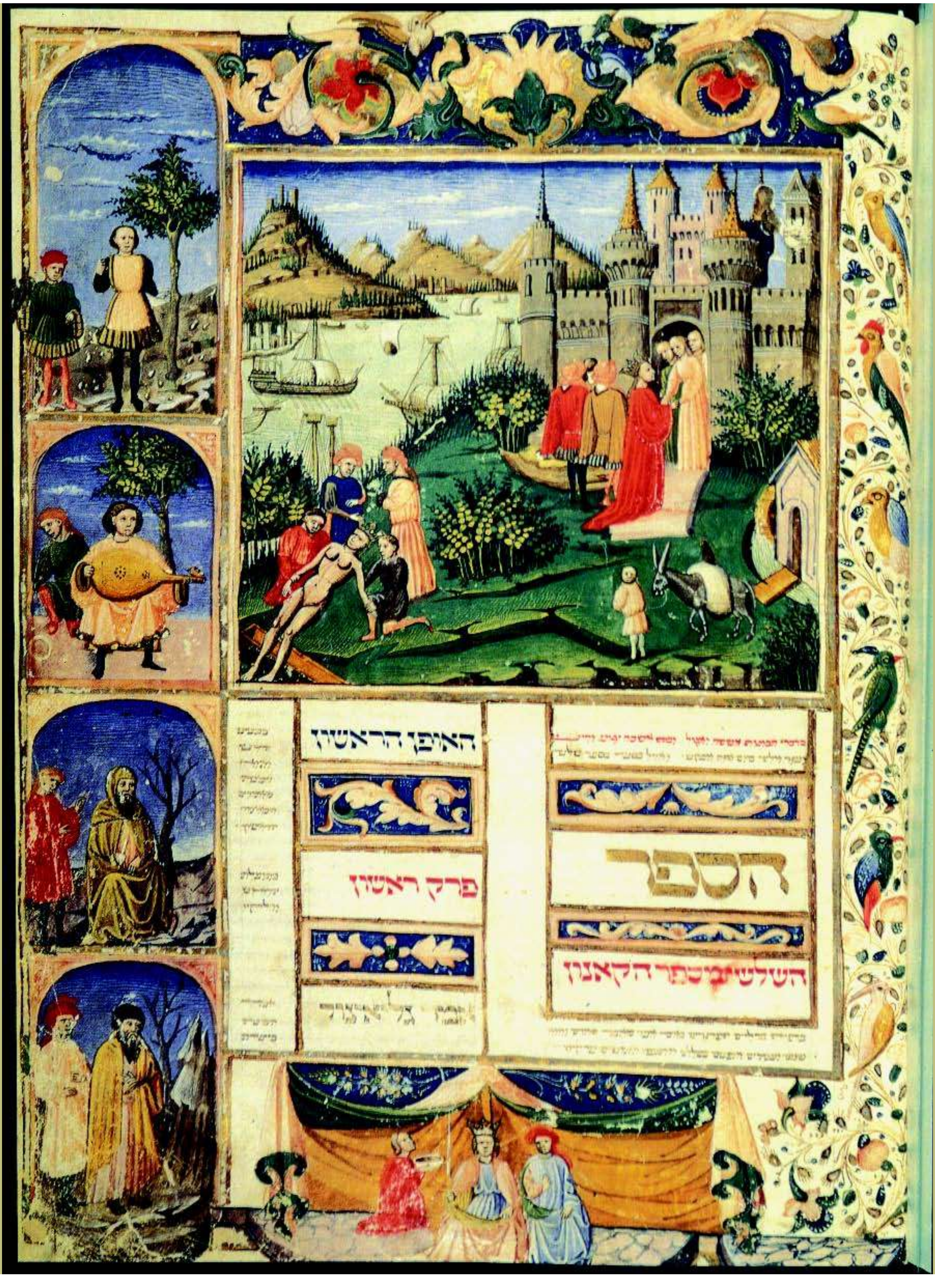
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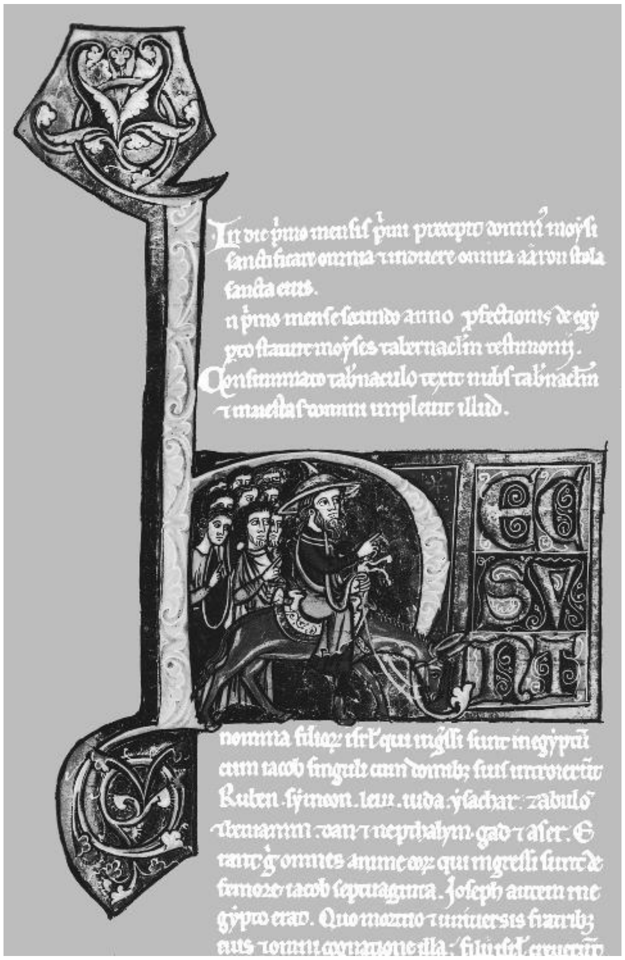

Initial letter "H" from the beginning of Exodus in a Latin Bible, France, 12th century. The illumination shows Jacob and his sons going down to Egypt. Amiens, Bibliothèque Municipale, Ms. 21, fol. 27.

HER–HY

HERACLES (Latin: **Hercules**), mythological Greek hero whom Philo praises as a benefactor of mankind and for his courage and determination. The historian *Cleodemus-Malchus (cited by Josephus (Ant., 1:240–1) from *Alexander Polyhistor) relates that the sons of Abraham by *Keturah campaigned with Heracles against Libya and that the daughter of one of them married Heracles and bore him a son. Plutarch, without mentioning that Heracles' wife was the granddaughter of Abraham, has a similar account (*Life of Sertorius*, 9).

[Howard Jacobson]

°**HERACLITUS** (c. 500 B.C.E.), Greek philosopher. Philo asserts that Heraclitus stole his theory of opposites from Moses, but condemns him for not believing in a divine agency beyond the world. "Heraclitean" views on the constant motion of all things and on the origin of the world in fire were known to and sometimes opposed by medieval Jewish philosophers, e.g., *Saadiah Gaon.

°**HERACLIUS**, emperor of the Byzantine Empire from 610 to 641. He is known for his repression of the Jews as a punishment for their sympathy, aid, and collaboration (alleged and actual) with the Persians during their conquest of Jerusalem in 614. Information on such conduct comes mainly from monastic sources. When Jerusalem was recaptured by Heraclius in 629 he encouraged the indiscriminate slaughter of Jews and ultimately their expulsion from the city. After Edessa was retaken by Heraclius, the Jews continued to resist even after the Persians had surrendered and therefore they were expelled on Heraclius' orders. Shortly afterward the Arabs conquered Syria, Palestine, and Egypt. In 632, motivated by exaggerated stories of Jewish sympathy for Islam, Heraclius decreed the forced baptism of all Jews in the empire, but the decree was enforced only in Carthage. He also put into effect *Justinian's novella 146, which interfered with synagogue services and found an echo in contemporary apocalyptic texts. Some scholars consider that Heraclius appears as the notorious King *Armilus destined to be slain by the Messiah according to the

Hebrew apocalypse *Sefer Zerubbavel*, written in the 630s. It is reported that Heraclius advised Dagobert, king of the Franks, to kill Jews who would not accept Christianity. Despite his anti-Jewish acts, the Jews of Constantinople were in a strong enough position after his death to participate in a street riot during which they invaded Hagia Sophia. The emperor and his retinue during their stay in Ereẓ Israel were entertained by the wealthy and prominent *Benjamin of Tiberias, who later converted to Christianity. (See Israel, *History.)

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[Andrew Sharf]

HERALDRY. Seventeenth-century writers on heraldry claimed that the origins of coats of arms could be found in Numbers 2:2: "The Lord spoke to Moses and Aaron saying 'The Israelites shall camp each with his standard under the banners of their ancestral house.'" Although this theory has been abandoned, it would seem that the standards borne by the 12 tribes served the same purpose as heraldic devices. The colors (Num. R. 2:7; Ex. 36:17–21) and emblems were as follows: Reuben – red; emblem: mandrakes (Gen. 30:14). Simeon – green; emblem: the town of Shechem (Gen. 34:25f.). Levi – white, black, and red; emblem: the Urim and Thummim (Deut. 33:9). Judah – azure; emblem: a lion (Gen. 49:9). Issachar – black; emblem: a strong-boned ass (Gen. 49:14) or sun and moon (I Chron. 12:33). Zebulun – white; emblem: a ship (Gen. 49:13). Dan – sapphire; emblem: a serpent (Gen. 49:17) or a lion's whelp (Deut. 33:22). Gad – grey; emblem: a tent (Gen. 49:19) or a lion (Deut. 33:20). Naphtali – rose; emblem: a hind (Gen. 49:21). Asher – aquamarine; emblem: an olive tree (Gen. 49:20; Deut. 33:24). Ephraim and Manasseh – black, embroidered with a picture of Egypt; emblem: Ephraim, a bullock (Deut. 33:17) and Manasseh, a wild ox. Benjamin – 12 colors; emblem: a wolf (Gen. 49:27).

Modern heraldry is founded on a system of heraldry which developed in feudal Western Europe at the time of the Crusades and was based on the principle that only the landowning class, which formed the nobility, was entitled to bear arms. The extensive use of emblems by Jews for seals sometimes led to a design similar to a coat of arms, such as the 14th-century seal used by Kalonymus b. Todros of Narbonne which consisted of a shield charged with a lion rampant; and the king of Portugal, Alfonso Henriques (1094–1185), was said to have granted a coat of arms to a Jew. Nevertheless, the system which prevented Jews from bearing arms was not relaxed until the 16th century. By then, in most countries of Western Europe grants of arms had become the prerogative of the sovereign, who could confer them as a reward for services rendered; they did not necessarily carry with them the status of nobility. The first Jew to receive a grant of arms, Jacob Batsheba Schmieles, was ennobled at the same time, having in 1622 been made a knight of the Holy Roman Empire with the title of *Bassevi of Treuenberg.

The largest group claiming armorial bearings were those Jews of *Marrano descent whose ancestors had adopted the name of the persons sponsoring them for baptism. This would not have given them the right to bear the same arms, although Isaac da Costa argues that the Christian and Jewish branches of these families were indistinguishable. Others inherited arms which had actually been granted to their Marrano ancestors. Among these were Isaac Lousada (d. 1857), who was confirmed by the Spanish government in 1848 in the title of duke and grandee of Spain of the first class; Isaac da Silva *Solis, whose father was made marquis of Montfort in 1673; Antonio Lopez *Suasso (Isaac Israel Suasso), made baron of Avernas de Gras in 1676; and the de *Pinto family descended from Manuel Alvarez Pinto, who was made a knight of St. Jago in 1640. Manuel (Isaac Henriques) Pimentel obtained a declaration in 1674 signed on behalf of the Spanish king that he was entitled to use the ancient arms of Pimentel. The original arms of Pereira and Teixeira contained crosses and were accordingly modified by Jewish families of that name.

The English College of Arms raised no difficulty about granting or registering arms for Jews who had been born in England or had been naturalized or endenizened. The earliest record in this connection, that of 1568 concerning the New Christian family of Anes (JHSET 11, 18), is of only slight Jewish significance, and the first patents of arms for Jews relate to the ancient canting arms of Da *Costa: "gules six broken bones, two two and two barwise and the joynts almost meeting each other in pale argent." These were registered in 1723 and 1725 with variations for Leonor da Costa, her cousin Catharine da Costa Villareal, and her nephew Anthony *Mendes; the first two declared that the arms had been borne by their late husbands before they settled in England, while Anthony Mendes claimed them through his father Dr. Fernando Mendes. The arms registered for de *Aguilar, *Castello, and *Salvador were also of Spanish or Portuguese origin. The grant of arms to Sir Morris *Ximenes, dated May 5, 1807, recites that the arms which his family had always used were similar to those borne by Cardinal Ximenes from a branch of whose family he was traditionally descended, a claim which today would be received with considerable doubt.

Some of these coats of arms contain Jewish features. Both the Belilios and the *Mocatta arms include a seven-branch candlestick. The Franco (*Lopes) arms were confirmed in 1760 by the College of Arms to Jacob Franco, "his ancestors having used for their armorial ensigns on a field a fountain proper thereout issuant a palm tree vert… represented on a marble monument in the synagogue of the Jewish nation in the City of Leghorn." The arms granted in 1819 to Moses *Montefiore were based on the family badge embroidered on an Ark curtain presented to the Levantine synagogue at Ancona in 1635 by Judah Leone Montefiore. In 1831 Moses Montefiore obtained as an augmentation to the banner on his crest the word

Jerusalem in Hebrew characters of gold to commemorate his visit to the Holy Land in 1827. In 1841 after his intervention with the sultan at Constantinople about the *Damascus Affair, he recorded details of the affair as well as a copy of the sultan's firman at the College of Arms. At the same time he received an additional crest, and Queen Victoria granted him the right to bear supporters, "being desirous of giving an especial mark of our royal favor… in commemoration of these his unceasing exertions on behalf of his injured and persecuted brethren although the privilege of bearing supporters be limited to the peers of our realm, the knights of our orders and the proxies of princes of our blood" (Sir Moses was then only a knight bachelor). Each of the supporters carried a flagstaff with the word *Jerusalem* in Hebrew characters of gold. The *Sassoon arms were usually emblazoned with the motto in Latin and Hebrew, but the Hebrew motto is not mentioned in the grant of arms made in 1862 to David Sassoon. The priestly blessing is referred to in the motto, "the Lord bless them," adopted by Sir Samuel Sydney Cohen of Sydney, Australia, in 1947. The emblem of the tribe of Benjamin forms the basis of the coat of arms granted, also in 1947, to the descendants of Sir Benjamin Benjamin of Melbourne, Australia: "Azure, a wolf passant between three stars of six points argent."

Naphtali Basevi, maternal grandfather of Benjamin *Disraeli, earl of Beaconsfield, used an unregistered coat of arms, the charges on which were a lion, supposed to be for St. Mark of Venice, an eagle for Austria, and a crescent for Turkey; according to family tradition, they were the arms granted to an ancestor, Solomon ben Nathan *Ashkenazi (1520?–1602), in reward for his services in negotiating a peace treaty when serving as Turkish ambassador to Venice. A similar device is used as a printer's mark in the Midrash Tanḥuma printed by Abraham Basevi at Verona in 1595 and on Basevi tombstones in that city. Disraeli himself adopted the lion and the eagle and added a castle for Castille. According to him the lion represented Leon and was the device of his Lara ancestors, but in fact his Spanish lineage was fanciful.

In contrast with conditions in England, there were few instances of Jews receiving grants of arms on the Continent prior to the 19th century. When the four *Rothschild brothers, Amschel, Solomon, Carl, and James, were ennobled by the emperor Francis II of Austria in 1816, the first somewhat ambitious design for their coat of arms was rejected by the Austrian Heralds' College with the comment that it was "necessary to proceed with the greatest caution particularly in the case of members of the Jewish nation for various reasons and more especially because they are not familiar with the prerogatives of nobility." The coat of arms granted in 1817 had as charges: a half eagle and an arm bearing four arrows, not five, because Nathan, the English brother, was not included (E.C. Corti, *The Rise of the House of Rothschild*, 1 (1928), 193). He himself was granted a different coat of arms by the English College of Arms in February 1818, consisting of a "lion passant guardant grasping with the dexter forepaw five arrows." The de *Worms family, who were kinsmen of the Rothschilds, had a hand grasping three arrows in their coat of arms to represent the three de Worms brothers. In Italy the Jews followed the practice common among families of all classes of adopting family badges. Some of these, as in the cases of Franco and Montefiore, were later incorporated in coats of arms, but in their original form they were extensively used on seals, marriage contracts, tombstones, and personal effects.

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[Alfred Rubens]

HERAT, city in N.W. Afghanistan. Jewish settlement there goes back to early Islamic times. The recent discovery in Firuzkuh, near Herat, of 20 Judeo-Persian tombstone inscriptions covering the years 1115–1215 indicates the existence of a Jewish settlement with a cemetery. Firuzkuh was destroyed by the *Mongol invasion (1221), and the Jewish survivors may have fled further east, perhaps to China. From 1839 the community in Herat absorbed many refugees from *Meshed across the Persian border, victims of a forced conversion decree. The outbreak of Anglo-Persian hostilities in the second part of the 19th century caused many of these Meshed Conversos to be expelled from Herat, forcing them to settle in the vicinity of Baba Qudrat. Ephraim *Neumark found in Herat in 1884 about 300 Jewish families, engaged in commerce, handicrafts, and trade with India and Central Asia. In 1898 E.N. *Adler discovered in the city some Hebrew manuscripts written in 1773. Many Jews from Herat emigrated to Palestine in the early decades of the 20th century, among them R. Garji and his family, and the Shauloff family. They brought with them manuscripts of Judeo-Persian literature which they printed in Jerusalem. In the late 1960s the Jewish community in Herat had dwindled to only a few families.

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[Walter Joseph Fischel]

HERBERG, WILL (1909–1977), U.S. theologian and social critic. Herberg was born and reared in New York City. A child of assimilated Russian Jewish intellectuals, he joined the Communist Party in 1924 and broke with it in 1931. From 1934 to 1946 he served as educational director and labor analyst for the International Ladies Garment Workers Union. Returning to academic life in 1946, he held academic positions at major universities and from 1955 was on the faculty of Drew University, becoming professor of philosophy and culture. Herberg was reared as an atheist and became a Marxist at the age of 15. On breaking with the Communist Party, he began a serious study of theology and was deeply influenced by Karl Barth, Emil Brunner, and Reinhold Niebuhr. Niebuhr's political and theological thinking had a profound impact on Herberg. The Jewish thinkers who influenced Herberg were Buber, Rosenzweig and, to a lesser extent, Solomon Schechter.

His return to Judaism, if it can be called a "return," for there was no Judaism in his background, took place around 1944 and was documented in a major article, "From Marxism to Judaism," published in *Commentary* magazine in 1947. This was followed in 1951 by *Judaism and Modern Man: An Interpretation of Jewish Religion*. Herberg's contribution to contemporary Jewish thought has been the rediscovery of the central importance of the covenant for Jewish existence and the conception of idolatry for modern man. Denying emancipation views of Jewishness as synagogue affiliation (Western views) or as *shtetl* citizenship (East European views), Herberg saw Jewishness as covenantal existence, an existence that makes sense of Jewish specificity-particularity and Jewish universality. The rediscovery of idolatry, that the biblical conception of idolatry was not simply the rejection of the worship of sticks and stones but the denial of the claims of all human absolutes, led him to see that "idolatry" remains a permanently relevant category of Jewish thought. Like thinkers before him, such as Samuel David Luzzatto, Herberg distinguished between the Greco-Oriental and Hebraic religions, and includes Christianity, since it is rooted in Hebrew Scripture, as a Hebraic religion. Following F. Rosenzweig, he had a view of the double covenant in terms of Judaism and Christianity.

Stemming from his interest in social, political, and theological matters Herberg published *Protestant-Catholic-Jew: An Essay in American Religious Sociology* (1955; revised 1960); and three monographs, "The Jewish Labor Movement in America" (1950), "The Political Theory of American Marxism" (1951), "Religion and Education in America" (1961). Herberg later wrote *Judaism and Modern Man* (1970) and *Faith Enacted as History: Essays in Biblical Theology* (1976). He edited *The Writings of Martin Buber* (1956), *Four Existentialist Theologians* (1958), and *Community, State and Church: Three Essays by Karl Barth* (1960). *From Marxism to Judaism: The Collected Essays of Will Herberg* was published in 1988.

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[Monford Harris]

HERBS, MEDICINAL. In ancient times herbs were the main source of remedies. According to the Book of *Jubilees (10:12), the angels revealed the various remedies to Noah, who wrote them down in a book. *Asaph the physician adds that Noah, having been taught by the angel Raphael the remedies obtainable from trees, plants, and roots, recorded them in a book which he gave to his son Shem and which was used by the ancient physicians (Asaph, ed. Venetianer, 6). Apparently in olden times books of remedies were common among the people. One of them, mentioned by Maimonides as having supposedly been written by Solomon (Maim., commentary on Pes. 4:9; cf. Jos., Ant. 8:45ff.), was suppressed by order of Hezekiah, king of Judah, for which action he was praised by the sages (Pes. 4:9); his purpose, so commentators explain, was that people should pray to the Almighty for mercy and not rely solely on remedies. Maimonides, however, rejects the legend. Except for צֳרִי (*ẓori*, "balm"), stated to be efficacious in curing wounds (Jer. 8:22, 46:11, 51:8), no medicinal herbs or prophylactics are mentioned in the Bible. It is suggested that the story of the *mandrakes (Gen. 30:14–17) alludes to this plant's properties in promoting pregnancy, but the passage seems specifically intended rather to point out that pregnancy is a gift of the Lord, for Leah, who handed over the mandrakes, became pregnant and not Rachel, who received them. The Bible several times mentions toxic plants from which poisons were extracted, such as רֹאשׁ or רוֹשׁ (*rosh*, "*hemlock"; AV, JPS, "gall") and לַעֲנָה (*la'anah*, "wormwood"), these having apparently also been used in minute quantities as remedies, as testified by Greek and Roman medical writings. Of the toxic plant פַּקֻּעוֹת (*pakku'ot*; AV, JPS, "gourds"), colocynth (see *cucumber), it is told that during a famine in the days of Elisha one of the disciples, intending to gather אוֹרוֹת (*orot*; AV, JPS, "herbs"), that is, according to R. Meir, roquet, a medicinal herb especially efficacious in eye diseases, instead collected and boiled a dish of colocynth. After eating of it, the disciples cried out: "There is death in the pot," but by adding flour to the dish Elisha made it edible (II Kings 4:39–41), the flour having absorbed, some contend, the fruit's bitter toxic substance.

Whereas the Bible speaks very little about medicinal plants, talmudic literature mentions many herbs, some regarded as cures, others used as a prophylactic against various ailments. From time immemorial popular medicine has used numerous herbs, particularly wild plants, as remedies. The classical medical literature of Theophrastus, Pliny, Dioscorides, Galen, and others shows that different remedial qualities were ascribed to the vast majority of herbs, some of which were used by many peoples. In talmudic literature close upon 70 plants are mentioned as having medicinal properties, including plants mainly used as food, such as olives, dates, pomegranates, quinces among fruit – and garlic, *beet, *hyssop, *cumin, and *fennel-flower among vegetables and spices. In addition wild plants are mentioned which were used principally for remedial purposes. The following are some of the medicinal plants enumerated in the Talmud: for a liver ailment, יוֹעֶזֶר (*yo'ezer* "maidenhair fern"; *Adiantum capillus veneris*; Shab. 14:3; Shab. 109b); as an antidote for snake poison, אַבּוּב רוֹעֶה (*abbuv ro'eh*, "knoodweed," *Polygonum aviculare; ibid.*); for eye ailments, scurvy, and intestinal worms, גַּרְגִּיר (*gargir*, "roquet"; *Eruca sativa*; Shab. 109a; Git. 69b); recommended for intestinal worms are the leaves of עָרָא (*ara*, "bay"; *Laurus nobilis*; Git. 69b) and אֵזוֹב (*ezov*, "hyssop"; *Majorana syriaca*; Shab. 109b); for intestinal ailments, שִׁחְלַיִים (*shiḥlayim*, "garden cress"; *Lepidium sativum*; Av.Zar. 29a; Git. 57a); for skin disease, תְּרֶד (*tered*, "spinach beet"; *Beta vulgaris* var. *cicla*; Shab. 133b f.), considered efficacious in many ailments, it having been said that "a broth of spinach beet is beneficial for the heart, good for eyes, and still more so for the bowels" (Ber. 39a); for דְּמָא דְרֵישָׁא (*dema de-reisha*), apparently blood pressure in the head, הֲדַס (*Hadas*, "myrtle"), and the wild rose (*Rosa canina*; Git. 68b) are recommended; for stopping hemorrhage, כַּמּוֹן (*kammon*, "cumin"), תַּחֲלֵי (*taḥalei*; garden cress), and seeds of סְנֶה (*seneh*, "the raspberry"; *Rubus sanctus*) are suggested (Shab. 19:2; Av. Zar. 28 a–b). There is in addition a long list of medicinal plants, potions, and remedies from the plant world which are prescribed in the Talmud. A number of remedies were known for restoring virility, for increasing seed, for aphrodisiac purposes, for inducing temporary sterility, or for preventing conception. Several herbs are prescribed as cosmetics. Opium is mentioned once – as a plant dangerous to buy from gentiles (TJ, Av. Zar. 2:2, 40d).

The pharmaceutical importance of the herbs mentioned in the Talmud has hardly been investigated. Apparently the vast majority of them have a significance no greater than the potions and remedies that were used until the development of modern pharmaceuticals. Although Jacob b. Moses Moellin and others warned against the use of the remedies mentioned in the Talmud, some are apparently worth studying and examining by modern scientific methods.

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[Jehuda Feliks]

HERBST, KARL (1865–1919), one of the founders of the Zionist movement in Bulgaria. Born in Czernowitz, Bukovina (according to one source his place of birth was Brno, Moravia), he grew up in Adrianople, where his father served as a railroad inspector. Later he moved to Sofia, became a senior Bulgarian government official, and for a time served at the Bulgarian embassy in Istanbul. He became one of Theodor *Herzl's first adherents in Bulgaria and, together with J. *Kalef, translated *Der Judenstaat* into Bulgarian (1896). He attended the First Zionist Congress (1897) and was the chairman of the first Zionist conference to take place in Bulgaria in Plovdiv (Philippopolis), December 1898. Herbst became the chief spokesman of Zionism in Bulgaria and, together with J. Kalef, he established and edited *Kol Israel*, the organ of the Zionist organization in that country, which appeared in Bulgarian and Ladino. He was known as "the father of Bulgarian Zionism."

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[Getzel Kressel]

HERBSTEIN, JOSEPH (1897–1983), South African jurist. Born in Graaff-Reinet, South Africa, he was the son of Morris Isaac Herbstein who had gone from Romania to Palestine with the Bilu pioneers in the early 1880s, but had been forced to leave the country because of malaria and blackwater fever. Joseph Herbstein practiced at the Cape bar. He became a king's counsel in 1939 and was the first Jew raised to the bench in the Cape Division (1946). As senior judge, he acted for a time as judge president of the Division. He retired in 1963 and settled in Israel. His writings include two authoritative legal works, *The Civil Practice of the Superior Courts in South Africa*, with L. van Winsen (1954) and *The Magistrates' Courts Act* with A.W.E. Baker and S. Aaron (1954). A Zionist from youth, Herbstein founded the first Students' Zionist Society (at Rhodes University) in South Africa. Forthright and outspoken in his views, he was an ardent public worker, led many fund-raising campaigns for Zionism, and held high office in the South African Zionist Federation. He was a governor of the Haifa Technion and of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem.

[Lewis Sowden]

HERDAN, KURT LUCIAN (1922–), Chilean artist. Born in Romania, Herdan spent from 1941 to 1944 in concentration camps. He moved to Israel in 1950 and had his first exhibition in Tel Aviv in 1953. In 1954, he moved to Santiago, Chile, and became director of a private art academy. From 1956 to 1959 he made interior decorations for the Municipal Theater in Santiago, Chile. In 1964, he founded with other Chilean artists the Group "Form and Space" in Santiago.

°HERDER, JOHANN GOTTFRIED (1744–1803), German philosopher, author, critic, and translator and as such one of the central figures of 18th-century German intellectual life. He exerted his widest influence as *Generalsuperintendent* in classical Weimar (1776–1803), winning a reputation particularly as a preacher. Few Protestant theologians have devoted so much admiring attention to the Old Testament at the expense of the New, or considered the Bible and the Jewish people with such remarkable objectivity. While acknowledging the Divine inspiration of the biblical writers, Herder saw them as spokesmen for humanity; and, in his pioneering aesthetic comparison between the poetry of the Bible and that of classical antiquity or of writers like Milton, he proclaimed the superiority of the Hebrew genius. His opinions were expressed in the *Aelteste Urkunde des Menschengeschlechts* (2 vols., 1774–76) and in his translation and commentary *Lieder der Liebe* (1778). More importance is, however, attached to his incomplete *Vom Geiste der ebraeischen Poesie* (2 vols., 1782–83; *The Spirit Of Hebrew Poetry*, Vermont, 1833), which regards all Hebrew literature from Genesis to rabbinic times as a single unit, endowed with unique quality and power. *Vom Geiste der ebraeischen Poesie* was written in dialogue form, a device borrowed from *Judah Halevi's *Kuzari*. Herder greatly admired the medieval Spanish poet (whose *Ode to Zion* he translated into German), and other post-biblical Jewish writers and philosophers, such as *Maimonides, Isaac *Abrabanel, and Solomon *Maimon. His familiarity with rabbinic literature, particularly the Midrash, is seen in his various "Juedische Parabeln." Herder was friendly with Moses *Mendelssohn and in his essay "Ueber die Bekehrung der Juden" (*Adrastea*, 4 (Leipzig, 1802), ch. 7) called for the total emancipation of the Jews. His own religious philosophy developed in contemplation of *Spinoza's thought, though Herder himself always rejected the Deist position. N.H. *Wessely wrote his *Shirei Tiferet* in response to Herder's challenge that no epic had yet been written about Moses.

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[David Baumgardt / Marcus Pyka (2nd ed.)]

HEREFORD, county town in S.W. England. Jews lived there from the middle of the 12th century, and later it possessed an *archa. Ten members of the community contributed to the *Northampton Donum in 1194 for ransoming Richard I. Hamo of Hereford (d. 1232) was one of the most affluent financiers of his day; the duties payable on his estate amounted to 6,000 marks, a good part of which went to the building of Westminster Abbey. Under Henry III, a dispute between the king's officials and the local bishop for jurisdiction over the Jews necessitated royal intervention. In 1272 the entire community was imprisoned to compel payment of a tallage. In 1275, the community was increased by Jews expelled from *Worcester with their *archa*. Among the latter was Isaac of Worcester, who became one of the most prominent local financiers. Twenty-four burghers were appointed "Guardians of the Peace" on behalf of the Jews in 1282. Relations with Christians were good and as late as 1286 several prominent citizens were invited to attend a Jewish wedding but were prevented by the bishop. The community comprised about 40 prominent householders at the time of the expulsion from England. The debts due them, amounting to over £2,000, fell into royal hands. There has been no organized Jewish community in Hereford in modern times, although the Liberal movement hosts a local group for Jews in the area.

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[Cecil Roth]

ḤEREM (Heb. חֵרֶם), the status of that which is separated from common use or contact either because it is proscribed as an abomination to God or because it is consecrated to Him (cf. Ar., *ḥaruma*, "be forbidden, become sacred"; *ḥaram*, "holy precinct"; *ḥarim*, "women's quarters"). In the second sense it is similar to qodesh, "sanctity," from which it differs only in being irredeemable. To declare or treat as *ḥerem* is expressed by the verb *heḥerim* (passive, *hoḥoram*), henceforth rendered "proscribe." Things in the status of *ḥerem* are also called *ḥerem.*

Categories of Ḥerem

The laws of the Torah declare the following to be *ḥerem*:

1. Israelites who worship other gods, whether individuals or an entire community; idols and their accouterments. These are an abomination to the Lord: Human beings are to be put to the sword; inanimate objects are to be burned. This severest degree of *ḥerem* is contagious: hence all the property of a proscribed community is condemned – livestock must be put to the sword, the rest burned "as a holocaust to the Lord," and no spoil may be taken of the idols or the proscribed community (Ex. 22:19; Deut. 7:25–26; 13:13–19). An individual, too, who incurs the severest degree of *ḥerem* contaminates everything that comes into contact with him (cf. Josh. 7:24–25).

2. The seven nations inhabiting the land promised to Israel – the Hittites, Girgashites, Amorites, Canaanites, Perizzites, Hivites, and Jebusites (Deut. 7:1–2; cf. 20:17). Not a soul of these is to be left alive "lest they lead you into doing all the abhorrent things that they have done for their gods and you stand guilty before the Lord your God" (20:18). The motive and the context of this law (cf. 20:13–14) indicate that the spoil of these nations was not *ḥerem* (cf. Deut. 6:11).

3. Whatever one privately devotes to the Lord as *ḥerem*. Such things are sacred in the highest degree (*qodesh qodashim*), and their status is irrevocable: they may neither be sold by the sanctuary nor redeemed by the devoter (Lev. 27:28). They belong to the priests (Num. 18:14; Ezek. 44:29). The situation envisaged by the law of Leviticus 27:29, that a human being in *ḥerem* must be put to death and may not be redeemed, is obscure. Some take it to refer to a person condemned for idolatry (1, above), others, to the victim of a private vow (see above; cf. the case of *Jephthah's daughter (Judg. 11:34ff.); see also d. below).

The cases of *ḥerem* recorded outside the laws conform only partially to those set forth in the laws:

(a) Having been defeated in an attempt to invade Canaan from the south by the Canaanites of Arad, Israel vowed to proscribe them should God grant a victory over them. Later, victorious Israel did proscribe "them and their towns" (Num. 21:1–3). Thus, the *ḥerem* of these Canaanites, at any rate, stemmed from a public vow, rather than from the blanket decree (see 2. above). Harmonizers suggest that the vow simply supplemented the law by including the booty ["their towns"] in the *ḥerem*, in addition to the population.

(b) Several proscriptions of Canaanites, conforming with the law of number 2 (see above) are recorded: The Transjordanian populations subject to Sihon (Deut. 2:34) and Og (3:6), and the Cisjordanian inhabitants of Makkedah, Eglon, Hebron, Debir, and Libnah – in general, the towns of the south (10:28–40) and those of the north (11:10ff.). Livestock and booty were taken, and the towns were left intact.

(c) Exceptionally severe was the *ḥerem* of Jericho: Animals as well as human beings were put to the sword, the city was burned down, its spoliation banned, and its silver, gold, copper, and iron vessels dedicated to the sanctuary treasury (Josh. 6:17ff.). *Achan's encroachment on this *ḥerem* was punished by his being stoned and burned, along with his family, livestock, and property (cf. 1. above). The Midrash represents Achan as exculpating himself on the grounds that Joshua's *ḥerem* decree went beyond the law, which indeed it did (see 2. above; Num. R. 23:6; cf. Sanh. 44a). Exceptional, too, is the burning down of Ai and Hazor, though both were despoiled beforehand (Josh. 8:26; 10:39; 11:13).

(d) The population of Negebite Zephath was slain, and the town proscribed (Judg. 1:17).

(e) Most of the Jabesh-Gilead was proscribed in accordance with a public oath condemning to death any who failed to join the sacred battle against Benjamin (Judg. 21:5–11). Perhaps such a situation underlies the *ḥerem* law of Leviticus 27:29. This is, at any rate, an antecedent to the coercive *ḥerem* applied within the community in post-exilic times (see h. below).

(f) God bade Samuel to charge Saul with a war of extermination against *Amalek for its ambush of Israel at the Exodus. Amalek and all its property were proscribed; Saul's failure to execute the order fully resulted in his rejection (I Sam. 15; I Chron. 10:13).

(g) The end of the proscription of enemies is signaled in Solomon's impressment into state service of such elements of the indigenous population as escaped proscription at the time of the Conquest (I Kings 9:21; cf. Josh. 15:63; 17:12; Judg. 1:19–35). Though not put to death, the presence of a class of "Solomon's slaves" down to the Restoration (Ezra 2:55) indicates that this element remained segregated in the Israelite community for generations.

(h) The latest biblical attestation of the *ḥerem* as a practical measure is its post-exilic use as a penalty to coerce individuals to obey communal authorities. "The property of anyone who does not appear within three days [to answer the summons of the Jewish authorities]… will be proscribed, and he himself separated from the community" (Ezra 10:8). By "proscription," destruction may be meant, though (in light of 3. above) expropriation by the Temple treasury is usually understood.

Whether or not the absence of *ḥerem* terminology in cases where it would fit is significant is hard to say. The slaughter of the inhabitants of Beth-El and Laish (Judg. 1:25; 18:27) is not called a proscription, though it resembles the case of Zephath (1:17), which is. Was the former not religiously motivated, then, in contrast with the latter? (cf. what is said below on the divergent representations of the wars conducted against Sihon and Og in Num. and Deut.). Moses' condemnation of the calf-worshipers is not called a proscription (Ex. 32:27), though it conforms precisely with the terms of number 1 (above). Nor is "the Lord's vengeance on Midian" (Num. 31:3) so called, though it resembles the war against Amalek, which is. Thus, the suspicion exists that the narrative did not always choose its terms precisely, and that more instances of *ḥerem* may in fact exist than are so designated expressly.

In the literature of the later monarchy and the Prophets *ḥerem* terminology is used loosely in the sense of "utter destruction," without its specific, religious context. Thus, for example, Sennacherib can be said to have "utterly destroyed (*heḥerim*) all countries" (II Kings 19:11; in II Chron. 32:14, "all gods!"), or God-sent destruction may be expressed in *ḥerem* terms (Isa. 34:2; Jer. 25:9; Zech. 14:11 (*ḥurban*, "ruin," see *Kimḥi); Mal. 3:24). Something of the early notion of dedication to God appears in Micah 4:13.

The Evolution of the Term Ḥerem

The evolution of the conception and practice of the *ḥerem* in Israel may be surmised as follows: The *ḥerem* as a private irrevocable dedication of property to the sanctuary (3. above) so directly expresses its character of "separation from common use" that, although it is found in a stratum commonly dated to late (even Exilic) times – the priestly code – there is no reason to suppose it is a late practice.

The antiquity of the notion that that which was an abomination to the Lord was *ḥerem* is vouched for by the early law of Exodus 22:19; proscribing the worshiper of other gods. This punitive application of *ḥerem* within the community appears in the case of Jabesh-Gilead (e. above) and Ezra (h. above), and eventuated in the later, modified form of Jewish excommunication.

The practice of declaring an enemy to be *ḥerem* combines both of the foregoing aspects. Ancient warfare, especially the wars fought by the tribal league of Israel in pre-Davidic times, had a religious grounding. The battle was God's (I Sam. 17:47), the enemy was God's (Judg. 5:31), and Israel's forces were God's helpers (Judg. 5:23). It was, therefore, natural to regard the enemy as *ḥerem* and his destruction as an act of devotion to God. Yet the actual instances of enemy *ḥerem* are too few and special to warrant the assumption that it was a rule of ancient Israelite warfare. Nor must every destruction of an enemy be counted as a religious proscription – Gideon's slaughter of the Penuelites (Judg. 8:17) and Abimelech's of the Shechemites (9:45) were not. The laws of Deuteronomy (2. above) and narratives in Deuteronomy and Joshua (b) and (c) above) speak of the natives of Israel's land as *ḥerem*; other cases are very rare – none occurs in the wars of the period of the Judges or from the reign of David on. But even the limited *ḥerem* of Deuteronomy (and its narrative reflexes), in its present form of a blanket, antecedent proscription, does not seem to have been an early conception. The laws prior to Deuteronomy do not mention such a *ḥerem*. Exodus 23:27–33 indeed speaks of the expulsion of the Canaanites and forbids coming to such terms with them as will allow them to remain in the land, "lest they cause you to sin against me, for you will serve their gods" (so too 33:2–3; Num. 33:50–56). Exodus 34:11–16 adds a ban on intermarriage, "lest [the Canaanite wives] cause your sons to lust after their gods." The injunction is to expel and dispossess, and is given a religious ground; there is no command to slaughter the population. The first case of enemy *ḥerem* results from a vow taken by Israel to proscribe the Canaanites who defeated them at Hormah ((a) above). In return for a victory, the people dedicate to God all the fruits of battle. By this solemn, awful, and self-denying undertaking the people seek the favor of God after a military reverse. There is no suggestion of a blanket, antecedent proscription of any and all Canaanites on religious grounds. The wars with Sihon and Og, according to Numbers 21:24, 35, ended with an annihilation of the enemy's forces and the seizure of his land; the *ḥerem* is not mentioned. Only Deuteronomy 2:34 and 3:6 speak of "proscribing every town – men, women, and children" – while retaining the booty (in accordance with 2. above; but note that the Deuteronomic account states that Moses offered peace to Sihon (2:26) in accordance with Deuteronomy 20:10 (see Naḥmanides ad. loc., but see also 20: 15 ff.). The *ḥerem* of Jericho is represented as an ad hoc injunction of Joshua (Josh, 6:17–19); it goes well beyond the Deuteronomic law, and makes no reference to it. This *ḥerem* has the character of a firstfruits offering: The first spoils of Canaan are wholly devoted to God. The terms of Ai's *ḥerem* are likewise represented as an ad hoc instruction of God to Joshua (8:2, 26–27), without reference to the Deuteronomic rule enunciated by Moses (though conforming to it). Samuel's proscription of Amalek diverges too widely from the Deuteronomic law to serve as an attestation of it. Amalek is not one of the nations condemned in the law; the total proscription exceeds that of the law; the ground of the proscription is revenge (I Sam. 15:2) rather than concern over purity of the faith.

The evidence suggests that the enemy *ḥerem*, eventually codified in a very special form in Deuteronomy, originated as a dedicatory proscription designed to win God's favor by totally devoting to Him His (and the nation's) enemy. It was declared in situations of particular stress – after the national army had suffered a defeat (Hormah, Ai), or when a crucial test of arms was imminent (Jericho, Amalek). The persistent tradition that, by and large, the Canaanites were evicted from the land occupied by the invading Israelites (cf. Amos 2:9) indicates that the reported proscription of towns by Joshua, though doubtless over-systematized, reflects a typical feature of the wars of conquest. The land-hunger of the invaders must have made the battles over Canaanite towns bitter. Since the citizenry realized they were to be dispossessed, they resisted desperately; the no less desperate invader thereupon sought to enlist God's help by devoting the enemy as *ḥerem* to him. Judging from the cases of Ai, the soldiers' behavior in the battle against Amalek, and the Deuteronomic law, the normal *ḥerem* allowed spoliation but proscribed the enemy population. Its effect was to clear an area for Israelite occupation (and doubtless to panic into flight or surrender the inhabitants of nearby towns; cf. the Gibeonites, Josh. 9).

The sole extra-biblical attestation of *ḥerem* is of just this kind. *Mesha, king of Moab, reports that when he won back from Israel long-lost territory north of the Arnon, he massacred the Israelite inhabitants of some towns – those of Nebo expressly because he "had proscribed it [*hḥrmth*] to [the god] Ashtar-Chemosh"; he then resettled Moabites in their stead (*Mesha Stele, lines 10–21, in Pritchard, Texts, 320). Classical writers provide analogies from the practice of the Celts (Diodorus, 5:32), Gauls (Caesar, *De Bello Gallico*, 6: 17), Teutons (Tacitus, *Annals*, 13:57), and early Romans (Livy, 8:9).

Deuteronomy's Reinterpretation of the Enemy Ḥerem

After the reign of Saul, the enemy *ḥerem* seems to have fallen into disuse. The national-religious fervor of the wars of settlement declined; the armies of Israel consisted more and more of professional soldiers (cf. I Sam. 14:52); and offensive wars became imperial – so that subject populations were desirable. Solomon's impressment into state service of Canaanites who survived the wars of settlement demonstrates this disuse ((g) above). Subsequently, the concept appears only rarely, and then only in prophetic speech (e.g., the condemnation of Ahab for having released Ben-Hadad, God's "*ḥerem*-man"; I Kings 20:42; cf. Isa. 34:5; Micah 4:13). It had become archaic, evocative of a bygone enthusiasm, fit for the high-strung, affective idiom of prophecy. As described above, the enemy *ḥerem* was not a peculiarly Israelite practice. However, another representation, informed by Israelite ideology, is found in Deuteronomy and related literature. This representation exemplifies Deuteronomy's penchant for systematizing and rationalizing traditional conceptions. The religiously motivated injunction against coexistence with the Canaanites is combined with the old enemy *ḥerem* into a new law: So as not to fall into the debased ways of the Canaanites, Israel must not only expel and dispossess them (Ex. 34:11 ff.; Num. 33:51 ff.) but also exterminate them as *ḥerem* (Deut. 7:1–5; 20:16 ff.). Thus an *ad hoc*, quasi-theurgic war measure was converted into a fixed religious duty. At the same time, a status which in practice could be invoked against any enemy was restricted by Deuteronomy to the inhabitants of the promised land, for they alone threatened the purity of the faith. Accounts of past wars were modified accordingly: The realms of Sihon and Og were treated in conformity with the *ḥerem* law (Deut. 2:32–35; 3:6–7; contrast Num. 21:24, 35); Joshua automatically and everywhere proscribed the Canaanite towns he took – "as God had commanded Moses" (Josh. 11:12, 15, 20). Only a trace of the primary nature of the enemy *ḥerem* survives in the summary notice that the proscription resulted from the determined resistance of the enemy (Josh. 11:20).

The severest degree of the old enemy *ḥerem* inspired Deuteronomy's expansion of the proscription of alien cults in Exodus 22:19. Not only an individual, but a whole community, with all its property, must be proscribed for apostasy (Deut. 13:13 ff.; the non-ethnic, purely religious basis of Deuteronomy's *ḥerem* concept manifests itself in this application of *ḥerem* to Israelites; later jurists denied that the law was practicable: Tosef., Sanh. 14:1; Sanh. 71a). The notion of contagiousness reached its extreme in this case and in the rule of Deut. 7:25–26 that even the precious metals of idols must be destroyed on penalty of incurring *ḥerem*. While the metals of Jericho were devoted to the sanctuary, those of idols were a contaminating abomination.

Deuteronomy's revision of the *ḥerem*, an aspect of its intense concern over keeping Israel free of alien influences, cannot be precisely dated. Its execration of idols contrasts with the Samuel narrative's unruffled reports of David's taking the abandoned idols of the Philistines (II Sam. 5:21) and the crown of the Ammonite god Malcam (Milcom; II Sam. 12:30). I Chronicles 14:12 adjusts the first report to conform with the Deuteronomic law (the idols were burned), suggesting, but not proving, that the law came in between. The blanket proscription of the Canaanites seems to be a theory, and the accounts of its systematic application, a tendentious revision of history. Critics have sought to connect it with the religio-military revival of Josiah's time; however, the express restriction of the *ḥerem* to the seven nations of Canaan, who posed no threat to Judah's religion in Josiah's time, does not speak for that connection. Any time after Solomon, in whose reign the extinction of the old enemy *ḥerem* is attested, may have seen the birth of the Deuteronomic concept. To assume that it is the reflex of a reformational movement like that of Josiah (or Hezekiah) is unnecessary.

Later jurists drew the final inferences from Deuteronomy's reinterpretation of the enemy *ḥerem*. They reasoned that since the express intention of the law was to protect Israel against the allure of a debased way of life, if the Canaanites gave up their polluted cult, they were exempt from the *ḥerem* (Sif. Deut. 202; Tosef. Sot. 8:5). The rule of Deuteronomy 20:10 is therefore universal: even campaigns against the Canaanites must begin with an offer of peace, the difference between far-off towns and theirs being that, to escape destruction, they must agree, upon surrendering, to abandon idolatry and accept the *Noachide Laws. And that is how Joshua dealt with them: Like Moses, who offered peace to Sihon in spite of God's order to start a war with him, Joshua preceded his campaigns with a proclamation published throughout Canaan, inviting the population to choose between leaving, making peace, or fighting. The Gibeonites chose peace, gave up idolatry, and became temple servants (Deut. R. 5:13, 14). Solomon's failure to proscribe the remaining Canaanites in his realm was probably due to their having abandoned idolatry (Kimḥi, to II Chron. 2:16).

Thus, the ancient, rude notion of enemy *ḥerem* underwent continued revision long after it had ceased to be applied in practice. Originating as a votive proscription of the enemy – any enemy – and made under the stress of war to propitiate God, it was transformed by Deuteronomy into an ordinance to protect the purity of Israel's faith in Canaan. Against the background of the Jewish institution of conversion, its operation was later qualified again by being made contingent upon a prior offer of peace on condition of conversion. Religious-rational tendencies inherent in biblical thought did away with the application of the *ḥerem* limitlessly and automatically to populations who had no choice in the matter.

[Moshe Greenberg]

In Later Jewish Law

The *ḥerem* of Ezra, mentioned above, is the first indication of a *ḥerem* operating by way of excommunication. Indeed, the criminal jurisdiction vested in Ezra included a power to root out (*shoreshu*: JPS "banishment": Ezra 7:26) which was interpreted in the Talmud to mean persecution (*hardafah*) by *niddui* and *ḥerem* (MK 16a).

Niddui is the term employed in tannaitic literature for the punishment of an offender by his isolation from, and his being held in enforced contempt by, the community at large. A precedent for such punitive isolation and contempt is found in the Bible (Num. 12:14) and was described as *niddui* (Sif. Num. 104). Some hold that the tannaitic *niddui* was the expulsion of a member from the order of the Pharisees: "If he failed to maintain the standards required," he would be expelled from the order and "declared *menuddeh*" ("defiled"), and his former comrades would withdraw from his company "lest he defile them" (see bibl., Finkelstein, p. 77). This theory is based mainly on the records of infliction of *niddui* on renowned scholars for non-compliance with the rules of the majority (Eduy. 5:6; BM 59b), but it takes no account of the fact that *niddui* was, even during the tannaitic period, inflicted or threatened also on laymen (e.g., a hunter: Shab. 130a, Kid. 72a) and for offenses or misconduct unconnected with any rules of the Pharisees (Ta'an. 3:8; Pes. 53a). While *niddui* may well have implied expulsion from scholarly or holy orders, the sanction as such was a general one, applicable at the discretion of the courts or of the heads of academies. As it was a criminal punishment, a great scholar who was threatened with *niddui* rightly protested that before he could be so punished it had first to be clearly established on whom might *niddui* be inflicted, in what measure, and for what offenses (TJ, MK 3:1, 81d). Later talmudic law reintroduced the *ḥerem* as an aggravated form of *niddui* (MK 16a): First a *niddui* was pronounced, and when it had not (on the application of the *menuddeh*: Maim. Yad, Talmud Torah 7:6) been lifted after 30 days, it was extended for another 30 days; after the 60 days had expired, a *ḥerem* was imposed (MK 16a; Maim. loc. cit.; Sh. Ar., YD 334:1, 13). Another innovation was the *nezifah* ("reprimand") which was to last for seven days (MK 16a): The commentators were not quite certain about the implications of the *nezifah*, and surmised that while *niddui* and *ḥerem* implied compulsory isolation, the seven days' isolation inherent in the *nezifah* was rather a voluntary one, dictated by shame and remorse; and while *niddui* and *ḥerem* remained in force until lifted by the Bet Din (Rema, Sh. Ar., YD 334, 24), *nezifah* expired automatically after seven days (*Piskei ha-Rosh* MK 3:7).

Niddui differed from *ḥerem* mainly in that with the *menuddeh* social intercourse was allowed for purposes of study and of business, whereas the *muḥram* had to study alone (so as not to forget what he had learned) and find his livelihood from a small shop he was permitted to maintain (MK 15a; Maim. *ibid.* 7:4–5; Sh. Ar., YD 334:2). Otherwise the restrictions imposed on the *muḥram* were (*a fortiori*) those imposed on the *menuddeh*, namely: He had to conduct himself as if he were in a state of mourning, not being allowed to have his hair cut or his laundry washed or to wear shoes (except for out-of-town walks). He was even forbidden to wash, except for his face, hands, and feet; but he was not obliged to rend his clothes (notwithstanding the contrary report in BM 59b) nor to lower his bedstead (MK 15a–b; Sem. 5:10–13; *Piskei ha-Rosh* MK 3:4); and he had to live in confinement with his family only, no outsider being allowed to come near him, eat and drink with him, greet him, or give him any enjoyment (*ibid.*; Sh. Ar., YD 334:2). He could not be counted as one of the three required for the special *grace after meals formula nor as one of the 10 (*minyan*) required for communal prayers (Maim. *ibid.* 7:4; Sh. Ar. YD loc. cit.); and after his death his coffin would be stoned, if only symbolically by placing a single stone on it (Eduy. 5:6; MK 15a; Maim. loc. cit.).

Both *niddui* and *ḥerem* appear in the Talmud at times in the Aramaic form *shamta* – a term which, by being retransliterated into Hebrew, was interpreted as indicating the civil death (*sham mitah*) or the utter loneliness (*shemamah*) involved in this punishment (MK 17a). Notwithstanding its potential severity, however, *niddui* was apparently regarded as a relatively light penalty, reserved mainly for minor offenses, perhaps because it could so easily be lifted and terminated. Talmudic scholars counted 24 offenses for which *niddui* was prescribed (Ber. 19a), listed by Maimonides as follows (loc. cit. 6:14):

(1) insulting a scholar, even after his death;

(2) contempt of an officer of the court;

(3) calling any man a slave;

(4) disobedience to a court summons;

(5) disregarding any rabbinic prescription (such as the washing of hands (Eduy. 5:6; see *Ablution));

(6) nonpayment of judgment debts;

(7) keeping dangerous dogs or other dangerous things without properly guarding them;

(8) selling land to a gentile in disregard of a neighbor's right of preemption (see **Maẓranut*);

(9) recovering money on the judgment of a gentile court, where the money was not due under Jewish law;

(10) failure by a priest to give other priests their dues;

(11) non-observance of the second festival day customarily observed abroad (see *Festivals);

(12) doing work in the afternoon of Passover Eve;

(13) mentioning God's name in speech or oath in trifling matters;

(14) causing the public to profane God's name (*ḥillul ha-Shem*);

(15) causing the public to eat sacrificial meals outside the Temple;

(16) establishing the calendar, i.e., fixing the lengths of months and years, outside the Land of Israel;

(17) placing any stumbling-block before the blind (Lev. 19:14);

(18) obstructing the public in the performance of any precept;

(19) negligence in ritual slaughtering; (20); failure to have knives used for ritual slaughter periodically inspected;

(21) willful sexual self-stimulation;

(22) such business relations with one's divorced wife as might lead to intimacy;

(23) connections or activities of a scholar which bring him into disrepute;

(24) imposing a *niddui* without sufficient cause.

The list is not exhaustive (Rabad ad loc.), and was supplemented in the Shulḥan Arukh by additional offenses among which are the following:

(1) breaking a vow;

(2) doing work while a corpse lies unburied in town;

(3) disobedience to Torah precepts on the strength of spurious analogies or arguments;

(4) demanding the performance of the impossible;

(5) insisting on minority views overruled by the majority;

(6) usurpation by a disciple of his teacher's functions;

(7) applying to the king or a leader with a view to evading or circumventing the authority of the competent court (YD 334:43). (The *niddui* for disobedience to law on spurious analogies or arguments might be identical with the ban referred to in John 9:22, 12:42.)

The existence of an offense of imposing a *niddui* without sufficient cause indicates that, under talmudic law, the *niddui* could be imposed not only by the court but also by individual scholars and even by laymen: for instance, creditors used to impose a *niddui* on delinquent debtors (MK 16a), and in later periods we find debtors agreeing in writing beforehand to be placed under *niddui* by the creditor in the event of non-payment (e.g., *Maḥzor Vitry* 567). Individual scholars used to impose a *niddui* for their own vindication from insults (MK 16a), a practice which persisted throughout the ages (cf. e.g., Resp. Joseph Colon 168–9; Resp. Maharyu 163), although deprecated in no uncertain terms (Maim. *ibid.* 7:13; Tur, YD 334; Sh. Ar., YD 243:9; and cf. Kid. 32a; Meg. 28a). There is a strong opinion to the effect that this power of individual scholars is now obsolete (Rema, Sh. Ar., YD 243:8); it was never recognized for any purpose other than as a punishment for insults, and the scholar was forbidden to use it for his business purposes (TJ, MK 3:1, 84d; YD 334:19).

Normally, *niddui* would be pronounced by the court; it is only by order of a court that a man is regarded as a *menuddeh*; non-judicial *niddui* renders him only "half-*menuddeh*" (*menuddeh la-ḥaẓa'in*) from whom the public at large need not dissociate itself (Sh. Ar., YD 334:12). Where the offense charged was civil disobedience or nonpayment of debts, the court would first warn the delinquent that unless he obeyed or paid a *niddui* would be pronounced against him, but no warning was required where the offense was of a religious nature (MK 16a and Rashi ad loc.). The *niddui* and its causes had to be publicly announced (*ibid.* interpreting Judg. 5:23), but could be pronounced in the absence of the accused (Maim. loc. cit. 7:2, 13; Sh. Ar., YD 334:29). No formal procedure nor any adduction of evidence was required: The court could act on its own knowledge or on evidence that would be otherwise inadmissible (Rema YD 334:43). The formulae used for the pronouncement as well as for lifting of the *niddui* could be very short (Maim. loc. cit. 7:2–3; Sh. Ar., YD 334:23); but it would be enlarged and embellished with curses and imprecations when a *ḥerem* was imposed (*ibid.*; Shev. 36a). The ban could be lifted by any court, not necessarily the court which had imposed it (Maim. loc. cit. 7:9), but a *niddui* imposed by an individual had to be lifted by that same person or – where he was unknown or unavailable – by the *nasi* or leader of the community (MK 17a; TJ, MK 3:1, 81d; Maim. loc. cit. 7:10). The delinquent had a claim as of right to have the ban against him lifted as soon as he had done the act or rectified the omission of which he had been accused, or ceased to do that which he had been accused of doing (Maim. loc. cit. 9) – hence *niddui* was a coercive as well as a punitive measure.

Courts were urged not to pronounce *niddui* against judges (*Takkanat Usha*, MK 17a), scholars (Resh Lakish, *ibid.*), or notables (*zaken*; TJ, MK 3:1, 81d), but rather to ask them to stay at home; only if they persisted in and repeated their offenses was *niddui* pronounced against them to prevent *ḥillul ha-Shem* (by insinuations of discriminations and privileges; *ibid.*). *Flogging is considered a more suitable punishment for judges and scholars than *niddui* (MK 17a and Rashi *ibid*); but where a scholar's misconduct is due to a failure of his memory by reason of old age or sickness, he should rather be treated as if he were "the Holy Ark holding fragments of the broken tablets" (TJ, MK 3:1, 81d and *Korban ha-Edah*, *ibid.*).

In Post-Talmudic Law

The distinction between the punitive and coercive functions of *niddui* and *ḥerem* became more clearly marked: On the one hand they grew into the most deterrent, and often very cruel, punishment for past misdeed or past misconduct; on the other they were invoked for purposes of future law enforcement, either by warning potential individual offenders of imminent excommunication, or by attaching the threat of excommunication to secure general acceptance of and obedience to a newly created law: Several such laws have thus become known by the name of *ḥerem* (e.g., *ḥerem de-Rabbenu Gershom*; see *Bigamy).

From the geonic period and throughout the Middle Ages until recent times, courts added further and greater hardships to the living conditions of the *menuddeh* as laid down in the Talmud – the talmudic provisions being regarded as a minimum which the court could increase according to the severity of the individual case (Sh. Ar., YD 334:10; Rema YD 334:6). Among such additional hardships were prohibitions against performing circumcision of the *menuddeh*'s children or their marriages; expulsions of his children from school and of his wife from synagogue; and prohibitions against burial of the *menuddeh* and according him any honor due to the dead (Rema, *ibid.*). He was to be treated as a non-Jew, his bread and wine were forbidden like those of a heathen, his books were regarded as magicians' trash, his *ẓiẓit* were to be cut off and the *mezuzah* removed from his door (e.g., *Sha'arei Ẓedek* 4:5, 14). Treating a Jew as if he were a non-Jew amounted, within the closed Jewish community, to civil death; and indeed it is said that a man on whom a *ḥerem* lies can be regarded as dead (cf. also the precept in the Karaite "Book of Precepts" by Anan b. David, after describing the ban to be imposed for capital offenses: "In short, we must treat him as if he were dead": L. Nemoy, *Karaite Anthology* (1952), 13).

The constant growth and increasing frequency of the *ḥerem* as punishment was in no small degree due to the predominant role excommunication played as a punishment in the Church: Some features of the later penances inflicted on excommunicated Jews were even borrowed from practices of the Church (see bibliography, Abrahams p. 66f.). It happened also that the ecclesiastical or secular gentile authorities enjoined Jewish courts from imposing or enforcing a *ḥerem*, as for instance where it had been imposed for having recourse to non-Jewish courts: In such cases the law was laid down that in monetary matters the Jewish court would have to give in, whereas in religious matters the Jewish court had to insist on its authority even at the risk of incurring punishment for disobedience (Israel Isserlin, *Terumat ha-Deshen* 276; and cf. YD 334:44, 48). Visiting the guilt of the *menuddeh* on his innocent wife and children and making life in general unbearable for him, shocked the conscience of many a great rabbi (cf., e.g., Resp. Ribash 173, 185; *Yam Shel Shelomo* BK 10:13). Not only did they and many others try to mitigate the hardships of the *ḥerem* when they had to impose it, but they endeavored to abstain from imposing it at all. Thus, Asher b. Jehiel says that he never imposed a *ḥerem* without the previous consent of the congregation (Resp. Rosh 43:9); Jacob Levi Moellin imposed only one single *ḥerem* during his lifetime (*Minhagei Maharil*, quoted by Assaf, *Onshin* (see bibliography), p. 34); and Israel *Bruna relates his father's last will enjoining him from ever imposing a *ḥerem* (Resp. 189).

The severity and cruelty of total *niddui* or *ḥerem* led to the creation of lighter punishments, involving only partial excommunication and not inhibiting the offender in his daily life – such as permanent or temporary expulsion from town or province, expulsion from the synagogue, change of the synagogue seat for an inferior one, and public denunciations and reprimands. Application of graver or lighter punishments was left entirely to the discretion of the courts (cf. Resp. Rashba, vol. 5 no. 238; *Zikhron Yehudah* 63; et al.); and the same or similar offenses are found punished at one place or time with *niddui* and another place or time with floggings, expulsions, or reprimands. Among the many and varied offenses for which *niddui* was imposed, mention may be made of a husband's refusal to divorce his wife though ordered to do so (*Or Zaru'a* *BK* 161; Resp. Maharam of Rothenburg, ed. Prague, 927, and see *Divorce), and of a bridegroom's refusal to marry his bride (Resp. Maharam of Rothenburg, ed. Prague, 250) – as well as property offenses ranging from theft and receiving stolen property to bankruptcy, fraud, and forgery (cf. e.g., *Takkanot Medinat Mehrin*, ed. I. Halpern, p. 161). On the other hand, assaults (including wife-beating) and offenses against morality were more often visited with the lighter expulsions (many illustrations in Assaf, *Onshin* (see bibliography), passim). So it was laid down that the straying disciple who is found in possession of profane books and frequents theatrical and musical entertainment should be flogged rather than excommunicated (Tur, YD 334).

The Procedure of Pronouncing a Herem

The minor forms of the *ḥerem, nezifah*, and *niddui*, were pronounced by the head of the rabbinic court. A severe *ḥerem* was pronounced in the synagogue either before the open Ark or while holding a Torah scroll. The proclamation was made with the sounding of the *shofar*, while those present held wax candles which were symbolically extinguished after the excommunication was declared. The person was anathematized, excommunicated, and several biblical curses were evoked upon him. The proclamation contained a public warning not to associate with the anathematized and concluded with a plea for the welfare of the congregation of the faithful.

In Later Centuries

Ḥerem and *niddui* became so common in later centuries that they no longer made any impression and lost their force. They became the standard rabbinic reaction to all forms of deviation or non-conformity considered incompatible with or dangerous to Orthodoxy. As such, they are sometimes imposed by extreme Orthodox authorities in the present day, but as neither the persons afflicted nor the public at large regard themselves as bound by them, they have ceased to be a terror or have much effect. (It is arguable that the imposition of *niddui* or *ḥerem* by persons acting in unison – e.g., a court of three – amounts to a criminal conspiracy to cause injury to a person or the reputation of a person and to injure him in his trade or profession, which in Israel is punishable with two years' imprisonment: Section 36, Criminal Code Ordinance, 1936.)

[Haim Hermann Cohn]

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ḤEREM BET DIN (Heb. חֵרֶם בֵּית דִּין, "ban of the court"), the shortened and accepted form of *ḥerem bet din ha-gadol*. This was the social and legal concept and *takkanah* originally prevailing in Western and Central Europe that gave to the court of the local community rights and competences which, according to talmudic law, pertained only to the High Court of the *Sanhedrin and later, by right of custom, to the High Courts of the *exilarch and the *geonim. In practice, this extension of the rights of the local court applied to its competence to summon defendants before it even when they came from a different locality. At first this was envisaged in a fairly simple fashion:

> If a man passes through a community where there is a *ḥerem bet din* and he is summoned to court under the *ḥerem* in the presence of proper witnesses, even if he be in the market place, the *ḥerem* is upon him until he repairs to the court to plead his case. Even if no witnesses are present, the *ḥerem* applies, for witnesses are needed only as a protection against deceivers, but a writ of insubordination [for not appearing in court] can be issued only on the testimony of witnesses. After having made his plea, the defendant may proceed on his way. The plaintiff is responsible for seeing that the decree of the court reaches him (*takkanah* attributed to Gershom b. *Judah).

Though *ḥerem* here means a *takkanah* sanctioned by a *ḥerem*, custom certainly preceded the enactment. Central institutions, such as those envisaged in talmudic law and those which were active in the old centers of Jewish settlement in Mediterranean countries, were never within the scope of communication of Western Europe. *Ḥerem bet din* was a practical expression of the problems of communication and security which, in increasingly perilous times, faced small communities dispersed over relatively wide areas. On the social and leadership levels *ḥerem bet din* is one of the earliest Jewish manifestations of the spirit of the commune-city with its insistence on having justice dispensed within the city walls. In the course of time, the authority of each locality and its *bet din* became so well established that *Samson b. Abraham of Sens (13th century) stated:

> The custom of the *ḥerem ha-gadol* in our town operates in the following manner. If one of our townspeople summons another to court, he is compelled to litigate here. He cannot refuse and say: 'Let us go to the college of scholars or to the Great Court.' He is, however, entitled to have three days before presenting his case. Judges, though, must be chosen immediately; each party chooses one judge [and they elect the third judge]. If a visitor summons a townsman, or two visitors summon each other, they must appoint the judges and plead their cases forthwith.

By this time the need for a specific *takkanah* or *ḥerem* to authorize the local court was abandoned. In 1272 it was stated in France that any town that was known to have had a scholar residing in it at one time or another was accorded by this very fact the presumption of full competence for its local court, as if it had an express and documented *takkanah* of *ḥerem bet din*.

bibliography: Finkelstein, Middle Ages; M. Frank, *Kehillot Ashkenaz u-Vattei Dineihem* (1937); Baron, Community, index; H.H. Ben-Sasson, *Perakim be-Toledot ha-Yehudim bi-Ymei ha-Beinayim* (1962), index; idem, *Toledot Am-Yisrael*, 2 (1969), index.

[Isaac Levitats]

ḤEREM HA-IKKUL (Heb. חֵרֶם הָעִקּוּל, "ban on confiscation"), a prohibition against a person retaining an article entrusted to him as a bailee even though he has a subsequent claim against its owner. Because of the dangers of medieval travel, and the consequent lack of security and the fact that Jewish property consisted mainly of cash and movables, there was frequent need for a bailee. This custom, which became generally accepted law, was designed to protect the commerce which was developing as a result of the rise of towns.

bibliography: Finkelstein, Middle Ages.

[Isaac Levitats]

ḤEREM HA-YISHUV (Heb. חֵרֶם הַיִּשּׁוּב, "ban on settlement"), the concept, *takkanah*, and institutions pertaining to the corporate right of regulating settlement in many communities which existed in certain countries in the Middle Ages and early modern times. Underlying and governing the *ḥerem ha-yishuv* was the assumption that a community belonged to its members, who might or might not permit other Jews to settle in their locality. A newcomer had to acquire the right of settlement – termed *ḥezkat ha-yishuv* or *ḥezkat ha-kehillah* – from the community, its authorities and its members, wherever *ḥezkat ha-yishuv* came to be accepted. The most common manner of acquisition of this right was by purchase or hire; other ways involved inheritance or undisputed residence over a certain period. The leadership alone or the entire community could grant such a right anew, especially if a vacancy occurred in the fixed number of settlers. It was assumed that the original settlers in a community had created for themselves a property right in the opportunities for profit-making offered by that settlement. They were enabled to do so by the local autonomous rights granted to them by king, overlord, or bishop. In Italy a person could claim permanent rights on the grounds of a temporary grant. The institution was found in northern France, Germany, Bohemia, England, and all of Eastern Europe. Its time of origin has not been definitely established, although it was known in the Rhine communities in the 11th century and an actual case is recorded in the 12th century. This was the period of the rise of the commune-cities in Western Europe, in which the inhabitants saw themselves as a closed unit governing entrance to the town and settlement in their midst. It was also the time of the origin of Jewish community life and law in the Rhineland area.

Most Jewish communities gradually became closed to newcomers. As early as the first half of the 12th century, the Paris community enacted a *gezerat ha-yishuv* ("ordinance about settlement"): "Lest someone will stay in the city, in addition to the citizens who were there at this time and their children who will be born unto them, the male only, excluding the female" (S.D. Luzzatto (ed.), *Bet ha-Oẓar*, (1847) 58a). *Ḥezkat ha-yishuv* was thus parallel to the communal practices prevalent among the non-Jews, who strictly regulated the right to reside and trade in their communities. Jews who pioneered as merchants and artisans in the cities and were responsible as a body to king, lord, or bishop considered themselves entitled to regulate residence rights. The unfair competition of outsiders who were not responsible for toll or tax had to be eliminated. Since one of its main purposes was the protection of trade, there were many who could settle freely even under *ḥerem ha-yishuv*: non-practicing ordained rabbis, students, personal servants, rentiers who received a fixed income without trading, wholesalers, and refugees, but the last were permitted to stay only temporarily. Exempt also were nonresidents who came to a local fair, although they were often restricted to selling to out-of-towners only and their activities had to be confined to the market place.

This tendency to close the community to outsiders soon clashed with the opposing Jewish tradition of granting shelter and communal assistance to Jews without regard for locality. Great leaders and scholars tended to limit the use of *ḥerem ha-yishuv* to exclusion of Jews on moral grounds only. The tosafist Jacob b. Meir *Tam (12th century) stated that "our earlier authorities instituted the *ḥerem ha-yishuv* only against violent men and informers, and those who refused to obey communal enactments or to pay their share of communal taxes. But against others there is no *ḥerem*." In 1266 the Canterbury community accepted this view, writing to the royal authorities in a Latin text, "The community of Jews of Canterbury… have bound themselves by oath that no Jew of any other town than Canterbury shall dwell in the said town, to wit, no liar, improper person, or slanderer…" (Rigg-Jenkinson, Exchequer). R. *Eliezer b. Joel ha-Levi of Bonn (13th century) insisted on the validity of the custom. *Meir b. Baruch of Rothenburg (13th century) dealt a great deal with the problem in his responsa, since during his time the *ḥerem ha-yishuv* became generally accepted. By the 14th century it was agreed by the general authorities that the Jews were the sole arbiters of the matter. In some cases the newcomer, after admission by the Jews, had to be introduced to the bishop and the town council. Jacob b. Judah *Weil in the 15th century ruled that a community might strictly enforce the rules against a *nokhri* ("alien"), a Jew temporarily staying in town.

Records of the institution exist down to the 18th century. In Italy, where it seems to have appeared in the 13th century, moneylending rather than trade was the main prize sought in settling rights. In Poland and Lithuania (16th–18th centuries) the *ḥerem ha-yishuv* was so well entrenched that a particular community did not need to enter into the bond of excommunication against recalcitrants in order to enforce the rule: it became a recognized right of every *kahal*. The added rationale was advanced that an excessive increase of Jews would arouse ill-will among the gentiles. In 1623 the Lithuanian Council decreed that "no man from another country is entitled to establish his residence in the Lithuanian provinces without the knowledge and approval of the provincial chiefs… he shall be relentlessly persecuted and driven out of this land." The rule was temporarily relaxed after the *Chmielnicki massacres in 1648. The Jews did not hesitate to enlist the aid of the civil authorities in enforcing these regulations. *Jus Gazaga*, the right not to let or sell a house, was combined with the prohibition to trade with an intruder. As settlements increased in size, newcomers were welcome, especially if they were wealthy, to help carry the burden of taxes and other obligations. Every means was employed to detain the wealthy. If they left, they were still held responsible for their share of the community's fiscal burden. Simultaneously, the poverty-stricken were encouraged and pressed to leave town. In fact, the alien poor were kept constantly on the move, thus compounding pauperism. In Russia, which took over much of Lithuania and Polish territory, *ḥezkat ha-yishuv* probably lasted down to the 20th century. The story was told of a Jew who, refused permission to settle in Dubrovno asked indignantly, "But how will I make a living?" The reply was, "Well, does Dubrovno itself make a living?"

The restrictions imposed by *ḥerem ha-yishuv* created many problems in practice and in law. The right which protected the tradesman and craftsman thereby discriminated against the consumer. Hence there was a body of opinion among Jewish jurists which held that an outside trader, prepared to sell his goods considerably cheaper than at the prices prevailing locally, was entitled to do so. Further, when the Jews of Rome refused to admit the Spanish refugees, it was adjudged by many a highly unethical act.

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[Isaac Levitats]

ḤEREM SETAM (roughly translated as "anonymous ban" or "imprecation"), a geonic innovation that gained wide acceptance in later rabbinic literature, particularly in Spain and North Africa, although it was more sparsely used in Franco-Germany as well. It served primarily as an instrument of judicial proof in situations where there was no obligation to impose an oath. *Ḥerem setam* could be utilized to reveal assets in a variety of situations (lost, stolen, or hidden assets), to locate witnesses concealing their testimony or trying to withhold it, or to reveal informers – this last application seems to have predated the use of *ḥerem setam* in an evidentiary capacity.

Historically speaking, *ḥerem setam* was apparently applied in two different ways at different times: Common to both was their style and their imposition where there was no legal obligation to administer an oath; they differed, however, as to context and purpose. In the early stage, *ḥerem setam* was used during the course of judicial proceedings to expose false or deceptive arguments and to reach a final decision. In the later stage, it was also used to force the exposure of assets or to locate witnesses, in which cases it did not necessarily close the proceedings.

Ḥerem setam, invoked as part of the judicial proceedings in a wide range of situations, was generally used in civil cases. These may be divided into five categories: (1) Situations in which the plaintiff presented a claim that was positive (*ta'anat bari*) but otherwise unsupported, for if the claim had some concrete basis (*derara de-mamona*) an oath would have been mandatory. Such cases are discussed in several responsa of Rav Hai Gaon (see, e.g., *Sha'arei Ẓedek* 59a, §30), although at an earlier stage he held that an oath should be administered even in the absence of concrete basis (see his *Mishpetei Shevu'ot* 7b–8a); (2) Where the plaintiff presented a doubtful claim – it was in such cases that the *ḥerem setam* was most commonly applied (e.g., in the commercial field, in claims contested by husband and wife, etc.); (3) Where, for various reasons, the court would not impose an oath – for example, if one of the litigants had perjured himself on a previous occasion, if one of the litigants refused to take the oath, if the litigant was a married woman (this restriction was not universally accepted), and in a few other cases. This category also included the imposition of *ḥerem setam* when a clause in a contract exempted one of the litigants from the obligation to take an oath, his word alone being accepted; (4) A defendant contesting a claim could demand that *ḥerem setam* be imposed on the plaintiff to ensure that the claim was genuine. As a further development of this category, *ḥerem setam* could be imposed upon the plaintiff to ensure that he was not forcing the defendant to take an unnecessary oath. Maimonides refers to this as "a minor enactment enacted by the last *geonim*" (Yad, Sheluḥim ve-Shutfin 3.11); (5) *Ḥerem setam* could also be imposed upon witnesses to force them to testify and warn them not to withhold their evidence – this case is somewhat related to the oath of testimony.

The term *ḥerem setam* also referred to an imprecation pronounced "upon whosoever…" without specifying a particular name (this being the meaning of the Hebrew word *setam*); the imprecation itself was abbreviated and only the gist of the suspicion included. This generalized formula seems to have paved the way for the later medieval invocation of a ban to reinforce a special enactment, in order to deter "whosoever should act" in violation of the enactment.

The institution of *ḥerem setam* is attributed in post-geonic literature (R. Judah of Barcelona, R. Solomon b. Adret, R. Isaac b. Sheshet Perfet, R. Simeon b. Ẓemaḥ Duran, and others) to a geonic enactment. Solomon b. Adret writes: "Whosoever is in doubt about a matter may invoke *ḥerem setam*, according to the enactment of the *geonim*, of blessed memory" (*Resp. Rashba* II, §79; and elsewhere quite frequently). But while *ḥerem setam* was undoubtedly a geonic innovation, as implied by a responsum of R. Sherira Gaon (Groner, *Resp. Rav Sherira*, p. 16), the statement that it was instituted by a special enactment (*takkanah*) is inconsistent with its historical development. The evidence emerging from geonic responsa is that the anonymous ban evolved gradually in the geonic academies, as the *geonim* themselves note in some of their responsa. For example: "The courts were accustomed in cases of doubt to impose a *ḥerem* without specification [of the deponent's name]" (*Teshuvot ha-Geonim,* ed. Assaf, 1927, §16); "In general, wherever there is no concrete basis for the claim (*derara de-mamona*), the matter depends on custom" (Groner, *Resp. Rav Sherira*, p. 18).

As stated, the innovation of *ḥerem setam* was a gradual process. Early *geonim* substituted an imprecation (*alah*) for a mandatory oath. Subsequently, some early *geonim* (Rav Natronai and Rav Hilai) began to use the imprecation even where an oath was not required; however, the deponent's name was still specified, as it normally was in an oath, and at this stage the borderline between imprecations invoked in cases where an oath was mandatory and those where it was not was still unclear. Only later, especially in the writings of R. Paltoi and R. Naḥshon, do we find the imprecation applied even when an oath was not mandatory, but without specifying the deponent's name. These *geonim* used the term *shamta setam* or *shamuta setam* ("anonymous ban") for what was later known as *ḥerem setam*. Another term sometimes used was *pitka de-lutata* ("letter of curse").

R. Saadiah Gaon seems to have been the earliest authority to distinguish explicitly between an imprecation substituted for a mandatory oath and one applied even when an oath was not mandatory. He also noted the distinguishing features in the application of these two measures. Where the imprecation took the place of a mandatory oath, the name of the deponent would be included in the imprecation. This imprecation was referred to as *ḥerem* or as *ḥerem ba-shem*. However, where the imprecation was not substituting for a mandatory oath, the name of the deponent was not included, and in such cases the term used was *ḥerem setam*, apparently coined by R. Saadiah himself in recognition of the fact that no name was specified – hence *setam*, meaning roughly "anonymous." Other distinguishing features in the case of an imprecation replacing a mandatory oath were the necessary presence of the deponent, the requirement that he respond "*Amen*," and the holding of a Torah scroll during the ceremony. These features were common when the imprecation was first introduced, but gradually disappeared with the expanding use of *ḥerem setam*.

The indications that R. Saadiah's school should apparently be credited with the above distinction are the following: (1) Only in R. Saadiah's time was a credibility clause inserted in deeds in order to exempt one of the parties from *ḥerem setam*; presumably, had the *ḥerem setam* been practiced before his time, the exemption clause would surely have appeared in various deeds. (2) R. Saadiah was the first *gaon* who, through interpretation of a talmudic passage dealing with a debtor who denies the claim against him (*b. Shevu'ot* 40b), ruled that *ḥerem setam* should be imposed even where *derara demamona* is absent (*Sha'arei Ẓedek* 39b, §17). Such a ruling is unprecedented.

The introduction of *ḥerem setam* was not simply a matter of internal halakhic development. The general environment was the prime catalyst that induced the *geonim* to endow it with a halakhic framework. The reality was shaped by three factors: (1) a first factor was the moral laxity of the times, as indicated by the ease with which people would take false oaths (see *Gezerta). (2) Related to this was the prevalence of oaths in Muslim society, characterized by the almost indiscriminate use of oaths in Muslim courts, with no procedural constraints or rigid rules to limit the applicability of oaths. Indeed, Muslim courts imposed oaths even during the intermediate stage of the judicial procedure, in order to establish the truth of a litigant's arguments or to substantiate a factual argument. The *geonim* introduced the *ḥerem setam* to help counter this laxity. (3) The geonic period witnessed a gradual economic transformation, from a society engaged in agriculture or local commerce to one whose international trade contacts extended over large areas. The new realities placed obstacles in the way of normal judicial procedures and induced the *geonim* to seek solutions for situations where real proof or evidence was lacking. *Ḥerem setam* was an effective instrument to that end. R. Joseph ibn Migash, in a famous responsum (§75), refers to the evolving use of *ḥerem setam* in cases where the defendant could demand imposition of *ḥerem setam* on the plaintiff before taking the oath himself: "Since the imposition of the said *ḥerem* is not legally required, it seems to us that it is a corrective measure and a question of social conduct, once we have understood that most people intend to make false accusations. We therefore see fit to invoke the said *ḥerem* before the oath, in the hope that the plaintiff will withdraw a false claim… And we instituted this [practice] many years ago, when we were in one of the lands of Andalusia, for the reason that we were obliged to do so because of what we saw there of this practice, not in our own abode. And when we were staying with you in Fez we were reminded there that this [practice] is mentioned in a responsum of R. Isaac [Alfasi], our great rabbi of blessed memory, or of one of the *geonim* of blessed memory, and we rejoiced at this. Now this is a corrective measure and a question of social conduct instituted by the court, not a legally required measure."

After R. Saadiah's time, the *geonim* limited the free use of *ḥerem setam*, so that we find Rav Hai Gaon stating, in the name of his ancestors as well, that it should be used only in certain cases: "Know that neither we nor our ancestors are accustomed to permit anyone who comes and says, 'Write me a *pitka de-lutata* and give me permission to ban and to curse people without specifying names.'… But in the case of orphans who bring a plea… they will immediately receive a *pitka de-lutata*" (*Teshuvot ha-Geonim*, *Ḥemdah Genuzah*, §165). At the same time, they did not generally prevent its imposition by litigants if they so desired; it was this rather ambivalent attitude to *ḥerem setam* that gave the measure its force.

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[Gideon Libson (2nd ed.)]

HERESY, belief in ideas contrary to those advocated by religious authorities. Because Judaism has no one official formulation of dogma against which heresy can be defined, it has no clear-cut definition of heresy. A heretic may be distinguished from an apostate in that, although he holds beliefs which are contrary to currently accepted doctrines, he does not renounce his religion and often believes that he represents the true tradition. Since the heretic is still a Jew, various halakhic questions concerning his relationship to the Jewish community arise, such as whether he may offer a sacrifice, be counted in a *minyan*, or have his testimony admitted as evidence in a Jewish court (Ḥul. 13a; Git. 45b; Av. Zar. 32b; Sh. Ar., ḤM 34:22).

The Bible, although it does not have a specific term for heretic, regards as a heretic one who "whores after strange gods." It sets forth procedures to suppress idolatry and prescribes stoning for anyone who introduces idolatry into the community (Deut. 13:7–12).

Heresy in the Talmud and Rabbinic Literature

In talmudic literature a number of terms are used to refer to heretics, *min, *apikoros, *kofer*, and *mumar*, each of which also has other meanings. *Min* is the most common term and the one that appeared originally in the 12th petition of the daily *Amidah. Some identify the talmudic *minim* with the Judeo-Christians, others with unspecified groups who denied rabbinic authority and/or the belief in the coming of the Messiah. There is an early tradition that there were 24 groups of *minim* as early as the destruction of the Second Temple (TJ, Sanh. 10:29c). Among the errors of the *minim*, the Talmud lists denial of God's unity; belief in an independent divinity of evil; the portrayal of God as a cruel jester (Sanh. 38b–39a); and the denial of Israel's chosenness (Sanh. 99a), physical resurrection, and the coming of the Messiah (Sanh. 91a). *Maimonides identified *minut* with atheism, with the denial of God's unity and incorporeality, with the denial of creation *ex nihilo*, and with the belief in a power intermediary between God and man (Yad, Teshuvah 3:7).

The term *apikoros* seems to be derived from the *Epicureans, whose skeptical naturalism denied divine providence, and hence, divine retribution. The sages in accordance with their method of interpretation derived *apikoros* from an Aramaic form of the root *p-k-r-*, "to be free of restraint" (Sanh. 38b). The suggestion is that one who denies divine providence and retribution will feel free not to obey the laws of the Torah. In the Talmud the term *apikoros* refers to the *Sadducees (Kid. 66a); to those who denigrate rabbinic authority even in such seemingly insignificant ways as calling a sage by his first name; and to those who shame neighbors before the sages (Sanh. 99b). Maimonides defined the *apikoros* as one who denies the possibility of prophecy and divine revelation, that Moses was a prophet, or that there is divine providence (Yad, Teshuvah 3:8; cf. *Guide of the Perplexed*, 2:13 (end), and *ibid.*, 3:17 (start), in which Maimonides identifies the *apikoros* with someone who agrees with the opinions of Epicurus).

Kofer may be best translated as "freethinker." In *Sanhedrin* the *kofer* is identified as one who asks needling questions and points out contradictions between biblical texts (Sanh. 39a–b). The term *kofer ba-ikkar* in rabbinic literature refers to one who denies a basic and essential *ikkar* ("dogma"; on the various formulations of dogmas in Judaism see S. Schechter, *Studies in Judaism* (1896), 147–81). Maimonides defines a *kofer ba-Torah* as someone who denies either the divine inspiration of the Torah or the authority of the Oral Law and the rabbis who teach it, or one who maintains that the legislation of the Torah has been superseded (Yad, Teshuvah, 3:8).

Mumar, literally, "one who changes" or "converts", refers to an apostate, i.e., to one who converts, but in the talmudic tradition it sometimes means heretic, especially when it is used to refer to one who rejects only one commandment of the Torah (Hor. 11a). While the *apikoros* seems to be led to his heresy by intellectual uncertainty, the *mumar* seems to be brought to it by his appetites or emotional unbalance (see J.J. Petuchowski, in: HUCA, 30 (1959), 179–90).

Talmudic treatment of the heretic is not uniform but reflects many different situations and differing responses. While some texts tell of a scholar who shared a meal and conversed agreeably with a heretic, others hold that the food, wine, and bread of a heretic are not permissible, that a Torah scroll or *tefillin* written by a heretic must be destroyed, and that one need not endanger his life in order to save the life of a heretic or take medicine prescribed by one (Ḥul. 13a–b; Av. Zar. 26a–b; Tosef. Ḥul 2:20–21).

Causes of Heresy

Heresy derives from many sources: general restlessness (cf. Er. 69b), impatience with authority (cf. Av. Zar. 26b), the agitations of other heretics (cf. Eccl. R. 1:8, no. 3), and predisposition (cf. Ḥag. 16b). Intellectual vanity is frequently cited as a motivation to heresy (based on Num. 15:39, "that ye go not after your own heart").

Assuming that the intellect has only a limited competence, rabbinic Judaism maintained that those who seek theological truth without being guided by revelation often fall into error and heresy (Maim. Yad, Avodah Zarah, 2:3; cf. S.R. Hirsch, *Horeb*, Section 1, 4:18). Rationalist apologetes emphasized the danger of unbound speculation as much as the more traditional sages. The ban issued by Solomon b. Abraham ibn *Adret and others in 1305 against the study of Greek philosophy by the untrained under the age of 50 and by students under the age of 25 referred to a passage from Maimonides' *Guide* in support of its restrictions (Baer, Spain, 1 (1961), 281–305; Adret, *She'elot u-Teshuvot* (1958), 417, 154). Simeon ben Ẓemaḥ

*Duran's insistence that thinkers who go beyond acceptable textual interpretations are in error but are not *ipso facto* heretics represented a novel and remarkable attitude; but he excluded specifically from this category anyone who misinterprets fundamental principles (*Sefer Magen Avot*, 14b).

Persecution of Heretics

The persecution of heretics, when it occurred, was generally justified as a barrier to prevent those who mock the teachings of the Torah and its authoritative teachers from leading others into sin. A ban issued by the community of Venice in 1618 contains typical language:

"They consider all the words of the sages as being without meaning and void, and they call all those who believe in them 'fools who believe everything'… Therefore, when we heard the sound of war against the Lord and His Torah and we saw the flame glowing, we were afraid lest it go forth and set fire to some thorn – a man whose soul is empty and who knows nothing so that he be smitten; and as a consequence, God forbid, the land would be destroyed and laid waste – for this generation is spoiled and all the people listen to whoever favors leniency" (E. Rivkin, *Leon da Modena and the Sakhal* (1952), 14–15).

Rabbinic leaders who opposed actions against heresy did not advocate the concept of intellectual freedom but argued pragmatically that divisiveness must be avoided and that restrictions by which a community will not abide should not be imposed (see Naḥmanides' letter to certain French rabbis concerning their ban on the *Guide, Kovez̩ Teshuvot ha-Rambam*, pt. 3 (1859), 8a–10b).

The concern with heresy reflected a concern with the inner stability of the Jewish community and its relationship to the outside world. Thus, the heretic presented not only a spiritual danger but also a political one. Rabbinic Judaism could not ignore the intellectual attitudes of the outside world, which held the power of life and death over Diaspora communities. The monks of Montpellier gladly burned the "heresies" of Maimonides along with those of Catholic Aristotelians (1230; see *Maimonidean Controversy; and also D.J. Silver, *Maimonidean Criticism and the Maimonidean Controversy 1180–1240* (1965) 152ff.); the Dutch Reformed Church encouraged the Amsterdam Jewish community in its measures against Baruch *Spinoza, whose non-personalist pantheism was also influencing many Christians.

The liturgical petition against *minim* in the *Amidah* of the liturgy was changed to include *malshinim* ("informers"), suggesting at least an intimate association in the Jewish mind between defiance and defamation. Heresy gave birth to schism, and schism was not only unsettling but politically dangerous; many squabbles ended tragically as a result of the intervention of the sovereign power. Early and vigorous action against suspicious ideas was justified by many rabbinic leaders on the grounds that Israel must not be divided. Communities were encouraged to follow the example of the schools of Hillel and Shammai (see *Bet Hillel and Bet Shammai), whose arguments remained academic and did not lead to division within the community. They were also reminded of the dire consequences of the split of the kingdom of David between Jeroboam and Rehoboam.

ḤEREM. Jews never organized a central agency to define heresy and establish procedures to judge and punish heresy. In the medieval period heresy was established by individual rabbis, a *kehillah* ("community"), or a group of *kehillot*, and was combated by means of a **ḥerem*, a ban prohibiting social intercourse and marriage with a heretic and denying him burial rites. Those who taught doctrines considered heretical were threatened with this ban. Questionable books were sometimes banned, but, generally, they were prohibited only to the masses. Although censorship of texts seems not to have been practiced, it should be noted that a certain degree of censorship was imposed by the custom of requiring approbations (**haskamot*) for books.

A ban was valid only within the boundaries of the promulgating community or in the area under the promulgating sage's jurisdiction. Therefore, after the ban was proclaimed by a sage or by a *kehillah*, details of the charge were circulated among well-known scholars with a request for corroboration. Scholars far from the scene of the struggle, being personally uninvolved, could point out the lack of substance in the listed charges and weigh the practical dangers of persecuting an action of heresy against the need to protect the integrity of the community (see Z̩evi Hirsch *Ashkenazi of Altona reacting to the charges against David Nieto of London – 1703, Responsa 11/8). Often one community placed a ban while another refused to do so (see Rivkin, *Leon da Modena and the Kol Sakhal*, 8–9, on the opposite action of Venice and Salonika in the matter of Abraham Farrar). When a theoretically universal ban was pronounced against a specific group, for example, the *Karaites, the absence of a universal authority made it possible for certain communities to overlook the ban, and for its members to live peaceably side by side. The decentralization of religious authority effectively enlarged the range of permissible theological ideas.

The practice of excommunication probably goes back to the disciplines of the *Pharisees, the *Essenes, and the Dead Sea Covenanters (see *Dead Sea Scrolls), who excluded from their fellowship those who violated their rules. For these people, who were bound by oath to eat only special foods and to adhere to special rules of purity, such a ban was a terrible punishment. There is no indication of formal bans for heresy being pronounced against individuals until the Middle Ages.

Individuals, sects, and books were at various times declared heretical. The list includes *Samaritans, Judeo-Christians, *Karaites, *Shabbateans, *Frankists, *Ḥasidim, and liberal branches of modern Judaism; books ranging from Maimonides' *Guide of the Perplexed* to the *Zohar; and such men as Uriel Da *Costa, Baruch Spinoza, and *Shneur Zalman of Lyady.

When Moses *Mendelssohn wrote his *Jerusalem*, he maintained that the community had no legitimate authority over anyone's opinions, an original argument, far-reaching in its consequences and breaking entirely new ground. In the 19th and 20th centuries liberal thinkers have argued that all attempts at restricting ideas are self-defeating and that mistaken notions can be opposed only by gentle reason (see *Rabbinische Gutachten ueber die Vertraeglichkeit der freien Forschung mit dem Rabbineramte*, 1842–43). However, those who adhere to Orthodox Judaism can still find some meaning in the term heresy, though few modern religious authorities are likely to institute anti-heretical proceedings.

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[Daniel Jeremy Silver]

ḤEREV LE-ET (Heb. חֶרֶב לְאֵת), moshav in central Israel, in the Ḥefer Plain, affiliated with Ha-Iḥud ha-Ḥakla'i, founded in 1947 by veterans of the British and Czechoslovak forces in World War II. In the first years of Israel's statehood, new immigrants from European and North African countries joined the settlement. Citrus groves, poultry, flowers, orchards were the moshav's main farm branches. In 1969, its population numbered 239, rising to approximately 360 in the mid-1990s and 721 in 2002 after expansion. The moshav had both religious and secular residents. Ḥerev le-Et, meaning "Sword into Plowshare" (Isa. 2:4), refers to the fact that demobilized soldiers became farmers.

[Efraim Orni / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

°**HERFORD, ROBERT TRAVERS** (1860–1950), English Unitarian theologian who devoted his life to research into the Judaism of the Second Temple and the Talmud, particularly the Pharisees. Travers Herford was a liberal scholar who was free of the theological prejudices of Christian scholars of Judaism and strove to present Pharisaic Judaism in an unprejudiced light. In the Oral Law he discerned a continuation of the spirit of the prophets. What the prophets demanded in vehement speeches, by emphasizing general principles, the rabbis accomplished by logical reasoning and by specifying laws and right conduct.

Herford rejected the notion that the halakhic sages placed the ceremonial act in the center of the Jewish religion: he demonstrates that in talmudic Judaism the intention is primary, but that in the view of the halakhic sages its moral content must be manifested primarily in deeds. "The yoke of the Torah" referred to disparagingly in Christian literature is to the Jew only a source of joy; its purpose is the fulfillment of God's will as it was revealed and embodied in each of the commandments, major or minor. Herford places special emphasis on the great historical function fulfilled by the Scribes and the Pharisees who brought the Torah to the people and established the synagogue as a place of learning and prayer. It popularized Judaism, and its consequent democratization of religion saved Judaism from extinction after the destruction of the Temple. Herford's view of Jewish apocalyptic literature also differs from that of Protestant scholars, who regard it as a continuation of prophecy. The Pharisees, according to Herford, did not produce apocalyptic literature but confined themselves to interpreting the Torah; the apocalyptic works were written by nonconformist groups who did, in fact, preserve the outer shell of prophetic Judaism, but did not preserve its core. That core was preserved by *halakhah*.

The difference between Judaism and Christianity was seen by Herford to rest on the difference between faith in a divinely revealed law, and faith in a supernatural personality capable of legislating laws which are "outside the authority of the Torah." Judaism is an independent entity and has no need of Christianity, while Christianity, according to Herford, needs Judaism's pure faith, which rejects any compromise with paganism. Without the heritage of Judaism, Christianity faces the "danger of assimilation to paganism." Not only is Judaism not a stage which led to Christianity, but rather the contrary: only after Christianity's completion of its activity will "the hidden treasure of the Pharisees be largely accepted." His most important works were *Christianity in Talmud and Midrash* (1903); *Pharisaism, its Aim and its Method* (1912); *What the World Owes to the Pharisees* (1919); *The Pharisees* (1924); *Talmud and Apocrypha: A Comparative Study of the Jewish Ethical Teaching in the Early Centuries* (1933); an edition of *Pirkei Avot* with English translation, introduction, and commentary (1962^{4}); *The Separation of Christianity from Judaism* (1927); and *Judaism in the New Testament Period* (1928).

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[Israel M. Goldman]

HERLANDS, WILLIAM BERNARD (1905–1969), U.S. lawyer and judge. Herlands, who was born in New York City, practiced law in New York with George Z. *Medalie from 1928 to 1931. After serving as assistant U.S. attorney for the Southern District of New York (1931–34), he was appointed assistant corporation counsel by Mayor Fiorello La Guardia in 1934. A year later he became chief trial assistant to N.Y. County special prosecutor Thomas E. Dewey in the latter's campaign against organized crime, handling cases in the restaurant industry and other areas. From 1938 to 1944 Herlands served as New York

City commissioner of investigation. He was particularly vigilant in exposing municipal corruption and investigating the German-American Bund. While in private law practice from 1944 to 1954, Herlands served at various periods in special investigative positions. After being appointed New York State's first commissioner of investigation in 1954, he was named by President Eisenhower to be Federal District Court judge for the Southern District of New York in 1955, a post he held until his death. Herlands, who was extremely active in Jewish affairs, was an honorary president of the Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations of America, and a director of the Jewish Welfare Board.

HERLINGEN, AARON WOLFF (Schreiber) OF GEWITSCH (c. 1700-c. 1760), Austrian scribe, illuminator, one of the most gifted and prolific of the school of Jewish manuscript artists who flourished in Central Europe in the 18th century. His work developed over the years, and he was especially distinguished as a calligrapher. Born probably in Gewitsch, his family came to Moravia following the expulsion of the Jews from Vienna in 1669–70. Herlingen became active in the field of Hebrew manuscript production when he was a young man, and the earliest known manuscript he wrote and decorated, *Seder Birkat ha-Mazon*, is dated 1719–20. Herlingen produced his early manuscripts in Pressburg (today Bratislava), and later he settled in Vienna. His reputation increased quickly and apparently with the help of an assistant he hired, Herlingen carried out many commissions for the Viennese court Jews and other wealthy families, as well as some non-Jewish clients. Herlingen specialized in richly illustrated manuscripts of the Passover *Haggadah* and Grace after Meals (in color and grisaille), though he also produced illuminated manuscripts of other texts, such as the Esther scroll, a *Mohel* book, Book of Psalms, five *Megillot*, and *Perek Shirah*. His illustrations are strongly influenced, like those of other Hebrew manuscript artists of the period, by printed illustrated books (especially the Amsterdam *Haggadah* of 1695 and 1712), but introduced new images and an attractive freshness of approach. In 1736 or earlier he was appointed scribe to the Imperial Library in Vienna. This fact was proudly noted by him on the title pages of many manuscripts he produced, often also in Latin and other languages. His calligraphic work included non-Hebrew manuscripts as well, including the Book of Psalms in Latin.

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[Shalom Sabar (2nd ed.)]

HERLITZ, GEORG (1885–1968), Zionist archivist and author. Born in Oppeln (Opole), in Silesia, Herlitz worked from 1911 to 1916 at the Gesamtarchiv der deutschen Juden (see *Archives) under the guidance of Eugen Taeubler. In 1919 he was appointed the first director of the Central Zionist Archives and headed this institution first in Berlin and from 1933 to 1955 in Jerusalem. He published numerous articles on general Jewish topics and on Zionist questions in *Juedische Rundschau, Haaretz*, and *Ha-Olam*. Herlitz edited the *Juedisches Lexikon* (5 vols., Berlin, 1927–30; the first two with Bruno Kirschner as co-editor), for which he wrote a number of entries on the history of the German Jews and the history of Zionism. He also compiled a Zionist chronological handbook, *Das Jahr des Zionismus* (1949), and wrote an autobiography *Mein Weg nach Jerusalem* (1964). He served for many years as the secretary of the presidium of Zionist Congresses. His daughter ESTHER HERLITZ (1921–) was a senior member of the Israel Foreign Service and was Israel ambassador to Denmark from 1966 to 1971, and a member of Knesset in 1973–81.

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[Michael Heymann]

HERMAN, DAVID (**Nathan-David**; 1876–1937), Yiddish theater producer. Born in Warsaw, Herman had a traditional education, studied dramaturgy in Warsaw, wrote initially in Polish and Hebrew, but turned to Yiddish when he joined the *Bund. He organized a dramatic group in Warsaw in 1903 that produced plays by I.L. *Peretz, *Sholem Aleichem, and Sholem *Asch. In 1908 he organized another group in Vienna that staged plays by David *Pinski, Asch, and Peretz in German. On his return to Poland, where the Russian ban on Yiddish theater had been lifted, Herman worked with the Peretz *Hirschbein troupe and organized with Peretz and A. *Mukdoni a Yiddish drama school in Warsaw. He was also director of the *Vilna Troupe, for which he staged the first production of *An-Ski's "Der Dibuk" (1920), which proved an international success. In 1931 he immigrated to the U.S.

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[Joseph Leftwich / Jerold C. Frakes (2nd ed.)]

HERMAN, JERRY (1933–), U.S. theater composer/lyricist. Jerry (Gerald) Herman was born in New York City to musically inclined parents and learned to play piano at an early age. At 17 he was introduced to Frank *Loesser, who encouraged him to continue composing. Herman went to the University of Miami and after graduation he moved into musical theater. His first effort, *I Feel Wonderful*, a revue consisting of material he had written in college, played Off Broadway. It was the only show his mother, a teacher, was able to see. She died of cancer at 44 and Herman spent the next year seriously depressed. In an attempt to break loose from his grief, Herman produced *Nightcap*, which got enthusiastic reviews in a tiny jazz club and played for two years.

In 1960 Herman was approached by a producer to compose the score for a show about the founding of the State of Israel. It was called *Milk and Honey* and starred Molly *Picon, the star of Yiddish theater. It opened in 1961 and ran for 543 performances on Broadway. Three years later the producer David *Merrick united Herman with Carol Channing for a project that was to become one of the theater's blockbusters, *Hello, Dolly!* The original production ran for 2,844 performances, the longest-running musical for its time. The show swept the Tony Awards, winning ten, a record that was unbroken for 37 years.

Herman went on to compose several more shows, including the smash *Mame,* starring Angela Lansbury; *La Cage aux Folles*; *Mack & Mabel*; and *Dear World.* Many of Herman's show tunes became standards and are presented regularly on television, in film, and on stage and were recorded by many of the world's most notable singers. The title tune from *Hello, Dolly!* is the single most popular song ever to have originated from a Broadway musical score. It was a No. 1 hit for Louis Armstrong in 1964 when it knocked the Beatles off the charts. Another Herman composition, "If He Walked into My Life," from *Mame*, became a pop standard. Other well-known Herman show tunes include "Shalom," "Before the Parade Passes By," "It Only Takes a Moment," "We Need a Little Christmas," "Mame," "I Am What I Am," and "The Best of Times."

Herman had three Broadway musicals run more than 1,500 performances: *Dolly, Mame*, and *La Cage*. His songs were the subject of two popular musicals, *Jerry's Girls* in 1985 and *Showtune* in 2003. His autobiography, *Showtune: A Memoir,* was published in 1996.

[Stewart Kampel (2nd ed.)]

HERMAN, JOSEF (1911–2000), painter. Born in Warsaw, he was the son of a cobbler. He left Poland for Brussels in 1938 and in 1940 escaped to Glasgow. From 1944 to 1953 he lived in the Welsh mining village of Ystradgynlais, and then settled in London. Herman brought from Poland a deep involvement in Jewish life and the Yiddish culture of East European Jewry. His earliest work was based on memories of Poland, deeply Jewish in sentiment and subject. But it was in Wales that he found his true style. He lived with the miners and in the Welshman's intensely religious and warm family life, he found a living substitute for the Jewish *shtetl*. In later years Herman painted in Israel, France, Spain, and Mexico, but his interest in men at work, and his heavy, profound, somber manner, relate directly to his Welsh experience.

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[Charles Samuel Spencer]

HERMAN, OSKAR (1886–1974), Yugoslav painter. Born in Zagreb, until 1933 Herman lived in Munich. In 1941 he returned to Yugoslavia, was deported to the detention camp of Ferramonti in Italy, and in 1943 joined the Yugoslav partisan movement. In 1945, he returned to Zagreb. His painting, rich in color, became introspective, reflecting a balance of conflicting emotions.

HERMANN, GEORG (pen name of **Georg Borchardt**; 1871–1943), German novelist, essayist, and art historian; brother of Ludwig *Borchardt. Born in Berlin, Hermann lived there until 1933, when he immigrated to Holland. After the Nazi invasion of the Netherlands, he was first deported to the Westerbork concentration camp and later to Auschwitz, where he died. Hermann's life and literary work were rooted in the liberal bourgeoisie of Berlin, and his novels have sociological as well as artistic value. He had psychological insight and a gift for minute description of detail, and his poetic realism differed sharply from the naturalist school of writers' emphasis on daily life. Hermann published essays on the fine arts, sketches, and short stories; his most successful works were the novel *Jettchen Gebert* (1906) and its sequel, *Henriette Jacoby* (1908). This work portrays a cultivated Berlin Jewish family in the 1840s in the tradition of the family novels of Theodor Fontane and Thomas Mann. The modern Jewish intellectual, with his many inner complexities, appears in the novel *Die Nacht des Dr. Herzfeld* (1912) and its sequel, *Schnee* (1921). In 1928 Hermann returned to history in *Traenen um Modesta Zamboni*, the scene of which is Potsdam in the reign of Frederick the Great. Hermann considered himself a Jew without being religious. Critical toward both German and Jewish nationalist attitudes, he believed German Jews to be an integral part of the German people without having to neglect the intrinsic value of their particular tradition and experience.

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[Rudolf Kayser / Bjoern Siegel (2nd ed.)]

HERMANN, LEO (1888–1951), Zionist journalist and a founder of the *Keren Hayesod. Born in Landskron, Bohemia, Hermann studied law in Prague where he joined the students' society *Bar Kochba (1906), became one of its leading members, and its chairman in 1908–09. He exercised a great influence on Bohemian Zionism between 1909 and 1913, mainly through his editorship of the Zionist weekly **Selbstwehr* (1910–13). He brought Martin *Buber to Prague, where under Bar Kochba's auspices, he delivered his famous "Three Speeches on Judaism," which laid down a philosophy adopted by Bar Kochba as its own. In 1913 Hermann became secretary of the World Zionist Executive in Berlin and, for a time during World War I, edited *Die Juedische Rundschau*. He remained secretary of the Executive until 1920, when he joined Berthold *Feiwel in organizing the newly created Keren Hayesod. When the fund's headquarters were transferred to Jerusalem in 1926, Hermann moved there and became its general secretary. He wrote *Nathan Birnbaum, sein Werk und seine Wandlung* (1914) and edited and published a collection of ideological essays on Jewish and Zionist topics, *Treue* (1916), and a pamphlet on the language controversy in Ereẓ Israel, *Im Kampf um die hebraeische Sprache* (1914) on behalf of the Zionist Executive. He was also among the initiators and founders of the monthly *Der Jude*, which was edited by Martin *Buber. During his last years, he devoted himself to films about Israel, among which was *Le-Ḥayyim Ḥadashim* ("To a New Life").

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[Oskar K. Rabinowicz]

HERMANUS QUONDAM JUDAEUS (**Herman of Scheda**; c. 1107–1170 or 1198), apostate abbot of Scheda (Westphalia). Born in Cologne, and originally named Judah b. David, he traveled to Mainz on business, and there loaned money to Ekbert, bishop of Muenster, without receiving a pledge. His parents therefore sent him back with his tutor Baruch to collect the pledge. He spent 20 weeks at Ekbert's court visiting monasteries, attending Ekbert's sermons, and taking part in religious disputations. When he returned home, Baruch accused him of undue sympathy toward Christianity. After a few weeks he decided to embrace Christianity. He went to Worms, preaching Christianity to the community there, and kidnapped his seven-year-old step-brother. Around 1128 he was baptized and five years later became a priest in the Premonstratensian Order. His autobiography, *Hermani Opusculum de conversione sua* (1687), describes Jewish life in Germany in the 12th century. However some scholars consider that Herman Quondam Judaeus may not have been identical with Herman of Scheda.

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[Meir Lamed]

HERMANUV MESTEC (Czech **Heřmanův Městec**, Ger. **Hermann Mestetz**), town in Bohemia, Czech Republic. Jews settled in Hermanuv Mestec at the end of the 15th century and 10 families are mentioned in a document of 1570. Statutes of the *ḥevra kaddisha* exist from 1643 and an enlargement of the cemetery is recorded in 1667. In 1686 the local lord invited Jews to settle in houses formerly belonging to Christians who had died of the plague. At the end of the 19th century several Jewish firms made the town a center of shoe manufacturing. Noteworthy rabbis included Moses Simḥah Bumsla (d. 1724) and Moses *Bloch (1855–63). Sixty-three Jewish families lived in Hermanuv Mestec in 1724; by 1826 there were 492 Jews in the town, 721 in 1859, and 434 (9.3% of the total population) in 1880. In 1893 the community numbered 1,085, including the Jews in 40 surrounding villages. The community declined to 87 in 1921 and 54 (1.3%) in 1930. In 1942 the Jews were deported to Auschwitz via Theresienstadt and the synagogue appurtenances sent to the Central Jewish Museum in Prague.

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[Jan Herman]

HERMENEUTICS, the science of biblical interpretation. The rabbis saw the Pentateuch as a unified, divinely communicated text, consistent in all its parts. It was consequently possible to uncover deeper meanings and to provide for a fuller application of its laws by adopting certain principles of interpretation (*middot*; "measures," "norms"). There are three formulations of such principles: the seven rules of *Hillel (Sifra, introd. 1:7; ARN¹ 37, 55; Tosef., Sanh. 7: end); the 13 rules of R. *Ishmael (Sifra, introd. 5); the 32 rules of R. *Eliezer b. Yose ha-Gelili (chiefly aggadic and generally considered to be post-talmudic). The indications are that the rules are earlier than Hillel (who lived in the first century B.C.E.). It is debatable whether (as suggested by the 12th-century Karaite author Judah *Hadassi) any Greek influence can be detected, though terminologically some of the rules have Greek parallels. R. Ishmael's rules are basically an amplification of Hillel's, so that the best method of studying rabbinic hermeneutics is to consider each of R. Ishmael's rules in detail.

The Thirteen Rules of R. Ishmael

(1) *Kal va-ḥomer* (more accurately *kol va-ḥomer*): an argument from the minor premise (*kal*) to the major (*ḥomer*). The Midrash (Gen. R. 92:7) traces its use to the Bible (cf. Gen. 44:8; Ex. 6:12; Num. 12:14 – not explicit but see BK 25a; Deut. 31:27; I Sam. 23:3; Jer. 12:5; Ezek. 15:5; Prov. 11:31; Esth. 9:12). The following two examples may be given: (a) It is stated in Deuteronomy 21:23 that the corpse of a criminal executed by the court must not be left on the gallows overnight, which R. Meir takes to mean that God is distressed by the criminal's death. Hence, R. Meir argues: "If God is troubled at the shedding of the blood of the ungodly, how much more [*kal va-ḥomer*] at the blood of the righteous!" (Sanh. 6:5). (b) "If priests, who are not disqualified for service in the Temple by age, are disqualified by bodily blemishes (Lev. 21:16–21) then levites, who are disqualified by age (Num. 8:24–25), should certainly be disqualified by bodily blemishes" (Ḥul. 24a). Example (a), where the "minor" and "major" are readily apparent, might be termed a simple *kal va-ḥomer*. Example (b) might be termed a complex *kal va-ḥomer*. Here an extraneous element (disqualification by age) has to be adduced to indicate which is the "minor" and which the "major." Symbolically the two types can be represented as SIMPLE: If A has X, then B certainly has X. COMPLEX: If A, which lacks Y, has X, then B, which has Y, certainly has X. Schwarz (see bibliography) erroneously identifies the Aristotelean syllogism with the *kal va-ḥomer*. First, the element of "how much more" is lacking in the syllogism. Second, the syllogism inference concerns genus and species:

> All men are mortal.
> Socrates is a man.
> Therefore Socrates is mortal.

Since Socrates belongs in the class "man" he must share the characteristics of that class. However, in the *kal va-ḥomer* it is not suggested that the "major" belongs in the class of the "minor" but that what is true of the "minor" must be true of the "major" (Kunst, in *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, 10 (1942), 976–91). Not all of the thirteen principles are based on logic as is the *kal va-ḥomer.* Some are purely literary tools, while the *gezerah shavah* is only valid if received through the transmission of a rabbinic tradition.

The principle of *dayyo* ("it is sufficient"), that the conclusion should advance only as far as the premise and not beyond it, is a qualification of the *kal va-ḥomer* (BK 2:5). It must not be argued that if A has x, then B has x + y. The *kal va-ḥomer* suffices only to prove that B has x, and it is to go beyond the evidence to conclude that it also has y. R. Tarfon rejects the *dayyo* principle in certain instances (BK 25a).

(2) *Gezerah shavah*: comparison of similar expressions. It is probable that etymologically the word *gezerah* means "law" – as in Daniel 4:4, 14 – so that *gezerah shavah* would mean a comparison of two similar laws (Beẓah 1:6; see however S. Lieberman, *Hellenism in Jewish Palestine*, 193 ff.); if the same word occurs in two Pentateuchal passages, then the law applying in the one should be applied to the other. Bergman argues (Sinai 71, 1972) that a *gezerah shavah* is the application of the laws in one instance to a second instance to achieve a unified legal principle, irrespective of the differences between the cases, more often than not by finding a word that appears in both instances. For example, the word *be-mo'ado* ("in its appointed time") is used both in regard to the Paschal lamb (Num. 9:2) and to the *tamid*, the daily offering (Num. 28:2), which is offered on the Sabbath as well. Thus it can be inferred that the term *be-mo'ado* includes the Sabbath and hence the Paschal lamb may be offered even on the Sabbath, although work normally forbidden on the Sabbath is entailed (Pes. 66a). The *gezerah shavah*, as may be seen from the above example, was originally a purely logical principle. It is reasonable to suppose that a law clearly stated in one passage can shed light on a similar law in a different passage. In the schools, however, the *gezerah shavah* threatened to become a formal principle whereby a mere similarity in words was sufficient warrant for positing similar laws in the respective passages. To prevent the abuse of this method, rules were laid down to qualify its use. A man cannot advance a *gezerah shavah* independently, but must receive it by tradition from his teachers (Pes. 66a); both passages must be from the Pentateuch (BK 2b); the words of the *gezerah shavah* must not only be similar but also superfluous (*mufneh*, "free") in the context in which they appear, so that it can be argued that they were placed there for the express purpose of the *gezerah shavah* (Shab. 64a). It would appear that the school of R. Akiva disagrees with that of R. Ishmael and does not require *mufneh* (TJ, Yoma 8:3, 45a).

Similar to the *gezerah shavah* but not identical with it are the rules of *hekkesh* ("comparison") and *semukhim* ("juxtaposition"). *Hekkesh* refers to the presence of two laws in the same verse, from which it may be inferred that whatever is true of one is true of the other. For example, "Thou shalt eat no leavened bread with it; seven days shalt thou eat unleavened bread therewith" (Deut. 16:3). Although women are exempt from carrying out positive precepts associated with given time, they are nevertheless obliged to eat unleavened bread on Passover since the verse, by combining the two laws compared the duty to eat unleavened bread with the prohibition against eating leaven, which, being a negative precept, is binding on women (Pes. 43b). *Semukhim* refers to the juxtaposition of two laws in two adjacent verses. For example, "Thou shalt not suffer a sorceress to live; Whosoever lieth with a beast shall be put to death" (Ex. 22:17, 18). Just as one who lies with a beast is put to death by stoning, so, too, a sorceress is put to death by stoning (Ber. 21b). R. Judah, however, rejects the universal application of the *semukhim* rule: "Just because the two statements are juxtaposed, are we to take this one out to be stoned?" (*ibid*). The *semukhim* rule, according to R. Judah, is to be applied only in Deuteronomy (*ibid*).

(3) *Binyan av mi-katuv eḥad* and *binyan av mi-shenei khetuvim*: an inference from a single verse, and an inference from two verses. (A construction – *binyan* – in which the premise acts as a "father" – *av* – to the conclusions drawn from it.) Examples: (a) "He shall pour out the blood thereof and cover it with dust" (Lev. 17:13) – just as the pouring out of the blood (the act of slaughter) is performed with the hand, so must the covering be done with the hand, not with the foot (*hekkesh*). R. Joseph derives from this that no precept may be treated disrespectfully. He observes: "The father of all of them is blood," i.e., from the law that the precept of covering the blood must be carried out in a respectful manner it is learnt that all precepts must be so carried out (Shab. 22a). (b) According to the rabbinic interpretation of Deuteronomy 23:25 f., a farm laborer, when working in the field, may eat of his employer's grapes and standing corn. May he likewise eat of other things growing in the field? This cannot be derived from the case of the vineyard, for the owner of a vineyard is obliged to leave the gleanings to the poor (Lev. 19:10), and it may be that since the owner has this obligation, he also has the other. Nor can it be derived from the case of standing corn, for the owner of standing corn is obliged to give *ḥallah*, the priest's portion of the dough (Num. 15:17–21). Taking the two cases together, however, others can be derived from them. For the decisive factor in the case of the vineyard cannot be the gleanings, since the law of gleanings does not apply to standing corn. Nor can the decisive factor in the case of standing corn be *ḥallah* since *ḥallah* does not apply to a vineyard. The factor common to both vines and standing corn is that they are plants, from which it may be inferred that the law applies to all plants (BM 87b). The peculiarities of each case cannot be decisive since they are different from each other; the common factor is decisive. Symbolically they can be represented as:

Axy…………………a
Bxz…………………a
Cx…………………..a

(According to some commentators a simple analogy of type (a) is not to be reckoned among R. Ishmael's principles, both of which are of type (b), the difference being that in *binyan av mi-katuv eḥad* both the cases from which the induction is made are in the same verse whereas in *binyan av mi-shenei khetuvim* they are in separate verses – *Sefer Keritut* 1:3.)

(4) *Kelal u-ferat*; general and particular. If a law is stated in general terms and followed by particular instances, only those instances are covered by the law. Example: "Ye shall bring an offering of the cattle, even of the herd and the flock" (Lev. 1:2). Even though the term "cattle" normally embraces the "beast" (i.e., non-domesticated cattle), the latter is excluded by the particular limitation, "the herd and the flock" (Sifra, introd. 7).

(5) *Perat u-khelal*: particular and general. If the particular instances are stated first and are followed by the general category, instances other than the particular ones mentioned are included. Example: "If a man deliver unto his neighbor an ass, or an ox, or a sheep, or any beast" (Ex. 22:9) – beasts other than those specifically mentioned are included (Sifra, introd. 8).

(6) *Kelal u-ferat u-khelal i attah dan ella ke-ein ha-perat*: general, particular, general – you may derive only things similar to those specified. Example: "Thou shalt bestow the money for whatsoever thy soul desireth [*kelal*] for oxen, or for sheep, or for wine, or for strong drink [*perat*] or for whatsoever thy soul asketh of thee [*kelal*]" (Deut. 14:26). Other things than those specified may be purchased, but only if they are food or drink like those specified (Sifra, introd. 8).

(7) *Kelal she-hu ẓarikh li-ferat u-ferat she-hu ẓarikh li-khelal*: the general requires the particular and the particular the general. Specification is provided by taking the general and the particular together, each "requiring" the other. An example is, "Sanctify unto Me all the first-born" (i.e., males – Deut. 15:19), "whatsoever openeth the womb" (Ex. 13:2). A first-born male would have been understood as included in the term "all the first-born" even if a female had previously been born to that mother. Hence, the particular limiting expression "whatsoever openeth the womb" is stated. But this term would not have excluded one born after a previous Caesarian birth, hence the general term "all the first-born" (Bek. 19a).

(8) *Davar she-hayah bi-khelal ve-yaẓa min ha-kelal le-lammed lo le-lammed al aẓmo yaẓa ella le-lammed al ha-kelal kullo yaẓa*: if a particular instance of a general rule is singled out for special treatment, whatever is postulated of this instance is to be applied to all the instances embraced by the general rule. For example, "A man, also, or a woman that divineth that by a ghost or a familiar spirit, shall surely be put to death; they shall stone them with stones" (Lev. 20:27). Divination by a ghost or familiar spirit is included in the general rule against witchcraft (Deut. 18:10f.). Since the penalty of stoning is applied to these instances, it may be inferred that the same penalty applies to all the other instances embraced by the general rule (Sanh. 67b).

(9) *Davar she-hayah bi-khelal ve-yaẓa liton to'an eḥad she-hu khe-inyano yaẓa lehakel ve-lo lehaḥmir*: when particular instances of a general rule are treated specifically, in details similar to those included in the general rule, then only the relaxations of the general rule and not its restrictions are to be applied in those instances. For example, the laws of the boil (Lev. 13:18–21) and the burn (Lev. 13:24–28) are treated specifically even though these are particular instances of the general rule regarding plague-spots (Lev. 13:1–17). The general restrictions regarding the law of the second week (Lev. 13:5) and the quick raw flesh (Lev. 13:10) are, therefore, not be applied to them (Sifra 1:2).

(10) *Davar she-hayah bi-khelal ve-yaẓa liton to'an aḥer she-lo khe-inyano yaẓa lehakel-lehaḥmir*: when particular instances of a general rule are treated specifically in details dissimilar from those included in the general rule, then both relaxations and restrictions are to be applied in those instances. For example, the details of the laws of plague in the hair or beard (Lev. 13:29–37) are dissimilar from those in the general rule of plague spots. Hence, both the relaxation regarding the white hair mentioned in the general rule (*ibid*., 13:4) and the restriction of the yellow hair mentioned in the particular instance (*ibid.* 13:30) are to be applied (Sifra 1:3).

(11) *Davar she-hayah bi-khelal ve-yaẓa lidon ba-davar he-ḥadash i attah yakhol lehaḥaziro li-khelalo ad she-yaḥazirennu ha-katuv li-khelalo be-ferush*: when a particular instance of a general rule is singled out for completely fresh treatment, the details of the general rule must not be applied to this instance unless Scripture does so specifically. For example, the guilt offering of the leper requires the placing of the blood on the ear, thumb, and toe (Lev. 14:14). Consequently, the laws of the general guilt offering, such as the sprinkling of the blood on the altar (Lev. 7:2) would not have applied, were it not for Scripture's stating: "For as the sin offering is the priest's, so is the guilt offering" (Lev. 14:13), i.e., that this is like other guilt offerings (Yev. 7a–b).

(12) *Davar ha-lamed me-inyano ve-davar ha-lamed mi-sofo*: the meaning of a passage may be deduced: (a) from its context (*mi-inyano*), (b) from a later reference in the same passage (*mi-sofo*). As an example of (a), "Thou shalt not steal" in the Decalogue (Ex. 20:13) must refer to the capital offense of kidnapping, since the two other offenses mentioned in the same verse, "Thou shalt not murder" and "Thou shalt not commit adultery," are both capital offenses (Mekh., Ba-Ḥodesh, 8, 5). In example of (b), "I put the plague of leprosy in a house of the land of your possession" (Lev. 14:34), refers only to a house built with stones, timber, and mortar, since these materials are mentioned later in verse 45 (Sifra, introd. 1:6).

(13) *Shenei khetuvim ha-makhḥishim zeh et zeh ad she-yavo ha-katuv ha-shelishi ve-yakhri'a beineihem*: two verses contradict one another until a third verse reconciles them. For example, one verse states that God came down to the top of the mountain (Ex. 19:20), another that His voice was heard

from heaven (Deut. 4:36). A third verse (Ex. 20:19) provides the reconciliation. He brought the heavens down to the mount and spoke (Sifra 1:7).

Other Rules

Among other rules found in the literature are *ribbui* ("inclusion") and *mi'ut* ("exclusion"). When found together these terms denote a variation of the *kelal u-ferat* rules (BK 86b; Shev. 26a). The term *ribbui* is also used to denote that the Hebrew particles *af, gam, et* indicate an inclusion or amplification, and the term *mi'ut* to denote that the particles *akh, rak, min* indicate an exclusion or limitation. This method of interpretation, used particularly in the school of R. Akiva, proceeds from the premise that every word of Scripture has significance. For instance, the particle *et* begins the verse "Thou shalt fear the Lord thy God" (Deut. 10:20). This implies that the application of the verse is extended to include reverence for scholars (Pes. 22b). According to Akiva's school the use of the infinitive absolute (which repeats the verb) implies an amplification. An example is "That soul shall utterly be cut off" (Num. 15:31) – "*hikkaret tikkaret*." R. Akiva remarks, "*Hikkaret* in this world, *tikkaret* in the world to come," but R. Ishmael demurs, "The Torah speaks in human language," i.e., the duplication of the verb is according to regular Hebrew usage and therefore carries no additional implication (Sif. Num. 112). The word *kol* ("all") is treated as a *ribbui*. For example, the duty of recalling the Exodus "all [*kol*] the days of thy life" (Deut. 16:3) devolves upon one at night as well as by day (Ber. 1:5).

Dots (*nekuddot*) found over certain letters are interpreted as calling attention to some special feature, e.g., over *va-yishakehu*, ("and he kissed him"; Gen. 33:4), to teach, according to one opinion, that Esau was completely sincere (Gen. R. 78:9). **Gematria* refers to the numerical equivalent of a word, e.g., the name Eliezer, Abraham's servant, has the same numerical value as the number of soldiers (318) Abraham takes out to battle (Gen. 14:14). The Midrash therefore states that Abraham sent only Eliezer into the battle (Gen. R. 43:2). In **notarikon* ("shorthand") the letters of a word represent the initial letters of other words. Some examples are: *nimreẓet* ("grievous"; Kings 2:8) alludes to *no'ef* ("adulterer"), *mo'avi* ("Moabite"), *roẓeaḥ* ("murderer"), *ẓorer* ("enemy"), *to'evah* ("abomination"; Shab. 105a). *Al tikrei* ("do not read… but") is a change of reading to convey a different meaning, e.g., *banayikh* ("thy sons"; Isa. 54:13) is read as *bonayikh* ("thy builders"; Ber. 64a). Where the vocalization differs from the consonantal form of the text, there is a debate as to which is to be followed in order to determine the law (Sanh. 4a). Two general rules found frequently are *ein mukdam u-me'uḥar ba-Torah* ("the Torah does not proceed in chronological sequence"; Pes. 6b) and *ein mikra yoẓe mi-ydei feshuto*, "a Scriptural verse never loses its plain meaning," i.e., regardless of any additional interpretation (Shab. 63a; Yev. 24a).

R. Ishmael and R. Akiva

It is stated (Shev. 26a) that R. Ishmael followed his teacher, R. *Neḥunya b. ha-Kanah, in expounding Scripture according to the rules of *kelal u-ferat* and that R. Akiva followed his teacher, *Nahum of Gimzo, in expounding by the rules of *ribbui* and *mi'ut*. The latter method is more inclusive and less confined by the plain meaning of the text. From this and some of the other examples given above it will be seen that the school of R. Ishmael was more restrictive in its use of hermeneutical principles than that of R. Akiva. Two further points of departure must be noted. According to R. Ishmael a matter itself derived from Scripture by means of one of the hermeneutical principles cannot serve as a premise for the derivation of an additional conclusion through the operation of these principles, whereas according to R. Akiva one may "learn from a matter itself derived from Scripture" (*lamed min ha-lamed*; Zev. 57a). According to R. Ishmael the principles of *kal va-ḥomer* and *binyan av* cannot be implemented toward the imposition of a penalty (*ein oneshim min ha-din*), a view to which R. Akiva takes exception (TJ, Yev. 11:1, 11d; J.N. Epstein, *Prolegomena* (1957) 525–6). Despite the appearance of two distinct approaches to the use of the hermeneutical rules, a closer reading of the talmudic sources reveals that R. Ishmael did employ R. Akiva's rules of *ribbui* and *mi'ut*. At the same time, R. Ishmael is not quoted in talmudic sources as having used each and every one of the thirteen principles. Thus, the *Sifra* might be attributing the thirteen principles to R. Ishmael and his school rather than actually quoting him.

The use of the these hermeneutic principles spread because of the increase in Torah study coupled with the increase in disagreements both among the rabbis and between them and the other Second Temple Jewish sects. The use of the principles also gave greater authority to the link between the Pentateuchal text and the law, especially when the law is not stated outright in the text. Over time, as the Mishnah became an authoritative halakhic text, the application of these rules slowly petered out.

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[Louis Jacobs / David Derovan (2nd ed.)]

HERMER, MANFRED (1915–), South African architect. Born in Volksrust, Transvaal, he practiced in Johannesburg from 1939. Later he became a leading authority in South Africa on the planning and construction of theaters. His major work in that field was the Civic Theater in Johannesburg, forming the nucleus of the complex of buildings for the city's projected Civic Center. Hermer designed other theaters and also country and social clubs, industrial buildings, and several private hospitals and clinics including the Ashkelon hospital in Israel. His most prominent building is probably the Ponte City Apartments, a 54-story block in Johannesburg, built in 1976, which was once the most luxurious in the city. His firm is now known as Manfred Hermer, Grosskopff and Lombart. He later made his home in Canada.

HERMETIC WRITINGS, a collection of religious and philosophical treatises, also known as *Hermetica*, which was traditionally attributed to Hermes Trismegistos (Hermes the thrice-great). The *Hermetica* contain cosmological, ethical, and eschatological discourses, based on the assumption that only selected spirits may achieve bliss and salvation of the soul through gnosis (esoteric knowledge). In addition to this gnostic basis, Platonic and eastern religious elements may be discerned. The *Hermetica*, which are of late origin (4th–11th century C.E.), were produced on Egyptian soil by men of Greek speech and culture, although part was written in Latin. Some Jewish influence may be traced in the *Hermetica*. Some of the accounts of the ascent of the soul through the celestial spheres, given in the hermetic writings, have affinities with similar notions in the literature of the *Merkabah mystics. The writers of Book 1 (the *Poimandres*) and Book 3 knew the Mosaic account of the creation; they were also acquainted with Stoic cosmology, and tried to harmonize the one with the other, to "reconcile" Genesis to science: "When the period was completed … all living creatures, having until then been bisexual, were parted asunder … and so there came to be males and females. And God spoke in holy speech: 'Increase and multiply abundantly, all ye that have been created and made'" (1:18). "And each god (element) by his separate power, put forth that which he was bidden to put forth. And there came forth four-footed beasts and creeping things and fishes and winged birds, and grass and every flowering herb, all having seed in them according to their diverse natures … [and God ordained the] births of men, and bade mankind increase and multiply abundantly …" (3:3). Jewish elements in the doctrines of the *Poimandres* include teachings which originated in Jewish Hellenistic circles closely connected with the school of Philo, such as ideas about the Logos and the *Anthropos*. *Anthropos* in the *Hermetica* is more than the Adam of Genesis, the ancestor of the human race; he is a transcendental being, the personification of humanity, a notion evolved out of a combination of data from Genesis with the Platonic concept of the idea of Man. The rabbis, too, endowed Adam with superhuman qualities: His body filled the world from end to end and he shone with a heavenly radiance (Ḥag. 12a; BB 58a).

Hermes Trismegistos

Hermetic literature, as can be judged from its many translations, exercised some influence even in antiquity, the Slavonic Book of *Enoch possibly reflecting such influence. It left its mark in the Christian world, on the literature of Syrians and Arabs and, in some measure, on early Jewish writings. Hermes Trismegistos was identified in Hellenized Egypt with the Egyptian deity, "thrice-great" Thoth. To him were attributed not only the *Hermetica* proper, but also various writings on astrology, magic, and alchemy. Much hermetic literature existed in Arabic translation in the Middle Ages and it is through this literature that it reached, and sometimes influenced, Jewish thinkers. *Judah Halevi includes Hermes with Asclepius, Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle, among those supposed – by medieval neoplatonic philosophy – to be able to achieve the soul's ascent and its unity with the Active Intellect (*Kuzari*, 1:1). The treatise "Teachings on the Soul," by Pseudo-*Baḥya, appears to be influenced by the *Hermetica*. In his famous letter to Samuel ibn Tibbon, *Maimonides includes the books of Hermes under the rubric of ancient (i.e., pre-Aristotelian) philosophy, the study of which is a waste of time (see A. Marx, in JQR, 25 (1934/35), 380). In the *Guide of the Perplexed* (3:29), Maimonides mentions a work ascribed to Hermes among the compositions which spread the knowledge of idolatry throughout the world. Aside from stray references in books translated from Arabic and despite the huge literature extant in Arabic, there seems to be only one book translated into Hebrew which is ascribed to Hermes. Profiat *Duran, in *Ḥeshev ha-Efod* (quoted by Judah Muscato in his commentary to the *Kuzari*), identifies Hermes with Enoch, and regards him as the originator of the calendar.

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[Solomon Rappaport and Lawrence V. Berman]

°**HERMIPPUS OF SMYRNA** (third century B.C.E.), peripatetic biographer. He is quoted by Josephus (Apion, 1:163–5) as recording in his work on *Pythagoras that the soul of one of the latter's disciples imparted to him certain precepts, notably, to avoid passing a spot where an ass had collapsed, to abstain from thirst-producing water, and to avoid calumny, in the practice of which Pythagoras "was imitating and appropriating the doctrines of the Jews and Thracians." *Origen cites another work of Hermippus in which he states categorically that Pythagoras derived his philosophy from the Jews (so also Antonius Diogenes and Aristobulus). Attempts to connect Greek philosophers with the Orient are common, however (cf., e.g., Megasthenes), and based apparently on romantic speculation.

HERMLIN, STEPHAN (**Rudolph Leder**; 1915–1997), German author. Born in Chemnitz, Germany, the son of East European Jewish immigrants, Hermlin joined a Communist youth organization in 1931. He fled Germany for Palestine in 1936. Disillusioned with Zionism, he left Tel Aviv for France in 1937. After the German invasion he was interned briefly but avoided deportation. In 1943 he escaped to Switzerland. After the war he worked in the American sector of Germany, before leaving for the Soviet sector in 1947. In exile Hermlin had established a reputation as a poet, and during the 1950s he wrote paeans to Stalin in a Socialist Realist mode. He gradually ceased writing poetry, but remained active as a translator, editor, essayist, and author of literary prose. Examples from the latter genre include "Die Zeit der Einsamkeit," which deals with the humiliations of a Jewish woman in Vichy France, "Die Zeit der Gemeinsamkeit," one of the first attempts in literature to depict the uprising in the Warsaw ghetto, and his semi-autobiographical *Abendlicht*. Hermlin also wrote essays about his postwar visits to the ruins of the Warsaw ghetto, and a poem dealing with Auschwitz: "Die Asche von Birkenau."

In part due to his persecution by the Nazis, Hermlin enjoyed a reputation in East Germany as an important cultural and moral authority. In 1996 the journalist Karl Corino determined numerous elements of Hermlin's biography to be exaggerations or outright fictions. In questionnaires, interviews, and his literary work, Hermlin, for example, had implied that his mother, an *Ostjuedin*, was a gentile Englishwoman and that his father, who immigrated to England in 1939, died in a German concentration camp. Hermlin had embellished his own anti-fascist activities, asserting incorrectly that he had been imprisoned in a German concentration camp and that he had fought against Franco in Spain. Hermlin died in Berlin.

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[Michael Brenner (2nd ed.)]

°**HERMOGENES** (date unknown), author of a history of Phrygia in which he tells of the Phrygian Noah, Nannacos. Josephus mentions him (Apion, 1:216) among those historians who wrote of the Jews and testified to their antiquity.

HERMON, MOUNT (Heb. הַר חֶרְמוֹן; in Ps. 89:13 and Song 4:13, called just Hermon), the highest mountain in Israel, range in Lebanon, Syria, and (after the Six-Day War) Israel on the N.W. border of Transjordan. Mt. Hermon dominates its surroundings and its impressive peak is visible from a distance of more than 60 mi. (100 km.). It is called Jebel al-Sheikh ("the chieftain mountain") by the Arabs. In the south Mt. Hermon borders on the edge of the basalt table-land of the Golan; in the west on the valley of the Senir River (Ar. Ḥaṣbānī River and its continuation Wadi al-Taym); in the north on the Beirut-Damascus highway, which passes through the upper valley of the Parpar River (now called Barada River); and in the east on the Damascus tableland. Mt. Hermon may be considered to be an upfaulted block whose anticlinal axis, running northeast-southwest, constitutes the southern continuation of the Anti-Lebanon range. The slopes of the massif turning southeast and east are much steeper than those in the west. The Mt. Hermon block extends over a length of about 28 mi. (45 km.) and is widest in the south – about 15 mi. (25 km.). Tectonics, together with erosional processes, have created secondary depressions, most of which parallel the direction of the axis. Its highest peak, reaching 9,230 ft. (2,814 m.) above sea level, is called Qaṣr ʿAntar, "the fortress of ʿAntar," the Black hero of Arab legend. The top stratum of the Hermon massif is mostly Jurassic limestone, while younger strata (Lower Cretaceous, Cenomanian) have preserved themselves only in the mountain's circumference. Mt. Hermon does not appear to have ever undergone glaciation, so that alpine characteristics (e.g., needle peaks, cirques, arêtes, etc.) are absent. Karstic erosion, on the other hand, has been strongly active in the mountain's limestone, resulting in rough terrain features (crags, boulders, sinkholes, etc.) and in an almost complete absence of soil from much of the area. The latter fact also explains the scantiness of the vegetation cover, in spite of the abundant precipitation (dew, rain, and snow), which attains a maximum of 60 in. (1,500 mm.) per year on the mountain's highest reaches. These waters are quickly absorbed in the porous rocks and reappear in strong karstic and tectonic springs at the foot of the mountain. Its peak is covered with snow for about two-thirds of the year, and its waters feed the headstreams of the Jordan and springs descending eastward into the Damascus basin.

History

In the Bible Mt. Hermon is considered the northern boundary of Transjordan, i.e., of the territory of the Amorite kings conquered by Israel (Deut. 3:8; Josh. 12:1), as well as the extreme limit of the territory of the half-tribe of Manasseh east of the Jordan (Josh. 13:11). The name Hermon is derived from the root *ḥrm* ("sacred"), and like most high mountains it was thought to be the residence of a god, whose name, Baal-Hermon, also served as the name of the mountain itself (Judg. 3:3; I Chron. 5:23). According to Deuteronomy 3:9, Mt. Hermon was called Sirion by the Sidonians (Phoenicians) and Senir by the Amorites. These names, which apparently designate the entire Anti-Lebanon range and not just the Hermon peak, appear in the Egyptian Execration Texts of the 19th century B.C.E., and in Ugaritic literature, in a treaty between the Hittites and Amorites (c. 1350 B.C.E.), in which the two sides swear, inter alia, by the gods of Mt. Shariyanu. When the Assyrian king Shalmaneser III attacked Damascus in 841 B.C.E., the Assyrian army had first to overcome Hazael's forces at Mt. Sa-ni-ru. As late as the 10th century C.E., Arab geographers mention the name Snir. In the Psalms, Mt. Hermon is contrasted with Mt. Lebanon (29:6); the land of the Hermons is mentioned with the land of Jordan (42:7); and Mt. Hermon is also juxtaposed with Mt. Tabor (89:13), which led to the Hill of Moreh being called the "Little Hermon." The Bible praises the dew of Hermon (Ps. 133:3), its lions (Song 4:8), and its cypresses (Ezek. 27:5). In classical times Jerome mentions that a temple stood on the mountain (Onom. 21:13–14). A Greek inscription found near the peak states that only those who "had taken the oath" were allowed to continue on from there. Snow from Mt. Hermon was sent to Tyre. The Targums called it Tur Talga ("Mountain of Snow"; Targ. Onk., Deut. 3:9 and Song 4:8), a name still used by the Arabs, Jebel al-Thalj.

In recent times, most parts of Mt. Hermon have been uninhabited. Only at its foot and on its lowest slopes villages nestle on protected sites, many of them inhabited by minority groups (Druze, Alaouites, etc.) that sought refuge there hundreds of years ago. The larger part of Mt. Hermon, its northwestern and western section, including the highest point of the massif, is in Lebanese territory. The northeastern part belongs to Syria. In the Six-Day War (1967), Israel forces occupied the formerly Syrian southeast corner (including the high "Hermon Shoulder"), where Syrian troops had built an elaborate network of fortifications and from where they had frequently shelled the Ḥuleh Valley settlements. They had also begun to dig a canal there, with the intention of diverting the Jordan sources from Israel. Among the villages that came under Israel jurisdiction on June 10, 1967, are the Druze center Majdal *Shams and the Alaouite (Nusairi) village of Ghajar. After 1967 roads were built on Mt. Hermon, two of which meet near the highest point in Israel hands (7,320 ft., or 2,200 m., above sea level), and a recreation and winter-sports center was constructed on the Hermon. In all, Israel controlled nearly 30 sq. miles (70 sq. km.) of the mountain. From 1969 Arab guerrillas installed themselves on Lebanese territory on the western slopes of Mt. Hermon, from which they repeatedly shelled Israel population centers; the Israel Defense Forces reacted with air attacks and land assaults on these hideouts.

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[Michael Avi-Yonah and Efraim Orni]

HEROD (late first century B.C.E.), son of *Herod the Great and Mariamne, daughter of *Simeon B. Boethus. Implicated in the conspiracy of his half brother *Antipater, against his father (5 B.C.E.), Herod was cut off from his father's will and forfeited his hereditary rights (he stood next to Antipater in the line of succession). Herod the Great divorced Mariamne for concealing the plot and removed her father from the office of high priest. Herod thereafter lived in Caesarea as a private citizen. His wife Herodias, the daughter of *Aristobulus, son of Mariamne the Hasmonean, left him and married his brother Herod *Antipas.

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[Edna Elazary]

HEROD I (73?–4 B.C.E.), king of Judea from 37 B.C.E. until his death. Herod was the second son of the Idumean *Antipater and *Cypros. Nothing is known of his youth, but it is clear that he began the struggle for power early in life. In 47 B.C.E. he was appointed by Antipater governor of Galilee, ruthlessly crushing the revolt against Antipater's rule led by Hezekiah, and having the rebels put to death without trial. The imposition of the death penalty, solely on his own secular authority, led to Herod's arraignment before the *Sanhedrin in Jerusalem; had he been found guilty he would have faced the death penalty. Herod, however, intimidated the judges by appearing before the Sanhedrin with a heavily armed guard. But a member of the Sanhedrin, probably *Shammai, admonished his colleagues, rebuking them for their cowardice, and warned them that any deviation from their legal duties would eventually bring about their own deaths at the hands of the culprit. At this the members of the Sanhedrin resolved to pass sentence. However, *Hyrcanus II interrupted the session and allowed Herod to slip out of the city. Herod escaped to Roman Syria where the Roman governor appointed him governor of Coele Syria at Samaria. By virtue of this appointment Herod was able to return to Jerusalem and threaten his enemies, and his father was barely able to prevent him from entering the city and punishing his judges, including Hyrcanus himself. A record of the clash between Herod and the Sanhedrin seems to have been preserved in the talmudic story (Sanh. 19a) where, however, the incident is ascribed to Alexander *Yannai. After the assassination of Julius Caesar in 44 Herod joined Cassius, who temporarily established his rule in the East. Heavy taxes were imposed upon the inhabitants of Judea and Herod exacted them with great zeal, in order to curry favor with the foreign ruler. In 43 Antipater was killed by the Jew Malichus, seemingly with the connivance of Hyrcanus. Herod and his brother, Phasael, appealed to Cassius

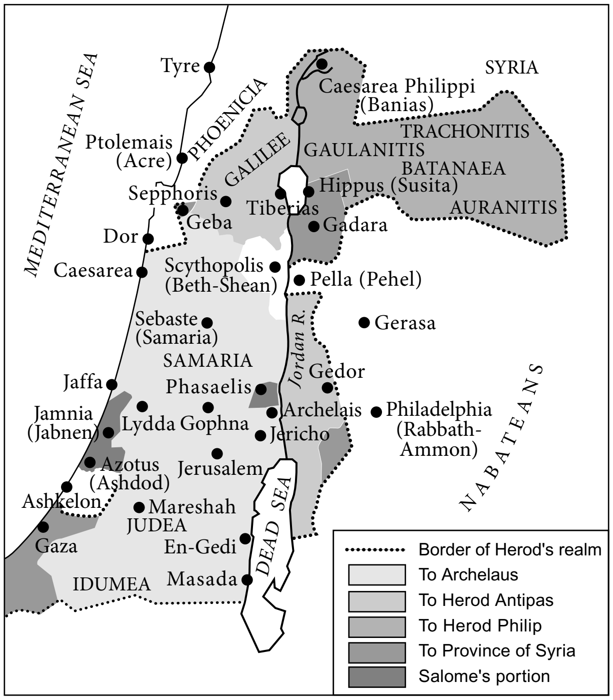
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
Tyre
PHOENICIA
SYRIA
Caesarea Philippi
(Banias)
TRACHONITIS
Ptolemais
(Acre)
GALILEE
GAULANITIS
BATANAEA
Sepphoris
Hippus (Susita)
Tiberias
AURANITIS
Geba
Dor
Gadara
Caesarea
Scythopolis
(Beth-Shean)
Pella (Pehel)
Sebaste
(Samaria)
Gerasa
Jordan R.
SAMARIA
Jaffa
Gedor
Phasaelis
NABATEANS
Jamnia
(Jabnen)
Lydda
Gophna
Archelais
Philadelphia
(Rabbath-
Ammon)
Jericho
Azotus
(Ashdod)
Jerusalem
Ashkelon
Mareshah
JUDEA
DEAD SEA
Gaza
En-Gedi
IDUMEA
Masada
Border of Herod's realm
To Archelaus
To Herod Antipas
To Herod Philip
To Province of Syria
Salome's portion

The division of Herod's kingdom (4 B.C.E. to 6 C.E.). From Y. Aharoni and M. Avi-Yonah, Macmillan Bible Atlas, *Carta, Jerusalem, 1968.*

who had Malichus murdered. That same year Antigonus II, son of Aristobulus II, invaded Galilee but was driven out by Herod. Hyrcanus, afraid of the vengeance of his nephew, now accepted Herod as a savior. At that time Herod became betrothed to *Mariamne. By this betrothal Herod was able to attach himself to the Hasmonean dynasty, but at the expense of bringing trouble to both parties.

Power Through Rome

In 41 Marc Antony arrived in the East. Despite the complaints which Herod's opponents laid before Antony, Herod succeeded in bribing the Roman ruler, who appointed him and his brother Phasael tetrarchs of Judea, apparently under the supervision of Hyrcanus. Herod's opponents, who had already attempted to express their views before Antony, sent another large delegation which the Romans dispersed with much bloodshed. The leaders of the previous delegation, who had been imprisoned by order of Antony, were put to death.

In the year 40, the Parthians invaded Syria. With their assistance Mattathias Antigonus was able to seize the throne of Judea; he captured Jerusalem and besieged Herod, Phasael, and Hyrcanus in the palace of the Hasmoneans in the city. Phasael and Hyrcanus were persuaded to leave their stronghold to negotiate with the Parthian commander, who was in Galilee at the time; Phasael was put in chains by the Parthians and committed suicide (or was killed), while Hyrcanus was taken captive. Herod succeeded in escaping from Jerusalem together with his family. He left the fugitives in *Masada in the care of his brother Joseph, and himself went to Alexandria and from there to Rome to ask Antony for the throne. Since Herod had already proved his loyalty to Rome, the senate, on the advice of Antony and Octavian, proclaimed him king of Judea, and he was promised the assistance of Rome in his attempt to gain the throne. Herod now mobilized an army of mercenaries and attempted to conquer Galilee. This he failed to do, apparently because of the vehement opposition of the inhabitants. He thereupon turned to the coast and to Idumea and then relieved Masada, which had been besieged by Antigonus. The war dragged on for about two years without Herod's being able to defeat Antigonus. When Herod realized that he would not be able to conquer Jerusalem with his own forces, he requested the help of Antony. The Parthian war having ended, Antony was able to send a large army under the command of Sossius. In the spring of 37 B.C.E. the combined armies laid siege to Jerusalem, which held out for five months but fell at the end of the summer. Only with great difficulty was Herod able to prevent the Romans from completely destroying it. Antigonus was captured and later put to death by Antony, prompted, no doubt, by Herod.

When he came to power, Herod took absolute control of the government by putting to death 45 members of the Sanhedrin who supported the Hasmoneans. This destroyed the political power of the Sanhedrin, which seems to have been left with only the authority of a religious court, lacking any real influence in practical legislation. He also made the appointment to the high priesthood dependent on his favor and during his reign dismissed and appointed high priests arbitrarily. Herod was king only by the grace of Rome, which regarded him as a convenient instrument for carrying out its policy in the East. He established his rule on the basis of Roman patronage, and with great diplomatic skill and personal charm succeeded in winning the favor of the constantly changing Roman rulers. Herod was loyal to Antony during the period that he was all-powerful in the East. Herod leased the district of Jericho, which was of great economic importance, from Cleopatra, who had received it together with some maritime cities from Antony. When war broke out between Octavian and Antony, Herod, at the request of Cleopatra, was sent to subdue Malichus, king of the Nabateans. After a heavy defeat at the beginning of the war, Herod defeated the Nabateans near Philadelphia and finally subdued them in 31 B.C.E.

However, with the defeat of Antony at Actium it seemed as if Herod was doomed. But, unperturbed, he immediately abandoned his old friend and endeavored to join the side of the victor. Because of Herod's past friendship with Antony, Octavian ordered him to come to Rhodes to defend himself, but realizing to the full the benefit that Herod could bring Rome in the east he was not only gracious to him but even returned to him those regions which Antony had given to Cleopatra. Later Herod welcomed Octavian at Ptolemais (Acre) with great pomp, provided his army with abundant provisions, and then went to Egypt to congratulate him on the deaths of Antony and Cleopatra. At that meeting Octavian ceded to him the maritime towns and certain towns in Transjordan. During the period of Octavian's rule in Rome

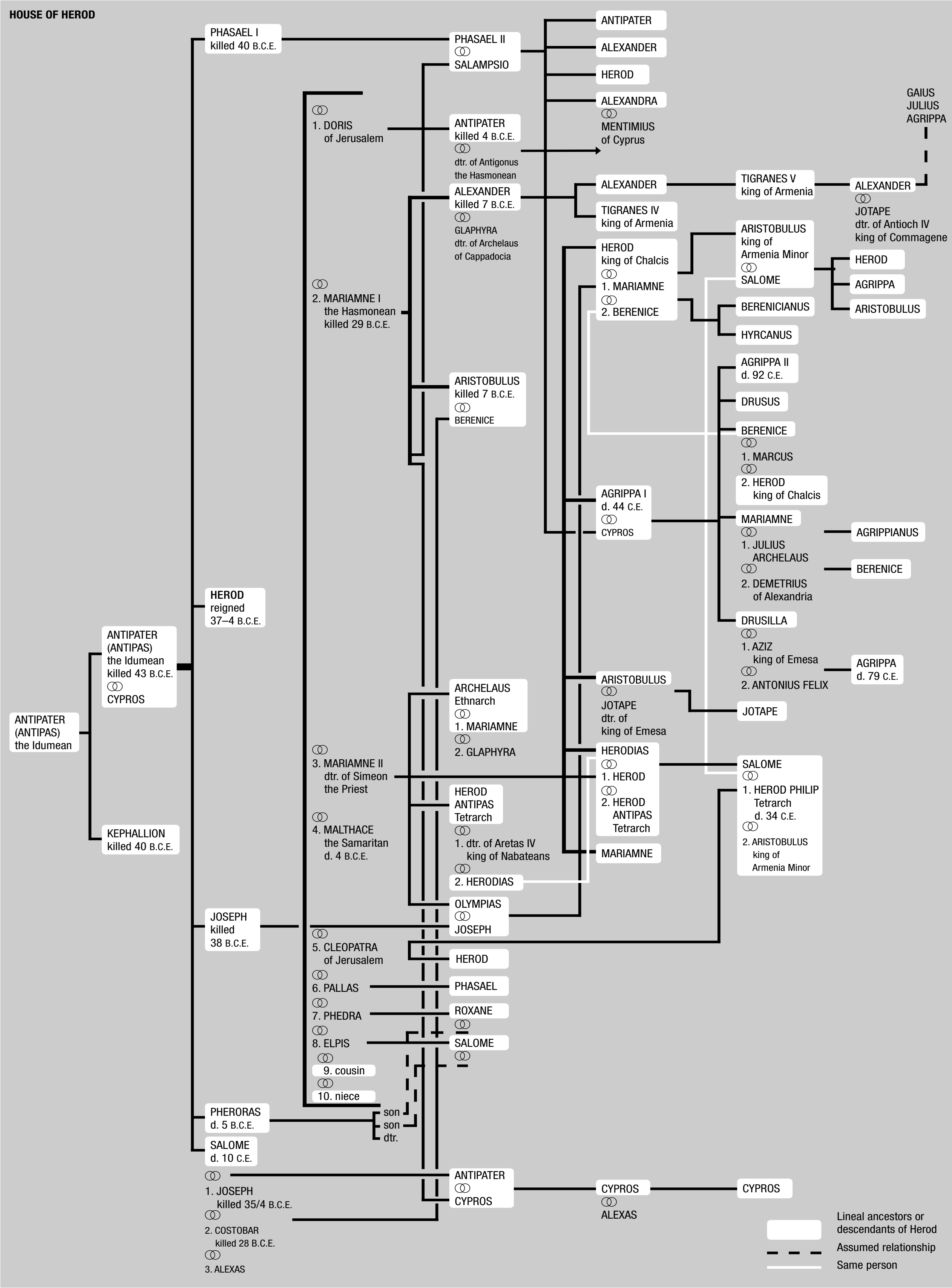

HOUSE OF HEROD

ANTIPATER (ANTIPAS) the Idumean
ANTIPATER (ANTIPAS) the Idumean killed 43 B.C.E. ⚭ CYPROS
KEPHALLION killed 40 B.C.E.
PHASAEL I killed 40 B.C.E.
HEROD reigned 37–4 B.C.E.
JOSEPH killed 38 B.C.E.
PHERORAS d. 5 B.C.E.
son
son
dtr.
SALOME d. 10 C.E.
⚭ 1. JOSEPH killed 35/4 B.C.E.
⚭ 2. COSTOBAR killed 28 B.C.E.
⚭ 3. ALEXAS
⚭ 1. DORIS of Jerusalem
⚭ 2. MARIAMNE I the Hasmonean killed 29 B.C.E.
⚭ 3. MARIAMNE II dtr. of Simeon the Priest
⚭ 4. MALTHACE the Samaritan d. 4 B.C.E.
⚭ 5. CLEOPATRA of Jerusalem
⚭ 6. PALLAS
⚭ 7. PHEDRA
⚭ 8. ELPIS
⚭ 9. cousin
⚭ 10. niece
PHASAEL II ⚭ SALAMPSIO
ANTIPATER killed 4 B.C.E. ⚭ dtr. of Antigonus the Hasmonean
ALEXANDER killed 7 B.C.E. ⚭ GLAPHYRA dtr. of Archelaus of Cappadocia
ARISTOBULUS killed 7 B.C.E. ⚭ BERENICE
ARCHELAUS Ethnarch ⚭ 1. MARIAMNE ⚭ 2. GLAPHYRA
HEROD ANTIPAS Tetrarch ⚭ 1. dtr. of Aretas IV king of Nabateans ⚭ 2. HERODIAS
OLYMPIAS ⚭ JOSEPH
HEROD
PHASAEL
ROXANE ⚭
SALOME ⚭
ANTIPATER ⚭ CYPROS
ANTIPATER
ALEXANDER
HEROD
ALEXANDRA ⚭ MENTIMIUS of Cyprus
ALEXANDER
TIGRANES IV king of Armenia
HEROD king of Chalcis ⚭ 1. MARIAMNE ⚭ 2. BERENICE
AGRIPPA I d. 44 C.E. ⚭ CYPROS
ARISTOBULUS ⚭ JOTAPE dtr. of king of Emesa
HERODIAS ⚭ 1. HEROD ⚭ 2. HEROD ANTIPAS Tetrarch
MARIAMNE
CYPROS ⚭ ALEXAS
TIGRANES V king of Armenia
ARISTOBULUS king of Armenia Minor ⚭ SALOME
BERENICIANUS
HYRCANUS
AGRIPPA II d. 92 C.E.
DRUSUS
BERENICE ⚭ 1. MARCUS ⚭ 2. HEROD king of Chalcis
MARIAMNE ⚭ 1. JULIUS ARCHELAUS ⚭ 2. DEMETRIUS of Alexandria
DRUSILLA ⚭ 1. AZIZ king of Emesa ⚭ 2. ANTONIUS FELIX
JOTAPE
SALOME ⚭ 1. HEROD PHILIP Tetrarch d. 34 C.E. ⚭ 2. ARISTOBULUS king of Armenia Minor
CYPROS
GAIUS JULIUS AGRIPPA
ALEXANDER ⚭ JOTAPE dtr. of Antioch IV king of Commagene
HEROD
AGRIPPA
ARISTOBULUS
AGRIPPIANUS
BERENICE
AGRIPPA d. 79 C.E.
Lineal ancestors or descendants of Herod
Assumed relationship
Same person

(as *Augustus), Herod attained the pinnacle of his power. In 23, Augustus decided that the area of his rule be extended by the addition of territories in northern Transjordan (Trachonitis, Bashan, Auranitis). In 22/21 Herod went to Mitylene to visit Agrippa, Augustus' son-in-law, who was acting as viceroy in the East, and there established extremely cordial relations with him. In 20, Augustus himself came to Syria and met Herod; in consequence of this meeting, districts in the Ḥuleh Valley (Paneas and Ulatha) were transferred to Herod's kingdom. In 19 Herod set sail in the Black Sea at the head of a fleet in order to aid Agrippa in his campaign against the kingdom of Bosphorus.

From this time on Herod was able to unite under his crown the whole of the region previously ruled by the Hasmonean kings (except for some of the cities of *Decapolis), as well as areas beyond those borders in the northeast. His subjects included Jews, Greeks, and many hellenized Syrians. He was regarded as one of the most powerful monarchs in the sphere of Roman patronage in the east, and foreign authors flattered him with the title "the Great." His official status was that of "a king who was an ally and friend of the Roman people" (*rex socius et amicus populi Romani*). This was a personal rather than a hereditary office; he had the right to suggest heirs but confirmation lay with the emperor. Similarly, he possessed no authority to conduct an independent foreign policy and there is no reason to suppose that in his time Judea was exempted from paying tribute to Rome. In internal affairs, however, Rome gave Herod unlimited authority. In this sphere he was given four prerogatives: administrative, judicial, financial, and the authority to maintain his own army; within this framework he did as he pleased, being subject not even to Jewish law. His council, convened in the manner of hellenist kings, had no more than an advisory function. Insofar as Herod did not inherit his governmental institutions from the Hasmonean kings he set up an administration which was highly hellenistic in character. Most of its officials were without doubt hellenizers or even foreigners. In his court too he was attended predominantly by hellenizers, conspicuous among them being Nicholas of Damascus, his chief counselor, who wrote his biography and instructed him in Greek wisdom. His favorites were graded ("the king's familiars," "the king's friends") in the hellenistic manner. His army, too, seems to have been hellenistic in character. Jews constituted only a small portion of it, his main force of professional soldiers being composed of foreign mercenaries from Thrace and Gaul.

The Dynastic Murders

Despite this, there is no doubt that Herod remained an eastern monarch both in his mode of life and in his attitudes. He destroyed, in the full eastern hellenistic tradition, all members of the Hasmonean house, whose existence seemed to him to endanger his position. When he began his reign, after defeating Antigonus and putting him to death, he ignored the right to the high priesthood of the legal heir *Aristobulus, brother of his wife Mariamne, in favor of *Hanamel the Egyptian. This led Alexandra, mother of Mariamne and Aristobulus, to complain to Cleopatra, and Herod was compelled to dismiss Hananel and appoint Aristobulus. However, he kept the young Hasmonean under close surveillance and, on becoming aware of his growing popularity with the people, issued a secret order for him to be put to death. The young Aristobulus was drowned by Herod's courtiers in 36 while in a swimming pool in Jericho. Alexander complained to Antony about the murder and Herod was summoned to defend himself; but once again he was able to save himself by bribing the Roman ruler. Before his departure for Rhodes to present himself before Octavian in 30, Herod had the aged Hyrcanus put to death, so that, should he himself die by order of Octavian, the ex-monarch should not rule in his place. However, these murders created bitter and tragic enmity between Herod and Mariamne. There was in addition a pent-up hatred between the proud Mariamne and Herod's mother Cypros and his sister Salome. In order to keep them apart, before setting out on his journey to Octavian, Herod sent Mariamne and Alexandra to the fortress of Alexandrion and instructed his officers there to do away with Mariamne should he not return. He seems to have done the same before his journey to Antony in 35. Mariamne learned of this and her enmity toward Herod grew. The tension continued after Herod's return from Rhodes. In the end Mariamne was accused by Cypros and Salome of attempting to poison her husband. The king set up a family court accusing Mariamne of adultery and of planning to murder him. She was found guilty and put to death in 29. After her death the king was filled with remorse and suffered from such severe melancholy that he became dangerously ill. Having heard a rumor that he was dying, Alexandra attempted to seize the citadel of Jerusalem but failed, and she too was put to death.

There now remained (apart from her two daughters) only Mariamne's two sons, Alexander and Aristobulus; these were designated to inherit Herod's power and were sent to Rome to be educated. Following the death of Mariamne, Herod contracted many other marriages. But even before his marriage to Mariamne he had married Doris of Jerusalem, who was possibly an Idumean, and who had given birth to his first-born son, Antipater. Of his 10 wives, the names of eight are known. These included Mariamne, daughter of Boethus, a priest from Alexandria, Malthace the Samaritan, and Cleopatra of Jerusalem. He had 15 sons and daughters by these wives.

In 18/17 the two sons of Mariamne returned home and by virtue of their birth and their good looks at once endeared themselves to the people. They openly revealed their resentment at the slaying of their mother as well as their contempt for Herod's family. They quarreled with their father and with his relatives, particularly with his sister Salome and his brother Pheroras, as well as with their half brother Antipater; the last named was brought back to the court by Herod to counterbalance Mariamne's sons and to demonstrate that the succession could fall to another. Eventually Herod did in fact make Antipater heir apparent. For some years the court was full of intrigues, slander, and mutual accusations until finally Herod was forced to bring the matter before Augustus. The latter endeavored to make peace between Herod and his sons and on his initiative a new succession was evolved which, on the death of Herod, would divide the kingdom between the three sons. Antipater, however, attempted to undermine the position of his brothers and eventually the quarrels were renewed. Herod, whose mistrust and cruelty became pathological in his old age, was convinced that Mariamne's sons were plotting his death. Imprisonments, investigations, and tortures against a background of slander and spying turned the court and the whole country into a hotbed of intrigue and made the lives of Mariamne's sons unbearable. Some efforts at reconciliation were made, but in the end Alexander and Aristobulus were brought before Herod's council accused of conspiring to murder the king. Herod obtained permission of Augustus to punish them as he thought fit. The trial court, which included Roman officials, found the king's sons guilty, and ignoring the protests of Nicholas of Damascus, Herod had them put to death (7 B.C.E).

Antipater thus appeared to be the unopposed heir to the throne, although his claim still lacked the endorsement of Augustus. Automatically he began fearing for his position, and Herod's love of his grandchildren, the sons of Alexander and Aristobulus, caused him to feel his position insecure. He began to form plans to rid himself of the king. A gloomy chapter again began of mutual accusations of varying degrees of veracity and of murder plots, in which Pheroras and his wife were also involved. While Antipater was in Rome, having been sent by Herod to obtain the emperor's assent to the succession, his plot against his father was discovered. On returning to Jerusalem he was brought before a family trial in the presence of the Roman governor of Syria. Sentence of death was pronounced which required confirmation by Augustus. Augustus is reported as having commented, "It is better to be Herod's pig than his son," but the sentence was nevertheless confirmed. However, when the sentence was carried out in the year 4, the aged Herod was lying in his palace in Jericho, and died five days later. Herod apparently died of cardio-renal failure, or failure of the heart and kidneys, but he was already suffering from major illnesses from around 7 B.C.E., accompanied by bouts of uncontrollable anger and cruelty. In his last will he divided the kingdom between his sons *Archelaus and Herod *Antipas, the sons of Malthrace, and Philip, son of Cleopatra.

Ereẓ Israel under Herod's Rule

Herod was a courageous soldier and commander, an efficient and energetic administrator, and in particular a talented diplomat whose skill lay in his ability to assess who were the real powers of his period; his personality was such that he knew how to win over all types of people. At the same time he was a man of unlimited ambition whose opportunism was never restricted by ties of friendship or loyalty (the only exception being his loyalty to his brothers); when in power he brooked no opposition but ruled with cruelty, intensified by his suspicion and jealousy. Herod's rule destroyed the internal organization of the Jewish community. In contrast to the Hasmonean kings who had ruled jointly with the popular institutions, Herod abolished all traditional autonomous institutions, and in practice he did away with the authority of the Torah, although this never took official form. He regarded the kingdom as his private property. One of the aims of his policy was to strengthen the foreign element in Ereẓ Israel and to bring the kingdom into the Roman hellenistic cultural orbit, with the aim of securing it as a sure link in the Roman Empire. Apart from political considerations, a personal inclination toward Greek culture was responsible for his policy. He established Greek cultural institutions such as the theater and the hippodrome in Jerusalem, and outside his own country in Syria, Asia Minor, and the islands of the Aegean Sea he erected splendid public buildings, such as aqueducts, theaters, and colonnades. In Greece itself he proffered aid to gymnasiums; his monetary grants helped finance the Olympic games, and earned him the honorary title of life president. In Ereẓ Israel itself he carried out building projects and extensive settlements that undoubtedly benefited the rural population, particularly the landless peasants, and also helped to root out the menace of robber bands. This was true particularly of the areas in Trachonitis where highway robbery was a daily occurrence. On the other hand the establishment of cities of veterans strengthened Greek influence and reinforced the position of the foreign element in the country. Herod built Sebaste on the site of *Samaria and in 27 allocated land to 6,000 of its inhabitants; he established *Caesarea and made it the largest port in the country (22–9); he rebuilt the maritime city of Anthedon and established the cities of Antipatris, Phasaelis, *Geba Parashim, and *Heshbon. To ensure his internal authority and for the protection of the borders, Herod built or rebuilt a number of fortresses: *Antonia in Jerusalem, *Machaerus and *Herodium in Judea, Herodion in Transjordan, Cypros near Jericho, and *Masada. He built palaces for himself in Jerusalem and in other cities.

Scholars are divided in their assessment of the economic condition of the people and state, and of the financial sources of his government. In addition to government and court expenditure Herod also spent money on gifts for his relatives and Roman politicians who were his allies in Rome. At the same time his kingdom paid tax to Rome. Herod's revenues are estimated at 2,000 talents a year, of which 1,300 were produced by the taxes of Judea; it is possible that the remaining 700 talents were drawn from his business undertakings and from the income from his private property. He rented the copper mines of Cyprus from Augustus for 3,000 talents, taking half their output. By expropriating the wealth of his political opponents he acquired many estates in different parts of the country, and apparently inherited much landed wealth from the Hasmonean house. A substantial part of his revenues from these properties, however, came from payments made by the peasants on his estates: "Since he was involved in expenses greater than his means, he was compelled to be harsh to his subjects… since he was unable to mend his evil ways without harming his revenues, he exploited the ill will of the people to enrich himself privately" (Jos., Ant. 16:154–5). He even acted in a completely arbitrary manner toward the Greek cities he founded, although the old Greek cities succeeded in preserving a certain degree of self-government, apparently under the patronage of the emperor.

The foundation of Herod's kingdom and its only real strength was the power of Rome, although Herod possibly found a certain measure of cooperation from the Jewish people. The New Testament (Matt. 22:16; Mark 3:6; 8:15; 12:13) refers to a sect of Herodians whom some think to be identical with the *Boethusians whom the Talmud mentions with disapproval. Herod's dependence on Rome was absolute and his loyalty to it boundless. He imposed on his subjects an oath of loyalty to Augustus, and as the possessor of Roman citizenship which Julius Caesar had bestowed upon his father, Herod added the family name of the Julians to his own name. He erected temples to the emperor in the non-Jewish parts of his kingdom, introduced sports in honor of Augustus, and sent his sons to Rome to be educated. The final manifestation of servitude to Rome and one that the Torah loyalists could never forgive was the placing of the Roman eagle upon the facade of the Temple.

His Relationship with His Jewish Subjects

Despite his willing subjection to Rome and his enthusiasm for Greek culture, Herod had to try to make himself accepted to some extent by the Jews. He even attempted, albeit without success, to win over the Pharisees; when many of them refused to swear an oath of loyalty to the emperor and to himself he did not do more than fine them. He was also careful not to flout the external expressions of the religion of Israel; he refrained from putting images of idols or his own portrait on his coins, and, with the exception of the Roman eagle, from bringing images within the borders of Jewish settlement. He did not permit his sister Salome to marry a Nabatean prince who refused to be circumcised. It should be noted that according to Jewish law Herod was a full Jew (being the grandson of an Edomite proselyte), although he was not qualified to reign. To demonstrate his loyalty to Judaism, he decided to rebuild the Temple. He erected a splendid edifice to take the place of the previous unpretentious building, at the same time extending the boundaries of the Temple mount (see *Temple). About 10,000 commoners and 1,000 priests were occupied for nine years in building it; "Herod's building" is the Temple described in the Mishnah and in the writings of Josephus (parts of its external area have been excavated in recent years). From time to time Herod even showed concern for the needs of the people; in 25 B.C.E., a year of hardship and famine, he purchased grain for the people, distributed clothes, and supplied seed, and on two occasions lightened the burden of taxation. The productive capacity of his country was undoubtedly increased by his settlement projects and by the irrigation works which he constructed around Jericho, and also by his securing the border regions and suppressing banditry; his building projects, too, took the form of extensive public works.

All this, however, was of no avail, and far from winning the hearts of the Jewish people and their sages Herod was regarded by them as the destroyer of their traditional institutions, the murderer of their kings and leaders, and the agent for a foreign government. He incurred the wrath of those loyal to the Torah and pledged to national independence; during his time the foundations were already laid for the spiritual climate which was to give rise to the sect of *Zealots who opposed all foreign rule and any authority except that of the kingdom of heaven. During his reign his opponents did not dare oppose him openly, but when he was dying two Pharisaic scholars, Judah b. *Ẓippori and Mattathias b. Margalit, incited their followers to remove the golden eagle from the facade of the Temple; Herod's last act was to order that the perpetrators of this deed be seized and burned to death. After his death the people's anger was such that it exploded into open rebellion against his heir until the latter lost his throne. The Talmud calls Herod "a slave of the Hasmonean dynasty," and recounts the killing of the Jewish scholars and the murder of the Hasmoneans. It even ascribes the building of the Temple to Herod's wish to atone for slaying the scholars (BB 3a–4a; Ta'an. 23a). In Christian tradition too Herod is remembered as a cruel murderer. Herod was more acceptable to the Jews of the exile than to those of Ereẓ Israel. He intervened on their behalf several times, exerting himself with the Roman authorities. He even succeeded in obtaining the restoration of the privileges of which they had been deprived by the Greek cities of Asia Minor, as well as the right to collect the half shekel for the Temple.

Extant from the time of Herod are his coins, the remains of buildings, and a limited number of inscriptions. The main historical sources are the works of Josephus (the *Antiquities* and the *Wars*). Fragmentary accounts about Herod from the works of Nicholas of Damascus have also been preserved. There is also an allusion to Herod's rule in the apocryphal "Assumption of Moses." Fragments of rabbinic literature involving Herod are aggadic and very limited, possessing little historical value.

The Herodian dynasty retained its rule over Ereẓ Israel, or over parts of it, for three generations. However, its sovereignty was taken from it as soon as Herod died, for Archelaus was only recognized by the emperor as "ethnarch" and his two brothers as "tetrarchs" in their patrimony. The rule of Archelaus and Herod Antipas was discontinued during their lifetime, they themselves being exiled. Herod Philip's nephew Agrippa I, son of Aristobulus the son of Mariamne the Hasmonean, ultimately received Philip's territories from Caligula as a personal favor. He also received the title of king and united under himself the whole area ruled by Herod. His son *Agrippa II inherited the royal title, but he only ruled over certain border regions. Agrippa II died childless and with him and his sister *Berenice, the house of Herod came to an end.

[Shimon Applebaum]

In the Arts

Preeminently in European drama, the figure of Herod was immensely popular from the medieval period onward, inspiring a vast amount of literary treatment. Herod appears in the English Chester, Towneley, and York cycles and also in one of the Digby Plays, *Herod's Killing of the Children* ("Candlemas Day"). Here tradition made him a near-comic figure, an irate, roaring tyrant who descended from the stage to beat onlookers with an inflated bladder. In France, on the other hand, Herod was starkly portrayed as the cruel author of the Massacre of the Innocents, as in a passion play by Arnoul Greban (1420–1471). This was also the case in Germany with Hans Sachs's tragedy *Der Wueterich Herodes* (1552). Other early works on the theme include a German play by Sixtus Birck (1501–1554) and *Marianna* (1565) by the Italian writer Lodovico Dolce (1508–1568). In the 17th century, writers began to endow Herod with more complex human emotions, portraying him as a jealous and passionate husband driven to murder his unfortunate wife, Mariamne, only to fall a prey to hallucinations and remorse. This interpretation won particular favor in England, where a whole series of dramas made their appearance, notably Lady Elizabeth Carew's *Tragedy of Mariam, the Faire Queene of Iewry* (1613); *The True Tragedy of Herod and Antipater: with the Death of Faire Marriam…* (London, 1622) by Gervase Markham and William Sampson; and *Herod and Mariamna* (1673), a five-act verse tragedy by Samuel Pordage. Works of the same period in other languages were *Mariamne* (1610) by the French tragedian Alexandre Hardy; *Herodes infanticida* (Leiden, 1632), a neo-Latin tragedy by Daniel Heinsius; *El mayor monstruo, los zelos* (or *Tetrárca de Jerusalém*, 1635) a more sophisticated treatment by the Spanish dramatist Pedro Calderón de la Barca; *Mariane* (1635) by the Frenchman Tristan L' Hermite: and the melodramatic *La vida de Herodes* (1636) by the Spaniard Tirso de Molina.

The subject continued to attract attention in the 18th century, with plays by Elijah Fenton (*Mariamne*, 1723), who adopted a milder approach; Gaspar Lozano Montesino (*Herodes Ascalonita, y la hermosa Mariana*, 1725?); and *Voltaire, whose *Mariamne* (1725) made the king a criminal adventurer. Literary treatment of the theme became more varied in the 19th century, however, with poems and novels as well as plays: "Herod's Lament for Mariamne" was one of Lord *Byron's *Hebrew Melodies* (1815), and Friedrich Rueckert wrote *Herodes der Grosse* (1884), consisting of two five-act dramas: *Herodes und Mariamne* and *Herodes und seine Soehne*. Perhaps the outstanding dramatic treatment of all time was *Herodes und Mariamne* (1850), a powerful tragedy by Friedrich Hebbel, who made his hero a basically noble man of action. Hebbel's play, said to have been inspired by Byron, was later translated into Hebrew by Jacob *Fichman. It was followed by several treatments by Jewish writers, including Isaac Mayer *Wise's *The Combat of the People; or, Hillel and Herod* (1859), a historical novel; *Hordus* (1887), a Hebrew verse tragedy by Judah Leo *Landau; *Fun Kleyn tsu der Kroyn* (1889), a Yiddish historical novel by Nahum Meir *Schaikewitz; and *Di Letste Khashmonayim oder Kenig Hordus* (1907), a Yiddish drama by Judah Loeb Wohlmann. The late 19th century also saw the appearance of a rare Russian work on the subject, Dimitri Alexandrovich Alexandrov's *Tsar Irod i tsaritsa Mariamna* (1893), a verse tragedy based on the history of I.M. *Jost. By contrast, Henry Solly's *Herod the Great* (1896) tried to refute Josephus and to whitewash its hero. Interest in the subject was maintained in the 20th century, the outstanding work in English being *Herod* (1901), a tragedy in blank verse by Stephen Phillips. This was followed by *Mariamne* (1911), a poem by Thomas Sturge Moore; *Księżniczka żydowska* (1927), a tragedy by the Polish writer Wacław Grubiński; Kaj *Munk's *En idealist* (1928; *Herod the King*, 1947), one of the Danish writer's dramatic sketches of the "strong men" of history; *Hordus u-Miriam* (1935), a Hebrew novel by the Palestinian writer A. Orinovsky; and *Die Doper…* (1937), an Afrikaans drama by the South African writer Jacobus Johannes Müller. Two English plays were *King Herod* (1931) by Mary Danvers Stocks and *Herod and Mariamne* (1938), a drama by Clemence Dane based on Hebbel's German classic. Later works include *Herodes* (1942), a Flemish novel by Ernest Claes; a Dutch play of the same title (1955) by the Jewish writer Abel *Herzberg; and Jacob Weinshal's Hebrew novel *Hordus Aḥi* (1960).

Herod the Great mainly figures in portrayals of the New Testament episode of the Massacre of the Innocents (Matt. 2). The wholly negative account of Herod in the Gospels cast him in the role of folk villain in medieval popular imagination, which regarded the "Holy Innocents" as the first Christian martyrs. Herod's consultation with his priests and magicians and his reception of the Magi are subjects found in medieval art. Herod is shown seated on his throne while a devil whispers evil counsels into his ear. The scene is represented in a fifth-century mosaic at Santa Maria Maggiore, Rome, on 11th-century bronze doors at Hildesheim, in medieval manuscripts, including the 12th-century *Hortus Deliciarum* and the St. Louis Psalter, and in carvings in several medieval cathedrals, including Chartres, Notre Dame (Paris), and St. Moritz, Vienna. The Massacre of the Innocents was a popular subject throughout the Middle Ages and Renaissance. It also occurs in Byzantine ivories, as carvings (notably those at Notre Dame), and in manuscripts. The episode was treated by medieval Italian artists, notably Giotto (c. 1266–1337) in his frescoes in the Arena Chapel, Padua, and Duccio (c. 1255–1319) in his Maestà altarpiece for the cathedral of Siena. Giovanni Pisano (c. 1245–1314) made a bas-relief of the subject (now in the Museo Civico, Pisa). During the Renaissance, it was treated by the German painter Lucas Cranach (1472–1553; Dresden gallery) and by the Flemish painter Pieter Brueghel (c. 1520–1569; Vienna Museum), who made the massacre a snow scene. Tintoretto (1518–1594) was one of the Italian artists who painted the subject (Scuolo di San Rocco, Venice). Herod's massacre was especially popular in the 17th century, when it was treated by Flemish, Dutch, Italian, and French painters, including Rubens (1577–1640; Pinakothek, Munich), Poussin (1594–1665; Petit

Palais, Paris, and the Musée Condé, Chantilly), and Guido Reni (1575–1642; Pinacotheca, Bologna).

Popular Christian tradition relates that Herod suffered a terrible death: Eaten alive by worms, he finally committed suicide with his fruit knife. This was seen as a fitting punishment for the Massacre of the Innocents. The most striking depiction of Herod's agony is a painting by the Italian artist G. Archimboldo (c. 1530–1593) of a head of Herod formed out of interlacements of the little nude bodies of the "Holy Innocents," resembling the swarming of worms. In medieval representations of the subject, Herod is sometimes shown seeking relief in a bath or tub (some early printed *Haggadot* used this bathing scene as an illustration of Pharaoh's cruelty toward the Israelite infants). Other medieval artists portrayed him in the act of suicide, with a demon gathering his soul as it issues from his mouth.

In Music

Musical treatments of Herod were at first extremely dominated by the New Testament portrayal. The "Play of Herod," which had a distinct and important place in the religious drama of medieval Europe, was usually performed on the Feast of the Epiphany (January 6th) and, in its most extended form, included the confrontation with the Magi (or Three Kings from the Orient), the Massacre of the Innocents, and *Rachel's Lament. In most of the extant manuscripts, the musical notation is only fragmentary and the version found at Blois alone contains a complete and decipherable notation of the items sung. In later times, the New Testament Herod motive practically disappeared from the repertoire, except for motets (such as Palestrina's *Hostis Herodes impie*, 1589) and cantatas for the Feast of the Innocents, the subject lending itself too readily to political and religious exploitation. From the middle of the 17th century onward, the baroque "rediscovery" of Josephus brought the story of Herod and Mariamne to the attention of operatic librettists and composers. Two fragments of *Herodes und Mariamne*, an opera by G.F. Telemann (1681–1767), are known. It seems, however, that the unhappy ending of the story prevented its utilization: The ending could not be mitigated, since the New Testament associations obliged librettists to make Herod the blackest of villains. The subject thus became amenable to free stage treatment only in the 19th century, where its musical history begins with a parody: Siegfried August Mahlmann's successful *Herodes vor Bethlehem* (1803), for which the incidental music was written by Jacob Karl Wagner. In 1823, Isaac *Nathan published his setting of Lord Byron's poem about Herod and Mariamne. *Hérode*, a "lyrical and dramatic scene" on Herod and Mariamne, was composed by Georges Boyer (1885), and this was followed by Gabriel Pierné's cantata *Les Enfants de Bethléem* (1907). Hebbel's *Herodes und Mariamne* had meanwhile made its appearance on the stage and incidental music was written for its performances. The best known of such compositions was that by Karol *Rathaus. Michael *Gnessin's *Hebrew Songs* for voice and piano, opus 37 (published in 1930) contains a textless "Song of Mariamne," and is explicitly associated with Hebbel's drama.

[Bathja Bayer]

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HEROD II (d. 48 C.E.), grandson of *Herod the Great and Mariamne the Hasmonean; son of Aristobulus and brother of *Agrippa I; king of Chalcis 41–48 C.E. The emperor Claudius granted Herod the kingdom of *Chalcis in the Lebanon in 41 C.E. In 45 C.E. he and Agrippa were successful in procuring the revocation of an order by the procurator Fadus Cuspius who wanted to assume custody of the vestments of the high priest. After the death of Agrippa in 44 C.E. Herod was given charge of the Temple administration and the treasury and authorized to appoint the high priests. He deposed Elionaeus son of Cantheras, appointing instead Joseph son of Camei, and subsequently Ananias son of Nedebeus. In 50 C.E. Herod's kingdom and the right to appoint the high priests were transferred to his nephew, Agrippa II. Herod's son Aristobulus was king of Lesser Armenia and later of Chalcidice.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Jos., index; Graetz, Hist, 2 (1893), 173, 190, 196ff.; Schuerer, Hist, 193, 195, 221, 238–9; Klausner, Bayit Sheni, 4 (1950^{2}), 290, 302, 304.

[Edna Elazary]

HERODIANS, a sect or party mentioned in the New Testament together with the *Pharisees as opponents of Jesus (Mark 3:6; 12:13; Matt. 22:16). There are differences of opinion as to their identity, and the Church Fathers already put forward various theories all connected in one form or another with the name of *Herod the Great. Some recent scholars identify the Herodians with the "partisans of Herod" mentioned by Josephus (Ant., 14:479), though he mentions them as living at the beginning of Herod's rule in Judea. Others connect the name with Herod *Antipas, the son of Herod. In the absence of clear evidence, these must be regarded as mere conjectures. A. Schalit, who identifies the Herodians with the partisans of Herod, is of the opinion that they were his supporters among the Jewish community who urged the people to accept his sovereignty and spread messianic ideas which they applied to Herod and his rule.

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[Uriel Rappaport]

HERODIAS (first century C.E.), daughter of Aristobulus, the son of *Herod I and *Mariamne the Hasmonean. Herodias was married to Herod, son of Herod I and Mariamne II, to whom she bore a daughter, *Salome. After 31 C.E. Herodias was divorced from her first husband and married his brother, Herod Antipas. The marriage aroused the anger of the people, because Jewish law forbade a man to marry his brother's divorced wife (see Lev. 18:6). John the Baptist, leader of those who opposed the marriage (Mark 6: 17–18; Matt. 14: 34; Luke 3:18–20), was seized by Antipas, who imprisoned him in *Machaerus in Transjordan, and later ordered him to be executed. One cause apparently was his fear of the messianic movement which John had stirred up among the people. There is no historical foundation to the New Testament story according to which John was killed at the request of Salome the young daughter of Herodias by her first marriage after Antipas had undertaken to grant anything she requested as a reward for her dancing at his birthday celebration. After Agrippa I became king (c. 40 C.E.) Herodias persuaded her husband to go to Rome to request a royal crown for himself from Caligula. As a result of Agrippa's slanders, however, Antipas was exiled to Lugdunum (Lyons?) in Gaul and his fortune given to Agrippa, brother of Herodias. Although the emperor permitted Herodias to return to her home, she chose to accompany her husband into exile.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Jos., Ant., 18:240–55; Matt. 14:3 ff.; Mark 6:17 ff.; Luke 3:19 ff.; Klausner, Bayit Sheni, 4 (1950^2), 193 ff.; Schuerer, Hist, index. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** N. Kokkinos, *The Herodian Dynasty: Origins, Role in Society and Eclipse* (1998); S. Gibson, *The Cave of John the Baptist* (2004), 242–44.

[Abraham Schalit]

HERODIUM, Judean fortress built during the Second Temple period, located 60 stadia (c. 7 mi.) S. of Jerusalem near Tekoa. It was built by Herod at the spot where he had routed his pursuers during his flight from Jerusalem to Masada in 40 B.C.E. It was also his burial place and he was interred there with great pomp (Jos., Ant., 17:199; Wars, 1:673). Josephus relates that the fortress was erected on a natural hill which was further heightened by debris heaped on it. A staircase, with 200 marble steps, led to the fortress wall which was a circular structure defended by round towers; within the wall were several palaces. At the foot of the mountain a settlement was established, the water supply for which was brought from Solomon's Pools by means of an aqueduct passing through Naḥal Taḥuna (Ant., 14:360; 15:323–5; Wars, 1:265, 419 ff.; 4:518). Herodium is identified with Jebel Fureidis, an artificial hill 2½ mi. (4 km.) southeast of Bethlehem which looks like a truncated cone from afar. The site was partly excavated by V. Corbo on behalf of the Custodia di Terra Santa in 1962–67. The fortress was found to consist of a double circular curtain wall with four towers (three semicircular and one round). Within the wall was a colonnaded portico with two exedrae, a bath, and a hall with four pillars. Traces of pre-Herodian and post-Herodian occupation were found; the latter included remains (including a synagogue) from the time of the Jewish War (66–70/73), the Bar Kokhba War (132–35), a Roman garrison, and a Byzantine monastery. Herodium also served as the capital of a toparchy (Wars, 3:55; Pliny, *Natural History*, 5:15). During the Jewish War it was one of the last strongholds remaining in Zealot hands and was captured by the Romans (by the governor Lucius Bassus) a short time after the fall of Jerusalem (Wars, 4:555; 7:163). According to documents found in Wadi Murabba'at in the Judean Desert, it served as one of Simeon Bar Kokhba's district headquarters during 132–135 C.E. In Byzantine times a monastery was erected there. Clearance of the site was continued by G. Foerster in 1968–69. More extensive excavations at the foot of Herodium ("lower Herodium") were conducted at the site by E. Netzer in 1970–87 revealing a large pool surrounded by a garden with porticoes, a racecourse, and a rectangular hall built of ashlars as well as additional remains from the Byzantine period, notably the remains of churches.

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[Michael Avi-Yonah / Shimon Gibson (2nd ed.)]

°HERODOTUS (fifth century B.C.E.), Greek historian. He notes that the Phoenicians and the "Syrians of Palestine," have, on their own testimony, learned the practice of *circumcision from the Egyptians (*Historiae*, 2:104; cf. Jos., Ant., 8:262; Apion, 1:169). Herodotus mentions that these Syrians and Phoenicians furnished and manned 300 warships for the Persian navy (7:89). As Herodotus does not use the name *Ioudaioi* ("Judeans"), it is uncertain if the "Syrians of Palestine" are Jews or possibly Philistines who, although originally uncircumcised (Judg. 14:3), later adopted that rite from the Egyptians.

HEROD PHILIP I, tetrarch 4 B.C.E.–34 C.E.; son of *Herod the Great and Cleopatra of Jerusalem. Herod Philip was educated in Rome with his half brother *Archelaus. The portion of Herod's will that appointed Herod Philip tetrarch of Batanaea, Trachonitis, Auranitis, and the east shore of the Sea of Galilee was confirmed by Augustus as far as is known. But the actual extent of his territory seems to have been even larger. A peace-loving man, a good administrator, and a just ruler, Herod Philip founded the city Caesarea Philippi at Paneas (*Banias) and the sources of the Jordan. A very large building complex, perhaps the palace of Herod Philip, comprising underground vaulted chambers, halls, and courts, dating from the first century C.E., has recently been excavated at Banias. Another city founded by him was Julias, named after Augustus' daughter Julia, on the site of the village of *Bethsaida, on the north of the Sea of Galilee. Herod Philip, who was considered a friend of the Romans, struck the first Jewish coins depicting Augustus and Tiberius. He was married to his niece Salome, granddaughter of Herod and Mariamne II, and died childless. After his death, his tetrarchy was incorporated into the province of Syria, but in 37 C.E. it was given to Agrippa *I.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Jos., index; Schuerer, Hist, 151, 156, 169; A.H.M. Jones, *The Herods of Judaea* (1938), index, s.v. Philip, son of Herod; Klausner, Bayit Sheni, 4 (1950^2), 188–9. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** N. Kokkinos, *The Herodian Dynasty: Origins, Role in Society and Eclipse* (1998); V. Tzaferis, "Banias, la Ville de Pan," in: *Le Monde de la Bible* 64 (1990), 50–53; J.F. Wilson, *Banias: The Lost City of Pan* (2004).

[Edna Elazary / Shimon Gibson (2nd ed.)]

HERRERA, ABRAHAM KOHEN DE (**Alonso Nunez De**; **Abraham Irira**; c. 1570?–1635 or 1639), philosopher of religion and kabbalist. Herrera, whose place of birth is unknown, was descended from a noble Marrano family. The biographical accounts of *Graetz and others should be corrected in accordance with Herrera's letter to Lord Essex, published in *Sources inédites de l'histoire du Maroc* (1st series, *Angleterre*, vol. 2). According to this letter, Herrera and his family were the subjects of the duke of Tuscany and lived at Florence (later at Venice). According to Barbosa Machado, Rodriguez de Castro, and Antonio Ribeiro dos Santos, Herrera (who was also called Ferreira) was born in Lisbon. From Daniel Levi de *Barrios' account, which claims that the Spanish general Gonzalvo de Cordova, conqueror of Naples, was among Herrera's ancestors, it is to be understood that his family immigrated to Portugal or (later perhaps) to Italy. Herrera went from Florence to Morocco where his uncle, Judah de Marchena, acted as trading agent of Sultan Moulay Aḥmad al-Manṣur of Morocco. During the English conquest of Cadiz, where Herrera was staying on the sultan's orders, he was captured and taken to London. He was freed before 1600, after a diplomatic exchange between the Moroccan sultan and Queen Elizabeth of England. At the end of the 1590s it seems that Herrera was living as a Jew at Ragusa. There, according to his testimony, he studied Isaac *Luria's Kabbalah under the guidance of Israel *Sarug. It appears that he went to Holland after this period and was converted to Judaism. Little is known about Herrera's life in Amsterdam. *Morteira and Isaac *Aboab studied his opinions and teachings and it is certain that these strongly influenced the spiritual life of the Amsterdam community. The esteem in which he was held is shown, among other things, by his "Approbation" to *Manasseh Ben Israel's *Conciliador* (of Sept. 6, 1632). According to J.N. Jacobsen Jensen (*Reizigers te Amsterdam* (1919), p. 25), Herrera took part in the disputation with the Christian theologian and Hebrew scholar Hugh *Broughton, but this is unlikely (cf. L. Hirschel, in: *De Vrijdag-Avond* 6 (1929), p. 119).

The following works by Herrera, in Spanish, are known: (1) *Puerta del Cielo*, expounding kabbalistic doctrine about God and the cosmos. (2) *Casa de Dios*, which deals mainly with theories about angels and pneumatology. Both works remained unpublished in the original (manuscripts are to be found in the library Eẓ Ḥayyim at Amsterdam and in the Royal Library of Holland), but were translated into Hebrew by Isaac *Aboab da Fonseca and published under the title *Sha'ar ha-Shamayim* (Amsterdam, 1655) and *Beit Elohim* (Amsterdam, 1655). The first appeared also with an introduction by Israel *Jaffe (Warsaw,1864; the translation differs considerably from the original). The works were translated, in an abridged form, from Hebrew into Latin and included in the famous anthology *Cabbala Denudata* (Sulzbach, 1677). (3) A Spanish treatise on logic, *Epitome y compendio dela logica o dialectica*, together with a glossary of philosophic and theological terms (*Libro de Diffinitiones*); the work was published in the original (probably in Amsterdam, when Herrera was converted to Judaism).

Herrera was the first to undertake a systematic philosophical interpretation of kabbalistic doctrines. He constantly attempted to prove that the theories of the Kabbalah were in accord with the ideas of the neoplatonist school, particularly in the form which these were given by the Florentine Academy, by Marsilio Ficino, and later Francisco Patricius. This interpretation draws on comprehensive knowledge of the whole of philosophical literature. Herrera develops his conception of God by depending on the doctrine of contingency (God as the only Necessary Being) which prevailed among the Jewish philosophers of the Middle Ages. At the same time, he accepts the utter indefinability of God's Being, which he understands at times in the manner of the doctrine of the "negative" attributes, but at times in the manner of the "*coincidentia oppositorum*" (the presence in God of opposite qualities at one time). The oneness and individuality (*ishiyyut*) of the Divine Being are reasoned by Herrera, particularly with reference to the potentiality of a concrete, individualized being (*Sha'ar ha-Shamayim* fol. 5). Herrera links his conception with the kabbalistic conceptions of God by using the concept of the infinite expansion (*hitpashetut*) of the Divine Being and through the use of the metaphor of light. Herrera diminishes the pantheistic character of these conceptions to the point that the comprehension of the Universe of God, Who enfolds in Himself, in an infinitely superior manner, all creation, does not mean its identification with the empiric totality of the world. God is thus conceived as the infinitely perfect and the absolute good. His explanation of the kabbalistic doctrine of *Adam Kadmon ("Primordial Man") is particularly interesting. Herrera adopted the neoplatonic thesis that only a simple being can emerge out of the absolute simplicity of God, and rejected the modifications (the doctrine of the spheres and their spirits) brought by the Arab and Jewish Peripatetics. He set up a specific correlation between God (*Ein Sof*) and the realm of *Adam Kadmon*, as the correlation between *principium* and *primum principium* ("First Cause" and "First Effect"). This relationship is to be understood in the sense of a particular Logos doctrine. Thus, *Adam Kadmon* is defined as the "highest thought," "the simple intelligence," and so on. This perfect being, the prototype of all creation, serves as the means of God's activity and has great similarity with the splendor of God. However, unlike God, it is finite (fol. 17a). The kabbalistic theory of God's willed "withdrawal" (*ẓimẓum*) is developed by Herrera in connection with the explanation of the theory of the "temporal" creation of the world, out of a free decision of God. Herrera's writings (in Latin translation) were considered by many to be the philosophical exposition of the Jewish Kabbalah. Because Johann Georg Wachter's *Der Spinozismus in Judentum* (1699) defended the theory of *Spinoza's pantheism and its dependence on Herrera, the latter's teachings were constantly referred to during the recurring controversies concerning pantheism in the 18th century. Herrera is quoted by Leibniz (cf. *Réfutation inédite de Spinoza par Leibniz*, ed. Foucher de Carell (1854), 17). Herrera's doctrines were also often discussed and exercised a certain influence at the beginning of the 19th century on works dealing with the history of philosophy.

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[Jacob Gordin]

HERRERA DE PISUEGRA, town in N. Castile, Spain. Although the first information about a community there dates from the 15th century, it is known that there were *Conversos living in Herrera after the persecutions of 1391. In the 15th century many Jews and Conversos lived there. The annual tax paid jointly by the communities of Herrera and nearby Osorno amounted to 3,000 maravedis in 1474 and 1482. The tax levied on the community during the war with Granada was raised to 35,000 maravedis in 1491. The dossiers of Conversos from Herrera sentenced by the Inquisition provide a diversified picture of a Jewish community after it had become a community of Conversos. Most of them were tried as followers of Inés of Herrera (known as the Maid of Herrera), the daughter of a cobbler, who had visions concerning the fate of the Conversos and the place they would be allotted in Heaven because of the sufferings they had undergone. Inés was 12 years old when she appeared as prophetess in 1498–1500. Her prophecies promised imminent deliverance with the advent of the Messiah who would lead the Conversos to the Promised Land. Over 100 of her followers – most of them women – were burned at two autos-da-fé in Toledo in February 1501. From the Inquisitorial files we know about the extensive and intensive crypto-Jewish life led by the Conversos in Herrera and its surroundings. According to the files, most couples seemed to have practiced Judaism together. Very often their children, too, were found guilty of Jewish practices. The Converso community was well organized and solidarity characterized the relations between its members. Most of the Conversos in Herrera began to practice Judaism in the middle of the 15th century. Many of the Conversos were initiated into their Jewish practices by their parents. Some studied Hebrew. Sabbath observance was the most widespread practice. They tried to keep track of the Jewish calendar so that they would be able to celebrate the festivals. The Conversos in Herrera gathered in the homes of some of the leading members for prayer. Circumcision was also practiced in some families. From the Inquisitorial files it is clear that women were active in fulfilling certain commandments, such as *hallah, kashrut* and ritual immersion. Until the expulsion, the Conversos obtained kosher food from their Jewish neighbors.

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[Haim Beinart]

HERRMANN, BERNARD (1911–1975), U.S. composer and conductor. Born in New York City, Herrmann studied at New York University and the Juilliard School of Music with Percy Grainger, Philip James, and Bernard Wagenaar. He composed music for radio, and became one of the world's most famous composers of film scores (40 scores between 1941 and 1966), notably for Orson Welles (*Citizen Kane* and *The Magnificent Ambersons*) and Alfred Hitchcock, including *Psycho*, in which he displayed new sensitivity and dramatic understanding of the medium. His other works include *Moby Dick* (1937), a dramatic cantata for male chorus, soloists, speakers, and large orchestra; the operas *Wuthering Heights* (1951), *A Christmas Carol* (1954), and *A Child is Born* (1955); a musical, *The King of Schnorrers* (1970); many orchestral works; and a string quartet, *Echoes*. As a conductor, Herrmann took special interest in little-known works (his championship of Charles Ives is noteworthy in this respect) and made many recordings. He spent the last 10 years of his life in England, continuing conducting and composing.

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[Max Loppert / Israela Stein (2nd ed.)]

HERRMANN, HUGO (1887–1940), Zionist author, editor, and propagandist. Born in Maehrisch-Truebau (Moravska Trebova), Moravia, Herrmann attended the German University in Prague and became a teacher. He also was a member of the editorial staff of *Selbstwehr*, the Prague Zionist weekly; his cousin Leo *Hermann was another member of the staff. In 1913–14 he was editor in chief of *Juedische Rundschau*, the central organ of the Zionist Organization in Germany. He served in the army in World War I and after his discharge became editor of the *Juedisches Volksblatt* in Maehrisch-Ostrau (Moravska Ostrava), a post he retained from 1919 to 1922. He also organized the work of the *Keren Hayesod in Czechoslovakia and edited the newspaper published at the Zionist Congresses. Eventually he became one of the chief propagandists of the Keren Hayesod and traveled extensively on behalf of the fund. In 1934 he settled in Jerusalem.

Herrmann was one of the founders of Bar Kochba, the Jewish students' organization in Prague and engaged in literary activities on Jewish and Zionist subjects for most of his life. His publications include books on his travels in Ereẓ Israel, on the Arab question, a children's book on Jewish holidays, a book on the geography of Ereẓ Israel (published in several editions), etc. Shortly before his death he published a part of his memoirs.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Bergman, in: BLBI, 7 (1964), 253–62; F. Weltsch (ed.), *Prag vi-Yrushalayim* (n.d.), 125–42.

[Getzel Kressel]

HERSCH, JEANNE (1910–2000), Swiss philosopher. The daughter of the Bundist Pesach Liebman *Hersch, who was a professor of statistics at the University of Geneva from 1921, she studied philosophy in her home city, then in Heidelberg, where she met Karl Jaspers, and in Freiburg. She belonged to a group of Jewish students influenced by Martin Heidegger, as were Hannah Arendt and Emmanuel Levinas. But in 1933, witnessing the negative role Heidegger played as rector of the university during the rise of Nazism, she immediately left Freiburg. Between 1956 and 1965 she was a professor of systematic philosophy in Geneva. Between 1966 and 1968 she presided over the philosophy section of UNESCO in Paris. A long time Social Democrat, she distanced herself from the party in 1992 when it declared the use of drugs legal. As an "intellectuelle engagée" she fought for human rights and criticized the student movement of 1968 for not having distanced itself sufficiently from Soviet Communism. Her philosophy was also grounded in Jewish ethics. She translated the work of Karl Jaspers into French. Hersch was a highly esteemed philosopher in Switzerland.

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[Uri Kaufmann (2nd ed.)]

HERSCH, PESACH LIEBMAN (pseudonyms: **P. Liebman**; **P. Lemansky**; "**Academicus**"; 1882–1955), statistician and demographer, Bundist leader, and publicist. Born in Lithuania, Hersch moved to Warsaw when young and was active for some time in Zionist youth circles. In 1904, when studying at Warsaw University, he took part in the students' strike and was put under police supervision. He subsequently went to Geneva, where he spent most of his life. In 1909 he was appointed instructor in demography and statistics at Geneva University, becoming professor after World War I and gaining an international reputation. From 1905 Hersch was associated with the *Bund. He contributed to the Yiddish, Polish, and Russian press as a writer and editor, dealing with social and political issues, in particular emigration and problems of Jewish nationalism. Hersch was a member of the central bureau of the Bund's organization abroad. During 1912–13 he was in St. Petersburg, and wrote a polemic against Lenin concerning national autonomy. In 1915 Hersch represented the Bund at the international Socialist conference at Zimmerwald. After the war he contributed to the Bundist organ *Folkstsaytung*, published in Warsaw. He was also active in *YIVO and contributed to its publications. During World War II Hersch served as a representative of the American "Jewish Workers' Committee," and was active on behalf of the Jews in the Nazi-occupied countries and in facilitating the admission of Jewish refugees to Switzerland. He helped to establish centers of *ORT and *OSE in Geneva. After the war Hersch undertook manifold activities on behalf of the Bund and served as its representative at the Socialist International. The experience of the Holocaust and concern for the continuation of Jewish existence led Hersch to advocate a revision of Bund ideology. Although opposed to Zionism, as early as 1927 he had pointed out the importance of the deep emotional historical attachment of the Jewish people to Ereẓ Israel, which he visited in 1947 (where he also broadcast in Hebrew). Hersch appreciated the socialist achievements of the Histadrut in its various sectors of activity. He saw the establishment of the State of Israel as a major bulwark against assimilation and a factor for strengthening the national consciousness of the Jews throughout the world. Hersch published a collection of his articles on contemporary issues in *Oyf der Grenets fun Isaytn* (1952). In the field of scholarship Hersch already became known through his dissertation *Le Juif errant d'aujourd'hui* (1913), which was rewritten in Yiddish as *Di Yidishe Emigratsye* (1914). He subsequently published numerous studies in various languages, mainly French. In English these include "Jewish Migrations during the Last Hundred Years," in: *The Jewish People, Past and Present* (1 (1946), 407–30); "Jewish Population Trend in Europe," and "Jewish Population in Palestine," *ibid.* (2 (1948), 1–25, 40–50); and "Delinquency among Jews," in: *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology* (27 (1936), 515–38). A member of many learned societies, in 1954 Hersch served as chairman of the United Nations International Conference for Demography and Statistics in Rome.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: LNYL, 3 (1960), 220–6 (includes bibliography); J.S. Hertz (ed.), *Doyres Bundistn*, 2 (1956), 32–40.

[Moshe Mishkinsky]

HERSCHBERG, ABRAHAM SAMUEL (1858–1943), Hebrew scholar and writer. Herschberg, who was born in Kolno, near Lomza, Poland, became a textile manufacturer in Bialystok. There he was associated with S. Mohilever in the Ḥibbat Zion movement. In 1899–1900 he went to Ereẓ Israel with the intention of settling there. He described his impressions in *Mishpat ha-Yishuv he-Ḥadash be-Ereẓ Yisrael* (1901), in which he criticized Rothschild's officials, and in "*Be-Ereẓ ha-Mizraḥ*" (in *Ha-Zeman*, 1910). Herschberg also wrote articles about the state of the country's trade and commerce (in *Ha-Ẓefirah*, 1903–04); sketches on the early Ḥovevei Zion (in Sokolow's *Ha-Me'assef*, 1903); brochures on the development of modern Hebrew (1909) and on the Sephardim in Ereẓ Israel (*Ha-Shilo'aḥ*, 1911); studies of socio-economic life in the talmudic period, including *Ḥayyei ha-Tarbut be-Yisrael* (1924); articles on proselytism and the unity of race and religion among Jews (*Ha-Tekufah*, 12–13, 1922); and a two-volume history of Bialystok Jewry, *Pinkas Bialystok* (Yiddish, 1949–50). He translated into Hebrew R. Kittel's *Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* (1911) and J. Eschelbacher's *Judentum und das Wesen des Christentums* (1912). From 1913 to 1914 he edited the Yiddish daily *Bialistoker*. He was murdered by the Nazis in the Bialystok ghetto.

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HERSCHER, URI DAVID (1941–), U.S. rabbi, professor, founder and chief executive of the Skirball Cultural Center in Los Angeles. Born in Tel Aviv to parents who fled Germany in the mid-1930s, Herscher's childhood home was shadowed by the annihilation of his extended family in the Nazi scourge. His early youth witnessed the privations of the British Mandate period, relieved by summers in a kibbutz with an aunt and uncle. Religion was not part of his upbringing; the idealism of the infant Jewish state and the communitarian ethos of the kibbutz shaped his formative years. In 1954, he immigrated with his parents and brother to the U.S., joining relatives in San José, California. Speaking no English upon his arrival, he nonetheless thrived in his new home, befriended by neighbors, teachers, and classmates, few of whom were Jews. The hospitable welcome he and his family received was a decisive event in his life, defining his conviction that America was good to and for the Jews.

At the University of California at Berkeley in the early 1960s, Herscher and another student organized a summer camp for underprivileged youth. Seeking donated clothing for the children, he met Robert D. Haas, a classmate and scion of the Levi Strauss family, noted for its philanthropy. An enduring friendship ensued that would prove instrumental to his later endeavors.

He gained admission to Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion. Declining to seek a pulpit upon ordination, he accepted an administrative position at the College-Institute, at the same time pursuing a doctorate in American Jewish history under the guidance of Stanley F. Chyet. In 1975 he was appointed professor of American Jewish history and executive vice president and dean of the faculty of the College-Institute, overseeing its campuses in Cincinnati, Los Angeles, New York, and Jerusalem.

In 1979, Herscher moved from Cincinnati to Los Angeles. Recognizing that the vast majority of Jews were unaffiliated and increasingly indifferent to Jewish concerns, he envisioned a new strategy of communal outreach and engagement: the creation of a cultural center that would focus on the American Jewish experience. The center housed the College-Institute's Skirball Museum, whose collection of artifacts would tell the story of the Jewish people from antiquity to America. The center also included venues for public lectures, performing arts, and educational activities.

Over the next decade, with help from key supporters such as Jack H. Skirball, Los Angeles Times Chairman Franklin Murphy, and the Levi Strauss family of San Francisco, Herscher garnered major contributions from both Jewish and non-Jewish benefactors. A fifteen-acre site was acquired in the Santa Monica mountains, and renowned Israeli-American architect Moshe Safdie was engaged to design the campus. In 1996 the Skirball Cultural Center, separately incorporated, opened to the public, with Herscher as founding president and chief executive. An immediate success, the Center attracted some 300,000 visitors in its first year, leading to an ambitious expansion of its facilities, programs, and endowment. By 2005, the Center had become one of the world's major Jewish cultural institutions.

Herscher's conceptual vision broadened as well. Underlining his commitment to the welfare of the wider community, in 2001 he accepted appointment to the Ethics Commission of Los Angeles. At his instigation, the Skirball's mission statement was expanded to address "people of every ethnic and cultural identity."

[Robert Kirschner (2nd ed.)]

HERSCHMAN, MORDECHAI (1888–1940), *ḥazzan*. Born in the Ukrainian town of Chernigov, Herschman, a lyric tenor, sang in a number of synagogue choirs before obtaining his first post as a *ḥazzan* in the "choral" synagogue of Zhitomir. In 1913, after only five months at Zhitomir, he was appointed chief *ḥazzan* of Vilna. During World War I he was conscripted into the Russian army reserve, but a senior officer was so impressed by his voice that he exempted him from duty so that he could continue to officiate as a *ḥazzan*. In 1920, he emigrated to the United States, where he was appointed *ḥazzan* of the Beth El Temple of Brooklyn, New York, a position he held for 10 years. Afterward he made many concert tours in Europe, Palestine, and the U.S. Herschman was notable for the warmth of his singing as well as for his ḥazzanic style, which was deeply influenced by the melodic elements of biblical cantillation and the traditional cantillation of Talmud study. His cantorial and folk song records were very popular, and it was his rendering that made P. *Jassinowsky's *Ve-Hayyah be-Aḥarit ha-Yamim* ("And it shall come to pass at the End of Days") famous.

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[Joshua Leib Ne'eman]

HERSCHORN, JOSHUA (Sheea) HALEVY (1893–1969), Canadian rabbi and halakhic scholar. Herschorn was born in Muranovanye-Kurilovtsy, Ukraine, and received his main rabbinic training from his father. He also acquired a secular education and briefly attended the University of Odessa. The anti-Jewish violence which swept the Ukraine in the aftermath of World War I, as well as the repression of the Jewish religion in the Soviet Union, influenced his decision to emigrate to North America.

In 1921 he arrived in Montreal, where he had relatives, and began to function as a rabbi. His supervision of a group of kosher slaughterers gained him the enmity of several prominent local rabbis, who initially attempted to portray him as an interloper and a charlatan. Nonetheless, he was soon accepted by the Montreal Orthodox rabbinate as a valuable colleague. He became a member of the Rabbinic Council (Vaad ha-Rabbanim) of the Montreal Jewish Community Council (Va'ad ha-Ir) from its inception in 1923. In 1936, he became vice president, and in 1951 he succeeded Rabbi Hirsh *Cohen as president of the Rabbinic Council. He was thus widely recognized as Montreal's "chief rabbi." He actively served in this capacity until 1961, when he was incapacitated by illness. He also served for many years as Canadian vice president of the Agudath ha-Rabbonim (Union of Orthodox Rabbis of the United States and Canada).

His major publication is *Mi-Ma'ayanei Yeshu'ah* (1959), a collection of responsa, reflecting the halakhic concerns of North American Orthodox Judaism from the 1920s to the 1950s. They include several dealing with the halakhic implications of technological innovations. He published numerous articles in journals of rabbinic scholarship, as well as a number of articles and sermons in Montreal's Yiddish and Anglo-Jewish newspapers.

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[Ira Robinson (2nd ed.)]

HERSH, SEYMOUR (1937–), U.S. journalist. Born in Chicago and a graduate of the University of Chicago, Seymour (Sy) Myron Hersh began his career in journalism as a police reporter for the City New Bureau in Chicago in 1959. After stints with United Press International and the Associated Press, Hersh joined the little-known Pacific News Service and went to Vietnam. In 1969 Hersh gained worldwide recognition for exposing the massacre at My Lai, where United States soldiers tortured and killed nearly 500 civilians, and its cover-up. He also covered the court martial of Lt. William Calley, the commanding officer at My Lai. Hersh received the Pulitzer Prize for international reporting and published two books on the subject: *My Lai 4: A Report on the Massacre and Its Aftermath* and *Cover-up: the Army's Secret Investigation of the Massacre at My Lai 4*.

In 1972 Hersh joined the Washington bureau of *The New York Times* and also became a regular contributor to the *New Yorker* magazine. His disclosures about the covert operations of the Central Intelligence Agency created a swarm of controversy. So did his book on Henry A. *Kissinger, *The Price of Power: Kissinger in the Nixon White House*, in 1983, which detailed the secret bombing of Cambodia while the administration was ostensibly pursuing an end to the war in Vietnam. The book won the National Book Critics Circle award. Hersh worked for *The Times* from 1972 to 1975 and again in 1979.

In his 1991 book *The Sampson Option*, about Israel's secret nuclear weapons program, Hersh revealed that in 1986 Nicholas Davies, the foreign editor of the London *Daily Mirror*, tipped off the Israeli Embassy in London that the Israeli whistleblower Mordechai Vanunu had given information about the country's nuclear capability to the *Sunday Times* and later the *Sunday Mirror*, both owned by the British media magnate Robert *Maxwell, who was thought to have had extensive contacts with Israeli intelligence services. According to Hersh, Davies and Maxwell published an anti-Vanunu story as part of a disinformation campaign on behalf of the Israeli government.

Hersh wrote a number of investigative articles for the *New Yorker* detailing military and security matters surrounding the U.S.-led invasion of Iraq in 2003 and the subsequent occupation. In a 2004 article, he examined how Vice President Dick Cheney and Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld circumvented the normal intelligence analysis function of the CIA in their quest to make a case for the invasion. His coverage of Richard Perle, a pro-Iraq war advisor to the Bush White House, in another article led Perle to say that Hersh was the "closest thing American journalism has to a terrorist." In 2004 Hersh published a series of articles describing, and showing photographs, of the torture by U.S. military police of prisoners in the Iraqi prison of Abu Ghraib. Hersh asserted that the abuses were part of a secret interrogation program, known as Copper Green, expanded from prisoner treatment in Afghanistan and Guantanamo Bay, Cuba, with the direct approval of Defense Secretary Rumsfeld, in an attempt to deal with a growing insurgency in Iraq. In 2005 Hersh disclosed that the U.S. was conducting covert operations in Iran to identify targets for possible strikes. This was dismissed by both the U.S. government and by Iran.

Hersh published eight books, including *The Dark Side of Camelot* (1997), which looked at John F. Kennedy's relationship with Lyndon B. Johnson and scandals surrounding Kennedy. His other books include *The Target Is Destroyed: What Really Happened to Flight 007 and What America Knew About It* (1986), *Against All Enemies: Gulf War Syndrome: The War Between America's Ailing Veterans and Their Government* (1998), and *Chain of Command: The Road from 9/11 to Abu Ghraib* (2004).

[Stewart Kampel (2nd ed.)]

HERSHELE (pseudonym of **Hersh Danielevitz**; 1882–1941), Yiddish poet, essayist, short story writer, translator, and folklorist. Born in Lipno, Poland, Hershele received a traditional Jewish education and taught himself secular subjects. He joined the revolutionary movement early, fled to Zurich, and then returned to Poland. During the German occupation of 1915–18 he was one of the founders of the Lodz literary circle and of various periodicals. He contributed to the Yiddish dailies in Poland, *Haynt, Moment*, and the Buenos Aires Yiddish daily *Di Prese*, and translated Polish, Russian, and German poetry into Yiddish. Primarily a folk poet, his books are *Hersheles Lider* ("Hershele's Poems," 1907) and *Zun Feygelekh* ("Sun Birds," 1918). Throughout his life he collected Yiddish folk songs, hundreds of which he sent to Ḥ.N. *Bialik, and folk stories and sayings. Hershele's charming and rhythmic poems described the lives, loves, and thoughts of simple Jewish coachmen, housemaids, and cooks in Poland. He published poems in *Dror, Yedies*, and *Payn un Gvure* in the Warsaw ghetto, where he died.

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[Israel Ch. Biletzky]

HERSHEY, BARBARA (**Barbara Herzstein**; 1948–), U.S. actress. Born in Hollywood, California, Hershey made her professional debut as a teenager in 1965 on the television series *Gidget,* then starred on the TV series *The Monroes* (1966–67). From the late 1960s on, she acted in such feature films as *Last Summer* (1969), *The Liberation of L.B. Jones* (1970), *Dealing* (1972), *Boxcar Bertha* (1972), *The Stunt Man* (1980), *The Right Stuff* (1983), *The Natural* (1984), *Hannah and Her Sisters* (1986), *Hoosiers* (1986), *Tin Men* (1987), *Shy People* (Cannes Film Festival award for Best Actress, 1987), *A World Apart* (Cannes Film Festival award for Best Actress, 1988), *The Last Temptation of Christ* (Golden Globe nomination, 1988), *Beaches* (1988)*, Falling Down* (1993), *A Dangerous Woman* (1993), *The Pallbearer* (1996), *The Portrait of a Lady* (Oscar nomination for Best Supporting Actress, 1996), *Breakfast of Champions* (1999), *Passion* (1999), *Lantana* (2001), and *Riding the Bullet* (2004).

Hershey has appeared in a number of television movies, such as *A Man Called Intrepid* (1979), *Angel on My Shoulder* (1980), *A Killing in a Small Town* (Emmy Award and Golden Globe for Best Actress, 1990), *Paris Trout* (Emmy nomination for Best Actress, 1991), *Hunger Point* (2003), and *Paradise* (2004). She has also appeared in such TV series as *From Here to Eternity* (1980), *Twilight Theater* (1982), *Return to Lonesome Dove* (1993), *Chicago Hope* (1999–2000), and *The Mountain* (2004).

[Jonathan Licht / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

HERSHKO, AVRAM (1937–), Israeli biochemist and Nobel laureate. Hershko was born in Karcag, Hungary, and immigrated with his family to Israel in 1950. He gained his M.D. (1965) and Ph.D. (1969) from the Hadassah Medical School of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, a period which included service as a physician in the Israel Defense Forces (1965–67). After a postdoctoral fellowship with Gordon Tomkins at the University of San Francisco (1969–72), he joined the faculty of the Haifa Technion, becoming professor in 1980 and subsequently distinguished professor in the Unit of Biochemistry in the Rappaport Faculty of Medicine of the Technion. His main research interests concern the mechanisms by which cell proteins are normally degraded and replaced by newly synthesized proteins, a formerly neglected field of study. Hershko and his colleagues showed that, contrary to previous ideas, cellular proteins are degraded by a highly selective proteolytic system. This system tags proteins for destruction by linkage to a protein called ubiquitin, which had previously been identified in many tissues, as the name suggests, but whose function was hitherto unknown. Subsequent work in Hershko's and many other laboratories has shown that the ubiquitin system has a vital role in controlling the survival of a wide range of proteins which regulate cell division and replacement and are involved in the repair of damaged DNA. The medical importance of these observations has been established. Inherited abnormalities in the ubiquitin system result in a degenerative disease of the nervous system and other diseases including cancer. Acquired abnormalities of the system, possibly following certain viral infections, may also lead to cancer and disorders of the immune system. The full range of functions of the ubiquitin system in health and disease was still to be elucidated, as were the implications for designing anti-cancer drugs. Hershko was awarded the Nobel Prize in chemistry (2004) jointly with his former Ph.D. student Aaron *Ciechanover and their colleague Irwin *Rose. His many honors include the Weizmann Prize for Science (1987), the Israel Prize for biochemistry and medicine (1994), the Gairdner Award (1999), the Lasker Prize for basic medical research (2000), and the Wolf Prize for medicine (2001). Hershko was a passionate advocate of proper support for scientific education and research in Israel.

[Michael Denman (2nd ed.)]

HERSHKOWITZ, VICTOR ("**Vic**"; 1918–), U.S. handball player, considered the greatest all-around player in handball history; winner of over 40 handball titles, including nine straight Three-Wall Singles Championships, and member of Handball Hall of Fame. Hershkowitz was born in Williamsburg, New York, the eighth of nine children, to Beila (Gelb) and Shmuel (Sam) from Ugocsa, Hungary. Hershkowitz went to Alexander Hamilton and Eastern District high schools, but was not a member of the school's handball club, which included Red *Auerbach. After graduating in 1936, and with few jobs available during the Depression, the stocky 5 ft. 8 in., 173 lb. Hershkowitz started playing handball in neighborhood parks. In 1942 he won the men's doubles One-Wall Championship, and then after the war he started a streak of winning at least one national championship every year from 1947 to 1967, except for 1959. "I had a good instinct as to where the ball would be most of the time. I was born with that, probably," he said, reflecting on his career. Hershkowitz, who played and practiced part time between his hours working as a fireman, won three of the national singles trophies on three different-sized courts. His crowning achievement was in 1952, when he captured the National Singles One-Wall, Three-Wall and Four-Wall titles. Hershkowitz continued playing into his eighties, accumulating a dozen Masters titles as well, beginning in 1966. He was elected to the USHA Hall of Fame in 1957.

[Elli Wohlgelernter (2nd ed.)]

HERSHMAN, ABRAHAM M. (1880–1959), U.S. Conservative rabbi. Hershman was born in Neustadt, Poland, immigrating to the U.S. in 1896. Ordained at the Jewish Theological Seminary of America (1906), he served in Syracuse, New York, and then went to Detroit's Congregation Shaarey Zedek (1907), which he led until 1946, when he became rabbi emeritus. Founder and president of the Detroit Zionist Organization, Hershman was also principal of the Division Street Talmud Torah, Detroit's first Jewish communal school; delegate to the first American Jewish Congress, and a founder of the Jewish Community Council. His *Rabbi Isaac ben Sheshet Perfet and his Times* (1943) dealt with the history of the Jews in Spain in the 14th century. Hershman translated Book 14 of the Code of Maimonides as *Book of Judges* (1949), and wrote *Israel's Fate and Faith* (1952) and *Religion of the Age and of the Ages* (1953).

[Irving I. Katz]

HERSKOVITS, BELA (1920–1974), cantor and concert artist. A graduate of the leading music conservatories of Hungary, Herskovits was professor of Jewish liturgical music at the Goldmark Karoly College. When Hungary was invaded by the Nazis in 1942 he was imprisoned, but released, and succeeded in reaching the U.S. in 1942. Appointed cantor of the Ocean Parkway Jewish Center in Brooklyn, he was "discovered" by Eddie Cantor who introduced him to Hollywood. He co-starred in *Servant of God* and was musical consultant to Cecil B. De Mille's film *The Ten Commandments*. In 1966 he was appointed chief cantor of the Beth Shalom synagogue in Toronto, but later resigned on account of ill-health.

HERSKOVITS, MELVILLE JEAN (1895–1963), U.S. anthropologist. Born in Bellefontaine, Ohio, Herskovits became a lecturer in anthropology at Columbia University in 1924. In 1927 he moved to Northwestern University, where he directed the program of African studies. In 1935 he became professor of African Affairs. He made Northwestern University virtually the center of African studies in the U.S., and when the African Studies Association was established in 1957 he became its first president.

In the 1920s Herskovits undertook a series of anthropometric studies of the blacks in the United States and then widened his research to cover the blacks in the New World and in Africa. He carried out fieldwork among the bush peoples of Surinam, Dutch Guiana, and in Haiti, West Africa, Brazil, and sub-Saharan Africa. In his classic work, *The Myth of the Negro Past* (1941), he presented a masterly study of the African heritage of the American black. His studies of the New World black opened up a whole new field of research and prepared the way for a more positive and objective appreciation of the black, both individually and collectively, in American society. One of Herskovits' great interests was the study of race crossing and inheritance, and one of his earliest books was on this subject: *The American Negro: A Study in Racial Crossing* (1928). Like his teacher, Franz *Boas, he did not regard physical man apart from cultural man, and was concerned to combat the confusions between innate physical and acquired cultural traits.

In addition to his general study of anthropology, *Man and his Works* (1948), Herskovits published studies in ethnomusicology and economic anthropology. In 1959 he produced an important survey on Africa for the Committee on Foreign Relations of the U.S. Senate. His final major book, *The Human Factor in Changing Africa* (1962), dealt with the conflict between established custom and innovation among the peoples of Africa.

He discussed the problem "Who are the Jews?" in the essay that he and his wife Frances – who collaborated with him in much of his research and writing – contributed to *The Jews, Their History and Their Culture* (ed. by L. Finkelstein, 2 (1960), 1489–1509).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *American Anthropologist*, 66 (1964), 83–109, includes bibliography.

HERSKOVITZ, MARSHALL (1952–) and **ZWICK, EDWARD** (1952–), U.S. writers-directors-producers. Born Marshall Schreiber to Alexander Herskovitz and Frieda (née Schreiber), Herskovitz grew up in Philadelphia, where his maternal grandfather was president of Har Zion Conservative Synagogue. In 1973, Herskovitz adapted *Beowulf* as a screenplay for his senior thesis at Brandeis University. Herskovitz earned an MFA from the American Film Institute in 1978. He went on to write and direct television programs such as *Family* (1979), *The White Shadow* (1979–80), and *Chips* (1980). Zwick was born in Chicago, Ill., to Allen Zwick and Ruth (née Reich). After graduating from Harvard, he studied theater in Europe on a Rockefeller fellowship before graduating from the American Film Institute in 1975. He took first place in a student film competition at the 1976 Chicago Film Festival and was offered the job of story editor on *Family*. In 1983, Herskovitz and Zwick teamed up for the made-for-television film *Special Bulletin,* which won two Emmy Awards. In 1985, they created The Bedford Falls Company, which was named after the town in *It's a Wonderful Life*. In 1986, Zwick directed his first feature film, *About Last Night*, followed by such projects as *Glory* (1989), which won 1989 Academy Awards for acting, cinematography, and sound; *Courage Under Fire* (1996); and *The Siege* (1998). Their first television project was the Emmy- and Golden Globe-winning series *thirtysomething* (1987–91). Herskovitz followed this with the film *Jack the Bear* (1993). Then came the duo's *Legends of the Fall* (1994), which Zwick directed. In 1994, they also produced the short-lived but highly acclaimed television series *My So-Called Life*, which was followed by another short-lived series, *Relativity* (1996). In 2000, Herskovitz and Zwick produced the Oscar-winning film *Traffic*, and Zwick received an Oscar as producer with Bob and Harvey Weinstein of Miramax for *Shakespeare in Love* (1998). Later, the two tackled a 40-something-themed television show, *Once and Again* (1999), as well as the films *I Am Sam* (2001) and *The Last Samurai* (2003).

[Adam Wills (2nd ed.)]

HERSTEIN, LILLIAN (1886–1983), education advocate, union organizer, and life-long activist for social justice. Herstein was the youngest of six children in a Lithuanian-Jewish immigrant family. Her father, Wolf, worked as the sextant of a synagogue, while her mother, Cipe, owned and managed a Hebrew bookstore. Herstein's mother and siblings struggled to keep her in school after Wolf's death in 1898, and she graduated from Northwestern University in 1907.

The reluctance of the Chicago school system to hire Jews forced Herstein to teach in small rural schools before securing a position in Chicago in 1912. She immediately joined the Federation of Women High School Teachers union, and soon became its delegate to the Chicago Federation of Labor (CFL). When the Chicago Teachers' Union was created in 1937, Herstein became its representative to the CFL, where she was the only woman on the executive board for 25 years.

Herstein's activism soon expanded beyond the world of education. She worked in close conjunction with the Women's Trade Union League (WTUL), helping to organize workers, from newspaper reporters to coalminers, into unions. A powerful speaker, Herstein often expressed her views on the radio and on speakers' circuits. It was through the WTUL that Herstein became involved in a workers' education movement that gained momentum in the interwar years. She taught English and public speaking at the Chicago Labor College, a joint venture of the WTUL and CFL, as well as in workers' summer-school programs at both Bryn Mawr College and the University of Wisconsin. Herstein also taught at Chicago's Crane Junior College, where she inspired future Supreme Court Justice Arthur *Goldberg to become a labor lawyer. Herstein successfully fought to keep the free junior college system open during the Depression. Less successful were several bids for both state and federal offices, including a 1932 campaign for the U.S. Congress.

After her retirement from teaching in 1952, Herstein's activism turned towards civil rights and race relations. Her work with the Jewish Labor Committee on integrating the building trades earned her an award from the Chicago Commission on Human Relations in 1953. An active member of the American Civil Liberties Union, Herstein was also involved in Jewish workers' and women's organizations, including the *Histadrut, *Hadassah, and the *National Council of Jewish Women.

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[Nadia Malinovich (2nd ed.)]

HERSTIK, NAFTALI (1947–), *ḥazzan*. Herstik was born in Hungary but was brought to Israel as a child. His first teacher was his father, Cantor Moshe Menaḥem Herstik. Together with his brother Ḥayyim Eliezer (*ḥazzan* at the Oxford Synagogue, Johannesburg) he appeared as a child prodigy and continued his studies in *ḥazzanut* under Shelomo *Ravitz in Tel Aviv and with Prof. L. Bryll in London, where he studied inter alia at the Royal Academy of Music. After serving as *ḥazzan* in synagogues in Tel Aviv, Acre, Haifa, and the Finchley Synagogue in London (1972–79), he returned to Israel and was appointed *ḥazzan* to the Heichal Shelomo synagogue in Jerusalem in 1979. When the new sanctuary that became the Great Synagogue was completed in 1982, Herstik was appointed its *ḥazzan*. Herstik is also director of the Tel Aviv Cantorial Institute and he himself is highly regarded as a teacher of *nusaḥ l'tefillah*. As a superb artist, he has a worldwide reputation, and he sings with rare elegance and class. His rich and heart-warming tenor voice has been heard with the top Israeli and European orchestras worldwide. His discography includes a series of recordings for Beit Hatefutzot, namely the Danzig and Koenigsberg traditions; other CDs include performances with the London Male Choir, Jerusalem Great Synagogue Choir, and the Brno Symphony.

[Akiva Zimmerman / Raymond Goldstein (2nd ed.)

HERTZ, BENEDYKT (1872–1952), Polish author. Transposing social and political themes into the animal kingdom, Hertz published allegorical works that display keen observation and a gift for comedy. These include *Bajki* (1903), *Bajki i satyry* (1911), and *Bajki minionych dni* (1919), collections of fables; and plays such as *Szkice dramatyczne* (1910).

HERTZ, EMANUEL (1870–1940), U.S. lawyer and historian. Hertz, born in Bukta, Austria, brother of Rabbi Joseph Herman *Hertz, arrived in the United States when he was 14. He was admitted to the bar in 1894. Hertz became well known as an authority on Abraham Lincoln. He assembled the largest private collection of material relating to Lincoln, and was said to have gathered 4,000 items previously unknown. He wrote many pamphlets on various aspects of the life of Lincoln, and his books included: *Abraham Lincoln, New Portrait* (1931), *Abraham Lincoln, the Tribute of the Synagogue* (1936), and *Hidden Lincoln* (1938). He was a substantial benefactor of the Library of Congress and the National and Hebrew University Library, Jerusalem.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *New York Times* (May 24, 1940).

[Sefton D. Temkin]

HERTZ, GUSTAV (1887–1975), German physicist and Nobel Prize winner, son of a Jewish father. Born in Hamburg, he became an assistant in the Physical Institute at Berlin in 1913.

He was severely wounded in World War I, and subsequently worked at Eindhoven in the Netherlands. In 1925 he became professor of physics and director of the Physical Institute at Halle, and in 1928 at the Technische Hochschule. He resigned "for political reasons" in 1934, and became director of the Siemens Research Laboratory II. He remained in Germany throughout World War II and subsequently became professor of physics at the University of Leipzig in the German Democratic Republic. He and James *Franck were awarded jointly the Nobel Prize for physics in 1925 for their discovery of the laws governing impact between an electron and an atom. Hertz converted to Christianity. He was a nephew of Heinrich Rudolph Hertz (1857–1894), the discoverer of electromagnetic waves, who was the son of a baptized Jewish father and a Christian mother.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: N.H. Heathcote, *Nobel Prize Winners in Physics* (1953), 230–48.

[J. Edwin Holmstrom]

HERTZ, HENRI (1875–1966), French poet, novelist, and critic. Hertz, the son of an army officer of Alsatian descent, was born in Norgent-sur-Seine. Like Max *Jacob, Apollinaire, and Jean Cocteau, whom he is said to have influenced, Hertz was a poet of revolt whose writing ranged from excessive sensitivity to biting sarcasm. Of his 12 published works, the most important are *Sorties* (1921), *Vers un monde volage* (1924), and *Enlèvement sans amant* (1929). Hertz was a distinguished journalist, his enormous output covering politics as well as articles in avant-garde periodicals on literary and artistic figures. He also wrote much in the press on Jewish problems. In 1925 he became general secretary of France-Palestine, an early French Zionist organization. He fought in the Resistance during World War II. Hertz's *Tragédies des temps volages* (1955), a collection of his verse and prose, contains the short story "Ceux de Job," which expresses the grandeur and anguish, the aspirations, and the despair of the Jewish people.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: A. Spire, *Souvenirs à bâtons rompus* (1962), 239–47.

[Sidney D. Braun]

HERTZ, HENRIK (originally **Heyman**; 1798–1870), Danish playwright and poet. Orphaned as a child, Hertz was brought up by a wealthy relative, in whose Copenhagen home he met many prominent people. He graduated in law but chose to become a writer. A member of the new school of Danish romantics, Hertz in 1830 drew up a program for them in elegant verse reflecting the movement's concern with beauty of form. His poetry reveals a sensual temperament, combined with humor and deep pathos. Hertz's principal interest was the theater. He skillfully copied all the fashionable dramatic forms and created roles for the leading Danish actors and actresses, writing about 50 comedies and romantic or historical dramas. His plays include the comedy *Sparekassen* ("The Savings Bank," 1836), which still retains its period charm; the highly successful *Svend Dyrings Huus* ("Svend Dyring's House," 1837), a romantic verse play inspired by medieval Danish ballads; *Kong Renés Datter* (1845, *King René's Daughter*, 1850), also of medieval inspiration; and *Ninon* (1848), a historical melodrama written in the style of Victor Hugo. The collected plays appeared in 18 volumes (1854–73). Hertz was baptized in 1832.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: H. Kyrre, *Henrik Hertz* (Danish, 1916); *Dansk Biografisk Leksikon*, 10 (1936).

[Frederik Julius Billeskov-Jansen]

HERTZ, JOSEPH HERMAN (1872–1946), chief rabbi of the United Hebrew Congregations of the British Commonwealth. Hertz, who was born in Slovakia, was taken in 1884 to New York. He was the first graduate of the *Jewish Theological Seminary of America (1894). After acting as rabbi in Syracuse, New York (1894–96), he was appointed rabbi of Johannesburg, South Africa. His outspoken opposition to Boer discrimination against the *uitlanders* (aliens) and religious minorities resulted in his deportation (1899–1901) but he returned to office on the conclusion of the Boer War. He went to the U.S. in 1911 as rabbi of the Orthodox congregation Oraḥ Ḥayyim in New York and in 1913 was elected chief rabbi of England. Here, he threw himself into the duties of his office with courage and energy, showing his profound sympathies with the recently arrived foreign elements. He publicly criticized Russian anti-Jewish policy, fought against Liberal Judaism, and his powerful advocacy of Zionism in the name of religious Jewry was partly responsible for the successful outcome of the negotiations which led to the *Balfour Declaration in 1917. Later, he fought courageously against Nazism and its echoes in England and strongly criticized the policies adopted by the Mandatory government in Palestine, which he visited frequently. In 1925 he attended the opening of the Hebrew University and later was a member of its board of governors. His works (apart from his doctoral thesis on the philosophy of Martineau) were principally of a popularizing nature, but filled a greatly felt gap, e.g., his *Book of Jewish Thoughts* (1917), of which hundreds of thousands of copies were printed, and his commentaries on the Pentateuch (1929–36) and on the prayer book (1942–45). A three-volume collection of his minor writings was issued under the title *Sermons, Addresses and Studies* (1938).

His appearances on the public platform were usually exceptionally impressive. He showed courage, and his brief occasional letters to the London *Times*, in times of emergency, the product sometimes of days of hard work, could influence public opinion. Characteristic was his letter published on May 28, 1917, in which he effectively and indignantly denied that the attack on Zionism by the two "official" leaders of the Anglo-Jewish community, C.G. *Montefiore and D.L. Alexander, represented "the views held by Anglo-Jewry as a whole or by the Jewries of the overseas dominions." He was no respecter of persons. The authoritative article in the *Dictionary of National Biography* quotes what was said of him: that he never despaired of finding a peaceful solution to any problem when all other possibilities had failed. He was made a Companion of Honour (C.H.) in 1943, the first British rabbi to receive an award of this kind. Probably no British Chief Rabbi in history was faced with so many unprecedented and insoluble challenges and crises.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Levine, in: *Essays… J.H. Hertz* (1942), 1–14; P. Paneth, *Guardian of the Law: Chief Rabbi J.H. Hertz* (1943); I. Epstein (ed.), *Joseph Herman Hertz, 1872–1946, in memoriam* (1947). **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** ODNB online.

[Cecil Roth]

HERTZBERG, ARTHUR (1921–2006), U.S. Conservative rabbi, author, and intellectual. Hertzberg was born into a ḥasidic family in Lubaczow, Poland. He came to the U.S. in 1926 and grew up in Baltimore, where his father, a strong influence on his life and thought, was the rabbi of a small Orthodox synagogue. Hertzberg graduated from John Hopkins University. During his time on campus, he became a fervent Zionist. Breaking partially from his Orthodox background, he was ordained as a Conservative rabbi at the Jewish Theological Seminary in 1943. Hertzberg served as Hillel director at Smith College for one year, then was rabbi in congregations in Philadelphia and Nashville. In 1949, Hertzberg made the first of many visits to the fledging State of Israel. After spending a few years as an Air Force chaplain, he became rabbi of Temple Emanu-El in Englewood, N.J., a pulpit he held for nearly 30 years. During his time in Englewood Hertzberg earned a doctorate in history from Columbia University, and he joined its faculty in 1961. From 1985 to 1991 he was professor of religion at Dartmouth College and from 1991 he was Bronfman Visiting Professor of the Humanities at New York University. He was president of the Conference on Jewish Social Studies and served as consulting editor to the *Encyclopaedia Judaica*.

Hertzberg was president of the American Jewish Congress from 1972 to 1978 and a member of the executive of the World Zionist Congress from 1969 to 1978. In the late 1960s he became the first president of the newly formed International Jewish Committee for Interreligious Consultation, the body that represented Jews in dialogue with Christian leaders. In 1975 Hertzberg was elected vice president of the World Jewish Congress, and he was president of the newly established American Jewish Policy Foundation, a nonpartisan group engaged in research in the field of American Jewish policy, both foreign and domestic.

Hertzberg's books include *The Zionist Idea* (1959), an anthology about the intellectual history of the Zionist movement that is still used in college classrooms; *Judaism* (1961), which brings selections from the Jewish literary tradition; *French Enlightenment and the Jews* (1968), a groundbreaking work that traces the roots of modern antisemitism to the French Enlightenment; *Being Jewish in America* (1978); *The Jews in America* (1989); *A Jew in America* (2002), a memoir; and *The Fate of Zionism: A Secular Future for Israel and Palestine* (2003).

Hertzberg was a fiercely contrarian, profoundly American old-school rabbi. His deep Jewish learning was matched by his equally deep secular knowledge; both were guided by a blindingly original mind that can make the obscure seem immediately obvious. His passionate moderation on such subjects as Israel, which he loved deeply but not blindly, and American Jewry, whose future he thought was shaded by most American Jews' inadequate Jewish education, often divided him from others, whose opinions he felt were insufficiently realistic or not rooted firmly enough in Jewish tradition. An importance force and strong believer in the improved relationship between Catholics and Jews, Hertzberg also spoke out on such issues as the Church's refusal to allow historians access to its wartime archives. A profoundly creative thinker, Hertzberg influenced the way American Jews think about Judaism, Israel, and American Jews.

[Victor A. Mirelman / Joanne Palmer (2nd ed.)]

HERTZKA, EMIL (1869–1932), music publisher, born in Budapest. In 1901 he joined the newly founded Universal Edition in Vienna which he directed from 1907 until his death. By purchasing the rights of several older firms and actively encouraging the avant-garde composers – on whom few other publishers dared risk their resources and reputation – he became the publisher of the works of Bruckner, Mahler, and the publisher and champion of Béla Bartok, Arnold Schoenberg, Alban Berg, Kurt Weill, Jaromir Weinberger, Leos Janacek, Ernst Krenek, and others. He also founded the periodical *Musikblaetter des Anbruch*.

HERTZKA, THEODOR (1845–1924), Hungarian economist and journalist. Hertzka, who was born in Budapest, edited the economics section of the *Neue Freie Presse* from 1872 until 1879, when he founded and became editor of the *Wiener Allgemeine Zeitung*. In 1889 he established and became editor of the weekly *Zeitschrift fuer Staats- und Volkswirtschaft* and in 1901 was appointed editor in chief of the Budapest daily, *Magyar Hirlap*. Hertzka became known mainly through two novels, *Freiland, ein sociales Zukunftsbild* (1890; *Freeland; a Social Anticipation*, 1891) and *Eine Reise nach Freiland* (1893; *A Visit to Freeland, or the New Paradise Regained*, 1894). In these, he proposed a solution to the problems of society by the establishment in Central Africa of a model state, comprising a series of farming communes, which would be so organized as to avoid the drawbacks of both the capitalist and the communist systems. Hertzka established an international movement to carry out his plan and in 1893 a mission went to Africa to secure land for settlement. But the mission failed and the project was abandoned. Hertzka was influenced in his ideas by the U.S. economist and land reformer, Henry George, and in his turn influenced Franz *Oppenheimer, particularly in the areas of liberal socialism and cooperation. Theodor *Herzl was familiar with Hertzka's *Freiland* when he wrote *Der Judenstaat*. In a letter to Moritz Guedemann (Aug. 22, 1895), and in a reference in the introduction to *Der Judenstaat*, Herzl emphasized the difference between his plan and *Freiland*, which he described as a well-assembled machine, but one incapable of being set in motion. Hertzka's other writings include *Die*

Gesetze der socialen Entwicklung (1885), *Das Wesen des Geldes* (1887), and *Das Sociale Problem* (1912).

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[Isa Perlis-Kressel]

HERTZVELD-HIJMANS, ESTHELLA (1837–1881), Dutch poet. Esthella Hertzveld was the eldest of six children in the family of Salomon Hartog Hertzveld (1806–1904) and Devora Halberstamm (1814–1904). She received an excellent education, focusing primarily on the study of literature, Jewish history, Hebrew, and modern languages. At the age of 15 she made her literary debut as a poet with the publication of "Elias in de Woestijn" ("Elias in the Desert") and of "Sauls Dood" ("Saul's Death"), which soon made her famous in Dutch literary circles. Because of her reputation, the baptized Portuguese Jew Abraham Capadose dedicated to her his translation of a story on conversion in 1853. In readers' letters to the Jewish press the poet and her father distanced themselves from Capadose's dedication and beliefs.

In 1863 Hertzveld married Jacobus Hijmans (1816–1896), who was her senior by 21 years. Chief Rabbi Berenstein of The Hague consecrated the marriage in Delft. A report of the event was published in the December 18 issue of the *Delftse Courant*.

Hertzveld was also involved in social work and became an active member of the women's Arbeid Adelt movement that was emerging under the wings of Betsy Perk and later Aletta Jacobs.

A mother of six children, Esthella Herzveld died at the age of 44 from a lung disease.

Jozef *Israels painted her portrait, which is now part of the collection in the municipal museum in The Hague.

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[Monika Saelemaekers (2nd ed.)]

ḤERUT (Heb. חֵרוּת; also known as **Bet Ḥerut**), moshav in central Israel, in the southern Sharon near Tel Mond, affiliated with Tenu'at ha-Moshavim, founded in 1930 by experienced agricultural workers. After 1948, the moshav was enlarged and joined by new settlers from Romania. Its economy was based mainly on citrus groves, dairy farming, poultry, flowers for export, and vegetables. In 1968 it had 372 inhabitants, in the mid-1990s the population was approximately 480, and in 2002 it jumped to 616 as a result of new expansion. The moshav's name means "Freedom."

[Efraim Orni / Shulamit Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

HERUT MOVEMENT, Israeli political party, established in June 1948, soon after the establishment of the State, by members of the *Irgun Ẓeva'i Le'ummi on the basis of Ze'ev *Jabotinsky's ideology. In 1949, the Revisionist Party of Israel, which had run independently in the elections to the First Knesset but had failed to pass the qualifying threshold, merged with the Ḥerut movement. At the same time, the Ḥerut Ha-Ẓohar Alliance was established by the Ḥerut and Ha-Ẓohar organizations in the Diaspora as their representative body in the World Zionist Organization.

In the elections to the first five Knessets the Ḥerut movement (Ḥerut for short) ran in an independent list. In the elections to the First and Second Knessets it came in fourth, with 14 and 8 seats respectively, but in the Third to Fifth Knessets it came in second after Mapai, with 15, 17, and 17 seats respectively. In 1958 there were early exploratory talks about a possible alignment with the Liberal Party, but it was only in 1965, before the elections to the Sixth Knesset, that such an alignment was realized in the form of *Gaḥal, which ran as a list in the elections to the Sixth and Seventh Knessets. In the elections to the Eighth to Eleventh Knessets the Ḥerut movement ran within the framework of the *Likud, together with the Liberal Party and others. In 1988 Ḥerut ceased to exist as a separate party upon the formation of the Likud party.

Until 1979 the Ḥerut Movement held national conferences every two or three years to elect its leaders, receive reports, and determine policy. Due to internal strife no conference was held until 1986, but when it finally met it was once again dispersed, meeting again the following year, and then disbanding after the Likud formally turned into a party in 1988.

Until the establishment of Gaḥal, Ḥerut was viewed as a right-wing party which maintained that the State of Israel should contain both banks of the River Jordan, and it would characteristically refer to the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan as "the so-called Hashemite Kingdom." It accused the Mapai-led government of following a defeatist policy vis-à-vis its neighbors, strongly criticized the policy of large-scale government intervention in the economy, but at the same time called for the institution of a national health insurance system and free schooling. Though it was highly critical of the Histadrut, in 1963 it established its own faction within the Labor-led trade union association, called Tekhelet-Lavan (Blue-White), which was the breeding ground for several future Likud politicians, including David *Levy. Ḥerut strongly objected to the Restitution Agreement signed with the Federal Republic of Germany in 1952, while also objecting to the special Military Administration for Israeli Arabs based on Mandatory emergency regulations.

David *Ben-Gurion refused to consider bringing Ḥerut (and the Communists) into the government, asserting that both were anti-democratic political movements, though it may be argued that in many senses Ḥerut played the role of a democratic watchdog over Mapai in the Knesset. The attitude to the Ḥerut movement in Mapai, and later in the Alignment, changed after Levi *Eshkol became prime minister in 1963, and especially after the establishment of Gaḥal.

Except for a brief period after 1966, Menaḥem *Begin was chairman of the Ḥerut movement from 1948 until 1983. After Begin's resignation he was replaced by Yitzhak *Shamir, who presided over Ḥerut's complete merger with the Liberal Party in 1988. Other prominent leaders of the Herut movement included Yoḥanan Bader, Ḥayyim Landau, Shemuel Katz, Ya'akov Meridor, Shemuel *Tamir, and Ezer *Weizman. Closely associated with the Ḥerut movement was the *Betar youth movement, the Ḥerut Women's Alliance, and the National Workers' Federation. The organ of the movement until 1966 was the daily *Ḥerut*.

[Susan Hattis Rolef (2nd ed.)]

HERXHEIMER, SALOMON (1801–1884), German rabbi. Born in Dotzheim, Herxheimer attended the yeshivah of R. Herz Scheyer in Mainz, studied secular subjects under Michael *Creizenach, and later graduated from the University of Goettingen. While teaching in Eschwege, he wrote *Yesodei ha-Torah* (1831), a popular work on religious and moral instruction, which was translated into English and reached 36 editions by 1916. Later he became the rabbi of Anhalt-Bernburg. At the rabbinical conferences of the 1840s Herxheimer, an exponent of moderate Reform, especially supported the idea of confirmation (see *Bar Mitzvah). His singular achievement was the publication of a translation of the Bible into German with commentary (1841–48), a third edition of which appeared in 1863. He also published a book on Hebrew grammar (1834) and an edition of his sermons (1838, 1857).

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HERZ, HENRI (**Heinrich**; 1802–1888), Austrian pianist and composer. Born in Vienna, he belonged to the group of elegant European virtuosos preceding the generation of Liszt. Though disdained by Schumann and by the "new German School," he enjoyed fashionable popularity in France both as a pianist and as a composer of "salon" piano pieces, more than 200 in number. He taught in Paris, founded a piano factory there, organized concerts, and had interests in various financial enterprises. He toured the U.S. three times and during a visit to Mexico composed the Mexican national anthem. His travels are described in *Mes voyages en Amérique* (1866).

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[Judith Cohen]

HERZ, HENRIETTE (1764–1847), Berlin salonnière. The beautiful and highly educated daughter of Benjamin de Lemos, a Portuguese Jewish physician, she married the physician and philosopher Marcus *Herz, 17 years her senior, in 1779. In the 1780s their home became a center of Enlightenment and post-Enlightenment learning, attracting young Prussian nobility and reform-minded Jews interested in Marcus Herz's lectures and demonstrations in chemistry and physics and in discussing the new Romantic literature with his beautiful wife. Henriette Herz and her friend Dorothea (Brendel) *Mendelssohn Veit Schlegel, the daughter of Moses *Mendelssohn, formed a *Tugendbund* (Society of Virtue) with Wilhelm and Alexander von *Humboldt, Karl Laroche, and others to promote friendship and learning. Wilhelm von Humboldt's later efforts on behalf of Jewish emancipation stem in part from his youthful infatuation with Herz. Some of their correspondence is composed in Hebrew script. In the 1790s Herz developed a lifelong friendship with the philosopher and Protestant theologian Friedrich *Schleiermacher. Reading groups among intellectual circles developed into the famous Berlin salons hosted almost exclusively by women such as Herz, Rahel Levin *Varnhagen von Ense, and Sara Levi. Among those who frequented Herz's salon were Friedrich Schlegel, Karl Gustav von Brinkmann, Friedrich Genz, Madame de Genlis, and Jean Paul Richter. Herz's beauty was captured in portraits painted by Anna Dorothea Therbusch (1778) and Anton Graff (1792), and in a bust sculpted by Gottfried Shadow (1783). She knew many languages, including ancient Greek, Latin, Italian, Spanish, and English and in 1799 and 1800 she translated two English travel books into German. Following Marcus Herz's death in 1803, her salon activity tapered off and ended by 1806 with Napoleon's occupation of Berlin. Herz lost her pension and was forced to seek work as a governess; in 1817 she became a Protestant and traveled to Rome (1818–19). Herz spent her later years in reduced circumstances teaching languages and needlework to young women and offering hospitality to Schleiermacher's students. In the 1820s she began a memoir focusing on her youth; wishing to control her posthumous reputation, she burned some of her correspondence. At the end of her life, Herz she gave J. Fuerst access to her remaining papers and spoke with him about her life. Following her death, he published her reminiscences (J. Fuerst, *Henriette Herz. Ihr Leben und ihre Erinnerungen* (1858)).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: M. Davies, *Identity or History? Marcus Herz and the End of the Enlightenment* (1995); M.E. Goozé, "Posing for Posterity: The Representations and Portrayals of Henriette Herz as 'Beautiful Jewess,'" in: M. Henn and H.A. Pausch (eds.), *Body Dialectics in the Age of Goethe.* (2003), 67–95; D. Hertz, *Jewish High Society in Old Regime Berlin* (1988); P. Seibert. *Der literarische Salon: Literatur und Geselligkeit zwischen Aufklaerung und Vormaerz* (1993).

[Marjanne E. Goozé (2nd ed.)]

HERZ, LEOPOLD EDLER VON (1767–1828), Austrian financier and nobleman. His father, Salomon Lefmann (1743–1825), went to Vienna from Hamburg in 1770, married the sister of Nathan von *Arnstein, and was raised to the nobility in 1797 for financial services to the crown. At the same time he was active in Jewish communal affairs. Leopold (Lippold) married Charlotte von Arnstein. Talented, ambitious, and sophisticated, he rapidly distinguished himself in financial affairs. Through his greatest achievement, arranging the subsidy promised by England to Austria after the Battle of Leipzig (1813), he acquired the friendship of Metternich and caused a minor sensation when Wellington and Castlereagh dined at his home immediately on their arrival for the Congress of Vienna (1815). In 1815 Leopold joined Nathan von Arnstein and other notables in signing the petition to Francis I for Jewish rights. However, he and five of his children embraced Christianity in the summer of the *Hep! Hep! riots (1819).

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HERZ, MARCUS (1747–1803), German physician and philosopher. Herz was born in Berlin, where his father was a Torah scribe. At the age of 15, Herz left for Koenigsberg, where he worked as a clerk. He attended lectures at the University of Koenigsberg from 1766 but had to stop in 1770 because of his financial situation. He became friendly with Immanuel *Kant, who asked him to serve as his "advocate" on the occasion of his submitting his dissertation. In his book *Betrachtungen aus der spekulativen Weltweishei* (1771) Herz formulated his interpretation of Kant's views. In 1770 Herz returned to Berlin, where he joined Moses *Mendelssohn's circle. Supported by David *Friedlander, he completed his medical studies at Halle. In 1774 he was appointed physician at the Berlin Jewish Hospital and was reputed to be one of the best doctors of his time. He married Henriette De Lemons from a Portuguese Jewish family from Hamburg. She was a social leader who gathered at her salon some of the most prominent intellectual figures in Berlin of her time and was known for her intellect (see Henriette *Herz). In 1777 Herz started lecturing in his home on philosophy and experimental physics. These lectures were attended by important persons, including members of the royal family, among them the future Frederick William III. In 1787 the king of Prussia bestowed the title of "professor" on Herz with the right to receive an income for life. Kant corresponded with Herz for many years, and these letters are of great importance for understanding both the development of Kant's views before the publication of *Critique of Pure Reason* in 1781 and the relationship between Kant and Salomon *Maimon. Herz published several essays on philosophy and on the human soul. His *Versuch ueber den Geschmack und die Ursachen seiner Verschiedenheit* (1776) developed the conception of perfect beauty (in the spirit of Winckelmanns). In 1786 Herz published his *Versuch der Kuenste*. In 1786 he published his *Versuch ueber den Schwindel*, and in 1777–84 his *Briefe an Aerzte*. At Mendelsshon's request he translated from English into German *Vindiciae Juaeorum*, a defense of Judaism by Manasseh Ben Israel. In his work *Freimuetige Kaffeegesprache zweier juedischer Zuschauerinnen ueber Juden Pinkus* (1772), Herz criticized the self-hatred found among Jews. He also wrote, at the request of the editor of *Ha-Me'assef*, a pamphlet in which he argued against quick burial, the traditional custom among Jews. He was for a long time the unknown translator of the so-called "Prayer of the Jewish Physician," attributed to Maimonides, from Hebrew into German.

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[Samuel Hugo Bergman / Suessmann Muntner and Yehoyada Amir (2nd ed.)]

HERZBERG, ABEL JACOB (1893–1989), Dutch author. Herzberg was born in Amsterdam into a Russian immigrant family. A lawyer by profession, he became an enthusiastic Zionist in his youth and made his mark as a powerful speaker and outstanding writer on Jewish affairs. Deported with his family to Bergen-Belsen during the Nazi occupation of Holland, Herzberg recorded his experiences in *Amor Fati* (1946) and *Tweestroomenland* ("Country Between Two Streams," 1950). His *Kroniek der Jodenvervolging* ("Chronicle of the Persecution of the Jews," 1956) is a factual and comprehensive survey of Dutch Jewry during the Hitler era. Herzberg's other works include three plays: *Vaderland* ("Homeland," 1934), an account of the sufferings of German Jewry; *Herodes* (1955); and *Sauls dood* ("Saul's Death," 1959). He also wrote *Eichmann in Jeruzalem* (1962), a study of the *Eichmann trial which he attended as a reporter for a Dutch daily, and *Brieven aan mijn kleinzoon* ("Letters to My Grandson," 1964), a series of childhood recollections.

[Henriette Boas]

HERZBERG, WILHELM (Ze'ev; 1827–1897), German author and communal worker in Ereẓ Israel. Born in Stettin into an assimilated family, Herzberg was familiar with Judaism from non-Jewish sources only, but became deeply impressed by its cultural and humanitarian values. In 1868 his work *Juedische Familienpapiere* (*Jewish Family Papers*, 1875) was published in Hamburg under the pen name Gustav Meinhardt. Its framework is fictional, and in it Herzberg expresses his admiration for Judaism through a daring attack on Christianity. The work made a strong impression on Jewish scholars in the West, and Peretz *Smolenskin wrote an article on it entitled "La-Kol Zeman" ("To Everything There is a Season" in *Ha-Shaḥar*, 1873) in which he emphasized Herzberg's liberation from the inner bondage that was characteristic of Jewish apologists at the time. In 1877, on the recommendation of Heinrich *Graetz, Herzberg was appointed director of the Mikveh Israel Agricultural School. Two years later he became director of the first Jewish orphanage in Jerusalem, which was founded that year through the initiative of Graetz and his friend M.G. Levi. In 1887 Herzberg combined the orphanage with the Laemel School. In the following year the first chapter of *B'nai B'rith, the "Jerusalem" lodge, was founded in Ereẓ Israel under his initiative; it established the Midrash Abrabanel Library (which became a nucleus for the Hebrew National and University Library) and the village of Moẓa. In 1891 Herzberg moved to Brussels.

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[Gedalyah Elkoshi]

HERZBERG-FRAENKEL, LEO (1827–1915), Galician author and functionary. As a result of his political activities during the 1848 revolution he was compelled to leave his native Brody; from 1850 to 1852 he was a journalist in Vienna. He then returned to Brody, where he was secretary of the Chamber of Commerce for the next 40 years. Active both in general and Jewish life, Herzberg-Fraenkel served as deputy of Brody for many years. He published novels dealing with East European Jewish life (which were translated into several languages), including *Ghettogeschichten* (1885), tales of the ghetto; *Geheime Wege* (1897), on the clandestine activities of Jewish youth in Russia; and several novels on non-Jewish themes. His essay on Polish Jewry appeared in *Oesterreich-Ungarn in Wort und Bild*. Although he welcomed the idea of Herzl's *Judenstaat*, he did not believe that the Zionist ideal could be realized. However, he stressed the need for a speedy exodus of Jews from Eastern Europe, no matter where and without political aim. He was among the supporters of plans to settle the Jews of Galicia on the land in an attempt to make them economically productive. His son *SIGMUND (1857–1913) taught German and Austrian history at the universities of Vienna and Czernowitz.

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[*Encyclopaedia Judaica* (Germany)]

HERZENSTEIN, MIKHAIL YAKOVLEVICH (1859–1906), Russian economist. Herzenstein, who was born in Odessa, studied law and political economy. Despite his conversion to Christianity and his considerable professional competence, his appointment as a teacher at the Moscow Agricultural Institute was deferred for 15 years, presumably because of his liberal views. In 1903 he was named lecturer in political economy and statistics at the University of Moscow. In 1905 he was elected a deputy to the First Duma, where he became known as an expert on agrarian questions and called for the expropriation of the lands of the Russian nobility. The expropriated land would be distributed among the peasants, while the nobles would receive reasonable compensation. Herzenstein was bitterly hated by the reactionaries, both for his liberal agrarian views and for his Jewish origin. Ten days after the Duma was dissolved, Herzenstein was murdered by an agent of the "Black Hundred" at a Finnish summer resort.

His writings, principally on agrarian economics, include *Kredit dlya zemstv i gorodov* (1892; Credit to the Local Councils and the Cities), which is considered a major contribution to the subject of rural credit, and his highly regarded *Noveyshiye techeniya v uchenii o pozemel'nom kredite v Germanii* (1905; Recent Tendencies in the Theory of Agricultural Credit in Germany).

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HERZFELD, ERNST EMIL (1879–1948), archaeologist and Orientalist. Herzfeld, born in Celle, Germany, became director of the Seminar fuer Landes und Altertumskunde des Orients in Berlin, and was professor at the University of Berlin from 1920 to 1935. He took part in many excavations, and directed several of them, including those at Ashur (1903–05), Mariamlik, and Coricos in Cilicia (1907); Samarra in Iraq (1910–13; 1931); Pasargadae (1928); Kukh-i-khawaja in Sistan (1929); and Persepolis (1931–35). In the mid-1930s he emigrated to the United States, where he became professor at the Institute of Advanced Studies at Princeton. Herzfeld laid the foundations for Arab archaeological research in Iraq and the archaeology of Persia of all periods. He was also among the planners and editors of *Matériaux pour un Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum* (1903). His publications include *Iranische Felsreliefs* (with F. Sarre, 1910), *Archaeologische Reise im Euphrat-und Tigris-Gebiet* (4 vols., 1911–20), *Die Aufnahme des Sasanidischen Denkmals von Paikuli* (with F. Sarre, 1924), *Die Keramik von Samarra* (with F. Sarre, 1925), *A New Inscription of Xerxes* (1932), *Iranische Denkmaeler* (4 pts., 1932–33), *Archaeological History of Iran* (1935), *Imām Zāde Karrār at Buzun, a Dated Seldjuk Ruin* (with M.B. Smith, 1935), *Altpersische Inschriften* (1938), *Zoroaster and his World* (2 vols., 1947), *Geschichte der Stadt Samarra* (1948), *Monuments et inscriptions d'Alep* (1947), and *The Persian Empire…* (1968).

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HERZFELD, LEVI (1810–1884), rabbi and historian. Herzfeld, who was born in Ellrich, Germany, studied Talmud under Abraham *Bing in Wuerzburg and Samuel *Eger at Braunschweig and at Berlin University. He first served as *dayyan* under Eger, whose successor as the chief rabbi of the duchy of Braunschweig he became in 1842. As a spokesman of moderate Reform, Herzfeld, in association with L. *Philippson, convened the first Rabbinical Conference in Braunschweig (1844) and also took a leading part in the two following conferences of 1845 and 1846. He and Philippson headed the Institut zur Foerderung der israelitischen Literatur (1860–73). Herzfeld's main importance as a writer of Jewish history lies in that he was the first to pay attention to its economic aspects, particularly in his *Metrologische Voruntersuchungen zu einer Geschichte des… altjuedischen Handels* (1863–65) and his *Handelsgeschichte der Juden des Altertums* (1879, 1894^2). While the latter work's apologetic intent to disprove the antisemitic image of the Jews as a parasitic people of middlemen is evident, the *Handelsgeschichte* is distinguished by its meticulous analysis of the sources and has not been superseded by any other comprehensive work of its type. Herzfeld also wrote on art in Jewish history (*Zwei Vortraege ueber die Kunstleistungen der Hebraeer und alten Juden*, 1864). In his three-volume *Geschichte des Volkes Israel von der Zerstoerung des ersten Tempels bis zur Einsetzung des Makkabaeers Schimon zum hohen*

Priester und Fuersten (1847–57), he stressed the connection between political and religious history. Herzfeld also published Ecclesiastes, with a German translation and commentary (1838); proposals for a reform of Jewish matrimonial law (*Vorschlaege*, 1846); and a Reform prayer book (1874^3), with some studies on its preparation.

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HERZL, THEODOR (**Binyamin Ze'ev**; 1860–1904), founder of political Zionism and the World Zionist Organization. Herzl was born in Budapest, Hungary, to an affluent family and educated in the spirit of German-Jewish enlightenment. In 1878 he entered the law faculty of the University of Vienna, where his family had moved. In 1881 he joined a German students association, Albina, but, encountering antisemitism, resigned two years later. In 1884 he completed his studies but soon afterwards left the legal profession and dedicated himself to literature. His essays were characterized by his superb style and penetrating observations on human problems in modern times. In addition, he also wrote a number of plays, some of which were staged in Vienna, Prague, Berlin, and New York.

In 1889 Herzl married Julie Naschauer. She failed to appreciate his ideas and aspirations and the relationship was not a happy one. They had three children: Pauline, Hans, and Margarethe.

From October 1891 until July 1895 Herzl served as the Paris correspondent of the *Neue Freie Presse*, a liberal-oriented and prestigious Viennese daily. Herzl took particular interest in the social and political problems of France. Excerpts from his articles appeared in a book titled *Das Palais Bourbon* (1895). The resurgence of antisemitism in France awakened his interest in the Jewish problem. His article, entitled "French Antisemites," which appeared in the *Neue Freie Presse* (1892), was followed by his play *Das neue Ghetto* (1895) in which he rejected assimilation, and certainly conversion, as a way to make Jews acceptable to gentile society.

It was, however, the Dreyfus trial (January 1895) that shattered Herzl's illusions. The humiliation of an innocent Jewish captain at the Ecole Militaire, and particularly the cries of the mob, "Death to the Jews," convinced him that the only solution to the Jewish problem would be a massive exodus of the Jews from countries afflicted with antisemitism and the concentration of the Jews in a territory of their own, preferably in the Land of their Forefathers.

He tried first to interest Baron Maurice de *Hirsch, a prominent Jewish philanthropist. The meeting was a failure. Nor was Herzl successful in winning over Dr. Moritz Guedemann, the chief rabbi of Vienna, where Herzl had returned in 1895 to serve as a feuilleton editor of the *Neue Freie Presse*. His attempts to convince a number of other Jewish leaders and intellectuals to support his scheme were also unsuccessful. A notable exception was the celebrated author Max *Nordau, who lent his brilliant pen and oratorial talents to Herzl's service, as well as to Zionism.

Undeterred by his initial setbacks, Herzl published in 1896 his epoch-making treatise *Der Judenstaat* (*The Jewish State*). Translations into Hebrew, English, French, Russian, and Romanian soon followed. In his book Herzl analyzed the Jewish problem and saw the establishment of a Jewish State as

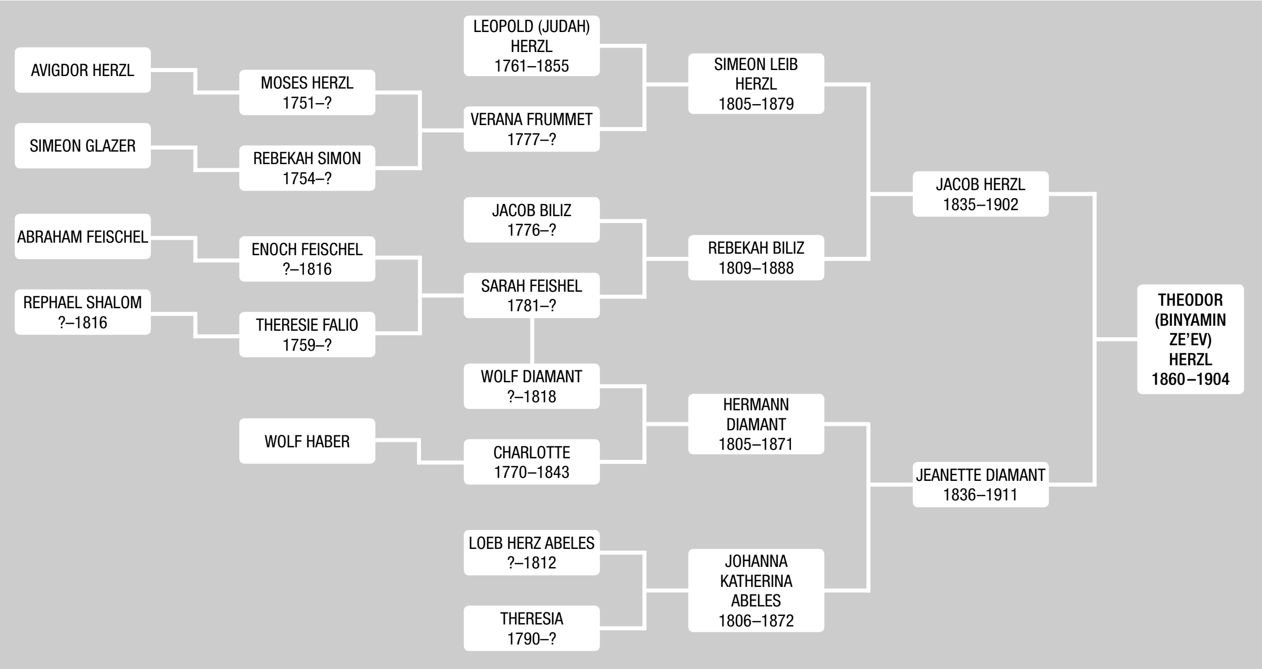
AVIGDOR HERZL
SIMEON GLAZER
ABRAHAM FEISCHEL
REPHAEL SHALOM ?–1816
MOSES HERZL 1751–?
REBEKAH SIMON 1754–?
ENOCH FEISCHEL ?–1816
THERESIE FALIO 1759–?
WOLF HABER
LEOPOLD (JUDAH) HERZL 1761–1855
VERANA FRUMMET 1777–?
JACOB BILIZ 1776–?
SARAH FEISCHEL 1781–?
WOLF DIAMANT ?–1818
CHARLOTTE 1770–1843
LOEB HERZ ABELES ?–1812
THERESIA 1790–?
SIMEON LEIB HERZL 1805–1879
REBEKAH BILIZ 1809–1888
HERMANN DIAMANT 1805–1871
JOHANNA KATHERINA ABELES 1806–1872
JACOB HERZL 1835–1902
JEANETTE DIAMANT 1836–1911
THEODOR (BINYAMIN ZE'EV) HERZL 1860–1904

Ancestry of Theodor Herzl, from P. J. Diamant, Theodor Herzl's vaeterliche und muetterliche Vorfahren, *Jerusalem, 1934.*

the only solution. Responses to his book were mixed. Predictably, the assimilationists in Western Europe rejected his thesis and regarded it as a hindrance to their struggle for emancipation. In contrast, David *Wolfsohn, Max *Bodenheimer, and other Zionist-oriented individuals were enchanted and found in Herzl their natural leader. Particularly enthusiastic were Jewish students in Germany and in Austria. The Zionist Movement had come into being. It was, however, the mass of Jews in Eastern Europe that constituted the backbone of the Movement. They regarded Herzl almost as a savior.

Henceforth, Herzl dedicated all his energy and resources to his Zionist cause. His premature death on July 3, 1904, at the age of 44, deprived the movement of a leader of international caliber. He had become a legendary figure in Jewish history, even in his own lifetime.

Political Activity

It was antisemitism that made Herzl and Max Nordau, his close collaborator, conscious Jews. Both were steeped in European culture, but the resurgence of modern antisemitism wounded their dignity. Herzl was particularly stirred by Eugen Duehring's book *Die Judenfrage als Frage des Rassencharakters und seiner Schädlichkeit fuer Existenz und Kultur des Volkes* ("The Jewish Problem as a Problem of Race and the Harm It Is Causing to the Existence and to the Culture of the People"). As the years went by, the feeling of disenchantment grew stronger, but it was not until the Dreyfus trial in 1894 that Herzl's hopes of emancipation were irreparably shattered. He realized that the civilized nations could not cope with the "Jewish Question," which was a legacy from the Middle Ages. "They have tried it through emancipation, but it came too late." The belief of the doctrinaire libertarians that "men can be made equal by publishing an edict was erroneous." The Jews themselves were not yet accustomed to freedom, and the people around them had "neither magnanimity nor patience." In those places where the Jews had been liberated, the nations saw only their bad characteristics. Lacking historical perspective, they failed to realize that some of the anti-social qualities they attributed to Jews were the product of oppression in earlier times. In vain did Jews endeavor to show their loyalty, sometimes even exaggerated patriotism, toward their countries of domicile. Their sacrifices, their achievements in science, and their contributions to commerce were in vain. In the "fatherlands" in which they had lived for centuries, they were denounced as "strangers."

Herzl appreciated that antisemitism was a complex phenomenon. In some countries, it did occasionally reveal a religious bias, but its virulent character was primarily a consequence of emancipation. Contrary to the general belief that hostility to the Jews would disappear, Herzl feared that it would worsen. Hence, he believed that it was futile to combat antisemitism. Assimilation had failed, since in any genuine sense it could be effected only by intermarriage, and the nations would not tolerate members of an unassimilable group becoming their leaders, although, he allowed, perhaps they were "fully within their rights." He predicted that in Russia and Romania persecution would be inspired officially; in Germany, discrimination would be legalized, and in Austria, people would allow themselves to be intimidated by the mob into initiating a "new St. Bartholomew's Night." Hungary, Herzl's country of birth, would be no exception. The calamity would come in a "most brutal form; the longer it is postponed, the more severe it will be; the more powerful the Jews become the fiercer the retribution. There is no escape from it."

He hoped that, in the long run, antisemitism would not harm the Jews and that educationally it might even prove useful. "It forces us," he concluded, "to close ranks, unites us through pressure, and through our unity will make us free." It was this feeling of freedom that made Herzl declare: "We are a people, one people. We recognize ourselves as a nation by our faith." Henceforth, he no longer regarded the "Jewish Question" as a social or religious problem, but as a national one, which should be solved politically by the council of the civilized nations. Sovereignty over a portion of land, "large enough to justify the rightful requirements of a nation," to which the Jewish masses would emigrate, would provide the right solution. Pondering the choice between the Argentine and Palestine, the "ever memorable historic home" seemed preferable. Its very name would attract the people "with a force of marvelous potency."

Herzl wanted to give the Jews "a corner… where they can live in peace, no longer hounded, outcast, and despised… a country that will be their own," to rid them of the faults that centuries of persecution and ostracism had fostered in them and to allow their intellectual and moral gifts free play, so that finally they might no longer be "the dirty Jews, but the people of light." There they would regain self-esteem and dignity, and "the derisive cry 'Jews!' may become an honorable appellation, like 'German, "Englishman," Frenchman.'"

The solution to the problem, however, should not be left to Jews alone. "The Jewish State is a world necessity!" Those civilized nations who were trying "to exorcise a ghost out of their past" must also shoulder responsibility. He believed that a potential community of interests did exist between the antisemites and the Zionists. "The antisemites will become our most dependable friends, the antisemitic countries our allies. We want to emigrate as respected people," parting as "friends from our foes… The solution of the Jewish Question must be a mighty final chord of reconciliation." Eventually it would place relationships between Jew and Gentile on a normal footing. If the Powers, with the concurrence of the sultan, would recognize Jewish sovereignty over Palestine, the Jews in return could undertake to regulate Turkish finances; they would form there "a portion of Europe … an outpost of civilization." The Jewish State would become "something remarkable… a model country for social experiments and a treasure house for works of art… a destination for the civilized world."

Relations with Germany

Herzl was primarily a man of action who wished to translate his ideas into reality. His basic premise, that Zionism constituted an effective antidote to antisemitism, led him to the conviction that the countries most plagued by this problem were his potential allies. As early as June 9, 1895, he jotted down in his diary, "First I shall negotiate with the Czar regarding permission for the Russian Jews to leave the country … Then I shall negotiate with the German kaiser, then with Austria, then with France regarding the Algerian Jews, then as need dictates." That Herzl should have expected Germany to support him is not surprising, since it was there that modern antisemitism originated. In an interview with Baron de Hirsch in 1895 he exclaimed, "I shall go to the German kaiser, he will understand me…. I shall say: Let our people go! We are strangers here; we are not permitted to assimilate with the people, nor are we able to do so. Let us go!" He was confident that one day the kaiser would be grateful to him for leading the "unassimilable people out."

In this assumption Herzl was basically correct, but it was rather the philosemites who first gave him support. When a long-awaited reply from ex-Chancellor Bismarck was not forthcoming, and the German press appeared to be critical of his *Judenstaat*, a savior from an unexpected quarter called on him. It was the Reverend William Hechler, chaplain to the British Embassy in Vienna. Hechler impressed Herzl as a likable, sensitive, and enthusiastic man. He believed that in 1897–98, the years of "prophetic crisis," Palestine would be returned to the Jews, a prediction that was backed by abstruse computations. Having read the *Judenstaat*, he no longer doubted that the "foreordained movement" had come into being. In Herzl's quizzical eyes, Hechler appeared "a naïve visionary," but it is undeniable that it was he who raised Herzl's cause to the diplomatic plane by introducing him to the Grand Duke of Baden, at whose court Hechler had been a tutor. Hechler also knew the kaiser and thought it possible to arrange an audience for Herzl.

On March 26, 1896, Hechler wrote to the duke about Herzl's project, noting with satisfaction that the antisemitic movement had made the Jews see that they were "Jews first and [only] secondly Germans, Englishmen, etc." It reawakened in them a longing to return "as a nation to the Land of Promise … Palestine belongs to them by right." Should Germany and England give their support and take the Jewish State, declared neutral, under their protection, the Return of the Jews would be a great blessing and would put an end to antisemitism, which was detrimental to the welfare of European nations. He also suggested that the issue be laid before the kaiser, the duke's nephew.

The duke took the opportunity of the kaiser's visit to Karlsruhe to brief him on the subject. The kaiser was not fully acquainted with the matter and did not take it seriously. Nor, it appears was Grand Duke Frederick truly convinced of Herzl's cause. Herzl did his best to dispel the duke's misgivings. On April 22, 1898, when they first met at Karlsruhe, he explained that the establishment of the Jewish State would be an act of goodwill, not a consequence of persecution, that emigration would be voluntary, and that it concerned chiefly the Jews of Austria, Russia, and Romania. German Jews would welcome it; it would divert the migration of their East European coreligionists away from Germany. Moreover, it would reduce the number of Jewish proletarians and, by the same token, the number of revolutionaries. Herzl argued that Jewish enterprise would restore to health "the plague-spot of the Orient."

The grand duke was won over and remained Herzl's staunch supporter. Verdy du Vernois, the former Prussian minister of war and an expert on the Orient, was also convinced that the Zionist project would benefit Turkey, while Hechler continued untiringly to win new converts, particularly in British and German clerical circles. Grand Duke Frederick advised Hechler to win over Count Philipp zu Eulenburg, the German ambassador in Vienna, a gifted politician, whose influence on the kaiser was profound. Hechler was instructed to tell the ambassador that, in the duke's opinion, "something was involved that might prove to be important for German policy in the Orient."

Briefed by Hechler, Herzl was now confident that his movement would receive help. He hoped to persuade the grand duke that settlement by a neutral national element along the shortest route to Asia could be of value to Germany. He also prepared a draft letter to the kaiser, explaining that the Jews were the only people who could colonize Palestine; the land was too poor to attract others. For the Jews, it was rich in memories and hopes. Settlement by other European nationals would engender jealousy among the Powers, while settlement by the Jews, as a neutral element, would create fewer complications.

On Hechler's advice, the letters were not dispatched, but they reflect the working of Herzl's mind. He attempted to strike a balance between the principle of neutrality, embodied in the Basle Program, and an endeavor to solicit the support of a European Power – in this case, Germany – for his cause. The two elements were complementary. The Zionists, he hoped, would be regarded as the lesser evil, since no Power would let any other have Palestine.

During the summer and autumn of 1898, everything seemed, at least superficially, to be going well for Herzl. When Hechler failed to meet Count Eulenburg in Vienna, the duke wrote directly to the kaiser. Earlier he had hesitated to introduce Herzl to Wilhelm, but now that the Zionist movement had made substantial progress, it warranted a certain amount of attention, especially on the eve of the imperial visit to Palestine. Jewish colonization had proved successful, and consistent efforts were being made to lay the foundations of a Jewish state.

It took Wilhelm a month to reply to his uncle's letter. The Zionist aspirations appealed to him, and he instructed Eulenburg to examine the material, but he doubted whether the movement was ripe enough to justify official support. He noted also that Zionism was meeting with strong opposition from influential sections of Jewry, but the duke remained optimistic. On September 2, 1898, he received Herzl in Mainau Castle and, as if to demonstrate his confidence, discussed secret political matters with him. Originally, the kaiser's trip was to be strictly religious, but subsequently it was decided to give it a political character. En route to Palestine, the emperor would pay an official visit to the sultan. Through Ambassador Marschall, the German Government had made inquiries in Constantinople and, the duke said, had learned that the sultan viewed the Zionist cause with favor. Since the Cretan affair, the kaiser had been on excellent terms with the sultan, and the duke was confident that the kaiser's word would certainly be heeded by his host. This was important, because legal security was necessary for the foundation of a state; he thought a formula could be found for preserving the Ottoman overlordship on the pattern of the former Danube principalities.

Shortly after, on September 16, Herzl was invited to meet Count Eulenburg in Vienna. The ambassador was not yet fully acquainted with the project and nourished some misgivings: the soil of Palestine was poor and the Turks would view the immigration of "two million people" with disfavor and suspicion; the sultan was obsessed by fear. However, after listening to Herzl, the ambassador grew "perceptibly warmer." The project was new and visibly fascinated him. But the strongest impression made on him was Herzl's statement that, since Zionism existed, one Power or another would sooner or later espouse it. "Originally, I thought that it would be England. It lay in the nature of things" – but now Germany would be even more welcome. The mention of England, as Herzl observed, was conclusive for Eulenburg. He promised Herzl that he would try to persuade the emperor to intercede with the sultan in order to obtain the country for the Zionists on "the basis of autonomy." He also suggested that Herzl should meet the foreign minister, Bernhard von Buelow.

Herzl impressed Eulenburg as "an unusually gifted man" of striking appearance: "a tall gentleman, with a head like that of King David, the type of valiant leading Jews from the time of the Jewish kingdom, without any trace of a *Handelsjude*." This reaction was typical of Eulenburg's romantic nature. His deeper reasons for so fervently supporting Herzl can only be surmised, for there is little documentary evidence. He believed that Herzl could collect "absolutely unlimited sums" to offer the sultan as a quid pro quo for the concession of Palestine. Since Eulenburg was the first German statesman to commit himself, at least by implication, to the maintenance of the Ottoman Empire, it is possible that Herzl's offer to straighten out the sultan's finances made a strong appeal to him.

Buelow had other ideas. He received Herzl with "captivating kindness," impressing him as a gentleman of the *vieux jeu* of diplomacy rather than the iron type of the Bismarck era. He complimented Herzl profusely on his writing, but his conversation was more in the nature of a chat than a serious political discussion. He doubted whether many German Jews would emigrate; in any case, their departure seemed to him undesirable. He was pleased to learn from Herzl that in Vienna the Zionists had won students away from socialism. Herzl's projected state, however, he dismissed as a "*polis* of Plato." He expected that the main difficulty would be to convince the sultan to enter into negotiations with the Zionists, adding ironically that "it would make a big impression on him should the kaiser give him such advice." Yet Herzl felt intuitively that Buelow was not in favor of the kaiser granting him an audience.

Buelow was a cultured and subtle diplomat and an expert in manipulating people. "He liked to play with ideas and with human beings [but] had no taste for pathos or for lofty trains of thought," but "beneath the charming façade was a narrowness of vision." That the anti-Socialist aspect of Zionism should have attracted his attention is hardly surprising, since "the most important domestic question for him was the fight against the Socialists." His biographer notes that, while recognizing Herzl's great literary talents, he was unable to work up any enthusiasm for his political ideas. Buelow was well aware of the hardships which the Jews in Eastern Europe had to endure but was not convinced that mass emigration to Palestine would improve their lot. He also doubted whether Herzl's project could be applied to German Jews, who were strongly attached to Germany and felt no need "to rush into an undefined venture in Palestine." Zionism, in Buelow's opinion, could at best attract the destitute, not the prosperous and educated among the Jews of Europe; but beggars were not capable of founding a state or even of colonizing it.

Buelow was largely influenced by Professor Ludwig Stein. In a memorandum prepared at Buelow's request, Stein dismissed the Zionist project as "not worthy of consideration," a conclusion he had reached during a fact-finding mission to Palestine in 1895 on behalf of the *Esra Verein*. The *Verein* was investigating the possibilities of Jewish migration from Russia to Palestine, but Stein, though impressed by the existing colonies, discounted them as "mere oases in the desert. The stony soil, the lack of humus, the dearth of fauna, and the scanty flora" were "insurmountable obstacles to any considerable colonization." Moreover, in his opinion, Abdul Hamid's opposition to the settlement of aliens made the *Verein*'s project impracticable.

In 1929, Stein admitted that he had been mistaken:

> In justice to the memory of Herzl, I must confess that in his visionary ecstasy he foresaw many things which logical rationalism considered Utopian. Herzl and Nordau had prevailed. They brought to life a movement that grew far beyond the limits of my wildest dreams. Had I possessed prophetic vision then my judgment as recorded in my diary [memorandum?] would have been different. But being a philosopher by profession, I could not assume the role of seer.

Buelow, too, in October 1914 (by then no longer a minister) admitted to Bodenheimer that reports from Jewish quarters had misled him into adopting a negative attitude toward Zionism.

Unable to rely on Buelow, Herzl wrote to Eulenburg to request an audience with the emperor before the latter's departure for Constantinople. He made five points:

1. In various countries, Zionism might lessen the danger

of socialism, since it was often dissatisfied Jews who provided the revolutionary parties with leaders and ideas.

2. A reduction in Jewish numbers would weaken antisemitism.

3. Turkey stood to gain from the influx of an intelligent and energetic element into Palestine. Large sums of money injected into her economy and the increase in trade would improve her finances.

4. The Jews would bring civilization and order back to a neglected corner of the Orient.

5. A railroad from the Mediterranean to the Persian Gulf was a European necessity. The Jews could and must build this great road of the nations which, if undertaken otherwise, might call forth the most serious rivalries.

This memorandum had a remarkable success. In less than a week, the kaiser, in consultation with Eulenburg, whose counsel he valued, made up his mind to give full support to Herzl's cause. In a letter to his uncle, the grand duke, thanking him for providing the stimulus and guidance in a matter of which hitherto he had had only superficial knowledge, the kaiser wrote:

> The fundamental idea of Zionism has always interested me and even aroused my sympathy. I have come to the conclusion that here we have to deal with a question of the most far-reaching importance. Therefore I have requested that cautious contact should be made with the promoters of this idea. I am willing to grant an audience to a Zionist deputation in Jerusalem on the occasion of our presence there. I am convinced that the settlement of the Holy Land by the wealthy and industrious people of Israel [*Volk Israel*] will bring unprecedented prosperity and blessings to the Holy Land, which may do much to revive and develop Asia Minor. Such a settlement would bring millions into the purse of the Turks and so gradually help to save the "Sick Man" from bankruptcy. In this way the disagreeable Eastern question would be imperceptibly separated from the Mediterranean…. The Turk will recover, getting his money without borrowing, and will be able to build his own highways and railways without foreign companies and then it would not be so easy to dismember Turkey.
>
> In addition, the energy and creative powers and abilities of the tribe of Shem would be directed to more dignified purposes than the exploitation of Christians, and many Semites of the Social Democratic Party, who are stirring up opposition, will move eastwards, where more rewarding work will present itself…. I know very well that nine-tenths of all Germans will be deeply shocked when they hear, at a later time, that I sympathize with the Zionists or even that I place them under my protection when they appeal to me.

Moreover, Kaiser Wilhelm added:

> From the point of view of secular *Realpolitik*, the question cannot be ignored. In view of the gigantic power (very dangerous in a way) of international Jewish capital, would it not be an immense achievement for Germany if the world of the Hebrews looked to her with gratitude? Everywhere the hydra of the most awful antisemitism raises its terrible and brutal head, and the Jews, full of anxiety, are ready to leave the countries where they are threatened in order to return to the Holy Land and seek protection and security. I shall intercede with the Sultan.

Wilhelm was certainly not free from religious prejudices but here his reaction to antisemitism was unusual. By proposing a constructive solution to the "Jewish Problem," he seemed to stand out from most of his contemporaries, though obviously, without the impact of Herzl's memorandum (re-echoed partly in his letter), it is doubtful whether his conclusions would have been so far-reaching. However, it is evident that it was Eulenburg who had kindled his interest. The count understood the emperor and, in serious matters, knew how to make his counsel effective. "Only by consistently rational and timely advice was it possible to confine the … temperamentally exuberant Emperor within limits." The kaiser "has to be greatly interested in a matter," Eulenburg told Herzl during his second interview on October 8, "as otherwise he soon loses sight of it. My standing with the Kaiser is such that I am able to speak to him differently from, and more than, many others. Very few people can go as far as I … I have been able to bring the matter up again and again and I have succeeded."

On September 27, Eulenburg advised Herzl that the kaiser would be pleased to receive a Zionist deputation in Palestine, which would give Herzl an excellent opportunity to present his case. On the next day, September 28, Eulenburg sent Herzl a highly confidential postscript: "His Majesty would discuss the matter with the Sultan in a most emphatic manner and will be pleased to hear more from you in Jerusalem. The Kaiser has already issued orders to the effect that no obstacle is to be placed in the way of the [Zionist] delegation. In conclusion, H.M. wishes to tell you that he is very much *prepared* to undertake the protectorate in question."

The duke also assured Herzl of the emperor's "warm and lively interest"; he would suggest his protection of the Zionist project when he met the sultan; thereafter he would receive a Zionist deputation in Jerusalem in order to demonstrate his sympathy.

The meeting with Eulenburg on October 8 was even more encouraging and made Herzl confident that Germany's intervention and protection were a foregone conclusion.

A subsequent conversation with the grand duke in Potsdam on October 9 fortified Herzl's conviction. "The Kaiser has been thoroughly informed … and is full of enthusiasm. That word is not too strong. He has taken to your idea quite warmly. He speaks of it in the liveliest terms. He would also have received you by now, for he has confidence in you; but it is now deemed better to receive you at Constantinople and Jerusalem." He added that a good report had come from Marschall and that the kaiser believed that the sultan would consider his advice favorably.

Ambassador Marschall had made his name as a diplomat by initiating the era of German-Turkish friendship, which became one of the chief *leitmotifs* of Germany's foreign policy. There is hardly any evidence about his attitude toward Zionism; the "favorable report" to which both Eulenburg and the grand duke of Baden referred has not so far come to light. It is not among the documents of the German Foreign Ministry, nor can it be traced in the *Nachlass Eulenburg*, or among the emperor's papers. We can only surmise why it was too risky for him to support such a venture.

His first objective was to cement relations with Turkey; the second, to facilitate Germany's peaceful penetration of the Ottoman Empire without arousing suspicion. This was not an easy task, since the Russian press was giving much prominence to the alleged German plans to colonize Asia Minor, and even Petersburg made known its displeasure with Berlin's *Drang nach Osten*. It was the French who were responsible for feeding the Russians with this kind of information, which Marschall dismissed as "terrible nonsense, such as only Frenchmen, when speaking about Germans, are able to produce." But German protection of Jewish colonization would have substantiated the Russian and French allegations and, in the given circumstances, caution was imperative.

Moreover, Marschall was aware that the sultan's objection to foreign colonization was based on religious grounds and that the Muslim clergy were particularly sensitive on this issue. In 1905, Marschall asked a representative of the *Hilfsverein der deutschen Juden* to advise the Zionists to moderate their political aspirations. Yet the question still arises: why, if Marschall was aware of the pitfalls entailed in support of Zionism, did he not warn the emperor in the autumn of 1898?

Soon after the Zionist delegation arrived in Constrantinople, it experienced a bitter foretaste of its future disappointments. Marschall declined to grant Herzl an audience on the pretext that he did not know him. Max Bodenheimer's explanation that Dr. Herzl was the Zionist leader who had been in touch with Count Eulenburg and that the matter concerned the reception of a deputation by His Majesty the Kaiser had no effect. To the Zionists' regret, Eulenburg did not join the Near Eastern tour. Buelow was unreliable and Marschall enigmatic. To bring matters to a head, Herzl wrote to Wilhelm requesting a confidential audience. He assured the kaiser that France, weakened internally, would not be able to make a move, that "to Russia, the Zionist solution of the Jewish question meant enormous relief," and that no effective objection was to be feared from England, since the English Church was known to favor the Zionist cause. "Everything depends on the form of the *fait accompli*." As for the sultan, even if he did not immediately realize what aid the Zionists would bring to his impoverished state, it was unlikely that he would decline to accept the kaiser's advice. Once personal contact between the two sovereigns was established, they could ignore the intrigues of the other Powers. Herzl's request boiled down to a concession for a "Jewish Land Company for Syria and Palestine" under German protection.

The long-awaited audience with the emperor took place on October 18 in Buelow's presence. The kaiser listened attentively to Herzl's exposition and expressed confidence that the Zionists, with the financial and human resources at their disposal, would be successful in their venture. That the word "Zionism" was used by the German emperor as an accepted term was a source of pride to Herzl, but other utterances were less pleasant. "There are elements among your people whom it would be a good thing to settle in Palestine," the kaiser stated. "I am thinking of Hesse, for example, where there are usurers at work among the rural population. If these people took their possessions and went to settle in the colonies, they could be more useful." Herzl was taken by surprise, because earlier he had been assured by both Eulenburg and Buelow that Wilhelm II was by no means antisemitic. Herzl soon regained his confidence and launched an attack on antisemitism, only to be parried by Buelow, who commented that the Jews, by flocking to the opposition and even to the anti-monarchical parties, showed their ingratitude to the House of Hohenzollern. Herzl replied that Zionism would take the Jews away from the revolutionary parties. Buelow stuck to his guns and, when Wilhelm expressed confidence that the Jews would support the colonization of Palestine once they knew it was under his protection, the foreign minister interjected that the rich Jews were not in favor of it, nor were the big newspapers. At every opportunity, he contradicted the emperor, only stopping short of using "the little word No … since the *voluntas regis* [royal will] is Yes." On one occasion, the kaiser had laid it down that "*suprema lex regis voluntas est*."

However, the emperor, who often allowed himself to be guided by his minister, in this case supported Herzl and agreed that Zionism was a "completely natural" solution. Buelow again raised a doubt as to the attitude of the Porte, although individual Turkish ministers might prove more amenable if offered sufficient bribes. But the kaiser brushed aside Buelow's misgivings, confident that it would make an impression if he showed interest. "After all, I am the only one who still sticks by the Sultan." Throughout the conversation, the kaiser looked at Herzl directly. Only when the latter spoke of the new overland route to Asia and the Persian Gulf did he stare into space, and his thoughtful expression revealed that Herzl's words had made an impact. The interview was concluded by the kaiser's undertaking to ask the sultan for a "chartered company under German protection." He shook Herzl's hand vigorously, promising to work the details out with Buelow. Events showed that he gravely misjudged the attitude of the Porte and his own minister.

Though flattering his sovereign as "a monarch of genius!" Buelow remained unconvinced. He told Herzl (after the kaiser had left) that in his opinion the Turks were unfavorably disposed and advised him to see Marschall, who possessed "exact information." Soon after, Herzl drove to the German Embassy, only to find that Marschall had left to attend the dinner in the kaiser's honor. It was there that the emperor made his diplomatic overture to the sultan and failed.

Wilhelm's account of his encounter with Abdul Hamid, quoted already, is too sketchy to enlighten us. In 1902, the Grand Duke of Baden told Dr. Bodenheimer that at the dinner the kaiser twice attempted to discuss the matter of Palestine with the sultan, but the latter displayed a "complete and ostentatious lack of understanding." Earlier, in 1901, Herzl was told by Count Eulenburg that he had been unable to discover what the difficulty had been. The sultan rejected the kaiser's suggestion so brusquely that it was not possible to pursue it further; "we are anxious to remain on good terms with him. As a guest, the Kaiser could not, of course, press the subject."

If the circumstantial evidence adduced above is correct, the kaiser's diplomatic venture was clumsy. Wilhelm II has been described as quick, versatile, and responsive to ideas, but also as a man without depth; impulsive by nature, he scarcely penetrated the problems that he studied. In personal relations, he was benevolent and amiable; yet, on some occasions, he was inclined to act in a most erratic and tactless manner. Despite his intellectual gifts, there was much of the irresponsible dilettante in him. He undoubtedly had an instinct for politics, but he was no master of diplomacy. "What he needed most – and never had – was someone in authority over him." It was unfortunate that Eulenburg was not present, because Buelow's reliability was still to be tested.

Unaware of the emperor's failure, Herzl drafted the official address he was to deliver in Jerusalem:

> We are bound to this sacred soil through no valid title of ownership. Many generations have come and gone since this earth was Jewish. If we talk about it, it is only about a dream of very ancient days. But the dream is still alive, lives in many hundreds of thousands of hearts; it was and is a wonderful comfort in many an hour of pain for our poor people. Whenever foes oppressed us with accusations and persecutions, whenever we were begrudged that little bit of right to live, whenever we were excluded from the society of our fellow citizens – whose destinies we have been ready to share loyally – the thought of Zion arose in our oppressed hearts.
>
> There is something eternal about that thought, whose form, to be sure, has undergone multifarious changes with people, institutions, and times.

Herzl stressed that Zionism was a political expression of an old idea. It aimed at solving the "Jewish Question" by modern means, but its essence was to realize the centuries-old dream of returning to Zion. "This is the land of our fathers, a land suitable for colonization and cultivation," he said, "It cries out for the people to work. And we have among our brethren a frightful [*sic*] proletariat. These people cry out for a land to cultivate." He argued that Zionism was a cause so worthy of sympathy that it would fully justify the emperor's protection. The sultan, too, should be persuaded of the usefulness of the Jewish Land Company.

> We are honestly convinced that the implementation of the Zionist plan must mean welfare for Turkey … Energies and material resources will be brought to the country; a magnificent fructification of desolate areas may easily be foreseen; and from all this there will arise more happiness and more culture for many human beings. Our idea offends no-one's rights or religious feelings; it breathes long-desired reconciliation. We understand and respect the devotion of all faiths to the soil on which, after all, the faith of our fathers, too, arose.

Moreover, Herzl added that Jewish aspirations transcended their purely national context. They were part of the human endeavor.

> This is the fatherland of ideas which do not belong to one people or to one creed alone. The farther men advance in their morality, the more clearly do they recognize the common elements in these ideas. And thus the actual city of Jerusalem, with its fateful walls, has long since become a symbolic city sacred to all civilized men.

The exalted note echoed the messianic hope of the Hebrew prophets, who believed that the redemption of the Jewish people would coincide with the redemption of mankind. Lofty as its content was, it brought no definite result. Circumstances were against Herzl; it does not require much imagination to realize why "German protection of a Jewish chartered company" could not commend itself to the sultan. For years, Turkey had been struggling against the system of *Capitulations, which provided the European Powers with an instrument for meddling in her internal affairs. "The spectre of a second Franco-Lebanon [in the form of a Judeo-]German Palestine" was alarming. Ahmed Tewfik, the Turkish foreign minister, who accompanied the kaiser on his tour of Palestine, made it clear that "the Sultan would have nothing to do with Zionism and an independent Jewish kingdom." As a result, Wilhelm lost his enthusiasm for Zionism.

Herzl may have been flattered when the kaiser stopped for a while and chatted with him at the gates of Mikveh Israel, to the astonishment of the spectators watching the imperial procession on its way to Jerusalem. "Water is what it needs, a lot of water … It is a land of the future," the kaiser told Herzl, but the interview that Herzl had with the Legation counselor Klehmet, whom Buelow had brought with him from Berlin as his secretary, was discouraging. He objected to a number of passages in Herzl's draft address and insisted on the deletion of the passages requesting the emperor to take the Land Company under his protection. It was noticeable, Bodenheimer observed, that the Foreign Ministry took great care to ensure that the kaiser would not, in a moment of enthusiasm, announce his protection of Zionist colonization.

The official audience with the emperor took place on November 2, 1898, in Jerusalem, again in Buelow's presence. The emperor welcomed Herzl affably and displayed interest in his address, but then stated that the matter required "thorough study and further discussion." The German and Jewish colonies had impressed him and served as an indication of "what could be done. The country has room for everyone"; the work of the Jewish colonists "will also serve as a stimulating example to the native population. Your movement, with which I am thoroughly acquainted, contains a sound idea." He assured the deputation of his continued interest, but the conclusive statement that Herzl was so eagerly awaiting was not forthcoming, and the political aspect of the scheme was passed over. The kaiser said "neither yes nor no," and Herzl inferred that his stock had depreciated. On the day itself, he still clung to the belief that the reception might have some "historic consequences," but disillusion was soon to follow. The colorless official communiqué issued by the German news agency (of which Herzl learned on his return journey) dispelled earlier hopes. It read:

> Kaiser Wilhelm has received a Jewish deputation… Replying to an address by its leader, Kaiser Wilhelm said that all those efforts which aimed at the improvement of agriculture in Palestine, and which furthered the welfare of the Ottoman Empire, commanded his benevolent interest, with due respect for the sovereignty of the Sultan.

The substitution of "Jewish" for "Zionist" was significant. Moreover, the emphasis on respect for Ottoman sovereignty also reflected the caution employed by German officials, but such an emasculated formula was hardly what Herzl expected. A month earlier he had asked Eulenburg whether it would not be wiser for the kaiser to receive the Zionist deputation privately. Unaware of the fiasco in Constantinople, he felt he had been misled. However, unlike his colleagues, he remained undaunted; the protectorate was not an end in itself, but only a means to achieve his objective. Herzl returned to Berlin empty-handed.

The ever sympathetic Grand Duke of Baden was willing to help and Count Eulenburg invited Herzl to meet him, but the attitude in Berlin remained negative. The duke admired Herzl's perseverance and suggested that, since Germany was in no position to recommend the Zionists in Constantinople, Austria might well be able to do so. Eulenburg also explained why it was impossible for Germany to sponsor Herzl's cause, but encouraged him and thought that the support of the British Parliament, where Herzl had managed to enlist 40 sympathizers, was "very important."

Relations with Turkey

Turkey was Herzl's main stumbling-block; to win her over was one of his main objectives. As early as 1895 (the year of his Zionist awakening), when the Eastern question had gained renewed prominence in diplomatic circles, he hoped that a favorable opportunity might arise for the Jews to claim Palestine as a "neutral land." But when prospects of Turkey's dismemberment faded, he veered in the opposite direction: "We shall bestow enormous benefits upon Turkey." If Palestine were ceded as "an independent country," the Jews would undertake to straighten out Turkish finances. If Jewish capital could be raised for the most exotic undertakings, would none be found for "the most immediate, the direst need of the Jews themselves?" he wrote to Baron Hirsch in 1895.

Briefed by Moritz Reichenfeld, director of the Union Bank of Vienna, he calculated that a sum of 18 million Turkish pounds would suffice to relieve the Porte of foreign debt; this he hoped to supplement with an additional 2 million. These calculations were, however, based on a misconception. The Turks were disinclined to grant even minor concessions, while the rich Jews were in no mood to raise the money. Dionys Rosenfeld, editor of the *Osmanische Post* in Constantinople, told Herzl on May 3, 1896 that, despite her financial straits and diplomatic weakness, Turkey would not relinquish sovereignty over any of her provinces, an opinion that Philip de Newlinski, a Polish agent, confirmed: the sultan would never part with Jerusalem.

To Newlinski's astonishment, Herzl did not betray any sign of despair. His instinct told him that not every statement should be taken at face value. Herzl's sympathetic presentation of Turkey's problems in the formerly hostile *Neue Freie Press* earned him the sultan's goodwill. Although Palestine remained out of the question, Herzl inferred from Newlinski that the Ottoman sovereign might accept some kind of arrangement. The only opponent was the grand vizier. He received Herzl in his capacity as a journalist and discussed current affairs, but Palestine was not mentioned. Herzl still hoped that once the benefits became more tangible opposition at the Yildiz Kiosk would melt away. Moreover, to dispel any lingering suspicions he modified his terminology. "Independent Jewish State" and "republic" were replaced by "autonomous vassal state … under the suzerainty of the Sultan"; Jewish immigrants were to embrace Ottoman nationality and settle in Palestine at the express invitation of the sultan; they were to pay a tribute of 100,000 pounds, a sum which would rise to 1 million annually, *pari passu* with the increase in immigration. In return they would be granted autonomy and be allowed to maintain an army.

On his return from Constantinople (July 1896) Herzl's first priority was to raise the necessary funds. In London the idea of a Jewish state had an electrifying effect on the poor Jews of the East End, but the rich Jews remained aloof. A notable exception was Sir Samuel *Montagu, MP (later the first Lord Swaythling), a prominent banker and a Ḥovevei Zion leader. Even so Montagu made his support conditional on that of Baron de Hirsch and Baron Edmond de *Rothschild of Paris, but, as neither was moved by Herzl's appeal, Sir Samuel's sympathy had little practical value. Rothschild had no faith in Turkish promises and doubted the feasibility of the project. Warm as his patronage of the Jewish colonies in Palestine was, he was not prepared to accept the risk of having to maintain hundreds of thousands of immigrants. Moreover, his experience convinced him that a politically motivated project would not be favored in Constantinople. Rothschild's rejection was a bitter blow to Herzl, but despair was a luxury he could not afford. A year earlier he had written to Zadoc Khan, the chief rabbi in France, "I believe that we are at a great turning point of our history." If the big capitalists refused, perhaps the little Jews would band together and raise the money. A national movement had to be shouldered by the people themselves, not by single individuals. It was this reasoning, among other things, that prompted him to convene a World Zionist Congress.

It was in deference to Turkish susceptibilities that references to the idea of Jewish statehood were dropped. In the June 1897 issue of *Die Welt*, the Zionist organ, Herzl introduced for the first time the term *Heimstaette*, which means homestead, and prevailed upon the First Zionist Congress to incorporate it in its official program: "Der Zionismus erstrebt fuer das juedische Volk die Schaffung einer oeffentlich-rechtlich gesicherten Heimstaette in Palestina." He insisted on the wording "oeffentlich-rechtlich" (under public law) as against one of the alternative suggestions "voelker-rechtilich" (under international law) which implied intervention by the foreign Powers in the internal affairs of a sovereign state. He dismissed the term "rechtlich" (under private law) since in the given context it was too weak. By contrast, "oeffentlich-rechtlich gesicherte Heimstaette" (secured by public law) was flexible enough to be interpreted in Constantinople as meaning by public Ottoman law, whereas, in London, Paris, and Berlin it could be read as international law, enabling the European Powers to guarantee the Jewish home. Like the Delphic utterances, it could be interpreted either way, but to Herzl it could have had only one meaning:

> At Basel I founded the Jewish State. If I said this out loud today, I would be answered by universal laughter. Perhaps in five years, and certainly in fifty, everyone will know it. The foundation of a State lies in the will of the people…. Territory is only the material basis; the State, even when it possesses territory, is always something abstract … At Basel I created this abstraction … I gradually worked the people into the mood for a State and made them feel that they were its National Assembly.

The Turks, however, were not deceived, and on February 4, 1898, Tewfik Pasha told Herzl that he welcomed Jewish immigrants to Turkey but would not grant them any specific territory or autonomy. To Herzl such a solution, tantamount to a "settlement of new Armenians in Turkey," was totally unacceptable. Nor did Wilhelm II prove to be Herzl's savior; as it turned out, the kaiser's *démarche* with Abdul Hamid did more harm than good. Strangely, it never occurred to Herzl that the intervention of a foreign Power would prejudice his case with the Ottoman ruler. Newlinski's sudden death was an additional misfortune. Rejected by the German government and aware of the poor state of Zionist finances, Herzl almost reached breaking point. The big question mark inserted on April 17, 1899, in his diary reflected his state of mind.

However, it was Arminius Vámbéry, a Hungarian-Jewish Orientalist and traveler, who procured an audience with the sultan for Herzl. Vámbéry was fluent in 12 languages and changed his religion as lightly as his coat. As a young man in Constantinople he had embraced Islam and later, when appointed professor of Oriental languages at the University of Budapest, had adopted Protestantism. A personal friend of Abdul Hamid II and of King Edward VII, and an authority on Central Asia, he had carried out several diplomatic missions for both the British and Turkish governments. When Herzl met him on June 16, 1900, he was 70 years old, not clear about his own identity, whether he was a Turk or an Englishman, but his study of religions had made him an atheist. Herzl's personality attracted him strongly, and, as events showed, his help to the Zionists was genuine. Beneath his cosmopolitan veneer lurked Jewish sentiments, and Herzl played on them well. "You and I belong to a race who can do everything but fail," and on December 23, 1900 Herzl urged him on: "Your true mission is to help your people."

Vámbéry kept his word. On May 8, 1901, on his return from Constantinople, he brought good news: the sultan would receive Herzl as a Jewish leader and an influential journalist, though not as a Zionist. "You must not talk to him about Zionism. That is a phantasmagoria. Jerusalem is as holy to these people as Mecca is."

However weighty the religious motives, what made the Turks so obdurate was the fear of intervention by the Powers. Should the Jews be allowed to immigrate freely, the Powers would seize an early excuse to occupy Palestine by military force. Ahmed Tewfik made little effort to conceal from David Wolffsohn how annoyed his government was with Herzl's *The Jewish State* and reiterated the standard Turkish position.

That the sultan nonetheless did receive Herzl warmly is not surprising since with Zionism deliberately excluded there was nothing to sour the occasion. The meeting took place on May 17, 1901. Before the audience Herzl was presented with the Grand Cordon of the Order of Mejidiye, the highest Turkish decoration, and, after they had met, the sultan gave him a diamond tie pin as a token of personal friendship. For Herzl the gifts had only a symbolic value. His impression of Abdul Hamid was of "a weak, cowardly, but thoroughly good-natured, man," neither crafty nor cruel, but "a profoundly unhappy prisoner in whose name a rapacious, infamous, seedy camarilla perpetuates the vilest abominations." In contrast, Herzl impressed his host as "a leader" and "a prophet." The audience lasted for two hours. Herzl thanked Abdul Hamid for his benevolence toward the Jews, which the latter accepted as confirmation of an established fact: his Empire was wide open to Jewish refugees and, among the non-Muslims, they were the most reliable subjects. This gave Herzl an opening to proffer certain services, quoting the story of Androcles and the lion. "His Majesty is the lion, perhaps I am Androcles, and maybe there is a thorn that has to be pulled out." The thorn, Herzl disclosed, was the public debt; if eliminated, Turkey would be given a new lease on life. Herzl put his finger on the sorest spot of Turkey's body politic and, noting how amused his host was by the parable, asked for permission to make the sultan's pro-Jewish sentiments public from whatever platform and on whatever occasion he deemed fit. Abdul Hamid, unaware that Herzl had in mind the Zionist Congress, agreed and said that what Turkey needed most was the industrial skill of the Jewish people. He asked Herzl to recommend a financial adviser and promised "permanent protection" to those Jews who sought refuge in his lands.

Vámbéry, whom Herzl met on his return journey, thought that his achievement in Constantinople was "tremendous" and hoped that the concession for the charter company would be granted within a year. The press, too, presented the audience in rosy colors. Elated, Herzl hoped to be more successful with Jewish financiers, but was again disappointed. The Rothschilds remained unconvinced. Herzl complained to a friend that had it not been for this "miserable money" he would have been "almost through with the Sultan."

In mid-July 1902, Herzl called at the Yildiz Kiosk for the fifth and last time. Believing the moment propitious, he asked that the Porte should reject French financial assistance and grant a concession for the Jewish colonization of

Mesopotamia and Haifa and its environs. Mesopotamia was merely camouflage for his real ambitions, and Haifa was only a stepping stone. He was careful not to disclose the identity of his "friends" in the world of high finance, and warned that the consolidation of the Ottoman public debt would be a "slow and complicated" process. The fees paid by the Company would be proportionate to the number of immigrants allowed to enter the regions concerned. Should the sultan make a special declaration, a favorable response throughout the world would follow. It would attract Jewish intelligence, capital, and enterprise, from which the Ottoman Empire as a whole would benefit.

Mehmed Said Pasha, the grand vizier, complimenting Herzl on his "humanitarian and commendable" aspirations, assured him that, in principle, the sultan was prepared to negotiate. But when the actual situation was considered, Said was decidedly negative: Turkey feared complications with the Great Powers, and even Haifa could not be conceded, since it was strategically important. Before leaving, Herzl obtained a warm letter from Abdul Hamid ("*Le Sionisme est très noble*"), but on matters of substance, the deadlock remained unresolved.

Turkey was Herzl's main stumbling block. His policy toward it was based on give and take, but this principle proved unworkable, since the funds with which he hoped to restore Turkish solvency were denied him, and the sultan refused to issue a declaration that could have stirred the Jewish masses and warmed the hearts of Jewish financiers. Nor was it likely that Herzl would have been more successful had the necessary resources been placed at his disposal. The sultan was not in the habit of selling his land and limiting his sovereignty voluntarily. Fear of political complications, real and imaginary, should the Jews be allowed to establish themselves in Palestine, weighed far more heavily with the Turks than financial benefits, however alluring. In the circumstances, it was only the combined pressure of the Powers that could have forced Turkey to make certain concessions. It was therefore an illusion to expect that friendly advice by the kaiser to the sultan would be sufficient to put Herzl's charter company into operation.

In Search of International Support – The Uganda Controversy

Herzl did not lose hope. Some day, when the Turks were in dire need, they would become more amenable. In the meantime, he shifted his efforts to Britain in the expectation that it would allow him to establish a Jewish colony under its protection somewhere in the neighborhood of Palestine. His eyes had been turned to England since 1895. Initial reactions to his ideas reinforced his belief that London should be one of his main bases. Gladstone, the former prime minister, liked Herzl's *The Jewish State*, while Bishop Wilkinson thought that Zionism was a practical proposition. Also the press reported sympathetically on the First Zionist Congress; the Conservative *Pall Mall Gazette* and the radical *Daily Chronicle* advocated a European conference for the settlement of the "Jewish Question." The Fourth Zionist Congress, which met in London (August 13–16, 1900), also attracted favorable comment, and friendly sentiments were expressed at Westminster and elsewhere. Yet, for all the sympathy that Herzl gained, no practical results ensued.

It was not until 1902 that negotiations with the British government began in earnest. With Palestine barred, Herzl hoped to acquire at least a staging post in its neighborhood; a foothold in Cyprus, in the Sinai Peninsula, or in the El-Arish area. Joseph Chamberlain, the colonial secretary, who met him on October 22 and again on October 23, 1902, thought Cyprus impracticable, but agreed that in the El-Arish area, or in Sinai, which was uninhabited, a self-governing Jewish colony could be founded, provided Lord Cromer, the British agent in Cairo, approved. To Herzl this was no mean achievement, and two days later he told Lord Rothschild enthusiastically that, should the plan materialize, "a refuge" and "a home for the hard-pressed Jews" would be created, while England would increase her influence in the southeastern corner of the Mediterranean and rally "ten million" friends to her side.

The plan did not materialize. The sultan, who exercised at least nominal sovereignty over Sinai, objected; so did the Egyptian government. The difficulty of providing irrigation was another factor weighing heavily against the plan in official calculations, and Cromer, by no means personally hostile, gave it the *coup de grâce*. In the spring of 1903, Chamberlain offered instead the Guas Ngishu plateau near Nairobi in East Africa – not "Uganda," as Chamberlain and others later inaccurately called it – for a Jewish settlement under the British flag. Herzl thought it politically imprudent to reject it, since the very fact that a Great Power was negotiating with him amounted to a *de facto* recognition of his movement. He considered the offer primarily in *political* terms. Rather than impede, it might bring the realization of his ultimate goal nearer. For him it was merely a ploy to obtain British recognition of the Zionist movement and recognition of the Jews as a people, and to bring Britain gradually to the conclusion that only in Palestine would the "Jewish Problem" be solved.

This strategy is evident from the correspondence between Herzl and Leopold Greenberg, the editor of the *Jewish World* and the *Jewish Chronicle*, his representative *vis-à-vis* the Foreign Office. In a letter dated June 7, 1903, Greenberg wrote:

> It seems to me intrinsically there is no great value in East Africa. It will not form a great attraction to our people for it has no moral or historical claim. But the value of the proposal of Chamberlain is politically immense *if we use it to its full*. An essential of this is, I submit, that the Agreement that we get from the British government should be as well a definite declaration of its desire to assist our people.… That will be of infinite value to you both within our Movement and outside. It matters not if East Africa is afterwards refused by us – we shall have obtained from the British government a recognition that it cannot go back on and which no other British government will ever be able to upset. Everything after that will have to start from that point – the point of recognition of us as a Nation. It also follows

> naturally that if it is found that East Africa is not good, they will have to make a further suggestion and this will … gradually and surely lead us to Palestine.

Responding, Herzl insisted: "We must obtain from the British government recognition of us as a nation [*eine nationale Anerkennung*], and the Charter should include the following phrase: '*Bildung einer Colonialgesellschaft fuer die juedische Nation*' [creation of a Colonization Company of the Jewish People]."

Greenberg was sorry to hear that the East Africa plan provoked some opposition. He ascribed it to misunderstanding. "Had it really been an alternative plan to Palestine, I would have opposed it myself most vehemently. At the moment, the most pressing problem is recognition of Jews as a people by one of the Great Powers.… This should be achieved before our march toward Eretz Israel. We shall thereafter be able to rally our people and unite them under your banner."

The opposition to whom Greenberg referred included Max Nordau, Herzl's close friend and collaborator. Nordau had claimed that the area in East Africa was unsuitable for colonization and Jewish refugees would prefer to migrate to America or Europe instead. The Zionist Movement would lose its *raison d'être* and die a natural death.

Herzl had no difficulty in convincing Nordau. "This British East African beginning," he wrote to Nordau, "is politically a *Rishon le-Zion*." If the Zionists gratefully acknowledged Chamberlain's offer, it would enhance his sympathy and commit him to do something for them, should a Zionist fact-finding mission disqualify East Africa as a suitable place for settlement. Negotiations with the British government, Herzl elucidated, were tactical; they would bring the realization of Zionism sooner than all Baron Edmond de Rothschild's colonies. Moses also reached the Land of Canaan in a roundabout way. Nordau was converted and henceforth supported Herzl wholeheartedly.

It was at that time that Herzl received a letter from Vyachelslav Plehve, the Russian minister of the interior, with whom he had been negotiating. The letter is dated August 12, 1903 and is of outstanding importance. Plehve promised, on behalf of the czarist government, that Russia would intervene with the sultan in favor of the Zionists and would assist them in the organization of massive Jewish immigration and settlement in Palestine with the ultimate objective of creating there a Jewish state.

Both in its phrasing and in its implications, Plehve's letter was of far greater moment than the British one. Sir Clement Hill of the Foreign Office referred to "the establishment of a Jewish colony" in East Africa, which would enable the settlers to observe "their National customs." Plehve favored the creation of "an independent state in Palestine," a term that Herzl himself was reluctant to use. The British document is tentative and guarded in its language, while the Russian one refers clearly to "moral and material support" on practical issues. The motives are also different. That of the British government was primarily humanitarian, while that of the Russian government was shaped by domestic considerations. It reflected also the general line of Russian foreign policy aimed at the dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire. By fostering the separatist aspirations of the non-Turkish nationalities, Russia hoped not only to weaken Turkey from within, but also to emerge as the champion of those struggling for liberation.

Plehve's letter served as the cornerstone of Herzl's diplomacy. With such a diplomatic breakthrough, was there any point in continuing negotiations about East Africa? Considering Herzl's political *Weltanschauung*, it should not be too difficult to answer the question. The reason was that the British letter contained the key phrase that was missing from the Russian one; i.e., recognition of the Jews as a nation. This was important not only as a matter of principle, but also out of regard for practical politics. Herzl realized, long before the principle of self-determination became standard currency in international relations, that only nations were entitled to claim a territory. Moreover, support by only one Power was insufficient; only pressure by a Concert of Powers would have the desired effect on Turkey. Such a combination did in fact emerge during the conferences in London in 1912–13 following the Balkan Wars. However, by then Herzl was no longer alive. Moreover, Herzl's basic concept was that the "Jewish Problem" was an international problem which should be solved internationally, not by one single Power. Hence, the importance of bringing England into the picture.

The storm that erupted during the Sixth Zionist Congress was unforeseen. The response of the Zionist Executive, to whom Herzl brought Sir Clement Hill's letter of August 14, 1903, for approval, was positive, even enthusiastic. Jehiel *Tschlenow, the Russian Zionist leader, gave it his unqualified blessing, remarking that a Great Power had recognized the Jews as a nation and acknowledged their creative talents. When one of the few skeptics pointed out that Palestine had not been mentioned in the British letter, Herzl replied that it was written in "invisible ink," which, within several months, would become readable.

In his opening address to the Congress on August 23, 1903, Herzl assured the delegates that he had no other objective in mind than Palestine. "There is no change and there will be no change in our attitude toward the Land of our Forefathers," he declared. The speech was greeted with great enthusiasm. Years later, Weizmann acknowledged in his *Trial and Error* that the British letter had reestablished the national and juridical identity of the Jewish people.

The acrimonious controversy that ensued was largely due to a misunderstanding. Partly it was Nordau's fault for coining, in his otherwise brilliant speech, the term *ein Nachtasyl* (a night shelter). This made some of the delegates, like Shmarya *Levin, initially a fervent supporter, suspect that the *Nachtasyl* was merely the thin end of a permanent shelter to the detriment of the idea of a return to Zion. The atmosphere became explosive, laden with emotion. The exchange turned into a debate among the deaf. Diplomatically discreet, Herzl was wary of revealing his true motives. There was also another reason for his reticence. Suffering from a serious heart condition, he was unable to take an active part in the discussions. The Congress thus resembled a boat rocked in high seas deprived of its navigator.

The opponents, the *Neinsagers* (Nay sayers), were under a misapprehension. It was not the choice between "Zion or Uganda" that had been put on the agenda. What had been proposed was the dispatch of a Commission of Inquiry to East Africa. The Commission was to report back to the Congress, the Organization's sovereign body, for further reflection. Herzl anticipated that the report would be negative, as it was crystal clear to him that the Jews would not go to Africa in any case. The purpose of the exercise was to elicit from the British government yet another area of settlement and bring it gradually to the conclusion that there was no alternative to Palestine.

In retrospect, all the controversy was irrelevant, because the subject matter became unreal. After Chamberlain's resignation as colonial secretary in mid-September 1903, there was an appreciable diminution in interest in the Uganda project. Alfred Lyttleton, his successor, showed no enthusiasm for it, while the Foreign Office, largely on account of strong objections raised by the British governor in Kenya, became decidedly reserved. As soon as rumors spread of a possible influx of Jews, the white settlers in Kenya protested against the very idea of Jewish settlement. Embarrassed, the Foreign Office offered Leopold Greenberg another territory for settlement in Somali or in Tanaland, which, on all counts, was unsuitable for Europeans.

Herzl did not shed any tears, but greeted the news with undisguised satisfaction. In a circular letter to the members of the Zionist Executive, he declared that the East Africa project was dead. Simultaneously, he advised Greenberg to continue his pourparler with the Foreign Office. This Greenberg did with consummate skill. The results were spectacular.

On December 14, 1903, Greenberg met Lord Percy, the newly appointed under-secretary of state. Percy was a humanist and a philosemite. Sensing that settlement in Africa would not attract Jews, he asked Greenberg pointedly: "Was there any serious attempt to acquire Palestine? On the basis of what you told me, it ought to be the most desirable goal." He added that he wished to meet Herzl.

In spite of ill health, Herzl continued his diplomatic *tour de force*. On September 5, 1903, briefing Plehve on the proceedings of the Congress, he reiterated his argument that a massive and continuous emigration of Jews from Russia – "an emigration without the right of return" – would be possible only in the direction of Palestine. East Africa would attract only a few thousand proletarians. Hence, it lay in Russia's interest to support Zionist aspirations. And to Count zu Eulenburg, the German ambassador in Vienna and the kaiser's confidant, he confessed, "I will gladly let Wilhelm II have the glory of placing himself at the head" of the Concert of Powers on the Zionist question. Although Sir Clement Hill's letter was as generous as it [was] wise we stubborn Jews are more attached to the sand and chalk of Palestine" than to East Africa.

This line of reasoning dispels any lingering suspicion that Herzl had abandoned Palestine in favor of East Africa, for it appears that his main purpose was not necessarily to obtain the East Africa concession, but to ease Germany's (or any other Power's) task in gaining Palestine for the Zionists. East Africa was only the diplomatic stepping stone to the main goal. That there was no substitute for Palestine is also clear from Herzl's letter to Izzet Bey, which was his last contact with the Sublime Porte:

> A territory we can find elsewhere. We have found it. You have undoubtedly read in the papers that the English government has offered me a territory of 60,000–90,000 square leagues in Africa, a rich, fertile country, excellent for our colonization. But nevertheless, I come back once more to my plan for finding the salvation of the Jewish people among the brothers of our race and our coreligionists who live under the scepter of the Caliph, bringing to them what we have … the spirit of enterprise, industry, economic progress.

With no satisfactory response from Constantinople forthcoming, Herzl continued to consolidate his position among the Powers in the hope that they would exert concerted pressure on Turkey. His achievements in the Italian and Austrian capitals were noteworthy.

Victor Emmanuel III of Italy received Herzl graciously on January 23, 1904. Italy had no "Jewish Problem," but Zionism had its positive attractions. Palestine "will and must get into your hands," the king told Herzl. "It is only a question of time. Wait until you have half a million Jews there!" He thought that the partition of Turkey was inevitable, but that the Zionists in the meantime should refrain from using the term "autonomy"; the sultan disliked this word. Plehve's letter, in the king's opinion, represented "a great success." Herzl was able to witness the effect of the royal goodwill when he met Tommaso Tittoni, the foreign minister. The conversation was short but productive. The minister promised Herzl that he would write to the Italian ambassador at Constantinople and ask him to proceed jointly with the Russians.

Herzl was an Austro-Hungarian citizen and also enjoyed the confidence of successive prime ministers, Count Kazimierz Badeni (1895–97) and Ernst von Koerber (1900–4), but it was not before the autumn of 1903 that he could rely on his own government's support. Koerber was impressed by Herzl's achievements in Russia and assured him of his interest. On April 30, 1904, Herzl met Count Agenor von Goluchowski, the foreign minister. Initially, the latter was skeptical, but Plehve's letter made all the difference. Since Russia was in favor, he too could reach agreement with Herzl. Though strongly critical of antisemitism, he thought Herzl's project so praiseworthy that every government should support it financially. When the question was discussed on an international plane, "there must be no petty or half-way measures. If it were a question of only one or two hundred thousand Jews, the Great Powers could not be stirred into action. But they could if [they] asked Turkey for land and legal rights for 5–6 million Jews."

This was more than Herzl had dared to hope. However, Goluchowski declined Herzl's suggestion to take the lead in the matter; the moment was inopportune. It would be better if England took the initiative.

The foreign minister's reluctance to take the initiative arose from the need to keep in step with Russia. Since 1897, the two countries had had a secret agreement under which they undertook to maintain the *status quo* in the Balkans. This was qualified by Article III, which specified that, should circumstances change, the contracting parties would act together. The Turkish provinces in Asia were not mentioned in the text, but it could be assumed that the principle in Article III applied there as well. This explains the change in Austria's attitude toward Herzl following the revelation of Plehve's letter.

But, in spite of the professed status quo principle, the long-term policy of the two Powers was aimed at the gradual dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire. A Jewish Palestine, with a Jewish population of five to six million, could have fit well within this pattern. The sultan's suzerainty over Palestine (a formula advanced by Herzl) did not matter, since it was meant to be only nominal. Moreover, Goluchowski hoped that, if London committed itself to the Zionist cause (as the Italians had already done), this might revive the 1887 tripartite Mediterranean Agreement.

It would be safe to say that had Herzl remained alive, he would have traveled to London, not in connection with the East Africa project but to disclose to Lord Percy the Goluchowski proposal for creating a Concert of Powers in support of the Zionist aspiration.

Criticism, nonetheless, did not abate. It was not until mid-April 1904 (two and a half months before Herzl's death) that the leading opponents, the *Neinsagers*, admitted during the meeting of the Executive that they were mistaken and expressed their unswerving confidence in Herzl.

An Assessment

The shifts of emphasis in Herzl's diplomatic activity from one capital to another gave the impression at the time that his policy was inconsistent, if not contradictory; but this was not so. His strategy was multilateral, though evolving in response to opportunities rather than by design. His basic principle was that the "Jewish Question" was an international one and should therefore be tackled within the framework of international law. He strove to gain recognition and support from all the Powers concerned; which one was to take the lead was of secondary importance. As Israel Zangwill stated, Herzl was not German, English, or Turkish, but the "first Jewish statesman since the destruction of Jerusalem."

Herzl died on July 3, 1904, at the age of 44. His premature death robbed the Zionist movement of a leader of international caliber. He had become a legendary figure in Jewish history, even in his own lifetime; what he accomplished did not make Zionism poorer, but rather made Jewry richer.

Herzl was a statesman without a state, a leader without a people to support him. If he impressed monarchs, ministers, and intellectuals, it was thanks to his own qualities. He aroused both admiration and opposition, but nobody could ignore the magnetism of his personality, his intelligence, his sincerity, and his idealism. A visionary who sometimes naïvely believed that because an idea was good and just it must necessarily prevail, he was also a shrewd and down-to-earth politician with no illusions about human nature. A liberal and a great European, he became the foremost exponent of Jewish nationalism, which was neither chauvinist nor escapist, but an endeavor to restore Jewish honor within a normal national environment. "We shall enter the Promised Land … under the banner of labor.… We must be a people of inventors, warriors, artists, scholars, honest merchants … workmen." Though the *Judennot* was the primordial force which fired Herzl, he never lost sight of the universal aspect of the Jewish renaissance.

Herzl was the founder of political Zionism. He turned a mystique, a dream, into a political factor. The movement that he brought into being became the most dynamic force in modern Jewish history. He founded its organ, *Die Welt*, its financial arm, the Jewish Colonial Trust, and the Zionist Congress, which became the embodiment of Zionist parliamentarianism. Like any great man of history, he foresaw what was going to happen. His prediction of a Jewish catastrophe was fulfilled, tragically, during the Nazi Holocaust and, exactly 50 years and 8 months after he had recorded its creation in his diary, the State of Israel was proclaimed.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *The Complete Diaries of Theodor Herzl*, 5 vols., ed. R. Patai, tr. H. Zohn (1960); *Iggerot Herzl*, ed. A. Bein et al. (1957–8); A. Bein, *Theodor Herzl: A Biography*, tran. M. Samuel (1962); W. Laqueur, *A History of Zionism* (1972), 84–135; A. Elon, *Herzl* (1975); I. Friedman, *Germany Turkey and Zionism, 1897–1918* (1977), 17–19, 53–119; G. Shimoni and R.S. Wistrich (eds.), *Theodor Herzl: Visionary of the Jewish State* (1999).

[Isaiah Friedman (2nd ed.)]

HERZLIAH HEBREW TEACHERS' INSTITUTE. Hebrew educational institution in the U.S. founded in New York in 1921 by Moses *Feinstein as an afternoon high school. It was expanded into a teachers' seminary in 1923 and the high school was discontinued in 1966. Its aims were "the training of teachers in the … Hebrew Language, Bible, Religion, Art, Drama, History, Tradition and general culture." In 1967 it merged with the Jewish Teachers' Seminary and People's University.

Prior to the establishment of the State of Israel, Herzliah was the chief instrument for Hebraism and Zionism in American Jewish education, with hundreds of alumni serving Jewish communities throughout North America. Its educational philosophy was based on the cultivation of Hebrew as a living language and a medium for cultural creativity and it was dedicated to national revival and the rebuilding of Israel, and a communal (non-denominational) approach to Jewish education and maximalist requirements in Hebrew schools. For a number of years Herzliah sponsored a young people's Hebrew theater (Habima Haktana). Leading exponents of Hebraism in

America served on the faculty, among them Daniel *Persky, Abraham *Epstein, and A.Z. Halevi.

With the American Zionist movement confining itself to political activities, support for Herzliah diminished, although it received some assistance from the Zionist Organization of America for a short period in the 1960s. Enrollment fell sharply from its one-time peak of 500 and, with the conflict of languages between Hebrew and Yiddish in American Jewish life settled in favor of English, Herzliah merged with the Jewish Teachers' Seminary to establish a sounder basis for further operations. Hebrew and Yiddish sectors maintain separate identities in the combined school, though some Yiddish courses were added to the requirements for the Hebrew Teachers Diploma. The merger was unsuccessful as the proliferation of universities teaching Judaic studies, the Hebrew language and Yiddish, and the strength of the seminaries in the New York area made it ever more difficult to recruit students and to garner support for Herzliah, and the institution folded.

[Gershon Winer]

HERZLIYYAH (Heb. הֶרְצְלִיָּה), town in the southern Sharon, Israel, 10½ mi. (17 km.) N. of Tel Aviv, Herzliyyah was first founded as a moshavah in 1924 on land acquired by the *American Zion Commonwealth Corporation (a land purchasing agency organized by the Zionist Organization of America). The settlers, second-generation farmers, members of *Benei Binyamin, soon developed a flourishing agricultural center principally based on citriculture. The discontinuation of citrus exports during World War II brought about the development of other agricultural branches and industrial enterprises. By 1948, Herzliyyah's population was 5,300. After the *War of Independence (1948), the municipal area was greatly enlarged, expanding mainly to the seashore. In 1960, Herzliyyah was accorded city status. In 1969 the city boundaries included two separate urban zones: the older, eastern part, mainly a residential area; the dune-and-sandstone-hill area along the coast, comprising three quarters: a bathing and recreation area on the seashore proper, where some of Israel's largest hotels are located; an industrial area in the south; and a middle-class residential area in the north. Over the years, the physical structure of city changed owing to expansion. In the 21st century, the city can be divided into three main areas: Herzliyyah Pitu'aḥ, an upscale residential area; the industrial area with numerous high-tech firms, well known for its cafés and restaurants; and the eastern belt, including the city center and residential neighborhoods. The city's area runs to 10 sq. mi. (26 sq. km.). It has a number of parks and recreation grounds and the municipality has been developing the city's marina, which already accommodates 800 sailboats. The Herzliyyah Interdisciplinary Center, a private college, is located in the city.

Tel Aviv's proximity was among the factors accelerating its growth, from 16,000 in 1954, and 35,600 in 1968 to 83,300 in 2002, including 7,000 new immigrants, mainly from the former Soviet Union. The city falls within the Tel Aviv conurbation, a factor in regional and countrywide planning. Herzliyyah is named after Theodor *Herzl.

WEBSITE: www.herzliya.muni.il.

[Efraim Orni / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

HERZOG, CHAIM (1918–1997), Israeli military commander, attorney, politician, and sixth president of the State of Israel. Member of the Tenth Knesset. Herzog was born in Belfast in Northern Ireland, to Rabbi Isaac *Herzog, who was the chief rabbi of the Jewish community of Ireland in the years 1921–36, after he moved his family to Dublin in 1919. Rabbi Herzog immigrated to Palestine with his family in 1936 and served as Ashkenazi chief rabbi of Palestine and then Israel in 1936–59. Chaim Herzog studied at the Hebron and Merkaz ha-Rav yeshivot and studied at the Government of Palestine Law School. He then continued his studies in London and at Cambridge and received his law degree in Britain. Herzog served in the *Haganah during the Arab Revolt of 1936–38 and in the British army in World War II. He crossed to Normandy and was stationed in northwest Germany, participating in the liberation of some of the concentration camps. Toward the end of the war he served as head of British Intelligence in northern Germany. After the war Herzog graduated from the Royal Military College and returned to Palestine. In 1948 he ran the Defense Section in the Jewish Agency, and after the establishment of the State he fought in the War of Independence, serving as operations officer in the battle of Latrun in 1948–50. In 1959–62 he served as head of the Intelligence Department (later Section) of the IDF. In 1950–54 Herzog served as military attaché at the Israel Embassy in Washington, later serving as commander of the Jerusalem District and as commander of the Southern Command in 1957–59, after receiving the rank of major general. He retired from active service in 1962.

In 1962–72 Herzog managed an industrial development group, and in 1972–83 had a law firm in Tel Aviv that specialized in the representation of large industrial firms. In 1965 he joined the *Rafi Party and was secretary of its Tel Aviv branch. In the course of the Six-Day War he became Israel's best-known military commentator, and after the war he was appointed as the first military governor of Jerusalem and the West Bank. During the Yom Kippur War he once again became a military commentator. From 1975 to 1978 he served as Israel's ambassador to the United Nations, where in November 1975 he led the fight against General Assembly Resolution 3379 that equated Zionism with racism. At the conclusion of his speech in the General Assembly he tore up the document containing the resolution. He was president of the World ORT Union and was awarded an honorary British knighthood in 1970. From 1981 to 1983, he was a Labor member of the Knesset.

In 1983 Herzog was elected president of Israel, serving for ten years. In that period he paid official visits to some 30 countries and addressed 15 parliaments, including both houses of the U.S. Congress, both houses of the Canadian Parliament, the Argentine Congress, and the Polish Sejm as well as the Bulgarian Parliament, being the first foreigner in history to do so.

He also wrote prolifically in the press in Israel and abroad. Among his books are *Israel's Finest Hour* (1967), *Days of Awe* (1967), *The War of Atonement* (1975), and *The Arab-Israeli Wars* (1982).

Herzog's wife, AURA, established the Council for a Beautiful Israel. His son YITZHAK was elected to the Sixteenth and Seventeenth (2006) Knesset on the Labor Party List, and in January 2005 became minister of construction and housing.

[Susan Hattis Rolef (2nd ed.)]

HERZOG, DAVID (1869–1946), Austrian rabbi and scholar. Herzog was born in Tyrnau (Trnava) and studied in Vienna. In 1900 he was appointed rabbi in Smichov, a suburb of Prague. Later, as rabbi of Graz, Austria, he also taught Semitic languages at the University of Graz. In 1938 the Nazis raided his home and threw him into the Mur River. He was rescued and escaped to Oxford, England. His scholarly interests were two-fold: medieval Jewish Literature, especially Judeo-Arabic writings, and the history of the Jews in Austria, especially in Steiermark. In the first field he published *Die Abhandlung des Abu Bekr ibn Al-Saig "Vom Verhalten des Einsiedlers," nach Mose Narbonis Auszug* (1896); *Maimonides Commentar zum Tractat Peah* (1899), the text in the original Arabic with an introduction and notes; and Joseph b. Eliezer Bonfils' supercommentary to Abraham ibn Ezra's commentary to the Pentateuch (*Josef Bonfils und sein "Tzofnat Paaneach,"* 2 vols., 1911–30, repr. 1966–67). In Jewish history he published, under the influence of J.E. Scherer, a number of important articles and studies. His works are based on archival material and other primary sources, such as tombstone inscriptions. Herzog wrote *Urkunden und Registen zur Geschichte der Juden in der Steiermark* (1935), and "Die juedischen Friedhoefe in Graz" (in *Quellen und Forschungen zur Geschichte der Juden in der Steiermark*, vol. 2, 1937). Some of Herzog's sermons also appeared in print.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: G. Kisch, in: *Historia Judaica*, 8 (1946), 105–6.

HERZOG, GEORGE (1901–1983), musicologist. Born in Budapest, Herzog studied at the Royal Academy of Music, Budapest (1917–19), at the Berlin Hochschule fuer Musik (1920–22), with Egon Petri (piano) in 1921, and became assistant to Hornbostel at the Phonogramm-Archiv in Berlin University (1922–4). In 1925 he immigrated to the United States and took a postgraduate course in anthropology at Columbia University. He held academic posts and was a research associate in anthropology at the University of Chicago (1929–31) and at Yale University (1932–5). He completed his doctorate at Columbia University in 1938 with a dissertation on the musical styles of Pueblo and Pima tribes and was an assistant professor of anthropology there (1939–48). In 1948 he became professor of anthropology at Indiana University, bringing with him the Archives of Folk and Primitive Music he had established in 1936, which became the Indiana University Archives of Traditional Music. Herzog was a founder of ethnomusicological studies at American academic institutions and introduced courses in primitive and folk music and comparative musicology. As one of the leading authorities on North Amerindian music, he conducted field research among such tribes as the Apache, Comanche, Dakota, Maricopa, Navaho, Pima, Pueblo, Yuma and Zuni. He was also interested in European folk music (Greek, Irish, Spanish and south Slav) and Jewish (Babylonian, Yemenite and Judeo-Spanish which he recorded among the immigrants in New York, 1939–1941). In 1935 and 1947 he was awarded Guggenheim Fellowships. His writings include *Research in Primitive and Folk Music in the U.S.* (1936), many articles such as "Speech – Melody and Primitive Music," in: *Musical Quarterly,* 20 (1934), 452–66; "Musical Typology in Folksong," in: *Southern Folklore Quarterly,* 1 (1937), 49–55), and contributions to leading encyclopedias.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Grove Music Online; MGG^2.

[Gila Flam and Israela Stein (2nd ed.)]

HERZOG, ISAAC (1888–1959), rabbinic scholar; chief rabbi of Israel. Born in Lomza, Poland, Herzog was nine years old when his father R. Joel Herzog immigrated to Leeds, England, to be the rabbi there. Though Isaac never attended a yeshivah, he achieved the highest standards in rabbinic scholarship, receiving *semikhah* from Jacob David Wilkowsky (Ridbaz) of Safed. Herzog was awarded his doctorate of literature by the London University for a thesis on *The Dyeing of Purple in Ancient Israel* (1919), which deals with the coloring of one of the threads of the **ẓiẓit* (see Num. 15:38). As part of his dissertation, he proved that the process used by the Radzyner ḥasidim to create the blue dye for *ẓiẓit* was incorrect. The Radzyner Rebbe had been misled by an unscrupulous chemist who had added iron filings to the mixture. During World War II, the Radzyner blue dyeing factories and their process were lost. Ironically, after the war, the surviving Radzyn ḥasidim approached Herzog, who gave them the correspondence between him and the Radzyner dyemakers. Thus, they were able to reestablish their dyeing business in Israel, where it still functions to this day.

Endowed with a brilliant analytical mind and a phenomenal memory, Herzog was soon recognized as one of the great rabbinical scholars of his time, besides being a linguist and jurist and at home in mathematics and natural sciences. The charm of his personality, which combined ascetic innocence with conversational wit and diplomatic talents, made a great impression.

Herzog served as rabbi in Belfast (Northern Ireland), 1916–19, and in Dublin until 1936, receiving the title of chief rabbi of the Irish Free State after 1921. He maintained excellent relations with political and ecclesiastical figures, and established a life-long friendship with Eamon de Valera, the

Irish prime minister. By testifying before a committee of the Irish senate he succeeded in safeguarding *sheḥitah* against the provisions of a Slaughter of Animals Act (1935). Herzog was an ardent Zionist and a founder of the Mizrachi Federation of Great Britain and Ireland.

In 1932 Herzog declined an invitation to the rabbinate of Salonika. In 1936 he accepted the invitation to become chief rabbi of Palestine in succession to A.I. *Kook and assumed office in 1937. With the exception of a few die-hard fanatics, who sporadically challenged him, Herzog enjoyed the respect of the vast majority, including the non-religious elements, particularly in the kibbutzim. In the winter of 1938, in reaction to the British Peel Commission and in anticipation to the eventual emergence of an independent Jewish State, Herzog convened a rabbinic conference to discuss the halakhic issues that would arise with Jewish sovereignty. They included *kashrut* and Sabbath observance, laws of marriage and divorce, as well as the incorporation of *halakhah* into the civil and criminal codes. The discussions took into account the fact of non-Jewish citizens and that the majority of the Jewish citizens would not be observant. Herzog was particularly innovative in dealing with the issue of cooperation between a Jewish state and non-Jewish countries. He resorted to the halakhic concept of partnership. He used the same idea as the basis for citizen rights and obligations of non-Jews within the Jewish state. Another area of special concern was the equal status of women and the repercussions on the laws of inheritance. According to Jewish law, women do not inherit their husbands' or parents' property. Herzog grappled with ways to reconcile Jewish law with modern values and practice. As chief rabbi, he was president of the Rabbinical Court of Appeal and of the Chief Rabbinate Council, and thus, through the enactment of *takkanot* in matters of personal status, he was responsible for significant advances, reconciling the necessities of modern living with the demands of *halakhah*. These *takkanot* include the acceptance of non-observant Jews as witnesses before the rabbinic court, the payment of alimony and the coercion of recalcitrant husbands who refuse to give their wives a *get* (decree of divorce). He was also responsible for formulating the statutory regulations governing the rabbinic courts. These were first implemented in 1943. Along with the Sephardi Chief Rabbi, Ben-Zion Ḥai *Ouziel, he did away with the separation of Ashkenazi and Sephardi Jews in the rabbinic courts. He also served as president of the Va'ad ha-Yeshivot, established in 1940 to solicit financial support for the country's talmudic colleges. It was his initiative that led to Isaac *Wolfson's building Hechal Shlomo, the seat of the chief rabbinate, and other important religious organizations and services. From the time of his arrival in Israel in 1937, Herzog became the champion of all the Jews arrested by the British Mandate authorities. He actively intervened on behalf of all those sentenced to death. Unfortunately, his efforts were not always successful.

Before, during, and after World War II Herzog was one of the representatives of Palestinian and world Jewry to the various conferences and commissions organized to find a solution to the Arab-Jewish conflict over Palestine. He set forth the Jewish spiritual claims to the Holy Land and stressed the need of a refuge for the survivors of the Holocaust. Herzog, deeply stirred by the tragedy of the Holocaust, traveled to London (1940), the United States (1941), South Africa (1941), Turkey (1943), and Cairo (1944) trying to rescue Jews. Thus, in 1940 he received from Soviet Russia permits for staff and students of Lithuanian and Polish yeshivot stranded in Vilna to cross Russia to the Far East. In 1946 he traveled throughout Europe for six months in an attempt to find and rescue the many Jewish children, mostly orphans, who were hidden in monasteries and convents and with non-Jewish families during the years of Nazi persecution (see *Massa Haẓẓalah*, 1947). In the course of these travels he was received by the pope and many leading statesmen. Herzog fought unsuccessfully to have the laws of the new State of Israel based on Torah law. He was especially disappointed that the vast majority of rabbis in Israel did not assist him in his efforts to base the laws of inheritance on *halakhah*. In responding to another of the challenges made by the new State of Israel to *halakhah*, Herzog took a stance that was different from his predecessor, Rabbi Abraham Isaac ha-Kohen *Kook. Rabbi Kook opposed granting women the right to vote or to hold public office. Herzog, on the other hand, felt that modern democratic standards and the positive impact of the votes cast by religious women demanded that Jewish law find a way to allow women's suffrage. In the end, he did find the right combination of halakhic precedent to support the right of women to vote and to hold office. Indeed, Herzog worked constantly to reconcile Torah, the State, and democracy.

Among Herzog's published works are the first two volumes of the planned five of *Main Institutions of Jewish Law 1936–39* (1965–67^2). His talmudic research is contained in *Divrei Yiẓḥak*, partly published in his father J. Herzog's *Imrei Yo'el* (v. 1, 1921) and partly in his father-in-law S.I. *Hillman's *Or ha-Yashar* (1921), and *Torat ha-Ohel* (1948). Two volumes of responsa, *Heikhal Yiẓḥak*, appeared in 1960 and 1967. His son, Chaim, edited *Judaism: Law & Ethics*, a selection of his father's essays in 1974. *The Royal Purple and the Biblical Blue Argaman and Tekhelet*, Herzog's Ph.D. dissertation, was published in 1987. *Pesakim u-Khetavim*, nine volumes of responsa and letters, were published between 1989 and 1996. *Torat ha-Ohel*, containing novellae on the Rambam and the Talmud, appeared in 1993. The digest of responsa *Oẓar ha-Posekim* (11 vols. to 1969) was founded by Herzog in 1940, as was the Harry Fischel Institute for Research in Jewish Law, one of the functions of which was to train *dayyanim* for the rabbinical courts of Israel. *Massu'ot Yiẓḥak, a religious settlement named after Herzog, located first in the Eẓyon group in the Hebron hills and destroyed in 1948, was rebuilt near Ashkelon.

His wife, SARAH (1899–1979), daughter of Samuel Isaac Hillman, was the president of the Mizrachi Women's Organization and chairman of the Ezrat Nashim hospital in Jerusalem in which capacity she was mainly responsible for the erection of its new facilities (1968).

His son Chaim *Herzog (1918–1997) was Israel's sixth president.

Herzog's second son, JACOB (1921–1972), was a lawyer and doctor of international law in addition to having been ordained as a rabbi. He published a translation and commentary in English of certain tractates of the Mishnah. Before the State of Israel, he was in Haganah intelligence. In the Foreign Ministry of the State he was successively counselor on Jerusalem, director of U.S. Division, adviser to Ben-Gurion during the Sinai Campaign, Israel minister plenipotentiary in Washington, Israel ambassador to Canada, and assistant director general of the Foreign Ministry. From 1965 he was director general of the Prime Minister's Office. He was chairman of the Committee for Twentieth Anniversary Celebrations of the State of Israel.

Chief Rabbi Herzog was the author of the "Prayer for the State of Israel" that is recited in synagogues throughout the world on the Sabbath. He was also responsible for including the phrase, "*reshit ẓemiḥat ge'ulateinu* – the beginning of the emergence of our salvation," in the beginning of the prayer.

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[Jacob Goldman / David Derovan (2nd ed.)]

HERZOG, REGINALD OLIVER (1878–1935), German organic chemist who described the microcrystalline structure of cellulose. Herzog was born in Vienna. He worked at the Technische Hochschule at Karlsruhe from 1905 to 1912, and became professor of chemistry at the German Technische Hochschule of Prague in 1912. From 1919 until the advent of Hitler in 1933 he was director of the Kaiser Wilhelm Institut fuer Faserstoffchemie in Berlin-Dahlem. In 1934 he accepted the chair of chemical engineering at the University of Istanbul. Herzog's X-ray studies of cellulose, together with the simultaneous and independent work by Scherrer, opened up the modern conceptions on high molecular weight materials and fibers. He was a versatile chemist, with a keen and imaginative mind, and among the topics he worked on were dyestuffs, tanning, enzymes, proteins, and diffusion constants. He wrote *Chemische Technologie der organischen Verbindungen* and edited a handbook *Technologie der Textilfasern* (1926).

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[Samuel Aaron Miller]

HERZOG, SHIRA (1957–), journalist, Middle East analyst, administrator. Shira Herzog was born into a prominent Jerusalem family. Her father, Dublin-born Ya'acov Herzog, was a rabbi and leading Israeli diplomat. Her uncle, Chaim *Herzog, served as chief of Israel's military intelligence and later president of Israel.

After she completed her military service, Shira Herzog went to the Hebrew University of Jerusalem and graduated with a B.A. in history and English literature in 1974. Daughter of a diplomat, as a young child she had lived in Ottawa while her father was for three years Israel's ambassador to Canada, and in 1974 she returned to Canada, where she completed an M.A. in English at York University in Toronto. Deeply committed to a democratic and progressive Israel, in 1976 she joined the Canada Israel Committee, first as director of special projects, then as director of research, and finally as national executive director. In 1988 she became vice president of the Calgary-based Kahanoff Foundation, one of Canada's largest private foundations. The Kahanoff Foundation, which also maintains offices in Toronto and Tel Aviv, initiates and funds innovative community programs in western Canada and Israel.

Highly regarded for her insightful analysis of Middle East affairs, from 1994 to 2003 Herzog was a regular contributor to the *Canadian Jewish News* and from 2002 wrote a column on the Middle East and Jewish affairs for the *Globe and Mail*, Canada's most influential newspaper. She also co-hosted *Israel Today,* a Canadian-produced television program devoted to Israel and Jewish issues.

Based in Toronto, Herzog served on the boards of the Philanthropic Foundations of Canada, the American-based Council of Foundations, the Institute for Research on Public Policy headquartered in Montreal, and the Tel Aviv-based Israel Democracy Institute, which seeks to promote the development of democratic values and political institutions in Israel.

[Harold Troper (2nd ed.)]

HESCHEL, ABRAHAM JOSHUA (1907–1972), U.S. scholar and philosopher, descended on his father's side from *Dov Baer (the Maggid) of Mezeritch and *Abraham Joshua Heschel of Apta (Opatow); on his mother's side from *Levi Isaac of Berdichev. After traditional Jewish studies, he obtained rabbinic ordination (*semikhah*). At the age of 20 he enrolled in the University of Berlin, where he obtained his doctorate, and at the *Hochschule fuer die Wissenschaft des Judentums,* where he also taught Talmud and received a second, liberal rabbinical ordination. In 1937 Martin *Buber appointed him his successor at the central organization for Jewish adult education (*Mittelstelle fuer juedische Erwachsenenbildung*) and the *Juedisches Lehrhaus* at Frankfurt on the Main. Deported by the Nazis in October 1938 to Poland, he taught for eight months at the Warsaw Institute of Jewish Studies. He immigrated to England where he established the Institute for Jewish Learning in London. In 1940 he was invited by Julian Morgenstern to teach at Hebrew Union College in Cincinnati, where he was associate professor of philosophy and rabbinics for five years. From 1945 he taught at the Jewish Theological Seminary of America (JTS) as professor of Jewish ethics and mysticism. In 1946 he married Sylvia Strauss, who gave birth to Susannah Heschel, who followed in the footsteps of her father as a scholar of Judaism. Heschel visited Israel and called for the renewal of the prophetic vision in Zion. He served as professor at JTS until his death, combining his professional activities with extensive social action.

Writings

Heschel wrote books and studies on medieval Jewish philosophy – on Saadiah Gaon, Solomon ibn Gabirol, Maimonides, and Don Isaac Abrabanel – as well as on Ḥasidism. He became one of the most influential modern philosophers of religion in the United States, where his work is widely recognized in Jewish and Christian circles. Heschel saw the task of the philosopher of religion neither in the construction of a "religion of reason" which draws on non-Jewish sources nor in the analysis of "religious experience." The first substitutes philosophy for religion; the second tends to replace it with the psychology of religion. Heschel's own works attempt to penetrate and illumine the reality underlying religion, the living and dynamic relationship between God and man, through the empathetic understanding of the documents of Israel's tradition and of the experience of the religious Jew. Although he brought to this task the tools of modern philosophy, he pointed out repeatedly that no amount of rational analysis alone can ever exhaust the richness and fullness of this reality. He therefore highlighted the fact that reason itself discloses its own limits and that the ineffable quality of the Divine cannot fully be reduced to any scheme of conceptual categories, because man apprehends more than he can comprehend.

Heschel's lifework can be seen as consisting of two parallel strands: (1) the undertaking to study and interpret the classical sources of Judaism and (2) the endeavor to offer to his contemporaries a theology which results from the application of the insights of the traditional sources to the problems and questions which the modern Jew faces. Thus he started out with a book on prophecy (*Die Prophetie*, 1936), which presents a phenomenology of prophetic consciousness, and a biography of Maimonides treating the existential confrontation of Aristotelian philosophy with rabbinic Judaism. Studies in the field of Ḥasidism continued this undertaking. He published his first American book under the title *The Earth Is the Lord's* (1950) on Jewish life in Eastern Europe. In his three-volume Hebrew work, *Torah min ha-Shamayim be-Aspaklaryah shel ha-Dorot* (1962, 1965; third volume published posthumously in 1990), he presented the assumptions and ideas underlying the talmudic views of Torah and revelation and discovered two major trends in ancient Jewish thought which became formative in all subsequent Jewish history. In these two trends, epitomized by Rabbi *Ishmael and Rabbi *Akiva, halakhic differences reflect different aggadic positions of faith. Rabbi Akiva maintained that the Torah is written in heavenly language, which stimulates vision and opens one up to mystery, whereas Rabbi Ishmael asserted that the Torah is written in the language of man, which promotes logical thinking and the search for *peshat* (the plain meaning).

The results of Heschel's wide-ranging studies contributed to the formation of his original philosophy of Judaism, expressed in his two foundational books, *Man Is Not Alone* (1951) and *God in Search of Man* (1955). Religion is defined as the answer to man's ultimate questions. Since modern man is largely alienated from reality, which informs genuine religion, Heschel tried to recover the significant existential questions to which Judaism offers answers. This leads to a depth-theology which goes below the surface phenomena of modern doubt and rootlessness and results in a humanistic approach to the personal God of the Bible, who is neither a philosophical abstraction nor a psychological projection, but a living reality who takes a passionate interest in His creatures. The "divine concern" or "divine pathos" is the central category of Heschel's philosophy. Man's ability to transcend his egocentric interests and to respond with love and devotion to the divine demand, to His "pathos" or "transitive concern," is the root of Jewish life with its ethics and observances. The ability to rise to the holy dimension of the divine imperative is at the basis of human freedom. The failures and successes of Israel to respond to God's call constitute the drama of Jewish history as seen from the viewpoint of theology. The polarity of law and life, the pattern and the spontaneous, of *keva* ("permanence") and *kavvanah* ("devotion"), inform all of life and produce the creative tension in which Judaism is a way of prescribed and regular *mitzvot* as well as a spontaneous and always novel reaction of each Jew to the divine reality.

Heschel developed a philosophy of time in which a technical society that tends to think in spatial categories is contrasted with the Jewish idea of hallowing time, of which the Sabbath and the holidays are the most outstanding examples (*The Sabbath*, 1951). He defined Judaism as a religion of time, aiming at the sanctification of time. In his depth-theology, which is based upon the human being's pre-conceptual cognition, Heschel thought that all humanity has an inherent sense of the sacred; he pleaded for a radical amazement and fulminated against symbolism as a reduction of religion. Instead of advocating a sociological view of Judaism, he highlighted the spirituality and inner beauty of Judaism as well as the religious act, while at the same time rejecting a religious behaviorism without inwardness. Heschel's way of writing is poetical and suggestive, sometimes meditative, containing many antitheses and provocative questions and aims at the transformation of modern man into a spiritual being in dialogue with God.

Religion and Action

Underlying all of Heschel's thought is the belief that modern man's estrangement from religion is not merely the result of intellectual perplexity or of the obsoleteness of traditional religion, but rather the failure of modern man to recover the understanding and experience of that dimension of reality in which the divine-human encounter can take place. His philosophy of religion has therefore a twofold aim: to forge the conceptual tools by which one can adequately approach this reality, and to evoke in modern man – by describing traditional piety and the relationship between God and man – the sympathetic appreciation of the holy dimension of life without which no amount of detached analysis can penetrate to the reality which is the root of all art, morality, and faith.

Heschel applied in a number of essays and addresses the insights of his religious philosophy to particular problems confronting people in modern times. He addressed rabbinic and lay audiences on the topics of prayer and symbolism (see his *Man's Quest for God*, 1954), dealt with the problems of youth and old age at two White House conferences in Washington, and played an active part in the civil rights movement in the U.S. in the 1960s, and in the Jewish-Christian dialogue beginning with the preparations for Vatican Council II. Heschel thought that religious people from various denominations are linked to each other, since "No religion is an island."

Heschel considered himself a survivor, "a brand plucked from the fire, in which my people was burned to death." He also regarded himself as a descendant of the prophets. He was a person who combined inner piety and prophetic activism. He was profoundly interested in spirituality, but an inner spirituality concretely linked to social action, as exemplified by his commitment to the struggle for civil rights in the U.S., by his protests against the Vietnam War, and by his activities on behalf of Soviet Jewry (see i.a. *The Insecurity of Freedom: Essays on Human Existence*, 1966).

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[Fritz A. Rothschild / Ephraim Meir (2nd ed.)]

HESCHEL, ABRAHAM JOSHUA BEN JACOB (d. 1664), talmudic scholar of Lithuania and Poland. His father was rabbi of the community of Brest-Litovsk and head of its yeshivah, where Abraham Joshua became a teacher as a young man. In 1630 his father was appointed rabbi of Lublin and head of the yeshivah, where Abraham Joshua again assisted him. After his father's death in 1644, he succeeded him as head of the yeshivah. Some scholars claim that he also inherited the rabbinic position, others that he became rabbi of Lublin only in 1650 after the death of Naphtali Katz, who was his father's successor. In 1654, Abraham Joshua became rabbi and head of the yeshivah of Cracow, succeeding the famous Yom Tov Lipmann *Heller.

Heschel was a wealthy man, of outstanding piety, and his reputation as a teacher attracted numerous students. A number of them became famous in their own right, among them *Shabbetai b. Meir ha-Kohen, Aaron Samuel *Koidanover, Gershon *Ashkenazi, and Hillel of Brest Litovsk. His teaching methods were based on dialectics (*pilpul*). Heschel's renown as a legal authority spread far and questions were addressed to him from all parts of Europe. Although in many cases he was reluctant to give decisions, when he did, they were brief, logical, and to the point. During the Chmielnicki persecutions many cases of **agunot* came before him, and Heschel exercised considerable leniency in dealing with them. In one such instance, involving a certain Jacob (grandfather of Jacob *Emden), who was missing after an attack on Vilna, witnesses gave evidence that he had been killed by the Cossacks, and Heschel decided that the wife could remarry; six months later Jacob returned, whereupon Heschel resolved that he would refrain in the future from giving decisions in such matters (see *Megillat Sefer* by Jacob Emden (1897), 7; and J.M. Zunz, *Ir ha-Ẓedek* (1874), 111). He was commissioned by the communities of Poland to solicit aid from the wealthy Jewish communities of Austria, Bohemia, and Moravia for the victims of the Chmielnicki massacres. Heschel was received everywhere with great respect, and his mission was crowned with success. He was supposedly even received by the emperor of Austria who accorded him great honor. Heschel died in Cracow.

His commentaries on the *Sefer Mitzvot Gadol* of *Moses of Coucy were published in its Kapost edition in 1807; they are short and logical, and reveal a fine command of the Hebrew language. Aaron Kelniker, a student of Heschel's in Lublin, published a work, *Toledot Aharon* (Lublin, 1682), containing some of his teacher's novellae on *Bava Kamma*, *Bava Meẓia*, and *Bava Batra*, compiled from lecture notes. Later editions were entitled *Ḥiddushei Halakhot* (Offenbach, 1723; etc.). In the preface, Kelniker briefly described the famous yeshivah of Lublin during his period of studies there under Heschel.

The *Ḥanukkat ha-Torah* of E.J. Ersohn (1900) contains 600 of Heschel's homilies on the Bible, gathered from different rabbinic sources of the 17th and early 18th centuries. Events connected with Heschel and his time are recorded by the author in the appendix, *Kunteres Aharon*, which, although containing some legends, also includes much material of historical value. Some of Heschel's responsa are to be found in works of his contemporaries. His novellae and a commentary on the Shulḥan Arukh are still in manuscript (see *Kunteres Aharon*, 103).

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[Shlomo Eidelberg]

HESHBON (Heb. חֶשְׁבּוֹן), biblical city in Transjordan, 50 mi. (80 km.) due E. of Jerusalem. The identification of Heshbon is undisputed; it was situated on the site of the present town of Ḥisbān in the southern Belka. The site was first explored in the 19th century; excavations at the site were conducted by S.H. Horn between 1968 and 1973, by L.T. Geraty between 1974 and 1976, and in 1978 by J. Taylor and L.G. Herr. Heshbon was the capital of Siḥon, king of the Amorites (Num. 21:26), and was conquered by Moses and the Israelites in their first victory on the way to the Promised Land. This event is recorded in a kind of postscript to an ancient song extolling Heshbon's might (Num. 21:30). The city was assigned to the tribe of Reuben (Num. 32:37) but because of its proximity to the borders of Gad it is listed as a levitical city in the latter's territory (Josh. 21:39; I Chron. 6:66). Its fate in the conflict between Israel and Moab in the time of the Judges (Ehud) is uncertain (cf. Judg. 3:12ff.; I Sam. 12:9–11); the Ammonites also appear to have claimed it at that time (Judg. 11:26). Archeological excavations at the site have not brought to light remains predating c. 1200 B.C.E. A small unfortified village existed at the site during the 12th–11th centuries B.C.E. The territory remained Israelite until after the death of Ahab (c. 853 B.C.E.) when Mesha, king of Moab, reconquered it during his rebellion against his Israelite overlord. Remains of a settlement at the site were uncovered dating from the 7th–6th centuries B.C.E. Several inscribed sherds were found. In Isaiah (15:4) and Jeremiah (48:2, 34) Heshbon is still mentioned as a Moabite city although Jeremiah also speaks of it as belonging to Ammon (49:3). The fertile area around Heshbon is mentioned in Isaiah 16:8–9 and the memory of the pools of Heshbon lingers on in Song of Songs 7:5 where the eyes of the beloved are compared with them. In the early 13th century B.C.E. Siḥon was thus a conqueror who soon lost his lands to another invader (cf. Num. 21:25–30). Situated on the "King's Highway" (cf. TJ, Shev. 6:1, 36c, and parallels) and surrounded by fertile fields and vineyards, Heshbon was eminently suited as a central settlement. It was an important site during the Hellenistic to Roman periods (c. 200 B.C.E. to 130 C.E.). In Hasmonean times it was apparently conquered by John Hyrcanus early in his reign (135–104 B.C.E.) although the sources record only the conquest of Samaga, a village in its territory (Jos., Ant. 13:255; Wars 1:63). Although the city was apparently held by Alexander Yannai (Ant. 13:397), Hyrcanus II ceded it to the Nabatean king Aretas III (as may be concluded from Ant. 14:18). Herod recovered it from the Nabateans and established a colony of veterans there (*ibid.*, 15:294). At the outbreak of the Jewish War in 66 C.E., it was attacked by Jews (Wars 2:458). In 106 C.E. Heshbon became part of the new Provincia Arabia (Eusebius, Onom. 84:4). From the 2nd-4th centuries C.E. the site has the remains of a temple and inn on the acropolis, the former destroyed in the earthquake of 365 C.E. In the third century it was renamed Aurelia Esbus and Jerome mentions it by this name and describes it as "a notable city of Arabia in the mountains in front of Jericho, 20 Roman miles from the Jordan" (Onom. 85:4–5). Its coins, struck under Elagabalus, show Zeus and Esculapius as well as the Arabian deities Dushara-Dionysus and Astargatis-Astarte. In the fourth and fifth centuries Heshbon was the seat of a bishop (two churches are known from the site) and after the Arab conquest it was the capital of the Belka district up to Mamluk times. Medieval and Ottoman remains are also known.

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[Michael Avi-Yonah / Shimon Gibson (2nd ed.)]

HESHIN, SHNEUR ZALMAN (1903–1959), Israel jurist and Supreme Court justice. Heshin, who was born in Jerusalem, studied law in the United States. In 1937 he was appointed a magistrate in Tel Aviv and from 1944 to 1948 served as district court judge there. He became a justice of the Supreme Court of Israel in 1948, and from 1954 was its permanent deputy president. He published several books on his legal experiences, including one on child adoption, *Yaldei Immuẓim* (1956), and *Tears and Laughter in an Israel Courtroom* (1959). A brilliant jurist with a thorough knowledge of several legal systems, his judgments were an important contribution in Israel law in the first years of the state's existence.

[Benjamin Jaffe]

His son MISHAEL CHESHIN (1936–), also a Supreme Court justice, was born in Beirut and graduated magna cum laude from the Hebrew University Law Faculty. In 1962, he received a doctorate in law from the Hebrew University. From 1957 through the mid-1980s, he was a lecturer at the Hebrew University Law School. During 1962–78, he was also employed by the Ministry of Justice, first as deputy state attorney and from 1972 as deputy attorney general. From 1978 to 1991 he engaged in private law practice in Jerusalem and in 1992 he was named to the Israel Supreme Court, becoming deputy president in 2005 and retiring in 2006. Known as an independent-minded defender of civil liberties, Cheshin was a mainstay of Aharon *Barak's activist court.

[Leon Fine (2nd ed.)]

HESKES, IRENE (1923–1999), U.S. music historian, bibliographer, compiler, and editor who specialized in Jewish music. Her work was published in milestone books such as *The Resource Book of Jewish Music* (1985) and *Passport to Jewish Music* (1994). In addition she wrote numerous articles and reviews for musicological and general publication on the subject of Jewish and Israeli music. She also edited *The Cantorial Art* (New York, 1966) and *Studies in Jewish Music: The Collected Writings of A.W. Binder* (New York, 1971). Her latest compilation of the catalog *Yiddish American Popular Songs 1895–1950* (1992), which presents 3,427 Yiddish song titles, highlights material from the Library of Congress collection of Judaic music and tells the story of struggles of migration, settlement, hope and acculturation through a catalogue of sheet music that had been deposited in the Library of Congress for copyright registration, but was virtually unknown to scholars. This book is important for an understanding of the roots of the American musical theater.

[Gila Flam (2nd ed.)]

HESPED (Heb. הֶסְפֵּד), eulogy in honor of the departed and as a comfort to the bereaved (Sanh. 46b–47a). Based upon the biblical accounts of the death and burial of Sarah (Gen. 23:2), Jacob (Gen. 50:10), Samuel (I Sam. 25:1), Saul and Jonathan (II Sam. 1:12), and others, eulogizing is regarded in Jewish tradition as a religious duty in fulfillment of the commandment to "love your neighbor as yourself" (Maim. Yad, Evel, 14:1; Sh. Ar., YD 344:1). The eulogy should emphasize the good deeds and virtues of the deceased, but should avoid excessive praise (Ber. 62a). In the Talmud the question is disputed whether the *hesped* is in honor of the deceased or a tribute to the bereaved family; it is concluded that it is a homage to the deceased (Sanh. 46b–47a). Where professional eulogizers are employed, the heirs of the deceased can be forced to defray the costs of the eulogy (Sanh. 46b).

The martyrs executed by the Romans were not eulogized, for fear of the authorities (Sanh. 11a). Suicides and persons placed under *ḥerem* are not to be eulogized (Sh. Ar., YD 345); gentiles may be eulogized (Ber. 16b).

The eulogy should be pronounced in front of the bier, either in the public square or at the cemetery (BB 100b). The biers of famous scholars and community leaders were carried into the synagogue for eulogizing (Sh. Ar., YD 344:20), as is still the custom today. Based upon Jeremiah 22:10, the eulogy may take place only within the seven days following the death (MK 27b; Sh. Ar. YD 394:1–2); for scholars and great community leaders, however, it can be made within 12 months of their death (Maim. Yad, Evel, 13:10; see Ket. 103b). In the Babylonian academies, it was customary to eulogize during the *Kallah sessions of Adar and Elul all those rabbis who had passed away in the intervening period. Likewise in Central and Eastern Europe, on the Seventh of *Adar, all scholars who died during the past year are eulogized. In some communities, the *hesped* takes the form of a talmudic discourse delivered after the *sheloshim* (30th day after death). According to traditional custom, no eulogy is pronounced on Sabbath, on festivals, on the New Moon, on Ḥanukkah, on Purim, on the eve of a holiday and on Isru Ḥag (the day after it), during the whole month of Nisan, and on the days when the *Taḥanun prayer is omitted. In some congregations, eulogies are not delivered 30 days prior to a festival (MK 1:5; MK 8a). These rules are lifted in case of a learned and worthy person, though the eulogy should be shorter than usual (MK 27b).

A beautiful example of a eulogy is stated in the Talmud (TJ, Ber. 2:8, 5b–c) where *Resh Lakish eulogized his pupil R. Ḥiyya b. Adda by quoting Song of Songs, "My beloved is gone down to his garden,… to gather lilies." He interpreted the verse to allude to God ("the beloved") who came down to take the righteous as one gathers lilies in a garden of flowers. While the Bible and Talmud preserve instances of short eulogies only, medieval and modern homiletic literatures abound in long and often intricately composed prose eulogies.

A bibliography of famous eulogies was compiled by A. *Jellinek (*Kunteres ha-Maspid*, 1884) and by D. Wachstein (*Mafte'aḥ ha-Hespedim*, 3 vols. 1922–30).

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[Meir Ydit]

HESS, MENDEL (1807–1871), German rabbi. Born at Lengsfeld (Stadtlengsfeld), Saxe-Weimar, he was one of the first German rabbis to have a university education. In 1827 he was appointed chief rabbi of the grand duchy of Saxe-Weimar, residing first at Lengsfeld and thereafter, until his death, at Eisenach. Hess was an advocate of radical *Reform, carrying out, despite opposition from the Jews, a government decree of June 20, 1823, which required all services in synagogue to be conducted in German. In addition, he officiated at marriages between Jews and Christians. From 1839 to 1848 he edited (with S. *Holdheim in the last year) *Der Israelit des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts*, a weekly which publicized his views. He published an order of worship for the Jews of Saxe-Weimar (Eisenach, 1833), and collections of sermons and addresses (1839–48, 1871).

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[Joseph Elijah Heller]

HESS, MICHAEL (1782–1860), German educator. He was sent by his father, Rabbi Isaac Hess Kugelmann, to the yeshivah in Fuerth and later moved to Frankfurt o. M., where he was appointed as tutor to the son of Meyer Amschel *Rothschild in 1804. At the age of 24 he became headmaster of the recently founded Frankfurt Philanthropin school, a position he held until 1855. Influenced by the writings of Moses *Mendelssohn and an extreme advocate of *Reform, Hess gradually limited the time allotted for Jewish studies, claiming that religion should be the province of the home. Among his innovations were a girls' school, a kindergarten, confirmations, sermons, hymns, prayers in German, and a semi-religious Sunday school. In 1819 he vigorously opposed the erection of an Orthodox school; he attacked the school founded in 1853 by S.R. *Hirsch, who replied in 1854 in a scathing pamphlet entitled *Die Religion im Bunde mit dem Fortschritt*. Hess wrote pedagogic works and a history of the Philanthropin.

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HESS, MOSES (1812–1875), German socialist, a precursor of modern Zionism, and father of Zionist Socialism. Born in Bonn, Hess remained there with his Orthodox grandfather when in 1817 his father moved to Cologne, where he owned a grocery and a sugar refinery. His grandfather provided him with a religious education, and only at the age of 14 was Hess sent to Cologne, where he worked in his father's business. From 1837 to 1839 he studied philosophy at the University of Bonn, but did not graduate. In 1837 Hess published his first book *Die heilige Geschichte der Menschheit*, an historical-philosophical work that displayed a profound influence of both the Bible and Spinoza and already contained communistic elements. Of considerably greater importance was his second book, *Die europaeische Triarchie* (1841), in which he recommended the union of the three great powers – England, France, and Germany – into one European state.

Hess was one of the founders, editors, and, from the end of 1842, the Paris correspondent of the *Rheinische Zeitung*, the first socialist daily in Cologne (it was suspended by the Prussian government in March 1843 after 15 months of publication). His numerous articles and essays also appeared in a series of radical periodicals of the period. In 1845–46 he edited an important socialist monthly, *Der Gesellschaftsspiegel*. In 1845 Hess moved to Belgium and was active in the Kommunistenbund, and 1848–49 he lived in Paris as a correspondent for German newspapers. In 1849 he took refuge in Switzerland and two years later in Belgium. From 1853 until the end of his life, he lived – with interruptions – in Paris.

After the death of his father (1851), who left him an inheritance that constituted the basis of his very modest but independent way of life, Hess married his Christian companion Sybille Pesch of Aachen. He spent the years 1861 to 1863 in Germany, where he published his most famous work *Rom und Jerusalem, die letzte Nationalitaetsfrage* (1862; *Rome and Jerusalem*, 1918 and later editions). In 1863 he actively cooperated with Lassalle and was the *Bevollmaechtigter* (plenipotentiary delegate) of the Allgemeiner Deutscher Arbeiterverein for the district of Cologne. At the end of 1863 he returned to Paris and contributed a number of studies to the *Archives israélites de France*. As a Freemason he also contributed to *Le monde maçonnique*. He was also a Paris correspondent of the Chicago *Illinois Staats-Zeitung* (1865–70), the *Social-Democrat* (1865–67), the *Rheinische Zeitung* (1868–70), and the *Volksstaat* (1869–70).

As a Prussian subject, Hess was expelled from France at the outbreak of the Franco-Prussian War. He moved to Belgium, where he published his violently anti-Prussian pamphlet, *Une nation déchue, Coalition de tous les peuples centre l'Allemagne prussifiée* (1871). After the war he returned once more to Paris and wrote the first volume of his *Dynamische Stofflehre* (published posthumously by his wife in 1877). He died in Paris and was buried, according to his own wish, at the Jewish cemetery in Deutz, near Cologne. His remains were transferred to kevuẓat Kinneret in Israel in 1961.

Hess may be considered the first important German socialist and the main representative of "philosophical Socialism." In contradistinction to Ludwig Feuerbach, who applied his theory of self-alienation only to theology, Hess applied this notion to historical and economic phenomena, such as property, money, the state, politics, etc. He believed that free labor – uncorrupted by private property and identical with genuine enjoyment – should replace the contemporary social system based on exploitation and characterized by the concentration of capital and the proletarianization of the masses. Hess felt that free labor would develop the "essence" of man as a social species. Socialism was not a class question to Hess, but a humanitarian problem that would be solved by education and the organization of labor. In his view, therefore, Socialism was practical ethics. In their *Communist Manifesto*, *Marx and Engels bitterly attacked and ridiculed this type of "true" Socialism. Hess was the first to recognize the greatness of Marx, at a time (September, 1841) when the latter was virtually unknown. He exercised an influence on the young Marx and won Engels for Communism. Between 1846 and 1851 Hess himself was strongly influenced by Marx, but he never became a "true" Marxist. Under the impact of Marx, Hess began to stress the importance of the material and economic factors for the realization of Communism. But he remained an ethical socialist even after having adopted some of Marx's ideas.

Hess' attitude toward the Jews underwent important changes within the course of his life. In his twenties he thought that the Jews had already accomplished their mission in history and should assimilate; he felt himself thoroughly German. During the *Damascus Affair (1840), he was deeply affected by the sufferings of his fellow Jews, but his compassion was not of long duration. Yet in 1862, he published *Rome and*

Jerusalem, a classic of Zionist literature. At the beginning of the book he states:

> Here I stand once more, after 20 years of estrangement, in the midst of my people; I participate in its holy days of joy and mourning, its memories and hope, its spiritual struggles in its own house and with the civilized people among which it lives, but with which, despite 2,000 years of living and striving together, it cannot organically coalesce. A thought which I had stifled forever within my heart is again vividly present with me; the thought of my nationality, inseparable from the inheritance of my ancestors, the Holy Land and the eternal city, the birthplace of belief in the divine unity of life and in the future brotherhood of all men. This thought, buried alive, had for years throbbed in my sealed heart, demanding outlet. But I lacked the energy necessary for the transition, from a path apparently so remote from Judaism as mine was, to that new path which appeared before me in the hazy distance and only in its general outlines.

Hess' inner transformation was the result of his own studies and his own experience. At the outbreak of the Italian war with Austria (1859), he noticed the connection between his anthropological studies and the liberation movement of the oppressed nationalities. These studies convinced him that all racial domination would ultimately cease and would be followed by a regeneration of the nations, including the Jewish one. On the other hand, it is clear that he personally suffered humiliation from antisemites. The Jewish national concept held by Hess was based on his idea of race. All past history, according to Hess, moved in the sphere of race and class struggle. "The race struggle," he said, "is the primal one, the class struggle secondary." He was convinced that there are "two world-historical races" whose combined cultural efforts shaped modern society: the Aryans and the Semites. The Aryans aim at explaining and beautifying life, the Semites at moralizing and sanctifying it. In the field of races there is variety but no superiority or inferiority, so that there is no justification for racial oppression or discrimination. The final aim of history is harmonious cooperation of all nations. For every oppressed nationality, national independence is the prerequisite for social progress.

Hess professed that Jews must preserve their nationality in the exile and strive for its political restoration in Palestine. He felt that the Jewish religion is the best means of preserving the nationality of the Jews and must therefore be left unchanged until the day when the foundations of a Jewish political and social establishment are laid in Palestine and a Sanhedrin can be elected to modify Jewish law in agreement with the needs of the new society. According to Hess, the Jewish people needed a "center of action," around which a nucleus of men devoted to the religious mission of Israel could gather to pursue their work. One day these men would discover one another in the ancient state of Israel. Their number is irrelevant, since Judaism has never been represented by a numerous people (*Archives israélites*, 26 (1865), 486). The future Jewish state, he pointed out, must be based on the following foundations: acquisition of soil by the nation as a whole; creation of legal conditions under which work can flourish; and "founding of Jewish societies of agriculture, industry and trade in accordance with Mosaic, i.e., socialist, principles" (*Rome and Jerusalem*, Letter 12).

Moses Hess was forgotten for some time, and only with the birth of the Zionist movement were his personality and his book, *Rome and Jerusalem*, appreciated. Herzl wrote about Hess in his diary on May 2, 1901:

> The 19 hours of this round trip were whiled away for me by Hess with his *Rome and Jerusalem*, which I had first started to read in 1898 in Jerusalem, but had never been able to finish properly in the pressure and rush of these years. Now I was enraptured and uplifted by him. What an exalted noble spirit! Everything that we have tried is already in his book. The only bothersome thing is his Hegelian terminology. Wonderful the Spinozistic-Jewish and nationalist elements. Since Spinoza, Jewry has brought forth no greater spirit than this forgotten Moses Hess (Vol. 3, p. 1090).

Articles on Hess and the beginning of attempts of translation appeared in the 1880s. M. *Bodenheimer, who published a new edition of *Rome and Jerusalem* with an introduction, made the book available to the public in 1899, and since then many editions have come out both in the original and translation. T. Zlocisti also contributed to the revival of Hess' memory by publishing a selection of Hess' *Juedische Schriften* (1905), *Philosophische und sozialistische Schriften* (1921), a comprehensive biography (1925, translated into Hebrew in 1945–50), and his letters (published only in Hebrew with notes by the translator, 1947). E. Silberner brought out Hess' correspondence in the original German in 1959 and wrote a new, comprehensive biography (1966). Selections of his writing have been published in German (1962), Polish (1963), and in Hebrew (edited with notes by Martin Buber, 2 vols. 1954–56).

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[Getzel Kressel]

HESS, DAME MYRA (1890–1956), British pianist. Hess made her debut in Beethoven's Fourth Piano Concerto with Sir Thomas Beecham in 1907, and subsequently toured Europe, the U.S., and Canada. She gained fame especially in performances of Scarlatti, Bach's *Well-Tempered Clavier*, and the piano concertos of Mozart and Beethoven. During the Blitz in London in World War II she organized daily lunchtime concerts in the National Gallery and was created a Dame of the British Empire in 1941 for her contribution to maintaining morale in the city.

[Judith Cohen]

HESSE, state in Germany. There were Jews living in Hesse at the end of the 12th century, and by the middle of the 14th century they had settled in more than 70 places, the most important of which were *Friedberg, *Wetzlar, and *Fulda. Most of the communities destroyed by persecutions during the *Black Death (1349) were reestablished in the 14th century. As Emperor Louis IV of Bavaria (1314–47) and his successors usually transferred rights over the Jews to the nobles, the majority of the Jews of Hesse lived in villages and towns under the protection of the nobles and not in the cities belonging to the emperor. In 1524 Landgrave Philip the Magnanimous expelled the Jews from his territory but allowed them to return shortly afterward. His adviser in religious affairs, the Protestant reformer Martin *Bucer, demanded that he humiliate the Jews and limit their rights. Although Philip did not respond to this request, his 1539 *Judenreglement*, the model for future Hessian legislation regulating Jewish rights, while relatively favorable, included a prohibition on the building of new synagogues and commanded the Jews not to resist efforts to convert them. After Philip's death in 1567 Hesse was divided among his four sons, with two principalities, Hesse-Kassel and Hesse-Darmstadt, emerging with sizable Jewish populations. For the history of Hesse-Homburg Jewry, see *Homburg.

Hesse-Kassel

In the reign of Philip's son William the Wise of Hesse-Kassel, who prohibited anti-Jewish incitement, the number of Jews on his lands increased. In the reign of his successor the Jewish *Landtag* was inaugurated. Once every three years (until 1806) this day of assembly was held, on which the Jews of Hesse decided on the assignment of taxes, internal legislation, and other public matters. In 1656 a *Landrabbinat* was established with its seat in Witzenhausen, where the central yeshivah for Hessian Jewry was founded. The majority of Hessian Jewry settled in rural regions (143 heads of households in 42 localities in 1646). In the 17th and 18th centuries the authorities sought to restrict the commercial occupations they pursued, particularly peddling and trade in cloth and metals. Jews also made their living in the livestock and leather trades, in real estate brokerage, and in supplying silver for the mint and recruits for the army. As far back as the 15th century Jews served as court physicians. In the 18th century some Jews were granted the monopoly of tobacco production. They were finally allowed to trade freely in 1781, but it was not until Hesse-Kassel became a part of the kingdom of Westphalia (1808) that they were recognized as citizens.

From the middle of the 17th century and for the next two centuries the Goldschmidt family of Frankfurt, *Court Jews and financiers to the landgraves of Hesse-Kassel, were dominant in Jewish affairs. From 1709 to 1734 several Hebrew books were published in *Hanau. After Hesse was incorporated into Westphalia, matters of religion and education came under the consistory in *Kassel, headed by Israel *Jacobson, who introduced reforms. The Jewry Law of 1816 encouraged the Jews to transfer to agriculture and crafts, and that of 1823 restricted rabbinical authority. Complete civil rights were not granted until Hesse-Kassel was annexed to Prussia (1866) and became part of the district of Hesse-Nassau.

Hesse-Darmstadt

The situation of the Jews in Hesse-Darmstadt was generally more favorable than in Hesse-Kassel. In his *Judenordnung ("Jewry regulations") of 1585 Landgrave George I (1567–96) reissued his father's *Judenreglement* with the addition of a few more restrictions. The 1629 *Judenordnung* of George II (1626–61) was regularly renewed for a century and a half, although his successor, Ludwig VI, expelled the Jews from the cities for a short period. Generally, however, the policy of the rulers was one of nonintervention in Jewish affairs, which stimulated the development of institutions of Jewish self-government. As in Hesse-Kassel, during the triennial *Judenlandtage* the Jews of the principality convened to discuss questions of community taxation as well as other economic and social problems. Despite such important developments within the Jewish community, the Jews of Hesse-Darmstadt were subject to legal disabilities until the middle of the 19th century. Even the Hessian constitution of 1820 placed strict limitations on citizenship, and the majority of Jews remained **Schutzjuden*; only in 1848 were all legal inequalities finally abolished. The Jewish population of Hesse-Darmstadt was 19,530 in 1822 and reached a peak of 28,061 in 1849, declining gradually to 20,401 in 1925. Although their percentage of the total population declined from 3.04% to 1.52%, it remained throughout one of the highest in Germany. The Jews, who were settled primarily in rural areas, engaged in peddling, livestock trade, and dealing in wholesale agricultural produce; accusations that they exploited the peasants were endemic. The Jews of Hesse-Darmstadt (and Hesse-Kassel as well) suffered during the *Hep! Hep! disturbances of 1819 and again during the revolution of 1848. In both cases the rulers intervened vigorously on behalf of the Jews; later in the century they tried to moderate the anti-Jewish policies of the Russian czar, to whom they were related by marriage. In contrast to their rulers, the backward peasants of Hesse repeatedly elected to parliament the rabid antisemite, Otto Boeckel; the region continued to be a hotbed of antisemitism and actively welcomed the Nazi seizure of power.

Especially after persecutions on the *Kristallnacht* (Nov. 9/10, 1938), when the local populace supported the Nazi stormtroopers, the Jews of the rural communities of Hesse moved, or were forced to move, to such larger towns as *Frankfurt, *Darmstadt, *Giessen, Friedberg, *Kassel, and *Offenbach. From there, the majority were later deported to concentration camps in Eastern Europe.

Hesse

After World War II most of Hesse-Darmstadt and Hesse-Kassel was included in the new state of Hesse, which in 1970 contained 1,508 Jews in nine communities, the most important being Offenbach, *Wiesbaden, Darmstadt, and Kassel, with a joint regional organization in Frankfurt. At the beginning of the 21st century, after immigration from the former Soviet Union, the population of these four main communities exceeded 3,000.

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[Zvi Avneri]

HESSEL, FRANZ (1880–1941), German writer, translator, and publisher. The son of a Jewish banker, Hessel grew up in Berlin and studied literature in Munich. After 1900 he participated in the literary circle of Munich, publishing the *Schwabinger Beobachter* together with Franziska zu Reventlow and the poems *Verlorene Gespielen* (1905). Together with Karl Wolfskehl he attended the 1903 Zionist Congress in Basel, yet remained rather aloof from it. Between 1906 and 1914 he lived mostly in Paris, writing stories (*Laura Wunderl*, 1908) and novels (*Der Kramladen des Gluecks*, 1913) which were mostly set in Munich and opposing bourgeois capitalism with aesthetical models of life like the *flaneur* and also posing the question of Jewish identity. This is still the case in his Paris and Berlin novels *Pariser Romanze* (1920), *Heimliches Berlin* (1927), *Spazieren in Berlin* (1929), and his short prose (*Teigwaren leicht gefaerbt*, 1926, *Nachfeier*, 1929, *Ermunterung zum Genuss*, 1933), which analyze the social and material space of urban life. During the years of the Weimar Republic Hessel worked for the publisher Ernst Rowohlt, editing the literary journal *Vers und Prosa* (1924) and translating Stendhal, Balzac, Casanova, and (together with Walter *Benjamin) Proust. In 1938 he fled to Paris and southern France. In 1940 he was imprisoned in a camp and died soon after the liberation in Sanary-sur-Mer.

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[Andreas Kilcher (2nd ed.)]

HESSEN, JOSEPH VLADIMIROVICH (1866–1943), Russian lawyer and politician. Born in Odessa, Hessen graduated in law from the University of Petersburg in 1889 but was banned from practicing on the grounds that he was politically unreliable. In 1891 he converted to Christianity, which opened for him government service. In 1898 he founded the law journal *Pravo* in which he wrote several important articles on law including *Uzakoneniye, usyneniye i vnebrachnya deti* ("Legitimation, Adoption, and Children Born Out of Wedlock," 1916³) and *Sudebnaya reforma* ("Court Reform," 1904). Hessen joined the Constitutional-Democrat (Kadet) Party in 1905, and from 1906 was coeditor of their newspaper. In 1907 he was elected on their list to the Second Duma (Russian parliament), where he represented himself as a Jew of Russian Orthodox faith. After the Russian Revolution of 1917 Hessen left Russia and lived in Helsinki and later in Berlin where he edited the *Arkhiv Russkoy Revolyutsii* ("Archive of the Russian Revolution," 22 vols., 1921–37). His other writings include *Istoriya russkoy advokatury* ("History of the Legal Profession in Russia," 1914), two works of Jewish legal interest, and an autobiography *V dvukh vekakh* ("In two centuries," 1937). He also wrote an article on the position of the Jews following the antisemitic May Laws in 1882 in *Yevreyskaya Biblioteka* (vol. 10 (1903), 318–38), and was coeditor of *Sbornik zakonov o yevreyakh …* (1904), a collation of laws affecting the Jews. In 1933 he moved to Paris, and in 1940 to Limouge in southern France, where he died.

HESSEN, JULIUS ISIDOROVICH (1871–1939), historian of Russian Jewry. Hessen was born in Odessa. He was the author of more than 300 historical works. His first published work was a biography of Osip *Rabinovich and a Russian translation of *Pinsker's *Autoemanzipation* (1898). Both his scholarly and communal activities revolved around the quest for the emancipation of Russian Jewry. In 1905–06 he served as secretary of the short-lived Union for Full Equality of the Jewish People in Russia; he prepared the memorandum on the life of the Jews in Russia and the history of Russian legislation on the Jews which was sent to the members of the Duma and the state council. Hessen's mature historical work began with studies of aspects of Russian Jewish history, including *Yevrei v masonstve* ("Jews in Freemasonry," 1903) and *Velizhskaya drama* ("The Velizh [Blood-Libel] Drama," 1905), collected in his *Yevrei v Rossii* (1906; Heb. *Ha-Yehudim be-Rusyah*, 1913); *Zakon i zhizn* ("Law and Life," 1911), on the history of the Pale of Settlement; and *Gallereya yevreyskikh deyateley* ("A Gallery of Outstanding Jewish Figures," 2 vols., 1898–1900). He initiated the publication of the Russian-Jewish encyclopedia *Yevreyskaya Entsiklopediya* (16 vols., 1908–13), served as its general secretary and its editor for modern Russian-Jewish history, and contributed many important articles to it. Hessen summed up his research in *Istoriya yevreyev v Rossii* ("History of the Jews in Russia," 1914), later extending the history to 1882 in *Istoriya yevreyskogo naroda v Rossii* ("History of the Jewish People in Russia," 2 vols., 1916–27; vol. 1 rev., 1925. These standard works deal with the history of Russian Jewry from its early beginnings in the period of the grand duchy of Kiev, but are of particular importance for the position of the Jews in Russia in the 18th and 19th centuries, drawing on archival material from the many commissions appointed to inquire into the Jewish problem and on the reports of provincial governors. After the 1917 Revolution Hessen was employed, with others, on a history of the labor movement in Russia and on a history of antisemitism in Russia. In the years 1930–35 he was editor of the *Vestnik an S.S.S.R.* (Journal of the Academy of Sciences). From 1935 he prepared the publication of the archives of the Arctic explorations. The exact circumstances of his death are not known.

[Abraham N. Poliak]

HESTRIN, SHLOMO (1912–1962), Israel biochemist. Born in Canada, Hestrin studied at the University of Winnipeg and went to Palestine in 1933, worked on a kibbutz, and completed his studies at the Hebrew University. In 1939 Hestrin became research assistant and later guest researcher at universities in the U.S. and returned to Israel in 1949 to become head of the microbiological chemistry laboratory at the Medical School in Jerusalem. In 1959 he was appointed head of the department of biochemistry. He was awarded the Israel Prize in 1957. His field of research was in biochemistry of sugars, properties of yeast enzymes in decomposition, the structure and synthesis of polysaccharides in bacteria and their use in medical research and to increase blood volume. Hestrin contributed much to the development of teaching and research in biochemistry at the Hebrew University.

HESTRIN-LERNER, SARAH (1918–), physiologist. Born in Winnipeg, Canada, Hestrin-Lerner immigrated to Ereẓ Israel in 1932. She studied zoology at the Hebrew University and received her doctorate in pathological physiology. She was awarded the Israel Prize for medicine in 1955.

ḤET (Heb. ח; חֵית), the eighth letter of the Hebrew alphabet; its numerical value is therefore 8. It is pronounced as a fricative pharyngeal. The earliest representation of the *ḥet* is in a pictograph of a fence 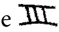, . Variants of the latter form survived in the Phoenician , Hebrew , , and Samaritan . The Aramaic *ḥet* dropped two of the horizontal bars and by the eighth century B.C.E. it had already become . This is the basic form of the modern Hebrew ח. The Arabic ﺧ, خ developed through the Nabatean 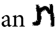, 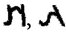, . In the Syriac and other eastern Aramaic scripts the *ḥet* developed as follows: , , . From the Phoenician *ḥet* the Greek "H" (the Ionian vowel *eta*) developed, but in Latin it regained its consonantal value (fricative laryngeal). See *Alphabet, Hebrew.

[Joseph Naveh]

ḤEVER HA-YEHUDIM (Heb. חֶבֶר הַיְּהוּדִים), a name which appears on Hasmonean coins, indicating some kind of ruling body. It is found particularly in the combination "High priest and Ḥever ha-Yehudim"; on the coins of the high priest Johanan (either Hyrcanus I or II) is found "Johanan high priest and head of the Ḥever ha-Yehudim." Scholars dispute the nature of this body. Some regard it as a council associated with the ruler, composed of aristocrats, priests, and scholars; at a later period it was known as the *Sanhedrin, its origin being in the *gerusia*, known to have existed before the Hasmonean period. Others take the phrase to refer to the nation as a whole, which on the coins is thus associated with the ruler. They compare the Ḥever ha-Yehudim to the Great Assembly which was convened to endorse the establishment of Hasmonean rule in the time of Simeon the Hasmonean (142 B.C.E.; I Macc. 14:25–49). Still others regard the name as a translation of some Greek term like κοινὸν τῶν Ἰουδαίων ("The Commonwealth of the Jews"). No such body, however, is known to have existed. It is worthy of note that Ḥever ha-Yehudim does not appear on those coins of Alexander Yannai (104–76 B.C.E.) on which he bears the title of king.

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[Uriel Rappaport]

HEVESI, LAJOS (**Ludwig**; 1843–1910), Hungarian author and journalist. A noted humorist, Hevesi was associated in Budapest with the satirical magazine, *Borsszem Jankó*, and with the *Pester Lloyd*. From 1885 he edited the *Wiener Fremdenblatt*. One of his most popular books was *Des Schneidergesellen Andreas Jelky Abenteuer in vier Weltteilen* (1875), a much-translated adventure story.

HEVESI (originally **Hoffman**), **SANDOR** (1873–1939), Hungarian stage director, playwright, and translator. After graduating from the University of Budapest, Hevesi became a teacher but he soon turned to the theater and in 1902 was appointed stage director of the Budapest National Theater. A disciple of the English director Gordon Craig, Hevesi improved artistic standards and introduced modern English plays into the repertoire. He put his knowledge of stage technique to good use in his own plays, which enjoyed considerable popularity in their time. Hevesi translated all the plays of George Bernard Shaw and many of those by Shakespeare, Molière, Ibsen, Gogol, and Wilde. His conversion to Christianity did not save him from antisemitic persecution and he was forced to retire from public life in 1935. An anthology of his essays, *A drámairás iskolája* ("School for Playwriting"), appeared posthumously in 1961.

His adopted son, ANDRÁS HEVESI (1902–1940), also an author and translator, was a member of the group associated with the radical periodical *Szép Szó*, which included Pál Ignotus, Ferenc Fejtö, and Béla *Zsolt. His outstanding stories were *A párizsi esö* ("The Rain in Paris," 1939) and *Irén* (1938). He left Hungary during the antisemitic excesses of the Horthy regime, and, after volunteering for the French army in 1940, died in battle.

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[Baruch Yaron]

HEVESI, SIMON (formerly **Handler**; 1868–1943), rabbi and scholar in Hungary. He studied at the Budapest rabbinical seminary and at Budapest University. In 1894 he was appointed rabbi of Kassa (now Kosice, Slovakia) and later officiated in various communities. Hevesi was a brilliant speaker. He subsequently became rabbi of Pest and in 1927 chief rabbi, continuing in this position until his death. Hevesi combined considerable rabbinical learning with interest in general and Jewish philosophy. From 1905 he was lecturer in homiletics and Jewish philosophy at the rabbinical seminary. Hevesi took a leading role in public affairs of Hungarian Jewry, and was active in establishing social and educational organizations, including an association for popular education (OMIKE). He published various essays on philosophy and also books, and participated in editing the learned periodicals *Ha-Ẓofeh le-Ḥokhmat Yisrael, Magyar Zsidó Szemle*, and *Yavneh*. His works in Hebrew include studies of the Book of Job (in *Ha-Ẓofeh le-Ḥokhmat Yisrael*, 5 (1921), 35–39, 81–89, 156–63, 283–93); and Ecclesiastes (in *Festschrift der Landesrabbinerschule* (1927), second pagination in Hebrew, 15–38; and in Hungarian, *Dalalat Alhairin* (1928) on Maimonides' *Guide*.

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[Alexander Scheiber]

HEVESY, GEORGE CHARLES DE (1885–1966), chemist, isotopes pioneer, and Nobel Prize winner. Hevesy was born in Budapest and studied there and in Berlin. After obtaining his doctorate at Freiburg he worked with Lorenz at the Technische Hochschule in Zurich, with *Haber at Karlsruhe, and with Rutherford in Manchester. In 1913 he started important work with F. *Paneth in Vienna on radioactive isotopes. This was the beginning of the use of radioactive tracers or "labeled atoms," an important tool in chemical and biological research. When war broke out in 1914, Hevesy joined the Austro-Hungarian army as technical supervisor of the state electrochemical plant in the Carpathians. After the war he returned to Budapest and resumed his studies of isotope tracers. In 1920 he joined Niels *Bohr at the new institute of theoretical physics in Copenhagen. There, together with D. Coster, he discovered a new element, no. 72, which he called hafnium. In 1923 he revealed in a paper the first use of radioactive tracers in a biological problem and in 1924 their first use in animal physiology. In 1926 Hevesy became professor at Freiburg; there he added a new field – X-ray fluorescence – as a method of analysis of trace materials in minerals, rocks, and meteorites. In 1934 his position was rendered intolerable by the Nazis; he resigned and returned to the Copenhagen institute. The discovery of artificial radioactive elements immensely enhanced the utility of the tracer technique in research work. After 1938 Hevesy gave his whole attention to the use of this tool in biochemical research. In 1943 Denmark, under Nazi occupation, became unsafe, and he followed Bohr by escaping in a fishing boat to Sweden. In 1943 he was awarded the Nobel Prize "for the use of isotopes as tracers in the study of chemical processes." After the war he remained in Stockholm, as professor in the institute of organic chemistry of the university. His biological work continued, largely on nucleic acids, the metabolism of iron and calcium, cancer anemia, and the effects of radiation. Among Hevesy's numerous other awards and honors were the "Pour le Mérite" from the German president Heuss and the Atoms for Peace Award (New York, 1959).

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[Samuel Aaron Miller]

ḤEVRAH, ḤAVURAH (Heb. חֶבְרָה, חֲבוּרָה, Aram. חֶבְרָא), a formal membership association in the framework of the traditional Jewish community, now limited in scope. In Ashkenazi communities, each such society bore the generic appellation *kaddisha* (קַדִּישָׁא), "sacred," sometimes superfluously, as for example the "Sacred Society of Tailors," while the burial society was identified specifically as the *ḥevrah kaddisha.* Among Sephardim it was known as *ḥevrah (ḥebra) ḥesed ve-emet*. The best-known *ḥevrah* is the one which dealt with the reverent disposal of the dead, to which, in time, the name *ḥevra kaddisha* became confined. It probably existed in talmudic times (see *Ḥevra Kaddisha). The term *ḥevrah*, however, and even *ḥevra kaddisha*, was applied to associations of all kinds formed for religious, philanthropic, or educational purposes.

The *ḥevrah* with specific religious purposes went back at least as far as the 14th century. At Saragossa in Spain, mention is made in 1378 of the *lelezmuroz* (apparently, *leil ashmorot*, the night watch). Later there were, especially in Italy, groups designated Shomerim la-Boker, engaged in early worship. Mystic associations of kabbalists and Shabbateans met in special conventicles for the pursuit of their esoteric lore. Others served the existing synagogues; *bedek ha-bayit* cared for needed repairs, *ner tamid* for lighting. Groups such as *shivah keru'im* consisted of an elite, who, not content with the rare *aliyah* (call to the reading of the Torah) in the main synagogue, met in small groups in special rooms.

Educational associations were of two kinds. Benevolent associations provided instruction for poor children, chiefly the **talmud torah* association. Associations for adult education covered a wide network of groups and provided a variety of courses, including study of the Mishnah, Talmud, or Midrash, and the chanting of psalms.

Philanthropic groups were also numerous. (In 1800 a testator in Amsterdam bequeathed funds to 210 charities.) Among the host of philanthropic associations were **bikkur ḥolim* for visiting the sick and general *sick care; **gemilut ḥasadim* providing free loans; *pidyon shevuyim* for *ransoming captives; *hakhnasat oreḥim* for care of transients; and **hakhnasat kallah* providing dowries for poor brides.

Vocational associations comprised *guilds of artisans. Such professional fraternities were formed within every craft in which a sufficient number of Jews engaged. On record in Lissa, Poland, in the 18th century, are Jewish guilds of tailors, goldsmiths, lacemakers, plumbers, tanners, barbers, weavers of gold cloth, and furriers.

The *ḥevrah* was distinguished from the modern association by its essentially religious nature. While each organized group served its stated purpose, the major benefits to be derived from membership were the heavenly rewards. In sickness and in death the member was assured that his fellow members would pray for his recovery or for the peace of his soul. This intercessional aspect was its greatest attraction. Next in importance was the social element: the honors conferred in the society's chapel, the conviviality of periodic feasts for members only, and the mutual aid benefits of a fellowship group. The association also exercised powerful control over the religious and moral behavior of its members. Rules of proper conduct were inculcated at admission; breaches of discipline were punishable by fines, expulsion, or the threat of being denounced to the *kahal* which possessed punitive powers, including that of excommunication. In structural and organizational patterns the various associations were remarkably similar. The fundamental law of each association was framed in a set of ordinances by legal draftsmen, *ba'alei *takkanot*. On admission the name of the new member was inscribed in the society *pinkas*, or minute book. Often there were periods of apprenticeship and journeymanship prior to full membership status. Children were admitted at the circumcision ceremony or somewhat later. Women, although inadmissible for membership in a *ḥevrah*, could enjoy its intercessional benefits either by making donations in cash or in kind, or by good deeds such as the performance of ritual ablution of deceased women, collection of charitable funds, or sewing garments for the poor. The revenues of the association consisted of membership dues, usually paid in weekly installments, as well as special assessments, voluntary contributions, profits from property acquired, fees for services, or compulsory taxes authorized by the *kahal*. The *ḥevrah* served a vital need before the development of modern social services. As an organized social cell it performed many necessary functions for the individual Jew. It played an important role in the fabric of autonomous institutions that kept Jewish life vibrant and diversified. In its modern context the complexion of the *ḥevrah* has entirely changed.

See: *Autonomy, *Community, *Fraternal Societies, *Hekdesh.

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[Isaac Levitats]

ḤEVRA (Ḥavurah) KADDISHA (Aram. חֶבְרָא קַדִּישָׁא; lit. "holy brotherhood"), a term originally applied to a mutual benefit society whose services were restricted to its members, irrespective of the social, religious, or charitable purpose for which it was established (cf. Rashi to MK 27b and Tos. Ket. 17a bot.). In the **Yekum Purkan* prayer the phrase is used in the plural to apply either to the whole Jewish community, or to the rabbis as a whole. In a responsum *Asher b. Jeḥiel refers to a *ḥevra kaddisha* that formed an association for **gemilut ḥasadim*, encompassing all charitable activities (13:12). Its regulations specified that a son could inherit the rights and privileges of his father in the *ḥevra* as soon as he reached his religious majority, and if the deceased member left no son the privileges devolved upon the heir, but he must be "the one who is regarded as most suitable in the eyes of the members." The responsum which follows deals with a member of a *ḥevra* who married the daughter of another member and they had two sons. Both members died and the two sons both claimed membership, one on the basis of his father's right and the other on that of his grandfather. Nowhere, however, is the purpose and aim of this *ḥevra* mentioned. As late as the 19th century the heads of the *Lubavitch (Ḥabad) ḥasidic dynasty referred to their various groups of followers as *ḥevra kaddisha*. In the course of time, in the same way as the comprehensive phrase *gemilut ḥasadim* became restricted to one aspect of all the acts of kindness and consideration to which it originally applied, so the term *ḥevra kaddisha*, at least among the Ashkenazi Jews, came to apply to a brotherhood formed for one purpose only, namely, the reverential disposal of the dead in accordance with Jewish law and tradition.

The origin of this restricted use of the term can be found in a passage of the Talmud. The duty of arranging for the disposal of the dead devolved upon the entire community and when a person died the whole population had to abstain from work in order to pay their respects (cf. Jos. Apion 2.27: "All who pass by when one is buried must accompany the funeral"). On one occasion, R. *Hamnuna (d. 320) came to a certain place and heard the sound of a funerary bugle. When he saw that the members of the community continued with their avocations he said, "Let them be placed under a ban." They informed him, however, that there was a *ḥavurah* which occupied itself with this duty, and he permitted the others to continue their work (MK 27b). Another interesting but less certain reference is found in the minor tractate *Semaḥot* (chap. 12): "Thus used the *ḥavurot* to conduct themselves in Jerusalem. Some used to go to the house of mourning, and others to banqueting houses; some to the *shevu'a ha-ben* (see *Circumcision, Folklore), and others to gather up human bones… the early *Ḥasidim* gave preference to the house of mourning over the banqueting houses."

Ḥevra kaddisha in the more restricted sense arose simultaneously in Spain and in Germany at the beginning of the 14th century, and soon was to be found in all communities. It would appear that originally the privileges were confined to the actual members of the *ḥevra*. The comment of Rashi to the above-mentioned passage from *Mo'ed Katan* – "there were associations, each one of which made itself responsible for the burial of its own members" (cf. Tos. Ket. 17a bottom) – no doubt reflects local and contemporary conditions.

The origin of the *ḥevra kaddisha* in the sense of a brotherhood which took upon itself the sacred duty of providing for the burial of all members of the community is not known before the 16th century. The first known was established by Eleazar Ashkenazi in Prague in 1564, and the drawing up of the formal *takkanot*, the regulations of the *ḥevra*, was effected by *Judah Loew b. Bezalel, also of Prague, in the 17th century. These *takkanot*, which were confirmed by the Austrian government, laid it down inter alia that its services were available to all members of the community even if they were not members of the *ḥevra* and made no contribution toward it. They regulated such matters as the fees to be paid, the allocation of the graves, and the rules for the erection of tombstones.

Their most important duty, however, was the preparation of the corpse in accordance with the traditions and laws for the reverential disposal of the dead. Those engaged in this sacred task are called *mitassekim* ("those who occupy themselves"), a term already found in the Talmud (MK 24b) as well as *gomelei ḥasadim* (Ket. 8b), since the duty to the dead is regarded as the "only true *gemilut ḥasadim*." Among the northern Sephardi Jews they are called *lavadores* ("washers"). Some of the societies included among their functions tending the sick, providing garments for the poor, and arranging the rites in the house of mourning.

Membership in the *ḥevra kaddisha* was regarded as a coveted honor, and, until recent times, was an honorary one. This is reflected in two extant documents relating to *Shneur Zalman of Lyady, the founder of the Ḥabad ḥasidic dynasty. The first, written when he was a child of five, records: "today, the 16th of Kislev 5510 [1750] the child Shneur Zalman the son of Baruch was accepted as an assistant [*shammash*] in the *ḥevra kaddisha* until he reached his religious majority," and in consideration thereof his grandfather undertook to provide a supply of planks for the synagogue and an annual contribution of 18 gulden, with the promise that he would be accepted as a full member on attaining his majority. The second document records his appointment as a full member on that date (Steinman p. 31). Sir Moses *Montefiore in his diary expresses his pride in the fact that he had been elected a member of the Society of *Lavadores* of the Spanish and Portuguese Congregation of London and he fulfilled his duties with meticulous care.

The institution of the *ḥevra kaddisha* is unique to the Jewish community. It derives from the fact that according to Jewish law no material benefit may accrue from the dead. As a result no private or commercial firm is permitted to engage in the disposal of the dead for private gain. The duty must thus become a function of the community as a whole.

The fraternal aspect of the *ḥevra* was observed in various ways, the most common being the annual celebration of the *ḥevra* on a fixed day. The date differs in many communities. The most common is the seventh day of Adar, the traditional anniversary of the death of Moses. Many communities observed other dates, such as the 15th or 20th of Kislev, whereas in Pressburg (Bratislava) it was held on Lag ba-Omer. The day begins as a fast, in expiation of any inadvertent disrespect shown to the dead, and a special order of *seliḥot* is recited. It concludes with a sumptuous banquet, regarded as one of the important occasions of the community at which sermons were delivered. Z. *Shneour in his *Shklover Mayses* gives a vivid account of this annual celebration. In Pressburg the *haftarah* for the Intermediate Sabbath of Passover, the subject of which is Ezekiel's vision of the valley of dead bones (Ezek. 37), was reserved for members of the *ḥevra*.

[Louis Isaac Rabinowitz]

Women and Ḥevra Kaddisha

> *A man may shroud and gird the corpse of a man, but not that of a woman. A woman may shroud and gird the corpse of a man or of a woman. A man may attend another man suffering from intestinal illness, but not a woman. A woman may attend a man or a woman suffering of intestinal illness* (Sem. 12:10).

Although women were essential participants in caring for other women on their deathbeds and beyond, they were not allowed to be members of the Holy Brotherhood. Like all other institutions constituting the inner structure of Jewish communities, the *ḥevra kaddisha* devised its decorum and protocol according to exclusively masculine preconceptions. Women were permitted to sew the shrouds, and were also commonly allowed to be assistants. From the regulations of Prague's *ḥevra kaddisha* (1692–1702, §25), we know that women served as regular auxiliaries in the *ḥevra kaddisha* but they were never regarded as equal participants. Eventually, autonomous strictly female organizations were established in the wake of the global transformations that affected the brotherhoods during the Enlightenment process. At the end of the 17th century, groups of *nashim ẓidkaniyyot* (pious women) were founded, first in Rome (1617), then in Berlin (1745), Amsterdam and Rendsburg (1776), London (1795), Chorostkow, and Vilna. In addition, *Frauhenhebrah* (sisterhoods), together with new brotherhoods of bachelors and young people, were established throughout the Jewish German world (Frankfurt/Main, 1761; Mainz and Dresden, 1790; Manheim, 1798, etc.) to assume the responsibilities of preparing deceased members of the community for burial.

[Sylvie Anne Goldberg (2nd ed.)]

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ḤEVRAT HA-OVEDIM, cooperative society of Jewish workers founded in 1923 at the second conference of the *Histadrut.

Its aim was to engage in settlement, industry, construction, and supply in both town and country on a basis of mutual aid and responsibility. Its immediate purpose was to help create jobs and livelihood opportunities for newly arriving pioneers and workers; the long-term aim was to bring about the establishment of a "labor commonwealth" in Ereẓ Israel. Every member of the Histadrut was a member of Ḥevrat ha-Ovedim and vice versa. The Histadrut's executive council (*va'ad ha-po'el*) was identical with Ḥevrat ha-Ovedim's management council (*minhalah*), which appointed its secretariat and its board of managers. Ḥevrat ha-Ovedim was a roof organization for the ramified enterprises run by the Histadrut and its members, and at its peak covered close to 25% of Israel's gainfully employed population. Its functions were supervisory and directive: It appointed managers for its industrial concerns and other economic bodies, checked and directed economic policy through audit unions, etc., and prepared general financial plans. It also participated in the ownership and management of various public, semi-public, and private enterprises. During the 1980s and the 1990s Ḥevrat ha-Ovedim was gradually stripped of its assets as the Histadrut sold off all its economic holdings, such as Koor, Solel Boneh, Bank Hapoalim, etc. The election of Haim *Ramon as secretary-general of the Histadrut in 1994 marked the final stage in the demise of Ḥevrat ha-Ovedim. To reduce the Histadrut's debt, Ramon sold off its last holdings and thus put an end to Ḥevrat ha-Ovedim.

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[Aharon Yadlin / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

HEWITT, DON (1922–), U.S. journalist. Born in New York City, Hewitt attended New York University for a year and left to pursue a career in journalism. His first job was as a copy boy at *The New York Herald Tribune*. From 1943 to 1945, he was a war correspondent for *Stars and Stripes* in both the European and Pacific theaters. After the war, he worked as an editor for the Associated Press in its Memphis bureau and in 1948 he began his long-time association with the Columbia Broadcasting System. From 1948 to 1962 he produced and directed *Douglas Edwards with the News* and the first year, 1963–64, of the trend-setting *CBS Evening News with Walter Cronkite*. These two programs had a major influence on the general development of television news programming, and Hewitt played a pivotal role in framing politics for a growing audience. He directed and produced the first televised presidential debate, between John F. Kennedy and Richard M. Nixon, in 1959, and was responsible for CBS's coverage of the national political conventions between 1948 and 1980. Among his most influential contributions was the appropriation of the lower half of the television screen for printed information and news. He created a more informed generation of "news anchors" (a term he coined) through his use of cue cards and multiple framing angles. It was this redefinition of the role of the news anchor that opened up the field for Hewitt's major contribution. In 1968 Hewitt created the first television newsmagazine, *60 Minutes*, and it proved to be one of the most important programs CBS ever produced, both journalistically and financially. The profits for the network from *60 Minutes* were significantly in excess of a billion dollars. On the show, different anchors concentrated on a separate story, providing in-depth coverage of different topics. Unlike the nightly news, *60 Minutes* had the time to provide history and editorial commentary and could systematically investigate social and political issues in a way that had only been done before in print. The mixture of up-to-date reporting and extensive investigation gave *60 Minutes* an aura of knowledge and respectability previously unseen on television. For many years, the program either led the ratings or finished in the top-10 most-watched shows. Hewitt earned countless honors and awards, including membership in the Television Hall of Fame. He continued to produce *60 Minutes* well into his eighties but left in 2004.

[Stewart Kampel (2nd ed.)]

HEXTER, JACK H. (1910–1996), U.S. historian. Born in Memphis, Tennessee, Hexter received his bachelor's degree from the University of Cincinnati (1931) and his master's (1933) and doctoral degrees from Harvard University (1937). He taught at Queens College, N.Y. (1939–57) and at Washington University in St. Louis, Missouri (1957–64), where for three years he served as chair of the Department of History in Arts and Sciences. After that, he was appointed professor of history at Yale University (1964–78), where he developed and directed the Yale Center for Parliamentary History and its publication program. From 1965 he was co-editor of the massive edition of *The Complete Works of Thomas More*, prepared at Yale. He was also general editor of *The Traditions of the Western World*.

Hexter's principal contributions were to 16th- and 17th-century history, a field in which he urged historians to reappraise traditional assumptions, such as the belief in a steadily rising middle class or the homogeneity of the gentry. His essays were marked by a brilliance of style that enhanced their impact. Some of the more important are assembled in *Reappraisals in History* (1961). Hexter's first book, *The Reign of King Pym* (1941), was a masterly account of the early years of the English Civil War, and it was followed by major analyses of Machiavelli and More. His *More's "Utopia": The Biography of an Idea* (1952) is a seminal study. His later books include *Doing History* (1971); *The Vision of Politics on the Eve of the Reformation* (1973); *On Historians* (1979); and *After the Reformation* (1980).

Upon his retirement from Yale in 1978, Hexter returned to Washington University as a Distinguished Historian in Residence and subsequently became the John M. Olin Professor of the History of Freedom until 1990. In 1986 he founded and became director of Washington University's Center for the

History of Freedom, where he launched a 25-year project to create the world's first comprehensive study of the development of modern freedom. The first volume of *The Making of Modern Freedom* series was published in 1992.

Hexter spent much of the 1990s lobbying for the creation of a federal program to encourage Gulf War veterans to become teachers. In 1994 Congress endorsed the Troops to Teachers program which, in its first four years, helped direct more than 3,000 veterans into US classrooms.

Hexter was a member of the Educational Advisory Board of the Guggenheim Foundation and of the editorial boards of the *Journal of British History* and the *Journal of the History of Ideas*. He was president of the Conference of British Studies, and served on the board of trustees of the Danforth Foundation. His awards and honors included four Guggenheim Fellowships and two Fulbright Fellowships.

[Theodore K. Rabb / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

HEYD, URIEL (1913–1968), Israel historian of Muslim institutions. Heyd was born in Cologne, Germany. He settled in Palestine in 1934. After service with the Political Department, Middle East section of the Jewish Agency, in Jerusalem and London (1943–48), he joined the Israel diplomatic corps, initially as first secretary of the Washington embassy, then as counselor of the legation in Ankara. His academic career began in 1951, when he joined the staff of the Hebrew University. From 1956 to 1963 he chaired the university's Institute of Oriental Studies, becoming a full professor of Islamic history in 1959.

Heyd's scholarly interest centered on the Ottoman Empire from the 16th to the 20th centuries. His books in Hebrew include *Dahir al-Umar, Shalit ha-Galil* ("Dahir al-Umar, Ruler of Galilee," 1942) and a translation from the Turkish of Mahmud Makal's *Bizim Köy (Ha-Kefar Shellanu* – "Our Village," 1951). Among his books in English are *The Foundations of Turkish Nationalism* (1950), *Language Reform in Modern Turkey* (1954), *Ottoman Documents on Palestine 1552–1615* (1960), *Revival of Islam in Modern Turkey* (1968), and the posthumous *Studies in Old Ottoman Criminal Law* (1973). He edited *Studies in Islamic History and Civilization* (1961). His article "The Ottoman Ulema and Westernization in the Time of Selim III and Mahmud II" (in *Scripta Hierosolymitana*, vol. 9, 1960) remains a major contribution.

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[Norman Itzkowitz / Jacob M. Landau (2nd ed.)]

HEYDENFELDT, SOLOMON (1816–1890), U.S. jurist. Heydenfeldt was born in Charleston, South Carolina. In 1837, he moved to Alabama and was admitted to the state bar in the same year. He practiced law in Tallapoosa County and served as judge of the county court, but left for San Francisco in 1850, possibly due to public disapproval of his stand against further importation of slaves into Alabama. In 1852, after an unsuccessful attempt to gain the Democratic Party nomination for the United States Senate, he was elected justice of the California Supreme Court by popular vote, thus becoming the first Jew to hold judicial office in that state. Heydenfeldt remained in the post until 1857, when he returned to private practice. As a southern sympathizer during the Civil War, however, his refusal to take a loyalty oath to the Union cost him his legal career, though he continued to reside in San Francisco until his death. Heydenfeldt was active in philanthropic causes and was a leader in the Jewish community.

[Max Vorspan]

°**HEYDRICH, REINHARD TRISTAN** (1904–1942), Nazi *SS leader who played a prominent part in the design and execution of the "Final Solution." Heydrich was born in Halle, Saxony. He father was an opera singer and director of a music conservatory. His mother was a stern disciplinarian and Heydrich was falsely suspected of being of partial (paternal) Jewish origin. Throughout his life, he was moved by chamber music and had a great love for Mozart and Haydn. In other areas of his life, he was brutal, cynical, and sadistic.

Commissioned as a naval officer, he was discharged in 1931 after a Naval Court of Honor found him guilty of misconduct toward a young woman whose reputation he blemished. Soon after a chance introduction to Heinrich *Himmler, Heydrich was entrusted with the organization of the SD, the intelligence and surveillance arm of the SS. He was but two years younger than Himmler, a situation that threatened to stymie his career advancement to the top.

In 1931 Heydrich joined the SS as chief of its Security Service (SD). After the Nazi's accession to power he was *Himmler's assistant in the Bavarian police and later became chief of the *Gestapo. Heydrich rose rapidly through the ranks of the SD. He played a leading role in the blood purge of 1934. He played a role in the 1938 purging of the German Army High Command and planted false information that led to a similar purge by Stalin of the Red Army. As head of the *Gestapo, Heydrich could incarcerate enemies of the Reich at will. During **Kristallnacht* in November 1938, Heydrich had 30,000 Jewish men arrested by the Gestapo and the SS and incarcerated in concentration camps. By 1938 he had succeeded in concentrating the management of Jewish affairs in his own hands, stressing the policy of forced emigration. The success of *Eichmann's Zentralstelle fuer juedische Auswanderung ("Center for Jewish Emigration") in Vienna led Heydrich to create a similar center in Berlin for the whole of Germany. Heydrich was one of the instigators of the *Kristallnacht* pogroms in 1938. In 1939 he was appointed head of the Reich Security Head Office (Reichssicherheitshauptamt – RSHA), which incorporated the Gestapo and the SD. In a circular issued after the conquest of Poland, he ordered the concentration of Polish Jews in ghettos and the appointment of Jewish Councils to be made personally responsible, in the literal meaning of the term, for carrying out German orders. His memo spoke of the "final goal" not the "Final Solution." With Eichmann's help, Heydrich organized mass deportations of Jews from the annexed parts of Poland and from Germany and Austria to the territory of the *Generalgouvernement*, his Einsatzkommando simultaneously killing tens of thousands of Polish leaders and Jews. On the eve of the invasion of the Soviet Union he created additional Einsatzkommandos that killed a million Jews and many Soviet officials. He also negotiated the agreement that the Wehrmacht lend assistance to the *Einsatzgruppen*. Heydrich was instrumental in the Nisko and Lublin plan and the proposed deportation of all European Jews to the island of *Madagascar, a plan that was never implemented. Many historians believe that the impracticable nature of this plan soon gave rise to the "Final Solution."

He planned the *Wannsee Conference, even drafting in March 1941, before the systematic killing of Jews had begun, the letter assigning him responsibility for the preparation of the "Final Solution to the Jewish Question" that Hitler's deputy, Hermann *Goering, would sign on July 31, 1941. Heydrich was charged by Goering with implementing the "Final Solution" in the entire sphere of German influence. He had apparently carved out a sphere of influence on the Jewish question and an area of specialization. He had what one biographer called "an executive instinct," anticipating where policy could go and planning accordingly. For this purpose he convened the *Wannsee Conference to coordinate the action of various government and party agencies. Appointed in place of Constantin Neurath as Reichsprotektor of Bohemia and Moravia, he pacified Czechoslovakia with great brutality. Heydrich was wounded by Czech resistance fighters on May 29, 1942, and died several days later. Hitler spoke at his funeral and vowed revenge. In retaliation, the Germans razed the village of Lidice, murdering all its male inhabitants. Maps published afterwards excluded all mention of the village. At the same time 152 Jews in Berlin were killed in a special action, and more than 3,000 Jews from the *Theresienstadt ghetto were deported and exterminated. *Aktion Reinhard*, the murder of Polish Jewry, was apparently named after Heydrich (see *Holocaust, General Survey). The retaliation for his death was so intense and disastrous that even the postwar Czechoslovak government was reluctant to release material on its involvement. The allegation that Heydrich was of Jewish origin has been shown by Robinson to be completely false. But it was useful. Heydrich's superiors employed it as a means of keeping him loyal.

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[Yehuda Reshef / Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

HEYM, STEFAN (**Helmut Flieg**; 1913–2001), German novelist, biographer, and political writer. Heym was born in Chemnitz, Saxony. Following his publication of an aggressive, anti-nationalist poem in the local Social Democratie daily *Volksstimme*, he was expelled from secondary school in 1931. He went to Berlin as a freelance writer for left-wing periodicals and, following Hitler's rise to power, fled to Czechoslovakia early in 1933. After a two-year stay in Prague, he was admitted to the United States on a refugee visa and studied literature at the University of Chicago, quickly acquiring an admirable command of the English language, in which he subsequently wrote all his works, some of which he himself translated into German.

Heym identified himself with much of the Communist Party's ideology and in 1937, at the early age of 24, he was appointed editor of the American Communist Party's German-language organ *Deutsches Volksecho*, holding the position until the paper closed down in the fall of 1939. In the meantime, he has also published a pamphlet entitled *Nazis in the U.S.A.* (1938). His first major anti-Nazi novel, *Hostages* (1942), became a best-seller and was made into a film.

In 1943, Heym enlisted in the U.S. Army and was attached to its Psychological Warfare Branch. Though regarded by his superiors with a certain distrust because of his communist associations, he was charged with the publication of *Der Ruf*, a literary periodical for German prisoners of war in the U.S. He was given a responsible post at Radio Luxembourg at the time of the Allied advance into Germany and, after the occupation, and editorial position on the Munich *Neue Zeitung*. Eventually, disagreement with the paper's largely American-oriented policy, as well as his criticism of U.S. cold war methods, led to his resignation from the U.S. Army in a fit of anger and bitterness, amidst controversial publicity. Renouncing his U.S. citizenship in 1952, he joined a group of pro-communist German émigré authors who decided to settle in the Soviet-dominated area of Europe.

However, while Heym's earlier American books, such as *The Crusaders* (1948) – according to the *New York Times* "the best book on World War Two" – and *The Eyes of Reason* (1951), had been very critical of many aspects of American history and life, he soon fell foul of the East German authorities because of his refusal to toe the party line. Thus his novel *Der Tag X*, which dealt with June 17, 1953 (the day of the East Berlin rising against the Communist government), was never published in the German Democratic Republic. He also angered the East German government in 1956, when he challenged Walter Ulbricht at the Fourth Congress of the German Writers' Union, and in 1960 when he published *Schatten und Licht*, a collection of short stories which was said by one of his East German critics, Guenter Ebert, to have deprived him of the right to be called a socialist writer.

Eventually, Heym turned to historical subjects in the hope that he might be allowed to voice his criticism of the Eastern bloc régimes in a somewhat subtler and more indirect way. These books include *The Lenz Papers* (1963), on the workers' revolt of 1848–49 in Baden; the biography *Ferdinand Lassalle* (1969); *Schmaehschrift oder Koenigin gegen Defoe* (1970), on Daniel Defoe's censorship troubles in England; and, finally, *The King David Report* (1972), which – in his own words – is based on the biblical narrative but examines the Bible from a Marxist point of view. This last work shows how King Solomon's court historian Ethan is ready to comply with an official request to construct a national myth to replace historical truth. The topicality of this highly ironical novel and Heym's implied rejection of any personality cult is so clearly evident that its sale was prohibited in the German Democratic Republic. However, the author himself repeatedly declared that he was critical not only of certain developments in the Eastern bloc, but even more so of those in the West, and that he identified himself with the basic concepts of his new socialist homeland. In 1952, Heym was awarded the East German Heinrich Mann Prize and, in 1959, the (East) German National Prize for Arts and Literature.

In reaction to the publication of his anti-Stalinist novel *Collin* in West Germany, Heym was expelled in June 1979 from the East German writers' federation and forbidden to earn his livelihood as a writer "for making critical statements about the communist system." Henceforth, Heym shifted his activities more and more to West Germany, though he remained a citizen of the GDR. In 1981 he published his novel *Ahasve*, which retells the story of the "Wandering Jew" within the setting of the "Cold War" and its permanent nuclear threat by switching back and forth from the 15th century to the present. His anti-dogmatic thought was further underscored by his novel *Schwarzenberg* (1984), which dealt with a Socialist republic founded on the soil of a country the Allied forces forgot to occupy at the end of World War II.

It was this vision of an "alternative," non-totalitarian socialism that earned Heym his special status in the turmoil of German reunification in 1989, when he became one of the most prominent speakers at East German demonstrations, defending Socialist thought both against its Stalinist misinterpretation and against West German capitalism.

In 1994, Heym entered the political system as a candidate for the PDS, the successor party of the former Communist Party (SED). He was elected and made the opening speech at the 13th Bundestag as its oldest member – a speech that was boycotted by the majority faction of the Christian Democrats. Heym resigned a year later. At the same time, he published his last big novel on the Trotzkyist activist Karl Radek, who was expelled from Germany in 1919 and – because of his opposition to Stalin – was finally given a prison sentence of ten years, during which he died (in 1939). Heym died while attending a conference on Heinrich Heine in Jerusalem.

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[Erich Gottgetreu / Philipp Theisohn (2nd ed.)]

HEYMAN, MOSES DAVID (1896–), U.S. inventor. Born in Newark, N.J., Heyman became president of a large mining company in Ecuador, and formed his own company in 1930. He invented many machines used in metalworking, mica, and other fields. Among them was the "mechanical hand" (1938). Heyman was the first person to make continuous sheets of synthetic mica.

HEYMANN, FRITZ (1897–1944), German journalist and historical writer. Heymann, who was born in Duesseldorf, volunteered for war service with the German army at the age of 17. He was captured and subsequently escaped from captivity in England to rejoin his regiment. After Germany's defeat, he joined one of the nationalistic (and usually antisemitic) volunteer corps which continued the war against "the enemy within," usually synonymous with socialists and democrats. Eventually, he studied law and literature and, after a period in business, worked for various German newspapers. From German nationalism, Heymann turned later to Jewish nationalism. On the advent of Hitler, he left for the Saarland, from where he continued the fight against Nazism as a coeditor of *Westland*. After the plebiscite in favor of Germany he took refuge in Holland. Heymann wrote *Der Chevalier von Geldern* (1937), "a chronicle of Jewish adventures," in which the story of Simon von *Geldern is prominently featured. In 1942 he held a series of lectures in Amsterdam aimed to encourage the local Jewish population, called *Marranen-Chronik*. These lectures were edited and published in 1988, under the title *Tod oder Taufe*. In 1943 Heymann was deported to Theresienstadt, and a year later to Auschwitz, where he was murdered.

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HEYMANN, WALTHER (1882–1915), German poet, pioneer of German expressionism. He read law in Koenigsberg, Freiburg, Berlin and Munich; after the first civil-service examination he was a teacher on probation in Insterburg and Koenigsberg. Heymann, who was born in Koenigsberg, published his first volume of lyrics, *Der Springbrunnen*, in 1907, but achieved his more original style with *Nehrungsbilder* (1909), in which he idealized the landscape of his native East Prussia. A contributor to the expressionist publication *Sturm*, Heymann combined a love of nature with a critical intellectual approach. In all his writing there is an earnest search for artistic form and for solutions to contemporary and eternal problems. He was killed on the Western front early in World War I, and most of his work was published posthumously. It included *Kriegsgedichte und Feldpostbriefe* (1915); *Das Tempelwunder: Erzaehlungen* (1916), a collection of short stories; and two volumes of lyrics, *Die Tanne* (1917) and *Von Fahrt und Flug* (1919). An edition of his *Gedichte, Prosa, Essays, Briefe* (ed. by L.M. Fiedler) appeared in 1998.

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[Kurt Pinthus / Konrad Feilchenfeldt (2nd ed.)]

HEYMANS, GERARDUS F. (1857–1930), Dutch psychologist and philosopher born at Ferward in Frisia. He was the cofounder of the psychological laboratory of Louvain in Belgium (1891) and founded the laboratory at Groningen in Holland (1893), where he served as professor of psychology and philosophy. In 1926 he was president of the Eighth International Congress of Psychology in Groningen.

His psychological research concerned itself with the Mueller-Lyer illusion (1889), which he attributed to eye movements. Other works followed on taste mixtures, psychic energy, the heredity of character, déjà vu, attention, and dreams. In philosophy he covered the fields of the theory of knowledge, esthetics, metaphysics, and ethics. His works include *Die Gesetze und Elemente des wissenschaftlichen Denkens* (1890; 1923^4); *Einfuehrung in die Metaphysik auf Grundlage der Erfahrung* (1905, 1921); and *Einfuehrung in die Ethik auf Grundlagen der Erfahrung* (1914; 1932^4).

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[Helmut E. Adler]

HEYSE, PAUL (1830–1914), German author and Nobel Prize winner. Heyse was born in Berlin and became one of the outstanding and most controversial figures in late 19th-century German literature. His father was a Christian, and professor at the University of Berlin, and his mother an assimilated Jewess. After graduating from Berlin University, he traveled to Italy, where he found inspiration for his tales in verse and prose *novellen*. The best known of the latter was *L'Arrabiata* (1853) while, of the former, *Der Salamander* (1867) was unrivaled in its genre. In 1854, King Maximilian II of Bavaria called the promising young writer to Munich, where he joined the school of lyricists headed by Emanuel Geibel. This group, which resembled the French Parnassians, devoted itself to the perfection of form rather than innovation of subject matter. Throughout the 1880s and 1890s, Heyse was fiercely attacked by the rising generation of German naturalists for sacrificing virility to elegance of diction, and for dealing with foreign (especially Italian) themes rather than with the vital events of contemporary Germany. His best novels were *Kinder der Welt* (1873), on religious and social problems, and *Im Paradies* (1875), about artistic life in Munich. By 1910, when Heyse became the first German writer to gain the Nobel Prize for literature, the polemics directed against him came to an end. His lyrics and *novellen* then found an honored place in German literature. A Hebrew translation of Heyse's drama *Die Weisheit Salomons* was published by S.L. *Gordon (1896). His collected works appeared in 38 volumes in 1872–1914; a new series, also in 38 volumes, appeared in 1902–12.

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[Sol Liptzin / Konrad Feilchenfeldt (2nd ed.)]

HEZEKIAH (Heb. חִזְקִיָּה, חִזְקִיָּהוּ; "YHWH is [my] strength," shortened form of יְחִזְקִיָּהוּ; in cuneiform transcription Ḫazaqiau, "YHWH is strong"), son of Ahaz, king of Judah (II Kings 18–20; II Chron. 29–32). Hezekiah reigned for 29 years in Jerusalem. According to II Kings 18:9–10, Samaria was conquered by the Assyrians in the sixth year of his reign (722/1 B.C.E.). This would imply that Hezekiah ascended the throne in 727/6 B.C.E. This seems to be confirmed by Isaiah 14:28ff. The rod of him who smote Philistia (*ibid.*) was hardly *Ahaz, who (even if one discounts II Chron. 28:18f.) barely managed to save his kingdom with the help of Assyria but surely *Tiglath-Pileser of Assyria who invaded Philistia repeatedly and made it tributary. The manner of dating the prophecy in Isaiah 14:28 would seem to be due to the circumstance that Ahaz, like Tiglath-Pileser, died in 727/6. According to II Kings 18:13, however, the campaign of *Sennacherib (701 B.C.E.) took place in the 14th year of Hezekiah's reign which would place the beginning of Hezekiah's reign in 715/4 B.C.E. (i.e., after the destruction of Samaria); and this dating also has adherents among modern Bible scholars.

In II Kings 18:3–4 stress is laid on the purgation of the cult by Hezekiah. The purge included the removal of cultic objects with a long history in Judah, such as the "high places," the pillars, the Asherah cult pole, and the *copper serpent whose creation was attributed to Moses in the desert (Num. 21:5–9). In II Chronicles 29–32, the emphasis is placed on the renewal of the cult and the return to the service of God as in the days of David and Solomon (II Chron. 28:24; 29:3). In the Books of Kings and Chronicles, a personal and religious reason for this reform is given. The changes stemmed from the will of the king, who was pious and did that which was upright in the eyes of God, more than any other king who reigned before him (II Kings 18:3, 5–6; II Chron. 31:20–21). It seems that there were also some political aspects to this religious reform.

Hezekiah abolished the cult of the high places, which had always been practiced in Jerusalem and the provincial towns, and concentrated the religious activity in the Temple of Jerusalem (II Kings 18:22). It was his intention to raise the Jerusalem Temple to the status of the only legitimate cult place. He would thus strengthen the ties between the people of Judah and the dynasty of David, which reigned in Jerusalem. Moreover, if there is any historical basis to the account in II Chronicles 30:1–10, Hezekiah sent letters to Ephraim and Manasseh inviting them to the Temple in Jerusalem in order to sacrifice the Paschal Lamb. The object of this invitation to the "remnants" living outside Judah to come to Jerusalem for Passover was to intensify the consciousness of the national unity of the Israelite tribes as a first step in the territorial and political restoration of the kingdom of David and Solomon. The national awakening that became apparent in Judah during this period was also expressed in literary activities (Prov. 25:1; see *Deuteronomy; *Hosea). Hezekiah probably introduced the seals on the handles of jars that were intended for storing state provisions in time of siege. The state of Judah was divided for that purpose into four defensive zones each comprising several walled towns. The four names of the jars represent the key cities of the above-mentioned zones: Mmšt-Negev, Socoth-Shephelah, Hebron-Hills, Ziph-Wilderness.

These activities were doubtless closely associated with the activities of Hezekiah in other fields, such as the war against the Philistines. Hezekiah penetrated into Philistia and reached the frontier of the state of Gaza. The activities of Hezekiah on the southwestern border of Judah are echoed in I Chronicles 4:34–43 (the version of the LXX, *Gerar*, is preferable to that of the traditional text *Gedor*) and according to Sennacherib's prism (in Pritchard, Texts, 287; COS II, 302–3) the inhabitants of Ekron delivered their king, Padi, into the hands of Hezekiah. It can be logically assumed that these conquests were closely connected with Hezekiah's rebellion against Sennacherib in 701 B.C.E. (II Kings 18:7, 13–37; II Chron. 32; Isa. 36–37; Pritchard, *ibid*). This rebellion was a result of Hezekiah's policy for the expansion of his territory and his ambition to achieve absolute political independence. Hezekiah made preparations for the decisive struggle with Assyria by strengthening his forces and defenses internally and by making alliances against Assyria. He assured the supply of water to Jerusalem by closing off the outlet of the Gihon spring, which was outside the walls of Jerusalem, and diverting the spring waters by means of a tunnel to the pool of Siloam which was situated within the city walls (II Kings 20:20; Isa. 22:9–11; II Chron. 32:30). There is epigraphic evidence for the construction of this tunnel in the *Siloam Inscription, which was engraved near the pool end of the tunnel. Hezekiah also took care to fortify the provincial towns. He built towns for the storage of grain, wine, and oil (II Chron. 32:28–29), reorganized the army, and made many weapons (II Chron. 32:5–6). The passage in I Chronicles 4:41, perhaps warrants the conclusion that a *census was taken during his reign in connection with the military preparations throughout Judah. In the year 712 Sargon II sent his army on a military expedition against Ashdod. The connection of the prophetic narrative of Isaiah 20 with the Assyrian expedition is vouched for by the text and is not disputed. The Assyrian army crushed the Ashdod-led revolt at Azekah, which lay about 15 miles due east of Ashdod. How long after the fall of Azekah King Hezekiah remained defiant cannot be said. In any case the attack on, or the capture of, Azekah is the background of Isaiah 22:1–14. Hezekiah engaged in extensive diplomatic activity in order to ensure support and assistance from the outside. He contracted an alliance with Egypt (II Kings 18:21; Isa. 36:6) in spite of the opposition of Isaiah (Isa. 30:2; 31:1). The ties between Hezekiah and *Merodach (Berodach)-Baladan, the Chaldean (II Kings 20; Isa. 39), an old enemy of Assyria, are of special importance. This appears to be the background of the visit of the messengers of Merodach-Baladan to Jerusalem (II Kings 20:12–21; Isa. 39; II Chron. 32:31). It also appears that Hezekiah was the ally of Luli, king of *Sidon, and Ṣidqā, king of Ashkelon, who fought against Sennacherib during his campaign of 701 B.C.E. Concerning the campaign itself, there is much information available from the Bible, Assyrian documents, Greek authors of the Persian and Hellenistic periods, and archaeological findings. Even so, the exact progress of the campaign has not been clarified. The general lines of the campaign are as follows: Sennacherib first fought Luli, the king of Sidon. Luli fled, while Sidon and her other towns surrendered. In mainland Tyre various kings of Phoenicia and Palestine accepted Sennacherib's rule and paid their tribute to him. Sennacherib advanced along the coast to Philistia, conquered the northern lowland towns which were under the dominion of Ashkelon, and took King Ṣidqā of Ashkelon himself as captive. On his way southward he defeated the Egyptian army at Eltekeh. He then conquered Ekron and penalized the rebels who had surrendered Padi their king to Hezekiah. From Ekron he pushed on into the territory of Judah. Sennacherib relates that he conquered the 46 fortified cities of Judah from Hezekiah, as well as innumerable smaller cities (cf. II Kings 18:13; Isa. 36:1).

On one of Sennacherib's reliefs there is a detailed description of the conquest by the Assyrian army of the town of Lachish and the deportation of its inhabitants. According to the annals of Sennacherib, 200,150 captives were deported from Judah. Sennacherib also relates that he besieged Jerusalem and distributed the other towns among the kings of Philistia, thus diminishing the size of Hezekiah's kingdom. Hezekiah surrendered to release Padi, whom Sennacherib reinstated as king of Ekron, and paid a heavy tribute which included 30 talents of gold, 800 talents of silver, and precious stones (cf. II Kings 18:14). Of all the discrepancies between the various sources dealing with the details of the campaign, the most outstanding contradiction lies in the conflicting descriptions of the biblical and Assyrian sources as to the end of the campaign. The biblical accounts come from multiple contradictory sources. According to II Kings 18:13–16 (see below) Hezekiah capitulated. According to II Kings 19:20–31 (= Isa. 37:22–32) Isaiah encouraged Hezekiah and the people to ignore the words of the *Rabshakeh, whom Sennacherib dispatched with an army from Lachish to Jerusalem to demand unconditional surrender. On this same account the campaign ended when a catastrophic plague on the Assyrian camp wiped out the invaders and Sennacherib hurried back to his country (II Kings 19:35; Isa. 37:36; II Chron. 32:21). According to the Assyrian version, however, the campaign ended in an Assyrian victory.

Various suggestions are put forward by scholars. According to one, the biblical story and the Assyrian description deal with different stages of a single campaign which took place in 701 B.C.E. The first stage ended with the seizure of the cities of Judah, the capitulation of Hezekiah, and the sending of the tribute to Assyria (Pritchard, Texts, 287–8; COS II, 302–3; II Kings 18:13–16). The second stage which ended in disaster for Assyria is mentioned only in the Bible (II Kings 18:17ff.), while the Assyrian version, for obvious reasons, passes over it in silence. According to another suggestion, which is even less likely, the biblical story combined two different campaigns which took place at different dates. The first campaign, which took place in 701 B.C.E., ended with the submission of Hezekiah (as in the Assyrian source and cf. II Kings 18:13–16), while the second campaign was waged after 689 B.C.E., a period on which there is no information in the Assyrian sources. Some scholars find echoes of the second campaign in Herodotus (*History*, 2:141), where a defeat of Sennacherib at the gates of Egypt is reported. The most likely solution is that Hezekiah paid tribute (II Kings 13:16) and that Sennacherib withdrew from Jerusalem after a brief campaign. The fact that Jerusalem was not conquered and that Hezekiah remained on the throne, and possibly soon expanded his territory as an Assyrian vassal, led Isaiah (II Kings 19:32–34; = Isa. 37:33–35) and doubtless some of his contemporaries to see here the hand of God. The annals of Sennacherib do not claim that Jerusalem was captured. They only mention that Hezekiah sent his submission tribute to the king of Assyria in Nineveh. It appears that for some reason Sennacherib hurried back to his country and received the tribute in Nineveh. In the course of time the departure of Sennacherib was attributed to a miracle. The fact that Sennacherib was in fact assassinated by his own sons (II Kings 18:37), albeit 20 years later, provided further proof of divine deliverance.

[Bustanay Oded / S. David Sperling (2nd ed.)]

In the Aggadah

Hezekiah is idealized in the *aggadah*. He is regarded as completely righteous, modest in his demands (Sanh. 94b), devoted to the study of Torah (Song R. 4:8), and "strengthening the bonds between Israel toward its Father in Heaven." Through his efforts knowledge of Torah was universal so that "they searched from Dan to Beersheba and no ignoramus was found; from Gabbath to Antipatris and no boy or girl, man or woman was found who was not thoroughly versed in the laws of cleanness and uncleanness" (Sanh. 94b). When he died, they placed a Scroll of the Law upon his coffin, saying "This one has fulfilled all that is written in this" (BK 17a). He was rewarded for his righteousness, God himself fighting on his side (Lam. R. Proem 30). God wished to appoint Hezekiah as the Messiah, and Sennacherib as Gog and Magog, but the Attribute of Justice protested that David had been more entitled to this, and the proposal was abandoned. With his death, the merit of the patriarchs came to an end. Hezekiah did six things of his own accord. The first three the rabbis approved, the others they did not. He hid away a "Book of Cures," broke into pieces the brazen serpent, and dragged the bones of his father (to the grave) on a bier of ropes. He stopped up the waters of Gihon, removed (the gold from) the doors of the Temple and sent it to the king of Assyria, and intercalated a second month of Nisan (Ber. 10b). A *baraita* states that "Hezekiah and his school wrote the books of Isaiah, Proverbs, Song of Songs, and Ecclesiastes" (BB 15a).

[Yehoshua M. Grintz]

In the Arts

Two of the earliest literary works on this subject, both titled *Ezechias*, were dramas by the German Protestant Sixtus Birck (1538) and the English author Nicholas Udall. The latter's play was staged in 1564 before Queen Elizabeth I in King's College Chapel, Cambridge, but has not survived. In the 18th century there was an anonymous Russian *Drama o Yezekiye, tsare Izrailskom* written during the reign of Peter the Great; and three English plays: *Hezekiah*, one of Hannah More's *Sacred Dramas* (1782), W.A. Wright's *Hezekiah, King of Judah …* (1798), and William Allen's *Hezekiah, King of Judah; or, Invasion repulsed, and Peace restored* (1798), the last of which was marked by contemporary political allusions. The miraculous defeat of the Assyrian host was commemorated in Lord *Byron's poem "Sennacherib" (*Hebrew Melodies*, 1815); and the era of invasion described in W.H. Goss's novel *Hebrew Captives of the Kings of Assyria* (1890) and Joseph *David (Penker)'s Marathi drama *The Assyrian Captive* (1922). Later works on the theme include Naḥman Isaac *Fischman's five-act Hebrew drama *Kesher Shevna* (1870), which dealt with Hezekiah's alien majordomo, Shebna, who was censured by the prophet Isaiah. Four interpretations of the subject in the 20th century were John W. Harding's romance *The Gate of the Kiss* (1902); a short story by Arnold *Zweig (1910); William Henry Temple Gairdner's *King Hezekiah; a tragical drama* (1923); and Walter Gutkelch's German play, *Der grosse Mut des Hiskia* (1954).

In art the main subject treated is the miraculous prolongation of Hezekiah's life (Isa. 38:1–8). The eighth-century fresco at Santa Maria Antica, Rome, shows the prophet Isaiah standing at the bedside of the sick king, as does a miniature of the same period from the *Christian Typography* of Cosmas Indicopleustes (Vatican Library). In a 10th-century Greek psalter (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris) Hezekiah is shown giving thanks to God. He also appears in two 11th-century Catalan Bibles; on a fresco in a former monastery in Cologne (Romanesque, 12th century); and in a 13th-century statue by Benedetto Antelami in the cathedral of S. Donnino, Borgo. There is a representation of the king by Michelangelo in the Sistine Chapel, Rome.

The prayer of Hezekiah (Isa. 38) is included among the *cantica* of the Roman Catholic liturgy, and as *Canticum Ezechié* it figures in the Lauds of the Office for the Defunct; it is sung to a simple psalmodic formula. Hezekiah's illness and recovery provide the main theme of oratorios and cantatas on the subject, such as G. Carissimi's 17th-century *Ezechia* (oratorio, in the "Historia" form) and G.B. Bononcini's *Ezechia* (oratorio, 1737). A descriptive piece for keyboard instrument, "Der todtkranke und wieder gesunde Hiskias," was composed by G. Ph. Telemann as no. 4 of his *Biblische Sonaten* (1700). The prayer, and its introductory verses, form the subject of Ernst Kenek's motet for women's voices and piano, *Aegrostate Ezechias* (1945). A modern setting of the Hebrew text was written by the Israeli composer Abel *Ehrlich *(Mikhtam le-Ḥizkiyyahu)*.

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HEZEKIAH (died c. 46 B.C.E.), fighter for freedom at the beginning of the period of Roman rule in Judea. Hezekiah, probably a supporter of the Hasmoneans, conducted a stubborn war against supporters of the Roman government. He was the leader of a band of guerillas and raided the gentile towns on the Syrian border, perpetrating acts of violence and plunder. Josephus calls Hezekiah an *archilistes* ("chief bandit"), a pejorative term he uses for all the freedom fighters, particularly during the Roman war. The young Herod, who was appointed military governor of Galilee at the time, put an end to these raids. He captured Hezekiah and his associates and had them put to death without trial (Jos., Wars, 1:204; Jos., Ant., 14:159). This deed excited great anger in Galilee and in the circles of the nobility and the Sanhedrin in Jerusalem, who feared Herod's ambition. They therefore sought to bring Herod to justice and to punish him in accordance with the law. It appears that Josephus' knowledge of Hezekiah was obtained from the work of *Nicholas of Damascus and does not give a true picture of his personality. There is no doubt that his family had a distinguished ancestry and comprised scholars, as can be inferred from the fact that his son Judah was called *sophistes* ("a scholar"; Jos., Wars, 2:118). *Menahem b. Judah and *Eleazar b. Jair also belonged to the same family (Jos., Wars, 2:447).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: A.H.M. Jones, *The Herods of Judaea* (1938), 28f.; Klausner, Bayit Sheni, 3 (1950), 175, 251; 5 (1951), 148f.; A. Schalit, *Hordos ha-Melekh* (1964), 357f., 432f.

[Abraham Schalit]

HEZEKIAH (early third century C.E.), Palestinian *amora*; at times referred to as Beribbi (Ḥul. 57a). He was the son of R. *Ḥiyya. He and his brother Judah were praised from youth for their wisdom and were called *rovin* ("youths"; Ḥul. 19a–20a). Resh Lakish said of them that when Ḥiyya and his sons came to Ereẓ Israel from Babylonia they restored the Torah, which had been forgotten (Suk. 20a). Although they gained their livelihood from agriculture they took care not to forget their learning (Ber. 18b). Hezekiah was more renowned than his brother and his name is more frequently mentioned in the Talmuds. He also compiled a collection of *beraitot* which are introduced in the Talmud with the words "the school of Hezekiah taught" (Sanh. 37b, et al.). He utilized the existent halakhic Midrashim and added to them. In consequence the *Sifrei*, and still more the *Mekhilta of R. Simeon b. Yoḥai*, contain anonymous statements which in the parallel passages in the Talmud and the Midrashim are introduced by "Hezekiah taught," or "the school of Hezekiah taught," or "Hezekiah said." The Talmud cites many halakhic disputes between Hezekiah and Johanan (Ḥag. 8a; Git. 53a, et al.). He also engaged in *aggadah* and is quoted in the Midrashim (Lev. R. 9:9; Tanḥ. Niẓẓavim 1, et al.). Among his sayings are: "A man's prayer is not heard unless he makes his heart like flesh" (Sot. 5a) explained by Rashi: "which is soft, and not like stone which is hard"; "Great is peace, for in connection with all other precepts it is written, 'if, thou meet' etc. [Ex. 23:4], 'if thou see' etc. [Ex. 23:5],… i.e., if a precept comes to your hand, you are bound to perform it, but if not, you are not bound to perform it. In this case, however, it says: 'Seek peace and pursue it' [Ps. 34:15], 'seek it in thine own place, and pursue it to another place'" [Lev. R. 9:9]. Hezekiah lived in Tiberias (Meg. 5b) and on his death was buried in the sepulcher of his father (MK 25a).

Another Palestinian *amora* of the same name lived at the beginning of the fourth century. He was a pupil of Jeremiah (Zev. 75b), many of whose sayings he transmitted (TJ, Ber. 5:2, 9c, et al.), as well as those of Abbahu (TJ, Beẓah 1:2, 60b) who was a fellow citizen of Caesarea (TJ, Dem. 1:3, 22b; TJ, Shev. 9:7, 39a, et al.). Of his pupils Mana is known (TJ, Ned. 5:5, 39b). Some are of the opinion that he moved to Babylon since an *amora* Hezekiah is referred to as transmitting sayings in the name of the Babylonian *amora*, Abbaye (Shab. 38b, et al.), but it appears that the reference is to a different sage.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Bacher, Tal Amor, 1; Hyman, Toledot, s.v.; Epstein, Tanna'im, 708ff.; 730ff.; Ḥ. Albeck, *Mavo la-Talmudim* (1969), 165–6. HEZEKIAH II: Frankel, Mevo, 81a–b; Halevy, Dorot, 2 (1923), 465–7; Hyman, Toledot, s.v.; Z.W. Rabinowitz, *Sha'arei Torat Bavel* (1961), 395–6; Ḥ. Albeck, *Mavo la-Talmudim* (1969), 391–2.

[Zvi Kaplan]

HEZEKIAH, THE HIGH PRIEST (fourth century B.C.E.), one of the most important Jewish personalities to emigrate to Egypt after Ptolemy I's victory in the battle near Gaza in 311 B.C.E. He is mentioned by Hecataeus of Abdera (Jos., Apion, 1:187–9) under the name Ezekias as "a man of about 66 years of age, highly esteemed by his countrymen, intellectual, and moreover, an able speaker and unsurpassed as a man of business." Hezekiah assembled his friends and tried to convince them of the advantages of emigration to Egypt, "for he had in writing the conditions attaching to their settlement and political status." Scholars have tended to doubt the accuracy of this passage, because the high priest at this time was Onias, and there was none by the name of Hezekiah. However the term αρχιερένς applied to Hezekiah does not necessarily signify high priest; it can mean a priest of high standing (*ibid.*, 1:186–9). In 1931 a coin of the fourth century B.C.E. was discovered in the Beth-Zur excavations which bears the names of Hezekiah and perhaps Jehohan(an?). Albright identifies the latter with Onias the high priest. In his opinion, the coin belongs to Hezekiah, who was an important priest during this period and served as treasurer.

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[Isaiah Gafni / Edna Elazary]

HEZEKIAH BEN DAVID (d. c. 1058), exilarch and *gaon*. His grandfather Hezekiah b. Judah, a grandson of *David b. Zakkai, is also referred to as exilarch, although there is some doubt whether he actually held the position. Hezekiah b. David became exilarch after Azariah b. Solomon, a descendant of David b. Zakkai's brother Josiah. The date of his appointment is uncertain but in 1021 he is mentioned as exilarch in one of his letters. On the death of *Hai Gaon in 1038 Hezekiah was asked to succeed him, the exilarchate and gaonate thus being temporarily combined. The official title of *gaon*, however, was apparently not conferred on him. Some years later, after being denounced to the authorities by informers, he was arrested, put in chains, and tortured. Two of his sons escaped to Spain where they were helped by *Joseph, son and successor of *Samuel ha-Nagid, who had addressed a poem to Hezekiah in 1055. Only three of Hezekiah's letters and one of his responsa (quoted by Judah b. Barzillai in *Sefer ha-Shetarot*) are known. According to Ibn Daud the gaonate and exilarchate ended with the death of Hezekiah. In fact, scholars continued to be appointed to the former position. The exilarchate also continued nominally, the office being held by Hezekiah's descendants: his son David, his grandson Hezekiah b. David, and the latter's son David down to the early 12th century.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Abraham ibn Daud, *Sefer ha-Qabbalah – The Book of Tradition*, ed. and tr. by G.D. Cohen (1967), index; S. Poznański, *Babylonische Geonim im nachgaonaeischen Zeitalter* (1914), index; Kamenetsky, in: REJ, 55 (1908), 51–53; Mann, Texts, index; Mann, Egypt, index; idem, in: *Sefer Zikkaron… S. Poznański* (1927), 21–23; Assaf, Ge'onim, 36, 285–8; idem, in: *Tarbiz*, 11 (1939/40), 152–5.

[Abraham David]

HEZEKIAH BEN DAVID DA SILVA (1659–1695), rabbi of Jerusalem, brother-in-law of Moses *Ḥagiz. Hezekiah was born in Leghorn, where he studied under Samuel Kushta and Judah Sharaf, a Jerusalem emissary. He migrated to Jerusalem prior to 1679 and there studied under Moses b. Jonathan *Galante. In 1688 he was sent as an emissary of Jerusalem to Central and Western Europe. In Amsterdam, in 1692, he was offered the post of rabbi, which he declined, but during his stay, he influenced the wealthy Jacob Pereira to found a yeshivah in Jerusalem in his name (to take the place of the yeshivah of the same name, "Beit Ya'akov," named after the brothers Vigo of Leghorn, which had closed its doors in 1689 immediately after the death of Moses Galante). Hezekiah was head of this yeshivah from his return to Jerusalem in 1692 until his death.

Hezekiah's reputation rests upon his *Peri Hadash*, which contains exceptionally trenchant criticisms of the rulings of Joseph *Caro and all the earlier codifiers, with the exception of Maimonides. In this work, aimed at nullifying the authority of the Shulḥan Arukh as representing the final *halakhah*, he attempts to elucidate the *halakhah* as conforming with his view. He also added his own novellae. He inclines to leniency in his rulings, taking to task those authorities who adopt a stringent line. The section *Yoreh De'ah* was published in Amsterdam in 1692, while Hezekiah was on a mission there from Jerusalem; the section on parts of *Oraḥ Ḥayyim* and *Hilkhot Gittin* in 1706, and that on the whole of *Oraḥ Ḥayyim* in 1730. When the volume on *Yoreh De'ah* reached Egypt it gave rise to violent controversy. The Egyptian rabbis even thought of excommunicating him but instead they ordered the book to be suppressed and issued a ban against anyone studying it, which was later repealed, however, by *Abraham ha-Levi, the rabbi of Egypt. In the course of time, the work increased in popularity, many leading halakhists accepting its rulings. Jonathan *Eybeschuetz in his *Kereti u-Feleti* (Altona, 1763), and Joseph *Teomim in *Peri Megadim* quote him regularly and rule in conformity with his view. The work was published later in the editions of the Shulḥan Arukh together with the other standard commentaries – in *Yoreh De'ah* (Amsterdam, 1743), in *Oraḥ Ḥayyim* (1754), and in *Hilkhot Gittin* (Vienna, 1809). The publishers softened, to some degree, the sharpness of its language, and omitted the harsh expressions used against the Shulḥan Arukh and other halakhists, making it conform in style to the other commentaries. Among those who strove to rebut its trenchant criticism were Hananiah Cases in *Ḥok le-Yisrael* (Leghorn, 1740), Ḥayyim ibn Attar, who in his *Perot Ginnosar* (Amsterdam, 1742) gives the *Peri Ḥadash* on *Yoreh De'ah* together with his criticisms entitled *Peri To'ar*, and Ẓevi *Ashkenazi (the "Ḥakham Ẓevi"), whose conclusions were published in the periodical *Sha'arei Torah* (cf. bibliography). Hezekiah also wrote: *Mayim Ḥayyim* (Amsterdam, 1730), novellae on Maimonides, and responsa.

A pamphlet on the halakhic determination of the time of twilight was published in the *Shemen la-Ma'or* (Constantinople, 1755) of Ezra Malki, and again under the title *Binah ve-Da'at* (Cracow, 1927). Ḥayyim Joseph David *Azulai speaks of works by Hezekiah on the Talmud according to the kabbalistic system of Isaac *Luria, which he ordered to be suppressed, the section of his *Peri Hadash* dealing with the laws of Sabbath being inadvertently destroyed along with them. Among his disciples were Solomon *Algazi, who was a rabbi in Egypt, Isaac ha-Kohen *Rapoport, and Isaiah *Azulai.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Y. Feigenbaum, in: *Sha'arei Torah*, 4 (1910), 63–64; R. Margaliot, *Toledot Rabbenu Ḥayyim ibn Attar* (1925), 30–31; Frumkin-Rivlin, 2 (1928), 91–96; Ḥ. Tchernowitz, *Toledot ha-Posekim*, 3 (1947), 175–84; Yaari, Sheluḥei, 295–8; Yaari, in: *Yerushalayim*, 4 (1953), 185–9.

[Abraham David]

HEZEKIAH BEN JACOB (of Magdeburg; 13th century), tosafist. Hezekiah, one of the last of the tosafists, was apparently a pupil of Samson of Coucy and *Eliezer b. Joel ha-Levi. His appointment as reader of the Magdeburg community while still in his youth aroused considerable opposition. Moses b. Ḥasdai and *Isaac b. Moses of Vienna, author of the *Or Zaru'a*, intervened to settle the dispute (*Or Zaru'a*, nos. 114–15; Resp. Maharam of Rothenburg, ed. Lemberg, nos. 109–11). In the sources Hezekiah is also referred to as Yeḥezkiyahu, and was known in brief as Mahari'aḥ (**M**orenu **H**a-**R**av **Y**e**H**ezkiyyahu). He was the author of the *tosafot* to the tractate *Shabbat*, and of a halakhic work, which was never published. A manuscript of it existed in the library of the Jewish community of Prague and a description was given by H. Brody (see bibliography). According to him the manuscript, which covers 12 tractates, constituted the complete original work. Fragments from it and quotations are given in the *Haggahot Asheri* of *Israel of Krems and in various manuscripts of books on ritual law of that period. Hezekiah was the uncle of *Eliezer of Touques.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: H. Brody, in: *Festschrift… Adolf Schwarz* (1917), 37–45 (Heb. part); Azulai, 1 (1852), 34 no. 35; Michael, Or, 374 no. 836; V. Aptowitzer, *Mavo le-Sefer Ravyah* (1938), 32, 338; Urbach, Tosafot, 441–3.

[Shlomoh Zalman Havlin]

HEZEKIAH BEN MANOAH (mid-13th century), biblical commentator of the school of *Rashi, apparently from France. Some are of the opinion that his father was Manoah of Béziers and, on the basis of a section in the rhymed introduction to Hezekiah's work, conjecture that Manoah was tortured at a time of religious persecution. Hezekiah wrote a commentary on the Pentateuch and on Rashi's commentary under the title *Ḥizzekuni* (or *Ḥazzekuni*, either in allusion to his name or as an appeal to his readers to encourage and "support" him). It was first published in the Venice edition of the Pentateuch in 1524, and separately in Cremona in 1559. In his commentary he chiefly bases himself on the halakhic and aggadic Midrashim and on the comments of Rashi, citing also various comments from another "20 books," including the commentaries of *Samuel b. Meir (Rashbam) and Joseph b. Isaac *Bekhor Shor. In his comments he quotes many Midrashim no longer extant, for which he is the only source. The work contains a number of French *la'azim.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Michael, Or, no. 836; J. Guttmann, in: *Ner David – Festskrift… D. Simonsens* (1923), 44–48; Waxman, Literature, 2 (1960^{2}), 44.

HEZIR, founder of the 17th priestly watch (I Chron. 24:15). The name is also borne by one of the leaders who signed the covenant with Nehemiah (Neh. 10:21). Possibly the reference is to the same family, the name becoming wrongly linked in transcription with the leaders of the people instead of the priests. In 1864 the discovery of a Hebrew inscription engraved above a catacomb in the valley of Kidron outside Jerusalem, close to the so-called tomb of Zechariah and Absalom's monument, brought to light the name of six brothers of the "sons of Hezir" and two sons of one of the brothers. This three-line inscription, dating from the first half of the first century B.C.E., is one of the longest of the Second Temple period and the writing shows an affinity to the scripts of the Gezer Calendar, the earlier Dead Sea Scrolls, and to the script of the Aramaic inscription on the tombstone of King Uzziah (dating from Second Temple times). The catacomb, which contains a number of chambers, has a facade of Doric columns and its architecture is unmistakably Greek in style, belonging therefore to the Hellenistic period. Priests of Jerusalem for whom such tombs were erected probably belonged to the hellenizing movement. It is therefore possible that the tomb dates from the middle of the second century B.C.E., the inscription being added two generations later.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: N. Avigad, *Maẓẓevot Kedumot be-Naḥal Kidron* (1954), 37–78.

[Lea Roth]

ḤIBAT ALLAH, ABU AL-BARAKĀT (**Nathanel**) **BEN ALL** (**Eli**) **AL-BAGHDĀDĪ** (second half 11th–first half 12th century), philosopher, physician, and biblical commentator. Abu al-Barakāt spent most of his life in Baghdad. He was a well-known physician and served at the court of Caliph al-Mustanjid (1160–70). At the age of 60 he converted from Judaism to Islam. Maimonides mentions him in his *Ma'amar Teḥiyyat ha-Metim* (ed. J. Finkel, in: PAAJR, 9 (1939), 13 [Heb.]), holding that his doctrine of the soul is incorrect and that he follows in the footsteps of the Islamic theologians, the *mutakallimūn* (see *Kalām), rather than in those of the true philosophers. In 1143 Abu al-Barakāt composed an extensive Arabic commentary on Ecclesiastes (extant in manuscripts in Oxford and Leningrad), dictating it to his pupil, Isaac, the son of Abraham ibn Ezra, who in the introduction to this work wrote a long poem in praise of his teacher. (Considerable portions of the commentary have been edited by Poznański in ZHB, 16 (1913), 32–36.) Abu al-Barakāt was perhaps the author also of a Hebrew grammar written in Arabic (manuscript in Leningrad; see Harkavy, in ZAW, 1 (1881), 159). Arabic bibliographers name the following medical writings by Abu al-Barakāt: "*Ikhtiṣār al-Tashrīḥ*" a compendium of anatomy according to Galen; "*Ḥawāshī*," annotations to Book I of Avicenna's *Canon*; a handbook of antidotes in three treatises; and studies on two remedies compounded by Abu al-Barakāt, one of which is described by the Aramaic name *bar sha'ata*.

Philosophy

Abu al-Barakāt's major work, written while he was still a Jew, is entitled *Kitāb al-Muʿtabar*, a title which S. Pines (see bibliography) renders as "the book of what has been established by personal reflection." This translation suggests the author's conception of the history of philosophy and the task of the philosopher. In his view, the ancient philosophers transmitted their teachings orally but only to persons qualified to receive them. Although their teachings were later set down in writing, it was merely in outline form, and when in following periods philosophers attempted to interpret them, they did not always succeed. Thus, much of the history of philosophy is a record of intellectual confusion and misinterpretation. Abu al-Barakāt therefore saw no need to base his philosophy on the teachings and interpretations of earlier philosophers, and claimed that his philosophy resulted from his own reflection on matters. While this claim is exaggerated, his book contains much that is novel.

Physics

Of special significance in the *Kitāb al-Muʿtabar* is Abu al-Barakāt's critique of certain physical, psychological, and metaphysical notions accepted by Aristotle and his followers. Two examples are his critiques of the Aristotelian conceptions of time and space. Aristotle had defined time as the measure of motion, thereby making time a property of the corporeal world. Rejecting this definition, Abu al-Barakāt held that time is a measure of being. In his view, the human mind knows a priori, immediately, and with certainty that being exists and concomitantly that time accompanies being. Hence, time is absolute and independent of the world. Since Abu al-Barakāt also maintained that there is no essential difference between the existence of God and that of other beings, it follows from his description of time that God exists in time – a proposition that Aristotelians deny. Again, Aristotle defined space as the inner surface of a surrounding body, thereby making it a property of bodies. But Abu al-Barakāt identified space with three-dimensionality, which can exist apart from bodies. Moreover, in his view space can be infinite. Abu al-Barakāt's account of motion was also unique. Aristotle held that a constant force produces a uniform motion, the velocity of which is proportional to the force that engenders it. Abu al-Barakāt's discussions seem to imply that a constant force produces an accelerated motion, a proposition that appears later in Newtonian physics. Abu al-Barakāt's definition of time shows a similarity to that of Abraham bar Ḥiyya (early 12th century), and his conception of space and some of his other physical notions show a similarity to the teachings of Ḥasdai Crescas (c. 1340–c. 1412). However, there is no evidence that Abu al-Barakāt influenced either of them.

Psychology

Abu al-Barakāt mainly followed the psychological doctrines of *Avicenna, himself an innovating interpreter of Aristotle, but with certain disagreements. Aristotle based his analysis of the soul on various functions of organic substances, but Avicenna held that for man self-consciousness is the primary given. From this observation Avicenna concluded that the human soul exists in some fashion apart from the body. However, he limited self-consciousness to the rational part of the soul. Abu al-Barakāt agrees with Avicenna that self-consciousness is central, but differs in holding that it applies to the soul in its totality and not to the intellect alone.

Metaphysics

Abu al-Barakāt's metaphysical position is also anti-Aristotelian. He rejected the notion of negative attributes (see *God, Attributes of), accepted by many Aristotelians, maintaining that positive qualities can be attributed to God and that these qualities are common to both God and man, though they are found first in God, their prime exemplar, and secondly in other beings. Contrary to the Aristotelians, too, is his view that God knows individuals and particulars, not only His own essence. Abu al-Barakāt also reflected on creation of the world, discussing the arguments of those who accept it as well as those who oppose it. His own opinion is not clear, but it appears that he believed in the eternity of the world.

Abu al-Barakāt had a distinct influence on Muslim philosophy. Even his critics accepted some of his ideas. Other philosophical writings mentioned by bibliographers include *Maqāla fī Sabab Ẓuhūr al-Kawākib Laylan wa-Khafāʾihā Nahāran* ("A Study of the Reason for the Visibility of the Stars by Night and their Invisibility by Day"), "*Risāla fī alʿAql wa-Māhiyyatihi* ("A Study of the Intellect and its Nature"), and "*Fī al-Qaḍāʾ wa'l-Qadar*" ("On Fate and Destiny").

BIBLIOGRAPHY: S. Pines, in: EIS^{2}, s.v. *Abu'l Barakat*; idem, in: *Scripta Hierosolymitana*, 6 (1960), 120–98; idem, in: REJ, 103 (1938), 3–64; 104 (1938), 1–3; idem, *Nouvelles études sur Awḥad al-Zamān Abu'l Barakāt al-Baghdādī* (1955); idem, in: *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du moyen âge*, 21 (1954), 21–98; idem, *Beitraege zur islamischen Atomenlehre* (1936), 82–83; Steinschneider, Arab Lit., 182–6; idem, in: JQR, 13 (1900/01), 93ff.; S. Poznański, in: MGWJ, 49 (1905), 50–52.

[*Encyclopaedia Judaica* (Germany)]

ḤIBAT ALLAH, IBN JUMAYʾ IBN ZAYN (second half of 12th century), Egyptian physician. Ibn Jumayʾ was regarded as one of the greatest experts of his time in his field. Saladin engaged his services at the royal court, as did his ministers and viziers. He was the author of several works, among them the book *Kitāb al-Irshād li-Maṣāliḥ al-Anfus wa'l-Ajsād* ("The Book of Instructions for [the Maintenance of] the Health of the Body and the Soul"), which was completed by his son, Abu Ṭāhir Ismāʿīl. He also wrote a commentary on the *Canon* of *Avicenna.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Brockelmann, Arab Lit., 1 (1898), 489, and supplement, 1 (1927), 892; Ashtor, in: HUCA, 27 (1956), 310–11.

[Eliyahu Ashtor]

ḤIBBAT ZION (Heb. חִבַּת צִיּוֹן), moshav in central Israel, in the Ḥefer Plain, affiliated with the Farmers' Union (Hitaḥadut ha-Ikkarim), founded in 1934 by members of the Ḥovevei Zion movement in Russia who settled in Ereẓ Israel prior to World War I and were allocated land for settlement only many years later. Citriculture and dairy cattle were its principal farm branches. The settlement's name is taken from that of the *Ḥibbat Zion movement. Its population in 1968 was 303, rising to 390 in the mid-1990s and 443 in 2002.

[Efraim Orni]

ḤIBBAT ZION (Heb. חִבַּת צִיּוֹן, "Love of Zion"), the movement that constituted the intermediate link between the forerunners of *Zionism in the middle of the 19th century and the beginnings of political Zionism with the appearance of Theodor *Herzl and the First Zionist Congress in 1897. The adherents of Ḥibbat Zion, called Ḥovevei Zion ("Lovers of Zion"), were a widespread movement among the Jewish masses of Russia and Romania, but groups of Ḥovevei Zion also existed in Western Europe and in the United States. Originally, the declared aim of Ḥibbat Zion was not different from that of its predecessors, the forerunners of Zionism, and of the subsequent political Zionist movement, namely, to solve the problem of the abnormal Jewish life in the dispersion by a return of the Jewish people to Ereẓ Israel, settlement on the land on a large scale, and attaining the recognition of the major powers for this purpose (see, e.g., Leon *Pinsker and his program). But, in the early 1880s, when *aliyah* to Ereẓ Israel from Eastern Europe began, mainly in the wake of the Russian pogroms, and the first Jewish agricultural settlements in Ereẓ Israel were established, the Ḥovevei Zion concentrated their means and efforts in encouraging and strengthening the movement toward *aliyah* and settlement and not in the political field. Conditions in Russia did not permit open political activity and forced the Russian Ḥovevei Zion to engage in "practical" work only.

In Western Europe as well, where Jews were permitted more freedom in this field, members of Ḥibbat Zion were not prepared to carry on the political cause of Zionism, basically because of fears that their patriotism would be suspect. Thus the efforts of Ḥovevei Zion turned de facto into philanthropic activity of limited scope and with minor results. Were it not for the aid of Baron Edmond de *Rothschild, it is doubtful whether Ḥovevei Zion would have been able to maintain the first settlements.

When Herzl began his activities, he was not aware of the political Zionist idea that had originally inspired the Ḥibbat Zion movement, and at first he negated the value of the existent small-scale settlement activity that was carried out semi-illegally, against the wishes of the Ottoman regime, and referred to it as "infiltration." The Ḥovevei Zion in the West reacted with reservation toward Herzl and continued their philanthropic aid to both the old and the new *yishuv* by means of *Esra and other institutions. Ḥovevei Zion in Eastern Europe, however, mostly joined Herzl, but disassociated themselves from his negative approach to practical settlement work in Ereẓ Israel and continued to support the *yishuv.* This difference in approach was the source of friction during Herzl's time and afterward between the "political" and the "practical" Zionists, until the consolidation of "synthetic Zionism" after David *Wolffsohn resigned from the presidency of the World Zionist Organization (1911). Ḥibbat Zion was in effect the first mass movement to provide Herzl with wide popular support.

[Getzel Kressel]

ḤIBBUT HA-KEVER (Heb. חִבּוּט הַקֶּבֶר, "beating in the grave"), punishment mentioned in an early *aggadah* which was treated more widely by the kabbalists. According to this belief, the deceased is punished for his sins not only by the torments of gehinnom ("hell") and the transmigration of his soul, but also by being struck with a fiery chain immediately after burial by the Angel of Death (or the angel Duma, cf. Ber. 18b). Only those who die in Ereẓ Israel or, if outside, who are buried on Friday afternoon before sunset, are exempted from this punishment. To ward off *ḥibbut ha-kever* the kabbalists counseled acts of charity and the fervent recitation of prayers. Of particular efficacy in this regard is remembering one's Hebrew name when asked for it by the Angel of Death. To engrave this name in their memories, pious Jews after concluding the recitation of the *Amidah, add a biblical verse, the first and last letters of which correspond to the first and last letters of their Hebrew name.

See list in *Siddur Avodat Yisrael*, 106–7.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: H. Schauss, *The Lifetime of a Jew* (1950), 282f.

HIBSHŪSH, ḤAYYIM, an erudite coppersmith of *San'ā (d. 1899), one of the first modern intellectuals of the Jewish community of *Yemen. His activity was communal as well as scholarly. In his public work he was the main partner of his younger colleague, R. Yiḥye Qāfih, in acting for the improvement of the education system of the Jews of Yemen and for the reshaping of their socio-economic structure. Together they sent letters to European Jewish welfare organizations asking them to send modern teachers to Yemen. Hibshūsh was the first Yemenite-Jewish writer who decided to compose a history of his community based on written, authorized sources, including many Muslim-Arabic works, and not just oral traditions as was the case with R. Yiḥye Ṣāliḥ in *Megillat Teman*. In this work he was followed by other San'ānī Jewish scholars such as R. Shalom Qoraḥ and R. 'Amram Qoraḥ. But his fame among western researchers stems from his Judeo-Arabic book *Mas'ot Hibshūsh*, in which – responding to the request of Eduard *Glaser – he depicted his travels in 1870 to the northern and northeastern regions of Yemen, including rich and sometimes unparalleled information about the Jewish communities in those areas. In fact, he was chosen – owing to his erudition and his profession as a coppersmith – to accompany the Jewish-French Orientalist Joseph *Halévy in quest of Sabaean inscriptions. The main reason for writing *Mas'ot Hibshūsh* was probably that both Hibshūsh and Glaser were not content with the fact that Halévy, in his long and detailed reports about his travels in Yemen, completely ignored his Ṣan'ānī guide. In this work, Hibshūsh claims that it was actually he who copied for Halévy the hundreds of Sabaean inscriptions. Hibshūsh's *Travels* was edited by S.D. *Goitein from manuscripts, first published in Hebrew translation (1939) and then in its Judeo-Arabic original with an English abridged translation (1941). Hibshūsh's significant contribution to knowledge of ancient and modern Yemen is universally acknowledged, as attested by the Italian, French, and Arabic translations of his *Travels*, recently published.

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[Yosef Tobi (2nd ed.)]

HICKL, MAX (1873–1924), one of the early Zionists in Moravia and a founder of the *Po'alei Zion world movement. Born in Bruenn (now Brno), Hickl joined Herzl as soon as the latter appeared on the scene. He was also the chief organizer of the Jewish clerks in the Austrian commercial houses and eventually formed the first Po'alei Zion group out of this organization. Hickl was the founder of *Juedische Volksstimme*, a German-language Zionist weekly that made its first appearance in 1900, and he edited it for a quarter of a century; in the paper's early years, B. *Feiwel and R. *Stricker were Hickl's assistants. For a number of years he published *Juedischer Volkskalender*, an almanac that included outstanding Zionist writers among its contributors and German translations of Hebrew and Yiddish literature. During World War I, when he moved to Vienna, Hickl founded a publishing company that put out German-language Zionist books as well as Hebrew books and the Hebrew monthly *Gevulot*.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: M. Singer, *Be-Reshit ha-Ẓiyyonut ha-Sozyalistit* (1958), 446; *The Jews of Czechoslovakia*, 1 (1968), index; Wininger, Biog, 3 (1928), 100.

[Getzel Kressel]

ḤIDDUSHIM (Heb. חִדּוּשִׁים, "novellae"), the results of a method of study of rabbinical literature which derives new ideas from talmudic and also rabbinic texts, in order to clarify *halakhah*. The *ḥiddushim* represent the "obligation imposed upon us to search through the subjects of the Torah and the precepts and bring to light their hidden contents" (*Naḥmanides, introduction to *Sefer ha-Milḥamot*). From the commentary, whose purpose is to explain the text – its difficult terms and other complexities – the student goes on to a thorough analysis and summary of the theme, the establishment of its basis, and the general principles to be deduced from it. On the one hand, however, it is not always possible to draw a clear line of demarcation between commentaries and *ḥiddushim*, while on the other many works belong to the category of *ḥiddushim* from the point of view of their contents and methods though they are not referred to as such.

The changes in conditions of life in the course of time give rise to questions and problems which require an authoritative solution in the spirit of the laws of the Torah. The *geonim* were already required to explain the Talmud in this light and base their decisions upon it. Their comments on various talmudic topics, either by defining the framework of a given *halakhah* or by indicating the conditions necessary for the application of a certain *halakhah*, are actually *ḥiddushim* on those *halakhot*, which at times display considerable originality. This phenomenon is especially noticeable in the *responsa literature, whose authors were required to give a practical decision in answer to questions which arose during their time. The *ḥiddushim* scattered in the responsa literature are very numerous, even if they are not always apparent on the surface, and they sometimes constitute a completely new approach to the relevant passage in the *Gemara*. During the succeeding era, when new Torah centers came into existence, another category of *ḥiddushim* was developed. The most famous of these centers are the Spanish, connected with the name of *Alfasi, and the Franco-German, of which Rashi and the *tosafists are the most distinguished representatives. Each of these centers developed its particular system: the tendency of the Spanish school was toward summarization and methodical presentation, in order finally to arrive at the *halakhah*, and was less concerned with abstract discussions and theoretical detail; the French school, on the other hand, applied itself to the minutest details of talmudic text, without aiming at any methodical arrangement, though this was arrived at indirectly as a result of their remarkable mastery of the vast material.

The most outstanding among the first authors of novellae are Joseph *Ibn Migash, the disciple of Alfasi and the first to write novellae to tractates of the Talmud, which are distinguished by their profundity and had a decisive influence on Maimonides; *Abraham b. David of Posquières, author of novellae to several of the talmudic tractates combining commentary and novellae – his glosses to Alfasi and Maimonides include *ḥiddushim* on talmudic themes which served as an inexhaustible source for subsequent authors; and Meir b. Todros *Abulafia, whose opinions are at times outstandingly original. During the time of Naḥmanides and his pupil R. Solomon b. Abraham *Adret, the teachings of the French school reached the Spanish schools. As a result of their influence the method of study in this country underwent a change and the synthesis thereby created became known in the world of talmudic scholarship as the teachings of the great **rishonim*. They include Naḥmanides, Solomon b. Abraham Adret, *Yom Tov b. Abraham Ishbili, *Nissim b. Reuben Gerondi, Joseph ibn *Ḥabiba, the author of *Nimmukei Yosef* on Alfasi; and others. The method in the schools of these *rishonim* was to study *Gemara* with Rashi's commentary and the tosafists, comparing their views with those of Alfasi and Maimonides. This system resulted in many objections to the decisions of Alfasi and Maimonides, since the conclusions arrived at by Rashi and his school did not always correspond with those of Alfasi and the halakhic decisions in Maimonides' *Mishneh Torah*. This resulted in investigation into sources upon which Alfasi and Maimonides had based their decisions, and a search for alternative interpretations. They constituted in effect *ḥiddushim* to Rashi and the path blazed by him, and the revelation of new approaches to many topics. At the same time, the tendency developed among the *rishonim* of suggesting more than one interpretation for a given talmudic passage. Various interpretations were presented side by side – a characteristic example of this system being that of Naḥmanides' *Sefer ha-Milḥamot*, which was written in order to defend Alfasi against the criticisms of *Zerahiah ha-Levi in his *Sefer ha-Ma'or*. Naḥmanides goes to the length of giving Alfasi's explanations, even though he is not always in complete agreement with them: "At times we defend the opinions of our teacher, even though they are far from the actual meaning of the section. Our purpose in so doing is to bring to the attention of the students the arguments which can be brought in their favor" (Intr.). His novellae on the Babylonian Talmud are extensive and lengthy because he does not omit even the smallest detail – especially in difficult subjects – of the problems already discussed by his predecessors. Yom Tov b. Abraham employs the same method of collation, but the most distinguished proponent of this method was the author of *Nimmukei Yosef*, which is remarkable for its assembly of the opinions of his predecessors, entering into a full discussion and deciding between them. Naḥmanides was also the first whose biblical commentary is referred to as *ḥiddushim*; his influence on subsequent novellae literature was decisive. Later came the works of Menahem *Me'iri, which have fully been brought to light in recent years. They are outstanding for their accumulation of the numerous opinions of *rishonim* of every category and their comparison and appraisal in order to arrive at the most acceptable view. These novellae are today accepted by all students.

The novellae of the *aḥaronim* are of a different character. Generally they tend to verbosity and are inclined toward casuistry. Among the most eminent of them one can also recognize the desire to arrive at new halakhic decisions. There is an attempt to shed light on the subjects under discussion by the introduction of the "hypothesis," i.e., an attempt to decide what the *halakhah* would be in a given case which is not explicitly mentioned in the *Gemara*.

A different category of novellae was created by the school of the tosafists and their successors who encouraged and developed the study of the Torah for its own sake without placing overmuch emphasis on legal decisions and conclusions. Their extensive knowledge of the Talmud enabled them to embrace various tractates and different subjects at one and the same time. The study of a subject was thus not confined to the actual text but included corresponding and parallel subjects and everything even remotely connected with it throughout the Talmud. This comparative study revealed numerous contradictions and problems. The solution of these difficulties gave rise to novellae, either by establishing limits to one topic, or by sharp distinctions between two subjects which at first sight appear to be identical. In later generations this category of novellae became widespread. The wide range of knowledge and the profundity of their authors opened the door to a system of the most ingenious novellae. The most distinguished of the *aḥaronim*, such as Ezekiel *Landau (author of *Noda bi-Yhudah*) and Akiva *Eger, posed a multiplicity of difficulties based on their vast knowledge and profound erudition. Their answers abound in brilliant innovations, many of which were accepted as binding in the practical *halakhah*. In the wake of the great authors, the tendency became widespread among all talmudic scholars, including yeshivah students. The revelation of new aspects in talmudic topics became the norm. In yeshivot, special encouragement is given to anyone who reveals this talent, and opportunity is given to him to expound his ideas before his colleagues. *Ḥiddushim* have become an integral part of the normal study of the Talmud.

Among important authors of novellae on the Talmud from the Middle Ages to the present day may be mentioned: 13th CENTURY: *Eliezer b. Joel ha-Levi (Ravyah); *Isaac b. Abba Mari, *Isaac b. Moses of Vienna, Samuel B. Isaac ha-Sardi, author of *Sefer ha-Terumot*; *Isaiah di Trani; *Meir b. Baruch of Rothenburg (Maharam), whose novellae are included in his responsa and halakhic decisions; *Aaron b. Joseph ha-Levi. 14th–15th CENTURIES: Nissim Gerondi; Joseph *Colon; *David ben Solomon ibn Abi Zimra; Joseph b. David ibn *Lev. 16th-17th CENTURIES: Bezalel *Ashkenazi, author of *Shitah Mekubbeẓet*, an extensive collection of novellae of various authorities; Solomon *Luria (Maharshal), author of *Yam shel Shelomo*; *Meir b. Gedaliah of Lublin and Meir (Maharam) *Schiff, who gave a tremendous impetus to the study of the Talmud in Poland; Samuel Eliezer *Edels, who, in addition to his *Ḥiddushei Halakhot*, noted for their great profundity and erudition, also wrote *Ḥiddushei Aggadot*. IN THE FIRST HALF OF THE 18th CENTURY: Meir Eisenstadt, author of *Panim Me'irot*; R. Jacob Joshua Falk, author of *Penei Yehoshu'a*. IN THE SECOND HALF OF THE 18th CENTURY: Jonathan *Eybeschuetz; Aryeh Leib *Gunzberg, author of *Sha'agat Aryeh*, *Turei Even*, and *Gevurat Ari*; Ezekiel Landau in his *Ẓiyyun le-Nefesh Ḥayyah*. 19th CENTURY: Akiva Eger in his *Derush ve-Ḥiddush*; Moses *Sofer; Jacob *Ettlinger in his *Arukh la-Ner*; Isaac Meir *Alter of Gur, author of *Ḥiddushei ha-Rim*; Ẓevi Hirsch *Chajes. 20th CENTURY: during the present century the literature of novellae is principally concentrated around the decisions of Maimonides and investigation into their sources. The most important personalities and their works include: *Meir Simḥah ha-Kohen of Dvinsk in his *Or Same'aḥ;* R. Ḥayyim ha-Levi *Soloveichik, the initiator of a new method of study in the Lithuanian yeshivot during recent generations; R. Joseph *Rosen ("The Rogachover") in his *Ẓafenat Pa'ne'aḥ*; R. Ḥayyim Ozer *Grodzinski in his *Aḥi'ezer*; R. Abraham Isaac *Kook; R. Isser Zalman *Meltzer; R. Abraham Isaiah *Karelitz, the "Ḥazon Ish."

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143; H. Tchernowitz, *Toledot ha-Posekim*, 1 (1946), 16; 2 (1947), 106–9, 120–44; 3 (1947), 120–2, 138–58, 210–33, 313–8; Urbach, Tosafot, 19, 571f.; S.Y. Zeivin, *Ishim ve-Shitot* (1966^{3}), passim; idem, *Soferim u-Sefarim*, 2 (1959), 93ff.

[Moshe Stern]

ḤIDKA (in the TJ, Shab. 16:3, 15d **Hundakas**, and in Schechter's edition of *Aggadat Shir ha-Shirim* (1896, p. 59) **Hindakah**; mid-second century C.E.), *tanna*. Ḥidka is mentioned a few times in the *beraitot* of the Babylonian Talmud (BB 119a; Sanh. 56b; BM 90b. cf. Tosef. Av. Zar. 8:6). His best-known *halakhah* is that a person should eat four meals every Sabbath (and not three as normally accepted: Shab. 117b). Although the *halakhah* is that three meals suffice, some meticulous individuals act in accordance with Ḥidka's view and this fourth meal is referred to as "R. Ḥidka's meal." He transmitted sayings in the name of his associate, Simeon ha-Shikmoni, a pupil of *Akiva (Sif. Num. 68, 114; cf. BB 119a). An aggadic saying attributed to him is "Love the term 'perhaps,' and hate the expression 'what of it?'" (DEZ 1).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Hyman, Toledot, 411.

[Zvi Kaplan]

HIEL (Heb. חִיאֵל, אֲחִיאֵל; "the [divine] brother, or kinsman, is God"), the Bethelite (see *Beth-El), who fortified *Jericho in the reign of King *Ahab of Israel (I Kings 16:34). The Hebrew verb employed in the Bible (בנה, *bnh*) commonly means "to build"; but when its object is the word for "town" or the name of some town, a town wall or other fortification is meant. Since no archaeological remains of city walls of that period have been discovered at this site but a granary of that period has been, the verse may refer merely to the construction of a fortified public building. The verse goes on to say that Hiel "laid its foundations at the cost of his firstborn son Abiram and set up its doorleaves [see *door] at the cost of his youngest [or younger] son Segub," and this was a fulfillment of the curse of Joshua (Josh. 6:26) upon anyone who fortified Jericho. It has been suggested that Hiel offered his sons as foundation sacrifices, but that can only have been the case with the firstborn, and even that is not the natural implication of either of the two scriptural passages. Both of these imply merely that the fortifier's two (or more?) sons perished successively, in the order of their birth, in the course of the work. Their deaths are understood by the writer as the fulfillment of Joshua's curse on anyone who would rebuild Jericho or any part of it.

[Harold Louis Ginsberg]

HIER, MARVIN (1939–), U.S. rabbi and founder of the *Simon Wiesenthal Center. Hier was born in New York City, the son of a Polish-born lamp polisher who immigrated to the United States in 1917. He was raised in a strictly Orthodox enclave on the Lower East Side and received his rabbinical ordination from the Rabbi Jacob Joseph Theological Seminary. Immediately after his ordination, Hier and his wife Marlene left for Vancouver, Canada, to assume the pulpit at the city's leading Orthodox synagogue, Congregation Schara Tzedeck. He found a Jewish community whose lifestyle and religious commitment differed sharply from his own upbringing. Hier focused first on the sons and daughters of the synagogue members, believing, correctly, that the youngsters would eventually bring along their parents. Through one of his students, Hier met the boy's father, Samuel Belzberg, a leading businessman. Belzberg and his family were to become Hier's first and most consistent financial supporters.

Hier gave an early indication of his political activism when he and other rabbis confronted then Soviet Premier Alexei Kosygin, protesting the oppression of Soviet Jews during Kosygin's visit to Vancouver in 1975.

After 15 years as spiritual leader of Schara Tzedeck, doubling as Hillel director at the University of British Columbia, Hier spent a sabbatical in Israel. Inspired by the impact of the Or Sameach study center in Jerusalem on young, often alienated, Western Jews, he decided to redirect his considerable energy and entrepreneurship onto a broader stage. Backed by a $500,000 check from the Belzbergs, Hier moved to Los Angeles to establish a yeshivah. He secured an affiliation with the Yeshiva University of New York. Under the arrangement, the newly founded Yeshiva University of Los Angeles (YULA) received academic input from the New York institution but was otherwise administratively and financially independent. Despite some adult education outreach, YULA has remained primarily a high school-level institution, with separate schools for boys and girls.

Hier, most of whose parents' relatives perished in the Holocaust, embarked on an even more ambitious endeavor in 1977: the Simon Wiesenthal Center for Holocaust Studies (now known as the Simon Wiesenthal Center).

Under the leadership of Hier as founding dean and Rabbi Abraham Cooper as associate dean the Center evolved into a global institution, with 400,000 contributor-members, a film division, research staff, political influence, a popular Museum of Tolerance in Los Angeles, and another underway in Jerusalem.

With his high profile, Hier has been the target of criticism for the high-tech nature of interactive Holocaust exhibits, his dual role as dean of both the religious YULA and the secular Wiesenthal Center, his lobbying prowess for private, state, and federal funds, and his encroaching on the "turf" of older established Jewish organizations.

While the Center is a non-religious institution, its leadership is Orthodox and Hier himself personifies the more aggressive and militant attitude of contemporary modern Orthodoxy. At the same time, through the Center's emphasis on tolerance and multi-denominational outreach, Hier has exerted a strongly moderating influence on the Orthodox community.

[Tom Tugend (2nd ed.)]

HIERAPOLIS, city in N. Syria situated on the highway from Antioch to Babylon. In ancient times it was a religious center of the goddess Tar'ata (Atargatis, Derketa). It was given its name in the Hellenistic period and from that time the temple there was considered to be the largest and richest in Syria. Pilgrims flocked to it from all over Asia Minor and Babylonia. The temple is referred to in the Talmud as "Tarata that is in Mapug" (Av. Zar. 11b). Although there is no direct evidence of the existence of a Jewish settlement there it has been suggested that the name Mabug borne by a Palestinian *amora* (Zev. 9b) is derived from the Syrian name of this city (Mabug, cf. modern Menbidj). The assumption is reasonable, since Hierapolis was a commercial center between Antioch and Babylon, both of which had considerable Jewish populations.

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[Lea Roth]

HIEROSOLYMITANISCHE STIFTUNG ("Jerusalem Foundation"), an institution for transferring and distributing funds in Ereẓ Israel, collected among European communities. An organization for collecting money for the support of Jews in Ereẓ Israel (Hierosolymitanische Kasse) was founded in Venice in 1601 and soon after in Hamburg, Hesse, Frankfurt, and elsewhere. Funds were collected locally and eventually channeled to the recipients through one benefactor, usually a person of standing in the Jewish community, who bore the honorific title of "Nasi Ereẓ Israel." The fund operated well for more than a century. During the course of a complex lawsuit involving R. David *Oppenheim, then "Nasi", the Austrian authorities in 1722 severely limited the right of Jews to contribute to their brethren in Ereẓ Israel as well as denying further use of the title to Oppenheim.

At the time (1722/23) the financial situation of the Jewish communities of Jerusalem, Hebron, and Safed was desperate, since an enormous sum of money was owed to Turkish moneylenders and there were no resources whatsoever for repayment. Samson *Wertheimer, the powerful Austrian *Court Jew, utilized his diplomatic connections and intervened on behalf of the Ashkenazi communities. He succeeded in having their debts reduced and solicited funds for their relief. In the process he reestablished the foundation, despite governmental restrictions, known thereafter as Hierosolymitanische Stiftung. Wertheimer succeeded so well in galvanizing public support that he assumed the title of "Nasi Ereẓ Israel." The Stiftung accumulated considerable sums; 25,000 florins were bequeathed to Wertheimer's son Wolf to be used for the benefit of Ereẓ Israel Jewry. Wolf Wertheimer finally succeeded in placating the creditors in 1727 through the good offices of the Austrian diplomatic agent in Constantinople and the Jewish physician Tobias Moshides in Jerusalem. However, in 1733 he was forced to declare bankruptcy, and only 20 years later, when he had regained his former standing and wealth, did he reestablish the foundation.

His will (1762) stipulated that the interest from his estate be allotted for the support of the communities in Ereẓ Israel. However, the money could not be disbursed and was deposited in the highest Austrian court (Oberhof-Marschallsgericht) until Francis I officially validated the foundation in 1801. The payments were thereafter made through the Austrian diplomatic agent in Constantinople and distributed by 12 representatives of Ottoman Jewry to the Jews in Jerusalem, Hebron, and Safed. In Austria two supervisors (*Kuratoren*) were appointed, one of whom had to belong to the Wertheimer family. Nathan von *Arnstein, Ignaz *Deutsch, and Moritz *Guedemann were all associated with the fund as supervisors.

Beginning in 1854, money was distributed equally to Ashkenazim and Sephardim. The annual stipend provided a secure source of income for its recipients until the chaotic post-World War I inflation.

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HIGGER, MICHAEL (1898–1952), U.S. talmudic scholar. Higger, born in Rogovo, near Kovno, Lithuania, received a traditional education in Lithuania, and after immigrating to the United States in 1915, studied at New York and Columbia universities and the Jewish Theological Seminary, where he was ordained. Higger devoted his life to the study of Jewish sources and their publication. He also served as a consultant to the law committee of the Rabbinical Assembly of America and was responsible for many of the decisions made by that body.

His main contribution to Jewish scholarship is the editing of rabbinic texts with variant readings and introductions and the systematizing of various rabbinic writings. His early published works were devoted to the non-canonical tractates, including *Massekhtot Ze'irot* (1929), *Sheva Massekhtot Ketannot* (1930), *Massekhet Semakhot* (1931), *Massekhet Kallah* (1936), all with introductions, notes, and variant readings. Higger's major work was *Oẓar ha-Beraitot* (10 vols., 1930–50). In this work he collected and annotated all of the *beraitot* and the non-Mishnaic, tannaitic statements found in the Babylonian and Jerusalem Talmuds, both in the printed and manuscript editions of the Talmuds. Included are about 10,000 *beraitot* annotated, with variants, and classified according to form and provenance. This monumental work is a standard source for talmudic students.

In addition, Higger contributed many articles to learned journals and edited Yarḥi's commentary on *Kallah Rabbati* (1934). He wrote *Intention in Jewish Law* (1927) and *Jewish Utopia* (1932), a reconstruction of the rabbinic ideal society.

[Seymour Siegel]

HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR PALESTINE, head of the British Mandatory administration called the government of Palestine. On July 3, 1922, in an Order-in-Council, the high commissioner was empowered to promulgate ordinances for the peace, order, and good government of Palestine, including the power of pardon or reprieve. His powers were not limited by any representative body in Palestine, but he was assisted by an advisory council appointed by himself. The first – and only Jewish – high commissioner, Sir Herbert *Samuel, who was appointed in 1920, two years before the mandate of the League of Nations was officially confirmed, laid the foundations of the British civil administration in the country, including Transjordan. He was succeeded in 1925 by Field Marshal Herbert Onslow Plumer (1857–1932) who served until 1928. His term was characterized by tranquility in the country and the development of local government, the promulgation of the religious ordinance, and the Palestinian Citizenship Order. Sir John Herbert Chancellor (1870–1952) served as third high commissioner in the years 1928–31. In his time the Arab massacres of August 1929 took place. He was said to have had a part in the framing of the new anti-Zionist policy as defined in the Passfield *White Paper (1930). Sir Arthur Grenfell Wauchope (1874–1947) served as the fourth high commissioner for the years 1931–38. He showed understanding for the Jewish work in Palestine and maintained friendly contact with Chaim *Arlosoroff. His plan to establish a legislative council proved abortive because of Jewish and Arab opposition. During his term momentous events occurred: Hitler's rise to power in Germany, which brought in its wake a large Jewish immigration to Palestine; and the outbreak of the Arab revolt (1936–39), leading to the appointment of the Royal (*Peel) Commission; and the publication of the first partition plan for *Palestine (1937). Sir Harold MacMichael (1882–1968) was the fifth high commissioner, from 1938–44. He implemented rigidly the anti-Zionist policy of the 1939 White Paper, refusing to admit Jewish refugees from Nazi-occupied Europe (see *Holocaust). In August 1944 an attempt was made on his life by *Loḥamei Ḥerut Israel. Field Marshal John Standish Surtees Prendergast Vereker, Viscount Gort (1886–1946) served as the sixth high commissioner only for one year, 1944 to 1945, and retired because of ill health. Sir Alan G. Cunningham (1887–1983) served as the seventh and last high commissioner in the years 1945–48, while the future of Palestine was studied by the Anglo-American Commission of Inquiry in 1946 and by the United Nations Special Committee on Palestine (UNSCOP) in 1947. Cunningham left Israel on May 14, 1948, the day the State of Israel was proclaimed.

HIGH PRIEST (Heb. הַכֹּהֵן, הַכֹּהֵן הַגָּדוֹל, (הַ)כֹּהֵן הָרֹאשׁ), the priest at the head of the priestly affairs. In pre-Exilic times the common appellation for the chief priest of a community was "the priest" (Heb. *ha-Kohen*; e.g., I Sam. 14:19, 36; 21:2–10). The term "high priest" (Heb. *ha-kohen ha-gadol*) is used in reference to Aaron and his descendants who are anointed with holy oil (Lev. 21:10; Num. 35:25, 28; Josh. 20:6), and later to the chief priest of the First and Second Temples of Jerusalem (II Kings 12:11; 22:4, 8; 23:4; Neh. 3:1, 20; 13:28). An early comparable title is Ugaritic *rb khnm*. The appellation "head priest" (Heb. *kohen ha-rosh*) is an alternative for "high priest" (II Kings 25:18; Jer. 52:24; II Chron. 19:11; 24:11; 26:20; Ezra 7:5) and may have coexisted with *ha-kohen ha-gadol*.

In the Second Temple Period

Although the term and office of high priest are infrequent in early biblical literature, and the Aaronide priesthood a late development, the existence of a high priesthood in the two preexilic Israelite kingdoms is more than likely. From the outset of the Second Temple period not only does the term "high priest" appear more frequently, but the responsibilities of the office were greatly enhanced. Beginning either under late Persian or early Hellenistic rule in Palestine, the high priest is not merely responsible for religious and spiritual life within the country, but is also chief administrator of internal secular policy, as well as the recognized representative of the Jewish community in all matters of external diplomacy. This development of high-priestly power reached its peak under the Hasmoneans, and thus, even when the latter were already designated as kings, it was considered essential to retain the title of "high priest" which, encompassing so many functions, was probably even more revered than the monarchy itself. This fact would tend to explain the famous objection of the Pharisees to the retaining of the high priesthood by the Hasmoneans, and the outright rejection of their claims by either John *Hyrcanus or Alexander *Yannai (Kid. 66a; Jos., Ant. 13:288ff.). It is also noteworthy that the Hebrew coins of the Hasmoneans designate these rulers solely as high priests, and that the political authority of the community, the **ḥever ha-Yehudim*, appears on the coins accompanied only by the title high priest and may not have even recognized the monarchy (cf. A. Schalit, *Hordos ha-Melekh* (1960), 159–60, 561–2).

With the Roman conquest of Judea and subsequent Herodean rule, the office of high priest became a political tool in the hands of the administration, and until the destruction of the Temple was never to return to its earlier prominence. Herod, in an attempt to base his regime on new elements within Jewish society, completely disassociated himself from the Hasmonean dynasty, and thus the high priesthood passed into the hands of such houses as Phiabi and Boethus, both having been transplanted from the Jewish Diaspora (regarding this tendency under Herod, cf. M. Stern, in *Tarbiz*, 35 (1965–66), 245ff.). Although the high priests continued to serve as presidents of the *Sanhedrin, both their actual powers and measure of esteem among the people gradually deteriorated, and derision of the high priests during the late Second Temple period is commonly quoted in rabbinic literature (cf. Pes. 57a; Yoma 8b–9a). This negative attitude of the Pharisees was probably enhanced by the fact that high priests from the Hasmonean period onward were primarily Sadducees, and frequent quarrels erupted between the two factions (cf. Tosef., Yoma 1:8). By the end of the Second Temple period the high priest was considered no more than a religious functionary of the Roman administration, and thus even the garments of the high priest were entrusted at times to the hands of the local

Roman procurator and handed over to the priests just prior to the various festivals. It is understandable, therefore, that with the zealots' seizure of Jerusalem one of their first acts was the appointment of a new high priest, as if thereby to display the establishment of a new Jewish government in Jerusalem (Jos., Wars 4:147ff.).

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[Isaiah Gafni]

HIJAR (**Ixar**), small town in Aragon, E. Spain. There is no record of an organized Jewish community in Híjar, though the activity of Jewish printers there points to at least a small number of resident Jewish families (cf. Isaac b. Sheshet's responsum no. 435). Eliezer b. Abraham Alantansi, a scholar, businessman, and physician, of Murcia, in partnership with Solomon Zalmati of Jativa, set up a press at Híjar and produced Jacob b. Asher's *Arba'ah Turim* (1485–87); the Latter Prophets (1486–87); the Pentateuch with Onkelos and Rashi (1490); and the Pentateuch with *haftarot* and Five Scrolls (1487–88). Possibly other books were printed by this press but have been lost. Abraham b. Isaac b. David was employed as corrector.

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HILBERG, RAUL (1926–), "founding-father" of the academic study of the Holocaust in the United States. Hilberg was born in Vienna. His family escaped not only Austria but the European continent in the spring of 1939, one year after the *Anschluss*, and thus barely evaded death in the Holocaust. After a brief stay in Havana, Cuba, he arrived in the United States. The family moved to New York City, where his middle-class parents became factory workers. In New York Hilberg spent several years at Brooklyn College before joining the army at the age of 18.

After service in Europe, Hilberg returned to Brooklyn College, where he was deeply influenced by the historian Hans Rosenberg, an expert in the historical development of the Prussian bureaucracy. He went on to graduate study in political science at Columbia University, where he encountered two more professors of profound influence: Salo *Baron, the doyen of Jewish history, who imparted a sense of Jewish separateness and vulnerability even after emancipation; and Franz Neumann, the author of an early study of the structure of the Nazi state titled *Behemoth* that focused not on the personality and ideology of Hitler but rather on the four hierarchies of civil service, party, army, and industry that exercised power in Nazi Germany.

Hilberg wrote his M.A. thesis at Columbia under the direction of Neumann on the role of the German civil service in the destruction of the European Jews. When Hilberg asked Neumann about the possibility of expanding on this theme to include Neumann's other three hierarchies for his Ph.D. thesis, Neumann agreed but warned, "It's your funeral." Neumann's influence was crucial in another way as well, in that he found Hilberg work with the War Documentation Project in Alexandria, Virginia, sorting through the original complete files of captured German documents. This deepened Hilberg's understanding of the workings of the German bureaucracy and his virtually unparalleled familiarity with its documentation.

He completed his dissertation under William Fox in 1955, and then expanded upon it yet further by writing additional chapters. In the spring of 1956, he joined the Department of Political Science at the University of Vermont, which would remain his academic home until retirement in 1991 but did not teach the Holocaust. Only in the early 1970s, at the urging of a colleague and students, did he begin teaching a course on the Holocaust.

Hilberg's initial attempts to publish his massive study of the destruction of the European Jews failed. Columbia University Press, Yad Vashem, Princeton University Press, and the University of Oklahoma Press all in turn rejected it. With the help of a private subvention, *The Destruction of the European Jews* was finally published by Quadrangle Press in Chicago in 1961. Though totally unnoticed at the time and appreciated only in retrospect, this event – in the same year as the Eichmann trial in Jerusalem – marked the birth of Holocaust studies as a legitimate field of academic study in the United States.

Hilberg's major contribution was to portray the Nazi destruction of the European Jews not as a giant pogrom, but as a bureaucratic and administrative process, requiring specialists of all kinds and successfully eliciting participation from virtually every branch of organized German society. In analyzing this German propensity for widespread participation, Hilberg declared himself little interested in "German race theory" and rarely used the word "antisemitism," but he did emphasize the longstanding negative image of the Jews as "hostile, criminal, parasitical" that was deeply embedded in German culture. Hilberg created an overarching structure for his study through the interplay of two key concepts: a "machinery of destruction" comprising Neumann's four hierarchies – the party, civil service, military, and industry – and a "process of destruction" consisting of three crucial stages – definition, concentration, and annihilation, with each stage accompanied by commensurate expropriation. In *The Destruction of the European Jews*, Hilberg analyzed how the four hierarchies of the "machinery of destruction" carried out the inherent stages of the "process of destruction" in all corners of the German empire.

Hilberg's self-imposed task was to "grasp how this deed was done." Thus the primary focus of his study was on the perpetrators and the primary source was the entire collection of 36,000 captured German documents selected and numbered as "Nürnberg documents" for possible use in the postwar trials.

It was precisely through his exhaustive research on German policies through German documents that Hilberg concluded that some account of "Jewish response" was also essential to understanding "how this deed was done." He presented a spectrum of Jewish response – resistance/alleviation/evasion/paralysis/compliance – and argued that over centuries Diaspora Jews had learned that "alleviation" and "compliance" were more productive survival strategies (i.e., predictably resulting in the "least damage and least injury") than "resistance" (by which Hilberg specifically meant armed resistance). When faced with unprecedented Nazi persecution, however, these time-sanctioned survival strategies led to "Jewish institutions" becoming co-opted as "tools" in the process of destruction.

While Hilberg's larger interpretation about the Nazi destruction of the European Jews drew little attention, his comments on Jewish response attracted ferocious criticism, especially after he was specifically cited as an authoritative source by Hannah *Arendt for her own attack upon the behavior of Jewish leadership during the Holocaust in her book *Eichmann in Jerusalem: A Study in the Banality of Evil*. Yet, the arguments of Hilberg and Arendt were significantly different. Hilberg portrayed the subjective attempts of Jewish leaders to help their people through now suddenly obsolete survival strategies as facilitating German perpetrators in their use of Jewish leaders as objective instruments of self-destruction. What Hilberg portrayed as a catastrophic and tragic failure of perception, Arendt in contrast portrayed in terms of seduction by apparent power, self-serving corruption, and ultimately betrayal – in short a searing accusation of moral failure.

Hilberg drew criticism for his narrow definition of resistance and his sober conclusion that Jewish armed resistance had both occurred rarely and hindered the Nazis in no significant way in carrying out the Final Solution was for many yet more salt rubbed in an open wound. Israeli historians sought to create a more heroic image of Jewish response by uncovering many hitherto unknown cases of Jewish armed resistance that were attested to in survivor testimony but never reported in German documents. Such an approach, however, could not alter the fact that most Jewish victims had been women, children, and elderly, and most Jews had never had arms. Others articulated broader definitions of resistance to include many activities undertaken in defiance of or aimed at thwarting German intentions, what Hilberg had considered alleviation and evasion.

As the firestorm gradually subsided, awareness of the true importance of the book began to emerge. Many, but not all, of Hilberg's critics, while not dropping their reservations about particulars, began to acknowledge the book's overall achievement with such adjectives as "monumental," and "magisterial." Meanwhile, Hilberg focused his research on two additional projects: the German railway system and the diary of Adam *Czerniakow.

The German railway system was the most non-political and non-ideological of institutions that had nonetheless shipped over half the victims of the Holocaust to the death camps. It was also the German institution that, perhaps more than any other, had managed to destroy virtually all-incriminating documentation. In one sense the German railway system was for Hilberg the paradigmatic perpetrator organization. A staff of non-political technocrats facing extreme wartime demands adapted their standard routines to arrange hundreds of one-way charter trains to the death camps, charged per track kilometer at a group rate discount with children under 10 half-price and children under four generously sent to their deaths cost free. As Hilberg noted laconically, the German railway men may have shipped the Jews like cattle but they booked them like any other passengers! Quite simply, the trains were utterly indispensable to the Final Solution. The resulting book was published only in German as *Sonderzuege nach Auschwitz* ("Special Trains to Auschwitz") in 1981.

It is no small irony that Hilberg, who was said to have neglected Jewish sources, was singularly responsible for the 1979 publication of the English edition of *The Warsaw Diaries of Adam Czerniakow*, one of the two most important sources on the Jewish councils (the other being *The Chronicles of the Lodz Ghetto*) that survived the war. The English reader now could encounter a tragic figure who rolled his Rock of Sisyphus up the hill every day, knowing full well that it would come rolling back down each night. Consumed by a sense of obligation and untouched by megalomania, Czerniakow persevered in his impossible situation until he reached a line he would not cross. Faced with the demand to deport Jewish children, he took poison.

In the late 1970s, American public consciousness of the Holocaust rose dramatically. For Hilberg, now clearly recognized as America's top scholarly authority on the subject, this meant an increased demand for public and academic appearances. He also began to serve in an advisory capacity to the projected U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum during the crucial formative years of design and construction, where his unfaltering advocacy for a major research and archival center as an essential component of the museum was successful.

The explosion of new interest in the Holocaust meant the opportunity to produce a revised and expanded edition of *The Destruction of the European Jews* (published by Holmes & Meier in 1985) that incorporated a wealth of new documentation from the Eichmann trial, the numerous postwar German trials of the 1960s and 1970s, as well as much archival material that had not yet been accessible when Hilberg had drafted the first edition in the 1950s.

Having devoted his scholarly life to analyzing the impersonal structures and processes of the Nazi assault on European Jews, Hilberg turned next to a different angle of approach. In this book, *Perpetrators, Victims, Bystanders* (HarperCollins, 1992), Hilberg not only laid out a tripartite scheme and vocabulary of categorization that has left an indelible imprint on the field, but in 24 distinct essays he also examined different subgroups of people within these broad categories as to how their experience, perspective, and behavior related to the Holocaust.

Appointed the John G. McCullough Professor of Political Science at the University of Vermont in 1978, Hilberg retired from teaching at the end of the spring term of 1991. He was, however, by no means done writing. Next to appear was his academic autobiography, published first in Germany in 1994 and then in the United States in 1996, titled *The Politics of Memory: The Journey of a Holocaust Historian*. Written at a time when Hilberg was clearly disappointed that *Perpetrators, Victims, Bystanders* had not escaped from under the shadow of the "monumental" *Destruction of the European Jews*, the memoir is suffused with a tone of melancholy. Others in his situation – widely recognized as a world-renowned scholar who had legitimized the academic standing of and inspired a veritable flood of new research in an entire field of study – might have been tempted to write a celebratory account of a gradual but inexorable triumph over the many obstacles and critics that had stood in his way. But Hilberg focused far more on the difficulties he encountered and the struggles he waged than on the vindication he eventually won. As the subtitle indicated, it was an account of his "journey," not a celebration for reaching his destination.

In general Hilberg identified himself as a "document man." Thus it was fitting that Hilberg turned his attention next to a study of the nature of the documents themselves in *Sources of Holocaust Research*, published in 2001. And finally, in 2004, Yale University Press published the third – further revised and expanded – American edition of *The Destruction of the European Jews*. By far the biggest windfall of new documents for scholars of the Holocaust had occurred just half a decade after the appearance of the second American edition, with the collapse of Communist regimes and the opening of archives in Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union. Fortunately, he now had the opportunity to incorporate this massive additional documentation into his opus magnum.

[Christopher R. Browning (2nd ed.)]

°**HILDEBERT OF LAVARDIN**, poet and writer, bishop of Le Mans from 1096 and archbishop of Tours from 1125. Nothing in his writings indicates that Hildebert had any personal contact with the Jews. Although one of his sermons is entitled "Against the Jews," the polemic – also aimed at the heretical Christian followers of Helvidius – is confined to the problem of the virginity of Mary; Hildebert takes issue with the Jewish claim that Joseph was in fact the father of Jesus. In a sermon composed for St. James's day Hildebert interprets Isaiah 11:6, "the calf, the young lion, and the lamb will lie down together," as an eschatological vision of the time when the Jew (the calf) and the young lion (the gentile) will be reunited by Jesus (the lamb).

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[Bernhard Blumenkranz]

HILDESHEIM, city and former bishopric near Hanover, Germany. A Jewish community subject to the bishop was constituted in Hildesheim toward the middle of the 14th century. It suffered during the *Black Death persecutions (1348–49) but rapidly recovered. There were about 80 Jewish residents in the city in 1379, when the community possessed a synagogue and a cemetery and the Jews lived in a *Judenstrasse*. Almost without exception they made their living as moneylenders. In 1457 all Jews were expelled from the bishopric and the synagogue was torn down.

In 1520 the right of residence was extended to "der Grosse Michel," a Jewish soldier of fortune (see Jud *Michel). He was followed by a small number of other Jewish settlers, including Medicus Herz, the physician to the bishop. In 1595 an attempt to expel the Jews was frustrated when the exiles took legal action before the imperial court and were allowed to return in 1601. In 1662 Elector Maximilian Henry of Bavaria published a letter of protection for the Jews of the city. The same year marked the promulgation of a new series of laws by Jewish authorities dealing with the government of the Jewish community. A synagogue and a cemetery were dedicated in the early 17th century. A second cemetery was consecrated in 1650.

The community grew from 10 families possessing residence rights in 1634 to 40–60 families in 1726. A relative of Joseph Suess *Oppenheimer (d. 1762), who served for many years as tax collector and finance minister to the bishops and was *Landesrabbiner* from 1732, interceded successfully on behalf of Jews without residence permits who were threatened with expulsion in 1741. The community numbered 380 persons in 1812, 513 in 1880 (2% of the total population), and 515 in 1933.

Incorporated into the kingdom of *Westphalia, the Jews of the bishopric enjoyed full equality from 1806 to 1815. In that period an elementary school was founded which continued to exist into the 20th century. When Hildesheim came under Hanoverian rule (1815), the Jews again suffered from legal disabilities. A new synagogue was consecrated in 1849. The rabbinical post of Hildesheim was filled consecutively from the 17th century; notable incumbents included Jacob *Guttmann (1874–92) and his successor A. Lewinsky, rabbi for more than 40 years, who wrote widely on the history of the community. On Nov. 10, 1938 the synagogue was burned down and many shops were looted. By May 1939 only 210 Jews remained. The majority of these were deported, 51 on July 24, 1942, to Theresienstadt. A few returned after the war but by 1970 only eight remained. A Jewish community was reestablished in 1997 after the influx of Jews from the former Soviet Union.

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[Zvi Avneri]

HILDESHEIMER, AZRIEL (**Esriel; Israel**; 1820–1899), German rabbi, scholar, educator, and leader of Orthodox Jewry. Hildesheimer, who was born in Halberstadt into a family of scholars, received his early education in the local Jewish school, the first in Germany to include general subjects in its curriculum. He continued his talmudic studies under Jacob Ettlinger in Altona, and attended the lectures of Isaac *Bernays in neighboring Hamburg. At Berlin University he studied Semitics, philosophy, history, and science, and eventually received his doctorate from the University of Halle in 1844. His dissertation, "The Correct Method of Interpreting the Bible," dealt with the Septuagint. By his marriage to the daughter of Aaron *Hirsch he became financially independent, enabling him to pursue freely his university studies and his subsequent career. After receiving his doctorate he returned to Halberstadt and assumed the voluntary post of secretary to the community. In 1847, he began in earnest to fight the rise of the Reform movement. In response to a campaign on behalf of Reform by Ludwig *Phillipson, Hildesheimer wrote a pamphlet, "The Necessity of Protest against the Actions of the Reformers," which was circulated at the Magdeburg Conference in October 1847. In 1848, Hildesheimer succeeded in preventing the Reform community from seceding from the general Jewish community in Halberstadt. However, his overall attempts to maintain the Orthodox hegemony over the German Jewish communities was ultimately unsuccessful. Still and all, he continued to oppose Reform throughout his life. In 1883, he refused to sign a circular meant to counteract an accusation that Judaism had a double standard of ethics, one internal and one external, since it was sponsored by non-Orthodox rabbis. He argued that non-Orthodox rabbis were not to be the proper spokesmen for Judaism. In 1897, he seceded from the General Union of Rabbis in Germany to form the Union of Torah Faithful Rabbis. Nevertheless, he had a very strong belief in *kelal yisrael*, and was willing to work with all segments of the community, especially for the Jewish community in Israel (see below).

In 1851 Hildesheimer was appointed rabbi of the Austro-Hungarian community of Eisenstadt; there he reorganized the educational system and established a yeshivah, where the language of instruction was correct German. He also introduced limited secular studies in the elementary school, while the older students studied mathematics and other subjects that enhanced their yeshivah learning. Many of the courses were taught by Hildesheimer himself. The yeshivah was highly successful, and students came there from all over Europe as well as America. However, despite Hildesheimer's great learning and patent Orthodoxy, the great majority of Orthodox Hungarian rabbis bitterly opposed his modernism and the institution he created. The fact, as reported by his daughter, that he sang German *lieder*, read German literature, and dressed in contemporary German attire was very irksome to the old-school Orthodox rabbinic elite. At a congress of Hungarian Jewry in 1868–69, which met to decide on the establishment of a rabbinical seminary for the whole of Hungary, Hildesheimer and his sympathizers had to contend with both the Reform and the ultra-Orthodox factions. His moderate proposals might have preserved the unity of Hungarian Jewry, but the congress ended in a radical split (see also **Landesrabbinerschule*). In 1868, Hildesheimer was approached by Solomon *Gansfried, author of the *Kiẓẓur Shulḥan Arukh*, leader of the more extreme Orthodox elements in Hungary. Gansfried complained that the Reform had seceded from the general community in his town of Ungvar and had appointed their own *shoḥet* (ritual slaughterer). Since the community was supported by the taxes levied on slaughtered meat, the general community, now the Orthodox one, was losing revenue. Hildesheimer replied that there was little he could do to help, for he was quickly coming to the realization that the Orthodox hegemony over the European Jewish communities was quickly ending.

Despairing of success in Hungary, in 1869 Hildesheimer accepted a call from Berlin to become rabbi of the newly founded Orthodox congregation, *Adass Jisroel. In 1873 he established a rabbinical seminary which later became the central institution for the training of Orthodox rabbis in Europe. Hildesheimer's students carried with them all over the world the notion that their Orthodoxy was compatible with scientific study of Jewish sources. Aside from the halakhically correct *Wissenschaft des Judentums*, the Berlin *Rabbiner seminars* curriculum included Hebrew language as well as secular studies. For Hildesheimer, *Torah im derekh ereẓ* (Torah and worldly knowledge), was not just a slogan. He firmly believed that only by combining a sophisticated knowledge of Torah with a knowledge of science and other secular subjects could a religious Jew attain the Torah goal of fully recognizing and coming close to God.

Hildesheimer shared with S.R. *Hirsch the leadership of the Orthodox Jewish community of Germany. Though the two were personally close, there were fundamental differences of opinion between them. While Hirsch sought separation for the Orthodox, Hildesheimer counseled close cooperation between all bodies in the community for the sake of the Jewish people as a whole. He believed such cooperation to be particularly important in the battle against German antisemitism in which he participated together with his Reform colleagues. In 1894, he joined other Orthodox and liberal rabbis in signing a declaration against antisemitic attacks against the Jews, their institutions (such as *sheḥitah*), and their literature (the Talmud). Solomon *Breuer, Samson Raphael Hirsch's son-in-law and successor, attacked Hildesheimer for cooperating with Reform. Hildesheimer replied that he was being myopic for not seeing the danger to the entire community. At the same time he vigorously opposed the Reform movement throughout the course of his career as a force undermining the faith of Judaism.

Hildesheimer was an active worker on behalf of stricken Jewish communities throughout the world. In 1864, he published a declaration recognizing the Jewishness of Ethiopian Jewry (republished by M. Waldman, *Sinai* 95). As a member of the central council of the *Hilfsverein der deutschen Juden, he was deeply involved in assisting the victims of Russian pogroms from 1882 onward. He was alone in pleading that the survivors be directed to Ereẓ Israel instead of the New World. Throughout his life, he was an enthusiastic supporter of Palestine Jewry and the building of the *yishuv*. In 1858, together with his brother-in-law, Joseph Hirsch, he founded the Society for the Support of Ereẓ Israel. In Eisenstadt he had collected large sums for Jerusalem Jewry. The Battei Maḥaseh dwellings in the Old City of Jerusalem were erected on his initiative (they were destroyed in 1948 and rebuilt after the Six-Day War of 1967). In 1872 he founded a Palaestina Verein with the object of raising the educational and vocational standards of Jerusalem Jews, particularly by the establishment in 1879 of an orphanage. This drew on his head the bitter antagonism of the ultra-Orthodox old *yishuv*, which placed him under a ban (*ḥerem*). Hildesheimer supported the Ḥovevei Zion and the colonization movement; he was in particularly close contact with R. Ẓevi Hirsch Kalischer. For politico-legal reasons the newly acquired lands of Gederah were registered in his name; his excellent relations with the German Foreign Office were of value in securing its support for the *yishuv*.

Hildesheimer contributed regularly to such German-Jewish periodicals as Ettlinger's *Treue Zionswaechter*, Fuerst's *Orient*, and Lehmann's *Israelit*. In 1870 he founded in Berlin the **Juedische Presse*, which was later edited by his son Hirsch. This paper was the only one in Germany at that time to give unequivocal support to the emigration of German Jews and their settlement in Palestine. Though Hildesheimer's energies were severely taxed by his labors on behalf of the community, his contributions to Jewish scholarship were by no means insignificant. Of particular importance is his edition of **Halakhot Gedolot* from a Vatican manuscript (1888–90), which represented a hitherto unknown version of this important gaonic work. He also published some smaller studies in rabbinics, generally as supplements to the annual reports of the rabbinical seminary. His responsa on the first two parts of the Shulḥan Arukh appeared in 1969. His great dream of publishing a translation of the Torah, together with a traditional commentary, never came to fruition. A collection of his essays, *Gesammelte Aufsaetze* (1923), was edited by his son Meir *Hildesheimer. A festschrift, *Shai la-Moreh* (1890), was published on the occasion of his 70th birthday. Only a small part of his voluminous correspondence has been published (Ed. M. Eliav, 1961).

Hildesheimer's impact on modern Jewish history is best understood by recognizing him as the father of Modern Orthodoxy. Four of his most basic involvements and attitudes form the basis of 20th century Modern Orthodox Jewry: (a) Hildesheimer believed firmly in educating both males and females, giving both a Jewish and secular education. (b) He established a rabbinic seminary where secular studies and academic Jewish scholarship were taught side by side with traditional yeshivah studies, very similar to present-day Yeshiva University. (c) Despite his unceasing efforts to strengthen Orthodoxy and the Orthodox community, Hildesheimer worked with all segments of the Jewish community to combat antisemitism and for the betterment of the entire community. (d) At the same time, he was an ardent Zionist, working for the betterment of those living in Israel and encouraging Jews to settle there.

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[Mordechai Eliav / David Derovan (2nd ed.)]

HILDESHEIMER, HIRSCH (1855–1910), German historian and author. Hildesheimer was born in Eisenstadt, Hungary, and received his early religious education from two students of his father, Rabbi Esriel *Hildesheimer, and later under Rabbi Benjamin Hirsch Auerbach in Halberstadt. In 1876, he studied history, classical philosophy, and geography at Berlin University, attending his father's rabbinical seminary at the same time. He later studied at Leipzig under Theodor *Mommsen and received his doctorate there in 1879.

In 1880, Hildesheimer was appointed lecturer in Jewish history and the geography of Ereẓ Israel at the rabbinical seminary, but he had little time for scholarship owing to his communal work. He zealously fought against organized antisemitism and blood libels. The last years of his life were devoted to the defense of *sheḥitah* against it detractors. Hildesheimer procured 300 opinions from veterinary surgeons and professors of physiology and anatomy, all declaring *sheḥitah* to be the most humane method of slaughtering animals. He was regarded as the leading authority on such problems, questions and appeals being addressed to him from all over the world. Hildesheimer was also active in the *Ḥibbat Zion movement, and his interest in the colonization of Ereẓ Israel was displayed in his efforts to promote the ideals of the *Esra Society in Berlin of which he was a cofounder. Theodor Herzl proposed that he should lecture on the role of charity in Ereẓ Israel at the First Zionist Congress in Basle. Hildesheimer did not attend the Congress, however, fearing that public activity would harm any practical efforts for settlement in Ereẓ Israel, and he withdrew from the Zionist Organization. He participated in the Verein fuer juedische Geschichte und Litteratur, and it was due to him that the school system of the *Hilfsverein der Deutschen Juden remained based on Orthodox Judaism.

Apart from numerous articles published in *Die Juedische Presse*, which he edited from 1883 until his death, Hildesheimer wrote *Beitraege zur Geographie Palaestinas* (1886), an important study of the historical geography of Ereẓ Israel His work in this field was continued by his pupil, Samuel *Klein. He also wrote *Gutachten ueber das rituelle Schaechten* (1894) in defense of *Sheḥitah* and *Die Blutbeschuldigung* (1891) against the blood libel.

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HILDESHEIMER, MEIR (1864–1934), German rabbi, son of Azriel (Israel) *Hildesheimer. From 1899 he was preacher at the *Adass Jisroel Synagogue in Berlin, then became executive director of the rabbinical seminary founded in Berlin by his father. He was representative of Orthodox German Jewry on many national Jewish organizations, including the Centralverein, the Zentralwohlfahrtstelle, ORT, and OSE, and was also active in the Agudat Israel. Coeditor of the festschriften for A. Berliner (1903), S. Carlebach (1910), and D. Hoffmann (1914), Hildesheimer also edited a collection of some of his father's writings (*Gesammelte Aufsaetze*, 1923).

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[Alexander Carlebach]

HILDESHEIMER, WOLFGANG (1916–1991), German writer and artist. As a participant, chronicler, and critic of the business of literature in postwar Germany, Hildesheimer can be regarded as one of the most influential, controversial, and multi-talented writers of his time and place. His oeuvre includes not only brilliant prose, but also radio plays, librettos, graphic art, and theoretical essays and lectures on music, theater, and literature. Biographical projects on Mozart (1977) and on the English aristocrat Sir Andrew Marbot (1981) earned him an international reputation.

Born in Hamburg and raised in Berlin, Nijmegen, and Mannheim, Hildesheimer immigrated with his parents to England in 1933, continuing to Palestine in the same year. He apprenticed as a carpenter in Jerusalem. After three years studying set and costume design in London, he took a job as an English teacher at the British Council in Tel Aviv. In 1943 he became an information officer for the British government in Jerusalem. Returning to London in 1946, he was hired by the American forces in Germany as a simultaneous translator for the *Nuremberg trials, ultimately editing some parts of the transcripts. In the ensuing years Hildesheimer remained in Germany, where his literary career took off. He became a member of the *Gruppe 47*, published short stories (*Lieblose Legenden*, 1952), a novel (*Paradies der falschen Voegel*, 1953) and plays (including *Der Drachenthron*, 1955), and collaborated on radio broadcasts including an opera by Hans Werner Henze (*Das Ende einer Welt*, 1953) and the drama *Prinzessin Turandot* (1954). By then the fate of humanity in the face of ecological devastation had become a lasting concern in Hildesheimer's writings; during the 1970s, not least in his radio plays (*Hauskauf*, 1974, and *Biosphaerenklaenge*, 1977), the fall of civilization becomes the dominant poetic perspective. Finally, the "end of the world" becomes "the end of fiction," the title of Hildesheimer's most provocative lecture (1975). It denies literature's ambition "to condense truth out of fiction," in favor of a world now lost to writers, the realm of science, which has taken over responsibility for converting thought into truth, facts, and reality. As a consequence of this conviction, Hildesheimer stopped his literary production, returning to graphic work for the rest of his life.

Undoubtedly, the path to Hildesheimer's vision of doomed mankind leads past the core scenes of Jewish postwar identity to which he became a late witness during the Nuremberg trials. The Holocaust exemplifies the damage humanity has suffered; the survivors are damaged in their ability to take renewed hold of narration and transform it into coherent, meaningful, promising realities, as depicted in Hildesheimer's prose monologues (*Tynset*, 1965; *Masante*, 1973). But far from being a paradigm, Judaism for Hildesheimer represents first and foremost the experience of a gap that cannot be bridged, a difference that often may require distancing, and always demands vigilance in order to sense the coming threat. Still aware of German antisemitism, he decided in 1957 to transfer his domicile to Poschiavo, Switzerland. Wary of being used as a Jew in Germany's struggle with its past, he avoided letting himself be integrated into the German culture industry. Although he made major contributions to the reestablishment of a completely destroyed literary landscape, Hildesheimer never subscribed to any notion of assimilation, refusing explicitly to continue the tradition of German Jewry – as he quotes Moritz Goldstein – "to hold in trust the cultural heritage of a nation that did not ask us for it."

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[Philipp Theisohn (2nd ed.)]

°**HILDUIN** (**Alduin**, **Audoin**, **Audouin**), bishop of Limoges, 990–1012. A Hebrew source records that during Hilduin's term of office, in 994, there occurred a local persecution of the Jews in Limoges, stirred up by an apostate from Blois; the end of the account is missing but everything seems to indicate that the apostate's plan was foiled. It is not impossible that this outrage was connected with an epidemic of St. Anthony's fire which was rife in this same year, especially in Limousin. If the Christian chronicler Adémar of Chabannes is to be believed, Hilduin himself inaugurated an anti-Jewish persecution in 1012: after a series of disputations he gave the Jews of Limoges the alternative of baptism or banishment; according to one manuscript several Jews killed themselves to escape expulsion. However it is also quite likely that this incident was no more than a local manifestation of the general anti-Jewish persecution widespread in France between 1007 and 1012.

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[Bernhard Blumenkranz]

HILEWITZ, ALTER (1908–1995), talmudic scholar. Hilewitz was born in Zembin, Russia. He studied at the Minsk University while studying the Talmud clandestinely and received his rabbinic diploma in 1929 from Rabbi Menaḥem Gluskin, the chief rabbi of Minsk.

He was active in the struggle for the rights of Russian Jews to immigrate to Israel, for which he was imprisoned five times, but in 1936 he received permission to immigrate as part of an exchange scheme of Polish Communists for Jews. In Israel he was a member of the editorial board and literary secretary of the *Talmudic Encyclopedia* and editor of the section on Talmud in the first five volumes of the *Encyclopaedia Hebraica* and was responsible for the punctuation of the El Ha-Mekorot edition of the Talmud (1948–52). In 1951 he was appointed rabbi to the Ḥasidic synagogue in Johannesburg (which he relinquished in 1970) and in 1954 principal of the Rabbinical Seminary there, heading it until his return to Israel in 1975. In 1951 he received the Rabbi Kook Prize for rabbinic literature from the Municipality of Tel Aviv. His publications include *Leshonot ha-Rambam* (1951) and *Meḥkerei Zemanim* (Part 1 – 1976; Part 2 – 1980).

HILFERDING, RUDOLF (1877–1941), socialist politician and theorist. Born in Vienna into a wealthy Jewish family, he studied medicine but practiced his profession only rarely and reluctantly. He joined the socialist movement as a student. In 1906 he moved to Berlin, where he was foreign news editor for the social democratic daily *Vorwaerts* until 1915. His main theoretical work, *Das Finanzkapital* (1910), often called the modern extension of Marx's *Das Kapital*, is one of the most important works of Austrian Marxism. At the outbreak of World War I he belonged to the minority in the German Socialist Party which was against the ratification of the war bonds, and in 1917 joined the Independent Social Democratic Party, which opposed the war. From 1918 to 1922 he edited the party paper *Freiheit*. After his party's reunion with the socialist majority he played a leading role in the German Social Democratic Party, twice serving as minister of finance (Aug.–Oct. 1923 in the Stresemann cabinet; June 1928–Dec. 1929 in the cabinet of Hermann Mueller). From 1924 to 1933 he published *Die Gesellschaft, Internationale Revue fuer Sozialismus und Politik*. After Hitler seized power, Hilferding lived in Zurich until 1938 and later in Paris, during this time working regularly for *Neuer Vorwaerts*, the organ of the German Social Democrats. In February 1941 he was handed over to the Nazis by the Vichy police. There is some doubt about how he died: according to one account, he committed suicide in prison, but another relates that he was murdered by the Nazis.

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HILFSVEREIN DER DEUTSCHEN JUDEN ("Relief Organization of German Jews"), German Jewish organization founded in 1901 to improve the social and political conditions of the Jews in Eastern Europe and the Orient, especially after the pogroms. The Hilfsverein was planned as a central body for German Jewry on the lines of the French *Alliance Israélite Universelle, and its establishment was opposed by the Alliance; some of the German members of the latter created the Deutsche Conferenz Gemeinschaft within the framework of their own organization. On occasions the Hilfsverein policy was guided by pro-German political objectives such as the introduction of German language teaching in its schools in the Balkans and Ottoman Empire. The Hilfsverein established in Palestine a school system from kindergarten to teachers' training college level, with Hebrew as the language of instruction. The attempt to introduce teaching in German at the planned Haifa *Technion in 1913 caused an international furor in Zionist circles. After the Kishinev pogrom, the Hilfsverein called the Vienna Conference of 1903 to organize relief for Russian Jewry, and a similar conference in London in 1905. During the 1905 revolution in Russia it gave financial help to the self-defense groups of the Bund and Zionists. From 1905 to 1914 the Hilfsverein published a weekly, *Russische Korrespondenz*, in German, English, and French, on the position of the Jews and the liberal and revolutionary movements in Russia. Following a policy of assisting only "organized emigration" of Romanian Jews, the Hilfsverein decided in 1902 not to help those emigrants who were stranded in Germany, but instead to help the Jews in Romania itself. The Hilfsverein became the agent of Jacob *Schiff's project to help Russian Jews to emigrate to the southern United States (the Galveston plan), but in view of the autocratic nature of the German regime was unwilling and unable to assist Jewish emigration to Germany.

On the eve of World War I the Hilfsverein had over 10,000 members in Germany, and followers in America, Russia, and Palestine. During the war the Hilfsverein assisted in interdenominational relief work in the occupied territories in Eastern Europe and distributed American relief funds. However, the assimilationist policy of the Hilfsverein and its Eastern European agencies provoked sharp conflicts with the Zionists and other anti-assimilationist groups. As a result the *American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee began to participate to a greater degree in the allocation of funds formally channeled through the Hilfsverein.

After the defeat of Germany, the Hilfsverein ceased to play a major role in international Jewish matters but joined the Alliance and other non-Zionist organizations, though it refused to take part in the efforts for united Jewish representation at the League of Nations. Through its 290 local committees in Germany (in 1930), the Hilfsverein concentrated mainly on helping Jewish emigration from and via Germany (about 350,000 between 1921 and 1936). After the advent of the Nazi Reich, the Hilfsverein (which in 1935 had to change its name to Hilfsverein der Juden in Deutschland, "Relief Organization of Jews in Germany") was unable to continue with relief work abroad. The Hilfsverein initially advised German Jewry to postpone emigration as long as possible but was forced by circumstances to aid those who wished to leave for destinations other than Palestine. It was officially dissolved in 1939 though it continued to exist until 1941 as an emigration section of the *Reichsvertretung der Juden in Deutschland. Between 1933 and 1941 the Hilfsverein assisted over 90,000 persons to emigrate to overseas countries, with the exception of Palestine. Leading personalities of the Hilfsverein were James *Simon (president until 1932), Eugen *Landau, Paul *Nathan, and Max M. *Warburg.

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[Ze'ev Wilhem Falk]

HILKIAH (Heb. חִלְקִיָּהוּ, חִלְקִיָּה; "the Lord is my portion"; e.g., Num. 18:20; Ps. 73:26), son of Shallum or Meshullam (I Chron. 5:28–41, 9:10–11; Neh. 11:11), high priest at the time of King *Josiah of Judah and a principal promoter of Josiah's reform. When arranging for the repair of the Temple, in the 18th year of Josiah, Hilkiah found the Scroll of the Law (see *Deuteronomy), which he gave to Shaphan the scribe, who read it to the king. Much impressed by what he heard, Josiah sent a delegation, headed by Hilkiah, to the prophetess *Huldah in order to inquire of the Lord's will about the words of the Law (II Kings 22:3–20).

On Josiah's orders he removed all the appurtenances of pagan worship that had been introduced into the Temple by King *Manasseh (II Kings 23:8). According to the defective genealogy in Ezra 7:1, which can be restored with the help of I Chronicles 5:28–41, this Hilkiah was an ancestor of Ezra. Hilkiah is also the name of several other biblical characters: (1) the father of Eliakim, palace official of *Hezekiah (II Kings 18:18, 26, 37; Isa. 22:20; 36:3, 22); (2) a levite, son of Amzi and descendant of Merari (I Chron. 6:30 [45]); (3) another levite, son of Hosah (I Chron. 26:11); (4) the father of the prophet Jeremiah (Jer. 1:1); (5) the father of Gemariah (Jer. 29:3), probably identical with the high priest at the time of Josiah; (6) one of the priests who returned with Zerubbabel (Neh. 12:7, 21); (7) one of those who stood beside Ezra during the reading of the Law (Neh. 8:11).

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ḤILLA, town in Iraq on the Lower Euphrates, south of the ruins of ancient Babylon; founded in 1102 by the Arab prince Sayf al-Dawla of the Mazyad dynasty. Before this date, however, there was already a settlement named al-Jāmiʿān ("The Two Mosques"), which also included a large Jewish community. Once the town became the seat of the dynasty, it was transformed into an important commercial center and the Jewish population gradually grew, at least in comparison to the decline of the Jewish population in Babylonia during the late Middle Ages. R. Benjamin of *Tudela, the 12th-century traveler, relates that there were 10,000 Jews and four synagogues in Ḥilla, one of them named after R. Meir, whose tomb was situated next to it. R. *Pethahiah of Regensburg emphasizes that the Muslims also revered this tomb. A lengthy letter (mid-12th century) to the community of Ḥilla and its affiliated communities, in which Solomon, head of the *Baghdad academy, announced the death of his son Samuel, is extant. A collection of sermons *Matteh Oz* ("Staff of Strength") by Isaac Sar-Shalom (beginning of 13th century), which he delivered in various places, including Ḥilla, has survived. According to a Jewish source, many Jews were burned to death in one of the town's synagogues at the time of the conquest of the town by Tamerlane (c. 1390). The community continued to exist and even grew in size during the 19th century, so that by the beginning of the 20th century there were about 1,000 Jews. Over a long period – until the beginning of the 20th century – the Jews were persecuted by their Muslim neighbors, who imposed on them limitations considered as belonging to the Covenant of

Omar: the obligation to wear a red badge on their clothes and the prohibitions of wearing shoes, of riding horses and asses in the town, of touching fruits and vegetables and of buying them, and the ruling that no balcony of a Jew should protrude over the street so that a Muslim should not be compelled to pass under it, etc. The Jews engaged in commerce, goldsmithing and money-changing, agriculture, and brokerage in the transport of goods on the Euphrates. The river flowed through the town until the construction of the Hindiyya Canal, which changed the course of the river. Many of the Jews were poor, especially after the construction of the canal; nevertheless, there were also wealthy families, such as the Menaḥem Ṣāliḥ *Daniel family, which owned extensive properties in the town and its surroundings. The *Alliance Israélite Universelle established a school for boys in 1907 and another for girls in 1921 in Ḥilla. In 1950 there were 210 pupils in the former and 180 pupils in the latter. Ḥilla also possessed a very small *Karaite community; all the Jews of Ḥilla emigrated to Israel, with most of the rest of Iraqi Jewry in the early 1950s.

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[Eliyahu Ashtor]

HILLEL (**the Elder**; end of first century B.C.E. and beginning of first century C.E.), considered one of the "fathers of the world" (Eduy. 1:4; Tosef. Eduy. 1:3) who laid the foundations for the spiritual and intellectual movement of the tannaitic period. Hillel was one of the last pair of **zugot*. At first *Menahem was his colleague but when he withdrew *Shammai succeeded him (Ḥag. 2:2). After the period of the *zugot*, Hillel's descendants established a dynasty which was to dominate rabbinic circles in the land of Israel for more than 400 years. When dealing with rabbinic or proto-rabbinic figures of Hillel's stature, it is always important to distinguish between the earlier and more historically reliable tannaitic sources, and the later talmudic traditions which often have a more legendary character. In the case of Hillel, however, even the earliest extant rabbinic sources are highly legendary in nature. For example, a tannaitic midrash (Sifre Deut. 357) provides the following outline of Hillel's "biography": "'And Moses was 120 years old' – He was one of four who died at the age of 120, and they are Moses, Hillel the Elder, Rabban Joḥanan ben Zakkai, and Rabbi Akiva. Moses was in Egypt for 40 years; in Midian for forty years; served and lead Israel for 40 years. Hillel the Elder came up from Babylonia at the age of 40; studied under the sages for 40 years; served and lead Israel for 40 years. Rabban Joḥanan ben Zakkai engaged in business for 40 years; studied under the sages for 40 years; served and lead Israel for 40 years. Rabbi Akiva began to learn Torah at the age of 40; studied under the sages for 40 years; served and lead Israel for 40 years." Clearly the point of this midrash is to establish a typological connection between these three rabbinic heroes and their biblical model – Moses. Any attempt to glean concrete historical information from this tradition would therefore be misguided. The notion that Hillel came from Babylonia is attested elsewhere (Tosef. Neg. 1:16; Sifra Tazria 9:15), but beyond this we are on shaky ground. For evidence of Hillel's character we have the following tradition from Tosef. Sot. 13:3: "Once the sages were gathered together in the upper chamber of the house of Guria in Jericho, when a heavenly voice came out and said to them: 'There is one here among you who is worth of receiving the holy spirit (prophecy), but his generation does not deserve it'. They all looked at Hillel the Elder. When he died they said: So humble; so pious – a true disciple of Ezra." This aspect of Hillel's personality developed in later *aggadot* into a stereotypical feature, standing in equally stereotypical opposition to Shammai's presumably harsh and difficult personality. Thus in TB Shabbat (31a) we find the story of three candidates for conversion who were rejected by Shammai and accepted by Hillel because of his "humility," though the terms "patience" and "insight" would better characterize Hillel's behavior there. In this context Hillel is reported to have summarized the entire Torah, saying "What is hateful to you, don't do to your companion" (cf. *The Book of Tobit* 4:15, ed. F. Zimmerman, 70, 159ff.; *Sifra Kedosh*. ch. 4:12 and *Gen. R.* 24). Another late aggadah (Yoma 35b) tells of Hillel's "humble" origins, i.e., his devotion to the study of Torah despite his abject poverty, which nearly led to his freezing to death on the roof of the study hall when, on one occasion, he was unable to pay the entrance fee. The only obvious connection between this famous story and the earlier tannaitic traditions about Hillel is that the first three letters of the Hebrew word for "humble" also spell the Hebrew word for "poor."

The traditions surrounding Hillel's appointment to the office of *Nasi* deserve special attention. Tosefta Pes. 4:13 tells that on one occasion Passover fell on a Sabbath, and "they asked Hillel the Elder" if the offering of the paschal lamb overrode the Sabbath or not. According to the Tosefta, Hillel responded somewhat cryptically: "Is there only one paschal offering which overrides the Sabbath every year? Are there not more than three hundred "paschal offerings" each year which override the Sabbath?" We are then told that "all [those present in] the Temple courtyard descended upon him" (cf. Tosef. Ḥag. 2:11). Hillel apparently was referring to the daily sacrifice which regularly overrides the Sabbath. He then proceeded to present no fewer than four different legal justifications for his ruling. The first three justifications base the ruling in the case of the paschal offering on a legal precedent – the daily sacrifice. All three involve some form of legal reasoning, and the last two seem to use apparently standard tannaitic hermeneutical techniques for the exposition of scripture. The fourth justification consists of an appeal to accepted religious authority: "Moreover, I have received an explicit tradition from my teachers that the paschal offering overrides the Sabbath." After a brief side discussion the Tosefta concludes: "On that very day they appointed Hillel as *Nasi*, and he instructed them in the laws of the Passover." There are many points in this story which demand clarification. Who asked Hillel this question? Who were Hillel's teachers from whom he had heard this *halakhah*, and why was this tradition unknown to the rest of those present? If Hillel indeed had received such a tradition from his teachers, why did he at first respond cryptically and then offer three independent and presumably original derivations of this law? If Hillel in fact offered three independent derivations of the law that paschal offering overrides the Sabbath and backed it up with an explicit tradition from his teachers, why do three halakhic Midrashim (Mech. Pisḥa 5; Sifre Num. 65, 142) ascribe a very similar midrashic derivation of this very law to R. Josiah, a much later *tanna*? What is the relation of this tradition to another tannaitic tradition (Tosef. Sanh. 7:11; Sifra, Baraita of Rabbi Ishmael) which states that "Hillel used seven hermeneutical methods before the elders of Patera (Batera)"?

To all these questions the later talmudic tradition (TJ Pes. 6:1, 33a; TB Pes. 66a) provides clear and unequivocal answers – though not always the same ones. First of all, later tradition identifies the events surrounding the paschal offering with the traditions concerning Hillel's use of seven hermeneutical methods before the Elders of Patera, who are apparently viewed as representing established authority in the Temple prior to Hillel's appointment (cf. TJ Kil. 9:3, 32b; TB BM 85a). Moreover, Hillel's "teachers" are identified as Shemaiah and Avtalyon, who preceded Hillel and Shammai in the traditional list of *zugot*. Since an explicit tradition from Shemaiah and Avtalyon must have been known to anyone holding legitimate office in the Temple, the talmudic story begins by stating: "This *halakhah* was forgotten by the Elders of Batera" (TJ; TB: Sons of *Bathyra). After being informed that a certain "Babylonian" named Hillel was present, who had studied under Shemaiah and Avtalyon, the Elders of Batera (apparently reluctantly) turned to Hillel to see if he had anything to offer on the subject. At this point the Babylonain and the Jerusalem Talmuds part ways in relating the story. According to the Jerusalem Talmud Hillel offered three interpretations in order to justify his position, but the Elders of Batera refuted every single one of them. Only when Hillel testified that he had received an explicit tradition on this matter from Shemaiah and Avtalyon, were the Elders of Batera willing to accept his view and to appoint him as *Nasi*. In the Babylonian Talmud, Hillel presents two original scriptural interpretations to justify his ruling, and on the basis of these original interpretations alone, they accepted his view and appointed him as *Nasi*. The difference between these two versions would seem to turn, therefore, on the question of the relative weight one should ascribe to original interpretation as opposed to accepted tradition in the deciding of this halakhic question. The talmudic versions of the story probably do not reflect ancient and reliable historical traditions, but are rather a result of later editorial elaboration and reworking of ancient literary sources. Even the earliest forms of these traditions (Tosef. Pes. 4:13; Tosef. Sanh. 7:11; Sifra, Baraita of Rabbi Ishmael) cannot be simply accepted as accurately representing actual historical events in Hillel's life. Nevertheless, even some of the greatest talmudic scholars have assumed that these traditions – in their latest and most highly elaborated talmudic versions – preserve ancient and reliable historical sources, and have used them as such (e.g. Epstein. ITL. 510–511; Lieberman, Hellenism, 54, no. 58).

Relatively few *halakhot* are actually ascribed in tannaitic sources to Hillel himself. Most of these *halakhot* consist of brief statements of no more than two to five words (Eduy. 1:1–3, Sifra, Shemini 9:5; but see Sifre Zuta Num. 30). Other *halakhot* are indirectly attributed to Hillel (Tosef. Neg. 1:16, Sifra Tazria 9:15; Tosef. Ber. 2:22; Tosef.; cf. Tosef.Ketub. 7:9). Similarly two very important rabbinic decrees – *takkanot* – are attributed to him. These *takkanot* provide evidence of Hillel's interest in civil law and economic matters. The first was the *prosbul, designed to prevent the complete cancellation of debts during the sabbatical year, since with changing economic conditions it became difficult to carry out the biblical law, and the economy which was based upon credit and loans was thereby imperiled (Shev. 10:3; Git. 4:3; Sifre Deut. 113). The second *takkanah* was with regard to the houses of the walled cities which, according to biblical law (Lev. 25:29), could be redeemed by the seller only within the year of the sale. In Hillel's time the buyer who desired to acquire the house permanently would disappear until the last day of the year, so that the seller would be unable to redeem his house. Hillel's *takkanah* provided for the seller to deposit the proceeds of the sale in the Temple treasury, to enable him later to acquire the title to his house (Ar. 9:4; Sifra Behar 4:8).

Hillel's ethical-religious teachings have been preserved in a series of proverbs, some in Hebrew (Tosef. Ber. 2:24; 7:24) and some in Aramaic (Avot 1:13; 2:6), such as: "He who magnifies his name destroys it; he who does not increase his knowledge decreases it, and he who does not study deserves to die; and he who makes worldly use of the crown of Torah shall waste away." The belief in reward and punishment is expressed in the statement, "he saw a skull floating on the surface of the water, and said to it, 'Because you drowned someone, you will be drowned, and the end of those who drown you will be that they will be drowned.'" Later sources present Hillel quoting scriptural verses which he used as proverbs. Thus on one occasion when he heard a loud cry on entering the city, he expressed his confidence that it did not proceed from his house by quoting, "He shall not fear an evil report" (Ps. 112:7; TJ, Ber. 9:5, 14b); and once when he differed from his colleague Shammai, who was in the habit of making provision for the Sabbath from the beginning of the week, he quoted the verse: "Blessed be the Lord day by day" (Ps. 68:20; Beẓah 16a). When he wished to explain to his disciples the importance of personal cleanliness, he resorted to the language of paradox interspersed with proverbs: "When he [Hillel] took leave of his students, he used to go off for a walk. His students asked him: 'Where are you walking to?' He answered: 'To perform a meritorious deed.' – They said to him: 'And what is this deed?' – And he said to them: 'To take a bath in the bathhouse.' – They said to him: 'And is this a meritorious deed?' – He answered: 'It is; if the statues erected to kings in the theaters and circuses are washed and scrubbed by those in charge of them… how much more should we, who have been created in His image and likeness, take care of our bodies, as it is written: For in the image of God made He man'" (Gen. 9:6). Another version of this story runs: "'Rabbi, where are you going to?' – To which he answered: 'To do a charitable deed for a guest in my house.' – They said to him: 'Does this guest stay with you every day?' – He answered: 'This poor soul – is it not a guest in the body, here today and gone tomorrow?'" (Lev. R. 24:3).

The personality of Hillel, in which wisdom was combined with righteousness, and humility with simplicity, became a model of conduct for subsequent generations. The changes that he brought about in his day with respect to the study of the Torah and the methods of promulgating legal decisions caused him to be compared with Ezra, who, like him, came from Babylonia and reestablished the Torah (Suk. 20a). Lavish praise was also showered on his disciples: "Hillel the Elder had 80 students: 30 of them were worthy that the *Shekhinah* should rest upon them, like Moses, our teacher; 30 that the sun should stand still for them, as it did for Joshua son of Nun; 20 were average; the greatest among them was Jonathan b. Uzziel and the least among them Rabban Johanan b. Zakkai" (Suk. 28a).

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[*Encyclopaedia Hebraica* / Stephen G. Wald (2nd ed.)]

HILLEL (third century C.E.), scholar. Hillel was the son of *Gamaliel III and the grandson of *Judah ha-Nasi, to whom it would seem in his youth he put halakhic queries (BB 83b). He was the younger brother of *Judah Nesiah. He is mentioned as having paid visits, together with his brother, to Kabul in Lower Galilee and Biri in Upper Galilee, where they were mocked at by the local inhabitants for not acting in accordance with local custom (Tosef., MK 2:15; Pes. 51a). They undertook to conform with the local custom. When they visited R. Zakkai in Kabul "the citizens poured out wine and oil in profusion before them" (Tosef., Shab. 7:17). Hillel is mentioned in several places as a teacher of *beraitot* (Kid. 75a; Git. 37a; Naz. 44b), and he may have been one of the "*tannaim* of the house of Rabbi" (Judah ha-Nasi). Some of the sayings given in tractate *Avot* in the name of "Hillel" may be his. Some regard him as the author of the possibly anti-Christian saying in Sanhedrin 99a: "There shall be no Messiah for Israel, because they have already enjoyed him in the days of Hezekiah" (Graetz).

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[Yehoshua Horowitz]

HILLEL (II; 330–365 C.E.), *nasi*, the son of *Judah Nesi'ah and a grandson of *Gamaliel IV. After the crushing of the revolt of the Jews against the emperor Gallus and his commander Ursicinus in 351–52 C.E., which resulted in the destruction of many Jewish communities (Sepphoris, Tiberias, Lydda), new decrees were issued against the internal authority of the communities, and also against the observance of Judaism. The Roman government aspired to limit the privileges of the *nasi* and the freedom of action of the Sanhedrin in Tiberias. Because of the serious condition of the communities of Ereẓ Israel and the deterioration of the Galilean center, Hillel II agreed in principle to limit the authority of the *nasi* and his functions in connection with the proclamation of the New Moon, the fixing of the festivals, and the intercalation of the year. He thereupon published *Sod ha-Ibbur* ("The Secret of Intercalation") and *Kevi'uta de-Yarḥa* ("The Fixing of the New Month"). According to a tradition mentioned by Hai Gaon and quoted in the *Sefer ha-Ibbur* of Abraham bar Ḥiyya (ed. by H. Filipowski (1851), 97) this took place in 358 C.E. Important too is the testimony of Naḥmanides in the *Sefer ha-Zakkut* (Git., ch. 4, Leghorn (1745), 43a): "From the time of Hillel… in the year 670 of the Seleucid era, 4118 A.M. [358 C.E.], the Sanhedrin in Ereẓ Israel ceased and it ceased to have experts, and it was he who regulated the order of intercalation, reckoned the years, and fixed the months for generations to come." Some regard the year 344 as that in which the new *calendar was introduced, and it is possible that it was not immediately publicized to the same degree in all localities (Mahler). The opinion has been expressed that Hillel II was not the original creator of the fixed calendar but that it was the result of centuries of development which aimed at achieving a perfected system of fixing the calendar.

In the well-known letter of *Julian the Apostate to the Jews (written in Antioch in 362) the emperor addressed "the patriach Julius" (Hillel), calling him "brother Julos the patriarch" informing him of the rescinding of the taxes imposed on the Jews in the time of the emperor Constantine, and requesting him to withhold and abrogate the *apostoli* (the payment to the *nasi*) collected by him from the Jews through his emissaries in order to ease their financial position, and at the same time increase their prayers for the welfare of his realm (I. Bidez and F. Cumont (eds.), *Imperatori Juliani epistolae, leges, etc.* (1922), 281).

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[Yehoshua Horowitz]

HILLEL, college-campus organization. Jews have been attracted to college and university life since the Haskalah and emancipation opened the doors to higher secular learning. Nowhere has this been more widespread than in the United States where the growth of public and private higher education coincided with expanding economic opportunity and massive European immigration. Colleges and universities in the U.S., reflecting agrarian values, often located in rural areas or small towns far from the major urban Jewish population centers. By the 1920s, more and more Jewish young adults left their homes, communities, and families to matriculate at land-grant public universities where basic Jewish social, educational, and religious needs went largely unmet and where Christian campus ministries and local churches welcomed opportunities to fill the void.

Hillel began as a classic campus ministry in 1923 at the University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign. Edward Chauncey Baldwin, a philo-Semitic Congregationalist English professor, concerned about the absence of organized Jewish life at Illinois, lobbied Jewish businessmen in Chicago to hire a rabbi and establish a Jewish campus ministry. The Chicago funders appointed Benjamin Frankel, a young, charismatic Reform rabbi, as the first director of the fledgling campus ministry who named the organization for the first-century sage, Hillel, a symbol of open inquiry, lifelong learning, and pluralistic values. The name also resonated with Christian clergy and academics who recognized Hillel as an influential teacher and near-contemporary of Jesus. Operating out of a rented room over a barbershop, Frankel framed key elements of the organization. Unlike the Menorah Society, an earlier student-run club founded at Harvard University in 1906, the University of Illinois Hillel created an infrastructure with a campus professional, dedicated space, and a community-supported budget. In order to sustain and expand Hillel, Frankel also sought national sponsorship. Rebuffed by the Reform movement, he convinced B'nai B'rith to adopt the organization in 1925, and then quickly launched a second Hillel at the University of Wisconsin, and a third at Ohio State University before suddenly and tragically passing away in 1927 at the age of 30.

The Reform movement's historic rejection and B'nai B'rith's timely embrace allowed Hillel to adopt a multi-denominational, pluralistic framework as the all-inclusive Jewish community on campus. Ideally positioned to grow, the campus organization, under the aegis of the largest Jewish fraternal organization in the United States, B'nai B'rith, had grassroots support, deep pockets for that time, a strong interest in Jewish youth, and a big-tent philosophy. Under the leadership of Abram *Sachar, a University of Illinois history instructor and Frankel intimate, who would become director of the B'nai B'rith Hillel Foundations prior to founding Brandeis University, Hillel expanded rapidly by hiring rabbis – rabbis attracted to academic life who in the late 20th century might go into Judaic Studies – to provide critical spiritual, cultural, educational, and social services to Jewish campus communities throughout the United States. Local B'nai B'rith lodges undertook efforts to provide Hillel Houses on or near universities enabling Hillel to serve as "the synagogue on campus," a place where Jewish students could celebrate Shabbat and other Jewish holidays, gain access to kosher food and pastoral counseling, participate in informal Jewish learning opportunities, and socialize with other Jews. In an era when young people typically married in their early twenties, Hillel played a significant role in Jewish dating and courtship. On residential campuses, especially, Hillel offered a "home away from home" and a refuge to Jewish students in an often Christian environment. Hillel professionals with strong Judaic backgrounds pioneered serious university-level Jewish learning in the decades before Jewish Studies earned academic acceptance. When Judaic Studies positions opened in the 1960s and 1970s, many moved seamlessly into the academic world. Hillel also partnered with other Jewish organizations to rescue and resettle Jewish academics and university students before, during, and after the Holocaust.

Sachar played a seminal role in shaping the organization through the Great Depression and World War II. His emphasis on Jewish peoplehood, civilization, and diversity largely shielded Hillel from inter- and intra-denominational conflicts. His pluralistic vision and academic orientation drew like-minded rabbis and Jewish educators who eschewed denominationalism, embraced academic life, championed social activism and preferred informal interaction with young adults to more formal ministrations with multi-generational congregants.

Before the 1960s, the world of Jewish college students generally reflected a deeper Jewish connection. Parents or grandparents were likely to have immigrated to the United States from the centers of Jewish life in Europe. Living in or near urban Jewish communities, the majority of Jewish students shared a basic familiarity, if not a complete understanding, of Jewish ritual, language, and culture. Intermarriage rates were low. Affiliation rates were high. In addition, antisemitism reinforced group identity and limited other outlets and options. Admission quotas held down the number and percentage of Jews at many elite universities. Fraternities, sororities, honor societies, and other organizations openly or tacitly restricted their membership to white Christians. Hillel offered no such barriers to leadership, involvement or socialization as the number of Jewish college students grew as a result of the GI Bill of Rights and the entry of more and more Jewish families into the middle class.

Not surprisingly, the social changes of the 1960s had an immense impact on Jewish life on campus. Jewish men and women were among the beneficiaries of the civil rights revolution as barriers fell, new opportunities arose, and Jews increasingly participated in every aspect of campus life. Jewish students also disproportionately embraced and even led the culture wars of the 1960s, with their concomitant intergenerational conflict, sexual freedom, drug use, radical politics, and anti-institutional bias. Like other campus ministries, Hillel struggled to respond to the challenges of a new era and to be taken seriously in an age of diminished support for organized religious life. Although a number of individual Hillels and Hillel directors rose to the challenge and planted the seeds of organizational transformation, the movement as a whole became marginalized, maligned, and factionalized through the next two decades.

The social upheavals of the 1960s also affected B'nai B'rith, the parent organization, as fraternal organizations lost their primacy in America. Financial cutbacks by B'nai B'rith exacerbated Hillel's problems. Hillel lacked the ability to expand to new campuses with large Jewish enrollments; to recruit and retain quality Jewish professionals; and to attract large numbers of Jewish students. Although Jewish federations began to play an increasingly important role in the governance and funding of local and regional Hillels, they offered little organizational vision. Viewed as ineffective and inconsequential, Hillels were often dismissed for serving both too few students and too many of the wrong kind, the proverbial "Jewish geeks and nerds," who were unable to fit in and find a place within the larger campus community. Even the name "Hillel" became a questionable brand and a potential impediment to revitalizing Jewish campus life.

The decision of the B'nai B'rith Hillel Foundation to hire Richard Joel in 1988 symbolized the desperate condition of the organization. Joel was not a rabbi, in an organization historically identified with the rabbinate. He was a Modern Orthodox Jew in an organization desperate to attract non-Orthodox and unaffiliated Jews. A former prosecuting attorney and law school administrator, he had no prior involvement with Hillel as a student, professional, or lay leader.

Joel dramatically transformed Hillel during his fourteen-year tenure. Articulating a vision of a revitalized Hillel able "to provoke" a Jewish renaissance in America, Joel jettisoned the synagogue model to promote a vision of campus communities supporting a wide range of Jewish organizations and interest groups. He eliminated rabbinic ordination as the *sine qua non* of Hillel employment by expanding and diversifying the ranks of Hillel professionals. He encouraged Hillels to eliminate student membership and dues and championed open-architecture participation over the more traditional affiliation model. He encouraged Hillels to become less building-centered, even as more and newer buildings opened each year, to connect with Jewish students in multiple campus and community settings. He attracted major financial support from key Jewish philanthropists and foundations. He engineered Hillel's independence from B'nai B'rith and deepened the partnership with a Jewish Federation system alarmed by the implications of the 1990 National Jewish Population Survey (NJPS). Like Sachar, Joel would depart from Hillel to become the chief executive of a university with his appointment as Yeshiva University President in 2003.

Hillel entered the 21st century stronger and more vital than ever with a new national headquarters in Washington, D.C., a budget quadruple that of a decade earlier, affiliates at every major university in the U.S. with significant Jewish student populations (except ironically Yeshiva University), a growing presence globally in Israel, the former Soviet Union, and South America and signature programs and partnerships in the areas of Israel advocacy, community service, arts and culture, student engagement, Jewish learning and celebration, and global exchange. With approximately 250 affiliates in the U.S. and Canada serving college and university students on more than 500 campuses, an additional three dozen campus and community-based affiliates in other countries, and a global budget in excess of $60 million, Hillel is viewed widely as one of the early 21st century's major success stories in Jewish organizational life. Thirty-four percent of Jewish undergraduate students in the U.S. participate in Hillel activities, according to a market research study conducted in 2005. Although significantly higher than in prior eras and higher than other Jewish campus organizations, Hillel would face unending challenges in its efforts to double the percentage of Jewish university students searching for memory, meaning and connection in a dangerous and rapidly changing world.

[Jay Rubin (2nd ed.)]

HILLEL, SHELOMO (1923–), Israeli politician and diplomat; member of the Second, Third, and Seventh to Twelfth Knessets and Speaker of the Eleventh Knesset. Hillel was born in Baghdad and immigrated with his family to Palestine in 1933. He studied at the Herzlia Gymnasium in Tel Aviv and was a member of kibbutz Ma'agan Mikha'el, 1941–58. After leaving the kibbutz he settled in Jerusalem and studied economics and public administration at the Hebrew University. In 1946–51 he was involved in organizing the exit of the Jews of Iraq, leading "Operation Ezra and Nehemiah" in the early 1950s, which involved the mass exodus of most of Iraq's Jews to Israel. In 1948–49 he was also involved in organizing illegal immigration from Syria and Lebanon. Hillel was elected to the Second Knesset on the *Mapai list, resigning from the Third Knesset to be appointed Israel's first ambassador to Guinea, where he served in 1959–61. In 1961–63 he served as ambassador to the Ivory Coast, Upper Volta, Niger, and Dahomey. In 1963–67 he was a member of the permanent Israeli delegation to the United Nations, while also holding the position of director of the African Department in the Ministry for Foreign Affairs. In 1967–69 he served as deputy director general for Middle Eastern Affairs.

After being reelected to the Knesset in the elections to the Seventh Knesset on the Alignment list, Hillel was appointed minister of police in 1969, holding the position until 1977. He also served briefly as minister of the interior in 1974 and again in 1977, giving way to Joseph *Burg when the NRP joined the government of Yitzhak *Rabin. In the Ninth Knesset he served as chairman of the Knesset Interior and Environment Committee. In the Tenth Knesset he served on the Knesset Foreign Affairs and Defense Committee, and in the Eleventh, elected in 1984, was elected speaker of the Knesset. In this post he promoted education for democracy both among youths and adults and acted to stop MK Rabbi Meir *Kahane from presenting racist legislation. During his term as speaker, legislation was passed to prevent lists rejecting Israel as a Jewish and democratic state or advocating racism from running in Knesset elections. After leaving the Knesset in 1988 he was chosen to serve as head of the Foundation Fund in the Jewish Agency. He retired in 1998. Throughout his active political career Hillel supported increased representation for Sephardi members on the Labor Party list and the demand for the return of Jewish property left behind in the Arab states. He is the author of *Operation Babylon* (1987).

[Susan Hattis Rolef (2nd ed.)]

HILLEL BEN ELIAKIM (c. 12th century), talmudic scholar of Greece. Hillel lived in Salaviri near Constantinople, and is variously cited as Hillel of Greece and Hillel of Romania (i.e., Byzantium; S. Krauss, *Studien zur byzantinisch-juedischen Geschichte* (1914), 118). Hillel is best known for his commentaries on the tannaitic Midrashim, some of which are quoted in the works of contemporary tosafists (Sot. 15a; 38a), the *Ittur* of Isaac b. Abba Mari, *Samson b. Abraham of Sens, *Isaiah di Trani the Elder, and other authorities. His commentary on the *Sifrei* was published from a manuscript by S. Koleditzky. In this commentary, which excels in its clarity and simplicity, he establishes the correct text, compares the statements in the *Sifrei* with the parallel passages in the Talmud, and translates the difficult words into Greek. He also includes commentaries from *Hai Gaon, R. Nissim, and *Nathan b. Jehiel of Rome. His commentary is of particular importance in establishing the original text of the *Sifrei*. In addition Hillel wrote a commentary on the *Sifra* (also published by S. Koleditzky), a commentary on the order *Tohorot*, and also responsa.

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[Zvi Meir Rabinowitz]

HILLEL BEN NAPHTALI ẒEVI (**Herz**; 1615–1690), Lithuanian rabbi. Hillel was apparently born in Brest-Litovsk, where he was a pupil of the rabbi Hirsch Darshan and, perhaps, of Heshel b. Jacob. In 1650/51 he was appointed a member of the *bet din* of Moses b. Isaac Judah *Lima in Vilna and was one of the signatories to a halakhic decision to the effect that a woman could not be deprived of her right to oppose divorce against her will. He remained in Vilna until 1666, and after serving in various Lithuanian towns, the last of which was Keidany, he was appointed rabbi of Altona-Hamburg in 1670. Shortly after his arrival the joint communities of Altona, Hamburg, and Wandsbeck, following a schism which had taken place, again united. One of the conditions of unification was that there be one rabbinate for the three communities, and Hillel served in this office from 1671. Various communal *takkanot* were enacted for the united communities during his period of office. In 1680 he returned to Poland and was appointed rabbi of Zolkiew, where he remained for the rest of his life. Hillel was active in the *Councils of the Lands in Jaroslaw, taking part in various consultations of the Council in 1684, as well as in the formulation of *takkanot* in halakhic matters and in the life of the Jews of Poland.

In his old age, Hillel requested his son Moses – who was *av bet din* and preacher in Vilna and later *av bet din* of Kepno – to arrange his novellae on the four parts of the Shulḥan Arukh, and in his will bequeathed his estate to that purpose. His son, however, succeeded in publishing only the novellae to *Yoreh De'ah* and *Even ha-Ezer*, under the title *Bet Hillel* (Dyhernfurth, 1691) with the approbation of the Council of Jaroslaw. He omitted from his father's work, however, halakhic rulings in which his father had been anticipated by earlier scholars and added his own glosses. Hillel's novellae to the other parts of the Shulḥan Arukh have remained in manuscript, as has a homiletical and kabbalistic commentary to the Pentateuch. His importance as a halakhist is reflected in Jacob *Emden's designation of him as "the pious rabbi and halakhic authority, Bet Hillel."

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[Yehoshua Horowitz]

HILLEL BEN SAMUEL (c. 1220–c. 1295), physician, talmudic scholar, and philosopher. Since it has been held that Hillel lived in Verona, he has also been called Hillel b. Samuel of Verona; but, in fact, only his grandfather lived in that city. Little is known about Hillel's personality, place of birth, or life. It is known that he came from a rabbinic family, and that his grandfather, *Eliezer ben Samuel, was a tosafist and *av bet din* at Verona. Hillel is first mentioned in a legal document of 1254. He lived in Naples and then in Capua, where he practiced medicine and studied philosophy with Abraham *Abulafia. Earlier he had lived in Rome, where he became friendly with Zerahiah b. Shealtiel *Gracian and with the physician Isaac b. Mordecai (Maestro Gaio), who later served as the physician of Pope Nicholas IV. Most information about Hillel is derived from correspondence between him and these friends. Some scholars, relying upon Hillel's own, rather dubious, testimony, have concluded that between the years 1259 and 1262 Hillel lived in Barcelona, where he was a disciple of *Jonah Gerondi. Hillel's statement that he studied medicine in Montpellier finds no corroboration in other sources. Hillel played a major role in the controversies of 1289–90 concerning the philosophical works of Maimonides (see *Maimonidean Controversy). Defending Maimonides, Hillel addressed a letter to his friend Maestro Gaio asking him to use his influence with the Jews of Rome against Maimonides' opponents. He also advanced the bold idea of gathering together Maimonides' defenders and opponents in one of the towns on the shores of the Mediterranean, in order to bring the controversy before a court of Babylonian rabbis, whose decision would be binding on both factions. From a second letter to Maestro Gaio, it appears that Hillel's efforts were partially successful: the rabbis of Babylonia, Ereẓ Israel, and Italy supported his idea and placed a ban of excommunication on the instigator of the opposition to Maimonides, *Solomon b. Abraham of Montpellier. Both letters are included in *Ḥemdah Genuzah* (ed. by Ẓ.H. Edelmann (1856), 18a–22b). The first also appears in *Ta'am Zekenim* (ed. by A. Ashkenazi (1854), 70b–73a). Hillel's position may be understood against the background of the religious-philosophical controversy prevalent at that time among the Christians. Under the influence of Christian scholasticism, Hillel believed that the threat to faith stemmed from the adherents of *Averroes, whose views concerning the human intellect brought them to deny the immortality of the individual human soul. While Hillel generally followed Maimonides' rationalistic position, he deviated from Maimonides, who tended toward an allegorical interpretation of miracles and prophetic visions, by holding that these must be taken literally (see *Oẓar Neḥmad*, 2 (1857), 124–43). Hillel's major work is *Tagmulei ha-Nefesh* (written in 1288–91; published from an imperfect manuscript by S. Halberstamm in 1874). The book is divided into two parts. The first part, which itself contains seven sections and is the major portion of the book, deals with the nature of the soul and the intellect, and relies heavily on the earlier literature on this topic. Thus, the first two sections of the first part are mainly a translation of Dominicus Gundissalinus' *De Anima*, also called *Liber Sextus Naturalium*; the third and fifth sections are based on the *Tractatus de Animae Beatitudine* ("Treatise on the Beatitude of the Soul") attributed to Averroes; the sixth section is a copy of the three treatises by Averroes on the conjunction of the hylic and active intellects, from the Hebrew translation by Samuel ibn *Tibbon; and the seventh is a translation of Thomas *Aquinas' *De Unitate Intellectus*. The second part of the book, which deals with the question of the soul's retribution, reflects the influence of *Naḥmanides' *Sha'ar ha-Gemul*. Hillel wrote this work, as he says, to explain the nature of the soul to the Hebrew reader in order to save him from the dangers inherent in blind, non-philosophical faith, on the one hand, and from the extreme conclusions of philosophic speculation, on the other. Hillel, in *Tagmulei ha-Nefesh*, maintains that the soul is a "formal substance" which is spiritual and emanates directly from the supreme being, God. The ultimate aim of the soul is to unite with the active intellect. On the question of whether there exists an infinite number of independent souls or a single soul for all individuals, Hillel follows Averroes in maintaining that there is a universal soul, from which the souls of individuals emanate like rays from the sun. However, while Averroes believed in collective immortality, Hillel, following Aquinas, believed in individual immortality. The arguments which Hillel used to prove that the immortality of the soul is individual were actually those of Thomas Aquinas. Hillel advanced these proofs of the individual immortality of the soul mainly in order to substantiate his notion of reward and punishment which he discusses in the second part of the work. In Hillel's view, which was also influenced by the Christian scholasticism of his day, the soul's retribution was spiritual rather than physical – its reward consisting in drawing close to God, its punishment in removal from God. Though Hillel does remain faithful to Jewish tradition in his description of *Gan Eden* and *Gehinnom* (heaven and hell), details of his description reflect the influence of Christian scholasticism. In addition to *Tagmulei ha-Nefesh*, Hillel wrote a commentary on the 25 propositions appearing at the beginning of the second part of the *Guide*, and three philosophical treatises, which were appended to *Tagmulei ha-Nefesh*: the first on knowledge and free will; the second on the question of why mortality resulted from the sin of Adam; the third on whether or not the belief in the fallen angels is a true belief. It is uncertain whether the commentaries on three philosophical treatises by Maimonides (published in *Ḥemdah Genuzah*, 31b–36a) which are attributed to Hillel were actually written by him. In *Tagmulei ha-Nefesh* Hillel mentions a work that he wrote himself, entitled *Ma'amar ha-Darban* (or *ha-Darkan*), dealing with tales of miracles in the *aggadah*. However, preserved excerpts of the work (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Cod. Héb., 704; published by Goldblum in *Mi-Ginzei Yisrael be-Paris*, 1894) offer only an explanation of philosophical terms. Hillel also translated the pseudo-Aristotelian *Liber de causis* under the title *Ma'amar Lamed Bet Hakdamot* (extracts contained in *Tagmulei ha-Nefesh*). In composing this translation he apparently relied on Aquinas' commentary on this work. He also translated several important medieval works from Latin into Hebrew, which served in his time as textbooks for teaching medicine: (1) *Sefer Keritut* (*Chirurgia Magna*) of Bruno de Lungoburgo, which was written in 1254 (Parma, De Rossi Ms. 1281; the preface is found in *Tagmulei ha-Nefesh*, 43a–44b); (2) parts of Hippocrates' *Aphorisms* with Galen's commentaries; and (3) *Melekhet Ketannah*, Galen's *Micra Techne*, according to the Latin translation by Gerard of Cremona. Hillel, whose strength lay in his translations rather than in his original philosophical works, was a characteristic figure of the height of the scholastic period. The subjects with which he dealt, especially the question of the soul's retribution, are also dealt with by Thomas Aquinas, Dante, and *Immanuel of Rome. Despite his rationalism, Hillel emphasized, to a greater extent than did his predecessors, the dangers to faith inherent in philosophic speculation. Hillel's importance in the history of medieval Jewish philosophy results from his attempt to deal systematically with the question of the immortality of the soul, which Maimonides had avoided discussing at length.

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[Joseph Baruch Sermoneta]

HILLEL OF ERFURT (d. before 1426), talmudic scholar. Known also as Hillel the Elder, he was a pupil of Meir b. Baruch ha-Levi of Vienna. From the fact that contemporary rabbis relied on the forms of *gittin* (bills of divorce) drawn up by him in Erfurt, it may be assumed that he occupied a rabbinic position there. Bruell identifies him with a "Hillel" mentioned in a document of 1416 as having been appointed by the margrave chief rabbi of Thuringia, of which Erfurt was the most important Jewish community. In fulfillment of a vow he set out for Ereẓ Israel, but on reaching Vienna was persuaded that his absence would adversely affect Jewish studies at Erfurt, and was absolved from his vow by the local rabbis. He then returned to Erfurt. Responsa and customs of his are quoted by *Isserlein and other scholars.

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[Yedidya A. Dinari]

HILLELS, SHELOMO (1873–1953), Hebrew writer. Hillels was raised in Bessarabia, and he served as principal of the Jewish public school of Marcolesti (1902–17). In 1918 he headed the Office of the Federated Councils which was established in Romania to aid the refugees fleeing the Ukraine in the aftermath of the Russian Revolution. In 1921 he moved to Kishinev where he was appointed supervisor of the *Tarbut Hebrew schools in Bessarabia. In 1925 he settled in Palestine where he taught in the Mikveh Israel agricultural school (1925–35) and was the director of Beit Bialik (Bialik House) in Tel Aviv (1935–39). During World War II he lived in the United States. His early pieces appeared in the 1890s in *Ha-Ẓefirah* and in *Ha-Meliẓ*. However, his best works were written after he went to Palestine. His novel *Har ha-Keramim* (Mount of Vineyards, 1931, rev. ed. 1951), a realistic portrait of Bessarabian Jewish farmers, won great acclaim. He wrote stories of Jewish life during the revolutions and pogroms in Bessarabia and the Ukraine: *Be-Himmot Areẓ* (When Earth Totters, 1935); *Taḥat Shemei Besarabyah* (1942); *Arẓah* (1945); and an autobiography, *Tabba'ot be-Sharsheret* (Links in a Chain, 1950). His writings are realistic, and tempered by a profound faith in man. His collected works appeared in six volumes (1950–53). To mark his 80th birthday, the commemorative volume *Shai li-Shelomo* (A Tribute to Solomon) was published by K.A. Bertini and Eliyahu Meitus in 1953.

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[Gedalyah Elkoshi]

HILLER, ARTHUR (1923–), Canadian director. Born in Edmonton, Alberta, to Harry Hiller and Rose (née Garfin), Hiller attended the Victoria School for the Performing and Visual Arts, but his studies were cut short due to World War II. Hiller served as a navigator in the Royal Canadian Air Force, fighting the Nazis over Europe. Despite earning a master's degree in psychology from the University of Toronto, he took a job in programming with the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation in 1949. After moving to Los Angeles, he directed numerous television shows, including *Alfred Hitchcock Presents* (1955), *Playhouse 90* (1956), *The Naked City* (1958), *Gunsmoke* (1959), *Route 66* (1960), and the pilot episode of *The Addams Family* (1964). His first feature film was *The Careless Years* (1957) and his first big-budget film was *The Americanization of Emily* (1964). Hiller is best known for directing the 1970 film *Love Story*, which garnered him his only Oscar nomination and the Golden Globe for best director. In the early 1970s, Hiller and his wife smuggled clothing and books about Judaism to Russian refuseniks. Hiller went on to direct a variety of well-received films, including *Silver Streak* (1974), *The In-Laws* (1979), *Making Love* (1982), *Author! Author!* (1982), *The Lonely Guy* (1984), *Teachers* (1984), and *The Babe* (1992). From 1989 to 1993, Hiller served as president of the Directors Guild of America, and from 1993 to 1996 he was president of the Academy of Motion Picture Arts and Sciences. Hiller was given the Jean Hersholt Humanitarian Award at the 74th annual Academy Awards in honor of his charity work.

[Adam Wills (2nd ed.)]

HILLER, FERDINAND (1811–1885), composer and conductor. Son of a Frankfurt merchant, Justus Hiller (originally Isaac Hildesheim), he studied in Weimar and went to Vienna in 1827. He visited Beethoven just before the latter's death. From 1828 to 1835 Hiller was a music teacher and successful pianist in Paris, and was the first to play Beethoven's "Emperor" concerto in that city. He subsequently converted to Christianity, held various positions in Germany and Italy, and was the friend of outstanding composers such as Schumann and Wagner.

In 1850 he founded the Conservatory of Cologne, which he directed almost until his death. Hiller's oratorio *Die Zerstoerung Jerusalems* (1840) is considered his best composition. He also wrote the oratorio *Saul* (1853), cantatas, among them *Rebecca*, operas, symphonies, chamber and vocal music, and settings of the Psalms. Few of his works attained great success. He therefore devoted himself to conducting and to writing the lives of the Romantic composers of his generation, particularly Schumann, Mendelssohn, Chopin, Berlioz, Meyerbeer, and Liszt. His book on musical theory, first published in 1860, was reissued many times (26th edition, 1924). In 1849 he was elected a member of the Berlin Academy.

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[Josef Tal]

HILLER, KURT (1885–1972), German socialist theoretician and author. Born in Berlin, Hiller worked as a freelance writer there. In 1926 he was elected president of the Gruppe revolutionaerer Pazifisten. In 1933 the Nazis imprisoned him in the Oranienburg concentration camp, but he escaped to Prague a year later. Hiller lived in London from 1938 until 1955, when he returned to Germany and settled in Hamburg. He had a dialectical mind and considerable literary talent. He attracted many disciples whom he organized into activist groups. The first of these was Der neue Club (1909), out of which came the Neopathetisches Cabarett and the Gnu, the latter sponsoring literary *soirées* for young poets and intellectuals. In 1912 Hiller published *Der Kondor,* the earliest anthology of expressionist poetry. Hiller was an early supporter of socialism and radical pacifism and in 1915 formed an activist movement in which he called for an international federation of the intellect and for politically conscious writers to change the world. He aimed at rule by the intellectuals and the "actualization of the intellect in the state" (*Verwirklichung des Geistes im Staat*, 1925). Hiller was the founder and president of the Neusozialistischer Bund of Hamburg (1956) and described his creed as "libertarian socialism." His ideas are reflected in the titles of his works, which range from *Geist, werde Herr* ("Spirit, Take Over," 1920) to *Rote Ritter* ("Red Knights," 1951). In 1969 Hiller published his autobiography *Leben gegen die Zeit* ("Life against the Time").

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[Kurt Pinthus]

HILLESUM, ETTY (1914–1943), writer, religious thinker, and victim of Nazi genocide. Hillesum was born in Middleburg, Netherlands, the eldest of three children of Louis Hillesum, a teacher of classical languages, and Rebecca (Bernstein) Hillesum. Her Russian-born mother suffered from psychological disorders, as did her two gifted brothers, and Hillesum also struggled with depression and mood swings. No one in her middle-class, assimilated family survived the war.

Hillesum studied law, Slavic languages, and psychology at the University of Amsterdam, earning a law degree in 1939. The German invasion of the Netherlands in 1940 terminated her studies. She was strongly influenced by Julius Spier (b. 1887), a Jungian psychoanalyst émigré from Berlin, who became her lover, mentor, and spiritual guide. At his urging, Hillesum began keeping a journal, beginning March 9, 1941 and continuing until her deportation to Auschwitz in September 1943. When the Nazis began rounding up Dutch Jews, the Hillesum family was taken to the Dutch transit camp of Westerbork. Here Hillesum worked for the Jewish Council, the organization charged with implementing Nazi orders in the Jewish community; for a time, her position accorded her some measure of privilege and freedom of movement between Westerbork and Amsterdam. She also worked in Westerbork's hospital, refusing offers of a safe haven outside the camp. Deported to Auschwitz with her family in September 1943, Hillesum was murdered on November 30.

Writing was the emotional center of Hillesum's life. Initially, the journal was less a memoir of the time and more an exploration of her inner life, focusing on philosophical, psychological, and spiritual issues. Eventually, the Nazi genocide cast a shadow over the writing and both the journals and her massive correspondence contain detailed descriptions of the Jews imprisoned at Westerbork, the atrocious conditions in which they were kept, and the brutality of the guards. The writing also speaks of her commitment to give succor to the interned Jews; accepting that she could not alter what awaited Westerbork's inhabitants, Hillesum was determined to be the "thinking heart" of the camp. She struggled to find a way to understand and accept the horrors of the world in which she found herself, and to maintain a sense of meaningfulness even as death became inevitable.

Hillesum entrusted the eight or so notebooks of her journal to her friend Maira Tuinzing, who passed them along to writer Klaas Smelik. In 1981, a selection of her journals was published, receiving great popular and critical acclaim, as *Het verstoorde leen* ("An Interrupted Life"); an English version followed in 1982. Her collected letters appeared in 1982 as *Het dendende hart van de barak* ("The Thinking Heart of the Camp"); they were later published in English as *Letters from Westerbork* (1986). A critical edition of her writing appeared in the Netherlands under the title *Etty: De nagelaten geschriften van Etty Hillesum: 1941–1943* ("Etty: The Posthumous Writings of Etty Hillesum: 1941–1943") in 1986.

[Sara R. Horowitz (2nd ed.)]

HILLESUM, JEREMIAS (1863–1943), Dutch librarian, bibliographer, and historian. He made the Bibliotheca Rosenthaliana in Amsterdam, of which he was librarian, a center of Jewish studies for students and scholars throughout the world. He was the author of numerous monographs and articles, including *Uri ha-Levi, eerste Mohel, Chazzan en Predikant der Portugeesche Joden te Amsterdam in het jaar 1593* (1904); *Menasseh ben Israel* (1899), and several auction catalogues. During the German occupation of Holland he was deported to a concentration camp, where he died.

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[Frederik Jacob Hirsch]

HILLMAN, BESSIE "BAS SHEVA" ABRAMOWITZ (1889–1970), labor activist and executive board member of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America (ACWA). The fourth daughter of 10 children born to Sarah (Rabinowitz) and Emanuel Abramowitz, Hillman spent the first 15 years of her life in Linoveh, a small town located near Grodno, Russia. Her family enjoyed modest economic success and employed a private tutor for their children. Learning of her pending arranged marriage, Hillman left home and immigrated to Chicago, where she worked briefly in a garment factory. Dismissed when she protested low wages, Hillman was placed on a hiring blacklist. Using an assumed name, she found new employment at Hart, Shaffner, and Marx, another garment factory. When a wage cut was announced, Hillman led a walkout of 16 female co-workers, the catalyst for a strike which eventually involved over 35,000 garment workers. During this time, she met Sidney *Hillman, a fellow garment worker and strike leader. Recognizing Bessie Hillman's leadership skills, the Women's Trade Union League (WTUL) asked her to become an organizer. Over the next five years, she worked closely with Sidney on various labor efforts and supported his candidacy to become the president of an emerging labor union, which became the ACWA in 1915. During this period, the couple fell in love and married in 1916. After marriage, Hillman chose to resign her paid position as a WTUL organizer but remained an active union volunteer until Sidney's death in 1946. With the creation of the ACWA, the Hillmans relocated to New York City, and it was there that their two daughters were born, Philoine in 1917 and Selma in 1921. In additional to her continued involvement in both the WTUL and the ACWA, Hillman also served as the educational director of the Laundry Workers Joint Board and tirelessly campaigned for worker organization, particularly in industries employing large numbers of women. At the end of World War II, Hillman learned that most of her immediate family members in Europe, including three sisters, had perished in the Holocaust. Soon after, Sidney suffered a fatal heart attack and died at the age of 59. Hillman remained active, accepting a paid position of secretary/treasurer of the ACWA. In later years she also involved herself in many other organizations committed to labor and women's issues such as the Office of Price Administration, and upon President John F. Kennedy's appointment, the President's Commission on the Status of Women. Hillman dedicated herself to union recruitment and organization until her death at the age of 81.

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[Shira Kohn (2nd ed.)]

HILLMAN, DAVID (1895–1974), British artist. Hillman was born in Courland and brought up in Glasgow, Scotland, where his father, Rabbi S.I. *Hillman, was rabbi. He was influenced by the work of his teacher, the portrait painter Solomon J. *Solomon, who also produced works of Jewish biblical interest, but Hillman devoted himself to stained glass in which he made his main reputation. His Jewish background and learning played a fundamental role in his art. He designed some 300 stained-glass windows for Jewish buildings in Britain and Israel. The themes were biblical or related to Jewish traditions. He was the pioneer of a new kind of Orthodox synagogue decoration which used Jewish content without disturbing traditional attitudes to the depiction of form. The principal London synagogues incorporating his work are at Cricklewood, St. John's Wood, and Hampstead Garden Suburb, and include the Central Synagogue; in Israel he contributed to the Hechal Shlomo Synagogue, the President's Synagogue, and Bar-Ilan University. He was a member of the British Society of Master-Glass Painters. In 1914 he was a founder member of the Jewish Association of Arts and Sciences.

[Charles Samuel Spencer]

HILLMAN, SAMUEL ISAAC (1868–1953), Lithuanian rabbi and *dayyan* of the London *bet din*. After serving as rabbi of Berezino, Hillman was appointed rabbi of Glasgow in 1908. He was the moving spirit in calling a conference of rabbis of East European origin in Leeds (1913), which marked a turning point in the recognition of those rabbis in England and the beginning of their influence in the communal and religious life of Anglo-Jewry. In 1914 he was appointed a member of the London *bet din* and, with his profound talmudic knowledge, became its recognized halakhic authority. Shortly after his appointment World War I broke out and Hillman energetically worked to provide for the needs of the many Belgian-Jewish refugees who came to England. As a result he received a reward from the king of Belgium for his services. He was the London correspondent for the great Eastern European rabbis of his time, including H.O. *Grodzinski and *Israel Meir ha-Kohen (the "Ḥafeẓ Ḥayyim"). A number of the letters of the former to him have been published (see bibliography). Resigning his post in 1934, he settled in Jerusalem where he established a yeshivah.

Rabbi Hillman devoted himself to the Talmud and the halakhic midrashim. He wrote on practically every tractate of the Babylonian Talmud, including the *minor tractates (6 vols., 1921–45), tractates of the Jerusalem Talmud (2 vols., 1947–48), all the halakhic Midrashim (2 vols., 1949–50), and the *Yad ha-Ḥazakah* of Maimonides. These works are of special importance to the scholar as they include references to all the relevant novellae scattered through the extensive responsa literature. A volume of sermons also appeared under the same title. Hillman had two children, DAVID HILLMAN, London portrait artist and worker in stained glass, who was an active Zionist, and SARAH, who married R. Isaac ha-Levi *Herzog.

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HILLMAN, SIDNEY (1887–1946), U.S. labor leader. Hillman was born in the small town of Zagare in Lithuania, son of an Orthodox flour merchant and grandson of a rabbi. He received a traditional *ḥeder* education, and at the age of 14 was sent to study at a yeshivah in Kovno. There he rebelled against both religion and his father, and became involved in revolutionary socialist politics, spending six months in prison as a result of his participation in the abortive revolution of 1905. Soon after his release Hillman emigrated to England, then to the United States (1907), where, after a short stay in New York, he settled in Chicago. In 1909 he went to work in the Hart, Schaffner & Marx clothing factory and a year later he helped head a strike that spread from the plant to all of the city's 35,000 garment workers. For the next five years Hillman was active as a union organizer and was instrumental in getting the Chicago garment trade to accept the principle of the "union shop." This experience was fundamental in shaping his concept of "industrial constitutionalism," that is, the idea of a structured harmony between labor and management, that was to be his main contribution to the American labor movement.

In 1914 Hillman returned to New York as chief clerk of the Cloakmakers Joint Board in the women's garment industry. Soon after, the United Garment Workers split in two and Hillman was elected president of one of the factions, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, which in 1915 won recognition as chief bargaining agent of New York City's garment workers. As president of the Amalgamated, Hillman set out to achieve sweeping reforms in the industry, by negotiation where possible, through strikes where not. In 1918 the union won a 44-hour week, and in 1920 it was granted a contract that called for a union shop, guaranteed unemployment insurance, and the right to help set production standards. The union also pioneered by going into banking, by means of which it managed to tide many garment businesses through difficult times with loans and stock purchases. The period of the New Deal saw Hillman rise to positions of national leadership. He was appointed to the National Recovery Administration during President Roosevelt's first term and in 1938 he joined Philip Murray and Walter Reuther in forming the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO), becoming head of the executive council of its Textile Workers of America. With the outbreak of World War II Hillman became Roosevelt's chief labor adviser. He was appointed labor member of the National Advisory Committee in 1940 and associate director general of the Office of Production Management in 1941. He also served on the Supply Priorities and Allocation Board and was director of the labor division of the War Production Board. At the same time he remained active in the CIO and helped found its Political Action Committee, which sought to commit the labor movement to increased political militancy. After the war his interest also turned to the international labor movement and he was vice president of the World Federation of Trade Unions at the time of his death.

Throughout his career Hillman was sympathetic to the goals of the Jewish labor movement in Palestine. He was chosen one of the "non-Zionist" members of the Jewish Agency Executive in 1929 and as a confidant of President Roosevelt sought to win him over to a more pro-Zionist position.

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HILLQUIT, MORRIS (1869–1933), U.S. socialist. Hillquit was born in Riga, Latvia. He settled in New York City in 1886 and was soon involved in the vigorous radical intellectual life of the Lower East Side. In 1888 he helped organize the United Hebrew Trades as a first step in the unionization of immigrant Jewish workers. Entering the Socialist Labor Party, Hillquit led the revolt in the late 1890s against the party's control by Daniel *De Leon. Hillquit opposed De Leon's hostility to the American Federation of Labor, and he fought the attempt to destroy established trade unions through the creation of rival socialist unions. Hillquit insisted that socialists could convince unionized workers that radical change was feasible and desirable, and accordingly he envisioned socialist control of existing trade unions.

In 1900 the Socialist Party of America was formed from an amalgamation of several groups, and Hillquit played a leading role in its affairs until his death. He was an able spokesman for the moderate elements that were in control, and also had a decisive influence in developing the program and ideology of the party. Hillquit's concept of socialism falls within the Marxian Revisionism so popular in the early 20th century. He stressed the compatibility of Marxism with social reform and an ascending standard of living for the worker. A socialist state would result from the conversion of the people, not through violent or direct means, and political action was thus the very essence of the socialist's method. It educated men about socialism, and through electoral victories socialists gained office where they might improve conditions for the workingman, thus accelerating the acceptance of radical social change.

Although often characterized as a compromiser, Hillquit helped write the defiant position of the Socialist Party against American entrance into World War I, and he ran for mayor of New York City in 1917 on a peace platform. He was also unyielding in his opposition to left-wing attempts to take control of the Socialist Party; and though he defended due process in many court battles involving radicals and trade unionists, he was prepared to discard due process when necessary in the continuing strife among factions of the Socialist Party. During the Socialist Party's rapid growth in 1908–12, as in the desperate days of the early 1930s, Hillquit constantly predicted the ultimate victory of socialism in the United States. But clearly success and political power were not immediate possibilities, and they cannot account for Hillquit's lifelong commitment to socialism. As he put it near the end of his life: "To me the socialist movement with its enthusiasm and idealism, its comradeship and struggles, its hopes and disappointments, its victories and defeats, has been the best that life has had to offer." Among his writings are *Socialism in Theory and Practice* (1909), and *Loose Leaves from a Busy Life* (1934).

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[Irwin Yellowitz]

HILLULA (Aram. הִלּוּלָא, "festivity"), especially a wedding celebration (cf. Ber. 30b–31a). Later the term was also used for the anniversary of the death of famous rabbis and scholars because such occasions were often celebrated by popular pilgrimages and rejoicings. According to a late homiletic interpretation (Moses Alsheikh on Job 30:23) the death of a saintly man is a kind of "mystical marriage" of his soul with God. Public *hillula* celebrations take place on Lag ba-Omer, the traditional anniversary of the death of R. Simeon b. Yoḥai (see *Hillula de-Rabbi Shimon bar Yoḥai), and on the 14th of Iyyar, the anniversary of the death of R. *Meir Ba'al ha-Nes, at their respective gravesides in Meron and Tiberias, in Galilee. Outside Palestine, this anniversary was observed with great solemnity in the Jewish community of Djerba (Tunisia). It consisted of a procession with a richly ornamented candlestick (*menorat Shimon bar Yoḥai*), which was followed by eating and drinking with musical accompaniment. A similar *hillula* was observed in Libya and Morocco (and now in Israel) on the first day after Passover, called *Maimuna in honor of the anniversary of the death of Maimonides, who died on Passover.

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HILLULA DE-RABBI SHIMON BAR YOḤAI, THE FESTIVITY (*hillula) of R. *Simeon b. Yoḥai held in *Meron on *Lag ba-Omer. It originated in the 16th–17th centuries. As early as in the time of Isaac *Luria (16th century) Jews went on Lag ba-Omer to the traditional graves of R. Simeon b. Yoḥai and his son R. Eleazar, where they would "eat, drink, and be merry." Even Luria himself "brought his small son there together with his whole family and they cut his hair there according to the well-known custom and they spent a day of feasting and celebration" (R. Ḥayyim Vital, *Sha'ar ha-Kavvanot*, 2 (1963), 191). The "kindling" is characteristic of the *hillula* in Meron, where the celebrants threw costly garments and money into the burning oil. At the end of the 19th century the rabbis were still strongly protesting the burning of clothes, which they saw as a transgression against the prohibition of purposeless waste, but to no avail. The "kindling" is accompanied by singing and ecstatic dancing. On the next day the ceremony of *ḥalaqa* (from Arabic "to cut hair") is held in which young boys are given their first haircut. The locks of hair are also thrown in the fire. In Israel great numbers from the various communities make the pilgrimage to Meron.

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HILSENRATH, EDGAR (1926–), German writer. Born in Leipzig and descending from a family with an East European Orthodox background, Hilsenrath grew up in Nazi Germany with the experience of permanent threat. In 1938 he fled with his mother and brother to Bukovina; in 1941 they were deported to a Romanian ghetto. He described the darkest experience of this time in his first novel, *Nacht* (1964). After 1944 Hilsenrath succeeded in getting to Palestine, from there in 1947 to France, and 1951 to the U.S., where he lived as a writer in New York before moving permanently to Berlin in 1975. Hilsenrath reflects on the catastrophe of the 20th century in his second novel *The Nazi and the Barber* (1971), constituting his literary breakthrough in Germany when the translated version, *Der Nazi & der Friseur*, appeared in 1977. After literary polemics – criticizing the U.S. in the form of an autobiographical satire in *Bronskys Gestaendnis* (1980) and Turkey in the form of a fairy tale in *Das Maerchen vom letzten Gedanken* (1989) – Hilsenrath turned again to Bukovina in his last novels, *Jossel Wassermanns Heimkehr* (1993), an epitaph on the lost world of Eastern Jewry, and *Die Abenteuer des Ruben Jablonski* (1997). Like other survivors of the Holocaust from Jurek *Becker to Georg *Tabori, Hilsenrath developed a non-aesthetic approach to writing, trying to break taboos and speak the unspeakable in an appropriate form.

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[Andreas Kilcher (2nd ed.)]

HILSNER CASE, blood libel trial held in Bohemia at the beginning of the 20th century. When on April 1, 1899, the corpse of a murdered seamstress, Anežka Hrůza, was found in a forest near Polna, Bohemia, with a deep cut on the neck, the *blood libel spread immediately and was taken up by the Czech, German-National, and Christian-Social antisemitic press. Leopold Hilsner of Polna, a 22-year-old Jewish vagabond of ill repute and low intelligence, was arrested. The basis of the accusation was the statement of the investigating physicians that only a minute quantity of blood was found in and around the body. Both the investigation and the trial at the Kutna Hora court were conducted with a strong bias against Hilsner – though suspicion was voiced against Hrůza's brother, who immigrated to the United States – and many measures requested by his counsel were not admitted, such as a test of the chief witness' eyesight. The jury condemned Hilsner to death. As the medical faculty had doubted the first medical statement, Hilsner was retried in Pisek. On this occasion he was also charged with the murder of Mary Klima, who had been missing since July 1898, because her corpse was found covered with branches like that of Hrůza. Hilsner named two Jewish accomplices in the murder, but both had unassailable alibis. He was once more condemned to death.

The central antisemitic personality in both trials was Karel Baxa (1862–1938), counsel for the Hrůza family, who was financed by a joint German-Czech committee and whose invective was spread by the antisemitic press, which named him the "savior of Christendom." (He was later to refute his opinions, and in 1923 was elected mayor of Prague for Beneš' National Socialist Party with the support of the *Židovská Strana (Jewish Party); his later attitude in all Jewish matters was positive.) Of importance was the intervention of T.G. *Masaryk, later the first president of Czechoslovakia, who published two pamphlets demanding a revision of the trial "not to defend Hilsner, but to defend the Christians against superstition." Because of this action, Masaryk became the object of mob demonstrations and his lectures at the university were suspended. However, the popularity he acquired by his stand was to help his cause during World War I, mainly in the United States. Hilsner's sentence was commuted to life imprisonment. Repeated endeavors to renew the trial were unsuccessful, but Hilsner was pardoned when Charles I succeeded to the Hapsburg throne (1916). Until his death in 1927, he traveled as a beggar through the successor states of the Hapsburg monarchy under the name of Heller. When Masaryk, as president, declined to grant him an audience, he reproached him with ingratitude, as he considered that he had made Masaryk famous.

The affair was accompanied by an antisemitic campaign throughout Europe, conducted by the Vienna blood libel "specialist," Ernst Schneider. It led to riots in several towns in Bohemia and Moravia and was one of the main factors contributing to the increase of antisemitism in the Bohemian countryside and to the exodus of many small rural Jewish communities. Its repercussions were felt for many years. After the German invasion (1939), a Czech Nazi-sponsored Fascist organization opened an appeal for funds to erect a monument on the site where Hrůza's body had been found, but it met with no response.

In 1961, a rumor spread in Czechoslovakia that Jan Hruza, brother of the murdered Anežka, made a deathbed confession in the hospital of Havličkov Brod that he had killed his sister. He had wanted to receive the entire inheritance after their parents. After the murder, he allegedly left for the United States. The priest confessor allegedly refused to receive the confession. The Communist authorities, according to the rumor, did not publicize the case for fear that it would add popularity to the memory of the beloved late president Masaryk. There was no verifiable evidence to substantiate the rumor. The Czechoslovakian-born Israeli chargé d'affaires in Prague, Eliahu Kurt Livne (Liebstein), gathered a good deal of evidence about the rumor and sent it to the Israeli Foreign Office.

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[Meir Lamed / Milos Pojar (2nd ed.)]

HIMMELFARB, GERTRUDE (1922–), historian of Victorian England. Born in Brooklyn, N.Y., to Max and Bertha (Lerner) Himmelfarb, she received her B.A. from Brooklyn College in 1942 and also attended the Seminary College of Jewish Studies at the Jewish Theological Seminary. Himmelfarb earned her M.A. in 1944 and her Ph.D. in 1950 at the University of Chicago. Presumably because it was difficult for a married woman with two young children to pursue an active academic career during those years, Himmelfarb was an independent scholar from 1950 to 1965. She became professor of history at Brooklyn College in 1965, teaching there until 1978, when she was named distinguished professor of history at the Graduate Center of the City University of New York; following her retirement in 1988, she became professor emerita.

Gertrude Himmelfarb devoted her scholarly career to understanding the intellectual foundations of British political culture in the 19th century. A prolific and admired scholar, her books include *Lord Acton: A Study in Conscience and Politics* (1952); *Darwin and the Darwinian Revolution* (1959); *Victorian Minds* (1968); *On Liberty and Liberalism: The Case of John Stewart Mill* (1974); *The Idea of Poverty: England in the Early Industrial Age* (1983); *Poverty and Compassion: The Moral Imagination of the Late Victorians* (1991); and *The Roads to Modernity: The British, French, and American Enlightenments* (2004). She also published *Marriage and Morals among the Victorians: Essays* (1986).

In addition to her work on Victorian culture, Himmelfarb addressed contemporary political and cultural issues, criticizing contemporary culture for falling short of the ideals and civic virtues of the Victorian liberals. Her criticism is in line with the conservative political views she shares with her husband, Irving Kristol, and their son William Kristol, likewise important exponents of neo-Conservatism in American politics. Books pointing out the moral failures of contemporary society include *On Looking into the Abyss: Untimely Thoughts on Culture and Society* (1994); *The De-Moralization of Society: From Victorian Virtues to Modern Values* (1995); and *One Nation, Two Cultures* (1999), which calls for a return to such Enlightenment values and Victorian virtues as shame, responsibility, and self-reliance. In *The New History and the Old: Critical Essays and Reappraisals* (1987; revised edition, 2004), Himmelfarb critiqued social history for its leftist inclinations, its moral relativism, and its aversion to the major political transformations of the past, and argued that post-modernism distorted history and harmed the historical profession.

Himmelfarb was the recipient of many awards and honors. She was a member of the council of the National Endowment for the Arts from 1982; the council of scholars of the Library of Congress from 1984; the board of trustees of the Woodrow Wilson Center in 1985–96; and the council of academic advisors of the American Enterprise Institute from 1987.

[Marsha L Rozenblit (2nd ed.)]

HIMMELSTEIN, LENA (**Lane Bryant Malsin**; 1881–1951), U.S. chain store founder. Born in Lithuania, Himmelstein was taken to the United States at the age of 16. After the death of her first husband, David Bryant, she opened a small dressmaking shop in uptown New York City. In 1907 a customer asked her to design and make a maternity dress, then unknown in the country, so that she would not be forced to remain in seclusion, as was then the case with women during pregnancy. Himmelstein's design was an immediate success and, with the help of her second husband, Albert Malsin (d. 1923), her business was enlarged. In 1916 the firm was incorporated under the name of Lane Bryant, Inc., and in 1969 it consisted of more than 100 stores and affiliations. By 1917 sales exceeded $1 million and by 1968 they reached almost $200 million. In addition to maternity dresses, Lane Bryant began to design dresses and accessories for special "plus" sizes, and these became a substantial part of the firm's turnover. She was a pioneer in employee benefits, offering employee support beyond wages. By 1950, the more than 3,500 Lane Bryant employees participated in profit-sharing, pension, disability, and group life insurance plans, and fully reimbursed physician's visits and hospitalizations. Both Lane Bryant Malsin and her husband advocated prenatal care and gave generous support to its advancement. Both were also active in the American Red Cross, the Federation of Jewish Philanthropies, and *HIAS.

Her son, RAPHAEL BRYANT MALSIN (1900–1995), at one time worked as a reporter for the *New York Journal*. In 1929 he was persuaded to enter his mother's firm and in 1938 became its president and helped to expand it. He was also chairman of the boards of Town and Country Distributors and the Coward Shoe Company, Inc. In 1982 the chain was bought by The Limited. For many years Malsin was president of Music for Westchester. He was also chairman of the board of trustees of New York's Hospital for Joint Diseases and was a generous supporter of many Jewish philanthropic causes.

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[Joachim O. Ronall / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

HIMMELWEIT, HILDEGARD (1918–1989), British social psychologist. Born Hildegard Litthauer in Berlin, the daughter of a chemist whose family had been prominent in German culture, Himmelweit emigrated to Britain in 1934 after her father's death and was educated at Cambridge. In the early 1940s she qualified as a clinical psychologist at London University, but gained a lasting reputation as a social psychologist and was professor of social psychology at the London School of Economics from 1964. Himmelweit became known for her studies of the effects of television, co-authoring *Television and the Child* (1958), and for her studies of political voting patterns and how individuals came to alter them.

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[William D. Rubinstein (2nd ed.)]

°**HIMMLER, HEINRICH** (1900–1945), Nazi leader and one of Hitler's principal lieutenants. Son of a Bavarian school teacher, Himmler received military training in 1918 but never participated in military action during WWI. After the war he studied agriculture, was active in right-wing and paramilitary organizations, joined the Nazi Party in 1923, and participated in November of the same year in the Munich *putsch*. In 1929, appreciating Himmler's devotion and organizational talents, Hitler appointed him chief of the *SS, the elite guard of the Nazi leadership, which, under his rule, increased from several hundred members to a huge organization of several hundred thousand men. On June 30, 1934, it played a key role in the "Night of the Long Knives," the purge of the leadership of the SA ("storm troops"), the old rival of the SS. By 1939, with the aid of *Heydrich, Himmler had made the SS the mainstay of Nazi rule. Himmler molded the SS into a racist order, based on the presumed existence of a "Nordic race" to be improved and restored to its former greatness by eugenics. Himmler therefore admitted only "Nordics" as members of the order on the basis of their right to rule "inferior races."

With the Nazi accession to power, Himmler became first chief of the Munich police and then commander of the Bavarian Political Police. By spring 1934 he had managed to get the Political Police Forces of all German states, including the Prussian Gestapo, under his control, and by June 1936, he was appointed chief of German police. He incorporated existing concentration camps in Germany into his system of police terror. The defeat of *Poland in September 1939 enabled Himmler to realize his social fantasies further. Appointed Reichskommissar "for the strengthening of Germandom," he ordered the deportation of the Jewish and Polish population from the annexed provinces into the territory of the *Generalgouvernement*, to be replaced by "Reichsdeutsche" and ethnic Germans from all over Eastern Europe, and carried out the confiscation of the evacuees' property. When Hitler charged the SS in 1941 with the "Final Solution" (see *Holocaust: General Survey), Himmler became the butcher of Europe's Jews. He regarded the murder of the Jews as a glorious chapter in German history and gave orders to adapt death camps for the "Final Solution," enabling them to effect the mass murder – the Nazi term was liquidation – of thousands of persons daily and the disposal of their corpses. In a speech to SS Gruppenfuehrer at Posen in October 1943 Himmler praised the integrity of his men, "To have stuck this out and – excepting cases of human weakness – to have kept our integrity, that is what has made us hard." He spoke but urged silence. "This is an unwritten and never-to-be-written page of glory [in German history]."

In the rear of the room his words were recorded for history. In late 1941 and 1942, Himmler ordered the utilization of the concentration camp inmates for war production. Hundreds of thousands of prisoners, including Jews set aside in the "selections" from immediate death in the gas chambers, died as slave laborers of malnutrition and ill-treatment. Thousands more were victims of pseudoscientific experiments that were carried out on Himmler's specific orders. Himmler gradually changed his tactics as Germany began to suffer defeat. In May 1944 he permitted negotiations to exchange Hungarian Jews for trucks needed for the war effort (see Joel *Brand). In November 1944 he assumed that for all practical purposes the Jewish question had been solved, and ordered the dismantling of the gas installations. Before the end of World War II, he allowed the transfer of several hundred prisoners to Switzerland and Sweden, hoping thus to exact better peace terms. As a result, Hitler ordered the arrest of Himmler, before committing suicide himself. In May 1945 Himmler was finally dismissed by Doenitz, Hitler's successor, and killed himself the same month following his capture by the British Army.

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[Yehuda Reshef / Peter Longreich (2nd ed.)]

ḤIMYAR, the name of a large tribe in S. Arabia which settled in the mountains south of *Ḥabbān. The name Ḥimyar is found in Greek secular and Church literature in the form ʾΟμηρῖται (also Ιμμιρηνοί), as well as in the *Bet She'arim inscriptions on the series of graves of Jews from *Arabia. The tribe succeeded in expanding its territory of settlement by defeating the inhabitants of neighboring territories, the south Arabian kingdoms, and in stabilizing the last independent south Arabian kingdom before the rise of Islam. There is evidence to support the opinion that the beginning of the Ḥimyarite Era (115 B.C.E., according to most scholars, although there are some who set it a year or two earlier or later, i.e., 117–113 B.C.E.) also designates the beginning of the kingdom of Ḥimyar. In official inscriptions engraved in stone the kings of Ḥimyar preserved the historic titles of the preceding dynasties, each addition to a title designating an additional conquest and the expansion of sovereignty over new territories. The title "king of Sabaʾ, Dhū Raydān, Ḥaḍramawt [Hadhramaut] and Yamanāt and of their Arabians [Bedouins] in the mountains and in the Tihāma [the plains]" (540 CIH, from the year 564 Him., i.e., 449 C.E., engraved by King Sharaḥbʾil Yaʿfur in commemoration of the repair of the Ma'rib Dam, was aimed at emphasizing both the geographic expansion of the Ḥimyarite rule in south Arabia and his historic continuation of the kingdoms which preceded him, after wars lasting hundreds of years. In fact, during the time of Shamir Yuharʿish (305–315) all of south Arabia was under the control of the Ḥimyarites. Later, however, the Abyssinian kingdom on the other side of the Red Sea, which was a dangerous enemy of the Ḥimyarites – especially after Abyssinia accepted Christianity at the time of Constantine the Great (c. 327) – regained its power. After a few years the Abyssinians infiltrated south Arabia, and a Christian mission began to operate among the Ḥimyarites in the middle of the century. Philostorgios, a church scribe who recounts this, admits that Christian propaganda in Ḥimyar was received with great opposition on the part of the Jews. This is the first indication in literature of the existence of Jews in south Arabia. It is reasonable to assume, however, that Jews had lived in this area for hundreds of years previously, and that at least part of the Jewish brigade sent by King Herod with Aelius Gallus (25 B.C.E.) to south Yemen settled in this country (see *Arabia). The attempts by the Christian Abyssinians to conquer Ḥimyar opened the eyes of its inhabitants to the dangers threatening the independence of their land from the Christians, and drew them closer to Judaism and Jewish ideas, which posed no political threats. It is related that the king Ab Karib Asʿad (385–420), who was well known for expanding the borders of Ḥimyar, converted to Judaism. This is the background for the normal Jewish-Arab relations in the south. To a great extent this also explains the activity of the king *Yūsuf ʾAsʾar Yathʾar Dhū Nuwās (Masrūq) in the sixth century. During the following period many south Arabians converted to Judaism. The fourth–fifth centuries C.E. saw the beginning of the national and cultural decline of Ḥimyar-south Arabia. The major reason for this may be seen in the socioeconomic changes which occurred during the decline of the Roman Empire as a result of the victory of Christianity. The decline of interterritorial trade led to the neglect of agriculture and the irrigation of lands, the erosion of dams, reservoirs, and watersheds with resultant floods, etc., and a series of disasters which brought about the wanderings of south Arabian tribes and their settlement in north Arabia. Some of them, the Aws and the Khazraj, settled in the vicinity of *Medina (Yathrib), in the Jewish sections. The decline of south Arabia was caused by a combination of political factors (the Abyssinian conquest), economic factors (the decline of trade with lands of the Roman Empire), and cultural factors (the social schisms between Christians, converts to Judaism, and adherents of traditional gods). The Byzantine conquest, 525–75, was a very difficult period for the country, while the period of Persian rule, 575–630, was also not easy. Nevertheless, with the advent of *Islam the general level of south Arabia was still incomparably higher than that of the *Hejaz.

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[Haïm Z'ew Hirschberg]

HINDUS, MAURICE GERSCHON (1891–1969), U.S. author. Hindus, who was born in Bolshoye Bikovo, Belorussia, was taken to the United States in 1905. A prolific contributor to the press from 1917 onward, he wrote many books about the Soviet Union, which he visited in 1923 on an assignment for *Century Magazine* and on a number of other occasions as a freelance writer. These accounts of his travels in the U.S.S.R. include *Humanity Uprooted* (1929), which discussed social conditions and policies in post-revolutionary Russia; *Red Bread* (1931); *The Great Offensive* (1933); *Mother Russia* (1943) and *The Cossacks* (1945), two World War II books; and *House Without a Roof* (1961). Hindus also wrote three novels, *Moscow Skies* (1936), *Sons and Fathers* (1940), and *Magda* (1951). In time his initial sympathy for the Soviet regime gave way to disenchantment with the totalitarian nature of Russian communism. In his autobiography, *Green Worlds* (1938), Hindus described his boyhood in a Russian village and his search for employment on a farm after his arrival in the U.S. This work includes an interesting assessment of the contrasts between country life in the United States and in Russia.

HĪNENI HE-ANI MI-MA'AS (Heb. הִנְנִי הֶעָנִי מִמַּעַשׂ; "Behold, I the poor in deeds"), initial words of the silent prayer recited by the *ḥazzan* before *Musaf on *Rosh Ha-Shanah and the *Day of Atonement, according to the Ashkenazi ritual. In this prayer the *ḥazzan* confesses his imperfection and prays that he be worthy despite his own shortcomings to be the congregation's delegate to bring its supplications before God. The prayer, of anonymous authorship, originated in Europe during the Middle Ages. In the *Reform ritual main parts from it were chosen as *The Rabbi's Prayer,* to be recited at his discretion.

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HINRICHSEN, family of music publishers. In 1880, Dr. MAX ABRAHAM (1831–1900), founded the Edition Peters and the Peters Music Library. After Abraham's death the business was inherited by his nephew HENRI HINRICHSEN (1868–1942). Under his direction the firm developed a personal association with such famous composers as *Mahler, *Schoenberg, Richard Strauss, and Hugo Wolf. In 1931 his sons MAX (1901–1965) and WALTER (1907–1969) joined the firm. The original Leipzig headquarters were confiscated by the Nazis in 1939. In 1938 Max settled in London, and established Hinrichsen Edition, Ltd. Walter Hinrichsen, who had emigrated to the United States in 1936, founded C.F. Peters Corporation in New York in 1948. In 1950, new headquarters were founded by the two brothers and Dr. J. Petschull in Frankfurt/Main (C.F. Peters Musikverlag). The firm succeeded in reestablishing Edition Peters as one of the most important music publishers in West Germany. In 1989, the Leipzig firm came into the hands of C.F. Peters-Frankfurt. Today the companies make available globally over 15,000 titles ranging from the Renaissance to the avant-garde compositions of today.

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[Naama Ramot (2nd ed.)]

ḤĪRA (Ar. **al-Ḥīra**), capital city of the Lakhmid Arab vassal state of the Sassanid emperors in Persia, located on the Euphrates. The kingdom and the Jewish community supposedly date from the time of *Nebuchadnezzar (sixth century B.C.E.). It flourished during the early centuries C.E., particularly in the fourth century under the prince Imru ʾal-Qays. Contemporary Arab poetry describes several Jewish ceremonies (e.g., *Kiddush*) and attests that Jews were masters of the art of writing, unlike many Arabs of the period. An academy, headed by the Babylonian *amora* *Hamnuna, also flourished at that time. There was close contact between the community at Ḥīra and the leading centers of nearby Babylonian Jewry.

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HIRAM (Heb. חִירוֹם, חִירָם, "My-(divine) Brother-is-Exalted," apparently shortened from Aḥiram, a longer form attested as the name of a king of Byblos).

(1) King of Tyre, contemporary of David and Solomon. According to the quotations from Dius and Menander preserved by Josephus (Apion, 1:112–121; Ant., 8:144–149), Hiram was the son of Avibaʿal (Abibalus). He was 19 years old when he ascended the throne, and reigned 34 years (c. 969–936 B.C.E.). Under his rule Tyre became the leading city on the Phoenician coast, and the beginnings of its empire spreading over the whole Mediterranean must be dated from this time. Menander says that Hiram campaigned personally against a revolt of the people of Citium (Kition) (= Larnaka in Cyprus). Furthermore, it is known that he enlarged the island city by uniting it with a smaller island, on which the temple of Zeus (Baal Shamêm) stood. He beautified Tyre and its temples and engaged in extensive constructions, such as embankments and marketplaces. All this demonstrates the rise of the overseas trade, and also the necessity for a bigger harbor for the large "ships of Tarshish." He demolished the ancient temples and built new ones to Heracles (= Melqart) and Astarte. This building program must have influenced the Hebrew kings. The Bible tells of the friendly relations between Hiram and David. W.F. Albright has suggested that the power of the Philistines was broken by an alliance between the Tyrian kings Avibaʿal and Hiram on the one hand (at sea), and David on the other (on land). The messengers of Hiram who brought cedar trees and artisans to build a palace for David (II Sam. 5:11; I Chron. 14:1) presumably had political and mercantile assignments as well. It appears that when David took the census of Israel, the kingdom of Hiram was only a small strip on

the coast; however, in the days of Solomon it must have been much wider, because the land of *Cabul ceded by Solomon to Hiram (I Kings 9:11ff.) must have bordered on Hiram's realm in the west. According to the Bible, the relations between Solomon and Hiram were on a basis of equality. When Solomon succeeded to the throne, Hiram, while congratulating him, took advantage of the opportunity of initiating closer contacts between the two states. After the congratulatory mission had been sent from Tyre, there was an "exchange of letters" (cf. I Kings 5:16ff.; II Chron. 2:2ff.) between Hiram and Solomon until an agreement was signed. According to Josephus "many of the letters… are preserved at Tyre to this day" (Apion, 1:111). In Antiquities (8:50–54) these letters were paraphrased by Josephus (and later by Eupolemos; in Eusebius, *Praeparatio Evangelica*, 9:33ff.). Tyrian aid, skill, and building material, chiefly cedar wood from the Lebanon, were given in exchange for wheat and oil. Furthermore, Hiram received mercantile concessions in exchange for assistance in sending a merchant fleet from Ezion-Geber to Ophir (I Kings 9:26–28). Both Dius and Menander knew of an exchange of riddles between Hiram and Solomon, a story which reminds one of the story of the queen of Sheba "to prove him [Solomon] with hard questions" (I Kings 10:1). B. Mazar has suggested that there may be a direct connection between the cult of Baal-Shamêm, whose worship apparently grew from the 10th century, and Hiram's help in planning, building, and equipping the Temple of Solomon. The date of the founding of the Temple at Jerusalem in the 11th (Jos., Ant., 8:62) or in the 12th (Jos., Apion, 1:126) year of Hiram, which is given by Josephus as based on the Tyrian chronicles, should be rejected; these dates should be applied to the temples rebuilt by Hiram in Tyre. It should be added that Hiram left the throne of Tyre to his son Baal-Ezer. In the *aggadah* Hiram plays a prominent role, because of his assistance in the building of the Temple (cf. Ginzberg, Legends, index).

(2) Another Hiram, whose title "King of the Zidonians" (cf. I Kings 16:31) is found on a bowl discovered in the vicinity of Limassol (Cyprus), was king in Tyre at the time of Tiglath-Pileser III. This Hiram is also mentioned (as Ḫi-ru-um-mu) by the Assyrian king in a list of kings paying tribute to him (next to Rezin of Damascus and Menahem of Samaria; Pritchard, Texts, 283; Tadmor, 89). In another text Hiram is accused of conspiring with Rezin (Wiseman, in: *Iraq*, 18 (1956), 117ff. = Tadmor, 186–87).

(3) Hiram, half-Phoenician, half-Israelite metal craftsman employed in casting the copper (or bronze?) objects for Solomon's Temple (I Kings 7:13–45; II Chron. 2:12–13; 4:11–16).

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[H. Jacob Katzenstein]

HIRSCH, ARON SIEGMUND (1858–1941?), German industrialist. Hirsch, who was born in Halberstadt, became one of the principals of the Halberstadt metal business of Aron Hirsch and Sons which his grandfather, ARON HIRSCH (1783–1842), had established in 1806 and in which his own father was a partner. Aron Siegmund early recognized the importance of unifying trade and industry in the production and sale of metals, and he devoted himself to the reorganization of the firm. In 1906, on his initiative, the copper and brass foundry Hirsch Ltd. was founded, and the original firm of Aron Hirsch and Sons was merged in the new concern. The Kupferwerke Ilsenburg und Harz and the Messingwerke at Eberswalde were added later to form one giant enterprise under Aron Hirsch's direction and the enlarged firm achieved a leading role in German economic life. Hirsch held an important place in the life of the Jewish community and was a noted philanthropist. He was chairman of the administrative council of the Akademie fuer die Wissenschaft des Judentums.

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HIRSCH, AUGUST (**Aron Simon**; 1817–1894), German physician, founder of the branch of historical and geographical pathology. Hirsch, who studied in Leipzig and Berlin, had originally intended to enter the Anglo-Indian service. His monumental work, *Handbuch der historisch-geographischen Pathologie* (2 vols., 1860–64), was translated into English (1883). It deals with the geographical distribution of diseases and with their appearance and disappearance throughout the ages. It became a standard textbook on the subject. From 1863 until his retirement he held the chair of medical history at Berlin University. Hirsch was active in the fight against cholera and the plague. He was cofounder of the German Public Health Association and its president from 1871 to 1885. In this capacity, he described various outbreaks of cholera in Prussia and Russia. Hirsch was a prolific writer and made numerous contributions on medical historical subjects. He was also interested in ophthalmology and his *Geschichte der Augenheilkunde* was published in 1877. From 1884 to 1888 he was one of the editors of the *Biographisches Lexikon der hervorragenden Aerzte aller Zeiten und Voelker.*

BIBLIOGRAPHY: S.R. Kagan, *Jewish Medicine* (1952), 554.

[Suessmann Muntner]

HIRSCH, EMIL GUSTAVE (1851–1923), U.S. rabbi, scholar, and civic leader. Hirsch was born in Luxembourg and went to the United States in 1866 when his father, Samuel *Hirsch, the chief rabbi of the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg, served a Reform congregation in Philadelphia. After graduating from the University of Pennsylvania (1872), Emil Hirsch studied at the universities of Berlin and Leipzig. His rabbinic studies were pursued at the Hochschule fuer die Wissenschaft des Judentums at Berlin, which brought him under the influence of Abraham *Geiger, Hermann Heymann *Steinthal, and Moritz *Lazarus. Briefly occupying pulpits in Baltimore and Louisville, Rabbi Hirsch moved to the Chicago Sinai Congregation in 1880, where he remained until his death. For many years he taught rabbinic literature and philosophy at the University of Chicago, which he helped found. He was also the editor of the Bible section of the *Jewish Encyclopedia*, and he contributed scholarly articles to it and to the Hastings *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*. Rabbi Hirsch was generally recognized as the outstanding spokesman for the radical wing of Reform in the United States. As editor of and prolific writer in *The Jewish Reformer* (1886) and *The Reform Advocate* (1891–1923), he widely extended the influence of his forceful preaching. In eloquent prose laced with satirical wit, he defended an evolutionary concept of Judaism – nurtured by German idealistic philosophy – in which the disciplines of *halakhah* yielded to the primacy of the ethical idea. "The Jew was by history called to be the proclaimer of an ethical view of the universe and of man, of ethical monotheism" (*The Reform Advocate*, 2 (1891), 362) summarizes his outlook. Identifying the primary mission of the emancipated Jew with a commitment to social justice, Hirsch championed the rights of organized labor and supported pioneering welfare reforms in Chicago.

Although an opponent of Jewish nationalism, Hirsch spoke of the Jews as a people (*Volk*) and conceded that "the mission of Israel is by no means incompatible with the possible re-nationalization of a Jewish political life. A Jewish state, if truly Jewish, would be founded on the precepts of the prophets and as such be the organized effort of rendering justice real in the interrelations of state and state and man and man" (*My Religion* (1925), 290). For all his liberalism, Hirsch was mordantly critical of Jewish apostates and did not spare kinsmen who turned to Ethical Culture, founded by his friend Felix *Adler. Hirsch summoned the Jew to remain steadfast to his particular vocation until the age of universal humanity dawned.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: B. Martin, in: AJA, 4 (1952), 66–82; D.E. Hirsch, *Rabbi Emil G. Hirsch, The Reform Advocate* (1969).

[Samuel E. Karff]

HIRSCH, ERIC DONALD, JR. (1928–), U.S. literary scholar and educator. Born in Memphis, Tennessee, Hirsch was educated at Cornell University (B.A., 1950) and Yale (M.A., 1953; Ph.D., 1957) and served in the U.S. Navy during the Korean War (1950–52). He taught at Yale (1956–66) and the University of Virginia (1966–2002), where he became university professor of education and humanities, emeritus; he was a visiting professor at Northwestern and Oxford universities and a visiting fellow at the Hoover Institution. He was the founder and chairman of the Core Knowledge Foundation.

A respected academic literary critic whose work was concerned with problems of interpretation and the history of the Romantic movement, Hirsch in 1987 published *Cultural Literacy: What Every American Needs to Know*, a book that told an increasingly conservative country that its schools were failing to teach its children the basic information they needed to succeed, and worse, failing to establish a common, shared culture which Hirsch believes is essential to maintaining democracy. It became a bestseller and launched Hirsch on a new career as an educational reformer. He followed this with *The Dictionary of Cultural Literacy* (1988; revised edition 1993; with Joseph Kett and James Trefil), which collected much of the vital information whose absorption would make for a common culture and economic success. Hirsch also founded the Core Knowledge Foundation (originally the Cultural Literacy Foundation) which has developed a detailed, comprehensive curriculum for elementary schools, intended to "[foster] autonomous and knowledgeable citizens, [give] every person an equal chance, and [foster] community." The curriculum calls for uniform content and instruction by age group and abandonment of "progressive" ideas that he believes rule American public schools and destroy the chances of poverty-stricken students. Critics, while agreeing that content is important, have challenged Hirsch's assumptions and have particularly singled out his refusal to take seriously such issues as racial inequality and underfunding as factors in poor outcomes.

Hirsch's critical works include *Wordsworth and Schelling: A Typological Study of Romanticism* (1960), *Innocence and Experience: An Introduction to Blake* (1964), *Validity in Interpretation* (1967), *The Aims of Interpretation* (1976), and *The Philosophy of Composition* (1977). His educational-reform oeuvre includes, beside *Cultural Literacy* and *The Dictionary of Cultural Literacy*, *A First Dictionary of Cultural Literacy: What Our Children Need to Know* (1991), *The Schools We Need and Why We Don't Have Them* (1996), and an edited volume, *Books to Build On: A Grade-by-Grade Resource Guide for Parents and Teachers* (1996, edited with John Holdren).

[Drew Silver (2nd ed.)]

HIRSCH, JOHN STEPHEN (1930–1989), Canadian theater director. John Hirsch was born in Siofok, Hungary. He lived with his family in Endrod (today Gyoma Endrod). When he was 14, his parents and brother were murdered during the Holocaust. Hirsch was first hidden from the Nazis by a maid who secreted him to the Budapest ghetto where he survived the war. A Jewish orphan in postwar Europe, he was part of a group of 175 Jewish children smuggled out of a Displaced Person's camp into Romania. From there he was taken to Greece, then Palestine, before finally coming to Canada. He arrived in Winnipeg, Manitoba, in 1947, where he and another orphan boy were welcomed into the home of a local Jewish family.

Hirsch first studied English in classes organized by the National Council of Jewish Women and went on to study at the University of Manitoba. In 1957 he co-founded (with Tom Hendry) Theatre 77, which, in 1958, joined with Winnipeg Little Theatre to become the country's first regional theater, the Manitoba Theatre Centre. Hirsch was the company's first artistic director. He went on to become associate director of the Stratford Festival in 1967–69 and was its director between

1981 and 1985. He was head of CBC television drama from 1974 to 1978. He directed at the National Arts Centre, Toronto Arts Productions (now CanStage), Young People's Theatre (now Lorraine Kimsa Theatre for Young People), and the Shaw Festival. He also directed in the United States, where he won Obie, Outer Critics, and Los Angeles Critics awards for his productions. Hirsch was awarded the Order of Canada in 1967 and was one of the first high-profile Canadian artists to die of AIDS. Before his death he made a bequest to the Jewish Immigrant Aid Service which has been used to set up a Scholarship Fund to support students in the arts and performing arts.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: M. Knelman, *A Stratford Tempest* (1982).

[Joel Greenberg (2nd ed.)]

HIRSCH, JOSEPH (1910–1981), U.S. painter and lithographer. Born in Philadelphia, Hirsch studied at the School of Industrial Design (1928–31) before he moved to New York. As a Works Progress Administration artist he painted the mural *Football* for Benjamin Franklin High School in Philadelphia. During World War II Hirsch produced around 75 paintings and drawings as an artist-correspondent for the U.S. Navy in the South Pacific and for the U.S. Army in Europe. He is best known for his social realist work in the 1930s in which he rendered the human condition in a representational manner.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: F.K. Pohl, *In the Eye of the Storm: An Art of Social Conscience, 1930–1970* (1995).

[Samantha Baskind (2nd ed.)]

HIRSCH, JUDD (1935–), U.S. actor. Hirsch was born in the Bronx, New York. His first success on Broadway was in a revival of Neil Simon's *Barefoot in the Park* (1966). Hirsch followed this with two off-Broadway hits, *Scuba Duba* (1967) and *Hot L. Baltimore* (1973). He then moved back to Broadway in Jules Feiffer's play *Knock Knock* (1975) and won the Drama Desk Award for Best Featured Actor of 1975–76. Hirsch then starred in Neil Simon's *Chapter Two* (1977) and Lanford Wilson's *Talleys' Folly* (1980), for which he won an Obie Award for Best Actor and was nominated for a Tony Award. He then had a successful run with Herb Gardner's comedy *I'm Not Rappaport* (1985–88), garnering a Tony Award for Best Actor in 1986. Gardner's *Conversations with My Father* (1992–93) earned Hirsch another Best Actor Tony in 1992. His subsequent Broadway performances were in *A Thousand Clowns* (1996), *Art* (1998), and the short-lived *Sixteen Wounded* (2004).

Hirsch starred in the popular television sitcom*Taxi* (1978–83), winning two Emmy Awards (1981, 1983) for his role as the affable cabbie Alex Rieger. He starred in several other TV series as well, although none were as successful as *Taxi*. These include *Dear John* (1988–91), for which he shared a Golden Globe in 1989 for Best Actor in a Comedy Series with Richard Mulligan and Michael J. Fox. He also served as the narrator of the 2003 documentary miniseries *Heroes of Jewish Comedy*.

Hirsch began his film career with a small role in the 1971 movie *Jump* and a bit part in *Serpico* (1973). He then landed a major role in *Ordinary People,* for which he received an Oscar nomination for Best Supporting Actor in 1980. His subsequent major film appearances include *Without a Trace* (1983); *The Goodbye People* (1984); *Teachers* (1984); *Running on Empty* (1988); *Independence Day* (1996); *Out of the Cold* (1999); *A Beautiful Mind* (2002); and *Zeyda and the Hitman* (2004). Hirsch was also the narrator of the 1986 film *Isaac in America*. Nominated for an Academy Award for Best Documentary, it tells the story of author Isaac Bashevis *Singer.

[Jonathan Licht / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

HIRSCH, JULIUS (1882–1961), economist. Born in the Rhineland, Germany, Hirsch began teaching at the Graduate Business School in Cologne in 1911. During World War I he was deputy head of the German price control administration. As secretary of state in the German Ministry of Economics from 1919 to 1923, he took part in negotiations on German reparations, designed plans for the stabilization of German currency, and was instrumental in drafting anti-trust legislation and creating economic advisory councils. A visit to the United States in 1924 resulted in *Das amerikanische Wirtschaftswunder* (1926), a study of U.S. mass production and distribution, and of the non-Marxist policies and tactics of the U.S. labor movement. From 1926 to 1933 Hirsch taught in Berlin, both at the university and at the Graduate Business School, and served as a consultant to many public institutions. He left Germany for Denmark in 1933, and for several years was a professor at the Copenhagen Graduate Business School. In 1941 he emigrated to the United States, where he taught at the New School for Social Research. He also served as chief consultant for the U.S. Office of Price Control, and later as a private economic consultant.

Hirsch's professional interests were focused on two major topics – distribution and quantitative economic analysis – and both are reflected in his numerous publications. These include *Das Warenhaus in Westdeutschland* (1910), *Die Filialbetriebe im Detailhandel* (1913), *Die deutsche Waehrungsfrage* (1924), *Deutschlands Betriebskapital* (1927), and *New Horizons in Business* (1955).

His wife EDITH (1900–2003), the daughter of the Berlin banker Adolph Jarislowsky, was active from 1931 to 1933 in establishing kitchens for the unemployed based on the principle of self-help. In the United States she was active in her husband's firm. Her special interests were agro-economics, the world food situation, and commodity problems. Specializing in agricultural trends and food distribution, she served as a consultant to the Department of Agriculture in the 1940s and 1950s. In 1946 she wrote *Food Supplies in the Aftermath of World War II*. To give the book more credibility, it was issued under her husband's name; but in 1993 it was republished under the name of its rightful author. She was a professor of economics at the New School of Social Research. She was a board member of the *Leo Baeck Institute in New York.

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HIRSCH, MARKUS (**Mordecai Amram;** 1833–1909), rabbi. Born in Tiszabö, Hungary, Hirsch studied at the yeshivot of Pressburg (Bratislava) and Miskolc-Csaba. From 1853 he studied at the yeshivah of S.J. *Rapoport in Prague, and also attended lectures at the university there, served as rabbi of Karcag, and of Tiszabö, and between 1861 and 1880 of Obuda (Alt-Ofen, now part of Budapest). Under Hirsch's leadership this community began to flourish again. He founded a yeshivah and undertook various civic functions. He was appointed to the government commission charged with the arbitration of conflicts within the Jewish communities of Hungary. In 1864, with Rabbi S. Brill of Pest and J. Steinhardt of Arad, Hirsch was entrusted with the task of reorganizing the Jewish elementary school system, as well as with preparing a curriculum for the new rabbinical seminary. He endeavored to mediate between the progressive and Orthodox trends in Judaism, and played the role of conciliator at the General Jewish Congress of Hungary in 1868–69. From 1880 he served the community of Prague and in 1889 became chief rabbi of Hamburg, where he was known as a leader of the enlightened Orthodox movement. His works published in Hebrew, German, and Hungarian include *Divrei Shalom ve-Emet*, and sermons.

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[Jeno Zsoldos]

HIRSCH, BARON MAURICE DE (**Moritz Freiherr von Hirsch**; 1831–1896), German financier and philanthropist. Born in Munich, Hirsch was the son of Baron Joseph von Hirsch auf Gereuth (1805–1885, from 1869 Baron) and grandson of Baron Jacob von Hirsch (1765–1840, from 1818 von Hirsch auf Gereuth), founder of the family fortune and the first Jewish estate owner in Bavaria. His mother, Karoline Wertheimer, ensured that Maurice de Hirsch received the best instruction in Hebrew and religion. In 1851 Hirsch joined the banking firm of Bischoffsheim & Goldschmidt in Brussels and four years later married Clara, daughter of Senator Jonathan *Bischoffsheim, head of the firm. He did not, however, become a partner; instead, he pursued his own business interests, mainly the Oriental Railway scheme linking Constantinople to Europe, which was financed by the Turkish Lottery Bonds (1869 concession). Hirsch was granted control of the railway concession by the Turkish government and by personal supervision and skillful engineering ensured the success of the venture. The railway project and pioneer enterprises in the sugar and copper industries brought Hirsch's fortune to an estimated $100,000,000 by 1890, and gained for him a reputation as an outstanding industrialist and financier.

During this period Hirsch became acquainted with the plight of Oriental Jewry and gave the *Alliance Israélite Universelle one million francs for the creation of schools. He provided additional sums for the establishment of trade schools and eventually consolidated his donations to the Alliance in a foundation yielding an annual income of 400,000 francs. Thereafter, he established his own organization, the Baron de Hirsch Foundation, for educational work in Galicia and Bukovina (1888); the *Baron de Hirsch Fund, in New York, for assisting and settling immigrants to the United States (1891) and later Canada; and the Jewish Colonization Association (ICA) to facilitate mass emigration of Jews from Russia and their rehabilitation in agricultural colonies particularly in *Argentina and Brazil. With these foundations (with a capital of several million U.S. dollars), Hirsch became the first Jewish benefactor to plan large-scale resettlement of Jews. The ICA was formed in 1891 after the czarist government had refused Hirsch's offer of 50 million francs to alleviate the miserable conditions of Russian Jewry by establishing a modern education system for the Jews because it was not given complete control over the allocation of the funds. Within a few years the ICA capital stood at about 180 million francs. The objective of the ICA was defined as the purchase of large tracts of land for "… establishing colonies in various parts of North and South America and other countries for agricultural, commercial and other purposes." A central committee was formed in St. Petersburg in 1892 to organize the emigration of Russian Jews (with the agreement of the Russian government), and a governing body was set up in Argentina to direct work in the colonies. Most of the settlers later drifted to the towns. Later the accumulated funds of the JCA were largely directed to agricultural projects in Israel. In 1955 the JCA was therefore renamed the Israeli Colonization Association (ICA). The foundations in the former Habsburg Empire had lost most of their fortunes after World War I and were dissolved by the successor states.

Countering widespread antisemitic prejudice, Hirsch was firmly convinced of the ability of Jews to be successful in agriculture if they were provided with suitable conditions. In an article in *The Forum* (August 1891), he wrote: "My own personal experience, too, has led me to recognize that the Jews have very good ability in agriculture … and my efforts shall show that the Jews have not lost the agricultural qualities that their forefathers possessed. I shall try to make for them a new home in different lands, where as free farmers on their own soil, they can make themselves useful to that country." The main concern of his idea of philanthropy was less relief than improvement through education. Thus he maintained a certain autocratic approach and preferred to guide his donations through the ICA, the Alliance Israélite Universelle, and a few other organizations that had his confidence. His agricultural projects led the Ḥovevei Zion and later *Herzl to request Hirsch's support for the Zionist movement, but Hirsch, who regarded the creation of a Jewish state as a fantasy, refused assistance. It is impossible to assess accurately the amount of money Hirsch devoted to benevolent purposes. He donated large sums to London hospitals and a Canadian fund for helping immigrants, and gave all his horse-racing winnings to philanthropic causes, saying that his horses ran for charity. On the death of his only son Lucien in 1887, he replied to a message of sympathy with the words "My son I have lost, but not my heir; humanity is my heir." His generous donations were made possible by his outstanding economic and personal skills, assets which had made him a central figure in European society; he was counted among the intimates of the Bulgarian Prince Ferdinand, of the Prince of Wales, later King Edward VII, and of the Austrian archduke Rudolph.

[Hanns G. Reissner / Marcus Pyka (2nd ed.)]

His wife, CLARA (1833–1899), was a cultivated woman and accomplished linguist. As a niece of Solomon H. Goldschmidt, the president of the AIU, and a daughter of Jonathan Bischoffsheim, she was conversant with business affairs and philanthropic organization already in her youth. She worked as a secretary first for her father and, after her marriage to Moritz von Hirsch, for her husband, in whose charity interests she played a guiding and counseling role. As well as assisting in the work of founding colonies and developing schools and farms, she worked to relieve the misery of individuals and supported alms-houses and soup kitchens, distributed clothes for children, and financed loan banks for traveling hawkers. Between 1892 and 1895, she donated over 200,000,000 francs. When her husband died in 1896 she became sole administrator of his vast fortune. She continued her husband's work, turning her home in Paris into her administrative office. During the three remaining years of her life she donated $15,000,000 to charitable works in New York, Galicia, Vienna, Budapest, and Paris. In her will she left a further $10,000,000 to endow philanthropic foundations.

[Moshe Catane / Marcus Pyka (2nd ed.)]

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HIRSCH, MENDEL (1833–1900), educator and writer. The eldest son of Samson Raphael *Hirsch, from 1855 he taught Jewish and general subjects at the high schools founded by his father in Frankfurt. From 1877 he was their principal and for 17 years was also headmaster of the Jewish elementary school. He contributed a series of articles on pedagogical subjects to the monthly *Jeschurun*, published by his father. Among his other works are *Das reine Menschentum im Lichte des Judentums* (1893; *Humanism and Judaism*, 1928); a German translation of and commentary on the *haftarot, Die Haftorot uebersetzt und erlaeutert* (1896, 1913^2; also Eng., 1966); on the minor prophets (*Die zwoelf Propheten, uebersetzt und erlaeutert*, 1900); and on Lamentations (*Die Klagelieder*, 1903). In a published lecture (*Der Zionismus*, 1898) Hirsch adopted a stand against political Zionism, while recognizing it as an admission that assimilation had failed.

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HIRSCH, OTTO (1885–1941), leader of the German-Jewish community under Nazi rule. Born in Stuttgart, Hirsch studied law. In 1912 he entered the legal profession and was in charge of the municipal Food Control Office of Stuttgart during World War I. In 1919 he was appointed a senior official in the Ministry of the Interior. Hirsch was a member of the board of the *Centralverein, belonging to its pro-Zionist wing, and deputy member of the Jewish Agency and promoted emigration to Palestine and adult Jewish education. In 1919 he became head of the Union of Jewish Communities in Wuerttemberg, and in 1933 he was elected executive chairman of the Reichsvertretung der Juden in Deutschland (later the Nazi-imposed *Reichsvereinigung), a post in which he devoted his efforts to the twofold process of organizing emigration and ameliorating the situation of the remaining Jews. His courageous interventions to free Jews under arrest led to his imprisonment several times by the German authorities, but he rejected several offers from abroad to emigrate and take up another post. He was finally arrested (spring 1941) by *Eichmann, who disliked Hirsch's fearless behavior, including his attempts to influence the Gestapo. Hirsch was murdered at Mauthausen camp on June 19, 1941. A memorial for him was set up in 1959 in Shavei Zion.

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[Yehuda Reshef]

HIRSCH, RACHEL (1870–1953), German physician. She was the first Jewish woman to receive the title of professor of medicine in Prussia (1913). In 1905, while working at the Charité Hospital in Berlin, she was the first to describe the unchanged passage of orally given starch grains into the blood vessels through absorption from the intestine. She described the mechanism whereby corpuscular elements, passing through the system of lymphatic vessels, are finally eliminated from the blood through renal capillaries. At that time nobody took her seriously and, greatly disappointed, she discontinued her research. The phenomenon was "rediscovered" some 50 years later by Gerhard Volkheimer, working in the same hospital. At his suggestion the process was named the "Rachel Hirsch Effect." Hirsch was the granddaughter of Samson Raphael *Hirsch, founder of the neo-Orthodox movement in Germany. Miss Hirsch left Berlin when Hitler seized power, and she died in London.

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[Suessmann Muntner]

HIRSCH, RICHARD (1926–), U.S. Reform rabbi and Zionist leader. Hirsch was born in Cleveland and earned his B.A. from the University of Cincinnati and B.H.L. from *Hebrew Union College (HUC) in 1947. He received his ordination and M.H.L. from HUC-JIR in 1951. The seminary later honored him with a Doctor of Divinity degree (1976) and a D.H.L. (1999).

After serving as rabbi of Chicago's Temple Emanuel (1951–53) and Denver's Temple Emanuel (1953–56), he was appointed director of the Chicago Federation and Great Lakes Council of the *Union of American Hebrew Congregations (1956–61). In this capacity, he was instrumental in establishing new Reform synagogues, initiated the Live and Learn Institutes (an intensive adult education retreat program), and organized the Chicago Interreligious Conference on Religion and Race.

Hirsch was the founding director of the UAHC Religious Action Center (RAC) in Washington, D.C., charting the course of the Reform movement's national center for political action and social justice from its inception in 1962 until 1973. He invited the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights, the United Negro College Fund, and the Citizens Crusade Against Poverty to set up their headquarters in the RAC; in effect, it became Martin Luther King's Washington office, and much of the legislation of the United States' Civil Rights Acts was formulated on its premises. As a civil rights leader, he organized Jewish participation in the March on Washington (August 28, 1963) and Jewish response to King's call to Selma, Alabama. Hirsch also served as the Washington representative of the *Synagogue Council of America as well as of the *National Conference for Soviet Jewry, testifying frequently before Congressional Committees.

In 1972, he was elected the executive director of the *World Union for Progressive Judaism, accepting the position on condition that the International Headquarters be moved to Jerusalem. The Reform movement acquiesced; and in 1973, he and his family moved to Israel.

In 1978, Hirsch helped found the Association of Reform Zionists of America (ARZA) and later ARZENU, the International Body of Reform Zionists. He was instrumental in helping organize kibbutz Yahel, dedicated in 1976, and kibbutz Lotan, dedicated in 1983. Hirsch advocated building attractive facilities for synagogue-community centers and was influential in planning and raising funds for the construction of many buildings, including Beit Daniel in Tel Aviv and Or Hadash in Haifa.

Hirsch was also assuming leadership positions in the broader Zionist world. He was elected chairman of the Zionist General Council (1987–92); served as chairman of the *World Zionist Committee for Redesign and Reorganization of the WZO (1993–96); elected president in 1997 of the 33rd World Zionist Congress, and co-chairman of the Jewish Agency's Commission on the Former Soviet Union, a full-time position he continues to hold. He also remains a member of the Executives of both the WZO and the Jewish Agency.

Upon his retirement from the WUPJ in 1999, Hirsch was elected honorary life president of the World Union. The auditorium in Mercaz Shimshon was designated the Bella and Rabbi Richard G. Hirsch Theater. The following year, Hirsch published his fifth book: *From the Hill to the Mount – A Reform Zionist Quest* (2000); his previous works include *Judaism and Cities in Crisis* (1961); *There Shall Be No Poor* (1965); *The Way of the Upright* (1973); and *Thy Most Precious Gift* (1974). In addition, he contributed chapters and introductions to more than a dozen other books as well as articles to numerous publications, in both English and Hebrew.

[Bezalel Gordon (2nd ed)]

HIRSCH, ROBERT PAUL (1925–), French actor and director. Hirsch was a member of the Comédie Française from 1948 and distinguished himself as a comic actor and mime. He appeared in several films including *Notre Dame de Paris, 125 Rue Montmartre*, and *Maigret et l'affaire Saint Fiacre*. In 1965 he made a film in Israel, *Pas question le samedi* (Never on Saturday), in which he played several parts.

HIRSCH, SAMSON (Ben) RAPHAEL (1808–1888), rabbi and writer; leader and foremost exponent of *Orthodoxy in Germany in the 19th century. Born in Hamburg, Hirsch studied Talmud with his grandfather Mendel Frankfurter there. His education was influenced by the enlightened Orthodox rabbis Jacob *Ettlinger and Isaac *Bernays, and by his father, R. Raphael, an opponent of the *Reform congregation at the temple in *Hamburg but also a supporter of *ḥakham* Bernays who included secular studies in the curriculum of the talmud torah of the city. Bernays had a great influence on Hirsch's philosophy of Judaism. Hirsch attended the University of Bonn for a year (1829), where he studied classical languages, history, and philosophy. He formed a friendship there with Abraham *Geiger, and with him organized a society of Jewish students, ostensibly to study homiletics but with the deeper purpose of drawing them closer to Jewish values. The friendship of these two future leaders of the two opposing movements of German Jewry, was disrupted after Geiger published a sharp though respectful criticism of Hirsch's first publication (see below).

During the years 1830–41 Hirsch served as *Landrabbiner* of the principality of Oldenburg, a period in which he wrote his most significant works, *Neunzehn Briefe ueber Judentum* (*Iggerot Ẓafon*; "Nineteen Letters on Judaism"), first published under the pseudonym "Ben Uziel," Alatona 1836 (it has since appeared in many editions, including English, 1899; revised 1966), and *Choreb, oder Versuche ueber Jissroels Pflichten in der Zerstreung* (1837, 1921^5; *Horeb – Essays on Israel's "Duties" in the Diaspora*, 1962). These two works form a complete unit, in which Hirsch laid down his basic views on Judaism which were elaborated and explained in his subsequent writings. The first made a profound impression in German Jewish circles. It takes the form of an exchange of letters between a spokesman for the "perplexed," who expresses in the first letter the doubts of a young Jewish intellectual, and an older representative of traditional Judaism, who formulates his answers in 18 letters. Thus Hirsch employs a semi-dialogical form for his apologetic polemic. H. *Graetz, who was deeply impressed by the "Nineteen Letters," came to Oldenburg in 1837 and remained there for three years in order to complete his Jewish education under the guidance of Hirsch.

In 1841 Hirsch moved to Emden, where he served as rabbi of Aurich and Osnabrueck in Hanover. From 1846 to 1851 he lived in Nikolsburg (Mikolov) as *Landrabbiner* of Moravia. Here Hirsch took an energetic part in the struggle to obtain emancipation for Austrian and Moravian Jewry during the 1848 revolution, and was unanimously elected chairman of the Committee for the Civil and Political Rights of the Jews in Moravia. In Nikolsburg he also applied himself to reorganizing the internal structure of Moravian Jewry and drafted a constitution for a central Jewish religious authority for the whole country. Hirsch adopted moderate Orthodox positions in various areas, including ritual practices and *Talmud Torah* (the study of Torah), thereby provoking opposition among the extreme Orthodox element in Nikolsburg. In 1851, Hirsch was called to serve as rabbi of the Orthodox congregation *Adass Yeshurun in Frankfurt on the Main, a position he held for 37 years until his death. Here he found a small circle of like-minded friends whose encouragement and moral support helped him develop and crystallize his conception of Judaism. The Orthodox congregation of Frankfurt, whose institutions, especially the educational system that he established and supervised, embodied Hirsch's ideas, served as a paradigm for other *neo-Orthodox congregations in Germany and abroad.

Hirsch on Jewish Education

Hirsch based his educational ideal on the rabbinic saying (Avot 2:2): "*Talmud Torah* is excellent when combined with *derekh ereẓ*." Hirsch interpreted *derekh ereẓ*, originally meaning worldly involvement, or ethical behavior and respect toward fellow persons, as referring to the entire domain of worldly occupation, namely secular culture. His ideal of the educated Jew – the *Jisroel-mensch* – was that of an enlightened Jew, deeply engaged in the higher levels of general (i.e., non Jewish) culture and civilization, who remains fully loyal to the Torah and faithfully observant of the *halakhah*. In contrast with the ultra-Orthodox, he viewed secular education as a valuable means for the perfection of the Jew and not merely a practical means for a better adjustment to the non-Jewish society and economy. In that sense the most significant component of this slogan is the word "combined" (*im*), namely the constant effort to bridge the gap between traditional Jewish learning and practice on the one hand and the modern identification with general culture (in its German, Central European version) on the other hand. It was this idea that Hirsch endeavored to embody in the three schools he founded: a primary school, a secondary school, and a high school for girls. Besides the Hebrew language and Jewish subjects, the school curriculum included secular studies (such as German, mathematics, and natural sciences). This modern notion of Jewish education clearly diverges both from the traditional notion of *ḥeder* and yeshivah education and the modern non-Orthodox Jewish schools that were established in Germany in this generation and tended towards assimilation.

Hirsch's attitude to Reform and Secession

Besides Jewish education, the chief contemporary issue that Hirsch faced was the rapid and speedy growth of Liberal Judaism in Germany and its demand for radical reforms in religious and communal life. The challenge of the Liberal-Reform movement put Hirsch's conception of Judaism and his attitude towards emancipation and modernity to a test. In 1854 he published a pamphlet *Die Religion im Bunde mit dem Fortschritt* ("Religion Allied with Progress") in which he attempted to refute the argument of the Liberals that it was impossible to combine traditional Judaism and secular education. In this pamphlet he acknowledged that there was a need for revision within Judaism of external and esthetic elements, but rejected changes affecting the very principles of Jewish faith proposed by the Reform rabbis, or alterations in the observance of the Law. In Hirsch's opinion it was not Judaism that needed to be reformed by the Jews but rather the Jews who needed to be reformed by Judaism; there was not a need for "progress" but for "elevation." For Judaism to have access to the cultural life of Europe it was essential for Jews to rise to Judaism's eternal ideals rather than to bring it down to adjust to contemporary requirements, which he perceived as merely the expression of a desire for a more comfortable life.

Hirsch introduced some external improvements in the liturgy, such as a choir under the direction of a professional director, participation of the congregation in the singing, and preaching twice a month in German. At the same time he defended the traditional Jewish synagogue (*Schul*) against attacks by the Liberals and stressed the "inner harmony" within it. Similarly, he defended the Hebrew language as the sole language for prayer and instruction of Jewish subjects. On the other hand Hirsch removed the *Kol Nidrei* prayer on the ground that it was susceptible to misunderstanding.

Hirsch considered a formal, institutional separation between Orthodox and Reform Judaism to be unnecessary, so long as the latter exercised caution in its demand for reforms and remained attached to halakhic tradition. However, in 1844 the Liberal rabbinical synod at Brunswick took a radical direction in regard to several prohibitions, especially those relating to the dietary and marriage laws. Hirsch urged them to reconsider their decision, warning that this approach of the Liberal rabbis would lead to a point where rupture within "the House of Israel" would be unavoidable. From the Liberal point of view, his demands were unacceptable.

As authority in the congregations increasingly passed to the hands of the Liberals, a breach between the Orthodox and Reform and formal separation became a main focus of Hirsch and his supporters. As a precedent, Hirsch pointed to the congregation in Hungary, where the government in 1871 had recognized the Orthodox congregations as separate bodies. In a memorandum written by Hirsch (published in his writings, vol. 4, 239 ff.), the representatives of Orthodox Judaism in Prussia asked "to permit the Jews to leave their local community organizations for reasons of conscience." In 1873 the Prussian *Landtag* debated a bill which would permit every person to leave his church or religious congregation and added to that bill a statement "that a Jew is permitted to leave his local congregation, for religious reasons, without leaving Judaism." In July 1876 the move was completed when the "Law of Secession" ("*Austrittsgesetz*") was passed and a legal basis created to establish a specific, organizational framework for neo-Orthodoxy.

The "separatist" movement ("*die Austrittsgemeinde*") was joined, besides Hirsch's own congregation, only by small groups of the Orthodox in the congregations of Berlin, Koenigsberg, Wiesbaden, Cologne, and Giesen. These groups then created a complete system of religious services and congregational life, including *kashrut*, education, and a rabbinical seminary. Nevertheless, to Hirsch's deep disappointment, the large majority of Orthodox Jews in Germany continued to remain within the framework of the general community (*Gemeindeorthodoxie*).

In 1885 Hirsch established the *Freie Vereininung fuer die Interessen des orthodoxen Judentums* ("The Free Society for the Advancement of the Interests of Orthodox Judaism") with its seat in Frankfurt. This organization remained restricted during the lifetime of Hirsch and was broadened only after 1907.

Hirsch's Modern-Traditionalist Conception of Judaism

Hirsch's essentialist view of Judaism led him to oppose the conception of the historical development of Judaism, as advocated by H. Graetz and Z. *Frankel. He regarded genuine Judaism as the expression of Divinity, revealed both in nature and in the Torah. Since the Torah is the revealed expression of the Divine will, fully parallel to the law of nature, none of its principles may be denied, even when they transcend human comprehension. It is incumbent on man to search for the revelation of God's wisdom in the Torah, as in nature; nevertheless, this search should be based on the evidence that this wisdom is actually contained in the *mitzvot* to no lesser extent than in natural laws. The character of the Torah as an objective reality lies in the fact that its central pivot is the Law. The Law is an objective disposition of an established order that is not dependent on the will of the individual or society, and hence not even on historical processes. Although the historical process is alien to the eternal Divine law, humanity attains religious truth through experience acquired in time. As a pledge and guarantee, however, that humankind will reach its religious goal, one people was created to whom the religious truth was given directly. Accordingly, that people has no need to learn the truth through experiences acquired in time. Hence that people is not dependent on the historical process. *Menschentum* (humanity), as a concept based on ancient classical civilization and on humanism, is merely an intermediate preparatory stage, which attains its highest expression in *Jisroeltum*.

This view also largely determined Hirsch's attitude to the modern, academic research of Judaism (*Wissenschaft des Judentums). For him there was one criterion according to which Jewish studies were to be measured, namely whether they contributed to the preservation and strengthening of actual "Jewish life." Where faithfulness in observance of the commandments is not put before speculation about them, the speculation becomes imprudent and deleterious.

Interpretation of the Commandments and Their Classification by Various Levels of Rationale

Hirsch's interpretation of the commandments places him in an intermediate position between the Liberal non-halakhic approach and the ultra-Orthodox one. While opposing sharply any view of the observance of *mitzvot* as conditioned on their reasons and their relevance for contemporary Jewish life, Hirsch emphasized the significance of the reasons for *mitzvot*, both on the level of each individual commandment and on the level of comprehending the entire halakhic system as an educational one, aiming at the perfection of human life. According to Hirsch, it is not the practical observance of the *mitzvah* alone that endows it with religious meaning, but rather the conscious deed rooted in understanding its rationale.

Hirsch viewed the entire halakhic life as a holistic educational process consisting of six dimensions: (a) teachings (*torot*) – the principles of the Jewish faith, namely the theoretical groundings of religious life; (b) laws (*mishpatim*) – precepts concerning human relations and ethics; (c) ordinances (*ḥukim*) – commandments the refer to ecological issues and treatment of animals; (d) commandments (*mitzvot*) – expressions of the humanistic domain of religious life, namely the duty to love all fellow humans; (e) testimonies (*edot*) – commandments that constitute and strengthen the memory of the sacred history of Israel; (f) worship (*avodot*) – prayer and sacrifice as an expression of human loyalty to the Divine. Through this multidimensional system, the observant Jew can elevate his or her life and sanctify it.

Hirsch's reasoning with regard to each individual commandment is based on a method of "speculative etymology" or philosophical etymology (a term coined by F. Schlegel). It views the various halakhic deeds and their names as components of a symbolic system, which is at the essence of the Jewish "language" that places human life before God.

Translations of the Bible and its Exegesis

Since Moses *Mendelssohn's Bible translation project, German Jews had repeatedly translated the biblical texts. From the 19th century on, modern Jews repeatedly issued translations and adoptions of the *siddur* (Jewish prayer book). Hirsch too devoted a considerable part of his spiritual energy to the translation of and commentary on the biblical texts, including the Pentateuch (*Der Pentateuch uebersetzt und erklaert*, 5 vols., 1867–78; 1920^{8}; English translation of the commentary, 1956–62), the Book of Psalms (*Psalmen uebersetztund erklaert*, 1883; 1924^{3}; and *The Psalms*, 2 vol., 1960–66). He also issued a German translation of the prayer book (*Israels Gebete, uebersetzt und erleutert*, 1895; English: *The Hirsch Siddur*, Jerusalem 1969). These translations by Hirsch of traditional texts paralleled those of his Liberal contemporaries, who like him responded to the fact that German Jewry could no longer cope with the Hebrew texts of the scriptures and the prayers, and who viewed the Bible and the prayer book as the two main foci of the Jewish heritage. At the same time, those translations clearly distinguish his attitude from theirs. While the Liberal prayer books reflected the view that synagogue worship should be reformed and should be held largely in German, Hirsch's translation aims to preserve and strengthen the traditional forms, which ought to be implemented entirely in Hebrew even when many of the congregants needed an aid in order to follow and understand it. The same is true for his Bible translation.

Views on Jewish Nationalism

Hirsch believed that God established Israel as a people and not merely as a religious community. In his writings a love for Zion can be easily traced. "The Jewish people, though it carries the Torah with it in all the lands of its dispersion, will never find its table and lamp [i.e., its economic and spiritual development] except in the Holy Land" (*Gesammelte Schriften*, vol. 3, p. 411). Nevertheless, in contrast to the first proto-Zionist thinkers, Z. *Kalischer and M. *Hess, he opposed the negation of *galut* by "both Jews and non-Jews whose description of *galut* is always accompanied by a violation and derogation of our rights" (ibid., vol. 4, p. 82). Israel's mission, as Hirsch sees it, is to teach the nations "that God is the source of blessing." For this reason "there was given to it as a possession the Land and its blessings; it was given a state system; but these were not conferred as an end in themselves but as the Torah." These views, particularly in conjunction with the other aspects of his philosophy became in the course of time – through the efforts of his son-in-law, S.Z. *Breuer, his grandson Isaac *Breuer, and Jacob *Rosenheim – the ideological basis of *Agudat Israel.

Hirsch was the founder and editor of the German periodical *Jeschurun* (1854–70; new series 1883–90, edited by his son Isaac Hirsch), which served as a vehicle for the dissemination of his ideas. In that journal, Hirsch published his essays, some of which were later republished in his *Gesammelte Schriften* (6 vols., 1902–12). In English, Hirsch's collected essays appeared as *Judaism Eternal* (ed. and tr. by I. Grunfeld; 2. vols., 1960–66); an anthology of his writings, *Timeless Torah*, appeared in 1957.

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[Simha Katz / Yehoyada Amir (2nd ed.)]

HIRSCH, SAMUEL (1815–1889), rabbi, philosopher of Judaism, and pioneer of the Reform movement in Germany and the United States. Samuel Hirsch belonged to the first generation of modern European rabbis who, combining traditional Jewish learning with university training, founded the *Wissenschaft des Judentums ("science of Judaism"). He was born at Thalfang, Prussia, and served as rabbi in Dessau (1839–41), and as chief rabbi of Luxembourg (1843–66). He then emigrated to America, where he led the Reform congregation Keneseth Israel in Philadelphia until 1888. He spent the last year of his life in Chicago with his son Emil G. *Hirsch, who was the leading Reform rabbi in the United States at the turn of the century.

In his major philosophic work, *Die Religionsphilosophie der Juden* (1842), Hirsch interpreted Judaism as a dialectically evolving religious system. In the manner of the contemporary speculative idealism, which tended to comprehend all of reality under a single unifying concept, Hirsch's system was based on man's self-awareness. Conscious of his distinctive self, man comes to know the freedom of his sovereign will by which he alone among all creatures transcends the determinism of nature. This capacity for freedom is something "given" and implies a transcendent Source, "an Essence that bestows freedom upon him… This Essence he calls God" (*Religionsphilosophie*, 30). A critical disciple of Hegel, Hirsch rejects his philosophic master's contention that Judaism holds a rank inferior to Christianity on the scale of religions. In Hirsch's view, Judaism and Christianity are both equally valid. Judaism is "intensive" religiosity, a way of living with the true God who has entered Israel's midst, while Christianity represents "extensive" religiosity, whose function is the proclamation of this God to the pagan world. Both religions are destined to become perfected as absolute religiosity in the messianic era when the Christians will complete the conversion of the pagans and the Jews will obey the true God freely, no longer by compulsion.

Hirsch opposed sporadic and unprincipled attempts at religious reform by radical lay groups, such as the Frankfurt Verein, who in 1843 disavowed the authority of the Talmud and belief in the Messiah. He was a leading participant at the rabbinic conferences of 1844–46 at Brunswick, Frankfurt, and Breslau, which formulated the basic positions of the Reform movement. Hirsch upheld the rite of circumcision and the use of Hebrew in public services; yet he was the first rabbi to advocate the transfer of the Sabbath to Sunday, which he actually carried out as rabbi of Keneseth Israel in Philadelphia. Though at first adopted by a number of communities, this innovation was gradually abandoned by nearly all American Reform congregations.

Hirsch was president of the first Conference of American Reform Rabbis, which convened in Philadelphia in 1869 and played a leading role in framing the so-called "Pittsburgh Platform" (1885); this platform set the course of American Reform Judaism until the advent of the Hitler era (see *Reform Judaism). Hirsch founded the first American chapter of the Alliance Israélite Universelle and was a frequent contributor to Jewish journals. His other works include *Messiaslehre der Juden in Kanzelvortraegen* (1843), and the polemical *Briefe zur Beleuchtung der Judenfrage von Bruno Butler* (1843).

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[Joshua O. Haberman]

HIRSCH, SOLOMON (1839–1902), U.S. politician and merchant. Hirsch was born in Wuerttemberg, Germany. He immigrated to America in 1854 and worked as a clerk in the East before entering business with his brother, Edward (1836–1909), in Oregon in 1858. In 1864 he was a founder of the Fleischner, Mayer Company in Portland, which became the West's largest general wholesale and dry goods firm outside San Francisco. Taking an interest in politics, Hirsch secured his brother Mayer's (1829–1876) election as Republican National Convention delegate in 1864. In 1872 Solomon was elected a Republican state representative. In 1874, 1878, and 1882 he was elected state senator, serving as senate president in 1880 and as Republican state chairman in 1882. He was defeated in the election for U.S. senator by one vote in 1885. Hirsch served as minister to Turkey during 1889–92, and declined the nomination as minister to Belgium in 1897. He was president of Portland's Congregation Beth Israel during 1900–01. His brother Edward was state treasurer of Oregon for two terms.

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[Robert E. Levinson]

HIRSCHBEIN, PERETZ (1880–1948), Yiddish dramatist, novelist, journalist, travel writer, and theater director. Born in Kleszczele, Poland, Hirschbein left home at the age of 14 to study in various yeshivot, moving first to Grodno and then to Vilna. Beginning in 1901, he published Hebrew poetry and Yiddish short stories. Soon he shifted to drama, starting with *Miryam* (1905), the story of a prostitute, which he wrote in Hebrew and later translated into Yiddish. In 1904, he moved to Warsaw, where he associated with Ḥ.N. *Bialik, I.L. *Peretz, and S. *Asch, all of whom were impressed with his first efforts as a dramatist and encouraged him to continue. *Miryam* and other early plays, published in the fortnightly *Ha-Zeman*, 1904–06, dealt with proletarian themes. Such works included other naturalist dramas like *Nevelah* ("Carcass"), which would later enjoy great success in its Yiddish version, *Di Neveyle*. Before long, Hirschbein, strongly influenced by Maeterlinck, shifted from naturalism to symbolism, in such works as *Oyf Yener Zayt Taykh* ("Across the River," 1905), *Olamot Bodedim* ("Lonely Worlds," 1906), and *Di Erd* ("The Earth," 1907), in which he expressed his distaste for city life and his yearning for nature, a major motif in his later works. Other important plays from this period include *In der Finster* ("In the Dark," 1907) and *Der Tkies-Kaf* ("The Pact," 1909).

After moving to Odessa in 1908, Hirschbein took a far more active role in the production of his own plays. With the support and encouragement of Bialik and students from an Odessa acting studio, Hirschbein organized a dramatic group in Odessa to produce Yiddish plays of quality. For two years this group, under Hirschbein's direction, toured a number of Russian cities and towns with productions of plays by Sholem *Asch, David *Pinski, Jacob *Gordin, and *Sholem Aleichem, as well as Hirschbein's own plays and Yiddish translations of dramas by Semyon Yushkevitsh and Hermann Heijermans. When the Hirschbein Troupe, as it came to be known, disbanded, Hirschbein began a series of journeys that eventually took him to the U.S. Between 1912 and 1917 he wrote a series of folk dramas, which were staged with great success by the New York Yiddish Art Theatre after 1918. His *Di Puste Kretshme* ("The Idle Inn," 1914) was produced in New York under the title *The Haunted Inn* (publ., 1921). During this period he also wrote his famed pastoral romance *Grine Felder* ("Green Fields," 1923).

In 1920 Hirschbein married the poet Esther *Shumiatcher, and they traveled around the world for two years. His travelogues, among the best in Yiddish literature, were serialized in the Yiddish daily, *Der Tog*, and appeared in book form entitled *Arum der Velt* ("Around the World," 1927). Wherever Hirschbein traveled he sought out Jewish inhabitants whom he found even in the most remote corners of the world. His impressions of a trip to Palestine appeared in *Ereẓ Israel* ("The Land of Israel," 1929), where he displays much sympathy for the pioneers who, amid great difficulties, were trying to develop new modes of living in the kibbutzim. Other travels took him to India, Japan, and China.

In 1930 Hirschbein settled in New York, and from 1940 until his death he lived in Los Angeles. During this period he wrote a historical tragedy about the life of King Saul, *Der Ershter Melekh fun Yisroel* ("The First King of Israel," 1934), the novels *Royte Felder* ("Red Fields," 1935) and *Bovl* ("Babylonia," 1942), as well as the collection *Monologn* ("Monologues," 1939). A five-volume edition of 26 plays was issued in 1916. The first five volumes of a projected edition of his collected works appeared in 1951. Hirschbein translated a group of Tolstoy's stories into Yiddish, and some of his own writings have been translated into Hebrew, English, Russian, and German. Seven of his plays, originally written in Yiddish or translated into Hebrew by the author, were published in the volumes *Deramot* ("Dramas," 1922) and *Maḥazot* ("Plays," 1923).

During the early period of his literary activity, when he was under the influence of Peretz and Bialik, Hirschbein tried to achieve a synthesis of naturalism and symbolism, but in the course of time he became a neo-realist. However, even his most realistic stories are imbued with lyricism. His plays display mastery of natural dialogue, and despite the occasional stereotype of character, his figures are robust and alive. Hirschbein is an important personality among the Yiddish writers of the postclassical period who combined new European literary forms with Jewish tradition.

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[Sol Liptzin / Joel Berkowitz (2nd ed.)]

HIRSCHBERG, ḤAÏM Z'EW (1903–1976), Israel historian. Hirschberg born in Tarnopol, Galicia, studied at the Israelitisch-Theologische Lehranstalt and the University of Vienna. He was rabbi in Czestochowa, Poland (1927–39), and in 1943 he emigrated to Ereẓ Israel, where he held a number of teaching posts and was a research fellow at the Hebrew University (1947–56). In 1960 he began teaching Jewish history at Bar-Ilan University and he headed the Institute for Research on the History of the Jews in the Eastern Countries (1970).

Hirschberg's published work includes *Yaḥas ha-Aggadah la-Halakhah* (with B. Murmelstein, 1929, "The Relation of *Aggadah* to *Halakhah*"*); Der Diwan des as-Samau'al ibn Adija* (1931); *Juedische und Christliche Lehren im vor-und fruehislamischen Arabien* (1939); *Yisrael ba-Arav* ("Jews in Arabia," 1946); *Be-Ẓel ha-Islam* ("In the Shadow of Islam," 1957); *Me-Ereẓ Mevo ha-Shemesh* ("From the Land of the Setting Sun," 1957); and his major work *Toledot ha-Yehudim be-Afrikah ha-Ẓefonit* (2 vols., "History of the Jews in North Africa," 1965). Hirschberg also translated *Nissim b. Jacob's *Ḥibbur Yafeh me-ha-Yeshu'ah* (1954) with notes and an introduction. In his introduction he presents a history of the Jewish scholars of Kairouan and a biography of Nissim b. Jacob. He was coeditor of two geographical studies, *Ereẓ Kinnarot* (1950) and *Kol Ereẓ Naftali* (1968) as well as of memorial volumes for P. Churgin (1963) and S. Bialoblocki (1964). He was editor of the division of the history of Islamic lands and departmental editor of Islam and Judaism, the Muslim world, Arabia, Ereẓ Israel (640–1917), Muslim Spain, and Yemen for the *Encyclopaedia Judaica* (first edition).

HIRSCHBERG, JULIUS (1843–1925), German ophthalmologist. Hirschberg, the son of a small merchant in Potsdam, studied medicine in Berlin and served as assistant to the famous Albrecht von Graefe, under whose influence he specialized in ophthalmology. He soon became a renowned teacher and in 1869 opened a private eye clinic where poor patients were treated free of charge. A year later he became lecturer in ophthalmology at Berlin University. In 1877 Hirschberg founded a specialist monthly, *Centralblatt fuer praktische Augenheilkunde*, which he edited for over 40 years. He was a most prolific writer, covering the whole field of ophthalmology, and a very successful ophthalmic surgeon of international repute. Correlating clinical ocular findings with those of the pathological laboratory, he was one of the first to define the specific ocular complications of a number of general diseases, including diabetes and syphilis. His most important contribution to clinical practice was the use of a hand magnet for extracting foreign bodies from the eye. His greatest work, however, was an encyclopedic study of the history of ophthalmology entitled *Geschichte der Augenheilkunde* (9 vols., 1899–1918). This work, together with a series of special historical monographs and translations – with the help of two Arabists – of the manuscripts of eminent Arabian medieval writers, placed him in the ranks of medical historians. Though an ardent champion of German national culture, Hirschberg never denied his Jewishness and was therefore refused the post of a professor ordinarius, for which he had the highest qualifications.

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[Aryeh Feigenbaum]

HIRSCHEL, LEVIE (**Louis**; 1894–1944), Dutch bibliographer and librarian. Born in Amsterdam, Hirschel graduated from the rabbinical seminary and the University of Amsterdam, later serving as a teacher at the seminary and at a grammar school in Alkmaar. In 1923 he was appointed assistant librarian of the Bibliotheca Rosenthaliana, succeeding J.M. Hillesum as chief librarian in 1930. He remained in this post until his dismissal by the German authorities during the occupation of Holland. He was also minister and later assistant rabbi of the synagogue Be'er Mayim Ḥayyim in east Amsterdam until his deportation, first to Westerbork concentration camp and then transported to Poland, where his death was registered on March 31, 1944.

Hirschel's field of specialization was the history of Dutch Jewry and Dutch Jewish writers of Hebraica and Judaica. He was secretary of the Society of Jewish Knowledge in the Netherlands and wrote an historiographical study of the Jews of the Low Countries. His system of a uniform transcription from

Hebrew into Dutch was applied in many scientific studies, and he also compiled the bibliographical biographies of L. *Wagenaar (1925) and the historian A.M. Vaz Dias (1940), and edited a selection of the former's works (1932). Hirschel contributed many articles to Jewish and non-Jewish magazines, proving in *Amstelodamum* (1934) that Hebrew had been printed in Holland before 1627, the year in which Manasseh Ben Israel started his printing office. During World War II he wrote for *Het Joodse Weekblad*, the only Jewish periodical permitted by the Germans. His last contribution was in November 1942. He prepared a systematic catalogue of the Rosenthaliana collection (five parts until 1940) and looked after some smaller libraries (Beth Hamidrash), private collections, and archives. Some fragments of his thesis about Dutch Christian Hebraists, which was written partly at the Westerbork concentration camp, were posthumously published in *Studia Rosenthaliana* (1967).

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[Jacob H. Copenhagen]

HIRSCHEL (Herschel), SOLOMON (1762–1842), chief rabbi of Great Britain. Hirschel, the son of Ẓevi Hirsch *Levin (Hart Lyon), was born in London while his father was serving as a rabbi there. However, he was educated on the continent and became rabbi in Prenzlau, Prussia. In 1802 he was appointed rabbi of the principal Ashkenazi London synagogue, the Great Synagogue, in succession to R. Tevele *Schiff, his authority also being acknowledged by the provincial communities which were becoming prominent. He was thus the first formally recognized chief rabbi of Britain; his authority also extended to the British possessions overseas. He was basically a European rabbi of the old type, with an imperfect knowledge of English and out of touch with the new currents beginning to permeate the community. He preached in Yiddish, opposed even mild reform, and his literary production was virtually nothing. After his death, his library, comprising also a number of important manuscripts, passed to the London *bet ha-midrash.* A biography of Hirschel, *Forty Years a Chief Rabbi,* by H.A. Simons has been published (1979). His son, known as R. DAVID BERLINER (or Hirschel), settled in Jerusalem, where he was murdered in 1851.

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[Cecil Roth]

HIRSCHENSOHN, family of rabbis, who were among the first in the revival of settlement in Ereẓ Israel in the 19th century.

JACOB MORDECAI HIRSCHENSOHN (1821–1888), rabbi and yeshivah administrator, was born in Pinsk. He studied in the yeshivot of Lithuania and Belorussia and served as rabbi in several communities there before emigrating to Ereẓ Israel in 1848. He settled first in Safed, but moved to Jerusalem in 1864, remaining there for the rest of his life. In both cities he administered yeshivot. He was connected with the Yishuv Ereẓ Israel movement founded by Ẓevi *Kalischer and Elijah *Gutmacher.

His elder son, ISAAC HIRSCHENSOHN (1845–1896), rabbi and scholar, was born in Pinsk. In his youth he was educated in Safed and as a young man studied in various yeshivot in Europe. He settled in Jerusalem and on his father's death succeeded him in yeshivah administration in that city. He contributed to the *Ha-Ẓevi* of Eliezer *Ben-Yehuda and signed his name as its responsible editor. He was persecuted by zealots who accused him of heretical views. Isaac pursued research into *variae lectiones* of the Talmud on the basis of old manuscripts and published articles on talmudic themes. He also published various works from manuscripts, including the novellae of *Nissim Gerondi to the tractate *Megillah* (1884). He moved to London where in 1896 he published *Teḥiyyat Yisrael*, a religious Zionist weekly, and there he died.

ḤAYYIM HIRSCHENSOHN (1857–1935), Jacob Mordecai's second son, was born in Safed. In 1864 he went with his father to Jerusalem. In addition to studying Torah, he applied himself to secular studies, and as a result he too was persecuted by zealots. He also worked for Zionism; he supported Eliezer Ben-Yehuda in his effort to revive spoken Hebrew and was one of the founders of the *Safah Berurah* ("Plain Language") society in Jerusalem. From 1885 to 1889 he edited and published a monthly for Jewish scholarship entitled *Ha-Misderonah*. In 1892/93 he published in Jerusalem – together with his wife Eve and his brother Isaac – a Yiddish paper, *Beit Ya'akov*, as a supplement to the *Ha-Ẓevi* of Ben-Yehuda. In 1904 he went to the U.S., where he was appointed rabbi of the four communities of Hoboken, New Jersey, and died there. Ḥayyim wrote many books on Jewish subjects, including *Ateret Ḥakhamim* (1874), on the relationship between the views of scientists and those of the talmudic aggadists; *Yamim mi-Kedem* (1908), on biblical chronology; *Malki ba-Kodesh* (6 parts, 1919–28), on the laws which should govern a Jewish state according to the Torah. He was the father of Tamar, wife of David de Sola *Pool, and Tehilla Lichtenstein head of the Jewish Science movement (see *Christian Science).

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[Zvi Kaplan]

HIRSCHENSOHN-LICHTENSTEIN, JEHIEL ẒEVI HERMANN (1827–1912), apostate and missionary. Born in Russia, he converted to Christianity in 1855 at Jassy, Romania, but keeping this secret he spent some time among the Ḥasidim of *Lubavich and worked on his *Derekh ha-Kodesh* ("The Way of Holiness," 1872), which deals with the fundamentals of the Jewish faith, but betrays the author's Christianizing tendencies. From 1868 to 1878 he worked, under the name of Hermann Lichtenstein, for the Protestant mission in Berlin. He then returned to Russia where, disguised as a ḥasidic rabbi, he distributed his book. He married in Kishinev, Moldavia, a sister of Joseph *Rabinovich who later, probably under Hirschensohn's influence, founded the sect called Community of Evangelian Jews. His true character discovered, he had to leave Russia, and became lecturer at Franz *Delitzsch's Institutum Judaicum at Leipzig. He also wrote *Ḥizzuk Emunat ha-Emet* ("Support of the True Faith"), directed against the *Ḥizzuk Emunah* of the Karaite Isaac *Troki; *Sheva Ḥokhmot* (1883), an anthology of rabbinic statements on science (geography in particular), with annotations; *Toledot Yeshu'a* ("The Life of Jesus," 1883); and *Yeshu'a ve-Hillel* ("Jesus and Hillel," 1894), based on Delitzsch's work under the same title.

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[Shimon Ernst]

HIRSCHFELD, AL (**Albert**; 1903–2003), U.S. caricaturist. Born in St. Louis, Hirschfeld moved with his family to New York where he was 12 and had already started art lessons. He attended the Art Students League. By 18 he was art director for Selznick Pictures. In 1924 he went to Paris, where he continued his studies in painting, sculpture, and drawing. On a trip to Bali, where the intense sun bleached out all color and reduced people to "walking line drawings," he recalled, he became "enchanted with line" and concentrated on that technique. At the theater in New York in 1926 he doodled a sketch in the dark on the program. Asked to repeat it on a clean piece of paper, he produced a sketch that appeared on the front page of the *New York Herald Tribune*, which gave him more assignments. Some weeks later he was engaged by the *New York Times* to sketch Harry Lauder, the Scottish entertainer, who was on one of his innumerable farewell tours. Thus began a lifelong relationship with the *Times*. His sketches over a 75-year career captured the vivid personalities of theater people. He was a familiar figure at first nights and at rehearsals, where he had perfected the technique of making a sketch in the dark, using a system of shorthand notations that contributed to the finished product. He drew Barbra *Streisand birdlike, with wide-open mouth and lidded eyes. Zero Mostel, the original Tevye in *Fiddler on the Roof*, appeared as a circle of beard and hair with fierce eyes peering upward, as at a heaven that did not understand. Hirschfeld's work also appeared in books and is in the collections of many museums, including the Metropolitan Museum of Art, the Museum of Modern Art, and the Whitney Museum of American Art in Manhattan. In the 1930s and 1940s he wrote articles on comedians, actors, Greenwich Village, and films for the *Times*. In the 1920s and 1930s, imbued with a sense of social concern, Hirschfeld did serious lithographs that appeared, for no fee, in the *New Masses*, a Communist-line magazine. Eventually he realized that the magazine's interest was politics rather than art. After a dispute about a caricature he did of the Rev. Charles E. Coughlin, the right-wing, antisemitic priest, he renounced a political approach to his work. He was represented by the Margo Feiden Galleries, which once estimated that there were more than 7,000 Hirschfeld originals in existence. In 1991 the United States Postal Service issued a booklet of five 29-cent stamps honoring comedians as designed by the artist. In 1996 a film documentary of the artist's life by Susan W. Dryfoos, *The Line King*, rich in tributes from those he had drawn and from those he worked with, was nominated for an Academy Award. That year he was also named one of six New York City landmarks by the New York Landmarks Conservancy. A few days before the end of his life, he was notified that the American Academy of Arts and Letters had elected him a member and President George W. Bush notified him that he was one of the recipients of the National Medal of Arts. On June 21, 2003, his 100th birthday, the Martin Beck Theater of West 45th Street in New York was renamed the Al Hirschfeld Theater.

[Stewart Kampel (2nd ed.)]

HIRSCHFELD, EPHRAIM JOSEPH (c. 1758–1820), author and active Freemason at the end of the 18th century. Hirschfeld was born in Karlsruhe, the son of the learned cantor Joseph Hirschel Darmstadt. In his youth his talents came to the attention of Prince Charles Frederick of Baden who enabled him to study in the high school of Karlsruhe and then to study medicine in Strasbourg. Hirschfeld did not complete his studies but acquired a wide general background in addition to his traditional education. From 1779 to 1781, Hirschfeld was a tutor in the house of David *Friedlaender; he frequented the home of Moses *Mendelssohn and was in contact with the Haskalah circles of Berlin. His sensitive character and his quarrelsome nature were conspicuous in his relations with others. In 1782 he worked in Innsbruck, where he met with the founder of the order of masons of a theosophic bent, the Asiatic Brethren, an order organized by the cooperation among monks with theosophic tendencies, Freemasons, and aristocrats. One of its founders was an important Frankist convert to Christianity, Franz Thomas von Schoenfeld (see *Dobrushka), who introduced into the writings of the order portions of Shabbatean literature in German translation. Hirschfeld was received into the order and for several years was secretary to its founder, Hans Ecker von Eckhofen, who opened the order to Jewish financiers, members of the Enlightenment who wished to form closer ties with Christian society. As was customary in mystical orders of Freemasons, he took a pseudonym, Marcus ben Binah. Hirschfeld occupied an important position in the order, especially after the departure of Schoenfeld. Until 1786 he lived in Vienna where he first assumed the name Hirschfeld, and later, until 1791, in Schleswig, which had become the center of the order. Because of a quarrel with Ecker, Hirschfeld was expelled from the order and in 1790, placed under house arrest for several months. However, several important Jews in the organization came to his defense. During those years, Hirschfeld was active as translator of the mystical writings of the order, making it seem as if they had been originally written in Hebrew or Aramaic, and he interpreted the mystical teachings of the order. In 1791 his former friend Schoenfeld took him to Strasbourg, but Hirschfeld left him and returned to Germany. From 1792 until his death he lived alternately in Frankfurt and in nearby Offenbach and maintained close contact with the Frankists who had their center there. His aspiration toward a religious fusion of Judaism and Christianity within a kabbalistic framework was close to the spirit of Frankism. But Hirschfeld never converted to Christianity and died a Jew.

In 1796 he and his brother Pascal published *Biblisches Organon*, a kabbalistic-theosophic translation and commentary on the beginning of Genesis, intending this to be the start of a large work elaborating mystical insights on biblical topics. Hirschfeld moved away from the Haskalah spirit and lived in the intellectual milieu of the order, dreaming of its reestablishment after its decline around 1791. He was close to the Catholic professor Franz Josef *Molitor, later a distinguished student of Kabbalah in Frankfurt, who was greatly influenced by Hirschfeld. In the lively disputes in Masonic circles over the acceptance of Jews into their organizations Hirschfeld was prominent and he was attacked vehemently by opponents of their admission. Even after his death, important persons in these organizations attempted to obtain manuscripts rumored to be in his legacy. He was completely forgotten in the 19th century because his mysticism was not to the taste of the Jewish Freemasons of that period. Much material on Hirschfeld is preserved in the archives of the Freemasons in The Hague and Copenhagen. He was a unique figure at the beginning of the Emancipation, both because of his many-sided personality and because of his activities as a Jew in organizations which then generally were inimical to Jewish membership.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: J. Katz, Jews and Freemasons in Europe 1723–1939 (1970), index; idem, in: *Zion*, 30 (1965), 171–250; idem, in: BLBI, 28 (1964), 295–311; Scholem, in: YLBI, 7 (1962), 247–78. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** K. Davidowicz, "Zwischen Aufklaerung und Mystik," in: G. Biegel and M. Graetz (eds.), *Judentum zwischen Tradition und Moderne* (2002), 135–47.

[Gershom Scholem]

HIRSCHFELD, GEORG (1873–1942), German playwright and novelist. Dissatisfied with a business and industrial career in his father's Berlin factory, in 1893 he read humanities at the Munich University. He began to write plays, encouraged by Gerhart Hauptmann and Otto *Brahm. Hirschfeld's first drama, *Die Muetter* (1896), was his most effective work and a stage success for many years. Written in the tradition of Ibsen and Hauptmann, this example of German naturalism brings to life characters drawn from the Jewish bourgeoisie. Hirschfeld's own experiences inspired his hero's struggle between bourgeois respectability and artistic yearning, between obligations to others and loyalty to his own personality. A second drama, *Agnes Jordan* (1897), also dealt with Berlin's Jewish society. Although Hirschfeld continued to write naturalistic, neoromantic, and sensational plays, he never fulfilled the hopes roused by his first drama. He also published a short story about Kleist, *Daemon Kleist* (1895), and one outstanding novel, *Der Bergsee* (1896). Hirschfeld's later tales were, however, essentially sentimental and entertaining. In 1905 he moved to Dachau, where he became member of the local artist's colony; from 1912 he lived in Muenchen-Grosshadern. He died in Munich.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: W. Heynen, *Mit Gerhart Hauptmann* (1922), 117–38. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** S. Becker, in: W. Killy (ed.), *Literaturlexikon* 5 (1990), 350.

[Sol Liptzin]

HIRSCHFELD, GUSTAV (1847–1895), German archaeologist. Hirschfeld, who was born in Pyritz, Pomerania, was a specialist in Greek and Roman epigraphy. One of the first Jewish scholars to become a fellow of the important Institute of Archaeological Correspondence in Rome, he worked in Italy, Greece, and Asia in the early 1870s and from 1875 to 1877 directed the German government's excavations at Olympia which uncovered the Heraion and the Temple of Zeus. He helped to raise the immortal Hermes of Praxiteles and the statue of Nike by Paionios. It was he who first proposed the excavation of Pergamum, which was eventually carried out by other German archaeologists. Baptized in 1877, Hirschfeld was given an appointment by the University of Koenigsberg, where he was made professor of archaeology in 1879. His writings include *De Cn. Manlii Consulis Itinere ex Pamphylia in Galatiam Facto* (1879) and *Aus dem Orient* (1897). He wrote the section "Knidos, Halikarnassos, and Branchidae" in the *Collection of Ancient Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum* (part 4 section 1, 1893) and articles for the publications of the Prussian Academy for Science.

ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY: ADB, vol. 50, 367–72; NDB, vol. 9, 225; R. Lullies, *Archaeologenbildnisse – Portraets und Kurzbiographien von klassischen Archaeologen deutscher Sprache* (1988), 88–89; N.T. de Grummond, *Encyclopedia of the History of Classical Archaeology*, vol. 1 (1996), 592–93.

[Penuel P. Kahane / Bjoern Siegel (2nd ed.)]

HIRSCHFELD, HARTWIG (1854–1934), scholar of Judeo-Arabic literature. Hirschfeld, who was born in Thorn, Prussia, received his doctorate from Strasbourg (1878). He immigrated to England in 1889 and taught first at Montefiore College in Ramsgate. In 1901 he became both librarian and professor of Semitic languages at Jews' College, London, and lector in Hebrew, Semitic epigraphy, and Ethiopian at University College, London, where he was appointed full professor in 1924. Hirschfeld's chief interest lay in the interplay between the Arab and Jewish cultures as well as in the Arabic literature of the Jews. He published *The Book Chasari (Kusari) by Judah ha-Levi* (1886), a critical edition of the original Arabic text and the Hebrew translation by Judah ibn Tibbon, and also a German (1885) and an English translation of this work (1905; enlarged edition 1931); the Hebrew translation of *The Book of Definitions* by Isaac Israeli (*Steinschneider-Festschrift*, 1896); various studies on the Koran (*Jewish Elements in the Koran* (dissertation, 1878); *Contributions to Explication of the Koran* (1901), among others); *Arabic Chrestomathy in Hebrew Characters* (1892); *Descriptive Catalogue of the Hebrew Mss. of the Montefiore Library* (1904); *Yefet ibn Ali's (Karaite) Arabic Commentary on Nahum* (1911); *Qirqisānī Studies* (1918); and *Literary History of Hebrew Grammarians and Lexicographers* (1926). In addition, Hirschfeld wrote numerous articles in various journals concerning problems of Arabic and Hebrew philology and bibliography; of especial importance is a series of essays concerning the Arabic fragments in the Cairo **Genizah* (JQR, vols., 15–20, 1903–08).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: A. Heymann, *Orientalisches Taschenbuch* (1912), 18; I. Harris, in: *Jews' College Jubilee Volume (1906), cxii ff.; I. Epstein, in: S. Federbush (ed.), Ḥokhmat Yisrael be-Ma'arav Eiropah*, 4 (1959), 497 f.

HIRSCHFELD, HEINRICH OTTO (1843–1922), German historian. Hirschfeld, born in Koenigsberg, Prussia, studied classical philology. While at Berlin he was strongly influenced by Theodor *Mommsen, and became his protégé and close collaborator. He was lecturer at Goettingen (1869), and professor at Prague (1872), Vienna (1876), and Berlin (1885), where he succeeded Mommsen. Hirschfeld was one of the group of scholars who collaborated in the preparation of the *Inscriptionum Galliae Narbonensis latinae…*, as planned by Mommsen. Between 1888 and 1904 he published the Latin inscriptions of Gaul for this work. Hirschfeld's principal scholarly interests were Roman imperial administration and Roman Gaul. His work on Gaul illustrated his concept of the imposition of Roman civilization throughout the empire as a most important aspect of Roman history. Hirschfeld was one of the founders of the Archaeological and Epigraphical Seminar of the University of Vienna, and worked on the systematic investigation of the ancient remains in the Austro-Hungarian provinces. This early work provided the basis for the study of Roman civilization in Central Europe and the Balkans. In addition to his volumes of the *Inscriptionum*, Hirschfeld's major published work is *Die kaiserlichen Verwaltungsbeamten bis auf Diocletian* (1905^2). Most of his numerous smaller works are collected in his *Kleine Schriften* (1913).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Wilcken, in: *Sitzungsberichte der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin* (1922), xcvii–civ; Muenzer, in: *Neue Jahrbuecher fuer das klassische Altertum, Geschichte und deutsche Literatur fuer Paedagogik*, 49 (1932), 304–6.

[Irwin L. Merker]

HIRSCHFELD, ISADOR (1882–1965), U.S. specialist in gum diseases. Hirschfeld, who was born in Riga, Latvia, was taken to the U.S. in 1890. In 1916 he began teaching at the New York Postgraduate School of Dentistry. From 1915 to 1925 he was chief of the first periodontological clinic in a U.S. hospital, at the New York Nose, Throat and Lung Hospital. Hirschfeld occupied similar positions at the Beth Israel Hospital (1924–34) and at the New York Hospital for Joint Diseases (1927–34). In 1928 he founded and headed the department of periodontology at the Columbia University Dental School. From 1929 to 1947 he was attending surgeon at New York's Presbyterian Hospital. In 1941 he was president of the American Academy of Periodontology. In addition to many articles in dental publications, he wrote *The Toothbrush: Its Use and Abuse* (1939). He was active in raising funds to advance dentistry in Israel.

HIRSCHFELD, MAGNUS (1868–1935), medical scientist and sexual reformer. Born in Kolberg on the Baltic coast to a prominent and prosperous Jewish doctor, Hermann Hirschfeld, he attended schools in Breslau and Strasbourg and graduated as a doctor from the University of Munich. He practiced as a general practitioner in Magdeburg, from 1894 to 1896 when he moved to Charlottenburg, a suburb of Berlin. Like his father, specializing in public hygiene problems, he founded a workers' health insurance institution which was widely imitated.

The trial of Oscar Wilde and the suicide of a patient on the eve of his marriage triggered Hirschfeld's lifelong devotion to sexual research in general and homosexuality in particular. In his first work, *Sappho and Socrates* (1896), he maintained that the homosexual urge, like the heterosexual, was the result of an "inborn goal-striving constitution" influenced biologically by "glands of internal secretion."

Heartened by the response to his work, in 1897 he founded the Scientific-Humanistic Committee and gained immediate attention with a petition to the Reichstag for the repeal of Section 175 of the German Criminal Code dealing with homosexual offenses. The petition was signed by most of the prominent figures of his time including Martin Buber, Hermann Hesse, Max Brod, Albert Einstein, Heinrich and Thomas Mann, Stefan Zweig, Rainer Maria Rilke, and Arthur Schnitzler.

In 1908, in collaboration with other leading sexual researchers, he founded the *Journal of Sexual Science*, and in 1909, his *Yearbook for Sexual Intermediate Stages*, which between 1909 and 1923 produced one of the richest collections of homosexual studies in the areas of history, literature, art, music, and psychology. In 1918, he launched his most ambitious project, the Institute for Sexual Science housed in the mansion of Prince Hatzfeld, the former German ambassador to France, which was a clinic, a free university with lectures and classes, and a research center housing 20,000 volumes and a collection of 35,000 photographs from all over the world. Its marriage consultation department was the first in Germany and widely copied elsewhere.

In 1933, he was invited to deliver a lecture at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem.

The Nazis closed the Institute for Sexual Science when they came to power, and his books were publicly consigned to the flames, Hirschfeld moved to France and died in Nice.

His other major works, all in German, are *Berlin's Drittes Geshlecht* (1904), *Die Transvestiten* (1910), *Sexualpathologie* (three volumes, 1917–1920, 1921–1928), *Homosexualität des Mannes und des Weibes* – (two volumes, 1920), *Geschlechtskunde* (1925–1930), *Geschlecht und Verbrechen* (1930), and *Die Weltreise eines Sexualforschers* (1933). Only a few of his works have been translated into English: *Sex in Human Relationships* (London, 1935) and *Sexual Anomalies* (New York, 1942, rev. ed. 1956).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Encyclopedia Sexualis* (1936); A. Ellis and A. Abarbanel (eds.), *The Encyclopedia of Sexual Behavior* (1967), 373–383, 485–493, 956–966, 967–975; N. Garde, *Jonathan to Gide: The Homosexual in History* (1969); A. Young, in: *Chutzpah: A Jewish Liberation Anthology* (1977), 158–160; J. Lauritsen and D. Thorstad, *The Early Homosexual Rights Movement, 1864–1935* (1974), 9–29, 41–43, 73–76.

[Jack Nusan Porter]

HIRSCHFELD-MACK, LUDWIG (1893–1965), German painter, printmaker, and art teacher. Hirschfeld was born in Frankfurt-on-the-Main into a prosperous Jewish family of leather manufacturers. He started to work in his father's business in 1910/11 but enrolled in the Debschitz School of Arts and Crafts in Munich in 1912–14, specializing in graphic arts. After military service in World War I until 1918, Hirschfeld went to the Dessau Bauhaus, where he took part in the workshop for graphic arts as a printmaker from 1919 to 1925. He started teaching in 1922/23, taking up the theory of colors as developed by Wassily Kandinsky, Paul Klee, and Johannes Itten. For teaching purposes he created a cinematograph called "*Farbenlichtspiel,*" which demonstrated the impact of color prisms on art. After the Dessau-Bauhaus was shut down he became an art teacher in the successor organization in Berlin and taught color and form to children. He had several exhibitions showing his "*Farbenlichtspiele*" as well as musical instruments constructed for children's use and models of interior design applying color prisms. After the rise to power of the Nazis he immigrated to England together with his family in 1936 but was detained and finally deported as an "enemy alien" to Australia in 1940. During his stay in London he developed a musical instrument called "Color Chord," a cinematograph transmitting color prisms moving to the sound of triads to demonstrate the interdependence of color and sound. After the end of his internment, Hirschfeld-Mack settled in Australia and served as head of the art department of the Geelong Church of England Grammar School until his retirement in 1957. His teaching as a pioneer of Bauhaus pedagogy had a significant impact on the Australian educational system, especially at the pre-school level. His paintings and watercolors reveal the influence of Bauhaus, especially of Itten and Klee.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: A. Hapkemeyer (ed.), *Ludwig Hirschfeld-Mack – Bauhäusler und Visionaer* (Catalogue Jewish Museum of Vienna, 2000).

[Annette Weber (2nd ed.)]

HIRSCHHORN, SAMUEL (1876–1942), author and journalist, a leader of Polish Jewry between the two world wars. Born in Slonim, Belorussia, of a wealthy and assimilated family, in 1889 he settled in Warsaw, where he completed his studies at a Polish commercial school. The rise of the Jewish nationalist movement awakened Hirschhorn's interest in the problems of the Jews and their culture, and from 1903, when he published the Yiddish pamphlet *Vegn Tsionizm* (Concerning Zionism), he devoted himself to public and literary activity. In 1916 he participated in the foundation of the *Folkspartei in Poland, and as one of its members was elected to the Warsaw municipal council, and in 1919 as a delegate to the Polish Sejm (parliament).

Hirschhorn contributed to a large number of Jewish periodicals in Polish and Yiddish, including *Głos Żydowski, Moriyyah, Ershte Tagblat*, and *Moment*. His Polish work on the history of the Jews in Poland between 1788 and 1914 was published in Warsaw in 1921 (Yid. tr. 1923). From an early age he wrote poems in Polish and translated many Russian and French poems into this language. His translations of Jewish poetry of various periods included an anthology of the poems of Ḥ.N. *Bialik (1917) and a collection of poems by 60 Jewish authors (*Anthologia Poezji Żydowskiej*, 1921). He pursued his activities until the Nazi occupation and wrote a diary, which has been lost, on life in the Warsaw Ghetto, where he perished.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: LNYL, 3 (1960), 159–60 (includes bibliography); Rejzen, Leksikon, 847–9.

[Joseph Kaplan]

HIRSCHKAHN, ẒVI (pseudonym of **Ẓvi Hirsch Cohen**; 1886–1938), Yiddish novelist, short story writer, and essayist. Born in Tzasnik (Belorussia), as a youth Hirschkahn became involved in the Socialist Revolutionary Party and left Russia in 1905, settling for several years in Switzerland. When he returned to Russia, he began his literary career, publishing an essay in Chaim *Zhitlovsky's *Dos Naye Lebn* (1908) under the pseudonym Zvi Girschkahn. His first novel, *Tsvey Veltn* ("Two Worlds," 1910), describes a Jewish city in Belorussia at the beginning of the 20th century and established his reputation as a talented writer. In 1921, Hirschkahn left the Soviet Union and settled in Germany before immigrating to the U.S. in 1925, where he became a regular contributor to *Der Tog* and, in 1934, the *Morgn-Frayhayt*. His other books include *Fun Dervaytns* ("From Afar," 1918), *Nit Hinter a Ployt* ("Not Behind a Fence," 1919), *Unter Eyn Dakh* ("Under One Roof," 1931), and *Akhad Ha-Am*, a biographical novel (1933). He was at various times a Socialist, a Zionist, an anarchist, and a Communist.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Rejzen, Leksikon, 1 (1928), 850–2; N. Goren, *Demuyyot be-Sifrutenu* (1953), 84–6; LNYL, 3 (1960), 165–7. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** M. Olgin, *Kultur un Folk* (1949), 290–94; Tolush, *Yidishe Shrayber* (1953), 154–60.

[Gedalyah Elkoshi / Marc Miller (2nd ed.)]

HIRSCHLER, IGNÁC (1823–1891), pioneer ophthalmologist in Hungary. Born in Pressburg, he studied medicine in Vienna and Paris, returning to Hungary in 1849. Unable to obtain the position of lecturer at the University of Pest, he became ophthalmic physician in the hospital for poor children and later physician in Pest general hospital. His skillful eye surgery and scientific work won him the status of researcher. He introduced new methods and published studies in various European periodicals. From 1869 he was a member of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. Hirschler was also active in Jewish public life and from 1861 to 1863 was president of the Jewish community of Pest, acting as chairman of the general Jewish Congress of 1868–69. From 1885, he was a member of the Hungarian Upper House. Among his important works are *Zur Casuistik der Anaesthesie und Hyperaesthesie der Netzhaut* (1874), *Adat a szaruhártya gyurmájába lerakódott festanyag ismeretéhez* (1872), *Adatok a látóhártya maradvány kórodai ismertetéséhez* (1874), and his *Autobiographisches Fragment* (1891).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: M. Kayserling, in: AZDJ, 55 (1891), 591–2; Zs. Vidor, in: *Szemészet* (1960), 178–86; L. Varga, *ibid.*, 58–66; Zs. Groszmann, *A pesti zsidó gyülekezet alkotmányának története* (1934); *Emlékkönyv… Hevesi Simon* (1934), 159–62.

[Jeno Zsoldos]

HIRSCHLER, PÁL (1907–1944), Hungarian rabbi and biblical scholar. Hirschler was born in Nagykanizsa and was ordained at the Jewish Theological Seminary of Budapest, in 1931. That same year he was appointed rabbi of Szekesfehervar, Hungary. Hirschler's major work is his commentary to the books of Esther and Nahum, published as part of the Bible commentary edited by A. Kahana, *Perush Madda 1* (1930). His critical study of the Septuagint translation of the Book of Ezekiel was published in A. Scheiber (ed.), *Jubilee Volume in Honour of Professor Bernhard Heller on the Occasion of his Seventieth Birthday* (1941), 18–31 (Heb. sect.). While in the ghetto in 1944 he completed a Hungarian translation of the Book of Ezekiel: however, this work was never published. Hirschler was deported to Auschwitz, where he died.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: O. Komlos (ed.), *Études orientales à la mémoire de Paul Hirschler* (1950), incl. bibl. of his writings.

[Alexander Scheiber]

HIRSCHLER, RENÉ (1905–1944), French rabbi and social worker. Born in Marseilles, Hirschler graduated in 1928 from the Rabbinical School of Paris and was rabbi of Mulhouse. At the outbreak of World War II he became itinerant chaplain for the Foreign Legion units in which many thousands of foreign-born Jewish volunteers served. After the Franco-German armistice of June 1940, Hirschler became very active in various fields of relief work in the free zone of France, his main activity consisting of relief work in the various concentration, detention, and forced labor camps to which he had access. On March 13, 1943, the *grand rabbin* of France appointed Hirschler chief chaplain (*aumônier général*) for foreign-born Jews interned in camps in the free zone. In view of the shortage of rabbis in all camps, he was permitted to appoint over 200 auxiliary chaplains (*aumôniers auxiliaires*). He was also active in underground relief work for Jews in hiding. On Dec. 23, 1943, Hirschler and his wife were arrested in Marseilles by the Gestapo. They were both deported to Auschwitz early in 1944 and perished there.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Z. Szajkowski, *Analytical Franco-Jewish Gazetteer 1933–1945* (1966), index.

HIRSCHMAN, ALBERT OTTO (1915–), economist. Hirschman, who was born in Berlin, studied at the Sorbonne, the London School of Economics, and the University of Trieste, where he earned his doctorate in economics in 1938. He was a Rockefeller Fellow at the University of California, Berkeley (1941–43), and then served in the United States Army (1943–46). He was chief of the West European and Commonwealth section of the Federal Reserve Board from 1946 to 1952. He served for two years as financial adviser to the National Planning Board of Colombia, and then as private economic counselor in Bogota (1954–56). In 1956 Yale University appointed him research professor in economics, and in 1958 he became professor of international economic relations at Columbia University. In 1964 he was named professor of political economy at Harvard, later serving as Littauer Professor of Political Economy from 1967 to 1974. In 1975, he joined the School of Social Science at the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton, becoming professor emeritus in 1985.

Hirschman's main interests are economic development and international economics, as well as interdisciplinary fields such as sociology and anthropology. Described as a playful genius who enjoys being unconventional, Hirschman is regarded as a master of viewing old problems in a new way.

Among his many honors, Hirschman received the Talcott Parsons Prize for Social Science from the American Academy of Sciences (1983); the Toynbee Prize (1997–98); and the Thomas Jefferson Medal, awarded by the American Philosophical Society (1998).

His writings include *National Power and the Structure of Foreign Trade* (1945), *The Strategy of Economic Development* (1958), *Journeys toward Progress* (1963, 1965^2), *Development Projects Observed* (1967), *Exit, Voice, and Loyalty* (1970), *The Passions and the Interests* (1977), *Shifting Involvements* (1982), *Rival Views of Market Society* (1986), *The Rhetoric of Reaction* (1991), *A Propensity to Self-Subversion* (1995), and *Crossing Boundaries* (1998).

ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY: L. Meldolesi, *Discovering the Possible: The Surprising World of Albert O. Hirschman* (1995); L. Rodwin and D. Schon (eds.), *Rethinking the Development Experience: Essays Provoked by the Work of Albert O. Hirschman* (1994).

[Joachim O. Ronall / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

HIRSCHMANN, IRA ARTHUR (1901–1989), U.S. business executive. He held key positions in several large New York department stores, eventually becoming vice president of Saks

Fifth Avenue, 1931–1938, and vice president, Bloomingdale Brothers, 1938–1946. In 1935 he served as the chairman of the board of the University-in-Exile which employed many refugees from Nazi Germany. That year he also joined the New York City Department of Education. In July 1938 he was an observer at the *Evian Conference on refugees, which led him to more intensified action on behalf of those who sought to flee from Hitler. A supporter of President Franklin D. Roosevelt, Hirschmann was named special assistant to William H. Davis of the National War Labor Board in 1942. The Emergency Committee to Save the Jewish People in Europe (the Bergson Group) asked him to investigate rescue possibilities in mid-1943.

In February 1944 he arrived in Turkey as the Special Representative of the War Refugee Board. Working with the United States ambassador, Laurence Steinhardt, Hirschmann helped convince the Turkish authorities to allow refugees to pass through Turkey on their way to Palestine. He made a great effort to find a suitable sea-route to Turkey from the Balkans and procure shipping for the refugees. Hirschmann also played a key role in the Transnistria scheme. Through the International Red Cross, he met the Romanian ambassador in Turkey, Alexander Cretzianu, and induced him to press his government to permit the return to the traditional areas of Romania of the remaining Jews, who had been deported to Transnistria. Hirschmann also assisted Hungarian Jewry. After interviewing Joel *Brand, he recommended that the Western Allies enter into negotiations with the Nazis, with the hope that the process would earn valuable time and thereby save their lives. With the help of Monsignor Angelo Roncalli (later Pope *John XXIII), Hirschmann obtained baptismal certificates for Hungarian Jews. He also successfully prevailed upon the Romanians to allow Hungarian refugees into Romania in the summer of 1944. Through the Bulgarian minister in Turkey, Nicholas Balabanoff, he persuaded the Bulgarians to revoke their anti-Jewish legislation.

In 1946 Hirschmann went to work for the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (UNRRA) as a special inspector-general. In that capacity he toured displaced person's camps in Germany and contributed to the improvement of conditions in them. In addition to his other interests, Hirschmann was a talented pianist and musicologist. He established and assumed the presidency of the New Friends of Music in 1946. That same year he became the president of the Metropolitan Broadcasting and Television Inc. Hirschmann published two memoirs, *Lifeline to a Promised Land* (1946) and *Caution to the Winds* (1962).

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[Robert Rozette (2nd ed.)]

HIRSCHPRUNG, PINHAS (1912–1998), Canadian rabbi and talmudic scholar. Hirschprung was born in Dukla, Poland, and was educated in rabbinic literature by his grandfather, R. Tevel Seman, and at the Yeshivat Ḥakhmei Lublin, where he gained renown for his remarkable memory in Torah scholarship. He arrived in Montreal in 1941, having escaped the Nazis in a journey which took him through Russia, Japan, and Shanghai. His escape is described in his book *Fun Natsishen Yamertal: Zikhroines fun a Palit* (1945). In Montreal, he was involved in the affairs of the Rabbinical Council (Va'ad ha-Rabbanim) of the Jewish Community Council of Montreal (Va'ad ha-Ir). In 1969, having served some years as *rosh* Beth Din, he succeeded Rabbi Joshua Herschorn as president of the Rabbinical Council and was thus widely accepted as Montreal's chief rabbi. In this capacity, Hirschprung expanded the Montreal Beth Din's arbitration of personal and business disputes. He also engaged in a campaign to help provide prayer books and other religious articles to Soviet Jewry.

He was internationally known for his grasp of the entire range of talmudic literature and his opinion was sought on numerous halakhic issues in Israel and the Diaspora.

He was the head of Montreal's Merkaz ha-Torah, and established Jewish day schools, notably the Beth Jacob School for girls in Montreal, which was named Bais Yaakov d'Rav Hirschprung after his death.

Hirschprung co-edited the rabbinical journal *Ohel Torah* (1928–32), and contributed many articles to journals of Torah scholarship. He also published a collection of short addresses, *Kuntres Penei Shelomo* (1967).

[Ira Robinson (2nd ed.)]

HIRSH, NURIT (1942–), Israeli composer and arranger of Israeli folk songs. She was born in Tel Aviv and graduated from the Rubin Music Academy. She also studied movie and electronic music at UCLA in Los Angeles, and composition in New York.

After her military service as a musician she started composing songs. Her first song, "*Peraḥ ha-Lilakh*" ("The Lilac Flower"; lyrics Uri Asaf) appeared in 1965. Since then she has composed and orchestrated more than one thousand songs performed by the best Israeli singers and ensembles. Hirsh also wrote the score for 14 motion pictures, such as *Ha-Shoter Azulai* (The Policeman Azulai), *Immi ha-Generalit* ("My Mother the General"), the musical *Salah Shabbati*, and television series, such as *Parpar Neḥmad* and *Kerovim Kerovim*. Her song "*Osei Shalom bi-Meromav*" was awarded third prize in the first Ḥasidic Song Festival (1969) and became a major hit on the international scene and adopted in prayers by many Jewish communities.

In 1973, her song "*Ei-sham*" ("Somewhere"; lyrics, Ehud *Manor) took fourth place at the Eurovision song contest. In 1978, another of her songs, *Abanibi* (lyrics, Ehud Manor) took first place in that contest. Her songs won first prizes in a number of song festivals organized by the Israeli state radio and television authority and in children songs festivals. Her hits reached the international scene and she won first prizes in Japan (1974), Chile (1975), Portugal (1978), Greece (1971), Malta (1972), Ireland (1979), Yugoslavia (1979), to name but a few.

In 1992 she produced together with lyricist Michal Rosen a videocassette for children, "*Did dig doog*." Hundreds of thousands of copies were sold. In 1999 in the wake of that success she made a second videocassette, "*Pim Pam Po*." Four collections of her songs have been released: *Fifty Hits* (Ma'ariv, 1969), *La-Lekhet Shevi* (Yediot Aḥronot, 1984) *Only for Now* (Yediot Aḥronot, 1990), *Dag Digdoog* (Sheva, 1996).

[Nathan Shahar (2nd ed.)]

HIRSHBERG, JEHOASH (**Yehoash**; 1938–), Israeli musicologist. In 1955–62 he studied violin and music theory at the Music Academy in Tel Aviv. He continued his education at the University of Pennsylvania (1966–71) where he wrote a Ph.D. thesis on the theme "The music of the late 14th century: a study in musical style" (1971). The same year he began teaching at the Department of Musicology at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem where he served as the head of the Institute of Arts and Letters (1993) and became professor of musicology (1995). His versatile research fields include 14th-century music, the origin of the early classical concerto in 18th-century Italy, the history of music in Palestine (1880–1946), Israeli music, and, in the realm of ethnomusicological research, the musical tradition of the Karaite community.

Among his numerous publications are three monographs connected with Israeli music, either as a whole (*Music in the Jewish Community of Palestine 1880–1948: A Social History*, Oxford University Press, 1995) or dedicated to prominent Israeli composers (*Paul Ben-Haim: His Life and Works*, Jerusalem, 1990, *Alexander Uriah Boskovich: His Life, Works, and Ideas*, in Hebrew, Jerusalem 1995, together with H *Schmueli); a monograph on the Italian concerto written by Hirshberg together with Simon McVeigh, *The Italian Solo Concerto 1700–1760: Rhetorical Strategies and Style History* (The Boydell Press, Woodbridge, 2004). These co-authors also published jointly a number of concerts by prominent Italian composers of the 18th century.

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[Yulia Kreinin (2nd ed.)]

HIRSHBERG, YEHUDAH (1905–1962), Israeli physical chemist. Hirshberg, who was born in Poland, went to Palestine in 1923 to join a kibbutz. In 1933 he joined the Daniel Sieff Institute (later part of the Weizmann Institute) at Reḥovot. Hirshberg worked on the photochemistry of glycine, alcohols, aldehydes, the deamination of amino acids, the decomposition of solid compounds of hydrogen at low temperatures, absorption spectroscopy, fluorescence spectra, photoisomerization, and other effects of light. Essentially an experimentalist, Hirshberg discovered the phenomenon of photochromism – the reversible transformation of colorless dianthrones by ultraviolet light into colored forms, and also of spiropyrans by visible light.

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[Samuel Aaron Miller]

HIRSHEL (**Hirschel**)**, MEYER** (**Naphtali Hirz b. Judah Selke**; **Joseph Naphtali Hirz Levita**; d. c. 1674), functionary of the Vienna community at the time of the expulsion of 1670, tax collector, and informer. A native of Langenlois, near Krems, and court agent of Emperor *Ferdinand III, he is first mentioned in 1651 when he and other notables were arrested in connection with the murder of the Jewess Leonora, for which the community was held responsible. He was released (as were others later, on payment of large sums) when he undertook to collect the taxes of Austrian Jewry with the assistance of soldiers and without recourse to the lawcourts. He performed this task in an autocratic and corrupt fashion, substituting falsified tax records. Through collecting part of the taxes in textiles and uniforms in lieu of cash he became a forerunner of the Jewish textile industry. He was in a unique legal position: entitled to all amenities provided by the community, he was exempted from its jurisdiction and protected by the imperial court. In 1665, when another body of a murdered woman was found in the Jewish quarter, Hirshel denounced some Jews as connected with her death. However, in 1667 he himself was imprisoned and his possessions confiscated. Although he was sentenced to expulsion, the order was postponed because the judges considered that the authorities could not do without his services as an informer. The evidence collected by a special commission set up to inquire into his affairs contributed to the expulsion of the Jews in 1670. Hirshel settled in Nikolsburg (Mikulov), where he was a leader of the delegation which had secret meetings with the Viennese authorities to try to secure the readmission of rich Jews to Vienna. He arranged the authorization for Jews to attend fairs in Lower Austria.

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[Meir Lamed]

HIRSHENBERG, SAMUEL (1865–1908), Polish painter, born in Lodz, Poland. Hirshenberg painted large historical canvases in the fashion of the time and also many Jewish subjects such as "the Yeshiva," "Uriel Acosta," "Young Spinoza," and the "Jewish Cemetery." His "Wandering Jew" and "Golus" (exile) were especially popular. In 1907 he emigrated to Palestine and accepted a teaching post at the Bezalel School of Art, Jerusalem. He died a year later.

HIRSHENSON, HAYIM (1857–1935), U.S. educator and scholar. Eliezer Schweid and Daniel Elazar call Hirshenson one of those great and almost forgotten men of early Zionist history who undertook one of the most comprehensive efforts of anyone to demonstrate how the traditional Torah and modern democracy went hand in hand. His response was bold and daring even as it remained inside the confines of Jewish law.

Born in Safed, Hirshenson moved with his family to Jerusalem in 1864 after an earthquake. There his father Yaakov

Mordecai established Yeshivat Succat Shalom. His contacts in the *yishuv* were wide including the yeshivah world, where he was well respected, and the world of Maskilim. In the middle part of the 19th century, these worlds were less divergent than they were to become. He worked at a time when Zionism was interested in continuity and synthesis rather than revolution. Thus, he worked with Ben Yehuda and Rabbi David Yellin to develop Hebrew as a spoken language. He took to speaking Hebrew in his own home as well. He traveled to Russia in 1878 where he met with some of Eastern Europe's most distinguished rabbis and in 1884 he traveled to Hungary and Germany where in Frankfurt he established a Torah scientific journal *Ha-Misderonah*, which featured articles by great Talmudic scholars as well as *maskillim*. He returned to Jerusalem where he published a Yiddish paper *Beit Yaakov* and worked at the Abrabanel Library. He also continued his wide range of contacts working with the secular organization of B'nai B'rith and also constructing housing outside of the city walls. He was a teacher in the Lemel School in Jerusalem and faced some problems – including the threat of excommunication – for being too involved in the advance of Hebrew. Financial instability forced him to travel to Constantinople where he became a principal of the Hebrew School Tifereth Zvi and Or Torah. While in Constantinople, he studied Spinoza and Maimonides. He was part of the delegation to the 6th Zionist Congress in Basel and was encouraged to immigrate to the United States where he became a rabbi at a Hoboken synagogue in 1903. While he bemoaned the materialism of the U.S. and the sad state of Torah education in the beginning of the 20th century, he developed an admiration for American democracy.

In the U.S. he became a member of the Agudath ha-Rabbonim. He remained an active Zionist and became well known for his writings, which were not uncontroversial. His works include *Yamim mi-Kedem* (1907), which grappled with the then prevalent issue of Biblical criticism, and *Malki be-Kodesh* (1919), in which he established the theoretical presentation of the future Jewish state within a halakhic perspective. Hirshenson regarded the advent of the Messiah as a historical process, not a metahistorical event and worked to see that there would not be a rupture between the Jewish past and its future.

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[Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

HIRSHFIELD, MORRIS (1872–1946), U.S. primitive painter. Born in Poland, he immigrated to America and went into the slipper producing business. At the age of sixty-five he retired and began to paint. He completed seventy-four pictures, some very large. He painted female nudes and animal subjects.

HIRSHHORN, JOSEPH HERMAN (1899–1981), U.S. financier, mining executive, and art collector. Hirshhorn, who was born in Mitau (Jelgava), Latvia, went to the U.S. in 1905 with his widowed mother and her 12 other children. He began working at the age of 15 as an office boy. At the age of 17 he became a stockbroker and accumulated substantial wealth during the 1920s. Having avoided heavy losses during the 1929 crash, he turned his attention to Canada where he first successfully engaged in gold mining. At the end of the 1940s, Hirshhorn began to finance uranium ventures which led to the significant discoveries in the Blind River region (Ontario). In 1954 he consolidated his numerous Canadian mining properties into a large interest in Canadian Rio Tinto. This reorganization enabled him to concentrate on his collection of contemporary art. In May 1966 President Johnson, on behalf of the United States, accepted Hirshhorn's collection of 4,000 paintings and 1,500 sculptures. In October 1966 Congress voted $15 million for the construction of a gallery and a sculpture garden to house them. The collection is one of the most comprehensive and representative assemblies of modern visual art. The Joseph H. Hirshhorn Museum and Sculpture Garden was formally inaugurated in Washington on October 1, 1974. Consisting of 6,000 paintings and sculptures, it gives Washington the status of a major modern art center. The sculpture collection is regarded as one of the greatest in the world, with examples of virtually every notable sculptor of the 19th and 20th centuries.

[Joachim O. Ronall (2nd ed.)]

HIRSZFELD, LUDWIK (1884–1954), Polish physician, immunologist, serologist, and microbiologist. Hirszfeld, who was born in Warsaw, spent from 1907 to 1911 in Heidelberg where in 1910, in collaboration with the German scientist Emil von Dungern, he demonstrated the heredity of the different blood groups. During his World War I army service in Serbia, Hirszfeld discovered the bacteria of paratyphoid C, which is known as *Salmonella hirzfeldi*. In 1924 he was appointed professor at the Free University of Warsaw. After the occupation of Poland in World War II he escaped from the Warsaw Ghetto, and described his experiences in the book *Historia jednego życia*. In 1945 he organized the faculty of medicine of Wroclaw University where he became professor of microbiology. He also established the Institute of Immunology and Experimental Therapy. He founded a research center in Wroclaw for the pathology of pregnancy. A member of the Polish Academy of Sciences, he introduced the study of seroanthropology in his country. Among Hirszfeld's most important books are *Grupy krwi w zastosowaniu do biologji, medycyny i prawa* ("Blood Groups in Relation to Biology, Medicine and Law," 1934) and *Dochodzenie ojcostwa w świetle nauki o grupach krwi* ("The Establishment of Paternity in the Light of the Science of Blood Groups," 1948).

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[Stefan Lutkiewicz]

HIRSZOWICZ, ABRAHAM (second half of the 18th century), wealthy merchant, purveyor to the court, and financial agent to King Stanislas Augustus Poniatowski. Active in the efforts of the *maskilim to improve the status of the Jews, he submitted to the king and the Four Years' Sejm (in 1791) a memorandum on the improvement of the condition of the Jews of Poland. In it he suggested that those Jews who had no means of livelihood should be employed in public works. He also advocated professional training for adolescent Jewish youth; the abolition of the restrictions preventing Jews from engaging in crafts; encouraging the Jews toward agricultural settlement by offering them land in the Ukraine; the prohibition of wearing luxurious clothing (especially of silk); raising the legal age of marriage; the abolition of rabbinical positions in small towns; and the establishment of hospitals for needy Jews in every town, as well as Jewish representation in every province ("*syndykatura generalna*").

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[Arthur Cygielman]

ḤISDA (c. 217–309), Babylonian *amora* whose long life spanned the second and third generations of *amoraim*. Ḥisda is one of the most frequently quoted scholars in the Jerusalem and Babylonian Talmuds, both in *halakhah* and *aggadah*. According to some scholars, he went to Palestine for a while, and this may account for the fact that he cites many Palestinian traditions and rulings (Pes. 117a; Yev. 25b, et al.), as well as the fact that he is frequently quoted in the Jerusalem Talmud. According to the Talmud, he was of a priestly family (Ber. 44a), and came from the town of Kafri (Er. 62b; BM 6b). His principal teachers were *Avimi (Men. 7a; Ar. 22a) and *Rav (Abba Arikha) in Sura. After Rav's death he attended the lectures of his successor Huna and was counted as one of his outstanding pupils (BM 33a). He nevertheless continued to speak of Rav as "our great teacher" (Suk. 33a) and was always eager to hear any of his teachings which might have escaped him (Shab. 10b). In spite of his own dictum that a disciple who disagrees with his teacher is like one who disagrees with the Divine Presence (Sanh. 110a), he did not always accept Huna's positions on points of law (Ber. 25a). Recognizing R. Huna's authority, however, he never gave a halakhic ruling even on the simplest matter in Sura, Huna's town, as long as he lived (Er. 62b). A question that he asked R. Huna about "a teacher who needed his disciple," was taken by the latter as a personal affront, which led to a rupture between them for some time (BM 33a). They later effected a reconciliation but Ḥisda returned to live in Kafri, south of Sura, where, since it was not within Huna's jurisdiction, he could give independent rulings. After Huna's death the scholars in the academy of Sura moved to Pumbedita, of which the head was R. Judah b. Ezekiel; but after Judah's death they returned to Sura, where Ḥisda was the head for the last 10 years of his life (300–310; *Iggeret R. Sherira Ga'on*, ed. Lewin, 85).

Because of Ḥisda's prominence, the Talmud preserves many traditions concerning his character, his manner of learning and his personal life. He and R. Huna are styled the "pious men of Babylon" (Ta'an. 23b). R. Ḥisda and R. Huna prayed jointly for rain in the hope that their joint prayers would be answered (Ta'an. 23b). In another passage (MK 28a) it is stated that on account of their piety, the prayers for rain of Ḥisda and Rabbah were answered. His scholarship was contrasted with that of R. Sheshet. While the latter's was greater in extent, his own was characterized by depth and thoroughness. Huna advised his own son Rabbah, one of the foremost *amoraim* of the following generation, to attend Ḥisda's lectures, since they were very thorough and sound (Shab. 82a). Rabbah objected that Ḥisda spent too much time on "mere mundane issues" (Shab. 82a) – traditions concerning health and hygiene (cf. Ber. 39a). Huna's response to his son that traditions concerning health and hygiene are not "mere mundane issues" and were worthy of his attention, is indicative of their view of what religious study should include. In spite of the general principle that laws can only be derived from the Pentateuch, but not from the later books of the Bible, he did derive some from the latter (Ber. 25a; Sanh. 83b). His statement, "the Almighty loves the schools which are distinguished by *halakhah* more than all other synagogues and academies" (Ber. 8a), reveals the bent of his mind as does his statement that mountains of exposition could be piled up on every single letter of the Torah (Er. 22a). Nevertheless numerous aggadic sayings are ascribed to him; many of these are on health and hygiene, as already noted; others are on modesty and sexual behavior (Shab. 33a; 140b; Sanh. 110a, et al.), in which he adopted an extreme attitude, stating a man should not converse even with his own wife in the street (Ber. 43b).

His early years were spent in poverty (BK 91b; Shab. 140b) but he became very wealthy as a brewer (Pes. 113a; MK 28a), and in the year 294 he rebuilt at his own cost the academy of Sura, which had fallen into disrepair (*Iggeret R. Sherira Ga'on*, ed. Lewin, 84). He married at the age of 16, though in his opinion it would have been better to have married two years earlier (Kid. 29b). In his private life he was humble and modest, affable and friendly to all. He went out of his way to be the first to greet everyone in the marketplace, even heathens (Git. 62a). His life was apparently very happy and he celebrated many joyous occasions during his lifetime: "In R. Ḥisda's house 60 weddings were celebrated" (MK 28a). He had a large family: seven sons and at least two daughters, who married two brothers, Rami b. Ḥama and Mar Ukba b. Ḥama, who became outstanding *amoraim* (Ber. 44a). He lived to the age of 92 (MK 28a) and the story is told that he was so intensely involved in his studies that the Angel of Death was powerless over him, until finally he succeeded in distracting Ḥisda from his studies long enough that he could take his soul (MK 28a; Mak. 10a).

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[Harry Freedman]

ḤISDAI IBN ḤISDAI, ABU AL-FAḌL (b. ca. 1050), Hebrew poet; son of Joseph ibn Ḥisdai, the author of the *Shirah Yetumah* in honor of *Samuel ha-Nagid; born apparently in Saragossa. Ḥisdai was Abu al-Faḍl's family name. In his youth, in the cultural atmosphere created by the Banu Hud, he studied the exact sciences, especially mathematics and astronomy, and later also medicine, music, and philosophy. But above all, he was well versed in Arabic literature and was a distinguished author of Arabic and Hebrew poetry and prose. Aḥmad I al-Muqtadir (1046–1081), the king of Saragossa, who was fond of intellectuals and scientists and drew them into his service, appointed Ḥisdai as his vizier; from that time the latter served as counselor and minister of the king, writing his letters. Aḥmad's heirs, Yusuf al-Mutamim and Aḥmad ibn Yusuf al-Mustain, retained him in this post. The Arabic writers, who collected the best poems of their poets in Spain, also quote some of the poems sent by Ḥisdai to princes and fellow authors. They, however, also repeat the report, which was apparently already current during his life, that he had become a Muslim. In the opinion of some scholars, this seems to be a fabrication, since his younger contemporary, Moses *Ibn Ezra, numbers him in his book *Kitab al-Muhadara wal-Mudhakara* (36b) as being among the Jewish writers in Spain, without mentioning his apostasy, which Saadiah *Ibn Danan explicitly denies (*Ḥemdah Genuzah*, 15, p. 1). Other specialists, like Schirmann, accept the opinion of Arab historians who think that Ḥisdai became a Muslim and that this was the origin of his political success.

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[Eliyahu Ashtor / Angel Sáenz-Badillos (2nd ed.)]

ḤISDAI (Ḥasdai) IBN SHAPRUT (c. 915–c. 970), the first of the Jewish dignitaries in the service of Spanish rulers on whom information is extant. The family originated in the city of Jaen in eastern Andalusia. From there, Ḥisdai's father, who was a wealthy man, came to Cordoba, the capital of the Umayyad caliphate. Ḥisdai studied primarily medicine, entering the service of the Umayyad caliph Abd al-Raḥmān III (912–961). He was a practicing physician who also engaged in medical research. In the late 940s, when a diplomatic delegation from Byzantium arrived in Cordoba, bringing as a gift a manuscript of the famous pharmaceutical work of Dioscorides, Ḥisdai was a member of the group which translated it from Greek into Arabic. After the fashion of the Muslim rulers who also entrusted their physicians with administrative and political responsibilities, Abd al-Raḥmān appointed Ḥisdai director of the customs department, one of the most important positions in the country's administration. His talents were also applied to various diplomatic activities. When the abbot Johannes of Goerz (Gorizia) was in Cordoba in 953 as emissary of the Holy Roman Emperor Otto I, the negotiations were carried on through Ḥisdai. In 956 he was sent, together with a Muslim emissary, to the court of the king of Leon in order to negotiate a peace treaty with him. The culminating point of his diplomatic activity was his mission to the royal court of Navarre in 958. He was at first sent there in order to cure Sancho, a Navarre prince who had been crowned king of Leon and then had been expelled. Ḥisdai succeeded in persuading the Christian king and his grandmother Toda to travel to Cordoba in order to conclude a peace treaty with the caliph. The appearance of the two Christian rulers in Muslim Cordoba was widely hailed, and justly considered as an important diplomatic achievement. After Ḥisdai had become an important dignitary in the court of the caliph, he was also appointed leader of the Jewish population in Muslim Spain.

He is rightly considered the founder of Sephardi Jewry in laying the foundations of the cultural and religious efflorescence that came to be known as "The Golden Age." He wisely used the antagonism that existed between Umayyad Spain and Abbasid Babylon to create the conditions that would enable Spanish Jewry to establish its religious independence from the *geonim* of Babylon. Abd al-Raḥmān was obviously interested in putting an end to the Babylonian tutelage over Spanish Jews. Ḥisdai embarked on a project that made Spain a major center of Jewish culture. He acquired the best manuscripts, offered opportunities to scholars from Spain and elsewhere, and acted as their patron. His activities were most beneficial to his coreligionists. He supported scholars and intellectuals such as *Menahem b. Saruq, who acted as his Hebrew secretary for a long time – until he lost favor – and naturally bestowed presents on poets, as was the custom of the Spanish magnates of that period. *Dunash ibn Labrat, the most outstanding of the Jewish poets living in Spain at that time, wrote poems dedicated to him. It was Ḥisdai who had appointed the refugee *Moses b. Ḥanokh, who appears to have arrived from southern Italy, to the rabbinical seat of Cordoba. The appointment of this eminent rabbi in Cordoba was of great historical importance for the development of the Jewish community of Spain. It brought about a loosening of the ties between Spanish Jews and the Jewish center in Babylonia; Spanish Jewry thus became independent of the guidance of the Babylonian *geonim*. After the death of R. Moses b. Ḥanokh, Ḥisdai supported the candidacy of his son *Ḥanokh (ben Moses) who was rivaled by Joseph ibn Abitur. Due to Ḥisdai's influence, Ḥanokh was elected rabbi in succession to his father. Ḥisdai is especially well known for his (alleged) letter to Joseph, king of the *Khazars, and the (alleged) reply sent by the latter. In his letter Ḥisdai describes the Umayyad kingdom in Spain and his own status therein, and asks many questions about the Khazar kingdom, while the letter of reply contains a detailed report of the Khazars' conversion to Judaism. There is a divergence of opinion among scholars as to the authenticity of these letters. A text found in the Cairo *Genizah* consisting of a letter sent to Ḥisdai Ibn Shaprut, describing the war conducted by a Christian army in Sicily and the great suffering of the community of Palermo, was published by A. Scheiber and Z. Malachi, in: SPAAFJR, 41–42 (1973–74), 207–218.

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[Eliyahu Ashtor]

ḤISIN, ḤAYYIM (1865–1932), *Bilu pioneer in Ereẓ Israel. A native of Mir, Belorussia, Ḥisin was roused by the 1881 pogroms and joined the Bilu association, going to Ereẓ Israel in July 1882 with the second Bilu group. He worked in Mikveh Israel and Rishon le-Zion. He joined the Bilu settlement of *Gederah, which he later left because he refused to live on the dole. He tried to support himself and his family by working as a coachman carrying passengers between Jaffa and Jerusalem. In 1887 he returned to Russia and studied pharmacology. In the late 1880s and early 1890s Ḥisin contributed articles to the Russian-Jewish journal *Voskhod*, including the diary written during his stay in Ereẓ Israel and a description of his visit to the country in 1890. In 1898 he went to Berne, Switzerland, to study medicine. He was active in propagating Zionism among the Russian-Jewish students in Western Europe, attended the early Zionist congresses, and was an active member of the "*Democratic Fraction." He again went to Ereẓ Israel in 1905, this time settling as a qualified physician, and was appointed as the representative of the Odessa committee of the Ḥovevei Zion in Jaffa. He helped to found the first workers' settlements – *Ein Gannim, *Be'er Ya'akov, *Naḥalat Yehudah, and *Kefar Malal. In 1909 Ḥisin was one of the founders of Aḥuzat Bayit, the first nucleus of the city of Tel Aviv. He died in Tel Aviv.

His diary, translated from Russian into Hebrew by S. Herberg under the title *Mi-Yoman Eḥad ha-Bilu'im* ("From the Diary of a Bilu Member," 1925), is a valuable aid to understanding the period.

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[Gedalyah Elkoshi and Yehuda Slutsky]

HISTADRUT (abbreviation of **Ha-Histadrut ha-Kelalit shel ha-Ovedim be-Ereẓ Israel**, the General Federation of Labor in Israel; until 1966, **Ha-Histadrut ha-Kelalit shel ha-Ovedim ha-Ivriyyim be-Ereẓ Israel**, the General Federation of Jewish Labor), founded in 1920 (for its history, see *Israel, State of: Development of Jewish Labor Movement), the largest labor union and the largest voluntary organization in Israel and largest Jewish labor organization in the world. In 1969 it had a membership of 1,038,653, including housewives and members of its working youth organization, *Ha-No'ar ha-Oved. Excluding the two latter categories, its membership was 719,937, approximately 75% of the labor force in Israel. By 1985 it numbered 1.5 million members, who together with their families included 2.5 million people. From 1995, after the election of Haim *Ramon as secretary general, the Histadrut underwent radical changes in its organization and operation (see below).

The Histadrut until 1995

CONSTITUTION. The Histadrut is more than a trade union organization; according to its constitution, it "unites and organizes all workers, without distinction of creed, race, nationality or outlook, who live on the fruits of their labor without exploiting the labor of others, for the purpose of arranging all the communal, economic, and cultural affairs of the working class in the country for the building of the labor society in the Land of Israel." It therefore conducted extensive economic, mutual aid, and cultural, as well as trade union, activities. Membership was personal and direct. There was no collective or group membership; the member joined the Histadrut first and was then registered in the appropriate union. Wives of members could join with full voting and other rights, even if they were occupied only as housewives. Since 1960, Arab workers and their wives have been admitted with full membership rights.

The policy-making bodies were the convention (*ve'idah*) and the council (*mo'eẓah*). The convention was the highest authority and was elected by the entire membership approximately every four years. In the elections any faction already represented was entitled to submit a list of candidates; any group of members could submit a new list if they had the legal number of signatures, which depended on the ratio of the number of delegates to the number of registered voters (at the 11th convention, it was around 800). Lists were generally submitted by political parties; all national parties except the religious ones, which had their own labor organizations, were represented at the 1969 convention. Members voted by secret ballot, and each party was allotted delegates in proportion to the votes it obtained. The convention elected the council (351 members in 1970), which, in turn, elected the Executive Committee (Ha-Va'ad ha-Po'el), the operative governing body. The Executive Committee appointed the Central Bureau (Ha-Va'adah ha-Merakkezet), which had 20 members in 1970, and the secretary-general of the Histadrut, who was nominated by the majority party. All of these executive organs were divided according to the pattern of the convention, in accordance with the election results. In each town a local labor council (Mo'eẓet ha-Po'alim) was elected simultaneously with the convention. At the same time, and on the same basis, farm workers elected the Agricultural Center (Ha-Merkaz ha-Ḥakla'i), and women members elected the Women Workers' Council (*Mo'eẓet ha-Po'alot).

As set out in its constitution, the Histadrut had four main fields of activity: trade unionism, economic and cooperative activities, mutual aid, and education.

TRADE UNIONS. The Histadrut's trade union activities were controlled by its Trade Union Department, in which the parties were represented according to their proportions in the convention. By agreement, the religious workers' organizations, *Ha-Po'el ha-Mizrachi and Po'alei Agudat Israel, were also represented, and their members received trade union protection in return for an organization fee. Thus, over 90% of wage earners in Israel were organized within the Histadrut's trade union framework. The department was headed by a member of the Central Bureau. The basic unit of the Histadrut trade union organization was the Workers' Committee (Va'ad ha-Ovedim), which was elected on a personal, nonpolitical basis in each place of work: office, factory, plantation, or building site. Local unions were formed by all members in the same trade or industry in any locality. The local union then became a constituent part of the national union, which had jurisdiction in nationwide matters in the industry.

The Histadrut Executive Committee set up national unions when it deemed that the size of an industry justified it, and these unions received their funds from the Executive rather than vice versa. Generally, the executive of these unions was elected by a convention, which in its turn was elected by the membership on a political party basis; in a number of cases there were very long intervals between elections to national union executives. Members of other labor organizations and unorganized workers in the trade were permitted to participate in national union elections. Bargaining on labor contracts, which cover a wide range of social benefits as well as wages, took place on two levels. The Trade Union Department conducted negotiations at the national level with the National Union of Manufacturers on the general guidelines for the collective agreements. In these negotiations, the position of the country's economy and national economic policy were borne in mind. (At the beginning of 1970, for example, the Histadrut's national wages policy formed part of a national economic "package deal" in which the government promised to limit tax increases and the employers undertook not to raise prices.) At the same time, each national union entered into negotiations with representatives of management from its own trade or industry for an agreement which had to be within the general framework of the agreed national policy. Where there was no industry-wide union, local labor councils with works committees conducted negotiations on a plant or district level. The wage agreement normally set out wage rates in detail, dealt with social benefits and working conditions, and specified procedures for the handling of grievances and disputes. Among the social conditions, benefits included were: sick pay, employer participation in the cost of workers' health insurance, paid annual vacations and public holidays, severance pay, and a variety of provident and pension plans.

ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES. For ideological and historical reasons, the Histadrut was engaged in a wide range of economic and social activities not traditionally associated with trade unionism. As the founding members saw in the Histadrut not only a means of protecting the interests of the workers but also an instrument for the development of a modern, independent Jewish society along socialist lines, the organization initiated and developed a large number of economic enterprises, some in the form of autonomous cooperative societies and others owned directly and collectively by the entire membership (see also *Cooperation). The earliest and best-known of these ventures were the *kibbutz, the collective village, and the *moshav, the smallholders' cooperative settlement.

In its aspect as economic agent, the Histadrut was constituted as *Ḥevrat ha-Ovedim, the General Cooperative Association of Labor in Israel. Membership in Ḥevrat ha-Ovedim was automatically acquired upon joining the Histadrut, so that the two bodies were co-extensive. The convention and council of the Histadrut were the highest policy-making authorities of Ḥevrat ha-Ovedim, and the secretariat and secretary-general of Ḥevrat ha-Ovedim were appointed by the Histadrut's Executive Committee. Ḥevrat ha-Ovedim held ordinary and founders' shares in most of the economic institutions owned directly by the collective membership of the Histadrut. It was not responsible for the liabilities of these institutions, but exercised influence through appointment of people in top management, and in cases of divergency on general principles of labor cooperation, the Ḥevrat ha-Ovedim representative was entitled to ask for a decision by arbitration. In the case of the cooperative societies, which were owned and run by their worker-members, the influence of Ḥevrat ha-Ovedim was more diffuse, although its representatives sat in the managements of their central societies and their audit unions.

The labor sector was a major force in the country's economy. At the beginning of 1969 it comprised 211,000 workers: 23.5% of the labor force, 74.7% of the workers in agriculture, 15.6% in industry, 25.2% of those in building, 11.0% of the commercial and financial employees, 24.0% of the transportation workers, 11.8% of public service employees, and 32.9% of employees in the personal services. The net product of the labor sector in 1968 (at current prices) was IL 2,347,000,000, 20.8% of the net national product; the Histadrut's agricultural enterprises in 1968 produced IL 672,000,000, some 75% of the net national agricultural product, while its industrial undertakings had a net product of IL 483,000,000, about 20% of the national total.

The major centrally run economic agencies were as follows:

*Solel Boneh, the biggest Histadrut enterprise, comprised: a Building and Public Works Company with a turnover of IL 462,000,000; an Overseas and Harbors Works Company operating in Africa, Asia, and the Middle East, with a turnover of IL 138,000,000; and Koor, an industrial holding company, whose factories employed 12,000 workers with a turnover of IL 700,000,000 – all in 1969. Koor had a large number of enterprises in heavy and medium industry with plants all over the country, including the Vulcan foundries, Nesher cement, Phoenicia glass, and the steel complex at Acre. Among other subsidiary enterprises of Solel Boneh and Koor were quarries and factories producing building materials, sanitary installations, ceramics, rubber, tiles, electrical and electronic products, laboratory instruments, paper, etc.

*Ha-Mashbir ha-Merkazi, the Wholesale Cooperative Society, had (1969) about 550 affiliated cooperative enterprises, together with a chain of about 1,500 consumer cooperatives and retail department stores over the entire country,

*Tnuva, which markets the products of the Histadrut agricultural settlements and is cooperatively owned by them, handled over two-thirds of all farm produce and was increasingly active in exports. Bank ha-Po'alim, with its subsidiary and associated companies – Ampal, to channel foreign investments; the Israel-America Bank for the development of industry; a bank for housing mortgages; and Gemel, which serves provident and pension funds – had become the second-largest investment company in the country with 150 branches.

Shikkun, the Cooperative Housing Society, raised the standards of workers' housing and enabled thousands of wage earners to buy their own houses.

Hassneh was one of the largest insurance companies in Israel.

Industrial and service cooperatives engaged in such diverse activities as light metalworking, woodwork, printing, baking, kerosene distribution, laundries, and restaurants. Nearly the whole field of road passenger transport was covered by cooperatives, the largest being Egged and Dan, in which the great majority of the drivers and employees were shareholding members; there were also many cooperatives in the field of freight transport by road.

In the early 1980s Israel faced a severe economic crisis, with extremely high rates of inflation. The crisis affected many companies in Israel, including those owned by the Histadrut. Consequently, during the 1980s and the 1990s, in order to survive economically, the Histadrut gradually sold off all its economic assets, liquidating Ḥevrat ha-Ovedim.

MUTUAL AID. The mutual aid institutions of the Histadrut were Kuppat Ḥolim, the Workers Sick Fund; Keren Nekhut, a fund for the aid of members who are chronically ill or permanently disabled; Mishan, which supported orphans' and old-age homes; Maẓẓiv, a fund to aid indigent families with burial expenses; Dor le-Dor, a fund to supplement pensions that do not reach a basic minimum; and an unemployment fund. Kuppat Ḥolim was one of the Histadrut's major instruments of mutual aid. It provided for comprehensive medical care, including treatment in clinics or at home; hospitalization; medical appliances and drugs; treatment and, if necessary, hospitalization for chronic diseases; and rehabilitation therapy.

Every member of the Histadrut paid approximately 4.5% (up to a maximum fixed from time to time) of his wages to the union as dues. Around half of this payment was allocated to Kuppat Ḥolim, of which every member of the Histadrut was automatically a member. Members could also insure their families in the fund by adding 80% of this payment to the fund. Unemployed members were exempt from payment, and new immigrants were given special privileges, including three months' free insurance and nine months at reduced rates. Social welfare cases were given free care with a minimum contribution from the Ministry of Social Welfare. Members of Ha-Po'el ha-Mizrachi, Po'alei Agudat Israel, and certain other organizations were also insured with Kuppat Ḥolim. At the end of 1968, it covered 1,990,000 people – 68% of the population. Membership dues covered 30–40% of the overall expenses of Kuppat Ḥolim, while government participation rose from 7.4% in 1948 to 13.1% in 1968.

There were several provident funds for various types of employees. The largest was Mivtaḥim, which provided pension, holiday, and other payments for a large variety of workers, including casual laborers. There were also funds for clerks and officials, employees of Histadrut industries, members of cooperatives, agricultural workers, and building workers. Mivtaḥim and the last two funds also covered payments for holidays, work accidents, rehabilitation where necessary, and so forth. Pension rates were raised in accordance with the rise in the cost of living and kept pace with wage increases. The total membership of the funds was in 1968 over 350,000 – together with families about half the population of the country – and their accumulated capital amounted to more than IL 20,000,000,000. The funds were under treasury supervision, and 80% of their capital had to be invested in government-recognized securities; half of this was generally invested in securities issued by Gemel, the Histadrut investment company. Of the remaining 20%, about half was used for low-interest loans to members for housing, etc. The operations of the funds not only contributed a valuable social service, but were of considerable economic importance as a method of saving and a source of capital investment.

EDUCATIONAL AND CULTURAL ACTIVITIES. The Histadrut's Cultural Department provided a variety of services for members in town and country. These included lectures; films; publications and periodicals; organized trips; courses in Hebrew, geography, Bible, music, dancing, and the arts; clubs and libraries; educational books and materials; theater performances for immigrants; libraries for schools in immigrant centers, in cooperation with the Beth Hanassi Children's Libraries Fund; educational circles for parents; and schools for trade union leaders. In addition, the local labor councils engaged in similar activities on their own initiative, and there was a wide network of cultural committees in towns and villages. There were special departments for the kibbutzim and the moshavim. Among the permanent central educational institutions were a labor archive; a museum; two colleges, one in Tel Aviv and one in the Jordan Valley; and the Amal chain of vocational high schools. The Afro-Asian Institute, set up to train people from developing countries in trade unionism and cooperation, was established in Tel Aviv in 1961. *Davar* was the Histadrut's daily newspaper; a special, vocalized daily in simple Hebrew for immigrants, *Omer*, was also published. In the 1980s *Davar* began to lose its audience to other newspapers, and was finally closed in 1996. Am Oved ("Working People"), the Histadrut publishing house, published both original Hebrew literature and translations. Ha-Po'el ("The Worker"), the Histadrut's sports association, was the largest in the country. There was also a trade union and social organization for young people, Ha-No'ar ha-Oved ve-ha-Lomed, with some 100,000 members.

ARAB WORKERS. Arabs and members of other minority communities joined the Histadrut as full members. There were union branches in Arab centers, and, in mixed places of work, joint workers' committees were elected by Arab and Jewish workers. With the assistance and advice of the Histadrut, agricultural, industrial, consumer, and housing cooperatives were established in Arab areas; Kuppat Ḥolim operated general and mother-and-child clinics, and the Histadrut, especially through its youth and women's movements, maintained clubs and cultural activities in Arab towns and villages. There were 118,098 Arab members in 1969 – 29% of the Arab population, including about 5,000 in Jerusalem, who joined after the reunification of the city in 1967 and were served by a Kuppat Ḥolim branch in East Jerusalem.

INTERNATIONAL AFFILIATIONS. The Histadrut was affiliated to the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, and maintained close ties with its member federations. It sent experienced trade unionists to advise on labor organization, particularly in Asia and Africa, and many delegations and groups of students, particularly from developing countries, came to Israel to study its methods and achievements. The trade unions in these countries were interested in the Histadrut's unitary structure, its success in integrating members with varied cultural and educational backgrounds, and its prominent role in national life. Its Afro-Asian Institute was an important international center for labor studies. The Histadrut also belonged to the International Cooperative Alliance, which represented cooperative movements in both Western and Communist countries, and Israel's cooperative economy aroused widespread interest. Despite Israel's small size, its representatives played a prominent part in the work of the International Labor Office and were regularly elected to its governing body. The Histadrut's influence in all branches of the international labor movement was an asset of considerable political importance for Israel and reflected the socialist ethos that prevailed in the country until the 1980s.

[Lois Bar-Yaacov and Moses Aberbach]

The Histadrut since 1995

On the eve of the May 1994 elections for the Histadrut leadership, a group of three Labor Knesset members, headed by Haim *Ramon, then minister of health, decided to run as an independent list called New Life. It challenged the old-guard leadership headed by Secretary-General Haim Haberfeld and the Labor Party rule of the Histadrut that had lasted since its creation in 1920. The New Life list argued that the Histadrut must adapt itself to the realities of Israel on the eve of the year 2000, shed its old image as a wasteful and bloated bureaucratic organization that had lost touch with the Israeli worker, and above all stated that the time had come to institute an orderly and honest accounting and administration of the vast holdings of the Histadrut.

On May 10, 1994, the Ramon list won 47% of the votes, while Labor (headed by the incumbent Haberfeld) won 33%. Ramon was elected secretary-general, a title he soon changed to Histadrut chairman, and, upon entering office on July 6, 1994 (in coalition with Labor), announced far-reaching reforms. Among them was the firing of some 45% of the Histadrut and various Workers Council staff, moving the headquarters to Jerusalem by December 1995 (a failed effort; the headquarters returned to Tel Aviv a few years later), the sale of holdings and assets (which had already begun), and a general restructuring of the Histadrut. The reforms were underscored by changing the Histadrut's name to the New Histadrut (Histradrut ha-Oevdim ha-Ḥadashah). Following the Rabin assassination in November 1995, Ramon joined the Peres government as minister of interior and was succeeded by Amir *Peretz. By the time Ramon had returned to the government, he was responsible for a number of dramatic changes, including the legislation of two major laws. The first was the State Pension Law, in which responsibility for the Histadrut pension funds, whose projected deficit was estimated at IS 40 billion, was transferred to the government. Responsibility for the health services of Kuppat Ḥolim (the Sick Fund) were also transferred to the government, after the passage of the State Health Insurance Law in January 1995, a law initiated by Ramon as minister of health. In accordance with the law, residents of Israel would pay a health tax to the state (for this purpose the National Insurance Institute), and be free to choose free health services in one of four health funds.

The Histadrut leadership was reduced in number, the membership of the central committee dropping from 40 to 24; the 374 members and alternates of the Histradut Committee was reduced to 137, becoming what was now called the Histadrut's Elected Assembly. The internal comptroller's office was strengthened and given greater independence.

A massive campaign was launched to investigate charges of corruption, mismanagement of funds, and use of Histadrut funds for personal primary campaigns. Some of the results were submitted to the police for additional investigation and a number of former leaders were charged. This was accompanied by massive budgetary cuts, from IS 740 million in 1994 to IS 440 million in 1995. The number of members was 661,855 in June 1995. Among them, 534,920 were salaried and the rest pensioners, members of kibbutzim and moshavim, students, and household workers.

At the outset of the 21st century the Histadrut operated mainly as a conventional trade union. The organization suffered from a constant deficit, which made its work difficult. The trade union department became the center of Histadrut activity, coordinating and supervising the operations of the national associations and big company unions (such as Bezek and the Electric Corporation), which are seen as dominating the Histadrut. The main tools left to the Histadrut after the reform were demonstrations and strikes, which were resorted to mainly in the public sector. As a trade union, the Histadrut provides such services to its members as representation in national and sectoral negotiations, protection of workers' salaries, legal and economic advice to unions, and information on labor relations.

In 1997 Amir Peretz founded a new workers' party, Am Eḥad (One People), aiming at representing the workers politically and promoting social legislation. In the 1999 elections it won two seats, and in 2003 it increased its representation to three Knesset members. In 2004 it joined the *Israel Labor Party and in 2005 Peretz won a surprise victory over Shimon Peres in the Labor primaries to become the head of the party, with Peretz relinquishing the role of Histradrut chairman.

The Histadrut reforms were probably the first major changes in those Israeli institutions that played a dominant role in the Mandatory period and the formative years of Israel. With the passage of time, and in view of their inability to adjust to the new environment, changes were inevitable.

[Meron Medzini and Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

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HISTADRUT HA-OVEDIM HA-LE'UMMIT ("National Labor Federation"), organization founded in Jerusalem in 1934. It came into being as a result of a basic clash of outlooks between *Revisionist workers and the *Histadrut. The Revisionists criticized the Histadrut for being socialist and a class organ, demanded that it confine itself to trade union organization, and charged it with discriminating in the allocation of employment against members of the Revisionist Labor Bloc, which emphasized the national rather than the class interests of the workers.

In 1930, the convention of the Revisionist Labor Bloc decided to leave the Histadrut and founded Irgun Ovedei ha-Ẓohar u-Vetar (the Organization of Revisionists and Betar Workers) in Palestine, which, in 1934, became the Histradut ha-Ovedim ha-Le'ummit. Its purpose, according to its constitution, was to "unite all national workers in Palestine loyal to the principle of the establishment of the Jewish state in all of Palestine." It advocated compulsory national arbitration in all labor disputes, the establishment of neutral labor exchanges, the entrenchment of Jewish labor, fair conditions for the worker, and the development of good relations between workers and employers. Its symbol was the blue and white flag (in contradistinction to the red flag used by the Histadrut); its anthem was "*Ha-Tikvah," not the "Internationale"; and it chose the anniversary of Herzl's death, the 20th of Tammuz, rather than the First of May, as its annual workers' holiday.

Later the National Labor Federation became unaffiliated with any political party. In 1970 it had about 80,000 members. It stressed the need for a complete separation between the functions of the employer and those of the trade union, and opposed the combination of the two functions in the Histadrut, whose economic arm, Ḥevrat ha-Ovedim, owned many enterprises employing workers whose interests are represented by the Histadrut's trade union department. Histadrut ha-Ovedim ha-Le'ummit advocates the establishment of a national institution for compulsory arbitration in labor disputes and of nationwide trade unions whose elected organs will decide their policies independently of political party decisions. It is in favor of the provision of basic social services, such as medical care, by the state and the enactment of pensions and unemployment insurance laws.

The trades union department of the federation has negotiated labor contracts with more than a hundred concerns employing some 8,000 workers. It has insurance and pension funds, a labor-disputes fund, an unemployment fund, a members' credit fund, a mutual loan fund, and a disablement fund. The National Workers' Sick Fund, Kuppat Ḥolim le-Ovedim Le'ummiyyim, now called Kuppat Ḥolim Le'ummit, provides medical care for over 220,000 persons in over 100 clinics, including some in Druze villages, and maintains laboratories.

Sela, the federation's housing company, has constructed thousands of apartments for newcomers and veterans, shopping centers, synagogues, and public buildings, some as part of government housing projects. The federation runs a guesthouse and holiday company, Beri'on, which owns guesthouses and convalescent homes. It also owns two cooperative building companies. Merkaz ha-Avodah and Ha-Massad. Its youth wing, Ha-No'ar ha-Oved ve-ha-Lomed ha-Le'ummi (the National Working and Student Youth Association), runs youth clubs in cities, suburbs, and immigrant centers. The organization also runs day care centers under the name Nili. The supreme body of the federation is the National Conference, which meets once every five years, its 251 delegates being elected directly on a personal basis by secret ballot. Workers' councils in each locality are elected in the same way. The conference elects a national committee, an executive committee, a control committee, and a members' court. The secretary-general of the federation in 1970 was Eliezer Shostak and in 2005 Yiẓḥak Russo.

In 1995, under the new health law, the Kuppat Ḥolim was separated from the Histadrut. Furthermore under a reorganization program, the workers' councils were abolished and, instead, regional service centers were established. The idea was that now the organization representative would visit the worker, and not vice versa. In addition, new cooperative agreements were signed between the Histadrut ha-Ovedim and employers, including human resource companies. Since that time new members have joined the organization. In 2005 the Histadrut ha-Ovedim had 350 employees.

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[David Jutan / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

HISTADRUT IVRIT OF AMERICA, U.S. organization devoted to encouraging the knowledge and use of the Hebrew language, the publication of Hebrew books and periodicals, and an interest in Hebrew culture. The organization held its opening convention in December 1917 as a result of the activity of Zionists and Hebraists who found themselves in the United States as the result of World War I, in particular Shmarya *Levin, who served as president of the organization (1917–18). In 1923, under the editorship of M. Ribalow, the Histadrut Ivrit began to publish the Hebrew newspaper *Hadoar* as a weekly. Since then *Hadoar* was the only Hebrew weekly in the Diaspora to be published regularly without interruption. The Histadrut Ivrit established its own publishing house, Ogen, in 1926. For a number of years it also published an annual *Sefer ha-Shanah li-Yhudei Amerikah* ("Yearbook for American Jews"). It founded a Hebrew-speaking youth organization which published its own magazine *Niv*, and for a number of years sponsored a Hebrew theater and other activities for younger speakers of the language. In 1954 under the direction of Samuel K. Mirsky the Histadrut Ivrit also established Ha-Akademyah ha-Ivrit ("The Hebrew Academy"), an organization that annually organized a series of scholarly and academic lectures in various fields delivered by Jewish scholars in the Hebrew language. The Histadrut Ivrit was associated with the *Brit Ivrit Olamit.

Ironically, a Diaspora Hebrew language publication became the victim of the flattening of the universe, the availability of Israeli newspapers in the United States, of weekly newspapers geared to Israelis living in the United States and the accessibility of Hebrew language writing on the Internet and the ability of American Hebrew writers to publish their material in a timely manner in Israel. In 2002 the Histadrut Ivrit appointed Prof. Lev Hakak as the editor of *Hadoar*. He revitalized it and gave the Hebrew language highly respected representation in America. Histadrut Ivrit subsequently merged with Hebrew College. The organization ran out of funds and ended its existence, including the publication of *Hadoar*, in 2005.

[David Mirsky / Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

HISTORIA AUGUSTA, a collection of biographies, in Latin, probably by various hands, of emperors, pretenders, and heirs apparent to Rome's imperial throne from *Hadrian to Numerianus (117–284). It was written probably in the late fourth or early fifth century, and it has been claimed that it was written against the Christians as an apology for paganism. The biographies of the Antonines contain a few misleading references to Jews. The rebellious spirit of Jews under *Trajan, restrictive measures by Hadrian, and the Jewish revolt in 132 are treated lightly (*Hadrian*, chs. 5, 14), and no wars in Hadrian's reign are depicted as important (21:8ff.). The more lenient attitude of *Antoninus Pius goes unmentioned, and there is only an isolated statement that he suppressed rebellious Jews (*Antoninus* 5:4). Nothing is said of the reputed scorn of Jews by *Marcus Aurelius. The respective lives show a severe *Septimius Severus, who punished converts to Judaism (*Severus* 17:1), and a sympathetic *Caracalla, who at the age of seven was disturbed by the beating a father administered to a playmate for practicing Judaism (*Caracalla* 1:6).

Elagabalus (218–222), unmindful of the Jewish principle of religious exclusiveness, deemed it desirable to incorporate Jewish, Samaritan, and Christian rites in a syncretistic worship (*Elagabalus* 3:5); he thought that a Jewish commandment ordered the eating of ostriches (28:3). Even *Alexander Severus (222–235), who preserved Jewish privileges (*Alexander Severus* 22:4) and who recognized the moral elevation of Judaism (45:7) and its golden rule (51:7 – though the golden rule is a pagan commonplace as well), did not distinguish clearly between Christianity and Judaism, and in syncretistic fashion placed the image of Abraham beside those of Orpheus, the pagan philosopher and wonder-worker Apollonius of Tyana, and Jesus, as well as those of his own ancestors, in his private chapel (29:2ff.). The biography of Gordian III (238–244) mentions an epitaph of that emperor in Greek, Latin, Persian, Hebrew, and Egyptian (*Gordianus* 34:2–3).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Reinach, Textes, 342–51; J. Straub, *Studien zur Historia Augusta* (1952); idem (ed.), *Historia Augusta – Colloquium, Bonn, 1963* (1964).

[Jacob Petroff]

HISTORIANS. Though Jews began to take part in modern European cultural life in the 18th century, none made anything of a mark in historiography until the 19th. Isaac d'Israeli's attempted rehabilitation of the character of Charles I attracted some attention in his day, but was of slender value. On the other hand, Sir Francis *Palgrave (Cohen) was perhaps the first English scientific historian, and founder of systematic research into archivistic source material in England. Samuel *Romanin may be said to have done the same for Venice. Later, Jews (e.g., Harry Bresslau and Philip Jaffe), took a prominent role in the publication of the great collection of source material of German history, the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* (MGH). It is perhaps natural that the Jew should be drawn to the investigation of the history of other countries than his own. Thus the Germans Robert *Davidsohn and Ludo Hartmann were among the foremost historians of Italy, Felix Lieberman of Anglo-Saxon England, and the Frenchman Elie Halévy (only remotely Jewish) of the Victorian period.

Among the great historiographical organizers was Sir Sidney *Lee, who was responsible for bringing the *Dictionary of National Biography* to successful conclusion. Jewish writers such as Lewis *Melville, Philip *Guedalla, and Stefan *Zweig were among the best known popularizers of history. In later years historians like Daniel *Boorstin, Eric *Hobsbawm, Simon *Schama, and Barbara *Tuchman achieved considerable popularity.

For writers on Jewish history see *Historiography.

Women Historians

American Jewish women became prominent within the historical profession during the 1960s, as discrimination against Jews and prejudice against women declined in the academic world in the decades after World War II. Perhaps because of their sensitivity to the situation of powerless groups, many focused their attention on ordinary people, workers, peasants, minority groups, Jews, and women.

Jewish women who became leading social historians included historians of Europe, such as Natalie Zemon *Davis and Joan Wallach Scott, and historians of America, such as Tamara Hareven. In a series of ground-breaking articles and books, Davis explored family relationships, daily life, and religion among peasants in 16th- and 17th-century France. Scott wrote on the lives of industrial workers in France, and Hareven studied workers and the family in the United States. Other Jewish women who became leading American social historians in the 1950s and 1960s include Elaine Tyler May, Paula S. Fass, Regina Morantz-Sanchez, Sheila Rothman, and Mary Flug Handlin.

By the 1970s many of these social historians helped develop the newly emerging field of women's history. Joan Wallach Scott turned to the study of female workers and how industrial wage work failed to liberate women from traditional power relations within the family. Similarly, Renate Bridenthal, Atina Grossman, and Marion Kaplan explored the experience of women in Weimar and Nazi Germany from a feminist perspective. Among historians of the United States, Alice Kessler-Harris, Nancy Cott, Gerda Lerner, Linda Kerber, and Kathryn Kish Sklar took the lead in developing the new field of women's history in the 1960s and 1970s. Nancy Cott and Kathryn Kish Slar dealt with the "cult of domesticity" in colonial and 19th-century America, while Linda Kerber wrote important studies of women in Revolutionary America. Alice Kessler-Harris focused her attention on the experience of female workers, and Gerda *Lerner, a refugee from Nazi Vienna, discussed black and white women who fought against slavery and injustice.

In the late 1980s many women's historians, influenced by developments in literary criticism like deconstructionism and post-modernism, turned to the issue of gender and the ways gender hierarchies are created and legitimized. Joan Wallach Scott was at the forefront of this development with her book, *Gender and the Politics of History* (1988). Other Jewish women who study intellectual or political history, often influenced by modern theory, include Jan Goldstein, Jane Caplan, Temma Kaplan, Gabrielle Spiegel, and Brigitte Bedos-Rezak.

Gertrude *Himmelfarb, an active scholar since the 1950s who wrote over 10 works on intellectual and political culture in England in the 19th century, resisted many of these new trends in historiography. Her book, *The New History and the Old* (1987; 2004), was especially critical of social history and post-modernism.

Jewish women were also prominent in developing the field of modern Jewish history in America. Such pioneering professional Jewish historians were Naomi W. *Cohen, a prolific scholar who taught at Hunter College, who concerned herself with Jewish politics, Jewish-non-Jewish relations, and the status of Jews in American society; Lucy *Dawidowicz, a professor at Yeshiva University, who worked on East European Jews and on the Holocaust; and Nora *Levin, an instructor at Gratz College, who wrote about the Holocaust, Jewish Socialist movements, and the Jews of the Soviet Union.

As modern Jewish history grew as a field in the 1970s, women became increasingly prominent, publishing path-breaking works in Jewish social history, including Jewish women's history, and occupying prominent positions at leading American universities. Paula *Hyman, professor at Yale University, wrote on the social history of the Jews in France and also devoted much scholarly attention to Jewish women. Marion Kaplan of New York University was the leading historian of German-Jewish women. After her 1979 study of the *Juedischer Frauenbund*, a feminist Jewish organization in early 20th century Germany, she wrote *The Making of the Jewish Middle Class* (1991), on the crucial role Jewish women played in Imperial Germany in acculturating their families into bourgeois social mores and in maintaining religious tradition, social life, and Jewish ethnic solidarity. Kaplan also wrote about how Jewish women helped their families cope with persecution in *Between Dignity and Despair: Jewish Life in Nazi Germany* (1998). Other important historians of European Jewry include Frances Malino of Wellesley College, who worked on Sephardi Jews in France and North Africa; Harriet Freidenreich of Temple University, who wrote on interwar Yugoslavian and Viennese Jewry and on the first generation of Central European Jewish women to receive higher education; Marsha Rozenblit of the University of Maryland, who studied Jewish assimilation in late Habsburg Vienna and Jewish identity in Habsburg Austria during World War I; Vicki Caron of Cornell, who worked on French Jews; Deborah Hertz of the University of California at San Diego, who published several books on the salon Jewesses of late 18th century Berlin; and Elisheva Carlebach of Queens College, who studied Jews in early modern Central Europe.

Within American Jewish history, Jewish women have been equally prominent since the 1970s. Deborah Dash Moore of the University of Michigan wrote such major works as *At Home in America: Second Generation New York Jews* (1981), a study of the process by which the children of East European Jewish immigrants in New York in the 1920s and 1930s

Americanized and yet still maintained a strong Jewish ethnic identity; *To the Golden Cities: Pursuing the American Jewish Dream in Miami and L.A.* (1994); and *GI Jews* (2004), which analyzes the impact of military service on the Jewish identity of American Jewish soldiers during World War II. Jenna Weissman Joselit of Princeton University is likewise an important figure in American Jewish social history; her books included *Our Gang: Jewish Crime and the New York Jewish Community, 1900–1940* (1983); *New York's Jewish Jews: The Orthodox Community in the Interwar Years* (1990); and *The Wonders of America: Reinventing Jewish Culture 1880–1950* (1994). Beth Wenger of the University of Pennsylvania wrote on the experiences of New York Jews during the Great Depression; Susan Glenn, Sydney Stahl Weinberg, and Judith E. Smith have studied the experience of Jewish immigrant women, and Pamela Nadell of American University and Karla Goldman have dealt with the role of women in American Jewish religious life.

Hasia Diner of New York University made major contributions to the fields of American immigrant history, women's history, and Jewish history. Her first book, *In the Almost Promised Land: American Jews and Blacks, 1915–1935* (1977), studied how the Yiddish press viewed the civil rights struggles of the early 20th century. The author of several innovative studies of immigrant groups, as well as a number of books on the American Jewish experience, Diner provided a new understanding of 19th-century Jewish immigrants to America from German-speaking Central Europe in her volume, *A Time for Gathering: The Second Migration, 1820–1880* (1992).

[Marsha L. Rozenblit (2nd ed.)]

HISTORIOGRAPHY. This article is arranged according to the following outline:

- **The Bible**
- **Second Temple Period**
- **Chronicles of the Jews**
  - EARLY MIDDLE AGES
  - SPANISH AND PORTUGUESE
  - SIXTEENTH TO THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURIES
- **Systematic Histories**
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- **United States**
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The Bible

One can best appreciate biblical historiography by comparing it with Greek historiography. Herodotus, a contemporary of authors of the later parts of the Bible, begins his book by explaining that he was publishing his researches "in the hope of preserving from decay the remembrance of what men have done." In contrast, biblical historiography explains the events of history as parts of a divine plan at the center of which is God's chosen people. The point of biblical "remembrance" is religiously didactic. Past events, some real, others imagined, are recounted in order to show that the fortunes of the Israelite-Jewish people are directly proportional to their loyalty to Yahweh. The sequence of historical works in the Hebrew Bible is probably unparalleled in ancient historiography, in that it endeavors to place the history of a particular people – the Hebrews – in the setting of the history of the human race. The record begins in Genesis at creation and traces the beginnings of all humankind. From Genesis 12 the purview is narrowed to the story of the Hebrews from the days of their progenitor, Abraham, onward. Yet even then the wider setting is not overlooked: the genealogical data (Gen. 25, 36, et al.) purporting to give the broad outlines of the record of the kindred peoples who were neighbors of the Hebrews. Whatever the origin of the various documents which go to make up the pentateuchal story, they have been skillfully welded together into a narrative with a majestic sweep.

The Pentateuch's narratives are succeeded by an account of the conquest of the land of Canaan by the invading Hebrew tribes in the Book of Joshua. The major traditions of the Pentateuch, including the Egyptian enslavement, the exodus from Egypt, and the trek through the desert must be understood as political and religious allegories (Sperling) rather than factual accounts. The nature of the lost *Book of the Wars of the Lord, mentioned in Numbers 21:14, can only be conjectured, but it seems to have been a poetical elaboration of some part of the pentateuchal story. The Book of Judges comprises a somewhat heterogeneous collection of episodes relating to the pre-monarchic period: there is considerable chronological overlapping; no differentiation is made between happenings restricted to part of the country and those affecting it as a whole; and while some stories are dismissed in a few lines, others, e.g. the epic of Deborah (4–5), Abimelech (9), Samson (13–16), and the gruesome story of the concubine in Gibeah (19), are given extended treatment which does not necessarily reflect their significance in the overall story. Despite the presence of mythical and legendary elements, the Book of Judges presents a picture of pre-monarchic life that conforms reasonably well to the picture drawn by archeology.

Attention to national historiography is resumed in the Book(s) of Samuel. This gives a consecutive history of the Israelite people and its principal leaders in the period approximately coinciding with the 11th century B.C.E., with special emphasis on the lives of Samuel (1–7), Saul (8–31), and David (16ff., II Sam. 1–24). The writer displays an intimate knowledge of his subject and background material: as an attempt to convey an objective picture of the times and the personalities involved it is probably unique in ancient Oriental literature. The detailed biography of David, perhaps incorporated from an independent composition, is a splendid piece of historical writing and character delineation. The hero is presented as a human being with traits of nobility but at the same time capable of the basest actions. The story of the physical decline of the great amorist (incorporated in the first chapters of the Book of Kings) is dramatically but delicately indicated in three telling words (I Kings 1:4). Some descriptive passages show an extraordinary mastery of the literary craft – e.g., the last days of Saul (I Sam. 31), and the rebellion of Absalom and David's mourning for him (II Sam. 14–19).

Possibly a good deal of this material was derived from the composition of an official court chronicler or historiographer, an office that may already have existed at this period. This seems to have been the function of the royal *mazkir* (lit. "remembrancer"; cf. II Sam. 8:16; I Kings 4:3). The first specific mention of a contemporary historiographical record is the Book of the Acts of Solomon (referred to in I Kings 11:41) which obviously contained a great deal more biographical material than that part which was incorporated in the extant Books of Kings and of Chronicles. The period of the monarchy was also covered wholly or in part by the Books of the Chronicles of the Kings of Judah and Israel and – apparently another work – the Book of Kings of Israel and Judah (II Chron. 27:7). The extant Book of Kings, which used these sources, is an uneven work, expatiating on the reign of Solomon (I Kings 1:11), the division of the kingdom after his death (12–14), and the epic of the house of Ahab and its dramatic fall (I Kings 16–II Kings 9), which contains some of the finest descriptive writing in the whole of historical literature, ancient or modern (especially II Kings 9:4–13, 29–37). The Book(s) of *Chronicles retells a good deal of the contents of Samuel and Kings, but with different stresses and from a different point of view, more favorable to David and later emphasizing the centrality of the Temple and adding many incidental details regarding the organization of the cult. The chief historiographical contribution of Chronicles is its consistent theodicy. Whenever a "good" king suffers, it is due to some impiety otherwise unattested outside of Chronicles. In like manner when a "bad' king prospers Chronicles attributes that to an otherwise unattested good deed. The Hebrew Bible also contains historical monographs relating to a more restricted field or period in the Books of Daniel (with much extraneous material), Ruth, and Esther.

[Cecil Roth / S. David Sperling (2nd ed.)]

Second Temple Period

The period of the Second Temple, until its last days, was far poorer in its historiography (as in other literature) than the period of the First Temple. On the other hand, the historical works then produced were memorable because they were admittedly based to some extent on what many termed archivistic research. The official documents and correspondence found in the Book of Ezra (see chs. 4, 6) were derived – or purported to be derived – from official records preserved in public collections. The Book of Nehemiah, meanwhile, claimed to embody extensive quotations from the actual autobiography or memoirs of Nehemiah himself, whose authenticity seems to be established by the pathetic personal interjections ("Remember unto me, O my God, for good") which are interspersed (5:19, et al.). Thereafter there is a virtual blank in Jewish historiography extending over some three centuries. Two writers then devoted works to the revolt of the Hasmoneans, both of which have been incorporated in the Apocrypha. The author of I Maccabees – who wrote in Hebrew – was obviously an admirer of the Hasmonean dynasty who probably lived in the reign of John Hyrcanus, when independence seemed to have been definitely reestablished. Factual and straightforward, it is a historical source of first importance. Perhaps earlier than this work was the original author of II Maccabees, who may be regarded as the earliest Jewish historian known by name. This was *Jason of Cyrene, a Hellenistic Jew probably of the second century B.C.E., who wrote in Greek, though his writing indicates no knowledge or influence of the great classical Greek historians. The work – an abstract of a five-volume history on an ambitious scale – centered around the personality of Judah Maccabee, except insofar as it cites a number of authentic documents drawn probably from public records. In contrast to I Maccabees it is naive in tone and credulously recounts a number of "miracles" in which the author implicitly believed. The other narrative books of the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha (III and IV Maccabees, Judith, Tobit) are basically fictitious rather than historical and need not be taken into consideration here. A separate work of John Hyrcanus, now lost, is mentioned in I Maccabees 16:23–4.

The last days of the Second Temple period were marked, it seems, by a reawakening of a historical sense among the Jews which led to the emergence of a significant historical literature. *Philo of Alexandria, as well as his philosophical writings, wrote a historical work, basically theological in inspiration, intended to demonstrate the operation of Divine Providence in protecting the Jewish people. Of this work, only two of the original five parts have been preserved: an account of the persecution of the Jews of Egypt by the Roman governor Flaccus and the retribution that was meted out to him; and a vivid description of the delegation of the Alexandrian Jews, including Philo himself, to the unbalanced Roman emperor Caius Caligula. Philo shows himself in these writings to be master of vivacious descriptive powers. His contemporary Nicholas of Damascus, the private secretary of Herod the Great, was not a Jew, but had a considerable influence on Jewish historiography because of the lengthy account of Herod's reign in his voluminous universal history. The full text of this has been lost, but considerable portions of it were incorporated, apparently almost unchanged, in the historical writings of *Josephus. The latter's political rival, *Justus of Tiberias, private secretary of King Agrippa II, wrote in Greek an account of the great war against Rome of 66–73 – or at least of its earlier stages – in which Josephus' ambiguous conduct in Galilee at this time was scathingly described. It is now lost, but is of significance because it goaded the latter (who indeed did not scruple to make use of the information which it contained) to defend himself in his own historical writings. Justus also wrote a work on the Jewish monarchy, similarly no longer extant.

The personal character of Josephus has no bearing on his importance as a historian, which was extremely significant: it is indeed possible to regard him as one of the great historians of antiquity. Beginning to write at the conclusion of the great war against Rome in order to excuse his own conduct and reply to the attacks which were being made on him, he soon extended his interests and became a historian by vocation. His failings as well as some of his qualities are obvious to the most casual reader. He did not have the virtue of consistency, sometimes giving contradictory accounts of the same episode in different passages. To this he was impelled to some extent by his constant need to justify himself and to present a favorable picture of Vespasian and Titus, his attitude toward whom was nauseatingly sycophantic. On the other hand, he took pains to consult documents in public archives, which he often quotes *in extenso* – though his paradoxical Jewish patriotism (except as far as concerned those Jews who set themselves in opposition to Rome) sometimes may have led him to modify his texts. His great virtue in his historical writing however was his tremendous sweep and effortless mastery of his materials. His *Jewish Antiquities* is a history of the Jewish people from its beginnings down to the period of the Hasmonean monarchy. The first part is based on the biblical accounts, reinforced by legend and allegorical moralizing: while it adds nothing to the known factual knowledge, it is memorable as an attempt, almost in a modern idiom, to reinterpret the ancient traditional accounts in accordance with the standards of contemporary historiography. The story enters a new phase with the account of the Hasmonean rising and monarchy, the Roman conquest, the reign of Herod and the Herodian house, and the events leading up to the revolt of 66 and the great war against the Romans which followed: this is contained in overlapping accounts at the end of the *Jewish Antiquities* and in the *Jewish War* – a work memorable in that here the author, instead of merely describing the revolt and the progress of hostilities, considers it necessary to give a detailed account of the political background and of the remote events indirectly leading up to the outbreak of the war.

Chronicles of the Jews

EARLY MIDDLE AGES. It is remarkable that for centuries subsequently to the publication of Josephus, Jewish historiography was utterly stagnant apart from the exceptional attempt made in the *Seder Olam Rabbah, plausibly ascribed to *Yose b. Ḥalafta (c. 150 C.E.), to establish a chronological framework of biblical history. So far as is known, the Jews of the age of the Talmud had no knowledge of Josephus' fundamental writings; while the serious contribution of the Books of Maccabees to history were naturalized into Hebrew in the historically worthless *Scroll of Antiochus, written as a liturgical exercise. The revival of Hebrew studies in Italy in the eighth century, in an environment strongly affected by the culture of the outside world, resulted in an attempt to present the historical writings of Josephus in Hebrew in the chronicle ascribed to Joseph b. Goryon (Book of *Josippon), compiled probably in southern Italy in the tenth century: a fine literary exercise, though lacking basic historical importance. It was of great significance in Jewish historiography, however, as it was the main source of information for Jews in the Middle Ages – including even the greatest scholars – for the events of the last years of the Second Temple period. Its literary influence on the other hand was slight, except in such works as the 12th-century world chronicle of *Jerahmeel b. Solomon, also an Italian production though emanating from the north rather than the south of the peninsula. The most important historical work of Italian origin of the early Middle Ages was the Chronicle of Ahimaaz, compiled in 1054 but admittedly incorporating earlier materials as well as family tradition (see *Ahimaaz b. Paltiel). This is basically a delightful family chronicle, naively written and embodying much preposterous legend. On the other hand, it gives a vivid (if credulous) picture of Jewish life in southern Italy of the time with which it deals – formerly utterly unknown – and has important sidelights on conditions in Sicily, Byzantium, North Africa, and Ereẓ Israel. The Chronicle of Ahimaaz is preserved in a single manuscript, discovered last century (1869) – a fact which raises the tantalizing possiblity that it followed a prevailing literary fashion, and that there may have been similar family chronicles of the period which have disappeared without leaving even the slightest trace.

A wholly different production is the Letter of R. *Sherira b. Ḥanina, gaon of Pumbedita (987), written in reply to an enquiry addressed to him by the scholars of Kairouan. The information was needed as guidance in the study of the Talmud; but in reply Sherira gave a complete account of the chain of transmission of rabbinic tradition from remote times down to his own day, in the spirit of contemporary Arab writers on similar themes. The information that he gave was based on the archives of the academies, which may have comprised some methodical chronicles. This remains to the present day the framework for the history of Mesopotamian Jewry in the period between the close of the Talmud and the 11th century.

No historical record of any sort that has survived was produced by the Jews of northern Europe during the first centuries of the development of Ashkenazi Jewry: it is for this reason that knowledge of it is in so great a degree hypothetical. A couple of narrative fragments describe in a somewhat legendary vein persecutions in France in 992 and 1007 respectively. With the First Crusade of 1096, Jewish historiography, or at least chronography, somewhat abruptly begins. The precise interrelationship between the three accounts of the Rhineland massacres at the time of the First Crusade (by Solomon b. Simeon or Samson, *Eliezer b. Nathan of Mainz, and an anonymous author) is as yet undetermined, but they certainly do not greatly postdate the events which they describe: the anonymous account may be the original source, but on the other hand it is possible that all three derive from another source now lost. In any case, the somewhat abrupt beginning seems to suggest that these accounts are part only of a more extensive chronicle which has not survived. Moreover, the elevated and superb narrative style does not give the impression that this is a new literary experiment: the writer had models before him and was only continuing an already familar tradition. There is here in fact a further suggestion that medieval Jewish historiography is not to be measured only in terms of those relatively sparse fragments that have survived. The chronicles of the First Crusade were continued by the record of *Ephraim b. Jacob of Bonn covering the years 1146–96; this includes accounts of the blood libel at Blois and the sufferings of the Jews during the Second and Third Crusades, the passages relating to England being particularly noteworthy. It is significant that these works are all in the nature of martyrologies. They are accounts not of Jewish history but of Jewish suffering: chronicles of a wider historical nature were not produced by the Jews of northern Europe then or for a long time afterward.

SPANISH AND PORTUGUESE. Possibly the first medieval Jewish writer who may be considered a historian in the wider sense was Abraham *Ibn Daud of Toledo, who wrote brief histories of the Second Temple period and of Rome in addition to his famous *Sefer ha-Kabbalah*, dealing with the transmission of rabbinic lore from the earliest times down to his own day, written in a vivid Hebrew style in the rhetorical tradition of Arabic historiography. Basically, the work is an attempt to prove historically the continuity of rabbinic teaching from the remotest times, in order to disprove the Karaite counterclaims; incidentally, it comprises a number of famous "purple patches" relating to individuals and episodes of Spanish Jewish history which have entered into the common store of Jewish historical legend. The latest editor, Gerson D. Cohen (1967), is, however, inclined to doubt fundamentally the historicity of these insertions, believing that many of them were adapted from Muslim sources.

The "chain of tradition" remained henceforth one of the main preoccupations of Spanish Jewish historiography: in the *Sefer Yuḥasin* of Abraham *Zacuto, in the continuation of the *Sefer ha-Kabbalah* by *Abraham b. Solomon of Torrutiel (b. 1482) and others; though in all such works historical data (mainly relating to persecutions and massacres) were interspersed almost at random in the basic chronological account of scholars and scholarship. The same applied to the *Shalshelet ha-Kabbalah* (Venice, 1586) by Gedaliah b. Joseph *Ibn Yaḥya, member of a distinguished family of Portuguese exiles domiciled in Italy. This comprises a perplexing medley of information on scholarship and scholars, bulked out with much legend which later became part of Jewish folklore, and occasionally diverging into historical byways of considerable significance as raw material for the historian rather than a contribution to historiography as the term is now understood. Immanuel *Aboab's Spanish defense of Jewish tradition, *Nomología* (Amsterdam (1629), but written in Italy), though more serious and less diffuse, was in much the same category.

Seemingly of a different type, and historiographically more significant, was a chronicle dealing basically with the Jews of the south of France between 1187 and 1240, a precis of which (from a manuscript in the hands of Yom Tov Sanzolo, a rabbi of Spanish origin then living in Turkey) was incorporated by Joseph *Ibn Verga as an appendix to his father's *Shevet Yehudah* (see below).

Probably at the beginning of the 15th century, Profiat *Duran compiled a history of Jewish persecutions and suffering. The wide competence and general culture of the author makes it probable that this was a work of considerable significance. It is known, however, only through incidental mentions in later literature, though apparently it was used extensively by the 16th-century chroniclers, with whom Jewish historiography entered on a fresh phase. Outstanding among these was Samuel *Usque, in his great threnody written in classical Portuguese, *Consolaçam as Tribulaçoens de Israel* (Ferrara, 1553). It is in form a dialogue between a much-suffering shepherd and his comforters, following what was then a popular literary convention. Incidentally, the first part gives an account, wholly based on the Bible and some post-biblical traditions, of the First Temple period; the second deals similarly with the Second Temple; the third with a series of Jewish persecutions and sufferings in the Middle Ages. From the literary point of view this is one of the most memorable productions in the entire field of Jewish literature: it is certainly the most remarkable work of its type of Jewish significance written in the vernacular (other perhaps than Arabic) until recent times. It does not, however, purport to be a history and the episodes, except those relating to the writer's own period, are taken from other sources, sometimes heavily manipulated to suit his purpose.

Almost exactly contemporaneous with the publication of the *Consolaçam* was that of the *Shevet Yehudah*, one of the most curious Hebrew literary productions of the age. It seems to have been based on a chronicle of Jewish persecution, written by the martyred R. Judah ibn Verga of Seville, probably leaning heavily, so far as the earlier period is concerned, on the lost work of Profiat Duran. This in turn was edited and supplemented for the contemporary period (the expulsions from Spain and Portugal and the accompanying events) by the original writer's son, Solomon; it was prepared for press, with various supplements such as the brief chronicle mentioned above, by Joseph ibn Verga (Adrianople, 1553). The work as it has survived, however, is in the main the production of Solomon *Ibn Verga, who regarded it not as a mere chronicle but as a vehicle for conveying his critique on his Jewish coreligionists and the place of the Jews in a gentile society. He therefore interspersed among the historical episodes accounts of discussions and disputations at various Spanish courts which seem to be nothing more than the fabrication of his own perplexed imagination. Moreover, even in the historical episodes, he sometimes inserts caustic asides which throw more light on his own psychology than on the events which he describes. This is the case, for example, in the few pages which he devotes (§40) to the disputation of *Tortosa: it is significant that of this cataclysmic and relatively recent event in Spanish Jewish history he knew details of only five sessions out of the total of 69, the antipope Benedict XIII appearing in these pages as a kindly sponsor rather than the venomous oppressor that he was (cf. the parallel account to that in the *Shevet Yehudah*, differing from it however in many significant details, in Kobak's *Jeschurun*, 6 (1868), 45–65). In fact, there is barely any record of the disputation after the first few days in any medieval Jewish source, such was the historiographical myopia of even the most erudite Jewish writers of the period.

SIXTEENTH TO SEVENTEENTH CENTURIES. It is significant of the then prevailing backward state of Jewish intellectual life, which in the Middle Ages had been at the forefront of European cultural activity, that in the field of Jewish historiography Hebrew literature was only just arriving at the stage of the chronicle – that is, the treatment of independent episodes in chronological order – whereas European literature had already discovered, through the writings of Bruno, Guicciardini, and Machiavelli, "history" in its modern sense, with analysis of cause and effect, of motives and results, and the concatenation of events. Similarly Azariah de' *Rossi in his *Me'or Einayim* (Mantua, 1573) had introduced to Jewish scholarship the novel idea of using secular sources to supplement or check the data in talmudic literature and consulting the extraneous materials to establish a chronological framework for Jewish history. However, his work was frowned upon – if not worse – even by some of his more liberal contemporaries; its study was discouraged, and it had virtually no influence until the era of the *Juedische Wissenschaft* in the early 19th century. In any case, de' Rossi's writings were in the nature of prolegomena to Jewish historiography: so far as is known, he made no attempt to apply his scientific principles in any straightforward historical writing of his own.

It is possible that other significant works now lost were written at this period, the age of what might be termed the tyranny of the printing press. What was published entered into the common store of literature, while a work for some reason or the other not published, however great its merit, had only a restricted influence or none at all. Moreover, at this time so much of what there was to be recorded about the Jews centered on their persecution at the hands of their neighbors that its publication was difficult if not impossible. This may be one of the reasons why Isaac *Cantarini's *Paḥad Yiẓḥak*, describing the attacks on the Jews in Padua in 1684, was written in such cryptic language and published in Amsterdam (1685), though Abraham Massarano's *Ha-Galut ve-ha-Pedut*, giving an account of the sufferings of the Jews at Mantua at the hands of the German *Landsknechten*, appeared in Venice (1634). The Italian Jews, with their mastery of limpid Hebrew, their facility for self-expression, and their familiarity with the advanced literary standards of their non-Jewish neighbors, were always highly articulate and had a facility for recording events which touched them closely. The recently-discovered record by Benjamin Nehemiah b. Elhanan of Civitanova, largely personal, of the times of Pope Paul IV and his relations with the Jews is a significant contribution to Hebrew prose literature as well as to Jewish historiography. The same may be said of the account of the plague in Padua in 1631 by Abraham Catalan (published in *Kobeẓ al Jad*, 14 (1946), 67–102). Parallel to this is the Spanish story, largely legendary, of the arrival of the first settlement of Marranos as professing Jews in Holland at the close of the 16th century. This, however, is an almost unique composition. The paucity of Jewish historical literature in Hebrew is perhaps less surprising than its virtual absence in languages other than Hebrew.

The newly-awakened chronographical (rather than historiographical) sense among the Jews is best exemplified in the writings of *Joseph ha-Kohen, who at least used non-Jewish sources, showed a broad geographical sweep, and tied up – clumsily, it is true – Jewish historical events with general history. However, his writing loses much of its effectiveness by his cloying attempt to imitate biblical narrative style, especially regrettable in a period when the Hebrew prose style of Italian Jews was so spontaneous and vivacious. His magnum opus was his history of the kings of France and Turkey, *Divrei ha-Yamim le-Malkhei Ẓarefat* (Sabionetta, 1554; Amsterdam, 1733), which earned him from Basnage the title of "the second Josephus." It is in fact a somewhat jejune production, not restricted to the subject matter of the title but giving a broad account of European history in chronological form, mainly in the 15th–16th centuries, all derived from familiar sources; there are occasional sidelights on Jewish history, mostly, however, repeated in his other writings. The book was nevertheless very popular, most copies of the first edition having many pages thumbed out of existence; and it helped to give its reader some idea of the main issues in general, and the background of Jewish history. Of greater importance as a source of Jewish history, however, was Joseph ha-Kohen's *Emek ha-Bakha* ("Valley of Tears"; cf. Ps. 84:7). For obvious reasons (for it was basically an account of the persecution of the Jews by their neighbors, stressing the share of the popes of the period of the Catholic Counter-Reformation) this was not published at the time (it was rediscovered only at the close of the 19th century) and underwent revisions and updating by the author, and after his death by an anonymous editor. The author makes use not only of Hebrew sources and Usque's chronicle but also of some non-Jewish authors whom he cites by name. This type of research was an innovation in Jewish historiography, but there are few other traces of modernity in the work, which is an episodic treatment in chronological sequence, valuable mainly for the information that the author gives on his own age and environment.

Even more blatantly chronological is the work of David *Gans. Notwithstanding his wide general culture, his intimacy with the most distinguished astronomers of his day, and his acquaintance with the broad outlines of general history, his *Ẓemaḥ David* (Prague, 1592) is no more than a chronological record in two parts, the one dealing with general, the other with Jewish historical events, with occasional narrative amplifications. Notwithstanding its obvious defects it was important in helping to arouse some sense of history among the Jews of central and northern Europe. Yet it is significant that Jehiel *Heilprin, in his *Seder ha-Dorot* (Karlsruhe, 1769) in which he tried to systematize the confused data about the rabbis of the Talmud and their successors (down to 1696), spoke scathingly about his contemporaries' lack of interest in history and historical literature.

Perhaps none of the 16th-century Jewish historians was more capable than Elijah *Capsali, a Cretan scholar-physician who had studied in Padua. His parallel works on the history of Turkey and of Venice, the former including a remarkable account of the expulsion from Spain and the fate of the exiles, cannot be evaluated properly until they are published in full. To a large extent, however, they are based on personal observation and reminiscence, and the latter especially contains much autobiographical material which removes it from the strict category of history. Crete being at that time under Venetian rule, Capsali was essentially European in culture, and his work is therefore in a different category from the chronicle of scholars by the Egyptian Joseph *Sambari (Neubauer, Chronicles, 1 (1887), 115–62), the *Kore ha-Dorot* of David *Conforte (1677), or the later History of Fez (ed. by G. Vajda).

The *Chmielnicki massacres in Poland (1648–49) occasioned a spate of historical publications, the most noteworthy being the *Yeven Meẓulah* of Nathan Nata *Hannover (Venice, 1653), true to medieval precedent in concentrating on massacre and suffering. The autobiographies produced at this period by Leone *Modena and *Glueckel of Hameln, invaluable though they are for reconstructing the history of the period, are hardly to be considered in the category of historiography.

Systematic Histories

EARLY STUDIES. *Manasseh Ben Israel included in a list of his unpublished works a Heroica Historia of the Jewish people, intended as a continuation of Josephus. If this was ever written, it has disappeared. After his day editions of Josippon appeared both in Hebrew and in Yiddish with a supplement entitled She'erit Yisrael (Amsterdam, 1741) by Menahem Mann b. Solomon ha-Levi *Amelander. This gave the Jewish reader some idea of the continuous history of his people. But the first systematic history of the Jews, from remote times onward, was compiled not by a Jew but by the French Protestant pastor Jacques *Basnage (*Histoire des Juifs*…, 7 vols., 1706–11; Eng. tr. 1708) which he wrote while living in exile in Holland. Unoriginal and of little independent value, it is nevertheless memorable as the first attempt since the days of Josephus to give a comprehensive history of the Jewish people from antiquity onward. It therefore enjoyed great popularity, and was often translated and republished. The occidental Jew who wished to learn in a systematic fashion something about the past of his people had for many years no other work to consult except this. It constituted, moreover, the basis for several more popular and less voluminous presentations such as *The History of the Jews from the Destruction of Jerusalem to the Present Time* (New York, 1812) by the American Christian writer Hannah *Adams (which included for the first time in Jewish historiography some lines devoted to America). The once popular work by H.H. Milman, later dean of St. Paul's Cathedral, London (London, 1830), was in much the same category, as was the history by Charles Malot (Paris, 1826) in French. The first Jew to attempt a consistent history of his people in a modern European language was Solomon *Loewisohn in his *Vorlesungen ueber die neuere Geschichte der Juden* (Vienna, 1820). He was followed by Peter *Beer, while David *Ottensosser published a similar work in Hebrew characters (Fuerth, 1821–25). *The History of the Jews, from their Origin to their Ultimate Dispersion* (1824) by M. Mayers of Yarmouth, England, was based, like his other writings, on Beer.

Meanwhile, as a by-product of the interest in Hebraic studies by Christian (mainly Protestant) theologians, a number of local histories by more or less well informed Christian scholars appeared in the 18th century, before any similar work by a Jew made its appearance: e.g., *Anglia Judaica* by D'Blossiers *Tovey (Oxford, 1738); Giovanni di Giovanni's *L'ebraismo della Sicilia* (Palermo, 1748); J.C. *Ulrich's *Sammlung juedischer Geschichten in der Schweiz* (Basle, 1768); Andreas Wuerfel's history of the Jews in Fuerth (1754) and Nuremberg (Nuremberg, 1755); and J.C. Aretin's history of the Jews in Bavaria (Landshut, 1803) – all of them serving to prepare the ground for more consistent and thorough treatment of Jewish historical material.

THE WISSENSCHAFT. The period of the *Wissenschaft des Judentums witnessed the first serious attempt by a Jew to present the history of his people as a whole in accordance with the standards of modern scholarship. It was only in 1820 that Isaac Marcus *Jost, a teacher in the Jewish school in Frankfurt, published the first volume of his history of the Jews from the Maccabean period to contemporary times: the ninth and last volume appeared in 1829. This was the first history of the Jews written in accordance with the criteria of modern scholarship by a person with an intimate knowledge of the Hebrew sources and capable of making full use of them. The deficiencies of the work resulted from the personal attitudes of the author. A leader of German Reform Judaism in its early stages, he was to some extent out of sympathy with traditional Jewish life: he was coldly rationalistic, and his intention was nakedly apologetic; literary history rather than the history of the people occupied the forefront of his picture, and he lacked historical training as well as the personal warmth which is needed for a great historian. His later work, a history of Judaism and its sects concentrating on religious history (3 vols., 1857–59), has similar defects but made use of a greater range of research and was therefore in certain respects definitely superior. Nevertheless, the two works still retain some importance, and Jost may fairly be regarded as the father of serious Jewish historiography.

It is said that when Moritz *Steinschneider, the father of Hebrew bibliography, heard that Heinrich *Graetz was engaged on his great work, he observed disapprovingly: "What, another history of the Jews?" to which his interlocutor replied, "Yes, but this time a Jewish history." The claim was justified. Graetz's great *Geschichte der Juden* (11 vols., 1853–76, not produced however in chronological order) was different from that of Jost mainly in the warm and sympathetic spirit that infused it, and a style which is sometimes of classical beauty; it covered moreover the whole of Jewish history from biblical times onward. He used a bewildering mass of source material in many languages. Whereas Jost had used the obvious sources, Graetz revealed for the first time many that had previously been overlooked, and the analyses in his learned appendices (omitted in the English editions) are sometimes of fundamental importance. The results of the research of the emergent *Juedische Wissenschaft* up to his day were exhaustively exploited and incorporated. He showed himself, inevitably, a child of his time. He paid too little attention to social and economic factors; his lack of sympathy with Jewish mysticism is readily apparent; and he tended to overlook the vast importance of Russian and Polish Jewry in Jewish history. Intellectual history sometimes overwhelms entirely the political history, and in the latter greater prominence is given to suffering than to achievement. Nevertheless, his history remains one of the most remarkable products of a single individual in the entire course of Jewish literature, and is still to be regarded as the standard history of the Jews down to the early 19th century. The subsequent editions by M. Brann modified the work only in inconspicuous details. On the other hand, the Hebrew translation by S.P. *Rabbinowitz, supplementing and at the same time modifying the original in important respects and containing appendices by A. *Harkavy and others, has an independent importance. It acquired moreover additional significance in that it introduced Jewish history in a modern sense to large numbers of Hebrew readers in Eastern Europe. This was also one of the merits of Wolf Ze'ev *Jawitz' presentation of Jewish history down to the medieval period from the point of view of strict Orthodoxy, which moreover reexamined the talmudic sources on the basis of a minute knowledge which Graetz lacked.

THE TWENTIETH CENTURY. Simon *Dubnow set out deliberately to correct the defects of Graetz's history. Of Russian birth and author of the history of Eastern European Ḥasidism (1930–32) and of the Jews of Russia and Poland (1916–20), he did not find the task difficult. Belonging to a later generation, he was naturally able to pay proper attention to factors which his precursors had overlooked. Nevertheless, notwithstanding his professed intention, he failed to carry out his plan of devoting adequate attention to social and economic life. Moreover, the subsequent Holocaust, in which he himself perished, threw his work out of balance; and indeed the annihilation of Eastern Jewry, and the consequent catastrophic decline of Yiddish in its former homeland, removed from the realm of actuality the living centers which were the focus of his treatment.

The only remaining massive treatment of Jewish history as a whole is the *Social and Religious History of the Jews* by Salo W. *Baron (27 vols., 1952–83^2). This work, overwhelming in its vast erudition and its superb bibliographical equipment, has elevated the author to the first rank among Jewish historians, but it is essentially a discussion of the interplay of social and religious forces in Jewish history rather than a consistent history of the Jews. Popular single-volume histories of the Jews have also been produced in many languages in the course of the past generation, e.g., in English by M.L. *Margolis and A. *Marx, S. *Grayzel, R. Learsi, A.L. *Sachar, C. *Roth, and others.

During the past century there has been a spate of historical writing on specific periods, aspects, or geographical areas of Jewish history – without taking into account the mass of writing on biblical history to which Jewish scholars such as E. *Speiser and B. *Mazar made fundamental contributions. Thus a number of Christian scholars such as Emil *Schuerer and Eduard *Meyer have dealt with the period of the birth of Christianity – for the most part in a somewhat biased religious spirit. This has been counterbalanced on the Jewish side by the work of Adolf *Buechler, Joseph *Klausner, Gedaliah *Allon, Solomon *Zeitlin, Yitzhak *Baer, and, so far as Hellenistic Egypt is concerned, by Victor (Avigdor) *Tcherikover, and for the Roman Empire generally by Jean *Juster. Social history engaged the attention of Moritz *Guedemann, Israel *Abrahams, Abraham *Berliner, and Simḥah *Assaf, and economic history that of Levi *Herzfeld, Georg *Caro, Mark *Wischnitzer, and a devoted band of Eastern European writers, for the most part Dubnow's disciples, such as Ignacy Isaac *Schipper, Bernard *Weinryb, and Jacob *Lestschinsky. The history of the Khazars was treated by the non-Jewish scholar D.M. Dunlop, that of Beta Israel by Wolf *Leslau, the German Court Jews by Selma *Stern-Tauebler and the Marranos by Cecil Roth and Benzion *Netanyahu. The relations of the Catholic Church and the Jews engaged the attention of Moritz *Stern, Bernard *Blumenkranz, and Grayzel, and, from the Christian side, of Peter Browe and (more objectively) James William *Parkes. Gershom *Scholem, as a logical sequel to his works on Jewish mysticism, wrote the definitive account of the messianic movement associated with the name of Shabbetai Ẓevi.

There is an extremely large number of monographs of varying value on individual towns and communities, such as Rome (H. *Vogelstein and P. Rieger, A. Berliner, H.J. *Leon), Florence (U. *Cassuto), Frankfurt (I. *Kracauer), Vilna (I. Cohen), Paris (L. *Kahn), Cologne (A. *Kober), Mantua (S. Simonsohn), Vienna (M. *Gruenwald), Baghdad (D.S. *Sassoon), Salonika (J. Nehama, I.S. *Emmanuel), Castoria (M. Molho), Ragusa [i.e. Dubrovnik] (J. Tadić), and many more. This material has in some cases been digested in histories of the Jews in individual countries, such as Germany (I. *Elbogen), Spain (Y. Baer; for the Muslim period E. *Ashtor), Italy (C. Roth, A. *Milano), Portugal (Mendes dos Remedios), England (A.M. *Hyamson, C. Roth), Egypt (V. Tcherikover for the Hellenistic period; J. *Mann, E. Ashtor, and J. Landau for the

Muslim period), Babylonia (J. *Neusner) with later Iraq (A. Ben-Jacob), Persia (W.J. *Fischel), North Africa (Ḥ.Z. *Hirschberg), Holland (H. Brugmans and A. Frank: vol. 1 only), Sweden (H.M. *Valentin), Switzerland (F. *Guggenheim-Gruenberg), Russia and Poland (S. Dubnow), the Byzantine Empire (J. *Starr), South Africa (L. Herman, G. Saron and L. Hotz), and Canada (B.G. *Sack). The history of the Jews in Latin America has been partially investigated by Boleslao Lewin, S.B. Liebman, A. Wiznitzer, Martin Cohen, I.S. Emmanuel, and others. Some of these works made only slender use of the Hebrew sources, while some areas (e.g., Turkey, notwithstanding the learned volumes of S. *Rosanes and the long series of monographs by A. *Galanté) still lack adequate histories. On the other hand, the breadth of David *Kaufmann's interests probably prevented him from producing a major historical work, though his incidental contributions to Italian and German Jewish history were of the highest importance. The historical dictionaries *Gallia Judaica* and *Germania Judaica* deal preponderantly with the scholars and intellectual history relating to the individual centers.

This is apart from the thousands of separate articles both on aspects of general Jewish history and on the annals of individual communities which have appeared in general scientific periodicals (especially those devoted to local history) and in specialist Jewish reviews such as the **Revue des Études Juives, Zeitschrift fuer die Geschichte der Juden in Deutschland* (two series), the *Jewish Quarterly Review, **Tarbiz, Rivista Israelitica, Historia Judaica*, and *Zion* (the historical quarterly published since 1936 by the Historical Society of Israel). Salo W. Baron's monumental *Social and Religious History of the Jews* is thus far the only major work that has attempted to take into account the entire range of this vast accumulated source material.

PUBLICATION OF SOURCES. From the close of the 19th century, following the tendencies in general scholarship, a beginning was made with the systematic investigation and publication of historical sources. This was the principal object of the Historische Kommission fuer Geschichte der Juden in Deutschland, established in 1885, which published a number of important source books on the subject. In England, investigation of medieval sources was begun in a systematic though superficial fashion by Joseph *Jacobs. The *Jewish Historical Society of England, of which he was the founder, subsequently began the complete publication of the records of the medieval English Exchequer of the Jews. A calendar was made of the rich 13th and 14th century material in the archives of the crown of Aragon by Jean *Régné. Jacobs had carried out in 1894 a cursory inquiry into the manuscript sources for the history of the Jews in Spain, setting the example for the more systematic investigation made by Y.(F.) Baer in the 1920s. The rewriting of Spanish Jewish history was thus made possible. *Magyar-zsidó oklevé tár (Monumenta Hungariae Judaica*, 11 vols., 1903–67) collected the basic material regarding Hungarian Jewry, and *Regesty i Nadpisi* (3 vols., 1899–1910) materials regarding Russia. The General (now Central) Archives for the History of the Jewish People at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem has been engaged since 1939 in collecting archivistic material both from governmental archives and Jewish communal bodies from every land. The discovery of the Cairo **Genizah* at the end of the 19th century revealed a vast amount of hitherto unknown record material for Middle Eastern Jewry in the early Middle Ages: this has been investigated by a number of scholars, on the historical side, especially by Jacob Mann and S.D. *Goitein in his studies on social and economic life.

Historical source materials in Hebrew have been collected and published by Adolf *Neubauer (*Medieval Jewish Chronicles*, 1887–95), Abraham *Kahana (*Sifrut ha-Historyah ha-Yisre'elit*), Simḥah Assaf (especially his source book for the history of Jewish education), Simon *Bernfeld (*Sefer ha-Dema'ot*, on the history of Jewish persecution), and Benzion *Dinur, in an ambitious collection covering a great part of the Middle Ages. Jewish historical source books have been published in English by J.R. *Marcus and L.W. *Schwarz. Inscriptions and epitaphs have been collected and published by numerous scholars, such as J.B. *Frey (classical period), I.S. *Emmanuel (Salonika, Curaçao), F. *Cantera (Spain), M. *Schwab (France, Spain), S. *Hock (Prague), D. Henriques de Castro (Amsterdam), E. Shilstone (Barbados), D. de Sola *Pool (New York), B. Wachstein (Vienna), and many others.

LOCAL JEWISH HISTORY. Meanwhile attention began to be paid by various scholars to local Jewish history in different lands, cities, or environments. Societies for the study of local Jewish history, all producing valuable publications, were established in the U.S. (*American Jewish Historical Society, 1892), England (Jewish Historical Society of England, 1893), Czechoslovakia (Society for the History of the Jews in the Czechoslovak Republic, 1927), etc. In addition, societies for Jewish studies in the various countries, such as the French Society of Jewish Studies (*Société des Études Juives), naturally devoted special attention to local Jewish history. The result was the publication of important monographs which otherwise might not have seen the light, and of hitherto neglected source material without which Jewish history in its fuller sense could not be written.

Local Jewish historiography may be illustrated by two 20th-century works in which the revival of Jewish studies reached its climax. Yitzhak (Fritz) Baer's *History of the Jews in Christian Spain* (Heb. 1945, Eng. 1931, 1961–1966^2) was based on the corpus of documents on Spanish Jewish history which he had collected and published under the auspices of the *Akademie fuer die Wissenschaft des Judentums (2 vols, 1929, 1936), and an exhaustive study of all the published sources, both Hebrew and secular, literary archivistic. This placed the history of one of the greatest centers of Jewish life in the Middle Ages on a sound basis for the first time, replacing former works on the subject such as those of M. *Kayserling and J. *Amador de los Rios. It immediately took its place as one of the fundamental works on medieval Jewish history. Baer's later interest is in the religious history of the period of the Second Temple, in which he has shown how the earlier rabbinic sources, long considered legendary, reflect actual conditions and have to be taken into account in any attempt to understand life and institutions in Ereẓ Israel before 70 C.E. Of a smaller scope than Baer's work on Spain is U.(M.D.) Cassuto's exhaustive study of the Jews in Florence during the period of the Renaissance, based on a minute study of the contemporary archives and of all other available material, literary and administrative, printed and manuscript, Jewish and secular. This work laid down new principles for the identification of Jews prominent in the business world and mentioned in secular sources with scholars and patrons of learning known to us under different names in Hebrew documents. It thus illustrated the interaction of Jewish and general culture at one of the seminal points of intellectual history, and provided a model for all similar studies in the future.

In Ereẓ Israel, scientific historiography in a modern sense may be said to have been instituted with the establishment of the history faculty at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, mainly under the direction of Y. Baer from 1930 onward: later, the universities of Tel Aviv and Bar Ilan created important historical faculties. Naturally such historiography has concerned itself largely with the history of the Jews in Ereẓ Israel, the centrality of the country in Jewish history, and the development of the national idea among the Jews.

There has also been a tendency to extend serious historical research almost for the first time into the history of the Jews in Oriental countries, among whom the historical sense was almost undeveloped. Izhak *Ben-Zvi, second president of Israel, was particularly interested in this, and was responsible for the founding of the Ben-Zvi Institute for research on the Jewish communities in the Middle East. After the establishment of the State of Israel, the Central Archives for the History of the Jewish People were officially established, comprising manuscript materials which had survived the Holocaust in Central Europe and elsewhere and a systematic collection of microfilms or photocopies from private and public archives throughout the world. The outstanding scholars who are working or have worked in the history faculties of Israel universities include, besides those mentioned above, R. *Mahler, important for his economic interpretation of the history of the Jews in modern times; I. *Halpern, who edited the surviving fragments of the records of the Council of the (Four) Lands, besides his other contributions to Eastern European Jewish history; A. *Schalit, biographer of Herod the Great; H.H. *Ben-Sasson, specializing in late medieval European Jewish history; and J. *Katz, who has studied penetratingly Jewish-gentile relations in medieval and early modern times. Historiography in Israel has been strongly influenced by the desire to perpetuate the memory of the annihilated Eastern European Jewry as well as by specific attention to military and activistic elements in Jewish history. More important probably is the fact that it has been able to rid itself of the somewhat apologetic tendencies which were inevitably discernible in even the most objective of the works written by Jews in the Diaspora of the history of their people.

[Cecil Roth]

For Holocaust historiography, see *Holocaust.

United States

The first specimen of historical writing about American Jews appeared in a Hebrew oration written by Gershom Mendes Seixas and delivered by Sampson Simson at the Columbia College commencement of 1800. A better-researched and more substantial discussion, based on correspondence with Jews, appeared in a history of the Jews (1812) by the Protestant scholar Hannah Adams. This and other early, brief efforts by Mordecai M. Noah (1818) and Isaac Harby (1826) possess limited historical value beyond their authors' observations concerning their own generation. However, they contained one idea which characterized American Jewish historiography: that the Jews of the United States represent a unique departure in Jewish history by virtue of having enjoyed equal rights and full opportunity from their first arrival, all as a matter of course. This conception of the uniqueness of American Jewry and its history paralleled American historiography's view of the United States as a fresh beginning in world history. During the 19th century little historical research was done, although the traveler I.J. Benjamin furnished historical information supplied to him in numerous communities, Isaac Markens published historical sketches of notable Jews (1888), and Charles P. Daly and Max Kohler produced a survey of *The Settlement of the Jews in North America* (1893). American Jewish history became a subject of serious study with the founding in 1892 of the American Jewish Historical Society, the establishment of its archives, and the appearance from 1893 of its *Publications* (92 vols. to 2004; from 1961, *American Jewish Historical Quarterly*, from 1978, *American Jewish History*). The regnant point of view during the late 19th and early 20th century paralleled that of historical studies among other ethnic and religious groups, seeking to honor notable ancestors and demonstrate the depth, range, and fervor of Jewish patriotism and contributions to American life. Notwithstanding their antiquarianism, filio-pietism, and isolation from general historical scholarship, studies of value were produced by M.J. Kohler, L. Huehner, A.M. Friedenberg, S. Oppenheim, L.M. Friedman, C. Adler and others. They focused on Jews in Colonial and Revolutionary America, rarely passing the year 1840. Broader surveys appeared in a supplement to the American edition of K. Magnus, *Outlines of Jewish History* (1890), written by C. Adler and H. Szold, and in the *Jewish Encyclopedia.*

From approximately 1940 there was substantial improvement in the range of subjects, extent of sources employed, and quality of interpretation. The rising interest of professional American historians in subjects closely bearing on American Jewish history, such as immigration, religion, ethnic and racial groups, and philanthropy, stimulated Jewish research and helped to elevate its standards. In 1947 the American Jewish Archives was established at the Cincinnati campus of Hebrew

Union College, and its journal of the same name began to appear in 1949; historical studies were also published under the Archives' imprint. YIVO also developed a major archive on American Jewry. Jewish institutions began to teach American Jewish history, and the American Jewish Tercentenary observances of 1954–55 demonstrated Jewish communal interest in the field. Subsequently, the development of ethnic studies, the funding of positions in American Jewish history at American universities, and the 350th anniversary commemoration of American Jewish Life in 2004–05 all helped to strengthen the field and bring it greater respect and recognition.

Initially, the best cultivated chronological period was that from 1654 to approximately 1790, in which J.R. Marcus made the prime contributions, in addition to others by S.F. Chyet, L. Hershkowitz, E. Faber, W. Pencak, S. Rezneck, and historians of older local communities. The period from the Revolution to 1881 drew attention later, with valuable broad studies by, among others, A. Barkai, N. Cohen, H. Diner, and J.R. Marcus, and more specialized studies, including biographies, community studies, and studies of religion by D. Ashton, E. Bingham, M. Davis, R. Glanz, H.B. Grinstein, J. Hagy, L. Jick, B.W. Korn, J.D. Sarna, A. Silberstein, L. Sussman, and G. Zola. The great era of East European Jewish immigration, and its implications, were broadly surveyed by I. Howe and G. Sorin. More specialized studies of the era include books by G. Best, S. Brumberg, S. Cassedy, E. Eisenberg, S. Glenn, A. Goren, A. Heinze, T. Kessner, B. Marinbach, T. Michels, M. Rischin, R. Sanders, J.D. Sarna, M. Slobin, D. Soyer, S. Tenenbaum, and S. Weinberg. The era from World War I through World War II is less studied. In addition to valuable surveys by H. Feingold and J. Teller, specialized studies include volumes by M. Alexander, J. Oselit, D.D. Moore, and B. Wenger; as well as two fine books on the Leo Frank case by L. Dinnerstein and S. Oney, and books on the New York Jewish intellectuals by, among others, A. Bloom, C. Kessner, and A. Wald. A shelf of books treats diverse aspects of World War II, American aspects of the Holocaust, as well as Holocaust memory in America, including works by G. Arad, H. Feingold, W. Helmreich, D. Lipstadt, A. Mintz, D. Moore, P. Novick, M. Penkower, D. Wyman, and E. Zuroff. Finally, scholars have now turned their attention to the postwar era. Key books have been authored by M. Dollinger, D. Moore, M. Staub, S. Svonkin, and J. Wertheimer.

Institutional and community histories dominate the field of American Jewish history. Organizational histories written by professional historians include the histories of the American Jewish Committee (N.W. Cohen), American Council for Judaism (T. Kolsky), B'nai B'rith (D. Moore), Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion (M. Meyer), Jewish Publication Society (J. Sarna), Jewish Theological Seminary (J. Wertheimer), Joint Distribution Committee (Y. Bauer), National Council for Jewish Women (F. Rogow), ORT (L. Shapiro), Rabbinical Assembly (R. Fierstien), Yeshiva University (J. Gurock), and the Jewish fraternal organization, Zeta Beta Tau (M. Sanua). Hundreds of synagogue and community histories have appeared, many produced by significant scholars. For a survey see A.S. Korros and J.D. Sarna, *American Synagogue History: A Bibliography and State of the Field Survey* (1988) as well as the list of community histories in Daniel Elazar's *Community and Polity* (1995^2).

Topical studies have become more common in the field. The most important works on American antisemitism are by L. Dinnerstein, D. Gerber, and J. Higham. On black-Jewish relations, see especially works by H. Diner, C. Greenberg, S. Forman, M. Friedman, J. Schorsch, and C. Webb and edited works by M. Adams and J. Bracey as well as J. Salzman and C. West. Cultural history is covered in older works by I.S. Meyer, J. Kabakoff, and A.G. Duker, as well as newer works by S.B. Cohen, P. Ewens, L. Friedman, N. Gabler, L. Harap, A. Heinze, J. Hoberman, A. Most, J.D. Sarna, S. Rubin Schwartz, J. Shandler, and S. Whitfield. The economic history of American Jewry has scarcely been written; see preliminary works by B. Chiswick, S. Kahan, and S. Kuznets. No definitive work on the history of Jewish education in America has appeared either, but see valuable studies by A. Dushkin, P. Gold, M. Ben-Horin, L. Gartner, I. Janowsky, J. Krasner, S. Niger-Charney, J. Pilch, E. Rausch, J. Sarna, A. Schiff, and Z. Scharfstein. The central work on genealogy is by M.H. Stern. For studies of immigration and labor, see works by G. Alroey, D. Berger, M. Epstein, L. Gartner, R. Glanz, O. and M. Handlin, I. Howe, T. Kessner, A. Kahan, S. Kuznets, E. Lederhendler, T. Michels, E. Morawska, M. Rischin, Z. Szajkowski, E. Tcherikower, M. Wischnitzer, and I. Yellowitz. Political history has also been inadequately studied; the best single book is the collection of essays edited by L.S. Maisel and I. Forman. J.D. Sarna's *American Judaism* (2004) synthesizes work on Jewish religious life in America; other contributors to this area include J.L. Blau, K. Caplan, M. Davis, E. Diamond, J. Gurock, L. Jick, A.J. Karp, D. Kaufman, B.W. Korn, B. Kraut, C.S. Liebman, M. Meyer, P. Nadell, R.E. Prell, M.L. Raphael, A. Rothkoff, S. Rubin Schwartz, A. Silverstein, H. Soloveitchik, L. Sussman, A. Tarshish, and J. Wertheimer. On Sephardim in America, see works by M. Angel, A. Ben-Ur, M. Cohen and A. Peck, and J.M. Papo. The most important work on American Jewish thought is by A. Eisen. The field of American Jewish women's studies (see also below) has burgeoned with valuable books by J. Antler, L. Davidman, H. Diner, S.B. Fishman, R. Glanz, K. Goldman, P. Hyman, D.R. Kaufman, M. Klapper, L.G. Kuzmack, J.R. Marcus, M. McCune, P. Nadell, R.E. Prell, J. Sochen, L.M. Schloff, and E. Umansky and D. Ashton. For the history of American Zionism, see works by N.W. Cohen, E. Friesel, A. Gal, S. Halperin, R. Medoff, M. Raider, R. Rojanski, and M. Urofsky.

Methodological discussion and bibliographic surveys include M. Davis and I.S. Meyer, eds., *The Writing of American Jewish History* (1957); S.W. Baron, "American Jewish History: Problems and Methods" PAJHS, 39 (1950), 207–266; M. Rischin, *An Inventory of American Jewish History* (1954); L.P. Gartner, "The History of North American Jewish Communities…," *Jewish Journal of Sociology*, 7 (1965), 22–29; E. Lifschutz, *Bibliography of American and Canadian Jewish Memoirs and*

Autobiographies (1970); D. Zubatsky, *Jewish Autobiographies and Biographies* (1989); O. Handlin (ed.), *Report of a Conference on the Jewish Experience in America* (1948; mimeo.); A.G. Duker, "An Evaluation of Achievement in American Jewish Local Historical Writing," PAJHS, 49 (1960), 215–53; I.S. Meyer, "American Jewish Biography: An Introductory List," *Jewish Book Annual*, 8 (1949–50), 77–96; John J. Appel, "Hansen's Third-Generation 'Law' and the Origins of the American Jewish Historical Society," JSOS, 23I (1961), 3–20; O. Handlin, "A Twenty Year Retrospect of American Jewish Historiography," AJHQ, 65 (June 1976), 295–309; R. Singerman, *Judaica Americana: A Bibliography of Publications to 1900* (1990); N. Kaganoff, *Judaica Americana: An Annotated Bibliography of Publications from 1960 to 1990* (1995); J. Gurock, *American Jewish History: A Bibliographical Guide* (1983); J.Sarna in *Modern Judaism,* 10 (1990) and in *The Schocken Guide to Jewish Books* (1992) and in *Jewish Studies,* 33 (1993); and J. Wertheimer in *The Modern Jewish Experience: A Reader's Guide* (1993).

[Lloyd P. Gartner / Jonathan D. Sarna (2nd ed.)]

Women's Studies

The recognition that women's lives and experiences in any particular historical era may differ significantly from men's has wrought profound changes in how many historians approach and interpret their research data. The use of gender as a category of analysis by historians of the Jewish past began in the 1980s, under the influence of the academic field of women's studies. In recent decades, both female and male historians have delineated the constructions and consequences of gender in Jewish societies of many times and places, producing a growing body of historical scholarship about Jewish women's social and economic roles, religious lives, and creative contributions. Valuable reference works include *The JPS Guide to Jewish Women: 600 B.C.E.–1900 C.E.*, ed. E. Taitz, S. Henry, and C. Tallan (2003); *Jewish Women: A Comprehensive Encyclopedia*, ed. P.E. Hyman and D. Ofer (2006); and *Jewish Women in America: An Historical Encyclopedia*, ed. P.E. Hyman and D.D. Moore (1997). For collections of scholarly essays that include analyses of women's situations in a number of times and places, see edited volumes by Y. Azmon, J.R. Baskin, S. Grossman and R. Haut; R. Levine-Melammed, and L. Levitt and M. Peskowitz. Historical studies focused on Jewish women in late antiquity include works by C. Baker, B. Brooten, M. Peskowitz, R. Kraemer, and T. Ilan; for recent historical studies of medieval and early modern Jewish women in Europe, see H. Adelman, J.R. Baskin, E. Baumgarten, N.Z. Davis, A. Grossman, R. Levine Melammed, A. Rapoport-Albert, and R.L. Winer. Historians who write about Jewish women in Europe from 1700 to 1939 include N. Deutsch, R. Elior, H. Friedenreich, C.R. Freeze, M. Galchinsky, B. Hahn, D. Hertz, P.E. Hyman, M. Kaplan, L.G. Kuzmack, I. Parush, E. Umansky, and C. Weissler. Anthologies on women and the Holocaust have been edited by D. Ofer and L. Weitzman and by R. Baer and M. Goldenberg. Historians who study Jewish women in the early modern and modern Muslim world and in pre-state and post-1948 Israel include D. Bernstein, R. Lamdan, R. Kark, F. Malino, S. Reinharz, M. Shilo, and R. Simon; for historical essays on women in pre-state and post-1948 Israel, see the anthologies edited by D. Bernstein, M. Raider and M.B. Raider-Roth, E. Fuchs, and M. Shilo, R. Kark and G. Hasan-Rokem. For a review of historical scholarship on Jewish women in North America, see the section above on U.S. Historiography.

[Judith R. Baskin (2nd ed.)]

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BEGINNING UNTIL THE MONARCHY

The Patriarchs of Israel

The beginning of the history of Israel, like that of many other nations, is obscure. The passage of time caused many features to fade from the memory of the people, while others were altered. Furthermore, the early period of Hebrew history, which was of decisive importance for Israel, did not leave any impressions on the environment in which the ancestors of Israel lived and functioned; and therefore, no external evidence concerning the beginning of the process of national consolidation has been found.

The Bible is the only source on the lives and activities of the *Patriarchs, and the traditions it preserves about them are evaluated very differently by different scholars (see *Genesis). There are those who completely negate the historicity of the Patriarchs and their period, regarding the pertinent biblical data as myths or literary epics; while others discern in these stories cores of historical facts overgrown with later revision and editing. The difficulties that the biblical narratives raise for historical research relegate the dispute about the existence of the Patriarchs to a secondary place. At present, research is focusing on attempts to discover the period and the political, ethnic, and cultural background that was likely to have served as the setting for the emergence of the nation. Because the Book of Genesis has been held to contain obscure chronological allusions, anachronistic descriptions (*Philistines and *Arameans; camels), and later adaptations, and redactions, no way has been found of utilizing it for the purposes of chronology. Therefore, sources other than the Bible, such as epigraphical and archaeological finds from the Fertile Crescent, are employed as indirect proof of the reality reflected in the patriarchal narratives. The setting of the patriarchal period would correspond in modern chronology to the first half of the second millennium. It is during this period that West Semitic ("*Amorite") elements began their migrations and movements in *Mesopotamia. These West Semitic elements also increased their migrations west of the Euphrates, becoming nomads or settling in new, or already existing, settlements. The Egyptian Execration Texts dating from the 19th–18th centuries B.C.E. provide clear evidence of the integration of these Western Semites in the city states of Syria and Palestine and of the existence of West Semitic rulers, especially in the plains and coastal areas which were then under Egyptian control. It can be seen that the mountain regions, on the other hand, were underpopulated. Apparently the Western Semites reestablished the settlements in Transjordan and within a limited period (19th century B.C.E.) brought prosperity to the settlements in the Negev and Sinai along the routes to Egypt. Unfortunately, the attempt to correlate the historically documented West Semitic movements with the biblical accounts have proved elusive.

The biblical accounts reflect conflicting traditions that circulated in ancient Israel. According to Genesis 11, *Abraham's family came from *Ur in *Chaldea, in southern Iraq. Inasmuch as Ur did not become Chaldean until the 9th–8th centuries, the traditions of Abraham's migration cannot be any earlier. In all probability, Abraham's migration from Ur to Palestine belongs to the latest stratum of biblical traditions, and reflects the desire of Babylonian Jews in the later first millennium B.C.E. to claim that Israel's founding father came from their homeland. In contrast, the earlier *Haran traditions connect the Hebrews to the Arameans of Syria and are part of the general migrations of the Western Semites in that period. In the biblical traditions, Abraham and his descendants traveled along the routes in the hill country and in the Negev. In these regions they were able to find subsistence and pasturage for their cattle. The connection between the Patriarchs and the Western Semites, particularly the Arameans, and their existence in the first half of the first millennium, is attested by a comparison between Genesis and written sources from Syria and Mesopotamia, which reflect the material and spiritual world of that period. Earlier documents dating from about the 18th century B.C.E. found in the royal archives of *Mari on the Middle Euphrates include useful evidence about organizations of West Semitic tribes, ultimately related to the Arameans and Hebrews, their patriarchal society, ways of life, language, leadership, and wanderings. They provide no direct evidence of the patriarchal period as was once thought. The *Nuzi documents, although likewise much earlier than the biblical sources, are also very important analogically because they shed light on various aspects of the family customs and laws described in the Bible. The Nuzi documents illustrate the mixed Semitic and *Hurrian society of Nuzi in Eastern Iraq in the 15th–14th century B.C.E. Late second millennium Syria-Palestine likewise had Hurrian and West Semitic populations. By the 19th century B.C.E. and perhaps even earlier, the first waves of Western Semites arrived in Egypt, at the southern edge of the Fertile Crescent. In the course of the following centuries these peoples declined under the pressure of foreign ethnic elements of Indo-European and Hurrian origin, who invaded certain regions of Mesopotamia, *Syria, and Palestine and sought to establish themselves there. Allusions to these events, which occurred in the second quarter of the second millennium B.C.E., are preserved mainly in documents recovered by archaeological expeditions, but find few echoes in the Bible. Indeed, the social terminology of Syria-Palestine in the second millennium is virtually absent from the Bible. An Egyptian tradition in the Hellenistic period (see *Manetho) preserved the memory of a wave of Western Semites and non-Semitic foreign groups which it called *Hyksos, a corruption of an ancient Egyptian term for "rulers of foreign lands" referring to Asiatics. From later sources it seems clear that the Hyksos gained control over large areas in Egypt and set up their headquarters in the Delta region of the Nile, which is the biblical *Goshen. They established an empire and maintained relations with Syria and Palestine. Royal dynasties were descended from them (XV–XVI Dynasties); names like Yaqob-har, Anat-har, Khyan, etc. indicate that they were of Semitic origin. Manetho, followed by Josephus, identified the Hyksos with the Israelites. It appears that the migration of Jacob's sons to Egypt and the rise to power there of Joseph reflect dim memories of the rule of the Hyksos. Similarly dim memories are the biblical accounts of the descent from Canaan to Egypt for food (Gen. 12, 26, 41–50), which reflect the reality of famine and migration in the late 13th to 11th centuries B.C.E. (Na'aman), and the fact that Egyptians allowed nomads to enter the Delta region during such periods (COS III, 16–17). Attempts to derive any useful chronology from the patriarchal narratives founder on the gaps and inaccuracies in the chronological and genealogical data of the Bible, which are mutually contradictory. Thus the number of years that the Hebrews sojourned in Egypt is given as 400 years (Gen. 15:13) or 430 years (Ex. 12:40), which is far more than four generations. In the light of the evidence available at present, it seems that the patriarchal period is legendary; the stories of the patriarchs provide theological and ideological lessons and not history, though certain details provide verisimilitude. The Patriarchs supported themselves by raising cattle, sheep, and goats (only Isaac engaged in seasonal agriculture in the western Negev, Gen. 26:12). Light is also shed on the depiction of the sociological makeup of the Patriarchs by the possible connection between the biblical designation "Hebrew" and the appellation for the social class *Ḥabiru (Ḥapiru) or ʿApiru, known from many sources, and current in the Ancient East over a long period. In the Bible non-Israelites called the Patriarchs and their descendants "Hebrews" (e.g., Gen. 39:17; 41:12) and the Israelites themselves used this name to identify themselves when dealing with foreigners (Gen. 40:15). Thus the name "Hebrew" came to designate Israel on the social level and did not refer to their obscure ethnic origin. If there is any comparison to be made between "Hebrew" and Ḥabiru, it is that the Hebrews belonged to this large class of people who were scattered over a wide area and consisted of nomads or vagabonds who lived on the margins and under the protection of societies whose laws did not apply to them. Their relation to their Canaanite hosts is that of *gerim* or metics (Gen. 23:4), and Canaan is the land of their *megurim* or sojourn as metics (Gen. 17:8; 28:4; 36:7; 37:1; 47:9; Ex. 6:4; see *Stranger). From all that has been said thus far it may be assumed that the general term *ivri* (if related to Ḥabiru) was applied only at a later stage to the tribes of Israel as a branch of this class and thus became an ethnic designation. It is possible that their non-Israelite neighbors, because they regarded the ancient Hebrews as a component of the general class of Ḥabiru, ignored those specific features which distinguished this small group from the other Ḥabiru and West Semitic elements.

The Exodus and Wanderings in Sinai

The Bible describes the Hebrews' migration to Egypt and their stay at Goshen as a favor bestowed upon them because of Joseph who had attained prominence in Egypt. There is no external evidence about their life and activities there. The Bible relates that after a certain period they were subjugated by the pharaohs. It is actually not unreasonable to suppose that after the expulsion of the Hyksos the Egyptians should have enslaved kindred Semitic elements still living in Egypt. Nonetheless, the elaborate story of the slavery of the Israelites and their Exodus from Egypt are considered unhistorical by most scholars. Although the traditions about the enslavement and liberation can be dated to the ninth or eighth century (Hoffmann, Carroll), the traditions that the enslaved Hebrews built the cities of Pithom and Raamses (Ex. 1:11) originated among Egyptian Jews living in Egypt after the fall of Judah. The garrison city Per-Raʿmses (biblical Ramses) was built in the sixth century B.C.E., as was the reconstructed Per-Atum (biblical Pithom). The earliest extra-biblical reference to a group called "Israel" comes from *Merneptah, son of the long-lived Ramses II. In a stele from the fifth year of his reign (c. 1220) celebrating Merneptah's defeat of his enemies in Palestine, "Israel" is written with the determinative sign indicating that a people is named rather than a place. Unfortunately, we must wait until the ninth century for the next mentions of "Israel" in datable sources.

The discussion of the Exodus is connected with the Israelite Conquest of Canaan. Both of these events are not historical, as will be seen below.

The Exodus from Egypt, although not a historical event, became the symbol of the hope of liberation for all generations. In theological terms, the Exodus from Egypt was a divine act which preceded the revelation at *Sinai, or according to Deuteronomy, *Horeb, the dwelling place of the God of Israel where Moses was given the tablets and the laws.

Truth to tell, there was never any external evidence for the enslavement in Egypt and the subsequent exodus. Those scholars who supported some version of the enslavement tradition argued, irrelevantly, that no one would have made up a tale of enslavement, and that the tradition was persistent. As for the the exodus through the desert, the 1967 victory of the Israel Defense Forces opened up biblical Israel (Judah and the West Bank of the Jordan) and the Sinai desert to extensive archaeological excavation. These showed no evidence of population in the Sinai during the required time period, nor could the Sinai have ever supported a population remotely close to the biblical numbers. The general consensus at present is that the people Israel arose in the land itself or perhaps from an area slightly to the east, with no indication of an Egyptian cultural past (see below). Na'aman departs from this consensus, arguing that the rise of Israel in the 12th–11th centuries must be seen as part of an enormous wave of migration in which Sea Peoples, Syro-Anatolian groups, and West Semitic groups and refugees from the Hittite empire that fell ca. 1200 reached Canaan. But these are all "northern" immigrants, not Egyptian. The unhistorical character of the biblical traditions of the exodus and the trek through the desert is evidenced by the Bible itself, which describes these events as miraculous, i.e. impossible (see e.g. Ex. 12:9–36; 14:15–15:19; 24:18; Deut. 8:2–4; 9:9–12). Accordingly, in studying the biblical accounts of the pre-settlement period, even allowing for the survival of some dim recollections, we should understand that these shed far more light on the periods of their composition than the periods of their setting. As such, our goals should be to reconstruct the literary history of the traditions and to understand the theological, political, and ideological agenda of the authors. For example, the tradition that the people of Israel originated outside of the land serves to distance Israel from peoples to whom there were ethnically quite close. The *Golden Calf story of Israelite *idolatry (Ex. 32), set in the desert in pre-settlement times, has been shown to be a polemic against the Northern Israelite cult of monarchic times. Nonetheless, we have to attempt to understand the details of the biblical traditions, and many remain unclear. The geographical aspects of the journey of the Hebrews in the Sinai desert have not been clarified. Even the location of the *Red Sea, where Pharaoh and his soldiers died, and of Mt. Sinai or Horeb, are unknown. The biblical account, according to which the Hebrews did not choose the shortest way to Canaan "through the way of the land of the Philistines" (Ex. 13:17), i.e., the road along the seashore of the Mediterranean to Egypt, has its inner logic, and reflects historical realities no earlier than the reign of Ramses III (1183–1152), when *Philistines settled the coastal plain and became Egyptian mercenaries. The reason that the Israelites did not choose the coastal route, the normal one followed by invading Egyptian armies, was that they wanted to avoid confrontation with the Egyptian forces stationed in the fortresses along "the way of the land of the Philistines" which defended the approaches to Egypt. The indirect journey was difficult and very long, and was dependent on places with drinking water and oases. In the biblical account, the journey in the desert ended in *Kadesh-Barnea, an oasis with abundant water in northeastern Sinai. From here the Israelites attempted to penetrate Canaan. On the basis of biblical descriptions and archaeological evidence it becomes clear that the references are to Ein Qudeirat on which fortresses stood from the tenth century (Manor). Accordingly, traditions that may hark back to Solomonic times have been traced back to Moses. Given the unhistorical character of the Bible's grand narrative, it is better to understand the rise of Israel against the events of the later second millennium. In general terms, the rise of Israel was facilitated by a breakdown of the international system, which had been in place between 1550–1200. This enabled Western Asiatics, including Israel, to consolidate in Cisjordan and Transjordan thanks to a weakened Egypt and a destroyed *Hittite empire. Though some LB cities persisted in Palestine into Iron I, in the 12th century all Anatolian and Syrian kingdoms except for Carchemish and Melid were utterly destroyed. The wave of destruction reached the Aegean and Balkan regions (Na'aman, Drews). By the reign of Ramses VI (1143–1136), or Ramses VIII (1129–1126) Egypt had completely withdrawn from Asia. For reasons of their own, the Bible's writers describe the Egyptian withdrawal from Asia in terms of the Israelite exodus from Egypt (Sperling).

The Conquest and Settlement of Canaan

As is true of the Egyptian enslavement and subsequent exodus, the account of the conquest is regarded by most scholars as unhistorical. The various biblical sources dealing with this subject are heterogeneous and there are many contradictory descriptions. Moreover, there are also inconsistencies in important details between these sources and archaeological finds. The biblical material, especially that which is found in Joshua, gives the impression that it has gone through a selective and unified editing to produce an "official" version of the "Conquest." This version represents the Conquest as a single campaign that was conducted according to an earlier plan which distributed the country in advance and was led by a sole leader, Moses, and later *Joshua. Apart from this version there are traditions that point to an entirely different situation. *Judges 1, a late text, describes military actions by individual tribes or small tribal coalitions. The late book *Chronicles views the Israelite presence in the land as continuous, ignoring the conquest and muting the exodus. Joshua appears in Chronicles 7:27 not as a war hero but as a distant descendent of Ephraim. The archaeological data do not usually support the biblical accounts of the Conquest. (1) The description of the conquest of *Ai by Joshua (Josh. 7–8) is contradicted by the fact that this place was desolate from the late 16th century to the early 12th. (2) Heshbon, Arad, and Jarmuth were deserted throughout the second millennium. Hebron and Gibeon were not occupied in the late Bronze Age (Na'aman). (3) Jericho was completely abandoned by the end of the Middle Bronze age (ca. 1550), probably because of some combination of earthquake and plague. The famed walls of Jericho go back to the Early Bronze Age (Kenyon apud Holland and Netzer). The site was probably resettled in the ninth century. (4) In contrast to the Bible, excavations show that the destruction of what archeologists call Late Bronze urban culture took place over more than a century. Hazor was destroyed in the mid-13th century and Lachish in the second half of the 12th. (5) After the Egyptian withdrawal from Canaan in the late 12th century, Beth-Shean, Megiddo, Ashdod, and other Canaanite cities were destroyed but they are all located in the lowlands, whereas Israelite settlement was in the highlands. From the archeological finds it becomes clear that the biblical accounts of a unified conquest are unhistorical. Writing minimally two to three centuries after the rise of Israel, and later, the authors of the conquest accounts made use of written and oral traditions of varying veracity. They tended to project conditions of their own day backward, and of course, to explain defeats and triumphs theologically. In addition, it was natural for them to attribute ruined sites of their own time to the activities of their victorious ancestors.

DETAILS OF SETTLEMENT. Actually, the tribes of Israel occupied only the hill country where the Canaanites were not able to use their chariots and the southern regions that were underpopulated or not populated at all. The general picture of the settlement points to four Israelite regions, separated by narrow strips of fortified Canaanite cities. This picture, as is known, follows the topographic structure of Palestine and emphasizes the contrast between the population of the mountainous regions and the population of the plains. The northern region of settlement was bordered on the south by a strip of plains (Jezreel and Beth-Shean) with fortifications ranged from Beth-Shean to Megiddo. Further, even in the territories of the northern tribes there were numerous Canaanite enclaves which undermined the unity of the Israelites; the large block of central mountains was between the Canaanites of the valleys and the chain of Canaanite fortresses in the south, starting with Jerusalem and ending in Gezer. This chain separated the central tribes from the southern tribes. Between these three blocks and the Israelite settlements in the east there was a natural border – the Jordan. Thus, the Canaanite fortresses interrupted the continuity of the Israelite settlement and prevented close contact among the groups of tribes. This isolation created specific local developments in each group of tribes and weakened their attachments to one another. It is noteworthy that the break between the central and southern tribes was so absolute that even the most reliable biblical sources (including the "Song of Deborah") do not mention the tribe of Judah at all as a component of the tribal alliance during the period of settlement.

Within the framework of the limited Israelite territory there began, according to the archaeological finds and surveys, a process of gradual expansion. The early Israelites were faced with grave difficulties, in particular a lack of fields suitable for cultivation and a shortage of water. As a consequence, the settlers had to cut down the forests within their territories (Josh. 17:14–18). Archaeological research shows that the settlement was, to a great extent, made possible by the extension and greater use of cisterns. Although it had been argued that Israelite settlement in the mountains was also facilitated by the use of iron, it appears that widespread use of iron did not come to Palestine until the 10th century. Bronze and tin implements were sufficient (Stager, 1985, 11). The settlement of the Israelites was accompanied by shifts and movements of tribal and sub-tribal units both within and outside the tribe's territory. A variety of reasons motivated these units to seek new territories, including lack or shortage of land suitable for cultivation, pressure from Israelite or alien neighbors, etc. Evidence for such events is found especially in the genealogical lists in the Bible and in particular in I Chronicles 1–11. In the genealogical lists are included fragments of information and various traditions about tribal and sub-tribal movements. These genealogies give information on their wanderings, their attachments with (and separations from) kindred or alien elements, and their elevation and decline. The tribal genealogy was constructed in a schematic way using familial terminology. This clarifies various phenomena such as the affiliation of clans and families to two tribes which obviously attests the transition of tribes from one territory to another. Such relations existed between Judah and Reuben (cf. e.g., Josh. 7:18 with Num. 26:6) and between Asher, Ephraim, and Benjamin (Josh. 16:3; I Sam. 9:4; 13:17), among others. It is also known that Manassite families in the west migrated to Transjordan and that families from Ephraim moved in the same direction (II Sam. 18:6). A good example of the migration of a family-tribal unit is Dan who, because it was compressed between the territories of its brother tribes and of alien inhabitants of the plains, moved to the northern border of the Israelite territory (Judg. 18). As mentioned above, echoes of the absorption of alien elements into Israelite tribal units or territories are preserved in genealogical lists, in the terminology of matrimonial relations and by tracing their lineage to the ancestor of the tribe. Most instructive are the genealogical lists of the tribe of Judah which are very complicated (I Chron. 2;4:1–23). These lists show Judah's affiliation with Canaanite, Edomite, Horite, and Gileadite groups (as *Ephrath, *Caleb, Kenaz, *Hur, *Ethan, *Heman, *Machir, and others).

Similar affiliations and assimilation can be found also in the tribe of Manasseh, whose genealogy reflects the absorption of Canaanite territories. One can assume that the changes in the status of the tribes, the description of their achievements, their territories, and occupations as they appear in the Blessing of Jacob (Gen. 49), the Blessing of Moses (Deut. 33), and the Song of Deborah (Judg. 5) reflect changes that took place within the tribes during Israel's formative period and later. They do not necessarily represent events that occurred simultaneously.

SOME RESULTS OF SETTLEMENT. Despite the fact the major biblical traditions about the rise of Israel are unhistorical, we have to deal with the undisputable fact that Israel arose. (For summaries of current archaeological theories, see Bloch-Smith and Nakhai.) Archaeologists discern a significant shift in settlement patterns from the Late Bronze Age to the Iron Age. There is a large increase of population in Iron I, especially in the hill country. Most archaeologists agree that these new settlers were from Canaan itself. Finkelstein argues that they were originally pastoral nomads. Dever sees them essentially as having been sedentarized in the lowlands. (Halpern, more from the biblical traditions than from archaeology, argues for a Transjordanian origin.) The newer settlements seem to have been founded peacefully on new sites, not on destroyed ones. The development of these sites was gradual and lasted some time, beginning either in the 13th century (Dever) or the 12th through 11th (Finkelstein). The type and pattern of settlement differ from the LB large walled urban Canaanite sites. These small towns are characterized by the so-called "four room" house with a courtyard and, usually, a cistern and a silo, indicating an agrarian economy, based on terrace farming and livestock. There is some evidence of trade with Canaanite urban centers. Pottery traditions do not represent a significant break with LB forms, though the collared rim pithos may be an ethnic marker. Perhaps most significant is that the houses in these towns show little variation and are clustered closely together. There are no grand residences or administrative structures. There is evidence for a domestic shrine at Khirbet Radanna (Bloch-Smith and Nakhai, 73). This same site seems to attest to occupational specialization, literacy, and a social and economic hierarchy. There are few fortified sites. Two mountaintop shrines have been identified in the biblical territory of Manasseh; Mt. Ebal and the open-air "Bull Site" in the hills near Dothan. It is most likely that this new highland population is Israelite, or "proto-Israelite" (Dever). Some scholars view the absence of pig bones as significant, but of the prohibited animals, the pig was not singled out for opprobrium until post-exilic times (Isa. 65:4; 66:3, 17). The archaeological picture points to small-scale settlement, initially peaceful, of indigenous former pastoralists, farmers relocated from Canaanite city-states. The population was augmented by some movement from the coastal regions and from the North, and possibly by some nomadic groups (Bloch-Smith and Nakhai, 119). The biblical conquest tradition is based on (a) exaggeration of actual military encounters: some of the destroyed sites of the 13th–12th centuries may have met their end through the activity of elements of Israel; (b) retrojection of the wars beginning with Saul through the monarchic period to the time of Israel's rise. The Bible describes early Israel as a group of tribes with weak political attachments, not as a firmly consolidated framework with distinct political aims and characteristics.

There is disagreement among scholars as to how the unification of the tribes into a nation took place. Nevertheless, it would be a mistake to assume that the tribes of Israel consisted of entirely separated and disconnected units. Merneptah recognizes Israel as an ethnic entity. The name Israel, "El-is-Upright," indicates the common worship of the ancient Syrian god El, who in the Bible is blended with Yahweh. Judges gives examples of concerted supra-tribal actions (ch. 5, 11, 19ff.) Moreover, the schematic pattern of 12 tribes, which always remains unchanged even if its components undergo changes, should not be ignored.

The Judges

In contrast to the Pentateuch and the Book of Joshua, Judges provides a picture that is reasonably consistent with archaeology. Most instructive is the fact that during the period of settlement there was no one leader of all the tribes or national leader – a clear indication that an overall national consciousness had not crystallized.

Nevertheless, the settlement period laid the foundation for a new type of leadership institution which had not existed previously. As it was a product of the period it rose and declined with it. The Bible defines the new type of leader as "judge." To the judge and his period a whole biblical book was dedicated, i.e., the Book of *Judges.

This book is the only source of information about the characteristics of the judges as leaders – their qualities and activities. However, Judges is only a selection of stories concerning a few judges, and does not describe all the judges who lived and functioned nor all the events that occurred in this period. These stories were included in the book in a pragmatic pattern and were edited so as to stress the overall national character of the judges' activity. According to the available data, all these tendentious ingredients date from a later period. It is obvious that the judge was the answer to the problem of leadership that appeared at a particular stage of the settlement period, when the neighbors started to react to Israel's existence in Canaan, in the hope of taking advantage of the weakness and disunity of the tribes. The judge was first of all a prominent tribal leader who was elevated to this position in a time of crisis when an external menace threatened his tribe's existence. The period of leadership was limited to the time that was needed to subjugate the enemy. Authority was given to the judge by the traditional leaders of the tribe. The judge was also impelled by the spirit of God to succeed so that the faith of the people in his political and military skill would be strengthened. The divine favor that descended upon the judge increased the influence and authority of the judge over the tribe. Since the task of the judge was completed when the objective which made leadership necessary had been attained, the principles of inheritance or pedigree which characterized the typical tribal leadership were not applied. This type of judging is not identical with the office of a judge in court. The Book of Judges presents two prototypes of the judges: (1) the charismatic leader, the "deliverer," who goes to war against Israel's enemies and defeats them (six: *Othniel, *Ehud, *Deborah, *Gideon, *Jephthah, *Samson); (2) the "minor" judge who did not accomplish heroic deeds on the battlefield but who possessed tribal pedigree (Judg. 10:1–5; 12:8–15). It appears that these two types of judges were current during the period which is named after them. Whether this division is historical or literary is difficult to determine.

Insufficient chronological evidence makes it difficult for the historian to reconstruct the dates of the events recounted in Judges. The same applies to the order of the judges from the point of view of their time and activity. In only isolated cases is it possible to show that a certain event preceded another one. Anyway, it is obvious that the order in which the stories concerning the judges appear is not necessarily parallel to any chronological order.

The background of the activity of the first judge, Othniel son of Kenaz, who fought against Chushan-Rishathaim king of Aram-Naharaim, is not at all clear (Judg. 3:8–10). According to one theory his deliverance was connected with the invasion of the territory of Judah by a northern ruler in the 12th century B.C.E. Another opinion is that the reference is to an Edomite ruler. No less vague is the background of the deliverance story of Ehud son of Gera and the period in which it took place. There was, apparently, a Moabite invasion of Cisjordan which subjugated the territory of Benjamin (Judg. 3:12ff.). Taking advantage of the weakness and disunity of the Israelites, the Moabites succeeded in occupying parts of their territories in the center of the country for some time.

The section dealing with Samson belongs to a comparatively late period (Judg. 13–16). The historical nucleus of this episode is obscure, as a result of the literary-legendary nature of the stories. One can recognize that the traditions about Samson are connected with the period marking the beginning of *Philistine settlement; in any case, it took place before the migration of the tribe of Dan to the north (see above). Nonetheless, the tale in its current form cannot be earlier than the borrowing of the word *ḥiddah*, "riddle" (Judg. 14:12) from Aramaic.

Another episode meriting special notice is the conflict between the tribes of Israel and the Canaanite element. It is possible that the battle of Deborah and Barak against the Canaanites illustrates a central event of the settlement period, a consequence of which was the liberation of the northern bloc of tribes from the increased pressure of the Canaanite chariotry. In the light of the parallel account in Joshua (Josh. 11:1ff.), this narrative presents many difficulties which have increased with the excavations at *Hazor. According to one opinion Hazor and *Jabin are a later addition to the story, and the Canaanite elements who took part in the battle were from the entrances to the valley of Jezreel. The Canaanite army was defeated in a battle at the foot of Mt. Tabor by Israelite troops, who took advantage of topographic and climatic advantages. Relatively many Israelite tribes participated in this battle (all the central and some of the northern tribes). In their victory they destroyed the Canaanite hegemony in the north including the valley of Jezreel. Moreover, for the first time territorial continuity was established between the northern tribes and the group of central tribes (Judg. 4–5).

The battle of Deborah and Barak should be dated, it seems, to the second half of the 12th century B.C.E. when the Philistines were in the country. This conclusion is based on the fact that the battle is recorded after mention is made of the judge *Shamgar son of Anath who fought against the Philistines, and also on the fact that the tribe of Dan is mentioned as living in its northern territory. Another consideration is that *Taanach in the Song of Deborah is mentioned as being "by the waters of Megiddo." This testifies to the latter's destruction which has been proved to have taken place in the last quarter of the 12th century B.C.E.

The Canaanite opposition was broken, and this destroyed the fragile balance of power in the north. There were no more Canaanite fortresses to stand in the way of peoples who looked enviously upon the fertile fields of the plains. The raiders of the border regions of the desert, being aware of the new situation, poured across the Jordan on their way west. The Midianites, and those accompanying them (Judg. 6:3–5; 7:12), plundered the Canaanite and Israelite settlements. The Israelites were the greater sufferers, since they lived in unwalled settlements until they were delivered by Gideon's troops which were supported by Gideon's tribe Manasseh and by the northern tribes. Gideon decisively defeated the Midianites and pursued them into Transjordan.

The Bible relates that after Gideon's victory he was offered the kingship, but declined the royal honor (Judg. 8:22–23). However, there are many indications in the stories about Gideon that he still occupied a high position after his task was accomplished, some of which may be interpreted as signs of kingship: his receiving a portion of the spoil of the tribes, his marrying many women, and his making Ophrah, his hometown, into a religious center by erecting a sanctuary there in which he placed an ephod (Judg. 8:24–27). In addition, there are allusions to political and military control that he exercised over the Canaanite city of Shechem. After Gideon's death, his son *Abimelech (Judg. 9) attempted to succeed to his position by utilizing the relations his father had with Shechem, his mother's native city. After disposing of all potential rivals to the succession, he attempted to exert his authority over Shechem by forming an alliance with the city's nobility. He also planned to maintain his authority among the Israelite tribes. However, Abimelech's efforts ended in failure with the destruction of Shechem (which is attested by the Bible and archaeological excavations at the site), shortly after which he died.

The Israelites' offer of kingship to Gideon has often been interpreted as the first sign of a change in the attitude of tribal leadership toward centralized rule – a change whose results were not felt until later. Scholars have seen in the Abimelech episode an experiment in imitating non-Israelite rule, and the creation of a transitional stage between a tribal order and a monarchy. However, these two stories concerning Gideon and Abimelech are actually only isolated episodes which had no sequel. Thus, it is difficult to deduce from them to what extent they were the precursors of the establishment of monarchy in Israel, although they are instructive in their own right.

KINGDOMS OF JUDAH AND ISRAEL

Samuel and Saul: The Beginnings of Israelite Monarchy

Our earliest datable extra-biblical written sources for the Israelite monarchy come from the ninth century when we find references to the northern kings Omri and Ahab, and a reference to *bytdwd*, "House of David." The documentation becomes richer thereafter. For the origins of Israelite monarchy we must rely on the Bible's I and II Samuel, which contain material composed over centuries and subjected to a Deuteronomistic redaction. The literary problems are complex. Much like Moses, Samuel has been inserted into all of ancient Israel's important institutional offices. He is simultaneously a prophet, judge, warrior, Nazirite (so Qumran Hebrew and LXX to I Sam 1:11), and king maker. For the monarchic period following David, our primary sources are I and II Kings and I and II Chronicles; books that combine historical material with elements that are miraculous and legendary. There are also clear indications that the biblical writers sometimes projected events and institutions of their own time onto earlier times. Finally, it must be observed that, in a manner not at all unique in the ancient world, the Bible's historians provide theological explanations for historical events. In recent years there has been a tendency to attribute less historical reliability to the biblical accounts, with some "minimalist" writers (P. Davies, Niels Lemche, and Thomas Thompson; see in Long, Handy, Day) going so far as to question the existence of an "ancient Israel" altogether. These efforts have not gone unopposed, and the different sides in the debate have not always been above resorting to *ad hominem* attacks and charged terms including, but not limited to, "Zionism," "anti-Zionism," "fundamentalism," "silencing Palestinian history," "antisemitism," "post-modern piffery," "hidden agenda," and "nihilism." Archaeology has not decisively settled many of the outstanding issues, and there is doubtless a good deal of idealization in the accounts of the "empire" of David and Solomon. Nonetheless, complete dismissal of the biblical accounts is unwarranted given the large amount of material in I and II Kings that preserves accurate information confirmed by outside sources (Halpern apud Long).

On the biblical account, the eastward expansion of the Philistines and the westward expansion of the Israelites made conflict inevitable. The heavy Philistine subjection of Israel provoked resistance among the two most oppressed tribes, Benjamin and Ephraim. Given the nature of Israel's tribal organization, it was natural that the centers of resistance were in the hill country, where the influential spiritual leader *Samuel, the seer, was active. Samuel is credited, anachronistically, with overthrowing Philistine rule (I Sam. 7; 7–12) after a rally at Mizpah, a city built by the later King Asa (I Kings 15:22; Na'aman 1994). Their oppression again brought home to the tribes the advantages of centralized government, which they had already felt in dealing with the neighboring Canaanite city-states. The division inherent in the weak tribal organization that led to defeat in the Israelites' confrontation with well-organized forces which functioned on the principle of centralization encouraged a disposition to exchange the traditional leadership of the elders, and even the charismatic leadership of the judges, for a stronger leadership which on the one hand would embody the qualities of a leader who rallied the tribes, and on the other convert his leadership into a permanent institution. There appears to have been a desire among the Israelites for leadership based first and foremost on military capabilities, with authority succeeding by inheritance, in the spirit of the suggestion made to Gideon. It is probable that the intention was to establish a ruler modeled on the example of the Canaanite king.

I Samuel 7:3–15:35 describes the emergence of monarchy and Samuel's role in the process. The extant narrative presents two contradictory viewpoints: Yahweh chose the first king and the institution of monarchy in order to save his oppressed people (I Sam. 9:16); the people's wish for a king is a rejection of Yahweh motivated by the people's desire to be "like all the nations" (I Sam. 8:4–8). Regardless of the dates of composition it is likely that both pro-monarchic and anti-monarchic groups existed and that each attributed its position to Yahweh. By the time of the biblical authors, monarchy was a reality of which Yahweh had once approved either enthusiastically or grudgingly. As a transitional figure, the first Israelite king, *Saul, resembled the charismatic judges, at the same time clearly displaying the qualities of being a ruler like those of "all the other nations." His selection was no doubt related to his military leadership exhibited in the liberation of Jabesh-Gilead, a city with blood and family ties to Benjamin, Saul's own tribe. The biblical description of Saul's anointment as king is not sufficiently explicit, however, as to whether his anointment did, in fact, result from his war with the Ammonites in northern Gilead. Considering the fact that Benjamin was still subject to the rule of the Philistines of the Shephelah, it is surprising that there is no mention of intervention on their part in the activities of Saul. It seems that they considered them only a local matter. After a brief period of organization, however, Saul turned his power in their direction. Near Michmas, northeast of Jerusalem, the Philistine armies were routed and driven back to Philistia. Their control of the mountain areas was thus broken, although the Philistines remained a threat to Israel throughout Saul's life. The battles were renewed periodically, since the Philistines did not easily relinquish their hold on Israelite territories. In one attack the Philistine armies penetrated to the vale of Elah. According to a late unhistorical source (Rofé), perhaps the most popular tale in the Bible, *David, a young shepherd from Bethlehem in Judah, defeated *Goliath (I Sam. 17) while the soldiers from both sides watched the contest between them.

The expulsion of the Philistines marked the beginning of Saul's career. He then had to assert his authority over the Israelite population of the central mountain area and unite the tribes under his rule. It is in this context that his uprooting of the foreign enclaves in his tribe's portion – the Hivite cities which remained as a result of their covenant with Joshua and the elders – must be seen. From biblical accounts of his wars with Moab, Ammon, Edom, the kings of Zobah (I Sam. 14:47), and possibly the Hagrites (I Chron. 5:10) in Transjordan, it is possible to conclude that Saul tried to attract the Israelite tribes in Transjordan by protecting them. He also fought the Amalekites who had penetrated into Judah, again to win this tribe over to him (I Sam. 15). The break between Saul and Samuel was exposed in this war, as the latter was dissatisfied with Saul's usurpation of authority, which he saw as offensive to sacred practices and to God's authority over Israel.

The Bible does not tell much about Saul's tactics in organizing his kingdom. It appears that he lacked sufficient time, or otherwise could not manage, to establish a truly central authority. He continued to rely upon the traditional tribal structures and institutions, raising members of his own family to important positions. There are, however, some signs of centralization during his rule, e.g., an indication of taxation and of royal landholdings from which Saul distributed property to his officers and others who were close to him. Of special significance is the establishment of a standing army, which was with him in his capital, Gibeath-Shaul (whose fortifications were rebuilt after its capture from the Philistines). Saul's concept of monarchy is also evidenced by his ambition to establish a dynasty of his descendants.

One of the most dramatic and moving sections of the Bible concerns Saul's relationship with David, who became a well-known military officer, the king's son-in-law, and friend of *Jonathan, the heir apparent. After a falling-out with Saul, David was forced to flee to the border regions of Judah and later as far as Gath, in Philistia. During his wanderings he gathered about him various elements which he fashioned into a band of warriors. They helped protect the border settlements and lived off the contributions earned from those thus protected. During his stay in Gath, David received Ziklag from Saul's enemies the Philistines as a landholding and fortress, ranging out from there against tribes that endangered the population. It was there that he began to develop relations with the elders of Judah, who followed Saul.

Achish, king of Gath, and the Philistine chiefs prevented David and his band from joining the battle near Jezreel, where Saul and his sons died. In this war the Philistine armies penetrated the mountain area, with the Canaanite fortifications in the valley serving as their rear and support. This is yet another indication of how the Philistine hegemony extended far beyond the Shephelah base. Philistine rule over the central tribes was reestablished with the defeat of Saul. For this reason Eshbaal (*Ish-Bosheth), the son of Saul, was able to reign only in Gilead – a region that kept faith with the line of their benefactor. The Bible lists the areas and tribes over which Eshbaal reigned, but these almost certainly reflect the kingdom of Saul, rather than of Eshbaal: Gilead, the Ashurites (= Asherites), Jezreel (the territory of Manasseh in the hills and that of the other tribes in the valley), Ephraim, Benjamin and "over all Israel" (II Sam. 2:9).

The United Kingdom: David

After the death of Saul, David settled in Hebron, the center of his own tribe, Judah. He was crowned by the elders of Judah, who had not accepted the monarchy until then. Within a few years he ruled over the rest of the tribes of Israel (II Sam. 5:5), which accepted his authority especially after Eshbaal's failure to establish his kingdom in Transjordan. At about the same time he captured *Jerusalem from the Jebusites, converting it into the capital of the kingdom and the estate of the Davidic dynasty. This conquest revealed David's far-reaching ambitions and statesmanship, for Jerusalem in Israelite hands served as the desired unifying bond between the southern tribes – Simeon and Judah – and their brothers in the north. The new capital stood at the very heart of the kingdom, yet because it was outside the Israelite territory it did not serve as a focal point of strife among the tribes or lead to charges of favoritism.

With this decisive step David's aims became clear to the Philistines. It appears that until then they had hoped to rule over Judah by means of a vassal in Hebron. Now, however, they brought their army to the very gates of Jerusalem and were defeated by David (II Sam. 5:17–21). Another attempt that threatened to cut off Ephraim and Benjamin from David ended in failure; the Philistine force was broken and pursued to Gezer (II Sam. 5:22–25). At a minimum the Philistines had to relinquish their inland holdings, ending an era of expansion. As of the time of David the Philistines were confined to a strip on the southwest of the Mediterranean coast (Ehrlich). How much if any control David excercised over the Philistines is debatable. I Kings 2:39 has been taken to show that there was an extradition treaty between Israel and Gath. With the removal of this major military obstacle, David was able to take the first step toward converting his kingdom into a united national state – the creation of territorial continuity of all the tribes. In pursuing this goal David conquered foreign enclaves along the seacoast and in the fertile Jezreel and Beth-Shean valleys. A similar fate befell the non-Israelite population of Galilee. He also turned to eastern Transjordan in order to establish his rule over Ammon and Moab, which were endangering Israelite settlements there and controlled long stretches of the international "King's Highway." The Israelite threat also involved the Aramean kingdoms in Transjordan and Syria, which were summoned to the aid of Moab and Ammon. These allies were defeated by the Israelites, though not annihilated. After they recruited reinforcements from across the river they met David in battle and were routed this time (II Sam. 10:6–19). According to the Bible, a vast territory fell to David – Transjordan and the Aramean kingdoms, including the valley of Lebanon. The Israelite borders now reached *Hamath, north of the valley and, judging by the borders at the beginning of Solomon's reign, David would even have extended his rule as far as Tiphsah on the Euphrates (I Kings 5:4).

This last passage is probably late and depicts Solomon in terms of a Neo-Babylonian or Persian emperor. Indeed, this biblical account of a vast Davidic empire inherited by Solomon seems unsubstantiated archaeologically, and would appear to be greatly exaggerated. Nonetheless, the rise of the Davidic kingdom, like the other small Levantine kingdoms, was enabled by the decline of the two traditional centers of power of the ancient Near East, Egypt and Mesopotamia. David strengthened his rule by means other than military ones. He wisely established friendly relations that were reinforced by treaties with the kingdoms of Hamath and *Tyre.

The treaty with *Hiram, king of Tyre, was particularly important because of the economic advantages flowing from connection with this maritime-commercial power. In the field of internal organization David concentrated his activities on the establishment of an administrative apparatus suitable for the needs of the kingdom. He understood the necessity of uniting the tribes round his throne and the capital, Jerusalem. He had the requisite organizational and executive abilities necessary to create proper tools.

It is difficult to determine what model was used to lay the foundation for the Israelite administration at the beginning of David's reign. It seems that the administration inherited from Saul was not developed and was not on a much higher plane than the traditional tribal institutions. It is reasonable to assume that, as a Philistine vassal, David studied means of government, but it is almost certain that he was also influenced by the organizational structure of the non-Israelite cities in Palestine, especially that of Jebusite Jerusalem which he had conquered. It appears that the traditional administrative institutions of these cities derived from older Bronze Age models, and were well adapted to the needs of a national monarchy and vital to weakening the older tribal sysem. It is not necessary to suppose, as do some scholars, that David built his administration according to foreign prototypes (Fox, 9–14). It is not surprising, therefore, that some of the names of David's highest officials and members of his military units are non-Israelite. (II Sam. 8:18; 21:23–5; 23:24–39). It is instructive, however, that control of the military forces remained in the hands of a relative of David, *Joab, and Israelites close to him.

David acted in other ways intended to centralize control and weaken the older tribal system. It appears that the division of the kingdom into 12 administrative districts – known from Solomon's time (I Kings 4:7–9) – began to crystallize during David's reign. The framework of these administrative districts did not include territories beyond the areas covered in the census conducted by David. The task of unification which David set before himself succeeded substantially in placing Jerusalem and the monarchy at the center of national life. Toward this end, David moved the Ark of the Covenant to Jerusalem, a city outside the tribal holdings, and made preparations for the construction of a royal palace and a *temple, whose presence in the capital would reflect divine aura on David and his line. Still, he did not entirely succeed in preventing the resentment and dissatisfaction of a tribal spirit opposed to the interests of the centralized monarchy, which, by their nature, undermined tribal individualism and the authority of tribal institutions. It appears to have been difficult to maintain, at one and the same time, a kingdom based on a developed administration – with all the royal needs – and separatist tendencies widespread among the tribes, who wished to maintain a large degree of independence. Certain difficulties arose during David's reign. The population *census (II Sam. 24) carried out on royal initiative, almost certainly for the purposes of *taxation and recruiting, met with open opposition. Furthermore, natural disasters, added to the many wars, aggravated the dissatisfaction. It appears that the widespread dissatisfaction within the king's own tribe of Judah found expression in the revolt of *Absalom (II Sam. 15–19), which was joined by other tribal elements. Only because of the loyalty of certain followers and the mercenary army, his personal guard, was David able to overcome the rebellion and return to Jerusalem. At a later stage, the revolt of *Sheba, son of Bichri of Benjamin, who attracted a following from among all the tribes except Judah, shook the throne. The source of the revolt may have been the widespread feeling of discrimination in favor of Judah, the king's tribe. In this incident David was able to extricate himself from the rebellion with the help of those loyal to him and supporters in his own tribe.

At the end of David's reign, a bitter struggle developed over the succession to the throne. It divided the court into the followers of *Adonijah, who claimed the throne by reason of seniority, and the supporters of *Solomon – the son of *Bath-Sheba – who succeeded in eliciting the support of the aging king. Under their influence, David crowned Solomon in his lifetime in order to preserve the continuity of dynasty desired by him. This act did not pass without drastic opposition on the part of Adonijah and his followers.

Solomon

Biblical historiography represents Solomon as a wise sovereign who sought justice and peace. The extent of his domain is greatly exaggerated, but he did control a people that had begun to become accustomed to a centralized framework. Most of his activities thus tended toward the strengthening and development of his father's achievements through political, economic, and administrative means. Through a series of treaties made with neighboring kings, which he reinforced by politically motivated marriages, he sought to ensure tranquility within the borders of his kingdom. The Bible comments negatively on these marriages because they involved, for diplomatic reasons, the introduction of foreign cults into Jerusalem (I Kings 11:1–14). In particular, Solomon cultivated ties with Hiram, king of Tyre, and Sidon. Like his father, he benefited from these relations, receiving the support of Hiram's fleet to import essential raw materials, securing his technological assistance in building projects, and exploiting natural resources. The Phoenicians may have allowed Solomon some participation in the Red Sea trade in return for access through Judah (Miller). Another treaty, also reinforced by marriage, was made with a pharaoh who he gave his daughter to the king of Israel in marriage, along with the city of Gezer as a dowry (I Kings 9:16). Inasmuch as pharaohs generally did not marry their daughters to foreign kings this would have reflected very highly on Solomon and was seen as such by the author of I Kings 3:1 (contrast I Kings 11:1).

As is true of the biblical account of David, the chronology of the events of Solomon's reign is theologically motivated. Thus Solomon's reign is peaceful until he builds altars to foreign gods under the influence of his foreign wives (chapter 11). The biblical writers attribute to Solomon in his period of success control of the international roads and his hold on ports on two seas, leading to the development of international trade. He is said to have formed a cadre of royal merchants with a fleet that sailed great distances. Biblical accounts reminiscent of Assyrian royal inscriptions describe exotic products, precious metals, and rare fauna flowing into the kingdom. These supposedly came by sea in exchange for copper mined and worked in plants established specifically for this purpose (I Kings 9:26–28; 10:11, 22). Although the visit of the Queen of Sheba (I Kings 10:1–10) is unhistorical, and its motif of foreigners praising the Hebrew god similar to the tales of Jethro (Ex. 18) and Naaman (II Kings 5), queens often ruled Arabian tribes. In addition, the early date of south Arabian trade takes a 10th-century visit to Jerusalem out of the realm of impossibility, though it hardly confirms the visit (Na'aman). The difficult passage I Kings 10:28–30 has been taken to portray Solomon establishing a corps of royal traders involved in international commerce, purchasing horses from Anatolia and chariots from Egypt for resale to other kings in the area (I Kings 10:28–30), but may simply mean that he could afford to buy horses and chariots at market prices (Miller). The monopolistic nature of Solomon's enterprises and taxation of his own population enriched the royal treasury and served as a stimulus to ramified and comprehensive building projects, some of which it seems were planned during David's reign. At the very center of his construction activity stood the complex of royal buildings, consisting of the palace and the *Temple in Jerusalem. In this fashion Solomon sought to strengthen the relationship of the tribes to Jerusalem and the reigning dynasty. He hoped that the Temple would unite Israel, overcoming the traditional and widespread separatist tendencies.

Many cities in the kingdom were developed and fortified. Some served as bases for the chariotry, which was introduced into Israel for the first time (I Kings 10:26; II Chron. 9:25). According to the Bible (I Kings 4:2; 10:27), and in keeping with claims found in ancient Near Eastern royal inscriptions, the economic development was not limited to royal circles but benefited other elements of the population. But Solomon's many activities, royal administration, and the support of the royal household, required a system of 12 districts rather than tribal units. His use of corvée (*mas*) that included laborers among the Israelite population had its predecessors in the *massu* of Canaan in the Late Bronze Age. The combined tax burden resulted in the impoverishment of the population and substantial agitation. Along with this, feelings of discrimination began to grow among the northern tribes, especially Ephraim. Against this background, the aborted rebellion inspired by *Jeroboam son of Nebat, of Ephraim, who had been administrator of the forced Israelite labor, stood out (I Kings 11:26–40).

It is therefore evident that the prosperity during Solomon's reign was limited. Economic discontent was compounded by important factors that existed even before the establishment of the monarchy and by a rebelliousness whose roots were in the antagonism between the central monarchy and tribal separatist aspirations. These factors undermined the positive aspects of the monarchy until they destroyed the united kingdom.

Division of the Kingdom: The Earliest Kings

The internal dissension and rebelliousness did not topple Solomon's throne but broke out in full force after his death. *Rehoboam, his son, did not enjoy his father's and grandfather's popularity with the people. He was faced with the difficult problem of perpetuating the monarchy in the face of a growing wave of strong demands from the tribes to ease the economic burdens. The leaders of the tribes saw the time as propitious for putting pressure on the new king. Rehoboam's rule was accepted without protest in Judah and Jerusalem, but the king required the assent of the rest of the tribes, which is a clear indication of the seriousness of the state of affairs. Rehoboam was unable to find a suitable way of complying with the demands of the tribes in *Shechem to ease their burden, without risking his prestige, administrative dislocations, and loss of control. As a result of his refusal, the elders of Israel felt themselves free to sever their ties with Jerusalem, and crowned Jeroboam son of Nebat, who had returned from refuge in Egypt, with the support of certain prophetic circles (see *Ahijah).

The aims of those who wished to secede from Jerusalem and the Davidic dynasty were realized, but the recognition of the need for a monarchy remained in Israel. The crowning of Jeroboam proves that the elders wanted to perpetuate the monarchy, though separate from and without connection with the dynasty of David. The slogan circulated during the revolt of Sheba son of Bichri was used again: "What portion have we in David? We have no inheritance in the son of Jesse" (I Kings 12:16).

With the division, there arose two sister kingdoms, hostile to one another. In the south was established a small kingdom, including the territories of Judah, Simeon, and Benjamin, which appears to have broken its connection with the tribes of Israel even during the period of the united kingdom. Judah controlled Edom and the Shephelah. The kingdom of Israel in the north included all the territories of the remaining tribes, maintaining its rule over Moab and probably over Ammon. Its first capital was Shechem.

The kingdom of Judah and the House of David did not accept the secession of the tribes. They regarded the move as illegal and sinful, in contradiction to national and religious imperatives. This viewpoint finds expression in biblical *historiography. It was not, of course, shared by Jeroboam son of Nebat and the advisors who established the kingdom of Israel. Jeroboam's very first acts were directed toward the establishment of a separate framework, free of all spiritual and political dependence upon Judah and the Davidic dynasty and of any cultic relationship with the Temple in Jerusalem. To this end, he made use of the ancient cultic centers at the ends of his kingdom, *Beth-El and *Dan. *Golden Calves, the base upon which the unseen God of Israel hovered, were placed in them;

they were not, as biblical tradition would have it, intended for idol worship. This tradition clearly reflects feelings in Judah toward Jeroboam (see I Kings 12:26–33); northern opposition to the Calves is not recorded before the prophet Hosea (eighth cent.; cf. Hos. 8:5f.; 10:5f.; 13:2). Jeroboam ordained a change in the times for festivals in order to discourage pilgrimages to the Jerusalem Temple (I Kings 12:33). The change was also in keeping with the northern agricultural calendar. Despite the negative opinion displayed toward Jeroboam in the Bible, it is becoming increasingly clear that his actions were based on an earlier northern Israelite priestly tradition, not in any way connected with abandonment of the worship of Yahweh. His acts also brought about the collapse of the administrative system in Israel, which until that time had been based upon Davidic loyalists. Judah, for its part, refused to regard the division as a *fait accompli*. This was the cause for the frequent wars between the two kingdoms. It appears that at first Judah was the more successful.

Five years after the division an Egyptian military expedition into Palestine was headed by Pharaoh *Shishak, who had been Solomon's enemy and had given asylum to Jeroboam when he fled after the abortive revolt. The final aim of and pretext for this expedition are the subject of some controversy. According to the data in Shishak's topographical list, the largest Israelite cities were destroyed and razed and the most fertile areas of the Northern Kingdom were damaged. The amount of damage to Judah was much less, either because Shishak was not interested in Judah proper but rather in the Negev and the Aravah, or because Rehoboam had bribed the pharaoh with tributes. In any case, as a result of the Egyptian invasion, Rehoboam began to establish a chain of fortified cities (II Chron. 11:5–12). It is significant that Judah's northern boundaries were not fortified, perhaps because of the hope that continued control over the kingdom of Jeroboam would be possible. Rehoboam's expansionist aims were advanced by his son *Abijah (911–908 B.C.E.), who had assumed some royal powers during his father's lifetime. He defeated Jeroboam's army and controlled the southern part of the hill country of Ephraim (II Chron. 13:13–19). There is reason to suppose that Abijah was in contact with Aram-Damascus, which had grown in strength since its liberation from Israelite rule at the end of Solomon's reign, and concluded a treaty with them directed against Jeroboam. From that point on, Aram-Damascus was a factor in the conflict between the two sister kingdoms and the chief beneficiary of their rivalry.

These frequent defeats undermined Jeroboam's rule, which apparently had not been sufficiently strong since the division. This may be seen from the short reign of his successor *Nadab (907–906 B.C.E.). When fighting the Philistines – who sought to take from Israel its territory in the lowlands – he had also to deal with a rebellion led by *Baasha son of Ahijah of the tribe of Issachar. This rebellion brought to an end the dynasty of Jeroboam and the hegemony of the tribe of Ephraim over the northern kingdom. The new king (906–883 B.C.E.) ensured himself against Aram-Damascus' intervention and succeeded in recapturing the territories lost during Jeroboam's time, from Judah, which was now ruled by *Asa (908–867 B.C.E.). Baasha penetrated almost as far as Jerusalem, posing the serious danger of isolation to the capital of Judah. Asa was forced to turn to *Ben-Hadad I, king of Damascus, and succeeded in breaking off the treaty between Ben-Hadad and Baasha and in provoking the penetration of the Arameans into the northern parts of the kingdom of Israel (I Kings 15:9–22; II Chron. 16:1–5). It is possible that at this time Israel also lost control of Moab. Baasha had to withdraw from Judah in order to protect his own kingdom from Aram. Asa utilized the lull in the fighting to fortify his northern boundary by means of the total conscription of the inhabitants of Judah. Some scholars see in this an abandonment of the hope of annexing Israel, which had been current in Judah since the division.

In Baasha's time, too, there was a diminution of earlier achievements as a result of his defeats. Baasha did succeed in preserving his throne, but with his death, civil war broke out in Israel and a few ministers struggled to obtain the throne. Elah (883–882 B.C.E.) was murdered in a plot instigated by *Zimri, one of the officers of the army. Zimri was killed by *Omri, with part of the nation backing *Tibni son of Ginath. After several years of conflict, Omri succeeded to the throne of Israel.

Asa, King of Judah, and His Descendants. The Omride Dynasty in Israel

Whatever hopes there had been during Abijah's successes for reunification under the Davidic dynasty were destroyed by the military failures of Asa against Baasha. Asa was successful, however, in defending the south of Judah from *Zerah the Cushite (II Chron. 14:8–14). Exact identification of Zerah is lacking and the numbers of his forces are fantastic, but there may be some historical core behind the report (Japhet, 709–13). In internal policy Asa's name is connected with the purification of Judah of cults of gods other than Yahweh. The purging of these foreign cults, some native, some imported, was connected with the removal of the queen mother from her high office and the reversal of her policies, which had almost certainly been responsible for the growth of Asherah-worship in Jerusalem (I Kings 15:13). Asa had the support of popular and prophetic circles for his purges.

The accession of Omri to the throne put a halt to the collapse of the central government in Israel which had resulted from Elah's death. Omri took decisive steps to stabilize the kingdom, such as the construction of the new capital in *Samaria. Like Jerusalem, this city became the king's personal landholding. It appears that Omri was subject to Aramean pressures, as is seen by the fact that Aramean commercial agencies (*ḥuẓot*) were located in Samaria and had special privileges (I Kings 20:34). At a later stage, Omri succeeded in establishing an independent foreign policy, concluding a treaty with Ethbaal, king of Sidon. This, like the treaties of David and Solomon, opened Phoenician markets to Israel's agricultural products and made it possible to import essential goods and luxury products for Omri's kingdom. This treaty may have been intended as a stabilizing factor against the political aspirations of Aram-Damascus. The ties with Ethbaal were strengthened by the marriage of Israel's heir apparent to Ethbaal's daughter. Israel's main contribution to the alliance was control of the heights of Moab, in the territory north of the Arnon, whose conquest by Omri is attested by the *Mesha stele. The conquest enabled him to control and direct the products carried over the "King's Highway." It may be assumed that the efforts made by the king of Israel to improve relations with the kingdom of Judah were made out of his desire to establish an anti-Aramean alliance on the one hand, and to get Judah to join the Tyre-Samarian axis on the other. Judah's joining the axis was important, because of the Judahite control of the southern part of the "King's Highway," which passed through Edom, a land subject to it. In Omri's time Israel had become an important political factor. The stability and prosperity began to be felt when *Ahab son of Omri started his reign; he added to the achievements of his father. Despite this, Ahab is negatively evaluated in the biblical historiography because of his toleration of the expansion of Phoenician culture in his personal and royal affairs. The Tyrian cult began to gain popularity among Israel's upper classes – the officers and merchants – because of the close ties with Tyre, and especially because of the activities of *Jezebel, the daughter of Ethbaal, and her followers (I Kings 16:32–33). The attitude of the biblical historiographer toward Ahab reflects that of circles close to Elijah. Elijah attacked the king, Jezebel, and the Baal prophets, who had attained a foothold in Israel (I Kings 18:18–45). Elijah enjoyed wide support among the populace, which bitterly resented the penetration of foreign cults and indeed suffered because of the innovations brought about by the Phoenician way of life (see also *Naboth).

The biblical view, however, does not negate the positive aspects of Ahab as a ruler. During his time solidarity between Judah and Israel increased, strengthened by political marriages. There appears to have been a treaty between the two nations, which placed both on an equal footing. In addition, Ahab enjoyed considerable success in his battles against Assyria and Aram-Damascus; these battles had taken on considerable importance by the end of his reign. It appears that Aram's intention was to destroy the Israel-Judah alliance, which was directed against it. Furthermore, the rule of Jerusalem and Samaria in Transjordan bothered the ruler of Damascus, *Ben-Hadad II. The unchanged economic interests of Aram made it necessary to hold the territory east of the Jordan as an economic hinterland for its caravan routes and agricultural products. At first the Aramean army tried to subjugate Israel by a quick campaign, which ended with its defeat at the gates of Samaria. The next battle took place at Aphek and also ended in a clear-cut victory for Israel. It is instructive that despite the Aramean defeat Ahab entered into a treaty with Ben-Hadad, whose terms were especially lenient: certain cities were returned to Israel and she received commercial concessions in Damascus. This desire to make peace with Aram without hurting her too much is criticized by the prophets. It is clear, however, that this desire resulted from political and military considerations connected with the events outside the borders of Aram and Israel, namely, the methodical penetration by *Shalmaneser III, king of Assyria, into Syria, which posed a concrete danger for the states in that area. These states came to the realization that Assyria had to be fought by an alliance of powers, and Ahab was no doubt party to this feeling. For this reason Ahab did not want to harm Aram's power to fight against the common enemy. One of Shalmaneser's inscriptions, in which the Assyrian king claims a victory over a coalition of kings of Syria and Palestine near Karkar (853 B.C.E.), prominently mentions "Ahab the Israelite" alongside the kings of Damascus and Hamath. Ahab came to the battle, according to this inscription, with a force of 2,000 chariots – the largest contributed by any of the allies; besides, he supplied 10,000 infantry. This is evidence not only of his political-military standing but also of the economic strength of the kingdom which could sustain such a force. Especially instructive is the find of Ahab's stables at Megiddo. To this may be added other archaeological evidence which testifies to the great development of Israelite cities, including the capital, in that period. The existence of an "ivory house," which is known from the Bible (I Kings 22:39), is confirmed by ivory plaques found in Samaria. Among the cities he refortified, according to the Bible, was Jericho. The fortification of this city appears to be connected with the increased control of Moab, north of the Arnon, over which Israel ruled. There too, according to the Mesha stele, widespread fortification activity took place. During the battle with Assyria, or shortly thereafter, Mesha revolted against Ahab, and began to eradicate Israel's rule in Moab. He may have been encouraged by Aram-Damascus, which resumed its thrusts against Israel after the battle at Karkar, at which the allies, at least temporarily, were able to stop the advance of Shalmaneser III into central Syria. (Another theory holds that Mesha revolted during the reign of Ahab's successor.) The renewed battle between Aram and Israel took place near Ramoth-Gilead, which appears to have been an area contested by the two sides. This time, Judah allied itself with Israel. The battle ended in the death of Ahab and the disengagement of forces following the king's death. It appears that the Arameans were unable to cross Israel's border in Transjordan, which means that the battle did not end in Israel's defeat.

Ahab's reign was a period in which Israel came to be a considerable force in the international affairs of the region; this resulted from her prudent policies and her highly developed military capabilities, which gave her an advantage over Aram. The great building and fortification activities reflect advanced economic development in the kingdom, as well as its stability which remained unbroken in Ahab's time despite the internal struggle against foreign religious and cultural influences. Attention should be drawn to the political, economic, and military ties that existed between Samaria and Jerusalem, which was ruled by *Jehoshaphat son of Asa

(c. 870–846 B.C.E.). As a result of this alliance, which was strengthened by a treaty, Judah enjoyed a relatively long period of peace. Jehoshaphat exploited these conditions by attempting a renewal of Red Sea commerce, which appears to have been interrupted after the death of Solomon. There is no doubt that Judah also received Phoenician technical support in this matter. The fleet which was built, however, sank before it could sail. The assertion of authority over Philistia and the Arabian tribes must be understood in the framework of the attempts to reestablish Judah as a commercial power (II Chron. 17:11). The rule of Edom was carried out by Jehoshaphat with the help of a governor, and at a later period by a vassal king. Because of Edom, Jehoshaphat feared a deep Aramean penetration into Transjordan which would have endangered his bases there. This is probably one of the reasons for the treaty with Ahab and the joining of the forces of Judah to those of Israel in the battle at Ramoth-Gilead. (One opinion holds that Judah also joined Israelite forces during the battle with Assyria at Karkar in 853 B.C.E. This would account for the high number of chariots of Ahab.)

Jehoshaphat devoted much attention to internal policy. He appears to have been the first king of Judah to establish firm foundations for the royal and administrative offices, which had been undermined since the division of the kingdoms, because of the frequent warfare of his predecessors. The account of Jehosaphat's building activities (II Chr. 17:12) may have archaeological support, but the description of his administrative innovations and teaching of the law is probably based of the midrash of his name – "Yahweh-has-Judged" – and reflects much later conditions (Japhet, 744–53). The cordial relations between Judah and Israel worsened during the short reign of *Ahaziah son of Ahab (852/1–851/0 B.C.E.), who wished to be included in Judah's commercial sea enterprises but was refused (I Kings 22:49–50). With the accession of his brother *Jehoram (851/0–842 B.C.E.) to Israel's throne, the friendly relations were resumed. Jehoshaphat even participated in an ill-fated campaign of Israel which was intended to reestablish Jehoram's authority over Mesha (II Kings 3:4–24).

According to II Chronicles 21:4, 13, the early part of the reign of Jehoshaphat's son *Jehoram (c. 851–843 B.C.E.) was marred by internal upheavals, including the murder of his brothers and certain high officials by Jehoram himself. His wife would later pursue a similar policy (II Kings 11:1). It may be that the defeats at the end of Jehoshaphat's reign were responsible for the agitation which became even greater by the loss of Edom and the economic benefits Edom had provided (II Kings 8:20ff.; II Chron. 21:8). Added to all of this was no doubt dissatisfaction with the activities of the king's wife, *Athaliah daughter of Ahab, who had been accustomed to Phoenician cultic practices in her home and worked at introducing into Judah these practices as well as the mode of life customary in the court of Israel. She may also have sought to increase Judah's dependence on Israel. Ahaziah, who reigned after his father's death (843–842 B.C.E.), was influenced by his mother Athaliah. He continued the policies set by his father, even joining Jehoram son of Ahab in a war against Aram at Ramoth-Gilead. During this period Ahab's son Jehoram reaped the fruits of dissatisfaction with the house of Omri. This opposition gathered strength as a result of Jehoram's failures on the field of battle. He was wounded during the renewal of the battle against Aram at Ramoth-Gilead. During his convalescence at Jezreel he was killed, when *Jehu called for reprisals against the house of Omri. On this same dramatic occasion Ahaziah of Judah was wounded and died. Additional light on these events may be shed by the ninth century Aramaic inscription discovered at Tel Dan (Halpern, Schniedewind, and see *Jehu).

The Dynasty of Jehu in Israel. Athaliah and Joash, Amaziah, Uzziah, and Jotham, Kings of Judah

Jehu son of Jehoshaphat son of Nimshi (842–814 B.C.E.) was an army officer stationed in Gilead. He was swept aloft by the wave of popular rebellion, supported by the army, circles of prophets, and dissatisfied elements among the populace. With great cruelty, he killed the royal family and its courtiers, settling the long-standing debt against Jezebel. He decisively cut off every trace of the Baal worship, killing followers of the cult. Thus, he fulfilled the wishes of his supporters, but did not consider that in so doing he had also destroyed the political and economic bases of his kingdom by cutting, with one blow, the ties of Samaria with Phoenicia and Judah and upsetting the internal organization of his kingdom and its military capabilities. Jehu was thus open to the pressures of Aram-Damascus, which at this time was ruled by a new and powerful king, *Hazael. In an effort to insure his own rule, Jehu quickly made himself submissive to the Assyrian Shalmaneser III, who reached Damascus in 841. Thus, for a short period of time Israel enjoyed a relaxation of pressures from the Arameans, who were busy defending themselves against Assyria. At a later stage, after Shalmaneser had failed to subjugate the capital of Aram, Hazael conquered the Israelite territories in eastern Transjordan. Toward the end of his reign, Jehu suffered another defeat when the Aramean army marched through Israel and reached the borders of Judah.

When Ahaziah died, his mother *Athaliah grasped the reins of leadership in Judah by killing the royal family (II Kings 11:1; II Chron. 22:10). There is no doubt that the revolution of Jehu in Samaria had its reverberations in Jerusalem, where there was a temple to Baal. It is of little wonder that a coup took place in the Judahite capital, led by the Temple staff and supported by the army and leaders of the people. Athaliah paid with her life and *Joash son of Ahaziah (836–798 B.C.E.), the only one to have escaped death at the hands of his grandmother, was made king of Judah. His coronation was accompanied by a covenant made between God and the king and the nation, and between the king and the people. These covenants stressed loyalty to the God of Israel and the renewed continuity of the Davidic dynasty in Jerusalem. The Jerusalem priesthood gained significant influence in political affairs thanks to *Jehoiada the priest, who had been the instigator of the rebellion. The Temple was restored to its former glory; it was repaired by means of contributions solicited from the nation. That same year Hazael, king of Aram, reached Judah after having defeated Jehu. Joash was forced to pay a heavy tribute, which was taken from the Temple treasury (II Kings 12:18–19; II Chron. 24:23) in order to put off the destruction threatening his country. It may be that this act was interpreted as a blow to the Temple, thereby opening a wedge for activities against the king. (By means of a midrash on II Kings 12:3, the writer of II Chronicles 24:2ff. tells us that Joash turned to evil ways after Jehoiada's death, providing a theological reason for the Aramean invasion, which he postpones until after the priest's death, as well as for the king's assassination.) The king was assassinated in a palace coup, but his son Amaziah ascended the throne. This lack of stability continued during the reign of Amaziah son of Joash. The new king sought to allay tensions by not touching the descendants of his father's murderers, though he did avenge himself against the murderers themselves. It appears that he was able to quiet the circles which had formed the conspiracy, because the biblical sources speak of the conscription and organization of the army in Judah (II Chron. 25:5) to fight in Edom. This would have been impossible during a period of internal disturbances. According to Chronicles, Amaziah initially engaged a troop of mercenaries from Israel, but, not wanting to arouse new internal resistance, then gave them up and fought Edom by his own means. It appears that he was unable to conquer the whole of Edom. At a later date, probably encouraged by his victory over Edom, and believing that Israel had been greatly weakened after years of struggle with the Arameans, he turned against Israel. Amaziah was defeated by Jehoash son of Jehoahaz, the king of Israel, who entered Jerusalem, destroyed parts of her walls, looted the Temple and palace treasures, imposed economic sanctions, and took hostages away with him (II Kings 14:8–14; II Chron. 25:17–24). Judah's weakened condition probably was a factor in the successful conspiracy against Amaziah that eventually led to his assassination.

The defeats of Jehu led to the loss of territory and power by the kingdom of Israel. The period of decline continued during the reign of *Jehoahaz son of Jehu (817–800 B.C.E.). Echoes of this appear in the cycle of narratives about Elisha (II Kings 5–7). At the same time, Aramean pressures reached their peak, as a result of which the kingdom of Israel was forced to contract into the nearby environs of Samaria. Some slight relief from Aramean bondage was provided when Adad-nirari III, king of Assyria, conducted a campaign into Syria against Aram and Damascus its capital, failing however to defeat her. He appears to be the *moshi'a*, "deliverer," who, according to the biblical sources, saved Israel from Aram (II Kings 13:5). It is possible that Jehoahaz was subjugated by the Assyrian king, paying him, like Jehu before him, a levy during the time he was in the vicinity of Damascus. An Assyrian inscription mentions "the land of Omri" (an appellation for the kingdom of Israel even after the end of the Omri dynasty), among the lands subject to Adad-nirari III. It appears that during the latter years of Jehoahaz, Israel began to break free of the firm hand of Damascus, which was busy defending itself against Assyria. A stele discovered at Tel Rimah (Cogan and Tadmor, 335) mentions Jehoash (Joash) of Samaria, the son of Jehoahaz, king of Israel (800–784 B.C.E.), among those subjugated by Adad-nirari III. It may be that this subjugation was a continuation of the tactics of his father (if indeed the sources mentioned above refer to the time of his father and not to Jehoash's period), or he may have surrendered after the campaign of the king of Assyria into the valley of Lebanon in 796 B.C.E. In any case Jehoash utilized the decline of Aram to recapture territories taken from Israel during the reigns of his predecessors (II Kings 13:9–14). This is yet another indication of Israel's renewed military capability, which also displayed itself in Jehoash's war against Amaziah, king of Judah, in which he defeated Amaziah's armies and reached Jerusalem.

A protracted period of nonintervention on the part of Assyria in Syrian affairs, which occurred after Jehoash's time, had a positive influence upon the policies of the region's countries, including Israel and Judah. Furthermore, these two countries began to assume prime importance in filling the political vacuum left in the wake of Aram's decline following her war with Assyria. Thus, the period of *Jeroboam son of Jehoash (789–748 B.C.E.) was one of ascendancy for Israel. Some of his political and military achievements are briefly described in II Kings 14:23–29. These sources indicate that Jeroboam held widespread territories, including Aram-Damascus and eastern Transjordan. His northern boundary reached the kingdom of Hamath. The political and military activities were accompanied by economic expansion and building and fortification work in Samaria and its environs. Hints in the Books of Chronicles and Amos lead one to believe that Jeroboam initiated and strove to establish broader settlement areas in Transjordan and gave large pieces of land to his officers and followers. These individuals eventually developed into large and wealthy owners of estates of commanding influence, playing substantial roles in the final days of the kingdom of Israel. There were good relations at this time between Israel and Judah, as evidenced by a mention of a joint census in Transjordan (I Chron. 5:16–17).

Judah, too, enjoyed a stability which stemmed from the convenient international situation. From the time of Joash the rule of Judah's kings was disturbed by incessant internal struggles and an inability to gather sufficient support to overcome the opposition to their rule. The reign of Jeroboam's contemporary, *Uzziah (Azariah) son of Amaziah (785–733 B.C.E.), was one of the most flourishing in the history of the kingdom of Judah. In the absence of external disturbances, Uzziah completed the conquest of Edom, including the important bay of Elath and its harbor (II Kings 14:22; II Chron. 26:2). He subjugated the Arabian tribes who lived at the borders of his kingdom and asserted his authority over Philistia, including Gath, Jabneh, and Ashdod (II Chron. 26:6–7). He strengthened his sovereignty over these areas by means of a far-flung building campaign and expanded agriculture and pasturing operations in eastern Transjordan to meet the needs of the royal economy. A similar development was accomplished in the Negev and the Arabah, including operations to ensure water supply, settlements, and a chain of fortifications for communications and defense (26:10ff.). The army of Judah was reorganized and supplied with new weapons (26:11–15); special attention was given to the fortification of Jerusalem. These biblical data are probably connected with the anti-Assyrian war preparations which occupied the region due to the penetration of *Tiglath-Pileser III into Syria. It is possible that the "Azriau," mentioned in Assyrian inscriptions as the leader of a group of allies who fought the armies of Assyria in northern Syria and were defeated in 738, is in fact Uzziah, the king of Judah (Tadmor, 273–76 with references). But the question of how Uzziah became head of the alliance which fought in northern Syria is a difficult one. It is almost certain that Judah replaced Israel in importance in the area after Israel's precipitous decline following the death of Jeroboam son of Jehoash.

The Bible attributes Uzziah's severe skin disease to his attempts to secure special privileges for himself in the Temple service (II Chron. 26:16–21). The incident is not sufficiently explicit, but it is clear that the king's cultic activities were rejected by the priesthood. There may even be in the conflict between *Uzziah and the priests a continuation of the struggles that existed between the Temple staff and his father and grandfather. Biblical sources and chronological calculations (see also *Chronology) lead to the conclusion that as a result of Uzziah's infirmity his son *Jotham (758–743 B.C.E.) took part in the administration of the kingdom. Furthermore, Jotham's regency, though counted in the Bible as a separate rule, is included in the years attributed to Uzziah, who was still alive. It even appears that the years given as Uzziah's period of rule include a few years from the reign of Ahaz, his grandson. Jotham son of Uzziah acted according to the guidance and direction of his father. It is not unreasonable to assume that a good portion of the building and other activities ascribed to the father was actually accomplished by the son. In the light of what has been said above, it is difficult to distinguish between their reigns. In any case, he appears to have appeased the priesthood. He, too, is credited with the fortification of Jerusalem and cities of Judah and with the building of fortresses. In his time Ammon was brought under Judah's rule (II Chron. 27:5). It appears that as a result of this victory he was able to enlist the aid of Jeroboam son of Jehoash in the campaign into Transjordan (see above). After the defeat of 738, in which Judah was not directly affected, Jotham attempted accommodation with Assyria, thus arousing the ire of *Rezin, king of Damascus. The latter had restored independence to Aram with the help of his ally, the king of Israel. These two kings attempted to involve Judah in a new anti-Assyrian campaign.

The Last Days of Samaria. The Kingdom of Judah Until Its Destruction

With the death of Jeroboam son of Jehoash chaos broke out in Israel. Influential in the upheavals characteristic of this period were the great landowners and prominent parties from the eastern side of the Jordan. The short reign of *Zechariah son of Jeroboam (748/7 B.C.E.) ended in his assassination at the hands of *Shallum son of Jabesh (i.e., from Jabesh-Gilead). Shallum was deposed, before he could ascend the throne, by *Menahem son of Gadi (747/6–737/6 B.C.E.), who also appears to have been from Transjordan. He seems to have attempted to expand his territories and establish a firm rule (II Kings 15:16), but the iron hand of Tiglath-Pileser III prevented him from achieving his aims. There is no doubt that Menahem son of Gadi is "Menahem of Samaria," who is referred to in an Assyrian inscription of 738 B.C.E. as one of those who paid taxes to the king of Assyria. Menahem had little choice but to be counted among those loyal to Tiglath-Pileser III. Biblical sources describe Menahem as having been forced to pay a heavy tax to Pul (i.e., Tiglath-Pileser), the king of Assyria. This money was exacted from the wealthy landowners of Menahem's kingdom (II Kings 15:19–20). One theory based on the Samaria ostraca holds that the tax was collected in the form of agricultural products. After the death of Menahem, *Pekahiah, his son, lost control of affairs and soon fell in a conspiracy led by *Pekah son of Remaliah (735/4–733/2 B.C.E.), one of the nobles of Gilead. The cause of the conspiracy seems to have been dissatisfaction on the part of Transjordanian Israelites with Assyrian domination of Israel; these parties cultivated their own connections with Aram. Thus, when Pekah began his reign, he entered into a treaty with Rezin, king of Damascus, which was aimed against Tiglath-Pileser III. In order to create a secure flank these two attempted to compel Jotham, and later his son *Ahaz (743–727 B.C.E.), to abandon Judah's policy of submitting to Assyria. They attempted this by fomenting rebellion in Edom and inciting Philistia (II Kings 16:6; II Chron. 28:17–18), and by a military campaign toward Jerusalem which was intended to upset the Davidic dynasty. Ahaz therefore turned to Tiglath-Pileser III for aid, and, according to the biblical sources, submitted to the king of Assyria. The Bible blames him for practicing "abominations of the nations." The account that Ahaz ordered the construction of a Syrian style altar in the Jerusalem temple is not itself condemnatory but is now embedded in a hostile narrative. Nonetheless, it demonstrates the growing foreign influences upon Judah (II Kings 16:3–4, 10–18; II Chron. 28:3–4, 21–25). It is not clear whether the appearance of Tiglath-Pileser in Damascus resulted from Ahaz's request, since it is highly unlikely that the king of Assyria would have responded to such a call if he had not already decided to attack Damascus anyway. What appears more likely is that Ahaz turned to Tiglath-Pileser in 734, while the Assyrian army was already engaged in a campaign along the Phoenician coastline, reaching as far as the "brook of Egypt" (Wādi El-Arish). This Assyrian venture was intended to strengthen control over the Philistine coastal cities, and especially over Gaza. Thus Ahaz's request must have fallen upon receptive ears, since it suited Tiglath-Pileser's political-military plans. In 733–732 the Assyrians besieged Damascus and captured it, making it the center of an Assyrian province.

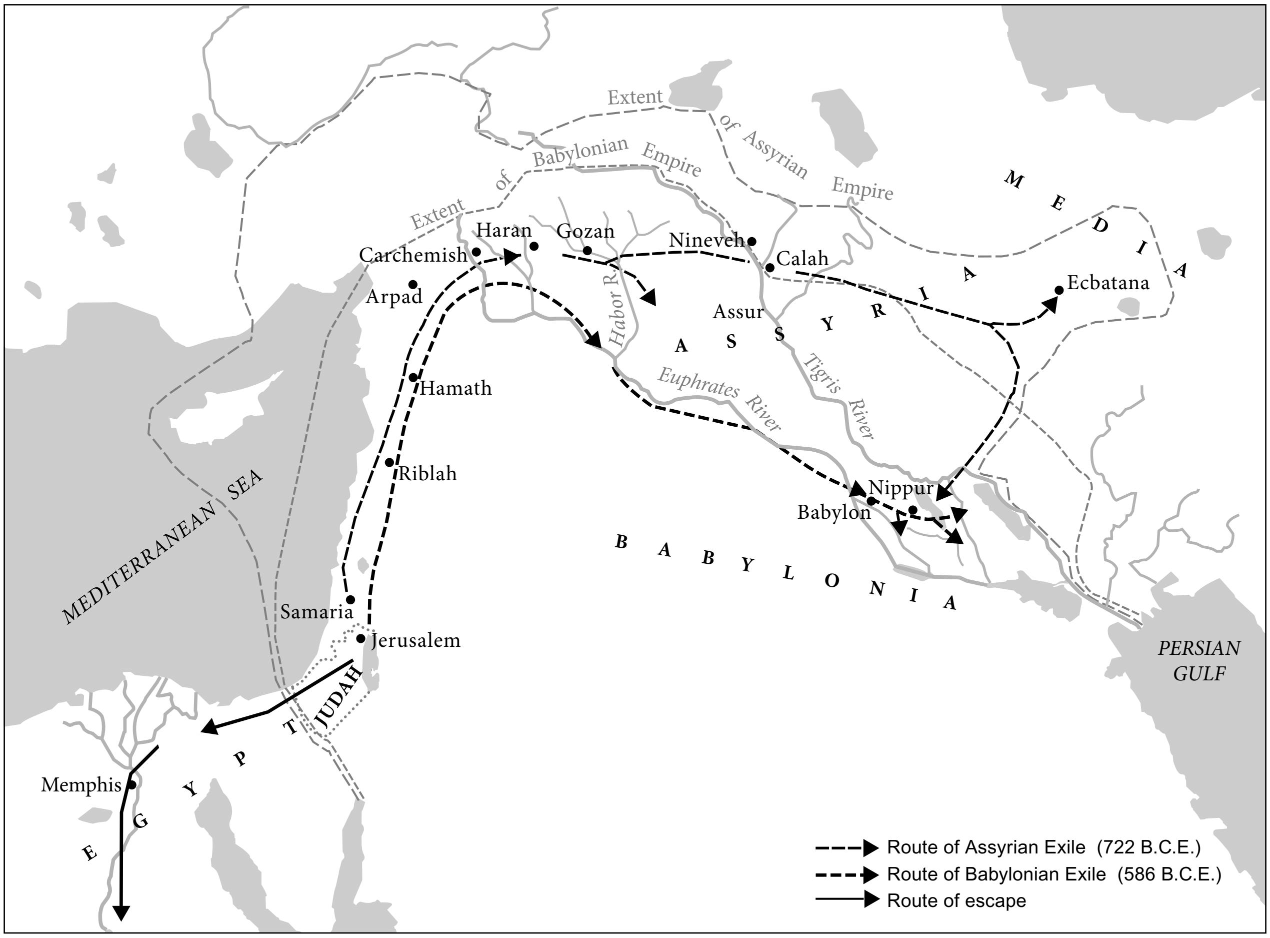
Extent of Assyrian Empire
Extent of Babylonian Empire
MEDIA
Carchemish
Haran
Gozan
Nineveh
Calah
Ecbatana
Arpad
Assur
ASSYRIA
Habor R.
Hamath
Euphrates River
Tigris River
Riblah
Nippur
Babylon
BABYLONIA
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
Samaria
Jerusalem
JUDAH
PERSIAN GULF
Memphis
EGYPT
Route of Assyrian Exile (722 B.C.E.)
Route of Babylonian Exile (586 B.C.E.)
Route of escape

Map 1. The Assyrian and Babylonian exiles. From J. Shapiro (ed.), Historical Atlas of the Jewish People, *Tel Aviv, 1966.*

During the siege Tiglath-Pileser also conquered portions of eastern Transjordan and penetrated the Galilee and the Valley of Beth-Netuphah. As it appears from Assyrian sources and biblical references (II Kings 15:29), he may have reached as far as Ashkelon. Immediately following these events another revolt took place in Samaria. In place of the cruel and destructive Pekah son of Remaliah, who brought disaster to the kingdom, *Hoshea son of Elah (733/2–724/3 B.C.E.) became king, his position being confirmed by the Assyrian ruler.

Throughout this period Judah maintained its vassal status, thus being saved. Assyrian records refer to Ahaz (called Jehoahaz in the inscription; Cogan and Tadmor, 336) who paid a tax in 728 B.C.E.

With the death of Tiglath-Pileser III, widespread revolt broke out in Syria and Palestine. Even the kingdom of Israel, encouraged by Egypt (II Kings 17:4), joined in the revolt. The new Assyrian king, *Shalmaneser V, punished the rebels by means of a military campaign. Upon reaching Palestine, he besieged Samaria for three years, and the capital fell in 722 B.C.E. The exile of its inhabitants and the turning of Samaria into an Assyrian province was completed by the next Assyrian king, Sargon II (II Kings 17:6; cf. 18:9–11. The exact details are complicated because the Babylonian Chronicle attributes the fall of Samaria to Shalmaneser, while his successor Sargon II (722–705) takes the credit (see bibliography in *Exile, Assyrian and Map: Routes of the Exiles). He appears to have rushed his army westward in 720 to suppress rebellion in many parts of the area. Judah refrained from participation in this uprising. Assyrian inscriptions from Sargon's time mention Judah's submission. Still, there are hints about the involvement of *Hezekiah son of Ahaz (727–698 B.C.E.) in support of Ashdod, which was in rebellion against Assyria. As a result of this, sections of Judah's western border were attacked. In any case, Judah enjoyed a period of relative quiet, possibly because of its submission to Assyria. However, as soon as the Assyrian danger had passed, Hezekiah adopted a series of measures which may be interpreted as a shift in policy. The purification of the cult from foreign and popular native elements (II Chron. 28:24; 29:3) was intended to raise national morale and unite the people around the House of David and the Temple. Even the literary activity (Prov. 25:1) was an expression of a new nationalistic spirit which, like the purification of the cult, expressed aspirations of political independence. There were even attempts to bring closer to Judah those residents of the former Israel living in nearby Assyrian provinces which had been established on the territories of the former kingdom of Israel. To this end, Hezekiah sent envoys to invite these people to participate in the Passover festival in Jerusalem, the date of which was made to conform to the calendar kept in the north (II Chron. 30:1–21). It is clear that these aspirations were bound to become involved with anti-Assyrian activities which were growing from Egypt to Babylonia. The mission of the Assyrian *Merodach-Baladan (II Kings 20:12; Isa. 39) to Jerusalem was intended to clarify Judah's stand in these activities. With the death of Sargon II the balance seems to have been tipped in favor of Hezekiah's participation in the anti-Assyrian front. Jerusalem prepared for revolt. The capital was fortified, and the *Siloam tunnel was built to bring the water of the Gihon within her walls in time of emergency. The army was reorganized in preparation for the revolt. It appears from Assyrian inscriptions that at this time the pro-Assyrian king of Ekron was imprisoned in Jerusalem, and Philistia was attacked (II Kings 18:8). This was done by Judah to create territorial continuity with Ashkelon, also a participant in the revolt.

*Sennacherib, who succeeded Sargon II, successfully fought Babylonia, and attempted to conquer the cities along the Phoenician coast, afterward making his way toward Palestine. During this campaign, according to the sources describing his acts in Palestine, the Assyrian king conquered Beth-Dagon, Jaffa, Bene-Berak, and cities of the kingdom of Ashkelon. At Eltekeh, at the approaches to Judah, he defeated the Egyptian relief force which had been sent to help Hezekiah. The Assyrian army entered Judah, destroyed its cities, distributing them among the Philistine kings, and exiled many of the people. (See Map: Routes of the Exiles). A siege was laid upon Jerusalem. Hezekiah, encouraged by *Isaiah the prophet who had high standing in the king's court, did not open the gates of the city to Sennacherib, though he did send him a heavy tribute. The subsequent activities of Sennacherib are not clear. He left Judah, though opinions are divided as to his reasons. He may have returned to Palestine at a later date. In any case, Hezekiah remained on his throne as an Assyrian vassal paying very high tribute.

This subjugation to Assyria continued during the reign of *Manasseh son of Hezekiah (698–642 B.C.E.), who reigned during the rule of the last great Assyrian kings. He introduced Baal worship and astral cults into Jerusalem and Judah (II Kings 21:1–9; II Chron. 33:2–9). He built altars to the astral deities in the Jerusalem temple. He also paid taxes to Assyria. A late source (II Chron. 33:11–13) relates that Manasseh was taken captive in chains to Babylonia, though he later returned to reign over Judah. It is said that, when he returned to Judah, he rooted out idolatrous practices and fortified Jerusalem and other cities (II Chron. 33:14–16). (For a discussion of this issue, see Japhet, 1000–4.) The reign of *Amon son of Manasseh was short-lived, ending in his assassination. *Josiah son of Amon (639–609 B.C.E.) was brought to the throne by forces loyal to the House of David. They had before them the example of Hezekiah who had tried to unite the nation and deepen its national and religious awareness by purifying the cult and repairing the Temple. As in former times, the usual political motivation behind these acts existed. In this case the motivation was the decline of Assyria during the time of Josiah. While in earlier times Assyrian declines may have been temporary, it was clear during Josiah's reign that the fall of Assyria was not just a passing phenomenon. The Books of Kings and II Chronicles are at odds over the order of events and their times. It has been argued that II Chronicles is the more dependable, since its chronology and time fit in with the stages of the decline of the Assyrian empire (II Chron. 34–35).

Josiah began by showing his faith in the God of David; he then cleansed his capital and cities and some of the former Israel territories of idolatry; and he finally arranged repairs of the Temple. This last deed is connected with other actions whose purpose was religious reform and the raising of national morale. These included the finding of a Torah scroll (see *Deuteronomy), the forming of a new covenant between the nation and its God, and the celebration of Passover in the capital. The biblical sources indicate that along with the national and spiritual activities of Josiah, there was also a territorial expansion into the former kingdom of Israel from which Assyria had retreated. In circumstances that are far from clear, Josiah met Pharaoh *Neco at Megiddo. According to II Chronicles 35:20–24, Josiah engaged Neco in battle. Scholars who accept the Chronicles account do so against the background that Neco had attempted to help the tottering Assyrian forces which had fortified themselves along the Euphrates against the advances of Nabopolassar, the Chaldean, who was the founder of the neo-Babylonian empire. Neco wanted to exploit the decline of Assyria to acquire its territories west of the Euphrates. In line with these facts it has been argued that Josiah went to Megiddo in order to block an Egypto-Assyrian coalition. In contrast, other scholars argue that II Kings 23:30 makes no mention of a battle and that Josiah had been summoned by Neco to a kind of court martial, or that he had walked into a trap (see Cogan and Tadmor, 300–3; Althann). In either event, Josiah was killed by Neco at Megiddo. With the death of Josiah, Judah's last period of national prosperity came to an end. After him came a period of decline, wars, bloodshed, and destruction. *Jehoahaz, his son, reigned in his stead, but was shortly removed by Neco, who made the areas west of the Euphrates his sphere of influence. Jehoahaz was replaced by *Jehoiakim (608–598 B.C.E.), Josiah's eldest son, who almost certainly must have displayed more loyalty to Egypt than his deposed brother. Judah became an Egyptian satellite and was forced to pay heavy tributes (II Kings 24:33).

Beginning with Jehoiakim, Judah was buffeted by the severe conflict between Babylonia and Egypt on the one hand, and the proliferation of conflicting political views among its own ruling classes and people on the other. With *Nebuchadnezzar's defeat of Neco (605 B.C.E.) and penetration into Philistia, it was clear that Babylonia was the dominant force in the Near East. As a result, Jehoiakim was subject to Babylonian rule for a few years, though at the same time he tried to maintain his connections with Egypt, which encouraged him and promised aid. When Egypt enjoyed some temporary success in stopping Nebuchadnezzar, Jehoiakim's connections with Egypt turned into full-scale rebellion against Babylonia. Throughout this period, the prophet *Jeremiah counseled against a Judah-Egypt alliance, advising that the only way to save Judah from destruction was surrender to Babylonia. Promised Egyptian aid never reached Judah, when Nebuchadnezzar attacked, using his forces and soldiers from countries he had conquered (II Kings 24:2). Jerusalem was placed under siege at around that time. After Jehoiakim's death, his son *Jehoiachin held the throne for three months before being exiled to Babylonia (597), along with his court, army officers, and craftsmen. Babylonian documents make it clear that he was well treated in exile, even retaining his royal title.

Nebuchadnezzar appointed as king of Judah *Zedekiah son of Josiah (596–586 B.C.E.), who was at first loyal to Babylonia. At a later period he made connections with anti-Babylonian elements and joined a rebellion which encompassed Palestine, the Phoenician coast, and Transjordan. This revolt had the active support of Egypt, now ruled by Pharaoh Hophra. Zedekiah remained loyal to the rebellion even after some of the rebels surrendered to Nebuchadnezzar. He even resisted the pressures of prophets led by Jeremiah, as well as of some of his courtiers, who feared the fate Judah might suffer because of its rebellious activities against Babylonia. The *Lachish ostraca testify to the events of those days, when the Babylonian army stood at the gateway to the country. These ostraca reflect the internal confusion among the administrators, army, and courtiers, and illustrate the emergency situation within Judah. The Babylonian army penetrated the land and began to destroy its fortifications (589). It appears that an Egyptian force was rushed to Judah at that time, providing some temporary relief from the siege of Jerusalem, but the force was defeated. The capital then came under protracted siege until it was conquered and destroyed, along with the Temple. Zedekiah was captured while trying to escape and was severely punished. Judah was depopulated by the exile of her populace and by the flight of refugees to neighboring countries. Nor was she able to stop the Philistines, Edomites, and Arabian tribes from taking parts of her territories. The remnants of the population of Jerusalem and Judah concentrated themselves about Mizpeh. There *Gedaliah son of Ahikam was appointed by the Babylonians to govern the remaining inhabitants of Judah. He was murdered, however, by conspirators from among Judah's former officialdom, who were encouraged by outside forces. With his death, the end came for the last vestige of independence that yet remained. The territory of Judah became an administrative unit of Babylon, but its exact status is unclear. (See Map: Routes of the Exiles).

The destruction of Jerusalem and the termination of the kingdom of Judah brought to an end the long period of independence and sovereignty which the people of Israel had enjoyed. There remained only the deep impress of this period upon the history of the nation and the hopes it gave to future generations.

SOCIAL STRUCTURE OF ANCIENT ISRAEL

The Source

The only source of information on Israelite society in ancient times is the Bible. Archaeological excavations have so far produced no significant additional material on this subject; nor have the few epigraphical sources of that period which have been discovered in Palestine added to our knowledge in this field. The information gleaned from the Bible is fragmentary, discontinuous, and sketchy. Moreover, it is difficult to obtain a general picture on the basis of biblical material, since this material was mostly written at a much later date than the period it describes, even though it may have contained ancient traditions. The realistic aspects of society and social problems were of incidental interest to the authors and editors, who were preoccupied with questions of morality and social justice. Thus it is only indirectly that the Bible permits us to view the social structure and its component parts, the social concepts and customs, of the ancient era.

Methods

Owing to the nature of the unique source, the student of ancient Israelite society must rely chiefly upon typological comparisons with other societies bearing a chronological, ethnic, geographic, and linguistic relationship to ancient Israelite society, as well as with later societies having the same social structure. Such a study will range from the tribal organization of pre-Islamic Arabia to that of Bedouin tribes in the 19th century. The analysis of ancient or recent parallels is guided by the fragmentary information provided in the Bible, which reflects a very well defined social system and way of life.

Hebrew Society Prior to the Rise of Israel in Canaan

The information derived from the Bible and by analogy from relevant examples (most particularly from the archive tablets found in the Mesopotamian city of *Mari, which contain important details about Western Semitic tribal organization) indicates that in the pre-Israelite period the structure of the Hebrew tribes was patriarchal. Tribal structure would have been made up of variously sized units which were related to one another by blood, claimed descent from the same patriarchal ancestor, and shared a religious-cultic tradition.

The Pre-Monarchic Period

Most of the evidence concerning the tribal structure of Israel relates to what the Bible refers to as the period of the settlement in the Promised Land and thereafter. There is no unequivocal material concerning the time and nature of the formation of the tribes. The 12 tribes, as we know them from the Bible, are merely a schematic device, a fixed number whose components apparently changed in the course of time, as may be concluded from certain sparse but unmistakable references. Some of these component parts probably dated from earliest times, while others arose later. According to one theory, the duodecimal scheme was based upon an actual supra-tribal organization similar to the Greek and Etruscan amphictyonies. Another theory emphasises the "democratic" rather than ritualistic nature of the organization. Other scholars question the existence of any supra-tribal organization. It seems obvious, however, that whatever its nature, some super-tribal structure undoubtedly did exist.

Tribal and Sub-Tribal Units

The tribal framework contained two kinds of sub-tribal units (Josh. 7:13–14). This subdivision may also be schematic to some extent, as may be deduced from the variety of terms used to designate these subunits. It is, however, evident that the smallest unit was the household (*bet-ha-ʾav*), consisting of the sons of one father, with their wives and offspring. Several households made up a clan (*mishpaḥah*; Num. 2:34), which produced the military unit called "*elef*" (Judg. 6:15; I Sam. 17:18 and 22:7 et al.). The tribe consisted of several such clans. One tribe, Dan, supposedly consisted of a single clan. The "nuclear family," with which we are familiar nowadays, had no independent existence in those days, but was only a component of the larger household. The individual male enjoyed equality under the law and by tradition, but not within the family structure. The individual could participate in the large gatherings of his unit, which in turn gave him a voice in tribal and clan decisions, including the selection of tribal institution leaders.

Institutions

Tribal leadership and institutions arose from among the elders, as the heads of clans and households were known. They wielded political and judicial authority. This was a leadership elected by the units on the basis of lineage, experience, and wisdom, as well as the size of the bloc which supported the person in question. It is difficult to determine to what extent this representative and governing body known as the elders had a consistent nature and whether it had exclusive power in the spheres of its authority. It seems likely that it was not a rigidly consistent institution, in view of the variety of terms applied to various leaders who may or may not have been elders – *nagid* (I Sam. 9:16); *nadiv* (Num. 21:18; I Sam. 2:8 et al.); *ḥoqeq*, *meḥoqeq* (Judg. 5:9, 14); and *qaẓin* (Judg. 11:11). There was moreover a term which was applied to a more identifiable kind of leader – *shofeṭ moshiʿa*, literally, a "savior judge." These were temporary leaders who emerged in times of crisis to save the tribe from its enemies, and their authority was charismatic and outside the traditional leadership. It is, nonetheless, apparent that the term "judge" was frequently applied to important individuals whose authority derived from their lineage and property, and who were thus similar to the traditional elders. The so-called "minor judges" (Judg. 10:1–4 and 12:8–15) belonged to this category. It is not entirely clear what was the highest rank in the tribal hierarchy. Certain biblical texts suggest that the term *nasi* designated this highest authority. It seems likely that the *nasi* was elected from among the elders (Num. 1:44 and 2:7).

Social Changes

The tribal structure with its subunits was always adapting to new circumstances and needs, so that institutions and functions acquired new meanings. Time witnessed the rise in power of private property and enhanced proprietary awareness. The social distinctions between sub-tribal units also increased, as did the differences between the tribes, resulting from the varied geographic and geopolitical conditions they encountered in their settlements. All this in turn served to weaken the intertribal association and the supra-tribal organization. The economic basis of the clans and households also changed. Sheep and cattle raising, previously the exclusive resource of the tribe, was being replaced by the cultivation of fruit and grain crops. At the same time, crafts necessary to the settled way of life and to agriculture were also on the increase. One phenomenon known already in the second millennium (see *Habiru) was the appearance of a marginal society of unintegrated, nonproductive elements without property, who became mercenaries and followers of revolutionary leaders (Judg. 9:4, "worthless and reckless fellows"; and 11:3, "worthless fellows").

Urbanization

Urbanization accelerated social and economic processes. The qualitative changes which took place among the Israelites who became urbanized is clearly seen in various biblical texts. Such texts deal largely with the institutions of leadership, although there were no doubt corresponding changes in the personal and judicial spheres as well, as evidenced by the laws in Deuteronomy, which are clearly associated with an urban existence (Deut. 19, 21, etc.). Tribal traditions and customs began to weaken, although they did not entirely disappear. The elders, an institution with tribal-patriarchal roots, became the established authority in the Israelite city (I Sam. 11:3). At the same time, the congregation of all free citizens emerged as a broader-based institution (*ibid.* v. 1). It becomes evident that urban life produced new criteria for the selection of elders, economic power replacing hereditary status. Thus of the ancient tribal institution only the title and framework remained, while the content underwent complete change. Urban life also affected the status of the sub-tribal units – the clan and the household grew in importance while the status of the tribe declined. This must have been so, despite the biblical emphasis on the tribe as the chief organization of Israelite society.

Changes in the Tribal System

The most basic changes were those which affected the tribal system. This large entity did not disappear entirely during the period under discussion. The tribe and its leadership remained very powerful. The Bible gives us a picture of a tribal framework which did not disintegrate even while it changed from being a group related by blood to a typical territory-based unit. There have been theories that the tribe originated with the settlement. Be that as it may, the criteria which determine membership in a nomadic tribe, i.e., blood ties and a common patriarchal ancestor, were obviously unsuited to the new way of life, in which geographic consideration took precedence over genealogy. In other words, membership in a tribe became predicated upon residence within its territory. In this way the tribes were able to absorb alien ethnic elements, as well as migrant groups from other tribes who either became absorbed in the tribe or retained a form of dual-tribal affiliation. Thus the city with its inhabitants became a new component of the tribal system, to which a person could be related in the same way that he was related to a clan or household, and which appeared in genealogical lists as a descendant of the ancient ancestor of the tribe. There are numerous examples of this concept in the early chapters of I Chronicles. The picture which emerges in this late source is, no doubt, highly simplified, but it must have had its basis in reality, since in many cases an entire clan must have settled together in one city and formed the bulk of its population.

This is not to suggest that the urban citizen was subject to the authority of the tribal elders, for the city was a fairly independent entity. Rather, the city as an autonomous whole participated in the overall tribal organization which, by then, had some of the characteristics of a political alliance, where previously it had been an association of clans. All these changes took place over a long period of time and in a complicated manner. The process of settlement varied in its phases from tribe to tribe and from clan to clan. The story of the migration of the tribe of Dan from the south to the north (Judg. 17, 18) illustrates this fact.

The Monarchy and the Tribal System

The monarchy in Israel emerged as an antithesis to the tribal system (see *King). By its very nature and in this specific instance, the monarchy acted as a catalyst upon certain social processes, of which some were ancient and others new. It is hardly surprising that the advent of the monarchy in Israel became the decisive factor in the disintegration of the tribal system. In the beginning the monarchy apparently attempted to coexist with the tribal authority, and probably strove to incorporate it into the administration of the kingdom. However, the growing strength of the centralized royal authority inevitably led to clashes with the separatist interests of the tribal leaders, who naturally struggled to preserve their autonomy, even though they had previously concurred with the creation of the monarchy in order to meet certain exigencies. The activities of the monarchy, especially the division of the land into administrative regions (I Kings 4), also served to weaken and restrict the traditional, tribal-rooted authority. Thus, in the course of the monarchical era, tribal membership became largely a traditional symbol lacking any real function. The monarchy also undermined the tribal leadership by creating a whole new class of functionaries – "royal employees" dependent on the king, from the highest ministers (I Sam. 8:18–26; I Chron. 18:15–17; II Sam. 20:23–26; etc.) to officials, professional soldiers (I Kings 9:22 et al.), managers, and laborers on the royal estates (I Sam. 8:12). Concurrently, the appointed priesthood and probably the Levite administration, as well as an emergent mercantile community, thrived under the influence of the monarchy. The monarchical economy encouraged the rapid development of specialized skills and enhanced crafts and the status of artisans. The elders were rapidly losing power in the urban centers, and authority became increasingly vested in the ministers who governed the affairs of the city. Nevertheless, these changes did not seriously affect the customs and way of life within the framework of the clan and the household, which continued to derive their inspiration from the patriarchal tradition and the ancient social institutions. The kings took care not to destroy the accepted way of life. In any event, the clan was still a vital and effective factor during the period of the Return to Zion (Ezra 2; Neh. 4:7).

National Class Structure

The decline of the tribal system and the reorganization of the population, first in terms of territory and then as a kingdom, led to the emergence and crystallization of a nationwide class structure. The main stratum consisted of landowners, large and small. A class of artisans arose beside it. Additional strata emerged in the course of the monarchical period: royal functionaries, merchants, and government officials. It remains, however, impossible to reconstruct a satisfactory picture of the overall social stratification of ancient Israel. The Bible refers to various social classes whenever the narrative requires it, and apparently recognizes the existence of social stratification, although it emphasizes chiefly the division between the free and the enslaved, the poor and the rich. It would, therefore, be a mistake to attempt to reconstruct a complete model of the stratification of that society. A broad outline which includes an upper, a middle, and a lower class, together with the marginal elements and the slaves, will have to suffice. The priesthood and the Levites are not included in the aforementioned division, because of their special status and ritualistic functions, although in part they may have been considered as officers of the government (II Sam. 8:17 et al.).

Landowning Class

The broad base of the kingdom – and later of the separate kingdoms of Israel and Judah – was the landowners and the peasantry, who together comprised the bulk of the population. The sources frequently mention the landowners ("the great men," II Sam. 19:33), both on account of their political activities and in connection with the bitter denunciations hurled at them by the prophets. Large estates had begun to appear even before the monarchy, as may be seen in the case of prominent individuals like Barzillai the Gileadite (II Sam. 19:32) and Nabal the Carmelite (I Sam. 25:2) in David's time. However, on the whole, great estates were a product of the political-economic policies of the kings, who rewarded their supporters and followers with land grants of conquered, annexed, or purchased territories (II Sam. 9:7–10; 19:30). There seems to have been a concentration of such *latifundia* in Transjordan. The economic power wielded by the estate owners soon turned into a massive political weapon in times of crisis and royal weakness, such as toward the end of the Kingdom of Israel – a period during which the Transjordanian nobles apparently exercised a decisive influence in the affairs of the capital, Samaria. In the Kingdom of Judah the landowning class does not seem to have played such a major role, perhaps because it was a small class – in view of the territorial limitations and the topography of the kingdom – and perhaps also because the Davidic dynasty was a strong one. From about the middle of the ninth century B.C.E., a section of the population described as "the people of the land" (*am ha-areẓ*) became increasingly prominent. There has been a great deal of speculation and research concerning this group, whose nature is not entirely clear. "The people of the land" played an active role in events of the highest political significance, such as the crowning of a new king, especially following revolutions and regicides (II Kings 11:14; II Chron. 33:25, et al.). From these sparse references it may be deduced that "the people of the land" was a broadly representative class in Judah and that its power rested in its ownership of the land, although it seems unlikely that this class included the major landowners. Apparently "the people of the land" succeeded the ancient "democratic" concept of the "congregation," which had more or less vanished shortly after the establishment of the monarchy. It has been suggested that the Northern Kingdom's equivalent of "the people of the land" were the "mighty men of wealth" (*gibbore ha-ḥayil*) mentioned in II Kings 15:20 and Ruth 2:1, upon whom the Israelite king Menahem imposed a special levy in order to pay the tribute to King Tiglath Pileser III of Assyria. There were 60,000 of them at that time. Some scholars have suggested that the term designated a landowning warrior who supplied his own as well as his men's military equipment.

Lower on the social scale stood the class of the small landowners, the tenant farmers of the great estates and of the royal estates. The origins of this group may have been in peasantry which had lost its own land through poverty or expropriation (Isa. 5:8). Some may have been settled on the land by the kings who wanted to strengthen the border regions or prevent social unrest. Thus the kings were able to enjoy larger revenues from the land than if it had been cultivated by slave labor.

Merchant Class

The mercantile community was of great social and economic importance. As we have seen, this class emerged and grew thanks to the royal initiative in international commerce, which the Bible traces to King Solomon (I Kings 9:26–28; 10:14–15; II Chron. 20:35–36), and which reached its peak in the golden age of the two kingdoms, i.e., the ninth century B.C.E., under Ahab and probably somewhat later in Judah. While there is little data on this matter also, it would seem that there was a broad spectrum of mercantile activity, both on the international level and within the realm, both as part of the royal administration and as private enterprise. The Bible is not explicit in these matters, but it seems that the higher echelons of the merchant class exercised a considerable influence in the royal court, even in political affairs. There are indications that the Israelite merchants, like others in the Ancient Near East, invested in areas which did not have a direct bearing upon their main trade – finance, real estate, the slave trade, etc. (cf. Ex. 22:24; Lev. 25:36–37; Isa. 24:2; Jer. 15:10; et al.). It is not inconceivable that the merchants, through their commerce with neighboring and distant lands, served as the channel through which outside cultural and material influence penetrated Palestine. Moreover, it is likely that this class, together with the great landlords, intensified the class distinctions among the free population of Israel.

Artisan Class

The development of crafts was also accelerated by the advent of the monarchy. Archaeological finds in Israel have shown that the monarchical age brought about an expansion of crafts and increased productivity to sustain the economy and commerce of the realm (I Chron. 4:23). Throughout that age, crafts remained within the family and were not open to all comers. Skills were passed on from father to son (I Chron. 2:55 and 4:21). Though there may have been some pressure upon the artisans to widen their ranks in order to provide for the expanding economy of the kingdom, the familial pattern remained in effect. This is not to suggest that there were proper guilds, or guild-like organizations, as one scholar proposed. Craft guilds are based upon different principles and have a different organizational structure. Certain texts superficially seem to suggest the existence of guilds – the mention of streets devoted to a certain craft (Jer. 37:21), artisan quarters (Neh. 3:32), industrial centers (Neh. 11:35 and compare Isa. 44:13, et al.), as well as craft nomenclature for families (Neh. 3:8, 12, 15, 31). However, this conclusion is misleading; there were no commercial guilds in existence. It appears that only at a relatively late date did the artisans entirely sever their ties with the land and it may be assumed that in small communities artisans owned land. It is not possible to determine the exact relationship of the artisan class to the other strata of society, but it is most likely that it represented one of the chief components of the middle stratum and the marginal elements.

Marginal Elements

Lower still on the social scale were the laborers without property or skill, who were hired by the day or by the season (Lev. 19:13; Deut. 24:14–15; Isa. 16:14). They were employed on the great estates, by the craftsmen, and in the service of the king or private individuals. In addition to these, there were also the remnants of the autochthonous elements which for some reason had failed or been unable to assimilate among the Israelites (Deut. 29:10). They were called "aliens" or "resident aliens" (see *Strangers and Gentiles) and they existed on the fringes of Israelite society. Their status determined the nature of their relationship to society. Legally and socially their status fell between that of the wholly disfranchised slaves and the free populace (II Chron. 2:16). It is likely that later on other alien elements were added to the authochthonous group. Their status apparently improved with time, and this may account for the apparent contradictions concerning their way of life and privileges in biblical texts. The aliens generally enjoyed the status of protected dependents (Deut. 1:16; 5:14; 29:10), and were more than once cited together with the poor and the helpless (Lev. 19:10 and 25:6), who were entitled to partake of a special tithe and other poor dues (Deut. 14:28–29 and 24:19, et al). Conversely, mention is also made of propertied aliens (Lev. 25:47; Deut. 28:43). A distinction must be made between the marginal, indigenous alien residents and a certain limited group of autochthonous families who allied themselves with royal families and the highest officialdom and kept their ancient exalted status. This was the outcome of moves made by the early kings, who had to establish a new administration at a time when there were no Israelites with the necessary qualifications.

Slaves

Lowliest of all were the slaves, who were deprived of all rights. They were of various origins – some had been captives taken in battle (cf. Deut. 21:10–14, II Chron. 28:8ff., et al.), and some were descendents of the aboriginal inhabitants of the land (I Kings 9:21; cf. Ezra 2:43–54; Neh. 7:46ff.). Finally, there were Israelites who were so improverished as to submit, voluntarily or under duress, to bondage to their creditors (II Kings 4:1–17; Isa. 50:1; Neh. 5:1–5). Biblical law endows the Israelite slave with certain rights (though these may fall within the bounds of a social-legal utopia), entitling them to their freedom after a limited time in bondage (Ex. 21:2–11; Lev. 25:40; Deut. 15:12–18). However, there is little evidence that slaves were in reality granted their freedom on a regular basis. There does appear to have been some distinction between the status of a purchased slave and one who was born in the household (Gen. 17:12; Lev. 25:41). Private persons as well as the king owned slaves (II Sam. 12:31). There are also some hints suggesting the existence of temple slaves, the "Nethinim" (Ezra 8:20, cf. Ezek. 44:7; Neh. 3:31 and 11:21), who were drawn from among the alien elements. There are no available data concerning the number and economic importance of slaves in ancient Israel. By analogy with other ancient societies in the Near East it may be assumed that during periods of territorial expansion and conquest they were numerous and of some economic importance.

[Hanoch Reviv / S. David Sperling (2nd ed.)]

FROM THE DESTRUCTION TO ALEXANDER

The Restoration

The destruction of the Temple constituted a double crisis. Not only were the people cast off the land but the Divine Presence departed from Jerusalem (Ezek. 10:19; 11:23). Once the city was bereft of the God of Israel, its Canaanite origins came to the fore (Ezek. 16). The process of restoration (see *Exile, Babylonian) would be a lengthy one that would carry the people along the same route traversed by their ancestors who emerged from Egypt. Like the Exodus from Egypt, the one from Babylonia was depicted in miraculous terms. The Sinaitic theophany was paralleled by the reconstruction of the Temple, which restored the Divine Presence to Jerusalem (cf. Ezra 6:12; 7:15), while the revelation of the laws to Moses had its counterpart in the reading of the Torah and the legislative activity of Ezra. The sanctity of the newly occupied land could only be preserved if the Sabbath was observed, if each member of the nation cared for his brother, and if the men did not take wives from among the pagan peoples. The Restoration was depicted in the terms outlined above in Deutero-Isaiah, Ezra, and Nehemiah. As the Lord revealed Himself by preparing a passage through the Red Sea, so would He reveal Himself by clearing a road through the desert separating Babylon from Jerusalem (Isa. 40:3ff.). Israel would be redeemed from its present as from its former bondage and gathered in from the four corners of the earth (Isa. 43:1ff.). As Israel took spoils from the Egyptians in its earlier Exodus (Ex. 3:21–22; 11:2–3; 12:35–36), so would it now receive the tribute of all the nations (Isa. 60). The miraculous and munificent return described by the prophet is echoed in the historical books. The neighbors of the repatriates from Babylonia "strengthened their hands" with silver and gold vessels, cattle and goods of all sorts (Ezra 1:6). The Persian king Darius contributed toward the construction and sacrificial cult of the Temple (Ezra 5:8ff.) and this policy of support was continued by Artaxerxes I, who together with his seven advisers, also sent contributions (Ezra 7:15ff.). Though nothing is told of the journey of the repatriates who returned shortly after Cyrus' decree, the return of Ezra and his small band was carried out under divine guidance. In his memoirs Ezra writes "I was ashamed to ask the king for a band of soldiers and horsemen to protect us against the enemy on our way; since we had told the king 'The hand of our God is for good upon all that seek Him'…" Fasting and prayer thus secured safe passage (Ezra 8:22ff.). Since the historical books of Ezra and Nehemiah are structured so as to base the account of the Restoration on the model of the early stages of Israel's nationhood there is no "complete" account of the history of the period. The source is silent on the 30 years of the reign of Darius after the dedication of the Temple (515–486). A single sentence states that "at the beginning of the reign" of King Ahasuerus (Xerxes) i.e., in his accession year, an accusation was written against the inhabitants of Judah and Jerusalem (Ezra 4:6). Egypt had rebelled against Persia on the eve of Darius' death and the rebellion was subdued by Xerxes. It had traditionally been the case that Judah could sustain her rebellion against an imperial power, be it Assyria (Isa. 30–31) or Babylon (Jer. 37:6ff.), only by reliance upon Egypt. Thus it may be that Judah was involved or suspected of being involved in the Egyptian rebellion. The historical source is silent for another period of almost 30 years. In the seventh year of Artaxerxes I (458) Ezra was officially authorized by the king to "investigate" the situation in Judah and in Jerusalem in accordance with the law of God which was in his possession. He was entitled to appoint judges for the Jews beyond the confines of Judah, that is, throughout the satrapy of the Trans-Euphrates

("Beyond the River"). Jews ignorant of the divine law were to be instructed, while those who violated either that law or the law of the king were to be suitably punished whether by death, banishment, fine, or imprisonment (Ezra 7:25–26).

Ezra

Who was this Ezra and why should Artaxerxes grant him such broad authority in the year 458? In a genealogically conscious era, Ezra's genealogy is one of the most elaborate. He is a priest who traces his line directly back to Aaron through the latter's son and grandson Phinehas son of Eleazar. His immediate ancestor is given as Seraiah whose name is identical with that of the chief priest slain by Nebuchadnezzar at Riblah (2 Kings 25:18 ff.). With the exception of two lacunae, the genealogy is identical with that in I Chronicles 5:29–40. As recorded in the Book of Ezra (7:1–5) it gives the appearance of schematic arrangement (seven names between Aaron and Azariah (absent in Chron.) and seven names between Azariah and Ezra (hypocoristic of Azariah). While the genealogy is silent, perhaps deliberately so, about Ezra's relationship to the executed Seraiah's grandson, Jeshua son of Jehozadak, its schematic selectivity suggests divine determination: "For Ezra had set his mind on investigating the Torah of the Lord in order to teach effectively its statutes and judgments in Israel" (Ezra 7:10). The Hebrew term for "set" is identical with that used to describe the erection of the altar (Ezra 3:3), indicating that Ezra was fulfilling the second major task in the complete restoration of Israel. What were his qualifications for this undertaking? He was a "scribe skilled in the Torah of Moses given by the Lord God of Israel" (Ezra 7:6; cf. 7:11). In its Aramaic formulation his title was "scribe of the Law of the God of Heaven" (Ezra 7:12, 21). The scribe was not only one versed in writing (cf. Ps. 45:2), he was also learned, "a wise man" who transmitted his wisdom (cf. Jer. 8:8; Ahikar, in: Pritchard, Texts, 427). The divine law in which Ezra was proficient was "the Wisdom of his God in his possession" (Ezra 7:25). In their wisdom, scribes were also called upon to advise kings (cf. Ahikar) and fill other governmental posts so that scribe, "secretary," also appears as an official title (II Sam. 8:17, et al.; Ezra 4:8 et al., Neh. 13:13). Whether in his capacity as scribe Ezra held a post in the Persian government, as some scholars have maintained, is uncertain.

Whatever his status in the Persian Empire, Ezra "the priest and scribe" (Ezra 7:11) claimed that divine favor was responsible for Artaxerxes' giving him everything he requested (Ezra 7:6). The historical reason for the fame Ezra enjoyed may have been the revolt which broke out in Egypt ca. 463/2. It was in the interest of the Persian king at just this juncture to strengthen his hold on the territory bordering on Egypt. The Jewish garrison at *Elephantine in Egypt having remained loyal to Artaxerxes throughout the decade of rebellion in lower Egypt, the king must have felt that he could rely on the Jews in the Trans-Euphrates as well. Their loyalty would be assured if the internal law which they observed received the same absolute sanction as did imperial law (Persian *dātā*; cf. Esth. 1:19; 8:8; Dan. 6:9) and if the enforcement of both laws was entrusted to a respected Jewish personality such as Ezra. It should be mentioned that scholars are not in agreement as to the date of Ezra's mission, some preferring to see it in the reign of Artaxerxes, the second king of that name, who reigned from 404–359. The seventh year of his reign would accordingly have been 398, and Ezra's mission would likewise have coincided with a rebellion in Egypt. This later revolt included all of Egypt and the garrison at Elephantine acknowledged the ruling Egyptian king Amyrtaeus by June 19, 400. The motive for the privileges granted Ezra are thus the same whether the king is hypothesized as Artaxerxes II or Artaxerxes I. Were the king in fact Artaxerxes II, Ezra would have followed Nehemiah, whose arrival in Jerusalem, because of a correlation with a date in the Elephantine papyrus (cf. Cowley, *Aramaic Papyri* 30:18, 30 with Neh. 12:22–23), is fixed to 444 (cf. Neh. 2:1). Some scholars, rather than shifting Ezra to the year seven of the reign of Artaxerxes II, maintain that the king was Artaxerxes I and emend the year date to 27, 32, (33), or 37, thus placing Ezra's arrival either in 438 (during Nehemiah's first mission), 432 (433) (after Nehemiah's first mission), or 428 (during Nehemiah's second mission). The arguments for the shifting of the king and the emendation of the date are numerous but most rest on specious considerations and dubious textual interpretation. The return under Ezra was a replica in miniature of that under Zerubbabel. Stress was laid on the unity of Israel. Ezra's caravan contained members of the major groups of society. Included were two priestly families, Hattush of the Davidic line and 12 lay families numbering together with Ezra, 1,500. Special efforts were taken to enlist Levites, of whom 38 were recruited, and Temple servants, who numbered 220 (Ezra 8:1–20). Concern for Temple cult and personnel played a primary role. Contributions of gold, silver, and vessels from the king and his advisers and from Jews remaining in Babylonia were duly recorded, carefully transported, and officially deposited in the Temple (Ezra 7:15–16; 8:24–34). All the Temple officials from priest to lowly servant were to be exempt from taxation by the Persian government (Ezra 7:24). Just as the Temple dedication was celebrated by the sacrifice of 12 he-goats as sin offerings, to atone for the whole house of Israel (Ezra 6:17), so the arrival of Ezra in Jerusalem was marked by the sacrifice of 12 bulls as burnt offerings and 12 he-goats as sin offerings (Ezra 8:35–36). The numbers of the other sacrifices were typological multiples – 96 rams, a multiple of 12 (cf. Num. 7:87–88), and 77 lambs, a multiple of seven, the number offered on all the festivals, the New Moon, the New Year, and the Day of Atonement (Num. 28–29).

DISSOLUTION OF MIXED MARRIAGES. Ezra set out from Babylon on the first of Nisan (Ezra 7:9), departed from a place called Ahava on the 12th of Nisan (Ezra 8:31), and arrived in Jerusalem on the first of Av some five months later (Ezra 7:8). On the 20th of Kislev, in the middle of the winter and in pouring rain, Ezra convened an assembly in Jerusalem (Ezra 10:9 ff.) with the express purpose of dissolving the many mixed marriages, prevalent in all levels of society, which were called to his attention shortly after his arrival.

Interestingly there is no mention of Jewish women married to foreign men. The whole situation revolves around foreign wives. There is not even any effort made to convert them to Judaism. Israel is the "holy seed" and must not become contaminated by the "abominations" of the Canaanites, Ammonites, Moabites, and Egyptians. Mixed marriages would be "sacrilege" against the holy. At the core of this view of the situation lies not only a midrashic interpretation of the various laws in the Torah regarding intermarriage (Ex. 34:11ff.; Deut. 7:1ff.; 23:4ff.) but the notion that the land, being resettled as in the days of the conquest, was once more susceptible to the taint of its aboriginal impurity (cf. Ezra 9–10 with Deut. 7–9). The procedure which culminated in that fateful assembly on 20 Kislev, 458, bore distinct resemblance to the ceremonies surrounding the condemnation of Achan, who committed sacrilege through misappropriation of the devoted things (cf. Ezra 9:1–10:8 with Josh. 7; Deut. 7:2, 26).

The mourning and confession of Ezra upon learning of the mixed marriages and the subsequent ceremony on that rainy day established the mood appropriate to the dissolution of the mixed marriages. However, the act itself was preceded by three months of work, from the first of Tevet to the first of Nisan, which consisted of investigating and recording the names, according to their families, of each male who had married a foreign wife. The list is headed by four members of the high-priestly family who agreed to put away their foreign wives and offered a ram as a guilt offering (Ezra 10:9–19), the sacrifice prescribed for one who unknowingly committed sacrilege against a sacred object (Lev. 5:14ff.). The number of lay families as recorded in the Masoretic Text was ten but a Septuagint reading in Ezra (10:38) yields the traditional 12. The latter figure indicates that, although the recorded instances (111 or 113) were few, relative to the size of the population, the desecration affected "all Israel." Strangely, the outcome of this enterprise is uncertain. The concluding verse to the whole account in the Masoretic Text is obscure and noncommittal, but the apocryphal Book of Esdras is decisive in asserting that the men all sent away their foreign wives together with their children (I Esd. 9:36).

FORTIFICATION OF JERUSALEM. Similarly uncertain are the circumstances surrounding the next step attempted in the Restoration of the people to its land. The source for the event is an Aramaic correspondence between officials in Samaria and Artaxerxes (Ezra 4:8–23). The letters are not dated and the account is incorporated into Ezra according to a topical arrangement – setbacks first (Ezra 4), successes, last (Ezra 5–6) – rather than a chronological one (i.e., Ezra 4:6–23 preceding Neh. 1). The Samarian officials were the chancellor Rehum and the scribe Shimshai. They write in the name of the local bureaucracy as well as of the settlers from Erech, Babylon, Susa, and elsewhere, introduced into the area by the Assyrian king Ashurbanipal (669–27), possibly around 642. The letter informs Artaxerxes I that the Jews who recently arrived (along with Ezra?) were busily fortifying Jerusalem. It goes on to say that the city was notoriously rebellious and that, if the fortifications were to be completed, the people would merely not pay royal taxes. The king reported back to his officials that he had duly investigated the reputation of Jerusalem and discovered that it had been a rebellious city as charged. He therefore ordered the Samarian officials to proceed to Jerusalem and put a halt to the fortifications. They acted with dispatch and by force of arms.

The desire of the Jews to refortify Jerusalem was natural. Jeremiah had prophesied that "the city would be rebuilt upon its mound" (Jer. 30:18), and, according to Deutero-Isaiah, Cyrus himself would carry out the task (Isa. 44:28). Cyrus apparently never issued such orders and hopes for an early Davidic restoration ceased with Zerubbabel's inexplicable disappearance from the scene. The broad powers given to Ezra may have encouraged the Jews to believe that the time was ripe to rebuild Jerusalem. Perhaps, too, the struggle for independence pursued by Egypt, now in alliance with Athens, spurred on Judah. Whatever the reason, the plan miscarried. The northern rival Samaria prevailed and Judah was put to shame. Word of the situation eventually reached Nehemiah, the king's cupbearer in Susa. His immediate reaction was similar to that of Ezra upon learning of the mixed marriages – fasting and confession of guilt (Neh. 1). However, Nehemiah was a decisive man of action. Praying to God for assistance, he sought an appropriate moment to ask leave of the king to travel to Judah and rebuild Jerusalem. Leave was granted, and preparations for the journey and the task to be undertaken were carefully laid. Nehemiah requested, and received, letters of safe conduct and a military escort – unlike Ezra, who relied on divine assistance alone – along with an authorization to the keeper of the king's forest for timber for a Temple citadel, his own residence, as well as for the wall of the city (Neh. 2:1–9).

Nehemiah

The account of Nehemiah's activity is reported in his own memoirs. Like Ezra, Nehemiah ascribed his success with the king to the hand of God (Neh. 2:8). Historically it is not clear what prompted Artaxerxes I to contradict himself in 445 and allow the reconstruction of the walls he had earlier ordered destroyed. Perhaps the high position and forceful personality of Nehemiah were responsible. Nehemiah noted that the queen was present when he put forth his request. Certainly he showed skill in formulating his petition. Like Haman who sought from Ahasuerus destruction of "a certain people" who "do not keep the king's laws" (Esth. 3:8), without mentioning the Jews by name, so Nehemiah sought permission from Artaxerxes to rebuild "the city of the graves of my fathers" (Neh. 2:5), not specifying Jerusalem. Even if the king were fully aware that the permission being granted Nehemiah reversed an earlier decision of his, he may have felt that, if his trusted servant were in charge of the project, fear of rebellion was minimal. Accordingly, Nehemiah was appointed governor of Judah, a post he held from 445 until 433 (Neh. 5:14) and then again for an unspecified period after returning to the court at Susa (Neh. 13:6–7). This appointment may also have been an attempt to strengthen Persian control in the area in the wake of the recent rebellion of Megabyzus, satrap of the Trans-Euphrates.

REBUILDING OF THE WALL OF JERUSALEM. In his memoirs, Nehemiah described his task of building the wall as having gone through seven stages, each one punctuated by opposition on the part of Judah's neighbors. These were Sanballat (I) the Horonite, governor of Samaria (cf. Cowley, *Aramaic Papyri* 30:29), Tobiah of Transjordan, and Geshem (Gashmu) king of Kedar (cf. Tell el-Maskhuteh inscription). Both Sanballat and Tobiah were "Jewish," i.e., worshipers of the God of Israel, as attested either by their own names or those of their descendants (cf. Cowley, *Aramaic Papyri* 30:29; Aramaic papyri from Wadi Daliyeh), who inherited their official posts. Both were allied by marriage to prominent families in Judah (Neh. 6:17ff.; 13:28). For a time Tobiah enjoyed a chamber in the Jerusalem Temple (Neh. 13:4ff.). The factors that allowed the high priest Eliashib to join Nehemiah in reconstructing the wall in the teeth of Sanballat's opposition yet permitted Eliashib's grandson to marry a daughter of Sanballat to Nehemiah's great annoyance (Neh. 13:28) are unknown. Suffice it to say that all three foreigners viewed Nehemiah as a personal enemy. The feeling was reciprocated. He never referred to Sanballat as "governor," denigrated Tobiah by referring to him as the "Ammonite servant" (Neh. 2:10), and called Geshem simply "the Arabian."

The first stage of Nehemiah's activity was his journey to Jerusalem. His arrival greatly displeased Sanballat and Tobiah because "someone had come to seek the welfare of the Israelites" (Neh. 2:10). In stealth and with circumspection Nehemiah conducted a nocturnal inspection of the wall and then inspired the leaders to agree to reconstruction by informing them of the divine and royal favor he enjoyed. Sanballat, Tobiah, and Geshem mocked and derided the decision of this second stage of Nehemiah's activity, but he replied with an affirmation of divine assistance and told them decisively, and apparently not gratuitously, "you have no share, right, or memorial in Jerusalem" (Neh. 2:11–20). The policy of exclusion initiated by Zerubbabel (Ezra 4:2–3) and carried through by Ezra (Ezra 9–10) was now being vigorously pursued by Nehemiah.

The third stage in Nehemiah's activity constituted the actual building (Neh. 3). Jeremiah had prophesied, "Behold, the days are coming, says the Lord, when the city shall be rebuilt for the Lord from the Tower of Hananel … to the Horse Gate … sacred to the Lord" (Jer. 31:38ff.). The wall was divided into some 40 sections, and groups from all classes of the people were assigned to work on each section. The first section extended from the Sheep Gate to the Tower of Hananel and was restored by the high priest Eliashib (Neh. 3:1). One of the last sections constructed was the Horse Gate where, too, priests were at work (Neh. 3:28). In addition to providing a detailed description of the wall, the list is valuable for some of the random information it supplies, e.g., it indicates the presence of guilds in Jerusalem such as the goldsmiths', the ointment mixers', and the merchants' guild (Neh. 3:8, 31). When Sanballat and Tobiah learned that construction had begun in earnest they became angry and expressed themselves in mockery, "Can they revive the stones from the dust heap? From burned stones? Should a fox jump up, he would demolish their stone wall." Nehemiah cursed them for their taunts as the work proceeded apace until the wall reached half its intended height (Neh. 3:33–38). The reaction of Sanballat and Tobiah, the Arabs, Ammonites, and Ashdodites to this fourth stage of the reconstruction was to prepare armed intervention. Word of the plan reached Nehemiah through the Jews dwelling in those districts, and he not only placed guards at vulnerable spots along the wall but armed the builders. He encouraged the workers by assuring them that should an attack come, "our God will fight for us" (Neh. 4).

This fifth stage of activity almost brought the work to its completion. It was now threatened, however, by internal discontent. Jews were not behaving like "brothers." Short of food to eat and money for taxes, many were forced to take costly loans, mortgage their fields, and sell their children into slavery. Even Nehemiah and his servants were guilty of extorting heavy interest and taking pledges. Demanding interest from a brother in need was incompatible with fear of the Lord (Neh. 5:9; cf. Lev. 25:36) and would not be conducive to God's blessing on the newly occupied land (cf. Deut. 23:20–21). If the building of the wall were to be brought to successful completion, all debts had to be canceled and pledges returned. Nehemiah convened an assembly of the people and forced his reform through (Neh. 5).

Unable to thwart the building itself, Sanballat and Geshem sought to lure Nehemiah into a private conference where presumably his life would be threatened. They circulated the rumor that he was planning a rebellion and appointing prophets to acclaim him king of Judah. They themselves hired Noadiah the prophetess to frighten him and the prophet Shemaiah son of Delaiah to entice him into seeking refuge in the Temple. Tobiah's allies in Judah likewise spoke to Nehemiah on behalf of Tobiah. The reaction of Nehemiah's enemies to this stage availed as little as the earlier ones. After 52 days of strenuous labor, the wall was finished on 25 Elul, 445. Josephus maintained that the labor took two years and four months (Ant. 11:179). There remained nothing for the "enemies" to do but appear downcast and acknowledge God's contribution to the project (Neh. 6), and so the seventh and final stage of Nehemiah's building activity was brought to a successful conclusion. Guards of the city were appointed and Nehemiah's God-fearing brother, Hanani(ah), was put in charge of the citadel (Neh. 7:1–3).

RELIGIOUS INSTRUCTION AND DEDICATION OF THE TEMPLE. It was now the 14th year since the arrival of Ezra in Jerusalem and nothing had yet been said of his having implemented the instruction to teach the Torah (Ezra 7:25). No doubt he had been engaged in this project over the years, gathering around himself a band of teachers, primarily levites, able to expound the Torah and render it into the Aramaic vernacular. The timing was now right for a grand ceremony patterned on that of Zerubbabel and the first repatriates. To emphasize the imitation of the earlier period, the editor of the historical source (Ezra-Nehemiah) even reproduced verbatim the original list of repatriates (Ezra 2; Neh. 7:6–72). Although fortification of Jerusalem enhanced the status of Judah and removed its shame, Davidic kingship had not been restored. Foreign rulers still occupied the land. The gains already achieved could only be maintained if the people observed the Torah.

On the first of Tishri after their return, Zerubbabel and the Jews with him had reestablished the Temple altar to offer burnt offerings "as written in the Torah of Moses the man of God" (Ezra 3:1–7). Now on the first of Tishri after the completion of the wall the people called upon Ezra to publicly read from the "book of the Torah of Moses which the Lord prescribed for Israel" (Neh. 8:1). The description of the ceremony, which began at sunrise, makes it clear that Ezra was prepared for the occasion. A special wooden podium was prepared, and six men stood on his right and seven on his left, altogether 14. Upon opening the Torah, Ezra blessed God and the people responded with "Amen," and prostrated themselves. Ezra then read until noon and 13 levites expounded the significance of the text and perhaps translated it into Aramaic. The people interrupted the reading with crying, and Ezra and Nehemiah informed them that the day was holy, one of rejoicing, feasting, and giving gifts to the poor. Similarly, when the Temple foundations had been laid, the elders who remembered the original Temple broke out in tears, while others rejoiced (Ezra 3:12).

After the original repatriates had dedicated the altar on the first of Tishri, they celebrated the seven days of Sukkot by offering the sacrifices, "according to number and prescription." This would bring the number of bulls to 70 (Num. 29:12–32), suggesting the 70 members of Jacob's family (Gen. 46:27: Ex. 1:5) and indicating the unity of Israel. The Jews under Ezra and Nehemiah gathered on the second of Tishri to continue studying the Torah and they discovered "written in the Torah which the Lord prescribed through Moses that the Israelites should dwell in booths on the festival of the seventh month" (Neh. 8:14). And so "the whole congregation which had returned from the captivity" constructed booths on their roofs, in their courtyards, in the Temple courtyards, and in public squares. Such an observance had not been held since the days of Joshua, i.e., the time of the conquest. The Torah was read daily throughout the festival (Neh. 8:13–18). Is it coincidental that these Torah-reading ceremonies fell in the 14th year? (Ezra arrived in the seventh year of Artaxerxes I and Nehemiah in the 20th year.) Might this have been related to the Deuteronomic injunction to publicly read the Torah every seventh year, the year of release, at Sukkot time with the idea of instructing future generations "as long as they live in the land which you are about … to occupy" (Deut. 31:10ff.)?

The imagery of the booth (*sukkah*) recurs in the Bible with overtones of redemption and providence. The levitical injunction to dwell in booths is explained by the notion that God settled the Israelites in booths (*sukkot*: cf. also Ex. 12:37) when He delivered them from Egypt (Lev. 23:43). Subsequently God's own booth or dwelling was in Jerusalem. There He protected His people (Ps. 76). After God's judgment of the wicked city the purified remnant will again be protected by a booth (Isa. 4). The activity of Nehemiah in rebuilding Jerusalem's walls and repairing its breaches (cf. Neh. 1:3; 2:5, 17; 3:35) was doubtless believed to fulfill the prophecy of Amos that God would "raise up the fallen booth of David" (Amos 9:11). The final deliverance – complete independence – would be celebrated annually when the nations came to Jerusalem to worship the Lord on the occasion of Sukkot (Zech. 14:16).

To hasten that day, the Jews, now reconstituted on their soil, their Temple reconstructed, and the city fortified, concluded on the 24th of Tishri a solemn agreement to "follow the law of God which had been transmitted through Moses the servant of God." The covenant ceremony was preceded by purification, i.e., separation from the foreigners, fasting, sackcloth, and confession, and concluded with the signature of a written document by Nehemiah, 21 priestly families, 17 levites and 44 lay families (Neh. 9:1–10:30). In addition to having sworn to observe the written Torah, the people undertook to observe some 18 decrees not explicitly mentioned in the Torah but derived from it through the procedure of *midrash halakhah*, "legal interpretation," developed by Ezra and his associates. The earlier celebration of Sukkot, building booths out of the various species "as written" (Neh. 8:15; cf. Lev. 23:40) is an example of such interpretation and of one subsequently abandoned. The decrees, now recorded, centered on the prohibition of mixed marriage, the observance of the Sabbath and the seventh year, and provisions designed to show that the people would "not neglect the House of … God" (Neh. 10:31–40).

Nehemiah had raised up Jerusalem's stones from the dust (Neh. 3:34) in answer to the call of Deutero-Isaiah (Isa. 52:2). The agreement not to intermarry (Neh. 9:2, 10, 29, 31) was necessary for the fulfillment of the promise that "the uncircumcised and the unclean" shall no more come into the "holy city" (Isa. 52:1). Jeremiah had promised that once more people would proclaim, "the Lord bless you … O holy hill" and that "Judah and all its cities shall dwell there together" (Jer. 31:22–23). The penultimate task of Nehemiah was thus the populating of the now secure and spacious "holy city." The leaders already lived there and the rest of the people cast lots to bring 10% of Judah's population into the capital. The partial list of towns in which the rest of the people were settled indicates that the southernmost town was Beer-Sheba and the northernmost Bethel. The western border extended to Ono, while the list of the first repatriates and the list of builders indicated that to the east the province of Judah included Jericho (Ezra 2:34; Neh. 7:36, 3:2, 7:4; 11:1–36).

The final ceremony in which Nehemiah participated was the dedication of the walls. The people, the gates, and the wall were purified. Two musical processions were organized to march around the city in opposite directions on the top of the wall and meet in the Temple for the sacrificial service. The procession going to the right was led by Ezra; the one to the left included Nehemiah. The circumambulation is reminiscent of certain Psalms: "His holy mountain … is the joy of all the earth … walk about Zion; go round about her" (Ps. 48:2, 13).

Nehemiah remained in Jerusalem for another dozen years before returning to Susa. Virtually nothing is known of his rule during this period other than his own statement that he ruled with a lighter hand than his predecessors and did not claim the governor's food allowance from the local populace. This in spite of the fact that he supported a retinue of 150 and regularly entertained foreign visitors. The refrain in Nehemiah's memoirs runs "Remember to my credit, O my God, all that I did on behalf of this people" (Neh. 5:19; 13:14, 22, 31). God's attention is similarly drawn to his opponents (Ezra 6:14), and these did not disappear after his main task was completed. During Nehemiah's absence, Tobiah was assigned a chamber in the Temple by Eliashib the priest, and the people failed to pay the levites their allotments, so that they left Jerusalem and retired to their fields. Upon his return, Nehemiah expelled Tobiah and enforced payment of the tithe (Neh. 13:4–14).

Even more serious than neglect of the levitical dues were the outright violations of the first two decrees in the solemn agreement sworn to earlier – work and commerce on the Sabbath and marriage to Ashdodite, Ammonite, and Moabite women. Nehemiah rebuked the leaders for the Sabbath desecration in terms reminiscent of Jeremiah who had said, "If … you keep the Sabbath day holy … this city shall be inhabited forever …. If you did not listen … fire … shall devour … Jerusalem" (Jer. 17:24–27). He then ordained that the gates of the city be shut for the Sabbath and the levites stand guard against local and foreign traders. The fate of Solomon's kingdom was cited against the men who took foreign wives, and Nehemiah cursed all, struck some and pulled out their hair. The grandson of the high priest Eliashib, who was married to a daughter of Sanballat, was "chased away." Successful implementation of the other cultic decrees was assured (Neh. 13:14–31).

Since kingship was not to be restored until the advent of the Hasmoneans 300 years later, Judah continued to exist as a theocracy – a province ruled by God's law with a civil head in the person of the governor appointed by the Persian king and a religious head in the person of the high priest of the line of Zadok. In the fourth century there appear coins and seal impressions bearing the Aramaic inscription *YHD Yahud* = Judea. With one or two notable exceptions, our information for the remaining 100 years of Persian rule dries up. It is possible that Nehemiah's brother Hananiah succeeded him as governor (cf. Cowley, *Aramaic Papyri* 21). In the last decade of the fifth century the governor was one who bore the Persian name Bagohi (Cowley, 30/31). The high priest Johanan was challenged by his brother Jeshua and Johanan murdered him. A stiff penalty was thereupon placed on the community by the strategos of Artaxerxes II who also bore the name Bagohi (Jos., Ant., 11:298–301). One incident that has come down through the Aramaic papyri relates that Bagohi joined the sons of Sanballat, Delaiah, and Shelemiah, in responding favorably to the request of the Elephantine Jewish community for intercession with the Persian ruler in Egypt for help in the reconstruction of their temple (Cowley, *Aramaic Papyri* 30–32). The attraction-repulsion between Samaria and Judah of the days of Nehemiah repeated itself on the eve of Alexander's conquest. Nikaso, daughter of Sanballat III, was married to Manasseh, brother of the high priest Jaddua. Jerusalem authorities objected to the marriage and asked Manasseh to choose between his wife and the priesthood. He thereupon accepted the offer of Sanballat to be high priest in the temple to be erected on Mt. Gerizim and "governor of all the places" under Sanballat's control. Many Jewish priests followed him to Samaria (Jos., Ant., 11:306–12). The Samaritan schism thereupon became final.

[Bezalel Porten]

EREẒ ISRAEL – SECOND TEMPLE (THE HELLENISTIC-ROMAN PERIOD)

In the last third of the fourth century B.C.E. decisive changes and developments took place in Ereẓ Israel. Prior to that time the country had been under the rule and influence of the great Oriental powers and civilizations. Thereafter, and until the Arab conquests in the seventh century C.E., Ereẓ Israel and all its neighbors fell under the influence of kingdoms and cultures whose main source of inspiration derived from the Greek and later also from the Roman world (see *Hellenism). *Alexander the Great's subjection of Ereẓ Israel in 332 B.C.E. encountered no serious opposition; only in Gaza did the Persian garrison defend itself heroically against the conqueror. Jerusalem and Judea reached a settlement with Alexander according to which they continued to enjoy the rights granted to them under Persian rule. However, relations between the Samaritans and the Macedonian conquerors soon deteriorated. Alexander the Great did not remain long in Ereẓ Israel, and its conquest was completed by his commanders who laid the foundations of the Hellenistic regime in the country.

Ptolemaic Rule

After Alexander's death (323) Ereẓ Israel was caught up in the vortex of wars fought among themselves by his successors, the Diadochi, among whom control of the country changed hands several times, in consequence of which the population suffered greatly. In 301 the country was finally conquered by *Ptolemy I, the ruler of Egypt, and was included in the Ptolemaic kingdom until 200, its history during this period being bound up with that of the Ptolemaic state. In the third century Ptolemaic rule in Ereẓ Israel was on the defensive against the *Seleucid kingdom which governed Syria and which also laid claim to Ereẓ Israel. For most of that century the Ptolemies generally had the upper hand and only with the accession of

*Antiochus III (223–187) to the throne of the Seleucid kingdom did the initiative pass to the rival dynasty. Already at the beginning of his reign Antiochus succeeded in conquering the greater part of Ereẓ Israel but was defeated by the Ptolemaic army at Rafa in 217. After an interval he renewed the war and in 200 his forces gained a notable victory near the sources of the Jordan, as a result of which, despite repeated efforts by the Ptolemies to regain control of Ereẓ Israel by war or political means, its rule passed to the Seleucid dynasty. Nevertheless, in terms of duration, the Ptolemaic sway over Ereẓ Israel lasted longer than that of any other foreign power in the period between the downfall of Persia and the rise of Rome. Moreover, the administrative patterns as well as the social and economic institutions and influences which appeared under the Ptolemies persisted in the country until the Roman period. In the days of Ptolemaic rule, Ereẓ Israel did not constitute a distinct administrative region, its territory being an inseparable part of the region known officially as Syria and Phoenicia. The borders of this district were not permanent but liable to changes resulting from the ascendancy now of the Ptolemaic, now of the Seleucid kingdom. In any event, it is clear that Ptolemaic Syria and Phoenicia included the whole of Ereẓ Israel and Transjordan. Among the most conspicuous results of Greek rule in Ereẓ Israel was the transformation that took place in the ethnic composition and organizational forms of its population. An extensive Greek settlement developed, Greek military colonies were established, and the character of the ancient cities underwent a change. In fact the vast majority of the Hellenistic cities were ancient ones which were now organized according to the politico-social pattern of the Greek cities. Within a short time the members of the upper classes among the local population joined the ranks of the settlers who had come from Greece, particularly prominent in this respect being the Phoenicians who became the standard bearers in Ereẓ Israel of Hellenism. Among its most notable centers were Gaza and Ashkelon on the southern coast and Ptolemais (Acre) to the north. Cities bearing a Hellenistic stamp were also established in the vicinity of the Sea of Galilee and in Transjordan. The process of Hellenization was extremely slow in the interior of Ereẓ Israel. There the original Semitic character was preserved – except for Samaria, where Macedonians settled already at the beginning of the period. Hellenism also made deep inroads in the Idumean city of Marisa, the Ptolemaic administrative center in southern Ereẓ Israel. Under the Ptolemies and later under the Seleucids, Judea was one of their many administrative units. The Hellenistic period witnessed the continuation of the state of *Yahud* which dated from the days of Persian rule. To the Hellenistic rulers Judea represented a nation – an ethnos – whose center was in Jerusalem and whose autonomous leadership was entrusted to the high priest and the Gerousia, the council of elders. In this way there were preserved in Hellenistic Judea the patterns of Jewish administration in the form it had assumed under Persian rule. The high priests belonged to the house of Zadok and the division of Jedaiah, and were descendants of Joshua son of Jehozadak, the high priest at the time of the Return. The high priesthood passed by inheritance from father to son. To the Jews and non-Jews alike the high priest was the head of the nation, its religious as well as its political leader. He presided over the council of elders and was charged with the supreme supervision of the Temple, with the security of Jerusalem and the provision of its regular water supply. Supporting the high priest was the Gerousia, which was, it seems, officially even superior to him. The Hellenistic kingdom confirmed the Jewish "ancestral laws" as the constitution binding on the entire territory of semiautonomous Judea. This constitution was identical with the Pentateuch as interpreted and shaped by Jewish tradition throughout the generations. Recognized as they were by the ruling kingdom, the Jewish authorities were permitted to impose the commandments of the Torah on all the inhabitants of Judea and to eradicate idolatry from its soil.

Judea's religious and social life centered round the Temple. The Greek historian Polybius even described the Jews as a nation that dwells around its famed Temple in Jerusalem. Associated with the Temple were the priests who represented the aristocratic class in Judea which included not only the high priest, the recognized head of the nation, but also many members of the Gerousia and those in leading positions. To the non-Jews, Judea was a land governed by a hierarchy. In addition to the dynasty of the high priests there were several notable priestly houses who fulfilled important functions in Jewish society and in its political life. Among these were, for example, the sons of Hakkoz (Accos). Johanan son of Hakkoz conducted negotiations with Antiochus III in order to obtain privileges for Jerusalem after its conquest by the Seleucids; his son Eupolemus led the delegation to Rome on behalf of Judah Maccabee. Conspicuous among the lay houses which attained positions of great influence in Judea in the third century B.C.E. was that of the *Tobiads, whose roots went back to First Temple times and the basis of whose power was in southern Gilead where the family estates, famous as "the land of Tobiah," were situated. The influence of the Tobiads increased under Persian rule. The Tobiah who lived in the days of Nehemiah was connected by marriage with important personages in Jerusalem and was among those who organized the opposition to the policy and decrees of Ezra and Nehemiah. One of his descendants, Tobiah who lived in the days of Ptolemy Philadelphus, was the head of the military colony in the "province of Ammon" which was composed both of Jews and non-Jews. Joseph b. Tobiah, following in the ways of his father, established close ties with the royal court and transferred the center of his activities from Transjordan to Ereẓ Israel. A temporary deterioration in the relations between the high priest and the Ptolemaic kingdom presented Joseph with new opportunities. Appointed tax-collector by that kingdom, he collected the taxes on an unprecedented scale and felt at home in Samaria no less than in Judea, to which his operations brought great wealth. With him there entered into Jewish life ways and customs alien to the Jewish tradition. His path was followed by his sons, and the Tobiads and their circle became the chief disseminators of

Hellenism in Jewish Ereẓ Israel. In their way of life the upper Jewish classes, both priestly and lay, drew increasingly closer to the non-Jewish sections of the population, and there was a revival of tendencies which had not entirely ceased even in earlier generations: opposition to the emphasis on the uniqueness of the Jews and a desire to merge with the upper strata of the general society of Ereẓ Israel. Hellenistic influence in Judea was chiefly evident in the sphere of material civilization. As early as in the Persian period the coins of *Yahud* had imitated those of Athens, and the Hellenistic financial system gradually conquered Jerusalem too. In the spheres of building and of art, the influence of Hellenism also made itself felt. A notable outward indication of the Hellenization of Judea was the widespread use of Greek names, for which Jews, and not only those estranged from Jewish tradition, felt a need. Yet it must be emphasized that shortly before 200 B.C.E. Greek culture had in general not succeeded in striking deep roots in Judea. Due to the practical requirements of life, Jews learnt to speak Greek, but it is doubtful whether there were as yet many Jews in Ereẓ Israel who learnt the language in order to study Greek classical works and thought.

Seleucid Rule

Antiochus III's conquest of the country did not greatly change the pattern of the administration and the habits prevalent in Ptolemaic Judea. The Seleucid king confirmed the existing regime there and even gave its inhabitants additional privileges: the Judean population was exempted from all taxation for three years and thereafter granted a reduction of a third in its taxes. The priests, the freedmen, and the members of the Gerousia were given complete exemption from taxes. Similar relations continued also under Antiochus' son, Seleucus IV (187–175). However, the political and financial crisis which came upon the Seleucid kingdom led to changed relations between it and the Jews. As a result of Antiochus III's defeat by the Romans and the peace treaty of Apamea (188), a heavy financial burden was imposed on the Seleucid kingdom which was obliged to pay an indemnity to the victorious Roman republic. The kings of the Seleucid dynasty now found themselves compelled to raise money from every source. Nor did they overlook the treasures kept in the wealthy temples throughout their kingdom. This explains the attempt of Seleucus IV to plunder the Temple treasuries, an act which, though not directly aimed at the Jewish religion, must be regarded as the first stage in the conflict between the Jews and the Seleucid kingdom.

The reign of his brother *Antiochus IV Epiphanes (175–164) proved to be a turning point in the history of the Jewish nation. During the first seven years after his accession his military and political activities centered on his kingdom's southern border – on Ptolemaic Egypt – and hence the importance he attached to Judea. Already at the beginning of his reign he intervened in the internal affairs of Jerusalem, deposed the high priest *Onias III and replaced him by the latter's brother *Jason who had Hellenizing tendencies and had promised the king to raise more taxes than his predecessor. With the Seleucid kingdom's approval, Jason introduced far-reaching changes in the administration of Jerusalem, whose purpose was to transform that city into a *polis*, named Antiochia, by establishing in it institutions characteristic of the Hellenistic *polis*. Notable among these was the gymnasium, which soon superseded the Temple as the focus of social life, to the deep dismay of those loyal to the Jewish tradition. After a few years Antiochus also deposed Jason and appointed *Menelaus in his stead (171). Henceforward a new chapter opened in the relations between the Seleucid kingdom and Judea. Against the background of Antiochus' Egyptian wars, significant events took place in Judea. Already in 169 B.C.E., on his return from his first invasion of Egypt, the king with the help of Menelaus plundered the Temple treasuries, and, a year later, during his last expedition to the Nile Valley, rumors of Antiochus' death spread in Judea. Returning to Jerusalem, Jason seized power in the city. But when Antiochus was on his way back from Egypt after Roman intervention against him, he captured the city and punished its inhabitants. To ensure his future control of Jerusalem he stationed in its citadel, the Acra, non-Jewish settlers who were joined by extreme Hellenists from Menelaus' party. Through their domination of the capital of Judea, the Jewish character of the city became obscured. Antiochus went a step further. He totally prohibited the fulfillment of the *mitzvot* of the Jewish religion and any Jew found observing the Sabbath or circumcising his son was put to death. He likewise forced upon the Jewish population idolatrous rites and prohibited food, chiefly the eating of swine's flesh. The Temple was desecrated and henceforward called after Olympian Zeus (167). Contrary to Antiochus' expectations, the majority of the nation remained faithful to its religion and members of its various classes showed a readiness to undergo martyrdom. The unlimited devotion of the Jewish masses to their religion was in any event deep-rooted but on this occasion there unfolded, for the first time in the history of mankind, an epic chapter of martyrdom on a large scale that served, in the resistance of the martyrs and the *Hassideans during the religious persecutions, as a symbol and an example throughout all succeeding generations to both Jews and non-Jews. Associated with this martyrdom was an eschatological expectation. There was a growing belief that a period of unprecedented suffering was approaching, heralding the downfall of the evil kingdom and the fulfillment of the visions of the "end of days" (see *Eschatology).

The Hasmonean Revolt

Against Antiochus' policy there arose a large movement of rebellion which was speedily forged into a powerful fighting force by the Hasmonean dynasty, a priestly house from Modi'in in the district of Lydda. Henceforward, for a period of about 130 years, the Hasmonean dynasty was at the center of Jewish life. The revolt was led first by *Mattathias. Under him the rebels refrained from fighting pitched battles against the Seleucid army, contenting themselves with guerrilla warfare, Mattathias' activities being directed at consolidating the organization of the rebel groups and at ending Seleucid rule in the villages and country towns of Judea. His strategy gradually reduced the area in Judea under Seleucid control and in effect isolated Jerusalem from the other military bases of the enemy. After Mattathias' death the leadership passed to his sons, of whom *Judah, known as Maccabee, was distinguished for his military talents. Gaining four decisive victories over the Seleucid armies, Judah used his military superiority to liberate Jerusalem, except for the Acra, in Kislev 164. The Temple was purified of idolatry and the sacred service in it entrusted to priests from among the ranks of the rebels. To commemorate the purification of the Temple a festival, that of *Ḥanukkah, was instituted to be observed for all generations. The Seleucid kingdom could not long remain indifferent to the operations of the Hasmoneans. There was also a growing fear that Judah would take the Acra. *Lysias, who acted as regent on behalf of the youthful king Antiochus v, attempted once more to invade Judea and subdue the rebels. The invasion ended in a peace settlement. The Seleucid kingdom unequivocally revoked Antiochus Epiphanes' policy of religious persecution, and, with the aim of appeasing the Jews, Menelaus, now made the scapegoat for the failure of that policy, was executed, and Alcimus, a moderate Hellenist, appointed high priest. The Seleucid kingdom did not recognize Judah Maccabee as the head of the Jewish nation, although he continued to be the leader of troops of Jewish fighters loyal to him. The principal achievement of the Jews was the Seleucid kingdom's recognition of their complete religious freedom, although militarily and politically the treaty bore the character of an armistice only. Tension increased in Judea with the appearance in Syria of a new king, *Demetrius i (162), who supported Alcimus and sought to put an end to Hasmonean supremacy in Judea. In the encounter between Judah Maccabee and the Seleucid commander *Nicanor, the former gained his last victory (the Day of Nicanor, Adar 13, 161). Henceforward political independence became Judah's ardent purpose, and to this end, ties with Rome seemed an important step. The treaty concluded between them marked the Roman republic's official recognition of Judea. While it is not clear whether the treaty had any immediate results, since it did not deter Demetrius from again sending his forces against the Jews, the Hasmoneans nevertheless set great store by it since it admitted Judea into the ambit of international relations. Judah Maccabee did not long enjoy the results of his victory over Nicanor, for Demetrius' defeat of his enemies in the east enabled him to send large forces to Judea, and Judah fell in battle (160 b.c.e.) *Jonathan and *Simeon, Judah's brothers, gathered around themselves the remnants of the fighters but failed to regain Jerusalem, and were compelled to adopt the earlier tactics of guerrilla warfare. Rallying after several years, the Hasmoneans took up their residence at *Michmas (Mukhmās). When a rival to Demetrius i arose in the person of *Alexander Balas, new opportunities presented themselves to Jonathan the Hasmonean. Appointed high priest by Alexander, he first served in that capacity on Tabernacles 152, and during the next 115 years the high priesthood continued to be held by the Hasmonean dynasty. Jonathan went from strength to strength and was able to take advantage of the Seleucid kingdom's internal difficulties for the advancement of Judea. The country now filled a role of prime importance throughout southern Syria. Among the territorial achievements under Jonathan was the annexation of southern Samaria and the region of Ekron; the southern coastal cities, too, came under Jewish influence.

Independent Judea

Jonathan was treacherously murdered by *Tryphon, the Syrian commander. His successor and brother, Simeon, followed in his footsteps and even obtained recognition of the freedom of Judea from the Seleucid king *Demetrius ii who agreed to exempt the country from paying taxes to the kingdom (142 b.c.e). This official recognition was regarded by the Jews as the beginning of the freedom of Ereẓ Israel ("Then the people of Israel began to write in their instruments and contracts: 'In the first year of Simeon the high priest, the commander and leader of the Jews'" – i Macc. 13:42). Simeon continued in various ways the work of Jonathan. In foreign affairs he adopted a hostile attitude toward those forces in the Seleucid kingdom that were inimical to the independence of Judea. To make Judea militarily secure he eradicated the last cells of opposition from its soil, and obtained for it access to the sea. As early as the beginning of his rule he dispatched an armed force to Jaffa, and, driving out the non-Jews, secured the harbor for Judea. He also took Gezer, which dominated the road leading from Judea to the coastal plain and captured the Acra, the conquest of these places having been made possible by the speedy progress of the Jewish army in the technique of subjugating cities. The inhabitants of Gezer were expelled, the city was cleansed of idolatry, and Jews loyal to their religion were settled in it. There Simeon built a palace for himself, and the city, of which Simeon's son, John *Hyrcanus was appointed governor, became one of Judea's administrative centers. The capture of the Acra (Iyyar 23, 141) made an even greater impression on that generation, for as long as it was occupied by the Hellenists the independence of Judea did not seem assured. The day on which the Acra was taken was appointed a festival. During Simeon's final years, relations deteriorated between him and *Antiochus vii Sidetes, the last great king of the Seleucid dynasty, who sought to curtail the influence of Simeon and bring him once more under the yoke of the Seleucid kingdom. Demanding in particular the return of Jaffa, Gezer, and the citadel of Jerusalem, Antiochus ordered his governor of the coastal plain to launch an attack on Judea from the base at Jabneh. A large Jewish force under the command of Simeon's sons set out against the king's army and put it to flight, pursuing it beyond Ashdod. Never again in the days of Simeon was there any open Seleucid intervention in Judea.

Hasmonean Rule

Simeon was anxious to obtain Jewish sanction for his rule and to secure for his house the status of a hereditary dynasty in

Judea. In 140 B.C.E. a great assembly took place in Jerusalem which confirmed both Simeon and his sons after him "until there should arise a faithful prophet" as ethnarch, high priest, and commander-in-chief of the Jewish nation. This decision of the Great Assembly became the cornerstone of the Hasmonean regime and correctly reflected the union, in the hands of that dynasty's representatives, of the functions of the high priesthood, the civil rule, and the military command, a union of functions which was characteristic of the Jewish state's entire development under Hasmonean rule. Simeon endeavored to attract to himself circles that were at first opposed to the policy of the Hasmoneans, among these being men of local influence in various parts of the country, such as Ptolemy, Simeon's son-in-law, whom he appointed governor of Jericho. Resolved apparently, with the support of Antiochus Sidetes, to supplant Simeon in Judea, Ptolemy murdered him and two of his sons. But the murder (134 B.C.E.) failed in its political purpose. Affection for the Hasmonean dynasty was deep-seated in the nation and Simeon's surviving son, John Hyrcanus, succeeded him as the ruler of Judea. The growth and expansion of the Hasmonean state of Judea were influenced by the processes which led to the increasing disintegration of the Seleucid kingdom. At the beginning of his rule, after he had overcome his internal enemies, John Hyrcanus was still faced with a threat from the central Seleucid government in the person of Antiochus Sidetes. The fighting was protracted (134–132 B.C.E.) and several of the king's advisors even tried to give it the character of a new religious war. After a drawn-out siege of Jerusalem, the sides came to terms. Antiochus accorded official recognition to John Hyrcanus' rule of Judea, while the latter undertook to pay him an indemnity for the cities which his predecessors had taken outside the confines of Judea. He also undertook to assist Antiochus in his campaign against the Parthians, thus renewing for a time the relations between Judea and the Seleucid kingdom. But after Antiochus VII's death during his expedition against the Parthians (129 B.C.E.), the entire structure of the Seleucid kingdom collapsed, whereupon John Hyrcanus, having succeeded in regaining the complete political independence of Judea, initiated a policy of expansion in Ereẓ Israel. His conquests were in effect a continuation of the war upon which his Hasmonean predecessors had embarked, his basic approach being that the country as a whole was the ancestral heritage of the Jewish nation. Under him the expansion, which took place in various directions – southward, northward, and eastward – had decisive consequences for the country's future.

Already in the 20s of the second century B.C.E. John Hyrcanus succeeded in annexing to Judea most of the territory of Ereẓ Israel and especially what was outside the limits of Hellenistic cities. In terms of its results for subsequent generations, particular importance attached to the expansion southward to Idumea (see *Edom), which, together with its two principal centers, Adora and Marisa, was annexed to Judea. Its inhabitants were converted to Judaism. The proselytization of the Idumeans was the first of its kind in that it was one of an entire race and not merely of a single or more individuals. The Idumeans soon became an inseparable part of the Jewish nation and their upper classes began to occupy important positions in the government and society of the Hasmonean kingdom. Henceforward the proselytization of the whole of Ereẓ Israel assumed the character of a fixed aim of Jewish policy.

John Hyrcanus also undertook military operations in Transjordan and captured Madaba and Samoga; he attacked the Samaritans, took their capital Shechem, and destroyed their temple on Mount Gerizim. During his last years, his conquests reached their zenith in the capture of the large Hellenistic cities of Samaria and Scythopolis (Beth-Shean), thereby opening to the Hasmoneans the way to Galilee, parts of which were, it seems, annexed to Judea already in his days.

His son and successor, *Aristobulus I (104–103), completed the conquest of Galilee and defeated the Itureans who apparently ruled over part of Upper Galilee. As a result of the conquests of John Hyrcanus and Aristobulus, the area of Judea was enlarged several fold. Almost all the population outside the confines of some Hellenistic cities now fell under Jewish rule and became part of the Jewish nation, and even some Hellenistic cities were captured.

This expansionist policy was continued chiefly by Alexander *Yannai (103–76 B.C.E.) under whom all the foreign cities of Ereẓ Israel, except Ashkelon, were taken. The Jews also made an onslaught on the cities of the Decapolis, and, among other places, took Gadara.

The Hasmonean conquests eradicated the main political impact of Hellenism from the territory of Ereẓ Israel and transformed most of the country's non-Jewish inhabitants into an integral part of the Jewish nation. Judea now became the accepted designation of the country as a whole and continued as its official name until the days of the emperor Hadrian, thereby reflecting the ethnic and power changes engendered at the time of the Hasmonean rulers' conquests. Facts of great significance were established, and, even after the downfall of the Hasmonean dynasty, Ereẓ Israel remained for centuries a country with a Jewish majority, a fact that had many implications for the future.

At the basis of the constitutional development of Hasmonean Judea lay the decision of the Great Assembly of 140 B.C.E. which sanctioned the position of the Hasmoneans as the rulers of the Jewish state and established the connection between the Hasmonean dynasty and the high priesthood. The status of the Hasmonean ruler as regards the outside world was at first expressed in the title of ethnarch, but a decisive change occurred in the days of Aristobulus I, who assumed the title of king in order to enhance the prestige of the Hasmonean ruler, since that of ethnarch no longer reflected his status as compared to that of other rulers in the region.

Judea's transformation into a monarchy enlarged the importance of the Hasmonean king as far as the traditional institutions that directed the nation during the preceding period were concerned. Yet, despite the enhanced status of the rulers of the Hasmonean dynasty, they did not officially regard themselves as absolute rulers, with the possible exception of Alexander Yannai at a certain period during his reign. At least internally they emphasized that, in the state, the entire nation was sovereign alongside the ruler, as clearly indicated in Hebrew inscriptions on Judean coins.

At the outset of its career, the Hasmonean dynasty was borne along on a tide of religious-national enthusiasm. For the Jewish masses it was the dynasty to which the deliverance of Israel had been entrusted. But, already at an early stage of the accession of the Hasmonean dynasty, it was evident that its supporters were not all of one complexion. Only with difficulty was a common language found between the leaders of the priestly aristocracy that joined the Hasmonean dynasty and the Hassideans. At first the Hasmoneans were the natural leaders of the circles which were under the influence of the *Pharisees, but, during John Hyrcanus' rule, a breach occurred between the Hasmoneans and the Pharisees which widened in the days of his sons. Several of the factors that marred the relations between the Hasmonean dynasty and the Pharisees may be conjectured. The atmosphere prevailing in the royal court and its external Hellenization, as also that of the kingdom, were incompatible with the outlook of the Pharisees. The gradual basing, too, of the Hasmonean dynasty on various social elements throughout the country which in part had nothing in common with the ideals of the holy war increased the tension. Some rejected the transformation of Judea into a monarchy. Among the opponents of the Hasmonean dynasty were also those who wanted to leave it in the possession only of the secular government, on condition that the high priesthood was given to others. There were circles, too, that repudiated especially the assumption of the royal crown by the Hasmoneans, grounding their opposition on the outlook that this crown was reserved for the House of David only (see also *Sadducees; *Essenes).

Nonetheless, the nation greatly honored the Hasmonean dynasty and even its leading opponents showed a willingness for an accommodation. The gravest crisis in relations took place during the reign of Alexander Yannai, who came, however, to realize that a compromise had to be reached at least with a section of the hostile elements among the Jews. His last victories in his wars against the enemies of Judea in Transjordan likewise earned him great popularity among the masses of the nation.

The reign of his widow *Salome Alexandra (76–67) was a period of close cooperation between the Pharisees and the throne. In her days the leaders of the Pharisees were given the direction of the state, and their traditions and ordinances, abolished under John Hyrcanus, became once more obligatory.

Alexandra's death (67 B.C.E.) left Judea in a state of civil war. Her elder son *Hyrcanus, deposed by his brother *Aristobulus from the kingship and the high priesthood, tried after a short time to realize his legitimate claims to them, and through one of his supporters, *Antipater II, conspired with *Aretas III king of the *Nabateans. Their combined armies defeated Aristobulus and besieged him in Jerusalem. Meanwhile the Romans, having arrived in Syria, compelled the Nabateans to withdraw from Judea. The decision with regard to the succession to the Hasmonean throne was left to *Pompey, the Roman commander, who was disposed to entrust the rule to Hyrcanus. After some hesitation Aristobulus surrendered to Pompey, and the Roman army advanced against Jerusalem, whereupon Hyrcanus' adherents opened the gates of the city to it. It was only on the Temple Mount that the Romans encountered any strong opposition. After a three-month siege the Temple Mount, too, was taken and thousands of its defenders were killed (63). An end had come to the independence of Hasmonean Judea, which had lasted for some 80 years and had achieved the political consolidation of Ereẓ Israel under Jewish rule.

THE ROMAN PROVINCE. The Roman conquest led to decisive political changes in the country. Syria became a Roman province, while Judea, reduced in area, was granted limited autonomy and made dependent on the Roman governor of Syria. Judea was deprived of the whole coastal plain and of access to the sea. Part of Idumea (Marisa) and of Samaria was severed from Judea. In this manner the territorial continuity of Jewish settlement in western Ereẓ Israel was destroyed, the only road linking Galilee and Jerusalem being now by way of the Jordan Valley. Pompey naturally freed from Jewish rule the large Hellenistic cities in Transjordan as well as Scythopolis, which were joined to the Decapolis and recovered their autonomous city life. The Greek cities on the coast also regained their freedom. The territory remaining under Hyrcanus II's rule thus comprised Judea and southern Samaria, most of Idumea, the areas of Jewish settlement on the eastern bank of the Jordan, and Galilee. Hyrcanus was divested of his royal title, and the obligation to pay taxes to the foreign government reimposed. The Jews in the country did not willingly accept the new regime and the following years witnessed frequent insurrections usually led by men who represented Aristobulus' branch of the Hasmoneans.

A notable change for the better took place under *Julius Caesar who was well disposed to the Jews and even regarded them as allies. After his victory over Pompey, Hyrcanus and Antipater went over to his side and helped him when he was in danger in Alexandria. The fact that Hyrcanus had joined Caesar's camp influenced the attitude of the Jews of Egypt, who dominated key positions at the gateways to the country. When the danger threatening him had passed, Caesar took several decisions in favor of Hyrcanus II and the Jews in Ereẓ Israel. Hyrcanus and his sons after him were confirmed as high priests and as ethnarchs of Judea, the walls of Jerusalem demolished in the days of Pompey were rebuilt, and the harbor of Jaffa was restored to the Jews. Under the new arrangements instituted by Caesar, Antipater rose to greater power, and his sons were given influential positions in the government, *Phasael, the elder, being appointed governor of Jerusalem and *Herod governor of Galilee.

The assassination of Caesar (44 B.C.E.) drew Judea, too, into the vortex of the Roman civil war. Cassius, one of the leaders of the pro-republican forces, went to the east and gained control of Syria and Ereẓ Israel. Antipater and his sons now sided with Cassius who tried to extort as much money as possible from the population of Judea. While Antipater fell victim in the internal struggle then taking place in Judea, his sons extended their influence.

Following the Parthian invasion in 40 B.C.E. of Rome's eastern provinces, momentous changes occurred. Mattathias Antigonus (*Antigonus II), Aristobulus' younger son, now considered the time opportune for entering into a compact with the Parthians and in this way regaining his ancestral throne. As the Parthian forces advanced along the coast, the Jews in the neighborhood of Carmel and in the vicinity of Apollonia (Arsuf) flocked to join Antigonus. Hyrcanus and Phasael, who went out to negotiate with the Parthians, were taken prisoner by them, while Herod escaped from Jerusalem and made his way to Rome to obtain military and political assistance.

With the aid of the Parthians, Antigonus now became king of Judea, thus reestablishing the Hasmonean kingdom brought to an end 23 years earlier by Pompey. In the meantime Herod, the sole ally of the Romans in Ereẓ Israel, was received with great honors in Rome by its rulers Antony and Octavian. To raise Herod's prestige above that of Antigonus, he was given the title of king. Returning to Ereẓ Israel, he succeeded with the help of the Roman legions in capturing Idumea, Samaria, and Galilee. After the defeat of the Parthian armies in the east, large Roman forces became available for the war in Judea and the fate of Antigonus was in effect sealed. Following a siege of five months Jerusalem fell to the Roman army (37 B.C.E.) and Antigonus, the last king of the Hasmonean dynasty, was executed, ushering in Herod's rule in Judea.

Herod's Rule

Herod's reign was chiefly the creation of Rome's eastern policy. The Romans supported him as the ruler of Judea, seeing in him a powerful personality capable of preserving the existing order in the country and one whose loyalty to them was not in doubt. Since the Jews constituted the overwhelming majority of the population of Ereẓ Israel, it also seemed proper from the Roman viewpoint that its king should be a Jew. However, in order to include within the borders of Judea a large non-Jewish population, it was necessary that the character of the regime should not be theocratic, as had been the case with the Hasmoneans when the ruler combined the functions both of king and high priest. Herod thus fulfilled the demands of Roman policy in Ereẓ Israel, and was a commander and politician who throughout his life cooperated fully with Rome's representatives in the east.

Herod's foreign policy faithfully mirrored that of Rome. He loyally carried out Antony's policy when the latter still enjoyed great power, and, against the background of the policy of Antony and Cleopatra, he became involved in a military struggle with the Nabatean kingdom (31 B.C.E.). After the fortunes of war had gone first to Herod and then to the Arabs, his considerable military talents enabled him to gain a decisive victory over the Nabateans, thus proving to Rome's rulers his value as a leader capable of sustaining security and order in the region.

After Octavian's victory over Antony (30 B.C.E.), the former confirmed Herod as king of Judea and even extended the area under his rule. In the days of *Augustus' principate in the 20s of the first century B.C.E., Herod's kingdom comprised almost the whole of Ereẓ Israel, except for the enclave of Ashkelon and the coastal strip north of Carmel which were at no time during the Second Temple period incorporated within the Jewish state. In 23 B.C.E. Herod's kingdom was considerably enlarged when Trachonitis, Batanea (Bashan), and Auranitis (Hauran) were included under his rule. Further areas near the sources of the Jordan were annexed to his kingdom in 20 B.C.E. Rather than being based on official arrangements, Herod's political status in the Roman Empire was grounded on personal relations which he had prudently cultivated with the leaders of the Roman state and on the ties he had established with Augustus himself and with Agrippa, the greatest contemporary Roman commander and the princeps' right hand.

Herod's great influence with the Roman politicians enabled him to help Jewish communities in the Diaspora. When a serious dispute broke out about the rights of the Jews in the cities of Asia Minor, Agrippa, to whom the decision was entrusted, decided in favor of the Jews. Over his subjects in Ereẓ Israel itself Herod exercised unlimited sway. Generally he succeeded in maintaining peace within the borders of his kingdom, nor did embitterment against him lead during his reign to open rebellion. With an iron hand and timely concessions, with rigorous police supervision and the promotion of social elements dependent on him for their status, he succeeded in sustaining his regime until the day of his death.

Herod's conquest of Jerusalem spelled the end of the institutions of the old Hasmonean regime. He established a royal council which was not rooted in the Hasmonean past and which dealt with all important matters. The traditional Jewish *Sanhedrin was divested of political power. Another notable Jewish institution whose prestige was curtailed was the high priesthood. Since Herod himself did not belong to the priestly class and was accordingly unable to serve as the high priest, he was constrained to appoint others to that office but took care that they should be his loyal supporters and not too deeply involved in the Hasmonean past. He also abolished the custom whereby the high priest was appointed for life.

The external splendor of Herod's reign found expression in his court, which was in every respect identical with those of other Hellenistic kings in the east. Many of his important ministers were Greeks and among his intimate friends were several luminaries of contemporary Greek literature. The tutors of his sons as well as his bodyguard were non-Jews. Herod's fame and extensive international ties attracted to his court visitors from various places in the Greek world who even played a certain part in the events that took place in the royal court. Herod married many wives who bore him sons and daughters. By his first wife he had a son, *Antipater; by his second, *Mariamne the Hasmonean, he had *Alexander and *Aristobulus. After he executed Mariamne he married various women, among whom were an Alexandrian Jewess, a Samaritan woman, and a native of Jerusalem. The presence of different wives' sons, all of whom entertained the ambition to succeed their father, vitiated the royal court. Herod executed three of his sons, the two born to his Hasmonean wife and his eldest son Antipater, on the charge of conspiring against him. These deeds, the outcome of an atmosphere of suspicion, clouded the success generally enjoyed by Herod during most of his reign.

More than all Jewish rulers during the period of the Second Temple, Herod devoted himself to building new cities and erecting magnificent edifices, as was customary among the rulers of *Rome. In this sphere his most important achievements were the establishment of Caesarea (on the site of Strato's Tower) and Sebaste (on the site of Samaria). At Caesarea he also built the largest harbor in Ereẓ Israel which soon played a very significant part in the country's economic life. In Sebaste he settled many of his demobilized soldiers to whom he gave fertile allotments, and beautified the city. These two cities he organized on the pattern of the Hellenistic cities in the east and their establishment to some extent upset the balance of power that had existed in Ereẓ Israel between the Jewish and the non-Jewish populations. He also built the fortress of Herodium to the southeast of the capital, as well as Phasaelis in the Valley of Jericho, and Antipatris, improved and embellished Masada, and built the fortress of Machaerus. As a result of Herod's activities Jerusalem became one of the most resplendent capitals in the entire east. In it he erected a palace, rebuilt the Temple, and constructed the impressive towers of the Upper City, the fortifications of the stronghold of Antonia, as well as a theater and an amphitheater. He also built magnificent palaces in Jericho and in other places.

Under the Procurators

Herod's kingdom did not survive his death (4 B.C.E.). In his last will, subsequently confirmed by Augustus, he bequeathed Judea, Idumea, and Samaria to his son *Archelaus; Galilee and Perea to another son Herod *Antipas; and the northeastern parts of the kingdom to a third son *Philip. For the nation, Herod's death was the signal to demand an alleviation of the burden of taxation and a change in the nature of the regime. When their demands were not met, a dangerous rebellion broke out which was only suppressed by the vigorous intervention of Varus, the governor of Syria. Augustus did not bestow the title of king on Archelaus who had to be content with that of ethnarch. He failed to win the support of his Jewish and Samaritan subjects, and they complained of him to the emperor, who ordered that he be deposed and that his inheritance, Judea, be organized as a Roman province (6 C.E.). Believing that there was no need to send Roman legions to Judea and that an *auxilium* would be enough to maintain order and security and to suppress disturbances, Augustus laid down that the governors of the province of Judea were to be of equestrian rank. At first the governors of Judea bore the title of *praefectus* and only after Agrippa I's death were they officially referred to as *procurators.

Something is known of the origin of several procurators of Judea. One of them, Julius Alexander *Tiberius, of Jewish parentage, was an apostate. Felix was a Greek and a freedman. The last procurator, Florus, came from a city in Asia Minor. Procurators of eastern-Hellenistic origin were naturally more disposed toward the Hellenized urban population than to the Jews.

The governors of Syria intervened in the affairs of Judea. In several instances this intervention may be explained as resulting from the special authority granted by the emperor to the governor of Syria. At any rate, it is clear that the auxiliary forces stationed in Judea were not enough to suppress serious revolts, and the procurator of Judea was in effect dependent on the help given to him by the governor of Syria, who was not merely governor of an ordinary province but the most distinguished of the Roman Empire's governors, the supreme commander of the Roman east, and responsible for the Parthian border. Accordingly, he regarded himself as responsible, to some extent, for the security of the province of Judea as well, even though he was assigned no special authority over that territory.

As a rule the Roman administration granted a large measure of autonomy to the local Jewish institutions, which were charged with preserving peace and order and which assisted the Romans in collecting the direct taxes. Foremost among the Jewish institutions was the Sanhedrin in Jerusalem, the Great Bet Din, which met in the Chamber of Hewn Stone. Whereas administratively its jurisdiction was restricted to the limits of Judea, its authority in the sphere of religion and as regards its enactments extended beyond these circumscribed territorial borders. Its functions were varied. It was the supreme institution of the Jewish nation in matters of religion and worship, issued regulations in the religious and juridical spheres, and supervised religious life both in Ereẓ Israel and beyond its borders.

Under the earlier procurators relations between the Jewish nation and the Roman Empire had not yet become acute. Before the time of *Pontius Pilate (26–36 C.E.) there is no mention of bloodshed in Judea. But from his days and onward there are increasing references to a messianic ferment, to disturbances, and to a gradual disappointment in the Roman administration, which had at first tried to find a suitable way of preserving order in Judea by respecting the religious feelings of the Jews, for example, by prohibiting the entry into Jerusalem of representations and images. But it was not often that the two sides reached agreement. The stationing in Jerusalem of part of the auxiliary army, usually inimical to the Jewish population, in itself led to clashes. There were also the heavy taxes and the inflexibility of several procurators which contributed to increasing the tension between the Roman administration and the Jews.

The first open breach between the Jews and the Roman Empire occurred during the reign of Gaius *Caligula (37–41 C.E.). After the emperor's death, peace was indeed outwardly restored but there nevertheless remained murky sediment that clouded the relations between the two sides. It had suddenly become clear to the Jews what evil lay in store from the rule of an omnipotent ruler. The renewal of Antiochus Epiphanes' decrees had become a present reality. Taking advantage of the dangerous mood of Caligula who, sincerely believing in his own divinity, demanded divine honors from his subjects, the non-Jewish inhabitants of Ereẓ Israel erected in Jabneh an altar which the Jews demolished, thereby arousing the anger of the emperor, who ordered that a massive golden image be set up in the Temple in Jerusalem, and delegated the task to Petronius, the governor of Syria. The implacable opposition of the entire Jewish nation and *Agrippa I's intervention with the emperor prevented the execution of the order and only Caligula's death averted a yet graver situation.

The death of Caligula and the accession of *Claudius (41 C.E.) ushered in great prospects for the advancement of Agrippa I, the grandson of Herod and of Mariamne the Hasmonean, who was appointed king of the whole of Ereẓ Israel. For three years (41–44) the status of Judea as a province was annulled. Nor did Agrippa conform to the traditional policy of the Herodian kings who were always Rome's faithful servants. His personal ties with the emperor encouraged in him the hope that he would be permitted to do what others had not succeeded in doing. Of all the leaders of the Herodian dynasty, he alone in all his strivings gave primacy to the Jewish nation and its future, and became the most illustrious Jewish politician of his generation. The last years of his life were marked by a complete identification with the Jewish nation and with its needs as he saw them, and to this end he cooperated with the greater majority of the Jews of Ereẓ Israel who regarded him as in every respect a Jewish king and the heir to the Hasmonean rather than the Herodian dynasty. The non-Jews in Ereẓ Israel, however, looked upon him as their enemy.

The death of Agrippa (44 C.E.) led to the reimposition of direct Roman rule in Judea. But the last 20 years of existence of the Second Temple were marked by a complete deterioration of the Roman administration, by a growing tension between the procurators and those under their rule, and by a breakdown of order and security throughout Judea. Typical in this respect was the procuratorship of Felix (52–60 C.E.). At first his rule was animated by a conciliatory attitude toward the Jews – whose leaders and especially the former high priest Jonathan b. Anan even strove for his appointment as procurator – but it eventually ended in an open crisis between the Roman regime and the Jews. In his days there was an increase in the activities of the extremist freedom fighters, now a permanent feature of life in Judea. At the outset of his procuratorship Felix tried to arrest the spread of the movement and acted energetically against those who inspired messianic hopes among the Jews. He suppressed, among others, a movement which arose under the inspiration of an Egyptian Jew's prophecies who promised to overthrow the walls of Jerusalem with the breath of his mouth. Outside the limits of Judea, too, the procuratorship of Felix was distinguished by disturbances and bloody clashes. The main focus of tension was at Caesarea, where the cause of the conflict was the struggle for civic rights between the Syrian-Greek majority and the large Jewish minority. While the latter enjoyed superiority in wealth and power, their opponents relied on the garrison whose soldiers were drawn from Sebaste and from Caesarea itself and naturally disposed to help their brethren. In the days of Florus (64–66 C.E.), the last procurator before the revolt, there was a decisive breach between the Roman administration and the Jewish nation. Neither the Roman authorities nor the Jewish autonomous institutions were able to preserve their influence and power. There was growing anarchy alike in the streets of Jerusalem and in the rural areas of Judea.

The Revolt (The First Roman War)

The great revolt which broke out in 66 C.E. was the result of a combination of several factors. In the realm of theory there was a conspicuous discrepancy between the Jewish belief in the divine choice of the Jewish nation and in its glorious future on the one hand, and on the other the present reality of the Roman Empire's omnipotent rule. This discrepancy found vent in increasing messianic hopes and in expectations that the eternal kingdom of the Jewish nation would be established. The contrast was sharpened by the very essence and character of the Roman Empire with its tyrannical rule and its idolatry which extended even to political manifestations, such as emperor worship (see also *Zealots, *Dead Sea Sect).

In addition to these feelings there were also several tangible features of the Roman regime which gravely offended the Jews. The presence of a Roman army in Jerusalem, the supervision by the authorities of divine worship and of the Temple, the heavy burden of taxes and customs duties – these, but perhaps most of all the Roman administration's support of the non-Jewish population in Ereẓ Israel, caused the Jews to hate the rule of Rome.

The revolt also bore the character of a social revolution, its revolutionary social character being particularly prominent in those extremist groups in which messianic leaders, such as *Menahem the Galilean and *Simeon Bar Giora, were active. To them the revolt was not only a war against Rome. It was also a struggle against the upper classes of Judea who for many years had cooperated with the Roman regime.

The immediate events that led to the great revolt were associated with the tension in Caesarea and with the procurator Florus' conduct in Jerusalem which provoked a clash between the Jews and the Roman army. On the initiative of Eleazar b. Hanania, sacrifices were no longer offered for the welfare of the Roman people and the emperor. The Roman garrison in Jerusalem was destroyed, and the Roman army in Syria under the command of Cestius Gallus, the governor of

Syria, was defeated at the ascent of Beth-horon. A provisional government was set up which united under its rule the whole of Jewish Ereẓ Israel.

The emperor *Nero could not remain indifferent to events in Judea and dispatched a huge Roman army under the command of *Vespasian to suppress the revolt. Vespasian invaded Galilee and, after overcoming stubborn resistance, crushed Jewish opposition there (67) and in Transjordan. The significant events that took place in the heart of the Roman Empire after the death of Nero (June 9, 68) greatly delayed the continuation of military operations by Vespasian who at the beginning of July 69 proclaimed himself emperor of Rome. In the spring of 70 C.E. his son *Titus laid siege to Jerusalem.

After a brave stand, Jerusalem was taken by Titus' armies, who burnt the Temple and so in effect terminated the war. Not long afterward Masada, the last fortress of the Jews, fell into the hands of the Romans (73).

[Menahem Stern]

DIASPORA – SECOND TEMPLE PERIOD

During the period of the Second Temple, Jewish history was mainly concentrated in Ereẓ Israel. Whatever may or may not have been the relative population figures inside and outside the country, the main currents which were subsequently to shape the Jewish destiny were within that country. These included the development of the elaborate Temple ceremonial as the sentimental focus of the life of the Jew everywhere; the establishment of the biblical canon; the beginnings of regular instruction in the Torah; the development of the *Oral Law and of the activities of the rabbis; the first elements of the liturgy; the national resurgence centering on the Hasmonean revolt; the development, if not the origin, of the *synagogue; and the evolution of Jewish sects and the triumph among these of the Pharisees. In comparison with all this, Jewish life outside Ereẓ Israel was anemic and unimportant. Indeed, we do not know at this period of any contribution to Judaism in its fundamental sense which was not a product of Ereẓ Israel.

On the other hand, it would be erroneous to imagine that the Jewish people were at this time concentrated in Ereẓ Israel. From the period of the Babylonian captivity there had been a considerable center in Mesopotamia (Babylonia), not all of whom by any means had returned to Ereẓ Israel in the Persian period. Of their history during the Second Temple period there is only sporadic information, but enough to make it certain that there remained in this area a solid Jewish nucleus, closely attached to Ereẓ Israel sentimentally and sometimes displaying an independent political cohesion and activity as evidenced in the first century. Whether deriving from Mesopotamia or from Ereẓ Israel, Jewish settlements were thick in *Asia Minor. There had been a Jewish settlement in Egypt from the days of the last pharaohs, which left its vestiges in the Jewish military colony in *Elephantine in the fifth century B.C.E. After the Greek occupation of Egypt in 333 B.C.E. there was a considerable Jewish colony, ultimately Greek-speaking and with Hellenic aspirations, settled in the Delta and especially in *Alexandria, which produced its finest flower in the philosopher *Philo: this extended along the coast westward, so that at least from the second century B.C.E. there was an important outpost in *Cyrene. Inscriptions show that there was a Jewish settlement in *Greece from the second century B.C.E. and the Acts of the Apostles demonstrate its importance in the generation before the fall of Jerusalem in 70. In *Italy, particularly in Rome, there was some infiltration as early as the second century B.C.E., which thereafter knew no interruption: and there is evidence too of the presence of Jews shortly after this period in *Spain, Gaul, (see *France), and other Roman provinces. That these settlements were profoundly influenced by the vicissitudes and experiences of the Jewish nucleus in Ereẓ Israel is obvious. There is some slight evidence of Jewish propaganda in Rome in the wake of the Hasmonean revolt, and the war of 66–70 had dramatic repercussions in Egypt and Cyrene at least. But it is only after the fall of Jerusalem in 70 that it is possible to think of Jewish history outside Ereẓ Israel in terms of the Diaspora communities.

[Cecil Roth]

THE AFTERMATH OF THE FIRST ROMAN WAR

Introduction

The destruction of the Temple of Jerusalem and the abolition of Jewish statehood caused of necessity the revision of some of the basic tenets of Judaism. The infrastructure of the nation had not indeed suffered badly, even in Ereẓ Israel, apart from the Holy City and some areas (Gamala, Jotapata, Taricheae) where the fighting had been exceptionally severe. The Diaspora had not suffered at all, apart from some anti-Jewish riots in a few big cities. Ereẓ Israel had indeed suffered a loss of population, both through death and enslavement, but the enslaved at least could be redeemed, and went on to increase the Jewish Diaspora, especially in Italy and Egypt. There were also many fugitives; many of them were *Zealots, who stirred up revolts in Alexandria and Cyrene (Jos., Wars, 7, 409–419, 436–446). The lands in Judea were confiscated and became part of the imperial estate; but they had to be leased back to the farmers willing to till them. Likewise the local administration in Judea at village and town level remained Jewish. The classes most affected by the lost war were the Herodian aristocracy and the upper priesthood. Many of the former assimilated with the Roman nobles; the priests merged with the rest of the nation. The reestablishment of a national authority (the Sanhedrin) at *Jabneh affected the Diaspora also. There, under the presidency of R. *Johanan b. Zakkai, and afterward of *Gamaliel II of the House of Hillel, certain measures were taken to strengthen Judaism after the catastrophe. The sacrifices were declared replaceable by charity and repentance, the Bible canon fixed and the infiltration of heretics (**minim* – often Judeo-Christians) was barred by the **Birkat ha-Minim*, an addition to the *Amidah* prayer.

One effect of the lost war was the imposition on all the Jews of the Roman Empire of a tax of two drachmas in lieu of the half-shekel paid to the Temple. This tax was in theory

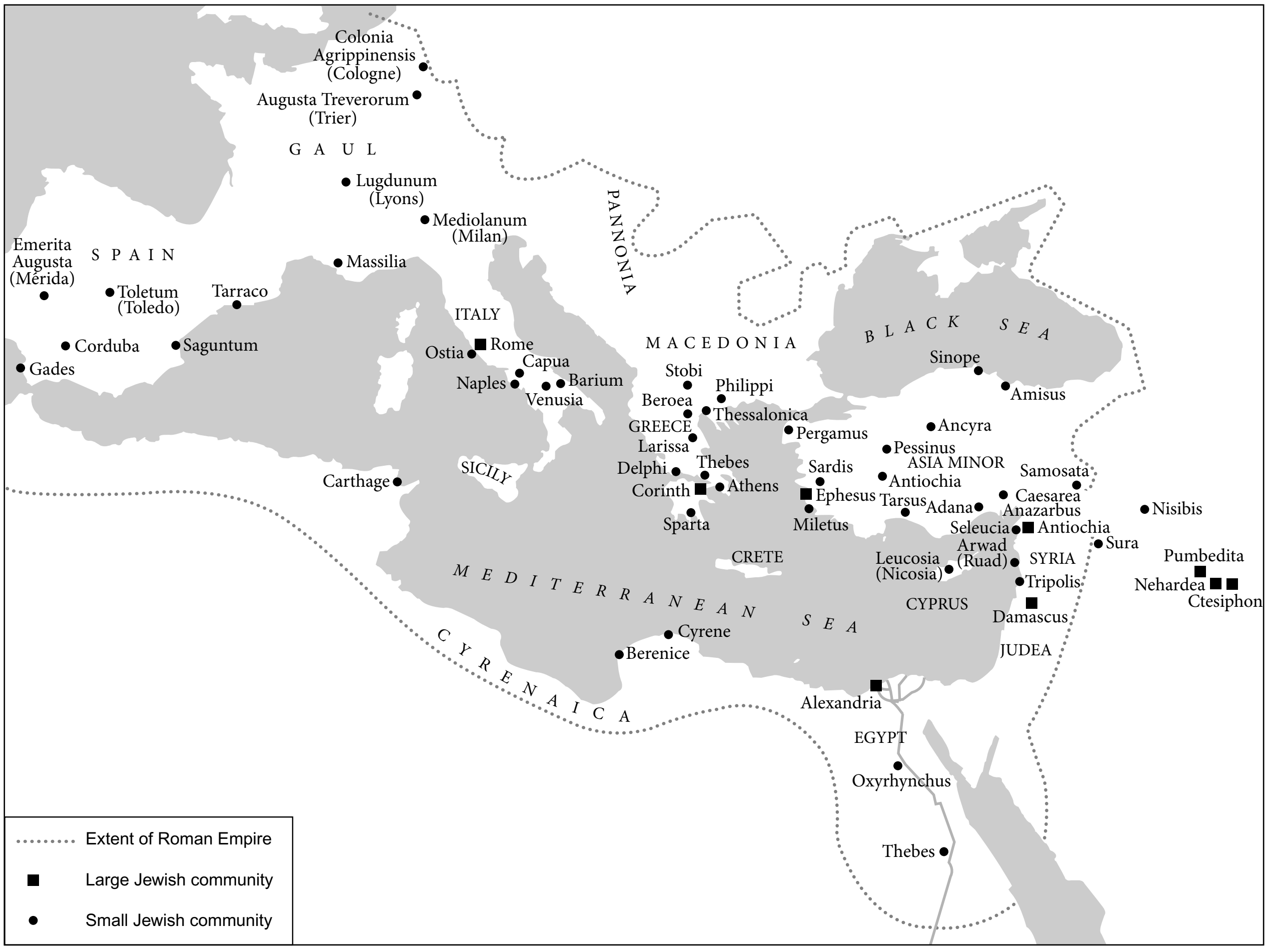
Colonia Agrippinensis (Cologne)
Augusta Treverorum (Trier)
GAUL
Lugdunum (Lyons)
Mediolanum (Milan)
PANNONIA
Emerita Augusta (Mérida)
SPAIN
Massilia
Toletum (Toledo)
Tarraco
ITALY
Corduba
Saguntum
Gades
Ostia
Rome
Capua
Naples
Barium
Venusia
MACEDONIA
Stobi
Philippi
Beroea
Thessalonica
GREECE
Larissa
BLACK SEA
Sinope
Amisus
Ancyra
Pergamus
Pessinus
ASIA MINOR
SICILY
Carthage
Delphi
Thebes
Corinth
Athens
Sparta
Sardis
Ephesus
Miletus
Antiochia
Tarsus
Adana
Samosata
Caesarea
Anazarbus
Nisibis
Seleucia
Antiochia
Sura
Arwad (Ruad)
CRETE
Leucosia (Nicosia)
SYRIA
Pumbedita
Tripolis
Nehardea
Ctesiphon
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
CYPRUS
Damascus
Cyrene
Berenice
JUDEA
CYRENAICA
Alexandria
EGYPT
Oxyrhynchus
Thebes
……… Extent of Roman Empire
■ Large Jewish community
● Small Jewish community

Map 2. The Diaspora in the Roman Empire in the Mishnaic and Talmudic periods. Based on H.H. Ben-Sasson (ed.), Toledot Am Yisrael*, vol. 1, Tel Aviv, 1969.*

payable to the Capitoline Jupiter, but in fact was earmarked for a special department of the imperial treasury, the *fiscus Judaicus (Dio Cassius, *Historia Romana* 6:7, 2), administered by a *procurator ad capitularia Judaeorum* (CIL, 6:2, no. 8604). Although decreed only in the third year of Vespasian, it was levied also for his second year, thus mulcting the Jews and enriching the imperial treasury twice over. The tax was enforced with great harshness under *Domitian (Suetonius, *Domitian*, 12:2) but its administration was made less severe under *Nerva (as witnessed by a coin struck on the occasion). It soon lost its importance owing to the depreciation of Roman coinage.

During the Flavian dynasty, Jews continued to enjoy their privileges, and their influence grew even among the Roman aristocracy. A close relation of the emperor, the ex-consul Flavius Clemens, was executed and his wife banished, because of "Judaic practices." The visit to Rome of the patriarch Rabban Gamaliel II, accompanied by Joshua b. Hananiah, Eleazar b. Azariah, and Akiva, was possibly connected with this event; in any case, it had a beneficial effect on the Diaspora. The closing of the Temple of Onias in *Leontopolis (73 C.E.) was regretted by few.

The Revolts Against Trajan

Part of the strength of Judaism was the fact that a considerable portion of the nation lived in Babylonia outside Roman rule. The campaigns of the emperor *Trajan in Mesopotamia (114–117 C.E.), which threatened this remnant, brought about a renewal of hostility between Jews and Romans – especially because a new generation had by now grown up, which had not lived through the horrors of the year 70. When a revolt broke out in conquered Mesopotamia, in which Jews took an active part, the emperor ordered his general *Lusius Quietus to expel them and, if necessary, to exterminate them. While this was happening, a serious revolt of the Jews broke out in Cyrene, inspired by a messianic movement and led by *Lucuas (called Andreas in Greek). The rebels overran Cyrene, destroying its temples and baths and cutting off the road to its harbor. Then they moved on to Alexandria. There the revolt was suppressed with force, the Romans mobilizing the native Egyptians and the Greeks. The famous synagogue of Alexandria was destroyed on that occasion. From Alexandria the fighting spread from the Delta to Upper Egypt. The Romans had to reinforce the troops in Egypt with two legions, commanded by

Marcius Turbo. The struggle took on the character of a war of annihilation and by its end in 117 there were hardly any Jews left in Egypt, except at Alexandria. The same result awaited the Jews of *Cyprus, who had also rebelled and who were subdued only after great slaughter. Talmudic sources mention a "*polemos shel Kitos*" ("War of Quietus") but it is not clear whether they refer to the acts of Quietus in Mesopotamia, or to some struggle during his governorship in Judea. Although the revolts against Trajan ended in failure, they played their part in bringing about the Roman retreat from Mesopotamia, thus saving Babylonian Jewry.

The Bar Kokhba War

Trajan's successor, *Hadrian, made peace with the Parthians but became involved in a war with the Jews. This struggle, known as the War of *Bar Kokhba, was provoked by the decision of the emperor to establish a Roman colony on the ruins of Jerusalem (see *Aelia Capitolina). Among the leaders of the incipient revolt was R. *Akiva, the greatest scholar of the age. A short time before the outbreak of the revolt he went on an extensive tour of the Diaspora (except Egypt, where Judaism was at an ebb after 117). R. Akiva visited Gaul, Africa, Athens, *Antioch, Mazaca-Caesarea in Cappadocia, and – crossing the border into Parthia – Ctesiphon and Ecbatana. He was not the only one active – two sages, *Pappus and Julianus, were executed at Laodicea in Syria because they were collecting money on behalf of the rebels.

The War of Bar Kokhba lasted three years, and strained the military resources of the empire to the utmost. When it ended after the capture of Bethar near Jerusalem and the destruction of the last rebels in the caves of the Judean desert, the Jewish population of Judea was either dead, enslaved, or in flight. The whole area round Jerusalem was settled with non-Jews. Only Galilee remained a bastion of Judaism in Ereẓ Israel. In order to strike at the root of Jewish resistance, Hadrian prohibited the practice of the Jewish religion – an order which was for some time strictly enforced in Galilee but which seems to have remained a dead letter elsewhere. In other ways the disasters of the Bar Kokhba War strengthened Judaism in the Diaspora – first there were the fugitives who crammed all the ports of the Mediterranean, then the slaves, who were sold in such vast numbers that the prices in the Roman slave markets fell. Among those going to the Diaspora were many scholars; some, like R. Meir, R. Yose b. Ḥalafta or R. Johanan ha-Sandelar returning to Ereẓ Israel, others remaining abroad. The communities of Asia Minor were now the most prosperous, as is witnessed by their synagogues, of which that of *Sardis was the most splendid. Greece was by now in decline, and the Jewries of Egypt and Cyrene, as well as that of Cyprus, were in shambles. Rome, with the cities in its vicinity, now received many more of the Jewish refugees, and there was a marked movement of the Diaspora westward – into Gaul, Spain and up the Rhine. Being mostly merchants or craftsmen, the Jews settled in the great commercial centers, provincial capitals, or near legionary camps. In the larger cities they were organized into several communities each with its own synagogue, which served also as a school. Besides the elected heads of the community (the *archisynagogus and his deputies) there was a permanent scribe or teacher, the *grammateus*. The communities were recognized legally, with the right to hold property and even with a kind of internal jurisdiction. To judge from the inscriptions in their burial places (especially the *catacombs of Rome) they clung to the Greek language, with only gradual Latinization; Hebrew was known but not much used.

The Bar Kokhba War marks the final separation of Judaism and *Christianity; henceforward both communities were in competition in their missionary activity. The disasters of the Bar Kokhba War handicapped Jewish *proselytism (although it was not quite extinct) while Christian missionaries flourished. The result was a bitter struggle, which has left its mark in the centuries in which the church was victorious. The rest of the gentile world changed its attitude to the Jews, but in another sense. While in the first century the Jews were a subject for contempt because of their "queer" observances, their poverty, and their low social status, there was a period of acute hatred after the revolts, but hatred mixed with fear and akin to respect. Later on, the decline of the official Olympian religion benefited the position of Judaism together with all Oriental religions.

The Roman Empire – Antoninus Pius to Constantine

*Antoninus Pius (138–161) abolished the decree of Hadrian, except for the prohibition against proselytism. His reign marks the reconstitution of the central national authority in Ereẓ Israel and the beginning of a compromise between the Roman government and the Jews. At an assembly at *Usha near Haifa the surviving scholars reconstituted the Patriarchate and the Sanhedrin, the authority of which was soon recognized throughout the Diaspora. The first patriarch after Usha was Rabban *Simeon b. Gamaliel. It was under his successor, R. *Judah ha-Nasi, that the patriarchate reached its apogee. R. Judah gave final shape to the *Mishnah, the codification of the Oral Law elaborated in the previous four centuries. He imposed his authority on the Sanhedrin and obtained the right to nominate *rabbis and teachers throughout Jewry. His messengers, the *apostoloi*, inspected Jewish communities and were empowered to depose their functionaries. They also collected the voluntary tax, the *apostole*, which the Diaspora continued to contribute for the maintenance of the Patriarchate. As the head of the central institutions of Judaism, the patriarch dominated his lesser brethren, the "little patriarchs" each in his province. By keeping in his hands the right to fix the dates of the holidays, the patriarch controlled in effect Jewish religious life everywhere. He was also able to revive – under the guise of courts of arbitration – the civil (and sometimes even the criminal) jurisdiction of the rabbinical courts. In the third century the Palestinian *amoraim* of the first to the third generation laid the foundations of the "Jerusalem" (Palestinian) *Talmud. The Patriarchate was supported by the Roman government as part of the unwritten agreement by which the Jewish authorities undertook to prevent Zealot outbreaks, while the Romans restored the status of Judaism as a lawful religion with all that this implied, as well as the privileges enjoyed by individual Jews, such as exemption from military service, the right not to appear in the lawcourts on a Sabbath and on holidays, etc. Only on two points did the Romans refuse to mollify their stand; they did not allow proselytism and they refused Jews the right to settle in or even visit Jerusalem. On both points, reality did, however, modify the legal position; proselytism continued and around the communities there gathered groups of "God-fearing" people ("proselytes of the gate" as they were called in Jewish sources) who sympathized with Judaism without fully adopting it. Also access to Jerusalem was rendered de facto much easier, although the prohibition to settle there was still enforced. (According to G. Alon, there was a Jewish community in the Holy City in the third century.) The status of the Jews was more and more equalized with other citizens of the empire under the Severan dynasty (193–225), although the motives of the emperors in granting equality were fiscal. Septimius *Severus allowed Jews to hold municipal office, exempting them from practices contrary to their beliefs (Justinian, *Digest*, 27:1, 15, 6; 50:2, 3, 3); his son *Caracalla granted them (together with most of the other inhabitants of the empire) Roman citizenship in 212. In general, the Severan dynasty, which started from a Libyan-Punic soldier and his Syrian consort, did not follow the hard Roman line of the Antonines. It seems even that Caracalla is identical with the mythical "Antoninus," the friend of the patriarch Judah I (see *Antoninus and *Marcus Aurelius). The successors of the Severan emperors continued the friendly policy of the dynasty: Severus Alexander was even called "*archisynagogus*" by his enemies. In the two generations between 225 and 284 Roman Jewry suffered with the rest of the empire from the severe political, economic, and social crisis which shook the Roman world. Barbarian invasions and civil wars between pretenders to the imperial throne led to a disruption of economic life, increased taxation, inflation and all the other ills connected with a deep crisis and which were especially serious for communities dependent on commerce and craft. The eastern part of the empire was overrun first by the Parthians (who killed 12,000 Jews at Mazaca) and then by the Palmyrenes, whose relations with the Jews were cool. When the emperor *Diocletian finally restored order, he continued the Jewish privileges; they were exempted from pagan sacrifices at a time when Christians were forced to perform them. Soon after his death, Constantine, the first Christian emperor, ascended the throne and thus began a new chapter in the history of Judaism.

The Babylonian Diaspora

Babylonian Jewry, the oldest mass-settled group of Jews outside Ereẓ Israel, had maintained its strength throughout the period of the Second Temple. Living since 129 B.C.E. under Parthian rule in the context of a loosely knit semi-feudal state, it was able to develop its autonomous institutions with little interference from the royal government. The Parthians, who had always feared Roman intervention, welcomed Jewish opposition to Rome, at least until the time of Hadrian, when peace reigned on the border. They left a free hand to the *exilarch (*resh galuta*) who headed Babylonian Jewry. Descended allegedly from the House of David, proud of their genealogical purity, the exilarchs wore the *kamara*, the sash of office of the Parthian court, and disputed precedence with high Parthian officials. The community which they headed was both numerous (estimates of its number vary from 800,000 to 1,200,000, i.e., 10–12% of the total population of Babylonia) and well-based economically, comprising a fair number of farmers and many traders who grew rich as intermediaries in the profitable silk trade between China and the Roman Empire passing through Babylonia. The Jews enjoyed not only freedom of worship, autonomous jurisdiction, but even the right to have their own markets and appoint market supervisors (*agoranomoi*). These favorable conditions continued after the replacement of the weak Parthian kings by the much stronger Sasanids, beginning with Ardashir I in 226. The Sasanids were devout followers of the religion of Zoroaster, and its priests, the magi, exercised much influence at the court. After a period of troubles and disagreement at the beginning of the reign of *Shapur I (241–272), better relations were gradually established with the king; one of the reasons for this understanding was Shapur's plans of conquest in the Roman Empire. Jewish help could be of great value in his campaigns, and the Jews of Babylonia had proved their staunch opposition to Rome in the revolt against Trajan. At Mazaca in Cappadocia Jews did indeed oppose Shapur with the rest of the population and suffered accordingly, but in Ereẓ Israel the popular opinion was pro-Parthian and anti-Palmyrene to a large extent. Indeed one of the strongholds of Babylonian Judaism, *Nehardea, was destroyed by a Palmyrene raid under Papa b. Nazer in 259. The good relations with the court continued under Shapur's successors, including Shapur II (309–379).

Apart from its political and economic status, which was apparently much higher than that of the Jews in the Roman Empire, the main interest of Babylonian Jewry was its relations with the national centers in Ereẓ Israel and its spiritual development, which led up to the creation of the Babylonian *Talmud. The relations of the Babylonian Diaspora with Ereẓ Israel were characterized by ambivalence from the beginning. Hillel the Elder, a Babylonian who imposed his personality on the scholars of Jerusalem, was an exception; but a small center of learning existed at Nisibis led by the Benei Bathyra family. About 100 C.E. *Hananiah, the nephew of R. Joshua, had to leave for Babylonia; his attempts to render Babylonia independent of the authorities in Ereẓ Israel ended in failure. During the Hadrianic persecution several scholars of standing, R. Johanan ha-Sandelar, R. Eleazar b. Shamua and other pupils of R. Akiva settled temporarily in Babylonia and thus enhanced its prestige. However, the masterful personality of the patriarch R. Judah I dominated even this far country. There were at least five Babylonians at his court, and he claimed and was accorded the right to ordain judges for Babylonia also. R. Judah did indeed admit the genealogical superiority of the exilarch, R. Huna, but only at a safe distance.

Conditions in Babylonia changed with the arrival in 219 at Nehardea of Abba Arikha (*Rav), one of the pupils of R. Judah. He found at Nehardea *Samuel, the son of Abba b. Abba, a rich silk merchant. Samuel had established excellent relations with King Shapur I; it was due to him that the rule *dina de-malkhuta dina*, i.e., civil law has the force of religious law, became the guiding light for the Diaspora. When Rav gave up his candidacy for *resh sidra* (head of the school) at Nehardea to Samuel, he moved first to *Huzal and then to *Sura, where he established a school which continued the traditions of Ereẓ Israel as taught by Rabbi. Rav died there in 247. In the meantime the school of Nehardea was dispersed after the Palmyrene raid of 259 and reassembled at *Pumbedita, which became the rival of Sura among the Babylonian schools. The leaders of Pumbedita (R. *Hamnuna, R. *Huna – who remained head of the school for 40 years, dying in 297 and his successor R. *Ḥisda) established the special "Babylonian" trend of talmudic learning, marked by a sharpness of logical dissection.

The great crisis of the Roman Empire in the third century changed the relations of Babylonia and Ereẓ Israel. Although there were still communities of Babylonians settled at Jaffa, Sepphoris, and Tiberias, after the death of R. Johanan more and more students went from Tiberias to Sura and Pumbedita. This exodus took such proportions that the old rule that a *ḥaver* (member of the rabbinical association) lost his rights on emigration had to be rescinded (TJ, Dem. 2:3, 23a). The Babylonians, who were always proud of their descent, now began to insist also on their priority in learning. Thus, for example, R. Judah b. Hezekiah even forbade his student R. Zeira to go to Ereẓ Israel (R. Zeira went nevertheless). In the third generation of the **amoraim* it was the Babylonians R. *Ammi and R. *Assi who ruled in Tiberias; if after them this state of affairs did not continue, it was because the Babylonian scholars had lost interest in teaching a declining community. When under Constantine the patriarch *Hillel II made the rules of the *calendar public, he cut the one remaining tie of Babylonia with the Jewish homeland. Henceforward Babylonia was on its own and girded itself for its great spiritual task, the Babylonian *Gemara*.

[Michael Avi-Yonah]

FOURTH TO SEVENTH CENTURIES

Reshaping of Forces and Circumstances

At the beginning of the fourth century the vast majority of the Jewish people were dispersed in Mediterranean countries, a distribution which continued for many centuries afterward. Throughout their dispersion Jews were not only attached spiritually and emotionally to Ereẓ Israel, but this country still harbored an important concentration of Jewish population; the Patriarchate was to continue in more than a century of active and prestigious leadership of Jews almost everywhere (see **nasi*). The great concentration of Jews in the "Persian" empire (Babylonia (בבל) in Jewish historical-geographical nomenclature) flourished under the leadership of the exilarch, increasing in numbers and with a prosperous economy which had a broad agricultural stratum and some involvement in commerce and *crafts. In the Roman Empire the vast Jewish Diaspora was concentrated in great numbers in important cities, occupied as traders and craftsmen. The centers of the empire, Alexandria, Antioch, and Rome, were also essential to Jewish life as they were central to the empire. The so-called edict of Milan, issued in June 313, was couched in terms expressing general tolerance and coexistence of religions; in reality it was the first step toward establishing the dominance of Christianity. Its declared intention was to grant *et Christianis et omnibus* freedom of religion, to each person according to his choice. The definitions there of divinity fit monotheistic religions as well as an enlightened paganism. Deity is described as *Summa Divinitas* or *Divinitas in sede caelesti*. The decree declares expressly that it was not designed to injure any person either in status or in religion. The sentiments to a large extent express a diplomatic softening for pagans and, for Jews, a sweetened coating of the bitter pill of the beginning of Christian domination. However, they also reflect an existing mood in the relationship between the religions at that time that could augur a future of real coexistence but in the event was destroyed by the pact between the Christian *Church and the Roman Empire.

The interpenetration of modes of existence and conceptual patterns of the environment is evident in Jewish life in the fourth to sixth centuries. The decoration of synagogues, both in Ereẓ Israel as well as in the Diaspora, shows a readiness to use pictorial art, and even representation of human and animal figures, for synagogue murals and mosaics. It also demonstrates that pagan symbols had lost their idolatrous implications for the Jews, who took them over almost without change to adorn their own houses of worship. Thus a trend, evident notably at the synagogue of *Dura Europos, developed and became increasingly reflected in Jewish life at this time. The symbolic pictography and inscriptions on Jewish funerary reliefs also show, in both Ereẓ Israel and the Diaspora, the same assimilation of pagan elements. The other side of this process, and parallel to it, was a still continuing movement of proselytes to Judaism, the presence of Jewish elements in pagan magic papyri, and above all, the entry of many central Jewish elements into the pagan world, which enabled its Christianization.

This interpenetration, however, was not destined to become the framework of a social and political coexistence. The intense hatred generated during centuries of missionary propaganda and the fierce persecution to which it had been subjected caused the victorious Church in turn to adopt toward paganism the Jewish monotheistic stance at its harshest, and to employ in regard to Jews and Judaism the old popular pagan anti-Jewish animus, which developed into a tenet of dogmatic absolutism at its cruelest. The *tertium gens* formed by Christianity declined to confront Judaism on a basis of equality and, once achieving dominance, took over all the potentialities and actualities of power with which to intensify division and persecution. This challenge, although the cause of much suffering, elicited a vital Jewish response in a concentration on inner values and a refusal to continue the process of interpenetration. From the sixth century on, pagan decorative motifs are no longer to be found in synagogues, while the painting of live figures for synagogue murals was abandoned for many centuries after that time.

CHRISTIAN POLITICAL PRESSURE AND PROPAGANDA. During the fourth and fifth centuries the Jews in the Roman Empire both recognized and felt the effects of a sustained Christian effort to redefine their legal status, to blacken their image in the eyes of gentiles, and to reduce their standing in society. This policy was pursued with a curious combination of acute love-hatred toward the Jewish people and its history, and an even more acute fearfulness of Jewish competition for the spiritual allegiance of the disintegrating pagan world. Internal Christian dissensions in the fourth century added fuel to hatred of the Jews in a Church that was already divided on its conception of the Trinity, quarreling about theological definitions, even to the extent of hairsplitting, and hitherto unaccustomed to the use of force to impose its authority. It now began to turn to imperial powers of coercion on the one hand and to interference in state affairs on the other, that, in the church's eyes, provided it with the combined means and formula for working out the divine will in history. Striving to retain its newly acquired power, it regarded Arianism and other heresies that emerged in this early period as a Judaizing attempt to undermine its precarious position.

Already under Constantine I (306–337) laws were published forbidding the persecution of Jewish *apostates to Christianity. In 339 Constantius II prohibited marriage between Jews and Christians, and the possession of Christian slaves by Jews. This last prohibition went far to undermine the economic structure of Jewish society, in *agriculture in particular. In this period it was inconceivable to maintain any fair-sized agricultural unit without employing slaves, who were rapidly becoming Christianized.

A flicker of the old-type coexistence, this time with an anti-Christian emphasis and a pro-Jewish tendency, reemerged under Emperor *Julian (361–363), regarded by Christians as "the apostate." His attempt to rebuild the Temple in Jerusalem, his respectful language in reference to Jews, and the rights he granted them were not only motivated by a wish to disprove the Christian contention that Judea had been obliterated with the rejection of Jesus, they were also actuated by esteem for a great Jewish past and for steadfastness in adhering to a religious historical course.

The Church and the Christian empire, alarmed but not sobered by the reemergence of paganism and its bid for an alliance with the Jews, crystallized a policy of obtaining laws against Jews and heretics. These were subsequently promulgated: "… in order that these dangerous sects which are unmindful of our times may not spread into life the more freely, in indiscriminate confusion, as it were, we ordain by this law to be valid for all time …" (*Novella* 3 of Theodosius II, Jan. 31, 438). On this basis Jews were denied all civic offices and dignities because "we believe it is wrong that the enemies of the heavenly Majesty and of the Roman laws should become the executors of our laws, and that they, fortified by the authority of the acquired rank, should have the power to judge or sentence Christians, … as if they insult our faith … For the same reason we prohibit that any synagogue should rise as a new building" (*ibid.*).

Hence, at this early stage, the foundations were laid for the conception that the holding of public office by a Jew constituted both an insult to Christianity and a danger to Christians. Of the two reasons cited, the first was prompted by the competition between religions that continued into the fifth century and by the pride of victory. The second stemmed from suspicion of the character of the Jew and the view that he was perhaps activated by base motives in dealing with other people. Thus motivation was advanced for the principle that only if the Jews were humiliated and rendered powerless would Christianity and Christians be safe; on this principle Jews were barred from honors and public office in Christian states (and later in Muslim states) from the fifth until the 18th centuries. Although there were to be many exceptions to, and breaches of, this rule, these only proved its wide acceptance, as amply evidenced down the centuries in the bitter opposition to Jews holding positions of authority by the Church leadership and the consensus of popular opinion in Christian and Muslim societies.

The change in legal status gained popular acceptance because of the consistency and virulence with which Church leaders preached hatred of the Jew. The eight anti-Jewish sermons delivered by John Chrysostom (see *Church Fathers) in Antioch in 387 both reveal the existence of a continuing good relationship at this time between parts of the general population and the Jews and instance the type of propaganda used by the Church fathers to disrupt it. The sermons vilify the Jews, their synagogues, their way of life, and their motives of behavior at length and in scathing terms. *Augustine of Hippo had a deep historic sense of the vital force displayed by the Jewish people. Several times in his writings he returns to the mystery presented by the non-assimilation of a small people, separated from the rest of the population not only by its specific beliefs, but also by a detailed way of life and its development of an individual culture, in an empire that was moving to increasing uniformity in all these respects. His conception of what the Jewish people might have been, and what under Christian dispensation it had become, emerges from his musings about the likely destiny of the Jews had they not constantly revolted against God and finally rejected Jesus, and about the reason for their continued existence in the world:

> And if they had not sinned against Him, led astray by unholy curiosity as by some magic arts, falling away to worship idols and finally murdering the Christ, *they would have remained in the same kingdom, and if it did not grow in size, it would have grown in happiness.* As for their present dispersion through almost all the lands and peoples, it is by the providence of the true God, to the end that when the images, altars, groves, and temples of the false gods are everywhere overthrown, and the sacrifices forbidden, it may be demonstrated by the Jewish scriptures how this was prophesied long ago. Thus the possibility is avoided that, if read only in our books, the prophecy might be taken for our invention (*City of God*, ed. and tr. by W.C. Greene, Book 4, 34 (1963), 129).

Augustine's assertion that a redeemed Jewish people would have remained happy and a separate nation in Ereẓ Israel was later remembered by few Christians. Both of his assumptions, that the Jewish dispersion proves the truth of Christianity through the Holy Writ that is in Jewish possession, and that it was necessary to provide proof of the correctness of the biblical passages quoted by Christians from the text in Jewish hands to doubting infidels – neither Jewish nor Christian, but pagan – clearly indicate a situation, at least within living memory, of a triangle in which Judaism, Christianity, and paganism are confronted. Later on, his premises provided the theoretical formulation for Christian readiness to suffer Jews in their midst. Augustine's understanding of Psalms 59:12 (Vulgate 58:12) as relating to sufferance of the Jews, on the condition that they be visibly dispersed and humiliated, was widely quoted and applied in the Middle Ages.

INTERNAL CULTURAL AND SOCIAL ACTIVITIES. At the same time that the church was preaching to its converted the dictum that the Jews continue to exist for the sake of Christianity, as despiritualized guardians of a spiritual "Old Testament," the Jewish people were developing a great and fruitful new life of intellectual and social creativity. In about 359 a constant calendar was determined and formulated, thus basing archaic sacred attitudes to time, its division, and purpose, on mathematical principles, and bringing to completion a long process of Hellenistic cultural influence. The leadership provided by the patriarchate and the patriarchs (see **Nasi*) through these difficult times, although frequently criticized, was on the whole successful and helped create a productive period in both the Jewish and general cultural spheres. The *nasi* Gamaliel b. Hillel maintained a regular correspondence with the great Antiochian rhetor Libanius over the last four decades of the fourth century, showing points of contact between the great Jewish jurists and those of the Roman world.

Jewish creative and cultural activity was continuing at a time when a mob led by monks in 388 burned down the synagogue at Callinicum in Mesopotamia. Bishop *Ambrose of Milan thereupon asserted the authority of the Church and overruled Emperor *Theodosius I by insisting that the culprits should go unpunished. Also in this period Emperor Theodosius II and his ecclesiastical advisers attempted to deter Jews from worship by forbidding the erection of new synagogues (see above). Jews reacted to this situation by recourse to both traditional and new solutions. The Patriarchate was extinguished by imperial decree in 429. However, Jewish leadership of the communities in the Roman empire continued in a less centralized but more successful form.

In Ereẓ Israel the Jewish population held on to its soil and maintained its spirit of resistance by every means available, from the revolt in Galilee against Gallus in 351 up to the revolt in the reign of Emperor *Heraclius and its alliance with the invading Persian armies in 614 (see below). In Babylonia the exilarchs were able to exercise their hegemony under more relaxed and stable conditions than those prevailing in the Roman and Christian spheres. But when a series of persecutions overtook the community in the second half of the fifth and the sixth centuries the exilarchs had the foresight to withdraw with their institutions to inaccessible regions and there to continue cultural activities and social leadership. In 495–502 the exilarch Mar *Zutra II led a revolt, created a small Jewish state, and paid with his life for this attempt.

YEMEN. Semitic tribes in the region of present-day *Yemen became converted to Judaism and maintained a Jewish principality in *Ḥimyar that had close ties with the *nasi* at Tiberias. It was crushed by a coalition of Christian *Byzantium and *Ethiopia after a battle to preserve Judaism and with the death of the king *Yūsuf dhu Nuwās in 525.

REDACTION OF THE JERUSALEM AND BABYLONIAN TALMUDS. At the time of these events Jewish intellectual activity added a new dimension and prototype to the national literature. The academies of Ereẓ Israel and Babylonia constituted a living forum for discussion of the tenets and implications of Jewish morals and Jewish law, continuing despite external humiliations and harassments. The redaction of the so-called Jerusalem Talmud took place in the second half of the fourth century. During the second half of the fourth century and throughout the fifth – from the days of Rav *Ashi (371–427) until *Ravina (499) – the redaction of the so-called Babylonian Talmud was completed. Both Talmuds represent whole libraries of legal discussion and formulation – *halakhah* – and record fragments of moral and exegetical sermons – *aggadah*. The thoughts and efforts of numerous scholars are reticulated in them to form a protocol of the discussions, thus setting down a rich legacy for posterity and providing an exemplar for a specific mode of learning, of living, and of moral decision. The Talmuds became canonized in Jewish esteem alongside the Bible and the Mishnah – theoretically in a diminishing scale of sanctity. In practice, interpretation of the Talmud and the talmudic mode of discussion eventually dominated Jewish scholarship and set the pattern for Jewish modes of thought until modern times. After a short transitional period of creative activity by the **savora'im*, the Talmuds were regarded as closed and canonized entities. Beside the Talmuds, there also remain from this period the amoraic midrashim (see *Midrash). These in technique bear close affinity to the writings of the Church Fathers, while in content and aims they represent a system of Jewish culture, its values and aspirations, and its defense against Christian attacks.

APPEARANCE OF ISLAM. The degree and scale of Jewish influence on *Muhammad and early *Islam is much in dispute, but there is no denial of its existence and considerable significance. From early attempts at alliance with Jewish groups in Arabia – the so-called Jewish "tribes" – Muhammad turned against them, and, in a series of wars and battles in the years 624 to 628, succeeded in either extirpating them or expelling them from Arabia. Awareness of these influences and of the alliances and wars of the past was important later in determining the attitude of Islam toward Jews.

TRENDS IN CHRISTIAN POLICY TOWARD THE JEWS. By the end of the sixth century, two approaches toward the Jews were tried in the Christian sphere. Emperor *Justinian attempted to influence Judaism in a missionary spirit, to interfere in the conduct of Jewish worship, and to direct the Jews as to what they should retain or relinquish in their scriptures and beliefs. In the preamble to his Novella 146 (Feb. 8, 553) he states expressly: "Necessity dictates that when the Hebrews listen to their sacred texts they should not confine themselves to the meaning of the letter, but should also devote their attention to those sacred prophecies which are hidden from them, and which announce the mighty Lord and Savior Jesus Christ." The post-biblical strata of Jewish literature are to be excised: "The Mishnah, or as they call it the second tradition [Deuterosis], we prohibit entirely … it is … but the handiwork of man, speaking only of earthly things, and having nothing of the divine in it. But let them read the holy words themselves, rejecting the commentaries" (as translated by J. Parkes, *The Conflict of the Church and the Synagogue* (1961), 392–3). Justinian's argumentation against Deuterosis has a fundamentalist ring, but the stress is on negation instead of a positive evaluation of the Bible. The emperor failed in his object, not only as many of his other strong-armed attempts had failed because of the weakness of the empire in the late sixth century, but essentially because the Jews remained consistently attached to the whole of their corpus of scriptures and refused to become Jews according to Christian concepts. Not until the 13th century was a similar approach again attempted, when a campaign was launched against the Talmud, which also failed (see below: The Middle Ages).

At the end of the sixth century another attempt to eradicate the Jews in a Christian country was begun in Visigothic Spain. With the changeover from Arianism and the attempt to unite the country under Catholicism by King Reccared I, compulsory conversion of Jews to Christianity became an integral part of the policy of the Visigothic state. However, barehanded force essentially proved no more successful than Justinian's attempt at dictation (see below).

Pope *Gregory I at the end of the sixth century developed a different and more enduring line of approach. In his many letters concerning Jews he proposed to tempt them to Christianity by offering fiscal alleviations in the belief that if the first generation did not become fully fledged Christians the second would become so. He thus authorized the use of economic pressure and reward to bring about Jewish apostasy. However, while insisting on strict maintenance of the status quo in respect of Jewish existence, he was vigilant in ensuring that Jews should not acquire any new rights or opportunities. He thus developed a practice which was in part based on application of the theory of Augustine and in part on a dogmatization of the various anti-Jewish laws of the later Roman emperors as incorporated in the Codes of Theodosius and Justinian. In his theoretical writings, in particular in his *Moralia* on Job, and in his commentaries on Kings and Ezekiel, Gregory views the Jewish way of life and Jewish identity as the arch-enemy of Christianity. Jacob here represents the gentiles, and Esau the Jews.

SETTLEMENT IN WESTERN EUROPE. The sixth century also saw the reemergence of Jews in Western Europe north of the Pyrenees. The existence of a Jewish community at *Cologne in 321 is already attested in an edict of Emperor Constantine. Discoveries of coins, and, in the opinion of some scholars, also terra cotta figurines found at *Treves (Trier), prove the presence of Jews – or at least of passing merchants – in several places in Western and Central Europe in the fourth century. However, there is no evidence of the continuance of these Jewish groups, or of the movement of individual Jewish merchants, in the disordered times of the barbarian invasions and the creation of the Germanic states in the late fourth and fifth centuries. South of the Pyrenees, in Arian Visigothic Spain and in the kingdom of Theodoric in Italy, Jews were to be found, living in relatively favorable conditions. The Arians did not simply adopt the attitude of the Catholic Church toward Jews; since individuals in these Arian Germanic states were regarded as subject either to the existing Roman law or the Germanic law of the conquerors, Jews were classified, under this definition, with the Romans. Procopius recounts (*De Bello Gothico*, 1, 5, 10.25) that the Jews of *Naples courageously and stubbornly defended this city for Theodoric against the Byzantines in 536.

Though migration from a warmer southern climate to a colder northern one, and from an ancient and familiar cultural milieu to a new and uncivilized region, is not usual, this is the direction taken by relatively many Jews during the sixth century when they appeared in the Catholic kingdom of the Franks in what is now *France. They were attracted by the rare opportunities for enterprising merchants in the newly developing countries. Seen through the writings of Bishop *Gregory of Tours, Jews were able to tempt bishops and princes with the spices and costly cloths they brought with them. In the second half of the sixth century there is mention of sizable communities, as at *Clermont-Ferrand, *Paris, and *Marseilles, which had their own synagogue buildings – certainly not constructed in accordance with the requirements imposed by the Church – and stubbornly defended, sometimes to the death, their right to live as professing Jews. The figure of the Jew *Priscus exemplifies the best in these groups: learned in the Bible, he is shown disputing as an equal, and unafraid, with Bishop Gregory in the presence of King Chilperic about Judaism and Christianity. He died a martyr's death at Paris, having dispatched his son to safety in Marseilles.

THE JEWISH REVOLT IN EREẒ ISRAEL. On the eve of the appearance of Islam as a world power and third great monotheistic religion – the last throes of the disappearance of the old order of the classical world – Jews in Ereẓ Israel again raised the standard of revolt in an attempt to reestablish Jewish rule in Ereẓ Israel. Desperate through persecutions under Emperor Heraclius they rebelled in 614, joined the Persian armies then invading the country, and between 614 and 617 established Jewish rule in Jerusalem. Their failure and cruel suppression (see also *Benjamin of Tiberias) add to the character of this event in Jewish history, which represents a last gleam of the classical constellations and one of the many harbingers of the new medieval situation.

[Haim Hillel Ben-Sasson]

THE MIDDLE AGES

Formative Times (7th to 11th Centuries)

The conquest of the Persian empire by Muslim forces obliterated polytheism as a political force over the entire horizon of Jewish existence. Jews had to accustom themselves to the situation that throughout "the whole world" monotheistic religions claiming the mantle of the Jewish faith were pursuing a consistent policy of derogation and humiliation toward the Jews. To the Christian clergy as a carrier of the inculcation of hatred of the Jews in the masses was now added the Muslim clergy. On the other hand, the conquests of Islam reunified the vast majority of the Jewish people. By 712 Islam ruled from the borders of India to south of the Pyrenees, thus uniting under its sway more than 90% of the existing Jewish population. The success of the Muslims was seen by Jews as divine retribution for the evil and perfidy of Byzantium and Persia. The sudden change in the political order revived hopes for even greater changes that would bring about Redemption and the Messiah. It was not by accident that several militant Jewish *messianic movements followed shortly on Islamic successes. Jerusalem was taken by the Arabs in 638. The Christian prohibitions on the entry of Jews to the Holy City were soon lifted. The attitude of the Muslims to the "People of the Book" was more favorable toward the Jews than that of the Christian rulers (see below). The Muslims had much to learn from the Christian and Jewish infidels, while the existence of many shades of faith other than Islam in the Muslim realm saved Jews living within its borders from the onus of being the main, frequently even the sole, representatives of nonconformists there as they became in Christendom.

UNDER ISLAM. The Muslim conquest had far-reaching consequences for Jewish economic and social structures. The first generation of Arab rulers knew little about agriculture, nor cared about it. They imposed a heavy burden on infidel farmers, not being concerned with the disastrous results. On the other hand, they respected trade and regarded the city as a favorable milieu for leading the good Muslim life. The military camps of the conquerors soon developed into cities. All this combined to draw Jews away from the villages and agriculture toward the developing towns and an appreciated occupation in trade. Their links with other Jews along the commercial routes in the vast empire worked in the same direction, as also the opportunities offered by the connections of Jews in Muslim countries for trading with their brethren in the Christian countries. In the lands taken from Byzantium, the new circumstances only completed a process of squeezing out Jews from agriculture that had been begun by the Christian denial of slave manpower to Jewish agricultural undertakings. In the former lands of the Persian Empire this was a relatively new process. By the end of the eighth century it had been more or less accomplished everywhere in the Muslim empire: although some Jewish individuals and groups remained attached to the soil despite unfavorable circumstances, the vast majority of the Jews became townspeople, and retained this structure until the present.

Wherever a new city arose or an old one developed, Jews formed large and enterprising merchant and craftsmen communities, as in *Kufa, *Basra, and *Baghdad (almost from its foundation by the *Abassids) in *Iraq; in *Cairo-Fostat and *Alexandria, in *Egypt; in *Kairouan and *Fez in the Maghreb; and in *Cordoba and *Toledo in Muslim *Spain. Their occupations covered all the varieties found in the towns. Thus the foundation was laid for the variegated structure of Jewish economy and society in the Muslim city, which existed – with spatial and temporal modifications – up to the almost total liquidation of the Jewish communities in Muslim lands after the creation of the State of Israel.

In various regions of the Muslim Empire the lower strata of Jewish society were occupied in every kind of craft. An anti-Jewish writer in the ninth century, in what was certainly a tendentious one-sided view, could even regard certain of the coarser crafts as the main occupation of the Jews in Egypt. The upper stratum of Jewish society in the caliphate engaged in large-scale trade and in money-lending, sometimes even supplying organized and regular loans to the state. In the tenth century certain rich Jewish families were known as the court financiers, their security of tenure deriving to a large degree from the fact, well known to the caliph and his officials, that the huge loans advanced came not only out of the personal fortune of the Jewish banker, but out of amounts lent him by Jewish merchants of lesser means.

In Muslim Spain, as early as the united *Umayad caliphate, the position achieved by *Ḥisdai ibn Shaprut demonstrates the rise of a Jewish official and merchant to political eminence mainly on the basis of his personal abilities and culture. This is even more strikingly exhibited in the 11th century, during the period of the divided Taifa kingdoms, in the person, culture, and career of *Samuel ha-Nagid (Ibn Nagrela), a commander of Muslim armies, vizier of a Muslim king, a great Hebrew poet, eminent talmudist, master of a fine Arabic style, mathematician, philosopher, and statesman – both as a theoretician and in practice – in an absolute state. Muslim Spain gave rise to many similar personalities and families, wholeheartedly Jewish, blending both Jewish and Greek-Arabic culture, and aristocratic in behavior and feeling. Grouped around them and relying heavily on their munificence, were galaxies of poor poets and scholars devoted to their art and the pursuit of philosophy, often highly creative, like Solomon ibn *Gabirol (known by the Latins as the philosopher Avicebron, the author of the *Fons Vitae*). In Kairouan, Africa, there flourished also under *Fatimid rule a circle of physicians and scholars influential at court and leaders of their communities. In the Mediterranean seaports in the 10th to 12th centuries there was a well organized Jewish trade, relying basically on written communications between merchants as well as on the maintenance of well ordered books of trade and accounts and a well regulated merchant organization that based itself on Jewish law.

The successes of these high dignitaries and influential courtiers naturally ran counter to the basic Islamic attitude toward the Jews, to the legal status it was ready to grant them, and, above all, to popular sentiment. Even the career of the legendary *Paltiel met with intrigue and opposition from Muslim circles. The reality was much harsher. Samuel ha-Nagid was not only bitterly attacked by his political enemies – as he testifies abundantly in his poems – and vilified by scurrilous popular songwriters, but was also sharply assailed by the eminent Muslim philosopher and poet Ibn Ḥazm (Samuel's son *Jehoseph fell victim (1066) to the pent-up hatred of the mob).

The basic Muslim attitude to infidels is set out in the so-called Covenant of *Omar, formally ascribed to the year 637 but almost certainly formulated much later. In regard to the *ahl al-dhimma*, "the people of protection" (see **Dhimma, Dhimmi*) – which comprised both Jews and Christians as deserving of the right to exist under Muslim rule as the **ahl al-kitāb*, the "People of the Book" – it provides for security of person and property, and permission to pursue religious worship and codes of behavior according to the law of the faith concerned, on condition of payment of fixed taxes to the caliph's treasury (the *jizya* and the **kharāj*; the *kharāj*, taken automatically from the field area, did much to drive out Jews from agriculture; and see above) and under a set of rules ensuring the constant humiliation and isolation of the infidels by believers. Many of its humiliating conditions are taken from old anti-Jewish laws of Christian origin, but they also contain certain detailed provisions stemming from conceptions and symbols of social prestige found in Muslim society. Sunni rulers usually tended to apply these rules strictly to the majority of the Jews (and Christians). Shiʿite rulers tended to be more capricious and offensive in their attitude. The Fatimid caliph of Egypt, al-Ḥākim bi-Amr Allah (996–1021), embarked on a systematic policy of humiliation of the Jews and Christians in the second half of his reign. Among his inventions can be included the principle of the badge of shame, later taken over by the Church, for he compelled Jews to wear only black robes in public and to carry the wooden image of a calf (in memory of the calf which the Jews had worshiped in the desert; see Jewish *badge). The constancy of the Muslim system of humiliation, coupled with freedom to exercise *autonomy and opportunity to engage in most economic activities in the cities, is illustrated by both the relatively few exceptions made in favor of gifted infidels as well as by the relatively few sharp outbreaks of extreme governmental persecution or mob fury.

INTENSIFICATION OF CHRISTIAN ATTITUDES. Christian society continued to develop, under the guidance of the Church, its pernicious hatred of the Jews. Though the upper ranks of the Church hierarchy accepted, both in theory and in practice, the relatively "mild" attitude toward the Jews of Augustine and Gregory I, the lower ranks tended to be more consistent than their superiors and inclined to question in their sermons the compromise implicit in the Jewish denial of Christianity under Christian rule, thus veering toward the attitude suggested by the legislation of Justinian and Reccared I. Various factors – both general and relating in particular to Jews – helped to shape attitudes toward the Jews in different Christian countries in various times and circumstances. The unifying and directing overall Christian influence was the divided attitude displayed by the Church – less hostile at the top, and increasingly hostile as one proceeded downward. Royalty, the nobility, and the townspeople added elements colored by their own interests to the prevailing temper but always merging with one or the other of the two aspects of the Church attitude.

Seventh-century Visigothic Spain waged a continuous struggle against Jewish existence. A series of laws was promulgated throughout the century to punish Jews for adhering to their faith, to ensure supervision of their behavior as good Christians by local Christian priests, and to take away their children from them in order to educate them in true Christian homes as good Christians. Cruel punishments were threatened to those who would not obey; "the Jews" alluded to in these enactments were evidently forced converts to Christianity who persisted in adhering to the faith of their fathers. The enactment of these measures over the course of a century graphically shows the strength of the devotion to Judaism of communities of Jewish merchants who have left no trace in Jewish literature and culture other than the testimony of persecutory laws to their steadfastness in the face of danger. It was a tragic prelude to the tragedy of the **anusim* of Spain in the 15th and 16th centuries. Both in the seventh and the 15th centuries, the Jewish tragedy was the result of a Catholic drive for the unification and uniformization of belief and thought in Spain.

In the Carolingian Empire of the eighth and ninth centuries, trade and mercantile connections were viewed as having a much higher premium than in the declining Visigothic kingdom; hence the treatment of Jews was much better, though always within the framework of the general attitude set by the Church. Emperor *Louis the Pious and his advisers were in particular favorably disposed to Jewish trade, and under him court society treated the Jews well. This incurred the opposition of Archbishop *Agobard of Lyons who bitterly criticized Jewish influence, Jewish culture at Lyons, and the anti-Christian disputations in which the Jews engaged. In particular Agobard opposed the protection accorded to Jewish *slave trading (see also *slaves). The south Italian 11th-century chronicle of Ahimaaz registers the impression made by persecutions instigated by Emperor *Basil I (see *Ahimaaz b. *Paltiel).

During the 10th and 11th centuries the Christianization of the minds, and in particular the emotions and the imaginations, of the peoples in Western Europe proceeded. The importance of Jews as international merchants, and gradually as local merchants too, continued to be appreciated. Jews were also valued as a colonizing element in the reemerging town life in these countries, as the charter of Bishop Ruediger of *Speyer (1084) offering them attractive concessions clearly shows. In 1190, only six years before the First *Crusade, Emperor Henry IV granted the Jews of Speyer and *Worms charters giving them extensive rights of trade and self-government.

THE FIRST CRUSADE. By this time social and religious ferment in Western Europe was nearing its peak. Jews were expelled from *Mainz in 1012. The investiture conflict between the papacy and the emperor, and the propaganda for a Crusade in the 11th century, resulted from the intensification of Christian political theory and the inflamed emotions to a high pitch, leading many Christians to believe it their sacred duty to take revenge for Jesus' passion and death. With the growth of the influence of the monks, the feelings of the lower clergy found a potent and articulate vehicle of expression. All this combined to bring about widespread massacres of the Jews during the First Crusade (1096), in particular of the communities of the Rhine, as well as the Jewish response to this challenge by the acts and the ideology of **kiddush ha-Shem*.

REDISPOSITION OF JEWISH LEADERSHIP STRUCTURE. The seventh to eleventh centuries were a formative period for a redisposition of Jewish leadership and its social ratification. In the pattern of leadership formed by the institutions of the exilarchate, the *geonim* and their academies, there emerged an aristocratic hereditary hierarchy consisting of many families of scholars, traditionally devoted to study and assuming leadership in a fixed system of precedence and gradation; another more limited circle was constituted of families of *geonim*, entitled to succeed to the autocratic leadership of the academies; finally there was the leadership exercised by the Davidic dynasty of the exilarchic house. Over the course of centuries this system tried to combine the principles and practice of intellectual attainment, sanctity of life, hereditary succession, and hierarchic promotion. Despite the tensions and contradictions inherent in this combination, it worked successfully for a remarkably long time. The system was based on centralization, and by example from above induced throughout Jewish society appreciation of aristocratic descent combined with learning and leadership. This structure and set of social values began to break up, not under the attacks of the tenth-century *Karaites, although these were directed expressly and sharply against it, but through the disintegration of the supporting framework of the caliphate, and the appearance of local Jewish leadership which, while remaining aristocratic in attitude and values, was no longer connected with the center at Baghdad and with the hierarchy of the academies. Individualistic tendencies were also at work in this process (see also below).

This structure, with its extreme claims to authority, sanctity, and aristocracy, has remained an isolated chapter in the pattern of Jewish institutions of scholarship and leadership. In the 8th to 11th centuries, and in decline up to the 13th century, it represented for Jewish history a singular experiment of centralistic leadership based on aristocratic stratification and individualist intellectual values. The concept "yeshivah" still remains, but, beyond the borders of the caliphate and after the 13th century, there was no attempt to organize it on the lines of family units and as an hierarchic ladder. The term *Gaon* became understood in Europe to designate "genius," and its original hierarchical meaning was lost, to be rediscovered by modern research. The system was gradually replaced by local leadership, such as that of the **nagid*. Alongside there began to emerge, even in Muslim countries, the local community unit, based on cohesion of its members and the needs specific to Jews living together and feeling a common responsibility in a certain locality.

North of the Pyrenees, Jewish community leadership around the beginning of the 11th century shows the influence of the individual predominating, based on personal charisma and learning alone. It is exemplified in the figure of *Gershom b. Judah, "the Light of the Exile," and in the ideals set out by *Simeon b. Isaac of Mainz, reaching its consummation in the personality and leadership of *Rashi and the figures who by their personal qualities and example led their communities to sacrifice themselves in the spirit of *kiddush ha-Shem* during the persecutions of the First Crusade. The regular organs of local community leadership and the *synods of local community leaders, which convened at fairs and in central commercial towns like Cologne, served in this milieu to support leadership by the individual or by the isolated community or as an alternative to it.

The Jewish leadership used various methods of influence and systems of instruction to exercise authority. The Babylonian *geonim* and their academies have assumed a somewhat distorted image in the view of later generations because the main source of information on them and their activities derives from the *responsa they sent, on the authority of the academy, to legal questions submitted to them by communities or individuals. In reality, they achieved their goal of establishing the Talmud as the criterion for normative Jewish way of life and thought, not only, and not even mainly, through this legal and exegetical correspondence. Although the responsa literature of the *geonim* is highly diversified, and has been regarded with high esteem down through the generations, it was only part, and in their estimation only a substitute, for direct methods of exercising centralistic moral and social control of Jewish society, both orally and in writing. Wherever and whenever possible, they preferred direct instruction given to assemblies of scholars either by the *gaon* and the collegium of his academy (which served both as a supreme judicial court as well as a high academy of learning) in the **kallah* months or by sending out an emissary or a representative of the *gaon* to the communities. The *geonim* also sent out letters of moral instruction to the Jewish people when assuming office, called by *Saadiah Gaon the "letter on assuming lordship" (*Iggeret Tesurah*). Several letters of such purport of the 10th and 11th centuries (of Saadiah Gaon in: *Dvir*, 1 (1923), 183–8; and in: *Ginzei Kedem*, 2 (1923), 34–35; of Nehemiah Gaon, in: Mann, Texts, 1 (1931), 78–83; of Israel, son of Samuel b. Ḥophni, *ibid.*, 167–77; of Sherira Gaon, *ibid.*, 95–105; of Hai Gaon, in: *Ginzei Kedem*, 4 (1930), 51–56) evidence an aim to impart instruction to the people in simple and rational language, appealing to their emotions and needs. In his letter Saadiah Gaon repeatedly stresses that it is the duty of his office to teach Jews and to lead and admonish them. He invites questions and appeals. This high conception of geonic office justifies the assumption that many more such pastoral letters were sent out but have been lost in later centuries and places where geonic institutional and moral authority was no longer binding. The *geonim* extended their influence also by instilling in the people a deeply mystical conception of the sacredness of the academies and their heads. They especially emphasized the value of their blessing and the danger of incurring their **ḥerem*.

CULTURAL AND SPIRITUAL LIFE. The productive Jewish cultural and religious life which continued in these centuries was frequently stormy. Almost at the outset of the geonic campaign to establish the Talmud as the book of life for the Jewish people it encountered the revolt of *Anan b. David, and the early *Karaites. These represent in the eighth to ninth centuries an archaistic and rigoristic trend, turning away from talmudic and geonic "modernization" toward a biblical primitive conception of the Jewish way of life, ideals, and duties. The concept of all-pervading holiness, a demand for the reinstatement of harsh old prescriptions, an insistence on adherence to detailed local custom, and a program of self-isolation for the camp of true believers made this movement a throwback to various ancient sectarian tendencies of the Second Temple period. Even in this opposition the strength of talmudic modes of thought is evident, for Anan employs talmudic dialectics frequently and with skill in his writings; what he opposed was reliance on law based on talmudic collective discussion and the alleviations it introduced.

The change in cultural temper and religious mood among the Jews in Muslim countries in these centuries – to a large degree due to the influence of Islamic society and culture, and to the penetration of Greek philosophical ideas to both Muslims and Jews – is evident in the development of Karaism as well as in the fight against it. Whereas Anan was authoritarian to the core and the *geonim* who opposed him at first rejected his views in the name of the sanctity of tradition and on the basis of the authority of their academies, both Karaite and *Rabbanite conceptions and argumentations had changed very much in the same direction by the tenth century. Both sides were now mainly contending within the framework of religious rationalism, which worked a transformation in the conception of their own stand and that of their opponents. The Karaites of the tenth century (see *Avelei Zion; *Daniel b. Moses al-Qūmisī; *Levi b. Japheth; *Sahl b. Maẓli'aḥ ha-Kohen; *Salmon b. Jeruham; Jacob al-*Kirkisānī) based their strict adherence to the Bible on their conception of individual responsibility, which should not rely on any external authority but only on the individual's reasoning powers. This they considered the sole legitimate means by which to understand properly – i.e., individually – the sacred Scriptures, the Jewish way of life, and the world order.

The writings of the *geonim* of the 10th and early 11th centuries show a similar application of rationalism. Saadiah Gaon wrote his "Book of Beliefs and Opinions" in the early tenth century to explain Jewish Rabbanite theory and practice on systematic rationalistic philosophical grounds and to defend it against opponents through rationalist argumentation. He opposed the Karaites in the name of religious rationalism, which demands that men should rely on accumulated tradition and binds them to obey the guidance of national collective leadership. Rationalism afforded Saadiah – and, in an even more extreme approach, the *Gaon* *Samuel b. Hophni – the incentive and the means to combat anthropomorphic interpretations and uphold radical rationalist exegesis of the Bible. On the other hand, to Karaites it furnished weapons for destructive criticism of the Talmud. Although the theoretical and practical consequences were to be widely divergent, they stemmed from a common point of departure based on a rationalist approach.

The divergences and conflicts often divided the Rabbanite and Karaite camps more deeply among themselves than the controversy between the two sides. By its nature Karaite individualist rationalism gave rise to innumerable divisions. The much larger Rabbanite section, united formally, became increasingly diversified with the development of local custom and local culture, which became more important as the centralizing framework of the caliphate and the authority of the exilarchate and Babylonian academies began to decline. Even more decisive was the difference between communities within the Muslim environment and influence and those in the Christian sphere.

The difference is thrown into sharp relief when the world of thought and religion of the Babylonian academies is confronted with that of the Jews of southern Italy. This Jewry was important in its time and for later generations from many aspects. The Jewry of *Ashkenaz was conscious of its cultural roots in southern Italy. The Ashkenazi rite of prayer originated there. In the 12th century Jacob b. Meir *Tam formulated the cultural debt of Ashkenaz to southern Italy by his paraphrase of Isaiah 11:13; "For out of Bari shall go forth the Law and the word of the Lord from Otranto." Mystic circles of the *Ḥasidei Ashkenaz traced nebulous origins of their traditions to semilegendary figures active in southern Italy. The wealth of Jewish traditions and culture there is revealed in the *Josippon chronicle, completed in 953. The *piyyutim* composed by Jews of this region during the period are the products of a considerable Hebrew liturgic and poetic activity. In the Ahimaaz chronicle, completed in 1054, the traditions, the venerated figures, and the ideals of the upper circles of this important Jewry emerge in striking contrast to the rationalist world of Babylonian Jewry. The chronicle abounds with miraculous elements. Use of the Divine Name frequently appears, as a formula for keeping the dead alive, for supplying miraculous defense, and as a device for speedy transportation. Vampire-like women are reported to snatch, in the dark of night, children who in turn are snatched away and kept alive by holy sages. In religious outlook this world reveals all the elements that *Hai Gaon despised and warns against in the 11th century (see: *Oẓar ha-Geonim* ed. by B.M. Levin, 4 (1931), 6, 10–12, 13–27, nos. 7, 16, 20–21 (responsa to Ḥagigah).

In Muslim Spain, at the courts of Jewish grandees, a different cultural trend developed in the 10th and 11th centuries. The clash that occurred between Ḥisdai Ibn Shaprut and his court poet and grammarian, *Menahem b. Jacob ibn Saruq, demonstrates on the one hand the lordly attitude of the maecenas and on the other the proud individuality of the poor intellectual. In the 11th century Samuel ha-Nagid and his son Jehoseph lived in ostentatious luxury and prided themselves on it. According to many opinions, they were among the main builders of the Alhambra palace in Granada. The writings of Samuel ha-Nagid display a rational, highly individualistic and somewhat sensual temper. The responsa of Isaac b. Jacob *Alfasi provide evidence of the trends in Torah learning and communal culture characterizing the middle strata in Jewish society in Muslim Spain.

Archbishop Agobard describes the culture of the Jewish community at Lyons and the literature it possessed as both mystic and talmudic in its conceptions. The Jews in the lands of the Franks in the 10th to 11th centuries are also known from their own works and expressions of opinion. The Jews of Provence described themselves to Ḥisdai Ibn Shaprut in the tenth century as "Your servants, the communities of France." They were in close contact with the Muslim Spanish Jewish courtier and tried to persuade him to influence the authorities at Toulouse to stop the practice of a local custom harming and insulting to the Jews. Their letter is written in flowery Hebrew (Mann, Texts, 1 (1931), 27–30). The community of *Arles had specific ordinances for trade regulation about this time. The *Anjou community recorded, in rich Hebrew, an event that proves Jewish contact with and influence in the Christian environment in the south. It relates to a woman proselyte who "has left her father's house, great riches, in a far land, and has come for the sake of the name of our God to nestle under the wings of the *Shekhinah*. She has left her brethren and the grandees of her family; she settled in Narbonne. The late rabbi David married her … as he heard that they were looking for her he fled with her to our place." A new place of refuge was now being sought for the noble proselyte widow and her baby child (*ibid.*, 32–33). This type of Jewish culture flourishing in close contact with its environment was to continue in Provence and bear many fruits (see below).

A distinct and productive Jewish culture developed in the 10th and 11th centuries in northern France and on the eastern bank of the Rhine. The mystic traditions of southern Italy were not forgotten here but toned down. This culture flourished in a patrician merchant society regulated according to *halakhah*, and was based on Torah study and on the conception of the whole of the Jewish heritage as a living integrated force. In the *piyyutim* of Simeon b. Isaac ideals are set forth and behavior described which were to be typical of the early Jewry of Ashkenaz for many generations. This culture produced the first almost complete commentary on the Bible and the Babylonian Talmud, the work of Rashi, which has remained the basis of traditional Jewish Bible and Talmud study. Through this it also influenced to a considerable extent Christian understanding of the Bible, in particular through the impact on *Nicholas of Lyre.

It was in this northern, Christian environment that Jewish *family structure underwent a revolutionary reformulation. *Monogamy became the pattern of the *Ashkenazi Jewish family by force of the so-called "*Takkanot* of Rabbenu Gershom b. Judah, the Light of the Exile." This change was reinforced by a complementary one: a *ḥerem* ascribed to the same authority invalidated a bill of divorce of a woman without her prior consent.

THE KHAZAR KINGDOM. These formative centuries also saw the conversion of a Mongol society to Judaism. The *Khazars – the royal family and court, and their warrior class in particular – accepted Judaism in the eighth century. This created a state ruled by a Jewish aristocracy in the strategically important region between the Volga and the Caspian Sea in the eighth to tenth centuries. The report of this conversion had great influence on contemporary Jews (see *Ḥisdai ibn Shaprut) and on Jewish thought in later generations (see *Judah Halevi). In modern times its memory was to play a certain role in discussions about the origins of the Jews in Poland–Lithuania and Russia. The Khazar state practiced full tolerance toward merchants of various denominations, both those living in it as well as those passing through. It controlled important trade routes and fulfilled a critical function in the history of Christianity in Eastern Europe as it served as a buffer state between a dynamic Islam and the Slav peoples in what is now Russia – by which the Khazar state was later destroyed.

DIVERSIFICATION IN LEADERSHIP STRUCTURE AND CULTURAL TRENDS. On the threshold of the 12th century Jewish history stood at the end of the successful period of the experiment to combine a hierarchical and hereditary social structure with individualist criteria of learning and intellectual attainment; the former experience in leadership and economic development had shown both the importance and dangers in the existence of a gigantic political framework like the caliphate and its breakup; the Jewish sphere was characterized by cultural diversification and the emergence of various systems of leadership. Rationalism was the dominating influence – at least among the upper circles and intellectuals – in the Jewish communities of the Muslim countries. Mystical and even magical leanings were found among the Jews in Christian countries. Great individual leaders were emerging; individualism and local particularism began to assert themselves in the leadership. In regions of cultural and social contacts and transit, like North Africa, southern Italy and Provence, Jewish cultural creativity was due in no small part to these circumstances. The latecomer to the Jewish scene, the budding culture of Ashkenaz, produced great achievements almost at the start and a capacity for expressing revolutionary halakhic and social changes. The upper circles of Jewish society had a fluent command of Hebrew though in everyday life they used the languages of the countries they lived in; in Muslim countries Arabic was used for literary expression, in particular for legal decisions and philosophic deliberations. Rashi found it necessary to intersperse his commentaries with many Old-French terms in order to be understood by his readers. Jews continued along the path that was to lead them from the use of Greek and Latin, as a cultural medium, through adaptation of alien languages to the development of *Yiddish and, later, *Ladino. Hence a trend apparently leading to assimilation became a valuable means of attaining an individual culture and cohesion. Judaism was still attracting individuals in the west of Europe, like the deacon *Bodo, while in the east of Europe it attracted the leading sector of a Mongol nation, ruling its state for over two centuries. The hatred and massacres engendered by the Crusades produced in response the spirit of *kiddush ha-Shem*, which was described and taught in the early 12th century as representing the Jewish holy war against the enemies of the Lord.

The Crystallization of Jewish Medieval Culture (12th–15th Centuries)

EFFECTS OF THE CRUSADES. The 12th century continued the series of shocks for Jewish society in Europe and for the Jewish spirit everywhere initiated by the movement and spirit of the Crusades. The Second Crusade (1146–47) and the Third (1189–90) brought massacre, plunder, and terror in their wake to Jews in Western Europe. *Bernard of Clairvaux gave strong popular expression to the old-established conception of the higher Church echelons of combining a policy toward the Jews of humiliation and isolation with defense of their life and property. In his letter to "the English People" sent also to "the Archbishops, Bishops, and all the clergy of eastern France and Bavaria," he states:

> The Jews are not to be persecuted, killed, or even put to flight … The Jews are for us the living words of Scripture, for they remind us always of what our Lord suffered. They are dispersed all over the world so that by expiating their crime they may be everywhere the living witness of our redemption … Under Christian princes they endure a hard captivity, but "they only wait for the time of their deliverance"… I will not mention those Christian money-lenders, if they can be called Christian, who, where there are no Jews, act, I grieve to say, in a manner worse than any Jew ….

That his missionary hopes and expectations serve as a main argument in his defense of the Jews is even more evident in another letter to the archbishop of Mainz opposing the incitement to massacre preached by the monk, Raoul. Bernard argues:

> Is it not a far better triumph for the Church to convince and convert the Jews than to put them all to the sword? Has that prayer which the Church offers for the Jews, from the rising up of the sun to the going down thereof, that the veil may be taken from their hearts so that they may be led from the darkness of error into the light of truth, been instituted in vain?… (The Letters of St. Bernard of Clairvaux, transl. by Bruno Scott James (1953), nos. 391, 393).

This was the most that a great Christian mystic and ascetic could say against shedding the blood of Jews to the Western European populace in 1146. These letters were reprinted by anti-Nazi Church circles in Germany immediately after the Holocaust!

Left to their own resources the Jews protected themselves by leaving the towns and moving to castles of the nobility – paying money for the Christians to leave the castle so as to defend it themselves. This policy, successful in most cases, had tragic consequences for the community of *York, England (1190). True to the ideal of *kiddush ha-Shem*, when the Jews were surrounded in the tower they killed themselves.

Jewish steadfastness to the faith in itself served to forestall some attacks. Those who adopted Christianity when threatened with death in 1096 were permitted by Emperor Henry IV to return to Judaism despite a sharp protest by the pope. Though the religious-fanatical motive for Jew-killing remained among Christians throughout the Middle Ages, it was now becoming interwoven with economic, social, and emotional elements. Bernard of Clairvaux had hinted at hatred for the Jewish usurer as a motive for attacking Jews. The *blood libel from the 12th century onward and the libel of desecration of the *Host from the 13th century created a vicious circle around the Jew. Each accusation presupposed the Jew as treacherous, blood-lusting, sadistic, God-hating, and devil-worshiping. Each libel added darker shades to this conception of the Jew. Dramas on the passion of Christ combined with imagery in Romanesque and Gothic church sculpture, stained glass, and paintings to imbue deep in the thought and imagination of the Christian populace, through the greatest expression of Christian art, the image of the Jew as a horrible and horrifying fiend.

As Christianity encompassed the mental horizon of all Western Europeans in this era, the Jew remained the main – often the only – representative of nonconformity in a conforming society. As in the fourth century, so in the 12th and early 13th century, as well as in the early 15th, an upsurge of heretical movements and social tensions within Christianity (e.g., the *Hussites) intensified the fear of the Jew and hatred of him. In the struggle between papacy and empire, the leaders of the Church became used to demagogic formulas and the deployment of popular forces and violence to serve their own purposes. The attitude and legislation of Pope *Innocent III express clearly this interpenetration of policy and vulgar enmity of the Church's attitude toward the Jews, even in papal formulations. Mercilessness in enforcing servitude of the Jews, extreme hostility, and debased rhetoric and menaces appear there in a potent and vicious combination. The Augustinian-Gregorian conception of sufferance of the Jews amid Christian society – restated in a missionary vein by Bernard of Clairvaux in the middle of the 12th century – assumes, with Innocent III in a letter to the king of France of Jan. 16, 1205, the following shape:

> Though it does not displease God, but is even acceptable to Him that the Jewish Dispersion should live and serve under Catholic Kings and Christian princes until such time as their remnant shall be saved … nevertheless such [princes] are exceedingly offensive to the sight of the Divine Majesty who prefer the sons of the crucifiers, against whom to this day the blood cries to the Father's ears, to the heirs of the Crucified Christ, and who prefer the Jewish slavery to the freedom of those whom the Son freed, as though the son of a servant could and ought to be an heir along with the son of the free woman … (S. Grayzel, *Church and the Jews in the 13th Century* (1933), 104–106, no. 14).

This great lawyer relies on and quotes the information that "it has recently been reported that a certain poor scholar had been found murdered in their [the Jews'] latrine" (*ibid.*, 110). He does not hesitate to quote at the beginning of a detailed anti-Jewish letter that the Jews are to be considered "in accordance with the common proverb: 'like the mouse in a pocket, like the snake around one's loins, like the fire in one's bosom'" (*ibid.*, 115, no. 18).

Innocent III tried to deflect to the Jews his anti-imperialist policy of exploiting popular force and sentiment. In 1198, at the very beginning of his pontificate, he wrote:

> To the Archbishop of Narbonne and to his suffragans, and also to the Abbots, Priors, and other prelates of the Church, as well as to the Counts and Barons, and all the people of the Province of Narbonne … We order that the Jews shall be forced by you, my sons the princes, and by the secular powers, to remit the usury to them; and until they remit it, we order that all intercourse with faithful Christians, whether through commerce or other ways, shall be denied the Jews by means of a sentence of excommunication … (*ibid.*, 87, no. 1).

Consistent in his attitude, he carried through this policy as the program of the Church in the Fourth Lateran Council of 1215 (see *Church Councils). There the representatives of the Catholic Church ordered

> by a decree of this Synod, that when in the future a Jew, under any pretext, extorts heavy and immoderate usury from a Christian, all relationship with Christians shall therefore be denied him until he shall have made sufficient amends for his exorbitant exactions. The Christians, moreover, if need be, shall be compelled by ecclesiastical punishment without appeal, to abstain from such commerce. We also impose this upon the princes, not to be aroused against the Christians because of this, but rather to try to keep the Jews from this practice (ibid., 307).

These measures failed, mainly thanks to the opposition of the secular rulers, yet they encouraged anti-Jewish propaganda by the mendicant orders against Jewish usury, in particular by the *Franciscans, especially in Italy of the 15th century (and see *Monte di Pietà).

IN CHRISTIAN SPAIN. The Jews in Muslim Spain were profoundly shaken in the 12th century by the successful Christian *Reconquista* from the north and by the Muslim response in the waves of the *Almohads erupting from North Africa to infuse a new fighting spirit into the Muslim ranks. Many communities were dispersed; many Jews fled, like the family of *Maimonides, to the south, to other Muslim countries. Many Jews, both in North Africa and in the territories in Spain under Muslim rule, were forced to adopt Islam. Others fled northward to the Christian principalities of Spain. At first the Jews experienced a general feeling of crisis and loss, forcefully expressed by the chronicler Abraham *Ibn Daud. Gradually – and relatively soon, in time to be noticed by the same late 12th-century chronicler – Jewish refugees in the Christian principalities found new functions and a new importance within the general society, in the colonizing and economic spheres as well as in the cultural and scientific ones. The Jewish element was entrusted with the colonization of fortified parts of the towns taken by the Christians; they were given many administrative posts especially in the financial field.

Papal protests against the honors and powers conferred on Jews did not prevail in Spain during the 12th to 14th centuries against the needs of the state for the expertise and initiative of the Jews. Jews also became the transmitters of Muslim-Greek philosophy and science to Christians – a role entrusted to them, and to apostates from Judaism, in many other Christian courts and Church circles of the 12th and 13th centuries, as translators of Arabic and Greek texts into Latin (see Jacob *Anatoli; Ibn *Tibbon). Many Jews served as mathematicians, astrologers, field surveyors, and, above all, physicians at the Christian courts. They thus created the courtier circles of Jewish society in the kingdoms of Christian Spain. This paradox of crusading Christian states granting to Jews a major role in colonization, administration, the economy, and science was the basis of the normal Jewish town economy and society there, Jews being found in almost every walk of urban social life and economic activity. This situation continued up to the expulsion from Spain at the end of the 15th century, though it deteriorated from 1391 onward.

ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL PATTERNS NORTH OF THE PYRENEES. In countries north of the Pyrenees, there developed gradually, after the massacres of the First Crusade, a specific Jewish economic and social pattern, more and more Jews being forced by circumstances to engage in one occupation only, mainly *usury. This trend never penetrated Jewish life in Christian Spain or Muslim countries where moneylending was one of many Jewish livelihoods. It was also not continued as the main Jewish occupation in Poland-Lithuania from the 16th century onward. With the 15th century, Jews began to turn increasingly to other occupations in the countries where moneylending had been formerly predominant in Jewish life. In the Middle Ages this function of the Jews was mainly the supply of consumption loans (for commercial loans were supplied by Christian moneylenders despite Church prohibition). It was necessary for the needs of the town population and nobility (a necessity proved by the fact that when Jews were expelled from German towns, as happened in the 14th and 15th centuries, they were returned quickly because the need for loans was felt). However, the high rate of interest stemming from the scarcity of ready money and precious metals in the Middle Ages and the method of taking pawns to ensure repayment – as well as the fact that taking interest was considered immoral and unreasonable in medieval Christian moral and economic theory – added Jewish usury to the score of other evil Jewish practices and trades. The image of the cruel Jewish extortionist and crafty financial trickster was merged with that of the Christ killer and child murderer. Shakespeare created the figure of Shylock, on the basis of Italian influences, more than 300 years after the last Jew had been expelled from England. To the present day, antisemites and apologetic Jews are obsessed by the notion that the "usurious spirit" of the Jews is a trait to be reprehended or explained.

The attitude of Jews toward moneylending on interest in the Middle Ages was governed by the rationale of merchants and townspeople who were out of tune with the agrarian spirit of biblical, mishnaic, talmudic, and Church prohibitions. There do not appear in the writings of Jewish commentators on the Bible and decisors of the Middle Ages the philosophic argumentation as to the barrenness of money and the insensibility to the concept of economic enjoyment from the passage of time which constantly recurs among Christian writers. Except for the few influenced by Christian attitudes, Jewish lawyers and moralists consider the biblical prohibition on lending on interest as "a decree of divine majesty" to be carried out according to the letter, even if not understood in spirit. The Bible forbade lending to "your brother," and the Jews in the medieval cities, who certainly could not perceive any demonstration of a brotherly attitude toward them by their Christian neighbors, interpreted the prohibition at this minimum and saw no reason, either logical or moral, to extend this unreasonable decree toward non-Jews. In fact, Jewish legal authorities tried to find legal formulas allowing the taking of interest by a Jew from a Jew – as Christians did also, despite their theoretical moralistic objections, with regard to the taking of interest by a Christian from a Christian. Among Jews this was formally achieved in 1607 by the *Councils of the Lands of Poland-Lithuania. In 1500 Abraham *Farissol expressed the attitude toward the taking of interest through a theory which assumed the existence of a different social and conceptual order in biblical times and which was in accord with the Greek philosophers who justified the prohibition on the taking of interest. However, as of now, human society was structured on other principles:

> A new nature, different obligation, and another order pertains, inherently different from the first. This is: to help your fellow for payment coming from the one who is in need of something. Nothing should be given to another free of charge if he is not a charity case deserving pity.

He lists payment for work, rent for accommodation, and hire of work-animals as cases to prove this point. He considers it a logical consequence to pay for the use of the capital of another man,

> for a money loan is sometimes much more important than the loaning of an animal or a house, hence it is natural, logical and legal to give some payment to the owner of the money who gives a loan in the same way as people pay rent for houses and cattle, which come to one through money … the first natural order has been abolished and no one helps another person for nothing, but everything is done for payment (from his Magen Avraham, in: *Ha-Ẓofeh le-Ḥokhmat Yisrael*, 12 (1928), 292–3).

This foreshadowing of modern theorists about capital and gain is the end result of the Jewish attitude toward money and interest throughout the Middle Ages.

EXPULSIONS AND THE BLACK DEATH. The catastrophe of the *Black Death persecutions and massacres of 1348–49 was both the culmination of the suspicion and distrust of the Jew which made it conceivable to see him as the natural perpetrator of the crime of well-poisoning, and, in Germany, the culmination of over 50 years of almost uninterrupted anti-Jewish attacks, libels, and massacres. Yet Jewish society showed its great resilience in reconstructing its communities and rebuilding its economic activity and ties only a few after these persecutions in the very places where they had been killed as dangerous beasts. Even in Christian Spain and Poland-Lithuania this catastrophe had its impact, though it was not to be so destructive as in Central Europe.

The Jews were expelled from *England in 1290 – 16,000 persons approximately – to return there only in the 17th century. They were expelled almost totally from most of France in 1306. After these expulsions, in 1348, there remained the shocked and reorganized cluster of Jewish communities in the German lands; the Jewish center in Christian Spain was still intact, though signs of danger were not lacking. In Muslim lands, the Mongolian incursions brought the devastation of population and cultural difficulties for Muslims and Jews alike, but the status, *economy, and *demography of the Jews remained relatively the same as before, for better or worse. The new Jewish center in Poland recovered speedily after 1348, and continued to develop economically, moving out of moneylending activity toward trade and crafts; demographically and socially, there were already signs of the future dynamism and expansion of this Jewish center.

SERFS OF THE CHAMBER. The legal status of the Jews and their security remained unstable as the result of the First Crusade. The old system of granting charters and imperial episcopal protection and defense was found totally wanting in the face of popular incitement and attack. The state, as well as the Jews, was searching for a new formula and new guarantees for safety. This search went on in a situation in which even the would-be protectors were liable to be the deadly enemies of the Jews, as for example, *Louis IX of France, who considered that the right way to speak to a Jew was with a sword in his belly. The Holy Roman Empire tried at first to include Jews in the *Landfrieden* protection (1103) along with other defenseless Christian people. This did not work out well because of the very nature of the concept *Treuga Dei* ("Truce of God"), which was intended as a Christian measure for the protection of Christian folk. Gradually, there began to crystallize, during the 12th and 13th centuries, a new conception of the status of the Jew. The complex of ideas underlying this new attitude toward the Jew in the Christian body politic came from two different, though parallel, sources – from imperial legalistic conceptions of the rights of ownership of the sovereign over certain elements of the population and his obligations toward such chattels on the one hand, and, on the other, out of papal and ecclesiastical conceptions of the sovereignty of the vicar of Christ over those who crucified him and the right and duty of the pontiff to instruct Christian rulers how to behave in a Christian way. Legendary influences, legal notions, and fiscal hopes of the chance to exact maximum extortion in taxes and contributions from Jews merged with old imperial conceptions of the duty to protect and safeguard all the inhabitants of the realm. From early formulations that the Jews "belong to our chamber" (*attineant ad cameram nostram*, Emperor Frederick Barbarossa, in 1182), through the final legal conception of Emperor Frederick II expressed in 1237, that "imperial authority has from ancient times condemned the Jews to eternal servitude for their sins" (*cum imperialis auctoritas a priscis temporibus ad perpetrati iudaici sceleris ultionem eisdem Iudeis indixerit perpetuam servitutem*) in his charter granted to the city of *Vienna, emerged the term given currency by the same emperor that the Jews were "**servi camerae nostrae, sub imperiali protectione*" – "serfs of our chamber, under imperial protection." King Henry III of England formulated with Christian candor in 1253, "that no Jew remain in England unless he do the King service, and that from the hour of birth every Jew, whether male or female, serve Us in some way" (in his *Mandatum Regis; Select Pleas, Starrs … of the Exchequer of the Jews*, edited by J.M. Rigg (1902), xlviii). This legal conception served in many cases as a license for the capricious extortion of money from Jews. Duke Albert Achill of Brandenburg declared in 1463 that each new Holy Roman emperor had the right to burn the Jews on his accession, to expel them, or to take a third of their property; the last he was actually going to do as the emissary of the emperor.

"The servitude of the Jews" did not always work to their detriment. Considered as royal chattel, they usually enjoyed royal protection. Neither the emperor nor other rulers drew from this concept of Jewish servitude the consequence of taking away from Jews their right of free movement, nor were they barred from inheriting the property of their fathers. Jews expressly appreciated the implications of these positive and negative aspects to their servitude. On the basis of this concept of servitude, very different legal structures and practices could be and were sanctioned. Up to 1391 Christian Spain drew very few consequences that operated to the detriment of the Jews. But, on the pattern of an Austrian charter issued in 1244 (see *Frederick II of Babenberg, duke of Austria), a system that gave rise to many such consequences was constructed in Central and Eastern Europe.

Jews in the Middle Ages often expressed their attitude to the legal and political framework in which they were living in their discussions of the conception that "the law of the government is law" (**dina de-malkhuta dina*), as applying to Jews. Their deliberations on these themes show their estimate of and preference for differing political systems and legal structures. On the whole they were pro-royalist and against disruptive forces. They were for "the old," "the customary and hallowed law," and against arbitrary innovation.

THE DETERIORATION IN CHRISTIAN SPAIN. At the end of the 14th century, as the *Reconquista* was almost accomplished, when Christian society in Spain no longer felt the need for Jewish tutelage in colonization, administration, or culture, the paradox of a favorable Jewish existence within a fanatical Christian society began to disintegrate. Preceded by inimical propaganda, in 1391, many communities there were attacked. Thousands of Jews accepted Christianity under compulsion, thus creating in Christian Spain, as well as in Jewish society, the phenomenon and problem of the *Marranos, the *anusim*, and later on, the creation of the Spanish *Inquisition (1480). A century of pressure exercised by forcing the Jews to listen to missionary *sermons, the holding of religious *disputations (and see disputation of *Tortosa), and constant social and mental stress followed. In the end, the Jews were expelled from Spain in 1492. They were again cruelly forced into *apostasy, their children being taken away from them, in *Portugal in 1497. As the Jews in large tracts of southern Italy were forced into apostasy or expelled by 1292, and were expelled from *Sicily in 1492–93, there were almost no Jews left in Western Europe by 1500, from the north of the British Isles to the tip of Sicily, except for isolated communities in France and for the remnant of the Jews in central and northern Italy.

At the time that *Columbus discovered a new continent and made the Atlantic a highway for transport and trade, the Jews were not permitted to cross the Atlantic, though not for long. Many of those expelled from Spain went directly to the Muslim countries of northern Africa or to the territories of the *Ottoman Empire, which received them favorably; others arrived in these lands via Portugal and Italy, and many remained in Italy. There also began a movement away from Spain into the Spanish *Netherlands, which formed the nucleus of the later Jewish return to the shores of the Atlantic.

DISAPPEARANCE OF GEONIC HIERARCHY. The leadership of Jewish autonomy and communal life had been developing during these centuries toward the complete disappearance of the old geonic hierarchy, which vanished by the end of the 13th century. Maimonides and *Samuel b. Ali Gaon clashed sharply about this in the late 12th century. Samuel was sure that the *Gaon* and his academy were the only feasible leaders for the Jewish people and the custodians of Orthodoxy. Maimonides considered that the system of a publicly supported hierarchic structure of scholars was wrongful and sinful; he asserted that the hereditary office of the *gaon* was corrupting by its very nature. This was a confrontation between the claim to leadership by the nascent individualist charisma and old-established hierarchy and institution. Maimonides did not oppose the exilarchate; his descendants, and possibly he himself, carried the title and office of *nagid* in Egypt. His "Letter to Yemen" as well as many of his responsa are in the great tradition of the epistles of instruction and legal leadership of the *geonim*. There were signs of a resurgence of local communal leadership among Jews throughout the Muslim lands during these centuries.

COMMUNAL LIFE IN CHRISTIAN SPAIN. In the kingdoms of Christian Spain, communal life was much more involved, tense, and diverse than in the countries to the north and south. Tension between the various social classes to which the variegated economic structure and relatively large numbers in these communities gave rise was aggravated by disputes over the mode of election to, and composition of, the community institutions as well as by acute differences of opinion over the mode of tax assessment, the composition of the assessory bodies of the community, and actual justice or injustice in distribution of the tax burden. These causes of social friction operated with particular intensity in the 13th and 14th centuries, as in the community of *Barcelona. They sometimes gave rise to "political parties" along the lines of division between the rich and poor members of the Jewish community, like those in *Saragossa about 1264. Such divisions and parties became intertwined with, and often focused on, ideological and social controversies; the latter mainly reflected the disparities between the leanings of the well-to-do and courtiers in Jewish society toward rationalism – and, as their enemies accused them, often also toward hedonism – and the inclinations of the lower middle classes, the poor, and a minority of the upper classes toward *Kabbalah mysticism, and moral reform of an ascetic type. These elements were central in particular during the great storms aroused in Jewry by the *Maimonidean controversy (in the 1230s and around the end of the 13th and beginning of the 14th century). These theoretical and practical conflicts also related to questions of the study of general culture and of the correct attitude toward mixing in gentile society. The vortices of social, economic, political, and religious problems complicated as well as enriched the social and communal life and thought of the Jewry of Christian Spain. The phenomenon of the *anusim* further aggravated as well as deepened the problems of division and unity among Jews and influenced their fate and nation.

The actual leadership of Jewish society and the communities was generally in the hands of the great courtier aristocratic families which claimed it as their birthright – like the families of *Benveniste; Perfet; *Alconstantini; *Ibn Ezra; *Ibn Waqar; and *Ibn Shoshan. From the end of the 12th century their claims were challenged frequently and vigorously, and often with success, by the supporters and leaders of anti-aristocratic and anti-rationalist trends. These leaders often came from the great families and were a product of their type of culture, such as Naḥmanides, Solomon b. Abraham *Adret, Joseph Abu Omar *Ibn Shoshan, *Isaac b. Sheshet Perfet, and Ḥasdai *Crecas. The Jewish leadership in Christian Spain defended the communities they represented and the legal and social status of the Jews not only through their contacts and influence at court, but also through their intimate acquaintance with the cultural and legal complex of Christian social and judicial attitudes toward the Jews – both of the Church as well as of the state rulers – as the ideas expressed by the general council of the Aragon communities held in Barcelona in 1354 show (Baer, Urkunden, 1 (1929), 348–58, no. 253). Despite its political sagacity, this council failed in its attempt to create a central body for the Jewry of Aragon where local particularism was strong. Castile Jewry, on the other hand, had a centralizing institution in the office of the **rab de la corte*, which helped to promote cohesion among the Jewish communities in the kingdom. This enabled the Castile communities to hold the great synod of *Valladolid in 1432 with its comprehensive program of reform and restoration (*ibid.*, 2 (1936), 280–97, no. 217).

LEADERSHIP NORTH OF THE PYRENEES. The personal charisma of the individual scholar, in conjunction with local particularized community organization, continued to dominate Jewish leadership north of the Pyrenees, and, with the emigration of Jews to western Slavic countries, was transplanted to Poland-Lithuania. Attempts to achieve a centralized leadership by synods in the first part of this period (up to 1348) in the West were essentially linked either with the great figures of revered scholars, like Jacob b. Meir Tam for the area of present-day France, in the 12th century, or with the authority of old and important communities like Rome in Italy or *Troyes in Champagne. These councils exerted authority through a system whereby their original decisions were sent for approval and support to the main communities and important scholars and leaders who did not attend the synod. The center of gravity of Jewish leadership would thus tend to move from place to place or from scholar to scholar, though for most of the time Rome held a central position, in a curious parallel to its position in the Catholic world. Individual leaders and single communities, as well as the synods and their written missives, dealt with variegated problems arising out of Jewish religious, economic, and social life, and the opposition by the outside world. An extreme example of the devotion of the leader to his people attained in those tense centuries is that of *Meir b. Baruch of Rothenburg in Germany at the end of the 13th century who refused to permit the Jewish communities to ransom him from the dungeon to which he had been arbitrarily confined, in case this set a precedent for exacting similar extortion through the persons of other leaders. The trend to elevate the position of the woman in Jewish society, expressed in these regions by the imposition of monogamy, continued. *Pereẓ b. Elijah of Corbeil at the end of the 13th century writes:

> Who has given a husband the authority to beat his wife? Is he not rather forbidden to strike any person in Israel? Moreover R. I[saac] has written in a responsum that he has it on the authority of three great sages, namely, R. Samuel, R. Jacob Tam, and R. I[saac], the sons of R. Meir, that one who beats his wife is in the same category as one who beats a stranger … We have therefore decreed that any Jew may be compelled, on application of his wife or one of her near relatives, by a ḥerem to undertake not to beat his wife in anger or cruelty or so as to disgrace her … If they, our masters, the great sages of the land agree to this ordinance it shall be established (Finkelstein, Middle Ages, 216–7; and G.G. Coulton, *Medieval Panorama* (1955), 614–5).

This is also an example of how an individual scholar would turn his personal decision into synodal *takkanah*.

From a legal demand for unanimity in communal decisions voiced in France in the 12th century, Jewish leadership in these countries came to accept the binding force of the vote of the majority against the minority, as formulated in the 13th century in Germany. This marks a changeover from Germanic and primitive notions of decision-making to Roman and more developed systems, again parallel to developments in gentile society. Thus, for the first time elements of democratic decision-making entered Jewish social leadership. In its **takkanot* and institutions, such as **ḥerem bet din* or **ḥerem ha-yishuv* (*ḥezkat ha-yishuv*), Jewish society expressed its share in the general trend prevailing in the cities where they were living to regard the city within its walls as an independent separate entity taking everything it could under its own authority; on the other hand, dissatisfaction caused by these innovations, and the opposition of many prominent rabbis to this self-sufficiency of the town community expressed an opposing trend of regarding the Jewish community as a cell in a living and united, though dispersed, body politic and nation. These aspects of Jewish social policy found their clear-cut expression in the community of Ashkenaz owing to the absence of the other diversifying problems and causes of tension encountered in the communities of Christian Spain.

After the catastrophe of the Black Death persecutions, the need for a single guiding and comforting hand made the position of the influential scholar in the Ashkenaz community much more formalized and institutionalized than previously or as it continued in the communities of Spain. Concomitantly with the local community organs and the sporadic councils and synods, there is evidence in the regions of Ashkenaz, in particular in the southeast, of the emergence of a salaried and officially accepted single rabbi of the community. In *Austria there is first clear mention of the conception of **semikhah* as a rabbinical diploma. Such accepted rabbis constantly used the title *manhig* ("leader") which fell in disuse in the 16th century. Demands were made, and are still being put forward to the present day, claiming the exclusive right of the "*mara de-atra*" ("the lord of the locality") to the jurisdiction and control of religious functions in his locality. Both the growing authority of the institutionalized rabbi and the wish of the secular powers to exploit this authority for fiscal purposes led to the appointment (from the 13th century) of a *Hochmeister* or *Judenmeister* for the whole of the German empire, or for large parts of it. This practice was transposed at the end of the 15th and beginning of the 16th century to Poland-Lithuania, in the appointment of *seniores* and chief rabbis to lead the Jews and help in the collection of taxes.

CULTURAL CREATIVITY. The 12th century was a very creative period in the history of Jewish culture. A series of great personalities and literary works expressed and countered the trauma of the Crusades and Almohad disturbances. They responded to this challenge of suffering and deterioration by adding new spiritual layers, by shaping new patterns of culture, by forming new theories about the nature of the Jewish people, the meaning of its history and fate, and its place in the divine purpose and general history, and by framing different legal and moral formulations to meet the social and religious needs of the suffering people. The chronicles of the First Crusade and instances of *kiddush ha-Shem* (A.M. Habermann (ed.), *Gezerot Ashkenaz ve-Ẓarefat* (1946), 19–104), as well as the general chronicles of Abraham ibn Daud in Spain of the 12th century, affirm – though expressed in different ways and on different subjects – a basic conviction envisaging the Jewish people as God's militia on earth that has to carry His banner proudly, courageously, and defiantly, whether in open knightly encounter, or in the bitter choice of suicide rather than surrender of its principles. This merges with the Maimonidean depiction of the history of the Jewish people as that of the beleaguered camp of truth, which withstands all the attacks and stratagems of its enemies (see his *Iggeret Teiman*). This was the opinion of the majority of Jewish thinkers at the time. Judah Halevi gave expression to the different view that humiliation and suffering are the direct road to fulfilling the Divine Will; that all that was lacking in Jewish humiliation and suffering was the full and willing acceptance of this position by Jews, though they have accepted it "midway between compulsion and willing submission," for they could join Christianity or Islam by making a verbal declaration of faith. Opinions also differed in the nature of the election of the Jewish people. Judah Halevi considered this an election of the natural Israel continuing lineally through the generations. Blood will tell; even if a Jew is bad in one generation, the good is still latent in him and will come out in his descendants: "Israel amongst the nations is like the heart amongst the members of the body." As the central life-giving force, it therefore suffers from and is contaminated by everything that is found in the subsidiary members. Gentiles may join the Jewish faith but proselytes will never attain to the prophecy reserved for deserving pure-blooded Jews (see, e.g., *Kuzari* 1:95). Maimonides represents a diametrically opposed school on these matters. For him the criterion for Jewish election rests on joining the Jewish faith and on acceptance of Jewish cohesion out of conviction. In a letter to a Norman proselyte he summed up his view, which is inherent in many of his other writings. To the proselyte's question if he might pray in the first person plural when speaking about the fate of the Jewish people and the miracles performed for it, Maimonides gave a categorical "yes":

> The core of this matter is that it was our father Abraham who taught the whole people, educated them, and let them know true faith and divine unity. He rebelled against idolatry and made away with its worship; he brought in many under the wings of the Shekhinah; he taught and instructed them and he commanded his children and his family after him to follow the Divine path … therefore, everyone who becomes a proselyte to the end of all generations and everyone who worships the name of God only according to what is written in the Torah is a pupil of Abraham, they all are members of his family … hence Abraham is the father of the righteous ones of his descendants who follow his ways and a father to his pupils and to each and every one of the proselytes … There is no difference at all between you and us in any aspect …. Know, that the majority of our fathers who left Egypt were idolators in Egypt, they mixed with the gentiles and were influenced by their deeds, until God sent Moses … separated us from the gentiles and brought us under the wings of the Shekhinah – for us and for all proselytes – and gave us all one law. Do not make light of your descent. If we relate ourselves to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, you are related to the Creator of the world … Abraham is your father and ours and of all the righteous who follow his ways (Responsa, ed. J. Blau (1960), 548–50, no. 293).

Maimonides thus considers that all Israel are elected twice as "a nation of proselytes," once through Abraham, and secondly, through Moses. This is in tune with his theory that Christianity and Islam are devices to educate the gentiles toward eventually accepting Jewish law. They now occupy themselves with the law – as either a figurative pattern, according to Christianity, or an earlier dispensation only, according to Islam – and will be acquainted with it and ready to accept it fully when the truth dawns on them with the coming of the Messiah (*Yad ha-Ḥazakah, Hilkhot Melakhim*, Constantinople version, chapter 11).

The 12th century also produced a flowering of biblical exegesis both in France (see Joseph *Kara; *Menahem b. Ḥelbo; *Eliezer of Beaugency; *Samuel b. Meir (Rashbam); this school influenced the Christian St. Victorine school of Bible exegesis in France), and in Christian Spain (see Abraham *Ibn Ezra; Joseph *Kimḥi). The 12th century also inaugurated the school of the *tosafists in France, which continued its activity well into the 14th century and whose influence spread first to Germany and later to Jewish scholarship everywhere. Their system of incisive analysis and subtle dialectics make the work of this long line of scholars in reality a new "Talmud of France."

Maimonides attempted in the 12th century to codify talmudic law and views in a systematic presentation according to Greek principles of structure and division, leaving out all talmudic dialectics and discussion (in his *Yad ha-Ḥazakah*). He also attempted the synthesis of Jewish revealed faith and creed with Aristotelian Arabic philosophy (in his *Guide of the Perplexed*). These attempts, as well as his opposition to institutionalized leadership, were at the heart of the Maimonidean controversy which raged at varying pitch throughout this period.

The Jewry of Christian Spain continued both the tradition of biblical exegesis (for example, David *Kimḥi), of philosophic thought (for example, Shem-Tov *Falaquera; Abraham *Bibago), and of talmudic learning, expressed in novellae, in responsa, and in codification (for example, Solomon b. Abraham Adret; Naḥmanides; *Asher b. Jehiel (originally from Germany); Jacob b. Asher; Isaac b. Sheshet Perfet). Valuable poetry based on Arabic models was written in most of these centuries there (see Abraham *Ibn Ezra; Moses *Ibn Ezra; *Judah Halevi; Meshullam *Da Piera).

Provence formed a separate Jewish cultural province up to the expulsions of 1306. Its great communities were most active in the Maimonidean controversy. The writings of the Ibn *Tibbon family, of Jacob *Anatoli, of Menahem *Meiri, and of Abraham of Béziers, show throughout the high level of Jewish culture, much creativity in many fields, as well as a high level of general culture. Provence was to a certain degree a meeting place, and therefore also a battleground, for the influences of Jewish culture in Spain from the south and of Ashkenazi culture in France from the north, though many specific ingredients gave it an additional individual tinge of its own.

It was in Provence and Christian Spain that the influential circles of the *Kabbalah and its variegated literature gave a new lease of life to mysticism and had a growing influence in this direction among Jews and on Judaism. The 13th-century *Zohar literature, as well as the 14th-century Sefer ha-Kanah (first printed 1784; see *Kanah, Book of), express much social criticism and opposition to rationalism and the aristocratic circles. In particular the "*Ra'aya Meheimna*" part of the Zohar literature contains many images and ideas related in symbolism, tendency, and character to those of the Franciscan Fraticelli. The 14th-century works contain skillful satirical sketches of situations, modes of behavior, and types of leaders and leadership, which had incurred the odium of the extreme mystic opposition.

In Germany – around Regensburg and Worms – there arose the élite *Ḥasidei Ashkenaz movement of the 12th and 13th centuries. It demanded total sincerity and moral behavior beyond and above the "Torah law" given to ordinary men according to their conventions, and compliance with "the law of Heaven" (*Din Shamayim*) which binds people who have willingly taken this law upon themselves. This ideal made its adherents and their literature both vehicles of Jewish solidarity and Orthodox devotion as well as the carriers of extreme social and moral criticism and the cause of much tension in the communities. Some of the later tosafists joined their circles; some opposed their extreme ideas. From the end of the 13th century they were highly esteemed and looked at as an example but had ceased to be a living force.

IN POLAND-LITHUANIA. In Poland-Lithuania there are many indications that the 15th and early 16th century saw not only the transposition of the characteristic Ashkenazi culture there but also the expression of considerable rationalist elements that were in the main suppressed by the end of the 16th century. There also appeared popular elements reflecting the life of the masses and expressing a more vulgar trend with less respect for learning. This reached quite extreme proportions, in particular in the southeastern districts of this realm, and developed and spread among later generations.

IDEALS IN EDUCATION AND SCHOLARSHIP. The level of general *education was relatively high in all the communities of this period. It was typical of Jewish life in 12th-century Egypt that a woman on her deathbed should write to her sister:

> My lady, if God, exalted be He, ordains my death, my greatest last wish to you is that you should take care of my little daughter and make an effort that she should learn. I am very well aware that I am putting a heavy burden on you, for we have not even what is necessary for her upkeep, let alone for the expenses of teaching, but we have before us the example of our mother, the servant of God (S.D. Goitein, *Sidrei Ḥinnukh* … (1962), 66).

Blind teachers were at a premium in those regions, for girls could sit before them without problems. A responsum of Maimonides (ed. J. Blau (1960), 71–73, no. 45) mentions a female teacher of boys in 12th-century Egypt, who made her living from this profession. Various references show the widespread extent of learning and knowledge among almost all Jewish men and many Jewish women in Europe. A late-12th-century monk contrasts the education usual among the Jews with the ignorance among the Christians of his own acquaintance:

> But the Jews, out of zeal for God and love of the law, put as many sons as they have to letters, that each may understand God's law … A Jew, however poor, if he had ten sons would put them all to letters, not for gain, as the Christians do, but for the understanding of God's law, and not only his sons, but his daughters (in B. Smalley, *Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages* (1952), 78).

Certainly, times of trouble, expulsions, and the difficulties of colonialization in distant regions and places must have led to some diminution of knowledge and education among Jews, but in the main, this testimony is a reliable indicator of the general level of Jewish culture everywhere in this period.

Throughout the Jewish Diaspora of this time the scholar and student was the ideal of individual perfection, and learning the greatest social asset among Jews. Freed from the fetters of the hereditary family structure of the gaonate, while based on the same conception of the supreme sacredness and values attached to it, the position and image of the student and sage again attained the stature they had in late Second Temple days and talmudic times. In Spain as in Germany, in Persia as in Poland, the more learned a Jew, the higher the esteem in which he was held. This attitude emerges sharply in the critical disquisition of the leader of the Ḥasidei Ashkenaz, *Eleazar b. Judah of Worms, on the subject of learning and merits:

> For in life there may exist one who is not God-fearing but is more proficient in dialectics, more keen-witted and more skillful to explain problems than one who is God-fearing. For in this world it is customary to honor one man above his fellow; like one who is rich and has everything that he wants, but he does not do the will of God in accordance with his riches, for it has been decreed that he should enjoy this world through the honor of his riches so that the grandchildren of the great scholars shall intermarry with him. So is it the same with Torah study – one who does not deserve it is honored with it because they so desire in heaven. And as riches were given to the one who does not deserve it, in order to cast him into hell, so the same applies to a scholar who is not deserving, who causes others to sin, who judges falsely, despising the good ones, enjoying and hating them; and he has superiority over them – for the righteous one falls before the evil-doer; and he is successful, for his pronouncements are obeyed, and he has pupils who help him; time is favorable to him and he is victorious over his enemies who are superior to him. But in the world of the souls, the righteous one shall be given abundant wisdom. As he [the righteous one] is profound and God-fearing, in the same measure in that world of the souls, they will give the righteous one abundant wisdom to be victorious, and also ability in dialectics to ask and answer, and his pronouncements shall give law to this world (*Ḥokhmat ha-Nefesh*, 1876, folio 20a, repr. 1968).

Both social tension and a cultural tradition are expressed here through appreciation of intellectual achievement as the supreme ideal of human attainment, while, at the same time, perceiving its mundane aspects as an economic and social asset given by God to undeserving men to serve as a temporary reward and a pitfall. The elements in Jewish society of social preferment of the rich as well as of the learned, the custom of intermarrying, and the social authority they enjoyed are stressed. In bitter opposition, R. Eleazar envisages an otherworldly, spiritualized, image of the sage and Torah study. Dialectics in argument and victorious achievement are part of his spiritual attributes too. The sage is the ideal for all, for the established leadership as well as for its determined critics, whether accepted as he is in life or viewed as an embodiment of supreme virtues.

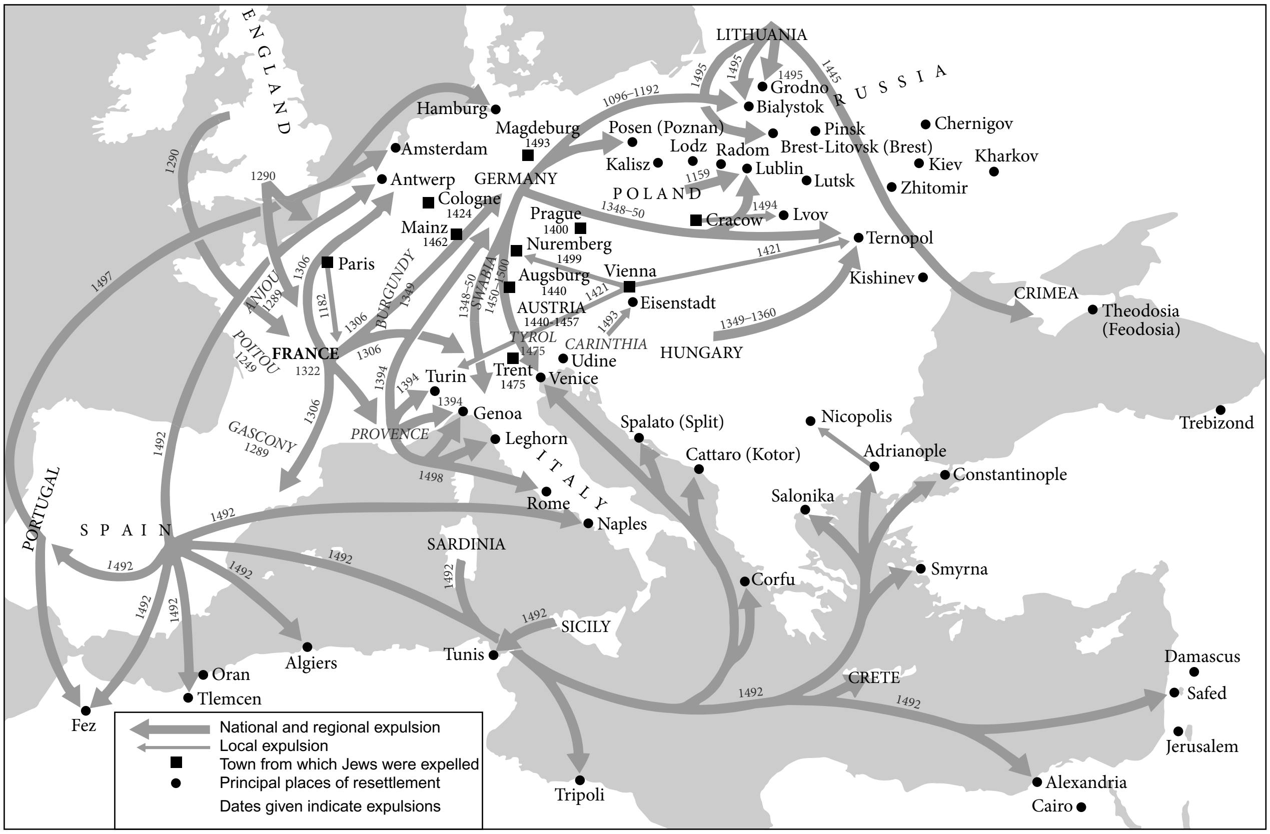
ENGLAND
1290
Hamburg
Amsterdam
Antwerp
Magdeburg
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GERMANY
Cologne
1424
Mainz
1462
Paris
1182
1306
ANJOU
1289
POITOU
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FRANCE
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BURGUNDY
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GASCONY
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PROVENCE
1498
1497
1492
PORTUGAL
SPAIN
Prague
1400
Nuremberg
1499
Augsburg
1440
AUSTRIA
1440–1457
SWABIA
1348–50
1450–1500
TYROL
1475
Trent
1475
Vienna
1421
Eisenstadt
1493
CARINTHIA
Udine
Venice
HUNGARY
1349–1360
Turin
1394
Genoa
Leghorn
ITALY
Rome
Naples
SARDINIA
SICILY
Tunis
Tripoli
Oran
Tlemcen
Algiers
Fez
LITHUANIA
1495
1445
Grodno
Bialystok
RUSSIA
1096–1192
Posen (Poznan)
Kalisz
Lodz
Radom
Pinsk
Brest-Litovsk (Brest)
Lublin
Lutsk
1159
POLAND
Cracow
1494
Lvov
Ternopol
Chernigov
Kiev
Kharkov
Zhitomir
Kishinev
CRIMEA
Theodosia (Feodosia)
Trebizond
Spalato (Split)
Cattaro (Kotor)
Nicopolis
Adrianople
Constantinople
Salonika
Smyrna
Corfu
CRETE
Damascus
Safed
Jerusalem
Alexandria
Cairo
National and regional expulsion
Local expulsion
■ Town from which Jews were expelled
● Principal places of resettlement
Dates given indicate expulsions

Map 3. Some of the expulsions of Jews between 1000 and 1500 C.E.

CHRISTIAN ATTACKS ON THE TALMUD. The Church, during the 13th century, made a sustained effort to belittle and, ultimately, to eliminate, the main Jewish intellectual preoccupation of that time, the Talmud. Pope Gregory IX was suddenly amazed, at the quite late date in Jewish-Christian relations of June 9, 1239, at what had come to his attention. He wrote:

> to the archbishops throughout the Kingdom of France, whom these letters may reach: … If what is said about the Jews of France and of the other lands is true, no punishment would be sufficiently great or sufficiently worthy of their crime. For they, so we have heard, are not content with the old Law which God gave to Moses in writing: they even ignore it completely, and affirm that God gave another law which is called 'Talmud' … (in S. Grayzel, *Church and the Jews in the 13th Century* (1933), 241, no. 96).

He therefore initiated the confiscation and burning of the Talmud. This policy was continued at first – though successful initially only in some of the Christian countries – by Pope Innocent IV, who discovered on May 9, 1244, that Jews "rear and nurture their children" on the Talmud, which "is a big book among them, exceeding in size the texts of the Bible. In it are found blasphemies against God and His Christ, and obviously entangled fables about the Blessed Virgin, and abusive errors, and unheard of follies …" (*ibid.*, 251, no. 104). All these endeavors had no effect. Jewish learning continued to flourish. The Talmud remained its basic book. Pope Innocent IV himself was convinced in the end that the Jews would not live as Jews without the Talmud. Thus this attempt to change for Jews the content of their own culture failed in the 13th century as it had failed in the sixth. In Christian Spain, where the meeting of culture and minds was much closer, the main attempt against the Talmud aimed on the one hand to discredit it, and on the other to use its aggadic elements for christological purposes. This trend is expressed in the *Pugio Fidei Adversus Mauros Et Judaeos*, completed c. 1280 by the Dominican Raymond *Martini, as well as by the efforts of the apostate Pablo *Christiani in his disputation with Naḥmanides in 1263 at Barcelona, where he tried to prove from the *aggadah* that Jesus was the Messiah (see *Barcelona, Disputation of). These, as well as subsequent polemical works and disputations, did not eliminate the Talmud from Jewish education, and influenced only certain Jews in Christian Spain in the late 14th and 15th century who were already driven toward Christianity by the combined pressures of terror and the sight of Christian successes in life.

WAVE OF EXPULSIONS. The end of the 15th century appeared a time of final liquidation of Jewry not only in Christian Spain and Portugal but also throughout Europe. The blood libel of *Trent, Italy, in 1475; subsequent libels, litigations, and expulsions in and from German cities and principalities that began then and continued well into the 16th century; and the expulsion of Jews from *Cracow in 1495, as well as from Lithuania, seemed to presage that sooner or later all Christian principalities would follow in the steps of Spain. Yet the expulsions in Germany remained piecemeal because of the fragmentation of the empire. In many cases Jews attained through the expulsions a wider dispersion around or near the cities from which they had been expelled, and new and better means of livelihood. In Poland-Lithuania the trend to expulsion was reversed.

RECIPROCAL SEPHARDI AND ASHKENAZI INFLUENCES. By the time of the great expulsions the Ashkenazi culture of the communities of France, Germany, Bohemia-Moravia, and Poland-Lithuania on the one hand, and the *Sephardi culture of those of Spain – to be developed and diversified in the new places of settlement – on the other had already crystallized in an individual form of prayer rite, in customs, in content of education and culture, in social composition, and in differing modes of contact with, and attitudes to, the gentile environment. There were meetings of minds and persons, and cross-currents of cultural influence and exchange between the Jews of Ashkenaz and Sefarad before the expulsions. Naḥmanides esteemed Ashkenazi Jewish culture and prayed that it would strike roots in Spain. Asher b. Jehiel and his sons brought this influence with them there. The works of Rashi and the tosafists were diligently studied in Spain. *Moses b. Jacob of Coucy in France went to preach in Spain and according to his own testimony was influential there. On the other hand, the influence of Maimonides, of the rationalist biblical exegesis typical of Abraham ibn Ezra's work, and the influence of Kabbalah were strongly felt in Ashkenaz. Yet, in sum, these remained random encounters and influences at book level only. When the link with Provence was broken in 1306, contacts between Ashkenaz and Sefarad became even fewer. The exodus of about 300,000 Spanish Jews to the Mediterranean lands in North Africa and Asia, but also to Italy, to the Balkans, and gradually to the Netherlands (still under Spanish rule), and from thence to northwestern Germany, brought the gradual, and, in some cases even swift, breakdown of the old partitions. Ashkenazim and Sephardim met in the context of actual social and cultural life. They did not always like what they saw. But the result strengthened mutual acquaintance and influence, while creating much more clearly defined and specific contours in Ashkenazi and Sephardi culture. The Sephardi Jews considered that they had been uprooted by expulsion from their beloved fatherland in Spain and from a culture which they considered superior to all other gentile cultures. They were also wholeheartedly devoted to their specific form of Jewish culture. This was the reason for the remarkable cultural takeover by the Sephardi refugees of many of the communities they came to.

Transition to Modern Times (16th–17th Centuries)

Five main processes may be considered as causing the break-up of medieval configurations and bringing about the change-over to modern ones.

The expulsion from Spain ultimately created a much larger and better equipped, economically and culturally, Jewish society in the cities of the Ottoman Empire. It renovated and invigorated the Jewish settlement in Ereẓ Israel and Jewish messianic hopes. By making possible the emergence of a community of openly professing Jews in the Protestant Netherlands, as well as generating movement to northwestern Germany and to England, it gave rise to a whole network of Jewish "capitalist" occupations and activities, in close and fruitful contact with the new Christian churches and sects, and with the colonial activity of the Dutch and the English. It sent Jews across the oceans: the first Jewish settlements in the New World came under Dutch rule as did the first settlement in present-day *New York (then New Amsterdam) in 1654.

The second main process took place in Poland-Lithuania. The colonizing and economic activities of Jews there until the *Chmielnicki massacres of 1648 created a Jewry that formed, to all intents and purposes, the predominating element of "the third estate" in this kingdom. Demographically and ecologically this community underwent a great expansion that created the nucleus of the mass Ashkenazi Jewish population of modern times. Close touch with village life and economy improved the conditions of Jewish life and changed habits. In the cities owned by the Polish nobles the predominantly Jewish townships of Eastern Europe grew up which later produced the *shtetl of the *Pale of Settlement in czarist Russia and of *Galicia in Austria. As a result of these population movements, by the end of the 17th century, out of approximately a million Jews in the world, about half were Sephardi and half Ashkenazi, mainly concentrated in the Ottoman Empire and Poland-Lithuania, respectively.

The *Reformation in Christianity from 1517 broke up the unitary and constricted frame of Catholic uniformity surrounding the Jew in most of Europe. He was now no longer the only nonconformist in a culture of total agreement. The failure of both the Reformation camp and the Catholic Church to achieve decisive victory in their common bid to reestablish Christian uniformity created the first hesitant appearance of tolerance. Jews were as yet not thought of in this connection, but the very notion was to create, later on, modern conditions for their existence. On the other hand, the Reformation – in particular, in the style set by the German Martin *Luther – unleashed popular furies and made mass passion and violence the main instrument of religious innovation. This raised the problem of the status of the Jews, not only for change toward betterment of their lot, as Luther intended in his missionary zeal and hopes in 1523; it also opened roads toward exacerbating the lot of Jews and radical vulgar propaganda to extirpate their existence, as the disappointed rancorous ex-monk proposed in 1543:

> What then shall we Christians do with this damned, rejected race of Jews? Since they live among us and we know about their lying and blasphemy and cursing, we cannot tolerate them if we do not wish to share in their lies, curses, and blasphemy …

> We must prayerfully and reverentially practice a merciful severity … Let me give you my honest advice …

There follows a detailed seven-point program of arson, expropriation, abject humiliation of, and hard physical labor for, the Jews.

> If, however, we are afraid that they might harm us personally … then let us apply … [expulsion] … and settle with them for that which they have extorted usurously from us, and after having divided it up fairly, let us drive them out of the country for all time (from his *Von den Juden und Iren Luegen*, 1543).

Short of the Auschwitz oven and extermination, the whole Nazi Holocaust is pre-outlined here. The Reformation had unleashed situations and attitudes with regard to the Jews as well as many other matters, open in all directions and for all comers, toward human relations with and better treatment of the Jews, as well as toward increased enmity and destruction. This openness and this struggle between extremes were to become later one of the hallmarks of the "Jewish question" in modern history.

In Jewry, the great messianic movement of 1665–66, like the Reformation, was medieval in aspect while pointing toward ultra-modernism at the same time. *Shabbetai Ẓevi and his enthusiastic followers put to test the belief in a miraculous redeemer, although arriving in the end at apostasy to Islam. They felt during this great upsurge of faith and ecstasy inwardly liberated and on the threshold of political glory. Within the space of three years, all of them lost any hope of soon reaching the splendor and most of them lost the last shreds of any sense of liberation. The movement reflected the unconscious crisis of medievalism, which burned out in the flame of miraculously borne messianism. Its prophet, *Nathan of Gaza, deemed that God was now free from exile but His people was not. From this it was but a step – even if a gigantic and revolutionary one – toward a program of secularization: the people must seek its freedom and redemption through its own, human, powers, employing the ways and means of the world.

The last, but not least, of these processes occurred in the great community of *anusim* origin at *Amsterdam. People who had been brought up in the traditions of the Jewish underground in Spain found that the Jewish community with which they now came in contact, its strict regulations and exacting authorities, were not at all the antithesis of the Church and its dogmatics that they had been formerly taught to see in Judaism. The atmosphere of sectarianism and religious discussion in the Netherlands, of comfortable burgher life and its easy theology, of friendly contact between cultured gentiles and individual Jews added to the disappointment which the *anusim* experienced with actual Jewish society and led to revolt and revulsion against it. From this aspect, Baruch *Spinoza is both the end result of a line of development of Maimonidean trends in Sephardi Jewry as well as the first representative of a type of modern non-Orthodox Jew. The life and tragedy of Uriel da *Costa expressed this in a different way. The activities of Hamburg Sephardi Jews, who helped to engineer a revolt in Portugal in the 17th century, and served as consuls and financial representatives of the country in which they were not allowed to set foot on pain of death, represented yet another component in the same mosaic of modernization. Figures like Leone *Modena and Simone *Luzzatto in Italy, each in his own way, were an articulate expression of the unformulated change toward modernization and alleviation of the Orthodox way of life. The historiography and historiosophy of Azariah dei *Rossi express, in a less extreme but more thorough way, the readiness for questioning and change that began to appear at this time.

Most of the results of the last three processes described above still lay in the near or distant future by the end of the 17th century, while the first two were at work and wielding an influence throughout the 16th and 17th centuries.

REORGANIZATION OF SEPHARDI JEWRY. The refugees from Spain organized themselves almost everywhere they arrived, and as soon as they could, into separate "synagogue-communities," mainly formed by groups coming from the same community, district, or domain. In this way they broke up the framework of the existing local community, rejecting the cohesion it represented through settlement in the same place. Such a situation was a reversion to a time in the 10th to 12th centuries when many places in the Near East had both a synagogue "of Ereẓ Israelites" and one "of the Babylonians." They set a pattern for similar organizational behavior in other Jewish immigrant groups, sentimentally attached to each other and to the memory of their place of origin, and as yet without ties to their new place of settlement. It was to emerge in modern times in the behavior and organization of the *Landsmannschaften and of synagogues named after places of origin in the United States and other countries.

ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES. Within a relatively short time the Spanish refugees achieved the feat of becoming the tone-setters and social leaders of the native Jews in territories embracing the Balkans and large parts of the Ottoman Empire and North Africa. Economically, too, the refugees achieved great progress. In the Ottoman Empire some of them became courtiers of the sultan, physicians (Joseph and Moses *Hamon, his son; Baroda, Abraham ibn Megas), bankers, and diplomats (Don Joseph *Nasi; Solomon *Abenaes). In these surroundings, where the harem played an influental role, Jewish women also became prominent (like Dona Gracia *Nasi). Sometimes there arose a combination of Jewish physician and diplomat (Solomon *Ashkenazi). All these Jews were active in the customary Spanish manner in their new and strange settings. The mass of the refugees turned to commerce and crafts with considerable success. The economy of *Safed in the 16th century was based on a broad and stable occupational structure of clothweaving, shopkeeping, and peddling. Many engaged in international trade. Some used the land routes, through the southeastern parts of Poland-Lithuania to the center and west of Europe; some traded by sea routes, in the Mediterranean and on the European shores of the Atlantic, linking up in this way with the northeastern wing of the Sephardi dispersion in the Netherlands and northwest Germany, and toward the end of the period, with Jews in England too. In this manner, economic activity brought association and cooperation to the three great dynamic centers of Jewish social and economic life – the Ottoman Empire, Poland-Lithuania, and the northwest of Europe. The Jews of Poland-Lithuania, for their part, carried on a large-scale export and import trade both with Central and northwestern Europe, and with the Ottoman Empire, in particular, its Black Sea shore and Balkan districts. Jews in the *Netherlands and northwestern Germany dealt on a considerable scale, frequently in colonial goods and diamonds, with Central European Jews (who bought these luxury goods mainly for the local upper nobility or for export to the east). They similarly traded with the Jews of Poland-Lithuania, buying colonial produce on a large scale and selling them luxury goods, cloths, and printed books. Thus this vast configuration of Jewish economic activity created a multiple network of commercial traffic on the threshold of modern times.

The Jews of Central Europe were the weakest link, demographically and economically, in this chain of Jewish activity. Yet they were to profit greatly from it. The combination of connections and supplies created by the export trade of luxury goods and diamonds from northwest Europe and the Ottoman east, and the import of vast quantities of agricultural produce, cattle fodder, cattle, and horses from Poland-Lithuania, enabled the Jews of the German Empire, few and weak at this time and therefore pliable and reliable tools of the princes, to become, at the end of the 17th century in increasing numbers, the agents (*Hoffaktoren*) and *Hofjuden* to royal courts and royal armies (see also *Court Jews).

COMMUNAL ORGANIZATIONS IN EUROPE. Apart from the fragmentation of local cohesion through synagogue membership, the whole trend of communal organization outside the Ottoman Empire lay toward centralization and strong leadership. This was the time when the Councils of the Lands of Poland-Lithuania and of *Bohemia-*Moravia showed their greatest achievements. An attempt was made, unsuccessfully, to set up a similar organization in fragmented Germany at *Frankfurt on the Main in 1603. Numerous similar attempts were made among the Italian Jewish communities. The *Mahamad of northwestern Sephardi Jewry aroused opposition by its strict Orthodoxy and authoritarianism. An attempt in 1538 to reinstitute the ancient sacred authority of *semikhah* as a preparation and precondition for the creation of a Sanhedrin was another expression of the tendency toward overall leadership and centralization. The great and successful codification activity of Joseph *Caro in Safed, and Mordecai *Jaffe, Solomon *Luria, and above all Moses *Isserles in Poland, again expresses – by literary extension of the possibilities inherent in *semikhah* – the trend toward central and authoritative instruction and leadership.

SAFED MYSTICISM. Jewish cultural and religious life showed considerable activity in these centuries. Safed became a short-lived but very important center of Jewish mysticism and learning in the 16th and early 17th centuries. It became a dynamic community of great mystics (Isaac *Luria; Moses *Cordovero; Ḥayyim *Vital; and a galaxy of others), of talmudic scholars (Jacob *Berab; Joseph Caro), and of lesser visionaries (such as *Abraham b. Eliezer ha-Levi Berukhim). Their societies and groups developed customs that later were to be widely accepted in Jewish communities. Kabbalah spread from Safed throughout the Jewish world; the moral teachings of the Safed school were formulated and propagated in the writings of Elijah de *Vidas; the poetry of Solomon *Alkabeẓ and the sermons and visions of Solomon *Molcho express and teach the trend it represented. This was not only mystic and esthetic in mood, but also bore the stamp of highly developed, proud, and self-conscious individal personalities. The movement of Shabbetai Ẓevi expresses both the power and the fragility of this mood and of such individuals. Safed also witnessed the birth, in the 16th century, of the *Shulḥan Arukh code, and of halakhic activity of many other types.

APPROACHES TO EDUCATION. In this period there emerged also the first sharp and systematic criticism of Ashkenazi Jewish education. *Judah Loew b. Bezalel of Prague, and the circle around him, which had adherents not only in Bohemia-Moravia, but in Germany and Poland-Lithuania as well, strongly criticized the lack of didactic methods, the exaggeration in the teaching and use of dialectics, in particular with young students, and the unsystematic and unequal teaching of various components of Jewish traditional culture. They demanded a return to plain logic, to the Mishnah as the core for talmudic study, to proper attention to Torah, and to didactic progression from the easy to the difficult portions and subjects. With some of them, like Jacob *Horowitz, this criticism demanded a return to the Bible. The criticism was heard but failed to achieve its aim. Jewish society in Central and Eastern Europe was unwilling to take up either the new curriculum or the new methods. These pedagogues and critics had to wait for modern times to achieve a positive appreciation.

Traditional Torah study and the central position of the student in Jewish society continued throughout this period. Although encountering tensions and dangers in the materially successful societies of the Ottoman Empire, Poland-Lithuania, and northwestern Europe, the importance of learning remained undiminished in Jewish life. Jewish communities everywhere had numerous yeshivot and scholars, naturally of unequal stature. The *takkanot* issued by communities and synods provide instruction and advice on the spread of learning. Even if much of this reflects more of the ideal than the reality, it still expresses the scale of values of Jewish society of the 16th and 17th centuries.

POLITICAL AND IDEOLOGICAL THOUGHT. Political and ideological thought was alive in particular in the 16th century.

Chronicle writing (see also *Historiography) received a new impetus under the impact of the expulsion from Spain and the needs for reappraisal in the constantly changing situation (resettlement in the Ottoman Empire and other countries) and developed in light of the changes in Jewish outlook brought about by the Reformation. Solomon *Ibn Verga in his *Shevet Yehudah* refers to the problems of relations between Jews and gentiles, and of the Jewish fate, out of a feeling of danger and weakness. In his chronicle the Christian view of the problem, as Ibn Verga understood it, is given prominence alongside the Jewish view. The weakness of the Jews in history is explained by the Christian "Thomas" to the Spanish king as:

> That originally while the Jews found favor in the eyes of God, he would fight their wars, as it is known to all …. Therefore they did not learn the ways of war for they did not need them … and when they sinned God turned away his face from them and they thus remained losers on all counts – they were ignorant of weapons of war and its invention, and the will of God was not with them; they remained naked and fell like sheep without a shepherd (*Shevet Yehudah*, ed. by A. Schochet (1947), 44).

Samuel *Usque in his *Consolaçam* … ((1952); Eng.: *Consolation for the Tribulations of Israel* (1965)) regards the tribulations and hopes of the exiles within a broad view of world history and divine providence. *Joseph ha-Kohen not only describes Jewish history and fate in his various volumes but also gives separately the history of the Ottoman Empire and of the French. His stand is consistently pro-Reformation, vehemently anti-papal, and throughout imbued with the spirit of the late Renaissance world-view and appreciation of history. He hopes that the wars of religion will result in the birth of toleration for all. David *Gans provides in his *Ẓemaḥ David* (1592) a separate treatment of Jewish and general history, quoting *in extenso* from German chronicles and citing the name of author and page, thus revealing an assumption that his Jewish readers might refer back to his sources. Throughout he is revealed as a patriot of Bohemia, an admirer of Prague and of Bohemian achievements in the past. This is the first systematic expression of attachment by Ashkenazi Jews to the land in which they are living and to the past of their environment. Many lesser chroniclers, mainly in Italy, relate themselves to Jewish troubles in the 16th century generally, taking into account the views of the host society. Elijah *Capsali in his extensive chronicles (the greater part at present in Ms.) shows an absorption with the ways of governments and the ideas of the reigning circles both in the Ottoman Empire and in Venice. His description of the fate of the exiles from Spain and their welcome in the Ottoman Empire has additional value as an expression of the attitude of the native Jewish communities where the exiles were received and as evidence of the spell that Sephardi culture rapidly cast over them.

Political and historiosophic thought finds deep if sometimes involved expression in the ideas of Judah Loew b. Bezalel of Prague. In his *Be'er ha-Golah*, in the part entitled the "seventh well," he antedates by 50 years at least the protest of John Milton against the censorship of printed books. Most of the arguments of these two thinkers run in parallel, of course each expressing the writer's own mood. The rabbi of Prague, unlike the poet of England, also stresses the knightly concept that one has to regard discussion in printed books as a kind of duel where an honorable opponent must ensure that his adversary is armed in the best way possible, so that victory will be an act of valor and not an overwhelming triumph achieved by brute force. Throughout his many works, didactics and the methodology of preaching and learning are a main concern of Judah Loew. He devoted much thought to the problems of the organismic character of national cohesion, seeing a divine guarantee, through the nature of nationality, that Jewish exile and humiliation cannot be eternal:

> From blackness one can know whiteness which is the opposite, … exile in itself is clear evidence and proof of redemption for there can be no doubt that exile is a change and a break in the order whereby God set every nation in the place fitting for it, and he settled Israel in the place fitting for it, which is Ereẓ Israel …. Now everything that leaves its natural place and is outside of it cannot establish a hold in a place unnatural to it. They return to their natural place. For if they had remained in the place which is unnatural to them, then the unnatural would become natural, and this is impossible …. The place fitting for them [the Jews] according to the order of reality is to be in Ereẓ Israel, to be under their own rule, not under the rule of others, for every thing of the natural entities, each one of them, has a place for itself … as everything returns to its place, so do the separated and dispersed parts return to become one generality …. Therefore every dispersion tends to join up again. Hence the dispersion of Israel among the nations is unnatural, for as they are one nation it is fitting that they should be together and be a unity, as you will find that all natural entities are not divided into two … What is more, according to the law of reality it is not fitting that one nation shall rule over another nation, to subdue it, for God has created each nation unto itself …. If this state should remain for ever? … this would not be according to the order of reality and would be a permanent change in the world order. This is impossible. Therefore, we can know of redemption through exile (*Neẓaḥ Yisrael* (Prague, 1599), 2a).

SOCIAL CONFRONTATIONS. His writings, like the writings of many other scholars of Poland-Lithuania, Bohemia-Moravia, and Germany in this period, contain many allusions to and proposed solutions for social problems. The tension that existed between the lay leaders of the communities and the rabbis arose largely because both came from the same families, were usually related by marriage, and, above all, received the same education in yeshivot. Hence, there was an inclination among community leaders to assume rabbinical authority and functions and among rabbis to see themselves as leaders. The claims were not mutually exclusive. In most communities and periods an unstable harmony was worked out, but the tension was part of the arrangement.

In prospering Poland-Lithuania much thought was also given to the economic effort, to the correct attitude of rich to poor, and to the proper structure for Jewish society. At one extreme the great decisor Moses *Isserles asserted that riches and material success are generally the just reward given by God to the deserving Jew. Poverty proves either that the poor man is undeserving, or, if his merits are evident, that there is some hidden blemish in his character which would have been revealed with riches: he is not given riches so that he may remain unblemished. At the other extreme stood the great preacher *Ephraim Solomon b. Aaron of Luntschitz (Łęczyce). In his ideology riches are usually evil. Drawing a kind of dual comparison he tells rich Jews that they cannot prove their merits from their worldly state for then they would also have to admit the righteousness of the gentiles from their success. Similarly, he considers that the gentiles cannot bring arguments against the Jews from their worldly success, for they would also then have to admit the righteousness of patently evil persons among Christians who have been materially successful. Riches in his metaphor are spoiled meat desired unwisely by the foolish child but thrown by a prudent father to the dogs. This preacher was also much concerned about religious and moral sincerity in a society which admired devotion, study, and charity and thus made these moral values also preeminently social assets. In his opinion social reward for and recognition of good deeds endangered the foundations of spiritual worship and Torah study in what seemed to him a society that tended to materialism, in particular among the upper strata.

In the emerging great centers of Jewish life, considerable tension resulted from the meeting of divergent traditions and the confrontation of the old-established society and ways of life with the force and vitality of new and inviting circumstances. The type of thought and hegemony provided by men like Elijah and Moses *Capsali, Elijah *Mizraḥi, and other representatives of the leadership structure of the old communities of the Ottoman Empire and North Africa, and the attitudes and aims of new leaders of the Sephardi type, like Gracia and Joseph Nasi, or the great Sephardi rabbis of the Balkan peninsula, such as Joseph *Taitaẓak, clashed, penetrated, and fructified each side in the 16th and 17th centuries. This process of confrontation and mutual influence took place in a Jewish culture and society which combined the old Romaniot customs and ways of life of the Byzantine environment in the Balkans and Asia Minor, and the Muslim environment, elements of the old Babylonian Jewish culture, and the social and cultural traditions of the great centers of Jewish life in Egypt, Kairouan, Fez, and other communities in North Africa. It encountered representatives of the Sephardi Jewish culture which had developed in close contact with Christian culture in Spain who were conscious of the value in and greatness of their historical experience and mode of leadership. Within a relatively short space of time, both the Romaniot and North African were either put aside or submerged by the Sephardi influence. To a scholar of the stature of Samuel b. Moses de *Medina, it was self-evident that the Sephardi prayer rites and order of worship should be preferred in Balkan communities because of their intrinsic superiority.

ATTEMPTS AT POLITICAL ACTION. On occasion the travail of readjustment took the shape of a clear-cut issue of Jewish foreign policy. A dispute over this arose within Jewry in the 16th century, when an attempt was made to use Jewish economic activity as a defensive punitive weapon in extreme cases of insult and injury to Jews. It was opposed by considerations of caution and the hope that part of the aims could be achieved by less dangerous means. The same dilemma was to return much later, in deliberations over initiating a boycott of Nazi Germany. When Pope *Paul IV ordered that a number of *anusim* who had escaped to *Ancona from Spain should be burned at the stake, the circle around Dona Gracia Nasi and other Sephardi groups in the Ottoman Empire attempted to use Jewish commercial power in the Mediterranean both to put pressure on the pope and to reward the duke of Pesaro, who had given asylum to those who had escaped from Ancona. As Joseph ibn Lev, a contemporary Sephardi rabbi, described it:

> Several people arose who wanted a great revenge for the holocaust of these just men … they demanded from the sages and the holy [Jewish] communities that they should assent to and put in force a valid agreement that no Jew among those living in the Ottoman Empire shall be permitted to trade in Ancona, since the Divine Name has been defiled by this pope, the lord of this place. Moreover, some of those who lived in Ancona have escaped the mortal danger of this destruction, and have come to the city of Pesaro where they have been welcomed by the duke, the ruler of this land, who thought that the Jews of the Ottoman Empire would come to trade there and would boycott the city of the pope who did evil to their brethren as well as actions that have never been done previously to burn the Talmud in contempt. The above-mentioned duke will also spend much money to improve the seaport of this city, so that ships may lie there in safety. Now, if he sees that the Jews will pay him evil for good, it is almost certain that he will extradite the men, women and children who escaped from Ancona … to the pope, who demands them in order to put them to death (*Responsa,* 1 (Constantinople, 1556, 1959^2) 140a).

This closely reasoned argumentation, which combined feelings of national pride, perception of the political use of trade opportunities, and an open-eyed appreciation of the motives of the Christian rulers, was opposed by what may be called the Italian Jewish party. These did not deny the strength and possibilities attaching to Jewish trade in the Mediterranean in the 16th century but argued against the boycott because it would endanger the Jews living in the Papal States. They also considered that "even if this agreement is not made, the duke of Urbino will not cause any harm to those he has accepted; for he is a considerate and sagacious man who knows that this miserable people cannot compel all the Jews. Moreover, he is overjoyed at their settling in his land because they, of necessity, cannot trade in Ancona, and will trade in his city." The Italian party also put forward the argument that the *anusim* from Spain could have been more careful and should have avoided settling under the rule of the head of the Catholic Church (Joshua *Soncino, *Naḥalah li-Yhoshu'a*, no. 39).

In Poland-Lithuania also there arose a question of overall Jewish policy with economic implications. The question of Jews contracting for customs duties and customs stations was differently decided in the late 16th and early 17th centuries by the councils of Poland and Lithuania. The first decided to direct Jews to avoid these lucrative posts because of the enmity they provoked in the Polish middle and lesser nobility; the Lithuanian council expressly decided later to assist Jews to lease and retain them out of a clearly stated policy that, despite the dangers to the community they involved, if the customs were managed by Jews, this would benefit the whole of Jewish trade and improve the Jewish position in general (see *Councils of the Lands).

FORMULATION OF POLICIES AND AIMS. Jewish policy and aims were being put forward after the invention of printing and the spread of printed books, not only in memoranda to rulers and Church leaders, but also in works published to bring Jewish views before the Christian public. Simone Luzzatto published his *Discorso circa il stato degl' Hebrei …* in Italian in 1638. This work of a rabbi and leader of a Jewish community is addressed to the Venetians as an apologetical argument for the existence of the Jews in Venice (see also *Apologetics). In it Luzzatto stresses the economic and social usefulness to the civic society of Venice of a commercially and financially active minority which had no other focus for its loyalty, or a better place to look to, than the city of its residence. He even explains at some length that there are "Catholic" trends in the Jewish faith and behavior, which are inherently opposed to "Protestant" ones. Luzzatto emphasizes the basic honesty of the Jews and their obedience to law. After listing some of the faults which are to be found among Jews, he enumerates traits:

> worthy of some consideration: steadfastness, and unimaginable consistency in their faith and in the keeping of their law; unity in the dogmas of their faith although they have been dispersed throughout the world for 1,550 years; admirable courage, if not in going to meet dangers, then at least, in the strength to suffer troubles; a unique knowledge of their holy Scriptures and of their commentaries; charity and good will toward all, as well as help to each and every one of their nation, even if he is a stranger and an alien. A Persian Jew cares about the problems of an Italian Jew and tries to help him; distance of place does not cause separation among them, for their religion is one. In matters of sexual passion, they behave with considerable abstinence; they are loyal and careful about the purity of the race, that it should be without admixture; many of them show considerable sagacity and know how to carry through the most complicated business; they behave with submission and respect toward any man who is not of their religion; their transgressions and sins have in them almost always more of the lowly and ugly than of cruelty and evil (*ibid.*, Consideration 11).

This work was to have much influence in mercantilist centers and among Christians who were beginning to advocate better behavior toward Jews. *Manasseh Ben Israel continued this line of argument, though in a very different and more upstanding manner, in his various writings and, in particular, in his efforts to obtain the readmission of Jews into England. He stressed the advantages that had accrued to the Netherlands by the admission of Jews into that country and by their active participation in colonial trade there, and compared this position with the decline of Spain and the disadvantages it had encountered after the expulsion of the Jews. He formulated a petition for the readmission of the Jews to England. In common with many English sectarians who supported his case, he regarded the settlement of Jews at "the end of the earth" [i.e., Angleterre] as a necessary precondition to the coming of the Messiah.

STIRRINGS OF RELIGIOUS TOLERATION. The 16th and 17th centuries brought the first stirrings of a change in attitudes toward the Jews. The Jewish chronicler Joseph ha-Kohen discerned in the wars of religion in France a hope for an emerging permissiveness enabling each man to live according to his own religion. In the Calvinist Netherlands an attitude of toleration of Jews, and even respect for them and their way of life, developed without granting them political rights or formulating a fully expressed theory for their toleration. This came about not only through day-to-day peaceful contacts with the highly cultured Jewish circles in Amsterdam and other cities of this country, but also through the respect of the Calvinists for the Law and their efforts to create a Christian society based partly on biblical foundations. Some sectarians expressed "the desire … to raise the Old Testament to the position of natural law" which Hugo *Grotius opposed in his *De Jure Belli ac Pacis* (1735, Prolegomena, para. 48). Against this position, he stresses that many of the laws of the Old Testament had been abolished by the New, but he does so in a respectful tone. When asked about the proper behavior to adopt toward the Jews, he advised in his *Remonstrantie* (of 1615), that the canon law relating to Jews should be kept in principle, but that in practical economic terms they should be allowed "liberty to trade, do business and manufacture, and enjoy in freedom exemptions and privileges in the same way as the other burghers and citizens." In France, Jean *Bodin, in his *Heptaplomeres*, was so emphatic in affirming the superiority of the Judaic trend of religion over the Christian that it is arguable whether he was Jewish or Christian at heart. Extreme sects and leaders of the Reformation, like Andreas *Osiander and Sebastian Franck in Germany, through the spiritualization of the Christian teaching and their almost anarchistic attitude to authority, arrived at an individualistic approach to each man which was favorable even to the toleration of Jews and Muslims.

Gradually there began to emerge the conception of separation of Church and State, which was to be the main road to toleration, even of Jews. Roger Williams, of New England, advocated this attitude from a Christian point of departure in *The Bloudy Tenet of Persecution for Cause of Conscience Disgust* (1644). He asserted that "true civility and Christianity may both flourish in a state or kingdom, notwithstanding the permission of the diverse and contrary conscience either of Jew or of Gentile" (*ibid.*, 2). John Locke was to make this conception the mainspring of change and revolution in his *Letter Concerning Toleration* (1689), published in Latin, and immediately translated into Dutch, French, and English. Locke differentiates sharply between Church and State, considering that civil rights should be granted to all. Limitations and humiliations do not change either the character or the standing of a religion. He wrote concerning the Jews: "is their doctrine more false, their worship more abominable, or is the civil peace more endangered by their meeting in public than in their private houses[?]" (J. Locke, *A Letter Concerning Toleration*, ed. by M. Montuori (1963), 103). Various lawyers – the foremost being John *Selden in England and Johannes *Buxtorf in Germany – developed interest in Jewish law as a basic element in the European legal system. A man like Johann Christoph *Wagenseil, though drawing attention to Jewish attacks on Christianity in his *Tela Ignea Satanae* (1681), still supported a limited toleration of the Jews, mainly out of missionary zeal. In this atmosphere, even a man like the English economist, Sir William Petty, showed considerable interest in various trades of the Jews and their characteristics. His opposition to them, and the even sharper opposition of Johann Becher in Germany, was largely based on a different interpretation of the data given by Luzzatto and Manasseh Ben Israel.

By the end of the 17th century much of the old medieval structure had gone. The distribution of the Jews in the world was totally different from that at the end of the 15th century. Spain had vanished from the Jewish horizon, as well as its dependencies overseas. France was also almost in the same category. On the other hand, England again had a flourishing and well connected Jewish community from 1655. The Jews of the Netherlands were already an integral and respected element of the economic life of this country in the cities; to some extent also they were attached to it socially, though they did not enter its political structure. The Jews of Poland-Lithuania, despite the sufferings and deprivations they underwent between approximately 1648 and 1660, had become economically, and to a considerable degree socially, an integral and predominant part of the third estate in this realm. In the Ottoman Empire members of an invigorated Jewish society occupied important positions in economic and social life, though the old conceptions of political and social humiliation of the Jew still predominated.

[Haim Hillel Ben-Sasson]

MODERN TIMES – TO 1880

Introduction

Several changes in political and social theories in Christian society, as well in the political structure of Europe, combined to usher in modern times for the Jews, though they were not concerned primarily with these developments. The centralization of the state that began in the France of Richelieu and Mazarin spread gradually, both in fact and in theory, to most of the states in Europe. In its progress the new disposition of relations between the state and those living on its territory caused many changes, for both good and evil, in the position of the Jews and their legal status. The centralist state created, by its very nature, an aversion to particularism in any shape, whether organizational, legal, or cultural. It opposed, above all, the corporations as the essence of the old feudal, uncentralized, state. Everything standing between the sovereign and the individual was now considered not only a barrier, but a sin. Whereas, in medieval kingdoms, the Jewish community was but one in a network of autonomous and semi-autonomous bodies, which were then considered the skeleton of the body politic, it now appeared one of the most obnoxious, because persistent, manifestations of egoistic group-will against the all-inclusive rights of the state. As the centralist state also opposed local dialects and customs, the Jewish community was doubly obnoxious, for it was a corporation devoted to a separate culture, way of life, language, and religion. Many of the clashes between the state and the Jews in modern times, many of the misunderstandings between Jews and some of their best friends, were the result of this basic antagonism between iron centralism and the unflinching Jewish will for autonomy.

Centralization demanded one law for all in the state and by its very nature opposed the existence of different legal statuses for different groups living in one state. When centralization was later combined with egalitarian trends, this added a *raison d'état* to political philosophy, and thus made legal equality for the Jews a logical as well as a political necessity for a centralist, egalitarian state.

The disfavor into which corporations had fallen and their rapid disintegration were also hastened by economic developments. That meant, for the Jews in the cities, the weakening and disappearance of social and economic bodies fundamentally inimical to Jews because of their Christian foundations and their long tradition of excluding Jews from trade and crafts and of hatred toward them. The forces working against the corporations also opposed on the ethical and conceptual level the corporative medieval spirit that abhorred competition and innovation. The break-up of the corporations unstopped the dam that had long held up individual energies; Jews benefited from this moral revolution as did other restricted individuals.

As with many other changes to be encountered in modern times, the change in status of the corporation had ambivalent effects for Jews. It bettered their economic and social opportunities and weakened the social elements that were the main carriers of hostility toward them. On the other hand, it made Jewish national semi-independence, and social and cultural creativity, antiquated and offensive. Centralization meant, on the whole, abolition of inequalities, but it also meant suppression of particularities. Jewish society found itself in the new modern state facing the break-up of its national, religious, and social cohesion in exchange for the benefit of material and individual gains. At this time it seemed – to those Christians who, because of general social trends, interested themselves in the lot of the Jews – that the dissolution of a separate Jewish framework and absorption into the general body of the state were a matter of time, and of a short time only. In countries where the centralist trends were strongest, in continental Western and Central Europe (apart from the Netherlands and England), the Jews numbered several thousand at the most in one state. As general cultural and spiritual currents were moving in the same direction, only "people fighting the trend of history" seemed to be making the foolish attempt to oppose them.

Dawn of the Enlightenment

The 18th century also witnessed the dawn of the great ahistorical school of the Enlightenment. This saw men in the abstract, as disembodied individuals only; national culture and religious separateness were so many "coats of paint." The past had no compelling force; only the present mattered, and this could be improved and perfected by the use of reason. In the application of this theory, writers and ideologists of the cast of *Voltaire did not dream of abandoning French as a vehicle of expression or the basic French values of life. They were more anti-Christian than anti-national. Many of them developed a hatred of Judaism as the matrix of Christianity. Though extremely individualistic in theory, many of them searched for another parentage or anchorage than the Jewish for their culture. This prompted the 18th-century flirtation with the Far East, and the latter-day anti-Jewish tinge to their admiration for the Greek past. Many criticized the Old Testament with the old anti-Jewish odium to which was now added the goal of discrediting Christianity. In the Enlightenment, as in the trend toward centralization and against the corporations, Jewish society met an attitude that was favorably inclined toward the individual Jew while inimical toward his traditions and social cohesion. The demand for disavowal of nationality on rationalist grounds meant in practice for the Jew acceptance of French or German or some other national culture instead of his own. This groping between extreme individualism in theory and national assimilation in practice had already become, by the end of the 18th century, the source of some of the greatest individual successes as well as of the most distressing tragedies in Jewish existence in modern times.

Influence of Mercantilist Absolutism on Jewish Status

New economic views, in particular mercantilism, combined with an even greater and more radical expression of the centralist state – first absolutism and, later on in the 18th century, enlightened absolutism – to create differing approaches to Jewish legal status and Jewish economic activity. The mercantilist and absolutist ruler of the early 18th century looked at every increase in population as desirable, so long as and on the condition that it served economic progress. This progress was no longer measured by agrarian standards. The growth of industry and trade, the increment of precious metals, and coin circulation in the state were now valuable goals.

The type of economic activity practiced by Jews had thus, by the 18th century and even earlier, begun to exert an influence in social economic theory and practice. At the same time political theory with regard to Jews had not yet changed in ruling circles, where they were hated and despised as before. As this combination of economic innovation and political conservatism with regard to Jews existed mainly in the countries of Central and Western Europe, where the Jewish population was relatively small, it created a new approach for the treatment of the Jews.

This approach aimed mainly at having as many "useful" Jews in the state as possible – "useful" in this connotation meaning a rich Jew who could help the industrial and commercial development of the country through his activity. Such a Jew must be made to contribute the maximum possible to the state treasury; this extortion sometimes took curious turns of invention, as in the case of the *Judenporzellan* in *Prussia, so called because Jews were obliged to buy a certain quantity of porcelain wares on the occasion of their weddings in order to promote directly the development of this industry.

At the same time it was the policy of the absolutist ruler to ensure that the economic opportunities and well-being afforded to the useful Jew for the sake of the state should not result in the calamity of an increasing Jewish population. Jews therefore had to register officially, and their weddings were supervised (see, e.g., *Familiants Laws). A "protected" or "privileged" Jew on these principles could not transfer his rights to all his children but only to one of them. The others had to apply for rights for themselves, granted for a proper payment only if they were considered useful in their own right. Otherwise they were demoted to the status of the unprivileged, unprotected Jew who always faced the threat of expulsion and had usually to pay piecemeal for continuing his existence in the state. The 1750 Prussian regulation for Jews embodies systematically and in detail the execution of these principles.

This situation contributed to accelerate the fragmentation of Jewish society. The privileged Jew became richer, the unprivileged one, poorer. The first went into trade and finance operations on a large scale, with the state's blessing. The unprivileged Jew had either to earn his livelihood as an official or servant of a privileged Jew or to eke out his living precariously as a peddler or a moneylender on pawn in the old style. As this situation became a rule in many principalities of Germany in particular, it put for the Jew a premium on enrichment and economic initiative as the only means of bettering his lot and obtaining some type of broader acceptance by the state. Combined with the former structure of the Court Jews, it led during the 18th century to unprecedented variegation in economic Jewish activity, in particular among the richer strata, hand in hand with an unprecedented social and cultural differentiation in Jewish society. As most of the communities thus affected lacked strong continuous traditions, this being the result of the multiple expulsions in the German Empire from the 16th century onward, disintegration proceeded unchecked by cultural strength. With the development of the **Landjudenschaften* type of communal leadership, the influence of the Court Jew and of the rich Jew grew, while estrangement between him and poorer Jews also became proportionately greater.

In the Netherlands and southern France (*Bordeaux, *Nantes) there was another line of cleavage – between the more prosperous Sephardi Jew, who was more acculturated to the host society, and the less well-to-do and less acculturated Ashkenazi Jews in these countries, in particular in France, where the line of division had also a regional character, most of the Ashkenazi Jews being concentrated in *Alsace and *Lorraine.

Enlightened Absolutism and the "Betterment of the Jews"

Enlightened absolutism added another element to the former attitude of mercantilist absolutism toward Jews. This aimed at the "betterment of the Jews" so as to make them less "harmful" to general society – for whose weal the enlightened absolutist ruler felt himself responsible – as well as to prepare them gradually for increased rights and better conditions if and when they might deserve them. The tolerance edict of Emperor *Joseph II issued in Austria in 1782 embodies the most systematic attempt to carry out this policy in relation to Jews. It continued the attempts to hold down their numbers, though granting them a few alleviations in the field of economic activity, while setting out a whole system of measures aimed at their "education" through their linguistic and social *assimilation and curtailment of their unproductive economy.

Arguments for Toleration

At the same time, several circles of intellectuals and sectarian divines of the 16th to 18th centuries developed more intensely and more consequentially the approach to real toleration and a different appreciation of the Jew and his status. Jewish apologetics of this period found a more appreciative reception in these circles. Typical and most systematic of such innovators was John *Toland of England. In his *Reasons for Naturalizing the Jews in Great Britain and Ireland, On the same foot with all other Nations, Containing also, A Defence of the Jews against All Vulgar Prejudices in all Countries* (1714), he relies expressly on the work of Simone Luzzatto, which he promises to translate into English. He uses many mercantilist arguments in favor of the Jews. Toland is ironic toward the anti-Jewish Christian hierarchy, applying a new twist to an old Reformation accusation against the Christian hierarchy that it derived its hieratic and hierarchical spirit from the precedents of Jewish priesthood. In the spirit of upholding the "betterment of the Jews" he promises that they will achieve productivization after they had been granted rights. Even Toland was not ready to permit them to hold state office, though he was prepared to see them as officials in the municipality and the bourse. He adduces

> Those whole streets of magnificent buildings that the Jews have erected at Amsterdam and The Hague: but there are other Jews now in the World to adorn London or Bristol with the like, the fifth part of the People in Poland (to name no other country) being of this Nation … (*ibid.*, 17)

as an argument for encouraging Jewish settlement, in which mercantilist considerations are combined with a novel appreciation of the masses of the Jewish population, not only a few of them.

Presaging a different attitude toward Jewish culture and the Jewish fate, his words express a new attitude:

> Tis true, that in Turky they enjoy immoveable property, and exercise mechanic arts: they have likewise numerous Academies in Poland, where they study in the Civil and Canon Laws of their nation, being privileg'd to determine even certain criminal Causes among themselves: yet they are treated little better than Dogs in the first place, and often expos'd in the last to unspeakable Calamities (*ibid.*, 43).

This acceptance of Jewish learning and a Jewish autonomous judiciary as positive factors still had long to wait before they were appreciated even among friends of the Jews in the 19th century. Toland was representative in this connection of the positive religious attitudes held by small Christian sects in Western Europe toward Jews and Judaism and which are often overlooked in the general picture of the change of attitude to Jews. Typical of this approach and its innovatory, almost prophetic, view of Jewish potentialities are his words in a letter to a friend in 1709:

> Now if you'll suppose with me this pre-eminence and immortality of the MOSAIC REPUBLIC in its original purity, it will follow; that, as the Jews known at this day, and who are dispers'd over Europe, Asia, and Africa, with some few in America, are found by good calculation to be more numerous than either the Spaniards (for example) or the French: So if they ever happen to be resettl'd in Palestine upon their original foundation, which is not at all impossible; they will then, by reason of their excellent constitution, be much more populous, rich, and powerful than any other nation now in the world. I would have you consider, whether it be not both the interest and duty of Christians to assist them in regaining their country … (Appendix 1, to his *Nazarenus* (1718), 8).

Pro-Jewish argumentation proceeded along the main line of enlightenment reasoning in Germany. Its principal and most influential spokesmen were Christian Wilhelm von *Dohm and Gotthold Ephraim *Lessing. In a series of literary works – his drama *Die Juden*, his *Die Erziehung des Menschengeschlechts*, and most influential and celebrated of all, his *Nathan der Weise* – Lessing put the case for treatment of Jews as equals in humanity on the basis of deistic conceptions of religion and enlightenment conceptions of nationality and mankind. His parable of the "Three Rings" became famous as expressing the basic similarity of all monotheistic religions. Lessing did not defend Jewish separate existence, he defended the right of the individual Jew to be treated like a human being, despite his religion and outward appearance. Lessing was influenced in this, like Dohm later, by the personality and views of Moses *Mendelssohn. Dohm in his work proposed achieving the betterment of the Jews with a clearly defined aim toward improvement of their condition.

Moses Mendelssohn

The impact of Moses Mendelssohn represented an old-new type of Jewish encounter with the host society, unfamiliar in Germany. As a scholar in the employment of a rich Jew, his position was very similar to that of the scholars in the retinue of the Jewish courtiers in Spain. Mendelssohn met intellectuals as an intellectual, men of enlightenment as a leader in the enlightenment philosophy. He put the case not of the material "usefulness" of a Jew but of his cultural usefulness. Defending the separation of Church and State, and defining Torah as a social constitution or Jewish national law, he presented a Jewish approach toward *enlightenment. There were several families in his Berlin circle who were more radical in their efforts to achieve practical assimilation. Some of them despised the Jewish faith and culture. The readiness of Christians of high social and cultural standing to meet individual Jews as equals, and the refusal of the enlightened absolutist state to grant rights even to "enlightened" Jews, created conditions of social temptation and psychological pressure to leave the faith and become apostates. This was the beginning of the considerable trend toward apostasy, which at the end of the 18th century and during the 19th was to take away more than 200,000 Jews from Judaism in Europe.

Egalitarianism and Emancipation in the U.S.

The *United States of America opened a totally different line of approach to the Jews. In the new land, uncontaminated by traditions of oppressive practice toward Jews, where many sectarians appreciated the model of the "Mosaic republic" for their own society, *emancipation of the Jews came as part of the independence and liberation of the American states. Despite former partial limitations included in the constitutions of the former colonies, the new states accepted equality of peoples of all religions as a matter of principle and of fact. The views of the founder of Rhode Island, Roger Williams, in the 17th century were thus fulfilled. Some social discrimination and several remaining legal disabilities were quickly removed during the end of the 18th and beginning of the 19th century. Thus 1776 is a date not only in United States history but also in Jewish history marking the first emancipation as a matter of general policy.

The French Revolution

With the growth of revolutionary sentiment after the American Revolution, many people were prepared to regard the equality of the Jews as a test case for the application of egalitarianism as a guideline for political and social life. Yet the *French Revolution did not grant immediately, or as a self-understood matter, equality of rights to Jews. Despite the preparatory work accomplished by the historiography of Jacques *Basnage and the works of Abbé *Grégoire, the hostile tradition of public opinion toward Jews was still very strong in France. In the long and complicated discussions and legal enactments that took place between 1789 and 1791 an important role was played by the fact that many in France were ready to grant – and indeed granted – rights to the "good" Sephardi Jews of the south, while they were reluctant to grant similar grants to the "uncivilized" Jews of Alsace-Lorraine. Jewish emancipation met here – not for the first time in history, but for the first time in the course of emancipation in modern times – with the fact that the egalitarian principle is dependent upon popular sentiment, and often these do not coincide in regard to the attitude toward Jews.

Final emancipation was carried through in the end as a matter of revolutionary logic by Robespierre and his followers in 1791. The same logic demanded that emancipation be granted only to Jews as individuals – which, spelled out in practice, meant only to Jews ready and willing to leave their own culture and identify and to assimilate into the French – and not to Jews as members of a separate nation.

Napoleon Bonaparte and the French Sanhedrin

The tensions and complexities underlying emancipation in a country with an old anti-Jewish tradition were brought into sharp relief under Emperor *Napoleon Bonaparte. On the one hand, he carried on the tradition of the French republican revolutionary armies, which had brought equality to Jews in the Netherlands, in Italy, and in German cities and principalities. On the other hand, Napoleon sensed the historic unity and character of the Jews and disliked their independent spirit. He was also sensitive to the disturbing problem of Jewish moneylending as it had emerged in Alsace-Lorraine. He therefore turned to ancient notions of creating a semi-representative type of leadership for Jews as an instrument for carrying out his objectives concerning them. In 1806 he convened an *Assembly of Jewish Notables and later on created a *Sanhedrin to give religious sanction to the answers of the Assembly to the questions put to it by his emissaries. The two institutions, constituted of Ashkenazi and Sephardi Jews from France, Italy, and Germany, accepted the main demands of the centralist empire while striving to keep as far as possible within the framework of Jewish law and tradition. The Sanhedrin's decisions of 1807 to a large extent provide an explanation of Jewish customs and morals in terms understandable to French Bonapartist society. They cover much legal ground, and, without explicitly departing from the basis of messianic hope and Jewish national cohesion, make patriotism to the present-day state "the religious duty of all Jews who were born or who settled in a state, or who are so considered according to the laws and conditions of the state to regard this state as their fatherland" (["… *de regarder le dit Etat comme sa patrie*]" from *Décisions Doctrinales du Grand Sanhédrin qui s'est tenu à Paris au mois d'Adar Premier, l'an de la Création 5567 (Fevrier 1807), Sous les Auspices de Napoléon-Le-Grand, Avec la traduction littérale du texte Français en Hébreu* (1812), 42).

While exacting this declaration of French patriotism from Jewish notables and rabbis, Napoleon prepared a series of laws which in practice limited the equality of Jews before the law. Demanding from the Jews the full consequence of emancipation, he denied them part of its content. It is a historical irony that Napoleon's decrees against the Jews lapsed through their non-renewal by the Restoration Bourbon regime.

In the west of Europe Jewish status did not deteriorate after the downfall of Napoleon: the struggle for the full emancipation of the Jews in England went on in a relatively tranquil atmosphere, while the Netherlands, and *Belgium which separated from it in 1830, retained Jewish emancipation. In France, after the lapse of the Napoleonic decrees in 1818, the condition of the Jews continued to improve. In 1831 the state began to pay salaries to rabbis; in 1846 the last minor legal disabilities for Jews were abolished through the influence of Adolphe *Crémieux, a French Jewish statesman who obtained in 1870 a decree conferring equality on the Jews of Algeria.

The Congress of Vienna and Romantic Reaction in Germany

In Germany there were different developments. The Romantic reaction against revolutionary rationalism reasserted in modern terms the validity of old Christian assumptions against the equality of the Jews. The Congress of *Vienna refused to ratify the rights of the Jews acquired under the Napoleonic conquest: the implications of the proposal concerning their rights "in" German cities and states were changed by substituting ratification of laws granted "by" German cities and states. Even worse was the reaction of public sentiment. Respectable philosophers deliberated on the impossibility of Jews being citizens of a historic Christian state. Vulgar publicists like Hartwig *Hundt-Radowsky advised expulsion of the Jews, vilified their character, and hinted that their murder would be no more than a minor transgression. The so-called *Hep! Hep! disturbances against Jews that occurred in Germany in 1819 were but a violent expression of this reactionary movement. The equality of Jews in German society was actually hindered by deep-rooted popular prejudice against them. Their legal equality was much delayed and complicated by the fact that even their friends were divided into those who demanded, as in the 18th century, their assimilation and "betterment of character" as a precondition to the equality of individual Jews, and those who saw emancipation as a precondition to assimilation and "betterment of character."

Typical of modern German society was the attitude of German radicals to "*Die Judenfrage*" ("the Jewish question"). Feuerbach and his disciples carried over the 18th-century enmity to Jews on the grounds of their religion and prejudices. Bruno *Bauer actually demanded their Christianization before any acceptance of Jews into society. Karl *Marx considered Judaism evil, and Mammon the Jewish God. He differs from Bauer in considering that Jews could be emancipated legally while remaining as themselves in society because, as he formulated it, capitalist society is becoming "Judaized." Social emancipation would come only in a revolutionary society where there is neither Judaism nor Christianity and the historical trend of "capitalist Judaization" is stopped and reversed. Until then Marx considered it axiomatic that the Jewish religion include contempt of theory, of art, of history, and of man as a goal in itself: "The social emancipation of the Jew means the emancipation of society from Judaism." This scion of the Jewish people thus despised past Jewish creativity and tradition, declaiming in a prophetic tone against the culture of the Jews.

Emancipation in Germany and England

Jewish emancipation was achieved in German states as a result of various legal enactments, their retraction, and their reenactment throughout most of the 19th century (see *Bavaria, *Prussia), while German society, in particular its higher echelons, did not accept Jews during this period. In England Jewish emancipation was completed through a struggle for the abolition of Christian formulas in the oath upon taking a seat in parliament or entering public office. Radical opinion in England was much more prepared for the granting of full religious equality than in France. The Welsh philosopher Richard Price criticized paragraph 10 of the French "Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen" of 1789 because of its rider to religious equality – "provided his avowal of them does not disturb the public order established by the law." In his view this was mistaken: "For it is obvious that in Turkey, writing against Mahomet; in Spain, against the Inquisition; and in every country, against its established doctrines, is a disturbance of public order established by law; and therefore, according to this article, punishable." He would have enacted the right of man "also to discuss freely by speaking, writing, and publishing all speculative points, provided he does not by any overt act or direct invasion of the rights of others …" (from his appendix to "A Discourse on the Love of Our Country," 1789). This historical tradition of the recognition of separate entities as equal, and not of individuals only, was to find expression in the whole approach to the "Jewish Question" in England as well as in the United States. When the historian *Macaulay in 1833 supported the proposal to abolish Jewish disabilities, he based his case not only on actual situations and abstract principles, but also to a large degree on the glorious Jewish past which guarantees a great future for the Jews as emancipated citizens in any state (see also *Apologetics). He did not demand of Jews that they should give up their messianic belief. He equated it with the Christian millennarian belief in the coming redemption. When at last Lionel Nathan *Rothschild was enabled to take his seat in Parliament in 1858 as a professing Jew, the struggle for Jewish emancipation in England closed in accordance with principles laid down long ago by sectarian forces and ideals.

Period of the Polish Partitions

The changes in Jewish life, culture, and status in Western and Central Europe that had resulted through the impact of economic and cultural processes at work in general society with implications for the Jews, and the entry of Jews supported by the interests and aims of the host societies into various economic and social functions, influenced relatively small numbers of Jews. In Eastern Europe the changes resulted from political and social upheavals that influenced masses of Jews, mainly in the direction of evolving new systems and developments of their old culture and society. The partitions of Poland-Lithuania (1772, 1793, 1795) between Austria, Russia, and Prussia broke up the greatest Jewish concentration of Europe into three parts, disconnecting old lines of communication and severing long-established relations between communities in towns and regions. The political and spiritual turmoil into which Polish society was thrown preceding the partitions, and the revolt led by Kościuszko against the partitions and its failure, raised, among a host of other problems, the Jewish question too.

The growing importance of the Christian third estate at the time of the death throes of Poland-Lithuania was an adverse factor for the Jews. On the other hand the economic importance of the Jews there and the egalitarian principles penetrating from the West began to work for Jewish equality. How to achieve the "betterment" of the Jews and their "productivization" became themes of some importance about this time in some circles of both Polish and Jewish society. Their effects on relations between Jews and Poles for the time being were doomed to remain theoretical considerations only. The status of the Jewish masses of former Poland-Lithuania was to be determined from now on by powers influenced by totally alien traditions of treatment and attitude toward Jews.

Incorporation into Russia

Russia, which obtained the lion's share of the Jewish population, had had no Jews under its rule since the 15th century, when the "Judaizing" movement caused such a scare that Jews had been totally excluded from the country. In campaigns before 1772 the Russian armies would drown Jews or kill them in other ways in cities they had taken. This could not be done with the vast masses of Jews she now acquired. Of the other powers, both Prussia and Austria were already dedicated to the mercantilist-absolutist system of discriminating between individual Jews and controlling their population. Both were now confronted by large numbers of Jews, the majority of whom were poor and whose demographic growth could not be stopped.

Empress *Catherine II was prepared to see the Jews as an integral part of the town population in the newly acquired districts, and she defined their legal status as such, granting them even the right to vote for municipalities. This almost immediately created difficulties: the Russian autocratic government did not permit townsmen to settle in villages; yet, many Jews were living in them. To this was added the aim of the now politically dispossessed Polish nobility to take over the place the Jews had filled in the economy of the villages. The Russian government, on its side, was troubled by the situation, in which it found itself socially allied to the Polish Catholic nobility, while from a religious and national point of view it felt obliged to promote the interests of the Belorussian and west Ukrainian Greek-Orthodox peasantry. Jewish merchants began to enter eastern, originally Russian, districts, and to compete with local merchants. The government therefore began to consider ways and means of dealing with this new Jewish aggregate and the problems it raised.

Czar *Alexander I met, in the committee he created for clarifying this problem, with two opposed opinions similar to those currently debating this question in the West. Some members of the commission considered that Jews had first to be granted rights so as to improve them and "make them harmless." Others considered that the Jews had first to be rendered harmless and to be "improved" before they could be granted new rights. The statute for the Jews promulgated in Russia in 1804 was largely based on the second view. One of the main measures to prevent their causing harm to the peasants, by inducing them to buy alcoholic drinks and damaging them in other ways, was the demand that Jews should leave all the villages within four years. Another result of this trend was the unique invention of drawing a second borderline within the border of the state: Jews were not permitted to settle or live in the territory east of this line. The permitted area included regions taken over from Poland with an addition of several more in the southeast of the state. Thus the *Pale of Settlement of the Jews was created in Russia (in a process of line drawing and area redistributions that went on well into the 1830s), to remain in existence until the Revolution of 1917.

The Pale of Settlement, from its creation, was doubly constricting. Jews could not go beyond its borders, while within them they were driven from the villages to the townships and cities. As the Jews were an integral part of the village economy, and village occupations constituted the livelihood of a considerable number of Jews, their expulsion from the villages was not easy to implement; many decrees and counter-decrees were issued through the greater part of the 19th century, and still it was not accomplished in full. Jews also left the villages because of other reasons. The Polish uprisings of 1830 and 1863 caused much impoverishment among the Polish nobility; many of its most enterprising members emigrated from the country, and the Jewish village economy was thus much impaired. In the 1840s Jews tried to carry on their former business in alcoholic beverages through leasing the vodka monopoly from the government. From the 1860s, however, they even left this branch.

Economic and Social Developments in Western and Central Europe after Emancipation

Economic and social developments in West and Central Europe were different from those in Eastern Europe. The upper strata of Jews in Central and Western Europe became wealthier with emancipation or semi-emancipation. The banking house of the *Rothschilds developed from its relatively modest origins at Frankfurt on the Main to become the arbiter of international loans and monetary transactions in Europe in the first decades of the 19th century. Byron could exclaim:

> Who hold the balance of the world? Who reign / O'er congress, whether royalist or liberal? / Who rouse the shirtless patriots of Spain? / (That make old Europe's journals squeak and gibber all). / Who keep the world, both old and new, in pain / Or plea-

> sure? Who make politics run glibber all? / Jew Rothschild, and his fellow-Christian, Baring … (*Don Juan*, Canto 12, v).

In France, the brothers Pereire dealt in international *banking on a smaller scale. Gerson von *Bleichroeder was not only a banker of first magnitude in the third quarter of the 19th century, but also the financial adviser of *Bismarck. These banking houses participated to a large degree in the financing of *railroad construction too, as did also Baron Maurice de *Hirsch. The importance and function of these international rival banks was already declining by the 1880s, when national banks and limited liability share banks took over much of the finance and financial activity in many countries. Many of these Jewish bankers and largescale contractors and merchants were ennobled, and thus moved even farther away from common Jews.

In Western and Central Europe, Jews also entered the "free professions." In *medicine, they continued a long and much respected Jewish tradition. In other professions they were newcomers. In the legal profession they were new (see *Law) in the sense that Jews did not participate in general, state-regulated law practice until the emancipation, but they brought with them an old tradition of Jewish legal deliberation and practice. Jews entered newspaper publishing, editing, writing, and reporting (see *Journalism). The great news agencies of *Reuter in England and Bernhard *Wolff in Germany were founded and directed by Jews. Though university chairs were still withheld from Jews, they entered many of the lower ranks of the academic world. Many Jews contributed to literature; some apostates like Heinrich *Heine and Ludwig *Boerne were notable. Among apostates who gained prominence in *politics and social thought were Benjamin *Disraeli, Julius *Stahl, and Karl Marx. Jews also entered politics, some gaining prominence, like Lionel Nathan Rothschild and David *Salomons in England, Adolphe Crémieux in France, and Gabriel *Riesser in Germany. Jews were active in the leadership of revolutionary movements, as Hermann *Jellinek and Adolf *Fischhof in the 1848 revolution of Austria. Many Jewish intellectuals were active in the 1848 revolution in Germany. The names of Ferdinand *Lassalle and Moses *Hess were prominent among revolutionary leaders. Many Jewesses of the upper circles were famous for their *salons and cultivated mode of life, both in Berlin and in Vienna at the time of the Vienna Congress. Later on, Jewish patrician social life became well known in Central and West European cities. At the same time, small merchants and peddlers, horse and cattle dealers, smallscale moneylenders, and representatives of other lesser occupations were common among Jews in Bavaria, Alsace-Lorraine, and above all, among immigrants coming from the eastern districts of Germany and Austria to the central districts.

Migration Trends from the End of the 18th Century

Jewish migration in Europe had changed direction by the end of the 18th century – or even somewhat earlier – and up to the 1890s. It now went from east to west, but occurred mainly within the borders of states. In Russia, it moved from the densely populated parts of Lithuania and *Belorussia to the more thinly populated districts of the *Ukraine. In Germany, it moved from the Posen (*Poznan) districts to the center and west of the country, filling gaps created by the apostasy of the Jewish upper strata and veteran families. In Austria, it went from Galicia to the regions of Vienna and Hungary; in France, from Alsace-Lorraine to the center and west of the country. Jews from Bavaria, as well as other districts of Germany, in particular up to the unification of Germany in 1870, emigrated to the United States and some to England. All these immigrants in their new places of settlement met with the manifestations and results of the industrial and commercial revolution in Europe. They also gradually absorbed, in layer after layer of immigration, the new trends of cultural adaptation and assimilation already at work among the older communities there. The Sephardi communities of England and the United States were pioneering in this process. Their members became the upper layer of Jewish society in these countries.

The East European Shtetl

In Eastern Europe, Jewish occupations remained at the end of the 18th and beginning of the 19th century within their former framework. The shtetl not only developed an economic structure of its own during the first half of the 19th century under the impact of the expulsions from the villages, and through the development of a new chain of economic and social relations with the villages from the shtetl centers, but also created an ecological pattern of its own. The shtetl economy of small shopkeepers, craftsmen, peddlers, and peddling craftsmen established itself to become the typical economic set-up for the majority of Jews in the Pale of Settlement. In its midst, and at the heart of shtetl life, was the central market place, around which there stood the main shops and taverns for tea and alcoholic beverages. Market day was the time of earning and activity, when the villagers arrived to buy and sell. For many shtetl Jews their township was actually their home from Friday through Sunday only, since the rest of the week they spent peddling or working as itinerant craftsmen – cobblers, tailors, smiths – in the villages. Social differentiation was much slower in developing, and up to the 1840s only a sprinkling of Jews had entered the newly opened free professions. A few Jews enriched themselves in Russia as large-scale traders and bankers, or somewhat later, as railroad-building contractors, such as Samuel *Poliakoff or the *Guenzburg family. By the 1880s, master craftsmen and journeymen in the Pale together numbered approximately half a million. In the incipient industries, such as cloth manufacture in *Lodz, a Jewish proletariat was beginning to emerge.

Divergences in Jewish Society in the West and East of Europe

In West and Central Europe developments in Jewish society took their direction from the upper circles connected with the centralist state structure. Jews contributed to its economy in loans and banking, industrial enterprise, and largescale international trading, in particular in the extreme west and northwest of Europe, at the end of the 18th and beginning of the 19th century. Up to the 1880s there was a progression toward banking and commercial undertakings on an increasingly greater scale, toward entry in considerable numbers into the free professions and general society, and toward political and social leadership. In the East, while the typical shtetl economy and society was developing, the social distance was widening between the increasingly impoverished strata of shopkeepers, peddlers, and craftsmen, and toward the end of this period, some industrial proletariat, and the relatively narrow group of wealthy bankers, builders, and largescale merchants.

Despite these differences between East and West, which gradually became even greater in Europe, and were at their most prominent between the Jews of the West and those of the Ottoman Empire and Islamic countries who had suffered from the general cultural and economic backwardness of their host society, the consciousness of unity and contacts between different elements of the Jewish populations did not diminish. Even where demographic and economic developments differed, cultural forces and traditions common to all were strong unifying factors.

Population Growth

This is evinced in the process of the remarkable population growth among Jews during most of the 19th century, accelerated in the 1890s. At the beginning of the 19th century there were approximately 3.25 million Jews in the world, of whom 2.75 million were in Europe, mostly Ashkenazim, and about half a million outside Europe, mostly Sephardim. At the beginning of the 1880s there were 7.5 million Jews, of whom about seven million were in Europe, mostly Ashkenazim (see *Demography; *Vital Statistics). The rate of growth of the Jewish population was almost everywhere twice that of the general population, even in backward countries. This was at a time of a great growth of *population everywhere. The Jewish population naturally benefited from its concentration in Europe, where the gains of medicine and preventive hygiene first made their mark, as well as from their concentration in towns, where again these cultural advances first had their effects. However, the specifically high Jewish rate of growth was mainly due to two factors: to a much lower infant mortality and to the good care taken of the ill and aged. Here old cultural-religious traditions gave an advantage to the Jewish population. As a result of the developments in population growth and migration the distribution of Jews in the world at the beginning of the 1880s was approximately four million in czarist Russia, 1.5 million in Austria-Hungary, 550,000 in united Germany, approximately 300,000 in the Ottoman Empire, and approximately 200,000 in the United States.

Radical Trends in Eastern Europe

Several developments in Eastern Europe between the 1860s and 1880s led to a considerable radicalization in the ideology of the youth and a marked cleavage within Jewish society; on the other hand, through the selfsame developments, the social structure and the problems of Eastern Jewry began to closely resemble those of the Western Jewish communities. The demand of the Russian government (1827) requiring the Jewish community in most of the Pale of Settlement to supply youngsters as *Cantonists for prolonged Russian army service gave rise to much bitterness within the communities between the leading circles, who were responsible for mustering the quota, and the lower strata, who suspected the former of evading this onerous duty in the case of their own children and putting it on the children of the poor. Jewish society as a whole was embittered toward the tyrannical government of Russia that used army service as a means of bringing about the assimilation of young boys.

The government of Czar *Nicholas I again put forward a constitution for the Jews in 1835. Apart from exclusion of the paragraph concerning expulsion from the villages, this constitution was a summary of former disabilities, including a prohibition on Jewish residence within 50 versts (33 miles) of the western border. The constitution promised various alleviations for Jews turning to Russian culture, again a continuation of former policies. Thousands of Jewish families applied for agricultural settlement, and many were settled in the south. In 1840 a new commission for research into the Jewish legal status and existence was set up. Both the premises it worked on and the decisions arrived at had a markedly anti-Jewish bias. Czar Nicholas I also attempted to enforce changes in Jewish education and dress; he abolished Jewish *kahal* autonomy in 1844, and planned to classify the Jewish population into five classes, according to their "usefulness." This project, as well as his cruel policy toward the Jews, was abandoned after his death in 1855.

Czar *Alexander II attempted the solution of the Jewish problem, again on the basis of discrimination between Jews but in this case through showing favor toward small professionally educated groups of Jews, with the aim of bringing, by their example, the general Jewish population – to which no alleviation was granted – to the main road of general culture and productivization. During the 1860s various groups of such Jews were granted various exemptions from anti-Jewish discriminatory legislation, the main prize being the permission to live outside the Pale of Settlement. This right was granted to Jewish merchants who paid the highest scale of tax, to Jews who had academic diplomas, and, in 1865, to Jewish craftsmen. This trend was not continued in the 1870s, while public opinion as well as state policy turned against minorities in Russia in general, and Jews in particular. Only in *Romania was the Jewish status and Jewish existence even worse than in czarist Russia. The intervention of the Congress of *Berlin in 1878 in favor of Jews in the Balkan states, and chiefly of those in Romania, helped them only formally, but not in actual practice.

Communal Organization

Jewish autonomy all this time was being attacked, both from without and from within, not only in its form as a corporation, but also as a bastion of religious and social separatism. The early Jewish enlightenment circles regarded the community establishment as an institution for enforcement of Orthodoxy and meddling in their personal lives which they did not intend to suffer. To intellectual dilettantes of means, of the type of Isaac *D'Israeli, the father of Benjamin, community service was a nuisance. As he declared in 1813 to those who had elected him *parnas* of the community,

> A person who has always lived out of the sphere of your observation, of retired habits of life, who can never unite in your public worship, because as now conducted it disturbs instead of exciting religious emotions, a circumstance of general acknowledgment, who has only tolerated some part of your ritual, willing to concede all he can in those matters which he holds to be indifferent; such as a man, with but a moderate portion of honour and understanding, never can accept the solemn functions of an Elder in your congregation, and involve his life and distract his business pursuits not in temporary but permanent duties always repulsive to his feelings (in: C. Roth, *Anglo-Jewish Letters* (1938), 238, no. 115).

This is an expression not only of D'Israeli's personal taste and indolence, but also of the trend toward assimilation and a renunciation of Jewish social cohesion and cultural tradition. With increased assimilation, such tendencies against autonomy became sharper and more meaningful. For people who appreciated the way of life and habits of the society of their environment, the forms of Jewish prayer, burial and marriage customs even looked ludicrous.

Despite these forces undermining the organized Jewish community, it not only continued to exist in the West but even gained new strength and an articulate structure there through the system of *consistories imposed by Napoleon, who was interested in utilizing the community organs as functionaries of the state. This situation continued with some changes in most of continental Western Europe. In England the *Board of Deputies of British Jews began to act on behalf of the whole of the British Empire from the time of the chairmanship of Moses *Montefiore (1838). The Jewish organizational framework in England – and, patterned on it, in many of the dominions – acquired an even more authoritative position in the second half of the 19th century with the establishment of the authority of the chief rabbi and with the organization of the rigid *United Synagogue.

Communal organization in the United States proceeded along different lines. Divisions between the first layer of Jewish immigration there, the Sephardi, the second, mainly German Jews, and the beginnings of the third, of Eastern European Jews, in conjunction with the size of the country and the huge size of the cities in which the Jews tended to concentrate, combined to create the type of synagogue community established by the exiles from Spain (see above). This was later to develop, with the mass immigration of Eastern European Jews after 1881, into the *Landsmannschaften* form of community, which still retained many of the religious aspects of community leadership and life. The same factors also led to the creation of secular ideological associations, such as the Arbeter Farband and *Workmen's Circle. By the mid-19th century attempts toward centralization were made in the United States also, though in the main ephemeral. About this time there also developed a type of organization suited to the upper-middle-class elements of U.S. Jewry, introducing orders on the Masonic pattern devoted to Jewish problems. One of the first, and still the most influential, was the *B'nai B'rith order, founded in 1843.

In Central Europe, religious and social fragmentation led to many breaches within the Jewish community, mainly brought about by the Orthodox wing which felt itself threatened by the growing predomination of *Reform elements in Jewish society. By the 1880s the Orthodox sector achieved in both Hungary and Germany – ironically with the help of liberals in Parliament – the right for every individual Jew to leave his local community. It resulted in the institution and ideology of the *Austrittsgemeinde* (see also Samson Raphael *Hirsch; Isaac Dov *Bamberger). These religious and cultural orientations led to new forms of linkage within the state of the Reform and Orthodox sectors, and, in Hungary, also of the *neolog trends. They convened their own conferences and synods of rabbis (see below).

In Eastern Europe Jews in general retained a strong attachment to the ancient community structure. *Ḥasidism on the one hand and the emergence of secular Jewish political and social organizations on the other produced new elements of leadership, which mostly cooperated with the community organization, while trying to use it for their own purposes and according to the ideals guiding them. Thus in regions where Ḥasidism predominated the local rabbi became very much subordinated to the authority of the ḥasidic *ẓaddik, whose follower he was, or to the authority of the *ẓaddik* who had the largest following in the community.

From about the beginning of the 1880s the aims and weight of secular political parties began to influence the policies and composition of the community leadership. The abolition of the *kahal* by the Russian government in 1844 did not greatly restrict actual community work. The Jews continued with their own leadership structure even if having to use different names for it in reference to the state authorities.

The adherence of Jews to their own conception of the personality and type of education required for religious leaders was strongly in evidence in their reaction to the requirement of the czarist government that rabbis be educated in Russian culture and enlightenment trends. Seminaries for such rabbis were opened by the state at Jewish centers such as *Vilna and *Zhitomir but were boycotted by traditional scholars, and the graduates were considered ipso facto unfit for the rabbinate. The government therefore deputed its own state-appointed rabbis in many places, the so-called **kazyonny ravvin*; however, the Jews continued to acknowledge their own rabbis, generally looking upon the *kazyonny ravvin* as an insult or joke.

Religious and Cultural Differentiation

Religious and cultural life between approximately the middle of the 18th century and the 1880s underwent a continuous process of differentiation, enrichment, and involuntary pluralism. Ḥasidism introduced the charismatic personality as a regular element of leadership, which was later on institutionalized in the dynasties of ḥasidic *ẓaddikim*. At first Ḥasidism was bitterly opposed both for its tenets and the temper and way of life of ḥasidic groups, in particular at the courts of the *ẓaddikim*. The opposition failed, although it was led by the greatest rabbinical authorities who made lavish use of their powers of excommunication (see *Elijah b. Solomon Zalman, the Gaon of Vilna) and by the lay community leadership which strongly attacked it. As a result the opposition itself created a new school of Lithuanian yeshivot expressive of its own ideals and attitudes, and gradually formed a new *Mitnaggedic-Lithuanian pattern of Jewish subculture. Due to the basic conservatism of Ḥasidism, despite the suspicions cast on it by its opponents, and since the main attention of its opponents was concentrated on giving direction to their own pattern of culture, there emerged (more or less by the 1830s) an uneasy coexistence between these two groups.

As the *Haskalah movement and the *maskilim* also remained within the framework of Jewish society, despite the sharp disagreement and suspicion between them and the conservative elements, Jews began, by about this time too, to accustom themselves to the existence of various trends within Jewry. Both the tension between them and the reluctant partial recognition reciprocally accorded by each side now resulted, for the first time since the period of the Second Temple, in the existence of clearly defined groups – differing in many aspects, cultural, religious, and social – but all regarding each other as within Jewry and partaking of Judaism, and each considering its own brand of Jewishness to be superior. Even Reform and assimilated Jews were defined publicly as Jews. This situation led to a heightening of intolerance on the formal level but to mutual toleration in practice. Jewish life was much enriched by the competing cultural streams, variety in modes of life, and diverse types of leadership existing within Judaism side by side in disharmony but with a tacit agreement to disagree.

The great personalities of the founders of these trends became the ideal prototypes for future generations – both through the history of their own lives and by means of the legends and semi-legends woven around them. In Ḥasidism, *Israel b. Eliezer Ba'al Shem Tov and the circle of his pupils, among the *Mitnaggedim*, Elijah Gaon of Vilna and his circle of pupils, and, in Haskalah, Moses Mendelssohn and his disciples, served both to fructify and influence cultural trends and individual behavior, as well as to accentuate differences.

Elements in Ḥasidism such as the ḥasidic *dance and song, the camaraderie of ḥasidic groups and courts, ḥasidic tales and accounts of wonders, not only colored the culture of the majority of East European Jewry but later, in the 20th century, influenced semi-secular and secular teachings and movements, like those of Martin *Buber and *Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir in its early stages, as well as the patterns of behavior of many other Jewish youth groups in the late 19th and the first half of the 20th century, and much of secular Hebrew and Yiddish literature.

The Mitnaggedic Jewish culture both created representatives of a scholarly lay elite in the Lithuanian towns and townships, and did much to give new stature and dimensions to the **talmid ḥakham*. The influence of *Mitnaggedim* ideals and attitudes is reflected in the teachings of men like Simon *Dubnow and in much of the secular and non-ecstatic trends of Jewish life in Ereẓ Israel, the United States, and *South Africa.

Haskalah led in many cases to extreme assimilation, but on the other hand it continued, in particular in Eastern Europe, its original cultivation of Hebrew and its creation of a secular Jewish literature, in philosophy, historiography, and above all, in belles lettres. In Central and Western Europe its influence bifurcated in the often convergent directions of the *Wissenschaft des Judentums on the one hand, and of Reform Judaism on the other (see also Abraham *Geiger; Leopold *Zunz; Samuel *Holdheim; Aaron *Chorin). In Eastern Europe Haskalah often provoked the opposition of the Jewish masses through the collaboration of its enthusiasts with oppressive governments in attempts to impose on them secular education and changes of language, *dress, and custom. Yet it was mainly on the foundations laid by Haskalah thinking, methods, and achievements that secular Hebrew culture and literature could develop within the framework of Zionism in the 20th century.

Organization of Mutual Assistance on an International Scale

Western and Central European Jews were thoroughly emancipated by the end of the 1860s. While increasingly involved with the culture and society of their environment, they could not remain unmoved by the plight of their unemancipated brethren in Eastern Europe, in the Balkan states, and in the Ottoman Empire. The rebuffs met with by many of the assimilationists in gentile society, and their own emotional and intellectual inability to adhere strictly to the rationalist (ahistorical) dogmas of the enlightenment, caused Jewish assimilation to remain paradoxically a specific phenomenon, in both Jewish and Christian societies. Cumulatively, these factors led in 1860 to the creation of the *Alliance Israélite Universelle, an international organization of assimilated Jews. These united their efforts, for the sake of religious brotherhood, to help their oppressed and inarticulate coreligionists, despite national differences. The activities of this organization included diplomatic action and the establishment of schools and welfare institutions in the countries of "backward" Jews, thus subconsciously expressing Jewish solidarity. Its many successes in part provided a challenge that led antisemites to readapt ancient libels about Jewish strivings for world domination into a malignant and influential myth through the forgery of the Protocols of the Learned *Elders of Zion. In a relatively short time the international structure of the Alliance began to weaken under the strain of national solidarities. Anglo-Jewry created its own *Anglo-Jewish Association, and German Jews eventually established their own *Hilfsverein der deutschen Juden.

Trends in Religious Reform

Cultural differentiation also led to many innovations and changes in Jewish life. Exponents of the Reform trend admitted explicitly that it was proposed to break down halakhic barriers – which were considered latter-day increments on the core of pure Jewish faith – between Jew and gentile. These included *kashrut*, the prohibition on *mixed marriages, and many of the Sabbath laws; there was also a move to abolish mention of the hope for a Messiah and for the return to Zion, and the use of the Hebrew language in prayer. On the last points Zacharias *Frankel seceded from the radical majority of the Reform movement and demanded a more conservative and historical approach (see *Conservative Judaism). This created yet a new facet of Jewish religious and cultural activity in Central Europe and later in the United States.

With the aim of throwing light on, as well as learning about, their own past, in order to present the case for emancipation and proposals for assimilation on a more respectful and firmer basis, the leading scholars of the *Wissenschaft des Judentums gradually developed a broader and increasingly secularized approach to their research into the Jewish past. The historical work of I.M. *Jost is the first sustained modern attempt of this type by a Jew.

Jewish ideals underwent a reformation with the aim of serving and reorientating Jewish religious consciousness. Reform circles tended to regard the Messiah not as a person who would come to redeem Israel but as a universalist process to redeem humanity. On the basis of this conception Leopold Zunz called the European revolution of 1848 "the Messiah." A later development of this conception was the theory of Jewish "mission": Israel had to see itself as the guardians and carriers of pure monotheism for all mankind; in modern circumstances assimilation would only help to fulfill this duty. Pointing to the social, religious, and political failings of Christianity, such theorists considered their "purified" Judaism the destined vehicle for making monotheism paramount. "The spring of nations" of the 1848 revolution introduced a new complication and an added tinge to the trends of assimilation and acculturation. Jews in Prague for example found themselves caught between the crosscurrents of German and Czech nationalism. In *Budapest they were caught in the triangle of German, Magyar, and Slav national demands, and in Galicia in the triangle of German, Polish, and, later on, Ukrainian demands. The upsurge of national consciousness gave rise to animosity against Jews. The Czechs resented the assimilation of Jews into the German sector, while many Slav nationalities opposed their assimilation into the Magyar group. Hence from now on the question whether to assimilate or not to assimilate was joined with the problem into which nationality to assimilate.

Modern Manifestations of Anti-Jewish Prejudice

With the growing democratization of political processes in various European states to the west of the Russian border, and the emergence into political influence of the mass of elementary school graduates, Jews were to encounter in most of the countries of their emancipation mounting popular prejudice and a new phenomenon in the influence of the stereotype, whereby the press, and popular art and literature destined for the masses, presented various social manifestations through the medium of clichés and images. The stereotype image of the Jew in modern times was based on and bore the imprint of the baneful image of the Middle Ages, but its representation by various groups was fashioned by their own fears. To conservative and right-wing groups the Jew had become by the 1860s the prototype of the wicked arch-innovator, and Jews were stigmatized as the destructive bacteria of the social web. To the left-wing radical he appeared the evil representative of the capitalist spirit, the arch-schemer and arch-exploiter. The common bond of the medieval anti-Jewish legacy let these opposed stereotypes coexist and even complement each other.

The blood libel case in Damascus (the *Damascus Affair) in 1840 shocked Jews everywhere, not only because of the cruelties inflicted on the victims and absurdity of the charge but also and mainly because they saw a recrudescence of an extreme medieval-type expression of Jew hatred. It led Moses *Hess in his *Rom und Jerusalem* (1862) to reject his own assimilationist and revolutionary past. His sense of isolation and humiliation caused by the anti-Jewish attitude of the left-wing Marxist radicals brought him back to a deep feeling of the historic continuity of the Jewish nation and to place great hopes for its future in its own homeland. Hess had a much greater impact than commonly accorded him: his response fitted the challenge felt by many Jews in West and Central Europe.

The historian Heinrich *Graetz was deeply moved and influenced by this work. In 1863 he wrote to Hess: "I am now in a state to let you know something that will interest you. The plan of settlement in Ereẓ Israel – or *Yemot ha-Mashi'aḥ* [Hebrew in the original] – is beginning to crystallize." In 1870 he communicated to Hess an idea of "a very cultured Englishman, a Christian"; Graetz was not permitted to communicate the whole idea, but could only ask "whether in France, in which Jews already have military training, and there are men of courage among them, there may be found about 50 that could become a kind of gendarmerie. They will find excellent employment but they must bring with them a certain measure of Jewish patriotism …. Please look into this matter and tell me your opinion" (published in: Ẓevi (Heinrich) Graetz, *Darkhei ha-Historyah ha-Yehudit*, ed. by S. Ettinger (1969), 268, 272).

Awakening Nationalism

The state of mind of Jews, in particular those who from alienation returned wholly or partially to Judaism, was influenced in the 1860s to 1890s both by their hostile reception in Christian society and the spectacle of awakening nationalism among suppressed peoples. When Italy united in the 1860s a geographical term became a political reality. Germany united to become a mighty empire through its victory of 1870–71. Slav peoples were demanding independence and fighting for their cultural identity against German or Magyar demands for their assimilation. Other Slav nations had revolted against the Ottoman Empire and established their independence. Ancient Greece had been resurrected relatively long ago (at the end of the 1820s), and Philhellenism had become a long-enduring fashion and ideological trend among cultured people in Europe. The whole meaning of Jewish assimilation was questioned in the light of these developments. Was Jewish continuity and culture less cogent and valuable than that of Serbs? Were Jews better received by the dominant nations than the Slavs and the Magyars? Inevitably the question was asked, "Why give up?"

From the 1840s gentile circles in England expressed hopes and formulated plans for "Jewish restoration to the Holy Land." These projects were supported not only by sectarians without political power but also by political leaders like the Earl of Shaftesbury. Pamphlets were published. Some activists like Laurence *Oliphant went to Ereẓ Israel to try to work them out. These projects and ideas were in a large degree prompted by the rapid and visible weakening of the Ottoman Empire and the anarchy within it. The Ottoman Empire was considered at that time "the sick man of Europe." The Crimean War was fought in the 1850s over the settlement of its fate. Though subsequently kept alive, this empire appeared to offer good opportunities for obtaining concessions and charters, in particular as the system of *capitulations made interference in its affairs possible and even easy.

This combination of external circumstances and the examples of national struggle and national resurrection was noted inside Jewish society by people who were either disappointed in their contacts with the environment or who, rooted in Jewish culture and society, reacted to the ravages brought about by assimilation. It was no accident that the pioneers of the idea of combining the reawakening of Jewish national consciousness with the return to Ereẓ Israel came either from the cultural borderline of assimilation like Moses Hess and his followers, or from the social borderline of the eastern districts of Germany where Jews living their own traditional life saw destructive influences advancing upon them; such were Elijah *Gutmacher and Ẓevi Hirsch *Kalischer, or Judah *Alkalai from the heartland of the Slav struggle for independence against the Ottoman Empire in Serbia (*Yugoslavia). In the United States of America Mordecai Manuel *Noah proposed (1825) the creation of the Jewish state "Ararat," first in the United States, although later his attention shifted to Ereẓ Israel.

Jewish Life in Ereẓ Israel

Jewish society and settlement in Ereẓ Israel was then in a stagnant phase, following earlier development. A certain renaissance of Jewish life in the land began with the groups who went there under the leadership of *Judah Ḥasid (1700) from Europe and Ḥayyim b. Moses *Attar from the Maghreb (1742). Social and religious activity in Eastern Europe brought over groups of both Ḥasidim (1777) and *Mitnaggedim* (1808–10). By the mid-19th century all these groups, and additional immigrants, mostly of a mature age, had coalesced into a fixed pattern of settlement and society. Jerusalem, Hebron, Tiberias, and Safed were "the four lands of holiness" in which Jews customarily settled. The income of over half of them, according to some estimates even up to 80% of the community, came from **ḥalukkah*. At this time *ḥalukkah* was a much respected institution for rendering financial assistance and homage by those remaining in the Diaspora, with its comforts and opportunities, to those who went to Ereẓ Israel to represent the nation in prayer and Torah study at the holy places.

Jewish culture reached high standards in this society. Most Jews there devoted their lives to divine worship in one way or another. The *ḥalukkah* distribution also imposed a pattern of social organization since the **kolel* unit was formed according to the source of *ḥalukkah* income and perpetuated the settlers' ties with their towns and regions of origin. The Sephardi element in this society tended to engage more frequently in ordinary business and crafts than the Ashkenazi. That element was thus more congenial to the first Ḥovevei Zion and Zionist pioneers who arrived in Ereẓ Israel in the 19th and early 20th centuries. This was also the background for the choice of the Sephardi pronunciation for modern Hebrew by its pioneer Eliezer *Ben-Yehuda. The capitulation system helped to keep the settlers in touch with the consuls of their lands of origin. While abroad the *meshullaḥim* (emissaries) not only collected money for the *ḥalukkah* but also brought the message of Ereẓ Israel to the Diaspora, and kept Jews everywhere in living contact with Ereẓ Israel through the sermons they delivered and accounts of conditions there. One of the main grounds of division between the Orthodox and Reform sectors in Jewry derived from differences in attitude toward messianic hopes, Ereẓ Israel, and the use of the Hebrew language in prayer, thus emphasizing in minds and emotions the centrality of these factors to Jewish life and thought.

Summary

The position of the Jews at the end of the foregoing period can be briefly summarized. By the end of the 1870s the Jewish population was in the process of constant and unprecedented growth, due largely to the persistence of old traditions of family cohesion and philanthropy. In the West both economic and social developments were moving in an upward direction, the old Sephardi families leading the way in these achievements, whereas in Eastern Europe conditions were growing worse, with a greater proportion of Jews deriving their livelihood from small businesses and workshops, and some growth of a working proletariat. The shtetl economy and society had crystallized. Migration was still largely taking place within the borders of states, in the general direction of east to west. Apostasy and assimilation, and to a certain extent also mixed marriages,

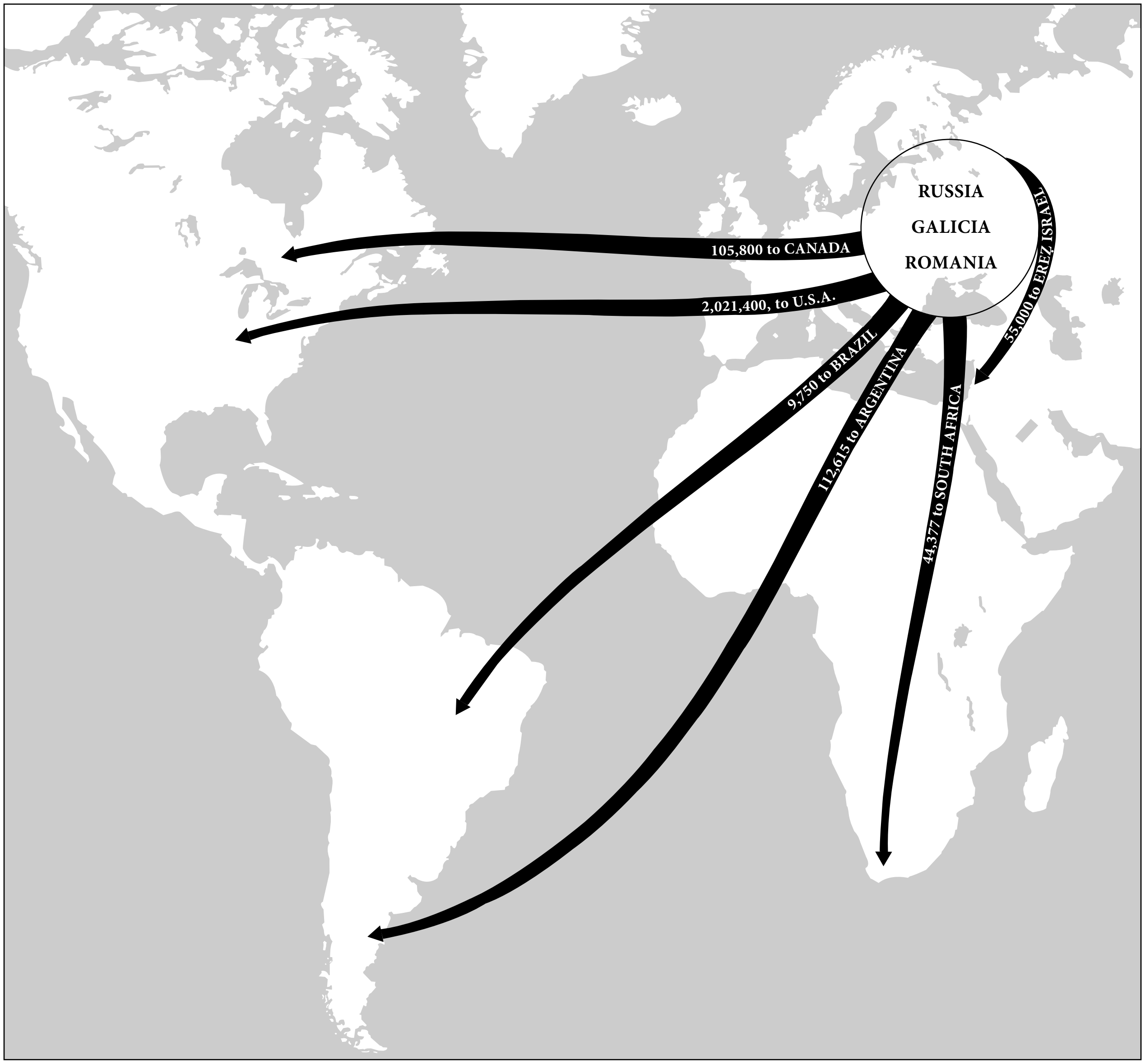

Map 4. Intercontinental migrations, 1881–1914. Based on data from H. Lestschinsky, "Jewish Migrations, 1840–1946," in L. Finkelstein (ed.), The Jews, *New York, 1960.*

had made considerable inroads into the upper strata of Jewish society in the great cities of Central and Western Europe, which were largely filled by the human and cultural reservoir of East European Jewry. In Central and Western Europe Jews had entered almost all professions, though their appointment to state and university posts was very slow. Although Jewish emancipation was complete almost everywhere in Europe except for czarist Russia, the equality granted to Jews in Romania and other Balkan states by the intervention of the powers and international conferences, like the Berlin Congress in 1878, remained on paper only. Growing achievements, acculturation, and emancipation had taught that the attainment of equality was as much a social and psychological problem as one of legal status. The first two aspects could not be legislated. The stereotype of public expression and propaganda, and the attainment of the masses to political and social power, did not permit the slow and delicate processes of social and cultural adjustment to equality to develop naturally. Jews were active and had achieved positions in science, in law, in the press and journalism, in medicine, in the arts, and in trade and banking. Some occupied important places in politics, yet their Jewish origin always remained recognizable to others as well as to themselves, even in the case of apostates like Benjamin Disraeli or Karl Marx. Their reactions to this situation differed from denigration of the Jewish character and culture (Marx) to pride in Jewish descent and even a claim to racial superiority (Disraeli). Most Jews active in public life preferred not to help fellow Jews or to become involved in Jewish matters.

In this attitude there was little difference between the conservative Achille *Fould in France and the liberals Eduard *Lasker and Ludwig *Bamberger in the German parliament or the revolutionaries Ferdinand *Lassalle and Johann *Jacoby. Jewry had become much diversified as a result of over a century of intense differences in opinion and changes in mood. Yet it remained united in consciousness though divided emotionally and in ways of life. Toward the end of this time the example as well as the antagonism of awakening nationalism had combined with the beginnings of a renaissance of Jewish national and cultural consciousness and creativity to influence in various ways – some starting originally as paths to assimilation like the Wissenschaft des Judentums – in the renewed striving for cohesion, internalized cultural creation, and direction of a vaguely felt need for independence in the land of their fathers.

[Haim Hillel Ben-Sasson]

MODERN TIMES – FROM THE 1880S TO THE EARLY 21ST CENTURY

Introduction

The absolute growth of the Jewish population was constant and impressive up to the *Holocaust. There were approximately 14 million Jews in the world around 1918 and 16 million Jews around 1937. Even the terrible loss of about six million Jews through the horrors of the Holocaust still left at the end of World War II a nation of approximately 11 to 12 million. According to estimates, the number of Jews in the world by 1970 was higher than immediately after World War I.

The rate of growth slowed down continuously from the 1880s onwards. The use of contraceptives and the ideal of a one-child or two-child family, which became increasingly prevalent among town populations in general, were felt among Jews in most of Europe and other continents, in particular from the middle of the 1920s. The effects – social as well as emotional – of the Holocaust caused, according to some estimates, a slight reversal of this trend and of the diminution in the Jewish birth rate. Mixed marriages up to the rise of Hitler to power became a continuous drain on the Jewish population. Their proportion in some countries and cities grew to more than one quarter of the total of Jewish marriages. Over three-quarters of the children of such marriages were brought up as non-Jews. The above-mentioned phenomena were evident in the European Jewish family; communities in the Mediterranean lands and particularly in Muslim countries were almost not affected by them until quite recently. In Europe again racist antisemitism and the revulsion felt by Jews at its appearance led to both a decrease in the number of mixed marriages from the late 1930s and a much higher proportion of affiliation among the offspring of such marriages to Jewish identity.

From the end of World War II mixed marriages multiplied, in particular in Western Europe and the United States, while the degree of attachment of such couples and their children to the Jewish nation remained very much in the balance. As a result of the combination of these phenomena the rate of growth of the Jewish population decreased from 2% annually before World War I to 1.1% in the 1920s, and to 0.8% in the 1930s. Although East European Jewry (except in Soviet Russia) was relatively little affected by the phenomena of the small family and mixed marriages, other factors, such as persecutions, the years of hunger and of massacres between 1918 and 1923, the economic crisis of 1929, and the anti-Jewish economic and social policies in most of the "successor states" to Austria-Hungary and Russia between the two world wars, combined to produce the same effects on the Jewish population as in the West.

Two processes changed the dispersion and ecology of the Jews in the world throughout this period. Emigration, from 1881, transferred masses of Jews from Eastern Europe overseas (largely to the United States), and shifted the center of gravity for Jews in terms of environment and cultural influence. (See Map: Intercontinental Migrations 1). Societies and cultures which had been molded predominantly by English tradition, and by the pluralist pattern created by the "melting pot" of multinational immigration, increasingly became the hosts for Jews. These were now the matrix of the challenge and response of Diaspora life, instead of the Germanic or Slav environment and the homogeneous, predominantly intolerant, cultures by which the Jews had been surrounded before the great wave of emigration. In its own macabre way the Holocaust led in the same direction, for extermination overwhelmingly affected the communities of Central and Eastern Europe.

Secondly, in the whole of this period the Jews in the world underwent a constant and accelerating process of urbanization and even megalopolitization. Even while the shtetl society and economy were still almost intact in Eastern Europe, though much changed by the effects of emigration and economic and social factors, in 1914 there were already over 100,000 Jews living in each of 11 cities in the world. In the old area of Jewish settlement *Warsaw numbered approximately 350,000 Jews, *Lodz more than 150,000, Budapest approximately a quarter of a million, and Vienna more than 150,000. In the new area of Jewish settlement created by the pace of emigration (see below) *London numbered more than 150,000 Jews, *Philadelphia in the United States more than 175,000, *Chicago about 350,000, and New York 1,350,000. The trend has continued, both in absolute numbers as well as in the proportion of Jews in metropolitan cities relative to the general Jewish population in a country. On the eve of World War II over one-third of the Jews in the world were concentrated in 19 cities, each of which had more than 100,000 Jewish residents. New York alone had a population of about two million Jews, somewhat less than half of the total of Jews in the United States. After Jewish emancipation in Russia in 1917 and the abolition of the Pale of Settlement (see below), and in particular after the industrialization of Soviet Russia from the 1930s, Russian Jewry also tended to become increasingly concentrated in the big industrial and administrative centers. This development is in line with the general trend in the world toward urbanization, but far outpaces it. In 1970, Jews outside the State of *Israel were concentrated in the largest and most complex urban settlements in the world, New York having the largest single concentration of Jews in any place and at any time. The mass exodus of Jews from Arab states under pressure after the creation of the State of Israel again assisted this trend. Many of the small Jewish communities in backward towns were liquidated and their members resettled in large urban concentrations, mostly in the State of Israel or in France. The dispersion of the 16 million Jews in the world and their proportion among the general population by 1937 can be seen in the Table: Distribution of Jews. (See Map: Intercontinental Migrations 2).

Table 1. Distribution of Jews by country, 1937

Country	Number	Percentage of Jews in General Population
Ereẓ Israel	384,000[1]	over 20
Poland	3,000,000[1]	10.4[1]
Lithuania	160,000	7.6
Romania	1,130,000	6.2
Hungary	485,000	5.9
Latvia	94,388	5.0
Turkey (Europe)	58,000	4.7
Austria	285,000	4.6
The Maghreb (present Libya, Algeria, Morocco and Tunis)	310,000	from 5.6 to 1.3
U.S.	4,350,000	3.6
Iraq	100,000	3.1
Czechoslovakia	375,000	2.6
Soviet Russia (Europe)	2,700,000	1.9
Greece	120,000	2.2
The Netherlands	120,000	1.7
Argentine	250,000	1.4
Canada	170,000	1.4
England	300,000	0.7
France	250,000	0.7

[1] Estimate.

After the Holocaust about 50% of the Jews were living on the American continent, while only one-third remained in Europe and the Soviet Union. From 1945 Ereẓ Israel became the main haven of refuge; France also absorbed many Jews from North Africa. Among approximately 14 million Jews in the world in 1970, about 6 million were living in North America, predominantly in the United States. About 2½ million were living in the State of Israel. There were about three-quarters of a million in Southern and Central America, and about 200,000 in South Africa and *Australia. The majority of Jews living in France in 1970 arrived there through very recent emigration, mainly from North Africa, and the majority of Jews in England and *Switzerland were the result of immigrations from 1880. The distribution and concentration of Jews in various parts of the Soviet Union was the result both of movements toward the east after 1917 and of movements even farther east during World War II.

The emerging pattern therefore reveals that the vast majority of Jews live in new surroundings, though for a considerable number this change was ardently wished by them (in the State of Israel for historical and ideological reasons, and in the United States because of its attitude toward them). Western Europe in 1970 numbered more than one million Jews, of whom about half a million were living in France and about 450,000 in Great Britain. The Soviet Union numbered approximately three million Jews; the number of Jews in other communist countries was contracting steadily; they had reached a vanishing point in Poland, because of its virulent antisemitism. Jews had also left most of the Arab and Muslim states. The history of the Jewish population between 1880 and 1970 shows great vitality in movement, in adjustment to new environments and patterns of living, and in the creation of a state. Its present ecology makes the problems of Western urban civilization paramount in Jewish life. The location and numbers of the Jews have changed through their own dynamics as well as through the forces of human cruelty, of racism, and *antisemitism.

Effects of Anti-Jewish Discrimination in Russia

The evil of stereotypes and vulgarization increasingly made itself felt in its impact on Jewish life from the 1880s. The ruling circles of the czarist state and society adopted a policy of open antisemitism in order to divert the resentment of the masses to the Jews. These circles were considerably disturbed and angered by a phenomenon of their own creation that had appeared in Jewish society. In the 1860s and 1870s Jews had been promised alleviations and rewards as a prize for acquiring secular education and skills in line with the government policy of remolding them into satisfactory citizens. The Russian government, however, had no conception of the strength of the cultural traditions of veneration of study and respect for the student among Jews. Jewish society in Russia, by the criteria of its own culture, was considerably more educated and intellectualized than Russian society. When the aspirations of Jewish youths now turned toward secular learning and Russian culture, the ruling circles were dismayed by the "flood" of Jews that threatened their high schools, universities, and consequently, the composition of the Russian intelligentsia. They turned increasingly to the policy of severely restricting the numbers of Jewish students by imposition of the *numerus clausus. They also applied higher standards to Jewish pupils in Russian high schools and made more exacting demands on them.

Frustration and anger swept the youth who were eager to learn outside the sphere of their own traditions, who had been ready at first for assimilation in and service to the Russian state, and who were now being punished for revealing the high cultural level of their society and their own individual abilities. The trend toward academic education and free entry to the professions could not be halted among the Jews of the Pale of Settlement. Thousands who were not accepted at Russian universities went westward for their education, mainly to Germany and Switzerland. In university cities in these countries Jews formed a large part of the "Russian student colonies." They knew that, having obtained a degree, back in Russia they would still be discriminated against because of their Jewishness.

The state thus fostered radicalization among Jewish students and a Jewish intelligentsia, who identified themselves with the revolutionary struggle for freedom and a better society in Russia. Hence the proportion of Jewish intellectuals among the leading cadres of the various Russian revolutionary parties grew increasingly larger, and was much greater than their proportion in the general population and at total variance with the social background of their homes. The czarist authorities and their supporters were quick to clutch at the stereotype of the "Jewish subversive spirit" in opposing the Jews, and pointed out to them – by discriminatory measures as well as by massacres-that the western border was open to Jews wanting to emigrate (while the eastern border of the Pale of Settlement remained closed). The government thus hoped both to solve "the Jewish question" and to weaken the revolutionary movement at one stroke.

Pogroms and Mass Emigration

In 1881 one wave of massacres broke over southern Russia that hit about 100 communities. From then on massacres as well as arson in the Jewish townships, whose structures were built of wood, became endemic in czarist Russia. In 1891 the expulsion of Jews from *Moscow was effected, an event that alarmed Jews throughout the country, for they saw it as a reaffirmation of the Pale of Settlement policy. In 1903 there occurred a massacre in *Kishinev that set off a wave of anti-Jewish violence. The ruling circles also made great efforts to involve the Poles in these outbreaks. They were successful at *Bialystok. In 1912 an anti-Jewish *boycott was organized in Warsaw. Thus Russian Jews were faced by the menace of *pogroms, i.e., constant physical assault and robbery; these were certainly abetted by the authorities, and – as the official archives showed, when opened after the revolution of 1917 – in many cases organized by police functionaries and financed by societies close to the government. Jews reacted against this situation by the creation of *self-defense organizations, a pattern of behavior which continued until the period of the pogroms under *Petlyura, Makhno, and *Denikin during the civil war after the Revolution of 1917.

The Jews of the Pale of Settlement and Galicia and Austria reacted to the straitened economic circumstances even more strongly than to the wave of unprecedented hatred and violence in Russia, by mass emigration. (See Map: Intercontinental Migrations 1). Between 1881 and 1914 over 2½ million emigrated from Eastern Europe (c. 80,000 annually), over two million of them to the United States, creating the great Jewish center there. Over 350,000 settled in Western Europe; centers of Jewish tailoring and trade in England and in other countries were created by this emigration, since a large proportion of the Jews were tailors and many who formerly had no profession joined their ranks. Many others turned to peddling. The "greenhorns" were unacquainted with the language and culture of the new country and were dependent to a large degree on economic and spiritual help from earlier arrivals. They clustered together, thus creating "ghettos" in the great cities of the east coast of the United States and in Western Europe. These were at first islands of the Eastern European Jewish culture and way of life, where Yiddish was spoken and *Yiddish literature, newspapers, theaters, and journalism burgeoned amidst the surrounding cultures.

For the second generation, the traditions of learning and respect for intellectual activities and the free professions pointed to intensive study and the acquirement of a profession as the way to social betterment. This naturally entailed deep acculturation. The dynamics of traditional Jewish culture in an open and more or less tolerant society created the present broad strata in Jewry of those occupied in the free professions of the intelligentsia, including writers, artists, and newspapermen, in the United States and other Western countries. The children and grandchildren of the poor and hardworking immigrant parents, who at first labored in the grueling atmosphere of the "sweatshops" "pulled themselves up by their own boot straps" thanks to a tradition that took the road of learning and social leadership and service wherever and whenever permitted.

The present situation, where the vast majority of Jewish youth enters the universities and other academic institutions, can be interpreted as being no less the result of an acceleration of immanent Jewish trends than a part of the present general trend toward academic education. The vestiges of occupations such as tailoring and peddling are rapidly disappearing. Productivization has taken a different and unexpected turn in modern Jewish society in the West.

German Jewry

Up to 1932 German Jewry was in the forefront of intellectual achievement and the acquirement of free professions, though it never achieved the type of social acceptance found in other Western societies. In Germany too the development was away from the crafts and petty trade to academic professions, medium and largescale business enterprises, and public service. German Jewish society experienced during this period a certain undercurrent of tension between its acculturated strata and the "*Ostjuden*," who, whether as immigrants or as transients, caused some offense by their culture and way of life, in particular through fear of the "bad impression" they could make on good, cultured Germans.

However, at the end of World War I there was a rise in antisemitism. The defeat of Germany in war was explained by the myth, propagated by extreme right-wing elements, that circulated after 1918 of the "stab in the back" that the victorious German army had received from revolutionaries, pacifists, and intellectuals under the influence of the cowardly "Jewish spirit," as opposed to the heroic and creative "German spirit"; such accusations, combined with resentment at

Jewish commercial and financial activity in Germany during the great inflation of the early 1920s there, reinforced the old stereotype evil image of the Jews. Fuel was added to the old hatred by the preeminence of Jews in many scientific fields, and, especially, their activity on the liberal and left-wing side of German politics (Walther *Rathenau, minister for foreign affairs of the German republic, was assassinated in 1922; Kurt *Eisner, head of the socialist republic of Bavaria in 1918, and Rosa *Luxemburg, as the symbol of left-wing socialism, were murdered).

Racism and Antisemitism

Racism was threatening to become from the second half of the 19th century the new buttress of quasi-scientific rationalizations of the hatred of the Jews when its older religious props were disintegrating. These ideas were influenced by successes in the organization and development of agriculture and cattle breeding along racial lines, by the stimulus of racist and semi-racist policies toward blacks everywhere, and toward "natives" in many parts of the British Empire, and by the penetration of Darwinian biologistic concepts of the "war for survival" and "survival of the fittest," which led to a sociological Darwinism that was first used in conflicts between social circles in Christian society and in republican France.

There gradually emerged in Europe a racist theory (see *Race, Theory of) which postulated the division of mankind into "higher" and "lower" races and into "good" and "bad" breeds. Carried over from the disciplines of nature and economics, where functionalism and teleology could flexibly suggest the breeding of a race for a specific purpose, this theory acquired cruelty and absurdity when applied to humanity and to the area of absolute imponderable values and goals (see also J.A. de *Gobineau; H.S. *Chamberlain). When combined with the stereotypes of the Jew and his character, it acquired the ultimate horror of a racial scale, where the "Aryan," which stood in Nazi race parlance for Germanic, represented the best type of man, while the "Semite," which in the same parlance was actually intended to designate the Jew, came to represent an irreparably evil and harmful blood and race.

The growing influence of Adolf *Hitler and the Nazis, the medieval-type poison disseminated by newspapers like *Der *Stuermer*, and the theories propounded by A. *Rosenberg and expounded by J. *Goebbels, created a dangerous situation and an oppressive attitude toward Jews even before the seizure of power in Germany by Hitler in 1933. The public vote, adherence of the youth, and the growing "respectability" of the Nazis and Nazi ideas among the right wing of German society, pointed the way to the Holocaust. The influence of this development in the heartland of Europe, in a country and nation famous for their culture, became threatening for Jews everywhere.

*Antisemitic political parties and organizations had begun to appear in Germany and Austria-Hungary in the 1870s (see A. *Stoecker; K. *Lueger; G. *Istóczy). These had from the first made in clear tones "socialist" claims against Jewish exploiters and "Christian" aims against subversive Judaism, and expressed overt hatred of the blood and the irradicably evil character of the Jew. In 1882 a first international congress of antisemites convened in Dresden, marking the conception of an all-European war against the Jewish "international conspiracy." The anti-Jewish agitation of Edouard *Drumont in France reached its peak and was defeated in the *Dreyfus affair in the 1890s (see also Emile *Zola). Right-wing sentiment against the Jews lingered on actively in France after the decisive defeat of the anti-Dreyfusards, however: it attracted many embittered intellectuals, Catholic and radical.

Another type and tradition of antisemitism was active and virulent in the "successor states" of Russia and Austria-Hungary. These faced wide-scale Jewish participation in the "third estate" (Poland, Lithuania) and in the intellectual elite of the country (Hungary). Memories of the war against Russia, when Jews were suspected of Russian leanings in the east of Poland (leading to the massacre in *Pinsk), and memories of the communist revolt in Hungary led by the Jew Béla *Kun intensified enmity against the Jews. Obliged by the minority treaties (see *Minority Rights) and by their internal economic and political situation to refrain from open action against Jews in the 1920s and early 1930s, these states developed, in particular Poland, Romania, and Hungary, a systematic policy of anti-Jewish measures camouflaged as measures intended for the improvement of trade or crafts, or for stricter sanitation. Taxation also served as a weapon against the Jews. Public opinion and semi-official economic organizations, such as the *Rozwoj organization and cooperatives in Poland, served the same purpose. Numerus clausus was introduced openly or clandestinely. Jews did not obtain state employment, while the "general" measures mentioned above enabled the closing down of Jewish shops and workshops and made economic activity difficult for the Jews. Public opinion encouraged this policy and was in turn officially encouraged to display hostility to Jews. Attacks against Jews by students and youths were endemic in Romania, where they were scarcely punished, and became more and more frequent in Poland.

Following the rise of the Nazis to power between 1933 and 1939 all these various brands of antisemitism on the continent of Europe tended to merge, accepting to a greater or lesser degree the racist theory and cruel methods of the Nazis. On the other hand, this provoked growing revulsion from antisemitism in some conservative and Church circles, though expressed hesitatingly and not generally leading to much activity against antisemitism.

The Nazis set the tone in introducing racism as a basic concept in law with the *Nuremberg Laws (1935). They gradually tried out on European public opinion as well as "educated" German society the steps of open boycott, of violence against, and harsh isolation of the Jews and expropriation of their property, culminating in the **Kristallnacht* action of November 9–10, 1938. The badge of a yellow "*magen David*" served to mark the Jew outwardly. Jews were given a spurious autonomy appointed by and closely supervised by specially trained "experts" of the *SS and *Gestapo. By the eve of World War II not only the non-communist states of Eastern Europe but also fascist Italy under *Mussolini and pro-Nazi political parties in the West, like that of Oswald Mosley in England and the Croix de Feu in France, had accepted – some enthusiastically, some reluctantly – the Nazi line toward Jews, though not always all the forms of Nazi behavior toward them. The civil war in Spain (1936–39), where thousands of left-wing Jews fought and died in the ranks of the international brigades of the republic against the armies of the Caudillo Franco, served in the case of the Jews to rally the extreme right wing of Europe closer to Hitler and make his victims its enemies.

The Economic Crisis of the Early 1930s

Jews everywhere were hard hit economically by the crisis of 1929, as were almost all sectors of the public in Europe and the United States. The New Deal of Franklin D. *Roosevelt did much to help them in the United States, where they were again in the mainstream of development of the whole country. Yet the early 1930s were a difficult time not only economically but also socially for Jews there. The odium incurred by Roosevelt and his measures were often directed against Jews too. Public agitators like Father Coughlin used the new medium of radio to preach hatred against the Jews.

In Soviet Russia after 1917

In the Soviet Union there continued, up to 1928 approximately, a long period characterized by the break-up of the shtetl economy and the penalization of many Jews as "bourgeois elements" in the legal, economic, and social aspects of existence. This policy was followed, even if they had been petty shopkeepers or smallscale artisans under the czarist regime, without taking into account the restrictions that had forced them into their petty bourgeois status. In this case also a "general line of policy" turned out to be destructive and unfair to Jewish society in particular. During the economic crisis the Soviet government was favorable to Jewish autonomy (there were many preponderantly Jewish municipalities and even several such regional administrative units even after the end of the 1920s). The setting in of industrialization around 1928 gave new opportunities to Jews and began to compensate many of them for the former social havoc.

In the 1920s the Soviet state encouraged a change in Jewish economy and society through agriculture and settlement in compact groups, first in the *Crimea and the south of the *Ukraine – which had been traditional areas for Jewish agricultural settlement with governmental encouragement from the first half of the 19th century – and later in what was proclaimed to be the autonomous Jewish region of *Birobidzhan. The projects proceeded rapidly with the help of Jews from abroad. In 1926, 150,400 Jews gained their livelihood from agriculture, approximately 6% of the total. By 1928 they numbered 220,000 (8.5%). A peak was reached in 1930 with 10.1% of Russian Jews in agriculture. Subsequently a steady decline, both in absolute numbers and even more proportionally, set in. During the collectivization of Soviet agriculture most Jewish settlements were practically de-Judaized by an "internationalization" process, i.e., the introduction of non-Jewish peasants. The Jewish settlements were finally obliterated during the Nazi occupation of World War II.

In *Argentina, where the funds provided by Baron de Hirsch and vast tracts of available land seemed at the end of the 19th century to ensure prosperous Jewish settlement, this prospect withered away in the 20th century through the lure of the cities and lack of idealistic and national motivation. The failures of these attempts – state-supported in Communist Russia and supported lavishly by private means in the open economy of Argentina – proved, no less than the success of similar attempts in Ereẓ Israel (see below), that only ideals could reverse the trend in Jewish society toward urbanization manifest from the eighth century.

New Types of Social Organization

The years between 1880 and the creation of the State of Israel in 1948 were also ones of creativity in Jewish social organization and forms. Where the old community structure continued to exist it was destined to acquire importance through the activities of Zionists, autonomists, and other Jewish political party representatives, to revive and use it as an instrument for national, secular, social, and educational policy. It was further strengthened when the community organization became, under the minority treaties, a recognized cell of Jewish self-government representing the Jews as a minority in various states. International Jewish organizations patterned after the Alliance Israélite Universelle continued to appear with specific goals for diplomatic or philanthropic activity. To combat antisemitic propaganda the B'nai B'rith order set up its Anti-Defamation League in 1913, while in Germany the *Central-Verein deutscher Staatsbuerger juedischen Glaubens carried on such activity until its prohibition by the Nazis. Various organizations for the aid and direction of emigration arose in this period, the most prominent being the *HIAS and later the *Palestine offices of the Zionist Organization; *ORT, *OSE, and above all the *American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (from World War I) served to provide training for professional skills, health needs, and massive charity wherever required. The Jews of the United States who were emotionally attached to "*di alte heym*" and still retained memories of the hardships they underwent while taking root in the "New Country," made charity not only a duty and function but also a social bond and an ideal in life, a factor of cohesion in itself, and in forging links with other Jews; this proceeded from the time of World War I, in particular in relation to Palestine and later on the State of Israel.

The year 1897 saw both the convention of the first *Zionist Congress and the creation of the first all-state Jewish socialist party, the *Bund of Russia. The calling of the Zionist Congress and the method of ensuring its permanence through elected institutions acting in the interim between congresses, and, above all, through the institution of the *shekel, created an international Jewish framework that saw itself the representative of its "voluntary citizens," and "a state in preparation." The Zionist Organization created the instruments of the *Jewish National Fund and *Keren Hayesod, which served as financial agencies of this extra-territorial state. Even Orthodox Jewry found itself compelled at the beginning of the 20th century to organize in this novel form of a political party, establishing the *Agudat Israel. This form took root: the *Folkspartei, the *Jewish Socialist Workers' Party (Sejmists), and other Jewish groups organized as political parties to advance their aims, sometimes on a territorial and sometimes on an international basis.

In the Soviet Union the ruling Communist Party created its "Jewish section," the *Yevsektsiya, in 1918, which served as an instrument of agitation and propaganda in opposing the Jewish religion and Hebrew national culture. In the Soviet Union there also emerged Jewish units of local municipal and regional autonomy (see above). The search for forms continued in the attempt to create a *Jewish Agency to unite Zionists and non-Zionists in work for Ereẓ Israel, and later in the method of raising *bonds for Israel to assist an independent Jewish state. Cultural activity was also organized in democratic countries through separate organizational frameworks, like the Central Yiddish School Organization (CYSHO; see *Education) for Yiddish schools and culture, and *Tarbut for Hebrew secular schools and culture. The various trends of Jewish religious thought and life developed organizations of their own, in particular flourishing in the pluralist United States, in the shape of the three main groupings of Reform, Conservative, and Orthodox, with several splinter groups (see, e.g., *Reconstructionism). Many organizations tended to link themselves in one way or another to the State of Israel, though there is also in the United States the *American Council for Judaism, active mainly as an anti-Zionist and anti-Israel body. In the camp of the *New Left, stirrings were felt toward expression and organizational articulation on specific Jewish matters and issues, though in the main it was inimical toward and destructive of Jewish cohesion.

Contribution to General Culture

Jewish involvement in general culture and service to it became greater and more creative in this period. Henri *Bergson, Hermann *Cohen (who expressed himself not only as a general philosopher but also as a Jewish one), and Edmund *Husserl are but a few of those who contributed to *philosophy. *Mathematics and *physics increasingly attracted Jews who were very creative in these fields, like George Cantor, Albert *Einstein, Hermann *Minkowski, Robert *Oppenheimer, Edward *Teller, and Lev *Landau. The work of Georg *Simmel, Emile *Durkheim, and later that of Claude *Lévi-Strauss is central to *sociology and *anthropology. Many Jews have contributed to the literatures of various countries; most of them cannot avoid the Jewish problem, even when consumed by *Selbsthass* ("self-hate"). In art, the creations of Amedeo *Modigliani, Chaim *Soutine, and others are important in the modernist trend. Through the work of Marc *Chagall the shtetl life and mythology, and motifs and images from the world of Midrash and Jewish legend have gloriously and colorfully entered European art. By granting the 1966 Nobel Prize for literature to Shemuel Yosef *Agnon, European society recognized the place of modern *Hebrew literature and creativity in world literature, acknowledging at the same time the Jewish acculturated contribution to European literature by granting it also to Nelly *Sachs. In the State of Israel, which continued schools and trends of artistic creativity from mainly Eastern Europe and Germany, are found many varieties, forms, and schools of literary and artistic expression, increasingly rooted in the life of the state.

The Jewish specificity of this entrance to the humanities and literature was expressed by the German historian Ernst Troeltsch, who combined appreciation of the Jewish contribution with recognition that it was new to European culture and somewhat alien. He states that for Hermann Cohen:

> history is concerned rather exclusively with the ideal future, and this is a systematics consisting purely of thought and ethics of the organized will of humanity. Through this the ideal Jewish approach to history finds its expression among the various approaches possible within the circle of our culture, for, since 1848, new conditions and new assumptions have been created through the entry of Judaism into literature and spiritual activity, first and foremost in the field of history …. This is given its most energetic expression by Cohen … (*Der Historismus und seine Probleme* (1922), 542).

André Gide reacted in a hostile fashion in 1914 to Jewish intrusion into French literature:

> Why should I speak here of shortcomings? It is enough for me that the virtues of the Jewish race are not French virtues; and even if the French were less intelligent, less long-suffering, less virtuous in all regards than Jews, it is still true that what they have to say can be said only by them, and that the contribution of Jewish qualities to literature (where nothing matters but what is personal) is less likely to provide new elements (that is, an enrichment) than it is to interrupt the slow explanation of a race and to falsify seriously, intolerably even, its meaning. It is absurd, it is even dangerous to attempt to deny the good points of Jewish literature; but it is important to recognize that there is today in France a Jewish literature that is not French literature, that has its own virtues, its own meanings, and its own tendencies (*Journals of André Gide*, transl. by J. O'Brien, 2 (1948), 4).

This reflection on the essential difference between Jewish and French creativity is preceded here by the reaction of Gide, who later became for a while a left-winger and Communist fellow traveler, to the character of the young Léon *Blum, the future Socialist premier of France, leader of the Front Populaire before World War II: "I cannot fail to recognize nobility, generosity, and chivalry, even though when applied to him these words must be considerably distorted from their usual meaning." Gide considered that these traits could not be applied in their usual meaning to Blum because of "his apparent resolve always to show a preference for the Jew, and to be interested always in him, that predisposition … comes first of all from the fact that a Jew is particularly sensitive to Jewish virtues." He suspects too that this completely assimilated young man "considers the Jewish race as superior, as called upon to dominate after having been long dominated, and thinks it his duty to work toward its triumph with all his strength … He always talks to you as a protector. At a dress rehearsal, when he meets you by chance … he … makes everyone think … that he is the most intimate friend you have in the world" (*ibid.*, 3–4).

Antisemitic insinuations and touches thus often entered even where Jews and non-Jews seemingly mixed on the most equal terms in the salons of literature and science.

The National Renaissance and Zionism

The renaissance of Jewish solidarity and national thought that began in the 1860s continued and developed in the period under consideration. All the circumstances of the general growth of nationalism, the break-up of the Ottoman Empire, and above all, the feeling of Jews that they were not wanted in the social and cultural world around them with growing awareness that social and cultural understanding and acceptance mattered, led to a return to Judaism and to specific solutions for it. Leon (Judah Leib) *Pinsker suggested in his *Autoemancipation* (1882) that Jews could free both themselves and the world from the malaise of antisemitism if they would only make a sustained effort to return to the "state of nature" of a nation living in its own land and within its own social and economic framework, and if they ceased to frighten others by persisting in a ghost-like existence in exile. His ideas coincided to a considerable degree with ideas of other Jewish thinkers of different shades, like Nathan *Birnbaum, Moses Leib *Lilienblum, and Peretz *Smolenskin.

A supreme example of the Jew shocked out of complacent assimilation was Theodor *Herzl. Through his imaginative thought and charismatic leadership he rallied around his personality and ideas all those who wanted Jews to devote their efforts to the creation of a home of their own. Herzl stood outside most of Jewish culture, and was indifferent even to Hebrew. He put his trust mainly in diplomacy and in the possibility of obtaining a charter from the Ottoman Empire and shaping autonomous Jewish existence within it: methods and hopes that were destined to disappointment. Nevertheless, Herzl had the power to express openly his trauma, his consequent pride in being a Jew, and his political sense for symbols and forms of leadership, and to bequeath them to Zionism after him. His attempt in 1903 to lead Jews to a "*Nachtasyl*" in Uganda, mainly for the sake of alleviating the sufferings of Russian Jews, failed in a large measure due to the opposition of those very Jews (see *Uganda Scheme). The territorialists who later wanted to continue this trend of Herzl's thought were destined to fail in all their attempts, lacking the motive force of the historic attachment to Ereẓ Israel (see *Territorialism). The various organizational and financial instruments (see above) created in Herzl's lifetime and soon after his death were to assist the ultimate achievement of the Jewish state by enlarging their methods and including "practical" settlement work.

From the days of the *Bilu pioneers in the late 19th century Jewish settlement activity in Ereẓ Israel did not stop despite many problems and failures, and despite the political view that generated reluctance toward practical settlement efforts before the attainment of a proper charter. Baron Edmond de *Rothschild intervened to assist Jewish settlement from 1883. His methods were often bureaucratic. His officials lacked contact with the settlers, but the money poured in (1½ million pounds sterling over approximately 15 years) and the instructors he sent helped to save them from economic catastrophe and to embark on various agricultural and horticultural efforts.

The main problem of the Zionist settlers at the beginning of the 20th century was ideological and social. Tensions between them and the *ḥalukkah* settlers created a gulf between the "old *yishuv*" and the "new *yishuv*," as the two sectors in Ereẓ Israel came to be called. The settlers of the first villages soon accepted French culture, spread by the Alliance Israélite Universelle schools as well as by the officials of the Baron. Asher Ginsberg (*Aḥad Ha-Am) was shocked at what he saw in both the cultural superficiality of Zionist leadership and the emptiness of purpose in the settlements. He suggested a new "spiritual" Zionism. His positivist thought contributed much to the ideological buttressing of secular Zionism.

In 1904 the Second Aliyah began, and it continued until 1914. Its pioneers brought with them high standards of Jewish and general culture, lofty ideals of socialist collectivism and productivization, and a deep conviction that ideals may be proved only through living according to them. Among the approximately 40,000 who came in this way, many of whom left after a relatively short time, were several leading personalities. Some were destined to lay the foundations of and lead the State of Israel: David *Ben-Gurion, Iẓḥak *Ben-Zvi, Berl *Katznelson, Aharon David *Gordon, among many others. Gordon stressed the revolutionary and creative character of physical work and the supreme value of the return to nature. These people considered that work by Jews in the fields and roads of the Jewish settlements was a precondition to national revival as well as the path to individual renewal. They aimed to form a Jewish peasantry and a Jewish agricultural proletariat, hence their struggle for work by Jewish labor and for Jewish land, a struggle that continued up to the establishment of the State of Israel. The followers of Gordon organized the *Ha-Poel ha-Ẓair party in 1905. Some of them, more radical in outlook and adherents of Yiddish as the national language, organized in the *Po'alei Zion. By their joint effort the pioneers created the organization of agricultural laborers in 1911.

The greatest achievement – and, as it would now seem, a lasting contribution to the social organization of mankind – was made by these pioneers with the help of funds of the Zionist Organization and instruction by various experts (see Yehoshua *Ḥankin; Arthur *Ruppin) in creating types of communal living and agricultural settlement: the cooperative *moshav and the collective communes of the kevuẓah and *kibbutz. The last two relate back as if instinctively to the old tradition of Jewish communes in the Second Temple period (see *Essenes; *Dead Sea Sect). They were influenced respectively by ideals of social justice and equality, and of national service. Both consciously and subconsciously, the kibbutz served, through its spirit of collective brotherhood, to maintain the high cultural level and intensive social life of the pioneers in conditions of hard physical effort and economic hardship.

Malaria, the hot climate, and despair that they might be unable to attain their objectives were the enemies against which the Jewish idealist settlers had to battle from the first days of the Bilu'im. Despite many attempts and failures, a relatively high rate of suicide, and the fact that some 40 existing agricultural settlements contained only a minority of the approximately 80,000 Jews in Ereẓ Israel by 1914, they formed a strong social and ideological core that remained ready to continue to expand as soon as the war ended in 1918.

Following the tradition of Jewish self-defense, true to the conception that everything should be done by the Jews themselves, inspired to generate a romantic renaissance that attached great importance to physical valor, the pioneers of the Second Aliyah decided to take the defense of the Jewish settlements into their own hands. In 1909 they created the *Hashomer organization. Those who formed it intended to be more than mere watchmen, and took for their model of behavior that of the warrior bedouin. This organization lost several of its first members in defending the Jewish settlements. Some of them, through their way of life and the courage they displayed, developed an ideal prototype for the role of the Jewish defender.

Before World War I Eliezer Ben-Yehuda had succeeded in bringing Hebrew back to life as a day-to-day language by personal example and propaganda for it as a living language. The wealth of its literary, legal, and philosophical strata considerably contributed to its revival. This became firmly established through the "language conflict" between the supporters of Hebrew as the only language to be used for every field and activity, and those who considered that German should be used for various subjects and spheres for which Hebrew was not considered ripe, in particular for teaching at the new *Technion in Haifa. After pressure by the *Hilfsverein der deutschen Juden in support of German, the determined stand of teachers and public opinion decided the day for Hebrew in 1913.

World War I and Its Aftermath

World War I tested Jewish nationality as a political concept in the international arena. Zionism was in disarray. Conceived as an international movement and organization for carrying out Jewish policies by modern political means, it found itself divided between the two warring camps. Its main offices were in Germany, while the main body of its supporters were in the lands of Germany's enemies or in neutral countries. From the days of Herzl, Zionist diplomacy had relied both on friendship with the Ottoman Empire, using the influence of Germany for this purpose, as well as on the friendship and support of England. Now these mainstays were in conflict. The Turks were gradually drawn into the war and when they entered it they had already become particularly suspicious of Jews and Zionists.

Jews everywhere found themselves in a similar predicament. Culturally they admired Germany; the Austro-Hungarian Emperor *Francis Joseph was considered a friend and protector of Jews. Russia and the Russians were hated and feared, in particular by the great mass of recent immigrants from Russia who now formed the great centers of Jewish population in the United States and England. On the other hand, the Western democracies, and in particular England, were traditionally considered the states and societies most favorably inclined toward Jews. The Turks, who became the allies of Germany in 1914, were considered cruel and unreliable. When German successes in the East brought great areas of the Pale of Settlement under German rule, the attitude of the Germans and the Austro-Hungarians toward the Jews compared favorably with that of the Russians. Jewish officers in the German and Austro-Hungarian army, in particular army chaplains, came in touch with the Jewish society in the conquered territories, and did much to assist it. This encounter also brought important results for the Jewish consciousness of the German Jews themselves. Many of these German Jews made the acquaintance of "*Ostjuden*" life and culture in its home and began to respect and even to admire it. Much of the later understanding between these two sections of Jewry in the period between the two world wars stemmed from this encounter. The Russians, on the other hand, often maltreated Jews during their retreat, and expelled many of them eastward, suspecting them of spying for the Germans. They thus broke up on their own initiative – as they thought temporarily – the structure of the Pale of Settlement. Jews in the West, in Germany, and Austria-Hungary, were well informed about the various aspects of the situation in the East. Left-wing radicals, both Jewish and non-Jewish, wished for the downfall of all autocratic rulers, but in particular prayed for the downfall of the arch-autocrat in Europe, the czar.

Most Jews served in the armies of their respective countries, and did not feel obliged to form a specific Jewish policy and attitude, except for scattered reflections and sentiments influenced by the considerations mentioned above. Army service had an important result for Jewish society, as at least one million Jews received a sound military training under conditions of war. This served to good effect after the war, when Jewish ex-servicemen took over the self-defense of Jewish communities in many places in Eastern Europe (see *Military Service).

A sector of the Zionist leadership and many of the rank and file thought and behaved on similar lines. Their main policy was to wait and see. They argued that it would endanger the Jewish population in Ereẓ Israel if Zionism took a stand against the Turks and it would harm the Jews in Russia if

Zionists entered into an agreement with the Turkish-German side. A small but very able and devoted minority thought otherwise. It included the veteran Zionist Max *Nordau, Chaim *Weizmann, Vladimir *Jabotinsky, Pinḥas *Rutenberg, Joseph *Trumpeldor, and Meir *Grossman. They considered that Zionism should have an active policy. They estimated that a victory for a side which included the Turks would mean an end to the whole of Jewish development in Ereẓ Israel. The phenomenon of the Polish legions who had served in the Napoleonic armies and the persistence of Polish national policy without a state of its own, the example of similar Italian units and policies before the attainment of Italian independence, and admiration for the symbolic figures of Garibaldi and Cavour influenced the thoughts of some of them.

They came to the conclusion that there could be no greater political asset than to create an activist, pro-Entente, Zionist-Jewish policy, and that there could be no finer expression of national behavior than to create Jewish units that would fight against the Turks, when, for the first time since the Jews had fought in alliance with the Persians and taken Jerusalem from Emperor Heraclius in 614, Jewish blood would again be part of the price for the ancestral Jewish homeland. Jews would obtain, so they hoped, basing themselves on these precedents, a seat and a say with the victors, and they were sure these would be the Western democracies. For some of them there was also the ideology of a renewal of the courage and warrior spirit of the Jewish nation through its formal and actual participation in the war. The behavior of the Turks in Ereẓ Israel was so outrageous that Aaron *Aaronsohn formed a spy group, *Nili, to serve the Allies.

The differences of opinion were decided by acts. Trumpeldor and his associates organized a group that was accepted as a unit of muleteers; this battalion served with distinction at Gallipoli. It was recruited mainly from Jewish refugees from Ereẓ Israel in Egypt. Trumpeldor forged, both through instruction and personal example, high morale and brave behavior among these soldiers. Jabotinsky in the meantime worked tirelessly in England for the formation of a *Jewish Legion in the British army to fight for the liberation of Ereẓ Israel. He seized on the fact that many of the Jewish immigrants were not due for army service in England; their exemption caused antisemitism, and from his point of view they were a ready reservoir for his intended unit. The British began to incline to his view as the war became prolonged and they saw that the opposition of the mass of the Jewish population in the United States to the Allied cause was a considerable hindrance to the U.S. entry to the war. One hundred and fifty of the *Zion Mule Corps, as Trumpeldor's unit was eventually called, joined Jabotinsky in London. In August 1917 the 38th Battalion of the Royal Fusiliers, or as they were called from the end of 1919, the "First Judeans," composed almost entirely of Jews, mainly from London, was officially instituted (see *Jewish Legion). In 1918 this battalion fought in Ereẓ Israel. Its commander was Colonel John Henry *Patterson, formerly commander of the Zion Mule Corps. In the U.S. Pinḥas Rutenberg, with the help of David Ben-Gurion, Iẓḥak Ben-Zvi and Chaim *Zhitlovsky, mobilized in 1917 approximately 6,500 men who were to form the 39th Battalion of the Royal Fusiliers. After the conquest of Ereẓ Israel by the British, the 40th Battalion was formed out of Ereẓ Israel volunteers, many of whom later became activists of the *Haganah, like its leader Eliyahu *Golomb.

Activist policy carried the day on the diplomatic and political fronts also, thanks to the actions of Chaim *Weizmann and his supporters. Despite many obstacles put in the way by Jewish assimilationists, the *Balfour Declaration was issued on Nov. 2, 1917. Thus, at the end of World War I, clearly conceived Jewish policies were brought into effect through the importance of the new Jewish concentration in the United States, the ability and readiness for sacrifice among the intelligentsia circles of Russian origin, and the devotion and courage of the pioneers in Ereẓ Israel. The latter also had not only kept the Jewish settlements intact under the hostile Turkish regime, but had undergone the ordeal of severe persecution after the discovery of the Nili spy group.

The years 1917 to 1921 were decisive from many aspects in Jewish history. In 1917 the Jews in Russia acquired full emancipation and the Pale of Settlement there was abolished by the democratic Provisional Government. Legal emancipation was eventually attained by Jews in all of Europe. Despite the sufferings and confusion caused by the civil war, and the Communist policies with regard to Jewish society and culture, this achievement still formally remains in force, though with the terrible interlude of the years of Nazi domination. The institution of *minority rights and treaties seemed to ensure, in countries to which they applied, the right of Jewish self-government, cultural hegemony, and a means of maintaining Jewish identity and cohesion on the basis of international guarantees. No longer pertinent, they were important between the two world wars. The Balfour Declaration and, later on, the *Mandate for Palestine conferred on the British, opened the long and tortuous path to the State of Israel. At the time many saw the opportunity and did not estimate the difficulties. United States Jewry emerged as the great political force and financial mainstay for all Jewish activity. At the same time the massacres perpetrated by the Ukrainian and White Russian bands and armies against Jews in pogroms in the Russian civil war, the cruelty and hostility displayed toward them by many of the new national states in Europe, and the social and spiritual crisis in Germany presaged future dangers and complexities. Communist domination in Russia cut off one of the most devoted sectors of Zionist activity, Jewish cultural creativity, and pioneer spirit from the main body of Jews in the world and from participation in the settlement of Ereẓ Israel.

The Yishuv in Ereẓ Israel

The impetus of Zionist successes brought the quick reorganization of Jews in Ereẓ Israel, under patterns suggested by Zionism, in the Keneset Yisrael all-country structure, through the *Va'ad Le'ummi, and the Chief Rabbinate, which had as its first head the leading spiritual personality of Abraham Isaac

*Kook. Circles of the "old *yishuv*" opposed this development and refused to participate in the common organization, basing their argument partly on their opposition to voting rights for women. They appealed to the *League of Nations and obtained the right of secession. They were supported by the Agudat Israel. Though unpleasant, their secession and opposition could not hinder Zionist and *yishuv* activity in Ereẓ Israel.

Life and development in Ereẓ Israel between the two world wars were influenced by and decided through a number of processes and events. Arab national opposition within the country to the Jews and their enterprise hardened with every success attained by other Arab countries to achieve independence or to approach it, and with every success attained by Jewish settlement and society in Ereẓ Israel. In a series of violent and cruel outbursts in the years 1921, 1929, 1933, and 1936–39, the Arabs tried to break Jewish morale and enterprise. The 1921 excesses achieved for them the Churchill *White Paper (1922), which gave a restrictive definition for the concept of the Jewish National Home, after the closure of Transjordan to Jewish settlement through the creation of a separate Arab emirate (later kingdom) there. Later outbursts brought in their wake commissions of inquiry, and diplomatic activity which in one way or another brought proposals of concessions to the Arab cause.

The history of relationships in the triangle between the Jews, Arabs, and British authorities in Ereẓ Israel is a long succession of flat Arab no's to a series of compromises loaded heavily in their favor. It is also a chapter in the history of colonial British officials the majority of whom were drawn to the romantic Arab against the ordinary European Jew. Jewish immigration to Ereẓ Israel was limited by various criteria and formalities; Jewish land acquisition was hindered in many ways. Only a minority of the British officials, and only in a limited number of cases and actions, fulfilled the mandatory power's obligation of furthering the "Jewish National Home."

Jews were divided among themselves as to the best ways of furthering their enterprise. In the dispute between Weizmann and Judge Louis D. *Brandeis there came to the fore the question of preference for individual initiative on accepted economic lines or preference for national and collectivist enterprises, sound from a social and ideological viewpoint more than from an economic one, which began to occupy Zionist attention from the time of this quarrel. Religious Zionist *Mizrachi circles complained about the secular and often anti-religious character of many of the settlers and settlements. The educational system set up by the new *yishuv* was divided between two networks: a modern Orthodox one and a "general" one with secularist leanings. The ultra-Orthodox circles maintained a network of their own. The readiness of Jews to come to Ereẓ Israel was often dependent on the political climate in the Diaspora. Thus the great immigration of Jews from Poland in the mid-1920s was nicknamed the "Grabski *aliyah*" after the Polish finance minister who through his discriminatory taxation policy influenced many to make *aliyah*.

Despite these hindrances and vacillations, progress continued unbroken throughout the period. The number of Jews in Ereẓ Israel grew in the 1920s about threefold, reaching 160,000. At the end of this decade there were 110 agricultural settlements (against 50 in 1920), cultivating 700,000 dunams (175,000 acres) of land. The electrification project of Rutenberg progressed, and the Potash Company successfully exploited the resources of the Dead Sea. The Plain of Jezreel became Jewish; irrigation for Jewish agriculture was swiftly developed. The new forms of the kibbutz and moshav proved themselves viable and were much admired by Jewish and general public opinion. In 1925 the first secular Jewish university was founded, the *Hebrew University of Jerusalem. This progress continued in the 1930s, accelerated by the needs and plight of German Jewry. In 1933 there were one quarter of a million Jews in Ereẓ Israel, and by 1939 half a million, 120,000 of whom lived in 252 agricultural settlements. These included 68 kibbutzim and 71 moshavim. Mixed agriculture became the main basis of the Jewish settlements' economy, freeing them from dependence on one source of income only, though citrus plantations were very successful. The skills, abilities, and money of German Jews did much to develop industry and advance technology.

Even the Arab Revolt of 1936–39 and frequent Arab attacks on Jewish settlements and traffic on the road did not succeed in halting the progress. The method of "*stockade and watch-tower" (*ḥomah u-migdal*) was invented to erect, overnight, settlements capable of defense. Fifty-five new settlements were founded between 1936 and 1939. World War II found the Jewish settlement in Ereẓ Israel strong, active, and alert socially and economically. By 1939 many were embittered against the mandatory government, which prevented Jews, then in mortal danger in Europe, from reaching a safe haven in Ereẓ Israel. As other states had already raised barriers in the 1920s against immigration (e.g., the quota of 1924 in the United States whose terms prevented the entry of many Jews there), Ereẓ Israel was at that time the only society willing and eager to receive them, but for the refusal of the British. Jews developed a network of *"illegal" immigration which smuggled tens of thousands of Jews into the country. Measures taken by the mandatory authorities to suppress this immigration caused further clashes.

The defense system, strategy, and tactics of the Jews in Ereẓ Israel were based from 1921 on the underground mass organization of the Haganah. It had to develop its training and arms supplies clandestinely. Up to 1945 strategically always on the defensive against the Arabs, it had to develop under pressure of attack new tactics to respond to different challenges. In the meantime there were differences of opinion over the share of various social circles in the leadership of the Haganah, expressed mainly in terms of right-wing and left-wing; different policies as to the methods and timing of reaction to individual acts of terror; and from the late 1930s also differences over the question if and to what degree to oppose by armed force the British anti-Zionist legislation and measures. These led to splits in the Jewish forces. A group of the minority right wing

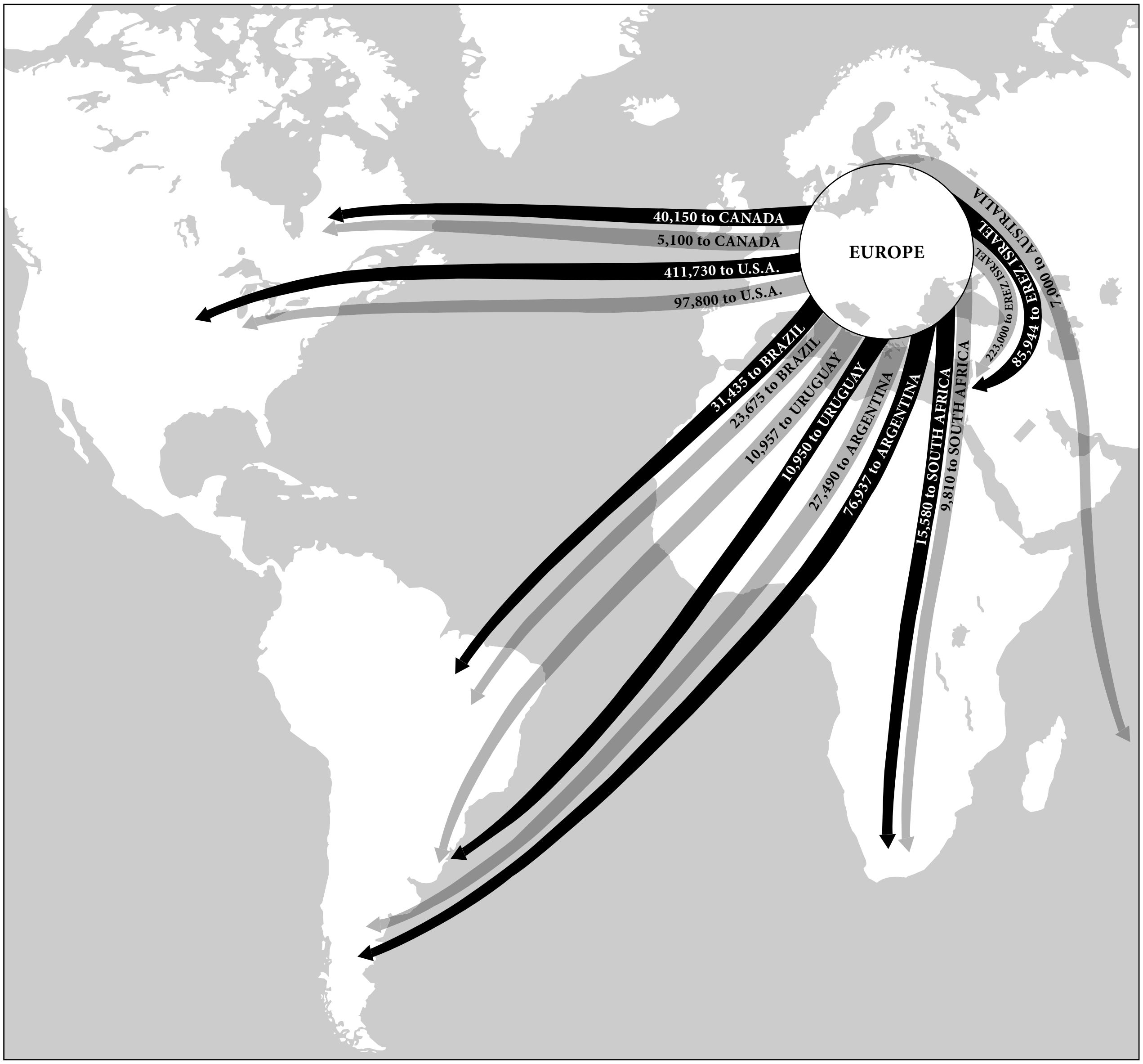
EUROPE
40,150 to CANADA
5,100 to CANADA
411,730 to U.S.A.
97,800 to U.S.A.
31,435 to BRAZIL
23,675 to BRAZIL
10,957 to URUGUAY
10,950 to URUGUAY
27,490 to ARGENTINA
76,937 to ARGENTINA
15,580 to SOUTH AFRICA
9,810 to SOUTH AFRICA
223,000 to EREZ ISRAEL
85,944 to EREZ ISRAEL
7,000 to AUSTRALIA

Map 5. Intercontinental migrations, 1915–30 (black) and 1931–39 (gray). Based on data from H. Lestschinsky, "Jewish Migrations, 1840-1946," in L. Finkelstein (ed.), The Jews, *New York, 1960.*

advocating an activist response to Arab terrorization formed a separate armed underground, generally named the "Irgun Bet" in the 1930s. In 1937, after two splits, the *Irgun Ẓeva'i Le'ummi (IẒL) emerged and, in 1940, the *Loḥamei Ḥerut Israel (Leḥi). From many aspects these were more extreme developments of the former right-wing "Irgun Bet."

The Haganah attempted with considerable success to form legal Jewish militia and defense units in cooperation with the mandatory government. In the personality of Orde Charles *Wingate it found a devoted British officer who identified himself with the Jewish cause. On the eve of World War II a large number of the Jewish youth in Ereẓ Israel were organized one way or another for defense, and ready to serve. They supplied the volunteers for the various Jewish units, and later on the *Jewish Brigade Group in the British army of World War II was formed. In this unit, in turn, many who were later to be commanders of the Israel Defense Forces gained experience in large-scale training and operations. In the *Palmaḥ, the Haganah created a striking force of youth trained in commando style who through close links with social life in the kibbutzim were emotionally and ideologically devoted to the new Jewish society. Consciously and subconsciously all these various military and para-military organizations and units drew their inspiration from the conviction, crystallized in Russia at the time of the pogroms, that human stature demanded active armed defense by the Jews of their honor and their life. They were also inspired by historical memories revived on the soil of Ereẓ Israel: the acts of the Maccabees, the example of the great revolt against the Romans (66–70), and the deeply implanted readiness for *kiddush-ha-Shem*, which had already assumed a secularist form in sacrifice for an ideal in the activities of Jewish revolutionaries in Europe from the second half of the 19th century.

Hebrew and Yiddish

Between the world wars at one and the same time Hebrew was finally transformed from a literary language into a full-scale living language and Yiddish was transformed into a language for literary and scientific expression from a spoken popular dialect. The attainments of Hebrew before World War I were now broadened and deepened by a rich literary creation – much of it begun before World War I but reaching a peak and social recognition between the two world wars (Ḥayyim Naḥman *Bialik, Saul *Tschernichowsky, Zalman *Shneour, Nathan *Alterman, Shemuel Yosef *Agnon, among a galaxy of poets and writers). In the Hebrew University at Jerusalem, the Technion in Haifa, and in all aspects of everyday life, in the elementary school and kindergarten, in the units of the defense organizations as in professional work and writing, old mishnaic, talmudic, and midrashic terms were given new meanings and connotations to serve modern needs. Many new terms were coined. Many Jews in the Diaspora began to study and use Hebrew as a living language, considering it and forging it into a powerful bond and rich symbol of unity with the Jewish past and of participation in the emerging new Jewish spirit in Ereẓ Israel.

Yiddish also continued to evolve and diffuse literary works on a high level before World War I and after it (Mendele Mokher Seforim (see Sholem Yankev *Abramovitsh), who through his work and personality formed a link between Hebrew and Yiddish literature; Shalom *Aleichem; Sholem *Asch; *Der Nister; Peretz *Markish; David *Bergelson; and many others). It was cultivated and perfected, and attained precision in expression and grammar, in academic institutes (see *YIVO), and school systems. For many Jews – mostly anti-Zionist or left-wing, but also some among the Orthodox – Yiddish became a symbol of the greatness of European Jewish culture of the Ashkenazi type, and of what they considered the abiding value of continued Jewish existence in the Diaspora. Nathan *Birnbaum, an early pioneer of Zionism, served through his leadership and personality as a link between these various groups of "Yiddishists." In the Soviet Union, mainly through the ideology and activities of the Yevsektsiya circles, as well as among radical circles of the Yiddishist camp elsewhere, Yiddish became a symbol of the break with the religious "clerical" and the "bourgeois nationalist" past. It was used to work for and express total secularization as the basis for specifically Jewish life and creativity in the new society. This found technical expression in the adoption of changes of spelling and vocalization to wipe out the last traces of Hebrew and religious influence from the language.

Thus, on the eve of the Holocaust, Jews had two fully developed national languages, two competing conceptions as to the center of gravity of Jewish achievement and Jewish continuity, and two incipient conceptions of the relation to the past and the character of future culture. Two sets of literature were being developed and sustained at a high level; two parallel structures of scientific and educatory effort were being activated successfully. Hebrew stood for a hope for the eventual unity of Jews throughout the world, on the basis of a common past rooted in biblical, mishnaic, and talmudic times and striving for a renaissance in the land of Israel. Its secular tendencies were also directed toward the transformation of this past unity and those past treasures into new forms capable of containing the entire former complex. Yiddish expressed the feeling that what had happened in Europe from approximately the tenth century onward, and more or less north of the Pyrenees, was what mattered and should be handed on to be transformed and used. It stood for the belief in "*Doyigkeyt*" (the value of what is here and now in Jewish life, meaning Europe and the European communities overseas, and the elements that were present and activating in their culture in the 20th century). It was intended to be the abiding vehicle of autonomous secular Jewish culture and life in the Diaspora based on a European Jewish Ashkenazi cultural pattern. The Holocaust cut the existential plane from under Yiddish. Its achievements, and goals, and the conceptions it expressed remain in its literature and in the progress it made in competition with established Hebrew in a relatively short time. In the Soviet Union Yiddish was helped by the prohibition of Hebrew and by state aid provided for Yiddish institutions and literature. This also vanished with the anti-Jewish stands adopted by *Stalin and the "liquidation" of many Yiddish writers and artists after the end of World War II. Tension between the "Hebraists" and "Yiddishists" was considerable between the two world wars. After the Holocaust, it became a matter of the past.

World War II and the Holocaust

World War II found the Jews everywhere, unlike the outbreak of World War I (see above), united in the war against Hitler. The Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact of August 23, 1939, caused some fanatical Jewish communists to deviate for a short time from this natural course, to which they returned gladly in 1941 with Hitler's attack on Soviet Russia. Each German victory – a series unbroken up to the end of 1942 – spelled horror and doom for the Jews who came under German rule. As clearly evident now from documents captured and from the torsos of "Jewish museums" that Hitler began to erect, his clearly formulated plan and avowed intention was to exterminate first all the Jews in Europe and later all Jews in the world, so that future generations could see what Jews were only as museum exhibits. The Nazis saw and pointed to Jews as the vermin of humanity whose house had to be cleaned of them in order to be made fit for the future great culture under pure Aryan domination.

The Nazi methods in dealing with Jews were an unvarying compound of deception, human cruelty, and the use of both psychological pressure and technical harassment to break the spirit of the victims and dehumanize them before their final dispatch. In the ghettos, in the various *Aussiedlung* actions, and in the death camps, the same pattern of sadistic torture proceeded, creating a constant and worsening situation of hunger, epidemics, arbitrary executions and torture, and in the end death for the emaciated body, taking the maximum care to use every ounce and particle possible for the benefit of the great Aryan German culture. Under this pattern it was intended that the victims lose all sense of time and individuality; the humanly impossible was always possible in the organized chaos and nightmare surrounding the Jews. Degradation was as much the aim as killing. This system was applied in the full to Jews, though it was also applied to other enemies and opponents of the "thousand-year Reich."

Despite this satanic dehumanization by a mighty state machine, there were indeed Jewish uprisings, in the *Warsaw Ghetto, and several other ghettos, and in the *Treblinka death camp as well as several others. There were Jewish *partisans wherever they could find shelter, which was often denied to them by non-Jewish partisans.

The Nazis were able to deceive their decent victims because no ordinary human being could conceive the existence of such depths of vileness in the human mind, even having read *Mein Kampf* and meeting with the Nazis. The Nazis used a series of cover names and cover conceptions to confuse the Jews. The terms "*ghetto," or "elders of the Jews" (*Judenrat), "*Judenpolizei*," the slogan "labor makes free" at the entrance to death camps, and the fiendish invention of sending Jews to a "shower-room" that was really a gas chamber, constituted a mixture of medieval concepts, which apparently ensured life with humiliation, and modern concepts of service and cleanliness, so that the Jews should not realize their fate (cf. *Nazi-Deutsch).

The process of actual extermination frequently began with mass pogroms in the old czarist style. It continued in the nightmarish journeys in freight trains under horrible conditions to the ghettos in Poland. On Jan. 20, 1942, the details for the final mass extermination were settled at the so-called *Wannsee Conference at Berlin. At this conference the liquidation of 11 million Jews was envisaged, and from the following year was largely implemented at *Auschwitz and the other camps. The Warsaw Ghetto revolt of April–May 1943 was a last stand manifesting Jewish courage and belief in the future and the human spirit. By the time the Nazis had been defeated between four-and-a-half and six million Jews were already dead; the Holocaust was carried out in such a way that exact numbers are difficult to ascertain (see *Holocaust). When the gates of the death camps were opened at *Buchenwald, *Bergen-Belsen, *Dachau, and elsewhere, hundreds of thousands of living skeletons were found in them. They had to be brought back to ordinary human life.

The Holocaust showed the inhumanity to which antisemitism and racism could lead, not only despite, but in the main through, mass culture, mass education, and the use of mass media for propaganda and indoctrination. The executioners were dehumanized beyond recovery in the process. The victims were intended to reach this state but the Jewish vitality and spirit, and the demonstration of Jewish brotherhood quickly brought back most of the survivors to personal integration and proud human stature. The numbers that had been tattooed on their skins in the camps were not obliterated: most of those Jews learned to live with them, and gained a renewed belief in humanity.

The Holocaust was organized by the Germans. The German people knew of it. Such an operation could be carried out only by means of the technology at its disposal, and the victories achieved by its sons, but many other peoples of Europe, in particular of Eastern Europe, took part in the initial mass pogroms, and collaborated in the murders. It was not by accident that Hitler chose Poland in which to carry them out. Some nations – the Dutch, the Danes, the Swedes, the Bulgarians and many Italians – showed courage in helping and hiding Jews (cf. *Righteous of the Nations). Few came out openly on their side. A notable exception was the mass action of the Amsterdam port workers. The Western allies were afraid of German propaganda and on many occasions took good care not to be trapped into specific and open actions of help to the Jews as Jews. The bombing of Auschwitz was considered impossible on technical grounds, while aid by air to the Polish insurgents in Warsaw was conceived and carried out despite Russian opposition. On general grounds of condemning torture and inhumanity the Allies included the account of the Jews in their warnings to the Germans of the day of reckoning to come. But they refused to counter the singling out of Jews for destruction by the Nazis by singling Jews out themselves for help and protection.

It seemed, after the Holocaust, to many, friends and enemies alike, that with regard to the Jews Hitler had achieved his purpose of breaking their spirit, though he had failed in achieving their total extermination. In looking at the physical wrecks in the camps, and in counting the scanty remnants of European Jewry, it seemed to the foreign secretary of the Labor government, Ernest *Bevin, as well as to many other level-headed statesmen, that the time had come to liquidate the enterprise of European Jewry in Ereẓ Israel after its virtual liquidation in Europe. Emancipation had again returned formally to Jews all over the world; the antisemitism of Stalin was yet to be seen. The pressure of the Jewish masses for immigration to Ereẓ Israel seemed to be gone with the annihilation of these masses. Economically rich countries were ready to receive the remnants; why imagine that they would insist on going to a poor, dangerous, and effort-demanding little country? The Jews of Ereẓ Israel had witnessed the horror of the destruction of millions of Jews, of the conception of Jews as subhuman beings, and the passivity of the democratic and communist pro-Jewish world. It seemed that ensuring the guaranteed status of an autonomous and prosperous minority in an Arab state should satisfy the Jews of Ereẓ Israel, while rehabilitation and immigration to other countries would help what remained of European Jewry.

CHRONOLOGICAL CHART OF JEWISH HISTORY

EGYPT	EREẒ ISRAEL		MESOPATAMIA	CULTURAL ACHIEVEMENTS
c. 1991 B.C.E.	Hebrews in Egypt			
xii Dynasty				
c. 1786 B.C.E.				
c. 1720/10 B.C.E.			c. 1728-1686 Hammurapi	
Hyksos	The Patriarchs			
c. 1570				
xviii Dynasty				
c. 1550 B.C.E.				
c. 1400–*c.* 1350 Tell el-Amarna Period				
c. 1370–*c.* 53 Akhenaton				
c. 1340–*c.* 10 Haremhab				
c. 1310				
xix Dynasty				
c. 1309–*c.* 1290 Seti I				
c. 1290–*c.* 24 Ramses II				
	c. 1280 Exodus			
c. 1224–*c.* 16 Mer-ne-Ptah				
	c. 1250 Conquest of Canaan under Joshua			
c. 1200	*c.* 1200 Philistines settle in Ereẓ Israel			
	The Judges			
	c. 1125 Deborah			
	c. 1100 Gideon			
	c. 1050 Fall of Shiloh			
	Samuel			
	c. 1020–1004 Saul		ARAM DAMASCUS	
	1004–965 David			
c. 935–*c.* 914 Shishak	965–928 Solomon		Rezan	
xxii Dynasty	Judah	Israel		
918/17 Shishak invades Ereẓ Israel				
	928–911 Rehoboam	907–907 Jeroboam I		
	911–908 Abijah	906–906 Nadab		
	908–867 Asa	883–883 Baasha	Ben-Hadad I	
		882–882 Elah		
		882 Zimri		
		882–71 Omri	Ben-Hadad II	
	867–46 Jehoshaphat	871–852 Ahab	853 Battle of Karkar	Elijah
		852–51 Ahaziah		
	846–43 Jehoram	851–42 Jehoram		
	843–42 Ahaziah	842–14 Jehu	Hazael	
	842–36 Athaliah			
	836–798 Jehoash	814–800 Jehoahaz	Ben-Hadad III	
	798–69 Amaziah	800–784 Jehoash		Amos
	769-33 Uzziah	784–48 Jeroboam II		Hosea
	758-43 Jotham (regent)	748 Zechariah	Rezin	*c.* 740–*c.* 700 Prophecies of Isaiah
		748 Shallum		
	743-33 Ahaz	747–37 Menahem		
	758-43 (regent)	737–35 Pekahiah		
		735–33 Pekah	MESOPATAMIA	
	733-27 Ahaz	733–24 Hoshea		
	727-698 Hezekiah	722 Samaria captured by Shalmaneser V		
		720 Sargon makes Samaria an Assyrian province		
		Mass deportation of Israelites		
	701 Expedition of Sennacherib against Hezekiah			
663 Sack of Thebes	698–42 Manasseh			
	641–40 Amon			
	639–09 Josiah		612 Fall of Nineveh	627–*c.* 585 Prophecies of Jeremiah
	609 Battle of Megiddo			
	609 Johoathaz			

EGYPT	EREẒ ISRAEL	BABYLONIA	CULTURAL ACHIEVEMENTS
	608–598 Jehoiakim	605 Battle of Carchemish	
	597 Jehoiachin		
	597 Expedition of Nebuchadnezzar against Judah; Jehoiachin deported to Babylonia		
	595–86 Zedekiah		
	586 Destruction of Jerusalem; mass deportation to Babylonia	Exile of Judeans in Babylonia	593–571 Prophecies of Ezekiel
	585 ? Murder of Gedaliah		
		PERSIA	6th cent, Canonization of the Pentateuch (in Babylonian Exile)
		539 Cyrus takes Babylonia	
525 Egypt conquered by Cambyses	538 First return under Sheshbazzar		
	c. 522 Zerubbabel governor	538 Cyrus' edict	
	520–15 Temple rebuilt		
460–54 Rebellion of Inaros	458? Second return under Ezra	465–24 Artaxerxes I	
		423–04 Darius II	
	445 Walls of Jerusalem reconstructed under Nehemiah; Ezra reads the Torah		
	428 ? Second return under Ezra		
411 Destruction of the temple of the Jewish colony at Elephantine	*c.* 408 Bagohi governor		
404 Egypt regains freedom		404–358 Artaxerxes II	
	398? Second return under Ezra		
343 Egypt reconquered by Persia	348 Artaxerxes III deports a number of Jews to Hyrcania		4th cent. Canonization of the Prophets Section of the Bible
		333 Battle of Issus	
332 Alexander the Great conquers Egypt	332 Alexander the Great conquers Ereẓ Israel		
		323 d. of Alexander the Great	
323–285 Ptolemy I			
	301 Ptolemy I conquers Ereẓ Israel		
		SYRIA	
385–46 Ptolemy II Philadelphus		312–280 Seleucus I	Mid-3rd cent. Pentateuch translated into Greek in Egypt (Septuagint)
246–21 Ptolemy III Euergetes		223–187 Antiochus III	
221–03 Ptolemy IV Philopator	219–17 Antiochus III conquers most of Ereẓ Israel		
	217 Ptolemy IV defeats Antiochus III in the battle of Rafah and recovers Ereẓ Israel		
203–181 Ptolemy V Epiphanes	198 Battle of Panias (Banias): Ereẓ Israel passes to the Seleucids		
181–46 Ptolemy VI Philometor		187–75 Seleucus IV	
	175 Onias III deposed by Antiochus IV	175–64 Antiochus IV Epiphanes	
	175–71 Jason High priest		
	c. 172 Jerusalem becomes a *polis* (Antiochia)		
	171–167 Menelaus high priest		*c.* 170 Book of Ben Sira written
	169 Antiochus IV plunders the Temple treasuries		
168 Antiochus I invades Egypt	168 Antiochus IV storms Jerusalem; gentiles settled on the Acra		
	167 Antiochus IV outlaws the practice of Judaism; profanation of the Temple; the rebellion of the Hasmoneans begins		
	166–60 Judah Maccabee, leader of the rebellion, victorious over several Syrian armies		
	164 Judah Maccabee captures Jerusalem and rededicates the Temple	164–63 Antiochus V	
	162–59 Alcimus high priest	162–50 Demetrius I	

EGYPT		EREẒ ISRAEL		SYRIA		CULTURAL ACHIEVEMENTS	
		161	Judah Maccabee defeats Nicanor and reconquers Jerusalem; treaty between Judah and Rome				
		160	Judah Maccabee falls in battle against Bacchides				
			Jonathan assumes the leadership; guerilla warfare				
		157	Treaty between Bacchides and Jonathan; withdrawal of Seleucid garrisons, Jonathan enters Jerusalem				
		152	Jonathan high priest	152–45	Alexander Balas		
c. 145	Onias IV builds temple in Leontopolis	142	Jonathan treacherously murdered by Tryphon	145–38	Demetrius II		
				145–38	Antiochus VI and Tryphon		
145–16	Ptolemy VII Physcon		Simeon assumes leadership. Demetrius II recognizes the independence of Judea; renewal of treaty with Rome				
		141	Simeon captures the Acra				
		140	Great Assembly in Jerusalem confirms Simeon as ethnarch, high priest, and commander in chief	138–29	Antiochus VII Sidetes		
		134	Simeon assassinated				
		134–104	John Hyrcanus				Latter second century. First Book of Maccabees written
		134	Treaty with Rome renewed				
		134–32	War with Antiochus VII; Jerusalem besieged; treaty between John Hyrcanus and Antiochus VII				
				129–25	Demetrius II		
				125–96	Antiochus VIII Crypus		
116–08	Ptolemy VIII Lathyrus	107	John Hyrcanus' sons capture Samaria	115–95	Antiochus IX Cyzicenus		
108–88	Ptolemy IX Alexander	104–03	Judah Aristobulus				
		103–76	Alexander Yannai				
88–80	Ptolemy VIII Lathyrus						
		76–67	Salome Alexandra				
		63-63	Civil war between Hyrcanus II. Temple Mount besieged and captured by Pompey				
		63–40	Hyrcanus II ethnarch and high priest. Judea loses its independence				
		56–55	Revolts of Alexander b. Aristobulus and Aristobulus	57–55	Gabinus governor of Syria	ITALY (ROME)	
48	Hyrcanus II and Antipater help Caesar in Alexandria	48	Caesar confirms Jewish privileges			44	Assassination of Caesar
		40	Parthian invasion				
		40–37	Antigonus II (Matathias)			43	Second Triumvirate
		37	Jerusalem captured by Herod			31	Battle of Actium
		37–4 B.C.E.	Herod			27	B.C.E.–14 C.E. Augustus
			Shemaiah and Avtalion				
		19	Temple rebuilt				
		4 B.C.E.–6 C.E.	Archelaus ethnarch				
		4 B.C.E.–34 C.E.	Herod Philip				
		4 B.C.E.–39 C.E.	Herod Antipas				
		6 C.E.- 41	Judea, Samaria, and Idurnea formed into a Roman province (Iudaea) under a *praefectus*				
			beginning of 1st cent., d. of Hillel			19	Tiberius expels the Jews
		26–36	Pontius Pilate *praefectus*				
		30	Jesus crucified; d. of Shammai			31	Jews allowed to return
38	Anti-Jewish riots in Alexandria	37–41	Crisis caused by Caligula's insistence on being worshiped as deity			37–41	Caligula

EGYPT		EREẒ ISRAEL		ROMAN EMPIRE		CULTURAL ACHIEVMENTS	
40	Legation of Jews of Egypt lead by Philo to Rome	41–44	Agrippas I	41–54	Claudius	Until *c.* 40	Philo writes in Aleandria
				41	Claudius issues edict of toleration		
				54–68	Nero		
66	Massacre of the Jews at Alexandria	66	Beginning of revolt against Rome				
		67	Vespasian conquers Galilee, the Zealots take over in Jerusalem				
				69	Galba; Otho; Vitellius		
		c. 70	Destruction of Qumran community	69–79	Vespasian		
		70	Siege of Jerusalem, destruction of the Temple				
		70	Sanhedrin established at Jabneh by Johanan b. Zakkai				
73	Temple in Leontopolis closed	73	Fall of Masada			*c.* 79	Josephus completes *Jewish Wars*
				79–81	Titus		
116–117	Revolt of the Jews			81–96	Domitian		
				96–98	Nerva	93	Josephus completes *Jewish Antiquities*
				98–117	Trajan		
		c. 115	d. of Gamaliel II				
		c. 116–117	"war of Quietus"	117–38	Hadrian	2nd. Cent.	Canonization of the Ketuvim (Hagiographa)
		132–35	Bar Kokhba war				
		135	Fall of Bethar, Aelia Capitolina established; Akiva executed				
		c. 135–38	Persecutions of Hadrian				
		c. 140	Sanhedrin at Usha	138–61	Antoninus Plus		
				161–80	Marcus Aurelius		
				161–69	Lucius Aurelius Verus		
		c. 170	Sanhedrin at Bet She'arim				
				180–92	Commodus		
				193	Pertinsax		
				193–211	Septimus Severus		
		c. 200	Sanhedrin at Sepphoris	211–17	Caracalle	*c.* 210	Redaction of the Mishnah
				212	Jews (together with most subjects of the empire) become Roman citizens		
BABYLONIA							
219	Arrival of Rav			217–18	Macrinus		
		c. 220	d. of Judah ha-Nasi	218–22	Heliogabalus		
		c. 230	d. of Gamaliel III	222–35	Alexander Severus		
		c. 235	Sanhedrin at Tiberias				
247	d. of Rav					245	Dura-Europos synagogue built
254	d. of Samuel			253–60	Valerian		
259	Academy of Nethardea moves to Pumbedita						
		c. 270	d. of Judah II Nesiah	270–75	Aurelian		
				284–305	Diocletian		
		c. 290	d. of Gamaliel IV				
c. 297	d. of Huna						
c. 299	d. of Judah b. Ezekiel						

GENERAL HISTORY	CHRISTIAN EUROPE	EREẒ ISRAEL	BABYLONIA	ARABIA	CULTURAL ACHIEVEMENTS
306–337 Constantine I 313 Edict of Milan					
325 Council of Nicaea 337–361 Constantius II	321 Jews in Cologne 325 Christian Church formulates its policy toward the Jews: the Jews must continue to exist for the sake of Christianity in seclusion and humiliation	320 d. of Judah III 351 Jews and Samaritans revolt against Gallus; destruction of Bet Sh'earim	330 d. of Rabbah b. Nahamani 338 d. of Abbaye 352 d. of Rava		*c.* 359 Permanent calendar committed to writing
361–363 Julian the Apostate 379–395 Theodosius I	339 Constantius II prohibits marriage between Jews and Christians and possession of Christian slaves by Jews	363 Julian the Apostate allows Jews to start Rebuilding the Temple *c.* 365 d. of Hillel II *c.* 385 d. of Gamaliel V *c.* 400 d. of Judah IV			*c.* 390 Jerusalem Talmud completed
408–450 Theodosius II 476 End of Western Roman Empire 481–511 Clovis I king of the Franks 493–526 Theodoric	438 Theodosius II Novellae against the Jews and heretics	425 Patriarchate abolished 426 d. of Gamaliel VI	427 d. of Ashi 455 Jews forbidden to keep the Sabbath *c.* 470 Persecutions by the authorities; Huna b. Mar Zutra the exilarch and others executed by the authorities 495–502 Revolt of Mar Zutra the exilarch		5th cent., Yose b. Yose earliest liturgical poet known by name
527–565 Justinian I	553 Justinian interferes in the conduct of Jewish worship 590–604 Pope Gregory I	520 Mar Zutra III head of Sanhedrin at Tiberias	499 d. of Ravina II *c.* 500–540 Savoraim 589 Beginning of the period of Geonim	525 End of Jewish kingdom in southern Arabia	*c.* 499 Babylonian Talmud completed 6th–7th cent., Yannai liturgical poet *c.* 600 Eleazar Kallir liturgical poet
622 Muhammad's flight to Medina 628–38 Dagobert I 632 d. of Muhammad 640-42 Egypt conquered by the Arabs	612, 633, 638 Severe legal measures against the Jews in Spain 628 Dagobert I expels Jews from Frankish Kingdom 694–711 Jewish religion outlawed in Spain	614–617 Jewish rule established in Jerusalem under the Persians 632 Heraclius decrees forced baptism 638 Jerusalem conquered by the Arabs		624–628 Jewish tribes of Arabia destroyed by Muhammad	

GENERAL HISTORY	MUSLIM SPAIN	CHRISTIAN EUROPE	EREẒ ISRAEL BABYLONIA	OTHERS	CULTURAL ACHIEVEMENTS
711 Spain conquered by the Arabs					
				c. 740 conversion of the Khazars	
					c. 760 Halakhot Pesukot (attributed to Hehudai b. Naḥman)
768–814 Charlemagne			762–67 Anan b. David lays the foundation of Karaism		
		797 Charlemagne sends Isaac to Harun al-Rashid			
					c. 825 Simeon Kayyara composes *Halakhot Gedolot*
			858 d. of Natronai Gaon		
					c. 860 Amram b. Sheshna compiles order of prayers
			921–22 Dispute between Ereẓ Israel and Babylonia over the calendar		*c.* 875 Nahshon b. Zadok researches the Jewish calendar
					c. 935 Saadiah Gaon writes *Emunot ve-De'ot*
			942 d. of Saadiah Gaon		
					c. 953 *Josippon* written
	970 d. of Menahem ibn Saruq; d. of Ḥisdai ibn Shaprut				
987 Rise of the Capetian dynasty					987 *Iggeret Rav Sherira Gaon*
		886 d. of Shephatiah b. Amittai of Oria			
			998 d. of Sherira Gaon	Beginning of 11th cent., end of Khazar Kingdom	
	990 d. of Dunash b. Labrat				
		1012 Expulsion from Mainz	1008 Persecutions of al-Ḥakim		
			1013 d. of Samuel b. Hophni	*c.* 1027 d. of Hushiel b. Elhanan	
		1028 d. of Gershom b. Judah			
	c. 1050 d. of Jonah ibn Janaḥ				
			1038 d. Hai Gaon		
1066 England conquered by William of Normandy	*c.* 1056 d. of Samuel ha-Nagid; d. of Solomon ibn Gabirol				
				1055/56 d. of Hananel b. Hushiel	
		c. 1066 Jews settle in England			
1078 Jerusalem conquered by the Seljuks				1062 d. of Nissim b. Jacob	
					c. 1080 Baḥya ibn Paquda writes *Ḥovot ha-Levavot*
1096–99 First Crusade		1096 Crusaders massacre the Jews of the Rhineland			
			1099 Jerusalem captured by crusaders		

GENERAL HISTORY	SPAIN & PORTUGAL	FRANCE	ENGLAND
	1103 d. of Isaac Alfasi		
		1105 d. of Rashi	
1147–49 Second Crusade	*c.* 1135 d. of Moses ibn Ezra		1144 Blood libel at Norwich
	1141 d. of Judah Halevi		
	1164 d. of Abraham ibn Ezra	1171 Destruction of the Blois community; d. of Jacob b. Meir Tam	
	1180 d. of Abraham ibn Daud		
1199–92 Third Crusade	c. 1180 First Maimonidean controversy	1182 Expulsion	
			1190 Anti-Jewish riots; massacre at York
			1194 *Archae* established
		1198 Jews recalled	
		1198 d. of Abraham b. David of Posquières	
1215 Magna Carta			1210 Extortions of John Lackland
			1222 Council of Oxford introduces discriminatory measures
			1232 Domus Conversorum established in London
	1230–32 Second Maimonidean controversy		
	1235 d. of Isaac the Blind' d. of Judah Al-Ḥarizi	*c.* 1235 d. of David Kimḥi	
		1236 Persecutions in W. France	
1241 Tatars reach the frontiers of Silesia		1240 Disputation of Paris	
			1241 “Parliament of Jews” meets at Worcester
		1242 Burning of Talmud at Paris	
	1263 Disputation of Barcelona		1255 Blood libel at Lincoln
	1270 d. of Naḥmanides		1263–64 Jews of London sacked
		1288 Jews burned at Troyes	1275 *Statutum de Judaismo*
1291 Acre captured by the Muslims; end of Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem	*c.* 1291 d. of Abraham Abulafia		1290 Expulsion
	c. 1300–06 Third Maimonidean controversy		
		1306 Expulsion	
1309–78 “Avignonese captivity” of the popes			
	c. 1310 d. of Solomon b. Abraham Adret		
		1315 Jews recalled (by Louis X)	
		1320 Pastoureaux persecutions	
		1321 Lepers persecutions	
	1327 d. of Asher b. Jehiel	1322 Expulsion from the Kingdom of France	
	1328 Riots in Navarre		
1337 Beginning of the Hundred Years' War			

ITALY	GERMANY & AUSTRIA	EREẒ ISRAEL	NORTH AFRICA	CULTURAL ACHIEVEMENTS
				Commentaries of Rashi
				1101 The *Arukh* of Nathan b. Jehile of Rome completed
1106 d. of Nathan b. Jehiel of Rome			1106/7 d. of Jacob b. Nissim	
				1159–73 Travels of Benjamin of Tudela
				1161 Abraham ibn Daud completes *Sefer ha-Kabbalah*
1179 Third Lateran Council				
				1168 Maimonides completes commentary on the Mishnah
	1195–96 Anti-Jewish excesses at Speyer and Boppard	1187 Jerusalem captured by Saladin		1180 Maimonides completes Mishneh Torah
1198–1216 Innocent III				
			1204 d. of Maimonides in Fostat (Old Cairo)	
				1190 Maimonides completes *Guide of the Perplexed*
1215 Fourth Lateran Council introduces the Jewish Badge		1210–11 Settlement of 300 French and English rabbis		
	1217 d. of Judah b. Samuel he-Ḥasid			
1227–41 Gregory IX				
	1235 Blood libel at Fulda			
	1236 Frederick II Hohenstaufen introduces the concept of *servi camerae*			12th–13th cent., Ḥasidei Ashkenaz: *Sefer Ḥasidim* compiled
			POLAND	12th–14th cent., *Tosafot* (France and Germany)
1249 Innocent IV issues bill against blood libel	1238 d. of Eleazer b. Judah of Worms			
	1244 Frederick II, duke of Austria, grants charter	1244 Jerusalem captured by the Khwarizms		
			1264 Charter of Boleslav V the Pious	
		c. 1265 d. of Jehiel b. Joseph of Paris at Acre		
		1267/70 Naḥmanides in Ereẓ Israel		
	1285 Destruction of the Munich community			c. 1286 Zohar in final form completed by Moses b. Shem Tov de Leon
	1293 d. of Meir of Rothenburg			
	1298–99 Rindfleisch persecutions			
				1310 Asher b. Jehiel compiles Talmudic code.
				1329 Levi b. Gershom completes *Sefer Milḥamot Adonai*
c. 1328 d. of Immanuel b. Solomon of Rome			1334 Casimir III extends the charter of 1264	
	1336–37 Armleder massacres			

GENERAL HISTORY	SPAIN	FRANCE	ITALY
	1340 d. of Jacob b. Asher		
		1344 d. of Levi b. Gershom	
1348 Black Death	1348 Black Death massacres	1348–49 Black Death massacres	1348 Protective bulls of Clement VI
	1354 Council of the communites of Aragon		
		1359 Jews recalled	
	c. 1375 d. of Nissim b. Reuben Gerondi		
1386 Beginning of the union between Poland and Lithuania		1394 Expulsion from the Kingdom of France	
	1391 Massacres and conversions		
	1408 d. of Isaac b. Sheshet Perfet		
	1411–12 Vicente Ferrer and oppressive legislation		1415 Benedict XIII orders censorship of Talmud
	c. 1412 d. of Ḥasdai Crescas		
1415 Burning of John Huss	1413–14 Disputation of Tortosa	1420 Expulsion from Lyons	1419 Martin V against forced conversions
1419–36 Jussie Wars			
			1427 Papal edict prohibits transportation of Jews to Ereẓ Israel in ships of Venice and Ancona
1431 Burning of Joan of Arc 1431–49 Council of Basle			
	1435 Massacre and conversion of the Jews of Majorca		
1453 Constantinople captured by the Turks; end of the Hundred Years' War	1454 d. of Abraham Benveniste		
	1473 Marranos of Valladolid and Cordoba massacred		
	1474 Marrranos of Segovia massacred		1475–94 Bernardino da Feltre preaches against Jews; Jews expelled from several towns
1479 Castile and Aragon united	1480 Inquisition established in Spain		1475 Blood libel of Trent
	1483 Torquemada appointed inquisitor general	EREẒ ISRAEL	
		1488–*c.* 1515 Obadiah di Betinoro in Jerusalem	
	1490–91 La Guardia blood libel		
1492 Conquest of Granada; discovery of America	1492 Expulsion from Castile and Aragon		1492–93 Expulsion from Sicily
	1496–97 Expulsion from Portugal; mass forced conversion		1497 d. of Elijah Delmedigo
	1506 Massacre of Marranos in Lisbon		

GERMANY & AUSTRIA	POLAND-LITHUANIA	OTTOMAN EMPIRE	CULTURAL ACHIEVEMENTS
1342 Louis IX introduces poll tax (*Opferpfennig*)			Before 1340, Jacob b. Asher completes *Arba'ah Turim*
1348–60 Black Death massacres	1348–49 Immigration from Germany		
1356 Charles IV grants the Electors the privilege of taxing the Jews			
	1364 and 1367 Casimir III extends the charter		
	1388 Witold of Lithuania grants charter to Jews of Brest-Litovsk		
1389 Massacre of Prague community			
	1399 Blood libel in Poznan		
1421 Wiener Gesera; expulsion from Austria			
1424 Expulsion from Cologne			1425 Joseph Albo completes *Sefer ha-Ikkarim*
1427 d. of Jacob Moellin			
			1475 Beginning of Hebrew printing (Rashi printed in Reggio di Calabria)
1439 Expulsion from Augsburg			
1452–53 John of Capistrano incites persecutions and expulsions	1454 Privileges revoked; riots in Cracow	1453 onward. Jews favored as a valuable trading and artisan element in the Ottoman Empire	
1460 d. of Israel Isserlein			
1473 Expulsion from Mainz			
	1483 Expulsion from Warsaw		
		1492 onward. The sultans open the gates of the Ottoman Empire for the refugees from Spain	
	1495 Expulsion from Lithuania		
		1497 d. of Moses Capsali	
		1497 onward. Refugees from Portugal welcomed by the sultans	
1499 Expulsion from Nuremberg			
	1503 Jews return to Lithuania		*c.*1502 *Dialoghi di Amore* by Judah Abrabanel
			1504 *Sefer ha-Yuḥasin* by Abraham Zacuto

GENERAL HISTORY	PORTUGAL	ITALY (& PAPACY)	GERMANY & AUSTRIA
		1508 d. of Isaac Abrabanel (Abarbanel?)	
			1510 Expulsion from Brandenburg
			1510–20 Reuchlin-Pfefferkorn controversy
1517 Luther publishes his 95 theses		1516 Venice initiates the ghetto	
			1519 Expulsion from Regensburg
		1523–34 Clement VII	
		1523 David Reuveni appears in Venice	
		c. 1525 d. of Abraham Farissol	
1526 Battle of Mohacs; Turks rout Hungarians			
	1531 Inquisition established in Portugal		
		1532 Solomon Molcho burned at Mantua	
1536 Calvin publishes *Institution Chrétienne*			
1540 Jesuit Order approved by the pope			
		1541 Expulsion from Naples	1541 Expulsion from Prague and crown cities
	1542 Pseudo-Messiah (David Reuveni?) burned at Évora		
1545–63 Council of Trent			1544 Luther attacks the Jews
		1549 d. of Elijah Baḥur Levita	
		1550 Expulsion from Genoa	
			1551 Expulsion from Bavaria
		1553 Burning of the Talmud	
		1554 Censorship of Hebrew books introduced	1554 d. of Joseph b. Gershom of Rosheim
1555 Peace of Augsburg		1555 Paul IV orders that Jews be confined to ghettos	
		1556 Burning of Marranos in Ancona	
		1567 Expulsion from the Republic of Genoa	
		1569 Expulsion from the Papal States	
1572 Massacre of St. Bartholomew's Day			
		c. 1575 d. of Joseph ha-Kohen	
		1578 d. of Zaariah dei Rossi	
1581 The Netherlands proclaim independence from Spain			
		1584 Gregory XIII orders compulsory sermons to Jews	
1588 Destruction of the Spanish Armada			

POLAND-LITHUANIA	OTTOMAN EMPIRE	EREẒ ISRAEL	CULTURAL ACHIEVEMENTS
1514 Abraham Judaeus Bohemus appointed tax collector of the Jews of Poland		1516 Ereẓ Israel conquered by the Turks	1515–16 Jacob ibn Ḥabib's *Ein Ya'akov* publishes
			1520–23 First complete editions of the Talmuds printed
			1524–25 *Mikra'ot Gedolot* edition of the Bible
	1526 d. of Elijah Mizraḥi		
1534 Sigismund I absolves Jews from wearing the badge		1538 Jacob Berab renews *semikhah* in Safed	
			1549 Obadiah of Bertinoro's commentary on the Mishnah published
1551 Community leaders given wide juridical and administrative powers	1554 d. of Moses Hamon		1554 (?) Solomon ibn Verga's *Shevet Yehudah* published
	1555 d. of Elijah Capsali		1555 Joseph Caro's *Beit Yosef* published
			1558–60 The *Zohar* printed
	1566 Joseph Nasi created duke of Naxos	*c.* 1561 Joseph Nasi leases Tiberias from the sultan	1564 Joseph Caro's *Shulḥan Arukh* published
		1569–72 Isaac Luria in Safed	1569–71 Moses Isserles' *Mappah* published
1572 d. of Moses Isserles		1572 d. of Isaac Luria	
1574 d. of Solomon Luria			
		1575 d. of Joseph Caro	
1576 Stephen Báthory issues decrees against blood libel			
	1579 d. of Joseph Nasi		
1580 First extant *takkanah* of the Council of Four Lands			
			1597 *Shalshelet ha-Kabbalah* by Gedaliah b. Joseph ibn Yaḥia published

GENERAL HISTORY	ENGLAND	FRANCE	ITALY (& PAPACY)	THE NETHERLANDS	GERMANY
				c. 1490 Marranos settle in Amsterdam	
			1593 Expulsion from the Papal States		
1598 Edict of Nantes					
			1597 Expulsion from Milan		1603 *Takkanot* of the Synod of Frankfort
1613 First Romanov Czar					1614 Fetmilch's attack upon the Jews of Frankfort
					1615 Expulsion from Worms
					1616 Jews readmitted to Frankfort and Worms
1618 Beginning of Thirty Years' War					
1620 Mayflower arrives at Plymouth Rock; Battle of the White Mountain					
			1624 Ghetto established at Ferrara	1624 Excommunication of Uriel da Costa	
				1640 d. of Uriel da Costa	
1648 Treaty of Westphalia			1648 d. of Leone Modena		
					1649 Expulsion from Hamburg
1649–60 The Commonwealth in England					
1654 Portuguese recapture Brazil					
	1655 Manasseh Ben Israel in London				
	1656 Readmission of Jews			1656 Baruch Spinoza excommunicated	
			1663 d. of Simone Luzzatto		
				1657 d. of Manasseh Ben Israel	
1666 Great Fire of London					
		1670 Blood libel in Metz			1671 Jews permitted to settle in the Mark of Brandenburg
				1677 d. of Spinoza	
1683 Siege of Vienna by Turks					
	1685 Jews given religious freedom				
					1711 Eisenmenger's *Entdecktes Judenthum* published
1689–1725 Peter the Great czar of Russia					
	1701 Bevis Marks Synagogue built				
					1712 First public synagogue in Berlin
		1723 Residence of Portuguese Jews legalized by a letter patent	1723 General Council of Jews of Piedmont		
					1718 d. of Ẓevi Ashkenazi
	1728 d. of David Nieto			1728 d. of Solomon Ayllon	

AUSTRIA	POLAND-LITHUANIA	OTTOMAN EMPIRE	EREẒ ISRAEL	AMERICA	CULTURAL ACHIEVEMENTS
					1592 David Gans published *Zemaḥ David*
1609 d. of Judah Loew (Maharal) of Prague					
					1612–21 *Ḥiddushei Halakhot* of Samuel Edels published
	1616 d. of Meir b. Gedaliah of Lublin				
					1617 Yom Tov Lipmann Heller completes *Tosefot Yom Tov*
			1620 d. of Ḥayyim Vital		
	1623 Separate council for Lithuania established				
			1630 d. of Isaiah Horowitz		
	1631 d. of Samuel Edels				
	1640 d. of Joel Sirkes				
	1648–49 Chmielnicki massacres				1650 Manasseh Ben Israel publishes *Hope of Israel*
				1654 Jews arrive in New Amsterdam (New York) and found congregation, refugees from Brazil found communities in West Indies	
1654 d. of Yom Tov Lipmann Heller					
	1655–56 Massacres during wars of Poland against Sweden and Russia				
				1658 Congregation founded at Newport	
	1664 riot in Lemberg (Lvov)	1665 Shabbetai Ẓevi proclaims himself the Messiah in Smyrna – fervor spreads throughout the Jewish world			
		1666 Shabbetai converts to Islam			
1670 Expulsion from Vienna		1676 d. of Shabbetai Ẓevi			
	1680 Riots in Brest-Litovsk	1680 d. of Nathan of Gaza			
	1682 Riots in Cracow				
	1687 Jews of Poznan attacked			1695 Jews settle in Charleston, S.C.	
1703 d. of Samuel Oppenheimer			1700 Judah Ḥasid and his group arrive in Jerusalem		
	1712 Jews of Sandomierz expelled after blood libel				
1724 d. of Samson Wertheimer					
		c. 1730 d. of Nehemiah Ḥayon			
1726 Familiants Laws					

GENERAL HISTORY	ENGLAND	FRANCE	ITALY (& PAPACY)	GERMANY
				1738 Execution of Joseph Suess Oppenheimer
			1747 d. of Moses Ḥayyim Luzzatto	
				1750 Severe legislation against the Jews in Prussia
				1751 Beginning of Eybeschuetz-Emden controversy
1756–63 Seven Years' War				1756 d. of Jacob Joshua Falk
	1760 Board of Deputies of British Jews established		1761 Cardinal Ganganelli's memorandum against the blood libel	
	1762 d. of Samson Gideon			1764 d. of Jonathan Eybeschuetz
1770 James Cook discovers Botany Bay				1769 Mendelssohn-Lavater controversy
1772 First partition of Poland				
			1775 Anti-Jewish edict of Pius VI	
1776 American Declaration of Independence				1776 d. of Jacob Emden
1778 Deaths of Rousseau and Voltaire				1781 C.W. von Dohm's *Ueber die buergerliche Verbesserung der Juden* : Christian plea for Jewish emancipation
		1784 Body tax abolished		
				1786 d. of Moses Mendelssohn
1789 Beginning of the French Revolution		1789 *Sur la Regeneration Physique, Morale et Politique des Juifs* by Abbé Gregoire		
				1787 Leibzoll abolished in Prussia
		1790 The National Assembly grants citizenship to the "Portuguese" Jews		
		1791 The National Assembly grants full civil rights to all the Jews		
1793 Second partition of Poland			1793 Attack on the ghetto of Rome	
1793–97 First coalition against France				
	THE NETHERLANDS			
1795 Third partition of Poland				
	1796 Emancipation of the Jews of the Batavian Republic			
1797 Peace of Campo Formio			1797–99 Temporary emancipation brought by French revolutionary army	
1799 Napoleon becomes First Consul				1799 David Firedlaender's letter to Teller
1801 Peace of Lunéville				1800 d. of Solomon Maimon
1804 Napoleon crowned emperor				

AUSTRIA-HUNGARY	POLAND-LITHUANIA	RUSSIA	EREẒ ISRAEL	AMERICA	CULTURAL ACHIEVEMENTS
				1730 First public synagogue in New York	
1736 d. of David Oppenheim	1734–36 Attacks by the Haidamacks			1733 Jews settle in Georgia	
			1742 Ḥayyim Attar and his group arrive in Jerusalem	1742 Congregation founded at Philadelphia	
1745 Expulsion from Prague	1746 d. of Jehiel Heilprin				1743 Moses Ḥayyim Luzzato publishes *La-Yesharim Tehillah*
1748 Prague Jews allowed to return			*c.* 1751 d. of Moses Ḥagiz	1749 Congregation founded at Charleston	
	1757 Disputation with the Frankists at Kamenets-Podolski				1755 First work of Moses Mendelssohn published
	1759 Disputation with the Frankists at Lember (Lvov)				
	1760 d. of Israel b. Eliezer Ba'al Shem Tov				1762 Isaac de Pinto's *Apologie pour la Nation Juive* in answer to Voltaire's defamation of Judaism
1764 Maria Theresa's Judenordnung	1764 Council of Four Lands abrogated				
	1768 Haidamack massacres				
	1772 First *ḥerem on the Ḥasidim*, d. of Dov Baer of Mezhirech	1772 Jews of eastern Poland under Russian rule			1780–83 Publication of Mendelssohn's *Biur*
			1777 Menahem Mendel of Vitebsk and his group of Ḥasidim settle in Galilee		1780 Jacob Joseph of Polonnoye's *Toledot Ya'akov Yosef* published
1782 Joseph II's *Toleranz-patent*; Naptali Herz Wessely's *Divrey Shalom ve-Emet*	1781 Second *ḥerem on the Ḥasidim*				
		1783 Jews eligible for municipal councils			1783 Mendelssohn publishes *Jerusalem*; *Ha-Me'assef* founded
				1789 U.S. Constitution; G. Washington, first president of U.S.	
1792 "Judenamt" opened in Vienna	1791 d. of Jacob Frank	1791 Pale of Settlement established			
1793 d. of Ezekiel Landau					
	1794 Berek Joselewicz colonel under Kosciuszko				
					1797 *Tanya (Likkutei Amarim)* of Shneur Zalman of Lyady published
	1797 d. of Elijah Gaon of Vilna		1799 Napoleon's campaign	1803 Louisiana Purchase	

GENERAL HISTORY	FRANCE		ITALY	GERMANY
1805 Battles of Trafalgar and Austerlitz				
1806 End of Holy Roman Empire	1806–7 Assembly of Jewish Notables			
1807 Treaty of Tilsit	1807 French Sanhedrin			
	1808 Napoleon's "Infamous Decree"			1808 Emancipation in Westphalia; consistory in Kassel
				1811 Emancipation in Hamburg and Frankfurt
1812 Napoleon's retreat from Moscow	1812 d. of David Sintzheim			1812 Emancipation in Prussia d. of Mayer Amshel Rothschild
1813 Battle of Leipzig				1813 Bavarian Jewry edict
1814–15 Congress of Vienna				1815 Congress of Vienna permits the abolition of emancipation laws in the German states
	1816 d. of Abraham Furtado			
	1818 "Infamous Decree" abolished			1818 Hamburg Reform Temple consecrated
				1819 "Hep! Hep!" riots
1821 Greek War of Independence begins				1821 Isaac Bernays opposes the Reform Temple
1823 Monroe Doctrine				
1827 Battle of Navarion Bay	1824 Rabbinical seminary established at Metz			
1829 Emancipation of Catholics in England			1829 Instituto Rabbinico opened at Padua	1828 Wuerttemberg Jewry law
1830 July revolution in France; Uprising in Poland				
	ENGLAND			
1831 Independence of Belgium recognized	1833 Beginning of parliamentary debates on the emancipation of the Jews	1831 Judaism given equal status with other religions		1833 Emancipation in Hesse-Kassel 1834 d. of David Firedlaender
1833 Turkey recognizes limited independence of Egypt	1835 David Salomons sheriff of London			
	1836 d. of Nathan Mayer Rothschild			
	1837 Moses Montefiore knighted			
1839 Turkey invades Syria	1842 First English Reform synagogue opened in London			1841 Hamburg prayer book controversy 1842 Bruno Baer's *Judenfrage*
	1845 Jews admitted to municipal offices			1844 Rabbinical conference at Brunswick
1846 U.S. war with Mexico	1846 Minor disabilities removed	1846 Abolition of "Jewish Oath"		1845 Rabbinical conference at Frankfurt; Reform Society formed in Berlin
1848 Year of Revolutions	1847 Lionel de Rothschild elected to parliament but refuses to take the Christian oath	1848 Adolphe Crémieux minister of justice	1848 Liberal constitution of Piedmont	1847 Anti-Jewish riots in Prussia 1848 Emancipation
1854–56 Crimean War				1854 Breslau Jewish Theological Seminary opened
	1855 David Salomons lord mayor of London		1855 d. of Isaac Samuel Reggio	
1856 Treaty of Paris	1856 Jews' College founded			1856 d. of Heinrich Heine
	1858 Lionel de Rothschild takes his seat in parliament after amendment of parliamentary oath		1858 Mortana case	
1859 Independence of Romania		1859 Rabbinical seminary transferred to Paris		
1860 Sicily and Naples occupied by Garibaldi		1860 Alliance Israélite Universelle founded		1860 d. of Samuel Holdheim d. of Isaac Marcus Jost

AUSTRIA-HUNGARY	POLAND-LITHUANIA	RUSSIA	OTTOMAN EMPIRE & EREẒ ISRAEL	U.S.	CULTURAL ACHIEVEMENTS
			1808–10 Disciples of Elijah Gaon settle in Ereẓ Israel		
1811 Jews of Vienna allowed to build a synagogue		1812 d. of Shneur Zalman of Lyady		1811 d. of Michael Gratz	
				1817 Jews settle in Cincinnati	1819 Verein fuer Kultur und Wissenschaft des Judentums founded
	1822 The *kahal* abolished	1824 Expulsion from the villages 1826-35 Velizh blood libel 1827 Cantonist legislation introduced		1824 Reformed Society of Israelites in Charleston, S.C.; Isaac Leeser arrives in U.S. 1825 M.M. Noah Ararat project 1826 Maryland "Jew Bill" removes political disabilities. Jews settle in New Orleans	1820 Isaac Marcus Josef begins to publish his *Greschichte der Israeliten*
1829 d. of Mordecai Benet					
	RUSSIA (& POLAND)	ASIA			
1837 d. of Akiva Eger 1839 d. of Moses Sofer 1840 d. of Nachman Krochmal 1841 d. of Naphtali Herz Homberg 1844 d. of Aaron Chorin	1835 Oppressive constitution for the Jews 1842 Compulsory military service for the Jews of Russia 1844 Autonomy of the kahal abolished; government supervised schools for the Jews founded	1839 Entire community of Meshed (Persia) forced to convert to Islam	1831 Ereẓ Israel taken by Muhammad Ali 1837 Disastrous earthquake in Safed and Tiberias 1839 Citizenship to Ottoman Jews 1840 Damascus blood libel; restoration of Turkish rule in Ereẓ Israel	1828 Removal of disabilities of Maryland Jews 1835 Beginning of large German-Jewish immigration 1837 Jews settle in Cleveland 1841 Jews settle in Chicago 1843 B'nai B'rith founded	1832 Leopold Zunz publishes his *Die gottesdienstichlen Vortraege* 1837 *Allgemneine Zeitung des Judentums* founded in Berlin 1841 *Jewish Chronicle* founded in London
1848 Anti-Jewish riots 1860 Jews allowed to own real-estate in Austria	1846 Montefiore visits Russia 1853 Saratov blood libel 1856 Contonist legislation abrogated 1859 Merchants of the first class permitted to live outside the Pale		1852 Confirmation of "Status Quo" in Holy Places	1846 I.M.Wise arrives 1847 Jews settle in Washington, D.C. 1848 Influx of Jews from Germany 1849 Jews settle in San Francisco and Los Angeles 1854 First YMHA founded 1855 Cleveland Conference	1853 Publication of Philippson's Bible completed; *Ahavat Ẓiyyon* by Abraham Mapu 1856 *Ha-Maggid*, first Hebrew weekly, founded in Lyck

GENERAL HISTORY	ENGLAND	FRANCE	ITALY (& PAPACY)	GERMANY	AUSTRIA-HUNGARY
1861–65 U.S. Civil War					
1861 Proclamation of the Kingdom of Italy					
1863–64 Polish revolution				1863 d. of Gabriel Riesser	
				1864 d. of Michael Sachs	
			1865 d. of Samule David Luzzatto		1865 d. of Isaac Noah Mannheimer
1866 Austro-Prussian War					
		1867 d. of Solomon Munk			1867 Constitution abolishes Jewish disabilities; d. of Solomon Judah Rapoport
1869 Opening of the Suez Canal				1869 Leipzig Reform Synod; Deutsch-Israelitische Gemeindebund founded	
1870–71 Franco-German War					
1870 Unification of Italy	1870 United synagogue founded	1870 Adolphe Crémieux minister of justice; Jews of Algeria granted French citizenship	1870 Ghetto of Rome abolished; end of Jewish disabilities in Italy		1868–69 General Congress of Hungarian Jews
				1871 Constitution abolishes Jewish disabilities	
1871 Unification of Germany	1871 Anglo-Jewish Association founded				
					1871 A. Rohling publishes his antisemitic *Der Talmudjude*
				1872 Hochschule fuer die Wissenschaft des Judentums opened at Berlin	
					1872 Israelitische Alianz founded in Vienna
				1873 Rabbinical Seminary opened in Berlin	
				1874 d. of Abraham Geiger	
				1875 d. of Zacharias Frankel	
				1876 Orthodox Jews permitted to found independent congregation in Prussia	
					1877 Rabbinical seminary in Budapest opened
	1874–76 Publication of George Eliot's *Daniel Deronda*				
1878 Congress of Berlin				1878 Beginning of the political antisemitic movement in Berlin (A Stoecker)	
				1879-80 Antisemitic articles by H. von Treitschke	
1881 Czar Alexander II assassinated					
	1881 d. of Benjamin Disraeli			1881 Antisemitic petition	
1882 British occupation of Egypt		1882 d. of Charles Netter		1885 Expulsion of Russian refugees	1882 Tiszaeszlar blood libel; Kadimah society founded at Vienna
	1885 d. of Moses Montefiore; Nathaniel de Rothschild raised to peerage				
		1886 E-A. Drumont publishes his antisemitic *La France Juive*		1886 d. of Leopold Zunz	
				1888 d. of Samson Raphael Hirsch	
1888 Suez Canal Convention					
				1889 d. of Ludwig Philippson	
					1890 d. of Solomon Sulzer
	1890 d. of Nathan Marcus Adler				
				1891 Xanten blood libel; d. of Heinrich Graetz	1891 Thirteen antisemitic members enter Austrian Reichsrat
	1891 Jewish Colonization Association (ICA) incorporated				
		1893 d. of Adolphe Franck		1893 Fifteen antisemites elected to the Reichstag; Central-Verein Deutscher Staatsbuerger Juedischen Glaubens founded	
					1893 d. of Adolf Jellinek
1894 Dreyfus Affair		1894 Dreyfus trial			

ROMANIA	RUSSIA (& POLAND)	EREẒ ISRAEL	ZIONISM	U.S.	CULTURAL ACHIEVMENTS
	1861 Jews with academic diplomas permitted to live outside the Pale 1863 Society for the Promotion of Culture among the Jews of Russia founded 1864 Jews admitted to the bar 1865 Jewish craftsmen permitted to live outside the Pale		1862 Moses Hess publishes Rom und Jerusalem	1862 Grant's General Order No. 11; first Jewish military chaplain	
1871–72 Attacks on Jews	1867 d. of Abraham Mapu 1871 Pogrom in Odessa	1870 Mikveh Israel founded		1869 Philadelphia Conference	1868–85 *Ha-Shaḥar* published in Vienna
			1874 d. of Ẓevi Hirsch Kalischer	1873 Union of American Hebrew Congregations founded 1875 Hebrew Union College opened in Cincinnati	1876 Heinrich Graetz completes *Geschichte der Juden*; Goldfaden establishes Yiddish Theater in Romania
1879 Citizenship granted to a number of Jews as individuals; d. of Meir Leib Malbim	1878 d. of Baron Yozed Guenzburg 1879 Kutais blood libel	1878 Petaḥ Tikvah founded; d. of Judah Alkalai		1879 d. of David Einhorn	
	1881–82 Pogroms sweep southern Russia; beginning of mass emigration 1882 "May Laws"	1881 Ben-Yehuda arrives in Ereẓ Israel 1882 Beginning of First Aliyah (Bilu); Rishon le-Zion founded 1883 Beginning of Baron Edmond de Rothschild's help to Jewish settlements	1882 Leon Pinsker publishes *autoemanzipation*; Bilu organized in Russia	1881 Beginning of mass immigration from Eastern Europe 1882 Gompers a founder and president of A.F. of L; first Yiddish play performed in N.Y.	
	1885 d. of Perez Smolenskin 1887 Small percentage of Jews admitted to high schools and universities	1884 Gederah founded 1890-91 Large numbers of immigrants from Russia 1890 Reḥovot and Ḥaderah founded	1884 Kattowitz conference of Ḥibbat Zion 1887 Druzgenik Conference of the Ḥovevei Zion 1889 Vilna Conference Benei Moshe founded by Aḥad Haam 1890 Odessa conference	1885 Pittsburgh Platform 1886 Jewish Theological Seminary opened in New York 1888 Jewish Publication Society of America established; United Hebrew Trades founded. 1889 Central Conference of American Rabbis established. Rabbi Jacob Joseph arrives as "Chief Rabbi" of New York City	
	1891 Expulsion from Moscow; d. of Leon Pinsker 1892 d. of Judah Leib Gordon 1893 d. of Naphtali Zevi Judah Berlin			1891 Immigration to Argentina with help of Baron Maurice de Hirsch	

GENERAL HISTORY	ENGLAND	FRANCE	ITALY	GERMANY	AUSTRIA-HUNGARY
		1896 d. of Baron Maurice de Hirsch			
		1898 Emile Zola's *J'accuse*			
1899–1902 Boer War		1899 Dreyfus retried and pardoned		1899 d. of Axriel Hildesheimer; H.S. Chamberlain's antisemitic Die Grundlagen des neunzehnten jahrhunderts	1899 d. of David Kaufmann; Hilsner Case
			1900 d. of Elijah Benamozegh	1900 Konitz blood libel	
				1901 Hilfsverein der deutschen Juden founded	
	1902 Jewish Religious Union founded			1903 d. of Moritz Lazarus	
1904–05 Russo-Japanese War				1904 Verband der deutschen Juden founded	
1905 Abortive revolution in Russia; separation of Church and State in France	1905 Aliens Act; Herbert Samuel first Jewish cabinet minister	1905 d. of Zadoc Kahn			1905 d. of Isaac Hirsch Weiss
		1906 Dreyfus rehabilitated			
	1907 d. of Adolf Neubauer				
1908 Young Turk revolution					
			1910–11 L. Luzzatti prime minister		
	1911 d. of Hermann Adler; d. of Samuel Montagu				
					1913 d. of Wilhelm Bacher
1914–18 World War I					
				1915 d. of Abraham Berliner	
1917 U.S. enters the war; Russian Revolution	1917 Balfour Declaration				
					1918 d. of Moritz Guedemann
1919 Peace of Versailles		1919 Comité des Délégations Juives			1919 Pogroms in Hungary
1920 Polish-Russian War	1920 Britain granted Palestine mandate				
1921 U.S. Immigration Act 3% quota by 1910 Census				1921 d. of David Hoffmann	
1922 Advent of Fascism in Italy				1922 Assassination of Walter Rathenau	

ROMANIA	RUSSIA (& POLAND)	EREẒ ISRAEL	ZIONISM	U.S.	CULTURAL ACHIEVEMENTS
1895 Anti-semitic League organized	1897 Bund founded 1898 d. of Samuel Mohilever 1903 Pogrom in Kishinev 1905 Pogroms; mass emigration 1906 Pogroms; Po'alei Zion founded 1909 d. of Baron Horace Guenzburg 1909-10 Polish boycott against Jews 1910 Expulsion from Kiev; d. of Moses Leib Lilienblum 1911–13 Beilis trial 1912 Agudat Israel founded 1915 d. of Isaac Leib Peretz; d. of Isaac Jacob Reines	1904 Beginning of Second Aliyah 1905 Joseph Vitkin's *Kol Kore*; Ha-Poel Ha-Ẓair founded 1906 Hebrew high school established in Jaffa; Bezalel founded 1909 Deganyah founded; Ha-Shomer organized; Tel-Aviv founded	1896 Herzl publishes Der Judenstaat 1897 1st Zionist Congress convenes in Basle, Herzl president 1898 2nd Zionist Congress 1899 3rd Zionist Congress; Jewish Colonial Trust founded 1900 4th Zionist Congress 1901 5th Zionist Congress; Jewish National Fund established 1902 Mizrachi founded 1903 6th Zionist Congress Uganda project 1904 d. of Theodor Herzl 1905 7th Zionist Congress rejects Uganda project; Wolffsohn president 1906 Helsingfors program 1907 8th Zionist Congress 1911 10th Zionist Congress; Warburg president 1914 d. of David Wolffsohn	1896 Jews settle in Miami 1897 Federation of American Zionists founded; Jewish Daily Forward begins publication 1898 Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations founded 1900 d. of I.M. Wise; I.L.G.W.U. founded 1901 S. Schecter goes to New York 1906–09 Peak of immigration; 642,000 Jews arrive 1906 American Jewish Committee established 1908 New York City Kehillah founded 1909 Dropsie College opened 1913 US-Russian Treaty of 1832 abrogated because Russia does not recognized rights of American Jews under it; United Synagogue founded; Anti-Defamation League founded 1914 American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee established; Brandeis assumes Zionist leadership 1915 Menorah Journal, first Jewish literary organ; Leo Frank lynched 1916 L. Brandesis appointed to Supreme Court	1896 Cairo Genizah discovered 1904 Vaad ha-Lashon organized; Habimah Theater founded; Jewish Telegraphic agency founded 1906 *Jewish Encyclopaedia* completed 1913 *Yevreskaya Entsiklopedia* completed
EGYPT 1915 Refugees from Ereẓ Israel form Zion Mule Corps					
	1917 Anti-Jewish laws abrogated; d. of Mendele Mokher Seforim 1919 Pogroms in Ukraine and Poland; abolishment of community organization and Jewish institutions in Russia	1917 The British capture Jerusalem 1918 Zionist Commission appointed 1919–23 Third Aliyah 1920 British Mandate over Palestine; Tel Ḥai; Arabs riot in Jerusalem 1920–25 Sir Herbert Samuel High Commissioner 1920 Histadrut founded; the Haganah founded 1921 Arabs riot in Jaffa 1922 Churchill's White Paper; d. of Eliezer Ben-Yehuda	1920 Keren Ha-Yesod established 1921 12th Zionist Congress; Weizmann president	1917 American Jewish Congress election 1919 Canadian Jewish Congress founded; American Jewish delegation at Versailles 1920 d. of Jacob H. Schiff; Henry Ford begins antisemitic Dearborn Independent 1921 Brandeis-Weizmann split divides American Zionism	1917 JPS version of the Bible

GENERAL HISTORY	ENGLAND	FRANCE	THE NETHERLANDS, BELGIUM, ITALY, SCANDINAVIA, SWITZERLAND	GERMANY	AUSTRIA, CZECHOSLOVAKIA
1924 d. of Lenin					1923 d. of Joseph Samuel Bloch
	1925 d. of Israel Abrahams			1925–27 Hitler's Mein Kampf	
	1926 d. of Israel Zangwill				
		1928 d. of Theodore Reinach			
1929–33 Wall Street crash – world depression	1930 d. of Lucien Wolf		1930 Unone dell comunità israelitche italiane formed		
1931 Japanese aggression in Manchuria					
1932 F.D. Roosevelt elected president of U.S.					
1933 Hitler German chancellor	1933 Central British Fund for German refugees set up			1933 Anti-Jewish economic boycott; first concentration camps	
		1934 d. of Baron Edmond de Rothschild			
1935 Italy invades Ethiopia				1935 Nuremberg Laws	
		1936–37 Leon Blum heads Front Populaire government			
1936 Germans enter Rhineland					
1936–39 Spanish Civil War					
1938 Austria annexed by Germany; Munich Crisis; partition of Czechoslovakia		1938 Evian Conference	1938 Racial legislation in Italy	1938 *Kristallnacht*; economic ruin of the Jews	1938 Pograoms in Vienna; anti-Jewish legislation; Deportations from Austria begun
1939 Beginning of World War II; Poland overrun	1939 d. of Moses Gaster; d. of Adolf Buechler				1939 Anti-Jewish laws in the Protectorate (Czechoslovakia)
1940 Western Europe overrun by the Germans; Churchill premier of Britain		1940 Discrimination laws of the Vichy regime			
1941 Germans invade Russia; Japan and U.S. enter war		1941 Opening of concentration camp at Drancy		1941 Jewish emigration prohibited	1941 Anti-Jewish laws in Slovakia
		1941–44 83,000 Jews deported and murdered			
1942 Allies land in North Africa; Battle of El-Alamein			1942–44 Mass transports to Auschwitz from Belgium, Holland	1942 Wannsee Conference	

ROMANIA-HUNGARY	RUSSIA, POLAND	EREẒ ISRAEL	ZIONISM	U.S.	CULTURAL ACHIEVEMENTS
		1923 Mandate confirmed by League of Nations	1923 d. of Max Nordau	1923 Rabbinical Council of America founded; B'nai B'rith Hillel Foundation founded	
	1924 Economic restrictions on Jews in Poland; attempt to settle Jews in Crimea	1924 Technion opened in Haifa 1924–32 Fourth Aliyah 1925 Hebrew University in Jerusalem opened			1925 YIVO founded 1925–32 *Encyclopaedia Judaica* (German) A–L
	1928 Beginning of Jewish settlement in Birobidzhan	1927 d. of Aḥad Ha-Am 1929 Arabs riot in Jerusalem Massacres in Hebron and Safed	1929 Jewish Agency expanded	1928 Yeshiva College opens 1929 d. of Louis Marshall	
	1930 Yevsektsiya abolished	1930 Passfield White Paper 1931 MacDonald's letter; split in the Haganah-Irgun Ẓeva'i Le'ummi (Eẓel) founded	1931 17th Zionist Congress; Nahum Sokolow president of World Zionist Organization		
	1934 Birobidzhan – Jewish Autonomous Oblast; Poland annuls Minorities Treaties	1933-39 Fifth Aliyah; immigration from Germany 1933 Chaim Arlosoroff murdered 1934 d. of Ḥayyim Naḥman Bialik (in Vienna); beginning of “illegal” immigration on a larger scale	1935 19th Zionist Congress; Weizmann reelected president of World Zionist Organization	1934 Jewish Labor Committee founded; H. Morgenthau Sec. of Treasury	1934 SAIA established
	1936 Pogrom in Przytyk (Poland)	1936 Arabs riot; Arabs strike	1936 World Jewish Congress founded		1936 Palestine Symphony Orchestra established
1937 Antisemitic legislation in Romania	1937 Discrimination in Polish universities	1937 Peel Commission proposes partition of Palestine, Arab revolt; Haganah reunited; Stockade and watchtower settlements			
1938 Anti-Jewish economic legislation in Hungary		1938 Wingate organizes special Jewish units to fight Arab terrorism	1938 d. of Otto Warburg		
1939 Many Hungarian Jews lose citizenship	1939 Pogroms in Poland (after Nazi invasion)	1939 MacDonald White Paper. Loḥamei Ḥerut Israel (Leḥi) founded	1939 United Jewish Appeal founded 1940 d. of Vladmir Jabotinsky	1939 Peak of Nazi refugee immigration; 43,000 arrive	
	1940 Formation of ghettos in Poland				
1941 Pogrom in Jassy (Romania)	1941 Pogroms in Kaunas and Lvov, massacres by Einsatzgruppen in occupied Russia; expulsions from the Reich to Poland; first death camp established (Chelmno)	1941 Palmaḥ organized		1941 d. of Louis D. Brandeis	
1942 “Struma” sinks in Black Sea with 769 refugees	1942 Massacres in occupied Russia continue. Death camps of Auschwitz, Maidanek and Treblinka begin to function at full capacity; transports from the ghettos to death camps		1942 American Jewish conference endorses Biltmore Program		

GENERAL HISTORY	FRANCE	THE NETHERLANDS ETC.	GERMANY	AUSTRIA CZECHOSLOVAKIA	ROMANIA-HUNGARY
1943 German defeat at Stalingrad, Germans surrender in North Africa, Italy surrenders		1943 Jews of Denmark smuggled to Sweden	1943 Germany declared Judenrein		
1944 Allies land in Normandy; Russians advance westward. U.S. victorious in the Pacific	1944 Representative body of French Jews (CRJF)	1943–44 7,500 Italian Jews murdered			1944 Extermination of Hungarian Jewry began
1945 Germany surrenders; atomic bombs, Japan surrenders; death of Roosevelt; Truman president		1940-45 total of Jewish victioms 139,000. Jewish Brigade helps to organize survivors of death camps and send them to Palestine	1945 Total of Jewish victims 125,000	1945 Total of Jewish victims 342,000	1944–45 Total of Jewish victims (including also Greece and Yugoslavia) 557,000
1946 Communists take over in Eastern and Central Europe			1946 Major Nuremburg trial		
1947 Paris Peace Conference					
1948 Communist Coup in Czechoslovakia; State of Israel proclaimed and War of Independence					

	WESTERN EUROPE	EASTERN EUROPE
1949 NATO organized; Communist republic in China; U.S. Displaced Persons Act		
1950 Korean War	1950 Centralrat der Juden in Deutschland	
1952 Revolution in Egypt First hydrogen bomb exploded		1952 Prague Trials
1953 Eisenhower president of U.S.; Korean Armistice; d. of Stalin; Refugee Relief Act		1953 “Doctors' plot” in U.S.S.R.
	1954–55 Mendes-France French premier	
1954 French defeated in Indo-China; beginning of uprising in Algeria	1954–68 Mass immigration of N. African Jews to France	
1955 Signing of Warsaw Pact		
1956 Hungarian revolution; Suez Campaign		
1957 British army leaves Jordan; Russian sputnik		
1958 Fifth Republic in France; civil war in Lebanon and Iraq		
1959 Cuban revolution		
1960 Civil war in Congo	1960 Swastika daubing	
1961 Kennedy president of U.S.; Ghana independent (followed by other African states)		
1962 Independence of Algeria; Cuban crisis		
1963 Kennedy assassinated		
1964 Fall of Khrushchev		
1965 U.S. offensive in Vietman; Immigration Act abolishes quota system	1965 Diplomatic relations between Israel and Germany established	
1967 Six-Day war	1967 De Gaulle's anti-Israel stand	1968 Fresh wave of antisemitism in Poland, emigration of most of remaining Jews
1968 Warsaw Pact countries invade Czechoslovakia; Paris May Riots	1968 Frankfurt trials	
1969 First man on the moon		1970 Leningrad trials Russian Jews agitate for right to emigrate

RUSSIA, POLAND	EREẒ ISRAEL	U.S.	CULTURAL ACHIEVEMENTS
1943 Transports from all over Europe to death camps. Warsaw ghetto revolt. Annihilation of most of the ghettos	1943 d. of Saul Tchernichowsky		
1944–47 Beriḥah	1944 Eẓel and Leḥi strike at the British Jewish Brigade organized (fights in Italy)		
1945 Total of Jewish victims 4,565,000	1945 Bevin's declaration on Palestine; “Illegal” immigration intensified; Struggle against the British intensified; Cooperation between Haganah and Eẓel		
1946 Pogroms at Kielce and other place of mass emigration	1946 Anglo-American Committee publishes its conclusions; Eẓel blows up the King David Hotel; the British deport “illegal” immigrants to Cyprus	1946 Founding of Brandeis University	
	1947 U.N. General Assembly decides on partition of Palestine; Beginnign of Arab attacks		1947 Discovery of Dead Sea Scrolls
1948 Jewish culture in U.S.S.R. suppressed and intellectuals shot; Golda Meir first Israel minister to Moscow	1948 Proclamation of the State of Israel; seven Arab states invade; Israel offensive; The Negev liberated	1948 U.S. recognizes Israel, May 14, 1948 1948 Peak of migration to S. California	

ISRAEL	ARAB COUNTRIES	U.S.	CULTURAL ACHIEVEMENTS
1949 First Knesset opens; Chaim Weizmann first president of Israel; David Ben-Gurion prime minister; cease-fire agreements with Egypt, Lebanon, Transjordan, Syria; Israel member of UN: 240,000 immigrants	1949–50 Airborne transfer of c.50,000 Jews from Yemen to Israel	1949 d. of Stephen S. Wise	
1950 Western Powers guarantee existing borders in the Middle East; Law of Return; mass immigration	1950–51 Airborne transfer of 123,000 Jews from Iraq to Israel		
1951 Second Knesset elected; Tension on borders increases; Mass immigration continues; 23rd Zionist Congress in Jerusalem adopts Jerusalem Program			
1952 d. of Chaim Weizmann; Izhak Ben-Zvi second president of Israel; Reparations agreement between W. Germany and Israel			
1953 Beginning of attacks by Arab infiltrators; first Israel reprisal action; Ben-Gurion retures to Sdeh Boker; Moshe Sharett prime minister; Kasztner trial			
	1954–55 emigration from Morocco	1954–55 Celebration of Tercentenary of Jews in U.S.	
1955 Fedayeen attacks and reprisal actions continue; Ben-Gurion prime minister; Waters of Yarkon river directed to the Negev	1955 Moshe Marzouk and Samuel Azaar executed in Cairo		
1956 Sinai Campaign	1956 Jews of Egypt expelled		
1957 Israel evacuates Sinai; U.N. observers on border with Egypt.			
1960 Eichmann kidnapped to Israel			1960 Discovery of Bar Kokhba epistles
1961 Lavon Affair; Eichmann trial; “Shavit 2” Israel missile successfully launched			
1963 d. of Izhak Ben-Zvi; Zalman Shazar third president of Israel; Levi Eshkol prime minister		1963 d. of A.H. Silver	
			1964 Memorial Foundation for Jewish Culture founded
1965 d. of Martin Buber	1965 Eli Cohen executed in Damascus		
		1966 Manifestations of black antisemitism	1966 Shmuel Yosef Agnon and Nelly Sachs awarded the Nobel Prize for Literature
1967 Six-Day War, Jerusalem reunited		1967 6,000 volunteers to Israel	
		1968 New York teachers strike	1968 Excavation in Old City of Jerusalem begun
1969 War of attrition at the Suez Canal front begun; Death of Levi Eshkol; Golda Meir prime minister	1969 Jews executed in Iraq		

GENERAL HISTORY	ISRAEL	U.S.	CULTURAL ACHIEVEMENTS
	1971 Start of large-scale 1970s Soviet immigration to Israel		
	1972 11 Israeli sportsmen murdered by Arab terrorists at Munich Olympic Games	1972 First woman rabbi	
	1973 Yom Kippur War		
1975 Last U.S. troops leave Vietnam	1975 UN resolution equates Zionism with racism		
	1976 Israel frees hostages in Entebbe raid		1976 Saul Bellow wins Nobel Prize for literature
	1977 Menachem Begin elected prime minister Sadat in Jerusalem		1978 Isaac Bashevis Singer wins Nobel Prize for literature
1979 Ayatollah Khomeini in power in Iran Soviet troops enter Afghanistan	1979 Israel and Egypt sign peace agreement		
1981 Sadat assassinated	1981 Israeli airforce destroys Iraqi nuclear reactor		1981 Elias Canetti wins Nobel Prize for literature
1982 The term AIDS used for the first time	1982 Israel invades Lebanon (start of Lebanon War) 1984 First mass airlift of Ethiopean Jews	1983 JPS completes new Bible translation Reform movement recognizes patrilineal descent	
1985 Gorbachev introduces glasnost in Soviet Union	1987 Beginning of first Intifada 1989 Renewal of mass Soviet immigration to Israel	1985 First Conservative woman rabbi	1986 Elie Wiesel wins Nobel Peace Prize
1989 Collapse of Communism in Eastern Europe Tiananmen Square uprising in China Nelson Mandela released in South Africa Berlin Wall falls	1990 Madrid Peace Conference		1987 Joseph Brodsky wins Nobel Prize for literature
1990 Germany reunited	1991 Scuds hit Tel Aviv in Gulf War		1991 Nadine Gordimer wins Nobel Prize for literature
1991 Gulf War Yugoslavian civil war Breakup of Soviet Union	1993 Oslo Accords	1993 U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum inaugurated	
1994 Rwanda genocide claims hundreds of thousands of lives	1995 Israel and Jordan sign peace treaty 1995 Rabin assassinated	1994 d. of Lubavitcher Rebbe	
		SOUTH AMERICA	
		1994 DAIA building bombed in Buenos Aires	
1998 African wars reach peak that will claim 3 million lives in 3 years			
	2000 Israel withdraws from Lebanon Beginning of second Intifada Pope John Paul II visits Jerusalem		
2001 9/11 attack on World Trade Center and Pentagon	2001 Ariel Sharon elected prime minister		2002 Imre Kertesz wins Nobel Prize for literature
2001 U.S.-led coalition forces invade Afghanistan 2003 U.S.-led coalition forces invade Iraq			2004 Elfriede Jelinek wins Nobel Prize for literature
2004 Indian Ocean tsunami kills 230,000 people	2004 d. of Yasser Arafat		Aaron Ciechanover and Avram Hershko first Israelis to win Nobel Prize in science
2005 UN initiates International Holocauast Remembrance Day	2005 Israel disengages from Gaza Strip		2005 Harold Pinter wins Nobel Prize for literature

Rescue of the Remnant

This view and plan was upset by the spirit and readiness to undergo mortal risks and physical sufferings by three elements of the Jewish people. The greater part of the remnant in Europe refused to be lured by comfort in other Diasporas. Even the many who went to the countries of Western Europe and the United States, and even those who found it possible to return to live in German cities, conceived that they could see no other compensation for their humiliation, for the torture and death of their brethren – and no other surety or hope that a Jew could continue to live among men and be considered a fellowman – but the creation of an independent political and social existence in a Jewish state in Ereẓ Israel. The Jews of Ereẓ Israel showed themselves at this juncture ready to face both Arabs and ultimately British might and to risk everything for the creation of a Jewish state. The cooperation of the soldiers of the Jewish Brigade in Europe was enlisted, paratroopers were dropped behind Nazi lines during the war (see Hannah *Szenes), emissaries of the Haganah and IẒL were sent to Europe, and they began again to organize "illegal" immigration (cf. *Beriḥah). The attempts to enter Ereẓ Israel were met by the British authorities with expulsions. The immigrant ship *Exodus* was intercepted and went from port to port in Europe. Later on the immigrants were concentrated at Cyprus, but the immigrant ships – congested and unseaworthy – continued to arrive off the shores of Ereẓ Israel at night. The story of their embarkation, journeyings, perilous disembarkation, and running the cordon of British military and police in the country, lit a flame and became a legend, a record of devotion and heroism. The IẒL, and in particular the Leḥi, turned to acts of sabotage and individual terror against the British. Undeterred by the specter of mass antisemitism and the enmity of states and statesmen, and not heeding allegations of "dual loyalty" and "Jewish lobby," U.S. Jewry poured its enthusiasm, its money, and its position as Americans, into the struggle to assert a proud Jewish identity to offset the image of the skeletons in the camps. They were joined by many non-Jews who felt that their support was not only a matter of justice to the Jews but even more of giving back trust in humanity to small nations.

Prelude to Independence

The Jews had been ready in 1937 to accept in principle the proposition of the Peel Commission of inquiry for the partition of Ereẓ Israel, though not all the details of the plan. In 1942, at a conference in the United States, the *Biltmore Program was accepted by the Zionist organization which set forth clearly the goal of the creation of a Jewish state. Now even the most pro-British elements among the Zionists began to waver in their loyalty to the mandatory power. Other commissions were sent to Ereẓ Israel, searches for arms were made by the British in Jewish settlements (see *Yagur), there were arrests, and hints were frequently thrown out that the British might leave the Jews to their fate, withdrawing their protection and leaving them on their own to face the Arabs. A mixed Anglo-American committee of inquiry proposed in April 1946 the immediate entry of 100,000 Jews mainly from the "*displaced persons" camps in Europe to Ereẓ Israel. The U.S. president, Harry S. *Truman, supported this recommendation; the British prime minister, Clement *Attlee, refused it by attaching a condition requiring disbandment of the Jewish illegal armed organization and handing in of their weapons. The struggle continued. From the end of 1945 the Haganah also took part in actions against the British. When in 1946 the British arrested the leaders of the *yishuv*, the IẒL reacted by organizing the bombing of the King David Hotel in Jerusalem where many government officials were killed.

The fate of the ship *Exodus* in 1947 aroused world opinion against the British government. The British then at first proposed the "Morrison Plan for Partition," which was rejected by both Jews and Arabs. In April 1947, Ernest Bevin carried out his threat and turned to the United Nations, withdrawing from the principle of sole British responsibility for Ereẓ Israel. The Jews refused to be frightened. To the surprise of many, the Soviet government joined that of the United States in supporting partition and the creation of a Jewish state in Palestine. On Nov. 29, 1947, the *United Nations General Assembly adopted, by a majority of 33 votes against 13, a resolution on the partition of Palestine. The actual plan was very disadvantageous to the Jews, but the Arabs immediately proclaimed war against it. The Jews had to prepare for this war clandestinely; the Arabs had the support of their states and the sympathy of the British government to help them in their preparations.

Establishment of the State of Israel

When war broke out on May 15, 1948, with the proclamation of the establishment of the State of *Israel, the armies of seven Arab states invaded the territory intended for the Jewish state. In a series of battles, during which they had to organize and improvise under fire, the Jews repelled these armies. They proved in the process the value of their underground organizations and of the approximately 25,000 trained men who had fought in one way or another in World War II, as well as the valor of thousands of volunteers who flocked from many Diaspora countries to fight for their nation. The *War of Independence, in its two phases (interrupted by a short-lived cease-fire), not only enabled the State of Israel to exist; its course also changed the map of the proposed Jewish state in the latter's favor. The borders of the Rhodes *armistice of 1949 were much more viable than those of the U.N. resolution of 1947. The war took a toll of thousands of lives. In besieged Jerusalem alone about 1,600 civilians were killed by the shellings of the Jordanian Arab Legion, then commanded by British officers.

Since then the State of Israel has been surrounded by the hostility of the Arab world, which considers itself at war with Israel and likes to think of Israel as being in a state of siege to be ended with Arab victory. The Arabs not only proclaim a **jihad* against Israel but also organize systematically, as a matter of declared policy, an anti-Israel economic *boycott. The attitude of the Arabs was to see the State of Israel as a "non-state," destined ultimately for obliteration.

This Arab hostility brought about the consummation of the process of the "Ingathering of the Exiles" from the Muslim countries, which had already begun well before World War I. The enthusiasm of Yemen Jews for *aliyah* had been manifested from ancient times, and began to be realized with the stimulus given by the mission of Shemuel *Yavnieli. After the War of Independence almost all went to Israel; for many of them their air flight was an abrupt transition from conditions of tenth-century Muslim technology and life to the 20th-century society of Israel. Their adjustment was miraculously rapid and successful. Yemen Jewry has enriched Israel culture with its traditions in song and dance, colorful dress and customs. The Jews of Syria and Iraq remained in continuous contact with Ereẓ Israel. They made up a not inconsiderable part of the "illegal immigration" during the mandatory period – often undergoing danger and persecution in the countries of departure. After the establishment of the state they left for Israel "illegally," having to organize self-defense and an underground movement in circumstances of mob hostility and brutal persecution by the state. Most of them had to abandon all their possessions to go to Israel (see also *Asia, *Iraq, *"illegal" immigration; *Syria). A large number of the Jews in Iran also left the country, though they did not face state enmity there.

With the increase of hostility in North Africa many – though by no means all – of the Jews there went to Israel. This ingathering of exiles has created, for the first time since the dispersion of the Jews, a meeting of the diverse varieties of Jewish culture and social life that have crystallized over a period of at least 2,000 years in widely differing environments and circumstances. A vast, almost unprecedented, process of reacquaintance and mutual acculturation has thus begun, and is, it seems, successfully under way. The Hebrew language, the educational system, and army service serve as accelerating and cementing factors, though there remains still much tension and misunderstanding between the various Jewish groups.

To Jews everywhere the creation of the State of Israel was not only a reassertion of their humanity, but a fulfillment and an obligation to strive for further human and Jewish perfection and service. This has been stated as follows:

> To sum up: the political rebirth of Israel is the very essence of Jewish history. She has absorbed into herself the experiences and activities of generations, the covenant of generations. She has renewed the covenant with the land out of a longing, through the creation of a new community, to develop the Covenant of Man into an Eternal Covenant (B.Z. Dinur, *Israel and the Diaspora* (1969), 186).

In this period the State of Israel victoriously fought two wars (in 1956, in the *Sinai Campaign; in 1967, in the *Six-Day War). It carried the burden of terror tactics and guerilla warfare almost continuously. At the same time it gathered in hundreds of thousands of Jews from the Arab states, and as the behavior of the population has shown during the Six-Day War of 1967, it succeeded within this short span in imbuing most of its immigrants with its ethos and with a serviceable acquaintance with European technology and scientific methods. The Jewish state has up to the present proved itself to be democratic in the full sense of the term, in its conduct of the political process and in the freedom of press and discussion. Hebrew culture is continuously developing. In the *Law of Return (1950) the state asserted its basic Jewishness in proclaiming that every Jew has the right to go there and become an Israeli citizen. The State of Israel is not only far from being besieged to all practical intents and purposes but has become one of the important advisers to developing countries in Africa and Asia. Basically secular, it does much toward maintaining links to Jewish law and tradition, though the extent of this application is at the center of heated public discussion.

World Jewry in 1970

All over the world emancipation is formally in force for Jews, with a few unimportant exceptions (Saudi Arabia; Yemen). In practice Jews are severely persecuted in most Arab countries, and suffer governmental harassment and total denial of rights to develop their own culture in all communist countries. There is proof, however, that the cultural activity and consciousness continues as always, even under persecution. The open fight of Soviet Jews for links with their brethren outside the country and for *aliyah* to Ereẓ Israel has become one of the focal phenomena in Jewish life the world over and their redemption a central challenge for the entire Jewish people (see *Russia, Struggle for Soviet Jewry). In many communist countries the number of Jews is diminishing to vanishing point (Poland; *Czechoslovakia).

In the Western world Jews everywhere are active in parties of all shades and occupied with the problems that face the societies to which they feel allegiance. At the same time their ties with other Jews, and in particular with the State of Israel, are strong. The tense atmosphere in the Diaspora during the weeks preceding the Six-Day War showed their devotion at a time of crisis. On the other hand, Jews in the United States are facing, as many Jewish societies have done in modern times, an imponderable problem from without in the emergence of "black" antisemitism among black society. Inside their own camp Jews are facing strong manifestations of Jewish "self-hate," in particular among intellectuals of the New Left, often in the guise of anti-Zionism, so that there now exists not only "left-wing antisemitism" – an old phenomenon dating from the times of Marx and *Bakunin – but also "Jewish antisemitism." Conversely, many Jews now contribute to general culture with a conscious and articulate stress on and expression of their Jewishness, as they understand it (like Arnold *Wesker in England, or Bernard *Malamud and Saul *Bellow among many in the United States). Some have even elevated Jewish existence in exile to the status of a paradigm and symbol of the alienation of modern man.

In many respects the Jewish nation stands at present in a similar situation to that at the time of the Second Temple. It has its independent and creative center in Ereẓ Israel. It has great and creative centers in the Diaspora, especially in the United States which has been compared in this connection with those of Hellenistic Alexandria or ancient Babylonia with their roles in the development of Jewish culture. Cultural hostility toward Jews, and certainly vulgar antisemitism, is far from disappearing. Despite Pope *John XXIII's great humanist attempt to sever the old Christian attitude to the Jews, this has not disintegrated. The phrases used by Arnold Toynbee designating the Jew and his culture as a "fossil of the Syriac civilization" making the Arab refugees "the new Jews" form but one striking instance of modern "*Salon Anti-semitismus*." Jews are economically active in many specific spheres; while in Jewish society the trend to megalopolization and intellectualization continues and even sharpens, this activity has established in the State of Israel a flourishing modern agriculture and a full range of modern social stratification. The number of Jews in the professions is constantly rising. With the present importance of science, sociology, and psychology for immediate military, industrial, and social needs the service of Jews to society in these fields has become of increasing importance, and their standing is becoming more assured and rewarding, socially and spiritually, both in regard to the society of the environment and in their own estimation.

The problems facing Jews have not disappeared. Many of the old dangers, opportunities, tasks, and ideals remain under a change of guise.

> Each and every chapter in the long history of our people and each and every real point of our historical reality embodies the mystery of old periods, past and future …. They are planted in the heart of every man, through them the place of Israel amongst the nations will be marked in the future (Y. Baer, *Yisrael ba-Amim* (1955), 117).

[Haim Hillel Ben-Sasson]

Into the Millennium

In the 35 years that have passed since Haim Hillel Ben-Sasson concluded his magisterial survey of medieval and modern Jewish history for the first edition of the *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, momentous events have occurred in the Jewish world. These, however, cannot be assessed as yet from a historical perspective; rather, they reveal trends and processes that are still unfolding.

The most dramatic event of these years was undoubtedly the mass exodus of Soviet Jewry from the former Soviet Union in the 1990s after the collapse of the Communist system. The million Jews who left arrived mostly in Israel, with significant numbers also settling in the United States and Germany. Contrary to the expectations of some, they have not changed the face of Israel but have rather become another immigrant group undergoing a steady process of acclimatization and assimilation, not unlike, for all the differences, the East European Jews who arrived on the shores of America in another era.

In Israel itself, the euphoria of the great victory in the Six-Day War of 1967 soon gave way to a national depression in the wake of the *Yom Kippur War of 1973 as the myth of Israel's invincibility was shattered along with confidence in its Old Guard leaders. The immediate consequence was the election upset of 1977, bringing Menahem *Begin and the *Likud to power. The leading motifs of the Begin years were debilitating inflation under the banner of free enterprise and the morass of the war in Lebanon. More significant, however, was the disintegration of the country's socialist ethos and the rapid transformation of Israel into a Western-style consumer society with its inevitable by-products. Ironically, this process had been initiated not by the trauma of the Yom Kippur War but by the Six-Day War, which had served to open new psychological vistas and divert the country's economic energies from the common effort to the private plane.

Politically the Yom Kippur War initiated an ongoing peace process whose end was not in sight after 10 years of negotiations and two intifadas. Though it had yielded peace treaties with Egypt and Jordan and the general shape of a settlement with the Palestinians seemed to be understood by everyone, the situation in the Middle East seemed no less precarious than before, with global terrorism and the Iranian nuclear threat now part of the mix.

Outside Israel, Jewish communities showed mixed and even, at first glance, contradictory trends: a general downward movement of population levels as a result of assimilation, low birth rates, and immigration to Israel (a decline from 10.1 to 7.8 million between 1970 and 2005) and an upsurge of Jewish life in these very same communities. One might think of steady erosion at the outer edges of these communities while at the core a (false?) sense of security prevailed. In the United States, committed Jews seemed increasingly secure in their Jewish identities, synagogue-centered communal life flourished, and Jewish academic studies revealed a vitality unknown 35 years ago. Individually, Jews continued to distinguish themselves with remarkable achievements in hospitable environments.

What do these trends signify?

Perhaps it may be said that two illusions characterize our perception of the Jewish world at the outset of the new millennium. One is that the ultimate political and social direction of the State of Israel will be determined ideologically. The other is that the upsurge and vitality of Jewish life in various Diaspora communities will serve as a brake against continuing assimilation and forestall the ultimate disappearance of these communities as living Jewish organisms.

The perception of Israel as divided into two opposing political camps – right and left – whose rival ideologies – zealous nationalism and peace-loving humanism – are locked in a struggle to determine the face of Israel is naive to say the least. Not only are historical and political forces at work which will make all debate seem academic but the ideologies themselves are marginal to the mainstream of Israeli life, which has settled into a comfortable materialist phase whose values are those associated with middle classes everywhere. In the modern West, this middle class determines both a country's social order and political options. It is dedicated to personal freedom and the pursuit of happiness and it eschews national symbols and aspirations, as Spengler has put it. It is therefore not farfetched to suggest that the future of Israel – politically, socially, economically – will be determined by its center, a vocal majority increasingly worshiping at the shrine of private life.

In the United States, assimilation and extremely high rates of intermarriage will no doubt continue. In effect, half the Jews in the United States – the unaffiliated half – are moving toward total alienation from their Jewish roots. For the others, excluding the Orthodox population, it cannot be guaranteed that the present-day attractions of Jewish community life will exert the same influence in the next generation, and the next. On the contrary, it may be anticipated that a very natural dropout rate will establish itself here too, further diminishing the Jewish population. It is questionable whether a Judaism that consumes only a small part of an individual's life can generate the force and energy needed to ensure its survival.

These are issues for the long term – the ultimate character of the State of Israel, the ultimate fate of Diaspora Jewry – but they are vital questions for a people whose history is measured in millennia. To lose such a history would be tragic, to perpetuate it will require a great national effort. This is the challenge faced by the Jewish people at the start of the 21st century.

[Fred Skolnik (2nd ed.)]

For further information, consult the entries on State of *Israel and individual countries.

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HIT, town on the Euphrates, approximately 90 mi. (144 km.) W. of Baghdad; site of the Mesopotamian city of Is. An old *Karaite community, dating back to the 10th century at least, existed in Hit. Persecution and ill-treatment by the authorities brought about a gradual reduction of its size and by the middle of the 19th century it numbered only 20 families. The community was headed by the *Muʿallim* ("teacher, sage") whose home also served as the religious school and house of prayer (after the decrepit synagogue that had existed in the town was abandoned in the second half of the 19th century). The community went to Israel shortly after the establishment of the State, settling in Beersheba.

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[Abraham Haim]

HITAḤADUT (Heb. הִתְאַחֲדוּת; full name Mifleget ha-Avodah ha-Ẓiyyonit "Hitaḥadut"), a Socialist-Zionist party formed in 1920 by the union of the Palestine Workers' Party, *Ha-Po'el ha-Ẓa'ir, with a majority of the *Ẓe'irei Zion groups in the Diaspora. Ẓe'irei Zion groups had been formed in Russia at the beginning of the 20th century by young Zionists who espoused the views of Ha-Po'el ha-Ẓa'ir and intended to join that party upon their settlement in Ereẓ Israel. The program of Ẓe'irei Zion, announced at its second congress in Petrograd in 1917, postulated the necessity to establish a Jewish labor commonwealth in the Land of Israel and redirect the Jewish masses in the Diaspora to productive occupations. Ẓe'irei Zion groups were organized in other East European countries, as well as in Germany and Austria (in these last two, under the name Ha-Po'el ha-Ẓa'ir). Later they were also formed in the U.S., Argentina, and South Africa. At the World Conference of Ha-Po'el ha-Ẓa'ir and the Ẓe'irei Zion in Prague (1920), most of the Ẓe'irei Zion groups united with Ha-Po'el ha-Ẓa'ir to form a Zionist party originally called the World Union of the Ha-Po'el ha-Ẓa'ir and Ẓe'irei Zion. At the Third World Conference of the Hitaḥadut in Berlin in 1922, however, its name was changed to Mifleget ha-Avodah ha-Ẓiyyonit "Hitaḥadut" (United Zionist Labor Party, "Hitaḥadut"). A few of the Ẓe'irei Zion groups which espoused a more left-wing, class-oriented ideology formed a separate league, which eventually merged with *Po'alei Zion.

Hitaḥadut, which was represented in the World Zionist Organization and its various bodies, devoted its energies primarily to fostering the *He-Ḥalutz (pioneering) movement in the Diaspora and stimulating immigration to Palestine. It functioned very effectively in both these spheres during the 1920s. It was also able to create an active pioneering movement in Soviet Russia, with a membership of thousands, despite the persecution of Zionism by the Soviet regime. In its Diaspora-oriented activities Hitaḥadut devoted its attention primarily to cultivating economically productive labor. The movement had representatives in the parliaments of several countries (Poland, Lithuania, Latvia, and Romania), in municipal councils, and in the governing bodies of Jewish communities. Unlike other Jewish socialist groups which supported Yiddish, Hitaḥadut championed the revival of Hebrew. It was one of the prime movers of the *Tarbut movement in Eastern Europe, and much of the teaching and administrative personnel of the Hebrew schools came from its ranks. Hitaḥadut also supported the founding of a special pioneering youth movement that crystallized in the late 1920s under the name *Gordonia. Hitaḥadut and Po'alei Zion usually appeared conjointly at Zionist Congresses, and when Ha-Po'el ha-Ẓa'ir and *Aḥdut ha-Avodah in Palestine merged to form the Mifleget Po'alei Ereẓ Yisrael (*Mapai, 1930), the former two groups also amalgamated in 1932 at their world conference in Danzig, and formed the Iḥud Olami.

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[Aryeh Tartakower]

°**HITLER, ADOLF** (1889–1945), chief of the German National Socialist Party from 1920 and chancellor of the Reich from 1933. Hitler was the man who planned the extermination of the Jews, took the total decision, created the required organizations, and followed passionately its implementation.

Early Years

Hitler was born into the family of an Austrian customs official. His father had worked his way up to a responsible position from exceptionally poor beginnings as an illegitimate child. This latter fact has led to speculation that Hitler's grandfather might have been Jewish, but since there were no Jews in the town where Hitler's grandmother worked, this story, however often repeated, has no basis in fact. While the boy Hitler clearly did not get on well with his father, primarily because he neither applied himself to his schoolwork nor aspired to a substantial career as his father had, he very much loved his mother. He was devastated when she died of cancer in spite of the efforts of her Jewish doctor to whom Hitler always remained extremely grateful for the care he had provided.

The boy did not do particularly well in school, in part because he preferred to play rather than study and in part because he simply would not study hard. As a youngster he moved to Vienna, living with a friend who was studying seriously while Hitler was denied entrance to the arts academy, refused to admit to this failure to his family, and lived on the pension from his deceased father and funds provided by family members. As his money ran out, he moved into cheaper housing and in part supported himself by painting local buildings and scenes for sale to tourists. During the years in Vienna he evidently began to absorb some of the racist and antisemitic ideas that would dominate his subsequent elaboration of and dedication to them. Perhaps equally important, he observed the electoral politics of the time. In doing so, he simultaneously developed an understanding of how to appeal to masses of people, a vehement aversion to democratic procedures, and a hatred of Slavic peoples. These people were represented in the Vienna of his time primarily by Czech families from Bohemia who had moved to the city for jobs.

In May 1913 Hitler left Vienna for Munich to escape service in the Austrian army; his obsessive hatred of the Hapsburg dynasty clearly goes back to an early date. Obliged to return, he was found physically incapable of military service. This did not keep him from volunteering for the Bavarian part of the German army in August 1914 and being accepted into it right after the outbreak of World War I. He served, primarily as a messenger, on the Western Front. Although he was decorated for bravery, he was promoted only to the rank of private first class. He experienced the end of the war in a hospital at Pasewalk because of a temporary blindness evidently caused by hysteria rather than gas as often claimed. He was cured of his blindness by hypnosis.

Emerging into a defeated Germany, Hitler was shattered by this event. It would affect his outlook on the world – and his conduct of World War II – thereafter. Convinced that the German army had not been defeated at the front, he would join those in the German government, military, and society at large who attributed the nation's defeat to a legendary "stab-in-the-back" by domestic enemies among whom Hitler, like many others, saw the Jews as a central element. Remaining for a time in the postwar German army – his first real home – he was assigned to speak to soldiers confused by the situation and then to observing political movements in the Munich area for the local military command. It was in this process of speaking and observing that Hitler increasingly formulated and systematized his view of the world. It was as an observer for the army that he came into contact in September 1919 with the small party that he would come to control completely in July 1921, and that took the name of National Socialist German Workers Party.

Race and Space

Hitler's view of the world, embodied in the book *Mein Kampf*, which he dictated in two installments after he was jailed briefly for leading an attempted coup in Munich in November 1923, can be summarized as revolving around the concepts of race and space. Race is the key factor for understanding world history in the past, present, and future. In this view, history is the record of the struggle of different races for space on which to feed themselves, provide for their children, and conquer additional space as the latter needed it. Racial purity would strengthen while racial mixture would weaken each racial group in this struggle. The so-called Aryan race, to which the Germans allegedly belonged, was the most superior, and in the descending order of other races, the Jews were considered the most inferior. The latter were, however, especially dangerous because of their inclination both to infiltrate other races and societies and also to dominate them. They were therefore in his opinion the greatest threat to Germany's ability to reach its destiny. As Hitler explained to a cheering beer hall audience in April 1920, they had to be exterminated "root and branch." A racially aware and purified Germany with only one party led by the man who understood these ideas – namely himself – was guaranteed to win a series of wars, having come so close against a host of enemies the last time. In these wars victory in each would pave the way for victory in the succeeding one until the Germans dominated – and inhabited – the globe, a position to which their racial superiority entitled them. The inferiors would have to disappear because their racial nature could not be changed: the space on which they lived, not the inhabitants, would be Germanized.

Since the bulk of European territory lay in the East, that would be the first direction of German expansion. Hitler believed that this would be easy. In his racial concept of history, the Bolshevik revolution was a stroke of good fortune for Germany. He believed that it had led to the replacement of what had been the Germanic element that had held together the racially inferior Slavic peoples in the past, by Jews and other completely incompetent individuals. A Germany that had defeated Russia in the preceding war – while much of its army was fighting on the Western Front – could therefore count on an even easier victory in the next war against Russia.

In the first of the big wars Hitler anticipated, against France, Italy would be Germany's logical ally because the expansionist ambitions of that country under the leadership of Benito *Mussolini, whom Hitler greatly admired, would necessarily clash with French interests in Southeast Europe and the Mediterranean. Britain might also be a temporary ally, but Hitler would abandon this concept in 1934 at the latest. When the Nazi Party did very poorly in the German May 1928 parliamentary election, he attributed this to the unpopularity of his advocacy of an alliance with Italy. He dictated, but never published, another book in which he insisted on the correctness of his foreign policy views in very much greater detail than in *Mein Kampf* and also explicitly called for war with the United States. The new immigration legislation enacted in the United States in 1924, which was designed to restrict immigration and favored people from northern and western Europe over those from eastern and southern Europe, was seen by Hitler as making that country stronger over time – as it drew the racially best out of Europe – and hence it had to be confronted by Germany sooner rather than later.

The Prelude to the "Final Solution"

In the late 1920s Hitler allied his party with the other parties opposed to the Weimar Republic and attained an increasing audience and following. The way in which the world depression affected Germany helped to disillusion Germans about their government, but certainly did not oblige them to turn to the advocate of new wars after their experience of the last one. By 1930 Hitler's party received the largest share of the country's votes, and the coterie around President Paul von Hindenburg persuaded the latter to appoint him as chancellor on January 30, 1933.

In a few months Hitler succeeded in ending all constitutional freedoms and all other political parties in the country. The one-party dictatorship immediately began a vast rearmament program and other public works. In June 1934 he had his predecessor as chancellor along with numerous others murdered as a sign of his total control. In the following month, he had the chancellor of Austria murdered also, when that country did not join Germany as Hitler preferred. He accomplished this goal by an invasion in March 1938. The most violent persecution of Jews in Austria was initiated immediately after the country's annexation with the enthusiastic participation of substantial elements of the non-Jewish population.

Racial policies that included persecution of Jews and compulsory sterilization of those Germans believed likely to have defective children on the one hand and policies to promote marriage and large numbers of children by the "right" Germans on the other hand had been initiated in Germany in 1933. These measures were intensified in the following years. Jews were removed from government positions. Increasingly they were barred from such public facilities as theaters and swimming pools. Numerous restaurants and whole communities adopted the practice of putting up placards that Jews were not to enter. A steady series of new legal restrictions were imposed on the country's Jewish population, which had been less than one percent at the beginning of the Nazi dictatorship. Some Jews emigrated, but this was a slow and difficult process. In the years of the great worldwide depression countries were reluctant to admit immigrants whose assets had largely been stolen from them. Furthermore, since Jews had lived in Germany for centuries under restrictions of which the last had only been lifted in 1919, most did not realize that the restrictions now placed on them were steps toward a new aim rather than a return to a prior situation that Jews had not liked but under which they had long lived in the country.

In 1935, the German parliament was summoned to a special meeting in the city of Nuremberg to enact a group of laws that essentially deprived German Jews of all citizenship rights and also criminalized any sexual contact between Jews and non-Jews. Furthermore, those defined by the Nazis as "*Mischlinge*," that is, descendants of mixed Jewish-non-Jewish couples, were subjected to special restrictions that became ever more stringent over the years of Nazi rule.

In 1938 Hitler intended to start his first war, that is the war against Czechoslovakia, but drew back at the last moment in the face of domestic doubts and Mussolini's urging. Regretting the Munich agreement that added substantial lands to Germany at the expense of Czechoslovakia but without the war that he would have preferred, Hitler determined to go to war against France and England in 1939. Since victorious wars would bring more Jews under German control, he authorized an escalation of persecution in the hope of driving as many Jews as possible out of the country before war started. On the same day that he called on the German media to prepare the public for war, he had the party unleash the pogrom of November 1938. Almost all synagogues in Germany were set on fire, some 30,000 Jewish men were taken to concentration camps, numerous stores and apartments of Jews were vandalized, and a substantial number of Jews were killed. In the following weeks, a dramatic new set of laws was decreed. Jews were heavily fined, barred from the public school system, and increasingly deprived of the opportunity to earn a living. The process of taking over Jewish businesses and homes, a process referred to as "aryanization" and already under way, was radically accelerated.

When Hitler threatened the killing of Europe's Jews if there were a new war in his speech to the German parliament on January 30, 1939, he had already decided that no one would deprive him of war that year. Since the Poles were unwilling to subordinate themselves to Germany while that country fought France and England, he ordered an attack on that country on September 1, 1939, after temporarily aligning Germany with the Soviet Union. With Britain and France declaring war two days later, Germany was in a new world war. With war now actually under way, Hitler authorized the first of the German systematic killing programs, that of the handicapped. This began in 1939–40 and would provide a way to experiment with and initiate the procedures and train some of the personnel for the subsequent mass killing of Jews.

The Extermination of European Jewry

The partition of Poland with the Soviet Union brought under German control a majority of Poland's more than three million Jews. While thousands of Jews were murdered in the initial weeks of the war, literally hundreds of thousands were uprooted from the portions of Poland that were annexed directly into Germany. Soon thereafter, in the so-called Government General, the rest of German-controlled Poland, the Jewish inhabitants who primarily lived in the cities were driven into ghettoes. In the ghettoes, conditions were deliberately made so terrible by the Germans that mortality from hunger and disease rapidly escalated. In Poland and subsequently in other parts of German-occupied Europe, large numbers of Jews were forced to work for the Germans, frequently under conditions designed to kill them in a very short time. Hitler's main role in these events was to point the direction of German policy. He left it to his associates and to the local German authorities to develop and argue over the details. Similarly he left it to German industrialists to make their profits out of exploiting slave laborers until these could no longer work when they were murdered and replaced by other slave laborers.

In the spring of 1940 the Germans conquered Denmark, Norway, the Low Countries, and France. In these newly occupied areas, the Germans immediately began the persecution of Jews, including those who had sought refuge there from Germany in prior years. The Germans also instituted a vast program of stealing the property of the Jewish population. Hitler failed to subdue England in the summer of 1940 and decided to invade the Soviet Union in the following year. It was in the context of preparations for that invasion that, according to the latest evidence, Hitler in February or March of 1941 directed that the Jews in the territory of the Soviet Union that he expected to defeat in a short campaign were to be killed. There are those scholars who argue that the decision to kill the Jews in the newly occupied areas was not arrived at until after the initial German victories. However, both the orientation on policy provided to Germany's Romanian ally before the invasion and the assignment of special units, the *Einsatzgruppen*, and large numbers of police battalions to the killing of Jews – on which they regularly reported from widely separated points in the summer of 1941 – support the views of those scholars who believe that a decision had been reached and communicated to the German police well before June 22, 1941, the date of the invasion.

The early stages of the campaign in the East certainly demonstrated that the mass killing of Jews by the special units and police battalions assigned to this task received the full support and frequent assistance from the German military rather than objections and resistance as had occasionally occurred in the initial stages of the occupation of Poland in 1939. There were also local pogroms very much encouraged by the Germans; and, especially in newly occupied Lithuania and parts of the Ukraine, many local inhabitants participated in the killing of their Jewish neighbors. The early great victories of the German military, furthermore, seemed to show that the campaign was going as well and as rapidly as Hitler and his military advisers had expected. It was in this context that in the second half of July 1941 Hitler decided that the killing of Jews could and should be extended to all areas of Europe under German control. When the campaign appeared to be resuming its rapid advance in October-November 1941, Hitler thought that the time had come to extend the killing program to the Middle East and to the rest of the world as he personally explained to the Grand Mufti of Jerusalem in late November. The military campaign against the Soviet Union did not proceed as Hitler anticipated, but the decision to kill all Jews that the Germans could reach stood. Although the Germans were kept out of the Middle East by the Red Army's defense of the Caucasus and the British army's defense of Egypt, the surrender of Italy in September 1943 opened to the Germans not only the Italian-controlled portions of Europe but also the

Dodecanese Islands, including Rhodes – areas that the Germans considered as being a part of Asia. The Jews from there were also murdered.

While Hitler was occasionally consulted about details of what has come to be called the Holocaust, he entrusted his faithful police chief Heinrich *Himmler with the implementation. There was considerable concern about the psychological burden of mass murder on the killers who spent their "working" time shooting Jews and were in some instances coming apart psychologically in spite – or because – of large rations of alcohol. It was for this reason that the creation of a group of special killing centers was initiated, beginning in the fall of 1941. Many of these were established in occupied Poland, though the most notorious, Auschwitz, was in a part of Poland annexed into Germany and destined to be a model German city in the regime's planning for the postwar world. In order to draw all German government agencies into the increasingly extensive killing program, a special conference, known by the location where it was held as the *Wannsee Conference, took place on January 20, 1942; but there is no evidence to show that Hitler was personally concerned.

In his public speeches during the war Hitler repeatedly referred back to his threat of January 30, 1939, misdating it to September 1, 1939, along with the assertion that those who had laughed at his prophecy then were no longer laughing. The deliberate misdating can surely be seen as an indication of the way that the war and the Holocaust were parts of the same process in his thinking. The public references to the ongoing murders can also be seen as a way of alerting the German public to what was happening with the implication that they had burned all their bridges behind them and should harness their efforts to the war lest defeat bring a similar fate to them.

The German dictator could rely on his subordinates to implement the basic policy, and this would remain true into the last days of the war. If a combination of true belief in the racial doctrines of the regimes combined with hopes for loot, decorations, promotions, and careers in a victorious Germany inspired the killers in the early stages of the Holocaust, relative safety from alternative and vastly more dangerous employment at the fighting front served to inspire them in the latter stages of the war. Hitler himself devoted most of his time during the war to the details of running military operations, the development and production of weapons, and the appointment and replacement of generals and admirals. Whatever the other pressures, needs, and eventually defeats of the Germans, the high-priority program of killing Jews went forward as Hitler wanted. Attempts by internal opponents to kill Hitler, culminating in the attempt on his life on July 20, 1944, failed, and the killing program continued as all German authorities recognized its centrality to their assignments.

As the Germans retreated, major efforts were made to conceal the evidence of the crimes that had been committed. Installations and records were destroyed and mass burials were exhumed and replaced by huge fires. There were also death marches as those Jewish and other workers who were considered possible slave laborers for the German war effort were driven into ever more crowded and miserable camps inside the shrinking perimeter of the Third Reich. Large numbers were killed in this process, at times because the weakened slaves were unable to keep up, at times simply to keep them from being liberated. When Red Army forces fought their way into Berlin, Hitler married his mistress of many years. In his last testament before committing suicide on April 30, 1945, he blamed the war and all disasters on the Jews and called on the German people to continue his racial policies in the future.

Arguments have at times been advanced that the absence of a written order for the systematic killing of Jews by Hitler shows that he did not personally order this to be done. There is, however, ample evidence of his personal role. The leader who insisted that he personally be consulted on the question of whether a particular German officer married to a woman one of whose grandparents was Jewish could be allowed to continue to command a company at the front was not uninvolved in a multi-year program to kill millions of Jews. On at least two occasions, in July and November 1941, he personally explained the killing program to foreign leaders. Others carried out the program and quarreled endlessly over details and jurisdiction, but there cannot be any doubt that they were acting to implement and simultaneously to profit from a policy established at the highest level.

Writings

Hitler wrote two books; both are available in English: *Mein Kampf*, translated by R. Manheim (1943); and *Hitler's Second Book: The Unpublished Sequel to Mein Kampf*, translated by Krista Smith, edited by Gerhard L. Weinberg (2003). For Hitler's speeches in English, the best source is *Hitler: Speeches and Proclamations 1932–1945; Commentary and Notes by Max Domarus*, published in four volumes by Bolchazy-Carducci (1990–2003). There are also the two volumes edited by N.H. Baynes, *The Speeches of Adolf Hitler, April 1922 – August 1939* (1942). Hitler's military directives may be found in H.R. Trevor-Roper (ed.), *Blitzkrieg to Defeat: Hitler's War Directives, 1939–1945* (1965). Stenographic reports on his military conferences are in *Hitler and His Generals: Military Conferences 1942–1945*, edited by H. Heiber and D.M. Glantz, introduction by G.L. Weinberg (2002). There are several editions in various languages of Hitler's wartime conversations but none without serious problems. Until a definitive edition appears, the currently available English language ones are both edited by H.R. Trevor-Roper, *Hitler's Table Talk 1941–1944* (1953), and *The Testament of Adolf Hitler: The Hitler-Bormann Documents* (1961).

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[Gerhard L. Weinberg (2nd ed.)]

HITMAN, UZI (1952–2004), Israeli pop singer-songwriter. Like many of his contemporaries, Hitman started his musical career as a member of an army entertainment troupe. On his release from the IDF in 1973, he joined forces with singer Lior Yeini in a program of Hebrew versions of songs made famous by Greek vocalist Mikis Theodorakis. This was followed by a successful duet with Noga Shalem, singing "Little Bird." In 1974 Hitman achieved some measure of national prominence – though as a backup artist – when he supported star singer Ilanit in that year's National Song Contest, placing second. It was around this time that Hitman began to become known as a songwriter, writing compositions for such top performers of the time as Avi Toledano, Yizhar Cohen, and Dudu Zakai. The song he wrote for Zakai, "Why Don't the Grownups Learn from the Little Ones," won third place at the Children's Song Contest.

His first big break came in 1976, when he sang *Adon Olam* together with Oded Ben-Hur at that year's Ḥasidic Song Contest. The song was a smash hit, both in Israel and abroad, and became something of an anthem for Hitman. Later that year he started a fruitful long-term collaboration with singer Shimi Tavori. In 1978, Hitman produced another hit, *Ratziti she-Teda* (*Elohim Sheli*) ("I Wanted You To Know (My God)"), which was inspired by the historic visit to Israel of Egyptian President Anwar Sadat and was an entry in that year's Children's Song Festival. By now, Hitman had made a name for himself as a major contributor of children's songs and, in the 1980s, he became a household name as presenter of the popular children's television program *Pretty Butterfly*.

In addition to his popularity in the junior market sector, in the 1980s Hitman varied his output, writing numerous songs for so-called Mediterranean singers, such as Zohar *Argov, Haim Moshe, and Margalit Tzanani. In 1985 Hitman's career took another turn when he teamed up with veteran singer Yigal Bashan and American-born singer-fiddler Jonathon Miller to perform *Kemo Ẓo'ani* ("Like A Gypsy") at the 1985 Pre-Eurovision Song Contest. The song became a hit and the threesome embarked on a series of successful national tours and television appearances. In 1989 and 1993 Hitman released two unsuccessful albums, although several well-received singles came out of them. Throughout the 1990s Hitman released several highly popular videotapes of children's songs, and wrote more hits for other artists, particularly *Kan* ("Here") for husband-wife duo Orna and Moshe Datz, which placed third in the 1991 Eurovision Song Contest.

In 2001 Hitman received a Life Achievement Award from ACUM (the organization responsible for protecting Israeli artists' rights) and in 2004 began work on a new album. Sadly, later that year Hitman died of a heart attack at the age of only 52. The following year, a double album of Hitman's compositions featuring such top artists as Ariel Zilber and Uri Harpaz, entitled *Akhshav ha-Tor le-Ahavah* ("Now's the Time for Love"), was completed and released.

[Barry Davis (2nd ed.)]

HITSCHMANN, EDWARD (1871–1957), Austrian psychiatrist. Born in Vienna, he became a member of the Vienna Psychoanalytic Society in 1905, the year he was introduced to *Freud. In the early days Hitschmann was less convinced than some others of the incestuous roots of neurosis. While he wrote on many clinical problems and published his *Freuds Neurosenlehre* (1911; *Freud's Theories of the Neuroses*, 1913), he became interested in the psychoanalytic study of outstanding literary personalities. His first works in this field were on Schopenhauer whose saintliness he felt was a reaction against his sensuality, and Swedenborg whom he saw as suffering from religious paranoia as a result of the fulfillment of an infantile wish to surpass his father and of homosexuality. Hitschmann, like Freud, admired Goethe and in 1913 he wrote "Goethe als Vatersymbol." Hitschmenn felt that creation was evolved in two stages. The first was the moment of inspiration acknowledging something which had been in preparation a long time and the second phase was the elaboration. Creative power he felt was related to giving up daydreaming because of guilt feelings. His other works include psychoanalytic studies of Brahms, Schubert, Werfel, William James, Samuel Johnson, and James Boswell. Hitschmann founded the Vienna Psychoanalytic Clinic in 1922 and was its director until 1938. He left before the Nazis came to power, and after two years in London immigrated to Boston. In 1947 he wrote "New Varieties of Religious Experience." He saw belief as related to the overrated father of childhood. His *Great Men* appeared in 1956.

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[Louis Miller]

HITTITES, an ancient people of Anatolia. The name Hittites is taken from the biblical Hebrew *Ḥitti* (gentilic), plural *Ḥittim*, which stems from the form *Ḥatti* found as a geographic term in cuneiform texts, the vowel change resulting from a Hebrew phonetic law. The form *Ḥatti* is used in Akkadian. Since this name always occurs in combination with a noun, such as "country of *Ḥatti*," "king of *Ḥatti*," etc., it is uncertain whether the final-*i* is part of the stem or rather the Akkadian genitive ending that would make the nominative *Ḥattu*. The occurrence of a term *Ḥattum* in Old Assyrian texts (with the-*m* suffix of the Old Period) had been cited in support of the second alternative. The problem is, however, complicated by the fact that the same sources mention a place called *Ḥattuš*, whose relation to *Ḥattum* is not clear, and that in later periods the Hittites themselves used the form *Ḥatti* for both the country and its capital when they wrote Akkadian, but *Ḥattuša*, also in both usages, when writing Hittite, while an adjective, *Ḥattili*, was derived from the short form. In writing these names the Hittites often used the word sign for "silver," writing SILVER-*ti* for Akkadian *Ḫatti*, SILVER-*ša* for Hittite *Ḫattuša*. It is worth noting that one of the Ugaritic words for "silver" Ugaritic *ḫtt* is an Anatolian loanword (Tropper, 111, 122). Conventionally the form *Ḫatti* is used by moderns.

Ḫatti was originally the name of the region comprising the large bend of the river Halys (Kizil Irmak) and of the city whose ruins are at the village of Boghazköy (c. 100 miles directly east of Ankara). The Hittites who ruled that country during most of the second millennium B.C.E. were invaders speaking an Indo-European language; when they arrived they found a population that spoke a different language, of agglutinative type, and this non-Indo-European tongue they called *Ḫattili* – "belonging to *Ḫatti*." Although both the name Hittite and the term *Ḫattili* are derived from the same geographic name, they refer to entirely different entities. To avoid confusion scholars call the old indigenous language "Hattic" or "Proto-Hattic," the people "Hattians" or "Proto-Hattians," while reserving the term "Hittite" for the Indo-European-speaking newcomers, who took over much of the civilization of the indigenous population in material culture and religion. The reason that Hattic texts have survived at all is that the Hittites still used them in the cult. Thus, there is cultural continuity, the Hattian element being an integral part of the civilization of the Hittites. The Indo-European language called Hittite by moderns was called Nesian by the Hittites themselves, the name being derived from that of Neša, one of their early capitals (see below).

History

It is not known when or from where the Indo-European-speaking Hittites came. The problem becomes even more complex if the other Indo-European languages of Anatolia are considered. The documents of the Assyrian merchant colonies (see *Asia Minor) give only partial answers to these questions. Among the proper names of local persons there are some that contain Indo-European Hittite elements; accordingly, some individuals, at least, belonging to the newcomers were present in Kaneš in the 19th century B.C.E. The Hittites derived their own kingdom from the kings of Kuššar, a town, according to Old Assyrian documents recently made available, situated in the mountainous region southeast of Kaneš. An important source for the early period is the inscription of a certain Anitta, king of Kuššar, found in the Hittite capital and written in Hittite (COS I, 183–85). In it the king relates that his father, Pithana, conquered the city of Neša but spared its people. When he subsequently speaks of his own deeds Anitta mentions Neša as his own city to which he brings captives and booty and where he builds temples. Thus, despite the title King of Kuššar, Neša seems to have been the royal residence. Both Pitḫana and Anitta are attested to in the Assyrian merchant documents found in the later settlement at Kaneš (see *Asia Minor) where they apparently ruled. According to some scholars Neša and Kaneš are the same city; this theory, if correct, would greatly contribute to an understanding of the historical situation.

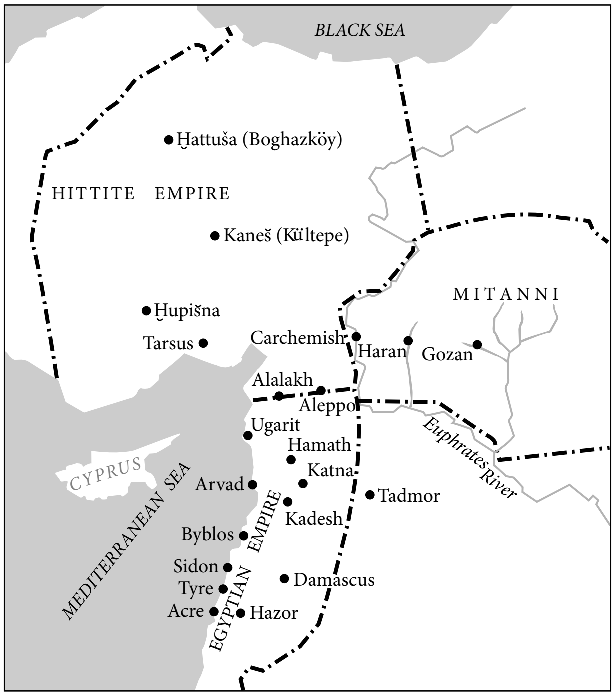

The Hittite empire of the second millennium B.C.E. (c. 1800–1200). Based on the Westminster Historical Atlas to the Bible, *Philadelphia, Pa., 1945.*

Anitta tells about a number of conquests, the most important being that of Ḫattuša, which he burned and whose site he cursed. Among the remains of Ḫattuša at Boghazköy, documents of the type representative of the later merchant colony were found in houses which had been destroyed by fire, perhaps indicative of the destruction by Anitta. Within the period of the later colony, Pitḫana and Anitta fall relatively late, perhaps in the middle of the 18th century B.C.E., or even later. Still, knowledge is lacking for the period between Anitta and the beginning of the Old Hittite Kingdom, whose founder was a certain Labarna, alternatively, Tabarna, king of Kuššar, indicating that the kingdom was still connected with that town. That Labarna founded a new dynasty seems likely because of the later tradition which carries historical accounts back to him, but no further; his name was taken by all later kings, so that it almost became a title (comparable to Roman "Caesar"). Labarna's conquests, learned of only from a later source, included Tuwanuwa (near Nighde) and Ḫupišna (Ereghli). Contemporary sources are for the first time available on his successor, who called himself Labarna (II) and King of Kuššar, but who was better known to posterity by his second name, Ḫattušili. This name is the gentilic derived from Ḫattuša, and, indeed, in his own inscriptions Ḫattuša figures as the capital. He moved there, apparently, despite the old curse. Labarna and his successors definitely were Indo-European-speaking Hittites; for Pitḫana and Anitta this is uncertain but not impossible. If one could reconstruct the course of events so that the Indo-European-speaking Hittites first held the eastern town of Kuššar and from there moved to Neša (= Kaneš?), then to the region of Tyana (Nighde), and finally to Ḥatti, it would indicate that the last part of their movement was from East to West, which would favor the eastern route also for their entry into Anatolia. Hattušili I fought extensive wars, partly in Anatolia and partly in northern Syria. He boasts of having been the first to cross the Euphrates and of having destroyed Alalakh (Tell Atchana). As his successor Ḥattušili appointed an adopted son, Muršili (I), who continued the move toward the southeast by conquering the kingdom of Aleppo and even raiding Babylon, which marks the fall of the First Dynasty of Babylon, dated (in the "middle" chronology) 1595 B.C.E. This brings Labarna to about 1660.

Muršili was assassinated, and a period of dynastic struggle followed until King Telipinu (c. 1550) introduced strict rules for hereditary succession (COS I: 194–98). After him only the names of some rulers are known. About 1450 a new dynasty came to the throne, founding the so-called New Kingdom. After modest beginnings and serious setbacks, this kingdom rose to empire under King Šuppiluliuma (I) (c. 1370–45). Being a younger son, he usurped the throne, but his military and diplomatic success atoned for the usurpation. Having reconquered the lost territories in Anatolia, Šuppiluliuma moved against the kingdom of Mitanni in northern Mesopotamia, one of the great powers of the time. After an unsuccessful first attempt, he defeated Mitanni and conquered most of its Syrian territories as far south as Kadesh on the Orontes. At a later date he took advantage of dynastic struggles in Mitanni by helping one of the contenders and installing him as his vassal. In Syria the Hittites also threatened the Egyptian possessions; Hittite sources here supplement the information contained in the *el-Amarna letters. Thus a treaty concluded by Šuppiluliuma with Aziru, king of Amurru (COS II, 93–95), shows that the latter actually switched his allegiance from Egypt to Ḥatti despite the letters he wrote to the Pharaoh. Most characteristic of the Hittites' prestige is the request of the widow of Tutankhamen, who wrote to Šuppiluliuma asking for a Hittite prince whom she would marry and make king of Egypt. The plan failed because her opponents killed the Hittite prince when he arrived, and his father had to send an army to avenge him.

Šuppiluliuma's successors were, on the whole, able to maintain the empire. Muršili II (c. 1345–20) incorporated into the empire as vassals the Arzawa countries of southwestern Anatolia. Muwatalli fought the famous battle of Kadesh (1300 B.C.E.) against Ramses II of Egypt. Claimed as victory by both sides, the battle left the status of Hittite and Egyptian possession in Syria unchanged. Against the danger stemming from Assyria's rise to power, Ḥattušili III concluded a peace treaty with Ramses (1284 B.C.E.) and later (1271) gave him his daughter as wife. Friendly relations between the two powers continued from that time. Tudḫaliya IV (c. 1250) still held Syria, including Amurru; most of his military activity was in the west. During his reign one foreign power, Aḫḫiyawa, probably the Akhean kingdom of Mycenae and mentioned already by earlier kings, seemed to be aggressive in western Anatolia. Under Tudḫaliya's son, Arnuwanda, the situation in the west apparently further deteriorated. The last king, Šuppiluliuma II, tells of a naval victory over ships of Cyprus, but shortly thereafter the Hittite empire is destroyed. The end is marked by burnt levels in all sites and by the disappearance of written sources. However, it is not known how or by whom the destruction was brought about, or what role inner weakness may have played. The only information comes from the Egyptian records of Ramses III, which mention, in his eighth year (c. 1190), the attack of so-called Peoples of the Sea who are said to have overrun all the countries "from Ḥatti on."

The downfall is followed by a dark age at the end of which the map of Anatolia had been redrawn. Small states known as Late Hittite or Neo-Hittite, because of the inscriptions written in the so-called Hittite hieroglyphs found in the areas they occupied, extended far into Syria, Hamath on the Orontes being the southernmost. In contrast to the small states of Anatolia, some – but not all – of those in Syria were taken over by Arameans: Till Barsip on the Euphrates became Aramean Bit Adini about 950 B.C.E.; shortly after, the Aramean Gabbar founded a dynasty at Sam'al (Zinjirli), similarly the region around Arpad became the Aramean Bit Agusi about 890, while Hamath fell to the Arameans as late as about 820 B.C.E. In contrast, Carchemish on the Euphrates was ruled by "Late Hittites" (Luwians according to their language) until it became an Assyrian province in 717. The important point is that the Assyrians, who continually fought these small states until Sargon II finally incorporated them into his empire as provinces, continued to call the whole region Ḥatti, regardless of whether the people were Luwians or Arameans. Even more than a century after the last "Hittite" state had disappeared, the Babylonian chronicle introduces Nebuchadnezzar's first war against Jerusalem (598 B.C.E.) with the words "he went to Ḥatti." The name Ḥatti was now used in a vague sense for the entire Mediterranean littoral.

Hittites in the Bible

The Anatolian Hittites of the second pre-Christian millennium seem to have left no traces in the Hebrew Bible. Those books of the Bible that mention Hittites in connection with events of the monarchy clearly refer to the "late Hittites" of that same period: "Uriah the Hittite" under David (II Sam. 11:3; I Chron. 11:41); Solomon's Hittite wives (I Kings 11:1) and the horses sent by him to "all the kings of the Hittites and the kings of the Arameans" (I Kings 10:29; II Chron. 1:17; cf. also II Kings 7:6). In contrast to these passages are those that mention Hittites as part of the pre-Israelite population of Palestine (Gen. 15:20; 23; 26:34, et al., Ex. 3:8, et al.; Deut. 7:1; Josh. 3:10; 9:1; et al.; Judg. 3:5; I Kings 9:20 = II Chron. 8:7; Ezra 9:1; Neh. 9:8), especially of its mountainous part (Num. 13:29; Josh. 11:3). The Hittite empire of the second millennium never included Palestine. To explain these passages some scholars have adduced the so-called Khirbet Kerak ware, a kind of pottery similar to wares found in Anatolia and further east. If this pottery really attests Anatolians in Palestine, they would be Hattians at best, and the time lapse from the Early Bronze Age to the conquest would be more than a millennium, a very long time for a name to be remembered. Others have adduced a Hittite source according to which, some time before Šuppiluliuma I, some Hittites migrated from Anatolia "into Egypt." If this means Egypt proper it has no bearing on the question (despite the convenient parallel it furnishes to the Children of Israel). Only if it is assumed that "Egypt" refers to Egyptian-held territory which happened to be Palestine can the phrase serve as an explanation for the mention of those early Hittites. Neither of these theories is convincing. It is rather that the writers of the Bible used the designations "Hittite" and "Canaanite," mostly pejoratively, for the aboriginal inhabitants of the country. Esau's Hittite wives (Gen. 26:34) are called Canaanites in Gen. 27:46. "The "Hittites" of David's time, Uriah (II Sam. 11:3, 17, 21) and Ahimelech (I Sam. 26:6), may have traced their descent to old pre-Israelite families. By the eighth century, *māt Ḥatti*, "Hittite land" in Neo-Assyrian sources, had acquired the sense of everything west of the Euphrates up to the Mediterranean. The phrase *ereẓ ha-ḥittim*, "the land of the Hittites" (Josh. 1:4) is a Hebrew reflex of this usage and is absent from the Septuagint to this verse.

[Hans G. Guterbock / S. David Sperling (2nd ed.)]

Hittite Hieroglyphic Writing

What used to be called "Hieroglyphic Hittite" is now more accurately referred to as "Anatolian Hieroglyphic" (Hawkins, Melchert). The preserved hieroglyphic texts are actually written in Luwian, like Hittite, an Indo-European language. Although closely related to the Hittite language, Luwian is distinct. The term "hieroglyphic" used for Hittite writing was borrowed from the Egyptian terminology, and it simply implies that the Hittite writing, like the Egyptian, is pictographic. In no way does it imply that the Hittite hieroglyphic writing was borrowed from the Egyptian hieroglyphic or that it was in any way related to it.

The Hittite writing was in use from about 1500 to 700 B.C.E. in a large area extending from central Anatolia to northern Syria. Two main periods are distinguished: the earlier from 1500–1200 B.C.E., and the later from 1200 to 700 B.C.E. The language of the "Hittite hieroglyphic" inscriptions is related to the so-called "cuneiform Hittite" (or "Nesian"), so named because it is preserved in the cuneiform writing borrowed from Mesopotamia. Both of these languages and writings were used at the same time in the Hittite Empire, but while the use of cuneiform Hittite was limited to a small area around Boghazköy, the capital of the empire, and died out at the time of the empire's collapse around 1200 B.C.E., "hieroglyphic Hittite" (i.e., Luwian) was used throughout the empire, and remained in use up to about 700 B.C.E. The deciphering of Hittite hieroglyphic writing was achieved only in the 1930s through the combined efforts of P. Meriggi, I.J. Gelb, E.O. Forrer, H.T. Bossert, and B. Hrozný. In the years after the Second World War, a great advancement in the deciphering of Hittite writing and language resulted from the discovery of bilingual Hittite and Phoenician inscriptions at Karatepe in Cilicia.

Two formal types of writing existed. The first was a monumental type with signs faithfully imitating the forms of pictures. The second, a cursive type, developed from the monumental type, with forms of signs so divergent from the original pictures that it is often difficult – if not impossible – to recognize their original pictographic form.

Hittite writing, like such other ancient Oriental systems as the Mesopotamian, Egyptian, and Chinese, represents word-syllabic type of writing. It consists of three classes of signs: logograms or word signs; syllabic signs, developed from the logograms by the rebus principle; and auxiliary marks and signs, such as punctuation marks and signs for determinatives, classifiers, or semantic indicators. In the use of logograms and auxiliary marks and signs, the Hittite system is identical or very similar to other word-syllabic systems. The normal Hittite syllabary consists of about 60 signs of the type *ta*, *ti*, *te*, *tu*, each representing a syllable beginning with a consonant and ending in a vowel. The writing does not indicate any distinction between voiced, voiceless, and aspirated consonants.

Nowhere but in the Aegean area in writings such as Linear B and Cypriote is there a syllabary identical to that of the Hittites. Accordingly, Hittite hieroglyphic writing can be assigned, together with Cretan writing and its derivatives, to the Aegean group of writings.

[Ignace J. Gelb]

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°**HITZIG, FERDINAND** (1807–1875), German Protestant theologian and Bible critic. Hitzig was a student of W. *Gesenius in Halle and of G. *Ewald in Göttingen. Hitzig directed much energy against confessional orthodoxy, the religious reaction to critical study manifest in the works of *Hengstenberg. He taught at the universities of Heidelberg (1829–32; 1861–75), and Zurich (1833–61). In his day he was considered one of the leading modern Bible exegetes, noted for ingenious, often bold, textual and exegetical hypotheses. He was among the earliest modern critics who dated the composition of some of the psalms to the Hasmonean period. He enunciated his critical principles at the beginning of his career in a work titled *Begriff der Kritik am Alten Testament praktisch erörtert* (1831). In the series *Kurzgefasstes exegetisches Handbuch zum Alten Testament* he published his commentaries on the Prophets and Hagiographa: Isaiah (1833), Jeremiah (1841, 1866^2), Ezekiel (1847), the Minor Prophets (1838, 1881^4), Ecclesiastes (with W. Nowack, 1847, 1883^2), Proverbs (1847), Daniel (1850), Song of Songs (1855), Psalms (1863), and Job (1874). In 1869 his *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, a history of the biblical period, appeared. *Vorlesungen über biblische Theologie und messianische Weissagungen des Alten Testaments* (1880), on biblical theology and the messianic concept in the Bible, was published posthumously. Other writings deal with the New Testament and Semitic linguistics.

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HITZIG, JULIUS EDUARD (1780–1849), German author, publisher, and criminologist; member of the prominent Itzig family of Berlin and Potsdam, grandson of Daniel *Itzig (1723–1799). His original name was Isaac Elias Itzig, but in 1799 he converted and changed his name to Hitzig – which prompted Heine to satirize him as "H. Itzig." Hitzig studied law, and between 1799 and 1807 served as a Prussian official in Warsaw and Berlin. During his Berlin period, he was a member of the romantic group known as the Nordsternbund, and published poems in the group's *Musenalmanach* of 1804. In 1808 he founded a publishing house which, among others, published Heinrich von Kleist's *Berliner Abendblaetter.* In 1814, after the defeat of Napoleon, he resumed his law career in the service of the Prussian government. In 1824 he founded the Literarische Mittwochsgesellschaft, which became a center for the later Romantics and for aspiring young writers. Hitzig wrote biographies of two romantic writers he had come to know in Warsaw, Zacharias Werner (1823) and E.T.A. Hoffmann (1823), and the definitive biography of his lifelong friend, Adalbert von Chamisso (1839), the creator of Peter Schlemihl. He himself was best remembered after his death for *Der neue Pitaval* (1842–47, and frequently reprinted), a collection in many volumes of crime and detective stories of all lands and ages, in which he collaborated with W. Haering. His son was the German architect Friedrich *Hitzig (1811–1881).

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[Sol Liptzin]

HIVITES (Heb. חִוִּי), the sixth of the 11 peoples or tribes descended from the sons of Canaan (Gen. 10:17) and one of the seven nations residing in Canaan at the time of the Conquest (Ex. 3:8, 17; 13:5; 23:23, 28; 33:2; 34:11; Deut. 7:1; 20:17; Josh. 3:10; 9:1; 11:3; 12:8; 24:11; Judg. 3:35; I Kings 9:20 = II Chron. 8:7). Most of the references to the Hivites occur in Genesis and Joshua, among the least historical sections of the Bible. Yet it is likely that some such group was known to ancient Israel. In the stories set in the "patriarchal period" the Hivites dwelt at Shechem (Gen. 34:2). In accounts of the Conquest of Canaan they were associated with the four towns of Gibeon, Chephirah, Beeroth, and Kiriath-jearim (Josh. 9:17), and with the land of Mizpah at the foot of Mt. Hermon (Josh. 11:3). According to the Book of Joshua, the Hivites of the four towns were exempt from Israel's holy war against the seven nations by a solemn treaty (Josh. 9:19; see *Gibeonites). Those who lived in the land of Mizpah were likewise unaffected, insofar as the area below Mt. Hermon was the limit of Joshua's conquest (Josh. 11:17; Judg. 3:3).

The term Hivites is unattested in extra-biblical sources. The suggestion that the Hivites are the Greek Achaeans, known from the Iliad, who appear in Egyptian documents as *akioasha*, seems linguistically dubious. E.A. Speiser noted the absence of any reference to the *Hurrians (Horites), who played a major role in Israelite history, in the biblical lists of Canaanite nations. He called attention to Hurrian personal names associated with Shechem and with other areas whose inhabitants the Bible calls Hivites. He further noted the juxtaposition of the Hurrian Jebusites and the Hivites in all but two of the biblical references to the latter. Thus he concluded that Hivite was a biblical term for Hurrian. Speiser supported his identification of the biblical Hivites with the Hurrians by reference to Genesis 36:2, and 36:20, where the terms Hivite and Horite are apparently used interchangeably. In the former verse Zibeon is called a Hivite, in the latter, a Horite. Other examples of the apparent interchange of the terms Hivite and Horite may be found by comparing the Masoretic Text and the Septuagint. Thus in Genesis 34:2 and Joshua 9:7 the Septuagint reads Horites for the Hivite of the Masoretic Text. These alternations have been the subject of considerable discussion. Some claim that the differences between the Masoretic Text and Septuagint are the result of the former's attempt to harmonize the narratives with the list of Canaanite nations in Genesis 10. It is difficult, however, to draw any conclusions from variants in the Septuagint.

Both Grintz and Speiser suggested a close connection between Hurrians and Hivites. Grintz, therefore, explained the Gibeonites' claim to have come "from a far country" (Josh. 9:6, 9) in the light of the Hurrians' origin in the area north of Mesopotamia and east of Asia Minor. Speiser, who found the name *Ḫu-ú-ia* among Hurrian names in Mesopotamia, suggested that the latter name, which passed into Hebrew as Hivite, became the general Hebrew term for Hurrian because the term Horite had been preempted for the pre-Edomite population of Seir (Gen. 36:20). S. Ahituv connects the Hivites with the land Ḫume, known from Neo-Babylonian sources. The Hebrew form with *waw* is linguistically defensible.

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[Mayer Irwin Gruber]

ḤIWI AL-BALKHI (second half of ninth century, Ḥiwi, a misspelling of the Persian name Ḥayyawayh; al-Balkhi, of Balkh, in Khorasan, *Persia, now *Afghanistan), freethinker and radical Bible critic. Few details of Ḥiwi's life are known. His homeland was a meeting place of many religious streams – Rabbanite and *Karaite Judaism, Shi'ite *Islam in its various sectarian manifestations, Nestorian Christianity, Buddhism, and Zoroastrianism. It was the home of some of the greatest Islamic scientists and scholars of the first centuries of Islam. Ḥiwi was the author of a polemical work which contained 200 criticisms of the Bible. He belonged neither to the Rabbanites nor to the Karaites. In fact, both of these factions of Judaism condemned him. The work of Ḥiwi is no longer extant; its contents have to be reconstructed from the quotations by later Rabbanite and Karaite critics of his work. The language Ḥiwi wrote in is unknown, though it can be assumed he wrote in Arabic. From the polemical attacks against Ḥiwi, it can be ascertained that his main concern was to undermine the authority of the Bible. He censured the biblical concepts of God and the biblical commandments and stories. Modern scholars were only able to reconstruct approximately one-third of his 200 questions and criticisms. These questions can be subdivided into the following categories: God is unjust, without compassion, and favors evil; God is not omniscient; God is not omnipotent; God changes His mind, which is a sign that He is not consistent; God likes blood and sacrifices; the Bible is full of anthropomorphisms; God does not work miracles; the Bible admits the existence of many gods; the Bible contains contradictions; and many commandments and stories in the Bible lack reason. It is also evident that Ḥiwi did not believe in *creatio ex nihilo* and in free will. Ḥiwi, an eclectic, was not original in his ideas. Some of his criticisms can be traced to rabbinic sources, some to the works of the last defenders of Zoroastrianism, some to the works of Islamic heretics, and some to Christian heretics. The vehemence with which Ḥiwi was rebuked by Rabbanite and Karaite scholars alike testifies to the great influence of his writings upon his contemporaries and even later generations. *Saadiah Gaon, who succeeded in stemming the tide of Karaite Judaism in the Near East, felt – 60 years after the publication of Ḥiwi's work – the need to refute Ḥiwi's arguments in a special work, which he wrote in Hebrew rhyme. Fragments of Saadiah's refutation were preserved in the Cairo *Genizah* and were published by Israel Davidson in 1915. Two additional leafs were discovered and published by J.H. Schirmann in 1965. Ḥiwi's name would have been forgotten completely if Abraham *Ibn Ezra had not mentioned Ḥiwi's critical remarks in his commentary on the Pentateuch. Ḥiwi's name and work have been used in modern times for anti-religious propaganda by freethinkers, particularly in Soviet Russia.

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[Judah M. Rosenthal]

ḤIYYA (also called **Rabbah**, "the Great"; end of the second century C.E.), *tanna* (BM 5a) during the transition period from the *tannaim* to the *amoraim*. Ḥiyya was born at Kafri, near Sura in Babylonia (Sanh. 5a). According to one talmudic tradition his family was descended from Shimei, the brother of David (Ket. 62b), but according to another from Shephatiah, the son of David's wife Abital (TJ, Ta'an. 4:2, 68a). After he immigrated to Ereẓ Israel from Babylonia (Ket. 5a), his father, Abba b. Aḥa, died (Pes. 4a) and because of his country of origin the sages referred to him as "the Babylonian" (Gen. R. 26:4). He frequented Judah ha-Nasi's company, studied in his *bet midrash* (Shab. 66b; Ḥul. 16a; et al.) as well as under him personally (Ned. 41a), asked questions of him (TJ, Git. 7:10, 49a; et al.), and transmitted halakhic statements in his name. Judah ha-Nasi authorized him to act as a *dayyan* (Sanh. 5a) and once sent him to sanctify the new month (RH 25a). He was the outstanding pupil of Judah ha-Nasi, and the Talmud gives a large number of queries addressed to him (TJ, Git. 7:10, 49a; BM 3:4., et al.). On one occasion Judah ha-Nasi was taken ill and forgot something which he had taught Ḥiyya, who reminded him of it (Ned. 41a). Ḥiyya also argued with his master on *halakhah* (TJ, Pe'ah 8:4) and there are even instances of Judah ha-Nasi asking questions of Ḥiyya (Hor. 11b). Judah ha-Nasi himself once said to a pupil of his, "Disregard my reply and adopt that of Ḥiyya" (Av. Zar. 36b). Much is told about their relationship. Although on occasions Judah ha-Nasi adopted a critical attitude toward him (see MK 16b, et al.), he held him in exceptionally great esteem calling him: "A great man, a holy man" (Gen. R. 33:3). Ḥiyya was regarded as second in learning only to Judah ha-Nasi and hence the sages wondered why Judah ha-Nasi had not on his deathbed designated him as the head of his *bet midrash*. Some explained it as due to Ḥiyya's being so extensively engaged in *mitzvot* and in spreading knowledge of the Torah, but others think he may have predeceased Judah ha-Nasi (Ket. 103b).

Ḥiyya had his own *bet midrash* which was famous chiefly for its preoccupation with *beraitot*. These are quoted frequently in the Talmud, many of them having been taught by Ḥiyya himself (Ber. 24a; BK 4b), who also transmitted to Oshaiah, his pupil, *beraitot* which the latter taught in his own *bet midrash*. The productions of these two schools in this field were regarded as the most authoritative and accurate, so that it was said that any *baraita* which did not emanate from them was a defective version and not to be cited in the *bet midrash* as a refutation (Ḥul. 14a–b). These *beraitot* included additional explanations to Judah ha-Nasi's Mishnah as well as halakhic material which Judah ha-Nasi had excluded from his compilation. In it Ḥiyya incorporated not only statements that were based on a ruling he had personally heard from Judah ha-Nasi (TJ, BM 5:7, 10c) but also some that were opposed to what Judah ha-Nasi had taught (Ket. 59b). Yet there was the well-known principle: "Since Rabbi Judah ha-Nasi has not taught this ruling, whence could Ḥiyya know it!" (Er. 92a; and parallel passages). A collection of *beraitot* on the *halakhot* of usury compiled in Ḥiyya's *bet midrash* is mentioned in *Bava Meẓia* (62b, 65b). In the view of S. Zvi Kaplan Sherira *Gaon the Tosefta constitutes the collection of Ḥiyya's *beraitot* (see: *Tosefta).

Ḥiyya enjoyed the status of both a *tanna* and an *amora*, this dual capacity of his being reflected in a discussion in *Niddah* 26a. As a *tanna* he was permitted to disagree with other *tannaim* and hence his statements are quoted in *beraitot* (Shab. 20a; Ḥul. 27a; et al.), and by virtue of his status as an *amora* a large number of his halakhic pronouncements are cited in statements of *amoraim* to be found in all the tractates of the Babylonian and Jerusalem Talmuds. Among the sages with whom Ḥiyya discussed halakhic subjects, either agreeing with or opposing their views, mention may be made of Ishmael b. Yose (TJ, Er. 7:1), Yannai (TJ, Ber. 4:5), Simeon b. Rabbi (Er. 72a; et al.), and Bar Kappara (Yev. 32b; et al.). Little is known of Ḥiyya's personal life. His wife Judith, described as a harsh woman (Kid. 12b), bore him twin sons, *Judah and *Hezekiah, who were apparently born in Babylonia, became famous sages and immigrated with their father to Ereẓ Israel (Suk. 20a). They also had twin daughters, Pazi and Tavi (Yev. 65b–66a), one of whom died in her youth after being betrothed to Judah ha-Nasi's son.

The most distinguished of Ḥiyya's pupils was *Rav (see Ḥul. 110a; Ker. 21a; et al.), the son of his brother on his father's side and of his sister on his mother's side (cf. Rosenthal, 281ff.). Ḥiyya intervened with Rabbi Judah ha-Nasi on his behalf (Sanh. 5a). The relative intellectual stature of these three is described in the Talmud in the following: "Rabbi (Judah ha-Nasi) was the tallest man in his generation and Ḥiyya reached to his shoulder; Ḥiyya was the tallest man in his generation and Rav reached to his shoulder" (Nid. 24b). Rav also acted as Ḥiyya's interpreter (Yoma 20b), that is, one who at length and in a popular style expounded what the preacher or lecturer had indicated to him in brief. Some of Ḥiyya's other pupils were his nephew, Rabbah bar Ḥanah, Ze'iri (Shab. 156a), and Judah b. Kenosa (BK 81b). Ḥiyya devoted himself to spreading knowledge of and teaching the Torah. He would write out the five books of the Pentateuch, take them to towns which had no teachers for the young, and there teach them to the children. Judah ha-Nasi said of this, "How great are the deeds of Ḥiyya" (Ket. 103b; and parallel passages). Apparently his sons also participated in this work, as can be seen from Resh Lakish's remark reflecting the vast esteem that the early Ereẓ Israel *amoraim* had for Ḥiyya's achievements in this field: "When the Torah was forgotten from Israel, Ezra came up from Babylonia and established it. When [some of it] was again forgotten, Hillel the Babylonian came up and established it. When [some of it] was once more forgotten, Ḥiyya and his sons came up and established it" (Suk. 20a). The Talmud refers to Ḥiyya's diligent study of the Torah (TJ, Kel. 9:3) and his concern for orphans (BM 85b), his scrupulous consideration for the honor of others (Sanh. 11a), and his love of Ereẓ Israel (TJ, Shev. 4:7). He would pray: "May it be Thy will that Thy Torah may be our occupation, that our heart may not grieve nor our eyes be darkened" (Ber. 16b). When Ḥiyya and his sons led the congregation in worship, their prayer was immediately answered (BM 85b). It was due to their merit that in Ereẓ Israel "shooting stars and earthquakes, storms and thunder ceased, wine did not turn sour, nor was flax blighted" (Ḥul. 86a).

Ḥiyya discoursed in public on *halakhah* (see Ket. 34a) and *aggadah* (TJ, Sot. 1:4; et al.). His special method of exposition by the transposition of letters was known as "the *Atbaḥ* (אטב"ח) of R. Ḥiyya" (see Suk. 52b, and Rashi, ad loc.). Once, when seeing the first rays of dawn piercing the darkness, he said: "Even so is the redemption of Israel. At first it comes gradually, and the longer it continues, the greater it becomes" (TJ, Ber. 1:1). Yet Ḥiyya declared: "The Holy One blessed be He knows that Israel is unable to endure the cruel decrees of Edom [Rome], and therefore He exiled them to Babylonia" (Pes. 87b). Because of this he sought, against the wishes of Judah ha-Nasi, to obtain independence in teaching for the sages of Babylonia, so that they should not be subject to the central authority, then still in Ereẓ Israel (Sanh. 5a). Moreover, Rav, Ḥiyya's nephew and the founder of the academy at Sura, one of the pillars of Jewish life in Babylonia, had apparently emigrated there on the initiative and with the encouragement of his uncle. He maintained that the "Holy of Holies," to which, according to the sages, the worshiper is to direct his heart when praying, refers to the "Holy of Holies above," that is, Heaven. He interpreted the place-name Mount Moriah as the site "from which fear goes forth," and not, as Yannai held, "from which teaching goes forth to the world" (TJ, Ber. 4:5). These two sages' different interpretations of Jacob's dream in which he saw a ladder reaching to heaven (Gen. R. 68:12) is likewise related to these divergent approaches (cf. also Gen. R. 69:3). Ḥiyya's aggadic statements include remarks against imposing excessively restrictive measures: "You shall not make the fence higher than the essential object (the Torah), that it should not fall and destroy the shoots" (Gen. R. 19:3); and "Whoever rebelled against Divine justice did not emerge unscathed from under its hands" (Gen. R. 48:5). On the evil inclination he observed: "It is poor dough which the baker himself declares to be bad" (Gen. R. 34:10). Among his sayings is the statement originally made in connection with a halakhic problem: "The raven went to join the starling because it belongs to the same species" (*ibid.* 65:3). He was also the author of the saying: "Such is the punishment of a liar, that even if he tells the truth he is not listened to" (Sanh. 89b, and see Gen. R. 94:3). His extensive business dealings brought him into close touch with daily life. Thus it is known that he traded in silk (Gen. R. 77:2; cf. also BK 99b). His practical advice was: "A person should not put all his money in one corner" (Gen. R. 76:3). Legend embellished Ḥiyya's death (MK 28a). He was buried in a cave, in which his sons, Judah and Hezekiah were also interred on their death, one on each side of him (MK 25a). In the *aggadah* a graphic description is given of his great merit in the heavenly academy (see BM 85b; TJ, Kel. 9:3).

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Toledot R. Ḥiyya u-Vanav (1953); J. Liver, *Toledot Beit David* (1959), 26–32, 37–41; Z. Vilnay, *Maẓẓevot Kodesh be-Ereẓ Yisrael* (1963^2), 366–8; I. Konovitz, *Ma'arakhot Tannaim*, 2 (1967), 47–106; E.S. Rosenthal, in: *Hanokh Yalon Jubilee Volume* (Hebrew) (1963), 281–337.

[Zvi Kaplan]

ḤIYYA BAR ABBA (TJ: **Bar Ba** or **Va**; third and the beginning of the fourth centuries C.E.), *amora*. Ḥiyya was born in Babylonia, of a priestly family (TJ, Ber. 3:1, 6a) but migrated to Ereẓ Israel (Shab. 105b; BB 107b) where he was able to attend upon such Palestinian *amoraim* of the first generation as Ḥanina (TJ, Hor. 3:4, 48b) and Joshua b. Levi (TJ, Shab. 1:1, 3a). He was the outstanding pupil of Johanan in whose name he transmitted many *halakhot* (Shab. 105b; Er. 54a, et al.). He was known for being exceptionally precise in transmitting the words of his teacher, and every 30 days revised what he had studied in his presence (Ber. 38b). He also studied under R. Eleazar. Ḥiyya was very poor and left Ereẓ Israel in order to gain a livelihood. On the recommendation of Eleazar he was appointed by Judah ha-Nasi II as his emissary to the Diaspora. In his letter of appointment Judah called him "a great man," to which another version adds: "wherein lies his greatness? – That he is not ashamed to say 'I have not heard'" (TJ, Ḥag. 1:8, 76d). His mission apparently brought him back to Babylonia for a time and he had discussions with its scholars (Ber. 15a, et al.). He also visited Syria (TJ, Meg. 3:1, 74a) and even reached Rome (TJ, Ma'as. Sh. 4:1, 54d). Wherever he came he introduced necessary **takkanot*, collected monies for the benefit of the yeshivah, and appointed heads of the community (TJ, Pe'ah, 8:7, 21a). In Ereẓ Israel too he paid visits to many localities, and evinced a lively concern with the spiritual situation in the various places, dealing with communal needs, and preaching to the congregations. He visited Gavla, south of the Dead Sea (Yev. 46a), Tiberias (TJ, Pes. 4:4, 31a), Sepphoris (TJ, Ta'an. 4:9, 69b), and Tyre, where he apparently stayed for some time (TJ, Av. Zar. 2:9, 42a, TJ, Ber. 3:1, 6a). He had many sons who were scholars: Abba, the best-known (Ber. 5a); Jeremiah (Lev. R. 23:8); Kahana (TJ, Shab. 1:7, 3d); and Nehemiah (TJ, Ber. 3:1, 6a). Ḥiyya was essentially a halakhist (Sot. 40a): "R. Abbahu and R. Ḥiyya b. Abba once came to a certain place. R. Abbahu expounded *aggadah* and R. Ḥiyya b. Abba *halakhah*. All the people deserted R. Ḥiyya and went to hear Abbahu. Ḥiyya was upset, but Abbahu said to him: 'I will tell you a parable. To what is the matter like? To two men, one of whom was selling precious stones and the other cheap ware. To whom will the people hurry? Is it not to the seller of the cheap ware?'" Nevertheless aggadic statements are found in his name. He expounded the verse (Jer. 16:11): "they have forsaken Me and not kept My law" – "Would they were to forsake Me, providing that they keep My law, for as a result of occupying themselves with it, its light will bring them back to the right path" (Lam. R., Proem 2, see also TJ, Ḥag. 1:7, 76c).

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[Zvi Kaplan]

ḤIYYA BAR AVIN (in TJ, **Bar Bun**; beginning of the fourth century C.E.), Babylonian *amora*. Ḥiyya was the son of *Avin the Carpenter. He was a pupil of Huna (see Kid. 58a) and the *resh *kallah* at his yeshivah (see She'iltot, Berakhah 165). The teachings of Rav and Samuel, which he frequently transmits (Er. 81a; Ber. 30a; et al.), he received presumably from their pupil Huna. His halakhic discussions with his contemporary scholars are frequently cited in the Talmud. Later Ḥiyya migrated to Ereẓ Israel and studied in Tiberias in the yeshivah of Eleazar in whose name he sent instructions to Babylonia (Yev. 43a). In Ereẓ Israel he received many ancient traditions of earlier scholars. He held halakhic discussions with *Zera (Ber. 33b) and *Assi (Suk. 35a). He returned to Babylonia where he was held in the highest esteem. Rava referred to him as "the lion of the company" (Shab. 111b; et al.; some explain that the word *ḥavurah*, "company," was a name applied only to the yeshivah of Ereẓ Israel). Naḥman b. Isaac turned to him with his problems (Ber. 6a; et al.). After Ḥiyya's death, Rava transmitted to Ḥiyya's son the teachings he had received from him (Ket. 85b).

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[Zvi Kaplan]

ḤIYYA ROFE (1550?–1618), rabbi of *Safed. Ḥiyya was born in Safed and studied in Solomon *Sagis' yeshivah there, where he distinguished himself already in his youth. Ḥayyim *Vital instructed him in *Kabbalah and he was ordained by Jacob *Berab II before 1599. He reestablished the yeshivah of *Tiberias in 1587 and headed it for a number of years. However, between 1590 and 1593 he again lived in Safed where he was regarded as one of its outstanding scholars. In 1607 he was living in *Jerusalem, but in about 1612 returned to Safed where he died. His opinions are quoted by contemporaries. Most of Ḥiyya's works have been lost. The little that has remained, novellae to various tractates of the Talmud and 27 responsa, were published by his son *Meir b. Ḥiyya Rofe, a *Hebron scholar, in the collection *Ma'aseh Ḥiyya* (Venice, 1652). It is a valuable source for the method of talmudic study employed by the scholars of Safed as well as for the quotations from many manuscripts of the Talmud which the author kept in the yeshivah of Safed.

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HIZBOLLAH (Arab. "Party of God"), Lebanese Shiite-Muslim movement and militia based mainly in the southern suburbs of Beirut, in Balbek in the Biqa, and in South Lebanon. It was founded during the *Lebanon War of 1982, emerging out of a loose coalition of radical Shiite groups. Inspired by the Islamic Revolution in *Iran and originally aspiring to set up a similar Islamic state in Lebanon as an alternative to the existing multicultural state, it abandoned this goal in the early 1990s and ostensibly became part of the Lebanese political system, participating in parliamentary elections and maintaining a bloc of around 10 parliamentary representatives. Never disarmed by the weak Lebanese government and sponsored by Iran, it became a virtual state within a state, launching violent attacks against American and Israeli targets. Under its charismatic leader Sheikh Hassan Nasrallah (1953–) and as the self-proclaimed champion of Arab resistance to the Israeli occupation, it began stockpiling thousands of Iranian- and Syrian-supplied rockets and building an extensive tactical infrastructure during a six-year lull in hostilities during the 2000s, until the illusion of tranquility was shattered in summer 2006. For a summary of the renewed hostilities, see *Israel, State of: Historical Survey; for a detailed review of Israel's war against terrorism, see *Israel, State of: Israel Defense Forces ("The War against Terrorism"). See also *Lebanon; *Lebanon War.

ḤLADIK, ABRAHAM (first half of 13th century), Bohemian scholar. The name Ḥladik, still found to this day as a family name in Prague, is evidence that Abraham came from Bohemia, and he is sometimes referred to as Abraham of Bohemia. His name is frequently mentioned in *minhagim books and in 13th-century commentaries on the prayers. He was in contact with *Abraham b. Azriel, though the nature of their literary dependence is still unclear. It seems that Ḥladik abridged some of Abraham b. Azriel's commentaries to *piyyutim*.

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[Isaac Ze'ev Kahane]

HLOHOVEC (Hung. **Galgóc**; Ger. **Freistadtl**, **Freistadt**; in popular Slovak **Fraštak**), town in W. Slovakia, until 1992 Czechoslovak Republic, then Slovak Republic. The first Jews appeared in Hlohovec with the Romans. During the 9th-century Great Moravian Empire, Jews may have lived in the location of present Hlohovec. Since then, Germans who settled in the area bore hatred toward Jews, and in the 13th century Jews had to wear red markings on their clothes. After refusing to convert to Christianity, the Jews of the Hungarian kingdom were expelled in 1360. Before then, they could live in any part of the town. Upon their return four years after the expulsion, they were relegated to one "Jewish" street. In 1514 they were expelled again, during the peasant revolt. Hlohovec was located next to an important bridge over the river Váh; from the 15th to the 18th century, Jews collected the tax for crossing the bridge on behalf of the royal treasury.

In 1529, when Jews were being burned in the neighboring town of *Trnava, the Jews crossed the bridge and settled in Hlohovec. Most of the Jewish inhabitants of Hlohovec hailed from Moravia. They sold wine, grain, salt, and silverware, and some were glaziers. Another source of income was supplying food to soldiers of the imperial army fighting the Turks. They continued to act as military suppliers in the 17th and 18th centuries. Jewish businessmen from Hlohovec attended the fair in Leipzig, Germany. Hlohovec had a well-established Jewish community. In 1735/38 there were 128 Jews; in 1746 there were 133. Rabbi Mordechai Deutsch, a well-known Talmudic scholar, founded a yeshivah, serving as principal until his death in 1772. The Hlohovec Jews enjoyed the goodwill of the Erdoedy noble family, which owned the land. In 1750 the community erected its first synagogue.

In 1830/5 there were 556 Jews; in 1880, some 1,079 Jews lived in Hlohovec; and on the eve of the deportations in 1940, there were 727.

The *talmud torah* was opened in 1828, and a school in the German language operated from 1858 to 1862. In 1865 a new school opened its doors. A synagogue was constructed in 1830 and enlarged in 1890. A new edifice was erected in 1900. Following the Hungarian Jewish congress of 1868, a split occurred in the congregation. The majority chose Status Quo Ante, and the Orthodox minority established its own congregation. They shared the *ḥevra kaddisha*, the Torah scrolls, and the cemetery. The Orthodox community opened a school, as well as other religious institutions. In 1880 the two congregations united as Orthodox.

During the Hungarian commonwealth of 1848/49, many Jews enlisted with the Magyar troops. During World War I, 200 men were recruited into the army. After the war, the Zionist movement and the Jewish party appeared on the Jewish street. Party members were elected to the municipal council. Rabbi Moshe Schwarz headed a Torah va-Avodah yeshivah, where students received vocational training and engaged in rabbinic study.

In September 1938 Slovakia proclaimed autonomy, and on March 14, 1939, independence under the Third Reich. Persecution of Jews was among the state's main tasks, culminating in the deportation of Jews to camps in Poland. In April 1942, the Jews of Hlohovec and the vicinity were deported; very few returned. The authorities continued to persecute the remaining Jews, reducing the number of streets where they could live and expropriating Jewish public buildings. During the Slovak anti-Nazi uprising in August–October 1944, some fled the city and others were sent to extermination camps.

In 1947, only 27 Jews lived in Hlohovec. In 1949 there were 125. In 1968 a handful of Jews remained in the city, the rest having emigrated in 1948/49. They had a small prayer house, and services were conducted by Moshe Glueck, "the Ẓaddik of Hlohovec." In his capacity as caretaker of the local cemeteries, he discovered the 1772 grave of Sarele van Geldern, believed to be the forebear of German poet Heinrich Heine.

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[Yeshayahu Jelinek (2nd ed.)]

HOBSBAWM, ERIC JOHN (**Ernest**; 1917–), British historian. Born in Alexandria, Egypt, Hobsbawm came to Britain in the early 1930s and was educated at Cambridge before becoming professor of economic history at Birkbeck College, University of London. Widely regarded as one of the most distinguished historians of his time, Hobsbawm is internationally known both for his works on labor history and social agitation, such as *Primitive Rebels* (1959), and for his magisterial four-volume account of modern European history – *The Age of Revolution* (1962), *The Age of Capital* (1975), *The Age of Empire* (1987), and *The Age of Extremes* (1994) – as well as for his survey of British economic history, *Industry and Empire* (1968). Always on the left politically, Hobsbawm remained an unorthodox supporter of the British Communist Party long after many other intellectuals had left it. More recently, he became known for his critiques of the British Labour Party. In 2002 Hobsbawm produced a widely noted autobiography, *Interesting Times: A Twentieth-Century Life.* He also wrote jazz criticism under the pseudonym of Francis Newton. In 1998 he was made a Companion of Honour (C.H.), a rare distinction for a historian.

[William D. Rubinstein (2nd ed.)]

HOBSON, LAURA Z. (**Zametkin**; 1900–1986), U.S. author. The daughter of the Yiddish writer Michael Zametkin, she worked for the *New York Evening Post* and later became copy chief for *Time, Inc.* She published short stories and novels from the mid-1930s, her best-known work being the novel *Gentleman's Agreement* (1947), a study of antisemitism in America. Her later novels include *The Other Father* (1950) and *The Celebrity* (1951). In *First Papers* (1964) she returned to the problems of the Jew in a non-Jewish environment. Her autobiography, *Laura Z: A Life,* was published in 1983.

HOCHEIMER, HENRY (1818–1912), U.S. rabbi. Hocheimer was born in Ansbach, Bavaria, of a well-known rabbinical family. From 1844 to 1849 he assisted his father as rabbi of Ichenhausen, but had to leave Germany in 1849 because of his political activities. On arriving in the United States he became rabbi of the Reform Baltimore Hebrew Congregation. Ten years later he took office with the Fell's Point (Md.) Hebrew Friendship Congregation, where he remained until his retirement in 1892. Hocheimer published several articles and pamphlets and enjoyed a reputation as a scholar and a wit, but he took little part in public life. His son LEWIS HOCHEIMER (1853–1929) was a noted Baltimore attorney and community leader, and the author of *Hocheimer's Criminal Law* (1899).

[Sefton D. Temkin]

°**HOCHHUTH, ROLF** (1931–), German playwright. Hochhuth, a Protestant, was a publisher's reader between 1955 and 1963 and was able to undertake, at the Vatican and elsewhere, the massive documentation needed for his controversial drama, *Der Stellvertreter* (*The Deputy*, 1964). This was produced in Berlin in February 1963 and appeared in print at the same time. The play immediately aroused a storm of protest in Catholic circles owing to its uncompromising condemnation of Pope Pius XII for his failure to condemn Hitler's Jewish policies. The two tragic heroes of Hochhuth's drama are Lieutenant Kurt *Gerstein, a dedicated Lutheran who infiltrated the Waffen-SS and tried to awaken world conscience to the Holocaust, and Father Riccardo Fontana, a Jesuit priest whose revolt against the silence of Pius XII eventually leads him to assume the role of "representative" of the Pope at Auschwitz. The character of Fontana is fictitious but in part inspired by the heroic Provost Bernhard *Lichtenberg of Cologne, whom the Nazis executed. Both the play and the appended documentation draw the conclusion that Pius XII sacrificed morality to the short-term financial and political interests of the Church. *Der Stellvertreter* appeared in England as *The Representative* and in the U.S. as *The Deputy* (published with Hochhuth's accompanying documentation, 1964). It provoked widespread reaction and was the subject of great controversy, bringing Pope *Paul VI to the defense of Pius XII. The 2002 film *Amen* was based on it.

Hochhuth continued to write controversial plays after he moved to Switzerland in 1963 and became resident playwright at the Basle Stadttheater. His 1978 play *A Love in Germany* focused on the governor of Wuerttemberg, Hans Filbinger, and his past as a military judge in World War II. The play stirred a debate which resulted in Filbinger's resignation. His play *McKinsey Is Coming*, which discusses modern social justice and criticizes big business, was read by some critics as an exculpation of left-wing terrorism, a charge denied by Hochhuth. An earlier play, *Soldiers, Necrology on Geneva* (1967), which depicts the British bomb attacks in World War II as crimes and portrays Winston Churchill as a war criminal, resulted in his friendship with the extreme right-wing British historian David *Irving, who was later accused of Holocaust denial. When Hochhuth defended Irving in a public remark in 2005, he came under heavy attack in the German press. Hochhuth later retracted his statement, claiming he was not familiar with Irving's extreme theses, and publicly apologized.

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[Godfrey Edmond Silverman / Michael Brenner (2nd ed.)]

HOCHMAN, JULIUS (1892–1970), U.S. labor leader. Hochman was born in Bessarabia, the son of a tailor. At the age of 11 he was apprenticed to a tailor. Two years later he participated in an unsuccessful strike and decided to become a socialist. Immigrating to America at 15, Hochman worked as a skirt- and dressmaker in New York, and attended evening high school, the Rand School of Social Science, and Brookwood Labor College. In his early twenties Hochman became an effective International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union organizer of the Chicago, Boston, Toronto, and Montreal dress markets, and in 1925 was elected a vice president of the ILGWU. During the ensuing intra-union conflict between the left and right, Hochman sided with the anticommunist Sigman group. His most important service to the union was in formulating programs for the stabilization of the garment industry. In 1929, appointed manager of the newly constituted New York Dress Joint Board, he was able to effect many of his ideas including piece-rate and time studies, which cemented labor-management cooperation aimed at increasing industrial efficiency. Hochman devoted his efforts to maintain New York as the nation's dominant dressmaking center. In 1941, through an agreement with dress manufacturers, he accomplished some of his most cherished objectives: obligatory standards of efficiency, an industry-wide planning program, and the establishment of the New York Dress Institute to make New York the world's fashion center. He wrote *Why This Strike* (1936) and *Industry Planning Through Collective Bargaining* (1941).

[Melvyn Dubofsky]

HOCHSCHILD, MAURICIO (1881–1965), engineer and mining magnate. Born in Biblis, Germany, Hochschild studied mining engineering, joined his uncle's metal trading firm, and was sent to Australia in 1907. In 1912, he left the firm and went to Chile, where he established his own company. During World War I he worked in Germany and Austria and afterward returned to Chile. In 1920 Hochschild went to Bolivia, where, after engaging in the purchase of ores for several years, he ultimately established one of the great Bolivian mining companies. When the Bolivian mines were nationalized, after the 1952 Revolution, Hochschild's company continued to operate throughout Chile, Peru, and Argentina and also purchased products from the nationalized mines in Bolivia. Though estranged from Judaism, Hochschild helped to bring Jewish refugees from Europe to Bolivia during the 1930s and employed some of them in his companies. He established an agricultural settlement for Jewish immigrants near Coroico, spending almost $1,000,000 on the project, which ultimately failed. While generously assisting thousands of Jews individually he refused to be identified with Jewish institutional life.

[Netanel Lorch]

HOCHSCHULE FUER DIE WISSENSCHAFT DES JUDENTUMS, center for the scientific study of Judaism and rabbinical seminary in Berlin. From the first half of the 19th century, leaders of the movement for modern scholarly study of the Jewish past, notably Leopold *Zunz and Abraham *Geiger, had argued for the establishment of a faculty for Judaica at a German university. As German institutions were reluctant to respond to such an idea, the plan was formulated in 1867 to found an independent, university-level center for Jewish studies in Berlin. According to its statutes, the exclusive purpose was to be the "preservation, advancement, and dissemination" of *Wissenschaft des Judentums* ("scientific study of Judaism"). The institution opened in 1872 with four teachers, Abraham Geiger, Hermann *Steinthal, David *Cassel, and Israel *Lewy, and 10 students in the most inadequate rented quarters. Tuition was free and students were accepted from all countries. Although the original intent was to serve pure scholarship, the school soon developed principally, but not exclusively, into a seminary for training rabbis and religious school teachers to serve a broad spectrum of German Jewry. Despite the best efforts of its trustees, headed by Moritz *Lazarus, the financial status of the Hochschule remained highly precarious during the first decades of its existence. From 1891 the institution was constrained to accept financial aid from the Berlin community. Only after the turn of the century did its position improve, allowing for the endowment of faculty chairs and the construction of its own building near the Berlin university. In 1907 the Hochschule was also able to begin publication of a series of scholarly studies by faculty and outside scholars to supplement the articles that usually appeared bound with the yearly institutional reports. Inflation after World War I and the depression of the 1920s brought new and extreme difficulties for the school. With the name Hochschule ("College") the founders had wanted to indicate the school's high academic level. However in 1883, during a period of intense antisemitism, the government degraded its title to Lehranstalt ("Institute"). After World War I the name was again Hochschule only to be reduced again to Lehranstalt by the Nazi government in 1934. The later faculty of the school included some of the most renowned Jewish scholars, men of both liberal and traditional views on religion. Among them were Ismar *Elbogen, Eduard *Baneth, Chanoch *Albeck, Julius Guttmann, and Leo *Baeck.

The regular student body grew slowly at first, reaching 61 before World War I. Aside from candidates for Jewish professional positions, the Hochschule attracted young scholars from abroad, Jewish students from various faculties of the university, Christian students of Judaica, and auditors from the community. After some fluctuation student enrollment reached its peak of 155 in 1932 and included 27 women. From the beginning, women were allowed to audit courses and, after 1907, were formally admitted as part-time students to the teacher training program but remained barred from rabbinic ordination. During the Nazi period the Hochschule served as a focus for the vast effort of adult education undertaken by the Jewish community to provide spiritual resistance against increasing oppression. Unlike the Breslau Theological Seminary and the Orthodox Berlin Rabbinerseminar, the Hochschule was permitted to remain open even after the *Kristallnacht pogrom of November 9, 1938. Plans to transfer the institution to Cambridge failed to materialize owing to the outbreak of World War II. Instruction at the Hochschule under the leadership of Leo Baeck continued for about a dozen students until all Jewish educational institutions were finally closed on July 19, 1942 and its valuable collection was confiscated.

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[Michael A. Meyer]

HOCHWAELDER, FRITZ (1911–1986), Austrian dramatist. Hochwälder was born in Vienna. Being only a mediocre pupil, he left school to join his father in the upholsterer's trade and began to write in his off hours. Two of his early plays were performed in small theaters in Vienna. Unable to obtain an exit visa after the Anschluss, he crossed the border into Switzerland illegally in August 1938. His parents, who remained behind, were victims of the concentration camps.

As an illegal immigrant in Switzerland he was forbidden to work and this gave him the time to devote to writing. In the summer of 1942 he wrote *Das heilige Experiment* (*The Strong Are Lonely*), published in 1947, which was his greatest commercial success as well as being considered a modern European classic. It dealt with the utopian Jesuit community in Paraguay during the 18th century and its ideological conflicts. First performed in 1943, it was only after the war that the play received international recognition. He also wrote *Der Flüchtling* (*The Fugitive*; 1955), which was made into a motion picture, *Der oeffentliche Anklaeger* (1954), and *1003* (1964), an experimental play in the spirit of Pirandello. He wrote for radio and television; his television play *Der Befehl* (*The Order*; 1967) was commissioned by Austrian television to be shown by Eurovision. His work was significantly influenced by the Viennese Volkstheater, and the themes which are found throughout his work are the conflict between conscience and power, guilt and responsibility, and humanitarianism and selfishness.

Although he was granted the highest honors by the Austrian government, he chose to remain in Switzerland.

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HOCK, SIMON (**Sinai**; 1815–1887), historian and journalist. A Prague businessman, Hock collected a vast body of material on old Jewish Prague, published in part in his friend Koppelmann *Lieben's *Gal-Ed* (1858), and mainly after Hock's death by David *Kaufmann, as *Mishpeḥot Prag* (1892). Writing anonymously because of the censorship, in the 1840s Hock was correspondent of the *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judentums* and the *Orient*, and during the 1848 revolutions reported for the *Oesterreichisches Centralorgan* on the anti-Jewish outbreaks connected with these uprisings. In a number of his articles he demanded that the Prague community be made more democratic. Especially interesting is the degree of Jewish national consciousness he displayed. Hock vigorously opposed radical reform, mainly as exemplified by Mendel *Hess and his *Israelit des XIX. Jahrhunderts*, claiming that from the champions of Reform would emerge a hierarchy suppressing freedom of religious practice such as Judaism had never known. He contributed articles on Jewish scholarship to I.H. *Weiss' *Beit Talmud* and other periodicals, and was among the founders of the *Afikei Yehudah association (1869). His unpublished correspondence is preserved in the Central Jewish Museum, Prague.

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HODESS, JACOB (1885–1961), Zionist journalist. Born in Vanuta, Lithuania, Hodess moved to London at the age of 13. He started on his journalistic career at a young age, writing in Hebrew, Yiddish, and English. From 1911 to 1939 he was a member of the editorial staff of the *Jewish Chronicle* and also edited various periodicals in English and Yiddish, the most important of which was the Zionist weekly *New Judaea*, which he edited from 1924 to 1949. He settled in Israel in 1949 and became editor of the English-language quarterly *Zion*. He was also a contributor to the general British press and was the author of a booklet on Perez *Smolenskin (Eng., 1925). Hodess wrote a study on the Anglo-Jewish press (in *YIVO-Bleter*, vol. 43, 1966), which also contains reminiscences of his own work in the field.

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[Getzel Kressel]

HOD HA-SHARON (Heb. הוֹד הַשָּׁרוֹן; "Splendor of the Sharon"), semi-urban community with municipal council status, in central Israel, created by the amalgamation of four villages: Magdi'el, founded in 1924 by immigrants from Russia, Poland, and Lithuania, and shortly after joined by a group from Holland; Ramatayim, founded in 1925 by immigrants from Poland; Hadar, founded in 1927 by middle-class immigrants from Eastern Europe; and Ramat Hadar, founded in 1938 by middle-class immigrants from Germany who were shortly after joined by a group of Italian Jews. After 1948 a large number of newcomers were absorbed in all four villages, the majority originating from Yemen and Iraq. In 1951, Ramatayim and Hadar were united into "Hadar Ramatayim," to which Ramat Hadar was joined in 1963, while the fusion with Magdi'el in 1964 created Hod ha-Sharon, which in 1969 had 12,500 inhabitants. In the mid-1990s, the population was approximately 27,200 and by 2000 it had grown to 38,600, with the municipal area covering 9.5 sq. mi. (24.5 sq. km.). Hod ha-Sharon's economy in 1969 was still predominantly agricultural, with 55% of its labor force working in farming. Citrus groves were prominent. About 20% of the employed worked in local industries and workshops. Commerce and services subsequently grew alongside the agricultural economy. In 1990 Hod ha-Sharon received municipal status. The Sha'arei Mishpat law college is located in the city.

WEBSITE: www.hod-hasharon.muni.il.

[Efraim Orni / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

HODMEZOVASARHELY (Hung. **Hódmezövásárhely**), city in S. Hungary. Jews first settled on the estate of the family of Count Károlyi within the boundaries of the city in 1748 but were expelled in 1770 because of the objections raised by the Greek Orthodox Church. In 1810 they began to organize themselves as a religious group but a regular community was not established until 1829; 28 Jewish families were registered in the area in 1838. A synagogue was built in 1857, a school having already been opened in 1845. The Jewish population numbered 56 in 1840, 1,312 in 1869, 1,658 in 1880, and 1,151 in 1930. In 1868, the community joined the Neologists. Among the most prominent rabbis of Hodmezovasarhely were Abraham Gruenhut (also known by the name A. Krol, officiated 1830–66); L. Seltmann, a noted author who wrote on life in the yeshivot (1879–1932); Meir Weiss (1933–37), later professor of Bible Studies at the Hebrew University, Jerusalem; and Aaron Silberstein, the last rabbi of the Holocaust period (1938–44), who published a monograph on the community. The Jews in Hodmezovasarhely mainly engaged in small trade, but there were also some wealthy merchants and even some industrialists.

Holocaust Period

Their economy was ruined in 1938 as a result of the first anti-Jewish restrictions. From 1940 the men were conscripted for labor battalions, and after the German occupation, on June 16, 1944, they were transferred to the ghetto in *Szeged. From there, 378 of them were deported to *Auschwitz and 500 to *Wiener-Neustadt, and other places in Austria, where members of the same family were not separated. About 400 Jews returned after the war, and there were 430 in 1948. The Jewish population decreased to 259 in 1955 and to 80 in 1969.

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[Baruch Yaron / Alexander Scheiber]

HODONIN (Czech **Hodonín**; Ger. **Goeding**), town in S. Moravia, Czech Republic. In 1648 the Jewish community is mentioned as having existed "for many years." It had two cemeteries in 1682, and by 1688 the Jewish quarter on an island in the Morava (March) river comprised 30 houses and a synagogue. Jews owned vineyards and wine cellars. In 1773 the community numbered 415. *Maria Theresa, herself the local lord, expelled the Jews in 1774, and 20 of them founded the community of Kostelec near *Kyjov. Later *Joseph II permitted 13 families to resettle in Hodonin. There were 109 Jews living in the town in 1836, 215 in 1853, 433 in 1869, 976 in 1900, and 797 in 1921. In 1930 the community numbered 670 (4.5% of the total population). Under Nazi rule it was constituted as a district community (1939). The Jews were sent to Kyjov and then Theresienstadt in 1942 and from there to extermination camps while the synagogue equipment was transferred to the Central Jewish Museum in Prague. In 1970 there was a small community in Hodonin affiliated to Kyjov. Virtually no Jews remained by the end of the century. The Austrian liberal politician, Joseph *Redlich, was a native of Hodonin.

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[Meir Lamed]

HOECHHEIMER, MOSES BEN ḤAYYIM COHEN (c. 1750–1835), rabbi and Hebrew grammarian, known by his Hebrew pseudonym Hekhim (Heb. הֶעְכִים). Born at Hoechheim (Franconia, Germany), Hoechheimer served as *dayyan* in Fuerth and in 1793 became rabbi of Ansbach where he remained until his death. He was in contact with such leading rabbinical authorities of his time as Ezekiel *Landau of Prague and *Meshullam Zalman b. Solomon of Fuerth, who quoted his opinions in their responsa. He wrote a textbook on Hebrew grammar, *Safah Berurah* (Fuerth, 1790) with tables of conjugations, and published David *Kimḥi's work *Mikhlol*, with annotations by Elijah *Levita and a commentary by Hoechheimer himself (*ibid.*, 1793). Many of his poems have been printed in Hebrew periodicals.

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[Joseph Elijah Heller]

°**HOELSCHER, GUSTAV** (1877–1955), German Bible scholar, born in Norden (Ostfriesland). He was professor in Halle (1915), Giessen (1920) and Marburg (1921) He was appointed to Bonn in 1929 but suspended in 1933 because of his anti-Nazi stance. He began to teach at Heidelberg in 1935, where, initially, his classes were boycotted. He remained at Bonn until 1949, and died at Heidelberg in 1955. Apart from the period of the Second Temple, to which he devoted a series of works, he dealt comprehensively with many subjects in the fields of biblical studies, even with metrics. His work *Geschichte der israelitischen und jüdischen Religion* (1922) is a short critical exposition of the history of the Israelite and Jewish religion. As a literary critic in the mold of J. Wellhausen, Hoelscher utilized the dating of sources in reconstructing the religious history of Israel. He dated Deuteronomy to the sixth century B.C.E. (in ZAW, 40, 1922), and concluded that large parts of the Book of Ezekiel are secondary (*Hesekiel, der Dichter und das Buch*, 1924). He traced the J and E sources of the Pentateuch up to and including the Books of Kings (*Geschichtsschreibung in Israel*, 1952). In a comprehensive exposition of the prophetic figures and traditions (*Die Propheten*, 1914) he located, following W. Wundt, the ecstatic phenomenon within the broader context of the history and psychology of religion.

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[Rudolf Smend / S. David Sperling (2nd ed.)]

HOENIGSBERG (**Kapp**), Bohemian-Austrian family originating from Kuttenplan (Chodova Plana), Bohemia. LOEBEL (Leib, Loew) HOENIG amassed wealth as an army supplier in the War of the Austrian Succession (1740–48) and during the Seven Years' War (1756–63); in 1752 he and his sons leased the Prague tobacco monopoly concession for 10 years. Loebel obtained permission to build a synagogue in Kuttenplan in 1756. His eldest and most talented son, ISRAEL HOENIG (1724–1808), organized a consortium to lease the tobacco monopoly concession of Bohemia, Moravia, Silesia, and Lower and Upper Austria for 10 years (1765–74) for 900,000 florins annually, an immense sum at the time. Since consumers, the treasury, and the empress Maria Theresa were all highly satisfied with his services, he was also offered the tobacco concessions for the crown lands (1770), as well as Galicia and Lodomeria, and awarded the right to travel or settle anywhere in Bohemia and Moravia (1764). Israel generally employed Jews as his subcontractors. In 1774 another 10-year contract was signed (1,600,000 florins) for all Austrian lands. While Maria Theresa spurned repeated proposals that the state should acquire control of Israel's firm, Joseph II eventually transferred the tobacco concession to governmental control (1784), continuing to employ Israel and his brother as directors; Israel thereby became the first Jew to be an Austrian official. On Sept. 2, 1789 he became the first Austrian Jew to be raised to the nobility with a hereditary title; as Israel Hoenig Edler von Hoenigsberg he was permitted to acquire an estate in Lower Austria. Leopold II and Francis I confirmed his possession of this estate after four years of continuous negotiation, since Jews were not allowed to own land in Austria and Israel had refused to enter his estate in the records under the name of a Christian sponsor.

Israel had six sons and one daughter. MAXIMILIAN (1754–1832) was one of the founders of the Vienna Jewish community and its representative for 38 years; another son, ENOCH (1744–1815), was the great-grandfather of Isidor *Bush (Busch). Enoch's son LEOPOLD (Loew) fell under the influence of his father-in-law, Jonas Beer Wehle, leader of the *Frankists in Prague. On Nov. 9, 1800, he complained to the Prague police, accusing the rabbis of religious coercion and requesting protection. His fanatically anti-rabbinic 32-page protest was an open attempt to weaken and break rabbinical and communal authority. The majority of Israel's descendants were converted to Christianity.

Israel's brother and partner, AARON MOSES (1730–1787), had 10 children, six of whom were ennobled as Edler von Hoenigshofen in 1791. After the death of their mother in 1796 all were baptized; this line eventually died out. Another brother, ADAM ALBERT (1745–1811), became Von Hoenigstein in 1784, three years after his baptism (the name was later changed to Henikstein). MARIANNE, Israel's only sister, was grandmother of the poet L.A. *Frankl. SOLIMAN VON HOENIGSBERG (1804–1864) was secretary of the Prague Jewish community at the beginning of the 19th century and in 1848 published a pamphlet titled *Zur Judenfrage*.

The coat of arms of all three lines bore tobacco leaves and golden bees (*Honig* is German for honey). The lines intermarried and maintained business connections.

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[Henry Wasserman]

HOENIGSWALD, RICHARD (1875–1947), German philosopher of Jewish origin. Hoenigswald received doctorates in medicine at Vienna (1902) and philosophy at Halle. In 1919 he was appointed professor of philosophy at Breslau and at Munich in 1930. After the Nazis came to power, he emigrated to the U.S. Hoenigswald belonged to the second generation of the neo-Kantian school. His philosophical development began in a controversy with Alois Riehl, who sought to introduce a realistic strain into Kantian philosophy by attributing existence to the "Ding an sich," in opposition to the Marburg school of Hermann *Cohen. His view is close to that of Cohen: "the given" is a condition of the object itself and, hence, it is impossible to speak about a "Ding an sich" outside of the "I." The "I" and the object exist only in mutual relationship. There is, at the outset, an affinity between the form and the content of thought. Hoenigswald's point of view acquired particular significance in the controversy with "psychologism," which attempted to subsume all philosophy under psychology and to abolish philosophy as an independent discipline. Hoenigswald endeavored to demonstrate the philosophical presuppositions upon which psychology itself rests by seeking to prove that all psychological experience is potentially rationalistic, since all experience is, basically speaking, thought. Hoenigswald made important contributions to the history of philosophy, which he regarded primarily as the history of philosophical problems. His book *Erkenntnistheoretisches zur Schoepfungsgeschichte der Genesis* (1932) attempts to show the specific aspects of the theory of cognition that distinguish the Genesis creation story from other narratives of this kind. His other important works are *Prinzipienfragen der Denkpsychologie* (1913), *Die Skepsis in Philosophie und Wissenschaft* (1914), *Die Grundlagen der Denkpsychologie* (1921; 1925^2), *Die Philosophie von der Renaissance bis Kant* (1923), *Geschichte der Erkenntnistheorie* (1933), and *Philosophie und Sprache* (1937).

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[Samuel Hugo Bergman]

HOENLEIN, MALCOLM (1944–), executive vice chairman of the Conference of Presidents of Major Jewish Organizations. Hoenlein was born in Philadelphia, received his B.A. from Temple University and his M.A. in international relations from the University of Pennsylvania. In 1971 Hoenlein came to New York to become the first head of the Greater New York Conference on Soviet Jewry, an organization established to coordinate all activities in the New York area on behalf of the cause of Soviet Jews. Working with all the New York Jewish organizations, Hoenlein planned and executed numerous protests and rallies throughout the New York area, including the annual "Solidarity Sunday" demonstration. In 1976 Hoenlein became the first executive director of the Jewish Community Relations Council of Greater New York (NYJCRC), which became a powerful coordinating voice for the Jewish community of New York.

Upon the death of Yehuda Hellman in 1986, Hoenlein was asked to become the head of the Presidents' Conference (or the *Conference of Presidents of Major Jewish Organizations, the umbrella body for 52 national Jewish organizations). As executive vice chairman, he developed the organization into the key address and contact for the voice of American Jews. The organization addressed all the major issues of the day, both within the United States, in Israel, and throughout the world from the perspective of how they affected American Jews. Hoenlein met with leaders in the United States and Israel and traveled with the lay chairs of the organization to meet with heads of state, political leaders, and Jewish leaders all around the globe.

For Hoenlein, maintaining consensus within the Presidents' Conference was a challenge which he generally mastered, although he was frequently tested by numerous constituent organizations from the right to the left and from all religious persuasions. Some of the biggest confrontations with which Hoenlein had to contend concerned defining American Jewry's role vis-à-vis the State of Israel and the government of Israel. In particular the Presidents' Conference has had numerous debates as to the extent to which the organization could or should take issue with Israeli government policy. Despite being often perceived by some of the member organizations as being too supportive of rightist Israeli governments and less so of others, no organization or leader has ever argued that Hoenlein's perceived enthusiasm was not based on his clear belief of what was best for Israel and for American Jews. Hoenlein was the recipient of numerous awards and honors from national and international Jewish organizations. Hoenlein was also the first senior professional of any major, national Jewish organization to be a *kippah*-wearing Orthodox Jew. He was a frequent writer and contributor to both the general and the Jewish media.

[Gilbert N. Kahn (2nd ed.)]

HOESCHEL (Joshua) BEN SAUL (d. 1749), German rabbi, named after his grandfather, *Joshua Hoeschel b. Jacob. He was the son-in-law of Naphtali Hirsch Mirels, *dayyan* in Berlin. Hoeschel is not known to have written any works, but was held in high esteem by his contemporaries as a talmudic authority. Among those who expressed regard for him was Solomon b. Aaron, the Karaite author of *Appiryon Asah* (1866). Of historical interest are two letters addressed to him: one from the kabbalist, Benjamin b. Eliezer of Reggio (wrongly assumed by many to have been addressed to Hoeschel b. Joseph of Cracow), and the other from Jekuthiel Gordon of Vilna. He died in Vilna.

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[Samuel Abba Horodezky]

°**HOESS, RUDOLF FRANZ FERDINAND** (1900–1947), Nazi commandant of the *Auschwitz extermination camp. Born in Baden-Baden in southwest Germany, Hoess was an only son, the eldest of three children of a prosperous merchant's clerk and a housewife. In high school he trained for the priesthood, yet his father's death and the outset of war changed these plans. In 1916, he joined the army. Wounded three times, he was twice awarded the Iron Cross. He joined the East Prussian Free Corps (Freikorps) and took part in the suppression of disturbances in Latvia and in quelling workers who were staging a revolt in the Ruhr in 1920. A reunion of the Freikorps in early 1922 introduced him to Adolf Hitler for the first time. Hoess immediately joined the Nazi Party and renounced his affiliation with the Catholic Church. When France and Belgium entered and occupied the Upper Rhine region in January 1923, and extremist German elements responded with terror, Hoess participated in the assassination of Freikorpsman Walter Kadow on the estate of the man who was later to serve as Hitler's secretary, Martin *Bormann. Hoess was captured and sentenced to 10 years in prison. He was released in 1928 as part of the general amnesty. When Hitler came to power, Hoess joined the SS guard battalion at Dachau, serving under Camp Inspector (and future SS-*Gruppenfuehrer*) Theodor Eicke. Hoess's rise was rapid: first sergeant in March 1936, second lieutenant in September 1936, first lieutenant in September 1938, and captain in November 1938.

In 1939, he was named director of the concentration camp at *Sachsenhausen. In 1940, Hoess headed the commission charged to decide how to use the Polish army barracks at Auschwitz. His recommendations prompted Heinrich *Himmler's order on April 27, 1940, that established KL Auschwitz, which was planned to house about 10,000 prisoners. Hoess seized the opportunity to display his organizational talents, and was appointed commandant of the new camp on May 1, 1940. He tackled the tasks at hand with a passion, impressing Himmler with his skills. In March 1941 Himmler instructed Hoess to expand Auschwitz to hold the 30,000 prisoners expected to arrive in the course of the anticipated war with the Soviet Union. In addition, Himmler ordered that a camp for 100,000 prisoners of war be set up in nearby Brzezinka (KL

Auschwitz-Birkenau) and that a labor force of 10,000 prisoners be placed at the disposal of I.G. Farben to construct a chemical works.

When Hitler limited Himmler's grand plans for Auschwitz in 1941, Auschwitz was assigned a special role in the plan to kill European Jews, euphemistically termed the "final solution of the Jewish question." In his autobiography, Hoess maintained that he first learned of the plan, and the designation of Auschwitz as the hub of the Holocaust, in the summer of 1941. Accordingly, he modified his plans for Birkenau, and began implementing installations of mass extermination. An experiment was conducted at Auschwitz on September 3, 1941, using the prussic (hydrocyanic) acid gas known commercially as Zyklon-B. Six hundred Soviet POWs and 250 camp prisoners were gassed in the cellars of Block 11 with Hoess personally viewing the experiment.

During the lethal six months from July to December of 1942, Auschwitz served as a killing center. The killing process and the treasures looted from the victims led to widespread reports of corruption. Seven hundred SS men from various camps were either discharged from active service or put under arrest.

In Auschwitz, an investigation uncovered massive corruption; willful, unauthorized killing of prisoners (authorized killing by gas, hanging, and execution was permissible – indeed rewarded) and a special fund through which monies were funneled for officer-corps banquets. As a result, Hoess was reassigned – kicked upstairs – as chief of Department DI, the Central Office within SS-WVHA, in January 1944, where he coordinated all undertakings within the entire camp system. He controlled the activities of camp commandants and could submit proposals for personnel changes in the camps. Hoess's length of service and loyalty to the Nazi cause was rewarded by a mere mild punishment, which on paper looked like a promotion.

After the planned deportation of several hundred thousand Jews from Hungary to Auschwitz in May 1944, Hoess arranged for his successor at Auschwitz, Arthur Liebenhenschel, to be appointed commandant of the Lublin/Majdanek camp. Hoess then returned to Auschwitz, where he assumed the command of the SS garrison for several months. As such, the commandants of all the Auschwitz camps (KL Auschwitz I, II, and III) answered directly and formally to him. Thus, he presided over the murder of Hungarian Jews.

After the collapse of the Nazi regime, Hoess eluded capture for nine months. He was imprisoned in former army barracks at Heide, and then transferred to the main British center for interrogations of the most wanted war criminals. Surprisingly, Hoess was candid in his testimony, giving precise though passive answers. He corrected figures, when he knew them, and statements that he judged to be untrue.

Hoess neither protected anyone nor evaded his own responsibility. Instead, he viewed his deeds as a technical challenge, a triumph of coping with unprecedented circumstances. In prison after conviction, he wrote his memoirs.

His last words once again acknowledged his responsibility for all that occurred in Auschwitz. He did not appeal for leniency. He only asked for permission to send a farewell letter to his family and to return his wedding ring to his wife. On the morning of April 16, 1947, several dozen yards from his former villa near Crematorium I in the main camp, Rudolf Hoess was hanged.

He left behind a legacy of obedience to the Nazi cause and initiative in the implementation of the final solution. He left behind more than a million people murdered by gas and a memoir, which is remarkable for its detail and its detachment.

His description of the killing process is precise, detailed, ice cold:

> The extermination process in Auschwitz took place as follows: Jews selected for gassing were taken as quietly as possible to the crematories. The men were already separated from the women. In the undressing chamber, prisoners of the *Sonderkommandos, who were specially chosen for this purpose, would tell them in their own language that they were going to be bathed and deloused, and that they must leave their clothing neatly together, and, above all, remember where they put them, so that they would be able to find them again quickly after the delousing. The Sonderkommando had the greatest interest in seeing that the operation proceeded smoothly and quickly. After undressing, the Jews went into the gas chamber, which was furnished with showers and water pipes and gave a realistic impression of a bathhouse.
>
> The women went in first with their children, followed by the men, who were always fewer in number. This part of the operation nearly always went smoothly since the Sonderkommando would always calm those who showed any anxiety or perhaps even had some clue as to their fate. As an additional precaution, the Sonderkommando and an SS soldier always stayed in the chamber until the very last moment.
>
> The door would be screwed shut and the waiting disinfection squads would immediately pour the gas [crystals] into the vents in the ceiling of the gas chamber down an air shaft which went to the floor. This ensured the rapid distribution of the gas. The process could be observed through the peep hole in the door. Those who were standing next to the air shaft were killed immediately. I can state that about one-third died immediately. The remainder staggered about and began to scream and struggle for air. The screaming, however, soon changed to gasping and in a few moments everyone lay still. After twenty minutes at the most no movement could be detected. The time required for the gas to take effect varied according to weather conditions and depended on whether it was damp or dry, cold or warm. It also depended on the quality of the gas, which was never exactly the same, and on the composition of the transports, which might contain a high proportion of healthy Jews, or the old and sick, or children. The victims became unconscious after a few minutes, according to the distance from the air shaft. Those who screamed and those who were old, sick, or weak, or the small children died quicker than those who were healthy or young.
>
> The door was opened a half an hour after the gas was thrown in and the ventilation system was turned on. Work was immediately started to remove the corpses. There was no

noticeable change in the bodies and no sign of convulsions or discoloration. Only after the bodies had been left lying for some time – several hours – did the usual death stains appear where they were laid. Seldom did it occur that they were soiled with feces. There were no signs of wounds of any kind. The faces were not contorted.

The Sonderkommando now set about removing the gold teeth and cutting the hair from the women. After this, the bodies were taken up by an elevator and laid in front of the ovens, which had meanwhile been fired up. Depending on the size of the bodies, up to three corpses could be put in through one oven door at the same time. The time required for cremation also depended on the number of bodies in each retort, but on average it took twenty minutes.

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[Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

°HO FENG-SHAN (1901–1997), Chinese diplomat in World War II; Righteous Among the Nations. In 1938, Ho served as the Chinese consul-general in Vienna. When Austria was annexed to Nazi Germany in March 1938, the 185,000 Jews there were subjected to a severe reign of terror, and for them to leave the country the Nazis required an entry visa or a boat ticket to another country. However, at the *Evian Conference, in April 1938, the nations of the world refused to budge from their restrictive immigration policies. In contrast to other diplomats, Ho Feng-Shan issued visas to China to all who requested it, even to persons who wished to travel elsewhere but needed to show a visa to be able to leave Nazi Germany. Many of those helped by Ho did indeed reach Shanghai, either by boat from Italy or overland via the Soviet Union. Many others availed themselves of the visa to reach other destinations, such as Palestine, Cuba, the Philippines, and elsewhere. Eric Goldstaub, one of the lucky recipients, who reached Canada, stated that he received a Chinese visa in July 1938 for his entire large family after "I spent days, weeks and months visiting one foreign consulate or embassy after the other trying to obtain visas for myself, my parents and our near relatives numbering some 20 people." Lilith-Sylvia Doron, in Israel, related that she met Ho by chance, as both watched Hitler's entry into Vienna on March 10, 1938, which was accompanied by physical attacks against the city's Jews. "Ho, who knew my family, accompanied me home. He claimed that thanks to his diplomatic status they would not dare harm us as long as he remained in our home. Ho continued to visit our home on a permanent basis to protect us from the Nazis." When Lilith's brother Karl was arrested and taken to the Dachau camp, he was released thanks to a visa from the Chinese consulate. The rush for visas assumed panic proportions during and immediately after *Kristallnacht,* in November 1938, when thousands of Jews were thrown into concentration camps and could only be released if their relatives produced visas or tickets for travel to other destinations. Gerda Gottfried Kraus, who reached Canada, testified that after *Kristallnacht,* her husband stood in a long line to be admitted into the Chinese consulate. Seeing a car approaching the Consulate's gates, he thrust his application form through the car's window. "Apparently, the consul-general received it, because [my husband] then got a call and received the visas." Ho refused to abide by the instructions of his superior, the Chinese ambassador in Berlin, Chen Jie, who forbade him to issue visas on such a large scale, estimated to run into the hundreds, perhaps even thousands. Again, it is worth remembering that although visas were not required for entrance to Shanghai, such a document was a prerequisite for Jews wishing to leave Nazi Germany. It is believed that the "demerit" which was entered into Ho's personal file in 1939 at the Chinese Foreign Ministry was linked to his insubordinate behavior on the issue of the visas toward his immediate superior, the ambassador in Berlin. After a long diplomatic career, Ho retired in 1973. It was only after his death that the story of his help to Jews was made public, through evidence submitted by survivors who benefited from Ho's aid. In 2000, Ho Feng-Shan was declared by Yad Vashem one of the Righteous Among the Nations.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Yad Vashem Archives M31–8688.

[Mordecai Paldiel (2nd ed.)]

°HOFER, ANDREAS (1767–1810), leader of the Tyrolean-Vorarlberg insurrection in 1809 against the Bavarian rule established by Napoleon. Hofer's insurrection and subsequent execution (glorified in a popular song) were an important part of the arsenal of German ultranationalism in Austria, whose protagonists carefully overlooked the considerable Jewish involvement in the revolt. Viennese Jewish bankers, particularly the *Arnstein and Eskeles firm, financed the revolt by circulating the *Tiroler Aufstandwechsel* (promissory notes), and the British government's subsidies to the insurrectionists were paid through these banks. One of the leading propagators of the uprising was Fanny von Arnstein, whose salon in Vienna was the headquarters of Hofer's co-insurrectionist, the Catholic priest Speckbacher; there he met the Prussian prime minister Karl August von *Hardenberg and also Jacob Salomon *Bartholdy, who joined the revolt, was wounded in the fighting, and later wrote its history (*Der Krieg der Tyroler Landsleute im Jahre 1809*, 1814). However the insurgents also attacked the Jews; they plundered five Jewish families in Innsbruck in 1809, and though the *Hohenems community had donated a large sum of money to them, ever larger sums were extorted on the threat of a repetition of the Innsbruck action. When Hofer was brought before the French military court, the Mantua lawyer Joachim Bassevi (1777–1868), later the dean of Milan lawyers, was appointed counsel for the defense. In spite of his efforts, Hofer was executed.

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namnem (1951), 114–9; H. Spiel, *Fanny von Arnstein* (1962), index. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** H.G. Sella, *Die Juden Tirols: ihr Leben und Schicksal* (1979).

[Meir Lamed]

HOFF, HANS (1897–1969), Austrian psychiatrist. Born in Vienna Hoff was a student of Julius Wagner-Jauregg and later an associate of Otto Poetrl who was an early practitioner of insulin shock treatment in schizophrenia. Hoff's early medical work was in the field of encephalitis and malaria. He moved into psychiatry with studies of the brain function in vision and brain tumors. He left Austria in 1938, going first to the Royal Medical School in Baghdad and then to the United States. From 1945 to 1947 he worked as a neurologist at Presbyterian Hospital in New York and taught at Columbia University. He returned to the University of Vienna in 1949 where he was appointed to the chair of neurology. In addition he became the director of the Vienna neuropsychiatric hospital. Hoff conducted studies of anti-depressant agents and of insulin and drug therapy for schizophrenia. He disagreed with metaphysical concepts in psychiatry as well as with many Freudian theses. He did not, however, see drugs as a cure for mental illness but as a means of enabling the psychiatrist to communicate with the patient. In 1958–59 Hoff was the president of the World Federation for Mental Health. His address to its annual meeting in 1958, "Home and Identity," was concerned with refugees, the threat to their identity, and its restoration. He drew on his own experiences as a refugee. His major works were published after World War II. They include *Psychotherapy* (1949); *Organic Basis of Psychoses* (1950); *Die Zeit und ihre Neurose* (1956); *Psychosomatics* (1959); and *Manual of Treatment of Neurology and Psychiatry* (1966).

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[Louis Miller]

HOFFER, WILLI (1897–1967), Austrian psychiatrist. Born in Vienna, Hoffer participated in a private seminar with Freud and became a member of the Vienna Psychoanalytic Society. In 1938 he moved to London. He edited the International Journal of Psycho-Analysis for seven years and was a director of the Sigmund Freud archives and a consultant to the Hampstead children's clinic directed by Anna *Freud from its inception in 1952. At his death he was the president of the British Psychoanalytic Society. Hoffer's writings deal mainly with children, dating from his first paper on the latency periods following on the resolution of the oedipal phase, and its disturbances. He was concerned especially with the earliest development of the ego and the differentiation of self from non-self in the infant through the mouth-hand relation, as in "Mouth, hand and ego-integration" (in R.S. Eissler et al. (eds.), *The Psychoanalytic Study of the Child*, 3–4 (1949), 49–56). Other papers of his appeared in the same collection.

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[Louis Miller]

HOFFER, YEḤIEL (1906–1972), Yiddish writer. Born in Warsaw and trained as a physician, Hoffer first wrote poetry in Polish. After spending the war in Russia and three years in Paris, where he published a volume of Yiddish poems, he immigrated to Israel in 1951. Several of his novels and short story collections, *A Hoyf oyf Pokorne* ("A Court in Pokorne," 2 vols., 1959, Heb. 1968), *A Hoyf oyf Muranov* ("A Court in Muranov," 2 vols., 1962, Heb. 1977), *Reb Zalman* (1960), *Amol* ("Once," 1963), *Reb Tankhum* (1966, Heb. 1968), vividly depict Jewish Warsaw, especially the ḥasidic courts. He also published a novel about life in a Soviet camp (1969, Heb. 1972). His literary essays were collected in *Mit Yenem un mit Zikh* ("With the Others and with Myself," 2 vols., 1964, 1976), and his poetry in a bilingual Yiddish-Hebrew posthumous volume (1976).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: D. Sadan, *Avnei Miftan*, 2 (1970), 247–64; I. Yonasovitsh, in: *Di Goldene Keyt*, 82 (1974), 150–60; B. Kagan, Leksikon (1986), 210–2.

HOFFMAN, CHARLES ISAIAH (1864–1945), U.S. lawyer, Conservative rabbi, and journalist. Hoffman was born in Philadelphia. While a practicing lawyer, Hoffman was the first editor and publisher of the *Jewish Exponent*, one of the earliest and most important Anglo-Jewish weeklies, which represented a traditional religious view. He also worked with the Association for Jewish Immigrants and the Baron de Hirsch Fund, which helped settle new immigrants in agricultural colonies in New Jersey. After 15 years of law practice, Hoffman studied for the rabbinate and was ordained at the Jewish Theological Seminary in 1904. After a short period in Indianapolis, he became rabbi of Ohev Shalom Synagogue in Newark, a position he held for over 40 years. Hoffman was one of the founders of the Rabbinical Assembly and the United Synagogue, which he served as secretary for 25 years. He was a disciple and close friend of Solomon Schechter and helped edit some of his writings. His son ISIDORE B. HOFFMAN (1898–1981), a graduate of the Jewish Theological Seminary, served from 1934 as counselor to Jewish students at Columbia University.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: M.D. Hoffman, in: AJHSQ, 55 (1965/66), 212–34.

[Jack Reimer]

HOFFMAN, DUSTIN (1937–), U.S. actor. Born in Los Angeles, California, his role in *The Graduate* (1967), his first motion picture performance, was considered the year's most significant screen debut. Hoffman was nominated for a Best Actor Academy Award for *The Graduate,* as well as for subsequent films *Midnight Cowboy* (1969), *Lenny* (as Lenny Bruce, 1974), *Tootsie* (1982), and *Wag the Dog* (1997). Hoffman won Best Actor Oscars, as well as Golden Globe Awards, for his performances in *Kramer vs. Kramer* (1979) and *Rain Man* (1988). His other films include *Little Big Man* (1970), *Straw Dogs* (1971), *Papillon* (1973), *All the President's Men* (as Carl Bernstein, 1976), *Marathon Man* (1976), *Straight Time* (1978), *Agatha* (1979), *Ishtar* (1987), *Family Business* (1989), *Billy Bathgate* (as Dutch Schultz, 1991), *Hook* (1991), *Hero* (1992), *Out-*

break (1995), *Sphere* (1998), *Moonlight Mile* (2002), *Finding Neverland* (2004), *I Heart Huckabees* (2004), *Meet the Fockers* (2004), and *The Lost City* (as Meyer Lansky, 2005).

Among his many other awards and nominations, Hoffman won an Emmy and a Golden Globe Award for Best Lead Actor for his portrayal of Willy Loman in the 1985 TV movie *Death of a Salesman*. In 1997 he won the Golden Globe's Cecil B. DeMille Award for his outstanding contribution to the entertainment field.

Hoffman was entered into *The Guinness Book of World Records* under the heading "Greatest Age Span Portrayed by a Movie Actor" for his role in *Little Big Man,* where he played the character Jack Crabb from age 17 to age 121.

Also successful on the Broadway stage, Hoffman performed in such plays as *The Subject Was Roses* (1964), *Jimmy Shine* (1969), *Death of a Salesman* (1984), and *The Merchant of Venice* (as Shylock, 1990), for which he was nominated for a Tony Award for Best Actor.

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[Jonathan Licht / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

HOFFMAN, JACOB (1881–1956). German Orthodox rabbi. Born in Papa, Hungary, Hoffman studied in the Pressburg (Bratislava) Yeshivah and at the University of Vienna, where he received his doctorate in 1919. After serving in the Montefiore Synagogue in Vienna (1906–8) and in Kostelets (Moravia) (1908–12), he was appointed in 1912 chief rabbi of Radauti and district, in Bukovina, where he remained until 1922. In 1923 Hoffman was appointed chief rabbi of Frankfurt on the Main, succeeding R. Nehemiah *Nobel. There he founded a unique yeshivah which combined rabbinic and secular studies and attracted students from all over Germany and beyond. On Hitler's rise to power he was appointed as the sole Orthodox member of the Reichsvertretung der Juden in Deutschland. In 1937 he was imprisoned by the Nazis and subsequently expelled from Germany. He emigrated to the U.S., where he was appointed rabbi of the Ohab Zedek Congregation, New York, remaining there until he resigned in 1953. In 1954 he settled in Israel, where he died.

While still a student, Hoffman was a delegate to the founding World Conference of the Mizrachi held in 1904, and was prominently connected with the movement all his life. He published two manuscripts by a disciple of Naḥmanides consisting of commentaries on the tractates *Ta'anit* (1951) and *Beẓah* (1956).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: J. Hoffman, *Perush Talmid ha-Ramban le-Massekhet Beẓah* (1956), Foreword.

HOFFMAN, JEFFREY (1944–), U.S. astronaut. Born in Brooklyn, New York, Hoffman received his B.A. from Amherst College in 1966, a Ph.D. in astrophysics from Harvard University in 1971, and a master's degree in materials science from Rice University in 1988. He worked at the Center for Space Research at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT) as project scientist in charge of an orbiting hard X-ray and gamma ray experiment (1975–78).

Selected by NASA in 1978, Hoffman became an astronaut in 1979. He participated in five space missions – on the space shuttles *Discovery* (1985); the *Columbia* (1990); the *Atlantis* (1992); the *Endeavor* (1993); and again on the *Columbia*, on a 16-day mission (1996). On his first mission he made a four-hour space walk in an attempt to rescue a malfunctioning communications satellite; on the fourth mission he repaired the faulty Hubble Space Telescope; on his final mission, Hoffman became the first astronaut to log 1,000 hours aboard the space shuttle. With the completion of his fifth space flight, Hoffman had logged more than 1,211 hours and 21.5 million miles in space. Among his many honors, Hoffman was awarded the NASA Distinguished Service Medal in 1994 and 1997.

A dedicated Jew, Hoffman took into space a Scroll of the Law (a mezuzah) and a silver Torah pointer. On his fourth flight, he celebrated Hanukkah in orbit with a menorah and a dreidel.

He left the astronaut program in 1997 to become NASA's European representative in Paris, where he served until 2001. He then began to teach at MIT, where he became a professor in the Department of Aeronautics and Astronautics, teaching courses on space operations and design. He also engaged in several research projects using the International Space Station.

Hoffman was a member of the International Academy of Astronautics, the International Astronomical Union, and the American Institute of Aeronautics and Astronautics, and co-director of the Massachusetts Space Grant Alliance.

In 1985, on his first space flight, Hoffman kept a personal audio diary on a tape recorder. It became a book titled *Astronaut's Journal* (1986).

[Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

HOFFMAN, JULIUS JENNINGS (1895–1983), U.S. federal district court judge. Hoffman was born in Chicago, Illinois. He attended Northwestern University, earning a Ph.B. in 1912 and a J.D. in 1915, when he was admitted to the Illinois bar. Hoffman worked as associate and partner at law firms and as a general counsel for the Brunswick Company. In 1947, Hoffman was elected judge of the Superior Court of Cook County. In 1953, President Dwight D. Eisenhower nominated him to the U.S. District Court for the Northern District of Illinois in Chicago. He served in this court until his death in 1983.

During his long career as a trial judge, he presided over many important cases, including the suit to compel the desegregation of the public schools of Chicago and the deportation suit against Frank Walus, a Polish American in Chicago, falsely accused of being a Gestapo collaborator known as the "Butcher of Kielce."

Hoffman's reputation for wit and urbanity suffered greatly in the case for which he is best remembered, the Chicago Seven Trial, in which several radicals were accused of conspiring to incite confrontations between the police and approximately 10,000 protestors against the Vietnam War, which occurred during the Democratic National Convention in Chicago in August 1968.

Mayor Richard J. Daley was determined not to allow war protesters to mar his efforts to showcase his city at the time of the convention. Daley's administration banned demonstrators from sleeping in Grant Park, near the site of the convention, and ordered the Chicago Police to enforce a curfew. Each night during the convention the police entered the park and used tear gas on the demonstrators who ignored the curfew.

Eventually seven political activists were indicted under the Anti-Riot Act: Rennie Davis, David Dellinger, John Froines, Tom Hayden, Abbie Hoffman, Jerry Rubin, and Lee Weiner.

All the actors in the courtroom drama insured that the political tensions of the era spilled over into the courtroom, but the "Battle of the Hoffmans" (Julius and Abbie) was the most prominent of these clashes. Abbie promised that the trial was "going to be a combination Scopes trial, revolution in the streets, Woodstock Festival and People's Park, all rolled into one." For his part, Judge Hoffman frequently manifested his distaste for the defendants and their attorneys. Hoffman refused to allow many defense witnesses to testify (singers, artists, and activists).

Although the jury acquitted two of the defendants, Judge Hoffman sentenced all seven to five years in prison and a fine of $5,000 each. Judge Hoffman also held all of the seven defendants and both of their attorneys in contempt of court and imposed criminal sanctions for disrespectful behavior, but these sanctions were overturned.

On November 21, 1972, all of the conspiracy convictions were also overturned because the court was found to have refused to allow sufficient scrutiny of the bias of potential jurors, committed several procedural errors, and manifested a "deprecatory and often antagonistic attitude toward the defense." Ironically, Judge Hoffman's judicial demeanor demonstrated the kernel of truth in Abbie Hoffman's view that the terms "legal and illegal" are "political, and often arbitrary, categories."

Hoffman continued to preside over cases until his death from natural causes in 1983.

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[Edward McGlynn Gaffney, Jr. (2nd ed.)]

HOFFMAN, LAWRENCE A. (1942–), scholar. Born in Kitchener, Ontario, Canada, Hoffman became a leading scholar, teacher, and spokesperson for the North American Reform Movement, with influence extending well beyond the movement. He received his B.A. from the University of Toronto in 1964. He was ordained by Hebrew Union College in 1969. He completed his Ph.D. there in 1973, before he joined the faculty of Hebrew Union College in New York, eventually being named the first Barbara and Stephen Friedman Professor of Liturgy, Worship and Ritual. From 1984 to 1987, he also directed the college's School of Sacred Music.

For 30 years, Hoffman combined research, classroom teaching, and a passion for the spiritual renewal of North American Judaism. He wrote or edited 26 books, including *The Canonization of the Synagogue Service* (1979), the classic account of how the *siddur* and *maḥzor* came into being. His pioneer work applying ritual studies to prayer (*Beyond the Text* (1987)) was hailed as a paradigm shift for Christians and for Jews. Rather than study liturgy as text, he directed attention to the ritualization of that text as acted out in "the sacred drama" of worship. *Covenant of Blood: Circumcision and Gender in Rabbinic Judaism* (1995) combines a history of circumcision and an account of its symbolic meaning through the ages. As an early leader in spiritual worship renewal, he wrote *The Art of Public Prayer: Not for Clergy Only* (revised ed. 1999). Hoffman's non-technical writings include *The Journey Home* (2003), a study in Jewish spirituality derived from Jewish texts; *The Way into Jewish Prayer* (2000), and a revised version of *What Is a Jew?* (1993), probably the most widely read introduction to Judaism. His ongoing series, *My People's Prayer Book* (nine volumes published since 1997) provides liturgical commentary by modern scholars across the gamut of Jewish thought and practice. His articles, both popular and scholarly, have appeared in eight languages and on four continents, and include contributions to such encyclopedias and journals as *The Macmillan Encyclopedia of Religion*, *The Oxford Dictionary of Religion*, *The Oxford Handbook of Jewish Studies*, *The Encyclopedia of Judaism*, *Worship*, *Studio Liturgica*, and *The Fordham Law Review*. He syndicates a regular column commenting on *parashat ha-shavu'a*.

He is the first Jewish member and past-president of the North American Academy of Liturgy, the professional and academic organization for liturgists, and a recipient of their prestigious Berakhah Award for lifetime achievement in his field. Hoffman emerged as a leader in synagogue transformation by co-founding Synagogue 2000 (now 3000): a Transdenominational Institute for the Synagogue of the 21st Century. A beloved mentor and teacher, Hoffman is widely credited with influencing two generations of synagogue leadership to transform synagogues into "sacred communities" and "moral and spiritual centers for the new century."

[Ronald Wolfson (2nd ed.)]

HOFFMAN, PHILIP E. (1908–1993), U.S. attorney, business executive, and Jewish leader. Hoffman was born in New York and graduated from Yale Law School in 1932, where he was a member of the editorial board of the *Yale Law Review.* During World War II he served as assistant general counsel of the War Production Board in Washington, D.C. (1942–45). Subsequently he was appointed hearing commissioner of the National Production Authority (1950–52) and chairman of the Jewelry Industrial Coordination Commission (1954–57). Hoffman was a partner in the law firm of Hoffman and Tuck and chairman of the diversified U.S. Realty and Investment Co. in Newark, New Jersey.

He began his career in Jewish affairs by serving as the youngest chairman of the United Jewish Appeal in Essex County, N.J. He became president of the Essex County Chapter of the American Jewish Committee, and then chairman of the Executive Board, Board of Governors, and Domestic Affairs Committee, and in 1968 was elected president. In this capacity, he traveled extensively to the countries of Eastern Europe, Western Europe, and the Middle East, including numerous trips to Israel. In 1964 he met with Pope Paul VI to discuss Jewish-Catholic relations, and in 1966 he met with Catholic scholars in Europe to discuss the removal of prejudiced references to Jews from religious textbooks. In 1972 President Nixon appointed Hoffman to the post of U.S. representative to the Commission on Human Rights of the United Nations. He was the recipient of numerous human relations awards.

[Julian J. Landau]

HOFFMANN, CAMILL (1878–1944), Czech poet, anthologist, and translator who wrote in German. A member of *Hofmannsthal's circle, Hoffmann wrote neo-Romantic and impressionistic verse and was considered an important lyric poet. In 1902 he collaborated with Stefan *Zweig in the translation and publication of an anthology of Baudelaire's works entitled *Gedichte in Vers und Prosa*, and he also published translations of Balzac and Charles-Louis Philippe. Hoffmann's first original collection of verse, *Adagio stiller Abende* (1902), was followed by *Die Vase* (1911) and *Glocken meiner Heimat* (1936). He was literary editor of the Viennese periodical *Die Zeit* and of the *Dresdner Neueste Nachrichten*. In 1912 he published a comprehensive anthology of Austrian poetry entitled *Deutsche Lyrik aus Oesterreich seit Grillparzer*. Hoffmann was a close friend of the Czechoslovak president, Thomas Masaryk, whose writings he translated into German. From 1920 until 1938 he was counselor at the Czech embassy in Berlin and head of its press bureau. Hoffmann was deported from Czechoslovakia by the Nazi regime and died in Auschwitz.

[Harry Zohn]

HOFFMANN, DAVID ẒEVI (1843–1921), rabbi and biblical and talmudic scholar. Hoffmann was born in Verbo (Slovakia) and studied at Hungarian yeshivot, as well as at the *Hildesheimer Seminary in Eisenstadt. He later studied in the universities of Vienna, Berlin, and Tuebingen. In 1873, when Hildesheimer established his Rabbinical Seminary in Berlin, he invited Hoffman to lecture on the Talmud and the *posekim*, and later also on the Pentateuch. After Hildesheimer's death in 1899, Hoffmann was appointed rector of the Seminary. He was member and later chairman of the *bet din* of the Adass Yisroel congregation in Berlin. Toward the end of his life he was regarded as the supreme halakhic authority of German Orthodox Jewry and was inundated by questions in *halakhah* from most of the German rabbis. In 1918, on his 75th birthday, he was awarded the title professor by the German government. Hoffmann was reserved by nature, but nevertheless he taught publicly and voiced his opinion on public matters. He was a member of the executive of Agudat Israel, but at the same time spoke on behalf of Zionism, although fearing the reaction of extremists he hesitated to publish his opinions.

His responsa, collected in the three volumes of *Melammed le-Ho'il*, are distinguished by a concern with contemporary conditions, and a tendency to leniency, wherever possible, in matters of *halakhah*, though he was a violent opponent of reform. Hoffman always based his lenient stance on firm halakhic ground, using such concepts as an emergency situation (*sha'at ha-deḥak*), potential financial loss, custom, and the prevention of a desecration of God's name. However, he knew how to be strict as well, prohibiting smoking in the synagogue and maintaining the Torah prohibition against a kohen having physical contact with a corpse. His responsa reflect the challenges of Jewish life in the late 19th century. Hoffmann dealt with such issues as being hospitalized in a non-Jewish hospital where only non-kosher food is served; taking prescription medicine that contains blood; and taking an oath before a gentile court with an uncovered head. Faced with the choice between maintaining the strict Halakhah or keeping Jews within the fold, Hoffmann chose the latter course of action.

In several of his works as, for example, in his apologetic book on the Shulḥan Arukh, he directed a polemic against antisemites – non-Jews and apostates – who criticized halakhic law. His biblical investigations, too, were directed against biblical criticism. These writings, which occupied him for many years, were viewed by Hoffmann as "a holy undertaking… an obligatory battle to answer decisively these new critics who come as oppressors to violate the holy Torah." In his work opposing Wellhausen, Hoffmann rejected the theories of "sources," but he did not formulate an original method of biblical investigation, relying on the basic assumption of "Torah from heaven." In his commentaries to Leviticus and Deuteronomy he relied on rabbinic homiletical and exegetical interpretations for an understanding of these books, as well as offering his own innovative ideas, often based on comparisons between biblical Hebrew and other Semitic languages. While his approach to biblical investigation was essentially the result of the conditions of his time and place, they have stood the test of time and are still studied.

On the other hand, Hoffmann advocated talmudic criticism as long as it does not negate the *halakhah*, and this aroused the anger of several rabbis, among them S.R. *Hirsch. Hoffman was the first among German Orthodox Jews who investigated and interpreted the Talmud by means of a critical method in German. Most of his talmudic studies, written in German, deal with tannaitic literature. In his investigation of the *Mishnah he concluded that there existed a "First

Mishnah," which was edited before the destruction of the Second Temple, and on which later *tannaim* were divided in their opinions. In his investigation of halakhic Midrashim, which is his most important work, he established the relation of different anonymous *beraitot* in halakhic Midrashim to two different schools, and formulated a system of dividing all halakhic Midrashim into two types: those originating in the school of R. Ishmael and those of the school of R. Akiva. He thus explained the differences in various Midrashim in terminology, in the names of *tannaim* mentioned, and in methods of interpretation. Though some later scholars strongly questioned his conclusions (see Ch. *Albeck), it is to Hoffmann's credit that he was the first to discuss the problem in all its manifestations, that he recognized the existence of the division of Midrashim and described the evidence of this division, and that he laid the foundation for further research on the tannaitic Midrashim. Hoffmann even attempted – especially by way of selections from the *Midrash ha-Gadol* – to reconstruct halakhic Midrashim which had been lost (**Mekhilta de-R. Simeon b. Yoḥai* and *Midrash Tanna'im*). It was proven, however, from manuscripts discovered later, that his method was not always sufficiently scientifically based. In 1876–93 Hoffmann edited, together with A. *Berliner, the *Magazin fuer die Wissenschaft des Judentums*, and in 1884–95 he edited the monthly *Israelitische Monatsschrift*. Hoffmann's area of interest and knowledge was comprehensive and also included Semitic and classical philology and even mathematics. He was a prolific and diligent scholar. In addition to his great works he wrote hundreds of articles which made a significant contribution to the development of the philological research into the Talmud. A Festschrift was published in his honor on the occasion of his 70th birthday, which opens with a bibliography of his writings compiled by L. Fischer (*Festschrift zum… Hoffmann's*, 1914).

Despite his greatness, Hoffmann was humble and modest. His outstanding qualities were manifest both in the scientific world and public life, and in his private life. Those who knew him considered him as one of the spiritual heirs and successors of the *Ḥasidei Ashkenaz.

His major books are *Mar Samuel* (1873); *Die erste Mischna und die Controversen der Tannaim* (1882, 1913^2; Heb. *Ha-Mishnah ha-Rishonah u-Felugta de-Tanna'ei*, 1914); *Der Schulchan-Aruch und die Rabbinen ueber das Verhaeltniss der Juden zu Andersglaeubigen* (1885, expanded 1895^2); *Zur Einleitung in die halachischen Midraschim* (1887; Heb. *Le-Ḥeker Midreshei ha-Tanna'im*, 1928); *Die Mischna-Ordnung Nisikin uebersetzt und erklaert mit Einleitung* (1893–97, 1899^2); *Die wichtigsten Instanzen gegen die Graf-Wellhausensche Hypothese* (2 vols., 1903/1916); *Die Mechilta des R. Simon b. Jochai* (1905); *Das Buch Leviticus uebersetzt und erklaert* (2 vols., 1905/06); *Midrash Tannaim zum Deuteronomium* (2 vols., 1900/09); *Midrasch ha-gadol zum Buche Exodus* (2 vols., up to "Jethro," 1914/21); *Das Buch Deuteronomium uebersetzt und erklaert* (2 vols., 1913/22; *Melammed Leho'il* (responsa, 3 vols., 1926–32).

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[Moshe David Herr / David Derovan (2nd ed.)]

HOFFMANN, JACOB (1891–1943), *Revisionist leader. Born in Yelizavetgrad (now Kirovograd), Russia, Hoffmann was the Zionist disciple of V. *Tiomkin, who resided in that city. He studied medicine at the universities of Berne and Dorpat. In his student days he was active in the student organization, *He-Ḥaver. He served as a medical officer in the Czarist army in World War I and was one of the few Jews to be awarded a military distinction. In 1920 Hoffmann settled in Riga, Latvia, where in 1923 he was instrumental in founding the Zionist students' association, Ḥashmonai, the union of Zionist activists (1923), which in fact became the first branch of the Revisionist movement; and the first group of *Betar (Berit Trumpeldor). He worked on behalf of the *Jewish National Fund in Latvia and was one of the founders of *Dos Folk*, a Yiddish newspaper, and of the Ha-Ko'aḥ sports organization. At Vladimir *Jabotinsky's invitation, he moved to Paris and headed the organizational department of the Revisionist movement. In 1934 he settled in Palestine.

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[Getzel Kressel]

HOFFMANN, ROALD (1937–), chemist, Nobel Prize winner. Born in Zolochev, Poland, Hoffmann immigrated to the United States in 1949. After receiving a bachelor's degree from Columbia University in 1958, he attended Harvard University, where he was awarded an M.A. in 1960 and a doctorate in chemical physics in 1962. He has been associated with Cornell University since 1965: associate professor 1965–1968, professor of chemistry from 1968, and Frank H.T. Rhodes Professor of Humane Letters from 1996. He is the recipient of many awards, among them the American Chemical Society's Pure Chemistry Award for fundamental research in pure chemistry in 1969, the Arthur C. Cope Award for outstanding achievements in organic chemistry in 1973, and the Pauling Award in 1974. He was awarded the Nobel Prize in chemistry in 1981. His research focused on molecular orbital calculations of electronic structures of molecules and theoretical studies of transition states of organic and inorganic reactions. Hoffmann is a member of the U.S. National Academy of Sciences and numerous other societies. He also writes poetry (four published collections), plays, and essays (including *Old Wine,* *New Flasks: Reflections on Science and Jewish Tradition*, with Shira Leibowitz–Schmidt).

HOFFMANN, YOEL (1937–), Hebrew novelist. Hoffmann was born in Hungary and came to Ereẓ Israel when he was a year old. He studied Japanese and philosophy, spent two years in a Buddhist monastery, and earned his doctorate in Japan. A professor of Japanese and Far Eastern philosophy at Haifa University, Hoffmann published *The Idea of Self: East and West: A Comparison between Buddhist Philosophy and the Philosophy of David Hume* (1980). Hoffmann also translated and edited collections of Japanese poetry and haiku, including *The Sound of the One Hand* (1975; German: 1978), *Radical Zen* (1978), *Japanese Death Dreams* (1986; German: 2000), *Rein in Samsara* (333 Zen-stories which appeared in German, 2002). Hoffmann began to write fiction in his late forties and in 1988 published his first Hebrew book: *Sefer Yosef* (*Katschen and the Book of Joseph*, 1998) with four prose texts. One of them is the novella "*Keẓkhen*," which tells of a boy who following the early death of his mother is brought up by family members and later fails to integrate among kibbutz children. At the end of his voyage, Keẓkhen decides to follow his German-speaking father, who is considered to be mentally ill. This choice marks metaphorically the boy's rejection of the ubiquitous conventions and the notion of a monolithic Israeli identity in favor of his own genuine individuality and his inner world.

While in the early prose texts a certain plot-line and development can be discerned, the later texts display Hoffmann's idiosyncratic narrative techniques and unique style. The reader is confronted with a perplexing, untraditional, enigmatic prose: "novels" which are comprised of short texts, unpaginated though numbered prose miniatures in Hebrew that are interlaced with writing in various European languages, mainly German. Hoffmann creates a linguistic polyphony, unprecedented and bizarre, a mirror to a world of immigrants who came to Israel and yet are closely tied to their European roots. Typically, *Bernhart* (1989; English, 1989) depicts the world of German-Jews (yeckes) in Israel, torn between European reminiscences and sights and Israeli reality, between major historical events and the private experiences of daily life. Anecdotes and recollections, observations and deliberations, at times humorous, at times melancholy or earnest make up a prose texture that poses a challenge to readers. Hoffmann, no doubt one of the most original and exciting contemporary Hebrew writers, albeit still the preserve of insiders and cognoscenti, has also published the following books: *Kristus shel Dagim* (1991; *The Christ of Fish*, 1999); *Guttapershah* (1993), the story of two yeckes, Hugo and Franz, and a baby, real or imaginary, hanging between them; *Ma Shelomekh, Dolores?* (1995), a narrative tableau of an ordinary day in the life of a woman living in Ramat Gan; *Ha-Lev Hu Katmandu* (2000; *The Heart is Katmandu,* 2001); *Efraim* (2003), tracing the separation of a woman and a man who falls in love with another woman in Haifa; and *Ha-Shunra ve-ha-Schmetterling* (2003; *The Shunra and the Schmetterling*, 2004), in which Hoffmann recollects moments, smells, sounds and characters from his childhood in Ramat Gan.

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[Anat Feinberg (2nd ed.)]

HOFMANN, ISAAC LOEW (1759–1849), Austrian financier; leader of the Vienna Jewish community. Orphaned at the age of 13, he studied Talmud in Prague and then was employed as tutor and bookkeeper in the house of J.B. Koenigswart (*Koenigswarter). Subsequently he married his employer's granddaughter and became manager of the business on its transfer to Vienna in 1788. In 1798 Hofmann established the manufacture of silk in Austria, thereby freeing the country from her dependence on Italian imports; for this purpose he was permitted to acquire an estate in Lower Austria. He also was instrumental in the development of a potash industry. In 1830 he unsuccessfully petitioned Francis I for a title, but under Ferdinand I, in 1835, he was knighted as Edler von Hofmannsthal. His coat of arms depicted a silkworm, a mulberry leaf, a poorbox, and the decalogue. Hofmann was very active in the Vienna Jewish community (from 1806). He was especially concerned with charitable institutions and the school system. He was one of the founders of the Vienna Temple, and deeply opposed extreme Reform tendencies within the community. On the Vienna board of deputies, Hofmann represented the conservative viewpoint and was influenced by Mordecai *Banet. He opposed I.N. *Mannheimer's reforms, and invited the Orthodox rabbi Lazar *Horowitz to Vienna. Hofmann's son Augustus, the father of the Austrian poet, Hugo von *Hofmannsthal, became a convert to Roman Catholicism.

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HOFMANNSTHAL, HUGO VON (1874–1929), Austrian poet and playwright; one of the outstanding exponents of Viennese impressionism and symbolism. He was a great-grandson of Isaac Loew *Hofmann but his grandfather and father both converted to Roman Catholicism. While the poet never denied his Jewish ancestry and in his early years even reflected on the meaning of being "Jewish" – as unpublished documents prove – the preoccupation with Judaism hardly entered his oeuvre. Hence there are only a few vague hints of it in his verse, such as the lines: "I cannot rid my eyelids of the weariness of forgotten races" ("Ganz vergessener Voelker Muedigkeit kann ich nicht abtun von meinen Lidern"). Hofmannsthal matured early and was still a schoolboy when he became the protégé of Arthur *Schnitzler, who introduced him to Theodor *Herzl as a promising writer for the newspaper *Neue Freie Presse*. Melancholy and solitary by nature, and revolted by the decadence of Viennese society, Hofmannsthal turned for solace to the great writers of the past, and many of his most important works are adaptations of Greek, English, and Spanish dramas. One of the most successful was *Jedermann* (1911), a modern version of the medieval English mystery play *Everyman*, commissioned by Max Reinhardt for the Salzburg Festival. Several of his plays were turned into operas by Richard Strauss, notably *Elektra* (1909) and *Der Rosenkavalier* (1911). *Der Turm* (1925–7), a tragedy inspired by one of Grillparzer's plays, introduces a Jewish character, Simon, who speaks in a typical Yiddish dialect.

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[Sol Liptzin / Philipp Theisohn (2nd ed.)]

HOFSTADTER, RICHARD (1916–1970), U.S. historian. Hofstadter was born in Buffalo, New York. After teaching at the University of Maryland he joined the faculty of Columbia University in 1946 and was named professor in 1952. His *American Political Tradition and the Men Who Made It* (1948) synthesized the critical views of classic figures, rejecting Theodore Roosevelt, for example, as paranoid. *The Age of Reform from Bryan to FDR* (1955), which won a Pulitzer Prize, saw reformers as looking back to an archaic Jeffersonian ideal unsuited to modern needs. *Anti-Intellectualism in American Life* (1963) also won several awards. *The Paranoid Style in American Politics* (1965) emphasized right-wing failings. Hofstadter was a coauthor of *The Development and Scope of Higher Education in the United States* (1953), and *The Development of Academic Freedom in the United States* (1955).

[Louis Filler]

HOFSTADTER, ROBERT (1915–1990), U.S. physicist and Nobel Prize winner. Born in New York, Hofstadter earned his master's and doctorate degrees at Princeton; he also taught there and at City College, New York, where he had taken his B.S. degree. During World War II he worked as a physicist for the National Bureau of Standards, where he helped develop the proximity fuse device, an anti-aircraft weapon that detonated a shell when it detected objects approaching on the radar. In 1950 Hofstadter moved to Stanford University, California, where he was to remain until his retirement in 1985, at which time he held the position of Max H. Stein Professor Emeritus of Physics. He headed the High Energy Physics Laboratory at Stanford from 1967 to 1974.

Hofstadter was awarded a Nobel Prize in physics in 1961, together with Rudolph Moessbauer, for his investigation of the structure of atomic nuclei and nucleons and for his work on introducing order into the multiplicity of subatomic particles. He used the atom smasher at Stanford University to study how high-energy electrons were scattered by atomic nuclei. From this he obtained an insight into the structure of the nucleus. He deduced the possible existence of two powerful sub-particles – the rho-meson and the omega-meson, which were subsequently detected.

Hofstadter received the Townsend Harris medal from City College in 1961, while Brandeis University created the Robert Hofstadter Physics Library in his honor in 1968. He also enjoyed many honorary degrees and fellowships and was governor of the Israel Institute of Technology and the Weizmann Institute of Science. He wrote or edited many scientific papers and books. After his retirement, he remained active in scientific research, helping construct a gamma ray observatory and conducting research into techniques for exploring heart functions using radioactive substances as an alternative to intrusive devices such as catheters.

[Maurice Goldsmith / Rohan Saxena (2nd ed.)]

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HOFSTEIN, DAVID (1889–1952), Yiddish poet. Born in the Ukraine, he had a traditional Jewish education and began to write in Yiddish, Hebrew, Russian, and Ukrainian. However, after the 1917 Revolution he wrote only in Yiddish, contributing to various publications. He was coeditor of the Moscow journal *Shtrom*, the last organ of free Jewish expression in Russia. The Communist Revolution of 1917 aroused Hofstein's enthusiasm. The poems in which he acclaimed the achievements of the Revolution established his popularity as one of the Kiev triumvirate of Yiddish poets, along with Leib *Kvitko and Perez *Markish. His elegies for Jewish communities devastated by counterrevolutionary pogromists appeared in 1922, with illustrations by Marc Chagall. Exercising his newfound freedom, in 1924 he protested the banning of Hebrew and the persecution of Hebrew writers, but discovered that his protest made him suspect. He therefore left Russia, immigrating first to Germany and from there in 1925 to Palestine. In Palestine he wrote both in Hebrew and Yiddish. In 1924–25 he published in Yiddish the dramatic poem "Sha'ul – Der Letster Meylekh fun Yisroel" ("Shaul – the Last King of Israel") and an expressionistic drama *Meshiekhs Tsaytn* ("Messianic Times"). He returned to Kiev in 1926, where he soon found himself compelled to follow the Communist Party line faithfully, to praise Soviet achievements, and to describe Birobidzhan as the Promised Land where Jewish genius would flourish. His works there evidence the conflict between his sorrow over the disintegration of Jewish society and his pride in the salvation offered by the Soviet regime. When, in 1948, Israel came into existence with the support of the U.S.S.R., Hofstein hailed the new state with genuine enthusiasm; but, with the change in the Soviet attitude toward Israel, he was arrested and transported to Moscow, where the secret police fabricated the "conspiracy of the Jewish *Anti-Fascist Committee." He was shot on August 12, 1952, together with other leaders of the committee, including his fellow writers Dovid *Bergelson, Perez *Markish, Leib *Kvitko, and Itsik *Fefer. After the death of Stalin, Hofstein was rehabilitated as a victim of Stalinist repression. His selected works, which had appeared shortly before his arrest in 1948, reappeared in a Russian translation in 1958.

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[Sol Liptzin / Gennady Estraikh (2nd ed.)]

HOGA, STANISLAV (1791–1860), Hebrew translator. Born in Kazimierz (near Lublin) and educated in a ḥasidic home, Hoga served as an interpreter to Napoleon's army stationed in Poland and subsequently became a mediator on behalf of the Jews with the authorities. In 1817, he moved to Warsaw where he became the secretary of the "Jewish Committee" of the Warsaw Municipality. The post enabled him to convey valuable information in this capacity to the Warsaw Jewish leaders concerning edicts which were to be issued. In 1825, he converted to Christianity but continued to aid the Jews, and in a comprehensive essay, written in Polish, he refuted antisemitic claims. In 1833, he disappeared from Warsaw, later appeared in London where he worked as a missionary, and in 1839 translated into Hebrew A. MacCaul's conversionist missionary work *Netivot Olam* (1910^6) followed by other works such as Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress* (2 vols., 1844). He also translated Christian prayers, other proselytizing literature, and was one of the editors of a Hebrew edition of the New Testament (1838) and published an English grammar in the Hebrew language (1840). In 1845, he returned to Judaism and published a number of articles on Jewish values and ethics. In his last years he patented a number of inventions, but nevertheless died in penury.

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[Getzel Kressel]

ḤOGLAH (Heb. חָגְלָה), moshav in central Israel, in the Ḥefer Plain, affiliated with Tenu'at ha-Moshavim, founded in 1933 by experienced agricultural workers. Citriculture, dairy cattle, poultry, flowers, subtropical orchards, and plant nurseries constituted the moshav's main farming branches. In 1969, its population numbered 189, rising to 280 in 2002. Recently the moshav became a partner in a joint venture with Kibbutz Ein Ha-Ḥoresh and *Mekorot to sell water from private wells to the Israeli Water Authority. The name Ḥoglah refers to the Ḥefer Plain, the biblical Hoglah being the granddaughter of Hepher (Num. 26:33; Josh. 17:3).

[Efraim Orni]

HOHENAU, town in N.W. Lower Austria, near the Czechoslovak border. Documents dating from 1620 make the first mention of Jews in Hohenau and the existence of a synagogue was recorded in 1638. Between 1652 and 1666 six Jewish families lived in the town. With the expulsion of the Jews from Vienna in 1670, the Hohenau community also ceased to exist. It was reestablished after 1861, and a cemetery was consecrated in 1879. With the establishment of a sugar refinery the whole town prospered; the Jewish founder later served as mayor. When the cemetery was desecrated in 1933, the Catholic priest took his congregation to hold a service there. In 1934, 70 Jews lived in Hohenau; they were forced to move to Vienna in 1938 because of the town's proximity to the border, and 26 members of the community later died in Nazi extermination camps. Only one Jew returned to Hohenau after World War II.

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[M.La.]

HOHENEMS, town in Vorarlberg, Austria. In 1617 a ducal charter of privileges put a dozen Jewish families who had fled to Hohenems from Burgau on an equal footing with the Christian burghers in most respects. As tax, they were obliged to pay 10 gulden and two well-fed geese annually. By the middle of the 17th century the community had increased to around 30 families. Temporary expulsion (1676–88), increased taxation, and restrictive legislation characterized the late 17th and early 18th century. Eight years after Hohenems had passed to Austrian rule (1765), there were 227 Jews (10% of the total population) living in 24 houses, concentrated in one street, constituting a separate municipal body. A government edict promising protection for the Jews was issued in 1769. Under Bavarian rule (1805–14) the community was ordered to incorporate with the township (1813). The order was renewed by *Francis I (1817) but never enforced. Until 1848 there was frequent strife between the Jewish community and the township over the question of taxation. Since they were prohibited from doing business in Vorarlberg province, Hohenems Jews became successful merchants in Switzerland and Italy. During the period from 1849 to 1878 the Jewish community was reconstituted as a municipality with its own mayor.

Under Rabbi J.L. Ullmann, a *ḥevra kaddisha* was founded (1760), and a synagogue opened (1772). Because of his attempt to introduce reforms, R. Abraham *Kohn (1833–44) was forced to leave Hohenems for Lemberg. The community possessed its own elementary school (1784), *mikveh*, and slaughter house, and boasted of 22 charitable and cultural foundations. In the middle of the 19th century many Hohenems Jews emigrated to the U.S. By 1860 the community had diminished by half. After the constitution of 1867 allowed Jews to settle freely in Austria, the community declined rapidly in number, from 455 in 1866 and 221 in 1869 to 165 in 1878. By 1939 only 10 Jews remained in Hohenems. The synagogue was severely damaged in 1938, and in 1940 the remaining Jews were deported to Vienna. The cemetery, consecrated in 1617, was cared for by the St. Gallen community after World War II. After the war, Stefan *Zweig was buried beside his mother in the local cemetery after committing suicide near Rio de Janeiro in 1942. Among Hohenems’ more prominent citizens was Solomon *Sulzer, the Vienna *ḥazzan*.

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HOHENZOLLERN, former Prussian province in S. Germany. The history of the Jews of Hohenzollern is largely the history of the three main communities: Hechingen, Haigerloch, and Dettensee. The former two were autonomous bodies with separate mayors and officials up to 1871 and 1837 respectively, when emancipation was granted.

Hechingen

There was a small Jewish settlement in Hechingen in the early 16th century, and a house was bought for use as a synagogue by the community of 10 families in 1546. In 1592 the burghers refused to conduct any commercial or financial transactions with Jews, who therefore left the town. There is no trace of Jewish settlement in the town during the next century. In 1701 Prince Frederick William I gave letters of protection lasting 10 years to six Jewish families in the neighboring villages; soon there were Jews living in the city as well. By 1737 there were 30 households, and a synagogue was built in 1761 which existed until 1870. From the end of the 18th century, the *Kaulla family of court financiers helped to improve the condition of the Jews. In 1803 they erected a *bet midrash* which remained in existence until 1850. Hechingen had 809 Jews (one-quarter of the total population) in 1842; the number declined to 331 in 1885 and 101 in 1931. The community was prosperous and owned most of the local industries. On the night of Nov. 9, 1938, the synagogue was demolished; 32 Jews from Hechingen were deported and murdered during World War II.

Dettensee

In 1720 the first Jews were admitted into Dettensee. The 23 Jewish families, mainly livestock dealers, were compelled in 1764 to live in only three buildings which housed the synagogue and schoolroom as well. In 1800 they were forced by the townspeople to quarter horses even though none of them owned stables. Repeated protests and requests for some amelioration of living conditions were of no avail. The number of families was restricted; younger sons had no option but to leave. Eleven out of 23 families lived on charity in 1807. However, a synagogue was opened in 1820 and a cemetery consecrated in 1830. At that time there were 173 Jews in the village; by 1890 the number had declined to 100 largely through emigration, and in 1932 only two were left.

Haigerloch

Jews lived at Haigerloch in early medieval times but in 1348 they were all burned during the *Black Death persecutions. Only in the latter half of the 16th century were a number of Jews readmitted to the town. Repeated protests by the burghers against Jewish moneylenders, peddlers, and beggars induced Duke Joseph to restrict the number of tolerated Jewish families in 1745 and to prohibit them from marrying in 1749; the latter order was subsequently rescinded. In 1752 the whole community escaped at night when forced to be present at Christian services. Only those prepared to attend church four times a year were allowed to remain. Twenty Jewish families lived in a special quarter, the “Haag,” in 1780. The community numbered 323 in 1844 and 213 in 1933, and conducted an active religious and cultural life. They played a significant role in the industrial and commercial development of the city. On Nov. 10, 1938, the synagogue, school, and communal center were demolished; windows were smashed in shops and homes, and the men arrested and interned in *Dachau. Exactly a year later, Haigerloch Jews were again arrested. During the war Jews from Wuerttemberg were transferred to Haigerloch and at least 192 were deported.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: P. Sauer, *Die juedischen Gemeinden in Wuerttemberg und Hohenzollern* (1966).

°**HOLBACH, PAUL HENRI DIETRICH, BARON D’** (1723–1789), French philosopher, encyclopedist, and publicist, of German origin. He was the most radical critic of Jews and Judaism among the French rationalists and encyclopedists of his generation. As a disciple of the English *Deists, who condemned revealed religion, d’Holbach criticized Judaism as being the most particularist of all religions. According to him the Christian religion had wielded a most destructive influence over mankind for 1,800 years. His attack on Judaism as a faith and as a human society was based on the view that, beside being the corrupt origin of the Christian religion, it was also a corrupted faith and sect in itself. D’Holbach dealt with Judaism in a number of his works, two of which are devoted to this subject (see below). Others are interspersed with references to them.

According to d'Holbach, Moses was the worst and most harmful of the religious legislators. He established and consolidated the rule of the priests, and imposed many trivial precepts on the Jews with the sole objective of erecting a barrier between them and the rest of mankind. Moses indoctrinated the Jews with hatred of mankind, parasitism, and exploitation. The God of the Jews is the prototype of a fearful, cruel, and avenging god. From the fate of the seven Canaanite nations, d'Holbach infers that the God of the Jews is a bloodthirsty deity who justifies the Jewish proclivity toward genocide. The Patriarchs are described by d'Holbach as sensual men who do not honor their promises; and the Prophets as the principal initiators and propagators of religious fanaticism in the world. Religious persecution is based on the doctrines of the Prophets of Israel and the abolition of the influence of these doctrines will encourage religious tolerance. D'Holbach pays special attention to the messianic belief held by the Jews, which he regards as the principal cause of their hatred of other peoples. D'Holbach considered this belief to border on insanity because "how can logical people hope for an empire and at one and the same time the end of the world?" At times, however, d'Holbach and his colleagues adopted an inverted strategy, and attacked the arguments of the rabbis in order to disprove the supposed biblical prophecies on the advent of Jesus. His writings, and the names under which they were written, include *Tableaux des Saints: Part 1, Les Saints du Judaïsme ou de l'Ancient Testament* (1770); "J.B. de Mirabaud," *Opinions des Anciens sur les Juifs* (1769); "A. Collins," *L'Esprit du Judaïsme, ou Examen raisonné de la loi de Moïse, et de son influence sur la religion chrétienne* (1770); "M. Boulanger," *Le Christianisme dévoilé* (1756, 1766^2), and "M. Boulanger," *L'Antiquité dévoilée par ses usages* (1766).

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[Baruch Mevorah]

HOLBROOKE, RICHARD (1941–), U.S. ambassador to the United Nations and State Department official. Holbrooke was born in New York City. His parents were German-Jewish refugees who had immigrated to the United States. A graduate of Brown University (1962), he entered the Foreign Service. He served in Vietnam for three years; returning to the United States, he was assigned to the White House staff, where he served until 1967. He then returned to the State Department where he was a staff member at the Paris Peace Talks and then went on to head the Peace Corps in Africa (1970–72).

When he left the Foreign Service, he became a permanent member of the foreign policy establishment in the United States. From 1972 to 1977 he was managing editor of the influential American journal *Foreign Affairs* and was simultaneously director of publications for the Carnegie Endowment for Peace. With the Democrats back in power, he returned to government to serve as assistant secretary of state for East Asian and Pacific affairs. After the Carter administration, Holbrooke went into investment banking; he was a managing director at Lehman Brothers.

In 1993, he was named by President Clinton as United States ambassador to Germany during the post-unification period and when the capital of Germany was moving from Bonn to Berlin. He returned to Washington to serve as assistant secretary of state for European and Canadian affairs, a position from which he could apply pressure from within the State Department on American policy toward Bosnia. He tried his hand at shuttle diplomacy, Kissinger style, and pushed for bombing. The Pentagon was reluctant to commit American troops and to demonstrate American military power. He was asked by President Clinton to conduct the Dayton Accords, negotiating an end to the slaughter in Bosnia. He kept the delegates in Dayton, Ohio, in less than opulent conditions at an Air Force base and pressured them, alternating between brutal frankness and flattery, never deceiving himself as to the character of those with whom he was negotiating, including Slobodon Milosevic. A reviewer of his book wrote: "He can be vain, pompous and ridiculous, but he managed to carry off, almost by sheer force of personality, an accomplishment that eluded governments, world leaders and multilateral organizations for four years. He ended the war in Bosnia."

Frustrated and passed over for secretary of state (the position went to Madeline Albright), he again left government service. In 1997 he was named special envoy to Cyprus where he tried to settle the dispute between Greece and Turkey. He was recalled to government service when President Clinton nominated Holbrooke as U.S. ambassador to the United Nations. He served the remainder of Clinton's terms until 2001 and was active in the Gore campaign for president; his name was raised in both 2000 and 2004 as a potential secretary of state in a Democratic administration. He is married to Kati Marton, a Hungarian-born writer.

[Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

HOLDHEIM, SAMUEL (1806–1860), leader of *Reform Judaism in Germany. Born in Kempno near Poznan, Holdheim received a talmudic education, but began to study German and secular subjects after marrying a woman with a modern education, daughter of a Poznan rabbi. The marriage was unsuccessful and after his divorce he moved to Prague where he began to study philosophy at the university. In 1836 Holdheim was appointed rabbi in Frankfurt on the Oder. He preached in German, and in his sermons advocated educational reform which would adjust the younger generation to innovations in tradition. In 1840 he was appointed rabbi of the province of *Mecklenburg–Schwerin where he began to introduce slight reforms in the service, such as reading the Torah without cantillation. He was also instrumental in founding a modern religious school in 1841. In 1843 he published *Ueber die Autonomie der Rabbinen und das Prinzip der juedischen Ehe* in which he expressed the principles of his reform ideology. At the rabbinical conferences (*synods) in Brunswick (1844), Frankfurt on the Main (1845), and Breslau (1846), Holdheim emerged as a representative of the extremist trend in the Reform movement. In 1847 he was asked to serve as rabbi of the new Reform congregation founded in Berlin where he officiated until his death. In Berlin he introduced radical reforms in the ritual. Services were conducted on both Saturdays and Sundays and after a while on Sundays only. After his death, his opponents, headed by M.J. *Sachs, unsuccessfully contested his burial in the part of the cemetery reserved for rabbis. His eulogy was delivered by Abraham *Geiger.

Holdheim's principal thesis was the separation of the religious and ethical content of Judaism (which should be binding) from the political-national content (which should not be binding), since Jews are citizens of the countries in which they are living. The Sabbath, for instance, is included in the religious category, while the prohibition on mixed marriages is of a political-national nature, and hence no longer binding. However, Holdheim fails to make a clear distinction between the two areas in his writings; in any case he was also ready to compromise in the religious sphere if the need arose in the country in which the Jews were to be integrated. Holdheim argued that just as during the period of the Temple the performance of sacrifices in the Temple took precedence over observance of the Sabbath, so in modern times the civic duties of clerks, teachers, physicians, and lawyers also take precedence. He publicly defended the right of uncircumcised children to be considered as proper Jews (*Uber die Beschneidung*, 1844). In *Ma'amar ha-Ishut al Tekhunat ha-Rabbanim ve-ha-Kara'im* (1861), a historical work written in Hebrew and published posthumously, Holdheim attempts, inter alia, to refute Geiger's opinion on the nature of the controversy between the Pharisees and the Sadducees and defends the traditional thesis that the principle in dispute was whether interpretation of the Scripture should be based on the primary meaning (Sadducees) as opposed to midrashic exegesis (Pharisees).

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[Jacob S. Levinger]

HOLDHEIM, THEODORE (1923–1985), Israeli composer. He immigrated to Israel in 1933 following the Nazi takeover. He joined the socialist youth movement Hashomer Hatza'ir, and from 1943 he was a member of kibbutz Beit Alpha in the Valley of Jezre'el. He studied piano with Buch and composition under I. *Edel, Sh. *Rosowsky, H. *Jacobi, and A.U. *Boskovitch. In 1952–54 he studied composition in Juilliard and then pursued a degree in physics and chemistry at the Hebrew University. He devoted himself to training music and science teachers at the School of Education of the Hebrew University. His deep communal involvement inspired him to contribute functional music for kibbutz festivities, such as incidental music, choruses, and arrangements. He also directed the kibbutz choir and instrumental ensembles.

Holdheim was ideologically opposed to avant-garde music and insisted on writing communicative and easily accessible music. His style was based on meticulous development of tiny motifs into large formal structures, under the influence of Bach, Brahms, Debussy, and Hindemith, into which he infused traditional Jewish and folk Israeli motifs. In 1978 he won the Libersohn Prize. His works include the opera *Continua*, and chamber and piano works.

[Jehoash Hirshberg (2nd ed.)]

HOLESOV (Czech **Holešov**; Ger. **Holleschau**), town in Moravia, Czech Republic. A Jew was mentioned in the town in 1391. A community was founded in the first half of the 16th century; its only relic is the breastplate of a Torah scroll of 1549, as the synagogue and all archives were destroyed in a fire. The synagogue was rebuilt in 1560. There were 50 Jewish houses in Holesov in 1629, and the oldest known tombstone dates from 1647. At the Holesov synod of 1653 the 311 **takkanot* of Moravian Jewry were emended. The community was at its height under the leadership of R. *Shabbetai b. Meir ha-Cohen (1662–68). In connection with Maria Theresa's plan to expel the Jews from Moravia (1742), the synagogue and its silver were seized and the notables arrested. Persecution, the Familiants Law and anti-Jewish measures forced many a Holesov Jew to seek new homes, and a good number of them settled in Upper Hungary (Slovakia of today). Among other places of settlement, they founded in 1720 the congregation of *Liptovsky Mikulas. For 10 years they continued to belong to the mother town, and used to go there for the High Holidays. In 1774, when a Christian maidservant was found murdered in a Jewish house, the Catholic clergy saved the household from the mob by surrounding the building with altars. There were 194 Jewish families (1,032 persons) living in 49 houses in Holesov in 1794, as against 554 Christian families (2,973 persons) dwelling in 256 houses. In the 19th century Holesov was one of Moravia's **politische Gemeinden*, the local lord serving as the mayor. In 1869 the community numbered 1,764 and in 1893 a new synagogue was built. As a result of antisemitic riots in 1899 many Jewish families left the town. During disturbances on Dec. 4, 1918, all but three Jewish shops were plundered and two Jews were killed. From 1,200 Jewish inhabitants in 1914, the community declined to 273 (4% of the total population) in 1930. Under the Nazi occupation, 200 Jewish families were deported from Holesov to extermination camps. The synagogue appurtenances were transferred to the Central Jewish Museum in Prague.

After World War II a small community was reestablished, affiliated to the *Kyjov community. The Jewish quarter was restored, including the cemetery and the old synagogue, which from 1964 housed a museum of Moravian Jewry, a branch of the Jewish State Museum in Prague. Community records, *ḥevra kaddisha* statutes, and other documents covering the years from 1653 to 1914 were preserved in the National Library in Jerusalem and in the Bodleian Library in Oxford. Johanan b. Isaac, rabbi of the Hambro Synagogue of the London Ashkenazi community at the beginning of the 18th century, was a native of Holesov, as was Gerson *Wolf, the historian.

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[Meir Lamed / Yeshayahu Jelinek (2nd ed.)]

HOLINESS CODE, the name designating the collection of laws in Leviticus 17–26, which – according to the classical documentary hypothesis – constitutes a particular division within the so-called Priestly Source (P). One of the characteristics of the Holiness Code is the demand that Israel be holy and thereby imitate the Lord their God. Some dozen times and in several different formulations it contains the call: "You shall be holy for I the Lord your God am holy" (likewise: "Sanctify yourselves and be holy," or "You shall be holy to me, for I am the Lord who sanctifies you," and the like). The idea that it is obligatory for Israel to consecrate itself to God is found also in a few other places in the Pentateuch (Ex. 19:6; 22:30; Deut. 14:2, 21), but the above-mentioned call, in its typical form, occurs only in this collection, distinguishing it from the other parts of the Pentateuch. Therefore, A. Klosterman who first observed the singularity of this code, as well as its relation to Ezekiel, in 1877, gave it the epithet *Heiligkeitsgesetz* (Holiness Code) and the symbol H was assigned to it.

Characteristic Features

The singularity of H is discernible also in its structure and style. Except for the fact that it does not have a special heading, its structure is parallel to that of the *Book of the Covenant (Ex. 20:21–23:33) and the collection of laws of *Deuteronomy (Deut. 12–28). Like these two codes, H opens with a discussion of the proper place for making sacrifices and the legitimate form of eating meat (Lev. 17), and ends with admonitions and warnings to Israel to observe the laws contained therein (Lev. 26:3–45). The conclusion of H (Lev. 26:46) is similar to that of the Deuteronomic code (Deut. 28:69). This conclusion is repeated with minor variations in Leviticus 27:34, and it appears indeed that Leviticus 27 is a kind of appendix to the Holiness Code. The style of H is generally close to that of P, though it has certain features of its own. The style of the book of Ezekiel is close to that of P and of H, but its connection with H is much stronger than to the other parts of P. Ezekiel often enumerates a number of laws in the same order as the lists of H and the similarities in Ezekiel to the admonitions at the end of H are numerous. Characteristic of H are several phrases that do not occur, or occur only rarely, in the other parts of P, and which appear again, some of them rarely, others often, in the prophecies of Ezekiel. An example of such a phrase is: "I am the Lord," a typical conclusion to the presentation of a law, or a list of laws, which appears sometimes in conjunction with a few words before ("For holy am I the Lord") or after it ("Your God" "Who sanctifies you," "Who sanctifies them," and the like). Similarly, the following expressions are common in H: *ʾish ʾish* "whatsoever man there be" (sometimes with the added words "from the House of Israel"), an introductory formula to a law of warning; *ve-natatti panai ba* (*we-natatti panai ba*-), "And I shall set my face against so-and-so"; *ve-hikhratti oto mi-kerev ammo* (*we-hikhratti ʾoto mi-qerev ʿammo*), "And I shall cut him off from the midst of his people" (but in P's style always: *ve-nikhrat me-ammav (we-nikhrat me-ʿammaw*), "And he shall be cut off from his people"); *ḥukkotai u-mishpatai* (*ḥuqqotai u-mishpatai*), "My statutes and ordinances"; *ve-yareta me-Elohekha* (*we-yareʾta me-ʾElohekha*). "And you shall fear your God"; *demehem bam*, "Their blood will be upon them." Similarly, the code is characterized by the use of the following idioms: *ʿamit*, "neighbor," "fellow-man"; *sheʾer* meaning a relative; *shabbetotai*, "my sabbaths" (in the plural declined in the first person); *leḥem Elohav* (*leḥem ʾElohaw*) "the bread of his God," as an epithet for sacrifice, and others. All the laws of H concern everyday affairs of the Israelite community and individual. In this respect, H serves as a collection of the civil, "secular" laws of P, and its content is different from the rest of the sections of the source, which all concern the cultic ceremonies themselves and problems of ritual impurity. There are also cultic laws in H, but they are presented mainly from the point of view of the life of the citizen. The text is not interested in them so much from a ritualistic point of view as from the point of view of the daily needs of the Israelites: how they will eat meat and where they will bring their sacrifices (Lev. 17); how long they may eat the meat of the peace offering after they have offered the sacrifice (19:5–8); which animals they will pick for the sacrifice (22:17–30); and the like. Even the laws concerning the priests are dealt with in H from the point of view of the everyday life of the priest as "citizen": how he should behave in his mourning and from which women he may choose a wife (21:1–15); no one with a blemish may serve as priest (21:16–24); how he should consume the holy gifts given him by the Children of Israel (22:1–13); and the like. Moreover, even the matters of the oil for the lighting of the Temple (24:1–4) and the showbread (24:5–9) are referred to in H only because Israel is obliged always to supply oil and fine flour in order to fulfill these two ritual activities in the sanctuary, as is hinted in the text (24:2: "Command the Children of Israel that they bring unto you…" and 24:8: "From the Children of Israel…"). Since H contains the civil or secular legislation within P there are in it several points of similarity to the Book of the Covenant; at any rate, of all parts of P it is the closest in its content and character to the Book of the Covenant. In H, as in the Book of the Covenant, there are many short apodictic laws (given without reasons), as well as casuistic laws. There are in the two collections a number of parallel laws, such as the *lex talionis* (Ex. 21:23–25; Lev. 24:19–20). In addition, in H the conditions of life in the land of Canaan are reflected, whereas in P the matters are discussed against the background of the camp in the wilderness. In a number of sections of H the agricultural mode of life is explicitly mentioned and the importance of husbandry as an expression of religious life is emphasized (this quality is also representative of the appendix, Lev. 27). Again, H is the only part of the P source in which the threat that Israel would be uprooted from its land is found (Lev. 18:28; 20:22; 26:32; 41). Such a threat appears in the Pentateuch again only in the warning of Deuteronomy (Deut. 28:36–37, 63–68).

Priestly Editing

Before turning to more recent views (see below) it is useful to outline what had been generally accepted. The character of the material embedded in H is composite in part, because in its present form it is found in a priestly garb. While scholars are divided in distinguishing the exact extent of the priestly element in these chapters, the great majority agree about the existence of this element in H in its present form. Signs of the priestly pen are discernible in chapter 17. There are those who claim that such signs are also discernible in chapters 21–22 and 25. Obvious signs of the priestly source are recognizable in chapters 23–24. Moreover, in the latter chapters the relation between the basic elements has changed so that passages that originally belonged to H have been incorporated into P pericopes (likewise, signs of P stand out clearly in the appended chapter, 27). Consequently, it would seem that H has not been preserved in its original form, for the priestly scribes who incorporated it into P made certain changes in it. In several portions the priestly scribes apparently made only minor changes, whereas in others they went so far as to set down portions of their own in which they incorporated only fragments from H. Nevertheless, the priestly scribes preserved the general pattern of H and did not change much in its original order, for, despite the priestly editing and the fragmentation of the body of the code in several places, it still remains a unified collection of laws, whose structure resembles the structures of the other law codes in the Pentateuch. In contrast, traces of the special style of H are found in several places in P outside Lev. 17–26. Such traces are recognizable in the pericope dealing with the impurity of animals (Lev. 11; see verses 43–45), the passage dealing with fringes (Num. 15:37–41), and one of the passages dealing with the Sabbath (Ex. 31:12–17). Some scholars assert that these pericopes and passages, in whole or in part, primarily belonged to H and were subsequently removed from it (Kuenen, Dillmann, Baentsch, Eissfeldt, et al.). It should be noted that these passages deal with civil matters and pertain to the everyday activities of the Israelite, as do the commandments collected within the Holiness Code.

Content

The Holiness Code is divided into sections, each of which is devoted to a specific subject, or to several subjects, and constitutes in itself a literary-rhetorical unit. Every section is divided into internal paragraphs and generally opens with an introductory formula and ends with a concluding formula. It appears that originally each of these sections constituted an individual tablet or tiny scroll and the general composition was made by joining together a series of such tablets. Such a mode of literary consolidation is characteristic of P in general and was probably also used in the original composition of H. The Holiness Code in its priestly edition contains the following sections:

1. Laws concerning sacrifices and the legitimate form of eating meat (chapter 17). This section is divided into the following paragraphs: Introduction (17:1–2); the prohibition of non-sacrificial slaughter (17:3–7); the obligation to offer every sacrifice only at the Tent of Meeting (17:8–9); the prohibition of eating blood and the obligation to sprinkle it on the altar (17:10–12); the obligation to pour out the blood of game animals and birds and cover it with dust (17:13–14); the prohibition of eating animals that died a natural death or were torn apart by beasts (17:15–16).

2. A series of prohibitions concerning sexual intercourse and sexual abominations (chapter 18), between which the prohibition of sacrificing children to Moloch (18:21) is inserted. The series of prohibitions is set between a rhetorical introduction (18:1–5) and a conclusion (18:24–30).

3. A collection of ethical and ritual laws (chapter 19) opening with an introductory section (19:1–2). The laws are arranged in groups and many of them have parallels in the Ten Commandments, the Book of the Covenant, and Deuteronomy. Most of the groups close with the expressions "I am the Lord," "I am the Lord your God." The words: "Who brought you out of the land of Egypt" (19:36) appear at the conclusion of the whole collection, followed by an additional warning (19:37).

4. A list of prohibitions concerning sexual intercourse and sexual abominations (chapter 20), parallel to chapter 18. This series is also set between an introductory (20:1–8) and concluding formula (20:22–26). In this section, however, the prohibition of sacrificing to Moloch is part of the introduction (20:2–5). In addition, there are in this section prohibitions concerning mediums and wizards – both in the body of the introduction (20:6) and in one verse (27), which apparently became separated from the principal series and emerged at the end of the chapter. The conclusions of the two chapters (18 and 20) are also similar in content and theme.

5. Laws concerning priests and sacrifices (chapters 21–22), which include: listings of those relatives for whom the priest is allowed to defile himself, prohibitions concerning mourning and enumeration of the types of women whom the priest is forbidden to marry (21:1–15); a law forbidding a blemished priest from officiating (21:16–24); laws concerning the eating of sacrifices of minor grade (22:1–16); a law forbidding the bringing of blemished animals for sacrifices (22:17–25); additional laws concerning sacrifices (22:26–30); conclusion (22:31–33).

6. A list of the days of the year that are to be made holy convocations (chapter 23). While enumerating these days the text explains how one is to observe them; however, it is interested principally in listing the days themselves. (In this respect, this section is different from another section in P (Num. 28–29) whose main interest is the listing of sacrifices to be of-

fered on the days that are holy convocations.) The Sabbath is enumerated at the beginning of the list, but the scribe meant to list especially those days that do not recur in the same year, and, therefore, he repeated the introductory formula (23:4) after mentioning the Sabbath (23:3). These are the days: the first and seventh of the Feast of Unleavened Bread, the Feast of Weeks, the first and tenth of the seventh month, the first of the Feast of Tabernacles and the Eighth Day of Assembly – altogether, seven days of holy convocation in the year, besides the Sabbath. In connection with the account of the Feast of Unleavened Bread, the priestly scribe includes a passage from the original H (23:9–22) that deals with the waving of the sheaf (*'Omer*), the Feast of Weeks, and the counting of the 49 days in order to establish the date of the holiday.

7. A priestly section (chapter 24) dealing with three matters: The oil for the lighting of the Temple (24:1–4), the showbread (24:5–9); and a story, accompanied by a legal conclusion, of a man in the camp who cursed the Name (24:10–23). The group of laws that are incorporated into this story (24:16–22) was probably taken by the priestly scribe from H (note the ending there, verse 22: "For I am the Lord your God").

8. Laws concerning the sabbatical year and jubilee and matters connected with them (chapter 25), consisting of the following sections: The sabbath of the land (25:1–7); the jubilee year (25:8–17); laws concerning warnings to be fastidious in the observance of these two laws (25:18–24); laws concerning the system of calculating the price of land in order to redeem it before the jubilee (25:25–28); laws of redemption and jubilee for houses (25:29–34); laws prohibiting the charging of interest (25:35–38); laws concerning the freeing of Israelite slaves in the jubilee (25:39–46); and the obligation to try to redeem them even before the jubilee (25:47–55).

9. Two small groups of laws similar to those found in chapter 19 (26:1–2), which have close parallels to the beginning of that chapter (19:3–4; see also 19:30). This section seems to be a fragment from some scroll or the beginning of a collection of laws similar to chapter 19.

10. Admonitions and warnings that serve as a conclusion to the collection of laws (26:3–46). These are divided into promises of blessing (verses 3–13) and a series of threats (verses 14–46).

Date of Composition

There are a few indications that the writing of H was not original, and that several literary compilations of legal material preceded it and were incorporated into it. One indication of this is the two parallel chapters 18 and 20, which are related to each other in content, theme, and even in structure. If it is assumed that both of them were composed by the same scribe, there is the problem of why the scribe would deal with the same material twice. It would be much simpler to assume that these are separate compilations of common legal material and that the writer of H used both of them in his code. This thesis is further confirmed in that several laws appear in H more than once, an indication that they were included in different scrolls e.g., 19:30 and 26:2; 19:31 and 20:6. However, this legal material did not necessarily originate even in those literary compilations which preceded H. Sometimes these literary compilations were preceded by oral traditions, by means of which legal materials were transmitted from an early period. There are then two aspects to the problem of the dating of H: its date as a specially individualized collection of laws (or the time of the earlier literary compositions that were incorporated into it) and the time of the origin of the legal material itself. The legal material is not equally ancient, but, like the rest of the pentateuchal law codes, it has very early elements, some of which go back even to remote periods.

Most scholars maintain that H definitely preceded P. In this view it was the priestly scribes who arranged H as it now appears in the Pentateuch and absorbed it into their larger composition. More recently, Knohl has argued that H represents a late level of Priestly material attributable to a Holiness School (HS), which was responsible for the final recension of the earlier Priestly material, to which he refers as Priestly Torah (PT). In PT the festivals were not related to agriculture and were severed from their historical contexts. Nor were the rituals designed with human welfare in mind. The Sabbath in PT was marginal and its prohibition on labor unmentioned. It was HS which added the human dimension and raised the status of the Sabbath. In addition, Knohl maintains that the work of HS extends considerably beyond Leviticus 17–26. Indeed, Knohl argues that HS is responsible for the final editing of the Torah, including the addition of Deuteronomy. According to him, the work of HS began in the eighth century B.C.E. and extended into the post-Exilic period.

While some of Knohl's dating of both PT and HS can be challenged as too early, certainly a hint of the beginnings of the activity of HS can be found in the law forbidding the sacrificing of children to Moloch (18:21; 20:1–5). This ritual spread in Israel in the days of Ahaz (II Kings 16:3; cf. Isa. 30:33) and Manasseh (II Kings 21:6). Josiah, however, desecrated the Topheth in the valley of Ben-Hinnom, where people passed their children through fire (II Kings 23:10). Consequently, the earliest work of HS appears to have preceded Josiah. Another hint of the ultimate origins of H can be found in the prohibition of the medium and the wizard (Lev. 19:31; 20:6, 27). These existed in Israel during the monarchy (I Sam. 28:3, 7–25), became widespread in the days of Ahaz (cf. Isa. 8:19; 19:3; 29:4) and Manasseh (II Kings 21:6), and were finally uprooted in Josiah's reforms (II Kings 23:24). One may claim that these prohibitions provide evidence only for the dating of the specific scrolls from which they were taken (chaps. 18 and 20), i.e., those same literary compositions that preceded H. Nevertheless, it seems that the kernel of HS and, consequently, of the Holiness Code also preceded the destruction of the first Temple.

See also *Ezekiel, *Leviticus, and *Pentateuch.

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[Menahem Haran / S. David Sperling (2nd ed.)]

HOLITSCHER, ARTHUR (1869–1941), German novelist and essayist. Born in Budapest, Holitscher worked as a bank clerk for six years, before fleeing to Paris in 1895, where his literary career took off. After the publication of his symbolist novel *Weisse Liebe, ein Roman aus dem Quartier* in the same year, Holitscher was engaged by Albert Langen as an editor for the satirical weekly magazine *Simplicissimus* and moved to Munich and eventually Berlin, where he made his home in 1910. While his dramatic ambitions were frustrated – his play *Der Golem* (1908), in which he reworked the famous legend of the miracle-worker R. *Judah Loew b. Bezalel of Prague, turned out to be a failure – the genre that finally earned him his reputation was the travelogue, beginning with his greatest success *Amerika – heute und morgen* (1910), which had considerable influence not least of all on Franz *Kafka. Further voyages led Holitscher several times to early Soviet Russia and twice to Palestine. His account *Reise durch das juedische Palaestina* (1922) is an important record of early Zionist achievements and reveals the author's admiration for the kibbutz system. Throughout all his works, Holitscher kept a focus on the correlation between cultural, economical, and social conditions, taking the standpoint of a revolutionary socialist. After Hitler's takeover, he left Berlin and settled in Geneva, where he died in October 1941. Accounts of his life are to be found in his autobiographical works *Lebensgeschichte eines Rebellen* (1924) and *Mein Leben in dieser Zeit* (1928).

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[Rudolf Kayser / Philipp Theisohn (2nd ed.)]

HOLLAENDER, German family of Leobschuetz, Silesia. Its best-known member was the theater critic, director, and novelist, FELIX HOLLAENDER (1867–1931). He first wrote social novels, but his collaboration with Lothar Schmidt in a melodrama, *Ackermann* (1903) led him to the theater and to a long and close association with Max *Reinhardt. Hollaender took charge of Reinhardt's public relations and, with Arthur *Kahane, edited the *Blaetter fuer das deutsche Theater.* Hollaender succeeded Reinhardt as director of Berlin's Deutsches Theater, and later took over the directorship of the Grosses Schauspielhaus. Production, however, was not his forte and he turned to criticism, writing for the *Berlin 8-Uhr Abendblatt*. A volume of his penetrating reviews appeared in 1932 under the title *Lebendiges Theater.* Hollaender's fiction included the novels *Jesus und Judas* (1891), *Der Weg des Thomas Truck* (2 vols., 1902), and the autobiographical *Unser Haus* (1911). His collected works were published in six volumes in 1926. Other members of the family were prominent musicians. An elder brother of Felix, GUSTAV HOLLAENDER (1855–1915), was an eminent violinist and music teacher. After studying under Ferdinand *David and Joseph *Joachim, he became concertmaster in various important German orchestras and was then head of the violin department first at Kullak's Neue Akademie der Tonkunst in Berlin and later at the Rheinische Musikschule in Cologne. Gustav Hollaender was also a cofounder of the Berlin subscription concerts for chamber music, and he made many concert tours. From 1895 until his death he was director of the Stern'sches Konservatorium in Berlin. His compositions include light pieces and studies, mainly for the violin. Another brother, VICTOR HOLLAENDER (pseudonym Arricha de Tolvens, 1866–1940), was a composer. He began his musical career in Berlin and, from the age of 20, was a conductor and resident composer in various German opera houses, also making frequent appearances in Britain and the United States. He wrote over 50 successful operettas, revues, and farces which, though an integral part of the Berlin operetta school, avoided its prevalent vulgarity. During World War I his song "Annemarie" was a favorite of the German troops. Victor Hollaender shared the direction of the Stern'sches Konservatorium with his brother Gustav, but in 1934 he emigrated to the U.S., and he died in Hollywood. Victor's son FRIEDRICH HOLLAENDER (1896–1976), also a composer, was born in London. Like his father, he wrote light music for the German stage. However, from 1929 he devoted himself to music for the newly invented talkies, achieving his greatest success with the film *Der blaue Engel* ("The Blue Angel"). In 1934 he settled in Hollywood, where he continued to compose music for the movies.

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[Samuel L. Sumberg / Bathja Bayer]

HOLLAENDER, LUDWIG (1877–1936), lawyer; from 1921 to 1933 leader of *Centralverein deutscher Staatsbuerger juedischen Glaubens, the largest Jewish organization in Germany. From 1909 he edited the Centralverein's organ *Im Deutschen Reich*, and in 1919 he founded the *Philo Verlag publishing house. Hollaender also took a prominent part – from his student days in Munich – in the affairs of the *Kartell-Convent, Deutscher Studenten Juedischen Glaubens, as well as in those of the Grand Lodge of B'nai B'rith. A man of strong personality and idealism, he used his considerable intellectual and political abilities to promote German-Jewish national consciousness and to defend the equality of German Jews against the rising tide of German and eventually Nazi antisemitism. He intended to organize the whole of German Jewry within the ranks of the Centralverein, whose aim was to expose to non-Jews the irrationality and injustice of antisemitism. Hollaender engaged in a running debate with Zionists who disdained the apologetic tone of his statements. The advent of Hitler destroyed the foundations of Hollaender's work. Apart from numerous articles published in the German-Jewish press, he wrote *Deutschjuedische Probleme der Gegenwart* (1929).

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[Alexander Carlebach]

HOLLANDER, FRANKLIN (1899–1967), U.S. physiologist. Born and educated in New York City, Hollander became assistant professor of physiology at New York Medical College from 1927 to 1932. From 1936 until his death, he was chief of the Gastrointestinal Physiology Research Laboratory at New York's Mount Sinai Hospital and assistant clinical professor of physiology at Columbia University's College of Physicians and Surgeons. He was consultant to a number of hospitals and health institutes. He wrote extensively on gastrointestinal physiology and served on several editorial boards of medical journals.

HOLLANDER, ISAIAH BEN AARON (1806–1872), *dayyan* of Altona. In his youth Hollander and his friend, Jacob Cohen (1808–1905), studied for 10 years at the yeshivah of Moses *Sofer in Pressburg. On their teacher's instructions they returned to Altona and taught Talmud in accordance with the method of *pilpul* prevalent at the Pressburg yeshivah. They also assisted in the yeshivah of Jacob *Ettlinger and for a number of years Hollander was a member of Ettlinger's *bet din*. Some of his Torah novellae were published in the periodical *Shomer Ẓiyyon ha-Ne'eman* (no. 201 (1885), 400b f.). In 1834 Moses Sofer referred a problem (responsa *Ḥatam Sofer*, OḤ no. 4 (1845) 2a) to Hollander and Cohen, addressing them as "my distinguished young pupils."

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[Yehoshua Horowitz]

HOLLANDER, JOHN (1928–), U.S. poet, literary critic, and editor. His precise, often ironic and intricate verse was published in several volumes, among them *A Crackling of Thorns* (1958), *Tales Told of the Fathers* (1975), *Blue Wine and Other Poems* (1979), *Harp Lake* (1988), *Tesserae: & Other Poems* (1993), and *Figurehead & Other Poems* (1999). He also published critical works, such as *Rhyme's Reason: A Guide to English Verse* (1981) and *Melodious Guile: Fictive Pattern in Poetic Language* (1988). Among the works he has edited are *The Oxford Anthology of English Literature* (with Frank Kermode, 2 vols., 1975); and *American Poetry: The Nineteenth Century* (2 vols., 1993).

HOLLANDERSKY, ABRAHAM ("**Abe the Newsboy**"; 1887–1966). U.S. boxer credited with fighting more bouts than any other boxer in history; heavyweight champion of Panama. Hollandersky was born in Berznick, in the Russian Pale of Settlement, the son of a pants presser. His father immigrated to New London, Connecticut, to earn money to bring the rest of the family, which arrived when Hollandersky was seven. His father had gone blind, forcing Abe to support the family by selling newspapers to Navy men, who adopted him and taught him how to box. In 1906 President Teddy Roosevelt, reviewing the fleet aboard the presidential yacht *Mayflower*, was introduced to Hollandersky, who stood 5′ 4″. Roosevelt grabbed Hollandersky's ears playfully and said that lots of people believed "a Jew won't fight." Hollandersky promptly pummeled the president in the ribs. "My cauliflower ears showed that I could take it, and my jabs to his ribs showed I was boring in for more," Hollandersky wrote. When Roosevelt returned to the White House, he created a new post for Hollandersky: Newsboy of the Navy, permitting him to travel on any Navy ship anywhere in the world and sell newspapers. Hollandersky sold papers during the day and boxed at night, fighting exhibition rounds for the benefit of the Navy Relief, fighting 1,309 boxing matches and 387 wrestling matches between 1905 and 1918. His professional record was 4–3–1, with Hollandersky winning the Panama championship on August 11, 1913, and wrestling's welterweight championship in 1907, in a bout that took four hours and 18 minutes. He also took on animals, wrestling a muzzled bear in New York but losing to a kangaroo in Australia when the animal knocked Hollandersky out of the ring with his tail. Hollandersky is the author of *The Life Story of Abe the Newsboy, Hero of a Thousand Flights, the Newsboy with the U.S. Navy* (1930), which he published himself and reprinted many times.

[Elli Wohlgelernter (2nd ed.)]

HOLLIDAY, JUDY (**Judith Tuvim**; 1922–1965), U.S. actress. Born in New York, her father, Abraham Tuvim (1894–1954), was executive director of the Foundation for the Jewish National Fund. Holliday made her professional debut in 1938 as part of the nightclub act The Revuers, which also starred aspiring playwrights Betty *Comden and Adolph *Green. She made her Broadway debut in 1945 in *Kiss Them for Me*. A year later she starred in the comedy *Born Yesterday* as the "dumb blonde" Billie Dawn. Her subsequent Broadway roles were in *Bells Are Ringing* (1956–59) and *Hot Spot* (1963). In 1957 she won a Tony Award for Best Actress in a Musical for *Bells Are Ringing.*

She then played in the film version of *Born Yesterday* and won an Academy Award and a Golden Globe for Best Actress in 1951. She appeared in several other films as well, which included *Adam's Rib* (1949), *The Marrying Kind* (1952), *It Should Happen to You* (1954), *Phffft!* (1954), *The Solid Gold Cadillac* (1956), *Full of Life* (1957), and *Bells Are Ringing* (1960).

Although she was an accomplished actress, she was mainly cast as the effervescent airhead. But, as Holliday was once quoted as saying, "You have to be smart to play a dumb blonde over and over and keep the audience's attention without extraordinary physical equipment." She put that skill to good use when, in 1952, she was summoned to testify during the McCarthy Communist witch hunt. Playing her "ditzy blonde" character to the hilt on the witness stand, she so confounded the House Un-American Activities Committee that she ended up being the only person ever called before HUAC not to be blacklisted or forced to name names.

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[Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

HOLLZER, HARRY AARON (1880–1946), U.S. jurist and Jewish community leader. Hollzer was born in New York and raised in San Francisco. He moved to Los Angeles in 1909 where he gained recognition as a lawyer and public figure. Hollzer served from 1924 on the Superior Court and the Court of Appeals, and from 1931 until his death he was judge of the United States District Court. For several years he was chairman of the National Conference of Judicial Councils. In the Jewish community Hollzer occupied important positions in numerous local and national organizations. His outstanding contribution was as founder of the United Jewish Community of Los Angeles in 1933. Hollzer was instrumental in expanding it to become the Los Angeles Jewish Community Council in 1937, and served as its president until his death.

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[Max Vorspan]

HOLMAN, NATHAN (**Helmanowitch**, "**Nat**," "**Mr. Basketball**"; 1896–1995), U.S. basketball pioneer, professional player with the Original Celtics, coach of City College of New York, which won NCAA and NIT titles in 1950; member of Basketball Hall of Fame. Holman was the seventh of 10 children born on Norfolk Street on New York's Lower East Side to Orthodox Russian immigrants Mary (Goldman) and Louis, who operated a grocery store and kept a kosher home. Holman learned sports from his six brothers, and from playing in the local Seward Park and at the local settlement houses. Holman graduated Commerce High School, where he was unanimously chosen as goalie for the All-Scholastic Soccer Team, left halfback on the All-City Football Team, unanimous All-Scholastic pick in basketball, and pitcher and second baseman for the school baseball team. Holman then received a degree from the two-year Savage School for Physical Education, while at the same time launching his professional career with the Knickerbockers, playing 80 games his first season and getting paid $5 a game.

Holman also began working at City College as coach of soccer and freshman basketball, and after a year in the Navy he returned to CCNY as head coach beginning in the 1919–20 season, becoming at 23 the youngest college coach in the country. While earning a master's degree at NYU, Holman continued playing professionally for some dozen teams in the Eastern League and Penn State League, including Bridgeport, Syracuse, Scranton, and Germantown, but it was when he joined the Original Celtics at the end of the 1921 season that he became the greatest basketball player of his day, known for his exceptional ball-handling, accurate shooting, and court savvy. Holman's extraordinary skills as an adroit passer and floor leader revolutionized the way basketball was played, and made the Celtics virtually unbeatable: the team won 90 percent of its games over the next eight years winning 720 of 795 games, including a 204–11 record in 1922–23 season, 134–6 in the 1924–25 season. The team disbanded in 1928 and Holman played two more seasons with Syracuse and Chicago, retiring from competition in 1930 to devote time to his head coaching duties at City College, and to the newly built 92nd St. YMHA. At CCNY he introduced the street-smart style of basketball that came to be known as the "City Game," emphasizing ball handling, speed, and passing. Holman was also an early proponent of keeping files on potential opponents, and convinced CCNY to pay for scouting films of college games played at Madison Square Garden.

Holman retired in 1960 after compiling a 423–190 record in 37 seasons at CCNY, highlighted in 1950 when his Beavers becoming the only college team in history to win both the NCAA and NIT tournaments. Two years later the team was implicated in a gambling scandal that led to Holman's being dismissed by the New York City Board of Higher Education, but he appealed the decision to the New York State commissioner of education, which rescinded the ruling and reinstated Holman at CCNY.

In 1949, Holman was the first American to coach in Israel and train Israeli youth. He was a lifetime supporter of sports in Israel, raising millions for the effort, and was president of the U.S. Sports for Israel Committee, sponsors of the U.S. delegation to the Maccabiah Games, from 1973 to 1977.

Holman was enshrined in the Helms Hall of Fame in 1934, the Basketball Hall of Fame in 1964, the Boys Athletic League Hall of Fame in 1976, and had the CCNY gym (1977) and the Wingate Institute School for Coaches and Instructors (1978) named after him. He was named the third-greatest player on the Associated Press' First Team of the Half-Century (1900–50). Holman wrote four books: *Scientific Basketball* (1922), *Winning Basketball* (1932), *Championship Basketball* (1942), and *Holman on Basketball* (1950).

[Elli Wohlgelernter (2nd ed.)]

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A PICTORIAL HISTORY OF THE HOLOCAUST

THE EVENTS

Introduction

"Holocaust" is the term used for the systematic state-sponsored murder of millions of Jews by the Nazis and their collaborators during World War II. Some historians and writers restrict the use of the term to the murder of Jews; others use the term more widely to include those civilians victimized by Nazi Germany – trade unionists, political opponents of the regime, Jehovah's Witnesses, homosexuals – who were persecuted but not systematically murdered, as well as mentally retarded and physically handicapped Germans and Roma and Sinti (Gypsies), who were murdered by gassing.

The term Holocaust was not contemporaneous with the events. Winston Churchill called the murder of the Jews "a crime without a name." The Germans named their program accurately but euphemistically "The Final Solution to the Jewish Question." The word "Final" was all too apt. The goal of the Germans was to eliminate all Jewish blood, to wipe Jews and those of Jewish origin from the face of the earth. The systematic murder of an entire people would end the problem. At the core of Nazi doctrine was a racist view of the world that envisioned a hierarchy of peoples with the Aryan-Nordic-Germans as the "master race" and the Jews as parasites on the German nation; their elimination was essential to national well-being.

The Holocaust is also known as the Catastrophe, the Ḥurban, and the Shoah. The word's most likely connotation is death by fire, signifying the means by which the Jews were cremated after gassing in the ultimate manifestation of the Nazi universe, its death camps. The Holocaust is written with a capital H, signifying this specific event, which by the early 21st century was regarded as the paradigmatic manifestation of evil, an event without parallel, singular in its barbarism, intensified by the power of the modern state, fueled by technological and scientific progress, and unchecked by moral, social, religious, or political constraints. The fact that the Holocaust was perpetrated not by an archaic, maniacal fringe but by the most cultured and scientifically advanced Western society of the era is an indictment of that very civilization and presents a challenge to historical interpretation. The historian Lucy *Dawidowicz termed the Nazi program of destruction "the War against the Jews" in a book of that title. Her distinction is important. The Germans fought two wars, a World War and a War against the Jews. Even while they were losing the battle against the Allied armies, they pursued their second war with unabated vigor, discipline, and determination. The final line of Hitler's last testament was a plea to his nation to continue the battle. "Above all, I enjoin the government and the people to uphold the race laws to the limit and to resist mercilessly the poisoner of all nations, international Jewry." Dawidowicz's perception of two wars also helps to understand the Allied response: the Allies fought the world war with complete dedication; they did not respond to the war against the Jews.

The persecution of the Jews – but not their murder – began with Hitler's rise to power in January 1933, and it continued in different forms with diverse policies, goals, and instrumentalities throughout the 12 years of his reign, until the defeat and unconditional surrender of the Third Reich on May 8, 1945. The systematic killing of the Jews did not begin in earnest until the German invasion of the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941, and the evolution of that destruction was related to World War II. The war freed the regime from constraints and united the German people. It also brought more Jews under German control, and the tide of war often dictated the timetable of murder.

As the racial war against the Jews evolved; so did their suffering. At first it was limited to Germany. As the Reich expanded into territories, countries, and entire regions, more and more Jews came under their domination. Discrimination, harassment, and persecution gave way to systematic social, political, and economic elimination, segregation, and apartheid. With the conquest of Poland came ghettoization. With the introduction of the Final Solution in 1941, the murder of the Jews also evolved. At first, mobile killers were sent to stationary victims. When this proved difficult for the killers – emotionally and logistically – the process was reversed and the victims were made mobile: they were put on trains and sent to stationary killing centers where they were systematically murdered by gassing – liquidation and extermination were the terms the Nazis used. Toward the end of the war, in the winter of 1944–45, when the killing centers were about to be overrun, the victims were again made mobile, this time by foot; they were sent overland toward Germany, which had once cast them out, and forcibly marched to the end of their strength. Some were sent to concentration camps in Germany, which broke down under the waves of newly arriving prisoners, and other prisoners were marched and marched until the war ended. Then came the liberation of the camps, and the terrible truth became known.

European Jewry in the Early 1930s

As the 19th century ended, Jewish life was in ferment throughout Europe. In Eastern Europe, many Jews lived in shtetls, villages that were predominantly Jewish. They spoke Yiddish, read Yiddish books, both sacred and secular, and attended Yiddish theaters and movies. Many wore traditional black caftans and continued to observe the practices of their grandparents. Jewish religious life in all its forms was fervent. The religious community was piously observant; the secularists ardently secular, seeking to overturn the power of religious authority and to embrace the ideological movements of Communism and socialism. Many a young Jew left the yeshiva to enter a German university, casting aside traditional garb and practice and ardently embracing the teachings of the West. Despite antisemitism and cultural constraints, Germany was the place where Jews were best able to participate in intellectual and cultural life. They assimilated rapidly. Intermarriage was widespread; so was conversion. A vibrant Sephardic culture flourished in North Africa in Algeria, Tunisia, Libya, and Morocco, where the dominant culture was Arabic and French, and the most significant religious influence Islamic.

At the beginning of the new century, civil equality in Germany was guaranteed by law, but social barriers were slow to fall. Sigmund Freud's revolutionary teachings on sexuality were delivered to the B'nai B'rith chapter in Vienna. His psychoanalytic teachings were dismissed as "a Jewish science," and he desperately courted a non-Jew, Carl Jung, to promulgate his new theories. Still, Jewish artists, writers, scholars and scientists thrived in a new climate of openness. Einstein launched a new era in physics, as Freud had in psychology. Chagall and Modigliani were in the forefront of modern art. Einstein was only the first among peers: between 1905 and 1931, ten German Jews won the Nobel Prize in a variety of scientific fields.

Most Jews were neither prominent nor affluent. Contrary to the image that all Jews lived like Rothschilds, most lived in very ordinary circumstances. Many were poor. They were stevedores in Salonika, Greece; factory workers in Lodz, Poland; small shopkeepers in Amsterdam; Yeshiva students in Kovno, Lithuania; and professors in Berlin. They worked to create a home and sustain their families.

When the Nazis came to power in 1933, more than 9 million Jews lived in the 21 European nations where Germany would come to dominate either through occupation or alliance. The 560,000 Jews who lived in Germany itself were less than one percent of the population. Within Central Europe there were 445,000 Jews in Hungary, 357,000 in Czechoslovakia, 225,000 in France (many of them immigrants), and about 160,000 in the Netherlands; Belgium had some 60,000 Jews concentrated in Antwerp and Brussels. The Jewish population of Denmark was 6,000, of Finland, 1,800 and of Norway, 1,500. In southern Europe, Greece had about 100,000 Jews, Yugoslavia 70,000, Bulgaria 50,000, and Italy some 48,000. In eastern Europe, Romania, within its pre-World War II borders, had almost a million Jews and Poland had some three million;

Lithuania had 155,000 and Latvia 95,000, while there were an estimated 2.5 million Jews in the Soviet Union. Within a dozen years, two out of three of the 9 million were dead.

Germany in the Early 1930s

The Germans did not expect to lose World War I. The German people had been told that their war efforts had been successful. The Versailles treaty that followed imposed harsh penalties on the German nation, the loss of territory, demilitarization, and burdensome reparations. In the early 1920s, inflation wiped out the savings of the middle class and caused major economic dislocation. Billions of marks were needed to buy a loaf of bread as the German currency became worthless. In 1929 Germany was impacted by the worldwide Depression; its gross national product fell by 40%. Politics turned violent with the Communists on the left and the National Socialists on the right. The political center was weakened, and because of the perceived ineffectiveness of the Weimar Republic, support for democracy was waning. Little consensus could be achieved; elections were frequent and indecisive and German governments were short-lived. There was a sense that only strong leadership would pull Germany out of its morass.

NAZI RACISM. Racism was the dominant theme of Nazi ideology. It shaped social policy in Germany between 1933 and 1939, was a major factor in the way the Germans conducted the war, motivated German policy in occupied countries, and, when carried to its ultimate conclusion, resulted in the Holocaust.

Hitler's obsession with racial purity, his hatred of both Marxism and democracy, his belief in German racial supremacy, and his notion that an Aryan master race would take over the world were not secrets to German voters. They were stated clearly in his book *Mein Kampf* ("My Struggle"), first published in 1925. It was the "sacred mission of the German people… to assemble and preserve the most valuable racial elements… and raise them to a dominant position."

"All who are not of a good race are chaff," Hitler wrote. The Aryan race was destined to be superior, therefore the German people "are the highest species of humanity on earth." In the racial struggle of history, the "master race" would dominate if it preserved its purity. Otherwise, it would be polluted, corrupted, and destroyed by inferior races.

It was necessary for Germans to "occupy themselves not merely with the breeding of dogs, horses, and cats but also with care for the purity of their own blood." These notions were not original. Hitler simplified racial doctrines propounded in the nineteenth century, particularly in the writings of the French aristocrat *Gobineau and the English-born disciple of the composer Richard Wagner, Houston Stewart Chamberlain.

Whatever the theoretical underpinnings of Hitler's racial beliefs, Nazi racism under his direction was far from theoretical. Blood mixture was abhorrent. Procreation by inferior races was to be discouraged, at first through forced sterilization, later by systematic murder. The obsession with the Jews was central to Hitler's worldview and became the operative ideology of the German state under his rule.

The Nazi Party's attitude toward the Jews is expressed in the coarse slogan *Deutschland erwache, Juda verrecke* ("Germany wake up, Judah drop dead") and in the words of the battle cry of the party's paramilitary, the SA (*Sturmabteilung*, "Storm Division," known as the Brownshirts or Stormtroopers): "*Wenn das Judenblut vom Messer spritzt, dann geht's nochmal so gut*" ("When Jew blood spurts from the knife, things will go twice as well"). What could be expected from the party and its affiliated organizations was demonstrated by numerous acts of violence at the hands of Hitler's stormtroopers before the seizure of power, beginning in 1924, as well as by unrestrained propaganda (books, pamphlets, and periodicals such as *Der *Stuermer*, published from 1923 on), in which the Jew was represented as a subhuman (*Untermensch*), a parasite, a phenomenon of decay (*Faeulniserscheinung*), and the main cause of all German misfortunes. "It is our duty," Hitler said in 1920, "to arouse, to whip up, and to incite in our people the instinctive repugnance of the Jews."

HITLER'S ASCENT TO POWER. Adolf Hitler came to power legally on January 30, 1933 as the head of a coalition government. He was appointed by the aging President Paul von Hindenburg on the assumption that that since he and the Nazi party were a source of German political instability, terror, and violence, the responsibilities of the chancellorship as a minority leader in a coalition government would force Hitler to the center. Political leaders assumed that he could be controlled either personally or by his circumstances. They underestimated him as they overestimated their own resources.

Ironically, Nazi power had reached its peak before Hitler was named chancellor. It was in decline by the time he came to office. The National Socialist (Nazi) Party had won just 12 seats with 2.8 percent of the vote in May 1928 and could still be dismissed as marginal, but in September 1930 its total rose to 107 in the 608-seat Reichstag (Parliament) after winning some 6.4 million votes (18 percent). The party improved in the elections of July 31, 1932, when it received 37.3 percent of the vote and 230 seats. But in the elections of November 6, 1932, the last free elections before Hitler came to power, the Nazis received only 33.1 percent of the vote. The number of their seats was reduced to 196. The master German propagandist Joseph *Goebbels had predicted: "We come like wolves descending upon a herd of sheep. We will become members of the Reichstag in order to disable the Weimar order with its own acquiescence."

Once in office, Hitler's first objective was to consolidate power and eliminate political opposition. The burning of the Reichstag on February 27, 1933, which the Nazis claimed had been done by a Communist, provided a pretext to strengthen Hitler's position. The next day, he received emergency powers from von Hindenburg and immediately ordered a hundred Communists arrested. In the March 1933 election, the Nazi Party received 288 seats in the Reichstag with 44 percent of the vote. Special Nazi courts were established to deal with dissidents and the first concentration camp, *Dachau, was established outside Munich to house the newly arrested. Emergency provisions of the Weimar Constitution were invoked to dismantle constitutional protections and give Hitler dictatorial powers. Articles 25 and 48 allowed the president to usurp the powers of state governments and suspend constitutional guarantees of civil liberties, and with a two-thirds majority of those present and voting the chancellor could be granted temporary legislative powers. On March 23, 1933, the Enabling Act was passed, giving Hitler just such legislative powers. One hundred and seven legislators, Communists and Social Democrats, were either under arrest or in hiding and were therefore not present and did not vote. In the first 60 days after the passage of the act, there were attacks against the Jews, but the major focus was on the suppression of Hitler's domestic political opposition.

By July 14, 1933, the Nazi Party was the only legal political party in Germany. Unopposed in the next election, it received 93 percent of the vote. A law for the Revocation of Naturalization and the Annulment of German Citizenship stripped of their citizenship East European Jews who had immigrated to Germany. A law for the Prevention of Offspring with Hereditary Diseases provided for the sterilization of unfit parents or potential parents and the euthanasia of defective offspring. "Useless eaters," they were termed. Jews felt their condition to be precarious, but so did others who belonged to political or racial categories not sanctioned by Nazi ideology. On July 20, 1933 the Vatican signed a Concordat with Germany, a treaty governing the status of the church, which Pope *Pius XI believed protected Catholic rights. The Concordat provided greater legitimacy for the Third Reich in the eyes of lay people and the church hierarchy. In August, the Haavara (Transfer) Agreement was signed between the German Ministry of the Economy and the World Zionist Organization, which permitted German Jews to meet British entry requirements (which included the possession of £1,000 in capital), in addition to German emigration taxes, and migrate to Palestine. As with all Jewish negotiations with the Nazis during this period, and most especially during the world war that followed, these were negotiations between unequal parties. Under the provisions of the agreement, the assets of Jews leaving for Palestine were placed in special accounts; portions of these accounts could be drawn upon in Palestine in the form of German goods. This agreement enabled some 40,000 Jews to leave Germany for Palestine and arrive there with at least some resources to begin new lives. The agreement was consistent with the goal of German policy during the prewar period, to make Germany *judenrein*, free of Jews, not by murder but by making it impossible for Jews to live there, virtually forcing them to emigrate.

THE ASSAULT AGAINST THE JEWS. The assault against the Jews began with the April 1, 1933 boycott of Jewish businesses. The boycott was originally scheduled to be an ongoing phenomenon but lasted one day. Some Germans supported the boycott; others made it a point of honor to call on Jewish friends, to patronize Jewish shops. Signs announcing the boycott were printed in English as well as German. They were intended as a warning to the Jews of America that any strong response to the Nazi rise to power, such as the proposed boycott of German products or a repeat of the mass rally sponsored by the American Jewish Congress in Madison Square Garden on March 27 that year, would endanger German Jews. In contacts between American and German Jews, the latter urged caution lest an already difficult situation be exacerbated. The question of how, publicly, Jews could oppose the persecution of Jews in other countries without worsening their situation was not new in Jewish history. It remained a problem throughout the Nazi years.

On April 7, the Law for the Restoration of a Professional Civil Service was promulgated, and Jews were dismissed from the civil service. These included lawyers working for the state, physicians employed by state-run health plans and hospitals, and even professors at state universities. By the end of the month, Jewish attendance at German schools was restricted by a quota. Such quotas were not unusual. They were present in Poland and even in the United States. On May 10, Hitler's 100th day in office, thousands of Nazi students along with many professors stormed university libraries and bookstores in thirty cities throughout Germany to remove tens of thousands of books written by non-Aryans and those opposed to Nazi ideology. The books were tossed into bonfires in an effort to purify German culture of "un-Germanic" writings. Some were by Jewish authors; others were not. Works that were politically offensive to Nazism were destroyed alongside works by Karl Marx, Sigmund Freud, Albert Einstein, and other Jewish writers. Joseph Goebbels proclaimed at the bookburning opposite the Berlin Opera house, "The age of Jewish intellectual domination has ended." A century earlier, the German poet of Jewish origin, Heinrich Heine, had said, "Where one burns books, one will, in the end, burn people." In Nazi Germany, the distance between book burning and people burning was to be eight years.

Well integrated into German society and comfortably assimilated, the German Jews felt the assaults as a shock. One hundred thousand Jews, about one in six, had fought for Germany during World War I; 12,000 had lost their lives. During the Weimar period, they had achieved national prominence in literature and science, the arts and philosophy. Ten German Jews were among the approximately thirty Germans who had won Nobel Prizes for their work. They felt at home in German society and even spoke of the unique German-Jewish symbiosis. Years later, Gershom *Scholem, the great scholar of Jewish mysticism and Zionist dissenter from German culture, described the "symbiosis" as a German-Jewish monologue, Jews speaking to themselves of how deeply German they were. Religiously and culturally the community had also been flourishing during Weimar times, as some young Jews were rediscovering their Judaism. A small Zionist movement had emerged. Theological seminaries, Liberal and Orthodox, and great German universities were attracting not only German Jews but East European Jews who wanted to share the best of Western culture and integrate it into their Jewish learning and living. Joseph Dov Baer *Soloveitchik and Abraham Joshua *Heschel, Menachem Mendel *Schneersohn and Alexander *Altmann were among them. The remnant that survived was to come to prominence on three continents in the next generation. Few German Jews perceived the full extent of what was to follow, but how could they? The pessimists prepared to leave. Others regarded Nazism as an aberration, antithetical to German values and German tradition. This would pass, they believed. Jewish leadership sought clarification of its legal status. Deprived of their confidence as Germans, some Jews re-embraced their tradition and their identity. In a front-page article in the *Juedische Rundschau*, Robert Weltsch proclaimed: "Wear it with pride, the yellow badge." Others despaired; a few committed suicide. Turning inward, attempts at legal clarification, appeal to Jewish pride, emigration, self-loathing and despair characterized Jewish responses throughout the initial assault. Certainly most German Jews did not perceive how precarious their situation was and how much worse it was to be become.

JEWISH LIFE UNDER THE SWASTIKA. Discrimination increased through 1933. Jews were banned from journalism and music, broadcasting and theater, even farming. Laws of increasing severity, scope, and detail were promulgated not only against the Jews but also against other groups targeted for discrimination and persecution by Nazi ideology. The Jewish situation was insecure, but did not necessarily appear fatal.

In 1934, there were fewer new anti-Jewish laws, as Hitler and his loyalists were consolidating their power, both within the party and in the country as a whole. They destroyed the leftist, socially radical wing of the Nazi party, including its leader, Ernst Roehm, who was murdered on Hitler's orders, as was Gregor Strasser, who had once been the second-ranking party leader. In August, with the death of von Hindenburg, the presidency was abolished and Hitler became the sole ruler of Germany, both "Fuehrer" (leader) and chancellor. Even the army swore allegiance directly to the man – not to the constitution and not to the people.

Over the next years Jewish economic activities and possibilities were severely restricted.

As exclusion of Jews and restriction of their activities increased, German law required a legal definition of who was a Jew and who was an Aryan. The Nuremberg laws passed by the Reichstag and promulgated at the annual Nazi Party rally in the Bavarian town of Nuremberg on September 15, 1935 – the Law for the Protection of German Blood and German Honor and the Reich Citizenship Law – became the centerpieces of anti-Jewish legislation and the precedents for defining and categorizing Jews in every land Germany controlled. Marriage, as well as sexual relations between Jews and citizens of "German or kindred blood," was prohibited. Only racially "pure" Germans were entitled to civil and political rights. Jews were reduced to the status of subjects of the state. The Nuremberg laws formally divided Germans and Jews, yet neither the word "German" nor "Jew" was defined. That task was left to the bureaucracy, which filled in the gap by November. Two basic categories were established: Jew – anyone with three Jewish grandparents – and Mischling (mixed breed). Thus, the definition of Jews was based not upon the identity they affirmed or the religion they practiced, but on categories derived from race "science." Raul Hilberg has argued that this definition was the first stage of the destruction of the Jews.

As the outside world became increasingly hostile, Jews turned inward. Martin *Buber led an effort at adult Jewish education, preparing the Jewish community for the long journey ahead. Rabbi Leo *Baeck circulated a prayer for Yom Kippur (the Day of Atonement) in 1935 that gave Jews instructions on to how to behave: "We bow down before God, we stand erect before man." Baeck, together with Otto *Hirsch, represented the Jews before German authorities in the Reichsvertretung der deutschen Juden (Representation of German Jews, founded in September 1933) that was to undergo a change of names and a reduction of authority and function over the first years of Nazi rule. Yet while few, if any, could foresee its eventual outcome, the Jewish condition was increasingly perilous and was expected to get worse.

For Jewish children, the first blow often came in school, where they met with hostility from their classmates and their teachers and where appeals to the principals or other authorities were often met with stony silence, if not with sympathy for the harassers. The Jewish community established Jewish schools, within whose walls Jewish children could feel safe even if they met with danger en route. The Jewish community was also forced to provide economic assistance as more Jews lost their livelihoods. Jewish cultural activities organized by the *Kulturbund provided employment for artists, performers, and musicians while it fortified a growing sense of Jewish identity.

Meanwhile, Hitler sought greater international legitimacy for his regime. To bolster its standing, Germany served as host to the 1936 Olympics. Efforts in several countries (the strongest in the United States) to organize a boycott failed. The American Olympic Committee received assurances that all German athletes had a chance to compete on German teams, yet only Nazi sports clubs continued to operate. For a period of time, Berlin was "sanitized" for the international press and foreign visitors. Antisemitic signs were removed, rhetoric toned down. Some Jews mistakenly felt that the worst had passed. In the United States, the 1936 Olympics are usually remembered for the great achievements of Jesse Owens, the African-American sprinter who won four gold medals, to the annoyance of Nazi race theorists, but little attention was paid to the exclusion of Jewish athletes from the German team, so the façade of normality can be said to have worked quite well. After the games, President Franklin Delano Roosevelt told Rabbi Stephen Wise, "The synagogues are full and apparently there is nothing wrong."

In 1937 the process of Aryanization was accelerated. Jewish businesses were transferred to "Aryan" ownership, and Jews were forbidden to remain corporate officers or stockholders. Their economic disenfranchisement led to economic vulnerability. Property had to be sold at well below market value. Banks profited by lending money to "Aryan" purchasers and charging exorbitant fees for the transaction. Over time, the well-established Jewish community became increasingly impoverished. When business owners held out for more favorable conditions, they often found themselves in a more vulnerable situation, which in turn diminished the value of their assets.

The Expansion of the Reich

Hitler felt that Germans were cramped within unnatural borders and were entitled to seize the *Lebensraum* (living space) he felt they needed in central and Eastern Europe, intending to "Germanize" these areas through dispossession and settlement. In this way all German "Aryans" would be brought "*heim ins Reich*," "home" within a nation that would rightfully dominate Europe and the world. Above all, perhaps, he was determined to restore the German honor he believed had been lost at Versailles with the 1919 treaty that embodied Germany's surrender, formally ending World War I and forcing Germany to take responsibility for the war, pay reparations, give up territory, suffer occupation by foreign troops, and disarm. Expansion, however, complicated Hitler's goal of ridding Germany of Jews through forced emigration. Each territorial expansion brought more Jews under German control. The Saar region, in the Rhineland, was returned to Germany on March 1, 1935. In German Upper Silesia, where the Jews were under the protection of the German-Polish Convention of May 15, 1922, the restrictions imposed by the Convention on the exercise of German sovereignty terminated on July 15, 1937. Austria was annexed in March 1938, and the Czech area known as the Sudetenland was handed over on October 1, 1938, by virtue of the Munich Agreement. Ultimately Czechoslovakia ceased to exist when the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia was created in March 1939. The Memel region, formerly part of East Prussia and now in Lithuania, was annexed at the same time. When Germany invaded Poland on September 1, 1939, the "Jewish problem" became urgent. By the time the division of Poland between Germany and the Soviet Union was complete, more than two million more Jews had come under German control.

THE EVIAN CONFERENCE. By the late 1930s, there was a desperate search for countries of refuge. Those few who could get visas to the United States and qualify under stringent quotas emigrated to America. Many went to Palestine, where the small Jewish community was willing to receive refugees. Still others sought refuge in neighboring European countries, later to be overrun by the German invasion. Most countries, however, were unwilling to receive large numbers of refugees.

Responding to growing domestic pressures to act on behalf of Jewish refugees, U.S. President Franklin Roosevelt convened, but did not attend, a conference in Evian, France, in July 1938. The invitation foretold its limited achievements. National leaders were told that no laws would have to be changed and no government funds would be expended. Only philanthropic (Jewish) funds would be used for resettlement. The British were told that Palestine would not be on the agenda. The United States was unwilling to expand its quotas on German and Austrians seeking entry, mainly Jews. The conference spoke of the "refugee crisis," when everyone understood that this was a euphemism for Jewish refugees, unable to find asylum in numbers adequate to their need. Two days after Roosevelt announced the Evian Conference, Adolf Hitler gloated:

> I can only hope that the other world which has such deep sympathy for these criminals [Jews] will at least be generous enough to convert this sympathy into practical aid. We on our part are ready to put all these criminals at the disposal of these countries, for all I care, even on luxury ships.

For nine days, delegations from 32 nations met at the Royal Hotel on Lake Geneva along with representatives of 39 private relief agencies, 21 of which were Jewish. The world press covered the event intensely.

One by one, delegates from each country rose to profess their understanding of the refugees' plight. One by one, they gave excuses why so little could be done: Canada would accept farmers – small comfort for urbanized Jews fleeing Germany. Holland and Denmark offered temporary refuge for a few. "Australia does not have a racial problem, and we are not desirous of importing one," its delegate proclaimed. Colombia's delegate was not "prepared to resign himself to the belief that two thousand years of Christian civilization must lead to this terrible catastrophe." Colombia itself could offer nothing. The delegate from Venezuela was reluctant to disturb the "demographic equilibrium" of his country. In short, no Jewish merchants, peddlers, or intellectuals were wanted in Venezuela. Only the Dominican Republic offered to receive 100,000 Jews. In the end only a few went there.

In a formal response to Evian, the German Foreign Office gloated: "…since in many foreign countries it was recently regarded as wholly incomprehensible why Germans did not wish to preserve in its population an element like the Jews… it appears astounding that countries seem in no way anxious to make use of these elements themselves now that the opportunity arises."

The implications for Nazi policy were clear. Forced emigration would not succeed. No one wanted the Jews. The desperate struggle of the refugees became even more difficult.

THE NOVEMBER POGROMS: KRISTALLNACHT. In October 1938, the Polish government revoked the passports of Jews who had lived outside Poland for more than five years. The Swiss government requested that German passports be marked with the letter *J* for *Jude*, thus preventing Jews from passing themselves off as Christians and finding temporary shelter in

Switzerland. On October 28, Polish Jews living in Germany were expelled and Poland refused to repatriate them; they found temporary shelter in Zbaszyn, a frontier town on the Polish-German border. The *Grynzspan family wrote a desperate letter to their teenage son Hershel, who was in Paris. After receiving the letter he set off to the German Embassy and mortally wounded the third secretary of the German legation, Ernst vom Rath.

Ostensibly in response to Grynzspan's desperate act, on the evening of November 9, 1938, carefully orchestrated anti-Jewish violence "erupted" throughout the Reich, which since March had included Austria. Over the next 48 hours, more than 1,000 synagogues were burned and 7,000 businesses were ransacked and their windows broken. Some 30,000 Jewish men between the ages of 16 and 60 were arrested and sent to newly expanded concentration camps. The police stood by as the violence – often committed by neighbors, not strangers – raged on. Firemen were instructed to ensure that the flames did not spread to adjacent Aryan property, but not to put out the fires at the synagogues. Thus, most of the synagogues left standing were small synagogues that were part of other buildings. The November pogroms were given a quaint name to obscure what actually happened: "Kristallnacht" (Crystal Night, or the Night of Broken Glass). In its aftermath, Jews lost the illusion that they had a future in Germany.

The response in the West to the November Kristallnacht pogroms was strong. It dominated the news. The U.S. ambassador to Germany was recalled, though diplomatic relations were not severed. The act was public and the violence problematic for the Germans, as glass had to be imported.

Behind the scenes, matters deteriorated even further for the Jews. On November 12, 1938, Hermann *Goering, head of the Luftwaffe (air force) and the number two man in the Nazi party hierarchy, convened a meeting of Nazi officials to discuss the damage to the German economy from pogroms. The Jewish community was fined one billion Reichsmarks. Jews were made responsible for cleaning up. German Jews, though not foreign Jews, were barred from collecting insurance. In addition, new restrictions were enacted: Jews were denied entry to theaters, forced to travel in separate compartments on trains, and excluded from German schools. These were added to earlier prohibitions, such as those forbidding graduation from universities, owning businesses, or practicing law or medicine on non-Jews. Jewish property continued to be confiscated under the Aryanization program. Goering concluded the November meeting on a note of irony: "I would not like to be a Jew in Germany!"

Enemies of the State (Non-Jewish Victims of Nazism)

While Jews were the primary victims of Nazism as it evolved, and were central to Nazi racial ideology, other groups were victimized as well – some for what they did, some for what they refused to do, and some for what they were.

Political dissidents, trade unionists, Communists, and Social Democrats were among the first to be arrested. Additionally, German and Austrian male homosexuals (there was no systematic persecution of lesbians) were arrested and, like the others, later incarcerated in concentration camps. They were antithetical to the Nazis' concept of German manhood and useless for the procreation of the master race. Jehovah's Witnesses were a problem for the Nazis because they refused to swear allegiance to the state, register for the draft, or utter the words "Heil Hitler." Twenty thousand in number, many Witnesses were incarcerated. They were in one sense the only voluntary victims of Nazism. If they filled out a form severing their religious affiliation and promising to cease to proselytize, they could be freed. Jews, even those who had converted, were offered no such choice. The Nazis also singled out the Roma and the Sinti, known collectively and pejoratively as the gypsies. Their persecution began locally; only later did initiatives come from Berlin. Freemasons were persecuted at first; their lodges were regarded as a cover for a Jewish conspiracy to attack Christianity, but gradually the persecution of Freemasons slackened and by 1938 an amnesty was declared. Their services were needed by the regime. Until the arrest of Jewish men aged 16–60 on Kristallnacht, these non-Jews constituted the majority of people incarcerated in concentration camps.

The Invasion of Poland and the Beginning of World War II

On the sixth anniversary of his ascent to office, January 30, 1939, Hitler warned the Reichstag: "If international-finance Jewry [Hitler's term, for the supposed conspiracy of Jewish bankers] inside and outside of Europe should succeed once more in plunging nations into another world war, the consequence will not be the Bolshevization of the earth and thereby the victory of Jewry, but the annihilation of the Jewish race in Europe."

On September 1, 1939, Germany invaded Poland. Two days later France and Great Britain declared war on Germany and World War II began in what became known as the period of the phony war, for there were no battles in the West until the spring of 1940. The United States remained neutral for more than two years; only a direct attack by Japan on Pearl Harbor impelled America to enter the war. On August 22, 1939, speaking to German army generals, Hitler had defined a new type of war. "Our war aim does not consist in reaching certain lines, but in the physical destruction of the enemy. Accordingly, I have placed my deathhead formations in readiness – for the present only in the East – with orders to send to death, mercilessly and without compassion, men, women, and children of Polish derivation and language. Only thus shall we gain the living space (*Lebensraum*) which we need."

In a surprise move, especially considering Hitler's stated opposition to Marxism, on August 23, 1939, Germany and the Soviet Union signed the Ribbentrop-Molotov Pact, pledging mutual nonaggression. A secret protocol called for the division of Poland between them. German troops would enter from the west and Soviet troops from the east. German progress was swift. Within six days Cracow was conquered, within eight days Lodz, Radom, and Tarnow, and within four weeks Warsaw fell to the Germans. The Germans targeted the Poles for decimation. Polish priests and politicians were murdered, the Polish leadership was decimated and, over time, the children of the Polish elite were kidnapped and raised as "Aryans" by their new German "parents." A common enemy, the occupying Wehrmacht, and even the fury that the Nazis unleashed against Polish culture and Polish nationalism, did not lead to solidarity among the Jews and Poles but intensified tensions that were already high between the two communities. In the first weeks of battle, more than two million additional Jews came under German domination; thus, for the Germans the already problematic Jewish question had only become more acute.

THE IMPACT ON THE JEWS OF POLAND. The full thrust of German occupation policy was directed at the Jews, who were soon isolated and gradually cut off from the neighboring communities. On September 21, 1939, Reinhard *Heydrich, security service chief of the SS (*Schutzstaffel*, "Defense Squadron"; a Nazi party elite paramilitary organization that was the chief instrument of the Final Solution), ordered the establishment of the *Judenraete* (Jewish Councils; singular **Judenrat*). Composed of 24 men – rabbis and Jewish leaders – they were to be made personally responsible in "the literal sense of the term," as Heydrich decreed, for carrying out German orders. From Heydrich's perspective, the Judenrat was an instrument of German control, a means of freeing his forces for other tasks.

He also ordered the deportation of Jews from smaller communities of less than 500 to larger urban centers, where they were to be concentrated in Jewish residential quarters, a euphemism for ghettos. His order spoke of the "final aim" – not the "Final Solution" – which would be implemented over time, and the stages leading to the fulfillment of the final aim, which were to be implemented swiftly.

Individual Jews, especially within the border area, faced the difficult choice of whether to move westward toward areas of German control or to move eastward into territories of Soviet domination. Those who relied on past experience, on the lessons of history, found that they were deeply mistaken. For more than a century, freedom, progress, and opportunity were to be found by moving west. The German army had been relatively well behaved during World War I; it had treated Jews and the rest of the Polish population far better than Russian forces.

THE FIRST KILLINGS BY GAS: THE SO-CALLED EUTHANASIA PROGRAM. In an order backdated to September 1, 1939, to give it the appearance of a wartime measure, Hitler instructed his personal physician and the chief of the Chancellery to put to death those Germans who were considered "life unworthy of living." His signed order read: "Reich leader Philip Bouhler and Dr. Brandt are charged with responsibility for expanding the authority of physicians, to be designated by name, to the end that patients considered incurable according to the best available human judgment of their state of health, can be granted a mercy killing."

This evolved over time into the "*euthanasia program" in which mentally retarded, physically infirm, and chronically ill Germans, who according to Nazi ideology were an embarrassment to the myth of Aryan supremacy, were put to death. At first, passive means were used, starvation and withholding of medicine. Gradually, more active measures were introduced, such as injections and sedatives. Finally, gas chambers were employed, staffed by physicians and nurses in a process of medical killing. While the T-4 program, named after its headquarters at Tiergarten 4 in Berlin, might seem unrelated to the Holocaust, it was a prefiguration. As the Final Solution killing centers came on line in 1942, they were staffed by T-4 workers, veterans of mass murder. The organized transportation of the handicapped foreshadowed the mass deportations of the Jews. During the German euthanasia program, psychiatrists were able to save some patients, at least temporarily, but only if they cooperated in sending others to their death. They faced no penalty if they refused to cooperate. Ultimately, in the Jewish communities of the territories conquered by the Germans, Judenrat leaders were coerced – under the threat of death – to make similar choices. Yet the programs were different in two respects: the so-called euthanasia program was halted because of domestic disquiet and protest; concerned parents and aroused clergy protested and the murders were formally halted (they were resumed in a disguised fashion). And there were no consequences for the few psychiatrists who refused to participate. There were no such protests against the murder of the Jews. Judenrat leaders were "personally responsible" for carrying out German orders. Those who refused were killed. Some, but not all, Judenrat leaders accepted the dire consequences.

Blitzkrieg, or the German Invasion of Western Europe

The events of World War II had a direct impact on all the Jewish communities of Europe. On April 9, 1940, Germany invaded Denmark and Norway. On May 10, Germany invaded Holland, Belgium, France, and Luxembourg. German victories were swift. The German strategy, as in the earlier Polish campaign, was given the name *Blitzkrieg*, lightning war. By June an armistice had been signed with France; the north and west of the country came under German occupation, a portion in the southeast was ruled by Italy, and the remainder came under the control of a collaborationist French government based in Vichy.

The nature of the German occupation differed according to country, but it is axiomatic that Germany treated Western countries more respectfully than it did the populations in the East, who were considered racially inferior by Nazi ideology. In Denmark, the civil service remained in place and German occupation was restrained. The German and Austrian model served as a blueprint for the treatment of the Jews in the countries of Western Europe. Jews were defined according to the principles of Nuremberg; civil rights were curtailed and property was confiscated. Unlike those in Poland, Jews in the West were not confined to sealed ghettos; they were, however, forced to wear yellow stars marking them as Jews, since in most cases Jewish identity could not otherwise be determined visually. In France the quasi-independent Vichy regime imposed anti-Jewish laws, including the systematic confiscation of Jewish property and the transfer of Jewish businesses in a process of "Aryanization" modeled on the earlier German pre-war policies. In the summer of 1942, Jews were rounded up – mostly by French police – in both German-occupied and Vichy France. On July 16–17, 12,884 Jews in Paris were forced into the Veledrome d' Hiver, a sports arena, and held without food or water. Children were gathered with their parents and then parents were separated from their children and shipped to the transit camp of Drancy. More than 40,000 Jews were transported to the "East" in 1942. One in three was from Vichy France. Transit camps were established in countries other than France as well. From 1942 on, as the death camps came into operation, more transit camps were established in Europe (in German-occupied France, Pithiviers, Beaune-la-Rolande, Compiègne, and *Drancy; in unoccupied Vichy France, alien Jews were concentrated in Gurs and Rivesaltes; in Serbia, Topovske Šupe, Šabac, and Sajmište in Belgrade; in Croatia, Jasenovac; in the Netherlands, *Westerbork and *Vught; in Belgium, Breendonck and Dassin-Malines); Jews were deported to these from their homes and were then sent on to the death camps.

On April 6, 1941, German troops invaded Greece and Yugoslavia, setting off a war in the Balkans. Their progress was less swift than expected, which was significant because it delayed the German invasion of the Soviet Union from the spring until the summer of 1941 and resulted in the Germans having to stop short of their goals due to the onset of the harsh Russian winter.

Ghettoization

Following the German invasion of Poland, the Jewish population was herded into ghettos. Warsaw contained the largest of German-occupied Poland's approximately 400 ghettos. When it was sealed in the fall of 1940, the Jews – 30 percent of Warsaw's population – were forced into a district of 2.4 percent of the area of the city, with a density of over 200,000 per square mile and 9.2 people per room. Living conditions were difficult, the population faced hunger and famine, and soon conditions gave rise to diseases and epidemics. The death rate in Warsaw was one in ten in 1941, before the deportations and the killing.

There are two perspectives on the ghetto: to the German rulers, the ghetto was a temporary measure, a holding pen, until a policy of what to do with the Jews was established and implemented. To the Jews, ghetto life was the situation under which they thought they would live until the end of the war. Jews were biding time until…

JEWISH RESPONSES. How does one live under these circumstances? Families, living with others in squalid and crowded conditions, lost elementary privacy. Parental authority was compromised, and the ability of mothers and fathers to protect their children was limited at best. Some Jews collapsed under the pressure, many floundered; a few rose to the occasion, but most muddled through. As schools closed, makeshift forms of education were established. Since religious services were forbidden, prayer quorums and study houses were created secretly. Amateur historians documented the times in which they lived. Self-help groups arose, as did building committees and soup kitchens. Smugglers brought food into the starving ghetto; some for self-enrichment, most for basic survival. The motto of smugglers was described in one diary as "eat, drink and be merry, for tomorrow we die." The painful truth was masked with humor.

Warsaw was connected to the rest of the city by a sewer system that could not be blocked. This underground system facilitated illicit commerce and exchange. In Lodz, the second largest ghetto in Poland was entirely separated from the city. In Warsaw, Emanuel *Ringelblum established a documentation center where records were kept and even research was undertaken. Diaries portrayed daily activities; they were personal but they also were intended to establish a historical memory. Documents were saved and later hidden. If individuals were not to survive, at least historical memory would bear witness to their demise and to their life under the intolerable conditions. Underground newspapers were published, and even theater performances and concerts were held in the ghetto.

The Jews gave their efforts a name: *Iberleben*, to outlive, to endure, to survive. Rabbi Yiẓḥak *Nissenbaum of the Warsaw ghetto spoke of **kedushat ha-ḥayyim*, the sanctification of life, as opposed to **kiddush ha-Shem*, traditional martyrdom, the sanctification of God's name. In the past, remaining faithful to Jewish tradition, sanctifying God's name, had deprived the enemy of their ultimate victory. Since the Nazis intended to impose the "Final Solution to the Jewish Question," to murder all Jews, remaining alive, sanctifying life, would deprive the Nazis of their victory.

JEWISH LEADERSHIP. Ghettos took a variety of forms and were led by men of diverse talents, egos, and integrity. Jewish leadership, like the ghetto itself, must be viewed from two perspectives. To the German masters, Jewish leadership was an indispensable instrument of German control; to the Jews, Jewish leaders imposed German domination on the ghetto and represented – usually without much success and in the end with absolute and total failure – Jewish needs to the Germans. They were caught with the most limited power in a dilemma not of their own making with meager resources and massive needs under the total domination of their captors, who ultimately ordered the liquidation – deportation to death camps – of the ghetto population. The head of the Warsaw Jewish Council, Adam *Czerniakow, an engineer by training, permitted laissez-faire capitalism. In Lodz, Mordechai Chaim *Rumkowski made himself and the Jewish Council the central and controlling arm of the besieged ghetto. He pursued a strategy of "survival by work." He reasoned that if the ghetto could become a productive work force making materials essential to the Wehrmacht (the German army), the Germans would be reluctant to destroy it. He was willing to pay the price of his strategy. Unlike Czerniakow, who sought to protect the children of the Warsaw ghetto, Rumkowski preserved the productive and was willing to consent to the deportation of the young and the old, sacrificing some while saving more inhabitants. On September 4, 1942, he gave an anguished speech. "Fathers and mothers, give me your children… A broken Jew stands before you… I reach out to you with my broken and trembling hands and I beg: give into my hands the victims so that we can avoid having other victims. A population of 100,000 Jews can be preserved." Alongside formal Jewish leadership, there were informal Jewish leaders. Soup kitchens were organized, apartment houses became a beehive of opportunity, rabbis continued to teach Torah and youth activities grew more intense and urgent. Jews continued their cultural life, even within the ghettos. Theater was produced, concerts were organized. The very survival of the Warsaw ghetto depended upon the activities of smugglers, who produced the food supplies that supplemented the bare rations provided by the Germans.

In retrospect – but only in retrospect – it is clear that the ghettos were a temporary measure containing the Jews until the infrastructure for their murder could be created. Most ghettos lasted for two or at most three years, until the great deportations of 1942 and 1943. Lodz was an exception. It endured until the summer of 1944. And Rumkowski, whom many considered a villain in Jewish history, might have emerged a hero had the Soviet Army liberated his ghetto before the Germans deported the last Jews of Lodz in August 1944.

In the pre-war period, the goal of German policy was to make Germany *Judenrein*, free of Jews. During the initial war years, two other policies were discussed and historians differ as to the seriousness of those discussions – to transport the Jews to reservations in Nisko and Lublin; or the Madagascar plan, to ship the Jews to an island off the coast of Africa. With the evolving war, neither plan was feasible, if even seriously considered.

The German Invasion of the Soviet Union

Historians differ as to the date of the decision to systematically murder Jews, the so-called "Final Solution to the Jewish Problem." There is debate whether and when there was one central decision or a series of regional decisions in response to local conditions, but there is no debate as to when the systematic murder of Jews began. It commenced with the German invasion of the Soviet Union.

Code named "Operation Barbarosa," the German invasion began on June 22, 1941. The scope of the operation was vast: more than three million German soldiers, accompanied by half a million additional personnel from Germany's allies (Finland, Romania, Hungary, Italy, Slovakia, and Croatia, and a contingent of troops from Spain). The attack was broad, from the Baltic Sea in the north to the Black Sea in the south. Unprepared for the assault because the Soviet leadership refused to believe early and accurate warnings, the Red Army was initially overwhelmed. Three German army groups advanced deep into Soviet territory. Millions of Soviet soldiers were encircled, cut off from supplies and reinforcements, and forced to surrender. Many, if not most, were to die due the harsh conditions of their captivity in the winter of 1941–42. Those who survived the winter found their chances of survival improved as Germany understood that success would not be immediate and the labor of captured POWs could be valuable.

Before the onset of fall in September 1941, German forces were at the gates of Leningrad in the north, Smolensk in the center, and Dnipropetrovsk in the south. They came to the outskirts of Moscow. The *Wehrmacht* was clearly exhausted and its supply lines were stretched to the breaking point. German troops were unprepared for winter fighting, as they expected an early Soviet surrender. The onset of the harsh Soviet winter made military operations more difficult and exacted a toll on German soldiers.

In December 1941, the Soviet Union launched a counteroffensive that was initially successful in forcing a German retreat from the outskirts of Moscow. But by spring the front was stabilized east of Smolensk. Germany was poised to move to the offense, with a massive attack in the south toward the city of Stalingrad on the Volga River and the oil fields of the Caucasus. By August 1942, German forces neared the city. With the battle for Stalingrad, German domination of Europe was at its height.

EINSATZGRUPPEN. Three thousand men of the *Einsatzgruppen*, or special (killing) units, entered the Soviet Union in June 1941 together with the *Wehrmacht* and other Axis armies. Their assignment was to enter cities and towns, villages and hamlets, to round up Jews, Soviet commissars, and gypsies, to confiscate their property, and to systematically murder them. They did not operate alone. The *Wehrmacht* and other Axis armies, local gendarmeries, and native antisemitic groups assisted them. They entered a city, arrested the victims (often by calling for their assembly using deceptive promises of relocation), marched them to the edge of the city, and murdered them one by one. Their victims were men, women, and children, entire families, whole communities, entire regions. One can plot the progress of the *Einsatzgruppen* week by week. Reports were written to their superiors, maps were drawn up marking their accomplishments, with coffins and numbers of Jews killed. Sometimes, the mere presence of German troops in an area was sufficient to spur a massacre. The Polish population of the village of *Jedwabne murdered its Jewish neighbors. For years the massacre was blamed on the Germans, though everyone knew that the local population had turned against its Jews. In Babi Yar near Kiev, Ukraine, 33,771 Jews were murdered on September 28–29 in the week between Rosh ha-Shanah and Yom Kippur. In the Rumbula Forest outside the ghetto in Riga, Latvia, 25,000 to 28,000 Jews were murdered on November 30 and December 8–9. More than 60,000 Jews were murdered at Ponary, the killing field adjacent to Vilna (Vilnius) in Lithuania, and 9,000 Jews, half of them children, were slaughtered at the Ninth Fort adjacent to Kovno (Kaunas), Lithuania, on October 28, 1941.

Mass shootings continued unabated, wave after wave. It is conservatively estimated that 1,400,000 Jews were killed in these shootings. When the killing had ended, and it appeared as if Soviet forces would again control the killing fields, special units returned to dig up the dead and burn their bodies to destroy the evidence of the crime. The operation, conducted by SS Kommando 1005 under the command of Paul Blobel, was called "Operation Blot Out." Erasing the evidence would permit the denial of the crime.

AN EYEWITNESS ACCOUNT. Translation of document 2999-PS submitted to the International Military Tribunal, Nuremberg:

> I, Hermann Friedrich Graebe, declare under oath:
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> From September 1941 until January 1944 I was manager and engineer in charge of a branch office in Sdolbunow, Ukraine, of the Solingen building firm of Josef Jung. In this capacity it was my job to visit the building sites of the firm. Under contract to an Army Construction office, the firm had orders to erect grain storage buildings on the former airport of Dubno, Ukraine.
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> On 5 October 1942, when I visited the building office at Dubno, my foreman Hubert Moennikes of 21 Aussenmuehlenweg, Hamburg-Haarburg, told me that in the vicinity of the site, Jews from Dubno had been shot in three large pits, each about 30 meters long and 3 meters deep. About 1500 persons had been killed daily. All of the 5000 Jews who had still been living in Dubno before the pogrom were to be liquidated. As the shootings had taken place in his presence he was still much upset.
>
> Thereupon I drove to the site, accompanied by Moennikes and saw near it great mounds of earth, about 30 meters long and 2 meters high. Several trucks stood in front of the mounds. Armed Ukrainian militia drove the people off the trucks under the supervision of an SS man. The militia men acted as guards on the trucks and drove them to and from the pit. All these people had the regulation yellow patches on the front and back of their clothes, and thus could be recognized as Jews.
>
> Moennikes and I went direct to the pits. Nobody bothered us. Now I heard rifle shots in quick succession, from behind one of the earth mounds. The people who had got off the trucks – men, women, and children of all ages – had to undress upon the orders of an SS man, who carried a riding or dog whip. They had to put down their clothes in fixed places, sorted according to shoes, top clothing and underclothing. I saw a heap of shoes of about 800 to 1000 pairs, great piles of underlinens and clothing. Without screaming or weeping these people undressed, stood around in family groups, kissed each other, said farewells and waited for a sign from another SS man, who stood near the pit, also with a whip in his hand. During the 15 minutes that I stood near the pit I heard no complaint or plea for mercy. I watched a family of about 8 persons, a man and woman, both about 50 with their children of about 1, 8 and 10, and two grown-up daughters of about 20 to 24. An old woman with snow-white hair was holding the one-year old child in her arms and singing to it, and tickling it. The child was cooing with delight. The couple were looking on with tears in their eyes. The father was holding the hand of a boy about 10 years old and speaking to him softly; the boy was fighting his tears. The father pointed toward the sky, stroked his head, and seemed to explain something to him. At that moment the SS man at the pit shouted something to his comrade. The latter counted off about 20 persons and instructed them to go behind the earth mound. Among them was the family, which I have mentioned. I well remember a girl, slim and with black hair, who, as she passed close to me, pointed to herself and said, "23." I walked around the mound, and found myself confronted by a tremendous grave. People were closely wedged together and lying on top of each other so that only their heads were visible. Nearly all had blood running over their shoulders from their heads. Some of the people shot were still moving. Some were lifting their arms and turning their heads to show that they were still alive. The pit was already ⅔ full. I estimated that it already contained about 1000 people. I looked for the man who did the shooting. He was an SS man, who sat at the edge of the narrow end of the pit, his feet dangling into the pit. He had a tommy gun on his knees and was smoking a cigarette. The people, completely naked, went down some steps which were cut in the clay wall of the pit and clambered over the heads of the people lying there, to the place to which the SS man directed them. They lay down in front of the dead or injured people; some caressed those who were still alive and spoke to them in a low voice. Then I heard a series of shots. I looked into the pit and saw that the bodies were twitching or the heads lying already motionless on top of the bodies that lay before them. Blood was running from their necks. I was surprised that I was not ordered away, but I saw that there were two or three postmen in uniform nearby. The next batch was approaching already. They went down into the pit, lined themselves up against the previous victims and were shot. When I walked back, round the mound I noticed another truckload of people which had just arrived. This time it included sick and infirm persons. An old, very thin woman with terribly thin legs was undressed by others who were already naked, while two people held her up. The woman appeared to be paralyzed. The naked people carried the woman around the mound. I left with Moennikes and drove in my car back to Dubno.
>
> On the morning of the next day, when I again visited the site, I saw about 30 naked people lying near the pit – about 30 to 50 meters away from it. Some of them were still alive; they looked straight in front of them with a fixed stare and seemed to notice neither the chilliness of the morning nor the workers of my firm who stood around. A girl of about 20 spoke to me and asked me to give her clothes, and help her escape. At that moment we heard a fast car approach and I noticed that it was an SS-detail. I moved away to my site. Ten minutes later we heard shots from the vicinity of the pit. The Jews still alive had been ordered to throw the corpses into the pit – then they had themselves to lie down in this to be shot in the neck.

Who were these men? What were their motivations? After the war, they claimed that they were merely following orders. Raul Hilberg described them: "The great majority of the officers of the *Einsatzgruppen* were professional men. They included a physician, a professional opera singer and a large number of lawyers. They were in no sense hoodlums, delinquents, common criminals or sex maniacs. Most were intellectuals.… There is no indication that any of them requested an assignment to a Kommando. All we know is that they brought to their new task all the skills and training that they were capable of contributing. In short, they became efficient killers."

In a well received work, *Ordinary Men: Reserve Police Battalion 101 and the Final Solution in Poland*, Christopher Browning described the members of the units as ordinary men placed in extraordinary circumstances where conformity, peer pressure, careerism, obedience to orders, and group solidarity gradually overcame moral inhibitions. Daniel Jonah Goldhagen, whose book *Hitler's Willing Executioners* became an international bestseller and triggered discussion on three continents, disputes Browning's account and views them not as ordinary men but ordinary Germans who had embraced Hitler's vision of eliminationist antisemitism and were able to embrace its next phase, exterminationist antisemitism. The systematic murder, what the Germans called extermination – something that is done to rodents or bugs, not people – was not a pleasant task, but necessary.

Both Browning and Goldhagen concur that no *Einsatzgruppen* member faced punishment if he asked to be excused. They may have slowed their career advancement, they may have lost face, they may have disappointed their comrades, but they had a choice whether to participate or not. Almost all chose to become killers.

The SS remained proud of its achievement. In a speech to SS Major Generals at Poznan on October 4, 1943, some two hours into his three-hour ten-minute speech, Heinrich Himmler paused to speak of the Jews. He spoke openly and directly. "The Jewish people is going to be annihilated."

He spoke with pride in his men, pride in their toughness, pride in their moral integrity: "Most of you know what it means to see a hundred corpses lie side by side, or five hundred, or a thousand. To have stuck this out and – excepting cases of human weakness – to have kept our integrity, that is what has made us hard."

He spoke the unspoken. He spoke but urged silence. "This is an unwritten and never-to-be-written page of glory [in German history]."

He spoke of the Jews, but not only the Jews. Of the Soviet POWs who were killed or allowed to die in the millions, he spoke with regret in the most utilitarian of tones. He regretted the loss of their labor potential. "At that time we did not value this human mass the way we value it today as raw material, as labor."

He spoke candidly, "What happens to the Russians, what happens to the Czechs, is a matter of total indifference to me." Germany was the center. Other nations concerned him only insofar as needed. "It is a crime against our own blood to worry about them."

This form of killing imposed a burden on the killers. Alcohol was needed, after the killing and later even before and during. Some broke under the strain. Many found their duty difficult. And the killing was public, which had significant consequences even to an acquiescent native population.

The experience of Jews in the territories where the *Einsatzgruppen* killers engaged in mass killing differed from that of the Jews of Poland in two major respects. In Poland, ghettoization preceded the mass killing. Further to the east, killing came first. The ghettoized Jews could have no doubts regarding German intentions, no doubts that they were intent on killing them. Some ghettos were surrounded by large forests, which could be used for hiding. These facilitated escape because there was somewhere to go. They also served as a base for Partisan groups. Murder in these areas began in 1941; ghettoization in Poland had begun some 18 months earlier.

The Wannsee Conference

On January 20, 1942, Reinhard Heydrich convened a conference at a Berlin lakeside villa at Wannsee to coordinate the "Final Solution to the Jewish Problem." Heydrich had received special responsibilities on the Jewish question some six months earlier and the meeting was originally set for December 9, 1941, but the bombing of Pearl Harbor and the entry of the United States into the war forced its postponement. Around the table were 15 men representing government agencies necessary for the implementation of so bold a policy. Seven had doctorates. They were able and experienced, what might be termed "the best and the brightest." Language was an important means of deceit and concealment – deceit of the victims, even self-imposed deceit of the killers. The language of the meeting was direct, the protocols prepared by Adolf *Eichmann, an SS officer who headed the Jewish affairs department in the Reich Central Security Office (*Reichssicherheithauptamt*, RSHA), were circumspect: "Another possible solution to the [Jewish] problem has now taken the place of emigration, i.e., evacuation to the East… Practical experience is already being collected which is of the greatest importance in the relation to the future final solution of the Jewish problem." "Evacuation to the East" was understood as deportation to killing centers. Practical experience was understood as the experimental gassing in September at *Auschwitz, the use of mobile gas vans at *Chelmno on December 8 for mass murder. Thirty closely guarded copies of the protocols were prepared; only one was discovered after the war.

The conclusions of the *Wannsee Conference can be seen in what happened next. In the winter of 1942, death camps were opened at *Treblinka, *Sobibor, and *Belzec. These three camps were almost exclusively dedicated to the murder of Jews; their impact was total. There were two known survivors of Belzec, where some 500,000 Jews were murdered in 10 months; perhaps 50 survivors from Sobibor, where an uprising had occurred and where 250,000 Jews were killed; and perhaps twice that many from Treblinka, where an uprising also took place and between 750,000 and 870,000 were killed.

DEATH CAMPS. The death camps were the essential instrument of the Final Solution and a unique feature of the German program of mass murder. The *Einsatzgruppen* had been sent to their victims. In the camps, the process was reversed. The victims were sent by train, often in cattle cars, to their killers. The camps became factories producing dead corpses at minimal physical and psychological cost to German personnel. Assisted by Ukrainian and Latvian collaborators and prisoners of war, a few Germans could kill tens of thousands each month. At

Chelmno, the first of the killing centers, mobile gas vans were used. These were trucks in which gas from the exhaust system was sent directly to the rear compartment. Local mechanics tinkered with the trucks to make them more "efficient." Later the mechanics requested that the rear axles be strengthened and the rear doors reinforced, as Jews were rushing toward the rear to escape the fumes. Elsewhere, the gas chambers were permanent buildings, linked to the crematoria or to open pits where bodies were burned. Carbon monoxide was the gas of choice at most camps. Zyklon B, an especially lethal killing agent, was employed primarily at Auschwitz.

Auschwitz, perhaps the most notorious and lethal of the concentration camps, was actually three camps in one: a prisoner-of-war camp (Auschwitz I), a death camp (Auschwitz II–Birkenau), and a slave labor camp (Buna-Monowitz). Upon arrival, Jewish prisoners faced a *Selektion*. With a German physician presiding, the young and the old, pregnant women, young children, the handicapped, sick, and infirm were sent directly to the gas chambers. As necessary, the able-bodied would be sent to work in the factories adjacent to Auschwitz, where one German company, I.G. Farben, invested 700 million Reichsmarks in 1942 to take advantage of forced labor. Others followed suit. Deprived of adequate food, shelter, clothing, and medical care, the prisoners were literally worked to death. Periodically, they would face another *Selektion*. Those unable to work would be transferred to Birkenau, where they would be gassed. At Auschwitz, the Roma and Sinti (gypsies) were gassed as well. Historians estimate that 1.1 to 1.3 million people were murdered at Auschwitz; nine out of ten were Jews.

While the death camps of Auschwitz and *Madjanek also used inmates for slave labor and other types of forced support of the German war effort, the camps of Belzec, Treblinka, Chelmno, and Sobibor had one task alone: killing.

A TESTIMONY OF LIFE INSIDE THE CAMPS. Lilly Applebaum Lublin, born in Antwerp, Belgium, was twelve years old when the Germans invaded her country in 1940 and 15 when she arrived at Birkenau. She had lived in hiding for three years until being captured and sent to the transit camp at Malines (Mechelen), Belgium, to await transport to Auschwitz. She recalled, "We were pushed in the cattle cars – like sardines. We were dirty with buckets for our urine and bowel movements. There was a small little window with barbed wire over it, and we had no air except what came from that little window. And we traveled like this, I think for three or four days."

The train rides were so horrible that surviving prisoners thought that they had survived the worst. They were mistaken. Lilly remembered her arrival. "It was like dawn. And I saw lights, and we saw fire from far away. And like a chimney, with fire going. And I thought they were factories. And I said, 'Good. We will be able to work.'"

Upon arrival all possessions were confiscated. "They told us to leave our luggage. And whatever packages we had with us we had to leave on the ground." Lilly had arrived at the ramp, from which a rail spur took the Jews directly into Birkenau, within site of the gas chambers. She then faced *Selektion*.

> They separated the men from the women. I didn't even have time to say goodbye to my uncle and my aunt. And as we came in front of the Germans, one tall fellow – I didn't know who he was – guided us to go to the right or to the left. He told me to go to the right, and he told my aunt to go to the left. I never saw her again… I was fifteen years old, and I was all alone in this hell.
>
> They told us to undress and that we were going to be showered and that they were going to give us clothes. The place was freezing cold. We stayed there for hours to wait for our clothes. No towels to dry, we had no food. And finally they gave us the clothes, and then they put us in barracks.
>
> They tattooed me; and they told us from now on, this is my name. My name is A-5143… From now on, you do not answer by your name…
>
> I felt like I was not a human person anymore. They had shaved our heads; and I felt so ashamed. And also when they told us to undress and to shower, they made us feel like… like we were animals. The men were walking around, and laughing and looking at us. And you take a young girl at that age, who had never been exposed to a person… to a man, and you stay there naked… I wanted the ground to open, and I should go into it.

Living conditions were primitive. Primo *Levi, who was in Auschwitz when Lilly arrived, said that if the camps had lasted a little longer a new language would have had to be invented. Ordinary words are not adequate to describe the conditions. Lily recounted: "We were packed like sardines. The beds were bunks, three layers. I was on the top layer… If one person wanted to turn, we all had to turn so that we could move around."

The transition between sleep – however disturbed – and the reality of waking up in Auschwitz was so great that survivors tell of deliberately waking up early so that they could shield themselves from the shock of waking to yet another dreadful day.

> Each day there was the morning roll call, the counting of prisoners, who stood in the mud for hours in freezing weather. I used to say to myself, "What did I do to deserve this, to be here for the Germans to do this to me? What did we do to them?" The questions were never answered.

Food was scarce and portions were small – watery soup, ersatz coffee, bread that tasted like sawdust. Prisoners were often hungrier after they ate than before. Lilly recalled:

> They gave me, finally, little rations of hard, dried-up bread which was half mildew, I could hardly eat it. And a tin can of soup; which was so rotten and vile, when I tasted it I couldn't eat it… I just ate the bread and drank a little water, which was just rust running out from the sink that they had over there… And finally when I got so hungry and I knew I had to eat the soup, I couldn't eat it. It was so vile. It was so terrible. I never ate anything like that in my whole life. I said, "If I want to survive… I have to eat the soup." So I started eating the soup. And I… I remember forcing the soup down my throat, and big tears coming down my face. Eating and crying, eating and crying, this is how I was in Birkenau.

Life was an ongoing struggle:

> Every day, I woke up and I would find one or two people who wanted to end their lives and couldn't take it anymore. They would throw themselves to the electric wires and make an end of it. And every once in a blue moon, I couldn't take it anymore. I would try to sneak out of the barracks late at night… and I would see the sky… And I would talk to myself; and I would say, "I can't believe that these stars are looking down at us in this Hell, in this camp, and the same stars are shining at the outside of the world. And other people are looking at the same stars, and they are free. And they are free to do what they want to do. And they are living a good life. And we are here in Hell – human beings worse than animals. And nobody is doing anything about it."

She asked questions unanswerable then or now:

> As young as I was, I… I was asking myself these questions. And I would say, "Where is the world? Why isn't the world doing anything about this?" And then I would question God; and I would say, "Where is God? How can He let us be killed like that?" And after I cried myself out real good, I would go back to the barracks.

Armed Resistance

It is often asked why Jews did not make greater attempts at armed resistance. Jews had almost no access to arms, were surrounded by native antisemitic populations who often collaborated with the Nazis or were not unsympathetic to the elimination of the Jews, and were alone against a German war machine zealously determined to carry out the Final Solution. Unlike conventional insurgency operations, where the fighters blend in and are protected by the local population, Jews stood out. They were often different in appearance and in their language and accent. Jewish men were circumcised; most European men were not. Also, the Germans went to great lengths to disguise the ultimate nature of their plans. Deception was an essential part of the Final Solution.

In the ghettos, because of the German policy of collective and disproportionate reprisal, Jews were often hesitant to resist. To escape was to endanger those who were left behind. To resist subjected the entire ghetto to punishment. Jews were also bound by family ties. Resistance was not an issue of courage; resistance fighters had no monopoly on valor. It took courage for Janusz *Korczak to defy Nazi orders and refuse to wear the Jewish star armband and especially to march with his orphans to the Umschlagplatz, the deportation point, in Warsaw, as he did in August 1942. He had been offered shelter and could have survived, but would a teacher abandon his students, could he leave his children?

While in the aftermath of the Holocaust many Jews focused on resistance as a way of salvaging pride and grappling with accusations of collaboration, Jews were traditionally skilled in the practice of defiance. They attempted to hide children in convents, or with friends and even strangers, doing virtually anything to save them. They used false papers. There were two types of concealment: passing oneself off as a non-Jew and hoping not to meet anyone who knew you from a former life or finding a place where one could live indefinitely in a sequestered fashion. Every manner of escape was a form of defiance. Yehuda *Bauer, a historian of the Holocaust, attempted to broaden the definition of resistance by speaking of "any group action consciously taken in opposition to known and surmised laws, actions or intentions directed against the Jews by the Germans and their supporters." Saul Esh wrote of the "dignity of the destroyed."

Attitudes toward armed resistance changed when the Germans ordered the final destruction of the ghettos, and it became clear to the residents that they all were going to die. As long as there was hope for survival, the inhabitants of the ghetto were reluctant to resist. Some understood their desperate situation earlier than others; some who understood what was to happen were paralyzed by grief and fear. Others, usually the young and able-bodied, those without young children or elderly parents for whom they were responsible, were willing to fight.

Jews resisted in the forests, in the ghettos, and even in the death camps. They fought alone and alongside resistance groups in France, Yugoslavia, and Russia. As a rule, full-scale uprisings – last stands – occurred only at the end when the reality of impending death was impossible to deny. They were not intended to defeat the enemy – that was impossible – but to make a statement through one's life and one's death; to uphold Jewish honor; to avenge Jewish losses; to see the "superman" bleed like a mere mortal. In Warsaw, there was no resistance during the great deportations of the summer of 1942, when, between July 23 and September 12, more than 265,000 Jews were deported to Treblinka. Armed resistance began on January 18, 1943; the clash was short and sharp and the deportations, which were planned by the Germans to be limited, were halted. On April 19, 1943, the second day of Passover, a full-scale uprising began in the Warsaw ghetto, led by 23-year-old Mordecai *Anielewicz. In Vilna, the underground leader, Abba *Kovner, who had intuitively recognized the full intent of Nazi policy toward the Jews, called for resistance in January 1942. He proclaimed: "Hitler wants to destroy all the Jews of Europe and the Jews of Lithuania have been chosen as the first in line." Yet an uprising did not begin until September 1943. Some United Partisan Organization (FPO) members shot at the Germans but the Jewish population refused to join them; thus the Partisans realized that they had no choice but to escape to the forest or risk internal conflict. At Treblinka and Sobibor, uprisings occurred when the inmates perceived that the death camps were being dismantled and the remaining prisoners were soon to be killed. This was also true at Auschwitz, where the *Sonderkommando, the prisoner units that worked in the vicinity of the gas chambers, destroyed a gas chamber just as the killing was coming to an end in October 1944 with Russian troops advancing.

As a rule, armed resistance was the domain of the young and the able, those capable of fighting and those not bound by responsibilities for aging parents or young children, but in the forests of Belorussia the *Bielski brothers established a unique family camp with a dual purpose of rescue and resistance. They accepted children and the aged and not only able-bodied men and women.

The Fate of the Jews in Other Countries

In Romania, the slaughter of the Jews was conducted by the Romanians themselves. In a sense they imitated the Germans; they had their own *Kristallnacht* in January 1941, when synagogues were burned, shops destroyed, and homes ransacked; 120 Jews were killed in Bucharest. Three days after Romania joined Germany in the invasion of the Soviet Union, a massive pogrom took place in the Northern Romanian city of *Jassy. On June 30, 4,332 Jews who survived the pogrom were put on trains, but instead of being offloaded at a death camp they rode the rails of Romania until they expired from heat, dehydration, starvation, and exhaustion. Jews from Bessarabia and Bukovina were expelled to *Transnistria, which also became a destination of Ukrainian Jews. Over 100,000 Ukrainian Jews were killed there while under Romanian administration. Toward the end of the war, when the defeat of Germany was all but certain, Romania found more value in living Jews who could be held for ransom or used as leverage with the Allies.

Bulgaria, which was an ally of Germany, permitted and participated in the deportation of Jews from neighboring Thrace and Macedonia, which it controlled. But when it came to its own Jews, segments of the population protested publicly and the Bulgarian Orthodox Church weighed in heavily. Jews were sent to work camps and persecuted, but in the end Jewish citizens of Bulgaria were not deported.

France was invaded by the Germans in May 1940. Its defeat was swift. France signed an armistice with Germany in June 1940; northern France and the Atlantic coast came under German occupation, part of southeastern France came under Italian occupation, and Alsace and Lorraine were annexed to Germany; the remainder, most of southern France, was unoccupied and governed by the French Vichy regime. Antisemitic legislation was passed that excluded Jews from public life, the civil service, and the army as well as the professions, commerce, and industry. In 1942, Jews were rounded up by French police in both the occupied and unoccupied zones and sent to transit camps such as the one at Drancy, and from there to Auschwitz. The last deportation from France was in the summer of 1944; by then some 75,000 Jews, mostly foreign-born, had been deported. In France, the Jews under fascist Italian occupation in the south fared better than the Jews of Vichy France, where collaborationist French authorities and police provided essential support to the understaffed German forces. The Jews in those parts of France under direct German occupation fared the worst.

The Germans invaded Belgium in May of 1940 and imposed a military administration that coexisted with a civilian administration. Jews were initially used for forced labor, working in clothing and armaments. There were 65,000 Jews in Belgium, mostly in Antwerp and Brussels; 25,000 avoided deportation by hiding. Between 1942 and 1944 more than 25,000 Jews were deported to Auschwitz via the transit camps of Malines and Breendonk.

There were more than 3,000 Jews in Luxembourg, which was invaded by Germany in May 1940 and annexed in 1942. Jews were interned in the Fuenfbrunnen camp in northern Luxembourg and then deported to the death camps. Almost 2,000 Jews from Luxembourg where killed and the country was declared judenrein; more than 1,000 Jews had fled and some survived in hiding. Jews in mixed marriages were exempt from deportation.

Germany invaded the Netherlands in May 1940. Arthur *Seyss-Inquart was installed as the German commissioner. He ordered the registration of all 140,000 Dutch Jews in January 1941; all had to move to Amsterdam. Deportations began in 1942. Foreign or stateless Jews were interned in the transit camp at Westerbork; others, mainly Jews from outside Amsterdam, were sent to Vught. In late June deportations began to Auschwitz and to Sobibor. No better than the French police, the Dutch police participated in rounding up the Jews for deportation. More than 100,000 Jews were deported; fewer than one in four Dutch Jews survived the war.

Under Mussolini the Italians passed antisemitic laws and confined Jewish refugees to internment camps where families lived together. Italy was an ally of Germany and it enjoyed the fruits of early German victories, occupying territories in Yugoslavia, Greece, and southern France. Despite its alliance, however, it did not cooperate in the Final Solution, neither at home nor in the territories it occupied. In 1943, after the Allied invasion, Mussolini was overthrown and in September a ceasefire was negotiated, but it did not last. Germany invaded and occupied northern and central Italy and reinstalled Mussolini, who was now its puppet. It was then that the Germans imposed the Final Solution in Italy. In November 1943 Jews were rounded up in Genoa, Milan, Florence, Trieste, and other northern cities and sent to transit camps. There were deportations from Rome, despite the presence of the Vatican, which did not protest. Eight thousand Jews were shipped from Italy to Birkenau and other concentration camps; more than five times that number survived in Italy. Two thousand more Jews were deported from Rhodes.

Germany invaded Yugoslavia and Greece in April 1941, supported by Italy, Bulgaria, Hungary, and Romania. When the Balkans were subdued, Yugoslavia was partitioned. Hungary received the Backa region and part of northern Croatia. Bulgaria annexed most of Thrace and Macedonia (from Greece and Yugoslavia); Italy annexed the Istrian peninsula, much of Slovenia, and most of the Dalmatian coast, and occupied Montenegro, Albania, and much of northwestern Greece; Germany together with Italy administered Athens, while Germany alone occupied the region of Salonika with its large Jewish community.

Germany also occupied Serbia; Jews there were interned in concentration camps and in August 1941 most Jewish men in the camps were shot. The murder of Serbian Jewish women in 1942 was the intermediate link between the euthanasia program, instituted in 1939, the Einsatzgruppen killings, which began in the summer of 1941, and the development of stationary killing centers, established in Poland in 1942. Jewish women and children were interned at a concentration camp on the abandoned exhibition ground of Semlin, within view of Belgrade. Between March and May 1942 they were murdered in mobile gas vans.

The Jews in the camp were deceived but the general population understood precisely what was happening. They could point to these mobile gas vans and see them functioning. The technical design of the gas vans was turned over to the motor pool, to talented and not so talented auto mechanics. The chief of the Motor Vehicle Administration turned to an automotive specialist to ask his chief mechanic if exhaust gas could be directed into a closed truck to kill the passengers.

Immediately thereafter, five Sara trucks were secured. They were furniture vans with a storage compartment about five meters long and two meters wide and were painted field gray. Within weeks, 40 naked Russians were led into a locked truck; after 20 minutes all were dead. They were pink when they died, which indicated they died of poisoning, and not of suffocation. Then a firm was contracted for 30 converted vans. It gave the contract to Sara, but they used Opel and Blitz and Diamond vehicles as well, which were also converted. The last held 25 while the Sara models held 50 people.

There were complaints; not about the murders but about how they were being done. The first problem was how the vans were to be unloaded, because people pushed against the rear in order to get out. Next, the rear axle collapsed from the surge of weight and the brakes required frequent repairs; therefore the effort was made to prevent any failure so that these trucks could perform their murderous mission in a satisfactory manner. There was no concern about causing the victims agony, but the task of unloading was burdensome. Mechanics did not complain about their task but were upset when their craftsmanship was challenged. By December 1941, 5,291 Jewish women and children had been interned. The general estimate is that by January and February the number had grown to about 7,500. The murder of Serbian Jewry was divided between well-educated and sophisticated organizers and lower-middle-class executioners – the grunts. The decision to commit the murders practically evolved of itself. If Belgrade wanted to get rid of Jewish women and children, Belgrade officials would have to do it themselves. All they could get from Reinhard Heydrich were the instruments, and local pressures caused the authorities to provide the means for the locals to do the job, at least until the structure of the death camps was ready.

In Croatia, the Germans established a puppet state, and more than 20,000 Jews were killed in the Jasenovac concentration camp near Zagreb. In 1942–43, another 7,000 were deported, mainly to Auschwitz and Birkenau. Some Croatian Jews escaped to Italian-occupied territories, where they were sent to a camp but not deported.

In Salonika, an area under direct German control, the Final Solution followed a familiar course. In mid-July 1942, Jewish men aged 18 to 45 were publicly humiliated, released, and then registered for forced labor. They were ransomed in exchange for large sums of money raised by the Jewish community. In February 1943, the Jews of Salonika were concentrated in two ghettos, one in the east of the city and one in the western Baron de Hirsch section of the city, near the railroad station. Adolf Eichmann's deputies, Dieter Wisliceny and Alois Brunner, were dispatched to arrange for the deportations. When the train transport was in place, more than 45,000 Jews were sent between May and August to Auschwitz-Birkenau. Three out of four of them were gassed upon arrival. The remaining Jews were used for slave labor. Jews holding Spanish citizenship living in Salonika (and later in Athens) were deported to Bergen-Belsen. One group of "protected Jews" was actually repatriated to Spain.

In Athens, Jewish property was confiscated on October 7, 1943. In March of the next year the Germans used the ruse of the distribution of matzah, unleavened bread required to observe Passover, to arrest some 800 Jews in Athens. On March 24–25, the first days of Passover, they were arrested and shipped to Auschwitz. Some 500 additional Jews were arrested in their homes and some Jews from outside Athens were also rounded up. Other Athenian Jews went into hiding. Germany then continued to round up the Jews of the islands, including 2,000 Jews of Corfu, who were arrested in June 1944 and of whom only 200 returned, and the 1,700 Jews of Rhodes, who suffered a similar fate and were deported in 1944.

Czechoslovakia became a casualty of German expansion even before the war began. The Sudetenland was surrendered in September 1938 in exchange for Hitler's pledge of peace. On March 15, 1939, he violated the Munich agreement and Bohemia and Moravia became a German "protectorate." Slovakia became an independent state, allied with Germany.

Slovakia became a one-party state. Its authoritarian leader Jozef *Tiso, a Roman Catholic priest, was an extreme nationalist. Jews were persecuted and anti-Jewish legislation was introduced along with a Jewish Code resembling the Nuremberg laws. Jews lived under curfew and were not allowed to assemble. Beginning on March 27, 1942, Jews were sent eastward from Slovakia, which paid a fee to the Germans for each deportee. Between March and June some 54,000 Jews were deported, mainly to Auschwitz and Majdanek. Jewish leaders, such as Gisi *Fleischmann and Rabbi Michael Dov *Weissmandel, a Zionist woman and an ultra-Orthodox Jew, joined together in a group associated with the local Judenrat, known as the Working Group, to stop the deportations by bribing Nazi officials. When the deportations were halted in October, they believed that the Jews could be bought and pleaded with international Jewish organizations for help for adequate sums to ransom all the Jews. Weissmandel, who lost his family on a transport to Auschwitz, was particularly bitter that massive help was not forthcoming. In May 1944 the Working Group received the Auschwitz Protocols from two Auschwitz escapees, Rudolph Vr'ba and Alfred Wetzler, detailing the scope of gassing activities at the largest of the Nazi death camps. They pleaded, through the World Jewish Congress and other Jewish organizations with whom they were able to maintain contact, that Auschwitz be bombed, but it was not.

When Germany invaded Norway in April 1940, there were 1,700 Jews in the country, among them 200 refugees from other countries. Beginning in the fall of 1942 and through February 25, 1943, at the initiative of Vidkun Quisling, whose name has become synonymous with a puppet leader, 763 Norwegian Jews were deported to Auschwitz, where 739 died. The local population, including its church leadership, protested. A letter read in the churches of Norway had a simple but eloquent message: "God does not differentiate among people." In Norway itself, 23 Jews were killed. Aided by the underground, 900 Jews escaped to Sweden, which was willing to take assimilated Scandinavian Jews.

In November 1941, the Germans established the *Theresienstadt ghetto in an old fortress town. Tens of thousands of Jews were deported there: the majority of Prague Jewry as well as Jews from Brno, Moravska, Ostava Olomouc, and other towns of the Protectorate. Theresienstadt was actually a ghetto, a concentration camp, and a transit camp. For a time it housed prominent Jews from Central Europe, Germany and Austria, the Netherlands, and Denmark. About 144,000 Jews were deported to Theresienstadt, 88,000 were sent from Theresienstadt to Auschwitz, and 33,000 died in the camp itself. Of the 15,000 children sent to Theresienstadt, fewer than 100 survived.

When Danish Jews were deported to Theresienstadt, the Danish government did not lose interest in their fate. It demanded an accounting of its citizens' fate and insisted that the Red Cross visit the ghetto. The Germans permitted the visit, but on their terms. They presumed that they could outmaneuver the Red Cross delegation. In the weeks before the visit, deportations were intensified. The model ghetto/transit camp/concentration camp was beautified. Gardens were planted, houses painted, sidewalks washed, and new barracks built. Turf was laid on the village green. A building was refitted to serve as a social center, concert hall, and synagogue. A monument was even erected to honor dead Jews.

Fearful that any slip of the tongue or crack in the veneer of peaceful village life would further endanger the beleaguered Jews of Theresienstadt, Paul Eppstein, the head of the Jewish Council of Elders, greeted the guests in a black suit and top hat. A band played light music. A cafe created for the occasion was filled with customers. Goods were displayed in store windows. When the delegation came to the soccer field, a goal was scored on cue. Danish Jews, no more than two or three in a room, were visited in their freshly painted quarters. A children's opera, *Brundibar*, was performed for the guests.

The hoax succeeded so well that a propaganda film showing how well the Jews were living under the benevolent protection of the Third Reich was made at Theresienstadt. When the filming was over, most of the cast, including nearly all of the children, were deported to Auschwitz.

THE DESTRUCTION OF THE JEWS OF HUNGARY. Nowhere was the Holocaust more intense and more condensed than in Hungary. What took place over twelve years in Germany occurred over fifteen weeks in Hungary. Beginning the war as a German ally, Hungary had persecuted its Jews but not permitted deportation, at least not of Hungarian Jews. Jews from territories annexed to Hungary – foreign Jews – were deported as early as July–August 1941 to Kamenets-Podolski in the Ukraine, where *Einsatzgruppen* executed them. Hungarian Jews remained untouched. After the German and Hungarian military defeats of 1942–43, Admiral Miklos Horthy, the Hungarian dictator, concluded that Germany would probably lose the war. His government attempted to contact the Allies about a truce in 1942, and resisted German demands that Hungary send it Jews for forced labor. With the situation deteriorating in the Balkans, and fearing the defection of the Hungarians to the Allies, Germany invaded Hungary on March 19, 1944. Horthy remained in power, but a pro-German government was installed under Dome Sztojay. The consequences for the Jews were immediate.

By mid-April the Jews were ghettoized. On May 15, deportations to Auschwitz began. Over the next 54 days, 437,402 Jews were deported from Hungary, primarily to Auschwitz, on 147 trains. Nowhere in German-occupied Europe was the pace of deportations as rapid; nowhere did it begin so late in the war. The operations were personally supervised by Eichmann, who had moved to Budapest for the purpose.

The only remaining Jewish community in Hungary was in Budapest. At this time Himmler, through Eichmann, made an overture to the Allies for a separate armistice and used the Jews of Budapest as bait. In July, the deportations were halted and in August the Sztojay government was dismissed. There was strong outside pressure on behalf of the Jews brought to bear on the Hungarian authorities, intensified by the deteriorating German war situation and the desire of Horthy to cut a deal with the Allies. Following the surrender of the Romanian government in August, and with the looming approach of the Red Army, Horthy, while negotiating with the Germans, again attempted to begin discussions for an armistice with the Allies. In October, Germany responded by arresting Horthy and installing an *Arrow Cross government. Jews in Budapest were then killed on a daily basis. Jews were sent to the banks of the Danube and shot; more than 70,000 were sent on a forced death march to Austria.

The most extraordinary exception to the bleak picture of the fate of European Jews was the experience of Danish Jews. German-occupied Denmark rescued most of its own Jews, spiriting them out of the country in October 1943 by sea to Sweden. Such an action was possible in part because the German presence in Denmark was relatively small. Also, unlike many other countries where antisemitism in the general population led to collaboration with the Germans, Jews were an integrated part of Danish culture. Danish humanitarianism flourished under these unique circumstances. Unlike other churches, which did not speak out against antisemitism, or the German puppet state of Slovakia, whose president was a Roman Catholic priest who presided over the deportations, the Lutheran bishop of Copenhagen, H. Fuglsang-Damgaard, openly urged Danes to protect the Jews, proclaiming: "Whenever persecutions are undertaken for racial or religious reasons, it is the duty of the Christian Church to protest against it." His protest was all too rare among Christian clergy, Protestant and Catholic, during the Holocaust.

Still, such an action was also only possible because it occurred in 1943, when Germany appeared to be losing the war, and because Sweden consented to receive the Danish Jews. Denmark alone of the German-occupied countries looked after its Jewish citizens once they were deported to a concentration camp, e.g.: Theresienstadt, which had the unique status of being a ghetto, a concentration camp and a transit camp.

Rescue

Throughout German-occupied territory, the situation of Jews was desperate. They had meager resources and few allies and faced impossible choices. A few people came to their rescue, often at the risk of their lives. The Swedish diplomat Raoul *Wallenberg arrived in Budapest on July 9, 1944, in an effort to save Hungary's sole remaining Jewish community. Over the next six months, he worked together with other neutral diplomats (Charles Lutz of Switzerland and Giorgio Perlasca, an Italian Fascist who pretended to be a Spanish diplomat), with the Vatican, and with the Jews themselves to prevent the deportation of these last Jews. Le *Chambon, a French Huguenot village, became a haven for 5,000 Jews. In Poland, where hiding a Jew was punishable by death, an underground organization, Zegota, rescued a similar number.

In all occupied countries, there were individuals who came to the rescue of Jews, often without assistance, offering a place to hide, some food, shelter for days, weeks, or even for the duration of the war. Most of the rescuers did not see their actions as heroic, but they felt bound to the Jews by a common sense of humanity. (Israel has recognized rescuers with honorary citizenship and the planting of trees at *Yad Vashem, Israel's memorial to the Holocaust; see *Righteous among the Nations.)

German Retreat

The winter of 1942–43 ended the unbroken streak of victories for the German army. Stalingrad was decisive. A Soviet counteroffensive began in November 1942, surrounding the German army of 250,000 troops. By February, German forces were reduced to 91,000 and the Soviet Army went on the offensive. By the end of 1943, the German army was forced to the banks of the Dneiper and by the end of 1944 they were at the borders of eastern Prussia. In January 1945, the Red Army was on the banks of the Oder and from there it launched its final assault on Berlin.

The Allied force under the command of General Dwight D. Eisenhower launched its assault on D-Day, June 6, 1944, storming the beaches of Normandy and securing the beachhead. Two million Allied soldiers invaded France, opening the long-awaited second front. By August 25, 1944, Paris was liberated. France was liberated by the end of the month. The Allies advanced steadily, facing a huge and surprising counterattack in what became the Battle of the Bulge in December 1944. Nonetheless, the Allies forced Germany into a general retreat. By February they were at the Rhine, and in March the Rhine was crossed and Allied troops moved steadily toward Berlin.

Liberation

In the summer of 1944 the Soviet Army entered Majdanek, and captured it whole. Reports from the camp were carried widely in Western newspapers. W.H. Lawrence, in the *New York Times*, wrote: "I have just been to the most terrible place on earth." The Germans were determined not to allow the capture of a camp nor of its prisoners. In the winter of 1944–45, with Allied armies closing in, desperate ss officials tried frantically to evacuate the concentration camps and conceal what had taken place. They wanted no eyewitnesses remaining. Prisoners were moved westward, forced to march toward the heartland of Germany. There were 59 different Death Marches from Nazi concentration camps during this final winter of German domination, some covering hundreds of miles. Goldhagen called the death marches the ambulatory analogue of deportation. The Nazis, who had wanted to make Germany *judenrein*, free of Jews, and had therefore shipped them eastward by train to death camps, were now bringing them back into their borders on foot. The prisoners were given little or no food and water, and hardly any time to rest or take care of bodily needs. Those who paused or fell behind were shot. In January 1945, just hours before the Red Army arrived at Auschwitz, 66,000 prisoners were marched to Wodzislaw, where they were put on freight trains to the Gross-Rosen, Buchenwald, Dachau, and Mauthausen concentration camps. Almost one in four died en route. When they arrived at their destination, the concentration camps of Germany were overwhelmed by the new inmates. The system broke down. Prisoners were not fed, sanitation was impossible, epidemics broke out, and even the dead could not be carried away. Conditions were so catastrophic that some survivors remember that Bergen-Belsen in March and early April 1945 was worse than Auschwitz.

In April and May 1945, the United States and British forces en route to military targets entered the concentration camps from the west and caught a glimpse of what had taken place. Even though tens of thousands of prisoners had perished, these camps were far from the worst. Yet even for the battle-weary soldiers who thought they had seen the worst, the sights and smells and the emaciated survivors they encountered left an indelible impression. At Dachau they came upon 28 railway cars stuffed with dead bodies. Conditions were so horrendous at Bergen-Belsen that 13,000 inmates died after they were freed and the entire camp had to be burned to prevent the spread of typhus. Most of the SS fled Buchenwald before the American armies arrived. The newly freed prisoners, at least those who could still move, greeted entering American soldiers as liberators. The Army had to perform tasks for which they were ill-trained: to heal the sick, comfort the bereaved, and bury the dead. For the victims, liberation was not a moment of exultation. Viktor Frankl, a survivor of Auschwitz, recalled: "Everything was unreal. Unlikely as in a dream. Only later – and for some it was very much later or never – was liberation actually liberating."

Numbers

It has become commonplace to speak of six million Jewish dead. The number was an estimate derived by a comparison between pre-war and post-war Jewish populations, subtracting from the total those who emigrated to the West or to the East, taking the known numbers of those who were killed in the Nazi death camps and the concentration camps; and those who were casualties of the mobile killing units and those who died in the ghettos of German-occupied Poland. There is considerable discussion and legitimate debate among scholars regarding the numbers killed. Raul Hilberg, the dean of American Holocaust historians, basing his calculations primarily on German documents, estimates the figure of those killed at 5.1 million Jews. The *Encyclopedia of the Holocaust*, edited by the respected Israeli historian Israel Gutman, estimates the number at 5,596,000 to 5,860,000. Wolfgang Benz, the German historian, estimates the figure of Jewish dead in excess of 6 million. In some countries the figures are known and well researched and the names well documented.

The question of number is illustrated by the history of numbers at Auschwitz. For years the figures varied. Some wrote of four million killed; this was the quasi-official number given by the Communist government of Poland, though not accepted by Western historians. Rudolph Hoess, the commandant of Auschwitz from 1940–43 who also supervised the murder of Hungarian Jews at Auschwitz in 1944, gave two different figures. He wrote: "According to my calculations, at least 2.5 million people were put to death, gassed and subsequently burned there; in addition, 500,000 people died of exhaustion and illness, which gives a total of 3 million victims." He later repudiated these figures, claiming that he received them from Adolf Eichmann. The figure he later reported was 1.13 million, one virtually identical with the figures of Jews deported to Auschwitz.

In post-Communist times, Fraticek Piper, the respected chief historian of Auschwitz, undertook painstaking historical research by triangulating the figures, detailing the number of inmates who arrived at Auschwitz, the number of those shipped from Auschwitz elsewhere and the number who remained in the camp. He thus had a clear picture of the numbers who were killed at Auschwitz and their nationality, for nine out of ten of those killed at Auschwitz were Jews, but Roma and Sinti – gypsies – and Soviet POWs and Poles were also killed at Auschwitz. Piper calculated that between 1.1 and 1.3 million people were killed at Auschwitz, the epicenter of the Holocaust. Ninety percent were Jews.

Until recently, historians cited 600,000 as the number of Jewish victims killed at the Bełżec death camp. This estimate was based on the pre-war population of Jewish communities thought to have been transported to Belzec and is too high, because it does not account for large numbers of Jews murdered in the ghetto deportation operations or shot in other locations because transport to Belzec was too difficult.

To date, only one known document, a report from the coordinator of *Aktion Reinhard*, Höfle, to Eichmann at the RSHA in Berlin on January 11, 1943, gives an exact figure of Jews killed in Bełżec: 434,508. As it has been confirmed by direct perpetrators that in Belzec there was no detailed count of victims and even some transports could not be included in Höfle's count, the Bełżec Memorial estimates that the actual death toll for Jews at Belzec may have been as high as 500,000. Groups of non-Jewish Poles and Roma and Sinti were murdered at Belzec death camp, too. Their number, according to testimonies of various witnesses, could range from some dozens to some hundreds. There were only two known survivors of Belzec.

There is one figure that is unknown and perhaps unobtainable, even to the most dogged of researchers, and that is the number of Jewish dead within the Soviet Union. One has difficulty going from the pre-war 1939 census to the post-war population because the Soviet Union did not take a 1949 census; it delayed it by another decade and thus there is a twenty year span to evaluate the Jewish population. From the discrepancy between 1939 and 1959 statistic, one must subtract the natural deaths during a span of two decades, those who died in the war, in Stalinist purges, and in the Holocaust. An estimated figure has to be correlated with the *Einsatzgruppen* Reports and their activities to arrive at their conclusions.

For fifty years, Yad Vashem has undertaken to compile a list of the Jews who were killed in the Holocaust one by one, affidavit by affidavit signed by a witness or by a relative of those who were killed. The list of names is contained in a haunting memorial room at the end of its permanent exhibition and is available on line to those who surf the internet. More than three million people have been identified by name, one by one by one. It reinforces a truism that people are not numbers, not statistics, but individuals whose lives were ended, whose narratives were prematurely concluded by killers.

[Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

A HOLOCAUST CHRONOLOGY

1932

July 31 National Socialist (Nazi) Party receives 37.3% of the vote, giving it 230 of 608 seats in the Reichstag.
August 13 Adolf Hitler rejects an offer by German President Paul von Hindenburg to become vice chancellor.
November 6 In new election the percentage of votes for the Nazis declines to 33.1% and the number of their seats in the Reichstag is reduced to 196.
December 3 Conservative leader General Kurt von Schleicher is named chancellor of Germany.

1933

January 28 General von Schleicher resigns after serving only 55 days.
January 30 President von Hindenburg appoints Hitler as chancellor; Franz von Papen is named vice chancellor.
February 2 Political demonstrations are banned in Germany.
February 27 The Reichstag building is set on fire. Communists are blamed.
February 28 Using a provision of the Weimar Constitution, Hitler is granted emergency powers as constitutional protections are suspended.
March 4 Franklin Delano Roosevelt is inaugurated as president of the United States.
March 22 The first concentration camp is opened at Dachau, near Munich.
March 27 The American Jewish Congress organizes a mass protest against the Nazis at Madison Square Garden in New York. A boycott of German goods is threatened if Germany makes good on its promise to boycott Jewish goods in Germany.
April 1 The German government institutes a boycott of Jewish stores and professionals. Expected to last three days, it is suspended after one.
April 7 Law for the Restoration of Professional Civil Service bans Jews from government, including lawyers and university professors as well as government workers.
April 25 The Law Preventing Overcrowding of School and Schools of Higher Education restricts Jewish enrollment in German schools.
April 27 The German government prohibits sheḥitah, the ritual slaughter of animals required by Jewish dietary law.
May 10 German students and their professors remove and burn "un-Germanic" books from libraries and bookstores. More than 20,000 books are burned opposite the University of Berlin. Authors include Jews, opponents of Nazism, and others defined as un-Germanic.
July 14 The National Socialist Party is made Germany's only legal party. East European Jews living in Germany are stripped of their citizenship. Laws are enacted permitting the sterilization of "unfit" parents and so-called "euthanasia" of "defective and useless people," those who are deemed "unworthy of living."
July 20 The Vatican signs a concordat with Germany, negotiated by Eugenio Cardinal Pacelli, the future Pope Pius XII, granting Hitler much-needed political recognition and in return seemingly protecting the rights of Catholics in Germany.
August 25 The Ha'avarah Agreement is signed between the German government and the Zionist Organization enabling Jews to leave Germany and transfer, at a significant loss, some of their holdings to Palestine.
September 22 Jews are banned from journalism, theater, music, art, literature, and broadcasting.
September 29 Jews are banned from farming in Germany.
November 12 The Nazi Party, now the only party permitted to run in the elections, wins 93% of the vote for the Reichstag.

1934

January 26 Germany and Poland sign a ten-year nonaggression pact. It will be broken within six years.
April Germany establishes a "People's Court" to try enemies of the state. The right to trial by jury or to appeal the verdict is abrogated.
May 17 The German-American Bund organizes a pro-Nazi rally at Madison Square Garden in New York City.
June 30 "Night of the Long Knives" purges Nazi Party of hundreds of enemies – real or imagined – including high ranking SA (Sturmabteilung, "Storm Troops," known as Brownshirts) officers and veteran Hitler associate Ernst Roehm, its chief. Persecution of German male homosexuals intensifies.
July 4 Theodor Eicke heads newly established Inspectorate of Concentration Camps.
July 25 Austrian Chancellor Engelbert Dollfuss is assassinated. Nazis try but fail to seize power in Austria.
August 2 German President Paul von Hindenburg dies in office. Hitler fills the vacuum by combining the presidency and the chancellorship and becomes the "Fuehrer" and commander-in-chief of Germany's armed forces. Soldiers now take a personal oath of allegiance to Hitler, not to the state or the constitution.
August 19 German voters overwhelmingly (89.9%) approve of Hitler's new powers.

1935

January 13 A plebiscite under the League of Nations brings the Saar region into Germany.
March 1 Germany retakes the Saar region.
March 16 Germany initiates a military draft in direct defiance of the Versailles Treaty. France, England, and the United States decide not to confront Germany.
April 1 Anti-Jewish legislation is passed in the Saar region.
April 30 Jews may no longer display the German flag.
May 12 Polish leader Jozef Pilsudski dies, ending an era of relative tolerance toward the Jews in Poland.
May 31 Jews are banned from the German armed forces.
June 26 Law for the Prevention of Offspring with Hereditary Diseases provides for compulsory abortions in some cases.
September 15 Nuremberg Laws are passed. Reich Citizenship Law deprives Jews of their citizenship. Law for the Protection of German Blood and Honor prohibits Jews from marrying non-Jews and from employing German women under the age of 45. Under its provisions, Jews are defined biologically, by "race," based on the religion of their grandparents and not by the identity they affirm or the religion they practice.
November 14 In regulations clarifying the Nuremberg Laws, a Jew is defined as anyone with two Jewish grandparents who is a member of the Jewish community or anyone with three or more Jewish grandparents. Mischlinge ("mongrels," those of mixed ancestry) are specified as anyone with Jewish blood. Marriage between Jews and second-degree Mischlinge is prohibited. These provisions take hold wherever the Germans come to power.
November 15 German churches provide records to the government indicating who is a Christian and who is not.
December 31, 1935 The last Jews in Germany's civil service are dismissed.

1936

March 3 Jewish doctors are denied the right to practice medicine in German government hospitals.
March 7 German troops occupy the Rhineland in defiance of the Ver-

sailles Treaty. The United States, Britain, and France denounce the move but do not respond actively.

March 29 SS (Schutzstaffel, "Defense Squadron") guard formations are named SS Death's Head Units. These provide concentration camp guards.

June 17 Heinrich Himmler is appointed chief of German police.

June 19 Max Schmeling defeats Joe Louis in propaganda victory for Germans, seemingly confirming German racial dominance.

June 26 Heinrich Himmler appoints Reinhard Heydrich as head of the SD (Sicherheitsdienst, "Security Service").

July Spanish Civil War begins.

August 1–16 The Olympics are held in Berlin. For weeks prior to the games, antisemitic posters are removed and antisemitic discourse is diminished. African-American runner Jesse Owens wins four gold medals and is slighted by Hitler, who leaves the Olympic Stadium rather than present the medals; two American Jewish runners, Marty Glickman and Sam Stoliar, are forced not to run the 400-meter relay by Avery Brundage, head of the American Olympic Committee, lest Hitler be embarrassed further.

September 7 All Jewish property is taxed at 25%.

September 23 Sachsenhausen concentration camp opens.

October 1 Criminal Court judges must swear oath of allegiance to Hitler, not to the constitution or the state.

October 25 Hitler and Italian Fascist leader Benito Mussolini sign a treaty forming the Berlin-Rome Axis.

November 18 German volunteers called the Condor Legion leave for combat on the side of Francisco Franco's troops in Spain.

November 25 Germany and Japan sign the Anti-Comintern Pact in order to block Soviet activities abroad.

December 27 Great Britain and France agree not to intervene in the Spanish Civil War.

1937

March 14 Pope Pius XI repudiates Nazi racism in an encyclical *Mit brennender Sorge* ("With Burning Concern"), yet does not denounce Nazi antisemitism and refers to the Jews as deicides who killed Christ.

July A "Degenerate Art" exhibition opens in Berlin featuring the work of Jewish and other unacceptable artists.

July 1 Pastor Martin Niemoller, an antisemitic yet anti-Nazi German pastor is arrested because of his opposition to Hitler.

July 15 Buchenwald concentration camp is opened.

September 7 Hitler declares the Treaty of Versailles void.

October 12 The SS takes control of Grafeneck, an institution for crippled children in Wuerttemberg, and starts transforming it into a "euthanasia center."

1938

January 21 The Romanian government strips Romanian Jews of their citizenship.

March 12 The German army enters Vienna; Austria is annexed by Germany (the Anschluss). Antisemitic laws enacted in Germany in 1933–38 are immediately imposed on Austria.

March 28 Jewish community organizations lose government recognition in Germany.

April 5 Anti-Jewish riots throughout Poland.

April 21 Jews are eliminated from Germany's economy; Jewish assets may be seized.

April 23 Jews in Vienna are rounded up and forced to eat grass by the Nazis on the Sabbath.

April 26 German government mandates the registration of all Jewish property and other holdings in excess of 5,000 marks. Expropriation follows; as does Aryanization – the process of transferring Jewish held property into non-Jewish German possession. Aryanization usually involved government confiscation and auction or the threat of government confiscation followed by a distress sale of Jewish property and assets at a fraction of actual value.

May 3 Concentration camp of Flossenbuerg is opened.

June 9 Main synagogue in Munich is set on fire.

June 14 All Jewish businesses that have not registered must now do so.

June 15 All Jews convicted of a crime – no matter how slight – are arrested.

June 25 German Jewish doctors may treat only Jewish patients.

July 6–14 International Conference at Evian-les-Bains, France, called by U.S. President Franklin D. Roosevelt to consider the refugee problem, a euphemism for Jews. Thirty-two nations attending are not asked to change any laws or to allocate budget resources. Palestine is not on the agenda, to assuage British concerns. Neither the U.S. president nor the vice president, not even the secretary of state, attend. The results are limited and incommensurate with the growing needs of refugees.

July 14 In response to Evian one German newspaper publishes banner headline "JEWS FOR SALE AT BARGAIN PRICE – WHO WANTS THEM? NO ONE."

August 8 Concentration camp is opened at Mauthausen, formerly in Austria, the first of several camps established on former Austrian soil.

August 10 The Great Synagogue in Nuremberg is destroyed.

August 17 All Jewish men in Germany must assume the middle name of Israel and all Jewish women must assume the name Sarah by January 1, 1939.

August 26 Adolf Eichmann establishes Central Office for Jewish Emigration in Vienna.

September 15 British Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain meets with Hitler to discuss the Sudeten crisis. Hitler demands that Sudetenland be ceded to Germany.

September 22–23 Hitler and Chamberlain meet again.

September 26 Hitler promises that Sudetenland will be his last territorial demand in Europe.

September 27 Jews barred from practicing law in Germany.

September 29–30 Munich Conference attendees include Chamberlain and Hitler, now joined by French Premier Edouard Daladier and Italian leader Benito Mussolini. France and Britain settle on a policy of appeasement. Chamberlain declares "peace in our time." Hitler is given the Sudetenland.

October The Polish government revokes the passports of all Jews who have lived outside Poland for more than five years.

October 5 Germany complies with Swiss Federal Police request that all German passports held by Jews be marked with the letter J, to prevent Jews from passing into Switzerland posing as gentiles.

October 28 Germany expels Jews with Polish citizenship. Poland refuses to accept these deportees and Germany refuses their reentry into Germany. They languish in a no-man's land in Zbaszyn, Poland.

November Father Bernhard Lichtenberg, a Berlin-based Roman Catholic priest, condemns German assaults on the Jews.

November 2 Sections of Slovakia and the Transcarpathian mountains are annexed by Hungary.

November 7 Herschel Grynszpan, whose family is caught in Zbaszyn, is distraught at their predicament, goes to the German Embassy in Paris, and wounds Ernst vom Rath, the third secretary.

November 9–10 The November pogroms, known as Kristallnacht, the Night of Broken Glass, commence. Throughout Germany, now including Austria, synagogues are burnt and desecrated, Jewish stores are looted, and Jewish men aged 16–60 are arrested and sent to concentration camps.

November 12 Hermann Goering convenes a meeting to consider the results of Kristallnacht. The Jewish community is fined 1 billion Reichsmarks (US$400 million in 1938 dollars); Jews must repair their wrecked property, and Jews residing in Germany cannot collect insurance payments. All Jews are to be removed from the German economy, culture, and society.

November 15 Jewish students are expelled from German schools.

December 3 All Jewish businesses must be forcibly Aryanized.

1939

January 30 On Hitler's sixth anniversary as chancellor, he issues a threat against the Jews, warning that if war breaks out the result will be the annihilation of the Jews. The warning is self-described as a prophecy three years later.

February 10 Pope Pius XI dies. On his night table is an unpublished encyclical on racism and antisemitism.

February U.S. Senator Robert F. Wagner and Representative Edith Nourse Rogers introduce a bill to permit the entry of 20,000 children from Germany in a two-year period. Despite press support, the bill dies in committee.

March 2 Cardinal Pacelli is elected as Pope Pius XII.

March 15 German troops enter Czechoslovakia and occupy its capital, Prague. German troops enter Bohemia and Moravia and Slovakia becomes a German satellite.

March 25 About 20,000 people march in a "Stop Hitler" parade in New York. A half million view the demonstration.

March 31 Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain announces that Britain and France will protect Polish sovereignty.

May 3 Josef Stalin replaces Jewish Commissar for Foreign Affairs Maksim Litvinov with Vyacheslav Molotov.

May 15 A women's concentration camp at Ravensbrueck is opened. The German luxury ship SS St. Louis, filled with Jewish refugees, leaves Hamburg en route to Cuba. Jews have entry permits to Cuba as well as quota numbers for the United States.

May 17 British government issues a White Paper limiting Jewish immigration to Palestine to 15,000 per year for five years. Jewish land purchases in Palestine are also restricted.

June 2 SS St. Louis reaches Cuba, where the government demands vast sum of money for Jews to disembark. Ship sails along the east coast of the United States pending a determination of the fate of its passengers. U.S. Coast Guard ship trails the vessel to prevent passengers from jumping overboard.

June 17 Forced to return to Europe, SS St. Louis docks in Antwerp, Belgium. Passengers are divided: 214 to Belgium, 187 to the Netherlands, 224 to France, and 187 to Britain.

August 2 Jewish physicist Albert Einstein, exiled from Germany in the United States, writes to President Roosevelt about developing an American atomic bomb.

August 22 In a speech to his generals on the eve of the invasion of Poland, Hitler urges the liquidation of Poles in order to gain *Lebensraum* (living space) for the Germans.

August 23 The Ribbentrop-Molotov (German-Soviet) Non-Aggression Pact is signed; a secret provision calls for the division of Poland.

September 1 World War II begins with the German invasion of Poland.

September 3 Great Britain and France declare war on Germany.

September 6 German forces occupy Cracow.

September 17 The Soviet Union invades Eastern Poland.

September 21 Reinhard Heydrich, SS security chief, orders the establishment of Jewish Councils (Judenraete), consisting of 24 Jewish men each, to be personally responsible for implementing German orders in the ghettos. All Jewish communities in Poland and Greater Germany, which now includes annexed parts of Poland, with populations of less than 500 are dissolved.

September 22 RSHA (Reichssicherheithauptamt, the Reich Central Security Office) is established.

September 27 German troops capture Warsaw, the city with the largest Jewish population in Europe.

September 28 Poland surrenders and is partitioned. Germany absorbs parts of Poland and occupies Central Poland, area called the General Government; the Soviet Union annexes eastern Poland.

October 1 Polish government-in-exile is established in France.

October 4 A triumphant Hitler tours Warsaw.

October 8 First Jewish ghetto in Poland is established in Piotrkow Tribunalski.

October 12 Jews from Germany are deported to Poland.

Mid-October Hitler signs an order backdated to September 1, 1939, to give it a wartime appearance, authorizing Reich leader Philip Bouhler and Dr. Brandt to expand "the authority of physicians, to be designated by name, to the end that patients considered incurable according to the best available human judgment of their state of health, can be granted a mercy killing."

October 24 Jews in Wloclawek, Poland, are required to wear the Yellow Star.

October 26 Germans begin deportation of 78,000 Jews to reservation in Lublin-Nisko region. This is conceived of as a territorial solution to the Jewish problem, confining Jews to reservations.

November 7 Deportation of Jews from Western Poland begins.

November 12 Jews from the so-called "Reichsgau Wartheland" province of annexed Poland are ordered deported to clear the way for resettlement by ethnic Germans.

November 15–17 The synagogues of Lodz are destroyed.

November 30 Soviet Union invades Finland.

December 5–6 Jewish property in Poland is confiscated, further exacerbating the increasingly desperate plight of Polish Jews.

1940

January 6 Shivering Jews in Warsaw are forced to burn Jewish books for heat.

February 8 A Jewish ghetto is established in Lodz.

April Germany invades Denmark and Norway.

April 1 Shanghai, China, controlled by the Japanese, accepts Jewish refugees.

April 8–11 Soviet NKVD massacres 26,000 Polish officers, prisoners of war, at Katyn Forest near Smolensk.

April 30 The ghetto of Lodz is isolated and sealed off from the rest of the city.

May 10 Germany invades Netherlands, Belgium, Luxembourg, and France.

May 16 Germans launch a "pacification operation" to eliminate Polish intellectuals and priests.

May 20 The Auschwitz concentration camp begins functioning. Initial prisoners are Polish.

May 29 Belgium surrenders to Germany.

June 14 Paris falls to the Germans.

June 22 France signs an armistice with Germany.

July 10 Battle of Britain begins.

August 15 Adolf Eichmann proposes turning island of Madagascar into

Jewish ghetto, another articulation of the territorial solution to the Jewish problem.

September 1 Soviet officials order Japanese Consul Sempo Sugihara to leave Kovno. He has issued thousands of exit visas for Jews who have an end visa elsewhere to travel via Japan and Japanese-controlled Shanghai. Together with Dutch Consul Jan Zwatendyk, who provided an end visa to Curaçao, which required no visa, he is responsible for saving thousands of Jewish lives.

September 15 German Luftwaffe suffers major losses in Battle of Britain. Britain gains the upper hand.

September 23 Himmler establishes a special Reichsbank account for gold, silver, money, and jewelry taken from Jews.

September 27 Japan signs treaty with Germany and Italy, forming the Axis.

October 3 Vichy France passes antisemitic legislation modeled on Nuremberg laws.

October 12 Yom Kippur is chosen as the occasion to announce the formation of a ghetto in Warsaw.

October 14 Non-Jews are evacuated from area that will become the Warsaw ghetto.

November 15 Warsaw ghetto is sealed.

November 28 German filmmaker Fritz Hippler's "documentary" *The Eternal Jew* has premiere in Berlin.

December The Vatican condemns the "mercy killing" of unfit Aryans.

1941

January 21 Romanian Iron Guard launches a coup d'etat, during which 120 Jews are killed, thousands are beaten.

January 22 Law for the Defense of the Nation is imposed in Bulgaria excluding Jews from public service, taxing Jewish businesses, and dismissing Jewish doctors, lawyers, and professionals.

January 30 On his eighth anniversary as chancellor, Hitler reiterates his 1939 statement threatening the annihilation of the Jews in Europe.

February 15 Germans begin deporting 1,000 Jews a week from Vienna to ghettos in German-occupied Poland in Kielce and Lublin.

February 25 General strike of Dutch citizens to protest the deportation of Jews from the Netherlands.

March 1 Bulgaria becomes an ally of Germany. German troops enter Bulgaria the next day.

March 25 Yugoslavia joins the Axis (two days later Yugoslav regime is overthrown by internal coup and new government withdraws active support to the Axis).

March 26 The German High Army Command approves the tasks of the Einsatzgruppen ("Mission Groups," "Task Force") in anticipation of the planned German invasion of the Soviet Union.

April 6 German forces invade Greece and Yugoslavia; the danger to Jews is immediate.

April 18 Yugoslavia surrenders.

May 1 New concentration camps are established at Natzweiler in Alsace and Gross-Rosen, which had been a satellite camp of Sachsenhausen, in Poland.

May 22 Jews in Croatia must wear the Yellow Star.

June 6 Commissar Order is issued. All Soviet officials are to be liquidated, i.e., murdered.

June 17 Reinhard Heydrich briefs the Einsatzgruppen commanders.

June 22 German Army invades Soviet Union in Operation Barbarossa. Germany is now involved in a two-front war. Einsatzgruppen, with the assistance of local gendarmerie and native antisemites as well as the Wehrmacht, begin killing Jews immediately.

June 24 Kovno (Kaunas), Lithuania, is occupied by German troops.

June 26 Hundreds of Jews are shot at the Ninth Fort outside of Kovno.

June 29 Romanian soldiers and local police begin a pogrom in Iasi; 260 Jews are murdered immediately; 4,000 are deported on trains to the countryside; less than half will survive the journey.

July 1 Rioting erupts against the Jews in Lvov, Ukraine. Murder of 150,000 Jews by Einsatzgruppen, the Wehrmacht, and a special Romanian unit begins in Bessarabia. It continues for two months.

July 3 3,500 Jews are killed at Zloczow.

July 4 Murder of 5,000 Jews in Tarnopol, Ukraine, begins; it will last a week.

July 8 Jews in Baltic states must wear the Yellow Star.

July 10 1,600 Jews of Jedwabne are murdered by their Polish neighbors. The mere presence of German troops in the area is sufficient to spur the massacre, which will be blamed on the Germans for the next six decades.

July 25 3,800 Jews are killed in pogrom at Kovno.

July 31 Hermann Goering instructs Reinhard Heydrich to evacuate and eliminate all Jews currently in German-held territories, to implement what the Germans call "the Final Solution," the systematic mass murder of Jews.

August 2 4,000 Jews are killed at Ponary, the killing field adjacent to Vilnius (Vilna), Lithuania.

August 5 Murder of 11,000 Jews in Pinsk begins. It concludes on the 8th.

August 20 Deportation of 4,300 Jews from Paris to Drancy, the first of 70,000 Jews to be deported.

August 21 Concentration camp at Jasenovac, Croatia, opens.

August 27 25,000 Hungarian Jews in forced labor are shot near Kamenets-Podolski, Ukraine. Killing takes two days.

September 1 Jews in Bohemia and Moravia must wear the Yellow Star.

September 3 First gassing at Auschwitz; 600 Soviet prisoners of war and 300 Jews are murdered. These "experiments" will prove significant in the development of Auschwitz as a death camp.

September 13 Eleven members of the Judenrat of Piotrkow, Poland, who had cooperated with the Jewish underground, are executed after torture.

September 15 15,000 Jews are murdered in Berdichev.

September 16 24,000 Jews from Uman are murdered at the airport.

September 22 Ukrainian militiamen massacre 28,000 Jews at Vinnitsa.

September 27 3,200 Jews of Ejszyszki, Lithuania are executed.

September 29–30 33,771 Jews are shot at Babi Yar, a ravine adjacent to Kiev.

October 2 Yom Kippur 5702, 3,000 Jews from Vilna, arrested on the sacred day, are killed at Ponary.

October 13 15,000 Jews are executed at Dnepropetrovsk, Ukraine.

October 27 Gassing in mobile gas vans of elderly Jews in Kalisz, German-occupied Poland.

October 28 Half of 27,000 Jews in Kovno are selected to be killed in the Ninth Fort; this group includes the elderly and infirm as well as children.

November 1 Construction of the death camp at Belzec begins.

November 7 Some 17,000 Jews are forced from Rovno, in German-occupied Poland, and murdered in the Sosenki Forest nearby.

November 23 30,000 Jews are murdered at Odessa, Ukraine.

November 24 A "model ghetto" transit-concentration camp is established at Terezin (Theresienstadt), German-occupied Czechoslovakia.

November 27 10,600 Jews are murdered at Riga; first deportations of German Jews to Riga.

December 1 Commander of Einsatzgruppe 3 reports 85% of Lithuania's Jews are dead.

December 7 Japanese attack U.S. Pacific Fleet at Pearl Harbor, Hawaii.

December 8 Gassing by mobile gas vans commences at Chelmno in German-occupied Poland: U.S., Great Britain, Australia, and New Zealand declare war on Japan.

December 11 United States declares war on Germany and Italy; Germany and Italy declare war on the United States.

December 21–30 More than 40,000 Jews are murdered at Bogdanovka in Transnistria.

December 31 Abba Kovner calls for armed resistance against the Germans. He perceives the Germans' aim to kill all the Jews of Europe and that the Jews of Lithuania are first in line. "Jewish youth, do not believe those that are trying to deceive you. Out of 80,000 Jews of Vilna only 12,000 are left.… All the Gestapo roads lead to Ponary and Ponary means death…. Brethren, it is better to die fighting like free men than to live at the mercy of the murderers. To defend oneself to the last breath."

1942

January At the beginning of 1942 four out of five people who were to die in the Holocaust are still alive. Just 15 months later, the numbers are reversed.

January 7 Germans undertake the gassing of 5,000 gypsies who were sent to Chelmno from Lodz, German-occupied Poland.

January 20 Wannsee Conference is held in Berlin, bringing together top Nazi leaders of the Party, the German state, and the occupied territories to implement under SS leadership the "Final Solution to the Jewish Problem" – the Nazi euphemism for the murder of European Jews.

January 30 In a speech to the Reichstag, Hitler reiterates his pledge to destroy the Jews of Europe: "Those who were laughing at my prophecy are not laughing now."

February 15 The first mass gassing of Jews begins at Auschwitz.

February 22 10,000 Jews are deported from Lodz to the Chelmno killing center where they are gassed.

February 24 The SS Struma carrying 759 Romanian Jewish refugees is sunk by a Soviet submarine in the waters off Turkey. David Stoliar is the lone survivor. The engine on the ship did not work; its passengers were not permitted to disembark in Turkey or to enter Palestine. Belzec opens; within the next ten months some 500,000 Jews will be murdered there.

March 1 Construction of the Sobibor death camp begins.

March 17 Mass killing by gassing begins at Belzec. The beginning of the deportation of 30,000 Jews from Lublin. This deportation lasts four weeks.

March 24 First deportation of West European Jews to Belzec.

March 27 First deportation of French Jews to Auschwitz begins.

May 4 More than 10,000 Jews are deported from Lodz to Chelmno for gassing. Operation takes nine days.

June 1–6 7,000 Jews from Cracow are gassed at the Belzec death camp.

June 2 The BBC reports that 700,000 Jews have been murdered.

June 5 The SS reports that 97,000 persons have been "processed" in mobile gas vans.

June 9 192 men and boys are killed in Lidice, German-occupied Czechoslovakia, in response to the assassination of Reinhard Heydrich. The residents of Lidice were not involved with the attack on Heydrich; their "crime" was the proximity of the town to the assassination site.

June 11 10,000 Jews from Tarnow are deported to Belzec for gassing.

June 20 The beginning of the deportation of 13,776 Viennese Jews to Theresienstadt.

June 29 Jewish resistance by force of arms in Slonim, Belorussia. Almost 15,000 Jews are burned.

June 30 A second gas chamber is opened at Auschwitz-Birkenau. The London Times reports more than 1,000,000 Jews are killed.

July 8 7,000 Jews from Lvov are killed in the adjacent Janowska labor and extermination camp.

July 13 Big sweep in Paris: arrest of German and Austrian Jews living there.

July 14 Thousands of Dutch Jews are arrested and deported to Auschwitz. Trains leave from the Westerbork transit camp in Netherlands.

July 17 Himmler visits Auschwitz and observes the gassing.

July 22 The Warsaw ghetto is surrounded. Mass deportations from Warsaw begin. By September 12, 1942, 265,000 Jews will be deported to Treblinka, where they will be gassed.

July 23 Adam Czerniakow, chairman of the Warsaw Jewish Council, commits suicide. "They have asked me to kill the children with my own hand. This I cannot do."

July 28 Three days of killing begins in Minsk. 30,000 Jews are murdered.

July 30 German industrialist Eduard Schulte tells a Swiss colleague of the decision to kill the Jews and to use prussic acid for gassing. Information soon reached Gerhart Riegner of the World Jewish Congress in Geneva.

August 3 12,000 Jews from Prezemysl, German-occupied Poland, are deported to Belzec.

August 4 First deportations of Belgian Jews to Auschwitz.

August 6–17 20,000 Jews from Radom are murdered at Treblinka.

August 10–30 50,000 Jews from Lvov, Ukraine, are murdered.

August 20–24 Amid the deportations from Warsaw, 19,000 Jews from Kielce, German-occupied Poland, arrive in Treblinka, where they are gassed.

August 29 Rabbi Stephen S. Wise, president of the World Jewish Congress, receives cable from Gerhart Riegner via British parliamentarian Samuel Silverman, informing him that "that there has been and is being considered in Hitler's headquarters a plan to exterminate all Jews from Germany and German-controlled areas in Europe after they have been concentrated in the east. The number involved is said to be between three and a half and four million and the object is to permanently settle the Jewish question in Europe." Wise is asked by the U.S. State Department, which had previously received the cable through secret channels, to keep quiet until the information is verified.

September 4–12 Lodz Jewish Council Chairman Mordecai Chaim Rumkowski agrees to the deportation of children and old people. He says: "Brothers and sisters, hand them over to me; fathers and mothers, give me your children." His justification: only some Jews can be saved; it is better to save some than to risk total destruction. 15,000 are deported.

September 21 Bodies of previously gassed Jews are dug up at Auschwitz and burned in open pits to prevent contamination of local ground water.

September 22 40,000 Jews of Czestochowa are deported to Treblinka.

September 25 Jews of Korets escape to the forest while others set the ghetto ablaze rather than submit to deportation.

October 4 All Jews in concentration camps in Germany are ordered to be sent to Auschwitz.

October 11–12 11,000 Jews from Ostrowiec-Swietokrzyski are killed at Treblinka.

October 15 22,000 Jews of Piotrkow-Trybunalski are deported to Treblinka. 25,000 Jews of Brest-Litovsk are murdered.

October 28 First transport of Jews from Theresienstadt to Auschwitz. By war's end more than 88,000 will be deported to Auschwitz.

November 24 Rabbi Stephen S. Wise goes public with the information regarding the Final Solution. The State Department had told him: "We can confirm your deepest fears." But when questioned by the press the State Department will not confirm Wise's report. Thus, it appears in the press as a Jewish statement rather than government information and its impact is more limited. The report that two million Jews had been murdered is, in fact, an understatement.

1943

January 3 Polish President Wladyslaw Raczkiewicz requests that Pope Pius XII denounce German attacks on Jews. The pope remains silent.

January 4 The SS instructs concentration camp commandants to send human hair taken from Jewish women to Germany for processing.

January 12 Beginning of the deportation of 8,000 Jews from Zambrow, German-occupied Poland. Operation continues for nine days.

January 18 Germans resume Warsaw ghetto deportations. Jews respond with resistance, street fighting erupts. 6,000 Jews are deported in four days from Warsaw to Treblinka. The deportation is halted, which the resistance perceives as a victory.

February 2 The German Sixth Army surrenders at Stalingrad. The tide of war shifts with this major German defeat.

February 10 The State Department sends a cable to all legations instructing them that secure government lines cannot be used for the transmission of private information. Given the cable reference to previous communications on the fate of Jews, the implications are unmistakable: shut down information coming in on the Jews.

February 13 Amon Goeth becomes commandant of Plaszow concentration camp.

February 16 Jewish activist group in the United States headed by Peter Bergson (Hillel Kook) places full page New York Times advertisement "For Sale to Humanity/70,000 Jews," calling for the ransom of Jews.

February 20 Crematorium II is completed at Auschwitz-Birkenau.

March 9 The Bergson group presents the pageant "We Will Never Die" in New York City.

March 10 The German government demands the deportation of Bulgarian Jews, but Bulgaria, which had previously consented to the deportation of Jews from Thrace and Macedonia, faces unexpectedly stiff domestic opposition from intellectual, cultural, and religious leaders and refuses.

March 15 Deportations of Jews from Salonika begins. By mid-August some 56,000 Jews will be deported to Auschwitz.

March 23 Crematorium IV opens at Auschwitz-Birkenau.

April 19 Warsaw Ghetto resistance begins. The fighting will continue openly until May 16, 1943, when SS General Jurgen Stroop reports to his superiors, "The Jewish Quarter is no longer." Bermuda Conference of Great Britain and the United States is held to consider the plight of Jewish refugees in Europe. Access to the island is restricted and public pressure on the delegations is therefore lessened.

April 20 Germans respond to Warsaw Ghetto Uprising by setting the ghetto on fire, building by building, block by block.

May 8 German troops reach Mila 18, Resistance headquarters. Mordecai Anielewicz and his comrades either commit suicide or are suffocated.

May 16 The main synagogue in Warsaw is destroyed. Stroop reports the end of the Uprising. Some Jews remain in hiding.

June 1 During the liquidation of the Sosnowiec ghetto, armed resistance breaks out.

June 21 Himmler orders the liquidation of all Jewish ghettos in the Soviet Union.

June 25 Armed Jewish resistance breaks out in Lvov, Ukraine, and Czestochowa, German-occupied Poland.

July 16 Crisis in Vilna's United Partisan Organization as its leader, Yitzḥak Wittenberg, is captured by the police and freed by his fighters and then chooses to surrender to prevent the destruction of the ghetto.

July 25 Benito Mussolini resigns and is arrested.

July 28 Jan Karski, a young Polish Catholic courier, arrives in the United States to meet with American government and civic leaders. Among his other assignment is to tell them of the plight of the Jews.

August 2 Armed resistance at the Treblinka death camp allows for the escape of 350–400 inmates; all but 100 are captured.

August 16 Germans enter the Bialystok ghetto and meet with armed resistance. 5,000 Jews are killed on the spot and 25,000 are deported to death camps.

September 3 Allies invade Italy, which surrenders within five days. An armistice is signed with the Allies.

October 2 The Danish people help rescue more than 7,000 Danish Jews who are ferried by boat to nearby Sweden. 500 Jews are arrested in Denmark and deported, but the Danish government continues to inquire as to their fate.

October 4 Heinrich Himmler delivers speech to SS officers at Posen, speaking with pride of their work: "Most of you know what it means to see a hundred corpses lie side by side, or five hundred, or a thousand. To have stuck this out and – excepting cases of human weakness – to have kept our integrity, this is what has made us hard."

October 14 Leon Feldhendler and Jewish Soviet POW Aleksandr Percersky lead armed revolt at death camp of Sobibor. 11 Germans are killed and 200 Jews escape. Only 50 survive the war. Two days later, Himmler orders the camp destroyed.

October 16 Germans deport Jews of Rome to Auschwitz. 477 are sheltered in the Vatican and another 4,238 find shelter in monasteries. 8,300 deported.

October 20 The United Nations War Crimes Commission is established.

November 3 The Germans' "Harvest Festival" (Erntefeat), murder of Jews in three camps in Lublin area.

November 19 Prisoners at Sonderkommando 1005 revolt at Janowska; their task had been to dig up bodies and burn them, using bone crushers to get rid of all evidence of murder.

December 16 Josiah DuBois meets with Donald Hiss at U.S. State Department and begins to unravel State Department cover-up of its hampering the rescue of Jews by inaction and false representations.

1944

January 13 Josiah DuBois, Randolph Paul, and John Pehle, three U.S. Treasury Department officials, present a "Report to the Secretary on the Acquiescence of this Government to the Murder of European Jews," accusing the State Department of preventing action from being taken to rescue Jews. Secretary of Treasury Henry Morgenthau, Jr., reacts strongly.

January 16 Morgenthau meets with President Roosevelt and presents a "Personal Report to the President," a condensed and milder version of the report he received, but does not leave it at the White House. Within days the War Refugee Board is created.

March 19 The Germans take control of Hungary and its more than 700,000 Jews. Germany implements its tried and true practices of dealing with the Jews: definition, confiscation of property, ghettoization, and deportation to death camps. The implementation of the "Final Solution in Hungary" will take less than four months.

April 4 The United States takes air reconnaissance photographs of Auschwitz.

April 7 Two Slovakian Jews escape from Auschwitz: Alfred Wetzler and Rudolph Vrba (Walter Rosenberg). They will soon provide Allies, the Jewish community, and the Yishuv with a detailed report of Auschwitz killings.

April 15 The ghettoization of Hungarian Jews begins.

May 15 Germany begins the deportation of Hungarian Jews, primarily to Auschwitz. 437,402 Jews are deported on 147 trains between May 15 and July 8, 1944.

May 19 In order to buy time and because they are under the illusion that it might actually work, Germans send Joel Brand to Turkey with a proposal of exchanging one million Jews for goods. In a second mission by Brand's companion, they seek a separate peace with the West.

June 2 Yitzḥak Gruenbaum, chairman of the Rescue Committee of the Jewish Agency, requests that rail lines to Auschwitz be bombed.

June 4 Allies liberate Rome.

June 6 Allied forces land on the beaches of Normandy on D-Day.

June 10 Germans kill 642 residents of Oradour-sur-Glane in revenge for the killing of an SS officer.

June 23 Red Cross inspectors visit Theresienstadt ghetto/concentration camp. The Germans clean up the ghetto, plant gardens, create a soccer field in an elaborate charade designed to deceive their visitors.

June 24 U.S. Military Air Operations declares bombing of Auschwitz "impracticable." It would require the diversion of considerable air support needed elsewhere.

July 7 Churchill tells his foreign minister to get anything possible out of the British Air Force and "invoke my name, if necessary," for the bombing of Auschwitz.

July 8 Facing international pressure and a deteriorating war situation, Hungary informs Berlin that the deportation of Jews will end.

July 9 Raoul Wallenberg arrives in Budapest under Swedish diplomatic cover and the assignment to do what he can for Hungarian Jews.

July 23 Russian troops enter Majdanek death camp. W.H. Lawrence, a correspondent for the New York Times, writes: "I have just seen the most terrible place on earth."

August 1 The Red army liberates Kovno.

August 2 2,800 gypsies are gassed at Auschwitz.

August 2 Final deportation of Jews from the Lodz ghetto, the last ghetto in Poland. Over the next three weeks 60,000 Jews are deported, including Judenrat chairman Chaim Mordechai Rumkowski. The Lodz ghetto lasted longer than any other in Poland, yet Rumkowski's strategy of rescue through work fails in the end.

August 20 The U.S. Army Air Force bombs Buna-Monowitz, the labor camp at Auschwitz, also known as Auschwitz III. The death camp at Birkenau (Auschwitz II) – and its gas chambers – is untouched.

August 23 Marshal Ion Antonescu is overthrown in Romania and Romania joins the Allies.

August 25 German forces surrender in Paris. Adolf Eichmann and his staff leave Hungary, seemingly ending the deportation of Hungarian Jews.

September 3 Brussels is liberated by the Allies. Anne Frank is among the Dutch Jews deported from Westerbork to Auschwitz.

September 16 Following a Communist coup, Bulgaria declares war on Germany.

October 6 The Soviet Army enters Hungary.

October 6–7 Sonderkommando Uprising at Auschwitz. One of the four crematoria is set on fire.

October 13 Soviet troops enter Riga, Latvia.

October 17 Adolf Eichmann returns to Budapest.

October 18 Oscar Schindler arranges to have 300 women from Plaszow who had been deported to Auschwitz transferred to his factory.

October 20 22,000 Hungarian Jews are put on trains en route to Auschwitz.

October 30 Last deportation train from Theresienstadt to Auschwitz. 88,000 Jews have been sent from there to Auschwitz.

November 6 30,000 Hungarian Jews are driven by the Hungarian Iron Cross to the old Austrian border.

November 8 Beginning of Death March from Budapest.

November 25 Demolition of Crematorium II begins at Auschwitz-Birkenau.

1945

January 6 Four Jewish women are hanged at Auschwitz for supplying explosives for the October uprising.

January 17 Red Army enters Budapest. Last roll call at Auschwitz. Raoul Wallenberg is arrested by Soviet officials; his fate still remains in dispute.

January 18 Forced evacuation of Auschwitz, in what became known as the Death Marches. Prisoners are forced to walk toward Germany rather than be captured alive by advancing Soviet troops, reversing long process of making Germany Judenrein. Many will die on these marches from cold and hunger, the absence of shelter, fatigue and despair. Josef Mengele leaves Auschwitz, taking with him the records of his medical experiments.

January 27 Soviet troops enter Auschwitz and find 7,000 prisoners alive.

February 3 Forced march of prisoners from Gross-Rosen to Flossenbuerg.

February 4 Allied Conference at Yalta establishes postwar division of Europe. Last conference attended by President Roosevelt.

March 9 U.S. Ninth Army reaches the Rhine River.

March 30 Soviet troops enter Austria.

April 11 SS leaves Buchenwald and prisoners take charge; a short while later U.S. troops enter.

April 12 Generals Dwight David Eisenhower, George Patton, and Omar Bradley visit Ohrdruf concentration camp. Eisenhower reports: "The things I saw beggar the imagination. The visual evidence and the verbal testimony were so overpowering…. I have reported what I saw and heard, but only part of it. For most of it, I have no words." He summons the press and political leaders.

April 14 Swedish Count Folke Bernadotte negotiates the release of 423 Danish Jews from Theresienstadt.

April 15 British troops enter Bergen-Belsen. Situation is so grave that 13,000 Jews will die after liberation.

April 23 Concentration camp at Flossenbuerg is liberated by U.S. Army.

April 29 Hitler's last will and testament. American troops enter Dachau.

April 30 Hitler and his hastily married wife, Eva Braun, commit suicide in Berlin. Soviet Army captures Reichstag.

May 2 German forces in Berlin surrender.

May 5 U.S. Army liberates Mauthausen.

May 7 Germany signs unconditional surrender.

May 8 V-E Day: Victory in Europe.

August 6 An American B-29 bomber drops an atomic bomb on Hiroshima, Japan.

August 9 In another bombing run, American B-29 bomber drops an atomic bomb on Nagasaki, Japan.

August 11 Anti-Jewish riots in Cracow, Poland.
September 2 Japan surrenders. World War II is over.
September 17 Trial of Bergen-Belsen personnel begins.
October 25 Jews are attacked in Sosnowiec, Poland.
November 15 Trial of Dachau Camp administration.
November 19 Anti-Jewish riots in Lublin.
November 20 First trial of Nuremberg defendants.

1946
May 1 Anglo-American Commission recommends the admission of 100,000 Jews to Palestine. Britain, which holds the mandate for Palestine, refuses.
July 4 Anti-Jewish pogrom in Kielce, Poland, follows the disappearance of a non-Jewish child. 46 Jews are killed. Over the next year 100,000 Jews will flee Poland to American- and British-held territory in operation called Beriḥah ("Escape").
September 18 Part of Emanuel Ringelblum's collection of documents from the Oneg Shabbat archive is discovered buried beneath the rubble of Warsaw in a milk can.
October 1 First verdicts of Nuremberg trials.
October 15 Hermann Goering takes his own life before he is to be executed.
October 16 Those convicted at Nuremberg are executed, including former German Foreign Minister Joachim von Ribbentrop, *Der Stuermer* publisher Julius Streicher, former Governor-General of Poland Hans Frank, and Ernst Kaltenbrunner, RSHA chief, among others.
October 23 23 Nazi doctors are brought to trial at Nuremberg,

1947
January 13 15 Nazi judges are brought to trial at Nuremberg.
February 8 Six German industrialists are brought to trial at Nuremberg.
March 29 Former Auschwitz Commandant Rudolph Hoess is sentenced to death at his Warsaw Trial. He is hanged outside the gas chamber at Auschwitz I on April 16.
May 8 Trial of 24 board members of I.G. Farben begins.
May 10 Trial of 12 former Wehrmacht officers begins.
July 1 Trial of 14 former SS leaders begins.
August 16 Trial of 12 Krupp executives begins.
August 20 Doctors' trial concludes. Statement on medical and research conduct is issued concerning human experimentation, including the concept of informed consent and the right to stop treatment at any time.
November 4 21 former senior German diplomats are tried.
December 40 former Auschwitz administrators are tried.

1948
May 14 State of Israel is proclaimed; its borders are opened to Jews, including survivors, who may enter freely.
December 9 A Convention for the Prevention of Crimes of Genocide is adopted by the United Nations, which specifically outlaws many of the crimes associated with the Holocaust. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights follows the next day.

1949
May 23 Federal Republic of Germany is established (West Germany).
October 7 Democratic Republic of Germany is established (East Germany).

1950
June The Displaced Persons Act of 1948 is amended to allow Jewish immigration to the United States on an equitable basis.
December 1 Second Ringelblum milk can is discovered.

1951
April 12 Yom ha-Sho'ah ve-ha-Gevurah (Holocaust and Heroism Remembrance Day) is established by the Israeli Knesset.
September 27 West German Chancellor Konrad Adenauer apologizes to the Jewish people and offers reparations.

1952
September 10 Israel and West Germany agree on German payment of reparations to Israel and to Jewish organizations.

1960
May 23 David Ben-Gurion, Israel's prime minister, announces the capture and removal to Israel of Adolf Eichmann, who will stand trial there.

1961
April 11 August 14 Trial of Adolf Eichmann in Jerusalem. Eichmann is found guilty by an Israeli court and sentenced to death.

1962
May 31 Eichmann is hanged and his ashes are scattered at sea. As of 2006 he is the only man ever executed in Israel.

1963
December 20 Trial of SS officers at Auschwitz is held in Frankfurt-am-Main. Trial lasts until August 1965.

1969
September 1 German penal code eliminates paragraph 175, the provision under which German male homosexuals were arrested and confined by the Nazis.

1978
April 16–19 U.S. television network NBC broadcasts the docudrama *The Holocaust* over four consecutive nights, bringing the event to the attention of millions.
May 14 U.S. President Jimmy Carter announces his intention to establish the President's Commission on the Holocaust to recommend an appropriate national memorial to its victims.

1979
January The President's Commission on the Holocaust begins its deliberations with Elie Wiesel as chair.
Office of Special Investigations is established in the U.S. Department of Justice to investigate Nazi war criminals who settled in the United States.

1980
October The United States Holocaust Memorial Council is established by a unanimous act of Congress to plan and build the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum.

1981
June More than 6,000 gather in Jerusalem for the World Gathering of Jewish Holocaust Survivors.

1985
French movie director Claude Lanzmann releases *Shoah*, a 9½-hour documentary on the Holocaust.
May 5–7 U.S. President Ronald Reagan's visit to Bitburg, where Waffen SS troops are buried, provokes an international controversy.

1986
December Elie Wiesel is awarded the Nobel Peace Prize for his role as Holocaust witness and his efforts for human rights and human dignity.

1993

February Beit Hashoah/The Museum of Tolerance opens in Los Angeles.

April 19 United States Holocaust Memorial Museum opens in Washington.

July 29 The Israeli Supreme Court on appeal releases John Demjanjuk, who had been convicted in 1988 by a Jerusalem Court of war crimes as "Ivan the Terrible."

October *Schindler's List*, a film by Steven Spielberg, opens and is seen by tens of millions of Americans. It sweeps the Academy Awards.

1994

With the proceeds of *Schindler's List*, Steven Spielberg establishes the Survivors of the Shoah Visual History Foundation to record on video tape the personal testimonies of 50,000 Holocaust survivors. Within five years 52,000 testimonies are taken in 32 languages in 57 countries.

1996

May Swiss bankers and the World Jewish Congress decide to look into the misappropriation of Jewish funds during and after the Holocaust.

October 23 Peter Hug, a Swiss historian, shows how Switzerland used funds of Holocaust victims to settle claims by Poland and Hungary.

1997

October Accused Nazi collaborator Maurice Papon goes on trial in France for the deportations of Jews from France, including children.

1998

August Swiss banks agree to pay $1.25 billion to compensate Holocaust victims for stolen assets.

August 19 The Italian Assicurazioni Generali insurance group decides to pay $100 million to Holocaust victims as compensation for previously unpaid insurance.

December 3 At a meeting in Washington, 44 nations agree to return fine art looted from victims of the Nazis.

1999

February 16 Germany establishes a $1.7 billion Remembrance, Responsibility and the Future Fund financed by the German government and major German corporations that had profited from forced labor during the Nazi era.

May 26 Germany agrees to compensate Polish slave laborers.

2000

January An international conference of 21 heads of state and delegations representing 46 countries is convened by the prime minister of Sweden to consider Holocaust education.

March Pope John Paul II visits Yad Vashem in Jerusalem, condemns antisemitism as anti-Christian, and apologizes for antisemitism by Christians at the Holocaust Memorial and even more strikingly in a note inserted into the Western Wall.

April Holocaust denier David Irving loses the libel suit that he brought against American historian Deborah Lipstadt as an English court finds that Irving did indeed falsify the historical record and that he is an antisemite and a racist. This is a major defeat for Holocaust denial as Irving was its most erudite representative.

Sources: The Holocaust Chronicle (2000); R. Rozett and S. Spector (eds.), Encyclopedia of the Holocaust (2000); I. Gutman (ed.), Encyclopedia of the Holocaust (1990).

RESPONSES

THE VICTIMS

Behavior of the Victims

In a chapter entitled "Auschwitz: The Death of Choice" in *Versions of Survival: The Holocaust and the Human Spirit*, the Holocaust scholar Lawrence *Langer writes: "After we peel the veneer of respectable behavior, cooperation, hope, mutual support, and inner determination from the surface of the survivor ordeal, we find beneath a raw and quivering anatomy of human existence resembling no society ever encountered before." The situation of the victim can best be described as one of "choiceless choices where crucial decisions did not reflect the options between life and death but between one form of abnormal response and another, both imposed by a situation that was in no way of the victim's own choosing." Only by understanding the distance between that world and our world can we presume to enter the world of the Holocaust.

WHO IS COMPETENT TO JUDGE THIS BEHAVIOR? One issue that has been hotly debated between survivors of the camps and those who were not inside, whether they be outside witnesses or researchers, has been the question of who is competent to describe and evaluate the behavior of the victims and their leaders. Many survivors have held the view that "no one who has not had any personal experience of a German concentration camp can possibly have the remotest conception of concentration camp life." Elie *Wiesel said: "Only those who were there will ever know." Primo Levi argued that if the *lagers* had lasted a little longer they would have developed a language of their own. Ordinary language of ordinary people living through ordinary experiences cannot describe what it was like to be there. Philosopher John Roth suggested an ethical principle: "handle with care," with modesty and humility.

Little does the outsider know of the hard fight for existence that raged among prisoners. Admittedly, survivors have the advantage of the immediate personal experience of a world that is very different from ours, a phenomenon not easily imaginable. But acceptance of this claim at face value would mean that with the last survivor gone, research and evaluation of such behavior would also come to an end. And when Wiesel said, "And those who were there can never tell," he is urging the nonsurvivor to back away, dismissing every attempt to understand.

Survivor testimony, however important, is not unimpeachable. Some generalize on the basis of brief experience in a camp or in a ghetto to arrive at conclusions of broader applications. On the other hand, it is not beyond the capacities of a conscientious witness to learn and seek to comprehend and arm himself with *Einfuehlungsvermoegen*, which is the proper meaning of the Talmudic saying, "Judge not thy neighbor until thou art come into his place," as formulated in modern terms by Viktor Frankl: "No man should judge unless he asks himself in absolute honesty whether in a similar situation he might not have done the same."

Any attempt to apply to the victims of the Holocaust or of comparable extreme situations the standards of behavior of a civilized society must fall short. "Standards of normal society did not obtain in the ghettos and concentration camps. Theft, egotism, lack of consideration for others, disregarding all laws, all this was prohibited in pre-concentration camp days; inside the concentration camp, however, it was normal, indeed essential for survival." In these conditions, "there was neither the time nor the desire to consider moral issues." As Primo Levi put it: "Survival without renunciation of any part of one's moral world – apart from powerful and direct interventions by fortune – was conceded only to very few superior individuals, made of the stuff of martyrs and saints." And saints died far more often than they survived.

Most prisoners were concerned with survival. The admitted purpose of the Nazis in regard to the Jewish victim – as long as he was alive – was to reduce the homo sapiens to the category of a primitive creature with steadily decreasing needs, finally reduced to craving for food: "two hundred grams of bread ruled over life" (Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn, about the Gulag); "general preoccupation with food" (Frankl); "I am hungry, I am cold; when I grow up I want to be a German, and then I shall no longer be hungry, and no longer be cold" (diary of a child in the Warsaw ghetto). In an early and now virtually entirely disregarded treatment of the camps, the famed psychologist Bruno *Bettelheim, who himself was a prisoner before the war, before the killing began, wrote of the infantilization of the Jews as if the structure of their situation were not essential to what they experienced.

Dehumanization was essential to the Nazi universe. When the commandant of Treblinka was asked why he bothered to dehumanize the Jews even though he was going to kill them, he answered: "Because it made it easier somehow." And dehumanization was structural. The literary scholar Terrence Des Pres termed Nazi action an "excremental assault," the attempt to drown the Jews in their own filth. And the architectural historian Robert Jan Van Pelt has shown that such excremental assault was structured into the camp, into the very design of the latrines, which imposed a biological catastrophe on the victims.

Concentration on material relating to the behavior of Jews alone is insufficient for any valid judgment. Some contemporary phenomena with a degree of comparability offer significant insights into the psychology of terrorized men, for example the behavior of political opponents in Nazi Germany and in the U.S.S.R., of Soviet and German prisoners of war during World War II, of detainees in Stalinist camps, and of defendants and onlookers in the 1936–37 Moscow trials.

Mass Behavior

The behavior of the masses will be discussed under the following headings: the invasions; deportations inside German-annexed Poland before the German-Soviet war; isolation ghettos, labor camps and squads (inside and outside the ghettos); collection of deportees and deportation to the death camps; behavior in death camps.

BEHAVIOR DURING INVASION. The inevitable concomitant of war is the flight of refugees from the area of hostilities. In addition to non-Jews, more than 300,000 Jews from Poland fled, in the face of a catastrophic military defeat and of the total collapse of state and government, to the eastern, non-Nazi-occupied Polish territories, which were controlled by Soviet troops on Sept. 17, 1939, and further east; to the Vilna region (temporarily occupied by the Soviets, later transferred to Lithuania); to the southern part of Lithuania; and to Romania and Hungary. They fled despite the lessons of history: the experience of more than a century taught Jews that safety was in the movement westward, not eastward. The Germans had been comparatively well behaved during World War I. Yet Jews, only one in ten in the Polish population, formed the majority of Polish refugees everywhere but in Romania and Hungary. This movement came to a halt when all powers involved sealed off their borders. In the west, no significant flights were reported during the period of the "phony war" between the declaration of war by France and Britain in September 1939 and the German invasion of France in May 1940.

The situation changed with the invasion, when non-Jews and Jews from France, Belgium, and, to a lesser degree, from the Netherlands used all available roads and vehicles to escape the invading armies. After the beginning of German-Soviet hostilities (in 1941), no such spontaneous movement of Jews was reported from the U.S.S.R., because of the suddenness of the invasion and the psychological unpreparedness of the Jewish population, and also because the Soviet press had been completely silent concerning Nazi persecution of Jews in Poland during the period of the Soviet alliance with Nazi Germany, from August 1939 to June 1941. Similarly, the suddenness of the invasion of Yugoslavia made any large movement of Jewish refugees practically impossible. On the other hand, Jews were among the beneficiaries of the government-sponsored evacuation of special categories of state and party officials and industry personnel.

BEHAVIOR DURING THE DEPORTATIONS INSIDE POLAND, 1939–41. The division of the German-occupied part of Poland into the General Government and the areas annexed to the Reich had one dire consequence for some 100,000 Jews and 200,000 Poles of the areas of annexation. These territories were swiftly depolonized and dejudaized; there were mass deportations of Poles and Jews into the General Government territory. The evidence is that Poles and Jews alike, stunned by the debacle and utterly uncomprehending of the meaning of German deportation orders, met their fate without any external sign of resistance.

BEHAVIOR OF JEWS IN ISOLATION. The specificity of the Jewish behavior begins with the next stage of persecution, namely, isolation, which was carried out consistently in the east, partially in the south, and – if at all, in a different setting – in the west of Europe. No resistance was possible in the course of ghettoization, and in some respects ghettoization was even desirable as a sort of defense against bloody pogroms, both spontaneous and Nazi-incited. Jews on their own, separated from the general population, seemed safer, at least for a time. Work in labor camps, an important factor in the gradual physical emaciation of the masses, had one major advantage: Jews came into contact with non-Jews, thus enabling the Jews to trade personal belongings for food. Because of this possibility, ghetto Jews even volunteered for outside labor. The same phenomenon was observed in the Soviet prisoner-of-war camps in the occupied areas. Only a few cases of sabotage by Jewish forced laborers were recorded, but Jews were not overly productive in their work – they heeded the slogan "work slowly." As to the masses enclosed in the ghettos, their basic if not exclusive desire was to rescue themselves and their families; suffering and humiliation were the price that had to be paid for any faint hope of survival. Jews fought starvation and epidemics by making themselves useful as a skilled and unskilled labor force, creating new industries out of nothing, engaging in smuggling whenever it was possible.

For example, in the Warsaw ghetto, which had a Jewish population larger than that of all of continental Western Europe put together, and in other ghettos with lines of communications to the outside world, smuggling assumed gigantic proportions and flourished to the benefit of the inmates. As one diarist put it: "Perhaps, the day will come and the Jewish people will erect monuments to the unknown smugglers."

There are some records of spontaneous mass flights of Jews to the woods from the ghettos (after burning their houses), and of betrayals by the local population (e.g., at Tulczyn). But such an exodus depended on the existence of an escape route and the proximity of a forest. There are also known individual cases of disobedience to the orders of the Jewish councils (Judenraete) and the police (e.g., evasion of labor duty or the payment of fees for release from that duty, or of non-payment of taxes), and even physical resistance against certain actions of the Jewish police occurred in some ghettos. Hunger strikes and street demonstrations in the large, tightly controlled Lodz ghetto are recorded, prompted mostly by labor and food conditions.

There was no lack of channels for the masses to express their dissatisfaction with their fate. In the General Government, the "Jewish Social Self-Help" organization (financed by the American Jewish *Joint Distribution Committee), and in Warsaw the house committees, served this purpose. Political party ties and youth groups from prewar times served not only to maintain, as far as possible, close relations between like-minded persons, but were also a source of mutual help (e.g., party kitchens). The parties were also responsible for the widely distributed underground press, which provided an indispensable source of information. The ghetto dwellers established clandestine schools and prayer houses and tried to preserve records of their collective life.

Demoralization set in, with despair, disease, poverty, malnutrition, and death. The lowest depths of the first category were reached in Warsaw by a group of Jews on Dzika Street 13, called *Di Draytsentl*, who joined with the Gestapo to oppress their fellow Jews (some of them were killed by the resistance movement), or in the activities of the Salonika collaborators (some of whom were sentenced to death by Greek courts and executed). In Amsterdam and Berlin (but not on the Aryan side of Warsaw) the height of demoralization was reached when some Jews betrayed their fellow Jews in hiding to the Nazi authorities. They, too, were later to answer for their crimes before state courts.

BEHAVIOR DURING COLLECTION OF THE DEPORTEES AND DEPORTATION TO THE DEATH CAMPS. There was an immense difference between the situation in areas of Jewish confinement (ghettos and transit camps) and areas where the Jews were not concentrated in particular places. Having received a summons to appear for *Arbeitseinsatz* (code name for the deportation in the Netherlands), Jews in the latter still had some chance to escape deportation. While large numbers of those who received summonses showed up for deportation (prodded sometimes, in the case of the Netherlands, by members of the Jewish council, the Joodse Raad), others went into hiding with non-Jews, and a few refused to go into hiding as an act endangering non-Jews on the theory that Jews should not impose on non-Jews dangers intended for them alone. Opportunities for hiding depended on the degree to which gentiles were willing to accept Jews, and on the sanctions imposed by the Germans for such assistance. There was no certainty in this attempt to escape; betrayal of the "submerged" was a daily occurrence. Sanctions differed in the East and the West. In Poland the penalty for hiding a Jew was death.

Two distinguished writers have recorded instances of such behavior. A picture of Ukrainian peasants awaiting shipment to Germany for forced labor at a time when the local population was already well aware of conditions of life there is offered by Anatoly Kuznetsov (*Babi Yar*, 286–7):

> I… tramped obediently into a yard behind one of the cottages. About fifteen peasants were there, old men and boys, some sitting on the mound around the cottage and others just on the ground. Their faces were passive, indifferent, empty of expression. Just to make sure, I asked a boy of my age, "Are they taking us to Germany?" "Uh-huh," he sniffled. "They are taking everybody." The raid was a quiet one. The soldiers went from cottage to cottage, hauling people out: the men came submissively, silently, just as I had come.… We were driven to a collective farm yard.… Our few guards were evidently so used to obedience from people that they did not come into the yard with us.… They [the peasants] were all gray and ragged, and they sat in silence, in a dull stupor.

The following is a striking description by the Polish writer Ferdynand Goetel (*Czasy wojny*, 112) of the behavior of the Jews in the small town of Zawichost, near Sandomierz:

> In the summer of 1943, a Gestapo squad arrived in Zawichost, called in the Jewish leaders (starszyzna) and announced that

> in a few days the Jews would have to leave town. They should be ready to march and await the arrival of the escort. This happened at a time when Jews even in remote provinces had no illusions as to what was in store for them.… The whole [Jewish] population of the town was on the spot … looking at the road by which the German police was supposed to arrive.
>
> The author asked his companion (a local landlord): "Do they know what is in store for them?" The companion: "Surely." The author: "Why do they not disperse, why do they not escape?" The companion: "Where? To what place can they escape?"

Most Jews were at a severe handicap. They could not blend into the local population. They could not pass as non-Jews and they could not depend on the local population to hide them or not to betray them. Some spoke the native language with difficulty or with an accent and even those who could "pass" were in constant danger that someone from their past would recognize them, in which case they might be betrayed or blackmailed, or that their own emotions would betray them. As for the deportations themselves, the people were locked in cattle cars with strong guards, not knowing their destination and suspicious of the "final objective," subjected to fraud and deception by the Nazis. They were told that they were to be "resettled in the East" and often they believed the deception. There were only individual cases of breaking out and jumping from the moving trains, with all the dangers of such a situation and the uncertainty of finding shelter with Polish or Ukrainian people.

For Polish Jews, the mass deportations came after 30 months of unspeakable suffering that had severely reduced their power to physically or psychologically resist. Some even turned themselves in for the promise of bread. The Nazis were skilled at deception, and a captive population often seizes on any idea that offers it hope lest it be completely demoralized by despair. Even in ordinary situations people often resist facing bad news. The helplessness of the deportees was due to the generally shared rejection of the very idea of total destruction of Jewish communities, the hopes that the deportees, at least the men and women fit for work, were being sent east to other camps or ghettos, and that the first selection would also be the last one. Perhaps the most striking proof of the strength of these illusions was an incident involving thousands of volunteers who crowded the *Umschlagplatz* (collection point) in Warsaw. The lack of an alternative (armed resistance in absence of weapons and difficulties of communication), fear of collective sanctions, and tenacious belief in Hitler's inevitable defeat, all created a sense of apathy. This analysis, borrowed from a thoughtful essay by the Polish-Jewish resistance fighter Adolf Berman, written in January 1943, is *mutatis mutandis* applicable to other areas as well.

No escape at all was possible for the Jews in the expanded U.S.S.R. and in Yugoslavia, where – unlike Poland and Western Europe – the process of murder started simultaneously with the invasion, at the hands of the *Einsatzgruppen* invested with unlimited authority to shoot hundreds of thousands of Jews and "communists." In the second wave of killings (mostly by shooting), the behavior of the masses in those areas was similar to that of the victims in the death camps in Poland. In the final wave of deportations (for example from Lithuania to Estonia), people were sent to labor camps.

JEWISH BEHAVIOR IN DEATH CAMPS. After the life in the ghettos and camps, after having lost the power of resistance under the constant Nazi terror, and often having also lost all or part of their families, nothing but blind obedience could have been expected of these prisoners when they were shipped to gas chambers disguised as showers. The calm that reigned among candidates for death impressed various witnesses, some of them seeing it as a characteristic of dignified death in view of the impossibility of living a dignified life. The Jewish *Sonderkommandos* ("special commandos") in the death camps were sometimes forced to perform the macabre job of accompanying the victims to the gas chambers and, after their death, disposing of the corpses, extracting gold teeth, cutting hair, etc. Their situation was paradoxical, perhaps compromised: as long as groups kept arriving, the "services" of these men were needed. When there was a lull in the killing, they would be killed, as they were the most dangerous eyewitnesses. In four death camps, when the killing was close to the end, the *Sonderkommando* rose up. There were uprisings in Auschwitz in October 1944, in Treblinka (Aug. 2, 1943), Sobibor (Oct. 14, 1943), and Chelmno (January 1945), at the cost of many Jewish lives as against the loss of only relatively few Nazi lives. But their significance is greater than the statistics of numbers killed.

Their reports of the Jews' final moments differ. One *Sonderkommando* from Auschwitz reported: "Children behaved like children looking for their parents' hand. Parents embraced their children. Children didn't know anything."

Shlomo Dragon, one of two brothers who worked as a *Sonderkommando*, said: "People called one another by name. Mothers called their children, children, their mothers and fathers. Sometimes we could hear *Shema Yisrael*" – the central credo of the Jewish religion, traditionally recited by Jews at the point of death: "Hear O Israel, the Lord is our God, the Lord is One."

The lone *Sonderkommando* survivor from Belzec reports: "I heard the noise of sliding doors, moaning and screaming, desperate calls in Polish, Yiddish – blood-curdling screams. All that lasted fifteen minutes. Screams of children, women and finally one common continuous horrible scream. All that lasted fifteen minutes. The machine ran for twenty minutes and after twenty minutes there was silence."

How did they deal with their own situations? They became numb. Interviewed over time and in many places, *Sonderkommandos* spoke of themselves as automatons, machines, not people. Feelings were shut down. They had to be.

Inmates describe one unique type of person in the camp, the **musselman*, the walking dead. No one described him more emphatically than Primo Levi at the beginning of his account of life in Auschwitz, *If This Be a Man* (U.S. title *Sur-*

vival in Auschwitz): "An emaciated man, with head drooped and shoulders curved, on whose face and in whose eyes not a trace of thought is to be seen." Levi cautions: "Whoever does not know how to become an 'Organisator,' 'Kominator,' 'Prominent,' soon becomes like a musselman. In life a third way exists, and is in fact the rule; it does not exist in the camps."

Inmates shunned the musselmen; they needed all their strength to keep themselves together, to keep from falling into such despair.

In the daily dilemma of the conflict between the instinctive will to remain alive at all cost and the faint hope of maintaining at least a certain amount of "God's image," the condemned Jews in the death camps reached the depth of human degradation. In terms of numbers and ultimate fate, the recaptured Soviet prisoners of war who were imprisoned by their own country as "deserters" for refusing to fight unto the death came closest to the Jews, with two significant differences: they were young and mostly single and thus spared the fate of having to witness the agony of their loved ones; and they were military men trained in the use of arms and indoctrinated with Soviet and Russian patriotism. Like the Jews, who were not protected by any international convention, these prisoners were also unprotected, since their government considered all of them deserters and did not invoke the Geneva Convention on Prisoners of War.

Here are a few Dante-esque scenes of their behavior:

> The exhausted comrades were considered by the less exhausted ones as living corpses, and some of the stronger prisoners watched the dying and upon their death stripped them naked, sometimes even before they gasped their last breath. Despite cruel punishment meted out to marauders by their own comrades, these crimes continued, since in the climate of total demoralization punishment did not work. Groups of marauders – each with their own sphere of influence – acted collectively and with exclusive claim to the "property" of their victims. Another phenomenon in these camps was cannibalism. Corpses were found in the morning with hearts, livers, and large pieces from their insides cut out. The cannibals, if caught, were delivered to the Germans for death by shooting. And still it went on.

Under the circumstances, the Jewish masses could not and did not – as a rule – revolt. No significant acts of sabotage or other forms of resistance have been recorded for their part by prisoners of war (both those internationally protected by the Geneva Convention and remaining mostly in camps in their home countries and – *a fortiori* – unprotected Soviet prisoners of war), or the millions of European workers (on Sept. 30, 1944, some 7.5 million) situated in the heart of Germany, many of them enjoying wide freedom of movement and other privileges, or by non-Jewish prisoners of concentration camps (prior to 1945).

Behavior of Jewish Officials

JEWISH COUNCILS (JUDENRAETE). The personal integrity of the members of the Joodse Raad in Amsterdam or the Reichsvereinigung in Berlin or of Elchanan Elkes in Kovno was never questioned, in contrast to that of members of councils in Poland. Individual cases of misconduct (e.g., extorting money from victims for better quarters) have been recorded. The political acumen of the average members in the daily conflict with the Machiavellian Nazis was not less than that of a Chamberlain or Daladier, but not sufficient to avert disaster, which visited the Jews no matter what they did. The sense of responsibility of members accepting the office is beyond question. A few examples out of many: Adam *Czerniakow (Warsaw) was offered an immigration certificate for Palestine, but he refused to leave the community and eventually committed suicide. David Cohen (Amsterdam) received a visa to Switzerland but refused to leave. Julius Seligsohn (Berlin) returned from the U.S. to help in the Reichsvertretung and subsequently died in the concentration camp in Oranienburg.

A critical test of the behavior of councils called upon to participate in the deportation to the death camps came at a time when the destination of the deportees became known. The question for the historian is the following: Why did they not refuse to take the German orders when it was clear that they were becoming what may loosely be called accomplices of the Nazis? Hope (sometimes fulfilled) for exemption from deportation of the council member and his family and friends was built into the four reasons that predominate in the contemporary literature:

(1) The Nazi terror against the recalcitrant members of the councils and their families and expected reprisals against the community for their acts and omissions.

(2) The danger of refusal to cooperate would lead to the appointment of a new unscrupulous member (the principle of negative selection).

(3) The theory that alternatively no other person would be appointed to the Jewish council and the Germans would do the job themselves, with much more cruelty.

(4) The hope that as long as selection remained in the hands of the Jewish leaders the best elements of the community might be preserved for its future rehabilitation.

This type of "cooperation" imposed by the Gestapo on the Berlin Jewish community in the process of "resettlement" was different. Under threats that otherwise the "SS and SA would do it alone," members of the *Gemeindevorstand* in Berlin were ordered to put at the disposal of the Gestapo its "register" of Berlin Jews. After a heated debate, the Vorstand and the Reichsvereinigung agreed to cooperate "in the hope that they would be able to do as much as possible in the interests of the affected persons."

A special problem arose in cases in which councils, knowing the impending disaster, failed to share this knowledge with the people. Their behavior has been a subject of controversy. In places where nothing could have been done to change the course of events, some members considered it advisable not to let victims know the truth in order to spare them the agony and ultimate desperation that comes from knowing that the end is near and there is no way out. This was the policy followed, according to some reports, by Leo *Baeck in Theresienstadt when he saw that there was no possibility of escape. On the other hand, such behavior provoked the charge that information essential to their decision making, however narrow the options, was withheld from the victims. In the most extreme cases there were charges of collaboration with the Nazis, who, too, tried to keep the destination of the victims secret, but such charges are exaggerated. Jewish leadership did not want the captive Jews killed; their goal of survival was inimical to the Nazi goal of the Final Solution.

The individual behavior of council members varied: some participated in the deportations; others refused, knowing full well that they were "personally responsible for carrying out orders" and the penalty would be death. Their one option was suicide.

Fear of Nazi mass vengeance – collective and disproportionate reprisal – also was a factor in leading many council members to oppose resistance and flights from the ghettos to join the partisans, while others tolerated or even encouraged such flights, and some were prepared to assume leadership for armed resistance or organized mass flights when, in their view, the proper moment came.

Canons of behavior in these extreme cases were formulated *post factum* by the Israel legislature and put to the test in Israel courts. Under the Nazis and Nazi Collaborators (Punishment) Law 5710 – 1950, "the delivery of a persecuted person to an enemy administration" was declared a punishable crime (Art. 5 of the Law). The article covers all forms of participation in selection and deportation of Jews. The same law established two criteria for the release of a person from criminal responsibility:

(1) if he did or omitted to do the act in order to save himself from the danger of immediate death threatening him and the court is satisfied that he did his best to avert the consequences of the act or omission, or

(2) if he did or omitted to do the act with intent to avert consequences more serious than those which resulted from the act or omission, and actually averted them.

In the light of these canons, the Israel courts were faced, among other things, with the following problems:

(1) Are the criteria for legal evaluation of the acts of the Jewish participants in the deportation to be borrowed from normal codes of behavior in normal times or are they to be established while bearing in mind the particular nature of the Nazi period and its effects on the nature of an ordinary simple human being?

(2) Is the nonresignation of a Jewish participant in deportation who had known the purpose of that deportation reprehensible?

(3) Is the forced delivery of a minority of victims to the Nazis justified when it can be proven that in such a case the immediate deportation of the majority was prevented? In other words, does such an act fall under the clause of "averting more serious consequences"?

(4) Is the care for the Jewish participant's family and the threat to him and his family ground for releasing him from responsibility for this participation? It is difficult to say whether the Israel legislature's canons might have helped men of conscience to determine their decisions, had these canons been in effect in the ghettos.

From a traditionalist point of view, there was, however, the Code of Maimonides (Yad, Hilkhot Yesodot ha-Torah, 5:5) under which "…if pagans should tell them [the Jews] 'give us one of yours and we shall kill him, otherwise we shall kill all of you,' they all should be killed and not a single Jewish soul should be delivered." But if the victim is specified, he may be handed over. The principle is that Jews may not themselves be killers. In actual practice, the interpretations given to this Code of Maimonides by rabbinical authorities during the Shoah were contradictory. Thus the rabbi of Kovno, Abraham Duber Cahana Shapiro, ruled that "if a Jewish community… has been condemned to physical destruction, and there are means of rescuing part of it, the leaders of the community should have courage and assume the responsibility to act and rescue what is possible." In contrast, the Vilna rabbinate, replying to the argument of the head of the Judenrat that "by participating in the selections and delivering a small number of Jews, he is rescuing the rest from death," took the strict view of Maimonides. Their advice to the Judenrat chairman, Jacob Gens, was ignored. Rabbi Isaac Nissenbaum of the Warsaw ghetto pushed for a new form of "sanctification," not traditional martyrdom, "*kiddush ha-Shem*," but survival as a form of defiance "*kiddush ha-Ḥayyim*." The secular sector argued that the Code of Maimonides was incomplete guidance for unprecedented circumstances.

JEWISH POLICE. As in the case of Jewish councils, the behavior of the Jewish police, who were employed by the Jewish Councils to keep order in the ghetto and who in some cases participated in the deportation of Jews, does not lend itself to easy generalization. In their conflicting duties toward the non-Jewish commandants, the Jewish councils, the Nazi authorities, and their own community, there were considerable differences between large cities and small towns, where the relations of the police and the local Jews were close, as well as differences between local policemen and those recruited from among the refugees. In cases where converts from Judaism were chosen as policemen, their outsider status and distance from the Jewish population caused additional problems. The functions imposed on the Jewish police were, to say the least, distasteful: enforcement of obligatory labor duty and all this implied, in conditions where the evasion of one laborer was bought at the price of recruiting another one; collection of taxes and "contributions"; confiscations of Jewish property; combating smuggling (but also practicing it); participation in collecting deportees (mostly only in the first wave, a task later taken over entirely by the Germans), ranging from active search for hidden victims and their brutal treatment, particularly in the presence of Germans, through apathetic compliance with orders, to clandestine help for the victims, and even refusal to participate in the "hunt." The policemen and their families were promised exemption from resettlement in return for participation in the collections and were threatened with reprisals for noncompliance. Naturally, the promises were not kept. After each "action," the cadres of police were reduced and the policemen and their families were also deported. Incidentally, there were differences of opinion among Jewish observers about whether participation of the Jewish police in the actions was not preferable to exclusive German participation.

The majority of Jewish police in areas with no partisans opposed resistance. This policy was not unpopular among the masses who, fearing Nazi mass reprisal, likewise opposed resistance, while in the eastern (Polish-Soviet) areas cases of cooperation with and assistance to *résistants* were rather frequent.

Perhaps the two extremes of the behavior of the Jewish policemen are epitomized in the ghettos of Warsaw and Kovno. The facts known about Warsaw (where, incidentally, a number of suicides and the evidence of an opposition group among policemen are recorded) differ in two respects from those in Kovno: police in the latter participated only perfunctorily in the collection of deportees while the former – with some exceptions – readily participated; and the Kovno police were in close contact with the *résistants* while no such contact is known in Warsaw (again with a few exceptions). The functions of Jewish supervisors in labor camps and *kapos* in concentration camps were essentially police functions and offered opportunities for supervisors to abuse and mistreat their charges. Some used their role to assist Jews; others let their power go to their head and behaved brutally; some did both.

The Soviet police in German prisoner-of-war camps combined, so to say, the functions of the councils and the police. It consisted of healthy, strong, and amoral prisoners. These men – with very few exceptions – knew no pity or compassion for their own comrades. They would beat up prisoners with impunity and frequently flog them to death. The black market of products "imported" to the camp was in their hands. They were the absolute masters of the camps.

Behavior of the Active Elite

In Poland, in both the German- and Soviet-occupied or annexed areas, the active elite consisted of representatives of party-affiliated and unaffiliated youth movements of various shades of opinion. It took some time for them to unite in a common cause; these groups were ideologically opposed to each other, and had to overcome the reasoning of the older generation to create contacts with the Polish underground, acquire arms from them, and use their channels of communication. These were exclusive groups, reluctant to receive new members for reasons of security and because there were not enough arms to go around.

The motives for integrated Jewish participation in the resistance in Yugoslavia, the Netherlands, Italy (where Jews had had previous contacts with left-wing anti-Fascist movements), France, and Slovakia (in the revolt of 1944) were both patriotic and subconsciously Jewish.

In particular, in the *Maquis* (the term for French resistance fighters) the Jews were welcome as French patriots, enemies of the Nazis, and victims of the German occupation regime. The Jewishness of a candidate was a guarantee of his devotion to the cause. He was more reliable than the average Frenchman from a security viewpoint. No wonder the Jewish role in the movement was out of all proportion to the percentage of Jewish population in France. The *Éclaireurs Israélites de France* was a small but an effective – avowedly Jewish – group of *résistants*. This was not the situation in the East. Whether ghetto fighters or partisans in the woods, the Jews were guided by unequivocally Jewish motives – rescue of national honor, "a few lines in history books." More sober – but again Jewish – was the motivation of Palestinian Jewish parachutists.

Physical Resistance and Flight

REVOLT. The behavior of the active resistance groups in the conditions sketched above manifested itself in various ways. With the exception of the Netherlands, where physical resistance – an act of sabotage – occurred early (January–February 1941) and was paid for with 400 Jewish lives (the people were seized at random by the Nazis and shipped to Mauthausen via Buchenwald where all but one perished within a few months), there was no organized armed resistance in the early years of the war. Revolts in Eastern Europe started in major ghettos at the beginning of 1943, at the time the majority of the Jewish population had already been destroyed, but significantly, at a time when France did not yet have its own *Maquis* and Tito's Partisans had not yet become a serious factor. The Warsaw ghetto revolt of April 1943 was the first direct confrontation of local forces with the Nazis. From the viewpoint of rescue, this and the following revolts were of little value (except for those few fighters who survived the unequal fight). The price was high, the influence of the uprising on the Nazis (who sped up the process of destruction) was inconsiderable, but the moral purpose – to demonstrate and affirm Jewish honor – was achieved.

FLIGHT FROM THE GHETTOS TO JOIN PARTISANS. The flights from Polish and Soviet ghettos were of practical rescue value in areas where partisan bands were active (woods and marshes), although the partisans were largely hostile to the Jews (Soviet partisans were more hospitable than Polish, but not always), as was the local population, which was the main source of food supply for the groups. The conditions for a Jewish partisan movement were most unfavorable; it could receive no help from a Jewish state or a Jewish army; it had no arms, and the few it could acquire were obtained with difficulties and at great sacrifice. No concerted action by the ghettos was possible, or even by Jews not confined in ghettos, given their isolation from the non-Jewish population. A Jewish partisan in a generally hostile environment had no outside help, no supply of food, no mobility. Despite these agonies, the Jewish partisans gave a good account of themselves and a far from negligible number of them survived.

FLIGHT OF ZIONIST YOUTH. A particular form of defiant behavior toward the Nazi and pro-Nazi authorities was that of He-Ḥalutz and other Zionist youth groups: escape to Palestine. Their escape was not merely personal, but communal and ideological; they intended to join the efforts to build a state. Those who chose to do this had to traverse dangerous routes, whether they came from the West as, for example, from the Netherlands, or from Eastern countries like Poland, and had to make their way via the Carpathian mountains, Slovakia, Hungary, or Romania, and the Black Sea.

FLIGHT FROM THE CONCENTRATION CAMPS. Finally, there was the successful flight of 76 Jewish prisoners (out of a total of 667 who made the attempt) from concentration camps to bring the world the news of the annihilation of their people. The risks were enormous. That a deaf ear was turned to their message reflects on the kind of world they had to appeal to.

Behavior of Jews in Allied Armies

No analysis of Jewish behavior or the "Jewishness" of certain types of behavior would be complete without a look at the behavior of the Jews in the Allied forces. From all the accounts, one conclusion emerges: not only did they do their duty, like their fellow citizens, but also they often excelled in acts of heroism because of their complete identification with the purposes of the anti-Nazi coalition, emotionally strengthened by the conviction that they were fighting for their countries and for their people too. Jews from Germany who had emigrated to Allied countries went back in uniform to fight the war. Some were chosen for special intelligence units, where their knowledge of the enemy and/or language proved valuable. They volunteered for dangerous missions. They demonstrated courage. This is true for all Allied armies and in particular for the Soviet Army, where the Jews distinguished themselves in the number and grade of decorations they were awarded. In addition, they were instrumental in the creation of national divisions in the Red Army, e.g., Lithuanian, Latvian, and Czechoslovak, constituting the majority of the volunteers there.

Jewish Collaboration

In the Netherlands, a Jewish court of honor tried members of the Joodse Raad and condemned them on several counts, including acceptance of membership in the council. Neither the Courts of Honor in the Displaced Persons (DP) camps, nor later Israeli law and practice, considered membership in Jewish councils or police reprehensible per se. The Joodse Raad members were further condemned for publishing the *Joodse Weekblad*, which had become a mouthpiece for the Germans, and for participating in the selection and transportation of the Jews to the East, but not for shipping them knowingly to their death. In Warsaw, members of the pre-Soviet invasion Jewish Council (deeply involved in anti-Nazi activities) who had fled abroad were considered by people like Czerniakow to be deserters.

In the DP camps, courts of honor and rehabilitation commissions were active for a number of years. They were connected with the central and local organizations of DPs in Germany and Italy. The functions of these institutions were complementary: while the courts considered alleged misdeeds and judged the defendants, the rehabilitation commissions, acting at the request of individuals who felt themselves unjustifiably maligned, investigated and ruled on their appeals. In both cases the basic approach was to find whether the persons concerned deserved a place in the postwar Jewish community. Persons found guilty were disqualified from participation in the new Jewish organizations, either permanently or for a number of years. In addition, they were denied DP benefits (material assistance, help in emigration) and, in particular cases, were even excommunicated. The number of trials of council members was minimal (as was their presence among the survivors); most of the trials were against ghetto policemen and *kapos* (prisoner supervisors or prisoner-functionaries in the camps). Some trials were also conducted in Poland and in some countries of resettlement, including Israel, where they were based on law and were conducted in the state courts.

Conclusions

The following conclusions emerge:

a) While participation in the Jewish councils was largely determined by a long tradition of communal responsibility, their members and those of the Jewish police were in the last stages faced with demands never made by the Nazis on other institutions created and used by them as instruments of local control. This general survey has discussed the effect of their participation on the final outcome of the Nazi policy of extermination. The morality of individual behavior and conscience has to be considered in context in each case.

b) In two aspects the behavior of the active elite was undoubtedly superior in spirit and objectives: (1) the conscious and deliberate element of self-sacrifice to save the honor of the Jewish people; (2) the quality of the Jewish share in the war on the side of the Allied powers.

c) The behavior of the Jewish masses in the various stages of the Holocaust is in a general way what could have been expected from any group having to face all-pervading terror by the overwhelming power of a ruthless enemy like the Nazi machine. In two respects it was, perhaps, above expectations. First, the instinctive will to live (in the ghettos where families were not separated) developed resourcefulness and inventiveness in combating famine and oppression hardly found elsewhere in comparable situations. Second, in spite of continuous terror and the bestiality of the persecutors, depersonalization only rarely reached the lowest level of animalization.

d) The behavior of the Jewish masses was not a result of inherited or "racial" traits, as some critics have contended, but was the product of Nazi terror unprecedented both in its objectives and methods.

[Jacob Robinson /Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)

Spiritual Resistance in the Ghettos and Concentration Camps

There were two types of resistance, armed resistance and unarmed resistance, called by many scholars of the Holocaust spiritual resistance. The term spiritual resistance is employed here in an all-inclusive sense. Rabbi Issac Nissenbaum of the Warsaw ghetto stated, "This is the time of the Sanctification of Life, and not of the Sanctification of the Lord's Name in death. In the past the enemies were after our souls, and Jews sacrificed their bodies in the Sanctification of the Lord's Name. Now the foe is after the body of the Jew, and the Jew is obligated to protect it, to keep himself alive." Rabbi Nissenbaum's distinction is all-important. Traditional martyrdom, *kiddush ha-Shem*, entailed a willingness to die for one's belief, to sanctify God's name. To defy the Nazis, who were determined to implement the "Final Solution to the Jewish Problem," Jews had to live. Ghetto inhabitants used a less theologically loaded, simpler but nevertheless powerful term, *iberleben*, to outlive, to survive. The preservation of the Jewish human image was the meaning of the spiritual resistance, which throughout the entire period of the Holocaust embraced most areas of life, and it was not confined to a small group. Even after active armed resistance had developed and involved a minority in many places, it was nevertheless passive resistance, spiritual resistance, that was embraced by Jews as a whole. This involved a number of factors. Jewish tradition was studied for lessons in the ways of spiritual defiance, how to endure despite oppression. Moreover, the situation in which the Jews found themselves on the outbreak of the war afforded hardly any possibility of armed resistance. The German doctrine of collective responsibility and disproportionate reprisal against acts of resistance meant that innocent fellow Jews would likely be killed. Armed resistance was most often a last resort, when death was already certain and imminent. Before that revelation dawned, there were many other means of defiance.

Yet, even later, as understanding of the situation slowly developed, when the only clear alternatives were armed resistance, which meant certain and immediate death, and attempts to gain time in the hope of staying alive, surviving and lasting out the war, it was only natural that the majority would choose the latter. Only a small minority of idealistic youth, usually those without responsibilities for young children or elderly parents, join an armed resistance. Spiritual resistance, in contrast to armed rebellion, was the only choice of the individual as much as it was the heritage of the group. From the many testimonies available, it emerges that the vast majority of the Jewish population in the ghettos and camps responded with a form of spiritual resistance.

Encompassing most areas of life, spiritual resistance comprised education and religion, underground publications, self-help kitchens, humor, cultural creativity, and efforts to create a historical record.

Education serves as an outstanding example of the Jews' attempt to preserve their humanity generally and the special Jewish ethos in particular.

In Germany, when Jews were expelled from the public schools, they created their own schools. When they could no longer perform in theaters or concert halls, Jewish community institutions, even synagogues, became forums for Jewish performers. This process also occurred in the ghettos of Eastern Europe. For a considerable period, in all the ghettos, systems of education were maintained either quasi-legally or clandestinely. Besides elementary schools, which were permitted, there were in the Warsaw ghetto, for example, two underground gymnasia or high schools (secondary education was permitted only in *Vilna and *Lodz); and advanced studies: a faculty of medicine and a pedagogical institute in which Jewish and non-Jewish subjects were taught. In Theresienstadt, all children were taught in a technical school-level program, with the addition of Jewish studies, despite the fact that the Germans prohibited teaching. Art was taught by Freida Dicker Brandeis as a form of self-expression and also as therapy and documentation. In the Kovno ghetto, there were two schools and a vocational ORT school. In the Piotrkow ghetto, there were a clandestine school and gymnasium. In the transit camp at Westerbork, the Netherlands, classes were organized for the children. A children's opera was produced and performed at Theresienstadt.

Normally, education constitutes preparation for the future, but in this instance there was little hope for the future. The various forms of instruction constituted proof of the desperate desire to maintain basic, elementary subsistence, but also general human and Jewish spiritual values. In the ghetto, it also represented the commitment to live with such values for as long as it was possible to live. With this aim in view, special emphasis was placed on Jewish studies, including Hebrew, Bible, and history, in the clandestine and quasi-clandestine schools. This curriculum gave a sense of meaning to the identity that was being assaulted by those outside the ghetto. In the elementary and secondary schools, traditional Jewish holidays and national events such as Hanukkah, Purim, and Tel-Hai Day were celebrated when their meaning had special application to the current situation. Students gave performances of readings from Yiddish and Hebrew authors, such as Ḥayyim Naḥman *Bialik, Mendele Mokher *Seforim and Y.L. *Peretz. Certain festivals, like Purim, took on new meaning, as, for instance, the new light in which the wicked Haman could be seen.

Mobile libraries continued to function clandestinely, with those in charge also organizing literary evenings on Jewish literature. The lending library at Theresienstadt had 65,000 books, and because it was a gathering place for the elite of central European Jews, its cultural creativity was extraordinary. Operas and plays were performed, and Rabbi Leo Baeck lectured on Jewish philosophy.

Ghetto humor was sardonic and defiant. Among the documents found in the archives of the Warsaw ghetto was the following story:

> A police officer comes into a Jewish home and wants to confiscate the possessions. The woman cries, pleading that she is a widow and has a child to support. The officer agrees not to

> take the things, on one condition – that she guess which of his eyes is the artificial one.
>
> "The left one," the woman guesses.
>
> "How did you know?"
>
> "Because that one has the human look."

Shimon Huberband collected the folklore of the ghetto, which used humor to defend against chaos and fight despair. "A teacher asks his pupil, 'Tell me Moyshe, what would you like to be if you were Hitler's son?' 'An orphan,' the pupil answers."

The Jews also used humor to describe their own situation. On life in the ghetto: "We eat as if it were Yom Kippur [the Day of Atonement, a day of fasting], sleep in sukkas [a temporary hut open to the sky without a roof] and dress as if it were Purim [when outlandish customs are the rule of the day]." Humor is always a tool of the oppressed to deal with their oppression.

YOUTH ACTIVITIES. Throughout the period the youth movements operated quite intensively clandestinely, not only in the East, in Poland, but in the West, including Germany. The most active among them were the Zionist movements, whose members later formed the nucleus of the armed rebellion. Before 1942, however, when the operations for total annihilation began, it was the ideology of the movement that was accepted by most of the public: affirmation of life, maintenance of physical existence, and Jewish pride. The youth movements founded schools and a gymnasium (Dror in the Warsaw ghetto) and there were secret study groups in the club. Libraries were organized; an underground publishing division of Dror published Y. Katznelson's play *Job* and also translated poems of Bialik, plays, and articles. The youth movements held clandestine seminars to prepare leaders and organized such cultural activities as songfests, choirs, readings, and Bible gatherings. An important function was fulfilled by the movements' liaison officers, who established contact with the ghettos and sent messages that helped fight the isolation imposed upon the Jews.

The youth movements were geared to a different time – the future – and to a different place – Erez Israel. They did not deny the reality of their situation, but rather formed a spot of light that illuminated vision, Jewish pride, and strong conviction in the great darkness.

NEWSPAPERS. The newspapers of the underground (in which the youth movements played a large part as well) were also instituted to counteract the feeling of helplessness and despair among the Jews, and at the same time attempted to persuade them that Germany would eventually suffer defeat. In the Warsaw ghetto for example, some fifty underground newspapers and journals were published, including those of various political parties and factions, and there was an illegal youth press as well. Publications in Polish, Hebrew, and Yiddish made their way to other ghettos, to the provinces, and even to closed camps, despite the dangers involved. They included works by poets and authors and they spread the idea of active resistance and armed rebellion. A large number of the underground ghetto papers were rescued and are housed in the Yad Vashem Archives.

RELIGIOUS LIFE. One of the most inspiring facets of Jewish public life was the maintenance of religious life in the ghettos and camps, even in the extermination camps. In the underground, in hidden bunkers, there were *ḥadarim* and *talmudei torah* and places where yeshivah students studied. There is ample evidence of organized public worship, kindling of Hanukkah candles, wearing of *ẓiẓit* (in the Kovno ghetto), and even observing *kashrut* in the camps. The *Sefer She'elot u-Teshuvot mi-Ma'amakim* by Rabbi E. Oshry of the Kovno ghetto includes responsa from the Holocaust period and bears remarkable witness to the depth and devotion of this religious life. In the very time of expulsions and fear, religious Jews addressed questions to the rabbis about how to conduct themselves according to the *halakhah* in their terrible situation. No statistics are available for Jews who observed the commandments in the ghettos or camps, but there is sufficient documentation, including responsa. Works like *Esh Kodesh* of Rabbi Kalonymus Kalmish Shapira, the *admor* (a Hebrew acronym used by Hasidim, meaning "our master, our teacher, our rabbi") of Piaseczno, which includes the Sabbath and holiday sermons he delivered in the Warsaw ghetto, make it clear that religion provided a moving demonstration of spiritual resistance, of the elevation of the human spirit in the face of an enemy who in addition to physical extermination sought to deprive the Jews of their humanity. For observant Jews, at least, it allowed their lives of suffering and their deaths to retain some meaning.

CULTURAL LIFE. Along with the religious, a cultural life was also maintained. Ghettos established theaters in which numerous performances were given on subjects relating to topical issues. In the Vilna ghetto, the theater presented *The Eternal Jew* by D. *Pinski. A Yiddish theater in 1942 gave 120 performances attended by 38,000 people, and there were similar theaters in Lodz and Warsaw. In the winter of 1941, the *Brit Ivrit* (Hebrew Union) was founded in the Vilna ghetto, and it organized gatherings and parties for the Jewish holidays. There was also a symphony orchestra and a choir. In March 1943, an exhibition of the works of the ghetto artists, painters and sculptors was held. In the Theresienstadt ghetto, varied artistic and cultural activities took place. Musicians performed, *inter alia*, Verdi's *Requiem.* An opera, *The Emperor from Atlantis*, the text of which has survived, was composed by V. *Ullman but never performed. By chance a number of intellectuals and writers were held in several camps in Estonia and they set the tone of the cultural atmosphere there. They included the writers H. Krook in Klooga, Z.H. *Kalmanovich in Narva and the poet H. *Glick, as well as teachers, *ḥazzanim*, composers, and conductors, and they organized diverse cultural evenings. In camps in southwest France, there were *Oneg Shabbat* parties ("Sabbath Delight," the name for the traditional celebratory Friday night gatherings) and Hebrew lessons.

A primary motivating force behind all this intense activity, in addition to the desire for spiritual meaning, was a desperate urge to document what was happening. It was an expression of a constant theme throughout Jewish history: "And thou shalt tell thy son"; "Remember that which Amalek did to thee"; but during the Holocaust period it took on a new dimension. In the face of the Germans' vile intention to leave no remnant or memory of European Jewry, the Jews felt the need to place on record all that was happening and to make it available to future generations.

Pictorial art that survived the war (probably only a small portion of the total), made in the ghettos and camps under impossible conditions, provides an impressive documentation of daily life: the fear, the hunger, death. The story of Theresienstadt is unique. The artists there worked officially for the Nazis, but clandestinely recorded what was happening to them. Their hidden works were recovered after the war and some are now in Yad Vashem. Some can also be found at the Auschwitz State Museum and in Theresienstadt. They cover every aspect of Holocaust existence – a transport arriving at the ghetto, the distribution of food, a funeral in the ghetto, hunger, death.

A unique documentarian was Mendel Grossman, a photographer from the Lodz ghetto who, ignoring danger to himself, immortalized with his camera all that transpired in the camps, taking 10,000 pictures during four and a half years. Grossman himself did not survive, but his photographs did, although a large proportion of them were lost in Israel during the War of Independence. Hirsh Kadushin, an engineer by training, became the photographic chronicler of the Kovno ghetto. He began his work after a dying neighbor drew a message on the ground with his blood: "*Yiddin Nekama!*" ("Jews Revenge!"). Kadushin felt that he had been summoned. "I don't have a gun," he said. "The murderers are gone. My camera will be my revenge." He built a small camera, carried it under his clothing and managed to photograph every aspect of ghetto life. He worked in a hospital where a nurse bartered film. As the ghetto was being destroyed, Kadushin buried his photographs. He retrieved them after the war and has given them to the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum to stand as a permanent record of life and death in the Kovno ghetto.

Literary activity was equally notable, as professional authors and those who felt the need to write for the first time recorded their experiences and impressions of life in the ghetto. The approximately one hundred diaries in the Yad Vashem archives, as well as other material, attest to the strength of that urge. Among the most famous are the diary of Adam Czerniakow, the head of the community and of the Judenrat in Warsaw, covering the period from September 6, 1939 to July 23, 1942; those of Chaim *Kaplan of the Warsaw ghetto, Z.H. *Kalmanovich of the Vilna ghetto, and H. Krook of Vilna-Klooga, who recorded the testimonies of life in the various camps as related to him by those who arrived at Klooga from elsewhere; those of Mordecai *Tenenbaum from the Bialystok ghetto, and Justina Davidson-Darnger of Krakow.

The clandestine archives constitute the peak of this determination to document. The largest was that established and directed in the Warsaw ghetto by Dr. Emmanuel *Ringelblum, a journalist and historian, in October 1939 under the code name of "*Oneg Shabbat*"; the archive was maintained until the ghetto's destruction. Its materials were buried in milk cans and metal containers and found after the war (some are still missing). These archives include monographs on the lives of the Jews in the ghetto, information on the fate of destroyed cities and towns, hundreds of diaries, chronicles, underground newspapers, and a large amount of other documentary material. In the Bialystok ghetto, the Tenenbaum-Mersik archives were established at the initiative of Mordecai Tenenbaum. In addition to his own diary and ghetto poems, it includes copies of German documents and the protocols from Judenraete meetings. There was another archive in Vilna named after the author A. *Sutzkever and the poet S. *Kaczerginski, and in Lodz and Kovno. Even children kept diaries, as Alexandra Zapruder documented in her collection of children's diaries, *Salvaged Pages*. These diaries tell what happened from the perspective of those often too young to understand, but still determined to record the events.

These archives constitute one of the most important sources for research into the Holocaust as they recount the story of the Holocaust from the perspective of its victims.

In Theresienstadt, women dealt with starvation by writing down their recipes, a physical remnant of the world they once inhabited. In other camps, women composed cookbooks and saved them to preserve something of the life they had once led.

[Adina Dreksler / Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

THE HOLOCAUST AND THE HALAKHAH. *Halakhah*, the collective rabbinic term for the prescriptive laws of Judaism, constitutes a unique witness to the destruction of European Jewry and its civilization in the years 1939–45. In the form of responsa (*she'elot u-teshuvot*) – written decisions of rabbinic authorities on questions of law and practice – the desperate struggle of observant Jews to maintain their way of life, and life itself, emerges in vivid relief.

Owing to the Nazi persecution of the rabbis and the grave condition of European Jewry as a whole, few extant responsa were actually written during these years. Aside from *Mi-Ma'amakim* by Ephraim Oshry (1914–2003), five volumes of finished essays published in New York (1949–79) and said to have originated in the Kovno ghetto, only scattered responsa remain from the period of German occupation. These are urgent communications in the form of correspondence, with little elaboration. More extensive documents, referring to incidents in the ghettos and death camps that obviously could not be addressed at the time, were published after 1945, primarily in Israel.

Both the sequence and the spiraling horror of the Jewish ordeal are mirrored in the questions posed to the rabbis, e.g., whether to comply with the German decree of forced sterilization; whether one may pose as a gentile to escape detection; whether one may commit suicide in order to assure Jewish burial; whether one must repent for inadvertently smothering a crying infant in a ghetto bunker; whether assignment in the direction of the crematoria is sufficient proof of death; whether a husband must divorce a wife who submitted to sex with her captors during the war. Less harrowing concerns are also attested, e.g., whether Nazi legislation invalidates kosher slaughter (*sheḥitah*); whether a ghetto dwelling requires a *mezuzah*; when a woman may visit a ghetto *mikveh*; the status of clothes left behind by the dead.

Because they pertain to the lives of Jews *in extremis*, rulings in such cases are in the category of *hora'at sha'ah*, emergency measures that do not serve as legal precedents. It had long been established that those who transgress the law under duress are exempt from punishment (Ned. 27a; BK 28b). Yet if the final judgment was invariably lenient, the rabbis imposed certain limits. When addressing severe prohibitions, the responsa frequently cite the *locus classicus* in rabbinic literature: "If they say to a man, 'Transgress or you will be killed,' he should transgress rather than be killed (*ya'avor ve-al yehareg*), with the exception of idolatry, unchastity, and murder" (Sanh. 74a). But even unambiguous *halakhah* could pose impossible dilemmas. While interned in Auschwitz, Ẓevi Hirsch Meisels (1902–1974) was reportedly asked to decide a matter of life or death: a father had the means to bribe the guards and rescue his son from a selection, but only if another boy were taken in the son's place. The father asked the rabbi's permission to pay the ransom. This was no theoretical ruling but a prescription for action (*halakhah le-ma'aseh*). Despite his awareness of the principle that the claim of one life cannot override the claim of another (cf. Mish. Oho. 7:6), Meisels, by his own account (*Mekadeshei ha-Shem*, "Sanctifiers of the Name," 1:7–9), could not bring himself to invoke it: "I do not decide either yes or no. Do as you wish as if you had not asked me at all."

That *halakhah* was considered, at least by some Jews, to apply even in such dire circumstances testifies to its comprehensive character and to its bitter acquaintance with oppression. Most manifestations of the Nazi persecution had been suffered by Jews in the past – murder, torture, rape, infanticide, forced labor, expulsion. However, the Germans devised some methods previously unknown: gas chambers and crematoria, compulsory sterilization, medical experimentation, the delivery of human ashes, the "selection" of victims. The responsa that address these matters open new, if tragic, territory in Jewish law.

Reeling from the Nazi onslaught, the rabbis groped for precedents. In the responsa, German Jews forced by Nazi legislation to abandon the laws of *kashrut* are analogized to captive Jewish women in antiquity forced to abandon their virtue. Slovakian Jews who chose apostasy for the sake of deportation exemptions are compared to **Conversos* who accepted Christian baptism to evade the Inquisition. Jews in hiding from the Nazis are compared to Judean hostages in the days of the Roman Empire. Nor are the parallels confined to *halakhic* issues. The danger of violating the ghetto curfew is compared to the danger of encountering lions at night in a Babylonian village. Engaging in forbidden conduct to escape deportation is likened to the ancient art of charming a snake to escape its sting. The mass execution sites in Poland are equated with the ruins of the Temple in Jerusalem. Biblical paradigms abound: the Third Reich is identified with Esau and Rome; the subjugation of Eastern Europe mirrors the Philistine conquest of Saul at Mount Gilboa; the agony of Jews in the ghettos and death camps recalls the torture of Zedekiah by Nebuchadnezzar; the ordeal of a condemned son in Auschwitz emulates the binding of Isaac. The Nazi persecution, like all the others, is absorbed into the realm of *halakhic* discourse. In the responsa there is no sign that the axiom of Israel's divine election has been shaken by annihilation. Rather it is "owing to our many sins" (*be-avonotenu ha-rabbim*) that the Jews of Europe suffer and perish. God is beyond reproach. The elaboration of divine law continues unabated.

The Holocaust responsa are to be distinguished from memoir, hagiography, or martyrology. Their juristic function imposes the obligations of composure and measured argument. Emotion is typically confined to liturgical coda and biblical pleas for vengeance and redemption. This is not to say that the rabbis were unmoved by the questions addressed to them: they could hardly be impervious to the anguish of those who sought their guidance. The responsa evince an unusual degree of tension between the duty to impose the law and empathy for the stricken.

After the war in Europe ended, the most immediate *halakhic* concerns included the enforcement of religious observance in the DP camps; the recovery of Jewish children entrusted to the care of gentiles; the disposition of execution sites and mass burial pits; proper forms of memorial; the status of Jews who strayed from Judaism or were accused of transgression or collaboration; and most frequently, the fate of *agunot*, wives whose husbands had vanished, rendering the women ineligible to remarry. This problem was epidemic in the wake of the catastrophe: enormous numbers of Jewish husbands had disappeared without trace, let alone witness. Despite the historical reluctance of *halakhic* authorities to grant permission to remarry without conclusive proof of death, the postwar responsa concerning *agunot* are much inclined to leniency. The overriding motive that emerges is the healing and rebuilding of the Jewish people.

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THE WORLD

There were only a handful of countries and Jewish communities that could be of assistance to Jews during the Holocaust. First and foremost was the Jewish community of the United States, then the largest and freest, and it had assumed international leadership in the aftermath of World War I. Great Britain was also in a position to assist. Other countries were in a position to receive refugees seeking a haven, when a visa meant the difference between life and death.

The Jewish communities of the neutral countries were of little help. They might do all they could to assist the Jews of Europe, but they had limited influence on their governments and their governments were deeply committed to their own neutrality for reasons of state that were unlikely to change. Spain, Turkey, and Switzerland were important listening posts for information regarding the fate of European Jewry, and the Jewish communities of Turkey and Switzerland cooperated fully with emissaries of the *Yishuv* (the Jewish community in Palestine) and of American Jewry in ascertaining the fate of European Jews and coming to their assistance with the limited resources at their disposal. There is no doubt that the Turkish government was aware of the *Yishuv*'s operations in Turkey and permitted them. Yet when the SS *Struma* was stranded in Istanbul in 1941, the Jewish community was not strong enough to pressure its government to accept the Jewish passengers as refugees or to offload them pending the arrival of a more seaworthy craft. Instead, they lingered, abandoned, until the ship was towed out to sea and a Soviet submarine ended the ill-fated voyage. Only one of its 759 passengers survived the sinking of the ship.

Spain had a small Jewish community that was in no position to be effective, but the Spanish government did not turn back Jews at the border. It allowed them through-passage to Portugal, where many were able to go on to the United States and elsewhere. A Portuguese diplomat, Aristides De Sousa *Mendes, used his good offices to assist the Jews, and was punished upon his return home and disgraced. The Swedish Jewish community did provide for Danish Jews in 1943 when their government accepted them into the country on their bold rescue by the Danes (made possible by the decency of the Danish people, the geographical proximity of Denmark to Sweden – some nine miles – the relatively benign German occupation of Denmark, the Danish resistance, and the fact that it occurred at a time when German victory looked dubious at best). A Swedish Jew provided the basic contact with Raoul *Wallenberg, who had worked for him, that enabled the famed diplomat to be chosen by the American War Refugee Board for his heroic yet fatal mission to save the Jews then herded in Budapest.

Little was expected of the Soviet Union, which had no interest in rescuing Jews and which later denied the specificity of Jewish victimization, lumping the fate of the Jews with the general Soviet population. There are no known requests from the Soviet Union to bomb Auschwitz, and once it took the offensive against German forces, it pursued its own strategic vision of the war, positioning itself for postwar regional dominance. There is ample testimony, however, of the assistance offered by Jewish personnel serving in the Red Army to rescue Jews and to provide for their needs.

THE UNITED STATES. U.S. policy during the Holocaust and, earlier, toward Jews seeking a haven in the United States, must be seen in a larger context. Restriction of immigration and the introduction of a proportional quota system based on the countries of origin of the population in the United States in the 1890 census were written into American law in the 1920s. The implications for the Jews were immediate: the large-scale immigration that had brought hundreds of thousands of Jews to the United States slowed to a trickle. The long-range implications were even more ominous: when the condition of German, and later Austrian, Jewry became difficult and then dire, the United States had a rigid quota system in place, making it an impediment to respond to the ever more desperate needs of European Jews.

American foreign policy was isolationist. In the early 1930s, the United States was unwilling to assume an international role commensurate with its actual power and or its growing responsibility. Antisemitism was a real factor domestically, more so than it had been in the first 250 years of Jewish life on the American continent. Henry Ford and the *Dearborn Independent* were a source of antisemitic propaganda; Father Charles Coughlin, a Detroit priest, was a powerful radio orator and an antisemite; and Charles Lindbergh, the first man to fly solo across the Atlantic, was an isolationist, deeply opposed to war with Germany and not favorably inclined toward the Jews. Anti-immigrant sentiment was widespread and after the Depression began in 1929 there was a fear that immigrants would take American jobs.

Jews went to Washington with Franklin D. *Roosevelt in 1933 because it was a place where the sons of immigrants could rise on the basis of their talent and not be barred from advancement because of their religion. Many lawyers and economists barred from prominent law firms or Wall Street houses joined the new administration. They became targets for those opposing the New Deal, often called the "Jew Deal." And for these Jews as well as for the U.S. government, there was a fear that the war might be called a Jewish war rather than an American war and consequently there was a reluctance to highlight Jewish issues.

It would be a mistake to read back into history today's prominence and strength of the American Jewish community, which in the 1930s primarily consisted of immigrants or first-generation Americans weakened by the Depression and less than confident of their place in the United States. They were only slowly achieving their place in American society and were unprepared for the crisis that was to confront their brethren abroad.

Bystander, Abandonment, Acquiescence. The American historian Richard Breitman has suggested that in the neat division between perpetrators, victims, bystanders, and rescuers, the United States could be considered a bystander with regard to the European Jews, at least until the winter of 1944 when it actively began rescue efforts; that is, eleven years after the rise of Adolf Hitler, almost six years after *Kristallnacht*, two and half years after the Final Solution became the operative policy of Germany and the systematic murder of Jews had begun, and two years after the Wannsee Conference and the deportation of Jews from the ghettos of Poland and elsewhere. Only then did the United States actively pursue rescue options.

David Wyman was harsher in his judgment. In his influential book of that name, he suggested that American policy must be described as "the abandonment of the Jews."

On January 13, 1944, three senior non-Jewish Treasury Department officials (Randolph Paul, John Pehle, and Josiah DuBois) submitted a memo to Secretary of the Treasury Henry Morgenthau, Jr., the president's neighbor in Hyde Park and among Roosevelt's closest Jewish advisers, describing American policy. They called their 18-page document "Report to the Secretary on the Acquiescence of this Government in the Murder of the Jews."

The memo charged that State Department officials:

> …have even gone so far as to use this Governmental machinery to prevent the rescue of these Jews.
>
> …have taken steps designed to prevent these [rescue] programs [of private organizations] from being put into effect.
>
> …in their official capacity have gone so far as to surreptitiously attempt to stop the obtaining of information concerning the murder of the Jewish population of Europe.
>
> They have tried to cover up their guilt by:
>
> (a) concealment and misrepresentation;
>
> (b) the giving of false and misleading explanations for their failures to act and their attempts to prevent action; and
>
> (c) the issuance of false and misleading statements concerning the "action" which they have taken to date.

Their judgment was harsh, but not inaccurate.

During the 1930s the United States took a series of small steps, mostly with regard to the admission of Jews who were termed refugees. The quota system restricted immigration, and the consular offices that were charged with administering these laws made life even more difficult for the potential immigrants. Wyman termed these difficulties "paper walls," creating barriers to immigration. One provision of U.S. law required that immigrants be excluded who were likely to become public charges (LPC), meaning that it was likely they could not obtain employment in the United States. In some consular offices this was interpreted not as a question of probability but of possibility, so that even able professionals with marketable and desired skills were not admitted, because if they could not find a job they might then become public charges. German Jews were required to provide a certificate of good conduct, attesting to their character. This attestation was to come from the German police. Affidavits were required to vouch for the economic viability of the immigrant. Financial hurdles had to be satisfied; they too were open to interpretation. High standards were set. Not once until 1938 did the number of immigrants from Germany equal the full quota eligible for admission to the United States.

Public opinion polls taken at the time revealed widespread opposition to loosening the quotas, even among people who were critical of the Nazis. According to Roper polls taken in 1938 and 1939, while 95 percent of Americans disapproved of the German regime, fewer than nine percent supported changing the system to allow more refugees into the country. After *Kristallnacht*, even more Americans opposed any change. Because the United States did not discriminate on the basis of religion, German Jews desiring admission were officially termed refugees. It made the situation more palatable to Americans even though everyone understood that the refugees were Jews.

Once the war began, German Jews seeking asylum could be considered enemy aliens and excluded as Germans – something that they surely were not considered to be in their native land – and hence of suspect loyalty.

Three events stand out during the prewar years to illustrate American policy: the *Evian Conference, the Wagner-Rogers Bill and the voyage of the SS *St. Louis*.

With the refugee crisis mounting the United States convened an international conference at Evian, France in July 1938. (See "Evian Conference," above.) The invitation specified that no country would be required to change laws, there would be no expenditure of additional funds, as all refugee resettlement would be paid for by philanthropic sources. Britain was assured that Palestine would not be on the agenda. The United States was clearly unwilling to change its own laws. Other nations followed the American example. The Evian Conference gave the appearance of concern for the refugees, but in reality it indicated to the Germans that no one wanted the Jews; their policy of forced emigration would fail and the countries willing to accept Jews could not keep pace with their desire to be rid of them.

Even efforts to rescue children were not successful. In February 1939, Senator Robert Wagner of New York and Representative Edith Rogers of Massachusetts introduced a bill that would grant special permission for 20,000 German children under the age of 14 to emigrate to the United States. The bill specified that the children would be supported privately, not by the government. The bill was designed to emulate Great Britain's successful *Kindertransport* that brought 10,000 children to England. President Roosevelt never spoke a word of support for it. The Wagner-Rogers Bill died in committee. Its opponents argued that it was not right to separate children from their parents; others felt, among other things, that the children would grow up to be adults and might then take American jobs.

On May 13, 1939, the SS *St. Louis*, a luxury liner of the Hamburg-America Line, left Germany for Cuba carrying 936 passengers, all but six of them Jews. Each had a visa for Cuba. They seemed to be the lucky ones among the hundreds of thousands of Jews seeking to leave the Reich after *Kristallnacht*. Yet upon arrival the Cuban government refused to honor their visas, which had been canceled. The ship was forced to return to Europe after the United States refused to open its doors to the refugees, despite great clamor in the press.

The American journalist Dorothy Thompson wrote: "It is a fantastic commentary on the inhumanity of our times that for thousands and thousands of people a piece of paper with a stamp on it is the difference between life and death."

American isolationism ended with the bombing of Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941, and the United States became fully committed to winning the war in Europe as well as one with Japan. Unconditional surrender was demanded; total dedication was required. Jews joined their fellow Americans in the war effort wholeheartedly, giving it complete and fervent support. As Lucy Dawidowicz has pointed out, the Germans fought two wars, the world war and the war against the Jews. The Allies fought the first war. They did not, officially, recognize the second.

Yet even the harshest critic of American policy, and Roosevelt, must concede that the most important contribution the United States made toward ending the Holocaust was winning the war. Few recall how difficult it was to prepare the country for war and also to initiate the Lend-Lease program of aid to Britain and others.

During the war years, there was some reluctance to focus on the Jews because it was an American war; the former isolationists sought to portray it as a Jewish war. The reasoning of Washington was that the best way to help the refugees was to win the war – and then address the refugee problem. This proposition and order of priorities was not reexamined even after the receipt of compelling proof regarding the systematic murder of the Jews.

For although the Allies had received information on the murder of the Jews, they had made no special military efforts to rescue them or to bomb the camps or the railroad tracks leading to them. They felt that only after victory could something be done about the refugees, their term for the Jewish situation. That decision was made early in the war; it was not reexamined even as additional information regarding the Final Solution and the killing centers was received. There was much information available to everyone. Perpetrators saw what was happening; some spoke guardedly of the unpleasant tasks they faced, others enthusiastically. Ordinary Germans and nationals of other countries witnessed the deportations; at some level they understood that the Jews would not return. In some cases they took over their homes and their possessions, knowing full well but never quite admitting that the Jews were gone. The victims had a natural propensity to deny bad news, to search in any bit of information for some tiding that could bring them back from the edge of despair. Hungarian Jews were victimized in March of 1944 more than 30 months after the *Einsatzgruppen* had begun to kill, more than two years after the killing centers began to function mercilessly. They had heard some rumors, the testimony of those who arrived from Poland and elsewhere, but they did not believe that it could happen to them. The bystanders could observe what was happening. Only the rescuers perceived that their actions were a matter of life and death, and they acted to save lives.

On August 11, 1942, Dr. Gerhart Riegner, the World Jewish Congress representative in Bern, Switzerland, sent a secret cable through secure channels to the State Department and to Rabbi Stephen S. Wise, president of the World Jewish Congress, informing them:

> That there has been and is being considered in Hitler's headquarters a plan to exterminate all Jews from Germany and German controlled areas in Europe after they have been concentrated in the east. The numbers involved is said to be between three and a half and four million and the object to permanently settle the Jewish question in Europe.

The information had reached Riegner through a highly placed German industrialist, Eduard Schulte, general manager of the Georg von Giesche Mining Company, who was in a position to know what was happening. In fact, the cable was an understatement. The Final Solution was already operative policy within the German government; the numbers discussed at Wannsee some eight months earlier were 11 million Jews and gassing had already been going on at Chelmno since December 1941 and at other camps since later that winter in early 1942.

The State Department never gave the cable to Rabbi Wise. Stamped on the document were instructions not to pass it on. Instead, Wise received the same information on an unsecured telegram from a Jewish member of the British Parliament, Samuel Silverman. When he went to the State Department to inquire as to its accuracy, Sumner Welles, undersecretary of state, asked him not to go public with the information until it could be confirmed. In November Wise was told that his deepest fears could be confirmed. He called a press conference and revealed the information. The State Department did not confirm Wise's report in public, and the press thus received the information from a Jewish source, which it considered somewhat dubious or exaggerated, rather than from a government official and therefore to be trusted.

Shortly thereafter, unknown to Wise, the State Department tried to shut down the secret channel of information regarding the Jews by signaling to consulates its own lack of interest. (This incident was later referred to in the 1944 Treasury Department report, mentioned above.)

President Roosevelt and Jewish leaders met only once, on December 8, 1942, during the height of the killing process. Six death camps were operating at the time. A memorandum from the president of the Jewish Labor Committee, Abraham Held, gave details of the meeting. It began at noon. An Orthodox rabbi led a prayer. Rabbi Wise informed the president of a memorandum spelling out the condition of the Jews in German-occupied Europe. The president indicated that he was aware of the facts. He asked if the group had any suggestions. Held urged the use of a neutral party to intercede on behalf of the Jews. The president did not reply. During the 29 minutes of the meeting, Roosevelt spoke for 23. The Jews pressed their case for six minutes, and perhaps half that time was used for prayer.

In April 1943, at the time of the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising – but unrelated to it – another conference was convened by the British and American governments. This time the location was somewhat remote for wartime: Bermuda. The island in the Atlantic was chosen in part because press scrutiny and domestic pressures could be avoided. It was a pleasant place for officials of the Foreign Office and the State Department to spend time in April. The results were unimpressive.

Jan Karski, a Polish courier, met with Roosevelt to convey information on the situation in Poland. The young courier went beyond diplomatic protocol and his own sensitive assignment to convey a message from the Jews of Warsaw. Roosevelt told him: "You tell your people that we will win the war and then we will take care of the refugees." Statements were made, declarations were offered, and commitments were undertaken to bring the perpetrators to justice, but no concrete action was forthcoming. In truth, there was great despair that anything could be done. In fact, nothing was done.

Only in January 1944, an election year, when Treasury Secretary Morgenthau pressed the president and brought forward the concerns of his staff that had been so forcefully conveyed to him, and when domestic pressures were increasing, did the president establish the *War Refugee Board, charged with implementing an American policy of rescue. The members of the board were the secretaries of state, treasury, and war. All funds for the board's work had to come from private sources. The president gave one million dollars toward its initial efforts.

The board lobbied the White House to elicit statements from Roosevelt condemning the murder of Jews, drew up plans for postwar war-crimes trials, and conveyed requests for the bombing of Auschwitz. Through its European operatives, one of whom was Wallenberg, the Swedish diplomat, the War Refugee Board played a crucial role in saving perhaps as many as 200,000 Jews. It established a haven for 1,000 Jews at Oswego, New York.

Yet when John Pehle, its dedicated director, viewed the work of the refugee board from the perspective of 12 years of American efforts, he commented: "What we did was little enough. It was late. Late and little, I would say." Until the establishment of the War Refugee Board, American policy toward the Jews was constrained by antisemitism within the State Department, domestic nativist sentiment (perceived or real), the relative powerlessness and disunity of American Jews, and a 1941 decision that absolute priority should be given to the war effort. Its premise was that the only way to save the refugees was to win the war.

As American troops entered and liberated the concentration camps on German and Austrian soil, they were forced to deal with the survivors, bury the dead, heal the wounded, and nurture the bereaved. Over time, larger decisions had to be made with regard to the fate of the survivors: where and how they were to live, what was to be their postwar destination – to return home, to migrate to Palestine, to find refuge elsewhere – and whether to open American-held territory to refugees fleeing pogroms in Poland and the rise of Communism. In an ironic way, the United States had to deal with the refugees after it had won the war, but with far fewer than it would have if it had given them a haven before the war or rescued them during it.

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[Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

The American Jewish Press. The American Jewish press was the primary source of news about Jews around the world. In particular, the Yiddish press, which had a circulation of around 400,000 nationally, with a readership that was probably two to three times higher than that, was the place where Jews turned for information about Jewish matters. In addition, the Jewish press was what is known as an "organ press" in that its publications were mainly organs of particular parties, organizations, or segments of the community and reflected what they were thinking and doing.

For example, the **Jewish Daily Forward* was the voice of Jewish labor; the **Jewish Day* was reflective of liberal thinking and Zionist affiliation; the **Jewish Morning Journal* contained a combination of a religious outlook, patriotic Americanism, and Zionism; the **Morning Freiheit* was the official Communist Yiddish daily; the *Congress Bulletin* was the voice of the American Jewish Congress; the *National Jewish Monthly* was published by B'nai B'rith; *Opinion* was an independent monthly edited by Rabbi Stephen S. Wise; *Hadoar* was the Hebrew language weekly; the *Sentinel* was a weekly newspaper in Chicago, which had the second largest Jewish population in America; the *Jewish Exponent* was published in Philadelphia, the third largest Jewish community; the *Jewish Advocate* was published in Boston, the fourth largest community.

As the tragedy of European Jewry was unfolding, the American Jewish press provided contemporary accounts.

Beginning with *Kristallnacht* on November 9–10, 1938, and continuing through the Hungarian Jewish deportations in the spring of 1944, the newspapers conveyed the news in a timely fashion, editorialized about the news with varying degrees of passion, and reported on what American Jews were doing in response to the crisis of European Jewry.

For example, the announcement by Rabbi Wise on November 24, 1942, when he was finally allowed to go public with the content of the Riegner telegram of August 1942, stating that two million Jews had already been killed in Poland and four or five million more (depending upon the estimate of Jews under German control) were destined for annihilation, was carried by every Jewish newspaper and magazine. The Yiddish newspapers initially publicized the news, editorialized about it, and called upon American Jews to participate in a day of prayer and fasting on December 2. The December 4, 1942 edition of *Congress Weekly*, published by the American Jewish Congress, appeared with a black cover on which the Hebrew words from Lamentations, "Rivers of water flow from my eyes over the destruction of my people," were emblazoned in white. The *Reconstructionist*, then one of the most intellectually influential Jewish journals, on December 11, 1942, listed on its front page in a black box headed by the word *Yizkor* ("remember") the numbers of Jews from individual European countries who had already been murdered. There was no possibility of avoiding the news and no mistaking its importance.

However, reflecting a certain lack of urgency, the story soon disappeared from the front pages. In local newspapers like the *Jewish Advocate* local issues superseded the news from Europe. In the December 4 issue, the major subject was the Coconut Grove nightclub fire in Boston that claimed the lives of nearly 500 people. The newspaper wrote: "Nothing in our memory has so severely shocked and so completely stunned, bewildered and confused the whole community as this great calamity… even the tragedy of the global war cannot obscure the horror of the local catastrophe which has plunged hundreds of homes into sudden mourning." This appeared in the same issue with the report of Wise's disclosures of two million Jews murdered and four or five million more to be annihilated. The subject of European Jews, in fact, was not even carried in the newspaper in the next two issues and appeared again only in the December 25 issue.

A look at the order of the editorials in the *Jewish Advocate* on December 4 is instructive. The first seven editorials were in the following order: a Hadassah donor luncheon; victory loan (war) bonds; writing to soldiers; Hannukah; our women and bonds; what we are (concerning a Department of Justice ruling that Jews constitute a race); and a memorial to Professor Nathan Isaacs (a prominent teacher and scholar) on the eve of the unveiling of his gravestone. The eighth editorial dealt with the Wise revelations.

During the years of the Holocaust, in the eyes of the Jewish press, Jews were often preoccupied with other matters, local concerns, antisemitism, and the normal issues of daily life rather than the terrible plight of their Jewish brothers and sisters in Europe. Judah Pilch, writing in the weekly *Hadoar* in January 1943, summed up this pattern of response in the following words: "And what will happen when my son asks me tomorrow: 'What did you do while your brothers were being exterminated and tortured by the Nazi murderers?' What will I say and what will I be able to tell him? Shall I tell him that I lived in a generation of weaklings and cowards who were neither moved nor shocked when they heard of hundreds of thousands of their brothers being led to their slaughter hour by hour, day by day, year by year? I shall, however, certainly not dare to tell my son about the 'business as usual' conduct of our lives at a time when the press was informing us about the extermination of complete communities. I would be ashamed to face him with such a description." These and similar editorial comments by writers such as Chaim Greenberg, Trude Weiss Rosmarin, and Samuel *Margoshes suggest that what was going on in America during the Holocaust was a painful reenactment of a scene described by the poet Ḥayyim Naḥman Bialik in his "City of Slaughter":

> The sun was shining
> The trees were flowering
> And the murderer kept on killing.

[Haskel Lookstein (2nd ed.)]

GREAT BRITAIN. Britain had many considerations as it fought the war against Germany: the appeasement of Germany prior to the war, its policy of restricting the immigration of refugees to Palestine and of accepting some at home, most especially the *Kindertransport*; the role of Anthony *Eden and Prime Minister Winston *Churchill in the requests to bomb Auschwitz; and finally the role of British troops in the liberation of the concentration camps and in the rehabilitation of the survivors they happened upon.

Until 1939, Britain followed a policy of appeasement. Weakened by World War I, its resources stretched by the empire, British forces were not ready for another world war and public opinion was unprepared to support one. Some within Britain felt that the conditions imposed upon Germany in the aftermath of World War I were unduly harsh and that an attempt by Germany to rid itself of those restrictions was clearly justified. Britain attempted to avoid war and, perhaps equally important, to mask its weakness by a policy of appeasement. This policy reached its height in the aftermath of the German *Anschluss*, the incorporation of Austria in March 1938. Great Britain did nothing. When it became clear in the months after that this annexation would not satisfy Hitler's territorial ambitions, Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain tried his best to avoid war. At the Munich Conference of September 1938, he consented to the German annexation of the Sudeten region of Czechoslovakia. Returning home, he said he had brought "peace in our time."

When Germany occupied the rest of Czechoslovakia in March 1939, Chamberlain's policy of appeasement was recognized as a total failure. British policy shifted. A mutual defense pact was established with Poland and Romania. And then Britain waited.

When Germany invaded Poland in September 1939, Britain and France declared war on Germany, but little happened – this period was known as the "phony war." Britain used this time to get on a wartime footing by improving its military preparedness.

Britain was also willing to appease the Arabs by restricting the entry of Jews to Palestine. In March 1939 it issued a *White Paper restricting Jewish immigration and Jewish land purchases in Palestine, limiting its usefulness as a haven for Jews fleeing Europe. David Ben-Gurion voiced the Zionist response, saying that the Jews would fight with Britain against the Germans as if there were no White Paper and fight the White Paper as if there were no Nazi menace.

The German invasion of Western Europe in May 1940 led to the removal of Chamberlain and to Winston Churchill's becoming prime minister. From then on, Britain was fully committed to war. Germany put out peace feelers to Britain, which refused all negotiations. It successfully evacuated 200,000 troops from Dunkirk, in France, and regrouped at home. From 1940 onward, until the U.S. entry into World War II, Britain stood alone against Germany, which had established a nonaggression pact with the Soviet Union, and the United States remained neutral, at least in name. In reality, it was busily supplying Great Britain with war materiel and slowly putting itself onto a war footing. By 1941 the Lend-Lease program was formalized. The Germans attacked Britain by air, but the Luftwaffe failed to defeat the Royal Air Force and the people of Britain stood firm despite repeated bombing.

With the U.S. entry into the war in December 1941 after Pearl Harbor, World War II became global and the U.S.-British alliance firm. Three conditions were attached that were to prove decisive to the conduct of the war, decisive as well to the fate of the Jews within German-occupied Europe. There was a total blockade of German-occupied Europe; the Allies would not negotiate with Hitler; and the fight was unconditional, for total surrender. These made negotiations regarding Jews far more difficult and in fact led to the leaking of information to English newspapers regarding an overture by the Germans in 1944 offering 1,000,000 Jews in return for 10,000 trucks, which killed any possibility, however remote, of an agreement.

Refugees. With the rise of Hitler to power, the British public was sympathetic to the Jews, and the Jewish community was willing to assume the burden of supporting the refugees. No government funds were required. Britain also consented to being a way station for Jews going elsewhere. More than 80,000 Jewish refugees reached the country by September 1939. During the war years, only 10,000 arrived. Among those who went to Britain were 10,000 Jewish children on the *Kindertransport*, who left their parents behind to seek safety in England. Some were given to non-Jewish families and some were adopted by Jews. Many were kept in an institutional setting. The financing of refugee resettlement was undertaken by private, nongovernmental funds; British Jewry was generous.

When facing Germany alone, the British public and its leadership became quite worried and imposed restrictions on anyone from Germany. They did not differentiate between Jews and non-Jews. Some 30,000 "enemy aliens," many of them Jews, were confined to camps in England. Eight thousand were deported to Canada and Australia. When the threat of a German invasion passed, these prisoners were released.

The British government learned about the Final Solution when it broke German secret codes, but it would not act on the information unless it could be confirmed from another source and thus not reveal to the Germans that their code had been broken. It would not act on such information, even to save its own troops.

In fighting the war, Britain undertook no special action on behalf of the Jews. But clearly the fight itself was essential to Jews.

In the summer of 1944 Chaim *Weizmann and Moshe Shertok urged Foreign Minister Anthony Eden to bomb Auschwitz. Eden brought the issue to Churchill, who responded: "Get anything you can out of the RAF. Invoke my name if necessary." With such approval, the British turned to the Americans, but nothing happened. Factories near Auschwitz factories were bombed, but not the death camp.

Liberation of Bergen-Belsen. The British liberated Bergen-Belsen on April 15, 1945. They happened upon the camp in the course of their military operations. Since no special steps were taken to liberate the camp, no preparations had been made to deal with its inmates. What the troops saw created an indelible impression. The camp had been ravaged by a typhus epidemic. Thousands of bodies lay unburied, rotting in the sun. Sixty thousand prisoners were still alive, many in critical condition. In the first days of freedom, thirteen thousand died. About 14,000 more died in the weeks that followed despite valiant efforts by British doctors to save them.

As the British entered, the camp commandant, Josef Kramer, greeted his conquerors in a fresh uniform. He expressed his desire for an orderly transition and his hopes of collaborating with the British. He dealt with them as equals, one officer to another, even offering advice as to how to deal with the "unpleasant" situation. As he toured the camp, Derrick Sington, a junior British officer, said to the commandant: "You've made a fine hell here." Kramer responded: "It has become one in the last few days." But the ruse did not last for long.

The uncontrollable epidemic was so lethal that the camp had to be burned down. Former inmates were moved to a Panzer tank corps school two miles down the road, and it became the site of a displaced persons camp. The British were horrified by what they had found. Mass graves were dug and bulldozers were brought to shovel in the dead. Local civilians were marched into the camp and taken on a tour. Before they began their visit, the colonel in charge of medical efforts spoke to them.

> You must realize that according to those wretched victims who experienced other camps, this camp was in some respects one of the better ones. Chiefly because in this camp it was possible in most cases, though not in all, to die fairly quietly from hunger or typhus. In certain other camps, the inmates were done to death and hurled into mass graves, sometimes before they were dead…
>
> What you will see here is the final and utter condemnation of the Nazi Party. It justifies every measure the United Nations will take to exterminate that party. What you will see here is such a disgrace to the German people that their names must be erased from the list of civilized nations…
>
> It is your lot to begin the hard task of restoring the name of the Germans… But this cannot be done until you have reared a new generation amongst whom it is impossible to find people prepared to commit such crimes; until you have reared a new generation possessing the instinctive good will to prevent a repetition of such horrible cruelties.
>
> We will now begin our tour.

The images of Bergen-Belsen and its bulldozers are among the most unforgettable of the Holocaust.

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[Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

CANADA. In a book called *None Is Too Many*, the Canadian historians Irving Abella and Hersch Troper sum up Canada's record in the Holocaust. Their judgment is dramatic, perhaps harsh but not inaccurate. Canada fought valiantly and courageously in World War II. It joined the war effort shortly after the invasion of Poland, more than two years before the United States, and once they entered the battle Canadian forces fought with dedication and determination. But the battles of World War II did not include the second war that the Germans were fighting, what Lucy Dawidowicz termed "the war against the Jews." Abella and Troper argue that Canada had the worst record among the Western states of opening its borders as a haven to Jews. It was a reluctant participant in the Evian Conference, a virtual nonfactor in its deliberations. Support for the war effort did not translate into sympathy for the Jews.

The reasons were primarily domestic. Until 1923, Canada actively recruited European immigrants to emigrate to Canada as workers for its vast territory, most especially its agricultural lands in the West. Jews were urbanized and therefore less desirable because of their lack of agricultural experience. With the end of recruitment of agricultural workers and the onset of the Depression, Canada sought to restrict immigration and to protect its domestic workforce. As an urban population Jews were competitive with its professionals and artisans and hence undesirable candidates for immigration. The Canadian government did not respond to special pleadings on behalf of Jews, even though the Jewish community, primarily centered in Montreal and Toronto, urged Canada to open itself to immigration.

Those Jewish refugees who went to Canada arrived by accident. During the war, Jews of German and Austrian birth who had sought a haven in Great Britain were interned as "enemy aliens" – as German and Austrian nationals. They had achieved a status in Britain and Canada that they could not achieve in their native lands. British-held enemy aliens were sent to Canada, which received them not because they were Jews but because Great Britain wished to expel them.

Canada was willing to receive a thousand refugee Jewish children from Vichy France, but by the time the arrangements were made, it was too late. The Germans had entered the Vichy zone and the Jewish children were deported to the death camps. The opportunity for rescue had passed.

Only after the war did the policy change. Canada did receive a thousand orphans. It allowed a liberal definition of family reunification and received clothing workers and furriers. But by then there were other options, immigration to the United States or *aliyah* to the newly formed State of Israel, which opened its gates to Jews seeking a haven. The Jews who did arrive after 1948 – and Canada did receive a sizable survivor population – were welcomed as part of a larger flow of East European immigrants. In short, in the Jews' great hour of need, Canada was unavailable. Among the few it did receive was the distinguished Jewish philosopher Emil *Fackenheim.

[Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

THE CATHOLIC CHURCH. In response to Hitler's antisemitic policies, Pope *Pius XI, like the German episcopate, seems to have limited his concern to Catholic non-Aryans. The encyclical *Mit brennender Sorge* ("With Burning Anxiety") of March 1937 rejected the myths of "race" and "blood" as contrary to revealed Christian truth, but neither mentioned nor criticized antisemitism per se. Nor was antisemitism mentioned in the statement of the Roman Congregation of Seminaries and Universities, issued on April 13, 1938, attacking eight theses taken from the Nazi doctrine as erroneous. In June 1938, the pope asked the American Jesuit priest John LaFarge to prepare an encyclical condemning antisemitism, but, although the first draft was delivered in September, it was not issued before Pius XI died in February 1939. It remained unissued and sequestered by his successor. On July 15, 21, and 28, and again on August 21, 1938, as Mussolini was preparing his anti-Jewish laws (despite the membership of thousands of Jews in the Fascist Party), Pius XI made four speeches often cited by his supporters as condemning antisemitism. In fact, while the pope expressed his disapproval of "exaggerated nationalism" in all four speeches, he mentioned racism or the single human family in only two of them, and antisemitism not at all. In September 1938, during a reception for Catholic pilgrims from Belgium, Pius XI is said to have condemned the participation of Catholics in antisemitic movements and to have added that Christians, the spiritual descendants of the patriarch Abraham, were "spiritually Semites." This statement, however, was omitted by all the Italian papers, including the Vatican's own *L'Osservatore Romano*, from their accounts of the pope's address.

The elevation of Cardinal Pacelli to the papacy as *Pius XII in the spring of 1939 brought to the throne of St. Peter a Germanophile who, in contrast to his predecessor, was unemotional, dispassionate, and a master of the language of diplomatic ambiguity. On October 20, 1939, eight weeks after the German Army invaded Poland, Pius XII issued his encyclical *Summi Pontificatus*, allegedly a replacement for Pius XI's "hidden encyclical," but while he lamented human suffering particularly in "Our Dear Poland," condemned statism, spoke of "the human race in the unity of one common origin in God," and called for compassion for all victims of the war, he did not mention Jews or antisemitism. In another encyclical, *Mystici Corpus Christi*, on June 29, 1943, Pius XII again declared that "Our paternal love embraces all peoples, whatever their nationality and race," but specifically about the Jews he only quoted Corinthians, "for in one spirit were we all baptized into one Body, whether Jews or Gentiles, whether bond or free."

The Vatican was in a unique position to have accurate and early information on the war. It had priests in each country, in many towns and villages. As a neutral entity, it also had local representatives of the pope in each area. Chaplains traveled with the military. Priests knew what was happening in their locales. The neutral Vatican had papal nuncios or Apostolic delegates in almost all countries. The Vatican received detailed information about the murder of Jews in the concentration camps from 1942 on, but Pius XII restricted his public utterances to carefully phrased expressions of sympathy for the victims of injustice and to calls for a more humane conduct of hostilities. In his Christmas message of 1942, the pope spoke of his concern for the hundreds of thousands who, without personal guilt and merely on account of their nationality or descent, were doomed to death. Again, addressing the College of Cardinals on June 2, 1943, the pontiff mentioned his twofold duty to be impartial and to point out moral errors. He had given special attention, he recalled, to the plight of those who were still being harassed because of their nationality or descent and who, without personal guilt, were subjected to measures that spelled destruction. The pope repeated this concept in an address to the College of Cardinals a year later, on June 2, 1944, two days before Rome was freed of German occupation, referring to his compassion and charity that extended to all, "without distinction of nationality or descent."

The pope's policy of neutrality encountered a crucial test when the Nazis began rounding up the 8,000 Jews of Rome in the autumn of 1943. Before the arrests, the Nazis told the Jewish community on September 26 that unless it raised 50 kilograms of gold within 36 hours, 300 hostages would be taken. When it seemed that the Jews themselves could raise only part of this ransom, a representative of the community asked for and received an offer of a loan from the Vatican treasury. As events later transpired, this help did not have to be invoked, for the Jewish community was able to raise the entire amount. Despite this ransom, on October 16, 1943, German police rounded up 1,259 Roman Jews. Contrary to German fears, Pius XII, while he threatened to protest publicly, did not do so. On the morning of October 16, the Vatican Secretary of State, Cardinal Luigi Maglione, asked the German ambassador to the Holy See, Ernst von Weizsacker, to "intervene in favor of those poor people," explaining that the "the Holy See would not want to be obliged to express its disapproval." But on October 18, over 1,000 Roman Jews – more than two thirds of them women and children – were transported to the death camp at *Auschwitz, and the pope was silent. Only on October 26 and 29, 1943, after most of the deported Roman Jews were dead, did *L'Osservatore Romano* write of the pope's compassion and charity for those who were suffering for reasons of their "nationality, religion, or descent." This was the first time that persecution on the grounds of religion had been mentioned. About 7,000 Roman Jews were able to go into hiding. More than 4,000, with the knowledge of the pope, found refuge in the numerous monasteries and houses of religious orders in Rome, and a few dozen were sheltered in the Vatican itself. The rest were hidden by their Italian neighbors, among whom the anti-Jewish policy of the Fascists had never been popular. *L'Osservatore Romano* mentioned the persecution of the Jews only two more times, in two articles in December 1943. It did not protest the deportations and destruction of European Jewry at the hands of the Nazis, but objected to recent Italian measures ordering Italian police to arrest Jews and intern them within the country.

Pius XII's failure to publicly protest against Nazi atrocities, especially against the murder of the Jews, drew criticism. In July 1942, Harold H. Tittmann, the assistant to Roosevelt's personal representative at the Holy See, Myron C. Taylor, pointed out to the Vatican that its silence was endangering its moral prestige. In January 1943, Wladislaw Raczkiewicz, president of the Polish government in exile, appealed to the pope to issue an unequivocal denunciation of Nazi violence in order to strengthen the willingness of the Poles to resist the Germans and help the Jews. Bishop Preysing of Berlin, a man of courage and compassion, urged the pope on at least two occasions to issue a public appeal on behalf of the Jews. A similar request with regard to the Hungarian Catholics was directed to Pope Pius in September 1944 by Isaac *Herzog, the chief rabbi of Palestine.

After the end of World War II, Pius XII was again criticized for his silence. It has been argued – among others, by the German playwright Rolf *Hochhuth – that the pope could have saved numerous lives, if indeed he could not have halted the machinery of destruction altogether, had he chosen to take a public stand and confront the Germans with the threat of an interdict or with the excommunication of Hitler, Goebbels, and other leading Nazis belonging to the Catholic faith. As an example of the effectiveness of public protest, it is possible to cite the resolute reaction of the German episcopate to the euthanasia program. In Slovakia, Hungary, and Romania, the forceful intervention of papal nuncios, who threatened the pro-Nazi governments with public condemnation by the pope, was also able, temporarily, to halt the deportations. At the very least, it has been suggested, a public denunciation of the mass murders by Pius XII broadcast widely over the Vatican radio would have revealed to Jews and Christians alike what deportation to the east actually meant. Many of the deportees might thus have been warned and given an impetus to escape, many more Christians might have helped and sheltered Jews, and many more lives might have been saved. There is no way of proving these arguments. Whether a papal decree of excommunication against Hitler would have dissuaded Hitler from carrying out his plan to destroy the Jews is doubtful, and revocation of the Concordat by the Holy See would have bothered Hitler still less. However, a flaming protest against the massacre of the Jews, coupled with an imposition of the interdict upon all of Germany, or the excommunication of all Catholics in any way involved with the apparatus of the Final Solution, would have been a more formidable and effective weapon. This was precisely the kind of action that the pope could not take, however, without risking the allegiance of the German Catholics.

The pope had other, perhaps still stronger, reasons for remaining silent. In a world war that pitted Catholics against Catholics, the Holy See, as Mr. Tittmann was told by highly placed officials of the Curia, did not want to jeopardize its neutrality by condemning German atrocities, and the pope was unwilling to risk later charges of having been partial and contributing to a German defeat. Moreover, the Vatican did not wish to undermine Germany's struggle against the Soviet Union. Late in the summer of 1943, the papal secretary of state declared that the fate of Europe was dependent upon a German victory on the eastern front. The apostolic delegation in Washington warned the American Department of State in a note dated August 20, 1943, that Communism was making steady headway in Italy and Germany, and Europe was in grave peril of finding itself overrun by Communism immediately upon the cessation of hostilities. Father Robert Leiber, one of Pius XII's secretaries, later recalled (in *Stimmen der Zeit*, March 1961) that the pope had always looked upon Russian Bolshevism as more dangerous than German National Socialism. Hitler, therefore, had to be treated with some forbearance. The reluctance of Pius XII to be drawn into a public protest against the Final Solution stands in contrast to the often energetic rescue activities of several of the papal nuncios in Slovakia, Hungary, Romania, and Turkey. In particular, Monsignor Roncalli, the apostolic delegate in Istanbul, who later became Pope *John XXIII, wrote to the king of Bulgaria on behalf of Bulgarian Jews, and issued thousands of safe-conduct certificates for the Jews of Budapest. The extent to which these men acted upon instructions from Rome is not clear, but the motives for the Vatican's solicitude seem to have been mixed. It appears that from late 1942 on, the Vatican was aware that an Allied victory was inevitable. Considerations of expediency began to reinforce whatever moral revulsion the pope may have felt at the massacre of the Jews, and Pius began to drop hints to the bishops of Germany and Hungary that it was in the interest of their people, as well as the church, to go on record against the slaughter of the Jews. For example, he wrote an Austrian churchman on Oct. 15, 1942, that to intercede for those suffering in the conquered territories was not only a Christian duty but ultimately could only be of advantage to the cause of Germany.

The Nazis' assault on European Jewry occurred in a climate of opinion conditioned by centuries of Christian hostility to the Jewish religion and people. At the same time, other factors, such as varying patterns of nationalism, had an important bearing on the attitude of the Catholic churches of different European countries toward the Jewish tragedy. Thus it is important to differentiate between the situation in Germany and in the various German-occupied countries of Europe. During the nineteenth century some elements of German Catholicism contributed toward the emergence of modern antisemitism, and in the 1920s many Catholic publicists agreed with the Nazis on the importance of fighting Jewish liberalism and the Jews' alleged destructive influence in German public life (see *Church, Catholic, Modern Period). This antisemitic trend received a powerful impetus after Hitler's accession to power in 1933. Seeking to counter the Nazis' offensive against the Catholic Church as a rival for the loyalty of the German people, many churchmen attempted to gain favor with the Nazi regime and its followers by adopting certain aspects of Nazi ideology. They stressed the "elemental" values of race and racial purity, and limited their dissent to insisting that this National Socialist goal be achieved without resort to immoral means. The sacred books of the Old Testament, they argued, were not only beyond the Jewish mentality but in direct conflict with it. Jesus, they conceded, had been a non-Aryan, but the son of God was fundamentally different from the Jews of his time, who hated and eventually murdered him. They also said that the Jews had had a demoralizing effect on Germany's national character; the press, literature, science, and the arts had to be purged of the "Jewish mentality." In the face of the Nazis' antisemitic legislation, the Church retreated, even when the ordinances touched on vital domains of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, such as matrimony. The diocesan chancelleries helped the Nazi state to detect people of Jewish descent by supplying data from church records on the religious background of their parishioners. The bishops facilitated the emigration of non-Aryan Catholics, but little, if any, solicitude was shown for non-Aryans who were not of the Catholic faith. Similarly, when mass deportations of German Jews began in October 1941, the episcopate limited its intervention with the government to pleading for Christian non-Aryans. When the bishops received reports about the mass murder of Jews in the death camps from Catholic officers and civil servants, their public reaction remained limited to vague pronouncements that did not mention the word Jews. An exception was the Berlin prelate Bernhard *Lichtenberg, who prayed publicly for the Jews.

The joint pastoral letter of the German episcopate of August 1943, for example, spoke of the right to life and liberty, which should not be denied even to "men of foreign races and descent," but such statements could be interpreted as referring to the Slavs. Almost half the population of the greater German Reich (43.1 percent in 1939) was Catholic and even among the SS, despite Nazi pressure to leave the Church, almost a quarter belonged to the Catholic faith.

While in the past the episcopate had issued orders to deny the sacraments to Catholics who engaged in dueling or agreed to have their bodies cremated, the word that would have forbidden the faithful, on pain of excommunication, to go on participating in the massacre of Jews was never spoken. A few bishops, most notably Clemens August Count von Galen of Muenster, had demonstrated their willingness to risk a serious clash with the Nazi regime by protesting the extermination of the insane and retarded in the "euthanasia" program. This intervention had been successful in large measure because it had had the backing of public opinion. In the case of the Jews, however, it was far from clear whether the episcopate could count on the support of the faithful, and this was probably one of the main reasons why a clear public protest against the Final Solution was never issued. Only a few Jews were hidden by the clergy or helped by individual Catholics in Germany. In Poland, where no official policy on the part of the Catholic Church has been discerned, it would seem that, as in Germany, the initiative to help Jews was taken only by individuals. This situation stands in marked contrast to that prevailing in German-occupied Western Europe, where declarations of solidarity and help for the Jews were almost universally regarded as signs of patriotism and resistance to the Germans. Here some of the highest church dignitaries condemned the persecution of the Jews.

In Holland, where the church as early as 1934 had prohibited the participation of Catholics in the Dutch Nazi movement, the bishops in 1942 immediately and publicly protested the first deportations of Dutch Jews, and in May 1943, they forbade the collaboration of Catholic policemen in the hunting down of Jews, even at the cost of losing their jobs. In Belgium, members of the episcopate actively supported the rescue efforts of their clergy, who hid many hundreds of Jewish children. In August and September 1942, several French bishops in the unoccupied zone used their pulpits to denounce the expulsions of foreign Jews to the north of the country. Throughout Western Europe numerous priests and members of the monastic clergy organized the rescue of Jews, and hid them in monasteries, parish houses, and private homes. French priests issued thousands of false certificates of baptism. Many lay Catholics in France, Holland, Belgium, and Italy acted similarly, thus saving thousands of Jewish lives. The concern of the population of these countries for their Jewish fellow-countrymen was undoubtedly a key factor behind the bold protests of the French, Dutch, and Belgian bishops.

In Eastern Europe, antisemitism had deeper roots, and the record of the Catholic churches there is more ambiguous. In Slovakia, a Catholic priest, Dr. Josef Tiso, was president of a pro-Nazi regime; the church there was more interested in saving souls than lives, although some members of the episcopate did protest the deportations as a violation of human and divine law. Several Hungarian bishops protested to the authorities the deportation and mistreatment of the Jews but at the same time put difficulties in the way of issuing conversion certificates that would have saved many Jews from deportation. Large numbers of Jews, nevertheless, owed their lives to the courageous rescue activities of lesser clerics, monks, and Catholic laymen.

After the War. After the war, some Vatican officials assisted in an operation to save former Nazis and transfer them to South America. There is evidence in the British Public Record Office that Pope Pius XII was personally involved in this operation. According to those documents, the pope was aware that former Nazi and Ustasha (Croatian fascist paramilitary) war criminals were being offered asylum in Roman Church institutions. Also, he personally intervened in transfer operations organized by the Confraternity of St. Girolamo degli Illirici, a Croatian order, and by the nearby Pontifical Croatian College.

Among those helped at St. Girolamo was Ante Pavelic, the former chief of the Croatian puppet state during the war, who fled to Austria and probably hid in a monastery in Klagenfurt. At that time, Father Krunoslav Draganovic, a former colonel in the Ustasha, was operating from the Pontifical Croatian College in Rome to produce false identity cards at the local Franciscan printing press. Draganovic brought Pavelic to Rome in April 1946 and hid him. Draganovic then obtained an International Red Cross passport for Pavelic, and on October 11, 1948, the Ustasha chief left Genoa for Argentina.

The Nazi escape route to Argentina was organized with help from Cardinals Giovanni Battista Montini, Eugène Tisserant, and Antonio Caggiano, the Bishop of Buenos Aires, according to documents in the recently opened archives of the International Red Cross. Bishops and archbishops such as Alois Hudal, Giuseppe Siri, and Augustin Barrère helped in the bureaucratic procedure, while priests signed requests for passports from the International Red Cross. About 5,000 war criminals were helped in this way.

Another major organizer of help to Nazi war criminals was Monsignor Alois Hudal, the Austrian director of the Germanicum College of Santa Maria dell'Anima in Rome. In 1945, Hudal wrote: "I thought it was my duty to direct my charitable work first of all to former Nazis and Fascists and in particular to the so-called Criminals of War." Hudal was personally involved in assisting the flight to Brazil of Franz Stangl, the Austrian commandant of Treblinka, who was responsible for the murder of about 750,000–870,000 Jews. Hudal was host to Stangl in Rome and gave him some money. Among many other important Nazis Hudal helped were Eduard Roschmann, Friedolin Guth, Erich Priebke, Gerard Bohne, and Adolf Eichmann.

In addition to his involvement with clandestine operations in Rome, Pius XII intervened secretly in Washington and London in August 1945 on behalf of Nazi criminals, with letters sent by the Secretariat of State and at least one in his own name. The letters asked for urgent consideration to avoid extradition from Italy to Yugoslavia of Ustasha and Croatian war criminals. Between 1946 and 1952, Pius XII also tried to intervene in favor of former Nazis condemned in several trials, in order to change their death sentences. This he did for Arthur Greiser, condemned for killing 100,000 Jews in Poland; Otto Ohlendorf, whose Einsatzgruppe D had killed 90,000 Jews in the Soviet Union, and Oswald Pohl, the chief of the SS-*Wirtschafts-Verwaltungshauptsamt* (SS-WVHA; SS Central Economic Administration Office, the organization administering the concentration camps).

In May 1949, Monsignor Montini wrote to Monsignor Hudal that the pope was favorable to an extensive amnesty for the Germans imprisoned in the camps of Fraschette d'Alatri and Farfa Sabina, both near Rome. On that occasion, the German bishops opposed the involvement of the Church.

Jewish Children. The war was not yet over when Jewish organizations and soldiers from the *Jewish Brigade, a unit within the British Army made up of Zionist volunteers from Palestine, in Italy started looking for Jewish children who had been hidden in Catholic monasteries or colleges. The children had been saved by Catholic priests, monks, and nuns, but many were orphaned when their parents were deported. Some children were discovered and brought to Jewish institutions. For example, Eliahu Lowiski, a soldier, of Kibbutz Bet Alfa found and took some Jewish children from Catholic schools and monasteries in Florence in 1944. There are also records of some cases in Poland, where priests and adoptive parents sent Jewish children who had not been baptized during the war to Jewish institutions. More often, however, Jewish children throughout Europe remained unclaimed by Jewish organizations because there was no record of their whereabouts. Members of those organizations tried again and again to find them. There are thousands of adults in Poland who discovered only in the 1980s and 1990s, after their adoptive parents had died and after Communism fell and such knowledge was no longer dangerous, that they had been born Jews and had been saved by Polish non-Jews.

On September 21, 1945, Leon Kubowitzky of the World Jewish Congress met with Pius XII to ask him to publish an encyclical on the Jews and to give back the children who had been saved by the church. The pope asked for a memorandum, but did nothing.

In November 1945, Gerhart Riegner, also of the World Jewish Congress, was received by Monsignor Giovanni Battista Montini of the Vatican Secretariat of State. Riegner, too, asked for help in locating and returning the children, but again the children were not returned.

In 1946, the Vatican's Holy Office sent a letter to the papal nuncio in Paris, Monsignor Angelo Roncalli, forbidding him to give baptized Jewish children back to Jewish institutions. This letter was published in January 2005 by the Italian historian Alberto Melloni. In 1953, in apparent obedience to the letter, Cardinal Giuseppe Pizzardo, secretary of the Holy Office, opposed giving back two brothers in France named Finaly, because they had been baptized. After eight years of struggle, the Finaly brothers finally went to their relatives in Israel.

The Kielce Pogrom. In 1946, about 50 Jews were killed in Kielce, Poland, after a rumor was spread about the supposed killing of a Catholic boy by the Jews. The American Rabbi Philip S. Bernstein together with his fellow military chaplain Herbert A. Friedman visited the pope at Castel Gandolfo at the behest of the United States military to discuss the impact of this pogrom. No public expression of sorrow or condemnation of antisemitism ever came from Pius XII.

[Guenter Lewy / Sergio Itzhak Minerbi (2nd ed.)]

Changes in Catholic-Jewish Relations since the Holocaust. The controversy over the role of the Roman Catholic Church has not ended. In the decade 1995–2005, a significant number of books have been published examining the behavior of the church during the war. Among them were Susan Zuccotti's *Under His Very Windows*, Daniel Jonah Goldhagen's *A Moral Reckoning: The Role of the Catholic Church in the Holocaust and Its Unfulfilled Duty to Repair,* James Carroll's *Constantine's Sword*, David I. Kertzer's *The Pope against the Jews*, Michael Phayer's *The Catholic Church and the Holocaust 1930–1965*, Carol Rittner, RSM and John K. Roth's edited volume *Pope Pius XII and the Holocaust*, and Gary Wills' *Papal Sin: Structures of Deceit*, which raises anew the historical questions and the accountability of the church for its actions, and inactions, during the Holocaust. The debate has only intensified with the efforts to canonize Pope Pius XII.

One consequence of this debate has been the change in the church's own perception of its actions and inactions during the Holocaust, implicit in initiatives undertaken since to rectify those factors within the church itself that contributed to the circumstances that allowed the Holocaust to happen. These initiatives were undertaken by two popes, including Pius XII's immediate successor, John XXIII, who had been exposed to the Holocaust and its victims and who had endeavored to be of assistance to Jews.

The convening by Pope John XXIII of Vatican Council II (1962–65) and the council's proclamation *Nostra Aetate*, which seeks to eliminate the accusation that Jews are Christ-killers and universalize responsibility for the crucifixion, was a significant step. Roman Catholic liturgy has been amended to change scriptural readings that reinforce that perception and to eliminate the libel "perfidious Jews." John XXIII also made a point of stopping by a Rome synagogue to greet Sabbath worshippers and thus to show publicly the church's friendliness toward the Jews, and to recognize the continuity of Jewish tradition after the time of Jesus.

Pope John Paul II continued the initiatives of John XXIII. He attended services at the synagogue in Rome, the first time the bishop of Rome had ever entered a synagogue. He established diplomatic relations with Israel, albeit after the Oslo Accords. He visited Israel in 2000 (Pope Paul VI had visited the Holy Land and apologized for the antisemitism of Christians, but did not acknowledge that of Christianity). At Yad Vashem, Israel's memorial to the Holocaust, he said: "I assure the Jewish people that the Catholic Church, motivated by the Gospel law of truth and love and by no political considerations, is deeply saddened by the hatred, acts of persecution and displays of antisemitism directed against the Jews by Christians at any time and in any place." Furthermore, he gave a religious justification for mutual respect: "The church rejects racism in any form as a denial of the image of the Creator inherent in every human being." His words were carefully chosen; his gesture broadcast to the entire world.

Pope John Paul II wrote:

> On numerous occasions during my Pontificate I have recalled with a sense of deep sorrow the sufferings of the Jewish people during the Second World War. The crime, which has become known as the Shoah, remains an indelible stain on the history of the century that is coming to a close.
>
> As we prepare for the beginning of the Third Millennium of Christianity, the church is aware that the joy of a Jubilee is above all the joy that is based on the forgiveness of sins and reconciliation with God and neighbors. Therefore she encourages her sons and daughters to purify their hearts, through repentance of past errors and infidelities. She calls them to place themselves humbly before the Lord and examine themselves on the responsibility which they too have for the evils of our time.

The church has now committed itself to Holocaust remembrance. In 1998 it issued "We Remember: A Reflection on the Shoah," a document carefully crafted by the Holy See's Commission for Religious Relations with the Jews.

Critics of "We Remember" – both Jewish and Catholic – argue that the statement, while welcome, does not go far enough. It does not explain that anti-Judaism came from the Vatican; in fact, it implies that it did not, that it is secular, social, and political. It states that Pope Pius XII saved hundreds of thousands of Jews, a statement that is contrary to historical fact. It does not mention past centuries of Catholic persecution of Jews. It omits all mention of indirect Catholic responsibility for the Holocaust as well as the failings of the Catholic hierarchy. It short, it blames the Holocaust on the failings of individuals and absolves the church of any responsibility.

Individual church leaders and national churches have been more forthcoming, bolder, braver, and less restrained. Cardinal Etchegaray, Archbishop of Marseille, said in 1980: "The roots of antisemitism are in major part of religious nature," and German bishops have stated that "the church which we proclaim as holy and which we honor as a mystery, is also a sinful church and in need of conversion."

The French bishops at Drancy on September 30, 1997, said in their "Declaration of Repentance":

> It is important to admit the primary role, if not direct then indirect, played by the consistently repeated anti-Jewish stereotypes wrongly perpetuated among Christians in the historical process that led to the Holocaust.

The French bishops also continue to stress the "serious consequences" of "a tradition of anti-Judaism [that] affected Christian doctrine and teachings," admitting that priests and leaders of the Church "bear a serious responsibility."

The Vatican has clearly been more cautious, and more protective of the memory and record of Pope Pius XII, even at the expense of its credibility.

In response, the Jewish community has come to recognize a shift in Catholic-Jewish relations. In 2000, rabbis engaged in dialogue with Roman Catholic priests issued the call "*Dabru Emet*" (Speak the Truth) to recognize and welcome these changes. Irving Greenberg, a prominent post-Holocaust theologian and former chairman of the United States Holocaust Memorial Council, wrote of this change in his work *For the Sake of Heaven and Earth.*

It would be an exaggeration to suggest that Catholic-Jewish relations are without conflict, but it is no exaggeration to affirm that Catholic-Jewish relations at the turn of the twenty-first century are probably the best they have been in two millennia of conflict and tension-filled coexistence.

[Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

THE PROTESTANT CHURCHES. *Germany.* In Germany, the "German Christians" (*Deutsche Christen*) emerged in 1933 as a minority group that promoted the nazification of the German Evangelical Church and sought to exclude Christians of Jewish origin from membership, in direct support of Nazi anti-Jewish policy and in opposition to church doctrine. They were opposed by the Confessing Church (*Bekennende Kirche*), which defended the rights of Christians of Jewish origin within the church and opposed the intrusion of the Nazi state into church policies. The Confessing Church quickly divided between those calling for a broader political opposition to Nazism, including opposition to its anti-Jewish measures, and those who confined their critique to church-related matters. Some of the more radical anti-Nazi Confessing Christians eventually offered underground aid to Jews by hiding them and helping them leave Nazi Germany, and a few were involved in resistance groups against the regime itself.

In general, however, the Confessing Church refrained from public criticism of Nazi anti-Jewish laws and few Confessing Church leaders ever condemned the persecution of the Jews. An exception was the memorandum sent by the Confessing Church to Hitler (May 1936), which stated that "when, in the framework of the National-Socialist ideology, antisemitism is forced on the Christian, obliging him to hate the Jews, he has nonetheless the divine commandment to love his neighbor." In 1938, while a few individual clergy preached sermons condemning the *Kristallnacht*, there was no official church statement protesting the violence. Indeed, when Bishop Wurm of Wuerttemberg wrote a private letter of protest to the German minister of justice, he nonetheless added that he was not criticizing the state's right "to fight Judaism as a dangerous element." During the war, the Protestants in Germany maintained their cautious silence, the notable exception being Bishop Wurm, who in a 1943 sermon finally decried the churches' silence about *Kristallnacht* and announced that the Allied bombing of Germany was "God's revenge for that which was done to the Jews."

German-Allied and -Occupied Countries. The Lutheran Church in Slovakia protested in November 1939 and in May 1942. Romania had a long record of antisemitic activities in which leaders and members of the church frequently participated. In Hungary, the bishops of the Reformed and Lutheran churches voted in the upper house for the first and second anti-Jewish laws in 1938 and 1939. They protested when mass deportations began in 1944, but after pressure from the government, a prepared public statement was not read out from the pulpits.

The Lutheran churches in Norway and Denmark issued public protests when the deportations from their countries began. The Protestant churches in the Netherlands, together with the Roman Catholic Church, sent several protests, some of which were read from the pulpits. In France, the president of the Protestant Federation, the Rev. Marc Boegner, sent letters to the French chief rabbi, to Admiral Darlan, Marshal Pétain, Pierre Laval, and others. A message was read from the pulpits twice. The non-Roman Catholic churches in Austria, Belgium, the Protectorate (Bohemia-Moravia), Finland, Italy, and Poland apparently did not issue any public protest during World War II.

The Allies, Neutral Countries, and International Organizations. Between 1933 and 1939, Protestant church bodies and their leaders in France, Denmark, Switzerland, Sweden, Britain, and the United States issued official condemnations of antisemitism and, in several cases, explicit condemnation of events in Nazi Germany, including the promulgation of the *Nuremberg Laws of 1935 and **Kristallnacht* in 1938. In Great Britain, the archbishop of Canterbury, the bishop of Chichester, and other Anglican Church leaders voiced strong protests, but their demands for practical steps, such as easing immigration restrictions on refugees, were of no avail. The same is true of the United States, where church leaders issued many protests. A December 1942 "resolution on antisemitism" was passed by the Federal Council of Churches (the precursor of today's National Council of Churches) that condemned the "virtual massacre" of European Jews.

Churches in the Soviet Union (which were tightly controlled by the government) apparently did not issue any public protest during World War II.

In the neutral countries during the war, the Church of Sweden strongly protested against the deportation of the Norwegian Jews. In Switzerland, protests of the Protestant churches were a factor leading to the alleviation and ultimate canceling of the government measures against Jewish refugees entering Switzerland "illegally," who were at first sent back to their doom. The churches also rendered material aid to the refugees.

Some of the earliest protests against the Nazi anti-Jewish policies emerged from ecumenical and interdenominational groups. At its meeting in September 1933, the World Alliance for International Friendship through the Churches, an ecumenical organization, condemned the "state measures against the Jews in Germany." Regional church branches of this organization in Holland, Belgium, France, and Switzerland issued similar statements in 1933.

The World Council of Churches, then still in process of formation, had offices in New York, London, and Geneva. In particular, its director for refugee work, Adolf Freudenberg, worked closely with Gerhart Riegner at the World Jewish Congress to compile information about the genocide and disseminate it to church leaders and diplomats. Freudenberg and the WCC general secretary, Willem Visser't Hooft, sent three letters to the International Red Cross, in which they reported on deportations and mass executions of Jews and pleaded for help. Together with Riegner, Visser't Hooft sent an aide-mémoire to the governments of the U.S. and Great Britain, informed church leaders in these countries about the extermination of Jews, intervened with the Swiss government on behalf of Jewish refugees, and helped send gift parcels to Jews in concentration camps.

Postwar Statements. Most of the early postwar Protestant statements were generalized acknowledgements of the churches' failures under Nazism. The 1945 Stuttgart Declaration of Guilt, the earliest Protestant statement in postwar Germany, acknowledged the German Lutheran church's complicity with the Nazi regime but failed to mention explicitly the persecution and genocide of the Jews. The 1948 Darmstadt "Message Concerning the Jewish Question" condemned antisemitism and recognized the evil of the Nazi persecution of the Jews, but still spoke of "the Jew as an erring brother destined for Christ." The German Evangelical Church first addressed the problem of Christian anti-Judaism – and the need for a new relationship to the Jews – at its 1950 Weissensee Synod.

There were parallels to this development in the Protestant statements that began to emerge outside Germany. "The Christian Approach to the Jews," the statement approved at the first assembly of the World Council of Churches in Amsterdam in 1948, condemned antisemitism but explicitly approved evangelization of Jews as part of the churches' mission. The earliest document ("The Ten Points of Seelisberg") calling for a new Jewish-Christian relationship and a Christian acknowledgement of the validity of the Judaic faith was made in 1947 in Seelisberg, Switzerland, at the founding conference of the International Conference of Christians and Jews.

In the decades since then, over 100 statements have been made by Protestant and Orthodox churches throughout the world that have addressed the long-lasting legacy of the Holocaust for Christians and have used this legacy as a starting point for rethinking Christian teachings.

ORTHODOX CHURCHES. The persecution of the Orthodox Serbs in Yugoslavia by the Ustasha matched in cruelty the persecution of Jews. Orthodox Church leaders reportedly stood up for the Jews, but hardly any details are available. In Greece, the archbishop of Athens, Damaskinos, headed a group of prominent citizens who sent a strong protest against the deportations of the Jews to the prime minister of the puppet regime and to the German representative in Athens. The contents of these protests show that they were based mainly on national, rather than on religious, considerations. Damaskinos was personally active in the rescue of individual Jews. The bishop of Salonika, Genadios, also intervened on behalf of Jews. The attitude of nonresistance of the population of Salonika, however, shows that the faithful did not always follow the example of their leaders.

The metropolitan of the Bukovina region, Tot Simedrea, the metropolitan of Transylvania, Balan, and Patriarch Nicodemus personally and successfully intervened with the Romanian government on behalf of the Jews after fervent appeals from Chief Rabbi Safran. In Bulgaria, the metropolitan of Sofia, Stephan, and the metropolitan of Plovdiv, Kyril, intervened personally with King Boris, using extremely forceful expressions. The Holy Synod of the Bulgarian Orthodox Church repeatedly sent strong protests in writing to the government. According to a Jewish spokesman, Joseph Geron, the Orthodox Church played a major role among the "collective factors" that helped in the rescue of the Bulgarian Jews.

Individual Christians rendered material help. The moral importance of such deeds are sterling, though their practical importance should not be overrated; only a small minority of the Protestant and Orthodox Christians in occupied Europe risked their lives on behalf of the persecuted Jews. It is difficult to assess the practical results of interventions and protests by churches and church leaders. In German-allied countries, where they could turn to their own governments, the interventions of church leaders were of some avail. In the occupied countries, the protests hardly influenced the German authorities; but, insofar as they were read out from the pulpits, the protests contributed to breaking the silence and complacency that surrounded the extermination of the Jews and stirred the faithful to noncooperation with the Germans and to render individual aid to the Jews.

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[John M. Snoek / Victoria Barnett (2nd ed.)]

THE YISHUV. One cannot approach the role of the Jewish settlement in Palestine, the *Yishuv*, during the Holocaust by comparing it to the state of Israel with its current military might and self-proclaimed mission of serving as a guarantor that a second Holocaust will never be allowed to recur. The *Yishuv* was poor and struggling. It had just absorbed German Jewish immigrants fleeing Hitler. In fact, more Jews were absorbed into Palestine between 1933 and 1937 – only in 1938 and afterwards did the numbers coming to the United States surpass Palestine – than anywhere else in the world. It faced Arab riots and armed resistance in 1936 and was rightfully concerned about its own safety and state-building activity in addition to the fate of the Jews in exile.

On the eve of World War II the *Yishuv* was in deep internal crisis. The British government had implemented the recommendations of its 1939 White Paper by limiting Jewish immigration to Palestine to 75,000 over five years, 15,000 a year, thus cutting off a haven for Jews precisely when it was most needed. The dangers facing the Jewish communities of Central and Eastern Europe were keenly felt and impacted upon the reservoir of potential immigrants (*olim*, lit. "ascendants") and on material support for the *Yishuv*, which then numbered some 470,000 people. Conditions were only to deteriorate with the onset of war.

Despite the problems with British mandatory rule, there could be no doubt that the Nazis were incomparably worse, and thus David Ben-Gurion charted *Yishuv* policy with his famous statement: "We shall fight for the British against the Germans as if there were no White Paper and fight against the White Paper as if there were no Nazis." He also charted a Zionist policy to link the war and secure the support of British and American Jews – Zionists and non-Zionists alike – to the Zionist aim of creating a Jewish "commonwealth" in Palestine. That aim was realized in the darkest year of Jewish history in May 1942 with the Biltmore Resolutions, which adopted the Zionist vision of a Jewish homeland in Palestine as the agenda for postwar Jewry. These were passed as the deportations to the death camps of German-occupied Poland were in full swing.

To fight against the White Paper, the *Yishuv* engaged in *illegal immigration. The sinking of the *Patria* and the struggle of the *Struma* to stay afloat and keep its passengers alive before a Soviet torpedo sank the ship were the most visible and problematic manifestations of the British determination to enforce the White Paper despite the war.

Still there was a symmetry of interests, and the Jewish community could hardly be neutral in the struggle between Britain and Nazi Germany. Thirty thousand Jews, men and women, some 6.8 percent of the Palestinian Jewish population, signed on for service as part of the British Army. It was only well into the war in September 1944 that a separate Jewish fighting unit, the *Jewish Brigade, was formed. The service of the Jews, whether in British or independent units, was important to the Zionist cause as it demonstrated commitment to fighting Nazi Germany. It also gave the soldiers who were later to fight in Israel's War of Independence important military experience.

The condition of the *Yishuv* was perilous, and this was legitimately of primary concern. In June-July 1942 German forces were within 62 miles of Alexandria and it was clear that if the British were forced to flee Alexandria, they would leave the Middle East and abandon the *Yishuv* to fight alone and virtually unarmed against the Germans. For the *Yishuv* the fight would be unto an all-but-certain death.

Only when the British were victorious at El Alamein in October and the Allies landed in North Africa in November was the fate of the *Yishuv* assured. Then it shifted its attention elsewhere.

Ever since the publication of Walter Laqueur's important work *The Terrible Secret: The Suppression of Information Regarding the Final Solution* (1982), historians have distinguished between information and knowledge. What was heard and what was understood in Palestine is an important comparison for assessing the action or inaction of the Allies and of neutral countries, for Palestinian Jews were surely not disinterested. Palestinian Jews dismissed early reports of the *Einsatzgruppen* massacres as crude Soviet propaganda.

The sources of their information regarding the fate of the Jews were many, including newspaper articles and other news accounts, but Jews in Palestine also received letters from parents and siblings – until they received them no longer – and listened to broadcasts from Europe in their native tongues. They could discern in what was said some of what was left unsaid.

During the early years of the war, the fate of the Jews was considered incidental to the war, the suffering of any civilian population as a result of military conflict, exacerbated by the unique venom that the Nazis felt toward the Jews. By 1941, as Jews were ghettoized in Poland and living under German occupation in most of Europe, the *Yishuv* sensed that the conditions of Jews had stabilized and would remain miserable but stable until the war ended. No better nor any sooner than the Allies did they perceive the existence of the Final Solution, the German plan to annihilate the Jews.

The *Yishuv* learned about the Final Solution in the same way the Allies did, through reports from the Soviet Foreign Ministry, the London-based Polish government-in-exile, and the cable that Gerhart Riegner sent to Samuel Silverman in London and Rabbi Stephen Wise in New York. No copy was sent to Jerusalem. The repatriation of Palestinian Jews exchanged for Germans in the fall of 1942 brought a new source of shocking information to the *Yishuv.* National days of mourning were proclaimed, demonstrations were held, and it is fair to say that the *Yishuv* felt a deep sense of despair. Families left abroad were being killed and the Jewish people as well as the Zionist enterprise were facing a massive defeat.

A Joint Rescue Committee was established and attempts were made at rescue and clandestine immigration. There was a struggle for limited financial support. Were resources to be allocated to the *Yishuv* and its development or to rescue efforts that seemed doomed to failure? Only in 1943 did actual rescue, however limited or unlikely, seem even remotely possible and hence warranted the use of resources.

A decision was made to allocate resources to the rescue outside of the normal budget of the *Yishuv,* and the amount was modest. Dina Porat, an Israeli historian, estimated that it was $32 million in 1980 dollars, which would be used inside occupied Europe. One third was earmarked for bringing Jews to Palestine.

There were three major efforts; the first was to bring assistance to 70,000 Romanian Jews inside Transnistria; the second was to cooperate with the Working Group (see above) in Slovakia as part of the Europa plan, bribing German officials to postpone the deportation of Jews. In both of these attempted rescues, the *Yishuv*, however well intentioned, was just not able to deliver the sums needed on time. The third was the attempt to deliver small parcels of money, medicine, and documents into neutral and Axis states. The work of a small group of rescuers in Turkey led by Chaim Barlas and including Jacob Griffel, Akivah Levinsky, Teddy *Kollek (later famous as the mayor of Jerusalem), and Venja Pomerantz (later a nuclear physicist involved in Israel's nuclear program) was most notable. Yet there too, the furious effort, noble as it was, saving an estimated 15,000 lives, was simply incommensurate with the need. As an old man who had witnessed much history, Kollek described it as the most frustrating period of his life.

The *Yishuv* was ready to respond to any other opportunity for rescue. One such opportunity seemed to present itself with the mission of Joel *Brand to Turkey with Adolf Eichmann's offer – we now know that it was ordered by Himmler –

of one million Jews for 10,000 trucks to be used against the Soviet Union in the East. Neither the *Yishuv* nor the American Jewish community had the power to effect the trade; only the Allies could do it. But the *Yishuv* did press to maintain the illusion, for as long as possible, that the offer would be considered. In the end, the Allies understood that the offer was designed to achieve a separate peace with the West. When word of the offer was leaked in London, the deal was dead.

Two other efforts were noteworthy, the dropping of Palestinian parachutists who spoke the native languages into enemy territory to warn the Jewish community of their fate, and the request to bomb Auschwitz. The former included Hannah *Szenes, dropped into Yugoslavia and captured in Hungary, where she was tortured and executed, becoming a symbol of courage and devotion in modern Israel.

While Israeli historians have focused on the requests in July 1944 to bomb Auschwitz, they overlooked an important and instructive document, the minutes of the Jewish Agency meeting of June 11, 1944, in which the proposal that the Jewish Agency request that Auschwitz be bombed was rejected. David Ben-Gurion said, "We do not know the truth concerning the entire situation in Poland and it seems that we will be unable to propose anything concerning this matter." Dr. Schmorak said, "It is forbidden to take responsibility for a bombing that could very well cause the death of even one Jew." The summation of the meeting, at which Yitzhak Gruenbaum was criticized for advancing the idea with the American counsel, was "not to propose to the Allies the bombing of sites in which Jews are located."

Clearly as late as June 1944 the Jewish Agency in Palestine had no clear idea of what was happening in Poland and of the fate of Hungarian Jews then being deported to Auschwitz. The information available to them was not compelling enough to give them knowledge certain enough to request action that might kill Jews on the ground.

Yet within a month Moshe Shertok and Chaim Weizmann requested of the British that Auschwitz be bombed.

One possible explanation for this action is that the contents of the Vr'ba Wetzler Report – the Auschwitz Protocols – had made their way to Palestine and changed what was known about the nature of Auschwitz, making the ill-informed Jewish Agency's decision of June 11 inoperative.

Only in September 1944 was the Jewish Brigade formed, a Jewish force inside the British Army. The utility of such a force was less important in the war than in the postwar effort to rehabilitate the survivors of the camps and to facilitate the resumption of immigration into Palestine.

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[Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

AFTERMATH

Displaced Persons

At the end of the war, Allied armies found seven to nine million displaced persons living in countries not their own. More than six million people returned to their native lands; one million refused repatriation. Collaborators feared retaliation; some feared emerging Communist domination. The situation of the Jews was radically different.

The Jews had no homes to return to. It was only with the end of the German assault that they could take account of their losses and that they could begin to mourn. As one survivor put it in Auschwitz, "If you cried, you died." The communities of Jewish survivors had been shattered, their homes destroyed or occupied by strangers, and their families decimated and dispersed. Those who returned home found their homes occupied by others, their return unwelcome. First came the often long and difficult physical recuperation from starvation and malnutrition, then the search for loved ones lost or missing, and finally the question of the future.

Many Jews lived in Displaced Persons camps, at first among their killers, because the Allies did not differentiate on the basis of religion, but by nationality. Their presence on European soil and the absence of a country willing to receive them raised the pressure on Britain to resolve the issue of a Jewish homeland in Palestine. The Harrison Report, an investigation of the conditions in the DP camps undertaken on behalf of President Harry S. Truman, recommended the admission of 100,000 Jews immediately to drain the overcrowding of the DP camps. Well-publicized yet clandestine efforts were made to bring Jews to Palestine. And within the Displaced Persons camps, Jews – even those who chose not to go to Palestine and later emigrated elsewhere – demonstrated their commitment to Zion. In fact, it was not until after the establishment of the State of Israel in May 1948 and the liberalization of American immigration laws in 1948 and 1949 to allow the admission of refugees from Europe that the problem of what to do with the survivors was solved.

Perhaps the most profound response of the survivors could not be appreciated at the time. In the aftermath of death, they chose life and to bring children into the world. Overwhelmingly, they chose to live as Jews and to reaffirm Jewish life. They could have done otherwise, but as a rule they did not.

For a fuller discussion of the DP camps, see *Displaced Persons.

[Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

U.S. Army Chaplains

American Jewish chaplains were among the first Allied troops and Jews to encounter the battered remnant of European Jewry at the end of World War II. This encounter took place when the survivors' fate, and that of Palestine under the British Mandate, were being determined. The Holocaust survivors were grappling with myriad issues, including emigration, matters of faith, and an attempt to reclaim their lives while coping with the needs of basic survival, like finding work and food, shelter and even latrines. The chaplains from abroad provided a link to the familiar, a recognition of their cultural survival, and assistance with their first steps toward recovery. Above all, they also cared for them as Jews.

The American military was not prepared for what it found in the concentration camps and labor camps or alongside the roads of Europe, as it met the death marches. A very few chaplains believed that they might find some Jews in dire straits, but it never occurred to them that they could be in a position to assist them. There were 311 rabbis who were chaplains with the U.S. forces in Europe; 267 served in the Army, 43 in the Navy, and one in the Maritime service. Ninety, fewer than one in three, had had any contact with Jewish DPs, and they were completely unprepared, even if they were not surprised by what they encountered.

Chaplains were trained to work with Jewish troops, who were a minority group in the military, not the Holocaust survivors. Because interacting with Holocaust survivors was not within the job description, each chaplain had to decide on the level of his own involvement. Complicating matters was the nonfraternization clause that prohibited American soldiers from socializing or interacting with civilians. This measure was finally rescinded on October 1, 1945, seven months after the liberation. In this chaotic period after the war, not all commanding officers were aware of the extent of their subordinates' work with the survivors.

Jewish chaplains worked with survivors as individuals and as groups, especially as liaisons on issues between survivors and the military that were of a personal nature. They also supplied survivors with food, clothing, and shelter; assisted them in finding their families; allowed them to illegally use the Army mail service to send letters to relatives abroad; found children hidden by the church and returned them to their families; and served as escorts on trains that took children away from Buchenwald. These rabbis accompanied transports that removed Jews from Eastern Europe to the American zone of occupation and were aboard ships that transferred Jewish children to Palestine. They also intervened with the U.S. Army to have DPs released from prison or get their sentences reduced.

Some chaplains stopped the military from launching a number of black market raids in DP camps; conducted services, performed weddings, and in some cases acted as community rabbis. They also printed educational materials and established Jewish schools and summer camps.

Yet the chaplains could not alter American policy toward the DPs, because the Army had no long-range policies for the DPs in the first place. Without such guidelines, they floundered. Still, the Jews fled to the American zones of Germany and Austria because they knew the Americans would treat them better than the British, the French, or the Russians. Many American officers, especially at the beginning of the postwar period, put on blinders and allowed the chaplains to work with the DPs, which made it possible for the rabbis to become effective advocates for them. Some chaplains were more creative than others, and some were more willing to test the limits.

This was the first time chaplains were actively involved on behalf of American and European Jewry not in the military while still serving in the Army. Nothing in their backgrounds suggested how they might respond, and in the end their responses were not denominational or institutional, but those of individuals acting on their own. When the survivors needed help, the chaplains demonstrated that American Jews cared about them and that they were not alone. Some chaplains made a huge difference in the survivors' lives.

For example, in August 1944, Chaplain Abraham Haselkorn, a 39-year-old Reform rabbi, was attached to U.S. Army Headquarters, Loire Section. In that region, Father Devaux of Notre Dame de Sion in Paris had hidden many Jewish children on farms near Bonnetable, France, not far from Le Mans. Haselkorn used his powers of persuasion and his reserve funds from the Jewish Welfare Board to force the farmers to release those children. Then he established an orphan home for them. American Jewish GIs provided most of the funds to subsidize the home and got their families and communities to send clothing from the U.S.

Rabbi Herschel *Schachter, an Orthodox rabbi, arrived in Buchenwald on April 12, 1945, with the Third Army. Going from one barracks to the next, he declared in Yiddish, "*Sholom Aleichem, Yidden, ihr zint frei*" ("Hello, Jews, you are free"). He officiated at the first Friday night service after liberation and conducted a *seder* for the survivors. He established a *ḥevra kaddisha* (burial society), and acquired a plot of land for a Jewish cemetery, organized a list of Jews in the camp and others who came through, set up a mail service and a package program.

After much discussion, he convinced the military to allow young people in Buchenwald to establish a kibbutz to prepare for life in Palestine. In this he worked with Chaplain Robert Marcus, another Orthodox rabbi. Marcus and Schacter each accompanied transports of Jewish children from Buchenwald to France.

Eugene Lipman, a Reform rabbi assigned to Headquarters, XII Corps, found 200 Jews in the Cologne area who had survived Dachau, Buchenwald, and Theresienstadt. To help them, he enlisted the aid of Jewish soldiers throughout the area. At night, he and a number of Jewish soldiers would go to army storage areas and steal large quantities of food so that the survivors would be nourished.

In northern Bavaria, he found many Jews scattered in towns and villages. He helped get them clothes and assisted them with medical, social, and legal problems, including violation of the black market laws. He assisted children's groups and helped establish *hakhsharot*, the kibbutzim to prepare people for Palestine. He launched a package program, and between October 1945 and May 1946 he received 175 to 180 tons of packages. Mailboxes were placed in every community and 2,000–2,500 letters were mailed out of Germany clandestinely each week, since DPs were not permitted to send mail by themselves.

While in Pilsen, Czechoslovakia, Lipman was recruited to work with the Beriḥah (the *illegal immigration movement to Mandate Palestine). He helped forge documents, appropriated military trucks to transport survivors, and led transports on the route from Prague, through Pilsen, Salzburg, and Italy, where they embarked on the final leg of the voyage. When he heard there were 15,000 to 20,000 Jews in Terezin (Theresienstadt), he arranged for them to be taken to the American Zone in Germany and set up a mail service so they could communicate with their families.

Rabbi Herbert L. Friedman, a 27-year-old Reform chaplain, worked with Beriḥah in Berlin, arriving in April 1946. He had been specifically asked by the organizers to help smuggle Jews into the city. He also provided them with trucks, gasoline, false papers, and cigarettes, to bribe Russian soldiers. He also got them clothing and hiding places and provided them with excuses – just in case they were caught.

Friedman was the troubleshooter for Philip S. Bernstein, a Reform rabbi and adviser on Jewish affairs to the military government beginning in July 1946. Friedman traveled throughout the American zones in Germany and Austria to explain the needs of the survivors to the American military. The military also assigned him to act as an adviser at the Landsberg trial, in which 20 Jews were arrested for attacking Germans after two guards disappeared from the kibbutz in Dissen, about six miles from the camp. Friedman arranged for the most qualified Jewish military lawyer to be assigned to the case.

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[Alex Grobman (2nd ed.)]

Postwar Trials

As for the killers, upon entering the camps, many Allied units were so shocked by what they saw that spontaneous punishment was meted out on some SS personnel who remained. Others were arrested and held for trial. The most famous – and indeed the most important – of the post-war trials was held at Nuremberg, the former site of Nazi party rallies, one of the very few cities that had not been reduced to rubble. The American prosecution team was led by Justice Robert Jackson, on leave from the U.S. Supreme Court. Twenty-two major Nazi officials were put on trial by an International Military Tribunals for War Crimes, Crimes against the Peace, and a new category of crimes, Crimes against Humanity. These crimes were categorized as "murder, extermination, enslavement, deportation against any civilian population… persecution on political racial or religious grounds… whether or not in violation of the domestic laws of the country where perpetrated." The Holocaust was not yet defined; the crime had not been given a name and the war against the Jews was not perceived outside of the World War and the general criminal nature of the Nazi regime. After the first trials, 185 defendants were divided into 12 groups, including physicians responsible for medical experimentation (but not euthanasia), judges who preserved the facade of legality for Nazi crimes, and *Einsatzgruppen* leaders. They were brought to trial almost by accident and without a serious budgetary commitment by the Allies because one young prosecutor, Benjamin Ferencz, had reviewed their reports and felt he could convict them by their own contemporaneous records. German generals and business leaders who profited from slave labor were tried. They were a minuscule fraction of those who had perpetrated the crimes. Their trials were an effort to restore a semblance of justice – perhaps even the illusion of justice – in the aftermath of so great a crime. Nuremberg established the precedent, later enshrined by international convention, that crimes against humanity are punishable by an international tribunal. In the post-Holocaust world, time and again the precedent has been invoked as nations struggle to rebuild in the aftermath of genocide, after the entire legal system was implicated in the crime. The trial of the Nazi doctors also broke new ground in medical ethics. The judges affirmed ten principles that have become commonplace in modern medicine; among them is the right of informed consent, the right to consent to one's treatment and to stop treatment.

FURTHER TRIALS. Over the ensuing sixty years, additional trials further documented the nature of the crimes. They had a public as well as judicial impact. The 1961 trial in Jerusalem of Adolph Eichmann, who was responsible for the deportations of Jews to the death camps, not only brought him to justice but made a new generation of Israelis keenly aware of the Holocaust. The Auschwitz trials held in Frankfurt, Germany, between 1963–76 increased the German public's knowledge of the killing and its pervasiveness. The trials in France of Klaus Barbie and Maurice Papon, and the deathbed revelations of Francois Mitterrand concerning his indifference toward Vichy's anti-Jewish policy, exploded the myth of French resistance and forced the French to deal with the issue of collaboration. These trials also became precedents as world leaders dealt with a response to other crimes against humanity in places like Bosnia and Rwanda.

Trials continued into the 21st century. In the 1990s, efforts were made to account for property losses and the expropriation by the perpetrators and by neutral powers of entire industries of Jewish property, possessions, art works, bank accounts, and insurance policies during the Holocaust and its aftermath.

For a full discussion of the efforts to achieve justice, see *War Crimes Trials.

[Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

Children of Jewish Survivors

INTRODUCTION. Widespread commemoration of the Holocaust in the form of observance of Yom Ha-Shoah (Holocaust Memorial Day), establishment of Holocaust museums and study centers, teaching of university courses and writing of fictional works are phenomena that started in the mid-1970s. Prior to the early 1970s, although there were select observances in Israel and in a few places in North America and Europe, the Holocaust was hardly on the Jewish communal agenda. Eva Fogelman has described this as a period of denial not unlike a stage in the mourning process (see Bibliography).

Neither the Jewish community nor the world at large was prepared to confront the catastrophe. Consequently, many survivors were reluctant to speak publicly about their shattered lives, fearing, often correctly, they would not receive an empathetic hearing. Survivors, particularly those who emigrated to Canada, the United States, or Australia, placed great emphasis on adjusting to their new surroundings, learning the language and culture, finding a means of monetary support, and rebuilding the shattered web of their destroyed lives. Those who emigrated to Palestine had the added task of fighting for Israel's independence and then building the country.

Holocaust survivors were not only reluctant to speak publicly. Many were also hesitant to speak to their children about their persecution and losses. Society at large maintained an indifferent demeanor. As a result, children whose Jewish parents lived under the Third Reich in Germany or in German-occupied countries during World War II could not understand or explain the consequences of their legacy. Moreover, as Menachem Rosensaft, the founder of an organization of survivors' children, observed, "It is difficult to define the children of Holocaust survivors as a separate entity in any comprehensive or accurate sense. We come from different backgrounds, covering virtually the entire European continent. We live in countries throughout the world, pursue a multitude of careers, and have diverse interests. Even our attitudes toward Judaism are vastly dissimilar. In brief, we are no more homogeneous than the survivors themselves."

There were some exceptions to this silence. The World Federation of Bergen-Belsen Associations, under the leadership of Josef (Yossel) *Rosensaft, encouraged the children of the survivors of Bergen-Belsen, beginning in the early 1960s, to participate in commemorative events and activities. During the Eichmann trial in Israel, incessant focus on the destruction of European Jewry encouraged Israelis to seek out their survivor neighbors and family members for discussions. Also before the Six-Day War and the Yom Kippur War, as Israeli citizens feared a Holocaust in their own midst, they sought out survivors to determine how they had coped with near-death experiences. There was, however, little recognition of the impact the Holocaust might have had on the children of the survivors and on the family dynamics.

The emergence of a "children-of-survivors' consciousness" started in the United States in the mid-1970s. Eva Fogelman traces the source to the emergence of the "roots" movement, particularly among black students and feminist groups. Many young Jews found themselves either rebuffed by other ethnic groups or discovered that these groups did not address their specific political or social concerns. As a result, many Jews, particularly those in university settings, began to seriously examine their Jewish identity and their relationship to the broader Jewish community. As they did so, they began to discover subsets within their own communities – feminists, radicals, educators, Soviet Jewry activists, and Zionists, among others. Though the range of activities and interests of this postwar Jewish student population varied greatly, they shared a sense of self-exploration and a renewed interest in Jewish life. They began to publish their own newspapers and magazines and to seek ways of making their mark on Jewish communal life.

It was from this cauldron of change that the children of survivors' movement began to emerge. In the fall of 1974, a small group of graduate students in New York discovered in the course of a casual conversation that their parents were all survivors of the Holocaust and that as their children they had shared certain common experiences. Conscious of the fact that it would soon be 30 years since the end of the war and that no serious analysis of the children of survivors' experience had been attempted, they conceived of what they believed to be a modest first step. Unaware of the *Bergen-Belsen Youth Magazine*, edited by Menachem Rosensaft in 1965, they proposed to the editorial board of the student-run Jewish publication *Response* an issue devoted to the Holocaust in general and children of survivors in particular. The centerpiece of the publication was a conversation among five children of survivors about growing up with Holocaust survivor parents. They explored their relationship with their parents and sought to define how their perspective on the world might differ from that of their contemporaries who were not children of survivors. This dialogue evoked great interest in the involved Jewish student community.

This issue of *Response* was eventually published in book form, and the discussion it generated prompted two Boston-based mental health professionals who were children of survivors, Eva Fogelman and Bella Savran, to organize therapeutic groups for that population. It was the first attempt to convene a children of survivors' group. They began in 1976 and within a year had met with more than one hundred children of survivors.

These groups were designed to allow children of survivors to share their thoughts and feelings with one another, and to do so in an environment that would be sensitive to the events themselves and the impact that they had had on the family and the child. Similar groups were organized in major American cities like Los Angeles, Chicago, and elsewhere.

Another step in the emergence of a collective children of survivors' consciousness occurred in 1976 when sons and daughters of members of the Warsaw Ghetto Resistance Organization (WAGRO) founded a second generation organization in the United States. On Yom Ha-Shoah 1977, group members discussed their childhood on a New York television station, WNET. The response was overwhelming.

A major turning point occurred with the publication in the *New York Times Magazine* of an article by Helen Epstein on children of survivors. Epstein, both of whose parents had been in concentration camps, had been trying for some time to convince the *Times* to publish such an article. She found little interest until spring 1977, when reports began to be published in the general press on the work of an Israeli psychiatrist, Shamai Davidson, then at Stanford. Davidson had worked with children of survivors in Israel and found that many had "symptoms similar to the concentration camp survivor syndrome." At that point Epstein found the *New York Times* interested in the topic and her article appeared on June 19, 1977. The article was syndicated and appeared in papers throughout the world, including the *Jerusalem Post*. Epstein estimates that it reached close to a million people.

Epstein's article made an unidentifiable group identifiable. Children of survivors who had been unaware of earlier efforts to organize groups suddenly felt themselves linked to a larger community. Epstein was deluged with letters. Since then, the psychological dynamics of being a child of Holocaust survivors has become a research topic in more than a hundred doctoral dissertations in addition to other research projects. Soon, groups were being established throughout the United States. In 1978 Eva Fogelman led a group at the counseling center of Hebrew University.

The groups played an extremely important role, allowing some to learn new ways of communicating with their parents about their war experiences. These groups took the basic structure of the Fogelman-Savran group model and shaped it into different forms. Some have a therapeutic structure, with leaders who are mental health professionals. Others are self-help groups. And there are discussion groups, which provide an arena for the sharing of feelings and to learn how the parents' experience may have affected them. A number of the groups are designed to undertake specific projects, such as recording oral histories, organizing conferences, conducting dialogues with postwar Germans, and seeking ways to educate themselves and others about the vast complex of events associated with the Holocaust. All evidence indicates that in the main these groups have attracted well-functioning Jewish young adults. Though they were only a way station for many, they played a seminal role in the emergence of a children of survivors' consciousness.

But a number of children of survivors felt that a broader response was warranted, one that would reach those who did not have a place for communal expression of their situation. Savran and Fogelman were among a small group of children of survivors who turned to Rabbi Irving (Yitz) *Greenberg, the founder of and major force in the United States National Jewish Resource Center (now the National Jewish Center for Learning and Leadership, CLAL), to help plan a conference on children of survivors. On November 4–5, 1979, more than 600 people, the vast majority of them children of survivors, gathered in New York for the First International Conference on Children of Holocaust Survivors.

The reaction to the conference varied markedly. Many participants were elated by the sense of having "found" a community that shared similar experiences and attitudes. According to David Szonyi, who was involved in organizing the conference, "people who felt very alone discovered that there were lots of people like them out there." For some, a long unarticulated feeling that somehow they were different from third- and fourth-generation American Jews now began to crystallize. Epstein's article together with the conference helped many identify what it was that made them feel unique. The gathering served as a galvanizing point and resulted in the creation of additional second generation groups and organizations. Even though the participants were diverse and came from a multitude of backgrounds, it was increasingly clear that despite their heterogeneity children of survivors shared a commonality of experience that derived from their specific process of socialization.

The reaction, however, was not unanimously positive. Some were greatly distressed because the event started off as a "mental health" conference. This reaction was aggravated by the fact that on the first day there was a series of presentations by psychologists and psychoanalysts who had worked with children of survivors. Helen Epstein, who delivered the keynote address, is convinced that many who attended "needed to hear from people like themselves," i.e., those whose parents had survived the Holocaust. Yossi Klein (now Halevi), writing in the *Jewish World* (New York), said: "We invited speakers to our meetings who told us not of our potential contributions to the Jewish people but of our emotional problems… The leaders we had hoped to become were reduced to subjects for clinical study."

A shock wave hit the mental-health professionals when they became the targets of anger. Members of the audience expressed rage at the speakers, who explained the psychological impact of the Nazi persecution and tragic losses on the second generation. The children of survivors, by then, for the most part successful young professionals, felt that mental health professionals were taking clinical cases and generalizing symptoms to the entire group. "It was," Menachem Rosensaft observed, "as if one were to determine the drinking habits of all adult Americans based on a study of Alcoholics Anonymous participants."

During the second day, the emotions were transformed into the final phase of mourning – a search for meaning – as the post-Holocaust generation presented its views on politics, spirituality, and professional commitment to helping others. The gathering culminated with Henry Krystal speaking not only as a psychoanalyst but also as a survivor-parent who attested to the capacity for love and harmony. When group reconciliation was realized, the theologian Michael Berenbaum led in the chanting of a communal *kaddish* (prayer for the dead). Tears were shed for those not present.

The validation of a collective identity galvanized the mental-health professionals in the audience to introduce self-help kinship groups, as well as second-generation therapy groups throughout the country.

In June of 1981, over 1,000 people participated in the World Gathering of Jewish Holocaust Survivors in Jerusalem, conducting their own programs and holding plenary sessions and smaller breakout sessions of their own. In September 1981, a group of children of survivors, led by Rosensaft, met in New York to establish the International Network of Children of Jewish Holocaust Survivors. Thereafter, members of the second generation played key roles in the organization of the *American Gathering of Jewish Holocaust Survivors in Washington, DC, in 1983, and at similar events in Philadelphia and New York in 1985 and 1986. The International Network conducted conferences in 1984 in New York, in which 1,700 people participated, and in 1987 in Los Angeles, and several in Israel subsequently.

Through the International Network, children of survivors, as a group, became a moral voice in the American Jewish community and in the international political arena. "One of my goals," Rosensaft said, "was to make sure that the second generation not be introverted, but instead also look out to human and social issues affecting the community as a whole, which is why we were the first group to organize a New York City-wide rally on behalf of Ethiopian Jewry 1982." He adds, "We also were a lead factor in the opposition to President Reagan's decision to visit the German military cemetery at *Bitburg in 1985, probably the one organized group to be consistently and vocally opposed to the President laying a wreath at the graves of the Waffen SS." On May 5, 1985 Rosensaft led a demonstration of second generation members at Bergen-Belsen against what he called President Reagan's "obscene package deal" of Bitburg and the Bergen-Belsen mass graves. Rosensaft, who advocated publicly that restitution funds be used to provide comprehensive health care to Holocaust survivors, also played a key role in the early stage of Israeli-Palestinian negotiations. In December 1988, he was one of five American Jews who met with Yasser Arafat and other senior leaders of the Palestine Liberation Organization in Stockholm, Sweden, resulting in the PLO's first public recognition of Israel.

Other prominent children of survivors who have publicly identified with their parents' experiences include Leon Wieseltier, literary editor of *The New Republic*, the late *New York Post* columnist Eric Breindel, World Jewish Congress Executive Director Elan Steinberg, and David Harris, executive director of the American Jewish Committee, former U.S. Representative Sam Gejdenson, and U.S. Senator Ron Wyden, the son of a refugee from Nazi Berlin.

Some children of Holocaust survivors became rabbis. Among them are Rabbi Abie Ingber (Reform), executive director of the Hillel Jewish Students Center at the University of Cincinnati and instructor of homiletics at Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion, Rabbi Kenneth A. Stern (Conservative), rabbi of Park Avenue Synagogue in New York City and past president of the Greater Pittsburgh Rabbinical Association, and Rabbi Marc Schneier (Orthodox), founding rabbi of the Hampton Synagogue in Westhampton Beach, Long Island, and president of the Foundation for Ethnic Understanding.

The creative responses of the group have led to a second-generation genre in literature. Those without their own memories have taken to writing fiction, memoirs, biographies of their own parents, plays, screenplays, poetry, and operas. The best-known is Art *Spiegelman's Pulitzer Prize-winning *Maus.* Thane Rosenbaum has written a trilogy of Holocaust-inspired fiction, *Elijah Visible, Second Hand Smoke*, and *The Golems of Gotham.* Other second generation novelists include Melvin Jules *Bukiet, Rochelle Krich, Nava Semel, and Lev Raphael. The art historian and museum director Jean Bloch Rosensaft has curated numerous exhibitions of art by children of survivors as well as an international traveling photo-exhibition about the displaced persons camp of Bergen-Belsen. Individuals have produced films about how their parents' lives influenced them, such as Steve Brandt's *Kaddish*, Angelica Lillenthal's *Dark Lullabies*, Eva Fogelman's *Breaking the Silence: The Generation after the Holocaust*, and Menachem Daum's *Hiding and Seeking*. Other filmmakers, such as Aviva Kempner, who made *Partisans of Vilna*, focused on the historical past.

In the late 1980s, Israel's leading rock singers Shlomo *Artzi (*Germany before the War* and *Romania*) and Yehudah *Poliker and Ya'akov Gilad (*Ashes and Dust*) began including lyrics of remembrance. Poliker, whose parents were survivors from Salonika, intersperses bazouki music into his repertory to connect to the pre-Holocaust culture of his family. Orna Ben Dor directed a documentary on the lives of Poliker and Gilad, *Because of That War.* At the start of the twenty-first century, the subject lives on, in many creative works in poetry, dance, theater (Yossi Hadar), film (Tzipi Trope), art (Mirit Cohen, Raphael Lomas), fiction (Nava Semel, Savyon *Liebrecht), museum exhibitions (Yitzhak Mais), and architecture (Daniel *Libeskind).

EARLY RESEARCH ON CHILDREN OF SURVIVORS. In 1966 Vivian Rakoff, a psychiatric resident in the screening clinic of Jewish General Hospital in Montreal, alerted his colleagues that 25 percent of the families seeking help in their department were Holocaust survivors. This number seemed out of proportion to their representation in Montreal.

Soon after, the *Montreal Star*, in a news story titled "Children of Survivors Are Delinquents," reported Rakoff's impressions of psychopathology among children of survivors. The mid-teenagers were found to manifest behavioral and other disturbances and inadequate coping skills.

Rakoff's first article described the problems of the adolescents whose parents brought them in for treatment. These clinical cases portrayed an extreme inability to cope. "It would be easier to believe that they, rather than their parents, had suffered the corrupting, searing hell," he wrote. The presenting symptoms were attempted suicide, severe phobias, migraines, chronic depression, and anger. Rakoff concluded: "With the accumulation of knowledge and the unfolding of the concentration camp experience through the damaged generations, one may fairly ask if indeed there were any survivors."

These findings evoked an intense and varied emotional reaction. Some seeking psychological treatment felt that they were finally being understood. Others were enraged at the clinicians, and attacked them for generalizing severe psychiatric symptomatology to the entire population. The critics of mental health professionals tended to disregard the empathetic reaction of the clinicians who observed patients in distress.

During the same period, Henry Krystal, a psychoanalyst and an Auschwitz survivor himself, organized several conferences for doctors, social-service providers, and German government officials on the aftereffects of "massive psychic trauma" for survivors of Nazi concentration camps and the nuclear disaster at Hiroshima. In the course of these deliberations, Krystal also became aware of the intense and unique family dynamics centered on the children of survivors. Krystal noted that there were no provisions in the German restitution laws for the rehabilitation and treatment of survivors' children. He observed that the survivors concentrated on their children as replacements for murdered children and relatives:

> …related to the subject of object-loss [of beloved relatives] is the yearning (hope) that the lost people would be restored magically. The most common expectation is that such love objects would return in the form of children… in such situations the children represent the new versions of parents, close relatives or offspring lost in the Holocaust.

While organizing his second conference, Krystal learned of the team of mental health professionals in Montreal and invited them to make presentations. Rakoff's colleague, John Sigal, spoke about the emotional problems of survivor families. Sigal explained that children in Holocaust survivor families suffer from parental deprivation. Although he too cautioned against generalizations, he announced plans for a more scientific study.

Sigal's findings were contradicted by a psychiatrist from Israel, Hillel Klein, who conducted a research project on Holocaust survivor families on a kibbutz in Israel after the Six-Day War. Klein maintained that survivors spent more quality time with their children than other parents, and that survivors' children resorted to a rich fantasy life that enhanced security and provided a cathartic relief from anxiety.

With the passage of time, and as new clinical and research findings were accumulating, the limits of the early work came into sharper focus. However, in much of the work there seemed to be a certain assumption that psychological damage *must* have been perpetrated upon the children. Critics point to this as the weakest aspect of the early work. As more children of survivors came forward to talk about their experiences, the interacting variables that must be considered became evident. They include:

(1) *The environments in which the children grew up.* Was there a larger community of survivors present? Was it a place that was hospitable to the parents' European culture? David Mittelberg argues that in those places where survivors constituted a significant portion of the community, e.g., Melbourne, they were likely to talk frequently of their experiences with their children and with other members of the community. Consequently there was not the "conspiracy of silence" of which many children of survivors speak. Ingrid Tauber studied how the identities were influenced by whether they grew up in communities with many other such children, communities in which they were isolated from their second-generation peers, or communities that were mixed. A more positive identity as children of survivors seemed to develop when such children had mixed with each other while growing up. Those who were isolated from other such children gravitated to other Jews to reduce their sense of alienation.

(2) *The ways in which the postwar society mediated the survivors' wartime experiences.* What was the prevailing attitude of the host culture towards immigrants in general and refugees in particular? Were they welcomed as in Israel or shunned as in the United States or Europe? (Even in Israel the welcome was mixed. They were embraced by the state and its population as "the saving remnant" but were implicitly condemned for not having fought back or for having "gone like sheep.")

(3) *The parents' prewar personalities.* Can it be determined to what degree the children's problems evolved from personality issues that were independent of the parents' wartime experiences?

(4) *The stage in the families' history when the children were born and the children's position in the families.* Were the children born immediately after the parents were liberated or when they were settled in their new lives? Were they the first or only children?

(5) *The parents' wartime experiences.* Were they in concentration camps, in hiding, or partisans? Did they escape before the war ended? Were they children, adolescents, young adults or adults during the war? Did they lose their entire families or did members of their nuclear families remain alive? Were both parents survivors? (Recent research has shown that in certain cases children whose parents escaped or were partisans have had a different experience from those who were in ghettos or camps. The former may have found it easier to have a more positive image of their parents, who can tell them what they did with pride.)

(6) *Stress of a new environment.* To what degree are the children's problems attributable to familial stress that resulted from the parents' being immigrants and having to adjust to a new and radically different society? The impact of adjustment on the host culture can be illustrated by examining some of the findings on survivors living in Israel. Hillel Klein concluded that survivors in Israel were better adjusted than those who came to the United States because the latter perceived themselves, at least initially, as strangers in a strange land. They

focused their energies on integrating themselves into a non-Jewish population. In contrast, in Israel survivors and their children could fight for their own country, release their aggression in a communal mode, and participate in state-sponsored commemorations. All of these provided them with the opportunity to work through some of their shame, anger, and fear. Survivors on kibbutzim had a particular pride in being part of a small community's achievements and at the same time identified with a new Jewish society.

The country in which the children of survivors grew up and reside as adults also has had an impact on their identity and relationship to the past. In different countries, societal barriers have either impeded or enhanced their personal ability to mourn. In Israel, because of the negative image of the survivors as weak Jews who went "to the slaughter like sheep," children of survivors tended to identify with the new Israeli image of vigor and strength, and remained in a stage of denial in their own mourning. Essentially, Israeli children of survivors had minimal information about family members who were murdered, and no details of their parents' lives. In 1978, when Eva Fogelman led the first group of children of Holocaust survivors at the Counseling Center of Hebrew University, attended mainly by foreigners, she was told by professional colleagues that she was bringing an American phenomenon to Israel; "second generation" members in Israel do not have any issues to confront. When Israeli novelist Nava Semel published *Glass Hat* (1985), a book of short stories on being a child of Holocaust survivors, newspapers were full of questions as to why being a son or daughter of survivors ought to be an issue.

It was not until the showing of Claude *Lanzmann's 1985 film *Shoah* and the 1987–88 *Demjanjuk trial (of an accused Ukrainian death camp guard) that full public dignity was restored to the survivors. Children of survivors were empowered to move from denial to confrontation of family history and losses. It was the *third* generation that began to ask questions of their parents, realized that they knew very little, and began asking their grandparents. Psychologically, the individual feels unable to undo the past, feels sadness, depression, rage, and guilt. Ultimately, these feelings need to be channeled into some constructive and meaningful activities to become a source of energy toward the future and not helpless toward the past that cannot be undone. In the late 1980s, Amcha, a social service agency for Holocaust survivors, was started in Israel.

Germany and Austria after the liberation did not provide a supportive environment for children of survivors. It was difficult to mourn the dead openly or to express rage at the persecutors who were still next-door neighbors and parents of schoolmates. Peter Sichrovsky, a journalist who has written about children of survivors in these countries, describes them as constantly waiting with a packed suitcase. In Western Europe, renewed fear of antisemitism caused similar feelings. In Eastern Europe many children of survivors grew up as children of Communists rather than children of Jewish Holocaust survivors. It would not be until *glasnost* in the U.S.S.R. and the Solidarity movement in Poland that confrontation with the past began and survivor families were able to grieve over the dead and embrace their true identities, and their links to a past that was destroyed.

In Sweden, children of survivors did not identify as children of survivors until 1991 when Hedi Fried, herself a survivor of Auschwitz and Bergen-Belsen, invited Eva Fogelman to start groups for children of survivors. At the first meeting 350 children of survivors, survivors, and the third generation showed up from Scandinavian countries. Many reported that it was the first time they had attended any Jewish gathering. Their parents had warned them to keep a low profile as Jews.

In Australia in the 1990s, children of survivors started groups, research projects, films, museums, and Holocaust education. George Halaz was a leading contributor to these projects.

In Western Europe, children of Holocaust survivors did not coalesce into a movement with a moral voice that spoke out on human rights issues, or fought antisemitism, hunted Nazi criminals, or helped other oppressed groups as they had in the United States. There are, however, individual artists, novelists, philosophers, filmmakers, and politicians who are active in their own spheres.

Despite the shortcomings, the initial research on children of survivors laid the foundation for subsequent studies and reformulation. Even though only small samples of clinical cases were used and generalized from, it called attention to the existence of a unique population whose childhood had been shaped by the legacy of the Holocaust. By virtue of its specific focus on pathologies it also illustrated the need for a more broadly based body of material, one that would delve into various aspects of the lives of children of survivors and into coping, adaptation, and resilience.

RESEARCH ON CHILDREN OF SURVIVORS: SECOND STAGE. What became clear from the early studies is that in order to understand the psychological effects of the Holocaust on subsequent generations, a different paradigm was needed. The concentration camp survivor syndrome identified by William Niederland and more recently referred to as post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) cannot be applied to children of survivors. Psychological research based on large control studies conducted in the United States and Israel indicates that children of Holocaust survivors are just as well adjusted emotionally as a comparative group of American Jews or Israelis of the same age whose parents did not live through the Holocaust. In other words, children of Holocaust survivors are not more depressed or anxious or paranoid than their peers. What has been found is that children of survivors may ruminate about sad topics more than others in their generation, and that in some separation from parents may take longer. The psychological process of separation-individuation also stirs up themes of death. These findings do not constitute a personality syndrome. A syndrome connotes disease or disorder, which being a child of survivors is not.

As for the majority of children of survivors whose psychological makeup is not replete with severe symptoms, a noteworthy explanation of their psyche is a "second generation survivor complex." It is a natural process in the development of children of survivors to identify with their parents as victims of massive persecution and loss, and simultaneously, as survivors of a historical catastrophe. Furthermore, children of survivors undergo a mourning process, knowingly or unknowingly, for people they never knew. Most children of survivors are named after someone who was killed in the Shoah. For some, becoming aware of their namesake evokes a flood of feelings that ultimately need to be transformed into positive meaning. Integrating the loss into their identity in a constructive, life-affirming way is the ultimate challenge.

Psychological problems in children of survivors are most frequent in those individuals who are stuck in the feeling stage of mourning. The symptoms that can develop are grief reactions: debilitating depression, anger that may become uncontrollable rage, survivor guilt that prevents enjoyment, lack of trust that interferes with the development of intimate relations, or failure to become independent from parents because separation is equated with death.

When children of survivors overidentify with the victimization and suffering of their parents they sometimes place themselves in situations in which they too will have to suffer and survive. For example, it has been found that children of survivors in the Israel Defense Forces have more often volunteered to serve in the front lines of combat. The research also showed that they did not recover as well from combat as other soldiers. This phenomenon, of living in the present and recreating situations of victimization and survival, has been called "transposition" by Judith Kestenberg. It is the result of unconscious intergenerational transmission of trauma: the past reality of a parent intrudes into the present psychological reality of the child. Interpreting this unconscious process for a child of survivors often facilitates an unburdening, over time, of his intense negative connections to the past.

Most of the psychoanalytic and clinical material reached conservative findings. The post-Holocaust generation had begun to make significant achievements and, researchers noted, it included "more often than not … professionally successful, intelligent, and caring individuals," people of "considerable achievements" among whom there were some "pathological enclaves" within "the mosaic of an otherwise synthetically operating ego." Moreover, in contrast to earlier work, investigators no longer assumed the inevitability of intergenerational transmission of pathology. There was a fairly widespread rejection of earlier stated assumptions that the price of survival for the parents was "deep rooted disturbances within the families they formed after liberation" (Harvey Barocas and Carol Barocas, "Manifestations of Concentration Camp Effect on the Second Generation," in: *American Journal of Psychiatry*, 130 (1973), 820–21).

Because there was a larger body of information and so many children of survivors had come forward to relate their experiences, it became clear that while vast numbers had achieved great intellectual, communal, and political success, a complex of related issues had played a role, to varying degrees, in the evolution of most of their identities, perceptions, attitudes, and relationships.

SEARCH FOR MEANING. The process of mourning that children of survivors undergo is an adaptive rather than a maladaptive mechanism. It culminates with an active transformation of feelings into activity ensuring continuity with the Jewish heritage, remembering those who were killed, and working towards preventing the recurrence of genocide. These goals have taken on many forms in the arts, education, politics, social action, law, historical research, and the helping professions. Raising consciousness about the Holocaust and genocide is the first goal of many of these efforts.

Doctoral dissertations on the impact of the Holocaust on the generations and how people cope with massive psychic trauma have been written by children of survivors. This body of work is being used to understand the survivors of more recent historical catastrophes. Some of their authors have been called on as consultants to those working with children whose parents survived genocide in Southeast Asia, Vietnamese "boat people," children of Japanese Americans who were interned during World War II, Native Americans, Armenians, and African Americans whose parents experienced lynchings.

Speaking up for moral causes, as Menachem Rosensaft and his International Network of Children of Jewish Holocaust Survivors have done, is a constructive way to channel feelings of mourning aroused in the members of the second generation. Although they did not experience direct loss, they still do mourn relatives who were murdered and for whom most of them are named. As Rosensaft has observed, "the sons and daughters of the survivors are unique in that although we did not experience the Holocaust, we have, thanks to our parents, a particular knowledge of and sensitivity to its significance and consequences." The mourning is also for the destroyed communities, roots, possessions, family heirlooms, and with it, a destroyed vibrant Jewish tradition and culture. For some children of survivors, the unfulfilled hopes and dreams of their parents and the dead are an inspiration to prevail and thrive. For others, it becomes a burden. The moral voices of the second generation are absorbed in a myriad of endeavors – from Jewish community leadership to dealing with domestic violence issues on a one-to-one basis. Such behavior has for many become the core of their being.

A special segment of their generation whose existence was hardly recognized in the 1960s has made a significant contribution to the societies in which they live. They have furthered the world's understanding that the impact of historical catastrophe such as this one is not confined to the single generation that experienced it directly. Their lives, diverse as they are, are one of the continuing legacies of the Holocaust.

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[Deborah E. Lipstadt / Eva Fogelman (2nd ed.)]

LESSONS

Singularity of the Holocaust

> Look about and see
> Is there any agony like mine
> Which was dealt out to me
> When the Lord afflicted me
> (Lamentations 1:12)

The question of the uniqueness of the Holocaust has been raised by those seeking to grapple with its theological implications. For the theologian Richard Rubenstein, the event was shattering, with implications for understanding of God, Israel, and Torah. And while the philosopher Emil *Fackenheim was unwilling to share Rubenstein's conclusions, theological or otherwise, they did fully share the belief that they had lived through an epochal event with the power to shape a new national and religious reality. The event of the Holocaust was so unique that it required a new theology, new perceptions of God and humanity. So too, there were scholars as diverse as Eliezer *Berkovits, who saw the Holocaust as raising issues that only God would resolve, Arthur A. *Cohen, who saw it as the *mysterium tremendum*, and Irving *Greenberg, who spoke of its revelatory power. Elie *Wiesel, the chronicler of the Holocaust, spoke of Sinai and Auschwitz, the former where all of Israel encountered God and the latter where again all of Israel encountered the anti-God and anti-man and heard the anti-revelation that shatters and that leaves a void. Even the Messianists in late twentieth and early twenty-first-century Judaism, whether in the form of *Chabad or *Gush Emunim, see the destruction of the Holocaust as so extraordinary as to constitute the anguish that precedes the redemption – *ḥevlei mashi'aḥ*.

Others were more hesitant and sought to downplay the theological significance and deny its uniqueness. In part, they were fearful of its shattering effect, and sought to mitigate it.

The notion of singularity has been part of public discourse in the United States since 1979, when the creation of the President's Commission on the Holocaust, led by Elie Wiesel, raised the question of who the victims of the Holocaust were. Was Jewish fate singular or should the proposed memorial to the Holocaust under federal sponsorship include other groups victimized by the Nazis during World War II and other genocides that preceded and followed it?

The debate was framed in the question of definition and of numbers. What was the Holocaust? For Wiesel, the Holocaust was the systematic murder of six million Jews – Jews and Jews alone. Simon *Wiesenthal had long been arguing that the definition must be broadened to include the five million non-Jews murdered by the Nazis, among them Soviet prisoners of war, Sinti and Roma (gypsies), German male homosexuals, Jehovah's Witnesses and political prisoners, and mentally retarded, physically handicapped, and emotionally disturbed Germans who were killed in the so-called euthanasia (T-4) program. The issue was further enjoined when Yehuda *Bauer challenged the definition offered by President Carter, who appointed the commission, which sought to universalize the Holocaust and by inference to dejudaize it. Bauer feared that the memorial as envisaged by the president (not the commission) would commemorate all the victims of the Nazis, Jews and non-Jews alike, and submerge the specific Jewish tragedy in the general sea of atrocities committed by the Nazi regime.

Facing pressure and division in the commission, Wiesel sought a poetic solution. He said, "While not all victims were Jews, all Jews were victims condemned to total annihilation." In the *Report to the President* of the President's Commission on the Holocaust, he personally made one change to the staff draft, suggesting a new definition: "The state-sponsored systematic destruction of the Jews by the Nazis and their collaborators during World War II; as night descended millions of others were swept up in its wake."

The definition served to affirm the primacy of Jewish victimization, its centrality in the Nazi plan of annihilation, and preserved in Wiesel's mind the uniqueness of Jewish victimization. The problem was that it was ahistorical, but Wiesel was aiming at a metaphysical understanding of what transpired. The problematic element was that the assault against other groups preceded the murder of the Jews. Concentration camps were created to incarcerate political prisoners; they were only later used in the "Final Solution to the Jewish problem." Gassing was used in the T-4 program, in which both mobile gas vans and stationary gas chambers were employed. Only when the T-4 program was formally halted did the gassing of Jews begin and the staff of the T-4 program, well trained in the art of killing, deployed to murder the Jews. Most Soviet prisoners of war (POWs) were killed before the killing of Jews began in earnest. The killing of the POWs was halted because of the German need for labor, just as the gassing of Jews began.

Wiesel's definition involved other problems. The number 5 million was created to give primacy to the Jews while including other victims of Nazism. If Wiesenthal intended to speak of non-Jewish civilian casualties, then the number 5 million was too small, and if he intended to refer to those who were killed in the Nazi apparatus of destruction that ensnared the Jews, then the number was too large. Clearly, he too was interested in a goal other than history; his aim was to give governments a stake in the persecution of Nazi war criminals by demonstrating that their people too were killed.

Others who wished to diminish the importance of the Holocaust in order to mitigate its most disturbing implications shared Wiesenthal's view. Thus, Ismar *Schorsch, then chancellor of the Jewish Theological Seminary, wished to avoid the problem of uniqueness altogether. He regarded it as both historically unproductive and politically counterproductive, for it "impedes dialogue and introduces issues that alienate potential allies from among other victims of organized depravity."

Israeli Prime Minister Menaḥem *Begin (1977–82) wished to abolish a special Yom ha-Shoah and incorporate it into the observance of Tishah be-Av (the Ninth of Av, the traditional Jewish day of sorrow and remembrance) because he wished to de-emphasize the idea of the Jew as victim.

The Holocaust historian Yehuda Bauer proposed that the uniqueness of the Holocaust resides in two central elements: the planned total annihilation of an entire community and the quasi-apocalyptic religious component, whereby the death of the Jews became an integral ingredient in the drama of German salvation. "To date," he said, "such an act has only been directed against the Jews."

The problem of how to walk the narrow path of emphasizing the singular fate of the Jews while including all of the Nazis' victims was resolved by turning toward history and away from some of the political, philosophical, and metaphysical questions.

In order to demonstrate the uniqueness of the Holocaust, all the victims of Nazism must be included; only by comparing and contrasting German policies toward each of the victim groups could one come to understand what was singular about the fate of the Jews. Within the Holocaust Memorial Museum, a simple practice is adhered to. All of the Nazis' victims are included and respected. At the center is the murder of European Jews – men, women, and children – killed not for the identity they affirmed or the religion they practiced but because of the "blood" of their grandparents. However, we cannot understand the evolution of either the concept of genocide or the technology that made it possible without addressing the victimization of people other than Jews. How the fate of each group compares and contrasts with the fate of the Jews illustrates what was singular about the Jewish fate. Gypsies were also killed in the Birkenau gas chambers in family units, men, women, and children. Yet their annihilation was not a central focus of Nazi ideology nor viewed as essential to the national salvation of the German people. Inbred, "pure-blooded" gypsies were often spared because they posed no threat to German blood, and in German-occupied territory their murder was not a priority and certainly not an obsession. Without the contrast we cannot understand the full nature of the German commitment to the Final Solution. No such Final Solution was proposed or implemented regarding the Sinti and Roma. Jehovah's Witnesses died as martyrs for their faith. Those who were willing to renounce their faith could leave the camps. Jews were victims, not martyrs. Even those who had embraced another religion, such as Sister Edith Stein, were murdered because of their Jewish blood. Homosexuals were incarcerated for reeducation or for punishment. Once their time was complete, or if they could perform with a woman, they could leave. Soviet prisoners of war who survived their first winter of 1941–42 were then exploited as useful labor rather than being sent to their deaths, or killed by the forced labor itself. For the Germans, the determination to kill all Jews meant that they were unwilling to become dependent on Jewish labor. What was unique about the Jewish fate was the depth of the German determination to kill the Jews; its relationship to German national salvation in Nazi ideology; the relentlessness with which the Germans pursued the killing, even to the detriment of the war effort; and the instrumentalities that were employed, including the death camps, where systematic murder took in a factory-like, assembly-line process.

The decision to include all victim groups while still emphasizing the singularity of the Jewish fate constituted a satisfactory policy at the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, as all victim groups felt included and honored and no survivor groups felt that the Holocaust had been dejudaized. This became the norm at Holocaust museums built both in the United States and elsewhere, including Yad Vashem in Jerusalem.

Coinciding with the opening of the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum was the philosopher Steven Katz's attempt to demonstrate the uniqueness of the Holocaust in his major work, *The Holocaust in Its Historical Context*. Katz placed the Holocaust in the context of the history of mass murder and what others call genocide. He compared the fate of the European Jews with the extermination of Native Americans, their death in large numbers by disease and their confinement to reservations; with the victimization by enslavement of Africans brought to America; with the Armenian genocide of 1915; as well as with the mass murder of other victim groups under Nazism. The murder of the Jews, Katz demonstrates, is unique because:

> The murder was the intention of German policy, not an inadvertent outcome of it. Most Native Americans died as a result of their lack of antibodies for diseases that the Europeans brought with them; this was not the goal of those settling the New World.
>
> The murder was total – men, women, and children, *all Jewish men, women, and children, everywhere*. By contrast, Armenians were killed in the eastern territories of Turkey; those in Istanbul faced persecution, not murder, while German policy toward the gypsies varied from place to place and was inconsistent in its enforcement.
>
> It was an end in itself, the very purpose of German policy, undertaken not for economic or territorial gains.
>
> It was the first priority of German policy.
>
> It was sustained. The policy was implemented over several years, only ending with the defeat of the Reich and the suicide of Hitler.

Katz cautions that he does not wish to compare suffering, to engage in what critics have termed the "Olympics of suffering." Suffering is personal, and to say that I suffer more than you is to exclude you and demean your experience, something Katz does not wish to do: "There is no way to quantify suffering," he says. He also stresses that the case for establishing the uniqueness of the Holocaust is not intended to be either moral or metaphysical. That is, it is *not the case* that the Holocaust is *more* evil than certain other events, or that God caused the destruction in some special way or for some particular purpose. Katz's work is controversial because he seems to suggest that the Holocaust is the only genocide, defining genocide by the criteria that he has established for the Holocaust, saying that because there was no mass murder equal to the Holocaust, there was no other genocide.

Some of Katz's critics are infuriated by all arguments of uniqueness, which they regard as belittling the suffering of others, demeaning the experience of others, or perpetuating Jewish particularism. The sociologist John Murray Cuddihy sees this as a masked expression of chosenness. Jews may no longer believe in chosenness by God, but they experienced chosenness by the anti-God and anti-man at Auschwitz. For some defenders of the uniqueness of the Holocaust, the metaphysical question is fundamental. They countenance no comparisons to the Holocaust. Yet comparisons are not equivalences. To compare is also to contrast, to show how things are similar and how they differ.

Recent scholarship on comparative genocide has skirted the issue, seeking to underscore what the cases share in common and not what distinguishes them in an effort to discern what can be done to identify early warning signs of genocide and find the means of prevention. For example, Gregory Stanton has identified eight stages of genocide, each stage representing a potential or actual problem and suggesting a strategy for prevention. They are:

1. Classification (us versus them) 2. Symbolization 3. Dehumanization 4. Organization (hate groups) 5. Polarization 6. Preparation (identification, expropriation, concentration, transportation) 7. Extermination 8. Denial

1. *Classification*: Stanton writes: "All cultures have categories to distinguish people into 'us and them' by ethnicity, race, religion, or nationality: German and Jew, Hutu and Tutsi. Bipolar societies that lack mixed categories are the most likely to have genocide."

The main preventive measure at this early stage is to develop universalistic institutions that transcend ethnic or racial divisions and preserve the unity of all people. They can be based on ideas as simple as the notion that all are created equal or in the image of God.

2. *Symbolization*: "We give names or other symbols to the classifications. We name people 'Jews' or 'Gypsies,' or distinguish them by colors or dress; and apply them to members of groups." Classification is universal, not necessarily but potentially genocidal. The danger is intensified when symbolization is combined with hatred. During the Holocaust, the imposition of the yellow star was a pristine example of symbolization. "Wear It with Pride" was designed to combat the negative effects of symbolization, or at least the internalization of the negative symbols by the victim group.

3. *Dehumanization*: "One group denies the humanity of the other group. Members of it are equated with animals, vermin, insects or diseases." The language of the Nazi universe was a means of dehumanization; so too what Terrence Des Pres, author of *The Survivor: An Anatomy of Life in the Death Camps*, called "excremental assault." When asked, Why did you dehumanize them if you were going to kill them anyway, the Commandant of Treblinka answered, "It made it easier." Dehumanization can be resisted by humanization and by the punishment of hate crimes and atrocities. One of the reasons most often given for rescue was the simple assertion that "he was a fellow human being."

4. *Organization*: "Genocide is always organized, usually by the state, though sometimes informally." Holocaust historian Raul Hilberg has detailed the German mastery of organization in the destruction of European Jews. Stanton advocates that membership in militias be outlawed, visas denied, and arms embargoes instituted.

5. *Polarization*: "Extremists drive the groups apart. Hate groups broadcast polarizing propaganda…. Extremist terrorism targets moderates, intimidating and silencing the center." What is required to combat this polarization is protection for the center and the assistance of human rights organizations.

6. *Identification*: "Victims are identified and separated out because of their ethnic or religious identity. Death lists are drawn up. Members of victim groups are forced to wear identifying symbols. They are often segregated into ghettos, forced into concentration camps, or confined to a famine-struck region and starved." This is a signal of potential genocide.

7. *Extermination*: Extermination "begins, and quickly becomes the mass killing legally called 'genocide.' It is 'extermination' to the killers because they do not believe their victims to be fully human. When it is sponsored by the state, the armed forces often work with militias to do the killing." It is at this stage that armed forces are needed to combat genocide. Anything less is to enable it to take place.

8. *Denial*: Denial "always follows a genocide. It is among the surest indicators of further genocidal massacres." Memory, documentation, and legal proceedings are the surest way to combat denial.

The human rights advocate Samantha Parker writes of *The Problem from Hell: America in the Age of Genocide*. She sees a common thread in inaction and indifference. Others find it fruitful to make comparisons and study differences in order to understand many forms of evil. Thus, Richard Rubenstein contrasts American slavery, in which African slaves were regarded as capital investments by their masters and thus at least minimally given the basic necessities with which to live and permitted – indeed encouraged – to procreate in order to produce additional assets, to the Nazi policy of the annihilation of the Jews, who were literally worked to death and considered a consumable raw material to be expended in the process of manufacture and recycled into the war economy.

These scholars are less concerned with differences than commonality and believe that the argument regarding uniqueness is less than fruitful for the common task of prevention.

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[Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

Jewish Faith after the Holocaust

INTRODUCTION. An essential dimension of the manifold experiences of the Jewish people throughout history has been that of personal and communal suffering. Martyrdom "for God's name" (*kiddush ha-Shem*) and martyrdom because of God's name are familiar features of Israel's enduring struggle to remain true to its faith, its destiny, and its God. As a consequence, Jews of every generation have been living witnesses to man's passionate inhumanity and to the inescapable presence of evil. Against this background and as an integral part of this somber tradition, Jews consoled themselves with many thoughtful reflections and responses, coped with the world's evil, interpreted the hostility and irrationality of their non-Jewish neighbors and, above all, vindicated the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. Through these responses the Jews gave expression to their deepest commitments and, more importantly, made it possible for Jews and Judaism to survive by making Jewish history and its inherent tragedy intelligible. All that transpired was given shape and meaning within the accepted parameters of the Jewish tradition.

In the current era the whole of past Jewish tradition and the religious responses it evoked have been called into question. Two events – the Holocaust and the emergence of the state of Israel – have radically altered all that has gone before. These two events have provoked many to ask whether the traditional Jewish reactions to tragedy and evil are still viable options or whether the faith of past generations must, at least, be called into judgment. What were once accepted as authentic postures for the person of faith in the face of calamity are no longer valid – now these postures need to be defended against vigorous charges that they are insensitive, inauthentic, and fail to face facts. More generally, there is a widespread recognition that to live as if unaffected by the cataclysmic and revolutionary import of contemporary Jewish history as worked out in the death camps of Europe and in the birth of the State of Israel is to be insensitive not only to the rhythm of history and to history's martyrs and saints but also, above all, to the God of Israel, who is primarily known and identified in and through that common historical environment in which God and humans meet and that defines both His reality for Jews and Jews' reality for Him.

Everything seems to have been altered by the Holocaust and the inestimable horror that it symbolizes to the survivors – and every Jew in the concreteness of his own life knows him- or herself to be a "survivor." Yet the inescapable irony of contemporary Jewish existence is that the "survivors" of the Holocaust, the heirs of Treblinka and Auschwitz, are also the heirs of the fighters of the Warsaw ghetto and the actual builders of the State of Israel. Jews are what they are because they have inherited and been formed by a unique contemporary experience; they inform the very essence of Jewish history and consciousness, both personal and communal. For Jews to understand themselves requires coming to some understanding of these events and their relationship to them, however fragmentary, limited, or personal this understanding may be.

Those who would enquire what it means to be a Jew today must ask not only, or even primarily, vague and unformed questions about Jewish identity and the relationship of Judaism and modernity and Judaism and secularity, but must articulate the much more precise and focused question through which all other dimensions of Jewish post-Holocaust identity are refracted and defined: "What does it mean to be a Jew after Auschwitz?" Auschwitz has become an inescapable datum for all Jewish accounts of the meaning and nature of the covenantal relation and God's relation to man. Likewise, those who seek substantial answers must also give due weight to the "miracle" that is the State of Israel. They must enquire whether God is speaking to the survivors through it, and if so, how. This means that while they may be awed by the very fact of its existence, they must interrogate the State's philosophical, theological, and, perhaps, messianic, implications. Alternatively, they must also consider the possibility that despite the human and even religious meaning of the return to and rebuilding of Israel, any attempt at theodicy in the face of the full horror of the *ḥurban* ("destruction") is impermissible; even more, it is blasphemy!

The full depravity of the Holocaust, once exposed in its tragic immensity, left Jewish thinkers numb, at least at first. Moreover, what energies they and world Jewry could marshal were more urgently needed to help the survivors, and in particular, to create a refuge in the State of Israel. The cry of the living demanded precedence over the sacred duty of remembering the dead. Jewish existence, not explanation, was the prerequisite obligation. It was just as well, for the horror and immediacy of it all had been too great to understand, too unbelievable to fashion into any coherent form, too seemingly impossible to allow of any meaning. Still more, who could speak with authority on Auschwitz? Of those who were there, few remained who were able to speak, and then even the survivors knew not what to say. Of those who were not there, could any speak without sacrilege and with justification? Could any even understand the issues involved? And yet, if not to explain but only to remember and to make others remember, Jewish thinkers had to begin to talk about the Holocaust. Once the conversation began it was clear that it could not stop, nor could the issues it forced into prominence be avoided, for what was being called into question was nothing less than the three historic coefficients of traditional Judaism: God, Torah and the people of Israel.

Out of the still nascent and still uncertain conversation on the Holocaust several general responses have emerged. They can be enumerated as follows:

(1) The Holocaust is like all other tragedies and merely raises again the question of theodicy and the problem of evil, but it does not significantly alter the problem or contribute anything new to it.

(2) The classical Jewish theological doctrine of *mipenei ḥata'einu* ("because of our sins we were punished"), which was evolved in the face of earlier national calamities, can also be applied to the Holocaust. According to this account, Israel was sinful and Auschwitz is her just retribution. This "explanation" has been advanced especially by rabbinic sages and theologians of a more traditional bent. The Ḥasidic (Satmar) Rebbe, Joel Teitlebaum, for example, puts this claim forward clearly and with certitude: "Sin is the cause of all suffering."

(3) The Holocaust is the ultimate in vicarious atonement. Israel is the "suffering servant" of Isaiah (ch. 53 ff.) – it suffers and atones for the sins of others. Some die so that others might be cleansed and live.

(4) The Holocaust is a modern *Akedah* (sacrifice of Isaac) – it is a test of faith.

(5) The Holocaust is an instance of the temporary "eclipse of God" – there are times when God is inexplicably absent from history or unaccountably chooses to turn His face away.

(6) The Holocaust is proof that "God is dead" – if there were a God, He would surely have prevented Auschwitz; if He did not, then He does not exist.

(7) The Holocaust is the maximization of human evil, the price mankind has to pay for human freedom. The Nazis were human beings, not gods; Auschwitz reflects ignominiously on humanity; it does not touch God's existence or perfection.

(8) The Holocaust is revelation: it issues a call for Jewish affirmation. From Auschwitz comes the command: Jews survive!

(9) The Holocaust is an inscrutable mystery; like all of God's ways it transcends human understanding and demands faith and silence.

These nine responses are usually used in various interrelated and interdependent combinations and explanatory accounts by those who try to grapple with the philosophical and theological issues raised by the Holocaust. These complex explanatory models recognize that no single response seems adequate for the variety of challenges and questions raised. Furthermore, it is clear that no one method of dealing with the issues, nor any specific response – no matter how perspicuous and authentic – has become the norm. Out of the ongoing debate, however, a number of thinkers have emerged as of particular importance. Each has his own perspective, arguments and aims, and each uses a provocative configuration of the above outlined responses.

RICHARD RUBENSTEIN (1924–). Richard Rubenstein reflects the times. Coming to the Hebrew Union College (Reform) seminary in 1942 and sharing its optimistic vision of man and its liberal ideal of human progress, he has been converted by the Holocaust to a Jewish "death of God" theology. His sensitivity to the reality of evil embodied by the death camps has forced him to call into question the very foundations of Judaism. "The one preeminent measure of the adequacy of all contemporary Jewish theology," Rubenstein writes, "is the seriousness with which it deals with this supreme problem (the Holocaust) of Jewish history." No one has taken the problem more seriously and no Jewish theologian has drawn more radical conclusions from it.

The theological problem raised by the Nazi extermination of Jews can be simply described: if God is the God of history and Israel is His chosen people, what responsibility does God bear for Auschwitz? Did God use the Nazis, as He used Assyria of old, as "the rod of His anger?" (Isaiah 10:5) If He did not, how could such a thing happen in the face of the living God? It is the ancient problem of evil to which men of faith have responded with countless theodicies; now it is raised with maximum vigor, clarity, and urgency. In Germany, in August 1961, Rubenstein was confronted by a well-meaning anti-Nazi Protestant clergyman, Dean Heinrich Grueber, with the declaration that God had indeed used the Nazis as the instrument of His will. This assertion shocked Rubenstein. It was, he tells us, "a theological point of no return." The consequences seemed clear and Rubenstein felt compelled to reject the presence of God at Auschwitz rather than believe that Hitler was God's instrument: "If I believed in God as the omnipotent author of the historical drama and Israel as His Chosen People, I had to accept Dean Grueber's conclusion that it was God's will that Hitler committed six million Jews to slaughter. I could not possibly believe in such a God nor could I believe in Israel as the chosen people of God after Auschwitz."

Rubenstein was thus driven to the same conclusion as that of the talmudic heretic Elisha ben Avuyah, "*Let din ve-let dayyan*" (There is neither Judgment nor Judge).

In Rubenstein's view the only honest response to the death camps is the rejection of God and the open recognition of the meaninglessness of existence. Life is neither planned nor purposeful, there is no divine will nor does the world reflect divine concern. The world is indifferent to men. People must now reject their illusions and recognize the existential truth that life is not intrinsically valuable, that the human condition reflects no transcendental purpose, that history reveals no providence. The theological account of Auschwitz that sees it as retribution, that re-echoes one side of the ancient theology of Judaism that Israel's suffering is "because of our sins," is to blaspheme against both God and man. What crime could Israel have committed, what sin could have been so great, as to justify such retribution? What God could have meted out such justice on His chosen ones? All such "rationalizations" of Auschwitz pale before its enormity, and for Rubenstein the only response that is worthy is the rejection of the entire

Jewish theological framework: there is no God and no covenant with Israel.

People must turn away from illusions and face their actual existential situation. Drawing heavily upon the atheistic existentialists, Rubenstein interprets this to mean that in the face of the world's nihilism people must assert value; in response to history's meaninglessness people must create and project meaning; against the objective fact that human life has no purpose people must subjectively, yet meaningfully, act as if there were purpose. All that people have are themselves and one another: Auschwitz has taught that life itself is the great value, there is no need to see it as valuable only because of its reflection of transcendental values or metahistorical meanings. What worth there will be, will be of our own creation. This radical thesis is not new, but it is new in a Jewish theological context.

Had Rubenstein merely asserted the denial of God his would not be a Jewish theology. What makes it Jewish are the implications he draws from his radical negation with respect to the people of Israel. It might be expected that the denial of God's covenantal relationship with Israel would entail the end of Judaism and so the end of the Jewish people. From the perspective of traditional Jewish theology, this would certainly be the case. Rubenstein, however, again inverts traditional logic and argues that with the death of God the existence of "peoplehood," of the community of Israel is all the more important. Now that there is nowhere else to turn for meaning, men need each other all the more to create meaning: "It is precisely because human existence is tragic, ultimately hopeless, and without meaning that we treasure our religious community." Though Judaism has to be "demythologized," i.e., it has to renounce its defining historic claim to a unique "chosen" status, at the same time it paradoxically gains heightened importance in the process. Now that God is dead, religious community is all the more important.

It is precisely the ultimate hopelessness and gratuity of our human situation which calls forth our strongest need for religious community. If all we have is one another, then assuredly we need one another more than ever.

The Jew after Auschwitz, despite his having now transcended the mythic structure of historic Jewish experience, is still a Jew and as such carries within him the "shared vicissitudes of history, culture and psychological perspective" that define a Jew. Like all people, Jews are rooted in concrete life situations. For the Jew, Rubenstein argues, only Jewish experience can be authentic. It is in the traditional forms of life that Jews best express all our aspirations and ideals, and participate in a "community of shared predicament and ultimate concern."

Rubenstein sees the renewal of Zion, and the rebuilding of the land with its return to the soil by the Jew, as a harbinger of this return to nature on the part of the Jew who has been removed from the soil (symbolic of nature) by theology and necessity for almost two thousand years. The return to the earth points towards the final escape of the Jew from the negativity of history to the vitality and promise of self-liberation through nature.

Rubenstein puts forward a program for Jewish renewal and spiritual re-integration. Among the aims of this program is the eradication of those elements that create the explosive mix that produces a Holocaust. One of the most significant lessons, to be drawn from the demythologization of Jewish history and its rejection of history in favor of nature, is its overcoming of the root cause of antisemitism. Rubenstein argues that antisemitism is a product of the mythic structures of Jewish and Christian theology. The contributing Jewish myth is its claim to be a "chosen people." This created a "specialness" about Jews, which has been disastrous. The contributing Christian myth was predicated on its acceptance of the antecedent Jewish one – the church accepted the "chosenness of Israel" and was therefore able to see it only in theological terms; paradoxically it saw Israel as providing "both the incarnate Deity and His murderers." The most potent of all Christian myths – the Crucifixion – is indissolubly linked to the deicidal activity of the "chosen people" – the Jews. Wherever the Christian story is retold, a powerful antisemitic seed is planted. In order, therefore, to put an end to antisemitism once and for all, it is necessary for the Jew to renounce his mythic self-image as a "chosen people" so that his relation to his Christian neighbors may be normalized and the Christians will be able to see him in the same light as he sees others. This process needs to be paralleled in Christianity; it too has to correspondingly "demythologize" its image of the Jews. Yet to do this is to its rupture historic incarnational theology and its claims of Jesus as the promised Christ coming out of the body of historic Israel. This is to ask a great deal of Christianity but, Rubenstein argues, unless it occurs there will be future tragedy.

Rubenstein, in *After Auschwitz*, has given us a powerful image of what it means to draw the extreme conclusion from Auschwitz: "God is dead."

EMIL FACKENHEIM (1916–2003). No philosopher or theologian wrote as extensively or as with as much feeling about the Holocaust as did Emil Fackenheim. Having experienced life in a camp – albeit before World War II, before the Final Solution – Fackenheim, seemingly out of a sense of compulsion, tried to grapple with the overwhelming events of the death camps in order to draw some meaning for post-Holocaust Jewry. In a series of essays, and especially and most clearly in his *God's Presence in History* (1970), Fackenheim tried to find a way to avoid both the absolute faith of the pious who do not see any special problem in the Holocaust and those like Rubenstein who argue that the only reasonable conclusion to be drawn from Auschwitz is the death of God and the ultimate absurdity of history. If the former alternative blasphemes against Hitler's victims, the latter blasphemes against the God of the victims. Both victims and God have to be held together in dialectical tension after Auschwitz; neither can be devalued without resulting distortion and loss of truth.

To keep God and Israel together is the demand of Jewish theology and it is still an imperative after the Holocaust: the problem is how it is to be effected. If Rubenstein's solution of Jewish communal existence without the God of historic Judaism is no answer, then what is the answer? Fackenheim is adamant in his refusal to allow any theological explanation of the Holocaust. In no sense, he argues, can any particular theodicy be propounded in which God's goodness can be vindicated and Auschwitz seen as part of a rational cosmic pattern whose interpretation can be understood by man. In this sense the Holocaust is devoid of explanation and meaning. Thus, like Rubenstein, he totally rejects any account that interprets Auschwitz in terms of *mipenei ḥata'einu* – "because of our sins." For Fackenheim, the enormity of the tragedy transcends all the classical explanations of suffering and evil. In his staunch rejection of explanations Fackenheim resembles Rubenstein, and like him he realizes that that which is called into question is nothing less than the God of history Himself.

Yet despite the implications, despite the absolute failure of theodicy, despite the seeming absurdity, Fackenheim calls on Jews to believe. Rubenstein becomes an atheist because he cannot and will not accept God as in any sense the author of Auschwitz. Fackenheim insists that this is what we must do. It is the presence of God in contemporary Jewish history, even at Auschwitz, that Fackenheim would have us find. Fackenheim insists that we do not and cannot understand what God was doing at Auschwitz, nor why He allowed Auschwitz, but we must and do insist that He was there. For Fackenheim, unlike Rubenstein, the Holocaust does not prove that God is dead. Boldly he claims that from Auschwitz as from Sinai God addresses Israel.

How does this voice address Israel and what does it say? In order to fully understand Fackenheim's views, one has to turn away from his direct writings on the Holocaust and come to an understanding of his theological position in general. In his own biographical odyssey he moved slowly but perceptibly from a liberal to a neo-orthodox understanding of Judaism. Caught in and affected by the Nazi onslaught, Fackenheim, like most of his generation, felt the need to reappraise the nature and status of Judaism. In this re-appraisal, the generally held liberal position, with its belief in the perfectability of man, and the translation of the commanding God of the Bible into a moral Ideal, was seen to be untrue to Judaism's deepest insights and superficial in its analysis of the human situation.

Judaism is not Deism or moral Idealism; it has its foundation and its continuance in the meeting with the Living God of the Bible, who is continually present in history. For Fackenheim, Judaism can be understood only as the dynamic response to the present address of the Divine. Fackenheim's espousal of this existential supernaturalism, with its central emphasis on the reality of God and His incursion into history, which calls man to deeds, is deeply indebted to the influence of Martin Buber and Franz Rosenzweig. It was they who had "sought nothing less than a modern presence of the ancient God." In working out the implications of this rediscovered supernaturalism, Fackenheim has been especially influenced by Buber's dialogical philosophy of "I and Thou." Fackenheim accepts the Buberian doctrine of the I-Thou encounter as the proper model for Jewish openness to the reality of the living God. He begins with the presumption that God exists. God cannot be proven but He can (and must) be met. Only from within the circle of faith can one "hear" the Divine and respond. Like Buber, Fackenheim insists that God reveals Himself in history through personal encounters with Jews and Israel. Revelation, understood as the encounter of God and man, happens everywhere and at all times. Yet the experience cannot be verified by any objective criteria, it cannot show itself decisively to those who would not hear the voice. The I-Thou encounter has its own rhythm, and any attempt to force it into improper ("I-It," to use Buber's terminology) categories destroys its character and silences its message. The Fackenheim who hears a "commanding voice from Auschwitz" is the Fackenheim who stands within the covenantal affirmation.

Buber applies his concept of revelation to Israel's history and sees God's address in the overwhelming events of Israel's life. Building upon Buber's view, Fackenheim develops his own account of Jewish history. For him, Jewish history is a series of overwhelming events, but not all the events are of the same character. The most powerful events, such as those connected with the Exodus from Egypt and the giving of the Torah at Sinai, actually created the religious identity of the Jewish people. These creative extraordinary historical happenings Fackenheim calls "root experiences." Root experiences are historical events of such a formative character that they continue to influence all future "presents" of the people and they are of such power that these past events legislate for every future era. In addition, root experiences are public, historical events. They belong to the history of the people and continue to claim the allegiance of the people. Thus, for example, the miracle at the Red Sea is a historical event that is reenacted at every Passover *seder* and whose power affects each subsequent generation; it continually reveals the saving activity of God to each age. Lastly, and most importantly, root experiences provide the accessibility of divine presence in the here and now; past events are lived through as present reality and thus the Jew is "assured that the saving God of the past saves still."

Not all the great events in Israel's history, however, meet these criteria. There is a second category of events whose function is different. Fackenheim calls these events "epoch-making events." These are events that are not formative; they do not create the essentials of Jewish faith, but rather they are historical experiences that challenge the root experiences through new situations, that test the resiliency and generality of root experiences to answer to new and unprecedented historical conditions and realities. For example, the destruction of the First and Second Temples severely tested whether or not the commanding and saving presence of God could be maintained. The sages of the talmudic era, who lived through the destruction of the Second Temple, and the prophets who lived through the first, were able to respond to these crisis situations with both realism and faith in the root experiences of Israel. Jeremiah sees Nebuchadnezzar as the instrument of God's purpose (Jer. 43:10) and the talmudic sages saw the Second Temple's destruction and subsequent Exile as nothing less than God's own exile with His people, thus allowing for the dispersion and yet holding fast to God's presence in all history at all times and places. And such a God, present in all history, would redeem Israel in the future as He had in the past. This faith was severely tested by experience, but a way – admittedly fragmentary and contradictory – was found to hold both together.

In other times and other places the root experiences have again and again been tested. Indeed the history of Israel in the diaspora from one culture to another, from one era to another, is a series of epochmaking events that try again and again the foundations of Jewish faith in the God of history. Yet, through it all, the midrashic framework has held fast: God and history are not divorced; Israel and God are not torn asunder. Each trial brings new strength and new affirmation of the saving and commanding God first revealed at the Red Sea and Sinai. But what of Auschwitz? Can it, too, be assimilated to the traditional pattern of midrashic response? Is Auschwitz another testing, another epochal event; or more drastically, is it perhaps a root experience that is formative for Jewish faith but in an ultimately negative and destructive sense? Fackenheim argues that Auschwitz is an epochmaking event in Jewish history that calls into question the historical presence of God in a uniquely powerful way. And yet he argues that the Jew must still affirm the continued existence of God in Jewish history – even at Auschwitz – and must reaffirm the present reality of the people's root experience of a commanding God (of Sinai), now commanding Israel from within the Holocaust itself. This radical reply to the unprecedented crisis of faith is Fackenheim's response to Auschwitz. The Jew cannot, dare not, must not, reject God: Auschwitz is revelation. In the gas chambers and crematoria Jews must, do, experience God. Fackenheim dares to make a religious affirmation of what drives others to atheism or silence. Like Job, he gives expression to a great faith: "Though he slay me, yet shall I trust in Him" (Job 13:15).

The commanding Word that Fackenheim hears from Auschwitz is: "Jews are forbidden to hand Hitler posthumous victories"; Jews are under a sacred obligation to survive. After Auschwitz Jewish existence itself is a holy act; Jews are under a sacred obligation to remember the martyrs; Jews are, as Jews, forbidden to despair of redemption, or to become cynical about the world and man, for to submit to cynicism is to abdicate responsibility for the world and to deliver the world into the hands of the forces of Auschwitz. And above all, Jews are "forbidden to despair of the God of Israel, lest Judaism perish." Hitler's demonic passion was to eradicate Jews and Judaism from history; for the Jew to despair of the God of Israel as a result of Hitler's monstrous actions would be, ironically, to do Hitler's work and to aid in the accomplishment of his goal. The voice that speaks from Auschwitz above all demands that Hitler win no posthumous victories, that no Jew do what Hitler could not do. The Jewish will for survival is natural enough, but Fackenheim invests it with transcendental significance. Precisely because others would eradicate Jews from the earth, Jews are commanded to resist annihilation. Paradoxically, Hitler makes Judaism after Auschwitz a necessity. To say "no" to Hitler is to say "yes" to the commanding voice of the God of Sinai; to say "no" to the God of Sinai is to say "yes" to Hitler.

From Fackenheim's perspective, every Jew who has remained a Jew since 1945 has responded affirmatively to the commanding voice of Auschwitz.

But the God of biblical faith is not only a commanding God; he is also a saving God. The crossing of the Red Sea is as much a part of Jewish history as is the revelation at Sinai: both are root experiences. Fackenheim is sensitive to this. He has made much of the commanding voice of Auschwitz, but where is the saving God of the Exodus? Without the crossing of the Red Sea there can be no Sinai. Fackenheim knows this. He also knows that to talk of a saving God, no matter how softly, no matter how tentatively, after the Holocaust is problematical when God did not work His salvation there and then. Even to whisper about salvation after Auschwitz is already to speak as a man of faith, not as a seeker, and even then one can only whisper. The continued existence of the people of Israel however, and most specifically, the establishment and maintenance of the State of Israel, forces and encourages Fackenheim to risk speaking of hope and the possibility of redemption. Auschwitz and the State of Israel are inseparably tied together; what the former seems to deny, the latter, at least tentatively, affirms. For Fackenheim, the State of Israel is living testimony to God's continued saving presence in history, and through it the modern Jew witnesses a reaffirmation of the root experience of salvation essential to the survival of Jewish faith.

IRVING (YITZ) GREENBERG (1933–). Another contemporary thinker who has urged continued belief in the God of Israel, though on new terms, is Irving (Yitz) Greenberg. For Greenberg, all the old truths and certainties, all the old commitments and obligations, have been destroyed by the Holocaust. Moreover, any simple faith is now impossible. The Holocaust ends the old era of Jewish covenantal existence and ushers in a new and different one. Greenberg explains his radical view in this way. There are three major periods in the covenantal history of Israel. The first is the biblical era. What characterizes this first stage is the asymmetry of the relationship between God and Israel. The biblical encounter may be a covenant but it is clearly a covenant in which "God is the initiator, the senior partner, who punishes, rewards and enforces the punishment if the Jews slacken." This type of understanding of the relationship between God and Israel is evidenced in the crisis engendered by the destruction of Solomon's Temple in 586 B.C.E. To this tragedy Israel, through the biblical prophets, and in keeping with the "logic" of this position, responded primarily by falling back on the doctrine of self-chastisement: the destruction of the Temple and the consequent exile of the nation were divine punishments for Israel's sinful ways.

The second phase in the transformation of the covenant idea is marked by the destruction of the Second Temple by Rome in 70 C.E. The meaning adduced from this event by the rabbinical sages of the era was that now Jews must take a more equal role in the covenant and become true partners with the Almighty. "The manifest divine presence and activity was being reduced, but the covenant was actually being renewed." The destruction of 70 C.E. signaled the initiation of an age in which God would be less manifest though still present.

This brings us to what is decisive and radical in Greenberg's ruminations, what he has termed (in his book of the same title) the "Third Great Cycle in Jewish History," which has come about as a consequence of the Holocaust. The Shoah marks a new era in which the Sinaitic covenantal relationship has been shattered and thus a new and unprecedented form of covenantal relationship – if there is to be any covenantal relationship at all – must now come into being to take its place. "In retrospect, it is now clear that the divine assignment to the Jews was untenable. After the Holocaust, it is obvious that this role opened the Jews to a total murderous fury from which there was no escape. Morally speaking then, God can have no claims on the Jews by dint of the Covenant." What this means, Greenberg argues, is that the Covenant "can no longer be commanded and subject to a serious external enforcement. It cannot be commanded because morally speaking – covenantally speaking – one cannot order another to step forward to die. One can give an order like this to an enemy, but in a moral relationship I cannot demand the giving up of one's life. I can ask for it or plead for it – but I cannot order it."

Out of this complex of considerations Greenberg pronounces the fateful judgment: the Jewish Covenant with God is now voluntary. Jews have, quite miraculously, chosen to continue to live Jewish lives and collectively to build a Jewish state, the ultimate symbol of Jewish continuity, but these acts are, after Auschwitz, the result of the free choice of the Jewish people. "I submit," writes Greenberg, "that the covenant was broken. God was in no position to command anymore, but the Jewish people was so in love with the dream of redemption that it volunteered to carry on with its mission." The consequence of this voluntary action transforms the existing covenantal order. First Israel was a junior partner, then an equal partner. Finally, after Auschwitz, it becomes "the senior partner in action."

In turn, Israel's voluntary acceptance of the covenant and continued will to survive suggest three corollaries. First, it points, if obliquely, to the continued existence of the God of Israel. By creating the State of Israel, by having Jewish children, the Jewish people show that "covenantal hope is not in vain." Second, and very important, in an age of voluntarism rather than coercion, living Jewishly under the covenant can no longer be interpreted monolithically, i.e., only in strict *halachic* (traditional rabbinic) fashion. Third, any aspect of religious behavior that demeans the image of the divine or of people, for example prejudice, sexism, and oppression of all sorts, must be purged.

ARTHUR A. COHEN (1928–1986), HANS JONAS (1903–1993), AND MELISSA RAPHAEL. An influential school known as "process theology" in modern theological circles, inspired by the work of Alfred North Whitehead and Charles Hartshorne, has argued that the classical understanding of God has to be dramatically revised – not least in terms of our conception of His power and direct, causal, involvement in human affairs – if we are to construct a coherent theological position. According to those who advance this thesis, including a number of contemporary Jewish theologians, God certainly exists but the old-new difficulties raised by the problem of theodicy for classical theistic positions arise precisely because of an inadequate "description" of the Divine, i.e., one that misascribes to Him attributes of omnipotence and omniscience that He does not possess.

The best known Jewish theologian to adopt this position is Arthur A. Cohen, who, in his *The Tremendum: A Theological Interpretation of the Holocaust*, has advanced the fullest, most detailed version of this redefinitional strategy as the appropriate way to respond to the theological challenges posed by the Holocaust. After arguing for the enormity of the Shoah, i.e., its uniqueness and its transcendence of any "meaning," Cohen suggested that the way out of the theological dilemma posed by the death camps for classical Jewish thought is to rethink whether "national catastrophes are compatible with our traditional notions of a beneficent and providential God."

For Cohen the answer is that they are not. Against the traditional view that asks, given its understanding of God's action in history, "How could it be that God witnessed the Holocaust and remained silent?" Cohen would pose the contrary "dipolar" thesis that "what is taken as God's speech is really always man's hearing, that God is not the strategist of our particularities or of our historical condition, but rather the mystery of our futurity, always our posse, never our acts." This means that, "if we begin to see God less as an interferer whose insertion is welcome (when it accords with our needs) and more as the immensity whose reality is our prefiguration … we shall have won a sense of God whom we may love and honor, but whom we no longer fear and from whom we no longer demand." This new description of God, which denies that God is a direct causal agent in human affairs, coupled with a form of the "free will defense," appears to resolve much of the theological tension created by the *Tremendum* (though it also creates new theological problems in place of older ones).

A second Jewish thinker of prominence to advocate a theological redefinition of the concept of God is Hans Jonas. In contradistinction to classical theological claims that the Divine is perfect and unchanging, Jonas emphasizes both that God suffers along with humankind and that through His relation with men and women He "becomes." That is, "The relation of God to the world from the moment of creation, and certainly from the creation of human beings onward, involves suffering on the part of God." And, at the same time, "God emerges in time instead of possessing a completed being that remains identical with itself throughout eternity." God has been altered by – "temporalized" by – His relationship with others and, in the process, has become open to human suffering that causes Him to suffer and to care. Moreover, insofar as God is not omnipotent, Jonas contends in *The Concept of God after Auschwitz* that human action is required to perfect the world. "God has no more to give: It is man's now to give to him." A third redefinition of God has been advanced by Melissa Raphael. In an intriguing argument, Raphael suggests that during and after the Holocaust the correct way to decipher the action of the Divine is through the model of "God as Mother" rather than through the inherited traditional idea of "God as Father." The patriarchal notion of God as almighty and omniscient is simply incompatible with what happened in the death camps. Yet, faced with this jarring fact one need not give up belief in God altogether. Rather, one should refashion one's understanding of God in the image of a caring, suffering, loving – but not omnipotent – mother. Calling into use the traditional rabbinic notion of God's presence in the world as being associated with feminine attributes – known among the rabbis and Jewish mystics as the *Shekhinah* – Raphael advances the proposal that we should continue to believe in a God who "all the while secretly sustains the world by Her care," as she states in *The Female Face of God in Auschwitz.*

IGNAZ MAYBAUM (1897–1976). Ignaz Maybaum, a distinguished Reform rabbi of German origin, long resident in England, seeks the meaning of the Holocaust from within the traditional Jewish responses to suffering. For him, unlike Rubenstein or Fackenheim, Auschwitz is not a unique event in Jewish history but a reappearance of a classic and sanctified event. A disciple of Franz *Rosenzweig, Maybaum affirms the dynamic relationship of God and Israel. He believes in the reality of the transcendent God of the Bible and the movement of this God into covenantal relation with Israel. Israel is unique among the nations and its history bears witness to its uniqueness. Its historical experience bears witness to its God and His purpose and reveals a pattern into which the Holocaust fits.

The pattern of Jewish history is one in which Israel's role is to be a nation among other nations and in which it is non-Jews who are the prime movers of events. Israel's destiny is not isolated from its historical interdependence with the nations of the world and its covenantal purpose is only revealed in and through this intercourse. From its very beginnings in the Exodus-Sinai events, Israel's history is played out in relation to other peoples, first Egypt, then later Assyria, Babylonia, Rome, the empires of Christendom, and Islam. Therefore the categories of Jewish history have to be categories intelligible to non-Jews. Emil Fackenheim introduces two categories to explain the structure of Jewish historic experience, "root experiences" and "epochmaking events," in the latter of which he places such events as the destruction of the First and Second Temples. Maybaum, conscious of Israel's relation to the gentiles, goes one step further in his analysis of Jewish history. He subdivides what Fackenheim calls "epochmaking events" into two classes, that of *ḥurban* and that of *gezerah*. *Ḥurban* ("destruction") are events, like the destruction of the First and Second Temples, which "make an end to an old era and create a new era." *Gezerah* ("evil decree"; plural *gezerot*) are those events, such as the expulsion from Spain in 1492 and the Chmielnicki massacres in seventeenth-century Poland, which, although cataclysmic, do not usher in a new era. According to this classification, Maybaum sees the Holocaust as a *ḥurban*, i.e., an event that signals the end of one era and the beginning of another in Jewish and world history. Moreover a *gezerah* can be averted. As has been said for generations on the Day of Atonement: *Teshuvah u-Tefillah u-Ẓedakah ma'avirin et ro'a ha-gezerah* ("penitence, prayer, and charity avert the evil decree"). A *ḥurban*, however, cannot be averted; its meaning goes beyond the parameters of Israel's own history, affects world history, and most importantly, is an intervention of God in history, which is irreversible.

Maybaum goes further still in explicating the meaning of *ḥurban* – *ḥurban* implies progress. There is positive value in destruction. Auschwitz as *ḥurban* has world historical significance in humanity's striving for advancement. In Jewish history the term *ḥurban* has been applied twice previously, the first time to the destruction of Solomon's Temple (586 B.C.E.) and then again to the destruction of the Second Temple (70 C.E.). In each case Maybaum sees the advancement of humanity as a result of the catastrophe. The first destruction created the Jewish diaspora, and through the diaspora Judaism went out among the other nations to spread God's word and do God's work: this was progress. The destruction of the Second Temple saw the establishment of the synagogue, and in the synagogue the world saw a form of religious piety in which no sacrifices were performed, no blood was shed, and religious life was "elevated" to a higher spiritual level than hitherto. The Holocaust is the third *ḥurban* and, like the earlier two, Maybaum sees it as helping in human advancement: it is the medium of spiritual development.

To understand Maybaum's view, one added feature of his perspective needs sharper focus. The historical inter-relation of Israel among the nations, in which the prime movers of the historical order are the non-Jews, requires that Judaism conform to non-Jewish motifs in order to make its presence felt as God's agent among the gentiles. With a profound insight into the relative worldviews of Judaism and Christianity, Maybaum argues that for Judaism the central motif is the *Akedah* (the sacrifice of Isaac [Gen. 22]), whereas for Christianity the central motif is the enormously powerful image of the Crucifixion. The *Akedah* is a sacrifice that never happened. Isaac can grow to maturity, marry, have children, die normally. According to Maybaum there is no heroic tragedy in the *Akedah*;

its message is that there can be progress without martyrdom and without death. Alternatively, the Crucifixion is a sacrifice that did happen. Jesus' life is foreshortened, he cannot marry, have children, die normally. Here is the stuff of heroic tragedy. Its message is that martyrdom is required that others may live, vicarious death is needed so that the world may go forward. "The cross contradicts the *Akedah*: Isaac is sacrificed." As Maybaum understands it, the message of the Crucifixion is: "somebody had to die that others may live." With the Crucifixion as its model of divine activity in history the Christian world is unable to grasp the higher religious meaning of the *Akedah*. Tragic as this may be, for Judaism to speak to Christians it must speak in a language they understand – the language of the cross. Thus the modern Jew collectively, as the single Jew of two millennia ago, must mount the cross (undergo persecution, suffering and death) in order to arouse the conscience of the gentile world.

So powerful is the hold of the image of the Crucifixion on Western consciousness that progress can be made only when framed in terms that can be assimilated to this pattern. The third *ḥurban* (the Holocaust), like the earlier two, is a divine event that is meant to bring about humanity's advancement. It is framed in the shape of Auschwitz, an overwhelming reliving by the entire Jewish people of the Crucifixion of one Jew, in order that it might be able to address the deepest sensitivities of modern Christian civilization: "In Auschwitz Jews suffered vicarious atonement for the sins of mankind." Pushing this interpretation of Jewish history to the utmost, Maybaum writes:

> The Golgotha of modern mankind is Auschwitz. The cross, the Roman gallows, was replaced by the gas chamber. The gentiles, it seems, must first be terrified by the blood of the sacrificed scapegoat to have the mercy of God revealed to them and become converted, become baptized gentiles, become Christians.

Crucially important to Maybaum's entire schemata is his contention that *ḥurban* means both destruction and progress. What progress then comes through Auschwitz? Since Nazism, has civilization not seen the Congo, Biafra, Vietnam, Cambodia, Rwanda and other such slaughters? Has the state of Israel not been involved in wars? Maybaum's conception of progress very much reflects his perspective as a Reform Jew. He is aware that Hitler's defeat was not the defeat of all evil, but he does see the destruction of Nazism as the final destruction of the remnants of the medieval period in human history. Though the medieval period seems to have been long transcended as an historical epoch, Maybaum sees Nazism as the final manifestation of the medieval world view, and the cataclysmic event of the Holocaust – *ḥurban* – as the means whereby the world moved with finality from medievalism to modernity. This movement from past to present is symbolized in the destruction of East European Jewry, for it was they who still lived according to the pattern of medieval Jewry, i.e., centered in ghettos, cut off from their neighbors, focusing all activity within a strict *halakhic* framework. Their destruction in the Holocaust represents the passing of the medieval historic time that generated this pattern of Jewish existence. As a Reform Jew who still shares the optimistic vision of classical Reform, and its unflattering opinion of traditional Jewish observance, Maybaum is able to interpret the end of the shtetl and the destruction of East European Jewry, even if by means of a Hitler, as progress. After Auschwitz, world Jewry lives almost exclusively in modern Western cultures – America, Israel, Western Europe, and Russia – to Maybaum, this is progress. In these cultures the Jew is free from the *halakhah*, and free to engage the possibilities open to him through Enlightenment and political emancipation. Repeating the humanistic version of messianism espoused by classical Reform, with its belief in progress and humanity's perfectibility, Maybaum invests the post-Holocaust era with at least the veneer of messianic redemption: "The Jewish people is, here and now, mankind at its goal. We have arrived. We are the first fruits of God's harvest." One cannot but hear in Maybaum's enthusiasm for the post-Holocaust era an echo of the hope that nineteenth-century Reform Jews expressed as the original promise of emancipation – despite what separates him from them.

In the Christian world, the transcendence of medievalism is manifested in the new ecumenicism of the Catholic Church, most clearly expressed in the spirit of Vatican II, which recognized the spiritual legitimacy of other religious traditions and removed from its liturgy and teaching such "medieval" elements as the "*perfidiis Judaeis*" ("perfidious Jew") phrase from its Easter rite. As the playwright Rolf Hochhuth, in his play *The Deputy*, noted: "The SS were the Dominicans of the technical age," and the Fuehrer principle was a Nazi version of papal infallibility; indeed, the entire tragedy of the Holocaust was the medieval Inquisition repeated in modern dress. All these are elements of a best-forgotten Middle Ages. After Auschwitz, both Jew and Christian can go beyond the historic postures of their medieval period through progressive reform more suitable to a post-Holocaust future. Auschwitz makes possible the transcendence of the medieval church and the medieval ghetto.

Maybaum, like Rubenstein and Fackenheim, is sensitive to the essential issue of God's presence in history as raised by the Holocaust. Like Fackenheim, Maybaum is a man of faith, but more than Fackenheim and more than almost all other Jewish thinkers, he is willing to draw the conclusion that others will not: Hitler is God's agent. Maybaum follows the logic of his commitment to God's presence in history further and more radically than do the others. Outrageous as this entailment appears, to credit God with being the all-powerful God of history seems logically to require seeing God as the agent behind Auschwitz, who works His will through Auschwitz. Though others who would find God in history, even at Auschwitz, recoil from this final attribution, Maybaum does not. As the prophet Jeremiah saw Nebuchadnezzar, the destroyer of Jerusalem, as the "servant of God," so Maybaum consciously parallels Jeremiah's phrase and gives expression to the awful paradox: "Hitler, My servant!" Maybaum does not shy away from the full meaning of this expression: "Hitler was an instrument… God used this instrument to cleanse, to purify, to punish a sinful world; the six million Jews, they died an innocent death; they died because of the sins of others."

Calling upon Isaiah's image of "the remnant, which will return," the *she'ar yashuv*, Maybaum affirms that though one third of world Jewry was destroyed in the death camps, two thirds survived, and this salvation is a miracle no less great than that at the Red Sea; it too is redemption. Maybaum here sees the picture in a more traditional way and calls for us to do the same. We should look at the salvation of the majority, not the death of a large and sacred minority, and we should see in and through the Nazi Holocaust the saving face of God and none other, he declares in *The Face of God after Auschwitz*.

ELIEZER BERKOVITS (1908–1992). Eliezer Berkovits, a keen student of contemporary Jewish philosophy, made a special contribution to the creative discussion of the nature and purpose of the *halakhah* in modern Orthodox Judaism. In his work *Faith after the Holocaust* (1973) he gives a more traditional response to the Holocaust than any of the other thinkers discussed previously and highlights important elements in any response to Auschwitz.

Berkovits begins by calling attention to the history of Christian antisemitism, which cannot be forgotten or undervalued in any account of Nazi antisemitism. He sees this as perhaps the most difficult issue to face after the Holocaust. Berkovits does not avoid or deflect this issue; he makes clear his belief that it must be faced if Jews and Christians are to understand the past and prevent repetitions of disastrous episodes like the Holocaust.

Having made clear the historical antisemitic background to Auschwitz, Berkovits, a learned rabbinic scholar, explores, as did Fackenheim in his *God's Presence in History*, the various traditional historical responses to suffering in the Jewish tradition to see what, if anything, can be usefully applied to the problem of the death camps. The first response, and the most important in historical terms, is that known as *kiddush ha-Shem* – death for "the sanctification of the Divine Name," i.e., death that honors rather than dishonors God and bears witness to His truth. In religious circles, this has always been the most frequently given answer to Jewish martyrdom: martyrdom is the ultimate act of resignation and trust in God, a testing and a response of faithfulness, the climactic act of religious heroism. During the Holocaust there were many who were unable to face the horror of their existence and their end with faith, yet there were many others who, like Rabbi Akiva of old, went to their deaths in joy that they could give their life for God. One example: the Ostrovzer Rebbe, Rabbi Yehezkiel ha-Levi Hastuk, went out to meet his Nazi executioners wearing his *tallit* and *kittel*, and before he was shot, he announced: "For some time now I have anticipated this *zekhut* ("special merit") (of *kiddush ha-Shem*). I am prepared." Berkovits knows that such acts do not prove anything conclusive about the ultimate questions of Auschwitz, but he asks that in all discussions of the Holocaust this too be considered. Berkovits pointedly asks the valid question: If Nazi barbarism speaks for the absence of God, what is to be said about the piety, moral grandeur, and saintliness of many of the victims?

Berkovits' account proceeds from this point as if he, at least, is satisfied that there is more to the issue of faith after the Holocaust than Richard Rubenstein is aware of. He argues that what is required above all else is to provide an adequate Jewish understanding of Jewish history and religion so that the events of contemporary history can be properly appraised. Only against such a background can one even begin to argue about the theological relevance of the Holocaust. Critical of many other recent attempts to deal with the "data" of the Holocaust, Berkovits argues that these other attempts "suffer from one serious shortcoming: they deal with the Holocaust in isolation, as if there had been nothing else in Jewish history but this Holocaust." This theme re-appears throughout Berkovits' treatment, not only as critique but as grounds for positive affirmation.

On the basis of this, Berkovits makes the important declaration, which in one sense at least puts him close to Maybaum, that in the framework of world Jewish history the Holocaust is unique in the magnitude of its horror but not in the problem it presents to religious faith. "From the point of view of the problem, we have had innumerable Auschwitzes." With this declaration Berkovits states the basic presupposition of his entire response to the Holocaust, for in declaring that it is not unique as a problem for faith he radically dissociates himself from both Fackenheim and Rubenstein, who rest their entire positions on the Holocaust's uniqueness, thereby forcing Judaism into new and unprecedented responses. If Auschwitz is only the repetition of an ancient pattern then the entire nature of the problem of response to the Holocaust takes on a different dimension. The theological problem, as Berkovits sees it, is the same whether one Jew is slaughtered or six million. Each raises the question: How could God let it happen? How does this square with God's providential presence and moral perfection?

If, then, the problem is not unique, what have other generations of Jews, after previous Holocausts, made of Jewish martyrdom? Berkovits rejects outright, as do all the other major Jewish thinkers who deal with the Holocaust, the simplistic response that the death camps are *mi-penei ḥata'einu* ("because of our sins"). He acknowledges that the Holocaust was "an injustice absolute." Moreover, with great honesty he adds, "It was an injustice countenanced by God." Yet Berkovits' concern is to make room for Auschwitz in the Divine scheme despite the fact that it is an unmitigated moral outrage. He calls attention to a more significant and sophisticated response to evil already stated in the Bible, the notion of *hester panim* ("the hiding face of God"). *Hester panim* is the view that at times God, mysteriously and inexplicably and without any obvious human cause such as sin, turns His face away from man. In response to martyrdom, previous generations have had those who answered the problem of evil with nonbelief. Judaism as a whole, however, has rejected the skeptical response and formulated the doctrine of *hester panim* in order to hold onto God's presence despite His hiddenness. In some mysterious way, God's hiddenness and God's redemptiveness are both seen as necessary features of His unfathomable being.

Moreover, Berkovits argues that God's hiddenness is actually required for man to be a moral creature. God's hiddenness creates the possibility for human action. God allows man freedom by "absenting" Himself from history. Thus man can exercise his moral will, he can become good or evil. For good and evil to be real possibilities God has to respect man's decisions and be bound by them. God has to abstain from reacting to human moral evil if human action is to possess value. Moral humanity requires freedom, and freedom is always open to abuse. Berkovits here applies the classic view of the necessity of free will to morality. God is long-suffering with an evil humanity, even though this results in suffering for some, while God waits for the sinners. Thus "while He shows forbearance with the wicked, he must turn a deaf ear to the anguished cries of the violated." The paradoxical implication of this situation is this: humanity is impossible if God is strictly just; if God is loving beyond the requirements of strict justice there must be human suffering and evil. For Berkovits this is the correct way to view the problem of theodicy in order to be able to continue to believe despite Auschwitz.

The only enduring witness to God's ultimate power over history is the history and fate of the Jewish people where, according to Berkovits, one sees both attributes of God. The continued existence of Israel despite its long history of suffering is the greatest single proof that God is present in history despite His hiddenness. The Jewish people is the witness to God's presence in history. Nazism, in its satanic power, understood this fact of Jewish history and its slaughter of Jews was an attempt to slaughter the God of history. The Nazis understood, even as Jews sometimes fail to understand, that God's presence in history is necessarily linked to the fate of the Jewish people. The nature of Jewish existence stands as prophetic testimony against the moral degeneracy of men and nations; it is a mocking proclamation in the face of all human idolatry, and it witnesses to the final judgment and redemption of history by a moral God.

Berkovits forces his readers to consider whether the Holocaust is a sign of the "death of God" or whether it is a sign of God's too great mercy and long suffering with sinners. Berkovits' argument requires that we take another studied look at Jewish history and see the Holocaust in, and as part of, the long context of Jewish historical experience. Jews are forbidden to treat Auschwitz as if it were all they knew of God's relationship to Israel. Auschwitz is not the only, or even the ultimate Jewish experience. The Jew who today witnesses the absence of God is the descendant of those who at Sinai and the Red Sea directly encountered the Divine. More important still, the Jew who today talks of Auschwitz also knows the joy of a rebuilt Zion and an "ingathering of the exiles" in their ancient homeland. Jewish survival after Auschwitz proclaims that Auschwitz is not absolute. The final element in Berkovits' analysis of contemporary Jewish faith after the Holocaust is his passionate Zionism. Of all the thinkers discussed, Berkovits is the one most committed to Zionism and who draws most heavily on the theological implications of the "rebirth" of the State of Israel. Rubenstein, Fackenheim, and Maybaum certainly value it, and indeed Fackenheim had before his death become increasingly ardent in his attitude towards Zionism, yet it is Berkovits above all others who gives it a theological significance and pride of place in the possibility of the renewal of Jewish faith after Auschwitz. The rebirth of the State of Israel is contemporary revelation; it is the voice of God speaking forth from history. The events of 1967 especially have an "inescapable revelation quality." The return to the land must be understood in both historical and eschatological terms. "The return is the counterpart in history to the resolution in faith that this world is to be established as the Kingdom of God." The return to Zion is the ultimate vindication of God's presence in history and His providential governance of man and the world. If at Auschwitz and all previous Auschwitzes we have witnessed "the hiding face of God," in the rebirth of the State of Israel and its success "we have seen a smile on the face of God. It is enough."

EMMANUEL LEVINAS (1906–1995) AND AMOS FUNKENSTEIN (1937–1995). Two additional thinkers of note, Emmanuel Levinas and Amos Funkenstein, both reject, in different ways and for different metaphysical reasons, the classical theologies and theodicies that would defend God and His justice despite the gas chambers and crematoria. And both urge that rather than upholding theological doctrines that have been rendered "indefensible" by the Holocaust – that is, in the presence of what Levinas, in a telling phrase, describes as "useless suffering" – the primary, absolute, need of the post-Holocaust era is the defense of the ethical obligation that human beings owe to one another. As Levinas explains in *The Levinas Reader*, edited by Sean Hand (1989):

> The suffering for the useless suffering of the other person, the just suffering in me for the unjustifiable suffering of the Other, opens upon the suffering the ethical perspective of the inter-human…. It is this attention to the Other which, across the cruelties of our century – despite these cruelties, because of these cruelties – can be affirmed as the very bond of human subjectivity, even to the point of being raised to a supreme ethical principle – the only one which it is not possible to contest – a principle which can go so far as to command the hopes and practical discipline of vast human groups.

While not denying the existence of God, Levinas stresses the obligations that one human being has *a priori* to another, simply by virtue of being human. Whether one is a theist or not, the fundamental human requirement after Auschwitz is caring for the Other.

Likewise Amos Funkenstein, in his essay "Theological Interpretation of the Holocaust," advances the primacy of the ethical as the appropriate response to the Shoah, while arguing for a more negative theological position that denies the existence of God. He writes: "I argue that the focus on the religious-theological implications of the Holocaust is intrinsically the wrong focus. The question of what [the Holocaust] teaches us about God or any other higher norm and values is insignificant besides the question of what it teaches us about man, his limits, his possibilities, his cruelty, his creativity, and his nobility."

ELIE WIESEL (1928–). Finally, it needs to be recognized that in the face of the abyss, the devouring of the Jewish people by the dark forces of evil incarnate, some notable thinkers have argued for a theological agnosticism and the endorsement of human silence. There are, however, two kinds of silence, two kinds of employment of the "God of mystery." The first is closer to the attitude of the agnostic: "I cannot know" and hence all profound existential and intellectual wrestling with the enormous problems raised by the Shoah is avoided. The second is the silence and mystery that the Bible points to in its recognition of God's elemental otherness. This is the silence that comes after struggling with God, after reproaching God, after feeling His closeness or His painful absence. This silence, this mystery, does not attempt to diminish the tragedy of Auschwitz or Treblinka by a too-quick, too-gauche, answer, yet, having followed reason to its limits, it recognizes the limits of reason. One finds this attitude more commonly expressed in the literary and personal responses to the death camps by survivors rather than in works of formal theology. For example, it is preeminent in the work of Elie Wiesel (*Night*, 1960; *All Rivers Run to the Sea*, 1995, among others). Assuredly there is great difficulty in ascertaining when thought has reached its limit and silence and mystery become the proper position to adopt, but at one and the same time, many would contend that there is the need to know when to speak in silence.

CONCLUSION. Each of these responses to the Holocaust has seen the relevant events from a different perspective, with different presuppositions and faith commitments. Among the many lessons, two call for a concluding comment. First, there is no simple set of facts that can be easily seized upon and manipulated in order to get a result that is both meaningful and possesses integrity. The "facts" are in large part determined by the presuppositions and methodology one uses: different preconceptions and different beginnings produce very different conclusions. Second, and as a necessary corollary, each response, considered at some length, and others all represent, at best, fragmentary accounts, partial descriptions, and limited and imperfect solutions to the major and most pressing questions raised by the murder of European Jewry. Given the nature of the Holocaust, this is not surprising. Each response, even optimally, can be seen to be only partial and fragmentary in the face of the reality, the quality and the magnitude of evil – evil absolute and unimaginable – in our time.

Therefore, while there may not be a definitive, or even agreed upon, analysis or conclusions, it should not be thought that the investigation of responses to the Holocaust is devoid of importance. By bringing the major elements into sharp focus, and giving shape to these elements, the material has the virtue of guiding and warning future thinkers that the Holocaust – whatever its precise parameters and whatever its meaning is seen to be – will not yield to any conceptual oversimplification. Auschwitz raises the most fundamental and at the same time the most difficult intellectual, phenomenological and existential issues.

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[Steven T. Katz]

Impact of the Holocaust

The defeat of Nazi Germany left a bitter legacy for Germany. Crimes had been committed by the state in the name of the German people. Much of the German population and all of the German elites – political, cultural, intellectual, social, and religious – had been involved or complicit in Nazi crimes or had been ineffective in opposition to them. In an effort to rehabilitate the good name of the German people, West Germany firmly established a democracy that protected the human rights of all its citizens and made financial reparations to the Jewish people in an agreement passed by the Bundestag (parliament) in 1953. West German political leaders made special efforts to achieve friendly relations with Israel.

In East Germany, the Communist leaders attempted to insulate their population from responsibility for the crimes, portraying themselves as the victims of the Nazis, and Nazism as a manifestation of capitalism. The first gesture of the post-Communist Volkskammer (parliament) of East Germany, however, was an apology to the Jewish people. In its first meeting in the newly renovated Reichstag building in Berlin in 1999, ten years after the country was reunited, the unified German Bundestag voted to erect a Holocaust memorial in Berlin. The first state visitor to the renewed capital was Israeli Prime Minister Ehud Barak.

Even though the Germans killed many, the Holocaust is primarily associated with the murder of the Jews. Only the Jews were targeted for total annihilation, their elimination central to Hitler's vision of the New Germany. The intensity of the Nazi war against the Jews continued unabated to the very end and even at times took priority over Germany's military efforts.

As for the Christian Churches, the role of the Vatican is contested. The archives of the Vatican for the World War II period have not been opened to all scholars, so information remains under wraps. Pope Pius XI died before issuing an Encyclical that would have condemned antisemitism forthrightly and would have placed the church against Nazism on religious grounds. It was not issued by his successor, Pius XII, once he assumed the papacy in 1939. The record of Pius XII is ambiguous, and he has both apologists and accusers. The church had officials on the ground throughout Europe so it had information as to the fate of the Jews, but was at best elliptical in its condemnations. Local churches behaved differently. Some local leaders helped Jews, courageously and creatively; most did not. Some were quiescent; others collaborated with the killers. However, in the aftermath of the Holocaust, two popes – John XXIII and John Paul II – effectuated a dramatic change in Roman Catholic teaching that can be seen as a response to the Holocaust and an attempt to alter the religious teachings that gave rise to antisemitism. The proclamation of the Second Vatican Council, *Nostra Aetate*, changed Church teaching on the death of Jesus, stressing universal human responsibility rather than the responsibility of Jews. As a result of Vatican II, convened by John XXIII, Catholic liturgy and even scriptural readings and prayers for Good Friday were changed. Pope John Paul II, who as a young man in Poland had lived through the Holocaust, apologized for the antisemitism of Christians – but, as his critics are quick to emphasize, not of Christianity – in Jerusalem, at Yad Vashem and the Western Wall. In a world where public gesture and the spoken word go in tandem, his actions were bold and transformative. In the Protestant Churches there have also been significant changes, though clearly less centralized.

The United Nations established the Convention against Genocide in 1948; it defined the crime in the shadow of the Holocaust and outlawed it. At the same time it issued a Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Promising steps in the early years of the United Nations have been overshadowed, if not forgotten, in the many wars, occupations, and massive violations of human rights committed by so many countries in the years since then.

In the United States, the record of American indifference and inaction has been used to spur action on behalf of other Jews, Soviet Jews and Ethiopian Jews. The refusal to accept refugees in significant number was instrumental in the rescue of the "boat people" in the late 1970s and early 1980s. It led to a specific exemption in immigration restrictions for Jews and other persecuted religious minorities, to the general restrictions on Iranians entering the United States after the fall of the Shah of Iran. The failure to bomb Auschwitz led to the bombing of Kosovo. It has not spurred action against other genocides, but it has led to reluctance on the part of diplomats worldwide to invoke the word "genocide," because it is assumed that one should act against genocide. But such action is a matter of political will.

The record of the American Jewish community on behalf of Soviet Jewry and Ethiopian Jewry and in support of Israel occurs in the shadow of the Holocaust. Rabbi Haskel Lookstein has said, "The Final Solution may have been unstoppable by American Jewry, but it should have been unbearable for them and it wasn't. That is important, not alone for our understanding of the past, but for our sense of responsibility in the future."

Jewish political activism in the United States, especially from 1967 through the 1990s, can only be understood in the shadow of the Holocaust. "Sacred survival" was the term that the sociologist Jonathan Woocher used to describe the "civil religion" of American Jewry, and Emil Fackenheim wrote of the 614th commandment: "Jews may not grant Hitler a posthumous victory."

As to Israel, the Holocaust goes to the core of national identity. It is reflected in the efforts to rescue Jews before there was a state, in the Declaration of Independence that opened the doors to homeless Jewish refugees, in the Law of Return, in the discourse of soldiers before, during, and after the 1967 Six-Day War, in the pride in Jewish power and the ongoing sense of Jewish vulnerability, in the efforts to commemorate the Shoah and to teach its lessons to the Jewish people.

The Holocaust has come to be viewed as the emblematic manifestation of absolute evil. Its ramifications reaching into the depths of human nature and the power of malevolent social and governmental structures have made it an essential topic of ethical discourse in fields as diverse as law, medicine, religion, government, and the military.

Survivors report they heard a final plea from those who were murdered: "Remember! Do not let the world forget." To this responsibility to those they left behind, survivors have added a plea of their own, "Never again." Never for the Jewish people. Never for any people. Their hope is that remembrance of the Holocaust can prevent its recurrence. In part because of their efforts, interest in the event has increased rather than diminished with the passage of time. More than half a century after the Holocaust, institutions, memorials, and museums continue to be built, and films and educational curricula created to document and teach the Holocaust to future generations.

More than three score years later, the Jewish people has not replenished its numbers and an entire civilization – the Jewish communities of Europe, Ashkenazi and Sephardi – are gone forever. Jewish life has been rebuilt. Jewish learning and living has endured. Jewish creativity has flourished, the state of Israel has been created and with it power, independence, opportunity, and a haven for Jews in need. But the final word of the Holocaust must be loss – absence where presence had been.

[Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

MEMORY

Holocaust Literature in European Languages

The fact that a "literature of the Holocaust" evolved by the 1970s may be an indication of the desire to salvage some meaning out of the senselessness of that period in Jewish history. It is somehow consoling to believe that the chaos has become amenable to the ordering of aesthetic vision, that it has generated language through which the experience can be mediated to discipline the ambiguities and civilize the horror.

It is true that many poems were forged in the flames of the ghettos and camps themselves, and perhaps one of the most uplifting, and at the same time tragic, expressions of the human spirit is the collection of paintings and children's poems that is almost all the testimony that remains of the 150,000 people who passed through *Theresienstadt. But the fact is that once the war had ended, writers were slow to pick up the bloody mantle of these martyrs. Historians worked almost alone over the charred remains in order to reunite numbers with names, anonymous corpses with their biographies, the ruined ghettos with the history of their struggles. The proliferation of personal testimonies of survivors supplemented the documentary evidence in journals and diaries that had been buried in the ghettos or smuggled beyond the walls. Gradually, philosophers, psychologists, and theologians joined historians in trying to confront the event in their own terms. No symbolic universe could attempt to assimilate the Holocaust without the risk of being shaken to its foundations. Yet whole new schools of philosophy, therapy, and theology have evolved out of the experience of the camps. Bruno *Bettelheim's orthogenic approach to the stresses that mass society imposes on the individual and Victor *Frankl's logo-therapy are their professional responses to their own suffering in the Nazi camps. Emil *Fackenheim and Richard *Rubenstein represent perhaps the two extreme polarities of theological response to the contemporary questions of theodicy that the Holocaust raised.

Yet the sensibilities of the artist were the last to emerge from the anesthetization of the historical experience. T.W. *Adorno's declaration that there can be no poetry after Auschwitz both reflected and sanctioned a general feeling of helplessness and inadequacy that artists have felt in confronting recent history. As many critics pointed out, the Holocaust defies art insofar as it represents the annihilation of meaning. And yet novels, plays, and poems began to appear.

For some writers it was enough to commemorate and mourn the dead. But as the Holocaust has entered the imagination of the more creative artists, it has entered into the realm of the "possible." The more completely the event is assimilated, the more it is available as a creative resource, a source of metaphor, allegory, symbol, for human behavior in the modern world; a paradigm of contemporary existence and the substance of modern myth. The literature of the Holocaust spans the literary spectrum from the documentary to the mythical – from the journals kept by those who were destined not to survive, to the memoirs of the survivors, to the documentary or pseudodocumentary art of those writers who strive for historical authenticity, to the art that has been integrated into established historical and literary traditions, and finally to the "apocalyptic" art of those writers for whom the Holocaust has so permeated the mind that it has transcended the bounds of historical time and social space.

DIARIES AND JOURNALS. The chronicles of the Holocaust include diaries and journals written under siege. Most of the writers never lived to see the camps liberated or their writings published. In fact the journals themselves seldom reached the extermination camps, but chronicled the life in attic hideouts or in the ghettos. Thus they constitute a peculiar genre with a beginning and a middle, but no end. Anne *Frank's diary becomes a "tragedy" only through the interaction between the writer – who, even in her last entries, affirms her belief that "it will all come right," that she must continue to uphold her ideals in the hope the time will come when she will "be able to carry them out" – and the reader, who knows that it did not come right, that she did not live to carry out her ideals. This knowledge is the sad burden of the post-Holocaust reader.

There were a very few diarists who managed to survive. One was Mary Berg, whose mother's American passport brought her and her family to New York as part of a prisoner exchange. Her diary is a chronicle of the Warsaw ghetto, where she lived between the ages of 16 and 18. She managed to smuggle her diary out of Poland while the war was still raging; published in English translation in 1945, it was one of the earliest such documents to reach an American readership. Mary Berg was a girl of mature literary and emotional qualities not unlike those of her more famous Dutch counterpart, but living in circumstances so different from the sealed-off world of Anne's "secret annex," she focused on the world of the ghetto, and her diary is less introspective and more of a history of the communal life of the Jews of Warsaw.

LITERATURE AND THE LANGUAGE OF THE VICTIMS. The most significant journals of the Warsaw ghetto were those written in Yiddish by Emanuel *Ringelblum and in Hebrew by Ḥayyim Kaplan. Each regarded his task as a sacred mission, and each contributed invaluable information on the inner life and the death throes of the ghetto. These two painstakingly written accounts, as well as the hundreds of other diaries, eyewitness accounts, poems, plays, and novels written in Yiddish or Hebrew, are beyond the scope of the present discussion. The distinction between Hebrew and Yiddish writing on the Holocaust, and the literature that has appeared in European languages, is not merely linguistic but, in a broader sense, cultural. For the European writer, the Holocaust does not reflect a particular national odyssey for which specific cultural referents would be a necessary resource. The Holocaust did not respect national borders, and Frenchmen, Czechs, and Poles share with other Europeans the same vocabulary of experience in what has been called "the concentration camp universe." The literature they produced shares certain qualities of cultural deprivation and of cross-cultural perspective precisely because it is a literature of displaced persons. This could explain why many European writers have chosen to write of their experience in foreign, or adopted, tongues: Jorge Semprun, Michel del Castillo, Anna *Langfus, and Piotr Rawicz in French; Jerzy Kosinski, Ilona Karmel, and Zdena Berger in English. Although Elie Wiesel lives in the United States and operates in an American ethos, he continues to write in French, which is his adopted language. Yiddish and Hungarian are native tongues; Romanian, the language of the country of his birth, Hebrew the language of his journalistic career, and English the language of the land in which he lives. Still he persists in French.

The obvious exception to this principle of linguistic interchangeability is the impact of the Holocaust on the German language, a fact with which most German writers have had to come to terms. George *Steiner, in *Language and Silence*, describes the effects of the Nazi regime on the German language, a "language being used to run hell, getting the habits of hell into its syntax." Perhaps the impatience of many readers with Nelly *Sachs' poetry stems from her attempt to use the German language as if it were a neutral resource, a simple linguistic funnel through which the Jewish agony could be channeled.

The literature of the Holocaust written in Hebrew and Yiddish constitutes a category distinct from the literature in European languages primarily because it has assimilated into an ethnic tradition that has had to develop specific internal responses to the direct threat of cultural genocide. In responding to this challenge, even the most secular Yiddish or Hebrew writer is committed to a certain cultural framework, specific historical memories, and an ongoing dialogue with Jewish history and the Jewish God. Adolf *Rudnicki, himself a Polish writer, admitted that

> no other nation has so many synonyms for suffering as have the Jews. The Book of Job was not written by a Frenchman, nor even a Russian. Everybody knows that what the Germans did during the Second World War has no equivalent in history, yet it was all contained within the Jews' ancient vocabulary.

What characterized the Holocaust diaries and journals in all the languages was an abiding faith in ultimate restoration, in the sanity of the outside world for whom these records were kept – and an innocence of the actual dimensions of the destruction. This cannot be said of the literature of the survivors.

MEMOIRS OF SURVIVORS. Almost immediately after their liberation, the survivors began to write their memoirs. To many, that task seemed the only reason for which they had remained alive – to commemorate their dead and, by documenting the atrocities perpetrated on them, perhaps help to avenge their deaths. Leon Wells, in *The Janowska Road*, one of the most moving accounts of human endurance, writes in an epilogue: "I feel now, that I have fulfilled my mission. The last wish of my people, each as he died, was to let the world know what had happened. They felt and hoped that the world cared about them and their fate. Does the world care?" Much of the caring world proved to consist of other refugees, who by their perseverance and testimonies managed to bring some of the Nazi criminals to trial. Wells' own story of the "Death Brigade" served as evidence that helped to condemn to death the man who had been second in command in the Janowska camp.

The numerous other accounts published since the war by survivors add little to the fund of knowledge of what happened. The story is so often, so pitilessly, the same – but each man's testimony is a *Kaddish* to his own dead. Two Polish memoirs that have appeared in English reflect the special plight of the children of the Holocaust. The first, Halina Birenbaum's *Hope is the Last to Die*, is the child's tale told from the perspective of the adult. The second, Henryk *Grynberg's *Child of the Shadow*, is a similar tale of persecution, refuge, and survival told simply and almost didactically, as if the Holocaust child were relating the story to other, non-Holocaust, children. Yet as moving as this account is, it does not, even in its entirety, convey the essence of fear and triumph that are distilled into the very brief story, "The Grave," that prefaces the book. It is Grynberg's short fictional "epiphany" that stays with the reader long after he has forgotten the chronology of events that are the structure of the autobiography.

A very unusual story of survival is told by Alexander Donat in *The Holocaust Kingdom*. It tells of the preservation of an entire family – husband, wife, and child. Donat was a prominent publisher of one of the Warsaw daily newspapers, and the scope of his awareness and understanding of the people and events around him reflects the perspective of a trained journalist. The author's own narrative is augmented by a unique addendum – two chapters written by his wife and one written by the non-Jewish woman who had cared for their child, interspersed with notes written by the child himself – that provides multiple perspectives on the same events.

One of the earliest and still most revealing eyewitness accounts of the Holocaust was David Rousset's *The Other Kingdom*, which delineated the world that he called "l'univers concentrationnaire." Published in French in 1947, his narrative describes life and death in *Buchenwald, Helmstedt, Neuengamme and Woebbelin from the point of view of one who had been interned in these camps for helping to organize the French underground resistance movement. Rousset's book explores the fate of political prisoners in the camps. It is in the main a story of men sustained by group solidarity and devotion to a cause, even as the cause becomes obscured by present reality. Unlike those who were arrested, deported, interned, and gassed simply because of the biological fact of their being Jewish or of Jewish ancestry, the political prisoners had in large measure chosen their own destiny. In analyzing their behavior and their plight, Rousset also illuminates the very different logic of death and survival that prevailed among the Jewish prisoners.

The Other Kingdom is a peculiar combination of the factual, the philosophical, and the poetic. Rousset's literary analogies are more than mere ornament; they are integral to his perception of the reality around him. His "Kingdom" is ruled by a synthetic Nazi who is a direct descendant of Ubu Roi – that grotesque buffoon who butchered the ruling monarchs and crowned himself King of Poland in Alfred Jarry's fin-de-siècle parody. And the demography of this realm is seen as having been prefigured in the dark fantasies of two other pre-Holocaust writers: "the inmates of the camp belong to a world by Céline with overtones of Kafka."

The concentration camp thus becomes that region where the most lurid literary imaginings are experienced as life itself. Here the woodsmen never hear Little Red Riding Hood's cries and she is devoured – and digested – by the wolf; Jack doesn't quite reach his beanstalk in time – and is consumed by the giant. It is the world imagined centuries ago by Dante. Ten years after Rousset published his essay on the camps, Primo *Levi wrote *If This Be a Man* (U.S title *Survival in Auschwitz*), his own account of internment and survival in the Buna Camp at *Auschwitz. His chapter on Dante, "The Canto of Ulysses," is the testimony not only of a man who is a victim of the realization of the most hideous fantasies that the literary imagination had ever conceived. It is also the testimony of the human capacity to transcend, through art, the agony of physical and spiritual degradation. In his account of initiation into camp life, he had described the slow process by which the Nazis achieved "the demolition of a man": "Nothing belongs to us anymore; they have taken away our clothes, our shoes, even our hair… They will even take away our name…" Then one day, as this nameless Häftling (prisoner) is trudging to the kitchens with another man to bring the soup ration to their Kommando, he is seized by the need to speak of *The Divine Comedy* – to recite verses long locked in his memory, to teach his companion a few words of the text. He feels the urgency of one who knows that tomorrow he – or his companion – may be dead, and that in that moment before doom he must transmit the message that may contain the essence of their common fate. This is the moment in which Häftling no. 174517 begins to rediscover his humanity, to combat by the powers of imagination and analogy the absurdity of his existence.

The confessions of Rousset and Levi illustrate the ways in which the significance of some of the classical elements of European culture are completely transformed in the context of the camps. Josef *Bor's *Terezin Requiem* (1963) is another story of the role of art as the medium for the spiritual struggle to defy the harsh realities of camp life. It is the true account of the performance of Verdi's *Requiem* in the concentration camp at Theresienstadt, in the presence of Eichmann and his henchmen. Bor distills the facts into a highly charged drama. His story is told from the point of view of Raphael Schaechter, the conductor, who molds the *Requiem* into a prism that reflects the individual miseries – and the one final triumph – of the inmates. The tension and drama mount as rehearsals for the performance proceed. But in the course of the rehearsals, many of the soloists are transported to the death camps, and each empty seat is a harbinger of death. Though the *Requiem* might have been nothing more than a dirge sung by the doomed themselves, it is transformed into a cry of protest and of victory. Schaechter takes the liberty of changing the four pianissimo notes of the finale – "*libera me*" – into a defiant fortissimo, three short strokes and one long, delivered as fighting blows. "O Saint Verdi in heaven, forgive me my sin," pleads Schaechter. "If you had been in a concentration camp you, too, would have composed your finale differently…" By the end of the performance, Schaechter has dropped his baton and is conducting with his fist. The entire cast of performers is shipped out on the very next transport to the death camp – but that fact is by now almost insignificant.

DOCUMENTATION AS ART. Most of the eyewitness accounts of this period demonstrate an almost compulsive concern with factual accuracy, though in the narratives of Rousset, Levi, and Bor, it is not only the external, physical reality but also the facts of consciousness that are being documented. In the broadly inclusive genre of memoir, the obsessive commitment to historicity is certainly not unusual. Yet it is no less evident in some of the imaginative literature of the Holocaust. As one crosses over from autobiography into art, the usual distinctions are blurred by the obsession of certain artists with historical accuracy. The Soviet writer Anatoly Kuznetsov (writing originally under the pseudonym of A. Anatoli) defines his *Babi Yar* as "a document in the form of a novel," and is constantly jolting his reader out of the temptation to be lulled into the existential distance usually reserved for fiction. "This book contains nothing but the truth," Kuznetsov repeats; oddly enough, his insistence on *historical* truth can be seen not only as reflecting his view of the bounds of the imagination in confronting the Holocaust, but as a plea for artistic freedom in a regime that demands of its artists that they fantasize and manipulate history to mirror the "artistic truth" of Socialist Realism. Ironically, but predictably, Kuznetsov's appeal for the freedom to follow the dictates of historical fact was undermined by the deletion, in the original edition, of all those passages deemed even remotely critical of Soviet behavior during the Nazi occupation. In 1970, after his escape from the Soviet Union, Kuznetsov published the unexpurgated version of his novel, which had now become a document of Soviet as well as Nazi oppression.

Perhaps the most prominent of the artists who are explicitly concerned with the artistic expression of historical fact are the German playwrights Peter *Weiss and Rolf *Hochhuth. Weiss once stated that "audiences are ready to become concerned with the real world instead of the private loves and hatreds of individuals." Reflecting new trends in dramaturgy as well as certain internal imperatives of the reality it dramatizes, Weiss' play *The Investigation* is a condensed presentation of the proceedings of the trials, held in Germany in 1964–5, of twenty-one of the people who were responsible for the operation of Auschwitz. The absolute decorum and austerity of the depositions belie the emotionally charged facts being offered as evidence. In this case it is the strict logic of the legal procedure that is used by the artist to give form to experience that was totally lawless. The judge and the attorneys ask their questions and the witnesses tell their stories without any histrionic aids – there is neither punctuation in the free-verse text nor stage directions that would indicate a change in pitch or shift in position, and most performances are delivered entirely in straight-faced monotone. There is no personal drama here; the witnesses – like the actual inmates of the camps – have no names; the accused, like the actual torturers, do – but Weiss states in a prefatory note that the accused have simply "lent their names which, within the drama, exist as symbols of a system that implicated in its guilt many others who never appeared in court."

Weiss is uncompromising in his refusal to allow his audience any form of classical catharsis. How unyielding his drama is in its insistence on unmitigated evil, in its withholding of a sacrificial hero, can be seen when it is compared with an earlier anti-Nazi play written by another German playwright, Carl Zuckmayer. In *The Devil's General* (written in exile from 1942 to 1946), Zuckmayer endowed his main protagonist, Luftwaffe General Harras, with the qualities of refinement and a developed sensibility that were finally to prove stronger than his commitment to his duties as an officer in the Nazi higher command. The ambiguities of the actual events are diminished and distanced by clear-cut distinctions between good and evil, by soothing rhetoric, well-honed literary symbols, and, finally, the expiatory suicide of the hero.

Rolf Hochhuth's play, *The Deputy*, was, like *The Investigation*, published almost a generation after the event (1963), and is something of a compromise between the perspectives of Weiss and Zuckmayer on the art of the Holocaust. Like his contemporary, Hochhuth also bases his drama on historical fact. However, he has submitted reality to a very different logic, to which traditional principles of dramatic development are more integral. In an appendix, "Sidelights on History," Hochhuth writes that he has "combined the already available facts into a truthful whole." He rejects extreme naturalism in art and the kind of aesthetic approach that would transform the subject of the Holocaust into detached metaphor and the victims and victimizers into pure symbols. In his elaborate stage direction for Act v, which takes place in the cattle cars leading to Auschwitz and in the camp itself, Hochhuth writes:

> Despite the tremendous force of suggestion emanating from sound and sense, metaphors still screen the infernal cynicism of what really took place – a reality so enormous and grotesque that even today, fifteen years after the events, the impression of unreality it produces conspires with our natural strong tendency to treat the matter as legend, as an incredible apocalyptic fable. Alienation effects would only add to this danger. No matter how closely we adhere to historical facts, the speech, scene, and events on the stage will be altogether surrealistic.

What Hochhuth seems to be saying, and what his drama attests to so powerfully, is that poetry has been wrested from the artist by the reality of Auschwitz. The transformation of this reality into legend or "apocalyptic fable" is, then, not the artist's prerogative, but a kind of defense mechanism by which post-Holocaust culture confronts the reality. Hochhuth would force his public to confront the reality by closing off the option of viewing it as fantasy. The victims, the victimizers, the accomplices, and the heroes in *The Deputy* are not anonymous, nor are they symbols, but rather concrete individuals, each with his private fate. Some are fictitious characters modeled after real people. Some – the prime movers – are actual historical figures. There is one major figure who has no name; he is referred to as "the Doctor," the man responsible for the dispatch of new arrivals at Auschwitz to the work camp or to the gas chamber. The Doctor is obviously patterned after the infamous Dr. Mengele, but Hochhuth refrains from naming him, as if by so doing he would be dignifying him with some semblance of humanity.

Unlike Weiss' drama, in which the guilt is diffused throughout the Nazi ranks and even taints the victims themselves and all those who remained silent in the face of the atrocities – until it stands as an indictment of all of Western civilization – *The Deputy* singles out the historical perpetrators of the crime, their historical accomplices, their historical victims, and those who tried to help the victims and to halt the slaughter. The blame of silent acquiescence to the Nazi atrocities is placed squarely on the shoulders of the Pope, who appears in this play not as an institution but as a *person*. Similarly, the self-sacrificing actions of the two heroes, Riccardo and Gerstein, are not the heroism of invention but of actual deed. Hochhuth's understanding of the drama, as of history, is based on the premise of individual freedom of choice, even in the most repressive of circumstances.

VICARIOUS RECONSTRUCTION OF EXPERIENCE. Another group of writings that inhabit the twilight zone between document and fantasy are the novels presented as documentaries or which claim to be based on documentary evidence. Most of these were written by American novelists. The most popular of these writers are John Hersey, Leon *Uris, and Richard Elman. Of the three, Hersey can be singled out as having opened a new frontier in the American fiction of the Holocaust, and Elman as being the most serious.

John Hersey, a gentile journalist who came upon traces of the Jewish massacre while on assignment in Europe, spent several years researching the misery and the heroism of the Warsaw ghetto. His novel, *The Wall*, was published in 1950, and for many years remained the unchallenged definitive work on the subject. The novel is written in the form of a journal whose format closely approximates the journals of Emanuel Ringelblum. But there the resemblance ends, and the confusion of genres begins. The chronicler of this fiction, Noach Levinson, probes the inner thoughts and feelings of the characters and reports "conversations." The fiction of historicity ("broadly it deals with history, but in detail it is invented," the author says) covers a multitude of sins.

Leon Uris' *Mila 18* (1961) is another in a series of historical novels that won popularity. Uris admits to many hours of research and acknowledges that "within a framework of basic truth, tempered with a reasonable amount of artistic license, the places and events described actually happened." Again, like Hersey, he uses the general form of the journal to structure his novel on the Warsaw uprising – but the journal entries, written by one Alexander Brandel, are limited to the opening remarks of each chapter of the novel. Nevertheless, the yoke of history does not fit well on the shoulders of the heroes and heroines, and the facts often intrude impolitely into the melodrama, which Uris has tailored to that same reading public that acclaimed his latter-day *Exodus* as if it too had been handed down from Sinai. Alexander Brandel's final soothing words in the bunker of Mila 18 affirm the simplistic confidence that "we Jews have avenged our honor as a people," and that the scales of history will be balanced when the State of Israel is reborn out of the ashes.

Richard Elman has done a more convincing job of weaving together history and fantasy, with fewer compromises. His novel, *The 28th Day of Elul* (1967), originated in a series of documents that came to the author's attention and, by his own admission, constituted a kind of historical imperative for his art. The novel is an epistolary narrative written by Alex Yagodah from his home on a moshav in Israel, to the executor of his uncle's estate in America, in which he describes the events leading up to the deportation of his family from their hometown of Cluj, Hungary. As in *The Diary of Anne Frank* or the Polish novel by Ladislav *Grosman, *The Shop on Main Street*, the tragic load of the tale is not intrinsic in the narrative itself, but in the reader's retrospective knowledge of what the epilogue must be.

Although the story is told for the most part with skill and seriousness, it raises "relevant" philosophical and theological questions about the Holocaust. This is a tendency shared by many other American writers, especially Jewish writers, who evidently feel that in coming to terms with their own identity as Jews they must confront the Holocaust in their art. In 1963, Saul *Bellow raised the issue of the impact of the European tragedy on the American writer who had not experienced it directly:

> It would be odd, indeed, if these historical events had made no impression on American writers, even if … they characteristically depend on their own observations and appear at times obstinately empirical.

Since there was no shared experience, the Holocaust is in a sense freed from the discipline of historical fact when it enters the domain of American fiction. And yet the American writer also clings at least to the pretense of historicity. Bellow himself, when he finally appropriated the theme of the Holocaust as a subject for his art, wrote a novel (*Mr. Sammler's Planet*) that was far more contrived than his earlier fiction. He tries to compensate for his own acknowledged lack of empirical resource by fabricating the events out of textbook accounts. His dramatization of the experiences of a Holocaust survivor through use of flashback and monologue is not convincing or psychologically coherent. The same can be said of Edward Lewis *Wallant's use of the "dream" technique in *The Pawnbroker.*

Likewise, the attempt to romanticize history by circumventing the facts has not proved much more effective. Bernard *Malamud tried to confront the beast on nonhistorical grounds in his short story, "Lady of the Lake." Many of his stories and novels are scantily clad moralities, often dramatizing the inescapable fate of the Jew as sufferer. But in this tale the symbols of the Holocaust are so artificially manipulated to serve allegorical requirements that they remain too comfortably remote in the realm of romance and fantasy.

One American writer who has directly acknowledged and incorporated the theme of historical deprivation into his art is the poet Irving *Feldman. In two elegaic poems, "The Pripet Marshes" and "To the Six Million," he explores the meaning of the vicarious suffering of the American Jew. In "The Pripet Marshes," he attempts to transplant his own, non-Holocaust, friends into the ghetto at the moment before the Germans are to arrive. And just as these Jews are being rounded up for transport in the marketplace of his mind's eye, he invokes the prerogative reserved only for those who are not bound by historical necessity – and retrieves them:

> But there isn't a second to lose, I snatch them all back,
> For, when I want to, I can be a God.

The American poet as creator can rescue his Jews only because they were not the real victims.

Feldman's second elegy, "To the Six Million," is a masterpiece of Holocaust poetry in English. It goes further than the first in attempting to discover, and finally to possess, the dead whose fate the poet happened to have been spared. The final merger is accomplished through the use of Biblical rhetoric and erotic, almost necrophilic, imagery:

> Sweetness, my soul's bride,
> Come to the feast I have made,
> My bone and my flesh of me,
> Broken and touched,
> Come in your widow's rainment of dust and ashes,
> Bereaved, newborn, gasping for
> The breath that was torn from you,
> That is returned to you.

The English poet Karen *Gershon also succeeded in conveying the sense of deprivation that haunts those who were spared. In her case it was the Childrens' Transport that carried her and 10,000 other children out of their native Germany to England in 1938 and saved them from the fate reserved for their parents. Her poetry is an attempt to reconstruct the final days of her parents' lives, when "I was not there to comfort them." The unadorned language of these confessional poems is moving in its very simplicity and directness. Whereas for Irving Feldman, the freedom from historical imperatives generates a kind of enslavement to fantasy, for Karen Gershon the freedom from historical experience creates a vacuum to be filled through research, and art becomes a medium for the reconstruction of history.

There are a number of other English-writing poets who have attempted to incorporate the Holocaust into their art, but the subject has proved for the most part unassimilable. Probably the most powerful of these poets is Sylvia Plath, who refused the exemption that her birthright as a non-Jew would have conferred on her. A. Alvarez wrote in his study of suicide that the death of her father when Sylvia Plath was still a young child was later transformed into the conviction that "to be an adult meant to be a survivor… an imaginary Jew from the concentration camps of the mind." Several of the poems in *Ariel*, written just before her final, successful, suicide attempt, are weighted with the burden of Holocaust, her skin "bright as a Nazi lampshade" ("Lady Lazarus"), "thick palls" of dead Jews invading the kitchen where the "Sunday lamb cracks in its fat" ("Mary's Song"), her own father transformed posthumously into a Nazi and she herself into a Jew ("Daddy").

LITERATURE OF SURVIVAL. For the continental European writer, there is no escape from historical memory. But for those who are faithful to it, history provides a way out as well as a way in; quite simply, the war began in 1939 and ended in 1945. Most of the realistic fiction of the Holocaust opens in that quiet time when roses still bloom on trellises of country houses and Sabbath candlesticks gleam on white tablecloths, and there are still Jews in Europe to smell the flowers and bless the candles. This *ancien régime* slowly crumbles into the nightmare of Auschwitz. In the end the survivor returns to the ruins of his former existence. In the 1960s and 70s there was a proliferation of this "survival" literature, dramatizing the process by which civilized life shrivels to bare existence and then is pitifully resurrected on tombstones and ashes.

Terrence Des Pres, in an illuminating essay in *Encounter* in 1971, observed that the survivor had supplanted the sacrificial hero as the protagonist of modern fiction. In an era when thousands of human beings were slaughtered daily in machines built expressly for that purpose, the heroic death of a latter-day Oedipus or Lear lost its liberating value, and the will to survive had replaced the classical willingness to die affirming transcendental truths. "When men must live against overwhelming odds and death is a condition of life, when mere existence is miraculous, to die is in no way a triumph," writes Des Pres. The very preservation of life – when it does not come at the expense of other lives – becomes the ultimate goal in much of Holocaust and post-Holocaust fiction. And it is this refusal to betray others while one is fighting for one's own survival that characterizes what Des Pres calls the "human, as opposed to the Darwinian, survivor." The individual is powerless to change anything in his environment, and thus it is the act of struggle, and not the outcome of the struggle, that defines the new heroism. The Holocaust novels of Anna Langfus, Zdena Berger, Ilona Karmel, Michel del Castillo and Jacob *Presser are informed by the durability and dignity of the victim who survives the temptation to succumb to his own death or to cooperate in the murder of others, who manages to preserve not only his physical self, but his sanity and humanity as well.

Most of these novels are fictionalized autobiographies, in which the authenticity of the experience is evident to the reader long before he comes to the biographical note about the author at the end of the book. Many of these authors have written only one novel on this subject, their autobiographical fiction serving primarily to delineate a space for future silence.

One of the most talented of these writers was Anna Langfus, whose two books written originally in French, *The Whole Land Brimstone* (1962) and *The Lost Shore* (1963), form a continuous narrative of tranquility, destruction, survival, and return. A single symbol, appearing in the opening pages of the first book – the crash of the family's chandelier as the first bomb of the war hits their town – presages the shattering of the lives of all these people, and could epitomize the disintegrative phase in this entire genre of survival literature. The heroine, who is destined to be an only survivor, is first introduced to us as a self-serving young lady surrounded by an indulgent family. She has no point of reference beyond the sphere of her own family, and her story reflects only incidentally the communal history of the Warsaw ghetto in which she lives; it is almost as if she alone were subjected to war and bereavement. This kind of anomie is typical of the wartime biography of many assimilated Jews. At the end of her wanderings from refuge to refuge in *The Whole Land Brimstone*, she crawls back in desperation and self-pity to her family's home – to find it occupied by new tenants. By the end of the second volume, *The Lost Shore*, she has managed to regain a small measure of human empathy and a tenuous hold on the future.

Zdena Berger's novel, *Tell Me Another Morning* (1959), covers the same territory from the home to the Holocaust and back again – but with greater tenderness and tolerance. The chapters are organized around physical objects, properties of a civilized pre-Holocaust world that may ultimately serve as signposts to guide the soul's return. The three heroines are neither cut off from a community of values nor from one another, and even in the camp they are saved from the loneliness and despair that lead the musselman to his death. In that inevitable moment in survival literature when Tania, the first-person narrator, returns to her former home to find it expropriated by strangers, she somehow finds the strength to lay her memories to rest; it is at this moment that drops of menstrual blood begin to trickle down her leg, signifying the return of her life energies and faith in the possibilities of renewal.

Ilona Karmel, like Zdena Berger, was a survivor who adopted America as her home and English as the medium for her fiction. Her novel, *An Estate of Memory* (1969), is also about survival in a group. Unlike the others, her story begins *in medias res* – "on that day everyone in the camp was painted" – with flashbacks to prewar conditions. It is narrated from the perspective of each of the four women who make up the group. Of the four, only one is to survive the war – but this time the sign of regeneration is not in the survival of these adults but in the rescue of a child who is born to one of the women in the course of her internment. This child's birth and survival represent the possibilities for life even in the death camps, and to each of the four women, who is motherless and childless, the baby symbolizes all her unborn and her dead. For all the horror, for all the temptation and the compromise, a semblance of the basic human impulses is preserved.

Another novelist whose wartime experience carried him across national and linguistic boundaries is Michel del Castillo, who was born in Spain but was eventually to migrate to France and write his autobiographical novel, *Child of Our Time*, in French in 1957. His novel is one of the outstanding examples of literature of the displaced. Whereas for the American writer, the problem of authenticity in art is primarily one of content, for the displaced European writer it is more the communication of experience. Del Castillo's story is also a significant contribution to the growing number of tales of the children of the Holocaust told by their adult selves. Tanguy is five years old when he begins the long journey that is to lead to separation from both his parents and internment in several concentration camps. He is twenty-four years old when he is finally reunited with his mother in 1955. His tale is told quite simply and directly at first, the innocent and factual perceptions of the child only underscoring the horror of a world that swaddles its children in rags and sends them out to "play" at digging trenches, shooting those who do not work fast or efficiently enough. It is only later, as a young man, that Tanguy begins to wonder "if a world could ever exist in which children were loved and protected." The keynote of his survival is the lack of hatred or desire for revenge that he carries with him into a postwar world in which he can no longer believe in God or in political ideology but only in the few human beings who have buffered him from the brutality of the system.

Jacob Presser, a Dutch writer, is somewhat unusual in having realized his Holocaust memories in both fiction and historiography. He published one short autobiographical novel, *Breaking Point*, in 1958 and ten years later, in his capacity as professor of history, wrote a detailed study of the history of the Dutch Jews during the German occupation. Yet the almost infinite accretion of facts in his scholarly work does not convey the essence of the conflicts and the agonies of the times as powerfully as his fictionalized story of one man's struggle with and triumph over the temptation to collaborate with evil. The author ironically acknowledged the historicity of his story by admitting that, with one exception, "none of the characters is to be identified with any person *still living*" (emphasis mine). The first-person narrative is a relentlessly direct confession of a man who is awaiting deportation to a death camp from the *Westerbork transit camp. The simple tale of the cooption of Jacob, a marginal Jew, into the diabolical hierarchy in which victims become victimizers, and the process of his spiritual return, escapes banality and melodrama by virtue of the depth and the irony that underlie the simplicity of presentation. This is not strictly a story of survival, inasmuch as it is meant to be the last testament of a man condemned to death. But the "coincidence" of the namesakes of narrator and author suggests that "Jacob" did survive to tell the tale; and the ultimate affirmation of the value of life lived humanly is a basic characteristic that this novel shares with the rest of "survival literature."

THE HOLOCAUST IN THE CONTINUUM OF JEWISH HISTORY. There is a way out as well as a way into the inferno for the survivor whose physical and moral preservation provides him with a historical and a normative link to his pre-Holocaust past. For a few European writers such as Elie Wiesel, Nelly Sachs and André *Schwarz-Bart, it is not personal biography, but Jewish history that provides the structural continuity between past and present.

Elie Wiesel, who was deported from his home town of Sighet, then part of Hungary, as a child, infuses his tales of home with all the piety and innocence that childhood memories confer. His writing is not only an act of commemoration, but also of resurrection, of the men who appeared to his young mind as saints and prophets. He focuses not on the deaths but on the lives of these people, and all of his writing has been an attempt to snatch the victims back from the flames that consumed them, to free them from fate, to suspend history, if only for a brief moment. But since, unlike the historically liberated fantasies of Irving Feldman, Wiesel's tales must conclude by handing the victims back to the executioner, the tale must be repeated again and again in what becomes almost a ritualistic act. The madman, the master, the beggar, and the orphan reappear many times in various guises. Wiesel is almost unique among Holocaust writers in reiterating aspects or projections of his own autobiography in repeated stories. By maintaining the dialogue with relatives and teachers long after they have perished, he has managed to retain elements of the pre-Holocaust world as options for relations in the post-Holocaust universe.

Insofar as the Holocaust tends to defy preexistent forms of art, many writers seem to prefer historical narratives to traditional forms of imaginative literature. Stephen Spender wrote that "an attempt to envisage thousands of victims as tragic heroes and heroines is too great a strain on the survivors, and, in art, risks becoming insincere." Wiesel manages to preserve certain aesthetic forms and religious categories by avoiding direct confrontation with atrocity. With the exception of *Night*, his first and most directly confessional novel, the camps exist only on the periphery of the mind of the survivor, or on the edge of the partisan-inhabited forest. He has not taken upon himself the task of envisaging the "thousands of victims." Wiesel himself admitted, in a discussion with Eugene Heimler, that even in the Auschwitz or Buchenwald of *Night*, "I did not describe the Holocaust. I described a child *in* the Holocaust." He has chosen subjects that are manageable and credible in a world whose totality is unmanageable and incredible. The substance of his dialogue with his masters and with God fall within a tradition, which furnishes a literary and theological framework for encompassing the problematic reality of the Jews in the Holocaust. Even his blasphemies can be located in a tradition that stretches from the Patriarch Abraham to Rabbi Levi Isaac of Berdichev. In

The Town beyond the Wall, Michael admits to his friend and alter-ego, Pedro,

> I go up against Him, I shake my fist, I froth with rage, but it's still a way of telling Him that He's there, that He exists… that denial itself is an offering to His grandeur. The shout becomes a prayer in spite of me.

As long as the form of prayer is still there, even when it is emptied of its contents, there is hope of renewal.

But even Wiesel, who has been hailed as the oral as well as the literary spokesman for the Holocaust, seems to be turning away. His books on the Holocaust, *Beggar in Jerusalem* and *One Generation After*, were fragmentary in design, their symbols often contrived and their language closer to empty rhetoric than true parable. In 1972 he published *Souls on Fire*, a recounting of the Hasidic legends he had heard as a child – and in form, if not in content, the book is an extension of his best Holocaust writing. The power and uniqueness of Wiesel's tales of the Holocaust, like the legends on which they were modeled, was that they united dramatic realism with a moral lesson, or, more often, a moral challenge. In *Souls on Fire*, Wiesel seems finally to be able to lay his dead to rest and return to the legendary sources themselves.

Nelly Sachs was perhaps the only poet writing in a European language whose themes and symbols of the Holocaust were so integrated into Jewish history that they tended to diminish the uniqueness of the horror and to turn the murderers into impersonal and abstract forces. The thrust of her poetry is the inevitable suffering of the Jew in the historical dialectic between Jew and non-Jew; if it is the ancient destiny of the Jew to suffer, then it is the equally inescapable destiny of the gentile to perpetrate suffering. The Germans are never singled out as the victimizers in the contemporary catastrophe Nelly Sachs is elegizing; only the Jews are named. "It is our power together to fulfill the ancient call of our people – new and purified by suffering," she wrote to Professor Berendsohn in 1946. It is not difficult to understand why the Germans awarded the Frankfurt Peace Prize to Sachs in 1965 – a prize that carried the commendation for poetry that "reconciles German and Jew without contradiction. Her poems and lyric descriptions are masterpieces of German, works of forgiveness, salvation, and peace." Even the most demonic symbol of the Nazi machinery of death, the crematory chimney, is neutralized in her poetry into a mere latter-day conveyance for facilitating the flow of dust that is as old as the martyrdom of Jeremiah and Job:

> O the chimneys!
> Freedomway for Jeremiah and Job's dust –
> Who devised you and laid stone upon stone
> The road for refugees of smoke?

It almost seems as if there could be more than one answer to the question. In the poem "Landscape of Screams," this latest martyrdom of Israel is seen as preordained and prefigured in the *Akedah* – the screams of Israel are an echo of Abraham's "scream for the son of his heart," and even the sacrificial knife has been passed down as a murder weapon from Mt. Moriah to Maidanek.

For the battered reader of Holocaust literature, Sachs' lyrics offer solace and gentleness. There is no hatred here, no pledge to vengeance. And as the Holocaust assimilates into Jewish history, so all of nature is organic and integral and, ultimately, benevolent.

André Schwarz-Bart's novel, *The Last of the Just* (1959), is another attempt to integrate the Holocaust into the continuum of Jewish suffering. His literary images are far more textured and subtle than those of Nelly Sachs, and the agonies and horrors are far more vivid. But in viewing the Holocaust as a kind of culmination of the pogroms that began in York eleven centuries ago, and in presenting Ernie Levy, one of the Six Million, as the last in the Levy line of Just Men, he too has avoided many of the tensions that plague other writers of the Holocaust. Even the ironies of a betrayed faith at the close of the book are not the tortured challenge and revolt of Wiesel's writing, which is concerned entirely with the internal process of Jewish history and questions of theodicy. If Wiesel rejects the concept of the destiny of the Jews as suffering witnesses to Christian history, both Schwarz-Bart and Nelly Sachs seem to embrace it. "The Christians," says Ernie Levy, "take the cross by the other end and make a sword out of it." Ernie himself becomes an unwitting actor in a children's improvised Passion play, and later accepts a clearly Christological role by seeking martyrdom in the concentration camp at *Drancy and suffering all the children to be comforted by him in their last hours, as his eyes weep tears of blood. Again, as with Nelly Sachs' poetry, there is an abiding faith in the foreordained order of historical roles that lessens moral tensions and diminishes even the death agonies in the gas chambers.

THE HOLOCAUST AS AN APOCALYPTIC EVENT. There is another group of writers, who, although they have little else in common, deny the continuity between the pre-Holocaust past and the post-Holocaust future. For them the Holocaust is the primary and only reality, an apocalyptic event from which there is no return.

The writer who most powerfully delineated the geography of this anti-Eden is Adolf Rudnicki. His collection of short stories, *Ascent to Heaven*, was published in Polish shortly after the war and translated into English a few years later (1951). The desolate backdrop of the ruined ghettos of wartime Poland renders the human attempts to retain a semblance of dignity feeble and pitiful. In all of Holocaust literature, probably the most graphically striking picture of the physical destruction of the civilization of the Jews of Eastern Europe can be found in Rudnicki's story, "The Crystal Stream":

> Here [in the ruins of the Warsaw Ghetto] was not one of the elements created or organized by human effort, nothing to establish that this spot had been inhabited by man. Over an area which the eye could encompass only with difficulty, where formerly the greatest concentration of Jews in Europe had been housed, there was nothing but rubble and broken brick.

The physical context in which Jorge Semprun's French novel *The Long Voyage* (1964) takes place – a boxcar transporting one hundred and twenty political prisoners to Buchenwald – is as indigenous to the landscape of the Holocaust universe as the rubble of the Warsaw Ghetto. The five-day journey becomes the microcosm that contains memories of time past and projections of time future. Semprun uses the voyage, a motif that is almost as old as literature itself, to fix the Holocaust in the eternal present. The narrative, written 16 years after the event, opens this way: "There is the cramming of the bodies into the boxcar, the throbbing pain in the right knee." The endless darkness that envelops these five days is the primordial night, and the works of these days are a new beginning; by the end of the fifth day, death has gained dominion – death by starvation in the boxcar and the murder of Jewish children at the entrance to the camp. For the writer for whom there can be no Holocaust-free memories, this is the first year of the new calendar; 16 years after its stillborn creation, the death of these children is "already adolescent."

But the countryside through which the train passes on its way to – and from – Buchenwald is the serene Moselle Valley, as mockingly indifferent to the plight of these voyagers as are the peasants who live in these valleys and pretend not to smell the sweet smoke that emanates from the camp's chimneys. Buchenwald remains the sole inalienable property of those who were incarcerated there. But if Buchenwald is the primary condition of the narrator's existence, freedom is his essence. Semprun's narrative, like Rousset's, is the story of the political prisoner who chooses his own fate in joining the forces of the Resistance, and however necessary the consequences of such a choice may be, they are predicated on a freedom that was never the Jew's option.

Piotr Rawicz's novel *Blood from the Sky* explores other options, open to those Jews not marked by blatantly "Semitic" features. The hero, Boris, is a young educated Jew from a well-to-do family who manages to survive the war disguised as a Ukrainian farmer. The novel was originally published in French in 1961, and constitutes a very unusual – and not altogether coherent – literary experiment. It is narrated directly by Boris himself and introduced by the "author," who claims to have met him in a café after the war. This double narrative allows for both the earnest confessions of Boris and the cynical commentary of the "author." The fragmented narrative is interspersed with poems, parables, and philosophical speculations that transport the reader out of the normal flow of historical events. The cynicism that Rawicz shares with other writers of quasi-apocalyptic Holocaust literature is evident in some of the more grotesque scenes, which border at times on the scatological. But the more intently serious passages reflect oscillations in Rawicz's search for a literary medium that would be adequate to his subject. Other writers, such as Yakov Lind in German, Romain *Gary in French, and Jerzy *Kosinski in English, have been more consistent in adopting forms that leave no room for sentiment, for altruism or for heroism, which have no reference to a civilized world beyond the concentration camp universe.

Lind's collection of short stories *Soul of Wood* was published in 1964 and Gary's novel *The Dance of Genghis Cohn* appeared in 1968. There are no sane or sober touchstones in this fiction to provide direction for the reader's moral sensibilities. The hero of Lind's title story is a paralytic; Gary's novel is narrated in the first person by the ghost of a Jewish victim who has come back in the form of a *dybbuk* to haunt his Nazi murderer. In his former existence, the narrator was a stand-up comic in the Yiddish burlesque circuit in Berlin, in Warsaw – and "finally in Auschwitz." Both Lind and Gary have rejected the paradigm of tragedy for the paradigm of madness, embracing surrealism as the only mode through which art could express the outrage that the Holocaust had wrought on the human psyche. Gary's narrator, the irrepressible Genghis Cohn, muses with disgust on the classical works of art that have been inspired by the agonies of dying mortals:

> The thought occurs to me that thousands of artists have made works of great beauty out of the sufferings of Christ. They have feasted on it. I also remember that out of mutilated corpses of Guernica Picasso produced *Guernica* and Tolstoy milked war and peace for his *War and Peace*. I've always believed that if we still talk about Auschwitz and Treblinka, it's because the thing has not yet been redeemed by a beautiful work of literature…
>
> Am I, by any chance, being written up, or turned into a work of art or a poem, God forbid? That's one way of getting rid of me, a well-known method of exorcising the dybbuk

Truth is ugliness; ugliness, truth. The grotesque is the norm. Lind's stories do not allow for speculation on the propriety or plausibility of the fact that a passenger riding on a train finds himself sharing a compartment with a genteel-looking man who plans to bludgeon and dismember him and then consume his flesh – or that when one is invited to a stranger's house for dinner, he may find himself served up as entrée. The language of these satires is compressed and matter-of-fact, never indicating by authorial tone that anything out of the ordinary is taking place.

Like Lind, Kosinski circumvents the camps themselves and presents the Holocaust as the universal condition of contemporary mankind. His novel *The Painted Bird* (1965) is, essentially, the story of the inception and growth of evil in the soul of a young child. The Boy is only six years old when the story opens, but it does not take him long to learn that the secret of survival lies in sacrificing his innocence and pledging himself to the demonic forces that are sovereign in his world. As an alien who is taken at times for a gypsy, at times for a Jew – his true identity is never established and is actually irrelevant – he hides in numerous villages and only survives the cruelty of the local peasants by learning to beat them at their own game. These unlettered, instinctual peasants approximate only crudely the tortures that were being perfected a few miles away by civilized humanity in highly efficient concentration camps.

This story is too grim for even black humor. The essence of the drama, admits Kosinski in notes to the German translation of the novel, is hate. And of all the actors, it is the Boy whose hatred is the deepest and most conscious. Precisely because the tainted hero is a child, the novel taps the most primary sources of fear and terror that are sublimated even in much of Holocaust literature. Somehow, until Kosinski, childhood had retained its innocence in tragedy. Michel del Castillo leads his child right through the fires, but he brings him out morally unscathed. Arnošt *Lustig, a Czech writer whose translated stories appeared in the collection *Night and Hope* in 1962, has carved an island of adolescent love, loyalty, and a kind of defiant innocence in the midst of the ghetto. Even Ilse Aichinger's novel, *Herod's Children* (translated from German in 1963), a highly sophisticated attempt to present the fantasy world of a group of persecuted children, preserves the insulation of childhood. The fantasies are often nightmares, and reality intrudes rudely at times to shatter the dreamers with their dreams, but until the end the surviving children retain their solidarity and their ability to love.

Just as Kosinski refuses to limit the collaboration with the forces of destruction to a specific age group, so he refuses to locate Auschwitz on a specific geographical plane. The Holocaust becomes the essence of Western civilization in the twentieth century. It is assimilated into the routine and the vocabulary of our lives. It is the

> Coal-black milk of morning we drink it at sundown
> we drink it at noon and at dawning we drink it at night
> we drink it and drink it…
> (Paul *Celan, "Todesfuge" ("Fugue of Death"))

There is one writer who refused to enhance or augment stark reality by submitting it to even the minimal demands of artistic or moral mediation. Tadeusz Borowski was a Polish writer who spent several years as a political prisoner in Nazi camps. His own behavior during his internment was, according to his compatriot and fellow writer Czeslaw Milosz, admirable – but the narrators in his fiction are presented as collaborators in a system that is universally debasing. When all the trappings of civilization are stripped away, naked humanity shows itself to be a bundle of animal needs, its cleverness and strength directed only toward satisfying those needs. There is revulsion in the attitudes of the camp inmates to work they are forced to do, but it is aesthetic, rather than moral, revulsion. Borowski's prose is brutally direct, and he refuses to clothe the naked bloated bodies of dead children in the dignity of a single metaphor. Not only is there no pre-Holocaust world in his fiction, there is no world at all outside the physical boundaries of the system.

Borowski's short stories began to appear in English translation in the early 1960s, but were collected, under the title *This Way to the Gas, Ladies and Gentlemen*, only in 1967. By this time their author had been dead for 16 years. Most of his Holocaust stories had been written immediately after the war – quite an unusual phenomenon, if one recalls that several years (in some cases, decades) had to elapse before most writers could attempt to transform their memories into art. Borowski did not permit himself the luxury of distance either in time or in literary perspective. He received immediate recognition in postwar Poland for his uncompromising treatment of Nazism – but with the hardening of the Party line his writing came to be regarded as too nihilistic, and he was prevailed upon to set his literary talents to Communist polemic. Finally, overburdened by the mendacious propaganda he was forced to write, or by the memories his fiction had not exorcised, Borowski took his own life in 1951.

ART AS THE REDEMPTION OF MEANING. It is striking that for the most part the Jewish writers, or at least those who share a traditionally Jewish view of the function of art, have not allowed their world or their word to collapse. For the seminal Hebrew poet, Ḥayyim Naḥman *Bialik, the poetic word was a bridge over the chasm of nothingness, a spontaneous creation out of the void. Yet it is not simply in the act of nomination, but also in the affirmative act of transmission that the Jewish poet has sought to fulfill his role. Bialik himself was the poet of national calamity as well as national aspiration, and his poems commemorating the martyrs of the *Kishinev pogrom constitute a form of historical transmission that is as old as the lamentations of Jeremiah. It is in the light of this impulse to use art as a vehicle for national experience that we can understand the concern of many European Jewish writers with the documentary authenticity of their art, or the attempt of other writers to fit the Holocaust into a historical continuum.

Nevertheless, the inevitable consequence of the passage of time is the diminishing presence of the survivors, witnesses to the history, who force the confrontation between the event and the literary reflections of the event. To the extent that the Jewish artist is engaged in the "documentation" of historical agonies and the transformation of experience into a summons for renewal, time is running out.

The writer who has seen the fires of the camps and called them the flames of a dreadful apocalypse, and the writer who has looked at the same fires and seen the phoenix rising from the ashes, present not only two distinct artistic responses to the Holocaust experience, but also different paradigms for the relation between art and history and the place of art in modern culture.

[Sidra Ezrachi]

INTO THE TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY. In the last quarter of the twentieth century and well into the first decade of the twenty-first, Holocaust literature has emerged as a distinct genre, recognizable, and increasingly indispensable to understanding the event and its implications and to the ability to comprehend humanity *in extremis*.

Survivors, primarily Jewish survivors, have continued to write memoirs and to tell their stories. The extent of their contribution is significant, especially considering the paucity of written recollections of what happened to the Roma and Sinti (gypsies), whose testimony remains oral and virtually unrecorded and undocumented. The Jewish survivors have written in every European language, including Yiddish and Hebrew. With the increased interest in the Holocaust, important works written in one language find their way into others.

New media have provided new opportunities. With the advent of inexpensive video technology and the massive efforts of video history programs, no generation to date has left as complete a record of its experience. Lawrence *Langer's *Holocaust Testimonies: The Ruins of Memory* (1991) is an important literary exploration of the importance of this new way of telling. These recordings will offer future generations a people's memories of the event.

As James *Young has pointed out, there is a dramatic difference between memoirs written after the event, at a distance, and the diarist writing within the inferno. The diarists did not know what lay ahead, perhaps could not know what lay ahead precisely because it was unimaginable, and thus the reader is left with the whirlwind of often indigestible experience, without order, and often without any way of interpreting it. In contrast, the memoir writer knows at the beginning of the story what happened and imposes order on what was experienced in chaos, inserts knowledge of what was happening elsewhere that was unavailable to one undergoing the experience. Generally, the organization is simple, as reflected in the title of Siegfried Halbreich's 1991 memoir, *Before, During and After,* though the life that he lived did not lend itself to such neat order. "*Before*" was not quite before and "*During*" there was total uncertainty if there would be an "*After.*"

Each memoirist encounters the limits of language in its ability to describe in ordinary words what happened. Primo Levi was not alone in insisting that had the *lagers* lasted a little longer, they would have invented a language of their own to describe the destruction and dehumanization of men and women. Indeed, it is the mark of a serious writer on the Holocaust that he understands and wrestles with the attempt to express the inexpressible, to put into words what it may be impossible to be put into words. Elie Wiesel wondered if the very commitment to language was not betrayal. Ludwig *Wittgenstein wrote at the end of the *Tractatus*: "Whereof one cannot speak, thereof one must remain silent." And yet, as Martin Buber said: "Speak we must. Such is the melancholy of man, also his greatness."

Major writers have tried to grapple with the events of the Holocaust and some have written significant books. William Styron, whose *Confessions of Nat Turner* (1967) was an important exploration of slavery, used a young Southerner as his means for exploring the Holocaust. He relied on the work of Richard L. Rubenstein in *The Cunning of History*, in which Rubenstein viewed the Holocaust as the perverse perfection of human slavery: The slave was no longer a capital investment but a consumable raw material to be used in the process of manufacture and recycled into the German war economy. In *Sophie's Choice* (1979) Styron respectfully did not use a Jewish inmate but Sophie, a non-Jewish Pole, as his entry point. Styron did not enter Auschwitz; he viewed it from the vantage point of the Commandant's house. Styron understood the particularity of the Jewish experience and respected it.

But at the defining moment of the novel, when Sophie is forced to make a choice, Styron backs away. He cannot penetrate into Sophie's world. Styron understood that the victims faced "choiceless choices," choosing between the impossible and the horrific, never choosing between good and bad, right and wrong, but between the unimaginable and impossible. So when Sophie was forced to choose, Styron protected her zone of privacy. Every casual reader wanted to know how Sophie felt – a trivial question that would merit a trivial answer. She did not feel. She could not feel. Instead Styron asked: what manner of man put Sophie before such a choice – a profound question that shatters our image of humanity and that shakes us to the foundation of our being.

He wrote:

> *Someday I will understand Auschwitz.* This was a brave statement but innocently absurd. No one will ever understand Auschwitz. What I might have set down with more accuracy might have been: *Someday I will write about Sophie's life and death. And thereby help demonstrate how absolute evil is never extinguished from the world.* Auschwitz itself remains inexplicable. The most profound statement yet made about Auschwitz was not a statement at all, but a response.

Philip *Roth, whose earlier explorations of American Jews enraged some Jewish critics, who feared that he was telling non-Jews too much about the dark side of American Jewish life, has been instrumental in bringing East European writing, especially Jewish writing, to the United States. Like his elders, Saul *Bellow and Arthur *Miller, and other American Jewish writers, Roth explored the Holocaust, albeit from the vantage point of safety, from the perspective of memory. His offering, a 2004 work of counterhistory, *The Plot against America*, envisions an antisemitic Charles Lindbergh as president from 1941, not Franklin Delano Roosevelt, and depicts a counterhistory so vividly that even though the reader knows it is fiction, he rapidly turns the pages to see how it turns out.

Holocaust literature has been recognized and rewarded as unique testimony of the human spirit. In 2002, the Hungarian Jewish writer Imre *Kertész was awarded the Nobel Prize for literature "for writing that upholds the fragile experience of the individual against the barbaric arbitrariness of history."

The citation read: "In his writing Imre Kertész explores the possibility of continuing to live and think as an individual in an era in which the subjection of human beings to social forces has become increasingly complete…. For him Auschwitz is not an exceptional occurrence that like an alien body subsists outside the normal history of Western Europe. It is the ultimate truth about human degradation in modern existence." His work, especially his novel *Sorstalanság* (1975; *Fateless*, 1992), deals with his experience as a young teenager in Auschwitz. As does his *Kaddis a meg nem született gyermekért* (1990; *Kaddish for a Child not Born*, 1997), which shares much of Primo Levi's pessimism regarding the human condition, and explores the dubious blessing of survival and the price paid for that survival.

There is a paradox relating to the Holocaust: the more distant we stand from the event the larger the event looms. For some writers the event is no longer the focus, but memory; not direct experience but the recollection of that experience by themselves or by others. The focus is on memory, most especially when there is a struggle for memory. Saul *Friedlaender, a distinguished historian who has focused on the Holocaust, produced what may arguably be called his most important work in *When Memory Comes* (1979; originally published in France as *Quand vient la souvenir*, 1978). A child survivor of the Holocaust whose parents were murdered in Auschwitz, raised as a Catholic, Friedlaender was told the truth about himself only as he was preparing to enter the priesthood. Child survivors of the Holocaust, young children especially who by the turn of the twenty-first century were men and women in their sixties and seventies, have been insistent that they too remember. For years, many of them had their memories challenged – sometimes protectively, sometimes defiantly, and sometimes dismissively as people said: "What could you remember, you were only a child."

Children's memories are suspect; so too are their memoirs, especially now after the controversy surrounding Binjamin Wilkomirski's *Fragments* (1995), a brilliant "memoir" that was very well reviewed but turned out to have been a work of imaginative fiction. The fraud was scandalous, injurious to the entire genre of memoirs, and fodder in the hands of those who would deny the Holocaust and challenge all survivors' testimony. The genocide scholar and young child survivor Robert Melson's work *False Papers* (2000) was an important attempt to distinguish between the stories that he had heard and the moments he recalled. Children may not remember events because events have a context and a history, and children may not be familiar with either. They will recall, often quite vividly, emotions like fear and terror, excitement or anticipation. They may even recall colors and smells, which later knowledge permits them to interpret events in a more complete narrative. Despite his youth at the time, Melson insists on the integrity of his memory and keeps the reader informed of the difference between what he has remembered and what he has pieced together as an adult. Melson insists that he remembers what he remembers, but fortifies his personal memories by allowing the reader to understand how the fragments of his memories have been pieced together into a coherent narrative. He interviewed his parents over an extended period of time and presents their stories in their own voices. Nina, Willy, and Bobi thus emerge with integrity of their own, and each character is given his due. Yehuda Nir has written of *The Lost Childhood* (1989). His teenage years were not a period of adolescence; he went from childhood to adulthood with the German invasion. His sentiments are mirrored by the historian Nechama Tec's *Dry Tears: The Story of a Lost Childhood* (1982). Alexandra Zapruder edited an important collection of children's diaries and essays written during the Holocaust in *Salvaged Pages* (2002).

Child survivors must be distinguished from children of survivors. Helen Epstein's *Children of the Holocaust: Conversations with Sons and Daughters of Survivors* (1979) called a generation into being. And several major writers have emerged as literary figures in their own right who are children of survivors and who have made the Holocaust a centerpiece, if not the centerpiece, of their work. *See Under – Love* (1989; in Hebrew, 1986) is one of many fine works by the Israeli author David Grossman. American writers like Melvin Bukiet, author of *Stories of an Imaginary Childhood* (1992), *After* (1996), and *Nothing Makes You Free: Writings by Descendants of the Jewish Holocaust Survivors* (2002), an anthology he edited, and Thane Rosenbaum, author of *Second Hand Smoke* (1999), *Elijah Visible* (1996), and *Golems of Gotham* (2002), have centered their work on their experience as children of survivors. The cartoonist Art *Spiegelman used his craft to daringly and controversially portray his family narrative in two works, *Maus* (1986) and *Maus II* (1991), and was awarded the Pulitzer Prize for his efforts.

Women's literature has emerged as a distinct form of Holocaust narrative. While Jewish women were victimized as Jews, there are distinct aspects to their suffering that are not encompassed in the male experience and the male narrative. Dalia Offer and Lenore Weizmann, Carol Rittner and John Roth have compiled anthologies and critical discussions. Charlotte Delbo is a non-Jewish French writer who has shared her experience as an inmate. The Holocaust has been used by some women writers as an instrument to advance a feminist agenda, usually unsuccessfully. More importantly, when the tools of women's studies are used to understand unique aspects of the Holocaust, little controversy emerges and greater understanding.

The emergence of Holocaust literature has spawned the field of literary studies of the Holocaust. Lawrence Langer wrote *The Holocaust and the Literary Imagination* (1975) as a student of literature; his subsequent works have been attempts to understand the Holocaust through the lens of literature and increasingly of art. He has given the field a definitive understanding of the situation of the victims with his memorable phrase "choiceless choices." He has been insistent that the Holocaust be confronted not as a tragedy but as an atrocity, an event without redemptive meaning that shatters the orderliness of time and perspective.

Alvin Rosenfeld has spent half a century using literary criticism as a lens of understanding. His early work *Double Dying: Reflections on Holocaust Literature* (1980) has been joined by a later, edited, work, *Thinking About the Holocaust: After Half a Century* (1997), that uses his skill as a literary scholar to probe the Holocaust. Sidra DeKoven Ezrahi's *By Words Alone: The Holocaust in Literature* (1980), explores literature and the limitations of literature.

The literary critic Terrence Des Pres introduced the term "excremental assault" (in *The Survivor: An Anatomy of Life in the Death Camps*, 1976), which over time has been understood not as a metaphor but as an actual depiction of the Nazi attempt at human defilement. What Bruno Bettelheim in the *Informed Heart* (1960) once dismissed as infantilization of the victims has come to be perceived as structural. Robert Jan Van Pelt described the architecture of Auschwitz in *Anatomy of the Auschwitz Death Camp* (1994), edited by Israel Gutman and Michael Berenbaum. Van Pelt tallied 70 latrines for 35,000 inmates, a biological catastrophe that was an essential part of the design of the camp. Dehumanization, as Gitta Sereny discovered in her memoir, *Into That Darkness: From Mercy Killing to Mass Murder* (1974), was essential to the perpetrators. It made the act of killing easier.

David Roskies and Alan Mintz, both of the Jewish Theological Seminary, both students of Hebrew literature and Roskies of Yiddish literature, have attempted to put this literature of the Shoah into the context of the history of Jewish literature and thus to explore what it shares in common and where it differs. Roskies' anthology, *Literature of Destruction: Jewish Responses to Catastrophe* (1989), traverses the whole of Jewish literature and places the Holocaust within it, while his work *Against the Apocalypse: Responses to Catastrophe in Modern Jewish Culture* (1984), confines itself to the modern world and travels far beyond literature. Mintz, in *Ḥurban: Responses to Catastrophe in Hebrew Literature* (1984), seeks like Roskies to explore the Holocaust in a broader context. He later wrote on *Popular Culture and the Shaping of Holocaust Memory in America* (2001).

Gabriel Rosenfeld has explored counterhistory in *The World Hitler Never Made* (2005). Thus with all the exalted genre of Holocaust literature, there is a dark side as well; high art joins low. In the hands of talented and respectful writers, those who approach the subject with fear and trembling, the very subject matter calls forth new creation and expands the boundaries of literary possibility. It illumines our understanding of the event as those with imagination, sensitivity, and talent grapple with its impact and asks new questions or explore old questions in new ways. And because the Holocaust has now become a paradigmatic manifestation of twentieth-century evil, a centerpiece of our understanding of all evil and of the human capacity to inflict and to endure evil, there is no doubt that it will be a subject of literature for the future as well.

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[Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

Historiography of the Holocaust

Literature dealing with the Holocaust began to take shape in the 1950s. From the end of the war through the early 1950s the main task was gathering facts and personal memoirs. P. Friedman collected a bibliography of bibliographies of that period. Among the first were Léon Poliakov, Bréviaire de la haine (1951; *Harvest of Hate*, 1954) and Gerald *Reitlinger, *The Final Solution* (1953). They describe actual events, look at some of the primary sources of Nazi hatred, and ask how such cold-blooded murder could have been perpetrated. In these studies the Jews appear as a passive element, the helpless victims of the machinery of destruction. In *Their Brothers' Keepers* (1967) P. Friedman attempted to describe mainly the courageous stand of the Jews, as did Ber Mark from a pro-Communist point of view in *Walka i zaglada warszawskiego getta* (1959). A new era in Holocaust research was inaugurated with Raul Hilberg's *The Destruction of the European Jews* (1961), which is the basic book for an understanding of German bureaucracy and the history of the murder of the Jews. Like the previous works it is based mainly on German sources. Hilberg studies in depth the amoral character of German bureaucracy and in doing so alludes to the danger inherent in bureaucratic systems as a whole. While he does not deal specifically with Jewish reaction, he states that Jewish leadership during that period became part of the Nazi bureaucratic system, albeit unwillingly, and that this contributed to the efficiency and the lack of any real resistance. He believes that the passivity of the Jewish people was the result of its historical Diaspora heritage, and that they did not avail themselves, except in isolated instances, of the only possible mode of reaction: armed revolt.

Many questions on these subjects were raised at the Eichmann trial in 1961. The dramatic character of the trial and the wealth of facts that emerged provided a new incentive to research into the Holocaust. Among the directly related publications are *Ne'um ha-Petiḥah me'et Gidon Hausner, Ha-Yoeẓ ha-Mishpati la-Memshalah neged Edolf Eichmann, Piskei Din ve-Eduyyot*, 1 (1961–63); idem, *Ne'um ha-Sikkum* 3 (1962); H. Barlas, N. Blumenthal, and Y. Kermish, *Ha-Sho'ah ve-ha-Mishpat*, 1–3 (1961–63); and R.M.W. Kempner, *Eichmann und Konplizen* (1961) (Heb., *Ha-Mikẓoa Hashmadah* (1963)), and Gideon Hausner, *Justice in Jerusalem* (1966).

Hannah Arendt in *Eichmann in Jerusalem: A Report on the Banality of Evil* (1963) interpreted the facts in an extreme manner. She believed that the atrocities had been perpetrated by bureaucrats the likes of which are found in large numbers in every society today. In her opinion, Jewish leadership cooperated fully with the Nazis and it would have been better had there been no leaders. Jacob Robinson in his *And the Crooked Shall be Made Straight* (1965) pointed out countless errors in her book, and seriously challenged the validity of her conclusions. The book by the psychologist Bruno Bettelheim, *The Informed Heart* (1961), expresses views related to those of Hilberg. The Nazi system, as evidenced by what happened during the reign of terror in the concentration camps, had the power to crush its victims and turn them into mere ciphers. Only rare individuals could survive; it was precisely the Jews with their humanistic-liberal education who were among the easiest victims. Robinson also replied to Bettelheim in *Psychoanalysis in a Vacuum: B. Bettelheim and the Holocaust* (1970). From objections to the books of Hilberg, Arendt, and Bettelheim, an apologetic literature emerged that tried to defend the stand of the Jews: e.g., Y. Suhl, *They Fought Back* (1967);

M. Elkins, *Forged in Fury* (1971); and R. Ainzstein in his *Jewish Resistance in Nazi-Occupied Eastern Europe* (1974) went to extremes in describing the Holocaust as the history of the war of the armed Jews against the Nazis. The aim of such an exaggerated approach was possibly to fill the spiritual need of the Jewish public in general, and that of the Israelis in particular, to counteract the feeling of helplessness felt so strongly at the Eichmann trial.

In Eastern Europe, mainly in Poland, historiography that explains the Holocaust as the result of the rise to power of German imperialism and European fascism has been prevalent (especially since 1967). The Polish people are described as assisting in the attempts to save the Jews while the Jews are described as totally passive and their leadership as traitorous and weak. Allegations were directed particularly against the Zionists, who are said to have cooperated with the Nazis. According to these interpretations, the ghetto uprisings, especially in the Warsaw ghetto, were carried out by pro-Communist Jews under Communist leadership. Such is the case with W. Bartoszewski-Z. Lewin, *Righteous Among Nations: How the Poles Helped the Jews, 1939–1945* (1969), which describes in broad detail the help allegedly extended by most of the Polish people to the Jews. This distortion of history is also found in the works of serious historians: G. Madajczyk, *Polityka III Rzeszy w okupowanej Polace* (1970), K. Iranek-Osmecki, *Kto ratuje jedno zycie… Polacy i Zydzi 1939–1945* (1968). Some Polish historiography, occasionally shared by Polish emigrés to the West, tends to become propaganda and approaches antisemitism by accusing the Jews, in effect, of participating in their own annihilation.

The Nazis ("neo-Nazis"), and those who consciously or unconsciously support them, also have their own propaganda historiography: P. Rassinier, *Le drame des Juifs européens* (1964); R. Harwood, *Did Six Million Really Die: The Truth at Last* (1974); Austin J. App, *The Six Million Swindle: Blackmailing the German People for Hard Marks with Fabricated Corpses* (1974); T. Christophersen, *The Auschwitz-Betrug* (1975). This literature minimizes the number of Jews murdered, denies the very existence of the gas chambers in Auschwitz, claims that the Jews suffered no more than other nations and that their only casualties were war victims, or even that the murder of the Jews did not take place at all. This propaganda reached its climax with a book by Arthur R. Butz, *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century* (1976), which claims that only a million Jews were killed during the war, that all the others emigrated and scattered, and that the Holocaust was invented by the Jews to extract money from the Germans and gain favor with the Western powers.

Following the Eichmann trial, and increasingly from the end of the 1960s, historiographic literature has been published that is not connected with any ideology. While Nora Levin's *The Holocaust* (1968) is largely a repeat of Hilberg's great book, *The War against the Jews 1933–1945* (1975) by Lucy S. Dawidowicz was a new attempt at producing a general work on the Holocaust. The book does not deal with all of Jewish Europe and makes some generalizations that are not accepted by all research scholars. However, it does help in producing a much more balanced picture. A book by N. Eck, *Sho'at ha-Am ha-Yehudi be-Europa* (1975), is a less convincing comprehensive attempt. Helen Fein in her *Accounting for Genocide* (1979) uses a sociological-historical model that attempts to explain the differences between various occupied countries with regard to victimization of the Jews. Yehuda Bauer's *Holocaust in Historical Perspective* (1978) and *The Jewish Emergence from Powerlessness* (1979) are analytical attempts to deal with overall problems of the period from the historian's angle. Studies on many specific topics are missing and, although significant progress in the field of monographs and basic research has been made, without such studies it will be difficult to arrive at a balanced historical description. German scholars deal in depth with the study of the Nazi policy towards the Jews; e.g., H. Krausnick's "Judenverfolgung," in Helmut Krausnick, Martin Broszat, and Hans-Adolf Jacobsen, *Anatomy of the SS State* (1968), clarifies when the Nazis decided on the Final Solution and the stages in the Nazi policy towards the Jewish question. Andreas Hillgruber in "Die Endlosung und das Deutsche Ostimperium" in *Viertel-jahreshefte fuer Zeitgeschichte*, 2 (1972) deals with the connection between the murder of the Jews and the policy of Hitler towards the East; V.D. Adam in *Judenpolitik im Dritten Reich* (1972) traces the administrative steps of the Nazis towards the Jews and the tortuous paths of Nazi policy. Generally speaking, however, neither German, nor American, British, or French historiography has integrated the Holocaust in its analysis of World War II.

Isaiah Trunk's *Judenrat* (1972) deals with the problematics of the Jewish Councils (*Judenraete*) in Poland and in the Baltic countries and their areas of activity and patterns of behavior. Another comprehensive survey of Judenraete is to be found in *Patterns of Jewish Leadership in Nazi Europe 1933–1945* (1979), in the Proceedings of the Third Yad Vashem International Historical Conference, April 1979. Bibliography on this subject was collected by V. Wahlen in "Select Bibliography Judenraete under the Nazi Rule," in *Yad Vashem Studies*, 10 (1974). Books of basic documentation have been published: Nachman Blumental, *Darko shel Judenrat* (1962) on the Bialystok ghetto; Blumental, *Te'udot mi-Getto Lublin* (1967); Blumental and Yosef Kermish, *Ha-Meri ve-ha-Mered be-Getto Varshah* (1965); Adam Czerniakow, *Yoman Getto Varshah* (1969). In addition to the collections of documents, more than 500 books in commemoration of destroyed communities and memoirs of survivors have been published. Each adds a piece to the puzzle.

The study of the reaction, behavior, and resistance of the Jews is also still in progress. Among the important studies on this subject are Z.A. Brown and D. Levin, *Toldoteha shel Maḥteret, ha-Irgun ha-Loḥem shel Yehudei Kovno* (1962), on Kovno; Yitzhak *Arad, *Vilna ha-Yehudit be-Ma'avakah u-ve-Kilyon* (1976) on Vilna; Arad, *Ghetto in Flames* (1980) on Vilna; Israel Gutman, *Mered Kovno* (1962), on Kovno; Gutman, *Mered ha-Neẓurim* (1963), about Mordecai Anielewicz; Gutman, *Yehudei Varshah 1939–1943* (1977), on Warsaw; A. Margaliot, *Ben hatsalah le-ovdan: ʿiyunim be-toldot Yehude Germanyah 1932–1938* (Jerusalem, 1990); and Livia Rothkirchen, *Ḥurban Yahadut Slovakia* (1961), on Slovakia. The description of the rescue of the Jews of Denmark is a separate chapter that has been dealt with by L. Yahil's *Haẓalat ha-Yehudim be-Denyah* (1967; *The Rescue of Danish Jewry,* 1969).

Studies of armed resistance by the Jews include Yehuda Bauer, *They Chose Life: Resistance in the Holocaust* (1973); Dov Levin, *With Their Backs to the Wall* (1978); Dov Levin, *Loḥamim ve-Omedim al Nafsham: Milḥemet Yehudei Lita ba-Naẓim 1941–1945* (1975), on Lithuania; Dov Levin, *Im ha-Gav el ha-Kir – Leḥimat Yehudei Latvia neged ha-Naẓim 1942–1944* (1978), on Latvia; Shmuel Krakowski, *Leḥimah Yehudit be-Polin neged ha-Naẓim 1942–1944* (1977), on Poland; Erich Kulka, *Ha-Yehudim be-Ẓeva Swoboda bi-Berit ha-Moaẓot,' Leḥimat Yehudei Tchekhoslovakia be-Nazim be-Milhemet ha-Olam ha-Sheniah* (1977), on Jews with the Czech Army in the U.S.S.R.

However, most of the specific research on these subjects has appeared in articles and monographs published mainly in the collections of *Yad Vashem Studies*, thirty-three volumes as of 2006 in Hebrew and English; *Yalkut Moreshet* (73 issues as of 2006); *Dappim le-Ḥeker ha-Sho'ah ve-ha-Mered*, published by Bet Loḥamei ha-Getta'ot, First Series, two volumes (1951–52); Second Series, 17 volumes up to 2006; Institute for Research of the Holocaust Period, the University of Haifa and the Ghetto Fighters House, *Studies of the Holocaust Period* Vol. 1 (1978). Yad Vashem has also published collections of studies: *Ha-Amidah ha-Yehudit bi-Tekufat ha-Sho'ah* (1973), an introduction into the general problems of the Holocaust, and *Nisyonot Haẓalah be-Tekufat ha-Sho'ah* (1976), on rescue attempts.

Among those who have written on the survivors of the Holocaust are Z. Zimmerman, "*Li-Demutah shel She'erit ha-Peletah be-Germanyah*" (in *Gesher*, 4, 1969); Zimmerman, *Ha-Itonut shel She'erit ha-Peletah be-Germanyah* (1970), on the survivors' press; Yehuda Bauer, *Flight and Rescue: Brikha* (1970).

There has been an increase in the literature on the attitude of the various countries and groups to the Holocaust. Those concerning the United States include David S. Wyman's *Paper Walls* (1968); Henry L. Feingold, *The Politics of Rescue* (1970); and Saul S. Friedman, *No Haven for the Oppressed* (1973). Piercing questions about the apathy of the world are raised by Arthur D. Morse in *While Six Million Died* (1968). More and more questions are being asked about the attitude of the Jews of the free world and the Yishuv in Palestine towards their brethren under the Nazi rule, as in Yehuda Bauer's *American Jewry and the Holocaust* (1980). In the Jewish and Christian worlds, questions are raised as to how an omnipotent God could have allowed such bestiality to occur. From a traditional but not necessarily Orthodox Jewish point of view, Emil Fackenheim's *God's Presence in History* (1970) deals with the "commanding voice of Auschwitz" against giving Hitler a posthumous victory. A more conservative approach is that of Eliezer Berkovits in *Faith after the Holocaust* (1973). He dwells on the doctrine of *hester panim* (God's turning away His face). Irving J. Rosenbaum's *The Holocaust and Halakhah* (1976) produces evidence that there was ongoing religious activity during the Holocaust, as does H.J. Zimmels' *The Echo of the Nazi Holocaust in the Rabbinic Literature* (1975). A critical approach to the religious aspect of the Holocaust is in Richard L. Rubinstein, *After Auschwitz* (1966); Alexander Donat, *The Holocaust Kingdom* (1965); and Donat, "*Kol mi-Tokh ha-Afar*" (in *Yalkut Moreshet*, 21, 1976; "Reply" of M. Unna in *ibid.*, 22, 1976).

A summary of the various theological approaches and their categorization according to models (mainly biblical) appears in P. Peli's *Be-Ḥippus aḥar Lashon Datit la-Sho'ah* (*Shenaton Yerushalayim*, 1977).

Another trend in historiography aims at clarifying the sources of Nazi antisemitism: Samuel Ettinger, "*Shorshei ha-Anti-Shemiyyut be-Zeman ha-Ḥadash*," and Jacob L. Talmon, "*Te'udah ve-Edut: Mashma'utah ha-Universalit shel ha-Anti-Shemiyyut ha-Hadashah*" (in *Sho'at Yehudei Europa*, 1973) investigated the question of whether Nazi antisemitism is a new historical phenomenon or the continuation of traditional antisemitism of the Christian religious type. Uriel Tal, in *Christians and Jews in Germany: Religion, Politics and Ideology in the Second Reich, 1870–1914* (1975), studies the prior background to these problems. In a number of articles (cf. Yad Vashem XIII) Tal examines in depth some of the basic historiographical problems of the Holocaust. The influence of mass culture on the development of deep-seated hatred of the Jews is investigated by George Mosse in *Germans and Jews* (1970) and *The Nationalization of the Masses* (1975).

Saul Friedlaender in *Pius XII and the Third Reich* (1966; *Pie XII et le IIIe Reich*, 1964), *L'anti-semitisme Nazi: histoire d'une psychose collective* (1971), and "The Historical Significance of the Holocaust" (in *The Jerusalem Quarterly*, 1, 1976) makes use of psychology to explain the history of the Holocaust and investigates the relationship between the Catholic Church and the Jews during that period. Other studies on the subject are Guenther Lewy's *The Catholic Church and Nazi Germany* (1964), and from the Christian point of view, Franklin H. Littell and Hubert G. Locke (eds.), *The German Church Struggle and the Holocaust* (1974); Littel, *The Crucifixion of the Jews* (1976); A. Roy Eckardt, *Elder and Younger Brothers: The Encounter of Jews and Christians* (1967); and Rosemary Radford Ruether, *Faith and Fratricide* (1975). All these works show that Christian antisemitism had a central influence upon the development of Nazi antisemitism.

Discussion about the influence of the Holocaust on literature and art has become more widespread, for example in Shamai Golan (ed.), *Ha-Sho'ah: Pirkei Edut ve-Sifrut* (1976); Cynthia Haft, *The Theme of Nazi Concentration Camps in French Literature* (1973); Jacob Glatstein, Israel Knox, and Samuel Margoshes (eds.), *Anthology of Holocaust Literature* (1973); and Lawrence L. Langer, *The Holocaust and the Literary Imagination* (1975).

Various bibliographical works have been published on this theme. Philip Friedman gathered material on the first period of research in his bibliography of bibliographies; Mendel Piekarz (ed.), *Ha-Sho'ah Veha-Gevurah be-Aspaklaryah Shel ha-'itonut ha-'Ivrit*, four volumes (1966; "The Jewish Holocaust and Heroism Through the Eyes of the Hebrew Press"); Piekarz, *Ha-Sho'ah u-Sefiḥeha be-Sefarim ha-Ivri'im she-Yats'u la-or be-Shanim 1933–1972*, two volumes (1974; "The Holocaust and its Aftermath"); Philip Friedman and Josef Gar, *Bibliography of Yiddish Books on the Catastrophe and Heroism* (1962); Jacob Robinson, *The Holocaust and After-Sources and Literature in English* (1973); *Guide to Unpublished Material of the Holocaust Period*, The Hebrew University Institute of Contemporary Jewry, 1–5 (1970–79).

[Yehuda Bauer and Aharon Weiss]

In the years between 1980 and 2005, scholarship on the Holocaust has grown in quality and quantity and in a certain sense is overwhelming.

Studying and researching the Holocaust has become a multidisciplinary task. Historians still dominate but the areas of psychology and literature, sociology and theology, philosophy and film, linguistics and even chemistry and architecture have made important contributions to the field. Two major developments will have an ongoing impact on the subject. With the collapse of Communism and the fall of the Iron Curtain, the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum and Yad Vashem have jointly and individually undertaken major efforts throughout Europe, especially Eastern Europe, to microfilm records relating to the Holocaust. These records, hitherto inaccessible to Western scholars, are now available in Washington and/or Jerusalem. It will take decades to mine this material. The ongoing declassification of records will make still more material available, and this too is shedding important light on the field. Secondly, as the invention of video technology coincided with increased consciousness of the Holocaust, survivor testimony is now available and will add to increased understanding not just of the history of the Shoah, but also to personalize and individualize that understanding. This new material will also provide a useful tool to probe memory and contrast earlier testimony, when the events were fresh in the survivors' minds and untainted by information acquired later.

Several general histories been published, and they have added immeasurably to Holocaust understanding. Raul Hilberg has published a second (1985) and third edition (2003) of his magisterial work, *The Destruction of the European Jews*, along with his introduction to the study of the Holocaust, *Sources of Holocaust Research: An Analysis* (2001). He also published *Perpetrator, Victim, Bystander: The Jewish Catastrophe 1933–45* (1992). Hilberg incorporated documents not available for his first edition and each subsequent edition has been a refinement and more precise than the original. His work on *Sources* is an important guide to how to read documents. He never backs off from his reading of the way in which German documents perceived the Jewish struggle, though the English edition of the *Warsaw Diary of Adam Czerniakow* clearly articulates the dilemma facing Jewish leadership. As always, Hilberg's work is authoritative and instructive.

Martin Gilbert's *The Holocaust: A History of the Jews during the Second World War* (1985) makes voluminous use of testimonies to narrate the events. It offers the texture of testimony and packs emotional power. Saul Friedlander has written the first of a proposed two-volume study, *Nazi Germany and the Jews (*Volume 1: *The Years of Persecution, 1933–1939*), which weaves together narratives that have seldom been combined, along with rigorous historical analysis. Richard L. Rubenstein and John K. Roth have updated *Approaches to Auschwitz: The Holocaust and Its Legacy* (1987, 2003). It provides diverse ways of understanding the event, from psychology to theology, history, and literature as well as film and art. Yehuda Bauer's *History of the Holocaust* (1982) is meant for classroom use. It offers a comprehensive view from the perspective of Israel's preeminent Holocaust scholar. Younger scholars Deborah Dwork and Robert Jan van Pelt have written *Holocaust: A History* (2002). The title is appropriately modest for a substantive work that balances the large narrative of history with the personal stories of survivors. The authors had previously collaborated on *Auschwitz: 1270 to the Present* and have woven the historical with the personal. Because of Van Pelt's training as an architect, the book pays attention to physical construction and architectural issues, and because of Dwork's writings on children, the plight of children is illustrated throughout. Michael Marrus' *The Holocaust in History* (1987) reviews the major issues of historical debate in the first 42 years after the Shoah and still has enduring value. Omer Bartov's *Germany's War and the Holocaust; Disputed Histories* (2002) brings together German historians of World War II with Holocaust historians, Israeli, American, and German.

Lawrence Langer began his career as a student of literature who touched on the Holocaust. He then became a student of the Holocaust who uses his literary training to understand the event and its representations. His work on *Holocaust Testimonies: The Ruins of Memory* (1991) is probing and uncompromising, as is *Versions of Survival: The Holocaust and the Human Spirit* (1982). The literary anthology he edited, *Art from the Ashes* (1995), is comprehensive and offers a wide range of literary and other artistic explorations. Together with Alvin Rosenfeld, whose works include *Imagining Hitler* (1995), *Anne Frank and the Future of Holocaust Memory* (2005), and the volume he edited, *Thinking about Hitler: After Half a Century* (1997), and Sidra Ezrachi, author of *By Words Alone: The Holocaust in Literature* (1980), have demonstrated that literature is indispensable to understanding the Holocaust.

Helen Fein's *Accounting for Genocide* (1979) deals with the sociology of the Holocaust and has implications for all genocide. Zygmunt Bauman's *Modernity and the Holocaust* (1989) is less comprehensive but more explorative, concise and hard-hitting. The introductory essay on the sociology of the Holocaust – or lack thereof – is highly critical of his field.

Three encyclopedias have appeared: Israel Gutman's *Encyclopedia of the Holocaust* (1990); *The Holocaust Encyclopedia* (2001), edited by Walter Laqueur; and the *Encyclopedia of the Holocaust* (2000), edited by Robert Rozett and Shmuel Spector. There is a companion to Gutman's work, the *Encyclopedia of the Third Reich* (1991), edited by Christian Zentner and Friedmann Bedurftig. It focuses on the perpetrators and not their victims.

The Holocaust Chronicle (2000) uses the chronology of the Holocaust to build a pictorial and documentary presentation. Israel Charny's *Encyclopedia of Genocide* (1999) provides a broader perspective within the context of comparative genocide. Yad Vashem is in the process of publishing the country-by-country *Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations: Rescuers of Jews during the Holocaust* (2003–), and Shmuel Spector has edited *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life: Before and During the Holocaust* (2001). Each of these works demonstrates the way in which the field of Holocaust Studies has come of age.

The United States Holocaust Memorial Museum has published the *Historical Atlas of the Holocaust* (1996), which assists in understanding the Holocaust through its geography. It joined an earlier work by Martin Gilbert.

For a further sense of Adolf Hitler, Gerhard L. Weinberg has edited *Hitler's Second Book: The Unpublished Sequel to Mein Kampf* (2003), which expands the understanding of Hitler. John Lukacs, in *The Hitler of History* (1998), allows those who have not read the detailed biographies of the Fuehrer to understand their import and the man they depict. It is less a biography than a study of the merits and limitations of the biographies that have been written about him. Since 1980, several other works on Hitler have appeared; among them Gerald Fleming's *Hitler and the Final Solution* (1984) and Richard Breitman's *The Architect of Genocide: Himmler and The Final Solution* (1991) are valuable additions to the field.

More work has been forthcoming on the groups that the Nazis defined as enemies of the state and confined in concentration camps. Guenter Lewy's *The Nazi Persecution of the Gypsies* (2000) is the most comprehensive and best recent study on the subject. Gunther Grau's *Hidden Holocaust? Gay and Lesbian Persecution in Germany 1933–45* (1995) is an important collection of documents relating to the German persecution of homosexuals.

Henry Friedlander has added a work on the German euthanasia program, *The Origins of Nazi Genocide from Euthanasia to the Final Solution* (1995). Together with Robert J. Lifton's *Nazi Doctors,* it shapes our understanding of the role of physicians, who they were, what they did, and what it was about their professional life that enabled them to participate in atrocities. Furthermore, it now makes it impossible to speak of the evolution of gassing without speaking of the so-called euthanasia program. Christopher Browning's *Fateful Months* (1985) also provides a connection between the euthanasia killing and the emergence of permanent gassing installations.

Several works have been written on the fate of the *Mischlinge*. Among them are Bryan Mark Rigg's *Hitler's Jewish Soldiers: The Untold Story of Nazi Racial Laws and Men of Jewish Descent in the German Military* (2002) and Larry Orbach and Vivien Orbach-Smith's *Soaring Underground: A Young Fugitive's Life in Nazi Berlin* (1996). James F. Tent's *In the Shadow of the Holocaust: Nazi Persecution of Jewish-German Christians* (2003) further probes the unique situation of those Christians whom German law defined as Jews.

As to the treatment of ghetto life, Israel Gutman's *The Warsaw Ghetto* (1982) is still an unmatched work on Warsaw, the largest of the ghettos. Lucjan Dubroszycki's English edition of *The Chronicle of the Lodz Ghetto* (1984) is an invaluable source, as is *Surviving the Holocaust: The Kovno Diary of Abraham Tory* (1990). Alan Adelson and Robert Lapides' *The Lodz Ghetto: Inside a Community under Siege* (1989) provides excellent material for understanding this unique ghetto.

Christopher Browning has written with Juergen Matthaus *The Origins of the Final Solution: The Evolution of Nazi Jewish Policy September 1939–March 1942* (2004), which sheds important light on the interplay between local and regional decisions, on the one hand, and a comprehensive policy regarding the Jews throughout German-occupied Europe, on the other. It provoked significant controversy in Jerusalem when Browning appeared there, and it dovetails with Browning's other works, including *The Path to Genocide: Essays on Launching the Final Solution* (1992) and *Fateful Months: Essays on the Emergence of the Final Solution* (1985).

In the mid-1990s, Daniel Jonah Goldhagen published *Hitler's Willing Executioners: Ordinary Germans and the Holocaust* (1996), which joined with Christopher Browning's *Ordinary Men: Reserve Police Battalion 101 and the Final Solution in Poland* to intensify the discussion of the killers and their motivations. It also added insights into both the death marches and the motivations of the *Einsatzgruppen*. Richard Rhodes' *Masters of Death: The SS-Einsatzgruppen and the Invention of the Holocaust* (2002) provides vivid descriptions of the killers' activities and also probes their motivations.

Jan T. Gross' *Neighbors: The Destruction of the Jewish Community in Jedwabne, Poland* (2001), which describes the fate of the Jews who were murdered by the local Polish population of that town in a pogrom facilitated by the German presence in the region but not in the town, forced a rethinking of the role of local populations and their activities independent of the *Einsatzgruppen*. It also demonstrated the falsification of memory, as so many knew what had happened and so few acknowledged it, at least not until Gross put the story together.

Radu Ioanid's *The Holocaust in Romania: The Destruction of the Jews and Gypsies under the Antonescu Regime, 1940–1944* (2000) fills in the history of what happened in that country. Ioanid also produced, under the chairmanship of Elie Wiesel, the report of the International Commission on the Holocaust in Romania, commissioned by and presented to that country's president. For the advanced student, Randolph Braham's two-volume study, *The Politics of Genocide: The Holocaust in Hungary,* remains the definitive work. Its condensation, into a slim, readable one-volume work of the same title offers the insights in a digestible form (2000).

On Auschwitz, the work of Deborah Dwork and Robert Jan van Pelt, *Auschwitz: 1270 to the Present* (1996), depicts the town and the camp that ultimately brought it infamy. Van Pelt's *The Case for Auschwitz: Evidence from the Irving Trial* (2002), which was shaped by his testimony at the **Irving v. Lipstadt* libel trial in Britain, is a significant study of the evolution of the gas chambers as well as of the evidence for the killing process at Auschwitz-Birkenau. Israel Gutman and Michael Berenbaum edited *Anatomy of the Auschwitz Death Camp* (1994), a study by 29 scholars of what is known about the killing center, the concentration camp, and the work camp. Michael J. Neufeld and Michael Berenbaum edited *The Bombing of Auschwitz: Should the Allies Have Attempted It?* (2003), which brought together Holocaust historians and military historians who had never before been in dialogue to consider whether bombing had been feasible and what it would have achieved. The book also presents the basic documents that enable students and scholars to consider the issue.

There has been a flurry of works published by the Auschwitz-Birkenau Memorial and Museum in the post-Communist era. Franciszek Piper's *Auschwitz Prisoner Labor* (2002) is an important work by the chief historian of Auschwitz, and Andrzej Strzeleciki's *The Evacuation, Dismantling and Liberation of KL Auschwitz* (2001) depicts the liberation in great detail. The museum has also published a comprehensive five-volume study, *Auschwitz 1940–1945: Central Issues in the History of the Camp* (Vol. 1: *Establishment and Organization of the Camps*; Vol. 2: *The Prisoners, Their Life and Work*; Vol. 3: *Mass Murder*; Vol. 4: *The Resistance Movement*; and Vol. 5: *Epilogue*).

David S. Wyman and Rafael Medoff have produced *A Race against Death: Peter Bergson, America, and the Holocaust* (2001), the oral history of Peter Bergson [Hillel Kook], a Lithuanian-born Palestinian Jewish activist who worked to call attention to the plight of the Jews and who fought the American Jewish establishment, much to its chagrin and with considerable success. These join Wyman's bestselling critique of American policy during and preceding the Holocaust, which he called *The Abandonment of the Jews: America and the Holocaust 1941–1945* (1985). Americans and American Jews as well as Israelis now perceive Franklin D. Roosevelt's policies as abandonment. Henry Feingold's *Bearing Witness: How America and Its Jews Responded to the Holocaust* (1995) is a balanced collection of his work that builds upon *The Politics of Rescue: The Roosevelt Administration and the Holocaust 1938–1945* (1970).

In the past decade, several works have appeared that shed light on the issue of women in the Holocaust. Carol Rittner and John K. Roth's *Different Voices: Women and the Holocaust* (1993) is an excellent place to begin. Among the more recent works are a collection of essays by Dalia Ofer and Lenore J. Weitzman, *Women in the Holocaust* (1998), and Judith Baumel's *Double Jeopardy: Gender and the Holocaust* (1998). Nechama Tec, who has written extensively on resistance and hiding, probes the difference between women and men in the Holocaust in her work *Resilience and Courage: Women, Men and the Holocaust* (2003). The study of the role of women has moved from the orthodoxies of gender studies to the use of those studies to enhance our understanding of the Holocaust and the fate of women, where it paralleled the experience of Jewish men and, more importantly, where it differed. Jewish women were victimized as Jews: the form that their victimization took, however, was often directly related to their gender.

Several studies have recently appeared on Pope Pius XII, who presided over the Vatican during the war years, and the Jews. Some studies are defensive; most are critical, some highly so. Included among them are John Cornwell's *Hitler's Pope: The Secret History of Pius XII* (1999); Daniel Jonah Goldhagen's *A Moral Reckoning: The Role of the Catholic Church in the Holocaust and Its Unfulfilled Duty of Repair* (2002); Susan Zuccotti's *Under His Very Windows: The Vatican and the Holocaust in Italy* (2000); David I. Kertzer's *The Popes Against the Jews: The Vatican's Role in the Rise of Modern Anti-Semitism* (2001); and the volume edited by Rittner and Roth, *Pope Pius XII and the Holocaust* (2002).

Among the most important theological works are Zachary Braiterman's (*God*) *After Auschwitz: Tradition and Change in Post-Holocaust Jewish Thought* (1998) and David R. Blumenthal's uncompromising works *Facing the Abusing God: A Theology of Protest* (1993) and *The Banality of Good and Evil: Moral Lessons from the Shoah and Jewish Tradition* (1999). Readers of English now have access to original religious teachings, including Rabbi Kalonymus Kalmish Shapira's *Sacred Fire: Torah from the Years of Fury 1939–1942* (2000) and Yissakhar Shlomo Teichthal's *Em Habanim Semeḥah: Restoration of Zion as a Response during the Holocaust,* edited, translated, and annotated by Pesach Schindler (1999).

Lawrence Langer, the literary critic, has been writing some of the most important theological work in his interpretation of Samuel Bak's paintings. Readers should consider Langer and Bak's *In a Different Light: The Book of Genesis in the Art of Samuel Bak* (2001).

Yehuda Bauer, the dean of Israeli historians, published an important study of the attempts at rescue and the indifference of the West, titled *Jews for Sale? Nazi-Jewish Negotiations, 1933–1945* (1994). His *Rethinking the Holocaust* (2001) is a collection of essays that touch all the major issues of Holocaust historiography.

Regarding the neutral powers and nongovernmental organizations, Jean-Claude Favez's *The Red Cross and the Holocaust* (1999) is an English-language discussion of the controversial and failed role of the Red Cross.

Several works have appeared relating to *Holocaust denial and especially the defeat of David Irving in the London trial in 2000 that branded him a racist and antisemite who distorted and misrepresented historical documents in pursuit of an agenda to exonerate Hitler and to minimize the killing of Jews (he had sued the American historian Deborah Lipstadt for libel after she had referred to him as a Holocaust denier). Among the most important are D.D. Guttenplan's *The Holocaust on Trial* (2002) and Richard J. Evans's *Lying about Hitler: History, Holocaust, and the David Irving Trial* (2002), Lipstadt's own account, *History on Trial: My Day in Court with David Irving* (2005), and the book that gave rise to the trial, Lipstadt's *Denying the Holocaust: The Growing Assault on Truth and Memory* (1993).

Steven T. Katz published *The Holocaust in Historical Context* (*Vol. 1: The Holocaust and Mass Death before the Modern Age,* 1994), the first of a projected three-volume study of the uniqueness of the Holocaust. Alan S. Rosenbaum has represented all sides of the debate in his edited work, *Is the Holocaust Unique? Perspectives on Comparative Genocide* (1998).

There is now an entire field of study regarding the representation of the Holocaust, including work by James *Young, whose *The Art of Memory: Holocaust Memorials in History* (1994), *The Texture of Memory: Holocaust Memorials and Meaning* (1993), and *At Memory's Edge: After Images of the Holocaust in Contemporary Art and Architecture* (2000). These works deal with memorialization and history, and have virtually defined the field.

Edward Linenthal's *Preserving Memory: The Struggle to Create America's Holocaust Museum* (1995) describes the tension among history, contemporary politics and perceptions, and memorial making. Tim Cole's *Selling the Holocaust: From Auschwitz to Schindler: How History is Bought, Packaged and Sold* (1999) is a critical view of the processes of memorialization throughout the world. A decade earlier Judith Miller was less critical in *One, By One, By One* (1990). Gabriel Rosenfeld, in *The World Hitler Never Built* (2005) has written on counterhistory, demonstrating that portrayals of what did not happen reflects the ongoing struggle to confront what did happen.

Peter Novick critically explored *The Holocaust in American Life* (1999) and Tom Segev equally critically and with far greater controversy explored the Holocaust in Israeli life in his work *The Seventh Million: The Israelis and the Holocaust* (1993).

Finally, over the past generations survivors have offered their testimonies (see above), some in great works of literature – classics that have endured the test of time and speak to subsequent generations – and others in the simple, ineloquent but nevertheless powerful voices of the victims. They offered entry into the darkness and reflections on its implications.

[Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

Holocaust Studies

The short entry on Holocaust studies in the first Decennial Volume of the Encyclopedia Judaica stated that "significant development" had occurred in the field. The entry attributed this advance to the rise of Holocaust denial and the associated response of the *Anti-Defamation League, as well as the airing of the television series *Holocaust*. A snapshot of seven events in 1978 was used to support this claim, including the appointment by U.S. President Jimmy Carter of a 24-member Commission on the Holocaust, which was to explore the establishment of a national Holocaust memorial in Washington, D.C. (realized in 1993 with the opening of the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum); the dedication in Israel of the Max and Rita Haber Chair on Contemporary Jewry-Holocaust Studies at the Hebrew University; the founding of the Institute for Holocaust Studies at Bar-Ilan University; and the establishment of a journal on the Holocaust.

If these events connoted significant development, the growth of the field of Holocaust studies since that time is nothing short of remarkable. The field took definitive form in the 1980s, with the main development perhaps being the solidification and expansion of three distinct schools of research in Germany, Israel, and the United States. Each of these countries has produced scholars and developed academic programs and institutions to study the Holocaust but with very different approaches and focuses. There were significant scholarly contributions prior to the 1980s in the pioneering studies of Raul Hilberg, Philip Friedman, Isaiah Trunk, Gerald Reitlinger, Max Weinreich, Hans Adler, and Hermann Langbein, among others. However, these were singular works that dealt with distinctly different topics about the perpetrators and victims, and were historiographically disconnected and often highly politicized. Philosophers such as Theodor W. Adorno also grappled with this human catastrophe by posing provocative existential questions that made the Holocaust an iconic representation of a general post-World War II malaise and an implicit critique of progress and modernity, but did not inspire the kind of interdisciplinary research and in-depth microhistories of victims, bystanders, and perpetrators that are common today.

GERMANY. Holocaust studies in Germany have generally focused on the perpetrators of the mass murder of European Jewry in an attempt to understand how such a scientifically and culturally advanced European nation could have committed this atrocity. It seems natural that German scholars should have taken this approach. First, researchers in this field were born or began their academic careers after the war and sought to understand how their communities – perhaps even their own relatives – could have perpetrated this unfathomable crime. German studies have thus focused on such issues as when the decision to go to the Final Solution was made; how Nazi, Axis, and occupied countries conducted the almost complete extermination of European Jewry; and how much and when the local populations actually knew about the murders. A second reason that German scholarship has focused on perpetrator studies is that the original Jewish communities in Germany were almost entirely destroyed. As a result, the German-Jewish victims and vanished communities were mere shadows, with only artifacts to remind people of their existence. The consequences are twofold: first, the depleted German-Jewish population has resulted in a dearth of German research focusing on Jews before, during, and after the Holocaust; and second, Jews tend to be treated simply as victims without power who had no option other than to comply with the perpetrators' orders. Many young German scholars have begun to move away from Berlin-centered, structural and intentionalist studies of the origins of the Final Solution. Researchers such as Dieter Pohl and Christian Gerlach are conducting regional studies, especially of territories in the East, that encompass a broader social spectrum of perpetrators beyond the role of Hitler and his associates.

The major research centers in Germany include the Fritz Bauer Institute, Study and Documentation Center on the Holocaust and the Impact of the Holocaust (Studien- und Dokumentationszentrum zur Geschichte und Wirkung des Holocaust), Frankfurt am Main; the Center for Research on Antisemitism (Zentrum fuer Antisemitismusforschung) of the Technical University of Berlin (Technischen Universitaet Berlin); the Institute for Contemporary History (Institut fuer Zeitgeschichte [IfZ]), Munich; the Research Unit Ludwigsburg (Forschungsstelle Ludwigsburg) of the University of Stuttgart; the Hamburg Institute for Social Research (Hamburger Institut fuer Sozialforschung); the Topography of Terror (Topographie des Terrors), Berlin; the House of the Wannsee Conference (Haus der Wannsee-Konferenz), Berlin; and the memorial sites (Gedenkstaetten) at Dachau, Sachsenhausen, and Ravensbrueck.

ISRAEL. The focus in Israel is almost diametrically opposed to that of Germany, which is not surprising. The field was established by survivors, such as Israel *Gutman and Yitzhak *Arad, who were driven to commemorate their destroyed communities and families, honor Jewish resistance, and dispel notions of Jewish passivity in the face of the Holocaust. This approach was codified with the establishment of Yad Vashem, the Holocaust Martyrs' and Heroes' Remembrance Authority, in 1953 by an act of the Israeli Knesset. Israeli research therefore focuses on studying the lost communities; documenting life and resistance in the forests, ghettos, and camps as well as broadening the meaning of resistance to reach beyond physical or armed struggle; and detailing the aftermath of the Holocaust, including life in DP camps and the founding of the State of Israel. While some Israeli scholars, such as Yehuda Bauer, have indeed engaged in scholarly debates about the perpetration of the Holocaust, Israeli studies have generally focused on Jewish agency rather than the German perpetrators. This approach has been shaped not only by the scholars' own histories but also by a deep and real concern that trying to understand (and thereby humanizing) the perpetrators as individuals might cause the evil that was committed to be marginalized or mitigated in some manner.

The major research center in Israel is Yad Vashem's International Institute for Holocaust Research and its associated archives. Other institutions include the Avraham Harman Institute of Contemporary Jewry and the Vidal Sassoon International Center for the Study of Antisemitism, Hebrew University of Jerusalem; the Strochlitz Institute of Holocaust Studies, Haifa University; the Arnold and Leona Finkler Institute of Holocaust Research, Bar Ilan University; the Ghetto Fighters' House, on the grounds of the Ghetto Fighters' Kibbutz; and Beit Terezin (Theresienstadt) at Kibbutz Tel Yiẓḥak.

UNITED STATES. The studies in the United States incorporate trends in both Israeli and German scholarship while also forging ahead in new disciplines. Near the end of World War II, the U.S. military seized millions of pages of German war documentation, which provided the foundation for the study of the Holocaust in the United States. These records presented a wealth of insight into the history of the Nazi regime, and early studies therefore had a distinct perpetrator focus. The prime example of such scholarship is Raul Hilberg's 1961 groundbreaking work, *The Destruction of the European Jews*. As one of the two major destinations for Holocaust survivors, however, the United States is also the site of research on the annihilated Jewish communities by such survivor-scholars as Saul Friedlaender. The most significant difference between Holocaust studies in the United States and that in Germany and Israel, though, is that in the U.S. it is not strictly confined to the traditional fields of history and political science. For example, the Holocaust is taught in literature departments nearly as much as in history departments. There is a variety of reasons for this development, including the trend toward multidisciplinary cultural studies in general (e.g., African-American studies, Latino studies, gender studies), as well as, perhaps, a lack of personal connection to the Holocaust or familiarity with the languages of the original documents. Moreover, researchers are now examining the Holocaust in such diverse contexts as philosophy, memorialization, sociology, psychology, religion, and gender. While these new approaches often generate controversy, they also cast new light on the catastrophe.

The main research institution in the United States is the Center for Advanced Holocaust Studies of the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, which was inaugurated in 1998 on the foundation built by its predecessor, the Holocaust Research Institute. It occupies a unique position because of its support of both American and international scholarship and its extensive, on-site archives and research programs. Otherwise, Holocaust studies are predominantly conducted at an ever growing number of colleges and universities, with an ever growing number of endowed professorships in Holocaust studies. In addition, there is a multitude of smaller academic centers and organizations devoted to Holocaust and genocide studies. Some of the academic centers include Clark University's Strassler Family Center for Holocaust and Genocide Studies in Worcester, Massachusetts, which offers a Ph.D. program in Holocaust history and genocide studies; the Center for Holocaust and Genocide Studies of the University of Minnesota; and the Rosenthal Institute for Holocaust Studies of the Graduate Center of the City University of New York. The organizations include the Holocaust Educational Foundation, the Simon Wiesenthal Center's Museum of Tolerance, and over thirty regional museums.

WESTERN, CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE. Most West European countries also have significant Holocaust studies programs, although these are generally smaller. In France, the Centre de Documentation Juive Contemporaine (CDJC; Contemporary Jewish Documentation Center), founded clandestinely in Grenoble in 1943 and moved to Paris after Liberation in 1944, was the first institution in the world dedicated to the history of the Holocaust. Although many of these institutions in Western Europe subscribed to the tenet that the Nazi regime was solely responsible for the Holocaust in their countries, they have made significant progress in dispelling these myths and facing the true extent of local collaboration and assistance in the expropriation and murder of their Jewish communities. These research organizations include the Research Centre for the Holocaust and Twentieth-Century History, Royal Holloway, University of London, and the Wiener Library of the Institute of Contemporary History, London; the Documentation Center of the Association of Jewish Victims of the Nazi Regime, Vienna; the Foundation Center of Contemporary Jewish Documentation (Fondazione Centro di Documentazione Ebraica Contemporanea), Milan; the Center for Holocaust and Genocide Studies, Amsterdam; the Department for Holocaust and Genocide Studies of the Danish Institute for International Studies, Copenhagen; the Center for Studies of Holocaust and Religious Minorities in Norway, Oslo; and the Uppsala Programme for Holocaust and Genocide Studies, Uppsala University, Sweden.

It was only with the disintegration of the Soviet Union and the possibility of admission to the European Union that many countries of Central and Eastern Europe began to face the truth of the Holocaust on their soil and the role that their own governments and populations had played. The governments of Poland, Romania, Hungary, Lithuania, Latvia, and others have therefore established scholarly commissions to investigate the Holocaust and instituted national Holocaust remembrance days, erected memorials, and founded museums and research institutions. They have yielded serious research on the Holocaust and undeniable evidence regarding local and governmental collaboration with the Nazis. Moreover, they have put in place strong foundations for future research. Some examples of Central and East European programs are the Jewish Historical Institute (Żydowski Instytut Historyczny), Warsaw, which is the only Jewish studies institution in Eastern Europe to have had collection and research programs throughout the postwar years; the Polish Center for Holocaust Research of the Polish Academy of Science's Institute of Philosophy, Warsaw; the Budapest Holocaust Memorial Center, which was the first government-funded Holocaust Memorial in Central Europe and serves as both a museum and research center; the Ukrainian Center for Holocaust Studies, and the Institute for Political and Ethnic Studies, both in Kiev; the Terezin Initiative Institute and the Terezin Memorial in Prague; and the House of Memory in Vilnius, Lithuania.

TRENDS IN THE FIELD. The field of Holocaust studies has been dominated since its inception by certain large themes, debates, and controversies. Debates in the 1980s focused on the dual theories of intentionalism and functionalism. Proponents of the intentionalist school posited that Hitler and the Nazi regime intended from the beginning to murder every Jew in Europe, while advocates of functionalism saw the implementation of the Final Solution as a radicalization of Nazi doctrine over the course of the war. This debate no longer generates the controversy it once did, as many scholars now accept that the Holocaust resulted from many decisions made over time and taken from both above and below. Another related major debate has been over the motivation of the perpetrators, which began with Hannah Arendt's analysis of Eichmann and the premise of the "banality of evil" and culminated in the debate in the 1990s started by Daniel Goldhagen, who asserted that Germans were "willing executioners" motivated by a distinctly German brand of "eliminationist antisemitism." Goldhagen's thesis was roundly dismissed by most scholars. Since Goldhagen relied on the same group of sources used by the noted historian Christopher Browning, who had reached dramatically different conclusions, what began as a theoretical debate was quickly transformed into a very concrete and important discussion about the use of primary sources. More recently, two trends have developed. The first concerns the complex role of the Protestant, Catholic, and Orthodox churches and clergy during the Holocaust, in some instances either openly or tacitly complicit and in others righteous and heroic, as well as the impact of the Shoah on Western theology, liturgy, and ethics from the postwar years until today. The second trend is the study of the economic component and motivation of the Holocaust and the complicated issue of the expropriation of Jewish property. The economic aspects of the Holocaust were largely neglected areas of research until the filing of the class action lawsuit against Swiss banks for their dealings during the Holocaust, the establishment of the U.S. Presidential Commission for Holocaust Era Assets, the pursuit of various other litigation related to forced labor under the Nazis, and the question of how to award restitution and make reparations to Holocaust survivors.

In addition to these scholarly developments, there is another key factor in the growth of the field: the proliferation of academic conferences and scholarly journals devoted to Holocaust studies. Research and theoretical findings are now more widely disseminated than ever before. The most notable program is currently the Holocaust Educational Foundation's biennial conference, Lessons and Legacies. Others include the University of Michigan's 26-year-old Conference on the Holocaust; Millersville University's 25-year-old annual Holocaust Conference; Middle Tennessee State University's biennial Holocaust Studies Conference; and the annual Scholars' Conference on the Holocaust and the Churches, which was founded in 1970. The two major journals in the field are the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum's *Holocaust and Genocide Studies*, published by Oxford University Press, which began publication in 1986 and was affiliated with the museum in the early 1990s; and *Yad Vashem Studies*, which has been published annually since 1957.

What the future holds for Holocaust studies is open to debate. In terms of research, one clear trend is toward localized studies of the execution of the Holocaust at the town, city, and municipality levels in order to determine differences between the planning in Berlin, about which a great deal is known, and its actual implementation at the periphery, which is less understood. These research programs are currently possible only because of the opening of previously closed archives in Europe and because of the rediscovery and renewed interest in the extant records of the Jewish communities that were destroyed. The bigger question, however, concerns the core of the field. Modern European history has been the foundation on which Holocaust studies has been built. Although this discipline must always be central to Holocaust studies, other disciplines may become increasingly important as larger societal questions in Holocaust and genocide studies are investigated. A very real question, for example, is the future role of Jewish studies. Many Jewish studies departments and scholars avoid the study of the Holocaust out of concern that it may quickly become the defining moment in Jewish history and turn Jewish studies from the study of a rich, enduring, and diverse culture to the study of victimization and destruction. The field of Jewish studies is extremely important to the study of the Holocaust, however, and the reactions and responses of the Jewish communities confronted by the Holocaust need to be placed within the context of Jewish history as a whole. Additionally, the continuing and vigorous collection activities of the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum and Yad Vashem and their institutional cooperation means that more Holocaust documentation from all over the world is becoming accessible to researchers on an almost daily basis. The next encyclopedia entry on Holocaust studies may look as dramatically different from this one as this one does from its predecessor.

[Robert M. Ehrenreich and Tracy L. Brown (2nd ed.)]

Documentation, Education, and Resource Centers
In the late 1970s Irving Greenberg suggested that new institutions be created in local communities to respond through education, documentation, and commemoration to what he considered the revelatory nature of the Holocaust. The first such institution established in the United States was in St. Louis, where as part of the Jewish Federation a program of Holocaust-related activities was initiated that ultimately resulted in the creation of a museum within the federation's building. Over the next three decades, more than 120 such institutions, whose primary task is Holocaust education, were established in the United States and scores elsewhere, in countries as diverse as Argentina, Australia, Belgium, Canada, Chile, France, Germany, Italy, Lithuania, Mexico, Japan, Israel, Russia, South Africa. Sweden, Ukraine, and the United Kingdom. Some are under religious auspices, others secular Jewish auspices; some are nonsectarian and others Christian. Several of these documentation centers have evolved over the years into full-fledged museums and memorial institutions, large and small, and they predated the opening of the major museums in Washington, Los Angeles, and New York, often by a decade or more.

These documentation centers share in common an active program of educational outreach primarily to secondary school teachers and through them to students in the classroom. Most provide survivors as speakers and many maintain libraries and teacher resource centers, whether modest or grand, to serve those teaching the Holocaust. The Association of Holocaust Organizations serves to give voice to their concerns, to sponsor an annual conference, and to provide for the free exchange of ideas and programming for these institutions.

There is also a second set of Holocaust documentation centers that are more scholarly in their orientation and that collect, preserve, catalogue, and make documents accessible to the public. They serve scholars and interested laypersons more than ordinary classroom teachers.

It should be recalled that the first effort at documenting the Holocaust began within the ghettos and the concentration camps themselves, with the collection of documents and material compiled by the Oneg Shabbat group organized by Emanuel Ringelblum in Warsaw, and with ghetto and camp diarists and artists. Jews believed that even if they did not survive, the memory of what happened would survive, a belief that has been vindicated with time.

The Jews kept their records. So did the Germans, who were also careful record keepers, and therefore the documentation is vast.

The records are many. They are to be found in state and local archives throughout the countries that Germany and its allies occupied during World War II and in the countries in which Jews found refuge. Major holdings are in the possession of the Allies who defeated the Germans, as well as in German archives and at the sites of many of the concentration camps that have active memorials. At the beginning of the twenty-first century there were 682 such institutions, excluding those archives that are in private hands. In the 1990s and the early twenty-first century an effort has been made to copy many archival records and to deposit them in Jerusalem at Yad Vashem and in Washington at the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum. Institutional funds, governmental funds, private grants, and support from the Conference on Jewish Material Claims against the German Nation have enabled these copying activities to progress at a rapid pace.

Holocaust documentation centers include the archives at Yad Vashem, Israel's national memorial to the Holocaust, the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, and the Centre de documentation de Juive in Paris. The Wiener Library in London and the Jewish Historical Institute in Poland were also early sites where records were gathered, and they remain important resources.

IN THE UNITED STATES. New York's Center for Jewish History brings under one roof in separate but joined institutions the holdings of the YIVO Institute for Jewish Research, with its intense study of East European Jewry; the Leo Baeck Institute, with its significant collection of records of German Jewry; the American Sephardi Federation and its collection of material on Sephardi Jewry; and the American Jewish Historical Society and its collection of material on American Jewry and its role during the Shoah and in its aftermath.

YIVO archives contain 22,000,000 documents, photographs, sound recordings, films, and manuscripts in four main areas: Yiddish language, literature, and culture; European history, with the focus on East European history; the Holocaust and its aftermath; and Jewish life in the United States with the emphasis on immigration. YIVO estimates that its Holocaust collection amounts to 1.2 million pages, with another 9 million pages relating to the destroyed Jewish communities. Much of its collection is archived in Yiddish and it is an ongoing process to make it accessible to English-speaking researchers.

The Leo Baeck Institute contains some 5 million pages of original records, including some 40,000 photographs relating to German-Jewish life. It also contains case files from the United Restitution Organization and the *American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (JDC) as well as the Reichsbund juedischer Frontsoldaten and the Centralverein deutscher Staatsbuerger juedischen Glaubens. Its holdings are copied and shared with the Jewish Museum in Berlin, Germany.

The American Jewish Historical Society possesses documents, photographs, and objects from the period 1925–90, including much material on the Jewish American reaction to and involvement in World War II and its aftermath. Collections reflecting Jewish American military and communal service in World War II are to be found at the National Jewish Welfare Board. In addition, there are collections at the Council of Jewish Federations, Memorial Foundation for Jewish Culture, Cecilia Razovsky Papers, Raphael Lemkin Papers, Lucy Dawidowicz Papers, and the Rabbi Joseph Shubow Papers.

The American Jewish Archives in Cincinnati, which for decades was under the leadership of Jacob Rader Marcus, has the Holocaust collections of the World Jewish Congress, including the important material sent by Gerhard Riegner, who warned of the Final Solution and of gassing with Zyklon B in August 1942, months after the death camps became operational. The American Jewish Archives has over 100 separately cataloged holdings of Holocaust-related materials. These include oral histories, papers and documents of survivors; records of relief and rescue organizations; recent scholarship; and other Holocaust-era and Holocaust-related records into the twenty-first century.

Most of the records at the American Jewish Archives reflect and pertain to the American Jewish community's reaction and responses to this event and to the lives of those survivors who came to the U.S. after the war. The Archives' largest single collection of records is from the New York Office of the World Jewish Congress. Except for these records, which contain information from Europe, almost all of its materials are from the United States.

The archives of the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee in New York detail the assistance given the besieged communities for as long as such assistance was possible, and for the rescue attempts facilitated in the United States and Switzerland, as well as the organization's contacts with those on the ground.

The University of Southern California (USC) Shoah Foundation Institute for Visual History and Education was founded in 1994 as the Survivors of the Shoah Visual History Foundation by the American Jewish filmmaker Steven *Spielberg. It now contains the videotaped testimonies and pre-interview questionnaires of 52,000 survivors and other victim groups and/or witnesses. The testimonies were taken in 56 countries and in 32 languages. The foundation interviewed Jewish survivors, homosexual survivors, Jehovah's Witness survivors, liberators and liberation witnesses, political prisoners, rescuers and aid providers, Roma and Sinti survivors, survivors of eugenics policies, and war crimes trials participants. Almost half of the archive's testimonies were collected in English – most of them in the United States. Among the 31 other languages, over 7,000 are in Russian and over 6,300 in Hebrew. There are approximately 1,000 Dutch interviews, 1,800 French, 1,300 Hungarian, 1,400 Polish, and 1,300 Spanish interviews. The following languages are represented with approximately 500 to 1,000 testimonies each: Bulgarian (600), Czech (500), German (900), Portuguese (500), Slovak (500), and Yiddish (500).

Testimonies collected usually include discussions of the interview subject's prewar (20 percent), wartime (60 percent), and postwar (20 percent) experience. But this depends on the subject's age and experience as well. Interviews were collected from 1994 to 1999.

About 51,000 pre-interview questionnaires, or some two million pages of documents, provide information regarding survivors and their prewar and wartime experience. The material is now catalogued and was transferred in 2006 to USC, which will be responsible for its dissemination.

The *Fortunoff Video Archives for Holocaust Testimonies, housed at Yale University, was the pioneer in video testimony. It now contains some 4,000 testimonies along with many transcripts. The United States Holocaust Memorial Museum also has a collection of more than 4,000 testimonies, some of them undertaken jointly with Fortunoff, and includes copies of the collections of other regional holdings such as the Holocaust Documentation and Educational Center in North Miami Beach, Florida. Yad Vashem contains oral histories and video histories that span six decades after the Holocaust and will enable researchers and scholars to explore the difference between testimony given soon after the events and that given many years later. Some collections of oral history are specific; the Fred Crawford Collection at Emory University deals with liberators alone. Most are more general and include survivors and liberators, as well as rescuers and other actors. Few testimonies encompass the perpetrators.

The United States Holocaust Memorial Museum contains an archive of 21 million pages, of which some 3.5 million are original and 17 million are copies of material that exists elsewhere. It has an ambitious program of copying Holocaust-related material from throughout the world and bringing copies to Washington. Given its U.S. government imprimatur and the professionalism of its staff as well as the scope of its support, this program has been enormously successful. The museum also contains a photo archive, the Steven Spielberg Film Archive, and an Oral History Collection. Access to much material is available on the Web. In addition, given the presence of the massive collections of the U.S. National Archives and its many scholarly programs, Washington has become an essential stopping point for Holocaust researchers.

The National Center for Jewish Film, now situated on the campus of Brandeis University, has a wide-ranging and important collection of Holocaust films, and also a collection of prewar Yiddish films that depict the world before the Holocaust.

IN GERMANY. The Bundesarchiv, which now includes former East German as well as West German records, remains an important source of data relating to the German government's policies and programs. The Berlin Documentation Center, which was originally under American control and is now an integral part of the Bundesarchiv, maintains the records of the SS.

The major research centers in Germany, as noted in "Holocaust Studies" above, include the Fritz Bauer Institute, Study and Documentation Center on the Holocaust and the Impact of the Holocaust, Frankfurt; the Center for Research on Antisemitism of the Technical University of Berlin; the Institute for Contemporary History, Munich; the Research Unit Ludwigsburg of the University of Stuttgart; the Hamburg Institute for Social Research; the Topography of Terror Foundation, Berlin; the House of the Wannsee Conference, Berlin; and the memorial sites (Gedenkstaetten) at Dachau, Sachsenhausen, and Ravensbrueck.

Many of the memorial sites also contain their own, modest archival holdings. The Bergen-Belsen Memorial has a collection of photographs, artifacts, audio and video interviews, and 1,000 pages of paper documents, as well as original diaries. It holds video testimony that is also available at the Fortunoff Archive.

KZ-Gedenkstaette Neuengamme has established a new databank together with registry offices and cemetery archives. Its main task consists of giving information to relatives of former prisoners of this concentration camp (konzentrationslager). Neuengamme works together with other archives to enhance its collection, primarily to get a complete listing of names of people who were imprisoned there.

KZ-Gedenkstaette Flossenbuerg deals with the history of the Flossenbuerg concentration camp (1938–45) and subcamps, which were situated in northern Bavaria, Saxony, and northern Bohemia, and death marches from other camps (Buchenwald, Gross-Rosen) to Flossenbuerg and from Flossenbuerg towards Dachau. It also includes the postwar history (trials, memorials, cemeteries) of the region around Flossenbuerg (the Upper Palatinate) and the files of the IG Farben trial at Nuremberg.

KZ-Gedenkstaette Mittelbau-Dora contains the files of war crimes trials against the staff of the Mittelbau-Dora concentration camp, reports of former inmates, files of the camp administration, documents concerning the SS staff, documents concerning the displaced persons (DP) camp in Nordhausen, and files of the Nazi administration in general, including the Reich Central Security Office (*Reichssicherheithauptamt*, RSHA) and the SS Central Economic Administration Office (SS-*Wirtschafts-Verwaltungshauptsamt*, SS-WVHA) concerning the camp. There are some 150,000 pages of documents.

KZ-Gedenkstaette Dachau contains a collection of publications, reports, documents, photographs, videos, tapes, plan drawings, and objects concerning Dachau and other concentration camps, National Socialism and the Nazi Party, and resistance, and further material concerning Jews and other persecuted groups, making up altogether 37,000 files of material and 15,000 books, with documents of former prisoners of Dachau (1933–45), about 150 documents of Jews arrested during the November 1938 pogrom known as **Kristallnacht*, and about 500 documents of other Jews incarcerated at Dachau. It also contains a collection of publications, reports, documents, photographs, and objects concerning the persecution of Jews in Munich, Bavaria, southern Germany, and Austria; a collection of books about Holocaust and Jewish culture; and about 200,000 pages of archival records, including about 15,000 pages concerning persecution of Jews.

In addition, the Central Archives for Research on the History of Jews in Germany (Zentralarchiv zur Erforschung der Geschichte der Juden in Deutschland), founded in 1987 at Heidelberg by the Central Council of Jews in Germany, contains the records of Jewish communities, federations, and organizations in Germany after 1945, as well as the papers of many families and individuals. Current holdings are 350,000 pages.

IN ISRAEL. The major Holocaust research center in Israel is Yad Vashem's International Institute for Holocaust Research and its associated archives. Yad Vashem has some 5 million pages of original records and 55 million pages of records that were microfilmed elsewhere, and is in the process of digitizing the material. There is an exchange program with the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum of microfilmed material, which upon completion will make much of the material available in both institutions. Most importantly, the Central Database of Shoah Victims' Names is now accessible on line and is on view in the Hall of Names at Yad Vashem.

In northern Israel, the Ghetto Fighters' House, on the grounds of Kibbutz Loḥamei ha-Getta'ot (the Ghetto Fighters' Kibbutz), contains close to a million paper items, including journals and diaries, testimonies, memoirs, maps, manuscripts, and books. Cataloging is uniform for all departments and the system of indexing is similar to that of the Jewish National Library in Jerusalem and the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington.

The Massuah Institute for the Study of the Holocaust at Kibbutz Tel Yiẓḥak contains the archives of the No'ar ha-Ẓiyyoni and Akiva youth movement in the pre- and immediate post Holocaust period; it contains letters mailed during the Holocaust and videotaped Holocaust testimonies of survivors. It also holds a collection of thousands of hours of Holocaust survivors' testimonies on videotape.

Among its more than 2,000,000 pages are 17 personal diaries and original notebooks of poetry from the Holocaust and the She'arit ha-Peleitah era. It also has a collection of material related to the Schindler affair – from the personal archives of Dr. Moshe Bejski, a Schindler Jew who was chairman of Yad Vashem's process of certifying rescuers as Righteous Among the Nations. It also contains the personal archives of the Hannah Szenes family.

Moreshet: The Mordechai Anielewicz Memorial Holocaust Studies and Research Center in Israel contains material donated by survivors: testimonies and memoirs, written, audio, and video; unpublished manuscripts; contemporaneous newspapers and art that were created *in situ* as well as afterwards. Access is difficult because of the condition of some of this material.

The Central Archives for the History of the Jewish People in Jerusalem does not usually collect material relating solely to the Holocaust. Its Holocaust-related materials are generally organic portions of larger collections, such as the archives of the Viennese Jewish community, whose documents date from the seventeenth to the twentieth century. The only collections whose entire contents are Holocaust-related are those of the successor organizations, the Jewish Restitution Successor Organization, the Jewish Trust Council and the United Restitution Organization. Yet, in a broader sense the Central Archives' collections are all Holocaust-related; they document Jewish communities and populations annihilated in the Holocaust.

The Central Zionist Archives in Jerusalem contains (1) the archives of the various offices of the *Jewish Agency (JA), the World Zionist Organization (WZO), and worldwide Zionist Federations; (2) archives of the various offices of the *World Jewish Congress (WJC); and (3) personal papers of people in Palestine/Israel and those active in Zionist affairs overseas.

Among the topics covered are emigration of Jews from Europe prior to World War II; absorption of immigrants in Palestine; the situation of the Jews in the various countries before, during, and after the war, from the 1930s to the 1950s; diplomatic efforts of the Jewish Agency and the World Jewish Congress on behalf of the Jews of Europe; rescue activities of the Jewish Agency during the Holocaust; activities of the Jews of Palestine during World War II; enlistment in the British Army's Jewish Brigade; situation of DPs and refugees after World War II; Youth Aliyah's activities in Europe after World War II; immigration to Palestine/Israel and absorption of refugees; and the location of the whereabouts of survivors and relatives. There are also a photograph collection, a poster collection, and a newspaper and periodical collection.

The Israel State Archives contains documents relating to the Holocaust, restitution claims and the Reparations Agreement with the Federal Republic of Germany, memory, the situation of European Jewry after the war, and immigration of Jews to Palestine during and after the war. Among its most significant collections is that of the Israel Ministry of Foreign Affairs (RG 130, 93): The Reparations Agreement. A large amount of material including full documentation on the agreement can be found in files on relations between Israel and the Federal Republic, and between Israel and the nations of Western Europe. There is material on individual claims in the legal department, although most of the economic material is in the records of other ministries. It also includes material on relations between Israel and the Democratic Republic of Germany, dealing with the claim for restitution, and material on the Purchasing Delegation headed by F. Shinnar, which dealt with implementation of the agreement, mainly correspondence and reports.

The volume of *Documents on the Foreign Policy of Israel* for 1960 includes material on the capture of Adolf Eichmann, mostly from the telegrams series, and on the prime minister's office. A small number of files deals with commemoration of the Holocaust and the establishment of the Yad Vashem Authority, reports on the Jewish communities in Europe after the Holocaust, and commemoration of fallen soldiers from the Jewish Brigade.

The 1961 Eichmann trial material is also found in Record Group 06 of the Israel Police Force and in the court records. The ISA has also published the court proceedings in book form and produced excerpts on a video cassette. The Archives holds the diary written by Eichmann in prison and exhibits produced during the trial. It also contains material on the Demjanjuk trial of 1987–88.

Other important records include those of the Ministry of Immigrant Absorption, including lists of immigrants (1919–74), lists of names by date of arrival and lists of ships arriving during and after World War II; of the Ministry of Health (1998–99), including material of the Public Committee for Mental Patients who are Holocaust survivors; of the Justice Ministry, including files from the ministry's bureau of restitution from East Germany, as well as documents relating to claims from Germany and its allies and to the Association of Holocaust Survivors; of the Finance Ministry, including material on reparations from Germany, on claims made against insurance policies from the Holocaust period, on compensation to persons who became invalids as a result of Nazi persecution, and on Jewish property confiscated during the Holocaust; of the Education Ministry, including records dealing with the preservation of the memory of the Holocaust: commemorative activities in schools, curriculum development, visits by youth delegations to Poland; of the Chief Rabbinate (RG 140), including material on immigration of rabbis and others from Europe during the Holocaust period, and on property in Palestine owned by Jews who perished during the Holocaust; of the Palestine Mandatory government, Migration Department (RG 11), including personal files of applicants for Palestinian citizenship, many of them refugees from Germany during the 1930s, and reflecting the persecution of Jews in Europe. The archive also includes data on admission of immigrants and statistical data on immigration and absorption. It contains the Mandatory government's deportation orders of illegal immigrants arranged according to ship, 1938–46.

In Bnei Berak, the Institute for Documentation, Research and Commemoration (the Ginzach Kiddush Hashem) was founded in 1964 and was the first institution in the religious community to collect and classify documents relating to the Shoah, with a focus on spiritual bravery. The archive contains thousands of documents and pictures. It serves the ultra-Orthodox community but documents the experience of all religious groups.

IN AUSTRIA. The Jewish community of Vienna (IKG Vienna) is reconstructing its historical archives. Because of the Holocaust, the rediscovered records are of a more varied origin and scope than is usual for an institutional archive. Still, the overall focus of the future archives will be the organizational records of the Jewish community of Vienna. Until March 1938 the Jewish community of Vienna was a rather decentralized, relatively small organization (most holdings are deposited at the Central Archives of the History of the Jewish People in Jerusalem), while the Jewish community of Vienna from March 1938 to April 1945 was a large, centralized Nazi-approved organization whose task was to liquidate the wealth of Jewish organizations in Vienna as well as of Jewish communities elsewhere in Austria and to organize emigration, social welfare, and deportation of Austria's Jewish population. Documents were rediscovered in the early 2000s. Together with the material at the Central Archives in Jerusalem, this material probably represents the most comprehensive record of a Jewish community under Nazi rule available today.

The Jewish community of Vienna from the end of World War II was a small, centralized religious organization also responsible for returning newly settled members, for Holocaust survivors abroad, and for restitution issues (restitution of assets of former Jewish organizations, its own assets, and those claimed by individuals). A portion of the Holocaust-related postwar material, like survivor lists and card indexes as well as material related to restitution claims from the 1940s and 1950s, has been processed and is being microfilmed at the Anlaufstelle.

The memorial institutions at the sites of destruction in Austria also contain records relevant to those sites.

IN FRANCE. The Contemporary Jewish Documentation Center (Centre de Documentation Juive Contemporaine), has some four million pages of original records and some two million pages of microfilm material. It is involved in an exchange program with the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum and Yad Vashem and in a joint project with the Holocaust Museum in the French Departmental Archives. Its system of indexing is based on a thesaurus of 3,000 terms. The holdings relate to the Jewish communities in Europe at the beginning of the century (pogroms, ghettos, etc.); antisemitic propaganda; the way of life of the Jewish communities in Europe, 1933–45; antisemitic legislation in all European countries; Aryanization and plunder of Jewish property; arrest and internment of the Jews; creation of the ghettos and concentration camps; the destruction of European Jewry; the operation of the camps; the return of the deportees, the DP camps and the rebuilding of the Jewish community; reparations and war trials; and the memory of the Shoah (commemoration, survivors' associations, hidden children, testimonies). The fate of the Jews in France from 1920 to 1950 is especially well documented.

IN POLAND. The Jewish Historical Institute (Żydowski Instytut Historyczny) in Warsaw contains 700,000 pages of original records, including the records of the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee in Poland in 1939–41, the Jewish self-help organizations, and a collection of diaries, memoirs, and testimonies. Among its most prized collections are the Ringelblum Warsaw ghetto archives, the catalogue of which has now been translated into English. Duplicates are in the possession of Yad Vashem and the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum.

The memorial museums at Auschwitz-Birkenau and Majdanek also contain important archives relating to those camps and have staffs of historians and archivists. The former grapple with the material itself in a new post-Communist atmosphere of freedom; the latter assist scholars and nonscholars in reviewing the extensive records.

IN BRITAIN. The Wiener Library in London contains 900,000 pages of original records and 1.5 million microfilmed records from elsewhere. It too has an exchange program with the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum. Directed by the respected Holocaust scholar Peter Longreich is the Research Centre for the Holocaust and Twentieth-Century History, based in Royal Holloway's German Department. It promotes Holocaust research in an international forum, bringing together researchers from various disciplines "to examine the extent to which genocide, war and dictatorship can be understood as defining elements" of the twentieth century.

IN THE CZECH REPUBLIC. The memorial at Terezin (Theresienstadt) contains material on the persecution of Jews in the former Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia, especially the history of the Terezin "model" ghetto. It contains 44,000 pages of original records and a similar number of pages from other archives. Cataloging and indexing are in Czech. The Jewish Museum in Prague has an incomparable collection of Judaica from Central Europe and important documentation relating to the Czechoslovak Jewish community.

This entry is not a full listing of Holocaust-related archives, but a broad overview of material that exists. See also *Archives; *Libraries; *Museums.

[Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

Memorials and Monuments

The number of memorials dedicated to the memory of the Holocaust has never been counted. Certainly there are hundreds if not thousands, if small memorials in synagogues and even churches are included. The first memorials were established by the survivors themselves in concentration camps, such as the temporary memorial of May 1945 in Buchenwald that lasted less than month because of the need for wood, or the memorials often hastily put together from the remnants of broken tombstones from desecrated cemeteries. More serious memorialization in the form of permanent monuments in places came after the war, in Europe, Palestine/Israel, and later wherever survivors found a new home. The urge to commemorate this negative event was arguably driven by the lack of graves for the victims of mass murder. Hence, postwar memorials were built to be commemorative places as well as sites with pedagogical value.

To understand the importance of, and reasons for, such an intensive monument building process (which continues), a typology of monuments may be useful. Having memorials in public spaces, often at sites of the atrocities, is a confirmation of the Holocaust as a public event with meaning not only for the victims but for the entire post-Holocaust community, Jews and gentiles. However, a fundamental question connected with memorials was and continues to be how one may connect the story it represents with the larger narrative of oppression of the Jews, World War II and the era of National Socialism, and with post-1945 narratives about freedom and democracy as well as the confirmation of the legitimacy of Israel as a Jewish state.

Holocaust monuments are probably in a special class, as they commemorate an event that represents absolute evil (as a moral, theological, practical term). For artists and architects involved in the construction of memorials, an essential question is the tension between independent aesthetics and the need for the form of the monument to represent an accessible meaning in an easily legible way. Survivors have generally supported the idea of the memorial as an object, while artists have often proposed concepts based on the idea of discursive space. Postmodern forms of memorialization, based on abstraction or a concept of absence, often do not find receptive audiences among those who seek some positive affirmation or meaning from a monument.

Monuments in countries outside Europe or Israel seem to face the issue of authenticity and durability. For Europeans, memorials also represent complicity by the state and people of the country. For monuments erected in Israel, a tension developed over issues like victimization vs. heroism, and the meaning of the Holocaust for a Jewish state. Many academic writers, especially James Young, have argued that public debates over the forms of memorials are more important than the finished memorials. Young was an important member of the commission that ultimately chose Peter Eisenman's design for the Berlin Memorial for the Murdered Jews of Europe, which opened in April 2005. He argued that his ideal for the memorial was a hundred-year debate and no memorial structure at the end of the process. A critical question, then, is whether the completion of a monument is an invitation for the public to forget.

Memorial spaces have often been integrated with Holocaust museums (see below) or Jewish museums. Thus Yad Vashem, the Holocaust Martyrs' and Heroes Remembrance Authority, sees itself as "the Jewish people's memorial to the murdered Six Million and symbolizes the ongoing confrontation with the rupture engendered by the Holocaust." Its function, therefore, is memorialization and the creation of monuments, as well as the maintenance of an extensive museum with research and educational facilities that has an impact on Holocaust education around the world. The most recognizable memorial at Yad Vashem is Moshe *Safdie's *Children's Memorial*, an underground interior space that attempts to conceptualize the loss of 1.5 million children by the use of a single candle, mirrors, and recorded voices.

The United States Holocaust Memorial Museum is regarded foremost as a museum, but the visitor's travel through the museum space ends with a memorial, conceived by the museum's architect, James Ingo *Freed. Even more complex is Daniel *Libeskind's addition to Berlin's Jewish Museum. This was designed as an annex to an existing space, but because of the Holocaust and its impact on the history of German Jewry, its design, which speaks of rupture and voids, has become one of Berlin's many memorials to the Holocaust.

The construction of memorials also has engendered debates about utilization of space and place, especially when the forms of a monument may disturb what is in essence a cemetery. This question has been raised at all the sites of death camps. The construction of the Belzec Memorial, opened in 2004, was held up by a survivor's lawsuit over the disturbing of the bones of the victims at the site. It also raised *halakhic* questions as to how one could dig on the site of a death camp.

Memorial sites can also open debates about contested spaces where many groups were victims of the Nazis, or where concentration camps had continued in use after the end of World War II. The concentration camp at Buchenwald, for example, served beyond the Nazi period as a concentration camp for anti-Communist prisoners under the German Democratic Republic (East Germany). A similar problem has erupted over memorial spaces at Auschwitz, most notably because of the Polish Communist state's suppression of the history of Jewish victimization, the presence of Polish political prisoners in the camp's history, and post-Communist political issues, expressed in the erection of crosses at the camp site as a symbol of Polish national possession of memory. That Auschwitz was part of the German Reich during the Holocaust and is now (back) in Poland raised questions about Germans and Poles, as well as victim groups, and hence problems of commemorating the horrors confronted by each. There were three camps at Auschwitz: Auschwitz I, the prison camp where Polish non-Jews were incarcerated; Auschwitz II-Birkenau, the killing center, where more than a million Jews were murdered; and Auschwitz III–Buna-Monowitz, but the public does not distinguish among them and their diverse victim populations.

Early monuments largely were in figurative sculptural form. The best example is Nathan Rapoport's *Warsaw Ghetto Monument*. Rapoport designed this memorial in 1943, while in exile in the Soviet Union. It was dedicated in April 1948, on the fifth anniversary of the Warsaw ghetto uprising. The monument memorializes the heroism of the Jews on one side as well as their victimization on the other. The commanding figure of Mordechai *Anielewicz and other fighters of the ghetto dominates the side symbolizing heroism, while a line of Jews on the reverse symbolizes the enormity of victimization as "the last road." Since the ghetto was destroyed in its entirety, Rapoport's monument is sited in the center of a postwar housing project. The monument, nevertheless, has been regarded as accessible in terms of its narrative and artistic style, and was reproduced during the late 1980s at Yad Vashem in what is called Warsaw Ghetto Square.

Memorial sites at the death camps themselves are particularly meaningful because of the sites and the power of many monuments. The Polish sculptors Adam Haupt and Franciszek Dusenko completed the Treblinka Monument in 1964. It was built by public subscription and commemorates a place where 800,000 Jews were murdered. The installation is successful because of its monumentality and abstraction. The site contains 17,000 jagged rocks, many of which contain the names of destroyed Jewish communities. In the center is a large 22-foot-high monument where the gas chambers stood. The fissure (in the stone) symbolizes the broken Jewish life in Poland as a result of the Holocaust. Other parts of the memorial remind visitors of the railroad spur and ramp into the camp as well as the burning pits. Abstract and incomplete, the Treblinka memorial seems to be dominated by broken forms.

The concept of memorial is more complex at Auschwitz and Birkenau (Oswiecim and Brzezinka, in Polish). The camps themselves are designated as a museum and memorial. Thus the entire space serves memorial purposes. In Auschwitz I, the *Wall of Death* between Blocks 10 and 11 has taken on special memorial meaning for Poles, while in Birkenau, the destroyed gas chambers are often adorned with flags, flowers, and notes by visitors. In 1958, an international competition was held for a memorial at Birkenau. It failed to find an acceptable design, despite more than 400 entries from artists representing 36 countries. The design that received the most votes, submitted by Oskar and Zofia Hansen, Jerzy Jarnuszkiewicz, and Julian Palka, was not favored by survivors because of its abstractness. In 1967, the Polish memorial committee hired a team headed by Pietro Cascella and Jerzy Jarnuszkiewicz to complete a "compromise monument." The monument had further problems with specifying the numbers of victims murdered in the camp. The original figure on the monument indicated "4 million." However, the numbers were taken off in 1990 shortly after the fall of Communism and not replaced with the more accurate figure of 1.25 million (the best estimates are 1.1–1.3 million). Nevertheless, Auschwitz remains contested space because the camp is in Poland, a country with a small Jewish population.

The memorial at the Belzec death camp opened only in 2004 after many competitions for designs for the site. Designed by Andrzej Solyga, Zdzislaw Pidek, and Marcin Roszczyk, the memorial covers the entire site of the death camp and provides a vista of total devastation, almost like a field of lava and stones, with piles of railroad ties capped with rails as a suggestive entrance, and a memorial space with names of towns and a wall of Jewish names. A museum on the death camp grounds tells the story of what happened at Belzec and thus the memorial does not bear sole responsibility for telling the story of the site of the murder of 500,000 Jews during 1942.

One of the most controversial monuments in the former Soviet Union is at Babi Yar in Kiev, in Ukraine. The first project at this *Einsatzgruppen* killing site was a small memorial stone by Aleksandr V. Vlasov, chief architect of Kiev, installed in 1946. It contained the inscription: "On this site there will be a monument for the victims of fascism during the German occupation of Kiev, 1941–1943." The issue of Jewish victimization at the site was raised through a poem written by Yevgeny Yevtushenko in 1961. The result was a monumental sculpture by the Soviet architect M. Lysenko, built in 1976, which continued to ignore the Jewish victimization. The plaque, in three languages, says: "Here in 1941–1943 more than one hundred thousand people from Kiev and the military were killed by German Fascists." In 1991, a specifically Jewish monument, *Menorah* (in the form of a menorah), designed by Yury Paskevich, was erected. Plans to enhance the site continue, including a Jewish Center at Babi Yar. Such plans led to extensive debate within the Kiev Jewish community about the need for such a center, particularly one to be built with funding from the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee.

Other sites in the former Soviet Union, such as Panieiri (Ponary) Woods outside of Vilnius (Vilna), Lithuania, have had their symbols and narratives revised, while new monuments continue to appear, such as one in the Rumbula forest to commemorate the destruction of the Jews of Riga, Latvia.

Monuments in France have taken on complex meaning because of French collaboration with the German occupation in World War II. The French national memorial to the deportation is the *Mémorial des Martyrs de la Déportation*, designed by G.H. Pingusson in 1962, sited behind Notre Dame Cathedral in central Paris. It commemorates the deportation of 200,000 French citizens, but is not specific as to the fate of the Jews. The more significant monument is in Drancy, a northern Paris suburb, the site of a deportation center for

Jews. The form of the memorial, built by Shlomo Selinger in 1973, evokes Rodin's *Gates of Hell* and also the Hebrew letter *Shin,* a symbol of the name of God. Ten figures (a *minyan*, the minimum number needed to hold a Jewish religious service) are shown in a whirlwind, representing the Holocaust; the stylized forms of the Hebrew letters *lamed* and *vav*, symbolizing the world's thirty-six righteous men of Jewish legend, are represented by the forms of two of the figures. In back of the granite memorial are tracks that lead to a preserved railroad boxcar used in the deportations. While Drancy is an appropriate place for a memorial, it is now in the center of a North African immigrant neighborhood, where the residents are still living in the apartment structure that was at the heart of the Drancy camp.

Germany probably has the most monuments, most in abstract or negative forms, defined as a mode of representing the absence of the Jews. Eisenman's *Monument* (*Denkmal*) *to the Murdered Jews of Europe* in Central Berlin near the Brandenburg Gate and the Tiergarten on a 4.1-acre site is probably the largest urban Holocaust memorial. It is unique as a negative monument to the Nazis' crimes against the Jews, and it is within sight of the renovated Reichstag building, home of the German parliament, the Bundestag. Appearing as a rolling cemetery with 2,700 granite stones, the metaphorical space succeeds in providing a conceptual awareness of the enormity of the crime. At the site, in certain spots of the memorial, the visitor loses sight of the city itself, suggesting how Germans lost their way with Nazism.

One of the other successful monuments in Berlin was conceived by Renata Stih and Frieder Schnock. *Places of Remembrance* is a series of 80 images on 40 double-sided signs displayed on light poles at a height of approximately 3 meters in the Schoeneberg district/Bayerischer Platz of Berlin. It is part of public space designed to encourage a discourse and remembrance about the past. The signs contain abstracts of the texts of Nazi laws against the Jews and the dates of enactment, some testimonies of victims, and on the reverse sides artistic images. Erected in 1993, the monument drew protests and even led to the temporary removal of some signs. It has become one of Berlin's important memorials because of its pedagogical value, as well as the fact that the signs are in many places and must be sought out, rather than assembled at a static site.

Countermonuments and negative monuments have also been erected in Germany by artists who resist conventionality. Jochen Gerz's *Monument against Fascism* was built in Hamburg-Harburg, Germany, in 1986. A twelve-meter-high obelisk covered with lead, it was designed to attract graffiti. Between 1986 and 1993, it was lowered somewhat on eight occasions until the vertical dimension was lost and the monument was lying on the ground. The monument invited public participation, including having visitors sign a statement against Fascism. When the monument was lowered to the ground, it was enclosed in glass. Gerz's final statement was: "In the end it is only we ourselves who can stand up against injustice."

Horst Hoheisel of Kassel has created many memorials that defy monumentality and create indirect paths of remembrance. In May 1945, a temporary obelisk was erected by the survivors of the Buchenwald concentration camp. Located near the entrance, it was quickly torn down because of the need for the wood. Hoheisel won a competition in 1995 to commemorate the 50th anniversary of the camp's liberation. His design was a memorial to the destroyed memorial of 1945. He constructed a stainless steel slab approximately 2 meters on each side, with slightly hipped angles, and the names of the 51 countries of origin of the inmates of the camp in 1945 engraved on the top. The slab is almost at ground level but is permanently heated to 98.6 degrees Fahrenheit to simulate body temperature. The result is that most visitors feel the need to kneel and touch the monument, creating as well a sense of touching the past. Hoheisel also was commissioned in 1985 to create the memorial to the Aschrottbrunnen Fountain in Kassel. The original fountain, given to the city by a Jewish businessman in 1908, was destroyed by the Nazis in 1939. Hoheisel's monument to the destroyed fountain, hence also to a destroyed people, featured an inverted model of the original (a "negative form") totally sunk into the earth, with the water rising to a flat surface of small canals covered partially by glass. The monumentality of the original fountain is gone, and the negative form, incomprehensible to some viewers, was seen as "a stimulant to memory, a flint to fire debate."

While the United States has many monuments, few are worthy of consideration from an aesthetic point of view. George *Segal's *The Holocaust*, erected in 1984, is a series of nine bronze figures painted white. It graces Legion of Honor Park in San Francisco overlooking San Francisco Bay. Based loosely on Margaret *Bourke-White's photograph of the liberation of Buchenwald of April 1945, Segal's figurative memorial places the Holocaust in a beautiful, and unexpected setting. The New England Holocaust Memorial, designed by architect Stanley Saitowitz, dedicated on Boston's Freedom Trail in 1995, features six luminous glass towers, each 54 feet high. The towers are lit internally to gleam at night. Smoke rises from the bottom of each tower, suggesting the six death camps, while six million numbers are etched on the glass. Nathan Rapoport's bronze monument to the Holocaust in Philadelphia dates to 1964 and takes the form of an abstract burning bush incorporating people, a Torah scroll, and flames. Miami Beach, the home of many Holocaust survivors, has a monument created by architect Kenneth Triester and dedicated in 1990, the centerpiece of which is an outstretched arm tattooed with numbers. It is part of a site that includes a Garden of Meditation, a Memorial Wall, and an Arbor of History, with historic photographs of the Holocaust etched into black granite.

While other monuments and memorials exist in the United States and other countries outside Europe and Israel, they too often make use of repetitive symbolism of the Holocaust and may be interpreted as an invitation to forget rather than remember the event.

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[Stephen C. Feinstein (2nd ed.)]

Museums

Although the Holocaust was perpetrated by Germany, all of the death camps were in German-occupied Poland, and Israel perceives itself as the direct heir of the victims, it is in the United States where the "master narrative" of the Holocaust has been shaped. Tim Cole, who has written critically of Holocaust museums, commented that "if you want the 'Holocaust' in the 1990s, then America is a better place to go looking for it than either Europe or Israel."

That was not always the case. In the aftermath of World War II, the Holocaust was not a significant part of American consciousness, even of American Jewish consciousness. In a 1954 report written for the World Jewish Congress, Dr. Issac I. Schwarzbart expressed deep concern that memories of the Holocaust will "slowly lapse into oblivion" and that observances will be held "only once in every 5 or 10 years and… only in the principal Jewish communities." It was not until 1972–73 that the National Jewish Community Relations Advisory Council of the Jewish Federations put the Holocaust on its agenda and only in the following year did it suggest, *for the first time*, that local Jewish communities create visual memorials such as exhibits, monuments, plaques, and signs, and that they develop their own local archives.

The first Holocaust exhibition was created in 1979 by survivors in Los Angeles, and the first Holocaust museums were opened in 1984 in Dallas and Detroit on the property of their local Jewish community centers. There now are 37 museums and more than 180 organizations in North America. The largest, the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington, has been visited by some 23 million people since it opened in 1993, and is one of the most popular attractions in the nation's capital. Other major museums are in Los Angeles, New York, suburban Detroit, Montreal, Houston, and St. Petersburg (see below for a complete list), and plans are under way for the construction of stand-alone museums in Chicago, Toronto, and Dallas as well as in Mexico City.

This phenomenally rapid increase in organizations dedicated to commemorating, educating, and presenting the Holocaust to public audiences should be seen in the context of the growing popularity of museums in general. Museum attendance in America is estimated to have increased from 200 million individual visits in 1965, to 400 million in 1984, 600 million in the early 1990s, and 865 million by 1997. Edward Able, executive director of the American Association of Museums, claims that "museum-going is rapidly becoming the single most popular, out-of-home family activity in America." Within museums, historical topics dominate. A survey of over 8,000 museums completed in October 2000 by the National Endowment for the Humanities noted that 65 percent chose "history" as the primary or secondary descriptor for their institutions and that more than 80 percent of them chose "history" as the topic of most interest for their temporary exhibitions.

Museums are regarded more favorably by the public than other institutions that preserve and present history (such as archives, libraries, schools, universities, publishing houses, and film studios). Roy Rosenzweig and David Thelen, sociologists who interviewed nearly 1,500 Americans, report that when asked to rate the "trustworthiness" of different sources of information about the past on a 10-point scale, museums topped the list – ahead of grandparents' stories, eyewitness testimony, college history professors, and high school teachers. Trustworthiness raises the expectation in the eyes of the public that museums will "reflect accepted truth, not … search for it… Museums, then, were treated not as places where knowledge was disputed or contested, but as sanctuaries where it was secure. For many… [truth] was what a museum contained. Entry and exhibition were credentialing," Rosenzweig and Thelen said. The historian Michael Kammen adds that the average museum visitor looks to museums for certainties and "does not wish to know that multiple interpretations of an object, a phenomenon, or an event are possible. Such knowledge would only be perplexing, or even seriously discomforting."

In striving to shape three-dimensional museum displays that are intelligible, attractive, and engaging to audiences, there is a multiplicity of ways and means that might be chosen.

THE "WHERE" DIMENSION. In line with the popular adage that the three most importance aspects of real estate are location, location, and location, this dimension may be the most significant in distinguishing among Holocaust Museums. "Where" a museum is located influences what can or cannot be presented in it and the meanings and messages that are created and understood. For example, in 1989 the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum accepted nine kilograms of shorn human hair from German death camps in Poland, where it had been on public display for decades. The attempt to show hair in a museum in Washington, D.C., however, raised a bitter controversy. Some museum organizers were so appalled and disgusted that the display case that was built to house the hair remains empty to this day, while the hair itself sits in storage, out of sight.

Commenting on this controversy in which people opposed displaying something in one museum what is shown without incident in another, Alvin Rosenfeld, a literary scholar, posits that "what is acceptable in the abnormal atmosphere of a death camp – the site of the murders – is not acceptable in the antiseptic atmosphere of the Nation's Capital.…

Many visitors, myself among them – and I am totally non-religious – will consider such displays sacrilegious, a desecration." In his book *Thinking about the Holocaust After Half a Century*, Rosenfeld ponders why visitors express such very different feelings

> upon leaving the remains of the Nazi camps in Germany or Poland or upon concluding a visit to Yad Vashem in Israel… [than are] evoked at the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum? The answer probably lies less in what is shown in the one place and not in the other *than in the site itself* and the democratic ideals that America's capital exemplifies.

This situation is not unique, as other exhibitions might also be perceived differently by audiences in different locations, and what might be perfectly legitimate in one setting could be seen as an affront in another.

Focus groups, surveys, and interviews done prior to the opening of the United States museum were used to inform curators of the distinctive features of locating in the nation's capital.

> (F)or Americans, a visit to Washington is unlike a typical visit to almost any other place. What makes Washington different is the multiplicity of motivations and expectations with which people come to the nation's capital. They come to be educated, to see government in action, to get in touch with our country's history, to see firsthand the monuments and emblems of our nation, and to share in that 'red, white, and blue' feeling… (T)he capital's attractions are mind-expanding, historically significant, and steeped in symbolism.

Therefore the choice to place the museum in Washington rather than New York or some other location was a conscious one whose significance was articulated right from the outset. The President's Commission on the Holocaust, which recommended the establishment of the museum, started to build the museum's "case statement" in its first official document, the 1979 *Report to the President.* It connected location with content, values, and message. The report noted that the Holocaust

> affects all Americans, raising fundamental questions about government, the abuses of unbridled power, the fragility of social institutions, the need for national unity, and the functioning of government. By reminding us of the potential for violence in human society, the museum can contribute to a strengthening of the democratic process.

THE REPORT TO THE PRESIDENT. Written by the commission's deputy director, Michael *Berenbaum, and signed by 23 of the 24 members of the Commission, *The Report to the President* argued that placing the Holocaust museum on the National Mall would balance themes extolled in the Smithsonian museums such as the "triumphant achievements of human history and creativity… increasing human control over the environment… the aesthetic genius of the human imagination… (and) the use of technology."

When asked in an interview to comment on the importance of location to the shaping of memory, Berenbaum, a theologian and Holocaust historian who directed the creation of the museum, referred to the biblical tradition that the memory of the destroyed city of Jerusalem was affected when the location in which it was pined for was by the waters of Babylon. He argued that a Holocaust museum in Washington, D.C., inevitably "tells a governmental story" whereas a New York Holocaust Museum "tells the story of a victimized community." Regarding the heavy use of interactive multimedia, TV screens, narrated scripts, and hands-on experiential environments in the Museum of Tolerance in Los Angeles, Berenbaum responded that "(h)ad we done that in Washington, we would have been shouted [down], because that would not be considered appropriate to the environment of Washington. It is appropriate in Los Angeles and it works in Los Angeles." Then, comparing the national Holocaust museum in Washington to the one in Jerusalem, he added:

> We also had a problem different from Yad Vashem in terms of presenting it in Washington, which is: we had to discharge people on to the National Mall. Yad Vashem had the greatest ending of all, which is that you come through darkness into light and you see Jerusalem, reborn in the living State of Israel… And that's the answer. [That ending is still *the* ending in the new Yad Vashem which opened in 2004.]
>
> Again, we're not in Jerusalem, *therefore it cannot be the answer here.* We have to discharge people with at least a way to come back in to the Washington Mall.

In exploring the "where" dimension, there are six different types of Holocaust organizations based on their location and activities:

(a) Museums on actual Holocaust sites, such as former camps and ghettos or places of deportation and murder;

(b) Museums prominently placed in national capitals and enjoying significant government support;

(c) Major facilities in highly visible, stand-alone buildings that are devoted to presenting the Holocaust;

(d) Minor facilities that occupy small parts of "Jewish" buildings or complexes that are primarily devoted to other purposes;

(e) Research, resource and teaching centers, often affiliated with colleges or universities and, as a rule, located on their campuses; and

(f) Personal "backyard" operations that are created, shaped, and run by a single champion or a very small group of dedicated individuals with limited involvement from outsiders.

(a) Museums on actual Holocaust sites such as former camps and ghettos or places of deportation and murder. It is rather obvious that being located on sacred ground has a powerful effect on shaping historical presentation and also on the ways that visitors perceive what took place there. In addition, museums of this type are unavoidably engaged with identity issues that are of no relevance to the other five locations. (Of course no Holocaust museum in North America is on a Holocaust site.)

Site issues from another time and place may prove enlightening. Restricting the exhibition of the Alamo, in San Antonio, Texas, to the period during which it was a fort (1835–6) presents a white Anglo story of Protestant Texans resisting foreign invaders. On the other hand, broadening the scope to cover its 250 years as a Mexican Catholic mission, similar to others in the same area above and below the Rio Grande (and before there was an international border), and its importance to local Tejanos (Mexican-Texans), some of whom also fought and died there, would necessitate telling a very different story. Terezin (Theresienstadt) and Auschwitz had both been military bases before the Holocaust, but to what extent are these "prehistories" relevant or even of interest to visitors?

More than a dozen liberated Nazi camps (including Buchenwald and Majdanek) had "posthistories" as Soviet punishment centers where more than 130,000 Nazi sympathizers and anti-Communists were imprisoned. To what extent, if any, should they and the estimated 50,000 victims who died there by shooting, hunger, disease, and neglect *after* 1945 be presented in historical museums located on those sites, or would that only distract and detract from the main messages?

Michael Ignatieff, author of *Blood and Belonging. Journeys into the New Nationalism* (1993), reminds us of the Orwellian dictum that he who controls the past controls the future. A death camp was located in Jasenovac, Croatia, in World War II where approximately 600,000 Serbs, Jews, gypsies, and Communists were murdered. After it was bulldozed in 1945 in "the hope that Serbs and Croats might forget," a museum and memorial center was opened in the 1960s in order to play a prominent educational role in teaching tolerance, warning of the dangers of hanging on to old hatreds, promoting the acceptance of differences, and fostering ethnic understanding within Tito's new Yugoslavia. In 1991, Croatian troops stationed in Jasenovac systematically destroyed the whole museum. Ignatieff wrote:

> Every book in the library had been ripped up and tossed onto the floor. Every glass exhibit case has been smashed. Every photograph has been defaced. Every file has been pulled out of every drawer, every table and chair has been upended, all the curtains have been cut to ribbons, all the windows have been smashed, and all the walls have been daubed with excrement and slogans. Some quite amazing hatred of the past has taken hold of the people who did this: as if by destroying the museum, they hoped to destroy the memory of what was done here.

(b) Museums prominently placed in national capitals and enjoying significant government support. The Imperial War Museum in London has a large, permanent gallery devoted to the Holocaust and the subject warrants considerable attention in the Jewish Museum in Berlin despite the deliberate attempt not to make it a Holocaust museum. Both are located in national capitals and enjoy considerable governmental support, but both museums extend their concerns beyond the Holocaust itself. Therefore, the two best examples of this type of museum are the two largest in the world: the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington and Yad Vashem, the Holocaust Heroes' and Martyrs' Remembrance Authority, in Jerusalem. Each is located in a capital city, on a large campus, and attracts more than a million and as many as two million visitors a year or more. Yad Vashem, located in a country that has a Jewish majority and that sees itself as the heir of the six million, gives its major attention to the Jewish story and looks at the event from the perspective of the victims, while the American museum, on the National Mall, tells an American story from the point of view of bystanders and liberators. (More of these differences will be highlighted in the discussion of the "what" dimension.)

(c) Major facilities in highly visible, stand-alone buildings that are devoted to presenting the Holocaust. Examples are the Museum of Jewish Heritage–A Living Memorial to the Holocaust at the tip of lower Manhattan in New York City; the Museum of Tolerance in Los Angeles, California; the Michigan Holocaust Memorial Center in Farmington Hills, a suburb of Detroit; the Florida Holocaust Museum in St. Petersburg; and the Holocaust Museum Houston, in Texas. While these museums are all smaller than those of type "b," they are each tens of thousands of square feet in size, employ dozens of staff, have annual operating budgets in excess of several million dollars, are situated prominently in museum districts or are close to other major attractions, and are visited by more than 100,000 people a year. New York's and Detroit's have expanded (Detroit moved to a new independent facility) and Houston's and St. Petersburg's are planning major expansions.

(d) Minor facilities that occupy small parts of "Jewish" buildings or complexes that are primarily devoted to other purposes. Museums in this category are considerably smaller in size than the previous types and attract fewer visitors (tens of thousands), mostly schoolchildren who are brought in an organized fashion. Examples of this type are the Lillian and A.J. Weinberg Center for Holocaust Education, inside the Jewish Federation building in Atlanta, Georgia; the Holocaust Memorial Resource and Education Center of Central Florida, on the campus of the Jewish Community Center in Orlando; the Holocaust Education and Memorial Centre of Toronto, beside the Jewish Federation Building; and the Vancouver Holocaust Centre for Education and Remembrance, in the lower level of the Jewish Community Centre building.

Over time these centers are being given over to professional educators and museum directors as the role of the small group of local organizers (often Holocaust survivors) diminishes. Still, in conformity with the pattern common in "historical houses," the original vision and mission of the museum remains quite resilient. Steeped as they were in European Jewish culture, victimized solely because they were Jews, traumatized by the loss of their loved ones and of the old Jewish world, it is not surprising that the perspective most often taken in the museums located inside Jewish spaces is that of the Jewish victims. Many installations, especially those done before 1993, were modeled after the most dramatic example that they knew – Yad Vashem. To the extent that they could, they tried to copy the Israeli original in their smaller spaces, and they offered local residents, Jews and non-Jews alike, most of whom had not been to Israel, the opportunity to confront the Holocaust through honoring the memories of the Jewish victims and preserving the experiences of those who survived.

(e) Research, resource and teaching centers, often affiliated with colleges or universities and, as a rule, located on their campuses. These centers on university campuses are generally directed by academics who hold regular teaching appointments, such as the Fred R. Crawford Witness to the Holocaust Project at Emory University in Atlanta, headed by Professor Deborah Lipstadt, holder of the Dorot Chair in Modern Jewish and Holocaust Studies; or the University of Minnesota's Center for Holocaust and Genocide Studies, directed by Dr. Stephen Feinstein. Arguably the easiest and least expensive to establish and maintain, they are the most numerous of the six categories. These organizations have temporary exhibitions but do not maintain permanent ones. With their mission of research, teaching, and providing resources to educators, their focus, as a rule, is broader than just the Holocaust; they are usually also centers of the study of genocide and violations of human rights.

(f) Personal "backyard" operations that are created, shaped, and run by a single champion or a very small group of dedicated individuals with limited involvement from outsiders. The Smith family is devoutly Christian. In 1978, the Smiths bought a farmhouse in rural Nottinghamshire, in the middle of Sherwood Forest, with the intention of creating Britain's first Holocaust center. Beth Shalom is a place of retreat "where people could come to study, to learn, or to be quiet and reflect." The family lives on the site, is devoted to every aspect of its operation, and the mother is the center's only paid employee, serving as manager and administrative coordinator. As many as 500 people visit each week.

An even smaller organization is the Western Association of Holocaust Survivor-Families and Friends, established in Vancouver in 1989 by Renia Perel. She is the founder, president, and, since her husband's death, the main champion. What exists of this association is located in file cabinets and on storage shelves in the basement of her home. Active for several years, the association became virtually moribund during the four-year period that Perel's husband was terminally ill. The intensity of the association's efforts has always been proportionate to the Perels' level of energy, just as its activities were determined by the Perels' interests and predilections.

THE "WHAT" AND "HOW" DIMENSIONS. Despite (or perhaps because) this subject matter is vast (there are more than 100,000 books on aspects of the Holocaust), there is no consensus as to what are the essential topics and materials that must be presented. Historians of the period typically identify three distinct groups of actors in the Holocaust: the perpetrators (the murderers and their accomplices), the victims, and the bystanders (a less clearly delineated group that runs the gamut from compliant observers to resisters and rescuers). It is unlikely that a Holocaust museum will give exclusive attention to just one of these three perspectives and leave the other two wholly ignored, but at the same time it is not possible to give predominance to more than one focus at the same time and in the same gallery space.

The United States museum chooses to focus the thrust of its educational message on the dangers of being a bystander. Its website proclaims: "The Museum's primary mission is … to encourage its visitors to reflect upon the moral and spiritual questions raised by the events of the Holocaust as well as their own responsibilities as citizens of a democracy." Says its executive director, Sara Bloomfield:

> Ultimately to me I think the museum isn't about eradicating evil, because evil can't be eradicated.… We know that not just because of the last century, but for thousands of years people have done horrific things to one another and I don't think we're going to be changing human nature any day soon. Certainly a museum cannot do that.
>
> So, the museum's goal is not to make evil people good, because that's simply impossible, but my goal, in the trite cliché of the Holocaust is to transform bystanders into rescuers. That's what our goal is, and the most important player in that exhibit, in many ways, is the bystander.… There's an implicit, I wish it were more explicit in some ways, challenge to encourage the visitor to say: "Well here, in the safety and freedom of America, can I do more? What is my moral obligation to another human being?" So, anyway … for me, this is a story about bystanders and the consequences of standing by.

Placing the Holocaust in the context of American citizenship and values is what Michael Berenbaum means by the term "Americanization of the Holocaust." He explained:

> The place from which you remember an event shapes what you remember. So … in Jerusalem the answer is Israeli values. What are Israeli values? An army and a State, a proud, independent people, etc. We tell that story also but the perpetration of the crime is the violation of the American ethos: That all human beings are created equal, that they are endowed with certain inalienable rights such as freedom of press, freedom of assembly, freedom of religion, habeas corpus, etc. "To bigotry no sanctions, to persecution no assistance." [Citing Washington's quote that hangs prominently in the 15th Street building entrance.] This becomes the Americanization.

And in another place, he adds:

> This museum is in dialogue with "the Great American Myth"… in dialogue with the Smithsonian and standing at the juncture of "Museum Washington" and "Monumental Washington," celebrating the power and triumph of government, the human imagination, spirit, creativity, etc., etc. We are about what happens when all of those forces are unleashed without regard to the values, "the Great American Values" of "all men, now people, are created equal," they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, rights that the State cannot take away, protections, freedoms… This involvement, if anything, has made me more deeply and more profoundly patriotic. And more respectful of the best of American values, not of the American experience, and I think that one of the reasons

> why this Museum works in its location is that it very subtly is in dialogue with place and space.

In sharp contrast, the planners of the Museum of Jewish Heritage – A Living Memorial to the Holocaust in New York City took a different emphasis right from the start. They wanted to tell a Jewish story, in three layers, focused on the victims.

> Built on four millennia of memories and experience, Jewish Heritage is a rich symphony of themes and motifs, of counterpoint and, sadly, of dissonant chords. To capture the essence of this complex creation, we will divide the story into three chapters, corresponding to the three floors of the Museum: *The Jewish World in the Early 20th Century* (first floor); *The War against the Jews* (second floor); and *Jewish Renewal* (third floor).

When asked to compare the Jewish Heritage to other Holocaust museums, Ivy Barsky, deputy director for programs, pointed out that the

> major difference is that we have decided to tell the story as much as possible through the eyes of those who survived it. And you know, honoring the memory of those who perished. And not necessarily really flushing out the story of the perpetrators and others. And, even though we are primarily talking about Jews, talking less about what happened to Jews and more about what Jews did… more about Jews as subjects than as objects.

The special activities that it offers are more typical of a Jewish community center or a synagogue than a Holocaust museum.

The Simon Wiesenthal Center's Museum of Tolerance in Los Angeles focuses less on bystanders or victims, and more on the third group of actors, the perpetrators: what the Nazis did, what the like-minded are still doing, and what might be the dangerous face of intolerance in the future if we do not fight back and fail to prevent its spread. Drawing upon a singularly Southern Californian metaphor, dean and founder Rabbi Marvin Hier summarizes the basic point:

> The message of the museum is simple. The highway of hate is one highway. Once you're on it, you have two choices: exit early and avoid a catastrophe, or keep on the highway of hate and drive straight to Auschwitz. The message is, if a society doesn't take cognizance of hate, thinks little of it, and is not willing to do something about it by getting off that highway and condemning it, it could condemn itself to ride straight to Auschwitz.

In an article for the *Los Angeles Times*, Hier explained

> The Holocaust's central lesson – that a civilized society voluntarily turned themselves (sic) into an evil one; that lawyers and judges lied and cheated; that teachers distinguished between Aryan and non-Aryans, teaching their students that even God's "thou shalt not kill" did not apply to society's *untermenschen*, the so-called sub-cultures, a name Nazis used to describe Jews, Gypsies, homosexuals, and other undesirables.

Therefore the Tolerance museum includes material on the African-American struggle for civil rights in America, discrimination against women in Afghanistan, teen-age drinking, child pornography, sexual exploitation of women and children in Belarus, and hate sites on the Internet. "Hatred did not die in the bunker with Hitler," says Hier. "They are not dinosaurs that you can walk away from (like) at the Museum of Natural History, and then forget about. The haters are still among us."

But the museum's major innovation is in the area of "how," i.e., the methodology of presentation, specifically the extensive use of technology: computers, films, and interactive experiences. Rabbi Hier intended to create something very different from other Holocaust museums:

> The Museum of Tolerance was never set up to duplicate or to be another Yad Vashem or … Washington.… It was designed for middle and high school students. If you want to reach young people, you have to make history "come alive" to them. You can't teach them history from text and pictures on the wall, and from seminars or monologues that are going to be given by … historians.

Condemning the museum as the "collusion of Hollywood and the Holocaust" (or the more sarcastic: "Disney does Dachau"), critics Nicola A. Lisus and Richard V. Ericson, authors of *Misplacing Memory: the Effect of Television Format on Holocaust Remembrance* (1995), charge:

> Competing, as it certainly seems to be, with other L.A. entertainment giants for an audience grown accustomed to viewing reality through a Hollywood filter, the Wiesenthal Center relies on its state-of-the-art electronic media approach and the kind of advertising more normally associated with Hollywood theme parks to attract visitors…
>
> The Tolerancenter (sic) relies on short sound bytes, slogans, and continuous audio and visual stimulation, giving the impression that this section is based more upon the principles of advertising than those of education. A cacophony of overdramatized voices emanating from computer characters bombards the visitor with all the superficial urgency of local news broadcast. Like the local news, this gallery offers the visitor a high-impact and, in my opinion, low-content experience.

In Los Angeles, "the city of illusions," some argue the Holocaust Museum has become a place where

> creeping surrealism is well underfoot. Here the unreal, the recreated and the voice-over form the yardstick by which we measure the real. Fantasy becomes the baseline for measuring truth. Drama overpowers reality. Characters of history become character actresses and voices from the past become voiceovers of the present. (Lisus and Ericson)

Linking "where" and "how" dimensions, Hier admits:

> If we were Auschwitz, it might be a sin for us to take all this modern technology to the bunks, where the actual slaughter and gassing took place… There, one has to be very careful, because if you change Auschwitz, if you make Auschwitz into a highly sophisticated and technologically oriented museum I would be afraid. So I would be much more cautious that that [Auschwitz] should be preserved as it is.

A useful framework for understanding the "how" dimension of museums is offered by Michael Ettema in *History Museums and the Culture of Materialism* (1987), a continuum from the "formalistic" to the "analytical" perspectives. The formalistic perspective perceives history as factual learning, best accomplished by accumulating discrete pieces of information. In the museum context, this means that information is mastered through familiarity with the specific details of an object: its origin; who made it, where, and how; what were its functions; and the extent to which its stylistic and technical features can be correlated with other groups of selected objects. In pedagogical terms, this approach is often called the "discovery" or the "inquiry" method. A museum whose presentation reflects a formalistic perspective would be anchored in genuine artifacts (no replicas, models, dioramas, or multimedia gimmicks). Since its collection likely would be incomplete, its curators would have to be satisfied with telling only a partial story. Aspects of the story, regardless of how important they might be, that cannot be told through artifacts in the museum's possession, would necessarily be absent. At its core, such a museum sees itself as being about "collecting, documenting, preserving, exhibiting, and interpreting material evidence and associated information."

On the other hand, the analytical perspective looks beyond "what happened" and "when" to ask "how" and "why" things are the way they are. Its focus is on the narrative being told, with the artifacts serving merely as hooks or illustrations to be set out like theater props. The analytical perspective takes abstract explanations that are situated in ideas, values, and social circumstances. History, in this understanding, is the posing and answering of questions about trends, changes, processes and systems in which physical objects are not the messages themselves but rather are displayed to support the unfolding drama. Artifacts not in the possession of a museum, but on which important aspects of the narrative rely, may be manufactured, copied, or projected.

Curators employing an analytical perspective attempt to tell a complete story (albeit only one of the possible stories about the subject), while those at the other, formalistic, end of this continuum essentially highlight fragments of stories by looking at specific artifacts, but cannot present a complete one because of all that is missing.

The distinction can be illustrated in the Dallas Holocaust Museum. From 1984 until 2004 (when the museum was located in the basement of the Jewish Community Center) it had an essentially formalistic display. A collection of artifacts – what the museum happened to possess – was shown along with photographs and wall texts that presented some ("fragments") of the major events that took place between 1933 and 1945, omitting and ignoring the rest. There was no clear or coherent story.

In contrast, the relocated museum in the center of the city has housed a new display since March 2005, titled "One Day in the Holocaust." It focuses on a complete story, one of many that might be told. In line with the analytical perspective, the story is the key. The display examines reactions to the same events (the explosion of killings that took place in 1942 and the mass deportations of victims in boxcars) by three different sets of actors in three different locations on a single day, April 19, 1943. On that day, powerless victims were heroically but futilely fighting back (the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising). Three young men decided to take independent action and heroically saved the lives of 231 deportees on their way to Auschwitz (stopping a train from the Mechlen transit camp in Belgium); and officials of powerful governments were discussing the plight of the European Jews, carefully taking no meaningful action to rescue them (the Bermuda Conference). The bottom-line message is that we need not be defined by what happens to us when we have the will to choose how we wish to respond, and that we are responsible for our decisions and their consequences. If this is true even during the difficult period of the Holocaust, how much more should we be conscious of the choices that we make in the less difficult circumstances of our daily lives?

Other important aspects of the "how" dimension are revealed by what is inside the museums and by the architecture. The museums in Washington and Los Angeles are each housed in a striking building; Yad Vashem's museum impales the ground, stabbing through the bedrock of Israel with a foreign object (a concrete structure) and causing a wound that can never be healed. To get to the display in Washington, visitors ascend in an elevator to the fourth floor and begin their tour by looking at the way things were before the rise of the Nazi regime ("normal" life). Then, as the narrative progresses and Nazism begins, visitors descend, sinking deeper and deeper into the depths of the windowless building, falling further and further into the abyss. After initial attempts to keep the museum open to the American symbols that surround it failed because the western sun was too hot to keep the building cooled adequately, James Ingo Freed, the museum's architect, chose to block out views of the nation's capital as a way to keep "American space from contaminating memorial space."

In contrast, visitors to the museums in Jerusalem and in New York City (both focused on the Jewish story) move physically and symbolically upwards – from depths to heights and from darkness to light – emerging at a "higher" level to set up the visitor for a final, uplifting experience. At Yad Vashem, the last view looks out over the dynamic, lively, rebuilt, and reunited city of Jerusalem. At the Museum of Jewish Heritage, the final vista is of Ellis Island and the Statue of Liberty, symbols of safety from oppression, welcome and compassion for the downtrodden refugees.

CONCLUSION. After surveying Holocaust memorials and museums in Germany, Austria, Poland, Israel, and the United States, James Young concludes that "(i)n every nation's memorials and museums, a different Holocaust is remembered, often to conflicting political and religious ends.… Memory is never shaped in a vacuum, the motives of memory are never pure."

However, this situation is not fundamentally different from that of other history museums. In *Dream Spaces: Memory and the Museum*, Gaynor Kavanagh asserts that meaning-making "springs not from objects, (or the) collections of the institution, but from people and how the past is remembered within the present." As long as different people in different places are remembering the past, they will shape different presentations of it.

LIST OF HOLOCAUST MUSEUMS

Argentina	Buenos Aires	Fundacion Memoria del Holocausto
Australia	Melbourne	Jewish Holocaust Museum and Research Centre
Australia	Sydney	Sydney Jewish Museum – History of the Holocaust section
Austria	Vienna	Austrian Holocaust Memorial Service (Gedenkdienst)
Austria	Vienna	Mauthausen Concentration Camp Memorial
Belgium	Mechelen	Jewish Museum of Deportation and Resistance
Canada	Montreal	Montreal Holocaust Memorial Centre
	Toronto	Holocaust Education and Memorial Centre of Toronto
	Vancouver	Vancouver Holocaust Education Centre
	Winnipeg	Freeman Family Foundation Holocaust Education Centre of the Jewish Heritage Centre of Western Canada
Croatia	Jasenovac	Vatican's Holocaust – Holocaust Archive Pictures at Croatia Jasenovac Memorial Site and Memorial Museum
Czech Rep.	Terezin	Terezin Memorial
France	Izieu	Memorial Museum for Children of Izieu
	Paris	Memorial de la Shoah
Germany	Berlin	Topography of Terror Foundation
	Buchenwald	Buchenwald Memorial
	Dachau	Dachau Concentration Camp Memorial Site
	Furstenberg	Ravensbruck Women's Concentration Camp Memorial Museum
	Lohheide	Bergen-Belsen Memorial
	Oranienburg	Sachsenhausen Memorial Site
	Papenburg	Document and Information Center of Emsland Camps
	Wannsee	House of the Wannsee Conference
Hungary	Budapest	Budapest Holocaust Memorial Center
Israel	Ghetto Fighters' Kibbutz	Ghetto Fighters' House – Holocaust and Jewish Resistance Heritage Museum
	Jerusalem	Chambers of the Holocaust
	Jerusalem	Yad Vashem – Holocaust Martyrs' and Heroes Remembrance Memorial
	Kibbutz Tel-Yitzhak	Massuah Institute for the Study of the Holocaust
	Kibbutz Givat Chaim	Beit Theresienstadt
	Kibbutz Yad Mordechai	Museum in honor of Mordechai Anielewicz
Japan	Fukuyama City	Holocaust Education Center
	Tokyo	Tokyo Holocaust Education Resource Center
Netherlands	Amsterdam	Anne Frank House
	Haarlem	Corrie ten Boom Museum, "The Hiding Place"
Poland	Lublin	State Museum at Majdanek Concentration Camp
	Oswiecim	Auschwitz Jewish Center Foundation
	Oswiecim	Auschwitz-Birkenau State Museum
	Belzec	Belzec Memorial and Museum
Russia	Moscow	Russian Holocaust Foundation
South Africa	Cape Town	Cape Town Holocaust Centre
United Kingdom	Laxton, Newark	Beth Shalom Holocaust Centre
	London	Imperial War Museum's Holocaust Exhibition
	London	Holocaust and Anti-Racist Department at the London Jewish Cultural Centre
United States	Albuquerque, NM	New Mexico Holocaust and Intolerance Museum
	Atlanta, GA	The Lillian and A.J. Weinberg Center for Holocaust Education of the William Breman Jewish Heritage Center
	Baltimore, MD	Baltimore Jewish Council
	Brooklyn (New York City), NY	Kingsborough Community College Holocaust Resource Center
	Buffalo, NY	Holocaust Resource Center
	Cincinnati, OH	The Center for Holocaust and Humanity Education
	Dallas, TX	Dallas Holocaust Museum
	El Paso, TX	El Paso Holocaust Museum and Study Center
	Farmington Hills, MI	Holocaust Memorial Center
	Hollywood, FL	Holocaust Documentation and Education Center
	Houston, TX	Holocaust Museum Houston

Los Angeles, CA	Holocaust Monument
Los Angeles, CA	Museum of the Holocaust
Los Angeles, CA	Simon Wiesenthal Center
Los Angeles, CA	USC Shoah Foundation Institute for Visual History and Education
Maitland, FL	Holocaust Memorial Resource and Education Center
Manhasset, NY	Holocaust Resource Center, Temple Judea of Manhasset
Miami Beach, FL	Holocaust Memorial
Naples, FL	Holocaust Museum of Southwest Florida
New Haven, CT	Fortunoff Video Archive for Holocaust Testimonies
New York, NY	Anne Frank Center
New York, NY	Ioannina Greece Holocaust Victims
New York, NY	Museum of Jewish Heritage–Living Memorial to the Holocaust
Pittsburgh, PA	Holocaust Center of the United Jewish Federation of Greater Pittsburgh
Providence, RI	Rhode Island Holocaust Memorial Museum
Richmond, VA	Virginia Holocaust Museum
San Antonio, TX	Holocaust Memorial of San Antonio
San Francisco, CA	Holocaust Center of Northern California
Skokie, IL	Holocaust Memorial Foundation of Illinois
Springfield, MA	Hatikvah Holocaust Education and Resource Center
Spring Valley, NY	Holocaust Museum and Study Center
St. Louis, MO	Holocaust Museum and Learning Center
St. Petersburg, FL	Florida Holocaust Museum
Tulsa, OK	Sherwin Miller Museum
Washington, DC	United States Holocaust Memorial Museum

[Elliott Dlin (2nd ed.)]

Film

Both opponents and supporters of Hitler employed film as a medium, either to warn the world about the danger his regime posed to European Jewry, or to warn about the mortal threat "World Jewry" allegedly posed to the Aryan race. During the 1930s, Hollywood tended to avoid overt criticism of the Third Reich, bowing to pressure from its voluntary censorship board, the State Department, and isolationist politicians who anticipated that anti-Nazi movies would provoke a German boycott of American films, damage German-American relations, or plunge the United States into an unwanted European war. Self-interest was at stake, as Germany was an important source of revenue for American films. Weekly newsreels, however, featured stories about the plight of German Jews under Nazi rule. A 1938 edition of the *March of Time* denounced German persecution of the Jews as "brutal" and "pitiless." In 1940 Charlie Chaplin, the brilliant clown of the silent era, pilloried Hitler in *The Great Dictator*, which portrayed the Phooey, Chaplin's facetious synonym for Fuehrer, as a megalomaniac intent on invading neighboring countries and incarcerating Jews. Chaplin had financed his own movie. He was incorrectly suspected of being Jewish.

Preparing public opinion for harsher antisemitic measures, the Nazi propaganda "documentary" *The Eternal Jew* (1940) depicted the unassimilated Jews of defeated Poland as vermin conspiring with their acculturated coreligionists in the West to undermine the Aryan race. The German feature film *Jew Suess* distorted the true story of an eighteenth-century court Jew who served as the chief adviser to the Duke of Wurttemberg into a cautionary tale about how the Jewish parvenu exploited his influence to profit from his position, oppress German gentiles, and rape a virtuous Aryan woman. *The Eternal Jew* ends with a clip of Hitler's Reichstag speech threatening to destroy European Jewry if Germany was drawn into a war; *Jew Suess* implies a similar fate by hanging the Jew after his royal patron died.

Allied wartime movies painted a sinister picture of the Third Reich's regimentation of its own citizenry, oppression of conquered countries, and ruthless persecution of those it deemed "antisocial," inferior, or subversive. Jews appeared in some of these as one among various groups targeted by the Nazis. Loosely based on the internment of theologian Martin Niemoller, the British film *Pastor Hall* (1940) confines its protagonist in a concentration camp modeled on Dachau, where dissidents, Jews, and ordinary criminals endure corporal punishment, hard labor, overcrowding, and random executions. The American film *None Shall Escape* (1944) foreshadowed Allied war crimes trials of high-ranking Germans. Its story revolves around the testimony of three witnesses who accuse an SS officer of raping a Polish girl, sending her brother to a concentration camp, starving Polish workers, rounding up Jews for deportation, and massacring them when they are on the verge of rebellion. The Soviet film *Unconquered* (1945) similarly mixes the theme of the repression of Russians with a grim reenactment of the mass executions of Jews at Babi Yar.

When the victorious Allied troops entered the gates of German concentration, extermination, and labor camps in 1945, they were overwhelmed by the stench and sight of corpses scattered where they had died or been stacked before they could be burned, evidence that prisoners had been the subjects of medical experiments and torture, and the emaciated survivors, many of whom were so sick and weakened that they died after their liberation. Newsreels, newspapers, and magazines initially disseminated these appalling images. The prosecution team at the Nuremberg Trials presented a compilation of this footage to prove that Germany had committed crimes against humanity. The gaunt survivors, crematoria chimneys, electrified barbed-wire fences, gas chambers, mass graves, railway cars, SS insignia, Star of David armbands, striped prisoner uniforms, swastikas, warehouses stuffed with confiscated valuables and human hair, and Zyklon-B canisters became the icons of Nazi genocide.

Clips of the American and Soviet Nuremberg movies, both of which bore the title *Nazi Concentration Camps,* appeared in feature films about tracking down war criminals (Orson Welles' *The Stranger*, 1946) and the postwar trials (Kurt Maetzig's *Council of the Gods*, 1950, and the television and film versions of *Judgment at Nuremberg*, 1959 and 1961), and cautioning the next generation of Germans from joining neo-Nazi gangs (Samuel Fuller's *Verboten!*, 1959). In the late 1940s and throughout the 1950s, American television documentaries about World War II and the Third Reich included segments from *Nazi Concentration Camps* as part of their broader indictments of Nazi militarism and totalitarianism.

Alain Resnais's documentary *Night and Fog* (1955) deserves its reputation as the most important of these early documentaries. It opens with colored shots of the serene surroundings of the vacant Auschwitz juxtaposed with black and white scenes from Leni Riefenstahl's propaganda masterpiece, *Triumph of the Will* (1935), illustrating Hitler's prewar popularity. The pomp of this period segues into footage and photos of the deportation, internment, and liquidation of the people Hitler perceived as Germany's mortal enemies. Although the narrator never specifically mentions that Jews were slated for extinction, the clothing and Jewish stars worn by most of the people being "relocated" visually indicates the scope of Hitler's crusade. The film ends with shocking scenes of the remnants of Nazi barbarity that the Allied troops found in the camps.

In the immediate postwar period, the Soviet Union permitted Eastern European filmmakers to recall the brutality of the German occupation in the region, including the ordeal of the Jews. In doing so, the USSR legitimated its rule as the power that had delivered the region from Nazi despotism and curried the favor of the Zionist movement, which it temporarily supported to undermine British dominance in the Middle East. In this window of opportunity between 1945 and 1949, the states of the Communist bloc produced a spate of motion pictures about the decimation of East European Jewry.

The director Wanda Jakubowska and screenwriter Gerda Schneider had been inmates at Auschwitz. In *The Last Stop* (1947), they depicted the tribulations of female prisoners at Auschwitz. Shot on location and cast primarily with concentration camp survivors, the film ultimately glorified the Communist resistance to Nazism in the character of a Jewish translator who joins the camp underground and martyrs herself rather than betray her comrades. In *Border Street* (1948), Aleksander Ford envisioned the chronic brutality, epidemics, and starvation that ravaged the Jews in the Warsaw Ghetto. He originally intended to make Polish antisemitism a key plot element, but yielded to political pressure to present instances of Polish solidarity with the Jews.

Alfred Radok's *Distant Journey* (1949) chronicled the arrest and separation of a Jewish wife from her gentile husband and her subsequent internment at Theresienstadt, the Czech ghetto/camp Hitler had spruced up for a propaganda film on how well Jews were treated. Radok knew this was a lie because his father had died in captivity there. Thus, he accurately portrayed Theresienstadt as a place where a steady flow of new internees replaced the dwindling ranks of predecessors who had succumbed to disease, malnutrition, physical punishments, and strenuous labor or vanished on trains bound for Auschwitz. Ford and Radok soon fell into disfavor with the postwar Communist regimes.

Most German filmmakers in the early postwar era avoided offending audiences by dredging up their nation's guilt in the Final Solution. The movies produced in the Allied occupation zones typically were set in the rubble of bombed cities to elicit sympathy for Germans coping with the devastation of their nation. Wolfgang Staudte's *The Murderers Are among Us* (1946) constituted a notable exception. Its title refers to a former Nazi officer who had executed the women and children of a Polish village, but who prospers as an industrialist after the war. Two survivors represent opposite responses by survivors: a man who seeks to avenge the deaths of the Poles by assassinating the industrialist and a woman whose wartime imprisonment prompts her to prevent the murder as a miscarriage of justice. A newspaper headline that reads "2,000,000 People Gassed" is the sole clue of the magnitude of Nazi genocide, but not of the identity of its primary victims.

American movies on the subject between 1945 and 1960 were characterized by their focus on the postwar repercussions of Germany's genocidal policies: (1) the hunt for German war criminals, as seen in *The Stranger* (1946); (2) the trials of Nazis, as shown in *Sealed Verdict* (1948); (3) the foiling of neo-Nazi conspiracies to return to power, as in *Berlin Express* (1948); (4) the creation of Israel as a homeland for Holocaust survivors, as dramatized in *Sword in the Desert* (1949); and (5) the rehabilitation of traumatized displaced persons and Jewish immigrants to Israel or the United States, as occurs in *The Search* (1948), *The Juggler* (1953), and *Singing in the Dark* (1956).

In feature films released during the 1950s, the Holocaust usually looms in the background as an ominous fate awaiting Jewish characters if they are arrested or deported, as in the Jewish-gentile love stories in *Springtime in Budapest* (1956), *Sweet Light in a Dark Room* (1959), and *Stars* (1959). The Holocaust also serves as a test of faith for gentiles who are asked to save Jews, like the captain of a ship searching for a safe port for Jewish passengers in *Skipper after God* (1951) or the nuns smuggling Jewish orphans out of a detention center in the American television production *Conspiracy of Hearts* (1956). Only the Italian movie *Kapo* (1959) dealt exclusively with survival in a death camp.

Of all the Holocaust movies produced during the 1950s, *The Diary of Anne Frank* (1959) was the most successful at overcoming the disparity between the personal security Americans took for granted and the constant vulnerability European Jews felt under German rule. The American public could identify with Anne's adolescent problems, idealism, and interactions with her family and friends in hiding, if not with their precarious predicament. The film, like the Broadway play (1955) on which it was based, emphasized Anne's spiritual resilience and optimism.

Director George Stevens obtained the movie rights for the diary in 1956. As an officer in the U.S. Army Signal Corps, he had supervised the filming of the liberated Nazi concentration and prison camps. Stevens carefully recreated the Franks' secret annex as the claustrophobic setting for the film and revisited Dachau to remind himself of the gruesome sights he had photographed there. The Holocaust enters into his film obliquely through Otto Frank's recollections of his return from Auschwitz, Anne's narration about why her family was forced to flee Germany and go into hiding in Amsterdam, Dussel's report of the roundups of Jews, and Anne's nightmare about a friend standing among other women prisoners during a concentration camp roll call.

Critics charge that these ominous moments are eclipsed by Anne's bickering with her mother and sister, her romantic attraction to Pete, and her comments that Jews are just one of many groups who have suffered in history and that "people are really good at heart." Her faith in humanity is affirmed in the concluding voiceover, which is preceded by Gestapo members breaking in through the concealed entrance. The last image of the diary itself belies any happy outcome as the wind flips its pages from written sections to blank ones.

The Diary of Anne Frank began the process of globalizing public awareness of the Holocaust. Versions of it have been produced by British, Dutch, French, Irish, Japanese, and Yugoslav studios. American remakes of Anne's story increasingly have accentuated her Jewish identity. The television miniseries *Anne Frank: The Whole Story* (2001) lives up to its title by beginning with Anne's life before her family went into hiding and ending with an hour-long segment of her confinement in Auschwitz and death in Bergen-Belsen.

The most famous American Holocaust films of the 1960s continued the universalizing narrative strategies of their predecessors. Released in the year Israel put Adolf Eichmann on trial for crimes against the Jewish people, Stanley Kramer's *Judgment at Nuremberg* (1961) centers around the courtroom parrying between defense and prosecution lawyers to represent the American and German perspectives on personal guilt for abetting Hitler's racist policies. The American attorney demonstrates that the rulings of the indicted judges sanctioned the execution of a Jewish man accused of molesting an Aryan girl and the sterilization of a feebleminded man. The extermination of "two thirds of the Jews of Europe" is mentioned only when the atrocity footage of the camps is screened – the film within the film. The German lawyer widens the burden of guilt more by observing that the Soviet Union and Vatican signed treaties with the Third Reich, Churchill admired Hitler's early accomplishments, and the United States practiced eugenic sterilization and dropped atomic bombs on Japan. Though the American judges convict the defendants, the epilogue reveals how quickly these sentences were commuted for the sake of Cold War diplomacy.

The Pawnbroker (1965) dared to reenact a Holocaust survivor's tormented memories of being in a deportation train and concentration camp. The scenes from the train and camp initially appear and disappear as barely perceptible jump cuts that progressively last longer and preoccupy the thoughts of Sol Nazerman. Director Sidney Lumet never disguises that Sol Nazerman is Jewish. Yet the portrait of Nazerman as an unfeeling figure who loathes his impoverished customers in Harlem perpetuates the traditional antisemitic stereotype of the Jew as an avaricious usurer. Nazerman's repressed memories resurface when he rides a subway, witnesses a mugging, and is propositioned by a prostitute.

The viewer comes away believing that survivors are emotional cripples and that their persecution under Nazi rule was analogous to the plight of racial minorities in the United States. When his ambitious Puerto Rican assistant (the significantly named Jesús) sacrifices himself to shield Nazerman from a bullet, Nazerman impales his hand on a spindle, but cannot cry. The alternatives to Nazerman's icy indifference are the companionship offered to him by a lonely social worker and the protectiveness Jesús feels toward him. *The Pawnbroker* deserves its reputation as a cinematic classic on the basis of Rod Steiger's riveting performance as Nazerman, Lumet's vision of personal anguish and collective poverty, and Quincy Jones' evocative jazz score.

The Holocaust films from the Eastern Bloc countries in the 1960s construct more convincing parallels between the existential dilemmas of individuals coping explicitly with wartime German domination and implicitly with postwar Soviet rule. The sharp increase in the numbers of such movies over the decade indicates that these motion pictures functioned as contemporary political protests as well as historical period pieces. Collaboration with, or resistance to, the German occupation could be construed subversively as symbolizing accommodation or opposition to Soviet puppet regimes. To pay attention to the plight of the Jews challenged the Marxist shibboleth that religious identity represented a reactionary consciousness, and clashed with the official Soviet opposition to Zionism that emerged when the U.S.S.R. tilted towards support of the Arab countries against Israel from the 1950s on. By dealing with how their countries treated the Jews during World War II, directors in Soviet satellite countries reclaimed their national histories from the Soviet interpretation of the war as a struggle between Communism and monopoly capitalism.

The Shop on Main Street (1965) received more recognition than any other film produced by a Soviet bloc country in the 1960s. Its co-directors, Ján Kadár and Elmar Klos, originally supported the nationalization of the Czech film industry, but became disillusioned with Communist rule when their movies were censored and the U.S.S.R. quashed the Hungarian Revolution in 1956. When Kadár and Klos made a film about the persecution of Jews in fascist Slovakia during World War II, they traced how the otherwise decent Tono cannot resist the temptation to raise his social status by assuming ownership of an expropriated Jewish shop. Since the store's proprietor, Rosalie, is an elderly widow who has difficulty hearing and seeing, she considers Tono her assistant. As the Jews assemble in the town square for deportation, Tono has qualms about whether he should save or betray Rosalie. He pushes her into a closet, accidentally killing her. As Kadár succinctly put it, *The Shop on Main Street* was not about "the Six Million, but the one." Kadár saw the film as "a monument to all victims of persecution." Until Czech officials criticized it as pro-Zionist in 1967, Kadár failed to recognize how deeply rooted antisemitism was in his homeland. After the Soviet suppression of the Prague Spring in 1968, he fled to the United States, where Hollywood studios were eager to engage him, because *The Shop on Main Street* won the Oscar for Best Foreign Language Film in 1965.

The political and social activism of the 1960s in Europe and the United States fostered an atmosphere conducive to discrediting the official histories of countries that prided themselves on their opposition to the Third Reich. Moreover, the Eichmann and Auschwitz guard trials, the controversy over Rolf *Hochhuth's play *The Deputy* (1963), which accused Pope Pius XII of abdicating his moral responsibility to condemn the extermination of the Jews, the growing readership for survivor memoirs, and the publication of major scholarly studies on the Holocaust, provided the raw material and enhanced audience receptivity for more probing films about the Holocaust.

In France Marcel Ophuls' remarkable documentary *The Sorrow and the Pity* (1969) shattered the myth of widespread French resistance to the German occupation by revealing how extensive support of or indifference to Vichy France's antisemitic policies and cooperation in the deportations of Jews had been. French feature films like *Les Violons du Bal* (1973), *Black Thursday* (1974), *Lacombe, Lucien* (1974), *Special Section* (1975), and *Mr. Klein* (1975) exposed the antisemitic, authoritarian, and xenophobic currents in French society that the postwar consensus had dismissed as ideologies imported from Germany. The Academy Award-winning *Madame Rosa* (1977) drew attention to the traumatic memories that still haunted French Holocaust survivors.

During the 1970s, Italian films like Visconti's *The Damned* (1969) and Bertolucci's *The Conformist* (1971) attributed the susceptibility to obey powerful leaders and inflict violence on dissidents and minorities to a psychological need to shore up a declining social status or conceal a shameful sexual deviancy. Vittorio De Sica's Oscar-winning *The Garden of the Finzi-Continis* (1970) utilizes the aloofness and refinement of an upper-class Italian Jewish family to explain why its members remained oblivious to the threat antisemitism posed to their equality as Italian citizens. The Finzi-Continis regard less affluent Jews as their peers only when they are confined with them in a schoolroom where they await deportation. The closing scene evokes their fate with images of their villa's withered garden, overgrown grass tennis court, and locked front gate, and the recitation of the Jewish mourning prayer and names of Nazi death camps.

From 1945 until 1979, only about a quarter of the films dealing with Holocaust themes were based on memoirs or historical accounts for their stories. *Cabaret* (1972) demonstrated how theatrical even real occurrences became when reworked for the stage and screen. Christopher Isherwood's autobiographical *Berlin Stories* inspired John van Druten's play (1951) and movie (1955) *I Am a Camera* in the 1950s. Bob Fosse elaborated upon both to create the musical play (1966) and the film. The songs and dances of *Cabaret* function as projections of the antisemitism, cultural backlash, militarism, and political polarization that would sweep Hitler into office in 1933.

Capitalizing on the success of *Roots* (1977), the television docudrama miniseries about slavery, NBC broadcast the nine-and-a-half-hour mini-series **Holocaust* over four consecutive nights in April 1978. Covering a time span from 1935 until 1945, the program frames the lives of a middle-class German Jewish family, their gentile relatives through intermarriage, and a key official in the SS Department of Jewish Affairs, within the context of the evolution of the Final Solution. The movie opens with the Weiss family celebrating the marriage of their eldest son Karl to a Catholic woman, Inga Helms. The men of the Helms family worry about a proposed ban against mixed marriages. The die is cast. Nazi antisemitism obviously will separate Karl and Inga and strain the ties between the Weiss and Helms families. When Karl is imprisoned in Buchenwald, Inga's family pressures her to get divorced, but instead she shelters Karl's mother and sister, prostitutes herself to get letters to him, and orchestrates her own arrest so she can be near him in Theresienstadt.

Rudi Weiss, Karl's younger brother, knows little about Judaism, but flees Berlin, marries an ardent Zionist, joins a Jewish partisan band, and participates in the uprising at the death camp Sobibor. The Germans deport Josef Weiss to the Warsaw Ghetto and then to Auschwitz. His brother Moses reprises the liberating role of his biblical namesake by joining the revolt in the Warsaw ghetto. By the end of the miniseries, Rudi is the sole survivor of his family and fulfills his wife's Zionist dream of emigrating to Palestine.

One sign of the high public profile of the Holocaust was the strident debate over whether the miniseries exploited the event to raise network ratings. Critics accused NBC of trivializing the Holocaust with a trite Romeo-and-Juliet story, committing factual errors and disrupting the narrative flow with commercials. The defenders of *Holocaust* praised the program for reaching an audience estimated at 120 million Americans. The results of a poll indicated that three quarters of those queried believed the series provided "an accurate picture of Nazi antisemitic policies." The response to *Holocaust* set the climate in which President Carter established a commission that eventually decided to build the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum.

In West Germany, the airing of *Holocaust* in 1979 culminated in a revival of interest in Hitler and his militaristic and racist policies. In 1969 Willy *Brandt became the first Social Democrat to hold the office of chancellor in West Germany. At a time when Hitler was imprisoning Communists and socialists, Brandt fled to Norway, where he distinguished himself as an anti-Nazi journalist. As chancellor in 1970 he recognized Poland's postwar borders and made a pilgrimage to the Warsaw Uprising monument, where he knelt in atonement and laid a wreath. During the decade, the German student movement justified its protests against the educational and political systems on the grounds that the former had produced Hitler's followers and the latter still harbored officials whose records were tainted by their service to the Third Reich. In 1978, Helmut Schmidt, Brandt's successor, stressed that the reason for commemorating the 40th anniversary of *Kristallnacht* was "to learn how people ought to behave towards one another and how they ought not to behave." The broadcast of *Holocaust* reversed West German public opinion that had been running in opposition to the abolition of the statute of limitations on murder. The ensuing passage of this legislation authorized future prosecutions of Nazi war criminals. As a result the legislation abolishing the statute of limitations was passed.

Simultaneously, German directors confronted the Nazi past more frankly. Hans-Juergen Syberberg's *Our Hitler: A Film from Germany* (1977) consisted of an inventive pastiche, with different actors mouthing Hitler's opinions and puppets symbolizing the myriad of personas Germans projected onto him: the common man, the military genius, the Wagnerian hero, the tragic prince, Chaplin's great dictator, the purifier of the race, and the omnipotent emperor. These images appear before a backdrop of documentary footage, photographs, and Nazi regalia with a soundtrack of excerpts from Hitler's speeches and interludes from Wagner's operas. Syberberg implied that Hitler's policies reflected the aspirations of the German people rather than his own fanaticism. Volker Schloendorff's *The Tin Drum* (1979), based on the novel by Guenter Grass, likened the German mentality that catapulted Hitler to power to a rebellious child who refuses to grow up and drowns out dissenting voices with glass-shattering screams. The diminutive Oskar is saddened when the Jewish toy store owner who sold him his tin drums is killed by the "gasman." *The Tin Drum* was the first West German film to win the Oscar for Best Foreign Language Film. In 1980 Dieter Hildebrandt's *The Yellow Star: The Persecution of the Jews in Europe, 1933–1945* was nominated in the documentary category.

Over 40 percent of the Holocaust feature films produced since 1980 were based on memoirs and historical accounts rather than original screenplays. The success of *Roots* and *Holocaust* spun off a wave of Holocaust television docudramas and miniseries like *Playing for Time* (1980), *The Wall* (1981), *Escape from Sobibor* (1987), *War and Remembrance* (1988), and *Murderers among Us: The Simon Wiesenthal Story* (1989). The influence of the docudrama style is apparent in the real-time reenactment of the meeting that formalized the Final Solution, *The Wannsee Conference* (1984).

The most acclaimed films of the 1980s focus on how individuals responded to or remembered the amoral universe Germany designed to degrade and kill the Jews and engender the complicity or passivity of others. Like *The Pawnbroker*, Alan Pakula's *Sophie's Choice* (1982), based on William Styron's novel, explores the psychological scars borne by a Polish woman plagued by her shame for her father's support for exterminating Jews and her guilt for having chosen, under coercion in Auschwitz, which of her children would live and which would die. She manifests her trauma by allowing herself to be dominated by a schizophrenic Jewish man obsessed with the Holocaust and nurturing a naive writer who becomes fascinated with her story. The present is filmed in color and the dark past in black and white. That Sophie is a more sympathetic character than Sol Nazerman reflects the respect accorded to survivors after their memoirs were widely published, and their coping skills and postwar lives were studied by scholars like Terrence Des Pres and journalists like Dorothy Rabinowitz.

Louis Malle's *Goodbye, Children* (1987) seems like a classic buddy movie about a gentile boy who befriends a newcomer to his Catholic boarding school. He discovers his new classmate is really a Jew being hidden by the head priest. To prevent his fellow citizens from evading their responsibility for abetting Nazi/Vichy policies, Malle presents French collaborators in a more negative light than their German superiors. Under the occupation, petty incidents have fatal consequences. When the kitchen assistant is fired for stealing food, he retaliates by betraying the Jewish boy. As the Jewish youngster and the priest are marched away by the Gestapo, Malle's voiceover relates that his friend died in Auschwitz and the priest in Mauthausen. Then he poignantly confesses, "I will remember every second of that January morning until I die!"

Claude Lanzmann's documentary *Shoah* (1985) countered the trend towards fictionalized depictions of real events. Lanzmann rejected the idea that the horrors of the Holocaust could be conveyed by a feature film. He distrusted footage of Jews taken by the Nazis when they were in power or the Allies when they liberated the camps. The former portrayed Jews maliciously to justify their elimination; the latter depicted them only as pitiful victims. Lanzmann interweaves interviews of German perpetrators, Polish bystanders, Jewish survivors, the Holocaust historian Raul Hilberg, and members of the Polish and Jewish resistance with innocuous images of the deteriorating camps, the bustling cities where his interviewees currently reside, and the trains and tracks that carried the Jews like cattle to the human equivalent of slaughterhouses. His camera dwells on the empty spaces once teeming with the doomed, their executioners, and passive onlookers. Long periods of silence and multiple translations of testimony from German, Hebrew, Polish, and Yiddish into French and then English provide pauses for reflection and illustrate the multinational scope of Germany's genocidal enterprise. Many scholars consider *Shoah,* over nine hours long, the greatest Holocaust documentary ever made.

Andrzej Wajda, Poland's most accomplished postwar director, chose Janusz Korczak as the protagonist of the biographical *Korczak* "to reconcile Poles and Jews by demonstrating their compatibility in one character." His decision was a response to the bitter recriminations the two groups had tossed at each other since the end of World War II. Poles often accuse Jews of passively complying with German orders and colluding with the Soviets between 1939 and 1941 and from 1945 on. Polish Jews remember the ferocity of prewar Polish antisemitism, Polish indifference towards their plight, and instances when Poles informed on Jewish fugitives or killed Jewish partisans. The pilgrimage to Auschwitz made by the Polish-born Pope John Paul II in 1979 and his campaign to expunge antisemitic doctrines from Catholicism augured the dawning of a new era in Polish-Jewish relations. So did the emergence of the Solidarity movement out of the shipyard strikes in Gdansk in 1980. The incriminating interviews of Poles that Lanzmann featured in *Shoah* and the explosive dispute over the founding of a convent at Auschwitz in 1984 poured new salt on old wounds. After the collapse of Communism, Wajda hoped to cultivate pluralistic tolerance in Poland with his movie.

Korczak, whose real name was Henryk Goldszmit, remains one of the few figures revered by Polish gentiles and Jews alike. To the former, he achieved international fame as an educator, and enjoyed a national following for his prewar radio show *The Old Doctor.* To the latter, he had contemplated emigrating to Palestine, sheltered 200 Jewish orphans in the Warsaw Ghetto, and sacrificed his life by accompanying them to their deaths in Treblinka rather than save himself. The film's prologue reveals that Korczak possessed multiple allegiances. In his role as the "Old Doctor," he advises his radio audience about compassionate childrearing. Upon completion of his broadcast, Korczak learns his program has been canceled because it has become too controversial to permit a Jew to have his own show. Before the outbreak of the war, Korczak escorts his orphans to the river for a swim. Former students rebuke him for promoting harmonious relations between Jews and Poles. Instead, they tell him that Poles have beaten them and smashed their windows. Korczak hoped resistance to German rule would unite Poles and Jews, but despaired over whether even this cause could bring the two groups together.

Wajda's portrayal of the ghetto's Jewish Council and black marketers incensed some critics who charged that these scenes confirmed Polish suspicions that Jews collaborated with Germany and profited from the suffering of their coreligionists. On the other hand, Wajda exhibits a genuine understanding of the terrible dilemma faced by Jewish leaders. Korczak approaches Adam Czerniakow, the chairman of Warsaw's Jewish Council, to procure rations for his orphans. Czerniakow admits that his choice of working with the Germans to gain concessions is "not one between good and evil, but of the lesser evil." Korczak denounces this strategy as a betrayal of Jewish solidarity, but accepts the extra food the Council allots to him. When one orphan censures Korczak for soliciting donations from Jewish black marketers, Korczak obstinately replies, "I will see the Devil himself to save my children. I have no dignity. I have 200 children."

The closing scene of *Korczak* is problematic, but not because Wajda imposes a Christian meaning on the deaths of the orphans or "wants to spare us pain," as detractors have charged. Wajda revived a Polish legend that the "Old Doctor" and his children were spared when their carriage decoupled from the train. Perhaps he was trying to honor Korczak's fervent wish that his children be granted a dignified death. This, however, is preceded by an unforgettable shot of Korczak and his orphans marching to the trains. A ponderous dirge alludes to their impending deaths. The closing caption informing viewers that Korczak and his children were gassed at Treblinka undercuts the illusion of a happy ending, as does the return of the dirge as the background music for the credits.

When *Korczak* had its premiere at the Cannes Film Festival in 1990, it received a standing ovation from the audience, but a cold shoulder from several French reviewers. The latter castigated him for minimizing Korczak's Jewishness, exculpating the Poles of antisemitism, perpetuating Polish stereotypes of Jews, and glossing over the gassing of Korczak's orphans with the wishful final scene. Lanzmann declared at the end of the screening, "You do not know how evil this is!"

Korczak became the casualty of Jewish-Polish polemics, Lanzmann's vendetta against it, and the timing of its Cannes premiere, which coincided with a rash of Jewish grave desecrations in France. The movie received positive reviews in Germany and Israel, prompting the latter to mandate that it be shown as part of the country's school curriculum. The controversies surrounding the movie subsided by the late 1990s, when the American and French Academies of Motion Pictures recognized Wajda's cinematic career. In his letter nominating Wajda for a lifetime achievement Oscar, Steven Spielberg called *Korczak* "one of the most important European pictures about the Holocaust."

Spielberg's *Schindler's List* (1993) holds the distinction of being the most commercially successful Holocaust film ever made. The drama of gentiles defending Jews made this a popular plotline. Directors found rescuers inspirational heroes. The first Holocaust film to win a major award was the Swiss movie *The Last Chance* (1945). It idealized the moral courage of a priest who persuades Allied soldiers to shepherd refugees into Switzerland. Miep Gies in *The Diary of Anne Frank* embodies the goodness Anne believed everyone possessed. The American evangelist Billy Graham financed the production of evangelist Corrie ten Boom's memoir *The Hiding Place* (1975) to exemplify how Christians should have acted and how their faith could withstand Nazi imprisonment. *Wallenberg: A Hero's Story* (1985) romanticizes the exploits of the daring

Swede who outsmarted the Germans only to end up a prisoner of the Soviets.

Schindler's appeal is that he is a much shadier character. The rich black, gray, and white tones of the film and the frequent use of shadows to cover the faces of the actors imbue the motion picture with a newsreel look and a film noir atmosphere. The sense of mystery provides a fitting backdrop for the enigmatic Schindler, who hatches a plan to exploit Jewish slave labor in a time of war. After procuring Jewish financing to purchase an abandoned factory, Schindler enlists Yitzhak Stern as his bookkeeper to conceal the graft necessary for securing military contracts. Schindler's transformation follows the cinematic convention of scoundrels whose mercenary motives evolve into moral ones as they become emotionally involved with people they help, like the gunslingers in *The Magnificent Seven* or the drunken captain in *The African Queen*.

Schindler's humane treatment of his Jewish workers assumes epic proportions because it occurs within a milieu where murder rules. Critics who accused Spielberg of diminishing the horrors of the Holocaust by focusing on Schindler's altruism overlook the recurring scenes of Jews being registered, selected, shot, and tormented. The film devotes over 20 minutes to the *Aktion* against the Jews in the Cracow ghetto. Spielberg turns his lens on the most vulnerable victims – children, women, and the elderly – who scurry to find a cranny where they can hide. A girl in a red coat epitomizes their defenselessness and innocence. Comparing the suffering and slaughter in *Schindler's List* to the verbal references to Jewish travails and the nightmare sequence in *The Diary of Anne Frank*, the cultural historian Stephen Whitfield remarks, "By 1993, the Holocaust had seeped so fully into consciousness that the context in which goodness could be shown had altered."

When Goeth exhumes and incinerates the corpses of the Jews killed under his command, the number of bodies mentioned is 10,000. Compared to the 1,100 Schindler saved, this hardly leaves the impression that the majority of Cracow's Jews survived. The ashes rising from the pyres fill the sky with a blizzard of white flakes. This image of swirling snow reappears when the women working for Schindler are sent to Auschwitz. After expecting to be gassed and showering instead, these women pass another line of Jews entering the gas chamber. The crematorium smokestack spews flames and cinders. The visual similarity of these scenes marks the technological progression from shooting and burning Jews in Plaszòw to gassing and incinerating them at Auschwitz.

The postscript informs the audience that Schindler's Jews and their descendents total over 6,000 while only 4,000 Jews still live in Poland. The film is dedicated to the memory of the 6,000,000 Jews who perished in the Holocaust. The last two scenes occur in cemeteries. The first is the procession of actors and the survivors they played to Schindler's grave in Jerusalem, where they pay homage to the flawed man who saved them in the film or real life. The credits then roll over an image of the street in Plaszòw that was paved with tombstones uprooted from a Jewish cemetery. In visual terms, the road to Israel is strewn with the bodies of the Jews who died in the Holocaust.

During the 1990s, the percentage of comedies relative to all Holocaust movies tripled (to 12 percent) compared to the prior decade. Three factors fostered this development: (1) the search for creative approaches to convey the severity of the Holocaust without driving audiences away with excessive gore; (2) the presumed familiarity of the public with the iconography of the Holocaust that enabled directors to refer to the event through symbols; (3) and the passing of a generation of filmmakers who experienced World War II as adults to those who were minors during or born after it. Because of their greater distance from the events, and their approach to them through already assimilated cultural facts, these second-generation directors and screenwriters are able to use humor to convey the absurdity of the Nazi crusade against the Jews in terms that appeal to contemporary audiences.

Roberto Benigni brackets *Life Is Beautiful* (1998) between an opening and closing voiceover of the adult son who appears as the child in the movie. Benigni regarded the camps as "the symbol of our century, the negative one, the worst thing imaginable." His father had been interned in a German labor camp. Benigni recalls his father telling his children about his confinement in "an almost funny way, saying tragic, painful things" but softening these with laughter. Benigni cast himself as a lovable jokester who shields his young son from the hardships of a death camp by explaining how these adversities are part of a game to win a tank. Prisoners supposedly earn points by not being demoralized by harassment, overcrowding, and starvation. The narrative strategy of a reassuring lie to raise morale or substitute for a depressing truth has appeared in other Holocaust comedies like *Jakob the Liar* (1976, 1999) and *Train of Life* (1999).

One of the most common criticisms leveled at *Life Is Beautiful* is that it consists of two discordant halves. The first part is a romantic comedy about coincidences that lead to the marriage of Guido the waiter and his beautiful wife, Dora. The second is a tragedy about the family's internment in a concentration camp. Many of the early scenes, however, foreshadow the dangers lurking in the second half. The opening shot shows Guido carrying his son through a thick fog in a howling wind. Towards the end of the movie, this scene is presented in its entirety. Posing as an inspector dispatched to lecture about racial theory at the school where Dora teaches, Guido jumps onto a table, claiming that his ears and navel represent Aryan perfection. Next his uncle's horse is painted green with the words, "Attention, Jewish Horse" covering its flanks. Guido quips he didn't know the horse was Jewish, a hint that Guido might be Jewish.

As the movie flashes forward five years; Guido and Dora have a son, and their town is occupied by German troops. Seeing a sign in a pastry shop window that reads "No Jews or Dogs Allowed," Giosué asks his father what this means. Protecting his son from prejudice, Guido responds that everyone is entitled to hate certain creatures and groups of people. Since

Giosué fears spiders and Guido Visigoths, they decide to bar both from the bookstore. Guido pulls the shutters down over the windows of his shop, but discovers they are covered with graffiti labeling the shop as a "JEWISH STORE." Soon the father and son are placed on a deportation transport. Dora voluntarily joins them.

Benigni films the concentration camps scenes through a bluish-grey filter. He plants many clues about the dreadful fate that awaits the captives there, but leaves the details to the viewer's imagination. Since viewers know the lethal purpose of the camp, Guido's benign translation of the commandant's orders is ludicrous to them, but not to Giosué. Later a woman in Dora's barracks whispers to her that the Germans kill old women and children in a gas chamber. Guido's uncle undresses in the anteroom before entering the chamber. Finally, Guido sees the pit filled with cadavers. When he is taken to a cul-de-sac by a guard, the audience hears two gunshots ring out in the night.

After the Germans retreat from the camp, an American tank rumbles by and gives Giosué a ride. He finds his mother and exclaims, "We won!" While he is referring to the tank; she is thinking about their reunion. The audience knows that he has lost his father and she her husband. The voiceover of Giosué's concludes: "This is the sacrifice my father made. This was his gift to me."

The extremity of the situations encountered by the bystanders, perpetrators, and victims fascinates filmmakers and audiences alike. In reunified Germany, directors have produced "heritage" films which inscribe Jews back into the nation's history to lament their loss and foster multiculturalism in the new state which was rocked by neo-Nazi riots against foreigners in its founding years. *The Harmonists* (1998), *Aimee and Jaguar* (1998), the Oscar-winning *Nowhere in Africa* (2001), and *Rosenstrasse* (2003) represent this type of movie. The economics and politics of filmmaking since 1990 have contributed to an increase in multinational productions that skirt the thorny issues of national culpability that characterized the themes of many earlier Holocaust films. Other than the food and music, there is little distinctly Hungarian in the box-office hit *Gloomy Sunday* (1999). Roman *Polanski's *The Pianist* (2002) constituted a visually stunning portrait and sensitively acted account of how a classical musician evaded the Nazis in occupied Warsaw, but it minimized Polish-Jewish animosities. It was bestowed awards from film academies and festivals in Argentina, Czechoslovakia, England, France, Italy, Japan, Poland, Spain, and the United States.

Documentaries consisting of original photos and footage, narration, and interviews with bystanders, perpetrators, or survivors have garnered a trove of Oscars and other awards. This body of work includes *Genocide* (1981), Ophuls' *Hotel Terminus* (1988), *One Survivor Remembers: The Gerda Weismann Klein Story* (1995), *Anne Frank Remembered* (1995), *The Long Way Home* (1997), *The Last Days* (1998), and *Into the Arms of Strangers: Stories of the Kindertransport* The quality and quantity of the documentaries and feature films about the Holocaust testify to a compelling need over 60 years later to comprehend how an advanced country could systematically murder a group of civilians who posed no military threat to it, why so many individuals and nations failed to intervene on their behalf, and how a minority of those sucked into this deadly vortex managed to survive its destructive force.

For Holocaust art and music, see *Art; *Music; for Holocaust literature, see *Children's Literature and the general surveys of national literatures.

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[Lawrence Baron (2nd ed.)]

Survivor Testimonies

In 1981, when the Yale Fortunoff Holocaust Survivor Video Archives presented its first conference, showing its fledgling collection of survivor interviews, Holocaust survivors reported that few people wanted to hear what they had to say, even when they finally were prepared to break their silence. In the next 20 years, a series of scholarly and popular events unfolded across the country. Many of those seemed subtly but powerfully to converge on the theme of talking versus silence, a theme that has plagued survivors from the liberation to the present. That peculiar confluence of academic and popular examination has made survivors celebrities, often perceived as nearly saintly, certainly heroic, and put them in demand to speak about their experiences. Questions have arisen about the voices, about form and content, about meaning and despair, about style and simultaneity, about trauma and catharsis.

In sharp contrast to 1981, the American public now expresses a fascination and voracious appetite for Holocaust stories. The U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum sustains its status as one of Washington's most popular museums; there are Holocaust oral history projects from Los Angeles to New York, from Maine to Florida, from Toronto to Dallas, from Yale to the University of Michigan-Dearborn where the Voice/Vision Holocaust Survival Oral History Archive is housed, ironically on the former estate of the anti-Jewish Henry Ford. More than 52,000 new testimonies in 32 languages and from 57 countries were completed by Steven Spielberg's Survivors of the Shoah Visual History Foundation (now the USC Shoah Foundation) as of 2006. His advocacy brought the issue of witnessing to the public and he captured the imagination of Americans, seeming to intensify the allure of the subject. Historians who had been skeptical of the validity of survivor testimonies at the Yale Conference in 1981 now request videotapes of these testimonies for their research and sit on panels about Auschwitz where former prisoners of that place join them.

The meaning of this surge of attention to the Holocaust is elusive. In 1978 or 1980 or 1981, "listening ears," as one survivor recognized, were not available. As difficult as remembering may be, communicating emerges as equally arduous, a frustrating and often maddening task. Each survivor tries to recapture memory, restructure narrative so that he or she can impart fully the confusion, rapidity, and pandemonium, the torrent of simultaneous actions, sounds, smells, emotions, thoughts. The survivor knows it will be impossible to achieve that fullness, and silence seems to contend with speaking.

For most, memories remain omnipresent, a condition that elicits comments like: "It's always with you. Try not to think about it, but it's in the back of your mind." "I don't think about it all the time; but I do think about it all the time. It's somewhere in the back of your head." "I don't want to tell you; but I do want to tell you. I can't tell you." Not finding the proper word has abetted the silence; the inability to convey the fullness of the experience, its synchronicity, has produced choked, sometimes angry, sometimes resigned silences.

Serious listeners, people who want to know as much as they can know about these testimonies and about the Holocaust, should pay careful attention to such statements as "I want to tell you. I can't tell you" and begin to ask questions about their meanings. The Israeli novelist Aharon *Appelfeld, warning readers of survivor accounts to read with caution, has commented on the significance of what is not said when survivors speak or write, "so that one sees not only what is in it, but also, and essentially, what is lacking in it."

It's "constantly with you," notes one survivor, and the intrusion of Holocaust memory remains routine, reflecting Lawrence Langer's observation that "the two worlds [the Holocaust and after] haunt each other," the one polluting the other. Testimonies often appear episodic, anecdotal, even disjointed, breaking narrative conventions, not leading anywhere, sometimes emerging in spurts, halting, with long pauses. They reflect the nature of the experiences they describe: cacophonous, simultaneous, overpowering, "beyond description" as one victim declared. As with so much about the Holocaust, whatever one may say immediately evokes the opposite viewpoint: and both are true. Perhaps no one expressed this phenomenon as well as Elie Wiesel when he spoke of how survivors evaluate their survival. The question, he wrote, "is not to be or not to be, but to be *and* not to be."

Scholars seem far less skeptical of the value of survivor testimonies, as historians like Christopher Browning now write histories based almost exclusively on survivor testimonies. Drawing on these interviews, Dori Laub and Shoshana Felman's *Testimony: Crises of Witnessing in Literature, Psychoanalysis and History*, as well as Langer's works, often read like literary criticism, presenting the testimonies as texts to be deciphered or explicated. The psychoanalytic tone, set by psychoanalyst Laub and Yale literary critic Geoffrey Hartman, planted Holocaust testimonies in the realm of the study of massive psychic trauma, alongside the work of such analysts as Henry Krystal and William Niederlander.

Those who examine these narratives have begun to measure pauses, hesitations, silences; count contradictions; examine the fallibility of "old" language to convey unprecedented Holocaust retellings, a phenomenon Primo Levi strove to describe in *Survival in Auschwitz*. Recalling the unbearable hunger and the bitter cold, Levi wrote that even though as prisoners "we say 'hunger,' we say 'tiredness,' 'fear,' 'pain,' we say 'winter'; they are different things" from the "normal" use of those words; they bear different referents. And there is no "new, harsh" language to replace it. Acutely aware of a virtual abyss between the experience of the survivor and the listener, survivors frequently assume an attitude of "Why bother? You won't understand and I am incapable of communicating the experience adequately." Such an attitude may yield stammering, miscues, repeated words, and, finally, silence.

Unanswerable questions about the inadequacies of "old" language, alleged "survivor guilt," shame, identity, and the haunting memories that split survivors' psyches will continue to plague listeners, as they have afflicted the speakers. This past, its lexicon, and its memory remain inescapable and permeate the present for survivors. Some survivors cannot see or speak about chimneys without recalling the chimneys at Auschwitz; some cannot hear a train without reliving the horrifying boxcar deportation that caused the deaths of their families and divided their own lives into before and after; some cannot think of a word like "bunk" without envisioning the boards that served as beds in the camps. "It's always with you, it's always in the back of your mind," was followed by a long pause, a silence that articulated a deep, pervasive sadness. For despite the details, the stories cannot be understood fully, can never be completed, and remain fragmentary.

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[Sidney Bolkosky (2nd ed.)]

EDUCATION

In the United States

Education in the United States is by custom and by law decentralized and power is diffuse. What is taught is determined by classroom teachers, school principals, local school boards, state departments of education, and, lastly and only in a minor way, by the U.S. Department of Education. Over the past 30 years, education about the Holocaust in the United States has been conducted by an eclectic group: individual teachers and professors, state departments of education, school district and/or individual school committees, community-based Holocaust education steering committees, nonprofit educational organizations, Holocaust Resource Centers, and specialized museums. Individual educators, schools, school districts, and states have taken the lead in Holocaust education. The United States Holocaust Memorial Museum serves as a significant resource for information and teacher staff development, offers guidance and guidelines, and while it provides direct services to those entering its portals and those reaching it on line, it has not developed a curriculum.

There is to date no systematic study to assess just how widespread Holocaust education is in the United States, but because of certain special Holocaust education programs (e.g., *Facing History and Ourselves, and the Teachers' Summer Seminar on Holocaust and Jewish Resistance), the establishment of major Holocaust museums (the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington, D.C., and the Beit Hashoah Museum of Tolerance in Los Angeles and similar institutions in Houston, Dallas, New York, Florida, Virginia, and Missouri), the support and assistance of Holocaust resource centers and memorials across the United States, and various state recommendations and mandates, one may conclude that tens of thousands of teachers at all levels are involved in teaching about various facets of the Holocaust. In a talk at the 1995 European Conference on Holocaust Education in London, an educator from the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum asserted that "it is estimated that only about 65,000 of the 135,000 social studies/history teachers for grades 7–12 mention the Holocaust at all in their lessons. The overwhelming majority provide the information in three lessons or less." Those numbers have increased significantly over the past decade, but still the overwhelming bulk of teaching about the Holocaust is relegated to a relatively small number of classrooms.

In schools, the Holocaust is generally taught in world history, U.S. history, or English classes. In literature it usually involves the reading of one book or two. Elie Wiesel's *Night* and *The Diary of Anne Frank* are the most common. Much more rarely, an entire course on the Holocaust might be taught. While educational efforts have resulted in everything from the development of curricula and curricular resources to local and regional conferences and institutes, teaching about the Holocaust in both public and private schools across the United States is most often limited, rudimentary, and lacking depth.

Yet the overall trend is toward an increase, as more and more teachers have access to staff development with remarkably rich resources for use in the classroom. Reports, anecdotal and otherwise, indicate a high degree of interest by both students and teachers of diverse backgrounds and religions, teaching in very different schools.

THE EARLY YEARS (1945–67). Teaching of the Holocaust in the United States has evolved as consciousness of the Holocaust has grown and is directly correlated to a sense of the importance of the event for our understanding of the past and of its implications for the future. Thus, the nature of Holocaust teaching can be divided into three eras, 1945–67 (the end of World War II to the June 1967 Six-Day War), 1967–93 (the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum, Beit Hashoah, and *Schindler's List* all opened in 1993, and there was a dramatic rise in consciousness of the Holocaust), and from 1993 on.

For many years following the end of World War II, there was little to no discussion or study of the Holocaust in most U.S. public schools or Jewish parochial schools. Even students in Jewish schools who were being taught by survivors of the Holocaust – who were then called refugees – report that they had never studied the event but had heard words seemingly without meaning: "camps," "death," "children." They were left on their own to make sense of so large an event. The word "Holocaust" was not yet used and if mentioned it was subsumed under discussions of World War II and its "crimes against humanity." Little attention was paid to the Holocaust in American society, as America was forward-looking, concerned about the Cold War and not World War II, and such concerns were reflected in school textbooks; the absence of the Holocaust in school, district, county, and state curriculum guidelines; and a dearth of curricular resources. If the Holocaust was taught at all, it was by the individual teacher who felt the need to do so.

The one exception might be *The Diary of Anne Frank*, which became popular after the Broadway play opened in 1955. The book was read and the play performed in schools throughout the next decades. While many students undoubtedly found Anne Frank's words, thoughts, and experiences as she moved through adolescence thought-provoking and moving, their knowledge of the Holocaust was still scant; the diary excerpt was usually the *sole* curricular resource on the Holocaust. Anne Frank's diary ends just as the Holocaust begins for her and few teachers followed her experience through to Westerbork, Auschwitz, the death marches, and Bergen-Belsen.

Following the capture of Adolf Eichmann in 1961 and throughout his trial in Jerusalem, an increasing amount of attention was focused on the Holocaust. While certain educators may have been stimulated by the Eichmann trial to teach about the Holocaust, it was purportedly the twentieth anniversary of the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising (1963) that sparked the interest of Jewish educators in the United States in teaching about this history. Indeed, following the anniversary of the Uprising and a national conference held under the auspices of the National Council of Jewish Education in 1963 where the Uprising was discussed, a flurry of educational activity led to the development of curricular outlines, lessons, and units on various facets of the subject. The Warsaw Ghetto Uprising, though, was an atypical event and presented a "useful" history of heroism and resistance more than victimization to its Jewish students.

At the same time, more survivors began to speak out and tell their stories, and such activity also generated greater interest. Throughout this period, those involved in Jewish education were more active in teaching about the Holocaust than their counterparts in the public schools. In the public schools, such efforts were rare through the 1960s.

THE MIDDLE YEARS (1967–93). Several factors in the late 1960s and early 1970s roused even greater Jewish interest in the Holocaust, which in turn encouraged its exploration in the wider American culture. Two of the most important were the 1967 war and to a lesser extent the Yom Kippur War of 1973. The three weeks leading up to the Six-Day War evoked in many Jews a fear of another Holocaust. "Never again" took on a direct meaning; the sense that a generation earlier Jews had been silent when the Holocaust took place spurred activities relating to Israel. The outcome of the war gave a radically different ending to Jewish anxiety and ushered in an era of ever-intensifying consciousness of the Holocaust.

Roughly during the same period of time, various school districts, including New York City; Vineland, New Jersey; Great Barrington, Massachusetts; Philadelphia; and Baltimore, developed Holocaust curricula as part of a multicultural project to reduce prejudice. With the exception of Great Barrington, each had a sizable Jewish population and also a sizable survivor population.

Further, in the 1970s, as increasing attention was focused in the U.S. and abroad on the ubiquitous deprivation of human rights across the globe, educators in the public schools began to turn their attention to the issues of human rights, genocide, and the Holocaust. The turmoil of the 1960s had argued for the inclusion of previously excluded segments of the American people in the course of study. The inclusion of women and minorities opened the door to the Jewish experience, which had previously been perceived as narrowly parochial. The opening provided by the successful television showing of *Roots* followed a year later by *Holocaust* greatly expanded interest in African American history and the Holocaust and provided another means of talking about highly divisive and explosive issues of racism and exclusion. Part of this concern undoubtedly arose in the United States, at least, from the earlier and ongoing efforts of civil rights activists. Internationally, a catalyst of such concern was the pioneering efforts of Amnesty International, the international human rights organization that was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 1977. At the same time, there was a tremendous increase in the publication of first-person accounts by survivors and other witnesses of the Holocaust. Concomitantly, individual teachers at the public school level – particularly social studies and English teachers – began to undertake the teaching of this complex history. Various educational conferences (especially those related to social studies) also began to include sessions on the subject and this, too, had the effect of increasing educators' attention and interest in the Holocaust.

By the mid- to late 1970s there was an explosion of activity in Holocaust teaching. Reportedly, in 1972 one of the first, if not the first, formal Holocaust education programs in a public school district was implemented in Great Barrington, Massachusetts. In 1973, New Jersey became the first state to recommend the teaching of the Holocaust and genocide at the pre-college level. In 1975 a conference cosponsored by the Jewish Community Relations Committee and Temple University to explore the possibility of teaching Holocaust studies in Philadelphia resulted in the development of a curriculum for use in the Philadelphia secondary schools (grades 7–12). In 1976 in Brookline, Massachusetts, an eight- to ten-week unit entitled Facing History and Ourselves was initially developed for use in the social studies curriculum in the eighth grade, and was later adapted for inclusion in art, English, and history classes at the high school level. In 1977, the New York City Board of Education developed a major curriculum (600 pages) entitled "The Holocaust: A Study of Genocide" to be taught in its schools.

As previously mentioned, another factor that generated great interest in the subject of the Holocaust in the U.S. in the late 1970s was the televised production of the miniseries *Holocaust*. It had a wide impact on the general population and spawned a wide array of curricula (including one on the docudrama by the Anti-Defamation League that was widely distributed, and stimulated Holocaust teaching in schools.

A 1982 study, *American Youth and the Holocaust*, revealed that the material itself was of great interest to the students. Teachers were claiming that they were doing nothing special, but librarians reported a great increase in the use of the library by students, and parents reported that students were talking about this material at home, speaking with parents and grandparents who had been alive when this history happened. Because the Holocaust was of interest to students, teaching it became more rewarding. While the issue of the uniqueness and universality of the Holocaust was driving the debate in the President's Commission on Holocaust and led to heated exchanges among Yehuda Bauer, Simon Wiesenthal, Elie Wiesel, and Ismar Schorsch, students had no difficulty making all sorts of connections – valid and invalid, informed and uninformed – between the reality they experienced and the world of the Holocaust. They also reacted to the Holocaust as a singularly powerful event and treated the material with respect.

In 1984, Vladka Meed, who was a courier for the Warsaw ghetto resistance, initiated the Teacher's Summer Seminar on Holocaust and Jewish Resistance, which is currently sponsored by the Educators' Chapter of the Jewish Labor Committee, the American Federation of Teachers, and the Education Committee of the American Gathering of Jewish Holocaust Survivors. The teachers' program involves three and a half weeks of intensive study in Poland (where participants visit Auschwitz-Birkenau, Majdanek, Treblinka, and the Warsaw Ghetto Memorial) and Israel (until the second Intifada). Because of Meed's own role in the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising – she purchased arms for the resistance on the Aryan side – the emphasis was on resistance and survivor testimony. Over 500 teachers from 45 states, the District of Columbia, and the U.S. Virgin Islands have participated in the seminars and it is estimated that they are reaching over 100,000 students annually through their efforts.

Throughout the 1970s and 1980s, numerous school boards across the United States endorsed or mandated the teaching of the Holocaust. Among them were Atlanta, Baltimore, Des Moines, Los Angeles, Milwaukee, Minneapolis, New York, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh and scores of smaller cities and towns. Not all, however, provided adequate funding or time commitments, so the value of their decisions is varied. In some cases, they have mandated only a "one-day lesson" (e.g., one period, generally less than an hour) or a unit (five to ten class periods or more) in a history or social studies course.

In other cases, the Holocaust was addressed through the study of a single volume such as *The Diary of Anne Frank* or *Night*; and in still other cases teachers were encouraged to address the Holocaust when they deemed it appropriate to do so. Such leeway is likely to have resulted in some perfunctory coverage, leaving students without real knowledge of the antecedents of the Holocaust, let alone about the process of annihilation itself. Some schools have offered more in-depth instruction such as teaching the history over a period of two weeks (that is, for one 50–minute period on each of ten consecutive school days) or more. It was also in the 1970s and 1980s that the local Holocaust educational resource centers were created, taking as their mandate teacher training and getting the Holocaust taught in local schools. They later expanded their work to the state level.

THE LATER YEARS (FROM 1993). Throughout the mid-1980s and early 1990s, various states began recommending or mandating that the Holocaust be taught in their schools. By 1995, five states (California, Florida, Illinois, New Jersey, and New York) had done so, and ten others (Connecticut, Georgia, Indiana, North Carolina, Ohio, Pennsylvania, South Carolina, Tennessee, Virginia, and Washington) now recommend or encourage their public schools to teach about the Holocaust. In 1995 the state of Nevada created a council to develop resources and teacher training programs. Among the aforementioned states, some have either developed state guidelines (California), a curriculum on the Holocaust and/or genocide (Connecticut, Florida, New Jersey, New York, Ohio, Pennsylvania, South Carolina, Virginia), a study guide (Georgia), or a resource book for Holocaust teaching. In California, the study of the Holocaust, the Armenian genocide, the Cambodian genocide, and other human rights atrocities are included in the state's history-social science framework, in which themes are organized into a full K-12 curriculum sequence. Like Massachusetts, where Facing History and Ourselves was developed and included the Armenian experience, California has a sizable and influential Armenian population, and had a governor of Armenian descent. Tennessee has established a Holocaust Commission whose charge is to commemorate the Holocaust through education. So has Florida. By 2005, twenty-two states mandated the teaching of the Holocaust.

With the expansion of Holocaust teaching in the schools came criticism, especially from the political right. The Holocaust scholar Lucy Dawidowicz correctly asserted that most of the state-sponsored curricula are better at describing the events that took place during the period than explaining why and how they happened. As Dawidowicz observed, if teachers neglect to address the latter point then students are likely to walk away knowing some of the "whats" but possibly none of the "whys." This is particularly true of the role played by Christian doctrine in the long history of antisemitism, and the question of its influence upon the Nazis' racist antisemitism, which was the major focus of her own work, *The War against the Jews*. This critique had a political dimension that had reappeared in conservative critiques of Facing History and Ourselves, one of the few curricula that Dawidowicz examined that presented the issue of antisemitism forthrightly. (See below, "The National Diffusion Network.")

The city- and state-sponsored programs have legitimized the teaching of human rights infractions and genocide (including the Holocaust) for many educators. That is, they have provided teachers with important institutional support to teach about the Holocaust; and in doing so have paved the way for teachers to spend more classroom time on this history. But some decry *any* mandatory study of the Holocaust, claiming that such mandates endanger the quality of Holocaust teaching through superficiality, because many teachers are not well enough educated in the history themselves.

The development of the curricula and teaching guides has proved valuable in that typical social studies, government, and literature textbooks generally lack information on the Holocaust. At best, the history is allotted two or three pages, including pictures and sidebars (which often include extracts from books, newspapers, and first-person accounts). Since the text often constitutes the entire curriculum in a vast majority of classes in public schools, resources such as teaching guides fill a serious vacuum.

Many curricula lack adequate depth on key topics and thus leave students with a sense that they "know" about a subject when in reality they know very little. That is true not only of the Holocaust but of all other studies as well. Some curricula and teaching guides tend to equate various human rights violations and/or genocidal events with the Holocaust, thus totally universalizing the Holocaust and ignoring its uniqueness. They do not distinguish between comparison and equivalence. By comparing the Holocaust to other events and by comparing the fate of the Jews to the fate of other victims of Nazism, we can understand the singularity of the campaign against Jews and how it contrasts with other genocides and the victimization of other people under Nazism. That is far different from equating them.

Many curricula also rely on simulations and role-playing exercises that purport to provide students with a sense of what the victims experienced or the opportunity to ascertain how they would have acted under similarly dire circumstances, faced with tortuously complex moral dilemmas or, as Lawrence Langer has put it, the many "choiceless choices."

Until more systematic research is conducted, there is no way to ascertain the quality of the Holocaust education that is taking place in American classrooms.

The U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum, Beit Hashoah Museum of Tolerance, and Schindler's List. The opening of the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington, the Beit Hashoah Museum of Tolerance in Los Angeles (under the auspices of the Simon Wiesenthal Center), and the release of Steven Spielberg's film *Schindler's List*, all in 1993, resulted in a huge surge of interest by the general public, teachers, and students in the Holocaust.

The President's Commission on the Holocaust, the body established in 1978 by President Jimmy Carter that recommended the establishment of the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum, also recommended that "the study of the Holocaust should become a part of the curriculum in every school system throughout the country." Furthermore, the U.S. Congressional mandate that formally established the museum mandated that it meet the needs of educators throughout the U.S. by providing them with key services (including staff development opportunities and readily available advice) and curricular and resource materials in order to promote Holocaust education.

In addition to the educative experience of the museum's permanent exhibition, visited by 500,000 students each year, the museum accommodates school groups by providing on-site orientation and, in certain cases, a debriefing session at the conclusion of the visit. Upon request, the museum also provides teachers with pre-visit materials.

As part of its educational outreach program, the museum has developed a series of teaching materials. Among these are *Guidelines for Teaching about the Holocaust*, an Artifact Poster Set (posters with photographs of artifacts displayed in the museum), an accompanying teacher's guide, an annotated bibliography, and an annotated filmography. The latter two were specially prepared for use at various levels of schooling (elementary through college). The museum also conducts numerous conferences for teachers and administrators (both on site and across the nation) on teaching about the Holocaust. It also sponsors a series of teacher training workshops for general teachers and for master teachers, who spend a year studying how to teach the Holocaust and then work in their regions to disseminate the knowledge. The museum also is host to regional conferences all over the United States, including underserved areas that local Holocaust resource centers do not reach.

The guidelines are instructive because they reveal mistakes common in less informed teaching of the Holocaust.

1. Define the term Holocaust.
2. Contextualize what you are teaching.
3. Translate statistics into people.
4. Strive for precision of language.
5. Avoid simple answers to complex history.
6. Just because it happened does not mean it was inevitable.
7. Try to avoid stereotypical descriptions.
8. Strive for balance in establishing whose perspective informs your study of the Holocaust.
9. Make careful distinctions about sources and information.
10. Do not romanticize history to engage students.
11. Be sensitive to appropriate written and audiovisual content.
12. Select appropriate learning activities.
13. Reinforce the objectives of your lesson plan.
14. Avoid comparison of pain.

Educators find that the comparison of pain is alienating and ineffective precisely because pain is so deeply personal. Critics speak with disdain of the "Olympics of suffering."

The Beit Hashoah Museum of Tolerance in Los Angeles is composed of two major installations: a view of the American experience of prejudice, aggression, violence, and intolerance, and the Holocaust. The issues explored in the first provide a context for understanding the second, and both are intended to further the cause of tolerance in contemporary America.

The museum also houses a Multimedia Computer Learning Center on the subject matter of the Holocaust. The database of the learning center, which contains 30 computers with touchscreen technology, consists of over 50,000 photographs, eleven and a half hours of videotape, nearly 4,000 text files, maps, and documents. The learning center is available for "personalized research" on the Holocaust, World War II, and antisemitism.

Complementing the museum's exhibits, the Wiesenthal Center has numerous resources available for teachers, including films and teachers' guides as well as a poster series composed of original photographs and maps. Many of these are available on line at http://www.wiesenthal.com.

As interest in the Holocaust has increased, so has the number of Holocaust resource centers and museums. As of September 2005, there were 95 Holocaust resource centers, twelve memorials, and nineteen Holocaust museums in the United States. In addition, an organization called the March of the Living sends thousands of high school students to Poland to visit the sites of the destruction and then to Israel. The express function of many of the centers and museums is to conduct public outreach programs and/or support the teaching of the Holocaust in the local and regional school districts. Many centers assist schools in developing curricula, provide in-service programs to teachers in private and public schools, and assist teachers and students in locating speakers (including survivors and liberators), films, and adjunct materials. Many have also developed their own curricula. The historian Peter Novick has suggested that the "institutionalization of memory" will characterize the next generation of Holocaust-related activities.

The positive nature of the growing interest amongst educators in teaching about the Holocaust was not without its drawbacks.

The National Diffusion Network: Two Unique Holocaust Education Programs. One of the earliest and most influential educational programs on the Holocaust was the Facing History and Ourselves program. Founded in 1976 in Massachusetts by two public school teachers, William S. Parsons and Margot Stern Strom, this program was specifically designed to teach the universal themes of the history of the Holocaust through "a rigorous examination of its particularities." It was a paradigmatic example of the tendency within American education to universalize the themes of Holocaust education. Purporting to use both content and methodology that promote critical thinking, reflection, and the need to make connections between the study of history and contemporary society and individual lives, Facing History gradually expanded from a local to a regional to a nationwide program.

A key component of Facing History is its professional development activities, in which teachers gather to learn how to effectively teach the history of the Holocaust. Facing History reports that over 30,000 educators have been reached by the program, and that nearly 1.5 million students have been taught through its philosophical approach and methodology.

Following a three-year period (1977–80) during which the program implemented, monitored, and evaluated its teacher training and dissemination program in schools throughout New England, the U.S. Department of Education's National Diffusion Network granted the program its imprimatur, which resulted in its being placed in the network's catalog as an "exemplary model program." As a result over the past 30 years Facing History has been replicated in secondary schools and universities throughout the U.S. and Canada as well as in several countries abroad.

Despite its resounding success and its wide acclaim by many (including members of the U.S. Congress, noted historians and researchers, and educators at both the secondary and university levels), Facing History has faced some criticism and opposition, mostly from the political right. In 1986, during the Reagan administration, the issue came to a head. While one senior official in the U.S. Department of Education recommended it as a top priority for support and funding, various reviewers called the program anti-Christian and unfair to Nazis and the Ku Klux Klan. One reviewer who objected to the program said: "The program gives no evidence of balance or objectivity. The Nazi point of view, however unpopular, is still a point of view and is not presented nor is that of the Ku Klux Klan." Such criticism resulted in the rejection of federal funding of the program. Supporters, including some members of Congress, vehemently protested such accusations. For three years, the department rejected funding for the program; but finally, in September 1989, after its fourth review, it reversed itself and approved a four-year grant.

Lucy Dawidowicz criticized the Facing History approach for other reasons. Speaking of its first curriculum volume (published in 1982), she asserted that the focus was not solely the Holocaust, but rather that the Holocaust was "a vehicle" for teaching students about civil disobedience and "indoctrinating" them to favor nuclear disarmament. She also criticized Facing History for approaching the issue of antisemitism in a facile manner, in the more general terms of scapegoating, prejudice, and bigotry. By indirection, she also lumped Facing History into the category of those programs that did not include the study of antisemitism. In her most stringent criticism, she claimed that Facing History overemphasized the importance of obedience to authority as a key component of totalitarian societies while underplaying the terror that is at the heart of such societies. Proponents assert that not all of Dawidowicz' criticism was fair. They have observed that some of her points squarely placed her among the neo-conservative members of the New Right who were and are critical of many then-current educational trends and practices, including multicultural education and social responsibility initiatives, while others placed her among those who claim that the program's approach undermines the uniqueness of the Holocaust. Deborah Lipstadt (1995) has also criticized Facing History's curriculum, calling it "deeply flawed." Noting that Facing History is possibly the "most influential model for teaching the Holocaust in the United States," her criticism is primarily aimed at the context in which the history of the Holocaust is placed. More specifically, she asserts that by attempting to inoculate students against prejudice by addressing such issues as racism and violence in the U.S., the curriculum "elides the differences between the Holocaust and all manner of inhumanities and injustices." Concomitantly, she asserts that by attempting to be relevant to a wide variety of parties, the curriculum encourages teachers to draw historically fallacious parallels, resulting in a distortion of history.

Another curricular program, A Holocaust Curriculum: Life Unworthy of Life, was developed by the Center for the Study of the Child in Detroit, and was also endorsed by the National Diffusion Network. Highly touted by many, including Dawidowicz, it addresses the Holocaust through "stories of specific children, families" in order "to uncover the human dimension of such inhumanity." In Dawidowicz's opinion, because of its approach, accuracy, and depth, it is one of the strongest curricula currently available.

HOLOCAUST EDUCATION IN AMERICAN COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES. Over the past twenty years, as at the secondary level, Holocaust studies in colleges and universities have proliferated. Holocaust-related courses are taught in various disciplines, including history, political science, psychology, English, comparative literature, religion (including Judaic studies), philosophy, German, and sociology. (No definitive study has yet been conducted on the number, type, or quality of such courses.) Since 1990 specially endowed chairs on the Holocaust have been established at universities in California, Florida, Massachusetts, New York, and New Jersey, a graduate program has been developed at Clark University, and M.A. programs designed for teachers have been developed in New Jersey and Pennsylvania. Harvard University returned money to a donor when an academic search committee was unable to agree on a candidate to fill a chair in Holocaust Studies (although Holocaust studies are taught in the university). At least one member of the faculty felt that the Holocaust was not a proud chapter in Jewish history and therefore not worthy of a chair.

Holocaust courses were first taught in the 1970s, usually at the initiative of students. There were two such courses in 1973 and 50 times that number by the end of the decade. In a study in 1995 on university level courses offered on the Holocaust ("Teaching about the Holocaust at the University Level in the United States"), scholar Stephen Haynes surveyed 236 Holocaust educators at American institutions of higher learning. Among the major findings of his study were "courses on the Holocaust are nearly always taught as electives"; "a large majority (71%) of respondents indicated that teacher interest" was the main rationale "for offering a course on the Holocaust"; "exactly half the respondents ranked 'perpetrators' as their primary focus, while the other half answered 'victims'"; "virtually every class taught in the historical mode cover[ed] the rise of Nazism and life in the camps, [while] the phenomenon of rescue [and resistance was] treated in fewer than forty percent of syllabi"; "'bystanders' (whether individuals or nations) are treated in less than a third of syllabi"; "fewer than thirty percent cover Jewish life in Europe before the Third Reich in any detail"; and "[a]ccording to syllabi, Holocaust denial, gender issues and other victims or genocides are treated by between ten and fifteen percent of courses."

Reception of the Various Curricula, Mandates, and Programs. In many quarters, particularly among teachers who perceive the value in teaching this history, the development of state-sponsored curricula and/or mandates/recommendations has been valuable, providing teachers with an invaluable imprimatur. At the very least, the curricula have provided teachers with a starting point. Many, in fact, begin with such curricula and then develop their own teaching strategies and learning activities to meet the needs and interests of their students.

It is also true that in those states that have mandated and/or recommended the teaching of the Holocaust, the response by individual teachers has been mixed. While some teachers wholeheartedly embrace this subject matter and the need to teach it, others are more ambivalent. When teaching about the Holocaust, the latter may simply go through the motions, providing coverage (often superficial) rather than going deeply into key topics and issues. They may also engage students in low-level cognitive activities (e.g., rote memorization of dates, places, people, and events) rather than challenge students to analyze and wrestle with the totality of the subject matter. Finally, some teachers simply cannot see the relevance of the Holocaust, claiming that an event that took place "so long ago" has little or no meaning for their students. But many more find that the issue of relevance disappears in the classroom as students respond to this material positively and make their own connections between contemporary events, however distant from the Holocaust, and what they are reading. In rural Tennessee, illiterate adults are learning to read using Holocaust narratives as their text.

Research. Despite the proliferation of curricula, curricular resources, educational programs, and conferences on teaching about the Holocaust, there is still a dearth of research on the efficacy of teaching about the Holocaust.

The issue that has been explored in most detail is the extent to which the Holocaust is addressed in textbooks, particularly social studies and history texts. Despite the fact that textbooks in the 1980s and 1990s began to address the Holocaust in more detail than those in previous decades, both past and more recent studies comment on the dearth of topics addressed as well as the lack of depth.

HOLOCAUST EDUCATION IN CATHOLIC SCHOOLS IN THE UNITED STATES. One of the central revolutions in Catholic education in the last forty years has been in its depiction of Jews, Judaism, and the Holocaust. This is due to the release of two essential Vatican documents separated in time by over thirty years. The two documents gave rise to renewed understandings of Judaism within Catholicism and placed a central emphasis on the study of the *Shoah* or Holocaust in Nazi Germany. The first is the Vatican statement, *Nostra Aetate*, "In Our Age," released on October 28, 1965. This document is part of the larger, significant cultural changes of the Second Vatican Council, which sought to bring Church teachings into the modern world. In *Nostra Aetate*, the Catholic Church reversed centuries of its teachings and proclaimed a renunciation of all its past persecutions and negative portrayals of Jews and Judaism. It specifically states that, "moved not by any political consideration, but solely by the religious motivation of Christian charity, (the Church) renounces all hatreds, persecutions, displays of antisemitism leveled at any time or from any source against the Jews." This statement represented a radical shift in the manner in which Catholics looked at and learned about Judaism and the Holocaust.

In the 1960s and 1970s, the study of the Holocaust grew around the world from a matter of interest within Jewish communities to a significant field of academic study within the realm of twentieth-century Western history. By the mid-1970s, courses or units of study about the Holocaust appeared within both secular and Catholic universities, colleges and secondary schools. Catholic institutions began sporadically to offer courses on the Holocaust and to partner with Jewish programs on specific training for Catholic educators to increase and enhance their knowledge about the Holocaust and encourage them to teach it in their schools. This development was aided by the release of the second key Vatican document in 1998, "We Remember: Reflections on the *Shoah*" and its subsequent guide for implementation in 2001, "Catholic Teaching on the *Shoah*: Implementing the Holy See's 'We Remember.'"

Two model educational programs are indicative of the kinds of changes that took place within Catholic education regarding teaching about the Holocaust, and the manner in which these changes occurred. In 1987, Seton Hill College in Greensburg, Pennsylvania, established the National Catholic Center for Holocaust Education. The center was founded in direct response to statements from Pope John Paul II "to recognize the significance of the *Shoah*, and to promote the necessary historical and religious studies on this event which concerns the whole of humanity today." The center offers training programs about the Holocaust for Catholic educators, which include opportunities to travel to the historic sites of the death camps and ghettos in Europe and to study that history in Jerusalem. Through partnerships with both the March of the Living International, a Jewish organization supporting Holocaust remembrance, and Yad Vashem, the center offers Catholic educators a variety of educational programs within the particular perspective and context of Catholic learning. It also distributes literature for Catholics on how to study and to teach about the Holocaust. Among the many publications available through the center are the widely distributed compilations of "The Holocaust – A Guide for Catholic Schools" and "Teaching the Holocaust in Catholic Schools." Over 2,000 copies of the first text have been distributed. "The Holocaust – A Guide for Catholic Schools" contains the central points that guide novice educators when teaching about the Holocaust within a Catholic setting. The second publication collects the statements made at the center's sixth annual Education Conference in 2003. This document includes rationales for teaching about the Holocaust within Catholic education; practical guides for educators teaching this history; and specific descriptions of successful programs that are currently being offered in Catholic institutions around the country.

A second education model for Catholic education is the "Bearing Witness" teacher training program. In 1995, the Washington, D.C. Archdiocese of the Catholic Church partnered with the regional office of the Anti-Defamation League and the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum to create a training program for Catholic educators to learn about the Holocaust within a Catholic context. The "Bearing Witness" program focuses on the Church's history of antisemitic persecution of Jews through two millennia; the roles and responsibilities of Catholics during the Holocaust; the specific history of the Holocaust itself; and the effort of the church to renew its teachings on and relationships with Jews, Judaism, and the history of the Holocaust since the Second Vatican Council. The program has become a national model incorporating support and resources from the National Catholic Educational Association, the national Anti-Defamation League, and the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum. More than 600 Catholic educators have participated in the program, which is now being offered through its annual summer conference in Washington, D.C., and in regional programs in cities across the United States.

Catholic education in the United States is not so much a unitary system of education as a group of autonomous schools organized on a consistent pattern, affiliated with local Catholic dioceses or religious orders. These schools exist to promote the transmission of Roman Catholic religious teachings and moral values along with traditional learning. With the Second Vatican Council, the Church placed study of the Holocaust among those "religious teachings and moral values" to be taught in Catholic schools. In 2001 with "Catholic Teaching on the *Shoah*: Implementing the Holy See's 'We Remember,'" the church again reminded her faithful that "Holocaust Education in Catholic contexts should strive to educate students about Jewish culture and history; the development of anti-Judaism and antisemitism; Christianity's participation in World War II and the Holocaust; and the role Catholic values can play in preventing future atrocities… [T]he issues of the Shoah and of Jewish-Christian relations are vast topics… Their enormous importance requires their integration wherever possible throughout the Catholic curricula… These issues need to be integrated into other parts of the daily life of Catholic educational institutions through special events such as commemorations of *Yom Hashoah*, film showings, drama, art, exhibits, colloquia, and public lectures."

In response to this guidance, 98 percent of Catholic schools in the United States currently incorporate Holocaust education into their school curricula, liturgies, and memorial services. This is achieved by including learning opportunities about the Holocaust in history classes, literature programs, and religious studies courses. This mandate from the Catholic Church to her schools stands in stark contrast to the years of indoctrination against Jews that marked centuries of Catholic teaching prior to the Second Vatican Council. The inclusion of Holocaust education in Catholic schools in America is a sign of the revolution in the Catholic Church that has brought Catholicism and Catholic education into the twenty-first century.

[Daniel C. Napolitano (2nd ed.)]

CONCLUSION. With the opening of the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum and the release of Steven Spielberg's *Schindler's List* in 1993, there has been a renewed and powerful wave of interest in teaching about the Holocaust in the United States. More and more journals (e.g., *Social Education*, the official journal of the National Council for the Social Studies; *The Social Studies*; *Dimensions: A Journal of Holocaust Studies*) are including articles and essays on a fairly regular basis on teaching about the Holocaust; and as a result, an ever-increasing number of teachers are sharing their ideas, methods, and successes. There are several Internet listservs, including Holocaust Listserv, whose focus is teaching about the Holocaust, and these, too, provide an avenue for educators to discuss both historical and pedagogical issues, as well as to share information about resources. As a result of such efforts, the field of Holocaust studies is slowly but surely becoming more sophisticated and pedagogically sound.

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[Samuel Totten and Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

In Israel

The context of teaching the Holocaust in Israel, the national home of the Jewish people, in which the majority of Holocaust survivors chose to settle after World War II (approximately 250,000 displaced persons), is very different from that in any other country. Clearly, the social and historical context of Israeli society has a profound influence on Holocaust education and remembrance and in many ways is still perceived as a "biological wound," according to the Israeli novelist Aharon Appelfeld. Moreover, not only has the Holocaust become an integral part of Israeli popular culture, referenced and represented continually in literature, films, theater productions, and television programs, it has also become associated with many Israelis' national/Jewish identity.

In Israel, the Holocaust is taught both as a discrete subject and as part of a broader topic, such as the history of world civilizations. Since the Holocaust is part of Jewish history and Israeli history, and its commemoration is part of the national calendar, aspects of this subject are often addressed in many educational settings. It is also important to note that the Holocaust is often taught in a variety of disciplines in schools, including literature, history, music, theology, drama, computing, foreign languages, art, philosophy, psychology, sociology, and others. Numerous high school students are engaged in Holocaust-related projects throughout the school year. For example, pupils have composed music to Holocaust poetry and given public performances in their communities; interviewed Holocaust survivors about their life stories; created art exhibitions on Holocaust-related themes; and collected Pages of Testimony from old-age homes (Pages of Testimony are part of an ongoing project sponsored by Yad Vashem to document the victims of the Holocaust).

Since 1982, a minimum of 30 hours of Holocaust studies, as part of the discipline of history, has been mandated in all state Israeli high schools by the Israeli Ministry of Education, Culture and Sport (the official updated directive was published on December 1, 1998 in *Ḥozer Mankal* Number 59/4). History teachers mostly devote 20 to 30 classes to this topic, usually taught in the 11th and 12th grades, and a question related to the history of the Holocaust has become an integral part of the history matriculation exam given to high school students. In addition, Israeli students who choose elective subjects as part of their matriculation, such as Hebrew literature or Jewish philosophy, also are tested on aspects related to the Holocaust. Since 1999, the Holocaust has become a recommended part of the junior high school curriculum as well.

Even the youngest children are exposed to this important aspect of Jewish history. Students begin hearing about the Holocaust in preschools, and even those in day care listen to the two-minute siren at the annual commemoration.

Courses on various aspects of the Holocaust have been taught in all major Israeli universities by world-renowned scholars such as Professors Yehuda Bauer, Israel Gutman, David Bankier, Dan Michman, Daniel Blatman, Dalia Ofer, Otto Dov Kulka, Dina Porat, and Saul Friedlaender. At the Institute for Contemporary Jewry at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, many graduate students have concentrated in Holocaust studies. In addition, courses on the Holocaust are also taught every semester in almost all Israeli colleges and preparatory programs for those students who seek a teaching certificate.

Israeli teachers are often encouraged to attend seminars in order to obtain obligatory continuing educational credits that are recognized by governmental authorities. They also participate in such courses in an effort to improve their salaries, retain their teaching licenses, and/or to improve their teaching skills.

In the early 1980s, many Israeli high school teachers came to the realization that they had to begin preparing classes on their own in order to adhere to the new requirements of the Ministry of Education, Culture and Sport. In an effort to help teachers comply with the mandate to teach the Shoah, Holocaust memorials began to offer courses for high school teachers, specializing in Holocaust history and pedagogical techniques. Over the last decade, teachers of younger grades have also turned to memorials, requesting age-appropriate educational materials and suggestions on how to answer younger children's questions on what happened during the Shoah.

As a result of this situation, Holocaust memorials and professional teachers' organizations have developed continuing education courses that usually contain academic and pedagogical components, featuring lectures by scholars and educational experts. A number of organizations annually offer teacher-training seminars throughout Israel, such as Yad Vashem, the Ghetto Fighters' House, Massuah, Moreshet, Beit Terezin, and others.

In recent years, many of these institutions have worked together to organize teacher training seminars of 56 or 112 hours, especially in outlying areas. For instance, in 2004–05, Yad Vashem was simultaneously coordinating twenty teacher-training courses throughout the country. In Sederot alone (south of Ashkelon), 120 educators a week attend a course on educational methods in teaching the Holocaust. In addition, teacher training courses are now offered in Hebrew via the Internet for continuing education credit recognized by the Ministry of Education, Culture and Sport.

Holocaust Martyrs' and Heroes' Remembrance Day (*Yom ha-Shoah*) is a national day of commemoration in Israel. It is a solemn day, beginning at sunset on the 27th of Nisan and ending the following evening, according to the traditional Jewish custom of marking a day. It is important to note that on the Jewish calendar, *Yom ha-Shoah* falls soon after the Passover holiday (in which Jews remember their liberation from bondage in Egypt) and a few days before Israel's Independence Day. Places of entertainment (such as theaters, dance halls, restaurants, and cafes) are closed and memorial ceremonies are held throughout the country. There is extensive national media coverage of the special events that take place on this day.

The central ceremonies, in the evening and the following morning, are held at Yad Vashem and are broadcast on television. Marking the start of the day, in the presence of the president of the State of Israel, dignitaries, survivors, children of survivors, and their families gather with the general public to take part in the memorial ceremony at Yad Vashem in which six torches are lit, representing the six million murdered Jews.

The following morning, the ceremony at Yad Vashem begins with the sounding of a siren for two minutes throughout the entire country. For these two minutes, work is halted, people walking in the streets stop, cars pull off to the side of the road, and everybody stands at silent attention. Afterward, the focus of the ceremony at Yad Vashem is the laying of wreaths at the foot of the six torches, by dignitaries and the representatives of survivor groups and institutions. The martyred dead are remembered as individual human beings with personal identities.

Other sites of remembrance in Israel, such as the Ghetto Fighters' House (Beit Loḥamei ha-Getta'ot), Massuah at Kibbutz Tel Yiẓḥak, and Kibbutz Yad Mordechai (named in honor of Mordechai Anilewicz, a leader of the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising), also organize memorial ceremonies, as do all schools and universities, military bases, municipalities, and even many places of work. Throughout the day, both television and radio stations broadcast programs about the Holocaust. Special Internet-based dialogues are also organized. Traditional prayers, such as *kaddish* and *El Maleh Raḥamim*, as well as poems and last letters composed by Holocaust victims, are recited at many ceremonies. Holocaust survivors, who are now passing the torch of memory to future generations, are invited to tell their personal stories in schools on Yom ha-Shoah.

Many *ḥaredim* (ultra-Orthodox Jews) prefer to observe the 10th of Tevet rather than Holocaust Remembrance Day. During this traditional fast day known as the "*Yom ha-Kaddish ha-Kelali*," psalms and prayers are recited for the martyred. Some *ḥaredim* refuse to stand at attention for two minutes on Yom ha-Shoah while the siren is sounded, claiming that this is not a traditional Jewish custom of expressing sorrow. However, the vast majority of Jewish religious leaders have ruled that one should stand at attention out of respect.

Visits of school children to Holocaust memorials and museums, such as Yad Vashem, the Holocaust Martyrs' and Heroes' Remembrance Authority in Jerusalem founded in 1953; the Ghetto Fighters' House at Kibbutz Loḥamei ha-Getta'ot in the northern part of the country, established in 1949 by Holocaust survivors, among them ghetto fighters and partisans; and Massuah at Kibbutz Tel Yiẓḥak, are organized on a daily basis. At Yad Vashem, during peak periods prior to Yom ha-Shoah, it is not uncommon to see more than 40 groups of visitors a day (each group comprising on the average 30 persons).

According to the data collected by the International School for Holocaust Studies at Yad Vashem, more than 100,000 high school students visit Yad Vashem every year. These students come from all over the country, representing different religious streams and socioeconomic backgrounds. For example, in recent years thousands of Arab and Jewish students (including new immigrants and children from disadvantaged homes) who study in the system of vocational schools supported by the Israeli Ministry of Welfare and Labor have visited the International School for Holocaust Studies at Yad Vashem.

According to the statistics compiled by the Ghetto Fighters' House, their museum has been visited annually by 120,000 drop-in visitors, and over 75,000 individuals participate in the museum's educational programs. Students from both the Jewish and Arab sectors visit the Center for Humanistic Education located at the Ghetto Fighters' House. Additional smaller centers, such as Beit Terezin, Moreshet, Nir Galim, Ot va-Ed, Shem Olam, Ginzach Kiddush Hashem, Yad Lezahava and numerous others work with thousands of students every year.

For approximately twenty years, Israeli students have been traveling on study tours to Poland, primarily to bear witness at Nazi extermination camps like Majdanek, Auschwitz-Birkenau, and Treblinka. In addition, many school groups visit other sites, such as preserved synagogues, Jewish cemeteries (particularly where well-known Jewish personalities or religious leaders are buried), and the areas where ghettos were created by the Nazis and their collaborators. It is estimated that 20,000 Israeli high school students participate in study trips to Poland every year. The journeys to Poland, which are overseen by the Israeli Ministry of Education, are a rite of passage for Israeli youth soon to begin their army or national service.

All guides of Israeli school groups in Poland must be certified by the Israeli Ministry of Education upon their successful completion of a seminar of 270 study hours. These trips in the main are funded by the pupils themselves or by their families. A few Holocaust museums and memorials, such as Yad Vashem, have developed alternative Holocaust-related programs within Israel for those pupils who do not journey to Eastern Europe.

After their return from Poland, pupils often assume leading roles in the coordination of ceremonies on the 10th of Tevet (a fast day) and Yom ha-Shoah in their respective schools, as well as in their youth movement groups, such as the Israeli scouts. In addition, some pupils are required to make presentations of their trip in school and in essence become witnesses passing the legacy of remembrance to future generations.

Over the last five years, a number of new textbooks on the chronology of the Shoah for Israeli high school students have been published, including Nili Keren's *Shoah: A Journey to Memory* (1999) and Israel Gutman's *Shoah and Memory* (1999). Keren's book is divided into four sections, focusing on the following major topics: "Prelude to Genocide"; "The Perpetrators"; "The Victims"; and "The Bystanders." Gutman's book, officially authorized by the Israeli Ministry of Education, is part of a two-book curriculum set, coupled with a book about the Jews in world history over the last decades edited by Eliezer Domke.

In the words of the late Abba Kovner, a ghetto fighter and well-known Israeli writer, "perhaps this is the pedagogic imperative of the post-Auschwitz generation, to try and engrave into the memory of the coming generations the message of our generation, a difficult but a true and an honest message…" Obviously, the future trends of Holocaust education and remembrance in any country, even in the State of Israel, remain open-ended.

By the early twenty-first century, Holocaust survivors, many of whom were pioneers in building the state of Israel and soldiers in defending its borders, were dying. Many educators are struggling with the challenge of how to remember the Holocaust without the presence of survivors.

[Shulamit Imber and Richelle Budd Caplan (2nd ed.)]

In Germany

Much as in the United States, in Germany education is the responsibility of the 16 Laender (federal states) rather than the national government of the Federal Republic. The Holocaust is a permanent part of public discourse in Germany, seen on television and in cinema, and written in works of German literature and daily newspapers. It is also a regional presence in the almost one hundred memorials, museums, and sites of destruction and devastation within Germany. In Berlin alone, the Holocaust is remembered in a memorial, a museum for the history of German Jews, in street signs and on lampposts and in plaques on buildings. The same can be seen elsewhere within Germany.

January 27, the date of the liberation of Auschwitz by the Red Army, is annually commemorated as a National Day of Remembrance. There is a special ceremony in Parliament, and there is considerable coverage in the news, though some students are oblivious to it. Furthermore, November 9, the anniversary of *Kristallnacht*, is also an occasion for public programs. In recent years it has had to compete with the anniversary of the breaking down of the Berlin Wall, an event directly experienced by larger segments of society.

The Federal Republic is dedicated to distinguishing itself from Nazi Germany, remaining democratic, protecting human rights and human dignity, and combating antisemitism. Teaching National Socialism and Holocaust – the two are almost always combined in German teaching – is one means of training a new generation to respect the values and maintain the responsibilities of the postwar generation.

More importantly, Germany is undergoing a significant transformation. It is becoming an immigrant community as well, where this history is alien to the immigrant students. It is simply not their own and how they will identify with it and respond to it is an open question in German educational research.

The Holocaust is taught as a part of the subject "History." It is dealt with as a major topic of German and European history in the twentieth century. But it is not restricted to history, as the Holocaust permeates German literature and poetry. Naturally within Germany the focus is often on the perpetrator and seldom on the victims, most especially in German research. But the Holocaust is taught as part of civics lessons and citizenship lessons in religious (Catholic and Protestant – and certainly Jewish) schools. Holocaust denial is a crime in Germany.

The Nazi persecution of the Jews may be studied first at the age of twelve (in the sixth grade), but it is not compulsory then. At the age of fourteen or fifteen all students are taught twentieth-century history and it is in this context that National Socialism and the Holocaust are taught. Typically some sixteen to twenty lessons are scheduled for the period of National Socialism. Teachers must decide how to allocate their time, but since this material is covered on the examination for university admission, some basic standards and content are followed.

Aspects of Holocaust history may also be touched upon in classes on biology (racism), art (works of art produced during the Holocaust period or by artists dealing with this topic afterwards), and music (e.g., music composed in Theresienstadt).

In a Report to the International Task Force (see below, "The Task Force for International Cooperation on Holocaust Education, Remembrance, and Research"), German representatives related that

> In history lessons the Holocaust is dealt with as a major topic of German and European history in the 20th century.
>
> In civics students study the political, ideological, and psycho-social conditions which made the Holocaust possible, and the planning and organization of the genocide. Another important topic is the way Germany dealt and deals with this part of its history.
>
> Since the Holocaust is a major topic in postwar German literature (novels, plays, poems, essays), it is often addressed in classes on contemporary literature, starting in sixth grade. This can also include literature translated from other languages (e.g., Primo Levi, Imre Kertesz). It can be combined with media studies dealing with feature films.
>
> Classes on religion deal with the attitudes of the churches towards the Nazi persecution of the Jews, the theological efforts to create a new Christian approach to Judaism, and the ethical challenges for every human being which are involved in the history of the Holocaust.

Teacher training differs from state to state and school to school. Courses on the Holocaust and study trips for teachers to historical sites are offered by teacher training centers, state agencies for political education, associations (e.g., the trade union for teachers, foundations of political parties), and by memorials. Teachers are entitled to take part in such courses as part of in-service training, but they can also choose other topics instead.

Germany sponsors just under a hundred memorial museums on victims of the Nazi regime. They are connected to "authentic" sites and deal with the victims, the perpetrators, and the sites of the crime. They differ in quality and effectiveness and often tell the story of their particular site and not necessarily the story of the entire Holocaust. The victim groups at each of the sites differ. For example, euthanasia sites deal with the victims of euthanasia while some sites, especially in the former East Germany, tell the story of both National Socialism and Communism.

It is estimated that over the past decade three million people a year have visited these memorial sites; many of them, perhaps even most of them, schoolchildren. These visits can play an important role in the education of German school children, although their value is dependent upon the preparation and skill of the teachers and the museum guides.

Textbooks are the responsibility of the states but it is safe to say that the amount of space devoted to National Socialism and the Holocaust has increased over the past two decades in Germany as elsewhere, especially within former East Germany. German teachers can also choose from an abundance of additional material and media. How these materials are used is in the hands of the teachers.

In Germany as elsewhere, there is great interest on the part of the students in studying this period, great interest in the questions about values the material raises and in what it says about earlier generations – now grandparents, or even more often great-grandparents. The Holocaust permeates German society, and contemporary German youth can grapple with it unhampered by the direct associations that made this history so problematic for earlier generations. How they – and the children of immigrants – will respond to it is an open question. But there is evidence of growing interest, and on the university level, at least, of serious confrontation.

[Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

In Sweden

Significant academic, pedagogic, and political interest in the Holocaust came relatively late to Sweden. Scholarly studies about Sweden's response to the wartime genocide of European Jewry were few before the late 1990s, and the country's first undergraduate course on the subject was offered only in 1996, at Uppsala University. In public secondary and middle schools, individual teachers had taught the subject prior to the 1990s, but support and encouragement from educational authorities remained tepid, even though the Holocaust was one of the few historical subjects specifically named in the national *läroplan* (curriculum) issued in 1994. There are numerous reasons for this apparent contradiction. One of the most important underlying reasons is the particular manner in which Sweden's history of World War II has been and is generally taught in schools and interpreted in historical studies. Though the country succeeded in retaining its neutral status during the conflict, its extensive economic and cultural ties with Germany throughout the Nazi era, coupled with the fact that it was never occupied, led, in the postwar decades to the teaching of nationalistic interpretations and myths about the war. Because of this the mainstream of Swedish society was taught about the war and the Holocaust with a narrative that militated against a deeper exploration of the sometimes troubling way Sweden in fact reacted to Nazism in Europe, and to the persecution, plunder, and extermination of the continent's Jewish population.

As elsewhere in Europe following Communism's collapse, and most importantly after Switzerland (another neutral during World War II) was subjected to negative international attention concerning the raft of evocative economic issues often subsumed under the phrase "Nazi gold" during the mid-1990s, interest in Sweden in Holocaust subjects quickened. Acceptance of the notion that even neutral Sweden had something to learn from the numerous tragedies of the war gained currency. These international developments coincided with a sharp rise in domestic antisemitic, nativist, and xenophobic incidents, which resulted in sometimes violent manifestations of attitudes that were by no means limited to marginal neo-Nazi groups. For example, by mid-decade Sweden was an international center for "white power" music while authorities in Stockholm allowed the notoriously antisemitic "Radio Islam" to remain on the air, even when faced with international protest.

In early 1998, politicians from Sweden's long-ruling Social Democratic Party, in a response predicated both on their own domestic circumstances and seeking to preempt the kind of international pressure Switzerland had been subjected to, launched an ambitious public information campaign whose aim was to educate Swedish citizens about the Holocaust. The project was entitled "*Levande historia*" ("Living History"), and it was for Sweden a unique public educational effort steered directly from the office of Social Democratic Prime Minister Göran Persson. With the notion that Sweden could draw some moral and historical lessons from the Holocaust endorsed from the nation's political center, the "Living History" project generated unprecedented interest from the media, parents, and teachers alike. The centerpiece of the campaign was an abundantly illustrated primer of Holocaust history, *Om detta må ni berätta*; *en bok om Förintelsen i Europa, 1933–1945* ("Tell Ye your Children…"). Written by Stéphane Bruchfeld and Paul A. Levine, the book was sent to families and others only when specifically requested, and requests for the book (which was translated into the languages of Sweden's primary immigrant populations) vastly exceeded government expectations. In the initial months after publication in January 1998, hundreds of thousands of copies were requested by parents, teachers, children, school administrators, unions, *studie cirklar* (publicly funded teaching groups), corporations, and others. By 2005 close to 1.5 million copies had been requested and distributed in a nation with a population of around 9 million. The book also received international attention, and has been translated by education ministries and private publishers in more than a dozen languages.

On the domestic front, the government declared January 27 Holocaust Memorial Day and financed the establishment of the Uppsala Program for Holocaust and Genocide

Studies, a research and teaching institution at Uppsala University (initiating a trend followed by other Scandinavian governments). In June 2002 the government opened the original information project's permanent successor, the public education agency now called *Forum för Levande historia* (The Forum for Living History). This agency's mandate is to educate Sweden's population about the Holocaust and other genocides in an attempt to promote tolerance in a democratic polity.

The prime minister's initiative also led directly to two major international developments in Holocaust (and genocide) education. Evolving from a May 1998 meeting in Stockholm among diplomatic representatives of the British, American, and Swedish governments, the still expanding International Task Force for Holocaust Education, Remembrance and Research is today an intergovernmental body consisting of diplomats, academics, and experts in Holocaust education from some twenty nations, largely but not exclusively European.

Sweden's other significant international initiative was the four major intergovernmental conferences called the Stockholm International Forum(s). The first was convened in January 2000 and highlighted Holocaust education, remembrance, and research. It was the first large international gathering of the new millennium and attracted representatives from fifty nations and international agencies, including some thirty heads of state and government. The fourth and final conference convened in January 2004 on the theme "Preventing Genocide: The Responsibility to Protect."

Yet alongside these notable successes interest in Sweden in Holocaust education seems to have peaked quickly, and is already waning. As a result, Swedish society's *bearbetning* (reworking) and understanding of its encounter with genocide remains tentative. A recent survey among Swedish youth about attitudes towards Holocaust education found some worrying trends, with more students responding affirmatively to the statement "There is too much talk about Nazism and the extermination of the Jews" than did so in 1997, before the *Levande historia* project. Some representatives of the cultural and media elite have criticized Holocaust education through the prism of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. As is the case in other countries, even some teachers with a laudable interest in the subject often lack sufficient empirical and conceptual understanding of Holocaust history and memory. This is not surprising in Sweden given the fact that teacher-training colleges have shown little interest in integrating internationally recognized methods of Holocaust pedagogy into their programs. Academic interest in the subject remains marginal, regarding both research and the development of undergraduate and graduate courses in Holocaust history, representation, and memory. Protests against continued public investment in Holocaust education are often heard, and seem to be the product both of traditional attitudes and a studied indifference to Jewish issues. In a society with such a short history of engagement with Holocaust studies, the apparent backlash against the subject's recent visibility seems, at best, premature.

[Paul Levine (2nd ed.)]

The Task Force for International Cooperation on Holocaust Education, Remembrance, and Research

The Task Force for International Cooperation on Holocaust Education, Remembrance, and Research was initiated by Swedish Prime Minister Göran Persson in 1998. It consists of representatives of government, as well as governmental and non-governmental organizations. Its purpose is to place political and social leaders' support behind the need for Holocaust education, remembrance, and research both nationally and internationally.

Membership in the Task Force is open to all countries. Members must be committed to the Declaration of the Stockholm International Forum on the Holocaust of 2000 and must accept the principles adopted by the Task Force regarding membership. They must also be committed to the implementation of national policies and programs in support of Holocaust education, remembrance, and research. The governments comprising the Task Force agree on the importance of encouraging all archives, both public and private, to make their holdings on the Holocaust widely accessible. The Task Force also encourages appropriate forms of Holocaust remembrance.

Countries wishing to create programs in Holocaust education or to further develop their existing information materials and activities in this area are invited to work together with the Task Force. To this end, Liaison Projects can be established between countries and the Task Force for long-term cooperation.

The Task Force has its own website (http://taskforce.ushmm.org) and maintains an international directory of organizations in Holocaust education, remembrance, and research; an international calendar of events; a directory of archives; listings of remembrance and educational activities; as well as additional information about the Task Force.

Task Force countries (as of June, 2005) include:
Argentina
Austria
Czech Republic
Denmark
France
Germany
Hungary
Israel
Italy
Latvia
Lithuania
Luxembourg
Netherlands
Norway
Poland
Romania
Sweden
Switzerland
United Kingdom
United States

[William Shulman (2nd ed.)]

A PICTORIAL HISTORY OF THE HOLOCAUST

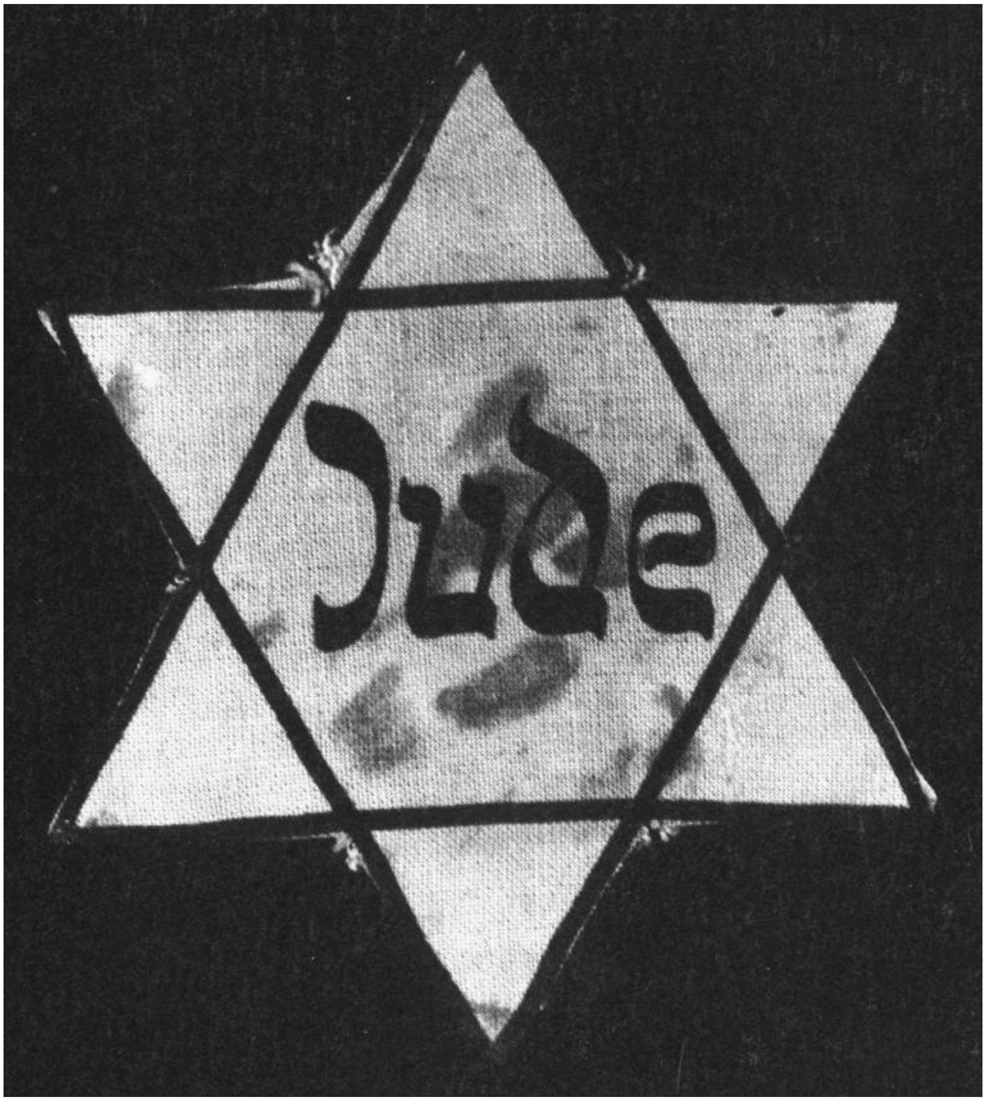

Jewish Star of David patch with the word "Jude" (Jew) in the middle, one of the distinctive signs decreed by the Nazis that the Jews had to wear in countries under their domination. (By Courtesy of Yad Vashem, Jerusalem.)

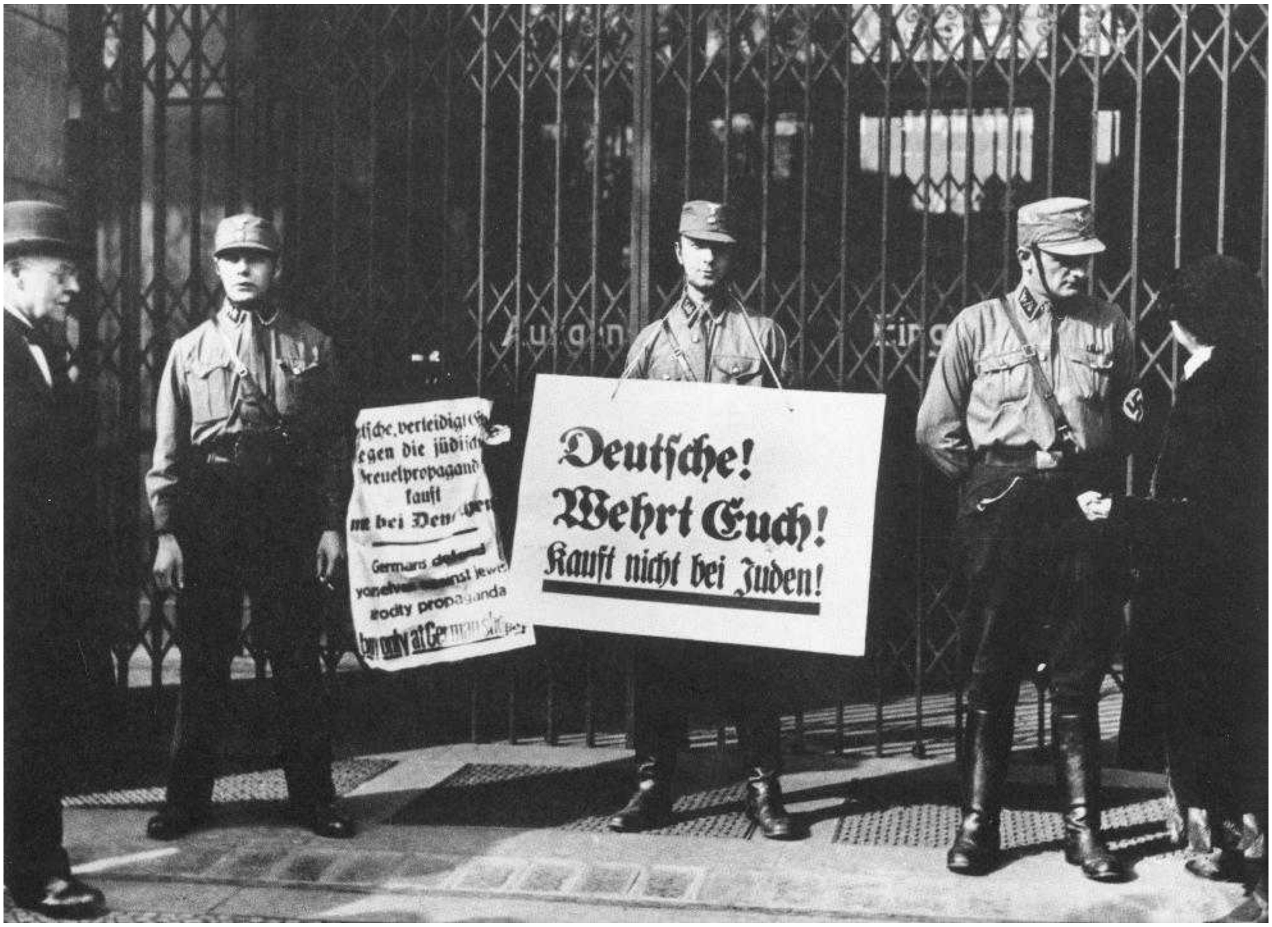
Deutſche!
Wehrt Euch!
Kauft nicht bei Juden!
ſche, verteidigt
egen die jüdiſ
Greuelpropagand
kauft
nur bei Deu
Germans defend
yourselves against Jews
atrocity propaganda
buy only at German

SA guards at the entrance to a Jewish store on "Boycott Day," Sunday, April 1, 1933, part of the financial pressure and discrimination against German Jews. The sign reads, "Germans beware! Do not buy from Jews." Offices of Jewish doctors, lawyers, and engineers were also picketed on that day. (By Courtesy of Yad Vashem, Jerusalem.)

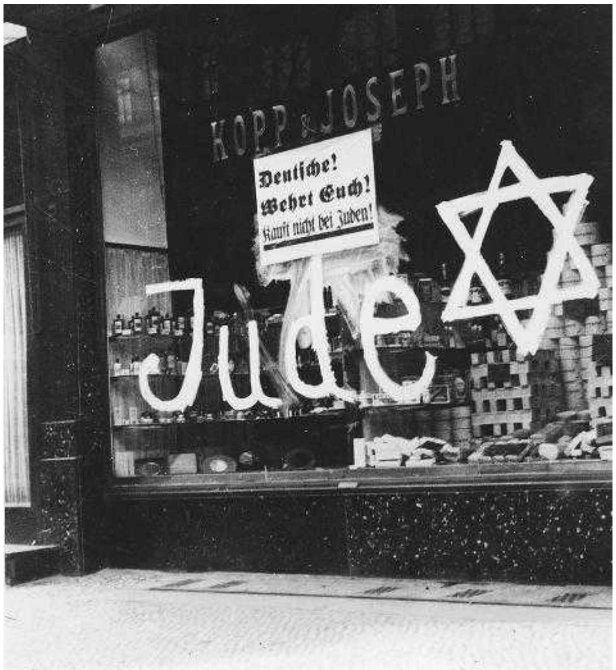
KOPP & JOSEPH
Deutſche!
Wehrt Euch!
Kauft nicht bei Juden!
Jude

The word "Jude" and the Star of David on the window of a Jewish store, warning German customers not to patronize it, a common sight in Germany in the first months of 1933. (By Courtesy of Yad Vashem, Jerusalem.)

A pre-war glimpse: Jewish residents of Lodz, Poland, Hela and Mordechai Hammer, walking on Piotrkonska ulitze, Lodz, Poland, 1934. (By Courtesy of Eta Grycman and Daniel Hammer.)

Before the storm: Two sisters, Guta and Hela Berliner, taking a stroll on the Sabbath in Lodz, Poland, 1939. (By Courtesy of Rachel Gilon.)

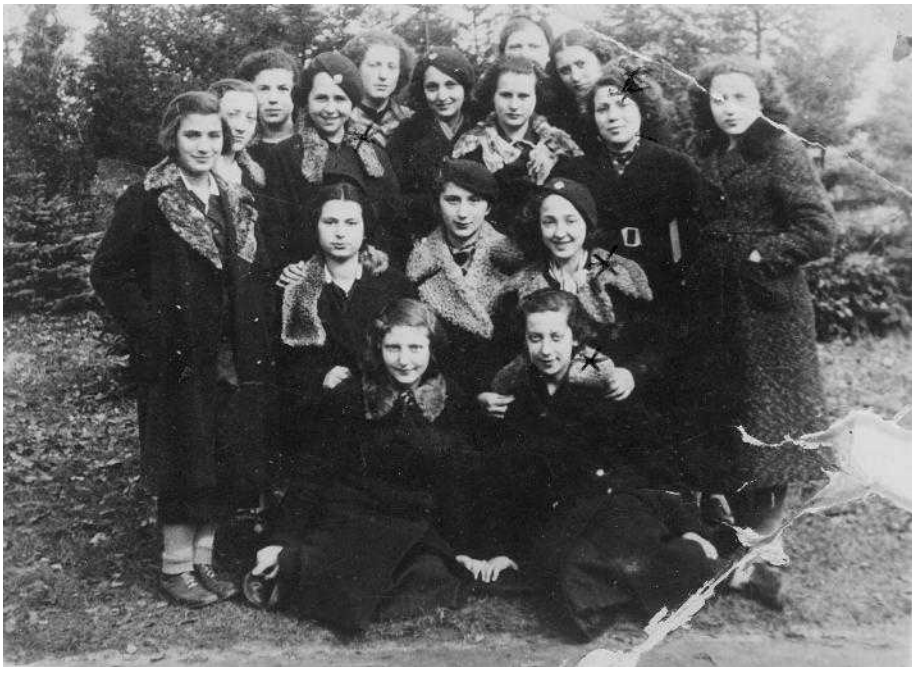

A 1936 class photo in a private Jewish girls high school, Lodz, Poland. Only four in the photograph survived the Holocaust, including Estera Rajzla Hammer (front row, right). (By Courtesy of Eta Grycman and Daniel Hammer.)

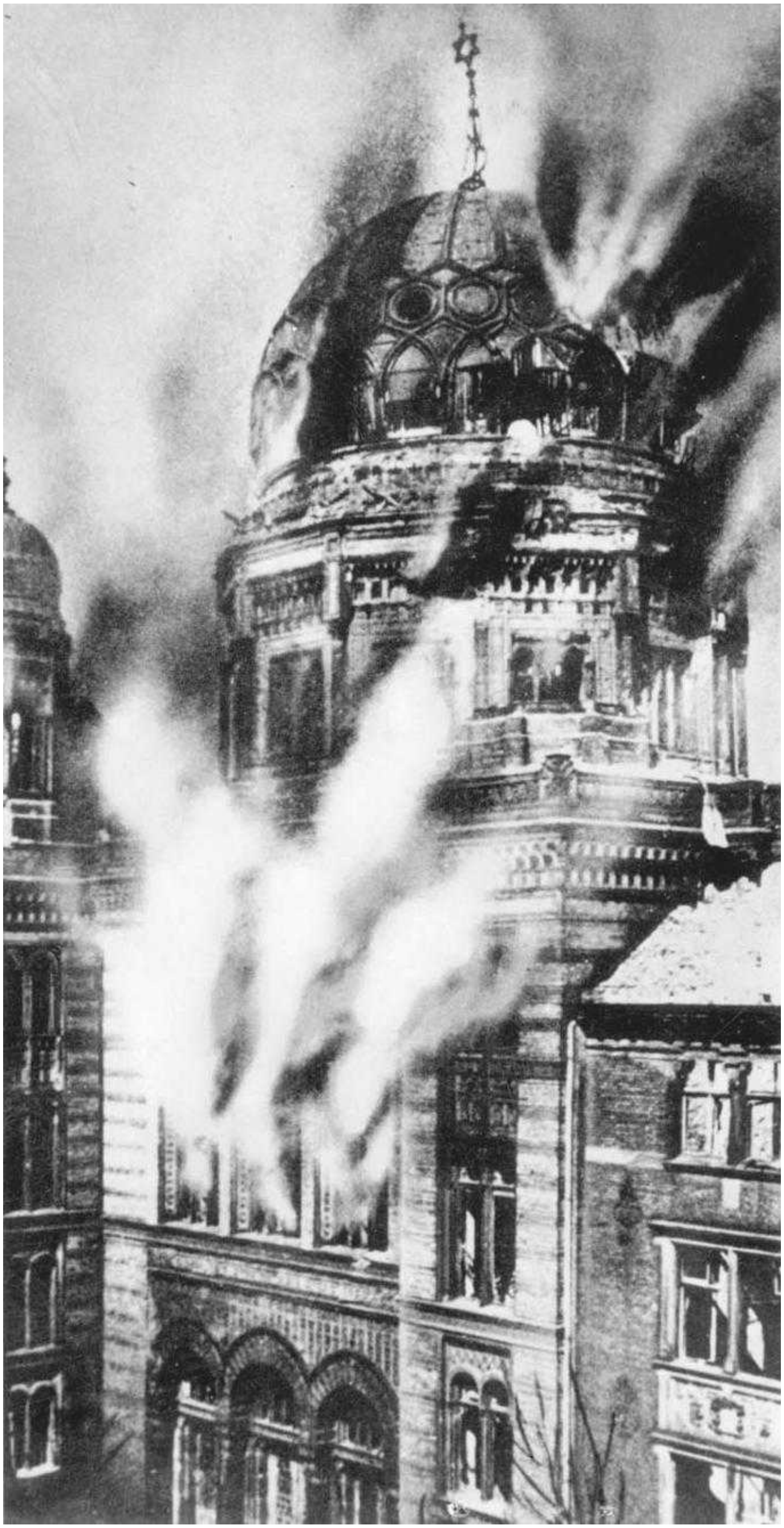

Kristallnacht (Nov. 9–10, 1938): Burning of Boerneplatz Synagogue in Frankfurt, Germany, on Nov. 10, one of 191 synagogues (according to Nazi provisional estimates, no complete tally exists) burned during this anti-Jewish outrage, which also saw another 76 synagogues demolished, 815 shops destroyed, 29 warehouses and 171 dwellings set on fire or destroyed. Thirty-six Jews were killed and scores wounded. (By Courtesy of Yad Vashem, Jerusalem.)

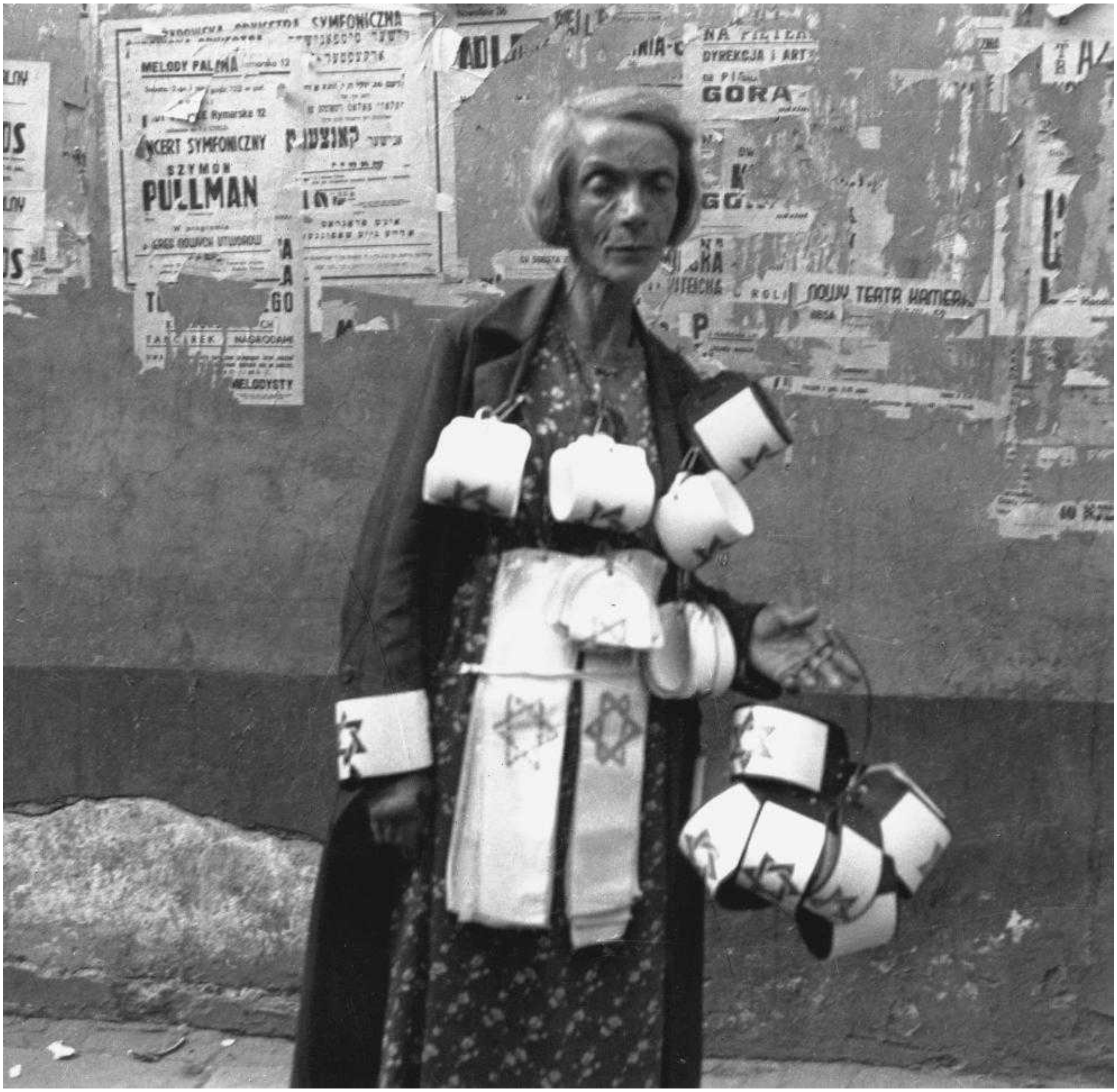
SYMFONICZNA
MELODY PALMA
Rymarska 12
KONCERT SYMFONICZNY
SZYMON
PULLMAN
MELODYSTY
NA PIĘTRZE
DYREKCJA i ART
GORA
NOWY TEATR KAMERALNY

A woman vendor selling Star of David armbands in the Warsaw ghetto, Poland. (By Courtesy of Yad Vashem, Jerusalem.)

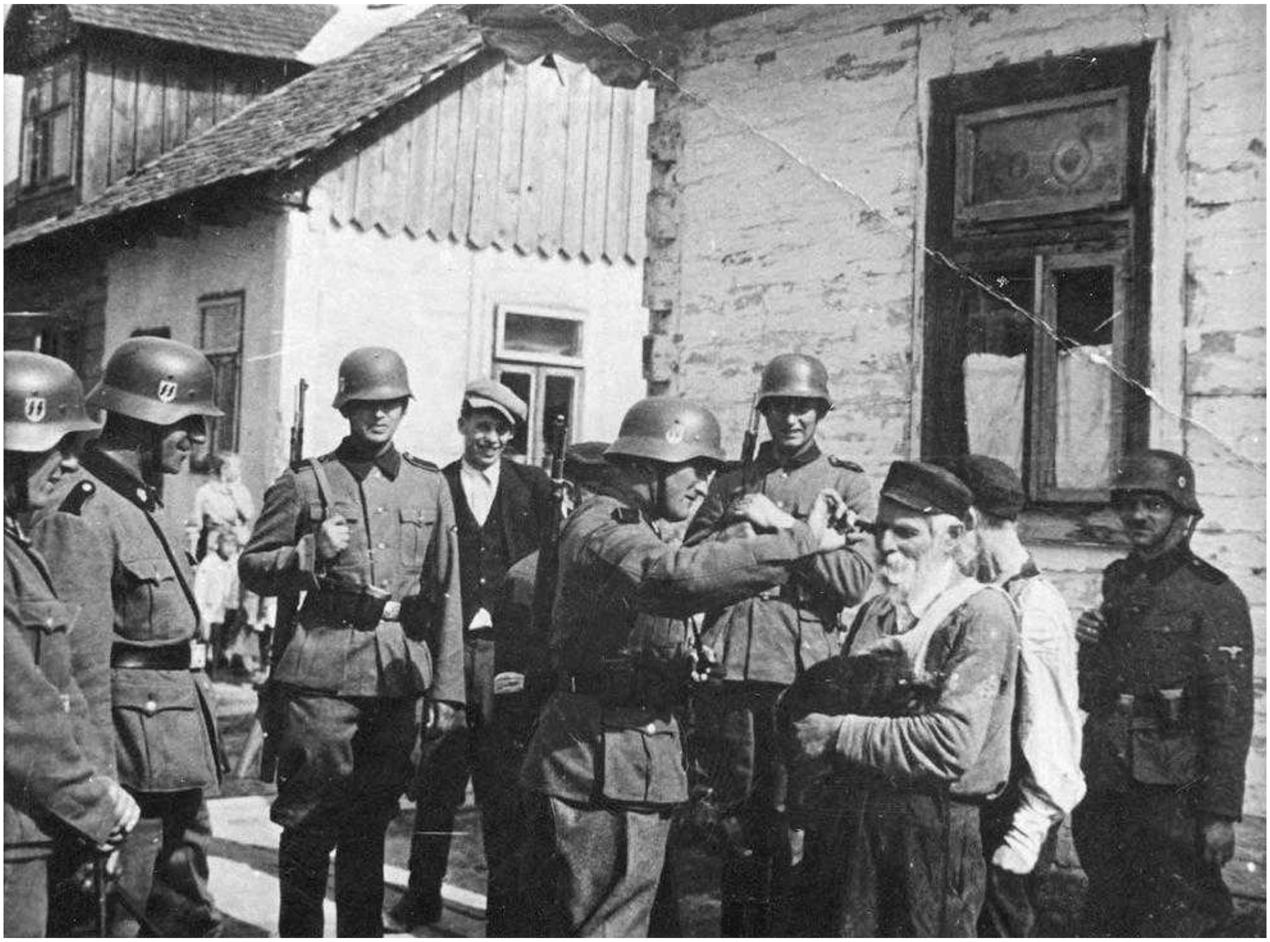

Humiliation and degradation: SS men amusing themselves by cutting off the beard of a Jew in Plock, Poland. (By Courtesy of Yad Vashem, Jerusalem.)

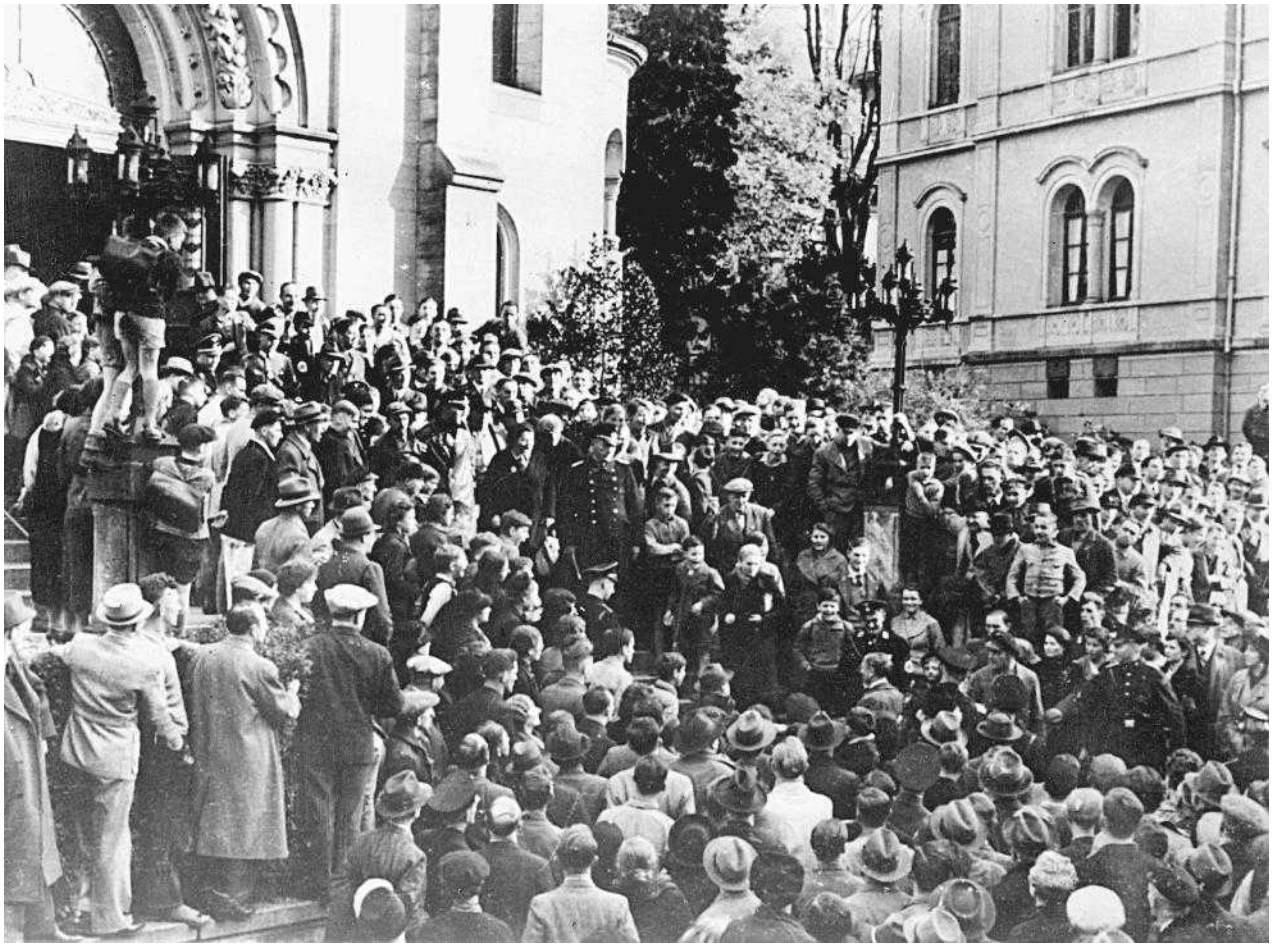

A jeering crowd watches as Dr. Hauser, one of the leaders of the Baden-Baden community, is kicked, beaten and spat on as he is pushed up the steps of the synagogue. (By Courtesy of Yad Vashem, Jerusalem.)

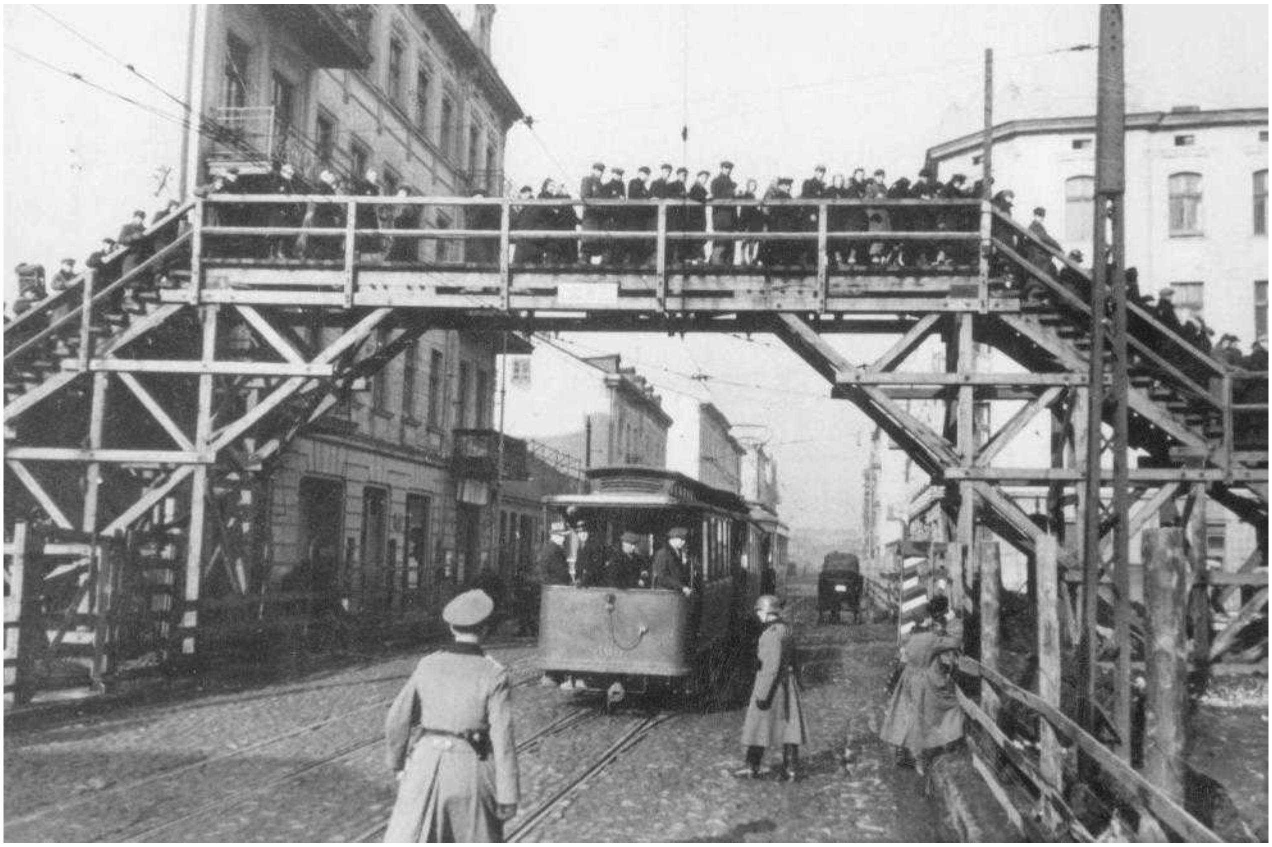

A wooden bridge over an "Aryan" street connecting two sections of the Lodz ghetto, Poland, 1940. (By Courtesy of Yad Vashem, Jerusalem.)

Typical scene from the Warsaw ghetto, Poland, 1940–1941. The ghetto existed from Oct. 1940 until its total liquidation in May 1943 after the April uprising. (By Courtesy of Yad Vashem, Jerusalem.)

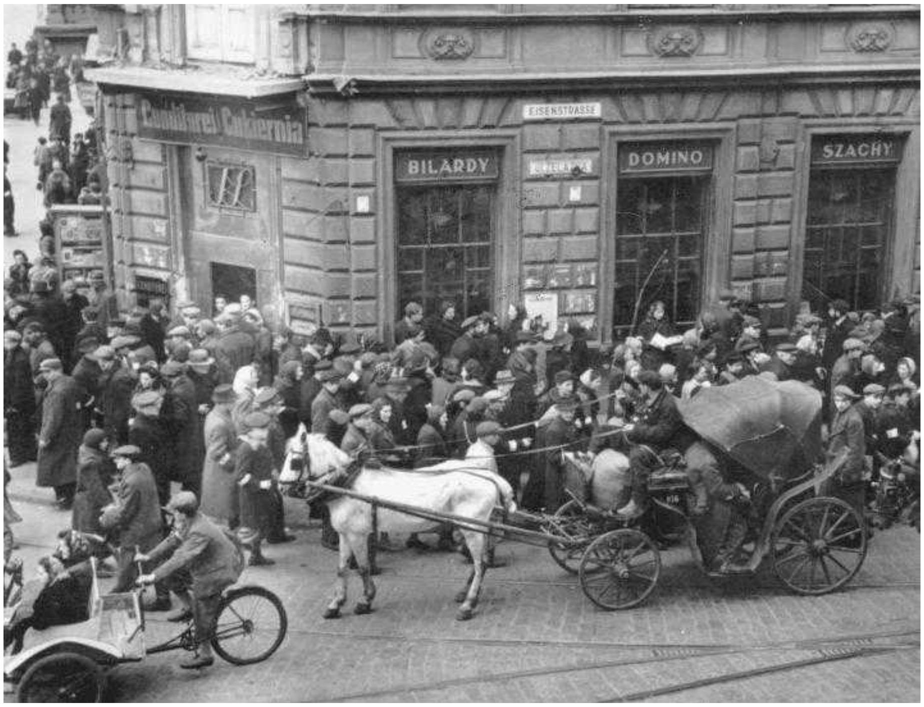
Cukiernia
EISENSTRASSE
BILARDY
DOMINO
SZACHY

Young worshiper in a Warsaw ghetto synagogue, Poland. Such synagogues also served as living quarters for refugees. (By Courtesy of Yad Vashem, Jerusalem.)

Children being taught the geography of Palestine in the Lodz ghetto, Poland. Part of spiritual resistance, education – usually preparation for the future when there was no hope for the future – serves as a prime example of the Jewish populace's striving to maintain the spark of humanity in general and the special Jewish image in particular. (By Courtesy of Yad Vashem, Jerusalem.)

Children's choir in the Warsaw ghetto, Poland, one of the many cultural activities organized by the community. (By Courtesy of Yad Vashem, Jerusalem.)

Children in the Lodz ghetto, Poland, entering a soup kitchen organized by Jewish welfare and health services. (By Courtesy of Yad Vashem, Jerusalem.)

A daily ration of bread being delivered by hand-drawn cart to the Lodz ghetto, Poland. (By Courtesy of Yad Vashem, Jerusalem.)

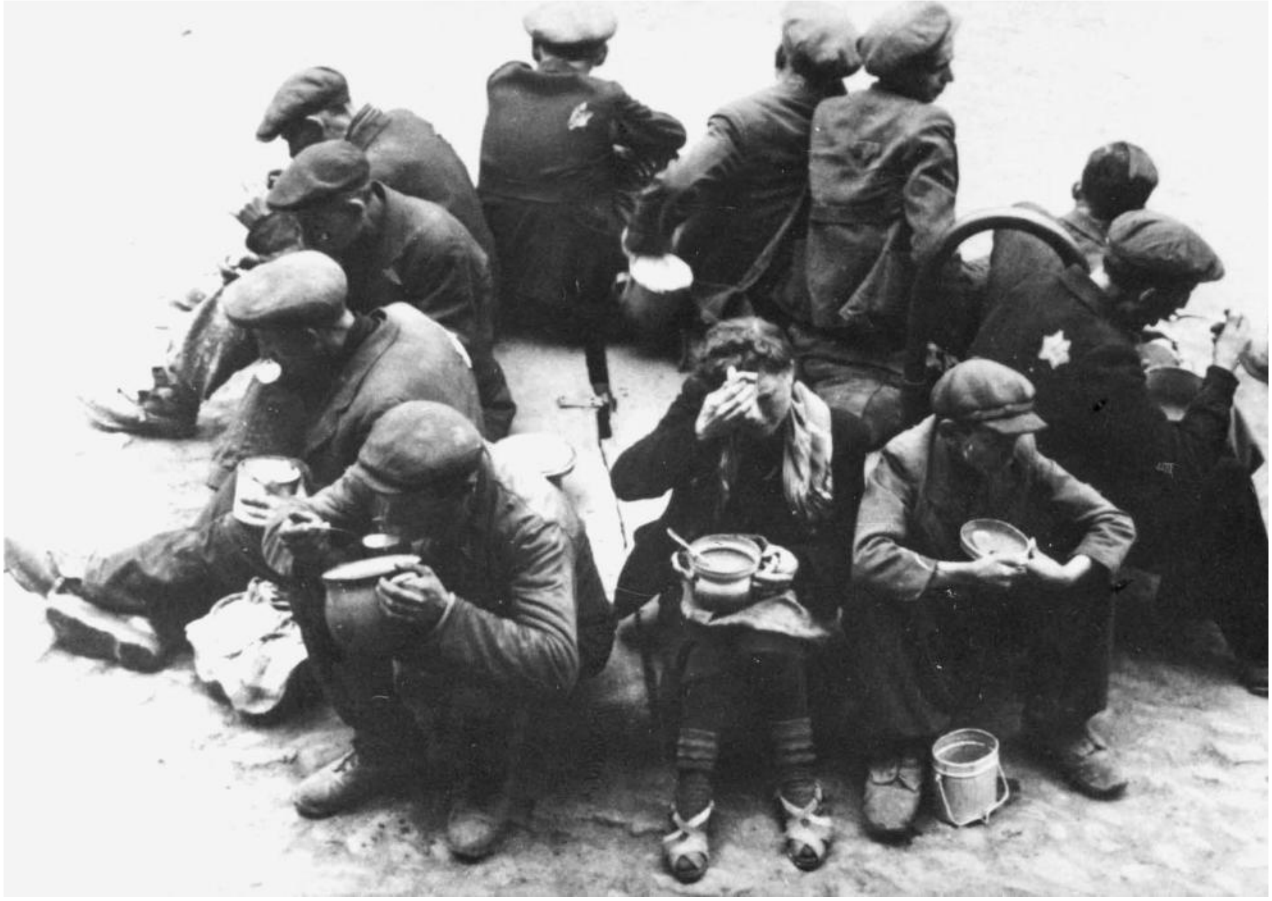

Dejected adults eat food from a soup kitchen in the Lodz ghetto, Poland. (By Courtesy of Yad Vashem, Jerusalem.)

Book sellers – parting with a rich past to support a meager present – sell books in the Warsaw ghetto, Poland. (By Courtesy of Yad Vashem, Jerusalem.)

Entrance to a theater in the Warsaw ghetto, Poland. Theatrical performances were some of the cultural activities organized in the ghettos. (By Courtesy of Yad Vashem, Jerusalem.)

RYWKELE DEM REBNS
רבקעלע דעם רבינס
RYWKELE DEM REBNS
רבקעלע דעם רבינס
REGINA CUKIER

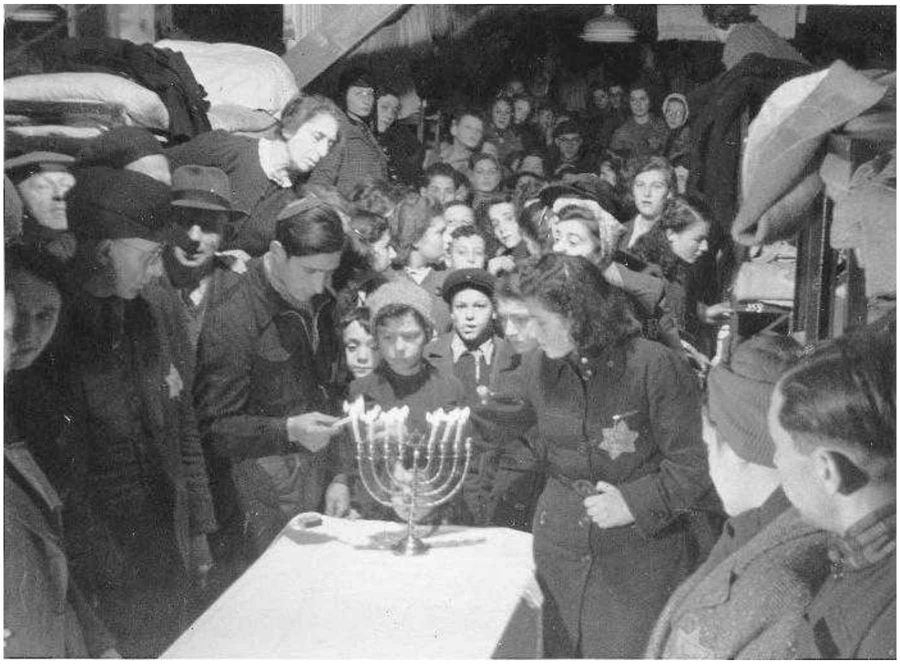

Lighting Hanukkah candles at Westerbork, the main transit camp for Dutch Jewry during the Nazi occupation of the Netherlands, through which more than 100,000 Jews passed from 1942 to the war's end. (By Courtesy of Yad Vashem, Jerusalem.)

Kindergarten in the Theresienstadt ghetto, Czechoslovakia, which functioned from 1941 to 1945 and was used by the Nazis as a showcase ghetto to fool the world. (By Courtesy of Yad Vashem, Jerusalem.)

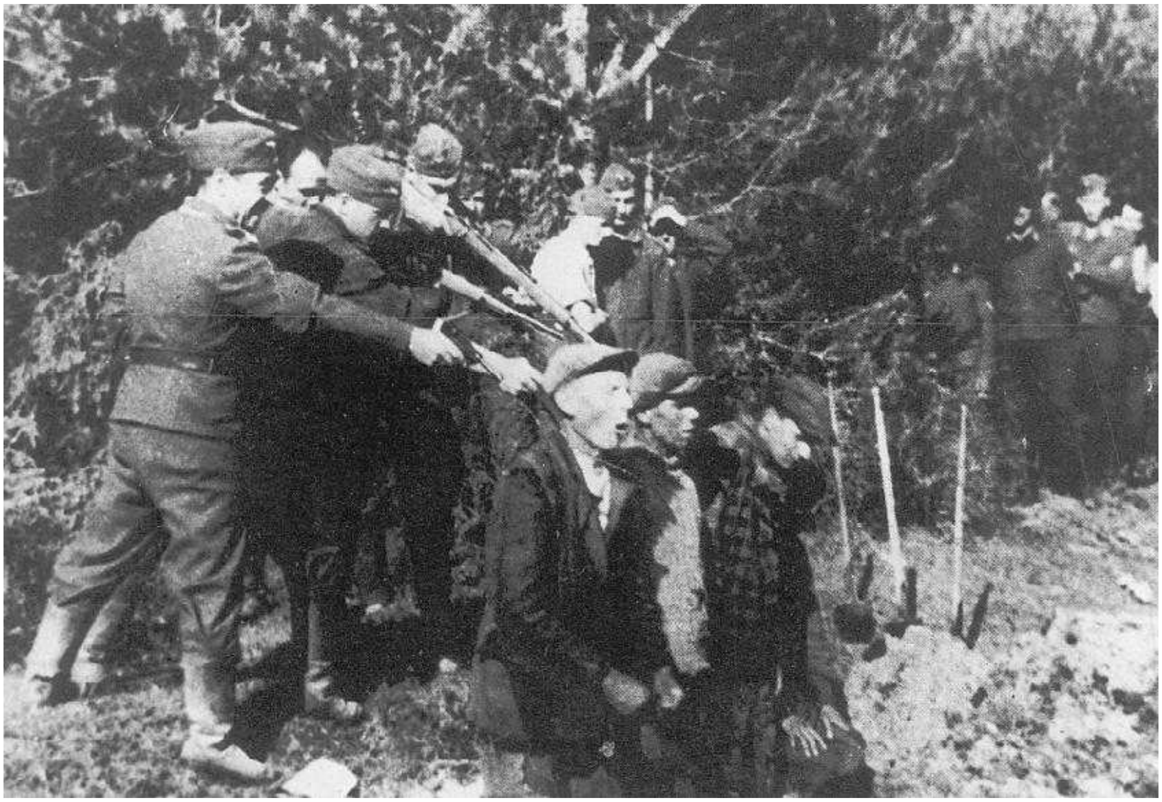

Soldiers of the Wehrmacht executing civilians, Lithuania, 1941. (By Courtesy of Yad Vashem, Jerusalem.)

Hanging of two Jewish partisans in Minsk, Oct. 1941. On the left: 17-year-old Masha Bruskina. (By Courtesy of Yad Vashem, Jerusalem.)

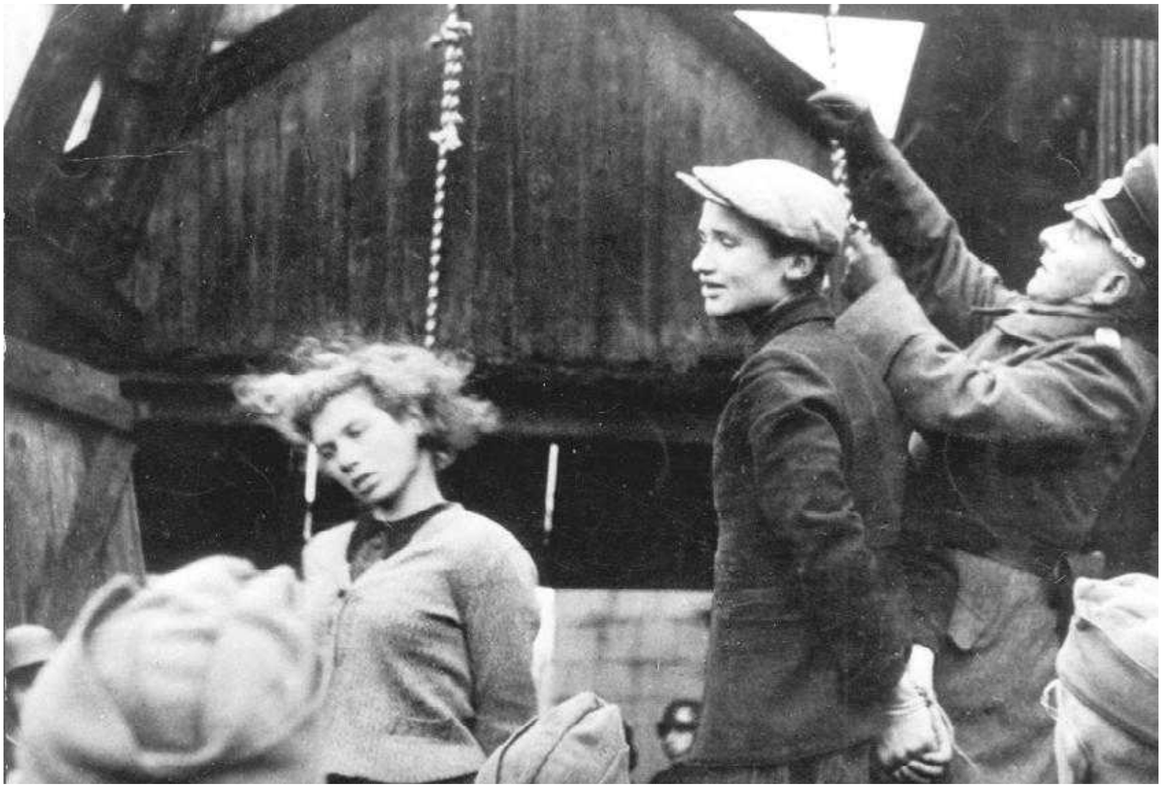

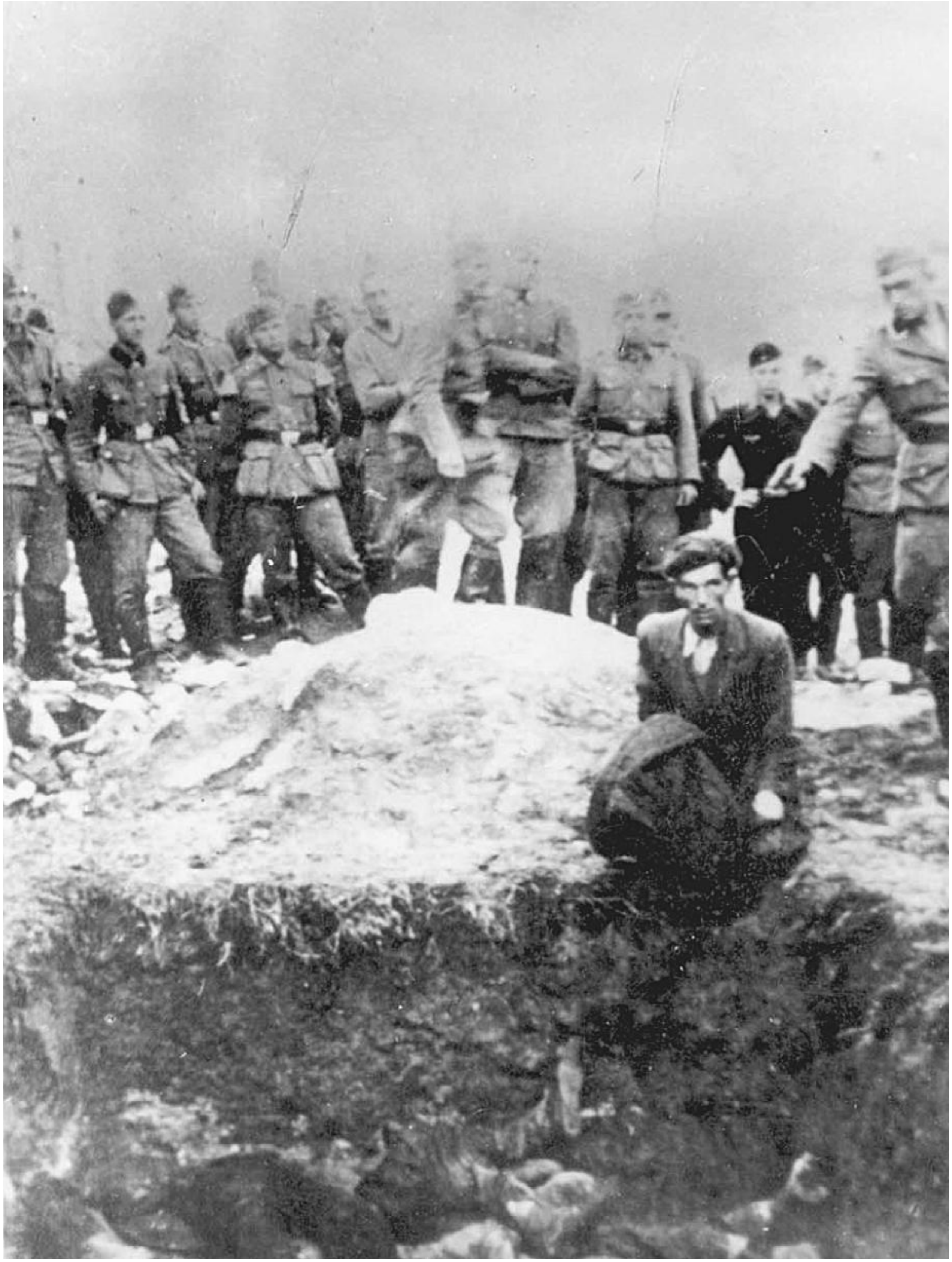

Vinnitsa, Ukraine: the last Jew alive being shot. (By Courtesy of Yad Vashem, Jerusalem.)

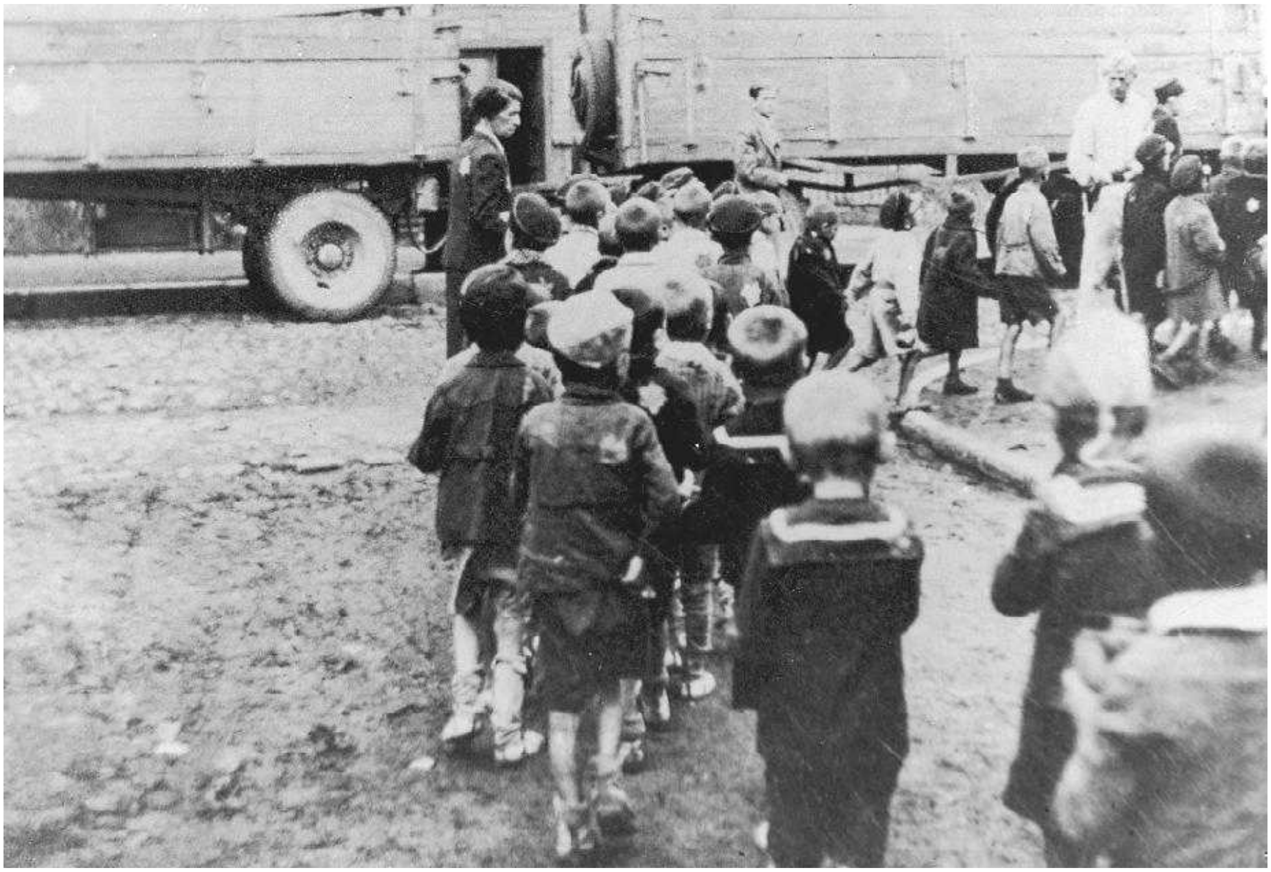

Orderly deportation of Jewish children from the Lodz ghetto, Poland. Note the Jewish badge on the children's backs. (By Courtesy of Yad Vashem, Jerusalem.)

Deportation of Jews from the Lodz ghetto, Poland, 1942. Jewish policemen were ordered to supervise the deportations. (By Courtesy of Yad Vashem, Jerusalem.)

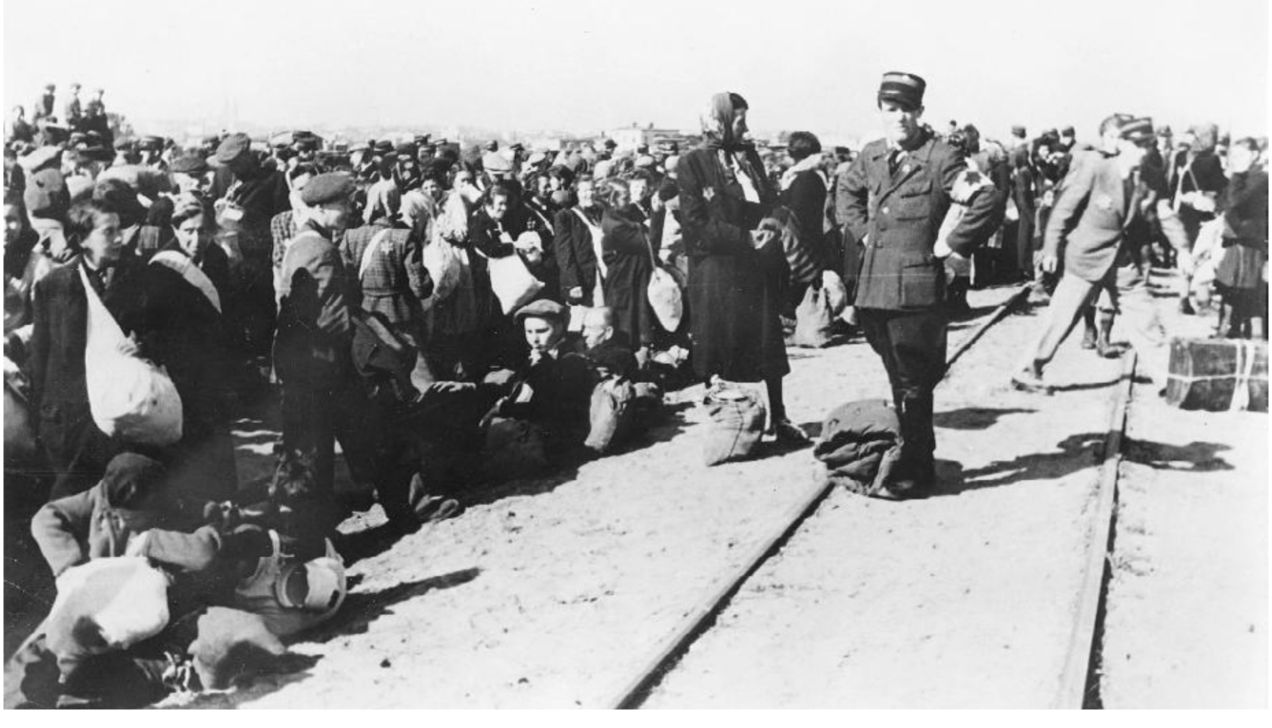

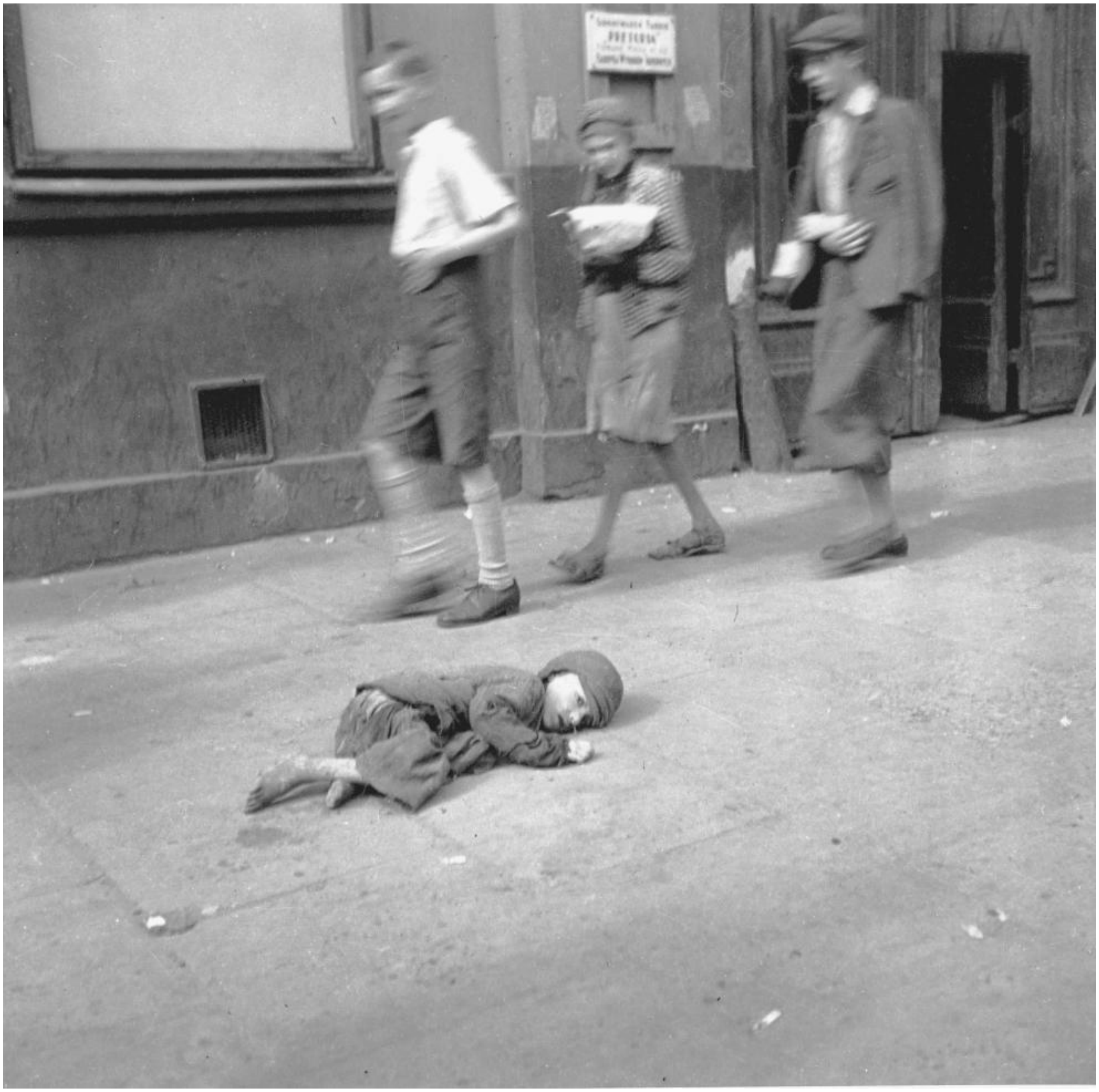

Jewish child dying alone on the sidewalk of the Lodz ghetto, Poland. (By Courtesy of Yad Vashem, Jerusalem.)

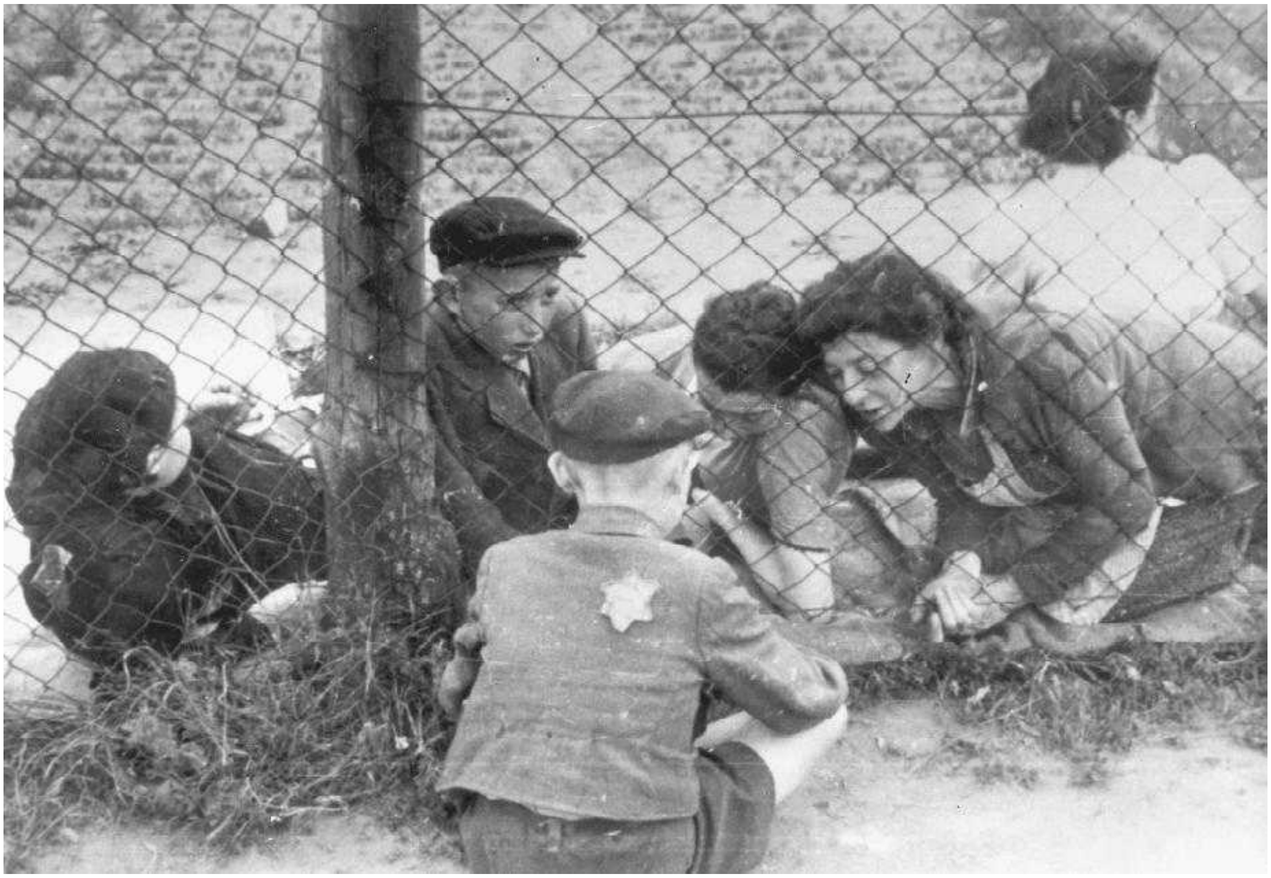

Deportees bidding farewell to those left behind in the Lodz ghetto, Poland. (By Courtesy of Yad Vashem, Jerusalem.)

Deportation of women and children from the Lodz ghetto, Poland. (By Courtesy of Yad Vashem, Jerusalem.)

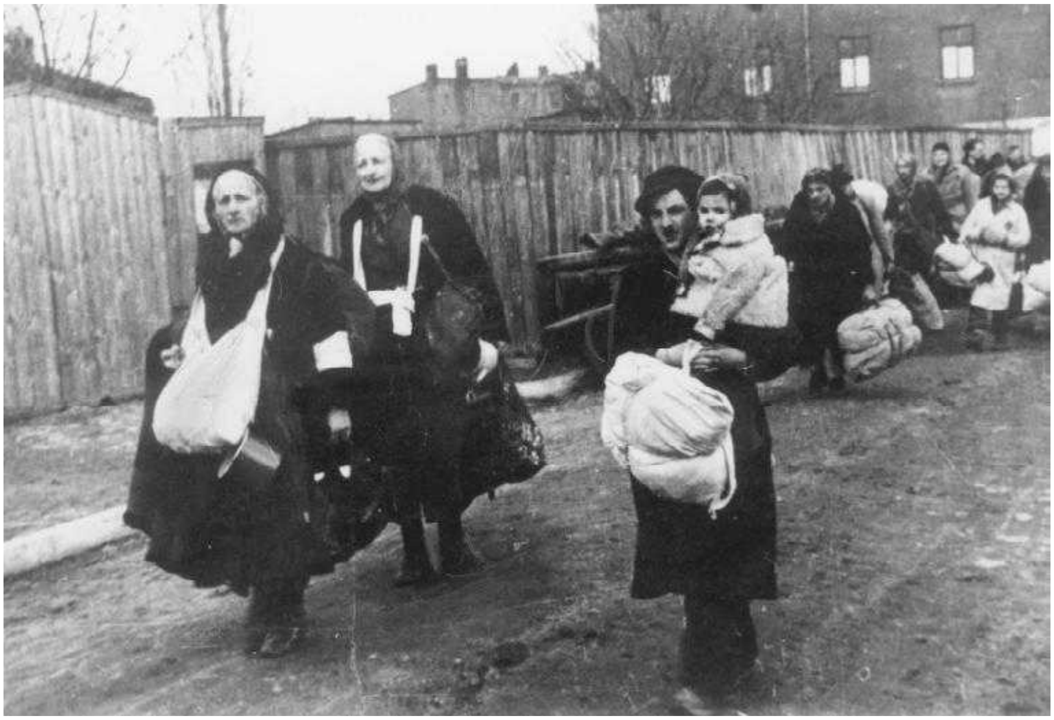

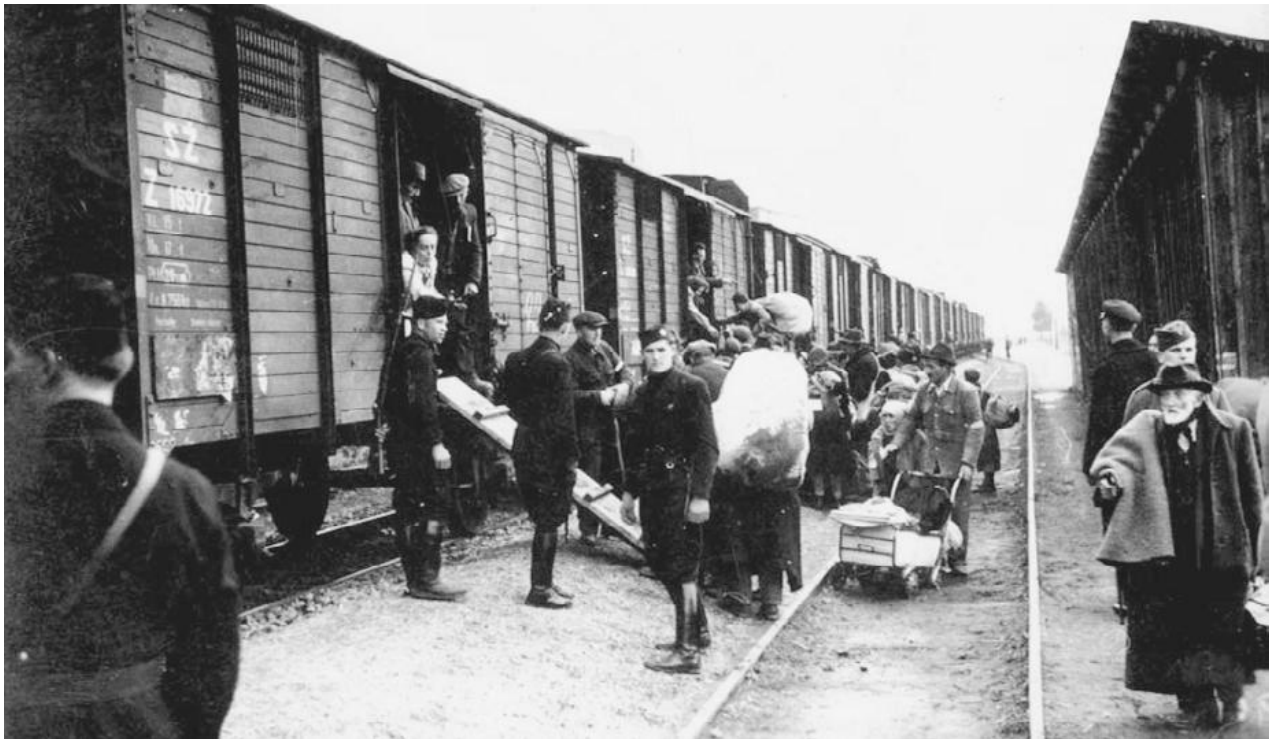

Slovakian Jews boarding trains bound for the death camps of the Lublin area of Poland and Auschwitz, March-Oct 1942. (By Courtesy of Yad Vashem, Jerusalem.)

Women in cattle cars peering through barbed wire en route to the death camps. (By Courtesy of Yad Vashem, Jerusalem.)

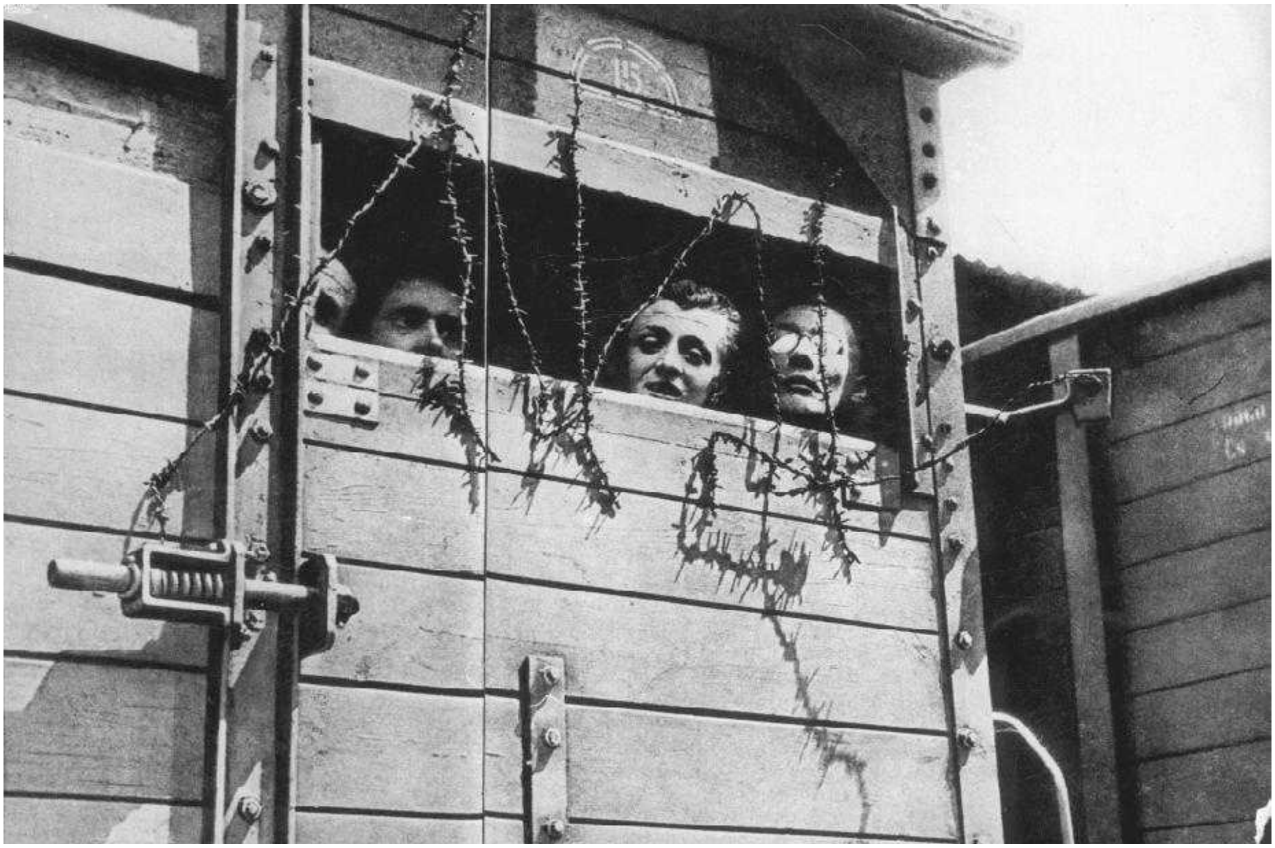

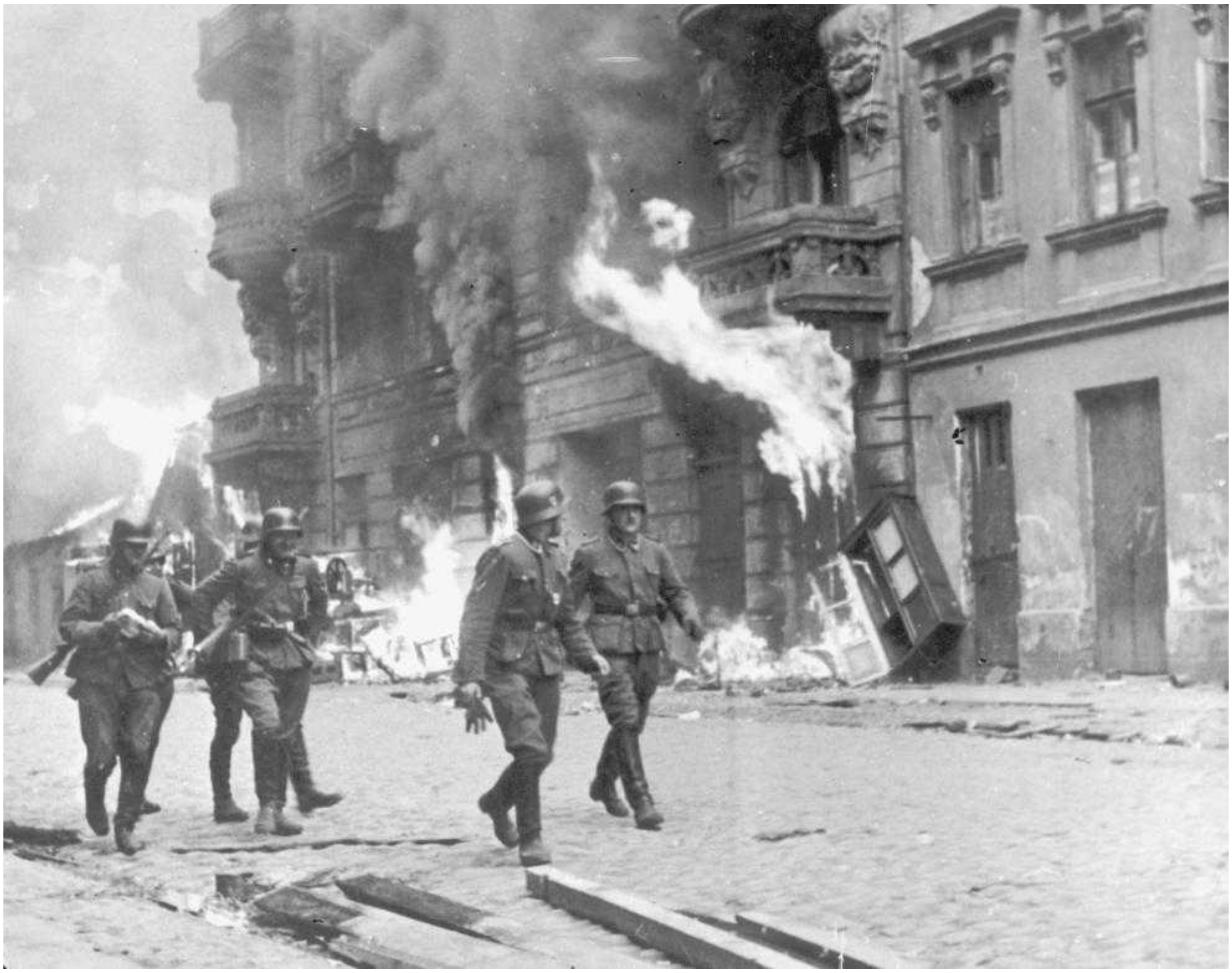

Warsaw ghetto, Poland, going up in flames, April-May 1943. (By Courtesy of Yad Vashem, Jerusalem.)

The last journey for a weary mother and her children, Auschwitz-Birkenau, Poland. (By Courtesy of Yad Vashem, Jerusalem.)

The rail lines entering Birkenau (Auschwitz II), established Oct. 1941. (By Courtesy of Yad Vashem, Jerusalem.)

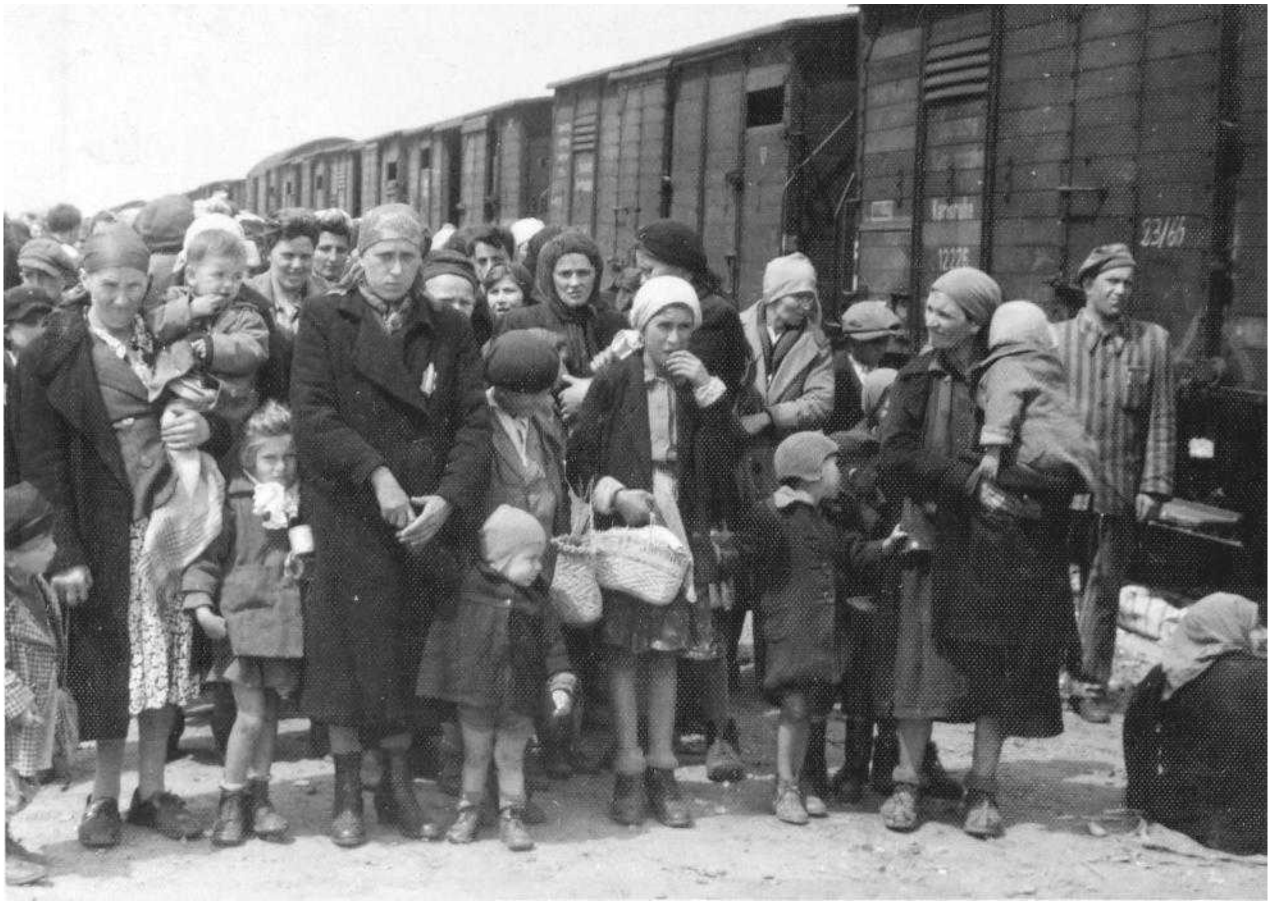

Women and children before Selektion, separation of incoming victims to concentration camps into two categories – those destined for immediate killing and those to be sent for forced labor – in Auschwitz-Birkenau, Poland. (By Courtesy of Yad Vashem, Jerusalem.)

The process of Selektion begins for Hungarian Jews who have reached Auschwitz, Poland, 1944. (By Courtesy of Yad Vashem, Jerusalem.)

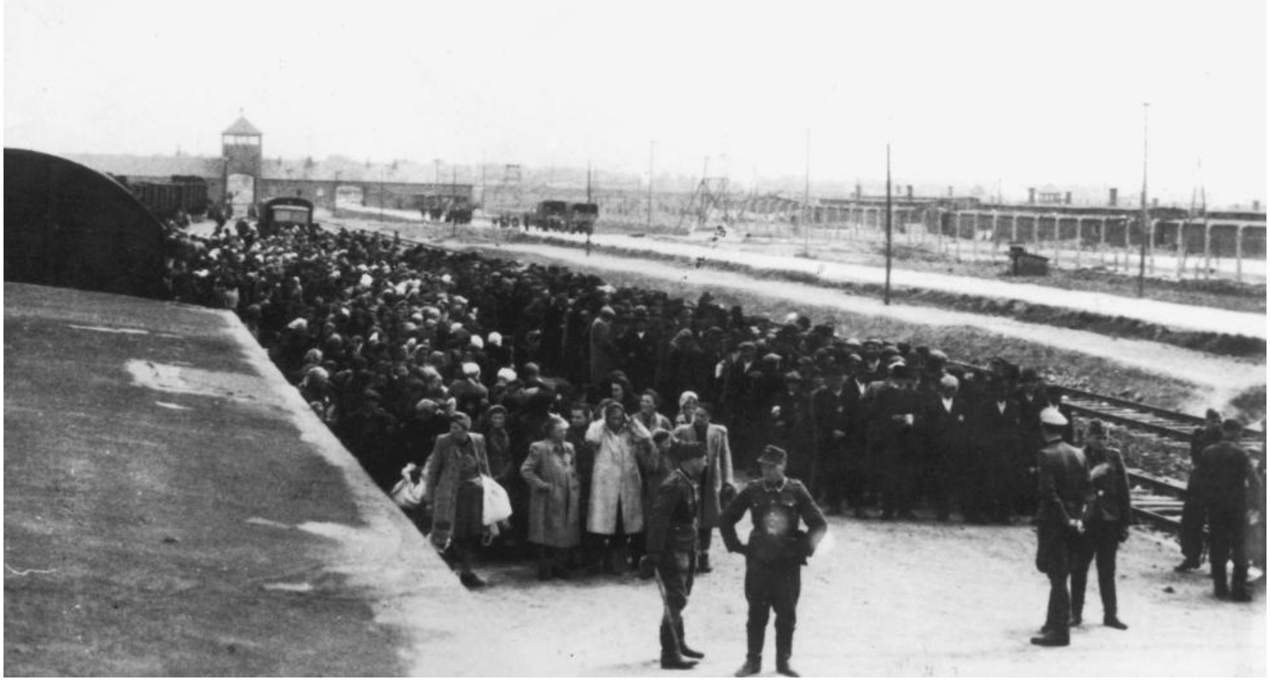

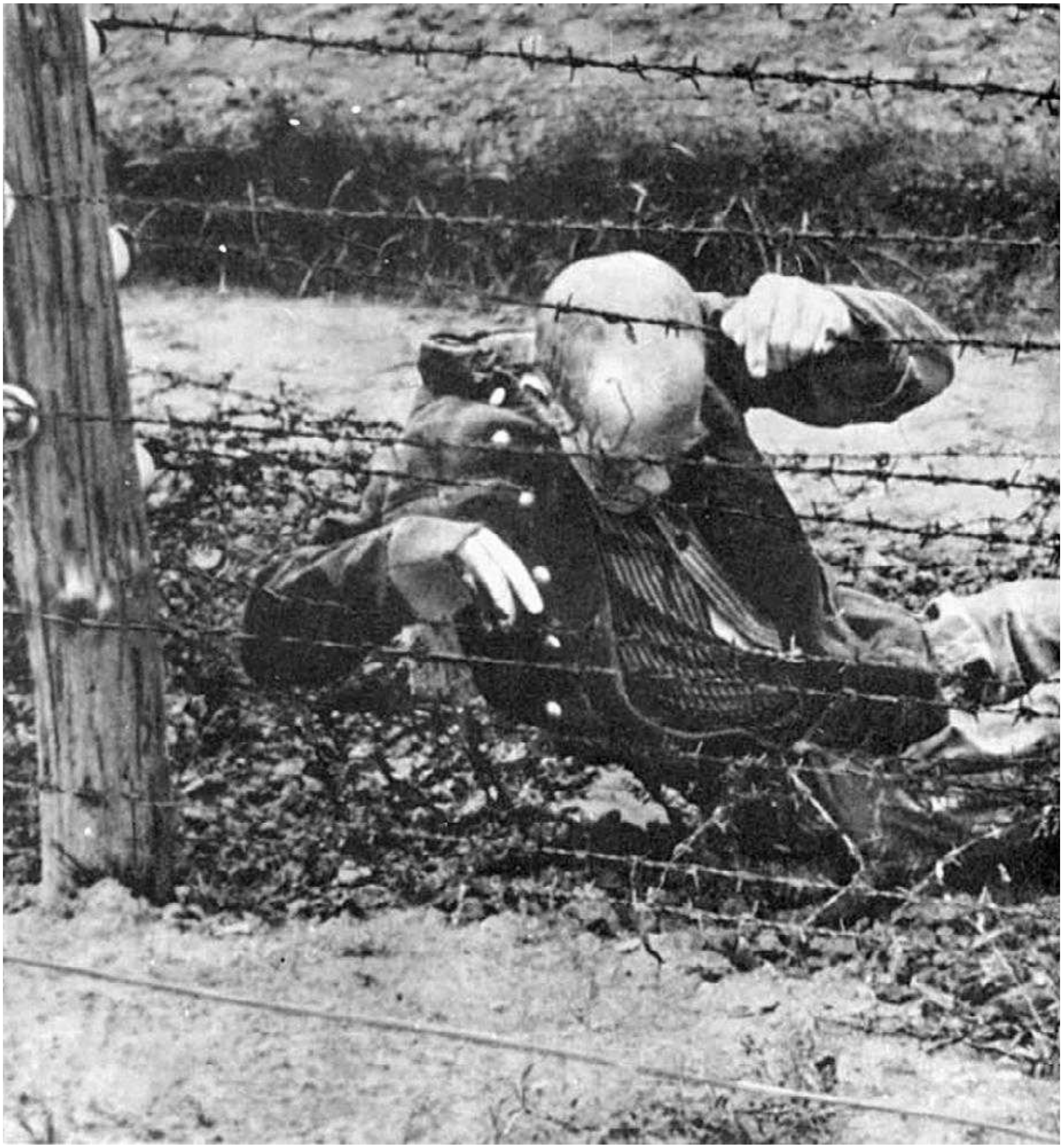

A prisoner commits suicide by running into the electrifide barbed-wire fence. (Henning Langenheim Berlin/photo courtesy of Yad Vashem, The Holocaust Martyrs` and Heroes` Remembrance Authority, Jerusalem.)

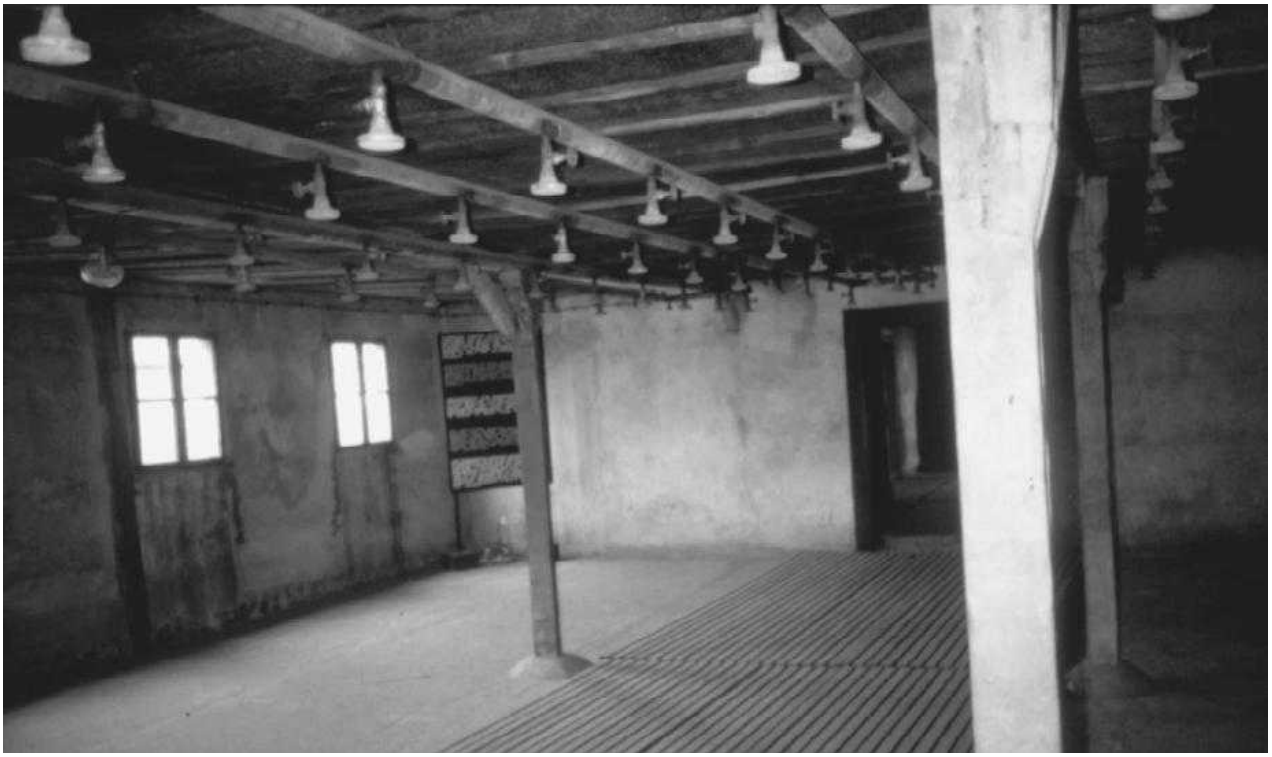

Gas chamber in Majdanek, Poland, used in 1942–43. (Photo: Geoffrey Wigoder.)

A crematorium in Majdanek, Poland. (By Courtesy of Yad Vashem, Jerusalem.)

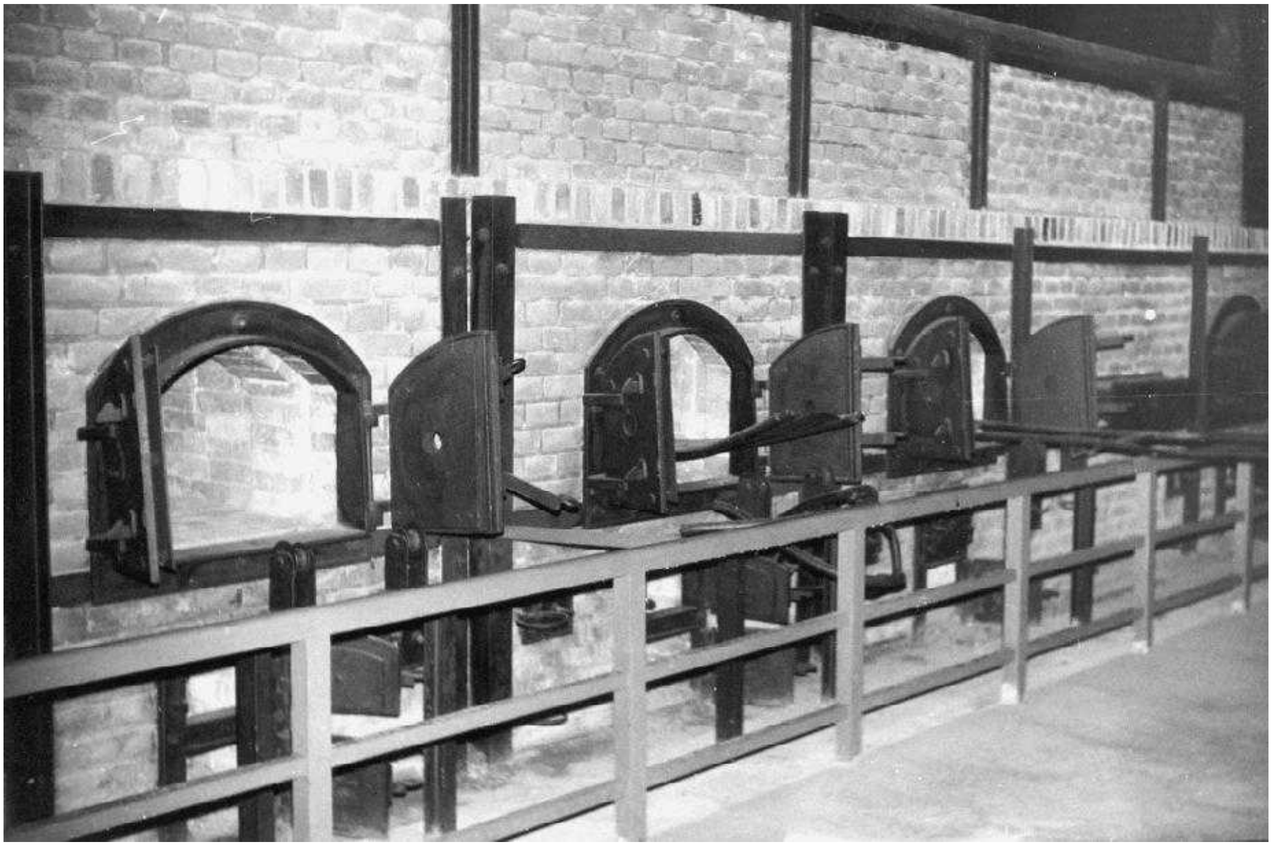

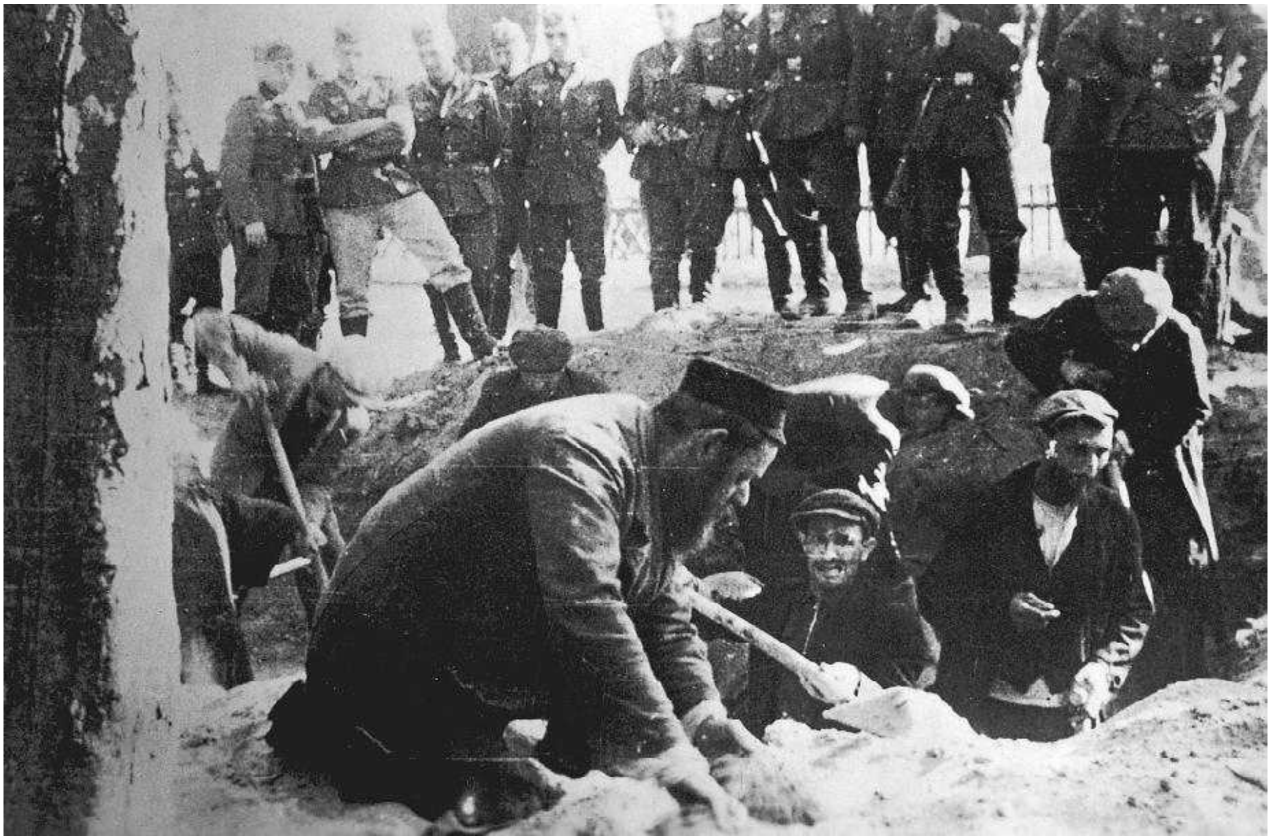

Jewish slave laborers digging their own graves in Chelmno. The camp operated from 1941 to 1945; there were only two Jewish survivors. (By Courtesy of Yad Vashem, Jerusalem.)

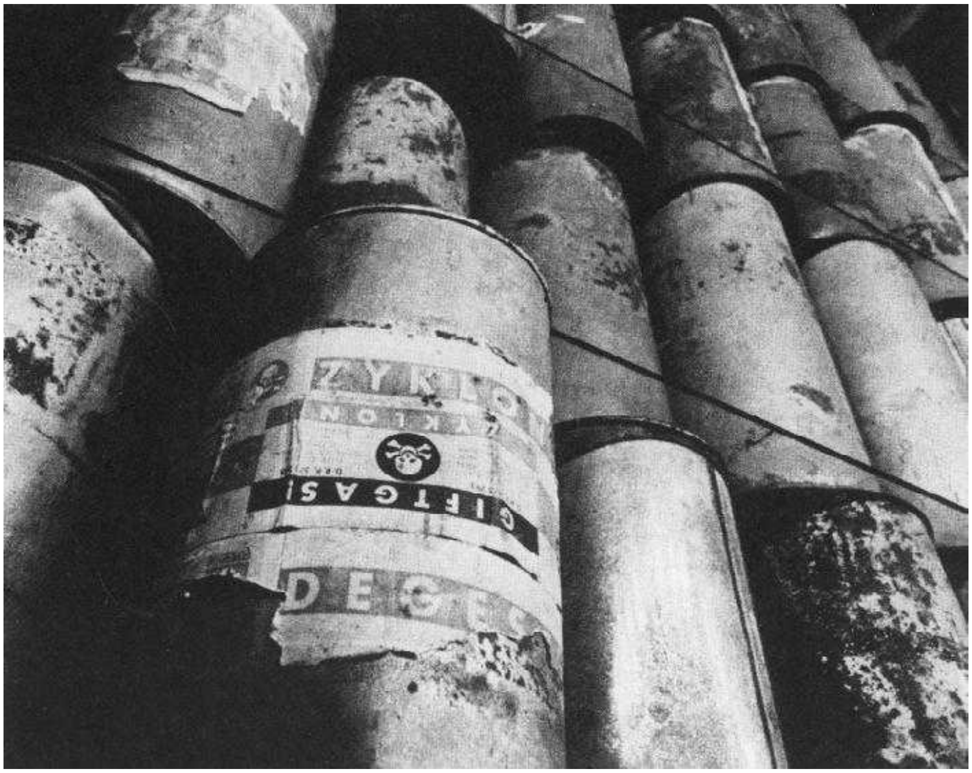

Containers of Zyklon B, the poison gas used in the gas chambers. (By Courtesy of Yad Vashem, Jerusalem.)

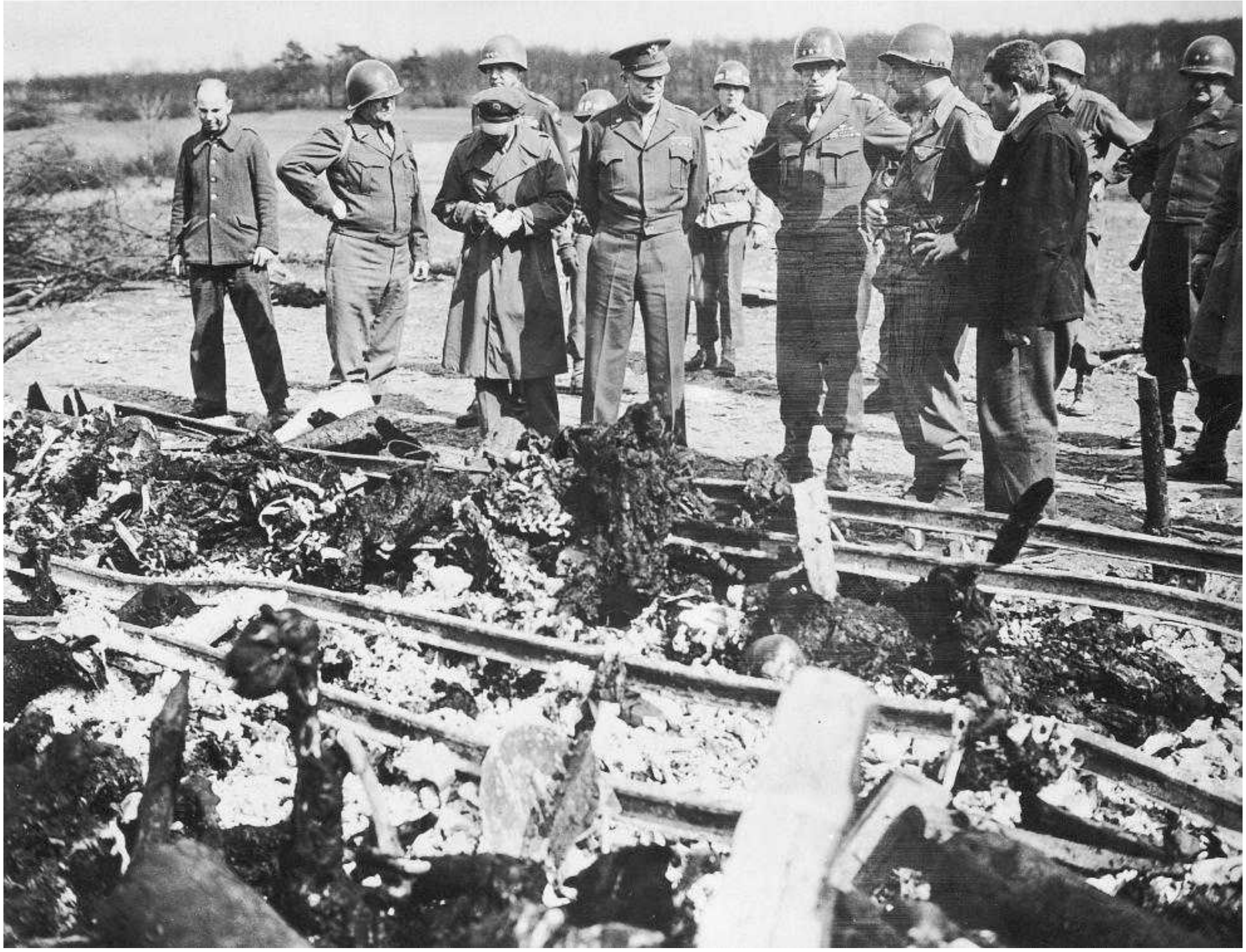

General Dwight D. Eisenhower (center) viewing human remains at the Ohdruf concentration camp in Germany. (By Courtesy of Yad Vashem, Jerusalem.)

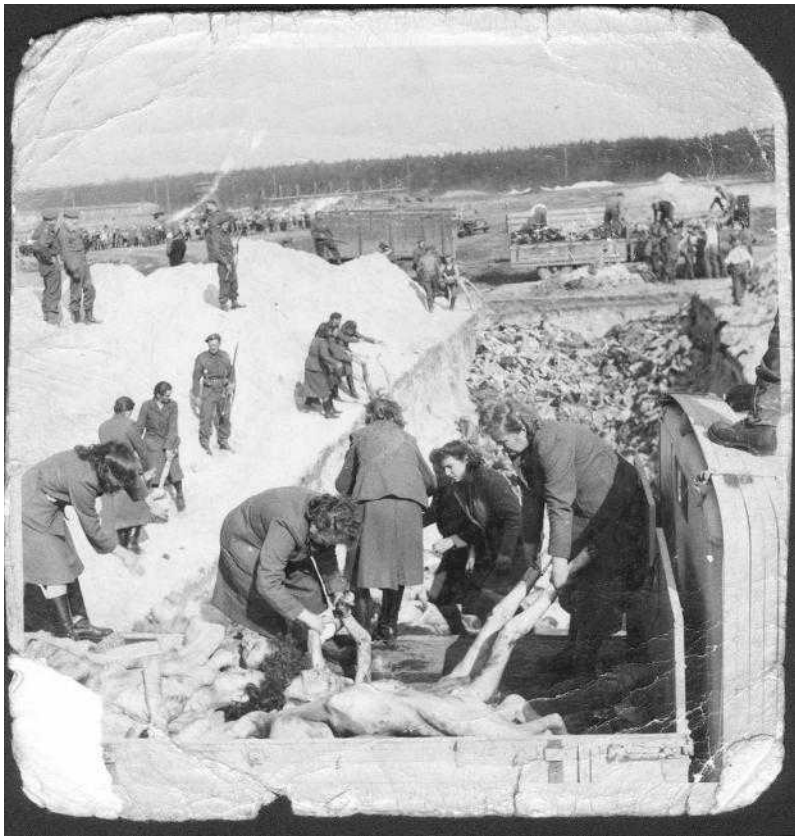

Female SS guards forced to bury the bodies of prisoners after liberation of the Bergen-Belsen camp by the British in April, 1945. (By Courtesy of Yad Vashem, Jerusalem.)

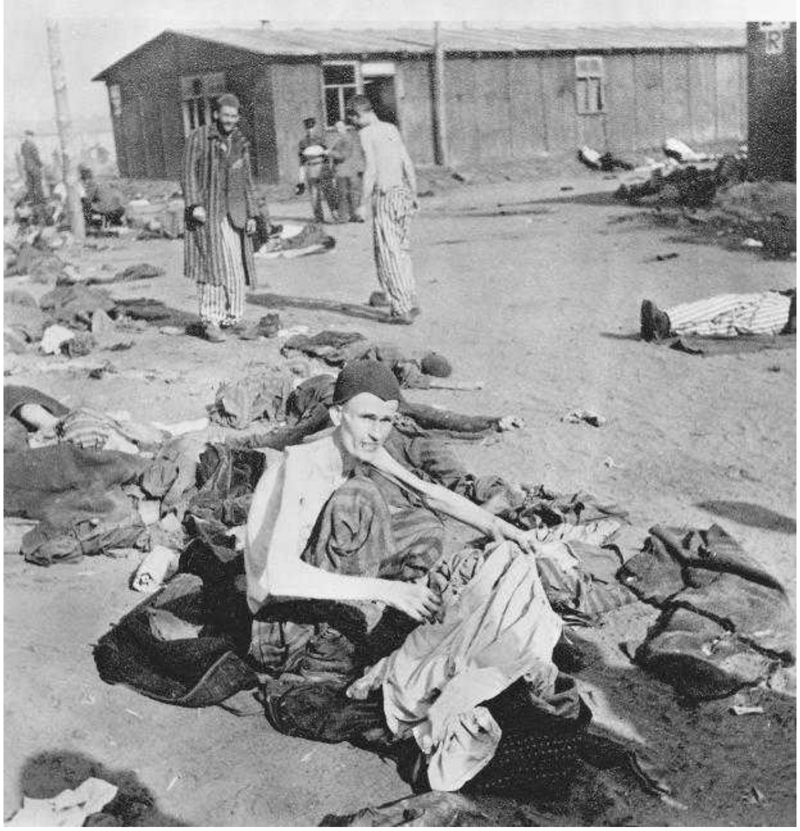

Bergen-Belsen camp shortly after liberation in 1945. British troops encountered more than 10,000 corpses and around 58,000 surviving inmates. (By Courtesy of Yad Vashem, Jerusalem.)

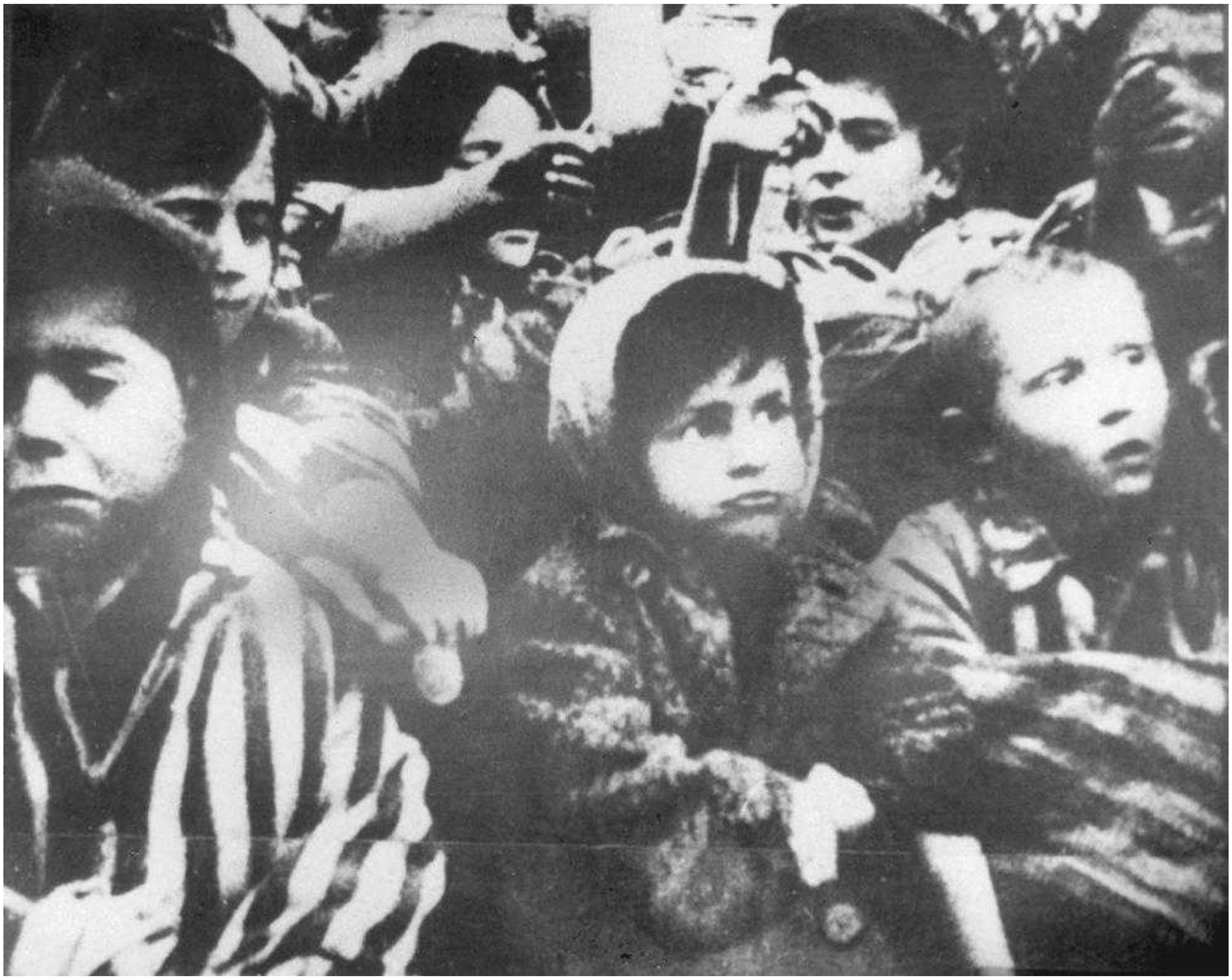

Child survivors of Auschwitz on the day of liberation in Jan. 1945, photographed by Soviet soldiers who liberated the camp. (By Courtesy of Yad Vashem, Jerusalem.)

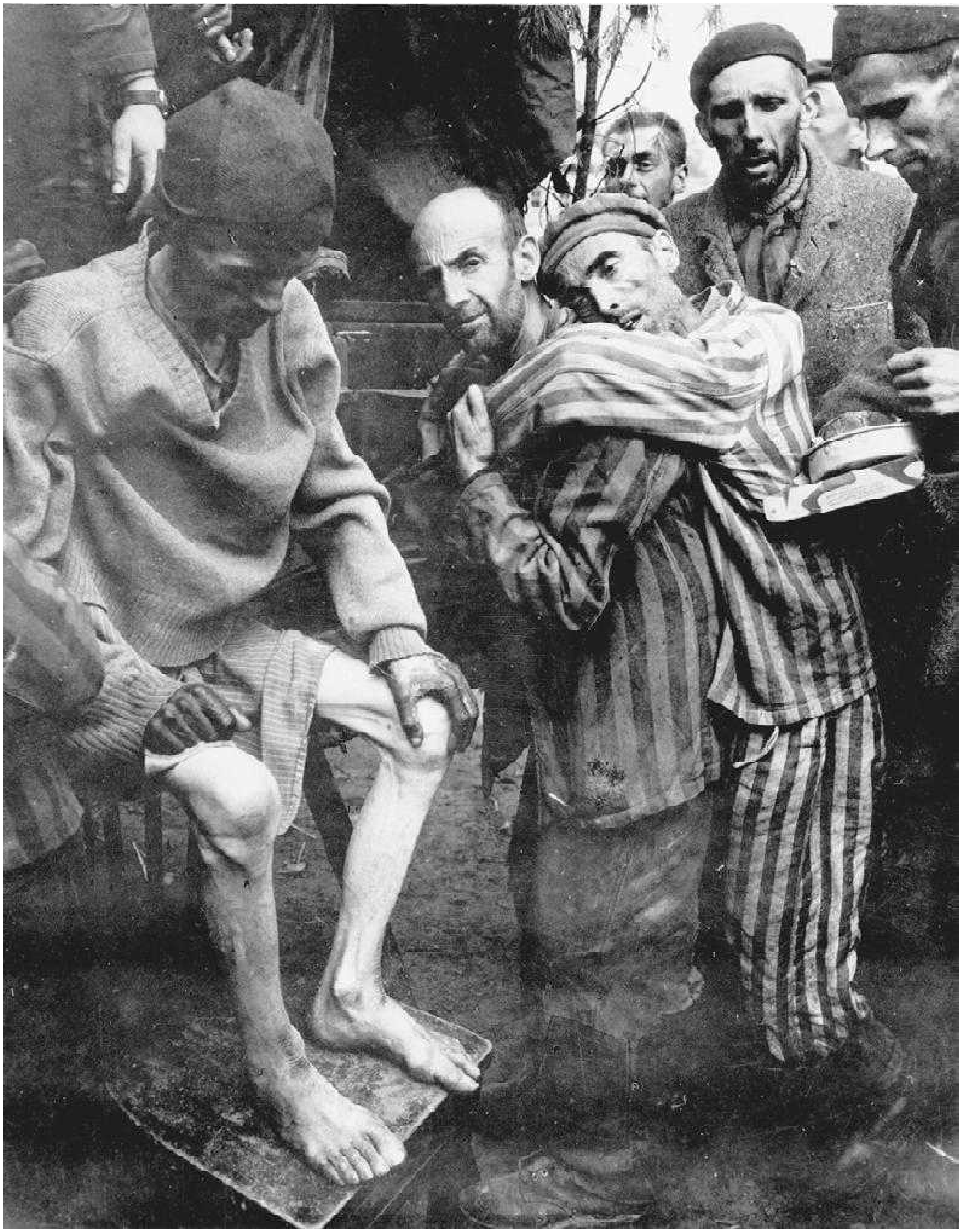

Wobbelin concentration camp, Germany, after liberation by American troops. (By Courtesy of Yad Vashem, Jerusalem.)

HOLOCAUST, RESCUE FROM. In October 1933 the League of Nations established the "High Commission for Refugees (Jewish and Others) Coming from Germany" (see *Refugees) under James G. McDonald. When the commission failed to achieve any significant result, McDonald resigned in protest on Dec. 27, 1935. Another attempt at international action or at least at the perception of international action, was made by President Roosevelt, who called the international *Evian Conference in July 1938; there the U.S. declined to alter her immigration quotas, while Britain refused to change her restrictions on Jewish immigration to Palestine. A similar stand was taken by the Latin American delegates and only the Dominican Republic declared her readiness to accept 100,000 Jews. The ground rules of the Conference which FDR did not attend were that government regulations need not be changed and government funds would not be used. But an Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees was established, under Lord Winterton and George Rublee, to negotiate with the Germans to allow the emigration of Jews and the removal of some of their capital. These negotiations failed in the spring of 1939.

In May 1939 Britain's White Paper on Palestine restricted Jewish immigration to Palestine to 75,000 over the next five years. *"Illegal" immigration to Palestine began in earnest in 1938, but only 15,000 had arrived by the time the war broke out. After the outbreak of war (September 1939) and until early 1941, about 12,000 additional Jews were rescued by "illegal" entry. An abortive attempt was made in 1942 to bring 769 Jewish refugees to Palestine on the freighter *Struma*, but Britain refused to admit them to Palestine and Turkey and sent the boat into the Black Sea, where it sank on February 24, with the loss of all on board except one survivor, David Stoliar.

During 1939–41, the *American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (JDC) and HICEM managed to rescue over 30,000 European Jews, most of whom reached the U.S. via Italy, and from June 1940, via Portugal and Spain. Working in Southern France, Varian *Fry of the Emergency Rescue Committee brought to the United States internationally known artists and musicians, philosophers and writers, scientists and mathematicians. It was the elite rescue of the truly gifted. Working on his own, without instructions, Hiram Bingham of the American Consulate assisted him. Between the summer of 1940 and early 1941 some 2,400 Polish Jews escaped from Lithuania to Japan and the U.S., and a few hundred went to Palestine via Odessa. A number of Polish Jews left the U.S.S.R. in 1942 with the Polish army of General Anders, including 850 children, mostly orphans, who reached Palestine in 1943. After the entry of the U.S. into the war, escape to the West was limited to those who were already in neutral countries. Immigration to Palestine in late 1942 and 1943 was limited to 350 Jews from Europe. News regarding the Holocaust became generally known only in late 1942, and on December 17 the Allies issued a declaration condemning the mass murders; however, no concrete attempts to rescue Jews were made by the Allies until early in 1944. The Anglo-American *Bermuda Conference in April 1943 produced no results. It was doomed to failure in the first place because it refused to deal with the fate of Jews under German occupation; it only related to refugees who had reached neutral countries. There were efforts at self-rescue within German-occupied Europe by Jews. Money sent from the United States into German-occupied Europe was used to finance the transfer of Jews from more to less threatening locations and contributed to the saving of lives. An offer by *Eichmann's deputy in Bratislava, Dieter *Wisliceny, to the working group of Jewish leaders there (see Gisi *Fleischmann, Michael *Weissmandel) to purchase the rescue of the Jewish remnant in Europe, was transmitted to the U.S. government but the matter was not followed up. The offer was dealt with by the Germans at a very high level (Himmler) and can be perceived as an episode, which later led to a German initiative on Jewish rescue – the "Trucks for Jews" offer. In 1943 and 1944 attempts were made both by Jewish organizations and by individuals in Switzerland to send South American passports or nationality papers to individual Jews in Europe. Individuals, mainly in Poland, Holland, and Belgium, were also informed that Palestine immigration certificates were waiting for them. A number of South American governments refused to take steps to protect the holders of these mostly false papers, and only in 1944 did this attitude change. Nevertheless, small groups of bearers of these papers were kept by the Nazis in special camps, and some of them survived the war. From Switzerland, and partly also from Lisbon, Iran, and Palestine, a number of bodies such as the JDC, the *Jewish Agency, the Orthodox Va'ad ha-Hatzalah, and others corresponded with and sent parcels to Jews. *He-Ḥalutz in Geneva was instrumental in procuring information and contacts necessary for rescue work. While mainstream Jewish organizations in the United States were reluctant to press the American government to change its immigration quotas or to make rescue a high priority during World War II, the Emergency Committee to Save the Jewish People of Europe, headed by Peter Bergson (Hillel *Kook) and the Orthodox Va'ad ha-Hatzalah, two bodies created during World War II for the express purpose of saving Jews in Europe, actively campaigned for increased rescue efforts by the United States, pressure which played a role in the establishment of the *War Refugee Board. The JDC also transferred funds to underground Jewish organizations in Europe with the approval of the United States. Yielding to pressure, mainly the initiative of three non-Jewish officials in the Department of the Treasury working through Secretary of the Treasury Henry *Morgenthau, President Roosevelt appointed the *War Refugee Board (WRB) in January 1944 which financed relatively small-scale rescue schemes and the sending of food parcels and funds for underground rescue operations. Early in 1944 Ira A. Hirschmann, the WRB delegate in Turkey, and the International Red Cross in Bucharest aided in bringing back 48,000 Jews from Transnistria to Romania. In Istanbul a center for rescue was developed in 1943–44 dealing largely with immigration to Palestine. Jewish Agency emissaries and others smuggled out over 3,000 people via Istanbul before the liberation of Romania in August. In May 1944 Joel *Brand was sent from Hungary to negotiate with the Allies on a German offer to trade Jews for trucks and other wares. Official negotiations were vetoed by the Soviets, and publicity, especially in England, doomed the mission, but talks began in Switzerland between Saly Mayer, the JDC representative, and an SS delegation under Kurt Becher with *Himmler's knowledge. As a result of the controversial "Kasztner transport" talks, 1,684 persons were brought from Hungary to Switzerland via *Bergen-Belsen, and 17,000 others were brought to Vienna under more or less tolerable conditions. In February 1945 an additional 1,200 were brought out of *Theresienstadt by the pro-German Swiss statesman, Jean-Marie Musy, who was sent to the Nazis by the representative of the Va'ad ha-Hatzalah in Switzerland, Isaac Sternbuch. In June 1944, the WRB helped obtain the intervention of Sweden, Switzerland, the Holy See, and the International Red Cross, which, along with a strong American warning, persuaded the Hungarian government to stop the deportations of Hungarian Jews in July. However, the demands transmitted by Roswell McClelland, the WRB representative in Switzerland, and the Jewish Agency to bomb the *Auschwitz murder installations and the railways leading to it were refused, though in fact factories adjacent to the camp were bombed in September. In the autumn and winter of 1944 representatives of neutral governments in Budapest, among them Raoul *Wallenberg of Sweden and Charles *Lutz of Switzerland, cooperated with Zionist youth groups in preserving the lives of many thousands of Jews who were equipped with genuine or forged "protection" papers.

The Jewish Agency called for sending Jewish Palestinian parachutists to Europe, but its request was rejected, except for 32 men and women who were sent in 1943–44 to the Balkans, Hungary, and Slovakia. The parachutists' missions failed on the whole because they were too few in number and came too late; seven of them were killed by the Nazis. Between 20,000 and 30,000 Jews escaped from France to Spain and Portugal between 1940 and the summer of 1942; from 1942 on over 11,000 more escaped until the summer of 1944. About 11,000 entered Switzerland in 1942–44. The Jewish underground in France, supported by the JDC and other bodies, facilitated these rescue operations. In October 1943, the Danish underground shipped over 7,200 Danish Jews to safety in Sweden. Several hundred Norwegian Jews were also smuggled into Sweden. In late 1944 and early 1945 Norwegian, Danish, and Swedish efforts, coupled with the intervention of Himmler's Finnish masseur Felix Kersten, led to the evacuation first of Scandinavian Jews from Nazi camps and then of thousands of women from *Ravensbrueck camp, including 1,500 Jewish women.

On the whole, rescue operations achieved little until 1944, because the Allies were indifferent to the problem. It was then thought that only a German defeat would rescue the oppressed and that any diversion of energies from the war effort for rescue activities might diminish the successful conclusion of the war. That decision, made early in the war, was never reexamined despite mounting information that victory might come too late for rescue. There was also a self-imposed silence as the Allies were reluctant to do anything that would even indirectly give credence to the Nazi propaganda, which claimed that World War II was a Jewish war and that the United States was fighting on behalf of the Jews who had dragged the U.S. into the war for their own manipulative reasons.

[Yehuda Bauer / Efraim Zuroff (2nd ed.)]

In the U.S.S.R.

The absolute number of Jewish survivors in the Soviet Union was greater than that in any other European country. For several years after the war rumors spread, largely by Communist propaganda sources, claiming that the Soviet government had made a special effort to rescue Jews from the Nazis or to evacuate them from the advancing German armies. These claims have been shown to be unfounded. Those Jews who escaped Nazi extermination on Soviet soil (including, until June 1941, Soviet-occupied territories in eastern Poland, the Baltic states, north Bukovina, and Bessarabia), did so either by fleeing eastward from the advancing Germans, often encountering Soviet guards who drove them back, or, after June 1941, by being evacuated into the Soviet interior as Soviet administrative personnel or as skilled workers. The Soviet authorities never accorded special help to Jews in order that they might escape Nazi persecutions.

On Sept. 17, 1939, when the Red Army entered eastern Poland, there were in that region hundreds of thousands of Jews who had fled from the German occupation in western Poland, and tens of thousands more were streaming in. The Soviets maintained an open border until the end of October, when the two-way traffic of Jews and non-Jews between the two occupied sectors came to a halt. When this movement ended, and only Nazi-persecuted Jews continued to pour into the Soviet side, the Soviets closed their border and forced the new refugees to return to the German sector, many of whom perished between the lines. The Jewish refugees from western Poland numbered about 300,000–400,000. They were ordered to choose between accepting Soviet citizenship or returning to their previous homes in the western sector, though the Soviets knew (but the refugees did not) that the Germans categorically refused to accept them. The refugees were not offered the alternative of a temporary asylum in Soviet territory. Since the Soviet authorities extended pratically no assistance to the homeless refugees, most, particularly those who left close relatives behind, felt compelled to register for return to their previous places of residence in German-occupied territory. For this "demonstration of disloyalty" the Soviets punished the refugees by deporting them to the Soviet interior. Most of the refugees were arrested in June 1940; families were sent to small, isolated villages in the far north of the Soviet Union, and single people were sent to prisons and concentration camps. An event which typifies the Soviet policy of ignoring the Nazi attitude toward the Jews occurred on Dec. 31, 1939, at Brest Litovsk. In this city the Soviets handed over to the Gestapo several hundred

Communist activists from Germany and Austria, both Jews and non-Jews, who had found refuge in the U.S.S.R. before World War II.

On the eve of the German-Soviet war (June 1941), thousands of Jews, together with non-Jewish "bourgeois" and "unreliable" elements from eastern Poland and the annexed Baltic states and Romanian provinces, were deported to and imprisoned in the Soviet far north and far east. As a result many of the deportees escaped the later Nazi occupation of their places of origin (1941–45).

After the outbreak of the German-Soviet war, the Soviet government, under an agreement with the Polish government-in-exile, ordered (on Aug. 12, 1941) the release of Polish citizens from camps and places of exile. Of those released, the Jews were generally barred from joining the newly formed Polish army, which later left the U.S.S.R. Many Jews thereby suffered from lack of food and housing, in spite of the welfare services extended by the Polish embassy and its representatives in the Soviet provinces. When Stalin announced the "scorched earth" policy and the evacuation of administrative personnel, vital industries, and their equipment and workers, Jews were more interested in speedy evacuation than non-Jews. Jews did exploit the few possibilities available for evacuation; the authorities, however, did not grant any priority to Jews. Soviet Jews, i.e., residents and citizens of the U.S.S.R. in its pre-September 1939 boundaries, could, on their own initiative, try to escape eastward. However, along the pre-1939 border in Belorussia and the Baltic states patrols were set up to prevent refugees who were not officially evacuated from escaping into the Soviet interior. This blockade affected mainly Jews, because very few non-Jews in these areas were eager to flee from the advancing Germans. The number of Jews moving eastward, either on their own initiative or within the framework of the evacuation of administrative personnel and vital industries, increased as the German advance slowed down. It is estimated that of the Jewish residents of the German-occupied areas of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic (RSFSR) about 50% managed to flee from the Germans. Among the Soviet anti-German underground in the cities and the partisans in the forests there were serious cases of discrimination and enmity toward Jews, sometimes resulting in executions on the basis of unfounded accusations. Some Jewish partisans, nevertheless, succeeded in establishing "family camps" for noncombatant Jews – the elderly, women, and children – who were smuggled out of the ghettos, particularly in Minsk and other places in Belorussia. There were exceptions to the rule of enmity and indifference shown toward the Jews in several German-occupied cities, e.g., Minsk, where Belorussian women organized the hiding of several scores of Jewish children, and Vilna, where individual Jews, particularly children, were saved by clergymen, intellectuals, and domestics working in Jewish homes. Some Soviet partisan commanders helped Jews escape; and in some cases partisan units, particularly those with a considerable number of Jewish fighters, attacked German-occupied townlets in order to rescue their Jewish inhabitants. In the western Ukraine (former East Galicia), there was an outstanding example of organized hiding of some 150 Jewish children, initiated by Andreas Szeptycki, the Ukrainian head of the Uniate Church in German-occupied Lvov. Szeptycki openly preached and protested against the extermination of the Jews and, after being approached by two rabbis, instructed the Uniate monks and nuns to hide Jewish children in their monasteries.

Jews who fled from the German-occupied territories annexed to the Soviet Union in 1939–40 were accorded by the Soviets the same harsh treatment given to western Ukrainians and other residents of those areas who had collaborated with the Nazis. Many of these Jews were sent to the "labor army," which was in fact a system of slave labor camps whose inmates included criminals. Jewish refugees from the Baltic areas and other countries were conscripted into the Lithuanian and Latvian divisions, the Czechoslovak brigade, and the Polish army established in the U.S.S.R. in 1943 after Moscow severed relations with the Polish government-in-exile in London. In many of these military units, Jews constituted the majority of the soldiers and suffered a high proportion of casualties. Jewish refugees from Germany and Austria were treated as "enemy citizens" and sent to forced labor camps. Because they had served on work teams of the pro-German Hungarian army, although forcibly conscripted, Hungarian Jews captured in 1943 on Soviet territory were treated as "enemy prisoners" together with the routed Hungarian units. The Soviets accorded the Jews the same treatment as the Hungarian soldiers even though the Jews were not considered military personnel, wore civilian clothes, the yellow armband, and had been maltreated by their Nazi and Hungarian commandants.

The unreliability of Soviet censuses in regard to the number of Jews in the U.S.S.R. makes it difficult to calculate the number of Jews who managed to escape Nazi extermination on Soviet soil. Figures of the number of Jews saved, published in the West from Soviet sources (e.g., 1,500,000 mentioned by Itzik *Fefer in the New York Yiddish *Morgen-Frayheyt*, Oct. 21, 1946), were probably greatly exaggerated. In spite of the official Soviet attitude, a considerable number of Jews nevertheless survived the Holocaust because they found themselves on Soviet soil and somehow succeeded in evading the Germans (see *Russia, the Soviet Union during World War II).

[Yosef Litvak]

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HOLOCAUST, THE, NBC television film *The Holocaust,* by Gerald Green, first shown in United States in April 1978. It became a focal point for discussion and aroused considerable controversy. Appearing just one year after the mini-series *Roots*, it marked the expansion of Holocaust consciousness into diverse segments of the population. Unexpectedly, the viewing audience was vast. So enrapt was the audience in New York City that when commercials came on the water pressure in the city dropped. Among those critical of the film was Elie *Wiesel, who referred to it, inter alia, as "untrue, cheap, offensive, soap opera and trivializing." On the other hand, Rabbi Irving *Greenberg, one of the most distinguished scholars of the Holocaust in America, called it "a breakthrough." He wrote:

> Ten of millions will see with their own eyes and experience in their own homes a shadow of the incredible and unprecedented total assault on Jews and humanity. It is a challenge to our consciences and to our teaching and learning ability that we study along with it, in order to deepen our understanding of the incomprehensible.

In retrospect, both Wiesel and Greenberg were correct. The mini-series, which has not stood the test of time as a work of art, did have major impact, expanding interest in the Holocaust, moving it beyond the boundaries of an area of concern to Jews alone, triggering interest in Holocaust survivors and in the telling of their stories, sparking the creation of Holocaust memorials and museums and making the Holocaust a focal point of discussion. It also increased interest in the Holocaust on college campuses and in the teaching of and research on the Holocaust.

The decision to show the film in Germany (January 1979) met with violent opposition, and extreme neo-Nazi groups threatened to attack the television stations from which it was telecast, and there were bomb blasts at two regional transmitters during its showing. It nevertheless had a profound effect. It was estimated that no less than 60% of the population viewed it and that it had an effect on the vote in the Bundestag regarding the cancellation of the statute of limitations for those charged with Nazi atrocities. A cruel joke told in Germany at the time is indicative of its effect: "It had more impact than the original." In 1981 the Germans decided to rescreen *The Holocaust* the following year.

The film has been shown in numerous countries throughout the world, including Israel, England, France, Belgium, Denmark, Brazil, Austria, Australia, and Japan.

Most importantly, it demonstrated that there was a vast, international audience for portrayals of the Holocaust in the popular media. This enabled other television shows and movie broadcasts to be shown. It is no exaggeration to say that the mini-series of the Holocaust, problematic as it may have been, was a turning point in Holocaust consciousness in the last quarter of the 20th century. Much of what has been achieved can be attributed directly or indirectly to the doors opened by this successful television series.

[Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)

HOLOCAUST DENIAL. In one sense, Holocaust denial began during World War II, as the Nazis tried to carry out their mass murder of Jews in secret and in many cases returned to the sites of destruction to destroy the evidence, plow the camps under or dig up and burn the bodies of those shot by *Einsatzgruppen*. But active denial of the Nazi genocide began shortly after the war, promoted by some former Nazis in South America and elsewhere.

In most societies Holocaust denial is a fringe phenomenon, and is less about historical events and more about classical antisemitic conspiracy theories. If the Holocaust did not occur, but people all over the world believe it did, how could this be? Most deniers allege that Jews made up this story to exact reparations or to justify the creation of Israel, and have fooled the world through alleged control of governments and the media.

While distinguished professors of history worldwide have disagreements about aspects of the Holocaust (exactly when was the "final solution" decided upon, for example), they all agree that the evidence for the genocide of approximately six million Jews, many in purpose-built gas chambers and carried out by the Nazis and their collaborators, is not only incontrovertible, but overwhelming. To believe in denial, one must posit that all these historians are either incompetent, part of a vast conspiracy, or both.

Yet denial persists not because it has a historical purpose, but because it has a political one.

Some of the earlier deniers included a French concentration camp survivor named Paul Rassinier and American isolationist Harry Elmer Barnes. It was not until the 1970s that denial was noticed beyond the world of white supremacy. Arthur Butz, a professor of electrical engineering at Northwestern University, wrote a 1976 book called *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century.* And in 1979 Willis Carto, a long-time active antisemite, created the Institute for Historical Review, designed to give the impression that denial of the Holocaust was simply another credible historical theory. The IHR held its first conference in 1979, which was attended by white supremacists from around the world. Usurping the historical term "revisionism," they claimed they were Holocaust "revisionists," not deniers. While revisionism is an accepted historical approach which seeks new ways to understand historical events, Holocaust deniers, on the other hand, ignore or twist evidence in order to pervert history.

Key deniers over the last decades of the 20th century included the Frenchman Robert Faurisson and a German national then living in Canada named Ernst Zuendel, co-author of *The Hitler We Loved and Why.* And while white supremacists, hoping to rehabilitate Nazism and fascism by removing the moral albatross of the Holocaust, were the driving force of Holocaust denial, others were involved as well. Left-wing MIT professor Noam *Chomsky wrote in defense of Faurisson. And Holocaust denial could be found in the black separatist community too, including in the Nation of Islam's paper *The Final Call*. Frequently a white supremacist and a black supremacist website are only two mouse clicks away from each other, the connective tissue being links to web-based antisemitica in general and Holocaust denial in particular.

Most deniers know they are not going to persuade people right away that the Holocaust did not happen. They seek to couch their agenda in the language of free speech and open inquiry, and ask why their claims should be rejected out of hand, rather than debated.

Their claims, of course, can be easily exposed. For example, they assert that the seminal piece of Holocaust literature – the Anne Frank diary – is a fraud. They allege that part of the manuscript is written in ballpoint pen and that the ballpoint pen is a postwar invention, appearing in 1951. But they fail to note that this writing represented emendations made by Anne's father, Otto, and that the diaries were first published in 1947. Or they claim that modern crematoria take hours to consume a body, so how could it be that 1940s-vintage crematoria could have accommodated the massive numbers of Jews allegedly killed in Auschwitz? But they fail to note that modern crematoria have to be started up for each corpse and the ashes have to be kept segregated, whereas the regular supply of bodies kept the Nazi ovens fueled, and there was no desire to keep each person's ashes distinct.

Experts on Holocaust denial agree that while the deniers' claims must be exposed, deniers should not be debated. Deniers want people to believe that there is a mere difference of opinion between equally credible scholars, those whom they call "revisionists" and those whom they call "exterminationists." Deniers would be able to create that impression if historians and other scholars appeared on the same platform with them, regardless of what then transpired. No NASA scientist would have a friendly television debate with someone who claimed the earth was flat. The reasons not to appear in debate with deniers are even more compelling: whereas flat earth theorists are quirky and peddling the bizarre, Holocaust deniers are ideologues who twist history and science in order to promote hatred.

Precisely because denial is antisemitism promoted through distortions of history, it must be combated vigorously. Perhaps the biggest blow against the deniers occurred in 2000, in the London trial of David *Irving versus Penguin Books Limited and Deborah Lipstadt.

David Irving was a prolific writer of books about World War II who had close relationships with many white supremacists and former Nazis. He routinely presented Nazis in general and Adolf Hitler in particular in a better light than most historians believed was warranted. But he did not become a full-blown Holocaust denier until the late 1980s. Irving attended the Canadian trial of Ernst Zuendel, who was brought up on charges related to his Holocaust denial activities, and met Fred Leuchter there. Leuchter would later be convicted of practicing engineering without a license, but was then known as a person who worked with various United States prisons on their methods of execution. Leuchter had been commissioned by Zuendel's defense to go to Auschwitz II (Birkenau), scrape the walls of the remnant of a gas chamber, and conclude whether it had sufficient residue of Zyklon B gas to justify the conclusion that people had been killed there. Leuchter issued a report claiming that the killings had not taken place. The report was fatally flawed. To pick one mistake of many, Zyklon B residue, if present after so many years, would only adhere to the surface of walls, but Leuchter took chunks (illegally), and sent them to a lab, which then ground up the entire samples (thereby diluting the residue) before testing. Nonetheless, residue was found which was fully consistent with how we know the chambers were used to kill people, but Leuchter reached the opposite conclusion. Despite the fact that the judge in the case ruled that Leuchter had neither the credentials nor the training to make conclusions about the Auschwitz gas chambers, his report converted Irving, who then published a version under his own imprint.

Irving began editing out any reference to the Holocaust from his writings, stating that "if something didn't happen then you don't even dignify it with a footnote." In addition, he began to work more closely with white supremacist groups, and to say things such as "[m]ore women died on the back seat of Edward Kennedy's car at Chappaquiddick than ever died in a gas chamber in Auschwitz."

When books about Holocaust denial began appearing in the early 1990s, they mentioned Irving. One of those books, Emory University professor Deborah Lipstadt's *Denying the Holocaust: The Growing Assault on Truth and Memory*, was published in the United Kingdom, Irving's home. He sued Lipstadt for defamation, as British libel laws put the onus on the defendant to prove the truth of her assertion, and she had claimed he was a dangerous spokesman for Holocaust denial.

Irving lost his libel suit. The record of the case (found at Holocaustdenialontrial.org (or hdot.org)) demonstrated how deniers such as Irving mistranslate, fabricate, use double standards, and otherwise lie in order to promote an antisemitic and pro-Nazi agenda.

While this trial vindicated Lipstadt, discredited Irving, and weakened denial, it did not end denial, which has an increasing market in the Arab and Muslim world. The PLO and other Arab groups had promoted Holocaust denial materials for many decades, but there was a marked increase after the beginning of the second Intifada in 2000. Denial not only paints the Jews as nefarious, but also seeks to deny any legitimacy to the State of Israel, since its modern creation in 1948 is linked to the events of World War II.

Most forms of antisemitism come in a hard-core and soft-core variety. Holocaust denial has a variety of soft-core versions too. One "soft-core" version is the frequent abuse of

Holocaust history to create equivalencies, and to diminish the seriousness and the singularity of Nazi crimes. For example, some claim that while the Nazis had concentration camps, the United States also imprisoned Japanese-Americans during World War II; or that while the Nazis killed innocent Jews, the Allies killed innocent Germans by bombing Dresden. But as with hard-core denial, the softer version also intentionally omits important facts: For example, while the imprisonment of Japanese-Americans was certainly racist, they were not then shot, gassed, or burned. And while reasonable people may have different views on the bombing of Dresden, civilian populations had everything to gain when the Allies took over, and everything to lose when the Nazis did.

An increasingly widespread and related phenomenon is the false equation of Israeli and Nazi leaders, and of Israeli treatment of Palestinians with Nazi treatment of Jews. Such accusations not only reflect immoral equivalences, but also by necessity diminish the horrors of the Holocaust. Regardless of anyone's views on the Middle East conflict, it is historical distortion and the promotion of bigotry to make an equation between alleged instances of discrimination carried out by Israeli authorities and the machinery designed and implemented for the attempted mass murder of an entire people by the Nazis.

Another related phenomenon is that found in the writings of Norman Finkelstein, an assistant professor in political science at DePaul University. Whereas hard-core deniers posit that the Holocaust is fiction, and that Jews are exploiting this nonevent through conspiratorial means to harm non-Jews, Finkelstein accepts that the mass murders did occur, but then joins the deniers in claims that Jews are collectively abusing this history for evil purposes. Not surprisingly, deniers cite Finkelstein enthusiastically.

Holocaust denial is combated today in a variety of ways. In some democracies (with the noticeable exception of the United States because of the First Amendment), denial is recognized as illegal hate speech, and prohibited. Jewish defense agencies, such as the American Jewish Committee, the Anti-Defamation League, the UK's Community Security Trust, the Canadian Jewish Congress, and the Australia/Israel Jewish Affairs Council, have been particularly active in combating denial, with a combination of diplomatic, programmatic, legal, and educational endeavors. They, as well as individuals such as Emory professor Deborah Lipstadt, have been actively engaged in educating the public about the meaning and implications of denial, stressing that denial of the Holocaust is not really about the facts of the Holocaust, and is not benign nuttiness, but rather a new antisemitic canard which abuses history in order to demonize Jews.

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[Kenneth Stern (2nd ed.)]

HOLOCAUST REMEMBRANCE DAY (Heb. יוֹם הַשּׁוֹאָה; Yom ha-Sho'ah). In a resolution passed by the Knesset (April 12, 1951) the 27th day of Nisan was proclaimed as "Holocaust and Ghetto Uprising Remembrance Day – a day of perpetual remembrance for the House of Israel." This date was chosen because it falls between that of the *Warsaw Ghetto uprising (which began on the first day of Passover) and the Israel War of Independence Remembrance Day (on Iyyar 4), and also because it occurs during the traditional mourning of the Counting of the Omer. The Holocaust and Heroism Remembrance Law of *Yad Vashem (1953) determined that one of the tasks of the Yad Vashem Authority is to inculcate in Israel and its people awareness of the day set aside by the Knesset as Holocaust and Heroism Remembrance Day. On March 4, 1959, the Knesset passed the Holocaust and Heroism Remembrance Day Law, which determined that tribute to victims of the Holocaust and ghetto uprising be paid in public observances. An amendment to the law (1961) required that places of entertainment be closed on the eve of Holocaust Remembrance Day. Outside Israel, however, Holocaust Remembrance Day is usually celebrated on April 19, the day on which the Warsaw Ghetto uprising broke out according to the civil calendar. The rabbinate in Israel has ruled Tevet 10 as the Day of *Kaddish* on which persons commemorate the *Yahrzeit* ("memorial anniversary") of relatives, victims of the Holocaust, whose date of death is unknown, with prayer and study.

In 1979, the President's Commission on the Holocaust, established by President Carter, commemorated Holocaust Remembrance Day in the Capitol Rotunda with an unprecedented ceremony attended by the American National leadership including the president, the vice president, and many members of Congress. Since 1979 civic ceremonies have been held in Washington and in individual states and cities, and observances are held in churches. The Jewish community observes Yom ha-Sho'ah as a community in communal commemorations rather than individual synagogue observances. As consciousness of the Holocaust grew in Europe in the 1990s, several European countries adopted an annual Day of Remembrance for the Holocaust. They observed the memorial on the secular calendar, choosing January 27, the date of the Soviet entry into Auschwitz. Aside from Israel, no other country gives significant prominence to Jewish resistance alongside the Holocaust and even within Israel such a dual emphasis has significantly diminished. In 2005 the United Nations, which has not been known for its pro-Israel stance, held its first commemoration of the Holocaust and in November voted for an annual commemoration.

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[Nathan Eck / Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

HOLOCAUST RESCUERS, JEWISH. Much attention has been paid to the non-Jews, around 20,000, recognized by *Yad Vashem as *Righteous Among the Nations, who risked their lives and, in most cases, the lives of their families and friends to rescue Jews who were fleeing the Nazis and earmarked for extermination. This recognition is correct and appropriate. However, what has been overlooked is that there were thousands and thousands of Jews who also acted during the Holocaust to rescue other Jews and arrange for them to be hidden or smuggled out of the country; or provided them with false identification papers so that they could pass as non-Jews. These efforts were often an organized response. In Bulgaria, Solidarite was active. Thousands of Jews survived thanks to this Jewish organization that found hiding places and arranged for false documents for Jews, many of whom were smuggled out of the country and sent to Palestine. In France, there was the Oeuvre des Secours aux Enfants, or the OSE, which saved over 7,000, mostly non-French Jewish children, by providing them with a place to live and with false papers so that they could either be hidden or smuggled out of France. The OSE even went into the French transit camps to take children from their parents just before the family was deported. In Holland, the leaders of the Jewish Council in Enschede, against the advice of the Amsterdam Jewish Council, began urging members of the community to resist the orders of the Germans to go to deportation sites and instead to go into hiding. Because they had financial and other resources to aid their community members, at the end of the war Enschede lost a smaller percentage of their members than the general Jewish population in the Netherlands. Five hundred Jews were saved.

On a second level, there were individual rescuers. Their stories are many and varied. There are stories like that of Malka Fugtazki of Lithuania, who rescued children from the Kovno ghetto by giving them sleeping pills and then tying the child to her body, and with the help of a Jewish guard at the gate, getting to a Lithuanian orphanage that took in the children. Malka was able to rescue 17 children that way. William Perl was a Jewish lawyer in Vienna, who was the leader of a group of Jews that began a rescue operation in 1937 and continued to save Jews for the next five years. He sent thousands of Jewish refugees in boats to Palestine. Bella Galperin saved Rosyln Kirkel by hiding her with her non-Jewish mother-in-law. In Lithuania, Dov Ber Gdud, who had been paying a peasant to hide him and his family, received a note from a friend saying that the friend was running out of money to pay the peasant that was hiding him and four others. Unhesitatingly Dov Ber gave his friend half of his money so that his friends could be saved. At the end of the occupation of Lithuania by the Germans, Dov Ber had only one coin left. If the war had gone on any longer Dov Ber and his family would not have been able to remain in hiding.

The most famous of the Jewish rescuers are Tuvia Bielski and his brothers, who lived by the rule that rescue and resistance must go hand in hand. The Bielskis took into their camp any Jew that could find their way into the forest, whether they were young or old, whether or not they had a weapon, and whether or not they could fight against the Germans. At the end of the war the Bielski group emerged from the forest with 1,200 people of all ages and in all physical conditions.

Jack Werber was born in Radom, Poland, but was deported to Buchenwald in 1939, soon after the German invasion of Poland. He spent the next five and a half years at Buchenwald. In August 1944, a large group of boys aged six to sixteen came in with a transport. Werber was certain that these children would be killed if they were transported elsewhere. He and a few other Jewish inmates were able to disperse the children throughout the camp, feeding, clothing, and hiding them as best they could. When Buchenwald was liberated in April 1945, Werber emerged from the camp with nearly 700 children, among them Elie *Wiesel and the future chief rabbi of Israel, Israel *Lau. Werber wrote: "Suffering great personal loss drove me in my obsession to save children. I saw each one of them as if he were my own."

These are only a few of the many, many examples of Jews who rescued other Jews during the Holocaust.

[Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

°**HOLOFERNES**, chief captain of the Assyrian army, who besieged a Jewish city and was beguiled and beheaded by *Judith (13: 7–9). In the apocryphal Book of Judith, Olofernes (a variant form, as is Orofernes) is the general of Nabuchodnosor (Nebuchadnezzar) attacking Bethulia. The Persian form of the name – akin to Datafernes, Artafernes, and others (the *fernes* connotes "brilliance") – and the presence of a Holofernes associated with Artaxerxes Ochus (Diodorus Siculus 31:19) lead some scholars to conclude that the story reflects events of the period of the Persian Empire. There is no consensus as to a specific date. Others see a reflection of events of the Hasmonean period, since there is a Holofernes whom Demetrius I helped to become king of Cappadocia in 158 B.C.E. (Diodorus Siculus *ibid.*), and other versions of the story refer to Holofernes as king of Greece or the general of a Greek army besieging Jerusalem. Tradition also associates the story with Ḥanukkah and the Hasmonean era. The setting, name, and position of Judith's victim change from one version to another, but the story line remains constant. This seems to indicate that, if Holofernes was originally a historical figure, the details about this figure were forgotten and he became a fictional prototype of the persecutor of Jews who meets a just end. Although Judith was apparently very religious and practiced prayer and self-denial, her act did not suit her piety, since she murdered a defenseless man and then treated Holofernes' decapitated head with disrespect by carrying it off as a trophy. Therefore, some scholars have suggested that this is one of the reasons why the book of Judith was not included in the canon.

For Holofernes in the Arts see *Judith in the Arts.

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[Jacob Petroff / Shimon Gibson (2nd ed.)]

HOLON (Heb. 1) (חֹלוֹן, חֹלֹן) A priestly town in the Judean mountains (Josh. 15:51; 21:15; I Chron. 6:43-Hilen). Although some scholars identify it with Khirbat ʿAlīn, west of the Arab village of Beit Ummar (S.W. of Kefar Eẓyon), in Joshua 15:51 it is specifically located in the southern district of the Judean hill country.

(2) A locality in the high plain of *Moab, apparently 12 km. N.E. of Dibon, identified with ʿAliyūn (Jer. 48:21).

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[Abraham J. Brawer]

ḤOLON (Heb. חוֹלוֹן, name derived from *ḥol*, "sand," indicating the sand dunes upon which the town stands), city in Israel's Coastal Plain, 2.5 mi. (4 km.) S.E. of Tel Aviv. The area of Ḥolon was first settled in 1925, when groups of Ẓe'irei Mizrachi and Ohel Sadeh acquired land there. To guard their property, they set up modest huts on the spot, calling their suburb "Shekhunat Green," which then constituted part of the Jaffa municipality. A second stage was reached in the years 1934–36, when further, but still isolated, quarters were built by the public firms Agrobank and Shikkun, which had acquired large holdings on the vast sand-dune area. These suburbs attracted mainly working-class families that could not afford housing in Tel Aviv proper. The quarters continued to expand, in spite of the 1936–39 Arab riots. In 1940 there were five quarters (Agrobank, Kiryat Avodah, Shekhunat Am, Shekhunat Green, Moledet) with a combined population of 1,800, most of them workers. In the same year, Ḥolon received local council status. Until 1948 the population grew to 7,000 with the absorption of new immigrants and first industrial enterprises. In the War of Independence (1948), Ḥolon was at first completely isolated, but the fall of Arab Jaffa provided the much-needed link with Tel Aviv. Further land was added to Ḥolon's municipal area, bringing its total to 19,500 dunams, and it received municipal council status in 1950. Many new suburbs were built from 1949, and Ḥolon became a major industrial center. Its geographical advantages were the proximity of Tel Aviv, the railway line, major highways, the Tel Aviv harbor and later the Ashdod port, as well as the large dune areas that were easily adapted for industrial and residential construction. Ḥolon's share in the absorption of the mass immigration is indicated by its population increase from 15,000 in 1950 to 84,700 at the end of 1969. In 2002 the population was 165,800, making it the eighth largest city in Israel. It occupies a municipal area of 7.4 sq. mi. (19.2 sq. km.).

Ḥolon's position within the Tel Aviv conurbation deeply influenced this city's development. In matters of financial, commercial, and many other services, including some aspects of education, recreation, and health, Ḥolon depends on Tel Aviv. Also, Tel Aviv provides employment to many of Ḥolon's inhabitants. Ḥolon's own economy has been principally based on its industry, concentrated mainly in a special area where large, medium, and small enterprises are located.

The city has large public parks and irrigated lawns covering an area of over 100 acres. Among cultural institutions are Yad la-Banim, a cultural center in memory of local youth who fell in the country's defense, as well as a number of *ulpanim*. Ḥolon has a *Samaritan community. In 2003/4 the city opened a number of cultural institutions, such as the Ḥolon Theater, the Children's Museum, the Interdisciplinary Center for the Arts and Sciences, and the Center for Digital Art.

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[Shlomo Hasson / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

HOLTZMAN, ELIZABETH J. (1941–), U.S. politician; at age 32 the youngest woman ever elected to the House of Representatives. Holtzman was one of twin children born in Brooklyn, NY, to Sidney and Filia (Ravitz) Holtzman. A graduate of Radcliffe College (B.A., 1962) and Harvard University Law School (J.D., 1965), "Liz" began her political activism in her student years as a participant in the Civil Rights movement. Between periods of private law practice, she briefly served as Mayor John V. Lindsay's liaison to the New York Department of Parks, Recreation, and Cultural Affairs (1969–70). Holtzman became increasingly active in New York Democratic politics and she defeated 50-year incumbent Emanuel *Celler in the 1972 U.S. Congressional race to represent Brooklyn's 16th Congressional District. She was re-elected to the succeeding three Congresses (1973–80). She made history as a key player on the House Judiciary Committee during the 1974 Watergate hearings and she later voted to impeach President Richard Nixon. Holtzman was committed to bringing former Nazi war criminals living in the United States to justice. As chair of the House Subcommittee on Immigration, Refugees and International Law she wrote and passed through Congress the Holtzman Amendment, authorizing the deportation of Nazi war criminals and the establishment of the special investigation unit at the Justice Department. She co-authored the first refugee law in the United States, which helped thousands of Jewish refugees from the former Soviet Union enter the U.S. in the late 1970s and 1980s. Holtzman lost in a three-way race in 1980 for a New York U.S. Senate seat and was later elected district attorney for Kings County (Brooklyn), becoming the first female district attorney in the City of New York (1982–1989.) Elected as New York City Comptroller (1990–1993) she maximized city pension funds enabling the expansion of employment opportunities and low-cost housing. After a second failed bid for the U.S. Senate (1992), and loss of the comptroller's seat (1993) Holtzman returned to private law practice. She was appointed in 1999 by President Clinton to the Nazi War Criminal Records Interagency Working Group (IWG). Honors for outstanding public service include awards from the National Council on Jewish Women, Warsaw

Ghetto Resistance Organization, Brooklyn Coalition for Soviet Jewry, Radcliffe College, Civil Liberties Unions of New York, New Jersey and Los Angeles and the Young Women's Christian Association. Her autobiography, *Who Said It Would Be Easy? One Woman's Life in the Political Arena,* written with Cynthia L. Cooper, appeared in 1996.

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[Judith Friedman Rosen (2nd ed.)]

HOLTZMAN, KENNETH DALE ("**Kenny**"; 1945–), U.S. baseball player, winningest Jewish pitcher in history. Holtzman was born in St. Louis. As a child, Holtzman would alternate eating Friday nights at the kosher homes of both sets of grandparents, who all came from Russia. Holtzman was a star at University City High School, where he was selected the Most Valuable Player on the state championship team in 1962. He attended the University of Illinois, from where he graduated in 1967 with a B.A. in business administration, but not before signing a $70,000 bonus from the Chicago Cubs. He made his debut at age 19 on Sept. 4, 1965, promptly giving up a home run on his first pitch. Five days later he watched Sandy *Koufax pitch his perfect game, and afterward Holtzman asked for his autograph. Being a Jewish lefthander who was known for both the velocity of his fastball and his ability to control it, Holtzman was being called "another Koufax" as soon as he arrived in the big leagues. The two greatest Jewish pitchers in history faced each other for the one and only time in their careers on Sept. 25, 1966, the day after both had attended synagogue on Yom Kippur. Holtzman was finishing his first full season and Koufax his final season, as the rookie twirled a no-hitter for eight innings and beat the veteran 2–1. It was the last regular-season loss of Koufax's career.

Holtzman spent much of the 1967 season in the National Guard, pitching occasionally on the weekend and recording a 9–0 record in the 12 games in which he appeared. He pitched a no-hitter against Atlanta on Aug. 19, 1969, winning 3–0, and pitched another no-hitter on June 3, 1971, winning 1–0 against Cincinnati while scoring the game's only run. Holtzman, who asked to be traded after the season, was sent to the Oakland A's and won 19, 21, and 19 games in his first three seasons with the team, helping them to three straight championships. In 13 career post-season games, Holtzman was 6–4 with a 2.30 ERA in 70 innings pitched, including 4–0 in four series-deciding games. He was 4–1 in the World Series with a 2.54 ERA in eight starts.

When the second game of the 1973 American League Championship Series game against Baltimore fell on Yom Kippur, Holtzman, who was scheduled to pitch, did not play, as usual. A limousine was sent to pick him up at his hotel that morning to take him to the Baltimore Hebrew Congregation, where he was escorted to the synagogue's front row. There he met his limousine patron: Jerry Hoffberger, owner of the Orioles.

Holtzman was traded to Baltimore before the 1976 season, and then to the Yankees on June 15, 1976, where manager Billy Martin chose to overlook Holtzman's career record and used him sparingly for two seasons, and not at all in postseason play. Holtzman was traded on June 10, 1978, to the Chicago Cubs, where he ended his career the following season. Holtzman won four World Series, was twice named to the American League All Star team (1972, 1973), and threw 2,867 innings with a 3.49 career earned run average, 1,601 strikeouts, 31 shutouts, and pitched at least 215 innings in nine of his 15 seasons. Holtzman's final regular-season record of 174–150 gave him more wins than any Jew in history.

[Elli Wohlgelernter (2nd ed.)]

HOLY CONGREGATION IN JERUSALEM (**Kehilla Kaddisha de-vi-Yrushalayim**), religious association in Jerusalem at the end of the second century C.E. In Ereẓ Israel sources it was known as "The Holy Community" (*Edah Kedoshah*) and comprised an association of R. Meir's pupils who adopted a way of life resembling in many respects that of the associations of *Ḥaverim* in the Second Temple period. The mode of life pursued by its members may be gauged from the following statement: "And why are they called the Holy Community [*Edah Kedoshah*]? Because there were Yose b. Meshullam and Simeon b. Menasia who divided the day into three, devoting one third of it to the Torah, one third to prayer, and one third to work. Some declare that they occupied themselves with Torah during the winter and engaged in work during the summer" (Eccles. R. 9:9). In the sources, the concept "holy" is largely synonymous with abstinence and levitical cleanness (see TJ, Shab. 1:6, 3c; TJ, Meg. 1:13, 72b; et al.). Thus Yose b. Meshullam, one of its leaders, adopted a strict view concerning observance of purity by its members who probably observed its rules pertaining to sacred food, as did the associations in the Second Temple period, even for ordinary meals.

The virtues of prayer, work, and the strict observance of levitical purity having been highly extolled by R. Meir, some of his pupils, who, according to Safrai, included R. Samuel of Phrygia, gave practical expression to his doctrines through an association similar to those of the associations that flourished in the days of the Second Temple. Like the *Ḥaverim* of the Second Temple period, and unlike the Qumran sect and the Essenes, the members of the Holy Congregation did not withdraw from society but participated with their contemporaries in composing the *halakhah*. Thus the Babylonian Talmud on several occasions quotes halakhic and aggadic statements in the name of the Holy Congregation in Jerusalem (Ber. 9b; Beẓah 14b; et al.); Judah ha-Nasi and Joshua b. Levi cite *halakhot* in its name; leaders of the Holy Congregation are mentioned in the Mishnah (Ḥag. 1:7; Ter. 4:7; et al.); and some *mishnayot*, of which they were the authors, are cited anonymously (cf. Tosef., Bek. 4:11, with Mishnah Bek., 6:8; et al.).

In view of the evidence that Jews were prohibited from living in Jerusalem after the Bar Kokhba revolt, some scholars regard the Holy Congregation in Jerusalem as dating from

Second Temple and Jabneh times. Others are of the opinion that it was composed of refugees from Jerusalem who settled in Galilee, and hence emend its name to "The Holy Congregation from Jerusalem." Rabin contends that it originated in the days of Jabneh and that Simeon b. Menasia and Yose b. Meshullam flourished at a later stage of its history when it was no longer in Jerusalem. Because of the association's connections with Jerusalem, some scholars maintain that there was no prohibition against Jews living there after the destruction of the Second Temple, but this view is untenable, since there are adequate grounds that such a prohibition did in fact exist. The most acceptable view is that of Alon, namely, that during the period of the Severi when the political position of the Jews had greatly improved, the Roman authorities did not enforce the prohibition, even though it had not been officially rescinded. The years that had elapsed from the Bar Kokhba revolt until the days of Judah ha-Nasi also undoubtedly contributed to a relaxation of the decree.

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[A'hron Oppenheimer]

HOLY PLACES. Because of its history, the Land of Israel possesses places holy to the three monotheistic religions, although the term "holy" means something different to each of these religions, Judaism, Christianity, and Islam. (See Map: Holy Places in Israel.) While the veneration of these sites by believers is genuine, the authenticity of the sites themselves is sometimes questionable.

Jewish Holy Places

Although certain sites in Israel (mostly graves) are popularly considered to be holy and as such are venerated and visited, the notion is almost nonexistent in primary Jewish sources. The Mishnah (Kel. 1:6) states: "There are ten degrees of holiness. The land of Israel is holier than any other land … in that from it they may bring the **omer*, the firstfruits, and the Two Loaves which they may not bring from any other land. The walled cities are still more holy in that they must send forth the lepers from their midst … Within the wall [of Jerusalem] is still more holy for there only may they eat the Lesser Holy Things … The Holy of Holies is still more holy for none may enter therein save only the high priest on the *Day of Atonement at the time of the **Avodah*." It seems clear therefore, that holiness, insofar as it can be applied to places, is measured according to the laws and **mitzvot* applying to the place in question, and not according to what may once have happened there or to who might be buried there. As a Christian theologian put it:

> "For Christians and Muslims that term [sacred sites] is an adequate expression of what matters. Here are sacred places, hallowed by the most holy events, here are the places for pilgrimage, the very focus of highest devotion … But Judaism is different … The sites sacred to Judaism have no shrines. Its religion is not tied to 'sites' but to the land, not to what happened in Jerusalem but to Jerusalem itself" (K. Stendahl, in: *Harvard Divinity Bulletin* (Autumn 1967), 7).

However, in the course of time, and perhaps under non-Jewish influences, Jews came to regard some places as being holy and prayer offered there as more efficacious than at other places. The most venerated of these places is the *Western Wall, a relic of the Temple of Herod. While Jews were allowed to pray there by the Muslim authorities and, in the modern period, by the British mandatory government, severe restrictions were placed on their presence there, especially after the riots in 1929. From 1948 the Wall, being in the sector of the city occupied by Jordan, was not accessible to Jews, notwithstanding a clause in the armistice agreement to the contrary. With the reunification of the city in 1967 the Wall became the central attraction for Jewish pilgrims. Prayer services are held there daily from sunrise to nightfall and people come at all times for meditation. While there is a popular custom of inserting slips of paper bearing petitions in the cracks of the Wall, some people refrain from even touching it because of its holiness. The Temple site itself is even more holy, but Jewish religious law forbids entry into its precincts, as all people are considered ritually unclean because of the impurity of touching dead persons (Num. 19:11–22).

The other holy places are all graves of biblical figures or famous rabbis and pious men from the mishnaic period until today. In Jerusalem the Mount of Olives was a center of pilgrimage, perhaps because of its proximity to the Temple site or because of the prophecy that on the Day of the Lord (i.e., the Day of Resurrection according to the oral tradition) "His feet shall stand upon the Mount of Olives" (Zech. 14:4). The mount has served as a general burial ground for many centuries and, according to tradition (II Chron. 24:20f.), the prophet *Zechariah is buried at its foot. Also in Jerusalem is the tomb of King *David on Mount *Zion, which is certainly spurious. This fact did not, however, prevent it from being a popular focus for pilgrimage especially during the period when the Western Wall was not accessible. The grave of *Simeon the Just in Jerusalem is also popular and, to some degree, serves as a substitute for that of *Simeon b. Yoḥai in Meron (see below). The most important grave is that of the patriarchs in *Hebron. This shrine, known in the Bible as the cave of the *Machpelah, is housed in a building with Herodian walls, which was converted in its last phase into a mosque and was therefore inaccessible to both Jews and Christians for centuries. "Infidels" were allowed to ascend to the seventh step of the entrance, but there is evidence that in the late Middle Ages there was a synagogue next to the mosque. After 1967 this site became a focus for pilgrimage and special hours are set aside for non-Muslim visitors. The traditional tomb of *Rachel is near Bethlehem, while that of her son *Joseph is in Shechem. In Haifa the cave of *Elijah, where according to tradition the prophet hid, is considered holy and a place for pilgrimage.

Most of the graves visited by pilgrims are in Galilee, because most of the rabbis of the Talmud lived and taught there. Particularly important is the town of *Meron where Simeon b. Yoḥai and his son Eleazar are reputedly buried. Extensive popular celebrations take place there on *Lag ba-Omer and a kind of cult has grown up around the grave. *Hillel and *Shammai, among others, are also believed to be buried in Meron. *Safed and *Tiberias are very important centers for pilgrims to the graves of famous scholars. In the former are the reputed graves of *Shemaiah and *Avtalion, *Phinehas b. Jair, R. Joseph *Caro, the kabbalists Isaac *Luria, Moses *Cordovero, and Solomon *Alkabeẓ, as well as many later scholars, saints, and ḥasidic *ẓaddikim*. Tiberias was a center of rabbinic activity in talmudic times, and the graves of the *tannaim* *Akiva, *Meir, *Johanan b. Zakkai, and *Eliezer b. Hyrcanus and those of the *amoraim* *Ammi and *Assi as well as of *Maimonides, and Isaiah *Horowitz are frequently visited. Visiting the graves of the pious in the Holy Land was considered an act of piety, and was widespread from the early Middle Ages. The custom of visiting graves itself seems to be of old Arabic origin. Nearly all the Jewish travelers who visited Ereẓ Israel mentioned graves in their accounts and, indeed, many travel books outlining itineraries and listing the graves enjoyed wide circulation. A pilgrimage to a holy grave was considered to have therapeutic value and many customs developed for such visits. Candles were lit at the grave; often the supplicants made ceremonial processions around it and prostrated themselves on it. There was – and still is – a widespread custom of placing a small stone or pebble on the grave and some pilgrims take a stone from it when they leave. It is also common practice to leave a written petition at the grave. As early as the beginning of the tenth century the Karaite scholar Sahl b. Maẓli'aḥ complained: "How can I remain silent when some Jews are behaving like idolators? They sit at the graves, sometimes sleeping there at night, and appeal to the dead: 'Oh! Rabbi Yose ha-Gelili! Heal me! Grant me children!' They kindle lights there and offer incense …" (Pinsker, *Likkutei Kadmoniyyot*, *Nispaḥim*, II p. 32).

Visiting holy graves was considered particularly desirable by the kabbalists of Safed. Isaac Luria, the foremost exponent of that school, is credited with having "revealed" hitherto unknown graves, although the location of most of them is known by oral and earlier written traditions and *itineraries. The purpose of such visits seems to have been to commune with the departed saint and absorb some of his qualities. The grave thus served as a point of focus: the recitation of psalms and prayers, as well as meditation and study there, would enable the pilgrim to reach new heights of spirituality.

Christian Holy Places

These are to be found throughout the country. They are almost all connected with the life and death of *Jesus of Nazareth. During the first two centuries the early Christians expected a rapid end to this present age and had, therefore, little interest in preserving the memory of holy sites. Moreover, as members of a persecuted religion they were unable to make public pilgrimages or erect conspicuous shrines. The story begins, therefore, with the cessation of persecution and the recognition of the Church by *Constantine (312–337 C.E.). Constantine's mother, Helena, visited the Holy Land seeking traces of the life and death of Jesus. She established the place of his birth in Bethlehem and of his crucifixion and resurrection in Jerusalem. On these sites magnificent churches were built, relics of which are embodied in the churches of the Nativity and of the Holy Sepulcher, though the present structures date from various later periods. Churches were also built in other parts of the country at the sites of various miracles and significant events and in commemoration of important Christian figures. There are several holy places around the Sea of Galilee; Kefar Nahum (Capernaum) was the site of many of Jesus' miracles and is considered sacred, as is the Mount of Beatitudes, the site of the Sermon on the Mount. The miracle of the wine is commemorated at Kafr Kana and that of the fish and the bread at Tabgha. Nazareth is regarded as a holy city in that it has a number of churches on holy sites. The site of the baptism on the Jordan River is also considered holy. In Jerusalem the stations of the cross on the Via Dolorosa are points for pilgrimage, as are the Hall of the Last Supper and the Dormition Abbey (where, according to Christian tradition, Mary fell into an eternal sleep) on Mount Zion. The Monastery of the Cross is reputedly on the site from which the wood for the cross was taken. The splitting of the Christian world into different sects gradually produced intense rivalry about the use of these shrines. At first there was a good deal of mutual accommodation, but in the 11th century there was a major schism between the eastern (Greek Orthodox) and the Latin (Roman Catholic) churches, and thereafter each struggled to exclude the other from their uses. The churches of Georgia, Armenia, Syria, Egypt (the Coptic Church), and Ethiopia also possessed ancient rights in the holy places. After the Arab conquest, legal ownership was claimed by Islam, which retained and regulated the use of shrines of interest for themselves, while selling to Jews or Christians permission to conduct their own worship in those allowed them. The result was continuous and unedifying bribery, and gradually the lesser churches were elbowed out of any central position.

In 1757 the Turkish government established the rights in nine of the most important shrines; this statute, known as the status quo, was confirmed in 1852, guaranteed by the European powers in 1878, and carefully registered by the British in 1929. The only Jewish shrine affected by the status quo was the Western Wall, as access to it involved passage over Muslim property which was claimed as holy to Islam in that Muhammad's steed Burāq was tethered at the top of the wall during the time that the prophet ascended to heaven. In many places the rivalry between the churches was settled by the adoption of different sites to commemorate the same event. There are, thus, two Gardens of Gethsemane (Mark 14:32), two scenes of the Transfiguration (9:2), and so on. The major churches are, however, shared between the sects.

Muslim Holy Places

The main Muslim holy site is the complex of buildings known in Arabic as *Ḥaram al-Sharīf* and was erected after the Arab conquest of *Jerusalem at various times on the immense platform of the Temple Mount. The site is dominated by the beautiful Dome of the Rock, built by the caliph ʿAbd al-Malik in 72 A.H. (691 C.E.). From the rock at the center of the mosque, *Muhammad is said to have ascended to heaven (*miʿrāj*). Also on the platform is the al-Aqṣā Mosque, completed two years later. The name, meaning "furthermost" (from Mecca), is mentioned in the *Koran (Sura 17:2) in the description of the prophet's miraculous journey from Mecca (*isrāʾ*). As with most of the other Muslim holy places in the country, the real origin of the veneration lies in Muhammad's respect for the earlier monotheisms. The tombs of the patriarchs in Hebron and of King David on Mount Zion were both regarded as holy. Nabī Rūbīn at Nahal Sorek is revered as the grave of the biblical Reuben. However, there are some exclusively Muslim graves. Among them are those of Ṣāliḥ, who lived before Muhammad and is mentioned in the Koran, in Ramleh, and, in Herzliyyah, Sayyidunā *Ali, a Muslim who fell in the wars against the crusaders in the 13th century. More curious is Nebi Mūsā (the tomb of *Moses), on the road to Jericho, which from the time of Saladin became the scene of an annual pilgrimage dated by the Christian calendar to rival the Easter pilgrimages. Islam also claims a part in the shrines devoted to Mary, the mother of Jesus, and Muslims are entitled to pray in the Church of the Nativity and that of the Tomb of the Virgin outside the eastern wall of Jerusalem.

Other Religions

The holy place of the *Samaritans is Mount *Gerizim, where, according to their tradition, Abraham bound Isaac, and the Temple should be built. Every year the sacrifice of the paschal lamb takes place there. For the *Druze, Nabī Shuʿayb, the grave of Jethro, the father-in-law of Moses, is a main focus for pilgrimage at *Kefar Ḥattin. They adore other graves too, e.g., Nabī Sabalān (Heb. Zebulun, one of Jacob's sons), in the Galilee. The *Bahai revere the place in Haifa where Mirza Ali Muhammad is buried. A beautiful shrine has been built there. Near Acre is the grave of Bahāʾ-Allah (after whom that religious movement is called), who was buried in the house in which he lived and died in exile.

The Political Aspect of the Holy Places

With the advance of the *Seljuk Turks in 1071 Christian pilgrimages to the Holy Land were severely hampered. A *crusade was called in 1095 in order to free the Holy Sepulcher and safeguard the pilgrimage routes. Jerusalem was finally conquered by the crusaders in 1099 and its shrines were placed under the protection of the Latin ruler, who was proclaimed *advocatus* (defender) of the Holy Sepulcher. The Orthodox Church subsequently lost much of its influence over the control of the holy places, which fell into the hands of the Latin Church. After the fall of Jerusalem to the Turks in 1187 Christian pilgrimages were again suspended, but Richard I of England gained the right of access for Christians to the Holy Sepulcher five years later. This was not sufficient for Innocent III who summoned the unsuccessful Fourth Crusade to the shrines in 1198. By the Treaty of Jaffa in 1229 between Emperor Frederick II and the sultan of *Egypt, Jerusalem, Nazareth, and Bethlehem were reopened to pilgrims. With the conquest of the Holy Land by the Ottoman Turks in the 16th century the problem of the holy places took on a new aspect. Political factors of an international nature were introduced. During the four centuries of Ottoman rule (1517–1917) there were many ups and downs in the struggle about the possession of the Holy Places between the two main divisions of Christianity in the East: the Latins and the churches united with Rome and the Greek Orthodox Church and its denominational dependents. Greek influence grew after the fall of Byzantium, owing to the fact that the Greeks were then subjects of the Ottoman Empire. Some of them, having attained important offices at the court of Constantinople, had a direct influence upon the affairs of the Christian holy places. It was consequently not by chance that at the same time the Greek Orthodox Brotherhood of the Holy Sepulcher was reorganized and its authority over the holy places was reinforced. The reaction of Western Christianity did not fail to come. Francis I, king of France, stepped in as the protector of the Latin interests in the holy places, and in 1535 negotiated a treaty with *Suleiman the Magnificent, which marks the beginning of a new era in regard to the conflicting claims to the holy places. The Greeks reacted in defense of their interests and the balance of the rights in the holy places was shifted several times from the Greeks to the Latins and back. Decisive moments in the history of this struggle were the *Capitulations of 1740, which awarded far-reaching rights to the Latins, and the firman of 1757, which reversed the situation in favor of the Orthodox. In the second half of the 18th century, czarist Russia entered the fray in support of the Orthodox. A further important step was the firman given in 1852 by the sultan, ʿAbd al Majīd, confirming de facto the situation in existence since 1757. The international importance of the problem of the holy places, however, was emphasized at the Congress of *Berlin in 1878. That treaty (art. 62) uses the expression "status quo," which since then has been employed to describe the de facto situation in respect to the holy places. Nevertheless, it has never been possible to define this "status quo," as there have never been exact descriptions of the de jure and de facto conditions of the situation. At the end of World War I, with the defeat of the *Ottoman Empire, the League of Nations, with the assent of the principle powers, granted Great Britain the mandate over Palestine (June 24, 1922). According to Article 13 of the mandate, all responsibility "in connection with the holy places and religious buildings or sites in Palestine, including that of preserving existing rights and of guaranteeing access to the holy places, religious buildings and sites, and free access of worship" was placed on the mandatory power.

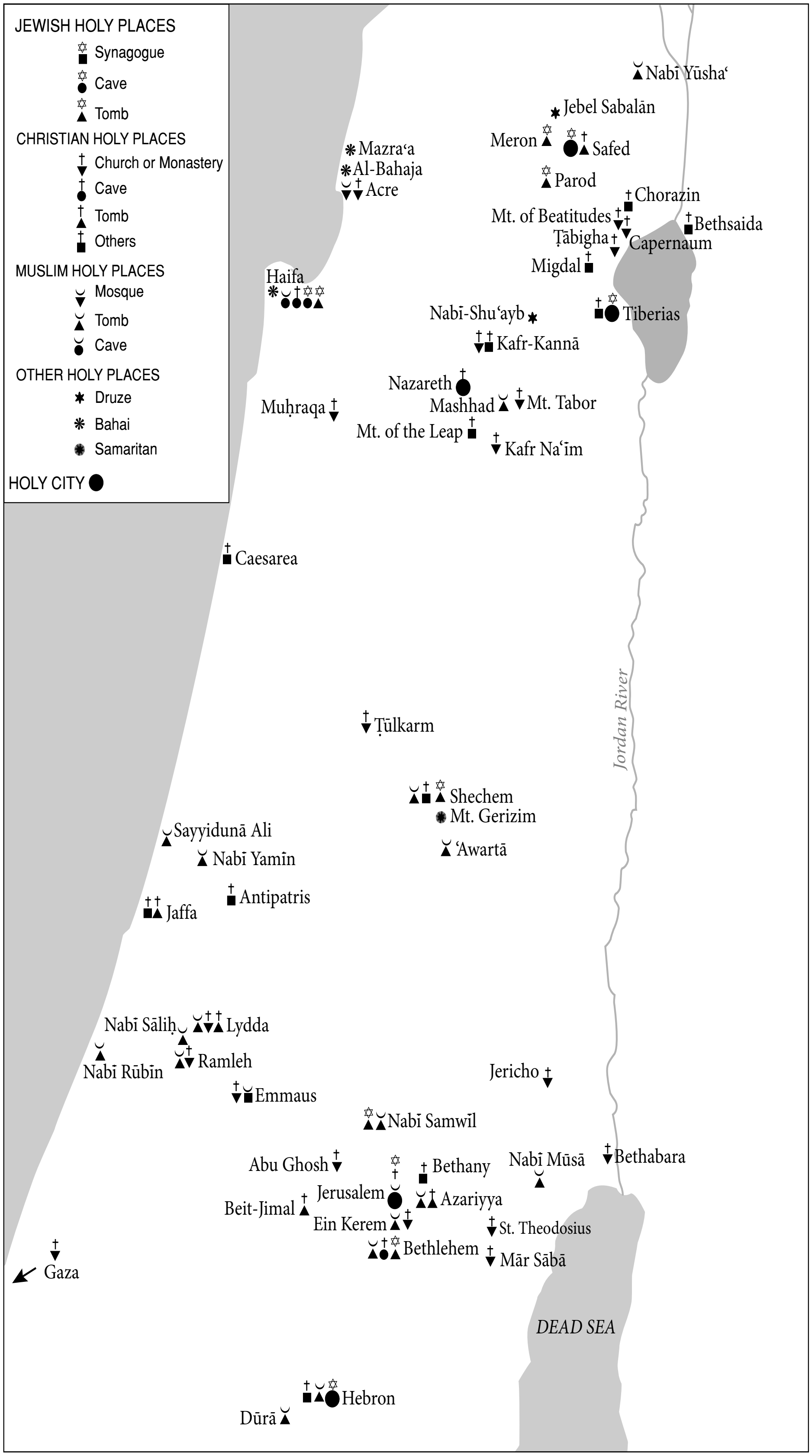
JEWISH HOLY PLACES
Synagogue
Cave
Tomb
CHRISTIAN HOLY PLACES
Church or Monastery
Cave
Tomb
Others
MUSLIM HOLY PLACES
Mosque
Tomb
Cave
OTHER HOLY PLACES
Druze
Bahai
Samaritan
HOLY CITY
Nabī Yūsha'
Jebel Sabalān
Meron
Safed
Mazra'a
Al-Bahaja
Acre
Parod
Chorazin
Mt. of Beatitudes
Bethsaida
Ṭābigha
Capernaum
Migdal
Haifa
Tiberias
Nabī-Shu'ayb
Kafr-Kannā
Nazareth
Muḥraqa
Mashhad
Mt. Tabor
Mt. of the Leap
Kafr Na'īm
Caesarea
Jordan River
Ṭūlkarm
Shechem
Mt. Gerizim
Sayyidunā Ali
'Awartā
Nabī Yamīn
Antipatris
Jaffa
Nabī Sāliḥ
Lydda
Ramleh
Nabī Rūbīn
Jericho
Emmaus
Nabī Samwīl
Abu Ghosh
Bethany
Nabī Mūsā
Bethabara
Jerusalem
Azariyya
Beit-Jimal
Ein Kerem
St. Theodosius
Bethlehem
Mār Sābā
Gaza
DEAD SEA
Hebron
Dūrā

Main centers of religious pilgrimage in Israel.

The latter in turn was responsible solely to the League of Nations in "all matters connected therewith." Article 14 required the appointment by the mandatory of a special commission "to study, define, and determine the rights and claims in connection with the holy places and the rights and claims relating to the different religious communities in Palestine." The composition and function of the commission had to be approved by the Council of the League. Thus, the rights of the mandatory power were circumscribed and matters connected with the holy places were under the supervision of the League of Nations. A very general control was indeed acknowledged. This, however, by no means implied territorial internationalization for the better guarantee of the religious aspects of Jerusalem and the holy places.

In 1947 the Trusteeship Council of the United Nations prepared a list of holy places and sites in Palestine, containing 174 names, 80 of which were in the area of Jerusalem and 94 in other parts of the country. When Great Britain declared that it was no longer willing to administer the mandate, the General Assembly of the United Nations on Nov. 29, 1947, adopted Resolution 189/II on the basis of suggestions presented by the United Nations Special Committee on Palestine (UNSCOP). These suggestions called for the partition of Palestine into two states, one Jewish and one Arab, and the internationalization of Jerusalem. The projected plan aimed to withdraw control from Israel and Jordan over the main holy places in and around Jerusalem and Bethlehem. Throughout the period of 1948 to 1967, the physical internationalization of Jerusalem was rejected by the parties directly concerned: Israel, which had the western part of the Holy City, and Jordan which was in possession of the eastern part. By April 3, 1949, the date of the armistice agreement between Israel and Jordan, the situation had crystallized. Consequently, the great majority of the holy places and all those to which the "status quo" is applied, remained in Jordanian-held territory. On Dec. 9, 1949, the General Assembly of the United Nations adopted a resolution calling for the internationalization of the entire Jerusalem area and its environs. And later on, the Trusteeship Council adopted a draft statute under which the city was to be constituted a "corpus separatum." More resolutions were adopted in the following years. While the matter was discussed in the international forum, Israel always opposed the scheme of territorial internationalization as being unrealistic and unpracticable. Israel instead suggested a functional internationalization involving an international answerability for freedom of access to the holy places and of worship at them. Following the cease-fire agreement of June 1967, the Holy City was reunified and Bethlehem came under Israel administration; from 1967 all the holy places of the Holy Land were situated in Israel territory. Israel had already enunciated its policy with regard to the holy places when it declared in its Declaration of Independence, "The State … will safeguard the holy places of all religions." But following the events of June 1967 and Israel's increased responsibility with regard to holy places formerly situated in the Jordanian-held zone, a new pronouncement by the Israel government was felt to be appropriate. At a meeting on June 27, 1967, which included the two chief rabbis, the representatives of the Muslim clergy, and the heads of the Christian communities, the prime minister of Israel, Mr. Levi Eshkol, affirmed that the government of Israel held it to be an essential principle of its policy to safeguard the holy places, emphasizing that the internal administration of their sites and measures to be taken for their management would be left entirely to the spiritual heads concerned. On the same day the Knesset passed the Law for the Protection of the Holy Places, which prescribes that whoever in any way desecrates or violates a holy place is liable to seven years' imprisonment and to a five-year term if he is found guilty of preventing free access to such a place.

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[James W. Parkes, Raphael Posner, and Saul Paul Colbi]

HOLZBERG, SIMCHAH (1924–1994) Israel Prize recipient for special contributions in social and national fields. Holzberg was born in Poland where his entire family was exterminated by the Nazis, he alone surviving the concentration camps. He immigrated to Israel in 1949. After his army service he was employed as a construction worker, but at the same time devoted himself to organizing public libraries on the Holocaust and assisting in the publication of books on this subject. Known as "the father of the wounded," from the Six-Day War on he devoted himself to assisting wounded soldiers and their families as well as terror vicims. He was awarded the Israel Prize in 1976. An Israeli stamp was issued in his honor in 1999.

HOLZMAN, WILLIAM ("**Red**"; 1920–1998), U.S. basketball coach, leading the New York Knicks to two NBA Championships, and a member of the Basketball Hall of Fame. Holzman was born on New York's Lower East Side, the youngest of three children to Sophie, a Romanian immigrant, and Abraham, an immigrant tailor from Poland. When Holzman was seven his Yiddish-speaking family moved to Ocean Hill in Brooklyn, where Holzman became an All-City guard at Franklin K. Lane High School. Holzman then attended the University of Baltimore for a year before transferring to City College of New York. There he played two years under legendary coach Nat *Holman, learning his philosophy of team-oriented basketball that would later become Holzman's trademark with the New York Knicks. In his senior year, Holzman was co-captain of the CCNY team that played to a 16–3 record, and was named All-Metropolitan and third team All-American. Holzman enlisted in the U.S. Navy in 1942, and played on the Norfolk, Virginia, Naval Base team for two years. After being discharged in 1945, Holzman began a nine-year professional career, the first eight with the Rochester Royals, playing for team owner and coach Les *Harrison. The team won the NBL championship in 1946, and Holzman was NBL First Team All-Star in 1946 and 1948, and NBL Second Team All-Star in 1947. That team also won the NBA championship in 1951, making Holzman one of only 10 players to win championships as a player and coach. In 1953, Holzman left the Royals and joined the Milwaukee Hawks as a player-coach, retiring as a player after one season but remaining as coach. The Hawks moved to St. Louis in 1955, and Holzman was fired after the team lost 19 of its first 33 games in 1956–57, ending his first coaching stint with a record of 83–120. He then became a scout for the New York Knicks in 1957, and head coach on Dec. 27, 1967, a position he held for 14 of the next 15 years. Holzman's record over that span was 613–384, including NBA championships in 1970 and 1973. Holzman compiled a regular-season record of 696–604 (.535) and a 58–48 playoff mark in his 18-year NBA coaching career. He was named NBA Coach of the Year in 1970 and NBA Coach of the Decade for the 1970s by the pro basketball writers; he was the first recipient of the National Basketball Coaches Association Achievement Award in 1981. Holzman was elected to the Basketball Hall of Fame in 1985, and on March 10, 1990, the Knicks hung a jersey from the rafters of Madison Square Garden with the number 613, representing the number of his wins as Knicks coach. Holzman was also named a member of the New York City Basketball Hall of Fame, the City College Hall of Fame, and the PSAL Hall of Fame. He was the author of six books, including *The Knicks* (1971), *Holzman's Basketball: Winning Strategy and Tactics* (1973), *A View from the Bench* (1980), and *Red On Red* (1987).

[Elli Wohlgelernter (2nd ed.)]

ḤOMA (d. c. 330 C.E.), wife of *Abbaye. Ḥoma was the daughter of Issi b. Isaac b. Judah and before her marriage to Abbaye had been married twice, to Reḥava of Pumbedita, and after his death to Isaac, the son of Rabbah b. Ḥana. Abbaye married her despite the fact that two husbands had predeceased her by relying on the statement of Isaac in the name of Johanan that a precedent can only be established after an incident has occurred three times (Yev. 64b). After the death of Abbaye himself, Ḥoma came to ask Rava for an allowance of food and wine. He acceded to her request for an allowance for food but had reservations about the wine since he knew that Abbaye did not drink it. Ḥoma thereupon replied that she had been given wine to drink by Abbaye from a horn resembling her arm, and uncovered her arm to demonstrate what she meant. At this, states the Talmud, "a light shone upon the court," in reference to her beauty (Ket. 65a). When Rava returned home and related the event to his wife, the daughter of R. Ḥisda, she promptly went after Ḥoma and beat her until she had chased her out of Maḥoza, fearing that Ḥoma's revealing her beauty would entice another man to marry her, who might share the fate of her three previous husbands.

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[Anthony Lincoln Lavine]

HOMBERG, NAPHTALI HERZ (1749–1841), pioneer of the *Haskalah movement. Born in Lieben near Prague, he attended the yeshivot of Prague, Pressburg, and Gross-Glogau, subsequently going to Breslau. In 1767 he began to learn German secretly and later studied languages and mathematics in Berlin and Hamburg. Influenced by the ideas of Jean-Jacques Rousseau, Homberg turned to pedagogy and in 1779 became tutor to Moses *Mendelssohn's son Joseph. In 1782 he moved to Vienna, attracted by the educational activities initiated by the government following the toleration edicts issued by *Joseph II. He contributed the section on Deuteronomy of Mendelssohn's German Bible translation *Biur*; from 1783 to 1784 he taught at the Jewish school in Trieste, established in accord with the educational principles advocated by Naphtali Herz *Wessely. His efforts to obtain a teaching post at a university were unsuccessful because he was a Jew.

In 1787 the Austrian authorities appointed Homberg superintendent of the German-language Jewish schools in Galicia and assistant censor of Jewish books (see *Censorship). In this capacity he wrote *Iggeret el Ro'ei Seh Pezurah Yisrael* (addressed to the rabbis in 1788) proposing that Jewish education should be adapted to European culture, and advocating the teaching of Hebrew grammar, German, and handicrafts, and showing special concern for education of the poor. Homberg threatened the rabbis that if they did not adapt themselves to his principles the government would force them to do so. Altogether Homberg founded 107 classes and schools in Galicia, including a teachers seminary at Lemberg (Lvov). Most Jews tried to avoid sending their children to these schools, regarding them as instruments of conversion to Christianity. Homberg was ruthless in denouncing to the authorities religious Jews who refused to comply with his requirements, and in applying pressure against them. In his official memoranda he blamed both the rabbis and the Talmud for preventing Jews from fulfilling their civic duties toward the Christian state. He accused them of retaining their loyalties to Ereẓ Israel, supporting its Jewish community, and evading military service. Homberg recommended to the authorities that they disband most traditional educational institutions, prohibit use of the Hebrew language, and force the communal bodies to employ only modern teachers. He also proposed that Jewish literature be purified of superstition and that every text inciting hatred against gentiles be excised from Jewish literature. He suggested that Jews should be compelled to take up productive occupations and that civil rights be granted to Jews who obeyed the laws of the state. Homberg pleaded for the abolition of all external marks distinguishing Jews from gentiles, such as their beard and traditional dress.

Considered the expert on Jewish affairs in government circles, he was called temporarily to Vienna in 1793 to elaborate on suggestions for the reorganization of Jewish life, which served as the basis for the Bohemian *Systemalpatent* of 1797 (see *Bohemia) and for this he was rewarded with an imperial gold medal. Homberg suggested that civil rights should be granted to all Jews who lived "an irreproachable bourgeois life" for 10 years, as well as to Jewish artisans, agriculturists, and soldiers. He regarded as the ultimate goal "to forsake all prejudices and achieve complete union with the Christians."

Homberg compiled a list of Jewish books to be prohibited or censored. It included many kabbalistic works and works of moral instruction, most ḥasidic writings, and even the prayer book. He prepared for publication a version of *Ze'enah u-Re-enah in Hebrew characters, adapting it to his opinions; although approved by the government censorship, it was not printed (the manuscript is in the National Library in Jerusalem). When the *candle tax was introduced in Galicia (1797) Homberg supported it, and was accused of securing for himself a portion of the revenue. For this reason, as well as an additional charge of embezzlement, he was forced to leave Galicia in 1802 and went to Vienna as censor of Jewish books there. His repeated applications for permanent residence were rejected, although he argued in his favor that his four sons had adopted Christianity.

In 1808 Homberg published *Imrei Shefer,* a catechism for young people in Hebrew and German. When the French *Sanhedrin convened in Paris in 1806 Homberg published a pamphlet commenting on their deliberations and emphasizing that the Torah permits both intermarriage and civil marriage; however, in part because of concern for the spread of Deism, it was viewed with suspicion by the ruling circles. In a memorandum written in 1812 he proposed that a council of rabbis should be convened to decide on abrogations of the Oral Law and emendations of the prayer book. In 1814 Homberg moved to Prague where he became teacher of religion and ethics in the German-language schools with Peter *Beer, and inspector of Jewish home tutors. In 1812 he published a catechism in German, *Benei Zion* (approved by Mordecai *Banet), which was made a compulsory textbook in all Jewish schools in the Hapsburg dominions. All young couples applying for a secular marriage license in Bohemia and Moravia were required to take an examination in it. Most Jews of Galicia resisted the law and were married in a religious ceremony without the benefit of the governmental license. In his book Homberg denied the belief in Israel as the chosen people, the Messiah, and the return to Zion, and tried to show the existence of an essential identity between Judaism and Christianity. He denied all the traditional Jewish customs. A condensation, *Ben Jakkir,* also in German, was published in 1814. To its second edition (1826) Homberg appended a summary of the principles of Jewish religion according to Moses Mendelssohn's *Jerusalem*. He also wrote in this period *Ha-Korem*, a commentary on the Pentateuch, and commentaries on Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Job, published in Vienna in 1817–18. Homberg incurred the nearly universal hatred of his Jewish contemporaries. Even Moses Mendelssohn, his mentor, had reservations about Homberg's collaboration with the gentile authorities in order to compel acceptance among Jews of his ideas on enlightenment. Similar misgivings were shared by Naphtali Herz Wessely and later Isaac Samuel *Reggio. The verdict of H. *Graetz was that he was "morally and by performance the weakest" personality in the circles of Enlightenment.

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HOMBURG (**Bad Homburg**), city near Frankfurt on the Main, Germany. In 1335 permission was given by Emperor Louis IV to Gottfried von Eppstein to settle 10 Jews in each of the localities of Eppstein, Homburg, and Steinheim; it is uncertain, however, whether any Jews settled in Homburg at that time. Evidence for the existence of a permanent Jewish settlement in Homburg is found only at the beginning of the 16th century. Up to 1600 it consisted of two or three families, and by 1632 these had increased to 16. The first cemetery was purchased in the 17th century. The community continued to grow so rapidly that in 1703 the landgrave Frederick II of Hesse decided on the construction of a special *Judengasse*. A synagogue, built in 1731, was replaced by a new one in 1867. The Jewish community of Homburg was originally under the jurisdiction of the rabbinate of *Friedberg but began to appoint its own rabbis in the 19th century.

A Hebrew printing house was run in Homburg by Seligmann b. Hirz Reis in 1710 until 1713 when he moved to Offenbach. Among other items, he published Jacob ibn Ḥabib's *Ein Ya'akov* (1712). Hebrew printing was resumed there in 1724 by Samson b. Salman Hanau but lack of capital limited his output. The press was acquired in 1736 by Aaron b. Ẓevi Dessau whose publications included the Shulḥan Arukh (*Ḥoshen Mishpat*) with commentary (1742). The press was sold in 1748 and transferred in 1749 to *Roedelheim. At the beginning of the 20th century, the spa of Homburg became a meeting place of Russian-Jewish intellectuals. The Jewish population numbered 604 (7.14% of the total population) in 1865, declining to 379 in 1910 (2.64%), and 300 in 1933. Of the 74 Jews who remained on May 17, 1939, 42 were deported in 1942/3.

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[Bernhard Brilling]

HOMEM, ANTONIO (1564–1624), Marrano martyr. Homem was a great-grandson of the physician Moses Bueno of Oporto, a victim of the forced conversion of 1497. Brought up by his mother, an "old Christian," he was educated by the Jesuits, and in 1614 was appointed professor of canon law at the University of Coimbra. He also acquired a reputation as a theologian, preacher, and confessor. At the same time, Homem was the leader of the Marrano group, including several members of the university faculty, which flourished then at Coimbra, and he officiated at the secret Jewish services they held. In a sermon delivered on the Day of Atonement in 1615 he is reported to have taught that the essential difference between Judaism and Christianity lay in the observance of the Sabbath and the worship of images, and that while living in persecution it was sufficient to have in mind the intention of performing the divine precepts. In 1619 Homem was arrested by the Inquisition and sent to Lisbon for trial, and with several other members of the group perished in an Auto-da-Fé on May 5, 1624. Other members of the Homem family, such as Francisco Nuñez Homem, afterward David Abendana (d. 1625), were among the founding members of the Amsterdam Sephardi community.

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[Cecil Roth]

°**HOMER**, early Greek poet who was highly esteemed in the Hellenistic Jewish world. He is quoted by Philo, Josephus, and the Sibylline oracles. Spurious Homeric verses, extolling monotheism and the sanctity of the Sabbath, formed part of Jewish propaganda literature. Homer was known in certain Jewish circles in Palestine. The *Sifrei Hamiros* mentioned in the Mishnah (Yad. 4:6) may possibly refer to Homer, and allusions to Homeric myths (e.g., the siren, the monster centaurs) can be discovered in rabbinic literature.

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[Solomon Rappaport]

HOMICIDE. The shedding of blood (*shefikhut damim*) is the primeval sin (Gen. 4:8) and throughout the centuries ranks in Jewish law as the gravest and most reprehensible of all offenses (cf. Maim. *Guide*, 3:41, and Yad, Roẓe'aḥ 1:4); "violence" in Genesis 6:13 was murder (Gen. R. 31:6), and the "very wicked sinners" of Sodom (Gen. 13:13) were murderers (Sanh. 109a). Bloodshed is the subject of the first admonition of a criminal nature in the Bible: "Whoever sheds the blood of man by man shall his blood be shed; for in His image did God make man" (Gen. 9:6). God will require a reckoning for human life, of every man for that of his fellow man (Gen. 9:5). Blood unlawfully shed cries out to God from the ground (Gen. 4:10) and "pollutes the land, and the land can have no expiation for blood that is shed on it except by the blood of him who shed it" (Num. 35:33) (see *Bloodguilt). Blood unlawfully shed is innocent blood (*dam naki*) (Deut. 19:10, 13; 21:8; 27:25; I Sam. 19:5; II Kings 21:16; 24:4; Isa. 59:7; Jer. 2:34; 7:6; 19:4; 22:3, 17; Joel 4:19; et al.), of the righteous (Ex. 23:7; II Sam. 4:11; I Kings 2:32; Lam. 4:13), or blood shed "without cause" (*dam ḥinnam*) (I Kings 2:31; I Sam. 25:31). "Blood" is also often used as a term indicating general lawlessness and criminality (Isa. 1:15; Prov. 1:16, 18), "men of blood" are lawless criminals (II Sam. 16:7–8; Prov. 29:10), and "cities of blood" places of corruption and wickedness (Nah. 3:1). Following the biblical reference to the image of God (Gen. 9:6), it is said that all bloodshed is a disparagement of God's own image (Tosef., Yev. 8:4; Gen. R. 34:4), and caused God to turn away from the land, the Temple to be destroyed (Tosef., Yoma 1:12; Shab. 33a; Sif. Num. 161) and dispersion (*galut*) to come into the world (Avot 5:9; Num. R. 7:10).

Killing is prohibited as one of the Ten Commandments (Ex. 20:13; Deut. 5:17), but the death penalty is prescribed only for willful murder (Ex. 21:12, 14; Lev. 24:17, 21; Num. 35:16–21; Deut. 19:11), as distinguished from unpremeditated manslaughter or accidental killing (Ex. 21:13; Num. 35:22,23; Deut. 19:4–6). In biblical law, willfulness or premeditation is established by showing either that a deadly instrument was used (Num. 35:16–18) or that the assailant harbored hatred or enmity toward the victim (Num. 35:20–21; Deut. 19:11). The willful murderer is executed, but the accidental killer finds asylum in a *city of refuge. The following special cases of killing are mentioned in the Bible: causing the death of a slave by excessive chastisement (Ex. 21:20–21) – the injunction "he shall surely be punished" (*ibid.*) was later interpreted to imply capital punishment (Sanh. 52b); when a man surprises a burglar at night and kills him, there is no "bloodguilt" on him – it is otherwise if the killing is committed during daytime (Ex. 22:1–2); a man is liable to capital punishment where death is caused by his ox which he knew to be dangerous and failed to guard properly (Ex. 21:29) – but the death penalty may be substituted by *ransom (Ex. 21:30); when death ensues as a result of assaulting a man "with stone or fist," though without intent to kill, the killing is regarded as murder (Ex. 21:18 *e contrario*; cf. also Mekh. *Mishpatim*, 6); when a man had been killed and the killer was unknown, a solemn ritual had to be performed (see *Eglah Arufah*) in order that "the guilt for the blood of the innocent" should not remain among the people (Deut. 21:1–9).

Judicial murder was likewise regarded as "shedding the blood of the innocent" (Jer. 26:15; cf. Sus. 62) and hence as capital homicide (I Kings 21:19 as interpreted by Maim. Yad, Roẓe'aḥ, 4:9). Talmudic law greatly refined the distinctions between premeditated and unpremeditated homicide. Willful murder (*mezid*) was distinguished from "nearly willful" manslaughter (*shogeg karov la-mezid*), and unpremeditated homicide was subdivided into killings that were negligent, accidental, "nearly unavoidable" (*shogeg karov le-ones*), under duress (*ones*), or justifiable (Maim. Yad, Roẓe'aḥ Chs. 3–6). (For details of gradations of criminal intent, duress, and justification, see *Penal Law.)

"Justifiable" homicides include both those that are permissible, e.g., killing the burglar at night, and those that are obligatory, such as the participation in public executions (Lev. 20:2; 24:14; Deut. 17:7; 21:21; 22:21); killing a man in self-defense (Sanh. 72a), or to prevent a man from killing another or from committing rape (Sanh. 8:7); or the killing, in public, of persistent heretics and apostates (Maim. Yad, Roẓe'aḥ 4:10; Tur., ḤM 425). Failure to perform any such obligatory killing is regarded as a sin, but is not punishable (Maim. *ibid.*

1:15–16). Where heathens threaten to kill a whole group unless one of them is delivered up for being killed, they must rather all be killed and not deliver anyone; but if the demand is for a named individual, then he should be surrendered (TJ, Ter. 8:10 46b; Tosef., Ter. 7:20). While killing may be justifiable in self-defense or in defense of another's life (*supra*), the preservation of life (*pikku'aḥ nefesh*) in general does not afford justification to kill (Ket. 19a).

Talmudic law also further extended the principle that premeditation in murder is to be determined either by the nature of the instrument used or by previous expressions of enmity. While there are deadly instruments, such as iron bars or knives, the use of which would afford conclusive evidence of premeditation (Maim. Yad, Roẓe'aḥ, 3:4), the court will in the majority of cases have to infer premeditation not only from the nature of the instrument used, but also from other circumstances, such as which part of the victim's body was hit or served the assailant as his target, or the distance from which he hit or threw stones at the victim, or the assailant's strength to attack and the victim's strength to resist (*ibid.* 3:2; 5,6). Thus, where a man is pushed from the roof of a house, or into water or fire, premeditation will be inferred only when in all the proven circumstances – height of the house, depth of the water, respective strengths of assailant and victim – death was the natural consequence of the act and must have been intended by the assailant (*ibid.* 3:9). There is, however, notwithstanding the presence of premeditation, no capital murder in Jewish law, unless death is caused by the direct physical act of the assailant. Thus, starving a man to death, or exposing him to heat or cold or wild beasts, or in any other way bringing about his death by the anticipated – and however certain – operation of a supervening cause, would not be capital murder (*ibid.* 3:10–13). The same applies to murder committed not by the instigator himself, but by his agent or servant (*ibid.* 2:2; as to accomplices see *Penal Law).

As regards liability to capital punishment, it does not matter even that the victim was a newborn infant (Nid. 5:3; Maim., *ibid.* 2:6) provided he was viable for at least 30 days (*ibid.*), nor that the victim was so old or sick as to be about to die anyhow (Sanh. 78a; Maim. *ibid.* 2:7); but when a man was *in extremis* from fatal wounds inflicted on him by others, it would not be capital murder to kill him (*ibid.*). The categories of capital murder were thus drastically cut down by talmudic law: only premeditated murder, at the hands of the accused himself, committed after previous warning by two witnesses (*hatra'ah*, see *Evidence, *Penal Law), was punishable by death. *Execution was by the sword (Sanh. 9:1). The other, noncapital, categories of homicide – excluding homicides under duress and justification – could still be punished by the death penalty, either at the hands of the king or, in situations of emergency, even by the court (Maim. *ibid.* 2:4; and see *Extraordinary Remedies); failing this, in the language of Maimonides, "the court would be bound to administer *floggings so grave as to approach the death penalty, to impose *imprisonment on severest conditions for long periods, and to inflict all sorts of pain in order to deter and frighten other criminals" (*ibid.* 2:5). In this respect, homicide differs from all other capital offenses, for which either the prescribed capital punishment is inflicted or none at all; the reason is that homicide – as distinguished from other grave capital offenses, such as idolatry, incest, or the desecration of the Sabbath – "destroys the civilization of the world" (*ibid.* 4:9). In exceptional cases of excess of justification, as where the justificatory purpose could have been attained by means short of killing, or where the justificatory purpose allowed by law was exceeded, "He is deemed a shedder of blood and he deserves to be put to death. He may not, however be put to death by the court" (Maim. Yad, Roẓe'aḥ, 1:13). In post-talmudic times, homicides within the Jewish communities were relatively rare, and even the justifiable – including the obligatory – classes of homicide fell into obsolescence. Opinions differed in the various periods and various places as to what the proper punishment was to be: some early scholars held that no murderer should be executed, but only flogged and ostracized (see *Ḥerem; Natronai Gaon, quoted in Tur, ḤM 425; *Or Zaru'a*, Hilkhot Tefillah 112; *Sha'arei Ẓedek* 4:7, 38); others held that murderers should be executed, but not by the sword (*Zikhron Yehudah* 58; Resp. Ribash 251; Resp. Maharam of Lublin 138; et al.; cf. *Ḥokhmat Shelomo*, Sanh. 52b. On the law in the State of Israel see *Capital Punishment.

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[Haim Hermann Cohn / Menachem Elon (2nd ed.)]

HOMILETIC LITERATURE. The scope of this article extends from the Middle Ages to modern times (for the talmudic period see *Midrash, **Aggadah*, and *Preaching) and deals with the nature of the homily and works in the sphere of homiletic literature. For a discussion of the history and art of preaching see *Preaching.

Middle Ages

DEVELOPMENT. Medieval Hebrew homiletic literature was not a direct continuation of the homiletic literature of the midrashic-talmudic period. Contemporaneous social and cultural conditions were basic to its development. Medieval homiletic forms therefore vary in many aspects from those of the older homiletic literature, though in some respects it is still in the tradition of the Midrash. The *darshan* (preacher) might have considered the midrashic form ideal but it no longer answered medieval needs.

With the exception of the great corpus of halakhic writings, homiletic literature is the richest and most extensive medieval literary form. Collections of sermons are found in the wealth of works written by rabbis throughout the Middle Ages. The homily was central to both Eastern and Western Jewries, and was used also in philosophical and kabbalistic literature. Homiletic literature appealed to all social and intellectual levels, and persons from different stations in life perpetuated it. Financially, some preachers were only slightly better off than the *kabẓanim* (itinerant beggars) and wandered from one small town to the next to preach for a very small fee. Others were among those rabbis who achieved great fame, wealth, and influence. While the Middle Ages produced comprehensive collections of homilies centered on accepted Jewish norms, the sermon was also a means through which profound and revolutionary medieval ideas were introduced into Judaism.

Homiletic literature, a genre within *ethical literature, mainly aims to educate the public toward moral and religious behavior in everyday life and during times of crisis. It differs from other ethical literary forms in that it appeals directly to its audience. It is in fact a product of the direct confrontation between the public and the teacher and has therefore a much more immediate effect. During the Middle Ages, the sermon exerted great influence on Jewish ideology and historical development; it was the most effective tool in forging abstract ideas into a historical force. Homiletic literature is also the most continuous and widespread form of ethical literature. Beginning with the 16th century, there is hardly a Jewish community in Eastern Europe or the East that did not produce preachers whose sermons were written down and often printed. Since the 12th century, with the exception of halakhic writings, homiletic literature is the only Hebrew literary form to enjoy uninterrupted development.

FUNCTION. For the medieval listener the homily fulfilled the functions of a newspaper, the theater, the television and radio, a good work of fiction, didactic writings, and political treatises. A good sermon had to be informative, educational, and entertaining. It served as a platform to disseminate information and news, whether local or of distant lands. To the listener the sermon was also a behavioral guide for every situation with which he might be confronted. At the same time, however, he enjoyed it from an artistic point of view. The art of rhetoric, which flourished during the Middle Ages, found its keenest expression in the sermon. As far as may be discerned from extant medieval literary documents, the medieval listener reacted to the preacher first and foremost as an artist, and judged the sermon aesthetically: the didactic and informative elements were secondary. It is, however, difficult to evaluate the role of rhetoric in the medieval sermons at hand since the aesthetic value of their rhetoric can only be fully appreciated in the oral form. The sermon which was committed to writing either by the preacher or his disciples usually concentrated on didactic elements rather than on the rhetorical and artistic techniques used in the oral presentation. The vast body of extant homiletic works, either in printed form or in manuscripts, should therefore be seen only as the partial realization of the Jewish homily, rather than its fullest aesthetic expression.

TRADITIONAL FORM OF THE HOMILY. The traditionalism inherent in homiletic literature made it a popular form of education and artistic enjoyment. The listeners were at least partially acquainted with the vast body of homiletic works which tradition had bequeathed to medieval Jewish society and on which the preacher drew. The great Talmudic rabbis who had formulated the *halakhah* had also dealt with homiletics. Their homiletic sayings, and occasionally parts of their sermons, are incorporated in talmudic and midrashic literature which every medieval Jew studied. Knowledge of homiletic literature was regarded as one of the highest social and cultural virtues. No other medieval literary form, except the *halakhah*, was held in such high esteem. The medieval *darshan* was seen as a descendant of the sages of the Midrash and his role was therefore hallowed by tradition. The traditionalism in homiletics has its roots not only in the history of the Jewish homily but is based on the inner character of the Hebrew sermon. Homiletic literature is essentially a traditional art form where ancient and holy texts are the point of departure for a discussion of contemporary problems, thus showing that the old tradition is relevant to contemporary times.

In midrashic literature, it is frequently difficult to distinguish between exegesis and homiletics. The point of distinction between these two literary forms is the inclination of the writer: if he is primarily concerned with the ancient text, the work will be regarded as exegetical; but if it is in the form of a sermon, it will be regarded as homiletic The medieval *darshan* was regarded not only as a preacher, but also as the disciple of the ancient sages whose exegesis of the Bible was accepted as the one and true interpretation. Since the Jew of the Middle Ages knew talmudic-midrashic literature, as well as the Bible, all of which was considered holy, accordingly, medieval sermons frequently do not start with a biblical verse, but with a talmudic saying, which the *darshan* interprets to suit his homiletic purpose. In most medieval Hebrew homiletical works, the interpretation of biblical verses and rabbinic sayings are interwoven in the fabric of the sermon and the medieval *darshanim* repeatedly showed that the same meaning was hidden within the words of these two ancient literatures.

The medieval Hebrew sermon drew on the Midrash for most of its literary devices and, like the ancient Hebrew homily, was filled to overflowing with verses and sayings. One of the main aims of the *darshan* was to make his idea the dominant concept in the sermon and to show through numerous quotations that it is frequently found in the ancient tradition. It was customary to cite or quote the Bible to which the *darshan* would add at least two rabbinic sayings to substantiate his argument. The biblical and rabbinic references formed one section of the homily and were aimed at showing one particular detail of the whole thesis of the *darshan*. It created the impression that the sermon was entirely within the traditional Jewish context and that nothing new had been said in the *derashah*; that the *darshan* had merely expressed and emphasized in a new form certain ideas imbedded in the ancient texts which were really well-known to the public. Even philosophers, kabbalists, Shabbateans, and Ḥasidim couched their most revolutionary ideas in traditional terminology and delivered sermons whose language was readily acceptable to their listeners. Indeed, the listeners readily thought that these new ideas were a correct outgrowth out of the ancient texts that were quoted. Homiletics thus helped to smooth the way for the introduction of new ideas into traditional Judaism. Moreover, homiletics was the great popularizing agent in Hebrew literature, for the appearance of a new idea in a homily helped to gain it widespread acceptance.

HOMILETICS AND ETHICAL LITERATURE. Medieval homiletic literature was an integral part of Hebrew ethical literature and some of the most important ethical works were written in the form of homilies, e.g., *Hegyon ha-Nefesh* by *Abraham bar Ḥiyya (12th century Spain); *Kad Ha-Kemaḥ* by *Baḥya b. Asher b. Ḥlava (late 13th century). In addition, important innovations in ethical theory, ideas of Judah Loew b. Bezalel, *Ephraim Solomon ben Aaron of Luntschitz, and the ethical formulations of the ḥasidic movement, were first expressed in homiletic form. There is a close relationship between homiletics and ethics in that both aimed at teaching the community new moral and theological ideas through the use of homilies. In both forms new ideas were expressed in a traditional manner, though the sermon could generally do this far better than the ethical treatise. The *darshan* drew on all earlier respected sources, of which the best known and most widely read were to be found in ethical literature in general, and in earlier homiletic literature in particular. Thus during the Middle Ages and early modern period the literary treasure-house on which the preacher drew for his quotations grew from generation to generation. Continually quoted were the homilies of Maimonides, Saadiah b. Joseph Gaon, Jonah b. Abraham Gerondi, Naḥmanides, Baḥya b. Joseph ibn Paquda, the Zohar, Moses Alshekh, Solomon b. Moses Alkabeẓ, Judah Loew b. Bezalel, and Moses Ḥayyim b. Luzzatto. The *darshan* even drew upon the sayings of writers whose outlook was different from his own. Thus Baḥya b. Joseph ibn Paquda, a philosopher and rationalist, was quoted by kabbalists, rabbinical thinkers, and Ḥasidim who essentially disagreed with his main ideas, as well as by preachers who shared his philosophical views. At a time when a biblical verse could be interpreted in as many ways as the preacher wished, it was usual for statements by early medieval thinkers to be taken out of context and brought as proof of an idea which that thinker would not have accepted. The phenomenon is undoubtedly part of the traditionalistic character of the homily which utilized all Jewish literature and thought as legitimate sources to substantiate its validity. Even ancient ideological conflicts were forgotten so that the preacher might use the sayings of both sides to demonstrate his own concept which might differ from either earlier theory. In relation to the homily, Judaism was ideologically unified in support of the ideas of the preacher. It is one of the unique aspects of traditional Jewish literature that the validity of a work is not voided just because one disagrees with the approach taken. Homiletic literature has served an important role in the history of Jewish thought. It helped to mitigate the sharpness of ideological conflict and change, and to form a body of accepted, traditional or pseudo-traditional ideas common to all Jews. Often ideas and books rejected either by most Jews or all were reinterpreted in a homiletical way which enabled them to remain within the fabric of Jewish culture. Thus homiletics was instrumental in making Jewish medieval culture a continuous whole.

Structure of Sermon

The Hebrew sermon in medieval and early modern times was not constructed as a single homiletic entity. The preacher divided the homily into two parts, the "large" sermon and the "small," each requiring its own norms, formulas, and artistic values. The "large" sermon comprised the overall structure of the homily, which was usually based upon either a verse or verses from the weekly portion of the Torah, one of the festivals, a marriage, bar mitzvah or commemoration of the death of a communal leader or a famous rabbi. The sermon was regarded as an artistic unit with a beginning, middle, and end, whose structure was influenced by the accepted rhetorical norms of the time. It usually took about a half hour to deliver, which in print covers from five to 10 pages. The second part of the sermon, the "small" homiletic unit – the *derush* – is the basic element from which the sermon was constructed. The *derush*, toward which the preacher directed most of his creative capacity, has no exact parallel in the Christian or Muslim sermon. Essentially exegetical in character, the *derush* was derived from the ancient Midrash. Whereas the "large" homiletic unit was didactic, either moralistic or ideological, the "small" unit was exegetic – an independent homily on a biblical verse or a talmudic saying. The artistic unity of the sermon depended upon the ability of the preacher to weave a long series of *derushim* into a whole. The methods used to construct the *derush* were largely influenced by midrashic literature. Preachers did not try to reveal the simple meaning of the biblical verse, but rather to show that the verse contained unimagined depths, open to multiple interpretation. Medieval preachers, unlike midrashic sages, used grammatical and linguistic methods not to discover the true meaning of the language, but to find an exegesis suitable to their didactic and homiletical purposes. Similarly, other methods, especially the various forms of *gematria and *notarikon, were used to prove that the verse under consideration had meanings unconnected to the literal meaning of its words. After the 16th century (see below) such methods became paramount, preachers drawing further away from the simple, literal meaning of their chosen texts.

Preachers and listeners, however, knew and regarded the literal meaning of the ancient texts. But listeners did not come to the *derashah* for an exegesis of the Bible in order to understand it better. That could be accomplished at home by studying well-known biblical and talmudic commentaries. It was expected that the *derashah* would show the contemporary relevance of the ancient texts. Further, the *derashah* was expected to be an artistic performance where seemingly unconnected ideas were suddenly shown to be related. It was accepted that the exegetical part of the sermon was, to some extent, a verbal game at which the preacher had to prove his mastery. He could, therefore, use any means of exegesis justified by tradition.

During the Renaissance some preachers read Cicero and other, usually Latin, classical writers and the "large" sermon, or the *derashah* as a whole, absorbed certain classical rhetorical teachings. For example, the structure of the homily was divided into an introduction, a thesis and its development, and a conclusion. But the impact of classical writers upon the Hebrew homily was slight and superficial, the predominant influence remaining the midrashic tradition. The classical speeches of Cicero and others could not replace the sermon from *Leviticus Rabbah* as the ideal. However, when Jews preached in other languages, in Italian for instance, they used classical rhetorical forms extensively. Similarly, the modern Jewish sermon in German, English, or French is not essentially different in form from Christian sermons in those languages. Only in languages other than Hebrew did Jewish preachers share significantly the more universal norms of classical rhetoric.

Aesthetics of Sermon

The artistic value of the sermon was based upon one rhetorical device: surprise, universally employed by Hebrew homilists throughout the Middle Ages. But the element of surprise was difficult to achieve. On the one hand, the texts used by the Hebrew homilist were well-known to his listeners, who were usually able to recite verses by heart and were familiar with the talmudic and midrashic sayings. (The opposite was true of medieval Christians who were usually ignorant of both the Old and New Testaments.) On the other hand, the didactic content of the sermon could not be startlingly new. Moralistic preaching intended to reprove the listeners and guide them toward correct behavior but did not reveal any ideas unknown to the community. Preachers who used new theological ideas, philosophical or kabbalistic, did not present them as novel, but rather as traditional ideas found in the ancient literature and used by former teachers and homilists. Yet surprise was the element the preacher strove to achieve in his homily; it was also what the congregation expected, and the basis on which his artistic prowess was assessed. Surprise was achieved in only one way: by creating an unexpected connection between the text and the theme of the sermon. In a good sermon, the well-known text was revealed in a totally new light. That every listener knew the preacher's text, its context, its accepted interpretation, and usually the main commentaries, and some of its aggadic and midrashic exegesis, actually served the preacher's artistic method. Interest in the sermon was created by the fact that the listeners were anxious to learn what the preacher saw in verses whose interpretation they already knew. The artistry of the preacher was revealed in demonstrating that the text had unsuspected depths, and that it could be connected to the theme of the sermon, though initially there had apparently been no link between them.

The method of surprise was practiced in different ways. If the sermon was dedicated to Ḥanukkah, for example, the preacher quoted a text in which there was no mention of anything connected with that holiday. Then he would proceed to prove that the text was directly connected with the occasion, thus surprising the audience with his homiletical artistry. Another practice, common in the opening of ancient homilies, was to cite two texts or two verses which seemed to have nothing in common, and which were far removed from the thesis of the sermon, and to demonstrate their unsuspected connection.

This technique was utilized throughout the homily. Often a preacher quoted a text, explained it in a surprising manner, then, seemingly forgetting it, he treated other texts only to unexpectedly show their relationship to the first text. The skillful *darshan*, who revealed surprising meaning within an ancient text, used the text as a unifying theme throughout the sermon. The method outlined above achieved the following: it brought the sacred text to life and proved it to be relevant to contemporary circumstances and problems; it enabled the preacher to extricate new ideas from the ancient texts; it gave unity to the sermon, enabling the listeners to remember its main points; and, above all – the artfulness of the preacher was a source of enjoyment to the congregation.

Although the artistic ideal discussed above was seldom achieved, most preachers attempted some approximation of it. Often the intensity of the didactic motive within the sermon and the preacher prevented this ideal from being realized. In fact, the artistic development of the sermon diminished as the didactic intensity of the preacher increased. When angered by some breach in moral behavior, the preacher devoted himself to correcting that evil and gave little attention to artistic considerations. Rather the preacher quoted text after text, each clearly related to the moral problem at hand; the demand for clarity superseding the demand for artistry. Similarly, when the preacher was teaching a philosophical idea unfamiliar to his listeners he presented texts which directly and literally proved his thesis. Only when the didactic impulse was not so strong was the artistic element allowed to shape the sermon.

The aesthetic element in the medieval sermon is not always obvious to the modern reader, principally because of the special cultural tradition shared by the preacher and his listeners. The preacher expressed his ideas in the form most understandable to a specific community at a specific time in its history. Thus, the modern reader finds it difficult to follow *gematriyya'ot*, which were commonplace to the medieval listener. The more intense the cultural tradition within a certain community, the more difficult it is for outsiders to follow the artistry of the preacher.

Some rhetorical devices used by most preachers were not deleted even when a powerful didactic tension existed between the preacher and his listeners. Such devices included the classical rhetorical techniques of ethical literature like the story, the fable, the joke, and the epigram. However, the aesthetic value of the medieval sermon rested mainly on the element of surprise.

Another important reason why the rhetorical artistry of the medieval homily remains obscure to the modern reader is that few sermons of that period have survived in the form in which they were delivered. The process of committing a sermon to writing usually resulted in changing its structure and even its purpose. In a written sermon, and more so in a printed one, the content was not confined to an immediate problem of interest only to one community. In writing down his sermon the preacher gave the problems wider meaning and a more general applicability, but at the cost of losing the immediacy of impact of the oral version. Obviously, in a written sermon most of the rhetorical devices lose much of their effect. Because a book must be written in a form that bears repeated reading, the element of surprise, the most important rhetorical device of the oral sermon, was superfluous and meaningless. Accordingly, it is impossible to judge the artistry of the oral sermon by those which have come down to us in writing.

In writing down their sermons, some preachers remained relatively faithful to the original texts delivered orally. Others departed so completely from the oral form that the written sermon is almost a different work. Most of the sermons that survive are between these two types, i.e., they preserve the main elements of the oral form but have lost their original structure, rhetorical devices, and special didactic themes. Many ancient homiletic works did not reach the Middle Ages in their original form, but were arranged in an exegetical manner where each verse is explained. Medieval writers followed the tradition of the ancient sages and left a large body of literature whose character is somewhere between the homiletic and the exegetic. This category includes some of the most significant medieval works, such as those of Isaac b. Moses *Arama in Spain, Moses Alshekh and Solomon Alkabeẓ in Safed, and Judah Loew b. Bezalel of Prague. Medieval homiletic literature falls into two groups: that based upon oral preaching, and that based purely upon written exegesis. The major distinction is that exegetic works comment successively upon every verse without establishing a connection between the commentaries. Homiletic exegesis chooses problems from the Torah and comments upon them at length. This selectivity of both text and theme separates homiletic works from purely exegetic works. Homilies such as these, however, have little to do with oral preaching and rhetorical art.

History

No other body of Hebrew literature has received so little attention from modern scholars as homiletic literature. There is not even a comprehensive study of the field, and only a few critical editions of important works exist. Most homiletic works remain in manuscript, and those that were printed lack scholarly bibliography. There are very few studies of individual homilists, biographically or bibliographically. At present it is therefore impossible to give a detailed history of the Hebrew homily. Nevertheless a rough outline is possible.

In the early Middle Ages oral homilies were delivered, but preachers usually did not write down their sermons, which were thereby lost. During the gaonic period, vast literary work was done in homiletics, but as a continuation of early midrashic literature. Most of the extant midrashic works were compiled during that period, with medieval editors adding new material to the old. A few such works are *Exodus Rabbah, Numbers Rabba, Genesis Rabbati, Midrash ha-Gadol*, and later, anthologies like the famous *Yalkut Shimoni. Some original works, for example *Pirkei de-Rabbi Eliezer, were written in a manner similar to the ancient homiletic tradition. Apparently, during this period rearranging and editing old homiletic material was a sufficient substitute for creative work, at least in the area of writing.

The first example of original medieval homiletic work is found in *She'iltot* by *Aḥa of Shabḥa. Modern studies have shown this to be a collection of homilies, delivered orally and then written down, whose main aim was halakhic elucidation but which also dealt with aggadic, moral, and ethical problems. *She'iltot* has a definite rhetorical structure, based upon a thesis, a question, an answer, an exposition, and a conclusion. This literature flourished in Babylonia in the gaonic period, and was transmitted to Palestine. *She'iltot* was translated or edited from the Aramaic into Hebrew in the form of the *Sefer ve-Hizhir* (1880), which may also be only a surviving remnant of a greater body of homiletic literature.

In Europe the growth of homiletic literature proper (excluding editing of old midrashic material) is closely connected with the flourishing of Jewish *philosophy. The first such homiletic work extant is Abraham bar Ḥiyya's *Hegyon ha-Nefesh*, a collection of four sermons, whose common theme is repentance. Abraham bar Ḥiyya was followed by Jacob *Anatoli and other philosophical homilists who created a school of homilists that continued to develop until the expulsion of the Jews from Spain (Isaac Arama, the author of *Akedat Yiẓḥak*, being one of the last of this school). The philosophical homilist faced a new series of problems, i.e., the formulation of a homiletic connection between biblical verses and philosophical ideas, derived from Plato or Aristotle, which have no basis in the Bible. The artistry of the philosophical homilist was demonstrated when he succeeded in proving that seemingly foreign philosophical ideas, if interpreted in the right homiletic manner, have a basis in the Scriptures.

At about the same time, another school of homilists was developing among the Ḥasidei Ashkenaz in Germany. *Sefer Ḥasidim*, the main ethical work of this movement, contains hundreds of long and short homilies on ethical themes, extensively used by subsequent moralists and homilists, first in Germany and then in Safed and in Eastern Europe. The esoteric theological literature of this movement also contains much homiletic material. However, the main contribution of the Ḥasidei Ashkenaz to Hebrew homiletics was the formulation of hermeneutical methods of homiletic interpretation of verses from the Bible, prayers, and *piyyutim*. These methods, based upon study of the letters in each section of the sacred literature, checking their meaning in *notarikon* and counting their numerical value, among dozens of other devices, served the later Hebrew homilists especially in Eastern Europe.

To a large extent kabbalistic literature was also based on homiletic works. Some, like the Zohar and the Sefer ha-*Bahir, were pseudepigraphical and written in the manner of early midrashim. In these works medieval homiletics were expressed in the language of the tannaitic period. However, some kabbalists, like Baḥya ben Asher in his homiletic exegesis of the Torah, also developed contemporary homiletics, using the accepted medieval norms. Many kabbalists, for example, Naḥmanides and Baḥya b. Asher in *Kad ha-Kemaḥ*, also wrote quasi-rabbinic sermons in which they did not reveal, or did not stress, their kabbalistic teachings. Kabbalistic homiletic literature penetrated to new depths the symbolic significance of the ancient texts and later generations have made use of their hermeneutical methods.

One of the peaks in the development of Hebrew homiletic literature was reached in Italy during the Renaissance and the 17th century. Some of the greatest Hebrew homilists – Judah *Moscato, Azariah *Figo, Leone of Modena – lived in those periods. The general cultural atmosphere and the influence of classical Latin rhetoric on Jewish scholars in Italy encouraged preachers to devote more thought to the aesthetic aspects of the homily. Ideological controversies and moral admonishing were transmuted by a new concentration on the beauty of the sermon. All of the methods developed earlier – including those of the kabbalists – were used in a new and more aesthetic way. Nevertheless, this influence was not very great because the major source of 16th century Hebrew homiletic literature was Safed.

After the expulsion from Spain, new centers of Jewish learning were established in other countries, especially Turkey (Salonika, Smyrna) and Palestine. In these areas homiletic literature was infused with new vigor, and the foundation for later and even modern homiletics was laid. Most of the important preachers were of the school of Joseph *Taitaẓak, and the most important among them was Moses Alshekh. In his monumental collection of homilies, Moses treated every portion of the Torah in depth, raising numerous homiletical problems and developing exemplary literary homilies about each portion. Other writers in Safed, among them Solomon *Alkabeẓ, contributed to the city's fame as a homiletical center. During this period in the Ottoman Empire in general and Salonika, Smyrna, and Safed in particular, there was also an increase in the quantity of creative work in homiletics. Eastern Europe, although the population center of Jewry and soon to be the cultural center as well, came completely under the influence of the East. Many works of the hundreds of preachers in the East were lost or remained in manuscripts, but those which survived became the major source for later Hebrew homilists.

During the 17th and 18th centuries, homiletics became the most developed branch of Jewish literature with the exception of halakhic writings. The number of homiletic collections compiled at this time probably reached into the thousands. All ideological conflicts of the period were recorded, or sometimes initiated, in the works of great writers and socially sensitive men like Judah Loew b. Bezalel or Ephraim Solomon ben Aaron of Luntschitz. The Shabbatean movement also produced homiletic literature; in fact, some of the greatest homiletic works of the period were written by believers in Shabbetai Ẓevi who only hinted at this belief in their writings. Among them were *Elijah ha-Kohen of Smyrna (*Shevet Musar*), Jonathan *Eybeschuetz, and the anonymous author of the important collection, **Ḥemdat Yamim*, one of the period's best homiletic works in Hebrew.

Ḥasidic literature of the 18th and 19th centuries is, from the point of view of literary forms, a direct continuation of the homiletic literature produced in Eastern Europe by preceding generations. Like most homiletic works, ḥasidic homilies are kabbalistic in ideology and moralistic in expression. *Ḥasidism, however, is the only religious movement in Judaism which made homiletic literature its dominant, and for a long time, almost exclusive means of expression. Few ḥasidic works were written as ethical works, and since 1815 some collections of stories are found in ḥasidic literature; but collections of homilies were the only writings produced by early and most important ḥasidic teachers – *Jacob Joseph of Polonnoye, *Dov Baer of Mezhirich, *Levi Isaac of Berdichev, *Elimelech of Lyzhansk, *Naḥman of Bratslav, and even *Shneur Zalman of Lyady (whose *Tanya* is written in the manner of an ethical book). In the court of the ḥasidic rabbi, the Sabbath sermon acquired new importance because it became the rabbi's chief means of teaching the theology of the new movement to his disciples. Studying the homiletic teachings of the rabbi became in some cases more important than the study of *halakhah*. Even today, ḥasidic rabbis publish their teachings in the form of homilies.

[Joseph Dan]

Modern Period

The modern sermon, traditional *derashah*, has a tendency to find its way into print, though by definition its efficacy lay in the spoken word. Not only did preachers themselves publish their sermons, but also relatives, friends, and admirers frequently did so as an act of posthumous respect, accompanied by the apologetic statement "by public demand." Sometimes sermons were published by listeners who wrote out from memory sermons they had heard. The sermon stands midway between the *derashah* and the lecture, the dividing line, particularly in their published form, not always being very clear. As with the *derashah*, sermonic literature can be an important source for the social and religious history of a given period.

HISTORY. Modern homiletic literature begins in the 19th century (see *Preaching), but its antecedents lie in the 17th and 18th centuries. Refugees from Spain and Portugal brought with them to Amsterdam, London, Hamburg, Bordeaux, Bayonne and elsewhere a tradition of sermons in the vernacular – probably influenced by the Church (see the bibliography of Spanish and Portuguese sermons in M. Kayserling's supplements to his *Bibliothek juedischer Kanzelredner*, 1870–72, 2 vols.; C. Roth, Mag. Bibl. 322 ff.). In the 18th century sermons delivered in synagogues on patriotic occasions were usually published, some of them in translation from the original Hebrew or Yiddish. Moses Mendelssohn wrote the sermon which David Fraenkel delivered in Berlin on the occasion of the victories of Frederick II at Rossbach and Leuthen during the Seven Years' War (1757, published by M. Kayserling, *Zum Siegesfeste*, 1866; see also Rosenbach, *An American Jewish Bibliography* (1926), no. 36; also in English, C. Roth, *ibid.*, 324; Rosenbach, *ibid.*, nos. 35, 37, 38, 42). Similarly, Mendelssohn composed a sermon for Aaron Moses on the occasion of the Peace of Hubertusburg (1763). A sermon written in Hebrew on the death of Frederick II in 1786 by N.H. Wessely was translated into German by L. Bendavid (for England see C. Roth, *ibid.*; for an 18th-century example in the U.S. see Rosenbach *ibid.*, no. 80, cf. Roth, *ibid.*, 325, no. 26). On the occasion of the coronation of Franz I as emperor of Austria (1792), Moses Muenz preached a sermon in Vienna which was published in German translation; and David Sinzheim devoted one to the "glorious victories" of Napoleon in 1805. The Napoleonic Wars also occasioned sermons by Prussian rabbis as when special services were held for Jews who volunteered for the Prussian forces (cf. S.M. Weyl's sermon *Hoffnung und Vertrauen* held in Berlin on March 28, 1813, translated from the Hebrew by I.L. Auerbach; and L.J. Saalschuetz, *Rede und Gebet*, Koenigsberg, 1815). The coming of peace in 1814 was celebrated by Herz Homberg in a sermon in Vienna, and by M. Benlevi in Hildesheim.

THE SERMON IN THE AGE OF REFORM. While the patriotic sermon continued to occupy an important place in the modern preacher's repertory (see below: Subjects and Titles), the age of emancipation and synagogue reform brought to the fore the regular Sabbath and festival sermon in the vernacular, which have since constituted the bulk of homiletic literature. The traditionalists at first opposed the new sermon as much as other reforms, and for a time its use was restricted to its innovators. The consistorial system introduced by Napoleon in France and its dependencies in other European countries, included a provision which required the rabbi to deliver his sermon in the vernacular. In Germany such sermons were first delivered, among other places, in I. *Jacobson's school in Seesen, the Philanthropin school in Frankfurt, the private Reform services held in Berlin, the new Temple in Hamburg, and the improvised services arranged at the Leipzig fairs. In his *Die Gottesdienstlichen Vortraege der Juden* (1832), L. *Zunz, one of the early preachers, showed the antiquity of the Jewish homily in the vernacular. His sermons at the Reform services in Berlin, two of which appeared separately in 1817 and 1820, were published in 1823. Others among the early preachers whose sermons were published either singly or in collections were Joseph b. Wolf, Dessau; Israel Jacobson, Seesen and Berlin; I.L. *Auerbach, Leipzig; David *Friedlaender, E. Kley, and G. *Salomon, Berlin and Hamburg; and Joseph von Maier, Stuttgart. In Vienna, I.N. *Mannheimer introduced German sermons in 1821. Some Orthodox rabbis, such as J. *Ettlinger, I. *Bernays, S.R. *Hirsch, Z.B. *Auerbach, and S. Plessner soon recognized the futility of opposing such a useful vehicle of religious influence and instruction and published sermons of their own. Before the middle of the 19th century, men like M. *Creizenach, M. *Jost, S. *Herxheimer, S. *Formstecher, A. *Geiger, L. *Philippsohn, J.L. *Saalschuetz, and M. *Sachs occupied pulpits in German synagogues and published their sermons in book form or in special periodicals (see below).

SERMONS IN EUROPE 1850– . The printed sermon became a well-established genre of Jewish literature in Europe by the middle of the 19th century, a time in which Protestant sermonic literature flourished in Victorian England in particular. In Germany, Reform rabbis like Samuel Holdheim, A. Geiger, the historian Levi *Herzfeld, scholars M. *Joel and J. *Perles, N. and A. *Bruell, and Marcus *Horovitz, and prominent preachers L. *Stein, S. *Maybaum, D. *Leindoerfer had their sermons published. Congregations in Austria and the German-speaking parts of Hungary, Bohemia, Moravia, Slovakia, and even Galicia and Romania offered their pulpits to preachers from Germany and vice versa. Thus A. *Jellinek was active both in Leipzig and Vienna; A. *Schwarz in Karlsruhe and Vienna; David *Kaufmann in Berlin and Budapest as was Joel *Mueller. To Vienna belong the sermons of M. *Guedemann, A. *Schmiedl, D. *Feuchtwang, and H.P. *Chajes; the latter's sermons appeared both in German and Italian (from his Florence and Trieste period). In Hungary, too, Reform produced a sermonic literature in German and Hungarian by such prominent scholars and preachers as H.B. Fassel; L. and J. *Loew, S. *Hevesi, A. Perls, and A. Kiss. Even in Poland and Russia the first attempts at Reform were accompanied by sermons in German as exemplified by those published by W. Tugendhaft (Vilna, 1843), S.A. *Schwabacher (Odessa, 1875, 1884) and I.W. Olschwanger (St. Petersburg, 1879). Early sermons in the U.S. (see below) were also preached and printed in German. Prominent preachers in the early 20th century who published sermons were C. Seligmann and L. *Baeck among Reform rabbis, S. *Breuer and N.A. *Nobel among the Orthodox.

ENGLAND. In England, from the middle of the 19th century, both Orthodox and Reform synagogue sermons began to be published: A. Belais (*Biblical Expositions*, English and Hebrew, 1844); Raphael Meldola (1844), I. Albu (*A Word in Due Season*, 1853); M.H. Bresslau (1858); of mild or radical Reform tendencies are those of D.W. Marks (1851, 1862, 1865); M. Joseph (1893, 1906, 1930), Israel *Abrahams and Claude G. *Montefiore (1895^{2}, 1906) I.I. *Mattuck (1937); A.A. Green (1935); and several volumes by Ignaz *Maybaum (1951, 1962, 1965) dealing with the theological problems arising from the Holocaust. Sermons were published by four successive chief rabbis of Great Britain: N.M. and H. *Adler, J.H. *Hertz, and I. *Brodie. Other rabbis whose sermons were published included: H. *Gollancz (1909, 1916, 1924), E. Levine (1935), S.L. Lehrman (1957), and A. Cohen (1960). The chief rabbis in South Africa, J.L. *Landau (1936) and L.I. Rabinowitz (1952^{2}, 1955) had their sermons printed, as did J. Newman (1958). Earlier, some German sermons had been translated into English (cf. G. Solomon, *Twelve Sermons*, 1893).

FRANCE AND OTHER EUROPEAN COUNTRIES. In France the outstanding preacher in the 19th century was Chief Rabbi Zadoc Kahn, several volumes of whose sermons were published (1875, 1878, 1886–96). Also published were the sermons of chief rabbis J.W. Klein (1863); Alfred *Levy (1896); M.A. Weil (1880), B. Lipman (1928), and J. Kaplan. Many sermons in Dutch appeared in print (see Kayserling, *Bibliothek Juedischer Kanzelredner* 2 (1872), 69–70). Some of the Danish sermons by J.N. Mannheimer (1819), who was Danish by birth and served as preacher in Copenhagen (1816–21), were printed. The sermons of A.A. *Wolff, who preached in Danish, French, and German, and more recently, of M. Melchior and W.S. Jacobson (1941) were published as were the Swedish sermons of M. Ehrenpreis (see Kayserling, *ibid.* 70–71). Among the printed sermons of Italian preachers are those of Lelio della *Torre (1834, 1869, 1879, 1904), Marco Tedeschi (1866, 1929), S.D. *Luzzatto (1857), S.H. *Margulies (1891, 1956), E. *Benamozegh (1886), D. Prato (1950), and D.A. Vivanti (1929). Early Spanish or Portuguese sermons have already been mentioned; those by the Portuguese rabbi and scholar M.B. *Amzalak were published in 1927. There is also a homiletical literature in Ladino. Sermons in Russian, Polish, and Romanian were preached and published by the few modern, usually government-appointed rabbis in these countries, such as M. Jastrow, S. *Poznanski, and M. *Schorr. Some sermons have even been translated into Marathi (H. Alder, 1878; B.S. Ashtumker, *The Jewish Pulpit and Sermons*, Bombay, 1878).

YIDDISH AND HEBREW SERMONS. The arrival of large numbers of East European immigrants in England and the U.S., where Yiddish remained their language for at least one generation, resulted in additional homiletical literature in that language. In those countries collections of Yiddish sermons were published more as an aid to preachers than for the general public (see below). There is little original modern sermonic literature in Hebrew. In 1812–13 six sermons in German by Joseph b. Wolf of Dessau appeared with a Hebrew translation. Sermons by I.N. Mannheimer were translated into Hebrew (1865) as were those by A. Jellinek (1861, 1891, 1906, 1930). For the sermons of N.A. Nobel see *Hagut ve-Halakhah* (1969). Some Orthodox rabbis adopted the new medium, such as M.A. *Amiel (*Derashot el-Ammi*, 1924, and *Hegyonot el-Ammi*, 1933–36); J.L. *Zirelsohn (*Ma'arkhei Lev*, 1932); and A. Lewin (*Ha-Derash ve-ha-Iyyun*, 1928).

SUBJECTS AND TITLES. Collections of sermons often contain material for all occasions by the same author, or such material by different authors arranged according to subjects: Sabbath (Pentateuch readings), festivals – or the two combined; bar and bat mitzvah; weddings and funerals; rabbis' inaugural and farewell; consecrations of synagogues, cemeteries, and other communal institutions; and various anniversaries and jubilees. The Russian pogroms of 1903 and after produced many protest sermons. Patriotic sermons included those given on the occasion of national holidays, the restoration of peace, sovereign's birthday or death, wars and victories – which represent the least commendable category, especially when preachers indulged in chauvinistic sentiments and addressed volunteers or draftees.

A curiosity is a sermon preached for duelling students at Vienna. Sermons to children and youth, such as those by Charlotte de *Rothschild (also translated into German) and Simeon *Singer (1908), also constitute a special category. The title, especially of individual sermons, reflects the subject of the address. Collections often appear under such titles as *Sabbath Sermons, Festival Sermons* or just *Sermons*; but more fanciful names are also found, e.g., *My Religion, Oaks and Acorns, Reaching for the Moon, God on Trial, Hear, Oh Israel*, and *Short and Sweet*. Some sermons, published in languages other than Hebrew, have secondary Hebrew titles which are not always identical with the main title. Occasionally preachers devote a series of sermons to a particular subject (M. Horovitz, *Der Talmud*, 1883; S. Carlebach, *Das Gebet des R. Nechunjoh b. Hakkonoh*, 1903; *Eḥad mi Yode'a*, 1896; S. Hirsch, *Die Messiaslehre der Juden in Kanzel vortraegen*, 1843). Others wrote philosophical lectures (cf. R. Lewin, *Mose und Kant*, 1924).

FORM AND STYLE. Sermons, of course, reflect the literary ability of the preacher. Some sermons are written in a magnificent style, others are hardly readable. Nineteenth-century preachers produced an extremely ornate sermonic style, while modern preachers use a more sober and simple idiom. Sermons vary greatly in Jewish substance, ranging from the more or less original exposition of Bible and Midrash, with morals applied to contemporary problems, to the development of philosophical themes and the declamation of humanistic and ethical ideals as the essence of Judaism. Some sermons are long, having required at least an hour to deliver, others are short and pithy expositions which must have held the attention of the congregation to the end. There is even a sermon in verse (M. Jacobson, 1894).

FORM OF PUBLICATION. Some authors have published general collections of sermons. Others have published, either singly or in small groups, sermons delivered on special occasions. There are also collections of general or occasional sermons edited by different authors. These collections, along with periodicals devoted to sermonic literature, were intended mainly for the "professional" preacher. Among the collections of sermons the following should be mentioned: in German, S.L. Liepmannssohn's *Israelitische Predigtbibliothek*, 1842; W. Levy's collection of the same name in 1916; and, above all, M. Kayserling's *Bibliothek juedischer Kanzelredner* (2 vols., 1870, 1872). In English, *Best Jewish Sermons* (ed. I. Teplitz); G. Zelikovitch's *Der Idish-Amerikaner Redner* (521 sermons in English, Hebrew, and Yiddish, 1922[4]); the *Manuals of…Sermons* published since 1943 by the Rabbinical Council of America; the *I. Bettan Memorial* volume published by the Central Conference of American Rabbis, 1961; and *The American Rabbi*, 1961–62. For collections of Yiddish sermons see above. Sermonic periodicals included S.H. Sonneschein's *Homiletische Monatsschrift fuer Rabbiner* (1868); L. Philippson's *Israelitisches Predigtund Schulmagazin* (1834–36); *Katheder und Kanzel* (1894); and *Homiletische Zeitschrift* (*Yein Levanon*, 1912–13). For English periodicals see U.S. below. There were also homiletical journals in Hungarian.

A related type of literature are the collections of homiletic material, of which there are many in Hebrew and Yiddish, and which can also be found in handbooks for rabbis. An early work of this kind is A. Ehrenteil's *Ha-Maggid – Der juedische Prediger* (1854).

HOMILETICS. Many works, mostly lectures given at rabbinical seminaries, have been published as teaching manuals for student teachers and as contributions to homiletics as a branch of Jewish learning. Other works, like Zunz's famous *Gottesdienstliche Vortraege*, describe the history of the synagogue sermon. Between 1844 and 1856 E. Kley published his *Predigt-Skizzen, Beitrage zu einer kuenftigen Homiletik* (2 vols.). Also of importance are S. Maybaum's *Juedische Homiletik* (with texts and themes, 1890); L. Philippson's *Die Rhetorik und juedische Homiletik* of the same year; and J. Wohlgemuth's *Beitraege zu einer juedischen Homiletik* (1903–64). In French there is M. Weill's *La Parole de Dieu; ou, La Chaire israélite ancienne et moderne* (1880); and in English, A. Cohen's *Jewish Homiletics* (1937); S.B. Freehof's *Modern Jewish Preaching* (1941); and *Aspects of Homiletics* (HUC-JIR, 1957). In Hebrew mention should be made of S.J. Glickberg's *Ha-Derashah be-Yisrael* (1940) and *Torat ha-Derashah* (1948).

IN THE U.S. The first Jewish sermon printed in the U.S. was one delivered by R.H.I. Karigal at Newport, R.I., in 1773. However, recognition of the sermon as an integral part of the synagogue service only came after Isaac Leeser obtained the right to preach regularly in 1843. Leeser published his sermons which were delivered in English to an Orthodox congregation, in *Discourses – Argumentative and Devotional* (2 vols. 1837) and *Discourses on the Jewish Religion* (10 vols. 1866–67).

During the mid-19th century the Reform movement, predominantly under German influence, gained strength. The sermon as an essential feature of the service was a Reform innovation and the pulpit was an important means of expounding Reform ideas. For some time during the 19th century the most renowned Jewish preachers in the U.S. spoke in German, and many of their discourses were printed in that language (see HJ, 7, 1945, 103). Inevitably the use of German declined, especially after 1833, when Hebrew Union College began to ordain English-speaking rabbis. At this time the Sunday service became an institution of the Reform avant-garde. Such services were usually a mere framework for the rabbi's address, many of which were printed, e.g., the series of 36 delivered by Joseph Krauskopf. The Sunday service declined after World War I, though it was continued by such prominent figures as Abba Hillel Silver and Solomon B. Freehof.

Whether delivered in English or German, the Jewish sermon exhibited the influence of the contemporary Protestant sermon. After 1880, there arose a large Yiddish-speaking community whose rabbis and **maggidim* used the mode of textual exposition long developed among Jews. One of the most famous of the *maggidim* of this period was Ẓevi Hirsch Masliansky, some of whose addresses were issued, either in Yiddish or in translation. A distinguished Conservative preacher, I.H. Levinthal, exemplifies the successful marriage of "*derush*" and the style of the English pulpit. Although pulpit oratory has declined in significance, the output of printed sermons is considerable, whether in the form of single addresses or collections published by individual rabbis or rabbinical associations.

Recording devices, which are readily available, have made the perpetuation of the pulpit message easier. Likewise, there is copious material on the art of preaching. Rabbinic periodicals present texts and subjects, and even compilations of sentences and phrases, classified and indexed, intended to provide preachers with oratorical sparkle.

[Alexander Carlebach]

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HOMOLKA, OSCAR (1898–1978), Austrian actor. By the age of 30, Homolka had played more than 400 parts in Austria and Germany, among them the title roles in Shakespeare's *Richard III* and Eugene O'Neill's *The Emperor Jones*. For 10 years under Max Reinhardt's management he acted in Shaw, Galsworthy and Edgar Wallace. When Hitler came to power, Homolka emigrated to England. His London debut was in *Close Quarters* (1935). He also played in *Power and Glory* (1938), an anti-Fascist drama by the Čapek brothers. He appeared on Broadway in *I Remember Mama* (1944), Ibsen's *The Master Builder* (1955), and the Japanese play, *Rashomon* (1959). He died in Sussex.

HOMOSEXUALITY. Among the sexual perversions proscribed as criminal offenses in the moral code of the Torah are homosexual relations between males (Lev. 18:22). Both offending parties are threatened with capital punishment (Lev. 20:13), though minors under 13 years of age are exempt from this as from any other penalty (Sanh. 54a). Talmudic law extends the prohibition, but not the penalty, which is limited to flagellation, also to lesbianism, i.e., homosexual intimacies between women, based on the general warning not to indulge in the abhorrent practices of the Egyptians and the Canaanites (Sifra 9:8). While the laws on both offenses are codified by Maimonides (Yad, Issurei Bi'ah, 1:14; and 21:8), the prohibition of homosexuality proper is omitted from R. Joseph Caro's Shulḥan Arukh. This omission reflects the perceived absence of homosexuality among Jews rather than any difference of views on the criminality of these acts. The Bible refers to actual incidents involving homosexuality only in describing the abominations of the sinful city of Sodom, where the entire population demanded of Lot the surrender of his visitors "that we may know them" (Gen. 19:5), i.e., have carnal knowledge of them (hence the common use of the term "sodomy" for homosexuality), and again in the story of similar conduct by a group of Benjamites in Gibeah, leading to a disastrous civil war (Judg. 19–20). In addition to these isolated cases, the Talmud records that the Egyptian Potiphar purchased Joseph "for himself" (Sot. 13b), that is, for homosexual purposes (Rashi). For the talmudic period, too, the records know of very few such incidents (see TJ, Sanh. 6:6, 23c; Jos., Ant. 15:25–30). An instructive indication of the rare incidence of homosexuality among Jews may also be found in the interesting history of a legal enactment designed to prevent it. To this end R. Judah forbade two bachelors to sleep together under one blanket (Kid. 4:14); but the view of the sages prevailed that there was no need for such a safeguard against homosexuality (Kid. 82a). Maimonides (Yad, Issurei Bi'ah 22:2) still followed the Talmud in holding that "Jews are not suspect to practice homosexuality," and therefore permitted two males to be closeted together. By the 16th century conditions had evidently changed to induce Caro, after recording this view, to add: "Nevertheless, in our times, when lewdness is rampant, one should abstain from being alone with another male" (Sh. Ar., EH 24). Yet, a century later R. Joel *Sirkes again suspended the restriction, except as a praiseworthy act of piety, on the ground that "in our lands [Poland] such lewdness is unheard of" (*Bayit Ḥadash* to Tur, EH 24). Rabbinic sources advance various reasons for the strict ban on homosexuality which, incidentally, is regarded as a universal law included among "the Seven Commandments of the Sons of Noah" (Sanh. 57b–58a). It is an unnatural perversion, debasing the dignity of man (*Sefer ha-Ḥinnukh*, no. 209). Moreover, such acts frustrate the procreative purpose of sex, just as do any other forms of "spilling the seed in vain" (*ibid.*). A third objection is seen in the damage to family life, by the homosexual abandoning his wife (Tos. and R. Asher to Ned. 51a). Jewish law, then, rejected the view that homosexuality was to be regarded merely as a disease or as morally neutral, categorically rejecting the view that homosexual acts "between two consenting adults" were to be judged by the same criterion as heterosexual marriage – that is, whether they were intended to foster a permanent relation of love. Jewish law holds that no hedonistic ethic, even if called "love," can justify the morality of homosexuality any more than it can legitimize adultery or incest, however genuinely such acts may be performed out of love and by mutual consent.

[Immanuel Jakobovits]

With the coming of the "sexual revolution" and the breakdown of old taboos in Western society since the 1960s, attitudes toward homosexuality have greatly changed. While Orthodox Judaism continues to view homosexuality with abhorrence, the more liberal movements have sanctioned gay congregations and even gay marriages, removing the stigma entirely from such relationships.

See also *Lesbianism.

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HOND, MEIJER DE (1882–1943), Dutch rabbi and author. After studying in Amsterdam (where he was born) and in Berlin, De Hond returned to his native city, where he was especially active on behalf of workingmen and youth. He founded periodicals and established religious and philanthropic organizations, such as "Betsalel" and "De Joodse Invalide." A splendid speaker and prolific author, he wrote many sketches of ghetto life (*Kiekjes*, 1926), warm and rather romanticized descriptions of his milieu, and a play, *Rabbie Akiba* (1934).

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[Frederik Jacob Hirsch]

HONDURAS, republic of Central America with 6,975,205 inhabitants in 2005. The proceedings of the Inquisition attest to the presence of Jews in Honduras during the colonial period, but very little information is available on the subject. A small number of Jews reached Honduras during the 19th century. Central European immigrants, some of whom came via other South American countries and Mexico, began to arrive in Honduras around 1920. In 1928 another five families came from Poland. A community was not established, however, until the arrival of some refugees from Germany. In 1935 the government announced its readiness to accept Jewish scientists and educators from Germany, but the offer was not adequately exploited. In 1939 restrictions were imposed on the entry of Jews, blacks, and gypsies. Nevertheless, a considerable number of Jews were saved during the war by Honduran consuls in Europe who issued them passports and visas, frequently illegally. By 1947 there were 129 Jews in the country, and another 64 arrived the following year. During the next two decades Jews emigrated from Honduras, and a census taken in 1967 found 86 Jews in Tegucigalpa, the capital. Twenty-two of the 42 children aged 1–17 were the offspring of intermarriages. At the beginning of the 21st century there were only a few dozen Jews, living in San Pedro Sula, the economic center of the country, and Tegucigalpa. There is minimal community activity. The Comunidad Hebrea de Tegucigalpa, which sponsors educational activities for youth, is affiliated with the Federation of Jewish Communities in Central America and Panama. The Jewish National Fund and WIZO also carry on activities. The only synagogue in the country was in San Pedro Sula together with a Sunday school.

Honduras abstained in the vote for the partition of Palestine in 1947, but was one of the first countries to recognize the State of Israel in 1948 and diplomatic relations are on an ambassadorial level.

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[Moshe Nes El]

HONEIN, the ancient port of the kingdom of Tlemcen. After 1391 a large influx of Spanish refugees, among whom were members of the *Sasportas family, immigrated to Honein. Ephraim Alnaqua was the *dayyan* of the community for a long time, while Moses *Gabbai was co-*dayyan*. The community was largely made up of fishermen, merchants, and shipowners, and included merchants who carried on a considerable volume of trade with Europe. The town was abandoned by the Jews in 1509 because of the Spanish invasion.

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[David Corcos]

HONEY (Heb. דְּבַשׁ). The principal honey of Israel seems to have been a thick syrup made from either grapes or dates, called *dibs* in Arabic. It is often mentioned in lists of foodstuffs of the land (e.g., Deut. 8:8; II Sam. 17:29; II Chron. 31:5; for the phrase "land flowing with milk and honey" see *Milk). It is considered a delicacy (I Kings 14:3; Ezek. 16:13), and is mentioned as the epitome of sweetness (Ps. 19:11; 119:103; Prov. 16:24; Ezek. 3:3). Along with leaven it was prohibited in burnt offerings (Lev. 2:4). Manna had the taste of "wafers (?) in honey" (Ex. 16:31), but the Talmud declares that it had this taste only for children (Yoma 75b). Its quality of sweetness caused it to be used figuratively for gracious and pleasant things, such as the words of God (Ps. 19:11; 119:103), the wisdom of Torah (Prov. 24:13; 25:16), the speech of a friend (Prov. 16:24; Song 4:11), as well as the seductive language of the strange woman (Prov. 5:3). Bees' honey, found wild, is sufficiently rare to have been considered among the finest of foods ("honey out of the rock" in Deut. 32:13; Ps. 81:17). This wild honey figures prominently in the story of the wedding of *Samson at Timnah (Judg. 14), where Samson, having found honey amid a swarm of bees in the carcass (more plausibly, skeleton) of a lion he had killed, wagered 30 festal garments on the riddle "out of the eater came something to eat, out of the strong came something sweet" (Judg. 14:14). The Philistines, unable to solve the riddle, had Samson's wife learn the answer: "What is sweeter than honey, what is stronger than a lion?" (Judg. 14:18). Samson, enraged, slaughtered 30 men in Ashkelon to pay the wager, and departed. Bees' honey was also found in the forest, where it was eaten by Jonathan in violation of his father's oath (I Sam. 14:24–30). Because it is the source of honey, the date is included among the seven choice agricultural species of Ereẓ Israel (see Deut. 8:8). During the talmudic period, however, honey came to refer specifically to bees' honey, with the result that a distinction was made; regarding vows, the commonly accepted use of the word determined the extent of the vow, and it was decided that "He who takes a vow to abstain from honey is permitted to eat date honey" (Ned. 6:9).

In accordance with the rule "that which issues from an unclean creature is unclean" (Bek. 1:2) it should follow that bees' honey is forbidden since the bee belongs to the class of unclean insects. The rabbis, however, permitted its use by asserting that honey is not the product of the bee; it is merely stored in its body (Bek. 7b; likewise, a Neo-Assyrian text of the eighth century B.C.E. refers to the "buzzing insects that 'collect' honey"). The custom practiced in many families, of dipping bread in honey (instead of the usual salt), during the period from Rosh ha-Shanah to Hoshana Rabba, symbolizes the wish for a sweet new year. Similarly, on Rosh Ha-Shanah, an apple is dipped in honey and eaten, and a prayer for a "good and sweet year" is recited.

During the Middle Ages, there developed a picturesque ceremony of introducing the child to his Jewish studies; it included the custom of writing the letters of the alphabet on a slate and covering them with honey. These the child licked with his tongue so that the words of the Scriptures might be as "sweet as honey" (*Ma'aseh Roke'aḥ*, 295–6, *Maḥzor Vitry*, ed. by S. Hurwitz (1923), 628, 508). Honey cake was a feature of the same ceremony. Called "*Honig lekakh*" in Yiddish, it is a favorite pastry to this day.

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[Tikva S. Frymer / Louis Isaac Rabinowitz]

HONG KONG, former British crown colony (1842–1997), S. China. The *Sassoon family arrived on the scene when Hong Kong was ceded to Great Britain in 1842. They transferred their offices from neighboring Canton to Hong Kong and helped to develop this new port. The Sassoons and the *Kadoorie brothers made it their policy to employ only Jewish managers and clerks, mainly of Baghdadi origin. The Hong Kong Jewish community was first established in 1857 and the Ohel Leah synagogue, built by Sir Jacob Sassoon, was opened in 1900. The outbreak of World War II and the consequent Japanese occupation of Hong Kong temporarily suspended all Jewish activities there. The Jewish population numbered 60 Sephardim in 1882; 100 in 1921, mainly Sephardim; 250 in 1954, half Sephardim and half Ashkenazim; 230 in all in 1959; and 200 in 1968, 70 Sephardim and 130 Ashkenazim. An honorary consul of Israel resided in Hong Kong.

[Rudolph Loewenthal]

In 1974 it was stated that the Ohel Leah Synagogue and the Jewish Recreation Club in Hong Kong had a combined membership of some 450, but two years later the number was given as a mere 200.

In 1973 Rev. Solomon Truzman, a graduate of the Montefiore College in England, was appointed minister. In the same year Father Hubert Vogt, a German Franciscan Friar, brought to the notice of Sir Lawrence Kadoorie that four *Sifrei Torah* (donated in 1915 to the Hong Kong congregation) were for sale at the open-air "Thieves' Market" in Hong Kong; Sir Lawrence and his brother, Horace, purchased them and presented them to the synagogue. It is thought that they must have been taken to China some years ago and brought back from Hankow by a refugee immediately after the war.

In 1973 an official Israel Consulate was opened on the island, but was closed at the end of 1974 with the interests of Israel subsequently served by Honorary Consul-General Victor Zirinsky. By the mid-1990s the Hong Kong community was substantial in size. Its population was estimated at 3,000–4,000 in the mid-1990s and at about 3,000 in 2004. The increase consisted mainly of single people. Americans and Israelis constituted two-thirds of the community. There were four congregations with three rabbis, and the community opened a new Jewish community center, replacing the old Jewish Club. A full time Jewish day school was also opened. There is little antisemitism. The takeover of Hong Kong by mainland China in 1997 had no real effect on the local Jewish community. There was an Israeli consulate-general on Harcourt Road.

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HONIGMANN, BARBARA (1949–), German writer and essayist. Honigmann grew up in the Soviet-occupied zone of Germany in an assimilated family. Together with other Jewish intellectuals of the "second generation," i.e., children of Holocaust survivors, she questioned her parents' silence and decided to live as a Jewess in a religious sense, joining the Jewish community in East Berlin. Unable, however, to find her way to Jewish writing within Germany, she decide to abandon the GDR, moving to Strasbourg in 1984, where she fit into the Jewish community: Her way "from the East to the West, from Germany to France, and from assimilation into the midst of Torah Judaism," she described in her first autobiographical book, *Roman von einem Kinde* (1986). She understood this cultural change of position as a way out of the "negative symbiosis," out of her feeling of "being unable to get away from one another," as she characterized the relationship between Germans and Jews after 1945, and consequently as a way toward a positive Judaism. In France Honigmann succeeded in writing after she had already worked as a dramatist in the GDR and finished several plays. Her writing in German led to further autobiographical narratives like *Eine Liebe aus nichts* (1991), *Soharas Reise* (1996), *Damals, dann und danach* (1999), *Alles, alles Liebe!* (2000), and *Ein Kapitel aus meinem Leben* (2004), still indicating an ambivalent attitude towards Germany: on the one hand a distance from the real, political Germany, on the other an inclusion in the imaginary tradition of German language and literature.

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[Andreas Kilcher (2nd ed.)]

ḤONI HA-ME'AGGEL, renowned miracle worker in the period of the Second Temple (first century B.C.E.). The Talmud recounts wondrous tales as to the manner in which his prayers for rain were answered. "It once happened that the people turned to Ḥoni ha-Me'aggel and asked him to pray for rain. He prayed, but no rain fell. What did he do? He drew a circle and stood within it and exclaimed, 'Master of the Universe, Thy children have turned to me because they believe me to be as a member of Thy household. I swear by Thy great name that I will not move from here until Thou hast mercy upon Thy children.' Rain then began to fall. He said, 'It is not for this that I have prayed but for rain to fill cisterns, ditches, and pools.' The rain then began to come down with great force. He exclaimed, 'It is not for this that I have prayed but for rain of benevolence, blessing and bounty.' Rain then fell in the normal way… Thereupon Simeon b. Shetaḥ sent to him this message: 'Were it not that you are Ḥoni I would have placed you under the ban [because he troubled the All-Present about the rain many times; see Rashi on Ber. 19a], but what can I do unto you who importune God and He accedes to your request as a son importunes his father and he accedes to his request'" (Ta'an. 3:8; an extended version occurs in Ta'an. 23a; TJ, Ta'an, 3:10–12, 66d). His name, ha-Me'aggel ("circle drawer"), is usually taken to be connected with this incident (see Rashi on Men. 94b). Ẓemaḥ Gaon, however (quoted in the *Sefer ha-Yuḥasin ha-Shalem*, p. 63), regarded it as the name of a place, and another suggestion is that it refers to his calling which was to repair roofs – or ovens – with a *ma'gillah* ("roller"; S. Klein in *Zion*, 1 (1929/30), no. 1, p. 3f.; S.H. Kook, *ibid.*, p. 28). Josephus (Ant. 14:22), who also refers to him as a saint and miracle worker, describes the courageous act which, according to him, caused Ḥoni's murder during the period of fratricidal warfare between the Hasmonean brothers Aristobulus II and Hyrcanus II. When Aristobulus was besieged in Jerusalem by the army of Hyrcanus, his men seized Ḥoni and requested him to curse Aristobulus and his army. Ḥoni, however, prayed, "Master of the Universe, these men are Thy people, and those who are besieged are Thy priests; I beseech Thee not to do what they ask," and he was thereupon stoned to death. The *aggadah* in the Talmud, on the other hand, gives a different account of his death. Ḥoni once saw a man planting a carob tree and asked him how long it took for it to bear fruit. When the man answered, "Seventy years," he said to him, "Are you certain you will live another 70 years?" The man replied, "As my forefathers planted for me, so do I plant for my children." Ḥoni sat down to have a meal and sleep overcame him. Hidden from sight by the rocky nature of the terrain, he slept for 70 years. When he awoke he saw a man gathering the fruit of the carob tree and he asked him whether he was the one who planted the carob tree. The man replied, "I am his grandson," and Ḥoni realized that he had slept for 70 years. He then went to his house and asked, "Is Ḥoni ha-Me'aggel's son alive?" The people replied, "His son is no more, but his grandson is still living." He said to them, "I am Ḥoni ha-Me'aggel," but they did not believe him. He then repaired to the *bet ha-midrash*, where he heard the scholars saying: "The *halakhot* are as clear to us as in the days of Ḥoni ha-Me'aggel, for whenever he entered the *bet ha-midrash* he would resolve for the scholars any difficulty they had." Whereupon he called out, "I am he," but they did not believe him, nor did they accord him the honor due to him. This grieved him greatly and he prayed for death and died (Ta'an. 23a). The Jerusalem Talmud (Ta'an. 3:10, 66d) relates a similar story about an earlier Ḥoni ha-Me'aggel, the ancestor of this one, who lived shortly before the destruction of the First Temple.

Ḥoni appears as a charismatic personality and the people considered him undoubtedly a kind of folk prophet with the ability to work miracles. Even Simeon b. Shetaḥ, despite his displeasure with Ḥoni's self-confidence and his wish to place Ḥoni under a ban, was compelled to give way to those who regarded Ḥoni as "a son who importunes his father." On the other hand, the story of the 70 years sleep, found only in the amoraic *aggadah*, is merely the Hebrew version of a popular legend. Diogenes Laertius attributes a similar story to Epimenides the wonder worker of Knossos in the sixth century B.C.E., and a similar story is found in the apocryphal IV Baruch. Despite the fact that the above-quoted passage refers to him as a great scholar, no halakhic statements by him or in his name are found in the Talmud.

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HONOR, the high respect, esteem, reverence, admiration, or approbation shown, felt toward, or received by a deity or person. Honor is accorded to those in a position of authority (Gen. 45:13) achieved by heroism (Judg. 8:22; I Sam. 18:5), wisdom (Gen. 41:39; Prov. 3:16), or divine favor (I Sam. 24:7, 11). Honor is due to parents (Ex. 20:12; Deut. 5:16; Mal. 1:6) and the aged (Lev. 19:32; Lam. 5:12) since they embody wisdom (Job 32:7, 9). Those who have wealth (Prov. 14:24) and children (I Sam. 2:1) are also subject to honor since these possessions are a sign of God's favor. Associated with stature (I Sam. 9:2) and comeliness (I Sam. 16:18; Ps. 45:3), honor is denoted in the Bible by terms whose primary meanings are "weight" (*kavod, yekar* (*yeqar*)), "height" (*gedullah, ga'on*), "strength" (*hod, 'oz, ḥayil*), "beauty" (*hadar, tif'eret*), or "praise" (*tehillah*). Honor may be conceived as a crown or garment (Ps. 8:6; 104:1; Job 19:9). It is conferred by symbolic investment (I Sam. 18:4; Esth. 6:7–8) and rescinded by symbolic stripping (Hos. 2:5). Charity and justice earn honor (Job 29:11ff.) for two reasons. First, ethics is a branch of wisdom (Job 28:28) whose reward is honor (Prov. 4:9). Second, morality honors God (Micah 6:8), who, in turn, honors those who honor Him (I Sam. 2:30). Thus the faithful are honored and the faithless disgraced (Ps. 91:15; Lam. 5:16). Honor is demonstrated by standing (Lev. 19:32; Job 29:8), prostration (Gen. 18:2), silence (Hab. 2:20; Job 29:9–10), shouting (Ps. 98:4; 100:1), and presenting gifts (Gen. 32:14; Ps. 72:10). These forms are employed in divine worship as an extension of their use in displaying honor to temporal authorities.

[Mayer Irwin Gruber]

In the Talmud

The Hebrew word *kavod* is the most significant word in the Talmud to express the most desirable of relations of mutual respect for the dignity of one's fellow. It is employed in every aspect of that relationship, both for the respect which is due from the inferior to the superior, but also, and more significantly, for the concept of the respect and consideration which one should have for one's equal, for mankind as such. In the former category it is employed to express the respect one should have for parents, which is the subject of the fifth commandment, for one's teacher (Tanḥ. Be-Shallaḥ 26), for a monarch (Ket. 17a), for the *nasi* (Kid. 32b), and for the scholar. It is enjoined in the general rule to "give honor to one greater than oneself" (Pes. 113b). A rigid order of precedence was established. The last Mishnah of *Horayot* gives an order of precedence: priest, levite, Israelite, **mamzer, nethin*, proselyte, and freed slave. Where the Babylonian Talmud, however, maintains that this precedence refers merely to ransoming from slavery and to providing material needs, the Jerusalem Talmud (Hor. end) maintains that it applies to the precedence of honor (*yeshivah*) and therefore extends the list to scholar, king, high priest, prophet, "priest anointed for war," the head of the **mishmar*, the head of a patriarchal house, the *amarkal*, and the treasurer. So important was this respect regarded that it was permitted, and even enjoined, to interrupt one's reading of the *Shema* "to greet out of respect" (Ber. 2:1). Some categories (the king (Ket. 17a) and one's teacher) were not permitted to renounce the dignity which was due to them; about the *nasi* there are conflicting opinions (cf. Ket. 17a with Kid. 32b). More significant however is the insistence of the honor due to one's equal. R. Eliezer b. Hyrcanus enjoined "Let the honor of thy colleague be as dear to thee as thine own honor" (Avot 2:10), while R. Eleazar b. Shammua enjoined that the respect to one's colleague should be "as the reverence for thy teacher" (*ibid.* 4:12). The daily prayer of Rav included one for "a life of prosperity and honor" (Ber. 16b). So great was "the honor of God's creatures" regarded that "God has regard to the dignity of His creatures" (Sif. Deut. 192) and honor annuls even a negative commandment of the Bible (Ber. 19b), especially the honor of the community (TJ, Ber. 3:1, 6a). To such an extent was one's personal dignity regarded that Rabban Johanan b. Zakkai explained the lesser penalty for the theft of a sheep, for which he pays fourfold restitution, compared with an ox, for which he pays five, that he is, so to speak, partially compensated for the lack of personal dignity involved in having to carry the sheep on his shoulders (BK 79b). The maxim of R. Judah ha-Nasi was that man should always choose the way "which is an honor to him and gets him honor from men" (Avot 2:1) while Ben Zoma said "who is honored? He who honors others" (*ibid.* 4:1). One had to show honor to one's wife (BM 59a) and even to one's divorced wife (TJ, Ket. 11:3, 34b). Honor had always to be given, never demanded. The pursuit of personal honor "takes a man out of the world" (Avot 4:21) and one should always shun it (*ibid.* 6:6). The popular proverb, "He who pursues honor, honor flees from him, while he who flees from honor is overtaken by it" does not occur as such in the Talmud, the relevant passage employing the word *gedullah* ("greatness") and not *kavod*, but the implication is the same. The rabbis were especially censorious against the person who "achieved honor at the expense of the shame of his fellow man." He who does so "has no share in the world to come" (TJ, Ḥag. 2:1, 77c), and R. Neḥunya b. ha-Kanah attributed his old age to the fact that he had never been guilty of this fault (Meg. 28a). The statement "It is not the place that a man occupies that gives him honor, but the man gives honor to the place he occupies" (Ta'an. 21b) has become a popular proverb.

[Louis Isaac Rabinowitz]

HONOR, LEO L. (1894–1956), U.S. educator. Leo Honor was born in Russia and educated in New York. He was appointed an instructor in 1916 in the Teachers Institute of the Jewish Theological Seminary, where he also served as registrar from 1919 through 1929. During this period, Honor was closely associated with the New York Bureau of Jewish Education and with its director, Samson *Benderly. Honor became dean of the Chicago College of Jewish Studies in 1929 and in 1934 was also appointed director of that city's Board of Jewish Education. In 1945, he went to Philadelphia to organize the Council on Jewish Education, and in the following year he was appointed the first professor of Jewish education at Dropsie College. He organized and was the first president of the National Council for Jewish Education. Honor wrote *Jewish Elementary Education in the United States*, 1901–1950 (1952). His major writings are collected in *Selected Writings of Leo L. Honor* (1965).

In his educational philosophy Honor emphasized the principle of unity in diversity. He viewed Jewish education as a partnership among the home, the local congregation, and the larger Jewish community.

[Leon H. Spotts]

°HONORIUS, name of four popes.

HONORIUS I, pope 625–38. In a letter addressed to the episcopate of Spain which has not been preserved but the contents of which are known from the reply of Braulion, bishop of Saragossa, Honorius rebuked the bishops for excessive mildness in their treatment of the Jews. The anti-Jewish legislation adopted by the Sixth Council of Toledo may perhaps have resulted from this letter (see *Church Councils). Braulion's reply also reveals, however, that the pope had authorized some Jews who had been forcibly converted in Spain and had taken refuge in Rome to return to Judaism.

HONORIUS III (CENCIO SAVELLI), pope 1216–27, was particularly concerned with the application of the decisions of the Fourth Lateran Council on the Jews. Although he renewed the *Sicut Judaeis* *bull in 1217, he reminded certain Spanish bishops during the same year that they must enforce the wearing of the Jewish *badge and insist on payment of church tithes due on houses owned by Jews which had formerly belonged to Christians. He took up this matter again in 1218 and 1219. Even though he agreed to the suspension of the badge for the Jews of Castile in 1219 and those of Aragon in 1220 in order to halt their move to Muslim Spain, he nevertheless reinforced this obligation in Castile from 1221. He also intervened with the bishop of Bordeaux in this matter. Concerned about the employment of Jews as diplomatic envoys and public officials by Christian kings, he made representations to the kings of Aragon and Leon in 1220 and the king of Hungary in 1221. In that same year he reminded the archbishop of Bourges of the prohibition on the construction of new synagogues. Aside from the *Sicut Judaeis* bull, his interventions in favor of the Jews were few: in 1219, he counseled against the imposition of new financial burdens on the Jews of Champagne other than the cancellation of the interest on the debts of the crusaders (against the *Albigenses), and in 1220 he took Azzach, a Jewish notable of Barcelona, under his protection. Honorius drew up an *Ordo romanus* defining the rules of the solemnities of the Roman Catholic Church; the participation of the Jews in the solemn welcome of the popes formed part of this.

HONORIUS IV (GIACOMO SAVELLI; b. 1210), pope 1285–87. Honorius renewed the *Sicut Judaeis* bull, and in 1286 wrote to the archbishops of Canterbury and York reaffirming the decisions of the Lateran Councils and called upon the English bishops to protect the people from "excesses" of the Jews and especially from their proselytizing activities. He pointed out the danger of the study of the Talmud and called for counter-activities including sermons.

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[Bernhard Blumenkranz]

°HONORIUS FLAVIUS (364–423 C.E.), Roman emperor. The second son of *Theodosius I, Honorius ruled the empire of the West (395–423), while his elder brother Arcadius inherited the East. During the first part of his reign he was subject to the influence of the Vandal Stilicho, whose daughter he married, and to that of the bishop of Milan, Ambrose, who urged him to continue with the legislation for the protection of the Catholic religion. The laws of Arcadius concerning the Jews were also valid in the western part of the empire. A few laws by Honorius were later incorporated in the Theodosian Code (C.Th.) and partly also in the Justinian Code (C.J.). In 399 Honorius forbade the gold and silver that had been collected by the synagogues for the patriarch to be sent to Jerusalem, and had it confiscated. Judaism was defined as an unworthy superstition (*superstitio indigna*) and the patriarch as a plunderer of the Jews (*depopulator Judaeorum*; C.Th. 16:8, 14). In 404, however, he withdrew the prohibition, basing his decision on ancient principles (C.Th. 16:8, 17); it was partly reestablished by his successors (C. Th. 16:8, 29). Conversion to Judaism was severely punished (C.Th. 16:8, 26; C.J. 1:9, 16). Honorius allowed the Jews to keep Christian slaves on the condition that they allow them to practice their religion and that no attempt be made at proselytism (C.Th. 16:9, 3 of 415 C.E.). Jews and Samaritans were no longer admitted to military service (C.Th. 16:8, 16). The repeated interventions by the emperor to uphold the prohibition against disturbing innocent Jews and their religious meetings and against damaging synagogues (C.Th. 16:8, 21 of 412–21 C.E.; C.Th. 16:8, 26 of 423 C.E.) show that the position of the Jews was insecure. On various occasions the observance of the Sabbath, deprived of its religious meaning, however, was recognized, and judicial proceedings involving Jews were prohibited on the Sabbath and on other Jewish festive days (C.Th. 2:8, 26 of 409; C.Th. 16:8, 20, of 412).

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[Alfredo Mordechai Rabello]

HOOFIEN, ELIEZER SIGFRIED (1881–1957), Israel banker. Born in Utrecht, Holland, Hoofien became an accountant. He was a Zionist from his youth and in 1909 accepted David *Wolffsohn's invitation to move to Cologne and join the central Zionist bureau there. In 1912 Wolffsohn sent him to Ereẓ Israel as the deputy director general of the *Anglo-Palestine Bank, of which he was appointed director general in 1924. He held this post until 1947, when he became chairman of the board of directors of the bank, which, from 1949, was the Bank Leumi le-Israel. For many years Hoofien directed the financial affairs of the *yishuv*. During World War I he succeeded in preventing the dissolution of the Anglo-Palestine Bank as ordered by the Ottoman authorities. He issued "registered checks" on the bank, which served as a means of payment when confidence in Turkish banknotes collapsed. At the end of the British Mandate, Hoofien, in close cooperation with Eliezer *Kaplan, prepared the monetary system of Israel and issued notes of the Anglo-Palestine Bank, which became the official currency until the foundation of the Bank of Israel (1954). In the early years of the state, Hoofien was economic and financial adviser to the government.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Y.A. Levison, *A.S. Hoofien* (Heb., 1936).

[Yeshayahu Foerder]

°HOOGSTRAATEN, JACOB (1460–1527), papal inquisitor; a Dominican monk and professor of theology at Cologne University. Fanatically antagonistic toward humanism, he supported *Pfefferkorn in his controversy with *Reuchlin, charging the latter with heresy and conspiracy with the Jews. His attempt to bring a heresy suit against Reuchlin's tract *Augenspiegel* (Tuebingen, 1511) was quashed in 1514 and he was ordered by the tribunal appointed by the pope to pay the 111 gold ducats cost of the case. Though deposed from office by the Dominicans in 1516, he continued his activities in writing. When Reuchlin published *De Arte Cabalistica* (Hagenau, 1517) praising the Kabbalah, Hoogstraaten countered with *Destructio Cabalae* (Cologne, 1519) attacking the Kabbalah as anti-Christian and heretical. He was ridiculed by his enemies in *Epistolae obscurorum virorum* (1517).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Graetz, Hist, 4 (1949), 422ff.; Dubnow, Divrei, 6 (1958^2), 95–99.

HOOK, SIDNEY (1902–1989), U.S. philosopher. Born in Brooklyn, New York, Hook received his B.A. from the City College of New York and his M.A. and Ph.D. from Columbia University, where he was a student of John Dewey. Hook began to teach at New York University in 1927. He served as the head of the Department of Philosophy of NYU from 1948 to 1969, during which time he founded the New York University Institute of Philosophy. He was president of the American Philosophical Society, Eastern Division, 1959. From 1973 to 1989 he was a senior research fellow at the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution, and Peace at Stanford University.

Hook's main concerns as a philosopher lay in the areas of social and political thought in which he defended, against opponents of the Right and Left, a socialist form of political democracy. His philosophy in this connection may be summarized by his comment that "Orthodoxy is not only fatal to honest thinking; it invited the abandonment of the revolutionary standpoint which was central to Marx's life and thought." Besides his theoretical interests, Hook was active on the political level, both in the formation of and participation in organizations directed against the spread of Communist influence in the United States. Best known for his staunch defense of academic and political freedom and his stand against any form of totalitarianism, Hook was one of the organizers of the Committee for Cultural Freedom. In 1985 he was awarded the presidential Medal of Freedom.

In 1991 the Phi Beta Kappa Society established the Sidney Hook Memorial Award, a monetary prize that recognizes national distinction by a single scholar in scholarship, undergraduate teaching, and leadership in the cause of liberal arts education.

A prolific writer, some of Hook's main books are *Towards the Understanding of Karl Marx* (1933), *Reason, Social Myths, and Democracy* (1940), *The Hero in History* (1943), *Education for Modern Man* (1946), *The Quest for Being* (1961*), The Paradoxes of Freedom* (1962), *Religion in a Free Society* (1967), *Academic Freedom and Academic Anarchy* (1970), *Heresy, Yes – Conspiracy, No* (1973), *Philosophy and Public Policy* (1980), *Marxism and Beyond* (1983), *Out of Step: An Unquiet Life in the 20th Century* (his autobiography, 1987), and *Convictions* (1990). *The Metaphysics of Pragmatism* was published in 1996.

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[Avrum Stroll / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

HOOPOE (Heb. דּוּכִיפַת; AV "lapwing"), bird included in the Pentateuch among the unclean birds (Lev. 11:19; Deut. 14:18). The hoopoe was confused by Karaites with the chicken, for which reason they prohibited the eating of the latter (see Ibn Ezra on Lev. 11:19), even though the two are in fact distinguished from each other by many characteristics. Because of its crest, which is no more than an erectile tuft of feathers, the hoopoe is called "the wild cock" in the Talmud (Git. 68b). Smaller than a dove, it feeds on insects, and is distinguished by its beautifully colored plumage. Its flesh exudes an offensive smell which is particularly strong near its nest and repels anyone trying to approach it. This perhaps was the reason for certain legends associated with it, such as that it guards treasures in its nest, and was entrusted with transporting the *shamir,* the miraculous worm that split the stones for the Temple, the use of an iron tool for the purpose having been prohibited (Deut. 27:5; Ḥul. 63a).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: F.S. Bodenheimer, *Animal and Man in Bible Lands* (1960), 55–56; J. Feliks, *Animal World of the Bible* (1962), 90.

[Jehuda Feliks]

HOPHNI AND PHINEHAS (Heb. חָפְנִי, Egyptian *ḥfn*(*r*), "tadpole"; Heb. פִּינְחָס, Egyptian *pi-nḥsy*, "the dark-skinned one"), the two sons of *Eli who served with him as priests in Shiloh (I Sam. 1:3). The fact that both had Egyptian names may be explained by the family's Pharaonic connection (I Sam. 2:27). The Bible designates them "sons of *Belial," "thoroughly worthless individuals" (Sperling), and describes in detail the ways in which they abused their priestly privileges. They intimidated sacrificers into giving them meat for their own use (I Sam. 2:13–17), and took sexual advantage of the women who worked at the entrance to the tabernacle (I Sam. 2:22). Hophni and Phinehas disregarded their father's rebuke (2:22–25), and he did not admonish them further (3:13). Accordingly, Eli received prophetic messages of doom (2:27–36; 3:11–18), foretelling, among other things, the death of Hophni and Phinehas on the same day (2:34). At the time of the battle between the Philistines and Israel at Aphek (I Sam. 4), the Ark of the Covenant of God was taken from Shiloh by Hophni and Phinehas in the belief that its presence on the battlefield would ensure victory. Instead, the results were disastrous: Israel's army was defeated, Hophni and Phinehas were killed, and the Ark was captured by the Philistines. When the news reached Eli (4:14ff.), he, too, died. Phinehas' pregnant wife went into labor on hearing of the calamity and died while giving birth. She called her orphaned son Ichabod ("where is the glory?"; 4:19–22).

The narrative of Hophni and Phinehas, which is also the account of the decline of the priestly house of Eli, is accompanied by the parallel narrative of the ascent of Samuel. The text emphasizes the character differences between Hophni and Phinehas and Samuel (cf. e.g., I Sam. 2:11 with 12; 2:13–17 with 18–20; 2:22–25 with 26).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: S.R. Driver, *Notes on the Hebrew Text and the Topography of the Books of Samuel* (1913^2), 29–50; H. Ranke, *Ägyptishe Personennamen*, I (1935), 239; T.J. Meek, in: AJSLL, 56 (1939), 113–20; L. Waterman, in: AJSLL, 58 (1941), 55–56; Koehler-Baumgartner, 321, 759; W.F. Albright, *Yahweh and the Gods of Canaan* (1968), 143, esp. n. 34. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** S.D. Sperling, in: DDD, 169–71.

HOPHRA (Heb. חָפְרַע; Egyptian Haʿaibre-Wahibe, "the heart of Ra appears"), king of Egypt of the 26th dynasty, 589–570 B.C.E. It is not clear precisely what role Hophra played as an ally of *Zedekiah of Judah during the latter's revolt against the Babylonians in 589 (cf. Jer. 37: 5–11 with Jer. 44:30). As the Egyptian records make no mention of these events, the sole sources are Greek and biblical. Hophra (Apriēs in the Greek sources) apparently seized the opportunity presented by Zedekiah's revolt to invade Cyprus and Phoenicia (Herodotus, 2:161), at first successfully, taking "Sidon by storm" and returning to Egypt "with much booty" (Diodorus Siculus, 1:68). However, since Zedekiah's revolt was crushed two years later, it may be assumed that either the Egyptians were eventually repulsed by Nebuchadnezzar or else that the invasion of Phoenicia, undertaken on the pretext of aiding the Jews, was actually intended to aggrandize the Egyptians. According to Manetho (C. Mueller, *Fragmenta historicorum Graecorum*, 2 (1853), nos. 68–69) "the remnant of the Jews fled to him, when Jerusalem was captured by the Assyrians" (sic), a fact confirmed by Jeremiah 43:5–7. The reference to Hophra in Jeremiah 44:30 does not shed much light on these events; it foretells, rather, Hophra's death at the hands of his enemies.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Jer. 39–44; Herodotus, 2:161–3; 4:159; A. Gardiner, *Egypt of the Pharaohs* (1961), 360–1. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** D. Redford, in: ABD, 3:286–87.

[Alan Richard Schulman]

HOR (Heb. הֹר הָהָר). (1) A mountain in the Negev, on the border of the land of Edom (Num. 20:23; 33:37, "in the edge of the land of Edom"). During the Exodus, it was the first station of the Israelites after Kadesh-Barnea on the way to Zalmonah and Punon (*ibid.* 33:41–42). It is referred to as the burial place of Aaron (*ibid.* 20:22–29; 33:38–39; Deut. 32:50), but according to another account, Aaron died in Moserah, between Beeroth-Bene-Jaakan and Gudgod (before Jotbah) in the Arabah (Deut. 10:6–7). The Bible relates that when the Israelites arrived at Mount Hor, the king of Arad dwelt (i.e., ruled) in the Negev (Num. 33:40), and accordingly G.L. Robinson identified the mountain with Jebel Maḍra (Moserah), an isolated limestone peak south of the Great Makhtesh and the brook of Zin, on the road between Kadesh and the Arabah. F.M. Abel, on the other hand, identified Beeroth-Bene-Jaakan with Beerothaim (Bīr) Bīrayn) and located Mount Hor, on the basis of the name Wadi Hārūniyya (Aaron's Brook), closer to ʿAyn al-Qudayrāt (Kadesh-Barnea), at a spot 10½ mi. (17 km.) northwest of it. Alternatively, he suggested Avedat, called al-Maḍra (Moserah) – following an identification made by the Arab writer el-Maqrīzī. Another proposal, put forth by S. Loewenstamm, is the ridge above Kadesh-Barnea, and another suggestion is ʿImārat al-Khuraysha, a mountain near Kadesh. A popular tradition, dating from the time of Josephus (Ant. 4:82–83, and followed by Eusebius, Onom. 176:7–8), located Kadesh-Barnea in the valley of Petra and identified Mount Hor with Jebel Hārūn (Mt. Aaron), 4,692 ft. (1,400 m.) high, west of Petra. Remains of a Byzantine church and the tomb of a Muslim *wali* ("holy man") from the time of the Mamluk sultan Qalʿūn have been found there.

(2) A landmark designating the northern limit of Israelite territory (i.e., of the land of Canaan) near the coast of the Mediterranean (Num. 34:7). Its location is determined by means of another point mentioned on the northern frontier – Lebo-Hamath, which is Libwa in the plain of Lebanon, and Mount Hor is accordingly identified with either Jebel ʿAkkār or Jebel Makmal in northern Lebanon. Another proposal, based on the possibility of a connection between Hor and the Egyptian god Hor, identifies it with the frontier mark of Ra's al-Shaqqa, north of Byblos.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: (1): EM, s.v.; Aharoni, Land, index; Abel, Geog, 1 (1933), 386ff.; 2 (1938), 215; Glueck, in: AASOR, 15 (1935), 116–7. (2): Abel, Geog, 1 (1933), 302; Maisler, in: RHJE, 1 (1947), 46 n. 2; Aharoni, Land, index.

[Michael Avi-Yonah]

°HORACE, QUINTUS HORATIUS FLACCUS (65–8 B.C.E.), Roman lyric poet and satirist. At the beginning of one of his *Satires* (1:4, 10) he describes a poet as scribbling bad verse while "standing on one foot," which was the phrase used by the proselyte who approached *Hillel, Horace's contemporary (Shab. 31a). At the end of the *Satires* (1:4) he refers to the zeal of Jewish missionary activity: "We are much more numerous, and like the Jews we shall force you to join our throng," perhaps a satirical reference to Exodus 23:2. The "thirtieth Sabbath" (*Satires*, 1:9, 69), which has been variously identified as *Shabbat Parashat ha-Ḥodesh, Shabbat ha-Gadol*, Passover, the Day of Atonement, Tabernacles, *Shabbat Rosh Ḥodesh* ("the thirtieth, a Sabbath"), the thirtieth anniversary of the conquest of Palestine by Pompey, or the thirtieth Sabbath as numbered by the sect of the Dead Sea Scrolls, is most probably a deliberately meaningless reference to Jewish superstition, so sharply attacked by the other Roman satirists, notably *Juvenal. Elsewhere (*Satires*, 1:5, 100) Horace refers to the gullibility of the Jew Apella as a byword and contrasts the Epicurean view of the gods with the providential "sad" theology of the Jews (perhaps an allusion to the alleged fasting on the Sabbath mentioned by other Roman writers such as Trogus *Pompeius, *Augustus, Strabo, Persius, *Petronius, and *Martial). The name Apella is perhaps Horace's satirical reference to circumcision, since, as the fourth-century commentator Porphyrion suggests, the name may be Horace's deliberately ridiculous etymology alluding to the Jews as being without a foreskin (*pellis*). In considering Horace's statements about the Jews, one must always remember that he is a satirist, though relatively more gentle than Juvenal.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Reinach, Textes, 244–7; M. Radin, *Jews among the Greeks and Romans* (1915), 245–9, 399–402; Alexander, in: *Classical Philology*, 37 (1942), 385–97; Baumgarten, in: VT, 16 (1966), 277–86.

[Louis Harry Feldman]

HORAH, the best-known folk dance of pioneer Ereẓ Israel. The dance is derived chiefly from the Romanian *hora* (a term going back ultimately to the Greek *choros*; cf. the Bulgarian *horo*, the Yugoslav *kolo*, and the Russian *khorovod*). To perform this dance the participants interlock arms behind their backs or on their shoulders, then take two running steps to the right, jump on the left foot, at first slowly and then accelerating (sometimes the dancers begin with a slow stationary swaying). In the course of time the energy-expending movements – strong stamps and kicks – diminished somewhat, and at present the arms are often held downward with simple hand-holding.

The earliest *horah*-like dances were apparently *El Yivneh ha-Galil*, of which three melodies became current during the Second Aliyah (1904–14), and *Havah Nerannenah*. The *horah* proper developed during the Third Aliyah (1919–23) and reached its apogee during the Fourth Aliyah (1924–31) with the dance-songs *Kumah Eḥa* (S. Postolsky, I. Shenhar), *Havah Neẓe ba-Maḥol* (Y. Admon), *Anu Banu Arẓah* (composer and author unknown), *Ein Zeh Pele* ("corrupted" to *Eizeh Pele*, S. Postolsky, N. Alterman), *Horah Medurah* (Y. Walbe, N. Alterman) and others (*Emek, Emek Avodah*, by E. Amiran and A. Wolf was written only in 1933). The typical rhythm of the *horah* melodies is based on the syncope: with the initial eighth note sometimes substituted by a rest in 2⁄4 or 4⁄4 measure, counterpointed by the six-beat sequence of the steps. Melodically, the ḥasidic *niggun* was the most important primary source, which soon became overlaid by other thematic elements.

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[Yohanan Boehm]

HORAYOT (Heb. הוֹרָיוֹת; "Rulings"), short tractate in three chapters, attached to the order of *Nezikin* in the Mishnah, Tosefta, and the Babylonian and Jerusalem Talmuds. Its scriptural basis is Leviticus 4 and Numbers 15:22–31. The biblical phrase "sinning through error" is understood here to refer to erroneous rulings by the high priest or the high court (the Sanhedrin), leading to the inadvertent violation of precepts, which, if willfully transgressed, would have been deserving of **karet*. The first chapter discusses the various aspects of erroneous decisions issuing from the *bet din*, especially if the error led to idolatry. The second chapter begins with the problem of erroneous decisions issuing from the high priest, but goes on to discuss the conditions (nature of error, particular types of precepts) which make the rules of erroneous decisions applicable. The particular position of the ruler (*nasi*) who unwittingly commits a sin is also entered into (cf. Lev. 4:22). At first, the third chapter deals with retiring high priests and rulers who committed a sin before or after retirement, but then digresses on questions of precedence: under what circumstances does a man have precedence over his wife and vice versa; all things being equal, the order of precedence is priest, levite, Israelite, **mamzer*, etc., but (and with this the tractate concludes) a learned *mamzer* takes precedence over an ignorant high priest.

The Babylonian *Gemara* to *Horayot* has a considerable amount of *aggadah*, especially in the third chapter. It includes the incident involving R. Meir and R. Nathan, against whom Rabban *Simeon b. Gamaliel took strict disciplinary measures to enforce patriarchal authority. The *Gemara* ends with the well-known dispute as to which of the two types of scholars is preferable: one who has a wide and solid knowledge but is of moderate intellect, or one who has a brilliant brain but is not so well read. The *Gemara* of the Jerusalem Talmud to *Horayot* was appended to the Babylonian tractate by the early Venetian printers because they found no *tosafot* to this tractate and the Jerusalem *Gemara* took its place. From the Frankfurt edition of 1720 the text was tampered with by every printer up to the Romm edition. The first edition (Venice, 1521) is the best as far as the text is concerned, but its text is still in a very corrupt form.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: S. Liebermann, in: *Sefer ha-Yovel le-Rabbi Ḥ. Albeck* (1963), 283–305.

[Arnost Zvi Ehrman]

HORE-BELISHA, LESLIE, LORD (1898–1957), British politician. Hore-Belisha was of Sephardi origin and educated at Clifton College and at Oxford, where he was president of the Union. He served with distinction in World War I. His father, Jacob Isaac Belisha (son of Isaac *Belisha), died when Hore-Belisha was an infant and his mother married a non-Jew, Sir Adair Hore, whose surname he added to his own. He was admitted to the bar in 1923 and in the same year entered Parliament as a Liberal. In 1931 he was appointed parliamentary secretary to the Board of Trade in the National Government coalition under Ramsay Macdonald. When the majority of the Liberal Party left the coalition, he remained in the government as a National Liberal. He was financial secretary to the Treasury from 1932 to 1934, when he was made minister of transport. In this capacity he introduced various measures against road accidents, including the illuminated beacons at pedestrian crossings known as "Belisha Beacons." In 1936 he was brought into the cabinet and in 1937 was made secretary of state for war.

One of the most popular and visible members of the government, he initiated numerous reforms involving the reorganization of the top ranks of the army. As a member of the War Cabinet on the outbreak of World War II, he was responsible for the efficient dispatch of the British Expeditionary Force to France. Nevertheless, his democratization of the army administration was bitterly resented and the ensuing attacks upon him probably contained an element of antisemitism. He accordingly resigned in January 1940 and sat as an independent member of Parliament from 1942 to the end of the war. In 1945 he was minister of national insurance in Winston *Churchill's caretaker government but lost his seat in the general election of 1945 and retired from politics. He was raised to the peerage in 1954. Hore-Belisha was an elder of the Spanish and Portuguese congregation for many years.

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[Vivian David Lipman]

HORENSTEIN, JASCHA (1898–1973), conductor. Born in Kiev, Horenstein moved to Germany with his family while still a child. He studied with Max Brode at Koenigsberg and, after moving to Vienna in 1911, with Franz *Schreker and Adolf Busch at the conservatory and the university. He then followed Schreker to the Berlin Hochschule fuer Musik, where he was a member of a composition class that included Haba and Krenek. He began conducting in 1919 and in 1922 was appointed conductor of the Berlin Schubert Choir, appearing with the Berlin Symphony Orchestra between 1925 and 1928. His first orchestral concert in Vienna included Gustav *Mahler's *First Symphony.* The following year he became *Kapellmeister* at the Duesseldorf Opera, a post he held until forced by the Nazis to relinquish it in 1933. Over the next few years he conducted in Russia and France, toured Australia and Scandinavia (with the Ballet Russe de Monte Carlo), and gave 12 concerts in Ereẓ Israel in 1938. In 1941, he settled in the United States.

As an advocate and interpreter of Mahler and Bruckner, Horenstein was almost unrivaled in the strength, integrity, and sincerity of his approach, and his many early recordings of their works were instrumental in bringing about their present-day popularity. He was also a noted exponent of *Schoenberg, Berg, Walton, and Janacek. Horenstein conducted little opera after Duesseldorf, although he gave the first French performance of Berg's *Wozzeck* (Paris, 1950), and the first American performance of Busoni's *Doktor Faust* (New York, 1964). At Covent Garden in London, he conducted *Fidelio* (1961) and later *Parsifal* (1973), his last performance of which took place 11 days before he died.

[Max Loppert]

HOREV (Sochaczewer), AMOS (1924–), Israeli military scientist and former president of the Technion-Israel Institute of Technology. Horev was born in Jerusalem. His father, Eliyahu Sochaczewer, invented many devices which were of great value in the battle for Jerusalem during the War of Independence and was one of the founders of the Army Industry Division, of which he was appointed technical director in 1947. Horev himself served in the Palmaḥ commando units in the Galilee and Jerusalem and, during the War of Independence, in the Southern Command, of which he was appointed chief of operations in 1949.

After graduating in mechanical engineering from MIT, Horev was appointed director of the Israel General Staff's Department of Research and Development. From 1954 to 1962 he was chief of the Ordnance Corps, and after completing his postgraduate studies at MIT (1962–64) he resumed the same office. In 1966, he was appointed deputy chief scientist of the Defense Establishment and, after serving from 1967 to 1972 as Quartermaster General, was appointed chief scientist. On October 1, 1973, he assumed office as president of the Technion, to which he was elected in January, succeeding Alexander *Goldberg. He held that position until 2001, when Yitzhak *Apeloig replaced him. He remained a member of the Technion board of governors.

Horev was appointed chairman of the commission named after him, established for Studying Issues of Aliyah and Absorption and the relative functions of the Ministry of Immigration, Absorption and the Aliyah and Absorption Department of the Jewish Agency in this regard.

HOREV COMMISSION. In December 1975 the Jerusalem Conference on Solidarity for Israel, convened as a result of the UN Resolution equating Zionism with racism, decided to set up a commission to "inquire into the whole system involved in immigration and absorption, its institutions and procedures, the coordination between them, and make recommendations as to the steps to be taken to improve the tools and the methods used today on that said system."

The then Prime Minister Yiẓḥak Rabin and the chairman of the Jewish Agency, Mr. Yosef Almogi, appointed Amos Horev as head of the commission – consisting of 10 members – which therewith bore his name, and it began its work in March 1976. After hearing some 90 witnesses, the commission handed its 80-page report to Rabin and Almogi in November.

The main recommendation of the commission was the abolition of both bodies hitherto dealing with *aliyah* and absorption – the Ministry of Immigrant Absorption and the Aliyah and Absorption Department of the Jewish Agency – and that in their place there be set up a Supreme Council for Aliyah and Absorption headed by the prime minister.

The opposition of both bodies concerned, and the demand by each of them that the other be abolished and immigration and absorption become its sole prerogative, caused the continuous postponement of any action. Only in December 1978, partly as a result of the reshuffle of the cabinet, was it decided to abolish the ministry and hand over the responsibility for the functions concerned to the Jewish Agency. However, this decision has yet to be implemented.

HORKHEIMER, MAX (1895–1973), German sociologist. Born in Stuttgart, Horkheimer studied philosophy as well as sociology at German universities; he became professor of social philosophy at the University of Frankfurt in 1930 and director of the Institut fuer Sozialforschung in 1931. In 1933 Horkheimer emigrated to Paris and in 1934 to the U.S. where he continued the Institut fuer Sozialforschung in connection with Columbia University in New York. In 1941 Horkheimer settled in Los Angeles where he wrote *Dialektik der Aufklaerung* (together with Theodor Adorno); upon his return to New York he served as chief research consultant to the American Jewish Committee from 1945 to 1947, and in 1949–50 he edited, with Samuel Flowerman, a series of social-psychological treatises, *Studies in Prejudice*, which exerted considerable influence on the social sciences in the U.S. Horkheimer returned to Germany in 1948. He reestablished the Institut fuer Sozialforschung there and made it the center of the social sciences in Germany after the demise of the Nazi regime. He was a leading member of the Deutsche Gesellschaft fuer Soziologie, of the UNESCO Conference on Social Tensions, and of many German and American scientific associations. After 1954 Horkheimer also taught at the University of Chicago. Horkheimer's thinking combines a critical appraisal of the philosophy of the enlightenment with the positivistic methodology of the social sciences; his analysis of social-psychological trends has dialectic foundations. Under his influence a distinct school of sociological thought has emerged, centered around the Institut fuer Sozialforschung and the "Frankfurter Beitraege zur Soziologie" (see *Adorno, Theodor). Among Horkheimer's major works are *Kants Kritik der Urteilskraft als Bindeglied zwischen theoretischer und praktischer Philosophie* (1925), *Anfaenge der buergerlichen Geschichtsphilosophie* (1930), *Eclipse of Reason* (1947), *Survey of the Social Sciences in Western Germany* (1952), and *Akademisches Studium. Begriff der Bildung. Fragen des Hochschulunterrichts* (1953).

[Werner J. Cahnman]

HORMAH (Heb. חָרְמָה), Canaanite royal city on the border of the Negev of Judah near Arad (Josh. 12:14; Num. 21:1–3). When the Israelites disobeyed the Lord and tried to enter Canaan by the direct route from Kadesh-Barnea, they were fought back by the Canaanites and Amalekites guarding its southern approaches, who pursued them as far as Hormah (Num. 14:45; Deut. 1:44). During the Israelite settlement of Canaan, the tribes of Judah and Simeon attacked Hormah from the north; the Bible relates that it was originally called Zephath, but was "dedicated" to the Lord by a "vow" (*ḥerem*) and "utterly destroyed" (Judg. 1:17; Num. 21:2–3). This etiological explanation of the name, however, is contradicted by the appearance of Hormah in the Egyptian Execration Texts of the 19th century B.C.E. and in a contemporary inscription from Sinai. In any case, it is mentioned as a town of Simeon (Josh. 19:4; I Chron. 4:30) and later as part of the Negev district of Judah (Josh. 15:30). David included it among the recipients of the booty taken from the Amalekites (I Sam. 30:30).

The identification of Hormah is disputed, with scholars divided between Khirbat al-Mashāsh (Ḥorvat Masos) and Tell al-Milḥ (Tell Malḥata). Both of these sites are situated at ancient wells east of Beersheba, 3½ mi. (6 km.) apart, and contain remains of the Chalcolithic, Middle Bronze Age II, and Israelite periods.

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[Michael Avi-Yonah]

HORMUZ (**Ormuz**), an island in the Persian Gulf, commanding the trade route from Europe to India and the Far East, captured by the Portuguese in 1507. From the 16th century on, Hebrew and European sources attest the existence of a Jewish community. The 16th-century Yemenite Jewish traveler *Zechariah Al-Dahiri describes in his *Sefer ha-Musar* the six months he spent in Hormuz. In 1549, the Jesuit missionary Gaspar Barzaeus stayed two years in Hormuz; he found there a well-organized Jewish community of 200 families composed of immigrants from Portugal, Spain, Mesopotamia, Egypt, and other countries, who enjoyed great prosperity as silk merchants, horse traders, and moneylenders. The two rabbis, Solomon and Joseph, allowed Barzaeus to deliver a sermon in the synagogue in 1549, but his mission to convert the Jews was a failure. In 1572 the Portuguese authorities sent Samuel Jacar of Hormuz with dispatches to the Holy Roman Emperor. Hormuz attracted many refugees from Spain and Portugal in the 16th century, some en route for *Goa. The Inquisition in Goa, established in 1560, tried to stop the flow of Jews to Hormuz and thence to India and from 1567 on issued many unsuccessful decrees to this effect. The Jewish community came to an end with the joint Persian-English attack in 1622 which led to the decline of Hormuz; many Jews transferred to the Persian mainland, especially to Bandar Abbas and Band-e Kong.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: W.J. Fischel, in: JQR, 40 (1949/50), 379–99; idem, in: *Alexander Marx Jubilee Volume* (1950), 203–30; C. Roth, *Venice* (1930), 166.

[Walter Joseph Fischel]

HORNBOSTEL, ERICH MORITZ VON (1877–1935), musicologist. The son of a gentile father and the singer Helene Marcus, Hornbostel was born in Vienna, and worked with Carl Strumpf at the Psychological Institute in Berlin. In 1906 he went to the United States to study the music and psychology of the American Indians, and the same year became director of the Berlin Phonogram Archives. He was appointed professor in 1917 and from 1923 taught at Berlin University. Dismissed in 1933, he first became lecturer at the New School for Social Research in New York and in 1934 settled in England. Hornbostel was one of the founders of ethnomusicology (then called "comparative musicology") and, through his pioneering syntheses of what had until then been separate disciplines, a major influence on the formation of modern musicology.

Hornbostel's regional researches included studies of the music of China, Japan, India, and the Pacific and of American Indian cultures. Particularly important among the subjects of his many studies are those dealing with the cross-cultural implications of tuning systems, folk polyphonies, and the psychology of musical perception. In 1914 he published, together with Curt *Sachs, the "Systematik der Musikinstrumente" (reissued in English as "Classification of Musical Instruments" in the *Galpin Society Journal*, 14 (1961), 3–29), which has remained the basic classification system for the study of the musical instruments of the world.

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HORNER, HENRY (1878–1940), governor of Illinois from 1932 to 1940. Horner was born in Chicago, grandson of Henry Horner, an immigrant from Bavaria (1840) who was instrumental in founding the Chicago Board of Trade. The younger

Horner began legal practice as a partner in the firm Whitney and Horner. In 1914 he became active in the Democratic Party, and was elected judge of the Probate Cook County, an office which he held for 18 years. During his career as probate judge, Horner gained national fame for promulgating the "Horner Plan," a method of protecting and probating the estates of servicemen without charge. In 1932 he was elected governor of Illinois by the largest popular vote ever received for that office to that time. He broke with the Chicago Democratic machine, yet was reelected in 1936. Horner fought corruption, supported President Roosevelt's New Deal Policy, and was unequivocally devoted to good government. Carl Sandburg, praising his integrity, said: "In an age flagrant with corruption, he was among those who came through clean and unspotted."

Horner participated actively in Jewish and general civic community life. He was a member of the board of directors of the Home for the Aged, Jewish Aid Society, Michael Reese Hospital, Central Council for Nursing Education, and Chicago Council of Boy Scouts. He was president of the Young Men's Associated Jewish Charities, and was involved in the U.S. Veteran's Bureau, the Masons, the Art Institute of Chicago, the Chicago Association of Commerce, and the Chicago and American Bar Associations. He had a great interest in Lincoln, and owned the world's most extensive collection of Lincolnia, which he contributed to the Illinois State Historical Society in 1933.

[Morris A. Gutstein]

HORNET (Heb. צִרְעָה), insect. Three times the Bible mentions that the hornet would be sent ahead of the Israelites to drive out the inhabitants of the land of Canaan before them (Ex. 23:28; Deut. 7:20; Josh. 24:12). Some contend that the reference here is not to actual hornets but to the pharaohs of Egypt, whose emblem was the hornet. However, it may also refer to the hornet *Vespa orientalis* which multiplies in time of war when fields are untilled, making its nest in burrows in uncultivated ground. When in mishnaic times hornets increased considerably, prayers were offered for their removal (Ta'an. 14a), and an instance is mentioned of death resulting from a hornet's sting. In Babylonia the danger of being stung by "a hornet in Nineveh" was stressed, it being permitted to kill one even on a Sabbath (Shab. 80b).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: J. Feliks, *Animal World of the Bible* (1962), 121. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** Feliks, Ha-Ẓome'aḥ, 273.

[Jehuda Feliks]

HORODEZKY, SAMUEL ABBA (1871–1957), scholar and historian of Jewish mysticism and Ḥasidism. He was born in Malin (Kiev region) and studied in the courts of *ẓaddikim* in Malin and Chernobyl. He was attracted to the Haskalah and at the age of 20 settled in Berdichev where he changed from a rabbinic author to a Hebrew writer and began to correspond with contemporary authors. The pogroms of 1905–06 made him leave the Ukraine. He took advantage of his election as a delegate to the Eighth Zionist Congress (The Hague, 1907) and remained in the West. From 1908 to 1938 he lived for several periods in Switzerland and Germany. Horodezky was a contributor to the *Encyclopaedia Judaica* (1927–34), and founder of the ḥasidic archives of the Schocken Press (1935). In 1938 he emigrated to Palestine and settled in Tel Aviv.

His major literary enterprises were the editing of *Ha-Goren*, an annual on Jewish scholarship (ten issues, 1–8 in Berdichev, 9–10 in Berlin); *Ha-Ḥasidut ve-ha-Ḥasidim* ("Ḥasidism and Ḥasidim"), monographs on the great ḥasidim and their doctrines (4 vols., several editions); *Ha-Mistorin be-Yisrael* ("Jewish Mysticism"), monographs on sources and teachers of mysticism, beginning with *Ha-Mistorin ha-Kadum* ("Ancient Mysticism") in the Bible, Apocrypha, and the Talmud, up to the early and later kabbalists (four pts., publ. 1931–58). Among his other writings are (1) a collection of articles on personalities and values outside the world of mysticism and confronting it: *Le-Korot ha-Rabbanut* (1911), *Yahadut ha-Sekhel ve-Yahadut ha-Regesh* (1947), and *Kivshono shel Olam* (1950); (2) compilations of the writings of kabbalists and Ḥasidim: *Moses *Cordovero* (1941), *Isaac *Luria and Ḥayyim *Vital* (1947), **Naḥman of Bratslav* (1923), and **Dov Baer the Maggid of Mezhirech* (1927); (3) the publication of sources: *Shivḥei ha-Besht, Sippurei R. Naḥman, etc.*; (4) *Memoirs*, his last book, an autobiography and the most literary of his works (1957).

Horodezky was one of the last scholars to write in the manner of *Wissenschaft der Judenthums before its development into modern Jewish scholarship. Like other contemporaries, he was a product of the intellectual climate of the East European Jewish town and educated himself to become a Hebrew writer. His quiet, informative, non-argumentative manner of speech helped break the boycott of the *maskilim* against Ḥasidism. He liked to cite representative sources but wrote little analysis and criticism. Ẓvi Voyeslavsky defined him well in the Ḥabad term "Ha-Ḥozer" (the returner). His library is preserved in Bet Faïtlovitch in Tel Aviv. A Festschrift was published in honor of his 75th birthday, *Eder ha-Yekar* (1947), and, when he reached his 80th year, a pamphlet, *Livyat Ḥen* (1951).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Z. Voyslavsky, *Yeḥidim bi-Reshut ha-Rabbim* (1956), 231–4; F. Lachower, *Rishonim ve-Aḥaronim* (1966^{2}), 290–3.

[Emanuel Bin-Gorion]

HORODISCH, ABRAHAM (1898–1987), antiquarian bookseller and bibliophile. Born in Lodz, Horodisch was raised in Koenigsberg, East Prussia. He studied economics in Berlin and earned a doctorate in that field in 1920 from the University of Frankfurt. Upon returning to Berlin he founded, together with Ernst Rathenau, the Euphorion Verlag (1920–25) and later the publishing firm of Horodisch & Marx (1925–55) and the Aldus Printing Press. He was a co-founder of the Soncino Society and a member of the general Berlin bibliophile Maximilian Society. Together with his wife, Alice Garman, herself a graphic designer, he moved to Amsterdam soon after Hitler's rise to power in 1933. There he established the Erasmus Antiquariate, which gained a wide reputation. In 1943 he and his wife escaped to Switzerland. Upon their return in 1945, they found the entire stock of the Antiquariate gone. Horodisch managed to build it up again, beyond its original size and renown. He wrote over 200 articles and books on various aspects of booklore, some of them on Jewish themes, such as *Die Exlibris des Uriel Birnbaum* (1957) and *Die Graphik der Chalukah* (1973).

On his 60th birthday (in 1958) and on the 50th anniversary of the Erasmus Antiquariate, Jubilee Volumes appeared in his honor, the first titled *Amor Librorum*, the second *De Arte et Libris*. In 1978 he was awarded the Zilveren Anjer (Silver Carnation) by the Prins Bernard Fonds. Horodisch's art collection, which features German Weimar art, was donated to the Tel Aviv Museum. Horodisch further bequeathed a considerable part of his private library, including many works on Japanese art, to Tel Aviv University, where a Horodisch Chair for the history of books was established.

[Henriette Boas]

HORODISCHTSCH, LEON (1872–1940), merchant and banker, one of the first adherents of political Zionism in Russia. Horodischtsch was born in Bialystok into a Zionist family. His father was an associate of Samuel *Mohilever. At first he worked in his father's bank and then established a bank of his own in Brest-Litovsk. In 1906 he became the head of a savings and loan society in Brest-Litovsk. He attended the First Zionist Congress and all the subsequent Congresses until World War I. In 1920 he settled in Palestine, where he continued his banking activities as manager of Halva'ah ve-Ḥissakhon in Tel Aviv, and other positions. He published his reminiscences of the First Zionist Congress in *Sefer ha-Congress* ("Book of the Congress," 1950^{2}, 132–3).

[Getzel Kressel]

HORONAIM (Heb. חֹרֹנַיִם), Moabite city appearing in the prophetic "burdens of Moab" (Isa. 15:5; Jer. 48:3, 5, 34) and also mentioned on the Mesha Stone (lines 31, 32). Horonaim is a theophoric name (for the god Horon) like Beth-Horon in western Ereẓ Israel. The biblical descriptions "going down of Horonaim" and "the way of Horonaim" indicate that the town dominated an important road, probably the ascent from the southern end of the Dead Sea. It is also listed among the Moabite cities conquered by Alexander Yannai (103–76 B.C.E.) and returned by Hyrcanus II to Aretas III, king of the Nabateans (Jos., Ant., 13:397; 14:18; where it is called Oronaim). The text of the former passage is very corrupted and the name Horonaim has been established only by conjecture. The historicity of the text has been disputed because of its close similarity with the biblical "burdens" but the mention of this name in documents found in Judean Desert caves makes this view less plausible. Musil has proposed identifying Horonaim with al-ʿIrāq, about 6 mi. (10 km.) southwest of Kir of Moab above the descent to the Lisān and Zoar.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: A. Musil, *Arabia Petraea*, 1 (1907), 73; Abel, Geog, 2 (1938), 149, 350; Schalit, in: *Eretz Israel*, 1 (1951), 104–21; Polotsky, in: IEJ, 12 (1962), 258ff.

[Michael Avi-Yonah]

HORONTCHIK, SIMON (1889–1939), Yiddish novelist and short story writer. Born in Wielun (Poland), Horontchik moved to Kalisz in 1914, where he worked in a lace factory from the age of 17 until World War I. With the German occupation of Kalisz, Horontchik fled to Lodz, where he began his literary career, publishing poems in the local Yiddish press, as well as in Yiddish periodicals in Warsaw, New York, and Buenos Aires. For several years before the outbreak of World War II, Horontchik lived in Paris, where he continued his literary activities. In May 1939, he returned to Poland and settled in Warsaw. After the Nazi occupation of the city, he fled, committing suicide on the road to Vilna. His novels include *Farplonterte Vegn* ("Confused Ways," 1924), depicting the physical and moral disintegration of a small Polish Jewish village during the German occupation of World War I. It was followed by *Geroysh fun Mashinen* ("Whirr of Machines," 1928), based on his experiences in the Kalisz lace factory. *Zump* ("Swamp," 1931) attacked exploiters of labor.

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[Elias Schulman / Marc Miller (2nd ed.)]

HOROVITZ, ISRAEL (1939–), U.S. playwright and screenwriter. Born in Wakefield, Mass., Horovitz in 1965 became the first American playwright-in-residence for England's prestigious Royal Shakespeare Company. He burst on the New York scene in 1967 with four one-act plays and received acclaim the following year for *The Indian Wants the Bronx* which introduced Al Pacino to Broadway and won several awards. A prolific writer, Horovitz followed this success with a number of plays including *Rats* (1968); *Trees* (1969); *Acrobats* (1970); *Line* (1971); *Leader* (1972); *The Honest-to-God Schnozzola* (1971); *Shooting Gallery* (1973); *The Primary English Class* (1970); and *The Reason We Eat* (1977). In 1970 his screenplay for the film, *The Strawberry Statement*, won the Prix de Jury at the Cannes Film Festival. His film *3 Weeks after Paradise* (2002) and his play *Speaking Well of the Dead* (2002) are responses to the attack on the World Trade Center.

His later work was more experimental in form and style, with deep character introspection and incidents of mental disorientation. In general he wrote ensemble pieces rather than star vehicles, and his work exhibited a profound social commitment.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: L. Kane (ed.), *Israel Horovitz: A Collection of Critical Essays* (1994).

HOROVITZ, JACOB (1873–1939), rabbi and scholar. Horovitz, the son of Marcus *Horovitz, was born in Lauenburg. He served as rabbi in Frankfurt and was lecturer on Jewish subjects at the Pedagogical Academy there. In common with his father, he opposed the secession of the Orthodox from the local congregations and was one of the leaders of Communal Orthodoxy (Aḥdut). Horovitz was a vice president of the Union of German Rabbis and active in a number of other communal organizations. He joined the Jewish Agency in 1929 as a non-Zionist. In 1938 Horovitz took refuge in Holland, where he died. His published works include *Untersuchungen ueber Philons und Platos Lehre von der Weltschoepfung* (1900); *Babel und Bibel* (1904), against Friedrich *Delitzsch; *Untersuchungen zur rabbinischen Lehre von den falschen Zeugen* (1914); *Ḥever Ir* (Ger., 1915); and *Josephserzaehlung* (1921).

HOROVITZ, JOSEF (1874–1931), German Orientalist. Horovitz, the son of Marcus *Horovitz, was born in Lauenburg, Germany. He studied at the University of Berlin with Edward Sachau and taught there from 1902. He worked in India from 1907 to 1914, teaching Arabic at the Muhammedan Anglo-Oriental College of Aligarh and serving as the curator of Islamic inscriptions for the Indian government. In this capacity he edited the collection *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica* (1909–12). Some years after he had left India, Horovitz published *Indien unter britischer Herrschaft* (1928). Returning to Germany, he taught Semitic languages at the University of Frankfurt from 1914 to his death. As a member of the board of trustees of Hebrew University from its inception, Horovitz created the department of Oriental studies, became its director, and initiated its collective project, the concordance of early Arabic poetry. At first Horovitz devoted himself to the study of Arabic historical literature and then to early Arabic poetry. His major work was a commentary on the Koran, which he did not complete. He translated the poetry miscellany *Kumit El ha-Asimiat* (1904). In his *Koran Studien* (1926) he applied his method of detailed analysis of the language used by Muhammad and his disciples and historical insights gained from the study of the early texts themselves. He examined relations between Islam and Judaism in his "Jewish Proper Names and Derivatives in the Koran" (in HUCA, 2 (1925), 145–227; repr. 1964) and his "Das koranische Paradies" (in *Scripta Universitatis atque Bibliothecae Hierosolymitanarum, Orientalia et Judaica*, 1 (1923); also in *Ha-Tekufah*, 23 (1925), 276ff.).

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[*Encyclopaedia Hebraica* / Bjorn Siegel (2nd ed.)]

HOROVITZ, LEOPOLD (1838–1917), Hungarian painter. Horovitz was born in Slovakia and studied in Vienna. After living in Berlin, Dresden, and Munich, he arrived in Paris, where his portraits and genre scenes met with success. His sitters included the emperor of Austria, Francis Joseph, and the Danish essayist, Georg *Brandes, as well as Hungarian and Polish magnates and the fashionably dressed ladies of high society. Meticulous in his technique, he used natural poses and simple backgrounds. He displayed great virtuosity, charm, and refinement. He showed no interest in the aims of more progressive artists such as the Impressionists, who belonged to his generation. Though he received many prizes and commanded high fees for his portrait commissions, he might have been completely forgotten, were it not for his scenes from East European Jewish life. Notable among these works is *The Ninth of Av*, a large picture upon which Horovitz worked for a year and a half. This picture reveals a solid construction and an astonishing power of differentiating between the subtle moods and the less subtle gestures of the figures.

[Alfred Werner]

HOROVITZ, MARCUS (1844–1910), Orthodox rabbi, historian, and halakhist in Germany. Horovitz was born in Ladany (near Tokaj), Hungary. He studied in Verbo, Hungary, under Ḥayyim Ẓevi Mannheimer and at the Eisenstadt yeshivah under Azriel *Hildesheimer, whose favorite pupil he became. His reminiscences of his youth in Hungary were published as *Von Liszka nach Berlin* (1914; previously in *Die Juedische Presse*, vol. 1, 1870). After serving as rabbi in Germany at Lauenburg and Gnesen, in 1878 he accepted a call to become the first Orthodox rabbi of the Frankfurt on the Main general community after Reform had eliminated all Orthodox institutions. Beginning in 1851, S.R. *Hirsch had developed a small but fast-growing independent Orthodox congregation and in 1876 had obtained the legal right for his and similar congregations to secede from the general Jewish congregation, until then the only body recognized by the state. Horovitz was one of the few Orthodox rabbis who refused to sign Hirsch's petition to the Prussian Diet. The growing strength of Hirsch's *kehillah* induced the general community to make concessions to the Orthodox. Horovitz had to face the intense hostility of Hirsch's followers in addition to the Reform opposition. By dint of his strong yet tolerant personality he succeeded beyond expectation in establishing Orthodox synagogues and institutions. He joined the Allgemeiner Rabbinerverband, whose vice chairman he became, the Hilfsverein der deutschen Juden, the B'nai B'rith movement, and similar non-Orthodox organizations. He also joined Hildesheimer in establishing the Traditionell-Gesetzestreuer Rabbinerverband, which did not discriminate between secessionist and communal rabbis. Horovitz's attitude to emerging Zionism was ambivalent. On the one hand he strongly supported various attempts in aid of the *yishuv* in Palestine but on the other hand he feared the secularization inherent in Zionism and signed the declaration of the *Protestrabbiner. Horovitz made a series of contributions to Jewish scholarship, particularly in history. He wrote *Frankfurter Rabbinen* (4 vols., 1881–85; 1969^2), a study of the work and personalities of the rabbis who served that community; *Die Inschriften des alten Friedhofs der israelitischen Gemeinde zu Frankfurt a. M.* (1901); and *Juedische Aerzte in Frankfurt a. M.* (1886). In the field of *halakhah*, his responsa *Matteh Levi* (vol. 1, 1891; vol. 2, ed. by his son Jacob, 1932) show his talmudic learning.

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Leaders (1953), 249ff.; I. Heinemann, *ibid.*, 261ff.; M. Eliav (ed.), *E. Hildesheimer Briefe* (1965), 121f., 229f.; J. Rosenheim, *Oholei Ya'akov; Ausgewaehlte Aufsaetze und Ansprachen*, 2 (1930), 449–53; H. Schwab, *Chachme Ashkenaz* (Eng., 1964), no. 56.

HOROVITZ, SAUL (1858–1921), scholar of talmudic literature and medieval religious philosophy. Horovitz was born in Szanto, Hungary. He studied at the Warsaw yeshivah of J.B. *Soloveitchik; at the Breslau Jewish Theological Seminary, where he was deeply influenced by Israel Levy; and at Breslau and Munich universities. After a decade as rabbi in Bielitz, Silesia, he was appointed lecturer in 1896 on religious philosophy and homiletics and later was also rabbinical tutor at the Breslau seminary.

Horovitz, who had a comprehensive knowledge of Jewish lore and of Latin, Greek, and Arabic, made a significant contribution to Jewish and Islamic philosophical studies in his dissertation "Prophetologie in der juedischen Religionsphilosophie" (1883), and *Die Psychologie bei den juedischen Religionsphilosophen des Mittelalters …* (4 vols., 1898–1912), *Der Mikrokosmos des Joseph ibn Saddik* (1903), *Ueber den Einfluss der griechischen Philosophie auf die Entwicklung des Kalam* (1909), *Die Stellung des Aristoteles bei den Juden des Mittelalters* (1911), *Abraham ibn David* (1912), and *Der Einfluss der griechischen Skepsis auf die Entwicklung der Philosophie bei den Arabern* (1915).

Horovitz's most important undertaking was his plan, which never fully materialized, to publish critical editions of all the halakhic Midrashim. He edited *Sifrei de-Vei Rav* [Sif. Num.], with *Sifrei Zuta* [Sif. Zut.] (1917), which he reconstructed from *Yalkut Shimoni* (cf. his *Der Sifrei Sutta*, 1910; Heb. trans. in *Mesillot le-Torat ha-Tanna'im* (1928), 82ff.); and *Mekhilta de-Rabbi Ishma'el* (completed by I.A. Rabin, 1931). The material collected by Horovitz for the edition of **Sifrei* on Deuteronomy was later used by L. *Finkelstein In his editions of the midrashic texts he did not limit himself to citing parallel passages and variant readings, but with great erudition and a keen philological sense explained and illuminated difficult passages. These editions are standard scholarly texts, as is his *Beitraege zur Erklaerung und Textkritik der Mechilta des R. Simon* (1919). These writings were of great importance to the development of talmudic research. Horovitz's work, which included articles on various topics, is distinguished not by its quantity but by its maturity and solidity.

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[Moshe David Herr]

HOROWITZ, a family of rabbis and scholars that also included writers, communal workers, and personalities active in all spheres of Jewish life. The Horowitz's were levites. The family originated in the 15th century, taking its name from the small town of Horovice in Bohemia. The various branches and sub-branches of the family spread throughout the whole Diaspora and also settled in Ereẓ Israel. According to one tradition they originated in Spain. The name appears in a great variety of forms: Hurwitz, Horwicz, Horovitz, or "ha-Levi, Ish Horowitz"; and under the influence of Russian it is often written as Gurevicz, Gurwicz, etc. Some scholars are of the opinion that the name Munk or Munka appearing in official government certificates and documents applies to the members of this family. ISAIAH B. MOSES HA-LEVI (d. 1517), who lived in Prague, is regarded as the founder of the family. He supported the Prague publishers in 1514 in their publication of the Pentateuch. Of Isaiah's seven sons the following are noteworthy: AARON MESHULLAM ZALMAN (1470–1545), who in 1535 founded the synagogue in Prague known as the "Pinkas-Schul," and is identified by some with the Zalman Munka to whom King Ludwig granted the privilege, in 1525, of having the rabbi and elder of the Prague congregation appointed from his family; ISRAEL (d. 1568/9), who met a martyr's death in Prague together with his son-in-law, Moses b. Joel; and SHABBETAI SHEFTEL (d. 1555), a communal leader. As a result of the rise of the Horowitz family, disputes arose between it and its opponents in Prague. In order to settle these disputes, *Joseph (Joselmann) b. Gershom of Rosheim, among others, intervened.

The family of Aaron Meshullam Zalman included Phinehas b. Israel *Horowitz. ABRAHAM, son of Shabbetai Sheftel the communal leader and the father of ISAIAH the author of the *Shelah*, moved to Poland and dwelt in Cracow and Lemberg. In 1595 the town of Lemberg elected him *dayyan* of the province. At the beginning of the 17th century the family was scattered throughout Poland. Its members served as rabbis in Vienna, Prague, Hamburg, and Nikolsburg. The best known of them in the 16th and 17th centuries included Isaiah b. Abraham *Horowitz, author of the *Shelah*, and his son SHABBETAI SHEFTEL. In the 17th and 18th centuries and the beginning of the 19th century, members of the family filled the roles of rabbis and *dayyanim* in various towns of Poland, Lithuania, Russia, Austria, Bohemia, Moravia, Hungary, and Germany, among them Isaac b. Jacob Jokel *Horowitz of Hamburg (d. 1767) and the well-known brothers Phinehas b. Ẓevi Hirsch *Horowitz of Frankfurt, author of the *Hafla'ah*, and his brother Samuel *Horowitz of Nikolsburg. Samuel Horowitz' descendants emigrated to the United States in the 1880s. The family married into the Margareten family, and established the well-known Horowitz-Margareten *maẓẓah* bakery. They founded the Horowitz-Margareten Family Association which numbers some 1,500 members. It engages in a number of social, charitable, and cultural activities, including a loan fund for those members of the European branch of the family who emigrated to Israel after the Holocaust. The association has published *Directory and Genealogy of the Horowitz-Margareten Family* (1955) in which each member is designated by a code.

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[Yehoshua Horowitz]

HOROWITZ, Canadian family. ISAIAH HOROWITZ (Yeshayah ben Asher Ezekiel ha-Levi, Ish Horovits; 1883–1978), rabbi and author. Isaiah Horowitz, who was born in Safed, traced his paternal lineage back 11 generations to a central figure in Polish Jewish rabbinic culture, the Shelah, R. Isaiah *Horowitz; on his mother's side, he claimed to be descended from a number of prominent ḥasidic figures, including *Shneur Zalman of Liady. During his youth, Safed experienced something of an Ashkenazi revival, with two yeshivot. In 1909 he received his *semikhah* from the Ridbaz, Jacob David ben Ze'ev *Willowski, and served on the *bet din* there. He identified strongly with religious Zionism and had to argue his case to some of his traditionalist colleagues. According to his own testimony, the situation in Safed deteriorated with the outbreak of war in 1914, and his own material situation did not improve after the war either. In the early 1920s he moved to New York City, and then to Winnipeg. He was invited to the latter by a group of butchers, but when he arrived he discovered that they were trying to usurp the authority of the long-standing rabbinic authority, Israel Kahanovitch. For many years, he was forced to rely on the small sums of money he could earn from officiating at life cycle events, selling *lulavim* and *etrogim*, He also seemed to have some wealthy patrons. A firm traditionalist, Horowitz never achieved the widespread public support of the energetic and seemingly omnipresent Kahanovitch. After WWII, Horowitz received a modest salary from one of the local congregations.

During his time in Winnipeg, Horowitz published two books, *Sefer Yavo Shilo* (1925/6), much of which was composed before his arrival in Winnipeg, and *Sefer Pardes ha-Areẓ* (1933–5). Both books contain sermons and responsa, and are valuable sources of information for Safed in the 1910s and especially for western Canada in the 1920s and 1930s. Horowitz left Winnipeg in 1953 to return to the Land of Israel. In 1955/6 he published *Sefer Eden Ẓiyyon*, a compendium of shrines and other holy places in Israel. He died in Israel.

Isaiah Horowitz was married to Tziporah (Feyge) Lorberbaum and they had at least eight children. One son, ARON (1911–), became a prominent Jewish educator in Canada, especially interested in day schools and overnight summer camps. Another son, ISAAC (1920–), became a prominent scientist, renowned for his work on quantitative feedback theory. Aron's son, GAD (1936–), is a well-known political theorist in Canada, establishing his reputation early with his seminal *Canadian Labour in Politics* (1968).

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[Richard Menkis (2nd ed.)]

HOROWITZ, AARON JUDAH LOEB (**Leon**; pseud. **Ayalah**; 1847–1926), Hebrew writer born in Minsk. After leaving the yeshivah in Shklov in 1862, he studied in Western Europe and traveled widely before settling in New York in 1870. There he taught Hebrew and contributed prolifically to the European Hebrew press. An advocate of mass immigration to America for Jews suffering persecution in Romania, Horowitz went there to tour the country for this purpose in 1873, sponsored by steamship companies. The book he published subsequently, *Rumanyah va-Amerikah* (1874), provides many details about the communities Horowitz visited and is a valuable source of information for their situation in this period, and in particular their internal affairs. The second part of the book provides a description of the United States and Jewish settlement there to encourage prospective immigrants. A guide for immigrants is also included. Horowitz himself spent the rest of his life in business in Hamburg.

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[Lloyd P. Gartner]

HOROWITZ, ABRAHAM BEN ISAIAH (1671–1744), Polish rabbi. Horowitz, born in Leipnik, Moravia, studied under his father, Isaiah b. Shabbetai Sheftel *Horowitz. He assisted his father in his activities and accompanied him at the sessions of the Council of the Four Lands. Horowitz served as *dayyan* in Posen and in 1699 pleaded before the council in Jaroslav, Poland, against "the leaders of the Posen community" in connection with the community's payment of a promissory note left him by his father. The hardship prevailing in Poland in 1697–1704 as a result of war compelled Horowitz to emigrate. He reached Amsterdam, where he published the prayer book with the commentary *Sha'ar ha-Shamayim* (1717) of his great-grandfather with additions of his grandfather Shabbetai Sheftel and with his own additions. In the introduction Horowitz notes: "I was driven from one exile to another… the pursuers caught up with me, armies and troops with the sword of war… and I was left penniless." In 1728 he published the novellae of *Yom Tov b. Abraham Ishbili (the Ritba) to various tractates of the Talmud, with the novellae of his own father, and published a new edition (1729) of *Emek Berakhah* by Abraham b. Shabbetai Sheftel *Horowitz with his father's additions. Subsequently he wandered in Poland and Germany, and died in Frankfurt on the Oder. His son, ZE'EV WOLF HA-LEVI (d. 1777), was a member of the famous *Altona *Klaus*. Out of humility he refused to accept the office of *dayyan* there.

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[Yehoshua Horowitz]

HOROWITZ, ABRAHAM BEN SHABBETAI SHEFTEL (c. 1550–1615), one of the most eminent talmudists of his day in Poland, a pupil of Moses *Isserles. Horowitz resided in Cracow and Lvov, and in 1595 was elected a *dayyan* for the province of Lvov (see *Councils of the Lands). Horowitz, who was a keen student of *Maimonides in his youth, took issue in a forcible polemical tract with Aaron, *av bet din* of Poznan, who wished to restrict Jewish instruction to the Talmud alone. Horowitz also argued for the teaching of secular subjects because of their general importance. Indicative of Horowitz's aristocratic attitude, in both the spiritual and social sense, is his view that beliefs and ideas cannot be explained to "the simple folk living in ignorance… [who] have no need of knowledge, not apprehending what it is," and that it is unnecessary to instruct them other than to enjoin them against committing "common offenses such as fraud, false oaths, calumny and slander." His rationalistic approach is reflected in the first version of his commentary to Maimonides' *Shemoneh Perakim* (1577). When he grew older, however, Horowitz increasingly turned to mysticism and practical ethics. In this spirit he wrote a second version of the commentary (1602) in which the emphasis on rationalistic principles is reduced, and he states that this is "the principal [version], superseding the earlier one." To serve as an ethical guide he wrote *Berit Avraham* (Cracow, 1602?) which sets out practical examples of the transgressions enumerated in the *Viddui (see also *Atonement). His book *Emek Berakhah* (*ibid.*, 1597) is mainly a halakhic exposition of the benedictions for enjoyments, prayers and prayer ritual. In his ethical will, *Yesh Noḥalin* (Amsterdam, 1701), Horowitz formulates his conception of the spiritual and social attributes of the ideal Jewish leader in Poland: He should combine religious reverence and respect for the individual, honor for the family and its status, and responsibility in his economic and communal obligations with the duty to submit to the disciplinary requirements of the leadership. The book became highly popular as an ethical guide. His son was Isaiah *Horowitz (the Shelah).

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[Haim Hillel Ben-Sasson]

HOROWITZ, ARYEH LEIB BEN ELEAZAR HA-LEVI (1758–1844), Galician rabbi. Horowitz's father, who was *av bet din* of Zalozhtsy, was the son of Isaac ha-Levi b. Jacob Jokel *Horowitz of Hamburg. Aryeh Horowitz studied under his father and later in the yeshivah of Isaac Ḥarif in Sambor. He also studied in Tysmenitsa under his uncle, Moses Meshullam Egra, by whom he was ordained rabbi. In 1784, on the recommendation of Jacob *Lorberbaum, Horowitz was appointed rabbi of Stanislav, an office which he held until a year before his death. Subsequent members of the Horowitz family occupied that rabbinate until 1939. Horowitz energetically dealt with the widespread poverty following economic difficulties which faced the country in 1818 and affected the Jewish community and helped establish free loan funds and provide accommodation for those rendered homeless. In the dispute which broke out after the appearance in 1793 of the responsa, *Besamim Rosh*, with the commentary *Kasa de-Harsana* by Saul Lewin, Horowitz was asked by Hirsch *Lewin, Saul's father, to use his influence with Egra not to ban his son's book although various rabbis insisted that it be banned. Horowitz and Egra did in fact refrain from intervening. Horowitz was opposed to *Ḥasidism and endeavored to prevent its gaining control of his community. On the other hand, he did not vehemently oppose the *maskilim*. In the dispute between the publishers of Vilna and Slavuta in connection with the publication of the Talmud, he decided in favor of Slavuta and in 1836 gave them his commendation. Following a dispute in 1843, he left Stanislav and went to Tysmenitsa, where he died. He left behind responsa, homilies, and novellae, but only two of his works were published after his death – both entitled *Penei Aryeh*: a biblical commentary (1876), and responsa on *Oraḥ Ḥayyim* published at the beginning of the responsa, *Bar Livai* (1909), by his son Meshullam Issachar.

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[Yehoshua Horowitz]

HOROWITZ, ARYEH LEIB BEN ISAAC (1847–1909), Galician rabbi. Horowitz studied under his grandfather, Meshullam Issachar *Horowitz, rabbi of Stanislav. When he was only 19 years of age his talmudic novellae were published in the *Toledot Yiẓḥak* of his father. He was ordained rabbi by Joseph Saul *Nathanson and Ḥayyim *Halberstamm, rabbi of Zanz. In 1871 he was appointed rabbi of Zalozce and later of Sereth, Bukovina. In 1879 he was appointed rabbi of Stryj where he found ample scope for his abilities and was henceforth known as "the Stryzer Rav." From 1904 until his death he was rabbi of Stanislav in eastern Galicia, where his father, grandfather, and great-grandfather had preceded him. He published the halakhic discourse which he delivered on the occasion of his appointment under the title *Hegeh Aryeh* (1902). There he founded the yeshivah Or Torah which was headed for many years by Jekuthiel Aryeh *Kamelhar, and to it he devoted his main activities. In 1908, on the occasion of the 60th anniversary of the reign of the emperor Francis Joseph I, Horowitz was decorated by him. Despite the opposition of his forebears to Ḥasidism, Horowitz was on terms of familiarity with the circle of Ḥayyim Halberstamm, the head of the ḥasidic dynasty of Zanz, and in consequence he was highly respected in ḥasidic circles. His attitude to Zionism was very sympathetic and he was one of the few Galician rabbis to eulogize Theodor *Herzl.

Horowitz attained considerable renown through his responsa, *Harei Besamim*, the first volume (1882) containing

129 responsa, the second (1897) 253. Many of his responsa remained in manuscript, but eventually his pupils and relatives succeeded in arranging for their publication; in 1958 a third and fourth part of the *Harei Besamim* was published by Simon Federbush, containing 165 responsa as well as novellae on various tractates. The book had a wide circulation among scholars. The responsa are in answer to questions from Russia, Germany, Poland, Romania, and Hungary, and are regarded as exemplary among recent halakhic works. They are written in a clear and precise Hebrew style. In the introduction to the second volume Horowitz expresses emphatically his opposition to casuistry, stressing that only a person familiar with the whole Talmud can explain the *halakhah* and write novellae "without relying upon imaginary conjectures." In matters "for which no foundation in the Talmud can be found, we are unable to deduce a ruling and fabricate the *halakhah*" (2, no. 84 p. 74d). In general he was lenient in his rulings, adopting the principle that finding a permissive ruling is desirable. He vigorously denounced the local *shoḥatim* for disregarding the rabbis (1, no. 105). Horowitz stresses particularly his desire for the unity, equality, and brotherhood of the Jews, whether ignorant or learned (*Rosh ha-Har*, the introduction to the first volume).

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[Yehoshua Horowitz]

HOROWITZ, BER (1895–1942), Yiddish poet, short story writer, and essayist, associated with the Young Galicia school of Yiddish poetry. Born in Majdan in the Carpathian mountains and educated in nearby Stanislav, during World War I he served in the Austrian army and lived for a period in Vienna while earning a medical degree. He worked for several years as a doctor, first in an Austrian prisoner-of-war camp for Italian soldiers and later in a hospital in Vienna. His first Yiddish poems, which appeared in S.J. Imber's Viennese literary journal, *Nayland* (1918), attracted much attention, and he began contributing his works to numerous Yiddish periodicals in Europe. His lyrics about robust, rural Jews living close to the soil found their finest expression in a collection of lyrics, *Reyakh fun Erd* ("Smell of Earth," 1930). At the outbreak of World War II, Horowitz was living in Stanislav, where he continued his literary activities. He was killed either by the Nazis or by the Ukrainian villagers among whom he lived when the Germans invaded his district in October, 1942. J. Leftwich published English translations of his works in the anthology *The Golden Peacock* (1961).

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[Melech Ravitch / Marc Miller (2nd ed.)]

HOROWITZ, DAVID (1899–1979), Israel economist. Born in Drohobycz (then Austrian Galicia), Horowitz was active in *Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir and settled in Palestine in 1920. He was a member of kibbutz *Bet Alfa until 1925, serving as a member of the executive committee of the *Histadrut between 1922 and 1925. From 1925 to 1927 he was a member and secretary-general of *Gedud ha-Avodah. He worked as a journalist until 1932, when he was appointed financial adviser to the American Economic Committee in Palestine. Between 1935 and 1948, Horowitz was director of the Economic Department of the *Jewish Agency, while also lecturing at the Tel Aviv School of Law and Economics. He was in charge of organizing the evidence for the *yishuv* representatives to the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry and was a liaison officer to the 1947 United Nations Special Committee on Palestine (UNSCOP), which recommended the partition of the country. He was also a member of the Jewish Agency delegation to the UN General Assembly, which accepted the Partition Plan (Nov. 29, 1947). Between 1948 and 1952, Horowitz was director general of the Ministry of Finance and dealt with the financing of the *War of Independence. From 1952 he worked to establish the Bank of Israel, becoming its first governor (*nagid*) in 1954. In public life Horowitz sometimes displayed a critical attitude toward the economic policies of the government. He was appointed the governor representing Israel at the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, International Finance Corporation, and the International Development Association. A program for the encouragement of capital investment in developing countries – "The Horowitz Proposal," which he presented to the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development in 1964 – considerably influenced the decisions taken by this body and by various other international institutions. In 1968 Horowitz was elected council member representing Asia in the Society for International Development. He was awarded the 1968 Israel Prize for social sciences.

Horowitz retired from his position as governor of the Bank of Israel on October 31, 1971, and was succeeded by Moshe Sanbar (Sandberg).

His main works include *The Abolition of Poverty* (1969), *Economics of Israel* (1967), *Hemisphere, North and South: Economic Disparity Among Nations* (1966), *State in the Making* (1953), *Halakhah Kalkalit u-Mediniyyut Kalkalit be-Yisrael* (1958), *Mivneh u-Megammah be-Khalkalat Yisrael* (1964), *Ẓel ha-Etmol ve-Etgar ha-Maḥar* (1962), *Ha-Kimmum u-Va'ayotav ba-Olam u-ve-Ereẓ Yisrael* (1945), and *Ha-Kalkalah ha-Ereẓ Yisre'elit be-Hitpatteḥutah* (1948^2). His autobiographical volume *Ha-Etmol Shelli* (1970) describes the ideological struggle in the Palestine Labor and colonization movement in the late 1920s.

[Yitzhak Julius Taub]

HOROWITZ, DAVID JOSHUA HOESCHEL BEN ZEVI HIRSCH HA-LEVI (1760–1825), rabbi and author. In his youth, David Joshua studied under his father, Ẓevi Hirsch

*Horowitz, author of *Maḥaneh Levi*, under his grandfather, Phinehas b. Ẓevi Hirsch *Horowitz, author of *Hafla'ah*, and then under his father-in-law, Eleazar Kaliz. In 1795 Horowitz was appointed rabbi of Floss, Bavaria, and from 1822 until his death served as rabbi of Frauenkirchen, Hungary. He wrote a commentary on the *Sifrei* entitled *Kunteres Aḥaron*, as an appendix to his edition of the *Sifrei* (Sulzbach, 1802). Horowitz' halakhic novellae are included in the works of his father-in-law, *Or Ḥadash* to *Kiddushin* (Stettin, ed. 1860) and responsa *Ḥeker Halakhah* (1898, 81b–87a). Moses *Sofer refers to Horowitz in a responsum (*Responsa Ḥatam Sofer*, EH pt. 2 (1829) no. 116, p. 54a) as "the great, exceptionally perspicacious, luminary."

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[Yehoshua Horowitz]

HOROWITZ, ḤAYYIM DOV (1865–1933), economist and Hebrew writer. Born in Gorki, Belorussia, Horowitz published articles and stories in the Hebrew and Yiddish press on economic and financial subjects. His book *Ha-Mamon* ("The Money," 1900) was the first work in Hebrew dealing with theoretical problems of economics and finances. In the period 1901–03 he edited the *Yidishes Folksblat* together with M. *Spector. He joined the Zionist movement in its initial stage and became one of the leaders of the *Democratic Fraction. It was Horowitz who put the economic problems of the Jewish people on the agenda of the Zionist Movement. In his articles he sought to demonstrate that the modern development of capitalism in the nations among which the Jewish people were living was causing the pauperization of the Jews, and he called upon the Zionist Movement to apply itself to the improvement of the economic condition of the Jews by furthering cooperative methods on a mass basis. He also saw this effort as a prerequisite for the realization of Zionism. His lecture on this subject at the *Minsk Conference of Russian Zionists (1902) made a profound impression. In the period 1903–11 he contributed articles on economic and financial subjects to *Fraynd*, using the pen name A. Soḥer. He also became the supervisor of the savings and loan societies established by the *Jewish Colonization Association in the cities and towns of the Russian Pale of Settlement. Horowitz published booklets on cooperation and was a member of the editorial board of *Di Yidishe Kooperatsiye*. At the beginning of the Russian Revolution (1917) he moved to Poland, and at the time of the Polish conquest of Minsk (1919–20) he was the editor of the Zionist newspaper *Farn Folk*. In 1922 he returned to his family in Moscow and spent the rest of his life dealing with problems of cooperation among Soviet Jews.

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[Yehuda Slutsky]

HOROWITZ, ISAAC HA-LEVI BEN JACOB JOKEL (1715–1767), German rabbi. In his youth he was known as a scholar and later married the daughter of R. Jacob Babad, the *av bet din* at Brody, who supported him in his home for several years. He was rabbi successively at Gorochov (1749), at Glogau, succeeding his father there on the latter's death, and at Brody (from 1754) where he was much beloved and where many stories circulated about his communal activities and his great wisdom. On the death of Jonathan *Eybeschuetz he was a candidate for the position of chief rabbi of the three communities of Hamburg, Altona, and Wandsbeck. Elected with the sanction of Jacob *Emden, he arrived at Hamburg in 1765, and served as chief rabbi for two stormy years. There he succeeded in calming the passions engendered by the Emden-Eybeschuetz dispute, but in confirming Eybeschuetz' decrees he aroused the hostility of Jacob Emden. In 1766 he was a central figure in the controversy concerning the *Cleves get, declaring it to be valid in opposition to the Frankfurt rabbis who had invalidated it. Emden sided with Horowitz, which finally led to their reconciliation, and subsequently Emden wrote to him in terms of great esteem.

[Itzhak Alfassi]

Horowitz' responsa on the laws in *Oraḥ Ḥayyim* were published in his *Matamei Yiẓḥak* (1904–05) Part 1, the second part of which contains his commentary on the *Kereti u-Feleti* of Jonathan Eybeschuetz. The *Matamei Yiẓḥak ve-Leḥem Maẓẓah* (1911) contains talmudic novellae by him and his son, Mordecai Ẓevi. His novellae are also included in the *Berakhah Meshulleshet* (1935) published by S. Ehrlich. Other of his responsa are scattered throughout the works of his contemporaries. Of his sons, Mordecai Ẓevi was *av bet din* of Horochow, Samuel *av bet din* of Amsterdam, and Eliezer *av bet din* of Zalozhtsy and the father of Aryeh Leib *Horowitz of Stanislav. Another grandson, Naphtali Ẓevi, was the founder of the ḥasidic dynasty of Ropczyce.

[Yehoshua Horowitz]

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HOROWITZ, ISAIAH BEN ABRAHAM HA-LEVI (called **Ha-Shelah ha-Kadosh**, "the holy Shelah," from the initials of the title of his major work; 1565?–1630), rabbi, kabbalist, and communal leader. Horowitz was born in Prague, but as a youth he moved to Poland with his father, who was his first teacher. He studied there under Solomon b. Judah of Cracow, Meir of *Lublin (the Maharam), and Joshua *Falk and gained a reputation among Polish scholars while still young. In 1597 he published his father's *Emek Berakhah* with the addition of his own glosses in which the influence of kabbalistic teaching is already discernible. In 1600 he became *av bet din* of Dubno and in 1602 *av bet din* and head of the yeshivah of Ostraha. In

1606 he was appointed *av bet din* of Frankfurt on the Main. After the expulsion of the Jews from there in 1614, he returned to his native Prague, where he was rabbi until 1621. In that year, after the death of his wife, he moved to Ereẓ Israel and settled in Jerusalem, where he remarried and became the rabbi of the Ashkenazi community. He was active in the strengthening of the Ashkenazi community in the capital and in the expansion of the settlement of Ashkenazim in the country. In 1625 he was imprisoned together with other scholars by the pasha and ransomed for an exorbitant sum. He died in Tiberias where his grave (close to that of Maimonides) is still visited. Shabbetai Sheftel Horowitz (1590?–1660?) was his son.

Horowitz, who belonged to a wealthy family, lived in comfortable circumstances all his life and practiced philanthropy extensively, particularly in supporting Torah scholars. In Ereẓ Israel too, he and his wife had a servant, and though he refused to accept a salary, he stipulated that "they give me an imposing and elegant dwelling." He lent money to the Jerusalem community, which remained in debt to his daughter after his death. Horowitz settled in Ereẓ Israel with the aim of sanctifying himself and fulfilling the precepts that can only be fulfilled there. He regarded himself as fortunate to have been privileged "to disseminate Torah in Ereẓ Israel and in the holy city of Jerusalem." He hoped and planned that many would follow in his wake and that he "would achieve wonders in Torah study and the conduct of the community …" (extracts from letters to his children published in *Shomer Ẓiyyon ha-Ne'eman*, nos. 141–2 (1853), 281b, 283b). He looked forward to the revival of the Jerusalem community under his spiritual guidance, and as a result of his connections with the Ashkenazi communities in the Diaspora. He welcomed the opportunities of association with the Sephardi-Oriental congregations and, with the great respect he had for them, he allowed himself to be influenced by them. He delighted in the fact that he was able to preach to them "in the holy language, very clearly," and he accepted some of their liturgical customs.

In Ereẓ Israel he was greatly impressed by the manuscript notes of Isaac *Luria, Moses *Cordovero, and Joseph *Caro, "those three outstanding saints … truly angels of the Lord of Hosts," and they increased still more the kabbalistic elements in his teaching. For Horowitz, Kabbalah was the teaching of "the sages of truth who entered the secret of the Lord received in unbroken tradition by word of mouth from Moses at Sinai." He held that the time had come to reveal the "secret wisdom of the Zohar as a preparation for the imminent redemption": "this final generation" is permitted to engage publicly in esoteric study because "they are close to the redemption … and will not fall into error." Accordingly, he preferred the view of *Naḥmanides and other kabbalists in their approach to Torah, precepts, and faith, to that of Maimonides and the rationalists.

Horowitz' chief work is the *Shenei Luhot ha-Berit* ("Two Tablets of the Covenant"; known as *She-La-H*) first published in Amsterdam, 1649 (with many later editions by his son Shabbetai who offered as an introduction his own *Vavei ha-Ammudim*). In this extensive work, *halakhah*, homily, and Kabbalah are combined for the purpose of giving directions as to how to live an ethical life. He wrote it "for his children after him" but for general guidance also. The work contains excerpts of homilies and comments which he had written before going to Ereẓ Israel, but it was arranged and completed in Ereẓ Israel. The vastness of the material and its various strata impair its clarity. Among the works which influenced him or which he recommended for study, Horowitz mentions most ethical works – from Baḥya's *Ḥovot ha-Levavot* to his father's *Berit Avraham*. The *Shelah* has a preface entitled *Toledot Adam* and a kabbalistic introduction called *Be-Asarah Ma'amarot*. The book consists of two parts, *Derekh Ḥayyim*, containing laws according to the order of the festivals in the calendar, and *Luḥot ha-Berit*, summarizing the 613 commandments in the order in which they appear in the Bible. There are three sections: *Ner Mitzvah*, dealing with the various precepts; *Torah Or*, elucidating the reasons for the precepts according to Kabbalah; and *Tokhaḥat Musar*, summarizing the ethical teachings stemming from the various precepts. The laws for every day of the year are arranged in the framework of tractates: those for ordinary days in tractate *Ḥullin*, for the Sabbath in tractate *Shabbat*, etc. The author deals with the 13 hermeneutical rules for interpreting the Torah (see *Hermeneutics) and also discusses talmudic methodology. He gave instructions that the last section of his work, called *Asarah Hillulim*, should not be published, since he wrote it as a testament to his children and pupils; nevertheless, his son Shabbetai Sheftel permitted its publication, commenting that the whole world was included among his pupils (introduction to the *Vavei ha-Ammudim*).

Horowitz was an outstanding halakhist and adduced many new laws, customs, and *takkanot*. He indicated his attitude to the methods and halakhic rulings of Moses Isserles and Solomon Luria in the words: "For each of them compiled and arranged **issur ve-hetter* … but Isserles has already been accepted as the authority." Despite this, he stresses that "Solomon Luria came later with his arrangement of *issur ve-hetter*," so that "every man might be master in his own home, to purify himself, and to be strict with himself by following the stringencies of both" (*Shelah* (Amsterdam, 1968), 74b). Despite his advocating *pilpul* even in kabbalistic study, he strongly opposes it as a method, stating that there is "a sect of madmen who say that the *ḥilluk* ("the hairsplitting distinction") sharpens the wits – he who speaks thus is deserving of censure." He expresses pain in that "I spent most of my life in working out such ingenious and wondrous *ḥillukim*. I have sinned, I have committed iniquity, I have transgressed. I come therefore to warn future generations, and thereby my willful sins will be converted into merits" (*ibid.*, 181a). But in his opinion "true *pilpul*" can bring a man "to discover most wonderful things in every single *halakhah*." He regards the Torah as a continuous revelation bringing about precepts which serve to ward off uncleanness: "The Holy One gave the Torah and gives it at every moment; the flowing fountain never ceases." He explains even the concepts of law and "within the strict line of the law" by this theory of continuous creativity in the Torah. To act "within the strict line of the law" (forgoing one's rights) is, as it were, "the giving of the Torah" by a man to himself in accordance with his personality at any given time.

Man's free will derives from the nature of the Creator's omniscience, since His "knowledge is will and … will is composed of opposites and contains all ways. Man is given freedom to choose his way … there is the way of the righteous and the way of the wicked and the source of all of them is the Supreme Will." The sin of Adam aroused new possibilities for revealing what was hidden in the Divine Will. The rabbinic statement that God showed to Adam "each generation and its leaders" means that "after he sinned there was opened to him the source … of good and evil … and He showed him … how the world's development in all its ramifications ought to take place." All envisioned development, however, is merely a potentiality; the existence of good and evil is created by man, for "there is a difference between the potential and the actual … the development and its ramifications ought to be in accordance with the revealing of the Supreme Source, but it is not actually so until man has made his choice."

Nevertheless, man's power is greater than the mere ability to choose between the two possible ways, "For into man's hands are actually given … the inner … and outer keys. And not merely to open a way for himself does he go forth but for the needs of the Most High, to profess the unity of the Great Name." In mystic fashion Horowitz points to the difference between the inner holiness of the people of God and the essential "externality" of the other nations: "The Israelite nation is called 'the assembly of Israel,' because they are especially assembled in one unity on account of their soul and they are the ones inside the temple of the King … i.e., the city where God is. The locality of the others, however, is outside: this is indicated esoterically in the verse, 'Esau was a man of the field,' and … when Israel withdraws to the outside of the city, all paths are potentially dangerous because of 'the field of Esau.' This field of Esau is Israel's battlefield."

Kiddush ha-Shem ("sanctification of the Divine Name" = martyrdom) is a central doctrine with Horowitz and he composed the prayer: "Put into my mind and into my mouth to sanctify Thy Name in public … for the sake of Thy unity … and for the sake of Thy holy Torah … and for the sake of Thy people Israel – whatever may come, only be Thou with me, that pain should not prevent me from having my mind cleave to Thee, and I shall rejoice in my heart while suffering and increase the power of speech in my mouth – to speak and to sanctify with wisdom and understanding, with knowledge, in public, and openly and prominently to all." These words reveal a recognition of the ideal need to be on guard for the honor of the faith and of the nation, since the author recognizes that "a healthy and wealthy man whom God sets at peace … has no need of the redemption of Israel … hence much exercise of wisdom is necessary for him to be able to recite the blessings with devotion … on the redemption." This **kavvanah* (devotion) is the essential of prayer. Horowitz put forward a complete method of education: the regular study of the whole Bible; the learning of "a great part of grammar while still young … then the whole of the Mishnah … to be learnt by heart; then the Talmud in length and depth, and **posekim*; afterward he should engage in the wisdom of the Zohar." He was certain that "the abstention from the study of philosophy and its prohibition is clearly laid down by the early and later authorities."

The path of the individual is paved for the purpose of cleaving to the Creator and is illuminated by the light of rejoicing which must prevail in the heart of the worshiper. "Even when occupied with his necessary bodily needs, he should not abandon that devotion. When occupied with business let him think – 'I am occupied … but I look to the Lord to obtain profit … and with it I shall perform a good deed. I will support myself and my wife and children that they may live for the service of the Divine Name, and I will dispense money on charity and the study of Torah'… and similarly when he eats or goes to sleep, let him have in mind … that his body be strong to engage in Torah and perform precepts … hence if he follows this way all the days of his life a man continually cleaves to the Divine Name" (cf. Chapter 5 of Maimonides, *Eight Chapters*). Since with the proper intention man can cleave to his Creator while pursuing his normal physical and economic tasks, he advocates the sublimation of one's failings; to convert jealousy into the zeal of scholars, desire into desire for the concealed delight (i.e., Torah), and hatred to the hatred of the wicked …" In practice he advised "let the man who wishes for eternal life repent all his life … let him always belong to holy associations, visiting the sick and burying the dead; practicing charity and holding the child for circumcision … and let him perform … precepts … with animation of heart and with joy … and always be with the righteous … and associate with them … and always be occupied with books on repentance." Generations of Jews in Central and Eastern Europe until the end of the 18th century walked in the light of "the holy Shelah," and it is probable that he exercised a powerful influence on Ḥasidism; many of its principles – the conversion to good of evil propensities, joy in every action – had great influence upon this movement.

The most important of Horowitz' other works is the prayer book *Sha'ar ha-Shamayim* (Amsterdam, 1717), published by the author's great-grandson. Besides the glosses to his father's works, *Emek Berakhah* (Cracow, 1597) and *Yesh Noḥalin* (*ibid.*, 1615) he also wrote a commentary on the *Mordekhai* (of which only *Bigdei Yesha* – *ibid.*, 1757 – the section on *Mo'ed* was published); novellae (published in the *Ḥiddushei ha-Ritba al Ḥamesh Shitot* – *ibid.*, 1729); and glosses on the calendar of Mordecai b. Hillel (1787). Letters he wrote from Ereẓ Israel have been preserved with contents of autobiographical importance (A. Yaari, *Iggerot Ereẓ Yisrael* (1943), 210–21), and remaining in manuscript are *Mitzvat Tefillin* and glosses on the Zohar. Biographical material about him is found in his son's *Vavei ha-Ammudim* (appended to the

Shelah). *Tokhaḥat Musar*, an anthology excerpted from his works, is found in the *Derekh Ḥayyim* (Zolkiew, 1802) arranged by Isaac Samuel b. Ephraim and in the 1871 edition of *Ir Miklat* (1871) of David Lida. *Sefer ha-Ma'amadot* (Vienna, 1816) consists of selections from the Bible and Talmud for the seven days of the week.

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[Haim Hillel Ben-Sasson]

HOROWITZ, ISAIAH BEN JACOB HA-LEVI (1633–1695 or 1698), Polish rabbi and author, grandson of the author of the *Shelah*, Isaiah *Horowitz. Born in Cracow, Horowitz obtained his early education there and then proceeded to the yeshivah of Brest-Litovsk and subsequently to Vilna. In 1655, as a result of the *Chmielnicki massacres and persecutions, he went to Italy and lived in Ferrara, Mantua, and Verona. At the end of the introduction to his *Beit ha-Levi* (Venice, 1666) he praises these three communities who supported him and enabled him to publish it. *Beit ha-Levi* comprises 18 cases of the principles of *migo* (see *Pleas) and novellae on the *Ḥoshen Mishpat*, parts 69–149. The great talmudists of his era greatly prized the book. He returned to Poland where he died.

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[Yehoshua Horowitz]

HOROWITZ, ISAIAH BEN SHABBETAI SHEFTEL (1632–1689), rabbi, grandson of Isaiah b. Abraham *Horowitz (Shelah). Isaiah Horowitz was born in Frankfurt. He studied there under his father and when his father was appointed rabbi of Posen in 1643, he continued to study at his yeshivah in that town. When in 1648/49 his father published the *Shenei Luḥot ha-Berit* of Isaiah Horowitz together with his own *Vavei Ammudim*, Isaiah, then only 17 years of age, wrote the introduction and composed a poem in their honor. He was rabbi of Leipnik from 1658 to 1673, of Jungbunzlau, Bohemia, from 1674 to 1678, of Frankfurt from 1678 to 1687, and from 1687 until his death, of Posen. He was a member of the *Council of Four Lands and carried on a halakhic correspondence with his great contemporaries. Many of his responsa are included in the responsa *Avodat ha-Gershuni* of Gershon *Ashkenazi and in the *Even ha-Shoham* of Eliakim Gotz. He also wrote glosses to the *Emek Berakhah* (Amsterdam, 1729) of his great-grandfather, Abraham.

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[Yehoshua Horowitz]

HOROWITZ, ISRAEL ALBERT (1907–1973), U.S. and international professional chessmaster. Horowitz twice won the U.S. chess championship (1936, 1948). Though not in the same class as Samuel *Reshevsky, who defeated him decisively in a 1941 match, or Bobby *Fischer, Horowitz successfully represented the U.S. in four Olympiads and several international tournaments and matches. In 1948, he acted as Reshevsky's trainer. Horowitz published a large number of propaedeutic volumes on the game – several in collaboration with Fred Reinfeld. He was also editor, for many years, of the successful publication *Chess Review.*

[Gerald Abrahams (2nd ed.)]

HOROWITZ, ISRAEL ZE'EV (1880–1918), Palestinographer. Horowitz was born in Tiberias, the son of R. Phinehas Horowitz, and was educated at yeshivot in Jerusalem. In the late 1900s he began a large work, *Meḥkerei Ereẓ Avoteinu* ("Studies of the Land of our Fathers"), of which he published only the first part, about the borders (1910). During World War I Horowitz taught Talmud at a modern religious school to support his family and at the same time began compiling an encyclopedia on the historical geography of Ereẓ Israel, Syria, and Sinai called *Ereẓ Yisrael u-Shekhenoteha* ("Ereẓ Israel and her Neighbors"). He continued this work during the war, collecting material for 4,000 entries, while his family subsisted on the *ḥalukkah* distributed by the Hungarian community. The entries from *alef* to *yud* were published posthumously by his son Abraham (d. 1957) in 1923; the article on Jerusalem (edited by his son) as a separate volume in 1964; the others were never published. The importance of Horowitz' work lies in the comprehensiveness of the talmudic sources which he quoted or cited in extensive footnotes. The text however suffers from Horowitz' inadequate scientific training and lack of scientific literature. He nevertheless ranks as one of the foremost authorities on the talmudic sources of the topography of Ereẓ Israel.

[Abraham J. Brawer]

HOROWITZ, JACOB BEN ABRAHAM (d. 1622), talmudist and kabbalist. Jacob was a brother of Isaiah b. Abraham *Horowitz. He studied under Judah Loew b. Bezalel (the Maharal) of Prague. In c. 1590 he lived in Szczebrzeszyn but held no official post there and is sometimes referred to as "Jacob Shevreshiner." Together with his brother he published in Cracow in 1597 the *Emek Berakhah* of their father Abraham b. Shabbetai Sheftel *Horowitz. In 1615 he published his glosses to his father's *Yesh Noḥalin* together with the text (Prague). It has approbations by Solomon Ephraim *Luntschitz, Joshua

*Falk, Samuel *Edels, and Joel *Sirkes. The book is written in the style of a testament to his children. He encourages his children to study it during the High Holidays as a spiritual stimulation for the fulfillment of the Torah and its precepts, and for repentance (30a). Both these works achieved a wide circulation. Isaiah Horowitz made use of these glosses for his classic *Shenei Luḥot ha-Berit* (*Shelah*). Jacob stresses that there is a spiritual content to all man's activities. "A man must be wholly devoted to God without reservations, with simplicity, and without any questioning of His attributes." He was opposed to casuistry in the study of the Talmud, criticizing those talmudists who neglect the study of Scripture, and "engaged in the study of extraneous *pilpul* and thus stand outside the palace of the King." In contrast to his father, who under the influence of his teacher Moses Isserles tended toward philosophical enquiry, Jacob, under the sway of Judah Loew b. Bezalel, drew closer to Kabbalah.

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HOROWITZ, JACOB JOKEL BEN MEIR HA-LEVI (1680–1755), Galician rabbi. Horowitz' father, Meir, served as rabbi of various Galician communities from 1696 to 1718 and died c. 1743. In 1711 Jacob Jokel was elected to succeed him as rabbi of Bolechow. In 1735 he was appointed rabbi of Brody. In 1742, however, he was forced to resign, as a result of an appeal to the civil courts against a ruling which he had given. He removed to Glogau where he was rabbi from 1745 until his death. In the dispute between *Eybeschuetz and *Emden, he was selected as one of the three renowned rabbis before whom Eybeschuetz had to appear to defend himself, but because of Horowitz' refusal to undertake this task the arbitration was abandoned. He opposed with all his power anything which had in it a suspicion of reform or a connection with Shabbateanism or the movements which stemmed from it. Horowitz' talmudic glosses and novellae are found in the works of his contemporaries such as the *Laḥmei Todah* (253b) of Ẓevi Hirsch b. Phinehas ha-Levi *Horowitz (Offenbach, 1816). In the responsa *Divrei Rav Meshullam* (Korez, 1783) of Abraham Meshullam Zalman, son of Ẓevi Hirsch *Ashkenazi, there is an elegy on his death (32d–33a).

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[Yehoshua Horowitz]

HOROWITZ, LAZAR (Eleazar) BEN DAVID JOSHUA HOESCHEL (1803–1868), rabbi of Vienna. A native of Floss, Bavaria, he was invited in 1828 by Isaac Loew *Hoffman von Hoffmannsthal to serve as rabbi of the Vienna community. Since the authorities did not at that time grant formal recognition to the community, he was forced to accept the lesser title of *Ritualienaufseher* (supervisor of rituals) for Viennese Jews. He was strict in matters of *kashrut* and many other areas of *halakhah*, as may be learned from his responsa *Yad Eleazar* (published by his sons in 1870). At the same time he endeavored to reconcile contending factions in the community and opposed secession by the Orthodox.

With the consent of his teacher, Moses *Sofer, Horowitz agreed in 1863 to the performance of the *meẓiẓah* (see *circumcision) by a sponge (*Yad Eleazar*, no. 55). He collaborated with I.N. *Mannheimer in the campaign for abolishing the oath *more judaico* and with him took an active part in the revolution of 1848. At that time he issued a call to the Jews of Austria asking for an improvement in the political and social conditions of the Jews, proposing as well that they be encouraged to take up agriculture.

Horowitz was favored by the archduchess Maria Dorothea, who was interested in Hebrew literature and believed in the return of the Jewish people to Ereẓ Israel. At his urging she averted the expulsion of several hundred Jewish families from Vienna in 1851. Horowitz was called as an expert at the trial of Leopold *Kompert, editor of the *Neuzeit*, over the article by Heinrich *Graetz on Messianism. His ambivalent stand on the issue brought down upon him in 1884 the ire of the Orthodox rabbinate led by Azriel *Hildesheimer. He lectured in Adolf *Jellinek's *bet ha-midrash* and contributed to Hebrew periodicals.

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HOROWITZ, LOUIS J. (1875–1956), U.S. builder and philanthropist. Horowitz, who was born in Czestochowa, Poland, went to the U.S. in 1892. After holding a series of jobs in various fields, he became president of the Brooklyn Heights Improvement Company, a small construction firm. In 1903 he was hired by the Thompson-Starrett Construction Company to put the company's finances in order. He served as company vice president and general manager (1905–10) and president (1910–34). When he retired in 1934 the company was one of the largest in the U.S. In 1922 he and his wife established the Louis J. and Mary E. Horowitz Foundation, an educational and charitable organization. In his will he bequeathed $9,000,000 to New York University.

HOROWITZ, MESHULLAM ISSACHAR BEN ARYEH LEIB HA-LEVI (1808–1888), Galician rabbi. Horowitz was born in Stanislav. Reluctant to enter the rabbinate, he was finally persuaded to do so by his father, and served as rabbi of Zabrze from 1827 to 1842, of Tysmenitsa from 1843 to 1845, and of Stanislav from 1845 until his death. He was an opponent of Ḥasidism, particularly of the "courts of the rabbis" which at that time began to intervene unduly in political matters. He stressed this point of view at a large rabbinical assembly in Lemberg in 1885. He refused to cooperate with the government in matters affecting the internal affairs of the communities, and when at that assembly it was proposed to formulate communal enactments in German he demanded that they be drawn up in Hebrew. Of his works the following may be mentioned: reponsa *Bar Livai* (2 pts., 1861–71): the first part contains casuistic discussions, while the second gives practical halakhic rulings. A third volume of *Bar Livai* (1910) on Shulḥan Arukh, *Oraḥ Ḥayyim* and *Yoreh De'ah*, was published after his death. He also wrote *Kelei Ḥemdah* (1885), a commentary on the Pentateuch. Many of his works, including glosses on Maimonides' *Mishneh Torah*, are still in manuscript. His rulings tended to be lenient. In his clarification of halakhic problems he relied only on the Talmud and on the early *posekim, eschewing the ingenious argumentation of later authorities.

Horowitz had five sons, Eleazar, Isaac, Saul, Jacob Yokel, and Joseph, all of whom were born in Zalozhtsy and became rabbis. ELEAZAR (1831–1912) was rabbi of Mariampol, Galicia, from 1851 to 1856, and of Rohatyn from 1866 until his death. He was inclined to Ḥasidism. He was the author of: *Devar Halakhah* (1863), comprising 82 halakhic rulings, and of *Ateret Zekenim* (glosses to the Torah) which was published as an appendix to the *Penei Aryeh* (1876) of his grandfather, Aryeh Leib b. Eleazar Horowitz. ISAAC (1828–1899) was appointed rabbi of Ottynia in 1852, then of Zurawno, and in 1888 succeeded his father at Stanislav where he died. He was the author of the responsa *Toledot Yiẓḥak* (1866) and of *Me'ah She'arim* (1887) on talmudic topics. He avoided the current casuistic method of study which he regarded as a deviation from true Torah. He protested against "the distorted cleverness" of those following this method, whose aim is merely to show their superiority over their fellows and who study in order to raise difficulties and to get the better of their fellows. SAUL (1831–1912) was appointed rabbi of Ujscie Zielone in 1853, and of Tysmenitsa in 1883. He was the author of *Besamim Rosh ha-Ḥadashot* (1875), containing 62 responsa. His son, ḤAYYIM ARYEH, was rabbi of Cracow and the author of the responsa *Ḥayyei Aryeh* (1890). JACOB YOKEL (1834–1915) served for a time as rabbi of Delatyn and later in Stanislav. At the outbreak of World War I he fled from the Russians to Stryj, where he died. He was the author of *Avnei ha-Shoham* (1880), studies in *halakhah* and of *Shirat Dodim* (1894), a commentary on the Song of Songs with a ḥasidic approach. His son JOSEPH was appointed *av bet din* in Ujscie in 1882, where he served several years. He wrote a book about his father *Alon Bakhut* (1888). DAVID BEN ELEAZAR, the son of Eleazar, was appointed rabbi of Koslov (1909) and later of Stanislavov, where he remained until his death. He was the author of *Imrei David* (1934), comprising 229 responsa on the four parts of the Shulḥan Arukh. In addition to his profound rabbinic scholarship he possessed an elegant Hebrew style which is reflected in the introduction to his work.

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[Yehoshua Horowitz]

HOROWITZ, MOSES BEN JUDAH (early 19th century), rabbi and preacher. Born in Kharkov, he was elected *av bet din* in Valachosk in 1813. He wrote a homiletic work, *Emek ha-Sidim* (Kriz, 1819), containing the sermons he preached on special Sabbaths between the years 1813–18, revealing a knowledge of the *siddur* of Isaac *Luria. His grandfather, Nathan, who was *av bet din* in Berdichev, wrote an important book which Moses published as an appendix to his own work. In his book Horowitz states that he also wrote *Emek ha-Melekh*, a commentary on Esther, *Emek Shaveh, Emek Ḥevron, Emek Refa'im*, and *Emek Yehoshafat*, all of which deal with halakhic problems.

HOROWITZ, PHINEHAS BEN ISRAEL HA-LEVI (1535–1618), talmudic scholar; leader of the Cracow community. Horowitz was apparently born in Prague and died in Cracow. He never held the post of rabbi. From 1581, for many years he was head of the Cracow community, and in the *takkanot* of that town his signature appears first. In 1609 he signed a trade agreement with the council of Kazimierz. From 1585 he headed the *Council of Four Lands and his signature appears on the *takkanot* of 1595 and 1597. His second wife was the sister of Moses *Isserles, in whose responsa he is mentioned (No. 49). In 1556 Horowitz visited *Shalom Shakhna of Lublin, to whom he gave details of the method of studying the Talmud in Germany, particularly in Frankfurt. When in 1602 the Jewish community of Rome was in distress, the special emissary of the community addressed himself in a personal letter to Horowitz to commend the Jews of Rome to the Council of Four Lands and to Saul Katzenellenbogen of Brest-Litovsk, appealing to them to collect monies for the benefit of the needy. Yom Tov Lipman *Heller describes him as "a prince in Israel, very wise in Torah and worldly matters, and head of all the leaders of the four lands of the kingdom of Poland" (*Megillat Eivah*). His novellae are found in the works of contemporary rabbis. His novellae to tractates *Yevamot* and *Makkot* were published in 1909 under the title *Beit Pinḥas*. He wrote an introduction to the *Derushim le-Khol Ḥefẓeihem* (Cracow, 1609) of Nathan Vidal b. Samuel Phoebus b. Moses Te'omim of Vienna.

His son ISAAC (d. 1631) is mentioned in 1624–26 among the heads of the Cracow community; his name appears on a *takkanah* of the Council of Four Lands. He died in Vienna. Another son SAMUEL (d. c. 1622), born in Cracow, edited in Cracow a new edition of the Shulḥan Arukh (1617–18), adding to the glosses of his uncle Moses Isserles cross-references and sources from Isserles' *Darkhei Moshe*. These references have since been added to every edition of Isserles' glosses.

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HOROWITZ, PHINEHAS (Pinhas) BEN ẒEVI HIRSCH HA-LEVI (1730–1805), German rabbi. Horowitz was born in Czortkow, Poland, where his father was rabbi. He studied first under his father and then under his two brothers, Nahum (introduction to the *Shevet Aḥim*) and Samuel Shmelke *Horowitz, later rabbi of Nikolsburg. During that period the two brothers were attracted to the circle of *Dov Baer of Mezhirech and Horowitz visited Dov Baer, first in Mezhirech and then in Rovno. As a result of these visits he made the acquaintance of *Shneur Zalman of Lyady, the founder of *Ḥabad Ḥasidism.

Horowitz was rabbi at first of Witkowo, Poland and then of Lachowicze (1764). In 1771 he accepted a call to the rabbinate of Frankfurt, a post he held until his death. During his later years he was frequently ill and eventually became totally blind. Horowitz was held in the highest respect by the rabbis and scholars of Frankfurt, and particularly noteworthy was the cordial relationship which existed between him and Nathan Maas, author of the *Binyan Shelomo* and *av bet din* of Frankfurt. Horowitz maintained a close and friendly relationship with Nathan *Adler, although he opposed him in certain matters and later was one of the signatories to the 1779 proclamation signed by the leaders and rabbis of the community against Adler because of his ḥasidic leanings. His congregants also admired Horowitz because of his saintliness and integrity, and on one occasion he gave assistance to a Catholic priest who was in distress. Horowitz had a private **minyan* where he followed the Sephardi rite, whereas the traditional Ashkenazi rite of Frankfurt was otherwise followed.

Horowitz vigorously opposed the *Haskalah movement. On the eve of the new moon of Tammuz 1782 he preached a powerful sermon (known as *Tokhaḥat Musar*, "ethical rebuke") against Mendelssohn's German translation of the Pentateuch and its commentary, the *Be'ur* (*Biur*). In this sermon, regarded as the first public statement reflecting fierce opposition to the Haskalah, Horowitz referred to the *Biur* as a work "which resuscitated heretical works in scoffing at the words of our sages." The opinion has been expressed that his opposition to the translation was directed chiefly against the special system of translation and the "dogmatic tone" of the commentary and not against the translation itself. It should be noted that despite his polemics against the aims of the Haskalah movement, he did not refuse to give his approbation to the German translation of the festival prayer book of Wolf *Heidenheim. In 1795 he issued a ban on the proposed establishment of a teaching institute in Frankfurt, fearing that it would result in a diminution of the study of religious subjects, but under pressure from the civic authorities he was compelled to rescind the ban. On the other hand he was alive to contemporary problems of the community and participated actively in the concern of the communal council to create a harmonious relationship with the government.

Conspicuous among his prominent pupils was Moses *Sofer, author of the *Ḥatam Sofer*, who revered him for his talmudic genius and his halakhic authority. He stated that despite Horowitz' attraction to Ḥasidism, he was averse to giving expression to ḥasidic or kabbalistic ideas. In the view of many scholars the whole tradition of Horowitz' Ḥasidism is open to doubt.

The most important of Horowitz' works, on which his fame chiefly rests, is the *Sefer Hafla'ah*, in three parts: pt. 1, *Sefer Ketubbah* (Offenbach, 1787), consists of halakhic and aggadic novellae on tractate *Ketubbot* with an appendix entitled *Shevet Aḥim* on the Shulḥan Arukh *Even ha-Ezer*, laws of *ketubbah* chapters 66–118; pt. 2, *Sefer ha-Makneh* (*ibid.*, 1801), to tractate *Kiddushin* and to *Even ha-Ezer*, 26–45. Horowitz wrote a homiletical introduction to these parts entitled *Pitḥa Ze'ira*. The *Hafla'ah* to tractate *Berakhot* and on the laws of meat and milk (1895) and on various tractates (3 vols., 1900) were published posthumously. Among his other works the best known is part 3 of *Sefer Hafla'ah*, his commentary to the Pentateuch, *Panim Yafot* (Ostrog, 1824), published by Ephraim Zalman *Margulies. That the 1876 Warsaw edition is still in print is evidence of the continued popularity of this work. In this commentary pilpulistic halakhic expositions are combined with kabbalistic and ḥasidic elements. He also wrote *Shevet Aḥim* in two parts; pt. 1 *Netivot le-Shabbat*, a commentary to *Even ha-Ezer* 1–23 (1838), pt. 2 *Givat Pinḥas*, 83 responsa (1838). A commentary to Psalms entitled *Panim Yafot* collected from his various works was published by Pinḥas Finkelstein (1924). Various explanations by him of scriptural verses are found scattered in the works of his contemporaries and pupils. A commentary on the Passover *Haggadah* appeared in 1860 (reprinted in Jerusalem, 1994). On the occasion of the coronation ceremonies of the emperors Leopold II and Francis II in the years 1790/92 he compiled special prayers which were issued with German translations.

In his introductions to the *Hafla'ah* and the *Makneh*, Horowitz stresses the great value of Torah study and attaches special importance to the spirit of communion with God that man can attain by devoting himself to the study of the Torah. The *Sefer Hafla'ah* is regarded as one of the classical works of halakhic *pilpul*, and because of it the author became known as the "Ba'al ha-Hafla'ah." He applied himself to three branches of talmudic study – *pilpul*, halakhic exposition, and *aggadah*. In the *Sefer Ketubbah* he stressed that, although in a few places his intention was to sharpen the minds of the students, "nevertheless the arguments are based on foundations of truth." In the *Shevet Aḥim* he distinguished between those who engaged in talmudic commentary without paying attention to *halakhah*, and those who confined themselves to the **posekim*, but did not understand the principles of Jewish law. As a result the Torah had become "as though it had two separate faces." In his opinion "it is desirable for brothers to dwell together" (*shevet aḥim*, hence the name of the work), "that there be both clear study and clear *halakhah* in one and the same place, since, in truth, only through a profound study of the *halakhot* and a concentration on their results it is possible to understand the early *posekim* and the profundity of their systems." He testified of himself that when pondering the *halakhah* and the commentaries, it was his custom "to study closely at the same time the words of the *posekim* and not to set up a barrier between them." Horowitz participated in the controversy over a ruling given by R. Ezekiel Landau (Resp. *Noda bi-Yhudah, Mahadura Kamma*, EH no. 75) who had invalidated a bill of divorce given to a woman by a messenger against her will (*Givat Pinḥas* no. 29). The strong stand which Horowitz took, siding with the opinion of the rabbis who upheld the divorce, caused him to be widely known. In his responsum Horowitz stresses that Landau "had greatly overreached himself." In a case of *ḥaliẓah* (no. 40) he stresses in opposition to the view of rabbis who desired to take a lenient view, "because they had compassion on the dignity of the daughters of Israel," that though he too indeed "loves mercy, yet mercy is no argument in the law of the sacred Torah," and as a result he decided that the woman had to undergo the ceremony. In that same responsum he emphasizes that "we have no authority to act leniently in opposition to the plain language of the Shulḥan Arukh."

Horowitz had two sons: MEIR JACOB (1759–1785) whose Torah novellae are mentioned in the *Hafla'ah* and in the *Maḥaneh Levi*, and Ẓevi Hirsch *Horowitz, author of the *Maḥaneh Levi* and the *Laḥmei Todah*.

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HOROWITZ, PINCHAS DAVID HA-LEVI (1876–1941), U.S. rabbi and founder of Bostoner Ḥasidism. Born in Jerusalem, he was the son of R. Samuel Shmelke Horowitz (c. 1862–1898), a founder of Ḥasidism in Jerusalem and fifth-generation descendant of R. Samuel Shmelke of Nikolsburg. After his father's death, he was educated by his uncle, R. David Biderman, the Levoler rebbe of Jerusalem. He supported his early rabbinic activities as an architect, and together with his brother R. Yehoshua designed an expansion of Me'ah She'arim in Jerusalem. His interest in architectural aspects of Jewish life continued later in America, with special emphasis on the *sukkah* and the *mikveh*. In 1914, he was sent to Europe as a community representative, but the outbreak of World War I prevented his return and caused him to travel to the U.S., where he settled in Boston in 1915. He founded the United Rabbinical Schools of Boston, and worked to strengthen traditional Judaism, particularly observance of Sabbath and *kashrut*. He was known for visiting communities throughout New England to give spiritual guidance. He visited Jerusalem three times, in 1925, 1929, and again in 1934, when he attempted unsuccessfully to establish the first Ḥasidic community outside the walls of the Old City. In 1940, he moved to New York City, where he founded the Bostoner Bais Medrash of Williamsburg in Brooklyn, created the Committee on Family Purity to oversee *mikveh* construction and operation, and assisted in efforts to rescue Jews during the Holocaust.

R. MOSHE HOROWITZ (1913–1985), born in Jerusalem, was the elder son of R. Pinchas and the first Ḥasidic rebbe to succeed his father in America, establishing the Bostoner dynasty. He founded a Bostoner Beis Medrash in Crown Heights and later in Boro Park, was active in the formation of Agudat Israel of America and a member of its Council of Torah Sages, and was a founder of Yeshiva Torah Vo-Da'ath. He worked with the Va'ad ha-Haẓẓalah to help settle Jewish refugees in America during and after World War II. His son, R. Chaim Avraham, born in Zhidachov (Ukraine), was the Bostoner Rebbe of New York and founder of the Bostoner community in Ramat Bet Shemesh, Israel. R. Chaim's son, R. Yaacov Yitzchok, the Bostoner Rebbe of Lawrence, New York, founded the Chassidic Center of Nassau County, represents the Orthodox Union as rabbi in charge of kosher food production for B. Manischewitz Food Company, and created American Jewish Legacy, an organization devoted to documenting the history of traditional American Jewry.

R. Levi Yitzchok (b. 1921), the younger son of R. Pinchas David, is the Bostoner Rebbe of Boston. Upon his ordination at Yeshiva Torah Vo-Da'ath in 1944, he moved to Boston to reestablish Bostoner Ḥasidism in that city and founded the New England Chassidic Center. He became a leader in the *ba'al teshuvah* movement, giving special attention to Boston's large Jewish university population. He founded Rofeh International, which continues to provide referral, counseling, and hospitality services for medical patients and their families. He is a member of the Council of Torah Sages of Agudat Israel of America, and established a Bostoner community in the Har Nof section of Jerusalem.

Additional Bostoner communities are located in Flatbush, New York (R. Pinchas David); Har Nof, Israel (R. Meir Alter); Boston (R. Naftali Yehuda); and Beitar, Israel (R. Moshe Shimon).

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[Mark L. Smith (2nd ed.)]

HOROWITZ, SAMUEL (Edler von) BEN ISAIAH ARYEH LEIB HA-LEVI (1836–1925), Galician financier and communal worker. Although in his youth he was observant to the point of fanaticism, he subsequently abandoned this way of life and joined the *maskilim*. An outstandingly talented financier, from 1875 he managed his father's bank, established industries, and was considered one of the wealthiest men of Galicia, playing an important role in its economy. In 1896 he was ennobled as "Edler von Horowitz" by the Austrian government. From 1906 he was president of the chamber of commerce and industry in Lemberg (Lvov). He founded a loan fund for Jewish merchants, and supported the philanthropic enterprise of the Baron *Hirsch foundation in Galicia. He served as vice president of the community council of Lemberg from 1883 to 1888, and from 1888 to 1903 was president of the Lemberg community, and was active in developing its charitable and welfare institutions. After associating with the Shomer Israel society (founded in 1867), the main aim of which was to strive for the rights of Jews and to obtain Jewish representation in the Polish Sejm and in the Austrian Parliament, Horowitz was a candidate of the assimilationists in Lemberg in the elections to the Austrian parliament (Reichsrat) of 1907. Although he gained the support of the Orthodox community he was defeated by his socialist opponent. Horowitz was the political representative of Jewish-Polish rapprochement which stressed loyalty to Polish culture, and as such was one of the leading opponents of Zionism. When, during World War I, the approach of the Russian army brought a stream of refugees to Lemberg, Horowitz, as head of the community, was appointed to head a "rescue committee" on which all the parties and social groups of the Jews of the town were represented. After the war he made substantial contributions toward the establishment of a rabbinical seminary in Lemberg.

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[Yehoshua Horowitz]

HOROWITZ, SAMUEL SHMELKE OF NIKOLSBURG (1726–1778), rabbi and kabbalist in Poland and Galicia. Samuel was the elder brother of Phinehas b. Ẓevi Hirsch *Horowitz and in their youth both were among the disciples of *Dov Baer the Maggid of Mezhirech. Samuel, who did much to spread Ḥasidism in Poland and Galicia, served as a rabbi in several towns there: Rychwal, 1754, and Sieniawa, 1766; from 1773 he officiated in Nikolsburg (Mikulov), Moravia, first as *av bet din* and later as rabbi of the province. This last appointment gave rise to bitter opposition, but Empress *Maria Theresa confirmed him in office by virtue of his Ḥasidism and Orthodoxy, "even though he does not know German and is not versed in the laws of the land." Samuel is considered one of the pioneers of Ḥasidism, of whom miraculous stories are related in ḥasidic legend. In fact, however, he did not wholly accept the Ḥasidism taught by *Israel b. Eliezer Ba'al Shem Tov. Though he surrounded himself with young scholars and educated them in Ḥasidism, Samuel was an ascetic who remained in his home and kept people at a distance. An undertone of protest against the prevailing atmosphere of folly and levity among the Ḥasidim can be discerned in his teachings. Among his works are *Divrei Shemu'el* (1862), which contains homiletic and kabbalistic commentaries and novellae on *Bava Batra* and on the laws on festivals in *Oraḥ Ḥayyim*; and *Nezir ha-Shem* (1869), which includes novellae on the Shulḥan Arukh, *Even ha-Ezer*. Samuel took part in the literary controversy over Ḥasidism requesting that the rabbis of Brody refrain from imposing the Vilna ban on Ḥasidism and discount the accusations that Ḥasidim opposed tradition.

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[Avraham Rubinstein]

HOROWITZ, SARAH REBECCA RACHEL LEAH (18th century), author of *Tkhine Imohes* ("Supplication of the Matriarchs"). Leah Horowitz (as she was known) was the daughter of Jacob Jokel ben Meir ha-Levi *Horowitz (1680–1755) and Reyzel bat Heshl and spent most of her life in Bolechow, Polish Galicia. Three of Leah's brothers were rabbis, of whom the most eminent was Isaac *Horowitz. As the sister of eminent brothers, Leah disproved the claim that the only educated women were the daughters of learned rabbis who had no sons.

Leah Horowitz was renowned for her exceptional knowledge of Talmud and Kabbalah. The memoirist Ber of Bolechow reports that Leah helped him prepare for his Talmud lesson with her brother, Rabbi Mordecai. The anonymous work *Sefer Oẓar Siḥot Ḥakhamim* also describes her as "a great scholar, well versed in the Talmud" and recounts her talmudic discussion with another learned woman, Dinah, the wife of Saul Halevi (chief rabbi of The Hague from 1748 to 1785).

Horowitz was the author of the *Tkhine Imohes*, an eight-page, trilingual prayer for the Sabbath before the New Moon, a traditional focus of women's piety. (Another work, *Tkhine Moyde Ani*, was attributed to her erroneously.) The *Tkhine Imohes* contains a Hebrew introduction, a *piyyut* (liturgical poem) in Aramaic, and a Yiddish prose paraphrase of the poem. This text has historical importance as one of the few extant works written by an 18th-century East European Jewish woman. In the Hebrew introduction to her *tkhine*, Horowitz defended the legitimacy of female involvement in talmudic and halakhic discourse and discussed the significance of women's prayer. She argued that since women's prayer can bring the redemption, women should pray in synagogue twice each day; she also explained that true prayer is not for human needs, but for the reunification of the sundered *sefirot* (divine attributes) of *Tiferet* and *Shekhinah*. However, Horowitz's arguments were largely ignored by contemporaries. After the first few editions, the Hebrew introduction and the Aramaic *piyyut* were no longer printed, leaving the Yiddish paraphrase, the only portion accessible to most female readers.

The Yiddish text laments the bitterness of the exile, naming the New Moon as a time of favor and invoking the protection of each of the four biblical matriarchs. Horowitz's central theme is the midrashic trope of the children of Israel weeping at Rachel's grave as they go into exile. Rachel, a symbol of the *Shekhinah*, then entreats the Holy Blessed One (*Tiferet*), with tears, to redeem the Israelites. Leah suggests that women in her day should follow the example of the children of Israel and of "our faithful Mother Rachel" to hasten redemption through prayers and tears. Together with Horowitz's images of the other matriarchs, *Tkhine Imohes* combines an appreciation of women's traditional roles with the assertion that women have far more spiritual power than is usually recognized.

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[Chava Weissler (2nd ed.)]

HOROWITZ, SAUL ḤAYYIM BEN ABRAHAM HA-LEVI (1828–1915), Jerusalem rabbi. Horowitz was born in Vilna where his father was rabbi. He married the daughter of David Tevele b. Nathan of Minsk. From 1865 he was rabbi of Dubrovno, whence the name "the Dubrovno rabbi," by which he was known. He made himself responsible for many of his pupils' material needs, a burden which caused him great anxiety. In 1883 he moved to Ereẓ Israel and settled in Jerusalem, where he served as rabbi of the Me'ah She'arim quarter. In 1885 he founded there a *talmud torah* called Peri Eẓ Ḥayyim and the large yeshivah Me'ah She'arim. The *bet midrash* was also designed "for the purpose of giving instruction to business men and laymen of Me'ah She'arim and its vicinity." In his introduction to the book of regulations of the Peri Eẓ Ḥayyim *talmud torah* society (1885), he states that on coming to Jerusalem he felt the lack of a general fund for facilitating instruction to the children of the poor and founded the society to meet that need from the funds of which the salaries of teachers would be paid (p. 5). He was closely associated with the Orthodox group founded by Joshua Leib *Diskin and served as head of the *sheḥitah* committee established by him. During World War I he was imprisoned for a time by the Turkish authorities, together with his nephew Joseph Gershon Horowitz, on the charge of distributing lottery tickets for a plot of land in Ḥaderah. Among his publications were *Kelilat Sha'ul* (1879), a methodology of 310 talmudic topics with a commentary entitled *Mekor Ḥayyim: Mizpeh Sha'ul;* a pamphlet appended to part two of the *Naḥalat David* (1882) of David Tevele of Minsk, containing six of his sermons; *Yad Sha'ul* (published together with part one of *Naḥalot David* (1864) by David Tevele); and *Peri Eẓ Ḥayyim*, an appendix to Tevele's *Beit David* (1904), containing his novellae.

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[Yehoshua Horowitz]

HOROWITZ, SHABBETAI SHEFTEL BEN AKIVA (c. 1561–1619), author of kabbalistic works. Horowitz was a son of Akiva, called "the holy," and a cousin of Isaiah *Horowitz, author of *Shenei Luḥot ha-Berit*. He was born in Prague where he practiced as a physician. Considering Kabbalah the only source of human happiness, he sought to make this esoteric teaching accessible to many, and had many disciples. He rejected the philosophy of religion, attaching importance only to *Maimonides. Although he did not know him personally, he declared Moses *Cordovero, the kabbalist, to be his chief teacher, comparing him to Maimonides. Horowitz' writing is based on the ideas of Cordovero and he apologized if he sometimes added something. The main addition concerns his detailed exposition of the doctrine of *ẓimẓum* ("withdrawal") which he took over from Isaac Luria's teaching basing himself (without acknowledgment) on the version of this doctrine preserved by *Joseph ibn Tabul.

Horowitz' works are (1) *Shefa Tal* (whose title recalls his name Sheftel; Hanau, 1612), his major kabbalistic work, with commendations by, among others, Isaiah Horowitz and Ephraim *Luntschits. The central feature of the book is the *Iggeret ha-Te'amim* of the kabbalist Aaron Abraham b. Baruch Simeon ha-Levi. This is accompanied by a short commentary, *Shefa*, and a detailed one, *Tal*, which together are called *Petaḥ Einayim*; (2) *Nishmat Shabbetai ha-Levi* (Prague, 1616), a continuation and, according to Horowitz, an inseparable part of the former work, also carrying the approbations of the same two scholars. It deals essentially with the kabbalistic teaching about the soul. In the preface, Horowitz says that this work is based on "four pillars" of the Kabbalah; namely, Moses, *Simeon b. Yoḥai, and the later kabbalists *Naḥmanides and Elijah b. Moses de *Vidas. The commentary to Samuel Gallico's *Asis Rimmonim*, which Fuerst and Benjacob (Oẓar 485 no. 889) attribute to Horowitz and which they say was published in Korets in 1793 with the title *Pelaḥ ha-Rimmon*, was actually written by Mordecai b. Jacob of Prague. It is titled *Pa'amon ve-Rimmon* and was published in 1786 in Korets (see Benjacob, Oẓar, 492 no. 1043; and Friedberg, Eked, 3 (1954), 806 no. 989). In the preface to *Shefa Tal*, Horowitz refers to his unpublished commentary to Maimonides' *Guide of the Perplexed*. He died in Prague.

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[Samuel Abba Horodezky]

HOROWITZ, SHRAGA FEIVEL HA-LEVI (1796–1845), Hungarian rabbi. Horowitz served from 1836 as *av bet din* of Paks and from 1841 to 1845 as rabbi of Papa. As a result of the spread of the Reform movement in Germany in 1834 and its influence upon the Jews of Hungary, internal quarrels between the Orthodox and the Reformers intensified in the communities of Hungary. The Orthodox circles realized the necessity of appointing devout rabbis for the benefit of Orthodox Jewry. Horowitz took the initiative in organizing an assembly of rabbis to discuss the situation and was appointed its chairman when it assembled in Paks in 1844. It was attended by 25 rabbis, among them Judah Asad and Eliakim Goetz Schwerin of Baja. At this assembly Loeb Schwab put forward proposals for moderate reform in education and in the liturgy, but he was opposed by the other rabbis, and after he and Schwerin left the meeting various resolutions proposed by Horowitz were adopted. They included the division of the Orthodox Jewish communities of Hungary into four regions, the organizing of a national assembly of the rabbis, and the setting up of a national conference which would meet every three years. The assembly also discussed the problems of the relations between Jews and Christians in the sphere of commerce. On receiving authority to prepare the second convention of rabbis at Ofen, Horowitz attempted to get in touch with the Liberal Jews, for which he was rebuked by Judah Asad. As a result of the death of Horowitz in 1845, the second assembly did not take place. Horowitz was in halakhic correspondence with Moses *Sofer, Judah Asad, Meir *Eisenstadt, and Isaac Moses *Perles, and is mentioned in their responsa. A eulogy on him appears in the *Derashot ha-Rosh* (1904) of A. Shag-Zwebner (no. 70).

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[Yehoshua Horowitz]

HOROWITZ, VLADIMIR (1904–1989), pianist. He studied the piano in Kiev, his birthplace, and first attracted public attention in Russia in 1921. His subsequent success was sensational and was repeated when he started touring European capitals in 1925. He went to the United States on contract in 1928 and decided to remain there. He gave numerous recitals, which stopped temporarily in 1936. It was thought that, highly self-critical, he had become dissatisfied with the frequency of his appearances. He resumed his concerts in 1939 but on a greatly reduced schedule. In 1953 he retired from the platform again and reappeared only in 1965. He however continued to make occasional recordings. Horowitz's relationship with the conductor Toscanini, whose daughter Wanda he married in 1933, probably changed his musical outlook. After 1939 his musical understanding appeared to have grown, adding depth to his technical brilliance, and he was considered not only a great virtuoso performer but also a profound musician.

[Uri (Erich) Toeplitz]

In 1978 Horowitz celebrated the 50th anniversary of his American debut on Jan. 12, 1928. On Jan. 8 he played the Rachmaninoff Third Piano Concerto under the baton of Eugene Ormandy at Carnegie Hall in New York City and a message was read from President Carter congratulating him on "50 years of remarkable service to the performing arts in the United States." On Feb. 26 he played for President Carter and an invited audience at the White House.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Baker's Biog Dict; Riemann-Gurlitt; Grove's Dict.

HOROWITZ, YA'AKOV (1901–1975), Hebrew writer and critic. Born in Kalush, Galicia, he migrated to Palestine in 1919. After working as a laborer, he went back to Vienna where he completed his university studies in 1924 and returned to Palestine. For many years he was secretary of the Israel Insurance Association, and from 1943 to 1966 editor of the literary supplement of the daily *Haaretz*. In 1958, on a leave of absence from the paper, he served as Israeli cultural attaché to the Scandinavian countries. Horowitz was a regular contributor to Hebrew journals from the 1920s and later became a leading figure in Israeli literary circles. In addition to his stories and novels, he wrote regularly on drama and literature and translated several plays into Hebrew. His books include *Or Zaru'a* (historical novel, 1929); *Sha'arei Tumah* (1930); *Olam she-Lo Neḥerav Adayin* (1950); and *Ki ha-Adam Eino Kozev* (stories and plays, 1956). His complete works (stories and plays) were published in four volumes in 1965.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Y. Zmora, *Shenei Mesapperim: Ḥayyim Hazaz ve-Ya'akov Horowitz* (1940); idem, *Sifrut Al Parashat Dorot*, 3 (1950), 144–62.

[Getzel Kressel]

HOROWITZ, ẒEVI HIRSCH BEN ḤAYYIM ARYEH LEIBUSH HA-LEVI (1872–1945), rabbi and scholar. Horowitz was born in Cracow, where his father was a rabbi. His father's responsa *Ḥayyei Aryeh* (1890) also includes the son's novellae (no. 36). At the outbreak of World War I Horowitz and his family fled to Moravia. He settled in Bruenn where he served as rabbi and *av bet din* of the Maḥazikei ha-Dat community, founded by Galician refugees. In 1916 he moved to Scheveningen, Holland, where he took part in communal activities and established a yeshivah. When in 1919 the Orthodox community Shomerei ha-Dat was founded in Dresden, Horowitz was appointed its rabbi, and in 1920 was also appointed chief rabbi of Dresden. In consequence of the Nazi persecution he moved to Antwerp in 1939. After the German invasion of Belgium in the spring of 1940 he went to Nice, where he lived until his death. His two sons and two of his brothers perished in the Holocaust.

His later works and publications included *Kitvei ha-Ge'onim* (1928), containing many letters of Jewish scholars with details on their genealogies. These letters were discovered by him after prolonged search in Scheveningen. He also wrote *Le-Korot ha-Kehillot be-Polanyah* (1969). This book, comprising material left by him in manuscript, was arranged and prepared for publication after the Holocaust and contains studies of 11 well-known Polish towns, including Apta, Belz, Bolichov, Glogau, Goroditz, Duklah, and Vishnitza. These two works are a mine of information on the history of the rabbinate and its literature in Europe during the last centuries as well as on the biographies of many rabbis and their families. Among his other works is a pamphlet, *Kitvei Yeshanim,* containing nine letters written by Saul b. Ẓevi Hirsch *Berlin to his brother-in-law Jacob Moses Lowenstamm of Amsterdam during the period that Berlin was compelled to leave Germany on account of the storm raised by his *Besamim Rosh*. This pamphlet together with his notes was published in *Ha-Ẓofeh le-Ḥokhmat Yisrael*, 14 (Budapest, 1930, p. 3–24). Horowitz's research into the arrangement of the editing of the Jerusalem Talmud, together with his work on *Toledot Mishpaḥat Horowitz*, was added for the first time to the *Tov Ayin* (1935), on the tractate *Yevamot* of the Jerusalem Talmud, by his brother Eleazar Moses Horowitz. Among the manuscripts he left is *Zikhron Ẓevi ha-Levi*, containing his responsa and sermons.

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[Yehoshua Horowitz]

HOROWITZ, ẒEVI HIRSCH BEN JOSHUA MOSES AARON HA-LEVI (17th century), Lithuanian rabbi and kabbalist. Horowitz served as rabbi in three communities of the Zamut region of Lithuania: Keidan, Wizuny, and Birg, and was apparently the first head of a yeshivah in Zamut. Because of the burden of the rabbinate he moved to Zabludow. In the last months before the outbreak of the *Chmielnicki massacres of 1648 he took part in the meeting of the *Council of Four Lands in Lublin and his name appears fourth on the *takkanah of that year. Horowitz was the author of *Ga'on Ẓevi* (Prague, 1737), halakhic novellae on the tractates *Yevamot, Ketubbot, Kiddushin, Bava Kamma, Bava Meẓia, Ḥullin*, and also responsa. His grandson, Dov Baer Horowitz, who prepared the book for publication, gives various biographical details of his grandfather in his introduction. At the beginning of the book there is also a "laudatory poem" in rhymed verse by the author; *Aspaklarya ha-Me'irah* (1776), a commentary to the Zohar with additions by his grandson and an appendix, *Minḥat Ani*, consisting of additions by his son-in-law, Mordecai ha-Levi Model of Schwabach.

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[Yehoshua Horowitz]

HOROWITZ, ẒEVI HIRSCH BEN PHINEHAS HALEVI (d. 1817), German rabbi and author. Horowitz was born in Poland and was called to Frankfurt by his father Phinehas ha-Levi *Horowitz to help him in the conduct of his yeshivah. On the death of his father in 1805 he succeeded him as rabbi of Frankfurt, serving there until his own death. Among his works are *Maḥaneh Levi* (Offenbach, 1801), consisting of halakhic novellae on various tractates, published together with the *Sefer ha-Makneh* of his father – at the end of the book there are novellae by his brother, Meir Jacob; *Laḥmei Todah* (part 2 of *Maḥaneh Levi*, 1816), containing halakhic and aggadic novellae to the Talmud as well as the sermons he preached between 1806 and 1815 on *Shabbat Shuvah* and *Shabbat ha-Gadol* (the Sabbaths before the Day of Atonement and before Passover). In these sermons contemporary problems are reflected. His censure and criticism touch upon the life of the Jews of Frankfurt which, though once a "paragon of beauty, a Jewish metropolis, full of scholars and scribes," has faded and declined. The young people have grown accustomed to desecrating the Sabbath publicly (19c–d), the community makes light of the prohibition against drinking wine and milk of gentiles (35d), fixed times for study are neglected (11d), and theaters and concerts are frequented (*ibid.*) Two sermons (149a ff. and 159b) deal with the peace treaty of 1815. In the introduction to this book, Horowitz mentions his other works which have remained in manuscript. His *Ḥomer ba-Kodesh*, written between 1810 and 1815, was published in 1876. Horowitz prepared for publication his father's *Panim Yafot* (Ostrog, 1824). Some novellae by him are found at the end of his father's *Hafla'ah* (Offenbach, 1787) and in the *Likkutei Ẓevi* (Zolkiew, 1862) of Ẓevi Hirsch ha-Levi Horowitz.

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[Yehoshua Horowitz]

HOROWITZ, ẒEVI JOSHUA BEN SAMUEL SHMELKE (1735?–1816), East European rabbi. Horowitz appears to have been born in Nikolsburg. He married the daughter of Phinehas ha-Levi *Horowitz, author of the *Hafla'ah*. From 1781 to 1786 he was rabbi of Jamnitz, Moravia, from 1786–1800 in Trebitsch (Trebic), and from 1811 until his death in Prossnitz. His *Semikhat Moshe*, talmudic studies, was published as an appendix to his father's *Nezir ha-Shem* (1869). His novellae, *Ḥiddushei ha-Ribash* (Hebrew acronym of Rabbi Joshua b. Samuel), appeared posthumously (1878). Ezekiel b. Judah *Landau addressed a responsum to him (Responsa *Noda bi-Yhudah, Mahadura Tinyana*, OḤ no. 15) in which he expressed his pleasure at hearing of his appointment as rabbi of Trebitsch. A responsum of Ẓevi Hirsch b. Phinehas ha-Levi *Horowitz was addressed to him in 1815 (Responsa *Ḥomer ba-Kodesh* (1876), no. 7). His *Ḥiddushei ha-Ribash* also mentions the novellae of his son, Shmelke.

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[Yehoshua Horowitz]

HORSE (Heb. סוּס). The present-day horse is descended from the wild species which formerly roamed the steppes of Asia and Africa in herds and of which only one species survives today in Central Asia. The horse was introduced into the Near East from Iran, whence its Sumerian name "donkey of the mountain," i.e., from the other side of the Zagros. Manuals for the care of horses survive in Ugaritic, Hittite, and Akkadian. Characteristic of the Middle East region is the swift Arab horse, the *Equus caballus orientalis*, drawings of which are common on Egyptian, Assyrian, and Babylonian steles. Being largely mountainous, Ereẓ Israel was not noted for breeding horses, which are by nature animals of the steppes and plains. They were consequently regarded as a luxury and something strange in Ereẓ Israel. In the Pentateuch the king is admonished that "he shall not multiply horses to himself, nor cause the people to return to Egypt, to the end that he should multiply horses" (Deut. 17:16). The prophets similarly warned against promoting horse breeding (Isa. 2:7; 31:1; Hos. 14:4; et al.). In the plain the horse and iron chariots were formidable implements of war (Judg. 4:13). A powerful description of the war horse is given in Job (39:19–25). Having imported horses, Solomon bred and traded in them (I Kings 10:28–29). "A chariot of the sun" harnessed to horses, which was used in idolatrous worship, was removed by King Josiah (II Kings 23:11). Although Isaiah (28:28) describes how corn was threshed by driving horses over the threshing floor (*parash* here means "horse," *fars* in Arabic), the horse was apparently not much used as a draft animal in biblical times, being in this respect not particularly efficient in Ereẓ Israel. Hence the ox, mule, and ass were preferred for the purpose; the horse was used for war. The earliest military use of the horse was to pull the chariot. Mounted cavalry do not appear until the first pre-Christian millennium. In mishnaic and talmudic times, too, the horse was not highly regarded as a draft animal, one *baraita* enumerating its six drawbacks in this respect (Pes. 113b). Nonetheless, Rav in Babylonia cautioned his pupil Rav Assi not to "live in a town in which no horse neighs and no dog barks," since the horse senses an enemy and warns its owners (Pes. 113a; and see Rashi *ibid.*). The horse sleeps for a very brief period, according to a Midrash for only 60 respirations at night (Suk. 26b), and hence in the Talmud one who takes a nap is said to "sleep like a horse" (Ber. 3b).

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[Jehuda Feliks / S. David Sperling (2nd ed.)]

HORT, ABRAHAM (1790–1869), founder of the New Zealand Jewish community. In 1843 Hort – generally known as Abraham Hort, Senior – a prominent member of the London Jewish community, landed at Wellington with his wife and family, bringing with him young David Isaacs to act as *shoḥet, mohel*, and reader. He had been preceded by his two sons, Abraham Hort, Jr. (1840) and Alfred Hort (1842), who engaged in partnership in New Zealand commercial enterprises and the South Pacific islands. Abraham Hort, Sr. came to explore the suitability of New Zealand as a field for Jewish immigration, to relieve pressure on Jewish charities in England. He carried with him the written authority of Chief Rabbi Solomon *Hirschell to establish a Jewish congregation and to promote Judaism in whatever way he thought fit. His dreams of extensive, planned Jewish emigration to New Zealand were not to be realized, while the gentile, colonial environment proved too strong for most members of his own family. However, from 1843 until his return to England in 1859, he put the Wellington Jewish community on a firm foundation, acting as religious leader, assisted by David Isaacs. He applied for crown grants of land for a cemetery and a synagogue, but was successful (1843) in the former application only. Hospitable and philanthropic, a supporter of worthy causes, Jewish and otherwise, Hort was elected an alderman in 1843 and became one of Wellington's leading citizens. He was among the founders of many organizations including the Wellington Chamber of Commerce. His daughter Margaret was the mother of Sir Francis Henry Dillon *Bell (1851–1936), who briefly served as New Zealand's prime minister in 1925.

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[Maurice S. Pitt]

HORWITZ, H. ROBERT (1947–), U.S. biologist and Nobel laureate. Horwitz was born in Chicago and graduated in mathematics and economics from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT) (1967), before attaining his M.A. (1972) and Ph.D. (1974) in biology at Harvard University under the direction of W. Gilbert and J.D. Watson. After a post-doctoral research fellowship with Sydney Brenner at the Laboratory of Molecular Biology in Cambridge, England (1974–78) he joined the staff of MIT where he became professor of biology (1986) and investigator in the Howard Hughes Medical Institute (1988). Horwitz's broad research interests concern the genetic control of development, cell lineage, programmed cell death, and behavior. After graduate studies with bacterial viruses, he used the nematode *Caenorhabditis elegans* as an experimental model to map the development of muscles, the central nervous system, and other organs. His studies of induced mutations in this nematode have also given insight into human diseases, notably cancer and neurodegenerative diseases, in whose investigation he has maintained an active interest. He was awarded the Nobel Prize in physiology or medicine (2002), jointly with Sydney Brenner and John Sulston. His many honors include election to the U.S. National Academy of Sciences (1991), the Gairdner Award (1999), and the Genetics Society of America Medal (2001). He has a great interest in scientific education and science policy.

HORWITZ, PHINEAS JONATHAN (1822–1904), U.S. physician. Horwitz was born in Baltimore, son of a physician, Jonas Horwitz (d. 1852). He graduated from Jefferson Medical College in Philadelphia and became a naval medical officer, serving as an assistant surgeon at the Naval Hospital in Tobasco during the Mexican War. With the outbreak of the Civil War, Horwitz was promoted to the rank of surgeon general (equivalent to lieutenant commander), and was commended by Congress. In 1865 he was appointed chief to the Bureau of Medicine and Surgery, and while serving in this position made a complete tabulation of medical and surgical statistics during the war. He was appointed medical director of the Bureau in 1873.

[Abram Kanof]

HOS, DOV (1894–1940), labor leader in Ereẓ Israel. Born in Orsha, Belorussia, of a Zionist family, Hos married the daughter of the *Bilu settler Jacob Shertok. He went to Ereẓ Israel with his parents in 1906 and was among the first graduates of the Herzlia High School in Jaffa (1913). Under the influence of Berl *Katznelson, he joined the labor movement. Upon the outbreak of World War I, he – together with Eliyahu *Golomb and others – founded the "Jaffa Group," which began military training in preparation for future events. Upon the advice of the *yishuv* leaders, he volunteered for the Turkish army, where he became an officer, but his activities in defending Jewish settlements led to his being accused of a breach of military discipline. He was condemned to death in absentia, but escaped. In 1918 he volunteered for the *Jewish Legion of the British army. In 1919 he joined the founders of the *Aḥdut ha-Avodah Party, became a member of its executive committee, and was active in the *Histadrut and the *Haganah. He was a founder of the Public Works Office of the Histadrut (later renamed Solel Boneh). Hos represented the *yishuv* vis-à-vis the mandatory authorities and was on several occasions sent to Great Britain as a contact with the British labor movement. He was a pilot and a pioneer of aviation in Palestine. A member of the Tel Aviv municipal council, he was a deputy mayor of the city between 1935 and 1940. At the outbreak of World War II he worked for the formation of Jewish units in the British army. Together with his wife and daughter, he was fatally injured in a road accident. Kibbutz *Dorot is named for Hos and his family, and he is also commemorated in the name of Tel Aviv's airfield, Sedeh Dov.

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[*Encyclopaedia Hebraica*]

HOSCHANDER, JACOB (1874–1933), scholar. Hoschander was born in Teschen, Silesia (now Poland). He went to the U.S. in 1909 and in 1910 began teaching at Dropsie College in Philadelphia. He also lectured at the Jewish Theological Seminary on biblical archaeology and exegesis. From 1923 he taught biblical literature and exegesis at the Seminary. He influenced a generation of rabbis by his kindly and pious character and personality as well as by his scholarship. He was the pure cloistered scholar, completely absorbed in his studies.

For a number of years Hoschander wrote "Survey of Recent Biblical Literature" for the *Jewish Quarterly Review*. Some of the articles were reprinted separately. He wrote *Die Personennamen auf dem Obelisk des Manistusu* (1907); *The Book of Esther in the Light of History* (1923); and *Priests and Prophets* (1938). While he subscribed to the critical approach to the Bible, he was very conservative in his outlook and most critical of the Wellhausen School.

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[Isaac Klein]

HOSEA, BOOK OF, the first of the 12 books that make up the *Minor Prophets. Everything points to this book's having been produced in the kingdom of *Israel and redacted, after the fall of that state, in Judah; and this makes it a valuable source for the spiritual history of the Northern Kingdom and for the influence of its literature on the late kingdom of Judah and on Judaism. The book's northern origin may also account, at least in part, for its many textual problems. A better understanding of Hosea leads to the discovery that it is of an importance out of proportion to its size. A translation of the superscription of the book (Hos. 1:1), with the dates of the reigns – necessarily approximate but close enough – added in parentheses, reads as follows: "The word of YHWH that came to Hosea son of Beeri in the reigns of Kings Uzziah [769–734 B.C.E.], Jotham [apparently only co-regent with Uzziah], Ahaz [733–727], and Hezekiah [727–698] of Judah and of King Jeroboam son of Joash [784–746] of Israel." It is however uncertain whether the biographical material is realistic. This basic uncertainty has led to a wide variation of interpretation and thus to different conceptions of the prophet (see below).

Most of Hosea's prophecies are oracles of doom, and the ideals embodied in them are associated with historical recollections of the nation. The people of Israel have forsaken the Covenant (Hos. 8:1) by worshiping foreign deities. By being disloyal to God, the true God of morality, Israel has also removed herself from the source of morality and has become corrupt. Lack of faith in God has led Israel to seek help and relief from neighboring nations. This, in turn, has further increased Israel's immorality by exposing her to the influence of foreign religion and the kind of morality that Hebrew writers attribute to the gentiles (see, e.g., Lev. 18, 20). In the future God will punish Israel for her infidelity in the same manner as one would punish an unfaithful wife, namely, by casting her (Israel) out of her home (the Land of Israel). The nation will then be destroyed and the people will go into Exile.

In spite of all this, God's love for His people will never cease. Through punishment, God will purify Israel and lead His people to repentance. The surviving remnant of Israel will no longer worship foreign gods or seek foreign help, but will rely solely on God, Who will preserve the remainder of Israel and restore Israel to its former glory. The ideal of love is the central theme of Hosea's prophecy. The relationship between God and Israel is essentially a relationship of love. Although Israel may momentarily form a love bond with a foreign party, God's love bond with Israel is everlasting. Modern sensibilities may find God's love as depicted in the Book of Hosea offensive and reflective of a purely masculine perspective (Weems), but this is, after all, an ancient book.

The book falls into two parts: A. Hosea A, chapters 1 (minus the superscription)–3; B. Hosea B, chapters 4–14.

HOSEA A (CHAPTERS 1–3)

Brief Summary of Contents

Hosea A (chapters 1–3) comprises two narrations of prophecy: (i) a heterobiographical (or third-person) one, chapters 1–2; (ii) an autobiographical (or first-person) one, chapter 3.

(i) In the heterobiographical account, Hosea is ordered by YHWH (1:2) as follows: "Go, get yourself a wife of whoredom and children of whoredom, for the land shall surely stray from following YHWH." He marries Gomer daughter of Diblaim. She bears him a son, whom YHWH tells him to name Jezreel as a sign that YHWH will shortly "break the bow of Israel in the Valley of Jezreel" (1:5); next she bears him a daughter, whom YHWH tells him to name Lo-Ruhamah ("not-accepted," "of unacknowledged paternity") as a sign that YHWH "will no longer acknowledge the House of Israel as my own." At this point it must be stated that the names say nothing at all about the character of either the children or their mother, or about Hosea's attitude toward them or her. For that matter, they do not, in themselves, say anything about the character of Israel either, but only about YHWH's attitude toward and intentions regarding Israel. Similarly, on the birth of a third child, a second boy, YHWH says (1:9): "Name [imperative masculine singular] him Lo-Ammi ['not-my-people'], for you [plural] are not my people, and I will not be [a God] to you [plural]." The last clause has been emended to read "and I am not your [plural] God" (reading *ʾEloheikhem* for *ʾehyeh lakhem*). Now, in the first clause, the command *kera (qera') shemo* ("name him") in the singular, can only be addressed, as in verses 4 and 6, to Hosea. Consequently, the plural 'you's in the second and third clauses must include Hosea; i.e., they must mean: "you, Hosea, and your fellow [North] Israelites." Consequently, that is how the second person plurals in 2:3 [1] (if correct), and 4 [2] must likewise be understood. For everything that follows 1:9 down to the end of chapter 2 (including 2:1–3 [1:10–2:1] if original, but see further on) continues the speech of YHWH to Hosea begun in 1:9. In 2:4 [2]ff., then, YHWH calls upon Hosea and his fellow countrymen, "the children of Israel" (2:1–2 [1:10–11]; 3:4–5), to see if they cannot shame their mother Israel, whom YHWH has already divorced, into ceasing her harlotries; for otherwise YHWH will reduce her to destitution (with 2:5 [3]; cf. Deut. 28:48a) and will also disown her children, "for they are [now] a harlot's brood, in that [so render *ki* here] their mother has played the harlot" (2:6–7 [4–5]). It is explained that the "lovers" with whom she has played the harlot are Baal (or the Baalim) and that playing the harlot with him (them) means worshiping him (them). YHWH, however, will go through with his plan of rendering her destitute. He will turn her land into desert, producing neither grain, nor wine, nor oil, nor flax, nor wool, nor figs. Thus she will be prevented from celebrating any religious season, either of YHWH (2:13 [11]) or of Baal (verse 15 [13]). Then she will turn back to YHWH (verse 9[7]), who will comfort her and will not only restore and enhance the fertility of her stricken farmland but will render productive even the parts of her land that were always barren (like the Valley of Achor; 2:16 [14]ff.). At no point is there any talk of taking her out of her own land into the desert, either before or after her conversion. If *we-holakhtiha ha-midbar* is retained unchanged, it must be translated, "I will make her walk through the desert [which her land will have become]." YHWH will, moreover, espouse her a second time, and in such a way as to insure the permanence of the new marriage for he will pay as her bride-price (the preposition *be* – in verses 21–22 [19–20] is "the *bet* of price," exactly as in the identical phrase in II Sam. 3:14) – and he will pay them to her, since she has no father – the qualities of righteousness, justice, goodness, graciousness, and loyalty, so that she will be devoted to YHWH (or rather, reading at the end – since the second person [for the third] appears wrong anyway both in verse 18 [16] and in verses 21–22 [19–20] – *u-ve-daʿat (ʾet) YHWH* [for the *ʾet*. cf. Isa. 11:9]: he will bestow upon her as bride-price the three pairs of qualities, righteousness – justice, goodness – graciousness, and loyalty – devotion to YHWH. In non-allegorical language, of course, that means that YHWH will make a new God- and-people covenant with Israel and will obviate any occasion for dissolving it like the first by making Israel constitutionally incapable of breaking it. This idea was taken over from Hosea by Jeremiah (Jer. 31:30–33 [31–34]) and from Jeremiah by Ezekiel (Ezek. 11:19–20; 36:26–28).

(ii) The autobiographical account (chapter 3) conveys the same message as the foregoing, and it relates that the first two features of that message – the present situation (YHWH's bounty and Israel's infidelity, 3:1), and the imminent future (Israel's inability [because of its utter destitution] to support either a government or a cult, Yahwistic or otherwise, 3:2–4) – were dramatized by the prophet and an anonymous woman, representing YHWH and Israel respectively. In contrast, the remaining two stages – Israel's repentance, 3:5a, and YHWH's renewed bounty, 3:5b – were not dramatized. (For the significance of this omission see below.)

Traditional Views of Chapters 1–3

Neither the rabbis of the talmudic period nor the medieval commentaries questioned the datings in the superscription. The former also accepted literally the divine command to Hosea to marry a prostitute. They conjectured that God had complained to Hosea, "My children have sinned," in the expectation that, as befits a prophet, Hosea would make intercession on their behalf; instead, he had suggested that God disown them and choose another people in their stead. So God ordered Hosea to marry a whore, waited until she had borne him three children, and then asked him if it had not occurred to him to follow the example of Moses, who gave up his wife because of his holy calling. When Hosea pleaded that he could not put away the mother of his children (perhaps because, as infants, they needed her; cf. the case of Moses, Ex. 18:2–5), God said to him, "If you feel like that though your wife is a whore and you cannot even be sure that the children are yours, how could I exchange for others the Israelites, who are the descendants of My proved servants Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob?" (Pes. 87a–b). In the Middle Ages, Rashi could still be satisfied as well as edified by this interpretation; the sophisticated philologians Abraham ibn Ezra and David Kimḥi, however, might be edified, but they were not convinced. Neither, naturally, was Maimonides. These men maintained that both the story about wife, children, and namings of children with their explanations in chapter 1 and the story about action, transaction, and inaction in chapter 3 were but accounts of prophetic visions. The ancients, the conservative medievals, and the three "liberal" medievals probably all believed that the women in the two chapters were identical (implicit in Ibn Ezra, Hos. 3:1); but at least none of them spun a romance about Hosea discovering that he had been cuckolded and driving Gomer out in a rage, about her sinking to the dregs of society, and about Hosea being overcome with love and pity and redeeming her from slavery and rehabilitating her. That was left for modern myth makers to do.

A Neo-Critical Approach

MORE INTENSE ANAYLSIS OF CHAPTERS 1–3. Y. Kaufmann rightly denies that the woman of chapter 3 is the same as that of chapter 1 or that the text says anything about Hosea's marrying her. H.L. Ginsberg's detailed treatment (Ginsberg, 1960, in bibl.) of chapter 3, which has been substantially adopted by W. Rudolph, did leave one problem without a completely satisfactory solution: namely, the problem of (3:1) YHWH ordering Hosea to "love" a not very admirable woman, and of Hosea being able to "love" her to order, just as YHWH "loves" the Israelites but they turn to other gods. Ginsberg's failure in this regard was due to his failure to take seriously enough his own observation that chapter 3 repeats the thought of chapters 1–2. For chapter 2 does not say that YHWH has been loving Israel and that latterly she has taken it into her silly head that she owes this love to the Baalim, but that YHWH has been supplying her needs – her grain, wine, oil, etc. – and that she has latterly taken it into her head that she owes these commodities to the Baalim (2:7 [5], 10 [8]). In light of all this, the verb *ʾahav* in 3:1 is to be taken not in the sense of "to love" but in that of "to befriend." For the correctness of this inference, the fact that *ʾahav* also has this sense (twice) in Deuteronomy 10:18–19 and nowhere else is striking confirmation. For it was noted above that only Deuteronomy 28:48a agrees with Hosea 2:5 [3] – in juxtaposing nakedness and thirst, to which it should be added that the phrase "and I lavished silver and gold on her (*hirbeti lah*)" occurs again (*mutatis mutandis*) in Deut. 8:13 and in Deut. 17:17, but not anywhere else; and it will be noted further on that Hosea B likewise exhibits "deuteronomisms," and even more significant ones, to be found nowhere else outside Deuteronomy. Here, then, is how 3:1 would now be translated: "YHWH said to me further, 'Go, befriend a woman who, while befriended by a companion, sleeps with others [lit. 'commits adultery'], even as I befriend [*ke-ʾahavati* for *ke-ʾahavat* YHWH] the children of Israel but they turn to other gods.' So I befriended a woman of lust [*wa-ʾohav ʾeshet ʿagavim* – N.H. Torczyner]." Since Hosea here attaches no conditions to his gifts, the woman continues to engage in her profession – just as the children of Israel "turn to other gods." Next, however, in verses 2–3, he makes a formal business deal with her, in which the quid pro quo is clearly defined: for a specified consideration, consisting partly of money and partly of commodities, "you are to stay for me for a long period of time [in the actual occurrence he may have specified a maximum] without either fornicating or marrying (cf. Ginsberg, 1960, in bibl.): not even I will cohabit [*loʾ ʾavoʾ* probably to be restored, and at least understood] with you." That a prostitute would not agree to abstain from engaging in her gainful occupation "for a long period of time" without compensation (3:2) surely does not need to be labored. But naturally, it is only to the acting out of the negative instructions (3:3) that the prophet attaches symbolic significance; for obviously only such an abstention can signify that (3:4) "for a long period of time the children of Israel shall remain without king or official, and without altar [read *mizbeʾaḥ* for *zevaḥ*] or cult pillar or ephod and teraphim." Thus the message of the second symbol is, like that of the first, something which has already been said in chapters 1–2: for the extinction of the monarchy, cf. 1:4; for the cessation of all cult, both Yahwistic and Baalistic (for of the features named, at least altars are legitimate), cf. 2:13–15 [11–13]. The prophet does not, however, explain the symbolic meaning of the payment of 3:2; because he agrees with those modern writers, even though they are still a minority, who deny that it has any.

Like the heterobiographical account, chapter 3 predicts two further stages in the history of Israel: (stage 3) Israel's repentance, 3:5a (cf. 2:9b [7b]), and (stage 4) YHWH's renewed bounty to her, 3:5b (cf. 2:16 [14]ff.). Unlike the first two stages, however, the last two are not symbolized. This is very significant. If words mean anything, 3:1 and 3:3–4 mean that in the symbolic actions of stages 1 and 2 Hosea represents YHWH and the unnamed woman represents Israel. Evidently this is only tolerable because what is symbolized in stages 1 and 2 is not the covenant relationship between YHWH and Israel. It has been shown above that what is symbolized in stage 1 is, on the one hand, YHWH's generosity (which can even be impersonal, like that which is shown to the needy) and, on the other, Israel's liaisons with other gods, and that what is symbolized in stage 2 is the absence of any relations between Israel and YHWH (and between Israel and any other god, for that matter). Reverence, however, forbade the symbolizing, by means of scenes in which the woman and Hosea executed appropriate gestures, of either (stage 3) Israel's advances to YHWH for a renewal of the covenant or (stage 4) the success with which they will be crowned. To speak in such metaphors, or allegories, as 2:16 [14], 18 [16], 21–22 [19–20] was one thing; to represent them dramatically, another. As will appear further on, only a unique situation prompted the prophet to invent them at all.

For this reason alone, 1:2b – according to which Hosea is actually to take a wife and beget children (the begetting is real, 1:3ff.) of a certain description (no matter what its exact sense may be; the writer was probably not clear about it himself) in order to dramatize the fact that YHWH's "wife" and "children" answer (or are going to answer, the more natural meaning of the Hebrew) to the same description (2:4–7 [2–5]) – would have to be pronounced an unhistorical element analogous to those that are present in other third person narratives about prophets (see *Immanuel). The unclarity of the passage (in what sense was Gomer "a woman of harlotry" and in what sense were her children "children of harlotry"? Did she possess this character before her marriage or acquire it only afterward? etc.) is a feature of its legendary character. It is due to a confusion, in popular memory, of three distinct female figures: the two real but distinct women of chapters 1 and 3 and the abstraction "Israel" of chapter 2. Those scholars who construct a romance about Gomer's lapse from virtue, her expulsion from Hosea's house, her sinking into prostitution and/or slavery, and her lovingly forgiving rehabilitation are at once victims and propagators of the same confusion. There are, however, no reasons for relegating the rest of the heterobiographical account to the realm of legend; on the contrary, it has every appearance of being basically historical.

THE BACKGROUND OF HOSEA. As Y. Kaufmann rightly stresses, the Baal worship, of which Hosea A speaks, is first one that includes festivals celebrated with festive garb and ornaments (2:15 [13]) and secondly something new. If Israel had been living in affluent apostasy for centuries (so the prevailing view), the prophet would hardly expect her, with such obvious confidence, to attribute the coming destitution to her having forsaken YHWH (2:9 [7]); she would be far more likely to conclude that she must have done something to provoke the Baalim. A third significant feature of this Baal worship (and one which escaped even Kaufmann's eye) is that (though the rank and file are going to suffer for it) it is national, or official, but not popular; for although YHWH says in 1:9 to Hosea (see above), "you [plural, i.e., the Israelites including Hosea] are not my people etc.," nobody will suppose that Hosea was personally to blame. By the same token, if YHWH calls upon the Israelites including Hosea to try to reform their mother so as not to be disowned on account of her (2:4–7 [2–5], see above), the implication is that the mass of Hosea's fellow countrymen have personally had as little to do with the Baal cult as he. When did such an extraordinary situation obtain, with a Baal cult which was brand new, which was celebrated with much festivity, but which had hardly spread beyond a narrow official, or court circle? Were it not for the chronological data in the superscription (1:1) and the threat against the House of Jehu in the text (1:4), it would be arbitrary in the extreme to think of the reign of Jeroboam son of Joash. For the Books of Kings say clearly that a temple of Baal (whose cult is sharply distinguished from the golden calves) was built by Ahab (I Kings 16:31–32), and that the temple, cult, and worshipers of Baal were destroyed by Jehu (II Kings 10:18–29); and the total silence on this head of both Kings and Amos speaks eloquently against any conjecture that Jeroboam II restored the *status quo ante* Jehu. However, since the chronological data in Hosea 1:1 and the reading "[House of] Jehu" in 1:4 do exist, H. Graetz, who realized – in 1875 – that chapters 1–3 speak not of a Yahwism allegedly "baalized" ever since the settlement in Canaan (so the regnant view) but of a Baalism comparable to the Baal cult of Ahab, surmised that the latter was revived by Jeroboam II. (It may be observed here that H. Graetz nevertheless realized that the author of Hosea A cannot be identical with that of Hosea B, which he dated to the reign of Pekah.) Kaufmann, however, insisted that the background can only be "the age of Jezebel" despite the aforementioned indications in 1:1 and 1:4. As regards the dating in 1:1, he regarded it as not an authentic tradition but an inaccurate surmise (its origin will be taken up below). Less satisfactory is his treatment of the phrase *beit Yehu'* ("the House of Jehu") in 1:4. He corrects it to *beit Yehoram* ("the House of Jehoram") and makes it refer to Jehoram son of Ahab, and he alleges support for this reading in the Septuagint. "The House of Jehoram" is, firstly, intrinsically improbable and, secondly, not supported by the Septuagint. It is intrinsically improbable because, for one thing, Jehoram seems to have given Baal worship less encouragement than Ahab (cf. II Kings 3:1–3) and, for another, whereas as has been seen, Hosea presupposes a Baal worship which is both brand-new and essentially restricted to a narrow official or court circle, by Jehoram's reign Baal worship was not brand-new (Ahab and Ahaziah between them had certainly reigned over 20 years, perhaps over 30) and – however much may be legitimately deducted from the face value of passages like I Kings 18:22, 30; 19:10, 14, 18 – it had certainly spread beyond the narrow inner circle and even beyond Samaria. The support for his conjecture of an original *Yhwrm* (*Yehoram*) for *Yhw'* (*Yehu'*) which Kaufmann thought he had found in the Septuagint is illusory because while the principal witnesses do read *Iouda*, this does not reflect a Hebrew reading *Yhwdh* (*Yehudah*), which could conceivably go back to an original *Yhwrm* (*Yehoram*; so Kaufmann), but is an inner Greek corruption of *Iou* (the regular rendering of יֵהוּא), which could easily be mistaken for an abbreviation of *Iouda* because the latter is frequently abbreviated to *Iōū* in manuscripts. Accordingly Ginsberg, who in 1960 (in bibl., 50, n. 1) declared in passing that he subscribed "in all essentials" to Kaufmann's views "concerning the special character and historical background" of Hosea A, published in 1967 (VTS, in bibl., 76, n. 2) an observation which solves both the problem of the origin of the impossible *Yhw* (*Yehu'*) of 1:4 and a number of other puzzles. This passage is only one of eight in this book where the context requires *Yisraʾel* (יִשְׂרָאֵל, "Israel"), but contains instead some other proper name beginning with *y* (י), or with *I, J*, or *Y* in English: namely in 5:12, 13, 14; 6:4; 10:11; 12:1, *Yehudah* (יְהוּדָה, "Judah"); in 8:1 *yhwh* (יהוה) "*YHWH*" and in 1:4, *Yehuʾ* (יֵהוּא) "Jehu." All these errors could be due to misunderstandings by Judahite scribes and/or editors of the abbreviation *y* (י) which, in the archetype brought down to Judah from north of the border in the last years of the kingdom of Israel or after its fall, frequently served as an abbreviation for the name *Yisrael*. That such *yods*, intended to be understood as abbreviations of proper names with initial *yod*, were in fact a feature of the archetype is confirmed by the fact that, in one case, a *yod* which was not so intended as an abbreviation but as the last letter of the word to which the preceding group of letters belonged was read separately from that group and interpreted as an abbreviation of YHWH. This is what occurred at 3:1 where the six letters *kʾhbty*, which the logic of the verse as a whole shows to have been intended to be read as the single word *ke-ʾahavati* ("as love"), were divided into the two words *ke-ʾahavat, y* being taken as an abbreviation of YHWH, so that the received text reads *ke-ʾahavat* YHWH ("as YHWH loves"). (For similar misunderstandings of just the letter *yod*, see G.R. Driver in bibl.) The advantage of "the House of Israel" over "the House of Jehu" is not only that it leaves us free to assign Hosea A to the period to which its contents otherwise point so clearly (for of course in addition to fostering Baal worship Ahab was guilty of very real crimes at Jezreel, I Kings 21), but also that it eliminates the perplexing implication that this prophet harbored a view of Jehu's liquidation of the House of Ahab, that is the diametrical opposite of the one implied, or, for the most part, even expressed in I Kings 18:40; 19:16–18; 21:17–26; II Kings 9:6–10, 24–26, 36–37; 10:10–30. It is not only that it is debatable whether the requirement that Jehu's great-grandchildren and great-great-grandchildren (supposedly, on the basis of the very questionable notice in 1:1, the generation of Jeroboam son of Joash and their children) should be annihilated for the sins of Jehu, manifests "a finer moral sense" than the requirement that Ahab's children and grandchildren (the generation of Jehoram and their children) be annihilated for the sins of Ahab; the point is rather that it is hard to believe that any biblical prophet ever thought of the liquidation of the House of Ahab as a sin (cf. Micah 6:16). One cannot, however, help judging this particular misunderstanding of the abbreviation *Y* more leniently than the others. After all, the interpreter of the initial found before him not "I will punish the House of *Yehu* [Jehu] for the crimes of Jezreel," but "I will punish the House of *Y* for the crimes of Jezreel" and it was only natural that this should suggest to him the descendants of the perpetrator of the crime rather than the entire nation; and it was no fault of his that it was Jehu's name and not Ahab's that began with the letter *Y* (J). Moreover, the phrase that served him as a guide was corrupt. The phrase דְּמֵי יִזְרְעֶאל (*demei Yizrʿeʾel*, "the crime of Jezreel"), would be suspicious even if the verse named the House of Ahab as the object of punishment, firstly, because it makes of verse 4b an explanation of the choice of the name Jezreel for the newborn babe though such an explanation is also contained in verse 5, and secondly, only the explanation in verse 5 agrees with the explanations of the names of the other children in that the name derives from the nature of the punishment, not from the reason for it; thirdly, the ethical sin named in 4b is entirely isolated in Hosea A, which is otherwise concerned exclusively with the cultic offense of Baal worship. Evidently, the יזרעאל in 4b is due to contamination by the יזרעאל in 4a and in 5, and in the light of 2:15 [13] דמי יזרעאל, "the crime of Jezreel" is to be emended to ימי הבעל(ים). Thus, with יהוא already corrected to ישראל [read *kullam*, the sense of 1:4 will be: "And YHWH said to him, 'Name him Jezreel. For I will soon punish the House of Israel for the days [i.e., festivals] of Baal and put an end to the kingdom of the House of Israel. On that day I will break the bow of Israel in the Plain of Jezreel.'" It was, then, in the reign of Ahab (871–851), and not long after its beginning, shortly after he introduced the worship of the Tyrian Baal, that Hosea son of Beeri, the man whose message is preserved in Hosea 1–3, delivered it. Thus, the first of the "literary" prophets antedates by over a century the first of the "classical" prophets, Amos. His message is, in effect, pre-classical. There is nothing here of the great innovation of the eighth-century prophets: the primacy of the ethical law and the doctrine that ethical sins no less than ritual and cultic ones may bring about the very destruction of the nation. Hosea son of Beeri has only one theme: Israel has broken faith with YHWH and embraced idolatry; consequently YHWH denounces his covenant with Israel; but YHWH will reduce Israel to destitution, and it will come to its senses; then YHWH will restore Israel to grace. Y. Kaufmann has stressed the relative calm – the matter-of-factness, the optimism, the lack of strong emotionality – with which all this is said. YHWH will forgive Israel because it will repent, not because He cannot help loving her in spite of all. As mentioned, chapters 1–3 nowhere stress YHWH's love but only His generosity. That love, passion, and compassion are characteristic of chapters 4–14 is not an argument for, but one of the many arguments against, the identity of their author with that of chapters 1–3.

It was pointed out above that Hosea is the author of the idea of a new covenant with a built-in guarantee against Israel's giving YHWH cause to renounce it like the first one, namely, a change in Israel's nature. The other important innovation of this man is, of course, the husband-and-wife allegory. It is therefore very notable that, as noted, the first man to employ this allegory employs it only for the purpose of contrasting the wife with the children. It was the unique situation near the beginning of Ahab's reign, when a limited circle at the top actually worshiped the Tyrian Baal – in other words, the need for inventing a wife allegory in order to contrast the wife with the children – that gave birth to the wife allegory. To be sure, there was all along a factor favorable to the birth of such an allegory, namely the doctrine of YHWH's jealousy and His insistence that His covenant partner Israel worship no other gods beside Him. This, however, was heavily outweighed by the prophetic horror of associating sexuality with YHWH (see *Asherah), and only the need of the Jezebelian hour overcame this inhibition (why should the devil have the best tunes?) to the extent of giving rise to the wife metaphor, or allegory – but not to dramatizations of the metaphor. The same inhibition explains why even the metaphor was not imitated for two and a half centuries (it does not occur in Hosea B, see below), being revived only – and this cannot very well be accidental – in the second period of state-sponsored polytheism, the long one that endured from some time (probably quite early) in the reign of *Manasseh (698–642 B.C.E.) to the 18th year of *Josiah (622). *Jeremiah, who began to prophesy in the 13th year of Josiah (627), reveals his familiarity with the Book of Hosea in more ways than one, and he seems to have been struck by the appositeness of the metaphor of the unfaithful wife for the people of YHWH in his own day (Jer. 2–3). At the same time, he evidently found inapplicable, in the situation that he observed, his predecessor's distinction between an erring mother and children who are guilty only by "association." What was true in Israel when the worship of the Tyrian Baal was first introduced in Samaria was not true in Judah after decades (possibly seven) of Manassism and its pre-reformation aftermath. Jeremiah 2:8, 26–29; 3:21; 5:1–9, 23, 26–31; 6:27–30; 8:6–7; 9:1–8; 25:1ff.; 35:15, speaks of the nation generally as idolatrous and corrupt. That is why when Jeremiah revived Hosea's wife allegory he also simplified it, omitting the children (Jer. 3:14–17 is not a continuation of verses 11–13 but a separate utterance). Finally, Jeremiah's emulators, *Ezekiel and in particular *Deutero-Isaiah, reintroduce the children alongside the Hosean antithesis.

JUDAHITE INTERPOLATIONS IN HOSEA A. Thus the importance of Hosea A alone amply justifies the labors of the Judahite literati who preserved the remarkable monument of Israelite prophecy called the Book of Hosea. Whereas the beginning of 1:1, "The word of YHWH that came to Hosea son of Beeri," is doubtless old and reliable (cf. "Hosea" – twice – in verse 2), the rest of it is a late combination of the datings in Isaiah 1:1 and Amos 1:1. The former was probably suggested by the fact that the Book of Hosea contains (from Hos. 5:13 on), like the Book of Isaiah (from 7:17 on), numerous references to Assyria; the latter, by the fact that the Book of Hosea, like the Book of Amos, is addressed primarily in Israel to Israel. The resulting synchronism is very imperfect: a prophetic activity which extended beyond the reign of Uzziah through those of Jotham and Ahaz into that of Hezekiah, would also have extended beyond the reign of Jeroboam son of Joash through those of Zechariah, Shallum, Menahem, Pekahiah, and Pekah into that of Hoshea. In some scholars' chronologies, Hezekiah's accession even postdates the fall of Samaria. Likewise obviously secondary are 1:7, 2:2a [1:11a], and 3:5ac. Hosea, c. 870–865, had no occasion to add 1:7 after 1:6, since he shows by 2:16 [14] that by 1:6 he does not preclude YHWH's later taking the House of Israel itself back into favor. The disintegration of the House of Israel, which took place in the second half of the eighth century, lay beyond his horizon. To the author of verse 7, in contrast, it was a historical fact; to his contemporaries, an assurance that the same fate would not befall the House of Judah was a vital necessity. It is fascinating to speculate whether 1:7b reflects the glossator's adherence to the view of Isaiah that Judah must not attempt to regain her independence by means of military alliances but must wait for YHWH to do the job Himself. At any rate, a dating in the age of Hezekiah for the other two interpolations as well is favored by Isaiah's expectation of a revitalized Davidic Empire that would include Israel and by possible practical attempts in that direction on the part of Hezekiah (cf. II Chron. 30). Short Judahite glosses, recognizable as such by their isolation (no reference to Judah for long stretches before and after) and mostly by their hypermetrism as well, are also scattered over B, and some of them will be pointed out. It was desired to make the message of the revered prophet of the north relevant in the late kingdom of Judah (and its post-Exilic successor) by including Judah in the rebukes directed against Ephraim (which are not the same thing as an outright repudiation like 1:6). In the entire Book of Hosea, the only passage in which the name Judah is not either part of a gloss or a misinterpretation of an abbreviation which was intended to represent Israel is the one in 5:10, where Judah is condemned for aggression against Israel (see below).

HOSEA B, OR DEUTERO-HOSEA, OR SECOND HOSEA, CHAPTERS 4–14

Background

There is a characteristic word that keeps recurring in these chapters: the name Ephraim as an alternative to Israel, or the House of Israel, or the Israelites (*Bene Yisra'el*), as in Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Deutero-Zechariah. This usage is of course unknown to Hosea A, in the reign of Ahab, but it is unknown even to Amos, in the reign of Jeroboam II (784–748). No wonder, then, that Hosea already knows of the assassinations of the two ephemeral kings Zechariah and Shallum in the year 747. Now, Shallum's assassin and successor was Menahem (747/6–737/6), whose coming under Assyrian suzerainty (which took place in 738) is related to II Kings 15:19 in a formulation which is at least compatible with the view that the protection of the Assyrian king Tiglath-Pileser III had actually been solicited by the former. This fact is stressed by H. Tadmor, who compares with it not only Hosea 5:13 (and 14:4) but also 7:11; 12:2; for he surmises, quite plausibly, that since Assyria – Menahem's first choice – was unable to respond immediately, Menahem tried Egypt and oscillated between the two until one of them – Assyria – did respond in 738. One might also call attention to the title *melekh yarev* which is bestowed upon the king of Assyria on the first occasion on which Ephraim's solicitation of him is mentioned, 5:13, and repeated in 10:6: in light of the foregoing, perhaps it is to be translated, after Isaiah 51:22 ("Thus said your Lord YHWH, your God who champions [*yariv*] his people"), something like "a patron king." (At the same time, one cannot exclude the possibility that the phrase was corrupted from *melekh rav*, a calque on Akkadian *šarru rabû*, "great king," the common self-designation of the King of Assyria.) H. Tadmor regards 738 as the terminus ante quem of the Book of Hosea, on the ground that Menahem would neither want nor dare to solicit Egypt's protection once Assyria's had been established. The argument is reasonable but not conclusive, for even at a later date the prophet might conceivably recall and again denounce the silly wooing. Unassailable, though, seems Tadmor's further observation that it is in the highest degree improbable that the prophet would contemplate exile only as a result of migration due to famine (9:2–6), and never hint at the prospect of a forcible uprooting, after the horrors of 732. And of course Tadmor did not fail to make the telling point that Hosea regards Assyria as a useless luxury but not as a potential enemy, which is simply inconceivable after 734. There is even more. The prophet anticipates not only exile without forcible uprooting but also cruel warfare throughout the land without invasion by foreigners, either Assyrian or other. In other words, the prophet has not witnessed the events of 734–32 but he vividly recalls the ghastly civil wars of 747, and he expects more of the same, only worse. For the natural interpretation of 10:14, which speaks not of anybody coming but of tumult arising "in your people" and of all the fortresses being ravaged "as Beth-Arbel was ravaged by Shalman on a day of battle, when mothers and babes were dashed to death together" is that civil war like that of the year 747 will break out, and that this time all the walled cities will fare as Tappuah is known from II Kings 15:16 (where those who follow the Lucianic recension and read Tappuah for MT's Tiphsah seem to be right) to have fared at the hands of Menahem, and as this verse recalls that (as the prophet's hearers are well aware) Beth-Arbel (modern Irbid in Transjordan) fared at the hands of Shalman. If this Shalman is not identical with Shallum, a known principal in the civil strife of 747 (II Kings 15:10–14), then he is an otherwise unknown general who, whether as a third principal or in the service of one of the other two, duplicated the atrocity of Menahem. (Alternatively, this may be a reference to the ninth century invasion by Shalmaneser III, see Astour in Bibliography, in which case the prophet is evoking history rather than personal memory, but a past event nonetheless.) The prophet's memories of the atrocities of 747 are no doubt at work again in 14:1 (which again whispers not a syllable about foreign armies): Samaria's people shall fall by the sword, her babes shall be dashed to death and her women with child split open. Isaiah 9:18a–20 [19a–21] is a poetical summary, dating from shortly after the additional slaughter of the Pekahiah-Pekah struggle (ended 735/4), of Israel's savage civil wars as viewed from Jerusalem; see *Isaiah. (In Hos. 8:3, the word *ʾwyb* (*oyev*) is to be emended to *ʾwn* (i.e., *ʾawen*) and the pointing of the last word is to be changed from *yirdefo* (which is just as non-existent a form as the masoretic *yitkefo* (*yitqefo*) of Eccles. 4:12) to *yirdofu*. Then, in addition to being grammatically in order, the verse yields the sense, "Israel rejects what is good; they pursue illusion," which – the exact opposite of MT – both accords with the tenor of Hosea B as a whole and articulates admirably with what follows.)

Differences from Hosea A in Form and Content

Hosea B falls into three sections marked by three distinctive openings: Hosea B–a, 4:1–7; 13, 15–16; Hosea B–b, 8:1–2; 7:14; 8:3–13; 13:15–14:1; and Hosea B–c, 14:2–4; 13:14; 14:6–10. The opening of B–a (4:1–3) reads as follows: (1) "Listen to the word of YHWH, O House of Israel; for YHWH has a lawsuit against all the inhabitants of the land. For there is no honesty, no goodness, no mindfulness of God. (2) Swearing and breaking faith, and murder, and stealing, and adultery are rampant, and crime overtakes crime. (3) For this the earth shall wither; and all that dwell on it, of beasts of the field and of birds of the air, shall shrivel, and the fish of the sea shall perish as well." (Verse 3 is a conventional cosmic touch which is not meant seriously; cf. Zeph. 1:2–3.) In 4:4–8, the prophet singles out for reproof the priests, and in 5:1–2 the priests, the prophets (read *neviʾe yisraʾel* for *bet yisraʾel* in 5:1), and the royal household, not as being worse than the masses but for failing to check the corruption of the masses. Obviously, such a blanket denunciation of the entire population negates the original raison d'être of the wife allegory, the need to distinguish the upper crust as the true culprit by means of the figure of the mother, from the masses who are, naturally, represented as children. The author is consistent; he employs only pure children metaphors: (1) 5:7, "They have been faithless to YHWH, have become to him like strange children [read *ke-vanim zarim hayu lo*]; therefore a destroyer shall consume [read *yokhal mashḥit*] their portions [i.e., in their father's bounty or at their father's table]." (2) 9:15, 17 (9:16 belongs between verses 11 and 12); (verse 15, YHWH speaking) "For [read *ʿal*] their wickedness at Gilgal-it was there that, for their evil doings, I disowned [as in Mal. 1:3] them-I will drive them out of my house [like an embittered father]. No more will I accept them [as in *wa-ʾohav*, Mal. 1:2b; in Mal. 1:2a, the verb means "to favor"] they are all, MT is an inept recollection of Isa. 1:23] rebels." (verse 17, the prophet speaking) "My God rejects them, and they shall wander homeless among the nations." A Hebrew pun which Hosea indulges in twice (4:12b; 9:1 [read *zenunim* or *zenut* for *ʾetnan*]), that between *zenut/zenunim*, "fornication" and *zanah min*, "to stray away from [one's God]," has misled some investigators into treating those examples of the wife metaphor; but that is very superficial. 4:12b does not say "she [personified Israel] has strayed from her husband" or "has played the harlot with lovers," because the text says not a syllable about idolatry (see below). What it does say is, "For a lecherous impulse [literally, a spirit of fornication (*zenunim*)] has made them stray, so that they have strayed from submission to [*wa-yiznu mitaḥat*] their God" – a statement which is very much in place in a pericope whose one theme is (drink and) fornication – literal, not figurative (see below) – and which opens with (4:10) "… for they have forsaken YHWH to practice (11) fornication" and concludes with (5:4) "Their habits do not let them turn back to their God; for in them is a lecherous impulse [literally, a spirit of fornication – as above], so that they are unmindful of YHWH." Similarly, 9:1 does not address Israel in the feminine singular but in the masculine singular; and what it says is "you have strayed away from your God [because] you love to fornicate [read *zenunim* for *ʾetnan*, which in any case means 'harlot's fee,' not 'other gods']…," and what it means is exactly the same thing as the parallel statement in 4:12 which has just been explained.

Contents of the Individual Sections

B–a, 4:1–7:13, 15–16. The formal opening of this section (4:1–3) has already been quoted. It is no accident that for all its length it contains no allusion whatsoever to idolatry; for neither is there a word about it in all of chapters 4–7 except in the received text of 4:17, and that is corrupt. (The initial phrase is to be emended to *ḥever ʿogevim*, "a band of lechers"; on the whole of 4:17–18, see Ginsberg, in; VTS, 1967, in bibl.) As against its reticence about what is not named in the formal opening, B–a is outspoken about ethical evils of the sort that are enumerated in the formal opening: murder (6:8–9), theft and robbery (7:1b), treachery (6:7), including the special variety of treachery toward kings (7:3–4, 6–7), and – at some length and repeatedly – lasciviousness, sometimes coupled with drunkenness (4:10b–19; 5:4; 6:10). Against attempts to interpret this libertinism in whole or in part as a figure of speech for idolatry, see Ginsberg, in: VTS (1967), 74–77, where only a couple of details need to be corrected, mainly the following: Hosea 4:10b–12 (the first word) is to be rendered, "(10b) For they have forsaken YHWH to practice (11) fornication. New grain [for *yyn*, read *dgn*] and new wine (12) deprive my people (11) of its reason." For the starkly anatomic-erotic import of what follows in the text, see Ginsberg, *ibid.* As the parallels 7:14 (which is to be read after 8:2, and in which *yitgoraru* means "they fornicate") and 9:1–3 (read *zenut* or *zenunim* for *ʾetnan*) show, the proverbially merry seasons of the new grain and the new wine (Ps. 4:8) were for many of Deutero-Hosea's contemporaries seasons of sexual license; and this debauchery also went on in the neighborhood of the sanctuaries, where inviting prostitutes to the sacrificial banquets (Ps. 4:8 middle) was a feature of the festivity rather than of the ritual. At any rate, the prophet's fulminations are aimed at the depravity of this dalliance, not at its alleged rituality; and he begs the rakes to have at least the decency to keep away from YHWH's sanctuaries and to stop professing YHWH (4:10b–15, with the last clause of 15 to be interpreted in light of Isa. 45:23b*b*; 48:1b*a*; Jer. 4:2a; 12:16). The only thing these four chapters score besides Ephraim's moral corruption is his religio-political imbecility. The moral rot in Ephraim has not gone unpunished; Ephraim is weak, his pride has been humbled before his very eyes. How does he try to appease YHWH? Not by turning over a new leaf, but by trying to soothe YHWH with the smell of burning cattle fat, 5:5–6 (minus 5:b *b*, which is a Judahite gloss). This is spelled out in 5:8–7:8. The "Judah" in 5:10 is the only one in the entire 14 chapters of the traditional "Book of Hosea" that is not either part of a gloss or a scribal misinterpretation as *Yehudah* of an original *Y* that should have been read *Yisraʾel*. The gist of 5:8–7:8, then, is this: Ephraim is weak and helpless. Judah has encroached upon its territory. Judah's action was inexcusable, and it will yet feel YHWH's wrath; but for Ephraim's helplessness Ephraim itself is to blame. For a justification of the following translation, see Ginsberg, in: VTS, 1967. "(5:11) Ephraim is wronged, defrauded in judgment,/because he was a fool and followed delusion// (5:12). For it is I who am like corrosion to Ephraim,/like rot to the House of Israel(!)// (5:13) Yet when Ephraim saw his sickness, Israel (!) his sore,/ Ephraim went to Assyria, and sent missions to a patron king" (*yarev* = *yariv* [Isa. 51:22], as explained above). The text then goes on to predict that when Ephraim has learned the hard way that Assyria cannot heal it, it will turn to YHWH with very commendable resolutions (6:3b) to embrace mindfulness of YHWH; but it is a foregone conclusion that although Ephraim-Israel (this correction must be made in 6:4) can be trusted to continue to bring his sacrifices, which leave YHWH cold, his mindfulness of (or devotion to) God, which is the same thing as goodness (*ḥesed*), will not last. Goodness, or mindfulness of God, is the one thing that would move YHWH without fail to heal Ephraim but covenant breaking is rife in Adam, evildoing and lawlessness in Gilead, murder at Shechem, and shame in "Bet Israel" (corrupt for Beth-El, which was contaminated by "Israel" at the end of the verse), where Ephraim has whored and Israel been defiled. 6:11a is of course one of those interpolated Judahite clauses, hypermetric and with no organic connection with its environment. Then comes this: (6:11b) "Whenever I would make my people whole again,/ (7:1) whenever I would heal Israel, Ephraim's guilt appears/and Samaria's wickedness. For they act faithlessly/(clause missing); a thief sneaks into the house, and bandits raid outside." Since, therefore, on the one hand, this concluding passage about the things that inhibit YHWH from healing as limited to Israel, Ephraim, and Samaria, with never a word about Judah and Jerusalem, and since the immediately preceding list of illustrations of cure-repelling *ḥesed*-lessness is likewise limited to places like Adam and Gilead with nary a Beth-Lehem or a Hebron; and since, on the other hand, Judah is represented in 5:8–11 as, in contrast to Ephraim, disgustingly healthy and since, so far from soliciting Assyrian protection, it was probably at this time heading an anti-Assyrian coalition under its King Azariah-Uzziah (see H. Tadmor), to reject, under such circumstances, the above view of the "Judahs" in 5:12, 13, 14; 6:4 (misinterpretations of abbreviated "Israel") and of Judah clause 6:11a (an interpolation) is not a philological judgment but an act of faith (or deception). It is worth considering whether the famous crux ליהודה בישראל in II Kings 14:28 may not represent a completion of an original לי' meaning לישראל and בי' a corrupt dittogram of לי'. Within Hosea B–a, Ephraim's stupid disloyalty in seeking from others than YHWH a cure for its YHWH-inflicted woes is stressed again in 7:8 ff., and the prophet returns to this theme in B–b.

B–b, 8:1–2; 7:14; 8:3–13:13. As a preliminary, it may be noted in passing that 8:1–2; 7–14 obviously served as a model for Isaiah 58:1–4. The above themes of B–a are not dropped but added to in B–b. 8:4b has the first mention of idolatry, the making of images of silver and gold; primarily, "the calf of Samaria" (verses 5 and 6) is meant. This designation is puzzling: Does it mean that the image had been transferred (during the Judahite threat to Bethel, 5:8–10?) to Samaria, though it was still occasionally called "the calf of Bethel" (10:5, where Beth-Aven is the cacophony which is usually substituted for Bethel in this book) on account of its origin? An elaborate Baal cult like that of Hosea A evidently no longer exists. The sin of Baal-Peor in the days of Moses is mentioned in 9:10; and 13:1, which employs the simple "Baal," is unclear but definitely refers to the past (Baal-Peor or Ahab's Baal), since the following verse says "And now they sin again" and specifies abuses other than Baal. In 11:2, where a lone offering to *beʿalim* is stated to be a current practice, the parallelism to *pesilim* ("carved images") shows that the word, if correctly transmitted, can only signify false gods in general as suggested by Y. Kaufmann; but in view of 8:5, 6; 10:5; 13:2, there can be little doubt that *beʿalim* is miswritten for *ʿagalim* ("calves"). A special kind of unacceptable worship is the cult of Beth-El or El-Beth-El, the numen of Bethel (12:5–6), who was regarded by the (north) Israelites as their national tutelary angel (cf. Jer. 48:13). Whether or not the rearrangements of Ginsberg (in bibl., 1961) are acceptable, he shows the meaning of the individual clauses in 12:1–14. (Attributing these meanings to the clauses but leaving their order unchanged results in a picture of a prophet who talks sense but is afflicted with a sort of St. Vitus' dance in his speech. Even that is preferable to one of the conventional insipid jumbles.) 12:1–14 adds up to the following argument (whose author evidently knew the very traditions about Jacob that are preserved in Genesis, but just as evidently takes liberties with them for his own purposes): Ephraim is full on the one hand of false dealing (1a, 8–9) and on the other of incredible self-deception (2, 12). His progenitor Israel-Jacob was just like him (the *Yehudah* in verse 3 is another of those wrong completions of the initial *Y* of *Yisraʾel. Yaʿakov* (*Yaʿaqov*) in verse 3 and *ʿakav* (*ʿaqav*) … *sarah* in verse 4 constitute a chiasmus). On the one hand he defrauded his brother; on the other he adopted as his guardian and quasi-god an angel, Beth-El, who was no match even for Jacob himself. One ought not in any case to invoke any being among YHWH's hosts but only the God of Hosts Himself (verse 6). Jacob paid for his stupidity. His guardian was not able to save him from the necessity of fleeing into exile, where he endured such poverty that he had to indenture himself to watch flocks in order to earn a wife (13–14). Angels have never done Israel any good even as YHWH's messengers. The messenger through whom YHWH brought Israel up from Egypt was a prophet; through a prophet, Israel was effectively guarded (14). So also now, only YHWH will restore Israel's security, and again through prophets (10–11; "Let you dwell in your tents [read *beʾohalekha*]" is to be interpreted in light of II Kings 13:5); but he must learn to cultivate goodness and justice, and to put his trust in his God (not in Egypt, Assyria, or the cults of Bethel, Gilead, and Gilgal); in other words, he must give up his twin vices of rascality and impracticality! This dwelling on patriarchal and Mosaic history (also early pre-monarchic, 10:9, 10ba) is characteristic of Hosea B–b. The pertinent passages are concentrated between 9:10 and 13:5, and the first of them reads as follows: (9:10) "I found Israel/like grapes in a desert; I regarded your fathers/as early ripe figs in a parched land. But they/when they came to Baal-Peor/turned aside to shame. Then they became as detested/as they had been loved." (Of the 12 letters following *kbkwrh*, the first 6 are to be emended to *btlʾbh* – cf. the parallelism in 13:5 – and the other 6 are to be omitted as a misunderstood correction of a dittogram of *rʾyty*. "Parched land" is the meaning of sundry derivatives of the Arabic *laʾaba* "to be thirsty" – Ibn Janaḥ, Ibn Ezra, Kimḥi on 13:5.) As can be seen from the Jahwistic-Elohistic (JE) account in Numbers 25:1–5, the Baal-Peor episode began with fornication with the Moabite women, and this led to an acceptance of their invitation to the feast of meat from animals sacrificed to their god Baal-Peor (a reversal of the usual respective roles of the sexes at such affairs, Hos. 4:14). After what has already been noted of this man's strong view on illicit sex, it is obvious that it is not by chance that he cites just the first phase of the Baal-Peor episode as the cause of YHWH's revulsion of feeling. It is no doubt because tradition knew of no incident of sexual immorality on the desert wanderings that he came to believe that Israel was free from serious blame until it came to Baal-Peor in Transjordan. The basic idea that Israel's innocence lasted through the desert period is of course borrowed by Jeremiah 2:2ff., but because Jeremiah is speaking in the aftermath of the Manasseh apostasy he stresses just the cultic aspect: Israel worshiped YHWH single-heartedly in the harsh desert, but although YHWH rewarded it (*zakharti lakh*, "I remembered in your favor," Jer. 2:2) for this loyalty by making it inviolable (Jer. 2:3), it exchanged Him for other gods just amid the plenty of "the country of farm land" (*ereẓ ha-karmel*, Jer. 2:7). This interest in pre-conquest history is itself an Ephraimite though not an exclusively Deutero-Hosean, contribution to the culture of post-eighth-century Judah. It would seem that in Judah the centrality of the David-and-Zion ideology had, by the middle of the eighth century, pushed the traditions about the Patriarchs and the age of Moses to the periphery of theological interest. Amos mentions the bare facts of the exodus and the 40 years' sojourn in the wilderness, but does not allude to persons or incidents of that age; and about the Patriarchs he is completely silent. Isaiah actually alludes to the crossing of the Reed Sea (Isa. 11:15 [from *we-henif* on]-16), but that is all. The apparent allusion to Abraham in Isaiah 29:22a is a corruption, because the only accurate translation of the half verse as it stands would be, "Assuredly thus said YHWH to the House of Jacob which redeemed Abraham" (other renderings take liberties with syntax). *ʾAvraham* would seem to be miswritten for *ʾavotam*, which yields the sense "to the House of Jacob whose forefathers He [i.e., YHWH] redeemed." Of course there are as references to Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Levi, Sarah, Rachel, and Moses in Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Deutero-Isaiah, and Malachi; but both directly and indirectly, Hosea B and other north Israelite writings that found their way to Judah had something to do with the change. The "other north Israelite writings" obviously include the stories about Elijah, Elisha, other northern "men of God," and "disciples of prophets" embedded in the Books of Kings; and here it says that Elijah built an altar of 12 stones, "equal in number to the tribes of the sons of Jacob, to whom the word of YHWH came, saying, 'Your name shall be Israel'" (I Kings 18:31), and that he fled from the persecution of Jezebel "to the mountain of God at Horeb" (I Kings 19:8; cf. the phrase in Ex. 3:1), where (like Moses) he experienced a theophany. Also to be included among "the other north Israelite writings" is Micah 6–7, a block of text marked off from the Book of Micah proper by the elaborate opening 6:1–2. In Micah 6:3–5 there is a vindication of YHWH by the enumeration of His acts of grace (*ẓedaqot*) remarkably reminiscent of I Samuel 12:6ff. Instead of carrying the story, however, like the latter, down to the speaker's own time, it only traces it to the crossing (under Joshua, who is not named) from Shittim in Transjordan to Gilgal by Jericho. At the outset, it enlarges on the age of Moses, in which it names not only Samuel, Moses, and Aaron, but also Miriam, Balak king of Moab, and Balaam son of Beor.

The booklet Micah 6–7 ends with the self assuring meditation, "You (O YHWH) maintain the enduring kindness/that You promised on oath//to our fathers Abraham and Jacob/in the days of old" (7:20). That this is not an atypical early Judahite writing but a typical Ephraimite one is (1) suggested by the accusation (6:16), "Yet you have observed (*wa-tishmor*, so also others) the laws of Omri and all the practices of the House of Ahab and have walked in their counsels…," which would most naturally be addressed to one of the Omrids' successors the Jehuids, and is (2) practically demonstrated by the prayer (7:14): "Oh, shepherd with your staff Your people, Your very own flock. May they who dwell isolated [or, reading *midbar*, in a wilderness], in a scrub by farm land, graze Bashan and Gilead as in days of yore." The speaker's people are evidently still occupying Cisjordan but he complains that it is but "a scrub" compared with the neighboring "farm land" Bashan and Gilead which he prays may be restored to Israel. The whole suggests the earlier years of Jeroboam II, before he reconquered Transjordan. It is a pity the name of this countryman and contemporary of Jonah son of Amittai of Gath-Hepher (II Kings 14:25) has not been preserved. The reason why his little book was combined with the prophecies of Micah (meaning "who is like [YHWH]?" may have been the concluding paragraph. 7:18ff., which begins with the words *miʾel kamokha* ("who is a God like you?").

"Second Hosea" (Hosea B) is a man of pathos. He tells us how an irate YHWH banishes his unworthy children from His table (5:7) and His house (9:15) declaring, "I will drive them out of My house! I no longer accept them! They are all rebels!" The prophet's denunciations are unsparing (all sorts of wickedness are universal; priests, prophets, and court are complaisant; only this one prophet rebukes, 4:1–5:2). Ephraim is at once a swindler and a fool – just like his sainted forebear Jacob 12:1–14, as interpreted above, and his threats are blood-curdling (sterility, miscarriage, infant mortality, early death, 9:11, 16, 12–13; crop failure and mass emigration, 9:2–6; brutal, all-destructive civil war, 10:14; massacre of the population of Samaria, 14:1; the sword shall devour Israel's flesh and bones, 11:6; his very sources shall dry up, 13:15). Yet in 12:1–14 (interpreted above) he pleads with Israel (not without hope as in chapter 6) to give up his odd combination of faults and be saved. In his tender moments he is sentimental. YHWH adopted Israel as His son when it was an infant (11:1); He fondled and pampered it (11:3–4). It is shockingly unfilial (11:2), Let the sword devour it! (verse 6). How can YHWH go through with his fell design (11:8): "How can I give you up, O Ephraim?/How surrender you, O Israel?/How can I make you like Admah,/Render you like Zeboiim [On Admah… Zeboiim for the usual Sodom… Gomorrah, see below]. I have had a change of heart,/All My tenderness is stirred. (9) I will not act on my wrath,/not proceed with Ephraim's destruction. For I am God, not man,/Holy Being, not flesh" (reading *kadosh (qadosh) we-loʾ vasar* instead of the received last five words). There is therefore nothing surprising about the beautifully tender conclusion B–C.

B–C, 14:2–4; 13:14; 14:6–10. The prophet instructs Israel how to turn back to its God YHWH: Bespeak His forgiveness and promise that you will cease to delude yourself with hopes in Egypt, Assyria, and fetishes. YHWH's reply is that of a father who has disowned but still loves his children. The characteristic phrase is, "I will love them of My own impulse" (14:5), i.e., with unmerited love. The verses that follow are elusive as regards the individual phrases, but the gist of them is unquestionably that they promise Ephraim a blessed future. (For an attempt to restore verse 9, see Paul in: *Lives*, 28 (1969), 53, n. 44.) It is from this "Hosea" that Jeremiah learned that Ephraim-Israel is YHWH's son (Jer. 31:8 [9]), and that though He has disowned him He cannot help loving him and will surely rehabilitate him (Jer. 31:19 [20]). It must be repeated that Hosea A – quite apart from never using the term "Ephraim" – is rather unemotional. He does not say that YHWH cannot bring himself to execute the threatened punishment, never pleads with Israel to convert (he merely predicts that she will), and does not speak at all of YHWH's love either with reference to the past, present, or to the future (it has been explained that *ʾahav* in 3:1 means "to befriend"); he merely says that YHWH will again accept (*we-riḥamti* 2:25 [23]) Israel, because she will quite certainly repent. In Hosea B, *ʾahav* means merely "to accept or recognize" in 9:15, 11:1, but *ʾahavah* does mean "love" in 11:4 referring to the past, and the verb *ʾahav* apparently does mean "to love" in 14:5.

THE BOOK OF HOSEA AND DEUTERONOMY

In the body of this article various debts which the later prophecy and religion of Judah owed, partly to the Book of Hosea alone and partly to the Book of Hosea and other writings, have been pointed out. It was also pointed out in connection with Hosea A that (1) the juxtaposition of nakedness and thirst as features of destitution in 2:5 [3], the phrase "I lavished silver and gold on her (*hirbeti lah*)" and the fourfold use of *ʾahav* in 3:1 in the sense of "to befriend" were "deuteronomisms," cf. Deuteronomy 28:48; Deuteronomy 8:13; Deuteronomy 10:18–19 respectively. It is necessary to add from Hosea B the following: (2) although it follows from the account in Genesis 19 that all the cities of the Plain except Zoar were annihilated, which implies that Admah and Zeboiim perished (see Gen. 14:2, 8 for the complete list), only Sodom and Gomorrah (sometimes even Sodom alone) are mentioned by name either in the account in question or in other biblical allusions to these bywords for wickedness and devastation – except in Hosea 11:8, which names just the other two (Admah and Zeboiim), and Deuteronomy 29:22, which lists all four. (3) The chain *savaʿ* ("to be sated")… *ram levavo* ("to become haughty")… *shakhaḥ* (*ʾet YHWH*) "to forget (*YHWH*)" occurs only in Hosea 13:6 and Deuteronomy 8:12… 14. The correspondences thus far cited could all be accounted for by a common linguistic, literary, and/or cultural background. Indeed, in the wording of the Hosea passage in example (1), the absence of the word "hunger" can only be explained by abridgement of either such a common literary source or of the Deuteronomy passage. In the case of (3), however, Hosea is obviously either the original or, at any rate, much closer to the original than the enormously expanded Deuteronomy version, in which the first term is separated from the two others by a good deal of filling. Moreover, in Hosea the terse single version in question is preceded by an equally terse recollection of the supplying of Israel's needs in the wilderness, while in Deuteronomy the three expansive versions in question are followed by two equally expansive ones on the supplying of Israel's needs in the wilderness. (4) This one is of capital importance. Repeatedly Deuteronomy contains stern warnings uttered against, or drastic punishments prescribed or declared to have actually been inflicted for "following after, or worshiping, 'other gods whom you have not known.'" What can be the sense of the repeated qualification "whom you have/they had not known" (Deut. 11:28; 13:3, 7, 14; 29:25)? Would worshiping a golden calf or Baal-Peor, both of which the Israelites had known at the time when Moses was speaking, count as nothing worse than "bad form"? That the problem is not just the invention of a 20th-century writer in search of something to write about is evident from the fact that it bothered Rashi, so that in his commentary on the last of those passages he explained that "whom they had not known" means "in whom they had not known divine power." This interpretation is accepted by Naḥmanides (who criticizes Rashi only for halfheartedly citing Onkelos' [grammatically impossible] interpretation of the following clause as confirmation, after first interpreting it correctly – to the shame of modern apologetes), and it is very close to the truth. This, however, raises the question: How did the author come to express himself – five times – so ambiguously? It would have been far clearer if, instead of אשר לא ידעת(ם) / ידעום he had written אשר לא הושיעוכ(ם) / הושיעום "who have not helped you/had not helped them." The solution will be followed more easily if an analogous puzzle and solution of recent publications are first reproduced in brief. In Isaiah 59:16 Deutero-Isaiah says, "So his own arm (זרעו) wrought victory for him, and his own vindication (וצדקתו) aided him," and similarly in 63:5, "So my own arm (זרעי) wrought victory for me, and my own vindication (וצדקתי) [so the indubitably correct reading of 30 manuscripts; the current reading וחמתי is obviously due to contamination by verses 3, 6] aided me." In both cases, the second clause is very unsatisfying: "his/my vindication helped him/me" is as sparkling as "his/my help helped him/me" or "his/my triumph wrought triumph for him/me." A long step toward a solution of the difficulty can be taken if a person who really knows his Hebrew and his Bible will ask himself: What is the obvious parallel synonym to *zeroʾaʿ*, "arm"? Answer: *yad*, "hand" – or *yamin*, "right hand," Isaiah 62:8; Psalms 44:4; 98:1. Just of Psalms 98, and particularly of 98:1–2, Deutero-Isaiah made extensive use, as shown by Ginsberg (see bibl. 1969). This reusing resulted in more than one illogicality, of which *ẓidqato/ti* for *yemino/ni* is one of those most striking. Here is how it came about. Psalms 98:1b names the instrument by which YHWH has wrought triumph (for Israel, verse 3): "His right hand [*yemino*], his holy arm [*u-zeroʾaʿ qodsho*], has wrought victory for him"; but verse 2 names the product of the instrument, the triumph itself: "YHWH has made known his victory [*yeshuʿato*], manifested his vindication [*ẓidqato*]." In reusing this passage, Deutero-Isaiah sometimes substitutes the instrument "arm" for the product "victory" (Isaiah 52:10; 53:1, which does not strike us as harsh). Conversely, as seen, he substitutes the product "vindication" for the instrument "right hand" in 59:16 and 63:5, and that does strike us as harsh. Similarly, it was in the process of reusing an older text that for the verb *hoshiʾaʿ*, "to help, give success to," in his source the Deuteronomist substituted the verb *yadaʿ*, "to know," which there stands next to it. It has been noted that the verses Hosea 13:1–2 complain that in the past Israel sinned by worshiping Baal and today it sins again by worshiping images, particularly calves. "But," Hosea 13:4 continues, "ever since the land of Egypt,/ only I YHWH have been your God [for of course those sundry varieties of trash do not deserve the name of gods]." "Beside me you have never known [*loʾ tedaʿ*] a God (*elohim*), other than me you have never had a Helper [*moshiʾaʿ ʾayin* – those others never brought you a particle of *yeshuʿah*]." What Israel has not known according to this is a God other than YHWH. What the Deuteronomist calls "other gods" Israel – to its shame – has known, verses 1–2; but Deutero-Hosea's point is precisely that they are not gods, and he avoids calling them by that name. (In the parallel passage 8:4b–6 he says in so many words that the "calf of Samaria" is, like all images of silver and gold, "no god" [*loʾ ʾelohim*], though he cannot deny that the angel Beth-El is an *ʾelohim* in the sense of a divine being, 12:4–5.)

That Deuteronomy, which was published in 622, should owe something to the Book of Hosea is not so surprising, since it has been demonstrated in the body of this article that Jeremiah, whose activity began five years prior to the publication of Deuteronomy if the date in Jeremiah 1:2 is reliable, and in no case more than a few years later, made four major borrowings from it (the wife-of-YHWH metaphor, the new covenant, the favorable verdict on the desert period, and YHWH's insuperable love for Ephraim). No doubt the other Ephraimite literature that found a haven in Judah after the debacle of 722 also played a part in the religious ferment that culminated in the publication of Deuteronomy. One item of that "other Ephraimite literature," the work which constitutes Micah 6–7, was mentioned in the article proper as having contributed, like Hosea B, to a revival of interest in patriarchal and Mosaic history in Judah. A notable manifestation of this renewed interest is of course Deuteronomy, with its review of the events from Horeb to the land of Moab and its new concepts of a second Mosaic covenant in the land of Moab in addition to the one at Horeb, and incorporating two poems (in chapter 32 and chapter 33 respectively) attributed to Moses. M. Weinfeld has shown (see *Deuteronomy) that Deuteronomy is influenced by the Book of Proverbs. It is therefore suggestive that at least one section of Proverbs was edited in the reign of Hezekiah, i.e., shortly after (perhaps partly during) the fall of the kingdom of Israel. The evidence is Proverbs 25:1, the exact sense of which is uncertain. Not out of the question is a "maximalist" rendering like this: "These too are Solomonic proverbs copied by [*ʾasher heʿtiqu* – one is strongly tempted to translate 'imported by'] the officials of King Hezekiah of Judah," which would imply that the preceding collections of "Solomonic proverbs" (Prov. 1–9; 10:1–22:16) were likewise copied (or imported) by officials of King Hezekiah. The copying of Hosea, etc., may likewise have been an undertaking during the reign of Hezekiah. This collecting of Hebrew literature, which was largely of north Israelite authorship, by King Hezekiah of Judah, would be a fascinating parallel to the collecting of Akkadian literature, which was largely of south Mesopotamian authorship, by King Ashurbanipal of Assyria. In any case, the Ephraimite Proto-Deuteronomy which has been posited to account for the northern features of Deuteronomy was evidently not the only channel through which northern influences flowed into it (see H.M. Kodesh in bibl.).

[Harold Louis Ginsberg]

In the Aggadah

Hosea prophesied concerning Israel for 90 years (PR 33:90). His father Beeri, too, was a prophet, but only two verses of his prophecies are preserved in the Book of Isaiah (Isa. 8:19–20; Lev. R. 6:6). A contemporary of Isaiah, Amos, and Micah, Hosea was the greatest of them (Pes. 87a), for he not only induced his people to repent but he also taught them how to pray (PR 44:23). He was the first prophet to proclaim the greatness of repentance, teaching that it reaches the Throne of Glory (Hos. 14:2). His ancestor Reuben was rewarded for having repented of his hostile behavior toward Joseph (Gen. R. 84:19). Most Midrashim about Hosea center around the command God gave him to marry a harlot, and beget children of harlotry (Hos. 1:2). Her name Gomer daughter of Diblaim signified that "all satisfied (*gomerim*) their lust" on her and she was the daughter of a woman of "ill-fame" (*dibbah*). When God spoke to the prophet about the sins of Israel, expecting him to excuse or defend his people, Hosea countered by telling God to choose another people. It was then that Hosea was commanded to take Gomer to wife. When, after a time, God asked him to follow the example of Moses, who parted from his wife as soon as he was called to prophecy, Hosea replied that he could not send his wife away since she had borne him children, whereupon God said to him: "If thou, whose wife is a harlot and whose children are the children of harlotry and thou knowest not whether they are thine or not, canst not separate from her, how then can I separate Myself from Israel, from My children, the children of My elected ones, Abraham, Isaac and Jacob?" As soon as he realized his sin, Hosea entreated God to pardon him, whereupon he was told: "Instead of asking mercy for thyself, ask mercy for Israel against whom I have decreed three decrees because of you." Thereupon Hosea prayed as he was bidden and the impending threefold doom was averted (Pes. 87a–b). In connection with this incident the rabbis teach that Hosea held a position midway between Moses and Balaam, neither loving nor hating Israel (Num. R. 2:17). According to one opinion, the merits of the fathers (*Zekhut Avot*) ceased in Hosea's time (Lev. R. 36:6).

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Hoselitz's major fields of interest were economic history and development. In 1952 he founded the journal *Economic Development and Cultural Change*, which pioneered interdisciplinary research on the new nations that were being formed after World War II. He served as its editor until 1985. He was a member of the U.S. Technical Assistance Mission to El Salvador (1952); consultant to the United Nations and UNESCO (1953–54); and adviser to the government of India on the Delhi Master Plan (1957–58). In 1978 he became Professor Emeritus in Economics at the University of Chicago.

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[Joachim O. Ronall / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

HOSHAIAH (**Oshaiah**)**, RAV** (end of the third and the beginning of the fourth centuries), Babylonian *amora*. Hoshaiah was a pupil of R. Judah b. Ezekiel (Git. 25a) and R. Huna (Bek. 37b). He resided in Nehardea and later in Pumbedita (Shab. 19b, et al.), and then proceeded to Ereẓ Israel where he had halakhic discussions with the outstanding pupils of Johanan (Ḥul. 124a; et al.). When Johanan failed in his persistent attempts to ordain him, he was told not to be distressed because Hoshaiah was descended from the family of Eli the priest, of which it was said (I Sam. 2:31): "I will cut off thine arm… that there shall not be a *zaken* in thy house," taking *zaken* to refer to an ordained man (Sanh. 14a and see Rashi *in loco*). As a result of their failure to receive ordination he and his associate Ḥanina were called "the associates of the rabbis" (TJ, Shab. 3:1, 5d, et al.). Ḥanina and Hoshaiah were cobblers by trade and were so well known for their piety and righteousness that common women would swear "by the life of the holy rabbis of Israel," having them in mind. They also engaged in esoteric study (Sanh. 65b).

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[Alter Hilewitz]

HOSHANA RABBA (Heb. הוֹשַׁעְנָא רַבָּא; "the great *hoshana*"), a name for the seventh and last day of the *Sukkot festival.

In Temple times, the day was distinguished by the fact that seven circuits (*hakkafot) were made around the altar with the *lulav (instead of the single circuit made on the other days of the festival), and that willow branches, which on this day were specially cut at *Moẓa near Jerusalem, were stood around the side of the altar with their leaves overlapping the top (Suk. 4:5–6; Maim. Yad, Sukkah, 7:22–23). In the Mishnah the day is therefore known as *yom ha-shevi'i shel aravah* ("the seventh day of the willow"; Suk. 4:3). According to R. Johanan b. Beroka palm twigs were beaten on the ground and thus the day is known as *yom ḥibbut ḥarayot* ("the day of the beating of the palm twigs"; *ibid.* 4:6). It is generally known as Hoshana Rabba because of the numerous *hoshanot which are recited and is thus referred to already in the Midrashim (Mid. Ps. to 17:5; Lev. R. 37:2). The ceremony of the willow took place even if this day occurred on the Sabbath (according to Maimonides, loc. cit. 7:21, in order to publicize the obligatory nature of the practice). In Second Temple times this was a source of controversy between the Boethusians and the Pharisees who gave the ceremony biblical authority even though it is nowhere mentioned in the Bible. They considered it to be *halakhah le-Moshe mi-Sinai*, i.e., as having been instructed verbally to Moses during his stay on Mt. Sinai. According to the tradition of many of the *rishonim* (e.g., Tos. to Suk. 43b, Abraham b. David to Maim. Yad, Kiddush ha-Ḥodesh, 7:7; R. Nissim, to Alfasi, Suk. 21b s.v. *u-farkhinan*), the calendar was fixed in such a way that the New Year would not occur on a Sunday so that Hoshana Rabba should not fall on the Sabbath, which would cause the taking of the willow to be canceled (see *Calendar). Today, the obligation of taking the willow on the seventh day of Sukkot remains and it is the "custom of the prophets" or the "principle of the prophets" to beat it on the ground or on some object (Suk. 43b; cf. Maim. Yad, Lulav, 7:22). The custom of circling the interior of the synagogue seven times while reciting prayers and supplications is known from the period of the *geonim* (see *Hoshanot). Already in the Talmud (TJ, RH 4:8, 59c) Hoshana Rabba is mentioned as one of the two days ("the day of blowing of the *shofar* and the day of the willow") on which all attend the synagogue service.

In the period of the *geonim*, the celebration of Hoshana Rabba acquired considerable solemnity and religious-mystic significance. In Jerusalem a large gathering took place on the Mount of Olives which was circled seven times; official announcements (such as fixing the coming year) were proclaimed; philanthropists and communities received blessings; and public excommunications were issued. The *piyyut* of Hoshana Rabba which opens with the words, "the power [or, the truth] of Thy salvation cometh," which deals with the splitting open of the Mount of Olives (Zech. 14:4) and the resurrection of the dead, probably has its origin in this ceremony. From the 13th century onward, there is evidence regarding special popular beliefs connected with Hoshana Rabba. There was a very widespread belief that he who did not see the shadow of his head on the night of Hoshana Rabba would die during that year, for Hoshana Rabba was the day of the "seal," wherein the verdict of man (passed on the *Day of Atonement) is "sealed," or the day on which the "notices" of the verdict were sent out (*Sefer Ḥasidim*, ed. by R. Margoliot (1957), nos. 452–3; Naḥmanides on Num. 14:9; Zohar, Ex., 142a–b). It is probable that the view of Hoshana Rabba as a day of judgment was originally connected with the ancient belief that "during the festival [i.e., Sukkot], the world is judged for the water to be received" (RH 1:2), i.e., whether the coming year would be blessed with rain or be one of drought and Hoshana Rabba is the conclusion of Sukkot. This would explain the numerous *hoshanot* of Hoshana Rabba in which the motif is water. There is also an allusion to a Prayer for Rain on Hoshana Rabba (*Sefer Ḥasidim*, no. 248).

Over the generations, the conception of Hoshana Rabba as a day of judgment has been expressed by a series of distinct customs, all or some of which have been included in the prayer service of the day in the various rites (see Sh. Ar., OḤ 664:1): numerous candles are kindled in the synagogue, as on the Day of Atonement; in some rites the *ḥazzan* wears a white robe; the *Pesukei de-Zimra of the Sabbath and the *Nishmat prayer are added to the service; the sentences (of the Ten Days of Penitence), "Remember us unto life," and "Who is as Thou," are included in the **Amidah; *Avinu Malkenu*, the Great *Kedushah, and U-Netanneh *Tokef are said in the *Musaf* prayer; and the *shofar* is blown during the processions. In some rites *seliḥot* are recited. The *Amidah* and the Reading of the Law, however, remain the same as on the other intermediate days of the festival. There is a widespread custom to stay up during the night of Hoshana Rabba and to read the whole of the Pentateuch or the books of Deuteronomy and Psalms, and the like. This custom does not go back further than the 13th century. Its original intention was probably to ensure that even those who were not particular concerning the reading of the Pentateuch during the whole of the year would complete it together with the public on *Simḥat Torah (*Shibbolei ha-Leket*, ed. by S. Buber (1886), 334). This custom later assumed the character (probably through the kabbalists of Safed) of a *tikkun* ("purification"; *Tikkun Leil Hoshana Rabba,* "*Tikkun* of the night of Hoshana Rabba").

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Elbogen, Gottesdienst, 138f.; ET, 8 (1957), 527–35; Y.T. Lewinsky, *Sefer ha-Mo'adim*, 4 (1952^{2}), 180–207; Wilhelm in: *Alei Ayin – S. Schocken Jubilee Volume* (1948–52), 130–43.

HOSHANOT (Heb. הוֹשַׁעְנוֹת), poetical prayers, thus named because of the recurrent expression "*Hoshana*" (or "*Hoshi'a Na,*" "Save, I Pray!"). *Hoshanot* are recited on every day of *Sukkot, usually after the *Shaḥarit* or *Musaf* prayers. Each day while they are said a circuit is made of the synagogue (on the seventh day, seven circuits; see below). The origin of the prayers and the procession lies in the Temple ritual: "Every day [of Sukkot] one circles the altar once and says, 'Pray! O Lord, save, I pray! Pray! O Lord, give success, I pray!'; and R. Judah says, 'I and He, save, I pray.'…, and on that day [i.e., the seventh] one circles the altar seven times" (Suk. 4:5). The first references to this practice in the synagogue come from the period of the *geonim*.

Already in ancient times, the words *hosha na* were linked into one word *hoshana*. The word served as a response, or a call, after every rhyme or section of prayers which were composed in later generations for this purpose. Of these prayers (usually written in alphabetical order), many are undefined in content (e.g., "For the sake of Thy truth, for the sake of Thy covenant"); others are supplications for water or for a blessing for the produce (e.g., "Save, I pray! the land from being cursed, the animal from losing its offspring"); while still others are concerned with salvation from exile and with redemption.

In all prayer books – from those of R. *Amram Gaon and R. *Saadiah Gaon to those of the present day – there are *hoshanot* on various subjects and in different forms. It can be assumed that several of the *hoshanot*, which are signed with the name "Eleazar," were written by R. Eleazar *Kallir. There is insufficient evidence, however, to determine the authorship of other *hoshanot*. Some were also written for the Sabbath of Sukkot, and include topics pertaining to the Sabbath. But on that day there is no procession. In some rites *hoshanot* are not recited on the Sabbath of Sukkot at all. The *hoshanot* of the seventh day, *Hoshana Rabba, are of a special character. Seven processions take place; in some rites the *hoshanot* of all the previous days are repeated while others recite *hoshanot* written specially for this day. Under the influence of the Kabbalah, *piyyutim* dealing with the seven guests (see *Ushpizin) have been supplemented to the *hoshanot* of this day. Indeed, the seven processions allude to them.

Hoshanot is also the name of the special willow branches taken on Hoshana Rabba, from which the expression "a beaten *hoshana*" derives (applied for example, to a man who has come down in the world). In the Babylonian Talmud (Suk. 31–34), the myrtles which are bound to the *lulav (palm branch) together with the willows are referred to as *hoshanot*.

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HOSHEA (Heb. הוֹשֵׁעַ; probably an abbreviation of a fuller form ending with the divine appellation and meaning "[Let] YHWH save"; *A-ú-si-ʾ* in Assyrian inscriptions), son of Elah and the last king of Israel (732–724 B.C.E.). Hoshea secured the throne after his revolt against *Pekah son of Remaliah and the latter's assassination (II Kings 15:30), an event which occurred after the Assyrian king *Tiglath-Pileser III (745–727) had exiled most of the kingdom of Israel and divided it into Assyrian provinces (732 B.C.E.; *ibid.*, 15:29); Hoshea's rump kingdom was thus confined to the hill country of Ephraim. It appears that in his revolt and assumption of the throne he was supported by the Assyrians, but it also is possible that he gained Assyrian approval and support after his revolt. Tiglath-Pileser III recorded in his annals that after the Samarians overthrew Pekah, he made Hoshea king, and imposed a tribute on him (Pritchard, Texts, 284; Tadmor, 140–41). Thus, from the start Hoshea was a vassal of Assyria.

Accordingly, the notice in II Kings 17:3 that Shalmaneser V (727–722) came up against Hoshea is an indication that the death of Tiglath-Pileser had encouraged Hoshea to attempt to free himself of the Assyrian yoke. Unsuccessful, Hoshea paid tribute for some time, but then rebelled against Assyria counting on aid from Egypt (see *So), probably within a broader framework of a planned anti-Assyrian revolt. Hosea was imprisoned by the king of Assyria, but the king was, nonetheless, compelled to besiege the city. According to II Kings 17:6 the Assyrian king besieged Samaria for three years (II Kings 17:4), but in the ninth year of Hoshea's reign conquered Samaria and sent the northerners into exile. During the progress of the siege the city was apparently governed by the elders or by army officers. Some of the chronological details are unclear. The "three years" may be less than three full calendar years. The name of the king of Assyria who conquered Samaria is not given in II Kings 17:6. According to the Babylonian Chronicle, Shalmaneser V demolished Samaria. But according to the inscriptions of Sargon II (722–705) it was he who conquered Samaria and the whole of the land of Omri (i.e., Northern Israel). Apparently, Sargon's claim refers to the final conquest after Hoshea's deposition, The statement in II Kings 17:2, Hoshea "did what was evil in the sight of the Lord, yet not as the kings of Israel who were before him," seems to mean that he abolished the golden calf of Beth-El, "the sin of Jeroboam, son of Nebat," for which all his predecessors were censured. However, speculative statements in the Talmuds explain the sentence as referring to his having abolished the guards that Jeroboam I had placed on the road leading to Jerusalem to prevent pilgrims from visiting the Temple (Ta'an. 30b–31a; TJ, Ta'an. 4:9, 69c; see also The Fifteenth of *Av).

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[Jacob Liver / S.David Sperling (2nd ed.)]

HOSPITALITY. In ancient Israel, hospitality was not merely a question of good manners, but a moral institution which grew out of the harsh desert and nomadic existence led by the people of Israel. The biblical customs of welcoming the weary traveler and of receiving the stranger in one's midst was the matrix out of which hospitality and all its tributary aspects developed into a highly esteemed virtue in Jewish tradition. Biblical law specifically sanctified hospitality toward the *ger* ("stranger") who was to be made particularly welcome "for you were strangers in a strange land" (Lev. 19:34 and see Ex. 12:49). Foreign travelers, although not protected by law (Deut. 15:3; 23:21), could count on the custom of hospitality. It was also the duty of the elders of the *cities of refuge to succor, as well as to protect, the unwitting killer who sought refuge in their cities until the death of the high priest (Num. 35:9–34). Isaiah states that one of the duties of the pious is to "deal thy bread to the hungry," and to "bring the poor that are cast out to thy house" (Isa. 58:7). The Bible is replete with examples of pious hospitality. As soon as Abraham saw the three men of Mamre "from afar," he hurried to invite them into his house, ministered to their physical comfort, and served them lavishly (Gen. 18). Similarly, Laban was eager to welcome Abraham's servant (Gen. 24:28–32) while Rebekah attended to the comfort of his camels. Jethro the Midianite was particularly disappointed at being deprived of the opportunity to extend hospitality to Moses (Ex. 2:20). Manoah did not allow the angel to depart before he had partaken of his hospitality (Judg. 13:15), and the Shunammite woman had a special room prepared for the prophet Elisha (II Kings 4:8–11). The extreme to which hospitality was taken is shown by the stories of Lot and the old man of Gibeah who were prepared to sacrifice the honor of their daughters in order to protect their guests, who were to them complete strangers (Gen. 19:4–8 and Judg. 19:23–24). Some acts of hospitality had specific rewards. Rahab, who had harbored Joshua's two spies, was granted protection when Jericho fell (Josh. 2), and David repaid a courtesy which Barzillai had extended to his men (II Sam. 17:27–29), with a courtesy to Barzillai's servant Chimham (II Sam. 19:32–40). Breaches of hospitality, on the other hand, were punished. Gideon castigated the elders of Succoth and Penuel for their parsimony (Judg. 8:5–9); the men of Israel made war on the Benjamites for their breach of hospitality (Judg. 19:22, 20:17); and Nabal's death was seen as punishment for having failed to offer hospitality to David's men (I Sam. 25:2–38). The killing of Sisera by Jael is the only breach of hospitality praised in the Bible (Judg. 4:18–24, 5:24–27). One of Job's claims is that "the stranger did not lodge in the street, but I opened my doors to the traveler" (Job 31:32).

Rabbinic literature widened the scope of the virtue of hospitality, which it called *hakhnasat oreḥim* (lit. "bringing-in of guests"). It was considered a great *mitzvah*, an expression of *gemilut ḥasadim* ("kindness"), especially when it was extended to the poor (Shab. 127a–b; Maim., Yad, Evel 14:1–2). One of the virtues for which one enjoys the fruits in this world and obtains the principal reward in the world to come, hospitality is, according to R. Johanan, even more important than prayer or, according to R. Judah, than receiving the divine presence (Shab. *ibid.*). A person who extends hospitality to a rabbinic student is regarded as if he had offered a daily sacrifice (Ber. 10b, and see also Ber. 63b; Kid 76b). The rabbis also sought to inculcate the virtue through a gloss on certain biblical figures: Abraham and Job were said to have left the doors of their homes open on all four sides, so that strangers might have easy access (ARN^2 14). The Midrash (Lam. R. 4:13) relates that even at the height of Nebuchadnezzar's siege of Jerusalem, mothers would deprive their children of the last crust in order to grant hospitality to a mourner. R. *Huna attempted to set an example by publicly proclaiming his meal times as a sign of open invitation to the stranger (Ta'an. 20b), and his saying "*Kol dikhfin yeitei ve-yeikhul*" ("Let all the hungry enter and eat") is used during the **seder* service. In Jerusalem, it was customary to indicate that a meal was in progress by displaying a flag (BB 93b; Lam. R. 4:4). Children were taught to be hospitable by instructing them to invite guests to dine when they answered the door (ARN^1 7). The rabbis considered women to be more adept than men at extending hospitality to strangers (Ber 10b), but to be less generous (BM 87a; but cf. DER 6:2). On the other hand, the rabbis denounced the parasitical guest, especially if he was a scholar (Pes. 49a). Two extremes were avoided through a clear definition of the duties of host and of guest: the host was forbidden to make his guest uncomfortable either by appearing miserable (DEZ 9:6), or by watching his guest too attentively (Maim., Yad, Berakhot 7:6), or by neglecting to serve his guest himself (Kid. 32b). The guest was instructed to show gratitude (Ber. 58a), to recite a special blessing for his host in the *Grace after Meals (Ber. 46a; Maim., Yad, Berakhot 2:7 and 7:2; Sh. Ar., OḤ 201:1), to leave some food on the plate (Er. 53b; DER 6:3; *Sefer Ḥasidim*, ed. J. Wistinetzki and J. Freimann (1924^2), 872–3), and to comply with his host's wishes (Pes. 86b; DER 6:1). The guest was forbidden to give food to others without his host's consent (Ḥul. 94a; DER 9:4). Several centuries earlier, *Ben Sira (second century B.C.E.) had already defined the table manners which were to be practiced by the guest (Ecclus. 31:21–26), and had condemned the parasite who took advantage of hospitality (*ibid.* 29:23–28; 40:28–30).

The tradition of hospitality was particularly apparent among Jewish communities in the Middle Ages and a separate charitable association called Ḥevra Hakhnasat Oreḥim was established for that purpose. Medieval European Jewish communities instituted a system of *pletten* ("meal tickets") for travelers and itinerant scholars, and in the 15th century, established *battei baḥurim* ("student hostels"). Nor was individual hospitality neglected; Nathan Hannover (17th century) states: "Many wealthy members of the congregation considered it an honor to have the student and his charges as guests at their table, although the congregation sufficiently provided for their support" (*Yeven Meẓulah*, ed. by J. Fishman and J. Halpern (1966), 83). Among Polish communities, it was also the custom to billet students with members of the community for their daily meals (Nathan Hannover, *ibid.*). This custom, known as *essen-teg*, later spread to Germany. In modern times, charitable institutions have assumed most of the responsibility for communal hospitality.

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HOSPITALS. The modern name "hospital" must not be confused with that given to the institution which, throughout the Middle Ages in Europe, served the dual purpose of lodging poor or sick travelers and nursing the ailing poor. Hospitals of this nature were established as early as the fourth century C.E., and, according to Jerome (c. 347–c. 420), there was a continuation of institutions which had long been established in the Holy Land. The lepers' quarantine mentioned in the Bible cannot be taken as proof of the existence of hospitals, although, according to the Hebrew grammarian *Gesenius, the term *beit ḥofshit* ("house set apart"), used in II Kings 15:5 to describe the dwelling of King Azariah after he was stricken with leprosy has the meaning of an infirmary or hospital in the sense of a place for the dressing of wounds. In talmudic times the term *beita de-shayish* ("marble room") is used for an operating theater, but this again is not synonymous with a hospital (see *Medicine, in the Talmud). It can be assumed that by the time hospitals were being established in Christian Europe, they were also in existence in Jewish communities where private hospitality and charity were inadequate. There is evidence of one of these dual-purpose institutions in what is now Yugoslavia in the fifth century, and of another in Palermo, in Sicily, in the sixth century.

The Hekdesh

In Germany, a *Domus Hospitale Judaeorum* is recorded in a Cologne document of the 11th century. The fact that it is described in Hebrew as a **hekdesh* ("a hostel for the poor") would suggest that it was intended as a lodging for travelers rather than a place for curing the sick. It has been suggested that the "Jewish inns" in medieval Spain and in Paris may have been similar establishments. The first definite evidence of a Jewish hospital in Spain comes from Barcelona, where in a manuscript of 1385 there is a description of some men as *Procuratores et Rectores Hospitalem pauperum Judaeorum*. At the beginning of the 13th century there is mention of a Jewish hospital in Regensburg, and others are known to have existed in three other German cities: Munich (1381), Trier (1422), and Ulm (1499). By the 16th century they had spread eastward to Vienna and Berlin. These were inns for foreign Jews where sick strangers may have been treated in a part of the building specially set aside for them. They were supported by the community, by benevolent societies (*ḥevrot*), and by charity boxes. While with the population growth in Christian Europe during the later Middle Ages the term "hospital" was confined more and more to institutions dealing exclusively with sick people, the Jewish *hekdesh* did not change its dual function. It was apparently a very primitive affair consisting of one or two rooms with a maximum of six beds, ill-equipped for nursing, and without any regular medical attention. It was sometimes also used for obstetric cases. The reason for the low standards was that most Jewish communities were small and poor, and they were socially insecure and subject to sudden expulsion, so that the provision of permanent facilities for the sick was a waste of money. It must also be remembered that the great physicians of the 16th to 18th centuries had no connection with hospitals. The *hekdesh* was last heard of in Eastern Europe at the beginning of the 20th century, when the term was still used for mental asylums.

The Hospital in Europe

The transition to the hospital as known today began in Western Europe. From there it spread eastward with the 18th-century Enlightenment, when Jewish communities could look forward to a permanent settlement and better economic prospects, and when at the same time the idea of the modern, scientific "house for the sick" (*Krankenhaus*) was taking root. A small hospital of this type was opened by the Sephardi community in London in the 1740s. Berlin, Breslau, and Vienna followed in the second half of the 18th century, and the first Jewish hospital in France was founded in Paris in 1836. From then onward Jewish hospitals with general wards for the poor and private wards for the wealthier classes were built throughout Europe. By 1933 they existed in most countries, and usually had a high reputation. At this time there were 48 Jewish hospitals in Poland – nine percent of all hospitals in the country – having a total of over 3,500 beds, more than a thousand of them in Warsaw alone. Jewish hospitals of varying size were to be found in many towns in Lithuania, Latvia, and Romania, and in Salonika in Greece. In Germany, many towns of importance, such as Hamburg and Frankfurt, had their Jewish hospital. Italy's first Jewish hospital was established in Rome in 1881. The Jewish hospital in Vienna, built by the *Rothschilds, served not only the Austrian population but also patients from Eastern Europe. There was a Jewish hospital in Amsterdam from about 1840, and another in Basle, Switzerland. In England beds for Orthodox Jews were maintained by charitable organizations in a number of the great medical centers, such as the Middlesex Hospital in London. The first Jewish general hospital in the country was the Victoria Memorial Jewish Hospital, founded in Manchester in 1903. Two years later the Theodor Herzl Memorial Home for the Jewish Sick, later renamed the Herzl-Moser Hospital, was opened in Leeds. The London Jewish Hospital, in the East End, was founded in 1919. After the outbreak of World War II in 1939 most of the Jewish hospitals in Europe, apart from those in England, disappeared. Those in East Berlin, Hamburg, Vienna, Amsterdam, and Paris were reopened after 1945. With the exception of that in Hamburg, they are all far smaller than in prewar days. There are Jewish hospitals associated with other communities throughout the world. However, with the spread of state medical services, much of the original motivation has gone. They now serve primarily to assist those patients who feel more comfortable in a Jewish environment and who wish to receive kosher food.

In the U.S.

The early purpose of Jewish hospitals in the U.S. was the treatment of Jewish patients, who it was believed needed a medical environment which was Jewish. In German Jewish immigrants' places of origin, medical care had long been a Jewish communal function, and it was they who founded the first Jewish hospital in the U.S., Jews Hospital (from 1869, Mount Sinai Hospital), in New York in 1852. It was followed in 1854 by the Jewish Hospital of Cincinnati, which in the traditional manner of the *hekdesh* also provided shelter for the poor and transients during its early years. Hospitals founded by American Jews before 1900 were paralleled in some large cities by new ones founded by East European immigrants, who sometimes expressed discontent with the "un-Jewish" atmosphere at the established hospitals. After approximately 1920, when Jewish patients needed the Jewish medical environment less and less and they began to lose their foreignness, the Jewish hospitals tended to find as a rationale the necessity of providing professional opportunities for Jewish physicians who were victims of severe discrimination in hospital staff appointments elsewhere.

Some of the Jewish-sponsored hospitals in New York included Maimonides Hospital of Brooklyn, the largest general hospital in the United States observing *kashrut*, and among the first American hospitals to perform open-heart surgery; Mount Sinai Hospital; Montefiore Hospital, known for treatment of prolonged illness, teaching, and research; and Long Island Jewish Hospital with its outstanding premature nursery center; Beth Abraham Hospital for chronic disease; the Beth Israel Hospital; Bronx-Lebanon Hospital; Brookdale Hospital; Hospital for Joint Diseases; and Jewish Hospital of Brooklyn. Other hospitals under Jewish sponsorship in the U.S. included the Michael Reese and Mount Sinai hospitals in Chicago; Cedars-Sinai Medical Center in Los Angeles; the Albert Einstein Medical Center in Philadelphia; the Jewish Hospitals in St. Louis, Cincinnati and Louisville; the Sinai Hospitals in Baltimore, Cleveland, Detroit, Miami, Hartford, Milwaukee and Minneapolis; the Beth Israel Hospitals in Boston, Newark, Denver and Passaic; Cedars of Lebanon Hospital in Miami; Menorah Hospital in Kansas City; Miriam Hospital in Providence; and the Touro Infirmary in New Orleans. Jewish federations also supported chronic disease hospitals in Long Branch, New Jersey, Montreal and New York; tuberculosis and chest disease hospitals in Denver and Montreal; and psychiatric hospitals in Los Angeles, New York, and Philadelphia.

When medical discrimination declined after about 1950, the Jewish hospitals, many of which by then had only 10% to 25% Jewish patients, tended to be rationalized once again, this time as a Jewish service to the community at large.

Jewish hospitals and health services are still supported by Jewish federations. In addition to general hospitals, these federations maintain nursing homes and homes for the aged and infirm. Their help also extends to family welfare agencies, mental health programs, vocational counseling, child care centers, and summer camps.

At present, Jewish physicians can obtain training and admitting privileges at hospitals throughout the United States, and Jews often occupy leadership positions on hospital boards and medical staffs. Furthermore, during the post-World War II period, Jewish communities tended to move to the suburbs. The traditionally Jewish inner-city hospitals experienced weakened financial positions as their patient bases included increasing percentages of uninsured or Medicaid patients.

In 1975, there were 33 Jewish-sponsored acute-care general hospitals in the United States. However, by late 1999, due to demographic and financial trends, fewer than half of these were being operated under their original ownership or sponsorship. Thirteen of the original 33 Jewish-sponsored hospitals formed or joined existing partnerships with nonsectarian or other facilities. For example, Beth Israel Hospital in Boston merged with Deaconess Medical Center, and New York's Mt. Sinai merged with New York University Hospitals.

However, the sales contracts for such mergers often included stipulations for continuity of Jewish care, such as kosher food and ritual circumcision. Jewish chaplains (see below) at hospitals across the country continue to assist with these services, as well as leading Sabbath and holiday celebrations, providing Torahs, prayer books, Bibles, Sabbath candelabra and other ritual objects, and serving as spiritual and pastoral counselors as well as sources for guidance in making medical ethical decisions.

Some communities came up with innovative solutions to the sale of their hospital properties. In Pittsburgh, for example, the Jewish community put the proceeds from the sale of its hospital into an endowment fund to be used solely to help needy Jews. Jewish communities continue to be prime supporters of medical institutions regardless of religious or other affiliations.

Some Jewish sponsored-hospitals ultimately found that they were not economically viable or for other reasons shut their doors. Yet other Jewish facilities have succeeded in remaining important and prominent communal resources, such as Cedars-Sinai Medical Center in Los Angeles and the Jewish Hospital in Louisville, Kentucky.

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Chaplaincy

Chaplaincy provides spiritual support, counseling, and a Jewish connection for people in institutional or community settings outside of a synagogue. Chaplaincy may include crisis support to individuals or their families, worship services, help with ethical decision-making, staff education and support, training volunteers, and forging connections with synagogues and community organizations. Chaplains are trained professionals, including rabbis, cantors, and lay people, who provide this care. Currently, the terms chaplaincy, spiritual care, and pastoral care are often used interchangeably. The following does not focus on military chaplaincy (see *Military Service) nor on the university setting (e.g., *Hillel).

Chaplaincy is based on Jewish values such as *bikkur ḥolim* (visiting the sick; Sot. 14a). However, this is a general obligation for Jews, not a professional discipline. The first individuals began working in chaplaincy in the late 19th century, and the field itself emerged in the late 20th century.

The earliest examples of salaried Jewish chaplains involved service to people in public institutions. The New York Board of Jewish Ministers (now the New York Board of Rabbis) established a visiting chaplain program for prisoners in 1891 which continues today. In Britain in 1892, the London County Council appointed *ḥazzan* Isaac Samuel as Jewish chaplain to the Colney Hatch Asylum. Rabbi Regina Jonas, the first woman to be ordained, served as a chaplain in Germany in the late 1930s before her deportation and death during the Holocaust.

A number of Jewish hospitals and nursing homes in the United States had a rabbi on staff by the early 20th century. Their roles generally focused on leading worship and providing kosher food. There was little recognition of patient care or counseling as key roles, nor did chaplains create a professional field.

The experience of World War II, when over 300 rabbis served as U.S. military chaplains, advanced the civilian field as well. Between 1945 and 1955 Jewish chaplaincy programs through Boards of Rabbis or Jewish chaplaincy agencies expanded significantly in New York, Chicago, Los Angeles, and Philadelphia.

Initially, Jewish chaplaincy focused on serving patients in Jewish hospitals and nursing homes and in state-run prisons or hospitals, although not every Jewish-sponsored facility had a Jewish chaplain. As health care changed by the 1980s, chaplains also began to serve Jewish patients in non-Jewish and secular facilities, and a number of community chaplains were appointed to serve multiple institutions.

Jewish chaplaincy had few formal training programs. By the 1980s, some rabbis pursued chaplaincy as a career through Clinical Pastoral Education (CPE), an intensive supervised internship initially developed by Protestants but increasingly pluralistic.

In 1990 the National Association of Jewish Chaplains (NAJC) was founded. In 1993 the group decided that non-rabbis could be full members, opening the door to women and men who were not ordained. In 1995 the NAJC instituted a program of certification, recognizing advanced chaplaincy training and experience. The organization collaborated with non-Jewish pastoral care organizations in the U.S. and Canada to advocate for increased chaplaincy in health care and to establish joint standards for certification, training, and professional ethics. By 2005, the NAJC included some 300 professional members from all streams of Judaism. The large majority were rabbis, but members also included cantors and lay people with advanced Judaic and CPE training. A significant number were women, including most of the non-rabbis. From 1996 the NAJC published a journal, *Jewish Spiritual Care*.

Chaplains work with patients from all Jewish backgrounds, including the many who are unaffiliated. Large numbers of professional chaplains work for long-term care/geriatric facilities. Significant numbers also are employed in hospitals, hospices, and community chaplaincy. Smaller numbers work for secular or interfaith agencies or for government agencies, including prisons, facilities for people with mental illness, and the Veterans' Affairs department.

Chaplaincy is organized in a number of ways. Many facilities employ chaplains directly. Local Jewish federations often support community chaplaincy programs through Boards of Rabbis, Jewish Family Services, or specialized agencies.

Some chaplaincy programs operate in coordination with Jewish Healing Centers.

CHAPLAINCY OUTSIDE THE U.S. Chaplaincy programs exist in Canada and the United Kingdom. In Israel, the field is largely unknown, although a number of individuals work independently in the field of spiritual support. (Even the vocabulary for chaplaincy as understood in North America does not exist in Hebrew. Terms suggested include *temikhah ruḥanit*, "spiritual support," and *livvu'i ruḥanit*, "spiritual accompaniment.") In 2005, joint meetings were held in Philadelphia and Jerusalem between American Jewish chaplains and Israelis from the health care and social service fields, as well as from various streams of Judaism.

[Robert P. Tabak (2nd ed.)]

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HOST, DESECRATION OF, alleged profanation of the wafer consecrated in the Roman Catholic ceremony of the Eucharist, and believed in the Catholic doctrine of Transubstantiation to become thereby the actual body of Jesus. The doctrine was first officially recognized at the Fourth Lateran Council of 1215. After that period therefore it was widely held that in certain circumstances – for instance disbelief or desecration – the Host might show supernatural powers. At the same time, it was imagined in some Christian circles that the Jews, believing paradoxically (which they obviously could not if they remained Jews) that the consecrated wafer was in fact the very body of Jesus, desired to renew upon it and him the agonies of the Passion, by stabbing, tormenting, or burning it. Such was the intensity of their paradoxical hatred that they would not abandon their Jewish perfidy even if the sacred wafer manifested its indignation and its miraculous essence by shedding blood, emitting voices, or even taking to flight. There is no need to regard as a wholly spiteful invention the statement that the consecrated wafer shed drops of blood, the most common manner in which the outrage became known, for a scarlet fungoid organism (called for this reason the *Micrococcus prodigiosus*) may sometimes form on stale food kept in a dry place, having an appearance not unlike blood. The charge of desecrating the Host was leveled against Jews all over the Roman Catholic world, frequently bringing in its train persecution and massacre.

The first recorded case of alleged Desecration of the Host was at Belitz near Berlin in 1243, when a number of Jews and Jewesses were burned at the stake on this charge on the spot later known as the Judenberg. It is significant that no cases or few are recorded in Italy, partly owing to the protective policies of the popes, partly to the skeptical nature of the Italian people (the best-known Italian case, the "miracle of Bolsena" (1264) involved a doubting priest, not a Jew). On the other hand, the most remarkable artistic representation of the Des-

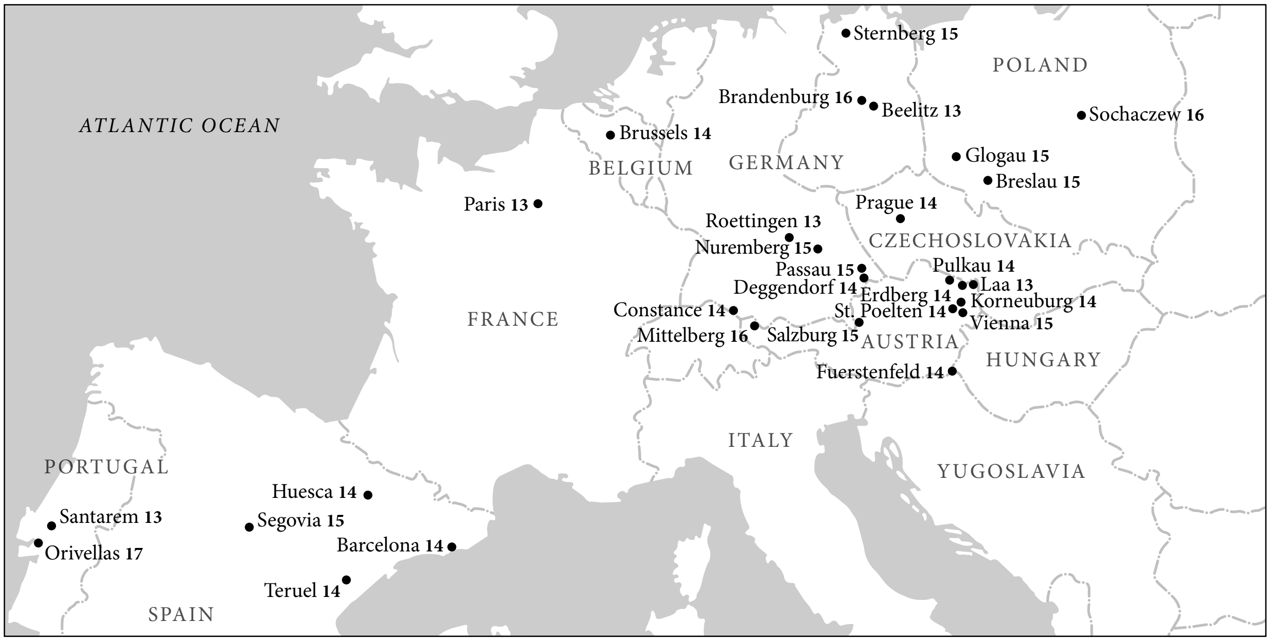
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PORTUGAL
Huesca 14
Santarem 13
Segovia 15
Barcelona 14
Orivellas 17
Teruel 14
SPAIN

Places where some of the most notorious Desecration of the Host libels occurred. Numbers indicate the century.

ecration of the Host was in the famous altar predella painted by Paolo Uccello (1397–1475) for the Confraternity of the Sacred Sacrament at Urbino, showing in successive panels a Jewish loan banker purchasing a wafer from a needy woman, his attempt to burn it, the miraculous manifestation that followed, and the subsequent terrible punishment by burning of the culprit – with his entire family. The Jews were expelled from England (1290) before the libel became widely spread; but there it received its reflection in the Croxton Sacrament Play, written long after the Expulsion (c. 1461).

Well-known incidents on the Continent were those of *Paris in 1290, commemorated in the Church of the Rue des Billettes and in a local confraternity which long flourished; in *Brussels (Enghien) in 1370, long celebrated in a special festivity and still in important artistic relics in the Church of St. Gudule, which led to the extermination of Belgian Jewry; at *Deggendorf in Bavaria in 1337–38 which sparked off a series of massacres affecting scores of places in the region, still celebrated locally as the Deggendorf Gnad; at Knoblauch near *Berlin in 1510 which resulted in 38 barbarous executions and the expulsion of Jews from Brandenburg (it was subsequently discovered that a common thief was responsible); at *Segovia in 1415, said to have brought about an earthquake which resulted in the confiscation of the synagogue, the execution of leading Jews, and still the occasion of the great local feast of Corpus Christi. The Infante Don Juan of Aragon took under his personal patronage allegations of the sort at *Barcelona in 1367 (when some of the greatest Jewish scholars of the age, including Ḥasdai *Crescas and *Isaac B. Sheshet Perfet, were implicated) and in *Teruel and *Huesca ten years later.

The *Marranos of Spain and Portugal were also popularly believed to continue the malpractice of their Jewish predecessors in this respect. When in 1671 the pyx with a consecrated host was stolen from the Church of Orivellas in Lisbon (by a common thief as subsequently transpired) the court went into mourning and an edict was signed banishing all *New Christians from the country. Even in the 18th century, an Alsatian Jew was cruelly executed with others on a charge of desecrating the Host (Nancy 1761). The accusation was brought up in Romania (Bislad) as late as 1836.

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[Cecil Roth]

HOST OF HEAVEN, an expression used in the Bible and in post-biblical Jewish literature to denote comprehensively either (a) supernal beings or (b) stars. The precise implication of the term "host" is variously understood. Where the reference is to supernal beings, these are sometimes portrayed as a palace guard attendant on God. Thus the prophet Micaiah describes them as standing beside the divine throne (I Kings 22:19); while in Psalms 103:19–21 they, together with his "envoys [angels]," "stalwarts," and "servitors," are bidden to bestow blessings on the enthroned Lord. In such contexts the term "host" (Heb. צָבָא, *ẓava'*) is used in the technical sense of "palace corps." The same meaning is attached to the term in certain earlier texts from the city of Nuzi and in the Akkadian expression, "host of the court" (*ṣab bāb ekallim*). Similarly, "envoy" corresponds to the Akkadian "palace courier" (*mu irru sa ekallim*) (Krueckmann, in: *Reallexikon fuer Assyriologie*, 1:448), and "servitor" elsewhere in the Bible denotes an officer of the royal entourage (II Sam. 13:17–18; I Kings 10:5). The picture reflects the widespread ancient notion that things on earth have their counterpart in heaven. The celestial beings are also portrayed as a formal militia, marshaled and commanded by God. In the words of the prophet in Isaiah 40:26: "Lift up your eyes and see: who created these? Who is it leads forth their host by roster, summoning each by name?" the metaphor is distinctly military. Similarly, in Isaiah 45:12 the military image is equally explicit in the words: "I [the Lord] it was whose hands stretched out the heavens and who commanded all their host" (cf. Isa. 13:3). Again, in Joshua 5:14–15, the otherworldly figure who appears to Joshua before the siege of Jericho, drawn sword in hand, announces himself as a "captain of the Lord's host." It has been suggested that this concept of a celestial (or divine) army has a parallel in the Mesopotamian designation of certain deities (e.g., Marduk) as "musterers" (*asiru*) of lesser gods.

The concept is connected with the title "Lord of Hosts" (or "Lord God of Hosts," or "God of Hosts"), frequently attributed to the Lord in the Bible. It is by no means certain, however, that these hosts were originally regarded as celestial. This title (which is not found in the Pentateuch nor in Joshua and Judges) first occurs in connection with the sanctuary at Shiloh, where the Ark of the Covenant was deposited (I Sam. 1:3, 11; 4:4). Since the Ark served also as a palladium (cf. Num. 10:35–36; I Sam. 4:1–7:2; II Sam. 11:11; 15:24–26), it is probable that the title (which came later to be associated especially with Jerusalem, the Ark's subsequent home: cf. II Sam. 5:10; 6:5; Isa. 31:4, 9) originally designated the Lord as leader of Israel's war-hosts on earth – a probability enhanced by the fact that in Hebrew the word for "host" is never used in the plural to signify the heavenly array. The Lord is indeed said, in several passages of Scripture, to lead the armies of His people (I Sam. 17:45; Ps. 24:8–10; 60:12; cf. also Ex. 7:4; 12:17), and often in Isaiah the title is associated specifically with His bellicose activity (e.g., 1:24; 2:12; 9:6; 10:16, 23, 26, 33; 13:4, 13; 14:22, 24; 17:3; 19:4, 16; 29:6–7). On the other hand, it should be observed that in Mesopotamian texts certain gods are described as lords of the host (*kissatu*), i.e., of the total content of heaven and earth (Reffs, in: W. Muss-Arnolt, *Assyrisch-Englisch-Deutsches Handwoerterbuch*, 1 (1905), 453–4), and since the word "host" is likewise employed in the Bible (e.g., Gen. 2:1) in this vaguer sense, it is possible that in the course of time this wider meaning came to be read into the traditional title. Indeed, the Septuagint commonly renders it "Lord of All" (Παντοκράτωρ), and it is such an extended interpretation of the word for "hosts" that may likewise be detected in their mistaken rendering of the homonymous *ẓevaʾot* in Song of Songs 2:7 and 3:5 as "powers," where it really means "gazelles."

Most often the "host of heaven" is identified with the stars, being associated expressly with the sun and moon (e.g., Deut. 4:19; Isa. 24:21–23; 40:26; Jer. 8:2). In such cases, however, they are probably regarded as living beings rather than as inanimate phenomena, for it is thus that stars were commonly envisaged in the ancient Near East. In Mesopotamia, for example, each major deity was associated with a heavenly body, while in a Canaanite mythological poem from Ras Shamra-Ugarit (IV AB, i. 4–5) the expression "divine beings" (*bn ilm*) is parallel to "assembly of the stars" (*[p]hr kkbm*), and in Job 38:7 the morning stars which sing in chorus are associated with "divine beings [Vulg. sons of God]" who shout for joy. In this respect, they are regarded as a militia; in the Song of Deborah (Judg. 5:20) the stars are said to fight from heaven against Sisera.

Apostate Israelites worshiped the host of heaven (cf. Deut. 4:19; 17:3; Jer. 8:2). This cult was favored especially by Ahaz (II Kings 17:16) and Manasseh (II Kings 21:3, 5), but was eventually suppressed by Josiah in 621 B.C.E. (II Kings 23:12). Sacrifices were offered and incense burnt on rooftops (Jer. 19:13; Zeph. 1:5). An Ugaritic text speaks similarly of setting up thrones (*mtbt*) for the sun on a roof. The practice was known also in Babylon (J. Morgenstern, in: *Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatisch-Aegyptischen Gesellschaft*, 3 (1905), 110 ff.; and W.R. Smith, *Lectures on the Religion of the Semites* (1927, 1969^3), 580) and is attested at a later date as current among the Nabateans (*Strabonis Geographica* (1921–25), 15:4–25). A myth about the host of heaven may be recognized in Isaiah 24:21–23. The Lord, it says, will eventually settle accounts with "the host of high heaven on high and the kings of earth on earth." They will be rounded up and locked in a dungeon. Then the Lord of Hosts will be installed on Mount Zion as the one true king, and so great will be the sheen of His splendor (Heb. *kavod*) streaming over His courtiers (literally, elders) that even the sun and moon will be put to shame. As in the parallel case of the leviathan myth (27:1), the prophet here projects a primordial event into eschatology. What inspires his words is an ancient tale relating how certain celestial beings, ranging themselves as a rebel army, were expelled from heaven by the supreme god or his champion. The parallel example from the ancient Near East is in the Babylonian Epic of Creation, where Marduk routs the rebel hosts of Tiamat and Kingu and imprisons them in cellars (4:111–114). A similar myth was current among the Hittites (Pritchard, Texts, 120 ff.), while a familiar classical parallel is the banishment of the Titans to Tartaroa. The myth survived in later ages, allusions to it occurring in Enoch (86:1; 88; 90:20–24), in the Book of Revelation 12:7–9, and the Epistle of Jude 13 in the New Testament, in an Aramaic incantation of the ninth (?) century C.E., and in the liturgy of the Mandeans. Significantly enough, the rebels are identified with stars (Gaster, in bibl., par. 185; J. Morgenstern in: HUCA, 14 (1939), 100). Another story of the celestial host appears in Genesis 32:1–3, where Jacob encounters a contingent of otherworldly beings and at once exclaims, "This is God's army [or, an army (camp) of divine beings]." This, however, may be simply a Hebrew version of the widespread myth of the Phantom Host, a ghostly army of departed warriors who ride intermittently across the sky, especially on dark or stormy nights. Although they are more commonly described in European folklore as a hunt, the notion that they are an army is indeed well attested in ancient and modern sources, surviving, for instance, in the Spanish designation of them as *exercito antiguo* or *huesta antigua* (Gaster, in bibl. par. 71).

In post-biblical literature the same ambiguity is associated with the expression "host of heaven" as in the Scriptures. Thus, in Ben Sira 43:7, where the moon is described as their "instrument [? jewel; Heb. *keli*]," they are clearly astral. On the other hand, in Enoch 60:1 they are conjoined vaguely with "angels"; in 61:10, with the supernal hierarchy; and in 104:6 (as again in Dead Sea Hymns 11:13), with the sainted dead, but it is not said that they are stars. Nor does an identification with stars appear anywhere in the Dead Sea Scrolls; the host is simply a supernal congregation. Thus the Hymns speak of the "host of the holy ones" (3:22; 10:3, 5), of the "host of spirits" (13:8), and of the "host which possesses [transcendental] knowledge" (18:23). Nevertheless, they are indeed envisaged as a militia: in the War Scroll it is said explicitly that they will participate in the final campaign against Belial and the forces of evil – an idea which has its perfect counterpart in Iranian doctrine and which is anticipated in Scripture in the words of Zechariah 14:5: "The Lord my God will come [and] all the holy beings be with thee [LXX: Him]."

Lastly, it should be observed that the concept of supernal beings as a host tends to be superseded in later rabbinic literature by the portrayal of them as a celestial family (Aram. *Pamalyaʾ de-maʿlah*; cf. Latin *familia*); while among the Samaritans they are sometimes called simply "the folk on high" (*ʿam ʿilliaʾi*; cf. M. Heidenheim (ed.), *Bibliotheca Samaritana*, 2 (1896), 191, line 11–12), a term which may well have been borrowed from the Arabs and is intended to stand in contrast to the designation of terrestrial spirits as "earth folk" (*ahl al-ard*; cf. K. Kohler, in: *Archiv fuer Religionswissenschaft*, 13 (1910), 75–79).

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[Theodor H. Gaster]

HOSTOVSKÝ, EGON (1908–1973), Czech novelist. Hostovský was born in Hronov, Bohemia. After serving as literary adviser to several Prague publishers, he joined the Czechoslovak Foreign Ministry, and escaped to the U.S. shortly before the Nazi invasion. Hostovský resumed his diplomatic career after World War II and was sent to the Czechoslovak Embassy in Oslo, but resigned his post following the Communist coup d'état of 1948 and returned to the U.S. Though a prominent Jewish assimilationist in his youth, Hostovský preserved a strong Jewish consciousness, which found literary expression in his earliest novel, *Ghetto v nich* (The Ghetto Inside Them, 1928). Some of his later works, such as the psychological novel *Případ profesora Körnera* (The Case of Professor Körner, 1932), also contain Jewish characters, even where they are not explicitly presented as Jews.

Hostovský's many novels include *Danajský dar* (Greek Gift, 1930), *Černá tlupa* (1933; *The Black Band*, 1950), *Žhář* (The Incendiary, 1935), *Dům bez pána* (House without a Master, 1937), *Sedmkrát v hlavní úloze* (1943; *Seven Times the Leading Man*, 1945), and *Úkryt* (1943; *The Hideout*, 1945). Some of Hostovský's later work appeared originally in English, e.g., *Půlnoční pacient* (1959; *The Midnight Patient*, 1954), and *Dobročinný večírek* (1958; *The Charity Ball*, 1957). Some of his earlier short stories appear in *Cesty k pokladům* (Journeys to Treasures, 1934) and *Listy z vyhnanství* (1946; *Letters from Exile*, 1942). Later works include *Všeobecné spiknutí* (*The Plot*, 1961) and *Tři noci* (*Three Nights*, 1964). After 1989, Hostovský's work began to be published in Czechoslovakia and in the Czech Republic again. A project to issue his collected works has been under way.

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[Avigdor Dagan / Milos Pojar (2nd ed.)]

°**HOTTINGER, JOHANN HEINRICH** (1620–1667), Swiss Protestant theologian and Hebraist, one of the founders of modern Oriental linguistics and Bible exegesis. Born in Zurich, Hottinger taught Oriental languages at the universities of Zurich and Heidelberg. Of his many works on theology and philology, special mention should be made of *Grammatica quattuor linguarum Hebraicae, Chaldaicae, Syriacae et Arabicae Harmonica* (Heidelberg, 1659), a comprehensive grammar of Hebrew, Aramaic, Chaldean, and Syriac; *Erotematum linguae sanctae* (Zurich, 1647), a Hebrew grammar, which appeared in a revised edition as *Grammatica linguae sanctae* (*ibid.*, 1666); and *Rabbi Isaac Abravanel Commentarium super Danielem prophetam* (Zurich, 1647).

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HOUDINI, HARRY (originally **Eric Weisz**, 1874–1926), U.S. magician and escape artist. The grandson of a rabbi, Houdini was born in Budapest and taken to the United States, where his father became religious leader of a Jewish congregation in Appleton, Wisconsin. Houdini began his career at the age of nine as a trapeze artist in a five-cent circus. When his family moved to New York he changed his name to Harry (from "Eri") Houdini, in admiration of the great French magician Robert-Houdin. His extraordinary achievements as a magician included making a live elephant disappear before the eyes of a baffled audience (for the first time in the New York Hippodrome in 1918). He repeatedly escaped from shackles, ropes, chains, and handcuffs while suspended head down in a tank of water, buried alive, or thrown into a half-frozen river. The highest paid and most popular performer of his time, he appeared in theaters in Europe and America, and demonstrated his skills to members of Scotland Yard and the Moscow Police Department, breaking out of a Russian "escape-proof" prison van in 1903. He starred as an escape artist in many adventure films and was a pioneer pilot, making the first sustained flight over the continent of Australia on March 16, 1910, near Melbourne. Houdini constantly attacked the charlatanism of so-called mind readers and mediums. Two of his many books, *Miracle Mongers and Their Methods* (1920) and *Magician among the Spirits* (1924), were devoted to this purpose, and he offered a standing $10,000 reward for any "supernatural" manifestation he could not duplicate. He died in Detroit. His library on magic, spirits, and witchcraft was bequeathed to the Library of Congress, Washington.

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HOURVITZ, YA'IR (1941–1988), Israeli poet. Hourvitz was born in Tel Aviv, where he resided until his early death. Among his poetry collections are *Bi-Reḥovot Ilmim* (with Binyamin Pashut, 1961), *Shirim min ha-Kaẓeh ha-Namukh* (1963), *Shirim le-Louise* (1963), *Salvion* (1966), *Onat ha-Mekhashefah* (1970), *Narkisim le-Malkhut Madmenah* (1972), *Anatomyah shel Geshem* (1980), and *Yaḥasim u-De'agah* (1986). A volume comprising his poems, 1960–1976, appeared under the title *Goral ha-Gan* in 1988.

The specific features of Hourvitz's work became noticeable after the volume *Salvion* appeared. Many of the poems in this book describe visionary or dreamlike states. There is a marked blurring of the single, discrete image and a disregard for syntax. The altered syntax can be attributed to the writer's wish to achieve immediacy in presenting his experiences and his disavowal of explicit or direct statement. The poems represent a reaction against the colloquial language and sophisticated irony that were so characteristic of the poets of the 1950s (Yehuda Amichai, Nathan Zach, David Avidan). This reaction became a turning point in Hebrew poetry and was characteristic of poems of the 1960s and 1970s.

This technique was apparent in his subsequent volumes as well, in which it was also possible to discern a tendency toward heightening the symbolic nature of the images and structuring the poem around a defined state or event.

Characteristic of his themes are the search for magical sensations close to the world of nature, in the center of a modern city; descriptions of his relationships with friends; and the experience of love and the fear of death.

English translations of some poems by Hourvitz are included, for instance, in *The Modern Hebrew Poem Itself* (2003). For further information about translations see ITHL website at www.ithl.org.il.

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[Abraham Balaban]

HOURWITZ, ZALKIND (1751–1812), Polish-born *maskil*, political activist, journalist, and author in pre-revolutionary and revolutionary France. As a young man, Hourwitz left his home in a small village near Lublin and set out for Berlin, where he supported himself by tutoring children of the wealthy. Here he may have interacted with Moses *Mendelssohn and his circle before making his way to Metz and finally, by 1774, to Paris. In Paris, he sold used clothing during the day and at night poured over torn copies of Ovid and Molière, Voltaire and Rousseau.

In 1785, Hourwitz was the only Jew to submit an essay when the prestigious Academy of Arts and Sciences in Metz devoted its annual contest to examining the Jewish question. Sharing the coveted prize with the abbé Grégoire and the Protestant lawyer Claude Thiéry, he gained access to elite governmental circles and competed successfully for the position of *secrétaire-interprète* at the Royal Library, the most important post a Jew could occupy in *ancien régime* France. Hourwitz's award-winning essay *Apologie des Juifs* appeared in 1789, receiving lengthy and laudatory reviews, and played an important role in framing the discussion for granting equal rights to French Jewry.

Hourwitz's commitment to the Revolution, which included service in the National Guard, never wavered. Neither did his presumption that the new political order would bring both security and freedom to his fellow Jews. Barely surviving the Reign of Terror (Hourwitz and his political friends had supported the cause of the Girondins), he once again raised his voice in defense of the Jews during the Directory. Joining a coterie of utopian visionaries and idealistic educators, he sought to vindicate the revolutionary promise of fraternity. He invented a universal language which he presented before the prestigious Institut de France, explored the common origin of all languages, and appended his signature to proposals to prevent thefts, construct fire escapes, rename the streets and quarters of Paris, and feed the poor. He also published three books: *Polygraphie ou l'art de correspondre à l'aide d'un dictionnaire, dans toutes les langues, même dans celles dont on ne possède pas seulement les letters alphabétiques* (1801), *Origine des Langues* (1801), and *Lacographie ou écriture laconique, aussi vite que la parole* (1811). Having alienated members of the Jewish establishment, he was not invited to participate in the Assembly of Jewish Notables convened by Napoleon in 1806. Government ministers, however, consulted him privately.

Hourwitz proudly carried his Jewish identity wherever he went and fought for his vision of Jewish equality in France, defending the texts as well as the ethical integrity of Judaism. Although he frequently accused rabbis and lay leaders of willfully thwarting the economic, political, and intellectual well-being of his fellow Jews, he defiantly rejected the need for a Jewish regeneration. He argued in his *Apologie* that it is the Christians whom one must regenerate.

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[Frances Malino (2nd ed.)]

HOUSEMAN (Hauseman), JOHN (1902–1988), U.S. theatrical producer and director. Born in Bucharest, the son of a Jewish father and English mother, Houseman began his career in the U.S. theater in 1934. His productions include *Four Saints in Three Acts* (1934), *Valley Forge* (1935), a Haitian *Macbeth* (for the Federal Negro Theater Project, 1935), *Hamlet* with Leslie Howard (1936), and a modern-dress *Julius Caesar* (1937) at the Mercury Theater which he had cofounded with Orson Welles. He was artistic director of the Shakespeare Festival in Stratford (1956–59), taught at the University of California, Los Angeles, and in 1965 he became director of the new drama division of the Juilliard School of Music, New York.

In the early 1970s (and in his early 70s!), Houseman became a movie star, winning an Academy Award for Best Supporting Actor in *The Paper Chase* (1973). Houseman went on to appear in many films, including *Rollerball* (1975), *Three Days of the Condor* (1975), *Wholly Moses* (1980), *Ghost Story* (1981), and *Another Woman* (1988).

[Jonathan Licht (2nd ed.)]

HOUSE OF ISRAEL COMMUNITY. The House of Israel community of Sefwi Wiawso and Sefwi Sui in western Ghana is a newly developing Jewish community. Fifty families practice Judaism and claim that their ancestors, the Sefwi, were descendants of Jews who migrated south through the Ivory Coast, perhaps originally from Timbuktu (see *Zakhor), bringing with them ancient Jewish observances.

The community was born in 1976 after a Ghanaian named Aaron Ahotre Toakyirafa had a vision that convinced him that his Sefwi ancestors had a direct link to ancient Jews and were descended from one of the Lost Tribes. He reportedly remembered that before the arrival of Christian missionaries, the Sefwi had strictly adhered to Jewish beliefs, just like ancient Jews, according to the Torah. From that time, the members of the Sefwi Sui and Sefwi Wiawso community began to learn about Jewish practices and the Hebrew language, notably with the help of American-based organizations, observing *kashrut* and building a synagogue. Most members of the community are young and this first generation of Ghanaian Jews would like to convert formally.

The House of Israel community is part of an international network of newly developed Jewish groups in Africa (*Tutsi, *Ibo) inspired by symbolic uses of Judaism. The myth of the Ten Lost Tribes of Israel revived by the rescue of the *Beta Israel of Ethiopia has served as a means of self-identification for these groups, which together constitute a sort of marginal Judaism.

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[Tudor Parfitt (2nd ed.)]

HOUSE OF THE FOREST OF LEBANON (Heb. בֵּית יַעַר הַלְּבָנוֹן, *Beit Ya'ar ha-Levanon*), one of the buildings included the complex of Solomon's palace in Jerusalem; probably served as the entrance to the king's palace. The building was named for its cedar pillars, which were imported from Mt. Lebanon and resembled a forest. The Bible describes the house as a large rectangular building (100 × 50 cubits), divided by four (or three, according to LXX) rows of pillars, with an upper story of chambers distributed in rows of 15 (I Kings 7:2–5).

Scholars have sought to explain the function and primary purpose of the house. Several scholars maintain that the house served as a royal guardhouse, containing rooms used as arsenals; this is attested by I Kings 10:17–21 and Isaiah 22:8. Various references are made to the golden shields of the guard (II Chron. 9:16) and the precious golden vessels (II Chron. 9:20) which were kept in the house. R. de Vaux (*Les Livres des Rois* (1949), 48) believes that the house was used as a foyer for festive processions connected with court life, and that the royal guard was stationed there. Though the exact purpose of the building is not certain, it is most likely that the technical innovation of its style, rather than the particular importance of the building itself, made it a subject for biblical elaboration. It has been suggested that Solomon's structure is of the building type known in ancient Syria as *bit hilani*.

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HOUSTON, port and industrial center in southeastern Texas. Population (est. 2003), 2,009,690; Jewish population, 45,000.

Early History

Houston was founded in 1836; it is not known when the first Jew arrived, but there are records of several who came during the early years of settlement. Eugene Chimene is often cited as the first Jew in Houston, but he is not listed until the 1860 census, and information about him there makes the date of his arrival unlikely to be before 1850. Jacob de *Cordova came to Houston in 1837, and Michael Seeligson was there in 1839. Lewis A. Levy came between 1837 and 1842, and Henry Wiener, Isaac Coleman, and Maurice Levy arrived in the early 1840s. The earliest available census is from 1850, and a possible 17 Jewish adults out of a population of 1863 can be identified; in 1860 the figures were 68 out of a total of 3,768. The majority of these Jews were merchants and clerks who operated stores selling clothing and food, luxuries, and necessities, both wholesale and retail. From their advertisements it is evident that they often formed and broke partnerships and had business dealings with each other. These Houston Jews were reported to be "comfortably situated" and "in a prosperous pecuniary condition" by contemporary sources. The 1860 census indicated that approximately 60% of these Jews were landowners (as compared with about 25% of other immigrant groups), but there were also some Jews listed with no personal and real estate. Socially, Houston Jews were active in the Masons and in the Independent Order of Odd Fellows, an organization which Jacob de Cordova is credited with establishing in Texas, as well as founding the first chapter in Houston.

The earliest tombstone in the Houston cemetery is dated December 10, 1854, so the cemetery was either established then or sometime between 1852 and 1854. The Jews were informally organized in Houston until 1855 when a Hebrew Benevolent Society was founded. The *Occident* heralded its organization as the first "regular Jewish Society in the state of Texas." On May 8, 1859, the first congregation, Beth Israel, was established, and in August of that year its synagogue, a wooden structure in the middle of the city, was dedicated. Beth Israel was begun as an Orthodox synagogue according to the Polish *minhag*, even though the majority of Jews in Houston were of German origin.

In 1856 a home was converted into a synagogue and in 1860 the Orthodox Beth Israel congregation was formed, with Z. Emmich acting as its first rabbi, cantor, and ritual slaughterer. In 1866 it appeared as one of the ten "churches" listed in the Houston City Directory. The congregation's first building was erected in 1870. The city then had a population of 9,382, of whom 245 were Jews. That population would almost double only 7 years later, to 471. The last decades of the 19th century witnessed the beginnings of Jewish immigration to Houston from Eastern Europe, replacing the earlier German one. As Beth Israel congregation became more liberal in outlook, two new Orthodox congregations were formed: the largely Galician Dorshe Tov, and the Russian-Polish Adath Yeshurun, both of which merged as Congregation Adath Yeshurun in 1891. The first B'nai B'rith lodge and a Hebrew Free Loan Society were organized, along with the beginnings of a YMHA. The new immigrants mostly entered the retail trade as peddlers and shopkeepers, although there were also several bankers among them, as well as dealers in cotton and commodities. Henry S. Fox was one of the founders of the Houston Cotton Exchange, Morris Levy was a member of the first Houston Ship Channel Company, and Ed Klein established Houston's first department store.

Twentieth Century

The turn of the century inaugurated a period of rapid growth in the Jewish community, spurred on by the 1900 hurricane that drove many Jewish inhabitants inland from the Texas coast, and by the implementation of the *Galveston Plan. The city's first Jewish newspaper, *The Jewish Herald*, went into publication in 1908. New synagogues were established and Jewish institutional life expanded, with such new organizations as a Bikur Cholim society, Workmen's Circle (1915), Zionist Federation (1903), United Jewish Charities (1914), and the weekly *Jewish Herald* (1908). The large military installations near Houston during World War I brought an influx of Jewish servicemen, many of whom remained in the city after their discharge. In 1917 the Jewish population of Houston was put at 5,000. By 1920 it had jumped to 10,000, close to seven percent of the city's total. The leading figure in the Jewish community during much of this period was Rabbi Henry Barnston, who accepted the Beth Israel pulpit in 1900 and for the next 45 years presided over the congregation. Judge Henry J. Dannenbaum was nationally active in the fight against white slavery and served the city in its civic life, along with participation in Jewish communal affairs.

Post-World War I

Houston's Jewish community grew at a slower pace between the two world wars, reaching an estimated 13,500 in 1941. Ku Klux Klan activity in the area during the 1920s and 1930s discouraged Jews from entering civic and political life, with the growing professional class reluctant to fight back and the small merchants afraid to stand out. Beth El, Texas' first Conservative congregation, was formed in 1924. In 1927 Rabbi A.I. Schechter became leader of Adath Yeshurun; among his accomplishments was the organization of the Texas Kallah, an association of Texas rabbis which meets annually. The Jewish Community Council was organized during these years, with Max H. Nathan as its first president. An annual United Jewish Campaign was instituted under the Council's direction. A charitable foundation left to the community by Pauline Sterne Wolff helped support many of Houston's Jewish institutions in the years to come. Religiously, the drift in the Jewish community was toward Reform. A unique event in national Jewish life occurred in Houston in 1943 when a radically anti-Zionist majority at Congregation Beth Israel, the city's largest, passed a resolution of "Basic Principles" that excluded from the congregation all members professing an interest in Zionism. A minority of dissenters withdrew from the congregation to form a new synagogue, Emanu El. Beth Israel eliminated the "Basic Principles" from its membership application only in 1967.

Post-World War II

The growth of Houston's Jewish community after World War II did not keep pace with the phenomenal growth of the city as a whole, so that by 1970 the Jewish percentage in the total population had declined to less than two percent. To an extent this may be attributed to the fact that, more than elsewhere in the United States, large chain stores and distribution outlets in Houston have eliminated the traditional Jewish role of the individual entrepreneur. Nevertheless, Houston has remained a city rich in Jewish organizations. Among other institutions were a 12-story Jewish Institute for Medical Research, and a $3,500,000 Jewish Community Center. In 1967 the Houston Commission for Jewish Education was formed to coordinate Jewish educational activities.

Unlike neighboring Galveston, which had a number of Jewish mayors, few Houstonian Jews participated in local political life. The first Jew to be elected to political office in Houston in the 20th century was Richard Gottlieb, who was chosen to the city council in 1969. Jews have been more prominent in business, among them Joe Weingarten, one of the pioneers in the supermarket field, Simon Sakowitz, one of Houston's leading merchants, and M.M. Feld, an industrialist. In the field of education, Norman Hackerman became president of Rice University in 1970 and Joseph Melnick, one of the world's leading virologists, was dean of the graduate research department of the Baylor College of Medicine. Maurice Hirsch was for many years chairman of the Houston Symphony Society. D.H. White (d. 1972) edited and published the weekly *Jewish Herald-Voice*.

[Jack Segal / D.H. White]

Developments 1970–2005

The 1970s saw a tremendous growth in Houston's Jewish community, which grew from 25,000 to 45,000. The growth was a reflection of the boom in the Houston economy that lasted through the mid-1980s. With the growth, the Jews moved beyond the Southwest Houston corridor, the traditional site for Jewish communal institutions that reflected the concentration of Jewish families. The 1970s and 1980s also saw tremendous growth in Jewish institutions.

By 1995, the Houston Jewish community had five Jewish day schools with an enrollment of over 1,000 children. More than 3,000 children participated in other forms of Jewish education throughout the community.

In the mid-1990s the community had 30 congregations representing every stream of Judaism and geographically located in all corners of the city.

Houston's Jewish Home for the Aged, now called Seven Acres Jewish Geriatric Center, evolved into a 290-bed nursing home and day care facility. Houston's Jewish Community

Center had four locations: the Weingarten Building in Southwest Houston, a specialized facility providing early childhood services, a campsite for day and resident camping, and a satellite facility in West Houston.

The Jewish Federation of Greater Houston raised $8,000,000 annually through the United Jewish Campaign. Through the 1980s and 1990s, the Jewish Federation raised $3 million for neighborhood renewal in Israel and in excess of $10 million for the rescue and resettlement of Jews from the former Soviet Union.

A Commission on Jewish Continuity implemented special programs targeted at enhancing Jewish identity and affiliation. Houston is home to a $6 million Holocaust Education Center and Memorial Museum, opened in 1996. The museum features a permanent exhibit telling the stories of Holocaust survivors living in the Houston area. It has served as a regional educational center, drawing visitors from Louisiana as well as Texas and educating in Spanish as well as English.

The Jewish community of Houston has grown to incorporate many different traditions and branches. In the early 21st century it was one of the largest Jewish communities in the South and continued to contribute to the cultural and economic life of the region.

[Benjamin Paul (2nd ed.)]

ḤOVAH (third century C.E.), wife of R. *Huna, the head of the Sura academy. Ḥovah is mentioned only twice in the Talmud – each case in connection with acts of doubtful halakhic propriety: She shaved her children's heads (Naz. 57b) and she looked after her husband's sheep although sheep were not supposed to be bred in Babylonia (BK 80a). Each time, R. Adda b. Ahavah – who had a reputation for uncompromising piety as well as miraculous powers (Ber. 20a; Ta'an. 20b; et al.) – pronounced a malediction against her: "Ḥovah will [or shall] bury her children." As long as Adda was alive, none of the children she bore to R. Huna survived. Since many of Huna's children are known to have survived, Hyman suggests that Ḥovah was probably his second wife. However, she could equally have been his first or only wife, and the surviving children could have been born after R. Adda's death. The vocalization of Ḥovah's name is uncertain. Since Ḥovah means "guilt" or "debt," it is more likely to have been Ḥubbah or (according to Ms. M in BK 80a) Ḥibbah ("love").

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[Moses Aberbach]

HOWARD, LESLIE (**Leslie Steiner**; 1893–1943), British actor. Born in London of Hungarian Jewish parents, Howard started as a bank clerk and made his first appearance on the stage in 1918. He subsequently acted in many plays in London and New York and started film work in 1930. On the screen he came to typify British upper-class urbanity. His most famous role was in *Gone With the Wind* (1939), where he played Ashley Wilkes: few filmgoers unfamiliar with Howard's background could have guessed that this archetypal Southern gentleman was played by an actor of Hungarian Jewish background. Howard also starred in *The Scarlet Pimpernel* (1933), *Pygmalion* (1938), and *Pimpernel Smith* (1941). He was killed when the plane in which he was flying from Lisbon in 1943 was shot down by the Germans.

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HOWARD, MICHAEL (1941–), British politician. Born in South Wales, Michael Howard is the son of Romanian Jewish immigrants originally named Hirsch who ran a small shop in Llanelli. Howard was educated at Llanelli Grammar School and at Cambridge University, where he was president of the Cambridge Union. A barrister who became a Q.C. in 1982, Howard entered Parliament in 1983. On the right of the party, Howard first entered Margaret Thatcher's government as a junior minister in 1985. When John Major became prime minister in November 1990, Howard became employment minister, with a seat in the cabinet. He retained a place in the Conservative cabinet until Major's government lost office in 1997, moving to the Environment Ministry in April 1992 and to the senior position of home secretary in May 1993. Howard's hard line on crime proved both successful and popular, although his deputy minister Anne Widdicombe (herself on the right of the party) famously said in May 1997 that there was "something of the night" in his personality. After the Conservatives' disastrous loss at the May 1997 general election, Howard was an unsuccessful candidate to succeed John Major. In November 2003, however, Howard was elected leader of the British Conservative Party, the first Jewish leader of a government or opposition party in Britain in the 20th century. (Sir Herbert *Samuel was leader of the minority Liberal Party from 1931 to 1935.) Howard's Jewish origins do not appear to have been a factor in his election; unlike many Anglo-Jewish leaders, and perhaps because he comes from South Wales rather than a major center of Anglo-Jewish life, Howard has not been particularly close to the Jewish community, although his Jewish background is well-known and he has often referred to his origins as the son of immigrants. Howard resigned as party leader in 2005 following the Conservative election defeat.

[William D. Rubinstein (2nd ed.)]

HOWARD, MOE, SHEMP, and **CURLY** (**Moses Horwitz**, 1897–1975; **Samuel Horwitz**, 1895–1955; and **Jerome Horwitz**, 1903–1952), U.S. actors/comedians. The Brothers Howard, later known as the Three Stooges, were born in Brooklyn, New York and raised by their parents, real estate entrepreneur Jennie Horwitz and clothing cutter Solomon Horwitz. The evolution of the Three Stooges can be traced back to the vaudeville partnership between Moe and his childhood friend Ted Healy. Healy would perform on stage while Moe harassed him from the audience until slapstick chaos ensued. Shemp soon joined the act and, in 1925, they recruited a violinist by the name of Larry Fine to form Ted Healy & His Stooges. The act proved a tremendous success. They first made their Broadway debut in Earl Carrol's *Vanities* and then their Hollywood debut in the 1930s *Soup to Nuts*. Soon thereafter, Shemp left the group to pursue a solo career and the vacancy was filled by the youngest Howard, Curly, whose contribution to the team was invaluable. From 1934 to 1970 the comic trio churned out over 190 short films and 13 features for Columbia. Characterized by slapstick mayhem, the films featured Moe as the group's abusive boss, Larry as the sycophantic middleman, and Curly as the unwitting patsy. In 1946, Curly suffered a debilitating stroke and was replaced by his brother, Shemp, who performed with the troupe until his death in 1955. Although the studio brought in Joe DeRita to fill Curly's shoes, The Stooges were fading by the late 1950s. In 1959, Columbia released the old Stooges shorts on television to a new generation of fans and the group experienced a full-fledged comeback, allowing the act to continue until 1970, when Larry suffered a stroke that left him incapacitated and led to Moe's retirement.

[Max Joseph (2nd ed.)]

HOWE, IRVING (1920–1993), U.S. literary and social critic, editor. It is fair to say that Howe changed the tone and depth of American literary and social criticism. Like those of approximately his generation, Alfred *Kazin, and the often ornery but dedicated writer and social thinker Paul *Goodman, he was a presence. Born in the Bronx, New York City, and a child in the Great Depression, Howe made a moral use of the poverty around him. He brought the ethical values of a secularized Judaism and socialism (both of which emphasize the dignity of humankind, justice, freedom, and satisfaction of necessary, rational wants) into his examination of American culture and politics. He pointed out that socialism was his "regulative idea" and, as his studies of Yiddish culture indicated, exaltation – but not evasion – of the human condition was a demanded component of the literary imagination. He attended City College when its reputation as an arena of intellectual student debate and discussion was notable. After leaving the Army, he soon turned his attention to writing pieces for journals. He wrote critical studies of the works of Thomas Hardy, Edith Wharton, and Sherwood Anderson, and received attention as a critic because of his attempts to view literature in its social context, an approach that was the subject of his book, *Politics and the Novel* (1957). In 1970, he edited *Essential Works of Socialism* and in 1984 he edited *Alternatives: Proposals for America from the Democratic Left*. Howe also took an interest in Yiddish literature, particularly that reflecting the immigrant experience in the United States, and he was coeditor with Eliezer Greenberg of *A Treasury of Yiddish Stories* (1954) and *A Treasury of Yiddish Poetry* (1969). With Greenberg, he also edited *Voices from the Yiddish: Essays, Memoirs, Diaries* (1972) and *I.L. Peretz: Selected Stories* (1974), and with Ruth Wisse, *The Best of Sholom Aleichem* (1979). After 1954, he was an editor of the liberal-socialist publication *Dissent*. A moderate socialist himself, equally critical of the American political establishment and of more radical leftist challenges to it, Howe was coauthor of *The American Communist Party* (1957) and editor of *The Basic Writings of Trotsky* (1963). In 1979 there appeared his *Celebrations and Attacks. Thirty Years of Literary and Cultural Commentary*. Howe's autobiography, *A Margin of Hope*, appeared in 1982. His magisterial *World of Our Fathers* (with the assistance of Kenneth Libo, 1976) explored the culture and politics of East European Jewry in New York. A companion work, also with Kenneth Libo, *How We Lived: A Documentary History of Immigrant Jews in America, 1880–1930*, was published in 1979. His *Selected Writings 1950–1990* was published in 1990, and *A Critic's Notebook* appeared posthumously in 1994.

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[Hillel Halkin / Lewis Fried (2nd ed.)]

ḤOẒIN, ẒEDAKAH BEN SAADIAH (1699–1773), Baghdad rabbi and talmudist. Ḥoẓin was born in Syria, and in 1743 was appointed rabbi of Baghdad, where he did much to spread the study of Torah. He introduced many regulations which were adopted by the Jews of Iraq, among them the ruling that pregnant and nursing women are not to fast on Tishah be-Av because of the heat generally prevailing at that time of the year. He left many books in manuscript, among them *Ẓedakah u-Mishpat*, consisting of hundreds of responsa on all aspects of Jewish law, some of which were published in 1926 with an introduction and notes by Isaac *Nissim; responsa *Ma'aseh Ẓedakah* and *Me'il Ẓedakah*; an extensive work on Maimonides, the *Tur*, and the *Beit Yosef*; and *Avodat ha-Ẓedakah*, homiletical comments on the Torah. Some of Ẓedakah's novellae are quoted in the books of his disciples. Ẓedakah died in Baghdad during a plague. His son, Moses, wrote *piyyutim*, many of which gained wide circulation in Iraq and adjacent countries. Among his *piyyutim* is the well-known *Melekh Go'el u-Moshi'a*, printed in many Passover *Haggadot*, prayer books, and collections of *piyyutim*.

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[Abraham Ben-Yaacob]

°**HRABANUS (Rabanus) MAURUS** (776–856), abbot in Fulda and archbishop of Mainz from 847. Although he did not know Hebrew himself, this distinguished scholar and author possessed a sound knowledge of Jewish biblical exegesis. He derived this not only from patristic sources, which contained a considerable amount of material of this kind, but especially from a Jewish work of biblical exegesis which was probably contemporary; he quotes this in numerous places in his own works, calling it *Hebraeus moderni temporis*. It is probable that Hrabanus received the assistance of Jews in unraveling the Hebrew text of this work.

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[Bernhard Blumenkranz]

HRANICE (Ger. **Maehrisch-Weisskirchen**; Heb. הרייניץ, רייניץ), town in Moravia, Czech Republic. According to tradition Jews settled there between 1475 and 1553, but the first documentary mention dates from 1644. Among the Jewish settlers were refugees from the *Chmielnicki massacres (1648) and cattle dealers who passed through the town on their way to the Moravian markets. The number of Jewish families permitted to reside in the town by the *Familiants Law was 120; 115 families lived there in 1753. From 659 persons in 1830, the community grew to 802 in 1857, but then declined to 582 in 1869, 522 in 1880, and 462 in 1900. The greater number of Jews lived in the Christian part of the town. After 1848 the Jewish community was constituted as one of the *politische Gemeinden. In 1930 the community numbered 192 persons (1.8% of the total population). Those still remaining in 1942 were deported to Nazi extermination camps. Fourteen Jews returned to the town after World War II. A religious congregation was revived but did not remain active. Its prayer room was in use until 1969. Synagogue appurtenances were sent to the Central Jewish Museum in Prague. The synagogue, built in 1863–64, served from 1943 as the municipal museum. Julius Freud, the brother of Sigmund Freud, is buried in the local cemetery. Natives of Hranice included the German apostate writer, J.J. David; the Jewish scholar, Isaac Hirsch *Weiss; the editor of the *Jewish Encyclopedia*, Isidore *Singer; and the advocate of Reform, Aaron *Chorin. The community gave its name to the Reinitz families.

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[Meir Lamed / Yeshayahu Jelinek (2nd ed.)]

HROZNETIN (Czech **Hroznětín**; Ger. **Lichtenstadt**, Heb. לייש), town in N.W. Bohemia, Czech Republic. The presence of Jews in Hroznetin is first documented in 1503. In the 17th and 18th centuries it was one of the most important communities in Bohemia and seat of the primator of Bohemian Jewry, Abraham Aaron *Lichtenstadt. It is frequently mentioned in responsa of this time and among Jews who regularly attended the *Leipzig fair. Hroznetin Jews had business connections with nearby *Carlsbad, where some of them lived illegally, laying the foundation for the later community. Lichtenstadt, and the Hebrew abbreviation Lash, occur frequently as a family name. In 1570, 16 Jewish families lived in Hroznetin, in 1708 the community numbered 298; 47 families were recorded in 1724, 457 persons in 1857 (29% of the total population), 77 in 1869, 44 in 1921, and 7 in 1932. The community ceased to exist before World War II.

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[Jan Herman]

HRUBIESZOW, town in Lublin province, Poland. The first information about Jewish settlement in Hrubieszow dates from 1444. Two Jewish merchants are mentioned in 1456 as court purveyors. In 1578 the Jews were authorized by charter to reside in any part of the town, to engage in their customary professions, and to establish a synagogue. In the same year a Jew Abraham obtained the contract for distilling in the town. By agreement with the clergy in Hrubieszow in 1678 the Jews had to pay annual imposts to the ecclesiastical authorities. The community suffered from the disasters of the *Chmielnicki massacres of 1648–49, and in 1672 from the Tatar incursions. Twenty-seven Jewish houses and the smaller synagogue were destroyed in a fire in 1736. The leaders of the community and its rabbis were active on the *Council of the Four Lands. The main occupation of the Hrubieszow Jews was trade in agricultural products. In the second half of the 19th century they expanded into industry and the building trades. The first Jewish-run hospital in Poland was inaugurated in 1818, a new synagogue in 1874, and an old age home in 1905. The Ḥasidim were active from the early 19th century, and between the world wars the Zionists, Bund, and Agudat Israel were also active. Many emigrated in the post-World War I economic crisis. The Jewish population numbered 709 in 1765, 3,276 in 1856, 5,352 (out of 10,636) in 1897, 5,679 (out of 9,568) in 1921, and 7,500 in 1939.

[Nathan Michael Gelber]

Holocaust Period

The German army entered on Sept. 15, 1939, and immediately organized a series of pogroms. Ten days later the Germans withdrew and the Soviet army occupied the town, but after a fortnight returned it to the Germans, according to a new Soviet-German agreement. Over 2,000 Jews, having experienced the Nazi terror, left together with the withdrawing Soviet army. On December 2, 1939 1,000 Jews from Hrubieszow and 1,100 from Chelm were led on a death March to the Bug River, where 1,500 died. In early 1940, around 6,000 Jews including refugees were confined to a ghetto. In early June 1942 Jews concentrated in Belz were driven in a 31 mi. (60 km.) death march to Hrubieszow. Those who could not continue on the way were shot by the SS guards. All the others, after a short stay in a camp established outside Hrubieszow were deported along with about 3,000 Jews from Hrubieszow, to the *Sobibor death camp and exterminated. The second deportation from Hrubieszow took place on October 28, 1942, when 2,500 Jews were deported to Sobibor and exterminated. Around 400 who resisted were executed at the Jewish cemetery and the last 160 Jews were sent to a forced labor camp in Budzyn, where almost all of them perished due to the subhuman conditions.

RESISTANCE. On the outskirts of Hrubieszow the Jewish underground, mostly members of the Zionist youth movements from the *Warsaw ghetto, tried to organize one of the first Jewish partisan bases as early as the summer of 1941. The attempt failed mainly due to a lack of support from the local peasant population. Hundreds of Jews succeeded in fleeing from Hrubieszow during the deportations, and found refuge in the forests. Many of them joined resistance groups, sometimes in faraway places, e.g., Solomon Brand who became one of the leading organizers of the Jewish resistance in Vilna, and Arieh Perec (known as Leon Porecki) who became a captain in the Polish underground Home Army during the Warsaw uprising. The Jewish community in Hrubieszow was not reconstituted after the war.

[Stefan Krakowski]

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HUARTE DE SAN JUAN, JUAN (also known as **Juan de Dios Huarte of Navarra**; 1529–1589), Navarrese author and physician of presumed Marrano descent. His principal work, *Examen de ingenios para las ciencias* (Baeza, 1557; *The Examination of Men's Wits*…, London, 1594), assigns vocations to men according to their temperament and nature. In this study, Huarte de San Juan stated that men are children of their works and that their role in life should depend on personal qualities rather than on inherited position. He originated the theory of professional aptitude and established the thesis of the correlation of temperament and talent, minimizing the effects of apprenticeship, habit, and vocation on intellectual aptitude and efficiency. The theory of his Converso identity is based on the fact that his surname is found among Navarrese Judaizers. Huarte de San Juan displays notable sympathy for the Jewish people and expresses his belief that the Jews are peculiarly suited to the medical profession.

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[Kenneth R. Scholberg]

HUBERMAN, BRONISLAW (1882–1947), violinist and founder of the *Israel Philharmonic Orchestra. Born in Czestochowa, Poland, Huberman was a child prodigy in Warsaw. At the age of 10, he played before the emperor Francis Joseph in Vienna and for the violinist Joseph *Joachim in Berlin. In 1893 he began playing in the main cities of Europe. An appearance with the famous soprano Adelina Patti led to many other engagements, and in 1896 he played the Brahms violin concerto in the presence of the composer. From then on Huberman was a celebrity. He played on Paganini's violin in Genoa in 1908 and was a frequent soloist in the concert halls of Germany. When the Nazis introduced their measures against Jews in 1933, the German conductor Furtwaengler nevertheless invited Huberman to appear with him. Huberman refused and later gave his reasons in the English newspaper the *Manchester Guardian*, accusing the German intellectuals of having silently acquiesced in the actions of the Nazis.

Huberman made several appearances in Palestine and in 1936 assembled in Tel Aviv a number of experienced refugee musicians, raised the financial backing, and founded the Palestine Orchestra (later the Israel Philharmonic Orchestra). He thus created the basis for a full-fledged concert life in Israel. Arturo Toscanini agreed to conduct the opening concerts in December 1936, and the orchestra immediately acquired international standing. In October 1937, Huberman suffered a serious hand injury in a plane accident over Sumatra. It was not until late in 1938 that he was able to play with his orchestra, and he saw it for the last time in 1940. War and travel difficulties prevented him from visiting Palestine again. In 1946 he sustained a fall which necessitated a delicate operation. He died in Switzerland while preparing for further concert appearances.

Huberman used his great technique not merely for display. He made it the means of evoking musical significance through personal expression. He wrote on problems of the violin virtuoso, and also on political matters. Between the two world wars he was active on behalf of the Pan-Europa movement. His papers and his musical estate were given to the Central Music Library in Tel Aviv.

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[Uri (Erich) Toeplitz]

HUBEŞ, ROZET (1959–), Turkish actress and director. Born in *Istanbul and a graduate of Istanbul University and the Istanbul Municipality Conservatory, Department of Theater, Hubeş started acting in 1976 in the Jewish community's cultural groups and from 1986 she began her professional career in Istanbul's municipality theaters. In 1988 she started working in the Kenter Theater of Istanbul. In 1991 she returned to the municipality theaters. She also acted in various television serials and in two films. She is the recipient of several awards: In 2001–2 she received the Ismet Küntay award for best actress and in 2003–4 she shared the Afife Jale and Sadri Alışık best actress awards with another actress. She also directed plays for the Istanbul Jewish community's cultural groups.

[Rifat Bali (2nd ed.)]

HŪD. (1) In the Koran, Hūd is the collective noun for Jews (Sura 2:105, 129, 134, 62:6), and the root *hwd* in two forms denotes the belief in Judaism (Sura 2:59; 4:48; 158–60, and see *Yahūd, Yahūd (i)). (2) The apostle Hūd was the earliest of the five apostles to be sent to the Arabs; the other four were Ṣālīh, *Abraham, Shuʿayb (*Jethro), and *Muhammad (e.g., Sura 7:63–71; 11:52–64). Some commentators occasionally identify Hūd with Eber (cf. Gen. 11:14). Hūd rebuked the tribe of ʿĀd, to whom he was sent, but they did not listen to his words and were all annihilated, with the exception of Hūd and a few of his followers (Sura 11:61). The assumption has long since been raised that Hūd was an allegorical figure who emerged as a result of the influence of Judaism.

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[Haïm Z'ew Hirschberg]

HUDSON, STEPHEN (pseudonym of **Sydney Alfred Schiff**; 1868–1944), English novelist. Hudson's talents first emerged in *War-Time Silhouettes* (1916) and he gained recognition at the age of 50 with the psychological novel, *Richard Kurt* (1919). A friend of *Proust, he also translated that author's *Le temps retrouvé,* as *Time Regained* (1931). His other works include *Richard, Myrtle and I* (1926) and *The Other Side* (1937). Hudson's wife, Violet Zillah Beddington (1874–1962), was a sister of the writer Ada *Leverson. Hudson was also known for financially aiding the poet Isaac *Rosenberg during World War I, and for his friendship with T.S. Eliot, Katherine Mansfield, and other leading British writers.

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HUDSON COUNTY, county in N.E. New Jersey. Despite its proximity to New York City, Hudson County is not known to have been settled by Jews before the middle of the 19th century. The first synagogue, Congregation Ephraim, was founded in 1872 in Jersey City, where the first Jewish family arrived in 1858. This city's oldest existing congregations are Temple Beth-El, on York Street, founded in 1864, and B'nai Israel, established in 1882. Temple Beth-El moved into its magnificent sanctuary in 1926 at what is now the corner of Harrison Avenue and Kennedy Boulevard. In 1878 a second congregation was organized in neighboring Bayonne. In 1896 Congregation Beth Abraham was opened in Bayonne. Hoboken's first synagogue, Adath Emuno, was founded in 1871 when it opened with 55 members. The Moses Montefiore congregation was established in 1892 in Hoboken, and it numbered 60 members at its founding. A wave of East European immigration in the early 1900s led to the formation of further synagogues throughout the county. In 1900 a Young Men's Hebrew Association was founded in Jersey City. The majestic Congregation Mount Sinai building in Jersey City was opened in 1910. West New York's Congregation Shaare Zedek opened in 1919. The United Synagogue of Hoboken was organized in 1947 through the union of the Hoboken Jewish Center – founded in the 1920s as a Conservative congregation – and the Congregation Star of Israel – organized in 1910 as an Orthodox congregation. A typical pattern was for Jewish communities to come first into existence in the port areas along the Hudson River and then gradually to move back into the more suburban setting of the heights to the west. This process was hastened in the years after World War II, as suburbanization increased and the commuter age brought an exodus to New Jersey of many Jewish families from New York City. Concomitantly, other Hudson County Jews began to move out of the county entirely to the nearby but less industrialized North Hudson and Bergen Counties. However, Jewish life in Hudson County began to experience a resurgence in the late 1980s, as young Jewish singles, couples, and families began to move into Hoboken and neighboring towns. The 1990s brought a remarkable revival of Jewish religious and cultural activity in Hoboken. A young and vigorous section of the National Council of Jewish Women was established; there was a total reorganization of the Jewish Family Service of Jersey City, Bayonne, and Hoboken; and a United Jewish Communities Young Leadership Division was founded.

The Jewish Family & Counseling Service, headquartered in Bayonne, offers a senior companion station, Kosher Meals-on-Wheels, support groups, an emergency kosher food pantry, and emergency shelter. The Yeshiva of Hudson County and its affiliated Rogosin High School, in Union City and Jersey City respectively, were noted for their high standards of scholarship and drew students from many communities. The Yeshiva began in 1938, with eight students. Its first main building was at the Five Corners Talmud Torah in Jersey City before moving to Union City in 1947. As the population it served increasingly moved to nearby Bergen County, the school was renamed the Yeshiva of North Jersey, and it opened several sites in Bergen County before permanently moving to River Edge in 1993. The Jewish Home and Rehabilitation Center, which moved to Rockleigh, New Jersey in 2001, was founded in Jersey City 1915 as the Hebrew Orphans Home of Hudson County. Over the years it evolved into the Hebrew Home for Orphans and the Aged. In the 1950s it became the largest medical hospital in New Jersey. In 1970 a long-term care facility was opened by the Home in River Vale, New Jersey and the name Jewish Home and Rehabilitation Center was adopted. The first adult day care program in New Jersey was established at the Home's Jersey City facility. The *Jewish Standard*, New Jersey's oldest Anglo-Jewish newspaper, was founded in Hudson County by Morris J. Janoff in 1931. The newspaper moved to Bergen County in the early 1950s. The Bayonne Jewish Community Center has served the community since 1952. This JCC offers a full range of programs, from early childhood classes to older adult services. The Federations currently serving this area are the UJA Federation of Bayonne and the UJA Federation of Northern New Jersey, which serves North Hudson County. The non-Federated United Jewish Appeal of Jersey City also serves the community.

In the early 2000s, the Jewish population of Hudson County numbered approximately 11,800. There are approximately 6,000 Jews in Jersey City; an estimated 1,600 in Bayonne; approximately 1,400 in Hoboken; and an estimated 2,800 in North Hudson County.

[Mort Cornin / Alan J. Grossman (2nd ed.)]

HUEBSCH, ADOLPH (1830–1884), rabbi and Orientalist. Huebsch was born in the Hungarian town of Lipto-Szentmiklos. Upon receiving his rabbinical diploma in 1854, he became rabbi of the small Orthodox congregation of Miawa. In 1857 he went to the University of Prague to study philosophy, receiving his doctoral degree in 1861, the same year that he accepted the rabbinate of the Neu-Synagogue in Prague. In 1866 Huebsch was invited to become head of Congregation Ahawath Chesed in New York, where he served for the remainder of his life. His interest in liturgy led him to introduce a moderate reformed ritual and to compose a new prayer book, later adopted by many other congregations. As a scholar, Huebsch's main work was his edition of the Syriac Peshitta on the Five Scrolls, *Ḥamesh Megillot im Targum Suri* (1866), translated as *Fuenf Megilloth nebst dem Syrischen Thargum* (1866). He also published a collection of his sermons, *Dein Licht und deine Wahrheit* (1868), and a book of Arabic aphorisms, *Gems of the Orient* (1887).

His son, BEN W. HUEBSCH (1875?–1964), U.S. publisher and editor, began his career as a printer and went on to build his own publishing house, B.W. Huebsch Co., which merged in 1925 with Viking Press, of which he became vice president and editor in chief. An ardent anti-militarist, Huebsch was executive of the American Neutral Conference during World War I and published a radical weekly, *The Freeman*, during 1920–24. He was an original national committee member of the American Civil Liberties Union upon its foundation in 1920 and served as its national treasurer for many years. In later years he was appointed United States representative to the United Nations Economic, Social and Cultural Organization (UNESCO).

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HUESCA (Osca), city in Aragon, N.E. Spain. It had one of the most important Jewish communities in the kingdom. With Saragossa and Calatayud, they were the three major Jewish communities in the Kingdom of Aragon. The correspondence has been preserved of a learned and wealthy Jew of Huesca, Basaam b. Simeon, with an Arabic author of Umayyad origin, dating from the last generation of Muslim rule in the city. At this time Jews in Huesca engaged in agriculture and owned fields and vineyards. Many also were craftsmen and traders, especially cloth and silk merchants.

[Haïm Z'ew Hirschberg]

This remained the position after the Christian reconquest in 1096. From the Christian conquest onwards, we have a great abundance of sources on the Jews of Huesca. The Jewish quarter in the Christian period, as in Muslim times, was situated in the southwestern section of the town; its center was the present Plazuela de la Judería. The location of the Church of St. Cyprian in the vicinity gave rise to conflicts between Jews and Christians, since the latter would shorten their way to church by passing through the Jewish quarter. James I authorized the Jews of the town to close their quarter during Easter from Holy Thursday until the following Saturday morning. The three synagogues in the quarter, the Great, Middle, and Little Synagogues, existed until the expulsion of the Jews from Spain in 1492. At the beginning of the 14th century the Jews of Huesca were occupying 108 houses, and the Moors 69 houses. This means that the number of Jews in Huesca was between 550 and 700. The community's cemetery is first mentioned in 1156. After the expulsion, the name of the quarter was changed to *Barrio Nuevo*, as happened with other Jewish quarters.

In 1106 an important member of the community, Moshe ha-Sefaradi, a famous scholar and scientist, decided to become baptized and assume the name Pedro Alfonso. During the 12th and 13th centuries the Jews of Huesca engaged in trade, moneylending, and crafts. In 1134 King Ramiro II of Aragon granted Huesca, among other privileges, the right to acquire real property which had been owned by Jews or Muslims. In about 1170 Esteban, the governor of Huesca, concluded an agreement with several Jews on the construction of shops in the city. Jewish contractors from Huesca were commissioned by the governor of Barbastro to build shops there. In 1190 there was an important Jewish settlement in the commercial center on land owned by the Monastery of Sigena. Some of the Jews who lived there played a leading role in the public and economic life of the city and also moved in court circles, among them Eleazar, the *repositarius* ("treasurer") of the king, and Joseph the physician, probably in the service of Queen Sancha.

The history of Huesca Jewry is typical of a large Jewish community in Aragon. In 1207, Pedro II granted the community a privilege stipulating that none of its members could be imprisoned for debts whether owed to the king, the city authorities, the *merino* ("royal officer"), the judge, or any other person. It was also forbidden to distrain on Jews on the Sabbath or on festivals. The king authorized the community to impose bans, seizures, and other methods of enforcement on any person who tried to evade paying taxes. It was also stipulated that, in cases where the death penalty was carried out, the community would pay 1,000 sólidos to the crown treasury. The community of Huesca took part in the controversy over *Maimonides' writings. In 1279, Pedro III ordered the Jews of Huesca to attend the conversionary sermons given by the Dominicans.

The situation of the Huesca community declined during the 14th century. The *Pastoureaux disorders of 1320 severely affected Huesca, and Alfonso, the son of James II, ordered 40 of the rioters to be hanged in the city. The community, however, apparently recovered from the damage since by 1327 it paid an annual tax of 6,126 sólidos. The communal regulations of 1340 indicate that there were 300 men from the age of 15 upward, and it can be assumed that the community then numbered up to 1,500 persons. During the riots at the time of the *Black Death (1349), the Jews of Huesca fortified themselves within their quarter and were thus saved. Nevertheless, from this period began the decline of the community. The community's difficulties increased in 1376, and it had to mortgage the Torah crowns to pay its debts to the king. In 1377, several of the community's notables were accused of having stolen a

*Host. Some of those arrested were tortured and burnt at the stake; the others were tried by the governor of Saragossa and eventually set free.

In 1390, John I granted the Jews of the city a privilege empowering the leaders of the community to judge slanderers and informers at their own discretion. During the persecutions of 1391 one of the grandees of the kingdom, Don Lope de Gurrea, was ordered to go to Huesca to protect its Jewish inhabitants. The community slowly recovered after the disorders. In 1394, John I prohibited Jews from leaving Huesca before they had settled their debts to the community. After the Disputation of *Tortosa, oppressive measures against the community increased. The royal officials compelled the Jews of the city to leave their homes and settle in places so distant from their quarter that they could not earn their livelihood.

In 1414, the infante Alfonso intervened on their behalf and ordered that the status of the Jews should remain unchanged. A municipal order of 1449 prohibited the Jews of Huesca from grazing more than 100 sheep on the pastures belonging to the city, for the use of which a special tax was to be paid to the municipal council.

From 1440 until almost the Expulsion, a period of cultural efflorescence prevailed in Huesca. Its greatest figure was Abraham *Bibago (Bivach).

In 1465 a number of *Conversos who had arrived in Huesca from Castile were received back into Judaism by the community. About 25 years later, many of those who had been present at the ceremony were tried by the Inquisition. The initiators of the affair had been Abraham b. Shem Tov *Bibago (Bivach), author of *Derekh Emunah*, and Abraham *Almosnino, who was burned at the stake together with Isaac *Cocumbriel. Another trial held by the Inquisition during the 1480s concerning events of the 1460s was that of the community's beadle Abraham Alitiens, who had sent away his son Eliezer, a young physician who had also qualified as rabbi, to prevent him from being baptized. The father was finally martyred, along with so many other Jews of his generation.

One of the most complete descriptions of the implementation of the decree of the expulsion of the Jews from Spain (March 1492) has come down from Huesca. Special commissioners, among them the city magistrate and the judge of the Hermandad, were appointed to supervise the expulsion. On May 1, 1492, they began to register the properties of the Jews and to confiscate their gold and silver which the decree of expulsion prohibited them from taking out of the country. Numerous waivers of outstanding debts were registered with the city notaries. The community council met on July 23 and authorized its administrative officers to liquidate the debts of the community and proceed with the sale of its property. Guards were posted in the Jewish quarter to prevent Jews from selling their property without the authorization of the commissioners. Several Jews were imprisoned for debt. On the day of the expulsion, the Jews left Huesca by the road to the west, accompanied by the head of the municipal council, Pedro Cavero.

Organization of the Community

The information that has been preserved about the organization of the Huesca community is especially important for understanding the structure of the Jewish communities in the Crown of Aragon in general, and in the Kingdom of Aragon in particular. At the beginning of the 14th century, the community appointed a council, *Eẓa* in Hebrew, of 18 elders whose number was reduced to 12 in 1324. The community was headed by *muqaddimūn* ("administrative officers") or *adelantados* in Romance, who were also invested with judicial authority. The communal taxes were levied according to a system of assessments, the tax assessors being appointed every two years. Those whose assets amounted to less than 50 sólidos, and "those who study by day and night and have no other profession" (tax regulations of 1340), as well as the teachers and the synagogue beadles, were exempted from paying tax. A complicated proportionate system was established to assess the tax, which was levied on houses, gardens, fields, vineyards, loans, commercial deposits, mortgaged lands, rented houses and shops, transactions in real estate, textiles, grain, foodstuffs, gold and silver, furs, and other commodities. Taxes were also collected on the daily earnings of craftsmen. Loans to communities, servants, and scholars, as well as the sums specified in engagement contracts and wills, were exempted from tax.

In 1374, the community of Huesca adopted, with certain changes, the communal organization of *Barcelona. Among other regulations, it was decided that 12 arbitrators would appoint two *muqaddimūn* and two bookkeepers. In 1391, John I confirmed additional regulations. At the end of the 13th century 160 members of the Huesca community took part in the elections for a cantor in the Great Synagogue of Huesca (resp. Rashba, vol. 1, no. 300). The community of Huesca also had a burial society, run on the lines of a charitable society, whose regulations were confirmed by Pedro I in 1374 and re-endorsed by John I in 1391.

Nothing has remained of the *judería* (the Jewish quarter) of Huesca. From the sources we know exactly where it was located. The neighborhood is known, as usual, as Barrio Nuevo. The quarter was surrounded by a wall and had four gates and was located in the area where the current San Jorge, Loreto and Amistad streets are found. San Jorge street was originally the *carrera Mayor* which was divided by the *alcaiceria,* the bazaar. In Huesca there were three synagogues. In the *Sinagoga Mayor* meetings of the community took place. Together with the *Sinagoga Menor*, it used to be on San Jorge street. We do not know the location of the third synagogue, the *Sinagoga Mediana.* The community had its own *hospital* catering to the poor and visitors.

[Haim Beinart / Yom Tov Assis (2nd ed.)]

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HUETE (**Huepte**), town in Castile, central Spain, situated between Cuenca and Guadalajara. There was a prosperous Jewish community there during the 13th century. In 1307 Ferdinand IV confirmed that the queen mother and other dignitaries could continue to receive the revenues they derived from the Jewish quarter of Huete. The Jews of Huete were attacked in 1391, but we have no information about the extent of the losses and damages the Jews there suffered. From that time, however, there was a *Converso group in Huete. The communal tax regulations, established in 1437 by John II, were confirmed in 1476 by Ferdinand and Isabella, who also ratified the Huete community's charter of privileges. In the second half of the 15th century there were in Huete 150 Jewish families, numbering about 750 Jews. When the decree of expulsion of the Jews from Spain was issued in March 1492, the Jews of Huete demonstrated and claimed that they had been given four years to leave the kingdom. Ferdinand and Isabella ordered that measures should be taken to punish them (May 12, 1492).

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[Haim Beinart / Yom Tov Assis (2nd ed.)]

HUGHES, SARAH ELIZABETH (1985–), U.S. figure skater; Olympic gold medal winner. Hughes was born in Manhasset, N.Y., the fourth of six children, and grew up in Great Neck, N.Y., where she was an honor student at Great Neck North High School. Her father, John, was the captain of the Cornell hockey team that won the national collegiate championship in 1970. Hughes' mother is Jewish, although the family does not formally practice religion. Hughes began skating at age three, and came to prominence in 1998 when she won the U.S. Junior Figure Skating Championships, one of three skaters to capture the Junior before the age of 13, and then finished second in the 1998 Junior World Championships. The next year she qualified for the World Championships, finishing seventh, the highest-placing 13-year-old in modern figure skating history. Hughes won a bronze at the 2000 U.S. Nationals, bronze at the 2001 Grand Prix Finals, silver at the 2001 U.S. Nationals, bronze at the 2001 World Championship, bronze at the 2002 Grand Prix Finals, and bronze at the 2002 U.S. Nationals. She then won the gold at the Salt Lake City Olympics with a near-perfect final skate featuring seven triple jumps, including two triple-triple combinations, an unprecedented feat for a female skater at the time. She was 16, the fourth-youngest Olympic woman figure skating champion of all time, and the first Jew to capture the gold medal in figure skating. Indeed, three of the top four women in the Olympic figure skating competition had at least one Jewish parent. The following year, Hughes won another silver at the 2003 U.S. Nationals. Her younger sister Emily is also a skater, and was a bronze medallist at the 2005 women's International Skating Union World Junior Figure Skating Championships.

Hughes also won a variety of awards and honors, including the 2002 Sullivan Award Winner, 2002 Presidential Award for Academic Excellence, 2002 USOC Sportswoman of the Year, March of Dimes 2002 Sportswoman of the Year, and Woman's Sports Foundation 2002 Sportswoman of the Year.

[Elli Wohlgelernter (2nd ed.)]

°**HUGH OF LINCOLN** (c. 1246–1255), alleged victim of ritual murder. His body was found in a well in the Jewish quarter of *Lincoln by his mother, about Passover time 1255, near the house of a Jew named Copin. Under torture, Copin stated that he had killed the child for the fulfillment of the Jewish paschal rites. Henry III went to Lincoln to take charge of the proceedings. Copin was barbarously executed and some 90 Jews, including R. *Benedict of Lincoln (Berechiah of Nicole), were tried in London. Eighteen of them were put to death and the others pardoned through the influence of the king's brother, Richard of Cornwall. The child Hugh came to be regarded as a saint, and it was said that miracles were performed by his corpse which was buried under a magnificent tomb in the cathedral. His birthday (August 27) was celebrated, though with diminishing importance, until the Reformation; the story is reverently mentioned by *Chaucer in *The Prioress's Tale*, and the alleged martyrdom was commemorated in many English and French ballads. The beatification was informal, however, and was not recognized officially by the Roman Catholic Church. For centuries a shrine to Hugh of Lincoln existed at Lincoln Cathedral. In 1955 this was replaced by a plaque declaring the story of his ritual murder to be "fiction." Little St. Hugh is to be distinguished from ST. HUGH OF LINCOLN, i.e., Hugh of Avalon, bishop of Lincoln 1186–1200, who was officially canonized in 1220. His treatment of the Jews was kindly, and Jews are stated, together with the rest of the population, to have mourned his death.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Jacobs, in: JHSET, 1 (1893–94), 89–135; idem, *Jewish Ideals and Other Essays* (1896); J.W.F. Hill, *Medieval Lincoln* (1948), 224–32; A. Hume, *Sir Hugh of Lincoln* (1849); F. Michel, *Hugues de Lincoln* (1834); Roth, England^3, 56–57. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** ODNB online.

[Cecil Roth]

HUGÓ, KÁROLY (**Philip Bernstein**; 1806–1877), playwright. A physician turned writer and a convert to Christianity, Hugó was active during the 1830 Polish revolt and in Paris during the 1848 revolution. He is remembered for his German *Psalmen eines armen Poeten* (1845) and for his outstanding social drama, *Bankár és báró* ("Banker and Baron," 1847).

ḤUKKAT HA-GOI (Heb. חֻקַּת הַגּוֹי; "law or custom of the gentiles"), term designating heathen customs of idolatrous (or superstitious) origin that Jews are forbidden to emulate. The source for this prohibition is the biblical commandment "ye shall not walk in the customs of the nation" (Lev. 20:23 and 18:3; see also Ezek. 5:7 and 11:12), the purpose of which was to prevent the Israelites from being "ensnared to follow them" (Deut. 12:30). In talmudic literature the term *darkhei ha-Emori* ("the customs of the Amorites") is also used. It covers all heathen, superstitious, and idolatrous practices of the gentiles at that time.

In general, the *halakhah* discerns three categories of *ḥukkat ha-goi*: (a) customs that are closely connected with idolatry or that form part of a non-Jewish religious ritual. These must not be followed and even gentile dress associated with religious practice is strictly forbidden; "martyrdom should be accepted rather than change even the style of a shoelace" (Sanh. 74a–b); (b) laws and customs of gentiles which do not have any direct connection with religious worship. These, as they are a matter of general mores or civil legislation, are allowed: e.g., the execution of criminals by sword, or the burning of incense at the funeral of kings (Sanh. 52b); (c) gentile folk customs deriving from superstitious beliefs. These should not be followed, but opinions differ as to where to draw the line. Most rabbinical authorities agree that even such gentile customs as are characterized by vanity and foolishness do not automatically fall in the category of *ḥukkat ha-goi*, but only those customs which are conducive to unchastity and lewdness. During the Middle Ages, the tendency of the Jewish minority to distinguish between their own habits of dress and those of their neighbors contributed toward their survival and their self-assertion. The imitation of gentile garb and of their innovations in fashions was regarded as *ḥukkat ha-goi*. Jews who had to deal with government authorities were, however, permitted to wear "gentile clothes," and so were physicians and artisans, according to the rules of their craft guilds (Joseph Colon, quoted in *Sifrei ha-Kohen* to Sh. Ar., YD 178:1).

The Jewish garb worn in Eastern Europe became an emblem of allegiance to traditional Judaism. The efforts of the Russian rulers (decrees of 1804, 1835, 1845) to compel Jews to dress in "German clothes" were considered as attempts to Christianize them, and Orthodox Jews regarded the wearing of "modern dress" as prohibited by *ḥukkat ha-goi*. The preservation of the Jewish dress was one of the struggles between the Ḥasidim and *Mitnaggedim* in Eastern Europe. Likewise, the many changes in Jewish ritual and ceremonies that *Reform Judaism inaugurated such as *organ music, worship without covering of the head, etc., were declared forbidden according to *ḥukkat ha-goi* by opponents of Reform (e.g., D.Z. Hoffmann, responsa *Melammed le-Ho'il*, 1 (1926), no. 16). In modern times, with the exception of some radical Orthodox circles, traditional Jews have adopted a more lenient approach to *ḥukkat ha-goi*, based on the talmudic maxim which forbids only the emulation of immoral and superstitious customs of gentiles, but allows the imitation of those gentile ways of life which promote the welfare of society.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Maim. Yad, Akkum, 11:1–3; 12:1; Sh. Ar., YD 178; Eisenstein, Dinim, s.v.

[Meir Ydit]

HUKOK (Heb. חֻקֹּק, חוּקֹק), city in the territory of Naphtali. The Bible locates it between Aznoth-Tabor and Naphtali's border with Zebulun on the south (Josh. 19:34) – a location which refutes its generally accepted identification with the abandoned Arab village of Yāqūq, 5½ mi. (9 km.) south of Safed. At Yāqūq B. Ravani excavated four rock-cut burial caves and two small rock-cut tombs in 1956. Ossuaries, lamps, pottery, and glass vessels found there indicate that the tombs date from the second half of the first century C.E. and were reused from the second to the fourth centuries. In the time of Resh Lakish a settlement called Ḥikok was known near Tiberias (TJ, Shev. 9:1, 38c); it may be identical with Hukok since remains of an ancient synagogue were visible there. A levitical city is also called Hukok (I Chron. 6:60) but in the parallel list it is replaced by Helkath, which is apparently the correct version (Josh. 21:31). In the Middle Ages Hukok was considered the site of the tomb of the prophet Habakkuk, apparently because of the similarity of the names. A kibbutz called Ḥukok was founded near the abandoned village of Yāqūq in 1945. It is affiliated with Ha-Kibbutz ha-Me'uḥad and has developed hill farming. It also operated 72 guest rooms and a spa. In the mid-1990s, the population was approximately 310, dropping to 265 in 2002. The Hukok fortress is located nearby.

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[Michael Avi-Yonah / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

ḤULATAH (Heb. חוּלָתָה), kibbutz in the Ḥuleh Valley, Israel, affiliated with Ha-Kibbutz ha-Me'uḥad, founded in 1936 after the Ḥuleh Concession (Ḥuleh Valley) was acquired by Jewish bodies. The founders were Israel-born youth of Ha-No'ar ha-Oved movement and *Youth Aliyah graduates from Germany. In the initial years they developed fishing in Lake Ḥuleh and investigated its fauna and flora. At the time, they suffered from still-rampant malaria and from Arab attacks. After drainage of the lake and the swamps, Ḥulatah engaged in farming, but its economic mainstay became a shoe factory and retail outlets. In 2002 its population was 396. The name of the kibbutz derives from the Aramaic name of the Valley.

WEBSITE: www.maga.co.il/yeshuvim/holata/fhol.htm.

[Efraim Orni]

HULDAH (Heb. חֻלְדָּה; "weasel"), wife of Shallum son of Tikvah, the "wardrobe keeper" of the king; one of the five women in the Bible referred to as *nevi'ah*, "female prophet") and the only woman prophet in the book of Kings (II Kings 22:14–20). She was consulted by *Josiah when he sent to "inquire of the

Lord" concerning the Book of the Law discovered during the restoration of the Temple. She prophesied God's ultimate judgment upon the nation. However, this judgment was to be postponed until after Josiah's peaceful death because of the king's acts of repentance. Inasmuch as Josiah's death was not peaceful hers may be a genuine predictive prophecy. Most of her prophecy is molded by the authors of the Book of Kings in Deuteronomistic style. It is of interest that women prophets are well-attested in roughly contemporary Neo-Assyrian sources.

[Tikva S. Frymer / S. David Sperling (2nd ed.)]

In the Aggadah

She was one of the seven prophetesses (by rabbinic count) mentioned by name in the Bible. After Josiah found the copy of the Torah in the Temple, he consulted Huldah rather than Jeremiah, because he felt that a woman would be more compassionate and more likely to intercede with God on his behalf (Meg. 14b). Since Jeremiah was a kinsman of the prophetess, both being descended from Joshua and Rahab, the king felt no apprehension that the prophet would resent his preference for Huldah (*ibid.*). While Jeremiah admonished and preached repentance to the men she did likewise to the women (PR 26:129). In addition to being a prophetess, Huldah also conducted an academy in Jerusalem (Targ., II Kings 22:14). The "Gate of Huldah" in the Temple (Mid. 1:3) was formerly the gate leading to Huldah's schoolhouse (Rashi, II Kings 22:14). Huldah's husband Shallum, the son of Tikvah, was a man of noble descent and compassionate. Daily he would go beyond the city limits carrying a pitcher of water from which he gave every traveler a drink, and it was as a reward for his good deeds that his wife became a prophetess. Huldah's unattractive name which means "weasel" is ascribed to her arrogance when she referred to Josiah as "the man" (II Kings 22:15) and not as king.

[Aaron Rothkoff]

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Ginzberg, Legends, index. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** M. Cogan and H. Tadmor, *II Kings* (1988), 295; S. Parpola, *Assyrian Prophecies* (State Archives of Assyria vol. ix; 1997), xiviii-lii.

ḤULDAH (Heb. חֻלְדָּה), kibbutz in the Judean foothills, 7½ mi. (12 km.) S.E. of Reḥovot, affiliated with Iḥud ha-Kevuẓot ve-ha-Kibbutzim. It was established in 1909 on one of the first plots of land acquired by the Jewish National Fund (1907). Initially Ḥuldah was an agricultural training farm. A section of the olive tree forest planted in Herzl's memory was situated here and a closed courtyard and administrative building (Herzl House) were erected. During World War I, the olive groves did not thrive, owing to lack of care, and after the war the first experiment in afforestation with coniferous trees was carried out here. The isolated settlement was attacked in the Arab riots of 1929; its 24 defenders held out against overwhelming odds, although their commander Ephraim Chizhik fell in the battle. (A statue erected in 1929 in the Herzl Forest by Batya Lishansky commemorates Chizhik and the heroic defense of Ḥuldah.) The British Mandate police immediately evacuated the defenders, but the site was resettled in 1930 by members of the *Gordonia youth movement. The site of the kibbutz was transferred somewhat to the west. Farm branches were developed; economic progress was slow at first due to the scarcity of water, but the situation improved after the *War of Independence (1948), in which Ḥuldah served as a headquarters for the Israel forces opening the Jerusalem Corridor from the west. Ḥuldah is a historical name, first appearing in a Christian place names list dating from the sixth century. In the mid-1990s, the population of the kibbutz was approximately 365, dropping to 312 in 2002. The kibbutz was the home of the Barkan winery, owned by private investors who purchased 40 dunams of land from the kibbutz for their winery and visitors center.

[Efraim Orni / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

ḤULEH (Heb. חוּלָה), a valley and a former lake in N.E. Israel (see Physiography of the Land of *Israel, Rift Valley). Early Stone Age remains have been discovered in the Ḥuleh Valley, near the Benot Ya'akov Bridge. They include flint tools, iron hand-axes, flint flakes, etc., found together with bones of a Pleistocene elephant. In the Canaanite period, three cities near the Ḥuleh are mentioned in the Egyptian Execration Texts (late third millennium): Ijon, Abel, and Laish. Egyptian armies on expeditions to the Lebanon Valley passed through the Ḥuleh, and the cities of Abel, Laish, Ijon, and Kedesh, northwest of the Ḥuleh, also appear in the lists of cities conquered by Egyptian kings of the 18th Dynasty. During the period of the Israelite conquest, the Israelites achieved control of the Ḥuleh Valley after their capture of Hazor. The northern part of the valley, however, remained in the possession of the rulers of Beth-Rehob and Maacah until the tribe of Dan, retreating from Philistine pressure, conquered and settled Laish (Tell al-Qāḍī) renaming it Dan (Judg. 18). With the division of the monarchy, the Ḥuleh Valley was included in the kingdom of Israel. It was the scene of numerous clashes between the kings of Israel and Aram (I Kings 15:20) and was taken from Israel by the Assyrian Tiglath-Pileser III in his campaign in 733/2 B.C.E. Under Persian rule the valley was held by Tyre until the Hellenistic city Paneas was founded nearby in the time of the Ptolemies. The valley then received the Greek name Oulatha (Ḥulata) but the lake retained its early name of Yam Samcho (Gr. Semachonitis) which apparently already appears in Ugaritic documents. A decisive battle between the Ptolemies and the Seleucids took place near Paneas (200 B.C.E.) and after the victory of Antiochus III, the city of Antiochus was founded at Dan and the whole region renamed "Valley of Antiochus." This district was conquered by Alexander Yannai and incorporated into the Jewish kingdom (Jos., Ant., 13:394; 17:24; Wars, 1:105). Although it was restored to the Itureans by Pompey, Augustus granted it to Herod in 20 B.C.E. (Ant., 15:359–60; Wars, 1:400) and it remained a possession of his heirs until the death of Agrippa II (end of the first century C.E.). At that time Jewish settlement was renewed there; its rice production is mentioned in the Talmud (TJ, Dem. 2:1, 22b). Lake Samcho was considered one of the seven lakes surrounding Ereẓ Israel. The Ḥuleh area subsequently belonged to the city of Caesarea Philippi (formerly Paneas) up to the time of the Arab conquest. Early Arab writers (e.g., al-Muqaddasī, 985 C.E.) praise the cotton grown in the Ḥuleh Valley and its mat industry. The valley still contained many villages in the 14th century. The lake was called Lake Malḥa by the crusaders after one of the springs in its vicinity. The erroneous identification of Lake Ḥuleh with the waters of Merom first appears in the crusader period. The Ḥuleh Valley also flourished after this period; Yāqūt (13th century) found it comparable to Iraq in its rice production and numerous villages. The valley however subsequently deteriorated through neglect and malaria. First Jewish settlements were founded in the Ḥuleh Valley and on its outskirts with the beginning of the Zionist enterprise (*Yesud ha-Ma'alah, *Mishmar ha-Yarden, *Maḥanayim). During World War I *Ayyelet ha-Shaḥar and *Kefar Giladi were added. After the acquisition of the Ḥuleh Concession, planned settlement was started in 1939 with the "Ussishkin strongholds," *Dafnah, *Dan, and *She'ar Yashuv, followed by settlements nearer the swamps (*Amir, *Kefar Blum, etc.).

For the history of the reclamation of the marshlands, see *Ḥuleh Valley.

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[Michael Avi-Yonah]

ḤULEH VALLEY, region in upper eastern Galilee; a section of the Syrian-East African Rift, at least since the Tertiary period, hemmed in on three sides by steep hill and mountain slopes: viz., the Naftali Ridge of Galilee in the west, the Hermon Massif in the north, and the Golan Plateau in the east. In the Quaternary, volcanic lava consolidated into the Rosh Pinnah Sill in the south, sealing the valley's only water outlet and transforming it into a closed basin. Alternating peat and chalk layers found in the former swamp area give evidence that the outlet was plugged by a basalt barrier at least twice. As a result, the shallow Lake Ḥuleh was formed by waters stagnating in front of the sill. The country's climate of dry summers and rainy winters, along with the drainage of great quantities of water toward the Ḥuleh Valley from the west, north, and east, explains the formation of the Ḥuleh swamps stretching north and northwest of the lake. However, after the last blocking of the outlet, the lake and swamps slowly contracted, as the water, eroding the lowest spot in the southern sill, deepened and widened the outlet anew. While historians assume that permanent and seasonal water bodies covered considerable parts of the Ḥuleh Valley even in the Roman and Byzantine periods, leaving only its circumference for human habitation, the lake covered, in the 1940s, 5 sq. mi. (14 sq. km.) and the swamps about a sixth of the valley's 68 sq. mi. (177 sq. km.). Seasonal inundations and waterlogging, however, affected the soils of a far larger area, permitting regular farming only on a fraction of the valley's total expanse. Malarial conditions from the swamps affected the Arab villages in the valley, which had, as a result, the highest mortality rate and the lowest living standard in Ereẓ Israel at the end of the 19th century.

It was clear that the deepening and widening of the southern Jordan outlet would constitute a decisive step toward reclamation of the lake and swamp areas. The Turkish government which had declared the lake and swamps *jiftlik* (i.e., crown, and since the Young Turkish revolution in 1908, government property) was interested in enlarging the cultivable area there in order to increase its income from leasehold fees and taxes. At the end of the 19th century, the *Gesher Benot Ya'akov (Benot Ya'akov bridge) was lengthened by an additional span to permit a freer flow of water from the lake. This resulted in a certain shrinkage of the swamp. Shortly before World War I, a concession for draining the Ḥuleh swamps was granted to two Beirut merchants. These rights were upheld under the British Mandate, although the merchants did not undertake the drainage. In 1934, the Palestine Land Development Corporation (PLDC) acquired the Ḥuleh Concession which comprised 21 sq. mi. (56 sq. km.). However, to make the project efficient, drainage operations had to be extended beyond the Concession boundary to the north and south. To this end the Jewish National Fund made efforts to acquire additional land in the Ḥuleh Valley in the ensuing years, and new settlements were established there. The drainage project was undertaken by the JNF only in 1951, in the State of Israel, and concluded in 1958. The Construction Aggregate Company of Chicago contributed to its technical execution. The project consisted of three stages: (a) straightening and deepening the Jordan course between the lake outlet and a point south of the Benot Ya'akov Bridge; (b) digging three main canals through the Ḥuleh Valley – two, from north to south, to replace the natural river beds (whose level, higher than the adjacent fields, aggravated the danger of inundation by winter floods), and a third canal connecting the north-south canals, to isolate the peat area from its northern side and prevent the danger of underground peat conflagrations; and (c) constructing a network of secondary drainage canals and irrigation installations. The Syrians interfered with the execution of the project by repeatedly opening fire on work crews along the Jordan course and by obtaining from the UN a stipulation that the dredged earth and stone be deposited on the western river bank only (although the eastern bank was Israel territory as well).

The project's effectiveness can be summed up as follows: Over 20,000 acres (8,000 ha.) of highly fertile land were reclaimed for intensive cultivation, with additional expanses ameliorated through lowering of the water table; large amounts of water, formerly lost from the lake and swamp surfaces through evaporation and evapotranspiration by the swamp

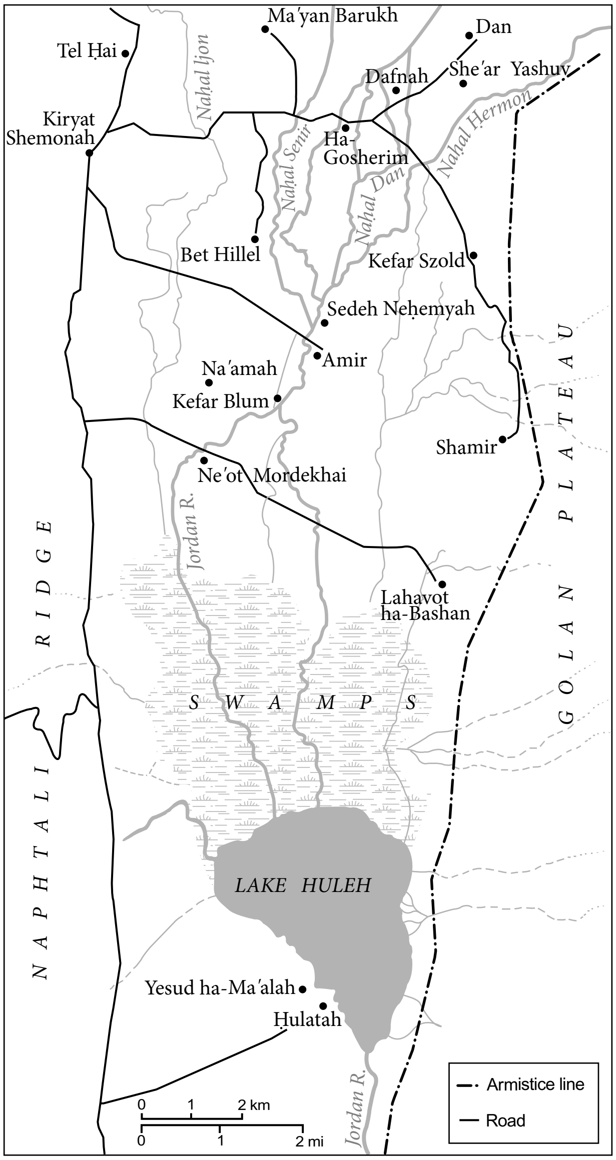
Ma'yan Barukh
Dan
Tel Ḥai
Dafnah
She'ar Yashuv
Kiryat Shemonah
Naḥal Ijon
Ha-Gosherim
Naḥal Senir
Naḥal Dan
Naḥal Ḥermon
Bet Hillel
Kefar Szold
Sedeh Neḥemyah
Amir
Na'amah
Kefar Blum
Shamir
Ne'ot Mordekhai
Jordan R.
Lahavot ha-Bashan
NAPHTALI RIDGE
GOLAN PLATEAU
SWAMPS
LAKE HULEH
Yesud ha-Ma'alah
Ḥulatah
Armistice line
Road
0 1 2 km
0 1 2 mi

Map 1. The Ḥuleh Valley in 1950, before the draining of the lake and swamps.

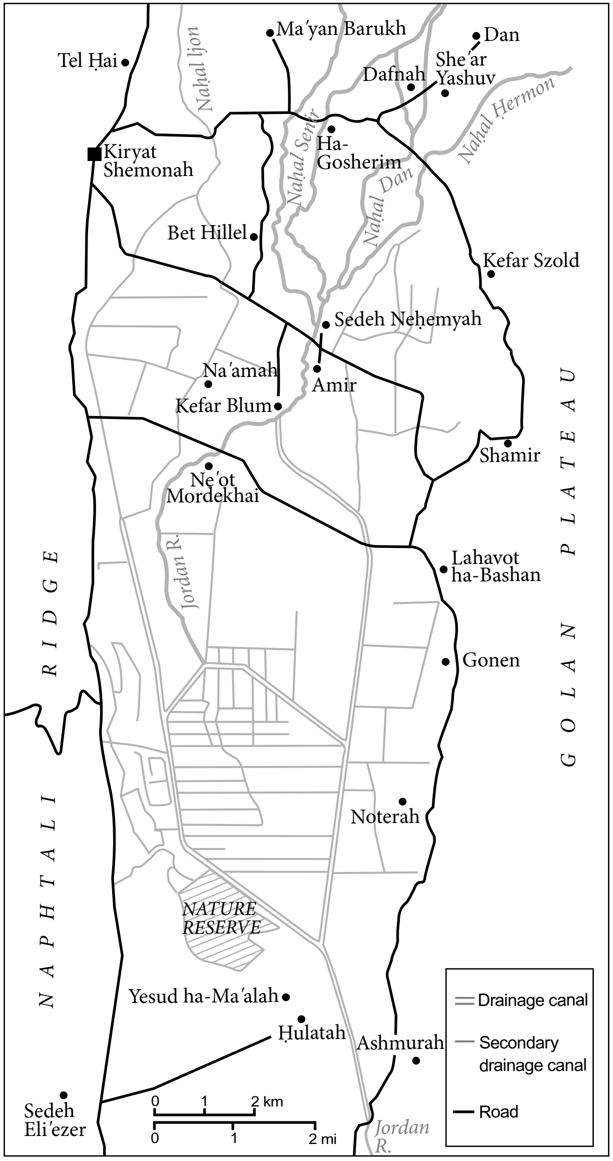
Ma'yan Barukh
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Kiryat Shemonah
Ha-Gosherim
Naḥal Senir
Naḥal Dan
Bet Hillel
Kefar Szold
Sedeh Neḥemyah
Na'amah
Amir
Kefar Blum
Shamir
Ne'ot Mordekhai
Lahavot ha-Bashan
Jordan R.
NAPHTALI RIDGE
GOLAN PLATEAU
Gonen
Noterah
NATURE RESERVE
Yesud ha-Ma'alah
Ḥulatah
Ashmurah
Sedeh Eli'ezer
Drainage canal
Secondary drainage canal
Road
0 1 2 km
0 1 2 mi

Map 2. The Ḥuleh Valley in 1970, after drainage.

vegetation, were made available for local irrigation, and added to the supply entering the National Water Carrier in Lake Kinneret, and the menace of malaria was finally eliminated.

Of the reclaimed land, about 15,000 acres (6,000 ha.) were allocated to Ḥuleh Valley kibbutzim, moshavim, and to villages on the surrounding hill slopes and in mountainous Upper Galilee, to consolidate their economic foundations, while 5,000 acres (2,000 ha.), mostly peat soil, were taken under cultivation by the Ḥuleh Valley Authority, a company set up by the Ministry of Agriculture, with the participation of the *Jewish Agency and the JNF. The crops grown on this land – wheat, cotton, groundnuts, corn, alfalfa and other fodder plants, flowers and bulbs, vegetables, and deciduous fruit – afforded record yields. The Ḥuleh Valley Authority took over the task of experimenting in peat soil cultivation and of providing employment to laborers, mainly from nearby *Kiryat Shemonah. It encountered grave problems, e.g., subsidence in the fields' level after the water was drained from the spongy peat; salination of the soil caused by underground irrigation from deep ditches, which brought salt-saturated water to the surface through capillary action. The Authority thus incurred considerable losses. When Kiryat Shemonah's employment situation improved, manual labor could be reduced through an increase of mechanization. In 1970, the Authority was dissolved and the lands were earmarked for allocation to settlements of the Ḥuleh Valley and Upper Galilee. An area of approximately 750 acres (300 ha.) was set aside near Yesud ha-Ma'alah as the Ḥuleh Nature Reserve, where the former semitropical water flora and fauna are preserved.

[Efraim Orni]

HULL, seaport in N.E. England. According to an absurd 19th-century forgery, David de *Pomis settled here in 1599. A community was organized in the last quarter of the 18th century, a deconsecrated Catholic chapel serving as the first synagogue. In the 19th century, Hull was the principal British port of entry from northern Europe. Large numbers of Jewish immigrants landed there, necessitating the foundation of a second synagogue in 1886 and a third in 1902. Both of the old synagogues had to be rebuilt after having been destroyed in World War II. Numerous charitable organizations also grew up. In 1968 the community was said to number approximately 2,500, and, in the mid-1990s, about 1,120. The 2001 census revealed 670 declared Jews in Hull, which contained an Orthodox and Reform synagogue.

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[Cecil Roth]

ḤULLIN (Heb. חֻלִּין; "profane"), a tractate of the order *Kodashim* in the Mishnah, Tosefta, and Babylonian Talmud. (There is no Jerusalem Talmud to the whole order of *Kodashim*.) In manuscripts of the Mishnah (Mss. Kaufmann, Cambridge, etc.) and the Tosefta, as well as by the *geonim* and the early authorities, the tractate is called *Sheḥitat Ḥullin* ("the slaughter of 'profane' animals," i.e., for human consumption as distinct from sacrificial purposes) after its first chapters, which deal with the laws of the slaughter of such animals and birds. As its name implies this tractate – in contrast to the other tractates of this order – is almost wholly devoted to the *halakhot* relevant to the eating of meat and to the gifts due to the priests from animals of *ḥullin*. Unlike the other tractates, *Ḥullin* thus deals with matters of practical *halakhah* applying to all Jews at all times, even after the destruction of the Temple. Probably for this reason it was customary in the time of the *geonim* to join it with the order *Mo'ed* (Meiri, *Beit ha-Beḥirah* to *Ḥullin*, introd.).

The tractate comprises 12 chapters whose main contents are as follows: Chapters 1 and 2 deal with the laws of *sheḥitah* and explain, among other things, the five acts of ritual slaughter which render it invalid: *shehiyyah* ("pausing" during the act), *derasah* (pressing the knife with force), *ḥaladah* ("concealing" the knife in the skin or the fleece), *hagramah* (a slanting stroke), and *ikkur* ("tearing" instead of cutting; see Ḥul. 9a and Tos. ad loc.). Chapter 3 enumerates the 18 physical defects which render an animal *terefah*, those which render a bird *terefah*, and those which do not render them unfit for food. The laws of the embryo – whether alive or dead – found inside the slaughtered animal are covered in chapter 4. From chapter 5 until the end of the tractate almost every chapter commences with the uniform wording: "such and such a law is in force within the land [of Israel] and outside it, during the time of the Temple and after it." Chapter 5 deals with the prohibition on slaughtering the dam and its young on the same day (Lev. 22:28), and chapter 6 with the precept of covering the blood of non-domestic beasts (*ḥayyah*) and birds, and with what the covering may or may not be effected (Lev. 17:13). Chapter 7 discusses the law of "the sinew which was dislodged" (the sciatic nerve; Gen. 32:33). The standard opening formula is missing from chapter 8, which deals with laws of the prohibition of eating meat with milk, but it is given in the Tosefta (8:1). The laws of ritually unclean food and the uncleanness of carrion are treated in chapter 9. Mishnah 6 mentions a legendary creature, a mouse that is part flesh and part earth, and the sages discuss which parts of it are unclean. The existence of such a creature, reported from Egypt, was also taken for granted by many early gentile writers (see Maim. Commentary to the Mishnah, and S. Lieberman, *Hellenism in Jewish Palestine* (1950) 183f.). Chapter 10 deals with the portions of the slaughtered animal which are the priests' perquisites – the shoulder, the two cheeks and the maw (Deut. 18:3). The 11th chapter treats of the precept of the first of the fleece of the sheep which was also given to the priest (Deut. 18:4). The last chapter deals with the law of letting the dam go from the nest, namely not to take both dam and young from a nest but to release the dam (Deut. 22:6–7). The Mishnah concludes with an aggadic dictum: "If then of so light a precept [letting go the dam] the Torah says 'that it may be well with thee,' and that 'thou mayest prolong the days' [Deut. 22:7], how much more so [shall like reward be given] for [the fulfillment of] the weightier precepts of the Torah."

Many *halakhot* in the Mishnah allude to idolatrous modes of sacrifice and to the injunction against imitating them; e.g., 2:9: "None may slaughter [so that the blood falls] into the sea or into rivers etc." in order not to imitate idolaters. The Babylonian Talmud (41b) explains that the prohibition is because he thus appears to be slaughtering to the prince of the sea (Poseidon). *Mishnayot* 5:3 and 6:2 afford an insight into the method of Judah ha-Nasi in editing the Mishnah and arriving at the *halakhah*. Both cite disputes of *tannaim* on the problem whether *sheḥitah* that should not have been performed (e.g., the slaughtering of an unconsecrated animal within the Temple court) is to be regarded as an act of *sheḥitah*. The first Mishnah states, in the name of the sages, that it is regarded as *sheḥitah*, whereas the second states, in their name, that it is not so regarded. On this Johanan comments (to 85a): "Rabbi [Judah ha-Nasi] approved the words of Meir with regard to the mother and its young [5:3] and taught them as the view of the sages in general, and approved the words of Simeon on the covering of the blood [6:2] and taught those as the view of the sages in general" (but see Ḥ. Albeck, *Mavo la-Mishnah*, 275f.). A decision of Judah ha-Nasi in a tannaitic dispute occurs in the Tosefta (Ḥul. 2:5): "If a hen was stolen and he found it slaughtered … Hananiah the son of Yose the Galilean invalidates it, but Judah permits it [cf. Ḥul. 12a where the opinions are reversed]. Said Rabbi [Judah ha-Nasi]: "I approve the words of Hananiah son of Yose the Galilean if it was found inside the house and those of Judah if it was found in the ash heap." A similar decision is found also in Tosefta *Ḥullin* 8:6 and in accordance with this Judah ha-Nasi stated Mishnah 8:3 as an undisputed ruling.

The Tosefta, which contains ten chapters, complements the Mishnah. It contains, among other things, several traditions of historical importance. For instance (3:10): "Concerning this *ḥalakhah* the inhabitants of Asia [= Ezion-Geber on the shore of the Red Sea] went up to Jabneh, on the third occasion it was permitted to them." It also cites several *halakhot* that reveal an exceptional stringency with regard to association with heretics. In connection with this, it states (2:22) that Eliezer b. Damah, the nephew of Ishmael, was bitten by a snake and Jacob of Kefar Sama came to heal him in the name of "Jesse son of Pantira" (see *Jesus, in the Talmud) and Ishmael did not permit it, as a result of which he died (cf. Av. Zar. 27b).

From the Babylonian Talmud there is evidence that in order to clarify the *halakhah* the sages investigated the anatomy of animals and also performed various experiments on them (see e.g., 59a and 57b). Interwoven in the Babylonian Talmud are aggadic sayings including: When gifts were sent to R. Eleazar from the house of the **nasi* he would not accept them, and when invited to a meal there he did not go. He said to them; "Do you not wish me to live? For Scripture [Prov. 15:27] says: 'He that hateth gifts shall live'" (44b). Reporting that the flax crop of Ḥiyya was attacked by pests, the Talmud inquires, "Does it not say that when Ḥiyya and his sons, who were very pious, came up to Ereẓ Israel, shooting stars, earthquakes, storms, and thunder ceased in Ereẓ Israel because of their merit, neither did the wine turn to vinegar, nor was the flax of the local inhabitants smitten?" To which the reply is given that the merit of the righteous is effective toward others but not toward themselves (86a). Among the maxims found there are: "it is forbiddden to mislead people, even non-Jews" (94a); "those who perform good deeds will come to no harm either on their way to do so or on their return" (142a); "no person bruises his finger on earth unless it be decreed in heaven" (7b). This tractate of the Talmud was translated into English by Eli Cashdan in the Soncino edition (1948).

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[Yitzhak Dov Gilat]

HUMAN DIGNITY AND FREEDOM. These are fundamental values in the world of Judaism and, today in the Jewish State. In 1992, "Basic Law: Human Dignity and Freedom" was enacted, to anchor rights derived from these values. Section 1 of the Basic Law determines that: "Fundamental human rights in Israel are founded upon recognition of the value of the human being, the sanctity of human life, and the principle that all persons are free; these rights shall be upheld in the spirit of the principles set forth in the Declaration of the Establishment of the State of Israel." Section 1A of the Law states that: "The purpose of this Basic Law is to protect human dignity and freedom, in order to anchor in a Basic Law the values of the State of Israel as a Jewish and democratic state."

The Law proceeds to describe these fundamental rights. Sections 2 and 4 of this law stipulate that: "There shall be no violation of the life, body or dignity of any person as such" and that "All persons are entitled to protection of their life, body and dignity." According to section 3 of the law, "There shall be no violation of the property of a person"; section 5 states that: "There shall be no deprivation or restriction of the liberty of a person by imprisonment, arrest, extradition or by any other manner"; while section 6 clarifies that "All persons are free to leave Israel" and that "Every Israeli national has the right of entry into Israel from abroad."

Section 7 of the Basic Law stipulates that: "All persons have the right to privacy and intimacy"; "There shall be no entry into the private premises of a person who has not consented thereto"; "No search shall be conducted on the private premises or body of a person, nor in the body or belongings of a person"; and "There shall be no violation of the secrecy of the spoken utterances, writings or records of a person." In 1992, shortly after the enactment of the "Basic Law: Human Dignity and Freedom," the Knesset enacted the "Basic Law: Freedom of Occupation," which enshrines the basic right of every Israel national or resident "to engage in any occupation, profession or trade" (Section 3). For a detailed discussion of the rights enumerated in the Basic Laws, see *Rights, Human.

These principles existed in the legal system of the State of Israel even before the enactment of the aforesaid Basic Laws, most of them pursuant to case law of the Supreme Court from the time of the State's establishment. The fundamental change that occurred with the enactment of the Basic Laws was to attribute constitutional status to the basic principles contained in these Laws, as opposed to their being based on ordinary legislation or judicial precedent alone.

The practical significance of anchoring the aforesaid fundamental rights in a Basic Law appears in section 8 of the Basic Law: Human Dignity and Freedom, the so-called "limitation clause." This states that: "There shall be no violation of rights under this Basic Law except by a law befitting the values of the State of Israel, enacted for a proper purpose, and to an extent no greater than is required or by regulation enacted by virtue of express authorization in such law" (cf. section 4 of the Basic Law: Freedom of Occupation). The Supreme Court ruled that by virtue of this section, a court is entitled to strike down any law that does not comply with the terms of these sections (See HC 6821/93 *United Mizrahi Bank Ltd. v. Migdal Cooperative Village*, PD 49 (4) 221; HC 1715/97 *Office of Investment Managers in Israel v. The Minister of Finance*, PD 51 (4) 367).

It should be noted that there are significant differences between the two aforesaid Basic Laws. Section 10 of the Basic Law: Human Dignity and Freedom states that: "This Basic Law shall not affect the validity of any law in force prior to the commencement of the Basic Law." By contrast, the Basic Law: Freedom of Occupation does not include any such provision and applies even to laws enacted prior to the Basic Law's coming into force, with certain exceptions set out in sections 8 and 10 of this Law. A further significant difference exists in relation to the entrenchment of the two laws. According to section 7 of Basic Law: Freedom of Occupation, the latter may only be changed by a Basic Law passed by a majority of the members of the Knesset. By contrast, Basic Law: Human Dignity and Freedom contains no such entrenchment provision.

Human Dignity and Freedom in Jewish Tradition

Human dignity and freedom are fundamental values of the Torah and the rabbinic literature. The Torah states that man was created "in the image of God": "And God created man in his image; in the image of God He created him" (Gen. 1:27). Respect for the Divine image in man serves as an important source in the Torah for the preservation of human dignity. The Torah states the following concerning a person who has sinned and is liable to the death penalty: "If a man is guilty of a capital offense and is put to death, and you hang him on a tree, you must not let his corpse remain on the stake overnight, but must bury him the same day. For an impaled body is an affront to God and you shall not defile the land which the Lord your God is giving you to possess" (Deut. 21:22–23). The Sages expound these verses: R. Meir asks – what is the meaning of the words "an impaled body is an affront to God"? This can be likened to two identical twin brothers, one of whom became king over the entire world while the other went out to pursue highway robbery. After a while, the latter was caught and crucified, and passersby seeing the body said "the king himself has been crucified!" This is the meaning of the words: "for an impaled body is an affront to God."

The principle of human dignity even requires respecting the dignity of criminal offenders. The Torah imposes a penalty on a person who steals an ox and later slaughters or sells it, in the amount of five times the value of the ox, while for stealing a sheep under similar circumstances, one is required to pay only four times its value (Ex. 21:37). The difference between the fine imposed for stealing an ox and that for stealing a sheep is explained by the Sages as follows: "R. Johanan b. Zakkai states: The Holy One blessed be He is mindful of the dignity of mankind. For [stealing] an ox, which walks on its [own] feet, the payment is fivefold; for [stealing] a sheep, which has to be carried on one's shoulders, the payment is fourfold" (*Mekhilta de-R. Yishmael*, *Mishpatim* 13). The difference between the fines stems from the sense of shame suffered by the thief in the case of the stolen sheep, which is usually carried away on his shoulders. Hence, the Torah was more lenient in the case of stealing a sheep than with stealing an ox, in which case the thief can simply lead the ox to his home and need not demean himself by carrying it on his shoulders.

The origin of human rights in Judaism lies in the fundamental notion of man's creation in the image of God. This basic axiom is the origin, not only of a person's right to dignity and freedom, but also of man's duty to protect his own dignity and freedom. This principle is given clear expression in a fundamental rule stated by the *amora* Rav: "A worker can withdraw from service even in the middle of the working day… for it is written (Lev. 25:55): 'for the children of Israel are My slaves [i.e., whom I took out of the land of Egypt'] – and not slaves to other slaves" (BK 116b; BM 10a). According to this law, an employee who hired himself out for an entire working day may withdraw his agreement in the middle of the day (and in such case only receives payment for the time he worked – see *Labor Law), by virtue of the principle that a person's obligation to work for another person, even if he agreed to do so out of his own volition, constitutes a violation of that person's freedom, and a type of slavery. The principle that a person's subservience to God requires that he not be subservient to another human being receives expression in the principle of the Hebrew slave.

According to the Torah, a person may be compelled to work for another individual if he is convicted of theft and is unable to pay his fine, or if he is in a state of absolute poverty and sells himself to another person. In both these cases, his term of service is limited to a maximum of six years, and the goal of this period, during which the slave's employer owes numerous duties towards his slave, is to facilitate the rehabilitation of the offender, who would otherwise remain homeless, as an alternative to imprisonment or remaining on the streets without a roof over his head. According to the Torah, a slave who refused to go free at the end of his term would have his ear pierced by his master using an awl, and would thereafter remain a perpetual slave to his master (Ex. 21:6). The Sages questioned the underlying principle behind this commandment of piercing the slave's ear: "R. Johanan b. Zakkai was asked by his disciples: Why, of all limbs, was the ear [of the slave who refused to go free] chosen to be pierced? He replied: 'The ear that heard at Mount Sinai: "You shall have no other gods but for Me" (Ex. 20:2), and rejected the yoke of the kingdom of Heaven, and in its stead accepted the yoke of a human being; the ear that heard at Mount Sinai (Lev. *ad. loc.*) "for unto Me the children of Israel are servants" and yet this person went and acquired for himself another master; therefore, let his ear come and be pierced because he disregarded that which his ear heard'" (TJ Kid. 1.2).

The slave is punished for having waived his right to freedom. Perpetual enslavement to another person involves a kind of idolatry. As explained by the aforesaid words of the Sages, the first commandment states: "I am the Lord your God who brought you out of the land of Egypt out of the house of slavery. You shall have no other gods but Me" (Ex. *ad loc.*). This commandment exhorts a person to be free, and he cannot release himself from this obligation, neither in favor of an idol, nor in favor of another human being. The slave, the worker and the master, are all servants of God, before whom all creatures are equal. Therefore no person is entitled to be the slave of another person, when the latter himself is merely a servant of God. Even this institution of a Hebrew slave, which is in essence an act of hire for a limited period for the purposes of rehabilitation, has not been practiced, according to all opinions, for close to two thousand years, and this too is compatible with the unbending commitment of Jewish Law to human dignity.

The principles of human dignity and freedom according to Jewish Law were developed and continued to constitute a central plank of Jewish law throughout the ages, culminating in the modern State of Israel. We will consider some of these developments in the context of judicial rulings made by the Israeli Supreme Court.

A Jewish and Democratic State

Section 1A of Basic Law: Human Dignity and Freedom, and similarly section 2 of Basic Law: Freedom of Occupation, states: "The purpose of this Basic Law is to protect human dignity and freedom, in order to anchor in a Basic Law the values of the State of Israel as a Jewish and democratic state." This section underlies the constructive principles of the two aforesaid Basic Laws, in whose light the courts must construe the values anchored in the Basic Laws. Many judges and scholars have disputed the construction of the key phrase in this section – a "Jewish and democratic state" (see entry *Values of a Jewish and Democratic State).

Human Dignity and Freedom in Jewish Law, Through Rulings of the Supreme Court

The fundamental principles of human dignity and freedom existed and were developed even before the enactment of Basic Law: Human Dignity and Freedom, and the Supreme Court had recourse to the principles of Jewish Law when considering human dignity and freedom-related issues. One example of this was the *Katlan* case (HC 355/79 *Katlan v. The Prison Service et al.*, PD 34 (3) 294), which discussed the question of whether the prison authorities were entitled to order the administration of an enema without the consent of the prisoners concerned, in order to discover drugs those prisoners had allegedly swallowed. The Court ruled that every person, including a prisoner, has a basic right to bodily integrity and the preservation of his dignity, and if the legislator wished to change this it needed to pass new and explicit legislation to do so. The judges hearing the case disputed the question of what would constitute the best law in this regard and the reasons for their recommendation.

Justice Aharon Barak reasoned that the legislator had to conduct a comprehensive examination of the various aspects of this issue, and that only after such an examination could the legislator decide that the legal status quo established as a result of the Court's ruling was not satisfactory, and could then change it via primary legislation, which might give rise in certain cases to secondary legislation. Justice Haim Cohn relied on Jewish legal sources: "Great is the principle of human dignity, as it overrides a negative commandment of the Torah," which the Babylonian Talmud interprets as referring to all rabbinical prescripts and interdicts which defer to human dignity, the rationale being that the Rabbis who imposed the prohibition may remove it later for the sake of human dignity. This principle, according to Justice Cohn, would suggest to the legislature that the administration of an enema into a person's body without his consent should not be permitted: "In this sense, the Oral Law of the rabbis is similar to the primary legislation of our own times. That may also suggest to the primary legislature that, just as the Rabbis were bold in waiving all prohibitions instituted by them where necessary to preserve human dignity, it too should be cautious in sacrificing human dignity on the altar of any other requirement whatsoever" (p. 306 of the judgment).

Justice Landau agreed with Justice Cohn's approach. However, he held that, according to Jewish Law, legislation should not necessarily be prohibited, in certain circumstances, which would permit the administration of an enema into a prisoner's body without his consent, because it may be that "we are faced with essential interests which exceed in importance even the need to preserve a person's right to bodily privacy, and even the Rabbis… never closed their ears to necessary evils and always found the way to enact regulations as emergency measures to 'fence in things' when they saw that the times required such measures in order to avoid worse evils to the public" (p. 308 of the judgment). At the same time, Justice Landau stopped short of making any specific recommendation as to the appropriate arrangement. The *Katlan* case is an interesting example of the fact that reliance on Jewish Law does not necessarily bring about a uniform outcome, and that disputes are possible within this framework regarding both the construction of its principles and the weight given to them.

In the Supreme Court, even before the enactment of Basic Law: Human Dignity and Freedom, the issue was disputed as to whether, according to the law in force at the time, the gravity of an offense per se is sufficient to constitute grounds for detention until the termination of legal proceedings. According to one opinion, a person could be detained until the end of proceedings solely on the basis of the gravity of an offense, thereby assuring public confidence in the effectiveness of the criminal legal mechanism. An additional factor relevant to this perspective was the need to prevent the feeling among offenders that much time would pass between the date of committing the offense and the time for proving their guilt by the prosecution, during which they would be at liberty to continue their activities. Justice Menachem Elon (MCM 2169/92 *Suissa v. The State of Israel*, PD 46 (3) 338), held that, even before the enactment of the above-mentioned Basic Law, a person should not be detained until the end of proceedings solely on the basis of the gravity of the offense, because this would befit neither the values of a freedom-loving state nor the values of Israel's Jewish heritage, which emphasizes the value of human freedom in light of the principle that: "Beloved is man who was created in the Divine image" (see MCM *Suissa*, *ad loc.* and the entry on *Detention). Following its passage, this approach is necessitated thereunder: "Upon the passage of the Basic Law: Human Dignity and Freedom, which includes mention of… detention as a violation of personal liberty, and which must be construed according to the express purpose… [of] anchoring the values of the State as a Jewish and democratic state. These interwoven supra legal values – Judaism and democracy –

militate against the possibility of a person's arrest before trial on the grounds of 'guaranteeing the public confidence in the effectiveness of the criminal legal mechanism'… This reason cannot negate the most basic right that a person has as such, viz. his personal liberty" (p. 347 of the judgment). Today, following the enactment of the Criminal Law (Enforcement – Arrest Powers), 5756 – 1996, a person may not be imprisoned solely on the basis of the gravity of his offense.

In the case of *Perah* (HC 5304/92 *Perah v. The Minister of Justice*, PD 47 (4) 715), Justice Elon determined that a person may be imprisoned for a debt he owes only when it becomes apparent that the debtor is a person of means who is concealing his assets, and the imprisonment becomes the means to force him to disclose his assets and to restore the debt (see entry: *Imprisonment for Debt). The Supreme Court relied on the position of Jewish Law on this issue and on the legal status quo prevalent in other democratic systems, and ruled on this basis that the legal status quo that existed at that time, under which a debtor could be imprisoned for his debt without clarifying that he is debtor of means who refuses to pay his debt, was contrary to the provisions of the Basic Law: Human Dignity and Freedom, negating as it did the values of the State of Israel as a Jewish and democratic state.

In the Kastenbaum case (CA 294/91 *Hevra Kadisha Kehillat Yerushalayim v. Kastenbaum*, 46 (2) PD p.464) the Supreme Court ruled, on the basis of Jewish Law, that human dignity applies not only during a person's life, but also after his death, and that this fundamental dignity includes the dignity of the deceased, the dignity of his family, and even the dignity of the public.

In establishing the essence and the scope of human dignity within the meaning of the Basic Law, the Supreme Court also referred to the limits of the concept, and in another case wrote the following:

> Human dignity means not to disgrace or embarrass the divine image in man. Consider the matter well. Not every infringement of honor is included in the *Basic Law: Human Dignity and Freedom*. For example, insulting a respected person, who by dint of his stature ought to be seated with others of the same rank rather than among the ordinary people, might be regarded as a social insult (if it indeed is!), but is insufficient to cause a disgrace or embarrassment of his divine image, and such "offense" is in no way included within the framework of *Basic Law: Human Dignity and Freedom*. (HC 5688/92 Vicsilebaum v. Minister of Security, 47 (2) PD 812. 817

In discussing the essence of human dignity, its constituent values, and their implementation, the Supreme Court also addressed the problem of cases in which these values were in competition. This was the background of the Yael Shefer case (CA 506/88, *Yael Shefer v.State of Israel,* 48 (1) PD 87), in which the Court was required to rule on a mother's request to disconnect life support systems from her terminally ill daughter. The Court (per Justice Menachem Elon) wrote the following:

> As a rule, the basic rights… complement one another. The protection of a person's life and body, dignity and privacy, and his personal liberty and intimacy do not contradict each other, but are complementary. This is not so in our case. A fundamental problem that arises is that the protection of this individual's life seemingly does not go hand in hand with the protection of her human dignity, personal liberty, privacy and intimacy. In our case, the obligation to protect the life of the patient is opposed – such is the argument presented to us – to protecting the dignity of the patient, who wishes to die and who refuses to accept the medical treatment whose purpose is to preserve her life. Hence, it is in opposition to the personal liberty of the patient and her personal autonomy. With this, we reach the heart of the matter before us: Is there really a contradiction between a person's fundamental right to life and its companion, human dignity? And if there is, indeed, a contradiction between certain basic rights and others, which among the rights is to be preferred over the other, and which one must we protect and preserve [?]" (For a detailed discussion of this case see *Law and Medicine; *Parents and Children.)

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[Menachem Elon (2nd ed.)]

°HUMBOLDT, WILHELM VON (1767–1835), German philologist and statesman. Humboldt grew up during the Enlightenment period in Berlin where he frequented Henriette *Herz's salon. He became acquainted with D. *Friedlaender, was introduced to *Mendelssohn, and heard informal lectures by Markus *Herz and *Dohm. A friend and counselor of K. *Hardenberg, Humboldt was responsible in 1809/10 for education and religious questions in the Prussian administration. During this time he wrote a draft of a constitution for Prussian Jewry, submitted on July 17, 1809. He proposed that the nomadic existence of Jews, the political nature of their communal organization, and their isolation could be eliminated through resettlement, terminating the autonomy of Jewish communities, and ensuring full assimilation. Humboldt demanded that emancipation be complete and immediate: Jews were to be acknowledged not only as citizens but as human beings. The state should not concern itself with their "improvement" but provide equal rights for all its citizens if they agree to equal obligations. He was also instrumental in opening to Jews the new University of Berlin (founded in 1810). At the Congress of *Vienna he was a vigorous advocate of Jewish rights. His brother, ALEXANDER VON HUMBOLDT (1769–1859), geographer and naturalist, was a consistent philo-Semite who was vehemently opposed to the *Kreuzzeitung* and to other antisemitic and illiberal doctrines, but his views concerning the Jews were generally more of the aesthetic or personal kind than political.

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HUMENNE (Slovak **Humenné**; Hg. **Homonna**), town in E. Slovakia; until 1992 Czechoslovak Republic, then Slovak Republic. Humenné is situated on the highway leading from Poland to wine-growing regions in eastern Hungary. Jewish tradesmen frequented this highway. The first record of Jewish presence in the town is from 1743. There were no guilds in Humenné, and nobody intervened in the activity of Jewish businessmen. Although the community was founded in 1809, the *ḥevra kaddisha* existed from 1786, and the oldest tombstone dates from 1772. Humenné attracted Jewish settlers; in particular, an influx of Jews from Poland was evident in the 19th century. In 1830/35 there were 666 Jews in Humenné; in 1857 there were 1,020; and in 1880 there were 1,280. In 1910 the number reached 1,570 (34.8%). The first Czechoslovak census of 1921 reported 1,254; in 1930 there were 2,197. In 1940, on the eve of the deportations, 2,172 Jews lived in Humenné.

The first synagogue was erected in 1792. The *talmud torah* opened its doors in 1835, and the first elementary school in 1856, one of the first in eastern Slovakia. The language of instruction was German. It burned down in 1880 and was reestablished in 1882; the language was already Magyar. Hebrew was also taught, unofficially. The school closed in 1919, and the teachers left for Hungary. A Beth Jacob school for girls was founded in the early 1930s. The first rabbi was Rabbi Pinchas Luria, who became involved in a conflict and left. His successor, Rabbi Jacob Shapira ("Jakev Chariff," 1809–1828), organized the routine of the congregation. The last rabbi, Haim Judah Herrmann Ehrenreich (1887–1942), published a scholarly periodical *Oẓar ha-Ḥayyim* ("Riches of Life"). He died in the Holocaust. In 1830, a new synagogue was erected. From 1815, an assistant rabbi, (Daja) Lezer Liebermann, demanded reform of the Jewish religion, to which end he lectured throughout Hungary. However, after the Hungarian Jewish Congress of 1868, the congregation chose Orthodoxy. Ḥasidic Jews from Poland caused a split in the community by establishing a *bet midrash* in 1902, which followed *nusaḥ sefarad*. Four years later they erected their own small synagogue. A split within the *nusaḥ sefarad* group occurred when less extremist members left and founded a *bet midrash* of their own. The community organized an array of charitable, religious, and professional groups. After World War I, several political and Zionist groups joined the community organization. In August 1937 the deputy of the nationalist Hlinka Party, Korol Sidor, gave an inflammatory speech accusing Jews of sacrilege, and a campaign of "punishment" was planned. The deputy of the Jewish Party, Chaim *Kugel, rushed to Humenné and defused the situation.

The proclamation of Slovakian autonomy within Czechoslovakia in September 1938 and independence under protection of the Third Reich on March 14, 1939, were accompanied by anti-Jewish sentiment. Jews were targeted, and persecution occurred daily. In the fall of 1941 Jews were expelled from Bratislava, and some settled in Humenné, bringing the population to 2,285. In March 1942, the deportation of Jews to Poland began. In Humenné, Jews were smuggled to Hungary in an effort to save them. In March, entire families began to be deported to the Chola ghetto near Lublin. The few remaining Jews in the town were ordered in the spring of 1944 to move to western Slovakia. They took the Torah scrolls with them to *Nitra, but a fire destroyed the scrolls.

The survivors, who flocked to the city in spring 1945, repaired the synagogue and the *mikveh* and tried to restore the community. Several survivors gathered in the nearby village of Kolbasy. On December 6, 1945, a band of Ukrainian nationalists of the Bandera movement attacked and killed all the Jews and, together with the villagers, stole their property.

In 1948–49, most of the Jews immigrated to Israel and overseas. In the 1960s, there were 160 Jews in the town, many from neighboring villages. The Košice community provided kosher meat and religious needs. Both large synagogues were demolished; the Klaus was turned into an apartment. In November 1986, citizens attacked the cemetery, overturning 27 tombstones. In 1990, there were 28 Jews in Humenné.

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[Sarlota Rachmuth-Gerstl / Yeshayahu Jelinek (2nd ed.)]

HUMILITY (Heb. **עֲנָוָה**), a humble estimate of one's qualities; decency of thought, speech, and conduct. The presence of many biblical synonyms testifies to its importance as a religious principle. Rabbinic literature ascribes the quality to God Himself, with the implication that man should imitate Him in this respect (Meg. 31a).

Humility is commended as an outstanding personal virtue, and is a mandatory qualification for those in positions of leadership. Biblical figures who tempered an awareness of their prestige with a sense of personal modesty achieved renown, while those who were arrogant suffered defeat (Gen. 18:27; Ezek. 28:2; Ned. 38a; DEZ 1). Humility was the crowning virtue of the greatest of Jewish leaders, Moses: "… and the man Moses was very humble" (Num. 12:3; cf. Deut. R. 2:2; Shab. 89a; ARN^1 23, 75).

The prophets condemn excessive pride, while they affirm the value of humility (Isa. 10:13, 57:15; Jer. 9:22; Ezek. 28:2; Ps. 51:18–19). Micah includes humility among the three fundamental principles of the Jewish religion: "… to do justly and to love mercy and to walk humbly with thy God" (Micah 6:8). In relation to God, man's humility stems from his existential helplessness in the shadow of divine omnipotence (Ps. 22:7; Avot 4:4). In human relationships humility calls for a giving nature and is incompatible with self-love.

Humility is not merely the absence of pride, but a positive force which expresses itself in constructive action. Thus, even extremism in its pursuit is not a vice (Maim., Yad, De'ot 2:3). This positive aspect is manifest in the tradition of anonymity of authorship in Jewish letters as well as anonymity in charitable acts.

Unlike philosophies which emphasize man's insignificance and preach self-effacing submissiveness, Judaism conceives of humility in the general context of the dignity of man. It requires the transfer of emphasis away from the self rather than destructive self-abnegation. Egotistical preoccupation with one's own humility, however, breeds a pietistic pride denounced by the rabbis. Similarly, false modesty and abdication of responsibility under the guise of humility have no place in Jewish life (Git. 56a; M.Ḥ. Luzzatto, *Mesillat Yesharim*, ed. by M. Kaplan (1936), 104–5). The midrashic portrayal of man as a being created in the image of God, on the one hand, and as an insignificant mortal, on the other, clarifies this Jewish concept of modesty (Sanh. 38a). Humility represents the peak of moral perfection, and in the "ladder of virtues" is superior even to saintliness (Luzzatto, op. cit., 106, see also chs. 22–23; Prov. 11:2, 15:33, 16:5). Humility is not an isolated trait, but rather a life-style, which encompasses and structures every aspect of human thought and behavior.

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[Zvi H. Szubin]

ḤUMMASH (Heb. חֻמָּשׁ, "Pentateuch," from the root חָמֵשׁ, "five"), the first five books of the Bible. The *ḥummash* (pl. *ḥummashim*) is separately printed for use in the synagogue during the Reading of the Law when the worshipers follow individually the text of the section of the Pentateuch that is being read. It serves as a school text for Bible instruction and is usually printed with the Aramaic translation, Targum *Onkelos, and *Rashi's commentary. The more elaborate editions, called *Mikra'ot Gedolot*, also have the commentaries of Abraham *Ibn Ezra, *Naḥmanides, etc. In talmudic literature, the equivalent term for *ḥummash* is *mikra* (מִקְרָא), or *Torah* (תּוֹרָה), as distinct from the Prophets and the Writings. In modern times, *ḥummashim* with translations and commentary in the vernacular contributed to a more extensive knowledge of the Pentateuch (e.g., Samson Raphael *Hirsch's *Pentateuch* with English translation and commentary (6 vols., 1956–63), J.H. *Hertz's *Pentateuch and Haftorahs* (1962^2), A. Cohen's *Soncino Chumash* (1964^2)). In case of fire on the Sabbath, *ḥummashim*, even those printed in the vernacular, may be saved from the conflagration because they are considered to be "holy writings" (Shab. 16:1, also Sh. Ar., OḤ 334:12).

HUMOR.

Definition

Jewish humor is the humor created by Jews, intended mainly for Jews, and reflecting special aspects of Jewish life. This broad definition includes popular, verbal humor, such as jokes or anecdotes as well as humor created by professionals. Since humor reflects a people's life, it changes and varies accordingly. Thus, one can talk about East European, Sephardi, American, or Israeli Jewish humor. In spite of the great differences in the life conditions of the different communities, Jewish humor has certain characteristics which make it unique. What is generally identified in the professional literature as Jewish humor originated in the 19th century, mainly, but not exclusively, in Eastern Europe. Today in the U.S., Jewish humor is considered as one of the mainstreams of American humor.

At the beginning of the 19th century, a sense of humor was not associated with Jewishness. Hermann Adler, the chief rabbi of London, felt impelled to write an article in 1893 in which he argued against the view that Jews have no sense of humor. It is perhaps interesting to note that not only Jews but non-Jews as well consider today "a good sense of humor" as one of the notable characteristics of Jews.

Historical Roots: The Bible and the Talmud

The Bible mentions "laughter" 50 times (as צחוק (*ẓeḥok*) or שחוק (*seḥok*)). Bible translators frequently used other terms instead of "laughter." In the English translation *ẓeḥok* is rendered as: play, enjoy, insult, mock, fondle, rejoice, scoff, and laugh. In addition to the relative frequency of laughter, many examples of humor appear in the Bible. Irony is evident in the question people asked Moses after he took them out of Egypt: "Because there was no grave in Egypt have you taken us away to die in the wilderness?" (Exodus 14:11). The same ironic touch is seen when Joseph's brothers who did not like him and his dreams decide to kill him: "We will say some evil beast devoured him and we shall see what will become of his dreams" (Genesis 37:19). Or Elisha talking sarcastically about a pagan god: "Cry aloud for he is a god, either he is talking or he is pursuing or he is on a journey or peradventure he sleeps and must be awakened" (1 Kings 18:27). Self-irony and laughter are expressed by Sarah: "Therefore Sarah laughed within herself saying, After I am waxed old shall I have pleasure, my lord being old also?" (Genesis 18:12). Her son was named Isaac (Yiẓḥak, i.e., he shall laugh).

Many references to laughter, humorous tales, and rules about joking appear in the Talmud. It seems that talmudic sages were able to differentiate between "laughing at" and "laughing with." While formal prohibitions to "laugh at" are frequently mentioned, other views, where the accent is on "laughing with," is encouraged. There is an explicit talmudic dictum: "Rabbi Naḥman says, all joking is prohibited except jokes about idol worship" (Meg. 25b). Here the point is to "laugh at," what in modern terms would be considered aggressive humor. But laughter was also considered positive: "Tears of sadness are bad, tears of laughter are beautiful" (Shab. 151b–152a). The first book of research relating humor to education was written in 1979 in France. It demonstrated what appeared already in the Talmud: "Before starting to teach, Rabbah joked and pupils laughed, afterwards he started seriously teaching *halakhah*" (Shab. 30b).

More important, however, is the way of thinking the learning of Talmud encouraged. From the first century on, Jewish boys, whose education began at kindergarten age, learned by examining things from all angles and by speculating; they were encouraged to find contradictions, too. The passing from concrete to abstract and vice versa and the asking of all possible questions to clarify a point and find the most subtle answers to complex problems were appreciated. This very way of thinking was highly valued and is considered by some literary critics as one basis of Jewish literature of all times. This method of problem solving, the examination of all possible (and sometimes impossible) solutions, is one of the mental traits encouraged by generations of students of Talmud, who passed it on influencing even those who nowadays are far from talmudic studies. The talmudic way of thinking, seeing the contradictions, and incongruities, and finding surprising solutions are important ingredients in any humor creation. It is probably one of the reasons for the great number of Jewish humorists.

From the Middle Ages to Emancipation

The religious tradition with its study of the Bible and Talmud was the main intellectual occupation of Jews in the Diaspora. Humor and satire attack what is accepted, and this could not be permitted in the study of religious writing. However, sensing the importance of the need for some humorous relief, certain liberties were admitted and even encouraged. Thus once a year, on Purim, it was permissible not to be serious and drinking was highly recommended. The gaiety found its expression in the "Purim spiel." A Purim rabbi was chosen, his behavior being a caricature of the real rabbi. He gave illogical and funny "rabbinical decisions" to the great delight of his listeners, including the rabbi. However, this was for one day only; immediately afterwards, the community got back again to serious studies, until the following Purim.

Slowly, Jews enriched their talmudic folklore and stories by adopting popular folk stories from their environment. Many of these stories accorded with the psychological need to mock inferiors, creating stories about idiots and simple-minded peasants. These new "heroes" were also sometimes used to make fun of the Christians, fulfilling the aggressive function of humor and giving some form of relief to the persecuted Jews.

In Spain under Arab rule, Jews knew a literary Golden Age. Among the many writers on both religious and secular themes, humorists and satirists were greatly appreciated. One of them, Abraham *Ibn Ezra who lived in the 12th century, used sophisticated self-disparaging humor. In "Out of Luck," he writes about his misfortune:

> The heavenly sphere and the constellations strayed from their path when I was born. If my business were in candles, the sun would not set until I died! However I struggle, I cannot succeed, for my stars have ruined me: if I were a dealer in shrouds, no one would die as long as I lived.

This can be considered as the ancestor of the anti-hero, the *schlemiel* (Yid.) or *shlumiel* (Heb.), who when meeting hardships and disaster, instead of crying and lamenting, is able to see the laughter in the situation. Taking one's distance from one's unhappiness, looking at it with irony, is a way of coping with it, an attitude later to become the hallmark of many Jewish humorists.

Judah ben Solomon *Al-Ḥarizi (1170–1235) was one of the great poets of medieval Hebrew literature. He used a humorous literary style typical of Arab medieval literature. He was the author of *Taḥkemoni* which consisted of 50 *makamat*, a narrative in rhymed prose. Some of his many writings are erotic ones where examples of sexual humor, so rare in Hebrew, can be found. He is considered a precursor of the picaresque novel. Al-Ḥarizi also introduced the "Mosaic style" in which he used partial quotations from the Bible and Talmud, completely out of context, to create humorous effects.

In Italy, *Immanuel of Rome (c. 1260–1328) wrote parodies of the Bible and Talmud which amused those who knew the original (and in those times, they were numerous). His *Maḥbarot of Immanuel* was prohibited by some Italian rabbis because of its erotic content.

Other satirists of the Middle Ages included *Judah ben Isaac ibn Shabbetai (who wrote Hebrew satires, *Minḥat Yehudah Sone ha-Nashim* ("The Gift of Judah the Misogynist") and *Milḥemet ha-Ḥokhmah ve-ha-Osher* ("Strife of Wisdom and Wealth")), *Jedidiah Bedersi ha-Penini (who wrote a reply to "The Gift of Judah the Misogynist"), and Kalonymus ben Kalonymus, who lived in 14th-century Italy. Kalonymus wrote *Massekhet Purim* ("Tractate Purim"), a satirical work which mocks many halakhic teachings. For instance, "Rabbi Abraham used to say: According to a tradition coming from my ancestors, the one who does not enjoy the pleasure of this life, will not join in the pleasures of the world to come; but the one who enjoys the pleasures of this life, will also enjoy pleasures in the world to come." Or, ironically about Purim: "Children are taught about Purim. What are they taught? To fight… so that if they live to the day of the arrival of the Messiah, they will be good in the arts of wars and will be able to fight the wars of the Lord."

Judah *Sommo (c. 1527–1592) wrote *The Comedy of Betrothal* (*Ẓaḥut Bediḥuta de-Kiddushin*) which is considered by some as a precursor of Moliere's *The Miser*. Written c. 1550, it is considered by J. *Schirmann as the first Hebrew play.

Famous Humorous Folkloristic Figures

The ḥasidic movement, which started in Eastern Europe in the middle of the 18th century, saw the relation with God as a joyful one, and the ḥasidim loved to laugh, sing, and dance. This was a departure from the traditional forms of Jewish worship. Ḥasidic sages often used irony and wit to illustrate their points, this certainly adding to their popularity. Some rabbis had court jesters, and Hershele *Ostropoler (1770–1810) fulfilled this role for Rabbi Baruch of Medzibezh (Southern Russia). The rabbi suffered from acute depression and as a defense mechanism promulgated the principle "it is sinful to be sad." As legend has it, Hershele was called upon to cure the rabbi of his depressive moods by making him laugh. Hershele was a simpleton only on surface; he frequently expressed deep truths in a humoristic way. Many Yiddish penny books were written about Hershele who delighted the simple people by his jokes and satires against religious hypocrites, rich misers, and pompous people. He is still a popular figure in many children's jokes in Israel.

Motke Ḥabad (see DC/17:472) was a jester to Yudel Opatov of Vilna and Reb Yossifel the spiritual leader of Chelm became a folk hero. Chelm was for the Jews what Abdera was for the Greeks, Gotham for the English, and Schilda for the Germans: a place populated by naive, talkative, and not very bright people. An example of a Chelm story tells of the old *shammes* (sexton) who complained that he was too old and tired to make the round of all Jewish homes banging on the shutters to wake the men up for the midnight services. The wise men of Chelm discussed the problem in a specially called assembly. And they finally found it: all shutters would be brought to one place, near the *shammes*' home so that he could bang on all of them without having to make the tiresome trip around the shtetl. The men of Chelm always found a theoretically perfect solution having only one disadvantage: it was not practical. But why should one worry about the practical aspects of a problem? Great intellects should be involved in intellectual solutions!

The *maggidim* were itinerant preachers who from talmudic times, in expounding Jewish law and tradition, introduced many humorous stories, knowing that they would thereby be more easily comprehended and even enjoyed by their listeners. They were active and very popular during the Middle Ages and before Emancipation. The most famous among them was Jacob ben Wolf *Kranz of Dubnow.

The *badḥanim* were the merry makers at Jewish weddings which were happy events not only for the family but for the entire community. Frequently, the festivities lasted for many days and became a sort of carnival with music, joking, and dancing. Here probably one can find the beginning of the stand-up comic, made so popular by Jews in the United States. In addition, the Jewish marriages had *leẓim* and *marshalik*. The *leẓ* was a musician-juggler and the *marshalik* was the master of ceremonies.

A new type of Jewish folklore appeared in which the confrontation with the gentiles provided the occasion to demonstrate how clever Jews are. Humor here fulfilled one of its main functions – imaginary superiority. In addition a new humorist appeared in Jewish humor: the rabbi. In ḥasidic humor, rabbis made jokes on people's little failings, generally with a didactic flavor.

Emancipation and the Beginning of Modern Jewish Humor

Emancipation in Western Europe created great opportunities for Jews to integrate into the dominant culture, but a strong ambivalence emerged among those who wanted to integrate and stay Jewish at the same time. Some, such as Heine, decided to convert but his lack of satisfaction was evident in the use of self-irony even against conversion: "I wouldn't trust the sincerity of a Jew who converted to Christianity; no Jew can truly believe in the holiness of another Jew." For German Jews trying to assimilate, self-disparaging humor become a way of showing the Christians that they, the "real German Jews," were different from the other "ugly Jews." By making fun of Jews and developing the stereotyped image of cheaters, liars and people thinking only about money these Jews administered a kind of self-punishment to themselves. By poking fun at the obscurantist (or what seemed to them as so), traditionalist behavior unfit for modern times, they tried to change themselves and their coreligionists. They wanted to create a new image for the Jews, which would be more acceptable to them, the "enlightened ones," as well as to the Christians. In order to do that, they tried to destroy the image of the "primitive Jew" by making it ludicrous, by laughing at it. This was probably the main origin of Jewish self-disparaging humor in Western Europe.

The hallmark of the Enlightenment (Haskalah) literature was satire. Using mainly humor to change a people's way of life is probably unique in the history of social changes. The Haskalah writers produced a rich satirical literature in Hebrew, many of their works being still highly readable today. It was directed mainly against the Orthodox traditionalists, producing in addition some virulent satire against the Ḥasidim.

SATIRIC HUMOR OF THE ENLIGHTENMENT. The Enlightenment brought many changes in the Jewish way of thinking. The conflicts between Haskalah, the Mitnaggedim, and Ḥasidism, the three mainstreams of Jewish thought, provoked a wonderful renaissance of Hebrew and Yiddish writings. The lively battle between Haskalah and Ḥasidism was conducted by writers, who often used humorous satire as a weapon against the ideological "enemy." The fact that satire was the main weapon is an additional affirmation of the importance of humor in Jewish life.

Two main currents can be identified in the satirical writings encouraged by the Haskalah movement. The first was virulent satire, sometimes even vitriolic, in which tradition, the "unhealthy and unproductive" life of the Jews, was attacked. The second current viewed the traditional life in the shtetl in a loving way, albeit with mild criticism, as the result of recognizing the fact that the wonderful ideas of the Haskalah would not easily change Jewish fate; this type of literature was written mainly in Yiddish.

Haskalah authors used Hebrew as well as Yiddish in order to get their message to the greatest number of readers. This was not an easy endeavor since Yiddish was considered by most *maskilim* a "lower language."

When Mendel *Levin (Lefin) translated the book of Proverbs into Yiddish (1814), the outcry of other *maskilim* was terrible. Tobias Feder (1760–1817), author of a parody of the Zohar entitled *Zohar Ḥadash*, wrote a satire in which he described the disciples of Moses Mendelssohn talking in heaven. A disciple informs them that someone has translated the book of Proverbs into a peasant gibberish. Nobody wants to believe that this terrible thing was done by one of Mendelssohn's followers, but when Lefin's translation is shown to them, they decide to burn it.

Joseph *Perl was an outstanding exponent of fighting satire. He imitated so well the stylistic manner of the ḥasidim that the most naive among them accepted his books as reflecting the truth. Since they told stories of machinations and intrigues at the ḥasidic courts and of love of money and power struggles without any thought about simple people, those who believed Perl's satire became disillusioned with the ḥasidic movement.

Other outstanding Haskalah period satirists were Israel *Axenfeld (1787–1866), who wrote strong satires against the manipulation of simple people by the wonder rabbis whom he described as drunken quacks; Solomon *Ettinger who wrote clever moralistic fables; and Abraham Baer *Gottlober (1811–1899) who also wrote strong satire against ḥasidic behavior.

THE PERIOD OF LOVING SATIRE. "Loving satire" is an original Jewish approach to satire. While satire is directed "against" persons, institutions, or concepts, Jewish satire of the shtetl is a kind of critical identification with the people. While they are laughable, the little people (*kleine mentshele*) are understood, loved, and even admired – not for their lifestyle but for their inner qualities. Their tragedies and hardships are encountered with an understanding smile. "Laughing through tears" is the main weapon. The Jewish writers of the 19th century made this laughter part of the continuing Jewish heritage of fighting adversity with humor.

One of the greatest Yiddish writers of late 19th–early 20th century, was Sholem Yankev *Abramovitsh, better known as Mendele Mokher Seforim (Mendele the Bookseller). Having achieved a certain fame in Hebrew writing, he decided to turn to Yiddish in order to reach the masses. His tales became popular and his humor, satirical at first but getting milder later, described Jewish life in the shtetl with love and understanding of the "little people."

His first satirical pieces attacked the religious leaders who were getting fat from the taxes imposed on Jews. His many other works included satires such as "The Nag," an allegory of the Jew as the world's scapegoat, and "Fishke the Lame," in which Jewish beggars, thieves, and vagabonds were described with their rich characters, a mixture of naivete and shrewdness, kind and joyful in spite of the wretched conditions in which they lived. In his unfinished epic "Travels of Benjamin the Third," he made fun of the impractical dreamers, determined to change the world and not able to cope with daily life. His Jewish characters are "besservaisser" – not "knowing it all" but "knowing it all better." They indulge in endless discussions, real feasts of *pilpul* in spite of their miserable economic conditions. Mendele's humor was a mixture of satire and irony with identification, love, and understanding for the little people who, in spite of the difficult lives they led, had an innate nobility and dreamt about higher ideas, always proud to be Jews.

*Shalom Aleichem (1859–1916) was the greatest humorist in all of Jewish literature. His immortal characters, life in the shtetl Kasrilevka which he invented, and overall his atttitude of looking at sad things with humor, made him the best loved and most popular of Jewish writers. His irony is bitter-sweet and his characters, in spite of their naive behavior, are always lovable. Shalom Aleichem does not laugh at them, but brings the reader to laugh with them.

He expressed his philosophy on humor as a way of fighting human suffering in a letter addressed to a friend. In it he wrote: "This is an ugly and mean world, and only to spite it we mustn't weep. If you want to know, this is the constant source of my good spirit, of my 'humor.' Not to cry, out of spite. Only to laugh out of spite, only to laugh." His heroes lead a difficult life but they know how to smile at adversity and always keep on hoping. His best character is Tevye the Milkman, the wise but simple Jew, honest and hard working, who holds discussions with God in whom he believes with fervor, despite a few questions concerning the way He deals with His chosen people. He tries to be rational at all times, but his emotions are always more important and dictate his behavior. His optimistic conclusions are that although things are pretty bad, one should rejoice because they could be worse.

Here is how he described Kasrilevka, the "town of little people":

> Among us Jews poverty has many faces and many aspects. A poor man is an unlucky man, he is a pauper, a beggar, a schnorrer, a starveling, a tramp, or a plain failure. A different tone is used in speaking of each one, but all these names express human wretchedness. However, there is still another name – kasril, or kasrilik. That name is spoken in a different tone altogether, almost a bragging tone. For instance, "Oh, am I ever a kasrilik!" A kasrilik is not just an ordinary pauper, a failure in life. On the contrary, he is a man who has not allowed poverty to degrade him. He laughs at it. He is poor, but cheerful.

Other heroes of Shalom Aleichem figure among the most lovable figures of Jewish literature. Motl Peyse the cantor's son who lives cheerfully and even when his father dies sees some good in becoming an orphan. Menachem Mendel, the eternal luftmentsch, who dreams about getting rich in the great city, but whose heart belongs to the shtetl. Mendel is the archetype *schlemiel*, the hero of Jewish humor, the eternal loser who rationalizes his failures and keeps his optimism. Fishel the Melamed, Aleck the Mechanic, Kopel the Brain, Mendel the Tinman were all part of the miserable but lovable characters of the shtetl. The art of Shalom Aleichem, the virtuosity with which he could describe the most terrible situations with humor can be seen from a letter brimming with current, as well as some not-so-fresh information, one of his heroes writes to a distant cousin who left the shtetl:

> Dear Yankel; you asked me to write at length, and I would like to oblige, but there is really nothing to write about. The rich are still rich; and the poor are dying of hunger as they always do. What's new about that? And as far as pogroms are concerned, thank God we have nothing more to fear as we've already had ours – two of them in fact, and a third wouldn't be worthwhile. You asked about Heshel. He's been out of work now for over half a year. The fact is they won't let them work in prison. Mendel did a clever thing: he upped and died, some say of consumption, others of hunger. Personally, I think he died of both. I really don't know what else to write about, except for the cholera which is going great guns.

This is a perfect example of one of the main characteristics of Jewish humor as a way of coping: the twisting around of and giving an original interpretation to a traumatic experience. Thus, instead of crying at reality, one can laugh at the mangled interpretation. A rational description could only lead to despair, an absurd approach to "there is not much to write about" for an instant obscures reality, which could do nothing better than to lead to total dejection. Antirationalism is the only rational answer to the irrationality of events.

Yiddish theater also started to flourish near the end of the 19th century. Since the Russians banished Yiddish theater (1883) fearing that it would encourage revolutionary sentiment, it developed in other European countries, and later in the United States. Abraham *Goldfaden (1840–1908) is considered the father of the Yiddish theater. The first theatrical representation in Yiddish took place in Jassy, Romania, in October 1872 and met with immense success. His troupe, in which there were also actresses (a great innovation) toured Romania and Russia (until the ban). Then, Yiddish theater emigrated to Paris, London, and New York. Among his many plays, the most successful comedies were *Shmendrik* and *Kuni Lemel*. Both names became familiar terms and were integrated into the daily language. A *shmendrik* is gullible, not vicious or vengeful, well used to failure which he accepts with a smile; Kuni Lemel stutters, is lame, and is always in trouble, but never takes his fate tragically.

The great popularity of Mendele, Shalom Aleichem, and many other Yiddish writers of the period, influenced and was influenced by Jewish folklore. This rich folklore was an expression of a common faith in which witty anecdotes, jokes, and sayings were a sign of reciprocal recognition. Some examples of the irony and wit are still treasured by many Jews who are no longer familiar with Yiddish, but recognize in these sayings part of the Jewish heritage. Here are some of the more popular ones:

> God will provide, but if only He would provide until He provides.
> Dying while you are young is a great boon in your old age.
> If the rich could hire the poor to die for them, the poor would make a very good living.
> What God does is best – probably.
> Our rabbi is so poor that if he didn't fast every Monday and Thursday, he'd starve to death.
> When things don't get better, don't worry, they may get worse.
> If you can't help a friend with money, at least give a krekhts (sigh).
> If God lived on earth, people would knock out all His windows.
> The age of gold was the age when gold did not rule.
> Illusions are comforting; just don't act upon them.
> It's no disgrace to be poor – which is the only good thing you can say about it.

After the 1881 pogroms, the massive emigration of the Jews to America ended a chapter of Jewish humor. Until then this humor had been written only for Jews; the languages used, Hebrew and Yiddish, were not understood by others. In the new world as well as in Europe the language of the host country became the language of Jewish humor, strongly penetrating the dominant culture, especially in the United States.

Jewish Humor in the United States

The massive emigration from Eastern Europe to America brought the main stream of Jewish culture, traditions, and humor to the new land. Since English was not easy to learn, Yiddish continued to be the language used by the first generation and writing in Yiddish was popular for a certain time. Moshe *Nadir (1885–1943), the pen name of Isaac Reis, was a humorist "in the old tradition." He edited two humorous periodicals, *Der Groyser Kundes* and *Der Yidishe Gazlen*, which were very popular. He was considered the greatest Jewish humorist since Shalom Aleichem. Abraham Kotlier and Gerson Rosenzweig were other early satirists.

At a later date, the difficulties in learning English for a Jewish emigrant were humorously described by Leo *Rosten, whose *The Education of H*Y*M*A*N K*A*P*L*A*N* (1937) became a small classic. The chutzpah of Kaplan, a "know it all," sure of himself while making the funniest and most terrible mistakes in the mastering of language, was a great addition to the gallery of *schlemiels* in the New World. Rosten, very much under the influence of Yiddish, pointed out the richness of this language and how it influences English. He wrote about the "Yiddishization" of English, a phenomenon which can be easily observed in many American comedies. Not only are many Yiddish words used in American comedies, but the intonation and the ironic inflections can be easily traced back to folk Yiddish humor.

As Jews started to improve their economic situation, they took time for vacations, a new habit for Jews. Hotels in the Catskills and Poconos around New York, known as "The Borscht Belt," became famous. Many great comedians, among them Mel Brooks, Sid Caesar, Moss Hart, Danny Kaye, and Phil Silvers started their careers there. The humor they created was aimed at the Jewish audience, with a lot of "inner cultural" jokes, in which Yiddish had a place of honor beside English. Yiddish theater also flourished, with many comedies which enjoyed a huge popularity.

Gradually more and more Jewish comedians and humorists started their career in English and their impact on American humor was, and still is, tremendous. Jewish humor had opened itself to the American public. The "crazy" humor of these newcomers on the American scene was best illustrated in the shows of the *Marx Brothers in which absurdity took over, destroying in an extremely funny way the laws of logic, lampooning the dominant culture. The films of the Marx Brothers, the Ritz Brothers, and the three Stooges were the expression of "gleeful nihilism," readily accepted and enjoyed by the American public. S.J. *Perelman, a star writer for the *New Yorker*, also wrote a few of the famous Marx Brothers movies. Any list of American humorists and comic actors is largely Jewish.

Research has shown that among the most famous nationally known humorists in America, 80% are Jewish, while Jews represent only 3% of the American population. This tremendous contribution is related to the fact that humor is a way of expression familiar to Jews and related to their heritage. In addition, many of the American Jewish humorists feel the anxieties of being part of a society which does not accept them totally. Wanting to be Americans and Jews at the same time is not always easy. There are no dangers of physical annihilation, but there are signs of cultural assimilation. As Mel Brooks expressed it, when asked about the sources of his comedy: "It comes from the feeling that, as a Jew and a person, you don't fit into the mainstream of American society. It comes from the realization that even if you are better and smarter, you'll never belong." Brooks is proud of his Jewishness and relates frequently to it. He had the "chutzpah" to put on the screen American Indians who talked Yiddish and to discover to his great surprise that the lines were received with great laughter even in middle America. His feelings towards Germans after the Holocaust are expressed in the many sadistic German characters which populate his movies. When asked in an interview if he hates Germans, he answered: "Me? Not like Germans? Why should I not like Germans? Just because they are arrogant and have fat necks and do anything they're told as long as it's cruel and killed millions of Jews in concentration camps and made soap out of their bodies and lamp shades out of their skins? Is that any reason to hate them?" This irony, the effort to express tragedy in a humorous way reminds us not only in content but also in the form of expression of the writings of Shalom Aleichem.

Woody Allen in his movies made the Jewish *schlemiel* a lovable character to many people around the world. His Jewish person is so unmistakable that even when the character he plays is not identified as such, one cannot miss his Jewishness. In one of his early monologues he tells us that "Mr. Berkowitz was shot, stuffed, and mounted in the New York Athletic Club. And the joke is on them, 'cause it's restricted." The American society refusing to accept Jews as they are is frequently made fun of, but so are the Jews themselves who forget their Jewishness. When a very assimilated rabbi is asked why Jewish people are not allowed to eat pork, he answers "We're not? Uh-oh." Then, comes the explanation that "some scholars believe that the Torah merely suggested not eating pork at certain restaurants." Even God is the object of ironic comment such as "Yom Kippur is the sacred Jewish holiday commemorating God's reneging on every promise." Allen's main theme is alienation, as a Jew, but also as a human being. His sadness and loneliness is expressed in a humorous way meeting tragedy with a continuous optimism and continuing the struggle without ever giving up, against all odds. Obviously, Allen enjoys being an outsider and he contributes towards making the Jewish condition of being an outsider in America a deep human experience understandable both for Jews and non-Jews.

The Jewish American writers who use humor, have also had a tremendous influence on American literature. They introduced the "laughter through tears" and the self-disparaging character of the *schlemiel* into many of their works. They use both the psychological mechanism of assimilation (adapting to one's environment) and of accommodation (modifying the environment to one's needs). Two of them even received the Nobel Prize for literature. One, the most famous Yiddish writer in the United States, is Isaac Bashevis *Singer. He wrote a story about an immortal *schlemiel*, "Gimpel the Fool," living in the legendary shtetl. Gimpel was the laughing stock of everybody in the shtetl because he was so naive that he believed everything people told him. But Gimpel was not as gullible as he seemed; as he himself said he did not really believe them but he thought that by making himself a believer in their stories, he would at least be liked. This is one of the additional main motives in the psychology of the *schlemiel* which appears so frequently in Jewish humor: make yourself a bit ridiculous and people will like you. This aspect of the *schlemiel* became more and more important in American Jewish humor.

The second Nobel Prize winner, using humor in the best Jewish tradition, is Saul Bellow. Many of his heroes remind us of characters in Shalom Aleichem. Of course they are more complex, richer in their struggle for self-understanding and search for meaning, but they are described with warm irony. In the way Moses Elchanan Herzog, one of the most classic *schlemiels* in American literature, describes his father, one recognizes a Menachem Mendel in the New World: "In 1913 he bought a piece of land near Valleyfield, Quebec, and failed as a farmer. Then he came into town and failed as a baker;

failed in the dry-goods business; failed as a jobber; failed as a sack manufacturer in the War, when no one else failed. He failed as a junk dealer. Then he became a marriage broker and failed – too short tempered and blunt. And now he was failing as a bootlegger, on the run from the Provincial Liquor Commission. Making a bit of a living."

Bellow in *Herzog* explains the influences of the Jewish family, the mother's use of love as a means of pushing and the inevitable emotional failure, because one never can be so marvelous as mother expects. And of course no one can be so much adored as a Jewish boy in his family.

The Jewish mother theme was humorously depicted many times by American Jewish writers, from Dan Greenburg's *How to be a Jewish Mother* to Philip Roth's *Portnoy's Complaint*. All these strong, loving, blackmailing ladies with exaggerated expectations are adored, feared, and seen either as great motivators for social success or as provoking emotional failure. Most Jewish American heroes in comedy are deeply human, complex, anti-heroes who win the readers' or spectators' love because of the emotions they express. They are not the tight-lipped, super-macho cowboys nor the tough-fighter, strong silent types, so familiar to American folklore. They are complex, recognizing their fragility, introspecting with great volubility, and above all striving to be a real *mentsh*. Probably their acceptance by the American public is due to their maturity and recognition that the strength of human beings does not lie only in showing how strong they are, but that there is also some strength in weakness, in accepting it as part of us and living with it, continuing to be optimistic even in the most difficult moments, and being able to laugh at ourselves. Bruce Jay Friedman's "Stern," Malamud's "Fiedelman," Joseph Heller's "Gold," and Mel Brooks's "Two-thousand-year-old Man," all have these characteristics, celebrated by Jewish humor.

Jewish Humor in Israel

There is no better proof concerning the classic question, "Does humor represent national characteristics?" than a comparison of the development of Jewish humor in Israel and the Diaspora. While Jewish humor in 19th-century Europe and 20th-century America became famous and is considered as one of the positive aspects of the Jewish stereotype, in Israel it changed rapidly. As Jews in Israel changed their ideals, behavior and self-perception, so did the famous Jewish humor. Israeli humor has little in common with Jewish humor of the Diaspora. Israeli character has seemed to change, and with it, the humor of the Israelis who are no longer so enchanted with themselves, and are even able to see the ridiculous in their life and behavior. A real "hero" cannot accept seeing himself as a *schlemiel* and fervent – almost fanatical – belief in the realization of a national ideal is not inducive to regarding oneself as funny. The extreme seriousness of the pioneers wanting to build not only a "new homeland" but also a "new Jew," did not leave much place for self-disparagement. But, still, it has proved not so easy to forget almost two millennia of cultural background in the Diaspora – as the founders of Modern Israel so desired. The relatively short history of Israel can be divided into four periods:

(1) Before Independence;
(2) From Independence to the Six-Day War (1948–1967);
(3) From the Six-Day War to the Lebanon war (1967–1982);
(4) After the Lebanon war.

BEFORE INDEPENDENCE. Between 1880 and World War I, a few thousand dreamers went to the Promised Land as idealistic pioneers. They wanted to build a Jewish homeland, but also to rebuild themselves, create a Jew as different as possible from the *galut* (Diaspora) type.

Jews from Europe brought with them their tradition of Jewish humor, and satirical theaters and humorous newspapers flourished. This is remarkable when one remembers that the papers were written in Hebrew, and the plays were interpreted by actors few of whom knew the language very well. Moreover, the Hebrew speaking population was a small minority.

Humorous newspapers in Hebrew appeared in the 1920s. The first satirical newsletter was published by Avigdor Hameiri, who also founded the first satirical theater in Palestine. Various such journals made their appearance, most of them shortlived. Cartoonists started to publish their work in these journals as well as in daily newspapers. The tendency to accept political cartoons, but not cartoons depicting or poking fun at life in general, is still very much alive in Israel today. Yoseph Bass, Aryeh Navon and Nardi were the best known cartoonists of the period before independence.

Satirical theater in Hebrew started in 1927 with the foundation of Ha-Kumkum ("The Kettle") intended to "scald the Yishuv, with the Kettle's steam." The second satirical theater, Ha-Matate ("The Broom") which started in 1928 was frequently used to mock the British, in spite of their censorship.

Israeli humor in this period followed the tradition of European Jewish humor. However one new form of humor was created by the new Israeli generation which was the backbone of the army. The Palmaḥ was considered the elite of the Haganah, Israel's unofficial army, and the humor created in its ranks reflected their life, gently making fun of the inner problems of the army and of course of the British. The jokes were of the tall story kind and rather long; tales in which popular figures, who later became legends, did their tricks. These stories, created in the 1940s, were published in the 1950s in *Yalkut ha-Kezavim*. In *Yalkut*, the heroes were manly, poking fun at everything, accomplishing fantastic, greatly exaggerated feats, and convinced that they were supermen representing the new Yishuv. Difficulties were easily solved by the naive know-all of the heroes. They were capable of besting the English troops who were dumb and credulous. The stories were not satire but kind humor, accepting and admiring the little foibles of the heroes. It was clear for the writers, that those Palmaḥ kids were the best, most noble, and true elite of the new Jewish society in Palestine. The main characteristics of the story (the *chizbat*) were as follows: It was somewhat lengthy, told to a group around the fire, and contained a kernel of truth. Many Arabic words were used and almost no Yiddish or European languages. While the punch line was not very original, it created an atmosphere of group cohesiveness and a folklore of "private jokes" enjoyed by those who belonged. The heroes were often soldiers, *shomerim* (guards), and kibbutzniks. The main victim was the greenhorn, emphasizing probably the idea that the newcomers are not really "in." In a land based on immigration this kind of joking probably helped to create a kind of elite. This reflected a new way of life, a folklore of the army which was as unknown to the Jews as the army itself.

FROM INDEPENDENCE TO THE SIX-DAY WAR. The creation of the State of Israel was accompanied by the rise of a bureaucracy and a slow disappearance of the great idealistic ideas. Proud of their accomplishments, Israelis developed behavioral characteristics as different as possible from the *galut* image. Being tough, serious, proud of every bit of what was going on in Israel, was the order of the day. George Mikes expressed some astute observations about the Israelis in his book *Milk and Honey* (1950). Among them, one typical of Jewish irony was:

> If you want to get on with the Israelis, praise them. It is silly to praise people behind their backs. Not very manly either. Tell them openly to their faces that you think they are wonderful. Have the courage to insist that they are admirable, brave, brilliant, efficient, noble and inimitable. At first, I thought such statements might embarrass them. But not at all. They do not mind them. They can face the truth. They say it themselves.

An atmosphere of self-importance does not breed humor, but nevertheless, a kind of humor developed which was a stranger to East European humor. Its roots were mostly aggressive and new negative stereotypes were created with each wave of immigration. Romanians were the butts of jokes concerning their honesty, Moroccans for using knives too easily, Germans for being dense, and so on. This reflected the "scapegoat principle" according to which people need to consider others laughable in order to feel superior themselves. Jews who for generations had been the targets for the mockery of others had to find victims, and these they found among themselves.

Rapidly, the new bureaucrats and politicians became the favorite target. There was a gradual passage from great admiration for the leaders to a more critical view. For the young Israelis, the practical aspect of the realization of their ideals proved unpalatable. Pioneering asceticism was replaced by a desire for personal gains and luxuries. Egalitarian ideology was considered a thing of the past and instead of wanting to be an exemplary state, most Israelis – especially the young ones – wanted to be just normal, not better than others, and certainly not worse.

The 1956 Sinai Campaign with its quick military victory bolstered the Israelis' self-confidence – and their arrogance – even more. The tough guy, who never talks about emotions or weaknesses, was reinforced. Humor was rather pale and rare on Israeli radio (television was not yet introduced) and in the newspapers.

Haaretz published the daily column *Uzi ve-Shutafav* ("Uzi and his partners") written by Benjamin Tammuz and later by Amos Kenan. *Maariv* started *Ḥad Gadya* by Ephraim Kishon. The literary journal *Masa* started publishing installments of *Yalkut ha-Kezavim* by Haim Hefer and Dahn Ben-Amotz. The humor of this period was mostly the work of newcomers from Europe, notably Hungarians. Foremost among them was Ephraim Kishon, a well-known humorist in Hungary prior to his going to Israel. When he arrived in Israel he did not know a word of Hebrew. Within a short time his mastery of the language was such that he introduced into it many innovations which were rapidly picked up by his readers. His output was extraordinary. Not only did he have a daily column in the most popular daily in Israel, but he wrote successful theater comedies which were produced in Israel and many other countries, and wrote and directed outstanding film comedies which won him international recognition (*The Policeman* was nominated for an Oscar as best foreign movie). Kishon's satire was mild and loving, considering the people he attacked were more like *schlemiels* than cruel and bad people. Other Israelis of Hungarian origin who were noted humorists included the journalist Josef (Tomi) Lapid and the cartoonists Dosh (Katriel Gardosh), who created a popular little Israeli who became a national symbol, and Ze'ev (Ya'akov Farkas), a sharp political satirist. Since most humor of this period was created by newcomers from Eastern Europe who brought with them the humorous style prevalent there and who were enchanted with being in Israel, their work was gentle and beloved.

FROM THE SIX-DAY WAR TO THE LEBANON WAR. The Six-Day War changed the self-image of most Israelis and probably of many Jews around the world. Suddenly the little David slaughtered Goliath anew and started to believe in himself as some kind of superman. Israelis became conquerors, having acquired considerable territories, maintaining more than one million Arabs under military rule.

The general euphoria did not silence the dissidents who started asking questions about the morality of being a conqueror and often used the medium of a bitter humor. *Malkat ha-Ambatia* ("Queen of the Bath"), the first satirical play after the Six-Day War, vigorously attacked the Israeli political establishment and its policies concerning the occupied territories. Hanoch Levin, the author of the play, was at such odds with the general consensus that his play was performed only 19 times and abandoned due to the public outcry.

However, Levin's satire was followed by other humorous critical looks at Israeli realities. The new medium of television brought lively satire into everybody's home. The weekly program, entitled *Nikkui Rosh* ("Cleaning the Head"), was written by a new generation of humorists. Israel-born, they did not look at the country as a miracle but as a fact which can be criticized, a reality with good and bad aspects. Humor was never accepted by Israeli politicians as a normal part of the country's life. This was because most Israeli humor during this period was political, the politicians appearing as liars, cheats, and desirous of holding on to power.

The new generation of humorists, B. Michael, Ephraim Sidon, Yonatan Gefen, all "sabras" (born in Israel), used virulent, savage satire against the government and its policies. The cabaret satire, presented on stage, became popular and what Levin dared to present in his first satirical plays was now accepted and enjoyed immense popularity. Some "old timers" from the Palmaḥ days like Dahn Ben-Amotz and Amos Kenan joined the ranks. Seeing themselves as keepers of the original idealistic views, destroyed by politicians from the political right as well as from the left, they helped keep up a constant satirical attack against the political establishment.

The Yom Kippur War was a hard shock for most Israelis and had a sobering effect on their self-image. Political humor and virulent satire were mobilized to attack those in power. Since power in 1977 moved to the right side of the political spectrum, most satire came from the left. Satirical plays now enjoyed a huge success. For the first time, Israel, its policies, the feeling of being right, were savagely satirized. Yehoshua Sobol, one of Israel's most prolific playwrights, wrote satirical reviews ferociously attacking the political leadership. Hanoch Levin continued his satirical work. Contrary to the older generation of humorists who saw in political and bureaucratic manipulations a kind of "schlemielish" way of dealing with Israel's realities, the new generation showed politicians as vicious liars, ready to cheat, and even start wars in order to gain or retain power.

However, this satirical overkill became boring in the long run, with the satirists repeating themselves. Some of them, such as B. Michael, Ephraim Sidon, Kobi Niv, and Dudu Geva, started writing absurd humor. This is possibly a renewal of the traditional Jewish humor: if you cannot fight a cruel reality, change it by distorting it. If you can laugh at it, this shows that it is not so terrible. Absurd and even sexual humor (a novelty in Israeli humor), a new modern style of cartoons, comic strips, brought a new wind into Israeli humor. However political satire was still dominant by far.

AFTER THE LEBANON WAR. This war, the first on which the Israeli consensus was broken, created an even stronger satirical outcry. But, since they were the same satirists, attacking the same targets, the public and finally the satirists themselves got somewhat tired. New forms of humor appeared on the Israeli scene, some of them relating to the more traditional themes of Jewish humor. In some sketches the *schlemiel* appeared; an Israeli soldier, a bit confused, doing his best to keep alive and get home in one piece, keeping up his morale by using self-disparaging humor. This was something new.

Some nostalgic looks towards Diaspora Jewish humor appeared. A new generation of Israeli humorists, in their twenties, started a new style of absurd humor which became a cult among youngsters. Satire, nonsense, and self-disparagement contributed to creating a healthy humorous atmosphere. Many daily newspapers started a weekly humor supplement, best-known being "Another Thing" (*Davar Aḥer*) in the Socialist party's daily *Davar*, which even made fun of the party's own historical slogans.

What is the future for the development of Israeli humor? A humorist explained: "Jewish humor developed in Eastern Europe as a defense mechanism. Jews were living in small shtetls, surrounded by a huge majority of Christians who hated them and tried many times to destroy them. Today everything has changed. Jews now live in a small state surrounded by a huge majority of Arabs who hate them and have tried many times to destroy them. So, don't worry, we still need Jewish humor for survival."

Jewish Theoretical Approaches to Humor

Jewish humor was one of the aspects of dealing with reality in difficult times. Humor in itself as a human phenomenon has been investigated by many writers and philosophers, and the three main theoretical approaches to the understanding of humor in the modern period were the products of Jewish minds.

The social theory of humor views laughter as a social punishment directed towards those who do not behave, feel, or think in socially accepted ways. Henri Bergson, the Nobel Prize-winning Jewish philosopher, exposed this theory in his book *Le Rire*, published in 1898. According to his view, laughter has an important corrective function in social life. As shown before, this function of laughter appeared already in the Bible.

The second theory of humor stresses the motivational and emotional factors in humor. It was first expounded by Sigmund *Freud in his book: *Wit and Its Relation to the Unconscious*, published in 1905. Dividing humor into tendentious and non-tendentious, Freud showed that most humor expresses in a socially acceptable way the strongest human impulses: sexuality and aggressiveness. By freeing the expression of these impulses, psychic energy is economized. In his book, Freud used many examples of Jewish humor: *shadkhans* (marriage brokers) and *shnorrers* (beggars) as well as all kinds of Jewish traditional figures abound in his jokes. It is in this book that Freud wrote: "I do not know whether there are many other instances of a people making fun to such a degree of its own character." In this sentence, Freud for the first time gave expression to one of the better known characteristics of Jewish humor: self-disparagement. In an article entitled "Humor," written in 1928, Freud pointed out how humor can be a helpful mechanism by obtaining victory in a symbolic manner when dealing with difficult situations.

The third main theory on humor was proposed by Arthur *Koestler in his book *The Art of Creation* published in 1964. Here, the cognitive aspect of humor is stressed. Introducing the concept of bisociation, which he defined as "perceiving a situation or idea in two self-consistent but habitually incompatible frames of references," Koestler demonstrated that humor can be seen as a model for creativity. Creativity in sciences, as well as in arts, is based mainly on bisociation, and understanding humor can help better understand the concept of creativity.

These three approaches: social, emotional, and cognitive, constitute the theoretical basis for most modern research in the field of humor. The fact that all three theories were created by Jews is an additional factor strengthening the hypothesis of the special affinity between Jews and humor. In addition, the First International Academic Conference on Jewish Humor held in 1984 at Tel Aviv University, followed by the second one in New York in 1986, shows the interest of the scientific community – Jewish and non-Jewish – in Jewish humor. No such conferences on any other national humor have ever been organized.

Psycho-Social Roots of Jewish Humor

Although most researchers seem to agree that Jewish humor developed as a reaction to the difficult living conditions of a persecuted minority, some additional explanations are relevant. Language is the main vehicle of humor and Jewish history was always linked with language richness. Bilingualism – and at certain times trilingualism – was a characteristic of the Diaspora already from the times of the Babylonian exile. Most of the time, Jews knew three languages: Hebrew for sacred studies, Yiddish (or Ladino), and the language of the country they lived in. Introducing words from one language into another frequently produces humorous effects, and many Jewish writers used this technique. The "Yiddishization of English" provides material for American comedians, and few Americans are unfamiliar with such terms as *meshugas, gonif,* and *gevalt*.

Another factor related to language is the perpetual enrichment caused by cultural influences. Jews, a minority in many countries, were influenced by the literature, language, and culture of the host country. Minorities defend their own culture by adopting some aspect of the dominant one, thus contributing to their own enrichment.

Certainly the fact that learning was always highly valued by Jewish tradition has had an important influence in the development of Jewish humor. Most Jewish humor is verbal, and the habit of looking beyond the apparent meaning of the words, trying to turn them around as the *pilpul* tradition always taught, influenced the taste for playing with words in many ways, including the humorous one.

As a minority, Jews had to maintain their cohesiveness and those who did not follow the community rules were laughed at. The many inner jokes about those who converted or those who did not follow the traditional ways had an important function.

Finally, the need to see the absurdity in a world where Jews, the chosen people, were always persecuted, helped in no small way to develop humor.

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[Avner Ziv]

°**HUMPHREY, HUBERT H.** (1911–1978), U.S. Statesman; vice president of the United States. He was born in Wallace, South Dakota, where his father had a small drugstore. A self-made man, he supported himself during his studies at the University of Minnesota where he graduated Phi Beta Kappa, but during the Great Depression returned to his home town, working in his father's store for six years to support his family.

Rejected for military service in World War II on medical grounds, Humphrey was appointed director of the Minnesota War Productions Board. He entered politics in 1945 when he was elected Mayor of Minneapolis and established a reputation as a tough fighter in cleaning up the city. It was during this period that he formed his first intimate contacts with the Jewish community.

Elected to the U.S. Senate in 1949, he was chosen by President Johnson as his nominee for the vice presidency in 1964, and in 1968 was the Democratic candidate for the presidency, failing to gain election by only a small margin. Reelected to the Senate he became a member of the important Foreign Relations Committee and chairman of the subcommittee on foreign aid.

Throughout his political career Humphrey remained a staunch friend and defender of Judaism, deepening his knowledge by study and frequent visits to Israel. He believed firmly in the importance of the state as a bastion of democracy and the most important ally of the free world in the Middle East. "The noblest of U.S. aspirations bear a striking kinship to the vision of the prophets of ancient Israel" was his constant theme.

After the Six-Day War and the three "noes" of the Arab Khartoum Conference, he was instrumental in obtaining more Phantom planes for Israel. In 1968 he published his Six Point Plan for a permanent peace in the Middle East, calling – *inter alia* – for the recognition of Israel by the Arab countries, secure borders, free navigation and a solution to the Arab refugee problem.

After the Yom Kippur War he was instrumental in obtaining vast military and economic aid for Israel, and was responsible for the introduction of an amendment to the bill which enabled the U.S. administration to waive up to $1.5b. for military equipment sent to Israel. He vigorously opposed the secret negotiations on the part of the United States with the PLO and President Ford's reassessment policy towards Israel.

Humphrey also took a prominent part in the struggle on behalf of the rights of Soviet Jews to emigrate to Israel, and took up the cudgels on their behalf in personal interviews with Leonid Brezhnev in 1973 and 1974.

Among the many various distinctions granted to him for his unsparing and untiring efforts on behalf of Israel were doctorates *honoris causa* from Yeshiva University and the Weizmann Institute, and the opening of the School of Medicine of Ben-Gurion University in November 1974. In October 1977 he received the first Gold Medal Human Rights Award of the Pioneer Women's Organization.

Humphrey died on Jan. 13, 1978, shortly after he was visited by the prime minister of Israel during the latter's stay in Washington.

In Jan. 1979 the Hubert H. Humphrey Parkway was dedicated in Jerusalem.

[Alexander Zvielli (2nd ed.)]

ḤUMRA (Aramaic חֻמְרָא "severity or sternness"), a legal term in talmudic and halakhic literature applied to the stricter and more severe of two possible rulings in doubtful cases of ritual law and observance. The opposite of *ḥumra* is *kulla* (קֻלָּא), meaning the more lenient and permissive approach. In tractate *Eduyyot*, chapters 4 and 5, the Talmud gives a complete list of the *ḥumrot* and *kullot*, i.e., the more restrictive and the more lenient decisions of the academies of *Hillel and *Shammai. In doubts regarding biblical law the stricter ruling should be followed, whereas in matters of rabbinic laws and ordinances the more lenient solution may be adopted. In later usage, the term also referred to the restrictions that pious individuals voluntarily imposed upon themselves in ritual observance which was over and above the requirements of the law.

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HUNA (**Ḥuna**), a name very common among the *amoraim*, especially those of Babylon. (Palestinian *amoraim* of that name also came from Babylon; see *Huna b. Avin.) In the Babylonian Talmud there are no less than 60, and it occurs among the heads of the academies of Sura and Pumbedita in the geonic period (see **Gaon*). Apart from the outstanding *amora* (see below no. 2) of that name who is always referred to without his patronymic, the father's name is always given – with two or three possible exceptions. This name was also common in the family of the exilarchs from the end of the tannaitic to the end of the amoraic era, and several exilarchs were called Rav Huna or Mar Huna. The following (without patronymics) are worthy of note:

(1) Rav Huna Resh Galuta (end of second century), Babylonian exilarch at the close of the tannaitic era mentioned by Judah ha-Nasi, his contemporary (Gen. R. 33:3; TJ, Ket. 12:3, 35a). Huna died during Judah's lifetime and his remains were taken to Ereẓ Israel for burial (TJ, Kil. 9:4, 32b, Gen. R. 33:3), probably to *Bet She'arim, where Judah dwelt. In subsequent generations it became customary for the remains of Jews who died in the Diaspora to be taken to Bet She'arim for burial. Rav Huna is, however, the first known talmudic sage to be buried in Ereẓ Israel.

(2) R. Huna (second half of the third century), one of the leaders of the second generation of Babylonian *amoraim* and a pillar of the Babylonian Talmud. Huna is mentioned hundreds of times in the Babylonian and frequently in the Jerusalem Talmud (also by the name Ḥuna). His great influence can be seen not only in the many halakhic and aggadic dicta transmitted in his name, but also from the many details given about his life and habits, as well as of his death and burial. According to the letter of Sherira Gaon, he died in 296 C.E. and the Talmud (MK 28a) testifies that he was an octogenarian. From one passage in the Talmud (Pes. 107a) it would appear that he was already known as a scholar in the time of Judah ha-Nasi. Huna belonged to the family of the exilarch (Letter of Sherira Gaon) and came from the town Drukeret near Sura (Ta'an. 21b). Nevertheless, in his youth he was extremely poor (Meg. 27b), worked with cattle (TJ, Sanh. 1:1, 18b), and was a farm laborer, and when he was called to give evidence or act as a judge, he had to request that a substitute be provided for him for his work (Ket. 105a; et al.). Toward the end of his life, however, he became very wealthy and the *aggadah* tells of his great philanthropy (Ta'an. 20b).

Huna was the outstanding disciple of Rav (Shab. 128a; Beẓah 40a; BK 115a; et al.) and was largely instrumental in the decision that the *halakhah* follows Rav in matters of ritual law (Nid. 24b; et al.). He transmits traditions in Rav's name, and according to the Talmud statements given anonymously in the name of "the school of Rav" are to be attributed to Huna (Sanh. 17b and Tos. s.v. *Ella Rav Hamnuna*). Rav's great influence is also discernible in Huna's style and language. Nevertheless, he is also mentioned as "sitting at the feet" of Rav's contemporary, Samuel, and transmits statements in his name (Suk. 32b; Ar. 16b). After the deaths of Rav and Samuel, Huna was appointed head of the Sura Academy, over which he presided for more than 40 years, but apparently his *bet midrash* in his native Drukeret continued to function (Letter of Sherira). Many *aggadot* speak of the extent to which he disseminated Torah in eulogistic terms and give superlative descriptions of the vast numbers of his disciples (see, e.g., Ket. 106a). Almost all the *amoraim* of the generation after him transmit his teachings, and even his contemporaries, the pupils of Rav, regarded him as an authority, asking his advice and accepting his decision (Kid. 70a; Nid. 28a; et al.). He was similarly esteemed in Ereẓ Israel (TJ, Hag. 1:8, 76c), and the religious leaders of Tiberias, Ammi and Assi, accepted his authority (Git. 59b). There are many references to his saintliness, the many fasts which he imposed upon himself (MK 25a) and the manner in which he dispensed his hospitality to the poor (Ta'an. 20b), etc. He and his colleague Ḥisda were called "the pious ones of Babylon" (Ta'an. 23b). It is stated that when he died the sages wished to place a *Sefer Torah* on his bier but refrained from doing so when Ḥisda informed them that Huna did not approve of such action. In his eulogy, Abba said: "Our teacher merited that the Divine presence (Shekhinah) rest upon him; that it did not was the fault of Babylon" (MK 25a). After this, the Talmud goes on to state that Rav Huna's remains – like the remains of Rav Huna the exilarch – were taken to Ereẓ Israel for burial, and Ammi and Assi, the heads of the school of Tiberias, went to meet the bier; he was buried in the cave of *Ḥiyya (MK 25a; TJ, Kil. 9:4, 32b). However, it seems that this tradition in the Bavli has no historical basis, but rather is a reworking of the earlier tradition concerning Rav Huna the exilarch, which was appended to the original Babylonian tradition concerning the death of our Rav Huna by later editors (Friedman). Of Huna's sons, the *amora* Rabbah b. Huna is known (Meg. 27b).

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[Shmuel Safrai]

HUNA (Huna, Hunya, Nehunya) BEN AVIN HA-KOHEN (mid-fourth century C.E.), Palestinian *amora*. His full name appears in the *Pesikta Rabbati* (5:15b et al.). Huna was born in Babylon, where he studied under R. Joseph, but immigrated to Ereẓ Israel, and he gives a personal account of this immigration (TJ, RH 2:2, 58a). He is seldom mentioned in the Babylonian Talmud, but very frequently in the Jerusalem Talmud and Palestinian Midrashim, both in *halakhah* and *aggadah*. He transmits in the names of Babylonian scholars, particularly Joseph and also generally, referring to them as "the rabbis there" (TJ, Yoma 3:6, 40c; Suk. 1:1, 52b). In Ereẓ Israel he sat before R. Jeremiah and was regarded as his pupil (Zev. 75b). In *aggadah* he frequently transmits in the name of Aḥa (TJ, Ber. 9:3, 13d, and in the Midrashim). It appears that Huna took an active and prominent part in communal affairs of Ereẓ Israel, and was one of its leaders, both in the academic and the daily life of the community (see TJ, Suk. 2:5, 53a; Pe'ah 3:9, 17d; et al.) and was accepted as an authority in practical *halakhah* (TJ, Shev. 6:1, 36d; MK 1:2, 80b; BB 52b, 55a; et al.).

Several of Huna's sayings reflect the events of the revolt against Gallus (in 351; see, e.g., TJ, Pes. 1:1, 27a; Gen. R. 31:11). It would appear that the decision which he sent to Babylonia informing them that they should fix the leap year themselves (RH 21a), is connected with these persecutions, since it was difficult for the Sanhedrin in Ereẓ Israel to do so. Similarly the letter sent to Babylon from Ereẓ Israel which tells in cryptic language of the intercalation of the year despite interferences by "that Edomite" (Sanh. 12a) was probably sent by Huna. His statements in the *aggadah* are frequent, and they embrace many aspects of Jewish thought. They are expressed in the form of expositions of Scripture, homilies, parables, proems to homilies, etc. In them too can be detected an echo of the difficult situation in his time – statements warning against forcing the end (of the exile), and the failures of the various attempts to do so (Song R. 2:2 no. 5; et al.).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Hyman, Toledot, 357.

[Shmuel Safrai]

HUNA BEN (Bereih de-Rav) JOSHUA (fourth century C.E.), Babylonian *amora*. R. Huna, together with R. *Papa, was a pupil of *Abbaye (Pes. 111b) and of *Rava (BB 22a). Rava held them in great esteem, saying of them "Happy are the righteous" (Hor. 10b; Kid. 32b), but he was also censorious of them, calling them "Ye white geese that strip people of their cloaks" (Ket. 85a). Huna testified of himself that he never walked four cubits bareheaded (Shab. 118b). His long life is attributed to the fact that he never stood upon his rights (RH 17a). The Talmud (BB 130b) cites the directives given by Rava to Huna and Papa, on how to deal with legal decisions both during his lifetime and after his death. After Rava's death, R. Papa founded a yeshivah in Naresh and Huna became "head of the *kallah*" (Ber. 57a, according to another reading he became head of his group) and in several places the Talmud cites the decisions Huna gave there (Yoma 69a, et al.). Huna and Papa are frequently mentioned together in the Talmud. Although they occupied themselves mainly with *halakhah*, aggadic statements of theirs occur (Shab. 89a). They engaged in business too (Git. 73a) and were of substantial means (see BB 26a; Hor. 10b).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Hyman, Toledot, s.v.; S.W. Rabinowitz, *Sha'arei Torat Bavel* (1961), 379–80.

[Zvi Kaplan]

HUNA BEN NATHAN (fourth–beginning of fifth century), Babylonian *amora*. Huna was also *exilarch (*Iggeret Sherira Ga'on*, ed. Levin p. 91). Though indeed "scholarship and high office were combined in him" he subordinated himself to R. *Ashi (Git. 59a). According to a tradition cited in *Mo'ed Katan* (28a; see the Munich Mss. *ibid.*) he succeeded Ashi on the latter's death. He was held in high esteem by Yezdegerd I, the Persian king (Zev. 19a). His halakhic sayings are frequently quoted in the Talmud (Shab. 116b, et al.), and he had halakhic discussions with *Rava, whose sayings he transmitted (Ned. 12a, et al.). He was also associated with *Naḥman b. Isaac, R. *Papa, and with Ameimar in Nehardea, who permitted him to marry a wife from Be-Ḥozai (Pes. 86b; Ber. 42a; Kid. 72b. et al.). Such was his fame that his father used to be referred to as "Nathan, the father of Huna b. Nathan" (Pes. 117b).

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[Yitzhak Dov Gilat]

HUNA OF SEPPHORIS (end of the third and beginning of the fourth centuries C.E.), Palestinian *amora*. R. Huna was a pupil of R. Johanan whose sayings he transmitted (RH 34b). Halakhic and aggadic statements of his are transmitted by various scholars in both the Babylonian and Jerusalem Talmuds, as well as in the Midrash (Yoma 77b; TJ, Ta'an. 2:2, 65c; Kid. 1:1, 58c; Ex. R. 3:6). He was the author of the prayer "*raḥem*" (or "*naḥem*") recited during the afternoon service on the Ninth of Av (see TJ, Ta'an. 2:2, 65c).

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[Zvi Kaplan]

HUNCOVCE (Ger. **Hunsdorf**; Hg. **Hunfalu**), village in N.E. Slovakia; until 1992 Czechoslovak Republic, since then Slovak Republic, seat of a famous yeshivah. It is located in the region of Spiš (Ger. Zips, Hg. Szepes), settled densely by Germans (Schwabes). The inhabitants were hostile to Jews and would not permit them to live in the region's towns. Huncovce, a village, served as a ghetto, where Jews would return in the evenings when the city gates closed. The first Jews must have settled in Huncovce in the 17th century, and there is evidence of their presence in the 18th century. The first rabbi, Benjamin Sinai, died in 1708. From the outset, Huncovce suffered from internal migration, so when *Liptovský Mikulaš was settled by Jews at the beginning of the 18th century, 22 families moved there from Huncovce. When Jews received freedom of settlement in Hungary in 1840, they moved to neighboring towns. This repeated itself after 1867, when Jews gained equality in the country. In the Czechoslovak Republic, migration spelled disaster to the community.

According to the census of 1725/28, two Jewish families lived in Huncovce. In 1785/87 there were 563 Jews, and in 1830/35 their number reached 928 (943.1% of all inhabitants). In 1880 there were 364 Jews (27.7%); in 1910 there were 420 (33.2%); and in 1919 there were 275. In 1930 their number decreased to 194, and in 1940 on the eve of deportations, only 75 Jews remained.

The community was organized in the 1760s. It had a wooden synagogue, a *ḥevra kaddisha*, a cemetery (old and new), and a *mikveh*. During that period, a major fire destroyed all the community's buildings, including the archive. In 1821 a beautiful new synagogue was built. All its contents were stolen or destroyed during the Holocaust.

Huncovce was the site of a well-known yeshivah, second only to that of Pressburg. At the beginning of the 19th century, there were three yeshivot in Huncovce, as well as a dormitory and a dining hall. The one that survived in the shrinking community was reorganized by Samuel (Šandor) Rosenberg (1842–1919). It attracted many students from abroad (there were 300 students in 1910 and 130 in 1927), but it closed down when the last principal, Joseph Horowitz, was called to Frankfurt on Main in 1931.

During the Hungarian Revolution in 1848/49, many volunteered for the Magyar army. During the 19th century the community was rather affluent, but it later quickly deteriorated. The elementary school, established in 1844, closed in 1933. Huncovce was the mother-congregation of several smaller congregations in the area, including tourist resorts in the Tatra mountains. During the existence of the Fascist Slovak state, all Jews, including the last rabbi, Solomon Horowitz, and his family, were sent to the concentration point in Poprad in May 1942, and from there to extermination camps in Poland.

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[Meir Lamed / Yeshayahu Jelinek (2nd ed.)]

°HUNDT-RADOWSKY, JOACHIM HARTWIG (1759–1835), German political writer and journalist. Hundt-Radowsky was a radical nationalist and rabid antisemite whose works were frequently banned by post–1815 conservative regimes. He came to identify these regimes with the Jews as enemies of the people. In the year of the *Hep! Hep! disturbances (1819) his popular *Judenspiegel, ein Schandund Sittengemaelde alter und neuer Zeit* (1821) opened with the words: "Of all nations none has so thoroughly distinguished itself through vindictiveness, cowardice, arrogance, superstition, usury, deceit, and thievery like the Jews." Continuing in the same vicious vein, he accused the Jews of being parasitic and scheming for world domination, advocating that they be enslaved and castrated. Three weeks after publication, more than 10,000 copies of the *Judenspiegel* were sold. Another work, *Die Judenschule* (3 vols., 1822–23), was sarcastically dedicated to the Rothschilds, "supporters of legitimacy in Europe." Two volumes depicted the standard antisemitic picture of Judaism, while the third accused the oppressive regimes of being thoroughly infiltrated and controlled by converts, half-Jews, and bastard "sons of Keturah." In a third work, *Neuer Judenspiegel, oder Apologie der Kinder Israel* (1828), he executed a complete about-face, acknowledging the moral and social perfectability of Jews through reeducation (after repudiating their religion), and recognized the responsibility of Christian states for what he saw as the Jews' present state of corruption. This apology did not achieve the popularity of his other works.

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HUNGARIAN LITERATURE. This article is arranged according to the following outline:

Biblical and Hebraic Influences
    THE REFORMATION AND ITS AFTERMATH
    19TH- AND 20TH CENTURY LITERATURE
The Figure of the Jew in Hungarian Literature
    LITERATURE OF THE HOLOCAUST
The Jewish Contribution to Hungarian Literature
    RADICAL IDEALISM
    THE FIRST JEWISH REVIVAL
    THE CRISIS OF IDENTITY
    POST-WORLD WAR I REACTIONS
    THE SECOND JEWISH REVIVAL
    LAST ECHOES
    DEVELOPMENTS FROM THE 1970S

Biblical and Hebraic Influences

The author of the earliest extant document in the Hungarian language, Magyar, a funeral oration called *Halotti beszéd* (c. 1200), based his text on the biblical account of the fall of man, and some of the earliest Hungarian poetry was interwoven with biblical imagery and diction. Later in the Middle Ages, Latin chroniclers such as Simon Kézai (c. 1280) and Mark Kálti (c. 1360) used the biblical stories of the Flood, Nimrod, and the Israelite heroes as source material for their reconstruction of Magyar history.

THE REFORMATION AND ITS AFTERMATH. The Reformation made rapid headway in Hungary, where the Bible was first translated by Hussite preachers of the 15th century, whose versions of the Psalms and the Prophets are still available. During the 16th century, Hungarian Calvinists were particularly active as Bible translators: Gáspár Heltai produced a version of the Pentateuch and Gáspár Károli translated the entire Bible in 1590. Károli's was a notable achievement, comparable to the Authorized Version of the Bible in English. In the Hebrews of the Old Testament Protestant writers saw a prefiguration of the Hungarian nation, its national resurgence, and its tribulations at the hands of feudal overlords, the Roman Catholic Church and Turkish invaders. In his poem, *Cantilena* (c. 1523), Ferenc Apáti made dramatic use of the figure of Samson to symbolize the Hungarian peasant revolt, while András Farkas drew a parallel between "God's two chosen peoples" in *Az zsidó és a magyar nemzetről* ("On the Jewish and Hungarian Nations," Cracow, 1538). Bálint Balassa, the first major Hungarian poet, also expressed himself in the language of the Psalms, some of which he translated into Magyar, as did András Szkhárosi Horvát, who used the chastisement of Lev. 26 to scourge his own people in *Az átokról* ("The Curse," 1547). Another 16th-century translator of the Psalms was Mihály Sztárai.

Following the Turkish victory at Mohács in 1526, the words of Jeremiah were often quoted to describe the sad condition into which Hungary was then plunged. Reformation epics drew their inspiration from biblical characters or episodes. Some notable examples are found in the works of András Batizi (Isaac and Gideon), Péter Kákonyi (Samson). András Dézsi (Abraham and the hosts of Moses and Joshua), and Mihály Sztárai (Ahab and Elijah). Miklós Sztárai wrote a verse adaptation of the story of the Flood. Sebestyén Tinódi not only described the battle between David and Goliath and versified the story of Jonah, but in his poetic account of Noah the husbandman, *Sokféle részögösről* ("Many Kinds of Drunkard," 1548), even used material from the *aggadah*. Other Hungarian Protestants favored themes such as the destruction of Jerusalem and the heroism of the Maccabees. By the end of the 16th century Catholic writers of the Counter-Reformation were in their turn exploiting the Bible. György Káldi, a Jesuit, was responsible for the first Hungarian Bible under Catholic auspices (Vienna, 1626). Hungary's desolation was attributed to the evil effects of Calvinism, and contemporary polemical writings made extensive use of biblical citation. In 17th-century Hungarian literature the Bible and secular poetry find a remarkable fusion in the works of Miklós Zriny, who wrote the baroque epic *Obsidio Szigetiana*, its Hungarian title *Szigeti veszedelem* ("The Siege of Szigetvár," Vienna, 1651). In this heroic and nationalistic work the hero is motivated by scriptural morality, and his military science owes much to biblical history. During the 18th century, Kelemen Mikes injected a biblical tone into his fictional *Törökországi levelek* ("Letters from Turkey," Szombathely, 1794). The main stress in this period, however, was on drama, and the biblical plays include *Izsák és Rebekka* (1704) by Ferenc Pápai Páriz and *Joas* (1770) by Bernát Benyák, as well as two anonymous ones about Esther.

19TH- AND 20TH-CENTURY LITERATURE. With the revival of Magyar nationalism in the 19th century there came a literary revival of biblical themes and expression. Ferenc Kölcsey, a Protestant nobleman, made patriotism a religious *leitmotiv* of his writing; his *Hymnus* (1823), textually related to Jer. 32:21–29, became the Hungarian national anthem. Biblical phrases and characters recur frequently in the works of János Arany. *Rachel* (1851) allegorized Hungary's fate in biblical terms, and his fragmentary *Próféta-lomb* ("Prophet Bough"), begun in 1877, was inspired by the story of Jonah. Mihály Tompa, a Calvinist pastor, not unnaturally turned to the Bible in poetical works such as *Sámson* (1863), while Imre Madách found the framework for his *Az ember tragédiája* ("The Tragedy of Man," 1862) in the Creation story and the Book of Job. Another of Madách's dramas, *Mózes* (1860), describes the Magyar battle for freedom in terms of the Exodus from Egypt. Biblical elements are also much in evidence in the novels of two prominent liberal writers, Mór Jókai and Kálmán Mikszáth.

Among 20th-century writers, the revolutionary poet Endre Ady, who like many Hungarian liberals had a Calvinist background and education, drew spiritual and linguistic inspiration from the Scriptures, which had an immense impact on his style and religious expression. Jewish fellow-writers and critics were among his most ardent supporters. Gyula Juhász made use of biblical metaphor, and Jewish legendary material appeared in some of the mystical poems of Attila József. Toward the end of his life Mihály Babits in *Jónás könyve* ("The

Book of Jonah," 1938) reassessed his negative view of the Bible, claiming that the man who remains silent in the face of evil is himself an accomplice.

Rather surprisingly, works of biblical inspiration were not common among Hungarian Jewish writers, even in the case of so Jewish a poet as József *Kiss. Emil *Makai paraphrased the Song of Songs (*Énekek éneke*, 1893), wrote the drama *Absolon* (1891), and translated Abraham *Goldfaden's plays about Shulamit and Bar Kokhba. Lajos *Palágyi wrote poems on biblical themes, and Henrik Lenkei wrote some about Cain (*Kain halála*, 1899), David and Job. Géza *Szilágyi, who often quoted the Bible in his works, dealt with Delilah (1910) and other figures, and he was followed by several minor Jewish poets. Lajos *Szabolcsi wrote a historical novel about Bar Kokhba (*Acsillag fia*, 1918) and a play about Josephus (1922); Illés *Kaczér published several biblical and Jewish historical works; and valuable literary studies of Jeremiah (1932) and Isaiah (1935) were written by a leading Reform (Neolog) rabbi, Lipót Kecskeméti (1865–1936). Under the shadow of Hitlerism, many Jewish writers sought comfort in the Bible, and for a time, biblical dramas were staged by the OMIKE (Hungarian Jewish Cultural Association). These include *Támár* (1942) by Lajos Bálint; and *Batséba* (1940) and *Mózes* (1942) by Károly *Pap.

After World War II, a few writers again turned to the Bible. Among them were Géza Hegedüs, whose novel *A Bálványrombolók* ("The Iconoclasts," 1945) dealt with Deborah and Barak: János Kodolányi, whose *Az égő csipkebokor* ("The Burning Bush," 1957) has Moses as its hero; László Németh (Sámson, 1958); and József Fodor, whose *A tékoai pásztor* ("The Shepherd of Tekoa," 1958) was a dramatic poem about the prophet Amos.

[Alexander Scheiber]

The Figure of the Jew in Hungarian Literature

Although in 18th-century Hungarian fiction Jews were often stereotyped as moneylenders, Vitéz Milhály Csokonai created a realistic Jewish figure with Marsalik, the self-respecting jack-of-all-trades of his humorous epic, *Dorottya* (1799). During the 1830s and 1840s the struggle for Jewish emancipation produced some hostile portrayals of Jews as criminals, and exploiters and enemies of the Hungarian people; but these were more than offset by the sympathetic approach of Mihály Táncsics (*Pazardi*, 1836), András Fáy (*Salamon*, 1838), Ede Szigligeti (*A zsidó*, 1844) and József Eötvös (*A Falu jegyzője*, 1845). Other writers of the era who expressed sympathy for the Jews were János Arany and the great lyric poet Sándor Petöfi.

Hungarian Jewry's enthusiastic support for Louis Kossuth's revolutionary campaign of 1848–49 inspired episodes in a number of historical novels, including *A kőszivű ember fiai* ("The Sons of the Stonyhearted Man," 1869) by Mór Jókai. In 1867 emancipation became a reality, but the results were largely negative: antisemitism revived, and assimilation and intermarriage increased. The author, politician, and lawyer Károly Eötvös, who was one of the leaders of the Kossuth party, defended the accused at the Tisza-Eszlar blood libel trial of 1882–83. These events he later described in the novel *A nagy per* ("The Great Trial," 3 vols., 1904). Hungarian Jews nevertheless played a prominent role in the country's development as bankers and industrialists, and these found their way into contemporary literature. In the latter half of the 19th century the Jewish peddler or storekeeper entered Hungarian folklore and, through the poems of József Kiss, began to figure in the Hungarian ballad. Kálmán Mikszáth also depicted the Jews of the Hungarian countryside in some of his humorous novels, but his short stories dealt with urban Jews.

From the middle of the 19th century onward, Jewish writers contributed their own pictures of Jewish types. Bertalan *Ormódy portrayed Jewish peasants with realism and sympathy, and Sándor *Bródy wrote a pioneering study of the Jewish worker in his novella, *Nyomor* ("Misery," 1884).

Ordinary Jews – from clerks to woodcutters – also made their appearance in works by Béla *Révész, Péter *Ujvári, and Béla Illés. Tamás *Kóbor devoted his novel *Ki a gettóból* ("Out of the Ghetto," 1911) to the life of the Jewish artisan.

Between the world wars, the problem of the Jew in Hungary attracted the attention of the writers Dezsö Szabó and László Németh, but the issue of antisemitism was primarily the concern of Jewish writers. In the view of Lajos *Biró and András *Komor, hatred of the Jew assisted his survival. Biró published a powerful story, *A Bazini zsidók* ("The Jews of Bazin," 1921), about the horrifying outcome of a 16th-century *blood libel near Bratislava, which dramatized his view of Jewry's long and tragic exile. Nor was he alone in seeing the success of Béla Kun's counterrevolutionary opponents as the death-blow to Hungarian-Jewish assimilation. Most of Gyula Csermely's plays, novels, and stories emphasize the bad effects of Jewish assimilation, while Béla *Zsolt, though critical of the Jewish bourgeoisie in his fiction, was long preoccupied with Jewish-Christian relations and distinguished himself as an outspoken opponent of Hungarian antisemitism. On the other hand, the assimilationist viewpoint was expressed by Lajos *Hatvany, a convert. Hatvany's *Urak es emberek* ("Noblemen and Gentiles," 1927), which tells the story of a Hungarian-Jewish family at the turn of the century, clearly reflects the author's own internal conflict. The same dilemma beset Károly Pap (*Azarel*, 1937) and Andor Endre *Gelléri. On an entirely different plane was Demeter Szeö's presentation of the *Wandering Jew theme in *Zsidó vagyok* ("I Am a Jew," 1933).

LITERATURE OF THE HOLOCAUST. From the late 1930s Hungary's best writers refused to lend themselves to their government's antisemitic campaign, notably Sándor Márai. Among those who declared their sympathy for Jewish suffering were Gyula Illyés, Lajos Kassák, and Attila József, in his poem, *Smá Jiszróel* (1941). Jewish reactions to the Holocaust were movingly conveyed in the poems of Miklós *Radnóti. After World War II Hungarian literature documented the Nazi war crimes and the anti-Jewish terror of the fascist Arrow-Cross Party. Those writers who dealt with the fate of the Jews include Lajos Nagy, Tibor *Déry, and Ernö *Szép. Various novels described the confinement of Jews to separate houses, how some went into hiding while others sought refuge in foreign embassies, Nazi massacres, and the final demolition of the ghetto walls. Béla Illés and especially Imre Keszi (*Elysium*, 1958) were prominent exponents of this type of work. Some writers, such as Erzsébet Rab, Kálmán Sándor, and Zimra Harsányi, painted scenes of the death camps, while others tried to express feelings of vengeance or remorse. György Rónay's *Esti gyors* ("Evening Express," 1963) is the story of a pharmacist's assistant who eventually commits suicide after following the *Eichmann Trial in Israel.

Of the other writers of the period, József *Patai, whose biography of Theodor *Herzl appeared in 1932, wrote two accounts of Zionist colonization in Ereẓ Israel: *A föltámadó Szentföld* ("The Holy Land Restored," 1926) and *Új Palesztina útjain* ("On the Pathways of the New Palestine," 1938). He and his wife Edith (Ehrenfeld) Patai, who wrote Zionist verse and prose, settled in Ereẓ Israel in 1940. Erzsi *Szenes, who settled in the country nine years later, wrote mainly on Jewish themes and in 1956 published *Van hazám* ("I have a Homeland").

[Jeno Zsoldos]

The Jewish Contribution to Hungarian Literature

The first Jewish writers only emerged in the mid-19th century. During the Enlightenment an élite was steeped in Hebrew culture; but Jewish writers wrote German and Hungarian. From the middle of the 19th century the emerging Jewish writers increasingly identified themselves with Magyar aspirations and wrote in Hungarian.

RADICAL IDEALISM. In 1840 Jews were accorded the right to live where they pleased and to follow whatever occupation they wished. An anonymous Jewish poet expressed his gratitude in Hungarian verse and promised the nation that had granted these rights his absolute devotion. The earliest Hungarian Jewish writers, intoxicated with new theories, were extremely radical and believed in outright assimilation. During the 1840s there were two prominent Jewish authors: the playwright Károly Hugó (Philip Bernstein); and the turncoat Gusztáv Zerffi (?1820–?), a fierce opponent of the poet Sándor Petőfi and a reactionary, who became a revolutionary extremist. Both Hugó and Zerffi were in the vanguard of conversion to Christianity, which rapidly affected almost all their generation. More interesting and more positive from a Jewish viewpoint was the poet Michael (Mihály) *Heilprin. Heilprin came from Russian Poland but quickly developed an excellent command of Hungarian. In 1856 he finally settled in the U.S. where he became a leading abolitionist.

The first representative of complete alienation – and even of self-hatred – among Hungarian Jewish intellectuals of the period was Moritz Rosenthal (1833–1889), who wrote in 1841 that it was proper that the Hungarian Jew should enjoy fewer civil rights than the foreign non-Jew in the country, since the law was bound to protect the predominant religion. Both Rosenthal and the philologist Móritz (Bloch) *Ballagi, a former yeshivah student, became pillars of the Calvinist church. In the 1840s, however, Ballagi was still campaigning for a rabbinical seminary in which the language of instruction would be Hungarian, and preparing a Hungarian translation of the Bible.

Another typical product of the times was Ignác *Einhorn (Eduard Horn), an early advocate of Jewish religious reform. During the years of oppression that followed the failure of the 1848 revolution (in which many Jews had been active), Hungarian Jewish literary activity was negligible. Many Jewish writers emigrated, and of the few who remained two of the most important – the playwright Lajos *Dóczy and the author Miksa *Falk – were converts to Christianity.

THE FIRST JEWISH REVIVAL. The year 1867, which marked the granting of Hungary's constitution, also brought new legislation designed for the emancipation of the Jews. This resulted in far-reaching economic and cultural development, although Hungarian social life was still closed to them. They were welcomed as scientists and scholars, not least by the liberal statesman József Eötvös, who as minister of education prepared the way for young Jewish savants such as József *Bánóczi, Bernhard Alexander and Ignace *Goldziher. Jewish writers, on the other hand, lacked the encouragement of a substantial readership. József Kiss trained a whole new literary generation. While most Jewish authors of his era turned their backs on Judaism, Kiss himself was a loyal Jew. The fact that he and his followers were Jewish subjected them to attack from some of their rivals, although a large proportion of the conservative population was not in the least antisemitic.

Among important writers of the late 19th century was Jenő *Heltai, a baptized cousin of Theodor Herzl. Heltai, like many other Jewish writers of his time, never wrote on any specifically Jewish subject. On the other hand, one of Kiss's disciples, Emil Makai, wrote some outstanding religious verse. The celebrated playwright Ferenc *Molnár did not choose Jewish themes for his plays, but most of his characters are Jews, and in his prose he dealt with Jewish problems. Géza Szilágyi, who wrote important Hungarian love poems, devoted much attention to Jewish themes in his work.

THE CRISIS OF IDENTITY. The question of the ordinary Jew's integration into Hungarian society preoccupied Tamás Kóbor. Though sympathetic to the Jew who would not deny his origin, Kóbor was typical of his time in advocating assimilation. Dezső *Szomory was another writer who dealt with aspects of Jewish life, and the crisis in traditional Jewish society greatly preoccupied Sándor Brody, as in his play, *Timár Liza* (1914), which satirizes a renegade Jewish parvenu. This period also marked the literary beginnings of Péter *Ujvári, the "Hungarian *Shalom Aleichem." While many of his contemporaries had to write about Jewish life because they were excluded from any other, Ujvári wrote on Jewish subjects from choice. He is best remembered as the editor of the *Magyar Zsidó Lexikon* (1929), Hungarian Jewry's own encyclopedia.

Although Hugó *Ignotus was one of the writers who could not forget that he was a Jew, his reaction to the Jewish question underwent several changes. He was one of the founders of the modernist periodical *Nyugat* ("West"), which supported the revolutionary attitudes of men like the poet Endre Ady. Jews – not only Jewish writers, but Jewish readers as well – unhesitatingly joined the camp of *Nyugat*, in whose name many saw great significance. Others associated with the magazine included two of Ady's principal supporters, Ernő *Osvát and Lajos Hatvany, who used his wealth to promote aspiring talents.

Apart from the poet Ady and the prose writer Zsigmond Móricz, most of the authors and editors in the *Nyugat* group were Jews. Although some Jewish writers in Hungary were in the conservative literary camp, almost all the leading figures in spheres connected with *Nyugat* – and radical-socialist politics, art, and theater – were Jews. One by-product was the witty political and literary cabaret founded and managed by the baptized writer Endre *Nagy. His theater, though it mocked antisemitism, helped to alienate Jews and did much to blacken the Jewish image.

POST-WORLD WAR I REACTIONS. After the failure of Béla Kun's revolution (1919), the new régime imposed its mark on literary life. Sensitive to the image of Ady, who had died in 1919, it suppressed the fact that he had had Jewish sponsors and a Jewish circle. *Nyugat* continued to be a forum for Jewish writers and was in fact almost their only platform, apart from the liberal press, which was entirely in Jewish hands. The period of the "White Terror" and the more subtle persecution which followed persuaded Jewish writers that there was no longer any point in evading the question of the Jewish position in Hungarian society, and this was now discussed quite openly. In this spiritual conflict, Lajos Biró was especially prominent. His ties with Judaism were strong and constant, and were revealed even more clearly after his emigration in 1919. Béla Zsolt went deeply into the Jewish problems of his time especially as they affected intellectuals. His work thus has an unusual documentary value. The Jewish question also preoccupied other writers of the period, such as Hatvany, Ferenc *Körmendi and Mihály Földi.

The post-World War I generation reached more decisive conclusions in regard both to itself and to its writing.

Some authors, notably Antal *Szerb, Miklós *Radnóti, and György Sárközi (1899–1945), abandoned Judaism, seeking an escape in neo-Catholicism. Their motives derived less from an aversion to Judaism than from their fear of joining some new movement which – like the radicalism of 20 years before – would be regarded as entirely Jewish, and thus be doomed to failure from the beginning. However, the renewed and intensified persecutions of the 1930s threw all three of them into the vortex of Jewish suffering. They reacted in different ways. Szerb, during the Holocaust, accepted his fate with pride. Radnóti and Sárközi, who died in Hungarian labor camps, never reidentified themselves with Jewry, but it is certainly no coincidence that Radnóti, in his last poems, returned to the prophetic style.

THE SECOND JEWISH REVIVAL. Károly Pap exposed the sham of Hungarian Jewish "emancipation" and advocated the acceptance of minority status. Few Jewish writers in Hungary were as uncomprisingly Jewish in their outlook and loyalty as he. Two of his contemporaries who bore witness to the Jewish people's capacity for continued survival were Akos Molnár and András Komor. The return to Judaism was the major poetic theme of Aladar *Komlós, an authority on Hungarian Jewish literature, while the bitter fate of the Jew was expressed in the poems of László Fenyő and in the prose works of Andor Endre *Gelléri.

LAST ECHOES. After the Holocaust, the handful of surviving Jewish writers in Hungary who again turned to Jewish themes only wrote about the "Final Solution." Outstanding among them was Tibor *Déry, whose powerful descriptive talent enabled him to present both Jewish and non-Jewish characters with great realism. Jewish emotion characterizes the stories of Sándor Sásdi (1899–?), who mourns the disappearance of the Jewish family. The conscious avoidance of the Jewish theme was characteristic of Jewish writers under the new Communist regime, especially after 1948. Several non-Jewish writers dealt with the Jewish question, and particularly with the Holocaust, and subsequently even dealt with contemporary Jewish questions.

[Baruch Yaron]

DEVELOPMENTS FROM THE 1970S. While in the first two decades of the Communist regime hardly any books were published on Jewish subjects by Jewish authors, the 1970s witnessed a sudden emergence of Holocaust literature. Mostly autobiographical novels, they differ widely in literary value, yet they all have some significant common characteristics. The central figure is usually a young boy through whose eyes the last years of the war are seen. The scene is either war-torn Budapest – as in Gy. Moldov's *Szent Imre Induló* ("The March of St. Emeric," 1975) – or Strasshof, a concentration camp in Austria where families were allowed to stay together – as in *Az elsöévtized* ("The First Decade," 1975) by P. Bardos and *Hajtükanyar* ("Hairpin Bend," 1974, 1977) by Maria Ember. In the latter work the text is accompanied by several documents. Among other authors with novels on the Holocaust are Agnes Gergely, I. *Kertész (Nobel Prize 2002), Gy. Gera, and a non-Jew, Gy. Fekete.

Other works on Jewish subjects range from scholarly studies to very light fiction. Thus, A. Scheiber published a book on biblical themes and a biography of the Hungarian-Jewish poet József *Kiss. Monographs of Hungarian Jewish communities also appeared. O. Major's *Három apokrif* ("Three Apocrypha," 1975) deals with the era of Herod and Justus of Tiberias. A non-Jewish journalist, Gy. Szaraz, published a survey of the history of antisemitism in Hungary *Egy elööitélet nyomabán* ("In the Wake of a Prejudice," 1975).

In the realm of fiction Gy. Kardos was the first to come out with a novel on a Jewish subject; his *Abrahám Bogatir* *hét napja*, centering on a kibbutz, appeared in 1968 (English *Abraham's Good Week*, 1975). The background of his second novel *Hová tüntek a katonak* (1971) is also Palestine during the period of the British Mandate, but the main characters are Polish soldiers of General Ander's army. Jewish displaced persons' camps in Austria and Germany form the unusual setting of the thriller *Szerelemröl bolond sjszakán* ("About Love on a Crazy Night," 1975) by E. Fejes.

Works on Zionism or on present-day Israel were conspicuously absent. In spite of being officially banned, the Hungarian version of the book on the Entebbe rescue operation (published in Israel) found its way to Hungarian readers and gained considerable popularity.

In the 1980s works dealing with Jewish subjects continued to be diverse in character and quality. The outstanding publication of the beginning of the 1980s was *A Maimuni Kódex* (1980), a facsimile edition of the most beautiful pages of Maimonides' *Mishneh Torah*, originally illuminated by Nathan ben Simeon ha-Levi at the end of the 13th century. The book was prepared under the guidance of Professor A. *Scheiber. He also edited the series *A magyarországi zsidó hitközségek monográfiái*, sponsored by the American Memorial Foundation for Jewish Culture. Besides monographs on Jewish *kehillot*, published in this series were a survey dealing with the recently excavated ancient synagogue in Sopron (Oedenburg), and a treatise on Hungarian-Jewish family names prior to the name-giving edict of Joseph II.

Widely differing subjects, such as the Warsaw Ghetto revolt of 1943 (Katalin Szokolay, *És a varsói getto felkelt*, 1983), the *Tiszaeszlar blood-libel case of 1882 (I. Sándor, *A vizsgálat iratai*, 1983), and the Transylvanian Sabbatarians (A. Kovács, *Vallomás a székely szombatosok perében*, 1983) were included in the programs of different publishing houses. Two Jewish painters, B. Pór and B. *Czobel, were remembered in illustrated monographs, published in 1980 and 1983, respectively.

A. Rózsa's *Nürnbergi lágernapló* ("*Nuremberg diary*," 1978) will help researchers of the Holocaust. Two authors, Gy. Moldova and P. Bárdos, continued their Holocaust novels with post-war accounts. An older author, I. Magyar, preferred to remember his happy childhood in *A század gyermeke* ("The Child of the Century," 1980), while G. Hegedüs starts the saga of his large and well-to-do family already in the 18th century in *Elöjátekok egy önéletrajzhoz*, ("Preludes to an Autobiography," 1982). In sharp contrast to the above, in *Fekete karácsony* ("Black Christmas," 1982), M. Zalka describes desperately poor, politically alert, anti-religious Jews in the inter-war period. Again another type, the Jewish artist-intellectual, is portrayed in Gy. S. Gál's posthumously published *Atlantisz harangjai* ("The Bells of Atlantis." 1982). Giving a frightful picture of Jewish forced-labor in war-torn Budapest of 1944–45, the book also contains new information on Jewish musicians, writers, and also on Jewish publishers.

Among several translated works the bitter-humorous, almost burlesque, *Amikor nagyapám átsielt Finnországba* ("When Grandpa was skiing over Finland," 1979, second edition 1983) by D. Katz stands out with its originality. It is a saga of a Russian Jewish family living in Finland from the beginning of the 1900s. The book was translated from the Finnish.

The poet, A. Mezei, reported his visit to Israel in 1982 in the literary weekly *Élet és Irodalom*, giving lyrical descriptions of the Israeli landscape. His Holocaust novel *A csodatevö* ("The Miracle-maker") was translated into Polish in 1979.

Cooperation between Israeli authors and artists and Hungarian publishers is not entirely absent. Gideon Hausner's book dealing with the 1961 Eichmann Trial in Jerusalem appeared in a Hungarian translation: L. Rapesányi's *Jeruzsálem, legenda és törtenelem* ("Jerusalem, Legend and History," 1984) was illustrated by Israeli artist Yossi Stern.

While works on Jewish subjects are an important part of today's literary scene in Hungary, the most significant book to date on the fate of Hungary's Jews during the Holocaust was published neither in Hungary, nor in the Hungarian language. The thoroughly comprehensive two-volume *The Politics of Genocide* (1981) of the American historian R.L. Braham still awaits Hungarian translation.

Around 1990 the flow of Holocaust literature slowed down and publishers turned to other subjects, among them to works of contemporary Israeli authors. Novels by Amos Oz, Aharon *Appelfeld, Ephraim *Kishon, and poems by Itamar Yaoz-Kest were translated into Hungarian and A.B. *Yehoshua's *Szerelmesek* ("Lovers"; *Ha-Me'ahev* (1976)) was the best seller of 1988.

A facsimile edition-de-luxe of an 18th-century Scroll of Esther (1988) produced originally in Italy, merited understandable appreciation. Another, more modest but long-awaited, well-researched illustrated publication, *Magyarországi zsinagógák* ("Synagogues in Hungary"), edited by L. Gerö, appeared in 1989.

Zsidókérdés, asszimiláció, antiszemitizmus ("The Jewish Question, Assimilation, Anti-Semitism," 1984), edited by P. Hanák, was the forerunner among several soul-searching, identity-seeking studies, such as *Röpirat a zsidókérdésröl* ("Pamphlet about the Jewish Question," 1989) by P. Kende and *Kiválasztottak és elvegyülök* ("The Chosen and the Intermingling") by L. Márton. The study *Zsidóság az 1945 utáni Magyarországon* ("Jews in Hungary after 1945," 1984) was the unique work of the non-Jewish sociologist V. Karády and appeared in a Paris-based emigré serial. T. Zinners's *Az ébredök fénykora 1919–1923* ("The Golden Years of the Ébredök, 1919–1923," 1989) recalled the years of the beginnings of Hungarian ultranationalism and antisemitism.

Assimilation is a recurring theme in Hungarian Jewish literature and is prominent both in the autobiographical novel by A. Linksz, *Harc a harmadik halállal* ("Fighting the Third Death," 1990), and in *Otto* (1990), a fictionalized story based on the Viennese philosopher Otto *Weininger, by M. Hernádi. The latter was the editor of *Szombat* ("Shabbat"), an ambitious, but infrequently appearing, new periodical. An anthology, *Mult és Jövö* ("Past and Future"), edited by J.

Köbànyai, strives to reach the high standards of the prewar Zionist weekly of the same name.

In the realm of light literature the novels of René Erdös, a baptized woman writer, which were popular in the 1920s, were reissued as were the adventure stories of J. Rejtö, whose popularity never ceased.

[Eva Kondor]

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HUNGARY, state in S.E. Central Europe.

Middle Ages to the Ottoman Conquest

Archaeological evidence indicates the existence of Jews in Pannonia and Dacia, who came there in the wake of the Roman legions. Jewish historical tradition, however, only mentions the Jews in Hungary from the second half of the 11th century, when Jews from Germany, Bohemia, and Moravia settled there. In 1092, at the council of Szabolcs, the Church prohibited marriages between Jews and Christians, work on Christian festivals, and the purchase of slaves. King Koloman protected the Jews in his territory at the end of the 11th century, when the remnants of the crusader armies attempted to attack them (see *Crusades). Jews resided only in towns ruled by the bishops where important communities developed: in Buda (see *Budapest; 12th century), Pressburg (*Bratislava, Hung. Pozsony; first mentioned in 1251), Tyrnau (*Trnava, Hung. Nagyszombat), and *Esztergom (by the middle of the 11th century). During the 12th century the Jews of Hungary occupied important positions in economic life. The nobles felt it necessary to curb this development, and in the "Golden Bull" (1222) an article was included which prohibited the Jews from holding certain offices and from receiving titles of nobility. The legal status of the Jews was settled by King Béla IV in a privilege of 1251, which follows the pattern of similar documents in neighboring countries. As a result of the Church Council of Buda in 1279, Jews were forbidden to lease land and compelled to wear the *Jewish badge. In practice, these decrees were not applied strictly because of the king's objection.

During the reign of Louis the Great (1342–82), the hostile influence of the Church in Jewish affairs again predominated. The *Black Death led to the first expulsion of the Jews from Hungary in 1349. A general expulsion was decreed in 1360, but in about 1364 their return was authorized though they were subjected to restrictions. In 1365 the king instituted the office of "judge of the Jews," chosen from among the magnates, who was in charge of affairs concerning Jewish property, the imposition and collection of taxes, representation of the Jews before the government, and the protection of their rights. The reign of Matthias Corvinus (1458–90) marked a change in favor of the status of the Jews, despite his support of the towns, whose inhabitants, the overwhelming majority of whom were Germans, were inimical to the Jews as dangerous rivals.

In 1494 there was a *blood libel in Tyrnau and 16 Jews were burned at the stake. In its wake, anti-Jewish riots broke out in the town; these were repeated at the beginning of the 16th century in Pressburg, Buda, and other towns. The economic situation of the Jews was also aggravated: King Ladislas VI (1490–1516) canceled all debts owing to the Jews. In 1515, however, the Jews were placed under the direct protection of Emperor Maximilian I (the pretender to the crown of Hungary). During this period, a degrading form of Jewish *oath before the tribunals was introduced; it remained in force until the middle of the 19th century. During the reign of Louis II (1516–26) hatred of the Jews intensified as a result of the activities of Isaac of Kaschau, the director of the royal mint, and the apostate Imre (Emerich) Szerencsés (Latin: Fortunatus), the royal treasurer who devalued the currency and raised the taxes in order to provide funds for the war against the Turks.

During the middle of the 14th century the most important Hungarian community was that of *Szekesfehervar (Ger. Stuhlweissenburg), whose *parnasim* also directed the general affairs of the Jews of the country. During the 15th century the community of Buda gained in importance as Jews expelled from other countries also settled there. Little information is available on the spiritual life of Hungarian Jewry during the Middle Ages. Apparently it was poor in comparison to that in neighboring countries because of the dispersion of the communities and the small number of their members. The first rabbi whose reputation spread beyond Hungary was Isaac *Tyrnau (late 14th–early 15th century); in the introduction to his *Sefer ha-Minhagim* ("Book of Customs") he describes the poor condition of Torah study in Hungary.

Period of the Ottoman Conquest

The first, temporary Ottoman conquest of Buda in 1526 caused many of the Jewish inhabitants to join the retreating Turks. As a result of this movement, congregations of Hungarian Jews formed within the important communities of the Balkans. After central Hungary was incorporated within the Ottoman Empire in 1541, the Jewish status was relatively satisfactory. Jewish settlement in Buda was renewed, and Sephardim of Asia Minor and Balkan origin also settled there. During the 17th century Buda was one of the most important communities of the *Ottoman Empire. This was largely due to the authority of its rabbi, *Ephraim b. Jacob ha-Kohen, author of *Sha'ar Efrayim* (1688).

In the Hapsburg dominions of Hungary in this period hatred toward the Jews increased. In 1529, following a blood libel in Bazin, 30 Jews were burned at the stake and the others were expelled from the town. The Jews were also expelled from Pressburg, Oedenburg (*Sopron), and Tyrnau. However, the magnates of western Hungary accorded their protection to the Jews expelled from the towns. The Jews expelled from Vienna found refuge on the estate of Count Esterhazy in *Eisenstadt and six small neighboring towns in 1670. It was the oldest of the "Seven Communities" of *Burgenland, granted autonomy in a privilege issued in 1690. In *Transylvania, under the rule of Gabriel Bethlen (1613–29), the status of the Jews was stabilized by a privilege granted in 1623. The favorable attitude toward the Jews there stemmed from *Reformation influences in Transylvania (see also Simon *Péchi).

18th to 19th Centuries (Until 1867)

By the beginning of the 18th century, when most of Hungary came under Hapsburg rule, only a few remnants of the ancient Jewish settlement were to be found there. At this time, however, a movement of Jewish migration began, marking the formation of Hungarian Jewry of the modern era. The census of 1735 enumerated 11,600 Jews (in reality, their numbers were far greater) of whom only a few were born in Hungary, while the majority had come from Moravia and the minority from Poland. Most of the Jews were peddlers and small tradesmen. Because of the hostility of the townsmen, most of them lived in the villages. During the reign of *Maria Theresa (1740–80) the situation of the Jews deteriorated. In 1744 an annual "tolerance tax" of 20,000 guilders was levied on them. It was gradually increased, until it amounted to an annual sum of 160,000 guilders at the beginning of the 19th century. The reign of *Joseph II brought some improvements. In 1783 Jews were authorized to settle in the royal cities. There were 81,000 Jews in Hungary in 1787.

During the "period of reform" in Hungary in the 1830s and 1840s, the Jewish question was discussed in the legislative institutions, in literature, and in the periodicals and press. In general there was a marked tendency in favor of granting civic rights to the Jews, but on the whole society took a critical view of the Jews and assumed an attitude of reservation toward them, demanding religious and social reforms (see *Emancipation). The suppression of the revolution of 1848–49 also affected the status of the Jews. Because many of them were active in the revolution, the Austrian military government imposed a collective fine of 2,300,000 guilders on the communities; it was later reduced to 1,000,000 (in 1856, the sum was reimbursed in the form of a fund for educational and relief institutions). During the 1850s, the Jews were still subjected to judicial and economic restrictions (the Jewish oath; the need for a marriage permit; the prohibition on acquiring real estate; and others). Most of the restrictions were abolished in 1859–60; the Jews were authorized to engage in all professions and to settle in all localities. The first political leaders of the new Hungary, including Count Gyula Andrássy, Ferencz *Deák, and Kálmán Tisza, expressed their approval in the granting of civic and political equality to the Jews, and after the Compromise with Austria, the bill on Jewish emancipation was passed in Parliament without considerable opposition (Dec. 20, 1867). During the same period there was a rapid growth of the Jewish population of Hungary, due both to natural increase and immigration from neighboring regions, especially Galicia. The number of Jews had risen to 340,000 by 1850, and in the first population census held in modern Hungary (1869), 542,000 Jews were enumerated.

The Emancipation Period, 1867–1914

During this period Hungarian Jewry consolidated from the political, economic, and cultural aspects and succeeded in establishing a strong position in the life of the country. Jews played a considerable role in the development of the capitalistic economy of Hungary, and from the 1880s large numbers entered the liberal professions, and also contributed to literary life, in particular in journalism. In economic activity Jews in Hungary were especially prominent from the mid-19th century in the marketing and the export of agricultural produce. Emancipation offered a wide scope for Jewish economic initiative in the establishment of banks and other financial enterprises. Jewish capital contributed significantly to the financing of heavy industry at the close of the 19th century. The role of the Jews in agriculture was also considerable, as owners of estates and in particular as contractors in agricultural management and marketing. Before World War I, 55–60% of the total number of merchants were Jews, approximately 13% of the independent craftsmen, 13% of owners of large and medium-sized estates, and 45% of the contractors. Of those professionally engaged in literature and the arts, 26% were Jews (of the journalists, 42%), in law, 45%, and in medicine, 49%. On the other hand, only a small number of Jews were employed in public administration. The Jewish population numbered 910,000 in 1910. The identification of the Jews with the Magyar element in the Hungarian kingdom was an important factor in determining the general political attitude toward them. In 1895 the Jewish religion was officially recognized as one of the religions accepted in the state, and accorded rights enjoyed by the Catholic and Protestant religions. The law was enacted despite vigorous objection from the Catholic Church and its allies the magnates, who succeeded in delaying its ratification on three occasions.

From the mid-1870s political antisemitism emerged as an ideological trend, subsequently to become a political force, led by a member of Parliament, Győző Istóczy. The driving forces behind it were the resentment felt by those classes which were dispossessed by the capitalistic economy and the effects of recent social changes. Thus the main bearers of antisemitism were the gentry. German examples also played some part in Hungarian antisemitism. At the beginning of the 1880s anti-Jewish propaganda intensified and reached a climax with the blood libel of *Tiszaeszlar in 1882, which aroused much emotion and was the cause of severe anti-Jewish disturbances in several towns. The acquittal of the accused and the condemnation of the libel by many gentile leaders did not calm feelings. In 1884 an antisemitic faction of 17 members of parliament was organized but it did not wield much influence there, owing to internal dissension. Jewish defense against antisemitism took the form of apologetic and polemic literature. In face of the emphatic attitude of the government and the main political parties against antisemitism, it was deemed unnecessary to initiate any organized action. At the turn of the century the Catholic People's Party became the main bearer of antisemitism. It regarded it as its main task to combat alleged anti-Christian and destructive ideas, especially Liberalism and Socialism, which according to clerical presentation was closely associated with the Jews. Jewish intellectuals and their allegedly harmful influence were a particular target for unrestricted attack. Jewish reaction to clerical antisemitism was stronger, more pronounced and more courageous than to the antisemitism in the 1880s, which seemed to be less menacing. Many of the tenets of antisemitism in this era became cornerstones of the anti-Jewish ideology in the inter-war period. Antisemitism was also widespread among the national minorities, especially the Slovaks, principally kindled because the Jews tended to identify themselves with the nationalist policy of the Magyars.

During World War I the Jews suffered losses in life (about 10,000 Jews fell on the battlefield) and property. At the same time, anti-Jewish feeling was strong having increased because of the presence of numerous Jewish refugees from Galicia, which had been occupied by the Russians, and through the activities of Jews in the war economy.

Internal Life during the 19th Century

In origin, spoken language, and cultural tradition and customs, Hungarian Jewry was divided into three sections: the Jews of the northwestern districts (Oberland) of Austrian and Moravian origin, who spoke German or a western dialect of Yiddish; the Jews of the northeastern districts (Unterland) mostly of Galician origin, who spoke an eastern dialect of Yiddish; and the Jews of central Hungary, the overwhelming majority of whom spoke Hungarian. In the classification of the inhabitants according to nationality, the overwhelming majority of the Jews in Hungary declared themselves members of the Hungarian nation; Jewish nationality was not officially recognized and the Jews thus became a party in the struggle between the ruling Magyar nation and the national minorities of Hungary. The internal life of the Jews of Hungary during the 19th century was marked by polemics between the Orthodox on the one hand and those advocating modern culture, integration, and *assimilation on the other. At the beginning of the century, a strict Orthodox trend was established in Hungary under the leadership of Moses *Sofer of Pressburg. This town became a spiritual center for the Orthodox Jews of Hungary, and its yeshivah the most important in central Europe; it exerted much influence over the Hungarian communities and even beyond them.

From the 1830s, Haskalah made its appearance in Hungary, and the movement of religious *Reform, whose leading spokesmen there were Aaron *Chorin and Leopold *Loew, spread to several communities. Extreme Reform did not strike roots in Hungary, but the wish to introduce reforms in education and religious life made progress and aroused violent opposition from the Orthodox. The polemics between the Orthodox and the reformers (who in Hungary were referred to as *Neologists gained in intensity to become a central issue at the General Jewish Congress convened by the government in 1868.

The Congress was called in order to define the basis for autonomous organization of the Jewish community. It was attended by 220 delegates (126 Neologists, and 94 Orthodox). The conflict between the factions was aggravated when the majority refused to accept the demands of the Orthodox on the validity of the laws of the Shulḥan Arukh in the regulations of the communities. A section of the Orthodox opposition left the Congress, which continued with its task and established regulations for the organization of the communities and Jewish education. The organizational structure was to be based on the existence of local communities, on regional unions of communities, and on a central office which was to be responsible for relations between the authorities and the communities. The Orthodox did not accept these regulations, and particularly opposed those concerning the existence of a single community in every place. They appealed to Parliament to exempt them from the authority of these regulations. Parliament consented to their demands (1870) and the Orthodox began to organize themselves within separate communities. There were also communities which did not join any side and retained their pre-Congress status (the *status quo communities). The threefold split left its imprint on the internal organization and life of Hungarian Jewry until the Holocaust.

Moses Sofer and his school decisively influenced the development of Orthodox Jewry in western and central Hungary. Torah study became widespread among large sections of Orthodox Jewry, and yeshivot were established in every large community. The most renowned of these, besides that of Pressburg, were those of *Galanta, Eisenstadt, *Papa, Huszt (*Khust), and Szatmar (*Satu-Mare). During the 19th century the Hungarian rabbinate was of a high standard and produced halakhists, authors of religious works, and community leaders, such as Sofer's son Abraham Samuel Benjamin *Sofer and grandson Simḥah Bunem *Sofer, Moses Schick, and Judah Aszód (1794–1866) in Szerdahely (Mercurea), Aaron David Deutsch (1812–78) in Balassagyarmat, Solomon *Ganzfried, and others. Torah literature underwent a considerable development, and a place of importance was held by learned periodicals in this sphere.

*Ḥasidism spread in the northeastern regions of Hungary, where it did not encounter violent opposition from the rabbis. Isaac Taub is regarded as having introduced Ḥasidism into Hungary; after his death the Ḥasidim there gathered around Moses *Teitelbaum in Satoraljaujhely. He founded a ḥasidic-rabbinical dynasty which was active in Maramarossziget (Sighet) and its surroundings. Another center of Ḥasidim was Munkacs (*Mukachevo), in Carpathian Russia, where Isaac Elimelech Shapira settled. In addition, the dynasties of the *ẓaddikim* of *Belz, Zanz, and *Vizhnitz had considerable influence in Hungary. Ḥasidism left its imprint on the Jews of the northeastern regions, and differences in customs and way of life arose between the Ḥasidim in Hungary and the section influenced by Pressburg and its school.

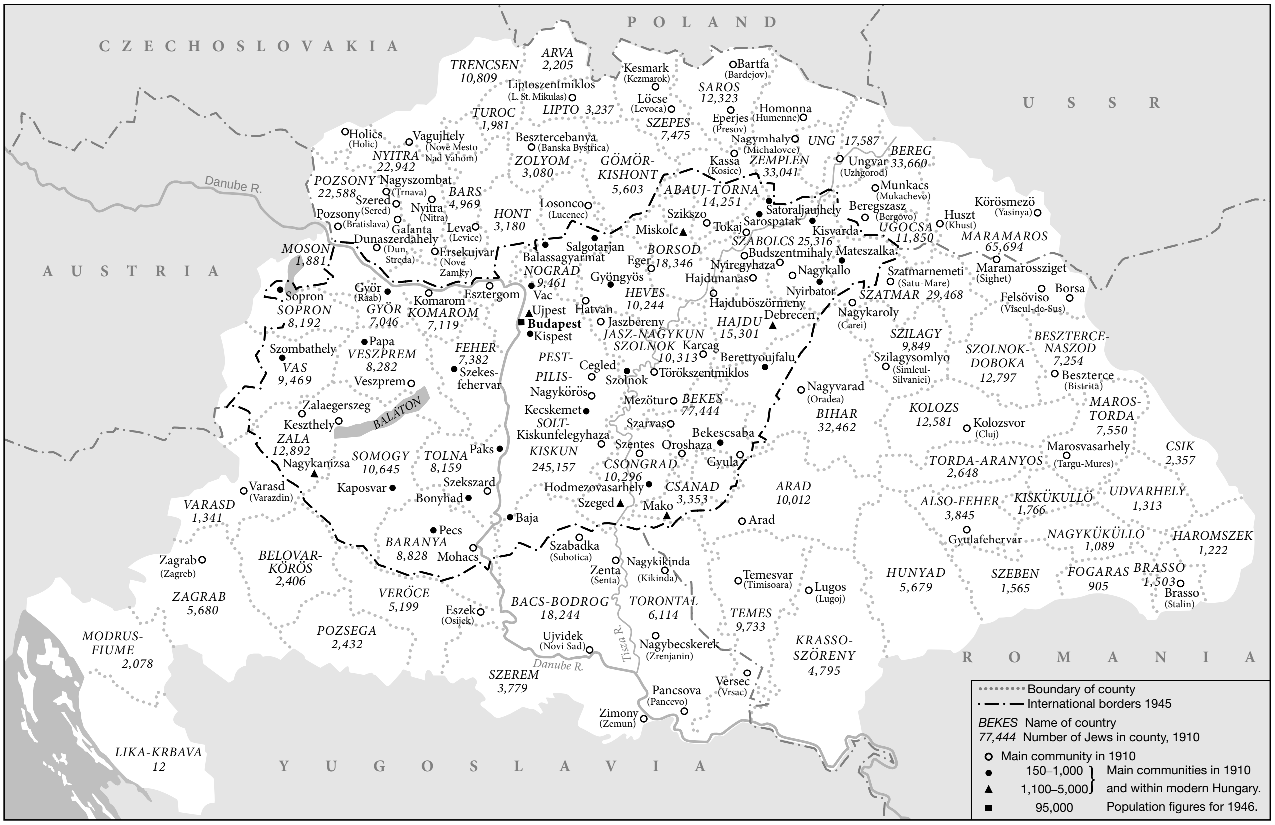
CZECHOSLOVAKIA
POLAND
USSR
AUSTRIA
ROMANIA
YUGOSLAVIA
Danube R.
Tisza R.
BALATON
TRENCSEN 10,809
ARVA 2,205
Kesmark (Kezmarok)
Bartfa (Bardejov)
Liptoszentmiklos (L. St. Mikulas)
LIPTO 3,237
Löcse (Levoca)
SAROS 12,323
TUROC 1,981
SZEPES 7,475
Eperjes (Presov)
Homonna (Humenne)
Holics (Holic)
Vagujhely (Nove Mesto Nad Vahom)
NYITRA 22,942
Besztercebanya (Banska Bystrica)
ZOLYOM 3,080
GÖMÖR-KISHONT 5,603
Nagymhaly (Michalovce)
UNG 17,587
BEREG 33,660
Kassa (Kosice)
ZEMPLEN 33,041
Ungvar (Uzhgorod)
POZSONY 22,588
Nagyszombat (Trnava)
Szered (Sered)
Pozsony (Bratislava)
BARS 4,969
Nyitra (Nitra)
Galanta
Leva (Levice)
HONT 3,180
Losonco (Lucenec)
ABAUJ-TORNA 14,251
Munkacs (Mukachevo)
Körösmezö (Yasinya)
Szikszo
Satoraljaujhely
Sarospatak
Tokaj
Beregszasz (Bergovo)
Huszt (Khust)
Miskolc
Kisvarda
UGOCSA 11,850
MARAMAROS 65,694
Dunaszerdahely (Dun. Streda)
Ersekujvar (Nove Zamky)
Salgotarjan
Balassagyarmat
SZABOLCS 25,316
MOSON 1,881
NOGRAD 9,461
BORSOD 18,346
Eger
Budszentmihaly
Mateszalka
Nyiregyhaza
Nagykallo
Szatmarnemeti (Satu-Mare)
Maramarossziget (Sighet)
Gyöngyös
Hajdunanas
Borsa
Györ (Raab)
Esztergom
Vac
HEVES 10,244
Nyirbator
SZATMAR 29,468
Felsöviso (Viseul-de-Sus)
Sopron
SOPRON 8,192
Komarom
KOMAROM 7,119
GYÖR 7,046
Ujpest
Hatvan
Hajduböszörmeny
Debrecen
Nagykaroly (Carei)
Budapest
Kispest
Jaszbereny
HAJDU 15,301
JASZ-NAGYKUN SZOLNOK 10,313
Karcag
SZILAGY 9,849
Szilagysomlyo (Simleul-Silvaniei)
SZOLNOK-DOBOKA 12,797
BESZTERCE-NASZOD 7,254
Beszterce (Bistrita)
Papa
VESZPREM 8,282
FEHER 7,382
Szombathely
VAS 9,469
Szekesfehervar
PEST-PILIS-SOLT-KISKUN 245,157
Cegled
Szolnok
Berettyoujfalu
Törökszentmiklos
Veszprem
Nagykörös
Nagyvarad (Oradea)
Mezötur
BEKES 77,444
BIHAR 32,462
KOLOZS 12,581
Kolozsvor (Cluj)
MAROS-TORDA 7,550
Zalaegerszeg
Kecskemet
Keszthely
ZALA 12,892
Szarvas
Kiskunfelegyhaza
Bekescsaba
Szentes
Oroshaza
Gyula
Marosvasarhely (Targu-Mures)
CSIK 2,357
Nagykanizsa
SOMOGY 10,645
TOLNA 8,159
Paks
CSONGRAD 10,296
TORDA-ARANYOS 2,648
Varasd (Varazdin)
Kaposvar
Szekszard
Hodmezovasarhely
CSANAD 3,353
ARAD 10,012
VARASD 1,341
Bonyhad
Szeged
Mako
ALSO-FEHER 3,845
KISKÜKULLÖ 1,766
UDVARHELY 1,313
Baja
Arad
Pecs
Gyulafehervar
NAGYKÜKÜLLO 1,089
HAROMSZEK 1,222
BARANYA 8,828
Mohacs
Szabadka (Subotica)
Zagrab (Zagreb)
BELOVAR-KÖRÖS 2,406
Nagykikinda (Kikinda)
Zenta (Senta)
Temesvar (Timisoara)
Lugos (Lugoj)
HUNYAD 5,679
SZEBEN 1,565
FOGARAS 905
BRASSO 1,503
Brasso (Stalin)
ZAGRAB 5,680
VERÖCE 5,199
BACS-BODROG 18,244
TORONTAL 6,114
Eszek (Osijek)
TEMES 9,733
MODRUS-FIUME 2,078
POZSEGA 2,432
Ujvidek (Novi Sad)
Nagybecskerek (Zrenjanin)
KRASSO-SZÖRENY 4,795
SZEREM 3,779
Versec (Vrsac)
Pancsova (Pancevo)
Zimony (Zemun)
LIKA-KRBAVA 12
Boundary of county
International borders 1945
BEKES Name of country
77,444 Number of Jews in county, 1910
○ Main community in 1910
● 150–1,000
▲ 1,100–5,000
■ 95,000
Main communities in 1910 and within modern Hungary. Population figures for 1946.

Jewish communities in Hungary, 1910 and 1946. Based on R. L. Braham (ed.), Hungarian Jewish Studies*, New York, 1966.*

From the close of the 19th century, assimilation became widespread within Hungarian Jewry and there was an increase in apostasy especially among the upper classes. Mixed marriage became a common occurrence, particularly in the capital.

Attachment to Ereẓ Israel was already ingrained within Hungarian Jewry from the period of Sofer, upon whose recommendation some of his distinguished disciples had emigrated to Ereẓ Israel where they ranked among the leaders of the Ashkenazi *yishuv* during the middle of the 19th century. During the *Ḥibbat Zion period, Josef *Natonek was active in Hungary, and some believe that this activity influenced Theodor *Herzl, who was born in Budapest and spent his childhood and youth in Hungary. The nationalist ideal and political Zionism, however, only seriously attracted a limited circle of the academic youth, the intellectuals, and a minority of Orthodox Jewry, while assimilationist circles and the overwhelming majority of the Orthodox were sharply and firmly opposed to them. The Kolel Ungarn (Hungarian Community) in Jerusalem (see *Ḥalukkah) was a center of extremist opposition to Zionism in Ereẓ Israel, and the *Neturei Karta faction later developed from it.

1919 to 1939

The Communist regime which came to power in Hungary after its defeat in World War I included a considerable number of Jews in the upper ranks of the government led by Béla *Kun. After the Communist revolution had been suppressed, the establishment of the new regime was accompanied by riots and acts of violence against the Jews – "The White Terror" – the number of whose victims has been estimated at 3,000 dead.

With the stabilization of the political situation, the acts of violence abated, but the declared policy of the government remained antisemitic. In 1920, a *numerus clausus bill was passed, restricting the number of Jews in the higher institutions of learning to 5%. The situation improved while Stephen Bethlen was prime minister (1921–31), and the negative reactions aroused by the anti-Jewish policy weakened this tendency, even though widespread antisemitic activity was uninterruptedly carried on. In 1928 an amendment was introduced to the numerus clausus act, but the restrictions were not entirely abolished.

Another act of the same year granted the Jews the same right of representation in the Upper House of Parliament as the other religious communities. Rabbis Immanuel *Loew for the Neologists and Koppel *Reich for the Orthodox were elected to sit there. During the first few years after World War I, Zionist activity was brought to a halt by the government, but in 1927 the regulations of the Zionist Organization were again ratified and it was authorized to renew its organizational and propaganda activities.

The relative tranquilization in the situation of the Jews in Hungary also continued after the resignation of Bethlen and the rise to power of the Right. A sharp anti-Jewish turn took place during the late 1930s as a result of the strengthening of the Rightist circles and growing German-Nazi influence. In 1938 the "First Jewish Law" was presented to Parliament; it restricted the number of Jews in the liberal professions, in the administration, and in commercial and industrial enterprises to 20%. The term "Jew" included not only members of the Jewish religion, but also those who became apostates after 1919 or who had been born of Jewish parents after that date. The bill aroused objections from the opposition parties, but it was ratified by both Houses of Parliament. In 1939 the "Second Jewish Law" was passed; it extended the application of the term "Jew" on a racial basis and came to include some 100,000 Christians (apostates or their children) and also reduced the number of Jews in economic activity, fixing it at 5%; the political rights of the Jews were also restricted. As a result of these laws, the sources of livelihood of 250,000 Hungarian Jews were closed for them.

One reaction of the Jews to the anti-Jewish legislation was expressed by their emphasis on their patriotic attachment to Hungary, voiced by their official representatives; the Jews generally believed that the anti-Jewish current was only a fleeting phenomenon. Jewish communal organizations, led by the community of Budapest, began to develop ramified social aid activities to assist those ousted from economic life. Within certain sections of the community conversions increased; there were up to 5,000 apostates after the enactment of the First Jewish Law. However, wide circles of the Jewish public reacted by a return to Judaism, through fostering Jewish values, literature, and religious education. Zionism was strengthened and *aliyah* from Hungary to Ereẓ Israel increased.

Hungarian Jewry in the interwar period underwent great changes. Following the dismemberment of the country after World War I, the number of Jews was reduced by about a half (473,000 in 1920). Their number further declined during the 1920s and 1930s. The demographic decline of Hungarian Jewry in this period is evident by the sharp decline in the younger age groups (0–20) and increase in the older age groups. There was a marked tendency in the interwar years to concentrate in towns, especially in the capital. Over half of Hungary's Jewish population lived in Greater Budapest. The Neolog communities had 65% of the Jews, as against 29% Orthodox, and 5% status quo. This distribution was due to the fact that the great Orthodox centers of prewar times were ceded to the successor states.

[Nathaniel Katzburg]

Holocaust Period

The history of the destruction of Hungarian Jewry encompasses the Jewish population of the enlarged state of Hungary. In 1930, 444,567 Jews had lived in Hungary within the boundaries fixed in 1920. An additional 78,000 Jews came under Hungarian rule when southern Slovakia (Felvidék) was annexed by Hungary (Nov. 2, 1938). The 72,000 Jews who lived in the Czechoslovak province of Sub-Carpathian Ruthenia came under Hungarian jurisdiction when Hungary moved in on March 15–16, 1939. The Jewish population of the formerly Romanian northern Transylvania (awarded to Hungary on Aug. 30, 1940) numbered 149,000. According to the Jan. 31, 1941 census, out of a total population of 14,683,323 the Jews numbered 725,007 (184,453 of them in Budapest). In April 1941 there were about 20,000 Jews in the former Yugoslav territory (Bácska), occupied in the course of joint German-Hungarian military operations.

In conformity with the "Third Jewish Law" (1941), which defined the term "Jew" on more radical racial principles, 58,320 persons not belonging to the Jewish faith were considered Jewish. Thus the total number of persons officially registered as Jews in mid-1941 was over 803,000. According to a generally accepted estimate, the actual number of Christians of Jewish origin exceeded by far the officially recorded 58,320. Consequently, the total number of persons liable to racial discrimination in mid-1941 may be put at a minimum of 850,000.

The Third Jewish Law, based on the *Nuremberg laws, prohibited intermarriage. By mid-1941 the anti-Jewish measures had placed Hungarian Jewry in a most disadvantageous position in every sphere of political, economic, cultural, and social life. The government party, Magyar Élet Pártja (MEP, "Party of Hungarian Life"), pursued a pro-Nazi, antisemitic policy, while various national-socialist groupings and the *Arrow-Cross Party exerted increasing pressure upon the government to stiffen radically its anti-Jewish policy.

The decimation of the Jewish population began in the fall of 1940, shortly after the incorporation of northern Transylvania, from where thousands of Jews whose citizenship was in question were forcibly expelled, mainly to *Romania. The first large-scale loss of life among Hungarian Jewry occurred in July 1941, when the Office for Aliens' Control expelled to German-held Galicia about 20,000 Jews, whose Hungarian citizenship was in doubt (mostly inhabitants of the areas annexed from *Czechoslovakia), as well as refugees from neighboring countries. They were mostly concentrated in Kamenets-Podolski and murdered in the autumn of 1941 by *SS men, assisted by Hungarian troops. The second great loss occurred in January 1942, when 1,000 Jews were massacred by gendarmes and soldiers in Bácska, mainly in Novi-Sad. In May 1940, special forced labor units had already been set up for enlisting Jews, who were excluded from army service. When Hungary joined the war against the Soviet Union, the labor units were sent with the troops. At that time there were 10 to 12 labor battalions comprising about 14,000 men, but later the number of Jews on the eastern front reached 50,000. After the great breakthrough of the advancing Soviet army near the River Don (January 1943) the Second Hungarian Army disintegrated and fled in panic. It is estimated that of the 50,000 Jews, 40,000–43,000 died during the retreat.

The position of the labor units which remained in Hungary was much better, especially when on March 10, 1942, the extreme antisemitic prime minister László Bárdossy was succeeded by the moderate, conservative Miklós Kállay. Nevertheless, that month Kállay announced the draft law for expropriation of Jewish property and envisaged clearing the countryside of Jews. He successively announced measures to be taken to eliminate Jews from economic and cultural life. In April 1942 Kállay pledged the "resettlement" of 800,000 Jews – as a "final solution of the Jewish question," pointing out, however, that this could be implemented only after the war. Presumably, these extreme anti-Jewish plans were meant to curry favor with the Germans, but in fact Kállay, in an agreement with the regent Nicolas Horthy, refrained from drastic steps and resisted pressure from the German government. Dissatisfied with Kállay's halfhearted measures, Germany exerted greater pressure upon Hungary from October 1942 for legislation for the complete elimination of the Jews from economic and cultural life, for compulsory wearing of the yellow *badge, and finally, their evacuation to the east. Similar interventions went on early in 1943. The Kállay government rejected the German requests for deportation mainly on economic grounds, arguing that deportation would ruin Hungary's economy and would harm Germany as well.

In April 1943 Hitler conferred with Horthy and condemned Hungary's handling of the "Jewish question" as irresolute and ineffective. Again the Hungarians rejected the German demands for the deportations, pointing out the necessity of waiting for favorable circumstances. By 1943 the Kállay government completed the program of eliminating the Jews from public and cultural life, while a numerus clausus was applied in economic life to restrict the position of the Jews according to their percentage in the total population (about 6%). The Jewish agricultural holdings were almost entirely liquidated, while the "race-protective" legislation segregated Jews from Hungarian society. However, in the course of 1943 and beginning of 1944 the Kállay government secretly conferred with the Western Allies in preparation for Hungary's extrication from the war. Under these circumstances the Nazi-style handling of the "Jewish question" hardly suited the country's interests. In December 1943, military court procedure was initiated against the criminals involved in the anti-Serbian and anti-Jewish massacres in Bácska (January 1942). The Germans regarded the prosecution of the murderers of Jews as an attempt to gain footing with the Jews and the Allies, and the incident contributed to aggravate the tension between Berlin and Budapest.

GERMAN OCCUPATION. By the beginning of March 1944 the occupation of Hungary was decided upon in Berlin. One of the German arguments for this step was the alleged sabotage committed by the Hungarian government against the "final solution of the Jewish question." Kállay's rejection of the German demands for deportation was considered as evidence of Hungary's determination to join forces with the Western Allies. Operation Margaret, that is, the occupation of Hungary, took place on March 19, 1944. By the time of the German occupation, close to 63,000 Jews (8% of the Jewish population) had already fallen victim to the persecution. Prior to the occupation, on March 12, 1944, Adolf *Eichmann, at the head of SS officers of the *RSHA (Reich Security Main Office) began preparations in Mauthausen, Austria, for setting up the Sondereinsatzkommando (Special Task Force) destined to direct the liquidation of Hungarian Jewry. Most of the Sonderkommando members, among them Hermann Krumey and Dieter *Wisliceny, arrived in Budapest on the day of the occupation, while Eichmann arrived on March 21. On the German side special responsibility for Jewish affairs was assigned to Edmund Veesenmayer, the newly appointed minister and Reich plenipotentiary, and to Otto Winkelmann, higher SS and police leader and Himmler's representative in Hungary.

On March 22 a new government was set up under the premiership of the former Hungarian minister in Berlin, Döme Sztójay. The government consisted of extreme pro-Nazi elements, willing collaborators with Germany in the accomplishment of the "Final Solution." The new regime's minister of the interior Andor Jaross was in charge of Jewish affairs; however, actual execution of the anti-Jewish measures was directed by László *Endre and László *Baky, state secretaries of the Ministry of the Interior. Immediately after the entry of German troops into Hungary, hundreds of prominent Jews were arrested in Budapest and several other cities. Over 3,000 were detained by the end of March, increasing to 8,000 by mid-April. A great number of provincial Jews were rounded up, mainly at the Budapest railway stations, on the very evening of the occupation. They were interned at Kistarcsa and other concentration camps.

The Jewish organizations were dissolved throughout the country, and on March 20 a Jewish council (Zsidó Tanács) with eight members was set up in Budapest upon orders from the Germans, to act as the head of the Jewish communities. The Germans aimed at manipulating this authorized Jewish body to execute their measures without resistance and avoid an atmosphere of panic. By the end of March, similar Jewish councils were constituted in several larger provincial towns. However, unlike the Budapest Jewish Council, their activity was minimal and their existence short-lived. From the first days of the occupation, Eichmann and his collaborators endeavored to persuade the members of the central Jewish council that deportations were not intended and that Hungarian Jewry would not undergo brutal treatment. They assured them that no harm would befall the Jews, on condition that they obediently carry out the directives regarding their segregation and their new economic status.

The "Provisional Executive Committee of the Jewish Federation of Hungary," appointed by the Hungarian government on May 6, likewise aimed at ensuring complete observance of the anti-Jewish directives. By the time this body was set up, the Jews of the provinces had already been concentrated in ghettos, and Jewish community life had ceased to exist, so that the "Executive Committee" was a mere fiction, devised with the additional aim of lending a semblance of legality to the government's measures. Another task imposed on the Jewish bodies established after the occupation was to assure the complete and unhindered transfer of Jewish assets and valuables. Simultaneously with the German actions, the Sztójay government enacted intensive anti-Jewish legislation. Numerous anti-Jewish decrees aimed at the total exclusion of Jews from economic, cultural, and public life. Jews were dismissed from all public services and excluded from the professions; their businesses were closed down and any assets over 3,000 pengö (about $300) confiscated, as well as their cars, bicycles, radios, and telephones.

On March 31, 1944, Jews were ordered to wear the yellow badge. Actually, in a few places (e.g., Munkacs), the local authorities issued this order earlier. On April 7, the decision was taken to concentrate the Jews in ghettos and afterwards to deport them. The ghettoization process was entrusted to the Hungarian gendarmerie in collaboration with the local administration. By mid-April an agreement was reached between the Hungarian government and the Germans stipulating the delivery of 100,000 able-bodied Jews to German factories in the course of April and May. By the end of April the Germans modified this plan by dismissing any criteria on ability to work and demanded the deportation of the entire Jewish population to concentration camps in the eastern territories. However, at the end of April, several groups of able-bodied Jews were transported from the outskirts of Budapest to Germany (1,800 persons on April 28, and a smaller group from the Topolya concentration camp on April 30).

GHETTOIZATION AND DEPORTATION. The ghettoization was started in the provinces. The Jews of Sub-Carpathian Ruthenia were evacuated to ghettos on April 16–19; up to April 23, about 150,000 Jews were concentrated on the northeastern areas of Hungary, pending their deportation to *Auschwitz, which started on May 15, with daily transports of 2,000–3,000. At the same time as the Carpatho-Ruthenian action, some ghettos were set up sporadically in different parts of the country, arbitrarily initiated by local authorities (e.g., the Nagykanizsa Jews were forced into a ghetto on April 19; a number of the Jews of the Veszprem county were crammed into improvised concentration camps as early as the last days of March). North Transylvanian Jewry was evacuated to ghettos in the first days of May, when the process of ghettoization had already been concluded in northeastern Hungary. The ghettoization in the rest of the country, except for the capital, was completed simultaneously. The Jews were driven out of their homes in the night, allowed to pack only a minimal supply of food and some strictly necessary personal belongings, and then assembled at temporary collection points. The provisional ghettos were set up in school buildings, synagogues, or factories outside the towns. In the large Jewish population centers, ghettos were established in the vicinity of the towns, mainly in brickyards, barracks, or out in the open.

Jews in Ghettos, Hungary

Concentration of Jews in Central Ghettos, Hungary, 1944/45

Area	No. of ghettos	No. of persons
Northeastern Hungary	17	144,000
Transdanubia	7	36,000
Tisza Region	4	65,000
Northern District	5	69,000
Transylvania (excepting Maramaros and Szatmar counties)	7	97,000
Total	40	411,000

Ghettoization was immediately followed by an inventory of the movable property and the sealing of the houses that had belonged to Jews. The Jews were permitted to add a few items of food and clothing to their scanty baggage during the inventory, which in most cases was accompanied by gendarme brutality and looting by the civilian auxiliary personnel. In this first phase of the ghettoization, the Jews in the villages were evacuated to temporary ghettos (collection points) set up exclusively in, or outside towns (from two to four collection ghettos per county). The second phase consisted of the evacuation from the collection ghettos to the larger, central ghettos. The concentration of Jews in the central ghettos is given in the Table: Jews in Central Ghettos.

About 8,000 detainees were interned in a number of concentration camps (e.g., Kistarcsa, Sarvar). The inmates were partly political prisoners and partly Jews from the provinces rounded up in Budapest. They also faced deportation along with the Jews of the ghettos. The living conditions of over 400,000 Jews forced into makeshift ghettos were characterized by overcrowding and lack of elementary hygienic facilities. Some of the inmates had no roof over their heads, and some ghettos were erected entirely outdoors. During the short period that ghettos existed in the provinces, inhuman conditions and torture claimed a number of victims and there were also numerous cases of suicide. When the next phase of the deportation began, the majority of the Jewish population was already in a state of physical and mental exhaustion.

The deportations, which started on May 14, were jointly organized by the Hungarian and the German authorities; but the Hungarian government was solely in charge of the Jews' transportation up to the northern border. Between May 14–15 and June 7, about 290,000 persons were evacuated from Zone I (Sub-Carpathian Ruthenia) and Zone II (northern Transylvania). More than 50,000 Jews of northwestern Hungary and those north of Budapest constituting Zone III were deported by June 30. Zone IV (southern Hungary, east of the Danube), with about 41,000 persons, was also evacuated by the end of June. The last phase was concluded by July 9 with the deportation of more that 55,000 Jews from Zone V, comprising Transdanubia and the outskirts of Budapest. According to Veesenmayer's reports, a total of 437,402 Jews were deported from the five zones. (There appears a slight difference, within a few thousand, between Veesenmayer's figures and other sources.) The bulk of the transports reached Auschwitz via central Slovakia by freight train. Each freight car was to carry about 45 persons, but actually in most cases 80–100 persons were crammed in under hardly bearable conditions. Thousands of sick, elderly people, and babies died in the trains during the three to five days of the journey, due to lack of water and ventilation.

The ghettoization and deportation were not condemned by Hungarian public opinion; instances of overt sympathy and willingness to help and rescue were an exception to the rule. Noteworthy among the few protests was the outspoken plea of Áron Márton, the Catholic bishop of Alba-Iulia. Hungarian authorities expelled him from Kolozsvar (now Cluj) in May 1944 for preaching in defense of the Jews. Attempts were made throughout the country to evade deportation, but only in northern Transylvania were most of them successful, due to its common border with Romania. The number of Jews who managed to cross the south Transylvanian border and escape to Romania in April–June may be put at about 2,000–2,500. In addition, a few hundred Jews went into hiding in the countryside, especially in northern Transylvania. Likewise some hundreds of Jews were spared deportation, when exempted by the authorities on grounds of military or other merit. A few thousand provincial Jews managed to evade deportation by either hiding in Budapest, or living in the Budapest ghettos alongside the bulk of the capital's Jewish population. About 95% of the deportees were directed to Auschwitz, where, under camp commander Rudolf *Hoess, large-scale preparations had been made for their mass murder. The able-bodied were dispersed to 386 camps throughout the German-held Eastern territories and in the Reich. A small percentage of provincial Jewry managed to evade deportation to Auschwitz. In the framework of a deal made by Rezsö *Kasztner with Eichmann (see below), some transports totaling several thousand (mostly from Debrecen, Szeged, and Szolnok) were directed to Austria. This group was spared selections, families remained united, and the majority survived.

In January 1943 a Zionist relief and rescue committee was formed in Budapest to help Jews in the neighboring countries. Otto *Komoly was president of the committee, Kasztner its vice president, and Joel *Brand was responsible for the underground rescue from Poland. Shortly after the German occupation, Kasztner and Brand established contact with Eichmann. Their names, especially that of Kasztner, became linked with the transaction known as *Blut fuer Ware* ("Blood for Goods"). Brand was sent to Istanbul to mediate between the Allies and the Germans for war materials, particularly trucks, in exchange for Hungarian Jewish lives, a mission doomed to failure. Kasztner went to Switzerland several times to meet with representatives of the *American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee, *Jewish Agency, and *War Refugee Board to work out a rescue plan and arrange its financing by Jewish organizations. Kasztner succeeded in concluding a deal with Eichmann, which resulted in the transport on June 30, 1944, of 1,658 Jews from Hungary to Switzerland at the fixed price of $1,000 per head and two further transports on August 18 and December 6, consisting of 318 and 1,368 Jews respectively, most of whom were of Hungarian and Transylvanian origin. The first group was first detained at *Bergen-Belsen, but, as a result of *Himmler's intervention, finally reached Switzerland by the end of December.

After deportations from the provinces were completed, preparations went under way for the deportation of Budapest Jews. The timing of the Budapest deportation to follow the completion of the "*Entjudung*" ("ridding of Jews") of the provinces, was set for technical, economic, and tactical reasons. On June 15, 1944, the Ministry of the Interior ordered the concentration of the Budapest Jews in some 2,000 houses marked with a yellow star and designated to enclose about 220,000 Jews. On June 25 a curfew was ordered for the capital's Jews, who from this date led the life of prisoners in utter destitution. The series of foreign interventions in May increased in June, taking on a more organized form and exerting a favorable influence upon the fate of Budapest Jewry.

In June the Swiss press, and subsequently the press in other neutral states and in the Allied countries, published details about the fate of Hungarian Jewry. The press campaign and the activity of Jewish leaders in Switzerland brought about a series of interventions with Horthy. Among others, the king of Sweden, the *Vatican, and the International Red Cross intervened. Among the Hungarian personalities who interceded with Horthy for the cessation of the deportations were Protestant bishops and Prince-Primate Justinianus Serédi. These interventions, along with the concealed intention of the Hungarian government to create favorable conditions in case of a separate armistice treaty with the Allies, brought a halt to further deportations on July 8. At the same time Baky and Endre, the chief Hungarian organizers of the "*Entjudung*," were dismissed. At the end of July, Himmler also gave his approval to the suspension of the deportations. Meanwhile, as many Jews as possible were successfully placed under the protection of some neutral states (e.g., Sweden, Switzerland, Portugal).

In August a turning point was reached when Horthy and his supporters dismissed the Sztójay government. A new government less servile to the Germans was formed under General Géza Lakatos, with the aim of preparing the armistice with the Allies. Throughout July and August the situation of the Budapest Jews and of the labor conscripts appeared more hopeful. However, on September 4, the Lakatos government declared war against Romania, which had joined the Allies (August 23). Hungarian units crossed the south Transylvanian border and perpetrated acts of savagery against the Jewish residents in the strip occupied up to the beginning of October. They massacred the whole Jewish population of Sărmaş and Sărmăşel (126 persons), committed murders at Ludus and Arad, and made preparations for the introduction of anti-Jewish measures in the temporarily occupied territories.

On October 15, the fate of the Budapest Jews took a dramatic turn for the worse. After Horthy's unsuccessful attempt to extricate Hungary from the war, the Germans activated the Arrow-Cross Party of Ferenc *Szálasi, which immediately initiated an unprecedented reign of anti-Jewish terror. Eichmann, who had been obliged to leave Hungary on August 24 (after succeeding in deporting the inmates of the Kistarcsa and Sarvar camps, against Horthy's orders), returned to Budapest on October 17 and resumed his activity for deporting the capital's Jews. After October 15, the Budapest Jews were divided into two groups: The majority were enclosed in a central ghetto, while the smaller segment lived in the blocks and quarters "protected" by various neutral states (e.g., by Switzerland and Sweden). As a preliminary step in the deportations, the Jewish male population aged 16 to 60 was ordered out to work in fortifications. In accordance with the deportation plans, two transports of about 50,000 each were to leave in November for Austria and the Reich. However, these plans were thwarted by the military situation on the Eastern front. On November 2, Soviet troops reached the outskirts of Budapest. Under these circumstances the labor battalions were driven toward western Hungary, and on November 8, a group of about 25,000 Budapest Jews were directed on foot toward Hegyeshalom at the Austrian border. They were later followed by other contingents of up to 60,000. A high percentage of persons on this "death march" perished on the way. From the Arrow-Cross seizure of power until the Soviet occupation of Budapest (Jan. 18, 1945), about 98,000 of the capital's Jews lost their lives in further marches and in train transports, as well as through Arrow-Cross extermination squads, starvation, disease, and cases of suicide. Some of the victims were shot and thrown into the Danube.

RESISTANCE AND RESCUE. Organized resistance among Budapest Jews made itself felt only in the autumn months, but it failed to develop on a large scale. A few small, armed groups were active in Budapest, attacking Arrow-Cross men and performing rescue operations. In several cases, armed Jewish youths, disguised as Arrow-Cross men or as soldiers, prevented executions and killed Szálasi's men. One form of resistance was the Zionist *ḥalutz* movement rescue activities, which consisted of forging identity cards, supplying money, food, and clothing, and facilitating escape or hiding. An attempt by the *Haganah to activate the rescue work by sending Hungarian-born Jews from Palestine failed in the summer of 1944. A few members of the Haganah were parachuted by the British into Yugoslav territory, from where they crossed into Hungary, but were captured. Two of them were executed (Perez Goldstein and Hannah *Szenes). The rescue operation by some neutral states proved to be efficient. Up to the end of October 1944, more than 1,600 Jews in Budapest were provided with San Salvador documents. By the end of the year, the number of Jews enjoying the protection of neutral states and of the International Red Cross in the "protected houses" rose to 33,000. The Arrow-Cross authorities recognized, among others, 7,800 Swiss and 4,500 Swedish safe-conduct passes. Prominent figures in this rescue work were Charles Lutz, a Swiss diplomat, and Raoul *Wallenberg, secretary of the Swedish Legation in Budapest.

By September–October 1944, northern Transylvania was occupied by the Soviet armies, followed by Hungary's eastern, southern, and northeastern strip. The Soviet forces occupied Budapest on Jan. 18, 1945, and by early April all "Trianon" Hungary. The Soviet occupation of Hungary brought freedom to the Budapest ghettos and to those labor conscripts who were within the borders.

DEMOGRAPHIC TOTAL. Statistical data on the destruction of Hungarian Jewry show that about 69,000 Jews were saved in Budapest's Central Ghetto and 25,000 in the "Protected Ghetto." In addition to these two categories, which also include persons safeguarded in the buildings of some neutral diplomatic missions, about 25,000 Jews came out of hiding in Budapest. A few thousand survived in Red Cross children's homes. An exact assessment of the number of Jews who returned to Hungary is rendered difficult by the fact that northern Transylvania, Sub-Carpathian Ruthenia, Felvidék, and Bácska were once again detached from it.

Throughout the first postwar months there was a large-scale fluctuation of population between "Trianon" Hungary and the so-called "succession states." The number of Jewish forced laborers who returned to Hungary or were liberated there, including those who later returned from Soviet captivity, may be estimated at 20,000. By the end of 1945 some 70,000 deportees had returned. The number of Jews saved in all these categories in postwar Hungary totaled 200,000. The losses of Hungarian Jewry from the Trianon territories was 300,000. A relatively high proportion of the survivors were non-Jews, who were, however, considered Jews according to the racial laws.

A total number of about 25,000–40,000 Jews who were saved returned to northern Transylvania; some 15,000 to Sub-Carpathian Ruthenia and about 10,000 to Felvidék, reattached to Czechoslovakia. The number of Jews who returned to Bácska is estimated at a few thousand. The relatively small number of survivors outside Hungary, who failed to return in 1945 to their former homes, cannot be assessed.

Of the 825,000 persons considered Jews in the 1941–45 period in greater Hungary, about 565,000 perished, and about 260,000 survived the Holocaust.

[Bela Adalbert Vago]

Postwar Period

As a result of the Holocaust, the demographic composition and geographical distribution of Hungarian Jewry had radically changed after the war. When the survivors of the death camps and forced labor returned to Hungary, a few took up residence in their previous homes, and 266 communities were reestablished (out of 473). In the following years, however, most left the provincial towns, and the Jewish communities there ceased to exist.

The postwar Hungarian regime abolished the anti-Jewish legislation enacted by its predecessor. The men who had governed during the war and many who had been directly responsible for the deportation and destruction of Jews were brought to trial and sentenced to death, and thousands of other war criminals were imprisoned. On the other hand, no comprehensive law was passed for the restitution of Jewish property that had been confiscated or forcibly sold, and the existing regulations and ordinances did not provide a solution for this vital problem. Although antisemitism was officially banned, there were strong anti-Jewish sentiments among the population, which blamed the Jews for the country's postwar economic plight. This was felt particularly in the provincial towns, whose inhabitants resented the return of the surviving Jewish deportees. In May 1946 there was a pogrom in Kunmadaras, and in July another took place in Miskolc, in which five Jews were killed and many injured. Antisemitic feelings were also voiced in the political literature of this period, in which the Jews were warned "not to try to capitalize on their sufferings during the war." The pogroms ceased at the end of 1946, when the economy was stabilized, but popular antisemitism continued to exist and found expression in such acts as the desecration of cemeteries. Recurrent antisemitism strengthened the desire of the Jews to emigrate.

The central Jewish institutions reconstituted after the war were the central office of the Neolog communities (which also included the "status quo" communities) and the central office of the Orthodox communities. Whereas before the war the Jewish leadership was composed of the Jewish financial aristocracy, the postwar leadership had a broad popular base, with Zionists playing a prominent role.

In December 1948, an agreement was reached between the government and the Jewish community, similar to agreements with other religious denominations, whereby the Jewish community was accorded official recognition, guaranteed freedom of religious practice, and assured of financial support. This agreement was renewed in 1968. In 1950, at the urging of the government the three religious trends – Neolog, Orthodox, and status quo – united into a single community organization. The Orthodox, who had voiced strong opposition to the forced unification, were granted a large measure of autonomy within the unified organization. Leadership of the community was under the direction of the Magyar Izraeliták Országos Képviselete ("National Representation of Hungarian Israelites"), while religious affairs were handled by two rabbinical committees – one Neolog and one Orthodox; the chairman of each committee was recognized as chief rabbi of the respective religious trend. A Jewish periodical, *Uj Élet* ("New Life"), was founded as a biweekly, in November 1945.

After the liberation of the country, Hungarian Jewry entered upon a new era of public activities. The Zionist Movement, including its various subdivisions and youth movements, was greatly strengthened and became very active in the field of education. It established a network of schools, in which Hebrew was the medium of instruction, as well as other youth institutions. The American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (JDC) played an important role in the rehabilitation of the impoverished community, spending as much as $52 million on food, welfare, and education, during the period 1946–52.

The transformation of Hungary into a people's republic under Communist rule in 1949 was a fateful turning point for the country's Jews. The effects of this move were felt in the economic situation of the Jews, in their public life, and in their educational activities. The nationalization of the means of production, agencies, and services deprived large sections of the Jewish population of their means of livelihood. The new regime adopted a hostile attitude to the Jewish national movement, and Zionist activities were severely curtailed and eventually outlawed. The Zionist organization was disbanded in March 1949, and its leaders were sentenced to prison terms. Contacts between Hungarian Jews and world Jewry were restricted. Due to the strained relations with the United States, the work of the JDC was at first curtailed, and in the beginning of 1953 brought to a complete stop. Jewish educational institutions were absorbed by the general school system (a step which had far-reaching negative effects upon the education of Hungarian Jewish youth).

The growing severity of the Communist regime and the struggle it carried on against opposition resulted in large-scale expulsions from the cities to the provinces in 1951. An estimated 20,000 Jews were affected by this campaign, most of whom were driven out of Budapest. In 1953, when a more liberal policy was adopted, the situation of the Jews underwent some improvement, and many of those who had been expelled were permitted to return to their homes.

The 1956 uprising also had its effects upon the Jews. As a result of the emigration of rabbis and other Jewish leaders, organized Jewish life was disrupted. Some 20,000 Jews are believed to have left Hungary during this period. The report that antisemitic right-wing elements became active during the rebellion seems to be well founded in fact.

The period of liberalization that began at the end of the 1950s was beneficial to the Jews, and their communal religious and cultural life made some progress. The regime, however, frowned upon identification with any factor other than the socialist state, and an individual who sought to preserve his Jewish identity and engage in religious activities encountered difficulties in his economic and social advancement. This situation resulted in the further estrangement of young Jews from their Jewish heritage. The ties between Hungarian and world Jewry fluctuated over the course of the years. In the early postwar period, the ties were very close: Hungarian Jewry was affiliated to the *World Jewish Congress and sent representatives to international Jewish conferences. After the Communist take-over, the contacts with world Jewry declined, but they were revived in the 1960s, and representatives of Hungarian Jews again took part in meetings of the World Jewish Congress and other international Jewish conferences. Hungarian Jews also maintain links with Jewish communities in other East European countries and with the Memorial Foundation for Jewish Culture, which supports Jewish cultural and scientific institutions in Hungary.

In 1967 the Jewish population of Hungary was estimated at 80–90,000, including some 10,000 who did not take part in religious or communal life. The largest and most important community was in Budapest, where all the central Jewish institutions were located, and then numbered 60–70,000 persons. About 20 synagogues existed, and the community provided religious, welfare, and educational services, maintaining a Jewish high school and a rabbinical seminary. The latter was headed by the well-known scholar, Alexander *Scheiber, and was the only institution of its kind in Eastern Europe. It also served as the center of scientific work, especially the publication of source material on the history of the Jews in Hungary (*Monumenta Hungariae Judaica* (MHJ), vols. 6–11, 1959–68). Other Jewish communities existed in the large provincial centers – Miskolc, Pécs, Debrecen, and Szeged.

[Nathaniel Katzburg]

During the 1970s the Jewish community in Hungary numbered some 60,000, of whom 50,000 resided in Budapest, which was thus the second or third largest in Eastern Europe; second only to that of the Soviet Union, and about the same, or slightly smaller, than that of Romania. About 60% were above the age of 50. Conservatism, as a tendency rather than ideology, characterized all aspects of the life of this closed community, and a goodly number of the Jews of Hungary belonged to the Reform (Neolog) stream of Judaism.

The communities were organized in the Association of Communities, a religious body recognized by the authorities, which operated the community's institutions: the Hungarian language publication *Uj Elet* ("New Life"), a Rabbinical Seminary, a Jewish gymnasium, museum, orphanage, old-age home, hospital, kosher meat shops and religious schools. There were 15 rabbis and 30 synagogues, of which six were in outlying cities.

The community received financial aid from the American Joint. On Dec. 6, 1977, the centenary of the Rabbinical Seminary in Budapest was celebrated, at which delegations from other Eastern European communities, including the Soviet Union, participated, as did Dr. Nahum *Goldmann, then president of the World Jewish Congress, Philip Klutznick, and graduates of the Seminary now active in the West. Graduates serving as rabbis in Israel were not invited.

Apart from this, the authorities continued to maintain the strict wall of isolation, severing the community from contact with communities in the West and in Israel.

In February 1980 an agreement was reached between the Joint Distribution Committee and the Hungarian government whereby the JDC would provide welfare services for Hungarian Jews.

In April 1980 the "Order of the Republic," one of its highest awards, was bestowed by the government on Rabbi Laszlo Salgo for his efforts in strengthening relations between the State and the Jewish community, and in May the government completed a memorial and permanent exhibition at the site of Auschwitz, in memory of the 435,000 Hungarian Jews deported to the death camp during World War II, 400,000 of whom were murdered by the Nazis. Among the exhibits are documents detailing the history of Hungarian antisemitism since 1919. A memorial pillar bears the names of 30,000 of the victims.

[Eliezer Palmor]

Post-Communist Period

In the course of the 1980s a revolution of sorts occurred within the Jewish community in Hungary, with repercussions on its existence and development. This change can be defined as mainly one of quality but also one of quantity: There were now many more Hungarian Jews than there were a decade or two previously, that is, many more people of Jewish origin were now willing to identify themselves as Jews and no longer felt or saw a need to hide their Jewishness.

The freedom which returned to Hungary with the fall of communism in Eastern Europe also gave back to its Jews, who had suffered greatly, a sense of being free to be Jews, to maintain a natural link to the State of Israel, and to try to give Jewish education to their children. At the same time, antisemitism reappeared, and the Jews now faced the same choices as their brethren in the West: identification with Zionism and possible *aliyah*, or accelerated assimilation, or carefully walking the tightrope between the two.

ASSIMILATION, ZIONISM, ALIYAH. Assimilation continued apace among the Jews of Hungary. The problem of intermarriage made itself felt in almost every Jewish family in Hungary.

As soon as it was legally possible, a Zionist Federation was founded in Hungary, led by psychologist Dr. Tibor (Samuel) Englander, but it had little influence and only a tiny fraction of Hungarian Jews were active in it. In 1992 no more than 100 Jews emigrated to Israel.

An impartial observer received the impression that he was seeing vibrant Jewish life. Dozens of organizations – B'nai B'rith, WIZO, Na'amat, the Jewish Culture Organization, Zionist youth movements from Bnei Akiva to Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir, Chabad, and so on – carried on feverish activity which, however, touched only a small part of the Jewish population. Though the Jewish population of Hungary was estimated to be as high as 100,000 in 2005, with 80–90% living in Budapest, only around 6,000 were formally registered with the community and only 20,000 had contact with Jewish organizations.

ANTISEMITISM. Paradoxically, Jews seem to have been goaded into "Jewish life" by the antisemitism which reasserted itself under the new rule. Although it was still illegal, the police in a liberal regime were unable – and the government apparently did not care – to enforce this law. The result was a great spurt in antisemitic journalism and hateful antisemitic remarks by a few of the elected representatives of the Democratic Forum (MDF), the ruling party. The most prominent of the antisemitic papers were the *Magyar Forum*, under the editorship of the author Istvan Csurka, and *Szent Korona* ("The Holy Crown"), edited by Laszlo Romhany. Romhany was convicted of incitement to murder. In 1992 and early 1993 there were many incidents of attacks on foreign students as well as against gypsies and Jews by young persons called "nationalists," who identified themselves with the skinheads, and in the Hungarian Parliament they had a patron in the person of Isabella B. Kiraly (MDF). At a large demonstration in front of the Parliament in October 1992, groups of young people showed up in Nazi uniforms and the writer Csurka accused the president of Hungary, the liberal Arpad Gonz of having "the agents who pull the strings in New York, Paris, and Tel Aviv, guide his path in Hungarian politics," which according to Csurka was still ruled by the Jews as were the communications media.

In spring 1993 antisemitic feelings were aroused by an interview given by the head of the Jewish community, Gusztav Zoltai, and the chief rabbi of Budapest, Georg Landesman, to a Catholic weekly. The rabbi made a few lame statements which were seen as contemptuous of Hungarian culture. The rabbi apologized, but his opponents in the community used the ensuing storm of public opinion to call for his resignation. The Hungarian prime minister, Jozef Antal, addressed himself – in an unprecedented step – not to the board of the Jewish community, but to the Israel ambassador in Budapest, David Kraus, and demanded the dismissal of the rabbi, whose remarks were, as stated in Antal's letter, "false, shocking, detrimental to the Hungarian people, and likely to cause an outbreak of antisemitism." The ambassador rejected the letter's contents, but the Hungarian minister of the interior ordered that an investigation be opened to see whether there was any basis for accusing the rabbi of "causing hatred of Jews." After Rabbi Landesman apologized, but refused to resign, the community board canceled the position of chief rabbi and its duties were divided among the other rabbis. Landesman did stay on as the rabbi of the Great Synagogue on Dohany Street.

ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE. At the head of organized Hungarian Jewry stands Mazsihisz, the Alliance of Jewish Communities, which unites the organized Jewish Neolog communities. After a 50-year break, during which the Jewish leaders were appointed by the Communist regime, elections were held in 1990 and since then an elected directorate has been in operation. Among all Jewish organizations listed above, the largest and strongest is the culture organization, Mazsike, and even its membership does not exceed a few hundred. The Alliance publishes a biweekly called *Uj Elet* ("New Life"). The Orthodox congregation, operating four synagogues, a *mikveh*, and kosher food stores, is organized as the Autonomous Orthodox Community, and a small Reform congregation, Sim Shalom, is also in operation.

JEWISH EDUCATION. In addition to kindergartens, three Jewish day schools serving 1,800 children were in operation through the 1990s and the early 2000s. These were the American Foundation School founded by the Canadian Reichmann family; it had 12 grades and maintained a moderate religious atmosphere; the Yavneh School (founded by the Lauder Foundation), defining itself as a "secular Jewish school"; and the Anne Frank Gymnasium, the oldest of the three, which was the only Jewish school not closed by the Communist regime, although it was severely limited by it, so much so that by the end of the 1970s only 15 pupils were enrolled in its four classes. In addition, the famous Rabbinical Seminary, founded nearly 120 years ago and headed by Chief Rabbi Dr. Schweitzer Jozsef in the early 2000s, was now part of the Yahalom Jewish College, which also included a teachers' training college preparing young people for teaching in the Jewish schools.

[Naftali Kraus]

Relations with Israel

From the liberation to 1949, there was substantial migration of Jews from Hungary to Israel, and during Israel's *War of Independence, the Hungarian government supported Israel. The Communist regime, however, opposing Zionism, prohibited large-scale emigration, and apart from an agreement made in 1949, under which 3,000 Jews were allowed to settle in Israel, there has been only a small trickle of Hungarian Jews moving to Israel. Contrary to the policies adopted by most other Communist regimes in Eastern Europe, the Hungarian government persisted in its restrictive attitude to *aliyah*. In conformity with the attitude of the government, the official relationship of Hungarian Jewry to Israel remained restrained. The Jewish institutions were warned against identifying with Israel. In fact, there does exist great interest in Israel, which is strengthened by the many family ties. Diplomatic relations between Hungary and Israel were established as early as 1948, and there has been a continuous rise in trade relations. The scope of trade reached $26,000,000. In June 1967, in the wake of the *Six-Day War, Hungary followed the Soviet Union's lead in breaking off diplomatic relations with Israel, but the rupture of diplomatic relations did not reflect upon trade relations.

[Nathaniel Katzburg]

The government of Hungary instituted an internal policy which was among the most liberal in Eastern Europe, and in this respect, it deviated from the line dictated by Moscow. That, however, did not apply to foreign policy, in which – and especially with regard to the Middle East conflict, with the exception of commercial ties – Hungary was in every respect a Soviet satellite.

Commercial ties between Israel and Hungary continued after diplomatic ties were severed in 1967, and in 1980 Israel exports to Hungary amounted to $2.7 million and imports to $11.0 million.

After the resumption of diplomatic relations in 1989, bilateral trade jumped, reaching $154 million in 2001. Of this, $78 million were exports from Israel (including telecommunication equipment) and $76 million were imports from Hungary (nearly half chemical products). Israelis have also invested $1.5 billion in Hungary, two-thirds of it in real estate. In addition, over 100,000 Israeli tourists visit Hungary annually, though Hungarian tourism to Israel dropped because of the Intifada, from 16,000 in 2000 to 5,400 in 2002.

With the resumption of diplomatic relations, visitors to Israel included President Arpad Gonz, Prime Minister Jozef Antall, and Foreign Minister Geza Jeszensky between 1990 and 1992. President Chaim Herzog of Israel visited Budapest (amid rumors that Arabs tried to assassinate him while there). Hungary was of great assistance to Israel in the transit of immigrants from the Soviet Union to Israel when they passed through the Budapest transit center. In 1992 terrorists attacked a busload of Soviet Jewish immigrants; although they were not hurt, two Hungarian policemen were wounded. In addition to the increased tourism, relations between cities and increased cooperation at international forums are developing.

[Naftali Kraus]

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HUNTING

HUNTING (Heb. צוד, "hunt"; צַיִד, "hunting, game"; צַיָּד, "hunter"; מָצוֹד, מְצוֹדָה, "hunting implement, net").

Biblical Period

In the earliest periods of human history, hunting was an essential means of procuring food, clothing, and tools. In biblical times hunting continued on a smaller scale. Lev. 17:13 takes for granted the hunting of birds and beasts permitted for Israelite consumption (see below). For aristocrats and royalty who did not lack for food, hunting was a sport, as is attested in works of art from Mesopotamia, Phoenicia, and Egypt (cf. Pritchard, Pictures, 56–60). There are numerous portrayals of Assyrian kings hunting the lion as a means of expressing their manly prowess and demonstrating their right to the title "mighty man." Several Ugaritic texts portray the goddess Anat as a hunter. In the Ugaritic myth of Aqhat, Anat has Aqhat murdered in order to obtain the hunting bow made for him by the craftsman god Kothar-wa-Hasis.

Two great hunters are named in the Bible: *Nimrod (Gen. 10:9) and *Esau (Gen. 25:27).

Bows, spears, traps, lassoes, nets, and deadfalls were usual hunting weapons. Shepherds carried clubs and slings to protect their flocks (I Sam. 17:34–37, 40). The Egyptian "Tale of Sinuhe," from the 20th century B.C.E., mentions hunting with hounds (Pritchard, Texts, 20).

Hunting on horseback was well known in the Near East and served as an artistic theme. The earliest depictions are of the royal hunt in Assyrian reliefs whence it spread to Iran. There are no certain references in the Bible but Job 39:18 has been suggested.

Two bird traps are frequently mentioned in the Bible: מוֹקֵשׁ(*mokesh*) and פַּח (*paḥ*). Both terms are often used side by side (Josh. 23:13; Isa. 8:14, et al.). *Mokesh* is derived from the root יקשׁ; it is also a fowling term (Ps. 124:7). The Syriac form (*negash*) is used of "clapping of hands and knocking of the teeth." *Mokesh* is probably a trapping device similar to an Egyptian bird trap, known from graphic representations (see Gerleman, in bibl.), composed of two frames covered with a net. The frames close together and capture the prey when the fowler pulls a cord at the right moment (cf. Jer. 5:26). The etymology of *paḥ* is obscure. This term is used with the verb יקשׁ, and it seems to be an automatic device (Amos. 3:5; cf. Ps. 69:23; Hos. 9:8).

As for big game, pictures show that in Egypt and Mesopotamia a method of hunting similar to the battue (driving of game by hounds or beaters to closed places, pits, or traps, set in advance) was common. Expressions and comparisons frequent in the Bible attest the fact that this method was known in Israel as well (Jer. 16:16; Ezek. 19:8; cf. Ps. 140:6; Isa. 24:17–18). Mention is often made, especially in metaphorical expressions, of traps consisting of camouflaged pits (*shuḥah, shaḥat*, and *bor*, e.g., Ps. 7:16; 35:7; Prov. 22:14; 26:77).

Among game animals listed in the Bible, the daman, the hare, and the wild pig are unclean, i.e., may not be eaten (Lev. 11:5–6), while the deer, gazelle, roebuck, wild goat, ibex, antelope, and mountain sheep are clean, i.e., may be eaten (Deut. 14:4–5). Leviticus 17:13 provides that "if any Israelite or any stranger who resides among them hunts down an animal or a bird that may be eaten, he shall pour out its blood and cover it with earth." If he does not comply with this ruling and eats from this game, he incurs the penalty of *karet (17:14b).

[Laurentino José Alfonso / S. David Sperling (2nd ed.)]

Post-Biblical Views

The rabbis looked askance at hunting as a sport and strongly disapproved of it. Their objection to hunting on moral grounds is all the more significant in that the only legal prohibition is on hunting on the Sabbath (Shab. 13:2; TB, Shab. 106b, 107a; cf. Isserles OH 316:2) and Festivals (Beẓ. 3:1, 2). Without exception, all the references in the Mishnah to the *ẓeid* of animals, birds, and fish (e.g., Beẓ. 3:2, 3; Shev. 7:4) refer not to hunting for sport but to trapping with nets for the utilitarian purposes of food, as is clear from *Beẓah* 3:2 and *Shabbat* 1:6; or for commercial purposes (Shev. 7:4); or for the destruction of animal pests (MK 1:4; Eduy. 2:5); or for domestication (Shab. 13:8). Even a reference to catching a lion on the Sabbath states that the huntsman is not culpable "unless he entices it into a cage" (Shab. 107a).

The only reference to hunting during the period of the Second Temple is to Herod, who was greatly addicted to it (Jos., Wars, 1:429; Ant., 15:244) and followed the chase on horseback, spearing the animals (Ant., 16:315). The two famous hunters in the Bible, Nimrod and Esau, were regarded in a derogatory light, as "rebels against God" and as the very antithesis of the spirit of Judaism respectively. In one passage the Talmud asks ironically, "Was Moses then a hunter?" (Ḥul. 60b) and Simeon b. Pazzi interpreted the first verse of Psalms, "Happy is the man that hath not… stood in the way of sinners" to apply to those who do not attend gladiatorial contests between wild beasts, or, as Rashi interprets it, "Hunting with dogs for sport and entertainment." Rashi, of course, reflects the hunting of his days and all references to it in medieval Jewish literature are condemnatory. R. Meir of Rothenberg (Resp. 27) points out that according to Rashi (Shab. 51b) the statement of Mishnah *Shabbat* 5:1 permitting "chain-wearing animals to go out with their chains or be led by their chains" on the Sabbath refers to hunting dogs, which would appear to permit hunting (cf. also Yad, Hilkhot Shabbat 10:22), and he adds, "But I, the author, declare that whosoever hunts animals with dogs, as do the gentiles, will not be vouchsafed to partake of the feast of the *leviathan [in the world to come]." The passage is supplemented by Isaac of Vienna (*Or Zaru'a*, II 17 p. 37b) by a quotation from Leviticus Rabbah 13:3 "*Behemoth and the Leviathan are the *kenigin* ['hunt' so the *Or Zaru'a*; the printed text and Meir of Rothenberg read *kinyanin*, 'the possessions'] of the righteous, and he who does not witness the *kenigin* of the idolators in this world will be vouchsafed to see it in the world to come" (cf. BB 75a).

There is a story of the Jews in Colchester in England participating in the hunt of a doe, but it was a spontaneous participation when the doe, startled by the dogs of the knights, ran into the city (Jacobs, *Jewish Ideals*, p. 226), and one or two other instances are quoted (see Abrahams, *Jewish Life*). In a lengthy and interesting responsum S. Morpurgo (1681–1740) (*Shemesh Ẓedakah* no. 57) forbade hunting with weapons, both as a profession and for sport. With regard to the latter he states emphatically that those who do so "have taken hold of the occupation of Esau the wicked, and are guilty of cruelty in putting to death God's creatures for no reason. It is a doubled and redoubled duty upon man to engage in matters which make for civilization, and not in the destruction of creation for sport and entertainment" (cf. *Darkhei Teshuvah* to YD 117, sub-section 44). He even prohibits hunting with firearms for trade since, as an animal so killed is forbidden for food, it constitutes trading in forbidden things.

Isaac Lampronti (*Paḥad Yiẓḥak*, s.v. *Ẓeidah*) has a responsa on the subject of the permissibility of hunting "animals or birds with weapons for the sole purpose of sport and entertainment, thus rendering the dead animal *nevelah*." He forbids it completely as prohibited wanton destruction, though the killing of animals other than for food, i.e., to use their blood or hides, is permitted, and he applies to it the verse, "As a madman who casteth firebrands, arrows, and death… and sayeth 'Am I not a sport'" (Prov. 26:18). It is clear from Maimonides (Yad, Melakhim 6:10) that "He who hunts birds transgresses the law: 'thou shall not destroy'" and he concludes "Moreover, since the gentiles and idolators are accustomed to indulge in hunting animals and birds with weapons for mere sport, the prohibition of 'ye shall not walk in their statutes' [Lev. 18:3] applies. Thus a person who indulges in this sport is unworthy of the name of Jew." A query was addressed to R. Ezekiel *Landau by a man who had acquired a large estate which included forests and fields as to whether he could indulge in hunting with firearms. In his reply, Landau pointed out that from the strictly legal point of view there was no prohibition, but "the only hunters we find are Nimrod and Esau, and this is not the way of the descendants of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob"; unless one is forced to do it for one's livelihood "it is an unworthy practice, i.e., it partakes of cruelty, it is strictly forbidden" (YD Second Series 10). For further details of the rabbinic attitude see *Darkhei Teshuvah* to YD 28:6 (131). The German Jewish statesman Walter Rathenau is reported to have said "When a Jew says that he is going hunting to amuse himself, he lies" (Albert Einstein, *The World as I See It* (1935), 95).

[Louis Isaac Rabinowitz]

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ḤUNYA (Neḥunya, Ḥanina) OF BETH-HORON (Brat Hauran), Palestinian *amora* of the early third century who lived in Hauran in Transjordan (S. Klein, *Ever ha-Yarden ha-Yehudi* (1925), 57f.), whence he would periodically visit Tiberias. It is said that when he crossed the Jordan it parted for him (TJ, Av. Zar. 3:1, 42c). Virtually nothing is known of his life, but he is quoted by R. Johanan (Suk. 44a), R. Abba Zavda (TJ, Suk. 4:1, 54b), and R. Joshua b. Levi (TJ, Nid. 3:4, 50d; cf. TB, Nid. 25b). Living as he did in Transjordan, he interested himself in the eastern borders of Palestine (TJ, Shev. 6:1, 36c; Klein, *ibid.*, 54). He left a learned son, Uzziel (TJ, Shab. 1:7, 4a), who also transmitted traditions in his father's name (TJ, Ma'as. Sh. 5:1, 55d, et al.).

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[Daniel Sperber]

°**HUPFELD, HERMANN CHRISTIAN KARL** (1796–1866), German Bible critic. In 1825 he was appointed professor of Old Testament exegesis at Marburg, publishing in the same year in Leipzig *Exercitationes Aethiopicae*, a pioneering classic in the field of Ethiopic philology. He succeeded *Gesenius at Halle University in 1843, and wrote there his most fruitful work, *Die Quellen der Genesis und die Art ihrer Zusammensetzung von neuem untersucht* ("The Sources of Genesis and the Way in Which They were Combined Newly Examined," 1853), an enquiry into the sources of Genesis. With this work he established a new documentary hypothesis, maintaining that there were three independent narratives underlying Genesis: the basic Elohistic document (now known as P), a second Elohistic work (E), and a Yahwist strand (J). These narratives were combined by a later redactor into a single organic whole. Hupfeld's work determined the course of subsequent critical research. His Bible introduction (*Ueber Begriff und Methode der sogenannten biblischen Einleitung*, "On the Concept and Method of So-Called 'Biblical Introduction,'" 1844), which defines the scope of biblical research as the study of the origin and historical development of the Scriptures, is an example of his cautious and indefatigable research. Hupfeld also wrote a four-volume commentary on Psalms (1855–61).

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[Zev Garber / S. David Sperling (2nd ed.)]

HUR (Heb. חוּר).

(1) Grandfather of the master craftsman *Bezalel of the tribe of Judah (Ex. 31:2; 35:30; I Chron. 2:20, 50; II Chron. 1:5); son of *Caleb and Ephrath (I Chron. 2:19). Another tradition seems to make him the son of Carmi, and describes him as "the first-born of Ephrath, the father of Beth-Lehem" (I Chron. 4:1, 4). He is probably identical with the Hur who, together with Aaron, assisted Moses both at the battle against *Amalek (Ex. 17:10, 12) and at the covenant at Sinai, when he was placed in charge of judicial matters during Moses' absence on

the mount (Ex. 24:14). Josephus lists him as the husband of Miriam, Moses' sister (Ant. 3:54; cf. 3:105). The name is probably connected with the Egyptian god Horus.

[Nahum M. Sarna / S. David Sperling (2nd ed.)]

In the Aggadah

The Midrash, identifying Ephrath in I Chronicles 2:19 with Miriam, makes Hur the son of Caleb and Miriam. The mysterious disappearance of Hur from the biblical record after he seemed obviously to be groomed as Moses' successor (cf. Ex. 24:14) is explained by the rabbis to the effect that he was murdered by the people for courageously opposing their demand to make the golden calf (Ex. R. 48:3, Sanh. 7a). As a reward he became the ancestor both of Bezalel, the architect of the sanctuary (cf. Ex. 31:2), and of Solomon, builder of the Temple (Tanḥ. B., Ex. 121, and Sot. 11b). He ranks among the martyred prophets of Israel (Mid. Ag. to Num. 30:15) and the seven righteous men in the world (*Targum Sheni* to Esth. 1:2).

(2) One of the five kings of Midian slain by the Israelites in the time of Moses (Num. 31:8; Josh. 13:21).

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ḤURFAYSH, Druze village in Upper Galilee, Israel, on the Nahariyyah-Sasa road. In 1967 Hurfaysh received municipal status. Its area is 1.5 sq. mi. (4 sq. km.), and its population rose from 1,510 in 1968 to 4,480 in 2002. A center of the Galilean Druze community, Ḥurfaysh lies at the foot of Mt. Sabalān where the sanctuary al-Nabī Sabalān is located. Al-Nabī Sabalān is identified with Zebulun, son of Jacob, according to Druze and Muslim tradition. Ḥurfaysh's economy is based on hill farming, mainly tobacco and deciduous fruit orchards.

[Efraim Orni]

HUROK, SOLOMON (**Sol**; 1888–1974), U.S. impresario. Born in Pogar, Russia, Hurok went to the U.S. in 1906 and four years later began his managerial activities by organizing concerts in a Brooklyn community center. In 1916 he was introduced to ballerina Anna Pavlova, who became the first of the many dance artists he would manage, and who inspired his love of ballet. In his first commercial venture he rented the New York Hippodrome for a series of Sunday night celebrity concerts. The venture proved a success, and during the years that followed he directed a brilliant array of classical singers, musicians, dancers, and ballet companies. He estimated that he presented more than 4,000 artists and companies, among them Isadora Duncan, Martha Graham, Artur Rubinstein, Marian Anderson, Andrés Segovia, the Sadler's Wells Ballet, the Royal Ballet, the Bolshoi Ballet, the Kirov and the Moiseyev, and Inbal from Israel. Some of his productions on Broadway include *Petrouchka* (1935), *The Three-Cornered Hat* (1935), *Firebird* (1935), *Tropical Revue* (1943), The Azuma Kabuki Dancers and Musicians (1954), *Romeo and Juliet* (1956), *Intermezzo* (1957), *Volpone* (1957), Ballet Espanol (1959), *As You Like It* (1974), and Nureyev and Friends (1974).

Hurok was also responsible for the telecasts of *The Sleeping Beauty* (1955) and *Cinderella*, both danced by the Sadler's Wells Company. He took part in the discussions in Washington and Moscow that led to an agreement between the Soviet Union and the U.S. on cultural exchanges.

Called "America's impresario No. 1," Hurok was renowned for his flair and flamboyance. He loved talented artists and opening-night extravaganzas, and he promoted his attractions with unbridled fanfare. Practicing what he preached, one of Hurok's mottos was "Get pleasure out of life … as much as you can. Nobody ever died from pleasure."

His memoirs were published as *Impresario* (written in collaboration with Ruth Goode, 1946), and *S. Hurok Presents* (1953). The 1953 musical film *Tonight We Sing*, written by Hurok and Ruth Goode, is based on his life and career.

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[Anatole Chujoy / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

HURRIAN. The term Hurrian denotes a language of the ancient Near East and the people who spoke it. The core area inhabited by Hurrian-speaking people was the region of the upper Ñabur and Tigris Rivers, together with the piedmont beyond, extending into the eastern Taurus and northwestern Zagros Mountains. The Hurrian language belongs to neither the Semitic nor the Indo-European language family, nor is it related to Sumerian or Elamite, other important isolated languages of the ancient Near East. It is related to only one other known ancient language, that of Urartu, the kingdom that flourished in the montane regions surrounding Lakes Van, Urmia, and Sevan during the early first millennium B.C.E.; whether Hurrian and Urartian are related to any living languages remains uncertain (see further below). Hurrian and Hurrians are attested to in and around Mesopotamia beginning in the late third millennium B.C.E., whereafter evidence of their presence increases (along with the quantity and geographical range of textual records) until reaching a climax in the 15th–14th centuries, with the floruit of the predominantly Hurrian kingdom of Mittanni. After Mittanni was eclipsed by Ñatti and Assyria, Hurrian language and culture lived on in the Assyrian and especially the Hittite kingdoms, eventually dwindling to the vanishing point in the early first millennium B.C.E. The designation Hurrian appears in the Hebrew Bible as the gentilic *iôrï*, "Horite," which denotes a people who dwelt in Canaan and Transjordan before the emergence of Israel.

Rediscovery and Research

The existence of a language and people called Hurrian first came to light with the discovery of the Amarna tablets, in the late 19th century C.E., and the Hittite royal archives at Boghazköy, in the early 20th century.

The Amarna tablets are the archive of Egypt's international correspondence in cuneiform, which was found at Tell el-Amarna, the site of Akhetaten, and dates to the mid-14th century B.C.E. This archive of about 400 cuneiform tablets included several letters from Tuåratta, king of Mittanni, to the king of Egypt (and one to the queen-mother). Most of Tuåratta's letters were written in Akkadian, then the common language of international relations in the Near East, but one very long letter was written in a language that was entirely unknown at the time of its discovery; only the standard address and salutation formulae were composed in Akkadian as usual. Within this letter (EA 24), which has come to be known as the Mittanni Letter, Tuåratta refers to himself as "the Hurrian king" and to his country as "the Hurrian land." These designations, however, could not immediately be read and understood accurately. In the meantime, it was observed that the names of Tuåratta and most of his relatives could be analyzed as Indo-Aryan. But the language of the Mittanni Letter was clearly not Indo-European, therefore presumably it could not be "Aryan," and for the time being it was simply called Mittannian.

Not long after the Amarna tablets were discovered, excavations commenced at Boghazköy, the site of Ñattusa, which was the capital of the Hittite kingdom during most of its existence from roughly 1600 to 1200 B.C.E. These excavations began to yield great numbers of cuneiform tablets, some written in Hittite (also an unknown language at the time of discovery), some in Akkadian, and some in the same language as that of the Mittanni Letter. In the Boghazköy tablets this language is referred to by the Hittite adverb *ñurlili*, "(in) Hurrian," from *ñurla*, Hittite for "(a) Hurrian." Other tablets from the Hittite royal archives make reference to the "land of Ñurri" and the "people of Ñurri(-land)," as well as to the kingdom of Mittanni.

Initially, the designation Ñurri was read "Ñarri," since the most common cuneiform spelling left the medial vowel indeterminate, and "Ñarri" was interpreted as "Aryan." This reading and interpretation were corrected soon enough based on cuneiform spellings that specified the vowel, and on the observation that the language denoted Hurrian was not Indo-European. But the association between Mittanni and (Indo-)Aryans was reinforced by other evidence. A treaty between Ñatti and Mittanni, redacted in Akkadian, was found in the Boghazköy archives, and among the divine witnesses overseeing this treaty on the Mittannian side, the names of a few Indian deities were quickly recognized: Mitra, Varuna, Indra, and the Nasatya twins, well known from the Vedas. Another Boghazköy tablet, written in Hittite, proved to be a sort of instruction manual for training horses for the chariotry, in which the technical terminology is of Indo-Aryan derivation and the author, Kikkuli, is identified as a "horse-trainer from Mittanni." Further, various additional terms and names that appeared in connection with Mittanni, in sources then newly coming to light, were identified as Indo-Aryan in origin; the most prominent of these is *maryanni*, a term denoting the nobility who used horse-drawn chariots in warfare (discussed further below). But the relationship between Mittanni(an) and Ñurri(an) remained unclear. Additional evidence added to the issue's complexity.

Egyptian texts of the New Kingdom period (1532–1070 B.C.E.), broadly contemporaneous with the Boghazköy archives, refer to the region of Syria by the designation Ñor, evidently identical with Ñurri(-land), while they usually call Mittanni by the name Nañarina, "River-land." In Akkadian-language sources there appears yet another name, Ñanigalbat (var. Ñaligalbat), referring to a land within that of Mittanni, or of Ñurri. Meanwhile, already before the Amarna Letters became known, Mesopotamian lexical texts had been discovered that listed words described as "Subarian," that is, pertaining to a land called Subir in Sumerian and Subartu in Akkadian. Some of these Subarian words were now found to belong to the same language as that in which the Mittanni Letter was written, the language called Hurrian by the Hittites.

This embarrassment of designations and entities fueled a debate concerning which term stood for what, and the nature of their referents. What were the relationships among the various designations for lands, polities, people(s), and their language(s)? Should the language be called Hurrian, Mittannian, or Subarian? How was Ñurri-land (Egyptian Ñor) related to Mittanni (Egyptian Nañarina), and what was the status of Ñanigalbat? Were the Hurrians the same as the people of Subir/Subartu? When did Hurrians or Subarians arrive in the Near East? When and how did Mittanni come into existence? And were the Bronze Age Hurrians to be identified with the Horites of the Bible? Some saw either the Subarians or the Hurrians, a.k.a. Horites, as the aboriginal population of the Near East or part thereof. Others pointed to the absence of onomastic or other linguistic evidence for Hurrian presence before the period of the Akkad Dynasty (ca. 23rd–22nd century B.C.E.), and concluded that Hurrians were relative latecomers to the area, probably having come from a more northerly "homeland." While some readily equated Hurrian with Subarian, Ignace Gelb (1944) argued forcefully in favor of a sharp distinction between Subarian(s) and Hurrian(s), observing, for instance, that only part of the linguistic material designated Subarian in Mesopotamian sources is Hurrian. The whole matter was further complicated by the issue of Indo-Aryan presence in Mittanni, or among the Hurrians. Some imagined – and even today, some still do – that only with the arrival of Aryans, sometime during the "dark age" that followed the fall of Babylon, was the Hurrian population infused with the capacity to form a coherent state (Mittanni) that possessed military potency and imperial ambition; according to this view, Mittanni would have been an Aryan-dominated kingdom with a predominantly Hurrian population, an admixture which soon diluted its dynasty's power.

By now the accumulation of evidence, together with the maturation of the concepts with which we interpret it, suffices to push the major pieces of this puzzle into place, though many questions cannot yet be answered and there remain great gaps in the evidence so far available. The most significant gap is that we still largely lack indigenous Hurrian, Subarian, or Mittannian textual sources; notably, no actual Mittannian archives have been found, and the site of Waååukanni, Mittanni's capital city (where such archives would be expected), has yet to be located. Most texts in the Hurrian language have been found at sites outside the "land of Ñurri" – at Amarna, Boghazköy, and elsewhere – while virtually all references to Mittanni, its rulers, and its affairs occur in sources found outside Mittanni itself. The case is similar for Subarian(s) and Subartu, except there is even less to go on. As regards material evidence, although abundant archaeological finds from the pertinent areas and periods are known, no specific element of material culture can be identified as Hurrian, Subarian, or Mittannian, because there is no means whereby any of these designations may be linked exclusively and definitively to a particular type of artifact or stylistic feature. The people to whom these designations pertained, regardless of whether they were indigenous to the lands they inhabited, participated in the broader culture of those lands, so that it is difficult to identify them by means of tangible cultural markers. Notwithstanding such gaps and uncertainties, the general picture sketched in what follows is probably reliable.

It should be noted, before proceeding, that scholarship on this and similar subjects has often been marred by a tendency to automatically equate language with ethnicity and both with cultures, political formations, or territories (including "homelands"), even ones whose existence is only a postulate. In the same way, the mere existence of a designation that may be applied to persons has often too readily been assumed to imply the existence of a "people" – an ethnic group or race – bearing that designation, and even to imply a state, with delimited territory, controlled by the hypothetical ethnic group. At the price of simplicity of expression, such automatic equations and assumptions are avoided here, to the extent this is possible without unduly burdening the discussion with roundabout phraseology; the content and application of each term must be the subject of inquiry.

Ñurri and Hurrian

In ancient Near Eastern sources, the designation Ñurri and its derivatives (e.g., Hittite *ñurla*-, *ñurlili*) are applied to a land, its people, and their language, principally during the 16th–12th centuries B.C.E. The "land(s) of Ñurri" and the "people of Ñurri" are first attested to in texts from the Hittite Old Kingdom (ca. 16th century B.C.E.); the latest attestations would be the biblical passages mentioning Horites, which were redacted in their present form centuries later but refer vaguely to the period before the transition from the Late Bronze to the Iron Age (ca. 12th century B.C.E.).

The self-designation of Tuåratta, king of Mittanni, as "the Hurrian king," in his Hurrian-language letter to Pharaoh (EA 24), warrants the inference that, at least during the period of Mittanni's existence, there was such a thing as Hurrian identity; further, as other sources also indicate, this identity could be borne by the people and land of Mittanni as well as the language. But how far to extend this inference is uncertain. In particular, since the kingdom of Mittanni acquired an empire whose size fluctuated, embracing more or fewer vassal kingdoms at any particular time, it would be absurd to suppose that the designation Hurrian would have applied to all lands and people coming under (temporary) Mittannian hegemony. Meanwhile, there were plenty of Hurrians, or speakers of Hurrian, dwelling outside Mittanni, as is evident from the heavy incidence of Hurrian or Hurrianized personal names, place names, and vocabulary throughout much of the Near East during this period. But many who spoke Hurrian would also have spoken a Semitic language, or Hittite, or something else, and many who bore Hurrian names had relatives who bore names in other languages – or else their names were, say, half Hurrian and half Semitic – so the Hurrian language cannot serve as a marker of "ethnic" identity. Therefore neither can the characterization Hurrian be linked exclusively to the Mittannian polity, nor does the evidence suggest that it denoted an ethnic group. Tuåratta was "the Hurrian king" because he ruled the land and people of Ñurri, as much as because he himself was "Hurrian." On present evidence it seems probable that Ñurri was originally the designation borne by a group of people, which was then applied to the land they inhabited and later to the language they spoke; but that land was not delimited by specific boundaries, and the people were not defined by putative genealogical or political affinity. Only the Hurrian language, which of course anyone could acquire, was a distinct as well as relatively constant feature.

Language is, naturally, the easiest cultural characteristic to trace in textual sources, and the language that came to be called Hurrian is attested much earlier than the designation itself is. Hurrian personal names and place names are attested in Syro-Mesopotamian sources beginning with the period of the Akkad Dynasty, in the last quarter of the third millennium B.C.E. The earliest ruler bearing a Hurrian name who is thus far attested is probably Tañiå-atili, whose capture in the city of Azuñinum (location uncertain) was commemorated by Naram-Sïn, king of Akkad (ca. 2200 B.C.E.), in connection with his campaign against the land of Subartu. The earliest known text written in the Hurrian language is the foundation inscription of Tiå-atal, lord of Urkeå, a city recently found at the site of Tell Mozan (on which see further below); Tiå-atal probably ruled during the Ur III period, toward the end of the third millennium B.C.E. But Hurrian words appear in texts that predate Tiå-atal's inscription. Indeed, the earliest-attested Hurrian word may be one that entered the Sumerian language as a loanword: Sumerian *tabira*, "coppersmith," probably derives from Hurrian *tabiri*, "one who casts (copper)." The time for borrowing such a term into Sumerian would likely be the time when copper metallurgy was introduced into Mesopotamia, in the fourth millennium B.C.E. This would suggest that speakers of Hurrian were present in the Near East as early as any other linguistically identifiable inhabitants of the region, rather than arriving there from elsewhere. In that case, the fact that textual records do not otherwise attest their presence until the Akkad period should be attributed to the limited purview of earlier records, rather than to the absence of Hurrian(s). The geographical origin of the Hurrian language and those who spoke it should not be sought beyond the Near East, but in the principal areas known to have been inhabited in historical times by speakers of Hurrian and its sibling tongue Urartian: the regions of the upper Ñabur and Tigris, and the mountainous lands between there and the Caucasus.

If we use the term "Hurrian" as a linguistic designation, it may be applied to people and places bearing Hurrian names, as well as to Hurrian vocabulary and texts, throughout the periods when these are attested to. In what follows, people may be spoken of as Hurrians on the understanding that they are so designated according to the criterion of language, not necessarily ethnicity or any other kind of identity; in a similar sense, cities, polities, deities, and elements of culture may likewise be characterized as Hurrian.

Subartu, Subarian, and Hurrian

The geographical designation Subartu and the corresponding gentilic Subarian overlap somewhat with Ñurri and Hurrian, but they do so primarily from the perspective of Sumer and Akkad. The term Subartu (or Subir) may originally have been the name of a specific place, but fairly early in the history of Mesopotamia, whence our sources for it largely derive, Subartu came to be used broadly to signify "north," "upland," that is, upriver and up in the mountains, north and northwest of Sumer and Akkad. The people who dwelt in those northerly, mountainous regions spoke complicated languages, according to the Sumero-Akkadian view (Gelb 1944, 41–42), and one of those complicated "Subarian" languages was Hurrian. So, for example, when Naram-Sïn campaigned against Subartu, he encountered and defeated a ruler bearing a Hurrian name, Tañiå-atili (mentioned above), at a locality somewhere north of Akkad. Hurrian and Hurrians are consequently labeled Subarian in Mesopotamian texts (or in texts using Mesopotamian scribal conventions), but Subarians, or inhabitants of Subartu, were not necessarily Hurrian, just "northern." Later texts sometimes use the name Subartu to refer to Assyria, because it lay northwest of Akkad, rather than because it grew to encompass Hurrian or "Subarian" territories; either way this illustrates the mutability of the name's usage. Given their inherently broad and flexible application, the terms Subarian and Subartu are unlikely to have denoted any specific language, ethnic group, or polity during any period of their usage in Mesopotamian texts (see, e.g., Michalowski 1986).

Tañiå-atili's near-contemporaries and neighbors in third-millennium Subartu included other Hurrian-named rulers. Recent excavations at Tell Brak and Tell Mozan, located on tributaries of the Ñabur River, have revealed that they are the sites of, respectively, Nagar and Urkeå, two important Hurrian towns. At each site, evidence has been found of individuals who ruled there during the late third-millennium, in the form of impressions of their seals. The seals were inscribed with their names, which are Hurrian: Talpuå-atili, "sun of the land of Nagar," and Tupkish, lord (*vel sim*.; Hurrian *endan*) of Urkeå; also attested at Urkeå is the wife of Tupkiå, who bore the Semitic name Uqnîtum (based on *uqnu*, the Akkadian word for lapis lazuli). These individuals are dated roughly to the late Akkadian period (ca. 22nd century B.C.E.; see Buccellati 1998, especially the contributions of Steinkeller and Salvini). Not long thereafter appears another Hurrian-named ruler, Atal-åen, king of both Urkeå and Nawar (perhaps identical to Nagar), who is known from a bronze tablet that unfortunately lacks archaeological provenience. This tablet records, in Akkadian, Atal-åen's dedication of a temple to the Mesopotamian god Nergal; most unusually, it was "signed" by the scribe, whose name, Åaum-åen, is Hurrian like that of his patron. A generation or two later, the foundation inscription of Tiå-atal, lord of Urkeå (mentioned above), also records the building of a temple for Nergal – but this time the text was written in Hurrian rather than in Akkadian.

Hurrians, Mittanni, Ñanigalbat

During the first half of the second millennium B.C.E., Hurrian principalities appear to multiply in upper Mesopotamia, northern Syria, and eastern Anatolia, as the sources pertaining to these regions become richer. Meanwhile, the use of the Hurrian language spread westward and southward along with the geographic spread of Hurrian-speaking people. At some places, for example, Mari on the middle Euphrates and Alalañ on the Orontes, significant proportions of the population bore Hurrian names, and the texts also include occasional Hurrian words; the archives of Mari even contained a few Hurrian-language incantations. Toward the middle of the millennium, the establishment of the Hittite Old Kingdom was accompanied by continual conflict with Hurrian states to the east of Ñatti. Ñattusili I repeatedly waged war against "the Hurrian enemy," and his campaigns were reprised by his successor Mursili I (a convenient survey is provided by Hoffner, in Buccellati 1998). Though Mursili's efforts met with only ephemeral success, they had important effects. After having destroyed Aleppo, theretofore the seat of a "great kingdom" encompassing much of Syria, Mursili marched southward to Babylon, which he also destroyed, bringing an end to the rule of Hammurabi's dynasty; during this process he did battle against the Hurrians, too, and the sources claim that he soundly defeated them. But his achievements were nullified by his assassination, at home in Ñattusa, leaving the field clear for others to inherit the spoils of his wars. While the Kassites achieved dominion over Sumer and Akkad, the Hurrians recovered and consolidated their territories in upper Mesopotamia and vicinity. By about 1500 B.C.E. they had established the kingdom of Mittanni.

How exactly this happened is not known, because after the Hittite raid on Babylon our textual sources dry up almost completely for a while, producing a "dark age." On the short chronology followed here, this dark age does not last more than a couple of generations, but that is enough to obscure the origins of Mittanni. When written records again illuminate the scene, in the mid-15th century, it has totally changed. A new "military-industrial complex" is developing around the manufacture and deployment of horse-drawn chariots, which had not previously been widely used. The kings of Mittanni, among whom Sauåtatar is the best known in this period, have acquired an empire that stretches from Arrapñe in the east (in the region of modern Kirkuk) to Kizzuwatna in the west (classical Cilicia), and extends southward until it abuts Egypt's newly won empire in Canaan. In fact, by Sauåtatar's time Mittanni and New Kingdom Egypt have emerged as competing "superpowers" in the Near East; Thutmose III campaigns almost annually against "that vile enemy of Nañarina" and his protegés in the Levant. Hurrian names and vocabulary have become commensurately prevalent throughout the Levant, as well as in other areas touched by Mittannian dominance or influence. Some places, notably the kingdoms of Alalañ and Arrapñe, have become so thoroughly Hurrianized that not only the vocabulary but the grammar of the Hurrian language have penetrated the texts, albeit they are composed using the Akkadian language, to the point that the writing may be described as Hurro-Akkadian (Wilhelm 1970; Márquez Rowe 1998); clearly Hurrian was the mother tongue of many scribes in these places. Moreover, amid the Hurrian or Hurrianized linguistic material there appears a new element, names and words of Indo-Aryan derivation. Most significantly, the rulers of Mittanni bear Indo-Aryan names, e.g., Sauåtatar, Tuåratta, Artatama, and Åattiwaza.

As adumbrated above, scholars readily seized upon this Indo-Aryan element as the key to explaining the dramatic developments in warfare and political organization that transformed the Near East between the fall of Babylon and the rise of Mittanni. The postulate of an Aryan invasion was an easy way to account for the emergence of new kingdoms – not only Mittanni but the Kassite state of Karduniash and even (looping backwards in time) the Hyksos dynasties of Egypt – as well as the introduction of the horse-drawn chariot as a vehicle of war. Clear evidence seemed to support this explanation: the Indo-Aryan names of Mittannian kings; the four deities with Indo-Aryan names, known from the Vedas, who appear in the treaty between Mittanni and Ñatti; the Indo-Aryan terminology in the horse-training manual; and the Indo-Aryan word for the new ruling class, *maryanni*, which appears everywhere from Babylon to Egypt over the course of the Late Bronze Age (1550–1200 B.C.E.).

But that is practically all the evidence there is for the presence of Indo-Aryans in Mittanni or elsewhere in the Near East, and it proves not to bear the weight of the historical hypothesis it has been made to support. The four Vedic Indian deities appear only in that one single treaty, which dates from a point late in Mittanni's history – in fact, it sealed Mittanni's demise as an independent state – and there they are mentioned in the middle of two dozen Hurrian and Mesopotamian deities; apparently these Indo-Aryan gods held neither a high nor an enduring position in Mittannian religion. The Indo-Aryan names of Mittanni's kings were throne names, in at least some cases: Tuåratta's son Åattiwaza, the partner to that same treaty with Ñatti, bore the Hurrian personal name Keli-Teååup prior to his accession. The light two-wheeled chariot had been developed within the Near East during the first half of the second millennium B.C.E., centuries before the earliest evidence for the presence of Indo-Aryan(s) there, and horses had been introduced into Mesopotamia in the late third millennium. Horse-drawn chariots were employed already in the wars between the Hittites and Hurrians that preceded the formation of Mittanni. Obviously, neither was chariotry introduced by Indo-Aryans, nor was it an innovation at the time of Mittanni's foundation, though the techniques and technology of chariot warfare were still developing then. As for the *maryanni* class, the term *maryanni* is a Hurrianized derivation from an Indo-Aryan word *marya*, "male," but the people designated by this term were not therefore "Indo-Aryan" in any sense. The term *maryanni* was widely adopted within and beyond the Mittanni Empire to denote a newly-developing noble class, whose most prominent characteristic was the privilege and duty of serving in the chariotry. In at least one part of the Mittanni Empire, the heavily Hurrianized kingdom of Arrapñe, the Semitic designation *râkib narkabti*, "chariot rider," was used, instead of *maryanni*, to denote this class. Members of the *maryanni* class who are attested by name mostly bore Semitic and Hurrian names, rarely Indo-Aryan ones, while Indo-Aryan names are also found occasionally among the peasantry. The idea, still perpetuated in some modern works, that the use of the term *maryanni* attests an Indo-Aryan ruling class of chariot warriors, who spread throughout the Near East and into Egypt, is as poorly premised as would be the proposition that all entrepreneurs must be French because the word for them is.

In sum, the data used to construct the hypothesis of an Aryan invasion that transformed the Hurrians "from a group of 'perioikoi'… into a sophisticated political force" (Redford 1992, 135), changed the nature of warfare, and redrew the political map of the Near East amount to a handful of terms and names, which were restricted for the most part to very narrow domains of usage, but which have carefully been plucked from the mass of source material by 20th-century scholars and curated like treasures. The evidence does not support filling the gaps in our sources for the origins of Mittanni by invoking an irruption of Indo-Aryan-speaking chariot warriors, and the idea that the Hurrians required an Aryan blood transfusion in order to become politically capable has nothing to recommend it. The evidence does indicate that speakers of Indo-Aryan participated both in the formation of Mittanni and in the ongoing development of techniques relating to horse-drawn chariotry in the Near East, but it does not suffice to clarify the nature of their participation, other than to suggest that it was somewhat evanescent.

The name Mittanni, a Hurrian formation probably based on the personal name Maitta (conjecturally the name of its founder), denotes the realm of Mittanni, primarily in a political rather than a geographical sense; it does not refer to a people, ethnicity, or language (Wilhelm, RlA 8, s.v. Mittan(n)i, esp. 288–90). After Mittanni's foundation, the older and broader geographical designation "land(s) of Ñurri" (discussed above) was used in part synonymously with the name of the new realm. Ñanigalbat, a name whose origins have yet to be clarified, was an alternative designation for the realm of Mittanni; it likewise carried political significance, as is evident from the use of a term *ñanigalbatûtu* (so far known only from two documents, one from Alalañ and one from Umm al-Marra) to denote something like "citizenship" (or "subject-hood") of Ñanigalbat. Both names, Mittanni and Ñanigalbat, are attested beginning in the 15th century, though one or the other tends to predominate in different corpora. The realm designated Mittanni or Ñanigalbat was geographically centered on the upper Ñabur River, and encompassed the great bend of the Euphrates during its heyday; hence the synonymous designation Nañarina, "River-land," which was preferred by Egypt and its Canaanite dependencies. When Mittanni had been reduced from an independent kingdom to a puppet of Ñatti in the 14th century, and subsequently became a state within the Middle Assyrian empire during the 13th century, the name Ñanigalbat replaced Mittanni. The territory of Ñanigalbat gradually shrank to a small province in the upper Ñabur, which continued to exist until the Neo-Assyrian period.

The history of these realms cannot be detailed here; good presentations in English are provided by Gernot Wilhelm in his 1989 book *The Hurrians* and in his chapter on Mittanni in *Civilizations of the Ancient Near East* (Sasson 1995, vol. II). But this discussion cannot close without mentioning that the Hittite conquest of Mittanni, which was accomplished by Suppiluliuma in the mid-14th century, was accompanied by the Hurrianization of Ñatti. This process of acculturation had begun already in the 15th century, at the time Ñatti acquired Kizzuwatna, erstwhile a vassal of Mittanni, as a subject kingdom. The dynasty to which Suppiluliuma himself belonged was substantially Hurrian, on the evidence of the Hurrian names borne by members of the royal family; in the 13th century, the kings tended to take Hittite names upon accession to the throne. As the Hurrian population of Ñatti increased during the Hittite New Kingdom, through acculturation as well as through Hittite conquests and Hurrian immigration, the Hittite royal archives acquired numerous Hurrian religious and literary compositions. In effect, the archives kept at Boghazköy became the repository of Hurrian cultural traditions, for that is where the majority of Hurrian texts have so far been found.

The Hurrian Language

As mentioned above, Hurrian and Urartian are the only known members of their language family. The hypothesis relating Hurrian and Urartian to the Nakho-Daghestanian family of languages spoken in the area of the Eastern Caucasus, which was developed by Diakonoff and Starostin (1986), has yet to be fully substantiated (Wegner 2000, 29–30). Being linguistically isolated, Hurrian is not yet fully understood, although its lexicon and structure have been progressively elucidated over the past century. In terms of typology, it is an agglutinating language, that is, one in which lexical roots are morphologically unalterable (unlike inflected languages such as those of the Semitic and Indo-European families) and words are formed by the accretion of morphemes affixed in sequence to lexical roots (unlike isolating languages such as Chinese). Like many agglutinating languages, Hurrian is ergative, meaning that its sentence structure is based on a grammatical distinction between transitive and intransitive verbs: the subject of an intransitive verb appears in the same unmarked "absolutive" case as the object of a transitive verb, while the subject of a transitive verb appears in the "ergative" (or "agentive") case; intransitive and transitive verbs also have different conjugations. Distinct dialects of Hurrian are discernible among the extant texts written in the language, the dates of which span almost a millennium from roughly the 21st to the 13th century B.C.E.

The inscription of Tiå-atal and the Mittanni Letter are among the few Hurrian texts thus far known that derive from the core areas originally inhabited by Hurrians. Over the course of its history, however, the Hurrian language spread well beyond those core areas. The Hurrian texts found at Mari and at Boghazköy have been mentioned above, and a few other sites have also yielded Hurrian texts. Notably, at the coastal Syrian city of Ugarit, Hurrian texts were written both in Mesopotamian cuneiform and in the Ugaritic cuneiform alphabet; the scribes of Ugarit even produced multilingual vocabularies that included Hurrian alongside Sumerian, Akkadian, and Ugaritic. Hurrian became the native language of parts of the population in many areas of the Near East, especially during the time of Mittanni's expansion and its eventual absorption into the realms of Ñatti and Assyria. At certain places, the use of Hurrian as a native language is evident from its interpenetration in the languages of writing, as noted in the preceding section, while onomastics and toponymy also indicate how widely it spread. Even in Canaan, though it was never under Mittannian rule, some Hurrian or partly Hurrian names are attested. For example, one of the local rulers bore the Hurrian name Tagi; Rib-Hadda, the ruler of Byblos, employed an envoy with the Hurrian name Puñiya; and the name of Abdi-Ñeba, ruler of Jerusalem during the Amarna period, is composed of the Semitic element ʿ*abd*-, "servant," and the name of the Hurrian goddess Ñeba(t).

On the evidence of personal names, Hurrian continued to be spoken in the Neo-Hittite states into which the Hittite Empire fragmented, at the transition from the Late Bronze to the Iron Age just after 1200 B.C.E., as well as in Ñanigalbat under Assyrian rule, even though no more texts are known to have been written in Hurrian. There are also relics of Hurrian onomastics in the land of Canaan during the time Israel and Judah were established there. The book of Judges mentions one Shamgar, son of Anath (Judg. 3:31), whose personal name may be analyzed as Hurrian, with the name of the Hurrian sun god, Åimigi, as a theophoric element. The name of the Jebusite landowner from whom David purchased a threshing floor – the real estate that became the site on which the temple of Yahweh was built – bore a name that is rendered Araunah (consonantal *¥wrnh*) in II Samuel 24 and Ornan in I Chronicles 21 (¥*rnn*); this was probably a Hurrian name containing the element *ewri*-, "lord," the pronunciation of which was no longer precisely recalled at the time the books of Samuel and Chronicles were redacted (hence the diverse spellings). Even the name of Bathsheba's first husband, Uriah "the Hittite" (II Sam. 11:3ff.; consonantal ¥*wryh*), could well be the common Hurrian name Ewriya, the consonantal spelling of which would be exactly the same as Hebrew Uriah.

Culture, Religion, and Mythology

In the arts and crafts, various styles and technological advances have been attributed to the Hurrians, or to the culture of Mittanni, sometimes largely on the grounds of geographical association. For example, the highly decorative styles of painted pottery known as Ḫabur Ware and Nuzi Ware have been associated with Hurrian culture, since these ceramic styles are typical of Hurrian-occupied areas. Hurrian artisans have also been credited with a role in developing the technology of making glass and glazes, in which significant advances were made toward the middle of the second millennium in the area of upper Mesopotamia and Syria. Certain styles of seal-carving are considered typically Mittannian, in particular an "Elaborate Style" characterized by compositions crowded with cultically significant figures, often centered on the motif of the "sacred tree," which is exemplified by the seals of some of Mittanni's rulers (surveyed by Diana Stein in RlA 8, s.v. Mittan(n)i B. Bildkunst und Architektur). And one of the earliest known methods of musical notation appears to have been invented by Hurrian musicians, according to the evidence of a collection of Hurrian hymnic texts found at Ugarit, which not only record the words of the hymns but also indicate what notes to play when singing them to the accompaniment of a lyre (these texts and their system of musical notation are succinctly discussed by Anne Kilmer in RlA 8, s.v. Musik A.I, §5). But the most distinctively Hurrian cultural attributes, and those with the most enduring significance, pertain to the domains of religion and religious literature.

The Hurrian pantheon itself is similar in many respects to the pantheons of Mesopotamia and the Levant; long symbiosis among Hurrian and other ancient Near Eastern cultures resulted in generating shared religious concepts and practices. Thus, several Mesopotamian deities, such as Nergal, Anu, Ea, and Ishtar, were adopted into the Hurrian pantheon or syncretized with Hurrian deities. Meanwhile, the structure of the Hurrian pantheon came to resemble, in part, that of the Syro-Canaanite pantheon as represented at Ugarit. The Hurrian storm-god, Teššup, was king of the gods, and he attained his kingship through strife with other contenders, as did the storm-god Baʿal at Ugarit. Like Baʿal, Teššup rode among the clouds in his chariot, wielding the weapons of frightful weather, and he had a sister named ŠawuŠka, who was a war-goddess like Baʿal's sister ʿAnat. Teššup acquired a Syrian consort, the goddess Ḥebat, originally of the realm of Aleppo in northern Syria. A war-god named Aštabi who was worshiped at *Ebla, in the period predating Hurrian expansion into Syria, also entered the Hurrian pantheon. Other important Hurrian deities include Allani, goddess of the netherworld, the sun god Šimige, and the moon god Kušuḫ.

In myth, Teššup's principal rival for supremacy was clever Kumarbi, a Hurrian god who was assimilated with the West Semitic grain god Dagan; Kumarbi's main cult center was the city of Urkeš. The two rivals represent competing divine lineages, that of the chthonic gods, represented by Kumarbi, and that of the celestial gods, represented by Teššup. The story of their conflict is told in a mythic cycle comprising five poems, preserved in the archives at Boghazköy, in Hittite editions that have survived in a fragmentary state. The cycle began with the Song of Kumarbi and ended with the Song of Ullikummi (Hoffner 1998: 40–65), and the story, in outline, goes like this. First Alalu was king in heaven, but the sky-god Anu drove him from his throne and ruled in his stead. Then Kumarbi, offspring of Alalu, tired of waiting on Anu, did battle against him. Kumarbi, triumphant, bit off and swallowed Anu's genitals, but in doing so he impregnated himself with Anu's offspring, to whom Kumarbi then had to give birth with the help of Ea (the Mesopotamian god of wisdom). The most powerful of Anu's offspring was Teššup, whom Kumarbi tried to eat, but he apparently got a rock to eat instead, which hurt his mouth. The ensuing struggle between Teššup and Kumarbi involves a series of episodes in which Kumarbi, conniving to achieve victory, begets one after another powerful, albeit brutish, creature to be an antagonist of Teååup. But Teååup eventually defeats each one, sometimes with the help of his sister Šawuška (just as Baʿal is aided by his sister ʿAnat). In the last of these episodes Kumarbi copulates with a huge rock and thus engenders the basalt monster Ullikummi, whom he plants on the shoulder of an entity named Ubelluri, a sort of Hurrian "Atlas"; there Ullikummi grows until he touches the sky. But Ea and the "Primeval Gods" fetch the copper tool with which heaven and earth were cut apart, and they use it to sever Ullikummi from Ubelluri, making it possible for Teššup to defeat this adversary, too.

This strange Hurrian myth, mediated through Hittite translation, apparently reached the western shores of Anatolia and was carried thence across the Aegean, having undergone some transformations along the way. For, though the storm god is now Zeus, the clever chthonic god is Kronos, and the plot has been altered so that it revolves around the struggle between successive generations instead of rival lineages, the story Hesiod tells in the Theogony contains many elements that clearly originate from the myth of Teššup and Kumarbi.

Echoes of Hurrian religious literature can be discerned not only in Greek mythology but in the Bible. A Hurrian composition discovered fairly recently at Boghazköy develops themes that foreshadow the concerns for social justice expounded centuries later by the prophets of Israel and Judah. This is the "Song of Release," as it is titled in the colophons of the ancient manuscripts themselves; it was recorded in a bilingual edition, Hurrian with a Hittite translation, in several copies that survive in fragments (an English translation is provided in Hoffner 1998, 65–80). The composition contains several sections, including parables and a mythological scene as well as a story with a historical setting, and it is that story that offers the most striking parallels to Israelite religious concepts. The tale is set long ago at Ebla, in the time of a king named Megi. The gods demand that debts be remitted, and persons enslaved for debt released, in the city of Ebla. But Megi cannot persuade the city assembly, apparently a wealthy and powerful oligarchy to which the creditors belong, to remit debts and thereby release their indentured servants; an eloquent orator leads the opposition to Megi's plan. In the narrative, the assembly is then presented with a scenario in which the great god Teššup himself is oppressed by debt, hungry, and naked. To this they answer that they would surely rescue Teššup, should he ever be in need, but they will still not release their slaves, on whose labor they depend. Megi therefore prostrates himself before Teššup in lamentation and prayer, then institutes remission of debts on his own, in order to save his city. In a partly-preserved scene, a speaker conveys the word of Teššup to Megi and Ebla, like the prophet Jeremiah conveying the word of Yahweh to Judah and her kings, enjoining them to institute debt remission (Jer. 34:17, quoted in this connection by Hoffner in Buccellati 1998, 181–82), thus: If they do according to the gods' will and institute a remission of debts, Ebla will prosper and be victorious. But if they do not, Teššup will destroy Ebla, removing its prosperity and smashing the city like a cup. Apparently the wealthy citizens of Ebla, like those of Jerusalem a thousand years later, failed to heed the prophet's warning and obey the divine command, for the city was indeed violently destroyed around 1600 B.C.E.

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[Eva M. von Dassow (2nd ed.)]

HURST, FANNIE (1889–1968), U.S. novelist. Born in Hamilton, Ohio, she was raised in St. Louis, in an assimilated, middle-class home. After a brief stage career, Fannie became a writer. She gathered material for her early short stories about New York's ordinary people by living in slum areas, attending night courts, and working in sweatshops and department stores. Her first collection of stories, *Just Around the Corner* (1914), was followed by six other volumes which were translated into many languages, including Hebrew, Russian, and Japanese. *Humoresque* (1919) contains stories of Jewish life in New York. Fannie's many novels, several of which were made into plays and motion pictures, include *Stardust* (1921); *Lummox* (1923); *A President Is Born* (1928); *Back Street* (1931), generally considered her best work; *Great Laughter* (1936); *Hallelujah* (1944); *Anywoman* (1950); *Family!* (1960); and *God Must be Sad* (1961). These reflect her interest in music and the theater and her vigorous support for women's rights. Despite her upbringing, Hurst became increasingly conscious of her Jewishness. She publicly emphasized her Judaism after the rise of Nazism. From the early 1930s Hurst was a leading figure in several organizations working for social reform, including the New York Urban League. She was president of the Authors' Guild of America, 1936–37. She was an enthusiastic supporter of the State of Israel. Her autobiography, *Anatomy of Me*, appeared in 1958.

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[Sol Liptzin]

HURVITZ, ELI (1932–), Israeli industrialist, founder and chairman of Teva, one of the largest pharmaceutical companies for generic medicines in the world. Hurvitz was born in Israel and served in the IDF during the War of Independence. Later he went to kibbutz Tel Kaẓir as part of his *Naḥal service. He received a B.A. in economics from the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. In 1953 he joined the Asia pharmaceutical company, where in 1976 he became CEO. As CEO of Asia he initiated a series of mergers among Israeli pharmaceutical companies to create Teva. As president and CEO of Teva for 25 years he made the company into a global giant with 14,000 employees and factories all over the world. In 2002 Hurvitz retired from the presidency and management of Teva and became its chairman. In 2004 the company's sales reached $4.8 billion. By the end of 2005 Teva had nearly completed its acquisition of the IVAX Corporation, another giant producer of generics as well as branded pharmaceuticals. The price tag was a reported $7.4 billion.

Hurvitz's commitment to Israeli industry and society led him to assume several public positions. From 1974 to 1977 he was the chairman of the Israeli Export Institute. In 1981 he served as the president the Manufacturers Association, a position he held until 1986. During that time Israel faced an economic crisis, and Hurvitz contributed to the crystallization of a national economic plan. In 1986–87 he was chairman of Bank Leumi. From 1989 to 1992 he was chairman of the Jerusalem Development Authority, and between 1989 and 1995 he was on the board of the Weizmann Institute. From 1991 to 1995 he was on the advisory council of the Bank of Israel and from 2001 a member of the board of Tel Aviv University. He is also a member of the International Council of Harvard University, chairman of the board of the Israel Democracy Institute (IDI), chairman of the board of NeuroSurvival Technologies

Ltd. (NST) (a private company), a member of the Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs at the John F. Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University, and a director of Vishay Intertechnology and of Koor Industries Ltd. Hurvitz received several prizes for his industrial and public activity, crowned by the Israel Prize in 2002 for special contribution to the State of Israel.

[Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

HURVITZ, JOSEPH YOZEL (c. 1850–1919), known as Reb Yozel and *Der Alter fun Nowardok* ("The Elder of Novogrudok"); founder of the Novogrudok school of the *Musar movement. Hurvitz was born in Plunge (Plungyany) Lithuania, where his father was a *dayyan*. He was precocious as a child, and at the age of 16 delivered public lectures in Talmud. He went into business, however, and operated a profitable trade in textiles through frequent, dangerous crossings of the Prussian border. In Prussia, about 1875, he encountered Israel *Lipkin (Salanter), founder of the *Musar* movement, and his disciple Isaac *Blaser, who is said to have urged him to devote more time to study and less to business affairs.

Greatly influenced by Blaser, Hurvitz agreed to attend Salanter's public addresses on *musar* and shortly thereafter he sold his business, turned the proceeds over to his wife, and with her approval left her and the children to enter Kolel Perushim, a school for advanced Talmud study then administered by Salanter's disciples in Kovno. Hurvitz occasionally returned to his family, but most of the time he studied and even repaired to a forest where he prayed, meditated and studied in isolation. After the death of his wife in childbirth, in 1881 or 1882, he severed all ties with the *Kolel* and sealed himself in a cabin for a year and a half, studying Talmud and *musar*, and was given food through two holes (one for meat and one for milk products). He spent the next 12 years in solitary study in forests, though he remarried. In 1894 his orientation shifted. He initiated an educational network called "Nowardok," after the city in which he established his first yeshivah, and by 1914 had founded 13 yeshivot. During World War I, when most East European yeshivot closed, Hurvitz and his disciples founded an additional 25 institutions despite widespread starvation, population transfers, and warring Red, White and German armies. Throughout, Hurvitz periodically repaired to a "house of isolation" hidden in a forest. He died in Kiev, 1919, while ministering to students stricken with typhus.

Shortly before his death Hurvitz delivered 12 lengthy lectures which were first published separately and subsequently in book form with the title *Madregat ha-Adam* ("The Stature of Man," New York 1948). Hurvitz advocated self-transcendence so that the self is not obliterated but purified. Naked impulses are neither subjugated nor annihilated, but transmuted. One should aspire to whole-hearted internal devotion to, and external observance of, Jewish law (*Halakhah*), which embraces not only concrete norms, but ideal character traits (*middot*). Through intermittent isolation from society one learns to conquer negative character traits, such as vainglory, jealousy, material need, and dependence on family, in order to be able to return to society and refashion it. Having transcended material and social needs one is filled with joy and capable of leadership. A key to self-transcendence is *bitaḥon* (trust in God), conceived not as acceptance of personal destiny – whether favorable or unfavorable – but as assurance that personal destiny will be favorable, notwithstanding famine, war, poverty or other hardships.

Hurvitz used to sign himself B.B. (*Ba'al Bitaḥon* – Master of Trust). His own dialectical lifestyle – isolation and social activism – is the foundation of both *Madregat ha-Adam* and the educational techniques utilized in his academies. The relative popularity – if not the origin – of Hurvitz's extreme doctrines may, however, be connected with the parallel rise of an extreme, irreligious doctrine of self-transcendence – Marxism. The last chapter of *Madregat ha-Adam* was translated by Silverstein in *To Turn the Many to Righteousness* (1970).

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[Hillel Goldberg]

HURWICH, LOUIS (1886–1967), U.S. educator. Born in Russia, Hurwich studied in the U.S. and in 1911 went to Indianapolis to head the community Hebrew school system. In 1917 he moved to Boston, where he founded the Bureau of Jewish Education and later established the Boston Hebrew Teachers College (1932). Hurwich and his wife also organized Camp Yavneh, the first Hebrew-speaking camp in the United States. He served as director of the Boston bureau and dean of the college until his retirement in 1947. Hurwich wrote *Zikhronot Meḥannekh Ivri* (1960).

[Leon H. Spotts]

HURWITZ, ADOLF (1859–1919), German mathematician. Hurwitz, who was born in Hildesheim and studied under Karl Leopold Weierstrass, Hugo *Kronecker, and Felix Klein, was appointed professor of mathematics at the Zurich Polytechnion in 1892. His papers dealt mainly with number theory. Many of his problems were posed by Klein and the solutions by Hurwitz show a rare insight into the basic principles required for tackling fundamental problems of great difficulty. He was one of the first mathematicians to make use of Georg Cantor's results on the non-countability of the continuum. Hurwitz was an outstanding teacher as well as a brilliant research mathematician. His collected works, published in two volumes in 1932 and 1933, include a biographical essay.

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[Barry Spain]

HURWITZ, CHAIM (**Haykl**; 1749–1822), Yiddish writer and pioneer of the *Haskalah in Russia. Born in Uman (Ukraine), he was a lumber merchant who made frequent trips to Germany, where he came into contact with the followers of the German Haskalah. In 1817 he published a free Yiddish adaptation of Joachim Campe's *Entdeckung von Amerika* ("Discovery of America") which he called *Tsofnas Paneakh* ("Revealer of Secrets") in three parts and 52 stories, the primary purpose of which was to inform the Jewish readers about the New World; thus he eliminated non-essential material and concentrated on facts only. According to the memoirs of A.B. Gottlober, the book was popular among the Jews of Russia, Poland, and Galicia. It is written in a colloquial style and constitutes an important work of the pre-classical period of Yiddish literature. Only a single copy of the work is extant, at the British Museum.

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[Elias Schulman]

HURWITZ, HENRY (1886–1961), U.S. editor and Jewish educator. Hurwitz, born in Lithuania, was taken to the U.S. at the age of five. While attending Harvard he organized in 1906 the Harvard Menorah Society, a Jewish campus group dedicated to the pursuit of Jewish intellectual, cultural, religious, and ethical values. In 1913 he founded the Intercollegiate *Menorah Association, of which he served for many years as president and later as chancellor. In 1915 Hurwitz founded the *Menorah Journal*, a magazine of Jewish opinion that ranked for many years among the foremost Jewish publications in the world. Although he edited the *Journal* as an open forum, Hurwitz himself was an accomplished polemist, a talent he exerted chiefly in his opposition to political Zionism, which grew more extreme after the establishment of the State of Israel. American Jewry, he believed, was a unique entity whose future depended on the reinterpretation of Jewish tradition in a specifically American vein. Toward the end of his life the idiosyncrasy of his views estranged many of his former supporters; the *Journal* appeared only irregularly and its pages reflected his spirit of disillusionment. Yet he retained to the end the loyalty of a number of eminent scholars and writers who recalled the encouragement that he gave them at the outset of their careers.

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[Hillel Halkin]

HURWITZ, JUDAH BEN MORDECAI HA-LEVI (d. 1797), physician and Hebrew writer, precursor of the Haskalah in Eastern Europe. Born in Vilna, Hurwitz studied medicine in Padua and traveled extensively; in Berlin he made the acquaintance of Moses *Mendelssohn. He practiced medicine in Vilna, then moved to other towns, and eventually settled in Grodno. He was well versed in medieval Hebrew literature; at the same time he had wide secular knowledge and was strongly influenced by Rousseau. In his works, written in rhymed prose, he calls for the reform of Jewish life in the spirit of the moderate Haskalah. In his first work, *Ẓel ha-Ma'alot* (1764, and other editions), a collection of 365 epigrams, he advocated the humanistic ideals of the Haskalah and criticized the social conditions of his time. His most important book is *Ammudei Beit Yehudah* (1766), in which he expounded in the form of a debate, his moral and philosophical beliefs, identifying religion with morality. The book includes a poem in his praise by N.Ḥ. Wessely and an introduction by Moses Mendelssohn. His other works are *Kerem Ein Gedi* (1764), *Megillat Sedarim* (1793, and other editions), *Maḥberet Ḥayyei ha-Nefesh ve-Nizḥiyyutah* (1787), and *Heikhal Oneg* (1798).

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[Gedalyah Elkoshi]

HURWITZ, PHINEHAS ELIJAH (1765–1821), Hebrew writer and early advocate of Haskalah. Born in Lvov, Hurwitz wandered through Poland, Hungary, Germany, and England. He gained extensive secular knowledge without even knowing a single European language (it seems that a friend acted as translator), and wrote *Sefer ha-Berit* (1797), the first part of which was an anthology of the sciences, while the second half dealt with metaphysical questions. *Sefer ha-Berit* went into many editions since it was a source of basic scientific information for Jews who knew no European languages. The author condemned the fact that Jews engaged only in study and commerce which could not provide them with the proper livelihood and which exposed them to antisemitism and urged that they turn to manual labor.

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HURWITZ, SAMUEL JUSTIN (1912–1971), U.S. historian. Born in New York City, he was appointed to the history department in Brooklyn College (1936), and later professor and graduate chairman. He was also professor at the University of Hawaii. Hurwitz's principal interest was modern European history, with an emphasis on British history of the 19th and 20th centuries. His books include *State Intervention in Great Britain: A Study of Economic Control and Social Response 1914–1919* (1946; 1968^2). He was the co-author of several works, including *The Making of English History* (1952) and *Jamaica: A Historical Portrait* (1971). Hurwitz was active in Jewish communal activities.

[Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

HURWITZ, SAUL ISRAEL (1861–1922), Hebrew writer and critic. Born in Uvarovichi (Mogilev district), Russia, Hurwitz became a successful merchant and banker. After the 1905 revolution, he moved to Berlin, returning in 1914 to Russia where he lost his fortune during the Communist Revolution and after much suffering returned to Berlin in 1921. Here he was a prominent figure in the circle of émigré Hebrew writers and thinkers and was active in Zionist work. Together with Ḥ.N. *Bialik he directed the Kelal publishing house.

From his youth, Hurwitz contributed stories and articles to Hebrew journals, and in 1892 he published the literary magazine *Beit Eked*. His best known polemic article "*Li-She'elat Kiyyum ha-Yahadut*" ("On the Question of the Survival of Judaism"), published in *Ha-Shilo'aḥ* in 1903, questioned all Jewish values and all attempts at resolving the problem of Jewish survival, and he became a central figure in the resulting controversy with *Aḥad Ha-Am's supporters. Hurwitz eventually established his own journal *He-Atid* (1908–13) to serve as a venue for the clarification of Jewish issues.

Excerpts from his memoirs were published in *Ha-Shilo'aḥ* and *Ha-Toren* during his lifetime and posthumously. Some of his articles were collected and published under the title *Me-Ayin u-le-An* (1914).

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[Getzel Kressel]

HURWITZ, SHMARYA LEIB (1878–1938), U.S. rabbi, writer, and educator. Born in Kritchov, Mogilev province of Byelorussia, Hurwitz studied at yeshivot in Shumiatz and Mastislav. He became rabbi in Congregation Tipheret Israel in Yekaterinoslav, Ukraine. He immigrated to the United States in 1906 and served as rabbi of Congregation Adath Augostav before he established Rabbi Israel Salanter Congregation and Talmud Torah. He left the congregation after two decades to become principal of Tipheret HaGro Talmud Torah in Brownville, where he remained for the rest of his life.

He established a reputation as an educator and writer. He wrote Yiddish and Hebrew works for students and for scholars and edited prominent Jewish newspapers including the Yiddish-language *Der Yiddisher Weg Weiser* (1922–25) and the Hebrew *Degel Israel* (1925–28). He wrote textbooks for children as well as a monthly publication for ritual slaughterers. His writings include works on the laws and customs of Israel for the High Holidays, the history of *kaddish*, and the principles of Judaism.

He was also an activist and an ardent Zionist. He attended the first Zionist Congress in Basle and worked with Mizrachi. He also established the first association of American cantors and was active in the Agudat Harabbonim and the Union of American Orthodox congregations.

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[Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

HURWITZ, STEPHAN (1901–1981), Danish lawyer and criminologist. Born and educated in Copenhagen, he became a lecturer in law at the University of Copenhagen in 1932. During World War II, he was leader of the Danish Refugee Organization in Sweden and after the war was Danish representative at the War Crimes Commission. In 1950 he became chairman of the Permanent Committee of Penal Law, and in 1955 was elected *Folketingets ombudsmand* (parliamentary commissioner for civil and military administration). Hurwitz was appointed professor of law at Copenhagen University in 1935 and served as vice chancellor in 1953–54. From 1955 to 1971 he was Ombudsman of the Danish Parliament. Hurwitz wrote on criminal law procedure and criminology. His textbook *Kriminologi* (1948), translated into English, Italian, and Spanish, combines the results of European, British, American, and Scandinavian criminological studies. He wrote several significant essays, among them *Respekt for mennesket* ("Respect for the Human Being," 1951) and *Det menneskelige ansvar* ("The Human Responsibility," 1961).

[Zvi Hermon]

HURWITZ, YIGAEL (1918–1994) Israeli politician, farmer, and industrialist; member of the Seventh to Twelfth Knessets. Hurwitz was born in Naḥalat Yehudah, and grew up in Nahalal. He was a member of the No'ar ha-Oved ve-ha-Lomed secretariat in 1938–41. In 1940 he enlisted in the Jewish Brigade. After World War II he settled in Kefar Warburg and participated in an attempt to establish a new underground movement called Am Loḥem. In 1946 he established a party by the name of Tenu'at ha-Am, which offered a middle way between the positions of *Mapai and the *Revisionist movement. After the War of Independence Hurwitz headed the Moshav Movement in Southern Israel, and in 1961–65 was member of its secretariat. Until 1966 he was engaged in establishing enterprises for the manufacture of dairy and meat products, and became director of the Tene-Noga Dairy Products Company as well as of Andir and Tavlin. In 1961 he joined Mapai and in 1965 he was among the founders of *Rafi with David *Ben-Gurion. In 1968 when most of the members of Rafi joined the *Israel Labor Party, Hurwitz remained with Ben-Gurion. He ran with Ben-Gurion on the State List ticket in the elections to the Seventh Knesset. In 1973, after the death of Ben-Gurion, he joined the *Likud with the rest of the State List. In 1976 he was one of the founders and the chairman of the La-Am faction within the Likud. In the first government formed by Menaḥem *Begin after the 1977 election upset, Hurwitz was appointed minister of industry, trade and tourism. He resigned from the government in September 1978 because of his opposition to the Camp David Accords. In November 1979, following the resignation of Simḥa *Ehrlich from the Ministry of Finance he was appointed to the post, and adopted as his motto "Not a Cent."

Since the policy of budgetary cuts was not supported by the government, he resigned towards the end of 1980.

In the elections to the Tenth Knesset Hurwitz ran on the list headed by Moshe *Dayan, called Telem, but failed to enter the Knesset. Upon Dayan's death, Hurwitz entered the Knesset in his place. Prior to the elections to the Eleventh Knesset in 1984 he left Telem and ran in the elections at the head of a new list that he formed called Omeẓ. His party received a single seat in the new Knesset, and he joined the National Unity Government as minister without portfolio, serving in this post under both Shimon *Peres and Yitzhak *Shamir. In 1987, before the elections to the Twelfth Knesset, he rejoined the Likud after being promised two safe seats on its list. Hurwitz did not run in the elections to the Thirteenth Knesset.

HUSBAND AND WIFE. The act of marriage creates certain rights and duties between husband and wife. In performing them, both parties have to conduct themselves according to the following rules, comprising the fundamental principles for the relationship between husband and wife in Jewish law: "Thus the sages laid down that a man shall honor his wife more than his own self and shall love her as he loves himself, and shall constantly seek to benefit her according to his means; that he shall not unduly impose his authority on her and shall speak gently with her; that he shall be neither sad nor irritable. Similarly they laid down that a wife shall honor her husband exceedingly and shall accept his authority and abide by his wishes in all her activities…" (Maim. Yad, Ishut 15:19–20).

General Rights and Duties

A husband has ten obligations toward his wife (or her descendants) and four rights in respect of her. The obligations are (a) to provide her with sustenance or maintenance; (b) to supply her clothing and lodging; (c) to cohabit with her; (d) to provide the *ketubbah* (i.e., the sum fixed for the wife by law); (e) to procure medical attention and care during her illness; (f) to ransom her if she be taken captive; (g) to provide suitable burial upon her death; (h) to provide for her support after his death and ensure her right to live in his house as long as she remains a widow; (i) to provide for the support of the daughters of the marriage from his estate after his death, until they become betrothed (see *Marriage) or reach the age of maturity; and (j) to provide that the sons of the marriage shall inherit their mother's *ketubbah*, in addition to their rightful portion of the estate of their father shared with his sons by other wives. The husband's rights are those entitling him: (a) to the benefit of his wife's handiwork; (b) to her chance gains or finds; (c) to the usufruct of her property; and (d) to inherit her estate (Yad, Ishut 12:1–4; Sh. Ar., EH 69:1–3).

These rights and duties both derive from the law and not from mere agreement between the parties: "a man, by marrying a woman, becomes obligated to her in ten matters and acquires rights against her in four matters, even if they have not been taken down in writing" (Yad, Ishut 12:5; Sh. Ar., EH 69:1), i.e., the said rights and duties devolve as a matter of law from the act of marriage, whether or not a *ketubbah* deed is written and "writing thereof does not add and the absence thereof does not detract" (Resp. Ribash no. 480).

PARTICULARS OF THE RIGHTS AND DUTIES

The Wife's Rights

SUSTENANCE. See *Maintenance.

CLOTHING AND LODGING. This includes the right to household utensils and furniture and to a home of a reasonable standard in accordance with local custom (Yad, Ishut 13:3, 6; Sh. Ar., EH 73:1, 7). The scope of this right is governed by the rules pertaining to the law of maintenance, since, for the purpose of the legal rights of the wife, the concept of maintenance – in its wider meaning – embraces also the above-mentioned right (Tur, EH 73). By the same token the wife loses her right to claim raiment from her husband whenever she forfeits her right to maintenance (Rema, EH 69:4).

The place of residence (town or village) is determined by the husband, since it is presumed that they so agreed in advance and the wife cannot object to her husband changing their residence unless there was an agreement, express or implied, that they would not move to another place without her consent (Sh. Ar., EH 75:1; PDR 2:233, 3:161, 163, 5:20, 22, 57). However, the husband must have reasonable grounds for deciding on a change against the will of his wife, e.g., for reasons of health, or his livelihood, or the fact that the matrimonial peace at their existing home is disturbed by his or her relatives (Resp. Ribash nos. 81, 88; PDR 1:271, 274–5; 2:233, 237; 5:36, 54, 57). The wife is not obliged to agree to a change of residence if this should be detrimental to her position, e.g., because her relationship with her husband is such that she has reasonable grounds for her reluctance to move beyond the proximity of her relatives, or because the new home will be inferior to the old home, or if she can justify her refusal on the grounds that she does not wish to move from a town to a village or vice versa (Sh. Ar., EH 75:2; PDR 1, 2, loc. cit. 3:161, 163).

These rules do not apply in their entirety to Ereẓ Israel vis-à-vis other countries, nor to Jerusalem vis-à-vis other places in Ereẓ Israel. In such cases the rule is that a spouse who genuinely prefers as his place of residence Ereẓ Israel to any other country, or Jerusalem to any other place in Ereẓ Israel, need not bow to the wishes of the other spouse. In effect, therefore, the law favors the party genuinely seeking to settle in Ereẓ Israel or Jerusalem, or refusing to depart therefrom, even if, for example, this should entail the loss of better economic opportunities elsewhere, unless there is reason to fear that in Ereẓ Israel or in Jerusalem they might become in need of charity (Sh. Ar., EH 75:3, 4; *Pitḥei Teshuvah, ibid.*, 6; PDR, 5:20, 36, 66). However, if settling in Ereẓ Israel involves any danger for the parties, neither spouse may compel the other to do so (Tos. to Ket. 110b, s.v. "*hu Omer la'alot*: Sh. Ar., EH 75:5; for a contrary opinion, cf. Tur, EH 75; see also PDR 5:20).

The husband likewise determines the place of the dwelling within the town or village, but each of the parties must comply with the other's request to move to another dwelling and cannot refuse to do so on the ground that he or she is not particular about the matters complained of by the other spouse, provided only that the request is genuine and justified in the circumstances, e.g., on the grounds that neighbors are habitually insulting, or that they are given to prostitution, or to desecration of the Sabbath, and the like (Yad, Ishut 13:15; Sh. Ar., EH 74:11–12). If the wife refuses, in defiance of these rules, to accede to her husband's just demands concerning their place of residence, she is liable to forfeit her right to maintenance since she is only entitled thereto as long as she lives with him; moreover she is likely to be considered a *moredet* (see below) and may eventually be obliged to accept a bill of *divorce (Sh. Ar., EH 75:4, PDR, 3:161, 163, 164; 5:20, 23–28; 6:5, 9). Similarly, upon the husband's unreasonable refusal to accede to his wife's just demand to continue living in Ereẓ Israel, he may be ordered to provide maintenance for her – even though they live apart – and eventually to grant her a divorce with payment of her *ketubbah*; and if necessary, she may also demand an injunction restraining him from going abroad (PDR 5:20, 24, 29, 36, 57–59, 66).

COHABITATION. The husband's duty to cohabit with his wife stems from biblical law (Ex. 21:10) and he is obliged to do so according to his physical abilities and in so far as it is possible for him, having regard to the requirements of his occupation (Yad, Ishut 14:1, 2; Sh. Ar., EH 76:1–3). If he is unable to fulfill this duty the wife is entitled to demand a divorce (Yad, Ishut 14:7; Sh. Ar., EH 76:11) unless there are reasonable prospects, on the strength of medical evidence, that he may be cured of his disability (PDR 1:85–89; 3:84–89; see also *Divorce).

Mored ("rebellious" husband). A husband who refuses, without justifiable reason, to cohabit with his wife is called a *mored* (Ket. 63a; Yad, Ishut 14:15), but he is not so regarded if he refuses to fulfill his other obligations toward her (*ibid.* and *Maggid Mishneh*, Ishut 14:15; Baḥ, EH 77). Proof that her husband is a *mored* entitles the wife to demand that he be obliged to grant her a divorce, and if necessary, that he be compelled to do so (on the distinction, see *Divorce). As long as the husband persists in his refusal to cohabit with his wife, she is entitled to demand that the amount of her *ketubbah* be increased from week to week, as may be determined by the court and to receive the increased *ketubbah* upon the grant of the divorce (Ket., Yad, and *Maggid Mishneh, ibid*; Sh. Ar., EH 77:1). In such event the wife's remedy is not necessarily limited to seeking a divorce – lest the husband be enabled thus indirectly to compel his wife to a divorce – she may alternatively demand that her husband be obliged to pay her maintenance only without prejudicing thereby her right to receive the increased *ketubbah* when later seeking a divorce (Sh. Ar., EH 77:1; *Piskei ha-Rosh Ket.* ch. 5:32). The husband will not be regarded as a *mored* when he can adduce facts in support of his plea that his wife is repulsive to him, and declares that he is ready and willing to give her a divorce forthwith, with payment of her *ketubbah*; the wife's refusal to accept a divorce in such circumstances relieves the husband of all his obligations toward her, including that of maintenance (Resp. Rosh 42:1; PDR 5:292, 296, 297).

Moredet ("rebellious" wife). The wife is similarly regarded as a *moredet* only when she persistently refuses to cohabit with her husband (Ket. 63a., Yad and *Maggid Mishneh*, Ishut 14:8; Sh. Ar., EH 77:2), but not when she refuses to fulfill any of her other marital duties (Sh. Ar., EH 77:2 and *Baḥ* EH 77). The *moredet* falls into two categories: firstly, that of a wife who refuses to cohabit with her husband because of anger or a quarrel or for other reasons offering no legal justification; secondly, that of a wife who refuses to cohabit with her husband because she cannot bring herself to have sexual relations with him and can satisfy the court that this is for genuine reasons, which impel her to seek a divorce – even with forfeiture of her *ketubbah*. In both cases the *moredet* immediately loses her right to maintenance (Sh. Ar., EH 77:2; PDR 6:33, 42) and, in consequence thereof, her husband loses the right to her handiwork (see below) since he is only entitled to this in consideration of her maintenance, i.e., only if she is actually maintained by him (Rema, EH 77:2; and see below). Ultimately, the *moredet* also stands to lose her *ketubbah* and the husband will be entitled to demand a divorce, but this depends on conditions that differ according to the category of *moredet* and in this regard the *halakhah* underwent various developments.

So far as the first category of *moredet* is concerned, it was laid down in the Mishnah that her *ketubbah* shall be diminished from week to week until nothing remains and that thereafter her husband shall be entitled to divorce her without *ketubbah* (Ket. 63a). Later, as a means of inducing the wife to desist from her "rebellion," it was provided that a procedure be adopted of having certain warnings issued by the court as well as public announcements made, and, on the wife's disregarding a final warning that her continued "rebellion" would render her liable to forfeiture of her *ketubbah*, the court could declare her a *moredet*, entailing the immediate forfeiture of her *ketubbah* and the acquisition by her husband of the right to divorce her forthwith. In the period of the later *amoraim* it was further prescribed that only after persisting in her refusal to cohabit with her husband for not less than 12 months would the *moredet* finally lose her *ketubbah* and the husband become entitled to divorce her (Ket. 63b; Yad, Ishut 14:9–11; Tur and *Beit Yosef*, EH 77; Sh. Ar., EH 77:2). This appears to be the *halakhah* at the present time (see PDR 6:33, 325).

In the case of the other category of *moredet* (i.e., on a plea of incompatibility, when accepted by the court), the procedure of warnings and announcements was regarded as being inappropriate and inapplicable since "the wife should not be urged to have sexual relations with a person whom she finds repulsive" (Yad, Ishut 14:8; PDR 6:5, 12, 18). Hence, in this case, the husband was at first considered entitled, according to her own wish, to give his wife an immediate divorce, without payment of her *ketubbah*, because she herself had desired this by her waiver of the *ketubbah* and, as a *moredet*, she is anyhow not entitled to her *ketubbah* (Ket. 63b: Sh. Ar., EH 77:2). In later times, however, the scholars regulated that even concerning this category of *moredet* the husband is not entitled to divorce her immediately, but only after the lapse of 12 months after a warning by the court that she might forfeit her *ketubbah*. This regulation aimed at enabling the wife to reconsider her attitude in the event that her rebelliousness had been due to sudden anger which she later regretted (Ket. 63b). Her failure to repent within those 12 months would then entitle the husband to divorce her without *ketubbah* but the wife's plea that her husband is "repulsive" to her does not give her the right to demand that her husband be adjudged to grant her a divorce. Maimonides' opinion (Ishut 14:8) that on the strength of the aforesaid plea, the husband might even be compelled to divorce his wife without delay – since "she is not like a captive to have to submit to intercourse with someone repulsive to her" – was not accepted by the majority of the authorities and a *takkanah* to a similar effect from the geonic period (known as the *dina de-metivta*, i.e., "law of the academies") was regarded as an emergency measure intended only for those generations and not as established *halakhah* (Resp. Rosh no. 43:6, 8; *Sefer Teshuvot ha-Rashba ha-Meyuḥasot le-ha-Rambanno*. 138; *Rema* EH 77:2, 3).

Since the wife only forfeits her *ketubbah* in the event that she does not desist from her rebellion within the prescribed period of 12 months, all her rights and duties on the strength of the *ketubbah* – save with regard to her maintenance and her handiwork – remain valid during the same period, since "the *ketubbah* conditions are as the *ketubbah* itself." If in consequence of the wife's rebellion she is divorced by her husband, she will anyway be entitled to receive her *nikhsei melog* (property which never ceases to remain in her ownership but the usufruct whereof is enjoyed by the husband (see *Dowry) but special *halakhot* exist concerning her *nikhsei ẓon u-varzel* (see *Beit Shemu'el* and *Ḥelkat Meḥokek* at concl. of 77).

THE "MAIN" (IKKAR) KETUBBAH. See **Ketubbah*.

MEDICAL CARE. The medical expenses incurred in case of the wife's illness must be borne by her husband, since these form part of her maintenance: "medical care in time of illness is as necessary to a person as is sustenance" (Ket. 4:9 and *Rashi* Ket. 51a s.v. "*ḥayyav lerape'ot*"). Hence, questions such as the scope of this obligation of the husband and whether and to what extent he is obliged to defray debts incurred by the wife in seeking a cure for her illness are governed by the same laws as those pertaining to her maintenance.

RANSOM FROM CAPTIVITY. The husband is obliged to provide the money and to perform any other act required to redeem his wife from captivity (Ket. 4:9 and 52a; Sh. Ar., EH 78:1). "Captivity" in this context is not confined to the case of actual captivity of the wife in time of war, but embraces all circumstances in which she is prevented, as a result of the restriction of her freedom, from living with her husband, e.g., where husband and wife are separated as a result of persecution or war and thereafter the husband succeeds in reaching Ereẓ Israel while his wife is stranded in a country from which she is not free to depart. If in such circumstances the payment of money will enable the wife to leave that country and join her husband, it is his duty to pay the required amount, even if it should exceed the amount of her *ketubbah*, because in general the husband's duty is to ransom his wife with all the means at his disposal: "his wife is as his own self" (Yad, Ishut 14:19; Rema EH 78:2; Ha-Gra, EH 78, n. 4). In consideration of this duty the husband is entitled to the usufruct of his wife's property. The husband cannot be relieved of this duty by his wife's waiver of her right to be ransomed – even if the parties should so agree prior to their marriage – lest she become assimilated among the gentiles (Sh. Ar., EH 69:5).

BURIAL. It is the husband's duty to bear the costs of his wife's burial and all related expenses such as those necessary for erecting a tombstone, etc. (Sh. Ar., EH 89:1). Since this duty is imposed on the husband as one of the *ketubbah* conditions and not by virtue of the laws of succession, he must bear these costs out of his personal property without regard to the question whether, and to what extent, his deceased wife had contributed a dowry or left an estate in his favor (*Beit Shemu'el* 89, n. 1). If such burial costs are defrayed by third parties, e.g. by the *ḥevra kaddisha*, in fulfilling the *mitzvah* of burying the dead, in the husband's absence or upon his own refusal to do so, the husband will be liable to refund the amount expended to the parties concerned (Sh. Ar., EH 89:2).

SUPPORT OF THE WIDOW FROM THE ESTATE OF HER DECEASED HUSBAND. See *Widow.

SUPPORT OF THE MINOR DAUGHTERS OF THE MARRIAGE FROM THE ESTATE OF THEIR DECEASED FATHER. See *Parent and Child (Legal Aspects).

INHERITANCE BY THE SONS OF THE MARRIAGE OF THEIR MOTHER'S KETUBBAH, OVER AND ABOVE THEIR PORTION IN THE ESTATE OF THEIR FATHER

This *takkanah*, known as the *ketubbat benin dikhrin* (i.e., *ketubbah* of male children), refers to a condition of the *ketubbah* whereby the husband agrees that his wife's *ketubbah* and dowry, which he – as by law he is her only heir (see *Succession; and see Right of Inheritance, below) – would inherit if she predeceased him, shall, upon his own death, pass to the sons of the marriage only and this over and above and separately from the share of these sons in the rest of their father's estate shared equally by them with the sons of any other marriage contracted by him (Ket. 4:10 and 52b; Sh. Ar., EH 111). This *takkanah*, designed to ensure that the wife's property would remain for her sons only, was aimed at influencing the bride's father to give her, upon her marriage, a share of his property equaling that which his sons would get; however, since it anyway became customary for fathers to give their daughters such a share of their property, the need for including a specific undertaking of this kind in the *ketubbah*-deed fell away, and therefore by geonic times it was already recognized that the *takkanah* had become obsolete (*Rema*, EH 111:16).

The Husband’s Rights

MA’ASEH YADEHA (“the wife’s handiwork”). It is the wife’s duty to do all such household work as is normally performed by women enjoying a standard of living and social standing similar to that of the spouse all in accordance with local custom. Also applicable is the rule that “the wife goes up with him, but does not go down with him,” i.e., she is not obliged to do the kind of work that was not customarily done by the woman in her family circle prior to her marriage, although according to the husband’s standard women used to do it, while at the same time she is entitled to benefit from the fact that her husband enjoys a higher standard of living than that to which she was accustomed prior to the marriage, so that she is not obliged to do work which is not normally done by women enjoying the husband’s (higher) standard of living even if she used to do it prior to her marriage (Ket. 59a–61b; Sh. Ar., EH 80:1, 10). The expenses incurred by the husband in hiring domestic help due to the fact that the wife, although able to perform them, willfully refuses to perform the duties devolving on her, as described, must be refunded by the wife and may also be deducted by the husband from her maintenance (Sh. Ar. *ibid; Ḥelkat Meḥokekn.* 80, 27). According to these rules, the question must also be decided as to whether, and to what extent, the wife is obliged to suckle or look after the infant children of the marriage, since this duty is imposed on her not as the mother of the children but as the wife of their father (Sh. Ar., EH 80:6–8). Hence a divorced woman is exempt from this duty, with the result that her former husband – who as father always bears sole responsibility for the maintenance of their children (see Parent and *Child) – must compensate her for her efforts, if she nevertheless looks after them, in addition to bearing the expenses involved (Sh. Ar., EH 82:5; PDR, 1:118, 119; 2:3–8).

The wife is not liable for damage caused by her in the home – e.g., in respect of broken utensils – whether or not occasioned in the course of fulfillment of her duties (Yad, Ishut 21:9, Sh. Ar., EH 80:17 and *Ḥelkat Meḥokek* 80 n. 29). The purpose of this *halakhah* is to preserve matrimonial harmony, since otherwise “matrimonial harmony will cease, because the wife in taking excessive care will refrain from most of her duties and quarreling will result” (Yad, loc. cit.).

The question whether the earnings of the wife from her own exertions (*yegi’a kappeha*), in talmudic language *ha’adafah* (“surplus”), and, if she exerts herself more than usual, “surplus resulting from undue exertion,” are in the nature of *ma’aseh yadeha* and so belong to her husband, is a disputed one – both in the Talmud (Ket. 65b and *Rashi* thereto s.v. *ha’adafah*; 66a) and in the codes (Yad, Ishut 21:2 and Sh. Ar., EH 80:1 as against the Tur, *ibid.*, and other codes; PDR, 1:81, 90–94). In the light of this dispute the husband has no right to demand that his wife should go out to earn, nor that she should make over any such earnings to him; on the other hand, since some of the authorities are of the opinion that the husband does have this right – thus possibly entitling him to set off such earnings against her maintenance – he will not be ordered to pay her maintenance in so far as her earnings suffice for this purpose (see *Kim Li*; Baḥ EH 80; PDR, 1:94, 118; 2:220, 226).

The husband’s right to his wife’s handiwork is granted to him in return for his duty to maintain her and in consideration of this, and is only available to him upon his actually discharging this duty (Ket. 47b, 58b, 107b; Sh. Ar., EH 69:4). The rule is that the wife’s right to maintenance is primary, taking precedence over his right to her handiwork and existing even when she is unable to work, e.g., on account of illness (Ket. 58b; *Rashi* ad loc. s.v. *mezonei ikkar*). On the other hand, the husband loses the right to his wife’s handiwork if for any reason whatsoever she does not actually receive her maintenance from him, whether on account of his refusal to provide it or because according to law she has forfeited her right to such maintenance, e.g., because she is a *moredet* (*Rema* EH 77; 2; *Ba’er Heitev*, EH 80, n. 1). On the strength of the above rule, the wife, by her independent will, is able, by waiving the right of maintenance, to deprive her husband of his right to her handiwork (“I am not maintained, nor shall I do any handiwork…” Ket. 58b), a worthwhile step for her if she should earn more than the amount of her maintenance. The husband, on the other hand, cannot deprive his wife of her right to maintenance by waiving his right to her handiwork, nor may he demand that she go out to earn the cost of her maintenance (“Spend your handiwork for your maintenance,” Ket. 58b; Sh. Ar., EH 69:4; *Beit Shemu’el* 69, n. 4).

FINDS OF THE WIFE. The husband is entitled to the finds or chance gains of his wife (Ket. 65b–66a; Sh. Ar., EH 84).

USUFRUCT OF THE WIFE’S PROPERTY. See *Dowry.

RIGHT OF INHERITANCE. Jewish law decrees that the husband is the sole heir of his wife – to the absolute exclusion of everyone else, including her children – as regards all property of whatever kind in her estate, including the part in respect whereof he had no usufruct during her lifetime. However, the wife is not an heir to her husband’s estate (BB 8:1 and 111b; Yad, Naḥalot 1:8; Ishut 22:1; Sh. Ar., EH 90:1); instead she has the right to claim maintenance and lodging from his estate for as long as she remains a widow. The husband inherits only the property actually owned by his wife at her death but not the property which is only contingently then due to her in certain circumstances, e.g., if she had been a contingent heir to her father but predeceased him (BB 113a; Sh. Ar., loc. cit.). The inheritance of the husband also embraces property sold by the wife subsequent to their marriage, since his right of inheritance comes into existence upon their marriage and therefore any sale of her property is only valid to the extent that it is not prejudicial to his right, i.e., only if he should predecease her or if they become divorced and she retains ownership of her property (Maim. Yad, Ishut 22:7; Sh. Ar., EH 90:9; see also *Dowry). The husband’s right to inherit his wife’s estate is coextensive with the existence of a valid marriage between them at the time of her death, and remains effective even if the marriage between them was prohibited, e.g., between a priest and a divorcee (see Marriage, *Prohibited), and even if the husband had wished to divorce his wife but was prevented from doing so, whether for lack of time or on account of the decree of Rabbenu Gershom (see *Divorce; Main. Yad, Naḥalot 1:8; Ishut 22:4; Sh. Ar., EH 90:1; *Ba'er Heitev*, *ibid.*, n. 1).

Contracting out of the Law

All the above-mentioned rights and duties of the parties flow from the law. There is, however, no obstacle to an agreement between the parties to regulate their legal relationship with regard to monetary matters to another effect, provided that this is not in conflict with any general principles of the *halakhah*.

The rule is that "in a matter of *mamon* one's stipulation is valid," i.e., in matters of civil law the law does not restrict the freedom of contract and one may even stipulate contrary to biblical law (R. Judah, Kid. 19b; Sh. Ar., EH 38:5; 69:6). Hence the parties may come to an agreement stipulating therein terms and conditions whereby they forego certain pecuniary rights and obligations they are entitled to against each other according to law, provided that the agreement is express and in compliance with the legal provisions concerning the making of such an agreement or condition. In particular, and by way of an express agreement for the renunciation (*silluk*) of their rights, a husband and wife may effect a complete separation of their rights as to their respective properties so as to deprive the husband of the usufruct of his wife's property and of the right to inherit from her. It should be noted that such an agreement will lack validity prior to the creation of any legal tie between the parties with reference to the rights in question, because until then such rights constitute "something that is not yet in existence" (*davar she-lo ba la-olam*; see *Contract) and therefore cannot be the subject of a legal disposition; nor is such an agreement possible after full acquisition of the said rights, since a right once acquired cannot be conferred on another by renunciation but only by way of its transfer or assignment. Hence the above-mentioned renunciation agreement must be effected after the *kiddushin* but prior to the *nissu'in* ceremony (see *Marriage), since at this stage the pecuniary rights are considered already to be "something in existence" but they are not yet fully acquired by the parties (see PDR I, 289–313; *Beit Ya'akov*, EH 92:7). Since the custom at the present time is for the *kiddushin* and *nissu'in* ceremonies to be united and performed one after the other without interruption, it is necessary, if the parties should wish to effect the said renunciation, that the marriage ceremony be interrupted upon completion of the *kiddushin* to enable the parties to sign the renunciation deed, and then only to proceed with the *nissu'in* ceremony.

As said above, only with regard to monetary matters is such an agreement valid. Therefore, an agreement whereby the wife undertakes to waive her right to cohabitation is of no effect since the corresponding duty of the husband is imposed on him by biblical law and does not involve a matter of *mamon*; hence the wife may always repudiate such an agreement and demand that her husband fulfill his duty to cohabit with her (Yad, Ishut 12:2, 7; Sh. Ar., EH 69:6, *Ḥelkat Meḥokek* 69, n. 10). On the other hand, the wife's duty to cohabit with her husband is not imposed on her by biblical law as such, but is merely a consequence of the husband's right to cohabitation by virtue of the marriage, which right he may waive. Hence an agreement between the spouses whereby the wife is released from this duty but without any waiver of her rights is valid, and she will not be considered a *moredet* if, in reliance upon such agreement, she should refuse to cohabit with her husband; neither will her right to maintenance and other pecuniary rights be affected (*Pitḥei Teshuvah*, EH 134, n. 9).

Also invalid is a condition depriving the wife of her "main" *ketubbah* – even though her right to the *ketubbah* is a matter of *mamon* – since a marital life in which the wife remains without her "main" *ketubbah* is considered "cohabitation for the sake of prostitution" (Ket. 5:1) and "it is forbidden for a man to remain with his wife for even one hour if she has no *ketubbah*" (Yad, Ishut 10:10). Depriving the wife of her "main" *ketubbah*, or the diminution thereof below the statutory minimum, is prejudicial to the very existence of the marriage and cohabitation in such circumstances is considered as tantamount to prostitution; hence a condition of this kind relates to *davar she-be-issur* (a matter of a ritual law prohibition) and not to a *davar she-be-mamon*, and accordingly it is invalid (Yad, Ishut 12:8; Sh. Ar., EH 69:6).

The husband's right to inherit from his wife, which flows from the law upon the celebration of the marriage, likewise cannot be stipulated away during the subsistence of the marriage. Upon the celebration of the marriage the husband forthwith acquires the status of heir designate to his wife's estate and although this is calculated eventually to afford the husband rights of a monetary (*mamon*) nature it creates a legal status and as such cannot be the subject matter of a waiver of stipulation aimed at annulling it (Yad, Ishut 12:9; Sh. Ar., *ibid.*). Any such waiver or stipulation, in order to be valid, has therefore to be effected after *kiddushin* and prior to *nissu'in* (Yad, Ishut 23:5–7, and *Maggid Mishneh* thereto; Sh. Ar., EH 69:5, 7; 92:7, 8). For further particulars concerning freedom of stipulation between husband and wife, see *Contract.

In the State of Israel

The *halakhah* is generally followed so far as the particulars of the marital rights and duties are concerned. However, the husband's right to inherit from his wife is governed by the Succession Law, 5725 – 1965, in terms whereof – as also formerly in terms of the Succession Ordinance, 1923–34 – one spouse inherits from the other along with the latter's descendants (in the case of intestate succession), in the prescribed proportions (sec. 11). The inheritance rights of the spouses are governed solely by the provisions of the above law and the rabbinical courts must also adjudicate in accordance therewith, save when all the interested parties agree, in writing, to the jurisdiction of the rabbinical court and provided that the rights of a minor or a person lacking legal capacity who is party to the estate shall not be less than those afforded him under the above law (sec. 148, 155).

[Ben-Zion (Benno) Schereschewsky]

The Right of a "Rebellious" Husband (Mored) to the Proceeds of His Wife's Property and to Her Earnings

Does a husband who is a *mored* (i.e., fails to discharge his marital obligations) retain his right to his wife's earnings and the proceeds from her property? There is a halakhic dispute regarding this question.

According to one view, the husband is given the rights to his wife's handiwork and the proceeds of her property so long as he acts as a husband. If, however, he is a "rebellious husband" (*mored*), and fails to fulfill his duty to cohabit with his wife, he forfeits his right to her earnings and property income. Just as the rebellious wife (*moredet*) forfeits her monetary rights against her husband, while he retains his rights regarding her (apart from the right to her earnings), the rebellious husband forfeits his monetary rights from his wife, whereas she retains her rights regarding him (*Beit Ya'akov* on Even Ha-Ezer 90. 5; File 5742/112, 12 PDR 311, the Rabbinical Court of Appeals; File 5712/866, 2 PDR 262, 271ff., the Rabbinical Court of Appeals). According to another view, this opinion was valid until the *ḥerem* (ban) of Rabbenu Gershom was enacted (see *Divorce), forbidding the husband to divorce his wife against her will. However, since the *ḥerem*, the rebellious husband continues to be entitled to his wife's earnings and proceeds of her property. The reason for this is that the rule by which the *mored* forfeits his monetary rights to his wife's handiwork and income from property derives from another rule, whereby the rebellious husband loses his right to inherit his wife (Rema, at EH 90.5). The basis for this *halakhah* is that a rebellious husband is treated as one who is about to divorce his wife, a fact considered sufficient to sever the conjugal bond between the husband and the wife, which is the source of his right to inherit her.

According to this approach, after the enactment of the *ḥerem* of Rabbenu Gershom, the husband cannot divorce his wife against her will; hence, the fact that he is rebellious does not automatically categorize him as a husband about to divorce his wife, insofar as that decision is not solely at his discretion. In any event, the rebellious husband does not lose his right to inherit his wife, nor does he lose his right to her handiwork and property income (File 5712/2921, 1 PDR 239, 246–7, the Regional Rabbinical Court of Tel Aviv-Jaffa).

According to the other opinion, there is a reciprocity between the rights of the husband and the rights of the wife and, since the rebellious husband remains liable to fulfill all of his obligations to his wife, the wife too remains liable to execute all of her obligations to him, including her handiwork and proceeds from her property (5712/2921, *ibid,* 245).

This dispute is particularly important in those cases in which the wife sues for maintenance from her husband, where the claimant wife works to support herself or has income-generating property. According to the first opinion, the husband is required to pay her maintenance, and the profits from her earnings or property are irrelevant to this obligation. According to the second view, her earnings or property income should be deducted, in accordance with the general rule in maintenance claims (regarding deduction of her earnings from her maintenance, see *infra*; regarding deduction of income from her property from her maintenance, see * Dowry), and if her earnings or property income exceed the level of her maintenance, the husband is entitled to the balance.

It would seem that this matter ought to be decided according to the rule that money may not be taken away from its possessor. In other words, where there is a halakhic dispute among the decisors, the litigant wishing to claim money from another bears the burden of proof, and the litigant in possession of the money can argue that the *halakhah* follows the opinion of those decisors whose rulings are favorable to him. Accordingly, the wife cannot demand that her husband pay an amount equal to her earnings or the proceeds of her property, but rather only the excess, if such exists, between this sum and the sum to which she is entitled as maintenance. If, however, her earnings or property income should exceed the amount to which she is entitled in terms of maintenance, the wife is considered the possessor of such excess and the husband does not have any right to it (File 5736/2944, 11 PDR 193, 208, the District Rabbinical Court of Tel Aviv-Jaffa; File 5736/13627, 11 PDR 89, the District Rabbinical Court of Tel Aviv-Jaffa).

Deducting the Wife's Earnings from her Maintenance: Decisions of the Supreme Court

Regarding a woman who has income from her own work, and who sued for maintenance from her husband, the Supreme Court ruled, in accordance with Jewish law and the decisions of the Rabbinical courts, that her income should be deducted from the amount her husband owes her for her maintenance, and the husband must pay the balance between the wife's earnings and the amount of the maintenance payments, to the extent that the amount of maintenance is greater than the amount of the wife's earnings (CA 63/69 *Yosef v. Yosef,* 23(1) PD 804; FH 23/69 *Yosef v. Yosef,* 24(1) PD 792). In principle the husband cannot force his wife to work in order to support herself and, accordingly, the Supreme Court ruled that, insofar as the wife does not earn her own living, the husband is obligated to pay the full amount of her maintenance, even if the wife worked in the past and has stopped working (CA 687/83 *Mazor et al. v. Mazor*, 38(3) PD 29; *per* Justice Shoshana Netanyahu).

The rule that the wife is entitled to the full amount of maintenance even if she worked in the past has been harshly criticized. It is claimed that this rule encourages women to stop working, so as not to deduct their income from the amount of maintenance owed by the husband. The duty of paying maintenance thus becomes a tool wielded by the wife to exert economic pressure on the husband to give her a speedy *get*, so as to exempt himself from his maintenance obligation. This rule reflects and even perpetuates the stereotype of the dependent wife, inasmuch as the termination of her work is likely to jeopardize her ability to return to the work force following the divorce, which in turn injures her economically and denies her the opportunity of recovering emotionally after the crisis of the divorce by going out to work. While this rule does provide an important means of exerting pressure on recalcitrant husbands who refuse to give a *get* to their wives, it is argued that the resultant damage to the woman is grave, and that other solutions to the problem of refusal to grant a *get* should be found and implemented (see *Divorce).

Notwithstanding this, in a number of cases the Supreme Court ruled that, where it is apparent that the wife is able to work, but deliberately refrains from doing so as part of her "strategy" in the divorce proceedings, her maintenance payment is to be reduced by an amount corresponding to her earning power (CA 6136/93 *Bikel v. Bikel* and CA 5930/93 *Padan v. Padan; per* Justice Meir Shamgar). The rabbinical court issued a similar ruling (File 5715/8005, 14 PDR 212, the Regional Rabbinical Court in Haifa). Nevertheless, it would seem that the question of deducting the wife's "earning potential" still awaits a definitive Supreme Court ruling (CA 4316/96 *Ploni v. Ploni*, 52(1) PD 394).

[Menachem Elon (2nd ed.)]

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HUSHAI THE ARCHITE (Heb. חוּשַׁי הָאַרְכִּי), biblical figure listed in I Chronicles 27:33 as holding the office of "the king's friend" under David. In II Samuel 15:37; 16:17 he is referred to as "David's friend." Hushai figures prominently in the story of the rebellion of *Absalom. At the time of David's flight from Jerusalem, Hushai, deeply grieved and wearing the traditional rent garments and ashes, sought to join David's company on the Mount of Olives, to which they had fled when Jerusalem's capitulation to Absalom appeared inevitable. David, however, persuaded Hushai to return and offer his allegiance to Absalom, so that he might defeat the counsels of *Ahithophel, David's adviser, and that he might supply information to David (II Sam. 15:32–37). Hushai, accepted as a loyal adviser by Absalom, successfully opposed Ahithophel's plan to pursue and attack David immediately, proposing instead that Absalom mass his forces and attack David in person. Having thus afforded David time to escape, Hushai sent word to David through his couriers, the sons of the priests *Abiathar and *Zadok, to cross the Jordan immediately (II Sam. 17:5–16). Although no more is heard of Hushai himself, Baana son of Hushai, one of the prefects of Solomon listed in I Kings 4:16, is probably his son.

The term "the Archite" indicates that Hushai belongs to the clan named in Joshua 16:2–3 as dwelling in the vicinity of Ataroth, on the border between Ephraim and Benjamin. The name Hushai itself is most probably a short form of the name Ahishai, Ahushai.

[Tikva S. Frymer]

In the Aggadah

Various interpretations are given to the epithet "The Archite." According to one opinion it was because he was one of David's highest officials (from the Greek *archē*, "chief of government"); according to another it is the name of his birthplace; and others that he was so called "because through him the house of David was to be put on a firm footing, and through him the house of David was to be kept in good repair," the word ארך in Aramaic meaning to keep in good order (Mid. Ps. 3:3). After Absalom's rebellion, David wished to serve an idol, in order that people should attribute his public disgrace to Divine punishment for this sin, and not think that God had punished him without cause. Hushai, however, pointed out to David that his punishment had, in fact, already been foretold, in the Scriptures. Although David had been permitted to marry Absalom's mother (Maacah), who was a captive slave, he had failed to take note of the fact that the passage immediately following the biblical permission to do so speaks of the dishonest and rebellious son (Deut. 21:18) to teach the lesson that this was the natural issue of such a marriage (Sanh. 107a).

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ḤUSHI'EL BEN ELHANAN (end of 10th and beginning of 11th centuries), talmudist and founder of talmudic studies in N. Africa. Ḥushi'el was a contemporary of Sherira Gaon and the father of *Hananel b. Ḥushi'el. He headed the academy of *Kairouan, and under him it developed into a center of Torah study in North Africa which continued for generations. Information about his life is scanty and obscure. It is known that he was not a native of Kairouan, but opinions are divided as to his country of origin – Babylonia, Italy, and Spain have been suggested – and as to his reasons for settling there. The view most widely held is that he went from Sicily or southern Italy (Bari), arrived in Kairouan between 960 and 990, and died about 1027. Ḥushi'el was one of "The Four *Captives," the narrative of which is given in the *Seder ha-Kabbalah* of Abraham *Ibn Daud. In the *Genizah, however, a letter was discovered dating from the end of the 10th century; in it a scholar named Ḥushi'el writes to *Shemariah b. Elhanan, also mentioned as one of "The Four Captives," that on his way to meet him he was held up in Kairouan where he was awaiting the arrival of his son Elhanan. This letter apparently completely undermines the historical veracity of the report of Ibn Daud, and also raises the question as to whether the name of his son was Elhanan or Hananel. It may be that there were two brothers, or that the Ḥushi'el of the *Genizah* letter is not identical with Ḥushi'el b. Elhanan.

In his yeshivah Ḥushi'el developed new methods of study, bringing from Italy the study of the Jerusalem Talmud and stressing the importance of this Talmud and of the halakhic Midrashim as a source for establishing the *halakhah* – even when it conflicts with the Babylonian Talmud. This trend is conspicuous in the teaching of his son Hananel, who is the first to cite the Jerusalem Talmud frequently. Such a departure could be regarded as "a proclamation of independence, and a severance of the dependence upon the academies of Babylon." Of the actual teachings of Ḥushi'el only little is known from various citations scattered in different sources, chiefly in the works of *Nissim Gaon. Ḥushi'el was admired by the *geonim* of Babylon, who called him "a man great in wisdom, a mount of Torah," and "our lord, the holy teacher, R. Ḥushi'el, first among the rabbis." On his death he was eulogized by *Samuel ha-Nagid, who sent Ḥushi'el's son Hananel a letter of consolation and an elegy written in Aramaic and also gave instructions that memorial services be held in his honor.

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[Yehoshua Horowitz]

HUSI (Rom. **Huşi**), town in Moldavia, E. Romania. The first Jews settled there in the last quarter of the 17th century. The oldest tombstone preserved in the Jewish cemetery dates from 1747. The minute-book of the *ḥevra kaddisha* was opened in 1775. In 1794 the synagogue was rebuilt. In 1806 the bishop obtained authorization to settle another group of Jews in the locality. David Almogen (1823–1897) from Galicia, who settled in Husi in 1866, became municipal physician and wrote popular works on medicine. A first attempt was made to organize the community in 1882, and in 1910 the formerly independent *ḥevra kaddisha*, with its revenues, was included in the communal framework.

The B'nai B'rith group, founded in 1875, established a primary school in 1876, but this could not be maintained because of opposition from Orthodox circles which founded a *talmud torah* in 1877. In 1897 the Cultura association was founded, which established a school attended by 268 pupils, also supported by the community. The Orthodox, however, converted the school into a *talmud torah* in 1901. In 1889 the Jewish merchants formed 70% of the total merchants in the town. Among the rabbis who functioned in Husi were Gedalyah ben Israel Halevy, Ephraim Joseph Segal, Mattathias Ezekiel Gutman, and Nahum Shemaryahu Schechter.

The Jewish population numbered 261 (5.2% of the total) in 1831, 2,395 in 1859, 4,057 (26.2%) in 1899, and 2,514 (10.4%) in 1930. In 1882 there was a *blood libel, and in 1884 restrictive measures against the Jewish merchants were instituted. The situation was aggravated when the Romanian Brotherhood organization was founded after 1900 with the express aim of boycotting Jewish traders. In 1911 Ion Zelinsky-Codreanu, the father of Corneliu *Zelea-Codreanu, founder of the Iron Guard, became a teacher in the secondary school, which remained a focus of antisemitism between the two world wars. In 1927 a Cooperative Bank was organized with the aid of the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee, having 400 members.

The community was not destroyed during World War II. The Jewish population numbered 2,750 in 1947. A synagogue existed in 1969 when there were approximately 60 Jewish families. In 2005, 20 Jews lived in Husi.

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[Theodor Lavi / Lucian-Zeev Herscovici (2nd ed.)]

HUSIK, ISAAC (1876–1939), historian of Jewish philosophy. Born in Vasseutinez (near Kiev), Husik moved in 1888 to Philadelphia, where he remained until his death. While still young, he came under the influence of Sabato *Morais, rabbi of the Spanish-Portuguese community of Philadelphia, and was preparing himself for the rabbinate. He abandoned his rabbinic studies when he began studying at the University of Pennsylvania. From 1898 to 1916 he taught at *Gratz College in Philadelphia. He joined the faculty of philosophy of the University of Pennsylvania in 1911 and was appointed professor in 1921. Husik also studied law, which was helpful to him in his translation of a few works on the philosophy of law from German into English, among them Rudolph von Ihering's *Zweck im Recht* ("Law as a Means to an End"). In 1916 Husik published his book *A History of Medieval Jewish Philosophy*, which is an original and systematic scientific review of the development of Jewish philosophic thought in the Middle Ages. This well-written work has remained popular and useful. In 1925, Husik was appointed editor of the Jewish Publication Society of America. In 1929–30 he published a critical edition of Joseph *Albo's *Sefer ha-Ikkarim*, with introduction, English translation, and notes. A collection of Husik's essays, edited by M.C. Nahm and L. Strauss, was published in 1952 under the title *Philosophical Essays*.

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[Solomon Grayzel]

°**HUSSEIN** (**Ḥussayn bin Ṭalāl**; 1935–1999), king of the Hashemite Kingdom of *Jordan 1953–99; grandson of *Abdullah, founder of the kingdom. He was born in Amman and educated in Amman, Egypt, and England (Harrow and Sandhurst). Hussein succeeded on the deposition of his father, Ṭalāl, who was mentally deranged, and, after a period of regency, ascended the throne on May 2, 1953. He soon won the allegiance of the Bedouin tribes which dominated the army. However, tension with Israel, unrest among his Palestinian subjects, pro-Nasserite agitation, and Egyptian subversion threatened the stability of his rule. Popular opposition to the king's pro-Western sympathies and rumors of his intention to join the Baghdad Pact culminated, in December 1955, in serious rioting, and in March 1956 Hussein dismissed Lt.-Gen. J.B. Glubb, the British chief of general staff of the Arab Legion.

Despite a pro-Nasserite victory in the elections of October 1956 and Jordan's adhesion to the Egyptian-Syrian Saudi Arabian pact against Israel, the Arab Legion made no move during the *Sinai Campaign. During the next few years, Hussein tightened his control, maintained his pro-Western orientation, and frustrated a number of military plots against his regime and attempts on his life.

During the 1960s Hussein pursued a precarious course, trying to avoid clashes with Israel provoked by Aḥmad Shuqairy's Palestine Liberation Organization and, later, by the Syrian-supported al-Fataḥ terrorists. On May 30, 1967, however, he signed a military alliance with *Abdel Nasser, and on June 5 he opened hostilities against Israel, ignoring several Israeli messages that if he did not open fire Israel would not attack Jordan. As a result of his intervention in the *Six-Day War (1967), he lost relatively more territory and population than any other Arab ruler; his forfeiture of the guardianship of the Dome of the Rock and al-Aqṣā Mosque in Jerusalem was a particular blow to him.

After that he repeatedly toured the world, especially the West, as unofficial spokesman for those Arab states which declared their acceptance of the UN Security Council decision of Nov. 22, 1967 – often as the emissary of Abdel Nasser, who now seemed to acquiesce in Hussein's political existence. Hussein's missions were not unsuccessful, thanks to his natural flair for public relations, his image as a "moderate" prepared to coexist with Israel, and his pro-Western record. In his own country, in the meantime, his effective rule continuously contracted, as various organizations for the "liberation of Palestine" grew in strength, status, and self-assurance. By the end of 1968 they had become a state within the state. In 1970, however, in the bloody civil war between the Jordanian army and the guerilla organizations, the trend was reversed and Hussein's position as ruler of his country was strengthened.

From 1965 Hussein participated in secret talks with Israel leaders. Such meetings were intensified after 1967, when Hussein was determined to do whatever he could to regain the lost West Bank. In 1973 he kept his country out of the *Yom Kippur War, save for token participation in the battles in the southern Golan. During the 1980s, rapprochement with the PLO led to the 1985 agreement for joint political action. The following year, however, Hussein canceled the agreement. Realizing that the prospects for regaining the West Bank were practically nil, and fearing the impact of the Intifada (which broke out in December 1987) on the Palestinians of the East Bank he severed the legal and administration ties with the West Bank in July 1988 and renounced Jordan's 40-year claim to this territory. This historical shift paved the way for the future formal peace with Israel. During the 1990–91 Kuwait crisis and the Gulf War he supported Iraq's Saddam Hussein.

His participation in the Arab-Israel peace process culminated in a peace treaty with Israel signed in 1994. Hussein took pains to make the peace workable, despite internal opposition. He particularly endeavored to normalize bilateral relations and thus to make it a peace between peoples and not merely between governments. In 1989 he began a democratization process highlighted by free democratic elections and increasing civil rights. Suffering from cancer for several years he died in February 1999 and was succeeded by his eldest son ABDALLAH (1962–), a career military officer who became KING ABDALLAH II. To a certain extent Abdallah follows his father's footsteps. He has been a popular monarch focusing primarily on Jordan's urgent economic problems.

Hussein was married four times and had 12 children. He wrote an autobiography, *Uneasy Lies the Head* (1962).

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[Uriel Dann / Joseph Nevo (2nd ed.)]

°**HUSSEINI, ḤĀJJ** (**Muhammad**) **AMĪN AL-** (1893–1974), Palestinian Arab nationalist leader. Born in Jerusalem to a leading family of the Arab urban elite, Husseini was active in the Arab nationalist movement from about 1919. He was sentenced in absentia to 10 years in prison for his leading role in the April 1920 anti-Jewish riots in Jerusalem, but was reprieved in 1921. In an attempt to appease the Arab nationalists and preserve the balance of power between rival families, the British high commissioner, Sir Herbert *Samuel, appointed Husseini mufti (expounder of Muslim law) of Jerusalem in 1921, a position hitherto held by his step-brother. In 1922 Husseini was appointed chairman of the Supreme Muslim Council, combining the religious prestige of the mufti with the administrative and financial power of the council. He made extensive use of his power, turning this position into the most influential one within the Arab community in Palestine. As the leader of the Supreme Muslim Council he initiated a campaign for the renovation of Temple Mount mosques and organized a world Islamic congress in Jerusalem in 1931. Since he formally was an employee of the mandatory government he kept its nationalistic activity low key until the mid-1930s. Only then did he become chief of the Arab nationalists of Palestine, adopting an extremist anti-Jewish and anti-British attitude and leading the dominant Arab nationalist faction in Palestine, informally called "the Husseinis." He took an active (albeit clandestine) part in organizing the anti-Jewish riots of 1929 and 1936 and headed the Arab Higher Committee which directed the 1936 rebellion.

In October 1937, when the second phase of the rebellion commenced, and soon deteriorated into extremist terrorism against Arab opponents as well as Jews, Husseini was dismissed, his Higher Committee outlawed, and his Supreme Council dissolved. He escaped and continued to head the rebellion from exile in *Damascus and *Beirut, strengthening his ties with German and Italian agents. In October 1939, Husseini moved to *Iraq, where he took part in the pro-German coup of 1941. When that coup was suppressed, he fled to *Iran and then to Italy and Germany. Until the end of the war, he collaborated with Nazi Germany as one of its chief propagandists to the Arabs and as a recruiter and organizer of Muslim volunteers, supporting and aiding the Nazi program for the extermination of the Jewish people. In his memoirs he proudly took credit for persuading the Germans to send Balkan Jews to death camps in Poland instead of letting them go to Palestine. At the end of the war he turned himself over to the French. In 1946, however, he escaped from French detention (most likely, with the acquiescence of the French authorities) and settled in *Cairo. From there, and sometimes from Beirut and Damascus, he continued to direct the final phases of the Palestinian-Arab war against the *yishuv*. In September 1948 he arrived in *Gaza to head the short-lived All-Palestine Government there, but in a few days was sent back to Cairo. He always fought the Hashemite dynasty, especially king *Abdullah of Jordan (who was assassinated in 1951 by Husseini's henchmen). After the Arab defeat of 1948 he still assumed the title of chair of the Arab Higher Committee, but remained in exile and with little influence. Tension between Husseini and *Nasser (over the issue of how to negotiate the "Question of Palestine") increased to such a degree that in 1959 he had to escape Egypt and moved to Lebanon. He vehemently opposed the foundation of the *PLO in 1964 and denounced its first chairman, Ahmad Shuqairi, as he still considered himself the leader of the Arabs of Palestine. He still made occasional public appearances. He died in Beirut, in 1974, half-forgotten.

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[Yaacov Shimoni / Joseph Nevo (2nd ed.)]

HUSSERL, EDMUND GUSTAV ALBRECHT (1859–1938), German philosopher, the founder of phenomenological philosophy. Husserl was born in Prossnitz, Moravia (then part of Austria). He studied mathematics, physics, and astronomy at the universities of Leipzig, Berlin, and Vienna, where in 1883 he completed his doctorate in mathematics under Leo Koenigsberger. In 1886 Husserl converted to Protestantism, as did many other Jewish academicians in Germany and Austria at that time. This conversion was of a strictly formal nature. While living in Vienna, Husserl, under the influence of the philosopher Franz Brentano, turned more and more to philosophy. In 1886 he became assistant to psychologist-philosopher Karl Stumpf in Halle and in 1887 began teaching philosophy at the University of Halle. He subsequently taught at the universities of Goettingen and Freiburg, retiring in 1929. The last years of his life, spent in Freiburg, were overshadowed by the political events in Germany in general, and especially, by the philosophic and political disloyalty of Martin Heidegger, on whom he had pinned his hopes, and whom he had suggested as successor to his professorial chair.

Philosophical phenomenology, which Husserl also called constitutive phenomenology or transcendental phenomenology, is a systematic study of consciousness from a specific point of view. In psychology, to the extent to which it concerns itself with consciousness at all, acts and occurrences of consciousness are considered as events alongside other events, both organismic-somatic and extra-organismic, to which they stand in multifarious relations of causal or functional dependency. In phenomenology, on the contrary, acts of consciousness are considered strictly and exclusively under the aspect of their presentational function. Whatever we encounter, conceive of, and deal with, appears to us, through acts of consciousness, as what it is taken by us to be and is for us. This consideration holds with regard to perceptual objects of everyday experience as well as the constructs of the several sciences, the ideal entities of logic and mathematics, universal concepts, phenomena pertaining to social and cultural life, and so on. Phenomenology sets itself the task of accounting for entities of every description and for "objects" of all kinds (the term "object" understood in the widest possible sense) in terms of subjective conscious life. For the clarification of their sense and the responsive meaning of their existence, all entities and "objects" must be referred to the acts of consciousness in which they originate and whose correlates they prove to be.

The realization of this program of constitutive phenomenology requires an appropriate conception of consciousness. Husserl adopted Brentano's notion of intentionality, but developed it far beyond Brentano's formulation. Intentionality denotes the essential reference of acts of consciousness to their respective "objects." In this connection Husserl introduced a new concept of far-reaching significance, namely, the notion of the object as it is meant and intended through a given act of consciousness. Husserl's theory of intentionality makes apparent the indissoluble connection between acts of consciousness as psychological occurrences and senses or meanings which are ideal entities of a nature different from psychological events. Considering the central importance of the theory of intentionality, phenomenology may appropriately be characterized as the "logic" of consciousness. In the course of recent decades, Husserl's theories and results have exerted a considerable influence outside the field of philosophy as well as inside, e.g., upon several trends in the psychological sciences, especially in continental Europe.

A few months after Husserl's death, Father H.L. van Breda of the University of Louvain succeeded in transferring Husserl's manuscripts, about 40,000 sheets in shorthand, and his library, to Louvain. He also took Husserl's widow (Malvine, née Steinschneider) to Louvain, hid her from the Nazis, and saved her life. During the occupation of Belgium, a few scholars of Jewish origin, while in hiding, transcribed Husserl's manuscripts from the original shorthand. Such were the beginnings of what after the war became the Archives-Husserl at the University of Louvain. Further branches of the Archives were established at the universities of Cologne, Freiburg, Paris, Buffalo, and the New School for Social Research in New York. One of the main functions of the Archives, especially at Louvain and Cologne, is the publication of Husserl's writings and university lectures. Eleven volumes of the series *Husserliana* appeared, 1950–66.

Among English translations of Husserl's writings are *Cartesian Meditations, an Introduction to Phenomenology* (1960); *The Idea of Phenomenology* (1964); *Ideas: General Introduction to Pure Phenomenology* (1931); *The Paris Lectures* (1968^2); "Philosophy and the Crisis of European Man," in: *Phenomenology and the Crisis of Philosophy,* edited by Q. Lauer (1965); and *The Phenomenology of Internal Time-Consciousness* (1964).

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[Aron Gurwitsch]

HUSSITES, Christian reform movement, closely interwoven with the national and social conflicts prevailing in Bohemia in the 15th century, named after John Huss (Jan Hus; c. 1369–1415). They influenced European history through their reform ideology and their victories in the five crusades launched to subdue them (1420–34). Mainly because of their attitude to the Old Testament and their rejection of the adoration of relics and saints, contemporary Roman Catholics accused them of being a Judaizing sect. (An extremist group even insisted on introducing *kashrut* and *sheḥitah*.) The Jews sympathized with the "*Benei Hushim*" or "*Avazim*" (Czech *husa*, Heb. *avaz*: "goose"), seeing in their actions an approach toward Judaism. The Taborites, the belligerent radical wing, identified themselves with biblical Israel, calling their centers by the biblical names of Horeb and Tabor. The latter remained as the name of the town in southern Bohemia and as the designation of an assembly in the Czech language. The last refuge of Hussite opposition after its defeat (1434) was called Zion.

However curious these biblical and linguistic influences may be, the fact is that the Hussites initiated an important change in the attitude toward the Jews through the interpretations of one of their leaders, Matthias of Janov (d. 1394), of figures like Antichrist as being Catholic and not Jewish, as was maintained by medieval Christianity. However, Huss himself attacked the Jews for their implacable opposition to Christianity. There is no proof in the assertion, read out when Huss was on the stake (1415), that he had "counseled with the Jews." Jacobellus of Stribro (Mies), the leader of the moderate Calixtine faction, in his treatise *De usurae* ("On usury") said that it would be much easier to convert the Jews to Christianity if they would work in agriculture and crafts like the gentiles. They would thus have less time for study and would more easily be converted. The regents protected the Jews out of greed, but Jacobellus suggested that this protection should be continued because Jews had once been the object of divine revelation. However, as in many other matters, in their approach to the Jews the Hussites followed the lead of Matthias of Janov and not that of Huss, as revealed in the writings of Jacobellus in 1412 and the *Anatomia Antichristi* (1420) by the radical Taborite Pavel Kravar. The Hussite approach to the Jews was also determined by their concretization of history as a struggle between Christ and Antichrist. Every Christian is a limb (*membrum*) of one of these two bodies (*corpora*), and the Jews now have no part in this struggle. They had in the past, however, when Christianity first emerged.

The Hussites considered themselves "God's warriors" (*Boží bojovníci*) subduing the "soldiers of the Antichrist," i.e., the German Catholic crusaders. There were no direct attacks by the Hussites on the Jews, although they incidentally became victims of the Hussites, as after the capture of Chomutov (Komotau) in 1421, where Jews were burned at the stake together with the Catholics (although the Jews were given the choice between adopting Hussitism or death, a choice denied to the Catholics); and in Prague (in 1422) the Jewish quarter was plundered along with the Old City. However, these attacks were incidental to attacks on Catholics. In the 1420s the

Jews were accused of supplying arms to the Hussites and on that account suffered massacres and expulsions at the hands of the Catholics from Austria in 1421, Bavaria in 1422, and Iglau (Jiniouva) in 1428. The rabbinical authorities of the period, such as Israel *Isserlein, Israel *Bruna, Jacob *Weil, and Yom Tov Lipmann *Muehlhausen expressed guarded sympathy with the Hussites, while an anonymous chronicler (writing in Hebrew c. 1470; see Ben-Sasson in bibl.) expressed it freely seeing Hussitism as inspired by Avigdor *Kara. Consequently the chronicler reports outstanding events of the Hussite period, mingling truth and fantasy. According to this Hebrew chronicler, Kara was in close contact with the Hussites and composed a *piyyut*, which seems to reflect the messianic hopes roused among Prague Jewry by the rise of the Hussites. He states that it was sung openly in Hebrew and Yiddish. The tune the *piyyut* was sung to seems to have been that of a Hussitic hymn. The collapse of Hussitism was a disappointment to the Jews.

The later followers of Hussitism, the Bohemian Brethren, also showed much interest in Judaism and Jewish history. They too identified themselves with biblical Israel and likened their expulsion (1548) to the *galut*. They published the Czech translation of the Hegesippus version of Josephus' *Wars* three times in the second half of the 16th century. In 1592 Václavˇ Plácel published a *Hystoria židovskáá* ("Jewish History"), also based on Josephus but continuing until the seventh century C.E., which displays an unusual measure of sympathetic understanding for the fate of the Jews. When the Brethren founded their community in Poznan (Posen) some Jews joined them. One, who was baptized and adopted the name of Lukas Helic, collaborated in the translation of the Bible into Czech (Králická Bible). As an outcome of the persecutions, some of the Brethren preferred adopting Judaism to forced conversion to Catholicism or emigration. Some Bohemian Jewish families traced their descent to these converted Brethren, among them Brod, Dub, Jellinek, Kafka, Kuranda, and Pacovsky. Under Catholic Hapsburg rule, there was rapprochement and understanding between the clandestine Brethren and the Jews. Their heritage was manifest once more with the emergence of the sect of the *Abrahamites in the 18th century.

After the Holocaust, many synagogue buildings in Czech localities became prayer rooms of the Bohemian Brethren or the Czechoslovakian Church, and in these localities they took over the care of the Jewish cemeteries. They had a special prayer for these occasions (*Věstník židovských náboženských obcí v československu*, 11 (1949), 532).

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[Ruth Kestenberg-Gladstein]

HUTNER, ISAAC (1907–1980), rabbinic scholar and yeshivah head. Born in Warsaw, he studied at Slobodka, where he was known as the "Warsaw *Illui*" ("prodigy"). When a branch of the Slobodka Yeshivah was established in Hebron, he went there and came under the influence of Rabbi A.I. *Kook. After the pogrom in Hebron in 1929, in which many of the students were killed, he returned to Warsaw, from there going to study at the University of Berlin. During this period he wrote *Torat ha-Nazir* (1932 on Maim. Yad, Nazir). In 1932 he returned to Jerusalem, there devoting himself to talmudic research. He visited Europe in 1934 to collate manuscripts of the commentary of *Hillel b. Eliakim to the *Sifra*, and publishing anonymously *Kovez̩ He'arot le-Rabbenu Hillel* (Jerusalem, 1961). In 1935, he emigrated to New York where he joined the faculty of the Rabbi Jacob Joseph School and in 1939 became the *rosh yeshivah* of the Yeshiva Rabbi Chaim Berlin. Under his leadership the yeshivah grew from relative obscurity to prominence, and with it grew his reputation in the world of religious scholarship. His discourses, which from 1945 appeared in pamphlet form, represent a synthesis of talmudic incisiveness, ḥasidic mysticism, *musar, and often show the influence of the ideas of *Judah Loew b. Bezalel (the Maharal). Many of these appeared in the two volumes of his *Paḥad Yiẓḥak* (1964, 1970). Even in his personal deportment he developed a synthesis between the Lithuanian *rosh yeshivah* and the ḥasidic rabbi. In 1950 he founded the Kolel Gur Aryeh for outstanding senior students, where his system of study is pursued.

[Mordechai Hacohen]

HUẒAL (or **Huzal of Benjamin**; Meg. 5b), Babylonian town between Nehardea and Sura, but nearer the latter. There was a Jewish settlement in Huẓal from early times and it was famous for its ancient synagogue, which according to tradition was built by the first exiles from Judah and "the Divine Presence dwelt within it" (Meg. 29a; *Iggeret Rav Sherira Ga'on*, ed. by B.M. Levin (1921), 72f.). Two great scholars from Huẓal are already known in the middle of the second century C.E.: Josiah, who studied under *Ishmael in Ereẓ Israel (Men. 57b), and Joseph of Huẓal, who studied under *Yose b. Ḥalafta in Sepphoris (Yoma 52b; Ned. 81a). The inhabitants of Huẓal were known for their fastidiousness with regard to food (Ned. 49b). Huẓal came under the spiritual influence of Sura, such scholars as *Ḥisda and *Ashi sending their decisions there (Ḥul. 107a, 132b). Among the *amoraim* originating from Huẓal were Assi of Huẓal, who was active in the first half of the third century (Ḥul. 26b), and Aḥa of Huẓal of the fourth or the beginning of the fifth century (Ker. 13b).

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[Moshe Beer]

ḤUẒPIT HA-METURGEMAN (beginning of the second century C.E.), *tanna*. R. Ḥuẓpit (without the term "Ha-Meturgeman") transmitted a *halakhah* regarding the institution of the *pruzbul* (Shev. 10:6; Tosef. Shev. 8:10), and is mentioned in Tosef. *Kelim* (BB 2:2) as one of the four elders who sat before R. Eleazar ben Azaria. In TJ (Taan. 4:1 16d) R. Huzpit Haturgeman (= "the translator"), is mentioned in the presence of R. Joshua and Rabban Gamaliel, but it is not certain whether his function there was to serve as Rabban Gamaliel's assistant, or to communicate his own words of Torah (cf. TB Ber. 27b, Bekh. 36a). The Talmud tells of his martyrdom in Kid. 39b. Elsewhere (Ḥul.142a) his martyrdom is brought as a reason for the apostasy of *Elisha b. Avuyah. He is included in the list of the *Ten Martyrs in *Lamentations Rabbah* 2.

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[Israel Moses Ta-Shma]

HYAMSON, ALBERT MONTEFIORE (1875–1954), English civil servant, historian, and official in Palestine under the British Mandate. He entered the Civil Service at the age of 20 and had a successful career in the Post Office administration. He was active in Anglo-Jewish intellectual life, publishing many books (mainly on historical subjects) and articles. He also engaged in Zionist work, editing the *Zionist Review* 1917–19. In consequence, in 1921 he was transferred to the Palestine administration, being appointed Chief Immigration Officer. Although he was an observant Jew, he found himself completely out of sympathy with the *yishuv* and interpreted the duties of his office in the narrowest sense. He was largely responsible for the pedantic restriction of Jewish immigration into the country, which made him extremely unpopular. He thus helped to establish the restrictive tradition which was continued thereafter by the non-Jewish officials who succeeded him in office. In 1934 he returned to England, now rigidly anti-Zionist, and resumed his literary activity, especially in connection with the activities of the Jewish Historical Society of England, of which he was president from 1945 to 1947. The most important of his many works, apart from popularizing volumes on Palestine and Zionism published in his less embittered period (*Palestine: the Rebirth of an Ancient People*, 1917; *Palestine: Old and New*, 1928) included a *History of the Jews in England* (1908, 1928^{2}); *The British Consulate in Jerusalem* (1939); *The Sephardim in England* (1951); and *Jews' College* (1955). He also edited a number of works of reference, the best known being his *Dictionary of Universal Biography* (1915, 1950^{2}). Hyamson was co-editor of Vallentine's *Jewish Encyclopedia* and compiled a useful "Plan of a Dictionary of Anglo-Jewish Biography," published in his *Anglo-Jewish Notabilities* (1949), which contains one-line entries, with bibliographical references, on more than 2,000 notable Jews of Britain and the Commonwealth deceased before January 1, 1949.

[Cecil Roth]

HYAMSON, MOSES (1863–1949), rabbi and scholar. Hyamson was born in Suwalki, Lithuania, and was taken to England at the age of five. He received his Jewish education at Jews' College, London, where he was ordained in 1882, and his secular education at the University of London. He was rabbi of congregations in England and Wales, *dayyan* of the United Synagogue, 1902–11, and acting chief rabbi of England, 1911–13. The following year he went to New York to become rabbi of Congregation Orach Chayim. He taught the codes of Jewish law at the Jewish Theological Seminary, 1915–1940.

Hyamson published *Oral Law and Other Sermons* (1910); *Mosaicarum et Romanarum Legum Collatio* (1913), critically edited with introduction, apograph, translation, and notes; and *Sabbath and Festival Addresses* (1936). He translated into English Maimonides' *Mishneh Torah* book 1 (1937) and book 2 (1949) and *Ḥovot ha-Levavot* of Baḥya ibn Paquda (*Duties of the Heart*, 5 vols., 1925–47; second edition, 2 vols., 1962). Combating calendar reform and attacks on kosher slaughtering are his works *The Proposed Reform of Calendar* (1929), the *Blank Day Device in Proposed Plan for Calendar Reform* (1931; submitted to the League of Nations); and *The Jewish Method of Slaughtering Animals from the Point of View of Humanity* (1923).

Hyamson was president of the League for Safeguarding the Fixity of the Sabbath; chairman of the Milah Board of the New York Jewish Community; vice president of the Jewish Conciliation Court of America; president of the New York Board of Jewish Ministers and chairman of the Jewish Academy of Arts and Sciences. As a teacher at the Seminary, Hyamson was especially appreciated for his exact translations of difficult technical terms in the codes and for his broad experience as a *dayyan*, which enabled him to illustrate the application of *halakhot*.

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[Isaac Klein]

HYAMSON, NATHAN (early 19th century), preacher and rabbi in Lithuania. His major work is *Even Boḥan* (1843), a collection of five ethical sermons. The preface to the work, which contains some autobiographical information, states that Hyamson was born in Orla, and that he suffered exile from several towns and wandered extensively until he finally settled down to preach in Pren. In the usual manner of 19th century homiletical writers, Hyamson uses sources from all periods of rabbinic literature.

HYDE, IDA HENRIETTA (1857–1945). U.S. physiologist. Born in Davenport, Ohio, to German immigrant parents, Hyde grew up in Chicago. Forced to leave school at age 16, she apprenticed as a milliner and took evening classes before undertaking full time university studies. Following completion of her B.S. degree from Cornell University in 1891, Hyde accepted a graduate fellowship at Bryn Mawr College, where she began conducting research, spending her summers at Woods Hole Marine Biological Laboratory. In 1893, the Association of Collegiate Alumnae awarded her a travel fellowship for study in Germany, where, despite obstacles, she became the first woman to obtain a doctorate in physiology from the University of Heidelberg in 1896. Thereafter, she became a research fellow at Radcliffe College and was the first woman to conduct research at the Harvard Medical School. In 1898, she was appointed assistant professor of zoology at the University of Kansas and promoted to associate professor of physiology the following year. In 1905, she was appointed full professor and chair of the newly created department of physiology. During World War I, Hyde served as chairperson of the Women's Commission of Health and Sanitation of the State Council of National Defense.

A specialist in the physiology of both invertebrates and vertebrates, Hyde is also credited with the invention of the first microelectrode. In 1902, she was elected the first woman member of the American Physiological Society. Ida Hyde remained associated with the University of Kansas until 1920 before retiring to California, where she continued to do scientific research. In 1897 she helped found the Naples Table Association for Promoting Scientific Research by Women, which provided research grants and prizes for aspiring American women in the sciences. She also endowed scholarships for women at the University of Kansas and at Cornell University, as well as the Ida H. Hyde Woman's International Fellowship of the American Association of University Women. Her papers can be found in the American Association of University Women Archives in Washington and at the University of Kansas.

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[Harriet Pass Freidenreich (2nd ed.)]

°**HYDE (Hydius), THOMAS** (1636–1703), English Orientalist. While still a student at Cambridge, Hyde collaborated in the preparation of B. *Walton's *Polygot Bible* (London, 1657): he edited the Latin, transcribed into Arabic script the Persian translation (in Hebrew characters) of the Pentateuch (Constantinople, 1546), and styled and corrected the Arabic, Persian, and Syriac versions. In 1658 Hyde became a reader in Hebrew at Queen's College, Oxford, and as librarian of the Bodleian Library from 1665, compiled its catalog (Oxford, 1674). From 1691 he was professor of Arabic and from 1697, of Hebrew. His major publication, a work on ancient Persian religion, *Historiae Religionis Veterum Persarum* (*ibid.*, 1700), became recognized as a basic study in this field. Hyde's other publications include Latin translations of Abraham Farissol's cosmography, *Iggeret Oreḥot Olam* (*Itinera Mundi*, 1691), and of Hebrew material concerning the history of chess (in his *De ludis Orientalibus*, Oxford, 1694).

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[Yehudah Pinhas Leo Kohn]

HYENA (Heb. צָבוֹעַ), mammal. The striped hyena (*Hyaena hyaena* (*striata*)) is found in Israel, the spotted species inhabiting Africa. One of the largest carnivores in Israel, its body length averages 109 cm and its average weight is 70 lbs (32 kg.), but large males can reach a weight of 90 lbs. (40 kg.). The males are slightly larger than the females. In the Bible the word occurs only as a place-name, "the valley of Seboim" (i.e., of the hyenas; I Sam. 13:18), apparently the Mount Ẓevoyim of the Mishnah (Ḥal. 4:10) in the Wadi el-Kelt region east of Jerusalem. Incapable of running swiftly, the hyena usually feeds on carcasses, and only occasionally attacks a straying lamb. In its search for food it can roam long distances. Hyenas maintain a permanent living area of a few dozen square kilometers. In the Tosefta (BK 1:4) the hyena is included among the carnivorous animals, the male hyena being, it is stated, "sometimes as fierce as a lion" (*ibid.*, 16a; TJ *ibid.*, 1:5, 2c). In the Talmud it was said that the male hyena becomes a female (TJ, Shab. 1:3). In the folklore of the Bedouin, the hyena is said to be an animal dangerous also to man, whom it lures by its hypnotic laugh to its lair. This legend has its origin in the hyena's strange appearance, its stiffening crest, and especially its howl, which resembles an alternating laugh and wail. However, there is no evidence of hyena attacks on people in Israel.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: S. Bodenheimer, *Ha-Ḥai be-Ereẓ Israel* (1953), 240.

[Jehuda Feliks / Gideon Biger (2nd ed.)]

HYÈRES, coastal town in the Var department, S.E. France. During the Middle Ages there was a Jewish community there which had grown to 300 persons by the mid-14th century. The poet *Isaac b. Abraham ha-Gorni was a native of Hyères. Jews from North Africa established a new community in the 1950s, which numbered 140 in 1968 and possessed a synagogue.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Gross, Gal Jud, 49; B. Blumenkranz, in: *Bulletin philologique et historique, 1965* (1968), 619; idem, in: *Revue internationale d'Onomastique*, 16 (1964), 265–8.

[Bernhard Blumenkranz]

HYGIENE. The conception of personal cleanliness as both a prerequisite of holiness and an aid to physical fitness is central to Jewish tradition. Many of the biblical commandments promote hygiene, though their stated intention was ritual purity rather than physical cleanliness. The military camp had to be kept clean by establishing the latrine outside its bounds; every soldier had to be equipped with a spade with which he had to dig a hole to cover his excrement (Deut. 23:13–15). War booty had to be cleansed and purified (Num. 31:21–24), and the blood of slaughtered animals had to be covered by dust (Lev. 17:13–14). Lepers, anyone who had an "issue," and all who were polluted by contact with a corpse, were excluded from the limits of the camp for specific periods of quarantine

(Lev. 15:1–15; Num. 5:1–4). Persons who touched a carcass, a creeping animal, or a reptile were similarly "defiled," as were the vessels into which these objects might have fallen (Lev. 11:27–40). The Bible also stresses the cleanliness of garments (Eccles. 9:8).

Rabbinic literature is even more specific in its stress on hygiene. The rabbis considered the human body as a sanctuary (Ta'an. 11a–b). They stressed the importance of good and regular meals (Shab. 140b), and gave much advice on the types of food conducive to good health (Ḥul. 84a; Ber. 40a; Av. Zar. 11a), and on the care of teeth (Ber. 4b; Shab. 111a; TJ, Av. Zar. 3:6). Exercising their halakhic authority, the rabbis' elaboration on some rituals and the introduction of others had an expressly hygienic intent. This was certainly the case with regard to personal cleanliness. The rabbis ordained that one must wash one's face, hands, and feet daily in honor of one's Maker (Shab. 50b). The hands must also be washed on certain occasions: after rising from bed in the morning, after urination and/or defecation, bathing, clipping of the fingernails, removal of shoes, touching the naked foot, washing the hair, visiting a cemetery, touching a corpse, undressing, sexual intercourse, touching a louse, or touching any part of the body generally clothed (Sh. Ar., OḤ 4:18). It is a particularly important religious duty to wash hands before eating a meal (Ḥul. 105a–b; Sh. Ar., OḤ 158–165). Similarly, hands should be washed after the meal and before grace (*mayim aḥaronim*), because, inadvertently, a person may touch his eyes with salty hands (Hul. *ibid.*). A person who neglects the washing of hands before or after a meal "will be uprooted from the world" (Sot. 4b; see *Salt; *Ablution). The rabbinic stress on the connection between cleanliness and holiness is emphasized by the injunction forbidding those whose dress is unclean, or torn, to act as **sheli'aḥ ẓibbur* (Meg. 4:6). Similarly a kohen may not pronounce the priestly benediction if his hands are soiled (Meg. 24b). No prayer may be recited by one who is in a state of physical uncleanliness, or about to relieve himself, or has touched parts of his body generally covered by clothing, without either washing his hands, or rubbing them in sand (Sh. Ar., OḤ 92:1, 4, 6).

The proper protection of foodstuffs was also noted by the rabbis. Thus, to the biblical laws of **sheḥitah* (Deut. 12:23–35) were added the extensive rules of *bedikah*, an examination of the slaughtered animal for various signs of diseased condition. Originally eight (Ḥul. 43a), these disqualifying symptoms were increased in the Mishnah to 18 (Ḥul. 3:1), and subdivided by Maimonides into 70 (Yad, Sheḥitah 10:9). Indeed, according to the latter authority, the reason for the prohibition to eat pig lies in the fact that it is a "filthy animal" (*Guide*, 3:48). In mishnaic times, it was forbidden to drink any liquid (water, wine, milk) which was left uncovered overnight, lest it had been defiled by a venomous snake (Ter. 8:4; Sh. Ar., YD 116:1), and the *Gemara* advised that all foodstuffs be protected from flies because they may have been in contact with persons suffering from skin diseases (Ket. 77b). R. *Akiva praised the care which the Medians took to chop meat on the table (Ber. 8b). Later authorities advised that the hands be washed between eating a dish of meat and one of fish (Sh. Ar., YD 116:3) and that adequate precautions be taken to ensure that bread should not come into contact with human perspiration (*ibid.*, 116:4–5). The rabbis also stressed the importance of public health. The Talmud rules that no carcass, grave, or tannery be placed within 50 ells of a human dwelling (BB 2:9), and insisted that streets and market places be kept clean (Yal. 184). In Jerusalem, they were swept daily (BM 26a). Scholars were forbidden to live in a city in which there was no doctor or where there was no bathhouse (Sanh. 17b). *Hillel the Elder considered that the act of bathing is an act of caring for the vessel containing the divine spirit (Lev. R. 34:3).

During the Middle Ages, the Jewish communities were surprisingly free of disease and plague in comparison to their non-Jewish neighbors, notwithstanding the very limited living space they had. This fact often led to pogroms, as the Jews were suspected of magical practices. There can be no doubt that the strict observance of the *halakhah* contributed, in no small measure, to their immunity.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: J. Preuss, *Biblisch-talmudische Medizin* (1923^3); M. Perlmann, *Midrash ha-Refu'ah*, 3 vols. (1926–34).

HYKSOS, the founders of the Egyptian 15th dynasty; Asiatics who exercised political control over Egypt between approximately 1655 and 1570 B.C.E. The Hyksos established their capital at Avaris in the Eastern Delta, controlled the Nile Valley as far south as Hermopolis, and claimed overlordship over the rest of Upper Egypt. Avaris (Egyptian *ḥwt- wʿrt*) has been identified as Tell el-Dabʿa in the Northeast Delta. Most of the Hyksos personal names are west-Semitic, in the same language group as Amorite and the Canaanite and Aramaic dialects. There seem to be no Hurrian names as was once thought. "Hyksos" reflects *hekau khoswe*, "the rulers of foreign lands," the name given them by their Egyptian contemporaries. They were also referred to as *ʿꜣmw*, "Asiatics," the standard name for the inhabitants of the Eastern Mediterranean littoral, Canaan and Syria. After having infiltrated into the Nile Valley over a period of several centuries, they managed to seize the kingship during the chaotic period which ended the Egyptian Middle Kingdom. At the beginning of the 18th Dynasty (c. 1580 B.C.E.) Pharaoh Ahmes expelled the Hyksos from Egypt and pursued them to southern Palestine. After besieging Sharuhen (Tell el-Farʿah) in the south, for three years, he defeated them. His successors, Amenophis I, Tuthmosis I, and Tuthmosis III, completed their expulsion from Egypt. Most of the archaeological data on the Hyksos come from sites in the Eastern Delta. Among these are Tell el-Dabaʿ, the largest, Tell el-Maskhuta, and Tell el-Yahudiyah. Other information comes from scarabs and monuments from various sites in Nubia and Palestine as well as Egypt. The material available at present shows Hyksos culture to be that of Middle Bronze Age Palestine and Phoenicia (Redford 1992, 100). In the course of time Hyksos material culture shows increasing Egyptianizing features. Scholars debate the extent of evidence of Hyksos fortifications, with some comparing embankments found at Tell el-Yahudiyeh at Heliopolis with similar structures in Western Asia, and others dissenting. The horse and chariot made their appearance in Egypt during the rule of the Hyksos, but there is no evidence that they were introduced specifically by the Hyksos. Distinctively Hyksos is a new type of ceramic, called "Tell al-Yahudiyeh ceramics," named after a center of Hyksos population, now called Tell al-Yahudiyyeh, where this type was first discovered. The vessels which characterize this group of ceramics are small juglets and bowls, brown-gray in color, decorated with geometric designs, and made of punctures filled with white chalk. As might be expected, the Hyksos initially retained their Levantine religious traditions including the royal ancestor cult. Gradually, Egyptian elements were borrowed and synthesized, so that Baal types were identified with the Egyptian god Seth, brother and enemy of Horus, but in addition to him they also worshiped Canaanite gods, such as Resheph, Ashtoreth, and Anath. In *Contra Apionem*, Josephus, attempting to establish the great antiquity of the Jews, quotes the history of the Ptolemaic Egyptian writer Manetho, who describes a brutal, savage invasion of Egypt by a people from the east, their period of domination in Egypt, and their subsequent expulsion by the rulers of the 18th dynasty. Manetho called these Asiatic invaders "Hyksos" and interpreted their name as meaning "king-shepherds" (1:82), although Josephus claims Manetho also had an alternative interpretation, "captive shepherds" (1:83, 91). Josephus identified the Hyksos as the patriarchal Jews, equating their appearance in Egypt with the *Joseph story in Genesis and their subsequent expulsion with the biblical tale of *Exodus. He made this identification partially following Manetho who made the expelled Hyksos, together with a host of lepers, the founders of Jerusalem, and partially because the Hyksos were "shepherds" and "captives" and, indeed, "sheep-breeding was a hereditary custom of our remotest ancestors" (1:91) and "Joseph told the king of Egypt that he was a captive" (1:92). Following assumptions of Manetho and Josephus some scholars have attempted to set the Exodus within the chronological framework of the 18th Dynasty, but with little success. There is no warrant either in the Bible or outside it for simply equating the Hyksos with the later Hebrews, although it is not impossible that some of the latter may have been ultimately decended from some of the Hyksos. Of special significance is the fact that some of the Hyksos rulers bore names echoed in the Bible, e.g., Yaʿqb-hr; and that one of the kings of the period is named Shesha which is similar to the name Sheshai, one of the ruling families in Kiriath-Arba (Judg. 1:10).

In Biblical Palestine

The Hyksos are not mentioned explicitly in the Bible, but some reminiscences of them can be detected. The connection made by Josephus and Manetho with the exodus is correct to the extent that the traditions of descent into Egypt and exodus therefrom were at least in part inspired by distant memories of the Hyksos movements (Redford). There are two instances where the history of the Hyksos is connected with Palestine. The first is during the beginning of their penetration into Egypt, since their domination over Lower Egypt must have been preceded by control over Palestine. The second is during the decline of the Hyksos, when they were expelled from Egypt by the rulers of the 18th Dynasty northward toward southern Palestine.

It is not surprising, therefore, to find signs which distinguish the culture characteristic of the rule of the Hyksos in Egypt and in Palestine.

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[Alan Richard Schulman / S. David Sperling (2nd ed.)]

HYMAN, AARON (1862–1937), Russian-born London rabbi and scholar. Hyman, born in Slutsk, Belorussia, studied at various yeshivot and in 1885 he settled in London. There he officiated as rabbinical supervisor and head *shoḥet* of the London community. He also served as an unsalaried rabbi of a congregation. Active in communal life, he helped found the Mizrachi organization of Great Britain and in 1909, the Etz Chaim Yeshivah of London. In 1933 he moved to Tel Aviv.

Hyman's first published work was *Beit Va'ad la-Ḥakhamim* (1901), a large collection of sayings from talmudic and rabbinic literature alphabetically arranged according to the catchword. An enlarged edition of the work appeared in 1934 in Tel Aviv under the title *Oẓar Divrei Ḥakhamim u-Fitgameihem*. His major work, which took him 12 years to complete, was *Toledot Tanna'im ve-Amora'im* (3 vols., 1901–11; repr. 1964), a biographical dictionary of the sages of the Talmud. His addenda to this work included R. Sherira Gaon's "Epistle" with a commentary, *Patshegen ha-Khetav. Torah ha-Ketuvah ve-ha-Mesurah* (3 vols., 1937–40) is a comprehensive index of all biblical references found in the Talmud, Midrash, and early rabbinic literature, the last two volumes being edited by his son Arthur and published posthumously. All his books have become indispensable aids to rabbis and scholars, and a number of new editions of them have appeared.

Of his sons, the eldest, MARCUS (1884–1944), a lawyer, was private secretary to the Maharajah of Baroda. He then went to Canada, taught law at the University of Winnipeg, and was elected to the Manitoba Legislative Assembly. He was responsible for a law, the first of its kind and known as the Hyman Law, making community libel a criminal offense. CECIL (1899–1981) served with the Jewish battalions of the Royal Fusiliers in World War I, and settled in Jerusalem. After the establishment of the State he served as Israel minister plenipotentiary to South Africa and consul general in New York. ARTHUR B. (DOV) HYMAN (1905–), born in London, was professor of dermatology at New York University and was a rabbinic scholar. He wrote *Mekorot Yalkut Shimoni* (1965), on the sources of *Yalkut Shimoni* on the Prophets and Hagiographa.

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[Tovia Preschel]

HYMAN, HAROLD MELVIN (1924–), U.S. historian. Hyman received his Ph.D. in history from Columbia University in 1952. In 1957 he was appointed professor of history at UCLA. From 1963 to 1968 he taught at the University of Illinois and from 1968 at Rice University. In 1968 he became the William P. Hobby Professor of History at Rice University, holding the position until 1996. He was also the director of the university's Center for the History of Leadership Institutions.

A leading authority on 19th-century legal history, Hyman specialized in both American constitutional history and Civil War reconstruction history. He was a fellow of the Ford Foundation, a senior Fulbright lecturer, a lecturer with the Organization of American Historians, and a judge for the Pulitzer Prize. He also served as president of the American Society for Legal History.

He was co-author (with Benjamin Thomas) of *Stanton: The Life and Times of Lincoln's Secretary of* War (1962). Among his other well-known books are *Era of the Oath: Northern Loyalty Tests during the Civil War and Reconstruction* (1954); *To Try Men's Souls: Loyalty Tests in American History* (1959); *Soldiers and Spruce* (1963); *A More Perfect Union* (1975); *Equal Justice under Law* (with W. Wiecek, 1982); *American Singularity* (1986); and *Craftsmanship and Character* (1998).

[Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

HYMAN, JOSEPH C. (1899–1949), *American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee leader. Hyman was born in Syracuse, New York. He practiced law in New York, but, actively interested in social work, accepted a post as assistant to Herbert H. Lehman, then chairman of the AJDC's Reconstruction Committee (1922). Appointed acting secretary of the AJDC (1924) and then secretary (1925), Hyman became deeply involved in organizations supported by the AJDC, including the Allied Jewish Campaign, United Jewish Appeal, and AJDC affiliates for work in Russia. He served the AJDC as executive director, executive vice chairman, and vice chairman until his death. Hyman's close association with Felix M. Warburg led him to membership in the Jewish Agency Council, where he was assistant to Warburg, then chairman of the Agency's Administrative Committee.

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[Yehuda Bauer]

HYMAN, LIBBIE HENRIETTA (1888–1969), U.S. invertebrate zoologist. Hyman was raised in Fort Dodge, Iowa. Despite opposition from her immigrant parents, she accepted a scholarship from the University of Chicago in 1906, receiving a B.S. in 1910 and a Ph.D. in 1915. Working as a research assistant in the lab of Professor Charles Manning Child, her doctoral advisor, she remained there for 16 more years until her mentor retired in 1931. While at Chicago, she published more than 40 research articles in her own name, as well as the highly successful *A Laboratory Manual for Elementary Zoology* (1919 and 1922) and *A Laboratory Manual for Comparative Vertebrate Anatomy* (1922 and 1942). Despite widespread recognition for her scientific accomplishments, no university would hire her, apparently because she was Jewish, a woman, and considered to be outspoken and abrasive. Living on the royalties from her popular manuals, Holman settled in New York City in 1932, where she began working on a survey of invertebrate morphology, physiology, embryology, and taxonomy, entitled *The Invertebrates* (I–VI, 1940–67). In 1937, Hyman became an honorary research associate at the American Museum of Natural History in New York, an unpaid position that provided her with an office, laboratory space, and library access. She wrote her monumental six-volume study over a 20-year period without assistance or a salary, even drawing her own meticulous illustrations.

Internationally respected and widely published, Holman was an authority on flatworms and land planarian taxonomy. She served as president of the Society of Systemic Zoology in 1959 and edited its journal, *Systemic Zoology*, from 1959 to 1963. In 1939, after the publication of the first volume of *The Invertebrates*, she received an honorary doctorate of sciences from the University of Chicago; in 1954, the National Academy of Sciences awarded her the Daniel Giraud Elliot Medal for her scholarship; and in 1960, she became the third American to receive a Gold Medal in Zoology from the Linnaean Society. In 1969, shortly before her death at the age of 81, the American Museum of Natural History awarded Holman a Gold Medal Award for Distinguished Achievement in Science.

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[Harriet Pass Freidenreich (2nd ed.)]

HYMAN, PAULA E. (1946–), historian of Jews in the modern period. Hyman focuses on the social transformation of the Jews in Europe and the United States, with special attention to the impact of gender on Jewish modernization. Born in Boston, Mass., the eldest of three daughters of Ida and Sydney Hyman, she was educated at Radcliffe College (B.A., 1968), the Hebrew College of Boston (B.J.Ed., 1966), and Columbia University (M.A., 1970; Ph.D., 1975). She was assistant professor of Jewish history at Columbia in 1974–81; associate professor and dean of the Seminary College of Jewish Studies at the Jewish Theological Seminary of America, 1981–86; she became the Lucy Moses Professor of Jewish History at Yale University in 1986. From 1989 to 2002 she chaired Yale's Program in Jewish Studies.

Hyman's three books on the experience of the Jews in France are *From Dreyfus to Vichy: The Remaking of French Jewry, 1906–1939* (1979); *The Emancipation of the Jews of Alsace: Acculturation and Tradition in the Nineteenth Century* (1991); and a synthesis of French Jewish history from the 18th century to the present, *The Jews of Modern France* (1998). Early in her career, she collaborated with scholars Charlotte Baum and Sonya Michel to write *The Jewish Woman in America* (1976). Hyman's articles on women and gender include studies of the kosher meat boycott in New York City in 1903; the impact of gender on the immigrant Jewish experience in America; the role of memory, gender, and identity in modern Jewish history; and the Jewish family in Europe and America. She also wrote *Gender and Assimilation in Modern Jewish History: The Roles and Representation of Women* (1995) and edited, introduced, and helped translate the memoirs of Puah Rakovsky, *My Life as a Radical Jewish Woman: Memoirs of a Zionist Feminist in Poland*. She is the co-editor with Deborah Dash Moore of *Jewish Women in America: An Historical Encyclopedia* (1997) and *Jewish Women: A Comprehensive Encyclopedia* (2006).

Hyman's scholarly interest in women and gender derived from her lifelong commitment to gender equality in the Jewish community. As a Jewish feminist activist in 1971, Hyman helped found Ezrat Nashim, an advocacy group for Jewish women's rights, and she became its major spokesperson, successfully petitioning the Rabbinical Assembly (Conservative Movement) to grant women equality in synagogue life in 1972.

Hyman was a fellow and president of the American Academy for Jewish Research. She served as a member of the Board of Directors and as a vice president of the Association for Jewish Studies. The recipient of many fellowships and grants, she received honorary degrees from the Jewish Theological Seminary of America (2000) and the Hebrew Union College (2002). She also received the Distinguished Scholar Award from Ohio State University (1999) and the Achievement Award in Historical Studies from the National Foundation for Jewish Culture (2004).

[Marsha L. Rozenblit (2nd ed.)]

HYMANS, PAUL (1865–1941), Belgian statesman and historian who was four times foreign minister of Belgium, born in Brussels of a Protestant mother. His father was Solomon Louis Hymans, poet, politician, and member of the chamber of deputies. After graduating in law, he served as a high official in the Council of the Belgian Congo. At the same time he published several historical works completing his father's *L'histoire parlementaire de la Belgique* (1878–1913). In 1896, he was appointed professor of parliamentary history at Brussels University. Hymans was elected to the chamber of deputies in 1900 and led the liberal opposition until the outbreak of World War I. He united the Belgian liberals against religious intolerance and introduced a policy of political and social reforms. Hymans won the respect of many of his opponents, but was intensely disliked by the king, Leopold II, because of his criticism of the latter's administration in the Congo. In 1914, Hymans joined the conservative coalition and served as Belgian ambassador to London from 1915 to 1919. A year later he became foreign minister and was the head of the Belgian delegation at the Versailles peace negotiations. Subsequently, he became minister of justice and then served three more terms as foreign minister. He was also president of the Assembly of the League of Nations and was appointed Belgian delegate to the Disarmament Conference in 1932.

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[Edmund Meir]

°**HYPSICRATES OF AMISUS** (in Pontos; first century B.C.E.), historian. He is often cited by *Strabo and is probably his source for Bosphoran affairs. Hypsicrates' works seem to have dealt with the history and ethnography of the Near East and Africa and touched on Jewish affairs. He is quoted by Josephus (Ant., 14:138–9) from Strabo as the source of information about the help given by *Antipater II and Hyrcanus III to *Julius Caesar.

HYRAX (Heb. שָׁפָן, *shafan*), the *Procavia capens* (*syriaca*), a small mammal about 19½ inches (50 cms.) in length, which is found in the mountainous regions of Israel, in the Negev, and in the Aravah. It makes its nest in the clefts of rocks where it finds refuge (Ps. 104:18) and where it lives in small groups (Prov. 30:26). Its bodily structure is well adapted for rock-climbing: It has a flexible, tailless body, short feet, soles covered with elastic pads, and small ears. It is mentioned in the Bible (Lev. 11:5; Deut. 14:7) among the animals which though chewing the cud are not clovenfooted, and are thus prohibited as food. Its classification as a ruminant may be attributed to the sideward movement of its jaws when feeding or, more probably, to the structure of its digestive system, the protuberances in its large stomach together with its appendix and maw possibly being regarded as analogous to a ruminant's four stomachs. In mishnaic times hyraxes were sold in market places to non-Jews, together with hares, camels, and pigs (Uk. 3:3). In modern Hebrew the word *shafan* is wrongly applied to the hare, there being no doubt from the biblical description that it is the hyrax, as is evident also from its Arabic name *tafan*.

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[Jehuda Feliks]

HYRCANIA, a Judean fortress. Hyrcania was probably built by the Hasmonean ruler John Hyrcanus and named after him. Josephus relates that Queen *Salome Alexandra stored her treasures there (Jos., Ant., 13:417). It was one of the strongholds held by the Jews who fought against Rome after Pompey's conquest (63 B.C.E.) and was occupied by Alexander the son of Aristobulus II (Wars, 1:161, 167). Herod took Hyrcania from the sister of Antigonus (*ibid.*, 1:364) and turned it into one of the principal fortresses of his realm. It was one of the places which he showed to Marcus *Agrippa during his visit in 14 B.C.E (Ant., 16:13). Herod used the fortress as a prison and as the place where opponents of his kingdom were executed (*ibid.*, 15:366). His son Antipater was buried there after his execution (*ibid.*, 17:187; Wars, 1:664). After Herod's death, Hyrcania seems to have lost its importance as it is not mentioned in the history of the Jewish War (66–70/73). Since 1897 Hyrcania has been identified with Khirbet al-Mird, a prominent hill in the Judean Desert 9 mi. (15 km.) southeast of Jerusalem, on the way leading to the Buqeaʿ Plain and the Jordan Valley. In 492 C.E. a monastery called Castellion was established there – one of those headed by St. Saba – and it was in existence until the ninth century. Excavations at the site in 1961 uncovered early Christian papyri and the remains of buildings and an aqueduct probably of Hasmonean date. Previously in 1960 during a survey at the site under the direction of J.M. Allegro, who was leading the Copper Scroll Expedition, two rock-cut tunnels were identified in Wadi Secaca next to Hyrcania. Between 2000 and 2005 excavations were conducted within these tunnels by O. Gutfeld on behalf of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. The western tunnel is situated about 525 ft. (160 m.) below the summit of Hyrcania, and it was cut in soft Senonian limestone to the height of a person, a few meters above the riverbed. Steps descended into the heart of the mountain at a sharp angle (56.5 degrees). The interior of the tunnel was lit with lamps placed in niches. The tunnel narrows and widens at different points and, eventually, it separates into two branches extending for at least 55 ft. (17 m.). The eastern stepped tunnel is situated not far from the western tunnel (250 ft. (75 m.) away) and it was cut into rock about 3 feet (1 m.) above the riverbed. A stretch of 120 ft. (36 m.) has so far been cleared. These mysterious tunnels were clearly hewn as part of some royal or public enterprise, but apart from the discovery of a small quantity of Iron Age and Second Temple period potsherds, no other finds were made that could shed light on the date of these tunnels. Because of the proximity of these impressive tunnels to Hyrcania and to a Herodian-period cemetery, the working assumption is that they date from the Second Temple period.

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[Michael Avi-Yonah / Oren Gutfeld (2nd ed.)]

HYRCANUS II (c. 103–30 B.C.E.), elder son of *Alexander Yannai and *Salome Alexandra. Since John Hyrcanus II was born soon after his father's accession to the throne (103 B.C.E.), he was 72 years old at the time of his death and not, unless the traditional date of his parents' marriage is rejected, over 80 years old, as stated by Josephus (Ant., 15:178).

Hyrcanus was appointed high priest during his mother's lifetime and as such was regarded as the heir to the throne, but he played no conspicuous part in political life while she was alive. His brother, Judah *Aristobulus II, started even during his mother's lifetime to undermine Hyrcanus' position and to consolidate his own. Hyrcanus' situation was a difficult one, particularly since the army sided with Aristobulus. On the death of Salome Alexandra in 67 B.C.E., Aristobulus seized power, which Hyrcanus was compelled to surrender after being defeated in battle. Aristobulus appointed himself king and high priest, while Hyrcanus received the honorary title, which lacked all political significance, of "the king's brother." However, the status granted to Hyrcanus was commensurate with his political talents, which were extremely limited; according to Josephus, Hyrcanus was deficient in the qualities of a man of action (Ant., 13:423; 14:13). He was however apparently filled with a lust for power, which provoked him into endeavoring to hold on to it at all costs, even to the extent of subordinating his wishes to those of his adviser *Antipater, who encouraged him in his ambition.

Antipater prevailed on Hyrcanus to flee from Jerusalem to *Aretas, the Nabatean king, who, induced by important territorial concessions, joined forces with him against Aristobulus, whom they besieged in Jerusalem (65 B.C.E.). At this juncture Pompey's armies appeared in the east. Like his brother, Hyrcanus too appealed to Scaurus, one of Pompey's officers, who had captured Damascus, to pronounce judgment in their quarrel. Scaurus decided against Hyrcanus, whose qualities and political standing were inferior to those of his brother. However, with the arrival of Pompey himself in Syria the brothers submitted their rival claims to him. This time the Roman preferred Hyrcanus, apparently because he entertained suspicions of Aristobulus by reason of the latter's arrogant behavior and considered that Hyrcanus would be a more pliant tool in the hands of the Romans. Hyrcanus was appointed but with only diminished and limited authority. After overcoming the opposition of Aristobulus and his party, Pompey seized extensive regions from the Hasmonean kingdom, and Hyrcanus was appointed high priest of a truncated state. The Jews became tributaries to Rome, Hyrcanus being apparently responsible for levying the tribute. Even after this appointment, Hyrcanus' rule was not firmly established and his antagonists – Aristobulus and his sons – attacked him several times but were repeatedly defeated by the Romans. Hyrcanus' position improved with the accession of Julius Caesar, who appointed him ethnarch and high priest in return for the help which he had given him when he was in difficulties in Egypt. Julius Caesar restored the city of Jaffa and the valley of Jezreel to Judea and also apparently to some extent the three districts of Aphairema, Lydda, and Ramathaim, previously given by Pompey to the Samaritans.

During this period Hyrcanus' position was strong. He used his influence also on behalf of the Jews in the Diaspora who constantly maintained close ties with Jerusalem. However the power enjoyed by Antipater and his sons increased steadily and eventually brought about the deposition of Hyrcanus and his house. Although sensing the danger threatening him from this quarter, Hyrcanus was yet unable to oppose the consolidation of Antipater's family. His weakness is clearly evident in *Herod's trial. Later he was apparently induced by Malichus, one of his intimate circle, to acquiesce in the removal of Antipater; but even the latter's death did not help him to reinforce his rule. Compelled to abandon Malichus to the vengeance of Antipater's sons, he had to rely on their support to sustain his rule amid the vicissitudes of the wars for the supreme leadership of the Roman Empire. In 40 B.C.E. he was deprived of power and taken prisoner by *Antigonus son of Aristobulus and his Parthian allies. Having been mutilated by having his ears cut off to disqualify him from the high priesthood, Hyrcanus was transferred by the Parthians to Babylonia, where, greatly honored by the Jews, he lived quietly and safely for several years.

Hyrcanus and his house lost all power with Herod's proclamation in Rome as king (40 B.C.E.), an appointment which destroyed his hopes of ever being reinstated as ruler in Judea, even if only by the grace of Rome. The attempts, too, to gain influence with the new ruler through Herod's marriage to *Mariamne, the daughter of Alexandra who was the daughter of Hyrcanus, were not very successful. Herod did indeed invite Hyrcanus to Jerusalem, where he lived peacefully for some time, but in 30 B.C.E., when Herod was in doubt as to his future under Octavian, he considered Hyrcanus a potential threat to his continued rule, and had him executed on a false charge (Ant., 15:164ff.). He had been a man who with all his might sought power but did not know how to sustain it. His ambitions coupled with his weakness brought disaster on his people, on his house, and on himself.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Jos., Ant., 13:408–15:182; Jos., Wars, 1:109–433; Schuerer, Hist, 91–115, 131, 135; A. Schalit, *Hordos ha-Melekh* (1964^3), 529f. (index), s.v. *Horkenus*; idem, *Koenig Herodes* (1969), 761ff. (Appendix viii), 808f. (index).

[Uriel Rappaport]

HYRCANUS, JOHN (**Johanan**), ethnarch of Judea and high priest (135–104 B.C.E.), son of *Simeon the Hasmonean, and the most successful and energetic of rulers of the Hasmonean dynasty from the point of view of the consolidation and territorial expansion of Judea. Already during the lifetime of his father he played an important role in the defense of Judea and in the administration of the state. After his father and his two brothers were killed by his brother-in-law, Ptolemy, in Jericho, he thwarted the murderer's design to kill him also and took over control in Jerusalem. It is with an account of this incident that I Maccabees ends; the details of his reign are given in Josephus (Wars, 1:54ff.; Ant., 13:229ff.), and in material scattered throughout talmudic literature. Most of his rule was spent in wars. At first, he was compelled to submit to *Antiochus VII Sidetes and to agree to pay him tribute for Jaffa and the other towns outside the borders of Judea that had been conquered by the Jews, and even to join him in a campaign against the Parthians. However, after the death of Antiochus in 129, Hyrcanus achieved the complete independence of Judea and undertook extensive conquests throughout the whole of the land of Israel. At first he turned to the center of the country, seizing Shechem and destroying the Samaritan temple on Mt. Gerizim. Later he conquered Idumea (Edom) and compelled its inhabitants to adopt Judaism. From this time the Idumeans became an inseparable part of the Jewish people. Simultaneously he began the conquest of Transjordan, in particular of Moab. During the last years of his rule he renewed his campaign of conquests in the north, attacking the strong Hellenistic towns of *Samaria and *Beth-Shean (= Scythopolis). Despite the fact that Hellenistic soldiers and the rulers of some neighboring territories who were hostile to the Jews came to the aid of the besieged city of Samaria, it was conquered and destroyed by Hyrcanus' sons in 107. As a result the road to Galilee was now open to the Jews, and it is probable that parts of Galilee too, if not the whole of it, were already annexed to Judea during the days of Hyrcanus.

In his policy and in his wars, he was helped by the ties he cultivated with foreign nations interested in weakening the Seleucid Syria. He strengthened the pact with Rome, and on three occasions during his rule the Roman senate adopted resolutions in favor of Judea. Bonds of friendship were also formed between Hyrcanus and the Ptolemies, a friendship helped by the close ties which existed between the Jews of Egypt and the monarchy. In so far as internal affairs were concerned, a gradual change took place in his status during Hyrcanus' rule which led to the strengthening of his personal authority. It was during his rule apparently that the *Pharisee and *Sadducee parties came into open conflict. At the commencement of his rule he maintained close relations with the Pharisees, who also recognized his religious authority. Later rabbinic tradition depicts him as having been "righteous originally" (Ber. 29a), even to the extent of stating that he heard a **bat kol* (Sot. 33a). According to Josephus (Wars, 1:68–69), Hyrcanus was vouchsafed the high priesthood, prophecy, and rulership and he was the only one to attain all three. The Mishnah (Sot. 9:10) ascribes certain regulations with regard to the Temple and the priestly portions to him. In the course of time, however, the authoritarian and secularist character of his administration began to show itself – a fact which also found expression in the recruitment of a force of foreign mercenaries from Asia Minor. The high priest came closer to the Sadducees and in his last years a breach occurred between him and the Pharisees. According to rabbinic tradition "Johanan officiated in the high priesthood for 80 years and in the end became a Sadducee" (Ber. 29a; Jos., Ant., 13:288ff.). It is uncertain whether the coins bearing the legend "Johanan the High Priest" and *Ḥever ha-Yehudim* or *rosh ḥever ha-Yehudim* were minted by him or by his grandson *Hyrcanus II.

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M. Stern, in: *Zion*, 26 (1961), 1–22; S. Lieberman, *Hellenism in Jewish Palestine* (1950), 139 ff.; A. Schalit, *Koenig Herodes* (1969), 810 (index), s.v. *Johannes Hyrkanos*.

[Menahem Stern]

HYSSOP (Heb. אֵזוֹב), small plant that grows in rocks and stone walls. The Greek *hyssōpos* is used to translate Hebrew *ēzôb* on account of phonetic similarity, but in reality the plants are different; the *ēzôb* of the Bible, or "Syrian hyssop," is known to Anglophones as marjoram. In the Bible, it is contrasted with the lofty cedar of the Lebanon (I Kings 5:13). The two were used together for purposes of purification – in the preparation of the ashes of the *red heifer (Num. 19:6), as well as in the water for the purification of the leper (Lev. 14:4) and of the house smitten with leprosy (*ibid.* 14:49). In Egypt a bunch of hyssop was used for sprinkling blood on the Israelites' doorposts (Ex. 12:22). It was also used for sprinkling the water of purification (Num. 19:18). Several reasons were given for the choice of hyssop for purposes of purification. A homiletic interpretation holds that this small plant symbolizes humility in contrast with the cedar that typifies pride, their union demonstrating that man should humble himself before his Creator. Practical reasons for its choice are that "the ash of the hyssop is good and plentiful" (with reference to preparing the ashes of the red heifer, Tosef., Par. 4:10), and that "it is effective in counteracting an offensive odor" (R. Samuel Sarsa on Ibn Ezra's comment to Ex. 12:22). The tractate *Parah, which deals with the laws of the ashes of the red heifer, contains morphological details about the structure of the hyssop plant: its lower part is woody (Par. 11:8), its stalks branch out sideways, and at the top of each are clusters of at least three buds (*ibid.* 11:9). It grew wild, but was cultivated as a spice (Ma'as. 3:9). These descriptions are compatible with *Majorana syriaca* (*Origanum maru*), a plant of the Labiatae family that grows wild in Israel among and on rocks. The leaves and stems contain a volatile oil used as a perfume – oil of marjoram. The Samaritans still use this plant for sprinkling blood at the ceremony of slaughtering the Passover sacrifice. Members of Oriental communities use it as a spice, crumbling it on bread, and refer to it as *za'tar*, which also includes other species of the Labiatae family, such as savory and thyme. These two species, the former *si'aḥ* and the latter *koranit*, are included in the Mishnah, together with hyssop, among the aromatic herbs (Shev. 8:1).

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[Jehuda Feliks]

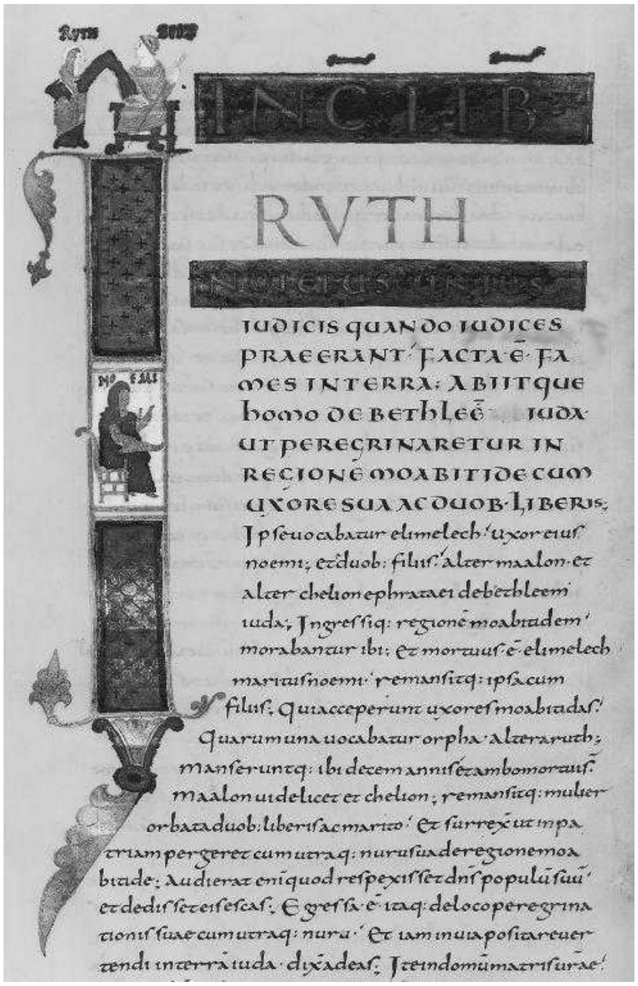

RVTH

IUDICIS QUANDO IUDICES
PRAEERANT FACTA Ē FA
MES IN TERRA: ABIITQUE
HOMO DE BETHLEĒ IUDA
UT PEREGRINARETUR IN
REGIONE MOABITIDE CUM
UXORE SUA AC DUOB· LIBERIS;
Ipſe uocabatur elimelech· uxor eiuſ
noemi; et duob: filiiſ· alter maalon· et
alter chelion ephrataei de bethleem
iuda; Ingreſſiq: regionē moabitidem
morabantur ibi; Et mortuuſ ē elimelech
maritus noemi· remanſitq: ipſa cum
filiiſ; Qui acceperunt uxoreſ moabitidaſ·
Quarum una uocabatur orpha· altera ruth;
manſeruntq: ibi decem anniſ et ambo mortuiſ·
maalon uidelicet et chelion; remanſitq: mulier
orbata duob: liberiſ ac marito· Et ſurrexit ut in pa
triam pergeret cum utraq: nuru ſua de regione moa
bitide; Audierat enī quod reſpexiſſet dnſ populū ſuū
et dediſſet eiſ eſcaſ; Egreſſa ē itaq: de loco peregrina
tioniſ ſuae cum utraq: nuru· Et iam in uia poſita reuer
tendi in terrā iuda· dixa ad eaſ; Ite in domū matriſ ſuae

Initial letter "I" of the phrase In diebus unius iudicis *at the beginning of the Book of Ruth from the Latin* Bible of Charles the Bald*, Rheims, ninth century. The illumination shows Ruth and Boaz above the letter and Naomi seated in the middle of it. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. Lat. 1-88v.*

IA–INT

IACOBESCU, D. (**Armand Iacobson**, 1893–1913), Romanian poet. His sensitive verse – in turn musical, agonized, and macabre – appeared in leading reviews. His poems, influenced by French symbolists such as Baudelaire and Verlaine, contain premonitions of Iacobescu's early death from tuberculosis. They and some translations were later collated and published by the critic Perpessicius as *Quasi* (1930).

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IAN, JANIS (**Fink**; 1951–), U.S. singer and songwriter. Born in New Jersey, Ian was discovered at the age of 14 by Leonard *Bernstein, who played her song "Society's Child" (1967) on his television special, *Inside Pop: The Rock Revolution*. Although the song was banned in many places because of its interracial theme, it became a nationwide hit. But Ian had trouble repeating her success and was eventually released by her record label, Columbia. She managed to revive her career in Australia, and then triumphantly reentered the American music scene at 26 with her deeply etched portrait of adolescent pain, "At Seventeen" (1975).

Speaking out through her music as she tackles taboo subjects as well as all-too-human ones, Ian is an emotionally wrenching singer and an accomplished self-taught guitarist. She released more than 20 albums, the earliest being *Janis Ian* (1967); *For All the Seasons of Your Mind* (1968); and *Who Really Cares* (1969). Her more recent releases include *Breaking Silence* (1995); *Hunger* (1997); *God and the FBI* (2000); *Working without a Net* (2003); and *Billie's Bones* (2004).

In 1975 she won a Grammy for Best Pop Female Vocalist for "At Seventeen." She then earned five other Grammy nominations. In 2001 "Society's Child" was inducted into the Grammy Hall of Fame.

Ian has lived in Nashville since 1988. In 2003 she married her long-time life partner, Patricia Snyder.

In addition to the many songs she composed, Ian published a collection of poems titled *Who Really Cares: Poems* *from Childhood and Early Youth* (1969). She also co-edited *Stars: Original Stories Based on the Songs of Janis Ian* (2003), a collection of science-fiction and fantasy tales written by well-known authors of the genre, each inspired by one of her songs.

[Jonathan Licht / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

IBĀḌĪS. The Ibāḍiyya is a moderate branch of the Khārijī sect, that broke with mainstream Islam in 657 on the question of who was entitled to the caliphate. From their first center in *Basra, missionaries were sent to propagate the Ibāḍī teaching. As a result Ibāḍī communities appeared in a number of Muslim provinces, particularly in Oman, which towards the end of the eighth century replaced Basra as their spiritual center, and among some Berber tribes in North Africa. From the middle of the 8th to the beginning of the 10th century the North African Ibāḍīs succeeded in establishing political control over parts of the Maghrib, in Tripolitania, in Sijilmasa (where another moderate Khārijī sect – the Ṣufriyya – took root), and particularly in the central Maghrib, where the Rustamid state, with its capital in Tāhart (Tahert, today Tagdemt), united under its rule all the Berber Ibāḍī tribes in North Africa. At the beginning of the 10th century the Fāṭimids destroyed all these states and their remnants, and the Ibāḍīs withdrew to remote regions. Adherents of the Ibāḍiyya are found today in Oman, where Ibāḍiyya is the predominant religious doctrine, in Zanzibar, in the island of Djerba, in Tripolitania – in Jabal Nafūsa (Nefousa and Zuagha) Zouara – and in the remote south of Algeria, in Wārjilan (Wargla, Ouargla) and particularly in the Mzāb valley. In the Mzāb they established five settlements in the 11th century, two additional ones in the 17th century, and some further settlements in the 20th century. In these settlements the Ibāḍīs secured virtual independence and preserved their particular puritan way of life, governed by their religious law, as well as by special rules and regulations, established by their leadership. Modernization, as well as the demographic and urban expansion of the region, in the course of the second half of the 20th century, may threaten their religious and organizational cohesion. The population of this region has been increasing spectacularly, the Ibāḍīs comprising no more than 60% of the present population. The largest settlement is Ghardāya (Ghardaïa), with a population of over 62,000 according to the 1987 census. There is some evidence of Jewish communities living among the Ibāḍīs throughout the centuries, enjoying the Ibāḍī basically tolerant attitude to non-Muslims. Thus, Tāhart was the home of R. Judah *Ibn Quraysh, a pioneer linguist. Some Jews lived in Sijilmāsa under Ṣufrī rule. In the Mzāb, Jews, as well as Europeans, Arabs, and other foreign elements, were allowed in Ghardaya only. Even there, they were not admitted within the city walls. The Jews lived in a separate neighborhood beyond the ramparts, in the southeastern part of the Ghardāya. The Mzābi Jews, as well as the large majority of the Algerian Jews, left Algeria toward the end of French rule in the country.

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[Miriam Hoexter (2nd ed.)]

IBEX (Heb. יָעֵל, *ya'el*; AV, JPS "wild goat"), the wild goat *Capra ibex nubiana*, a wild animal permitted for food. Only the ibex and the gazelle have survived from over ten species of cloven-hoofed ruminants which inhabited Ereẓ Israel in former times. Because of its tasty meat, the ibex was much sought after by hunters but escaped extinction through its ability to exist on precipitous mountains in desert regions, such as En-Gedi, Elath, and the Negev heights. Able to jump from rocks and to climb steep rock faces, it was called *ya'el* in Hebrew (and *wa'l* in Arabic), a word derived from the root meaning "to ascend." The "rocks of the ibex" in the neighborhood of En-Gedi have served as a hiding place at various times. David fled there from Saul (I Sam. 24:1–3) and Bar Kokhba's fighters took refuge in the caves.

Ibex live in herds. The male has horns reaching up to 39 in. (one meter) in height, the female short, sharp ones. The beauty of the ibex and the remarkable way it lives among the rocks of the desert have been used as poetic motifs (Job 39:1; Ps. 104:18); the name *ya'alat ḥen* (a graceful female ibex) is given to a beautiful woman (Prov. 5:19). Jael (Judg. 4:17) and Jaalah (Ezra 2:56), both derived from the Hebrew for ibex, occur in the Bible as women's names. A *shofar* made of the long horn of an ibex was blown in the Temple on the New Year (RH 3:3) and to proclaim the Jubilee year (RH 3:5).

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[Jehuda Feliks]

IBIZA AND FORMENTERA, third and fourth largest of the Balearic Islands. Situated south to south-east of Majorca, equidistant to North Africa and mainland Spain, the islands provided a strong commercial attraction to Jewish traders from the periods of Phoenician and Roman occupation, particularly for their bountiful saltpans and the dyeing industries.

Hitherto, historians have concluded that the Jews in the smaller Balearics suffered similar oppression to their coreligionists some 100 miles away in Palma, capital city of controlling Majorca. This misconception was enhanced because the name "Majorca" was given to the whole Balearic area.

The inhabitants of Ibiza and Formentera (Ibicencos) to this day bitterly resent the 700 years of Majorcan domination and greatly prize personal freedom. Local piracy, smuggling, and the proximity and affinity to Islamic Barbary all contributed to a hatred of prying eyes and the facility to hide Jews from the Inquisition.

Sixth-century church documents mention the considerable size of the Jewish population and, contrary to other Iberian centers of that period, their lack of interest in conversion to Christianity. The Jewish population increased with the annexation by James I, the "Conquistor," in 1235. In 1254, the king arranged their property assessments as part of the Aljama of Majorca. In 1329, the Jews of Ibiza requested separation from the Majorcan community which was refused.

In the terrible year for the Jews of Spain, 1391, there is no mention of outrages in Ibiza or Formentera, or of an exodus in the fateful year of 1492. All documents relating to visits by the officers of the Inquisition from 1423 onwards state that nobody was found practicing the Laws of Moses, yet research indicates that Jews continued to reside in the Islands and assisted many from elsewhere to escape the clutches of the Inquisition. Members of the Matutes family, descendants of the Motot family, that left for Italy in 1492, returned to Ibiza where they became one of the most important families in the island, playing a major role in the economic and social life there.

The Judería (ghetto) *call* (Jewish quarter) in Ibiza was in use as such until the 19th century and efforts are now being made for its restoration. Part of the nearby Convent of San Christobel (built in 1600) was used as a synagogue. It seems that one synagogue was in use in Formentera until 1936.

In 1867 a clearly defined Jewish community was described by Prinz Luis Salvador of Hamburg in German in his first book on the Balearic Islands but was deleted in all subsequent editions until 1979.

The survival of Jewish customs was described by visitors to the Islands as late as the 1930s. The Spanish Civil War (1936–39) and the influence of the German SS in Majorca brought fear and conversions to Catholicism. Yet the islanders protected Jewish arrivals fleeing the Nazis.

A small number of Jews of various origins now reside there and have formed a group to support the many interested in their Jewish roots and desirous of strengthening these affiliations.

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[Gloria Mound]

IBLEAM (Heb. יִבְלְעָם), city located in the part of the tribal district of Issachar which was held by Manasseh (Josh. 17:11). According to Judges 1:27 it was tributary to the Israelites and not actually conquered by them. Ibleam is already mentioned in the list of cities captured by Thutmose III (c. 1469 B.C.E.) where it appears (no. 43) after Taanach. It is included in the list of levitical cities (Bileam, I Chron. 6:55) but in the parallel list it is replaced by Gath-Rimmon (Josh. 21:25). In his flight from Jezreel, Ahaziah, king of Judah, was killed "at the ascent of Gur, which is by Ibleam" (II Kings 9:27); King Zechariah of Israel was killed by Shallum in Ibleam according to the Lucian version of the Septuagint (II Kings 15:10). Belmain (Ibleam) is mentioned in Judith 4:4 and 7:3 as a place near Dothan. In crusader times Castellum Beleismum was part of the principality of Galilee. The name Ibleam is preserved in Wadi and Tell Balameh, 12½ mi. (20 km.) south of Afulah. On the large tell which guards the ascent to the valley of Dothan, sherds were found dating from the Early Bronze to Iron Age (Israelite period) and a rock-hewn tunnel leading to a spring at the foot of the tell.

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[Michael Avi-Yonah]

IBN ABBAS, JUDAH BEN SAMUEL II (13th century), religious writer, probably a resident of Spain; to be distinguished from Judah ben Samuel ibn *Abbas, the liturgical poet. In the middle of the 13th century Ibn Abbas composed *Ya'ir Nativ* ("Enlightener of the Path"), also known as *Shevet Yehudah* ("Judah's Staff"), a moral treatise, which reflects the influence of *Maimonides, and which the author claims to have written at the age of 20. The work is extant in manuscript (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Bodl. 44). Chapter 15 of this work, which has been printed and translated into German by M. Guedemann (see bibl.), contains pedagogical instructions. According to Ibn Abbas, the student should begin with the study of Bible and Talmud, proceed to the study of ethics and the sciences – medicine, logic, astronomy, and physics, in that order – and finally to the study of metaphysics. Ibn Abbas also lists the outstanding works that he recommends for the study of the various sciences. For example, he suggests that in order to learn the principles of logic the student read the works of Al-*Fārābī and *Averroes (A. Hyman, in: *Actes du quatrième congrès international de philosophie médiévale* (1969), 102). This list indicates which authors the Jews of the 13th century regarded as authoritative in the sciences. Ibn Abbas also wrote *Minḥat Yehudah*, or *Mekor Ḥayyim* (Ms. Bodl. 44; J.H. Loewe, *A Descriptive Catalogue… Louis Loewe* (1895), 59).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Steinschneider, Uebersetzungen, 35; M. Guedemann, *Das juedische Unterrichtswesen waehrend der spanisch-arabischen Periode* (1873), 147–55 (Ger. sect.), 58–62 (Heb. sect.).

[Isaak Dov Ber Markon]

°IBN ABĪ AL-ṢALT (Umayya Ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz; 1068–1134), Muslim musician and student of the exact sciences. He was born in Andalusia and died in Mahdiyya (Tunisia). His writings were influential among the Jews of Spain as shown both by quotations and by complete Hebrew versions of his works, some of which have been preserved in Hebrew only. Apart from his medical activities, he was an expert in theoretical and practical music. Both of his interests are reflected in his writings: his medical "*Simplicia*," translated by Judah (Maestro Bongodas Nathan ben Solomon; 14th cent.), and the extensive chapter on music from his lost encyclopedia *Sefer ha-Haspakah* (*Kitāb al-Kāfī*?), by two anonymous translators (Ms. Paris, Heb. 1037, fol. 1b–20b). The Arabic original was quoted by Profiat *Duran in his *Ma'aseh Efod* (ed. Friedlaender-Kohn, p. 37), and the chapter on optics in Ms. Munich Heb. 290 (margins of fol. 44b and 45b). The extensive treatise on music of ibn abī al-Ṣalt has come down to us in a Hebrew translation, but not in the original. This Hebrew translation represents an abridged compilation from two works of the famous Arab philosopher and theorist of music al-Fārābī: the chapter on music in *iḥṣā' al-'ulūm* (= Classification of the Sciences), which became known in medieval Europe through its several Hebrew and Latin translations, and large excerpts from part II of *Kitāb al-mūsīqī al-kabīr* (*The Great Book of Music*). H. Avenary has published this version, which is one of the most extensive preserved in Hebrew.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: H. Suter, *Die Mathematiker und Astronomen der Araber und ihre Werke* (1900), 115, no. 27; Adler, in: *Yuval*, 1 (1968), 2–3, 9, contains an extensive bibliography; A. Shiloah, *ibid.*, 2 (1970). **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** A. Shiloah, in: *Teshurot la-Avishur* (2004), 341–47; H. Avenary, The Hebrew Version …, in: *Yuval*, 3 (1974), 7–82; M. Comes, "Umayya ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz," in EIS², 10 (2000), 836–37 (incl. bibl.).

[Hanoch Avenary / Amnon Shiloah (2nd ed.)]

IBN ABITUR, JOSEPH BEN ISAAC (10th–11th century), Spanish talmudic scholar and poet. Frequently mentioned under the name of "Ibn Shatanash," Ibn Abitur explains that this name was given to his great-grandfather "who wielded great power in Spain… including the power over life and death which none beside him ever had outside Ereẓ Israel, and because he was a scourge of evildoers he was called Shotanash" (*shot-enosh*, "scourge of man"); he usually signed as "Joseph ben Isaac ha-Sefaradi" (= the Spaniard), or "Meridi," after his birthplace Merida.

Ibn Abitur lived in Spain in the second half of the tenth century, and in Ereẓ Israel and neighboring countries at the beginning of the 11th century. He had studied in Cordoba under R. Moses b. Ḥanokh. After R. Moses' death, his place as rabbi and head of the yeshivah was taken by his son Ḥanokh, who was supported by the *nasi*, R. Ḥisdai ibn Shaprut. Upon the latter's death, Ibn Abitur claimed the position for himself; the Cordoba community was split into two camps, each trying to gain Caliph al-Ḥākim II's (961) support. Finally, Ibn Abitur was defeated, put under ban by his opponents, and forced to flee to the East. After a while, one of his supporters, Jacob ibn Jau, rose to power in Cordoba and decided to expel Ḥanokh and appoint the exiled scholar in his place. On this occasion, however, Ibn Abitur refused the offer, stating that "from Spain to Babylonia there was no scholar so worthy of the office as R. Ḥanokh." In the course of his travels, Ibn Abitur arrived in Babylonia, where he hoped to obtain help from R. Hai Gaon; but the latter refused to see him. He also spent some time in Ereẓ Israel and Egypt, where he enjoyed the friendship of the Palestinian *gaon* R. Samuel ha-Kohen and R. *Shemariah b. Elhanan, the head of the Egyptian academy, who defended Ibn Abitur against his detractors. Ibn Abitur composed a threnody, in verse, on the persecutions that took place in Ereẓ Israel at the orders of the Egyptian caliph al-Ḥākim (996–1021) in 1021 (*Kobez al Jad*, vol. 3, 1887). According to *Ibn Daud, Ibn Abitur died in Damascus; the year of his death is not known (Ibn Daud, Tradition, 68).

He was regarded as one of the great men of his age. Some of his responsa were included in the collections of the responsa of the *geonim* (*Teshuvot Ge'onei Mizraḥ u-Ma'arav, Ginzei Kedem* contains some of the responsa he issued during his Egyptian period). He also composed a commentary on Psalms, written in a midrashic style, of which only fragments are extant. He was a leading Spanish *paytan*; of the vast number of *piyyutim* that he composed, approximately 300 are known today. A few have been published in recent times; others are found in rare prints (in prayer books of Aragon, Catalonia, Sicily, etc.); but most are dispersed over hundreds of manuscripts. Among his outstanding *piyyutim* are *Ma'amad le-Yom ha-Kippurim*, a collection of *piyyutim* designed for the various portions of prayers on the Day of Atonement (he was the first Sephardi who composed a *ma'amad* prayer); **hoshanot*, for the Sukkot festival; and *yoẓerot, piyyutim* for the *Shaḥarit* prayer, which dealt with the weekly portion from the Torah. A scientific edition of Ibn Abitur's poems and a comprehensive study of them has been prepared by E. Fleischer (thesis presented to the Hebrew University in Jerusalem (1968)).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Mann, Egypt, 1 (1920), 66ff.; 2 (1922), 25, 59–60, 169; S. Assaf, *Mekorot u-Meḥkarim* (1946), 115–8; Davidson, Oẓar, 4 (1933), 399–400; Lewin, in: *Ginzei Kedem*, 6 (1944), 25–26; Bernstein, in: *Sinai*, 31 (1952), 284–309; 32 (1953), 128; Zulay, in: KS, 30 (1954/55), 243–53; Schirmann, Sefarad, 1 (1959²), 53–65; 2 (1956), 677; idem, *Shirim Ḥadashim min ha-Genizah* (1965), 149–56; Ashtor, Korot, 1 (1966²), 233ff.

[Jefim (Hayyim) Schirmann]

IBN AL-BARQŪLĪ, family which played an important role in the Babylonian communities in the second half of the 13th century and of which several members served in government positions. The information available from literary sources deals with the members of the Ibn al-Barqūlī family in *Baghdad and Wāsiṭ. The head of this family was MEVORAKH. Judah *al-Ḥarizi dedicated his *Sefer Taḥkemoni* to the philanthropist, the *sar* (i.e., holder of government office) R. SAMUEL of Baghdad (beginning of 13th century); he also mentions his two brothers, the *sar* JOSEPH and the *sar* EZRA. In his report on the community of Wāsiṭ he mentions the *sar* R. SAMUEL, who was probably the wealthy Abu Naṣr Samuel; the Hebrew poet *Eleazar b. Jacob ha-Bavli praises him in several of his poems (in his *Divan*, ed. H. Brody (1935) no. 164). In one poem, no. 165, he mentions Samuel's son JOSEPH. The same poet also wrote some poems in honor of Joseph of Wāsiṭ. Numbers 113–7, 121–8, and 213–4 were written in honor of another Ibn al-Barqūlī, a wealthy Baghdad citizen. Eleazar also sent a poem, which has not been preserved, to ABU AL-GHANĀ'IM.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: J. Alḥarizi, *Taḥkemoni*, ed. by A. Kaminka (1899), 14–15, 369; Assaf, in: *Tarbiẓ*, 1:3 (1930), 41, 49, 55–56; A. Ben-Jacob, *Yehudei Bavel* (1965), 25.

[Eliyahu Ashtor]

IBN ALFAKHAR (Ar. "potter"), distinguished family in Spain, whose members included court physicians and communal leaders. Originally from Granada, most of the family moved to Toledo following the persecutions by the *Almohads in Andalusia during the 12th century. Notable were: ABRAHAM ABU ISḤAK IBN ALFAKHAR (d. 1240?), of Toledo, crown-appointed chief rabbi of Castile. Abraham ibn Alfakhar had a profound knowledge of Arabic, including the Koran; his style has been praised by experts. He composed poems in Arabic, including a eulogy of Alfonso VIII (1158–1214). Abraham was sent by Alfonso on a diplomatic mission to Abu Yakub, the sultan of the Almohads in Morocco. He was a patron of Hebrew poets; *Judah b. Isaac ha-Levi ibn Shabbetai dedicated his *Minḥat Yehudah* to him in 1208. Judah *Al-Ḥarizi, who was acquainted with Abraham some ten years later, mentioned him favorably in his *Taḥkemoni*. With Don Todros *Abulafia, and the support of the authorities, Abraham ibn Alfakhar took active measures to extirpate Karaism, which still had some adherents in Castile. In 1194, he married a daughter of Abba Amr Joseph *Ibn Shoshan. His wife was the sister-in-law of Meir ha-Levi Abulafia who composed the inscription on Abraham's tombstone, most of the text of which is extant. It states that Abraham died on 25 Tevet, 4000 AM, but the Hebrew date is open to question. JOSEPH (JOSI) IBN ALFAKHAR (d. 1195), physician to Alphonso VIII of Castile, and known by the honorific title *nasi* of the Jewish community of the kingdom. In 1178 he was instrumental in persuading the king to suppress the *Karaite community in Castile. Joseph was reputedly betrothed to a daughter of Judah ibn Ezra. Meir ha-Levi Abulafia composed an elegy on his death. His son, JUDAH IBN ALFAKHAR (d. 1235), was physician at the court of Ferdinand III of Castile. Judah was an opponent of the philosophical works of *Maimonides and lifted the controversy surrounding this subject on to an intellectual and theoretical plane. David *Kimḥi made an unsuccessful attempt to influence Judah and the Toledo community to join forces with the Maimonists. Judah's opinion that it was impossible to reconcile Judaism with philosophy is expressed in three letters written to Kimḥi. SOLOMON IBN ALFAKHAR (DON CULEMA; 14th century), mentioned as a tax farmer in Castile, was also appointed by the archbishop of Toledo to serve as rabbi and chief Jewish judge in the Toledo community. At the close of the 1350s he was residing in Seville, and was still a tax farmer on a large scale in 1387.

Several members of the family were tax farmers and held other public offices. One MEIR was the son-in-law of Meir *Alguades, and his widow was especially esteemed. According to a decision recorded in the communal statutes of Valladolid in 1432 she was exempted from taxes. The sources continue to refer to members of the family until the expulsion of the Jews from Spain in 1492.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Baer, Spain, index; A. Ashkenazi, *Ta'am Zekenim* (1855), 1–12; Loeb, in: REJ, 18 (1889), 62; Steinschneider, in: JQR, 11 (1898/99), 590; I. Davidson, *Parody in Jewish Literature* (1907), 8, 33 (on Abraham); Cantera-Millás, Inscripciones, 65–67 (on Abraham); Brody, in: YMḤSI, 2 (1936), 7 (on Joseph); J. González, *El Reino de Castilla en la época de Alfonso VIII*, 1 (1960), 135, 660 (on Joseph); Guttmann, Philosophies, index (on Judah); Baer, Urkunden, index (on Meir).

[Zvi Avneri]

IBN AL-HĪTĪ, DAVID BEN SE'ADEL (mid-15th century), Karaite chronicler. As his surname indicates, Ibn al-Hītī was a native of the ancient town of Hit in Iraq, some 90 miles (150 km.) west of Baghdad. He himself lived and studied in Egypt. Nothing else is known about his life. Ibn al-Hītī's only known work is a concise chronicle, in Arabic, of Karaite scholars from *Anan b. David (eighth century) to his own time. It follows no strict chronological arrangement, but is written in a factual manner, the author having carefully consulted a number of ancient manuscripts and used oral traditions and other sources which are no longer extant. His work is, therefore, of considerable historical value.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: S. Poznański, *Karaite Literary Opponents of Saadiah Gaon* (1908), 82; Margoliouth, in: JQR, 9 (1896/97), 429–43 (text of the chronicle with Eng. tr.); L. Nemoy (ed.), *Karaite Anthology* (1952), 230–5 (new Eng. tr. of the chronicle based on a corrected text).

[Leon Nemoy]

IBN AL-RABĪB, ABRAHAM (also called Abu Isḥāk; first half of the 12th century), Hebrew poet who lived in Andalusia. Abraham was a close friend of *Judah Halevi who compiled three hymns of praise for him on the occasion of his marriage. Abraham *Ibn Ezra, too, was one of his admirers and presented him and his father-in-law the *nasi*, Isaac ibn Muhājir, with a joint hymn of praise. Only a fragment of a poem by him remains, a dirge in which he laments the death of his relations, the *nesi'im*, members of the Muhājir family. The poem is rhymed and has an alphabetic acrostic. The manuscript, however, only reaches the tenth letter of the alphabet. He was not considered a great poet, and his name is not mentioned in any of the medieval lists of significant Hebrew Andalusian poets.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: J. Schirmann, *Shirim Ḥadashim min ha-Genizah* (1965), 217f., 267, 272; Judah Halevi, *Diwan*, ed. by H. Brody, 1 (1894), 179–80; 2 (1909), 29–31, 276.

IBN ALTABBAN, LEVI BEN JACOB (**Abu l-Fahm**; late 11th century in Saragossa), poet and grammarian. Little is known of his life. Though extensively praised by contemporary poets, including Moses *Ibn Ezra and *Judah Halevi, the same as by *Al-Ḥarizi, his poems were forgotten for nearly 500 years. Those of his poems which were preserved were attributed to other poets, principally to Judah Halevi, because of the signature "Levi" and the similar poetic style. Around 70 poems of Ibn Altabban were collected from manuscripts and printed works and published, together with a detailed introduction and notes by D. Pagis (1968), and some others were published after this edition. Only a few are secular poems, songs of friendship, among them an answer to Moses Ibn Ezra. All the rest are liturgical poems, distinguished by their lyricism, purity of thought, and delicate style. His hymns, supplications, penitential songs, prayers in time of drought, etc., reflect the influence of Solomon ibn *Gabirol and Judah Halevi. About half of them have a strophic structure. He expresses again and again the sorrow of the exiled people in the hands of Muslims and Christians. Some short lyrical poems take the form of a dialogue between Israel and God. His *piyyutim* became very popular in the synagogues of North Africa. Jacob ibn Altabban, his son, was also a poet, although none of his poems is known.

For many years Levi Ibn Altabban was remembered solely as a grammarian, the author of *Ha-Mafteaḥ* ("The Key"), written in Arabic, which is mentioned in the *Moznei Leshon ha-Kodesh* of Abraham *Ibn Ezra; only a fragment of this treatise is extant. Saadia *Ibn Danan mentions him as one of the four great Hebrew grammarians of the 11th century. On some of the controversial topics discussed by *Samuel ha-Nagid and Jonah *Ibn Janaḥ, Ibn Altabban agrees with Samuel. Levi Ibn Altabban taught Hebrew grammar in Saragossa, having distinguished students like Ibrahim Isaac *Ibn Barun.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Schirmann, Sefarad, 1 (1959^2), 329f.; 2 (1956), 681f.; idem, in: YMḤSI, 4 (1938), 252–7; 6 (1945), 332; Davidson, Oẓar, 4 (1933), 430, s.v. *Levi ben Ya'akov*; Pagis, in: *Leshonenu*, 27–28 (1963/64), 49–57. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** E. Ashtor, *The Jews of Moslem Spain*, 3 (1984), 224–27; I. Levin and A. Sáenz-Badillos, *Si me olvido de ti Jerusalen…* (1992), 33–39; Schirmann-Fleischer, *The History of Hebrew Poetry in Muslim Spain* (1995), 496–503 (Heb.); A. Sáenz-Badillos and J. Targarona, *Gramáticos hebreos de al-Andalus* (1988), 155–6.

[Abraham Meir Habermann / Angel Sáenz-Badillos (2nd ed.)]

IBN AL-TAQANA, MOSES (also **Abu al-Hasan**; in Arabic, **al-Tayyah** ("the perplexed"); 11th century), Spanish Hebrew poet. Ibn al-Taqana was a member of a noble Jewish family that probably lived in Saragossa; he received a broad education. He enjoyed the reputation of an outstanding satirical poet. *Al-Ḥarizi praised his poetic wisdom. Sometime after the age of thirty, he met with a fatal accident while on a voyage to Tudela. Except for one verse quoted in Moses Ibn Ezra's poetics, there is no poem extant which is specifically attributed to him. The verse is an imitation of Ibn Gabirol, substantiating the suggestion that Ibn al-Taqana may possibly be the author of a long satirical poem, published by Bialik in 1929, on the basis of a St. Petersburg manuscript, and similar in many ways to Ibn Gabirol's poetry. The author of the poem introduces himself as Moses b. Isaac, which may be Ibn al-Taqana's Hebrew name, and defends Jonah *Ibn Janaḥ against a prolific writer who could be *Samuel ha-Nagid. Zunz published a *bakkashah* written by him.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Zunz, Poesie, 215; Moses ibn Ezra, *Kitāb al-Muḥāḍara wal-Mudhākara*, ed. Halkin (1975), 36b, 92a; Steinschneider, in: JQR, 11 (1898/99), 624, no. 772; Simḥoni, in: *Ha-Tekufah*, 10 (1921), 174; Bialik, in: *Ẓiyyunim* (1929), 37–44; Brody, in: *Keneset*, 1 (1946), 410–5; Schirmann, Sefarad, 286–91; Davidson, Oẓar, 4 (1933), 439. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** D. Yarden, in: *Sinai*, 85 (1979), 28–33; Schirmann-Fleischer, *The History of Hebrew Poetry in Muslim Spain* (1995), 349–51 (Heb.).

[Jefim (Hayyim) Schirmann]

IBN ARDUT, ḤAYYIM JOSEPH BEN AZRIEL HA-KOHEN (before 1750–1827), scholar of Salonika. Ibn Ardut was appointed rabbi of Salonika after the death of Raphael Ḥayyim Abraham *Covo in 1792. He was responsible for the printing of a large number of books, among them the *Yekara de-Shakhvei* (Salonika, 1774) and the *Ẓemaḥ David* (*ibid.*, 1785–1811) of his grandfather, *Joseph David. He wrote approbations to most of the books published in Salonika during his period of office. His responsa appear in the books of contemporary scholars, particularly in the responsa *Be'er ha-Mayim* (*ibid.*, 1836). The great influence he exerted upon his contemporaries is reflected in the poem "*Zemer*" composed by Aaron b. Moses Judah Ẓevi Ashkenazi, the emissary of the Holy Land, in honor of the community of Salonika.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Rosanes, Togarmah, 5 (1938), 148; 6 (1945), 86f.

IBN BALʿAM, JUDAH BEN SAMUEL (Ar. **Abu Zakariyyā Yaḥyā**; second half of the 11th century), biblical commentator and Hebrew grammarian. Ibn Balʿam came from Toledo from a respected family and settled later in Seville. Moses ibn Ezra, in his poems, extols his critical faculty, his wide knowledge, and his precise style, but criticizes his irritable temper in polemics. According to Ibn Ezra, Ibn Balʿam in his old age devoted himself to the study of the *halakhah* (*Shirat Yisrael*, ed. by B. Halper (1924), p. 73). Ibn Ezra's words are borne out by Ibn Balʿam's works: they present vehement polemics, especially against Moses b. Samuel ha-Kohen *Gikatilla, and, in marked opposition to the Spanish biblical commentators of his age, apply halakhic hermeneutics. In accordance with the Spanish school of exegesis, he analyzes the Bible text grammatically and makes comparisons with Arabic. He exerted great influence on later commentators, especially on Abraham ibn Ezra.

The following works by him, all composed in Arabic, are known: (1) *Kitāb al-Tārjiḥ* ("The Book of Decision"), a commentary on the Pentateuch, a considerable portion of which was edited by S.A. Poznański (to Lev. in ZHB, 4 (1900), 17ff.) and S. Fuchs (to Num. and Deut., in *Studien…*, iii–xxiii); (2) *Nuqat al-Miqra* ("Glosses to the Scripture"), a commentary on the Prophets and Hagiographa, parts of which were published in various places (see bibliography, Abramson, p. 55, notes 6–11); (3) *Kitāb Taʿdīd Iʿjāzāt al-Tawrāt wa-al-Nubuwwa* ("The Book of the Enumeration of the Wonders of the Pentateuch and the Prophets"), quoted by Moses ibn Ezra (*Shirat Yisrael*, 188) and by Ibn Balʿam himself in *Nuqaṭ al-Miqra*; (4) *Kitāb al-Irshād* ("The Book of Guidance"), quoted by Moses ibn Ezra (*ibid.*, 110). Steinschneider was wrong in identifying it with the *Horayat ha-Kore*, which apparently was not composed by Ibn Balʿam; the same applies, it seems, to the *Sefer Taʿamei ha-Mikra*; (5) *Kitāb al-Tajnīs* ("The Book of Homonyms," also called *Kitāb al-Muṭābiq wa-al-Mujānis*); the Arabic original was edited by Kokowzoff (p. 69 Heb. pt.), and again by Abramson; (6) *Hurūf al-Maʿānī*, on Hebrew particles (see Kokowzoff, p. 203 Russ. pt. and pp. 109ff., Heb. pt.); (7) *al Afʿal al-Mushtaqqa min al-Asmāʾ*, on denominative verbs (see Kokowzoff, p. 203 Russ. pt. and pp. 133ff. Heb. pt.).

It is supposed that some poems with the acrostic of the name Balʿam were composed by Ibn Balʿam.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: S. Fuchs, *Studien ueber Abu Zakaria Jachja…* (1893); W. Wickes, *A Treatise on the Accentuation of the Three So-Called Poetical Books of the Old Testament…* (Oxford, 1881), 102ff.; P. Kahle, in: ZDMG, 55 (1901), 175; Poznański, *ibid.*, 70 (1916), 449–76; 71 (1917), 270 (mainly corrections by I. Goldziher); B. Kohlbach, *Jehuda ibn Balan* (Hung., 1888); P. Kokowzoff, *K istorii srednevekovoy yevreyskoy filologii i yevreysko-arabskoy literaturi*, 2 (1916); M. Zobel, in: EJ, 8 (1931), 316–21; S. Abramson, in: *H. Yalon Jubilee Volume* (1963), 51–149; Schirmann, Sefarad, 2 (1956), 298–300; Davidson, Oẓar, 4 (1933), 388.

[Joshua Blau]

IBN BARUN, ABU IBRAHIM ISAAC BEN JOSEPH IBN BENVENISTE (c. 1100), Hebrew grammarian and lexicographer. He lived in Saragossa and Málaga and associated with Moses *Ibn Ezra and *Judah Halevi, who dedicated poems to him; the former called him *nasi* and *gevir* "prince." Ibn Barun wrote poems in Hebrew and in Arabic which are not extant. He was a pupil of the Hebrew poet and grammarian Levi *Ibn Altabban, and in his *Kitāb al-Muwāzana bayn al-Lugha al-ʿIbrāniyya wa-al-ʿArabiyya* ("The Book of Comparison between the Hebrew and Arabic Language"), he developed the comparative linguistic studies begun by *Ibn Quraysh, *Dunash ibn Tamim, and Jonah *Ibn Janaḥ. The book (fragments of which are extant) consists of two parts, the shorter one dealing with grammar and the longer one, called "The Book of Roots," a lexical work. Ibn Barun knew Arabic literature well and often quotes the Koran, and Khalīl ibn Aḥmad's *Kitāb al-ʿAyn* (the first Arabic lexicon), among others. According to Moses ibn Ezra who mentions Ibn Barun in his poetics (*Shirat Yisrael*, ed. by B. Halper 54, 76), Ibn Barun (like Ibn Quraysh) assumed a non-Semitic origin for some Hebrew words (in which assumption he was wrong, according to Ibn Ezra). Despite the excellent quality of Ibn Barun's work, it did not exert influence on other medieval authors and philologists. Joseph *Kimḥi is one of the few authorities who quote him. It was only in the 19th century that Jewish scholars discovered the importance of Ibn Barun for the development of Hebrew linguistics. Kokowzoff edited the fragments of Ibn Barun's *Kitāb al-Muwāzana* with a detailed Russian introduction (see bibliography). P. Wechter published a complete translation with a detailed introduction in English based on Kokowzoff, rendering this important work accessible to the English-speaking world.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Bacher, in: ZAW, 14(1894), 223–49; Eppenstein, in: REJ, 41(1900), 233–49; 42(1901), 76–102; P. Kokowzoff, *K istorii srednevekovoy yevreyskoy filologii i yevreysko-arabskoy literaturi*, 1 (1893); 2 (1916), 155–172; Ashtor, Korot, 1 (19662), 203; P. Wechter, *Ibn Barun's Arabic Works on Hebrew Grammar and Lexicography* (1964). For the spelling of *Barun* see Stern, in JQR, 40 (1949–50), 189–91.

[Joshua Blau and Abraham Solomon Halkin]

IBN BARZEL, JOSEPH (12th century), Hebrew physician and poet. Ibn Barzel was a member of a well-known Spanish-Jewish family, but he was not considered in his time a very good writer. His contemporary, Moses *Ibn Ezra, does not mention him among the best poets of the epoch. He is mentioned in a letter of *Judah Halevi to his friend *Halfon ben Nethanel (published by Goitein and Gil Fleischer) as someone who was very close to him. He is also mentioned in the 13th century, together with Solomon ibn Almu'allim and Joseph ibn *Ẓaddik, by Judah *al-Ḥarizi (*Taḥkemoni* 3) who describes his poetry as outstanding: "iron penned smooth, spiced song iron-strong." The extant fragments of Ibn Barzel's poems, found among the Cambridge *genizah* fragments and in a manuscript of the E. *Adler Collection, reveal talent, and – even those composed in accordance with conventional poetic forms – also originality. Schirmann published the preserved part of two panegyrics with a strophic structure as well as a short *reshut* in which God proclaims the liberation of Israel.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Schirmann, in: YMḤSI, 2 (1936), 175–8; Schirmann, Sefarad, 1 (1959^2), 566–8; Goitein, in: *Tarbiz*, 25 (1956), 402, 409–10; J.M. Millás Vallicrosa, *Escrituras mozárabes de hebreos toledanos* (1930), 35; Al-Ḥarizi, *Taḥkemoni*, ed. by A. Kaminka (1899), 39, line 13 (cf. 475), and 42, line 12; Schirmann-Fleischer, *The History of Hebrew Poetry in Muslim Spain* (1995), 518–21 (Heb.); M. Gil and E. Fleischer, *Yehuda ha-Levi and His Circle* (2001), 324–26 (Heb.).

[Angel Sáenz-Badillos (2nd ed.)]

IBN BIKLĀRISH, JUNAS (Jonah) BEN ISAAC (end of 11th century), Spanish physician and authority on *materia medica*. Ibn Biklārish worked as a court physician for the Hod dynasty of Saragossa. In 1106 he completed what is probably the most important Arabic pharmacological treatise, the *Kitāb al-Mustaʿīnī*. This was dedicated to al-Mustaʿīn bi-Allah, the fourth Hod governor of Saragossa (d. c. 1110). It is a work of close to 500 pages, larger than folio size, containing in tabular form the names of hundreds of medicaments; their nature and function; their names in Greek, Persian, Syriac, Latin, and sometimes in Berber; and lists of substitute drugs with their properties and methods of use. The introduction to the tables, which is rich in pharmaceutical explanations based on *Galen, *Dioscorides, and others, shows Ibn Biklārish to have been one of the outstanding medical men of his time. *Maimonides apparently made use of the *Kitāb* in his *Glossary of Medicines*, although without mentioning it by name. There are three manuscripts extant, at Leiden, Madrid, and Naples.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: G. Sarton, *Introduction to the History of Science*, 2 pt. 1 (1931), 235.

[Martin Levey]

IBN BILIA, DAVID BEN YOM TOV (first half of 14th century), Portuguese Hebrew scholar, translator, philosopher, exegete, and poet. Ibn Bilia wrote *Me'or Enayim*, a commentary on the Pentateuch quoted by Samuel Zarza, based upon his own research, with magical and astrological elements, of which only a fragment has been published. In his *Ta'amei ha-Otiyyot* he explains certain biblical letters in a philosophical-allegorical way. *Ha-Shi'urim* also has allegoric commentaries to the Bible beside philosophical sections and a philosophical poem. In addition, he wrote books on medicine, astrology, logic, polemics (*Ma'amar Magen David*), and theology. He translated from Latin a work on the skin of snakes by Johannes Paulinus. Of his works, only two have been printed: a treatise on the 13 principles of Judaism, called *Yesodot ha-Maskil* (in the anthology *Divrei Ḥakhamim*, edited by R. Eleazar Ashkenazi, Metz, 1849), and a composition, *"Derekh La'asot Ḥaruzim,"* published by N. Allony, containing among other things, a list of Hebrew meters with illustrations taken chiefly from his own poems.

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IBN DANAN (Dannan), SAADIAH BEN MAIMUN (second half of 15th century), grammarian, philosopher, poet, and halakhist. He lived first in Granada, where he functioned as *dayyan*, and later, after the expulsion of the Jews from Spain, in Oran (Algeria) where he died. Ibn Danan's responsa include one on the status of the Marranos (Edelman, *Ḥemdah Genuzah* (1856), 13a–16b), and *Ma'amar al Seder ha-Dorot* ("Treatise on the Order of the Generations"), listing a chronology of the Jewish kings (*ibid.*, 25a–31a). His *Al-Ḍarūri fi al-Lugha al-ʿIbrāniyya* ("The Necessary [Rule] of the Hebrew Language") contained a chapter on Hebrew prosody and was the first attempt at comparing the Hebrew meter with the Arabic. It was written in Arabic, and a part was translated by the author himself into Hebrew at the request of his pupils (published by A. Neubauer, in: *Melekhet ha-Shir* (1865), 1–18). Ibn Danan also wrote a talmudical lexicon called *Arukh* (in manuscript); several poems (e.g., one in honor of Maimonides' *Guide of the Perplexed*); a Hebrew dictionary in Arabic; and a commentary on Isaiah 53.

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IBN DAUD, ABRAHAM BEN DAVID HALEVI (known as **Rabad I**; c. 1110–1180), Spanish historian, philosopher, physician, and astronomer. Ibn Daud, the grandson of Isaac b. Baruch *Albalia, was born in Córdoba, and spent his formative years in the home of his maternal uncle, R. Baruch b. Isaac *Albalia who was his teacher. Though little is known of his life until 1160 it is evident from his writings that he received a well-rounded education, including rabbinics, Bible, Hebrew poetry, and Greek and Jewish philosophy. He was also familiar both with the New Testament and the Koran. In the wake of the Almohad conquest of Spain, he fled to Castile, where he settled in Toledo, the city with which he was most deeply associated, until his death there as a martyr in c. 1180 (cf. Sirat, 1977; see bibliography). Ibn Daud's major historical work, *Sefer* (or in some Mss. *Seder*) *ha-Kabbalah*, was written in 1160–61, the very same year in which his philosophical treatise, *Al ʿAqīda al-Rafiʿa*, was written. The two were intimately related to one another. Both were polemical treatises, the one defending Judaism through history, the other through philosophy. In actuality, *Sefer ha-Kabbalah* is only the first portion of a work that has three sections, although it is by far the best known of the three and had the greatest influence over the generations. It is essentially a history of Jewish tradition, oriented primarily against *Karaite teaching, and seeking to prove that it is only within Rabbanite traditions that Scripture fulfills itself. The work was primarily directed to those who had an understanding of Arabic scholarship. It is not the writing of history that was Ibn Daud's basic intent, but rather the utilization of history in order to dispute with the pious heretic of the time, the Karaite. The book opens with a survey of the very earliest generations and indicates the chain by which the Law was handed down from Moses, through the men of the Great Synagogue, the Babylonian exile, the Second Temple period, the time of the Hasmoneans, then the *tannaim, amoraim*, and *geonim*, the creation of new centers of learning in Egypt, Kairouan, and the western Diaspora, particularly Spain, to which a full third of the work is dedicated. The primacy of the Spanish center in the work is a reflection of Ibn Daud's stress on its independence from the Babylonian center. He mentions briefly contemporary talmudic scholars in France, and concludes his book with the destruction of the Andalusian communities by the Almohads and the founding of the new rabbinical center in Toledo. Of particular interest to historians through the ages is the story that begins the final chapter of the book, viz., that of the *Four Captives. According to the story, three great sages, R. Moses b. Ḥanokh, R. Shemariah, and R. Ḥushi'el were taken captive by a Moslem captain together with a fourth person who was not identified. They were then sold into slavery in Spain, Cairo, and Kairouan where they began new centers for the study of Torah. While historians have been divided in the past on the extent to which the story reflected historical reality, modern scholarship holds that the story is fictional and that it reflects the independence of the new centers of Torah from the Babylonian academies. Moreover, it also seeks to underline a religious message, that God will never abandon Israel. Appended to *Sefer ha-Kabbalah* are two additional historical compositions. The first of these is entitled *Zikhron Divrei Romi*, a history of Rome from the time of its foundation until the rise of the Muslim Empire. Its basic purpose was to attack Christianity by claiming that the New Testament was a late fabrication of Constantine. The second appendix is called *Divrei Malkhei Yisrael be-Vayit Sheni* (a history of the kings of Israel during the Second Temple period). The latter work is also polemical in tone and is directed at the Sadducean heresy of the Second Temple period, the prototype in Ibn Daud's view of the Karaite heresy of his day. The text is the least original of his work, for it is essentially a paraphrasing of portions of **Josippon*, a tenth-century composition of an Italian Jew. Nonetheless it was the first to be translated into a European language and was known to European Christian readers. *Sefer ha-Kabbalah* had enormous influence down to modern times as an authority on the history of Spanish Jewry and its comments on the talmudic period particularly influenced the 19th-century Jewish historians. Although modern scholarship no longer accords it credence as objective history it remains a significant source for the life and thought of 12th-century Spain. The work was originally published in Mantua in 1514. The definitive critical edition of the text together with an English translation and commentary was published by G.D. Cohen (*Sefer Ha-Qabbalah*, 1967). Cohen has convincingly argued that Ibn Daud's account of Jewish history conveys a message of messianic redemption. Ibn Daud's book on astronomy, mentioned in Isaac Israeli's *Yesod Olam*, remains unknown. Similarly, he himself mentioned an anti-Karaite polemical treatise whose whereabouts are unknown.

Philosophy

Ibn Daud is commonly considered to be the first Jewish Aristotelian. His philosophical work *Al ʿAqīda al-Rafīʿa* represents the first systematic attempt to integrate the doctrines of the Muslim Aristotelians Alfarabi and Ibn Sina into Jewish philosophical thought. The Arabic original is presumably lost. It was translated into Hebrew twice towards the end of the 14th century, first by Solomon ben Lavi under the title *Ha-Emunah ha-Ramah* ("The Escalated Faith") (c. 1391–92), perhaps at the suggestion of Ḥasdai *Crescas, and a little later by Samuel ibn Motot at the suggestion of *Isaac ben Sheshet. This second translation, *Ha-Emunah ha-Nissa'ah* ("The Sublime Faith") was edited by A. Eran (1990) on the basis of the sole surviving manuscript (ms. Mantua 81). Eran determined that the second translation attempted to improve on the first, but that it is less accurate (Eran 1996). *Ha-Emunah ha-Ramah* was published in 1852 with a German translation by Simson Weil (1852; Hebrew text partially reprinted 1967) and in 1986 by N. Samuelson with an English translation by G. Weiss.

Ibn Daud's book was soon eclipsed by Maimonides' *Moreh Nevukhim* which may be why Ibn Daud was mentioned only occasionally by later Jewish philosophers, e.g., by Hasdai Crescas (*Or Adonai*, 1:1, introduction). Maimonides himself does not mention his predecessor by name, but the parallels between the two works with respect to specific doctrines, biblical exegesis, and intended audience suggest that Maimonides was familiar with *Ha-Emunah ha-Ramah*. Ibn Daud for his part refers only to Saadiah Gaon and Solomon Ibn Gabirol of the older Jewish philosophers. From his Aristotelian point of view he considered Saadiah's achievement inadequate, despite his respect for him, while he subjected Gabirol's neo-Platonism to severe criticism. Although he does not refer to *Judah Halevi, his thought displays several parallels with Halevi's *Kuzari* whereas his overall thesis concerning the relation between philosophy and religion can be explained as a response to Halevi's critique of philosophy.

Divided into three treatises *Ha-Emunah ha-Ramah* provides the beginning student of philosophy with a survey of Aristotelian philosophy as studied by the Muslim philosophers Alfarabi and Ibn Sina. Ibn Daud's aim is to demonstrate the harmony between philosophy and religion to those who, as a result of their study of philosophy, no longer know "how to hold two lamps," that is the lamp of religion and that of philosophy. In particular, the book seeks to solve the question of whether the human will is free or determined, since Scripture is not clear with respect to this issue, as Biblical verses can be adduced in support of either position (ER, Introduction, 2–4). To answer this question, Ibn Daud deals with a wide variety of philosophical themes. The first treatise (ER 4–43) is devoted to physics and metaphysics insofar as is necessary for an investigation of the Jewish religion, whereas the second (ER II 44–98) studies "the principles of religion" in light of contemporary philosophy. Whereas these two treatises are concerned with theoretical philosophy, the subject of the last treatise (ER III 98–104), is "practical philosophy," that is, moral conduct, since the end of philosophy is "action" (Introd. 2–4).

LOGIC AND NATURAL PHILOSOPHY. Ibn Daud was the first to introduce Aristotelian logic and a systematic survey of Aristotelian natural philosophy into Jewish philosophy. The book opens with a discussion of substance and accident (ER I. 1, based on al-Farabi's paraphrase of the Categories of Aristotle and Ibn Sina's *Maqaulaat* (*Shifaa'*). This discussion forms the basis for Ibn Daud's description of existing things in general and for his account of immaterial substances in particular. The next sections provide detailed expositions of the basic principles of Aristotle's philosophy that recur throughout ER: matter and form, the elements, motion, and infinity (ER I.2–5). Two theses are particularly relevant for his thought: firstly, that there is no motion without a mover, and secondly, that no infinite series can exist in actuality. Ibn Daud's primary source in these sections is Ibn Sina's *Shifaa'* and possibly also al-Ghazali's *Maqaasid al-falaasifa*, whereas Ibn Gabirol is criticized for his confused notions on matter and form.

Soul. The next topic, the soul (ER I.6–7) is of central importance to Ibn Daud, linked as it is with the preceding discussions on the one hand and to his treatment of immaterial substances, prophecy and ethics in parts II and III on the other. Ibn Daud adopts the Aristotelian definition of the soul as the perfection of a natural body that possesses life potentially. Contrary to what "the physicians" (i.e., Hippocrates and perhaps also Galen) claim, the soul is not an accident or mixture, but a substance in the sense of form. The soul is one but manifests itself through many faculties. Ibn Daud's extensive survey of the various faculties of the vegetative, animal and human soul is based on the premise that these faculties constitute a hierarchy in which each lower level serves the higher. The highest level is the intellect, thanks to which man has a special position among natural beings on earth. Following Aristotelian arguments adduced by Ibn Sina, Ibn Daud argues that the human soul, being immaterial, does not perish with the body, but is immortal.

In line with his aim to establish the harmony between religion and philosophy, Ibn Daud concludes each of the topics discussed in these sections with a paragraph on biblical verses that, in his view, point to or prove the contents of the preceding philosophical discussion. This is also valid for the first four sections of Part II where he moves from the physical world to the heavenly realm (God, His unity, His attributes and the separate substances).

GOD AND ATTRIBUTES. To prove God's existence, Ibn Daud adduces the Aristotelian proof based on motion: all motions derive from a Prime Mover who is unmoved and incorporeal. To this he adds Ibn Sina's proof based on the distinction between necessary and contingent (accidental) existence. All contingents have their origin in a Necessary Existent, God, whose essence implies His existence. While God's essence remains hidden for mortals, His existence, manifested by His actions, can be known. God's necessary existence implies His unity, both in the sense of uniqueness and simplicity, because any plurality in God would contradict His necessary existence. Therefore, Ibn Daud, following the relevant discussions by Ibn Sina and al-Ghazali, adopts the neo-Platonic procedure of interpreting all attributes of God (God as one, existent, true, eternal, living, knowing, willing and mighty) as negations, or as expressing relations of God, for these do not imply plurality in the Divine essence (ER II.1–3).

INTELLIGENCES AND EMANATION. God's unity precludes that the multiplicity of things proceeds from him directly. From the One only one thing can proceed. Between God and the physical world Ibn Daud posits a hierarchically ordered series of incorporeal substances exists that act as intermediaries between the One and the sub-lunar world. These intermediaries are called "intelligences" in philosophical parlance and "angels" in Scripture. The existence of the lowest of them, the active intellect, can be deduced from the process of cognition in the human soul. Each of the spheres has a soul and an intellect that is its unmoved mover and the final cause for the soul of the sphere. Only the first intelligence emanates directly from God. Unlike God, it is not necessary *per se*, and this is where multiplicity enters the order of beings. Each intelligence gives rise to three things: the next intelligence, the next sphere and the soul of that sphere, until the emanation of the active intellect. The forms of species and the individual forms in the sub-lunar world emanate from the intelligences and the spheres (ER II.4). Ibn Daud borrows this account, a mixture of Aristotelian, neo-Platonic and Ptolemaic ingredients, from the Muslim philosophers, albeit with some reservations.

PROPHECY. Ibn Daud presents a naturalistic account of the phenomenon of prophecy (ER II.5.1). The active intellect provides the "keys of future things" to those whose intellect has been sufficiently prepared to receive such knowledge. Prophecy is a special form of knowledge that emanates from the active intellect on the imagination and the intellect. Ibn Daud follows his Muslim sources in claiming that prophecy will emanate on those whose soul is prepared. However, in a manner reminiscent of Judah Halevi, he restricts the actual occurrence of prophecy to the Jewish people and the Holy Land. The prophet represents the highest level of the hierarchy on earth and forms the link between the supernal and the sub-lunar world.

Interestingly, halfway in the first section on prophecy Ibn Daud gives up the usual procedure of supporting his philosophical account by biblical verses and starts to integrate biblical and rabbinic passages into the discussion itself. A. Eran (1998, 263ff) has suggested that the section on prophecy originally formed an independent unit that was written together with *Sefer ha-Qabbalah*, and was later incorporated into ER.

DEFENSE OF THE LAW. The second section on prophecy (ER II.5.2) consists of a polemic concerning the eternal validity of Biblical Law directed at Muslims, Christians and perhaps also against Karaites. Arguing in syllogistic fashion and using Muslim exegetical techniques Ibn Daud defends the authenticity of the Biblical text: the revelation received by Moses is the only true revelation and the Torah has neither been abrogated nor falsified. One of his unnamed Muslim addressees is the theologian and jurist Ibn Hazm.

FREE WILL. The problem of free will is discussed in connection with a number of topics that are relevant to it: causality, the position of the intelligences/angels as intermediaries between God and humans, divine omniscience, providence, and evil (II.6).

Building on Alexander of Aphrodisias's concept of providence, he argues that angels, heavenly bodies and nature act as intermediate causes between God and humans. Ibn Daud, following Ibn Sina, considers evil to be a privation and attributes it to matter. Man must aspire to overcome his matter and to connect with the angels. Man is free to choose to do so thanks to the existence of "free" causes. Human choice belongs to the realm of the possible. Contrary to earlier Jewish thinkers Ibn Daud safeguards free will by declaring that God knows the possible only as possible, while he maintains that this does not imply a deficiency in God's knowledge. Philosophy thus teaches us that human action is undetermined, which implies that Biblical verses that seem to teach the contrary have to be interpreted in accordance with the philosophical position.

ETHICS. The freedom of the will has as its corollary that man is free to choose the right moral conduct by which he will attain bliss. A combination of Platonic and Aristotelian elements on the one hand and of Biblical notions on the other, Ibn Daud's ethics (ER III) hinges on the concept of justice. It is a matter of justice that man serves his benefactor by fulfilling the commandments. In a manner reminiscent of Abraham Ibn Ezra, Ibn Daud argues that intellectual love leads to true service of God. The Biblical commandments offer the best way not only for the perfection of man's character and his relations with his fellow-men, and thus for the ideal society, but also for constant commitment to service of God.

Ibn Daud is certainly one of the most rationalistic of Jewish philosophers. Nonetheless, in his accounts of emanation and divine knowledge he criticizes the philosophers for not recognizing the limits of the intellect. Despite the promised harmony Ibn Daud's thought displays some inconsistencies and "loose ends," for example in his theories on matter, on divine attributes and on prophecy. Moreover, he retains the belief in creation without explaining exactly how it can be reconciled with the Aristotelian view of necessary emanation, and without evaluating the arguments in support of the eternity of the world, as Maimonides was to do a few decades later.

The question of the identity of the twelfth-century Arabic-to-Latin translator Avendauth who collaborated with Dominicus Gundissalinus has not yet been solved. Modern research, however, tends to confirm M. d'Alverny's hypothesis (1954) according to which the translator Avendauth and the philosopher Ibn Daud are one and the same person.

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IBN EZRA, ABRAHAM BEN MEIR (1089–1164), one of the most important Jewish Bible exegetes; also a poet, composer of **piyyutim*, grammarian, translator, philosopher, astronomer, and astrologer. Exceptionally erudite, he was among the last creative geniuses of the Spanish "golden age." Nevertheless, despite the customary image of him, Ibn Ezra was neither a talmudic scholar (the suggestion that he studied in the yeshivah in Lucena has been refuted by Goldberg) nor a physician (his opposition in principle to medicine is detailed in his Long and Short commentaries to Exodus 21:19). He also lacked the requisite skills for business or public office, and therefore was unable to make a living in the accustomed professions of his social class – as a rabbi, *dayyan*, physician, businessman, or courtier. For lack of alternative, he became a professional poet, supported by patrons who loved poetry and sought fame. Ibn Ezra's dependence on a succession of benefactors is evident in the exaggerated praise he showered on them in his eulogies. The need to move from patron to patron, and his restless character forced Ibn Ezra to a life of wandering: besides his birthplace Tudela, we know that prior to 1140 he lived in Cordoba, Seville (where he raised his son Isaac), Christian Toledo (to which he apparently refers in his poem "*Mi ʿAlah Shamayim*" by the name "Edom," a rabbinic code-word for Rome and thus for Christianity), Gabes (Tunisia), Algeria, and Morocco. He did not, however, reach Egypt or the Land of Israel. His poetry (e.g., his poem "*Gavhu Sheḥakim*") refers to the adverse effect his prolonged wandering had on his family life.

Ibn Ezra was socially involved with the poets of his day, and was particularly close to *Judah Halevi, whom he frequently mentioned in his Bible commentaries, and who almost certainly was his in-law: his son Isaac married Halevi's daughter. Documents from the Cairo **Genizah* and from Isaac's collected poems attest to Isaac's accompanying Halevi on his sea voyage to Alexandria, where they parted: Halevi continued on alone to the Land of Israel, whereas Isaac went to Babylonia, where he eventually converted to Islam. Two of Ibn Ezra's poems, which are written in the first person, take the form of a father Abraham's elegy for his son Isaac, and refer explicitly to his death, but do not accord with the biographical and geographical facts in our possession regarding both Ibn Ezra and his son Isaac. Ezra Fleischer's conclusion, that Ibn Ezra wrote these poems about other deceased acquaintances and not about his son Isaac, must therefore be accepted. There is, therefore, no evidence that Isaac died during his father's lifetime or that Ibn Ezra knew of Isaac's apostasy in Babylonia.

In Jewish Spain, Hebrew was the language of poetry, and Judeo-Arabic was the language of prose. Ibn Ezra accordingly wrote only his religious and secular poems in Hebrew (many of which survived due to their popularity), but his Arabic works did not survive. We only know of their existence because of references to them in some of his surviving works, such as in his Introduction to his commentary to Lamentations and in one of his poems). These references indicate that his Arabic writings included both science and Bible exegesis. However, when he reached the age of 50, around the year

1140, his circumstances underwent a drastic change: for political reasons not entirely clear, he was forced to leave Muslim Spain and arrived alone in Rome (a fact to which he refers in the poem at the beginning of the Introduction to his commentary to Ecclesiastes, written in 1140). During the remaining quarter century of his life he wandered among the Jewish communities of Italy, Provence, North Africa, and England. Unlike the Jews of the Islamic countries, the Jews of Christian Europe did not know Arabic, and were, therefore, uninfluenced by Arabic science, philosophy, linguistics, and poetry. The appearance in their midst of a Spanish polymath, fluent in the sciences and in Hebrew grammar, and zealous in his rationalism and consistent *peshat* exegesis (i.e., philological and contextual interpretation), led to an ambivalent reaction: both admiration and hostility. Even Ibn Ezra's admirers failed to appreciate secular, courtier poetry. Nevertheless, affluent patrons supported him and enabled him to write his novel *peshat* exegesis, Hebrew translations of important works of grammar and astronomy, and Hebrew text books in his various areas of expertise, which exposed their children to Spanish-Jewish wisdom. The wandering poet thus became a wandering sage, combining personally and in his writings the intellectual and spiritual culture which flourished in the shadow of Islam from Babylonia to Andalusia. Ibn Ezra's wanderings during these years also resulted in our having two sets of commentaries to various biblical books and diverse versions of the same scientific work (as listed in the Bibliography). Different patrons would request the same book. However, because of his poverty, he no longer possessed the original, and therefore rewrote the book, with corrections and innovations. He now also had to write his exegetical and scientific works in Hebrew for his new readers in Christian Europe, and to coin new Hebrew terms in these disciplines, instead of the Arabic terms he had previously used. Unlike his earlier Arabic writings which were lost, most of his later writings survived, because they were written in Hebrew.

Ibn Ezra as an Exegete

Ibn Ezra probably did not write commentaries on every book of the Bible; the earliest (14th century) supercommentaries already attest that they did not have commentaries by Ibn Ezra on the Former Prophets, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Proverbs (the commentary printed as his in Rabbinic Bibles is actually by Moses Kimḥi), Ezra and Nehemiah (idem), and Chronicles. On the other hand, two commentaries (complete or fragmentary) survive on seven biblical books – Genesis, Exodus, the Minor Prophets, Psalms, Song of Songs, Esther, and Daniel.

Ibn Ezra summarized his exegetical method, with his characteristic brevity, in the rhymed introduction to his standard commentary on the Pentateuch: "This is *Sefer ha-Yashar* / by Abraham the poet;/ it is bound by the cords of grammar / and approved by the eye of reason; / happy are those who adhere to it." For Ibn Ezra, the word *yashar* (straight) included in his title was a synonym for *peshat* (comm. on Num. 22:28). He describes this method as satisfying the dual test of meticulous philology ("the cords of grammar") and strict rational plausibility ("eye of reason"); only this exegetical method can yield the spiritual joy that comes from the study of the Torah.

A significant portion of Ibn Ezra's commentary is devoted to precise and multifaceted linguistic clarifications, based on a critical adoption of the major achievements of the Spanish school of Hebrew philology. Particularly conspicuous is his tendency to apply the rules developed by his predecessors with extreme caution and stringency, and to limit to a bare minimum the prevalent recourse to exceptions and radical hypotheses (whenever he can do without them, he employs the expression: "there is no need"). For example, he rejects out of hand Ibn Janah's system of lexical substitution (that is, the legitimate interchange of similar words), and reduces to the minimum his method of consonantal substitution. Ibn Ezra demands that the exegetical enterprise be based on rational judgment, on the one hand, and on the master of all branches of knowledge, on the other: "Reason is the foundation, since the Torah was not given to those who have no knowledge, and the angel [i.e., mediator] between man and God is his intelligence" (Introduction to the standard commentary on the Pentateuch, the "Third Way"). He sought rationality not only in the rational commandments but even in the revelational commandments: "Heaven forbid that a single precept might contradict reason" (long comm. on Ex. 20:1). The narrative parts of the Pentateuch, too, must be interpreted in accordance with natural and psychological verisimilitude (comm. on Gen. 11:3, Ex. 20:1), except for miracles, which are utterly reasonable for one who believes in God's dominion over nature and is confident in the true testimony of Scripture. Miracles do contravene the laws of nature, but they do not contradict either reason (since God is omnipotent) or observation (by witnesses) (*Sefer ha-Ibbur* 10a). Accordingly, Ibn Ezra forcefully rejects the midrashic tendency to multiply miracles beyond those explicitly recounted in the Bible (long comm. on Dan. 1:15), but rejects doubts about the Noah pericope as the results of idle questions (comm. on Gen. 6:20).

The demand for plausibility extends to stylistic plausibility as well, by virtue of the rationalist assumption that Scripture is written in a language similar to "human language"; that is, that it is phrased in language to which the standard rules of syntax and rhetoric apply. The conventional gloss on "I am Esau your firstborn" (which goes back to a Midrash and was adopted by Rashi as a way to clear Jacob of lying) – "I am who I am, and Esau is your firstborn" – is rejected as "empty words" (comm. on Gen. 27:19), since the discrepancy between the text and the interpretive paraphrase is too great to conform to normal rhetoric and syntax.

Ibn Ezra also vigorously opposes ascribing significance to plene versus defective spelling. He grounds this opposition not only on the absence of any consistent usage in the matter in the various layers of the Bible, from the Pentateuch through Proverbs (introduction to the standard commentary on the Pentateuch, the "Fifth Way"), but also on the empirical fact that in day-to-day life plene and defective spelling have no independent significance (long comm. to Ex. 20:1). Because the Bible does not employ supernatural language and its own unique rhetoric ("Heaven forbid that a prophet should express himself in numerology or obscure hints" (short comm. on Ex. 1:7)), and because human beings cannot transcend human concepts, it is only natural that the biblical style incorporate anthropomorphisms: human language necessarily uses metaphors drawn from the human realm to refer to the Divinity that is above man and to nature that is below him (long. comm. on Ex. 19:20).

Ibn Ezra's quest for the philological-contextual interpretation, controlled by reason and science, is accompanied by a strong methodological awareness. Relying on the fundamental principle, "let us pursue the text" (long comm. on Ex. 9:10), Ibn Ezra rejects midrashic expansions that are not anchored in the biblical text (short comm. on Ex. 16:4). He also feels a duty to vary his terminology to denote the degree of certainty he accords to his proposed interpretations: "but the correct [interpretation] is," "with clear proofs," "perhaps," "in my opinion," "a sort of proof," "this is only a conjecture." Similarly, he frequently offers alternative interpretations when he cannot make an unequivocal decision as to which is better; nor is he afraid to acknowledge his inability to understand some verses – an inability that stems, in part, from our limited knowledge of biblical history (Gen. 49:19), and our remoteness from the biblical world (long comm. on Ex. 30:23). Even though he rejects the exegetical validity of most Midrashim (as explained in his two introductions to the Pentateuch, the "Fourth Way"), sometimes he himself finds in the text an additional dimension (literary or conceptual) that he cannot adequately prove from the context; he characterizes this as a "sort of support" (short comm. on Ex. 21:1) or as "a sort of homily" (comm. on Deut. 16:18).

Ibn Ezra's exegetical method is marked by the fertile tension between belief in the sanctity and truth of the Bible, and extreme exegetical freedom. He acknowledges the limited and partial nature of human comprehension and the limits of science (short comm. on Ex. 23:20), but not the relativity of rational judgment. Hence, when the truth of the Bible contradicts the truth of human reason, the solution must be exegetical. His steadfast adherence to the rationalist assumption that a verse cannot be at variance with knowledge gained from sensory perception or from logical reasoning, just as it cannot contradict another verse, entitles (and obliges) the commentator to make difficult verses correspond to the demands of reason (in this he follows Saadiah Gaon; see *Beliefs and Opinions* 7:1–3). This radical exegetical intervention, which detaches a verse from its primary meaning – by means of metaphorization, allegorization, and other methods of extension – is what Koranic exegesis calls *tawil* and Ibn Ezra calls *tikkun* ("correction" or "adaptation"; introduction to the long comm. on Genesis, the "Fourth Way"). In view of the risks of arbitrary interpretations, however, and to ward off the danger – whose chief embodiment he saw in Christian exegesis – that *tikkun* might be applied to undercut the stories of the Patriarchs, the practical commandments, and messianic promises, he sets (again in the wake of Saadiah) a stringent limit for the commentator: plausible verses are not to be "corrected." The procedure is permissible only when it is absolutely necessary. At most, one may discover in particularly charged verses a second stratum that supplements rather than replaces the first meaning (Introduction to the Pentateuch, the "Third Way").

Another limitation of the exegete's freedom – meant to serve as a shield against the perils of Karaite anachronism – is the belief in the binding validity of talmudic tradition, whose status as revealed Oral Law parallels that of the Written Law. Belief in the truth of the received tradition (*kabbalah*) – by which he means a reliable tradition that is chiefly halakhic and only secondarily historical and exegetical – and in its harmony with the philological-contextual meaning of the verses was deemed utterly logical: the conspicuous absence of full and comprehensive information about most of the commandments and the disproportion between what is stated explicitly in the Torah and what is only alluded to, clearly attest that the Written Law was not meant to stand alone; from the outset it was intended to be rounded out by the Oral Law. Consequently, talmudic *halakhah* may not be ignored unless it is a disputed or lone opinion. But the homiletic expositions of the Sages do not belong to the category of the "received tradition," since they are merely the fruit of their efforts to find prooftexts in Scripture to support the received *halakhah* or to provide an underpinning for their own intellectual and spiritual creativity (short comm. to Ex. 21:8; *Safah Berurah* 5a–7a). Thanks to this sharp distinction (similarly maintained later by *Naḥmanides in his disputation with Pablo Christiani), Ibn Ezra does not have to deal with most Midrashim as binding interpretations: "one who has a heart [i.e., reason] can recognize when they say *derash* and when *peshat*" (*Yesod Mora*, ch. 6). This exegetical freedom entails a countervailing exegetical restriction. The perfect correlation between the received tradition and the philological meaning of the text keeps Ibn Ezra from recognizing the legitimacy of any *peshat* interpretation that contradicts *halakhah* (advanced with no qualms by Rashi, Rashbam, and Naḥmanides). Wherever he senses a tension between accepted *halakhah* and the text, his intellectual honesty compels him to acknowledge the fact; but his faith requires him to demonstrate that the gap can be closed by means of an alternative philological meaning (long and short comm. on Ex. 13:9, Lev. 21:2).

Just as the talmudic tradition elucidates and complements the Written Law but is not derived from it, Scripture should be understood in the light of the sciences and general knowledge, but they need not be based on it ("Here we have evidence that the world is circular rather than square, although there is no need for a verse, since this is known through manifest proofs" (comm. to Isa. 40:22)). This recognition that what is known through tradition and what is known through the intellect have separate origins and are independently valid can already be found in Saadiah Gaon. Ibn Ezra, however, derives from it the far-reaching conclusion that exegetes should reduce to the absolute minimum the projection onto Scripture of both *halakhah* and science (typical of geonic exegesis). The Torah was given to all Israel, "to be understood by the learned and the unlearned" (long comm. on Ex. 20:1); consequently it contains very few allusions to philosophy and the sciences, which must be learned separately, in a systematic manner (both Introductions to Pentateuch, the "First Way").

Like Ibn Janah and Judah Halevi, Ibn Ezra fiercely rejects even cautious attempts at conjectural emendation of the text, and holds that the work of the Masoretes was flawless: "Due to them the Divine Torah and Sacred Books stood in their perfection, without additions or omissions" (*Yesod Mora*, ch. 1). Accordingly, he insists that any interpretation respects the punctuational functions of the cantillation signs and the division into verses; rejects as a "lone view" the tannaitic tradition of the "eighteen emendations of the Scribes"; and deals with differences between *qere* and *ketiv*, alternate versions of parallel texts (such as the two versions of the Decalogue and of several Psalms), and the discrepancies between Pseudo-Jonathan and the Masoretic text as exegetical problems rather than textual phenomena.

Ibn Ezra's rejection of lower criticism seems to have provided a counterweight for his penchant for higher criticism. In other words, his utter confidence in the accuracy of the text and the reliability of the method provides him with a basis for his extreme exegetical independence and critical approach when it comes to the question of the authorship of the biblical books. He is greatly perturbed by anachronisms. Elucidating comments – like "the Canaanite was then in the land" (Gen. 12:6), "as it is said to this day, in the mount of the Lord it shall be seen" (Gen. 22:14), "his bedstead, an iron bedstead, is now in Rabbath of the children of Ammon" (Deut. 3:11) – are later additions, just like the last 12 verses of Deuteronomy, which were written prophetically by Joshua (comm. on Deut. 1:2, 34:1 and 6). Ibn Ezra's criteria for determining the date of composition of a text are exegetical and literary, not rhetorical and historical. The question that bothers him is, whether it is plausible that Moses and Isaiah wrote such things, and not (as scholars ask today) whether such passages had meaning for their own contemporaries. With regard to Daniel's prophecy of the end of days he stresses that the prophet himself did not understand the arcane mysteries spoken to him, but "when the end arrives, the learned will understand them" (long comm. on Dan. 12:8–9). It is not rhetorical considerations – that there was no sense or meaning for passages of redemption, return, and the rebuilding of Jerusalem in the days of Hezekiah, or for the proclamation of Cyrus the Mede as the Lord's anointed at a time when the Assyrian empire still reigned supreme – that lead Ibn Ezra to post-date the prophecies in the second part of the book of Isaiah (carefully veiled hints in his commentary to Isa. 40:1). His reasons are entirely exegetical: the fact that the prophet is described as present in the Babylonian exile when his consolations are realized (comm. in Isa. 49:7); the Babylonian milieu of the present-tense description of the imminent redemption (Isa. 55:6); and the exegetical advantage of reading "the servant of the Lord" prophecies as referring to the prophet himself (Isa. 53:12).

On the question of the authorship of the Psalms, discussed in the introductions to his two commentaries on that book, Ibn Ezra adopts the Sages' view that the Psalms were written by divinely inspired prophet-poets, some of whom are identified in the superscriptions, but does not present this view of "the ancients" as binding but as plausible. As for the book of Job, he disputes two talmudic opinions, that Job is a fictional character, or that Moses wrote the book. In Ibn Ezra's view, Job and his friends were historical figures: gentile prophets (except, perhaps, for Elihu), who lived before the time of Moses (comm. on Job 1:1), and whose language was not Hebrew, since the difficult language of the book indicates that it is a translation (on Job 2:11).

Ibn Ezra repeatedly stresses the paucity of our knowledge about the historical and biographical backgrounds of the prophetic books, and rejects the use of Midrashim to fill in the gaps; as long as they are not reliable traditions they are not to be drawn on as if they were historical evidence. For example, in the introduction to Joel he writes: "We have no way to know when he lived; on the basis of the *peshat* he is not the son of Samuel" (as a Midrash would have it). On the other hand, he is certain that Solomon wrote the Song of Songs and Ecclesiastes, since this is explicitly stated in the text. As for the nature of the Song of Songs, he takes a clear traditional stance: it is not to be understood, in keeping with the surface meaning, as an erotic poem (since there was no disagreement among the Sages as to its sanctity), and its application as an allegory of the Jewish people is a binding tradition.

In Ibn Ezra's commentaries on the poetic chapters of the Bible, the literary and esthetic dimension is not developed to the extent one might expect from so great a poet. The custom of the liturgical and secular poets of Spain to indicate the melody to accompany a poem by citing, at its beginning, the opening words of another poem sung to that tune provides the basis for his brilliant conjecture that this is the significance of some of the opaque superscriptions, e.g., to Psalm 56:1, 57:1. He does not interpret them as part of the psalms, since their (forgotten) musical significance was their only meaning in these places. Occasionally he comments on poetic ornaments such as *inclusio*, antithesis, paronomasia, palillogy, and parallelism. In prose he notes that chiasmus is in accordance with "the custom of the holy tongue" (long comm. to Ex. 17:7), and that the use of homonyms "adds elegance" (comm. on Gen. 3:1).

To guard against the age-old exegetical tradition that all aspects of the text (from "superfluous" words to dotted letters) require a gloss, Ibn Ezra relies on a view of language that was accepted by many of the Jewish and Muslim scholars of Spain: "The words are like bodies and the meanings like souls … Hence it is the rule of scholars in every language to preserve the meaning; they do not worry about interchanging words if they have the same meaning" (long comm. on Ex. 20:1). The verbal expression is not considered to be an essential part of the meaning, but only one of its garments: "Essentially words are but hints; knowledge of the language has no independent value, but is a vehicle of communication" (short comm. on Ex. 23:20). Style is even further removed from the sense; it is no more than an external ornament, pinned onto the garment to make it more attractive. Relying on these assumptions, Ibn Ezra can ignore a host of stylistic phenomena that provide the foundations for glosses he regards as remote from the *peshat*; they also enable him to explain to his own satisfaction the significant differences between parallel episodes (e.g., two reports of Pharaoh's dream and two versions of the Decalogue), by representing them as purely external (*Yesod Mora*, ch. 1). The price of this concept of literary expression as almost exclusively devoted to transmitting information is a notable neglect of fine turns of expression and stylistic niceties inherent in a particular formulation.

His audacious critical hints, and perhaps also his caustic language and polemical temperament, have given Ibn Ezra the reputation of a radical innovator who conceals the main points of his heterodox opinions behind a veil of traditional declarations of faith. But this picture is mistaken. His sacred poetry allows us to paint his portrait as a genuinely religious personality, steadfast in his allegiance to the Jewish faith and his love of the Jewish people. What is more, his final judgments in most of the fundamental debates of scriptural exegesis reflect a measured and reasoned middle course, motivated by the aspiration to achieve a synthesis of opposing stances. In the four-way polemic presented in his two introductions to the Pentateuch he does not reject the methods of his predecessors outright. Instead, he expresses his reservations about their one-sidedness so that he can incorporate their positive elements into his own multi-dimensional and balanced method.

[Uriel Simon (2nd ed.)]

Ibn Ezra as a Philosopher

Ibn Ezra's philosophy is Neoplatonic in orientation, and also manifests a Neo-Pythagorean fascination with numerology. Since most of his works are unsystematic in exposition, present ideas in various places, and are elliptical in style, his thought is frequently difficult to characterize systematically. His commentaries in particular sometimes note that "this is a mystery" (*sod*) or "the intelligent (*maskil*) will understand," which may merely indicate the profundity of the issue, or may at times serve to mute radical conclusions.

Philosophical exegesis of the Bible, for Ibn Ezra as for *Philo, became an integral literary genre for philosophizing, not only because (in the words of H.A. Wolfson) "Scripture has to be interpreted in the light of what is most evidently true in reason, and reason has to be corrected in light of what is evidently the true teachings of Scripture" (*Philo: Foundations of Religious Philosophy in Judaism, Christianity and Islam*, 1947, 2, 447), but also because it simultaneously provides the occasion for the religious philosopher, committed to both revelation and reason, to comprehend and make explicit the rationality underlying revelation, thus demonstrating the rational validity of religion within the philosophic community, and to expound philosophical ideas in the religious community studying Scripture. Philosophical Bible exegesis thus becomes both a philosophic and religious imperative. Although such philosophic works as Saadiah's *Book of Beliefs and Opinions* and Maimonides' *Guide of the Perplexed* are replete with references to and exegesis of Biblical passages (indeed, Maimonides defines the first purpose of his book as an explanation of [perplexing] Biblical terms), Ibn Ezra was an outstanding example of medieval systematic exegesis of the Bible as a philosophical literary genre.

At its core, for Ibn Ezra revelation is a rational process, and not just a historical event. As mentioned above, "the judgment of reason is the foundation" (*shikul ha-da'at hu ha-yesod*) and the angel (mediator) between a person and God; the angels are of the "species" (*min*) of the human intellect. It is the underlying rationality of revelation, as well as rational plausibility, which leads Ibn Ezra to questions of higher criticism (discussed in the previous section), and also underlies his understanding of the meaning of revelation as recorded in Scripture. He uses the identical phrase, "reason cannot tolerate" (*ein ha-da'at sovelet*) these things, to reject what he regarded as unreasonable interpretations of Scripture, both by the Karaites and by the talmudic rabbis – in the case of the Karaites, their literalist understanding of "an eye for an eye" as physical punishment (long comm. on Ex. 21:24), and in the case of the rabbis, their midrashic view that both versions of the Decalogue were given simultaneously (*zakhor ve-shamor be-dibbur eḥad ne'emru*); since people cannot comprehend two different ideas spoken at the same time, a simultaneous revelation of both would have been incomprehensible and thus meaningless (long comm. on Ex. 20:1).

In Ibn Ezra's understanding, the structure of the Decalogue reflects this inherent rationality of revelation. Like Maimonides after him, Ibn Ezra interprets the opening phrase "I am the Lord your God" as a positive commandment, but for different reasons (in light of his Neoplatonic and Neo-Pythagorean conceptions of the One). There are commandments relating to speech ("the mouth" or "the tongue") and actions, but there are also "commandments of the heart," relating to human understanding. The existence of God "includes all the commandments of the heart and tongue and action, for whoever does not believe in God in his heart has no commandments," just as substance, the first of the ten Aristotelian categories, is the substratum for the other nine categories, which are accidents, and just as One is the source of all other numbers (long comm. to Ex. 20:1). The One, for Ibn Ezra, by which he frequently refers to God, is thus not a number or quantity at all, but the self-sufficient source of all number and quantity, upon which everything else depends.

The dependence of everything on God derives from their having been created by him. Creation, however, is not *ex nihilo* (as Saadiah and many other early Jewish philosophers believed), and the term *bara* (Gen. 1:1) means cutting (*gazar*), i.e., establishing limits or boundaries (*gevul nigzar*) among existing entities (comm. to Gen. 1:1, Isa. 40:28, 42:5). This creation, described in Genesis, applies only to the lowest (*shafel*) of three worlds. Ibn Ezra's three-fold cosmology is found in several different passages – e.g., in his long commentary to Exodus 3:15 (repeated in less detail in his commentary on Ex. 20:2–3), and his commentary to Daniel 10:21 – but with major differences between the two cosmologies, in terms of both direction and content.

Ascending Order (in Exodus)	**Descending Order (in Daniel)**
The lowest world *(olam shafel)*	The first world *(olam rishon)*
A. minerals	The One (= God)
B. plants	The second world (*olam sheni*)
C. animals	Bodiless angels
D. humans	Stars (imperishable matter)
The middle world (*olam tikhon*)	The third world (*olam shelishi*)
A. planets	Terrestrial, material world
B. stars and constellations	(including humans)
The upper world (*olam elyon*)	
angels	

When describing the ontological descending order of cosmology (the Neoplatonic downward way), Ibn Ezra begins with the One (i.e., God), the source of all being, from whom the second world emanates, consisting of the angels and the heavenly bodies. These are related, because the angels are the separate intelligences of the imperishable, but material, moving spheres of the stars. The second world, in other words, is the heavenly realm (both spiritual and material) transcending the third, terrestrial world in which we live. Conversely, when describing the spiritual ascending order of cosmology (the Neoplatonic upward way), reflecting the soul's progressive purification from corporeality and ascent to its sources, Ibn Ezra begins with material existence. The highest level attainable is wisdom, the rank of the angels (who, as stated above, are of the same species as the human intellect). That is the highest degree of perfection which the human soul can hope to attain, and therefore, the ascending order of cosmology does not include mention of God, the One, transcending all other reality.

In the Bible, the term *elohim*, the general term for God, is in the plural form, and often refers to the angels (as Neoplatonic intermediaries between the One and lower levels of reality), because "all of the actions of the Lord are by means of the angels who do his will" (regular comm. to Gen. 1:1). *Elohim* can thus refer to different realities, in contrast with the Tetragrammaton YHWH which is a proper, substantive noun referring only to the One (long comm. to Exod. 6:2–3, 32:1). In various passages in his commentaries, and in his monographs *Sefer ha-Shem* ("the Book of the Name") and *Yesod Mora ve-Sod ha-Torah* Ibn Ezra analyzes this unique name of God, including the numerical values of the letters when added to or multiplied by each other in various combinations.

Since the One is the source of all numbers, it is in all numbers (all numbers are composed of units) and all numbers are in it (as their source). This insight leads Ibn Ezra to a pantheistic equation of the One with "All": "he is the One which is everything (*hu ha-eḥad she-hu ha-kol*; long comm. to Exod. 33:21), and "he is all and all is from him" (*hu ha-kol u-me-itto ha-kol*; long comm. to Ex. 23:21), and "God is the One, he creates all, and he is all, and I cannot explain" (*Ha-shem hu ha-eḥad, ve-hu yoẓer ha-kol, ve-hu ha-kol, ve-lo ukhal le-faresh*; comm. to Gen. 1:26). As in other cases, Ibn Ezra's elliptical, pantheistic language makes it difficult to determine with certainty whether "*kol*" in these cases refers to God (as maintained by H. Kreisel), to the active intellect (as suggested by E. Wolfson), to a Neoplatonic notion of emanation, or to a Neo-Pythagorean description of One which itself is not number, but transcends number, containing all number and contained in all number.

Similar ambiguity surrounds Ibn Ezra's notion that the "All" knows all in a general way (*al derekh kol*) but not in a particular way (*ve-lo al derekh ḥelek*; comm. to Gen. 18:21; Ex. 33:14–21). These statements do not indicate an Aristotelian denial of divine knowledge of terrestrial particulars. Rather, they seem to mean that whereas our empirical knowledge always implies a clear distinction between the particular knower and the particular known object, in the "All" there can be no distinction between subject, act, and object of knowledge, and that the "All," by knowing itself, knows everything contained in itself as their source, and thereby knows all in a general and not particular way.

Just as the "All" knows all by knowing itself, so, in a sense, does the human being, because "the human body is like a microcosm (*ʿolam qatan*). May God be blessed who began with the macrocosm and finished with the microcosm" (comm. to Gen. 1:26); "one who knows the secret of the human [rational] soul (*neshamah*) and the composition (*matkonet*)" of his body, can know the things of the upper world, because the human is the image of the microcosm (*demut olam katan*)" (long comm. to Ex. 26:1). Knowledge of oneself is thus prior and essential to knowledge of God: a person "cannot know God if he does not know his soul (*nefesh*), his rational soul (*neshamah*), and his body; for whoever does not know the essence (*mahut*) of his soul, what wisdom does he have?" (long comm. to Ex. 31:18).

Such self-knowledge takes on additional significance in light of Ibn Ezra's astrological theories. His interest in astrology was not limited to the purely theoretical level, and extended to practical astrology as well. Ibn Ezra's astrology is a consistent element in the three-fold cosmological structure described above; it entails understanding the influences of the higher realms on the lower, particularly on human affairs. However, to worship the stars, which are "servants" (*meshartim*) possessing no independent will or conscious purpose, and whose activity is purely automatic and necessary, is out of the question (long comm. to Ex. 33:21). Ibn Ezra also argues against a magical or theurgic interpretation of the fiery serpent (*saraf*) in Numbers 21:8, although elsewhere he understands the cherubim and other sacred objects in the portable tabernacle as having astrological, and possibly also astral magic, significance, and "after you understand these you will understand the secret of the brass serpent" (short comm. to Ex. 25:7). For Ibn Ezra, astrology (perhaps including astral magic) is thus a way of understanding how the various components of natural reality influence each other.

Astral influence is not merely a function of the arrangement or constellation (*maʿarekhet*) of the higher power (*koaḥ*). The influence of the higher power is determined no less by the constituent make-up or physical constitution of the receiver (*toledet ha-mekabbel*) below. As Ibn Ezra explains in his Introduction to Ecclesiastes, in the scheme of emanation, one agent can produce one effect, but these effects can differ according to differences among the receivers, just as the differences among the receivers reflect differences in the constellation of the astral agent affecting them (comm. to Deut. 5:26).

Astral effects cannot be changed, but it is precisely their pre-determined predictability that provides for an element of human free will, since the person who knows of a certain inevitable effect can take steps to avoid it, such as people who know through astrological prediction that there will be a flood, can opt to flee to high ground. Within this general scheme, however, there is an important exceptional feature. Picking up on the talmudic phrase that "Israel has no constellar sign" (*ein mazal le-yisrael*) (Shab. 156a, Ned. 32a et al.), Ibn Ezra states: "It is well established that every nation has a known star and constellation, and that there is a constellar sign for every city. But God gave Israel a great superiority by his, rather than a star's, being their guide, for Israel is God's portion" (comm. to Deut. 4:19).

Israel is thus ruled directly by God, and not by any astral intermediaries, and the Torah provides for the Jew a way to escape general astral influence. The stars, after all, belong to the intermediate realm, and exert influence on the lowest, terrestrial realm. The Torah, however, transcends the intermediate realm of the stars and their influences, and belongs to the upper realm of the angels and the rational soul. So in terms of Ibn Ezra's cosmology, the Torah is ontologically superior to the stars, and its power is superior to astral forces. The Torah thus provides the Jewish people, according to Ibn Ezra's astrological theory, a particular freedom from astral influence. This needs to be understood, however, naturalistically, rather than theurgically, in terms of the knowledge the Torah imparts to its adherents, a knowledge which enables them to understand the predictable influences of the stars, and thereby to escape them. "The servants [i.e., the stars] cannot change their path, and the subservience of each of them is the rule given it by God … Worshipping the works of the heavens cannot be beneficial for [a person], for whatever was decreed for him according to the constellation of the stars at his birth will happen to him, unless a power superior to the power of the stars protects him, and he cleaves to it, so that he will then be saved from the decrees" (long comm. to Ex. 33:21).

Israel's uniqueness is not, however, a function of any special physical power, as suggested by Judah Halevi's theory of a Jewish biological faculty for divine communication, the *amr ilahi* (Hebrew: *inyan elohi*). Such a physical faculty would be, for Ibn Ezra, a necessary component of one's physical constitution (*toledet*), which would then necessarily be subject to astral influence. It is only by living according to the Torah's teaching that Israel is exempted or saved from astral influence: "This is what the sages [meant when they] said, 'Israel has no constellar sign,' so long as they [i.e., the Jewish people] observe the Torah" (long comm. on Ex. 33:21). Without the Torah, there is thus no difference between Jew and non-Jew. Ibn Ezra and Halevi thus present us with opposite interpretations of Jewish distinctiveness. For Halevi, it is the biological or genetic distinctiveness of the Jewish people which makes possible the revelation of the Torah to them. For Ibn Ezra, it is the divinely revealed Torah which makes possible the existence of the people of Israel as a special group, governed directly by God's law rather than indirectly through a system of astral influences.

[Raphael Jospe (2nd ed.)]

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IBN EZRA, ISAAC (**Abu Saad**, ca. 1109–after 1163), Hebrew poet. Born in Spain, the son of Abraham *Ibn Ezra, he was raised in Andalusia, probably in Córdoba, Seville, and Almeria, as a member of the cultivated young Jewish elite. He was very close to *Judah Halevi, perhaps serving him as a secretary, and many scholars believe that he married his only daughter. S. Goitein published some correspondence found in the **Genizah* between Isaac and *Halfon ben Nethanel (who visited Andalusia in 1127) on commercial topics; M. Gil and E. Fleischer published with commentary in 2001 various *Genizah* fragments that included an interesting correspondence between them; thanks to these eight documents we have much better information today about Isaac's adult years. In 1140 he accompanied Judah Halevi on his trip to Egypt, and they arrived at Alexandria in the fall. Like Halevi he sang the praises of the *nagid*, Samuel b. Hananiah and of other distinguished patrons. It seems that differences arose between Judah and Isaac. While Halevi continued his trip in the direction of Jerusalem (shortly before his death), Isaac stayed in Egypt. One of his poems of this time is dedicated to the death of Judah

Halevi. In 1142 he left for Damascus, and a few months later, in 1143, he continued to Baghdad, where he was court poet and secretary to the philosopher-physician *Hibat Allah Abu Albarakāt (Nethanel) Ben Ali Albaghdādī b. Malka. When his patron converted to Islam in his old age, around 1163, it seems that Ibn Ezra, under his influence, also changed his faith. In one of his poems he complains that people say that he has converted; in another, he confesses that he did become a Moslem, but in his heart of hearts remained a loyal Jew and continued to keep the commandments. In Gate Three of the *Taḥkemoni*, Judah *al-Harizi says of him: "His son Isaac drank deep, as well, from Song's pure well, but when he came to Eastern domains loosed faith's firm reins. He pierced his father's flesh with cruel barb, for he stripped off his garments and put on different garb." Some scholars, however, deny Isaac's conversion, and explain these words in a different sense. He died in exile in the Orient, far from Spain. Among the elegies written by his father, Abraham, there are two laments on the death of a son that some scholars think were written when Isaac died; however, as E. Fleischer has shown, it is very unlikely that they represent the personal feelings of the poet on the death of his son.

Scores of his secular poems have been preserved, part of them fragments of his *diwan* found in the Geniza; about a dozen poems, six of them strophic poems, were published by N. Ben-Menahem in 1950. M. Schmelzer's edition (1980) includes a rhymed prose letter and 44 poems (plus 12 dubious poems) taken mostly from the Silvera manuscript (after its acquisition by the Jewish Theological Seminary of New York), a copy of the selection of Isaac's poems written in Egypt and Iraq, prepared by *Abraham ben Mazhir, head of the Damascus academy, from 1142 on. Thanks to this edition, we know that Isaac kept alive the Andalusian tradition in the Orient, writing in a style very close to Judah Halevi's, faithful to the classical language and conventions of Andalusia. Although we do not know very much about the poetry that he wrote in Andalusia, in the Orient he wrote panegyrics, songs of friendship, complaints, letters in rhymed prose, etc., in the most classical manner. He was a poet of distinction, whose works were not inferior to those of his contemporaries.

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[Jefim (Hayyim) Schirmann / Angel Sáenz-Badillos (2nd ed.)]

IBN EZRA, JOSEPH BEN ISAAC (c. 1560–1620), rabbi and author. Joseph ibn Ezra was born in Constantinople and at the age of seventeen he went to *Salonika, where he studied under Samuel di *Medina and Aaron b. Solomon b. Ḥasson in Salonika. He was active as a teacher in the yeshivah of Don David b. Yaḥya where he attracted numerous pupils, including Meir b. Shem Tov Melamed and Shabbetai Jonah. Later he served as rabbi of Larissa and of Sofia. He was among the most respected Turkish rabbis and halakhic authorities of his time. He was the author of *Rosh Yosef,* novellae on the Tur, *Ḥoshen Mishpat*, of which the part (to ch. 163) dealing with community taxation and administration was published with the title *Massa Melekh* (Salonika, 1601). He also wrote novellae to the Tur *Even-ha-Ezer*, giving them the same title *Rosh Yosef.* Other works include *Aẓmot Yosef* (Salonika, 1601, et al.), a commentary on tractate *Kiddushin* for practical *halakhah*; a commentary on *Bava Meẓia*; and responsa, some of which were published in the *Mishpat Ẓedek* (Salonika, 1799; Pt. 2 no. 31) of Meir Melamed, in the *Shai la-Mora* (Salonika, 1671; no. 2) of Shabbetai Jonah, in the responsa of Solomon ha-Kohen, and in Samuel Ḥayyun's *Benei Shemu'el*. Ibn Ezra died in *Sofia.

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[*Encyclopaedia Judaica* (Germany)]

IBN EZRA, MOSES BEN JACOB (also known as **Abu Harun**; c. 1055–after 1135), Spanish Hebrew poet and philosopher. Born in Granada, he was a pupil of Isaac ibn Ghayyat in Lucena, "the city of poetry." In his youth Moses acquired a very comprehensive Jewish and Arabic education. He appears to have held an honored position in the province of Granada, since his name is qualified by the Arabic title "*ṣāḥib al-shurṭa*" (lit. "head of the police", but also "his excellency"). Ibn Ezra encouraged Judah Halevi in his early poetic efforts and invited him to come to Granada where he supported him, and the two formed a lasting friendship. In 1090 a decisive change took place in his life: Granada was captured by the Almoravides, its Jewish community was destroyed, and the members of the Ibn Ezra family dispersed. It is not known why Ibn Ezra remained in Granada for a while. After much effort and suffering he also succeeded in fleeing to Christian Spain but he was not allowed to return to his native city for which he yearned all his life. Ibn Ezra's later years were full of misfortune and bitter delusions the cause of which it would seem, from the poet's own rather vague references, was his niece, daughter of his eldest brother, Isaac (an assumption which has, however, been disputed). He also suffered other disappointments: his brother Joseph deserted him when he was in trouble and his own children forsook him. He was obliged to seek the aid of munificent patrons in return for which he had to sing their praise. Ibn Ezra wandered through Christian Spain but could neither adapt himself to the manners of its Jewish population nor to their low cultural standard. He died far from his native city.

Poetry

Ibn Ezra is one of the most prolific poets of the Spanish school; his mastery of the language is attested by the beauty and versatility of his secular and sacred verse. He was also interested in the theory of poetics and was probably the greatest authority of his day on the subject; his treatise on rhetorics and poetry, *Kitāb al-Muḥāḍara wa al-Mudhākara*, is one of the earliest works on Hebrew poetics and as such is unique in medieval Hebrew literature. It was written in his old age (after 1135) in answer to eight questions on Hebrew poetry posed by a friend and is thus correspondingly divided into eight chapters. Only a small part of the Arabic original was published by P. Kokowzoff (1895). B.Z. Halper translated it into Hebrew under the title *Shirat Yisrael* (Leipzig, 1924). A valuable historical source for Spanish Hebrew poetry in general and for biographical data on individual authors, the work also tries to establish a relationship between the poet and his environment. While much of the book is devoted to a general discussion on poetry, its essence, its nature, and its value, the last chapter (comprising about half the work) is a close study of what he called "poetic ornaments" (rhetorical forms and metaphorical language) as a means to embellish the content of the poem. Definitions of terms and linguistic and poetical (metrical) rules set down by scholars of Arabic literature form the basis of the work which is written in the Arabic *adab* form, an informal casual style. Ibn Ezra, in taking many of his examples of "ornaments" or metaphorical language from the Bible, shows an appreciation for its literary charm and beauty, a field neglected until modern times.

In his poetry Ibn Ezra pedantically observed the principles of prosody and some of his poems are models of prosodic perfection to which Al-Ḥarizi's statement "and the verse of R. Moses ibn Ezra appeals more than any other poetry to poets because of the rhetoric," bears witness. His exaggerated desire for a beautiful external poetic form and a rhetoric language, replete with "ornaments," at times restricts the flow of free poetic expression, especially in some of his secular poems; there are, however, a considerable number of poems that are perfect in every aspect. Many of the poetic images and linguistic patterns in Ibn Ezra are so intricate that only the discerning eye of a poet can unravel the complexity of their composition. Much of his poetry bears a note of personal grief which may be attributed to the troubles that the poet had experienced. His loneliness in "the exile of Edom" and his yearning for his native city are at times expressed with warmth and great simplicity.

Poems in celebration of life, whose main themes are love, wine, and nature, belong mostly to his early poetry, and form a considerable part of *Sefer ha-Anak*, sometimes called *Tarshish* (the Hebrew letters standing for the numerical value of its 1,210 verses). Ending in homonymic rhyme, these poems are the first of their kind in Hebrew literature. The work served as a model for medieval poets. It was first published by Baron David Guenzberg (Berlin, 1886) and is included in Brody's edition (see below); a commentary was written by Saul b. Abdallah Joseph in his book *Mishbeẓet ha-Tarshish* (1926). *Sefer ha-Anak* is divided into ten chapters and written in the Arabic poetic style *tajnīs* in which words recur in different stanzas but acquire a novel meaning in each repetition. Other themes in the work are: rural life, infidelity in friendship, old age, vicissitudes in luck, death, trust in God, and the beauty of poetry. Ibn Ezra's secular poetry is the most sensual in the Jewish Spanish school. It is in the tradition of Samuel *ha-Nagid, one of his favorite poets, in which the overall theme is also a zest for life. Both poets achieved an aesthetic blend of contradictory outlooks in which the negation is usually couched in clever witty language. Ibn Ezra celebrated the joys of life also in his later poetry: the exquisite verse on banquets and romance found in the introduction to poems written in his old age show his great mastery of prosody. This was a time when the poet was bitter and dejected yet this mood neither impeded his great poetic sense nor undermined his joyful poetry. Much of his secular poetry is included in the *diwan* (a collection of poems) which, together with *shirei ezor* (girdle poems called in Arabic *Muwashshaḥāt*) and letters, were published in a scientific edition by H. Brody in two volumes (1935–42).

His poetic power found its greatest expression in his reflective poetry: meditations on life and death. These poems are also in the tradition of Samuel ha-Nagid (in "*Ben Kohelet*," etc.) While Ibn Ezra is original neither in thought nor in approach he holds and moves the reader with the honesty of his emotions and the vigor of his style. In his epigrams on the vanities of the world and his poems on the feelings evoked at the sight of a cemetery, he skillfully blended direct aesthetic expression with analytical thought and ethical teaching.

Among Ibn Ezra's corpus of *piyyutim*, the *seliḥot* (penitential prayers) are the most impressive. Early scholars probably regarded them as the most consummate expression of his talent and called him Ha-Sallaḥ, the writer of *seliḥot*. Most of them show intricate artistic variation in their strophic form; their rhymes and rhythm evincing a very developed musical sense which by itself imparts great aesthetic pleasure. Ibn Ezra's penchant for analyzing and preaching at times, however, restrains, even in the *seliḥot*, direct poetic expression; he tends to be repetitive and uses cliché idioms and images, yet some of his religious verse is considered among the finest in the Hebrew *piyyut*. They are the aesthetic expression of a contrite soul who longs for his Maker. Introspection and meditation are focal points: Ibn Ezra calls on man to look at himself, at the absurdity of life, the bluster of worldly aspirations and achievements, the inevitable disenchantment of the hedonist, and the inexorability of divine judgment. Hope is found in penance and contrition. Some of his *piyyutim* also have a national motif. He condemns those who see the biblical messianic prophecies merely as a spiritual symbol and also those who interpret them rationally or are skeptical about the miracles that center around the redemption.

In Ibn Ezra's sacred poetry there are traces of ideas, images, and idioms from his secular verse which was directly influenced by Arabic literature. The Jewish religious and Arabic secular elements are, however, very effectively interwoven. While many of his *piyyutim* are included in the *diwan* manuscript, most of them are scattered in the prayer books of different rites. Selected *piyyutim* by Ibn Ezra were published in various anthologies. H. Brody and S. Solis Cohen published a collection of selected poems of Moses ibn Ezra (Philadelphia, 1934) and an incomplete edition, containing 237 poems, was published by S. Bernstein in 1957.

[*Encyclopedia Hebraica*]

Philosophy

Although Ibn Ezra was an accomplished poet and literary critic, his philosophic attainments were minor. He expressed his philosophic views in an Arabic work entitled *al-Maqāla bi al-Ḥadīqa fī Maʿnā al-Majāz wa al-Ḥaqīqa* (D. Sassoon, *Ohel Dawid, Descriptive Catalogue of the Hebrew and Samaritan Manuscripts in the Sassoon Library, London* (1932), 410, and fragments at Leningrad). An anonymous Hebrew translation of a small part of this work appeared as *Arugat ha-Bosem* ("Bed of Spices," in: Creizenach's *Zion*, 2 (1842), 117–23, 134–7, 157–60, 175; see M. Steinschneider, *Catalog der Hebraeischen Handschriften in der Stadtbibliothek zu Hamburg* (1878), 105; and Neubauer, Cat, 1180, 20). It deals with the position of man in the universe, the unknowability of God, and the intellect. Ibn Ezra's orientation was *neoplatonic, and he was influenced by Solomon ibn *Gabirol's *Mekor Ḥayyim* which he cites (for a discussion, see Pines in bibliography). His views are presented unsystematically and, consequently, are difficult to reconstruct in detail. He also uses many quotations, often wrongly attributed to Pythagoras, Socrates, Plato, Aristotle, or Hermes (whom he identifies with Enoch).

Typical of Ibn Ezra's neoplatonic approach is his conception of man as a microcosm. The perfections of man's creation point to a wise Creator, who is described as a self–subsistent, unitary being preceding creation. It follows from the absolute unity of God that the Divine Essence cannot be comprehended by the human mind, but only described by metaphor. As our eyes cannot see the sun in its brilliance, so our minds cannot comprehend God in His perfection. The finite and imperfect human mind cannot know the infinite and perfect God. Whatever knowledge of God man can attain must begin with knowledge of his own soul, but this knowledge can be attained only after freeing himself from the senses and appetites.

Making use of the neoplatonic doctrine of *emanation, Ibn Ezra postulated the active intellect, a power emanating from the Divine Will, as God's first creation. The intellect is a simple and pure substance containing within itself the forms of all existing things. There is also an intellect in man, known as the passive intellect, but this intellect is different from and above the human rational soul. The rational soul is a pure substance giving perfection to the human body, and below it exists an animal soul in man. The rational soul is like the horseman and the body, like his weapon; as the horseman attends to his weapon, so the soul attends to the body.

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IBN EZRA, SOLOMON BEN MOSES (d. 1688), Turkish rabbi. A pupil of Joseph *Escapa, he became *dayyan* at Smyrna, where because of his knowledge of Turkish he was appointed secretary of the community as well as its representative (*kehaja*) in its dealings with the Turkish authorities. He adopted a lenient attitude toward the Karaites. Several of his novellae are included in *Battei Kenesiyyot* (Salonika, 1806), a book of novellae and responsa written by his grandson Abraham ibn Ezra of Salonika. Solomon wrote a number of introductions and edited and compiled indexes to the works of other authors, including Ḥayyim *Benveniste's *Keneset ha-Gedolah* (Leghorn, 1658), and Jacob *Berab's responsa (Venice, 1663).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Conforte, Kore, 32b; S. Ḥazan, *Ha-Ma'alot li-Shelomo* (1859), 93a, no. 19; Rosanes, Togarmah, 4 (1935), 168–9; A. Galanté, *Histoire des Juifs d'Anatolie*, 1 (1937), 52–53.

[Simon Marcus]

IBN FADANJ (**Fadanq**), an old and distinguished family of Toledo, Spain. The merchant brothers IBRAHIM and JACOB (mid-11th century) emigrated by Ereẓ Israel, where they joined the Karaite community in Ramleh. It is possible that they had Karaite convictions beforehand, as a Karaite community existed in Toledo. The story of their eventful trip and subsequent trials and tribulations comes from a letter – attached to a map of Jerusalem – written in 1053 by Simeon b. Saul ibn Israel to his sister in Toledo; it was found in the Cairo *Genizah*. According to the letter, the brothers were kidnapped on the way and brought to Constantinople, finally arriving as penniless captives in Ramleh. They wished to remain members of the Karaite community there, but several women from Toledo, who lived in Ramleh, informed Karaite officials that the brothers were married to two sisters, an act forbidden by the Karaite law. The case was handled in both Karaite and Rabbanite courts. Ibrahim then went to Jerusalem, settled on the outskirts of the city, and returned to Rabbanism. Jacob remained a Karaite. The story is important for its description of the legal proceedings, interactions, and life in Rabbanite and Karaite communities in Ereẓ Israel in that period. Descendants of the Ibn Fadanj family continued to live in Toledo and are mentioned in several documents dating from the Christian period.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Abraham Ibn Daud, *Sefer ha-Qabbalah – The Book of Tradition*, ed. by G.D. Cohen (1967), XLII–LXII; A. González Palencia, *Los Mozárabes de Toledo*, 3 (1928), 592–4, no. 1150; S. Assaf, in: *Zion*, 6 (1940/41), 32–44; Ashtor, Korot, 2 (19662), 141f; idem, in: *Sefarad*, 24 (1964), 47–59.

IBN GAON, SHEM TOV BEN ABRAHAM (late 13th to 14th centuries), kabbalist and halakhist. Ibn Gaon was born in Soria, Spain, and migrated to Ereẓ Israel in 1312, producing most of his work in Safed. His principal teachers were Solomon b. Abraham *Adret and *Isaac b. Todros. He was primarily influenced by the writings of *Naḥmanides, in which he saw the synthesis of the rational and the mystical (*halakhah*, Kabbalah, and scriptural commentary). He endeavored to set the writings of his teacher, Solomon b. Abraham Adret, in similar perspective, and cites a tradition to the effect that *Maimonides, toward the end of his life, became an admirer of the Kabbalah (*Migdal Oz, Yesodei Torah*, 1:10).

Ibn Gaon is best known for his *Migdal Oz*, a commentary on the *Mishneh Torah* of Maimonides, including a polemic on the strictures of *Abraham b. David of Posquières. It marks the first systematic attempt to determine Maimonides' sources. Published in all editions of the *Mishneh Torah* since 1524, it is an important contribution to halakhic research, despite its many errors stemming from an uncorrected manuscript or, as is more likely, inadequate editing. Although his commentaries on books 7–10, dealing with laws which are applicable in Ereẓ Israel only or which are no longer in force, are missing, their existence is evidenced by quotations from *Migdal Oz* in Joseph Caro's *Kesef Mishneh*. *Migdal Oz* came in for heavy criticism (principally by Solomon *Luria in his *Yam shel Shelomo*) because of its many irrelevancies and because it said nothing really new in respect of Abraham ben David's strictures.

Among Ibn Gaon's other works are (1) *Keter Shem Tov*, a popular kabbalistic supercommentary on Naḥmanides' commentary on the Pentateuch, written in Spain (printed in *Ma'or va-Shemesh*, Leghorn, 1839); (2) An illuminated Bible codex, completed in Soria in 1312, unique not only for its primitive illustration but also for its inclusion of kabbalistic elements (Sassoon Collection); (3) *Baddei ha-Aron u-Migdal Ḥananel* (Ms.), a kabbalistic work completed in Safed in 1325 (one chapter published in the *Sefer Tagin* of Zacks, 1866). In it are quoted a large number of his own and other works which are no longer extant; (4) *Shitot*, commentaries and novellae on a number of talmudic tractates, quoted in his *Migdal Oz* and *Baddei ha-Aron*.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: G. Scholem, *Ursprung und Anfaenge der Kabbala* (1962), index; idem, in: *Tarbiz*, 6 (1934/35), 36ff.; D.S. Loewinger, in: *Sefunot*, 7 (1963), 9–39.

[David Samuel Loewinger]

IBN GHAYYAT (**Ghiyyat**), family of poets and halakhists. ISAAC BEN JUDAH (1038–1089), halakhic authority, commentator, and poet, was head of the yeshivah of Lucena, his home town. He was a friend of *Samuel ha-Nagid, who regarded him highly, and of his son Jehoseph. He composed an elegy in Aramaic on Samuel's death (1056). His many students included Moses ibn Ezra, Joseph ibn Sahal, and Joseph ibn Ẓaddik. When Jehoseph was murdered in 1066 (Isaac wrote two elegies on his death), his widow and young son Azariah escaped to Lucena where Ibn Ghayyat received them cordially, providing for the widow, and raising and caring for the child like a father; the expectations of Isaac concerning the important role that Azariah might play among Andalusian Jews came to naught when he died at the age of 20. At the age of 51, Isaac traveled to Córdoba for treatment of a severe ailment and died there. He was buried in Lucena.

About four hundred of his poems have been preserved; except for a few panegyrics, elegies, and wedding songs (some of them in Aramaic), most of them are *piyyutim*. They are among the best liturgical poems of the Spanish period, and, in contrast to the Oriental compositions, present many peculiarities of the Sephardi style. They do not contain many aggadic references, but there are many philosophical, cosmological, and astronomical allusions in them, as if the author, moved by a pedagogical goal, wished to increase the scientific knowledge of the believers at the same time that he expressed their feelings in the liturgical prayer. His disciple Moses Ibn Ezra expresses deep admiration for the master, for his large work in prose and verse, and confesses: "I have studied with him; the very little that I have is but a drop in his sea, and my scant knowledge is just a spark of his fire" (*Kitāb al-Muḥāḍara wal-Mudhākara*, ed. Halkin, 39a). Judah al-Ḥarizi, who suggests that his poetry is too hard to understand, praises him in Gate Three of the *Taḥkemoni*: "The poetry of Rabbi Isaac towers like a rock; lo, his prayer for Yom Kippur is the song of a prophet, blinding pure." Ibn Ghayyat's *piyyutim* include a complete *ma'amad* (special prayer) for the Day of Atonement and a volume of *seliḥot* for the month of Elul. His *seliḥot* are simple and possess a charm of their own. Not a few of these liturgical poems are strophic. Among the anthologies of *piyyutim* that include his works, the most noteworthy are the Tripoli *maḥzor*, *Siftei Renanot* (Venice, 1711), and the Sicilian *maḥzor Ḥazonim* (Constantinople, 1580 or 1585). Several of his piyyutic texts have been published by Brody, Davidson, A. Marx, Bernstein, and others. Some of his secular poems were published by J. Reifmann in *Oẓar Tov*, 9 (1882), 3–8. M. Schmelzer edited a considerable number of Isaac's poems in his unpublished dissertation (1965), commenting on his philosophical and scientific sources, and prepared a list of all his poems. Based on this list, in 1987 Yonah David collected from manuscripts and printed books more than 360 poems (some of them doubtful) in a "tentative edition" of the *Shirei R. Yitsḥaḳ Ibn Ghiyyat 1038–1089*, which is seen by the author as a first step toward a truly critical edition.

Only part of Ibn Ghayyat's work, *Halakhot Kelulot*, has survived. It was published from the only extant manuscript by Simḥah Bamberger under the name *Sha'arei Simḥah* (1861–62).

Hilkhot Pesaḥim was published by D. Zomber with an important commentary (1864), and a compendium of his *halakhot* on Tractate *Berakhot* was compiled from published and manuscript works of *rishonim* by C.Z. Taubes (1952) with his own commentary. The early authorities quote Ibn Ghayyat's *halakhot* on the Mishnah orders *Nashim* and *Nezikin*. His work comprised all laws that are of practical application. It is the only source for many quotations from the works of the *geonim*. Wherever they are in disagreement, he determines the definitive *halakhah*, and at times even decides contrary to both opinions. He notes the early customs of Spanish Jewry. He was primarily strongly influenced by the *Hilkheta Gavravata* (*Gavrata*) of Samuel ha-Nagid; although he seldom cites it, he often reproduces its language almost verbatim. Besides his halakhic work, he also wrote a commentary to the Talmud (see *Milḥamot Adonai* of *Abraham b. Moses b. Maimon) which he called *Sefer ha-Ner* ("Book of the Candle"; *Kitab al-Seraj* in Arabic) because its purpose is the illumination of difficult talmudic discussions; Maimonides quotes him in one of his responsa. Some of Ibn Ghayyat's responsa are extant. He also commented on the Bible, his commentary on Ecclesiastes being still extant (1884; republished in 1962 by Y. Kafaḥ who incorrectly ascribes it to Saadiah Gaon). R. Jedaiah ha-Penini refers to it (Resp. Rashba, vol. 1, no. 418) as "a pleasing commentary revealing considerable wisdom." His commentaries to other volumes are often quoted in R. Solomon b. Melekh's *Mikhlal Yofi*.

JUDAH (ABU ZAKKARIYYA) IBN GHAYYAT (c. 1100), also a Hebrew poet, was a member of the same family (according to some later writers, his son). Moses ibn Ezra says that Judah ("original in poetry, and a very cultivated person," *Kitab* 42b) was born in Lucena and lived in Granada. He was there among the intimate friends of the Ibn Ezra family and of *Judah Halevi, and became one of the prominent members of Granada's community. Halevi corresponded with him even before he went to Granada, and sent him no fewer than nine poems (published in Judah Halevi's *Diwan* by H. Brody, 1 (1901): 43, 53, 60, 151, 174; 2:191, 263 and, very likely, 2:58–59); Judah ibn Ghayyat is also mentioned in two letters found in the *Genizah* related to Judah Halevi and his friend Halfon ben Nethanel. Among the few of Judah's extant poems, five secular and nine liturgical compositions, his songs of friendship to Judah Halevi, and his secular girdle poems are noteworthy; his panegyrics, following closely the classical Arabic models, show that he attained a deep knowledge of Arabic poetry. According to Al-Ḥarizi, "the poetry of Judah ben Ghayyat is by Wisdom upon Piety begot; lo, his brother's praise is Judah's lot." Shem Tov ibn Falaqera, Abraham Bedersi, and Menahem de Lonzano mention him among the good poets of their epoch. Some scholars suggest that it is possible that Judah once visited Narbonne and there translated a halakhic treatise by Isaac *Alfasi, but there is no way of proving this.

SOLOMON IBN GHAYYAT, another member of this family, sent a letter in prose and a poem to Judah Halevi, and received a similar answer, with a section in prose and a beautiful classical *qasida*. Some researchers believe, without serious arguments, that he was a son of Judah ibn Ghayyat. He has also been identified with the *paytan* Solomon b. Judah ibn Ghayyat, the author of some *piyyutim* that were probably written in the Orient.

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[Angel Sáenz-Badillos (2nd ed.)]

IBN ḤABIB, JACOB BEN SOLOMON (1445?–1515/16), rabbinic scholar. Jacob was born in Zamora in Castile, Spain, where he is said to have been a pupil of Samuel Valency, and was one of the renowned scholars of Castile, heading a yeshivah in Salamanca which was one of the largest in Spain. On the expulsion of the Jews from Spain in 1492 he went to Portugal and before 1501 proceeded to Salonika where he became one of the leading scholars. First he taught in the Calabrian (native) community, and later was appointed rabbi of the Gerush community (of Spanish exiles), a position which he held until his death. His name appears among the first signatories on the early regulations of Salonika. He was personally responsible for some of these regulations, which would even seem to have been formulated by him. He also conducted a yeshivah in Salonika. His contemporaries and successors spoke of him in terms of the highest esteem and referred to him as *gedol ha-dor* ("the greatest of the generation"), *mofet ha-dor* ("the wonder of the generation"), and *ha-ga'on*. Individual responsa by him have been preserved in the works of contemporary and later scholars (Elijah Mizraḥi, Samuel de Medina, and in the collection of responsa *Zera Anashim* (1902), while others exist in manuscript. He is quoted at length in the works of the great scholars of the period (David b. Ḥayyim ha-Kohen of Corfu, Joseph *Caro, Joseph ibn Lev, and others). Remnants of his halakhic works have also been preserved. In his *Beit Yosef*, Joseph Caro gives quotations from Jacob's commentary on the beginning of *Oraḥ Ḥayyim* and the beginning of *Yoreh De'ah* of the *Arba'ah Turim*. Samuel de Medina in his responsa (YD, 44) gives a synopsis of his article on the law of *terefah*, and there are references to disputes between him and his contemporaries on halakhic topics. His extant responsa show his special concern with the problems that occupied the generation after the expulsion – such as the case of a childless widow whose brother-in-law, from whom she had to receive *ḥaliẓah*, had become converted to Christianity – as well as the new problems which had arisen as a result of the settling of the Jews of Spain in places where the religious customs (*minhag*) differed from those in vogue in Spain. Jacob took up a tolerant attitude toward the customs of these communities and their scholars and accepted compromises, instead of forcing his views upon them, as did the scholars of the following generation. He states explicitly that he had not studied philosophy and the sciences methodically, although he had occupied himself with these subjects in his youth. His knowledge of Kabbalah, toward which he took a positive attitude, was also the result of casual reading.

Jacob's fame, however, rests not on the fact that he was a halakhist and communal leader in Salonika, but on his *Ein Ya'akov*, in which he assembled the *aggadot* of the Babylonian Talmud and some of those of the Jerusalem Talmud. To this collection he added a commentary culled from the commentaries of Rashi and *tosafot* on the Talmud and from the novellae on the Talmud of Naḥmanides, Solomon b. Abraham Adret, Yom Tov b. Abraham Ishbili, Asher b. Jehiel, and Nissim b. Reuben Gerondi. He consistently and frequently quotes the words of "the Torah scholars," i.e., the commentators of the Talmud and the halakhists, on the *aggadah*. However, he purposely refrains from giving the explanations of philosophical works, the authors of which he consistently criticizes. Although quotations from early authorities are numerous in the first orders that were published in his lifetime, *Zera'im* and *Mo'ed*, his original contribution is extensive (particularly in *Berakhot* and *Shabbat*), and only in the remaining orders published by his son *Levi b. Ḥabib is the original part small and the vast bulk extracts. The commentary also contains quotations from the commentaries of *rishonim* not otherwise known. In his commentary he gives expression to his religious, social, and cultural aims, and where he sharply criticizes the philosophical school, he relies greatly upon such authorities as Naḥmanides and his school, Nissim Gerondi, and Ḥasdai *Crescas, whose works he regarded as authentic expositions of the Torah. He seeks to lead the reader to the plain meaning of the text and to simple uncritical faith. He takes every opportunity of stressing what he considers to be the correct outlook on problems of faith, disputing other views. At times one can detect both overt and concealed polemics against Christian views and beliefs.

Since the purpose of the work was to educate the general public to religious ways and true faith against the historical background of his time and events, the commentary is of great importance in revealing the problems facing his generation in the various spheres of faith and knowledge. Thus, for instance, in choosing what he determined to be the correct approach to the question of belief in the Messiah and the attitude to be taken to secular studies, Jacob at the same time takes note of the prevailing conditions and attempts to better them. It would seem, therefore, that the purpose of his work was identical with that of his communal and halakhic activity – to lead and reshape his generation in the right way, as he viewed it in the light of his experience. Despite his strong and decisive personality, Jacob's work reveals his humility and his care not to impose his way upon others, whether the scholars of the original community (the Romaniot) or his Spanish contemporaries. Jacob declared that from the time he began this work he withdrew from all his communal activity, and apparently from 1514 he devoted himself to his work, the first part of which was published in 1516. The *Ein Ya'akov* has been published in more than 100 editions and scores of commentaries have been written on it. Changes have taken place since the first edition, as a result of Christian censorship, and in order to adjust the text of passages to that in the standard edition of the Talmud. Although designed as a work for broad and popular circles, it is extensively used by scholars. An abridged translation into English (with Hebrew text) by S.H. Glick appeared under the title *Legends of the Talmud; En Jacob*, 5 vols. (1919–21).

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[Joseph Hacker]

IBN ḤABIB, MOSES BEN SHEM TOV (15th century), philosopher, grammarian, and Hebrew poet. Born in Lisbon, Moses lived in various towns in southern Italy – Naples, Bitonto, and Otranto. From his two works on Hebrew grammar, it is clear that he was influenced by Profiat *Duran, who based Hebrew grammar on logic. His *Peraḥ Shoshan* (Margoliouth, Cat, 3 (1915), 306 no. 980), was completed in Naples in 1484. His *Marpe Lashon*, in which he summarized the principles of Hebrew grammar, was published together with his *Darkhei No'am* (Constantinople, 1510–14?), completed in Bitonto in 1486. Like the later Spanish poets, Moses was much occupied with the study of prosody, and composed his *Darkhei No'am* for this purpose. He prefaces the list of meters with a detailed introduction on the nature of poetry and its forms, and forbids the use of secular poetic forms. In his view only sacred poetry, reproof, and moral guidance are permitted. He held that rhyme and meter were present in Hebrew poetry already in ancient times. Most of his poems were published in *Darkhei No'am*. While in Otranto he wrote a commentary to the *Beḥinat Olam* of Jedaiah ha-Penini Bedersi (Constantinople, 1520?). Also extant are medical writings which Moses translated into Hebrew.

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[Abraham David]

IBN ḤASAN, JEKUTHIEL BEN ISAAC (d. 1039), statesman and philanthropist. He was the patron of Solomon ibn *Gabirol who dedicated many of his poems to him. At times, however, he withheld his generosity, and Ibn Gabirol complained about this in some of his writings. Ibn Ḥasan filled an important post in one of the Muslim princedoms in Spain, where he also held a key position in the Jewish community and defended Jewish rights. Well-versed in Torah and *halakhah*, he seems to have tried his hand at writing poetry also. In 1039 he was deposed and executed. The circumstances of his downfall are unknown, but a year later it became evident that he had been innocent, and those responsible for his death were executed. Ibn Gabirol wrote three dirges in his memory.

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[Jefim (Hayyim) Schirmann]

IBN ḤASDAI, ABRAHAM BEN SAMUEL HA-LEVI (early 13th century), translator and Hebrew poet in Barcelona. One of Maimonides' staunchest adherents, he corresponded with Judah ibn Alfakhar and Meir ha-Levi Abulafia to convince them to retract their opposition to *Guide of the Perplexed*. Together with his brother Judah, he addressed a letter to the Jews of Castile, Aragon, Navarre, and Leon denouncing the zealotry of the opponents of Maimonides. He also defended David *Kimḥi who had been violently criticized because he supported Maimonides.

He is the author of a *maqāma* whose fragments were published by I. Davidson (in *Sefer Zikkaron A.S. Rabinovitz* (1924), 83–101), although, as E. Fleischer has proved, they were wrongly put together with another composition in rhymed prose found in a fragment of the *Genizah*, a part of the *Maḥberet Yemimah* (a love story that should be interpreted in an allegorical sense), written by Joseph ben Judah ibn Simon, a disciple of Maimonides.

Ibn Ḥasdai translated important scholarly works from Arabic into Hebrew: (1) *Moznei Ẓedek* ("Scales of Justice," ed. by J. Goldenthal, 1834–39), from the Arabic original *Mizan al-ʿAmal* by the Muslim philosopher Algazali; (2) *Sefer ha-Tappu'aḥ* ("The Book of the Apple," in *Likkutei ha-Pardes*, Venice, 1519; *De pomo, Hebrew.* Lemberg, 1873, etc.), attributed to Aristotle; (3) *Sefer ha-Yesodot* ("The Book of the Elements," ed. by S. Fried, 1900), by Isaac b. Solomon Israeli; (4) **Ben ha-Melekh ve-ha-Nazir* ("The Son of the King and the Nazirite," Constantinople, 1518, and reprinted in many editions, the last one with vocalization and annotations by A.M. Habermann, 1950), a translation and adaptation of an Arabic text of *Barlaam and Josaphat*, which is a romance about the youth of Buddha. The romance evolved from an Indian tale which, during the Middle Ages, was translated into Greek (under the title *Barlaam and Josaphat* – the first version known in Western Europe) and Oriental and European languages. Ibn Ḥasdai's adaptation was written in *maqāma* form and became a well-known work in medieval times. It was translated into a number of languages, and it was published many times in Hebrew as a very popular book; (5) Ibn Ḥasdai also translated Maimonides' *Sefer ha-Mitzvot* ("The Book of Precepts") and *Iggeret Teiman* ("Letter to Yemen"), preserved in two manuscripts and some fragments used by Halkin in his critical edition (1952).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: A. Altmann and J.M. Stern, *Isaac Israeli* (1958), index s.v.; Davidson, Oẓar, 4 (1933), 356; Schirmann, Sefarad, 2 (1956), 238–70, 691; Steinschneider, Uebersetzungen, 268, 342, 391, 863–7, 927, 930; Stern, in: *Oriens*, 13–14 (1961), 58–120; N. Weisslovits, *Prinz und Derwisch* (1890), 1st part. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** A.S. Halkin (ed.), *Epistle to Yemen* (1952), xxxi–xxxvi, 1–3; D.J. Silver, *Maimonidean Criticism and Maimonidean Controversy 1180–1240* (1965); D. Pagis, *Ḥiddush u-Masoret be-Shirat-ha-Ḥol ha-Ivrit, Sefarad ve-Italyah* (1976), 222ff.; B. Septimus, *Hispano-Jewish Culture in Transition* (1982), 61ff.; Schirmann-Fleischer, *The History of Hebrew Poetry in Christian Spain and Southern France* (1997), 256–73 (Heb.).

IBN ḤAYYIM, AARON (**I**; ben Abraham; 1545–1632), rabbi and commentator. Ibn Ḥayyim was born in *Fez and studied at the yeshivot of his father, of Vidal ha-Ẓarefati (II), and of Joseph Almosnino (I). He was appointed a member of the *bet din* of Vidal in Fez but in 1606 left for Egypt. In 1609 he went to Venice to publish his book, *Korban Aharon* (1609), and remained there at least three years. From there he traveled to the countries of the Orient and finally settled in Jerusalem, where he died. Among those who eulogized him were Azariah *Figo and Leone *Modena. Ibn Ḥayyim's fame rests on his book, which includes an extensive exposition of the *Sifra with an introduction entitled *Middot Aharon*, explaining the 13 hermeneutical rules of R. Ishmael and their development and application (see *Hermeneutics). The work was held in high esteem by Ibn Ḥayyim's contemporaries and in subsequent generations, and in fact was largely responsible for the *Sifra* becoming a subject of study. In the main it aims at a literal exposition of the text and even when Ibn Ḥayyim indulges in casuistic interpretations, his regard for the plain meaning is apparent. He also wrote commentaries to the *Mekhilta* and the *Sifrei*, to the Pentateuch, the Prophets, and the Song of Songs, but only his *Lev Aharon* on Joshua and Judges, giving both the literal meaning and aggadic exposition, has been published (Venice, 1609). Some of his responsa appear in the works of his contemporaries.

[Shmuel Ashkenazi]

IBN ḤAYYIM, AARON (**II**; before 1630–1688), rabbi and commentator. A grandson of Aaron ibn Ḥayyim I, Aaron II was born in Hebron. He lived in Cairo, Alexandria, and Rashid, Egypt, from 1670 to 1675. From there he proceeded to Smyrna, where he was appointed *dayyan*. Aaron II corresponded with Ḥayyim *Benveniste, Solomon b. Isaac ha-Levy, and Ḥayyim *Algazi. He perished in an earthquake in Smyrna. Ḥayyim J.D. *Azulai saw many of Aaron II's works in manuscript, including a comprehensive commentary on *Ein Ya'akov* by Jacob *Ibn Ḥabib, responsa, and halakhic decisions. Many of his writings were preserved by his widow who lived in Jerusalem, and Moses *Ḥagiz frequently mentions them in his supplements to *Halakhot Ketannot* (Venice, 1709). Some of them were preserved in Rashid and others in Smyrna. Many of his responsa are contained in the works of his contemporaries.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Frumkin-Rivlin, 1 (1929), 120f.; J. Ben-Naim, *Malkhei Rabbanan* (1931), 19a–b (on Ibn Ḥayyim, Aaron (I)); Rosanes, Togarmah, 4 (1935), 177f. (on Ibn Ḥayyim, Aaron (II)).

IBN ḤAYYIM, ABRAHAM BEN JUDAH (mid-15th century), author of a remarkable treatise on the art of manuscript illumination, *Libro de como se facem as cores* (Parma Biblioteca Palatina, Ms. Parma, 1959). It was written in Portuguese using Hebrew characters, perhaps at Loulé in Portugal not later than 1462. The language shows Galician (Spain) tendencies and the work may derive from that area. In it, the author gives detailed information for the making and application of colors in book illumination, and it is evident that he was himself a professional book illuminator, not necessarily working for a Jewish clientele. The composition is the most important extant document in medieval Judeo-Portuguese. Abraham was probably of the same family as Joseph *Ibn Ḥayyim.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Blondheim, in: JQR (1928/29), 97–135; 20 (1929/30), 89–90, 283–4; idem, in: *Todd Memorial Volumes*…, (1930), 71–83; A. Moreira de Sá, *O livro de como se fazem as cores de Abraão b. Judah ibn Ḥayyim* (1960).

[Cecil Roth]

IBN ḤAYYIM, JOSEPH (second half of 15th century), manuscript illuminator. Joseph probably belonged to the same family as Abraham *Ibn Ḥayyim. The only work known by him is the illumination of the famous Kennicott Bible (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Kennicott 1) completed by the scribe Moses ben Jacob ibn Zabara at Corunna in Galicia (Spain) in 1482. This is one of the most lavishly and expertly illuminated of all medieval Hebrew manuscripts. Over one-quarter of the approximately 900 pages of the volume have some decoration, and there are 77 fully illuminated pages. The author shows a remarkable versatility and vivacity of imagination. The vast majority of the illuminations however are decorative, there being very few representations of the human figure, in accordance with the prevailing tradition of the Hispano-Jewish school of illumination. Some archaistic tendencies in the work are due to the fact that the illuminator had as his model a Hebrew Bible illuminated at Cervera in Spain in 1299–1300 by Joseph Ẓarefati (now in the National Library of Lisbon), which at the time was in the possession of a family domiciled in Corunna.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: C. Roth, *Gleanings* (1967), 298–319; Wishnitzer, in: REJ, 73 (1921), 161–72.

[Cecil Roth]

IBN JAMIL, ISAAC NISSIM (17th century), rabbinical scholar of Ereẓ Israel. Born in *Safed, Ibn Jamil lived for a considerable time in *Jerusalem. He was one of the signatories in 1657 to the letter of appointment of the Jerusalem emissary, Baruch Gad, who had traveled to *Iraq and *Persia to search for the Benei Moshe and who claimed to have met there a member of the lost Ten Tribes. The rabbis of Jerusalem made a copy of the letter which they sent to Nathan Shapira, an emissary of Jerusalem. In 1664 he moved to Hebron, where he remained until his death. His grandson, Ḥayyim *Abulafia, published his writings from a manuscript in his possession. Ibn Jamil was the author of *Be'er la-Ḥai* (Smyrna, 1729), homilies, appended to *Yashresh Ya'akov* by Ḥayyim Abulafia; and *Ḥayyim va-Ḥesed* (*ibid.*, 1736), homilies published together with the *Ḥanan Elohim* of Ḥayyim Abulafia.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Ḥ.J.D. Azulai, *Ma'gal Tov ha-Shalem*, ed. by A. Freimann (1921–34), 92; Frumkin-Rivlin, 2 (1928), 33 no. 13, 37 n.1; Rosanes, Togarmah, 4 (1935), 307; 5 (1938), 299; Yaari, in: *Sinai*, 6 (1940), 171 n. 15; idem, in: *Aresheth*, 1 (1958), 125 no. 17, 131 no. 39.

[Simon Marcus]

IBN JANĀḤ, JONAH (Abu al-Walid Marwan; first half of 11th century), Spanish Hebrew grammarian and Hebrew lexicographer. In his writings Ibn Janāḥ refers to himself in various ways: by his full name (*Luma*ʿ, 19), by Abu al-Walid (*ibid.*, 169, 284), by Marwan (Derenbourg (1880), lixff.), and by Ibn Janāḥ (*Luma*ʿ, 21). Similarly, contemporary Arabic-writing authors (e.g., *Samuel ha-Nagid, *Baḥya ibn Paquda, Moses *Ibn Ezra) referred to him by these several names. In Hebrew works he is called R. Jonah or R. Marinus, these names, given to him by Abraham *Ibn Ezra (*Devir*, 2 (1920), 277; see M. Wilensky, *Le nom d'Abou-l-Walîd* (1932), 55–58), being the Hebrew forms of his surname (Ibn Janāḥ = "the winged," and hence Jonah = "a dove") and personal name (Marwan = Marinus).

His Life

Information about his life is extremely scant. Even his birthplace, his birth and death dates, and his father's name, are not known with certainty. He may have been born in Cordoba or in neighboring Lucena (Wilensky, in *Tarbiz*, 4 (1932/33), 97–99). However, it is known that he was educated at Lucena and studied, according to his own statement, under R. Isaac b. Levi *ibn Mar Saul and R. Isaac ibn *Gikatilla. The former was, in his pupil's words, "one of the greatest philologists" (Derenbourg (1880), 333), whose poems Ibn Janāḥ read aloud to him, discussing their language with him as well as the meaning of various biblical words. Isaac ibn Gikatilla encouraged him to devote himself to the study of Arabic language and literature. Among other scholars of Lucena mentioned by Ibn Janāḥ are Abu al-Walid ibn Ḥasdai (*Luma*ʿ, 152; Derenbourg (1880), 317) and Abu Omar ibn Yaqūy (*Uṣūl*, s.v. א-ש-ד) who were likewise interested in grammar. Thus already in his youth Ibn Janāḥ devoted himself to philology, biblical exegesis, the language of the Mishnah, the Aramaic of the Targumim and the Talmud, as well as Arabic language and literature. He even tried his hand at writing poetry, but this he later abandoned (*Luma*ʿ, 305). In his youth he settled in (or returned to) Cordoba, where he lived until the persecutions of 1012. There he made a study of the grammatical works of Judah b. David *Ḥayyuj, with whom apparently he was not personally acquainted, either because Ibn Janāḥ was still a child at the time of, or came to Cordoba after, Ḥayyuj's death. Nor did he know Samuel ha-Nagid, with whom he later became involved in a written controversy on philological subjects. In Cordoba he studied medicine, which provided him with a livelihood throughout his life. The Arab historian Ibn Abi Uṣaybiʿa, in his biography of physicians (ed. August Mueller, 2 (1884), 50), mentions that Ibn Janāḥ was interested in logic and had an extensive knowledge of Arabic and Hebrew philology, and ascribes to him a no longer extant book on medicine, *Kitāb al-Talkhīṣ* ("The Book of Commentary"). Ibn Janāḥ left Cordoba when it was besieged by the Berbers (1012), and settled, after much wandering (Derenbourg (1880), 3), in Saragossa where he lived until his death. There, forming a circle of young scholars interested in linguistic questions, he wrote his philological works which, like his activities, aroused the opposition of some local talmudic scholars (*Sefer ha-Rikmah*, ed. M. Wilensky, 1 (1964^2), 11).

His Works

(1) *Kitāb al-Mustalḥaq* (Heb., *Sefer ha-Hassagah*, "The Book of Criticism"), based entirely on Ḥayyuj's system of the triliteral root, criticizes his grammatical writings, dealing first with the weak, the geminative, and finally the quadriliteral verbs. Assessing and supplementing Ḥayyuj's statements under almost every root, Ibn Janāḥ, according to his own evidence (Derenbourg (1880), 245) deals with more than 50 roots not mentioned by Ḥayyuj, with some 50 meanings of roots which he overlooked, and with more than 100 verbal forms (conjugations, tenses), in addition to including about 50 interpretations and some 40 theoretical philological topics. He began writing the book in Cordoba, but because of the necessity to flee and his subsequent wanderings, completed it only after settling in Saragossa.

(2) *Risālat al-Tanbīh* (translated by Judah ibn Tibbon as *Sefer* (instead of *Iggeret*, "The Epistle") *ha-He'arah*, "The Book of Admonition") is a reply to a work which, written in Saragossa under the title of *Kitāb al-Istīfā*ʾ ("The Book of Detailed Occupation," and known as *Sefer ha-Hashlamah*, "The Book of Supplement"), criticized Ibn Janāḥ's *Sefer ha-Hassagah* and his failure to include yet further criticism of Ḥayyuj's writings. He refuted its arguments by replying to them in the form of a letter to a friend in Saragossa.

(3) In *Kitāb* (sometimes: *Risālat*) *al-taqrīb wa al-Tashīl* (*Iggeret ha-Keruv ve-ha-Yishur*, "The Epistle of Bringing Near and Making Easy"), a work intended for beginners, Ibn Janāḥ sets out to explain some difficult passages in the introductions to Ḥayyuj's writings. But he ranges beyond this framework and deals with fundamental grammatical subjects from his own point of view.

(4) *Kitāb al-Taswiya* ("The Book of Rebuke"; called *Sefer ha-Tokhaḥat* or *Sefer ha-Hashva'ah* by Judah ibn Tibbon) is Ibn Janāḥ's reply to the criticism which Samuel ha-Nagid and his friends leveled against his *Sefer ha-Hassagah*. He learned of these criticisms from one of Samuel's friends who was on a visit to Saragossa. After first enumerating the criticisms conveyed at that meeting, Ibn Janāḥ sets forth his refutation.

(5) *Kitāb al-Tashwīr* (*Sefer ha-Hakhlamah*, "The Book of Shaming") which Ibn Janāḥ often mentioned with pride is an answer to Samuel ha-Naggid's criticism contained in the latter's *Rasāʾil al-Rifāq* ("The Epistles of the Companions").

(6) Of paramount importance is Ibn Janāḥ's last work, *Kitāb al-Tanqīḥ* ("The Book of Minute Research") which Judah ibn Tibbon translated as *Sefer ha-Dikduk*. It is the first complete book on Hebrew philology to be preserved in its entirety. In range and theoretical basis no other work of Hebrew grammar can be compared to it. The work consists of two parts: the first, a grammar, entitled *Kitāb al-Luma*ʿ ("The Book of Variegated Flower-Beds"); and the second, a complete dictionary of biblical Hebrew, called *Kitāb al-Uṣūl* (translated by Judah ibn Tibbon as *Sefer ha-Rikmah* and *Sefer ha-Shorashim* respectively). The work as a whole is prefaced by an introduction, and an additional introduction prefaces *Kitāb al-Uṣūl. Sefer ha-Rikmah* consists of 45 (46) chapters. The first chapter is a general survey of the parts of speech. Chapters 2–6 (7) treat the consonants, their accentuation, their function in a word as radicals or affixes, and their metathesis. Chapter 7 (8) deals with the transposition of vowels; 8 (9) apposition; 9 (10)–13 (14) etymology, and the formation and inflection of words; chapter 14 (15) vowel changes due to the gutturals; 15 (16) the function of the verb; 16 (17) pronouns; 17 (18) the copulative "vav"; 18 (19) the construct state; 19 (20) conjunctive and disjunctive forms; 20 (21) relative forms; 21 (22) elision; 22 (23) prevention of elision; 23 (24) the plural and the dual; 24 (25)–33 (34) linguistic irregularities: ellipsis, pleonasm, repetition, hapax legomena, inverted order, etc.; 34 (35)–35 (36) interrogation and vocalization of the interrogative *he*; 36 (37) the definite and indefinite articles; 37 (38)–42 (43) gender; and finally 43 (44)–45 (46) number. *Sefer ha-Shorashim*, a complete dictionary of biblical Hebrew, includes not only the words derived from roots but the pronouns and particles, as well as the names of weights and measures, birds and stones, but not, as a rule, personal or place names. The operative unit of the dictionary is the root, whose letters Ibn Janāḥ designates by their Arabic names, as for example, *al-alif, al-bā*ʾ, *al-lām* (= א-ב-ל). The entire work, which also contains exegetical excursuses on difficult biblical passages, is divided into 22 sections arranged alphabetically according to the first root letter, while within each section the roots are arranged according to the alphabetical order of the second and third root letters, the exception being those with a duplicated letter which come at the beginning, e.g., בב before בדד, באל before בדא, and so on. Each

article has the different forms derived from the same root as also their Arabic translation, the affinity between which and the Hebrew word Ibn Janāḥ sometimes discusses. For an elucidation of grammatical questions he refers the reader to *Sefer ha-Rikmah*, to his other works, and to those of Ḥayyuj.

Manuscripts, Printed Editions, and Hebrew Versions

Ibn Janāḥ's works, with the exception of *Kitāb al-Tashwīr* (5), are extant in their original form in their entirety or almost so. Of *Kitāb al-Tashwīr* only a small fragment, comprising the end of the introduction and the beginning of the work itself, has been discovered. At present contained in the Firkovich collection in Leningrad, it was published by Derenbourg (1880, xlix–liii). Works 1–4 have been preserved together with those of Ḥayyuj in a manuscript completed in Cairo in 1316 by the copyist Joseph b. Solomon and now in the Bodleian Library, Oxford (Neubauer, 1453). This manuscript, which has the works in the order of 3, 1, 2, 4, was published by Derenbourg (1880) in the sequence given by Ibn Janāḥ in the introduction to his grammatical work (*Lumaʿ*, 16 = *Rikmah*, 27) and adopted in this article. In publishing *Kitāb al-Taswiya* (4) Derenbourg also used a manuscript from the Firkovich collection. According to Kokowzoff (1911, 1228), the second Firkovich collection has numerous fragments of these works belonging to eight or nine independent manuscripts, some of which are extremely early, one dating from 1119, another from 1126, and still another from 1144. *Kitāb al-Mustalhaq* (1), as published by Derenbourg, is deficient in the two articles ר-ו-ח and ס-ב-ב which are, however, contained in some of the Leningrad manuscripts (idem, 1229–132). Four of the five works have been translated into Hebrew. *Kitāb al-Mustalḥaq* (1) was translated by Obadiah (12th century?) under the title of *Sefer ha-Hassagah,* published by D. Tenné (2005) on the basis of two extant manuscripts: one, known as the Epstein manuscript and which Isaac b. Yosht completed copying in 1225, was in the Library of the Vienna Community (Schwarz, 1931, 68) until the Holocaust and is now in the Yehuda collection of the National and University Library, Jerusalem. The second manuscript is in Rome, Casanatensa library (Kokowzoff, 3132 = Sacerdote, 209) and a copy of it is in the Bodleian Library, Oxford (Neubauer, 2509). *Risālat al-Tanbīh* (2) and *Kitāb al-Tashwīr* (5) were translated in 1254 at Béziers by Joseph b. Job, and *Kitāb al-Taqrīb wa al-Tashīl* (3) by Jacob b. Isaac *Roman (first half of the 17th century), but neither translation is extant. *Kitāb al-Tanqīḥ* (6) has been preserved in its entirety in both its Arabic original and Hebrew translation. Two manuscripts of *Kitāb al-Lumaʿ*, which together compose four-fifths of the work, are in the Bodleian Library, Oxford (Neubauer, 1459, 1462), and on their basis Derenbourg (1886), with the active participation of Bacher, published the work. An incomplete third manuscript in the British Museum (Ms. Or. 2595) was used by Derenbourg (1886) to supply the missing part of the two manuscripts, but not to determine the passages common to all three. Derenbourg also used a fragmentary manuscript of 1161/62 from the second Firkovich collection. In any case, the bulk of Derenbourg's edition (pp. 72–204, 292–349) is based on only one manuscript. The existence of four or five manuscripts of *Kitāb al-Lumaʿ*, some complete and very early, is mentioned by Kokowzoff (1911, 1235). Neubauer (1875) published *Kitāb al-Uṣūl* on the basis of a unique, complete manuscript (Neubauer, 1461) dated 1421 and two incomplete manuscripts, the Rouen manuscript and the Oxford manuscript (idem, 1462). W. *Bacher (1894) found an additional fragment in the Rainer collection, Vienna, while the existence of six or seven additional manuscripts, some complete, in the second Firkovich collection in Leningrad was reported by Kokowzoff (1911, 1235). In the meantime yet another manuscript was found in the British Museum, Ms. Or. 4837 (= Margoliouth, 953). The printed versions of Ibn Janāḥ's works are far from satisfactory, and hence the need for a scholarly edition of his complete writings based on all the known manuscripts. The two parts of *Kitāb al-Tanqīḥ* (6) were translated into Hebrew by Judah ibn Tibbon who finished the translation of *Kitāb al-Uṣūl* in 1171. (On other attempts at translation, see Bacher, 1894, xxxv–xxxvi.) The first of Ibn Janāḥ's works to appear in print, *Sefer ha-Rikmah*, has been published twice; first by Goldberg-Kirchheim in 1856. This edition, which is faulty and not to be recommended, is based on two Paris manuscripts (Zotenberg, 1216, of the 13th and 1217 of the 14th centuries respectively). It was published a second time by Wilensky (1929–1931) on the basis of the same two manuscripts as well as two additional ones, the Escorial manuscript (complete) and the Oxford manuscript (Neubauer, 2510), and issued in a second edition by Tenné (1964). *Sefer ha-Shorashim* was published by Bacher (1894, 1968^2) on the basis of a complete manuscript in the Vatican (Cod. Urbin. 54) and a fragmentary one in the Escorial.

Sources

Ibn Janāḥ complained that in his day there were no reliable texts in Spain (*Lumaʿ*, 238, 323 = *Rikmah*, 253, 338), and hence he based his readings on codices of the Bible, having, according to his own testimony, used the Jerusalem (Ereẓ Israel) and the Babylonian codices (*Lumaʿ*, 238 = *Rikmah*, 253; Derenbourg, 1880, 106), as well as a Damascus codex (*Lumaʿ*, 242 = *Rikmah*, 257). In some passages he also mentions unspecified codices of the Bible. He had a particularly high regard for a Jerusalem codex (*Lumaʿ*, 238, 323 = *Rikmah*, 253, 338) brought to Spain by Mar Jacob, a pilgrim from Leon. Ibn Janāḥ adhered strictly to the masoretic text, which he frequently mentions. He used the variant readings of the *ketiv* and the *keri*, the terms מלעיל and מלרע as employed in the masoretic literature, and the differences between *Ben-Asher and *Ben-Naphtali. The masoretic works he refers to are *Okhlah ve-Okhlah, Sefer ha-Kolot (Kitāb al-Muṣawwitāt*), and *Dikdukei ha-Te'amim*. Ibn Janāḥ made extensive use not only of the Targumim on the Bible, Targum Onkelos on the Pentateuch and the Targum on the Prophets, but also of the language of the Talmud. In *Sefer ha-Shorashim* he compares the mishnaic and the biblical language 257 times and frequently mentions the Tosefta. In *Sefer ha-Rikmah* he refers 67 times to the Babylonian Talmud and twice to the Jerusalem Talmud. While not mentioning the halakhic Midrashim by name, he quotes numerous statements from the Sifra, two from the Sifrei, and one from the Mekhilta. Under the name of Bereshit de R. *Hoshaiah, Ibn Janāḥ quotes from Genesis Rabbah, refers once to *Sefer Yeẓirah*, and mentions prayers, *piyyutim*, and a Palestinian *paytan*, *Yose b. Yose. In quoting geonic literature he refers to *Yehudai, *Saadiah, *Ḥefeẓ b. Yaẓli'aḥ Resh Kallah, *Sherira, *Samuel b. Hophni, and *Hai. In particular he used Saadiah's *Tafsīr* and *Sharḥ* without however mentioning them explicitly. Of contemporaneous poets he refers to *Menahem b. Jacob ibn Saruq, *Dunash b. Labrat, Isaac ibn Mar Saul, Judah b. Ḥaniga (?), and Isaac *ibn Khalfun. Ibn Janāḥ makes but scant mention of the grammarians before Ḥayyuj. Although he refers to Saadiah's *Kutub al-Lugha*, he states that he did not use it (*Rikmah*, 39, 193), the work having apparently not reached Spain. He also mentions Saadiah's *Pitron Shivim Millot* as well as philological topics from the latter's commentary on *Sefer Yeẓirah*. Of the other grammarians who preceded him, Ibn Janāḥ mentions incidentally Judah *ibn Quraysh, Menahem b. Saruq, and Dunash b. Labrat. By contrast he cites hundreds of times Ḥayyuj and his works, to which his indebtedness was so considerable that he refers the reader to them, even advising the latter to study them before turning to his own great work.

His Influence

In the shaping of Hebrew philology, ibn Janāḥ's influence has no parallel in extent, depth, and persistence. In the 11th century he was already mentioned and/or quoted by Isaac *ibn Yashush, Moses b. Samuel Ha-Kohen *Gikatilla, Judah *ibn Bal'am, and Baḥya ibn Paquda, in addition to Samuel ha-Nagid with whom he became involved in a controversy. The 12th-century authors who mention and/or quote him are very numerous, among them being Abu Ibrahim Isaac *ibn Barun, Moses ibn Ezra, the Karaite *Jacob b. Reuben, Abraham *ibn Ezra, Abraham ha-Levi *ibn Daud, Samuel ibn *Jama, Joseph ha-Konstantini, Nathanel, the Karaite Judah (Ha-Avel) b. Elijah *Hadassi, Solomon b. Abraham *Parḥon, Joseph *Kimḥi, *Zerahiah b. Isaac ha-Levi Gerondi, Judah ibn Tibbon, *Maimonides, Menahem b. Simeon of Posquières, and Moses b. Sheshet. Ibn Janāḥ was likewise mentioned or quoted by authors of the 13th century onward, some of whom knew his writings in the original, others in the Hebrew translation. Thus from the 12th century all or some of his works were known not only to philologists, and those writers who had recourse to philology, but also to exegetes, both Rabbanite and Karaite, whether they wrote in Arabic or Hebrew. The exception to this dependency were commentators of the school of *Rashi who were unacquainted with the works of both Ḥayyuj and Ibn Janāḥ. The works of the Samaritan grammarian Abu Isḥāq Ibrāhīm b. Faraj b. Mārūth contain statements which are identical to those of Ibn Janāḥ, whom he does not, however, mention by name (see Ben-Ḥayyim (1957), 640, s.v. Jonah ibn Janāḥ). The philological works written in the 12th and 13th centuries, such as those of Abraham Ibn Ezra and David *Kimḥi, may with every justification be said to be popular editions or popularizations of Ibn Janāḥ's philology, particularly its practical aspect.

His Personality

From Ibn Janāḥ's writings there emerges the image of a scholar who made the quest for truth the sacred duty of his life. According to his own testimony, he read the Bible eight times when preparing his great work, and expended on oil for light what others did on wine. His devotion to truth can be epitomized in the dictum which he quoted: "Truth and Plato strove. Both of them are friends of ours, but truth is closer to us."

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[David Tenne]

IBN JAU, JACOB (d.c. 990), wealthy silk merchant and manufacturer, and *nasi* (leader) of the Jews in Muslim Spain (including parts of Morocco) after the death of *Ḥisdai ibn Shaprut of Cordoba. The source of information on Jacob ibn Jau and his brother Joseph is the *Sefer-ha-Kabbalah* by Abraham ibn Daud. Residents of Cordoba, the Ibn Jau brothers sought the favor of al-Manṣūr, chamberlain to the caliph Hishām II, and virtual ruler of Muslim Spain, and presented a gift of gold and luxurious silk clothing to al-Manṣūr, thereby impressing him with their wealth and prestige. Al-Manṣūr appointed Jacob *nasi* of Jewry throughout the kingdom, and Cordoba Jewry made the office a hereditary position for Jacob's descendants. However, when one year later Jacob failed to produce the sum of money in taxes demanded of the Jews by al-Manṣūr, the latter had him imprisoned. After serving a year's sentence, Jacob was released by Hishām II, who reinstated him as *nasi*.

Ibn Jau is particularly noted for his vigorous support of Joseph *Ibn Abitur and his equally vehement opposition to Ḥanokh, head of the academy of Cordoba, regarding rabbinical authority. Ibn Jau attempted to give the control of religious matters to Ibn Abitur while he was in charge of fiscal matters. Ibn Daud states that during Ibn Jau's first year as *nasi*, he threatened Ḥanokh with violence should he render judicial decisions. Even after his reinstatement, Ibn Jau was neither successful in undermining Ḥanokh's authority nor in removing him from his position of head of the academy. Despite his personal ambition and obsequiousness to Muslim authorities, Ibn Jau was remembered for his generosity to the poor, and was mourned by Ḥanokh who expressed his concern for the welfare of the poor at the loss of their benefactor.

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IBN KAMMŪNA, SAʿD IBN MANṢŪR (c. 1215–1285), philosopher, probably an oculist, who lived in Baghdad. Possibly a state employee for a time under the pagan Mongols, Ibn Kammūna was titled *ʿIzz al-Dawla*; his son, who served as an official, was titled *Najm al-Dawla*. When his life was in danger, high Muslim officials saved him.

In his studies on Islamic thought patterns (Avicenna, al-Suhrawardī, and Fakhr al-Dīn a-Rāzī) and in his use of the philosophical works of Judah Halevi and Maimonides, Ibn Kammūna's sympathies lay with the science-oriented rationalist trend of Hellenistic origin. This is indicated in the *Tanqīḥ al-Abḥāth lil-Milal al-Thalath* ("Critical Inquiry into Three Faiths"), a compendium of interfaith polemics written in 1280. This work begins with an introductory chapter on prophethood in general and is followed by individual chapters on Judaism, Christianity, and Islam, each with exposition and critique, presented with a conscious effort at objectivity and fairness toward all parties. The material is to a great extent a mosaic of quotations from Avicenna, al-Ghazālī, Maimonides (all unnamed), and al-Rāzī (named). Judaism is defended, or rather, arguments against it are rebutted; since the case for Christianity appears weak to the author, he considers it is his duty to improve upon it, for the sake of argument; and Islam, allotted the longest chapter, leaves an impression that is far from favorable. "The most interesting tract of inter-religious polemics in Arabic" (Steinschneider), the *Tanqīḥ* is remarkable for its freedom of discussion, presumably reflecting the fact that by the time it was written, Islam had been deprived of its dominant status for over two decades. However, the population was predominantly Muslim, and in 1284, a mob infuriated by a Friday sermon on the *Tanqiḥ* rioted against its author who had to be spirited out of the city in a cask; soon afterward he died.

One of three Muslim tracts against Ibn Kammūna has been preserved. A Christian, Ibn al-Mahrūma, wrote a tract against the chapters on Judaism and Christianity. Both tracts show respect and even admiration for Ibn Kammūna, and both return to arguments proffered by the 12th-century Jewish convert to Islam *Samaw'al al-Maghribī, whose *Ifḥām* is named, quoted, and rebutted by Ibn Kammūna.

Ibn Kammūna also wrote a tract on the differences between Rabbanites and Karaites. For internal use in the Jewish community, it is written in much the same spirit of detachment, rational analysis, tolerance, and humaneness as the *Tanqīḥ*. It includes chapters on the status and virtues of the talmudic sages; the Karaite arguments impeaching the sages; and the Rabbanites' allegations concerning the Karaites. Here, too, Judah Halevi and Maimonides are drawn upon extensively, and the author stresses that his is a new approach.

Among Ibn Kammūna's other writings are commentaries on the works of Islamic philosophers. A fine point in Islamic theology is known as Ibn Kammūna's query (*Shubha*). A number of his treatises and manuals of philosophical subjects are extant in manuscript, especially in Istanbul. However, there are apparently no references to him in Jewish sources.

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[Moshe Perlmann]

IBN KAPRON, ISAAC (10th century), poet and grammarian. In Latin and Spanish, the meaning of Isaac's name ("Cabron, Capron") is related to "goat"; he was called by this name, and others like it, in ridicule by his opponents. The Ibn Kapron family was an old and honorable one in Córdoba, the place where Isaac lived at the middle of the century, under the Caliphate of Abdarraḥman the III. He was a pupil of *Menahem b. Saruq. In a book of responsa written with Isaac ibn *Gikatilla and Judah ben Daud, disciples of Menahem, he defended his teacher against *Dunash ben Labrat, whom he attacked for introducing Arabic meter into Hebrew poetry without respecting the particular nature of the Hebrew language. In his opinion, for maintaining Arabic meter in Hebrew verses it was necessary to change the vocalization and the pronunciation of many Hebrew words. He was probably the author of the poem in praise of *Ḥisdai ibn Shaprut, in the same meter and rhyme as Dunash's panegyric, which they included at the beginning of the *Teshuvot,* trying to show that the criticism of using Arabic meter in Hebrew was not because it was impossible to do so. Of Isaac's other poetic writings, a *seliḥah* deploring the vicissitudes of the Diaspora is known; it is the first known example of a new metrical technique meant to replace Dunash's innovation, with a fixed number of syllables (and without counting the shewas or half-vowels). In the school of Menahem this new syllabic technique was considered more respectful of the nature of the Hebrew language. As an alternative to Dunash's invention, it was adopted in many liturgical and some secular compositions in the Middle Ages.

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[Jefim (Hayyim) Schirmann / Angel Sáenz-Badillos (2nd ed.)]

IBN KHALFUN, ISAAC (**Abu Ibrahim**; late 10th century), poet. Born probably in the last decades of the 10th century, either in Spain or North Africa, according to the *Kitāb al-Muḥāḍara wal-Mudhākara* of Moses *Ibn Ezra, "He was the only Hebrew poet to make poetry his tool of trade and to turn verse into a source of income, to receive payment for it. He wandered throughout the world for its sake and obtained from his patrons as much as he liked" (ed. A.S. Halkin (1975), 31b). Like other Arabic wandering poets, Ibn Khalfun, on his extensive travels through North Africa and the East, sang the praises of the wealthy, asking for gifts or demanding payment. It seems that he lived some years in Córdoba, where he developed a friendship with *Samuel ha-Nagid, who appreciated his talents and supported him. Of this friendship a poetical correspondence between the two writers has remained, preserved in the *diwan* of Samuel ha-Nagid. Practically ignored until the 19th century, all of Ibn Khalfun's extant poetry, around 70 poems, was edited and published together with an introduction and commentaries by A. *Mirsky (1961). An English translation has been published by A. Brenner (2003); Spanish versions were also published by M.J. Cano (1988) and C. del Valle (1992). A. Brener believes that the poems sent to North African and Eastern patrons found their way to a *diwan* in two parts, partially preserved in *Genizah* fragments, while the poems written for his friends and patrons in Andalusia (except those to Samuel ha-Nagid) have been lost. Besides more than 20 "payment poems" (A. Brener), we know today panegyrics, laments, rebukes, and didactic, farewell and friendship poems, apparently just part of a much richer poetic work. For this reason it is not easy to judge the quality of his poetry, which has been evaluated in very different ways by modern scholars. In any case, he can be seen in certain aspects as a pioneer of Andalusian poetry and as a direct predecessor of the great masters of the golden age.

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[Angel Sáenz-Badillos (2nd ed.)]

IBN KILLIS, ABU AL-FARAJ YAʿQŪB IBN YŪSUF (930–991), businessman and administrator of various Egyptian rulers. Tradition holds that Yaʿqūb ibn Killis was a scion of the al–Samawʾal family, of the famous pre-Islamic Jewish Arab poet of that name. He was born in *Baghdad and in his early youth settled with his father in Ereẓ Israel; the family resided at Ramleh. Yaʿqūb engaged in trade and banking but after several years of successful business he went bankrupt. In approximately 960 he fled to Egypt and established contact with Kāfūr, who was then the regent. He became a government supplier, and when the government treasury was empty, Kāfūr paid him notes which assigned him the taxes due from agricultural districts. In the course of collecting these taxes, Ibn Killis gained considerable knowledge of agriculture, became Kāfūr's economic adviser, and eventually his political adviser as well. After his appointment as head of the financial administration, Ibn Killis converted to *Islam in the hope of becoming vizier. These hopes, however, were frustrated by the vizier in power, Jaʿfar ibn al-Furāt, and when Kāfūr died in 968, Ibn Killis was imprisoned. He managed to escape and turned to the *Fatimids in *Tunisia who were preparing to conquer Egypt. He encouraged the Fatimid al-Muʿizz in his plans of conquest and provided him with important information on the situation in Egypt. When Egypt fell to the Fatimid army, Ibn Killis returned there with al-Muʿizz and, together with a Muslim minister, was put in charge of tax collection. He instituted a reform of the monetary system which brought great profit to the government; he gained a further rise in status during the reign of Caliph al-ʿAzīz (975–96) who appointed him vizier in 977. While holding this post, Ibn Killis reorganized the entire administrative system of the Fatimid caliphate. In 983 he was dismissed and arrested, but was reinstated after two months, retaining his post until his death.

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[Eliyahu Ashtor]

IBN MAR SAUL, ISAAC BEN LEVI (early 11th century), poet and grammarian of the "second generation" that preceded the golden age. Born in Lucena (and hence known as Alyussani), Isaac was respected by other grammarians even though they occasionally disagreed with his opinions. There is a considerable amount of information about him and quotations of his poems in *Sefer ha-Shorashim* and *Sefer ha-Rikmah* by his pupil Jonah *Ibn Janāḥ. We do not know if he wrote any grammatical treatises; in any case, nothing has been preserved but the references of Ibn Janāḥ. According to Moses ibn Ezra, he was of the same epoch as Joseph *ibn Abitur and Isaac ibn *Gikatilla, although less expert than the latter in his knowledge of Arabic. Even if Ibn Mar Saul wrote mainly liturgical poetry, he is the author of the first known Hebrew poem dedicated to the male gazelle. His best-known liturgical poem is *Elohai Al Tedineni ke-Maʿali* ("My God, judge me not according to my transgressions"), a *piyyut* recited for *Shaḥarit* on the Day of Atonement according to the Sephardi ritual. He was a prolific *paytan*, and developed some of the characteristics of Sephardi liturgical poetry. He introduced notable novelties, like strophic poems with a structure similar to the Arabic *zajal*, and even in one case to the *muwashshaḥ* (as shown by E. Fleischer), employing in many cases the syllabic meter.

LEVI IBN MAR SAUL, also a *paytan*, who left the insecure Córdoba and lived in Tortosa in the first half of the 11th century, was apparently his son.

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[Jefim (Hayyim) Schirmann / Angel Sáenz-Badillos (2nd ed.)]

IBN MIGASH, JOSEPH BEN MEIR HA-LEVI (1077–1141), greatest Spanish talmudic scholar of the third generation of Spanish rabbis. He studied first under Isaac b. Baruch *Albalia, and at the age of 12 went to Lucena where he studied under Alfasi for 14 years. His teacher encouraged him, ordained him as rabbi and greatly honored him, even nominating him his successor as head of the yeshivah, though his own son was a talmudic scholar. Ibn Migash occupied this post for 38 years, until his death.

Ibn Migash enjoyed an outstanding reputation among his contemporaries. *Maimon, the father of Moses *Maimonides, was apparently among his many pupils, and Maimonides, especially in his novellae on the Talmud, frequently relies upon the traditions of Ibn Migash, which, as he states, he had received from his father. In his introduction to his commentary on the Mishnah, he says of him, "The understanding of that man in Talmud was awe-inspiring… so that it could almost be said of him that never before had there been his like." Maimonides' attachment to Ibn Migash is so strong that for a long time he was erroneously thought to have been his pupil. *Judah Halevi, from youth the friend of Ibn Migash, composed poems of praise in his honor, and it was he who formulated the letter to the scholars of Provence in which Ibn Migash sought an acquaintance with them and their teachings. This letter is the earliest extant document on the ties between the centers of learning in Provence and Spain.

Very little of Ibn Migash's work is extant. His novellae to *Bava Batra* (Amsterdam, 1702) and *Shevu'ot* (Salonika, 1759) have been published, but his commentary must have embraced at least half of the Talmud, and even the portion published is not complete in itself. His novellae to *Bava Batra* are quoted more extensively and fully in the works of other *rishonim*, and are found in superior form in the *Shitah Mekubbeẓet* to that tractate, and in *Aghmati's work, *Sefer ha-Ner*. A relatively small number of his responsa (translated from the original Arabic) have been published (Salonika, 1786); some are included in the works of others (e.g., in the responsa *Pe'er ha-Dor*, Amsterdam, 1765), and more are extant in manuscript. He is known to have composed a book of comments (which is not, however, extant) on the *Hilkhot ha-Rif* of his teacher. The works of Ibn Migash decisively influenced the study of Talmud in Spain and Provence. Meir *Abulafia, who summed up the teaching of the Spanish scholars until the generation of Naḥmanides incorporates – mostly anonymously – many of Ibn Migash's comments in his work. So does Naḥmanides, who transmitted them to his pupils and followers, such as Solomon b. Abraham *Adret and *Yom Tov b. Abraham Ishbili (the Ritba). They were well known in Provence, too, already being quoted by *Abraham b. Isaac, who frequently relies upon them in his responsa. MEIR, the son of Joseph ibn Migash, was also a well-known scholar in Spain; his son Isaac served with Meir Abulafia on the *bet din* of Toledo in 1205. Among Meir's important pupils was *Jonathan ha-Kohen of Lunel.

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[Israel Moses Ta-Shma]

IBN MOTOT, SAMUEL BEN SAADIAH (or **Matut**, **Matud**; active c. 1370), philosopher, kabbalist, and translator in Spain. He came from a well-known family in Guadalajara and was one of the members of the circle of Jewish intellectuals in Castile friendly with *Isaac b. Sheshet Perfet. In his works, particularly in his trilogy (see below), Samuel engaged in numerous philosophical and kabbalistic speculations which testify more to his erudition than to any originality of ideas. For his essential material he ransacked the "Treatise of Reconciliation" of Joseph ibn *Waqar, but also did not hesitate to have recourse to the *Zohar. Of the authors of his generation, he made much use of Judah b. Nissim ibn *Malka. Along with a knowledge of Abraham *Ibn Ezra and *Maimonides, Samuel's Jewish sources included the commentary of *Dunash ibn Tamīm on the *Sefer Yeẓirah* and the *Olam Katan* of Joseph ibn *Ẓaddik, although he never mentions the latter two authors by name. It was through the Arab philosopher al-Fārābī (*Mabādī' al-Mawjūdāt, Hatḥalot ha-nimẓa'ot*), as well as through Ibn al-Sid al-Baṭalyawsī, the Spanish Muslim philosopher, that he became directly acquainted with Muslim philosophy; it is very likely that he knew the works of the "Brethren of Sincerity" (*Ikhwān al-Ṣafā'*) and *Avicenna, although it was from Ibn Waqar that he doubtlessly derived the bulk of his information. In his theories of cosmology and prophecy Samuel combines the teachings of Kabbalah with those of philosophy without too great a concern for consistency, taking for granted affinities between the two which Ibn Waqar with greater critical acumen had only suggested. In addition, under the combined influence of Muslim and Jewish neoplatonists and astrologers, Samuel advanced greatly the thesis of the correspondence between the microcosm (body and soul of man) and the macrocosm. He wrote *Megillat Setarim*, a supercommentary on Abraham ibn Ezra's commentary on the Pentateuch (Venice, 1553; certain manuscripts, however, contain a fuller and more accurate version; excerpts from it are found in the *Margaliyyot Tovah* of Jekuthiel Lazi, Amsterdam, 1721); an unpublished trilogy consisting of *Meshovev Netivot*, a commentary on the *Sefer Yeẓirah, Megal-*

lei Amukkot, a commentary on Exodus, and *Tehillot Adonai*, a commentary on the prayer book; and finally a dissertation on *Ha-Agullot ha-Ra'yoniyyot* of al-Baṭalyawsī.

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[Georges Vajda]

IBN MUHĀJIR, ABRAHAM BEN MEIR (c. 1100; also called **Ibn Shortmeqash**), leader of the Jewish community in *Seville, Spain. A member of a prominent family, Abraham served at the court of the Abbadid king al-Mu'tamid, and was called by the title of "vizier." He is mentioned by the poets *Judah Halevi and Moses *Ibn Ezra. The latter speaks of his aid to the Jews in times of crisis, especially, his redemption of captives. Ibn Ezra dedicated his *Sefer ha-Anak* (*Tarshish*) to Ibn Muhājir, thus recognizing the latter's generous support and encouragement. Abraham was also well versed in astronomy and in Talmud. His brothers JOSEPH and the poet OHEB both called "ha-Nasi" (= "the Prince") are mentioned by the historian Abraham *Ibn Daud. Joseph apparently was host to Isaac *Alfasi when he first came to Spain. ISAAC IBN MUHĀJIR was an official; and his relative, ABU SULEIMAN, was a distinguished poet.

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IBN MŪSĀ, ḤAYYIM BEN JUDAH (1380?–1460), biblical commentator and physician born in Béjar, near Salamanca, *Spain. He became celebrated for his professional ability and served "in the courts of kings and nobles" for about 40 years. During his dealings with officials and clerics, Ibn Mūsā sometimes entered into religious *disputations. These led him to compose *Magen va-Romaḥ* in which he provided arguments for defense and attack for use in disputes with converts or Christian scholars. Its major purpose was to prove that the Messiah had not yet come. He determined 12 rules to be adhered to in religious debates, which if observed would unfailingly secure the victory of the Jewish side. According to Abraham *Zacuto, Ibn Mūsā was also a liturgical poet.

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IBN PAQUDA (**Pakuda**, **Bakoda**), **DAVID BEN ELEAZAR** (first half of the 12th century), Spanish Hebrew poet. Moses *Ibn Ezra mentions among his contemporaries who worked in the East of Andalusia a poet, Abu Isḥaq ibn Paquda, and his relative Abu Suleiman, who may be identical with David (*Kitāb al-Muḥāḍara wal-Mudhākara*, ed. A. Halkin (1975), 41a). Many scholars believe that this Abu Isḥaq can be identified as the well-known philosopher *Baḥya b. Joseph ibn Paquda. David, who also lived in Saragossa, could be his cousin. *Al-Ḥarizi praises David's verses twice in the third *maqāma* of his *Taḥkemoni*: "none as bright and hot as the songs ben Bakoda begot"; "and Rabbi David ben Bakoda – skill is his prelude, praise his coda." Numerous liturgical poems by him have been preserved. According to Zunz, David's authorship is firmly established in the case of 14 poems by the appearance of his full name in acrostics or in superscriptions; more than 20 other poems in various Spanish rites, which are signed simply "David" are for the most part also to be regarded as his compositions. One of David's peculiarities, which he shares with Yemenite Hebrew poets, is the *scriptio plena* spelling of his name (**דויד**). His poems are printed in the Sephardi *maḥzor*, the Tripoli *maḥzor*, the *Seder Rabbi Amram* (1865), and in J. Ettlinger's *Shomer Ẓiyyon ha-Ne'eman* (1846, new ed. 1963, p.261). His *seliḥah* of eight stanzas is particularly widespread, as is also his introduction to Gabirol's *Azharot*, which appeared in an annotated Spanish translation by A.S. Yahuda (1915). A large collection of David's unedited poems was published by J.H. Schirmann (1938). Specimens of his poems are also to be found in: S.D. Luzzatto, *Iggerot Shadal* (1882, 1967^{2}), 513, 515; H. Brody and K. Albrecht, *Sha'ar ha-Shir* (1906), 133–5; H. Brody and M. Wiener, *Mivḥar ha-Shirah ha-Ivrit* (1934), 193; H. Schirmann, *Ha-Shirah ha-Ivrit bi-Sefarad u-vi-Provence* (1954), 355–7. Y. Yellin collected the poems included in Schirmann's list in an M.A. dissertation (1974); they are more than 40, but only the 14 already known by Zunz can be said with certainty to have been written by him. Most of them are *seliḥot*. David has been rightly characterized as a conservative liturgical poet. This is shown in his technique: he uses the syllabic meter more than the quantitative one (used only in two *bakkashot*), and sometimes he does not use any meter; he prefers monorhymed compositions to the strophic ones. He does not employ the novelties of Andalusian-Hebrew liturgical poetry; he prefers old paytanic structures and very simple forms.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: M. Sachs, *Die religioese Poesie der Juden in Spanien* (1901), 274; Dukes, Poesie, 141; idem, in: *Literaturblatt des Orients*, 9 (1848), 403; 10 (1849), 760; S.I. Kaempt, *Nichtandalusische Poesie andalusischer Dichter*, 2 (1858), 197; Landshuth, Ammudei, 55, 60f.; Zunz, Poesie, 218; Zunz, Lit Poesie, 217; A.S. Yahuda, *Un capítulo sobre la poesía hebraica religiosa de España* (1915); Malter, in: JQR, 7 (1916/17), 606f.; Schirmann, in: YMḤSI, 4 (1938), 282–96; 6 (1945), 335–9; Davidson, Oẓar, 4 (1933), 374. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** Y. Yellin, "*Piyyutei David ibn Bakudah*," M.A. diss. (Tel Aviv Univ. 1974); Schirmann-Fleischer, *The History of Hebrew Poetry in Muslim Spain* (1995), 503–6 (Heb.).

[Jefim (Hayyim) Schirmann / Angel Sáenz-Badillos (2nd ed.)]

IBN PLAT, JOSEPH (12th century), rabbi. Some maintain that Ibn Plat originated from *Spain, but it seems almost certain that he came from North Africa. He traveled to Spain and then to Provence and was in Narbonne and Lunel, where he transmitted several customs to *Abraham b. Isaac of Narbonne, and it is known that he also gave information to other scholars there, including *Zerahiah ha-Levi (see *Sefer ha-Terumot*, Sha'ar 29, no. 2), *Asher b. Saul (in a number of places in his *Sefer ha-Minhagot*), and *Asher b. Meshullam (*Kol Bo* no. 8). Well-known is his responsum to a query addressed to him by Abraham b. Isaac of Narbonne as to why the sages instituted blessings to precede the performance of some *mitzvot* and not over others. The responsum was frequently published in a fragmentary form and was already included in the works of early authors. It was published in full by S. Assaf (see bibliography). His rulings with regard to the recitations of blessings were included in the *Pardes* of Rashi (ed. by H.L. Ehrenreich (1924), 195–211). *Abraham b. David of Posquières wrote several critical responsa on Ibn Plat: one on the aforementioned responsum on blessings, published with Ibn Plat's responsum in the work of David *Abudarham; another on the subject of *sheḥitah* (*Temim De'im* no. 23); and a third on the laws of *ḥazakah*. In about 1170 *Benjamin of Tudela met him in Damascus where he held an important post in the yeshivah, and he may have proceeded to Ereẓ Israel. J. Mann conjectures that he is identical with Joseph b. Paltoi who wrote a commentary on the *halakhot* of Isaac *Alfasi, quotations from which are included in the commentary of *Peraḥyah b. Nissim to Alfasi on *Shabbat*. Peraḥyah lived in Damascus in the middle of the 13th century. A commentary to the *Halakhot* (of Alfasi) by Ibn Plat is explicitly mentioned in a list of **genizah* books published by Abramson (see bibliography).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Epstein, in: MGWJ, 44 (1900), 289–96; S. Assaf, *Sifran shel Rishonim* (1935), 199–206; Ch. and S. Albeck (eds.), *Sefer ha-Eshkol*, 1 (1935), 11 (introd.); Abramson, in: KS, 26 (1949/50), 84, 92n. 143; Benedict, *ibid.*, 28 (1952/53), 213 and n. 41; I. Twersky, *Rabad of Posquières* (1962), 17f.

[Israel Moses Ta-Shma]

IBN QURAYSH, JUDAH (second half of the ninth century), Hebrew grammarian and lexicographer. He was a physician in Tahert, Algeria, presumably in the second half of the ninth century (though some antedate him to the end of the eighth, and others postdate him to the beginning of the tenth century). According to *Ibn Janaḥ he knew *Eldad ha-Dani and was interested in his travels. With Saadiah Gaon, Ibn Quraysh is regarded as one of the founders of comparative Semitic linguistics; knowing Hebrew, Aramaic, and Arabic, he recognized their similarity in both vocabulary and grammatical structure. When the community of Fez in Morocco decided to abolish the custom of reciting the Aramaic Targum in synagogues, Ibn Quraysh addressed to them an epistle (*risāla*), in the preface of which he urged them to retract their decision, since the recitation was an old tradition and contributed to the comprehension of the Bible, while the Aramaic language in general, as well as Arabic, was important for the understanding of the Bible and the Hebrew language. The main body of the epistle falls into three parts: in the first part, biblical Hebrew in the form of a vocabulary is compared in alphabetical order with Aramaic, in the second with mishnaic Hebrew, and in the third with Arabic. The second section of the third part also treats of the similarity of structure of Arabic and Hebrew, as well as the correspondence of consonants and the structure of prohibitions. He also deals with non-Semitic words in the Bible. This work, which was edited by D.B. Goldberg and J.J.L. Bargès and translated into Hebrew by M. Katz (see bibliography), apparently had no special title. A critical edition has been published by D. Becker (see bibliography) along with a modern Hebrew translation. Because of its preface, it is as a rule called *Risāla*, but it is also referred to by other names. Abraham Ibn Ezra calls it *Sefer ha-Yaḥas* and *Av va-Em*; Isaac b. Samuel ha-Sephardi called it *Agron Av va-Em* (the third part of the work which was apparently the most widespread, begins with the words *'av* and *'em*). Menahem b. Saruq referred to it as *Sefer Pitronot*. Ibn Quraysh also composed religious poems (*piyyutim*), some of which were published by H. Brody in HḤY, 2 (1912/13), 63–83. The authorship of other works attributed to him is quite uncertain. The assertion that ibn Quraysh was a Karaite was first refuted by P. Frankel.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: R. Yehuda ben Koreisch, *Epistola de studii Targum utilitate*, ed. by J.J.L. Bargès and D.B. Goldberg (1857), preface (Arabic with notes in Latin); Eppenstein: in: MGWJ, 44 (1900), 486–507; J.M. Toledano, *Ner ha-Ma'arav* (1911), 15; EJ, 8 (1931), 1007 (bibliography); M. Katz (ed.), *Iggeret R. Yehudah ben Kuraish* (1950), preface (bibliography 31ff.); Vajda, in: *Sefarad*, 14 (1954), 385–7; Baron, Social, 2, 7 (1958^{2}), 225–6, n. 17. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** D. Becker, *The Risāla of Judah b. Qurayash, A Critical Edition* (1984); A. Maman, *Comparative Semitic Philology in the Middle Ages from Saadia Gaon to Ibn Barun (10th–12th cent.)* (2004), 180–1.

[Joshua Blau]

IBN SAHL, ABU ISḤĀQ IBRĀHĪM (d. c. 1259/60), poet. He converted to *Islam during the *Almohad persecution, but reconverted to Judaism after the Christian conquest of Seville in 1248. Part of his biography is to be found in *al-Maqqarī* (tr. by P. de Gayangos, 1 (1840), 158ff.). His poems in Arabic are mostly of religious content and some are in the form of *muwashshaḥ* (odes or poems using strophic form with a refrain; the last refrain is sometimes in slang or a foreign language). Three editions of the poems appeared (1875, 1885, and Beirut, 1885). The Muslim publisher Ḥasan ibn Muhammad al-ʿAṭṭār prefaced the poems with a detailed biography of the author.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Hajji Khalifa, *Lexicon bibliographicum*, 3 (1842), 241; Steinschneider, in: JQR, 11 (1898/99), 315.

IBN SAHL, JOSEPH (Abu-ʿAmr) BEN JACOB (d. c. 1124), Spanish-Hebrew halakhist and poet. Descended from an aristocratic family, Joseph is described by Moses Ibn Ezra as one of the most distinguished disciples of Isaac Ibn Ghayyāt of Lucena. After the death of Isaac al-Fāsī, he was the spiritual leader of the Jewish community in Córdoba, occupying for 11 years the position of *dayyan*, from 1113 until his death. As a poet Joseph must have been held in unusual esteem. His verses are quoted in the *Kitāb al-Muḥāḍara wal-Mudhākara* of Moses Ibn Ezra who, in the fifth chapter of this work, describes his popularity and versatile poetic talent (ed. A. Halkin (1975), 41a, 142b, 155b). He reserves special praise for Joseph's biting satires against the enemies of poetry. Both poets were very close and maintained a poetical correspondence with mutual expressions of admiration. In addition, Abraham *Ibn Daud has the highest praise for him ("a great scholar, a great poet, and a pious man," *Sefer ha-Kabbalah*, ed. G. Cohen (1967), 82; see also 103, 137); so does *Al-Ḥarizi, in the Third Gate of his *Taḥkemoni*: "None of greater variegation than those [poems] of Joseph ben Sahal's creation," and "Rabbi Joseph ben Sahal shall ever please, for Poesy is born in Joseph's knees." In later times, he deserved also the praises of Moses of *Rieti and of other Jewish literary critics. Of all Joseph's works, only a few poems have been preserved, in complete or fragmentary form: a panegyric and an elegy of Isaac Ibn Ghayyāt, three songs of friendship addressed to Moses Ibn Ezra included in the *diwan* of the great poet, a lament on his separation from a friend, a facetious song on fleas, a girdle poem with conclusion in Arabic imitating a love poem of Samuel ha-Nagid, and a liturgical poem. Among his lost works is a Hebrew translation of Isaac b. Jacob *Alfasi's Arabic responsa, from which Bezalel *Ashkenazi (16th century) quoted one item (*Shitah Mekubbeẓet*, BM 102a).

In a Leningrad manuscript, the *maqāma* called "The Utterance of Asher b. Judah," usually attributed to *Ibn Zakbel, is ascribed to a certain Abu-Ayyūb ibn Sahl; the same thing happens with a Cambridge fragment of the *Genizah* (T.-S., A.S. 111.169), where the *maqāma* is attributed to Solomon ben Sahl; this is clearly another member of the Ibn Sahl family, to which the well-known Arabic (Converso) poet Ibrāhīm (Abraham) *ibn Sahl also belonged.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Schirmann, Sefarad, 1 (1954), 358–61; 2 (1956), 682; idem, in: YMḤSI, 2 (1936), 148–51; idem, *Shirim Ḥadashim min ha-Genizah* (1966), 209–16; Davidson, Oẓar, 4 (1933), 400; S. Abramson, *Bi-Leshon Kodemim* (1965), 56–79; D. Jarden, *Sefunei Shirah* (1967), 24. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** R. Sheniak, "*Yosef Ibn Sahl: Monografiyyah*," M.A. diss. (Tel Aviv Univ. 1978); Schirmann-Fleischer, *The History of Hebrew Poetry in Muslim Spain* (1995), 483–88 (Heb.); A. Sáenz-Badillos, in: *Nueva Revista de Filología Hispánica,* 30 (1981), 218.

[Jefim (Hayyim) Schirmann / Angel Sáenz-Badillos (2nd ed.)]

IBN SAʿĪD (Sid), ISAAC (c. second half of the 13th century), Spanish astronomer. Isaac lived in Toledo where Isaac *Israeli called him "*he-Ḥazzan*" so he was probably the cantor of the synagogue at Toledo. He may well have been the otherwise unknown "Aben Çayd" or "Rabbi Zag," and King Alphonso X refers to him in official documents as "our learned Rabbi Çag." At the king's request Isaac, together with Judah ben Moses Cohen, headed a group of Jewish scholars, at the initiation and production of the "Alfonsine Tables" (1252–56), which King Alfonso of Spain commissioned to be compiled at Toledo, since discrepancies were often being found between astronomical computations and observations in his day. Consequently Isaac and his assistants not only utilized the tables of Arzarchel but also conducted their own observations of the sun, stars, and planets over some years. Their tables finally included a complicated armillary sphere showing the heavenly movements (see also *Astronomy). Alfonso also encouraged his translation from the Arabic into Spanish of several treatises concerned with astronomical instruments. Isaac ibn Saʿīd added the instructions for their correct use in observations. These were partly his own original contributions, and partly taken from other sources. His works are contained in the monumental book *Libros del Saber de Astronomia del Rey Don Alfonso X de Castilla* (5 vols. by Rico y Sinobas in Madrid, 1863–67). Certain records in his handwriting of his observations of lunar eclipses still in existence testify to his versatility.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Steinschneider, Uebersetzungen, 617, 975–6; Singer, in: L. Finkelstein (ed.), *The Jews, their History, Culture and Religion*, 2 (1960³), 1394–95; G. Sarton, *Introduction to the History of Science*, 2 (1931), 843–4; E.R. Bevan and C. Singer, *Legacy of Israel* (1928), 224–5.

[Arthur Beer]

IBN SĀQAWAYH (wrongly **Ibn Saquya** or **Ibn Saquyah** or **Ibn Sakuyah**; early 10th century), Karaite scholar in Babylonia or a neighboring country, contemporary of Saadiah *Gaon. In his objections to the Oral Law and those who rely on it, Ibn Sāqawayh used the Mishnah and Talmud to prove that in their commentaries the *Rabbanites distort Scripture and that the Oral Law was not revealed to Moses at Sinai. He cites a number of talmudic legends to demonstrate that the Rabbanites invested God with human attributes. He collected the legends from the Talmud and *midrashim* which he considered curious in order to support his arguments against the Oral Law in *Kitāb al-Faḍāʾiḥ* ("Book of Shame"). Saadiah Gaon answered his allegations in *Kitāb al-Radd ʿalā Ibn Sāqawayh* ("Response to Ibn Sāqawayh") in which he rejects Ibn Sāqawayh's arguments against the Oral Law and his objections to several *halakhot*. Saadiah's *Kitāb al-Radd ʿalā al-Mutaḥāmil ʿala al-Mishnah wa-al-Talmūd* ("Response to the Challenger of the Mishnah and the Talmud") is possibly also an answer to Ibn Sāqawayh. However, the interrelationship of these writings is not clear. Passages from Saadiah's writings were found in the Cairo *Genizah whereas Ibn Sāqawayh's are known only through quotations made by his opponents.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: S. Poznański, *Karaite Literary Opponents of Saadiah Gaon* (1908), 4–8; Assaf, in: *Tarbiz*, 4 (1932/33), 35–53, 193–206; Mann, Texts, index; Zucker, in: PAAJR, 18 (1949), 1–4; L. Nemoy, *Karaite Anthology* (1952), 70, 234, 376.

IBN SASSON, SAMUEL BEN JOSEPH, Castilian poet during the reign of Alfonso XI (1312–50). He lived in Carrión de los Condes and Frómista, small towns in the north of Castile, having modest means and being almost crushed by economic problems. It is possible, but not certain, that he spent some time in Toledo, but in any case he was not an important member of the community. Between 1330 and 1340 he exchanged poems with Shem Tov Ardutiel (*Santob de Carrión), although only those sent by Ibn Sasson are preserved. In addition to the elegies and panegyrics devoted to the notables of the time, the poetry of Samuel ibn Sasson abounds in examples of the poetic correspondence that was usual among Hebrew intellectuals of the time. Thanks to his work we can speak today of the existence of a circle of intellectuals and poets in the area of North Castile during the first half of the 14th century, a time in which poetical activity was almost lacking in Toledo itself. His poems have also some historical importance since they refer to personal matters, current events, and the affairs of his contemporaries. Among them are poems for special occasions. Ibn Sasson reflects in his poetry the situation of the Jewish communities under the pressure of Christian society, alluding to the fate of some of the most important Jewish courtiers of the time. In particular, the conversion of Abner of Burgos (c. 1270–c. 1340), a physician familiar with philosophy and Kabbalah who after a long period of doubt, some time after the age of 50 embraced Christianity and took the name Alfonso de Valladolid, left deep traces in Ibn Sasson's literary production. This creation includes a rhymed prose composition, imitating the structure of the "dream" described by Abner in his *Mostradór de Justicia* (1330) in which the sufferings of the Jews in that generation are considered as punishment for their many sins, as a divine ordeal before the imminent redemption. This was directed against Abner of Burgos, the apostate, who justified his apostasy by stressing the sins of the Jews. Ibn Sasson dedicated a poem to Isaac ibn Polqar, Abner's adversary. Ibn Sasson's varied verses, in the style and spirit of his contemporary poets, were collected by Ḥ. Ḥamiel in *Avnei ha-Shoham*, (1962). More a rhetorician than a poet, Ibn Sasson regarded himself as the best poet of his time and boasted in one poem: "The wonders of other tongues compared with my tongue is as the light of a torch to that of the sun." Although in many cases poetic inspiration is almost lacking, Ibn Sasson devoted a great deal of effort to demonstrating his mastery of the technical aspects of Hebrew poetry, in a typical mannerist attitude. He wrote "reversible" verses, poetry with echo, multiple internal rhymes, and used other very sophisticated rhetorical techniques that are almost unique in Hebrew poetry.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Margoliouth, Cat, 3 (1915), 248f.; Baer, in: *Minḥah le-David… Yellin* (1935), 197–204; Baer, Toledot, 191, 212f., 514 n.23; Ḥ. Ḥamiel (ed.), *Avnei ha-Shoham* (1962), introd.; idem, in: *Sinai*, 35 (1954), 45–54, 134–42; Schirmann, Sefarad, 2 (1956), 524–8, 697. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** D. Esteban, in: WCJS, 9 (1986), 69–76; idem, in: *Exile and Diaspora* (1991), 98–102; R. Brann, J. Targarona, and A. Sáenz-Badillos, in: *Prooftexts,* 16 (1996), 75–103; Schirmann-Fleischer, *The History of Hebrew Poetry in Christian Spain and Southern France* (1997), 555–61 (Heb.).

[Abraham Meir Habermann / Angel Sáenz-Badillos (2nd ed.)]

IBN SHEM TOV, ISAAC BEN SHEM TOV (15th century), Spanish rabbi and philosopher. Isaac ben Shem Tov was the son of the anti-Aristotelian mystic, Shem Tov *Ibn Shem Tov, but his intellectual temperament differed severely from his father's. He became a loyal Aristotelian rationalist, more so than his older brother Joseph Shem Tov *Ibn Shem Tov and as much as his nephew Shem-Tov b. Joseph Shem Tov *Ibn Shem Tov. He taught philosophy in Aguilar de Campóo, Castile, and was an erudite and prolific writer in Hebrew on Aristotelian themes, specializing in commentaries on philosophic classics. He wrote at least 14 works, eight of which are extant. These include four commentaries on Averroes' "Intermediate Commentary on Aristotle's Physics" and a favorable commentary on the book singularly decried by his father – Maimonides' *Guide of the Perplexed*. He was an eager critic of Ḥasdai *Crescas, but generally, the subtleties of Crescas' revolutionary thought on such subjects as actual infinity seem to have eluded him. On the other hand, he may have been the first Hebrew author to distinguish between the categorematic and syncategorematic infinities.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: H.A. Wolfson, in: *Studies… A.S. Freidus* (1929), 279–90; idem, *Crescas' Critique of Aristotle* (1929), index; S. Rosenberg, *He'arot be-Mussag ha-"Einsofiyyut"* (1969), 31–2.

[Warren Zev Harvey]

IBN SHEM TOV, JOSEPH BEN SHEM TOV (c. 1400–c. 1460), Spanish philosopher. A son of Shem Tov ibn Shem *Tov, Joseph, in contrast to his father, was a devotee of philosophical and other secular studies. He served in the Castilian court of King John II and his successor Henry IV. While it is not clear what his function was at the court of the former ruler, he served in the court of the latter as physician and auditor of accounts. His political position provided him with the opportunity to debate religious and philosophical questions with Christian scholars. In 1452 he was sent by Henry to Segovia in order to suppress an antisemitic movement. After apparently falling into disfavor with the king around 1456, he wandered restlessly around the country giving lectures to audiences on the Sabbath, parts of which he wrote down. In a manuscript of his *Ein ha-Kore* there is a note that states that because of blindness Joseph dictated the work. From a remark by Isaac Alḥākim, the first publisher of Joseph Jabez's *Or ha-Ḥayyim*, it appears that Joseph suffered a martyr's death. Although Joseph was an exceptionally productive author, only three of his works were printed. His major work, *Kevod Elohim*, was written in 1442 (Ferrara, 1556). He also composed a commentary on Profiat *Duran's polemical letter *Al Tehi ka-Avotekha* (edited and printed together by Isaac Akrish, Constantinople, c. 1577; reprinted in A. Geiger's *Kovez̦ Vikkuḥim*, 1884); and in Alcalá de Henares in 1451 he prepared a Hebrew translation and explication of Ḥasdai *Crescas' anti-Christian work *Bittul Ikkarei ha-Noz̦erim* (Frankfurt on the Main, 1860; ed. by E. Deinard, 1904).

Commentaries on Aristotle and Averroes

Joseph wrote the following commentaries on *Aristotle and *Averroes:

(1) a very detailed commentary on the Hebrew transla-

tion of Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics*, written in Segovia in 1455 and preserved in manuscript;

(2) a twofold commentary on Averroes' "Epistle on the Possibility of Conjunction" (on the conjunction of the human intellect with the agent intellect): an extensive commentary written shortly before 1454, in the manner of Averroes' long commentaries on Aristotle; and a shorter commentary, completed in Segovia in 1454, in the manner of Averroes' middle commentaries. Only two incomplete manuscripts of this twofold commentary are extant. In addition, the long commentary is extant in a manuscript of the Jewish Theological Seminary in New York, and a complete manuscript of the shorter commentary, entitled *Be'ur Efsharut ha-Devekut ha-Kaẓer*, exists in the Bodleian Library;

(3) a commentary on Averroes' paraphrase of *Alexander of Aphrodisias' work on the intellect, completed in Segovia in 1454. To this commentary Joseph added the following appendices, found in the Oxford manuscript: an explanation of *Moreh Nevukhim* 1:68; a section on the unification of the intellect, the intelligence, and the intelligible, according to Averroes; the explication of a passage in *Moses of Narbonne's commentary to Averroes' "Epistle on the Possibility of Conjunction"; and finally, a presentation of the Aristotelian view of the intellect as interpreted by Averroes in his long commentary on Aristotle's *De Anima* (Book 3). Prominent as a Bible commentator, Joseph wrote a commentary on Lamentations in 1441 in Medina del Campo de Leon (Parma, de Rossi Ms. 117, 4). Joseph's *Ein ha-Kore*, on the fundamental principles of the art of preaching, was written after 1455 (Paris, Ms. héb. 325, 2; Oxford, Ms. Mich. 350). This work, probably the only one of its kind in the literature of the Middle Ages, is rich in quotations from Muslim and Christian sources. In *Sefekot be-Ikkarim al Ma'aseh Yeshu ha-Noẓeri* Joseph set forth the results of his religious disputations, criticizing the Christian dogmas of original sin, incarnation, and salvation (see D.S. Loewinger and B.D. Weinryb, *Catalogue of the Hebrew Manuscripts in the Library of the Juedisch-Theologisches Seminar in Breslau* (1965), 250, 2; 345, 2). Benjacob claims that this work is merely an extract from Joseph's commentary on Profiat Duran's *Al Tehi ka-Avotekha* (Benjacob, Oẓar, 424, no. 479).

Works no Longer Extant

A number of Joseph's works are no longer extant: a commentary on Porphyry's *Isagoge; Hanhagat ha-Bayit*, presumably a commentary on Aristotle's *Economics*, cited in Joseph's *Ein ha-Kore*; a commentary on *Jedaiah ha-Penini's *Beḥinat Olam*, also cited in *Ein ha-Kore; Da'at Elyon*, a refutation of the deterministic attitudes expressed in *Sod ha-Gemul* by the apostate, *Abner of Burgos, together with polemical remarks directed against Ḥasdai Crescas. This work is cited in Joseph's commentary on Aristotle's *Ethics* (originally contained in the Oppenheimer manuscript collection, see Wolf, Bibliotheca, 3 (1727), 428); homilies on individual passages from the Pentateuch, probably components of a larger collection of sermons, excerpts of which are found in Schorr's *He-Ḥaluẓ* (4 (1869), 85n.); a commentary on his father's *Sefer ha-Yesodot* (identified by some as *Sefer ha-Emunot*), quoted in *Ein ha-Kore*. Steinschneider identified this work with *Kevod Elohim*.

Philosophy of Religion

Joseph's religious-philosophical views are set forth in his *Kevod Elohim*, in which he compares the Aristotelian and Jewish conceptions of the greatest good (*summum bonum*). Polemicizing against his father's *Sefer ha-Emunot*, Joseph advanced the opinion that the results of philosophical inquiry can be of valuable service to religious knowledge. He maintained that the philosophizing Jew is superior to the Jew who practices his religious duties blindly. Yet, in spite of this, he delineated some of the major differences existing between Aristotelianism and Judaism. The attempt of Maimonides and his successors to bring these two divergent systems into agreement at any price was firmly rejected by Joseph. Following *Naḥmanides, he was of the opinion that the deeper meaning of religious commandments is inaccessible to rational investigation and is capable of being comprehended only by means of mystic intuition or esoteric tradition such as the Kabbalists claim to have. Joseph, together with his son Shem Tov (see *Ibn Shem Tov, Shem Tov ben Joseph ben Shem Tov) and Isaac *Arama, is representative of the school of Jewish philosophy which was influenced by the Kabbalah. In opposition to the Aristotelians, who perceived the greatest good of man in intellectual perfection, Joseph maintained that the immortality of the soul in no way follows from the development of the intellect, but is dependent on the conscientious observance of religious precepts. Joseph's philosophical system represents a compromise between Aristotelian-Maimonidean rationalism and the anti-philosophical tendency of which his father was representative. Joseph took a mediating position on the question of the study of secular disciplines. Following the teachings of Solomon ben Abraham *Adret, he wanted to restrict the study of philosophy and the sciences to those who were mature. While Joseph's *Kevod Elohim* was not as popular as the *Ikkarim* of his older contemporary Joseph *Albo, it was widely read (Kaufmann, Schriften, 2 (1910), 260–1) and copiously quoted by later authors, as were his other works. Joseph's philosophical views exerted a strong influence on the dogmatic and speculative Hebrew literature of the following centuries.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Guttmann, Philosophies, 252–3; Husik, Philosophy, 429–30; M. Steinschneider, *Jewish Literature* (1965^3), 97, 100, 104, 127, 309, 317; idem, in: MGWJ, 32 (1883), 459–77; Steinschneider, Uebersetzungen, index, s.v. *Josef ben Schemtob*; Graetz, Hist, 7 (1949), index, s.v. *Joseph ben Shem Tob Ibn-Shem Tob*; H.A. Wolfson, *Crescas' Critique of Aristotle* (1929), index; Ghirondi-Neppi, 152, no. 37; Fuenn, Keneset, 512–3; D. Neumark, *Geschichte der juedischen Philosophie des Mittelalters*, 1 (1907), index, s.v. *Josef ben Schemtob*; Guttmann, in: MGWJ, 57 (1913), 336–40, 418–47.

[Moshe Nahum Zobel]

IBN SHEM TOV, SHEM TOV (c. 1380–c. 1441), Spanish rabbi, kabbalist, and anti-Maimonidean polemicist. A witness to the persecutions and conversion movements of the late 14th- and early 15th-century Spain, Shem Tov held Maimonidean Aristotelianism responsible for facilitating apostasy. In his Hebrew work *Sefer ha-Emunot* ("Book of Beliefs," Ferrara, 1556; photoedition, 1969) he attacks Jewish rationalists from Abraham ibn Ezra through *Levi b. Gershom and Isaac *Albalag, but especially Maimonides. He wrote unabashedly against the esoteric doctrine of the *Guide of the Perplexed*, as he understood it. Although he revered Maimonides for his talmudic writings, he considered his philosophy a thousand times more pernicious than Aristotle's, because it came from an adherent of the Torah. Unlike his contemporary Ḥasdai *Crescas, he does not seek to undermine philosophically the foundations of Maimonidean Aristotelianism, nor does he seek to provide an alternative philosophy: he argues almost exclusively from faith. According to Shem Tov's explication, Maimonides taught that the soul is non-substantial; that there is neither divine reward for the righteous nor punishment for the wicked; that there will be no resurrection; that the only human immortality is that of the intellect, achieved by philosophers alone; that there is no providence save that occasioned by intellectual conjunction with God; that the world is eternal and immutable, and there have been no miracles; that the commandments are merely means for the development of the intellect, and human excellence is attained only upon mastery of logic, mathematics, natural sciences, and metaphysics; and that the stories of the Torah were designed for the multitude, for were the truth publicized, it would annihilate all political order. Shem Tov was unsuccessful in winning many adherents to his fideism. His sons Joseph b. Shem Tov *Ibn Shem Tov and Isaac ben Shem Tov *Ibn Shem Tov and his grandson Shem Tov b. Joseph b. Shem Tov *Ibn Shem Tov adhered increasingly to Maimonides' views. Moses ben Isaac *Alashkar (late 15th–early 16th centuries) wrote a vehement attack on the *Sefer ha-Emunot, Hassagot* ("Animadversions," Ferrara, 1556). These animadversions, however, are little more than citations of Maimonides' exoteric pronouncements as supposed disproof of the existence of his esoteric doctrine. Because of his unmitigated, non-philosophic attack on Maimonidean philosophy, Shem Tov was often caricatured as a fanatical warrior for faith against reason. Yet, his undeniable zeal does not invalidate either his analysis of Maimonideanism or his testimony that Maimonidean intellectualism facilitated Jewish apostasy in Spain. In the history of the *Kabbalah, Shem Tov is known for maintaining that *Keter* ("Crown") is not one of the ten **Sefirot* but above them, that consequently *Ḥokhmah* ("Wisdom") is the first *Sefirah*, and that Da'at ("Knowledge") is a *Sefirah*. He is not considered, however, a creative contributor to the Kabbalah, his views being essentially elaborations of those of Shem Tov ibn Gaon. Shem Tov also wrote a treatise on the *Sefirot* and a commentary on *Avot*, the sixth chapter of which was published (Y. Daitch, *Perush Rabbenu Baḥya al Massekhet Avot… u-Ferush Rabbenu Shem Tov ben Shem Tov al Perek Shishi*, 1962).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Baer, Spain, 2 (1966), 234–9; G. Scholem, in: KS, 8 (1931/32), 398–400; J. Guttmann, in: MGWJ, 57 (1913), 177–95, 326–36.

[Warren Zev Harvey]

IBN SHEM TOV, SHEM TOV BEN JOSEPH BEN SHEM TOV (15th century), Spanish rabbi, philosopher, and preacher. Shem Tov was the namesake of his grandfather, the militant anti-Maimonidean kabbalist (see Shem Tov *Ibn Shem Tov), and the son of the moderate Maimonidean Joseph ben Shem Tov *Ibn Shem Tov. He became a vigorous defender of Aristotelian and Maimonidean philosophy. He wrote several Hebrew works on philosophic subjects, including one on the distinction between matter and form, one on teleology, and commentaries on *Averroes' intermediate commentaries on Aristotle's *Physics* and *De Anima*. Only two of his works have been printed, *Derashot ha-Torah* ("Homilies on the Torah"; Salonika, 1525) and a commentary on Maimonides' *Guide of the Perplexed*, which is printed in most Hebrew editions of the *Guide*. As a preacher, Shem Tov, following Maimonides, taught that only the man of intellect is in the image of God. Perhaps influenced by his fideist grandfather, he also called for uncompromising loyalty to Torah and for sacrifice unto death for the Jewish people and its inheritance. In an age when many influential Jews chose baptism, he praised Moses who forfeited his status with Pharaoh and jeopardized his life by slaying the Egyptian taskmaster. It is for his commentary on the *Guide* that Shem Tov is generally known. Although not remarkable for its profundity or originality, it is a clear and extensive work which for centuries has been helpful to students of the *Guide*. Shem Tov extols the *Guide*: "He who knows this book and observes it meticulously is beloved above and pleasant below, and he is assured that he is a member of the world to come." His devotion to Maimonides included a religious acceptance of Aristotelian science. In commenting on the Aristotelian propositions that Maimonides held necessary for the proof of God's existence, unity, and incorporeality, he roundly ridiculed Ḥasdai Crescas for arguing against them. However, like his uncle Isaac b. Shem Tov *Ibn Shem Tov, he was apparently too immersed in Aristotelianism even to recognize the force of Crescas' revolutionary critique.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: H.A. Wolfson, *Crescas' Critique of Aristotle* (1929), index; J. Guttmann, in: MGWJ, 57 (1913), 447–51.

[Warren Zev Harvey]

IBN SHOSHAN, family of *nesi'im* in *Toledo, especially prominent from the 12th century. However, even in the 11th century *Samuel ha-Nagid addressed one member of the family in a poem. Leaders of the Jewish community, the Ibn Shoshan family lived in the "upper quarter" of the northeastern part of the Jewish quarter of Toledo, near the mosque which became the Church of San Roman under Christian rule. In contemporary sources this spot was called the "plaza" of Abu Suleiman

David ibn Shoshan. The Ibn Shoshan family included scholars, kabbalists, poets, grammarians, philosophers, physicians, rabbis, and court ministers. Todros b. Judah ha-Levi *Abulafia praised the members of the family in his poems. After the expulsion from Spain they emigrated to such places as Avignon, Tunis, Turkey (Magnesia, Constantinople, Salonika), and Ereẓ Israel (Jerusalem and Safed).

ABU OMAR JOSEPH (1135–1205) was called *ha-nasi* ("the prince") and was treasurer (*almoxarif*) in the court of Alfonso VIII of Castile. In recognition of his services to the state, Joseph received an estate with privileges of immunity which gave to its bearers absolute control within its borders. He was very influential in domestic and foreign affairs of state and built a synagogue in Toledo. Judah *Al-Ḥarizi, *Abraham b. Nathan of Lunel, and Meir ha-Levi *Abulafia praised him. One of his daughters married the last mentioned and another, Abraham Alfakhār.

MEIR (13th century) was born in Toledo and became treasurer to Alfonso X of Castile (1252–84) while still young. He received estates in Seville in 1253 and Jerez de la Frontera in 1266, when these cities were conquered from the Muslims. He also owned land in other places. In 1276 he went on a diplomatic mission to Morocco, perhaps in order to draw up a treaty. In Arabic documents he is called "vizier." His personal enemies tried in vain to harm him. His friend and fellow townsman Todros b. Judah Abulafia lavishly praises Meir in his poems, not only for his political influence but also for his wisdom and talent in poetry.

ABRAHAM, son-in-law of Don Meir, was tax collector in Toledo in the late 13th and early 14th centuries. In 1276 Abraham, Don Isaac de Melija, and a Christian merchant farmed the taxes on livestock in the entire kingdom of Castile and the fines payable by those who violated the privilege of the shepherds' guilds (Mesta). These agreements were canceled several months later. During the reign of Sancho IV (1284–95) Abraham worked with the administrator of financial affairs, Don Abraham al-Bargeloni. However, for the most part he served as treasurer (*almoxarif*) of the queen. In December 1286 the Cortes decided to restore to the crown all property and privileges that it had lost during the civil war and Abraham was appointed as executor of this task, but was replaced by Abraham al-Bargeloni in June 1287. During the reign of Ferdinand IV (1295–1312) Abraham and his partners received authority for tax collection in Castile. In sources of the period several biblical comments and dicta are attributed to him, attesting that he devoted time to study and was considered by his contemporaries as an outstanding scholar.

JACOB BEN JOSEPH was a *dayyan* in Toledo in the early 14th century. A tax suit against the community of Valladolid was brought before him and Abraham ibn Shoshan. He was one of the signatories of the Barcelona ban on secular studies in 1306, and is also mentioned in the dispute between *Asher b. Jehiel and Israel b. Joseph ha-Yisre'eli regarding matters of inheritance.

SAMUEL BEN ZADOK (14th cent.) was a scholar and a liturgical poet. He wrote an abridgment of Jacob b. Asher's *Tur Oraḥ Ḥayyim* (*Sefer Eẓ Ḥayyim*, Ms. Paris 444) and the *piyyut mi-khamokha* for the Day of Atonement (begins with the words *Shime'ah ammi*, "Hear, my People"; Davidson, Oẓar, 3 (1930), 489, no. 1762).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Naḥmanides, *Responsa*, passim; Freimann, in: JJLG, 12 (1918), 282; Brody, in: *Ẓiyyonim, Kovez le-Zikhrono shel J.N. Simḥoni* (1929), 45–57; idem, in: YMḤSI, 2 (1936), 5, 8, 25, 36; Baer, Urkunden, index s.v. *aben Xuxen*; Baer, Spain, index; idem, in: Todros b. Judah Abulafia, *Gan ha-Meshalim ve-ha-Ḥidot*, ed. by D. Yellin, 2 (1936), xliii; Teicher, in: *Essays and Studies presented to S.A. Cook* (1950), 83–94; Cantera-Millás, Inscripciones, index s.v. *Sošan* and *Sušan*; F. González, *El Reino de Castilla en la época de Alfonso VIII* (1960), 249f.; Ashtor, Korot, 2 (19662), 140f.

[Zvi Avneri]

IBN SHOSHAN, DAVID (late 16th century), scholar and talmudist of Salonika, descended from a family expelled from Spain. David *Conforte states in his *Kore ha-Dorot* that David was blind and very wealthy and praises him as a rabbi of comprehensive wisdom, learned also in astronomy, philosophy, and geometry. He was known not only for his great talmudic erudition but also for his considerable knowledge of Muslim religious books, and Muslim scholars and judges studied books of their religion with him. He later moved from Salonika to Constantinople, where he died. He is mentioned in the responsa of contemporary scholars, *Solomon b. Abraham ha-Kohen (Maharshakh), Samuel b. Moses de *Medina (Rashdam), and *Elijah b. Ḥayyim (Ranaḥ). He is to be distinguished from another David ibn Shoshan who lived in Jerusalem at the beginning of the 16th century.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Conforte, Kore, 336, 399, 409, 459; Rosanes, Togarmah, 2 (1938), 32; Frumkin-Rivlin, 1 (1929), 80 n. 2.

[Yehoshua Horowitz]

IBN SHUAIB, JOEL (15th century), rabbi and preacher in Spain. Ibn Shuaib lived in the region of Navarre, and he was in Tudela in 1485, and, apparently, in Saragossa shortly before the expulsion in 1492. He was considered an important preacher in his time, and his extant works revealed both an extensive rabbinic knowledge and broad general culture. Some of his works were published, but a number are known only from their mention in the other works. His weekly Sabbath sermons, *Olat Shabbat*, were published in Venice in 1577. Of his commentary to the Bible only that to a few books is known: *Doresh Tov* on the Pentateuch; on Isaiah; *Ein Mishpat* on Job; and *Nora Tehillot* (Salonika, 1569) on Psalms. Of his commentary to the five *scrolls, only that on Lamentations (Salonika, 1521) has been published. The commentary to the Song of Songs, fragments of which were published with Abraham Tamakh's commentary to the Song of Songs (Sabionetta, 1558–59), has been wrongly ascribed to him. Its author was another member of the family, Joshua *Ibn Shuaib. Joel ibn Shuaib also compiled a commentary to *Avot* called *Sekhel Tov.* Those works, especially his *Nora Tehillot*, reveal his opposition to the Spanish Marranos whom he regarded as apostates. His sharp criticism of the Marranos apparently resulted in bringing many of them to return openly to the Jewish faith. His work also gives an interesting description of the organization of sacred societies for communal needs in the community of Saragossa.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Steinschneider, Cat Bod, 1400f.; H.H. Ben-Sasson, in: *Zion*, 26 (1961), 26, 38, 50f., 57, 59, 62; idem, in: *Sefer Yovel le-Y. Baer* (1960), 216; Baer, Spain, 2 (1966), 507; B. Netanyahu. *The Marranos of Spain* (1966), 172–5; S. Abramson, introd. to: *Derashot al ha-Torah le-R. Yehoshu'a ibn Shuaib* (1969), 41–43 (facsimile of the Cracow 1573 ed.).

[Abraham David]

IBN SHUAIB, JOSHUA (first half of 14th century), Spanish scholar. Few biographical details are known of him. He was a pupil of Solomon b. Abraham *Adret (the Rashba), whose statements and customs he frequently cites. He lived and was active in Navarra, where *Menahem b. Aaron ibn Zeraḥ was his pupil (1328); according to some scholars he resided in Tudela. Ibn Shuaib's fame rests upon his book, *Derashot…*, containing sermons on the Pentateuch – a collection of the weekly sermons which he delivered in the local synagogue. The first edition appeared in Constantinople in 1523; the second in Cracow in 1573 (both editions are very rare, but a photostatic copy of the Cracow edition was published in Jerusalem, 1969). The book is replete with *halakhah*, Jewish thought, *Kabbalah, and *musar* and its many epigrams give it a special charm. Ibn Shuaib reveals a complete mastery of the works of Ibn Gabirol, Judah Halevi, Abraham Ibn Ezra, *Maimonides, and Baḥya ibn Paqūda, and many of the halakhic works from the geonic period to his own day. He was unusually well-versed in the Kabbalah, and his interest in it is pronounced in this work. He quotes from the *Sefer Yeẓirah, Sefer ha-Bahir*, and the Zohar, from the kabbalist *Ezra b. Solomon of Gerona, and also from kabbalistic passages in the Bible commentary of *Naḥmanides. He regarded Naḥmanides' work as the ideal combination of philosophy and Kabbalah, both of which had a special attraction for him. As a result he frequently quotes Naḥmanides, sometimes anonymously. In addition he makes extensive use of the two Talmuds and the aggadic Midrashim and extensively and frequently quotes the prevailing customs of Catalonia and France. He delivered his sermons, at least in part, before 1310, as is evident from his mention of Adret as a living contemporary. His chief aim in the sermons was to urge the observance of precepts which were disregarded or neglected, and he also frequently stressed the importance of the synagogue, the need to have recourse to Jewish courts of law, and the like. Ibn Shuaib also wrote a commentary on kabbalistic passages in Naḥmanides' commentary, and some scholars think that the commentary published in the name of Meir ibn *Sahula (*Be'ur Perush ha-Ramban al ha-Torah*) is basically that of Ibn Shuaib adapted by Ibn Sahula. It is known that other pupils of Solomon b. Abraham Adret similarly applied themselves to commenting on these passages of Naḥmanides and they criticized Ibn Shuaib's commentary, accusing him of distortion and misunderstanding the true meaning of the passages. Both editions of the sermons are full of printers' errors and rare but they have been in the possession of scholars down to the present day.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: G. Scholem, in: KS, 6 (1929/30), 109–18; idem, in: *Tarbiz*, 24 (1954/55), 294f.; A. Freimann, in: *Annuario di Studi Ebraici*, 1 (1934), 149–52; Loewinger, in: *Sefunot*, 7 (1963), 11; S. Abramson, introd. to facsimile edition of *Derashot al ha-Torah le-R. Yehoshu'a ibn Shua'ib* (1969).

[Israel Moses Ta-Shma]

IBN SHUWAYK, ISAAC (Ar. **Alm al-Fath**) **BEN ISRAEL** (before 1167–1247), *gaon* and Hebrew poet. Isaac ibn Shuwayk flourished in Baghdad, and was a friend of *Eleazar b. Jacob ha-Bavli, who corresponded with him and composed a long elegy on his death. Abraham b. Moses b. Maimon also addressed a letter to Isaac. Judah *al-Ḥarizi, who made his acquaintance during his stay in Baghdad (c. 1220), spoke disapprovingly of Isaac's poetry (*Taḥkemoni*, gate 18), an opinion which is not justified: "Now the pick of their poets was the academy head Isaac bar Israel, few of whose poems were whole and hale; most, pinched and pale, showed weal and wale. He penned a book of *maqāmāt* cold and remote, filled with songs and letters were best unwrote, that tax the eye and tight the throat. There folly rested, nested, and sickly themes egested, all maggot-infested. Silence had suited Isaac better: he penned neither song nor letter, but worms and fetor." (tr. D.S. Segal, 188) He states that Isaac was the author of a *maqāma* collection, which has not been preserved. Six of his *piyyutim* are known today.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Landshuth, Ammudei, 122; Zunz, Lit Poesie, 204, cf. 504; J. Schirmann, *Die hebraeische Uebersetzung der Maqamen des Hariri* (1930), 116f.; Fischel, in: MGWJ, 79 (1935), 308–10; A. Ben-Jacob, in: *Zion*, 15 (1950), 56–58; Davidson, Oẓar, 4 (1933), 419; S. Poznański, *Babylonische Geonim…* (1914), 42–46, 61, 68, 75ff.; A. Neubauer, in: *Israelietische Letterbode*, 3 (1878), 51.

[Jefim (Hayyim) Schirmann / Angel Sáenz-Badillos (2nd ed.)]

IBN VERGA, JOSEPH (d.c. 1559), Turkish scholar. After escaping to Lisbon with his father, Solomon *Ibn Verga during the expulsion of the Jews from *Spain, Ibn Verga emigrated to Turkey. Settling first in Constantinople, he later moved to Adrianople, where he was rabbi and *dayyan*. In about 1550 he published here his father's *Shevet Yehudah*, together with supplementary material. Ibn Verga translated some of the supplementary material from Latin but some of it he heard from Moses *Hamon and from Abraham ibn Arama (otherwise unknown). In addition, he described the persecution of the Jews in Christian countries, and reproduced Isaac *Abrabanel's account of the expulsion of the Jews from Castile, at the beginning of his commentary on the book of Kings. He also incorporated accounts of blood libels in Cairo and *Amasia (Turkey), and a valuable 13th-century chronicle which he found in the library of Yom Tov Sanzolo. Joseph also wrote *She'erit Yosef* (Adrianople, 1554) on talmudic principles.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Rosanes, Togarmah, 2 (1938), 71–73; M.D. Gaon, *Yehudei ha-Mizraḥ be-Ereẓ Yisrael*, 2 (1937), 226; S. ibn Verga, *Shevet Yehudah*, ed. by A. Shochat (1947), index.

[Simon Marcus]

IBN VERGA, SOLOMON (second half of 15th–first quarter of 16th century), Spanish-Jewish historiographer. In addition to his extensive rabbinical and philosophical learning, Ibn Verga had a wide knowledge of the non-Jewish literature of his time, and while in Spain also devoted himself to community affairs. After the conquest of Málaga in 1487 by Ferdinand and Isabella, Ibn Verga was sent by the Spanish communities to raise funds for ransoming the Jews taken captive there, and also received official authorization to proceed with this undertaking. On the expulsion of the Jews from Spain in 1492, Ibn Verga settled in Lisbon, Portugal. From 1497, when a large number of the Jews in Portugal were forcibly baptized, he was compelled to live as a Converso but apparently was one of those "who did not come under the waters" (Resp. Radbaz no. 1137). When in 1506 the Conversos were permitted to leave Portugal, he went on to Italy, evidently staying some time in Rome.

During the 1520s, Ibn Verga wrote his *Shevet Yehudah*, a compilation of accounts of the persecutions undergone by the Jews from the destruction of the Second Temple until his own day. At times, the author intersperses the historical account with disputations and deliberations, of which some are authentic and others imaginary. By means of these, he tried to clarify the problem of the hatred against the Jews, to examine their special destiny, to offer answers to the claims of their enemies, to rebuke his people for their social and moral faults, and to voice his objection against certain philosophical opinions. After concluding with a description of the misfortunes which had overtaken his people in his time, Ibn Verga devoted a lengthy chapter to a description of the Temple and the service for Passover and the Day of Atonement. He had intended to complete his work at this point, but then added further chapters. His son Joseph *Ibn Verga, who took care of its publication, also introduced supplements. The work was first published in 1554, perhaps in Adrianople.

The name of the work, *Shevet Yehudah*, may be explained in several ways. *Shevet* may either mean a "staff" or is the term applied to one of the twelve tribes of Israel. *Yehudah* can equally be explained as indicating Spanish Jewry, which claimed its origin from the tribe of Judah, or R. Judah ibn Verga, a relative or the uncle of the author, in whose work Solomon found some of the "persecutions and decrees" which he sought to commemorate in his own work.

The author drew his historical material from *Josippon, the *Sefer ha-Kabbalah* of Abraham *Ibn Daud, from the narrative of *Nathan ha-Bavli, and from *Maimonides' letters including *Iggeret Teiman*. He also utilized a brief Hebrew chronicle dealing with the general expulsions and religious persecutions, probably that of Profiat *Duran, which was widely known in various versions, and consulted the writings of Isaac *Abrabanel. In addition to all these, he gathered information from sources now unknown; some may be of his own creation. For his own period, he mentions some of the events which he heard of or witnessed and for which he is sometimes the only source.

The work has special importance in the annals of Jewish historical thought. The thoughts and reflections which the author interweaves in his imaginary discussions, that is in the literary and not the historical section of the work, reflect his dissatisfaction with the traditional outlook and opinions of the Middle Ages. He treats the *galut* in general and the problem of expulsion as natural phenomena subject to the laws of causation, is dissatisfied with traditional answers concerning the relationship between Israel and the Creator and the Will which determines history, and does not willingly accept suffering, refusing to consider it exclusively as a sign of the Jews' superiority. He offers the opinion that hatred of the Jews is simply a popular inheritance, due principally to religious fanaticism and the jealousy of the populace, both of which stem from lack of education. His conclusion, partly explicit and partly implied, is that the Jews should remove the causes of jealousy and fanaticism by modest and humble behavior toward their non-Jewish neighbors, and try to break down some of the barriers separating them by preaching religious tolerance and similar efforts. But the author realizes in advance that all his remedies and opinions are of no avail: "It is in the nature of Creation that the evil exist beside the good." The root of all this evil is in the exile itself. However, his faith has lost its naïveté. He does not believe that Redemption is near at hand and derides the "messiahs," without suggesting an alternative Redemption. All he is finally left with is hope for the mercy of Heaven. The loss of simple faith leads him to seek the natural causes of the original downfall, i.e., the beginning of exile with the destruction of the Second Temple. The conclusion is that with respect to the Second Temple, faith was a negative factor. This postulate concerning the negative role of faith was an innovation of contemporary Italian political thinkers.

In the style of the humanists who scorned theological tradition and the learning of the schoolmen, Ibn Verga also derides, either openly or covertly, the philosophical opinions of the scholars of his own people. He parodies the philosophy of *Judah Halevi and treats the teachings of Maimonides in a fashion not far removed from mockery. Ibn Verga challenges medieval allegorical exegesis and natural science, as if intending to demolish the whole medieval spiritual edifice. He also sometimes attacks the Talmud and is thus a forerunner of the anti-talmudic movement which erupted about a century later among the Conversos.

Ibn Verga's critical and empirical approach to the phenomena of history makes him a herald of a new era in Jewish history. Nevertheless there is definite evidence that the author remained a loyal Jew. He thus expresses his sympathy for Jewish martyrs; when mentioning the persecutions which overtook German Jewry, he concludes: "They nevertheless stood firm for the sanctity of God and His Torah and did not abandon their honor," which might imply a silent criticism of Spanish Jewry which did not reach such a standard. His sympathy also goes out to those Conversos who endanger their lives in observing the Torah and its precepts. He is proud of the fact "that they have a heart sufficiently courageous to accept death by burning without changing their religion."

Shevet Yehudah is one of the outstanding achievements of the Hebrew literature of the Renaissance. Some of its imaginary dialogues show exceptional literary gifts; the narrative is interspersed with ideological argumentation by means of dialogue, a device apparently forced upon Ibn Verga because he did not dare openly express some of his radical ideas. He therefore invented situations occurring in the court of a Christian where the majority of the debaters were Christians, attributing to them statements on Judaism which he could not put into the mouth of a Jew. However, the work was written in Hebrew and was clearly intended to promote internal reforms; indeed it was highly esteemed by Jews and many read it. The text was published by M. Wiener (1855) and by A. Shochat (1947).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Baer, Spain, index s.v. *Solomon ibn Verga*; idem, *Galut* (1947), 77–82; idem, in: *Tarbiz*, 6 (1935), 152–79; idem, *Untersuchungen ueber Quellen und Komposition des Schebet Jehuda* (1923); Neuman, in: *L. Ginzberg Jubilee Volume* (1945), 253–73; Ḥorev, in: KS, 24 (1947/48), 173–8; B. Netanyahu, *Don Isaac Abravanel* (Eng., 1953), 266, 271.

[Azriel Shochat]

IBN WAQAR, family living in Castile, Spain, in the 13th and 14th centuries. Its most renowned members were ISAAC and ABRAHAM, physicians in the service of King Sancho IV of Castile (1284–95). They acted as stewards of the palace, and with the regent, Don Juan Manuel, witnessed the king's testament in the presence of a cleric. Isaac also served the king as *alfaquim* (secretary). After the town of Elche had been captured from the Muslims, he received estates there and acted as intermediary between the courts of Aragon and Castile on administrative matters concerning the town. In his old age, the infante advised his son to continue to employ a physician from the family of Don Isaac as he had never found such another trustworthy man or skillful physician. Isaac and Abraham were loyal friends of Todros b. Judah ha-Levi *Abulafia, the author of *Gan ha-Meshalim ve-ha-Ḥidot*. Another member of the family, JOSEPH, translated into Hebrew *al-Taṣīf*, the work of the physician al-Zahrāwī. Isaac's son JUDAH also served as physician to the regent Don Juan Manuel. Empowered by the regent and after consulting *Asher b. Jehiel, he introduced the hearing of criminal cases by Jewish courts. On several occasions he meted out severe corporal punishment (1320). This was done with the intention of raising the dignity of Jewish law, since among Christians such punishment was customary and Judah feared that respect for Jewish law would suffer if similar methods were not adopted by Jewish courts.

SAMUEL of Toledo was a physician, astronomer, and director of the mint in the service of Alfonso XI of Castile (1312–50). He obtained the concession to the royal mint, which previously had been held by trusted members of the Estates, in 1330. The Christian public accused Samuel of having inflated prices by issuing debased coinage, and claimed that he and his colleagues had purchased all the merchandise in the kingdom at a high price and exported it abroad in order to acquire silver for minting. It was also alleged that Samuel had sought to lease all the revenues of the southern frontier region (the "Frontera") but that Don Joseph de *Écija had offered the king a higher sum. In order to injure his rival, Samuel advised the king to prohibit all exports by Muslims to the kingdom of Granada. As a result the customs revenues from the region diminished. The restriction infringed the commercial agreement between Granada and Castile and, according to a Christian source, was the origin of the war between the two countries. The sultan of Morocco hastened to the aid of Granada and besieged Gibraltar. In 1332 he invaded the Spanish mainland. Nevertheless Samuel retained his position and it was only in 1336 that he and Joseph de Écija fell from royal favor. They were imprisoned and delivered to Gonzalo Martínez de Oviedo, who was elevated to their positions. On his orders, both were tortured to death in prison. Samuel's remains were not given up for burial for a whole year. According to Steinschneider, Samuel may be the author of "Royal Castilian Medicine by Practical Methods" in Arabic. He is possibly also the "Jewish physician of the king and the great astrologer" who attended the queen and saved her life when she gave birth to Don Pedro (1333). Joseph ben Abraham *Ibn Waqar (14th century) was a kabbalist.

JOSEPH, physician to Henry II of Castile (1369–79), traveled to Granada on a diplomatic mission. He wrote an epitome of the history of the Spanish kings and gave it to a Muslim scholar of Granadan origin to assist him in his work on Spanish history. JOSEPH BEN ISAAC BEN MOSES prepared astronomical charts in Arabic for determining the geographical extent of Toledo (1357–58), which he himself translated into Hebrew (1395–96; Ms. Munich 230).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Baer, Spain, index, s.v. *first names*; *Sefarad*, index to vols. 1–15 (1957); Graetz, Gesch, 7 (1900), 288ff.; Scholem, in: KS, 20 (1944), 153ff.

[Zvi Avneri]

IBN WAQAR, JOSEPH BEN ABRAHAM (14th century), Spanish philosopher and kabbalist. Ibn Waqar, a member of a distinguished family, lived in Toledo. He expounded his kabbalistic ideas in a poem titled *Shir ha-Yiḥud*, which he himself annotated. His chief work is the Arabic treatise *Al-maqāla al-jāmiʿa bayn al-falsafa wa-al-sharīʿa* ("The Treatise of Reconciliation between Philosophy and the Revealed Law"), extant only in manuscript (Vatican Ms. 203), in which he attempts to reconcile philosophy and astrology with the revealed law, or more exactly, with the religious tenets of Judaism which he identifies completely with the Kabbalah. The purpose of this reconciliation is not to make the Kabbalah conform to rational principles, but, as the author says, "to make it triumphant." Ibn Waqar endeavored to prove that Jewish theosophy, which introduced a series of intermediary entities, the *Sefirot*, between the unknown God and the intelligible world of the philosophers, could be, if not rationally validated, at least linked to the philosophical concept of an intermediary being between the first cause and the prime mover, a notion postulated by Abu Ḥāmid al-*Ghazālī in one of his esoteric treatises. Ibn Waqar believed that he could, by mere dialectic, establish a fundamental agreement between astrology, philosophy, and Kabbalah, each of which is, in its own way, attuned to the harmony of the universe. Astrology provides sound information concerning events in the sublunar world; philosophy is valid in its teachings concerning the structure of the world intermediary between the separate intelligences and the celestial bodies; the Kabbalah is authoritative as a symbolic expression of the knowledge that is available to man concerning the divine world. Ibn Waqar's philosophical sources were chiefly *Maimonides, *Averroes (whose rules for allegorical exegesis, *taʾwīl*, he adopted), and to a lesser extent *Moses ben Joseph ha-Levi, al-*Fārābī, *Avicenna, al-Ghazālī, and Ibn Ṭufayl; *Aristotle was known to him only through Averroes. In astrology he drew on works ascribed in his day to Ptolemy. Although Ibn Waqar's exposition of the Kabbalah is unmistakably adapted to suit the taste of the philosophers, he derived its essential features from the writings of *Isaac b. Jacob ha-Kohen and *Jacob b. Jacob ha-Kohen. Ibn Waqar was very circumspect, however, in dealing with demonology and metempsychosis (**gilgul*). He also used the *Sefer *Yeẓirah*, the *Sefer ha-*Bahir*, the writings of the Gerona school, and the responsum falsely ascribed to *Hai Gaon, but he distrusted the *Zohar, citing it only once. The synthesis attempted by Ibn Waqar was not very successful, and subsequent references to his work are rare. Samuel *Ibn Motot, who refers to Ibn Waqar as the author of a work on the reconciliation of philosophy and Kabbalah, titled *Maʾamar ha-Kovez*, or *Ha-Kolel* (the Hebrew for *Al-maqāla al-jāmiʿa bayn al-falsafa wa-al-shariʿa*), was the only one in the following generation to make any extensive, though often injudicious, use of him. However, that part of the treatise containing an exposition of the Kabbalah and a lexicon of kabbalistic symbols was more widely read, as is evident from the fact that many copies of its Hebrew translation are extant (Vatican, Ms. Heb. 384; Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, cod. héb. 793; Bodleian Library, Ms. Laud. 119).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: M. Steinschneider, *Gesammelte Schriften*, 1 (1925), 171–80; Steinschneider, Uebersetzungen, 921–2; Steinschneider, Arab Lit, 168; G. Scholem, in: KS, 20 (1943), 153–62; A.M. Habermann, *Shirei ha-Yiḥud ve-ha-Kavod* (1948), 99–122, 191–2; G. Vajda, *Recherches sur la philosophie et la Kabbale dans la pensée juive du moyen âge* (1962), 115–297, 385–91; idem, in: *Oẓar Yehudei Sefarad*, 5 (1962), 17–20; G. Sed-Rina, *ibid.*, 9 (1966), 11–23.

[Georges Vajda]

IBN YAḤYA, DAVID BEN JOSEPH (1465–1543), rabbi, grammarian, and philosopher, born in Lisbon. His father JOSEPH B. DAVID (1425–1498), was one of the leaders of Portuguese Jewry, and an advisor to the kings of Portugal. When his father learned of the intention of the king of Portugal to enforce baptism on the Jews, he fled with his sons to Italy. David's teacher was his cousin, David b. Solomon *Ibn Yaḥya. After spending some time in various Italian towns (Pisa, Florence, Ferrara, Ravenna, Imola, Rome) David became rabbi of Naples in 1525. There exists an interesting responsum which he addressed to the Jewish community of Naples in 1538 claiming the arrears of his salary, which had not been paid for many years. He also put his case before Meir *Katzenellenbogen of Padua who in his reply (Responsa, no. 40) addressed R. David in terms of great esteem. After the expulsion of the Jews from Naples in 1540, he returned to Imola. David wrote various works on grammar and philosophy as well as poems. Some letters and poems have been preserved, e.g., the *kinah Aʾorer Yegonim* on the expulsion of the Jews from Portugal. He abridged his cousin's *Leshon Limmudim* (Rome, 1540). David's son Joseph ben David *Ibn Yaḥya in his *Torah Or* describes a heroic act of his mother who, when six months pregnant with him, was prepared to sacrifice her life in order to escape an assault.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Davidson, Oẓar, 1 (1924), 318, no. 7004; Marx, in: HUCA, 1 (1924), 605–24.

[Hirsch Jacob Zimmels]

IBN YAḤYA, DAVID BEN SOLOMON (c. 1440–1524), grammarian and Bible commentator of *Portugal and *Turkey. In 1477 Ibn Yaḥya was appointed rabbi in his native Lisbon, where he delivered sermons on Sabbaths and festivals. As a result of his efforts on behalf of the Spanish exiles who went to Portugal, he was denounced before the Portuguese king but succeeded in escaping with his family to Naples. Shortly after, Naples was conquered by the French, who deprived Ibn Yaḥya of all his possessions and put him and his family on board a boat to Corfu. After much hardship he arrived in Constantinople where he devoted his time to study and where he was held in great esteem by local scholars. He provoked a controversy when he ventured to question a decision of Elijah *Mizraḥi, chief rabbi of Turkey. Mizraḥi, in his reply, referred to him "as the aged and pious scholar" and emphasized that he had taken upon himself to reply "because I acknowledge that his motives are honorable" (Responsa (1938), 89–102). Ibn Yaḥya wrote biblical commentaries and works on grammar and *halakhah*, as well as a commentary on Maimonides' *Guide of the Perplexed*. The following have been printed: *Hilkhot Terefot ha-Sirkhah* (Constantinople, 1519); *Leshon Limmudim* (*ibid.*, 1506), a Hebrew grammar; *Kav ve-Naki* (Lisbon, 1492), on Proverbs; *Shekel ha-Kodesh* (Constantinople, 1506), on poetry, written for his relative and pupil David b. Joseph *Ibn Yaḥya (a Latin translation of the last two sections was published in Paris, 1562); *Tehillah le-David* (Constantinople, 1525), on the principles of Judaism, completed by his son Jacob *Tam Ibn Yaḥya.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Michael, Or, no. 780; Rosanes, Togarmah, 1 (1930^2), 89–90.

[Ephraim Kupfer]

IBN YAḤYA, GEDALIAH BEN DAVID (1436–1487), physician and philosopher. Born in Lisbon, he left Portugal with the intention of settling in Ereẓ Israel, but on the way stopped in Constantinople, where he became head of a yeshivah. His attempt to accede to the Karaite request to be accepted into the fold of rabbinic Judaism was thwarted by the opposition of the other rabbis. He subsequently set out for Ereẓ Israel, but died on the way, and was buried in Safed. He wrote several books, one of which, *Sheva Einayim*, was published (Constantinople, n.d., and Venice n.d.). It is so called ("Seven Eyes," cf. Zech. 3:9) because it deals with seven motives which the author regards as cardinal to Judaism.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Gedaliah ibn Yaḥya, *Shalshelet ha-Kabbalah* (Warsaw, 1877), 85; Rosaries, Togarmah, 1 (1930^2), 47; E. Carmoly, *Divrei ha-Yamim li-Venei Yaḥya* (1850), 16–17.

[Hirsch Jacob Zimmels]

IBN YAḤYA (or **Ibn Yihyah**), **GEDALIAH BEN JOSEPH** (1526–1587), historiographer and talmudist in Italy. Born in Imola, Gedaliah lived most of his life in the papal cities in Italy. He studied at several yeshivot including these of R. Jacob Finzi and of R. Ovadia Sforno and was ordained as rabbi and *dayyan*. When Pius v expelled all the Jews from his domains in 1569, Gedaliah, who lost much of his possessions, wandered for some time from city to city in Italy. In 1575, after living in Ferrara for a few years he settled in Alessandria in Piedmont (northern Italy) and in 1579 became the local rabbi.

Of Gedaliah's more than 20 books only three, including *Shalshelet ha-Kabbalah*, a very significant work, is extant. From a list of his other writings which he appended to this work, it seems that Gedaliah was master of rabbinic literature and was also interested in magic and history. The list mentions a commentary on the tractate *Avot*, a collection of 180 sermons, a book on dreams and their interpretations, a homiletical exegesis on the Torah, ethical writings, and numerous other works. *Shalshelet ha-Kabbalah* ("The Chain of Tradition," Venice, 1587, and many subsequent editions) became one of the most famous Hebrew chronicles, and was used by later Hebrew historiographers, just as Gedaliah himself made use of several earlier Hebrew historiographical works, notably the *Sefer ha-Kabbalah* by Abraham *Ibn Daud. The book became popular because of the many stories included in it, but Joseph Solomon Rofe of Kandia (YaSHaR) criticized it as "a chain of lies."

Shalshelet ha-Kabbalah has three parts. The first is a short history of the Jewish people from the Creation to the time of the author. Gedaliah generally lists historical facts but always tries to include as many stories as possible. He retells the biblical history, with the addition of many non-biblical stories, mostly midrashic, but some from medieval works, such as **Sefer ha-Yashar* and **Josippon*. The history of talmudic and geonic times is based upon the chronicle by R. *Sherira Gaon and *Sefer ha-Kabbalah*. While most of the information about medieval sages and scholars is taken from other Hebrew historiographers, some biographical and bibliographical notes are included which are not known from any other source. In this work, Gedaliah also made extensive use of hagiographical stories which he either read or which he heard (e.g., the cycle of stories about Naḥmanides). Historically, the greatest importance of this work lies in the many biographical and bibliographical facts it contains about scholars whom he knew personally, or contemporaries or other scholars whom he heard about first-hand. *Shalshelet ha-Kabbalah* thus constitutes one of the main sources for Renaissance Jewish history, especially in Italy. The second part of the work consists of a collection of short scientific tractates unconnected with the historical orientation of the book as a whole. Among the subjects of these tractates are magic, angels, heaven and hell, ghosts, medicine, heavenly spheres, coins and measurements, the formation of the embryo, and the making of paper. In most of these discourses, Gedaliah also includes stories of his own personal experience in the various fields. From this it seems that he was a typical Renaissance scholar, who considered all fields of knowledge as his own concern both in his life and in his writings. The third part of the work is again a chronicle, from the Creation to the 16th century, with the emphasis, however, on the history of the other nations: Greeks, Romans, Arabs, and medieval empires and popes. Although in the main the material in this section is more mythological and legendary in nature than historical, it is, nevertheless, one of the earliest Hebrew works in the field of world history. Jewish history establishes the chronological framework of this section, events within the Jewish world being correlated with those outside it. The vivid and interesting stories in this part undoubtedly contributed to the popularity of *Shalshelet ha-Kabbalah*.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Benjacob, Oẓar, 590; Michael, Or, 303; A. Marx, in: HUCA, 1 (1906), 605–9; Neubauer, in: *Israelietische Letterbode*, 10 (1886), 139; M.A. Shulvass (Szulwas), *Ḥayyei ha-Yehudim be-Italyah bi-Tekufat ha-Renaissance* (1955), passim; E. Carmoly, *Divrei ha-Yamim li-Venei Yaḥya* (1850); Waxman, Literature, 2 (1960), 476–9. A. David, "Mifalo ha-Historiografi shel Gedaliah ibn Yahya Baal Shalshelet Ha-Kabbalah" (diss., 1976).

[Joseph Dan]

IBN YAḤYA, GEDALIAH BEN TAM (16th century), physician and patron of learning in *Salonika. Ibn Yaḥya was said to have introduced new remedies into medical practice. He was friendly with *Amatus Lusitanus, who dedicated to him his seventh *Centuria Curationum* ("Hundred Medical Cases"). During a plague in 1548, he translated writings of the scholastic philosopher, Albertus Magnus, from Latin into Hebrew. His Spanish translation of the *Dialoghi di Amore* of Judah *Abrabanel (Venice, 1568) was dedicated to Philip II of Spain. He and his friend Aaron *Afia exemplify the high standard of general culture among descendants of the Spanish exiles of 1492.

[Cecil Roth]

IBN YAḤYA, JOSEPH BEN DAVID (1494–1534), exegete and philosopher. Ibn Yaḥya was born in Florence, *Italy, his parents having fled to that country from *Portugal. The family finally settled in the city of Imola. He studied in the yeshivah of R. Judah *Mintz in Padua. Of his works only two have been preserved: (1) *Perush Ḥamesh Megillot u-Ketuvim* (Bologna, 1538); and (2) *Torah Or*, on eschatology (Bologna, 1538), the introduction to which contains interesting autobiographical details. Two other works, *Derekh Ḥayyim*, commentary on talmudical sayings, and *Ner Mizvah* on the commandments, which, according to Benjacob, were parts of his *Torah Or*, were accidentally consigned to the flames at the burning of the Talmud in Padua in 1554. Joseph had three sons, one of whom was Gedaliah ben Joseph *Ibn Yaḥya, the author of *Shalshelet ha-Kabbalah*. His request to his sons that he be buried in Ereẓ Israel was fulfilled ten years after his death, Joseph *Caro arranging for his burial in Safed.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Benjacob, Oẓar, 116, no. 415; 404, no. 314; 465, no. 290; 644, no. 444; Graetz, Gesch, 9 (1891^3), 199.

[Hirsch Jacob Zimmels]

IBN YASHUSH, ISAAC ABU IBRAHIM (also known by his Arab name, **Abū Ibrāhīm ibn Kastār**; d. 1056), Hebrew grammarian and Bible commentator. Born in Toledo, he was court physician of the ruler of Denia (a maritime power on the eastern coast of the Iberian peninsula) Mujāhid al-ʿAmirī and of his son Iqbāl al-Dawla. The author of the "history of Arabian physicians," Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, praises Ibn Yashush as a person of sharp mind and gentle manners who was well versed in grammar, philosophy, Bible, and Jewish law. The best known of his works is his book on accidence (i.e., on the inflections of verbs) called in Hebrew *Sefer ha-Ẓerufim*, which some scholars identify with the manuscript *Kitāb al-Taṣārīf* extant in the Oxford and Leningrad libraries. Fragments of this work were published by Derenbourg (*Opuscules et Traités d'About Walid Merwan ibn Djanah* (1880), p. xx) and by Kokowzoff (*Historii yevreyskoy filologii* 2 (1916), 117ff., 131ff., 174, 176ff.). Ibn Yashush was regarded as one of the greatest Hebrew grammarians by medieval Hebrew scholars such as Moses *Ibn Ezra who, in his introduction to *Moznayim*, lists him among the sages of the holy tongue. Ibn Yashush wrote a Bible commentary named *Yiẓḥaki* in which the method of investigation comes very close to that of modern Bible criticism. He was sharply criticized for his bold approach and many scholars believe that Abraham ibn Ezra's sharp attack against the "blundering (or silly) fellow" (יצחק המהביל) who held that the chronology of the Edomite kings (Gen. 36:31ff.) was composed in the days of King *Jehoshaphat was aimed against Ibn Yashush whose "book ought to be burned" (Ibn Ezra's commentary to Gen., loc. cit.).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Steinschneider, Arab Lit, 135–6, no. 89; Graetz, Gesch, 6 (18943), 42–43; Bacher, in: J. Winter and A. Wuensche (eds.), *Juedische Literatur*, 2 (1894), 262–3; Ashtor, Korot, 2 (19662), 184f., 386f.

[Eliyahu Ashtor]

IBN ZABARA (or **Zabarra**), **JOSEPH BEN MEIR** (b. about 1140), physician and Hebrew writer. Born in Barcelona, Ibn Zabara was a contemporary of some of the *Tibbon family, of *Maimonides and of Judah *Al-Ḥarizi; Joseph *Kimḥi praised his scientific knowledge in his *Commentary to Proverbs*. Like his father, he studied medicine and lived as an honored physician in his native town. Ibn Zabara became known through his *Sefer Sha'ashu'im* ("Book of Amusements"), one of the best *maqamāt* written. This book is a literary account of his journey to several countries (southern Spain and Provence) with a physician named Joseph (nicknamed "Einan ha-Shed" in the book) who came from afar and joined Ibn Zabara on the journey. Consisting of a collection of stories and proverbs within the framework of a background story, the intention of *Sefer Sha'ashu'im*, as the title indicates, is to amuse the reader. As it is usual in the genre, some secular poems are included before and within the prose sections. In this work, Ibn Zabara reveals a considerable knowledge of Arabic literature – the source of most of his proverbs and pithy sayings – and also of the Babylonian and the Jerusalem Talmuds. More than any other work of this type, *Sefer Sha'ashu'im* shows Greek, Indian, and Arabic influence. Apart from its literary value, this book contains valuable information on medicine and hygiene, natural science, psychology, and physiognomy. The book includes the earliest example of questions and answers on scientific topics in Hebrew rhymed prose. Despite its contents and style value, however, it never had a great influence on Hebrew literature. Ibn Zabara dedicated it to the *nasi*, Sheshet *Benveniste, physician and adviser to the court of Alfonso II of Aragon, who died in 1209. The book was first printed in Constantinople (1577) by R. Isaac Akrish, together with other works. In 1865 it was published serially in **Ha-Levanon*. A scientific edition was prepared by I. Davidson (first with an introduction in English, 1914, and then with a Hebrew translation of the introduction, 1925). In modern times, the book was translated into English twice (*The Book of Delight*, by I. Abrahams, 1912, repr. 1980; by M. Hadas, 1932, 1960, with introd. by M. Sherwood); F. Brewer published a selection of it (1975); there is a Catalan translation by I. González Llubera (1931), and a Spanish one by M. Forteza-Rey (1983). Apart from *Sefer Sha'ashu'im* Ibn Zabara wrote "*Battei ha-Nefesh*," a didactic poem of 126 verses on anatomy and the functions of the organs in the human body, and a short treatise in prose for physicians. He also wrote an *ofan*, a *piyyut* on the angels.

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[Yehuda Ratzaby / Angel Sáenz-Badillos (2nd ed.)]

IBN ZABARRA (**Zabara**), **JUDAH** (end of 13th–beginning of 14th century), poet and philosophical author. Judah was probably born in Spain, and was a pupil of *Aaron ha-Levi, whom he mentions frequently, and Meir *Abulafia. He wrote his philosophical work, *Mikhtav ha-Teḥiyyah* (dealing with the resurrection of the dead), for a resident of Montpellier, and it can be assumed that he himself lived for a while in Montpellier. This work was published together with Maimonides' *Ma'amar Teḥiyyat ha-Metim* (1569). In one of his poems Judah praises the works of Menahem *Meiri.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Cowley, Cat, 371; Gross, Gal Jud, 331; Dukes, in: OLZ, 8 (1905), 117.

IBN ZADOK, SOLOMON (**Don Çulema**; also called **Abbās Rabīʿa Solomon Ibn Zadok**; d. 1274), prominent courtier in the service of Alfonso x (the Wise) of Castile in Toledo. Solomon, who had previously served Ferdinand III, was employed by Alfonso on diplomatic missions, and as chief collector of the revenues of the kingdom. His command of languages was impressive. He received from the king large estates in and around Seville. The poet Todros b. Judah ha-Levi *Abulafia praised Solomon lavishly in terms rarely applied to court Jews of the day. Solomon maintained synagogues and poorhouses and was highly esteemed by the community. After his death, his property in and around Seville was confiscated and given to the cathedral of the city. Abulafia wrote eulogies on his death. His son ISAAC IBN ZADOK (or Abu Ibrāhīm Isaac; d. 1280), who moved from Seville to Toledo, was chief farmer of the taxes of the kingdom of Castile during the reign of Alfonso x. He is referred to in non-Jewish documents as Don Çag de la Maleha. In 1276, he signed various leases and contracts for supplies to the government, including the tax-farming rights for the whole kingdom and for the debts on uncollected taxes. Don Isaac enforced in 1276 Alfonso's policy of exempting members of the Mesta (organization of the sheep breeders) from tolls formerly paid to the towns. Two years later, Alfonso asked Don Isaac to send funds for the army which was encamped near Algeciras, but the Infante Sancho intercepted the money, and the troops were endangered. Alfonso revenged himself on the tax farmers, three of whom were arrested. Don Isaac was condemned to death by hanging. He was probably executed before his father's death. Don Isaac was a generous patron of Todros Abulafia, who refers to him as the "savior of his generation." Abulafia also composed eulogies on the death of Isaac. Recently the identity of Isaac son of Solomon ibn Zadok and Don Çag de la Maleha has been challenged. It has been suggested that Don Çag de la Maleha was another Jewish courtier whose father was Meir ibn Susan. Both served Alfonso x of Castile. It was Çag de la Maleha who was the tax collector while Isaac ibn Zadok was the patron of Abulafia.

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[Yom Tov Assis (2nd ed.)]

IBN ZAKBEL (**Ibn Sahl**), **SOLOMON** (first half 12th century) Spanish Hebrew poet who lived very likely in Almería. According to the *Taḥkemoni* (ch. 3) of Judah *Al-Ḥarizi, Solomon Ibn Zakbel was a relative of R. Joseph *Ibn Sahl (d. 1124) and wrote a *maqāma* which begins with the words: "The utterance of Asher b. Judah." A work with such an opening was published by J.H. Schorr (*He-Ḥalutz*, 3 (1856), 154–8) and Ḥ. Schirmann (1936; corrected edition, 1954). This work was presumably written by this poet. The protagonist, Asher, tells in the first person of the adventures which befell him when he returned to his hometown and entered the harem of a distinguished family in search of his beloved. He is frightened by a warrior who is a woman in disguise, and after a while he declares his love to a veiled person who turns out to be a bearded man, his friend the Adullamite, who gives him his daughter in marriage. T. Rosen interprets the story as representing the protagonist's growth, including his socialization, domestication, and sexual instruction, until he attains maturity and accepts the social order. It can be considered the first example of a Hebrew *maqāma* written in the style of the Arab poets Hamadānī and Hariri. Ḥ. Schirmann found in a fragment of the *Genizah* another fragmentary *maqāma* that according to its title was also an "utterance of Asher b. Judah," probably from the same author. In a letter found in the *Genizah* there is an allusion to a poem written by him in honor of Halfon ben Netanel.

Besides the name Ibn Zakbel, the name Ibn Sahl appears in some documents: in a Leningrad manuscript, "The Utterance of Asher b. Judah" is ascribed to Abu-Ayyūb (= Solomon) ibn Sahl; in a Cambridge fragment of the *Genizah* (T.S., A.S. 111.169), it is attributed to Solomon ben Sahl. Ibn Sahl is probably his true family name, while Ibn Zaqbel, a possible mixture of an Arabic root with a Romance ending, could be a surname.

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[J.H. Sch. / Angel Sáenz-Badillos (2nd ed.)]

IBN ẒUR, JACOB BEN REUBEN (1673–1752), rabbi, scholar, and poet; born in *Fez. Among his teachers were Menahem *Serero and Vidal Ẓarfati. Oppressive taxation induced Ibn Ẓur to move to Meknès, where he became a member of the *bet din* of Judah ibn *Attar. Between 1738 and 1740 he moved to Tetuan where he also served on the *bet din*. At an advanced age, he ordained five of his students, who later became known as the "Court of Five" (*bet din shel ḥamishah*). Ibn Ẓur's works include responsa of considerable historical value. Some were published in the collection *Mishpat u-Ẓedakah be-Ya'akov* (Alexandria, 1894). Others are found in the works of his contemporaries and several hundred remain unpublished. He also wrote *Et le-Khol Ḥefeẓ*, a poetical miscellany (Alexandria, 1893).

His other works, still in manuscript are *Et Sofer* (Ms. Berlin), specimens of contracts, documents and form letters, most of which were published in Abraham *Ankawa's *Kerem Ḥemed; Leshon Limmudim*, specimens of letters and essays (Ms. Berlin); and sermons and Bible commentaries. A large number of Ibn Ẓur's *piyyutim* are included in various collections, both printed and handwritten, of Moroccan *zemirot* (e.g., *Et Sefod*, Ms. Schocken no. 57) and are among the most popular poetical creations of the Moroccan Jews.

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[Jefim (Hayyim) Schirmann]

IBO. A community of self-proclaimed Ibo Jews centered in the Gihon Hebrew Center was founded in September 2004, in Abuja, Nigeria, and practices Judaism. They created the Nigerian Jewish Friendship Association as well as the Ibo-Benei-Israel Association with headquarters in New York. For several years, they have claimed that all Ibo were once Jewish and they are currently rewriting their history along these lines. According to the community myths of origin, their ruling clans are thought to be of Levitical descent and the name Ibo is considered as a corrupt form of Ivri/Ibri/Hebrew. They compare their traditional symbols, burial rites, circumcision, marriage customs, and agricultural practices to those of ancient Israelites. The Ibo seem to have absorbed the idea of a Jewish genealogy and identity, suggested by early anthropologists and colonists from the 19th century, and they describe their history as one more fragment in the mosaic that constitutes the Jewish experience. The Jewish identity of the Ibo was strengthened during the Biafra-Nigeria war in 1967 when they suffered persecution and survived. Since then, they have compared their experience to the historical creation of the State of Israel and the rebuilding of the Jewish people.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: G.T. Basden, *Among the Ibos of Nigeria* (1931); R. Ilona and E. Eliyah, *The Ibos: Jews in Africa* (2004).

[Tudor Parfitt (2nd ed.)]

IBRAHIM IBN SAHL AL-ANDALUSĪ AL-ISRAʾILI (**Abū Isḥāq**; 1208–1260?), poet and author of Judeo-Spanish origin. Born in Seville, Spain, Ibrahim ibn Sahl won recognition in his youth for his outstanding poetic talent. He traveled to North Africa, where he was appointed secretary to ibn Khallāṣ, the governor of Sabta. Toward the end of his life he converted to Islam, probably as a result of the pressure of the fanatical Almohads (Mowaḥḥidūn). There are differing opinions as to the sincerity of his conversion. Those who doubt it point to the dubious answers he once gave companions when he was drunk; while those who believe that he was a fervent Muslim base their opinion on two stanzas attributed to him, where he writes that the Law of Moses was canceled by that of Muhammad, as well as on a poem which he wrote in honor of Muhammad. He died at sea together with the governor by whom he was employed when their boat capsized, but there is some uncertainty as to when this occurred: some give the date as 1251 and others as 1260. Ibn Sahl is considered to be one of the greatest Spanish Arabic poets and one of the first who molded the strophic form known as *Muwashshaḥ*. His verse was imitated in his lifetime and from then until modern times his technique has been copied and his poems anthologized. Ibn Sahl's poetry is outstanding for its lyrical quality, emotional tension, and many colorful similes, allusions, and symbols drawn essentially from the Koran and from Arabic proverbs and poetry. His generally sensual descriptions are drawn from civilized cultured society and not from wild desert life, as was more usual in the older Arabic poetry. Most of his verse is dedicated to a Jewish youth, Mūsā (Moses), whose name is explicitly mentioned in about 20 poems, several of which compare the miracles wrought by Moses in Egypt and the Sinai Desert with the captivating charm of his beloved. These allusions are, however, written in an Islamic style deriving from the Koran, although references to Muslim motifs are very few. The poems of Ibn Sahl were collected by the Egyptian scholar Hasan ibn Muhammad al-ʿAṭṭār, who published three editions (1834/1250H; 1862–63/1279H; 1884–85/1302H), but there are also other editions (1885, 1926, 1953) and many collections containing selected poems from his Diwan published between 1862 and 1953. Arab poets tend to explain Ibn Sahl's delicacy, lyricism, tenderness, and emotional depths – unequaled by his successors – on the basis of the humility inspired by his Jewish origin and his love.

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[Shmuel Moreh]

IBRAHIM IBN YAʿQŪB OF TORTOSA (tenth century), traveler. Contradictory views have been expressed both about his identity and the purpose of his journey. According to the German scholar George Jacob, there were two travelers with this same name, one a Muslim and the other a Jew from North Africa. These views, however, were refuted by T. Kowalski who established that there was only one person, named Ibrahim ibn Yaʿqūb, a Jew from the city of Tortosa in eastern *Spain, who, in the mid-tenth century, undertook a long journey to central Europe. In the opinion of many scholars Ibrahim was a slave merchant and his journey was for this purpose. T.

Kowalski and H.Z. Hirschberg expressed the view that Ibrahim was a physician or translator attached to a diplomatic mission to the court of the German emperor. However, the possibility exists that he was sent by the caliph al-Ḥakam II, known to have been a supporter of research activities, on an exploratory expedition.

Ibrahim first visited the *France of today, reaching as far as the neighborhood of the English Channel. He then traveled to Germany and in 966 arrived at the court of the Emperor Otto I. He visited the towns of Mainz and Fulda, as well as the vicinity of Schleswig. It seems that he then went to Bohemia and stayed in *Prague. There he met merchants from the countries of Eastern Europe, and it seems that he tells about these countries in their words. He is the first to speak of the kingdom of Poland, this being the reason why his narrative aroused great interest among Slavic scholars.

His story, known from the fragments of it cited in the *al-Masālik wa-al-Mamālik* of the Arab geographer al-Bakrī (d. 1074), is distinguished by its comprehensive character. Ibrahim shows interest in many spheres: in the distances between towns, in plants, the economic life, the people's diet, the system of medicine, and religious customs. Occasionally he mentions the Jews who lived in the countries which he visited and he also speaks of a salt mine near Magdeburg which was worked by Jews. His story was used by Arabic geographers as an important source for their knowledge of Europe north of the Pyrenees.

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[Eliyahu Ashtor]

°**IBRĀHĪM PASHA** (1789–1848), Muslim ruler of *Syria and *Palestine from 1832 to 1841, and later governor of *Egypt. Ibrahim was born in Kavalla, *Greece, the eldest son of *Muhammad (Mehemet) Ali. In 1831, on his father's instructions Ibrāhīm invaded Syria: Gaza, Jaffa, Jerusalem, and the region of Nablus yielded to him; Acre fell in 1832 after a long siege, and after it, Damascus and Aleppo. In every large city Ibrāhīm established a local council. He divided Palestine and Syria into administrative districts where he opened schools and conscripted an army of the native population. Ibrāhīm ameliorated the condition of Jews and Christians by abolishing the road tolls and by his efforts to equalize taxation of members of all religions, but he left the *jizya* (poll tax) on the protected peoples. The Ḥurvah synagogue of R. *Judah he-Ḥasid which had been deserted and unfinished at Judah's death, was returned to the Ashkenazi Jews in 1836. Under the influence of the European Great Powers, in 1833 the sultan recognized Muhammad Ali's rights to Syria, and Ibrāhīm was appointed governor. During Ibrāhīm's rule in Syria, Jews enjoyed – along with Muslims and Christians – security of life and property. Furthermore, the *jizya*, previously levied from Jews and Christians only, was now imposed on Muslims, too. The Turks tried to reconquer the occupied territories; in the summer of 1839 they were defeated decisively near Nezib (i.e., Nizip, S. Turkey) but the European Powers intervened on their behalf. In late 1840 Ibrahim's army was stopped on the coast of Lebanon, when the British-Austrian fleet landed troops near *Beirut and defeated Ibrāhīm's weak and scattered troops. The pact of 1841 between Turkey and Muhammad Ali compelled Ibrāhīm to return to Egypt.

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[Jacob M. Landau]

ICAHN, CARL C. (1936–), U.S. financier. Born in Queens, N.Y., the son of a teacher and a lawyer who was also a cantor, Icahn earned a degree in philosophy from Princeton University in 1957 and enrolled in medical school. He dropped out after three years. Instead, Icahn learned the broker's trade on Wall Street and became one of the most infamous American corporate raiders of the 1980s. He enriched himself and his partners by his takeovers. He also engaged in "greenmail": threatening to take over corporations like Marshall Field and Phillips Petroleum, then selling his stocks and walking off with a sizable profit. Over the years, Icahn tangled with militant airline unions, entrenched corporate directors, protective politicians, and fellow Wall Street sharks. Icahn forged his reputation for aggressive investing with his acquisition of Trans World Airways, then seeking to profit from the bankruptcy of Texaco, Inc. During the 1990s, he made four attempts to take control of RJR Nabisco, then the second-largest U.S. tobacco company, through stock purchases and proxy fights. From 1995 to 2005, Icahn reported net investment gains of at least $2.77 billlion, including $893 million he made while trying to break up Nabisco. Icahn also made millions betting on the direction of Revlon Inc. bonds and shares of Conseco Inc., a giant insurer. *Forbes* magazine estimated his fortune at $7.6 billion in September 2004. Icahn's second-largest gain was on ImClone Systems Inc. stock. Icahn turned a $196 million investment in the biopharmaceutical company into a profit of $418 million. While Icahn had many losses over the years, particularly when he "shorted" stocks, or borrowed shares and sold them immediately on the expectation they would decline, overall he made fortunes, including the doubling of a $197 million investment in Revlon, the cosmetics manufacturer controlled by Ronald *Perelman. At one time, Icahn had financial interests in mining, gambling, auto parts, financial service, and oil and gas exploration. Icahn also tried to take over Marvel Comics, a company also controlled by Perelman.

Through his family foundation, Icahn gave generously, with a special interest in abused and neglected children. In 2002, Icahn provided significant funds to endow research in the potential of stem cells as a therapeutic tool. He was the donor of the Laboratory Center for Jewish Life at Princeton, financed the Carl C. Icahn Charter School in the Bronx and institutes at the Benjamin N. Cardoza School of Law and the Wurzweiler School of Social Work of Yeshiva University. He was the founder of Icahn House, a home for single mothers and their children. He served as a trustee on the board of the Mount Sinai School of Medicine and Mount Sinai Hospital as well as being a member of the board of overseers at the Albert Einstein College of Medicine. There is a stadium on Randalls Island in New York City named for him. He said he planned to give most of his money to charity when he died. Icahn was the subject of *King Icahn: The Biography of a Renegade Capitalist*, by Mark Stevens.

[Stewart Kampel (2nd ed.)]

ICELAND, REUBEN (1884–1955), Yiddish poet and translator. Born in Radomysl Wielki (Galicia), Iceland emigrated to New York in 1903. Of the poets associated with Di Yunge, his poetry adhered most closely to the literary tenets professed by the group, reflecting the ideals of art for its own sake, stillness, and mood. Through the decade of the 1920s, Iceland became the group's chief theoretician, composing manifestos outlining the group's poetic principles. He also edited several publications, including *Literatur un Leben* ("Literature and Life," 1915), and was coeditor with *Mani-Leib of *Der Inzl* ("The Island," 1925–26). His poem *Tarnow* recaptured in some 300 lines the patriarchal Jewish life of a Galician community. *Fun Unzer Friling* ("From Our Spring," 1954) contained his reminiscences of the literary milieu of Di Yunge. Iceland was also a prolific translator of German, English, and even Chinese literature and contributed greatly, both as an editor and translator, to the eight-volume *Di Verk fun Haynrikh Hayne* ("The Works of Heinrich Heine," 1918).

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[Sol Liptzin / Marc Miller (2nd ed.)]

ICHABOD (Heb. אִיכָבוֹד, אִי־כָבוֹד, אִי כָבוֹד), son of *Phinehas and grandson of *Eli the priest at Shiloh (I Sam. 4:19–22). Phinehas' wife was in labor when she received news of the capture of the Ark by the Philistines at Eben-Ezer and of the deaths of Phinehas, his brother Hophni, and her father-in-law Eli. She died in childbirth after naming her son Ichabod, declaring, "The glory has departed from Israel." Nothing further is known of Ichabod and no genealogies associated with him have been preserved in the Bible. The only other mention of his name is in an obscure passage describing Ahijah (= Ahimelech) son of Ahitub as a brother of Ichabod son of Phinehas (I Sam. 14:3). The intent of the connection seems to be to include Ahijah and the priests of Nob in the rejection of the Shiloh priesthood (I Sam. 2:27–36) in favor of the Zadokite priests. The narrative associates his name with the capture of the Ark (I Sam. 4:22), apparently interpreting the first syllable as a negative particle ("inglorious," cf. Jos., Ant., 5:360), or as an interrogative ("where is the glory?"). The "glory" may refer to God's *kavod*, "the divine presence," so that the child's name is interpreted to reflect the absence of that presence from Israel. It may, however, be an abbreviated form of אֲבִי כָבוֹד (Avikhavod, Abichabod; "my Father is glory").

BIBLIOGRAPHY: M.Z. Segal, *Sefer Shemu'el* (1956), 44. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** S. Bar-Efrat, I *Samuel* (1996), 96.

[Nahum M. Sarna]

ICONOGRAPHY, art of pictorial representation, specifically, that branch of the history of art which concerns itself with subject matter rather than form.

Before c. 1600

Jewish art and iconography may be said to have come into being with the birth of Judaic culture in the Second Temple period (6th century B.C.E.), developing in the Hellenistic period in Judea and the Jewish communities in Galilee. After the destruction of the Second Temple in 70 C.E., Jewish migration helped to spread this art throughout Europe, North Africa, and the Middle East. Because of this dispersion, no unified Jewish style developed, and Jewish artists adopted the style of their host countries. Nevertheless, it was possible for a specifically Jewish iconography to develop, since Jews throughout the Diaspora maintained close relations with other communities and shared common beliefs, literature, rites, customs, symbols, and institutions.

BIBLICAL AND MIDRASHIC. Any depiction of biblical subject matter from the period of early Judaism should be considered as illustrative of Jewish iconography, although the gestures and images would have been drawn from Classical art. A coin from Apamea (now Dinar) in Turkey (late 2nd–early 3rd century C.E.; priv. col.,) depicts Noah and his wife inside and outside the ark with the raven and the dove (Gen. 6:13–8:15); it was probably modeled after wall paintings in the synagogue at Apamea, which claimed to possess parts of Noah's Ark and was therefore named Kibotos, i.e., "Ark." Only the Jews were interested in the complete pictorial cycle of the story of Jonah, since for them he was a symbol of repentance (the book of Jonah is read in the synagogue on the *Day of Atonement) and he was regarded as the man who would bring Leviathan to the Feast of the Righteous.

The scene of the binding of Isaac (Gen. 22) appears on mosaic pavement synagogue floors in *Bet Alfa and *Sepphoris, as well as in the synagogue at *Dura Europos (244 C.E.; Damascus, National. Mus.), alluding to the covenant between God and the People of Israel, guaranteeing their eternal existence. The choice of this scene with its strong national connotations is clearly Jewish.

Non-biblical visual elements are sometimes depicted within biblical scenes. These derive from homiletic rabbinical oral traditions, later compiled as the *Midrash. Several clear examples of scenes based on oral traditions appear in the synagogue of Dura Europos, such as Elijah and the Prophets of Ba'al. This depiction actually predates the written compilation of the text.

SYMBOLIC. Many elements in early Jewish art are not narrative, but symbolic. Symbolic representations of the Temple of Jerusalem combined with other elements appear many times in early Jewish art. They occur on funerary monuments such as the Jewish catacombs in Rome, *Bet She'arim, and elsewhere, on tombstones, sarcophagi, ossuaries, gold glass plates, clay and bronze oil lamps, Torah plaques, and coins. Even before the destruction of the Temple, its implements were used as symbols of Jewish statehood in a first century B.C.E. graffito found in a priest's house in Jerusalem and on many coins of the Hasmonaean dynasty, the earliest of which is a coin of Mattathias Antigonos (40–37 B.C.E.) with a seven-branched menorah. These symbols include a typical Greco-Roman temple façade, interpreted either as the *Ark of the Covenant in the wilderness or the Torah ark of the synagogue. Other symbols included such sanctuary implements as the **menorah* with its shovel, the altars, and the *shewbread table, as well as the two pillars of Solomon's Temple (I Kings 7:15–22), the *lulav* (palm branch) and *etrog* (citron fruit), two of the four species used during the Festival of Tabernacles (*Sukkot). Similar symbolic sanctuary implements appear in Hebrew illuminated Bibles of the 10th century in the Middle East, of the 13th–15th centuries in Spain and of c. 1300 in the Regensburg Pentateuch; indeed, in the Middle East and in Spain the Bible was sometimes referred to as the Temple of God (Heb. *mikdashyah*).

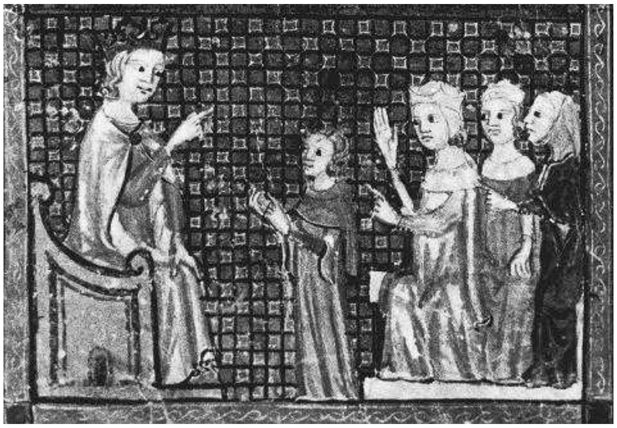

Joseph interpreting Pharaoh's dream. Detail from miniature in a 14th-century Haggadah *from Spain. Sarajevo National Museum,* Sarajevo Haggadah, *fol. 14.*

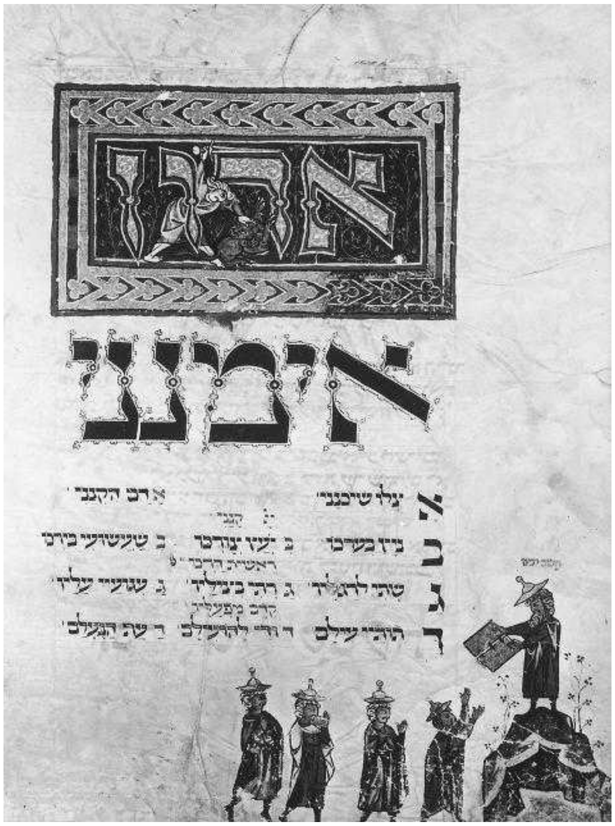

Moses standing on a mountain, with the Tablets of the Law in his hands. The cave in the mountain alludes to the legend that God covered Israel with the mountain, with the threat that it would collapse and bury them if they did not accept the Torah. Detail from the Leipzig Maḥzor*, southern Germany. c. 1320. Leipzig University Library, Ms. V. 1102, Vol. I, fol. 130.*

Sometimes the juxtaposition of scenic and symbolic elements within one composition determines its Jewish character. For example, the signs of the zodiac, not exclusively Jewish, appear with a Temple façade, sanctuary implements, and the scene of the Binding of Isaac in the mosaic floor of the Bet Alfa synagogue. Its recurrence in the synagogue floors of *Hammath (Tiberias) and *Sepphoris (among others), implies a Jewish significance as well.

RITUAL. Most customs depicted before c. 1600 occur in illuminated manuscripts: there are colorful representations in Ashkenazi, Sephardi, and Italian prayer books of such rituals, with subject matter varying from illustrations of cooking customs and utensils, the serving of food, and clothes, to rituals in the synagogue or at home. One of the most unique is the initiation of children into the study of the Torah, as represented in the Leipzig Machzor of c. 1320 from southern Germany (Leipzig, U. Bib., MS.V. 1102, I, fol. 131).

CLASSICAL MODELS AND CHRISTIAN IMITATIONS. Jewish iconography was initially borrowed from Classical Greek and Roman art. In the scene of the Binding of Isaac at Dura Europos, all of the elements – the altar, the knife, and certainly the protagonists Abraham and Isaac, as well as the ram and the tree – are based on Roman models. Visual iconography may sometimes be similar in early Jewish and Christian art; thus the context relates it to the Jewish sphere when it appears in a synagogue or a Hebrew illuminated manuscript or to the Christian when it adorns a Christian funerary chapel.

Indeed, one of the main problems in the study of early Jewish iconography is the fact that many biblical and midrashic episodes that may have existed in late antiquity have survived in Jewish art only from the later Middle Ages. This gap in Jewish art from the 7th to the 13th century can perhaps be filled in part with the appearance of biblical or midrashic themes in Christian art. Jewish art from this period may have been destroyed during the rise of Islam in the 7th century and the period of Byzantine iconoclasm in the 8th and 9th centuries, or as a result of the Crusaders' pillaging and massacre of entire Jewish communities in the 12th century. However, use may have been made of Jewish models, a theory that helps to explain the appearance of Jewish midrashic interpretations in Byzantine and West European art in this period, as well as their reappearance in later Jewish art. For example, a panel from the synagogue at Dura Europos shows the Crossing of the Red Sea, wherein the Israelites are crossing by 12 paths rather than one. The miracle is explained by a midrash that states that each of the tribes wanted to be the first to cross the sea, and so Moses divided it into 12 paths so they could all cross simultaneously. This story later was also used by Christian artists, for example in texts of the 6th-century Byzantine Itinerary of Cosmas Indicopleustes (e.g., Florence, 1000 C.E., Bib. Medicea-Laurenziana, MS. Plus. 9, 28, fol 104; Monastery of St. Catherine, 12th c. C.E., Cod. 1186, fol. 73); and in the Spanish Pamplona Picture Bibles (Harburg, Schloss, 12th century MS. 1, 2, lat. 4° 15, fol. 57v). It also appears in the Castilian Duke of Alba Bible (Toledo; Madrid, 1422–33, Duke of Alba priv. col), which was translated from the Hebrew with the help of Rabbi Moses Aragel. The continued use of Jewish iconographic elements in Christian art, probably without conscious understanding, may prove the continuous existence of Jewish art during these obscure centuries and may bridge the gap between early and later Jewish art.

Jewish artists also borrowed iconographical formulae from Christian art, sometimes without knowing the Christian interpretation. The scene of Moses taking his wife Zipporah and their two sons from Midian to Egypt, which is depicted in the 14th-century Spanish *Golden Haggadah* (London, BL, Add. MS. 27201, fol. 10v) resembles representations of the Virgin Mary carrying Jesus on a donkey on the Flight into Egypt. The Jewish artist must have seen French or Spanish illuminated Psalters with Old and New Testament illustrations and adapted them to the Jewish context.

After 1600

The conservative attitude of Jews towards visual art and its role in daily and religious life continued to prevail after 1600, both in Christian Europe and the Islamic world. At the same time, this period witnessed an unprecedented flourishing in the production of costly Jewish art objects, decorated with traditional designs and motifs, side by side with new iconography influenced by Baroque decorative arts. While representational art was extremely popular among the Jews of Italy and Germany, other communities, especially in Islamic lands, imitated the iconoclastic tendencies of the host society.

Artistic activity in this period was concentrated around building and decorating new synagogues and furnishing them with silver and textile ritual objects and with creating attractive decorations and objects for the home and life cycle rituals. The largest selection of visual motifs and iconographic representations, however, is to be found in the book arts. As the written word continued to be central in Judaism, particular attention was paid to producing attractive books and manuscripts long after the tradition of the illuminated, handwritten book declined in Western society. Wealthy Jewish families commissioned myriad parchment manuscripts, in particular Passover *haggadot* (see **Haggadah*), *megillot* (see **Megillah*) and large, single-page manuscripts such as marriage contracts (see **Ketubbah*), and various ornamental certificates issued for different occasions.

The single most important object in disseminating Jewish imagery in this period was undoubtedly the illustrated printed book. The easily accessible, inexpensive printed book provided the illuminators of manuscripts and other craftsmen with a wealth of Baroque decorative designs, biblical and ritual episodes, and imaginary architectural motifs. The architectural title page, often incorporating the figures of Moses and Aaron, inspired the decoration of manuscripts and such diverse objects as Torah breastplates, Holy Ark curtains, *ketubbot*, and even tombstones. The title page of the Amsterdam Passover *Haggadah* of 1695, illustrated with etchings by the proselyte Abraham bar Jacob, is a good example of a source of popular Jewish imagery, which was profusely imitated throughout the Diaspora from Poland to India.

Not all biblical stories enjoyed equal popularity. The **Akedah* or Binding of Isaac, for example, was by far the favorite topic in both manuscripts and three-dimensional objects. In keeping with contemporary ideals in neighboring cultures, biblical heroines, in particular the apocryphal figure of Judith, were often depicted as well. In Italy, Jews incorporated into their art Christian allegorical representations, mythological scenes, and at times even nude female figures. While portraiture had been frowned on in previous generations, from about the mid-17th century more and more rabbis, both Sephardi and Ashkenazi, allowed their portraits to be engraved.

Side by side with the new iconography, old themes and traditional symbols were staunchly preserved. Subjects such as Temple implements, especially the menorah, and conventional images of the Solomonic Temple and Messianic Jerusalem were common in many communities. In general, the Hebrew text continued to be a major, if not central, component of Jewish works of art, whether two- or three-dimensional. Traditional motifs constituted the main theme of Jewish art, especially in Eastern Europe. In Poland, for example, representations of the human figure were usually not permitted. Instead, animal motifs, in particular the four "holy animals" mentioned in Pirkei Avot (5:23) – leopard, eagle, deer, and lion – were extremely popular. In Muslim lands geometric and floral decorations and in some cases animal forms were the accepted norm, in both manuscript illumination and ritual objects. Perhaps the sole exception to this rule was Iran, where, under the influence of Safavid art, literary Jewish works written in Judeo-Persian were illuminated in the 17th century on with biblical and other figural representations. Improved techniques in the 19th and early 20th centuries promoted the introduction and dissemination of new biblical scenes and figures, Zionist symbols, and traditional designs on objects such as *Mizraḥ* tablets, New Year cards, Simḥat Torah flags, etc. Other popular new designs in this period included conventional images of Jerusalem, the Temple, and the other holy towns and sites in Ereẓ Israel, which spread from the Holy Land to the lands of the Diaspora and influenced local imagery.

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[Shalom Sabar (2nd ed.)]

IDAHO, state in northwestern U.S. Idaho had fewer Jews than any other state; in 2005 the estimated population of Idaho was 1,347,000 and the Jewish population was 1,000. Two Jews of unknown name, one of whom reportedly perished, are said to have belonged to a pioneering party that was caught struggling toward shelter in Orofino in the winter of 1861–62, but the first identifiable Jew to have set foot in Idaho was J.D. Farmer, who braved a gold-rush trail from Boise to Call's Fort in January 1864, a month after Idaho was officially declared a territory. A handful of permanent Jewish settlers lived in Boise after 1865 and in Hailey after 1881, when both places were little more than raw mining camps. Most of these early arrivals were hardy young pioneers of German Jewish ancestry; becoming merchants of staples, potato farmers, and ranchers, they generally prospered and were quickly integrated into local life. In 1895 the first Jewish congregation in Idaho was organized in Boise by Moses *Alexander, later mayor of the city and governor of the state. The congregation, called Beth Israel, adopted the Reform ritual and erected a temple in 1896 that is still in use. A B'nai B'rith lodge was formed in Boise in 1899 and a second, Orthodox, congregation, Ahavath Israel, in 1912. In Pocatello, in the southeast, a B'nai B'rith lodge was formed in 1923 and an organized congregation in 1924. Idaho's tiny Jewish population had no rabbi in 1970. Its three synagogues had lay leaders: two in Boise, whose Jewish community of about 120 was Idaho's largest, and one in Pocatello. Pocatello's Temple Emanuel, dedicated in 1960, is shared by three groups, Orthodox, Conservative, and Reform, each numbering 40 to 50 congregants and including members from outlying districts, and each having its own plot in the city cemetery. There is a Sunday school; Sabbaths and occasionally other holidays are observed, and a community *seder* is an annual tradition. Some of the Jewish scientists attached to the Atomic Energy Commission experiment station in nearby Idaho Falls, where there is a Hadassah chapter, also participate in temple life. There are handfuls of Jews in Caldwell, Weiser, Hailey, and at the University of Idaho in Moscow, but aside from the annual statewide United Jewish Appeal there is no organized Jewish life in any of these places, and little interest in adult Jewish learning exists. The intermarriage rate is low around Boise, higher in the Pocatello region. Since Moses Alexander's time a number of Idaho Jews have served as mayors, state assemblymen, members of state and county commissions, presidents of state associations, heads of county and city civic bodies, and leaders of Masonic lodges. By the mid-1980s, gradually, the two synagogues in Boise (Beth Israel, Reform; Ahavath Israel, originally Orthodox but long Conservative) merged and became Ahavath Beth Israel. It is affiliated with the Reform movement, but serves both Reform and Conservative communities. It now has a full time rabbi, Dan Fink, who has served for more than a de-

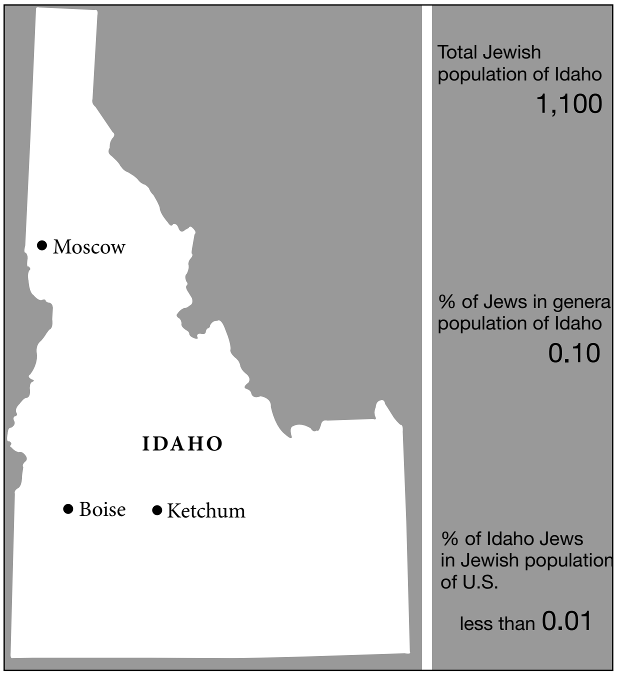

Jewish communities in Idaho. Population figures for 2001.

cade. The synagogue is still in its historic synagogue building, erected in 1896 – but no longer located on its original site. In 2003 the building was picked up and moved about three miles to its new location, where a campus was built around it. Boise no longer has a B'nai B'rith lodge, but does have an active Hadassah chapter. As of spring of 2004, Boise also has a Chabad affiliate. There is also a congregation in Ketchum/Hailey/Sun Valley, which is a resort area for skiing where Jews from other states own homes, that is affiliated with the Reform movement. They do not have a synagogue building but do have a full time rabbi, Martin Levy. The Jewish Community of Moscow is organized but still does not have a building or rabbi. The Jews of Caldwell, Weiser, Nampa are now part of the Boise metro area. There is a small Jewish community in northern Idaho (Sandpoint and Coeur d'Alene) that is affiliated with the synagogue in Spokane, and an active Jewish community in Pocatello. Pocatello's Temple Emanuel was dedicated in 1960 and also serves congregants from neighboring towns (Rupert, Blackfoot, Idaho Falls, etc). Services are Reform in character, but many in the congregation come from Conservative, and occasionally Orthodox backgrounds. There are Sabbath services on alternative weeks with lively discussions of Torah. Major holidays are celebrated, and there is a children's school and a consecrated cemetery. Too small to hire a rabbi, Temple Emanuel has a long tradition of lay leadership with religious leaders typically serving for many years. The Jews of Temple Emanuel have excellent relations with local churches and mosques, though the small far-right fringe occasionally causes concern.

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[Louis Zucker / Dan Fink (2nd ed.)]

IDEL, MOSHE (1947–), Kabbalah scholar. Idel was born in Romania and immigrated to Israel in 1963. He became a lecturer at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem in 1977 and was subsequently Max Cooper Professor of Jewish Thought. From 1990 he was also a fellow of the Shalom Hartman Institute in Jerusalem. In 1999 he was awarded the Israel Prize in Jewish thought.

In some 50 books in seven languages, as well as many hundreds of articles, Idel covered all of the periods of Jewish mystical writing. He has provided an incisive critique of the scholarly positions developed by Gershom *Scholem, as well as providing numerous "new perspectives" on Kabbalah. While Scholem described Kabbalah as a "mystical theology," Idel emphasized the experiential and performative aspects of kabbalistic practice. In doing so, Idel expanded Scholem's distinction between "theosophical" and "ecstatic" forms of Kabbalah into a phenomenological distinction between two main kinds of Kabbalah. At the same time he stressed the theurgical practice attendant on theosophical discourse. In his book on Ḥasidism, Idel developed a "panoramic" account of the history of Kabbalah as the interplay of three models: theosophical, ecstatic, and magical. These models transformed the previous "monochromatic" picture of Kabbalah into a more complex view of tensions between schools and combinations between models, as evidenced in Idel's book on Messianism.

Idel has placed his reading of Kabbalah within the broader context of the place of this literature within the overall structures of Jewish religiosity. His discussions of the profound links between the Kabbalah and other forms of Jewish discourse include a reconstruction of the rabbinic origins of key themes in kabbalistic theosophy and theurgy. Idel has conceptualized several characteristics of Jewish religious life, including collective performance, the cardinality of engagement with texts, and the salience of speech and sound.

Idel's work, and especially his book on hermeneutics, evoked a creative dialogue between Kabbalah research and contemporary developments in the human sciences, while significantly enhancing the theoretical sophistication of his field. Idel has influenced major theoreticians such as Jacques *Derrida (1930–2004), Umberto Eco (1932–), and Harold *Bloom (1930–). However, he has warned against the wholesale adoption of contemporary interpretative approaches, and proposes a more "eclectic" mix of methods to match the complexity of kabbalistic structures.

Besides his broader contributions, Idel's writing includes many historical discoveries, such as the scope and influence of the writings of Ecstatic Kabbalist R. Abraham *Abulafia, the uniqueness of the Italian kabbalists, as well as identification and dating of dozens of texts.

In addition to his writing, Idel has been instrumental in facilitating connections between Israeli academia and global scholarship, and in strengthening Jewish studies throughout the West, and especially in Eastern and Central Europe. He also served as doctoral advisor for many among the new generation of Kabbalah scholars.

His books include *Kabbalah: New Perspectives* (1988), *Hassidism: Between Ecstasy and Magic* (1995), *Messianic Mystics* (1998), *Absorbing Perfections: Kabbalah and Interpretation* (2002), *Enchanted Chains: Techniques and Rituals in Jewish Mysticism* (2005).

[Jonathan Garb (2nd ed.)]

IDELOVITCH, DAVID (1863–1953), pioneer of settlement and education in modern Ereẓ Israel. Born in Jassy, Romania, Idelovitch went to Ereẓ Israel in 1882 and settled in Jerusalem, where he joined the *Bilu pioneers, who had established the society Shivat he-Ḥarash ve-ha-Masger ("Return of the Craftsmen and the Smiths"). In 1886 he went to France for further study in metal work and engraving. Upon his return, he taught in the Rishon le-Zion school, where he was teacher and headmaster from 1887 to 1900 and, despite opposition from Baron Edmond de *Rothschild's officials, taught all subjects – including mathematics and nature study – in Hebrew. He helped to found the first kindergarten in Palestine in 1898 and was one of the organizers of teachers' meetings in the settlements of the region. He was also an editor of the children's newspaper *Olam Katan* (1893). Idelovitch contributed to Eliezer *Ben-Yehuda's newspapers and wrote reports on events in Ereẓ Israel for Hebrew papers abroad. A founder of the Carmel Wine-Growers' Cooperative, the marketing company for the wine produced in the Jewish settlements, he was sent to represent the company in Alexandria from 1906 to 1924. During World War I he assisted Jewish refugees deported from Ereẓ Israel to Egypt and found various ways of getting financial aid into Ereẓ Israel. Upon his return to Palestine, he settled in Rishon le-Zion.

Among Idelovitch's works are a small book entitled *Sefer ha-Misḥar va-Ḥaroshet ha-Ma'aseh be-Ereẓ Yisrael* ("Commerce and Industry in Ereẓ Israel," 1890), and a collection of articles on the history of journalism in Ereẓ Israel entitled *Koveẓ Ma'amarim le-Divrei Yemei ha-Ittonut be-Ereẓ Yisrael* (1935) which he edited. After World War I he published his memoirs about the refugees from Ereẓ Israel in Egypt in *Mi-Yamim Rishonim*, a journal edited by E. Druyanow (in vol. 1 (1934), nos. 7–12, vol. 2 (1935), no. 1). The commemorative volume *Sefer Rishon le-Ẓiyyon* (1941) was also edited by Idelovitch.

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[Yehuda Slutsky]

IDELSOHN, ABRAHAM ZVI (1882–1938), musicologist, a pioneer and founder of Jewish music ethnomusicology. Born in Filsberg (Felixberg, Latvia), where he received a thorough cantorial training and then continued his musical education at the Stern Conservatorium in Berlin and the Leipzig Academy. He served for short periods as cantor in Leipzig and Regensburg, and in Johannesburg, South Africa. In 1906 he settled in Jerusalem and worked there as a cantor and music teacher, especially at the Hebrew Teachers' College. These were decisive years for Idelsohn's research into the diverse musical traditions of the Sephardi and "Oriental" Jewish communities as well as Muslim and Christians, dedicating himself to the collection and study of their musical (and linguistic) heritage. Although his plans in 1910 for an Institute for Jewish Music never materialized, he was invited in 1913 to present his early recordings to the Akademie der Wissenschaften in Vienna. He remained there for eight months and laid the groundwork for his ten-volume monumental *Hebräisch-orientalischer Melodienschatz*. During World War I Idelsohn served as a bandmaster in the Turkish army in Gaza. In 1919 he resumed his teaching and composing work in Jerusalem. He wrote a five-act opera, *Jiftaḥ*, performed and published in Jerusalem in 1922, and he transcribed and composed much cantorial music, and the song "*Havah Nagilah*"). In 1921 he left Jerusalem and after an extended lecture tour settled in Cincinnati (1922). In 1924 he was engaged to catalog the Birnbaum Collection of Jewish Music at the *Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati, and in the same year he was the first to be appointed to the chair of Jewish Music there. Through his work the college became a center of research into Jewish music From 1930 onward his health began to fail and he was permanently incapacitated from 1934; he joined his family in Johannesburg in 1937 and died there.

The Hebrew Union College conferred an honorary doctorate on him in 1933. Idelsohn is considered the founder of modern Jewish musicology and one of the pioneers of ethnomusicology; he was the first to apply the methods of comparative musicology to the study of Jewish music and the first to record music on wax cylinders in Palestine. His field recordings (numbering over 1,000) are invaluable; their transcriptions and analyses brought the non-European communities into the conspectus of Jewish music. These recordings on wax cylinders were digitized and produced in Vienna (2006) and his archive is at the Music Department of the Jewish National and University Library. Idelsohn was the pioneer of comparative research in biblical cantillation and of studies on the unique quality of Oriental Jewish musical cultures with emphasis on their antiquity; he was the first to attempt an integration of the historical records of music in Jewish culture, together with a synoptic view of the ethnic traditions, into a coherent view of the history of music among the Jewish people. Equally pioneering were his studies of the Near-Eastern *maqām* systems and of the elements common to the Jewish and Christian liturgical-music traditions, exploring their relationships with ancient Hebrew (mainly Yemenite) and early Christian (Byzantine, Jacobite and Gregorian) chant. The crowning monument of Idelsohn's collections and investigations is his ten volumes of the *Thesaurus, of Hebrew Oriental melodies*, which was published in German, with several volumes translated into English and Hebrew, and contained thousands of specimens of liturgical chant and religious song (Leipzig 1914–1933; rep. New York 1973). His other publications include *Jewish Music in its Historical Development* (1929, repr. 1968); *Jewish Liturgy* (1932, repr. 1968); *Sefer ha-Shirim* (vol. 1, 1913; vol. 2, 1922 – the first Hebrew songbook published in Palestine), in *Toledot ha-Neginah ha-Ivrit* (vol. 1, 1924; vols. 2 and 3 remained in manuscript); *The Ceremonies of Judaism* (1929); *Shirei Teiman* (1930), an anthology of Yemenite poems, and more than 100 scholarly articles. Although he was largely self-taught as a musicologist, his writings represent an impressive contribution to the study of Jewish music.

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[Baruch J. Cohon and Israel J. Katz / Gila Flam (2nd ed.)]

IDELSON, ABRAHAM (1865–1921), Zionist theoretician, publicist, and editor. Born in Vekshni (Wexna), Lithuania, Idelson had a traditional education but at the age of 15 turned to secular studies. In 1885–90 he studied at the University of Moscow. In 1886 or 1887 he joined the Moscow *Ḥibbat Zion society Benei Zion, of which other members included M. *Ussishkin, J. *Tschlenow, and J. *Maze. In 1889–93 he was a member of the *Benei Moshe in Moscow, and during this period he worked as a clerk in various firms. When *Herzl appeared on the Jewish scene Idelson had reservations about him; but after the First Zionist Congress he joined the movement of political Zionism and was an active lecturer and debater in student circles. In 1901 he was one of the activists of the *Democratic Fraction, and in 1902 the Russian Zionist Convention at Minsk elected him to its Cultural Committee.

In 1905 he was invited to settle in St. Petersburg and become the editor of the Russian Zionist journal that appeared in various forms (as the monthly *Yevreyskaya Zhizn* with a weekly *Khronika*, later as the weekly **Razsvet*, etc.) until September 1919, when it was closed by the Soviet authorities. Although some articles by Idelson had appeared earlier (in Hebrew and Russian), it was not until 1905 that he began to react systematically in print to the gamut of ideological, political, and cultural problems of Jewry and Zionism under a number of pen names (Davidson, Zhagorski, Nevski, Ibn Daud, A.D., etc.). The prospect of democratization in Russia moved him to formulate a plan of Zionist activities that would integrate Diaspora work and settlement in Ereẓ Israel into a system of Jewish national renaissance and a policy applicable within the anticipated reconstruction of Russia. Thus he became the father of the *Helsingfors Program.

In May 1917, after the overthrow of the czarist regime, Idelson opened the All-Russian Zionist Conference in Petrograd. In 1919, after the Zionist Movement was gradually strangled, Idelson was sent abroad on behalf of the Russian Zionists to join the leadership of the World Zionist Movement. In Paris he participated in the work of the *Comité des Délégations Juives at the Versailles Peace Conference. Later he was appointed editor of the central Zionist organ, the weekly **Ha-Olam* (London, 1919–20). In 1921 he moved to Berlin, planning to resume publication of *Ha-Olam* and *Razsvet* there, but died suddenly.

Idelson's specific trait as a Zionist theoretician was his sociological approach along the lines of historical materialism, which made his exposition understandable to the Marxist-oriented Jewish intelligentsia. According to Idelson, the national element is not a goal in itself, but rather the most convenient groove for the expression and manifestation of that which is most universally human. The goal should not be the rigid conservation of fixed values, but to secure a framework for the free development of the ever-changing human creativity. National conflicts, he believed, are independent of social conflicts and will continue, though mitigated, under socialism. Zionism, like the assimilationist trend that preceded it, is essentially secular and "anti-Judaistic." They both stem from the same source: worldliness – the desire to live in the world like all other nations. Zionism is not nostalgic national conservatism, but forward-looking national liberation. The normalization of Jewish existence can be achieved only on the Jewish nation's own soil, as the Diaspora conditions cripple the national entity. Jewish social activity in the Diaspora can have only one goal: to remove discrimination to the point where separate Jewish activity becomes superfluous. Jewish cultural life in the Diaspora is bound to retreat before the dominant cultures and to remain a shrinking secondary, supplementary relic. Therefore, Zionism builds toward future independence, and to achieve this goal it must mobilize Jewish energy and strengthen Jewish positions in the Diaspora. To rally the Jewish masses and their energy Zionism must respond to all Jewish needs and become the pivotal force of Diaspora Jewry. Idelson's attention as a theorist was drawn particularly to the relation of the class factor to the national factor in social life. He stressed that socialism meant political class struggle, i.e., the struggle for power in a state, and concluded that Jewish socialism was doomed to impotence and inconsistency as long as there was no Jewish state in which it might attain its goal.

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[Mark Perlman]

IDELSON, BEBA (née **Trachtenberg**; 1895–1975). Israeli labor leader; member of the First to Fifth Knessets. Idelson was born in Dnepropetrovsk in the Ukraine. She studied at the local gymnasium and began studying law and economics at Kharkov University. She worked as a teacher and in statistics institutes and joined Ẓe'irei Ẓiyyon. She was exiled to Solvicigovsk in 1923, but in 1924 she was allowed to immigrate to Palestine. She started her journey through Germany and in the years 1924–26 was active in the World Union of Socialist Zionists. She finally settled in Palestine in 1926, joining *Mapai, and starting to work in the *Histadrut as a statistician and in various other jobs. From 1930 to 1974 she was secretary of the Women's Workers Council (Mo'eẓet ha-Po'a lot), traveling extensively in this capacity. On behalf of Mapai she participated in the Zionist Congresses in 1935, 1937, 1939, and 1946. When David *Remez was detained by the British authorities on "Black Saturday" in June 1946, she joined the *Va'ad Le`ummi. She was a member of the Provisional State Council in 1948, and in 1949 was elected to the Knesset on the Mapai list. In the Third and Fifth Knessets she served as deputy speaker and served on several Knesset committees, including the Foreign Affairs and Defense Committee. In

1968–75 Idelson was chairperson of the World Movement of Pioneer Women.

[Susan Hattis Rolef (2nd ed.)]

IDELSON, BENJAMIN (1911–1972), architect. Born in Leningrad, Idelson immigrated to Ereẓ Israel in 1925. After studying architecture at the University of Ghent he returned in 1934. He designed many public buildings in Israel, including buildings for Tel Aviv University, the Haifa Technion, and the Weizmann Institute in Reḥovot. He was awarded the Israel Prize for arts in 1968.

IDI (third century C.E.), Palestinian *amora*, called Rav Idi. It is related of him that he spent most of his time in travel connected with his business and sat in the *bet ha-midrash* only one day every three months. As a result his colleagues referred to him as "the one-day student." His title *rav*, given to *amoraim* ordained in Babylon, is significant and suggests that he stayed there a long time. Johanan, head of the Tiberias Academy, greatly esteemed him both because of his learning and his piety, stressing particularly his forbearance toward his colleagues and his refusal to react to the offensive appellation they gave him. His son JACOB, one of the most prominent Palestinian scholars in the second half of the third century, so outshone his father that Rav Idi is referred to as "the father of Rav Jacob b. Idi." There was another Palestinian *amora* of the same name, but as a Palestinian he is naturally referred to as Rabbi (not Rav) Idi.

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[Joshua Gutmann]

IDI BAR AVIN (first half of fourth century C.E.). Babylonian *amora*. Idi and his brother Ḥiyya were the sons of *Avin the Carpenter (Ha-Nagar) who was promised learned sons as a reward for his piety (Shab. 23b). Idi was a pupil of Ḥisda (Pes. 101b) in whose name he transmits many sayings. He was known as one of the great scholars of Babylon of his time, especially in the days of Abbaye and Rava (with the former of whom he had halakhic discussions; BM 35b). There is evidence in the Babylonian Talmud that he had a marked influence on the establishing of the talmudic *halakhah* of his time. The name of the locality (Hinẓivi) in which he established his yeshivah is otherwise unknown. Joel *Sirkes suggests it may be a mistake for *Shekanzib, a well-known center of learning on the eastern bank of the Tigris. Among his outstanding pupils were Papa and Huna b. Joshua (Pes. 35a). His sons, Sheshet and Joshua, were also *amora'im*. It is of interest that during his time it was customary to set aside the priestly portions, and since Idi's wife was of a priestly family, he was permitted to benefit from these gifts (Ḥul. 132a).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Hyman, Toledot, 140f.; Ḥ. Albeck, *Mavo la-Talmudim* (1969), 357.

IDOLATRY. Greek *eidōlon* originally meant "image" or "fantasy." By the time of the Septuagint the term was used for images of gods. "Idolatry" is literally "image worship." To grasp the character of image worship in biblical literature one must first realize that the Bible describes the worship of all "strange gods" as idolatry, or the worship of "wood and stone." In addition, one must distinguish the biblical polemics against these gods from the opposition to the use of certain images in the service of Yahweh. At times the use of these images is equated with the service of other gods. It should also be borne in mind that there is no necessary connection between aniconism (opposition to images) and monotheism. On the one hand, a monotheistic religion, Roman Catholicism for example, can make use of images. On the other hand, there is evidence of aniconism in polytheistic religions among Israel's neighbors in biblical times (Mettinger).

IN THE BIBLE

History

ILLICIT GODS IN ISRAEL. Although the books of the Bible are in agreement that Israelites are required to worship Yahweh (also known as El, Adonai, Elohim, El Shaddai) exclusively, they are likewise in agreement that what Morton Smith called the "Yahweh-alone" party was in the minority for centuries. Although Yahweh was the national god to whom every Israelite owed allegiance, biblical and extra-biblical evidence demonstrate that the worship of additional gods had strong popular support. According to the Bible, the worship of these gods was often promoted by kings and members of the royal court. Sometimes the biblical writers attribute illicit worship to the initiative of foreign queens (Maacah, Jezebel, and her daughter Athaliah and Solomon's numerous wives). The nature of the foreign cult is not always clear. It is not always possible to determine, with any degree of certainty, whether a particular cult was wholly "foreign," syncretistic, or just a form of the worship of Yahweh that the particular biblical writer deemed corrupt. The most popular cults among the Hebrews were of Canaanitic origin, such as those of *Baal, *Asherah, and *Ashtoreth. The Book of Judges (2:11ff.; 3:7; 8:33; 10:10) and I Samuel (12:10) attribute the setbacks of Israel to the worship of Baal(im) and Ashtaroth. The popularity of Baal worship is attested by the strong reaction of the people against Gideon (Judg. 6:29ff.) for destroying (at God's command) the altar of Baal (Judg. 6:25). Samuel had to exhort the people before facing the enemy in battle to cast away "the foreign gods," i.e., "the Baals" (I Sam. 7:3–4). At the end of Solomon's reign there were erected altars to Chemosh, *Moloch, and Ashtoreth (I Kings 11:5–7), for his foreign wives. Abijam, probably at the insistence of his mother Maacah (who was half Aramean), continued the practice of foreign cults (I Kings 15:1–3). The cult of Baal, as well as other foreign cults, gained prominence in the North during the reign of Ahab who built an altar to Baal and worshiped at it in public (I Kings 16:31). Four hundred and fifty priests of Baal and 400 priests of Asherah were in the entourage of Queen Jezebel (I Kings 18:19). Her missionary work seems to have been very successful. According to the testimony of the Bible, 7,000 people had abstained from bowing down to Baal (I Kings 19:18). A strong attack against Baal worship, especially against its promotion by the royalty (i.e., foreign queens), was launched by Jehu. He put to death Queen Jezebel (II Kings 9:33), destroyed the sanctuaries that she had built, and killed the priests and followers of Baal (II Kings 10:18ff.). The cult of Baal in Judah (at least its promotion by the royalty) seems to have been introduced by Queen Athaliah (Jezebel's daughter). It came to an end with the uprising engineered by Jehoiada the priest (II Kings 11:17). According to the Bible, the most thorough cultic purge in the history of Israel took place in Judah, during King *Hezekiah's reign. The purge was directed primarily at long-standing native practices, including the brazen serpent whose origin was traced back to Moses. A strong criticism against the cult of Baal is voiced by Hosea (1–3; 11:2; 13:1) and Jeremiah (2:4ff.; 9:13; 11:13, 17; 12:16; 19:5; 23:13, 17, 27; 32:29). The biblical writers attribute the most enthusiastic support of illicit cults to the son of Hezekiah, King Manasseh. The boldness of King Manasseh's reform can be measured by the fact that instead of building sanctuaries to the foreign deities outside the Temple, as Queens Jezebel and Athaliah had done, King Manasseh transformed the very Temple of Jerusalem into a pantheon (II Kings 21) where Yahweh was served along with other gods. The practices that were in vogue during King Manasseh's reign were described by Ezekiel (8–11; 16:17; 20; 23). Later generations attributed the fall of Judah in 586 to the lasting effects of Manasseh's sins (II Kings 23:26–27; Jer. 11:9ff: 15:4). Other cults, illicit by prophetic standards but popular in Israel, were child sacrifice to Yahweh (Jer. 7:31; cf. Ezek. 20:25); to Moloch (II Kings 23:10; Jer. 32:35); to Baal (Jer. 19:5; 32:35); the institution of *kadesh* (I Kings 14:24; II Kings 23:70) and *kedeshah* (Deut. 23:18; Hos. 4:14c–15; the traditional understanding of these last as references to cultic *prostitution has been challenged in recent years), and the cult of *Tammuz (Ezek. 8:14). Astral worship seems to have been widespread. The sun and the moon, known as the "Queen of Heaven" (i.e., Ishtar), are referred to throughout biblical literature as objects of worship (cf. Amos 5:26). Ezekiel (8:10) mentions also the worship of animal images.

IMAGES ASSOCIATED WITH THE WORSHIP OF YAHWEH IN ISRAEL. The erection of pillars, *maẓẓevot* (pl. of *maẓẓevah*), in the Israelite cult (not to be confused with the commemorative *maẓẓevot*, such as in Gen. 31:45–52; Ex. 24:4; Josh. 4:4–9) was considered legitimate by some biblical writers. Jacob erected a *maẓẓevah* in Beth-El to be used in the service of the divine (Gen. 28:18, 22; 35:14). In contrast, this mode of worship is proscribed by Deuteronomy (16:22) and the Prophets (Ezek. 26:11; Hos. 3:4; 10:1–3; Micah 5:12). Likewise the planting of a tree for the service of "Yahweh the Eternal God" was practiced by Abraham (Gen. 21:33). This form of worship too is proscribed by Deuteronomy (16:21). The use of *maẓẓevot* and the planting of trees for the cult of God was widely in use during the time of the Monarchy (I Kings 14:15, 23; II Kings 17:10; 23:14). The "brazen serpent" seems also to fall in this group (see II Kings 18:4).

The *golden calf worshiped in the sanctuaries of Dan and Beth-El (Ex. 32:1–8; I Kings 12:28; II Kings 10:29; Ps. 106:13–20; Neh. 9:18; II Chron. 13:8) falls into the same category of disputed cultic objects. There was nothing inherently wrong with using bovine imagery to describe Yahweh (Gen. 49:24; Isa. 1:24), and 12 oxen supported Solomon's Sea of Bronze in the temple (I Kings 7:25). But because of the prominence of the calves in Northern tradition the golden calf was transformed into an idol by polemical Judahite writers, who traced its origins to the misdeeds of the people at the foot of Mt. Sinai (Ex. 32:1–8). In the Southern narrative retelling of an ancient Northern cult legend, the people of Israel wanted to "make" a god ("Make for us a god"; Ex. 32:1). The narrative (Ex. 32:4) describes how the calf was consecrated and makes use of the plural to compound the enormity: "These are your gods, O Israel, who brought you out of the land of Egypt." In other words, the Judahite writers distorted the Northern conception by which the calf stood for Yahweh's pedestal, and misrepresented it as a substitution of Yahweh's worship by the worship of other gods. The rabbinic report (Hizkuni a.l.) that the golden calf was made as a replica of the bull in the divine throne corresponds to the religious ideas current in the ancient Near East. Reference to the "heavenly bull" is found in very ancient Egyptian sources. The bull was considered to be the seat of different gods in Egypt, Babylonia, and Aram (Wainwright, in bibl.). Micaiah (Jud. 17–18) made an image of Yahweh. Gideon made a golden *ephod, possibly an image (Judg. 8:27). The eighth-century prophet *Hosea (Hos. 8:6), but not his ninth-century predecessors *Elijah and *Elisha, denounced the images worshiped in the Northern sanctuaries as idols. This form of worship, iconic worship of Yahweh, accounts for most of the denunciation of image worship in biblical literature (see Kaufmann, Religion, 133ff.).

Legitimate Images. Not all images were proscribed in the biblical cult. The figures of the cherubim (*cherub) were embroidered in the curtains (Ex. 26:1; 36:8) and in the *parokhet*, "veil," of the Tabernacle (Ex. 26:31; 36:35) and the Temple (II Chron. 3:14); they were carved upon the walls (I Kings 6:29; II Chron. 3:7; cf. Ezek. 41:18, 20, 25) and doors (I Kings 6:32, 35) and in the *mekhonot*, "molten sea" (I Kings 7:29, 36) of the Temple. There were two golden cherubim in the Tabernacle (Ex. 25:18–22; 37:7–9) and in the Temple (I Kings 6:23–28; 8:6–7; II Chron. 3:10–13). The cherubim seem to represent the cherubim of the heavenly chariot (see Ezek. 1:5–14; 9–11; cf. II Sam. 22:11; Ps. 18:11). The Lord "sits on the cherubim" of the Sanctuary (I Sam. 4:4; II Sam. 6:2; II Kings 19:15; Isa. 37:16; Ps. 80:2; 99:1; I Chron. 13:6). In considering the biblical view of idolatry one must examine the ground upon which a distinction between permitted and illicit iconolatry is possible. U. Cassuto (*Perush al Sefer Shemot* (1952), 285) was of the opinion that the distinction between illicit images and the cherubim was based on the character of the images: illicit images represented actual beings, whereas the cherubim did not represent actual beings. This view is too vague and too subtle. The actual form of the cherubim of the Temple is unknown. According to rabbinic tradition (Suk. 5b; Ḥag. 13b) the cherubim were in the form of young children. Moreover, even if one concedes that the form of the cherubim did not correspond to any actual being, one can not help wondering whether this subtlety is at all relative to the religious values and criteria of the ancient Near East and the Bible. In contrast, Jewish medieval authors, Karaites (Jacob al-Kirkisānī, *Kitāb al-Anwār*, ed. L. Nemoy (1938), 6) and Rabbanites (Judah Halevi, *The Kuzari*, 1:96) expressed the view that the distinction between permitted and illicit iconolatry is fundamentally arbitrary: certain images were prescribed by the Law and others were proscribed. This view involves standards of values that fully agree with the basic theology of the Bible: the one God must be worshiped only as prescribed by the Law. The difference between the biblical ceremonies and their counterparts is not intrinsic but simply the fact that the former are prescribed by the Law while the latter are not. In the Bible, to worship the only God with rites that are not prescribed by the Law is an act of idolatry (more precisely, *avodah zarah*, "nonprescribed cult," which is the Hebrew equivalent of "idolatry"). This conception of religion is grounded on the belief in the absolute omnipotence of God. (see Faur, in bibl., 47–48).

The Biblical Injunction Against Idolatry

The biblical injunction against idolatry comprises three more or less separate matters: the worship of idols, the worship of Yahweh with pagan rites, and the making of idols. The biblical injunction against idol worship includes (1) idol worship conforming to the pagan rituals (Ex. 20:5; Deut. 12:30; cf. Sanh. 61b); (2) bowing down (Ex. 34:14); (3) offering a sacrifice to another god (i.e., to idols, Ex. 22:19), which, according to the rabbis, includes the performance of any of the rituals that form part of the cult prescribed for the service of the Lord (e.g., the actual slaughtering of the sacrifice, the offering of incense, the offering of libation), although that particular ritual is not generally used in the service of the idol (Sanh. 7:6; cf. Sanh. 60b); (4) paying homage to an idol (Ex. 20:5) – according to the rabbis this prohibition refers to the veneration of an image, even if there is no intention of worshiping, such as kissing the idol or caressing it (Sanh. 7:6; cf. Sanh. 63a). The actual worship of superhuman beings, such as angels, is not explicitly proscribed in the Bible (cf. Judg. 13:16). Indeed, in the earlier sections of the Bible there is considerable fluidity between angels and Yahweh (Judg. 6:1–24). The rabbis, however, consider the worship of angels idolatry (Tosef., Ḥul. 2:18). In many instances (e.g. Deut. 12:31) biblical writers defame Israelite practices of which they disapprove by associating those practices with the gentiles.

Making idols is explicitly prohibited (Ex. 20:4, 23 [20]). According to the rabbis this prohibition applies both to one who makes an idol to worship it himself or for others to worship (see Sifra 7:1 end).

THE BIBLICAL POLEMIC AGAINST IDOLATRY. The Bible attacks idolatry on two independent grounds: it violates the Covenant, and it is useless. Since idolatry is specifically forbidden (cf. Ex. 20:4ff.), its practice constitutes a violation of the Covenant (Deut. 31:16, 20; Jer. 11:10). The second argument can be properly understood in light of the belief held by gentiles and many Israelites as well that phenomena such as fertility, rain, health, and so on may be controlled by recourse to other gods than Yahweh, or by worship of their images (Hos. 2:7–14). Since, according to the Bible, God is in control of these phenomena, idolatry is useless (cf. Isa. 41:23–24; 44:6–21; Jer. 10:1–5). Furthermore, as Maimonides observed (*Guide*, 3:30), the Bible emphasizes that since idolatry is a violation of the Covenant, it produces negative results; as a punishment God will turn nature against the idolaters (cf. Deut. 11:13–18; 28).

Idolatry in Near Eastern Religions

In order to determine the character of idolatry in the religions of the Near East, and in order to have a clear understanding of the biblical attitude towards it, two interrelated matters must be examined in light of the ancient Near Eastern sources: the question of whether the images were conceived as dead matter that represented some superhuman power, or what would later be called natural phenomena, or whether they were conceived as "living idols," and the question of how the image became fit for worship.

"LIVING IDOLS" IN PAGAN RELIGIONS. An idol, in the pagan mind, was a living and feeling being. The idol was not necessarily equivalent to the god; the god had a separate (though not independent) existence from the idol. The god's spirit dwelt within the idol and was identified with it. The god was not confined to a single idol or a single shape; rather his spirit dwelt within many idols of varied shapes. The god perceived and sensed whatever happened to its idol (see Oppenheim, 48–49, 54; van Buren, 75ff.). The prayers, ceremonies, and cult offered to the idol were fully sensed by the god. Since the god identified fully with its idol, the images were "living idols" (see van Buren, 81; Blackman (1924), 55, 57). In Egypt and Mesopotamia the ceremony of washing and dressing the idol was practiced (see Erman, 273ff.; Moret; Oppenheim, 188–92). The idol also ate, drawing from the food offered to it the energy needed for its subsistence and the execution of its numerous activities (see Blackman and Fairman, 84; Oppenheim, 191–2). The idol felt, saw, heard, and spoke (Blackman and Fairman, ibid.; Maspéro). The cult opened the mouth, eyes, and ears of the idol (see van Buren, 81; Blackman (1924), 55, 57; Berlejung). At night the idol slept and in the morning the sunlight would awaken it and it would speak (see Blackman and Fairman, 84). The idol made its will known by influencing the lots that were cast in its presence, through prophecy, and through a variety of signs. The will of the idol was a divine imperative not only in religious matters but also in the political affairs of the state and the private affairs of the individual (see Blackman (1925), 249–258; (1926), 83–95; (1941), 136–190). Since the god fully identified with its idol, whoever controlled the idol also controlled the god. When the king of Elam saw that he was about to be defeated by Sennacherib, he took his idols and fled in order that they should not fall captive (Luckenbill, Records, 1 (1926), 242; 2 (1926), 350). The custom of taking captive the idols of the vanquished was ancient and widespread (Luckenbill, Records, 1 (1926), 222, 223, 231, 232, 310; 2 (1926), 341, 518, 520, 521, 530, 532, 538, 580, 804; Uehlinger). In light of this practice the incident with Rab-Shakeh (Isa. 36:18ff.) is quite clear. Rab-Shakeh wanted to impress upon the people of Judah the fact that the gods of the neighboring nations failed to protect them from the armies of Sennacherib (Isa. 36:18–20; 37:10–12). The reply of King Hezekiah is to the point: the God of Israel alone is truly a "living God" and no comparison should be drawn between Him and the idols of the neighboring nations (Isa. 37:4, 16–20; cf. 10:5–19; 37:23–29). Tiglath-Pileser (Luckenbill, Records, 1 (1926), 230), and Adad-Nirari II (*ibid.*, 380) offered the idols of the vanquished to their own idols. This practice was well known to the biblical writers (see Isa. 46:2; Jer. 43:12; 48:7; Hos. 10:6 (cf. 8:6); Dan. 11:8). When in enemies' hands, the power of the idol vanished. The vanquished kings would come and beg for the return of the idols (Luckenbill, *ibid.*, 518, 536, 538, 731); to return an idol to his temple was considered an act of mercy (*ibid.*, 507, 659). Because of his fear of the enemy, the god would leave the idol (*ibid.*, 2 (1926), 295, 513, 528) "and fly to the heavens" (*ibid.*, 649, 659, 662; Jer. 50:1–3 makes reference to this belief). Elijah's ridicule of Baal (I Kings 18:27) and Isaiah's mocking of the idols (Isa. 44:9–21) were designed to shake the widespread belief in "living idols." The argument offered by the Psalmist (Ps. 106:36; 115:9), "they have eyes but they do not see" should be taken literally. It attempts to disprove the belief that the idols were in possession of sensory faculties. The biblical description of idolatry as "sacrifices to the dead" (Ps. 106:28) and of idols as "wood and stone" (Deut. 28:36, 64), and similar descriptions, challenge the pagan claim that the images they worshiped were in fact "living idols."

THE MAKING OF AN IDOL. The identification of the god with the idol was effected by a special ceremony of consecration known as the "washing or cleaning of the mouth." Egyptian and Babylonian records dating from the biblical period give minute details concerning the rite of consecration by which the image is transformed into a living idol (Schiaparelli; Budge; Blackman (1924), 42–59; Baly, 173–86; Smith, 37–60). By virtue of this ritual the gods also identified with the reliefs that were in the walls of the temples: the pictures of the gods were able to eat and drink the sacrifices and libations that were offered during the services, and thus acquire the necessary energy to be and act as living gods (Blackman (1935), 6–7; Blackman and Fairman, 84ff.). The ceremony by which an image is consecrated and thereby made into a god is recorded in Daniel (3:2, 3).

[Jose Faur / S. David Sperling (2nd ed.)]

The View of Kaufmann

The polytheistic religions of the ancient Near East were highly developed, sophisticated systems. Theogonies told of the creation of the various deities. Other myths discussed the rule of the gods over physical phenomena and over the lives of individuals or nations. Sexual qualities and benevolent and malevolent personalities were attributed to these gods. Artistic representations of the deity were symbolic of its cosmic power and formed the center both for elaborate temple cults and for simpler home ceremonies. Kaufmann maintains that the Bible shows no knowledge or understanding of this kind of paganism. It tells of national gods – Baal, Chemosh, Ashtoreth – but there is no hint of their mythological qualities. The gods are not understood to be living beings or mythological persons symbolized by their images. The biblical writers usually conceive of image worship in the Bible as nothing more than fetishism (Deut. 4:28; Isa. 44: 9–20 are characteristic). Kaufmann is correct in his description of the biblical characterization of the worship of other gods than Yahweh, but the biblical description is not objectively descriptive. Instead, it is polemical and disingenuous. In contrast to Kaufmann's claim that polytheism perished in Israel's earliest times, it is now clear that monotheism, or better, mono-Yahwism, took centuries to win the day, and that its adherents employed the rhetoric of "wood and stone" to discredit Yahweh's rivals. Indeed, several passages in the Bible permit the inference that some biblical writers considered the gods of the nations to be living gods (e.g., Ex. 12:12; Num. 21:29; 33:4; Judg. 11:24). It was just they were inferior to Yahweh and should not be worshipped by Israelites.

[Gershon Bacon / S. David Sperling (2nd ed.)]

In the Talmud

Idolatry is considered by the rabbis as one of the three cardinal sins, which one is enjoined to suffer martyrdom rather than transgress (the other two are incest and murder ("the shedding of blood": Sanh. 74a)). Various aspects of the prohibitions concerning idolatry and related practices are dealt with at length in tractate Sanhedrin, while an entire tractate, **Avodah Zarah*, is devoted to the practical problems of social contact and economic interaction with idolatry and idolaters. The abstention from it is "equivalent to the fulfillment of all the commandments of the Torah" (Hor. 8a), and Daniel 3:12, "There are certain Jews…" is interpreted to teach that "he who denies idols is called a Jew" (Meg. 13a). Contrariwise, "he who recognizes idols denies the whole Torah" (Sif. Deut. 54). Despite this fact, the possibility of Jews practicing idolatry is largely discounted by the rabbis. Together with circumcision, it is cited as an example of those precepts which "because Israel submitted to death at the time of the royal decree [i.e. one of the times of persecution of Judaism], it is still firmly adhered to" (Shab. 130a). The lessened stress on the danger of succumbing to idolatry as compared with immorality is strikingly expressed in a passage of the Midrash: "God created two evil inclinations in the world, that toward idolatry and the other toward incest; the former has already been uprooted; the latter still holds sway" (Song R. 7:8; cf. Yoma 69b). The passage goes on to discuss whether this "uprooting of the evil inclination toward idolatry," which was so marked a characteristic of the religious life of the Jews during the period of the First Temple, took place in the time of Mordecai and Esther, or of Hananiah, Mishael, and Azariah. These passages reflect the historical fact, which is borne out by all the available evidence, that during the period of the Second Temple and that of the Talmud, there was no tendency on the part of the people to succumb to idolatry and it was never regarded as a serious danger. A study of the tractate *Avodah Zarah* makes it clear that the rabbis regarded contact with idolatry and idolaters solely from the point of view of the dangers arising from social contacts.

That idolatry was regarded as a "theoretical" and not a practical danger is also borne out by the fact that it is almost a commonplace of the rabbis to stress the gravity of social and ethical failings by stating that he who is guilty of them is "as though he were guilty of idolatry," whether "saying one's prayers while intoxicated" (Ber. 31b), or giving way to excessive anger (Shab. 105b), or not practicing charity (Ket. 68a), succumbing to evil inclinations (TJ, Ned. 9:1, 41b), breaking a promise, or even leaving crumbs on the table (Sanh. 92a). Although idolatry is prohibited in the Seven *Noachide Laws which according to the rabbis are binding upon all mankind, and its transgression involves the death penalty, the rabbis on the whole took a tolerant attitude toward idolatry on the part of gentiles. Idolaters are preferable to sectarians, since whereas the latter have knowledge of God and deny Him, the former act out of ignorance (TJ, Shab. 16:9, 15c). When a philosopher asked Rabban Gamaliel how he came to bathe in the bath of Aphrodite in Acre in view of the prohibition against any contact with idols (Deut. 13:17), he answered: "I did not come within her boundaries; she came within mine" (Av. Zar. 3:4). It was permitted to mock at idolaters, which is the only mockery permitted (Meg. 25b), and it was the custom to refer to them by derogatory names which were a distortion of their real names (Sif. Deut. 61; cf. also *Euphemism). The violent reaction of the Jews against the Roman legions displaying the Roman eagle on their standards, as well as their determined resistance to statues of the emperor being set up in Palestine, had, of course, definite political undertones.

In general it was forbidden to have any dealings with gentiles during their festivals and for three days prior to them and to sell them anything which was obviously part of their idolatrous worship (Av. Zar. 1:5). Included in the prohibition were a number of superstitious practices given the general name of "the ways of the Amorites" (Tosef. Shab. 6, 7). It was naturally forbidden to harbor in one's house any images which were worshiped. A special prohibition was the use of libation wine, and it was treated so seriously that the prohibition was extended as a precautionary measure to all gentile wine (*setam yayin*). The regulations with regard to this extend over half of chapter 4 and the whole of chapter 5 of the tractate *Avodah Zarah* (see *Wine). It was forbidden to use concoctions prepared for idolatrous rites for purposes of healing (Pes. 25a; Ex. R. 16:2). The rabbis had a remarkably comprehensive knowledge of every kind and form of idolatry practiced in the East. "If the names of all the idols were to be enumerated, all the donkeys in the world would not suffice to carry them" (Sif. Deut. 43, ed. by L. Finkelstein (1939), 97). They included astral bodies, mountains and hills, marshes, sources of rivers, the dust of the feet, standing corn, fire and water, vapor, winds and clouds, trees, eggs, doves, animals, reflections, and all kinds of statues and images. Specific mention is made of Peor, the worship of which was said to consist of uncovering oneself and defecating in front of the idol (Sif. Num. 131; Sanh. 7:6; TJ, 10:2, 28d), and of Mercurius, Aphrodite, the Saturnalia, and slaughtering over seas and rivers to the "Prince of the Sea" (Poseidon: Ḥul. 2:9, 41b). Certain idolatrous rites mentioned are not known from any other sources. They include a circular incision in the hearts of animals (Av. Zar. 2:3) which was apparently connected with the mysteries of the worship of Demeter and Attis. The reference in Sanhedrin 7:6 to sweeping, besprinkling, washing, and clothing an idol apparently refers to some Egyptian cult.

In the Tosefta (Av. Zar. 6:8) there is a reference to three places in Ereẓ Israel where the worship of the Asherah was still practiced at that time. Although there are references to obscene rites connected with idolatry (Sif. Num. 131) there is in the talmudic literature no reference to the formulas of heathen rites. A special prayer, "Blessed be He Who hath uprooted idolatry from the land," had to be recited when seeing a place where idol worship had been formerly practiced (Ber. 9:1).

[Louis Isaac Rabinowitz]

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IGGERET HA-KODESH (Heb. אִגֶּרֶת הַקֹּדֶשׁ; "Holy Epistle"), an anonymous 13th-century kabbalistic work, since the 14th century usually but wrongly attributed to *Naḥmanides. It has been suggested that the author might be R. Joseph b. Abraham *Gikatilla, the friend and associate of R. *Moses b. Shem Tov de Leon, author of the *Zohar, but this has yet to be proven. In the selection and treatment of the subject the work is unusual among the writings of the early kabbalists. Whereas the early kabbalists wrote their popular ethical books in a manner which attempted to conceal their kabbalistic ideology, *Iggeret ha-Kodesh* is primarily an ethical work written with its kabbalistic ideas in full view. It may be said that this is the first popular work in which kabbalistic teachings are applied to everyday behavior. It was not until three centuries later, in 16th-century *Safed, that such applications were made on a large scale (see *Ethical Literature). The book's six chapters deal with the problems of leading a moral family life, giving particular emphasis to the way in which a pious Jew should conduct sexual intercourse with his wife. The hygiene and sanctity of sexual life are discussed in great detail. To a large degree the work is an anthology of quotations and interpretations of talmudic and midrashic sayings about sexual relations. The work may be regarded, moreover, as a polemical answer to both Aristotle and Maimonides who regarded sexual activity as being a lower, because less spiritual, level of life. The author of *Iggeret ha-Kodesh* upholds the sanctity of sexual relations provided, of course, that it is conducted strictly in accordance with rabbinic laws and instructions. The author's major thesis is that human sexual intercourse is a reflection of the mystical union in kabbalistic writings between two of the divine *Sefirot* (see *Kabbalah): *Tiferet*, the symbol for the husband in the heavenly world, and the **Shekhinah*, the symbol for the wife. Thus, there is a mystical significance to human sexual behavior whereby proper sexual relations between man and wife in this world contribute to the achievement of unity in the divine world.

Iggeret ha-Kodesh was often quoted in late 13th- and early 14th-century kabbalistic literature, and many ethical writers included it either whole or in part in their own books. Among those who thus borrowed from the work were R. Meir b. Isaac *Aldabi in *Shevilei Emunah* (Riva, 1558), R. Elijah b. Moses de *Vidas in *Reshit Ḥokhmah*, and Israel b. Joseph *Al-Nakawa, who included the whole treatise in his ethical anthology *Menorat ha-Ma'or*, 4 vols. (1929–32). Many manuscripts of the work, some quite old, and many printings (the first, Rome, 1546), are extant.

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[Joseph Dan]

IGNATOFF, DAVID (1885–1954), Yiddish novelist and dramatist. Born in the Ukraine, Ignatoff was active in the revolutionary movement in Kiev (1903–06) before leaving for the United States. In 1907 he helped to found the literary group *Di Yunge which rebelled against the dominant emphasis on proletarian themes and current socialist ideas in American Yiddish literature, and advocated art for art's sake and the importance of form over subject matter. Together with I.J. *Schwartz, Ignatoff edited and published the annual *Literatur* (1910). In 1912 he began to issue a periodical, *Shriftn*, which appeared irregularly and in which he published original works by young writers, translations of world literature, and reproductions of works by Jewish painters. Ignatoff also edited the annual *Velt-ayn, Velt-oys* (1916). Ignatoff alternated between a colorful romanticism which idealized Jewish traditions and a radical realism which allied him with proletarian literature. The former tendency was best embodied in his *Vundermayses fun Altn Prag* ("Wondertales of Old Prague," 1920) and in *Dos Farborgene Likht* ("The Hidden Light," 1918), tales based on the narratives of R. *Naḥman of Bratslav; and the latter tendency in the novel *In Keselgrub* ("In the Cauldron," 1918), which deals with the struggle between degeneracy and spiritual rebirth among Jewish immigrants, and in the fictional trilogy *Oyf Vayte Vegn* ("Vistas," 1932), which describes the rise of the American Jewish labor movement. His later work included the biblical plays *Yiftokh* (1939) and *Gideon* (1953). A collection of essays, *Opgerisene Bleter* ("Stripped Leaves"), was published posthumously in Buenos Aires in 1957.

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[Elias Schulman]

IGNATOW, DAVID (1914–1997), U.S. poet. Ignatow was born in Brooklyn. His poems are often accounts of the particular, especially city life. Its crowds, its noise, its spectacles are balanced by the poet's growing solace in nature. His poetry is often short, marked by plain diction, and common subjects such as family, work, and mortality – the shared lot of humankind. His poetry offers no simple resolution of problems but instead presents them with a bold starkness, as for example in "An Allusion" and "For All Friends," in which no solace can be found and no quarrel with the self can be stilled. Ignatow's "In a Reply" says it well: "my poems are hard to live with." A good example is Ignatow's transformation of the traditional ethical poem for a child, in which the poet's love becomes a song for possibilities. In "The Future" Ignatow wishes strength for his daughter yet cautions her to "prepare to live without me." His poems also affirm the nature of the given: resignation is acceptance. As he puts it in "The World," all that we experience is "difficult to give up." His first volume of poetry, *Poems*, appeared in 1948. Among his works are *Say Pardon*

(1961), *Figures of the Human* (1964), *Rescue the Dead* (1968), *Tread the Dark* (1978), *The One in the Many: A Poet's Memoirs* (1988), and *Living Is What I Wanted: Last Poems* (1999). Ralph Mills, Jr. edited *The Notebooks of David Ignatow* (1973) and *Open between Us* (1980).

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[Lewis Fried (2nd ed.)]

°IGNATYEV, COUNT NIKOLAI PAVLOVICH (1832–1908), Russian reactionary and antisemitic statesman. After the assassination of Alexander II (March 1881), Ignatyev was appointed minister of the interior, retaining this office until June 1882. Among his duties was the investigation of the causes of the wave of anti-Jewish riots which swept across southern Russia after the assassination of the czar. Ignatyev set up provincial commissions of inquiry, instructing them to lay the responsibility for the riots on the Jews, who, it was alleged, exploited the Russian peasants. He prepared extensive projects for the transfer of the Jews to Achal-Tekke, in the plains of central Asia, for settlement on the land. It was he who permitted the first wave of emigration from Russia to the West in 1881–82. Toward the close of his period of office he passed the "Temporary Regulations" which were ratified by Alexander III on May 2–3, 1882 (see *May Laws). These regulations sought to prevent the settlement of Jews in the rural regions of the *Pale of Settlement. As a result of public pressure, the czar was compelled to dismiss Ignatyev, replacing him by Count Dimitri Tolstoi.

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[Abraham N. Poliak]

IGNOTUS, HUGÓ (pen-name of **Hugó Veigelsberg**; 1869–1949), Hungarian author, journalist, and critic. Ignotus ("Unknown") was born and educated in Budapest. After publishing *A Slemil keservei* ("The Sorrows of Schlemiel") in 1891, he gained increasing recognition as a commentator on literary and political affairs. In *Nyugat*, the Hungarian literary journal which he founded in 1907 and edited for some years, Ignotus attacked conservative attitudes, gave active support to such important young writers as the poet Endre Ady, and established the modern Hungarian school of aesthetic criticism. He was also a pioneer in the literary exploitation of psychoanalysis. His works include a volume of verse, *Versek* (1895); stories entitled *Változatok a G-húron* ("Variations in G," 1902); the essays of *Kisérletek* (1910); *Ignotus verseiböl* ("Poems of Ignotus," 1918); and *Ignotus novelláiból* (1918), a collection of short stories. Ignotus, whose reformist social and political outlook had brought him advisory appointments at both municipal and national levels, left Hungary when Béla Kun's Communists seized power in 1919 and thereafter moved from Switzerland to Berlin and Vienna, working as an editor or correspondent for democratic newspapers. In 1938 he returned to Budapest for a brief time, but moved to London later that year and from there went to the U.S. His literary career then came to an end. Ignotus was reconciled to the Communist regime in Hungary after World War II and returned to his birthplace shortly before his death.

His son, PÁL IGNOTUS (1901–1978), a convert to Christianity, was also a leading critic and liberal journalist in Hungary during the 1930s. Together with the poet Attila József, he founded *Szép Szó*, a literary and political journal which, from 1936, tried to unite all democratic and anti-Nazi elements in face of the Nazi peril. He was forced to take refuge in England in 1939 and, during World War II, worked for the BBC. He became press attaché at the Hungarian embassy in London after the war, but was recalled to Budapest in 1949 and, with other Social Democrats, spent seven years in prison on fabricated charges. Following the 1956 Hungarian revolution, Pál Ignotus again fled to London, where he edited the émigré periodical *Irodalmi Újság*. His works include *A horogkeresztes hadjárat* ("The Arrow-Cross Campaign," 1933), and two books which appeared in English: *Political Prisoner* (1959) and *The Paradox of Maupassant* (1967).

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[Baruch Yaron]

IGRA, MESHULLAM (Moses) BEN SAMSON (c. 1752–1802), Galician and Hungarian rabbi. The name Moses was added during a serious illness in 1799. Igra was born in Buczacz (Galicia) of an old rabbinical family which came from Kolomeyya. He was known in his youth for his talents and saintliness, preaching in the large synagogue of Brody when he was only nine. He studied in Brody from 1763–66 and married the daughter of Isaac Horowitz, rabbi of the combined communities of Altona, Hamburg, and Wandsbeck. In 1769, at the age of 17, he was appointed rabbi of Tysmenitsa, and his halakhic rulings on contemporary problems were widely sought after. Students streamed to him from all parts of Poland and Hungary, among them many who subsequently attained fame, such as Jacob *Lorberbaum of Lissa and Mordecai *Benet. In 1793 he was obliged to leave Tysmenitsa, partly because of his opposition to Ḥasidism which was spreading there, and he entered into a controversy with the Ḥasidim of Lemberg on his way to Pressburg, where he had been appointed rabbi. In the well-known dispute in which Raphael Kohen-Suesskind, rabbi of Altona, Hamburg, and Wandsbeck, was attacked by Saul *Berlin in his *Mizpeh Yokte'el* (Berlin, 1789) Igra was asked to support Raphael Kohen-Suesskind, but he refused to interfere. However, he came out vehemently against Berlin when he published his *Besamim Rosh* (*ibid.*, 1793). Igra's halakhic works are among the most difficult of their kind, due to the rapid flow of his thoughts, the terseness of his style, and his inclination to association and allusion. As a result his works did not attain the popularity they merited. The first part of his novellae and comments on the Talmud *Igra Ramah* was published in 1873, with the addition of a few responsa (1862, 1885); part two remains in manuscript as are his work on Maimonides and his sermons. Igra was succeeded in Pressburg by Moses *Sofer.

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IḤUD HABONIM, largest pioneering youth movement of the labor Zionist movement, founded in 1958 with headquarters in Israel. Iḥud Habonim was established by the amalgamation of various youth movements around the world. It was composed of what was formerly Iḥud ha-No'ar ha-Ḥaluẓi (ANAḤ) in Latin America, Western Europe, and North Africa (ANAḤ, in turn, was composed of Dror and *Gordonia in Latin America and Gordonia and Habonim in Western Europe and North Africa); World Habonim, which existed mostly in the English-speaking countries; and two Israel movements, Habonim Tenu'ah Me'uḥedet and No'ar Oved. In the mid-1960s, Iḥud Habonim had about 20,000 members throughout the world, and graduates of the movement and its predecessors had established 22 kibbutzim in Israel, all of which were affiliated with *Iḥud ha-Kevuẓot ve-ha-Kibbutzim, and belonged to a number of moshavim. Groups of Habonim graduates have also settled on kibbutzim of the Iḥud ha-Kevuẓot ve-ha-Kibbutzim that were not originally established by Habonim graduates.

The world secretariat of Iḥud Habonim was located in Israel and coordinated the movement's activities around the world. The supreme governing body of the movement was the *ve'idah* (convention), with representatives from every national movement. Much of its work was carried on by the *mo'aẓah olamit* (world council), which had the same representation on a smaller scale, and the *mazkirut olamit* (world secretariat), which had two representatives from every national branch and met three times a year. The most active branches of the governing bodies were the *mazkirut murḥevet* (enlarged secretariat), which met every three weeks, and the *mazkirut pe'ilah* (the executive), which was based in Tel Aviv and met weekly. The executive was headed by the general secretary. The governing bodies of Iḥud Habonim were responsible for such activities as the choosing and sending of emissaries to the various national movements, the coordination and planning of programs of work and study in Israel for members coming from abroad, the direction of new settlers to kibbutzim, etc. Iḥud Habonim also published two publications: *Binyan* and *Yesodot*.

In 1982 Habonim merged with the Dror youth movement three years after the amalgamation of their parent movements – Iḥud ha-Kevuẓot ve-ha-Kibbutzim and *Ha-Kibbutz ha- Me'uḥad. With the decline of traditional kibbutz ideology, emphasis in the movement shifted to the creation of urban kibbutzim, and from the late 1990s Habonim-Dror members from around the world have associated themselves with such kibbutzim.

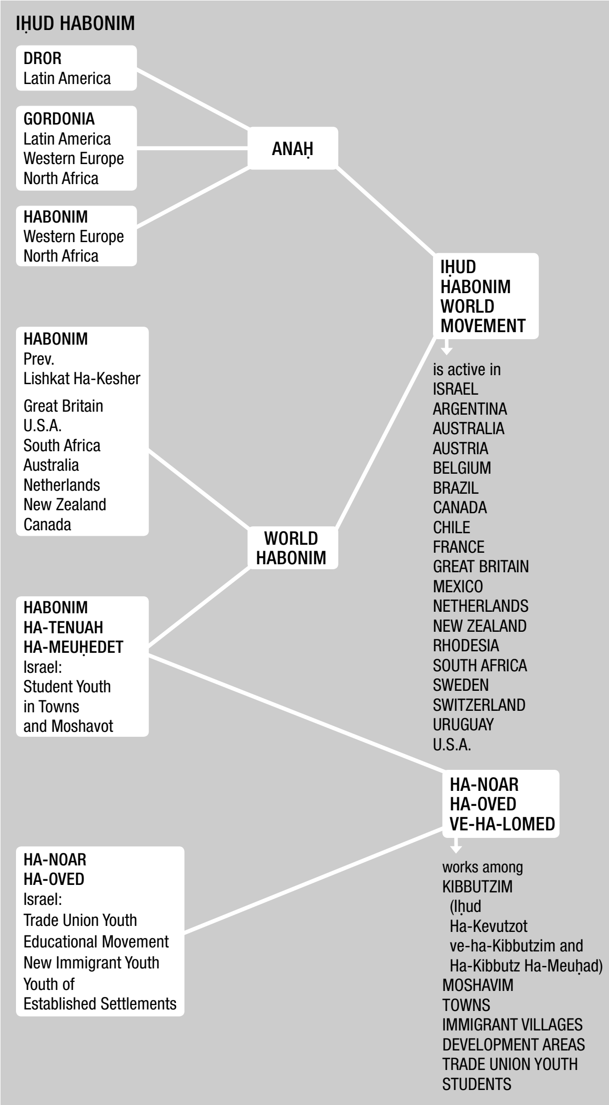
IḤUD HABONIM
DROR
Latin America
GORDONIA
Latin America
Western Europe
North Africa
HABONIM
Western Europe
North Africa
ANAḤ
IḤUD HABONIM WORLD MOVEMENT
is active in
ISRAEL
ARGENTINA
AUSTRALIA
AUSTRIA
BELGIUM
BRAZIL
CANADA
CHILE
FRANCE
GREAT BRITAIN
MEXICO
NETHERLANDS
NEW ZEALAND
RHODESIA
SOUTH AFRICA
SWEDEN
SWITZERLAND
URUGUAY
U.S.A.
HABONIM
Prev.
Lishkat Ha-Kesher
Great Britain
U.S.A.
South Africa
Australia
Netherlands
New Zealand
Canada
WORLD HABONIM
HABONIM HA-TENUAH HA-MEUḤEDET
Israel:
Student Youth
in Towns
and Moshavot
HA-NOAR HA-OVED VE-HA-LOMED
works among
KIBBUTZIM
(Iḥud
Ha-Kevutzot
ve-ha-Kibbutzim and
Ha-Kibbutz Ha-Meuḥad)
MOSHAVIM
TOWNS
IMMIGRANT VILLAGES
DEVELOPMENT AREAS
TRADE UNION YOUTH
STUDENTS
HA-NOAR HA-OVED
Israel:
Trade Union Youth
Educational Movement
New Immigrant Youth
Youth of
Established Settlements

In Germany

Although Habonim in Germany ceased to exist at the end of World War II, and therefore did not survive to become part of Iḥud Habonim, the influence of this movement was substantial in both Europe and Palestine. Berit ha-Olim, formerly Jung Juedischer Wander-Bund, was founded in 1925 as a Zionist Socialist movement to educate its members toward *aliyah* and pioneering in Ereẓ Israel. Its first group of graduates, called Kibbutz Ḥerut, together with pioneers from Eastern Europe, founded kibbutz Givat Brenner within the framework of *Ha-Kibbutz ha-Me'uḥad, from which Berit ha-Olim drew its inspiration. Another movement, Kadimah, which was the successor of *Blau-Weiss, the classical youth movement of German Zionism, was originally a Jewish national scouting movement that developed into a Zionist youth movement. Under the influence of the labor movement in Ereẓ Israel, particularly the kibbutz movement, and the conditions in Nazi Germany, a merger was made between Kadimah and Berit ha-Olim in February 1933 to form Habonim-No'ar Ḥaluẓi, which incorporated 2,300 youth in tens of cities. In Berlin, a third pioneering youth movement, Arbeitskreis, joined the new merger in the same year, bringing the membership of Habonim to a high of over 1,000 in one metropolitan branch.

Until 1938 Habonim operated as an officially recognized youth movement, with its socialist character camouflaged. After all Jewish organizations had been outlawed in Germany, Habonim went underground, confining its activities ostensibly to vocational training of its members with a view to *aliyah*. Graduates of Habonim were the mainstay of *He-Ḥalutz, and, together with pioneers not organized in any movement, they established *hakhsharot* (training farms) in Germany, Scandinavia, the Netherlands, and Luxembourg and temporarily also in France, Italy, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, Poland, and the Baltic countries. The intermediate age-group (14–16-year-olds) received practical training under the auspices of intermediate *hakhsharot*. Habonim also published a monthly that, for reasons of censorship, appeared under changing titles.

In Palestine, members of Habonim (the junior members as part of *Youth Aliyah) joined Ha-Kibbutz ha-Me'uḥad, which sent *sheliḥim* to Germany. Many members joined kibbutzim of Ha-Kibbutz ha-Me'uḥad, even though Habonim did not officially become a part of this kibbutz trend. Habonim came to an end in Germany with the physical destruction of German Jewry.

[Ada Nachmani]

In Canada and the U.S.

Habonim in Canada and the United States was established in 1935 as the youth section of *Po'alei Zion, the *Farband, and *Pioneer Women. Its 3,000 members (1969) aged 10–21, are organized in 20 metropolitan branches, and younger groups are led by older members. Habonim also operates a countrywide network of ten summer camps, serving 1,500 children, modeled on the kibbutz. The program of the camps and metropolitan groups includes work, collective living, Hebrew language and culture, Jewish and Zionist history and values, and scouting. High school- and college-age students annually participate in a year program in Israel called the Youth Workshop, where they study and work on a kibbutz. Habonim also publishes two publications: *Ha-Boneh* and *Furrows*.

In addition to its educational program, Habonim has participated in and influenced the movement of liberal students fighting Nazi propaganda, the U.S. civil rights movement, and related activities. During World War II it served in the rehabilitation of *displaced persons. Later, Habonim supplied personnel for ships carrying "illegal" immigrants to Palestine, volunteers for Israel's War of Independence (1948), and nonmilitary aid following the Six-Day War (1967). Pioneering in Israel was considered the pinnacle of personal achievement for a movement member. Several settlements were established by Habonim graduates from Canada and the United States, including the kibbutzim Kefar Blum, Gesher ha-Ziv, and Urim and the moshavim Bet Ḥerut and Orot. The hub of the North American movement in the early 2000s was its seven summer camps and its programs in Israel.

[Saadia Gelb]

In Britain

Habonim in England was founded in London in 1928. By the time the handbook for leaders was published one year later, groups were already organized in East and West London and provincial centers. The program offered a carefully designed syllabus covering Jewish history, Hebrew, geography and knowledge of Ereẓ Israel, scouting, and athletics. The movement catered specifically to youth between the ages of 12 and 16 and cautiously avoided ties with any political or religious group, while encouraging adherence to Jewish values and traditions. The age of the members gradually expanded to 10–18. From its inception, Habonim identified itself with the building of Ereẓ Israel, and in 1932 it was officially designated a Zionist youth movement under the auspices of the British Zionist Federation. In the same year, a group of Habonim leaders established the British branch of He-Ḥalutz and began to prepare pioneers to live on collective settlements in Palestine.

During World War II, Habonim established hostels in various parts of the United Kingdom, issued publications, and established a corps of leaders who were not engaged in military service. At the end of the war, members in the armed forces and the Jewish Brigade, in particular, assisted Jewish survivors in Europe and their transport to Palestine. On the arrival of a Jewish unit from Palestine on the island of Malta in 1943, a Habonim group was established. In 1941 a contact office (*lishkat ha-kesher*), working out of Kefar Blum in Palestine, brought together members of Habonim from Britain, South Africa, India, Australia, and the U.S. The development of this office during the war years led to the establishment of World Habonim in the English-speaking countries to coordinate activities on a worldwide basis. Members of the British groups have settled mostly at Kefar ha-Nasi, Bet ha-Emek, and Ammi'ad.

[Wellesley Aron]

In Latin America

The beginnings of the movement that later merged with World Habonim to become part of Iḥud Habonim were in Argentina. In 1930 the first attempts were made to establish a movement by the name of Frayhayt, and afterward a movement called Yunge Skauten (Young Scouts) came into being. In 1934 the youth movement Dror, composed of the two above-mentioned groups, was formed. At the same time, another movement, Gordonia-Maccabi ha-Ẓa'ir, was founded. Both these movements were formed as a continuation of similar movements that had existed in Eastern Europe. They were established by immigrants to Argentina who wished to continue their movement activities in their country of immigration. Both movements developed in a parallel manner and merged in 1952 to form Iḥud ha-No'ar ha-Ḥaluẓi, which also existed in Europe and North Africa (see above). Iḥud Habonim, founded in 1958, had branches in Argentina (13 groups), Brazil (six groups), Chile (one group), Mexico (two groups), and Uruguay (two groups), in addition to groups attached to Jewish schools. This included thousands of members, aged 9 to 22, who were divided according to age and educational groups.

The movement supported daily activities in its branches as well as national and international activities: summer and winter camps, educational and ideological seminars, conventions of graduates, etc. It also supported training programs for its members in Israel (Mexico and Brazil) and trained leaders through the auspices of the Institute for Youth Leaders Abroad of the Jewish Agency. Members of the movement who settled in Israel established the kibbutzim Or ha-Ner and Mefalsim and joined Beror Ḥayil, Nir Am, and Ḥaẓerim. A large number of members are scattered among the kibbutzim of the Iḥud ha-Kevuẓot ve-ha-Kibbutzim.

[Eliezer Gluzberg]

In South Africa

Habonim was founded in Johannesburg in 1931 by Norman Lourie (d. 1978) and conducts a range of educational activities in South Africa mostly led by student counselors. Members of the South African groups settled in Israel mostly at Kefar Blum, Ma'ayan Barukh, and Yizre'el.

In Australia

Members of Habonim from Europe, especially England, were among those who founded the organization in Australia in 1940. It ran a wide range of activities including seminars and leadership courses. Its members in Israel are found at kibbutz Kefar ha-Nasi and also Yizre'el.

IḤUD HA-KEVUẒOT VE-HA-KIBBUTZIM, a federation of collective settlements in Israel founded in 1951 by the merger of the *Mapai-oriented kibbutzim, which seceded from *Ha-Kibbutz ha-Me'uḥad, with the union of smaller collective settlements called Ḥever ha-Kevuẓot. (The latter also comprised the first villages of this kind founded by pioneers of the Second Aliyah before World War I.) The Iḥud is ideologically and politically the most moderate of the various kibbutz unions, allowing for more diversity in its members' outlook and way of life. It comprised over 80 collective settlements with a population of about 30,000 in 1970. In 1979 it reunited with Ha-Kibbutz ha-Me'uḥad to form Takam (the United Kibbutz Movement), which numbered 167 kibbutzim and 76,560 members in 1987. In 2000 the United Kibbutz Movement and *Ha-Kibbutz ha-Arẓi ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir joined forces as "The Kibbutz Movement," representing 260 kibbutzim.

IJON (Heb. עִיּוֹן). (1) Israelite city on the northern border of Ereẓ Israel. It is possibly one of the localities written *ynw* or *ny* in the Egyptian Execration Texts (19th/18th century B.C.E.) and in the list of cities conquered by Thutmosis III (c. 1469 B.C.E., nos. 46, 86 or 95). In the Bible it appears in the list of cities captured by Ben-Hadad king of Aram at the time of his intervention, together with Dan, Abel-Bet-Maacah, etc., on behalf of Asa king of Judah against Baasha of Israel (c. 895 B.C.E.; I Kings 15:20; cf. II Chron. 16:4). It is mentioned again among the cities taken from Israel by Tiglath-Pileser III in his invasion of 733/2 B.C.E. In the description of the boundaries of the Holy Land as held by those returning from Babylonian captivity, it appears as Nikbatah de-Iyun (Sif. Deut. 51, and parallels). Early Arabic writers call it Qaryat al-ʿUyun. The city seems to have been abandoned in early Arabic times and it is recorded in 1347 only by the name of its plain, Marj al-ʿAyyūn, the southernmost part of the Lebanese al-Biqāʿ. Biblical Ijon is identified with Tell al-Dibbīn near the Ḥaẓbani source of the Jordan.

(2) One of the villages of the city of Hippos (Susitha) east of the Sea of Galilee (Tosef., Shev. 4:10; TJ, Dem. 2:1, 22d). Although inhabited by Jews, it was declared free from the obligation of paying tithes. This Ijon, to which the Execration Texts and inscriptions of Thutmosis III may also refer, is considered by some scholars to be the Ain on the eastern border of the Land of Canaan (Num. 34:11). It has been identified with ʿAyyūn, 2 mi. (3 km.) north of Hammat on the Yarmuk River.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Alt, in PJB, 29 (1933), 17ff.; Abel, Geog, 2 (1938), 352; G. Posener, *Princes et Pays d'Asie et de Nubie* (1940), 74; Albright, in BASOR, 83 (1941), 33; 89 (1943), 14–15; Press, Ereẓ, 4 (1955), 695–6.

[Michael Avi-Yonah]

IKOR, ROGER (1912–1986), French novelist. Ikor, whose parents were of Lithuanian origin, was born and educated in Paris, where he became a teacher. He published two undistinguished novels, *A travers nos déserts* (1950), and *Les grands moyens* (1951), before his best-known work, the two-part novel *Les fils d'Avrom* (1955, *The Sons of Avrom*, 1958), which comprises *La greffe de printemps* and *Les eaux mêlées*. This vast, naturalistic fresco of Jewish immigrant life in Paris during the early decades of the 20th century was awarded the Prix Goncourt. In it Ikor shows how the graceless, Yiddish-speaking newcomers integrated themselves, accepting the French way of life and customs. Ikor thus glorifies Jewish assimilation, not with excessive lyricism, but with a "reasonable" tone and perspective. He returned to the problem of assimilation in 1968 in the essay *Peut-on être juif aujourd'hui*? Here, in the face of the reality of the State of Israel and evidence of an awakening Jewish consciousness among Franco-Jewish intellectuals, he makes certain concessions to the "outdated folklore" of Judaism. A volume of Ikor's novellas, *Ciel ouvert*, appeared in 1959. A moderate socialist and a liberal writer of occasional brilliance, he undoubtedly marks a period in Franco-Jewish culture, but that period is the 19th century, clad in 20th-century garb.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: C. Lehrmann, *L'Elément juif dans la littérature française* 2 (1961), 191–8.

[Arnold Mandel]

ILAI (c. 100 C.E.), *tanna*. His name is apparently an abbreviation of Eleazar. He is sometimes referred to as Ilai the Elder to distinguish him from an *amora* of the same name (Ḥag. 16a).

He was the father of the well-known *tanna* Judah b. Ilai, and his principal teacher was Eliezer b. Hyrcanus, and the Tosefta comments: "Because Judah was the son of Ilai, and Ilai the pupil of Eliezer, Judah teaches the Mishnah of Eliezer" (Tosef., Zev. 2:17). Ilai transmitted several statements of Eliezer, some in the latter's name (Er. 2:6), others anonymously (cf. Ḥal. 1:6; Tosef., *ibid.*, 1:6; et al.). He also studied under R. Joshua, R. Eleazar b. Azariah, and R. Ishmael (Tosef., Pe'ah 3:2; Git. 6b). Ilai is responsible for the *halakhah* that the laws governing the first fleece sheared from the sheep (Deut. 18:4) do not apply to countries outside Ereẓ Israel (Ḥul. 136a), and his view was adopted in Babylonia in the fourth century (*ibid.*, 136b). His aggadic statements include: "If a man sees that his evil inclination is getting the better of him, he should go to a place where he is unknown, put on black clothes, wrap himself in black garments, and do what his heart desires; but let him not publicly profane the Name of Heaven" (Ḥag. 16a). He also said: "A person's character can be told by three things: by his cup, by his purse, and by his anger" (*be-khoso, be-khiso, u-ve-kha'aso*; Er. 65b).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Frankel, Mishnah, 139f.; Hyman, Toledot, 142f.; Epstein, Tanna'im, 67.

[Yitzhak Dov Gilat]

ILAI (end of third and beginning of fourth century C.E.), Palestinian *amora*. Ilai studied under R. Johanan in Tiberias and frequently transmits sayings in his name (Shab. 5a, et al.). He also studied under R. *Simeon b. Lakish (Shab. 28b, et al.), Eleazar (TJ, Ter. 2:1, 41b, et al.), Ammi and Assi (TJ, Git. 1:1, 43a, et al.), and others. His colleague Zeira called him "builder of the Torah" (TJ, Yoma 3:5, 40c). Among Ilai's pupils were Jonah and Jose (TJ, Ter. 2:4, 41d; TJ, Ket. 11:7, 34c), and also Ravin who brought Ilai's teachings to Babylon and also sent Palestinian *halakhot* to Babylon in his name (Er. 96a; BB 144b, et al.). It was Ilai who transmitted the saying: "In Usha it was enacted that none should disburse more than a fifth of his possessions to charity" (Ket. 50a). Most of his statements belong to *halakhah*; aggadic ones are few. It is related of him that in their conversations he and Abbahu would indulge in enigmatic sayings which was called "the language of wisdom" (Er. 53b). In illustration of his consideration it is related that on one occasion he stayed late at the *bet midrash* on Friday evening. When on returning home he found everyone asleep, rather than awaken the members of his household he spent the night in the open (TJ, Beẓah 5:2, 63a). He apparently lived for a time in Tyre (Av. Zar. 13b). He is referred to by different names: Ilai, Ilaa, Ila, Hilah, and La.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Frankel, Mevo, 75b–76a; Hyman, Toledot, s.v.

[Zvi Kaplan]

ILANIYYAH (Heb. אִילָנִיָּה), moshav in eastern Lower Galilee, Israel, about 5 mi. (8 km.) N. of Kefar Tavor, founded in 1899 by the Jewish Colonization Association (ICA) as a training farm to promote grain cultivation in Jewish settlements. Through most of its history, Ilaniyyah was known by its popular Arabic name Sejera. Ilaniyyah became a moshavah in 1902. Among the settlers were Kurdish Jews and Russian converts to Judaism. In the first decade of the 20th century, Second *Aliyah immigrants worked there as hired laborers, organizing the *Ha-Shomer (Guardsmen Association) and attaining the right to guard the settlement in place of armed Arabs and Circassians formerly employed there. David *Ben-Gurion was among the Second Aliyah immigrants at Ilaniyyah. In 1907, Ha-Ḥoresh, the first collective group of agricultural laborers, was founded in the moshavah, with the aim of contracting for farm work, thus inaugurating collective labor and agriculture in modern Ereẓ Israel. The scarcity of water impeded the village's progress, and Ilaniyyah's economy was exclusively based on dry grain farming. In the Israel *War of Independence (1948), the practically isolated moshavah came under heavy Arab attack, but the siege was lifted after the conquest of neighboring Lūbiyā in "Operation Dekel" (July 1948). The nearly abandoned village was resettled in 1953 through the "Town to Country" movement, including Israel-born settlers and immigrants from Poland, Romania, and later from Morocco. As more water became available, part of Ilaniyyah's land was ceded to a new moshav, Sedeh Ilan. A youth center and school, "Ḥavvat ha-Shomer," were opened on the site of the original Ha-Shomer farm. Later on the school became a military base for soldiers with special training and education needs. The name Ilaniyyah, derived from Ilan (אִילָן, "tree"), is the translation of the name of the former Arab village, Sejera ("tree"). Its population in 1968 was 180, rising to 320 in the mid-1990s and 491 in 2002.

[Efraim Orni / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

ILF, ILYA (pseudonym of **Ilya Arnoldovich Fainzilberg**; 1897–1937), Soviet Russian author. Born in Odessa, Ilf tried various jobs before turning to journalism and then fiction. Most of his work was written in collaboration with the non-Jewish author, Yevgeni Petrov (pseudonym of Yevgeni Katayev, 1903–1942). The team ultimately achieved renown among Soviet literature's most successful humorists. Ingenious and whimsical, the works of Ilf and Petrov have been entertaining Soviet readers since their publication. The most famous are *Dvenadtsat stul yev* (1928; *The Twelve Chairs*, 1961) and its sequel *Zolotoy Telenok* (1931; *The Little Golden Calf*, 1961). Both follow the adventures of Ostap Bender, a Soviet crook and confidence man, as he travels throughout the U.S.S.R. outwitting gullible Communist bureaucrats and proletarian philistines. The quick-witted, irreverent Ostap Bender is one of Soviet literature's very memorable characters. *Odnoetazhnaya Amerika* (1936; *Little Golden America*, 1937) is an account of the two Soviet authors' safari through what they thought of as the land of the almighty dollar. The considerable comic gifts of Ilf and Petrov are displayed in sparkling dialogue and clever parodies of official jargon, but their artistic effectiveness is inevitably impaired by the ideological requirements foisted upon Soviet satire in general. Thus, while *The Twelve Chairs* and *The Little Golden Calf* are propelled by such time-honored comic devices as the hidden treasure, the chase, the picture of widespread corruption, these are vitiated by patently false assertions that greed has already begun to disappear in the U.S.S.R. and that possessing large amounts of money in the U.S.S.R. is not only quite useless, but is indeed, a source of embarrassment. There are similar incongruities in their "Jewish" characters and situations. Some of the secondary characters happen to be Jewish and are amusing enough; for example, the pathetic Jewish immigrant from Russia who had come to *Little Golden America* in the vain hope of becoming rich. But when the authors begin to preach, their ideological bias proves fatal to their humor. Thus, in *The Little Golden Calf* an American-Jewish journalist is at first incredulous and then chagrined to learn that, while there are Jews in Soviet Russia, there is no "Jewish problem." The two Soviet authors are at pains to explain that, since he has devoted his life to writing about the "Jewish problem," the American newspaperman fears that this would leave him without a job. The fact is, however, that Ilf's and Petrov's denial of the "problem's" existence in the U.S.S.R. was contrary to the facts. In 1949, during the "struggle" with the cosmopolitans, they were strongly critized, removed from the official writers' lists, and forbidden to publish. The ban was lifted in 1956. Their novels were translated into more than 40 languages, and also filmed.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: O.G. Golubeva et al. (eds.), *Russkiye Sovetskiye Pisateli, prozaiki*, 2 (1964), 204–39.

[Maurice Friedberg]

ILFA (TJ: **Hilfai**; third century C.E.), Palestinian *amora*. Ilfa attended the *bet midrash* of Judah ha-Nasi and studied under him and his pupils. His teacher in *halakhah* was *Judah b. Ḥiyya (Zev. 13b), and he transmitted the *beraitot* of Ḥiyya and Oshaya (Ta'an. 21a). Although R. Johanan was younger than Ilfa and transmitted *halakhah* in his name (Zev. 20a, et al.), as did Eleazar b. Pedat (TJ, Ma'as. 2:4, 49d), Ilfa is reported as having turned to Johanan in a question of *halakhah* (TJ, Naz. 6:10, 55c). It is related that he and Johanan were compelled to engage in business because of their great poverty; Johanan, however, returned to his studies and was appointed head of the yeshivah; when Ilfa later returned, they said to him: "Had you done likewise, you would have been appointed." Thereupon Ilfa suspended himself from the mast of a ship and announced: "If I am asked any *baraita* and cannot find an allusion to it in a Mishnah, I shall cast myself into the sea," and in fact he found all of them (Ta'an. 21a; TJ, Kid. 1:1, 58d). That he was exceptionally sharp-witted is also clear from the problems he raised (Zev. 20a; Ḥul. 69a; 53b, et al.). He was also an aggadist and is often quoted in the Midrash. Ilfa was renowned for his exceptional piety and it is related that when he led the congregation in prayer and recited, "Who causes the wind to blow and the rain to fall," his prayer was immediately answered (Ta'an. 24a). This piety also finds expression in his view of God's conduct of the world and His relationship with His creatures. In practice uncompromising truth should have been the standard governing the world, not merely in relations between man and his neighbor, but also in relations between man and God. However, due to their moral frailty men would not have been able to endure this. In consequence God substituted the attribute of charity for that of uncompromising truth (RH 17b). Ilfa gives an original interpretation of Ecclesiastes 1:3: "'What profit hath man of all his labor, wherein he laboreth under the sun?' – His labor is under the sun, and the reward accumulates for him above the sun" (Eccles. R. 1:3, no. 1).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Hyman, Toledot, 150, s.v.; Ḥ. Albeck, *Mavo la-Talmudim* (1969), 180f.

[Attilio Milano]

°**ILGEN, KARL DAVID** (1763–1834), German Protestant classical philologist and Bible critic. Ilgen was rector of the Stadtschule in Naumburg from 1789 to 1794, professor in Jena from 1794 to 1802, and rector at Schulpforte from 1802 to 1830. He then resided in Berlin. His chief work is *Die Urkunden des jerusalemischen Tempelarchivs in ihrer Urgestalt, als Beitrag zur Berichtigung der Geschichte der Religion und Politik* (vol. 1, *Urkunden des ersten Buchs von Mose*; 1798, "The Documents of the Jerusalem Temple-Archive in Their Original Form as a Contribution to Correcting the History of Religion and Politics, vol. 1, Documents of the First Book of Moses"). Its aim is a history of ancient Israel, which can be attained only through a comprehensive critical treatment of the sources. (In this Ilgen's undertaking equals the contemporary work of B.G. Niebuhr on Roman history.) According to Ilgen, the Bible contains jumbled and distorted documents from the archives of the Temple, and it is the role of scholarship to restore and rearrange them. He numbered 17 fragmentary documents in Genesis which he related to three writers: Sofer Eliel ha-Rishon, Sofer Eliel ha-Sheni, and Sofer Elijah ha-Rishon. Their work had been combined by a redactor. Thus Ilgen modified the documentary hypothesis accepted by J.G. Eichhorn and others, according to which there were two documents in Genesis – one in which God's name is Elohim and the other in which it is YHWH – by asserting that there existed two Elohist documents. The possibility of a second "Jehovist" document remained an open question. This theory of three sources was accepted only after it was modified by H. Hupfeld in 1853. Ilgen's analysis of the Joseph story (Gen. 37–50) into two sources somewhat harmonized by a redactor was widely accepted.

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[Rudolf Smend / S. David Sperling (2nd ed.)]

ILIN, M. (**Ilya Yakovlevich Marshak**; 1895–1953), Russian author. An engineer by profession, Ilin was a prolific writer of children's books on technical subjects and was widely translated. His works include *Solntse na stole* (1927; *Turning Night into Day*, 1936), on electric lighting; *Rasskaz o velikom plane* (1930, 1936^6; *Story of the Five-Year Plan*, 1932); *Gory i lyudi*

(1935; *Men and Mountains, Man's Victory over Nature*, 1935); and *Puteshestviye v atom* ("Journey into the Atom," 1948).

ILINTSY (in Jewish sources, **Linets**), town in Vinnitsa district, Ukraine. Jews started to settle there in the mid-17th century. By 1765 they numbered 386 persons. After its incorporation into Russia in 1793 it belonged administratively to the Kiev province. In 1790 the Jews numbered 423. In 1852 all of the town's 76 artisans were Jews. The community numbered 3,407 in 1847, 4,993 (49.7% of the total population) in 1897, and 5,407 (46.8%) in 1926. Before WWI almost all the shops belonged to Jewish merchants, among them were 36 textile stores, 19 groceries, and 11 stores for leather products. At this time there were six synagogues and a private school for boys in operation. Two pogroms, perpetrated by *Denikin's army, occurred in 1919. During the interwar period many Jews left Ilintsy, and by 1939 their number had dropped to 2,217 (total population 3,484). Many changes occurred in Jewish economic life at this time. The shopkeepers disappeared from the scene by the end of the 1920s and the artisans were forced to join cooperatives. Some of these cooperatives developed into garment and shoe factories. At the end of 1931 there were still 500 unemployed Jewish youngsters in the town. There existed a Yiddish school with about 250 pupils, and a Jewish local council operated in the 1920s.

Ilintsy was occupied by the Germans on July 23, 1941. They appointed a *Judenrat* and imposed a heavy fine in gold and silver on the Jews. At the end of August the Jews were concentrated in an open ghetto. In November 1941 Ukrainian police murdered 43 Jews and on April 24, 1942, 1,000 Jews were executed by the Germans. On May 27–28 another 700 Jews were murdered. In December the Germans burned down houses where Jews were hiding, shooting those who attempted to escape. The remaining Jews were sent to a labor camp on the outskirts of the town. Executions of individuals and groups occurred regularly. A small resistance group of 18 Jews was organized by David Mudrik, armed with two handguns, hand grenades, and knives. They escaped from the camp in August 1943 and organized a Jewish partisan company in the framework of the Second Stalin Brigade of the Vinnitsa district. Of the total force of 124 Jewish fighters, only 52 were armed. The town was liberated in 1944. In 1970 the Jewish population was estimated at approximately 100 (20 families). They had no synagogue. Most left in the 1990s.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: PK, S.V.

[Shmuel Spector (2nd ed.)]

"ILLEGAL" IMMIGRATION (**Aliyah Bet** or *ha'palah* – "resolute ascent"), the clandestine immigration of Jews to Ereẓ Israel. This kind of immigration began under Ottoman rule. From 1882 onward the Turks did not permit Jews from Eastern Europe, with rare exceptions, to settle in Palestine, allowing them only a few months' stay to visit the holy places, but many thousands of Jews infiltrated during the First and Second *Aliyah to lay the foundations of the new *yishuv*. The terms *Aliyah Bet* and *ha'palah* were coined during the British regime in the 1930s.

Between the World Wars

Britain was enjoined by Article 6 of the *Mandate for Palestine to "facilitate Jewish immigration under suitable circumstances," but the immigration quotas fixed by the Administration of Palestine failed to meet the pressure of pioneers seeking to settle in the country and Jews fleeing from distress and persecution, or the need to safeguard the future of the Jewish National Home. From time to time immigration was drastically cut or entirely halted. The *yishuv* and the Zionist Movement felt no compunction in circumventing official restrictions which they regarded as illegal violations of Britain's duty under the Mandate.

Jews who had failed to obtain immigration certificates sometimes mingled with the passengers on regular immigrant ships; others crossed the borders in the north with the aid of Jewish settlers in Upper Galilee. Some came as tourists or visitors to such events as the Maccabiah Games in 1932 and 1935, and stayed as unregistered, "illegal" residents. Fictitious deposits of 1,000 Palestine pounds were arranged to secure "capitalist" visas; girls entered on the strength of fictitious marriages with Palestinian citizens or residents of Palestine. According to the Peel Commission's report there were some 22,000 illegal immigrants in 1932–33.

The rise of Hitler increased the pressure for *aliyah*, and in 1934 the first organized efforts at clandestine immigration by sea took place. The *He-Ḥalutz movement chartered the Greek ship *Vellos* and with the aid of *Haganah members landed some 350 pioneers, but operations were suspended after a second attempt had failed for lack of experience. In 1937, when there were signs that Britain intended to halt immigration, *Revisionists and *Betar groups restarted the effort and in two years sent out several ships, which transported several thousand immigrants from Eastern Europe under the slogan *Af al pi* ("in spite of …"). Their success encouraged He-Ḥalutz to resume the organization of "illegal" immigration; several boats were dispatched, beginning with the *Poseidon* in 1938, and at first landed their human cargoes without incident. Late in 1938 the Mosad le-Aliyah Bet ("Organization for 'Illegal' Immigration" – in brief, the Mosad) was set up by the Haganah under the leadership of Shaul *Avigur (Meirov). After the Nazi conquest of Austria and Czechoslovakia, refugee boats were also organized by private individuals.

The Mandatory government did everything in its power to stop the stream of "illegal" immigrants, exerting pressure on other governments to prevent them leaving and dispatching patrol boats to track the ships from the moment of their departure till their arrival off the Palestinian coast. At a later stage (1940–48) radar stations were erected and aircraft employed to detect immigrant vessels on the open sea. Angered by the ruling power's policy, the *yishuv* staged protest demonstrations and strikes. When in May 1939 Britain published the White Paper restricting Jewish immigration to 10,000 per annum, the Zionist leaders retorted by declaring clandestine immigration a prime means in the struggle for free *aliyah* and Jewish independence.

During World War II

During the war years, *ha'palah* became an operation for rescuing Jews from extermination. Small, rickety boats, sailing from Romanian and Bulgarian ports, some of them crammed with 2,000 passengers, continued to reach the shores of Palestine, where most of them were intercepted by the British. When at the end of 1940 several thousands of refugees arrived from Romania in three ships, the British decided to transfer them to *Mauritius. Some of them were put on board the *Patria* for deportation, and Haganah emissaries sabotaged the ship in Haifa harbor to prevent it leaving, but, through a tragic miscalculation, it sank and some 250 lives were lost. About 1,600 of the immigrants were deported and detained in Mauritius until the end of the war. Another refugee boat whose passengers were refused entry was the *Struma*, which sank in the Black Sea in February 1942 with the loss of all 769 persons on board except one. During most of the war years the Mosad organized clandestine immigration by overland routes, mainly from the Middle East.

After World War II

After the war large-scale operations at sea were resumed by the Mosad, the immigrants being mainly refugee survivors of European Jewry who had escaped by way of the *Beriḥah rescue operation and reached the shores of Italy, France, Romania, Yugoslavia, and Greece. Their passage was supervised by Mosad emissaries, the immigrants in most cases embarking at small, remote ports, and traveling under cramped conditions in densely packed vessels, most of which were unfit for passenger transportation. The Italians and others who at first constituted the crews of these ships were later joined by Palestinian and American Jews. The refugees were escorted by members of the Haganah and volunteers from the Diaspora, particularly from the U.S. The success of the operation was due in no small measure to the manner in which the refugees themselves, regardless of age or sex, willingly endured privation and danger, and to the total solidarity of the *yishuv* with the refugees. Haganah members and others received boats which arrived clandestinely at night at desolate places of the sea shore, carrying on their shoulders those who were unable to wade to the shore – the elderly, the sick, women, and children. Once on shore the refugees were immediately brought in buses and trucks to kibbutzim and having changed their clothes could not be recognized as such by the searching British police.

In the years from 1945 to 1948, 65 immigrant boats embarked for Palestine, all under the aegis of the Mosad, save for one boat dispatched by the Hebrew National Liberation Committee founded by Revisionists in the U.S. Most of these were intercepted by the British; among the few that succeeded in landing their passengers were the *Dalin* (August 1945), the *Hanna Szenes* (December 1945), and the *Shabbetai Lozinski*, which went aground on the rocks near Ashdod in March 1947, the immigrants mingling with hundreds of local residents who came to their rescue so that the authorities might not distinguish between them. Intercepted boats were impounded and the passengers transferred to a detention camp at Athlit, some of them later being released within the framework of the limited immigration quota. From August 1946 the British began deporting the clandestine immigrants to detention camps in *Cyprus, where 51,500 were kept under detention and 2,000 children were born. The detainees were by no means passive. They organized themselves and prepared for settlement in Ereẓ Israel with the aid of emissaries from there, learning Hebrew, and even undergoing military training. Seven hundred and fifty of the detainees, chosen by their own committees, were allowed to enter Palestine every month, the number being deducted from the official immigration quota, but the majority reached Israel only after independence, between May 1948 and February 1949.

The critical moment for all the immigrant ships was that of their interception by the British patrol boats, which were ready to attack if their orders were not obeyed. The methods of attack ranged from ramming the boats to using tear gas, batons, and, at times, firearms in order to overcome the immigrants' resistance. The men in charge had to decide on the measure of resistance to be offered, according to such factors as the age and condition of the passengers: sometimes the attackers were met with sticks, stones, and tins of preserves; generally, passive resistance was offered to the British soldiers, who dragged the immigrants to the deportation boats. Many were injured and several died in these encounters. Among the ships whose passengers offered the strongest resistance were the *Latrun* (October 1946), the *Keneset Yisrael* (November 1946), the *Chaim Arlosoroff* (February 1947), and the *Theodor Herzl* (April 1947). In March 1946 the British Army prevailed on the Italian authorities to prevent the departure from La Spezia harbor of the 1,014 refugees on board the *Dov Hos* and the *Eliyahu Golomb*; the immigrants reacted by declaring a hunger strike which aroused world public opinion and compelled Britain to permit the boats to reach Palestine.

Clandestine immigration was the spur to and a focal issue of the resistance movement against the "White Paper" regime. Mass demonstrations were held in Palestine on behalf of the refugees, frequently ending in bloody clashes with the military authorities. The Athlit internment camp was penetrated by a Haganah unit and internees released (October 1945); members of the *Palmaḥ sabotaged installations involved in the detention and arrest of clandestine immigrants, damaging British deportation boats and coastguard and radar stations.

The struggle for the right of free immigration reached its peak in summer 1947, when 4,515 refugees on board the *Exodus 1947* reached the shores of Palestine. After the fight with the British on board (three killed, 28 injured), the passengers were removed from the *Exodus* to three transports which took them to France, but the French government refused to take them off the British deportation boat against their will, while the refugees themselves chose to endure the intense discomfort of their stifling cramped quarters in the summer heat rather than disembark. They were finally taken to Hamburg, where they were forcibly removed and transferred to a British internment camp in Germany. This incident aroused world opinion against Britain's policy of closing the gates of Palestine to survivors of the Holocaust. One of the last clandestine immigration operations was a convoy of two large boats, the *Pan York* and *Pan Crescent*, transporting more than 15,000 Jews, the majority from Romania, which left Bulgaria at the end of 1947 despite British and U.S. attempts to prevent their setting sail. The passengers were interned in the Cyrus detention camps.

Aliyah Bet came to an end with the establishment of the State of Israel in May 1948. Of the clandestine immigrants' boats impounded at Haifa port, the best were selected and adapted to serve as the first warships of the Israel Navy. From the early days of the *Vellos* more than 115,000 Jews had reached Palestine by means of *Aliyah Bet* (about 105,000 of them under the auspices of the Mosad), and some 800 of them fell in the War of Independence.

FURTHER INFORMATION. Hitherto secret documents released by the British cabinet in January 1979 reveal that despite the strenuous efforts made by the British Mandatory government to stop the stream of "illegal" immigrants immediately prior to the establishment of the State, some British naval commanders ignored the orders and took steps to ensure that they reached Haifa safely, provided them with food and water and, after carrying out a token boarding inside Palestinian waters, piloted or towed them into harbor. Thus, when the engine of the *Sylvia Starita* broke down, a British destroyer, the *Marauder*, towed it into the harbor.

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[Yehuda Slutsky]

ILLÉS, BÉLA (1895–1974), Hungarian author and editor. Illés, a political commissar during the Communist revolution of 1919, fled to the U.S.S.R. After World War II, he was a leading organizer of Soviet literary life. His works include *Kárpáti rapszodia* ("Carpathian Rhapsody," 1950), which portrays the life of simple Jews, and *Harminchat esztendő* ("Selected Writings," 1956).

ILLESCAS, town in Castile, central Spain. Like those in nearby *Toledo, Jews in Illescas were landowners and worked vineyards and olive groves. In 1342 the archbishop of Toledo ordered that the produce and wine of the Jewish-owned land in Illescas as well as the lands themselves should be confiscated as they had been acquired illegally. The community was attacked in the anti-Jewish riots of 1391, and this is mentioned in *Shevet Yehuda* of Solomon ibn Verga. Subsequently, however, the community recovered. The annual tax paid by the community was raised to 800 maravedis in 1474 and the tax levied for the war against Granada amounted to 80 gold castellanos. A communication sent in October 1492 by Ferdinand and Isabella shows the difficulties which the Jews encountered when they left Illescas following the edict of expulsion from Spain (1492). Intending to go to the port of Cartagena in order to sail to Fez and Tlemcen (Morocco) they had been robbed on the way of assets estimated at 12,000 castellanos by the men they had hired for protection. The document directs that the money should be confiscated for the crown. Many Conversos from Illescas were subsequently tried by the Inquisition in Toledo.

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[Haim Beinart]

ILLINOIS, Middle West state of the U.S.; general population 12,713,634 (est. 2004), Jewish population 280,000, all but 20,000 of whom lived in and around *Chicago. Early land-development companies included Jewish partners resident in the East. However, the first known permanent Jewish resident was John Hays, grandson of an early New York Jew, who settled in Cahokia in 1793. Farmer, trader, and soldier, Hays served as the county's postmaster until 1798, when he was appointed sheriff. The only other Jew known to have been in Illinois before it became a state in 1818 was Joseph Phillips, a veteran of the War of 1812, who was named secretary of Illinois Territory in 1817. The most prominent Jew in the early days of Illinois was Abraham *Jonas, who moved to Quincy in 1838 from Cincinnati, Ohio. In 1842 he was elected to the Illinois legislature, where he met Abraham Lincoln, of whom he became a lifelong friend and political ally. Another early Jewish settler outside of Chicago was Captain Samuel Noah, the first Jewish graduate of West Point, who taught school at Mount Pulaski in Logan County in the late 1840s.

Jews first settled in Chicago in the 1830s. The oldest Jewish community outside of Chicago is Peoria, where the first Jews arrived in 1847. A benevolent society was organized in 1852 and the first congregation, Anshai Emeth, was formed in 1859. Jews settled in Springfield around 1850. The first arrivals were Julius, Edward, and Louis Hammerslough, merchants, whose firm was established in 1855. One of their employees was Samuel Rosenwald, who was born in Springfield in 1862 (see *Rosenwald) and was the father of Julius Rosenwald, the mail-order tycoon and philanthropist. Julius Hammerslough was a friend of Lincoln, whom he visited often at the White House. He was also the first president of Springfield's first synagogue, Brith Sholom, founded in 1858. Jews first went to Cairo in 1863 during the Civil War, when the town was the headquarters of General Ulysses S. Grant. Jewish settlers named Oppenheimer and Abendheimer were the pioneers, followed

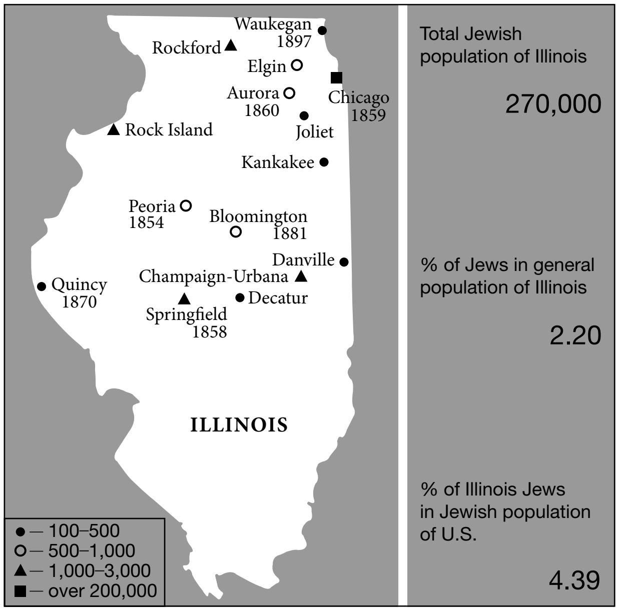

Jewish communities in Illinois, with date of establishment of the first synagogue. Population figures for 2001.

by A. and David Marks. There were also Jews in Rock Island in the 1850s. Other early Jewish settlements were at Aurora, 1860; Moline, 1866; Bloomington, 1875; East St. Louis, 1888; Granite City, 1891; Centralia, 1894; and Waukegan, 1897.

The first B'nai B'rith Hillel Foundation was established at the University of Illinois in Urbana in 1923 by Rabbi Benjamin F. Frankel, whose family was among the Jewish pioneers of Peoria. By 1960, 40% of the families in Niles Township (Skokie and surrounding areas) were Jewish. The Niles Township Jewish Congregation, founded in 1959, was the first of what soon became a network of Jewish communal and religious institutions in the area, including a Jewish community center. The town of Park Forest, a southern Chicago suburb, whose Jewish settlement began in the 1950s, was the first large community ever planned by private enterprise. Philip M. *Klutznick was president of the company that developed it. Many other suburbs of Chicago also have substantial Jewish communities, most of their members having moved from Chicago itself. The earliest communities dating from the 1930s are Winnetka, Glencoe, Highland Park, Evanston, and Oak Park. By the late 1960s there were at least 16 other suburban communities.

Beyond the Chicago metropolitan area the Jewish population in the mid-1990s of Champaign-Urbana was approximately 1,500, of Springfield was approximately 1,060, of Rockford was approximately 1,000, of Peoria was approximately 1,000, of Elgin was approximately 600, of Aurora was approximately 500, of Waukegan was approximately 400, of Bloomington was approximately 230, of Decatur was approximately 140, of Kankakee and Danville was approximately 100 each, and of Quincy was approximately 105.

There were also 2,000 Jews widely scattered in the 63 towns and cities of southern Illinois, which united for communal purposes in the Southern Illinois Jewish Federation. The largest Jewish communities represented in this federation are Aurora, Belleville, East St. Louis, Cairo, Alton, Centralia, Carbondale, Granite City, Benton, Mattoon, and Robinson. The communities Champaign, Decatur, Peoria, and Springfield joined forces in 1969 in the Central Illinois Jewish Federation.

Illinois had two Jewish governors: Henry *Horner, elected in 1932 and reelected in 1936, and Samuel H. *Shapiro of Kankakee, who succeeded to the governorship in May 1968 after serving eight years as lieutenant governor but was defeated in the November elections. Illinois has sent several Jews to Congress, including Sidney Yates who served for almost half a century and was the dean of the Jewish Congressional Delegation. He lost on his one attempt to run for the Senate in 1952. The earliest Jewish mayors were William Eppinger of Jacksonville (1880–90) and Morris Saddler of Saddler, which was named for him (1880–86).

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[Bernard Postal / Ben Paul (2nd ed.)]

ILLOWY (**Illovy**, **Illawy**, **Illoway**, **Jilovy**, **Jilovsky**, **Illafsky**), family in Bohemia-Moravia. The first known by this name was SAMUEL (d. 1695), who went from Ilava in western Slovakia to Uhersky Brod, Moravia, as a *shammash*. His son JACOB (also d. 1695) settled in Bratislava, supplying Samuel *Oppenheimer in Vienna with fish for the imperial court. He was murdered while traveling. PHINEHAS (d. c. 1759), a pupil of the Bratislava yeshivah, was rabbi of the Oppenheimer family synagogue and official Hebrew translator for the government. He returned to Uhersky Brod around 1732 and added Broda to his name. His son JACOB (d. 1781) was rabbi in *Kolin from 1746 until his death. Another of his sons, SOLOMON, settled in Prostejov where his son, Feith *Ehrenstamm, established the textile industry. JACOB LOEB, who settled in Kolin, was the father of Bernard *Illowy, the Orthodox leader in the U.S. RUDOLF ILLOVY (d. 1943), Czecho-Jewish publicist, also a member of this family, died in Theresienstadt.

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[Meir Lamed]

ILLOWY, BERNARD (1812–1871), Orthodox rabbi and scholar. Illowy was born in Kolin, Bohemia. He was ordained by R. Moses Sofer of Pressburg; mastered Hebrew at the rabbinical school in Padua, Italy; and received a Ph.D. at the University of Budapest. Thoroughly educated in Latin, Greek, Italian, French, and German, Illowy taught languages at the College of Znaim. In 1848 he delivered addresses to revolutionary forces passing through Kolin and, consequently deprived of holding rabbinic office, he emigrated to the U.S. Illowy, the only Orthodox rabbi of his time in the U.S. to have a doctorate, adduced scientific proofs in polemics and responsa that he issued from the seven different communities he served – New York, Philadelphia, St. Louis, Syracuse, Baltimore, New Orleans, and Cincinnati. He fiercely opposed such Reform leaders as Wise, Lilienthal, Einhorn, and Kalisch and stressed Orthodox observance in his sermons and in his many articles in the Anglo-Jewish press. His *Sefer Milḥamot Elohim, Being the Controversial Letters and the Casuistic Decisions… With a Short History of His Life and Activities By His Son, H. Illoway* appeared in 1914. Illowy's son, HENRY ILLOWAY (1848–1932), was a noted U.S. physician, pioneer in gastroenterology, and author of medical texts. He also wrote polemical papers opposing Reform Judaism and articles on medical aspects of the Talmud.

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[I. Harold Sharfman]

ILLUMINATED MANUSCRIPTS, HEBREW.

This entry is arranged according to the following outline:

- **Hebrew Illumination in Hellenistic Times**
- **Character of Hebrew Manuscript Illumination**
- **Materials and Techniques**
- **Oriental School**
- **Spanish Illumination**
- **French School**
- **German School**
- **Italian School**
  - 13TH-CENTURY SCHOOLS OF ROME AND CENTRAL ITALY
  - 14TH-CENTURY SCHOOLS
  - 15TH-CENTURY SCHOOLS
- **Post-Medieval Illumination**

Hebrew Illumination in Hellenistic Times

It is impossible to state with any degree of certainty when the tradition of the illuminated Hebrew manuscripts began. The oldest extant specimens are from the Muslim world of the tenth century, but it is possible that the practice commenced in an earlier period. It may well be, in fact, that the illumination of Hebrew manuscripts goes back even as far as the Hellenistic period, although no specimens have survived.

Archaeological discoveries have revealed that in the Roman period, synagogues in the Land of Israel were adorned with mosaic floors that incorporated not only decorative elements and animal figures, but also representations of biblical scenes and personalities. In the third-century synagogue at *Dura-Europos wall paintings depicted many scenes from the Bible. According to some, the Dura-Europos paintings were based on images that adorned manuscript texts of the Bible.

The earliest extant Christian illuminated manuscripts of the Bible, such as the so-called *Vienna Genesis*, are of Old Testament books, and are conjectured by some scholars to have been based on Jewish prototypes. It is significant too that the favorite topics for early Christian religious art, in churches and catacombs, and on sarcophagi and small objects, were based on Old rather than New Testament subjects (the sacrifice of Isaac, the story of Jonah, and so on) again perhaps suggesting Jewish prototypes, and it is noteworthy that precisely these subjects reemerge (rather than emerge) as favorite topics in the Jewish manuscript and religious art of the Middle Ages. Christian illuminated Bible manuscripts in the Middle Ages often elaborate the plain narrative with materials reflecting rabbinic legend; and it is not known whether this resulted from an antecedent Jewish art or from the common store of medieval religious folklore. An illustration in the seventh-century Latin *Ashburnham Pentateuch* (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, Nouv. Acq. Lat. 2334, fol. 6) shows Adam and Eve dressed in animal skins, standing under a booth which, according to the Jewish Midrash, had been built for them by God. Jewish legends appear as early as the third century, on the walls of the Dura-Europos Synagogue.

Furthermore, there are certain motifs in the illuminated medieval Hebrew Bibles – a tradition going back to the 10th or 11th century – which seem to carry on the artistic tradition of antiquity, reflected both in the early Jewish monuments of the classical period on the one hand, and in Christian illuminated codices on the other. The outstanding example of this is the conventional representation of the sanctuary and its vessels, which are represented also in the seventh-century Latin *Codex Amiatinus* (Florence, Biblioteca Laurenziana, Ms. Amiat. 1). There are indications that the conventional figure of the Evangelist and the beginning of early Latin and Greek texts of the Gospels may also have a Jewish antecedent. Indeed, the *Codex Amiatinus* shows not an Evangelist but Ezra the scribe, apparently wearing the Jewish phylactery, a feature hardly imaginable in a Christian archetype. The Hellenistic Jewish biblical illustrations need not have been attached to a complete Hebrew Bible. It is probable that they illustrated a narrative paraphrase, including many legends, of some books of the Bible, like the Pentateuch, Joshua, Judges, and Kings. The paraphrase may have been in Greek, Aramaic, or Latin, and not necessarily in Hebrew, somewhat like *Josephus' *Jewish Antiquities*.

J. *Gutmann in 1966 opposed the hypothesis of the existence of Hebrew illuminated manuscripts in antiquity by stressing that none survived and by pointing out the fact that the *Church Fathers were conversant with midrashic literature and used Jewish legends in their writings. Christian artists, however, may have obtained their models from Jewish illuminated paraphrased Bibles, since lost. Jewish wanderings, coupled with the wholesale destruction of Hebrew books, may be responsible for the disappearance of the entire body of evidence. Another adverse element might have been the periodic triumph among the Jews of anti-iconic principles.

Some literary evidence of Torah scrolls adorned with gold letters may indicate their existence in antiquity. The Letter of *Aristeas, describing the translation of the Bible by the 72 sages (the Septuagint) states that among the gifts brought to King Ptolemy was a scroll of the Law written entirely in gold. According to the Talmud (Shab. 103b) "… if one writes the [Divine] Name in gold, they [the scrolls] must be hidden." This prohibition suggests that Torah scrolls decorated in this fashion did exist. The tractate *Soferim* (1:8) mentions an instance of a Torah scroll belonging to the Alexandrians in which the Names of God were written in gold throughout. Unfortunately, none of the biblical manuscripts found among the *Dead Sea Scrolls contains any decorations.

While there is no conclusive evidence for the existence of Hebrew illuminated manuscripts during the Hellenistic period, there is definite indication of their existence in the Near East as early as the tenth century, although the exact dates of their origin are not known. In Europe, the earliest surviving Hebrew illuminated manuscripts stem from 13th-century Germany. By the end of the 15th century, the invention of printing caused the decline of all manuscript production and decoration, including Hebrew, although thereafter a few schools of Hebrew illumination continued to appear, the most important of them in Central Europe in the 18th century.

Character of Hebrew Manuscript Illumination

Throughout its history, the style of Hebrew illuminated manuscripts was dependent on contemporary schools of illumination in each region in which they were produced. Thus, the Oriental school is similar to the Islamic or Persian schools in style as well as motifs, while each of the European regional schools has stylistic and decorative elements directly influenced by the illumination of Latin, Greek, or vernacular manuscripts of the period. At times the art found in decorated Hebrew manuscripts, especially when executed by a scribe rather than a skilled artist, was carried out in a manner that was no longer employed by the dominant culture. Even so, this cannot be considered a Jewish style. The art found in decorated Hebrew manuscripts was a reflection of the art of the region in which it was produced, even if it continued to be based on older models.

The names of a few illuminators are known to us from their colophons, such as *Joseph ha-Ẓarefati, the artist of the *Cervera Bible*, completed in 1300 (Lisbon, Bibliotheca Nacional, Ms. 72) and Joseph *Ibn Ḥayyim, the artist of the *Kennicott Bible*, copied in 1476 (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Kennicott 1) (see *Bible: In the Arts). Another Sephardi artist, Joshua b. Abraham ibn Gaon, a masorator and illuminator, specialized in adding illuminated calendars and carpet pages to Bibles (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale hébreu 20 and 21). The most famous Ashkenazi scribe/artist was *Joel b. Simeon, who was active in Germany and Italy in the second half of the 15th century. Other names appear in contracts for book illuminations. In one such example, from Palma de Majorca in 1335, Asher Bonnim Maymo undertakes to copy and illuminate a Bible and two books by Maimonides for David Isaac Cohen. In the 15th century a Portuguese Jew, Abraham *Ibn Ḥayyim, compiled a treatise on the art of illumination. Most of the scribe/artists of the 18th-century schools of Central Europe are known by name.

The Second Commandment, prohibiting the making of "graven images," was usually interpreted as a restriction against creating art for idolatrous purposes. In the case of illuminated manuscripts produced for Jews in the Middle Ages, when the decorators eschewed representational art, it was mainly the result of the stricter attitude of their general environment. For instance, the Jews in Muslim countries refrained from depicting human figures in sacred books because of the Islamic prohibition against such illustrations. A further example of restricted representation of the human form developed in Germany during the 13th century. Perhaps under the influence of the ascetic Christian movement in the south of Germany and northern Italy during the 12th and 13th centuries, a similar asceticism developed among Jews. In many manuscripts human figures were no longer depicted in their entirety, but with distorted features, blank faces, or with the head of an animal or a bird. Although pagan, Christian, or Islamic in origin, animal-headed figures became one of the main Jewish motifs in south German Hebrew illumination of the 13th and 14th centuries. However, R. *Meir of Rothenburg, the leader of the Jewish communities in Germany at the end of the 13th century, disapproved of illustrating prayer books because of the distraction the illustrations might cause the reader, rather than because the art was prohibited.

Another characteristic aspect of Hebrew illuminated manuscripts was a direct outcome of the absence of capital letters in Hebrew script. In place of the large initial letters of non-Semitic languages, which lend themselves to decoration, in Hebrew manuscripts initial words were often written in large display script and were frequently embellished with decorative panels. At times whole verses were embellished, as in decorated Arabic Korans. This approach continued throughout the Middle Ages in Europe as well as in the Near East.

Another element common in the decoration of Jewish manuscripts was the use of micrography (minute script) to form geometrical or floral designs often surrounding a page of conventional script or forming a whole carpet page. The most common examples are the marginal lists of irregularities in writing, spelling, and reading the Bible which constitute the so-called masorah magna. In Oriental and Spanish Bibles, the masorah is written in micrography in decorated carpet pages, and masoretic micrography outlines the design, for example, of the Oriental *Second Leningrad Bible* (St. Petersburg, Public Library, Ms. B19a), the *Damascus Keter* from Spain (Jerusalem, Jewish National and University Library, MS Heb 40790), and the *Lisbon Bible* from Portugal (London, British Library, Or. Ms. 2626–2628). In Ashkenazi Bibles the masoretic micrography decorates initial-word panels as well as the margins of text pages. Unlike Oriental and Spanish Bibles, the micrographic decorations contain animals and hybrid forms, and sometimes text illustrations; e.g., the *Duke of Sussex Pentateuch* (London, British Library Add MS 15282) copied ca. 1300.

The decoration found in Jewish manuscripts was often inspired by biblical scenes or by legendary episodes based on midrashic commentaries on the Bible. Some of these episodes, e.g., Abraham being thrown into the fire of the Chaldeans by order of King Nimrod, appear simultaneously in far-removed areas, as in the *Golden Haggadah* (British Library, Add Ms. 27210) from Spain and the *Leipzig Maḥzor* from Germany (Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek, Ms. v. 1102), perhaps indicating the existence of an earlier common European prototype.

The *iconography of some subjects is specifically Jewish, as distinct from the Christian or Islamic representations. For instance, in Christian art, a picture of the creation of the world will include the image of the Creator. In a Jewish work, however, only the Hand of God or rays will indicate the Divine presence, as in the *Sarajevo Haggadah* (Sarajevo, Bosnian National Museum). Jewish customs and rituals are depicted in many liturgical manuscripts; a favorite subject was the implements of the *Temple.

As the illumination in Jewish manuscripts is directly related in style to the general schools of illumination, it serves as an important link with the history of non-Hebrew illuminated manuscripts. Moreover, in areas where the only dated illuminated manuscripts are Hebrew, this may become important evidence for dating and placing a certain style. For example, the *Copenhagen Moreh Nevukhim* (Copenhagen, Det Kongelige Bibliotek, Cod. Heb. 37), copied in Barcelona in 1348, helps in dating other manuscripts and paintings from Catalonia.

Materials and Techniques

Most Hebrew manuscripts were written on animal skin. The finest calfskin vellum, called "uterine vellum," came from embryos and stillborn calves. It was more expensive and therefore used only for the most costly manuscripts. Usually both sides of the parchment were used, except for the full-page miniatures of the Sephardi *Golden Haggadah* (British Library, Add MS 27210) and the *Sarajevo Haggadah* (Sarajevo, Bosnian National Museum), for which the artists of the cycle of biblical scenes used only the flesh side, leaving the hair side blank. Sometimes, especially in the Orient, paper was used for writing and decorating.

Most of the colors were derived from vegetable and animal extracts, with the more durable ones created from a mixture of ground minerals or colored stones. The binding medium, which enables the pigments to adhere to a surface, might be a mixture of egg or gum, such as gum Arabic. Gold and silver were usually applied in the form of a thin leaf, in which case it was the first element of color to be affixed. Often it was applied on a raised ground of gesso that was sometimes mixed with a colorant such as bole. The metallic leaf was often burnished and could be decorated by tooling. Gold pigment, known as shell gold, was made from a powdered form of the metal that could be painted on as an ink. The volume and texture of colors differed from one school to the other and from one period to the next, generally reflecting the local school of illumination. To a large degree the scribe determined the eventual decoration of the page, as he planned the layout of the text and provided blank spaces for the inclusion of initial word panels, text illustrations, and other types of ornamentation. The *Prato Haggadah* (New York, Library of the Jewish Theological Seminary, MS 9478), a manuscript whose decoration was never completed, exhibits the various stages of illumination, from the placement of the preparatory drawings executed in brown ink, to the application of bole, gold leaf, and finally, pigments of various colors. In decorated Bibles, the masorator was usually responsible for most micrographic decoration. Joshua Ibn Gaon, the scribe, vocalizer, and illuminator, signed his name in the wings of a dragon drawn in micrographic masorah (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale hébreu. 20 fol. 69).

The main schools of illumination, Oriental, Spanish, German, French, and Italian, are treated below. For a fuller description of particular types of manuscript art, see *Bible, **Haggadah*, **Ketubbah*, and **Maḥzor* (sections on illuminated manuscripts).

Oriental School

The earliest-known school of surviving Oriental Hebrew illuminated manuscripts dates from the tenth century and probably originated in the Near East. An offshoot of this school developed in Yemen during the 15th century.

Examples of the various Oriental styles from the tenth to the thirteenth centuries exist in Hebrew manuscripts. In most cases of dated manuscripts, the style corresponds to Islamic art of the same period. The geometrical interlacing interwoven with foliage scrolls and palmettes typical of Arabic Koran decoration may also be found in the Hebrew Bible manuscripts. In the tenth century, the delicately gold-tinted open flowers seen from above, arranged one next to the other within undulating scrolls to form a rhythmic pattern, are the most typical decoration in carpet pages of Korans and Bibles alike. Light blue, green, and red, which fill the background of the palmette motifs, are similarly common, e.g., the two carpet pages in a tenth century fragment of a Hebrew Pentateuch written in Arabic characters (London, British Library, Or. Ms. 2540). In the 11th and 12th centuries, dark outlines were applied to the interlacings and flowers, usually on a panel of gold background decorated with deeper colors, as may be seen clearly in the 1008 or 1010 *Second Leningrad Bible* (St. Petersburg, Public Library, Ms. B. 19a). By the 14th century, there was a decline in the art of Hebrew illumination in the Near Eastern schools although the schools producing Judeo-Arabic manuscripts continued to flourish.

The Yemenite school, surviving examples of which date from the end of the 14th century and later, developed to its fullest capacity only in the second half of the 15th century. Yemenite Bibles were embellished with floral carpet pages and micrography in geometrical forms (e.g., London, British Library, Or. Ms. 2350 of 1408 and Or. Ms. 2348 of 1469). These Bibles contain no text illustrations, but the decorations on the text pages are similar to, and probably derived from, the earlier Oriental type. Roundels bearing palmette motifs and other floral designs were used as fillers for incomplete lines or as section indicators (e.g., London, British Library, Or. Ms. 2348 of

1469). Oriental illumination has some distinguishing features. First, there is a complete lack of human figures and a paucity of text illustrations. The Oriental type of floral and geometric decoration in carpet pages and panels is the most distinctive element of Hebrew illuminated manuscripts from the Near East. Although the motifs and the idea of carpet pages in Hebrew Bibles may derive from Islamic illumination, the Jewish workshops developed their own characteristically Jewish version. This, in turn, may have influenced other schools of illumination in Europe. Most of the illuminated manuscripts of Oriental origin are Bibles, although there are also some children's primers, decorated marriage contracts (*ketubbot*), and a few fragments of liturgical and scientific books. Of the illuminated Bibles, only a few are complete manuscripts. These sometimes contain colophons giving the date and place of execution, the name of the scribe, and the patron for whom they were made, as in the *Second Leningrad Bible* (St. Petersburg, Public Library, Ms. B. 19a). In most cases these sumptuously decorated Bibles belonged to the *Karaite communities in Palestine and Egypt. Decorative elements similar to those in Bibles adorned small booklets containing single *parashiyyot* of the Pentateuch. The *Parashat Shelaḥ Lekha* manuscript of 1106–07 (Jerusalem, Jewish National and University Library, Ms. Heb. 80 2238) is the most complete example of such a booklet. It has carpet pages at the beginning and at the end, its colophon page is framed, and the masorah is written in decorative forms. The head of the first two text pages is decorated with gold bars, while roundels and palmette motifs indicate the minor sections of the *parashiyyot*. The scribe Isaac ben Abraham ha-Levi specifies in the colophon that he wrote, vocalized, and masorated the work.

From the tenth to the thirteenth centuries, books for teaching children the alphabet were also decorated. The letters were outlined in ink and filled with different colors. After the colored and vocalized letters, there followed a section of the Pentateuch, usually Leviticus 1:1–7, which was regarded as the most suitable text for a child's initial study. An opening carpet page was usually added to these books, denoting their distinct relation to the Bible. One example in the Cambridge University Library (TS.K. 5.13) depicts the seven-branched *menorah* on its opening carpet page. Liturgical books were also decorated in the Near East. The *Haggadah* conventionally had illustrations of the round *maẓẓah* wafer and the *maror*. Initial words sometimes were written in a special way, as in the *piyyut* of "*Dayyeinu*" ("It Would Have Sufficed"), in which the repeated initial word in each verse is written one beneath the other to form a decorative column (Cambridge TS, 324). Some fragments of decorated scientific books originating in the Near East have survived; they have geometrical and floral motifs, with colored roundels, squares, foliate scrolls, and ornamental script used as section headings and line fillers (Cambridge TS, Arab. 11/31).

A different approach to decorating Jewish manuscripts is found in books produced in Persia at a somewhat later date. Judeo-Persian (the Persian language written in Hebrew characters) manuscripts copied in the 17th century included many figural scenes. These works, biblical epics based on texts written in the 14th to the 16th centuries, reflect the style of miniature painting from Persia.

Spanish Illumination

The Spanish and Provençal schools of Hebrew illumination reached their peak during the 14th century. The style and iconography of the Spanish school derive from both the Orient and the Occident. While the existing Spanish illuminated manuscripts belong to the period of the Christian Conquest, some reveal a strong link with the Oriental type of illumination. Spanish Bibles have decorative elements commonly found in Oriental Bibles, such as carpet pages, the Temple implements, micrography, decorated *parashot* indicators, and, at the end of each book, ornamental frames indicating the number of verses. There is a theory that these elements were assembled and modified from the eighth to the thirteenth centuries in Hebrew manuscripts of Muslim Spain. Since no Spanish Hebrew illuminated manuscripts of this period have survived, this assumption cannot be verified. The few existing dated Hebrew manuscripts from the Iberian Peninsula are mainly Bibles. They are stylistically so different from the illustrated *Haggadot* and from the non-illustrated liturgical, legal, and scientific books that it is very difficult to make a comparative study.

A Bible penned by Menahem bar Abraham ibn Malik in Burgos in 1260 (Jerusalem, Jewish National and University Library 40 790) displays an early example of Sephardi Bible decoration. Ornamental carpet pages appear before the beginning of the Pentateuch, Prophets, Hagiographa, and Psalms, and at the end of the manuscript. The symmetrical decorations are similar in style to ornamentation found earlier in manuscripts and architecture from the Near East. Another Bible, copied in Toledo by Ḥayyim ben Israel in 1277 (Parma, Biblioteca Palatina Cod. Parm. 2668), presents an early example of what was to become a prominent motif in Sephardi Bibles, a double-page depiction of the Sanctuary implements.

Several illuminated Sephardi *Haggadot* are extant, but they are difficult to date and localize. Unlike the Bibles, which often include lengthy colophons that specify the identity of the scribe and the patron, and indicate the place and date of execution, the *Haggadot* do not contain such information and their decorations are not similar enough stylistically to the Bibles to aid in their localization. Some of the *Haggadot* have French stylistic elements, while others are more Italianate in appearance. A distinctive feature found in some of these manuscripts is the inclusion of a series of biblical scenes, often appearing at the beginning of the manuscript, before the text recited at the *seder*. Biblical cycles that begin with scenes from Genesis are found at the opening of the *Golden Haggadah* (London, British Library. Add. Ms. 27210), and its so-called "Sister" (London, British Library Or. Ms. 2884), which bears iconographic, but not stylistic, similarities. Other *Haggadot* that include a cycle beginning with scenes from Exodus are found in the *Rylands*

Spanish Haggadah (Manchester, John Rylands Library, Ms. 6) and its so-called "Brother" (London, British Library, Or. Ms. 1404), and the *Kaufmann Haggadah* (Budapest, Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Ms. A422), which is the most Italianate in style of all of the works. The *Sarajevo Haggadah* (Sarajevo, Bosnian National Museum), whose scenes begin with the creation of the world and continue until the transference of power to Joshua, displays the most complete cycle extant. In some of these manuscripts, at the end of the images from the Bible are a few contemporary scenes dealing with preparations for Passover, such as cleaning the house and searching for leaven. The *Haggadot* include illustrations within their text as well. In addition to representations of the *maẓẓah* and *maror*, some include depictions of Rabban *Gamaliel, the Four Sons, and representations of the participants at the table. The *Sassoon Spanish Haggadah* (Jerusalem, Israel Museum 181/41) and the so-called *Barcelona Haggadah* (London, British Library Add Ms. 14761), in particular, include many additional illustrations. Some of the *Haggadot*, as for example the *Hamilton Siddur* (Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Hamilton 288), include zoo- and anthropomorphic letters. This type of decorative letters can be found in the *Cervera Bible*, which was begun in 1299 and completed in 1300 (Lisbon, Bibliotheca Nacional. Ms. 72).

The destruction of most of the Jewish communities in the kingdoms of Castile and Aragon in 1391 brought to an end some of the most important schools of Hebrew illumination in these areas, and many illuminated manuscripts were destroyed. During the 15th century, however, new schools developed – some in the above-mentioned kingdoms, though in different population centers. One of these new centers was Seville, in the south. Two Bibles from the middle of the 15th century, formerly in the Sassoon collection, are good examples of this school. The earlier one, from 1415 (Ms. 499), is only barely decorated with micrography. The later one, from 1468 (Ms. 487), has many micrographic decorations of full pages, panels, arcades, and borders. A Bible from Berlanga copied in 1455 (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Can. Or. 77) is also related in decoration to the south Spanish school of the mid-15th century. In Corunna, northern Spain, the *First Kennicott Bible* (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Kennicott 1) was copied, punctuated, and masorated by Isaac ben Don Solomon de Braga in 1476. The manuscript includes a separate colophon by the artist Joseph ibn Hayyim, who fashioned his letters out of human and animal forms, as the artist of the *Cervera Bible* had done earlier. Although different in style, there are certain similarities in the choice of decoration of these two manuscripts.

The most important school in the Iberian Peninsula at the end of the 15th century was the Portuguese. Most of the manuscripts of this school are Bibles, though it also produced a few prayer books like the *siddur* completed in Lisbon in 1484 (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale hébreu 592) and some copies of Maimonides' *Mishneh Torah*. The manuscripts of the Portuguese school, centered in Lisbon, are decorated with wide borders ornamented with lush foliate forms, sometimes inhabited by animals and birds, framing their opening pages. Initial words are often written in gold within very large panels embellished with filigree work. Among the most important manuscripts of this school are the *British Library Mishneh Torah* of 1472 (London, British Library Harley Ms. 5698 – 9) and the *Lisbon Bible* of 1482 (London, British Library Or. Ms. 2626–28). Most of the Portuguese manuscripts have no text illustrations. The *Bible of the Hispanic Society of America* (New York, Ms. B. 241) can be attributed to the Portuguese school because of the typical decorative motifs in the frames of the opening pages of the books.

In addition to the magnificent Bibles and *Haggadot*, legal books were also illuminated in Spain. The most common of these works was Maimonides' *Mishneh Torah*. The treatise often has an entire framed page at the beginning of each of its 14 books. Text illustrations in the *Mishneh Torah* appear only in Book Eight, accompanying the description of the Temple and its implements. Most *Mishneh Torah* manuscripts, in Spain as well as in Germany and Italy, include a diagram of the Temple that indicates the proper position of each of the implements. The *British Library Mishneh Torah*, copied in 1472 (Harley Ms. 5689–99), is one of the most elaborately and delicately decorated examples of Spanish illumination. Maimonides' philosophical treatise, *Moreh Nevukhim* (*Guide of the Perplexed*), sometimes contained decorations at the beginning of each of the three sections of the text and at the beginning of individual chapters. The most elaborately illuminated example is the *Copenhagen Moreh Nevukhim* (Copenhagen, Det Kongelige Bibliotek, Cod. Heb. 37) of 1348, which includes text illustrations at the opening of each of the three parts, in addition to a few minor illustrations within the text. Other philosophical treatises, such as Levi b. Gershom's *Sefer Milḥamot Adonai* of 1391 (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Poc. 376), contain decorated opening pages. Some scientific treatises have diagrammatic or instructional illustrations. The Hebrew translation from the Arabic of the astronomical text *Almagest* by Ptolemy (formerly Sassoon Ms. 699) has hundreds of diagrams as well as painted panels. Another astronomical manuscript formerly in the Sassoon collection (Ms. 823) contains treatises by many authors. The part composed by Ptolemy has depictions of the heavenly constellations, signs of the zodiac, and cosmological diagrams. Jews were the expert astronomers in Spain, constructing astrolabes and preparing many nautical maps.

The expulsion of the Jews from the Kingdom of Spain in 1492 and from Portugal in 1496–97 resulted in their spreading throughout Europe and into North Africa. The Spanish Jews brought their illuminated manuscripts to all these areas. In style, and especially in the system of illumination, the Spanish schools influenced Hebrew illuminated manuscripts in Italy, Turkey, Tunisia, and Yemen. Despite the invention of printing, some examples from these countries are extant from as late as the beginning of the 16th century.

French School

Side by side with the Sephardi culture, which developed in

Spain, Provence and, later, in North Africa, Ashkenazi culture spread through Germany, northern France, England, and the Low Countries. It reached Italy in the 15th century, when German Jews entered the north of the country. By that time Ashkenazi influence was prevalent in Eastern Europe. Italy, however, retained a somewhat special vitality.

The northern French school of Hebrew illumination seems to have been one of the most important in the Ashkenazi communities. Of the few surviving illuminated French manuscripts most are sparsely decorated; some, however, are sumptuous and reveal the high quality and sophistication of French illumination. The *British Library Miscellany* (Add Ms. 11639; possibly from Troyes, c. 1280) is one of the finest examples. The work contains 84 different texts, including the Pentateuch and *Haftarot*, daily, Sabbath, and festival prayers, Grace after Meals, and various legal codes. Many of the pages are illuminated with floral, animal, and hybrid motifs and the text of the *Haggadah* includes several illustrations. Most interesting are the four groups of full-page miniatures that are inserted in the text. The lack of uniformity and the repetition of certain subjects within these illustrations, such as Aaron lighting the *menorah* (fols. 114 and 522v), indicate that they are not the work of one artist. It appears that Benjamin, the scribe of the manuscript – who had his name illuminated in several places (e.g., 142v, 306v) – gave directions to the illuminator in the lower margins of some pages. In one instance (fol. 219v), the scribe wrote *shalshelet* ("chain") in the lower part of the page and the artist accordingly decorated the side margin near the text with an undulating chain ornamented with fanciful animal forms. Most of the full-page miniatures are biblical, others are midrashic or eschatological.

An outstanding example of northern French illumination is found in the *Kaufmann Mishneh Torah* (Budapest, Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Kaufmann Collection Ms. A77/I–IV). The beginning of the introduction and each of the 14 books that comprise the text are elaborately illuminated with decorated initial word panels and various ornamental motifs, some of which are biblical scenes, such as David confronting Goliath and Moses receiving the Tablets of the Law.

Few illuminated Bibles and *Haggadot* have survived from France. Common to the northern French Jewish communities were small manuscripts containing the Psalter. Though most of these are merely decorated, one in the Bodleian Library (Oxford, Or. Ms. 621) opens with a half-length representation of David playing the harp. Legal books of French origin are primarily copies of Moses of Coucy's *Sefer Mitzvot Gadol*; they are mainly decorated, but a few contain illustrations.

At the end of the 14th century, some illumination developed in Southern France (properly Provence) where the Jews were allowed to remain after the expulsion. Bibles, prayer books, philosophical treatises, such as Levi b. Gershom's *Sefer Milḥamot Adonai*, and scientific and medical treatises have survived. Southern French illumination of this period is closer in style to Italian and Spanish schools than to those of northern France.

German School

The earliest surviving European Hebrew manuscripts are from Germany. A manuscript containing the biblical commentary by *Rashi, written by Solomon b. Samuel of Würzburg in 1233 (Munich, Bayrische Staatsbibliothek, Cod. Hebr. 5), is the earliest dated of these illuminated manuscripts. Appearing within panels at the opening of sections are scenes from the Bible that illustrate the text. The style, which is directly related to the south German school of manuscript illumination, displays a markedly Jewish characteristic in that the human faces are featureless. While the reason for this is not definitely known, it may be connected with other means of distorting the human form common in southern Germany during the 13th century, such as covering human faces with crowns, wreaths, kerchiefs, or helmets; depicting them from behind; or replacing them with animal or bird heads. All of these devices are employed in the *Ambrosian Bible* (Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana Ms. B. 30–32, Inf.) of the south German school, which was written for R. Joseph b. Moses of Ulm between 1236 and 1238. Z. Ameisenowa has suggested that people with animal heads designate holy men, righteous people, evangelists, or deacons. This practice, which may have originated in Islamic and Persian art, was borrowed by Christian as well as Jewish artists. The Jewish school of illumination in southern Germany adopted this motif and used it not only for representations of righteous people and angels, but at times also for Gentiles. Since there was no official prohibition against the depiction of the human form in illuminated manuscripts, it would appear that the south German Jews imposed this restriction upon themselves out of some iconophobic notion that may have developed there from the pietistic movement headed by *Judah and Samuel he-Ḥasid in the 12th century. The movement of *Ḥasidei Ashkenaz was ascetic, restricting embellishments in private or public life and forbidding any sort of decoration in manuscripts, even to the extent of prohibiting decoration with micrographic masorah.

The south German school of illumination was the most prominent and prolific of the Ashkenazi schools. It is also probably the most closely related in style to the contemporary local south German Latin illumination. From the beginning, the only Jewish motif in Hebrew illumination from southern Germany was the distortion of the human face. The soft undulating drapery, bright colors with dark outlines, expressive gestures, and acorn scrolls with large leaves and open composite flowers seen from above are but a few of the south German stylistic features to be found in Hebrew as well as in Latin illumination of the 13th and 14th centuries, as in the Aich Latin Bible and the gradual of St. Katharinental of 1312.

Several illustrated *maḥzorim*, books containing special readings for the entire liturgical year, including festivals and the seven "Special Sabbaths," were produced in the 13th and 14th centuries. In the earlier examples, as in a *maḥzor* completed in 1258 (Oxford, Bodleian Library Ms. Michael 617, 627), and the *Leipzig Maḥzor* (Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek, Ms. V 1102), human faces either display distorted features or are replaced by animal and bird heads. By 1348, as is seen in a *maḥzor* in Darmstadt (Hessiche Landes- und Hochshulbibliothek, cod. Or. 13), however, humans are represented realistically. Many of these books contain text illustrations, often placed within initial word panels at the beginning of special readings. The decorative programs include images such as the Red Heifer, the New Moon, Moses receiving the Tablets of the Law, and the Sacrifice of Isaac. Some of these *maḥzorim* also contain depictions of the Signs of the Zodiac, which accompany Kallir's *piyyutim* for dew and rain.

Decorated *Haggadot* from Germany include textual, ritual, biblical, and eschatological illustrations. Unlike the approach utilized in the Sephardi *Haggadot*, most of the illustrations, including biblical scenes, are placed in the margins in the Ashkenazi examples. Some 15th-century German *Haggadot*, such as the *Yahuda Haggadah* (Jerusalem, Israel Museum 180/50), contain full-page illustrations of preparations made for the *seder*, which precede the text of the *Haggadah*.

Secular illuminated Hebrew manuscripts from Germany are rare. One of the more common is the *Meshal ha-Kadmoni* by the 13th-century Spanish poet Isaac b. Solomon ibn Abi *Sahula. This lengthy rhymed collection of exemplary tales was usually illustrated with a set of pictures at the opening of each chapter. Since each picture has a rhymed inscription by the author, it is assumed that the manuscript was, from its inception, intended to be illustrated, but no Spanish example has survived. It must have been a highly popular book in southwest Germany during the 15th century, for several complete copies are extant, as well as a few fragments.

Few artists from medieval Germany can be identified by name. An exception is Joel ben Simeon, sometimes called Feibush Ashkenazi, who is the most widely known, having signed several manuscripts. Active in Germany and Italy in the second half of the 15th century, he was of German origin, probably from Cologne or Bonn, but worked in northern Italy as well.

Italian School

Italian Hebrew illumination may have been one of the earliest schools in the West, just as the Jewish community in Italy was one of the oldest and culturally most developed in Europe. Hebrew illuminated manuscripts from Italy are most varied in their style and type. Many were executed by the finest Italian artists. Produced by diverse schools from the end of the 13th to the beginning of the 16th century, they vary widely in their mode of decoration, which includes ornamental border designs, illuminated initial word panels, and full-page illustrations. Geographically diverse, in addition to being influenced by Ashkenazi and Sephardi illuminations, decorations varied from region to region. Many Italian Hebrew manuscripts are decorated with ornamental initial-word panels at the openings of sections. In some of the more elaborate examples, the entire opening page, or at least the first text column, is decoratively framed. This ornamentation ranged from simple foliate scrolls surrounding the text to stage-like arcades intricately embellishing the frontispiece. Bibles, *maḥzorim* and *siddurim*, literary texts, books of *halakhah*, and secular works of philosophy, science, and medicine frequently are enhanced with ornamental frames at the openings of the books, prayers, chapters, or sections. Some manuscripts have text illustrations in the margins, within the text, and as full-page miniatures. The Italian *Haggadot* follow the Ashkenazi system of marginal illustration and initial-word panels.

13TH-CENTURY SCHOOLS OF ROME AND CENTRAL ITALY. The *Bishop Bedell Bible* in Emmanuel College, Cambridge (Ms. I.I. 5–7), penned by Abraham b. Yom Tov ha-Kohen for his patron Shabbetai b. Mattathias and completed in 1284, is an example of the Roman-Jewish school of illumination at the end of the 13th century. In addition to two illuminated frontispieces (fols. 1v–2), the openings of individual books of the Bible are embellished by round arches. A rare example of an illuminated Psalter was produced in northern Italy, perhaps in Emilia, toward the end of the 13th century (Parma, Biblioteca Palatina Ms. 1870). The opening of each chapter is illuminated, and sometimes illustrated. Included among the images is King David, a choir of men singing, and even people weeping next to their violins that hang on a willow, illustrating Psalm 137.

14TH-CENTURY SCHOOLS. Hebrew legal texts were illustrated in Bologna by the 14th century, possibly under the influence of the Bolognese school of miniaturists that specialized in illuminating papal decrees, urban laws, and other legal documents. A manuscript containing the halakhic decisions of R. Isaiah of Trani (13th century), copied in Bologna in 1374 (London, British Library Or. Ms. 5024), exemplifies this type of decoration. Among the illustrations in this Jewish text are scenes of a man lighting a Ḥanukkah lamp, a woodcutter stoned for working on a festival day, a Tabernacle and a man carrying the symbolic fruits of Sukkot, carpenters working with stolen wood, a bull attacking a cow, a merchant selling a ship, and a judge. The style of the illuminations resembles that of the school of Niccolo di Giacomo da Bologna.

Diverging from the approach used in decorating Maimonides' *Mishneh Torah* in Sepharad and Ashkenaz, in Italy this work was often accompanied by detailed text illustrations. A noteworthy example is found in a manuscript in the Jewish National and University Library in Jerusalem (Ms. Heb. 4° 1193), copied in Spain or in Provence in the first half of the 14th century. The first part of the manuscript was later illuminated in Italy, around 1400, perhaps in Perugia, in the style of Matteo di Ser Cambio. Apart from border decorations, the *Mishneh Torah* includes text illustrations in initial-word panels and in the margins of the first 40 pages. The beginning of the "Book of Love [of God]" depicts a man holding a Torah scroll within the initial-word panel, while in the bottom border another man is seated by a bed, reciting the *shema* before retiring for the night. Other illustrations depict men gossiping and punishment by stoning.

Other schools are known to have existed in central and northern Italy at the end of the 14th and beginning of the 15th century. These schools were sometimes initiated by a single patron – a book and art lover who ordered illuminated manuscripts for his private use or as presents for friends and relations. One such school revolved around a physician named Daniel b. Samuel ha-Rofe at the end of the 14th century.

Another group of manuscripts from the end of the 14th and early 15th century was executed for a father and son of the Bethel family. The father, Jehiel b. Mattathias, commissioned manuscripts at the end of the 14th century. A *Sefer Arukh ha-Shalem* written by *Nathan b. Jehiel of Rome, copied in Perugia in 1396 (Parma, Biblioteca Palatina Parm. Ms. 3012), and a *siddur* from Pisa of 1397 (formerly Sassoon Ms. 1028) were both ordered by Jehiel. Other manuscripts were commissioned by his son, Jekuthiel, between 1415 and 1442.

15TH-CENTURY SCHOOLS. Many different types of texts were illuminated in Italy in the 15th century. A copy of Jacob ben Asher's *Arba'ah Turim* copied in Mantua in 1435 is elaborately illuminated (Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Cod. Rossiana 555). The manuscript is similar in style to Mantuan Latin illumination of the first half of the 15th century. At the beginning of each of the four sections of this legal treatise is an illustration that relates to the text: a synagogue scene with men praying before the Torah ark, a scene of the slaughtering of animals and fowl, a wedding scene, and a court scene. Another important manuscript, perhaps from Lombardy, is a *Mishneh Torah* manuscript, bound in two volumes (one in Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Cod. Rossiana 498 and the other in a private collection in New York). The opening of the introduction and each of the 14 books is decorated with a large miniature illustrating the text. Other illustrations appear in the margins of the text and all provide a wealth of information concerning the realia of Jewish life in 15th-century Italy.

Arguably the most richly illuminated Hebrew manuscript from Renaissance Italy is the *Rothschild Miscellany* (Jerusalem, Israel Museum MS 180/51) commissioned by Moses ben Jekuthiel ha-Kohen and possibly produced in Ferrara. It contains approximately 70 religious and secular works including Psalms, Proverbs, Job, a *siddur*, a *Haggadah*, and Isaac b. Solomon ibn Abi *Sahula's *Meshal ha-Kadmoni*. In addition to many biblical scenes and the illustrations of Sahula's fables, the manuscript depicts numerous religious practices and customs regarding prayer and life cycle events.

A copy of the *Canon of Medicine* by the physician-philosopher Avicenna (988–1037) documents medical practices in Renaissance Italy (Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria Ms. 2197). Included among the illustrations are scenes of patients bringing their urine specimens to a physician for analysis, bathing in water, sitting nude in the sun, and subjecting themselves to cupping, bloodletting, and surgery. A *Halakhic Miscellany* (Hamburg, Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, Cod, Heb. 337), was written in Padua in 1477. The illustrations are executed in two different styles. Some of the scenes, such as the depiction of a wedding in which the bridegroom is wearing a yellow circle, are executed in a sophisticated Renaissance style, while other illustrations are portrayed with simple linear forms similar to those of Joel ben Simeon.

Florence, driven in part by the patronage of wealthy Jewish bankers, became a major center for the creation of illuminated Hebrew manuscripts in the 15th century. The *Rothschild Maḥzor* (New York, The Library of the Jewish Theological Seminary, MS 8892) was copied in Florence in 1490 for the wealthy Jewish banker Elia of Vigevano. More than two-thirds of its pages are decorated, but the art was produced by three different workshops. Most of the text illustrations were executed in a manner that is similar to those found in manuscripts associated with Joel ben Simeon, while the last part of the manuscript was executed using rich pigments and motifs that are typical of contemporary Christian manuscripts from Florence. Another example of fine illuminations executed in a Florentine style is found in a *Book of Psalms, Job, and Proverbs* (New Haven, Yale University, Beinecke Library Ms. 409), copied in Florence in 1467, which contains full-page miniatures preceding Psalms and Job, in addition to as finely illuminated borders on other pages. Naples was another important center of Hebrew illumination during the 15th century. The best-known example of this school's work is the *Aberdeen Bible* (University of Aberdeen, Ms. 23), possibly written in Naples in 1493. A Bible in Paris (Bibliothèque Nationale ms. hébreu 15) reveals how a text written and partially illuminated in the Iberian peninsula, probably in Lisbon at the end of the 15th century, was then transported to Italy where other illuminations were added. These lush decorations, which appear for example at the opening of the book of Isaiah, are so profusely embellished with an Italian architectural frame enhanced with grotesques and putti that the ornamentation appears to be almost three dimensional. This high point of manuscript illumination occurs at a time when Hebrew printed books are becoming more readily available, marking the beginning of the decline of manuscript illumination.

[Bezalel Narkiss / Evelyn Cohen (2nd ed.)]

Post-Medieval Illumination

The creation of illuminated Hebrew manuscripts climaxed in Renaissance Italy. Although decorated handwritten books continued to be produced after printed books became readily available in the 16th century, they rarely equal the sophisticated illumination of the manuscripts that were produced in the latter part of the 15th century. A notably fine 16th-century example is found in a prayer book penned in 1520 (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale Fondation Smith-Lesouef, Ms. 250).

Two different types of decorated Hebrew manuscripts thrived after the 16th century. *Ketubbot*, primarily those created in Italy, but also in Northern Europe and Central Asia, were often adorned. In addition to ornamental motifs, some were decorated with biblical figures, at times referring to the names of the bride and bridegroom, and with images from the contemporary artistic vocabulary, which included images such as the signs of the zodiac, the senses, and the four elements. *Megillot*, especially scrolls containing the text of the Book of Esther, were decorated primarily in Italy, Holland, Central Europe, Central Asia, and North Africa. Aside from architectural motifs and floral designs, the scrolls often contained depictions of the figures and events mentioned in the text. In Italy, marriage poems, documents for rabbinical ordinations, and even licenses for *sheḥitah* were decorated as well.

A new phase in the development of decorated Hebrew manuscripts emerged in the 18th century in Germany and Central Europe, when wealthy Court Jews commissioned handwritten and painted books as luxury items. Many of these are personal prayer books, which include *Haggadot*, *seder berakhot*, *seder tikkunei Shabbat*, and *seder brit milah*. Some of these manuscripts were intended as wedding presents for brides and contain contemporary depictions of women. Many of the *Haggadot* were inspired by the printed edition of the Amsterdam *Haggadah* of 1695. Other features that reveal the influence of printed books are the inclusion of a decorated title page or the indication that the manuscript was written using *otiot Amsterdam*, the style of letters utilized for Amsterdam imprints, even though the book was written elsewhere.

Initially Vienna was the main center of this later flowering of manuscript decoration, but the practice spread to other cities, such as, Altona, Hamburg, Darmstadt, Fürth, Mannheim, and Berlin. Among the most noted scribe/artists are Aaron Wolf Herlingen of Gewitsch, Meshulam Zimmel of Polna, Aryeh Judah Leib of Trebitsch, Joseph ben David Leipnik, Uri Phoebus Segal, and Jacob Sofer of Berlin. The revival continued until the late 18th century. Some manuscripts, such as *omer* books, were copied and decorated in the 19th century, but the production was extremely limited. The 20th century witnessed a renewed interest in the art of manuscript illumination, which continues today, particularly in the form of *ketubbot* and *Haggadot* commissioned for private individuals.

[Evelyn Cohen (2nd ed.)]

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ILNA'E (Schoenbaum), ELIEZER ISAAC (1885–1929), philosopher. Ilna'e, who was born in Kovrin, Lithuania, grew up under the opposing influences of Jewish enlightenment and Jewish traditionalism. For approximately 35 years he lived in Gomel (Homel), where he was active in Zionist affairs. His writings there included *Ha-Ẓiyyoniyyut ve-ha-Materialiyyut* ("Zionism and Materialism," 1906), *Yesodei ha-Meẓi'ut ve-ha-Hakkarah* ("Fundamentals of Reality and Consciousness," 1913). After World War I he settled in Jerusalem. In 1923 he published a Hebrew translation of Wilhelm *Jerusalem's *Introduction to the Study of Philosophy.* Ilna'e's *Me-Ever le-Ḥushiyyut* ("Beyond Sense Perception"), posthumously published by his friends (1930), contains Ilna'e's biography. The starting point of Ilna'e's philosophy is the problem of the nature of the soul. He claimed that contemporary psychology, grown too cautious of metaphysical influences and too reliant on natural science, had lapsed either into physiology or become involved in internal contradictions. The ego and non-ego are both active subjects possessing will and knowledge, each counteracting the other. Using this basic assumption explains how all psychic qualities, through the interaction of ego and non-ego, gradually come to develop: sensation, the reproductive power, conceptualization, reflection and imagination, the forms of place and intellect. Ilna'e distinguishes three levels of ego: "the subordinate ego," dealing with internal bodily functions necessary for growth and existence; "the intermediate ego," devoted to the struggle for existence; and finally, "the superior ego," comprising whatever voluntary activity manifests itself upon the completion by the "intermediate ego" of its work of organization. At present this "superior ego" cannot be apprehended, but we are nevertheless indirectly aware of it. Ilna'e's theories are particularly helpful in explaining hypnotic and parapsychological phenomena.

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[Samuel Hugo Bergman]

ILYA (Pol. **Ilja**), village in Molodechno district, Belarus; birthplace of *Manasseh b. Joseph, who founded a yeshivah there. It is assumed that the Jews settled in Ilya in the 17th century. They exported timber westward via the Ilya and Nieman rivers and flax and grain to the big cities. In the 19th century few Jews remained exporters; most were small merchants and artisans. A local Jew opened a big glass factory. In the mid-18th century the proselyte Avraham ben Avraham, whom the Catholic Church claimed was the lost son of Count Valentine Potocki, refused to return to Christianity and was burned at the stake. The Jewish population numbered 894 in 1847, 829 (58% of the total population) in 1897, and 586 (40.2%) in 1921. During World War I the Cossacks burned down most of the houses in the town and murdered one Jew. After the war, with the help of *YEKOPO, the Jewish stores and workshops were reopened. The glass factory was refurbished and a sawmill and pitch factory were opened. From 1922 a Hebrew school and library with 5,000 books were in operation.

Holocaust Period

On Sept. 17, 1939, the Soviets entered the area. On the outbreak of war between Germany and the U.S.S.R. on June 22, 1941, some Jews managed to escape eastward into the Soviet Union. In the first days of July the Germans set up headquarters in the town. On July 8, two Jews were shot as Communist activists. A ghetto was established in early October. In January 1942 the youth began to organize and make contact with the partisans. On March 14, 1942, Soviet partisans attacked the Chocienczyce estate near Ilya. Among them were a few Jews from Ilya, and 70 Jews who worked there joined them. The following day the SS arrived in Ilya and accused the Jews of cooperating with the partisans. On March 17 Jews were ordered to assemble in the city square. The head of the Judenrat, Josef Rodblat, was ordered to hand over those connected with the partisans but he refused to cooperate, and instead, with David Rubin, encouraged escape to the forests. The Germans murdered 520 Jews in the cold storage depot, and left about 100 essential artisans. On June 7, 1942, the Germans executed the artisans. A number of young Jews escaped into the forests and joined Soviet partisan units. Few of Ilya's Jews survived until the liberation in summer 1944.

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[Aharon Weiss / Shmuel Spector (2nd ed.)]

IMAGINATION, the power of the soul which retains images derived from sense perception, or which combines such images or their parts into new composite images, which took on a special meaning in philosophy. To Aristotle (*De Anima*, 3), the term "imagination" denoted the faculty of the soul which, as one of the internal senses, functions as an intermediary between the external senses and the *intellect, possessing qualities of both. Receiving individual physical images from the five senses (or from a sixth, "common" sense), the imagination either imitatively retains them, filing them in the memory, or passes them on in a more organized and composite form to the intellect, where cognition is completed. Thus, while being different from sense perception, imagination is still dependent on the senses. Also, while imagination is different from thought, images are the objects of thought. Aristotle's definition of the imagination was generally accepted, sometimes with certain modifications, by medieval Muslim and Jewish philosophers. For example, Isaac *Israeli stated that imagination, being intermediate between perception and reason, is joined to both. Deriving from the neoplatonic source also used by al-Fārābī, however, Israeli goes further to say that the imagination is capable of an activity of its own which is no longer dependent on the material supplied by the senses and preserved in memory. This activity opens access to metaphysical truth with the help of images, and manifests itself in translating metaphysical truths into symbols (see A. Altmann and S.M. Stern, *Isaac Israeli* (1958), 142–3). Maimonides, who attributes to the imagination the functions of retaining impressions by the senses, combining them, and forming images (*Guide of the Perplexed*, 2:36), sees the action of the imagination as being opposed to the action of the intellect (*Guide* 1:73, tenth proposition), and seems to identify the imagination with "common" sense (see Wolfson, in *Jewish Studies in Memory of George Kohut* (1935), 583–98). The discussion of the imagination in medieval Jewish philosophy usually takes place within the context of a discussion of *prophecy. Some philosophers, like Abraham *Ibn Daud, attributed to the imagination no function of prophecy, and considered the intellect as the exclusive organ of prophetic revelation. Others, like Israeli (Altmann and Stern, *op. cit.*, 144–5), Maimonides (*Guide*, 2:36), and *Judah Halevi (*Kuzari*, 4:3) saw prophecy as extending equally to the imagination and the intellect. In prophecy, according to Maimonides, the influence of the active intellect is received by both the imagination and the intellect. This influence extends to the imagination alone only in the case of oracles, dreams, and the inspirations of statesmen. In post-medieval philosophy, *Spinoza rejects the role of the intellect in prophetic revelation and considers the imagination alone as the instrument of prophecy. Thus, in Spinoza's system prophets occupy the place which soothsayers occupy in the system of Maimonides.

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[Alfred L. Ivry]

IMBER, NAPHTALI HERZ (1856–1909), poet and author of "*Ha-Tikvah*" ("The Hope"), the Zionist and later the Israel national anthem. He was born in Galicia where he received an intensive traditional but no secular education. Imber went to Palestine with Laurence *Oliphant, a Christian Zionist whom he met in Constantinople in 1882 and whom he served as secretary and adviser on Jewish affairs in Palestine (1882–88). In 1888, he returned to Europe but soon his restless nature took him back to the East and he wandered as far as Bombay. In India, as in Palestine, he was wooed by missionaries and was later accused of apostasy. Even Israel *Zangwill, with whom he became friendly in London, believed that Imber converted to Christianity in order to escape starvation. Imber inspired the character of Melchizedek in Zangwill's novel *Children of the Ghetto*. In 1892 he went to the United States and traveled throughout the land. After a brief visit to London, he returned to America where he spent the rest of his life in squalor, misery, and alcoholism. Fortunately, the poet again found a patron; this time in the person of Judge Mayer *Sulzberger, who gave him a monthly subvention.

Imber's colorful personality attracted Amanda Katie, a Protestant physician of high intellect and of unusual charm.

She converted to Judaism and married him, but after a brief interval of happiness, their marriage was dissolved. *Tikvatenu* (later changed to *Ha-Tikvah*) appeared in his first volume of poems *Barkai* ("Dawn") and is dated "Jerusalem 1884." In his second volume of poems, *Barkai he-Ḥadash* ("The New Dawn"), published in 1900 by his devoted brother Shemaryahu, there was a poem dedicated to his wife ("*Shir ha-Shirim*"). Imber published part of his biography in the *Jewish Standard* (London), and it was republished by G. Yardeni-Agmon in D. Carpi (ed.), *Ha-Ẓiyyonut* (1970), 357–462. In 1905, his Hebrew translation of Fitzgerald's *Rubāiyāt of Omar Khayyām* was published under the title *Ha-Kos* ("The Cup"). Imber also translated some of his own poems into English and wrote several tracts in English on talmudic literature. For English translations of his works, see Goell, Bibliography, 30.

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[Eisig Silberschlag]

IMBER, SAMUEL JACOB (**Shmuel-Yankev**; 1889–1942), Yiddish poet. Born in Sasów in Austrian eastern Galicia (now Sasiv, Ukraine), son of the Hebrew writer Shmaryahu Imber and nephew of Naphtali-Herz *Imber, the author of *Ha-Tikvah, he studied at the University of Lemberg and made his literary début in 1905 with a poem in the *Tshernovitser Vokhnblat*. In 1907 he published poems in Polish. In Lemberg, with Melekh *Ravitch, he strove to promote the aesthetic ideals of neo-Romanticism, inspired by Jewish writers such as Arthur *Schnitzler and Stefan *Zweig. The influence of Heinrich *Heine, whom he translated into Yiddish, is also conspicuous. With his verse collection *Vos Ikh Zing un Zog* ("What I Sing and Say," 1909) and with his poetic romance *Esterke* (1911), he became the acknowledged leader of a generation of Galician Yiddish writers. *Esterke* recounts the 14th-century legend concerning the love of King *Casimir III for the daughter of a Jewish blacksmith. The tone is one of Romantic nationalism, while despite Imber's noted enthusiasm for Polish-Jewish symbiosis, the illicit love is portrayed as inevitably doomed. In 1912 he visited Palestine, which resulted in a volume of delicate poetry somewhat reminiscent of Eliakum *Zunser or Abraham *Mapu, *In Yidishn Land* ("In the Jewish Land," 1912), in which Rachel rejoices at the sight of her returned children once more tilling the soil. During World War I Imber edited *Inter Arma* ("Amidst the Clash of Arms," 1918), a volume including not only his own war poetry but also that of his Lemberg associates Uri Zevi *Greenberg, and Melekh *Ravitch. Immediately after World War I he founded the literary monthly *Nayland* (1918–19) as the organ of the Galician neo-Romantic movement. Imber achieved full maturity in his last poems, in his essays in Yiddish and his polemic prose in Polish. Imber was murdered in Ozernaya by Ukrainian antisemites during pogroms following the Nazi occupation of the town in 1942.

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[Sol Liptzin / Hugh Denman (2nd ed.)]

°IMBONATI (-TUS), CARLO GUISEPPE (?1650–1696), Italian Hebraist. A Cistercian, Imbonati was trained in rabbinic bibliography by his fellow Cistercian J. *Bartolocci, the fourth volume of whose great work (*Kiriath Sepher… Bibliotheca magna rabbinica…*, Rome, 1693) he edited; he added a fifth volume, *Magen ve-Ḥerev u-Milḥamah – Bibliotheca Latino-Hebraica…* (1694), which listed Christian writers on Jews and Judaism. It also included a polemical tract directed against Jewish denial of the messiahship of Jesus.

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[Raphael Loewe]

IMITATION OF GOD (**Imitatio Dei**), a theological concept meaning man's obligation to imitate God in His actions.

The doctrine of the imitation of God is related to the biblical account of the creation of man in the image of God, which acknowledges a resemblance between man and his Creator. Yet man is to imitate God, not impersonate Him (see Gen. 3:5). The main biblical sources for the injunction to imitate God are found in the command to be holy as God is holy and to walk in God's way (Lev. 19:2; Deut. 10:12, 11:22, 26:17). Man is to be God-like in his actions, but he cannot aspire to be God. This distinguishes the biblical notion from the pagan attempts to achieve apotheosis or absorption in the deity (see D. Shapiro, in *Judaism*, 12 (1963), 57–77). Man is to imitate God in loving the stranger (Deut. 10:18–19); in resting on the Sabbath (Ex. 20:10–11); and in other ethical actions. The idea of the imitation of God finds clear expression in rabbinic writings, especially the statements of the *tanna* Abba Saul. On the verse, "This is my God and I will glorify Him" (Ex. 15:2), he comments: "Be like Him. Just as He is gracious and merciful, so be thou also gracious and merciful" (Mekh., Shirah, 3). Abba Saul also comments on the verse, "You shall be holy as I the Lord your God am holy" (Lev. 19:2) – "The household attendants of the king, what is their duty? To imitate the king" (Sifra 19:2). Another classic expression of the ideal of imitating God in rabbinic literature is that of Ḥama bar Ḥanina, who expounded the verse, "After the Lord your God ye shall walk" (Deut. 13:5): "How can man walk after God? Is He not a consuming fire? What is meant is that man ought to walk after [imitate] the attributes of God. Just as the Lord clothes the naked, so you shall clothe the naked. Just as He visits the sick, so you shall visit the sick. Just as the Lord comforted the bereaved, so you shall also comfort the bereaved; just as He buried the dead, so you shall bury the dead" (Sota 14a and parallels). The rabbis admonish the Israelites to imitate the qualities of divine mercy, forbearance, and kindness. They do not counsel imitating God in His attribute of stern justice. The ways of the Lord served the rabbis as ideals of conduct. There are similarities between the rabbinic conception of the imitation of God and that of the Greek philosophers, especially Plato (see Shapiro, loc. cit.). In the writings of Philo, the doctrine of imitating God is associated with the Platonic idea of becoming "like God" (see H.A. Wolfson, *Philo*, 1 (1947), 194–6). Among medieval Jewish philosophers, Maimonides dealt most extensively with the concept of the imitation of God. He lists among the commandments "to emulate God in His beneficent and righteous ways to the best of one's ability" (*Sefer ha-Mitzvot*, positive commandment 8). Other codes also list the imitation of God as a commandment: *Sefer Mitzvot Gadol* (vol. 2 (1905), positive commandment 7); *Sefer ha-Ḥinnukh* (ed. by Ch. B. Chavel (1961), 726ff.); and others (see Shapiro, loc. cit. 75). Maimonides relates the commandment to imitate God with the ethical admonition to follow the middle way. In his *Guide of the Perplexed*, as in his philosophy in general, Maimonides stresses that the acquisition of speculative knowledge, especially the knowledge of God, should be the goal of human life, but in the final chapter of the *Guide* he holds that such knowledge leads to the imitation of God. Thus he writes: "The perfection in which man can truly glory is attained by him when he has acquired – as far as this is possible for man – the knowledge of God, the knowledge of His providence, and of the manner in which it influences His creatures in their production and continued existence. Having acquired this knowledge he will then be determined always to seek lovingkindness, justice, and righteousness and thus to imitate the ways of God" (*Guide*, 3:54). In Jewish mysticism and Ḥasidism the doctrine of imitating God originated in the notion that the **sefirot* are reflected in man's soul and body. The most vivid expression of this idea is in Moses Cordovero's *Tomer Devorah* (*The Palm Tree of Deborah*, tr. by L. Jacobs, 1960), which begins: "It is proper for man to imitate his Creator, resembling Him in both likeness and image according to the secret of the Supernal Form. Because the chief Supernal image and likeness is in deeds, a human resemblance merely in bodily appearance and not in deeds debases that Form.… Consequently, it is proper for man to imitate the acts of the Supernal Crown which are the 13 highest attributes of mercy." In kabbalistic writings, imitation of God is seen as an actual imitation of the divine nature as revealed in the *sefirot*, whereby man becomes worthy of God's grace (see Jacobs' introduction to *The Palm Tree of Deborah*, 37). These ideas were developed in the ḥasidic writings and in the writings of the Mussar movement. Modern writers, especially those influenced by Kantian philosophy, place emphasis on the idea of the imitation of God. God is seen as the ideal toward which man's ethical behavior should aim.

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[Seymour Siegel]

IMMANUEL (Heb. עִמָּנוּ אֵל – this spelling, everywhere in two words, of which the first has everywhere a musical accent of its own: *merekha* in Isa. 7:14, *ṭifha*ʾ in Isa. 8:8 and 8:10, is that of the manuscripts and of most early prints, "With us is God"), the name to be given to a still unborn baby boy according to Isaiah 7:14, apparently as a symbol which verse 16 is intended to explain. The name is commonly supposed to occur again in 8:8, where the still unborn child is supposed to be apostrophized; but in fact the words *ʿimmanuʾel* are here, as they are universally admitted to be in 8:10, not a proper name but a simple statement to the effect that "with us is God." The name Immanuel does not appear at all in the talmudic or midrashic literature. The Christian tradition identified the *ʿalmah* (see below) with the virgin mother Mary, and Immanuel with Jesus (Math. 1:20ff.). The medieval Jewish commentator David *Kimḥi (on Isa. 7:14) comments that the sign was to strengthen Ahaz's conviction in the truth of the prophet's message. This would imply that the sign be contemporary with Ahaz and not a symbol for a future occurrence. The birth of Immanuel therefore could not take place, as Christianity has it, in the distant future after the period of Isaiah.

Ginsberg's Views

According to H.L. Ginsberg, the background of "the Immanuel sign" is explained by Isaiah 7:1 ff. as follows: In the reign of King Ahaz of Judah, kings Rezin of Aram and Pekah son of Remaliah of Israel marched against Jerusalem, and the news of their advance struck terror in the hearts of both the House of David and its subjects. YHWH, however, ordered *Isaiah to go out and meet Ahaz at a certain spot and tell him to stop worrying about "those two smoking stubs of firebrands" (i.e., those "has-beens"). (5) "Because the Arameans – with Ephraim and the son of Remaliah (as in verses 4 and 9, Pekah is referred to only as "the son of Remaliah" by way of disparagement; cf. "the son of Tabeel" in verse 6 and Saul's spiteful "the son of Jesse" and "son of Ahitub" in I Sam. 20:30, 31; 22:7, 9, 12, 13) – have plotted against you, saying (6) 'We will march against Judah and invade and conquer it, and we will set up as king in it the son of Tabeel,' (7) thus said my Lord YHWH: It shall not succeed, It shall not come to pass. (8) For the head of Aram is Damascus, And the head of Damascus is Rezin;… (9a) The head of Ephraim is Samaria, And the head of Samaria is the son of Remaliah." It is felt at this point that the unspoken implication is that the Davidic polity, in contrast, is not a purely human one; its head is not Ahaz but God. This was clearly the understanding of the Chronicler, for, in narrating the encounter between Ahaz's predecessor Abijah and Pekah's predecessor Jeroboam (I) son of Nebat (II Chron. 13:8) he has put into the former's mouth a speech which, though it also embodies the ideas dear to himself, is patently modeled on the present speech of Isaiah. Here are some selected bits: (II Chron. 13:8) "Now, do you think you can stand up to the kingdom of YHWH which is committed to the descendants of David? To be sure, you are a great multitude. But with you are (only) the golden calves that Jeroboam made to serve you as gods … (Verse 12) So marching at the head with us is God…. O Israelites! Do not fight YHWH the God of your fathers, for you shall not succeed." Obviously, the Chronicler, like most moderns, understood Isaiah's argument in Isaiah 7:5–9a to be that the attempt of Aram and Israel could not possibly succeed (Isa. 7:7; II Chron. 13:12b) because the only real forces on their side were human forces (Isa. 7:8a, 9a; II Chron. 13:8), whereas "with us is God" (II Chron. 13:12a). However, one modern scholar, Kemper Fullerton, went further: he realized that the account in Isaiah (no less than the one in Chronicles cited here, although not by him) did not leave "whereas with us is God" to be inferred; it is said in so many words, only they have gotten displaced. Once it has been pointed out, there can be no doubt but Isaiah 8:8b–10 belongs in the context of 7:5–9. For (1) 8:10 first goes 7:5–7 one better: Even if all the nations in the world were to plot against us it would not succeed; cf. *ʿuẓu ʿeẓah* in 8:10 with *yaʿaẓ lo* in 7:5 and *yaqum lo* in 8:10 with *taqum* in 7:7. And then it expressly adds *ki ʿimmanu ʾel*, "For with us is God." (2) Given a choice between taking 8:8b as a threat against "your land, O Immanuel" (why should the not-yet conceived child of 7:14 be addressed?), and taking it as an assurance that "with us is God, and his wings shall be spread (protectingly) over the entire width of your land (O Ahaz)" – cf. 31:5; Ps. 17:8; 36:8; 57:2; 63:8; Ruth 2:12 – how can one do otherwise than agree with Fullerton? However, 8:8b has suffered some damage in the process of displacement. As a minimum, add *waw* (*vav*) at the beginning and place *ʿimmanu ʾel* עִמָּנוּ אֵל immediately after it. Then have 8:8b–10 follow directly on 7:9a, as follows: (8:8b) "But with us is God, And his wings shall be spread as wide as your land is broad (9) Note well (read *deʿu* with LXX), all you (read *yaḥdaw*) peoples; Listen, you remotest parts of the earth; Gird yourselves – you shall be broken; Gird yourselves – you shall be broken; (10) Hatch a plot – it shall be foiled; Agree on action (similarly "strike bargains," 58:13 and Hos. 10:4) – it shall not succeed. For with us is God!" Only after this comes 7:9b; but after that, for reasons that will be explained presently, come verses 14b–16. Thus: (7:9b) "If you do not believe – since you cannot be believed – (14b) look, the young woman shall conceive (future as in Judg. 13:5 in light of Judg. 13:3, since otherwise the futurity of the following verb would have had to be indicated by the form *we-yaledah*) and shall bear a son. You (*we-qaraʾta*, as some Mss. vocalize and some ancient versions render) shall name him 'With us is God' (Immanuel). (15) (By the time he learns to reject the bad [e.g., ink?] and choose the good [e.g., milk?], people will be feeding on curds and honey [for lack of agriculture, verses 23–25, 21–22]). (16) For before the lad knows to reject the bad and choose the good, the ground whose two kings you dread shall be abandoned." In this way, the "With us is God" sign makes an excellent conclusion to the "With us is God" assurance. By the same token, it will become obvious, on reflection, that where the sign stands in the received text, between verses 10–14a and 17, it is inapposite, for two reasons: first, verse 11 leads us to expect here a sign "down in Sheol or up in the sky"; and second, the tone of verses 13–14a and verse 17 leads us to expect an omen that bodes ill for Judah, not for Aram and Israel. The *amora* R. Johanan (Sanh. 96a) rightly inferred from Isaiah 38:8 that prior to abruptly receding ten steps in the reign of Hezekiah the shadow has abruptly advanced ten steps in the reign of Ahaz (for us that involves regarding *be-maʿalot*, "on the steps of" before *ʾAḥaz* as a contamination, due to the four other occurrences of *maʿalot* in the same verse, of an original *bi-Yme*, "in the days of"). Taking a hint from R. Johanan, Ginsberg inferred that this is the "sign" that was originally related between 7:14a and 7:17.

It is obviously no accident, in the light of the foregoing, that the story that Isaiah offered such a sign (7:11) is told, like the just cited one about the recession of the sun in the reign of Hezekiah, in the third person. Prophets never tell such stories about themselves. But is the extant sign story of Isaiah 7, the story of the Immanuel sign, conceivable, in contrast to the one about the forward leap of the sun here reconstructed, even in a first person account by Isaiah? The answer is that the Immanuel sign is unhistorical. In the first place, it is inept even as a legend. A comparison of verse 9b with Exodus 4:1, 5, 8, 9 (the common keyword is *heʾmin*, "to believe") shows that the narrator intended to have Isaiah reinforce his reassuring prediction to Ahaz with a sign as convincing as those in Exodus 4:1–9 (a staff turned into a snake and then back into a staff; healthy skin afflicted with a white eruption and then healed again; water turned into blood) – or like the two already mentioned prompt and miraculous signs of Isaiah which, respectively, we have reconstructed between 7:14a and 17 and we can still read in II Kings 20:8–11 and Isaiah 38:22, 7–8. To claim that the Immanuel sign, which consists merely of still further predictions, is anything of the sort takes a lot of hardihood, if that is the word. In the second place, the explication of the Immanuel sign takes a complicated form whose point is difficult to grasp. A harem girl of Ahaz (so Luzzatto, who interprets *ʿalmah* in light of the *ʿalamot* of Song 6:8) shall conceive and bear a son (prophets confidently predict such things only in third person accounts) whom Ahaz is to name "With us is

God" in token of the fact that only a few years after that "the ground whose two kings you dread shall be abandoned." However, how does such a name signify such a thing? There is a remarkably similar name interpretation in 8:3–4 (see Isaiah, ch. 7–9); only there (1) conception and birth are not predicted in advance, and (2) the interpretation of the name causes no difficulty. For the name is "Pillage hastens, looting speeds," and any intelligent child can understand how that signifies, "Two cities are going to be plundered at an early date" (8:4). To symbolize in the same way the early abandonment of the farmland of the two countries, the child of chapter 7 ought to have been named "Abandonment hastens, desertion speeds" (*miharah ʿazuvah, ḥashah neṭushah*). It is decidedly no accident that the straightforward self-explanatory account of a symbolic child naming is couched in the first person and the fuzzy, elusive, puzzling one, in the third. For an analogous case, see *Hosea (A). The child-naming sign of Isaiah 7 is a palpably legendary reflex of the one in chapter 8, the name of the child in the former being suggested by Isaiah's assurance "with us is God" (see above) and its signification by the predication of Judah's depopulation in 6:11–12 and of again – as 7:17 shows – Judah's reversion to a pastoral economy as a result of the abandonment of its farmland in 7:18ff.

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[Harold Louis Ginsberg]

IMMANUEL (ben Solomon) OF ROME (known in Italian as **Manoello Giudeo** – "Immanuel the Jew"; c. 1261–c. 1335), poet. Born in Rome, a scion of the Ẓifroni family, Immanuel moved in circles of scholars and poets. At times he was in charge of the correspondence of the Jewish community of Rome and addressed the community on festive occasions. The supposition that he held a high post in the community has not been proven, nor has the assumption that he was a physician been substantiated. Immanuel left Rome for unknown reasons, but his departure may have been connected with the papal edict of expulsion issued against the community in 1321. He then lived in Perugia, Fabriano, Fermo, Camerino, Ancona, Gubbio, and Verona where he probably was a private tutor in the homes of wealthy patrons.

Maḥbarot, his best known literary work, comprises poems and *meliẓot* (a type of rhymed prose, found in medieval Spanish-Jewish literature, which closely resembles the *maqāma*). A single narrative runs through the work giving it structural unity; this characteristic is also in the tradition of the *maqāma* and of certain literary works (consisting of prose and poetry) found in romance languages, such as Dante's *Vita Nova*. Immanuel says that the work was inspired by a patron, whom he designates as *sar* ("prince"; he probably was not a Maecenas, as usually stated by Immanuel's biographers, but simply a rich Jew), and in whose home he lived in Fermo. The work consists of a preface and 28 *maḥbarot* (sing. *maḥberet*, Heb. for *maqāma*), hence its title, *Maḥbarot* (first complete edition Brescia, 1491; Constantinople, 1535; Berlin, 1796; Lemberg, 1870; the latest scientific edition, Jerusalem, 1984). His meters, style, imagery, and figurative language are mostly similar to those of Solomon ibn *Gabirol, *Judah Halevi, and especially Judah *al-Ḥarizi, whose *Taḥkemoni* Immanuel held as a model, but he also takes strophic forms and motifs from Italian literature. The subject matter of *Maḥbarot* is mostly gay, at times frivolous, but almost always witty. The artistic form is but a vehicle to prove Immanuel a skillful master of language whose aim it is to arouse the admiration of the reader. His punning and play on biblical terms have not been surpassed. *Maḥbarot* contains poems on love, wine, and friendship, riddles, epigrams, epistles, but also poetry of a serious nature, such as elegies and religious poems. The *piyyut* "**Yigdal*," included in the daily prayer book, is an abridged adaptation of a poem by Immanuel included in the *Maḥbarot* (no. 4) whose subject is Maimonides' 13 Principles of Faith.

Influences on Maḥbarot

While Immanuel was a disciple of the Spanish school, and therefore indirectly adhered to many characteristics of Arabic poetry, the Italian influence can unmistakably be detected in many of his *maḥbarot*. At times, he applies the Arabic meter to Italian verse. Around 1300 he started to write Hebrew sonnets. According to the study of D. Bregman, 38 sonnets, usually love poems reflecting the influence of Dante and Cecco Angioleri (with erotic-realistic connotations), were included in the *Maḥbarot*. He was the first to introduce the 14-line Petrarchian sonnet into Hebrew literature. In his love poetry, he often follows the path of the Italian *dolce stil novo* school whose views and ideas and use of language he faithfully reproduced in Hebrew. The last three lines in one of Immanuel's sonnets are a verbatim translation of a sonnet by *Dante. Another poem, an encomiastic verse to himself, extolling his mastery of all arts and crafts, is an imitation in Hebrew of the structure and metric form of the Italian "*Sirventese del maestro di tutte l'arti*." On the other hand, the suggestion that the Italian novella greatly influenced Immanuel's narratives seems to be without foundation.

Maḥberet ha-Tofet ve-ha-Eden (his last *maḥberet*, also published separately, Prague, 1613), which is an account of Immanuel's journey through hell and paradise, follows the general concept of the *Divina Commedia*, some of the Dantesque episodes even serving as model. Daniel, Immanuel's guide through the netherworld and paradise, has been taken for Dante; others have identified him with the prominent personage whose death burdened Immanuel with thought of his own fate in the world to come and stimulated his visionary journey through hell and paradise; or with a friend, also named Daniel, whose throne Immanuel saw in paradise. Ascending the ladder of wisdom to heaven, Immanuel sees the patriarchs, the prophets, the righteous, the sages of all the generations, and the righteous gentiles who were tolerant of other faiths. Toward the end of his journey, he is shown the seats reserved for his living contemporaries, including his relatives. The assumption that Immanuel was a friend of Dante is not substantiated by the sources and lacks all foundation as has been shown by Umberto Cassuto and Cecil Roth. He was, however, a friend of the poet Bosone da Gubbio with whom he exchanged sonnets in commemoration of the death of Dante. Immanuel's death was the subject of an exchange of sonnets between Bosone da Gubbio and the poet Cino da Pistoia, in which the two poets eulogized him and ranked him with Dante. He also wrote some sonnets in Italian and exchanged poems with other Italian poets of his time. Immanuel's sonnets in Italian were often published, as well as his amusing "*Bisbidis*" describing conditions at the court of Verona. H. Brody published the first part of the new edition of the *Maḥbarot* based on manuscript material, in 1926, and A.M. *Habermann the first vocalized edition, based on printed works and on manuscript material, together with a commentary and a translation of Immanuel's Italian sonnets (1946 (*recte*: 1950), 1957). A new vocalized edition, based on manuscript material, with commentary and bibliography was published by D. Jarden (1957, c. 1984^2). Parts of the *Maḥbarot*, especially the 28th *maḥberet*, have been translated into German, Italian, English, Hungarian, Latin, and Yiddish.

Other Works

Other works by Immanuel are (1) a no longer extant work on the symbolism of the Hebrew alphabet which was perhaps entitled *Migdal Oz*; the introductory poem is included in the *Maḥbarot*; (2) *Even Boḥan*, a hermeneutic work, in manuscript (the introduction published by L. Dukes in *Rabbinische Blumenlese* (1844), 268–70); (3) Commentaries to almost the whole Bible in which Immanuel mainly explains the literal meaning; sometimes, however, offering allegorical, philosophical, and mystic interpretations. Among his published commentaries are that to Proverbs (Naples, 1487; repr. 1990) in which Immanuel is erroneously called Immanuel b. Jacob; parts of that to Psalms (published by De' Rossi, Parma, 1806); the first part of the commentary to the Pentateuch (in *Archiv fuer wissenschaftliche Erforschung des Alten Testamentes*, 1 (1867–69), 363–84), the commentary to Psalms (incomplete, 1879–84), and the commentaries to Esther (1880), to Lamentations (1881), and to Ruth (1881); the commentary to Song of Songs, published by S.B. Eschwege (1908; Ravitski, 1970), and the commentary to the first chapter of Genesis published by F. Michelini Tocci (1963). Immanuel's commentaries to other books of the Bible are either extant in manuscript or known through the author's reference to them. A philosophical epistle addressed to *Hillel b. Samuel of Verona was published by Steinschneider (*Israelietische Letterbode*, (1881–82), 166–7.

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[Umberto (Moses David) Cassuto / Angel Sáenz-Badillos. (2nd ed.)]

IMMA SHALOM (late first and early second century C.E.), wife of *Eliezer b. Hyrcanus, and according to the aggadic tradition of the Babylonian Talmud, also the sister of Rabban *Gamaliel of Jabneh. The Tosefta (Nid. 6:8) mentions R. Eliezer's wife in passing, though not by name. The earliest and best attested tradition which mentions Imma Shalom by name is found in the *Mekhilta de-Millu'im*, an addition to the Sifra on Leviticus, apparently from the school of R. Ishmael (Epstein, ITL 641). There (Sifra, ed. Weiss 45c, Vatican 66, ed. Finkelstein, 194–195) it is told concerning one of R. Eliezer's students that "he once made a halakhic decision in the presence of R. Eliezer his master. R. Eliezer said to Imma Shalom his wife: 'I would be surprised if he lives out the week.' The student died before the week was out. His students asked him: 'Our master, are you a prophet?' He replied: 'Neither a prophet nor the son of a prophet am I. Rather I have a tradition from my teachers that any student who makes a halakhic decision in the presence of his master is liable to die.'" This tradition is quoted as a *baraita* in the Jerusalem Talmud (Shev 6:1 36c), in the classic aggadic Midrashim (Lev. R. 20:6; PdRK 26: Tanḥ, Aḥre Mot 6), and in the Babylonian Talmud (Er. 63a).

The Babylonian Talmud tells three more *aggadot* about Imma Shalom. The first is a continuation of the Babylonian Talmud's famous story about the excommunication of R. Eliezer at the hands of Rabban Gamaliel and his colleagues. By way of introduction, the Babylonian Talmud informs us (BM 59b) that Imma Shalom was not only R. Eliezer's wife but also Rabban Gamaliel's sister. Narrative embellishments of this sort are very common in the *aggadot* of the Babylonian Talmud and should not be taken as reflecting ancient historical information. The Talmud relates that after Eliezer's excommunication Imma Shalom did not permit her husband to prostrate himself in the supplications after the **Amidah* (to prevent him praying for his humiliation and so bring punishment upon his excommunicators). On one occasion she found her husband prostrating himself, and exclaimed: "You have killed my brother!" And indeed they immediately blew the *shofar* to proclaim the death of the *nasi* Gamaliel. When Eliezer asked how she knew this, she replied: "I have a tradition from my paternal grandfather's house; 'all gates are locked except the gate of wounded feelings.'" Clearly, the description of Imma Shalom's almost prophetic ability to predict the future on the basis of a tradition which she received from her grandfather (Rabban Gamaliel I) echoes the narrative line of the original tannaitic story, except that now Imma Shalom takes on the role of prophet, and her husband the role of the confused observer.

The second *aggadah* (Shab. 116a–b) tells of a certain "philosopher" in Imma Shalom's vicinity, who served as a judge and who had the reputation of not accepting bribes. She and her brother contrived a lawsuit, ostensibly in connection with the division of their patrimony, inherited from their father, Rabban Simeon b. Gamaliel I, for the purpose of embarrassing this judge, and showing up his true character. Imma Shalom sent him a golden lamp before submitting the case to him. He ruled that the patrimony should be divided equally. Gamaliel said to him: "In our Torah it says that where there is a son the daughter does not inherit," to which he retorted: "Since the day you were exiled from your land, the law of Moses has been superseded by a new law" (Mss. read "the law of the Evangelium"), "and there it states that a son and daughter inherit equally." The next day Gamaliel sent him a Libyan ass. When they subsequently came before him he said to them: "I have looked at the continuation of the Evangelium and it states there: 'I did not come to subtract from the law of Moses but [so in the Mss.] to add to it,' and there it states that the daughter does not inherit where there is a son." Imma Shalom exclaimed: "Let thy light shine forth like a lamp"; whereupon Gamaliel retorted: "An ass came and kicked over the lamp."

The third *aggadah* relates that Imma Shalom and Eliezer had very beautiful children (Ned. 20b). When asked the reason for this, she attributed this to her husband's great modesty in their marital relations, which she described in some detail. This tradition was included in the collections *Kallah* (1:1) and *Kallah Rabbati* (1:15).

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[Yitzhak Dov Gilat / Stephen G. Wald (2nd ed.)]

IMOLA, town near Bologna, central Italy. Little reliance can be placed on the report that Jews settled in Imola in 640 but were expelled in 976. Jews are known positively to have lived there only in the 14th century, and around 1495 the Ibn *Yaḥya family settled in Imola after they left Spain. In 1555 the Jews were confined to a ghetto; on this occasion the chronicler Gedaliah ibn Yaḥya reports that his business worth 10,000 scudi was ruined. When the Jews were expelled from the Papal States for a second time, in 1593, the community ceased to exist. From the 17th until 19th century there is evidence that Jews sporadically lived for some periods in Imola. From 1877 one Jewish family – Fiorentino – dwelled there. During the years 1944–45 a number of Italian or foreign Jews in transit were helped by the population and by the *Jewish Brigade.

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[Attilio Milano / Federica Francesconi (2nd ed.)]

IMPALEMENT, method of execution employed in the Ancient Near East, whereby a living body was pierced between the legs or in the solar plexus by being thrust upon a spike fixed on the ground. The Code of Hammurabi (§153, in Pritchard, Texts, 172) prescribes impalement for a woman who caused her husband's death because of another man; and the Middle Assyrian Laws (§53, in Pritchard, Texts, 185), for a woman convicted of inducing her own abortion. Assyrians and Persians used to impale chiefs of a city that had revolted against them. In Ezra 6:11 the punishment to be incurred by anyone who would change Darius' edict about the rebuilding of the Temple is probably impalement. The same Darius threatens Arakha, pretender to the throne of Babylon, with impalement: "This Arakha and the nobles, his main followers, shall be impaled in Babylon" (see Roux in bibl.). Herodotus (3:159) reports that he actually impaled 3,000 of them. Since impalement was an established practice in Persia, it may be that *talah* in Esther 2:23; 5:14 (LXX 7:9, σταυρωθήτω, "impale"); 7:10; 9:13–14 refers to this method of execution. It is also possible that the religiously motivated executions of Numbers 25:4 and II Samuel 21:6–13 refer to impalement. However, the meaning of the verb used in these passages to describe the execution, *hokiʿa* (הוקיע, *hiphʿil* of יקע), cannot be determined with certainty. The Septuagint renders it as either παραδειγματίζω, "make an example of," or ἐξηλιάζω, "expose to the sun." While the hanged man should be buried the very day of his execution (Deut. 21:22–23), the corpses of the victims in II Samuel 21:6–13 were exposed for about six months before being buried. It is worth noting that the body of the impaled mother convicted of abortion was denied burial (Middle Assyrian Laws, 53). Unless new data will become available one cannot, however, say with certainty that impalement was practiced by the Israelites.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: S.R. Driver, *Notes on the Hebrew Text of the Books of Samuel* (1913^2), 351; R. Dussaud, *Les origines cananéennes du sacrifice israélite* (1921), 287ff.; G. Roux, *Ancient Iraq* (1966), 371.

IMPRISONMENT, the act of depriving a person of his liberty by restricting his freedom of movement and confining him within a particular defined locality, where he is under the direct and constant supervision of the confining authority. This form of restraint on individual liberty is sometimes referred to as arrest or detention (*maʿaẓar*) and sometimes as imprisonment (*maʾasar*). The most frequent cases of imprisonment are:

(1) arrest of a person suspected of having committed a criminal offense in order to ensure his arraignment and presence at the trial or to prevent him from interfering with the course of inquiries;

(2) detention of a person convicted and sentenced to death or banishment, pending execution of the sentence;

(3) imprisonment without trial by virtue of an administrative order of the government, issued against a political background;

(4) imprisonment aimed at compelling compliance with the instruction of a judicial tribunal;

(5) imprisonment imposed as a punishment for the commission of an offense.

The first four categories of imprisonment were known in most ancient legal systems; punitive imprisonment, however, was apparently unknown in the legal systems of the ancient East or in Greek and Roman law, in keeping with the dictum of Ulpian: "*carcer enim ad continendos homines, non ad puniendos habari debet*" ("prison is intended for the confinement, and not punishment, of people"). Most European legal systems only came to give general recognition to imprisonment as a punitive measure from the commencement of the 14th century onward (see W. Mittermaier, *Gefaengniskunde* (1954), 2–3, 3–17; Von Hentig, *Die Strafe*, 2 (1955), 159–83; see also *Imprisonment for Debt).

IN THE BIBLE

Biblical references to imprisonment within the context of Jewish law (the imprisonment of Joseph in Egypt (Gen. 39:20; 40:3–4, 7; 42:16–19) and of Samson by the Philistines (Judg. 16:21) were not within that context) are made in the cases of detaining a transgressor until delivery and execution of the judgment (Lev. 24:12; Num. 15:34) and as an administrative measure (I Kings 22:27; II Chron. 16:10; Jer. 37:15–16; 38:4–14); at the close of the biblical period imprisonment is mentioned as one of the means entrusted to the court, presumably for the purpose of compelling compliance with its instructions (Ezra 7:25–26).

IN THE TALMUDIC PERIOD

In the Talmud there are *halakhot* relating to a person detained in prison (with reference to the laws of Sotah – Sot. 4:5), a person promised his release from imprisonment (with reference to the laws of the paschal lamb – Pes. 8:6), and a person released from prison (with reference to the laws of Festivals – MK 3:1). During this period there were Jewish and gentile prisons for imprisonment at the hands of Jews and gentiles respectively (Pes. 91a; TJ, Pes. 8:6, 36a, and MK 3:1, 81c). Mention is made of a building inhabited by the warder of the prison in Maḥoza, a Babylonian city, the majority of whose residents were Jewish (Yoma 11a; see also TJ, Kid. 4:12, 66d).

Detention of a suspect pending completion of the judicial proceedings against him continued to be the most common form of imprisonment in this period (Mekh., Nezikin, 6; Ket. 33b); his detention was forbidden, however, unless it was possible to point to evidence tending to prove commission of the offense (TJ, Sanh. 7:10, 25a). It was also customary to detain a person who had been convicted and sentenced to death pending execution of the sentence (Sif. Num., 114; Sanh. 11:4). The sages interpreted the passage from the Book of Ezra (7:25–26) as authority for the court to imprison a person refusing to comply with its instructions (MK 16a), and to this end severe conditions of detention were sometimes imposed (*Oẓar ha-Ge'onim*, ed. by B.M. Lewin, Mashkin, p. 68).

Imprisonment as *punishment for an offense is known for the first time during the talmudic period (referred to as *hakhnasah la-kippah*, i.e., confinement in a "cell" – Sanh. 9:5; Tosef., Sanh. 12:7–8). This punishment was imposed in two cases: after the offender had committed an offense for which the punishment was **karet* (*Divine Punishment) three or more times; and for the offense of *murder whenever the court was unable – on account of procedural and formal defects – to convict the accused but was convinced that he had murdered the deceased. Conditions of imprisonment in the "cell" were particularly severe (Sanh. 81b). The sages found a hint for punitive imprisonment in a biblical passage; it was, however, apparently a rabbinical enactment (*takkanah*) made by virtue of the sages' authority to impose punishment for criminal offenses – even beyond the framework of the pentateuchal law – whenever rendered necessary by the existing exigencies (see **Takkanot* and Yad, Roẓe'aḥ, 4:8–9).

IN THE POST-TALMUDIC PERIOD

In the post-talmudic times increasing recourse was had to imprisonment within the Jewish legal system and, along with pretrial detention and imprisonment to compel compliance with the instructions of the court, punitive imprisonment – imposed in respect of various types of offenses – became a common phenomenon in Jewish law, particularly from the early 14th century onward.

This phenomenon was linked to the problem of Jewish judicial autonomy in the various centers of Jewish life. This autonomy related primarily to the field of civil law, but in most Jewish centers it extended also to criminal law (see *Penal Law), although varying in scope from center to center (see *Autonomy, Judicial; *Mishpat Ivri). One of its manifestations in the field of criminal law was the existence of Jewish prisons in various centers, as is evident from numerous halakhic and historical sources; in particular, much material on this subject is available regarding the situation in Poland and neighboring territories, covering details such as the names of some of the prisons and their Jewish warders, their salaries, etc. (see Elon, in bibl., pp. 178–84). Imprisonment, within its various categories, was imposed by the *bet din* even in centers where there were no prisons under Jewish supervision, execution thereof being entrusted to the governmental authorities (Elon, *ibid.*, 184f.).

Arrest and Detention

In the ninth century, the Babylonian *Gaon* *Paltoi decided that it was permissible to arrest an offender on the Sabbath if knowledge about him first came to light on this day (*Halakhot Pesukot min ha-Ge'onim* no. 135); later, a contrary decision was given by Sherira Gaon (*Shibbolei ha-Leket* no. 60) and the problem was discussed over a long period in the Codes (Rema, OH 339:4). In Spain various *halakhot* were fixed concerning the arrest of a person, particularly with reference to his release on guarantee or bail (Resp. Rosh, 13:3; Rashba, vol. 2, no. 242; Ribash, resp. 234–9, 508). Detention was also employed as a means of preventing someone from taking flight in circumstances calculated to cause great hardship to another, e.g., if the husband sought to place his wife in the position of an **agunah*; in this event it was decided that arrest was permissible even on the Sabbath (*Shevut Ya'akov*, vol. 1, no. 14).

Imprisonment to Compel Compliance with the Court (Maʾasar Kefiyyah)

Imprisonment was used by the court as a means of compelling a husband to grant a bill of divorce (*get*) to a wife with whom marriage was prohibited (Rashi, Pes. 91a; Ribash, resp. 348), as well as in all other cases where it is permitted to compel the husband to grant a *get* (Rashba, vol. 2, resp. 276) and also as a means of compelling the levir to grant *ḥaliẓah* (Resp. Rosh 52:8; see *Levirate Marriage and *Divorce, and compare the legal position in the State of Israel in this respect).

Contempt of Court

Imprisonment was also used as a sanction for noncompliance with various instructions of the court (Rif. resp. 146; Ritba, resp. 159; *Takkanot Medinat Mehrin* (Moravia), no. 247; *Pinkas ha-Medinah* [*Lita*], no. 546). Imprisonment was mentioned by some of the *posekim* as a sanction available to the court (Maim. Yad, Sanhedrin 24:9; Tur, ḤM 2); other *posekim* made no mention thereof in this context (Sh. Ar. and Rema, ḤM 2), but in the later Codes this possibility was again acknowledged (*Levush, Ir Shushan, Sema, Urim ve-Tummim*, and *Netivot ha-Mishpat*, ḤM 2).

Punitive Imprisonment

SERIOUS CRIMES. The talmudic law of *hakhnasah la-kippah* (see above) became an analogy for the imposition of similar punitive imprisonment in certain cases of murder, when the possibility of carrying out the capital sentence was excluded according to the original law (Yad, Roẓe'aḥ 4:8–9). Punitive imprisonment was likewise prescribed in cases of homicide not carrying liability, according to the original law, for the death sentence (Yad, Roẓe'aḥ 2:2–5) in a case of murder involving doubt as to whether the death resulted directly from the murderer's act (Ribash, resp. no. 251), or if there was one witness only (i.e., if he proved to be reliable and delivered convincing testimony – *Yam shel Shelomoh*, BK 8:6). A sentence of death was imposed on a Jew who committed, for the third time, the offense of informing on and denouncing a fellow Jew to the gentiles, and other forms of punishment, including imprisonment, were imposed for a first or second offense of this nature (see Finkelstein, *Jewish Self-Government*, p. 362; and *Informers).

Commencing in the 14th century, imprisonment became accepted in Jewish law, under the influence of the surrounding legal systems (see above) as a regular mode of punishment in respect of numerous other offenses. It became one of the most common and effective sanctions to be adopted by the Jewish courts and in various *takkanot*, in answer to the circumstances and conditions of Jewish life in different periods.

OFFENSES AGAINST MORALITY AND THE FAMILY LAWS. The penalty of imprisonment was imposed upon commission of offenses such as having sexual relations with a non-Jew (*Zikhron Yehudah* no. 91), *adultery (i.e. in cases of sexual relations with a married woman – Ribash, resp. no. 351), sodomy (Mabit, vol. 1; resp. no. 22), and prostitution; and, in some localities, it was imposed "against certain youths who harass girls and women in the streets at nighttime" (see Elon, in bibl., p. 193). Imprisonment was also imposed as a punishment for marrying in a ceremony attended by less than a *minyan* – aimed at avoiding various kinds of secret marriages (Ribash, resp. no. 232; see also **Takkanot*; *Marriage).

OFFENSES AGAINST PROPERTY. Imprisonment was an accepted sanction for theft (see *Theft and Robbery; Ritba, resp. no. 159; *Divrei Rivot* no. 232; see also Elon, p. 194) and was imposed even when commission of the offense could not be proved by the testimony of two witnesses, but the court was persuaded of the theft on the strength of the circumstantial evidence (*Tashbeẓ* 3:168). Not only the thief was imprisoned, but also any person knowingly undermining the inquiry into the theft (Elon, p. 194).

ASSAULT AND INSULT. Imprisonment was prescribed as the punishment for *assault, and in certain places a monetary fine was imposed – nonpayment whereof rendered the offender liable to imprisonment (*Zikhron Yehudah* no. 36; Elon, p. 195). *Defamation was also punished with imprisonment (*ibid.*).

GAMBLING. Playing games of chance, a common phenomenon in the Middle Ages, was combated by the Jewish communal leaders and courts by the adoption of various stringent measures (see *Gambling), including imprisonment imposed on both male and female participants and on the owner permitting gambling to take place on his premises. In terms of a *takkanah* enacted in the Cracow community in the middle of the 17th century, a woman sentenced to imprisonment was to be detained *in nayen Dudik* ("in the new 'Dudik'" – the name of a jail possibly intended for female prisoners only), for the period "from completion of the *Shaḥarit* service until completion of the *Arvit* service in the Synagogue" (see Elon, p. 196) – so that she was enabled to return home in the evening without spending the night in jail.

SUNDRY OFFENSES. Imprisonment was also imposed in respect of offenses of a religious nature, e.g., in the case of a person who threatened to become an apostate unless his request be met for the performance of a ceremony of marriage between himself and a woman prohibited to him by law (Ritba, resp. no. 179); it was also used against the followers of *Shabbetai Ẓevi, and even against the followers of Ḥasidism in its early controversial stages. It was likewise imposed for delivering false testimony, smuggling, and other offenses. In *tak-*

kanot of the Cracow community, enacted at the end of the 16th century, the poor were prohibited, on pain of imprisonment, from begging for alms in the streets – the beadle of the synagogue being entrusted with the duty of collecting contributions and distributing them among the poor; this was justified on the ground that almsgiving in the streets was "tantamount to robbing the respectable poor," since such poor people were ashamed to beg for alms and turned solely to the communal charity box (Elon. pp. 196–7).

The Pillory and House Arrest

Putting offenders in the "Kuna," as the pillory was known in Poland and Lithuania, was a form of punishment meted out in these countries in the late Middle Ages, by Jews as well as gentiles. In some places the "Kuna" consisted of a chain attached to the wall of a synagogue, near the entrance, to which the offender was tied by his neck and hands for a number of hours and was aimed at submitting the offender to shame and ignominy. This form of punishment was commonly found in Catholic churches and on feudal estates and was sometimes imposed in the Jewish community as a punishment for defamation, informing, and like offenses (Elon, pp. 197–8). In the late 17th century, in the Hamburg congregation of Portuguese Jews, house arrest was a form of punishment imposed in respect of certain offenses (Elon, *ibid.*).

Treatment of Prisoners

It is apparent that punitive imprisonment was introduced into the Jewish legal system under the influence of legal systems surrounding the centers of Jewish life. This may be concluded from the use of the "Kuna" (see above) and from the fact that Jewish law, like other legal systems, only introduced imprisonment as a mode of punishment from the 14th century onward. In the process, Jewish law nevertheless stopped short of absorbing some of the accompanying features of imprisonment, such as the cruelty displayed toward prisoners and the inhuman conditions of their detention that prevailed in various countries until the 19th century. In various *takkanot* and responsa it was laid down, e.g., that prisoners awaiting trial were to be kept under different conditions of detention than those to which convicted prisoners were subject, and that the latter too were to be provided with food, clean quarters, and – separate therefrom – sanitary facilities (Elon, pp. 199–201)

[Menachem Elon]

APPLICATION OF JEWISH LAWS OF IMPRISONMENT IN CASE LAW OF THE ISRAELI SUPREME COURT

A detailed discussion of the essence, nature and use of the penalty of imprisonment in Jewish Law can be found in judicial decisions of the Israel Supreme Court, a number of which will be dealt with in this article.

General – Preservation of the Prisoner's Dignity

In the case of Segal (Cr. A 344/81 *State of Israel v. Segal*, PD 35(4) 313), the Supreme Court was asked to rule on the appropriate severity of the prison sentence to be imposed on an offender convicted of drug offenses. The Court (Justice Menahem Elon) began its opinion by relating to the difficulty inherent in a determination of the severity of the punishment: "The legislator entrusted him [the judge] with penal sentencing – especially in respect of the penalty of imprisonment – with an upper limit, but no lower limit" (p. 321 of the decision). Further on in the judgment, the Court relates to the duty under Jewish Law to preserve the dignity and rights of the prisoner, and points out: "Originally, Jewish Law did not recognize imprisonment as a means of punishment. Even after it became reconciled to the idea, under the influence of surrounding judicial systems and inexorable necessity, the halakhic authorities protested against it and warned that *human dignity must be safeguarded*, even in circumstances of incarceration. This matter is treated in an illuminating fashion in a responsum by R. Hayyim Palaggi (*Palache), in Ismir, Turkey, during the first half of the 19th century, who spoke against incarcerating people in 'dirty and desolate cells,' as was the practice in his city of Ismir" (Resp. *Hikekei Lev*, II, ḤM 5). The Court added that: "This assimilation of the law practiced in the surrounding society did not involve adopting the accompanying phenomenon of brutal treatment of prisoners, inhuman conditions regarding food and accommodation and the like, that persisted even into the 19th century in different countries. In the words of the historian Salo Baron: 'Jewish prisons, one of which may still be observed in the Altneuschule in Prague, resembled modern penitentiaries rather than medieval towers and dungeons.' It was forbidden to subject people awaiting trial to the same conditions of imprisonment as those already sentenced. Prisoners sentenced for non-capital offenses were not to be housed in filthy places, for although they had sinned, they were still sons of Israel and were to be imprisoned with dignity" (*ibid*, p. 327).

Prisoner's Right to Medical Treatment and to a Choice of Physician

In the Tamir case (APP 4/82 *State of Israel v. Tamir*, PD 37(3) 205), the Court heard a request by a prisoner to receive different medical consultation and treatment than those suggested by the prison authorities. The Court (Justice Menahem Elon) ruled that:

> It is well established that, by virtue of the principle of personal freedom of all who are created in the Divine image, no person's bodily integrity may be infringed without his consent… This basic right includes a person's right to select the physician to whom his medical treatment will be entrusted…

The Court noted that this right has its origins in Jewish legal sources (see *Medicine and Law), and that:

> The basic right to physical and mental integrity and well-being and to choosing the medical treatment which appears appropriate to him for their preservation, applies also to a person who is in prison or detention; the fact of imprisonment *per se* does not deprive him of any right, save where this is required by virtue of restrictions on his freedom of movement, or when there is an express provision of the law in this regard…

> This Court has already stated that: "The right to physical integrity and human dignity is one to which prisoners and detainees are also entitled. The prison walls do not separate between a detainee and his human dignity… See how concerned the Sages were for a person's dignity and his rights, even if he had sinned. Maimonides, after discussing the various penal sentences available to the court, including imprisonment (Maim., Yad, Sanhedrin 24.9), makes the following concluding statement: 'All of these (punishments) are to be used at the discretion of the judge, in accordance with their appropriateness and their time. And in all these actions his intent must be for the sake of Heaven, and human dignity may not be a trivial matter in his eyes… for he must be cautious not to slight their honor' (*ad loc.*, 10)…
>
> Even with regard to a person sentenced to capital punishment (see *Capital Punishment), the Sages ordered that the executioner must carry out the death sentence in a manner which minimizes the suffering of the convicted criminal and without indignity, applying the verse 'And you shall love your neighbor as yourself' (Lev. 19:18) from which they derived the principle: 'Choose for him a favorable death' (Ket. 37b; Sanh. 45a, 52b); to teach that even a person condemned to death is still 'your neighbor'…" (pp. 205–6 of the judgment).

In its decision, the Court ruled that "the statutory provisions imposing the duty of examination and treatment on the prison authorities […] do not deprive the prisoner of his right to the medical advice and treatment of his own choice, provided that he is prepared to bear the costs involved therein" (p. 209 of judgment)

Creditor's Duty to Attend to Debt-Prisoner's Needs

In the Tamir case, the Court proceeded to discuss the rights of prisoners under Jewish Law:

> It is instructive to cite an enactment of the Council of the Principal Communities of Lithuania in 1637, regarding the obligation imposed on a creditor to provide food to his debtor while the latter is in prison for non-payment of his debt. Jewish Law originally imposed an absolute prohibition against imprisoning a debtor, who is unable to pay his debt, due to the resultant injury to his personal freedom… however, the proliferation of swindlers who avoided paying their creditors, using various fraudulent techniques, and a wave of bankruptcies, forced the halakhic authorities and the heads of the autonomous bodies in the various communities to allow the imprisonment of debtors, under certain terms and conditions, albeit only for a fixed and limited period of time. We can learn of one such condition from the aforementioned enactment, which stated as follows:
>
> "If a creditor demands his debtor's imprisonment, he must provide for the latter's sustenance as determined by the court, and the cost of such sustenance shall be recovered together with his debt" (S. Dubnow (ed.), *Pinkas ha-Medinah* [*Lita*], Berlin, 5285 (1524), reg. 333, p. 70 J [for further detail, see *Imprisonment for Debt]).
>
> …The guiding principle behind the attitude of Jewish Law to imprisonment is to be found in the exposition of Deuteronomy 25:3. On the basis of this verse, the Sages established an important principle in Jewish Law: "Once he [the guilty person] has been flogged, he is to be considered as your brother" (Mishnah, Mak. 3.15). This important principle applies not only after his punishment, but even while he is being punished, for he is your brother and fellow man, and his rights and his dignity as a human being are protected and remain with him (*ad loc.* pp. 207–208).

In the spirit of these provisions of Jewish Law, the Court ruled that the prison authorities have a duty to enable juveniles imprisoned therein to realize their right to study; that various books must be allowed into the prison, so long as there is no danger of immoral activity or incitement against the state; that prisoners be given beds to sleep on, so long as there is no tangible danger that the prisoners will use them for violent purposes against the jailers or against other prisoners; and that a prisoner has a right to take part and to vote in elections conducted in the state, for "the non-violation of any rights enjoyed by a prisoner, which were enjoyed by him before restrictions were placed on his freedom of movement, is to the prisoner's benefit, in order to preserve, insofar as possible, the connection between him and the free society from which he came and from which he is now temporarily separated by the prison walls; and it is also in the interests of society, so as to promote, insofar as possible, the prisoner's rehabilitation, and by so doing to facilitate his return and reintegration into society of which, even in his cell, he continues to be a part" (*ad loc.* pp. 210–13).

Prisoner's Right to Marital Relations: The Cities of Refuge Model

In the Weil case (HC 114/86 *Weil v. State of Israel*, PD 41(3) 477), the Supreme Court was asked to rule on a prisoner's right to have time alone with and to conduct marital relations with his spouse. The Court (Justice Menachem Elon) ruled that:

> It is absolutely clear that the denial to a mature person of the opportunity for sexual relations for a lengthy period of time is a severe deprivation… The sexual impulse, according to Judaism, is a welcome and positive human characteristic. The Bible states that, after the creation of the world, "God saw all that He had made and it was very good" (Gen. 1:31). The Sages remarked that the words "it was very good" refer, *inter alia*, to the human [sexual] impulse, without which "no man would build a house, marry a woman, or have children" (*Genesis Rabbah* 9.7; cf. Yoma 69b). Judaism, in contradistinction to other religions, totally shuns sexual abstinence, both for ordinary people as well as for men of the cloth, and regarded such abstinence, like other forms of abstinence from the pleasures of this world, as a negative phenomenon (Yevamot 63aff.; and cf. Nedarim 20a, 22a, 77b; BM 84a, Eruvin 18a), and every person is enjoined to carry out the religious commandment to "be fruitful and multiply" as well as to fulfill his conjugal obligation to his spouse (see *supra*). What the *halakhah* requires is that man should utilize his impulses with the proper balance, pursuant to the Sages' bidding: "When dealing with the inclination [towards procreation]… the left hand should push away, but the right hand should draw them close" (Sotah 47a; for more on such "balancing methods" in the Sages' thought, see *Iggeret ha-Kodesh* attributed to Ramban, in *Kitvei Ramban*, Chavell edition, 1964, vol. II, p. 315ff.; and cf. A.L. Epstein, *Darkhei Ishut u-Minhageha*, 1959, pp. 27–29) (pp. 482–83 of the judgment).

The Court noted that, in the United States, case law has tended towards recognizing this right of the prisoner and facilitating its realization, and that in Spain there are explicit provisions in the Prison Ordinance facilitating such visits. In one judicial ruling in the U.S, this right was even recognized in respect of a Muslim prisoner by virtue of his freedom of religion, for his religion required him to engage in conjugal relations with his spouse.

The Court found an example of the appropriate attitude towards a criminal serving a prison sentence in Jewish Law, in the law relating to cities of refuge:

> Torah, as well as the *halakhah*, states that the purpose of this rule was to save the slayer from the vengeance of the victim's family ("the blood avenger"). However, it was also regarded, as early as in the tannaitic period, as a punishment for the homicide, and the exile took place even when there was no possibility of vengeance being taken, and even when the slayer waived his entitlement to such protection (*Sifrei*, Deut. §181; cf. *Or Sameah* on Maimonides, *ad loc*. 6.12; D.Z. Hoffman on Deut. 19:5)" (*ad loc*., p. 494 (see at length *City of Refuge)).

The Torah's provisions regarding the conditions of the manslayer's confinement within the city of refuge are especially instructive, and the Court proceeded to examine them:

> Under the law, the slayer brought his family with him to the city of refuge; moreover, he was to be given a place to live and allowed to earn his livelihood and to receive an education, and other such necessities of life. As aforesaid, 42 cities populated by the Levites, who were counted amongst the teachers and sages of the people, served as cities of refuge, and this environment was intended to promote the prisoner-slayer's rehabilitation. These and other laws are detailed in various places throughout the Talmudic literature (see *Sifrei* on Numbers and Deuteronomy, *ad loc*.; Mak. 7a–13a; Tosefta, Mak., chapters 2, 3)" (ibid. p. 495; and see further *City of Refuge).

The Court concludes its deliberation on the cities of refuge as a model for the appropriate mode of punishment, by stating: "The law relating to the blood avenger and the cities of refuge does not apply today but, in discussing contemporary methods of punishment, we ought to carefully consider the concept underlying the method of punishment reflected in the cities of refuge. Exile to a city of refuge and its applicable rules is an example of deprivation of freedom – the exiled prisoner's freedom of movement is restricted, being forbidden to leave the confines of the city of refuge – that nevertheless preserves the human dignity of the offender, his position in his family, and his place in the society from which he came… The laws and principles reflected in the punishment whereby the prisoner is deprived of his freedom in the city of refuge to which he is exiled constitute an example of the ideal model of imprisonment, worthy of aspiration, even if the chances of its realization does not seem likely in the current reality of the society in which we live" (*ibid*., p. 497).

On the basis of the above principles, the Court determined that a prisoner's right to marital relations with his spouse overrides the difficulties inherent in realizing this right – related to the performance of the prison sentence – and it therefore ruled that the prison authorities and the legislator have a duty to facilitate the realization of this right, by the granting of leave and by structuring cells in such a manner as to allow for marital visits in prisons.

This judgment was given prior to the enactment of the Basic Laws in the State of Israel. Today, following the enactment of the Basic Law: Human Dignity and Freedom, which requires that the interpretation and application of laws be conducted in a manner that synthesizes the values of the State of Israel as a Jewish state with its values as a democratic state, it is certainly obligatory on the courts in Israel to rule on these issues pertaining to human rights and dignity, according to the principles set down in Jewish Law over the generations.

Forced Imprisonment in the State of Israel

The Rabbinical Courts (Enforcement of Divorce Judgments) Law, 5755 – 1995, empowers Israeli rabbinical courts to use imprisonment as a sanction against a recalcitrant husband who refuses to issue a *get* to his wife, after a court has ordered him to do so (see **agunah*), as well as against those who refuse to undergo the *ḥaliẓah* ceremony (see *Levirate Marriage). The manner in which the imprisonment is performed is similar to the way it is conducted in the event of a contempt of court. Section 3A of the Law determines that if the recalcitrant husband is a prisoner, an order may be given for his seclusion in a special cell for a period of up to five days each time. See *Divorce, for an extensive treatment of this procedure.

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[Menahem Elon (2nd ed.)]

IMPRISONMENT FOR DEBT, the imprisonment of a debtor who fails to pay his debt on or before the date due.

Prevalence in Other Legal Systems

Influenced by Roman law (see *Execution (civil law)), imprisonment for debt was the most common means of personal coercion found in the debt collection procedures of various medieval legal systems. It developed from the institution of slavery for debt, as practiced in ancient legal systems, but was aimed at restraining the debtor's personal freedom rather than exploiting his labor potential. Imprisonment was imposed both on the debtor of means, who concealed his assets and thus attempted to evade payment of the debt, and on an impoverished debtor who owned no property at all. In certain periods debtors were incarcerated in "private" prisons, where they were subjected to various hardships at the creditor's behest, while elsewhere incarceration in public prisons only was allowed. Imprisoned debtors languished under difficult conditions and the discussion of imprisonment procedures and conditions occupies a prominent part of the legal and general literature of the Middle Ages (see J. Kohler, *Shakespeare vor dem Forum der Jurisprudenz* (1919²), 1–160).

Modern legal systems have introduced far-reaching changes into the institution of imprisonment for debt. In most continental systems it has been completely, or almost completely, abolished; in England and in many states in the U.S. imprisonment for debt is still practiced, but is only imposed in the case of a debtor of means who evades payment of the debt, and the period of imprisonment is limited and prescribed (see H.S.G. Halsbury, *Laws of England*, 2 (1953³), 638 ff.; E. Pfiffner, *Schuldverhaft und Personalarrest im Vollstreckungsverfahren*, 1957).

Biblical and Talmudic Sources

Originally, Jewish law absolutely rejected the concept of imprisonment for debt. Biblical law prohibits the creditor from prejudicing the debtor's basic necessities of life. The creditor is enjoined to "stand outside" and not to enter the debtor's home in order to collect his *pledge (Ex. 22:24–26; Deut. 24:6, 10–12), a fortiori, therefore, it is forbidden to imprison the debtor (see also *Execution, civil law). It is noteworthy that at that time Jewish law in general gave only the most limited recognition to the use of imprisonment, even in the field of criminal law (see *Imprisonment). This absolute prohibition was maintained in talmudic times and for a considerable time thereafter. Thus, Maimonides laid down: "but if the debtor is found to have no assets or only such as form part of the "arrangement" (see *Execution, civil law) that is made for the debtor, then the debtor is allowed to go his way and he is not imprisoned" (Yad, Malveh 2:1).

The Post-Talmudic Period

This attitude of Jewish law underwent a substantive change in the 14th century, the beginnings of such change being already traceable to the 13th century. In the latter half of the 13th century a vigorous halakhic debate ensued regarding the continued validity of the accepted rule against imprisonment for nonpayment of a debt. These doubts were strongly motivated by socioeconomic factors of the time. The development of commercial life and the practice of credit facilities on the one hand, and the prevalence of concealment and fraudulent disposition by debtors of their assets to evade their *obligations on the other hand, obliged creditors – and eventually even the borrowers as well – to seek more effective means of debt collection than those hitherto available under Jewish law. The prevalence of evasion of debt and concealment of assets on the part of debtors – by way of a fictitious assignment or alienation thereof to a wife or minor children, or by way of fictitious *admission of indebtedness to a relative, thus giving the latter a preferential right to recover out of the debtor's property – is widely referred to in the responsa literature of contemporary scholars (see, e.g., Resp. Rashba, vol. 2, nos. 225, 283, 312, 360; vol. 4, no. 158; Resp. Rosh, nos. 78:1 and 2).

Although these halakhic scholars employed various measures to render such fraudulent dispositions invalid (*ibid.*, and Resp. Rosh, no. 78:3), they remained adamantly opposed to the sanction of imprisonment of debtors. It became customary, however, as was the practice in the contingent legal systems, for the parties themselves to stipulate expressly in the bond of indebtedness that the creditor would have the right to imprison the debtor upon his failure to pay the debt. Nevertheless, it is recorded that Solomon b. Adret held that a debtor could not be imprisoned on the strength of such a condition, even though he had been concealing his assets in the particular case (Resp. Rashba, vol. 1, no. 1069). Similarly, Asher b. Jehiel rejected the possibility of the debtor's imprisonment in two other cases, on the ground that the Bible permitted the deprivation of an individual's liberty only in the case of a thief who lacks the means of making restitution and is sold for his theft (Ex. 22:2; see also *Execution, civil law), but not for any other kind of debt; he added that even an express condition between the parties providing for the debtor's imprisonment is void and unenforceable, since it is a condition relating to one's person (*tenai she-ba-guf*), and not one concerning a monetary matter (*tenai she-ba-mamon*) and there is no freedom of contract in respect of the former (see *Contract), which is in the nature of a *Jus Cogens*, rather than a *Jus Dispositivum* (Resp. Rosh, 68:10; 18:4). This opinion was still followed by Jacob b. Asher and by other scholars of this period (Tur, ḤM 97:31; *Maggid Mishneh* and *Migdal Oz*, Malveh 25:14).

Certain scholars of this period, however, already acknowledged a substantive change in the law concerning the imprisonment of a debtor. It was first mentioned in Germany by Alexander Suslin ha-Kohen, who decided – on the basis of a liberal interpretation of a talmudic statement used as a peg for his opinion rather than as proof – that "a person who has the means and fails to pay shall be imprisoned" (*Sefer ha-Aguddah*, Shab., no. 150). A more detailed account of the socioeconomic background to, and the evolution of, the relevant change in the law, is to be found in the responsa of *Isaac b. Sheshet Perfet (Ribash). Bar Sheshet was asked to decide on the validity of an agreement between a creditor and his debtor providing for the latter's imprisonment upon his failure to pay the debt (an agreement current among the Jews at this time – see Elon, *Ḥerut ha-Perat…*, 137–40). He delivered a reply comprised of three parts (Resp. Ribash, no. 484). In the first, he gave a detailed exposition of the halakhic reasons for opposing the imprisonment of the debtor, despite an express condition to this effect: since regarding the creditor-debtor relationship the Torah stresses that the debtor shall not be deprived of his basic necessities for survival, his personal imprisonment is certainly prohibited: and since even an ordinary laborer may retract from a work contract (see *Labor Law), it therefore follows that a debtor may not be imprisoned and deprived of his personal freedom in such a drastic manner; that a condition of the above-mentioned kind is a *tenai she-ba-guf* (see above) in respect whereof there is no freedom of contract; and in deciding against imprisonment for debt, Asher b. Jehiel had already established a precedent in the matter (see above). In the second part of his responsum, Bar Sheshet described the current position in the Saragossa community, of which he was spiritual leader, and noted the existence of a *takkanah* enacted by the local community (see **Takkanot ha-Kahal*) whereby the judges used to imprison a debtor who had agreed to submit to such action upon his failure to repay the debt; a debtor could be imprisoned even in the absence of such a condition if he was unable to provide sureties for payment of the debt. Bar Sheshet added that when he wished to object to the *takkanah* as being contrary to biblical law, he was answered that this was a regulation in the interest of trade (*takkanat ha-shuk*), aimed at swindlers and intended so as not to have "the door bolted before borrowers," which persuaded him not to interfere with the practice. In the third part of his responsum, Bar Sheshet explained the halakhic basis for this decision, in the course of which he introduced a new approach to the question of imprisonment for debt in Jewish law, an approach founded on two basic premises: first, the doctrine that "payment of a debt is a *mitzvah*, the upholding whereof shall be compelled" (Ket. 86a; see also *Obligations, Law of), which Bar Sheshet interprets liberally, allowing for imprisonment to be included as one of the means of compulsion; secondly, that compulsion by imprisonment is only permissible in circumstances which warrant the inference that the debtor is a man of means deliberately concealing his property from the creditor, but when the debtor is a pauper without any means of payment it is clear, Bar Sheshet holds, that his imprisonment is forbidden – notwithstanding his own express consent thereto – since in this case the injunction "You shall not be a creditor unto him" (Ex. 22:24) applies.

This innovation, which distinguishes, for the purposes of imprisonment, between a debtor of means evading payment and an impoverished debtor, was not lightly accepted in the Jewish legal system. In the following century Israel *Isserlein vigorously opposed imprisonment for debt under any circumstances whatsoever (*Leket Yosher*, YD, pp. 79 f.), and it was likewise opposed by Joseph *Caro (Sh. Ar., ḤM 97:15) and Isaac *Adarbi (*Divrei Rivot*, no. 302). The innovation was accepted, however, by such scholars as Samuel de *Medina (Resp. Maharashdam, ḤM no. 390), Elijah b. Ḥayyim (Resp. Ranaḥ, no. 58), and Moses *Isserles (Rema, ḤM 97:15) and thereafter it became accepted in Jewish law (see e.g., *Yam shel Shelomo*, BK 8:65; *Levush, Ir Shushan* 97:15; Sma, ḤM 107, n. 10; see also Elon, *Ḥerut ha-Perat*…, 172 ff.) In a series of additional directives, special conditions of imprisonment were laid down, to be applicable even where the imprisonment of the debtor was considered permissible. Thus, for example, it was prescribed that a lenient form of imprisonment should be imposed (*Takkanot Megorashei Castilia be-Fez* (1545), quoted in *Kerem Ḥamar*, 2:4a, *takkanah* 22), and only in a "dignified prison," i.e., one with proper standards of cleanliness, sanitation, and hygiene (*Ḥikekei Lev*, ḤM no. 5).

Tax Debts

The halakhic scholars took a different and more stringent attitude toward the evasion of tax payments. The various governments under whose protection the Jews resided in post-talmudic times imposed heavy taxes, as "toleration money," on their respective Jewish communities and any delay in payment put the Jews in danger of persecution and expulsion. Communal leaders and halakhic scholars also attached much importance to taxes levied on individual members for the upkeep of communal services, a source of revenue on which organized communal life was largely dependent (see *Taxation). Accordingly, even in times when the scholars were absolutely opposed to imprisonment for debt, it was nevertheless permitted in respect of a tax debt. (It is possible that Rashi to Pes. 91a and *Hassagot Rabad*, Malveh 25:14, favoring imprisonment for debt, were intended to refer to a tax debt, since in their time imprisonment for an ordinary debt had not yet been permitted.) Asher b. Jehiel, who was strongly opposed to imprisonment for debt, noted that the prohibition applied to a debt between a man and his neighbor and that in respect of "the king's tax" it was customary for the communities to imprison a defaulter because "the law of the land is the law" (see **Dina De-Malkhuta Dina*; Resp. Rosh 68:10). Elsewhere (Resp. Rosh 7:11) he added the important detail that it was customary in communities of the Diaspora to imprison debtors for failure to pay a communal tax, such debtors not being brought before the court but adjudged by the city elders in accordance with local custom (see also *Zikhron Yehudah* no. 79).

Notwithstanding this stringent attitude of the scholars toward a tax debt, it would seem that even in this case it was customary to distinguish between a debtor of means and a pauper, although there are indications that in later times imprisonment for a tax debt was imposed without distinction (see Elon, *Ḥerut ha-Perat*…, 207 n. 365). An equally stringent approach was customarily adopted by communal leaders in the case of imprisonment for the nonpayment of a fine (see below; see also *Taxation).

Takkanot Ha-Kahal Concerning Imprisonment for Debt

One of the legal sources for the continued development of Jewish law has been the *takkanot* enacted in all fields of the law throughout the ages. Legislation of this kind was mostly instituted by the halakhic scholars, but a substantial part – particularly from the tenth century onward – stems from *takkanot* enacted by the community through its leaders. A great deal of enactment of this kind was directed toward the problem of imprisonment for debt, because of its close connection with the social and economic conditions in the community. The *takkanot* mentioned by Bar Sheshet and Asher b. Jehiel (see above) are early illustrations of such enactments on the subject of imprisonment for debt and many instances of these can be found in the *takkanot ha-kahal* of Poland, Lithuania, and Germany, dating from the end of the 16th century onward. The end of the 16th century until the middle of the 17th century was a period of severe economic crisis for the Jews of these countries, giving rise to an increase in cases of nonpayment of debt and bankruptcy (see Elon, *Ḥerut ha-Perat*…, 172ff.). Numerous communal *takkanot* from this period deal with *boreḥim* (a term originally applied to runaway debtors or bankrupts and later to all defaulting debtors), with much attention being paid to the question of imprisoning the debtor. These *takkanot* often permitted imprisonment of the debtor, if only for a short period, though he might be a pauper without means of making payment, a fact that evoked strong criticism from the halakhic scholars.

In *takkanot* of the Cracow community (1595), a precise procedure was laid down for the recovery of a debt from a debtor pleading the lack of means to make payment: first, the pronouncement of a ban for three days, followed – in default of payment – by imprisonment of the debtor for eight days in the communal prison (the "*dudik*"; see *Imprisonment); thereafter, an investigation for a period up to 30 days, to ascertain the truth or otherwise of the debtor's plea. The automatic eight-day imprisonment of the debtor, even when he is likely to be a pauper (except when he is known to be the victim of accident, fire, or robbery) was justified by the initiators of the *takkanah* because of the increase in the number of swindlers and their evil ways (see M. Balaban, in JJLG, 10 (1912), 335). Nine years later it was laid down in another Cracow *takkanah* that, "on account of the existing situation," any debtor pleading a lack of means to repay a debt exceeding "200 Polish gold coins," would be liable to imprisonment for a period not exceeding three months, unless "it is known that he has suffered some loss as a result of fire or robbery, etc." and provided that the debtor be released for one month after each month of imprisonment (see P.H. Wettstein, in *Oẓar ha-Sifrut* (1891–92), 600f.). These *takkanot* prescribed imprisonment not only in respect of a debt arising from a loan, but also for debts arising from tort, nonpayment of a teacher's salary, and taxes (M. Balaban, in: JJLG, 11 (1916), 99f.). In the case of a tax debt, imprisonment was prescribed "until the tax and expenses be paid," such exceptional severity being justified at the time on the grounds that many considered themselves at liberty to ignore tax payments without considering that this amounted to "robbing the public," for which reasons the public was to be carefully warned about the matter (M. Balaban, loc. cit., 356).

This general trend, at times increased by additional stringent measures, is reflected in a long series of communal *takkanot* from the 17th and 18th centuries. The *takkanot* of the *Council of Four Lands of 1624 provided that a debtor pleading a lack of means was rendered liable to imprisonment for a period of one month (except in the clear case of an "act of God") and that a debtor known to have willfully squandered his money could be imprisoned for one year. Similar provisions are to be found in the *takkanot* of the Council of Lithuania (1623–52) and the Council of Moravia (1650–59) and in the *takkanot* of the communities of Posen (1642), Nikolsburg, and Tiktin (in the first half of the 18th century). The main difference between the various *takkanot* lay in the period of imprisonment laid down in each case, the fact of imprisonment being recurringly justified as an emergency measure, specifically designed to cope with the ever-increasing number of swindlers (for details, see Elon, *Ḥerut ha-Perat*…, 180–225).

An instructive *takkanah*, illustrative of Jewish law's humane approach toward the debtor – despite its far-reaching sanction of the use of imprisonment – is one enacted in 1637 by the Council of Lithuania, which obliged a creditor who demanded the debtor's imprisonment to provide for the latter's sustenance as determined by the court, but gave the creditor the right to recover the cost of this together with the debt (S. Dubnow (ed.), *Pinkas ha-Medinah* [*Lita*], p. 70 no. 333); fulfillment of this requirement by the creditor was a precondition to the imprisonment of the debtor. This *takkanah* marks a significant divergence from the prevailing trend in other legal systems of that time, in which no consideration was given to the needs of the debtor during his imprisonment.

The provisions of the *takkanot ha-kahal* regarding the automatic imprisonment – even if only for a very short period – of any debtor failing to make payment, represented a deviation from the fundamental principle of Jewish law against prejudicing an impoverished debtor in any manner or form, and consequently evoked strong criticism from halakhic scholars. It must be borne in mind that such authority as Jewish law confers on communal leaders to enact *takkanot*, even though they may be contrary to a particular rule of Jewish law, is confined to the fields of the civil and criminal law, and does not apply to matters of ritual law (*issur ve-heter*). The question of imprisoning an impoverished debtor was looked upon as a matter falling within the sphere of ritual law, by which it was forbidden. Thus R. Joel *Sirkes (first half of the 17th century) stated: "those imprisoning even someone who has no means to pay, in terms of communal *takkanot*, have no authority to rely on and it was also written by Ribash that it is forbidden to seize the [debtor's] person; and the community has no power to make such an enactment in contravention of an *issur*" ("prohibition"; Baḥ, ḤM 97:28). Similarly, 100 years later Jonathan *Eybeschuetz states: "in our time it is the custom simply to imprison a debtor who has no means to pay and no protest is made; perhaps all this is done on the premise that everyone is concealing his assets; the matter requires reflection, for they have no authority to rely on" (*Urim ve-Tummim* ḤM 97, n. 13). It is clear that Eybeschuetz was not quite reconciled to the attempt to justify the indiscriminate imprisonment of debtors on the grounds of the existing social and economic realities, nor to the presumption that seemingly called for every debtor to be suspected in advance of concealing his assets. Indeed, eventually these *takkanot ha-kahal* which sanctioned even the imprisonment of impoverished debtors – if only for a short and fixed period – came to be rejected by the Jewish legal system, since they amounted to a direct and material contradiction of the fundamental principle of Jewish law that imprisonment is not to serve as a punitive measure, but as a means of recovering a debt when the debtor is able to pay but conceals his assets and evades payment (see also *Taxation).

In the State of Israel

The problem of imprisonment for debt engaged the attention of the Knesset for a period of ten years. In 1957 a bill was introduced which proposed the complete abolition of imprisonment for debt, a proposal which was, however, rejected by a majority of the Members on the grounds that it did away with an important means of debt recovery in the case of stubborn debtors. In the Knesset debates on this and other related bills introduced from time to time, the attitude of Jewish law toward the problem was frequently cited – those who favored imprisonment for debt stressing the change in the course of time from its complete prohibition to its eventual permissibility in the light of changed economic and social circumstances – with reference to a stubborn debtor of means. This attitude of Jewish law was finally accepted by the Knesset and embodied in the Execution Law, 5727 – 1967. Under this law (secs. 67–74), an inquiry is made by the Chief Execution Officer into a debtor's financial position, in order to ascertain his ability to comply with the judgment; thereafter the debtor may be ordered to pay the debt in a lump sum or in installments, and upon his failure to do so within the period prescribed by the chief execution officer, he may be imprisoned for a period not exceeding 21 days, if no other means exist of compelling his compliance with the judgment. It is further provided that a debtor who has served the term of imprisonment ordered against him may not be imprisoned again in respect of the same debt or installment. In the case of a judgment for a debt deriving from maintenance for a wife, children, or parents, an imprisonment order may be issued without prior inquiry into the debtor's financial position.

[Menachem Elon]

The Israeli Supreme Court decision in the *Perah* case (HC 5304/92 *Perah v. Minister of Justice*, PD 47(4) 715), which relies on Jewish law regarding imprisonment for debt, changed the legal situation in the country and created a new legal reality [p. 1]. In that case the Perah Organization petitioned the Court to nullify Regulation 114 of the Execution Regulations, pursuant to which "the Chief Execution Officer may issue an arrest order … if by the date the order is issued the judgment debtor has not shown that there is another method of executing the judgment (p. 2)."

This regulation created a situation in which the Chief Execution Officer does not bear the burden of proof of demonstrating, in a judicial proceeding, that the debtor has the means to pay; instead, the debtor must prove that there is another means of enforcing the debt, and therefore there were no grounds for his imprisonment This legal position led to the issuance of imprisonment orders without the debtors being brought before the Chief Execution Officer, prior to, and as a condition for their imprisonment, and thousands of citizens being imprisoned because of debts, under inappropriate conditions and without consideration for their basic rights, even if only for short periods of time. In the *Perah* judgment, the Court cited (p. 1) its decision in the *Rechtman* case (CA 523/70 *Rechtman v. Kork*, PD 25(2) 542) in which, shortly after the law had been enacted, the Court expressed its doubts as to the legality of said regulation.

In the *Perah* decision, Justice Elon set out the entire perspective of Jewish law regarding this issue and the developments that have occurred in that context (see above). Justice Elon described the legislative process leading to the Knesset's enactment of legislation on this matter, and showed how the members of the Knesset who supported the imposition of imprisonment for debt based themselves on the approach of Jewish law. Accordingly, they stressed the difference between imprisonment as punishment for non-payment and imprisonment imposed after an in-depth clarification conducted by a judge regarding the debtor's economic ability. Justice Elon's conclusion was that imprisonment for non-payment of debt in Jewish Law was intended for the debtor financially capable of paying but who evades payment and hides his assets, thereby frustrating the creditor's attempt to collect his debt. It is only in this situation that imprisonment for debt is permissible under Jewish law, as in such cases it is not imposed as a punishment, but rather as a means of inducing the debtor to pay the debt. The justification for accepting the position of Jewish law in accordance with these developments derives from the same factors that engendered the developments themselves: the existence of swindlers who hide their assets in order to avoid paying a debt, and the need to avoid "locking the door" upon borrowers, i.e., to insure the survival of the institution of credit that borrowers require. Indeed, as stated above, as finally enacted the law allows for imprisonment for debt, while establishing "clear boundaries to guarantee that under no circumstances will imprisonment be used against an impoverished debtor who is unable to pay the debt, and it will only be imposed on a debtor who is financially solvent and hides his assets – i.e., as a means of compelling him to disclose his property for the purpose of paying the debt …" (*Perah* at 314).

In view of the above, the Court invalidated Regulation 114 of the Execution Regulations.

Justice Elon further added that the said regulation should also be invalidated pursuant to the provisions of Basic Law: Human Dignity and Liberty, which establishes the values of the State of Israel as a Jewish and democratic state. The values of a Jewish state are those reflected in Jewish law, as expressed above and as described at length in the *Perah* decision. These values have become the values of the democratic state, and over the course of recent generations all Western countries have either restricted imprisonment for debt to very limited circumstances, similar to those stipulated in Jewish law, or have entirely eliminated the possibility of such imprisonment.

It should be noted that today, following another amendment in the Execution Law (in 1994), debtors may still be imprisoned under section 70 of the Law, when found in contempt of the Execution Office. (See entry *Contempt of Court). Such imprisonment is not a penalty for the debt, but rather an incentive to comply with orders given by the Chief Execution Officer. Section 70 empowers the Chief Execution Officer to issue an imprisonment order against a debtor who fails to comply with these orders, e.g., the debtor's non-compliance with an order of payment that spreads the debtor's payments over a long period of time, or the debtor's refusal to sign a waiver of confidentiality designed to enable the Chief Execution Officer to ascertain the debtor's true financial position.

An additional amendment to the law, adopted in 1999, provides that a debtor may automatically be regarded as being a financially solvent debt evader if he fails to attend an investigation of his financial capacity. Here, too, the debtor may be imprisoned. But the law further provides (section 7 (b)) that a condition for the authority to imprison a debtor pursuant to the above provisions, is that there was complete and proper service of the execution office orders to the debtor. Accordingly, a debtor can only be imprisoned for failure to comply with an order if it was clearly delivered to the debtor's hands. Thus, according to these provisions, a debtor can only be imprisoned when it has been proven that he is avoiding a payment that he has the financial ability to make.

[Menachem Elon (2nd ed.)]

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INBAL, ELIAHU (1936–), Israeli conductor. Born in Jerusalem, Inbal studied in Jerusalem with Paul *Ben-Haim, at Celibidache's conducting classes in Hilversum, and at the Paris Conservatoire. In 1963, he won the International Guido Cantelli Competition. He made his British debut in 1965 with the London Philharmonic Orchestra and conducted many of the major orchestras, mainly in Europe, and the Israel Philharmonic Orchestra, with whom he went on tour to Australia in 1966 and to the U.S. in 1967. In 1969 Inbal made his opera debut with *Elektra* in Bologna and in Siena (1971) he conducted the first performance since 1803 of Cherubini's *Anacréon*. He was chief conductor and director of the Frankfurt (Hessen) Radio Symphony Orchestra from 1974 to 1990 and chief conductor at the Teatro La Fenice, Venice, from 1986 to 1989. In 2001 he was appointed conductor and music director of the Berlin Symphonic Orchestra. His recordings include Donizetti's *Maria de Rudenz* with La Fenice, the complete orchestral works of Berlioz, Ravel, Scriabin, and Schumann, and the complete symphonies of Bruckner, *Mahler, and Shostakovich. He received the French Ordre des Arts et des Lettres (1990), and in 1996 was named conductor laureate of the Frankfurt RSO and honorary conductor of the Orchestra Nazionale della RAI.

ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY: Grove online; MGG².

[Uri (Erich) Toeplitz and Yohanan Boehm / Israela Stein (2nd ed.)]

INBAL DANCE THEATER (*inbal* – Heb. "clapper" of a bell), Israel dance company based mainly on Yemenite traditions. It was founded in 1949 by Sara *Levi-Tannai, who became the company's choreographer and artistic director, and Ovadia Tuvia, its musical director. Its first performance was given in July 1950. At first, the company was supported by the Histadrut; later it received financial aid from the America-Israel Cultural Foundation and the Ministry of Education. Inbal became a professional group in 1952. Levi-Tannai wrote songs which eventually were accepted among the new Israeli folk tunes. She devised a choreography synthesizing Yemenite tradition and Israeli shepherd dances. Inspiration for Inbal dances came also from the Ḥasidim and from the Jews of the *Hadramaut, and their movements reflected their desert environment. Dancing, singing, and acting were one indivisible unit. Sources of the Inbal repertoire are the religious traditions and the Bible. The group has performed *Yemenite Wedding, Midnight Prayer, At the Well, Deborah, the Queen of Sheba, the Boy Samuel*, and *Ruth*. Levi-Tannai received the Israel Prize in 1973 for her contribution to the Israeli dance. Two years later she passed away. In 2005 the manager of the dance company was Illana Cohen, who once danced under the guidance of Levi-Tannai.

[Yohanan Boehm / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

INBER, VERA MIKHAILOVNA (1890–1972), Soviet Russian poet. She was born and educated in Odessa and spent the years 1910–14 abroad. Her writings date back to 1911, when she joined the Acmeists, an anti-symbolist group of modernist lyric poets, which also numbered in its ranks Osip *Mandelshtam. After the Revolution she went over to the militantly civic-minded Communist romantic group known as the Constructivists, led by Ilya *Selvinski, but only joined the Communist Party in 1943. Vera Inber's best-known work is *Pulkovski Meridian* ("The Pulkovo Meridian," 1943), a classical, restrained poem of some 800 lines, which ranks as one of the best long poems on the theme of war in Soviet literature. The work depicts the siege of Leningrad, where she was a war correspondent between 1941 and 1944, and the heroism of its defenders. The same event inspired a book of essays, *Pochti tri goda* ("Almost Three Years," 1945), for which she was awarded the Stalin Prize in 1946. Another important book is the collection of literary essays titled *Vdokhnoveniye i masterstvo* ("Inspiration and Craftsmanship," 1957). Though no trailblazing innovator, Vera Inber is considered one of the more interesting of the Soviet poets of her generation. In contrast to many of her contemporaries, it appears she was virtually unaffected by her Jewish childhood: Jewish themes are absent from her work with the exception of some "illegal" poems whose attribution to her cannot be definitely confirmed.

[Maurice Friedberg]

INCENSE AND PERFUMES. In the ancient world, incense and perfumes were extremely precious commodities, sometimes even more than silver and gold, and were greatly sought after for their fragrance, for both secular and religious purposes. Among the gifts the Queen of Sheba brought Solomon, perfumes are mentioned (I Kings 10:2). "The spices and precious oil" were kept in the royal treasure chamber together with silver and gold (II Kings 20:13). Some maintain their value lay in their hygienic qualities, since they served to dispel the prevalent evil smells. It is probable that this is true of the incense burned with the sacrifices, where it was an antidote to the smell of the burning meat (cf. Avot 5:5, where the fact that sacrificial flesh did not become putrid is regarded as a miracle). It was stated that a woman needs to perfume herself but not a man, because she was formed from the rib – flesh – which is subject to putrefaction (Gen. R. 17:8). There is no doubt, however, that the main reason for the desire for perfumes was due simply to their fragrance. The price of incense and perfumes was extremely high, due to various reasons: the laborious task of extracting the aromatic juices, the expense and dangers involved in bringing them from distant countries of origin, and the high profits of the spice merchants' middlemen, who in certain cases kept secret the place of origin of the perfumes (see *Cinnamon).

Sources of Incense and Perfumes

Most incense and perfumes originate in tropical countries: cinnamon came from Ceylon and China, aloe (*algum) and *calamus from India; *nard from Nepal and the Himalayas, and *frankincense from India, Somaliland, and Arabia Felix, which last place also supplied *myrrh; *bdellium originated in Africa and the vicinity of Afghanistan, *tragacanth in the mountains of Asia Minor which was also the center for the growing of *laudanum and *galbanum (also widespread in Turkestan, Persia, Syria, and Crete). Among aromatic plants which grew in Israel were *henna, *saffron, and *balsam (the latter *besem*, *nataf*, and *ẓori* in the Bible; *ketaf, apparsemon*, and *balsemon* in rabbinic literature). Balsam was the perfume par excellence. In the time of the Mishnah and the Talmud other perfumes were extracted either from plants which were indigenous to Israel, or from plants, like the *rose, narcissus, and jasmine which originated in foreign countries and were successfully introduced and cultivated in Israel. Besides incense and perfumes of plant origin, aromatic ingredients were produced from fauna, such as *sheḥelet* "*onycha" (the mishnaic *ẓipporin*). Rabbinic literature mentions musk, and notes that it is derived from a beast (Ber. 43a); elsewhere it is called *muskin* (TJ, Ber. 6:6, 10d; from Gr. μόσχος. It is extracted from a gland in the body of the musk deer, *Moschus moschiferus*, which lives in Nepal and Tibet. Saadiah Gaon and Maimonides erroneously identified musk with the scriptural *mor* ("myrrh"). Apparently at different times efforts were made to grow other tropical perfumes. This is possibly the source of the *aggadah* about the growing of cinnamon in Ereẓ Israel. An interesting problem is posed by the statement of Theophrastus about calamus and schoenus, apparently two species of *keneh-bosem* – (*Cymbopogon*) growing in a valley not far from the Lebanon, probably the Ḥuleh area. The English naturalist H.B. Tristram, who explored Ereẓ Israel in the second half of the 19th century, wrote that the second species grew then in the vicinity of Lake Kinneret. Nowadays no trace of this is to be found.

The "Spice Route" through Israel

From what has been said, it is evident that "the garden of perfumes" to which the beloved is compared, in the Song of Songs (4:14–15) does not reflect the flora of Israel, since six of the plants mentioned do not grow there. It is an exotic, imaginary garden in which the aromatic plants of the world are assembled. Through Israel passed the "spice route" which led from the countries of the south and the east to the north and west, and from the north to Egypt (cf. Gen. 37:25). This route is very old, and it is not surprising that the children of Israel when traveling in the wilderness already obtained four species of perfumes and at least (see below) four ingredients of the incense which had their origin in different parts of Asia and Africa: myrrh, cinnamon, calamus, *keneh-bosem*, and *kiddah* (cassia; Ex. 30:23–24); balsam (*nataf*), onycha (*sheḥelet*), galbanum, and frankincense (*levonah*; Ex. 30:34). While the above applied to both perfumes and incense, the following remarks deal with each group separately.

Perfumes

The ancients liked to savor local aromatic plants. Of the lily (*shoshannah*; see *Flowers of the Bible), it is stated that "it exists only for its fragrance," and was placed upon the table on Sabbaths and festivals (Lev. R. 23:6).

FORMS OF PERFUME. Sometimes the perfume was in the form of granules that were smelled from time to time, as in "a bag of myrrh that lieth between my breasts" (Song 1:13), where congealed myrrh, which is also called *mor-deror*, is meant (Ex. 30:23). In the main, expensive perfumes were used in liquid form, dissolved in oil, this being *shemen ha-tov* ("the precious oil") frequently referred to in the Bible. Two methods are described for the preparation of "holy anointing oil": in the one, the aromatic sap or plant was boiled in oil; in the other, which was more economical, "they brought the roots and boiled them in water, and poured over them the oil which absorbed the smell. Finally they separated the aromatic oil from the water" (Ker. 5a). Some also put the aromatic plants into oil which gradually absorbed the odor, as was customary in preparing rose oil (Shev. 7:7).

THE SALE OF PERFUMES. Perfume was sold in special shops, the perfumer's craft being regarded as a pleasant and agreeable occupation: "The world cannot exist without a perfumer and without a tanner – happy is he whose craft is that of a perfumer" (Kid. 82b). There were also itinerant peddlers of perfume, whose wares are called *avekat rokhel* ("powders of the merchant"; Song 3:6). Some falsified their wares, hence the caution against the adulteration of myrrh with *kumos* (acacia gum; Sitra 1:22). Harlots used perfumes extensively and the perfumeries were near "the market of harlots" (Ex. R. 43:7). The fragrant oils were sold in *ẓeloḥiyyot* ("small bottles"; Shab. 8:2; et al.), many of which have been found in archaeological excavations.

RITUAL AND SECULAR USES. Perfumes were used for ritual and secular purposes. "Holy anointing oil" was prepared in the wilderness for the *anointing of Aaron and his sons, of the Tabernacle and its utensils. This was prepared from four tropical aromatic ingredients dissolved in olive oil. The Torah forbade it to be used for ordinary purposes, and the preparation of an oil of like proportions was prohibited (Ex. 30:22–33). Samuel anointed Saul and David with the anointing oil, and Zadok anointed Solomon with it. Subsequently, usurpers to the throne of Judah took care to be anointed with the anointing oil. According to rabbinic tradition "a king's son does not require anointing [except in cases where his succession is disputed], nor were the kings of Israel anointed." In the days of Josiah, the anointing oil "was hidden," and from then on kings were anointed with balsam oil (Ker. 5b; TJ, Sot. 8:1, 22c). Oil saturated with perfume used for ordinary purposes was called "apothecary's oil" (Eccles. 10:1) or "precious oil" (*ibid.* 7:1). It "rejoices the heart" (Prov. 27:9); it is the "oil of gladness" (Ps. 45:8). Ecclesiastes, in its description of the life of pleasure says "let thy head lack no oil" (Eccles. 9:8). It was used for scenting the beard (Ps. 133:2) and was particularly favored by the youth (Song. 1:3). Perfume was, however, as can be expected, mainly used by women. The candidates for Ahasuerus' favor were treated "six months with oil of myrrh and six months with sweet odors and with other ointments of the women" (Esth. 2:12).

[Jehuda Feliks]

Incense Offerings

Incense of offerings is designated by two terms which were originally different in meaning: *ketoret* (*qeṭoret*) and *levonah*. *Qeṭoret* denotes primarily "that which goes up in smoke" and thus can refer to any type of burned sacrifice (Ps. 66:15). In several instances, the *piʿel* form of the root *ktr* (*qṭr*) appears without a direct object and in close parallelism with the root *zvḥ* ("to sacrifice"; I Kings 11:8; 22:44; II Kings 12:4; 14:4, cf. II Kings 22:17; 23:5; Isa. 65:3; Jer. 1:16; 7:9; 19:14). Hence it is doubtful that these verses contain a reference to incense offering, as suggested by many modern translations. But *qeṭoret* obviously does mean "incense" as attested in Ezekiel 8:11 (cf. Ezek. 16:18; 23:41) and probably in Deuteronomy 33:10 (*qeṭorah*), and I Samuel 2:28 as well. In sources usually assigned to priestly writers, *qeṭoret* and *qeṭoret* (*ha*)*sammim* (Ex. 25:6; 30:7; 31:11) designate an offering of a burning mixture of powdered spices, specifically, stacte, onycha, galbanum, and frankincense (Ex. 30:34–38). Many scholars hold that this recipe may have been taken from an older usage.

The second term for incense, *levonah* (Jer. 6:20; 17:26; 41:5), designates frankincense and is probably so called because of its white color (Heb. *lavan* "white"). *Levonah* is one of the ingredients in *qeṭoret* (*ha-*)*sammim* (Ex. 30:34). M. Haran distinguishes three different uses of incense in the Bible. As a supplement to sacrifice, the incense offering was concomitant to other offerings. Frankincense (*levonah*) was used without any additional aromatic ingredients. This custom is laid down in the ritual for the meal-offering (*minḥah*; Lev. 2:1ff.), for firstfruits (*bikkurim*; Lev. 2:14), and for the showbread (Lev. 24:7; cf. Neh. 13:5, 9). In no instance are spices added to the sacrifices of animals or birds. Incense was also offered in a censer called *maḥtah* (Lev. 10:1) or *miktar* (*miqṭar*; Ezek. 8:11). This was a separate offering which is given special prominence in the priestly sources (Num. 16:16–18). Another separate incense offering was performed by Aaron in order to stop a plague (Num. 17:11–12). In other passages (e.g., Isa. 43:23; Jer. 6:20; 17:26; 41:5) it is not clear whether a separate incense offering was intended or whether the *levonah* was to accompany the meal-offering. Since the sources do not specify the ingredients of the separate incense offering – Leviticus 10:1, Numbers 16:17, and 17:12 speak only of *qeṭoret* – its composition cannot be determined. When, however, the high priest was directed to carry a censer of burning incense of the Holy of Holies on the Day of Atonement, he used *qeṭoret sammim* (Lev. 16:12–13), but this practice is exceptional. There is no compelling reason to assume that the ritual of burning incense in censers appeared late in the Israelite cult. Egyptian paintings and reliefs from the New Kingdom depicting the sieges of various cities in Canaan and Syria occasionally show a man holding a censer of burning incense (see Gressmann, Bilder, fig. 105 and Pritchard, Pictures, fig. 334).

Except on the Day of Atonement, *qeṭoret* (*ha-*)*sammim* was always offered on a special altar, specifically, the "altar of *qeṭoret sammim*" (Lev. 4:7 see *Altar). The altar incense was burned each morning and evening by the high priest and came to be designated "perpetual incense" (*qeṭoret tamid*; Ex. 30:7–8). There is good reason to believe that the "altar of gold" (I Kings 7:48) which stood in Solomon's Temple (I Kings 6:20, 22) was an incense altar, a feature that may have been missing in Ezekiel's vision of the Temple (but see his reference to a table in 41:22). Scholars often compare this altar and the one mentioned in Exodus 30:1–7 to the horned limestone altars (tenth century B.C.E.) excavated in Palestine, especially to those of Megiddo and Tell Beit Mirsim. According to many scholars the horns were designed to support a bowl of incense. Though it is not known exactly when the practice of burning incense was absorbed into the Israelite cult, the suggestion of Van Hoonacker that incense was introduced into Israel in the sixth century B.C.E. is certainly not vindicated by archaeological discoveries.

The offering of incense is treated with the utmost seriousness by biblical writers, who chastise the unqualified persons bold enough to offer it (Lev. 10:1–2; Num. 16:6ff.; II Chron. 26:16–21). Offering incense to other gods – a practice well attested in the Bible (I Kings 11:8; II Kings 22:17; 23:5; Jer. 1:16; 7:9; II Chron. 34:25; et al) – is particularly displeasing to the God of Israel (II Kings 22:17; Jer. 1:16; II Chron. 34:25). Its use according to the exact specified proportions was forbidden for nonholy purposes. The use of incense was not restricted to the cultic sphere. It was also offered in honor of distinguished persons (Ezek. 23:41; Dan. 2:46). The bride in Song of Songs 3:6 was perfumed with various types of incense. Proverbs 27:9 praises ointment and incense which "rejoice the heart." It was probably assumed that whatever pleased men would also please God. This may be reflected in Psalms 141:2, where prayer is compared to the rising smoke of incense.

[Jean Ouellette]

Another term for the ascending smoke of *ketoret* is *tamer*, the smoke being *timrah*; it was stated that the blessing over the incense had to be recited "as soon as the *tamarah* ascends" (Ber. 43a). From the Aramaic *gumra* ("coals") is derived the word *mugmar* for the incense upon the coals. Hence "to say the blessing over the *mugmar*" literally means "over the fragrant odor of the incense" (although in modern Hebrew the phrase is used as though the word is derived from "*gamar*," to finish, to mean "to congratulate on the completion of a task"). The verb is also used for the scent of incense permeating a room or clothes (cf. Shab. 18a).

Preparation of the Incense

An ancient *baraita* from the time of the Temple (Ker. 6a) describes the preparation of incense in the Tabernacle and the Temple. The preparing of incense was called **pittum ha-ketoret* and those who did the work were the *pattamim* ("compounders"). Although the Torah mentions the names of only four ingredients, according to rabbinic tradition "11 ingredients were mentioned to Moses at Sinai," and the increased number is arrived at by homiletical interpretation of that verse. These are (1) balsam, (2) onycha, (3) galbanum, (4) frankincense, (5) myrrh, (6) cassia-cinnamon, (7) spikenard, (8) crocus, (9) costus, (10) cinnamon bark, (11) cinnamon. Loew regarded the increase in the number of spices as determined by the import of new spices in the time of the Second Temple. The same chapter of the Torah, however, numbers among the components of the anointing oil, myrrh, cinnamon, and also *kiddah* which is a species of cinnamon similar to cassia-cinnamon and cinnamon bark. There is no ground for doubting the tradition that the other types of incense were already used in the wilderness. In the course of a year, 368 maneh (c. 580 lbs; c. 264 kg.) of incense were consumed. To these was added a small amount of *ma'aleh ashan* ("that which makes the smoke ascend"), apparently the plant *Leptadenia pyrotechnica* which contains nitric acid, and also *kippat ha-yarden*, the identity of which is unknown, but it has been suggested that it is the cyclamen. At the time of the Second Temple the preparation of incense for the Temple was the monopoly of the priests of the House of *Avtinas who kept the technique and exact proportions secret, for which they were censured by the rabbis (Yoma 3:11). The use of incense which was common in biblical and talmudic times steadily declined, and as though in memory of it the blessing "who createst diverse kinds of spices" is said in the *Havdalah*.

[Jehuda Feliks]

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INCEST.

In the Biblical Period

The idea of what constituted a prohibited degree of kinship for sexual relations seems to have broadened during the biblical period. Among the ancestors of Israel there occurred an unusual number of marriages that are incestuous by later standards; evidently this was not merely condoned, but favored, as ensuring good stock (cf. Gen. 24:3–4; 38ff.; 28:1ff.). Thus Abraham married his paternal sister (Gen. 20:12 against Lev. 18:9), Jacob married two sisters (Gen. 29:21ff. against Lev. 18:18), and Amram, Moses' father, married his aunt (Ex. 6:20, against Lev. 20:19). As late as the time of David, marriage to a half sister was condoned (II Sam. 13:13). The standard of the laws thus reflects a tendency (that reached its culmination in post-biblical legislation) to broaden the scope of incest with the passage of time. Rabbinic theory recognized this, justifying the patriarchs' disregard of the Torah prohibitions on the ground that they were subject only to the *Noachide law of incest, which was far less comprehensive than that of the Torah (Sanh. 58a–b; Maim. Yad, Melakhim, 9:5).

[Moshe Greenberg]

In Jewish Law

The general prohibition against incest with one's "near of kin" (Lev. 18:6) has been held to be limited to the following degrees of consanguinity: parents (18:7); mother-in-law (20:14); stepmother (18:8); sister and half sister (18:9) (but not a stepsister as the Karaites maintained); granddaughter (18:10); aunt (18:12–13); wife of father's brother (18:14); daughter-in-law (18:15); brother's wife (18:16); stepdaughter and stepgranddaughter (18:17); and wife's sister during the lifetime of the former (18:18). This list is exhaustive and may not be added to by analogies (Sifra, Aḥarei-Mot 13:15), since creation of any criminal offense requires the express pronouncement both of the conduct prohibited and the resulting punishment (see *Penal Law; cf. Ker. 3a; Sanh. 74a). A list of another 20 degrees of consanguinity was later drawn up, however, by way of analogy – albeit not to create additional criminal offenses, but as additional prohibitions of intercourse and impediments to *marriage (Yev. 21a; Maim. Yad, Ishut 1:6).

The punishment for the various offenses of incest varies – while biblical law prescribed death by burning for incest with one's mother-in-law (Lev. 20:14), it did not prescribe any particular mode of execution for other capital offenses of incest (Lev. 20:11, 12, 17, 19, 20, 21), some of which were clearly to be visited with *divine punishment (*karet*; Lev. 20:17, 20, 21). In talmudic law, the offenses of incest were eventually classified as follows:

(1) those punishable with death by stoning – incest with mother, stepmother daughter-in-law (Sanh. 7:4);

(2) those punishable with death by burning – incest with stepdaughter, stepgranddaughter, mother-in-law, grandmother-in-law, daughter, and granddaughter (Sanh. 9:1); and

(3) all other offenses of incest to be punishable with *karet* or *flogging (Maim. Yad, Issurei Bi'ah 1:4–7). As several of the offenses are threatened with both judicial and divine punishment (e.g., incest with mother and stepmother; Ker. 1:1), the rule was evolved that capital punishment would be imposed judicially only where the offense had been committed after previous warning that it was punishable and in the presence of witnesses; while divine punishment was deemed to apply where the offense had been committed without such previous warning and without witnesses being available (Yad, Issurei Bi'ah 1:2–3). Flogging came to be administered not only by way of punishment for such incestuous acts as had been made criminal offenses, but also by way of admonition and rebuke (*makkat mardut*), for incestuous acts which were not criminal (Maim. *ibid.* 2:8). Occasionally, capital offenses were reduced to offenses punishable with flogging, as in the case of incest with one's wife's near relations after her death (*ibid.*)

Incest is a capital offense only where sexual intercourse has taken place (Shab. 13a), although complete penetration is not a required element (Maim. *ibid.* 1:10); but the prohibition to come near anyone of one's "near of kin" was interpreted to render any bodily proximity, within the prohibited degrees of kinship, punishable with flogging (Maim. Yad, Issurei Bi'ah 21:1) – except kissing or embracing one's mother, daughter, sister, or aunt, or such other relatives who do not normally arouse the sexual urge (*ibid.*, 21:6; and see *Sexual Offenses). The offense of incest is committed by the female as well as by the male participant (Yev. 84b; TJ, Sanh. 7, 9, 25a; Ker. 2:4; Maim. Yad, Issurei Bi'ah 1:1); but where the offense is committed upon an infant or upon a person asleep or by a person unaware of the incestuous relationship, only the initiator of the act is punishable (Ker. 2:6).

Each single act of sexual intercourse amounts to a complete commission of the offense (Maim. *ibid.* 3:12). The turpitude of this kind of offense is stressed in the Bible by such epithets as "wickedness" (*zimmah*, Lev. 20:14; Ezek. 22, 11), "corruption" (*tevel*, Lev. 20:12), "shame" (*ḥesed*, Lev. 20:17), and "impurity" (*niddah*, Lev. 20:21). Incest is one of the three cardinal offenses (together with murder and idolatry) which a man may not commit even in order to save himself from certain death (Sanh. 74a; Yad, Yesodei ha-Torah 5:2); nor in order to save another person's life (Tosef. Shab. 15:17); nor can there be any justification for its commission on any medical grounds (TJ, Shab. 14:4, 14d; Pes. 25a). Opinions are divided among medieval scholars as to whether a woman, as well as a man, must choose to die rather than commit incest. Some hold that a woman, being the passive partner, may submit to incest rather than be killed (Rashi to Yoma 82a; Isserles, YD 157:1 and cf. Tos. to Av. Zar. 54a), while others maintain that she should prefer death (ET, 6 (1954), 110). It is also maintained that the female's enjoyment is tantamount to the male's action (Tos. BK 32a), constituting "an overt act" for which her punishment is flogging.

In the State of Israel there is no statutory prohibition against incest as such, but it is an offense, punishable with five years' imprisonment, for anyone to have sexual intercourse with an unmarried girl below the age of 21 who is his or his wife's descendant, or his ward, or who has been entrusted to him for education or supervision (Section 155, Criminal Code Ordinance, 1936). Apart from this particular provision, it would seem that sexual intercourse within the prohibited degrees of consanguinity described above is, indeed, left to divine punishment.

[Haim Hermann Cohn]

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INCLINATION, GOOD AND EVIL. There is a biblical basis to the idea of the existence in man's nature of an instinctive tendency or impulse (*yeẓer* as in Ps. 103:14 from *yaẓar*, i.e., to "form" or "create" as in Gen. 2:8), which, left to itself, would lead to his undoing by prompting him to act in a manner contrary to the will of God (whence the term *yeẓer ha-ra* or "inclination to evil"). Thus, in Genesis 5 it is stated that "every inclination of the thoughts of his – i.e., man's – heart is only evil continually" and again in Genesis 8:21 "for the inclination of man's heart is evil from his youth." The doctrine of the two inclinations (or drives) is a major feature of rabbinic psychology and anthropology. As a personification of the permanent dualism of the choice between good and evil, the rabbinic notion of the two inclinations shifts this dualism from a metaphysical to a more psychological level (i.e., two tendencies in man rather than two cosmic principles). According to the rabbis, man was created with two opposing inclinations or tendencies, one impelling him toward the good and the other toward evil. This, in their opinion, was indicated by the employment in the term *Vayyiẓer* used in regard to man's creation in Genesis 2:7, of two *yods* (Ber. 61a). However, even the so-called *yeẓer ha-ra*, which corresponds roughly to man's untamed natural (and especially sexual) appetites or passions, is not intrinsically evil and, therefore, not to be completely suppressed. Without it, a human being would never marry, beget children, build a house, or engage in trade (Gen. R. 9:7). It is only when it gets out of hand that it becomes the cause of harm. An effective antidote is the study and observance of Torah (cf. Kid. 30b). This would suggest that the Torah is conceived as an ordering, guiding, and disciplining principle with regard to the untamed natural urges. While the *yeẓer ha-ra* is created in man at birth, the *yeẓer ha-tov*, which combats it, first makes its appearance 13 years later at the time of his *bar-mitzvah, i.e., when one assumes the "Yoke of the Torah" and with the onset of the age of reflection and reason (cf. Eccles. R., 4:13, 1). Unless it is checked and controlled, the *yeẓer ha-ra* will grow like habit. At first it resembles the thread of a spider's web but at the end it is like the stout rope of a wagon (Suk. 52a). Another parable describing the *yeẓer ha-ra* is that of a wayfarer who starts out by being taken in as a guest and ends by making himself the master of the house (*ibid.* 52b). Greatness does not necessarily render a human being immune from the power of the *yeẓer ha-ra*, which manifests itself in such traits as vindictiveness and avarice (Sif. Deut. 33), anger (Shab. 105b), and vanity (Gen. R. 22:6). In fact, the greater the man, the stronger are such tendencies apt to be in him. The *yeẓer ha-ra* operates only in this world. It does not exist in angels or other spiritual beings (Lev. R. 26:5). "In the world to come," said the *amora* *Rav, "there is no eating or drinking, procreation or barter, envy or hate" (Ber. 17a). The *yeẓer ha-ra* has been personified by being identified with Satan, man's tempter in this world and his accuser in the world to come, and also with the Angel of Death (BB 16a; cf. Suk. 52b). In Genesis (3:1ff.) the serpent is presented as man's tempter. Whether the devil, Sammael, merely employed the serpent as an instrument of himself assumed the form of a serpent is not clear from the text of the Greek Apocalypse of Baruch.

[Samuel Rosenblatt]

In Jewish Thought

Discussions of the two human inclinations, good and evil, constitute an integral part of theories of the soul in Jewish thought. At the same time, the fact that these aspects of the soul are called by value-laden names, "good inclination" and "evil inclination," frequently transforms a theoretical discussion into practical guidance regarding the proper behavior required to suppress the evil inclination as much as possible and to enable the good inclination to control it. Such practical guidance often forces the thinker to treat a related problem of theodicy: How can one explain the fact that God, who is good, implanted the harmful, evil inclination in the human being?

Maimonides integrated the "good inclination" and "evil inclination" in his Aristotelian theory of the soul. In accordance with his conception of the ultimate human good in terms of intellectual actualization, Maimonides identified the good inclination with the acquired human intellect (*Guide* 3:22), which in turn is identical with the "image (*ẓelem*) of God" (*Guide* 1:2). Conversely, the evil inclination is identified with the imaginative faculty common to humans and the higher animals (*Guide* 3:22), and which is responsible for both moral and epistemological harm. On the moral level, imagination leads people to follow their appetites, and on the epistemological level, it leads them to believe in the existence of impossible beings (*Guide* 2:12). Maimonides also presents the struggle among the faculties of the human soul in a manner consistent with an allegorical understanding of the three characters in the story of the garden of Eden: Adam represents intellect; Eve represents matter; and the serpent represents the evil inclination as embodied in imagination (*Guide* 1:2, 2:30).

Joseph *Albo, in his discussion of why the evil inclination is necessary, pointed out that without the appetitive nature of this faculty, which characterizes the animal soul, the human species would become extinct. Conversely, the good inclination, namely the rational soul, is the means of the individual's attaining spiritual immortality (*Book of Principles* 2:13). Isaac *Arama explained the existence of the evil inclination in terms of providing a challenge, presenting the opportunity to perform an evil act. The evil inclination thereby leads a person to examine his or her actions, to discern good from evil, and to decide freely to do the good (*Binding of Isaac*, ch. 8).

In the Kabbalah, the evil inclination was understood in cosmic terms, as disturbing the harmony of the cosmos symbolized by the **sefirot* Power (*gevurah*) and Kingdom (*malkhut*).

[Hannah Kasher (2nd ed.)]

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INCUNABULA.

Introduction

The term incunabula (or "cradle books") denotes books printed before 1500, including broadsheets, or other typographical products printed from letterpress composed of movable type. The first book known to be printed by Gutenberg in Germany dates from 1445. Jews were denied the opportunity of learning the art of *printing as long as it was exclusively practiced within Germany, where the strict rules of the guilds forbade the admission of apprentices who were not proved to be legitimately born sons of Christian citizens.

In 1465 Conrad Sweynheym and Arnold Pannartz, two immigrant printers from Germany, established themselves at Subiaco, near Rome, printing books in Latin. It can be assumed that they were the teachers, instructors, or foremen of an industrious group of Jewish printers (or typesetters) supposed to have been active in Rome or its vicinity c. 1470 (see printers' list, no. 1).

Numbers of Incunabula

It has been estimated that c. 50,000 incunabula editions were published, c. 35,000 of them still represented by copies fully or partially preserved. Included in this total are the 175 (207) editions printed with Hebrew letters ascertained by copies preserved in public collections (see below). It is in no way certain that there is a complete list of all books printed in Hebrew during the 15th century. Two books supposed to have been printed before 1492 (S-TC 249 and 250) have not been included in the list at the end of this entry because there is no proof for their existence. Another case is the 15th-century Venetian *Haggadah woodcuts (*Soncino-Blaetter*, 1 (1925), 78) because it is not sure whether these are pages from a book or parts of a cycle of illustrations. During the last two centuries the interest in, and the knowledge of, Hebrew incunabula has increased considerably. While de *Rossi listed 60 items in 1776 and 86 in 1795, J. Jacobs in 1906 (in JE, 6 (1906), 778–9) enumerated 102, and A.M. Habermann in 1950 (in EIV, 2 (1950), 984–5) had 153 titles. H.M.Z. Meyer (in A. Freimann and M. Marx, *Thesaurus*… (1969^2), supplement to pt. 1) listed 185 incunabula of which ten were considered doubtful. The number of the "lost" incunabula has been estimated as one third of the number of "confirmed" editions. The scarcity of incunabula – and the high prices they command – though natural enough in view of the small editions printed and the lapse of time, is also due in a certain measure to the inroads of Church *censorship and book burnings in Italy, and in Spain to the Inquisition and expulsions.

Size and Number of Leaves

Incunabula have mostly appeared in folio format (106) against 40 in quarto and 29 in octavo or smaller formats. As to the number of leaves, it is impossible to account for those of the 70 incunabula which are only partially preserved. An analysis of the 105 complete editions reveals the following figures:

2 folios and 2 quartos each containing 1–16 leaves;
8 folios and 10 quartos and 3 smaller sizes each containing 17–96 leaves;
28 folios and 14 quartos and 5 smaller sizes each containing 97–192 leaves;
23 folios and 3 quartos each containing 193–400 leaves;
6 folios and 1 smaller size each containing 401–626 leaves.
Together 67 folios and 29 quartos and 9 smaller sizes = 105 incunabula.

Size of Editions, Appearance, Colophons

Owing to the scarcity of paper and the complicated manual work involved in the operation of the printing presses, editions were relatively small-sized. During the 1470s, many Latin books appeared in editions of 100 or 125 copies; Sweynheym and Pannartz produced only 275 to 300 copies of each of their twenty-eight publications. Hebrew printers, too, have occasionally reported on the size of their editions: 300 copies of the 1477 edition of the Book of Psalms (no. 40); 380 of *Ḥoshen Mishpat* in 1480 (no. 136); and 400 of David Kimḥi's commentary on the Latter Prophets (no. 148). It seems possible that Abraham Conat limited his *Tur Oraḥ Ḥayyim* to 125 copies.

The proto-printers were not interested in creating anything looking different from the style and form of the manuscript codices. Books from Conat's presses have often been taken for manuscripts with popular appeal. The early incunabula, therefore, have no title pages, open spaces are left for the illuminators and illustrators, and only at the end of the text, in the so-called *colophon, some information is given on the printer(s), their scholarly or technical staff, the place of work, and the date at which the printing was completed. Unfortunately, these colophons are often missing and very seldom contain all the information desired by the present-day bibliographer.

Printing Methods

Hebrew incunabula were printed by the same methods and with the same utensils as those used by the non-Jewish presses. A letterpress was composed from types, the lead block supporting each of them being 27 mm. long and 6 mm. wide (according to the reproduction in Thes. A10, 2), the same measurements as of the Latin types of the same body. Types were arranged into lines by putting them into a composing stick, they were then transferred into the wooden galleys, and impressions of – mostly – two corresponding pages were made in the manually operated printing presses. Each copy had to be printed separately, the press each time to be opened, the letterpress to be blacked with printer's ink, and a new sheet of moistened paper to be inserted. When Conat claimed that the daily output of his printing shop was only 125 copies he may be taking also into account typesetting and correcting. The printers were keen to economize, to lease typographical material from other printers, or to buy it second hand. In order to make the fullest use of the labor invested in typesetting, the printer of the Bible in Brescia in 1493 (no. 10) broke some of the columns of the letter-press composed for this edition into two parts, thus producing every time two pages of a handy pocket edition published by him in the same year (no. 49).

Pagination, Signatures, Voweled Texts, Title Pages, Ornamentation

The numbering of the leaves or pages, the inclusion of "signatures" (the special marks inserted at the bottom of the pages as a guide for the bookbinder's work of compiling the book from single sheets) are not to be found in the first decades of Hebrew printing, and make their appearance only at a later time. The first Hebrew text with vowels was printed in the Maḥzor Roma, 1485 (no. 102), signatures were first used by Joshua Soncino (no. 58), and the earliest attempt of a Hebrew title page was made by Gershom Soncino in his edition of *Tur Oraḥ Ḥayyim* (no. 130). Eliezer Alantansi is the only Jew known to have used a printer's mark during the 15th century (nos. 128 and 134).

Joshua Soncino was also the first to introduce ornamented initials (see *Books: Book Illustrations). He fitted such letters into frames of similarly engraved woodcut borders, marking in this way the beginning of a book. Such headings appeared for the first time in his edition of the Talmud tractate *Berakhot*, 1483 (no. 58). Four years later (no. 173) he began to use a beautifully ornamented woodcut frame previously used by Francesco del Tuppo in his edition of the Fables by Aesop, published at Naples, Italy, on February 13, 1485. Joshua used this border several times for framing the first pages of his editions before he passed it on to other printing shops. Other Hebrew printers who used ornamented initial letters and borders were the Gunzenhausers of Naples. They printed with Soncino's woodcuts. The frame in Baḥya b. Asher's Pentateuch commentary (no. 117) was printed a month earlier in Leonardo Aretino's *L'Aquila* finished on June 27, 1492 by Aiolfo de Cantone. It may be assumed that this woodcut and all the other ornaments used by the Gunzenhausers were the work of Moses b. Isaac, a Jewish woodcut artist, the brother-in-law of Azriel Gunzenhauser.

The initials and frames used by the two Eliezers at Hijar and Lisbon (see printers' list no. 15 and 17) are produced from metal-cuts executed by the silversmith Alfonso Fernandes de Cordoba, a printer in Valencia (see printers' list no. 15).

Type Production, Paper

A Hebrew printer was able to acquire everything needed for his work by purchase, loan or exchange, the only exception being the Hebrew type which could not be obtained at the typefoundries or from other commercial sources. Every Hebrew printer therefore had to make his own set of matrices in order to case the typographical material required. The ductus to these types differs, of course, according to the style and taste of the scribes whose work was used as copy for the cutter of the punches (see *Printing; *Typography).

Hebrew incunabula were printed on excellent, locally made paper which stood the test of centuries and sometimes helps to locate books whose place of printing is not established by the colophon (no. 14). Copies of the same edition are known to have been printed on normal-size and on large-size paper, indicating that even then "deluxe editions" were produced. Thirty-six Hebrew incunabula survived in copies printed on parchment, thirty of them originating from Italian presses and six from Spain or Portugal. All these incunabula have also been published on ordinary paper.

Study of Incunabula

The study of incunabula has been hampered by the fact that more than one third of the editions known contain no information as to when, where, or by whom they were printed. Furthermore no colophons are preserved for a large number of books which survived in fragments only, having been saved from oblivion by the 16th-century custom of using waste paper as a substitute for wooden boards in book covers. The same applies to Hebrew incunabula, and this is the reason for the many lacunae in the list of Hebrew printers. The first to investigate incunabula systematically was the Italian Hebraist and collector G.B. de'Rossi. His careful description of 86 incunabula, most of them in his possession, is unsurpassed in spite of many corrections needed in detail. Moritz *Steinschneider in his *Catalogus Librorum Hebraeorum in Bibliotheca Bodleiana* (1852–1860) enumerated the incunabula described by de'Rossi more briefly and added 17 further incunabula. Important are his notes on the personalities of the printers, appearing as the third part of the catalog. In his article on Jewish typography in *Ersch-Gruber* encyclopedia (vol. 28, 1851, repr. 1938) he enumerates 89 numbers and estimates that there exist rather less than 100. Following the publication of many learned papers and special catalogs, Aron Freimann in his paper (*Ueber Hebraeische Inkunabeln*, 1902) arrived at a total of 101 incunabula which he arranged according to printing places and presses. Freimann-Marx's *Thesaurus Typographiae Hebraicae Saeculi XV* (1932) contains 330 large plates with facsimile reproductions of the typographically most important parts of 126 books, 123 of them incunabula. More recently, Y. Vinograd (1995) has collected 207 Hebrew incunabula.

The importance of Hebrew incunabula for Jewish scholarship lies in their use for textual criticism, these early editions having been printed from reliable manuscripts and edited and proofread by scholars. This is true, in particular, for the many Bible editions and the uncensored texts of the Talmud and Maimonides' Code.

Collections

Public collections of importance are listed below, the numbers attached indicating the number of Hebrew incunabula in their possession, duplicates not being counted:

Cambridge, University Library (29);
Cincinnati, Hebrew Union College (65);
Copenhagen, Det Kongelige Bibliotek (50, mostly from the Lazarus Goldschmidt Collection);
Frankfurt on the Main, Stadt-und Universitaetsbibliothek (49, formerly 59);
Jerusalem, Jewish National and University Library (65, mostly from the S. Schocken Collection);
London, British Museum;
New York, Jewish Theological Seminary (127);
Oxford, Bodleian Library;
Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale (34);
Parma, Bibliotheca Palatina (Collection de Rossi);
St. Petersburg, Bibliotheca Friedlandiana (34);
Turin, Biblioteca Nazionale (25);
Vienna, Kultusgemeinde (28).

List of Printers

Twenty-four (or twenty-six; see no. 9) Hebrew printing shops are known to have been working during the 15th century, 12 (14) of them in Italy, nine in the Iberian Peninsula, one in Paris, one in Leiden, and one in Constantinople. For 18 of these presses their places of printing are mentioned in the colophons of the books produced by them. While the location of three more printing houses may be assumed with a certain degree of probability, it is impossible to place four of the printers on the map. On the other hand, the books printed for the "patrons" at *Faro do not indicate the name of their printers. There are, finally, five more or less completely preserved books (nos. 86, 88, 89, 111, and 149 in the list) which contain no colophon or any other means of identification of the printer, the place of printing, or the date.

The following is a complete list of printers based on the documentary evidence of the colophons in books preserved:

ITALY

1. OBADIAH (B. MOSES?), MANASSEH, and BENJAMIN, of Rome (colophon of no. 163). A comparison of the measurements of their book pages with the size of other contemporary productions has led to the assumption that they had learned the trade from Conrad Sweynheym and Arnold Pannartz, two German master printers working from 1465 at Subbiaco, a monastery in the neighborhood of Rome, and in Rome itself. It has been assumed, therefore, that Rome was the place of Hebrew printing sometime between 1469 and 1472. Identity of the typographical material used led to the conclusion that the books recorded as nos. 16, 107, 150, 153, 163, 167, and 170 also originate from this printing shop. Obadiah may be identical with his namesake under 2 (below).

2. SOLOMON B. JUDAH and OBADIAH B. MOSES (colophon of no. 156). The place of printing and the dating are conjectures based on typographical comparison. Obadiah may be identical with the leader of the group of printers under 1 (above).

3. *ABRAHAM B. GARTON B. ISAAC. He completed the printing of no. 171 on February 18, 1475, at Reggio di Calabria, as stated in the colophon. This is the first Hebrew book to appear with a full statement of all the three important bibliographical facts.

4. MESHULLAM CUSI and his sons, printers at *Piove di Sacco; their first-known work (no. 124) was published on July 3, 1475. The sons are supposed to have printed no. 98, using the typographical material belonging to their father's estate.

5. ABRAHAM B. SOLOMON *CONAT of Mantua, talmudist and physician. June 1476 and June 1477 are two dates recorded in the colophons of books originating from his press; his name is mentioned in no. 127, 143, 141, and 151, the place of printing in no. 127, and the dates in nos. 127 and 132. Printers employed by him were Abraham Jedidiah ha-Ezraḥi of Cologne and Jacob Levi of Tarascon, as well as his wife Estellina. The printing of no. 132 began at his presses but after the first 31 leaves *Abraham b. Ḥayyim dei Tintori of Ferrara took over and printed the remaining 60 leaves.

6. ABRAHAM B. ḤAYYIM DEI TINTORI. He completed no. 120 on May 17, 1477, and the remainder of no. 132 on June 25, 1477, working at this time at *Ferrara. Later on, printing at *Bologna for Joseph b. Abraham Caravita, he completed no. 13 on January 26, 1482. No. 54 has been ascribed to him. Nathan of Salo worked as editor of no. 152, and Joseph Ḥayyim b. Aaron Strasbourg Ẓarefati was corrector of no. 13. In 1488, Abraham himself served as corrector for Joshua Soncino.

7. JOSEPH, his son ḤAYYIM MORDECAI, and HEZEKIAH MONTERO, of Ventura. Joseph bears the title "Meister," probably because he was the apprentice of a German master printer. It has been suggested that his son was called Ḥayyim Mordecai and that the name Neriah is only based on a typographical error (ונריה instead of ובריה; Aram., "and his son"). No. 40 was finished in his printing shop on August 24, 1477, but no place of printing is mentioned in the colophons; some bibliographers assume that the work was done at Bologna. Nos. 41 and 42 are ascribed to this office.

8. ISAAC B. AARON D'ESTE and MOSES B. ELIEZER RAFAEL. Only one book is known to have been printed by this firm (no. 14). The colophon of their work gives no indication of the place or date of printing, but mentions the names of six co-workers employed.

9 (a). JOSHUA SOLOMON B. ISRAEL NATHAN SONCINO, the founder of this leading family of printers which for three generations produced books remarkable for their number, contents, and typographical perfection. The family originated from Speyer on the Rhine, and settled in the first half of the 15th century at Soncino, a small town in Lombardy. Joshua's name appears in the colophons of nos. 6, 55, 58, 65, 90, and 121. The place name is mentioned in nos. 6, 33, 58, 65, 71, 87, 101, and 139, while Naples as place of printing is reported in nos. 45, 55, 90, and 146. The earliest date recorded for Soncino is December 19, 1483 (no. 58), and the latest July 23, 1489 (no. 84); the list of books printed at Naples extends from May 25, 1490 (no. 90) to May 8, 1492 (no. 55). Editors of books printed by Joshua were: Solomon b. Perez Bonfroi Ẓarefati (no. 121) and Samuel b. Meir Latif (no. 71), both of them later employed by *Gunzenhauser, and David b. Eleazar ha-Levi (nos. 82 and 84), who had previously worked as corrector (no. 76); other correctors were Gabriel b. Aaron Strasbourg (nos. 58 and 65), the brother of Joseph Ḥayyim b. Aaron (no. 13), Abraham b. Ḥayyim dei Tintori (no. 6), and Mordecai b. Reuben Ẓarefati (nos. 82 and 84).

9 (b). JOSHUA SOLOMON SONCINO and JOSEPH IBN PESO. They completed on May 8, 1492, at Naples, the printing of no. 55. This is the most voluminous book ever printed by Joshua (see 9, above) and therefore he may have been obliged to execute this work in partnership, something he never did before or afterwards.

9 (c). BENEI SONCINO, the sons of Soncino. This imprint appears in nos. 108 (Soncino, October 31–December 29, 1485), 102 (Soncino and Casalmaggiore, September 10, 1485–August 21, 1486), and 63 (Naples, 1491). It is unknown if this was a partnership – and who were the partners – or if this is the name of an enterprise belonging to Joshua, as it is sometimes assumed.

10. JOSEPH B. JACOB GUNZENHAUSER (ASHKENAZI) and his son AZRIEL. Joseph's name is mentioned in nos. 43, 118, 144 and 165, first on March 28, 1487, and for the last time on January 23, 1490. Father and son are mentioned together in no. 122, and the son alone in nos. 114 and 117 (November 9, 1491, and July 3, 1492). They printed at Naples, as stated in the colophons of nos. 38, 43, 114, 117, 122, 144, 146, and 165. It is most probable that the first book printed by Joshua Soncino at Naples was produced by order of Joseph, because the name Ben Porat mentioned in the colophon as the initiator of this work is a synonym for Joseph (Gen. 49:22). The names recorded as Gunzenhauser's collaborators or employees are: Jacob Baruch b. Judah Landau, author of no. 149, who also edited no. 43, the first book to be printed by Gunzenhauser; his son Abraham, who corrected no. 114; Ḥayyim b. Isaac ha-Levi Ashkenazi (no. 51); Samuel b. Samuel of Rome (no. 38); Moses b. Shem Tov b. Ḥabib of Lisbon (no. 122); Samuel b. Meir Latif (no. 147), mentioned above as a member of Soncino's staff; Asher b. Perez Minẓ (= Min Ẓarefat), typesetter of no. 114; Samuel b. Hezekiah ha-Levi (no. 114); the brothers Solomon and Yom Tov b. Perez Ẓarefati (nos. 117, and 144), who presumably were the brothers of the Asher b. Perez, mentioned before. The Gunzenhausers remained in good relations with the Soncinos, as shown by the use of Soncino's woodcut in Gunzenhauser's book (cf. nos. 117 and 164).

11. GERSHOM (also called Menzlein) B. MOSES SONCINO, nephew of Joshua Soncino. During the 15th century he printed at Soncino (no. 158), Brescia (nos. 10, 24, 49, 123), Barco (no. 110), and at another unidentified place in Italy. This unsteady life was a result of chicanes which prevented a prolonged stay. Seventeen of the books printed by him are known to be incunabula, and 11 of them bear his name. Incunabula bearing his imprint are dated between December 19, 1488, and November 16, 1497. The only name of a co-worker given by one of his colophons is Eliezer b. Samuel who edited no. 158.

12. SOLOMON B. MOSES SONCINO, a brother of Gershom. According to the evidence of the colophons preserved, he has only one book (no. 125) to his credit. No dates or places of work are reported. It could be assumed that he was one of the "Sons of Soncino" (see 9 (c) above).

SPAIN AND PORTUGAL

13. JUAN DE LUCENA, a Marrano printer working at Montalban, Spain. The names of his co-workers are recorded in no. 103, but there is no proof that the book described under this number was really a product of his printing shop.

14. SOLOMON B. MOSES IBN ALKABEẒ, a printer at Guadalajara, Spain. His name and place of residence are reported in nos. 136 and 148, the latter being finished during the last week of December 1480. Another book attributed to his press (no. 172) was published on September 5, 1476, while no. 148 was printed in 1482. Other books attributed to his presses, on the evidence of the typographical material used, are nos. 59, 62–64, 67, 70, 74, 80, 81, 112, 133, and 135.

15. ELIEZER B. ABRAHAM IBN ALANTANSI, owner of a printing shop and physician at Hijar, Spain. The name of the printer and the town are mentioned in the colophon of no. 134. Abraham b. Isaac b. David corrected no. 17, which was most probably printed by Eliezer for Solomon b. Maimon Zalmati. The books produced by Eliezer's presses are outstanding for their technical perfection and beautiful ornamentation. The frame printed in no. 16 has been praised by the historians of book illustration as the most remarkable example of this period. Most delicately incised animals, fruits, flowers, and ornamental lines enliven the black background, and the same balance between black and white is sustained in the composition of the initials. These metal engravings are the work of Alfonso Fernandez de Cordoba, a silversmith, type cutter, and printer in Valencia. Alfonso used the same frame, together with a suitable set of Latin initials, in the *Manuale Caesar Augustanum*, supposed to have been printed by him at Hijar in about 1487. But the relation between this book and Eliezer's publication is obscured by the fact that the Hebrew printing took place before and after the Latin printing, and that the frame shows proofs of wear and tear not to be found in the Hebrew books. This frame, together with the initial letters and other printing types used by Eliezer, can later be traced to the books originating from the presses of Eliezer Toledano (no. 19) in Lisbon.

16. PRINTING SHOP at FARO, a town in the Portuguese province of Algarve. The identity of the printer(s) working at this town for Don Samuel Gacon (no. 15, finished on June 30, 1487) and for Don Samuel Porteira (no. 73, published in December 1494 or 1496) is unknown. Nos. 60 and 79 are attributed to one or the other of these two patrons (or publishers).

17. ELIEZER TOLEDANO, mentioned as printer in nos. 19, 37, 115, and 166; the same colophons show Lisbon as his place of work. The earliest date in his colophons is July 18, 1488, while 1492 appears in no. 37. Eliezer, like his namesake in Hijar, was a physician and used in his books the frame, initial letters and printing types to be found in the works of the Hijar presses. It was therefore obvious to assume the identity of these two printers, especially as the activities at Hijar ended at approximately the time the work at Lisbon began. The distance between Hijar and Lisbon is approximately 400 miles, with Toledo as the midway station; that the new arrival was called by a name different from the one he bore at his place of departure is not surprising; it can be paralleled by many examples from European Jewry during the Middle Ages down to the 18th century. But no definite assertions can be made until further facts come to light.

18. SHEM TOV IBN ḤALA and his son JUDAH. They printed one book (no. 116), finished on October 21, 1491, at some unidentified place in Spain or Portugal.

19. MOSES IBN SHEALTIEL. The one book produced by him in Spain or Portugal (no. 159) contains no reference to place or date of printing.

20. SAMUEL B. MUSA, together with IMMANUEL, work-

ing as printers at Zamora, Spain; their names and place of work appear in the colophon of no. 174.

21. SAMUEL D'ORTAS and his three sons, one of them named ABRAHAM, printers at Leiria, Portugal. Their names are found in nos. 53 and 34, their place of work in no. 34 only. Their colophons are dated July 25, 1492, January 1494, and June 2, 1495.

CONSTANTINOPLE

22. DAVID and his son SAMUEL IBN NAḤMIAS, printers at Constantinople. Their edition of the *Arba'ah Turim* is dated December 13, 1493, as clearly stated in the colophon of no. 126. The correctness of the date has been doubted because other works were printed at this press at a much later period only.

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† Numbers given in italics indicate either a span of possible publication dates or one uncertain date.

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ABBREVIATIONS USED:
Goff Heb = F.R. Goff (ed.), *Incunabula in American Libraries* (1964), 316–25;
Thes = Freimann-Marx, *Thesaurus Typographiae Hebraicae…* (1967–69²); signatures in parentheses refer to vol. 2 in preparation;
S-TC = Short-title catalog in *Supplement, ibid.*

1. THE HOLY BIBLE – Complete Edition. Pentateuch, Prophets and Hagiographa. [In Spain or Portugal], printer unknown [1480?]. Folio.

Goff Heb 12; Thes (B50); S-TC256.

2. (–.–) [?] Unvocalized text in 2 columns, 28 lines to a full page. [Spain], printer & date unknown. Folio.

Goff Heb 16, 6; Thes (B54); S-TC257.

3. (–.–) [?, or Pentateuch only]. Unvocalized text, one column, 28 lines to a full page. [Spain], printer & date unknown. Folio.

Goff Heb 16, 3; Thes B38; S-TC258.

4. (–.–) [?] Unvocalized text in one column of 30 [?] lines to a full page. [Spain], printer & date unknown. Folio.

S-TC259.

5. (–.–) [?, or Prophets only]. Text with vowels & accents, 2 columns, 27 or 29 lines to a full page. [Spain], printer & date unknown. Folio. Probably "Portugal, 1487."

S-TC260.

6. (–.–). Corrected by Abraham b. Ḥayyim dei Tintori. Soncino, Joshua Soncino, Iyar 11, 5248 (= April 22, 1488). Folio.

Goff Heb 8; Thes A45; S-TC49.

7. (–.–) With Targum Onkelos. [Hijar, Eliezer Alantansi], no date.

S-TC229.

8. (–.–) [Naples, Joshua Soncino, 1491 or 1492]. Folio.

Goff Heb 9; Thes A75; S-TC69.

9. (–.–) [? or Pentateuch only]. [Leiria, Don Samuel D'Ortas], date unknown.

S-TC253.

10. (–.–) Brescia, Gershom Soncino, Sivan 19–25, 5254 (= May 24–30, 1494). Octavo.

Goff Heb 10; Thes A81; S-TC89.

11. (–.–) [? or Prophets & Hagiographa only]. Vocalized text, two columns, 32 lines to a complete page. [Naples?], printer unknown, [1495?] Quarto.

S-TC110.

12. (–) PENTATEUCH With Targum Onkelos and Rashi. י׳י for the name of God and ה for Elohim. [Italy?], printer unknown, [1480?]. Folio.

S-TC109.

13. (–.–) With Targum Onkelos and Rashi. Corrected by Joseph Ḥayyim b. Aaron Strasbourg Ẓarefati. Printed for Joseph b. Abraham Caravita. Bologna, Abraham b. Ḥayyim dei Tintori, Adar I 5, 5242 (= January 26, 1482). Folio.

Goff Heb 18; Thes A15; S-TC22.

14. (–.–) With Targum Onkelos, Megillot, and Haftarot. Corrected by Joshua bar Jekuthiel, typesetting by Isaiah and Judah, sons of Samuel Raphael Ha-Rofe, and by Benjamin and Joseph, the sons of Elhanan bar Eliezer, and Solomon bar Solomon. [Northern Italy], Isaac b. Aaron d'Este and Moses b. Eliezer Raphael, [1480–1490]. Folio.

Goff. Heb 13; Thes B40; S-TC27.

15. (–.–) Printed by order of Don Samuel Gacon. Faro, printer unknown, Tammuz 9, 5247 (= June 30, 1487). Folio.

Thes B14; S-TC233.

16. (–.–) With Megillot and Haftarot. [Hijar], Eliezer ibn Alantansi [1487–88?]. Folio.

Goff Heb 14; Thes B12; S-TC227.

17. (–.–) With Targum Onkelos and Rashi. Corrected by Abraham B. Isaac b. David. Printed for Solomon b. Maimon Zalmati. Hijar [Eliezer ibn Alantansi], Av 5250 (= July 19–August 17, 1490). Folio.

Goff Heb 19; Thes B11; S-TC228.

18. (–.–) With Megillot and Haftarot. [Hijar, Eliezer ibn Alantansi], date unknown. Octavo.

S-TC 230.

19. (–.–) With Targum Onkelos, Rashi, and a poem by David ben Joseph ibn Yaḥya. Corrected by Joseph Calphon. Lisbon, Eliezer Toledano [probably in collaboration with Judah Gedaliah], Av 5251 (= July 8–August 6, 1491). Folio.

Goff Heb 20; Thes B20; S-TC240.

20. (–.–) Vocalized text with accents. 19 lines to a full page. [Naples, Joshua Soncino, 1491?]. Quarto.

Thes A70a; S-TC61.

21. (–.–) With Rashi, Megillot, Haftarot and Megillat Antiochus. Naples, Benei Soncino, 5251 (= 1491). Folio.

Goff Heb 21; Thes A70; S-TC63.

22. (–.–) With Haftarot. [Naples, Joshua Soncino], date unknown. [Between 1490 and 1492]. Folio.

Goff Heb 17; Thes A98; S-TC64.

23. (–.–) [Naples, Joshua Soncino], date unknown. [Between 1490 and 1492?]. Octavo.

Goff Heb 16, 1; Thes A99; S-TC65.

24. (–.–) With Megillot and Haftarot. Brescia, Gershom Soncino, Shevat 24, 5252 (= January 23, 1492). Quarto.

Goff Heb 15; Thes A78; S-TC84.

25. (–.–) Vocalized text with accents. 32 (?) lines to a full page. [Lisbon?], Eliezer [Toledano?], before 1492. Folio.

S-TC245.

26. (–.–) Vocalized text with accents. 17 lines to a full page. [Leiria?, Don Samuel d'Ortas or his sons?, between 1492 and 1495?]. Octavo.

S-TC262.

27. (–.–) Vocalized text with accents. Megillot and Haftarot. Brescia, Gershom Soncino, Kislev 15, 5254 (= November 24, 1493). Octavo.

Thes (A79); S-TC85.

28. (–.–) With Haftarot. 2 columns, 25 or 26 lines to a full page. [At a unknown place in Spain or Portugal, printer and date unknown]. Folio.

Thes (B55); S-TC261.

29. (–.–) With Haftarot. Unvocalized text. 18–19 lines to a full page. Place, printer and date unknown [Spain or Portugal?]. Quarto.

Goff Heb 17, 2; Thes (B39); S-TC263.

30. (–.–) Vocalized text with accents. Place [Spain or Portugal], printer, and date unknown. Folio.

Goff Heb 16, 5; Thes B49; S-TC264.

31. (–.–) Vocalized text with accents. 2 columns, 15 lines to a full page. Place [Spain or Portugal], printer, and date unknown. Folio.

Goff Heb 16, 4; Thes B48; S-TC265.

32. (–.–) Corrected according to the Hilleli codex. With Megillot and Haftarot. 1 or 2 columns, 32 lines to a full page. Printed somewhere in Spain or Portugal, printer and date unknown. Folio.

Goff Heb 16, 2; Thes B30; S-TC266.

33.(–) FORMER PROPHETS. With commentary by David Kimḥi [Soncino], Joshua Soncino, Ḥeshvan 6, 5246 (= October 15, 1485). Folio.

Goff Heb 22; Thes A31; S-TC36.

34. (–.–) With Targum Jonathan and commentaries by Levi b. Gershom and D. Kimḥi. Leiria [Don Samuel d'Ortas and his] three sons, Shevat 19–21, 5254 (= January 26–28, 1495). Folio.

Goff Heb 23; Thes B27; S-TC254.

35. (–) LATTER PROPHETS. With commentary by D. Kimḥi [Soncino], Joshua Soncino [1486?]. Folio.

Goff Heb 24; Thes A39; S-TC42.

36. (–.–) [Hijar, Eliezer ibn Alantansi, 1486–7?].

Thes (B10); S-TC223.

37. (–.–) ISAIAH AND JEREMIAH with commentary by D. Kimḥi. Lisbon, Eliezer Toledano [probably together with Judah Gedaliah], 5252 (= 1491–92). Folio.

Goff Heb 25; Thes B21; S-TC242.

38. (–) HAGIOGRAPHA with commentaries by D. Kimḥi on Job, by Joseph b. Simeon Kara on Lamentations, and by Rashi on the remaining books. [Corrected or typeset by] Samuel b. Samuel of Rome. Naples [Joseph Gunzenhauser], Tishri 9, 5248 (= September 26, 1487). Quarto.

Goff Heb 26; Thes A59; S-TC72.

39. (–.–) Unvocalized text; 30–31 lines to a full page. [Spain or Portugal], printer and date unknown.

Goff Heb 27; Thes (B56); S-TC 267.

40. (–) PSALMS. With commentary by D. Kimḥi. [Bologna], Meister Joseph, Neria [his son?] Ḥayyim Mordecai and Hezekiah Montro of Ventura, Elul 20, 5237 (= August 29, 1477). Folio.

Goff Heb 28; Thes A13; S-TC 24.

41. (–.–) Unvocalized text. 19 lines to a full page. Without indication of place, printer, or date [pl. and pr. as in No. 40; 1477?]. Duodecimo.

Thes A14a; S-TC25.

42. (–.–) With an index for 149 psalms and Grace after Meals. [place and printer as in no. 40; between 1477 and 1480]. Duodecimo.

Thes A4a; S-TC26.

43. (–.–) With commentary by D. Kimḥi edited by Jacob Baruch b. Judah Landau. Naples, Joseph Gunzenhauser, Nisan 4, 5247 (= March 28, 1487). Quarto.

Goff Heb 29; Thes A57; S-TC70.

44. (–.–) [Naples, Joshua Soncino, 1490?]?

Goff Heb 31, 3; Thes A91; S-TC58.

45.(–.–) Together with Job AND PROVERBS. Naples [Joshua Soncino], Kislev 29, 5251 (= December 12, 1490). Quarto.

Goff Heb 32; Thes A68; S-TC60.

46. (–.–) [Spain, Shem Tov ibn Ḥalaz and his son Judah], date unknown. 32mo.

S-TC247.

47. (–.–) [Spain, or Portugal, printer unknown, 1491?]. 32mo.

Goff Heb 126, 3; Thes B32 A; S-TC268. [Perhaps identical with no. 46].

48. (–.–) [Naples, Joshua Soncino, 1490–1492?]. Duodecimo.

Goff Heb 31, 1 and 2; Thes A100; S-TC66.

49. (–.–) Brescia, Gershom Soncino, Tevet 7, 5254 (= December 16, 1493). Duodecimo.

Goff Heb 30; Thes A80; S-TC86.

50. (–.–) With ד for the name of God. 16 lines to a full page. [Brescia, Gershom Soncino], date unknown. Duodecimo.

Thes A80A; S-TC87.

51. (–) PROVERBS with commentary by Immanuel b. Solomon of Rome. Corrected [or typeset] by Ḥayyim b. Isaac ha-Levi Ashkenazi. [Naples, Joseph Gunzenhauser, 1487]. Quarto.

Goff Heb 34; Thes A58; S-TC71.

52. (–.–) With the commentary *Kav ve-Naki* by David b. Solomon ibn Yaḥya. [Lisbon, Eliezer Toledano], date unknown. Folio.

Goff Heb 35; Thes B23; S-TC244.

53. (–.–) With Targum Onkelos and commentaries by Menahem ha-Meiri and Levi b. Gershon. Typesetting by Abraham b. Samuel d'Ortas [Leiria], Don Samuel d'Ortas, Av 1 5252 (= July 25, 1492). Folio.

Goff Heb 33; Thes B26; S-TC252.

54. (–) THE FIVE SCROLLS. Esther with commentary by Abraham ibn Ezra, the other books with Rashi. [Bologna, Abraham dei Tintori, 1482]. Folio.

Thes A16; S-TC23.

55. Mishnah. Mishnayot with commentary by Maimonides. Naples, Joshua Soncino and Joseph ibn Peso. Iyar 11, 5252 (= May 8, 1492). Folio.

Goff Heb 82; Thes A73; S-TC68.

56. (–) Unvocalized text without commentary. 30–31 lines to a full page. [Spain or Portugal, printer and date unknown].

S-TC269.

57. (–) Avot. With commentary by Maimonides. Translated from the Arabic by Samuel b. Judah ibn Tibbon. [Soncino, Joshua Soncino, 1488 (?)]. Folio.

Goff Heb 83; Thes A41; S-TC43.

58. BABYLONIAN TALMUD. Berakhot, with Rashi, Tosafot, Piskei Tosafot, and the commentaries of Maimonides and Mordecai b. Hillel. Corrected by Gabriel b. Aaron of Strasbourg. Soncino, Joshua Soncino, Tevet 20, 5244 (= December 19, 1483). Folio.

Goff Heb 102; Thes A26; S-TC28.

59. (–) Berakhot with Rashi. [Guadalajara, Solomon ibn Alkabeẓ, after 1482]. Folio.

Goff Heb 103, 2; Thes B5; S-TC212.

60. (–.–) [Faro, Don Samuel Gacon, 1494 or 1496]. Folio.

Goff Heb 103, 1; Thes B16; S-TC235.

61. (–) Shabbat, with Rashi and Tosafot. [Soncino, Joshua Soncino, about 1484]. Folio.

Goff Heb 11; Thes A29; S-TC31.

62. (–) Eruvin, with Rashi. [Guadalajara, Solomon ibn Alkabeẓ, after 1482]. Folio.

Thes (B6); S-TC213.

63. (–) Yoma, with Rashi. [Guadalajara, Solomon ibn Alkabeẓ, after 1482]. Folio.

Goff Heb 119; Thes B74; S-TC214.

64. (–) Beẓah, with Rashi. [Guadalajara, Solomon ibn Alkabeẓ, after 1482]. Folio.

Goff Heb 105; Thes B58; S-TC215.

65. (–.–) With Rashi, Tosafot, Piskei Tosafot and commentaries by Maimonides and Mordecai b. Hillel. Corrected by Gabriel b. Aaron of Strasbourg. Soncino, Joshua Soncino, Adar I 6, 5244 (= February 2, 1484). Folio.

Goff Heb 104; Thes A28; S.-T.C. 30.

66. (–.–) [Brescia, Gershom Soncino, 1493]. Folio.

Thes A88; S-TC88.

67. (–) Ta'anit. [Guadalajara, Solomon ibn Alkabeẓ, after 1482]. Folio.

S-TC216.

68. (–) Megillah with Rashi, Tosafot, etc. [Soncino, Joshua Soncino, 1485(?)]. Quarto.

Thes A33; S-TC24.

69. (–) Ḥagigah, with Rashi. [Guadalajara, Solomon ibn Alkabeẓ, after 1482]. Folio.

Goff Heb 108; Thes (B7); S-TC217.

70. (–) Ketubbot, with Rashi. [Guadalajara, Solomon ibn Alkabeẓ, after 1482]. Folio.

Goff Heb 112; Thes B7 B; S-TC218.

71. (–.–) With Rashi, Tosafot and Piskei Tosafot, edited by Samuel b. Meir Latif. Soncino [Joshua, Soncino], Kislev 20, 5248 (= December 5, 1487). Folio.

Goff Heb 111; Thes A43; S-TC46.

72. (–) Gittin, with Rashi and Tosafot. Soncino [Joshua Soncino], Adar 6, 5248 (= February 19, 1488). Folio.

Goff Heb 106; Thes A44; S-TC47.

73. (–.–) With Rashi. Faro, printed for Don Samuel Porteira, Tevet 15, 5257 or Tevet 11, 5257 (= December 12, 1496 or December 16, 1496). Folio.

Goff Heb 107; Thes B15; S-TC234.

74. (–) Kiddushin, with Rashi. [Guadalajara, Solomon ibn Alkabeẓ, after 1482]. Folio.

Goff Heb 113; Thes B6; S-TC219.

75. (–.–) With Rashi, Tosafot and Piskei Tosafot. [Soncino, Joshua Soncino, 1489]. Folio.

Goff Heb 114; Thes A51; S-TC52.

76. (–) Bava Kamma, with Rashi, Tosafot and Piskei Tosafot. Corrected by David b. Eleazar ha-Levi. [Soncino, Joshua Soncino, 1489(?)]. Folio.

Goff Heb 100; Thes A49; S-TC50.

77. (–) Bava Meẓia, with Rashi and Tosafot. [Soncino, Joshua Soncino, 1489]. Folio.

Goff Heb 101; Thes A50; S-TC51.

78. (–) Sanhedrin, with Rashi and Tosafot. [Somewhere in Italy], Gershom Soncino, Kislev 21, 5258 (= November 16, 1497). Folio.

Goff Heb 116; Thes A84; S-TC93.

79. (–) Shevu'ot with Rashi. [Faro, for Don Samuel Gacon or Don Samuel Porteira, 1494 or 1496]. Folio.

Goff Heb 118; Thes B17; S-TC236.

80. (–) Middot, with Rashi. [Guadalajara, Solomon ibn Alkabeẓ, after 1482]. Folio.

Thes B7.D; S-TC220.

81. (–.–) Ḥullin, with Rashi. [Guadalajara, Solomon ibn Alkabeẓ, after 1482]. Folio.

Goff Heb 110; Thes B57; S-TC221.

82. (–.–) With Rashi, Tosafot and Piskei Tosafot, edited by David b. Eleazar ha-Levi (Pizzighetone), corrected by Mordecai b. Reuben Ẓarefati of Basle. [Soncino, Joshua Soncino], Tammuz 15, 5249 (= June 14, 1489). Folio.

Goff Heb 109; Thes A53; S-TC53.

83. (–.–) [Spain or Portugal], printer and date unknown. Folio.

Goff Heb 110, 2; Thes B35; S-TC221.

84. (–) Niddah, with Rashi, Tosafot and Piskei Tosafot, edited by David b. Eleazar ha-Levi, corrected by Mordecai b. Reuben Ẓarefati of Basle. [Soncino, Joshua Soncino], Av 25, 5249 (= July 23, 1489). Folio.

Goff Heb 115; Thes A54; S-TC54.

85. PRAYER BOOKS. Various prayers, according to the German rite. [Soncino, Solomon Soncino, 1490(?)]. Quarto.

Goff Heb 121; Thes A87; S-TC100.

86. (–) SIDDUR. Daily prayers, German rite. [Italy, printer and date unknown]. Octavo.

Goff Heb 122; Thes A97; S-TC107.

87. (–.–) Tefillat Yaḥid, the so-called *Sidurello*. Daily prayers, Roman rite. Soncino [Joshua Soncino], Iyar 2, 5246 (= April 8, 1486). Octavo.

Goff Heb 121; Thes A35; S-TC39.

88. (–.–) Roman Rite. [Italy, printer and date unknown]. Duodecimo.

Thes A95; S-TC106.

89. (–.–) Various prayers according to the Roman rite. [Italy, printer and date unknown]. Printed at Naples(?) or Mantua, 1513 (?). Octavo.

Goff Heb 123; Thes A96; S-TC108.

90. (–.–) Seder Tefillot. Daily prayers according to the Spanish rite. A poem by Moses b. Shem Tov b. Ḥabib. Printed for Ben Porat [= Joseph (probably Gunzenhauser)]. Naples, Joshua Soncino, Sivan 5, 5240 (= May 25, 1490). Quarto.

Goff Heb 124; Thes A90; S-TC57.

91. (–.–) Spanish rite. [Naples, Joshua Soncino, date unknown.] Octavo.

Goff Heb 126, 1; Thes A92; S-TC59.

92. (–.–) Seder Me'ah Berakhot, Spanish rite, with graphic symbols for the sounds of the *shofar.* [Lisbon, Eliezer Toledano, 1490(?)]. Octavo.

Goff Heb 125; Thes B44; S-TC239.

93. (–.–) Spanish rite, 13 lines to a full page, [Spain or Portugal, printer and date unknown]. Octavo.

Thes B43; S-TC27.

94. (–.–) Spanish rite. י״י for the name of God, 11 lines to a full page. Octavo.

S-TC 272.

95. (–.–) Spanish rite. י״י for the name of God; 15 lines to a full page. [Spain or Portugal, printer and date unknown]. 16mo.

Goff Heb 126, 4; Thes B46; S-TC273.

96. (–.–) Spanish rite. 18 lines to a full page. [Spain or Portugal, printer and date unknown]. 16mo.

Goff Heb 126, 5; Thes B47; S-TC274.

97. (–.–) Of an undetermined rite. [Brescia, Gershom Soncino, 1485.] Duodecimo.

Goff Heb 127; Thes A102; S-TC90.

98. (–) SELIḤOT, German rite. [Piove di Sacco, Meshullam Cusi's sons, 1475]. Folio.

Thes A3; S-TC12.

99. (–.–) German rite. [Soncino, Joshua Soncino, 1485(?)].

Thes A34; S-TC38.

100. (–.–) German rite. Vocalized text. Sarco, Gershom Soncino, Tishri 8, 5257 (= Sept. 15, 1496). Folio.

Goff Heb 96; Thes A83; S-TC92.

101. (–) SEDER TAḤANUNIM. Roman rite. Soncino [Joshua Soncino], Iyyar 23, 5247 (= May 16, 1487). Quarto.

Goff Heb 99; Thes A40; S-TC44.

102. (–) MAḤZOR Minhag Roma, Soncino and Casalmaggiore, Benei Soncino, Tishri–Elul 20, 5246 (Sept. 10, 1485–August 21, 1486). Folio.

Goff Heb 73; Thes A37; S-TC41.

103. (–.–) le-Yom ha-Kippurim. [Montalban?, Juan de Lucena, his daughters Theresa and Juana, together with Diego de Monbel and Inigo de Gurcos, 1475(?)]. Octavo.

Goff Heb 72; Thes B53; S-TC201.

The identification of the printing house is questionable.

104.(–) PASSOVER HAGGADAH; together with tractate Avot, German rite. [Soncino, Joshua Soncino, approx. 1485]. Quarto.

Thes A38; S-TC35.

105. (–.–) [Soncino, Joshua Soncino, 1486]. Duodecimo.

Goff Heb 42; Thes A36; S-TC40.

106. AARON B. MESHULLAM HA-KOHEN OF LUNEL, *Orḥot Ḥayyim*. [Spain or Portugal], printer and date unknown. Folio.

Goff Heb 2; Thes B37; S-TC275.

107. ABUDRAHAM, DAVID B. JOSEPH B. DAVID, *Perush ha-Berakhot ve ha-Tefillot*. Lisbon, Eliezer Toledano [probably with the collaboration of Judah Gedaliah], Tevet 1, 5250 (= November 25, 1489), Folio.

Goff Heb 36; Thes B19; S-TC238.

108. ADRET, SOLOMON B. ABRAHAM (Rashba). Responsa. [Rome(?), Obadiah, Manasseh, and Benjamin of Rome, between 1469 and 1472]. Octavo.

Goff Heb 95; Thes A25; S-TC6.

109. ALBO, JOSEPH, *Sefer ha-Ikkarim*. Soncino, Benei Soncino, Ḥeshvan 22, 5246 (= December 29, 1485). Folio.

Goff Heb 64; Thes A32; S-TC37.

110. ALFASI, ISAAC, *Halakhot*. [Hijar, Eliezer Alantansi, between 1485 and 1490]. Folio.

Goff Heb 44; Thes B34; S-TC231 and 276.

111. (Anonymous) LU'AḤ, Calendar for the year 5257 [Barco, Gershom Soncino, 1496.]

Goff Heb 3; Thes A82; S-TC91.

112. (–) *Sefer Kol Bo.* [Italy (or Naples), printer unknown, 1485(?)]. Folio.

Goff Heb 67; Thes A94; S-TC105.

113. (–) *Megillat Antiochus*, Aramaic text with Hebrew translation; Judah Halevi, *Mi Khamokha*; and: *Tefillat ha-Derekh*; Benedictions for different occasions; Passover Haggadah; *Ḥaruzim* (rules and calculations for the calendar). [Guadalajara(?), Solomon ibn Alkabeẓ(?), 1482 (?)]. Folio.

S-TC209–211.

114. (–) *Petaḥ Devarai*. [Naples, Joshua Soncino], Adar II 1, 5252 (= February 28, 1492). Quarto.

Goff Heb 91; Thes A72; S-TC67.

115. AVICENNA, *The Canon*. Translated from the Arabic by Joseph b. Judah al-Lorki and Nathan b. Eliezer ha-Me'ati. Corrected by Abraham b. Jacob Landau, typesetting by Asher b. Perez Minz. Naples, Azriel Gunzenhauser, Kislev 7, 5252 (= November 9, 1491). Folio.

Goff Heb 4; Thes A71; S-TC103.

116. BAḤYA B. ASHER, commentary on the Pentateuch. Edited by Samuel b. Abraham Perez. Without indication of place [Spain], Shem Tov ibn Ḥalaẓ and his son Judah, Ḥeshvan 17, 5252 (= October 21, 1491). Folio.

Goff Heb 5; Thes B31; S-TC246.

117. (–.–) Edited by Solomon b. Pereẓ Bonfroi Ẓarefati. Corrected by Samuel b. Hezekiah ha-Levi. Naples, Azriel Gunzenhauser, Tammuz 8, 5252 (= July 3, 1492). Folio.

Goff Heb 6; Thes A74; S-TC104.

Published for Abraham and Jacob Pax (not Falcon).

118. BAḤYA B. JOSEPH IBN PAQUDA, *Ḥovot ha-Levavot*. Translated from the Arabic by Judah b. Saul ibn Tibbon. Corrected by Solomon b. Perez [Bonfroi Ẓarefati] [Naples], Joseph Gunzenhauser, Kislev 25, 5250 (= November 19, 1489). Quarto.

Goff Heb 7; Thes A63; S-TC76.

119. ELDAD HA-DANI, *Sefer Eldad*. Together with various *halakhot* and responsa. [Piove di Sacco, Meshullam Cusi and sons, 1480?]. Quarto.

Goff Heb 41; Thes A6; S-TC15.

120. FINZI, MORDECAI, *Luḥot* (astronomical tables). [Mantua, Abraham Conat, between 1476 and 1480]. Quarto.

Thes A9; S-TC18.

121. GABIROL, SOLOMON IBN, *Mivḥar ha-Peninim*. Translated from the Arabic by Judah b. Saul ibn Tibbon with commentary, edited by Solomon b. Perez Bonfroi Ẓarefati. [Soncino]. Joshua Soncino, Shevat 17, 5244 (= January 14, 1484). Quarto.

Goff Heb 98; Thes A27; S-TC29.

122. IBN EZRA, ABRAHAM, commentary on the Pentateuch, edited and corrected by Moses b. Shem Tov b. Ḥabib of Lisbon. Naples, Joseph Gunzenhauser and his son [Azriel], 36th day of Omer (= Iyyar 18, 5248 = April 29, 1488). Folio.

Goff Heb 1; Thes A60; S-TC73.

123. IMMANUEL B. SOLOMON B. JEKUTHIEL OF ROME, *Sefer ha-Maḥbarot*. Brescia, Solomon Soncino, Ḥeshvan 26, 5252 (= October 30, 1491). Quarto.

Goff Heb 43; Thes A77; S-TC83.

124. JACOB B. ASHER, *Arba'ah Turim*. Piove di Sacco,

Meshullam Cusi and sons, Tammuz 28, 5235 (= July 3, 1475). Folio.

Goff Heb 47; Thes A2; S-TC11.

125. (–.–) [Soncino], Solomon Soncino [1490]. Folio.

Goff Heb 48; Thes A56; S-TC99.

126. (–.–) Edited by Elijah b. Benjamin ha-Levi. Constantinople, David and Samuel ibn Naḥmias, Tevet 4, 5254 (= December 13, 1493). Folio.

Goff Heb 49; Thes C. 1; S-TC301.

127. (–.–) *Oraḥ Ḥayyim*. Mantua, Abraham Conat, Sivan 14, 5236 (= June 6, 1476). Folio.

Goff Heb 50; Thes A4; S-TC13.

128. (–.–) Hijar, Eliezer ibn Alantansi, Elul 5245 (= August 12–September 9, 1485). Folio.

Goff Heb 51; Thes B8; S-TC222.

129. (–.–) [Leiria, Abraham b. Samuel d'Ortas], Sivan 10, 5255 (= June 2, 1495). Folio.

Goff Heb 53; Thes B29; S-TC255.

130. (–.–) [Italy, Gershom Soncino, 1497]. Quarto.

Goff Heb 54; Thes A85; S-TC94.

131. (–.–) [Spain or Portugal, printer and date unknown]. Folio.

Goff Heb 52; Thes B33; S-TC277.

132. (–.–) *Yoreh De'ah*. [Mantua, Abraham Conat] and Abraham b. Ḥayyim at Ferrara, Av 15, 5237 (= June 25, 1477). Folio.

Goff Heb 55; Thes A5; S-TC14.

133. (–.–) [Guadalajara, Solomon ibn Alkabeẓ, 1482(?)]. Folio.

Goff Heb 52; Thes B2. A; S-TC207.

134. (–.–) Hijar, Eliezer ibn Alantansi, 5347 (= 1487). Folio.

Goff Heb 56; Thes B9; S-TC226.

135. (–.–) *Even ha-Ezer*. [Guadalajara, Solomon ibn Alkabeẓ, 1482(?)]. Folio.

Goff Heb 58; Thes B2; S-TC208.

136. (–.–) *Ḥoshen Mishpat*. Guadalajara, Solomon ibn Alkabeẓ, Shevat 20–28, 5241 (= December 24–30, 1480). Folio.

Goff Heb 59; Thes B3; S-TC205.

137. (–.–) [Hijar, Eliezer ibn Alantansi, between 1485 and 1490]. Folio.

Goff Heb 60; S-TC225.

138. JEDAIAH HA-PENINI, *Beḥinat ha-Olam* [Mantua], Estellina, the wife of Abraham Conat, assisted by Jacob Levi from Tarascon [Between 1476–1480]. Quarto.

Thes A11; S-TC20.

139. (–.–), with a short commentary. Soncino [Joshua Soncino], Kislev 24, 5245 (= December 12, 1484). Quarto.

Goff Heb 61; Thes A30; S-TC33.

140. (–), Bakkashat ha-Memin with: MOSES KIMHI, *Mahalakh Shevilei ha-Da'at*; JOSEPH B. ḤANAN EZOBI, *Ka'arat Kesef; Mishlei Ḥamishim Talmidim*. Soncino, [Gershom Soncino], Av 13, 5248 (= July 21, 1488). Octavo.

Thes A46; S-TC79.

141. JOSEPH B. GURYON, *Sefer bin Guryon*, the so-called *Josippon* [Mantua], Abraham Conat, the 49th day of Omer (= 5 Sivan), no year. Quarto.

Goff Heb 65; Thes A8; S-TC278.

142. JOSHUA B. JOSEPH HA-LEVI, *Seder Halikhot Olam*, with JONAH B. ABRAHAM GERONDI, *Sefer ha-Yirah ve-sod ha-Teshuvah* [Somewhere in Spain or Portugal, printer and date unknown]. Quarto.

Goff Heb 63; Thes B28; S-TC278.

143. JUDAH BAR JEHIEL (ROFEẒ), *Sefer Nofet Ẓufim*. [Mantua], Abraham Conat, [no date], Quarto.

Goff Heb 62; Thes A7; S-TC16.

144. KALONYMUS B. KALONYMUS, *Even Boḥan*. Edited by Yom Tov b. Perez Ẓarefati. Naples, Joseph Gunzenhauser, Elul 28, 5249 (= August 25, 1489). Quarto.

Goff Heb 66; Thes A62; S-TC75.

145. KIMḤI, DAVID B. JOSEPH (RADAK), *Sefer ha-Shorashim*. [Rome?, Obadiah (b. Moses?), Manasseh; and Benjamin of Rome, between 1469 and 1472]. Folio.

Goff Heb 38; Thes A24; S-TC5.

146. (–.–) Naples [Joshua Soncino], Shevat 30, 5251 (= February 10, 1491). Folio.

Goff Heb 40; Thes A69; S-TC62.

147. (–.–) Corrected by Samuel b. Meir Latif. Naples [Azriel Gunzenhauser], Elul 5250 (= August 18–September 15, 1490). Folio.

Goff Heb 39; Thes A66; S-TC101.

148. (–) Commentary on Latter Prophets. Guadalajara, Solomon ibn Alkabeẓ, 5242 (= 1482). Folio.

Goff Heb 37; Thes B1; S-TC15.

149. LANDAU, JACOB BARUCH B. JUDAH, *Sefer Agur* and *Sefer Ḥazon*. [Naples, Azriel Gunzenhauser, 1490 (?)], Quarto.

Goff Heb 68; Thes A67; S-TC102.

150. LEVI B. GERSHOM (RALBAG), commentary on Daniel. [Rome(?), Obadiah, Manasseh and Benjamin of Rome(?), between 1469 and 1472]. Quarto.

Goff Heb 71; Thes A22; S-TC4.

151. (–) Commentary on the Pentateuch. [Mantua], Abraham Conat with the help of Abraham Jedidiah ha-Ezraḥi of Cologne, [between 1476 and 1480]. Folio.

Goff Heb 69; Thes A10; S-TC19.

152. (–) Commentary on Job. Edited by Nathan of Salo. [Ferrara], Abraham b. Ḥayyim dei Tintori, Sivan 4, 5237 (= May 17, 1477). Quarto.

Goff Heb 70; Thes A12; S-TC21.

153. MOSES B. JACOB OF COUCY, *Sefer Mitzvot Gadol* [Rome(?), Obadiah, Manasseh, and Benjamin of Rome, between 1473 and 1475]. Folio.

Goff Heb 84; Thes A19; S-TC7.

154. (–.–) [Soncino], Gershom Soncino, Tevet 15, 5249 (= December 19, 1488). Folio.

Goff Heb 85; Thes A48; S-TC80.

155. MOSES B. MAIMON (MAIMONIDES), *Moreh Nevukhim*. Translated from the Arabic by Samuel b. Judah ibn Tib-

bon. With a table of contents by Judah b. Solomon al-Ḥarizi. [Rome(?), between 1473 and 1475]. Quarto.

Goff Heb 80; Thes A18; S-TC8, where a name of a printer has been erroneously inserted.

156. (–) Mishneh Torah. [Rome(?)], Solomon b. Judah and Obadiah b. Moses [1475]. Folio.

Goff Heb 76; Thes A1; S-TC9.

157. (–.–) [Hijar, Eliezer ibn Alantansi, date unknown]. Octavo.

S-TC232

158. (–.–) Edited by Eliezer b. Samuel. Soncino, Gershom Soncino, Nisan 1, 5250 (= March 23, 1490). Folio.

Goff Heb 77; Thes A55; S-TC81.

159. (–.–) [Somewhere in Spain or Portugal], Moses ibn Shealtiel, [1491?]. Folio.

Goff Heb 78; Thes B32; S-TC248.

160. (–.–) [Spain or Portugal, printer and date unknown]. Folio.

Goff Heb 79, 1; Thes B36; S-TC279.

161. (–.–) [Spain or Portugal, printer and date unknown]. Folio.

Goff Heb 79, 2; Thes B41; S-TC280.

162. (–.–) *Hilkhot Sheḥitah*. [Lisbon, Eliezer Toledano, 1492?]. Duodecimo.

Goff Heb 75; Thes B22; S-TC243.

163. MOSES B. NAḤMAN (NAḤMANIDES). Commentary on the Pentateuch. [Rome(?)], Obadiah, Manasseh, and Benjamin of Rome [Between 1469 and 1472]. Folio.

Goff Heb 86; Thes A20; S-TC1.

164. (–.–) [Naples]. [Joseph Gunzenhauser], Tammuz 13, 5250 (= July 2, 1490). Folio.

Goff Heb 88; Thes A65; S-TC78.

165. (–) *Sha'ar ha-Gemul*. Naples, Joseph Gunzenhauser, Adar I 1, 5250 (= January 29, 1490). Quarto.

Goff Heb 89; Thes A64; S-TC77.

166. (–) *Ḥiddushei ha-Torah* and letter sent from Jerusalem to his son. Lisbon, Eliezer Toledano, Av 18, 5249 (= July 16, 1489). Folio.

Goff Heb 87; Thes B18; S-TC237.

167. NATHAN BEN JEHIEL, *Sefer ha-Arukh*. [Rome(?), Obadiah, Manasseh, and Benjamin of Rome, between 1469 and 1472]. Folio.

Goff Heb 90; Thes A23; S-TC2.

168. SAHULA, ISAAC B. SOLOMON IBN, *Mashal ha-Kadmoni*. [Brescia, Gershom Soncino, 1491]. Quarto.

Goff Heb 45; Thes A76; S-TC82.

169. (–.–) [Somewhere in Italy], Gershom Soncino [1497]. Quarto.

Goff Heb 46; Thes (A86); S-TC95.

170. Solomon b. Isaac (Rashi), commentary on the Pentateuch. [Rome(?). Obadiah, Manasseh, and Benjamin of Rome, between 1469 and 1472]. Quarto.

Goff Heb 92; Thes A21; S-TC3.

171. (–.–) Reggio di Calabria, Abraham b. Garton. Adar 10, 5235 (= February 18, 1475). Folio.

Goff Heb 93; Thes A1; S-TC10.

172. (–.–) [Guadalajara, Solomon ibn Alkabeẓ], Elul 16, 5236 (= September 1476). Folio.

Goff Heb 94; Thes B4; S-TC202.

173. (–.–) [Soncino, Joshua Soncino], Sivan 14, 5247 (= June 6, 1487). Folio.

Thes A42; S-TC45.

174. (–.–) Zamora, Samuel b. Musa and Immanuel, 5247, or [5]252 (= 1487 or 1492). Folio.

Thes B13; S-TC25.

175. TREVOT, PEREZ, *Makrei Dardekei*. [Naples, Joseph Gunzenhauser], Elul 1, 5248 (= August 8, 1488). Folio.

Goff Heb 81; Thes A61; S-TC74.

The following are more recent data on the Hebrew incunabula that are known today and the places where they were printed, as collected by Vinograd (1995):

1469: 9 in Rome
1473: 1 in Lisbon
1474: 5 in Mantua
1475: 1 in Mantua, 2 in Piove di Sacco, 1 in Reggio di Calabria
1476: 1 in Guadalajara, 1 in Mantua
1477: 1 in Bologna, 1 in Mantua, 1 in Ferrara, 1 without place
1479: 1 in Guadalajara
1480: 2 in Italy, 2 in Bologna, 8 in Guadalajara, 8 in Toledo, 1 in Naples, 1 in Spain
1482: 1 in Bologna, 13 in Guadalajara, 2 in Lisbon, 1 in Soncino
1483: 2 in Bologna
1484: 5 in Soncino
1485: 3 in Hijar, 2 in Spain, 2 in Soncino
1486: 1 in Hijar, 1 in Paris, 6 in Soncino
1487: 1 in Italy, 2 in Hijar, 3 in Naples, 2 in Faro, 2 in Soncino
1488: 2 in Napoli, 8 in Soncino
1489: 1 in Lisbon, 1 in Naples, 7 in Soncino
1490: 4 in Italy, 3 in Hijar, 1 in Brescia, 1 in Lisbon, 3 in Leiria, 7 in Naples, 5 in Spain, 1 in Portugal, 1 in Casalmaggiore, 2 in Soncino, 2 without place
1491: 1 in Brescia, 2 in Lisbon, 6 in Naples, 5 in Spain, 1 in Soncino
1492: 2 in Brescia, 4 in Lisbon, 2 in Leiria, 7 in Naples, 3 in Zamora, 6 in Spain, 3 in Faro, 2 in Portugal
1493: 1 in Soncino
1494: 3 in Brescia, 1 in Leiria, 1 in Constantinople
1495: 1 in Italy, 1 in Brescia, 1 in Leiria, 2 in Portugal
1496: 1 in Barco, 1 in Leiden
1497: 1 in Italy, 1 in Barco, 1 in Portugal
1498: 1 in Barco

At least 15 of these Hebrew incunabula can be seen in complete reproduction at the web-page of the Jewish National and University Library: http://www.jnul.huji.ac.il/dl/books/html/bk_all.htm

BIBLIOGRAPHY: G.B. de Rossi, *Annales hebraeo-typographici saeculi XV* (1795); G. Manzoni, *Annali tipographici dei Soncino*, 2 vols. (1883–86); A. Berliner, *Ueber den Einfluss des ersten hebraeischen Bu-*

chdrucks… (1896); A. Freimann, in: *Zeitschrift fuer Bibliothekswesen*, 19 (1902), 108ff.; A. Marx, *Studies in Jewish History and Booklore* (1944); A. Freimann and M. Marx, *Thesaurus typographiae hebraicae saeculi xv* (1929–31; 1969^{2}–), with bibliography of 77 titles. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** I. Sonne, in: *Kiryat Sefer*, 14 (1937–38), 374–75; Ch. Berlin (ed.), *Hebrew Printing and Bibliography* (1976); P. Tishby, in: *Kiryat Sefer*, 58 (1983), 808–57, 860, (1985), 865–962; M. Beit-Arié, in: *Scripta Hierosolymitana*, 29 (1989), 1–26; idem, *The Makings of the Medieval Hebrew Book* (1993); Y. Vinograd, *Oẓar ha-Sefer ha-Ivri: Reshimat ha-Sefarim she-Nidpesu be-Ot Ivrit me-Reshit ha-Defus ha-Ivri bi-Shenat 229 (1469) ad Shenat 623 (1863)* (1993); S. Iakerson, *Catalogue of Hebrew Incunabula from the Collection of the Library of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America* (2005).

[Herrmann M.Z. Meyer / Angel Sáenz-Badillos (2nd ed.)]

INDEPENDENCE DAY, ISRAEL (Heb. יוֹם הָעַצְמָאוּת, *Yom ha-Aẓma'ut*), Israel's national day. It is celebrated each year on the 5th of Iyyar, the anniversary – according to the Hebrew calendar – of the day in 5708 (May 14, 1948) when the *Declaration of Independence was promulgated and the State of Israel established. It was declared a public holiday by law in 1949. When the anniversary falls on a Sabbath or a Friday it is celebrated on the preceding Thursday. It is marked by dancing in the streets, firework displays, picnic trips to the countryside, etc., as well as official ceremonies and organized open-air entertainments. The day is recognized in moderate religious circles as a Jewish festival and festive prayers are held in synagogues all over the country, with cabinet members attending in Jerusalem and other main centers. Independence Day proper is preceded by *Remembrance Day (*Yom ha-Zikkaron*) for all those who have fallen in defense of Israel's independence and security. This is marked by special prayer services, visits to cemeteries, memorial assemblies, and a two-minute silence throughout the country.

Official Ceremonies

The Independence Day festivities are inaugurated on the eve of the holiday by a ceremony on Mt. Herzl, Jerusalem, at the grave of the prophet of Jewish statehood. Here the speaker of the Knesset ushers in the festival by lighting a torch, then in turn, 12 torches are kindled, symbolizing the tribes of Israel. The torchbearers are chosen year by year to represent outstanding phases in the nation's modern history and its struggle for statehood and survival.

For 20 years, the main official event was a parade by the armed forces, alternating between the major cities. After the march in reunited Jerusalem on the 20th anniversary (5728/1968), the parade was discontinued. In the following year it was replaced in Jerusalem by a march of the *Gadna Youth Corps, while Haifa continued with its traditional dance parade. Most of the municipalities organize entertainment stages where big-name singers and bands perform. At a reception held by the president of the State, the heads of diplomatic missions extend official congratulations. Another reception honors soldiers of the Israel Defense Forces who have distinguished themselves in the performance of their duties and, from time to time, citizens who have earned public recognition or representatives from all parts of Israel and all walks of life.

Cultural Events, Sport, and Entertainments

Israel Prizes for distinction in various fields of literary, artistic, and scientific endeavor are presented by the minister of education and culture at a ceremony held at a hall in Jerusalem. The International Bible Contest for Jewish Youth (organized by the Jewish Agency, the Israel Society for Biblical Research, and Gadna) attracts wide interest and is broadcast. Contestants are the winners of national competitions held in Israel and in Jewish communities abroad. Sports events include football matches and long-distance races. Theatrical performances, dance pageants, and art exhibitions are held. Thousands take advantage of public transportation to go out to the country, especially to the nature reserves and national parks. The Hebrew Song Festival used to introduce new songs that competed for popular approval (Naomi Shemer's *Jerusalem the Golden* was first heard there in 1967, shortly before the Six-Day War), but it no longer exists.

Some of the events marking Independence Day have taken on the aura of tradition. In general, however, the pattern is fluid and the search for the most suitable forms is still going on, with a growing tendency to more widespread local and family celebrations.

[Yitzhak Levi]

Prayers for Independence Day

These were first formulated by the Israel Chief Rabbinate in 1949. The festive evening service is introduced by thanksgiving Psalms (107, 97, 98) and concludes with the sounding of the *shofar*, to the accompaniment of the petition: "May it be Thy will, that as we have been deemed worthy to witness the beginning of redemption, so also may we be deemed worthy to hear the *shofar* announcing the Messiah, speedily in our days." The morning service includes the Sabbath festival introductory Psalms, *Nishmat*, the *Hallel, and the *haftarah* (Isa. 10:32–11:12) that is read on the last day of Passover in the Diaspora, but without the accompanying benedictions. *Taḥanun* is also omitted as on all festive days.

From the moment of publication many religious elements in Israel felt that the Chief Rabbinate's order of service represented an inadequate and halfhearted expression of the historic nature of the occasion. Criticism was directed against the omission of the benedictions before the *Hallel* and *haftarah*, of the *She-Heḥeyanu*, and of the reading of a special portion of the Torah. These omissions have been demonstratively remedied in some orthodox congregations in Israel, chiefly those of Ha-Kibbutz ha-Dati and the Army rabbinate. The former has printed its own *maḥzor* under the imprimatur of the Army chief chaplain, Rabbi Shlomo Goren, and Rabbi Elimelech Bar-Shaul of Reḥovot, prescribing the recital of *She-Heḥeyanu* over *Kiddush* and *Al ha-Nissim* in the *Amidah*. Three persons are called to the Torah, the portion read being Deuteronomy 7:1–8:18. Some synagogues read Deuteronomy 30:1–10. These deviations from the official order of service in respect of the *Hallel* and *She-Heḥeyanu* benedictions were also authorized by Rabbi Meshullam Rath of the Chief Rabbinate Council in a responsum in 1952 to an inquiry of Rabbi Judah Maimon, the minister of religious affairs. His ruling reflected the actual opinion of most members of the Chief Rabbinate Council including Chief Rabbi Isaac ha-Levi Herzog. The order of service finally adopted by the council represented an attempt to placate the objections of the more orthodox circles to any changes in the liturgy. The religious establishment continued to maintain this "no-change" attitude even after the Six-Day War when the demand grew to give appropriate expression to the restoration of Jerusalem and the Temple site in the daily prayers and even to the abolition of the Fast Days commemorating its original wresting from Jewish rule.

The Chief Rabbinate's order of service has been incorporated into two standard editions of Israel prayer books and in one issued in Hebrew and English in London, 1964, under the imprimatur of Chief Rabbi Israel Brodie. In the latter, however, the *Hallel* has been cut down to half as on *Rosh Ḥodesh*, following the precedent set by Rabbi Moshe Zvi Neriah of Kefar ha-Ro'eh, Israel. In 1962 he compiled a *Tikkun le-Yom ha-Aẓma'ut*, an anthology of readings, prayers, and customs for Independence Day, with the approval of the Israel chief rabbis.

The secular authorities in Israel, too, formulated readings and prayers for the celebration of Independence Day, stressing home festivities after the manner of the Passover **seder*. The Israel writer, Aharon *Megged, produced an Independence Night **Haggadah* for the Israel Defense Forces while the Ministry of Education and Culture published an anthology of readings and prayers, and prescribed the drinking of three cups of wine: for the state, the armed forces, and the Jewish people, respectively. Special Independence Day services in the synagogue are a feature of almost all Jewish communities today, though practices are far from uniform. Among the differing customs may be mentioned that of proclaiming the number of years since the establishment of the State, before the sounding of the *shofar* in the evening service. The wording is adapted from the proclamation of the years since the destruction of the Temple which is read out in Sephardi and Yemenite synagogues on *Tishah be-Av*. It reads: "Hear ye, our brethren … today … years have elapsed since the beginning of our redemption marked by the establishment of the State."

[Aryeh Newman]

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INDEPENDENT JEWISH WORKERS PARTY, Jewish workers' party existing in Russia between 1901 and 1903. Its headquarters were in *Minsk, with branches or connections in *Odessa, *Bobruisk, *Kraslava (Kreslavka), and *Vilna. The members of the party were known under various names: "Independents," "Legalists," "Economists," "Zubatovists," and the party slogan was "Bread and Knowledge." The program and manifesto issued in summer 1901 announced that its organizational structure would be democratic and that the party did not pursue any political objectives; its aim was to raise the economic and cultural level of the Jewish proletariat by the development of trade unions, funds, and clubs which would function in a legal manner. Membership would not be conditional upon any political outlook. In the same document the *Bund was accused of exploiting "economic activity" in order to "arouse revolutionary agitation among the working masses" without taking into consideration the specific psychology, sympathies, and aspirations of the "rank and file worker" on which it imposed its "political outlook and objectives," thus preventing wider organization of workers of other opinions.

The initiative for organizing such a party actually emanated from S. Zubatov, head of the secret police (*Okhrana*) in Moscow, who wanted to establish a loyal workers' organization in order to estrange the workers from the Social-Democratic revolutionary intelligentsia. The organization would function under the supervision and guidance of the *Okhrana*, and concern itself solely with trade union activities. After success in Moscow, he turned to Minsk, one of the centers of the Bund. In the wake of widespread arrests (1898, 1900), Zubatov succeeded in influencing many of the political prisoners, and convincing some of them of his idea for a legal and peaceful workers' movement. The "Independents" were led by a group of people who had formerly been connected with the Bund: Manya Wilbushewitz (later *Shoḥat), the moving spirit of the party, A. *Tschermerisky, G. Shakhnovich, and the litterateur Y. Volin. They were joined by *Po'alei Zion members of the Minsk trend, including Joseph Goldberg and Ḥayyah Kagan (later in the United States), and in 1902 also by the General Zionist Heinrich Shayevich of Odessa. Wilbushewitz and especially Shayevich were even influenced by the idea of monarchy and they were both co-opted to a restricted secret body which administered the all-Russian legalist party. Zubatov won the confidence of his Jewish supporters, connecting social and national elements. He argued that a constitutional government would not eliminate antisemitism and that only the bourgeoisie would benefit from political freedom. On the other hand, the czarist regime would moderate its anti-Jewish policy. He did indeed propose to his superiors some slight alleviations in the legislation on Jewish rights of residence, especially for the workers, and a more tolerant censorship of Yiddish publications. Zubatov also hoped to establish contacts with other Jewish personalities and public bodies through the intermediary of the "Independents." Upon intercession by Wilbushewitz, authorization was obtained for the Zionist convention to be held in Minsk (August 1902). Under the protection of the local police chief, the "Independents" succeeded in establishing unions in Minsk and engaging in several activities, including strikes for the improvement of working conditions. They also published an information bulletin entitled "The Labor

Market." Various workers' circles hoped that they would improve their situation without the cost of victims; some were also dissatisfied with the politicization of the Bund and its increasing centralism.

The Bund strongly opposed the "Independents," referring to them as provocateurs and calling for a boycott against them. The Po'alei Zion did not prevent their members from joining the "Independents." For their own ideological reasons, they were opposed to revolutionary activity and since the Zionists had been excluded from the trade unions by the Bund, they were inclined to cooperate with the "Independents" in this field. This policy encountered opposition within the ranks of the Po'alei Zion. The pogrom of *Kishinev and the intensified official anti-Jewish policy had an adverse effect on the public image of the "Independents." The minister of the interior, Vyacheslav von *Plehve, ordered that their activities should cease and they themselves were compelled to declare their "self-liquidation" (July 1903). Their failure was best illustrated by the fact that it was just during the years 1901 to 1903 that the number of Jewish political prisoners in Russia reached its peak. Unlike its development among the Russians, there was no successor to the pro-czarist legalist party among the Jewish workers.

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[Moshe Mishkinsky]

INDEPENDENT LIBERAL PARTY, Israeli political party established in 1965 by members of the Israel Liberal Party who refused to join *Gaḥal, a parliamentary group formed by the *Ḥerut movement and the Israel Liberal Party. Most of the members of the Independent Liberal Party had previously been members of the Progressive Party, which in 1961 had united with the *General Zionists to form the Israel Liberal Party.

The Progressive Party was established in 1948, with the unification of Aliyah Ḥadashah ("New Immigration"), which represented mostly settlers from Germany and Central Europe, Hitaḥadut ha-Ẓiyyonim ha-Kelali'im, the progressive wing of the General Zionists, which supported Chaim *Weizmann's policy and cooperated with the labor movement, and Ha-Oved ha-Ẓiyyoni, the General Zionist faction in the *Histadrut. The Progressives had received between 4 and 6 seats in the First to Fifth Knessets, and except for the years 1952–53 were represented in all governments until 1961 as well as on the *Jewish Agency Executive. Within the Israel Liberal Party the former Progressives were generally viewed as more moderate in their political views and liberal in the social-human rights sense, while the General Zionists were more nationalist in their political views and liberal in the free market sense.

The Independent Liberal Party was elected to the Sixth to Ninth Knessets and ran as part of the Alignment in the Eleventh Knesset, with the number of its representatives progressively falling from 5 to 1. It was a member of all the Labor-led governments from the Sixth to Eighth Knessets. Its representatives in the government were Moshe *Kol, who served as minister of development (as long as that ministry existed) and tourism, and Gideon *Hausner, who served as minister without portfolio. The Independent Liberals called for the subordination of sectional and partisan to national interests, advocated the coexistence and cooperation of different economic sectors, urged the consolidation of the welfare state, and sought to strengthen the Zionist movement. It also favored the enactment of a constitution that would define the rights and duties of the citizen and was opposed to any form of religious coercion, calling for the separation of religion and state.

The Independent Liberals had their own faction in the Histadrut, where it advocated that wages be a function of the worker's education and qualifications, compulsory arbitration in cases of labor disputes in the public sector, and the institution of national health insurance. The Independent Liberal Party was affiliated with the Liberal International. In the elections to the Eleventh Knesset in 1984 the Independent Liberals ran within the Alignment list, and its representative, Yitzhak Arẓi was elected. Towards the end of the Eleventh Knesset Arẓi left the Alignment and joined the Shinui parliamentary group. Towards the end of the 1980s the Independent Liberals ceased to exist.

[Pinchas Rosen / Susan Hattis Rolef (2nd ed.)]

INDIA. India has played a significant role in Jewish culture and consciousness for 2000 years. Over the millennia, there have been commercial and cultural interactions and, in recent times, diplomatic, technological, and strategic links as well.

Ancient Times

Interactions between India and ancient Israel were overlaid upon older cultural patterns between India's Indus Valley Civilization (IVC, third to second millennium B.C.E.) and Sumer. Legendary accounts of the great wealth of India entered West Asian consciousness during antiquity and found their way into the Jewish imagination. Ancient tablets discovered at Ur, the city of Abraham, describe this flourishing trade.

Philologists have identified several Sanskrit and Tamil loan words in the Hebrew Bible, dating from as early at the Book of Exodus through the Books of Kings and Chronicles, indicating direct or indirect trade between India and ancient Israel. The Book of Esther contains the Hebrew Bible's sole direct reference to India, where King Ahashverush's domain is described as stretching from Ethiopia to India. Many scholars argue that the biblical port of Ophir was located in India.

From Indian literature, we find a description of ocean trade between India and West Asia that recalls the Noah narrative. In the Buddhist Kevaddhu Sutta (according to traditional dating, from the sixth century B.C.E.) one reads of merchants who sailed along the coast, carrying with them inshore-sighting birds that were released from time to time in order to guide

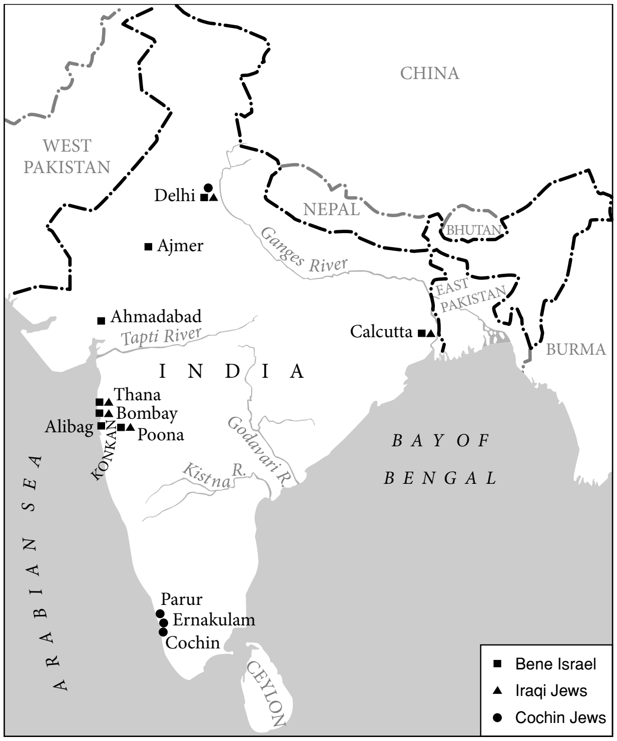

Major Jewish settlements in India in the 19th and 20th centuries.

the early navigators to land. Another parallel in Buddhist literature is in the Mahoshadha Jataka, where the Buddha's wisdom is indicated in his sagacious judgment about two mothers who claim the same baby. Like King Solomon, the Buddha suggests that the baby be cut in half and shared, and the woman who objects is declared to be the real mother.

India was held in the highest regard in Greek culture, and it is not surprising that this view is reflected in the writings of Hellenized Jews. It was during Greek rule that the monsoon winds were discovered, speeding the maritime journey between West and South Asia to one month, greatly enhancing the spice trade and the cultural interactions it fostered.

The great historian *Josephus Flavius wrote about India. Of particular interest is Josephus' description of the martyrdom at *Masada, especially his accounts of the speeches of *Eleazar ben Jair, the leader of the rebels. Dramatically, as the Romans were about to overrun the defiant Jews, he argued that mass martyrdom was preferable to capture. Ben Jair presented a variety of arguments, but the one that convinced his audience to take the fateful step is a comparison of Jewish and Hindu attitudes about death, Josephus holds the Hindus as an example of fearlessness based on a firm belief in the eternity of the soul, and concludes by asking rhetorically how the Jews, who know God from Sinai, could be less firm in their faith than the Hindus, who have at best an indirect knowledge of God.

Philo of Alexandria also idealized Indian philosophers or gymnosophists. According to Greek sources, emissaries of Alexander of Macedon met with two Brahmin ascetics in northwestern India. Alexander at first invited and later demanded that the two come to Greece to display their wisdom. One of the two refused and was considered intransigent, while the other accepted and was considered courteous. Philo adapts the Greek story for his own anti-assimilationist purposes. In his version, the intransigent Calamus is lauded as a paradigm of Indian rejection of Hellenism, which Philo holds should be emulated by Jews.

Similarities between Jews and Brahmins abound in Hellenistic literature. Aristotle believed that Jews were descended from the Brahmins, for example, and Megasthenes held that the philosophers are to Greece as the Brahmins are to India and the Jews to the Middle East.

Contemporary Indian literature mirrors Jewish descriptions of the sea trade. The second century C.E. Tamil narrative poem, the "Shilappadikaram," described in great detail the pepper trade, the ports and cities of South India of the day, and the prosperity, peace, and cultural achievements that resulted from this commerce. Unfortunately, Indian literature generally does not distinguish among foreigners, who are lumped together under the Sanskrit word *Yavana* ("Greek").

India in Early and Medieval Rabbinic Literature

The Talmud contains several references to India. One refers to the pepper trade (Mid. Kohelet 1:7), and another to an India proselyte (Kid. 22b; BB 74b). The high priest wore "Indian linen" (Yoma 34b), and there are numerous references to Indian products, including pepper (Ḥag. 10a, Er. 28b), iron (AZ 16a), and ginger (Ber. 36b).

Saadiah Gaon mentioned the great profit to be had in the India trade; Abraham Ibn Ezra wrote of India's advanced knowledge of astrology, mathematics, and the sciences, and some hold that he visited India and may have been imprisoned there; Judah Halevi expressed negative sentiments about Hinduism in the *Kuzari*; and there is a talmudic discussion as to whether Indians practice idolatry or merely follow ancestral traditions (Ḥul. 13b).

Early Christian Sources

Traditional accounts of the arrival of Christianity in India in the year 55 C.E. focus upon St. Thomas the Apostle's mission to bring the Gospel to the Jews already in India. The earliest historical document to make reference to Jews in India is Eusebius' third century Ecclesiastical History, where he mentions the mission of Pantaenus in 181 C.E. Eusebius reports that Pantaneus found a Hebrew version of the Gospel of Matthew, which had been left behind by the Apostle Bartholomew. During the fourth century St. Jerome wrote of Jewish communities in India, and Bishop Simeon Beth-Arshem of Yemen of a triangular Jewish trade among Yemen, Babylonia, and the Malabar Coast of India.

Arabic Sources

Arab travelers left us the most extensive accounts of Jews in India. A mid-ninth century writer, Abdul Kasim, described the commercial activities of the Radanites; the ninth century geographer Abu Said al-Hassan mentioned Jewish communities in India and Ceylon; and during the same century ibn Wahab wrote about the Jewish community of Cranganore, near Kochi (Cochin).

It was al-Beruni, the greatest Muslim traveloguist, who during the 10th–11th centuries left the most extensive account. He held that the people of Kashmir were descendents of Jews, and that there was a large Jewish community there. Other great Muslim writers also discussed Indo-Jewish links, including al-Idrisi of the 12th century and especially ibn-Battuta of the 14th century.

Jewish Travelers

During the 12th century a number of Jewish travelers visited India and wrote about Jewish life there. The most influential was *Benjamin of Tudela, who left extensive descriptions of the Jews of southwest India. It was during the same century that *Maimonides wrote that his *Mishneh Torah* was studied in India.

The discovery of documents in the Cairo **Genizah* revealed numerous merchant documents and letters pertaining to the India trade, but no comprehensive study of these tantalizing documents has yet appeared.

A quatrain by the 14th-century Rabbi Nissim of Spain expresses his delight at finding a Jewish king at Shingly, or Cranganore.

Medieval Period

In addition to the **Genizah* documents and the travelogues, physical evidence about Indian Jewish communities appears from the medieval period.

The most interesting are copper plate charters granted to minority communities in Malabar, the earliest of which from 843 granted autonomy to a Syriac Christian community at Kollam, and was witnessed by four Jews. Of greater Jewish interest are the fabled copper plates given to the leader of the Jews, Joseph Rabban, by the Cheraman Perumal emperor in 1001. The plates charter an autonomous Jewish principality under the suzerainty of the Hindu maharajah, granting real and symbolic privileges to the Jews. In Kochi Jewish folklore, Joseph Rabban and Cheraman Perumal became paradigms of Jewish-Hindu relations over the centuries, one characterized by loyalty, benevolence, and affection.

Also from the medieval period is a 1269 tombstone of Sarah bat Israel, which is found outside the Chendamangalam Synagogue.

Folk Songs

Jewish women of the Malabar developed a repertoire of Malayalam-language folk songs that were chanted on many auspicious occasions: holidays, circumcisions, weddings, etc. These songs reveal the deep acculturation of Jews within Hindu society, reflecting local motifs and traditional Jewish themes.

Indian Jewish Communities

India had through the 21st century the largest number of Jews of any country east of Iran. Their population peaked in 1950 at around 30,000–35,000, after which immigration to Israel and other places reduced their number to around 4,000–6,000 in the early 2000s, more if the so-called B'nai Menashe and B'nai Ephraim are counted.

There have been three major distinct Jewish communities in India. The oldest group is found in and around Kochi in the southwestern state of Kerala, who today number fewer than 50. Perhaps 5,000 Cochinim, as they are called in Hebrew, live in Israel. The largest group is known as *Bene Israel and is found chiefly in and around Mumbai (previously Bombay), with active communities in Pune, also in Maharashtra state, in Ahmedabad in Gujerat state, and in New Delhi. All told, there are 4,000–5,000 Bene Israel in India and 40,000–50,000 in Israel, where they make up a significant ethnic group (*edah* in Hebrew) known as Hodi'im ("Indians"). The most recently arrived group are known in India as Baghdadis, Middle Eastern Jews, Arabic speakers mostly, who migrated to India during the late 18th century, about the same time as the British arrived, and who settled in India's port cities, especially Mumbai and Kolakata. Numbering about 5,000 at their peak, they declined to around 100, most of whom are elderly. The Baghdadis played a significant role in the development of British India's ports. Beginning as jewelers and in the opium trade, Baghdadi entrepreneurs soon moved into textiles and shipping in Mumbai, and real estate, jute, manufacturing, and tobacco in Kolakata. Replicating Jewish experience in America, humble boxwallahs (door-to-door salesmen) settled down and became department store magnates. Of the three groups, only the Bene Israel remains viable as a community.

While most Bene Israel live in Mumbai, the nearby Konkan coast is their spiritual home. Bene Israel trace themselves back to seven couples from Israel who survived a shipwreck off Navgaon, in the unknown, distant past. Somehow they clung to vestigial Judaic observances despite centuries of isolation. Their tenacity in maintaining the Sabbath, ritual circumcision, Jewish dietary codes, and the Hebrew *Shema* – the affirmation "Hear O Israel! The Lord is our God, the Lord is One" – set the stage for their unlikely transformation from an anonymous oil-pressing caste in the remote Konkan into modern, urban members of the world Jewish community. This evolution occurred over 200 years ago, beginning in the middle of the 18th century.

A Kochi merchant heard rumors of a Konkani caste that rested on Saturday and circumcised their sons on the eighth day, so David Rahabi visited them. After spending some time with the community, examining their dietary habits as well as eccentric (by Hindu standards) religious observances, he concluded that they were lost Jews. He took three of them back to Kochi where he educated them in Hebrew and the rudiments of Judaism and sent them back with the title of *kazi*, religious leader. This began a longstanding relationship between Bene Israel and Kochi Jews; as Bene Israel prospered, they hired Kochi Jews to be their cantors, teachers, ritual slaughterers, and scribes. Bene Israel recall these events as their "first awakening."

Subsequent encounters with British and American missionaries and with the nascent Baghdadi community of Mumbai built upon their sense of Jewishness. This period is known as their "second awakening." They learned Bible stories from the missionaries, and they shared their synagogues (they built their first one in Mumbai in 1796) and cemeteries with the Baghdadis. Both the British and the Baghdadis offered opportunities in Mumbai, whether in the military, railway, or civil service, or in the mills and docks of the illustrious *Sassoons, and Bene Israel migrated to the new, glamorous city in search of their fortunes. It did not take long until there were more Bene Israel in Mumbai than in the Konkan.

Gradually the Baghdadis, in an effort to become accepted by the British as "European" rather than "Indian" – a label with tangible economic benefits as well as involving social snobbery – came to adopt British condescension toward all things Indian, including the Bene Israel Jews, who were unmistakably Indian in both appearance and culture. This condescension became all the more ugly when the Baghdadis came to cast aspersions upon the very Jewishness of the Bene Israel. The heart and soul of their newly found and hard-earned identity was under attack.

In Mumbai they encountered both the Zionist and Swaraj movements for independence from Britain in Palestine and India, respectively, and they were rent by the competing nationalisms. On the one hand, as Jews they had internalized the longing to return to Jerusalem and rebuild Zion. On the other hand, their unhappy experiences with the Baghdadis led them to mistrust foreign Jews, and as Indians they yearned for independence from the British. In yet a third direction, they were also fond of the British, their employers and often patrons, and wanted to support them as well. Mahatma *Gandhi appreciated their ambivalence. Leaders of the Ahmedabad Jewish community (where Gandhi had headquarters at his Sabarmati Ashram) asked the Mahatma what should be the stance of India's Jews vis-à-vis the independence movement. He is said to have replied that the Jews should "stand aside" because as a microscopically small community they would be crushed between the competing and overwhelming forces of the British Empire, Indian nationalism, and Muslim separatism. As a community, they did stand apart, although many Bene Israel became involved as individuals. The bottom line, however, is that the great majority of Bene Israel immigrated to Israel.

The Bene Israel community has stabilized. Those who intended to emigrate have done so, and most of those who remain intend to stay. Most are in Mumbai, where they work in the professions, education, industry, the military, and commerce. Most are educated and in the middle class. Twenty-five years or so ago, the Organization for Rehabilitation and Training (ORT) established two schools in Mumbai, one for boys and one for girls, to provide vocational training. The ORT schools became very popular among Jews and Gentiles alike. Soon services expanded to include classes in religion, Hebrew, and Israel studies. Later, the Joint Distribution Committee (JDC) became active in Mumbai, sending rabbis from America to help meet the community's religious and educational needs. The Israeli Consulate, too, serves as a community focus. Several of the synagogues in Mumbai have a full range of programs, from prayer services to singles groups to computer classes. Summer camps at a rural retreat center have provided an intense infusion of Jewish spirit to many of Mumbai's younger Jews. Kosher meat and wine, ritual objects, books, Indian Jewish calendars, and the accouterments of Judaic religious life are available, and India's generally tolerant approach to religions and religious pluralism bode well for the future of the Jewish community in Mumbai.

Smaller organized communities in Ahmedabad and Pune face more difficult challenges, but their synagogues are lively, and social and educational programs are well subscribed. In New Delhi there are only a handful of Bene Israel families, but they are augmented by Israeli and American diplomats and businesspeople. Regular prayers are held at the synagogue, and the Israeli Embassy helps out with the community's Passover *Seder.*

In Israel, despite initial difficulties in adapting to a new culture, climate, and economy, the sizeable Bene Israel community has maintained its own identity, largely through a singular ritual activity. Long devoted to the Prophet Elijah as a sort of patron saint, his veneration has become central to their new Israeli identity as Hodi'im. The propitiatory rite known as *malida*, after the parched rice mixture served with fresh fruits and flowers, is often the culmination of a pilgrimage to an Elijah cave near Haifa.

About 50 years ago, several shamans and leaders of tribal people in extreme eastern India (the states of Mizoram, Manipur, and Tripura) and western Myanmar (formerly Burma) began having dreams and visions which told them of their lost, true identity: that they were Jews of the Tribe of Menashe (Manasseh) who had meandered from ancient Israel along the Silk Route to Kaifeng, China, then through Southeast Asia, finally settling in their current remote mountain homes. Their religious enthusiasm spread to such an extent that by the early 21st century there were thousands of Kuki tribals on both sides of the border living as Jews. Some went to Israel, where they learned Hebrew, studied, and converted to Judaism, and some returned home as religious leaders. A number of synagogues have sprouted up, and now there are regular visits from Israeli and American coreligionists. Several hundred now live in Israel, especially in West Bank settlements, but most wait for their redemption back home. About a decade ago, a similar group emerged in Andhra Pradesh, a state on the Bay of Bengal on India's southeast coast, who call themselves B'nai Ephraim.

Most demographies of Indian Jewry do not include these tribal people, and there are no reliable estimates of their number, but it is incontestable that some of them have undergone conversion and are therefore Jewish. It is also the case that the vast majority are sincere in their beliefs and aspirations. Israeli immigration officials generally take an unsympathetic, skeptical view, believing them to be opportunists who seek only a higher standard of living. Their passionate yearning for Israel has provoked controversy. Some accuse immigration authorities of racism, pointing out that many Russians who are not Jewish but who are white have been welcomed, but that these tribals who have at least some claim to Jewishness but who are not white, receive only scorn. From the other side of the controversy, their Israeli and American supporters are criticized for settling them in disputed territories as a way of bolstering their claims to Judea and Samaria.

India and Israel

Jews occupied an ambivalent position within Indian nationalist discourse of the 19th to 20th centuries. On the one hand, Jews are seen as an Asian people, non-missionizing and oppressed, and therefore like Hindus. Moreover, Jesus was a Jew as well as an avatara. On the other hand, Judaism is the source of western civilization and the mother of Christianity and Islam, and therefore opposed to Hinduism, which is construed as "spiritual" in contrast to the "materialistic" western world. Also, Hindu nationalism objects to Jewish monotheistic exclusivism.

During India's pre-state period, the Swaraj (independence) movement led by Mahatma Gandhi adopted as its central issue Hindu-Muslim unity in the face of British attempts to foster a Muslim counterweight (the Muslim League) to the Indian National Congress. Thus, Gandhi's extra sensitivity to Muslim issues. He was successful in coopting the Khilafat Movement, deflecting its aims from the reestablishment of the Ottoman Caliphate to a general opposition to colonialism. When during the 1930s the Muslim League began demanding a Muslim state in Pakistan, Gandhi saw analogies between the Muslim League and Zionism in that both, to his mind, sought to carve out a religiously oriented state in what had been a unified British colony.

Moshe *Sharett of Keren Hayesod, later Israel's foreign minister, wanted Asian acceptance of Jews as an Asian people, and of Zionism as a national liberation movement. He sent Sanskritist Immanuel *Olsvanger as his emissary. Olsvanger convinced poet Rabindranath Tagore of the justice of Israel's cause, but not Gandhi. Olsvanger became embittered toward Gandhi, a sentiment which infected the Zionist movement's view of Gandhi generally. The Zionist movement was marginally more successful when it sent Hermann Kallenbach, whom Gandhi called my "closest friend, soul mate," leading to at least some ambivalence toward Israel on Gandhi's part.

During the Holocaust era, India's leadership showed little sympathy or understanding of the plight of the Jews in Europe. Jawaharlal Nehru proposed that India become an asylum for Jews in 1938 and again in 1939 on both humanitarian and pragmatic grounds, but his proposal was blocked by Nazi sympathizer Subhas Chandra Bose, Congress president from 1937 to 1939, and again by Maulana Abdul Kalam Azar, Congress leader from 1940 to 1946.

Despite sympathy for Jews in Europe, Indian leaders had little sympathy for Zionism. This was because of (1) their ideological view of Zionism as a form of European colonialism; (2) Indian domestic politics – at the time, India had the largest Muslim population in the world, and very few Jews; (3) the active courting by the Mufti of Jerusalem, Haj Amin al-Husseini, contrasted with the relative standoffishness on the part of Zionist leaders.

After independence for India in 1947 and for Israel in 1948, India extended official recognition to Israel in September 1950. A consulate was opened in Mumbai in 1953.

India saw its foreign policy interests in terms of the emerging Non-Aligned Movement, and as co-host of the 1955 Bandung Conference in Indonesia, Prime Minister Nehru suggested inviting Israel to participate, but was overruled by his friend, Egyptian Prime Minister Gamal Abdel *Nasser.

About the same time as the perceived Cold War shift in American support from India to Pakistan, the fledgling Indo-Israeli relations reached their nadir in the wake of the 1956 Suez Campaign, a trend that continued through the era of Indira Gandhi in the 1970s. Under her rule, the Palestine Liberation Organization opened an "embassy" in New Delhi, and in 1975 India co-sponsored the infamous United Nations resolution equating Zionism with racism.

At the same time, undercurrents of disenchantment with the Arab world could be detected within Indian political discourse. India bemoaned the lack of support on the Kashmir issue. During the 1962 war with China, Israel provided India with military aid, while its Arab allies did not. Similarly, India received no Arab support during the 1971 war with Pakistan, a war whose leading Indian military hero was Lt. Gen. Frederick *Jacob, a Jew from Kolakata.

Later during the 1970s, Moshe *Dayan made a clandestine visit to India and met with Morarji Desai, leader of the Bharatiya Janatha Party and soon-to-be-elected prime minister. India supported the Camp David agreements between Israel and Egypt, and despite a temporary cooling of relations during Indira Gandhi's term as second prime minister in the early 1980s, her son Rajiv's prime ministership began opening the doors to greater commercial and technological cooperation. Rajiv met with American Jewish leaders who put forward Israel's case, with Shimon *Peres at the United Nations, with Congressman Stephen Solarz in 1988, and in 1989 a delegation from the Anti-Defamation League met with Foreign Minister Narasinghe Rao.

After Rajiv's assassination in 1991, Rao first led the way in repealing the "'Zionism-equals-racism" calumny, and then took steps leading to the normalization of full diplomatic relations in 1992. This rapprochement in Indo-Israeli relations was made possible by several factors, including: (1) the end of the Cold War; (2) the end of the East/West divide and subsequent erosion of and need for the Non-Aligned Movement; (3) India's economic liberalization begun by Rajiv Gandhi; (4) the Madrid peace process; and (5) India's disappointment with the lack of Arab support on the issue of Kashmir.

Since that time, bilateral relations have flourished, especially in such areas a tourism, culture, technology (agriculture, desalinization, telecommunications), software development, business investment, trade, and security.

[Nathan Katz (2nd ed.)]

Musical Traditions

The musical traditions of the various Jewish communities of the Indian subcontinent – Bene Israel, Paradesi (Malabar) and Cochin – have not been collected and studied systematically. A certain number of recordings were gathered both in India and in the Indian settlements in Israel. The traditions were not included in A.Z. *Idelsohn's "Thesaurus," nor was the historical evidence extracted and surveyed. It seems, however, that the musical foundation of the Indian Jews' liturgical tradition (including biblical cantillation) is affiliated with that of the "Eastern" communities – those of Iraq, Kurdistan, Persia, Afghanistan, and Bukhara. The Cochin tradition also shows a distinct affiliation with that of the Yemenite Jews, not only in its melodic idiom but also in the style of performance, which includes the practice of many-voiced singing in parallel intervals (*organum*). This is typical among Yemenite Jews but is not a recognized element of the Indian musical tradition. All these outside-India links still await their historical explanation.

The earliest report of Jewish musicians in India is the story of the "Hebrew flute girl" whose playing inspired the apostle Thomas, as described in the apocryphal *Acts of Thomas* of the first century C.E. (ch. 1, par. 5, 6, 16). Much later, there is the evidence of travelers. Vincent le Blanc (1554–1640) writes of the Jewish women of Centacola who "sing certain songs like King David's Psalms, gracefully pronouncing their words, and mingling instrumental music with their vocal." The Dutch captain Jan Huyghen Van Linschoten reports from a voyage in 1583–85 that the Paradesi Jews in Cochin sing their 'devotional song' in Spanish, from texts written in Hebrew characters. Among immigrants listed as members of the Paradesi community of Cochin sent to Amsterdam by Moses Pereira de Paiva in 1686, is the *ḥazzan* and *sofer* Ḥayyim Balilia from Aleppo (N. Bar Giora, *Sefunot*, 1 (1956), p. 247).

Although, like all Indian Jews, the Cochin and Malabar Jews adhere to the Sephardi rite, they have a rich local tradition of *piyyutim*, composed by R. Judah of Cranganore, which serves as proof of the *ḥazzan's* knowledge of the tradition. The musical accompaniment to wedding celebrations – which begin on the Sabbath before the ceremony and often continue for eight days – is especially rich. *Piyyutim* are sung during all parts of the festivities. At the main celebration on Tuesday evening and Wednesday, the singing is the most prominent element. Two groups of women sit near the bride and groom in two rows and sing poems, including special historical songs.

The Bene Israel frequently take their cantors from Cochin, and their own liturgical tradition has only been preserved in some sparse relics. However, they have a rich paraliturgic repertoire in the Marathi tongue. Its most important part is the *kirtan*, poetic paraphrases of stories about biblical personages. The singer, called *kirtankar*, who usually draws a large audience, is accompanied by a choir and sometimes by instruments. He interpolates brief spoken homilies bearing on the text. The *kirtan* tradition, in both form and musical content, is drawn from the surrounding culture. Christian missionaries also adapted the *kirtan* to their own purpose. One of the best-known Jewish *kirtankars* was Benjamin Samson Ashtamkar. There are also women's songs on Jewish religious subjects, accompanied by drum and cymbals, corresponding with the local forms called *kathe* or *Hindi laoni*.

[Avigdor Herzog]

As has happened in many Jewish musical traditions during the last decades, deep changes took place also in the Cochin tradition. Many tunes, or even whole repertories went through far-reaching changes, radical transformations, and, among other things, total disappearance. Some parts of the older musical repertory was recorded and is kept in the National Sound Archives in Jerusalem.

[Avigdor Herzog (2nd edition)]

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INDIANA, state in central U.S. The population of Indiana is over 6,090,000; the Jewish population, 17,500, represents a decline in absolute numbers and in percentage of the population over the last 30 years of the 20th century. The largest and clearly the most influential Jewish community is in the capital, *Indianapolis.

Early Settlers

Jewish associations with Indiana life began with a prerevolutionary land-development company in the northwest territory sponsored by several Jewish partners in the east. John Jacob Hays, who lived in Cahokia (now in Illinois), was U.S. collector of internal revenue for the Indian territory (1814–22) and Indian agent of Fort Wayne (1822). Samuel *Judah, a descendant of the prominent Canadian family, settled in Vincennes in 1818. An attorney and friend of Henry Clay, he served five terms in the state legislature (1827–40), was speaker of the 25th

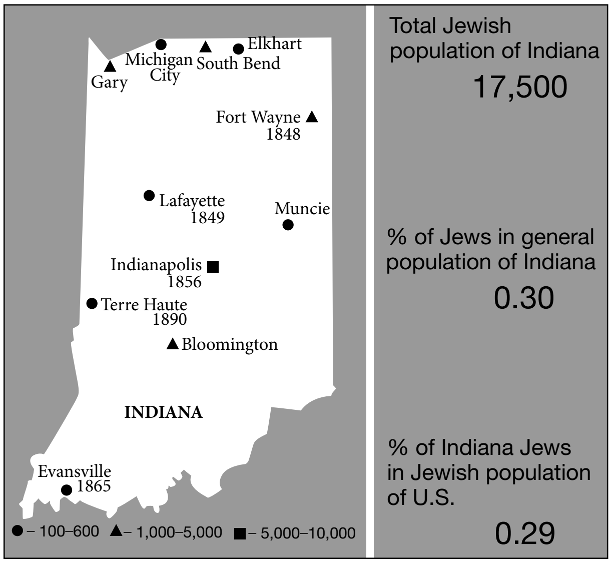

Jewish communities in Indiana, with dates of establishment of first synagogue. Population figures for 2001.

general assembly, and was U.S. district attorney from 1830 to 1833. The first Jewish settlements were established in southern Indiana in the first half of the 19th century. The Gumberts family arrived in Evansville in 1837, followed by Isaac Heiman (1838) and his brothers a decade later. Adam Gimbel, who settled with his family in Vincennes, opened the first Gimbel Bros. store in that town in 1842; he was a member of the Vincennes city council (1842–66). By 1850 the Kuhn brothers had settled in Lafayette; in 1865 Abraham Kuhn joined in founding the investment firm of Kuhn, Loeb and Co. Achdut V'Shalom in Fort Wayne was the first congregation established in Indiana (1848). It was still serving the community in 1970; Frederick A. Doppelt (d. 1982) ministered to the congregation from 1940 to 1969. The second oldest synagogue in Indiana was organized in Lafayette in 1849. In 1853 a congregation was organized in Evansville; the first synagogue building was erected in 1865. By 1900, congregations were also established in Indianapolis (1856), Ligonier (1864), Peru (1870), Goshen (1878), Terre Haute (1890), and Logansport (1900).

Contemporary Period

In addition to Indianapolis (estimated Jewish pop. 10,000), the three largest Jewish communities in Indiana are Northwest Indiana (Gary, Hammond, Munster, and Merrillville (pop. approx. 2,000)), South Bend (approx. 1,850) and Ft. Wayne (approx. 900). Evansville's Jewish population is approximately 400.

In the 1960s and 1970s, the Jewish population of Gary and Hammond moved to nearby Munster, Merrillville, and even as far as the state of Illinois. Federations of Gary and Hammond combined to form the Northwest Indiana Federation which serves all the Jewish communities in that area. In addition to Indianapolis, Ft. Wayne and South Bend have Federations.

In 1972 the Indiana Jewish Historical Society was organized to collect, preserve, and disseminate the story of the nearly 250 years of the Jewish presence in Indiana. The society has collected records of individuals, synagogues, and organizations that comprise the history of Jews throughout the state. The archive collection is housed at the Indiana History Center in Indianapolis (http://www.indianahistory.org/) which also has the historical records of the Jewish Federation of Greater Indianapolis. Jews have contributed significantly to local philanthropic and civic causes, and many Jews have held public office, including Stanley Miller, U.S. attorney for southern Indiana; George Rubin and Sidney Kramer, state senators; Dr. Milton Bankoff, consultant, Department of Health, Education and Welfare; and Saul Rabb, criminal court judge. Past officeholders include two Ligonier mayors, Sol Henoch (1917) and Simon Straus; and a mayor of Gary, A. Martin Katz (1964–67). Among the Indiana Jews who have held important offices in national service organizations are Rabbi Albert M. Schulman of South Bend, past national chaplain, American Legion; Julian Freeman of Indianapolis, president's conference of national Jewish organizations; and Mrs. Jack A. Goodman of Indianapolis, past president of the Women's Division, National Jewish Welfare Federations. The national and Indiana editions of the *National Jewish Post and Opinion*, an Anglo-Jewish weekly, are published in Indianapolis by Gabriel Cohen.

The Indiana Jewish Community Relations Council serves all communities in the state in the areas of public policy and intergroup relations.

The Robert A. and Sandra S. Borns Jewish Studies Program at Indiana University was established in 1973 and is one of the largest Jewish studies programs in the country. Professor Alvin H. Rosenfeld, who directed the Indiana University program for 30 years headed the Institute of Jewish Culture and the Arts established in 2004. A graduate curriculum in Jewish and Hebraic studies is also offered. The Borns Jewish Studies Program is considered a national model.

Jewish studies are also taught in Indiana at Earlham College (Quaker), Marian College (Catholic), Christian Theological Seminary (Protestant), DePauw University, Purdue University, and the University of Notre Dame (Catholic). Consequently, each of these cities is graced with fine Jewish scholars as well as Jewish programming. There are active Hillel chapters at Purdue, Indiana, and Butler Universities.

The Indiana University Press has been publishing books and journals of Jewish and Holocaust studies for over 30 years. The press publishes 4 to 6 new titles in Jewish studies each year and in the early 21st century over 100 such titles were in print. The IU Press also publishes six journals in Jewish studies. The richness of Jewish academia in what seems to be an improbable place continues to attract highly accomplished and recognized scholars to this Midwestern state.

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[Sidney Steiman]

INDIANAPOLIS, U.S. city in central Indiana. In the late 1960s the population of Indianapolis was over 600,000 and the Jewish community numbered about 10,000 (1968). The Jewish community, concentrated in the north-central area, was served by five synagogues. The Jewish population has remained surprisingly stable compared with the growth of the city, which now numbers 1,200,000.

The first-known Jewish settlers in Indianapolis were Moses Woolf, Alexander and Daniel Franco, who emigrated from London about 1850. The first congregation, which became the Indianapolis Hebrew Congregation, was founded in 1856, under Rabbi M. Berman. Funds from the Christian community helped equip the first synagogue, completed in 1868. Frederich Kneffler rose to the rank of major general, and is believed to have been the highest-ranking Jewish officer in the Civil War.

Indianapolis Hebrew Congregation (Reform), now one of the largest synagogues in the state, was the earliest congregation in Indianapolis, founded in 1856. Other synagogues of early Indianapolis history were formed by nationality groups: Shaare Tefila (about 1882), the "Polish Shul"; Knesses Israel (about 1883), the "Russian Shul"; and Ohev Zedeck (1884), the "Hungarian Shul." The United Hebrew Congregation was organized in 1904; Ezras Achim, the "Peddlers Shul," in 1910; the Central Hebrew Congregation in 1920; and Beth-El in 1921. In 1927, Beth-El, the Conservative congregation, merged with Ohev Zedeck to form Beth-El Zedeck (Reconstructionist / Conservative), one of the two largest synagogues in the state (*Milton Steinberg was its first rabbi). There are two Orthodox Congregations; Etz Chaim (Sephardic) and B'nai Torah, and Shaarey Tefilla (Conservative). Among the early leaders of the Indianapolis Jewish community were Rabbi Isaac Eli Neustadt, who founded the Jewish Educational Association (now the Bureau of Jewish Education) in 1910; Rabbi Morris Feuerlicht, who served the Indianapolis Hebrew Congregation from 1904 to 1946; and G.A. Efroymson, the first president of the Jewish Federation of Greater Indianapolis (formed 1905 under the name Jewish Federation of Indianapolis), one of the first such organizations in an intermediate-sized U.S. city. Gustave Efroymson not only served during the Federation's formative years (1905–1913), he guided the Indianapolis Jewish Community through the difficult years of the rise of the Ku Klux Klan and the Great Depression, serving as Federation president, once again, from 1919 to 1934.

The Indianapolis Jewish community is served through 5 constituent agencies of the Jewish Federation: the Jewish Community Center; the Jewish Community Relations Council; the Bureau of Jewish Education; Hooverwood, a nursing home facility and Park Regency, an apartment complex for independent elderly. The Jacobs Home provides group living for developmentally challenged adults, and the Albert & Sara Reuben ElderSource program provides a wide range of services for older adults.

Jewish education is maintained by the Bureau of Jewish Education, the Hasten Hebrew Academy (a day school providing elementary and middle school education) and congregational religious schools. Hebrew language is taught in 2 suburban public high schools.

Most Federation agencies and Federation offices are housed on the Max and Mae Simon Jewish Community Campus, developed in 1997. The 38-acre campus is considered one of the outstanding Jewish campuses in the United States.

Indianapolis Jews exert a great deal of influence in civic, humanitarian, and cultural affairs in the city. The Indianapolis Symphony was founded by prominent Jews, and Jews continue to have leadership roles with the orchestra which had its origins at Kirshbaum Center, the Jewish Community Center of its time. Jews have been in the forefront of leadership of the Indianapolis Museum of Art, the Children's Museum of Indianapolis, the Indianapolis Art Center, the Eiteljorg Museum of Western Art, the Indianapolis Opera and Ballet International.

In the past, Jews made their living primarily in retail, wholesale and service businesses, but today, more are in communications, property development, and the medical and legal professions.

Rabbis Dennis and Sandy Sasso of Congregation Beth-El Zedeck are the first married rabbinic couple in history. Rabbi Sandy Sasso was the first woman to be ordained by the Recontructionist movement. The Sassos have served as senior rabbis at Beth-El Zedeck since 1977.

The Jewish Federation receives excellent support from the community, enabling its agencies to provide a wide range of human services for every age. The Federation is proud of the fact that per capita giving to its annual campaign exceeds that of any Jewish community of any city in the country with a population of 10,000 or more. The Gene B. and Marilyn Glick and Jewish Federation Joint Endowment Fund for the Far Future will allow the Federation to meet changing needs when the fund reaches its fruition, when it is projected to reach $100,000,000. In addition, during 2005, the Federation's Centennial year, under the leadership of Charles A. Cohen, chair of the Endowment Initiative, the Federation achieved the goal of increasing its endowment fund by $50,000,000.

[Sidney Steiman / Carolyn Leeds (2nd ed.)]

INDONESIA, republic of Malay archipelago, S.E. Asia; former Netherlands East Indies (excluding former Netherlands New Guinea, now West Irian). Dutch Jews contributed to the development of the "Spice Islands." An early Jewish settlement existed in the Sunda Islands but its date and extent are not known. In the 1850s the Jerusalem emissary Jacob *Saphir, who visited Batavia (Jakarta), Java, met an Amsterdam Jewish merchant who named 20 Jewish families of Dutch or German origin there, including members of the Dutch colonial forces, and some Jews living in Semarang and Surabaya. They had few links with Judaism. At Saphir's request, the Amsterdam community sent a rabbi who tried to organize congregations in Batavia and Semarang. A number of Jews from Baghdad, or of Baghdadi origin, and from Aden also settled on the islands, and in 1921 the Zionist emissary Israel Cohen estimated that nearly 2,000 Jews were living in Java. The resident of Surabaya was a Dutch Jew; several held government posts; and many engaged in commerce. The Jews of Baghdadi origin formed the most Orthodox element. There were also Jews from Central Europe and Soviet Russia, whose numbers increased in the 1930s. In 1939 there were 2,000 Dutch Jewish inhabitants and a number of stateless Jews who underwent the trials of the Japanese occupation. Indonesian independence marked the decline of the Dutch Jewish element, and the Jewish population subsequently dwindled for political and economic reasons. There were 450 Jews in Indonesia in 1957, mainly Ashkenazim in Jakarta and Sephardim in Surabaya, the latter community maintaining a synagogue. The community had dwindled to 50 in 1963. There were about 20 Jews living in Jakarta and 25 in Surabaya in 1969. The community was represented by the Board of Jewish Communities of Indonesia with its office in Jakarta. By the turn of the century there were only around 20 Jews living in Indonesia.

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INDUSTRIAL REMOVAL, American movement to disperse Jewish immigrants throughout the United States, 1900–17. Founded and financially supported by the *Baron de Hirsch Fund with the collaboration of *B'nai B'rith, the Industrial Removal Office sought to persuade and assist Jewish workers to leave the congested immigrant districts of Boston, Philadelphia, and above all New York, for smaller cities where Jewish communities existed and a variety of jobs were available. Approximately 75,000 Jews were thus assisted to resettle in such cities as Grand Rapids, Michigan; Kansas City, Missouri; Cleveland; Los Angeles; Milwaukee; St. Louis; Cincinnati; and others. Many of these migrants, besides bringing their families, drew other friends and relatives. Their experience of Jews in these smaller cities differed markedly from that of Jews who remained part of the very large concentrations of immigrants. The former were far lonelier and forced to acculturate more rapidly, especially linguistically. The peak of the movement was reached about 1910–13. The World War I period brought about its discontinuation (see *Galveston Plan).

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[Lloyd P. Gartner]

INDYK, MARTIN (1951–), U.S. ambassador to Israel. Indyk was born in London and raised and educated in Australia where he received his bachelor's degree in Economics from the University of Sydney and his Ph.D. from Australian National University. He became an advisor of the Australian prime minister on the Middle East. Under the influence of Steven Rosen, the influential American Israel Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC) foreign policy expert, Indyk moved to Washington, D.C. to join the AIPAC staff. In 1985 he helped found the Washington Institute on Near East Policy, a non-profit, tax-exempt think tank which had been supported by many significant AIPAC lay leaders, and was its first executive director. Under his leadership it became an influential institute not only on matters relating to Israel but the entire Middle East and it was a place where diverse views could be discussed. It maintained a formal and deliberate separation from AIPAC, whose task is political, not intellectual, and which according to American law is not tax-exempt.

During the 1988 and 1992 presidential campaigns Indyk was a foreign policy advisor to the democratic presidential candidates and was appointed special assistant to the president and senior director for the Near East and South Asian Affairs at the National Security Council when President Bill Clinton came to office. Two years later he was named ambassador to Israel, the first Jew to be named to that sensitive position. On the eve of his being named ambassador he became an American citizen. His service in Israel coincided with the Oslo Peace Process and Indyk was influential in the conduct of the negotiations that followed, often to the chagrin of right-wing Israeli politicians who were put off by his support of the peace process. He faced the type of slurs from right-wing Israeli officials that would have been regarded as antisemitic had they been uttered by anyone other than a Jew. In fact, under Special Middle East Coordinator Dennis Ross, several of the key figures representing the Clinton Administration were deeply committed Jews, committed to the peace process as well.

In 1998 Indyk was named assistant secretary of state for Near East Affairs, and in 2000 he returned to Israel as ambassador for the remainder of the Clinton Administration where he was deeply engaged with the failed negotiations among Prime Minister Barak, Chairman Arafat, and President Clinton at Camp David and later at Taba. President Clinton broke the barrier that had prevented a Jew from representing the United States in Israel with the nomination of Martin Indyk, whose successor was Daniel Kurtzer, an Orthodox rabbi who had previously served as ambassador to Egypt. Having left government service, Indyk has directed the Saban Center for Middle East Policy at the Brookings Institution.

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[Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

INFELD, LEOPOLD (1898–1968), Polish physicist. Infeld was born in Cracow and taught at Lvov. He worked for two years at the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton, U.S.A. and later became professor of applied mathematics at Toronto University. Infeld, having met *Einstein while at Princeton, continued to collaborate with him for over ten years on the theory of relativity, equations of motion unitary field theory, and quantum mechanics. They jointly wrote *The Evolution of Physics* (1938) and a number of scientific papers. Infeld revisited his native country in 1950 and decided to remain there.

In 1964 he was one of a group of leading Polish intellectuals who protested against the government censorship. Infeld was the author of *The World in Modern Science; Matter and Quanta* (1934), *Albert Einstein: His Work and its Influence on Our World* (1950), and an autobiography *Quest, the Evolution of a Scientist* (1941).

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[J. Edwin Holmstrom]

INFORMERS (Heb. *malshinim*, "slanderers"; *moserim*, "informers"; *delatorim*, "delators"), informers or slanderers who denounce individual Jews or the Jewish people in general to a foreign ruler.

In Talmudic Tradition

The attitude of the Talmud toward such persons is extremely hostile. It is said of them: "The *minim* and the informers and the scoffers… these will go down to Gehinnom to be punished there for all generations" (RH 17a; see below, in Jewish law). Tradition attributed to the informers the sufferings which overtook the Jewish people during the period of persecutions following the destruction of the Second Temple. According to one tradition, the number of informers then increased to such an extent that the *bet din* of Rabban *Gamaliel was compelled to add a special benediction in the **Amidah*; its text was composed by Samuel ha-Katan, and it is called *Birkat ha-Minim; in practice, it is an anathema uttered against informers (Ber. 28b; Meg. 17b). The sources place special emphasis on the role of these informers during the persecutions of *Hadrian, when outstanding Jewish scholars endangered their lives for the sake of study of the Torah and observance of the precepts. The informers denounced to the authorities any opposition or manifestation of rebellion against Rome within the Jewish community; thus, for example, *Judah b. Gerim denounced *Simeon b. Yoḥai after he had declared that all the improvements brought about by the Romans were intended for their own benefit: "they built marketplaces, to set harlots in them," etc. The government decreed that R. Simeon be put to death and he therefore fled and hid in a cave for 12 years (Shab. 33b).

During the Middle Ages

The gravity of the problem of informers was accentuated during the Middle Ages as a result of the political and social conditions to which the Jews were subjected during this period. The revelation of secrets and the handing over of information to the non-Jewish authorities regarding the lives of the Jews and their property, and occasionally their beliefs and opinions, could destroy Jewish autonomy, prejudice their economic positions, and endanger their status among the gentiles. Jewish leaders and scholars, therefore, took the liberty of trying offenders of this category and imposing sentences, even if this was in contradiction to talmudic tradition. As will be seen, there were even communities in which death sentences were issued against informers, even though after the abolition of the Sanhedrin, the Jews had refrained from judging cases of criminal law.

Various Categories of Acts of Slander

When defining the phenomenon of slander, the Jewish leadership did not restrict this to informing or the handing over of information; what was likely to prejudice the autonomy of the Jewish community was included in this definition. When *Rashi came to define the notion of "informers" (RH 17a), he explained: "those who hand over the property of Jews to the non-Jews." This was indeed a most frequent occurrence during the Middle Ages. An example of this is found in the actions of a certain Jew accompanying the officials of King Henry III of England who were sent out to investigate the economic situation of the Jewish communities of the kingdom in 1250. He endeavored to prove that the Jews were able to pay twice the amount they had hitherto paid and he promised to reveal all their secrets to the king.

At times, the objective of a slander was communal-religious, such as when a group of people turned to the non-Jewish authorities in order to obtain enforcement to impose their outlook on the Jewish community. Against these, it was said in the regulations of Jacob b. Meir *Tam of the second half of the 12th century: "they have dominated others in order to impose the prophecy of their mouths while in their hearts they seek to destroy."

The slanders of *apostates who revealed anti-Christian passages in the Jewish sources were responsible for many misfortunes, as in the case of the apostate Nicholas *Donin, who was one of the initiators of the Disputation of *Paris and the subsequent burning of the *Talmud. *Joseph ha-Kohen in his *Emek ha-Bakha* (ed. by M. Letteris (1852), 111) relates that in 1553 "wicked persons came out of our midst and fabricated untrue reports… and they slandered the Talmud before Pope Julius III" as a result of which the Talmud was burned throughout Italy in 1553–55. Sometimes, Jews were compelled to flee to new places as a result of acts of slander. This occurred with Isaac *Alfasi, who fled from North Africa to Spain in 1088, and Moses ha-Parnas, of the family of *nesi'im* of Narbonne, who fled to Estella in Navarre during the 1120s.

Regulations against slanderers and informers also included paragraphs against those who addressed themselves to non-Jewish courts of law. This was due to the assumption that there was no difference between such an act and informing since one Jew who brought another Jew before a non-Jewish tribunal caused him financial loss and endangered his life.

Informing in Spain

The overwhelming majority of the Jewish communities, whether they were situated in the Islamic or Christian territories, were prevented by the authorities from judging criminal law and imposing death sentences on offenders. In most places, a culprit was ordered to pay a fine and to indemnify his victim; he was called upon to repent or an excommunication (*ḥerem*) or ban was issued against him. The words of *Asher b. Jehiel in connection with this subject are of special interest. Upon his arrival in the community of Toledo in Spain from Germany at the beginning of the 14th century, he wrote: "I was most astonished when I arrived hither to find that they judged criminal law without a Sanhedrin" (Asher b. Jehiel, Responsa, *kelal* 17, no. 8).

There is reason to assume that the acuteness of this problem in Spain stemmed essentially from the presence of the influential Court Jews, a situation which had already been particular to this country during the period of Islamic rule. These courtiers were naturally tempted into acts of informing, out of egoistic considerations and with the objective of promoting their ascendancy in the country's affairs. This probably also prompted the Jewish community there to impose such severe sentences on informers. Thus, the Muslim rulers had already granted the *dayyanim* the right to judge criminal law, even though this contradicted Islamic legislation. This right was transferred from Andalusia to the northern Christian kingdoms of Castile and Aragon. The plague was so widespread in Spanish Jewry that the word *malshin* became a part of the Spanish language (*malsin*; *malsinería*; *malsindad*). This trend subsisted in Christian Spain during the 13th and 14th centuries. The communities applied to the court and obtained the right to condemn informers to death. This even concerned cases where the acts of the informers were to the advantage of the king and served his immediate economic interests.

Procedure in the trials of informers in the Jewish communities of Spain was largely influenced by the Roman and canon laws which then prevailed in the towns of Christian Europe, especially in connection with interrogation of the accused. Procedure also varied among the Spanish communities. This was due to the privileges, some of which were very detailed, which they had received in this sphere during various periods. James I (1213–76) had done much in this direction during the last years of his reign, when there was a growing feeling of insecurity among the Jewish communities of Aragon. The guiding line in the granting of these privileges was the obligation to apply the Roman-Christian law which was dispensed in the tribunals of Aragon. According to this the proceedings took place in writing, the presence of an advocate was required to defend the accused, the plaintiff and the informer committed themselves to the *lex talionis*, the testimonies were published in writing, and the right was accorded to appeal before the royal tribunal. When the accused was condemned to death, the execution of the sentence was entrusted to the local royal officials in exchange for a given sum, as may be deduced from the privilege which was granted to the community of Barbastro in 1273: the informer was to be handed over to the bailiff and a payment of 500 solidos was charged for the execution.

The privileges granted to the Jews of Barcelona in 1342 and to the community of Majorca in 1347 were of the same nature. The regulations of the community leaders of the Kingdom of Aragon of 1354 mention the plague of informing, and the leaders agreed "to exterminate every informer or slanderer who would be found in one of the towns… this would, however, only apply to slander of a public nature which would result, God forbid, in damage to our people in general but not to private slander which does not prejudice the public." Although Pedro IV (1336–87) restricted the rights of the Jews of Barcelona with regard to the trials of informers and criminal law in general, an order of 1383 reconfirmed the full rights of the community leaders and their *dayyanim* to interrogate such offenders, and to sentence them to banishment, the cutting off of limbs, or death at their discretion. In 1390 Queen Violante appointed Ḥasdai *Crescas as the exclusive judge authorized to try informers in Aragon and to sentence offenders. Even though this appointment was intended to restrict the rights of the community leaders, it did not result in the complete abolition of the privileges of the local communities.

In Castile, the Cortes which met in Soria in 1380 abolished the existing authority of the Jews to judge criminal law. This appears to have followed upon the secret execution of Joseph Picho, a favorite of the king, who was accused of informing. This authority was restored to them during the 15th century, as appears from the regulations of Valladolid of 1432 which were drawn up by the Jewish leaders of Castile under the guidance of Abraham *Benveniste. The third part of these regulations deals with informers, and among the measures to be adopted in order to eradicate informing there are specified the branding of the word "*malshin*" with a white-hot iron on the forehead of the accused, flogging, *banishment, and for one who has informed on three occasions: "finding the means of putting him to death." The problem took on a special nuance with the establishment of the Spanish *Inquisition during the 1480s, when the latter found it necessary to compel Jews to testify against Conversos who observed the precepts of Judaism.

Regulations of Communities and Scholars

As already seen, regulations were formulated at the conference of scholars convened in France under the leadership of Rabbenu Tam against "those who informed, in secret or publicly, to gentiles, noblemen or common folk." Many articles of these regulations dealt with the prevention of informing in affairs pertaining to the individual. In this case, the Jewish leadership did not possess the powers which had been granted to Spanish Jewry, and the defensive measures were of another category: "If one heard that he had been slandered and there is proof for this, then if the victim spoke with the governor and sought to refute the slander and even accused the informer of a worse crime than that mentioned by the latter, the second one is to be regarded as innocent; this is because he must endeavor to protect himself, and his action is not to be regarded as saving himself with the property of another; moreover, the first one is to be considered as an informer liable to justice and punishment." At the conference of the Rhine communities of 1220, it was agreed that "the informers were to be cursed on every Sabbath," and this became a standing order in the regulations of the communities of Speyer, Worms, and Mainz. According to the regulations of that year, the above communities formed a central *bet din* for the trying of informers from all the communities which had participated in the conference.

Numerous and detailed regulations against informers are to be found in the regulations of the community of Regensburg of 1497: "If one threatens his fellow, be it his person, his property, or through informing, and there are witnesses to this deed, the *ḥazzan* shall then proclaim a ban against him in the synagogue at the next public prayer and sound the *shofar*. The culprit will be under this ban until he seeks pardon and atonement before the community… One who denounces his fellow to the gentiles is to be judged as if he had struck him. The community is authorized to deal with the informer according to the gravity of his misdeed and also to intervene with the authorities in order to have him removed from the town." It is evident that in the Ashkenazi communities the methods which could be adopted against informers were limited, and the deterrent power of outstanding scholars was occasionally required.

The Spanish refugees who arrived in North Africa after the persecutions in Spain of 1391 were also compelled to institute regulations against informers, and the native Jews followed their example (Isaac b. Sheshet, Responsa, no. 79). In 1558, the Spanish refugees in Salonika under the leadership of Moses *Almosnino instituted a *haskamah* (regulation) against informers which was read in the synagogue on the last Sabbath of every month and which hinted that offenders would have the maximum punishment inflicted upon them. The rabbis of Constantinople ratified that *haskamah* and demanded that offenders be brought to the capital in order to receive their chastisement. The Turkish authorities appear to have confirmed this regulation.

In Eastern and Central Europe

An insight into the dangers with which the plague of slander threatened the life of the Jewish community may be deduced from the text of the *Yehi Raẓon* ("May it be Thy will") prayer which has been preserved in the synagogue register of the community of Kremsier (Kromeriz) and which appears to have been composed by *Judah Loew b. Bezalel (the Maharal) of Prague: "May it be Thy will, Father in Heaven, to uproot and extirpate every stock sprouting poison and wormwood in Israel so that there be no transgressor in our streets namely – those who denounce and harm Israel with their slander and distort the Jewish laws before the nations and the uncircumcised, both men and women, those who seek to endanger the condition of the community and oppress Israel their brethren by false accusations in order to destroy them. May the Holy One, blessed be He, deliver Israel from their hands and may God wipe from the earth the memory of these sinners and evildoers, them and their evil offspring."

The measures available to the autonomous institutions of the Jews of Eastern and Central Europe were more limited than those of the Jews in Spain. Here too, the informers were, however, occasionally punished by the severing of their ears and tongues and at times by the cutting off of their hands and feet, although the actual measures generally only took on the form of a warning. In the regulations of the Council of Konice of the province of Moravia of 1674, it was stated: "It is the duty of every Jew to shatter the slanderers and those who burden the princes with their lies and to cut off their hands and their feet. The expenses incurred in such an unfortunate affair are to be borne by all the communities of the province, in proportion to their numbers." According to a tradition in the community of Poznan a death sentence was passed against an informer during the 18th century, but there is no evidence for this occurrence from any other source.

The most effective and accepted punishment in the communities of Eastern Europe was the **ḥerem*. A *ḥerem* issued against informers and slanderers who revealed the "Jewish secrets" to the gentiles is mentioned in a proclamation of the community of Poznan in Adar 5453 (1693). The same community issued a *ḥerem* in Iyyar 5485 (1725) "against the informers and slanderers who reveal Jewish secrets… to the customs authorities and who denounce individuals." In the Council of Lithuania of 1684 it was decided that those men "whose tongues are accustomed to deceit" and those who reveal "Jewish secrets" or cause financial losses to individuals by informing against them were to be subjected to the *ḥerem*. Occasionally, the informer was only sentenced to imprisonment, as occurred with David b. Naphtali Segal, who "induced a tyrannical squire to seize and detain the men of Prague in Gniezno (Gnesen)" in 1634. Among the most notorious acts of informing in this period were those of Hirschel Meyer, who brought many misfortunes upon the Jews of Vienna until their expulsion in 1670. The actions of Jacob *Frank and his followers at the time of the disputations of Kamenets-Podolski and Lvov rank among the most extreme examples of slander.

[Jacob Klatzkin]

In Russia

Informing was one of the severest moral plagues to afflict Russian Jewry, which has continued up to the present. It was the natural consequence of the autocratic regime ruling the state, which encouraged it. It also stemmed from the anti-Jewish decrees and discriminatory laws which were the cause of constant antagonism between the Jews and the government. The internal controversies and struggles in Jewish society also played a part. The dimensions of this informing varied. There was the one-time informer who wrote a denunciatory letter (Yid. *Msire*) about his neighbor, the shopkeeper, who had hidden away smuggled goods in his shop; there was the professional informer (Yid. *Moser*) who blackmailed his victims. These denunciations concerned essentially "missing persons" or those who evaded military service, smugglers, and those who distilled alcoholic liquor or sold it without government authorization, and Jews living in places where their residence was prohibited. Other informers of a much more dangerous category were those who prejudiced whole communities, such as those who spread word that the community was hiding Christians who converted to Judaism in its midst, that the Jews were encouraging the progress of Judaizing sects such as the Subbotniki ("Sabbath Observers") and attracted proselytes, or that they were collecting money which was sent to Ereẓ Israel. At an even higher level, there was the national informer, such as Jacob *Brafman, who attempted to prove to the government, after his apostasy, that the Jews maintained "a state within a state" and endangered the welfare of Russia. His *Kniga Kagala* ("Book of the Community") and other works aggravated the situation of the Jews at the close of the 19th century.

A considerable number of informers lowered themselves to act in this way because of their campaign against corruption perpetrated by community leaders. This was the case with Benjamin Goldberg (Binyominke Moser) of Kletsk who quarreled with the *gabbaim* of the community of Kletsk and was finally exiled to Siberia upon the decision of the community. Informing was also a weapon employed in internal struggles. The denunciations by the Ḥasidim of the community leaders of Vilna in 1799 and by Avigdor b. Joseph Ḥayyim of Pinsk, which resulted in the imprisonment of *Shneur Zalman of Lyady, the leader of Ḥabad Ḥasidim, in 1800, are well-known cases. During the 19th century, there were repeated denunciations by *mitnaggedim* and *maskilim* against the Ḥasidim and their *ẓaddikim*. The Ḥasidim, however, also wielded the weapon of informing (leading to the imprisonment of the poet Judah Leib *Gordon in 1879). The *maskilim* were accustomed to sending slanderous memoranda to the authorities, such as the memorandum sent by Markl and Bernstein of 1833 on the noxious books published in Hebrew, in the wake of which a strict control was put into force on all Hebrew books in Russia, and all the printing presses, with the exception of two, were closed down. Neither were cases of personal denunciation lacking among the *maskilim* themselves (such as the slander by Abraham Uri *Kovner against Alexander *Zederbaum, the editor of *Ha-Meliẓ*).

The Jews adopted various protective measures against the informers. The accepted method was a social ban against publicly known informers. Many of them were compelled to convert to Christianity once their actions had been discovered. In severe cases, the *moser* disappeared, and he was occasionally found drowned in a river or killed in a forest. In 1836 two informers were done to death in the town of Novaya Ushitsa (Podolia). After prolonged interrogation, about 80 Jews were tried by a military tribunal and extremely severe sentences were meted out against them. Information on informers who were executed is to be found in literature and the chronicles. Peretz *Smolenskin described the fate of such an informer in his work *Kevurat Ḥamor* ("Contemptible Burial"), a story which was based on several incidents which occurred in the town of Shklov.

Once the Jews had begun to collaborate with the Russian revolutionary movement, and with the establishment of the Jewish workers' movement at the close of the 19th century, there emerged a new type of informer – the *provocateur* – who was rewarded by the authorities for delivery of the secrets of the movement, its presses, and its members to the secret police. This is a chapter on its own. *Provocateurs* were also planted within the Zionist movement.

In the Soviet Union, informing had become an honorable public duty and an organic part of the regime. It extended to both the non-Jewish and Jewish public, and had become a formidable instrument which had paralyzed free public life and contributed to the disintegration of Jewish life in the country.

[Yehuda Slutsky]

In Jewish Law

A distinction is made between the denunciation (*mesirah*, "delivery") of money and the denunciation of persons, but the prohibition of informing applies to both classes in the same manner. It is no defense to a charge of informing that the person denounced is a sinner and wicked, or has caused the informer grief or harm – no informer will ever have a share in the world to come (Maim. Yad, Ḥovel u-Mazzik 8:9). The only exception seems to be that a Jew may inform on another Jew who had informed against him – for as the informer is liable to be killed, he must a fortiori be liable to be informed against (*Rema* ḤM 388:9). Similarly, a man may save himself from violence by denouncing his attacker if he has no other means of escape (*Darkhei Moshe* ḤM 388; *Yam shel Shelomo* *BK* 8:42).

Talmudic Law

Instances of informing reported in the Talmud are scarce. A judge who had been denounced to the authorities for having unlawfully exercised jurisdiction sentenced the informer to death (Ber. 58a). A death sentence was likewise passed on a litigant who repeatedly threatened to denounce his adversary, the court apparently being satisfied that he would indeed do so and that irreparable damage might ensue (BK 117a). The underlying rationale has been held to be that when a man is going to kill you, you may kill him first (Ber. 58a), and an impending denunciation was held to be tantamount to an immediate threat of killing. The threat is no less immediate and substantial for the reason that only so long as nobody was actually killed there must always remain a doubt as to whether anybody would indeed be killed – the probability that that would be the result of the denunciation suffices to warrant drastic counteraction (Rashba, Resp., vol. 1, no. 181). In order to save property from the reach of informers, false vows and oaths are permissible to prove its alienation (Ned. 3:4).

Like apostates, informers ought not to be saved from danger, even of their lives (Av. Zar. 26b); it has been said that "it is a good deed to let them perish and bring them down into the pit of destruction" (Maim., Akkum ve-Ḥukkoteihem 10:1).

Medieval Law

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND. Denunciations have rightly been described as the canker of Jewish medieval society (I. Abrahams, *Jewish Life in the Middle Ages* (1932^2); Kaufmann, in JQR, 8 (1896), 27). Obadiah of *Bertinoro relates a report of the Jewish community of Palermo which may be valid for many other communities of the time: "Among the Jews there are many informers who have no sense of right or wrong and who continually betray one another shamelessly. If one Jew hates another, he conjures up some false accusation against him that is absolutely without foundation" (Transl. in: J.R. Marcus, *The Jew in the Medieval World* (1960), 394f.). Jewish courts saw themselves called upon to combat this mischief as best they could.

Denunciations always fell on all-too-willing ears, both ecclesiastical and secular authorities being anyway hopelessly prejudiced against Jews. The informers not only wrought easy vengeance on whoever had wronged them, but they not unreasonably hoped to render themselves useful and important in the eyes of the authorities by volunteering such information. The testimony of these informers, presumably well-informed Jews themselves, was generally quite sufficient to warrant massacres or expulsions and plunder.

PENAL LAW. The law was laid down by Maimonides as follows: "It is lawful to kill the informer anywhere, even at this time when capital jurisdiction has ceased. It is lawful to kill him before he has informed: when he says, I am going to deliver [i.e, denounce] the person or the money – regardless of the amount involved – of X into their hands, he has rendered himself liable to death; if, on being warned not to commit the crime, he dares to insist on informing, the court is bound to have him killed. But when he [is indicted after having] already denounced the other person, it seems to me that he may not any longer be killed, unless it is reasonably apprehended that he might continue and inform on others. And it is a frequent occurrence in the cities of the West either to kill informers who must be feared to make denunciations, or to deliver them into the hands of the non-Jews [i.e., non-Jewish courts] to have them killed, flogged, or imprisoned as their guilt requires. So may a man who causes grief or damage to the community be delivered into the hands of non-Jews to have him flogged, imprisoned, or fined – but not a man who causes grief or damage to an individual. Nor may the property of an informer be confiscated, for although his person is liable to perish, his property ought to go to his heirs" (Maim., Ḥovel u-Mazzik 8:10–11).

Sentencing informers to death was regarded as a duty (a *mitzvah*) of the court (Maim., Ḥovel u-Mazzik 8:10–11; Ribash, Resp. no. 79), as it had to be assumed that, unless the informer was eliminated in time, the disaster likely to be caused by him could not be prevented. Thus it has been said that a court refraining from having the informer killed will be responsible and be punished for anything that may happen as if the court itself had been the informer (*Zikhron Yehudah*, no. 75). There it is reported that Joseph ibn Migash had an informer executed on the Day of Atonement which fell on a Sabbath at the hour of *ne'ilah* – which shows how sacred a duty the elimination of informers was conceived by great judges. The differentiation between an informer who had to be eliminated before doing his misdeed and was therefore liable to death, and an informer who had already done his misdeed and was therefore no longer liable to death (unless he was likely to repeat it), would indicate that the death penalty for the informer was in the nature of a preventative rather than of a punitive measure, a supposition corroborated by the special procedural provisions set out below.

Notwithstanding the duty of having informers killed, the death penalty was not generally regarded as a compulsory and obligatory but rather as the maximum penalty. In many instances there were bodily mutilations, such as cutting out the tongue or gouging out the eyes (Rosh, Resp. no. 17:8; Maharam of Rothenburg, Resp., ed. Prague, no. 485; *Rema* ḤM 388:10) or cutting off hands and feet (*Takkanot Mehrin*, ed. by I. Halpern, 124 no. 374), so as to render the informer incapable of carrying out his evil designs. On the other hand, such mutilations were decried as ineffective and unsuited to replace the death penalty (*Yam shel Shelomo Yev.* 10:20; Maharam of Lublin, Resp. no. 138). In cases in which monetary damage only was caused or apprehended, the usual sanction was the **ḥerem* (BK 117a; *Tashbeẓ* 3:158), often accompanied by excommunication and exile. There were many communities in which annual general bans were pronounced against people who knew of informers or their plans and failed to bring them to the notice of the court (*Takkanot Va'ad Arba Araẓot*, quoted by Assaf, *Ha-Onshin…*, 130), and against anybody who would have resort to non-Jewish authorities and thereby cause damage to any Jew (*Takkanot Rabbenu Tam*, quoted in Maharam of Rothenburg, Resp., ed. Cremona, no. 71, 368; *Takkanot* of the Portuguese community in Hamburg, quoted by Assaf, *Ha-Onshin…*, 92).

A good example of a scale of penalties according to the gravity of the offense is provided by *takkanot* made in Castile in 1432: an informer who has denounced another without causing actual damage is fined 100 ducats and imprisoned for ten days; if actual damage was caused, he must also make good the damage. If the denunciation was to non-Jewish authorities and no damage was caused, he is fined 200 ducats and imprisoned for 20 days; if monetary damage was caused, he must also make good the damage and is ostracized for ten days; if physical injury (including arrest) was caused, the punishment is at the free discretion of the court. Denunciations other than of individual persons are punished, on a first conviction, with 100 lashes and expulsion from the town; on a second conviction, the penalty is increased; on a third conviction, the penalty will be death (Assaf, *Ha-Onshin…*, 89–90; Baer, Spain, 2 (1961), 264f.). Where the evidence was not sufficient for a conviction – e.g., where there was one single witness only – but the court considered the suspect a security risk for the community, the Castilian *takkanot* provided that a mark should be set on his forehead by burning it with a hot iron (*ibid.*). All informers and suspected informers were disqualified as witnesses and would not be allowed to take an oath (Maim., Ḥovel u-Mazzik 8:8; ḤM 388:8; Radbaz, Resp. no. 348; Maharashdam, Resp. ḤM no. 355).

PROCEDURE AND EVIDENCE. Isaac b. Sheshet – who was himself, together with two other great scholars of his time, Nissim Gerondi and Ḥasdai Crescas, the victim of a denunciation in about 1375, in pursuance of which he was arrested and later released on bail (Ribash, Resp. nos. 373, 376) – laid down five special rules of evidence and procedure applying to trials of informers only:

(1) they may be interrogated, and if they confess, may be convicted on their own confessions;

(2) attorneys may be appointed to defend them only after their interrogation has been completed;

(3) they must be detained pending trial and may not be released on bail;

(4) the testimony of the witnesses for the prosecution may be taken in their absence (to the same effect: Rosh, Resp. 17:1);

(5) the fact that the complainant who laid the charge against the informer may be incompetent as a *witness does not affect the validity of the charge (Ribash, Resp. nos. 234–9). Further procedural and evidentiary facilities had already been allowed much earlier by Solomon b. Abraham Adret; namely, that in trials of informers it would not matter that the court might not be properly constituted, and that informers need no previous warning that what they were going to do was punishable by law (see *Penal Law, *Evidence); in general, all the procedural and evidentiary safeguards prescribed in capital cases did not apply to informers, so long as you "go after the ascertainment of the truth and the prevention of damage…" (*Iggeret ha-Rashba*, published by D. Kaufmann, in: JQR, 8 (1896), 228ff.).

JURISDICTION AND COSTS. Instead of trying informers themselves, many Jewish courts preferred to hand them over to the royal courts for trial if a charge could only be made out against them under the law of the land (Ribash, Resp. nos. 79 and 239; Rashbash, Resp. no. 177). However, as the informers were, as a rule, welcome instruments in the hands of the authorities, if only as a means of extorting money from the Jewish community, their courts could rarely be counted on to mete out justice to them. In many countries Jewish courts tried, and sometimes succeeded, to obtain the royal assent to their own exercise of capital jurisdiction. It appears that the non-Jewish (royal or lower) authorities often had to be bribed into allowing or suffering such jurisdiction, or for helping the court to execute judgments of expulsion. Kings are reported to have demanded monetary compensation for the loss of taxpayers before allowing judgments of expulsion to be executed. That the costs involved in prosecuting and punishing informers must therefore have been very substantial is also shown by rulings to the effect that the whole community must bear these costs, and each individual member is taxed with his share thereof (Rosh, Resp. no. 6:22; Ribash, Resp. no. 79).

[Haim Hermann Cohn]

Period of the Aḥaronim

Similar to the situation during the Middle Ages as described above, the period of the **aḥaronim* also saw cases of denunciation and informing, in a variety of forms and for various purposes. During this period as well, similar to the law applied during the Middle Ages, in order for a person to be regarded as an informer (*moser*) there needed to be proof that his act was committed with the *mens rea* of malicious intent. Hence R. Shlomo Luria (Resp. Maharshal no. 19) ruled that, when the (non-Jewish) government accused a given Jew of theft, and he was forced to claim that he had purchased the stolen item from another Jew, thereby implicating the latter as a thief, "he is not subject to the law of an informer… as he did not intend to cause his fellow Jew monetary loss for the sake of infuriating him, or to curry favor with the authorities, but rather to save his own [money]."

This period is distinguished from the medieval period by the fact that, in addition to acts of denunciations by individuals, there were also acts of collective denunciations among groups and sects. The Frankist sect denounced the Jews to the Christian authorities, falsely accusing them of using Christian blood for their rituals. As of the 18th century there were even cases of reciprocal denunciations of Ḥasidim and *Mitnaggedim* in the context of their spiritual and social struggle, a phenomenon that repeated itself during the 19th century, in the battles between the Ḥasidim and the Maskilim. Reciprocal denunciations also took the form of divulging trade secrets and financial sources of individuals and communities, and a number of communities passed explicit enactments in order to combat this phenomenon (see Bibliography, Ben-Zimra).

Regarding the denunciation of Jewish criminals to the non-Jewish authorities by the *Bet Din* or by the public, see *Extradition.

[Menachem Elon (2nd ed.)]

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INGATHERING OF THE EXILES (Heb. קִבּוּץ גָּלֻיּוֹת *kibbutz galuyyot*). In biblical Hebrew *galut* serves as the abstract "exile," as in the phrase "in the 37th year of Jehoiachin's exile" (*le-galut Yehoyakhin*; Jer. 52:31), or the concrete "exiles," as in the clause "he will release my exiles" (*galuti*; Isa. 45:13). The verb *kibbeẓ* ("gathers") is frequently used of God's ingathering of Israel's dispersion (e.g., Jer. 29:14; Ezek. 11:17; Isa. 56:8; Ps. 106:47); yet the phrase *kibbutz galuyyot* is first found only in rabbinic literature (e.g., Pes. 88a). The belief, however, in the ingathering of the exiled communities is nevertheless repeated time and again, especially in the prophecies of Isaiah (11:12; 27:13; 56:8; 66:20), Jeremiah (16:15; 23:3, 8; 29:14; 31:8; 33:7), and Ezekiel (20:34, 41; 37:21). It is first mentioned in Deuteronomy 30:3–5. After the details of the destruction and exile are described (Deut. 28:63–64; 30:1), the promise is given that "the Lord thy God will turn thy captivity and have compassion upon thee, and will return and gather thee from all the peoples, whither the Lord thy God hath scattered thee. If any of thine that are dispersed be in the uttermost parts of the heaven, from thence will the Lord thy God gather thee, and… bring thee into the land which thy fathers possessed."

That, substantially, is the whole doctrine of the Ingathering of the Exiles, although its form varied according to the circumstances. The first part of Isaiah is primarily concerned with the exile of the Northern Kingdom, but in his time there apparently was already a considerable dispersion in Egypt, and he therefore prophesies: "a great *shofar* shall be blown and they shall come that are lost in the land of Assyria and they that are dispersed in the Land of Egypt" (27:13). After Jeremiah prophesies the exile of Judah, he prophesies the return of "the children of Israel from the land of the north and from all the countries whither He had driven them" (16:15, c.f. 23:8), and after the partial exile of Jehoiachin takes place in 597 B.C.E., he repeats "I will turn your captivity and gather you from all the nations and from all the places whither I have driven you… and I will bring you back" (29:14). Ezekiel (20:34 and 41) similarly foretells: "I will bring you out from the peoples and will gather you out of the countries wherein you are scattered," but the 37th chapter already belongs to the period following the complete exile of Judah, and he specifically refers to the Ingathering of the Exiles of the two kingdoms (19–22, 25). Finally the last chapter of Isaiah, reflecting the wide dispersion of the Jews, makes the Ingathering apply to "Tarshish, Pul, Lud, Tubal, and Javan" (66:19).

Talmud

The ingathering of the exiled communities, consisting as it does of the complete return of all the exiles, is regarded as belonging to the messianic age, and the Talmud does not therefore regard the return following the proclamation of Cyrus as the Ingathering of the Exiles. Naḥman b. Ḥisda interprets Isaiah 45:1 as meaning, "God said to His anointed concerning Cyrus," and explains, "the Holy One, blessed be He, said to the Messiah, 'I have a complaint on thy behalf against Cyrus. I said "He shall build my city and gather my exiles" (Isa. 45:13), and he merely said (II Chron. 36:23, Ezra 1:3) "whoever there is among you of all his people, let him go up" (Meg. 12a) and the Talmud states that "the day of the Ingathering of the Exiles is as great as the day on which heaven and earth were created" (Pes. 88a, cf. Rashi to Deut. 30:3, "Great is the day of the Ingathering of the Exiles and it will come about with difficulty as though God Himself will be obliged to grasp each one actually in his hand, each one from his place").

Liturgy

In the above two passages the actual phrase *kibbutz galuyyot* occurs, and it is the official name given to the tenth blessing of the daily *Amidah*. "Why is *kibbutz galuyyot* mentioned after the blessing of the years" – and the messianic aspect is reflected in the passage which follows, "When the Ingathering of the Exiles takes place judgment will be visited on the wicked." Basing itself on Isaiah 27:13 (see above) the formula is: "Sound the great *shofar* for our freedom, and raise the ensign to gather our exiles and gather us from the four corners of the earth" (the Sephardi rite adds "to our land"), and concludes, "Blessed art thou, O Lord, who gatherest the dispersed of Thy people Israel." It is already mentioned in Ben Sira 36:11, "Gather all the tribes of Jacob together," and the theme is repeated both in the prayer for the New Moon and in the *Musaf Amidah* for the festivals.

Apocalyptic Writings

The theme of the Ingathering of the Exiles naturally figures largely in the medieval Jewish apocalyptic literature. The *Pirkei de-R. Eliezer* explains Isaiah 27:3 to the effect that "the right horn is greater than that on the left, and with it the Holy One, blessed be He, is destined to sound in the future for the Ingathering of the Exiles" (chap. 3-end). The *Sefer Eliyahu* gives the details that on the 22nd of Tishri will take place the first Ingathering of the Exiles, from Babylon, on the 25th the second, from beyond the River *Sambatyon, and on the 25th of the eighth month the third Ingathering, from the other lands (cf. Ibn-Shmuel, *Midreshei Ge'ullah* (1954^2), 43; *Perek Eliyahu, ibid.*, 52). In his *Hope of Israel*, *Manasseh Ben Israel interpreted Deuteronomy 30:4, "If any of thine that are dispersed be in the uttermost parts of heaven, from thence will the Lord thy God gather thee," to mean that the literal dispersion of the Jews in every part of the world was the essential preliminary to the Ingathering of the Exiles, and he took advantage of the messianic speculations then rife in England to urge that the readmission of the Jews to England would bring about this preliminary (reproduced in L. Wolf, *Menasseh Ben Israel's Mission to Oliver Cromwell* (1901), especially sect. 25, p. 32f.).

Modern

In modern times, since the establishment of the State of Israel, the conception of the Ingathering of the Exiles has been divested of its messianic character and has been applied to the phenomenon of the immigration of over one million Jews from over 100 countries to the State of Israel. *Kibbutz galuyyot* is regarded as the first stage, to be followed by *mizzug galuyyot*, the Merging of the Exiles.

[Louis Isaac Rabinowitz]

INGOLSTADT, city in Bavaria, Germany. Jews probably went to Ingolstadt when they were expelled from *Munich (1285) and Eichstaett (1298), but they were first mentioned there in 1312, when they were given permission to collect their debts. In 1322 the community, comprising 30 persons, maintained a synagogue and came under the jurisdiction of *Regensburg, making use of the cemetery there. It suffered during the *Black Death persecutions (1349) and was impoverished by the abolition of debts to Jews. Four families were accorded the right of domicile in 1358. In 1373 the Jews were allowed to attend Ingolstadt's fairs but they were forced to flee to *Nuremberg after the anti-Jewish riots of 1384; the synagogue was converted into a church. In 1450, after complaints about usury, those who had returned earlier were arrested and ordered to leave, along with the rest of Bavarian Jewry. Four hundred years later, Jews still required entrance permits, valid for one day only. After emancipation (1851, 1867), the number of Jews increased from 60 in 1880 to 90 in 1900. A synagogue was built in 1872, and a cemetery consecrated in 1891, but the population drifted to larger towns and by January 1939 no Jews remained. The synagogue was renovated in 1947; in 1968 there were 17 Jews living in Ingolstadt.

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INGWILLER, town in the Bas-Rhin department, E. France. Jewish settlement began in 1604, but by the end of the 17th century there were still only six families in the town. At the end of the 18th century, however, about 50 Jewish families lived in Ingwiller, and from 1776 they owned a synagogue. Nearly half of them were engaged in the livestock trade. During the middle of the 19th century the community reached its peak, with about 550 members, and began to erect a new synagogue. A primary school was opened in 1836 and a cemetery acquired soon after. From then on the community declined as a result of migration to larger towns and overseas. Under the German occupation of World War II, 12 Jews were deported from Ingwiller. In 1969 the community consisted of fewer than 100 persons.

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[Bernhard Blumenkranz]

INKELES, ALEX (1920–), U.S. sociologist. A native of New York, Inkeles received his B.A. in 1941 and an M.A. in 1946 from Cornell University. He received his Ph.D. in 1949 from Columbia University. He was appointed professor of sociology at Harvard University in 1957. He served as director of Studies in Social Relations at the Russian Research Center at Harvard from 1956 to 1961, when he became director of Studies on Social Aspects of Economic Development at the Center of International Affairs at Harvard. Previously, he served as Russian research analyst in the Office of Strategic Services and the International Broadcasting Division of the U.S. Department of State. Inkeles' chief interest was the comparative study of social structures and, especially, the sociology of the Soviet Union.

Among his many postings and international lectureships, Inkeles was a Fulbright scholar in Greece (1977) and Chile (1985) and held a Guggenheim fellowship for study in Israel and the United Kingdom (1977–78). An expert on political behavior, modernization, social psychology, and national character, Inkeles was a consultant on issues related to national development in such countries as China, Bulgaria, and Poland. He was elected to the American Academy of Arts and Sciences (1962), the American Philosophical Society (1972), and the National Academy of Sciences (1981).

Inkeles later became professor emeritus of sociology at Stanford University and a senior fellow at the university's Hoover Institute. Later research focused on the social structure of an emerging worldwide society and cross-national comparative studies.

Inkeles co-authored (with D.J. Levinson) "National Character" (in: *Handbook of Social Psychology* ed. by G. Lindzey, vol. 2 (1959), 977–1020) and *How the Soviet System Works* (1956). His first book, *Public Opinion in Soviet Russia: A Study in Mass Persuasion* (1950), received the Kappa Tau Alpha Award for the best book on mass communication and journalism. Among his other works are *The Soviet Citizen* (1959); *Prospects for Change in the Soviet Union* (1959); *Russia and the U.S.A.: Problem in Comparative Sociology* (1963); *What Is Sociology* (1964); *Becoming Modern* (1974); *Exploring Individual Modernity* (1983); *National Character* (1997); and *One World Emerging?* (1998).

[Werner J. Cahnman / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

INLANDER, HENRY (**Heinz**; 1925–1983), painter. Inlander was born in Vienna, but lived in Trieste from 1935 to 1938, coming to England that year. He was naturalized in 1947. In the early 1950s he was art adviser to the British School in Rome, living partly in Italy and in England. Inlander was basically a painter of landscape, in which he combined a rich sensuous color with Expressionist elements, revealing his origins. He occasionally painted figure studies, notably his contribution *Moses and the Burning Bush* to the exhibition "The Religious Theme" held at the Tate Gallery in 1958. Critical opinion of his work declined after the 1960s, but he gained renewed recognition after his death.

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[Charles Samuel Spencer]

°**INNOCENT**, name of 13 popes.

INNOCENT II (Gregorio Papareschi), pope 1130–43. His was an uncanonical election because the majority of the cardinals voted for *Anacletus II (Pietro Pierleoni). The Jews of Rome supported Anacletus, whose opponents objected to his Jewish origin. However, Innocent and his party were in no way responsible for promoting an anti-Jewish movement. Although Innocent did not renew the *bull *Sicut Judaeis*, neither did he encroach on the rights of the Jews in any respect.

INNOCENT III (Lothar of Segni; b. 1160 or 1161), pope 1198–1216. The goal of Innocent III was to make the Church, or rather the papacy, the sole power in the world. He was successful to a large degree in matters concerning the Jews – the changes he inaugurated on their account regulated the conditions of their lives in Christian countries throughout many succeeding centuries. His accession brought about a change in the papal attitude toward the Jews, and it must have been slender consolation to them that his attitude toward Christian heretics, especially the *Albigenses in Southern France, was as cruel, if not more so. It was to encourage men to join the Crusade against these heretics that he canceled the interest on the crusaders' debts to the Jews in 1198, 1199, 1200, 1209, and 1213. Although he renewed the bull *Sicut Judaeis*, he introduced his renewal by saying that because the Jews served to prove (through the Bible) the truth of the Catholic faith they were not to be "too severely" oppressed by the Christian faithful (1199). However, it was not until the end of his reign (1215 or 1216) that the pope deemed an oppression "severe" enough to intervene – this was a persecution initiated by the crusaders and Innocent ordered the archbishops and bishops of France to step in to protect the Jews.

On at least two occasions he ordered that material help be given to various Jewish converts (1199). Of particularly serious import was his letter to the archbishop of Arles (1201) on the topic of forced baptism; only a decided and resolute denial rendered this invalid. Although Innocent did not explicitly mention the Jews on this occasion, his decision obviously referred to them, as shown by his reference to the similar decision of the Fourth Council of Toledo in respect of the forced baptisms of Jews perpetrated by Sisebut (and see *Church Councils). From 1205 Innocent intervened in various countries – France, Castile, Aragon – to denounce what he termed "Jewish abuses." He complained to Philip *Augustus that the Jews were charging an excessive rate of interest; that they had built a synagogue in Sens which was taller than the neighboring church; that they appeared in public on Good Friday and jeered at Christians; and that they were receivers of stolen goods and murderers of Christians. In addition Innocent protested that Christian servants lived in the homes of their Jewish masters. The pope complained to Alfonso VIII of Castile that the Jews fixed the price of redemption of their slaves when they converted instead of contenting themselves with the price fixed by canon law, and that not only did they avoid paying church tithes on their landed property but were always acquiring new property. Through the intermediary of the archbishop of Sens and the bishop of Paris he interposed with the king of France, the duke of Burgundy, and the countess of Champagne against the employment of Christian wet nurses and servants by the Jews. When in 1207 he listed the sins committed by Raymond VI, count of Toulouse, he also accused him of having entrusted official duties to the Jews.

All this culminated in a series of four anti-Jewish canons promulgated at the Fourth Lateran Council (1215), instigated by Innocent or at the very least due to his decisive cooperation. They are familiar, in that they repeat all the objections voiced in Innocent's letters: against an excessive interest-rate; compulsory payment of church tithes; prohibition against appearing in public in Holy Week; banishment from public office; and pursuit of lapsed converts. Finally they added a regulation expressing, in the clearest fashion possible, the social degradation, indeed exclusion, of the Jews – the distinctive Jewish article of clothing or *badge.

INNOCENT IV (Sinibaldo Fieschi), pope 1243–54. Soon after his accession, in 1244, Innocent IV wrote to the king of France to warn him of a number of Jewish "abuses" – they were continuing to study the Talmud and employing Christian wet nurses – and to decree the burning of the Talmud and other forbidden Jewish books. In this he was simply completing the policy of his predecessor, *Gregory IX. In fact in 1247 he was swayed by the pleas of the Jews that they could neither study nor teach the Bible without the help of the Talmud. However, through his violent opposition to any kind of compromise *Odo de Châteauroux secured Innocent's confirmed condemnation of the Talmud in 1248. The pope was also eager to facilitate the conversion of the Jews and in 1245 congratulated the king of Aragon for having ordained that converts might keep their fortunes and would be protected against their former coreligionists – who considered them as "renegades" – and for having compelled the Jews to attend missionary sermons. To this end he intervened several times on behalf of converted Jews (1250), on one occasion to guarantee their exemption from taxes and on another to grant them aid. Reminding them of the necessity of enforcing the Fourth Lateran Council canon on the Jewish badge or distinctive clothing, he addressed himself to the archbishop of Besañçon in 1245, the bishop of Maguelonne in 1248, the bishop of Cordoba in 1250, and the bishop of Constance in 1254. Although Innocent was rather tardy in confirming the bull of protection *Sicut Judaeis* in 1246 – for the popes usually promulgated it soon after their accession – he renewed it on many successive occasions, notably in 1249 when he added a condemnation of the *blood libel. In 1246 he congratulated the king of Navarre for having protected the Jews against their persecutors, and a year later recriminated against the archbishop of *Vienne for the bloody persecutions, plundering, expulsions, and forced baptism of children of the Jews in his province after a blood libel in *Valréas. In that same year Innocent warned the archbishops and bishops of France and Germany against perpetrations of the blood libel. However, in 1253, soon after confirming the measures for protecting the Jews adopted at

Wuerzburg, he allowed the archbishop of Vienne to expel the Jews. On the other hand Innocent himself came to the aid of the Jews in recovering the debts owed to them in Champagne in 1247, although at the same time maintaining the exemption from paying interest and the moratorium on debts granted to the crusaders (1248, 1252, 1253).

INNOCENT VIII (Giovanni Battista Cibo; b. 1432), pope 1484–92. Innocent introduced a minor change in the arrangements of the ceremonies for the papal reception in Rome; the Jews were no longer to wait on the pope at Montegiordano, where they were exposed to the insults of the crowd, but to greet him within the first enclosure of the castle of Sant' Angelo. However, Innocent's papacy acquired an unhappy significance in Jewish history when in July 1487 he appointed two cardinals to head the *Inquisition against the Jews in Spain. In Rome he also harassed the Marranos, imprisoning eight of them on July 18, 1487. Among the physicians who attended Innocent on his deathbed was a Jew who tried, unsuccessfully, to give a blood transfusion to the dying man.

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[Bernhard Blumenkranz]

INNSBRUCK, capital of the Tyrol, W. Austria. In the 13th century a Jew is mentioned as mintmaster to the duke of Tyrol. Subsequently, Jewish traders and moneylenders came to Innsbruck from Italy and Carinthia. In the first half of the 14th century the Jews left the city but returned soon after to replace bankrupt Florentine bankers. In 1342 the Jew Salmen of Innsbruck was granted protection by the duke. During the *Black Death persecutions (1348) the Jews of Innsbruck suffered but the community was not destroyed. In the 16th century Jews are often mentioned in Innsbruck as bankers and as agents of foreign trading houses. Despite the imperial edict expelling all Jews from the Tyrol in 1520, Jews remained in Innsbruck during this period. More settled in the city during the tolerant reign of Duke Ferdinand II of the Tyrol (1618–23), serving in the government and even gaining positions at court, in spite of recurrent protests by the municipality and guilds. A Jew was employed at court as flute player and dancing master. Religious services were held in a private house. After the death of Ferdinand II, a ban was imposed on any Jewish newcomers settling in the city, and in 1674 the burghers achieved the long-sought expulsion of the Jews; only two families were permitted to remain. Nevertheless, some families expelled from *Hohenems were allowed to settle in Innsbruck in 1676. More Jews arrived at the turn of the 18th century. In 1714 the city council asked the provincial governor's permission to expel Jews hitherto protected by the court because they endangered "the Christian character of the city." The expulsion order exempted two brothers who had donated a substantial sum to the city hospital.

When *Maria Theresa confirmed Innsbruck as a "Jew-free city" (1748), only two "tolerated" families remained there and only eight in the whole of the Tyrol. By 1785 four or five Jewish families lived in the city. In the wake of the Tyrolean revolt against Bavarian-French rule led by Andreas *Hofer (1809), looting and other anti-Jewish acts occurred. After the Congress of Vienna (1815) the few additional rights which had been granted to the Jews by the Bavarians were restricted once more. No more Jews were allowed to settle permanently in the city and they could stay overnight only with police permission. Nevertheless, Jews from Hohenems managed to establish factories in Innsbruck during the 1840s. After the constitution of 1867 (see *Austria) granted the Jews equal rights, Jewish families from all Hapsburg countries settled in Innsbruck. However, the total number of Jews always remained small – 27 Jews (0.4% of the total population) in 1869. The city authorities put obstacles before Jewish newcomers and the established Jewish settlers themselves did not favor an influx of "Eastern Jews," fearing antisemitic reaction. In addition, since synagogue services were Reform and other facilities needed to meet Orthodox requirements were absent, Orthodox Jews preferred not to come to Innsbruck.

From 1890 the Jews in Innsbruck officially belonged to the community and rabbinate of Hohenems, a branch of which was authorized in Innsbruck for the whole of the Tyrol in 1898. A separate community was instituted in 1914, becoming the seat of the rabbinate for the Tyrol and Vorarlberg. The last rabbi of Hohenems, Dr. Link, became the first rabbi of Innsbruck. After World War I, Innsbruck developed into a center of pan-German nationalistic movements and National-Socialism gained a strong hold there at an early date, side by side with latent religious antisemitism. In the 1920s the community numbered about 200 members; in 1934, when there were 317 Jews (0.5%) in the city, ritual slaughter of animals was forbidden. The younger generation was attracted to Zionism, a movement strongly opposed by the assimilationist majority. In the 1930s Zionist representatives were elected to the community board. Dr. Elimelech Rimalt (d. 1988; who was to be a Gaḥal politician in Israel and minister of posts there, 1969–70) was rabbi of Innsbruck until 1938.

After the Nazi rise to power in Germany had increased antisemitism in the city, a silent boycott of Jewish firms began. The first steps of the Nazis in Innsbruck after the annexation of Austria (1938) were "Aryanization" of all Jewish firms, confiscation of the community archives, and seizure of the passports of all Jews. The institutions of the community were able to continue their activities for a time but in the fall of 1938 the community was ordered to disband and the rabbinate was dissolved. The Jews prepared for emigration. On **Kristallnacht* (Nov. 10, 1938) the houses of all Jews still living in Innsbruck were raided and demolished, and the synagogue and the cemetery desecrated; 18 Jews were attacked and arrested and three community leaders brutally murdered. Subsequently nearly all Jews left Innsbruck, some of them settling in Ereẓ Israel.

After World War II a new community – the smallest in Austria, with 100 members – was established, and a synagogue dedicated in 1961. The community was headed by Oscar von Lubomirski, a converted Polish nobleman. In 1969, the community numbered around 50 members, in 2005 around 70. A new synagogue was consecrated in 1993 on the site of the old one.

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[Elimelech Rimalt]

INOWROCLAW (Ger. **Hohensalza**), city in Bydgoszcz province, central Poland. The first documents concerning Jews there date from 1447. By the end of the 16th century there was an organized community headed by a rabbi. Nearly all the Jewish inhabitants were killed when the town was besieged by the army of Stephan *Czarniecki in 1656. In 1681 King *John Sobieski renewed the charter of privileges granted to the community in 1600 which had been lost during the siege; although refused recognition by the municipality, these rights were enforced by the royal authorities. The Inowroclaw community was administered by three elders elected every three years by ballot, cast in the presence of the rabbi and the mayor, each elder holding office for one year. There were 980 Jews living in Inowroclaw and the vicinity in 1765. The right to be tried in Jewish law courts was abrogated after the accession of the territory by Prussia in 1774. In the following year the 145 houses belonging to Jews were destroyed by a fire, and the deteriorating economic situation compelled many Jews to leave. The position improved at the beginning of the 19th century. The Jewish population of Inowroclaw numbered 604 in 1799, 1,265 in 1815, and 1,158 in 1905. With the incorporation of the area in Poland after World War I conditions deteriorated again and by 1939 the community was reduced to 172.

[Nathan Michael Gelber]

Holocaust Period

During World War II Inowroclaw served under the name Hohensalza as the capital of one of the three *Regierungsbezirke* (districts) in Warthegau. (Before the outbreak of the war, Inowroclaw had 172 Jews. Many of them fled before and just after the Nazi forces entered.) Wilhelm Koppe, the *Hoehere SS- und Polizeifuehrer* of Warthegau, on Nov. 12, 1939, ordered that the town be made *judenrein* by the end of February 1940. On Nov. 14, 1939, a transport of Jews, probably including all the remaining Jewish population of Inowroclaw, was taken to *Gniezno and Kruszwica. By the end of 1939 the Jewish community in Inowroclaw had ceased to exist. The community was not reconstituted after World War II.

[Danuta Dombrowska]

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INQUISITION, special permanent tribunal of the medieval Catholic Church, established to investigate and combat heresy.

The Early Institution

Although the Inquisition was established by Pope *Gregory IX, it owed its name to the procedure instituted by Pope *Innocent III (1198–1216) for searching out persons accused of heresy. Gregory himself created permanent judges delegate (*inquisitores dati ab ecclesia*) in 1233, entrusting the mission of judging heretics to the *Dominicans, who divided their duties with the *Franciscans on a geographical basis. Life imprisonment was prescribed for the repentant and capital punishment for the obdurate, after they were handed over to the secular authorities. The practice of burning heretics at the stake (see *Auto-da-fé) was introduced in the last years of the 12th century. By 1255 the Inquisition was fully active in Central and Western Europe, but was never established in England and Scandinavia. Portugal was not included in the system until 1532. The use of torture for the detection of heresy was authorized in 1252 by Innocent IV (1243–54), and confirmed by Urban IV (1261–64). Property of those sentenced to life imprisonment or to death was handed over to the secular arm, but often the Church sought to derive some profit from the confiscated valuables.

Initially, the Inquisition dealt with Christian heretics, like the *Albigenses, against whom a full-scale Crusade was organized in 1209. According to Canon Law, the Inquisition was not authorized to interfere in the internal affairs of the Jews, but this rule was abolished on the ground that the presence of Jews caused heresy to develop in the Christian milieu. The dispute which raged around Maimonides' books (1232) provided the Inquisition with a convenient opportunity to interfere in Jewish affairs (see *Maimonidean controversy). In June 1242, following the Paris Disputation of 1240, an inquisitorial committee condemned the Talmud in Paris, principally for blasphemy against Jesus and Christianity and for immoral and anthropomorphic passages contained in it, and thousands of volumes of it were subsequently burned in public (see Burning of *Talmud). The first mass burning of Jews on the stake took place in France in 1288, following a *blood libel at *Troyes. Nevertheless, persecution of the Jews by the Inquisition in France and Provence remained confined to a few cases, never reaching the proportions it later assumed in the Iberian Peninsula, with the National Inquisition.

The papal Inquisition turned its attention to the Jews after the elimination of the Cathars or Albigensis. It prosecuted and persecuted converts from Judaism who were suspected of Judaizing. It operated intensively in Provence and pursued many of the Provençal Jews who had been baptized and decided to move to Catalonia, to be away from its close supervision.

The Spanish Inquisition until 1492

The Inquisition in the Crowns of Castile and Aragon was established to combat heresy among the New Christians, a group comprising Jews who converted under duress during the 1391 Massacres and others who did so during the Tortosa Disputation in 1412–13 and during the subsequent eras of mounting pressure on the Jews in both Crowns. The initiative for the establishment of the Inquisition in both Castile and Aragon was that of their two monarchs, Isabella and Ferdinand, who ruled both Crowns jointly. It was in September 1480 that orders were issued for the creation of special tribunals. Soon afterwards, these tribunals began to function. The National Inquisition by far surpassed the papal Inquisition of the Middle Ages both in the scale and intensity of its activities. Its impact on Jewish history was incomparably greater, for its principal objective was the persecution of those inclined toward Judaism. Of the many scholars who have studied the nature of the Spanish Inquisition, some have emphasized its ecclesiastical character, while others have been inclined to regard it as a distinctly political institution. This Inquisition was in fact established as a Church institution deriving its authority from the pope, but it was destined to solve a specifically Spanish religious-social problem and thus evolved into a political institution, although retaining its purely religious aspect. The persecutions of 1391 and of 1412–14 created a new religious and social problem in the Crowns of Castile and Aragon, that of the *anusim* or Conversos. Having abandoned the Jewish faith under duress, these *New Christians continued to maintain close relations with their former brethren and occasionally seized the opportunity to emigrate in order to return to Judaism. All attempts made by the authorities to separate the Conversos from Judaism – by legislation, by the separation of their dwellings from the Jewish quarters, or through education – were fruitless. From the second half of the 15th century, a public discussion took place on the question of the Conversos and various methods and projects were advanced for the solution of the problem. There were in fact some distinguished personalities who defended the Conversos and their right to become integrated within Spanish society as Christians with equal rights: the most outstanding of these was Alfonso de Cartagena (1384–1456), son of the apostate *Pablo de Santa María, in his work *Defensorium unitatis Christianae* (ed. by M. Alonso, 1943). Prominent among those who adopted a firm attitude against the Conversos was the Franciscan monk *Alfonso de Espina (second half of the 15th century). In his work *Fortalitium Fidei* (Nuremberg, 1485–98), he proposed a detailed plan for heresy-hunting among the Conversos, a scheme which might well be regarded as the harbinger of the establishment of the Spanish Inquisition. This debate was accompanied by violent outbursts against Conversos, the most important being the attempt by Pedro *Sarmiento in Toledo in 1449 to institute Inquisition court-proceedings against Conversos who had risen to important functions within Christian society.

The ascent of *Ferdinand and Isabella to the throne of Castile in 1474 provided a favorable opportunity for those Church extremists who advocated a radical solution. The Catholic monarchs required some faithful supporters for the consolidation of their rule, and these emerged from among the churchmen and the townspeople. In exchange for their support, Ferdinand and Isabella introduced a series of restrictive measures against both Conversos and Jews. However, there is no reason to doubt that the appeal of Ferdinand and Isabella to Pope Sixtus IV in 1477, requesting him to authorize them to establish the Inquisition, was motivated by the religious fervor which was characteristic of their policy from the start. They were equally interested in solving a serious social problem and ensure the full integration of the Conversos within Christian society. In his reply given on Nov. 1, 1478, the pope authorized them to appoint inquisitors in every part of Castile.

Two Dominican monks, Miguel de Morillo and Juan de San Martín, were appointed to head the Inquisition on Sept. 27, 1480, and on Jan. 1, 1481, they began their activities, choosing to start in *Seville because the region of Andalusia was considered an important center of Judaizers. The inquisitors demanded that the noblemen deliver into their hands all Judaizers who had fled and been taken under their protection. A large number of Conversos were arrested, including many wealthy and notable personalities of Seville. The records of the tribunal have not been preserved in this case, but from the evidence of the chronicler Andrés Bernáldez it appears that during the years 1481–88 over 700 Conversos were burned at the stake and more than 5,000 were brought back to the Church by means of various penalties. In Aragon, the papal Inquisition which had been founded in 1237/8 under the influence of *Raymond de Peñaforte operated against the Conversos of Valencia during the 1460s. The results of its activities appeared unsatisfactory to the king, however, and as early as 1484 he appointed new investigators to take up their duties there.

Moved by the complaints of many Conversos against the methods of the Seville Inquisition, Pope Sixtus IV at first (January 1482) opposed the extension of the tribunal to the Crown of Aragon, but was unable to hold out against Ferdinand's displeasure and, in October 1483, agreed to extend the rights of the Inquisition in Aragon, Catalonia, and Valencia. During that year, the Jews were expelled from Andalusia and Tomás de *Torquemada, head of the Dominican monastery of Santa Cruz in Segovia, was appointed inquisitor-general of the Spanish kingdom. The measures he introduced determined the character of the institution from the start and left their imprint on its activities during the whole of its existence. It was he who decided on the composition of every Inquisition tribunal and abolished all the orders which had previously been issued by the pope in favor of the Conversos.

In 1483, an Inquisition tribunal, which continued until 1485, was set up in *Ciudad Real. Torquemada intended this tribunal as an experiment in anticipation of the establishment of a tribunal in *Toledo, to prepare the public and test their reactions. During this period at least 100 Conversos were condemned, 52 to the stake, about 15 in effigy, and the remains of others were exhumed and burned. An Inquisition tribunal was also established in *Guadalupe in 1485, and during one year 52 Conversos were burned at the stake and the bodies of 48 condemned after death were exhumed and burned, as were the effigies of 25 Conversos who had fled.

In 1485, the tribunal of Ciudad Real was transferred to Toledo, where, according to tradition, the Conversos had intended to assassinate the Inquisition officers during the Corpus Christi procession, but the plot was discovered and its initiators hanged. The "period of grace" of 40 days, during which the Conversos were called upon to confess their sins, was extended by a further 90 days. The authorities compelled the communal leaders of the Jews to proclaim in the synagogues that any Jew knowing of Conversos who adhered to Judaism, who did not bring this to the cognizance of the Inquisition, would be laid under the *ḥerem*. The tribunal of Toledo, which had jurisdiction over 88 towns and villages, brought many Conversos to trial during its early years, but by 1492 the number of trials gradually decreased, the Inquisition then being busy with preparations for the expulsion. In 1486, 20 autos-de-fé were held in Toledo and 3,327 persons sentenced; in 1488, there were three autos-de-fé in which 40 Conversos were burned at the stake and over 100 bodies exhumed and burned; in 1490, there were two autos-de-fé in which 422 Conversos were burned at the stake and 11 sentenced to life imprisonment; and in 1492, five Conversos were burned at the stake and a few others sentenced to imprisonment.

Torquemada's appointment of two inquisitors in *Saragossa in 1484 aroused the anger of the notables of Aragon, who regarded this as an attack on the freedom of their kingdom whose laws prohibited the appointment of officials of foreign origin. After the Inquisition had begun to function there at full strength, a special delegation representing the various estates of Aragon appealed to the king to repeal the decree, but to no avail. In spite of this, the opposition did not subside. When Juan de Çolivera, the newly appointed inquisitor of Aragon, attempted to establish his tribunal in *Teruel, its leaders closed the gates of the town to him and he was compelled to settle in the village of Cella. During his stay there, he conducted the interrogations of the tribunal with unprecedented cruelty, and between 1484 and 1486 over 30 people were condemned to death, while only seven Conversos were accepted as penitents – all without a "period of grace" being proclaimed before the interrogations.

In Saragossa, the Conversos endeavored to obstruct the progress of the Inquisition; their diplomatic efforts failing, they organized a plot which resulted in the assassination of the inquisitor Pedro de *Arbués in 1485. The resultant investigation revealed that among the leading instigators of the plot were several of the most prominent New Christians who were also favorites at court, including members of the *Sánchez, *Santangel, and *Cavallería families. In Saragossa, the number of Conversos who were accepted as penitents was also small in comparison with those who were burned at the stake. Until 1492, about 600 Conversos were sentenced there.

The establishment of the Inquisition tribunal in *Barcelona, the capital of Catalonia, also met with the opposition of the city's leaders. Becoming aware of Torquemada's projected tribunal, large numbers of Conversos fled, severely affecting the economy of the town in consequence. Once more the complaints were of no avail and in February 1486, Pope Innocent VIII appointed Torquemada as inquisitor of Barcelona and canceled the appointments of the medieval inquisitors who had functioned until then. In 1487, Torquemada appointed Juan Franco and Miguel Cassells as inquisitors in Barcelona and they began their activities in the town in July of the same year. Additional tribunals were also established prior to the expulsion in *Lérida and *Huesca. In the latter town, many Conversos, including *Juan de Ciudad, who had taken refuge there during the middle of the 15th century, undergone circumcision, and returned to Judaism, were brought to trial. A number of Jews were also executed; these included Isaac *Bivach (Bibago), who was accused of having circumcised Conversos. Among the prominent trials held by the Inquisition prior to the expulsion was that of the Holy Child of La *Guardia in 1490, in which Jews were also involved.

The trials of the Conversos during the first 12 years of the Spanish Inquisition demonstrated that the extremist churchmen had been true judges of the nature of the New Christians, as trial after trial revealed the loyalty of the Conversos to Judaism and their close ties with the Jewish communities of Spain. There is no doubt that the results of the investigations of the Inquisition, which brought to light some 13,000 Conversos who had remained faithful to Judaism, were factors prompting the Catholic monarchs, who sought to create a national unity in Spain based on religious and ethnic foundations, to order the expulsion of the Jews from the kingdom in 1492. By expelling the Jews, they hoped to eliminate that element which was responsible for the Judaizing inclinations of the Conversos and thus weaken their attachment to Judaism and bring them back to the Christian faith.

Scholars' Approaches to the Inquisition

Scholars differ on several issues related to the Inquisition. Some scholars maintain that the Inquisition was the product of decades of efforts and campaigns that were supported by a large part of the Old Christian population in the Crowns of Castile and Aragon and designed to destroy the position enjoyed by the New Christians. These scholars, headed by Benzion Netanyahu, claim that it was not the religious behavior of the New Christians that caused the creation of the Inquisition but the intention of the political and religious elite of the Old Christians to eliminate the Conversos from any position of political, economic, and social power. The Inquisition camouflaged its real intention behind religious motives. The Conversos, according to these scholars, were mostly Christians who were determined to integrate within Christian society.

The Inquisition prevented them from doing so. The Inquisition was also responsible for the reevaluation of many New Christians' attitude to Christianity and Judaism. The flight of some of the New Christians mainly to Muslim lands to return to Judaism and join existing communities or establish communities of their own was the result of the anti-Converso policy pursued by the Inquisition. Those who returned to Judaism, were accepted as proselytes. According to these scholars, the Inquisition leveled false accusations against the New Christians, accusing them of Jewish practices.

Other scholars, led by Beinart, claim that the bulk of the Conversos were forcible converts who wanted to retain their Jewish identity. They had no choice but to practice Judaism in secret and transmit whatever they could of their own Jewish practices and beliefs to their descendants. They were crypto-Jews. The Inquisition was established to eradicate any trace of Judaism in the Converso-society and was generally right in its suspicions and accusations. The numerous files of the Inquisition are trustworthy, and despite its cruel torture and terrorizing methods, the Inquisition was fundamentally right in its policy of prosecution against many of the Conversos. It was prosecuting Christians accused of heretical behavior.

Whatever the true reasons for the establishment of the Inquisition were, it cannot be denied that social, economic, racial, and political reasons nourished the trials of the Inquisition and the anti-Converso attitude that existed in Christian society. According to many Old and New Christian sources the hatred of the Conversos was due to the envy their economic and social achievements aroused in society in general. Many of them were able to translate their economic and social strength into political power which added to the antagonism they aroused among many Old Christians.

The racial antagonism that existed in Old Christian circles and among Inquisitors puzzled some scholars. A sentence by Menéndez Pelayo in one of his letters that the Old Christians might have adopted their racial hatred from the Jews found fertile grounds among certain Spanish historians and thinkers. Américo Castro, who noted the very strong racial prejudice among Spanish people which appeared following the mass conversions of Jews suggested that the Jews were the real source of this hatred. The Jews were responsible, according to Castro, for the appearance of the theory of the *Limpieza de sangre* (Purity of Blood). Castro and Sánches Albornoz have claimed that the Inquisition tribunal and its terrible and horrible methods were of Jewish origin. The latter claimed that "The Inquisition was without any doubt a Hispano-Jewish satanical invention." Baer has shown how mistaken their understanding of the Jewish judicial system was (Baer, *A History of the Jews in Christian Spain* (1966) vol. 2, 444–56).

From 1492

PORTUGAL. The history of the Inquisition in the Iberian Peninsula entered into a new phase with the events which took place in Portugal in 1497. When King Manuel I was required to expel the Jews from his kingdom before he could marry the Catholic monarchs' daughter, he issued an edict of Expulsion in 1496. The so-called expulsion of the Jews from that country is in most respects a misnomer. King Manuel I, desiring to secure the extirpation of Judaism without the loss of the industry and resources of his Jewish subjects, had them all seized and baptized by force, without allowing them the alternative of leaving the realm. Almost immediately afterward, however, in order to give them time to adjust themselves to their new faith, it was ordered (May 30, 1497) that for 20 years they should be exempt from all persecution on account of religious delinquencies, this period being subsequently extended to 1534. Thus crypto-Judaism in Portugal had the opportunity of accommodating itself to the new conditions and acquiring a far greater tenacity than was the case in Spain.

At the same time, Manuel had given an undertaking that all proceedings against the recent converts should be within the exclusive cognizance of the ordinary secular tribunals. This promise, however, was speedily neglected. As early as 1512, an application was made to Pope Leo X to extend the Inquisition to Portugal. For the moment, the matter was allowed to lapse without any further steps being taken. Manuel's successor, John III, however, was weak and amenable to ecclesiastical influence. Accordingly, in 1531, Dr. Bras Neto, ambassador at Rome, was instructed to take secret steps to procure from Clement VII the necessary authorization for introducing into his country the Inquisition on the Spanish model. After many delays, the Franciscan Diogo da Silva was asked to accept the appointment of first inquisitor general (Jan. 13, 1532). All these negotiations had been carried on in the strictest confidence, but the news leaked out; before the new inquisitor could assume office, the Portuguese New Christians took energetic steps, backed by all of their vast influence and wealth. They dispatched to Rome as their emissary a certain Converso, Duarte da Paz, who was authorized not to stint in his expenditure. They won over to their side Marco della Rovere, bishop of Sinigaglia, who had been dispatched to Lisbon as papal nuncio, and the conduct of the new inquisitor himself gave rise to suspicions that he too had been bought over by them. Meanwhile, at Rome, Da Paz had succeeded in procuring from Pope Clement, whose good feeling toward the Jews was well-known, a brief suspending the action of the previous December and prohibiting all inquisitional action against the New Christians. On April 5, 1533, he followed this up by a bull which became famous as the *Bulla de perdão*, being virtually a pardon for all past offenses. To this was added an authorization whereby all persons accused of heresy might justify themselves before the inquisitor general, who reaped a handsome harvest. This mitigatory measure was finally re-enforced by the pope on his deathbed, on July 26, 1534. The struggle was renewed under Paul III who referred the matter to a commission. When Emperor Charles V arrived in Rome, fresh from his triumph at Tunis, he threw his weight on the prosecutory side. The result was seen in the papal bull of May 23, 1536, which formally constituted in Portugal an Inquisition on the Spanish model, though for three years the forms of secular law were to be observed, and confiscations were to be forbidden for ten. Diogo da Silva was confirmed in his position as first inquisitor general.

This drastic measure caused the New Christians to redouble their efforts. The new nuncio to Portugal, Girolamo Recanati Capodiferro, was given the authority (which he used with highly remunerative results) to hear appeals, and was even authorized to suspend the action of the Inquisition itself. On the other hand, the king endeavored to strengthen the authority of the new tribunal by appointing his brother, Dom Henrique, as inquisitor general in Da Silva's place. Intrigues were in process at Rome, however, and the pope was persuaded to issue a bull *Pastoris aeterni* on Oct. 12, 1539, which limited the power of the Inquisition still further, guaranteeing the right of appeal to Rome, where (for a consideration) justice, or absolution, could always be obtained. Owing to a quarrel between Capodiferro and the New Christians, who refused to satisfy his exorbitant demands, this was never published. Passions in Portugal were still further enraged by a foolish anti-Catholic placard which had been found affixed to the door of one of the principal churches in Lisbon, presumably by one of the recent converts. When, therefore, the three years' delay came to an end, there was nothing to prevent the bull of 1536 establishing the Inquisition from coming into operation. On Sept. 20, 1540, accordingly, the first auto-da-fé was held at *Lisbon.

Even then, the contest was not at an end. The New Christians forced to acquiesce in the establishment of the tribunal worked untiringly for the appointment at Lisbon of a papal nuncio with full appellate powers, and Luigi Lippomano, bishop of Bergamo, was appointed to this post in 1542, in consequence of their intrigues. However, a violent quarrel had sprung up in the meantime between the king of Portugal and the papal Curia, and Lippomano was excluded from the country. The pope replied to this slight in a brief dated Sept. 22, 1544, suspending the activities of the Inquisition until an enquiry had been made into its action. During the next few years negotiations continued without interruption and at enormous expense on both sides. Ultimately, however, the king gained the day, offering the pope the administration of the revenues of the enormously wealthy see of Viseu in return for compliance to his wishes. The pope at last surrendered to this magnificent bribe and, on July 16, 1547, by the bull *Meditatio cordis*, the Inquisition was at last fully established in Portugal. The New Christians tried hard, but in vain, to obtain the slight concession that the names of witnesses against them should be made known, while the appointment of the grand inquisitor, Dom Henrique, as papal legate cut off all possibility of appeal to Rome. The prohibition of confiscations remained for some time a subject of negotiation, but in 1579 they were at last definitely established.

Tribunals were originally set up in Portugal at Lisbon, *Coimbra, *Évora, Lamego, Tomar, and *Oporto. The three last were subsequently discontinued as superfluous, partly in consequence of the grave abuses and irregularities which were discovered in their administration. The remaining three, however, continued their work with the utmost ferocity; considering the great difference in the size of the two countries, it may be said that their zeal exceeded even that of the tribunals of Spain. However, the greater influence and cohesion of the New Christians in the smaller country brought about temporary remissions, always in return for huge bribes. Thus, in 1605, a donation of 1,700,000 cruzados secured a general pardon for all past offenses, though of course it provided no safeguard against the future. In 1662, the wealthy Duarte da Silva offered an enormous subvention in money and ships in return for certain concessions, but there is little chance that they would have been granted even if the matter had not reached the ears of the pope, who immediately made stern representations at Lisbon. In fact, the period of the greatest inquisitional activity in Portugal followed. The number of autos-da-fé and of penitents increased year by year. The abuses of the system became so great that the eloquence of the learned Jesuit, Antonio da Vieira, procured from Pope Clement X a bull suspending the operation of the Portuguese inquisitors (Oct. 3, 1674). Since the inquisitors refused to comply this was followed four years later by an interdict pronounced upon them by Innocent XI (Dec. 24, 1678). Ecclesiastical prejudices were too strong, however, to acquiesce in this state of affairs. By a bull of Aug. 22, 1681 the Portuguese Inquisition was reinstated in all of its former authority with no more than one or two minor reforms and the event was celebrated in a fresh burst of activity. On Jan. 18, 1682, the first auto-da-fé since the interdict was held at Coimbra, but it was surpassed by the one which took place at Lisbon on May 10 of the same year – one of the most notorious in the whole of Portuguese history. The revived power of the Inquisition was further manifested in a new regulation that the children of condemned heretics might be taken away from their parents to be brought up in all the traditions of the Catholic faith (1683). For half a century to come the Inquisition in Portugal continued its bloody career without any great intermission.

SPAIN. Meanwhile the activities of the Inquisition in Spain had continued unabated under Diego Deza (1499–1507), the successor of Torquemada as grand inquisitor, himself of Jewish blood. During his period of office, the excesses committed under his auspices – in particular by Diego Rodríguez Lucero, the inquisitor of *Córdoba – were notorious: accusations were made wholesale on the flimsiest grounds; incredible cruelties were perpetrated; and no accused person had any chance to escape. The culmination was reached when no less than 107 persons were burned alive on an accusation of having listened to the preaching of one Membreque, a bachelor of divinity. Complaints against these atrocities became so widespread that on Sept. 30, 1505 Philip and Juana suspended the action of the Inquisition in Castile until they returned from Flanders. However, the death of Philip put an end to this plan, and Lucero was emboldened to issue another wholesale batch of accusations, including one against the saintly Hernando de

Talavera – archbishop of Granada and formerly confessor to Isabella the Catholic herself – who died in consequence of the humiliation imposed upon him. The popular outcry now led Ferdinand to dismiss Deza and to appoint Cardinal *Ximénes de Cisneros in his place as grand inquisitor (1507). Proceedings were instituted against Lucero, but were allowed to drop.

On the accession of Charles V, the Spanish New Christians sent him promises of enormous sums if he would restrict the power of the Inquisition in his dominions and abolish secret accusations. Similar steps were taken at Rome, where Pope Leo X prepared a bull in the sense desired. Charles, however, after temporary vacillation, displayed the narrow obscurantism which was to characterize him through life, and effectively prevented the publication of the bull. Thereafter, there was no serious challenge to the authority of the Inquisition in Spain and it could count throughout upon royal support. Charles' son, Philip II, carried on and enhanced his father's obscurantist tradition, maintaining the tribunal in all of its terrible power in spite of the protests of the Cortes. Under Philip III, the conde-duque de Olivares endeavored to restrict its might; but on his fall it continued with its influence if anything increased. It was under this king and his successor, Philip IV, that the tribunal attained its greatest power and pomp.

The number of the Spanish tribunals ultimately totaled 15: Barcelona, Córdoba, Cuenca, Granada, Logroño, Llerena, Madrid (called also Corte), Murcia, Santiago, Seville, Toledo, Valencia, Valladolid, and Saragossa, and Palma (Majorca). All acted under the authority of the central tribunal (the "supreme"). Activity, as far as Judaizers were concerned, was greatest in Old Castile and least in Catalonia. As time advanced, however, the exclusive preoccupation of the Inquisition with the New Christians came to be qualified. From 1525, Moors faithful to the religion of their fathers also fell within its scope, and as the century advanced, there was an increasing number of Protestants and Alumbrados, or visionaries. By the middle of the 16th century, indeed, the native tradition of crypto-Judaism had to a large extent become extirpated, owing to the incredible severity of the Inquisition in the first years of its existence. However, the place of the Spanish Judaizers was taken, especially during the period of the union of the two countries, by immigrants from Portugal, or else their immediate descendants.

At the beginning of the 18th century, with the less obscurantist era which dawned with the house of Bourbon, there was some slight mitigation, particularly as far as the Judaizers were concerned, but in 1720 the discovery of a secret synagogue in Madrid led to a considerable recrudescence of activity throughout the country. During the reign of Philip V (1700–46), 1,564 heretics were burned and 11,730 reconciled to the Church, a good proportion for Judaizing. After this outburst, the activity of the Inquisition gradually diminished, though more through lack of material than through any diminution of zeal.

IN THE BALEARIC ISLANDS. The activity of the Inquisition in the Balearic Islands reached its climax at the close of the 17th century. The Jewish community had officially ceased to exist in 1435, but the Inquisition had nevertheless been active for the first half century after its introduction (see *Majorca). But the discovery of a secret synagogue in 1678 led to a renewal of activity. In four autos-de-fé in 1679, no less than 219 reconciliations took place, accompanied by wholesale confiscations, though there were no capital sentences. However, the insincerity of the enforced repentance soon became manifest, and in 1688–91 the result was seen in a fresh persecution, accompanied by 45 burnings. By this awful lesson, crypto-Judaism in the island was finally blotted out, though the prejudice against those of Jewish blood remained into the mid-20th century.

End of the Inquisition in the Peninsula

In the second half of the 18th century, the activity of the Inquisition rapidly diminished, partly through the spread of more enlightened ideas, partly through the lack of human material. Judaism especially had been almost entirely extirpated in the larger country and in the more civilized parts of the smaller, largely through the severity of the Inquisition, but in no small part through the wholesale emigration to places of greater liberty abroad. In Portugal, the last public auto-da-fé, and the last in which a Judaizer appeared, took place on Oct. 27, 1765. The Marquês de Pombal was determined to sweep away this with other similar abuses and steadily undermined its authority. The Inquisition revived to some extent after his fall; but early in the next century, after a prolonged period of comparatively harmless inactivity, it was formally abolished (March 31, 1821). In Spain the institution was more persistent. Though with diminished activity, it survived with unimpaired authority until the period of the French Revolution. It was abolished by Joseph Bonaparte during his brief reign in 1808, and this action was confirmed after his fall by the liberal Cortes of 1813. The reactionary Ferdinand VII, however, reinstituted it on July 21, 1814 with all of its previous power and authority. Its activity during the succeeding period was not great and it was abolished again by a royal decree during the constitutional revolution on March 9, 1820. With the counter-revolutionary movement of 1823, however, its powers revived to some extent. As late as July 26, 1826, a Deist schoolmaster (not a Jew, as is commonly stated) was hanged and burned in effigy by an episcopal Inquisition, the last victim of the Holy Tribunal in the Peninsula; for, on July 15, 1834, the queen mother, Maria Christina, finally and definitely abolished the Inquisition and all of its powers, after a career of blood which had lasted for three and a half centuries.

Statistics

FOR SPAIN. It is estimated that in Spain, from the establishment of the Inquisition down to 1808, the number of heretics burned in person was 31,912; those burned in effigy, 17,659; and those reconciled *de vehementi* (see Procedure, below), 291,450 – a total of 341,021 in all. Even these immense figures are apparently exceeded by the usually careful Amador de los Rios, who estimates that up to 1525, when the Moriscos first began to suffer, the number of those burned in person came to 28,540; those burned in effigy to 16,520; and those penanced to 303,847 – making a total of 348,907 condemnations for Judaism in less than half a century. On the other hand, Rodrigo, the apologist of the Inquisition, puts forward the impossible assertion that less than 400 persons were burned in the whole course of the existence of the Inquisition in Spain. H.C. *Lea, the modern historian of the Spanish Inquisition, hesitates to give any definite opinion. It was in the earlier and most ferocious period of inquisitional activity that the secret Jews suffered above all, and they furnished therefore a disproportionate number of the victims. In the later period, the number greatly diminished. Thus, from 1780 to 1820, out of 5,000 cases, only 16 were of Judaizing; but the majority of the charges at this period were light, and the sentences imposed in most cases comparatively negligible.

FOR PORTUGAL. As far as Portugal and its dependencies are concerned, the figures can be given with a much greater approach to precision. There are extant the records of approximately 40,000 cases tried before the Inquisition in the 16th, 17th, and 18th centuries in Portugal, the archives in this respect being virtually complete. The sentences were carried out at autos-da-fé numbering something like 750 in all. In these, as far as can be ascertained, upward of 30,000 persons were condemned, 1,808 of them being burned at the stake (633 in effigy and 1,175 in person) and 29,590 being penanced. In the two decades from 1701 to 1720, 37 persons were burned in person and 26 in effigy, while 2,126 were penanced. From 1732 to 1742, 66 persons were burned. From 1721 to 1771, 139 persons were burned in person, and 20 in effigy, while 3,488 were penanced.

Elkan *Adler has compiled lists of a little less than 2,000 autos-da-fé which took place in the peninsula and its dependencies from 1480 to 1826. This number should, however, be further increased.

RECORDS. The records of the Inquisition in Spain and its colonies generally fell victim to the popular fury at the time of the abolition of the Inquisition. Scattered documents were rescued, however, and are to be found in all the great public libraries of Europe and America, having been largely drawn upon by H.C. Lea in his *History of the Inquisition of Spain* (4 vols. 1906). The only sets of archives which have remained substantially complete are those of the tribunals of Valencia, Ciudad Real, Toledo, and Cuenca, which (together with scattered documents of other tribunals) are mainly to be found in the national archives at Madrid. The latter have been catalogued by M. Gómez del Campillo: they comprise something like 1,500 cases of Judaizers or approximately one-quarter of the whole. Of the records of the tribunals of Córdoba, Granada, Seville, etc., the only part which is left in a state of virtual completeness is the genealogical section, regarding the *limpieza de sangre, or purity of blood, of persons who applied for office. The records of the three Portuguese tribunals – Lisbon, Coimbra, and Évora – have been brought together in the national archives of the Torre de Tombo, at Lisbon. They comprise about 40,000 cases, sometimes filling whole volumes of more than 1,000 pages each. The majority of these relate to Judaizers. An approximate catalog, listed by the first names, is extant in manuscript.

The Inquisition in the Portuguese Possessions

GOA. It had not been long before Conversos, attracted by the greater security as well as the economic opportunities offered by the Spanish and Portuguese possessions overseas, in the discovery and development of which they had taken a notable part, began to flock there in some numbers. The Inquisition followed close at their heels. Thus there was a branch of the Portuguese Inquisition at Goa, in India, where as early as 1543, a certain Dr. Jeronimo Dias had been burned for maintaining heretical opinions, although the Inquisition proper was not formally introduced until some years later. In 1546, the formal establishment of the Inquisition was petitioned by St. Francis Xavier, but his wishes were complied with only in 1560. The first auto-da-fé took place on Sept. 27, 1563, two Judaizers figuring among the four victims. The subsequent activities became greater and greater. Autos-da-fé of particular violence took place under the zealous inquisitor Bartholomew da Fonseca in 1575 and 1578. In each of these 17 Judaizers lost their lives, a couple of Lutherans also suffering in the first. With the return of Fonseca to Portugal, the fury abated, so that from 1590 to 1597 no death sentences were pronounced. Simultaneously, the number of Judaizers, terrified by the former outburst of activity, diminished, only two figuring among the 20 victims from 1597 to 1623. In 1618, however, the brothers Isaac and Abraham *Almosnino, members of a famous Jewish family of Fez, were tried on a charge of having uttered blasphemies against the Christian faith in the house of the Persian ambassador at Cochin. Isaac, a physician, was released only in 1621. Up to the end of the first quarter of the 17th century, no less than 3,800 cases had been tried by the Goa tribunal and 37 autos-da-fé held, a number which by 1773 had risen to 82. As in Portugal, the tribunal was abolished on Feb. 10, 1774, witnessed an innocuous revival after the fall of Pombal in 1777, and was finally suppressed in 1812.

BRAZIL. A more common haven of refuge for the Portuguese Conversos was Brazil, where the bishop of Salvador was given inquisitorial powers in 1579, although all prisoners had to be sent to Europe for trial. Great visitations were held between 1591 and 1618. Between July 1591 and February 1592 scores of people came to confess or to testify before the board of inquisitors against foreigners, friends, and relatives. The testimonies and confessions indicate the presence of a considerable community of Conversos in Bahia (Salvador). In 1593/5 the inquisitors visited Pernambuco, where grave accusations had been preferred against a number of people. Thus, Diego Fernandes and his wife Branca Dias had been accused of establishing a synagogue in the house of Bento Dias Santiago, a central figure among the Judaizers at Pernambuco. The Conversos in Brazil played an important part in exporting sugar from Brazil, thanks to their connections with Conversos in Portugal and those who escaped to Amsterdam and there returned to Judaism. Many of them escaped from Brazil to Buenos Aires and from there to Peru, Paraguay, and Chile, following an investigation opened against 90 Conversos in Bahia.

Inquisitorial activity in Brazil was especially great in the middle of the 17th century after the Portuguese reconquered the country from the Dutch, under whose rule many New Christians had seized the opportunity to return to open Judaism. Many of them figured in the great auto-da-fé at Lisbon of Dec. 15, 1647, when six – including Isaac de Castro Tartas – were "relaxed" (see Procedure, below). In 1713, 38 New Christians sent from *Rio de Janeiro appeared in the Lisbon auto-da-fé, others (including Father Manoel Lopes de Carvalho, who was burned alive as impenitent) suffering in the following year. One of them, Abrabao alias Diogo Rois Rodriguez, called Dioquintio Hebreo, was condemned to be flogged and to five years in the galleys. The last Judaizer condemned by the Inquisition in Brazil was Manuel Abreu de Campo; he died before the sentence was carried out, and was burned in effigy in Lisbon in 1731. Toward the end of the 18th century persecution of Judaizers tended to decrease in Brazil, and was generally aimed at new targets: Freemasons and followers of the Enlightenment. With the independence of Brazil (1822) the persecutions ended altogether, and Jews gradually began to immigrate to that country. Conditions in the Portuguese colonies in Africa were much the same, an inquisitorial visitation taking place in Angola in 1626.

The Inquisition in the Spanish Colonies

MEXICO. Greater still was the importance of the Conversos in the Spanish possessions in America. From 1502 to 1802 the Spanish crown and the pope issued numerous briefs aimed at prohibiting the entry of Jews and Moors to the New World. Anybody who arrived in the colonies had to prove that he was a Christian, with four generations of Christians behind him. Nevertheless numerous Conversos succeeded in settling in the New World. Thus in 1519, apostolic inquisitors were appointed for the American colonies by the "Suprema" in Spain, and in 1528 an auto-de-fé took place in Mexico City in which three Judaizers – among them a Converso "conquistador" or companion of Cortes, Hernando Alonso by name – lost their lives. Thereafter, activity was slight and only sporadic, though a New Christian named Francisco Millan was reconciled in 1539 and a couple of non-Judaizing heretics in the subsequent years. In 1571, however, the zeal of Philip II secured the establishment in *Mexico of an independent tribunal for the purpose of "freeing the land, which has become contaminated by Jews and heretics, especially of the Portuguese nation." On Feb. 28, 1574, an auto-de-fé was conducted with great pomp. At this, only one New Christian appeared, but thereafter the number grew rapidly.

Activities, at first lukewarm, greatly increased with the appointment of Alonso de Peralta as inquisitor. On Dec. 8, 1596, there was a great auto-de-fé at which 66 penitents appeared. Of these, 41 were accused of Judaizing, 22 being reconciled, 10 burned in effigy, and nine in person. Of the latter, one was the illustrious Luis de *Carvajal, governor of the province of Nuevo León, who was burned alive as a relapsed heretic, together with his mother and five sisters. On March 26, 1601, another great auto-de-fé took place, at which 124 penitents appeared and four were burned. In the preceding 25 years no less than 879 trials had taken place in all. After this date, however, there was a period of comparative quiescence for nearly half a century. Up to 1642, only about 20 more Judaizers were reconciled, one being relaxed in person as against six relaxed in effigy. When in 1605 the general pardon for Judaizers of Portuguese extraction reached Mexico, there was only one to be liberated. However, the subsequent attempt to exterminate the Portuguese crypto-Judaizers in Spain led to the discovery of widespread connections in the New World.

From 1642 there was a period of relentless activity. A mere child, Gabriel de *Granada, arrested in that year was made to give evidence against over 80 persons, including the whole of his own family (the record of his trial, published in AJHSP, 7 (1899), is among the most complete inquisitional records available in print in any language). In 1646, partly in consequence of these disclosures, 38 Judaizers were reconciled, bringing a very considerable profit to the coffers of the Inquisition, and 21 in the next year. In 1648, there were two autos-de-fé, in one of which eight Judaizers were penanced, eight reconciled, 21 burned in effigy and one in person: in the other 21 Judaizers figured, though no burnings took place. The climax of the Mexican Inquisition was reached, however, in the great *auto general* of April 11, 1649 – the greatest known outside the Peninsula – when out of 109 convicts all but one were Judaizers. Of these 57 were burned in effigy and 13 in person, including Tomás *Trevino of Sobremonte. This terrible lesson went a long way toward checking Marranism in the country, Judaizing occupying a less and less prominent position in the following period. Thus in the auto-de-fé of 1659, only four Judaizers figured among the 32 victims, and in later years the proportion was even lower. In 1712, however, a Judaizer was reconciled; and as late as 1788, the trial of Rafael Gil Rodriguez, a cleric, took place. The Inquisition continued to protract its inglorious existence for a few more years, being finally abolished in 1820, after having held upward of 60 autos-de-fé in all. In the Mexican state archive 1,553 files of the Inquisition, belonging to the period 1521–1823, together with many others found in different places, show that the Conversos were present everywhere in the country and were represented in every section of society.

PHILIPPINE ISLANDS. The conquest of the *Philippine Islands by Spain in the late 1560s was soon followed by the establishment of an episcopal Inquisition, an auto-de-fé in which a few heretics appeared being held in 1572. Subsequently, however, the authority of the Mexican tribunal was recognized over the islands. The work, never considerable, was at the beginning confined to Judaizers, who were dispatched to Mexico for trial. Thus, in the auto-de-fé held there on March 28, 1593, two Conversos from Manila (Jorge and Domingo Rodriguez) were reconciled, while proceedings had been begun at the same time against one Diego Hernandez, who, however, died in prison. Manuel Gil de la Guardia, an attorney from Manila, was reconciled at Mexico on March 25, 1601, and three Judaizers from the Philippines were burned in effigy at the great auto-de-fé in the same city on April 11, 1649. From this period down to the abolition of the Inquisition at the beginning of the 19th century, the Inquisition was inactive in the Philippines, and there is no further mention of Judaizers in connection with it.

GUATEMALA. Judaizers accused in *Guatemala were tried in Mexico. Of particular interest is the trial of Rafael Gil Rodriguez, a monk from Guatemala accused of Judaizing after he had brought two of his friends over to Judaism. He was sentenced to death for this crime: he professed repentance, however, at the last moment, and so was reconciled.

PERU. In *Peru, a tribunal was opened in 1570, though an active episcopal Inquisition had been in existence since 1539. From that date down to 1805, 34 autos-de-fé were held at Lima, Judaizers always forming a considerable proportion of the victims. The earliest denunciations included the whole of the family of Juan Alvarez, a Converso physician, though they escaped punishment. In the second auto-de-fé series, however (April 1, 1578), two Judaizers figured, one in the third (Oct. 29, 1581), and two in the fifth (April 5, 1592). Thereafter, the number steadily increased, their ranks being greatly reinforced by immigrants from Portugal. At the great auto-de-fé of Dec. 17, 1595, ten figured, four of them being relaxed to the secular arm, and one, Francisco Rodriguez, being burned alive. On Dec. 10, 1600, 14 Portuguese Judaizers figure, two being relaxed in persons and one in effigy. The auto-de-fé of March 13, 1605 exhibited 16 Judaizers reconciled, six burned in effigy, and three in person. Thereafter, there was a considerable falling off, due in all probability to the general pardon issued to the Portuguese New Christians in 1604. There was a slight recrudescence in 1608, when one Judaizer was burned, and in 1612 when, at the auto-de-fé of June 17, there were five reconciliations for Judaizing.

The outburst of inquisitorial activity in Brazil in 1618 led to a general flight to Spanish territory, despite the opposition of the government, and to an increase in the local vigilance. The results were seen in the great auto-de-fé of Dec. 21, 1625 at which ten Judaizers were reconciled, two relaxed in person, and two in effigy. It was ten years later, however, in 1635, that there took place in Peru the greatest outburst of inquisitorial activity known outside the Peninsula. Owing to a chance arrest, a widespread crypto-Jewish connection was discovered among the Portuguese merchants at Lima – the "Complicidad Grande" as it was called. Within a few months, 81 suspected persons had been arrested, many others being left at large owing to lack of accommodation. Simultaneously, property was sequestered in such vast amounts as to precipitate a commercial crisis. The fruits were reaped at the triumphant auto-de-fé of Jan. 23, 1639, in which a very large number of Judaizers figured. Seven abjured *de vehementi*, 44 were reconciled, while one was relaxed in effigy and 11 in person. Of these, seven were burned alive, true martyrs to their faith. Among them was one Manuel Batista Perez, known as the *capitan grande*, the wealthiest merchant in the country; and Francisco *Maldonado de Silva (Eli Nazareno), the most notable martyr of the Inquisition in South America. On the following day, several more condemned persons were scourged publicly through the streets. In the autos-de-fé of the following years, last remnants of the Complicidad Grande were dealt with, Manuel Henriquez, one of those implicated, being burned as late as 1664. As in Mexico, this display of severity in the second quarter of the 17th century seems to have broken down Judaizing in the province for many years to come, the next case – a light one – occurring only in 1720. However, the last victim burned at the stake by the Peruvian Inquisition was a reported Judaizer, the notorious Ana de Castro, who suffered in Dec. 23, 1736. In the following year, at an *auto particular*, Juan Antonio Pereira was punished for the same crime. Though the Inquisition in Peru continued to be sporadically active until 1806, and even had many false accusations of Judaizing brought before it on trivial grounds, no further prosecutions of this nature figure in its records.

NEW GRANADA. The enormous province of New Granada at first fell under the sway of the Lima tribunal, which appointed various commissioners to represent it. These however, were incompetent and inactive. In 1610, therefore, a new tribunal of the Inquisition was set up, with its seat at Cartagena and with authority extending not only over the continental portions of New Granada but also over the adjacent Caribbean Islands. The first auto-de-fé took place on Feb. 2, 1614, the last on Feb. 5, 1782, and the Inquisition was abolished by Simón Bolivar in 1819. During the two centuries of its existence, at least 54 autos-de-fé took place, 767 persons being punished; only five, however, were burned. Judaizers figured, as always, in fairly considerable proportion, one appearing at the first auto-de-fé and something like 50 in all. Thus, at the auto-de-fé of June 17, 1626, seven Judaizers suffered among the 22 penitents, one of them, Juan Vicente, being relaxed. The Complicidad Grande at Lima brought about repercussions in Cartagena, where eight persons were reconciled and nine absolved. There were no relaxations, but the confiscations put the tribunal in possession of ample funds. On June 11, 1715, there figured the renegade friar, Jose Diaz Pimienta, who was subsequently burned. Thereafter, except for one or two minor cases, the tribunal was inactive: so much so that a certain David de la Motta, a professed Judaizer summoned to appear in 1783, was left unmolested, and a born Jew named Jose Abudiente was suffered to go about undisturbed in San Domingo, with other coreligionists, in 1783/84.

THE CANARY ISLANDS. In the Spanish possessions nearer Europe the presence of the Conversos was no less marked.

In the Canary Islands, an episcopal Inquisition was set up to deal with them as early as 1499. As a result of its enquiries, there were discovered to be on the islands a number of secret Jews, and even a secret synagogue. A branch of the Inquisition of Andalusia was accordingly set up at Las Palmas in 1504. Autos-de-fé, at which a few individuals were penanced or reconciled, were held in 1507 and 1510. In 1526, however, the tribunal was very active, eight individuals being relaxed in person, two reconciled, and two penanced. Of these over one half, including six of the eight *relajados*, were accused of Judaizing. Further autos-de-fé, at which however no persons were relaxed, were held in 1530 and 1534. This outburst of activity seems to have temporarily eradicated crypto-Judaism in the islands, only four New Christians figuring in the sporadic prosecutions which continued till 1581 and none at all thereafter until 1597, when all activity temporarily came to an end. The immigration of Conversos from the Peninsula, however, at the opening of the 17th century, stirred it to some fresh activity. In 1625 an edict of faith against Judaism was issued, and the information received in consequence revealed the presence of a whole colony of secret Jews. A considerable proportion of them, however, had already fled, and, owing partly to this and partly to political considerations, no prosecutions ensued. Numerous denunciations of the Converso refugees in London and Amsterdam continued to be made down to the middle of the century, but no further proceedings were taken against them. The tribunal, which for a prolonged period had not occupied itself with Judaizers, was abolished with that of Spain in 1813, but reinstated in spite of popular hostility from 1814 to 1820, when it was finally suppressed.

Elsewhere in Europe

SICILY. The medieval Dominican Inquisition had existed in *Sicily as elsewhere, and was revived in 1451, partly at the expense of the Jews, on the strength of an apocryphal decree of the emperor Frederick II. It was, however, inadequate to cope with the problem of the Conversos from the Peninsula, particularly Aragon, whose subject the island then was. Accordingly, in 1487, after some negotiation, Torquemada appointed Fra Antonio de la Peña as the local inquisitor.

The expulsion of the Jews from the island in 1492 added to the number of insincere converts to be found there; but the affairs of the local tribunal fell into a hopeless state of confusion, heightened by the dispute between the contending claims of the Spanish and the papal Inquisitions. At last, in 1500, a reorganization was begun under Montoro, bishop of Ceflú. Regular activities began in 1511, when, in an auto-de-fé of June 6, eight persons were burned. In 1513, there were three autos-de-fé, 39 persons (mostly relapsed penitents) being burned in all. This activity brought great unpopularity on the head of the Inquisition. On March 7, 1516, on the death of Ferdinand, the mob sacked its headquarters at Palermo, destroyed the records, and drove the inquisitor Cervera to take a ship back to Spain. Three years later, he was sent back with full powers, and, though popular antagonism was not allayed, the tribunal was restored. It was in vain that the parliament petitioned for an amelioration in its procedure. Its activities continued unremittingly: on May 30, 1541 there took place a great auto-de-fé at which 21 persons appeared, 19 of them New Christians. From this period, however, charges of Judaizing gradually diminished, an increasing proportion of Protestants and other heretics figuring in the list. During the long period of Spanish domination, however, the island still continued to receive occasional Converso refugees from the Peninsula. One of the heads of the Sicilian Inquisition, Giovanni *di Giovanni (1699–1753), was the author of the standard account of the Jews in the island, *L'Ebraismo della Sicilia* (1748). By 1744, it was alleged that the Inquisition of Sicily had handed over for burning 201 living heretics and 279 effigies of the dead or of fugitives. The tribunal was abolished by Ferdinand IV on March 16, 1782, amid great popular rejoicing.

MALTA. Up to the surrender of the island of Malta to the Knights of St. John in 1530, the Sicilian Inquisition maintained a commissioner there; however, few details are known of his activities. At a later period the Jewish slaves in Malta looked to the inquisitor there for a certain measure of protection in the observance of their religion.

SARDINIA. From the 14th century, Sardinia had formed part of the dominions of the crown of Aragon and it therefore, like Sicily, formed a natural haven of refuge for the Conversos of the Peninsula. A branch of the Inquisition was introduced in the year of the expulsion of the Jews (1492), when Micer Sancho Mardia was appointed inquisitor. The popular aversion was extreme, and in 1500 the receiver of the Inquisition was assassinated in Cagliari by some person who had been reduced to poverty by his means. Early in the 16th century, its work was done, and it relapsed into comparative quiescence. Its existence was not ended, however, until the termination of the Spanish rule in 1708. The episcopal Inquisition which succeeded it had little to occupy itself with, all traces of the Conversos having long since disappeared.

MILAN. The medieval Inquisition in Milan, directed especially against the Cathari, had been stimulated by the popes into fresh activity at the time of the Reformation. An attempt made by Philip II to introduce the Spanish model was foiled by popular opposition. The papal tribunal was reorganized, however, and put on a firm footing by Carlo *Borromeo. Its principal occupation was dealing with heretics from the neighboring cantons of Switzerland, Conversos not being common in the Milanese territories after the general arrest throughout the Spanish dominions in 1540.

NAPLES. The Dominican Inquisition had been introduced into Naples by Charles of Anjou after the battle of Benevento (1266). Although the Neofiti of the kingdom, forced converts from Judaism at the close of the 13th century, who, like the Conversos of Spain, remained faithful at heart to their ancestral religion for many generations, afforded it an ample field of activity, the Neopolitan Inquisition was generally kept by the government in a state of subjection. In 1449, however, Pope Nicholas V dispatched Fra Matteo da Reggio to Naples as inquisitor to proceed against the numerous Judaizing apostates. After the introduction of the Inquisition into the Peninsula, and particularly on the addition of Naples to the Spanish dominions at the beginning of the 16th century, a large number of Spanish Conversos also sought refuge there, as well as others escaping from the rigors of the new tribunal in Sicily. A further difficulty was offered by the presence of a sizable colony of Christian heretics, the Waldenses from Savoy. At Benevento, which was subject to the popes, an Inquisition under Dominican supervision was established by Julius II to deal with the problem. To counteract this, Ferdinand the Catholic endeavored to procure the extension of the authority of the new Sicilian tribunal over his possessions on the mainland. The popular opposition was so great, however, that the proposal was abandoned; the same conclusion met other similar attempts in 1510, 1516, and 1547, when a popular rising was provoked by the suggestions. However, the papal Inquisition was extended in scope in 1553 and carried on its work ruthlessly. In 1561, there was a pitiless persecution of the Waldenses in Calabria. Ten years later, there was lively persecution of Judaizers, seven of whom, comprising both Converso refugees and native Neofiti, were sent to Rome and burned at the stake in February 1572. In 1585, Sixtus V established a regular commissioner of the papal Inquisition in Naples, but popular prejudice remained unchanged, and as late as 1747 brought about the removal of certain abuses. By the middle of the 17th century, however, heresy in Naples had been largely stamped out, and little more is heard of Conversos or of Neofiti.

PAPAL STATES. In Rome the Inquisition maintained a certain authority over the Jews after the issue of the bull *Turbato corde* of Clement IV in 1267, subsequently repeatedly confirmed, enjoining the Inquisition to proceed not only against renegades but also against those who seduced them from their faith. This was no doubt responsible for the persecution of 1298, in which Elijah de' *Pomi(s) lost his life. Its effects were mitigated in the following year by Boniface VIII, who declared that, in spite of their wealth, the Jews were not to be included among the "powerful persons" against whom the Inquisition might proceed without disclosing the names of those who had denounced them. Under the Renaissance popes, the Roman Inquisition was so little vigilant that the Conversos were able to return to Judaism in the Papal States without interference. This period, however, came to an end with the beginning of the Counter-Reformation. In 1542, Paul III instituted the "Congregation of the Holy Office" (*Congregatio Sancti Officii*), consisting of six cardinals, with the intention of stimulating it into greater activity. In 1555, Paul IV ordered proceedings to be taken against the Portuguese Converso colony settled, with the sanction of his predecessors, in *Ancona. This resulted in a terrible persecution in which 25 persons were burned alive, 60 sent to slavery in Malta, and many more subjected to other punishments. In 1557, the proselyte to Judaism, Fra Cornelio da Montalcino, was burned at the stake at Rome. Subsequently, several Conversos who ventured to Rome suffered, while others were dispatched there for punishment. Thus at the beginning of 1571, seven Judaizers sent from Naples were burned; in 1583, Diego Lopez and Gabriel Henriques ("Joseph Saraval"), Converso immigrants from Portugal who had settled at Ferrara, suffered martyrdom; in 1640, Ferdinando Alvarez, alias Abraham da Porto, an old man of 76, was burned at the stake. However, in this period the Inquisition in the Papal States was largely occupied with securing the obedience of the Jews to the discriminatory legislation in force against them and in the supervision of the Hebrew literature. Indeed, its reputation among the Jews was not bad: in 1784 the community of Rome petitioned that the supervision of cases where a Jewish child was claimed for baptism should be placed under its control. Similarly in 1711, the Inquisition investigated a charge of ritual murder which had been made against the Jews of Ancona, who were fully absolved.

MANTUA. Elsewhere in Italy, conditions were much the same. Thus at Mantua Solomon *Molcho was burned in 1532 as an apostate Judaizer. In the same place, an old woman named Judith Franchetti was burned alive for sorcery in 1600 at the age of 77: the main charge against her was that she had persuaded a certain nun to embrace Judaism.

VENICE. The Inquisition at Venice, one of the principal centers of refuge for the Conversos from the Peninsula, similarly dealt with many Jewish cases. Between 1557 and 1711 the records of no less than 80 are preserved. Of these, approximately one-third are concerned with immigrants from Spain and Portugal; the rest deal with insincere local converts and with technical offenses committed by conforming Jews. Notable amongst the latter is a case against Leone *Modena, who for the sake of security voluntarily denounced the uncensored Paris edition of his *Historia de' Riti ebraici* (1637). The persecution of the Conversos in Venice by the Inquisition reached its height in the decade 1558–68, when Fra Felice Peretti da Montalto (later Pope Sixtus V) was inquisitor. In comparison with the Roman tribunal, however, it was humane, and never seems to have proceeded to any sentence of death.

TUSCANY. In Florence, the Inquisition seems to have restricted itself to a considerable degree to the supervision and encouragement of apostates to Christianity. However, it also prosecuted a number of Conversos from Spain and Portugal resident in the city, especially in the first decade of the 17th century. In Pisa and Leghorn, the operation of the Inquisition against the Conversos was expressly limited by the concessions of 1593, which were confirmed in the case of Jacob Gutiérrez Penha in 1730.

Procedure

In the course of time, the Spanish Inquisition evolved an elaborate procedure of its own. When a tribunal was opened at any place, an edict of grace would be published, inviting those conscious of heresy to come forward and make confession within a "period of grace," generally of 30 or 40 days. After the lapse of this period they could be proceeded against by Inquisition officers. At later stages, an edict of faith would periodically be issued, summoning all persons, under pain of excommunication, to denounce to the authorities all offenses enumerated in it of which he might have cognizance. These invariably comprised all those popularly associated with Judaism: lighting candles on Friday evening, changing the linen on the Sabbath, abstaining from pork and scaleless fishes, observing the Jewish holidays and especially the Day of Atonement and the fast of Esther, laying out the dead according to the Jewish custom, etc. By this means, the whole population became accomplices of the Inquisition in its task of eradicating heresy; and the denunciation of one of the customs mentioned above, performed absentmindedly or by mere force of habit, was frequently sufficient to bring a man to the stake.

ARREST AND EVIDENCE. Everything took place under the greatest secrecy, which became one of the main terrors of the Inquisition. Any breach of this was liable to be punished with the utmost severity, like heresy itself. From the moment of arrest, therefore, the utmost segregation obtained. The accused persons were confined in the dungeons of the Inquisition, such as may still be seen in Évora and elsewhere. As was inevitable, there were sometimes terrible abuses, women suffering especially; and it happened more than once that female prisoners were dragged pregnant to the stake.

The rules governing evidence were so devised as to exclude all witnesses who were likely to be of any use to the prisoner, on the ground that their evidence would be untrustworthy. No such scruples, however, prevailed with regard to witnesses for the prosecution, who were frequently inspired merely by venom. Moreover, the names of the accusers were suppressed, though originally this was supposed to be permissible only in the case of "powerful persons" who might intimidate the witnesses. The accusers and accused were thus never confronted. The evidence admitted was flimsy in the extreme: mere regard for personal cleanliness might be sufficient to convict a man of Judaism or Islam, and so cost him his life. Once the accusation was made, the subsequent procedure was based upon a desire to make the accused person confess his crime and thus be admitted to penitence. If this was not forthcoming spontaneously, in accordance with the spirit of the age, torture might be applied: though as a matter of fact in this particular instance the Spanish Inquisition, notorious though its cruelties were, compared favorably with the Roman, where torture might be continued even after confession in order to extort the names of accomplices. Death under torture was by no means uncommon. In most cases, however, the physician who was present enforced sufficient moderation to avoid this conclusion. Generally, the torture was abundantly sufficient to elicit a confession, if one had been withheld up to that point. It was imposed in most cases only to procure the confession of what the inquisitors already knew or suspected. The cases in which a condemnation was avoided were therefore few in the extreme. Thus, in the Toledo tribunal between the years 1484 to 1531 they totaled on an average less than two yearly. In the Portuguese Inquisition, the number of condemnations came to well over three-quarters of the total number of cases tried.

PUNISHMENTS. Often, in the case of any convicted person who professed repentance, "reconciliation" followed and the defendant was restored to the bosom of the Church. In such a reconciliation the defendant had to abjure either *de levi* or *de vehementi*. A transgressor of a *de levi* reconciliation may perhaps be punished to abjure *de vehementi*. This, paradoxically enough, being itself considered a punishment since the convicted person had to participate in the procession of the auto-da-fé, and had to do many penances, pilgrimages to holy shrines etc. There were two forms of reconciliation *de vehementi*, and a slight transgression from Christianity would be considered a relapse into the old sins. Harsher penalties in force included scourging, very common in the early period but remitted more and more frequently as time went on. This was executed publicly under every humiliating circumstance. Similar, with the omission of the lashes, was the *verguenza*, which consisted of the offender parading in the town stripped to the waist and bearing the insignia of the offense, the town-crier meanwhile proclaiming the sentence. The *mordaza* or gag was sometimes applied, this being regarded as increasing the humiliation of the punishment. In abjurations *de levi*, he added that in case of failing in his promise to comply with punishment he should be held as impenitent: in abjurations *de vehementi*, that in such a case he should be considered and treated as a relapsed heretic. A reconciliation of this sort could be performed only once and any subsequent conviction was taken as an obvious proof that the original penitence had been insincere and the culprit was condemned to the stake.

The reconciliation was invariably accompanied by a punishment of varying intensity. More severe was the penalty of the galleys, an economical device of Ferdinand the Catholic whereby the punishment of heresy was turned to the benefit of the state and which was adopted by the Roman Inquisition. In 1573, and again in 1591, the Suprema ordered that all Conversos, even when confessing their crime freely, should be sent to the galleys, and it remained a penalty very frequently inflicted upon secret Jews. In the course of the 18th century, other types of penal servitude were substituted. For women, forced service in hospitals or houses of correction was the alternative.

Perpetual incarceration was another common form of punishment; though the prison was known by the euphemistic title of *casa de la penitencia* or *de la misericordia*. At a later period, the duration of the imprisonment was generally decreased, persons being released after eight years or even less, though the title of the punishment officially remained the same. Among the other punishments may be mentioned that of exile or exclusion from certain places, and the custom of razing to the ground the house of any particularly heinous offender or one in which heretical – especially Jewish – services had been held.

It was not only in his own person that any person convicted of a serious offense by the Inquisition was punished. A number of disabilities followed which fell not only on those penanced but also on their children and their male descendants for two generations to come: they were not allowed to enter Holy Orders; they were excluded from any public dignity; they were not permitted to become physicians, apothecaries, tutors of the young, advocates, scriveners, or farmers of revenue; they were subjected to certain sumptuary laws, not being permitted to wear cloth of gold or silver or precious stones, to bear arms, or to ride on horseback. Neglect of these provisions, sometimes even after the lapse of several generations, brought the offender once more into the clutches of the Inquisition. However, infractions were generally punished only by a fine, and the sale of rehabilitation ultimately became very common.

One of the strongest weapons of the Inquisition was the power it had of confiscating the property of those convicted of heresy. At the beginning, the proceeds were devoted to the use of the crown, but they gradually devolved more and more upon the Inquisition itself. In the early period, general arrangements on the part of the New Christians to save themselves from arbitrary confiscation were not uncommon, but this practice speedily died out. It was through this power that the Inquisition was raised into a corporation of such vast influence and wealth. Above all, it made it overwhelmingly to its interest to procure the conviction of all who were brought before it, especially when they were persons of great means. Nothing else, perhaps, was more instrumental in draining the Peninsula of its accumulated wealth during the course of the 16th, 17th, and 18th centuries. It was a weapon which struck at the whole of a man's family, and might reduce it in a moment from affluence to beggary, while through its means the economic life of the whole country was liable to be disorganized.

THE DEATH PENALTY. The final sanction of the Inquisition was that of death. As an ecclesiastical body, however, it was not permitted itself to be a party to this. It therefore "relaxed" the convicted person to the secular arm, with a formal recommendation for mercy, adding that if it were found necessary to proceed to the extreme penalty, it should be done "without effusion of blood" – that is, by burning. This was an old legal fiction of the Catholic Church dating back to the 11th or 12th century; and the mode of punishment was justified by a text in John 15:6: "If a man abide not in me, he is cast forth as a branch, and is withered; and men gather them, and cast them into the fire, and they are burned."

Generally speaking, the extreme penalty was reserved for those who refused the opportunity for repentance: either the *contumacios*, who gloried in their crime and died true martyrs; or the "relapsed," who had been reconciled on some previous occasion and whose backsliding proved their insincerity; or the *diminutos*, whose confession was incomplete and who shielded their accomplices; or the *negativos*, who refused to confess to the charges made against them in the hope of escaping conviction. In this last category there must necessarily have been included on occasion some who were absolutely innocent of the crimes imputed to them and would not confess to falsehood even to escape death. The fact that such persons were condemned to the flames shows clearly on what sure ground the Inquisition generally felt itself. "Dogmatizers," or those who, whether baptized or not, propagated heretical views were also regarded as inevitable victims, and in the earlier period of the Inquisition many fervent professing Jews suffered under this head. However, by no means all of those executed capitally were burned alive. A profession of repentance, even after condemnation, was almost always effective in securing preliminary garroting, only the corpse then being burned at the stake. The effigies of fugitives, with the bones of those who had escaped justice by death (sometimes in prison or under torture) would similarly be committed to the flames. Those burned in effigy on certain occasions sometimes totaled something like half as many as those burned in person. This was far from an empty formality, as the condemnation secured the confiscation of their property, while reconciliation was in such cases obviously outside the bounds of possibility.

THE AUTOS-DA-FÉ. The sentences of the Inquisition were announced at the so-called Act of Faith: *auto-de-fé as it was termed in Spain and auto-da-fé in Portugal. For lighter offenses, the ceremonial might be private (*auto particular* or *autillo*), in which case it would be held in a church; but this was rarely resorted to for so grave a crime as Judaizing, particularly as it was considered wrong to pronounce a sentence of death in the sacred precincts. In most cases, the ceremony was public (*auto publico general*). This ultimately became the subject of elaborate organization. The ceremony would take place on some feast day in the principal square of the city. Ample notice was given so as to attract as large a group of spectators as possible, spiritual benefits being promised to all who were present. Two stagings were erected at vast expense – one for those convicted and their spiritual attendants, and the other for the inquisitors and the rest of the authorities, while a temporary altar, draped in black, was set up in the middle.

The proceedings would be opened by a procession in which all the clergy of the city took part. Behind them followed those condemned to appear. All those abjuring *de vehementi* had to carry lighted tapers in their hands and to wear the *sanbenito* or *saco bendito* (the *abito* as it was called in the official sentence). This, which was an innovation of the Spanish Inquisition, consisted of a long yellow robe, transversed by a black cross (in the case of those convicted of formal heresy alone, only one of the arms was necessary). In case the heretic had escaped the stake by confession, flames were painted on the garment, which was sometimes of black. Those condemned to be burned bore in addition pictures of demons thrusting the heretical into hell, while they wore tall miters similarly adorned for additional prominence (the use of these, which were worn in different forms also by bigamists and perjurers, was forbidden by the Roman Inquisition in 1596). In certain cases, as an additional punishment, the *sanbenito* had to be worn in public even after the release of the prisoner, exposing him to universal scorn and derision. After it was removed, it was generally hung up in the parish church of the delinquent accompanied by a fitting inscription, thus marking out the wearer and his family for lasting humiliation. These memorials of shame were destroyed only with the abolition of the Inquisition in the early years of the 19th century.

When the procession had arrived in the square where the auto-da-fé was to be celebrated, amid general scorn the penitents would take their place on the scaffolding reserved for them. A sermon would then be preached by some distinguished cleric, directed especially against the penitents, upon whose heads a torrent of the most unsparing insults would be poured. They would then appear one by one before the pulpit to hear their sentences, which would hitherto have been kept a profound secret. This took some time, the proceedings often being protracted into night and sometimes being spread over two or even three days. The sentences of those "relaxed" to the secular arm were left to the last. They were then formally condemned to death by the civil magistrate and escorted to the *quemadero* (or *brasero*), the place of burning, by a detachment of soldiers, whose presence was sometimes necessary to save them from a violent but more humane death at the hands of the infuriated mob. To light the brand with which the pyre was kindled was considered a religious duty and honor of the highest degree and frequently fell to the lot of visiting royalty. The ashes of the victims were supposed to be scattered to the winds. A repentant heretic would sometimes be strangled before being burned.

During the course of the 16th and 17th centuries, the auto-de-fé came to be regarded as a great public spectacle in the Peninsula and its dependencies, vying in popular appeal with bullfights. Especially splendid celebrations would sometimes be arranged in honor of royalty: thus on Feb. 24/5, 1560, an auto-de-fé was held at Toledo to celebrate the visit of Philip II and his bride, Isabella of Valois; the tribunal of Madrid was inaugurated on July 4, 1632 by an auto-de-fé in celebration of the safe delivery of the queen; but the climax was reached on June 30, 1680 on the Plaza Mayor of the same city, in the presence of Charles II and his bride, Marie Louise d'Orléans, in honor of their marriage. At this, which began at six o'clock in the morning and lasted 14 hours, no less than 51 persons were burned either in person or in effigy, the king himself setting light to the brand which kindled the *quemadero*. This, as a great court spectacle, formed the subject of a painting by Rizi. It was the last great solemnity of its kind, as Philip V, the first of the Bourbon line, refused (in 1701) to grace with his presence one arranged in honor of his accession, and the usage was henceforth abandoned.

Accounts of the auto-da-fé, giving full details of the names of the victims and the nature of their punishment, with particulars of who was burned alive, who after garroting, or who in effigy, were subsequently printed and hawked about the streets: they form one of the main sources of information for the proceedings. Similarly, the sermons preached at the auto-da-fé were often subsequently published: in Portuguese alone, about 75 are extant in print. They speak of the penitents often as Jews, and in terms of the most outrageous vituperation. Most noteworthy is the sermon delivered on Sept. 6, 1705, at the great auto-da-fé held at Lisbon by the archbishop of Cranganore which was notable for the violence of its language: it was answered by David *Nieto, haham in London, in a crushing pamphlet which is a masterpiece of polemic and was not without influence in weakening the prestige and destroying the influence of the Inquisition in Portugal. On the other hand, counterparts of these pamphlets were sometimes issued at Amsterdam and elsewhere, where the local rabbis and poets would mourn the death of their martyrs in sermons and elegies. A noteworthy example is the volume of collected pieces published on the occasion of the martyrdom of Abraham Nuñes *Bernal at Córdoba in 1655. In the prayer books printed for the use of the Converso communities abroad at this period there is included a special **Ashkavah* beginning "God of Vengeance" to be recited in the synagogue in memory of "those burned for the Sanctification of the Name."

It was in Portugal that the New Christians formed the most important element in the population, and there accordingly that the victims of the Inquisition were the most illustrious. Among the most noteworthy of the martyrs, a few names may be mentioned: Luis *Dias of *Setúal, a poor tailor of Setúbal who claimed to be the Messiah (1540); Gonçalo Bandarra, the prophet of Sebastianism (1540); perhaps the famous David *Reuveni, probably burned c. 1538; Antonio *Homem, professor of Canon Law at the University of Coimbra, who officiated as rabbi at a secret synagogue in that city (1624); Fra Diogo da *Assumpção, a promising theologian, who remained revered by the Conversos as a martyr many years after his death (1603); Lope de *Vera y Alarcon, a young noble who circumcised himself and went by the name of Judah the Believer (1644); Isaac de *Castro Tartas, whose fortitude made a deep impression on all who came into touch with him (1647); Manuel Fernandes *Villareal, poet and diplomat (1652); and Antonio José da *Silva, the dramatist (1739). Many other persons (such as Tome Vaz, the jurist, or Andre d'Avelar and Pedro Nuñes, the mathematicians) suffered lesser penalties. In Spain, among the illustrious victims may be mentioned Felipe *Godínez, the poet, who was reconciled at Seville in 1624, and Antonio *Gómez *Enríquez (Henriquez), the playwright, who was burned in effigy at Madrid in 1680.

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[Cecil Roth / Yom Tov Assis (2nd ed.)]

INSDORF, ANNETTE, U.S. film scholar. Insdorf was born in Paris, France, to Polish immigrants and raised in New York. She earned her B.A. at Queens College in 1972 and received her Ph.D. in English from Yale University in 1975. She is best known for her book *Indelible Shadows: Film and the Holocaust* (1983), widely considered to be the definitive exploration of the subject. The book catalogues the variety of films made about the Shoah and discusses the ethical responsibilities of films that attempt to depict the Holocaust while at the same time remaining commercially viable. For the updated third edition (2002), she received the National Board of Review's William K. Everson Award in Film History. Insdorf also earned great renown for her scholarship and books on French New Wave director Francois Truffaut and Polish filmmaker Krzysztof Kieslowski and is universally acknowledged as the authority on their work. In 1986, the French Ministry of Culture named Insdorf Chevalier dans l'Ordre des Arts et des Lettres; in 1993, she received the Palmes Academiques; and in 1999, she was promoted to Officer of the Arts. She served as a jury member at several film festivals, including Telluride and Cannes. Insdorf was also the executive producer of two short films: *Shoeshine*, nominated for an Academy Award and winner of the Grand Prize at the 1987 Montreal Film Festival; and *Performance Pieces,* awarded Best Fiction Short at Cannes in 1989. From 1982, Insdorf taught at Columbia University and was chair of the Graduate Film Division from 1990 to 1995. She subsequently served as director of Undergraduate Film Studies.

[Max Joseph (2nd ed.)]

INSTITUTE FOR THE RESEARCH OF MEDIEVAL HEBREW POETRY, institute for compiling, examining, selecting, and preparing for scholarly use the poetic and liturgical material contained in various manuscripts. It also assembled the works of the most eminent poets and *paytanim*. It was founded in Berlin in 1931 by S.Z. *Schocken and transferred to Jerusalem in 1934. Ḥayyim *Brody headed the Institute until 1942, assisted by A.M. *Habermann, M. *Zulai, and Ḥ. *Schirmann. The institute created the conditions necessary for intensive scholarly work. Its collection includes photographic reproductions of approximately 100 complete manuscripts (approximately 15,000 pages), and of some 4,000 fragments (about 10,000 pages) from the *genizah* collections of world libraries. The rich library of S.Z. Schocken, which contained dozens of manuscripts, was also made available to the Institute.

The Institute published the following works: Ḥ. Schirmann, *Mivḥar ha-Shirah ha-Ivrit be-Italyah* (1934); Ḥ. Brody, *Moshe Ibn Ezra: Shirei ha-Ḥol*, 2 vols (1935–42); M. Zulai, *Piyyutei Yannai* (1938); A.M. Habermann, *Piyyutei R. Shimon Bar Yiẓḥak* (1938); *Yedi'ot ha-Makhon le-Ḥeker ha-Shirah ha-Ivrit*, 7 vols (1933–58).

[Menahem Zulai and Jefim (Hayyim) Schirmann]

The activities of the Institute have been continued by Prof. Ezra Fleischer at the *Makhon le-Ḥeker ha-Shirah ve-ha-Piyyut* (Genizah Research Institute for Hebrew Poetry) at the Jewish National and University Library, Jerusalem, with funding from the Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities. The examination and description of the most important collections of Hebrew secular and liturgical poetry in *Genizah* fragments, with the help of the materials of the Institute of Microfilmed Hebrew Manuscripts of the Library, made possible the complete revision and updating of Davidson's *Thesaurus*, the identification of many new poems and poets, and information and materials for new publications, and was a great help for researchers of Hebrew poetry from all over the world. In the early 2000s the Institute worked on the digitalization of poetry fragments.

[Angel Sáenz-Badillos (2nd ed.)]

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INSTITUTE OF JEWISH AFFAIRS (IJA), international research body based in London, which deals with contemporary issues affecting Jews and Jewish communities worldwide.

Since 1997 it has been known as the Institute for Jewish Policy Studies. As the IJA, it monitored and analyzed trends and developments in international relations, politics, human rights, sociology, economy, and culture. It acted as a forum for discussion and presentation of policy options on matters of Jewish concern. The IJA was a leading research and documentation center on international antisemitism and published *Antisemitism World Report,* an annual survey of antisemitism and right-wing extremism in the world. The IJA's publications included *Patterns of Prejudice,* an academic journal devoted to the study of racial and religious prejudice with a special reference to antisemitism, now published by an academic press; *East European Jewish Affairs,* a journal dealing with Jewish problems in Eastern and Central Europe and the countries of the former Soviet Union; *Research Reports, a* series of background surveys on international affairs; *IJA Analysis,* papers commenting on current events and developments affecting Jews; *IJA Intelligence Reports,* concise assessments of the Jewish significance of developments in current affairs worldwide. Its journal *Christian-Jewish Relations* ceased to appear in 1990. Long-term research projects are published in book-form. The IJA's public activities ranged from academic conferences, symposia, and seminars to lecture series.

History

The Institute was founded in 1941 in New York by the World Jewish Congress to study problems facing Jewry after World War II. In the post-war period the IJA played a vital role in preparing blueprints for compensation to victims of Nazism, assisting in war-crimes trials and contributing to international legislation on human rights and related issues. It was headed successively by Jacob Robinson, Nehemia Robinson, and, after its transfer to London in 1966, by Stephen J. Roth, and then by Antony Lerman.

In 1997 the IJA changed its name to the Institute for Jewish Policy Studies (IJPR). It also changed its role and purpose, no longer centering on the study of antisemitism but, instead, on planning for Jewish communities in Britain and Europe; the maintenance of Jewish culture in Britain and Europe; and on Israel-Diaspora relations. Located in Wimpole Street, London, and headed by Professor Barry Kosmin, it has published numerous reports on aspects of Jewish life and society in Britain and elsewhere.

[William D. Rubinstein (2nd ed.)]

INSTITUTE OF SOUTHERN JEWISH LIFE, GOLDRING/WOLDENBERG. The institute was founded in 1986 as the Museum of the Southern Jewish Experience; in 2000 its name was changed to the Goldring/Woldenberg Institute of Southern Jewish Life. Based in Jackson, Mississippi, the institute works to preserve and document the practice, culture, and legacy of Judaism in the southern United States. The original idea for the museum came from Macy B. Hart, a longtime director of the UAHC Henry S. Jacobs Camp in Utica, Mississippi. Hart recognized that many of the smaller Jewish communities in the region were experiencing population decline, forcing several synagogues to close their doors. The Museum of the Southern Jewish Experience began as an effort to preserve the artifacts and history of these declining communities. The MSJE completed its first building in 1989 on the grounds of Jacobs Camp in Utica. In 1992, the museum entered into a preservation agreement with Temple B'nai Israel in Natchez, Mississippi, with the congregation deeding their historic 1906 building to the museum. The museum created several award-winning exhibits, including "From Alsace to

America: Discovering a Southern Jewish Heritage" and "Bagels & Grits: Images of Southern Jewish Life." The MSJE maintained an active History Department that worked to gather information about every Jewish community that ever existed in the South. The museum also worked to restore and preserve historic Jewish cemeteries in communities that no longer had a Jewish presence.

In 2000, under Hart's leadership, the museum expanded its mission to become the Goldring/Woldenberg Institute of Southern Jewish Life. Incorporating the research and historic preservation work of the museum, the ISJL created new departments of Rabbinic Services, Education, and Cultural Programs. Many small congregations in the South and around the country do not have full-time rabbinic leadership. Reviving the old practice of circuit riding rabbis, the ISJL hired its first itinerant rabbi in 2003, who served over 24 small congregations in a four-state region. The ISJL also sought to raise the level of Jewish education in the small cities and towns of the region. The ISJL Education Department developed a complete and detailed non-denominational religious school curriculum administered by a team of Jewish educators, who travel across the region making site visits. In 2005, 28 different congregations in a four-state pilot region used the ISJL curriculum. The ISJL also works to bring leading Jewish cultural programs to small communities in the South through its Jewish Cinema South film series and its Southern States Jewish Literary Series.

Funded by both large foundations and individual members, the ISJL represents an innovative attempt to serve the spiritual, educational, and cultural needs of isolated and underserved Jewish communities in the South. Working outside of the national institutions of American Judaism and the movements, the ISJL envisions the Jews of the 12 southern states as if they were one community and synagogue. While most of its initial work focused on the Deep South, the Institute plans a gradual expansion to serve the entire 12-state region.

The problems of isolated and underserved Jewish communities are not limited to the South. In every region, small congregations do not have the resources to support a full-time rabbi or Jewish educator. The Institute of Southern Jewish Life is shaping a model of living Judaism and Jewish preservation that can be replicated in other parts of the country.

[Stuart Rockoff (2nd ed.)]

INSTITUTE OF TRADITIONAL JUDAISM, THE (ITJ), also known as the **Metivta**, the educational arm of the Union for Traditional Judaism. The ITJ was first established in 1991 in Mount Vernon, N.Y., under the rectorship of the renowned talmudic scholar Rabbi David Weiss *Halivni. Its dean, Rabbi Ronald D. Price, said that it would represent the motto coined by its *reish metivta* (Rector), *emunah ẓerufah ve-yosher da'at*, "Genuine Faith and Intellectual Honesty."

The founders of the ITJ sensed that the polarization of the Jewish community toward the right and the left created a vacuum in the middle. They observed that the Orthodox establishment had grown increasingly insistent on communal norms that went well beyond actual halakhic guidelines, while the liberal movements were abandoning a commitment to Jewish law altogether. The ITJ's founders noted that Orthodoxy was adopting debatable strictures – such as the rejection of joint synagogue councils with the non-Orthodox and the proscription of hearing a woman's voice – as universal standards. At the same time, they were convinced that in asserting a perceived moral imperative to supersede halakhic norms on the question of ordaining women as rabbis, the Conservative movement had opened itself to other infractions common in the Reform community such as the ordination of homosexuals, patrilineal descent, and intermarriage. The ITJ's objective was to create the needed outreach style rabbi who would be fully committed to halakhic observance while engaging the non-halakhic community with warmth and a willingness to work with all Jews regardless of affiliation.

At least as crucial was the sense that no existing institute of higher learning was prepared to accept both the notion that "God stepped into Man's history at Sinai" and a commitment to the value of the scientific study of sacred texts. As Rabbi Halivni, himself, said at the opening of the Metivta "our library will have Wellhausen in it, but not on the top shelf" – implying that the critical method of literary scholars would have its rightful place in the curriculum but would not be at its theological core. It was the hope of the founders that the school would be a bulwark for acceptance of the sacredness of biblical and rabbinic texts and that this very confidence in their holiness would also allow all methodologies to be applied to them in the search for their true meaning. Such an eventuality could only come about in an atmosphere uninfluenced by the religious politics of the day.

The leadership of the Institute regarded it as a transdenominational halakhic rabbinical school, although its graduates eventually found their place in Orthodox communities or non-affiliated traditional communities as well as in Jewish education and communal service. Because the original founders of the Metivta were products of both the Conservative movement and Orthodoxy, there was a question at the outset regarding the status of the *meḥiẓah* in synagogues and whether or not such was necessary. Once Rabbi Halivni announced his opinion that *le-khathilah* (*a priori*) a *meḥiẓah*, or at least separation of men and women was necessary and established that ITJ worship services would be with a full *meḥiẓah*, the issue subsided.

In 1995 the Metivta, along with the Union for Traditional Judaism moved to Teaneck, N.J. In 2005 the school began offering classes at a satellite site in the upper West side of Manhattan in addition to Teaneck. It also created two programs in addition to the *semikhah* track. The first was a co-sponsored Masters in Public Administration with emphasis on Jewish communal service with neighboring Fairleigh Dickinson University. The second was a *mekhinah* or preparatory program for men and women wishing to have an immersion experience in classical text study who would then go on to any rabbinical school, including the Metivta, or would return to lay life with the tools for lifelong learning.

Aside from Rabbi Halivni and Rabbi Price, the founders of the Metivta included philanthropists Horace Bier of Livingston, New Jersey, and Burton G. Greenblatt, of Teaneck, N.J., theologian Rabbi Professor David Novak, and master Jewish educator Dr. Miriam Klein Shapiro. The Metivta faculty included Rabbi Halivni, Hakham Isaac Sassoon from the Sephardi (Syrian) community, Rabbi Professor Novak, Rabbi Price and others ranging in background from the Mir yeshivah to graduates of Yeshiva University's RIETS, and graduates of the Jewish Theological Seminary.

[Ronald Price (2nd ed.)]

INSTITUTUM JUDAICUM DELITZSCHIANUM, institute for the study of Judaism and (in its original form) for missionary activity among the Jews. Connected with the faculties of Protestant theology at German universities, several such institutes came into being. The first one was established at Halle in 1728 by J.H. *Callenberg. It trained missionaries, and a printing office attached to it published Yiddish translations of the New Testament and other Christian literature. This institute was dissolved in 1791. In 1886 Franz *Delitzsch established an institute for training probationers in theology for missionary work among the Jews at Leipzig University in connection with the Lutheran mission to the Jews. It was responsible also for a number of publications, including a Hebrew translation of the New Testament. After Delitzsch's death in 1890 the institute was renamed in his memory. Gustav *Dalman succeeded him as director. The Nazis ordered it closed in 1935, but with the help of missionary societies it reopened in Vienna in December of that year and there celebrated its jubilee in 1936. In 1948, under the direction of K.H. Rengstorf, the Institutum Judaicum Delitzschianum was reestablished in Munster in conjunction with the Evangelical Theological Faculty of the Westphalian Wilhelm University and since then has served as a research center for both Christian and Jewish scholars. For several years it has published the *Studia Delitzschiana* and the annual Franz Delitzsch Lectures. Its projects include a German translation of the Tosefta and a Greek concordance to Josephus. Along with similar institutions in Tuebingen, Berlin, and Hamburg, the Institutum played an important role in furthering Christian-Jewish dialogue, although the missionary aim has not been completely abandoned. H.L. *Strack established an Institutum Judaicum in Berlin in 1883, which was responsible for the publication of Strack's *Einleitung in den Talmud* (1887) as well as German translations of several tractates of the Mishnah. It had missionary interests, but when in 1923 under the direction of Hugo *Gressmann it was made officially part of the theological faculty, missionary activity was expressly excluded. It ceased to function in 1933.

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[Michael A. Meyer]

INSULT, disparagement or defamation of the character or injury to the feelings of another (Heb. *boshet, ona'at devarim, halbanat panim, hoẓa'at shem ra*). The rabbis of the Talmud distinguished between two main types of insult: that which causes embarrassment and verbal oppression. The primary biblical injunction against the first type of insult is, "Thou shalt surely rebuke thy neighbor, and not suffer sin upon him" (Lev. 19:17). Thus, wrongdoing should be admonished, but in a way that will not cause embarrassment. Even more so, embarrassing one who is innocent of wrongdoing is prohibited (Ar. 16b). The talmudic formulation of the sin of insult is *halbanat panim* (lit. "blanching of the face") which, when committed in public, is equated with murder and deprives the offender of his share in the world to come (BM 58b). This idea is emphasized in the talmudic statement: "Let a man rather cast himself into a fiery furnace than shame his fellow in public" (BM 59a). For this reason, the rabbis often did not deny unjust accusations against themselves and allowed misdeeds of which they were innocent to be attributed to themselves, rather than cause embarrassment by revealing the identity of the true culprits. They derived this ethical principle from such biblical sources as, "And Shechaniah … said unto Ezra: We have broken faith with God and have married foreign women …" (Ezra 10:2). Shechaniah included himself even though he was guiltless (Sanh. 11a). Included in the type of insult that causes embarrassment is the application of a derogatory nickname or epithet to one's fellow even if he is accustomed to that appellation (BM 58b). Related to the injunction against shaming is the commandment, "Ye shall not oppress one another" (Lev. 25:17), which the Talmud interprets as the second type of insult, namely, verbal oppression (*ona'at devarim*). Any taunt or expression of derision or gloating directed at someone which results in his mental anguish is prohibited. Thus it is forbidden to remind a repentant sinner or a proselyte of their past; or to quote to one who is suffering, "… who ever perished being innocent?" (Job 4:7); or to ask someone for an opinion on a topic of which he is known to be ignorant. In the view of the Talmud verbal oppression is more heinous than financial oppression, because it affects the victim's inner self, and because no real restoration is possible (BM 58b; Maim. Yad, Mekhirah, 14:18). The Torah enunciates additional prohibitions against insulting orphans and widows (Ex. 22:21), because of their sense of dejection (Maim. Yad, De'ot, 6:10), and proselytes (Ex. 22:20; Lev. 19:33), because of their vulnerability (*Sefer Ḥinnukh*, 63) and for fear that they may revert to their former state (BM 59b). Likewise, the Talmud prohibits insulting one's wife, "for she is readily moved to tears" (BM 59a). One who insults a Torah scholar (*talmid ḥakham*) is particularly condemned in the Talmud as one who "has spurned the word of the Lord" (Num. 15:31) and is considered a heretic (*apikoros*; Sanh. 99b). According to *halakhah*, a person may receive financial redress for intentional embarrassment (*boshet*) caused him through a physical assault. The amount of compensation is determined by considering the degree of shame, and the status and reputation of the offender and the injured party. Although this compensation is limited to embarrassment arising from physical acts, the rabbis of the post-talmudic era prescribed a variety of penalties for purely verbal insult, including excommunication (*niddui*), flogging, and fines (ḤM 420:38). However, in cases where the insult is derived from a false statement, i.e., calumny (*moẓi shem ra*), the rabbis of the Talmud did prescribe penalties commensurate with the nature of the slander (Kid. 28a). Despite the strong injunctions against and penalties for the various types of insult, one is permitted to insult inveterate and unrepentant sinners, after the manner of the prophets, in order to secure their repentance and correction (Maim. Yad, De'ot, 6:8; *Sefer Ḥinnukh*, 240). Although some authorities maintain that when one is being insulted he may justifiably defend himself by responding in kind, the sages nevertheless praise the person who chooses to suffer indignities in silence: "Those who are insulted but do not insult, hear themselves reviled but do not answer … of them the Scriptures say, 'They who love Him are as the sun when He goeth forth in His might'" (Shab. 88b).

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[Joshua H. Shmidman]

INSURANCE.

Halakahic Aspect

Insurance activity may well serve as a model for the economic activities of the Jewish merchant throughout the ages. Hundreds of sources dealing with insurance for transport and fire are found in the halakhic literature, especially in the responsa collections.

There is no reference in the Bible to the practice of insurance, perhaps as a result of the biblical prohibition of interest in the loan agreements connected with it. The use of commercial agreements, however, such as the ancient Babylonian maritime loan, wherein an investor loaned money to an *agent-entrepreneur* who would convey merchandise abroad, sell or barter it, return and repay the loan, the profit and a fee for the insuring of the merchandise by the investor, was well known.

The topic of insurance as found in the *halakhah* can be divided into 5 periods: the Talmud, the Mediterranean countries (1100–1500), the Mediterranean countries during the Ottoman Empire (1500–1800), Europe (1700–1900), and the Twentieth Century.

THE TALMUD. The earliest Jewish record of an insurance practice is found in the Tosefta (BM 11:12) and is discussed in B. Bava Kamma 116b. Donkey drivers on caravan would arrange a program of mutual insurance whereby a driver losing his donkey during the course of the caravan would receive another donkey from a common fund. The same practice was found among Jewish shippers on Babylonian rivers, who would, in case of loss, receive a new boat from the ship owners' common fund. Both these practices were enforceable in the rabbinic court.

THE MEDITERRANEAN COUNTRIES 1100–1500. The next source for the insurance practice is found in *Sefer ha-Ezer* of Rabbi Meir ben Rabbi Yiẓḥak of 12th century Provence, who sanctions a contemporary use of the maritime loan among Jewish international shippers (quoted in *Kaftor va-Feraḥ*, Chapter 44; the original work is not extant). He is practically the only Jewish sage to sanction such a loan agreement.

Rabbi Solomon ben Adret (the "Rashba") in 13th century Spain mentions and permits a practice reminiscent of the maritime loan, but based upon the laws of bailment, as prevalent among Jewish overseas agents (Resp. 1:930; 2:325), and a practice among partners to include a clause guaranteeing income from profits earned by the partnership in case of illness (*ibid*., 2:79, but see *Tashbeẓ* 1:35). In a responsum dating from 1388, Rabbi Isaac bar Sheshet validates the maritime shipping insurance contract involving a premium payment, long in practice, but not one containing a loan repayment formula (Ribash 308).

From Algeria, at the turn of the 15th century, there are records of gold bullion shipped to Christian Majorca under coverage of insurance – a standard expense (*Tashbeẓ* 3:74) – and the insuring of a cow bought by a butcher for kosher slaughter, against the danger of being found unfit for Jewish consumption (*trefah*; see Rashbash, Tikkun Soferim, laws of *Asmakhta*).

There are no references in the standard histories of insurance to these important sources for the early history of modern insurance.

THE MEDITERRANEAN LANDS DURING THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE (1500–1800). The resettlement of Spanish Jewry after the Expulsion centered in North Africa, Italy and primarily the Ottoman Empire. Salonika, Constantinople, Venice, Ancona and Cairo boasted large, viable Jewish communities whose economic activities were based on international trade. The cold and not-so-cold war between Turkey and Christian Europe did not interfere with trade, but led to a proliferation of insurance contracts, and consequent litigation before the rabbinic courts, especially those of Salonika, whose *dayyanim* became experts in the insurance contract. Changes in course of transit, confiscation by the authorities, the different genres of accidents under coverage – all such disputes are found in the Salonikan rabbinic court decisions, usually decided upon the basis of prevalent commercial practice and interpretation of the contract. Even Italian merchants would litigate in Salonika. (See, for example, the responsa of Maharashdam, *Divrei Rivot*; Maharshach, *Torat Emet*, et al.)

The use of the *cambio* agreement, based upon repayment of a loan, together with an insurance charge, was quite prevalent, but it met with rabbinic opposition, on the grounds that it constituted an infringement of the laws of interest (*ribbit*).

From Italy and Turkey, the use of insurance spread to the land of Israel, Egypt, Corfu, Rhodes, and Tunis.

EUROPE (1700–1900). The well-known Jewish halakhic periodical, *Peri-Eẓ-Ḥayyim*, published by the *Eẓ Hayyim* Sephardi yeshivah of Amsterdam (1691–1807), in which scholars of the yeshivah replied to queries posed to them from throughout the Dutch colonial empire of its day, contains several references to shipping from the New World by Jewish merchants, under insurance coverage also granted by Jewish merchants.

Eastern Europe became the next center of insurance activity, especially Galicia. In the early 19th century, the rabbis of Brod dealt with the basic validity of the insurance contract, and the various halakhic problems involved, e,g., interest, *asmakhta*, etc. (see *Bet Efraim*, *Ḥoshen Mishpat* 34, 35 and *Gur Aryeh Yehudah*, *Yoreh De'ah* 119).

The use of fire insurance became widespread in Poland in general, and many responsa were written on the topic of the insurable interest and the indemnity principles. Towards the end of the century, material on fire and transport insurance occurs in the writings of Russian, Lithuanian and Hungarian rabbis.

The Twentieth Century

The twentieth century saw the emergence of life insurance, and questions were addressed to European authorities on its permissibility according to Jewish law. Further insurance topics are found in the works of the rabbis of Hungary (the prime center of Jewish activity after the decline of Galician Jewry), Poland, and – after World War II – Israel and America.

[Menahem Slae]

Jewish Involvement in Insurance

The Talmud contains references to partnership as a means of minimization of risks, but this must be differentiated from insurance proper, based on premiums. In the 14th to 16th centuries the insurers of the wool export of *Burgos included some 40 *Marrano families, related by birth or marriage, who maintained connections with the strategic centers of international trade – Bruges, Antwerp, Rouen, Nantes, and Florence – by means of commission agents and brokers who were generally relatives. In Amsterdam some Marranos ("Portuguese") entered insurance. In Hamburg an insurance contract with the participation of "Portuguese" Jews was signed only three years after the first such contract had been drawn up. In the 1620s and 1630s the "Portuguese" dominated the insurance field, constituting more than half of the insurance brokers and being particularly active in colonial shipping, where the risks and premiums were highest. Many rich Jews engaged in marine insurance too, such as Manuel *Teixera. In the late 17th and 18th centuries Jews left insurance in Hamburg and by 1778 only one remained there.

In France the *Gradis family of Bordeaux played a leading role in marine insurance. In 1757 Gradis and Alexander, "*negociants juifs*," had agreed to insure a corsair but postponed signing the contract because of the Sabbath: the next day the news that the ship had been seized by the British arrived. In the ensuing litigation the insurance was annulled by the court. Two Sephardi Jews, Joshua Mendes Da Costa (1741–1801) and Lewis Mendes (1716–1790), "one of the first Merchants of the City of London," were among the original founders of Lloyds, in which many Jews later participated, including the *Hart, *Goldsmid, *Samuel, *Solomons, *Montefiore, *Rothschild, and *Sassoon families. Benjamin *Gompertz (1779–1865) was a member of Lloyds and of the Royal Society, whose achievements in actuary statistics were internationally acknowledged. Nathan *Rothschild and Moses *Montefiore founded the Alliance Assurance Company for which the mathematician and actuary-statistician, Benjamin Gompertz, was chief actuary.

In Italy Giuseppe Lazzaro *Morpurgo (1762–1835) introduced modern methods and founded a number of insurance companies, among them the Assicurazioni Generali, the largest Italian insurance company. In the late 18th and early 19th centuries a number of Jewish insurance experts and entrepreneurs from Trieste helped to found and develop Austrian and Italian insurance and shipping companies.

Jews did not play an important role in insurance in other countries in modern times. In the first years of World War I a group of Jewish financiers in Russia headed by N.B. Glazer formed an insurance company syndicate to fill the vacuum created by the withdrawal of the German companies.

In both Europe and America Jews were proportionately underrepresented in the insurance business, though there were some notable exceptions, such as L.K. *Frankel (1867–1931), pioneer in social insurance and second vice president of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, and Louis I. Dublin, a public health and actuarial specialist.

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INTELLECT. The rationalism of medieval Jewish philosophy is manifest in its doctrines of intellect. Seen as both an incorporeal, universal heavenly substance and as a personal psychic faculty, intellect is both within man and without; it is viewed as the source and goal of all knowledge, man's bridge to the upper world and to everlasting happiness.

The creative aspect of intellect is concentrated in a heavenly substance, which is regarded as the place of all universal ideas. It is called Intellect or Mind in the neoplatonic tradition (see *Neoplatonism) and Agent or Active Intellect in the Aristotelian (see *Aristotle and Aristotelianism), where it is the last of ten such intelligences and responsible for the sublunar sphere of earth (see *Cosmology, *Emanation; Plotinus, *Enneads* 5:9, 1–9; Solomon ibn Gabirol, *Mekor Ḥayyim* (*Fons Vitae*), 2:8, 20; 3:26; Israeli, "The Book of Substances," in: A. Altmann and S.M. Stern (eds.), *Isaac Israeli* (1958), 85ff.; Maimonides, *Guide*, 2:4). Both are viewed as proceeding from God, entrusted by Him with the shape and destiny of the world; in more Aristotelian terms, they are the formal and final causes of earthly things. As such the neoplatonic Intellect and the Aristotelian Agent Intellect in their respective traditions play the role assigned to *Logos* in *Philo and the Word in Christianity.

Man's intellect is related to this heavenly substance as a further emanation or individualization of universal Intelligence. Thinking is viewed as a process whereby the individual intellect and the object of intellection are both "illuminated" by the "light" of the universal intellect, leading to knowledge of the ideas latent in objects of our perception. Man's intellect thus "recreates" the intelligibles underlying all reality, bringing them and himself from potentiality to actuality. During intellection, the subject becomes one with its object, intellect becoming its intelligible (as said of Aristotle's Unmoved Mover, or God, in *Metaphysics*, 12:9, 1074b 34; and see *On the Soul* 3:4, 5). The philosophers prefer to call this relation "conjunction" (Arabic *ittiṣāl*, Hebrew *devekut*) rather than "union," which is the mystics' term, emphasizing thereby its impermanent nature and the retention of individuality by man and, particularly, by the universal Agent Intellect. The total, transcendent nature of the latter is generally considered beyond man's comprehension. Among the ideas that man can know for a certainty are self-evident principles of reason, or the laws of logic, and the rational structure of the world. They lead man to the knowledge of God's existence and His relation to man and the world. Such ideas place even relatively simple religious belief in an intellectual framework. Religious teachings are then seen as either obviously or ultimately rational, and the intellect to a large degree becomes the arbiter of faith (see particularly Saadiah Gaon, *The Book of Beliefs and Opinions*, introd. 5; 2:13; 3:1–4).

Human intellect is analyzed as a faculty of the soul and regarded as one of the internal senses. It is that which receives the already semiabstracted perceptions, known as phantasms, from the soul's intellectually disposed imagination or memory, and brings the process of abstraction and generalization to completion. The explanation of the process of disengagement from matter is facilitated for the later philosophers by their subdivision of the Aristotelian concept of active and passive states of intellect into a number of stages. Chief among these are the "hylic" (material), or "potential," intellect, viewed either as an incorporeal substance (following *Themistius) or as a disposition of the body to receive intelligibles (following *Alexander of Aphrodisias); the intellect "in act" and its counterpart, intellect "in *habitu*," which express an intellect that has become under the influence of the Agent Intellect actual and experienced; and the "acquired" intellect, representing intellectual perfection and conjunction with the world of eternal substances (a world also identified with the angelic realm; see F. Rahman's summary of the influential views of al-Fārābī and Avicenna, *Prophecy in Islam* (1958), 11–29; and see Levi ben Gershom's survey, *Milḥamot ha-Shem*, Part I).

Philosophers disputed whether this last stage can be reached by natural processes and whether personal identity is retained in it, vital issues relating to man's happiness and immortality. Despite opposition from traditional circles, the trend toward acceptance of a unified intellect and the loss of individuality in intellection, discernible in the thought of the Muslim philosopher Ibn Bājjah (see *Avempace) and of *Maimonides (see *Guide* 1:72; 74, 7th method), is pronounced in the writings of the Averroists. For *Averroes, whose influence upon such late figures as *Moses of Narbonne and *Levi ben Gershom was great, the potential intellect is a disposition of the Agent Intellect itself, only accidentally related to imaginative forms and man. Conjunction of the acquired intellect with the Agent Intellect, therefore, is seen as possible even in this life, and even though man, as commonly understood, thereby surrenders himself to universal being.

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[Alfred L. Ivry]

INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF JEWISH GENEALOGICAL SOCIETIES. The International Association of Jewish Genealogical Societies (IAJGS) is an independent non-profit umbrella organization coordinating activities for more than 80 Jewish genealogical societies spanning six continents. The IAJGS was formed in the late 1980s as a result of the growing interest in Jewish genealogy and the local groups that grew up as a result. The first president was Gary Mokotoff, a pioneer in Jewish genealogy, who led the IAJGS for the first few years.

Thirty years ago, genealogy was typically described as a hobby for retired people who trudged from archive to archive and few Jews at that time were among them. Then a series of events occurred, beginning with Alex Haley's *Roots* that mesmerized television audiences night after night. The thought of tracing one's ancestors back to the old country struck a chord in literally millions of people, whether it was back to Africa or the *shtetls* of Eastern Europe. In 1977, the first Jewish genealogy society was founded in New York and the number of societies worldwide has continued to grow. These societies have motivated and guided thousands of Jews through lectures, seminars, and publications. The IAJGS has sponsored or co-sponsored international seminars held in cities throughout the United States, Canada, England, France and Israel.

The IAJGS promotes membership in local societies, acts as a spokesperson for the societies in areas of mutual interest, and provides new member societies with services to help in their development and growth. The IAJGS also provides monetary awards for special projects and presents achievement awards recognizing excellence in various aspects of Jewish genealogy during the annual international conferences. Various committees of the IAJGS address important issues such as Public Records Access (both in the United States and worldwide), fundraising activities for the member societies, and The International Jewish Cemetery Project to document Jewish burial sites throughout the world. Thus far it has identified over 22,000 cemeteries. The IAJGS project identifies only cemeteries and burial sites. It is not an index of individual names and graves.

Among the recent projects of the IAJGS are (1) achieving agreement with the Family History Library to remove thousands of names of Jewish Holocaust victims that had been inappropriately included in the International Genealogical Index and (2) gathering and making available data to support the research of Jewish genealogists, including the Family Tree of the Jewish People; various Jewish records at the Family History Library in Salt Lake City, Utah; and cemetery and burial information.

The Internet, along with the increasing number of computerized databases (Ellis Island, Yad Vashem, and others) has made it much easier for Jews worldwide to look for their roots and to discover previously unknown relatives.

Hidden within the files of archives and libraries throughout the world are old pieces of paper testifying to the lives of our families. When the family historian discovers one of these documents, an aging piece of paper is transformed into a profound connection between past and future. What was once a hobby for mostly amateurs is now a vocation for a growing number of professional researchers, producing scholarly publications that have become the authoritative word on a particular subject, welcomed and treasured by archivists, librarians, and genealogists.

The IAJGS is an active participant in coordinating the activities of organized genealogy and continues to expand its list of accomplishments through its joint projects with various organizations and institutions worldwide.

Selected Websites:

UNITED STATES. Avotaynu, Inc., http://www.avotaynu.com
Center for Jewish History, New York, NY, http://www.cjh.org
Ellis Island Foundation, http://www.ellisisland.org
Genealogy Institute, http://www.cjh.org/family/
Family History Library, http://www.lds.org
Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society, http://www.hias.org/splash.html
International Association of Jewish Genealogical Societies, http://www.iajgs.org
JewishGen, Inc., http://www.jewishgen.org
Leo Baeck Institute, New York, http://www.lbi.org/
Routes to Roots Foundation, Inc., http://www.rtrfoundation.org
U.S. Holocaust Museum and Archives in Washington, D.C., http://www.ushmm.org.
United States National Archives – The Genealogy page, http://www.nara.gov/genealogy/genindex.html
YIVO Institute for Jewish Research, http://www.yivoinstitute.org

ISRAEL. Central Archive for the History of the Jewish People in Jerusalem, http://sites.huji.ac.il/archives/
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[Miriam Weiner (2nd ed.)]

INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE OF JEWISH COMMUNAL SERVICE, international body originating as an informal gathering of Jewish social workers who attended the First International Conference of Social Work in Paris in 1928. The International Conference of Jewish Communal Service evolved slowly as an unplanned meeting of representatives of organizations and countries. A second informal conference was held in Frankfurt, Germany, in 1932 and a third one in London in 1936. The sessions were not recorded. The fourth assembly was held in Atlantic City, New Jersey, in 1948. Like the preceding conferences, it was held in conjunction with the International Conference of Social Work. While informal meetings continued to take place together with the biannual International Conference of Social Work, a decision was reached in 1964 to establish a permanent planning committee for an independent conference of Jewish communal workers. This group organized the fifth conference of Jewish Communal Services in Jerusalem in 1967, which voted to hold sessions, in Jerusalem, every four years. In 1994 it changed its name to

World Council of Jewish Communal Services (WCJCS), holding subsequent conferences in 1998 and 2003 with a stated aim of strengthening Jewish life and community both in Israel and the Diaspora.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: P. Glikson (ed.), *Jewish Communal Services; Preliminary Survey…* (1967); *International Conference of Jewish Communal Service, Jerusalem, 1967. Official Programme…* (1967). **WEBSITE:** www.wcjcs.org.

[Joseph Neipris]

INTERNATIONAL COUNCIL OF JEWISH WOMEN, an organization linking Jewish women from 47 countries in the five continents with 52 affiliated national organizations, which represents a total membership of over 1,000,000. The Council was founded in 1912 in Rome, but ceased to function during World War I and did not resume its activities until 1923, at a meeting in Vienna. After its meeting in Hamburg, Germany, in 1939, it was rendered inactive by World War II and the Nazi Holocaust, but was reconstituted in 1949 in Paris, where representatives from six countries met and drew up the constitution which reestablished the International Council of Jewish Women on its present basis. Ten regular triennial conventions have been held since the first one in 1951.

The major objective of the ICJW is to advance human welfare in the Jewish and general communities. It seeks to stimulate and assist its affiliates to promote programs and train volunteers to serve in the fields of child, youth, and family welfare, mental health, medical care, education, special needs of the aged, and the social, economic, and legal status of women both in Jewish and secular law.

Dedicated to the purpose of strengthening the Jewish community and the Jewish family in the great traditions of Judaism, the ICJW encourages and helps its affiliates to foster and promote Jewish education. The ICJW also exchanges information on projects which are supported by the affiliates to advance education and social welfare in Israel,

United Nations Work

The ICJW seeks to spread knowledge about and promote support for the United Nations, to which it has been accredited, and has been granted consultative status with the Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) and with the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF). For these purposes the ICJW has appointed an official accredited representative and an alternate in New York City and a representative in Geneva who participate directly in their activities. They attend regular sessions of the United Nations and cooperate with national and international organizations engaged in United Nations-related activities. On the basis of their consultative status they participate directly in the work of ECOSOC and UNICEF.

Structure

The International Council of Jewish Women is a non-political organization consisting of affiliated national organizations and associated members from countries where there is no affiliate. It is supported by dues from both categories of membership. Each affiliate organization is autonomous and is made up of a cross section of the Jewish women of that country, and carries out educational and social projects in accordance with the country's needs and opportunities. The ICJW maintains close contact with affiliates through the exchange of information, field service visits, and reciprocal communication between ICJW and the affiliates through the office of the president and the 11 ICJW standing committees which comprise members of the affiliates. The council publishes the ICJW Newsletter in English and Spanish, which appears several times a year.

WEBSITE: www.icjw.org.

INTERNATIONAL LADIES GARMENT WORKERS UNION (ILGWU), U.S. trade union that represented hundreds of thousands of apparel industry workers over the course of the 20th century. Founded by 11 male Jewish tailors on June 3, 1900, the ILGWU relied on a largely female rank-and-file membership for most of its history, even as it excluded women from its top leadership positions.

The ILGWU became a mass movement due to the support and leadership of the young Jewish and Italian female immigrants who participated in the Shirtwaist Strike of 1909. These workers, mostly between the ages of 16 and 25, fashioned the popular buttoned blouses known as "shirtwaists." They worked for long hours in shops that often lacked sanitary lavatories and accessible fire exits; contractors deducted expenses from their already low wages for electricity, needles, belts, and even their chairs. Although many male ILGWU workers doubted that "temporary" female workers could organize, some of these women fought against these oppressive working conditions by forming Local 25.

In the fall of 1909, in response to strikes that had erupted in individual garment shops, the ILGWU called a meeting at New York's Cooper Union. The roster of speakers included such labor luminaries as Samuel *Gompers, president of the American Federation of Labor, Meyer *London, the first Lower East Side socialist to be elected to Congress, and Mary Dreier of the middle-class Women's Trade Union League. The union had not invited any working women to speak, but that did not stop Local 25's Clara Lemlich from demanding the podium. Interrupting the proceedings, she called for a general strike. Her impassioned Yiddish oration ignited what became known as the "Uprising of the Twenty Thousand." Between 30,000 and 40,000 garment workers, mostly young Jewish women, walked out of their shops in subsequent weeks. The strike achieved some successes, including material improvements for the workers and obtaining union recognition in some shops. The strikers' resolve also transformed the ILGWU from a financially insolvent organization with little bargaining power to a major player in labor disputes while demonstrating that unskilled women workers could wage militant strikes.

However, the partial nature of the 1909 victory became evident on March 25, 1911, when the Jewish-owned Triangle Shirtwaist factory caught fire. The factory owners had not complied with the legal safety guidelines specified in the

1909 settlement; the building possessed only two of the three staircases required by law and the doors to those stairways had been locked to prevent "pilferage." The windows became the only escape route for the workers and many jumped to their deaths. Too late for the 146 workers who perished in the blaze, the Triangle Fire led to more effective safety regulation in New York State.

In addition to organizing and negotiating, the members of ILGWU Local 25 also believed that the union should provide workers with educational and social opportunities. In 1916, Local 25 convinced the International to start an education department. No one devoted more energy and guidance to this aspect of the union than Fannia M. *Cohn, an activist who became the education department's executive secretary. Cohn spearheaded the Worker's University, where esteemed scholars delivered lectures, and the department established eight "Unity Centers" in New York City to offer more basic courses in English, hygiene, gymnastics, speech, and literature. The members of Local 25 also believed that women workers deserved recreational opportunities to relax and socialize with their union sisters where they could build the personal bonds that would sustain their political struggles. In 1916, the local established Unity House, a vacation retreat in the Catskills region in New York. In 1921, Unity House, now located at a site in the Pocono Mountains which could accommodate 900 people, was put under the direct administration of the ILGWU.

After a decline in the 1920s, and in spite of internal fights between communists and socialists within the union, the ILGWU re-emerged in the pro-labor, New Deal 1930s as a major player in labor negotiations and also began to devote attention to the "International" elements of organizing. Rose *Pesotta, the only woman on the General Executive Board of the 85% female union and vice president from 1934 until 1942, was sent to organize garment workers in Montreal and Puerto Rico. The union expanded its public relations in the 1930s, promoting its message to the public in innovative ways. In 1936, the union produced a musical revue called *Pins and Needles*, which became the longest-running musical of its time. The show, written by Harold Rome and performed entirely by ILGWU members, dealt with issues of work, unionism, and, by the 1940s, war and fascism, with humor and wit.

While the ILGWU had great success in reducing sweatshop labor in the United States in the early part of the century, sweatshop conditions re-emerged in the late 20th century and continued into the 21st. To avoid labor regulations in the U.S., some American clothing manufacturers relocated their factories to Third World countries that did not enforce minimum wage and safety laws. The ILGWU began responding to this global problem in the late 1960s and continued to combat these issues into the 21st century. In 1995, the ILGWU merged with the Amalgamated Clothing and Textiles Union to form UNITE, the Union of Needle Trades, Industrial and Textile Employees. In 2004, UNITE again combined with HERE, the Hotel Employees and Restaurant Employees International Union. As with the ILGWU at the beginning of the 20th century, UNITE-HERE still serves a large immigrant constituency, mostly of Latino, Asian, and African American descent. Women continue to comprise a majority of the membership.

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[Rachel Kranson (2nd ed.)]

INTERNATIONAL TRACING SERVICE, founded in 1945 in Arolsen, German Federal Republic, by the Supreme Headquarters, Allied Expeditionary Forces. Since 1955 it has been directed by the International Committee of the Red Cross in Geneva, though financed by the German Federal Republic. The archives contain nominal records of inmates of German concentration camps from 1933 to 1945, of foreigners who worked in Germany during World War II, and of *Displaced Persons in Western Europe immediately after the war. There are approximately 2,500,000 pages of lists and 8,000,000 individual records. New documents are continually acquired. There is a master index of 28,000,000 reference cards for the records, which are classified exclusively for the checking of individual cases. Excerpts from documents are established according to subject matter, such as deportation, detention in concentration camps, or death in such a camp. Since 1955 a staff of more than 200 persons has answered about 150,000 inquiries annually. The service has published a *Catalogue of Camps and Prisons in Germany and German-occupied Territories, 1939–1945* (2 vols. and supplement, 1949–51), and official documents of a general character referring to concentration camps were collected for a revised edition of which a first volume was published in 1969 in German under the title *Vorlaeufiges Verzeichnis der Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie anderer Haftstaetten unter dem Reichsfuehrer-ss in Deutschland und deutsch besetzten Gebieten 1933–1945* ("Preliminary Register of Concentration Camps and their Commandos and of other places of detention under the control of the Reichsfuehrer-ss in Germany and German-occupied territories"). With the passage of time, tracing represents a small percentage of the activities of the ITS, whose main task is to assemble, classify, and evaluate records about prisoners of the concentration camps and other places of detention, Jews who were deported, foreigners who were in the territory of the Reich, displaced persons under the care of international relief organizations, and children who were separated from their parents due to the war.

In 1990 the American Red Cross opened the Holocaust and War Victims Tracing Center after the release of files on 130,000 people detained for forced labor and 46 death books containing 74,000 names from Auschwitz. It provides tracing services free of charge and expedites requests to the ICRC's International Tracing Services in Arolsen, Germany. As of 2005 it had received more than 30,000 inquiries and had confirmed 7,000 deaths and found 1,000 persons still alive, thus facilitating family reunification.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: J. Robinson and P. Friedman (eds.), *Guide to the Jewish History Under Nazi Impact* (1960), 140–2.

[Nicolas Burckhardt / Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

INTERPRETATION

This article is arranged according to the following outline:

- DEFINITION OF TERMS
- BIBLE EXEGESIS
  - **Substance of Bible Exegesis in Jewish Law: Creative Interpretation and Integrative Interpretation**
  - **Halakhic Creativity by Means of Interpretation (Midrash)**
  - **Evidence of Creative Interpretation in Ancient *Halakhah***
  - **Midrash and Roman Law *Interpretatio***
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    - IN THE AMORAIC PERIOD
    - IN THE POST-TALMUDIC PERIOD
  - **Thirteen Middot of R. Ishmael**
  - **Elucidative Interpretation**
    - *KELAL U-FERAT*
    - *DAVAR SHE-HAYAH BA-KELAL VE-YAẒA MIN HA-KELAL*
    - *DAVAR HA-LAMED ME-INYANO, DAVAR HA-LAMED MI-SOFO*
    - *SHENEI KETUVIM HA-MAKHḤISHIM ZEH ET ZEH*
    - INTERPRETATION OF WORDS AND PHRASES
  - **Analogical Interpretation**
    - *KAL VA-ḤOMER*
    - *GEZERAH SHAVAH*
    - *BINYAN AV*
    - *HEKKESH HA-KATUV*
  - **Logical Interpretation**
  - **Restrictive Interpretation**
- INTERPRETATION OF THE *HALAKHAH*
  - **Use of the Principles of Bible Exegesis for Interpretation of the *Halakhah***
  - **Restrictive and Expansive Interpretation**
  - **Interpretation of the *Halakhah* in Post-Talmudic Times**
- INTERPRETATION OF DOCUMENTS
  - ***Doreshin Leshon Hedyot* ("interpreting human speech")**
  - ***Ha-Kol Holekh Aḥar ha-Taḥton* ("all according to the latter reference")**
  - ***Yad Ba'al ha-Shetar al ha-Taḥtonah* ("the holder of a deed is at a disadvantage")**
  - **Interpretation *le-Fi Leshon Benei-Adam* ("according to the common usage of the people")**
  - **Interpretation of Contracts**
    - INTERPRETATIONS BASED ON ASSESSING THE PARTIES' INTENT
    - PRESUMPTION OF A DOCUMENT'S VALIDITY
    - INTERPRETATION IN ACCORDANCE WITH CONTEXT AND CUSTOM
- INTERPRETATION OF TAKKANOT HA-KAHAL
  - **Entrustment of Interpretative Authority**
  - **Interpretation of *Takkanot le-Fi Leshon Benei-Adam* ("in accordance with their common usage")**
  - **Interpretation in Accordance with the Language of the *Takkanah***
  - **Circumstances in Which the Background to a *Takkanah* and Its Motivating Factors May Be Taken into Account**
  - **Conflicting Provisions and Ambiguity in the Text**
  - **Judicial Interpretation – Judgment in Perfect Truth**

DEFINITION OF TERMS

In Jewish law interpretation is called Midrash – a word deriving from the verb *darosh*, meaning study and investigation of the inner and logical meaning of a particular text as opposed to its plain and literal reading. The word *darosh* is also used in the same sense to denote investigation of the true and "unrevealed" position as regards a particular factual event (Deut. 13:15; "*Ve-darashta ve-ḥakarta ve-sha'alta heitev*" – "you shall investigate and inquire and interrogate thoroughly" – hence the term *derishah va-ḥakirah* with reference to the interrogation of *witnesses). For the act of interpretation the word *talmud* is sometimes used (e.g., Sanh. 11:2; cf. Avot 4:13), and also the word *din* (e.g., Mak. 5b). In the field of the *halakhah*, the concept of Midrash has a meaning similar to *interpretatio* in Roman law and to "interpretation" in English law. The term *parshanut* was originally used in the sense of commentary (i.e., elucidation), generally amounting to a rephrasing or translation of the text into simpler and more easily understood terms; however, in the course of time the term *parshanut* also came to be employed in Jewish law in the sense of interpretation, and at the present time has both meanings. The interpretative process is often executed with the aid of fixed rules by which the exegete is guided; these are "the *middot* by means of which the Torah is interpreted" (see below). The process of interpretation began with Midrash of the Torah (i.e., Bible exegesis) and was followed by Midrash of the *halakhah*, i.e., of the Mishnah, both Talmuds, and post-talmudic halakhic literature (see below). In addition there evolved, from very early days, a system for the interpretation of various legal documents (see below), and after the redaction of the Talmud for the interpretation of communal enactments also (*takkanot ha-kahal*; see below).

BIBLE EXEGESIS

Substance of Bible Exegesis in Jewish Law: Creative Interpretation and Integrative Interpretation

A reading of halakhic literature reveals that very many *halakhot* are stated in midrashic form, i.e., the particular *halakhah* is integrated into and interwoven with a biblical passage (this is the form adopted in the *Midreshei Halakhah*, halakhic literature on biblical passages, some details of which are mentioned below) and is not stated in the form of an abstract *halakhah* which stands by itself (as is the accepted and general form in the Mishnah). Scholars have expressed different opinions on the substantive nature of this form of interpretation. According to some, it is a merely literary device for a manner of studying the *halakhot*, i.e., the essential halakhic rule was not created in consequence of the interpretation of a particular scriptural passage but had already been in existence (having originated from other legal sources of the *halakhah*, such as *kabbalah* ("tradition"), **takkanah* ("enactment"), **minhag* ("custom"), etc.) and the scholars merely found support for the existing halakhic rule through allusion to a biblical passage. Such allusion was made for two reasons:

(a) in order to facilitate recall of a rule which, in ancient times, had never been reduced to writing but studied orally and hence had to be studied together with the relevant biblical passage;

(b) in order to stress the integral connection between the Oral and the Written Law, since the latter constituted the basic norm of the entire halakhic system. Another view is that Bible exegesis is much more than a mere literary device for studying the *halakhah*; on the contrary, the biblical passage into which the halakhic rule is integrated constitutes at the same time the source of the rule; i.e., the rule was created out of the study and examination of the particular passage and without such an interpretation of the passage the rule would never have existed at all. Some scholars suggest that at first Midrash served as a source for the evolution of the law and that in later times it ceased to serve this purpose, while other scholars take the contrary view.

It is clear that even the scholars who hold that Bible exegesis served as a source for the evolution of the law do not regard that fact as meaning that in every case of Bible exegesis the halakhic rule in question necessarily evolved from such exegesis. Thus as regards a certain section of the biblical expositions, it is specifically stated that they are in the nature of **asmakhta be-alma* (i.e., simply allusion to a particular passage; see, e.g., Ber. 41b; Er. 4b: "They are but traditional laws for which the rabbis have found allusions in Scripture," cf. Tosef. Ket. 12:2; TJ, Git. 5:1). Thus the scholars emphasize that the *halakhot* do not derive from the Bible exegesis, but from some other legal source of the *halakhah*, and are merely supported by allusions to particular biblical passages. This is also so in the case of numerous other *halakhot* arrived at by way of interpretation; even though they are not said to be in the nature of *asmakhta* alone, it cannot be determined with certainty whether in each case they derived from the particular interpretation of the biblical passages concerned, or whether they evolved from some other legal source and were merely integrated into the relevant biblical passages.

Halakhic Creativity by Means of Interpretation (Midrash)

It appears that from the inception of the *halakhah* and throughout its history, Midrash has served as a creative source of Jewish law and as an instrument in its evolution and development (see Yad, introd. and Mamrim 1:2). In point of time and importance, it constitutes the primary legal source of Jewish law (see **Mishpat Ivri*). Throughout the history of the *halakhah*, scholars had to face the twofold problem of (a) reconciling difficulties emerging from the study of biblical passages, and (b) resolving new problems arising in daily life, particularly in consequence of changed economic and social realities.

The evolution of new *halakhot* was a natural outcome of the use of Midrash by the scholars in their efforts to overcome difficulties in the elucidation of Scripture, and Midrash led to great creativity, especially when applied to the solution of new problems. Although other means of solving such new problems were available (e.g., through the enactment of *takkanot*), the scholars nevertheless first and above all sought to find the solutions in Scripture itself, by endeavoring to penetrate to its inner or "concealed" content. In the eyes of the scholars Midrash was also to be preferred over the *takkanah* as a means of resolving new problems: the *takkanah* represented intentional and explicit lawmaking, designed to add to, detract from, or otherwise change the existing and sanctified *halakhah*, whereas in the case of Midrash the new *halakhah* derived from the scriptural passage concerned was not designed to add to the latter and certainly did not stand in contradiction to it. The link between the new *halakhah* and the Written Law was seen as a natural one of father and offspring, and the *halakhah* evolved from Scripture was, as it were, embedded in the latter from the beginning. Hence it may reasonably be assumed that the halakhic scholars would first have turned to Midrash in their search for solutions to the new problems that arose, and only when this offered no adequate or satisfactory answer would they turn to other legal sources of the *halakhah*.

Evidence of Creative Interpretation in Ancient *Halakhah*

From early tannaitic sources it may be inferred that Midrash already served as a creative legal source of the *halakhah*. Thus the description is given of how the judges would deliberate the relevant scriptural passage in each case before they gave judgment: "And if he had committed murder, they deliberated the passage dealing with murder; if he had committed incest, they deliberated the passage dealing with incest" (Tosef. Sanh. 9:1); similarly as regards the legal order of succession. The Pentateuch prescribes the order as son, daughter, brother, brothers of the father, and then the nearest kin of the deceased (Num. 27:6–11); the father is not mentioned as an heir but this omission is rectified in the Mishnah, where his place in the order is determined as falling after the children of the deceased and before the latter's brothers (BB 8:1). The scholars arrived at this result by interpreting the above-mentioned pentateuchal passage in this manner: "Ye shall give his inheritance unto his kinsman that is next to him of his family, 'that is next to him' – the nearest relative takes preference." Even though the above is only enjoined after the brothers of the deceased and his father's brothers are mentioned as heirs, the scholars nevertheless ranked the father above the latter since "the Torah has authorized the scholars to interpret and say: 'whoever is nearest in kinship takes preference in inheritance'" (Sif. Num. 134). At times differences of opinion amongst the scholars regarding the manner of interpreting the verse naturally also led to different legal conclusions (e.g., Git. 9:10 and Mid. Tannaim to 23:15, concerning the grounds for divorce; also, as regards the taking of a pledge from a rich widow, see BM 9:13 and BM 115a; and see below).

Midrash and Roman Law *Interpretatio*

In Roman law also and by a similar process in other legal systems – at the beginning and after the Twelve Tables – *interpretatio* fulfilled an eminently creative function which, according to R. Sohm (*The Institutes* (1970³), 55 f.), evolved and even changed the law without affecting the written letter of it. The purpose of *interpretatio* in Roman law has been described by Dernburg: "It is true that the content of a law should be expressed in the document wherein it is contained, but it is not necessary that this content must be derived directly from the words of the law; often the general wording of a law leads one to conclusions that are not expressed in so many words in this law, but which nevertheless are undoubtedly the correct conclusions to be drawn therefrom; *interpretatio* must therefore recognize as an authoritative conclusion from the law, not only that which derives from what is explicitly and directly stated in the law but also that deriving from what is indirectly stated therein; this may be referred to as the 'concealed content' of the law" (H. Dernburg, *Pandekten*, 1, pt. 1 (1900⁶), 73).

Different Literary Forms for Creative and Integrative Interpretation

The existence of the two forms of Midrash, differing in function and objective, also led to a differentiation in their literary expression. When the object of the interpretation was not to create *halakhah* but simply to integrate existing *halakhah* into a scriptural verse, this could be achieved even by means of forced and symbolic modes of interpretation – such as analysis of seemingly superfluous words and letters – since this sufficed for the integrative purpose. Such artificial associations also represented an accepted literary device in other ancient civilizations (see S. Lieberman, in bibl., p. 62 f., 77 f.; in recent generations efforts have been made to explain these symbolic modes of interpretation in an orderly and systematic manner and much was done in this field by Meir Loeb *Malbim). On the other hand, when the interpretation was made in order to evolve a particular *halakhah*, this was generally effected solely through rational modes of interpretation in the wider sense of the term, i.e., within the framework of the "concealed content" of the scriptural verse (although there are also instances in which *halakhot* were evolved through symbolic modes of interpretation, and this was particularly the case in the academy of R. Akiva; see, e.g., Sanh. 51b and see below).

[Menachem Elon]

Biblical Exegesis and its Place in Formulating *Halakhah*

Research into biblical exegesis has produced further conclusions regarding its place in the creation and formulation of *halakhah* since ancient times. Thus, it has examined the manner in which the exegetical method was utilized to interpret biblical verses to adjust them to the prevailing Jewish law. Allusions to this manner of interpretation are already found within the biblical corpus, such as in the Book of Chronicles (see Bibliography, Seeligmann). For a detailed discussion of research of tannaitic and amoraic exegesis, see *Midrash; **Midreshei Halakhah.*

[Menachem Elon (2nd ed.)]

Development of Bible Exegesis

UNTIL HILLEL THE ELDER. The process of exegesis began immediately after the law-giving, since in turning to the Written Law the halakhic scholars necessarily had to have recourse to various modes of interpretation for the purposes of its elucidation and application to the new problems that arose. However, the earliest clear literary references to exegetical activity only date back to the time of Ezra and Nehemiah. With reference to Ezra's efforts to direct the returned exiles back to the law of the Torah, it is stated: "For Ezra had set his heart to interpret (*lidrosh*) the law of the Lord, and to do it, and to teach in Israel statutes and ordinances" (Ezra 7:10). The people were taught the law: "And they read in the book, in the law of God, distinctly; and they gave the sense, and caused them to understand the reading" (Neh. 8:8), i.e., they interpreted the Torah by way of deep study, in order to understand its contents and laws. Ezra is called *ha-sofer* ("the scribe"; Ezra 7:11), a name which has also adhered to his contemporaries and to the succeeding scholars and which has been explained thus: "Therefore the *rishonim* were called *soferim* because they used to count all the letters of the Torah" (Ḥag. 15b; Kid. 30a). The Midrash of the scribes, or *soferim*, was not mere *interpretatio doctrinalis*, with no legal and binding validity attaching to the conclusions derived from it, but was in the nature of *interpretatio authentica*, and the conclusions derived from it constituted an integral and binding part of the *halakhah* itself. This was so even though it was derived outside the context of the law's being decided in a concrete case (see **Ma'aseh*).

Evidence of the interpretative process can be found in the Septuagint Bible translation and in the Book of *Ben Sira (e.g., 39:1–3); the process received a sharp impetus in the time of the **zugot* (pairs of scholars), when the *Pharisees, in their struggle against the *Sadducees, sought to prove the correctness of the Oral Law with the aid of interpretation. Thus, for instance, of the fourth scholarly pair it was said, "the two greatest men of our generation, Shemaiah and Avtalyon … are great sages and great interpreters" (*darshanim*; Pes. 70b), and of Hillel, a member of the fifth scholarly pair, it was said that he "expounded seven *middot* [rules of interpretation] before the elders of the sons of Bathyra" (introd. to Sifra, *Baraita* of R. Ishmael, concl.; see also Tosef. Sanh. 7:11; ARN¹ 37, 110). These *middot*, or rules, were not innovations of Hillel; he simply crystallized them, although he may have provided some of the names which adhere to them (Sifra, loc. cit.).

R. NEHUNYAH B. HA-KANAH AND R. NAHUM OF GIMZO. Toward the end of the first century a difference of approach to Bible exegesis was asserted by two of Johanan b. Zakkai's pupils. Neḥunyah b. ha-Kanah took the view that a rational standard (by way of the rule of *kelal u-ferat*, i.e., the general and the particular: see below) had to be maintained in the conclusions drawn from the modes of interpretation; while Nahum of Gimzo favored drawing wide conclusions from the modes of interpretation (by way of *ribbui u-mi'ut*, i.e., inclusion and exclusion), even when the conclusion was not altogether in keeping with the general meaning of the verse (Tosef. Shevu. 1:7; Shevu. 26a).

R. ISHMAEL AND R. AKIVA AND THEIR ACADEMIES. These two different approaches to the interpretative method were fully developed by the pupils of each of these scholars. Both R. Ishmael – a pupil of R. Neḥunyah – and R. Akiva – a pupil of R. Nahum – followed his teacher's method and founded his own academy. These established two different schools of Bible exegesis and complete works containing the Midrashim of each are extant. From the academy of R. Ishmael there remains the *Mekhilta* to Exodus (*mekhilta* meaning *middot*, i.e., measures; see Isa. 40:12), *Sifrei* to Numbers, *Sifrei* to Deuteronomy (until 11:26), etc.; and from the academy of R. Akiva, the *Mekhilta* of R. Simeon b. Yoḥai to Exodus, *Sifra* to Leviticus (*Torat Kohanim*), *Sifrei Zuta* to Numbers, *Sifrei* to Deuteronomy (from 11:26 on), etc. R. Ishmael and his academy endeavored to uphold modes of interpretation that would maintain the legal and logical meaning of the scriptural passages concerned. Thus, for instance, they laid down the rule that "the Torah speaks in the language of men" (Sif. Num. 112; Sanh. 64b, etc.; in the TJ, "a language of synonym, employed by the Torah"; Shab. 19:2, 17a). That is to say, just as the language of synonym occurs in the narrative part of Scripture for purposes of reinforcement and emphasis – because this is the phraseology adopted by men in their discussions (e.g., Gen. 31:30; 40:15) – so in the legal part of the Torah there ought to be no interpretation of such repetition (e.g., Lev. 19:20). R. Akiva and his academy took a different approach and adopted modes of interpretation that widened the meaning of Scripture far beyond the terms of the written text, expounding every seemingly superfluous word or phrase (see BK 41b), and the occurrence of every synonym or repetition of a word or even letter (see Yev. 68b). Often the dispute between the two schools is found to relate not to the actual legal principle involved, but to the question of how to integrate such a principle with the scriptural verse (from this period onward this type of Midrash continued to expand). R. Ishmael's method was to integrate the *halakhah* with the scriptural verse by means of interpretation that remained within the meaning of the text, while R. Akiva integrated the same halakhic ruling by interpretative devices based on the apparent redundancy of words, or even a single letter, such as a *vav*. For an example of the two respective methods compare R. Ishmael and R. Akiva on the rule that a bill of divorcement need not be delivered into the hands of the wife personally, but is valid if placed within her *reshut* ("domain"; TJ, Git. 8:1, 77a; Sif. Deut. 269; TJ, Git. 8:1, 49b). Similarly, in a case where R. Ishmael found no suitable interpretative device to aid him in his integration of an existing *halakhah* with the appropriate verse, he would forego such midrashic integration ("in three places the *halakhah* bypasses Scripture": TJ, Kid. 1:2; Sot. 16a; etc.); in the same circumstances R. Akiva nevertheless effected the integrative process by enlisting the method of "redundancy" (Sif. Deut. 122 and 269; Sifra, Aḥarei Mot, 11:10).

There are even instances in which R. Akiva and his academy also created *halakhah* through the interpretative method based on the analysis of redundancy, a fact that met with strong opposition from R. Ishmael and his academy (see, e.g., Sanh. 51b, concerning the case of adultery committed by a priest's daughter). On more than one occasion such symbolic mode of interpretation from Akiva's academy provoked sharp scholarly reaction (see Sifra, Va-Yikra, 4:5; Ẓav, 5:11; Tazri᾿a 13:2; Sif. Num. 75; Men. 29b). Although opposed to modes of interpretation that departed from the logical sense of the scriptural text, R. Ishmael expanded the *middot* of Hillel and fixed their number, thereby establishing the 13 well-known hermeneutical rules (see below). In principle the 13 rules of R. Ishmael are contained within Hillel's seven, except that the former are further subdivided and amplified (thus, e.g., R. Ishmael subdivided Hillel's rule of *kelal u-ferat* (see above) into four *middot*).

R. ELIEZER B. YOSE HA-GELILI. To R. Eliezer, one of the generation succeeding R. Ishmael and R. Akiva, is attributed the *baraita* of the 32 rules of Bible exegesis. However, this subdivision was made primarily for the purpose of aggadic and not halakhic Midrash (the *baraita* is printed in TB, after Ber.). The accepted number of hermeneutical rules remained at 13, but other exegetical principles were stated, also in the field of the *halakhah*, which are not embraced in the 13 *middot*.

IN THE AMORAIC PERIOD. For the *amoraim*, Bible exegesis generally served as interpretation intended to integrate already known *halakhot* with the relevant scriptural texts. They too regarded themselves as competent to engage in Bible exegesis in order to decide the *halakhah* in accordance with their own interpretation, but in practice during this period Bible exegesis had ceased to serve as a source for the continued creativity of the law. The change came about because Scripture no longer constituted the sole authoritative source within the halakhic system for the deduction of legal conclusions, since meanwhile collections of Mishnayot and halakhic Midrashim (*Midreshei Halakhah*) had been compiled. In particular the Mishnah – since its redaction by R. Judah and its acceptance at the end of the tannaitic period and the beginning of the amoraic period – had become the legal codex to be studied and interpreted and serve as the basis and starting point for the creation and continued evolution of the *halakhah*. Of course the Written Law remained the primary source of the *halakhah*, occupying the highest rung on its scale of values and authority, yet the Mishnah and other tannaitic works now became the immediate source for purposes of study and adjudication in daily life. For the same reason there was a decline in interpretation aimed at integrating existing *halakhah* with scriptural texts; once the Mishnah had become an authoritative book of *halakhah* there was no longer a need for such integration in order to lend validity to a particular halakhic ruling, since the very inclusion of the latter in the Mishnah, and its integration into this authoritative compilation, sufficed to invest it with full legal-halakhic recognition and authority. Thus it is found that at times one *amora* was surprised by the efforts of another to integrate a known *halakhah* with a scriptural verse, when such *halakhah* could equally have been founded on logical deduction (see **Sevarah*): "Do we need Scripture to tell us this? It stands to reason" (BK 46b; Ket. 22a), a question never asked in tannaitic times even when the aim was merely to integrate a particular *halakhah* with a scriptural verse.

IN THE POST-TALMUDIC PERIOD. The redaction of the Talmud was followed by a general decline in Bible exegesis, even in the form of the integrative interpretation of existing *halakhah*. The link with the Written Law became a spiritual one, whereas in practical life adjudication was based on the talmudic *halakhah* as crystallized in the halakhic Midrashim, the Mishnah, the Tosefta, and both Talmuds. At the same time, it may be noted that sometimes the statements of the *geonim* and *rishonim* contain various interpretations of scriptural verses which are not recorded in the extant halakhic Midrashim. In some cases it transpires that such interpretations were taken from midrashic compilations available to the *rishonim* which are no longer extant (see e.g., Yad, Avadim 2:12, concerning the matter of a slave who falls ill, where the origin of an interpretation mentioned there remained unknown until the publication of the Mekh. Sb-Y to 21:2). However, sometimes it also happened that the post-talmudic scholars had recourse to Bible exegesis in seeking support for a new law derived from *sevarah* or enactment (*takkanah*); "Whenever it is known that a certain matter has been truly stated, but without ascertainment of the scriptural support, then everyone is free to interpret and advance such support" (Aaron ha-Levi of Barcelona, quoted in *Nimmukei Yosef*, BK, commencement of *Ha-Ḥovel*). The practical application of this procedure is illustrated in a number of instances (see, e.g., Yad, Arakhin 6:31–33 and Ravad, ad loc.; Resp. Maharshal no. 89; Resp. Radbaz no. 1049).

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In addition to the aforementioned, there are instances in which post-talmudic halakhic authorities relied on *halakhot* based on communal enactments or logical inference; there are even cases in which new laws were established in accordance with exegesis of biblical verses. For example, during the geonic period, it was established that when the brother of a deceased Jew is an apostate, the wife of the deceased is not bound by the laws of *yibbum* (levirate marriage) or *ḥaliẓah* if that brother changed his faith before the couple wed (see *Apostate, *Levirate Marriage). Rabbinic exegesis of the verse in the section dealing with *yibbum*, "If brethren dwell together" (Deut. 25:5), is that "brotherhood must reign between them at the time of marriage" (*Ginzei Schechter*, 1929, 2:173). It was therefore determined that an apostate, regarding whom no "brotherhood" reigns between himself and his biological brother, is not included in the positive precept of *yibbum*. Similarly, some of the *geonim* stated that in other cases as well there is no need for *yibbum*, for example, where the deceased himself changed his faith.

There are likewise cases of legal innovation in Maimonides' Code based on biblical exegesis. Thus, Maimonides rules that consuming human flesh is prohibited by dint of a positive precept, based upon his exegesis of the verse in Leviticus 11:2: "'These are the animals which you may eat' – anything outside that category may not be eaten." From here one may infer that consuming human flesh is prohibited by a positive precept. This exegesis has no basis in talmudic literature, and provoked criticism by other *rishonim* (Resp. Rashba, Ket. 20a).

Among other medieval Sages who gave halakhic rulings based on exegesis of biblical verses are *Sefer Yere'im* (*Sefer Yere'im ha-Shalem* 309) and Naḥmanides, in his Commentary on the Torah (Deut. 21:16).

Recent halakhic authorities also ruled on the basis of exegesis of the biblical text. Rabbi Meir Simḥah ha-Kohen of Dvinsk expounds the verse, "Go, return into Egypt; for all the men are dead that sought your life" (Exodus 4:19). From this, he inferred that one is not obligated to endanger his life in order to save the public at large, reasoning that Moses was not commanded to return to Egypt to save the People of Israel until his pursuers had died (*Or Same'aḥ* on Maim., Yad, Roẓe'aḥ 7:8). In another context he deduces that a thief must pay for what he stole, based on the verse "If he has nothing, then he shall be sold for his theft" (Exodus 22:2). On the basis of the location of this phrase in the chapter as a whole, he derives the rule that a thief may be sold as a slave for his theft only when he removed the object from the owner's property with his own hands, but not where he retained possession of an object temporarily given to him, with intent to steal it.

[Menachem Elon (2nd ed.)]

Thirteen Middot of R. Ishmael

The 13 hermeneutical rules of R. Ishmael (for a detailed enumeration see Sifra introd. and Ravad ad loc.; and see *Hermeneutics) belong mainly to two general categories of interpretations: one of elucidative interpretation (*midrash ha-meva'er*) – i.e., that which is concerned with the explanation and elucidation of scriptural passages; and the other of analogical interpretation (*midrash ha-mekish*) – i.e., that which is concerned with the drawing of analogous conclusions from one matter to another with a view to widening the law and solving new problems. The first category is akin to *interpretatio grammatica* in Roman law, but is much wider and more comprehensive, while the second is akin to *analogia*.

Elucidative Interpretation

This category includes the last ten of R. Ishmael's 13 hermeneutical rules, which are further subdivisible into four groups.

KELAL U-FERAT. ("the general and the particular"; *middot* 4–7): The central problem dealt with by the first three rules in this group may be stated as follows: when a law lays down a certain direction, which such a law renders operative both in particular and in general and the general includes the particular, must the direction be held to apply only to the particular expressly mentioned and the general be interpreted as including only such a particular and no more, or must it be held that the direction applies to everything embraced by the general and that the particular is quoted only in illustration of the general and not in exhaustion of it? This question is answered by the said three rules in different ways depending on the juxtaposition of the general and the particular (for illustrations of each of these rules, see Sifra introd.; BK 62b). The fourth rule deals with the case in which the general and the particular serve neither to amplify nor to limit, but the one is merely in elucidation of the other, i.e., the two are mutually interdependent (see Sifra introd.; Bek. 19a).

DAVAR SHE-HAYAH BA-KELAL VE-YAẒA MIN HA-KELAL. (middot 8–11: "the particular stated separately after forming part of the general"): The central problem to which the rules of this group provide help in finding an answer is: when there are two separate directions on a common matter (and not a simple direction with a generality and a particularity, as in the previous group) – the one a general direction (lex generalis) and the other a special direction (lex specialis) – what is the relationship between the two classes of directions and for what reason has the special direction been stated separately from the general one? The main and most commonly applied rule in this group is the eighth (see Mekh. Shabbata 1; Shab. 70a).

DAVAR HA-LAMED ME-INYANO, DAVAR HA-LAMED MI-SOFO. (*middah* 12; "inference from the context"): This rule prescribes that a doubtful direction is to be determined from the context in which it occurs, either from other parts of the same subject matter, or from the adjacent subject (see Mekh. ba-Ḥodesh 8, Sanh. 86a).

SHENEI KETUVIM HA-MAKHḤISHIM ZEH ET ZEH. (*middah* 13; "two passages which contradict each other"): This rule is applied in case of a contradiction between two passages dealing with the same topic (e.g., Sif. Deut. 279; BM 110b); between two passages in the same *parashah* (e.g., Mekh. Mishpatim 20); or even between two different parts of the same verse (Mekh. Mishpatim, end of 7). Such contradiction, the rule prescribes, must be reconciled by reference to a third passage which will determine the issue, or, when this is impossible, by the decision of the halakhic scholars according to their understanding of the matter (Sifra, introd.; TJ, Ḥag. 1:1).

INTERPRETATION OF WORDS AND PHRASES. Also belonging to the category of elucidative interpretation are many Midrashim purporting to explain various terms and concepts appearing in scriptural verses, and as an outcome also the content and scope of the scriptural direction (e.g., Mekh., Nezikin 1, explanation of the term *shevi'it*; Ber. 1:3, dispute between Bet Shammai and Bet Hillel concerning interpretation of the words *be-shokhbekha u-ve-kumekha* in the context of *keri'at Shema*). Similarly there are various exegetical rules dealing with matters such as the construction of conjunctive words and letters (e.g., Sanh. 66a, dispute between R. Joshia and R. Jonathan), the question of whether or not mention of the masculine gender includes the feminine (e.g., BK 15a; Tos. to Kid. 2b; Yad, Edut 9:2; and *Kesef Mishneh* thereto), and similar grammatical and syntactical constructions.

Analogical Interpretation

Analogical Interpretation (*midrash ha-mekish*): This category of interpretation is the subject matter of the first three of the 13 *middot* enumerated by R. Ishmael.

KAL VA-ḤOMER. (an a fortiori inference, a minori ad majus or a majori ad minus): The basis of this *middah* is found in Scripture itself (Gen. 44:8; Deut. 31:27) and the scholars enumerated ten pentateuchal *kallin va-ḥomarim* (Gen. R. 92:7). The rule of *kal va-ḥomer* (for correct reading of the term, see Schwarz, bibl. p. 8ff.) is a process of reasoning by analogy whereby an inference is drawn in both directions from one matter to another, when the two have a common premise – i.e., it can be drawn either from the minor to the major in order to apply the stringent aspect of the minor premise also (BM 95a), or from the major to the minor in order to apply the lighter aspect of the major premise to the minor premise (Beẓah 20b). Material to this rule is the principle *dayo la-ba min ha-din lihyot ka-niddon* (Sifra, loc. cit.; BK 25a, etc.), i.e., it suffices when the inference drawn from the argument (*ha-ba min ha-din*) is equal in stringency to the premise from which it is derived (the *niddon*), but not more so, not even when it might be argued that logically the inference should be even more stringent than the premise from which it is derived.

GEZERAH SHAVAH. ("inference from the analogy of words"): Scholars have given much thought to the etymology as well as the scope and content of this hermeneutic rule (see Lieberman in bibl.; Albeck, Mishnah, Kod., pp. 403f.). Lieberman translates the term as "a comparison with the equal" (*ibid.*, p. 59; in Scripture and halakhic literature the meaning of the term *gezerah* is "decision" or "decree"; cf. the meaning of the parallel Greek term, Lieberman, *ibid.*). Originally, *gezerah shavah* meant the analogy and comparison of two equal or similar matters, but later this rule came to refer "not to analogy of content but to identity of words" (i.e., verbal congruities in the text, Lieberman, *ibid.*, p. 61), even in the absence of any connection in content between the two matters. Some scholars held that an analogy was not to be drawn from one matter to another by way of a *gezerah shavah* unless the term in question was *mufneh* ("vacant," empty of content) in either of the matters (Nid. 22b; Sif. Deut. 249). This mode of interpretation – involving the deduction of halakhic inferences from analogous words only without regard for similarity of content between two separate matters – was likely to lead to comparisons for which there were no logical foundations and to strange and unusual halakhic conclusions (e.g., TJ, Pes. 6:1). However, this was avoided by the determination in talmudic tradition of the rule that "no one may infer by *gezerah shavah* on his own authority," i.e., this exegetical rule was to be applied only in cases where a scholar received a tradition from his teacher that the particular word or phrase might be interpreted by that method (TJ, Pes. 6:1; Nid. 19b and Rashi thereto; see also Naḥmanides Commentary to *Sefer ha-Mitzvot*, 2nd *shoresh*).

BINYAN AV. (a principle "built up" from biblical passages): This *middah* is enumerated by R. Ishmael in two parts: *binyan av mi-katuv eḥad* (e.g., Sanh. 30a; Sot. 2a) and *binyan av mi-shenei ketuvim* (e.g., Mekh. Mishpatim 9). It appears from the halakhic literature that the application of this rule was also extended to derivation of a principle from three passages (e.g., Sif. Num. 160) and even from four passages (e.g., BK 1:1). By this rule, a principle is constructed from one passage, or a characteristic common to several passages; the *av* is the basic premise, and the *binyan* is the principle constructed.

HEKKESH HA-KATUV. (analogy drawn in the Bible itself): To the category of exegetical principles by analogy must be added a further rule, which often appears in talmudic literature although it is not included in the 13 *middot* enumerated by R. Ishmael. This is known as *hekkesh ha-katuv*, or simply *hekkesh* (Zev. 49b; Sanh. 73a), and also as (*hishvah*) *ha-katuv* (Kid. 35a), etc. It is distinguished from the other three analogic *middot* by the fact that in their case it is the halakhic scholars who draw the analogy whereas *hekkesh ha-katuv* represents an analogy drawn in the Bible itself. From this point of view the rule has been of fundamental importance to the process of Bible exegesis, since it enabled halakhic scholars to find in the Bible itself the basis for reasoning by analogy for purposes of drawing legal conclusions. A classic example of this form of analogy is found in the scriptural passage dealing with the violation of a betrothed maiden (*na'arah me'orasah*, see *Marriage) which enjoins that the maiden, even though she is betrothed, must suffer no punishment: "But unto the damsel thou shalt do nothing; there is in the damsel no sin worthy of death – for as when a man riseth against his neighbor, and slayeth him, even so is this matter" (Deut. 22:26). Here, through analogy with the murderer's victim, Scripture holds the violated girl blameless, and the halakhic scholars pursued the analogic argument from the two cases, deriving additional *halakhot* from them (Sanh. 74a). Sometimes *hekkesh ha-katuv* occurs in implicit rather than in explicit form (Sif. Deut. 208).

For further particulars concerning the 13 *middot*, see *Hermeneutics.

Logical Interpretation

This third category of Midrash (i.e., in addition to the elucidative and analogic) plays an important role in the modes of interpretation in Jewish Law, although it is not enumerated among the 13 *middot*. Known as *midrash ha-higgayon*, it is similar to the Roman law *interpretatio logica*. In substance and objective, it is akin to the elucidative category, since its main purpose is to explain and contribute toward logical understanding of Scripture, and its application often led to the determination of new *halakhot* and legal principles. Thus, for instance, in the matter of the violation of a betrothed girl, the statement that nothing should be done to her, "For he found her in the field; the betrothed damsel cried, and there was none to save her" (Deut. 22:25–27), was interpreted in this way: the word field is not to be understood literally, but the measure of the damsel's innocence or guilt must be determined by her resistance or lack of it. "Shall it be said, in the city she is liable, in the field she is exempt? We are taught: 'she cried … and there was none to save her'; if there was none to save her whether in the city or in the field, she is exempt, and if there was someone to save her whether in the city or in the field, she is liable" (Sif. Deut. 243). Similarly, the enjoinder, "No man shall take the mill or the upper millstone to pledge; for he taketh a man's life to pledge" (Deut. 24:6) was interpreted as follows: "They spoke not only of the mill and the upper millstone, but of aught wherewith is prepared necessary food, as it is written 'For he taketh a man's life to pledge'" (BM 9:13; Sif. Deut. 272).

In this form of interpretation reliance is sometimes placed on logical reasoning which is circumscribed by factors of practical reality. Thus, from the enjoinder concerning the paschal sacrifice – "and the whole assembly of the congregation of Israel shall kill it" (Ex. 12:6) – R. Joshua b. Karḥa deduced the following legal principle: "Does then the whole assembly really slaughter? Surely only one person slaughters? Hence it follows that a man's agent is as himself" (Mekh. Pisḥa 5; Kid. 41b). In other words, as the verse cannot be literally interpreted since such would be physically impossible, it may be inferred that the act of one person can be attributed to another and regarded as his act and the same is true even of an entire assembly; this constitutes the principle of principal and agent. The mode of interpretation thus exemplified is akin to the *rerum natura* in Roman law.

Restrictive Interpretation

Just as Midrash served to extend the scope of the *halakhah* by the addition of new laws, so it sometimes served to narrow, to a varying extent, the operation of a particular law through a process of restrictive interpretation. Thus, for instance, the prohibition, "An Ammonite or a Moabite shall not enter into the assembly of the Lord; even to the tenth generation shall none of them enter into the assembly of the Lord forever" (Deut. 23:4), was restrictively interpreted by the scholars as applying to men only, thus rendering women acceptable immediately if they converted. Some scholars explained this law on the basis that the prohibition was enjoined "because they met you not with bread and with water on the way, when you came forth out of Egypt" (Deut. 23:5), a reason which was inapplicable to women because, for reasons of modesty, they are not in the habit of going out to meet other men; other scholars reasoned that the prohibition reads "an Ammonite but not an Ammonitess, a Moabite but not a Moabitess" (Yev. 8:3; Sif. Deut. 249; Yev. 77a). The scholars dated this interpretation to the time of the prophet Samuel, who anointed David king over Israel (I Sam. 16:13), and held it to be the explanation for David's entry "into the assembly of the Lord," even though he was descended from Ruth the Moabitess (Yev. 77a).

At times the text was so restrictively interpreted as to make any practical application of the law impossible from the start. This is illustrated in the matter of the stubborn and *rebellious son, of whom it was said that he must be brought before the city elders and stoned to death (Deut. 21:18–21). The relevant verses were interpreted as meaning that the law only applied if the son committed the transgression within three months of his reaching the age of 13 years – and even then he was to be held exempt, unless the proceedings against him were completed within the same period (Sanh. 8:1; Sanh. 68b–69a). In addition, the passage was interpreted as requiring the existence of various preconditions relating to the qualities of the parents (*ibid.*). The practical impossibility of having all these conditions fulfilled is recognized in tannaitic tradition: "There never has been a stubborn and rebellious son, and never will be. Why then was the law written? That you may study it and receive reward" (Tosef. Sanh. 11:6; Sanh. 71a). A similar interpretation was given by the scholars to the passage concerning the destruction of a city condemned for idolatry (Deut. 13:13–17; Sif. Deut. 92; Sanh. 16b; 71a; 111b; 113a; Tosef. Sanh. 14:1).

INTERPRETATION OF THE *HALAKHAH*

Use of the Principles of Bible Exegesis for Interpretation of the *Halakhah*

Just as the *middot* and other rules for Bible exegesis served the scholars as a source for the shaping of the *halakhah* and its continued creativity and development, so the scholars engaged in the same interpretative activity – and with the same objective – with regard to the available halakhic material. This activity may be referred to as *Midrash Halakhah* as opposed to Midrash Torah which has been dealt with so far. Interpretation of the *halakhah* continued to be engaged in throughout the history of Jewish law, and at times, for purposes of a particular exegetical rule, the scholars distinguished between modes of interpreting the Bible and those of interpreting the *halakhah*. The term Midrash was even used by the scholars to describe the latter. Thus, for instance, in early *halakhah* – until the middle of the second century – the duty of a father to maintain his children was in the nature of a religio-moral obligation only and not a legal one (Ket. 49a–b); the question arose whether the absence of a legal obligation applied to sons only, and whether such a duty did not in fact exist in respect of daughters, in the same way as they were entitled to be maintained out of the estate of their deceased father. The answer was arrived at in this way: "The father is not liable for the maintenance of his daughter. R. Eleazar b. Azariah gave this exposition (*zeh midrash darash*) at Kerem be-Yavneh. 'The sons shall be heirs and the daughters shall be maintained.' As the sons only inherit after the death of their father, so the daughters are not entitled to maintenance except after the death of their father" (Ket. 4:6). The dictum that "the sons shall be heirs and the daughters shall be maintained" derived from an ancient rabbinical enactment relating to the laws of succession (BB 9:1, 131b) and R. Eleazar, reasoning that the two component *halakhot* of the dictum were analogous, concluded that both were applicable at a common stage – namely after the death of the father.

Restrictive and Expansive Interpretation

Many *halakhot* were derived from both restrictive and expansive interpretation. Thus for instance the Mishnah records a dispute between Bet Hillel and Bet Shammai on whether the then existing *halakhah* concerning the trustworthiness of a woman's declaration of her husband's death (so as to enable her to remarry) had to be narrowly or widely interpreted (Yev. 15:1–2). Similarly, as regards the legal capacity of a minor to acquire lost property he found himself, the *amora* Samuel gives the term *katan* ("minor"), which appears in the Mishnah (BM 1:5), a restrictive interpretation referring to biological minority, holding that no minor is capable of acquiring for himself lost property; R. Johanan, on the other hand, gives the same term the liberal interpretation of referring only to those who are maintained by their fathers, and therefore "a minor who is not maintained by his father is regarded as a major" (BM 12a–b). A further illustration is to be found in the different interpretations given by the *amoraim* of Ereẓ Israel and of Babylonia to the Mishnah, BK 3:1 (see BK 27b).

Interpretation of the *Halakhah* in Post-Talmudic Times

In post-talmudic times the scholars of every generation continued to apply all the different modes of interpretation to the existing *halakhah*. For this purpose they even resorted to some of the 13 *middot* (see, e.g., Resp. Abraham, son of Maimonides, nos. 78 and 97; Resp. Rambam (in Assaf, *Sifran shel Rishonim*), no. 3; Resp. Rashba vol. 2, no. 14; Resp. Maharam of Rothenburg, ed. Prague, no. 85; Resp. Rosh, 78:1, 3). In one instance a 15th-century scholar expounded the responsum of an earlier scholar by the rule of *kelal u-ferat* in order to solve a basic legal problem in the field of the public law, one concerning the power of the communal representatives (Resp. Judah Mintz no. 7).

INTERPRETATION OF DOCUMENTS

In early times there had already evolved a further category of Midrash – that concerning the interpretation of the text of various legal documents in daily use, such as the **ketubbah* deed and deeds of *acquisition (*kinyan*), indebtedness, testamentary disposition, and the like. The documents, the text of which was sometimes determined by the scholars and sometimes by popular usage, became integrated into the overall Jewish legal system, extending and developing it. In their study of such documents, whether theoretically or for the practical purpose of deciding the law, the scholars were faced with the need to elucidate and understand their contents, and to this end, they had recourse to interpretative norms used in the exegesis of the Bible and the *halakhah*, and, in the course of time, developed additional – and sometimes different – interpretative norms.

***Doreshin Leshon Hedyot* ("interpreting human speech")**
Interpretation of documents was originally referred to as *doreshin leshon hedyot* (Tosef. Ket. 4:9ff.; TJ, Ket. 4:8, 28d; TJ, Yev. 15:3, 14d; BM 104a), since the scholars "used to analyze and interpret the language used by men in writing their deeds, as they would do with Scripture … and not according to the literal meaning" (quoted in the name of Hai in Nov. Ramban to BM 104a and in commentary of Zechariah b. Judah Agamati to BM loc. cit., p. 143 – a photographic reprint of the Ms. published by Jacob Leveen, London, 1961). The term *leshon hedyot* came to be used in contradistinction to *leshon Torah* (in a similar manner to *mamon hedyot* ("property of human beings") and *mamon gavohah* ("sacred property"), in Kid. 1:6; see Agamati, loc. cit.), since even documents formulated by the scholars, such as the *ketubbah* deed, fall within the rule's applicability. In the Talmud, various examples are quoted of documents interpreted in accordance with *leshon hedyot*, for instance deeds of *ketubbah*, lease of a field, pledge, etc. (Tosef., TJ, and TB, loc. cit.), and in this manner problems of principle were sometimes solved. Thus it is recorded that in Alexandria, Egypt, there occurred cases of women who entered into *kiddushin* with a particular man but prior to completion of the marriage (the *nissu'in*) married another man; in these circumstances the children born of the latter marriage had to be regarded as *mamzerim*, since their mother was already an *eshet ish*, a woman already married (see *Marriage; **Mamzer*). However, Hillel the Elder studied the *ketubbah* deeds of the women in Alexandria and interpreted "*leshon hedyot*," finding it written in the *ketubbah* that the *kiddushin* was to be regarded as valid only if followed by a marriage (*ḥuppah*) between the parties – and since the condition remained unfulfilled in the case of the first *kiddushin* it followed that the latter was no *kiddushin* at all and therefore the children born of the husband to whom she was actually married were not to be regarded as having any blemish of status (Tosef., TJ, and TB, loc. cit.). The concept of *doreshin leshon hedyot* was also held to be a principle applicable to the laws of *custom.

***Ha-Kol Holekh Aḥar ha-Taḥton* ("all according to the latter reference")**
There has also been extensive discussion in Jewish law of various problems relating to the interpretation of legal documents, aimed at the elucidation of the text and of various terms which appear in them as well as the reconciliation of conflicting passages in the same document. The following are some of the rules of principle derived for this purpose. If there are two conflicting references to the same subject, for instance first a figure of 100 is mentioned and thereafter a figure of 200, then the rule is, "all according to the latter reference," since it is to be assumed that what is first stated has been retracted (BB 10:2; Yad, Malveh 27:14; Sh. Ar., ḤM 42:5; see also Nov. Ri Migash BB 166b). It was laid down that if there is a possibility of reconciling a divergence between two different parts of a deed, "we must endeavor, in whatever way possible, to uphold both as being in agreement with each other … even if the possibility is somewhat strained" (Resp. Ribash no. 249; Sh. Ar., ḤM 42:5 and Sma thereto, n. 10). Sometimes the first reference is to be followed as the decisive one. Thus, for instance, if at the beginning of a deed there is a detailed enumeration of the items composing the total amount and at the end the total amount is set out and it is at variance with the enumerated details, it has to be assumed that an error was made in the calculation of the total amount and the detailed enumeration must be regarded as decisive – i.e., the first reference is followed (R. Isaiah, quoted in Tur, ḤM 42:8 and in Sh. Ar., ḤM 42:5).

***Yad Ba'al ha-Shetar al ha-Taḥtonah* ("the holder of a deed is at a disadvantage")**
Another rule is that in case of doubt over the correct interpretation of a document "the holder of a deed is at a disadvantage," i.e., the interpretation that is less onerous for the person in possession must be followed, since the burden of proof rests on the claimant – who is the holder of the deed (Ket. 83b; BB 166a; Yad, Malveh 27:16; Sh. Ar., ḤM 42:8). This rule also applies when the doubt arises from conflicting references in different parts of the deed if in the particular circumstances the rule of "all in accordance with the latter reference" has no reasonable application in the matter. Thus, for example, if the words "100 which are 200" are written in a deed, there will be no possibility of saying that the second reference (200) is a retraction of the first (100), and therefore the holder of the deed will be at a disadvantage and entitled to recover 100 only (BB 10:2; Yad, Malveh 27:14). However, the rule is applied only if it does not have the effect of prejudicing the validity of the deed even when it is interpreted in accordance with the statement of particulars which is less onerous for the person in possession. If the choice is between upholding the deed or invalidating it entirely, the holder of the deed must not be deemed to be at a disadvantage, but on the contrary at an advantage, "for we must at all times seek all possible ways of upholding the validity of a deed, even if in a circuitous manner" (Resp. Ribash no. 345). For this reason it was held by Asher b. Jehiel that in a deed in which A undertook to give B 15 *zehuvim* "after Passover" – and not "after next Passover" – the undertaking must be interpreted as intended to mean "after next Passover," otherwise it would have to be said that the reference was to the last Passover before the end of the world, an interpretation that would deprive the deed of all meaning and validity (Resp. Rosh, no. 68:14; Sh. Ar., ḤM 42:9). Clearly, in the case of a legal error in the formulation of a deed – for instance mention

of an inappropriate **kinyan* – the deed will be invalid (Resp. Maharik no. 94; *Rema*, ḤM 42:9).

Interpretation *le-Fi Leshon Benei-Adam* ("according to the common usage of the people")

The terms which appear in a deed are to be given their ordinary meaning as used by people in their everyday speech and not interpreted according to their meaning in the language of the Torah or of the scholars. Thus it was laid down that a person who bequeathed his property to his sons thereby excluded his grandsons from the estate, since it was not customary for people to refer to a grandson as a "son" (*ben*) even though the word had this meaning in biblical language (BB 143b and Rashbam ad loc.; Yad., Zekhiyyah 11:1; Sh. Ar., ḤM 247:3). The scholars drew a parallel between the interpretation of terms in documents and those used by a person in making a vow (BB 143b; Ned. 63a) – since in each case the meaning which the person attaches to the document he has prepared or the vow he has made is of decisive importance. In the case of a vow the rule is: "the speech of men is followed" (*aḥar leshon benei adam*; Ned. 51b, et al.). This rule was interpreted to mean the speech of men "in the place, in the language, and at the time the vow was made" (Yad, Nedarim 9:1, 13; Sh. Ar., YD 217:1), i.e., according to the meaning of the term employed by the person taking the vow, so as to take into account any possible change in the meaning of a particular term – even in the same locality – from time to time (see Yad, Nedarim 9; Sh. Ar., YD 217). In the responsa literature this rule is discussed extensively, along with its influence in bringing about differences between certain rules relating to the exegesis of the Bible and the *halakhah* and those relating to the interpretation of documents (see, e.g., Resp. Maharik no. 10; Resp. Rashba, vol. 3, no. 26; vol. 5, no. 260; Resp. Maharashdam EH no. 45; see also *Wills).

Interpretation of Contracts

INTERPRETATIONS BASED ON ASSESSING THE PARTIES' INTENT. In addition to the rule discussed above whereby meaning is determined by common usage, another approach to interpretation of contracts is that of presumption based on the parties' express statements (*umdana be-gilui da'at*; see *Evidence). Despite the principle that "words of the heart, if unexpressed, are not words" (Kid. 49b, see update to *Mistake), there are still certain kinds of stipulations that need not be expressed, because we may presume a person's intent (see *Evidence). By dint of these presumptions, the court may determine that a particular condition is not "unexpressed," but rather "universally talked about and understood to apply" (*Rabbenu Nissim*, on the folios of Rif, Kid. 20b; *Tosafot* at Kid. 49b). It was further determined that the rule by which matters not expressed explicitly are considered "words of the heart," and thus not to be taken into account, only applies to those matters that are normally explicitly expressed in formulating legal documents. Where it can be presumed that the parties to a contract did not feel compelled to give written expression to certain matters by reason of their being manifestly clear even without being recorded, they may be treated as valid, and the rule that words of the heart are not words does not apply (*Hiddushei Ha-Rashba*, Kid. 50a, in the name of *Sefer Yere'im*).

The Supreme Court of the State of Israel discussed the position of Jewish Law on interpreting a contract in accordance with the presumed intent of the parties in the *Hazan* case (CA 893/03 *Bank Le'umi v. Hazan*; per Justice Eliakim Rubenstein). In that case, it was clear that, when the contract was concluded, the two parties had differing subjective understandings of a certain matter; the plaintiff requested that the Court interpret the contract objectively, in accordance with its purpose, even if it was contrary to the intention evidenced by its wording. The Court discussed the sources quoted above regarding unexpressed words and conditions, and observed that even in Jewish Law there are certain extreme situations in which the court interprets a person's words while consciously ignoring that person's own contrary intention. An example of this is where the Court administers lashes to a recalcitrant husband until he says he "wants" to give his wife a *get* (see: *Divorce; *Piskei Maharit ha-Ḥadashim* 2). In this particular case, the Court decided that it was not unreasonable to interpret the contract solely in accordance with its language, and neither did this divest the contract of its meaning. Accordingly, a purposive construction of the contract in accordance with the plaintiff's understanding of its objective, and of the parties' intention, would be one based upon "words of the heart" where there was no evidence that such was really their intent. Hence the contract could not be interpreted that way.

PRESUMPTION OF A DOCUMENT'S VALIDITY. The aforementioned principle, whereby a document must be given an interpretation that retains its effectiveness, also applies to the invalidation of a document. When a document bears two possible interpretations, one of which renders it invalid, the interpretation that retains its validity should be adopted. In accordance with this principle, the Tosefta determines that, if the date recorded on a bond of debt is the Sabbath or Yom Kippur, which clearly indicates that the date is a mistake, the date is to be fixed as later than the date on which the debt was actually created, thereby allowing for validation of the bond. In such a case we do not say that the debt was created later than the date recorded in the bond, which would render the bond invalid (Tosef. Makk. 1:3; BB 171a; Yad, Malveh ve-Loveh 23:4). In this kind of case, where the question is whether the entire document is invalid, the regular legal presumptions are not applied. In other words, there is no application of the evidentiary rules under which "the burden of proof lies on the claimant" (BK 35a) and "the holder of the deed is at a disadvantage" (BB 173a). Rather, the law is that precisely the party that seeks to invalidate the document – i.e., the party holding the money – is at a disadvantage (Rashbam, ad loc.).

Nonetheless, where the interpretive doubt pertains to the law, or to a mistake in the law, rather than to a doubt regarding the factual situation, the document does not enjoy a presumption of validity. Rather, the normal rule that "the holder of the deed is at a disadvantage" will apply. Thus, for example, a case arose in which a person undertook a contractual obligation, and a disagreement arose over whether or not the contract's wording was valid and binding. Rabbi Joseph ben Solomon Colon (Resp. Maharik 94.7) ruled that the person standing to gain by virtue of the contract was at a disadvantage, and would have to adduce proof that the law sided with him.

INTERPRETATION IN ACCORDANCE WITH CONTEXT AND CUSTOM. When a document can be interpreted in two different ways, but a certain interpretation appears more reasonable according to the prevailing custom in a particular location, then the rule that the holder of the deed is at a disadvantage and that the plaintiff bears the burden of proof is not applied. Application of these rules would mean accepting a less plausible interpretation to the manner of fulfilling the obligations created by the document. Rather, the deed ought to be interpreted in accordance with prevailing custom in that place (Resp. Rashbash, no. 354). The Israel Supreme Court relied on this principle in interpreting a contract in the *Katan* case (HC 442/77 *Katan v. the City of Holon*, PD 32(1) 494, page 498, per Justice Menachem Elon). The Court concluded:

> This is the essence of one of the underlying principles governing the doctrine of custom in Jewish law: "Any *halakhah* which is not firmly entrenched in the practice of the *bet din* and whose nature you do not know, go and observe the practice of the public and abide by their practice" (TJ, Peah 7:5 [34a]; Ma'aser Sheni 5:2 [30a]).
>
> Similarly, Rabbi Solomon ben Simeon *Duran (15th century), ruled regarding the interpretation of documents: "Whenever the wording in a document is unclear, follow local custom with respect to all of the matters in which they customarily deal" (Resp. Rashbash, ad loc.).

In that case, the Court also resorted to the principle of *doreshin leshon hedyot* (ascertaining lay usage: Tosef. BB 11:7), and ruled that the contractual provision in question should be interpreted in terms of the substantive context in which it appears, in accordance with the 12th of Rabbi Ishmael's 13 canons of Talmudic exposition of the Scriptures – *"davar ha-lamed me-inyano"* – that an ambiguous word or passage is explained on the basis of its context (*ibid.*).

[Menachem Elon (2nd ed.)]

INTERPRETATION OF *TAKKANOT HA-KAHAL*

The interpretation of *takkanot ha-kahal* ("communal enactments," i.e., *takkanot* enacted by the community or its representatives in the fields of civil and criminal law (see **Takkanot ha-Kahal*)) constitutes a category which is related to the interpretation of documents. Communal enactments appeared in Jewish law mainly from the tenth century onward, with the increasing importance of the Jewish community in the various centers of the Diaspora, and are parallel to legislative activities by the public and its representatives in other legal systems. As in the case of statutes, regulations, etc., in any other legal system, in the course of their practical application in daily life the Jewish communal enactments also led to the development of an imposing system of norms for their interpretation.

Entrustment of Interpretative Authority

In the main, authority to interpret communal enactments was entrusted to the halakhic scholars before whom an issue between parties would be aired. The issue was sometimes between individuals, sometimes between an individual and the community, and sometimes between different communities. In a considerable proportion of the responsa literature dealing with matters of public, civil, and criminal law, there are detailed discussions by the scholars on the interpretation of the communal enactments at issue. At times – in the *takkanah* itself – authority to interpret a *takkanah* was vested in the halakhic scholars (see, e.g., *Takkanot Medinat Mehrin*, no. 292), and at others in the communal leaders (see Resp. Rashba, vol. 3, no. 409; vol. 5, nos. 221, 289). However, interpretative authority would be vested in the communal leaders only if doubt existed about the meaning of any particular term, but the leaders would have no authority to depart from the reasonable meaning of the term; the authority to determine the existence, or otherwise, of any doubt concerning the meaning of the term would once again be entrusted to the halakhic scholars (see Resp. Ritba, no. 134).

Interpretation of *Takkanot le-Fi Leshon Benei Adam* ("in accordance with their common usage")

In dealing with the interpretation of communal enactments, the halakhic scholars laid down many rules for the interpretation of statutes. For the interpretation of both communal enactments and documents, there was a common rule, requiring that they be interpreted according to "the speech of men," i.e., in accordance with the common usage of the terms employed (Ritba, loc. cit.). Thus it was decided that a reference in a *takkanah* to the term *shetar* ("deed") could not be interpreted as embracing a wife's *get* ("bill of divorce"), even though this was sometimes the case in the language of the scholars (e.g., Git. 10b; Kid. 5a–b), since "in common usage the term *get* is particularly and solely applied to bills of divorcement for women, and other *shetarot* are never called by the name of *get*, nor is a woman's *get* ever called a *shetar*" (Resp. Ribash, no. 304). Clearly, there was not always necessarily a variation between common usage and that of the scholars and sometimes there may exist a continuing identity of meaning in the language of Scripture, that of the scholars, and the common usage of the people (Resp. Rashba, vol. 4, no. 312). Since the communal enactments were of far more substantive and general significance and validity than were the documents of individuals, it follows that more fundamental and comprehensive norms came to be determined for the interpretation of the former. Some of these are outlined below.

Interpretation in Accordance with the Language of the *Takkanah*

It was laid down that a *takkanah* must be interpreted according to the view and understanding of those qualified to do so, in accordance with the ordinary meaning of the text (Resp. Rashba, vol. 4, no. 308; vol. 5, no. 247), and not according to the intention of those who enacted it (*ibid.*, vol. 3, no. 409), nor to the supposed motivating reasons of the latter (*ibid.*, vol. 4, no. 268). This rule is much discussed in the interpretation of *takkanot* in various legal fields, particularly family law (Resp. Rosh, no. 50:10), the law of hire (Tashbeẓ 2:61), and tax law (Rashba, vol. 5, no. 282, see also *Taxation). However, the text of the *takkanot* may be contradicted if it may reasonably be assumed that a scribal error was made when it was drafted (Resp. Rosh, no. 6:8).

Circumstances in Which the Background to a *Takkanah* and Its Motivating Factors May Be Taken into Account

In circumstances where the intention of a *takkanah* may be presumed as a matter of "common cause" (*kavvanot muskamot la-kol*), the *takkanah* may be interpreted accordingly (Resp. Rashba, vol. 3, no. 409). Thus where it was enacted that the taxpayers had to submit their declarations at "the synagogue" – which served as the central gathering place for the community – it was held that not the synagogue itself was intended, but areas such as the courtyard or the upper floor, even though these had distinctive names, since the matter at issue was not one of prayer (Resp. Rashba, vol. 5, no. 222). It was also laid down that rigid formalism was to be avoided in the interpretation of a *takkanah* (*ibid.*, vol. 3, nos. 407, 408).

For purposes of understanding the objective of a *takkanah*, its preamble was also sometimes relied on even though it was not an integral part of the enactment (Rashba, vol. 5, no. 287; Resp. Ribash, no. 331). Similarly, it was held that in cases where the text allows for two possible interpretations, the one beneficial to the public and the other prejudicial to it, the former must be adopted since the general objective of every *takkanah* is to increase the public good and not the contrary (Resp. Rashba, vol. 5, no. 287). Hence it was decided that a certain *takkanah* purporting to prohibit public worship in all but certain places could not be assumed to have intended the prohibition of public worship in a synagogue to be erected in the future. It must be interpreted only as prohibiting such worship in the homes of individuals – even though such an interpretation was a strain on the text – for otherwise the *takkanah* would "prevent many from fulfilling a *mitzvah*" and amount to something "distorted and improper" (Resp. Ribash, no. 331). In such a case it was held permissible to consult the community about its intention in enacting the *takkanah*, but the explanatory remarks should only be accepted if it was stated that at the time of enactment of the *takkanah* it was thought that the relevant intention was actually expressed in the text. If at that time it was known that the meaning of the text varied from the avowed intention of those who enacted it, the explanation would not avail and the *takkanah* must be interpreted within the ordinary meaning of the text (*ibid.*).

Conflicting Provisions and Ambiguity in the Text

Conflicting provisions in the text of a *takkanah* must be interpreted, in the case of a suit between two parties, in favor of the defendant (Resp. Rashba, vol. 3, no. 397; vol. 5, no. 281). In other cases, for instance a *takkanah* dealing with the authority of the trustees of the community chest to make expenditures, it was held that the rule of "all according to the latter reference" (see above) must be followed, but the attempt should be made to reconcile, as far as possible, conflicting references to the same matter, as in the interpretation of documents (see above; Resp. Rashba, vol. 3, no. 386). At times such conflicts were held to be completely irreconcilable and it was decided that perhaps they had to be ascribed to clerical error (Resp. Rashba, loc. cit.). In case of doubt about the meaning of the text, an interpretation must be preferred which excludes any matter of halakhic controversy from the area of the application of the *takkanah*, and in interpreting the meaning of a *takkanah* it is permissible to be guided by the manner of its practical application in daily life for a certain period after its enactment (Resp. Ribash, no. 304). In their interpretation of communal enactments, the halakhic scholars were much guided by a comprehensive study of the entire collection of *takkanot* in which the enactment in question appeared, in order to draw analogies from one provision to another, either to distinguish between them or to apply to the one the terms of the other. Not only the analogic modes of interpretation were applied to communal enactments but also those of elucidative interpretation (see above; for an illustration of the interpretation of a *takkanah* by the rule of *kelal u-ferat*, see Resp. Rashba, vol. 3, no. 396); they also dealt in detail with interpretation of words and phrases. In the course of these discussions by halakhic scholars, the Jewish legal system was enriched by the addition of many and varied canons of interpretation (see further Resp. Rashba, vol. 5, nos. 126, 277, 279, 284, 285, 288, 290; vol. 6, no. 7; Resp. Rosh, no. 55:9; Resp. Ritba, no. 50; Resp. Ribash, no. 249). These offer profitable jurisprudential sources concerning interpretation of laws and statutes.

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An example of the principle that communal enactments should be interpreted according to their wording rather than their unstated objective appears in a responsum of Rashba. Rashba was asked regarding a communal enactment concerning taxes, whose objective was to enable more extensive collection of taxes from the population. But in fact the enactment created a situation in which a particular citizen paid less than what he would have paid without the enactment. The community argued that the enactment should be interpreted in terms of its objective, i.e. the intent of the community that enacted it, even if this absolutely contradicts its explicit language. Rashba rejected their claim, ruling that these (the community's claims) are unexpressed intentions, and that an unexpressed intention is of no legal weight (lit. "words in the heart are not words"), and that the clear language of the enactment is therefore binding (Resp. Rashba 5:282).

The Supreme Court of the State of Israel relied on the Rashba's comments in its interpretation of legislation. In the *Bank Leumi* case (HC 333/78 *Bank Leumi Trust Company v.*

the Estate Tax Authority, PD 32(3) 202, per Justice Menahem Elon), the Court ruled, in accordance with the Rashba's responsum, that the law should be interpreted "according to what can be inferred from it, and not according to the intent that the legislator may have had, when that intent cannot be elicited from the law's unequivocal wording" *(ibid.*, page 214; see also CA 460/00, *Maman v. the Customs Authority*, PD 57(2) 461, page 473, Justice Y. Turkel). Similarly, the Supreme Court ruled that the interpretation of a legal term must be rendered in accordance with the meaning afforded it by common usage, in accordance with the manner of interpreting communal enactments in Jewish law (CA 534/79 *Efrat v. the State of Israel*, PD 35(4) 729, page 734).

Judicial Interpretation – Judgment in Perfect Truth

The phrase "*din emet le-amitto*" (judgment in perfect truth) coined by the Sages, apparently during the amoraic period, is a highly instructive one. The Sages said, "A judge who delivers a judgment in perfect truth causes the Divine Presence to dwell in Israel" (Sanh. 7a) and, "It is as though he was made a partner to God in the Creation act" (Shab. 10a).

One interpretation of this phrase was provided by Rabbi Joshua Falk Katz (*Derisha*, ḤM 2; Poland, 17th century). He explained:

> "Judgment in perfect truth" means judging in accordance with the time and place, where the truth depends on these factors, as distinct from judgment that is always in accordance with the strict law of the Torah. Sometimes the judge has to rule *lifnim mi-shurat ha-din* (beyond the letter of the law) in accordance with the times and the context …

An example of the judicial application of this rule in the State of Israel is provided by the ruling in the Hoffman case (HC 257/89 *Hoffman v. the Custodian of the Western Wall*, 48 (2) 265). In that case, a petition was submitted by a group of women who sought to pray at the *Western Wall Plaza dressed in prayer shawls and carrying Torah scrolls. Their attempts to do so at that location provoked rioting and disturbances by a large number of worshipers there, as what they were doing contradicted the laws and customs of prayers prevailing there. One of the focuses of the ruling was Regulation 2(a) (1a) of the Protection of Holy Places Law, which forbids "conducting a religious ceremony not in accordance with the custom of the place …," the question being how to interpret the expression "custom of the place." In his judgment, Justice Elon ruled that "due to the uniqueness of the Western Wall and the tremendous sensitivities prevailing at the Jewish people's holiest site, prayer must be conducted at this special place in accordance with a common denominator that accommodates the prayers of every Jew, whoever he may be – namely, the local custom that has prevailed there throughout the generations" (page 290 of the ruling). Justice Elon concluded his comments by relating to the above-cited ruling of Rabbi Joshua Falk Katz:

> Where the issue is a sensitive, crucial matter in the world of Jewish Law, regarding the most holy place for Judaism and Israel, throughout the generations since the destruction of the Temple, it is right and proper to conduct oneself *lifnim mi-shurat ha-din*, in accordance with the common denominator applying to all Jews, whoever they may be, so that they can all approach the *Kotel* at all times, whispering their prayers before their Maker, for the welfare and integrity of Jerusalem their capital. And may we deliver judgment in perfect truth (*ibid.*, page 351).

Regarding the interpretation of laws in the State of Israel in accordance with Jewish Law, see *Mishpat Ivri – Jewish Law in the State of Israel.

[Menachem Elon (2nd ed.)]

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INTIFADA. This entry deals with the origins and ramifications of the first Intifada, which commenced in late 1987. For its subsequent course and for the second, so-called al-Aqsa Intifada, see *Israel, State of: Historical Survey; *Israel, State of: Israel Defense Forces (The War against Terror).

CAUSES OF THE UPRISING

Like any large-scale, prolonged event, the uprising of Arabs in Judea, Samaria, and the Gaza Strip had a number of underlying as well as more immediate and concrete causes and was triggered by the interaction of these two levels.

Underlying Causes

The primary motivation was national: the fierce desire of the approximately 1.7 million Palestinian Arabs – 900,000 in Judea-Samaria (the West Bank), 630,000 in the Gaza Strip, and 130,000 in East Jerusalem – to divest themselves of Israeli rule. Contrary to Israeli hopes, 20 years of "occupation" did not bring the Palestinian population to accept Israeli rule. No genuine coexistence emerged. On the contrary, over the years the Palestinians' national consciousness intensified and deepened.

The second factor was the squalid living conditions in the refugee camps, especially in the Gaza Strip, made even more unbearable due to rapid population growth.

Generally speaking it was the refugees, impelled by their harsh living conditions, who were initially in the forefront of the uprising, especially in the Gaza Strip though also in Judea-Samaria.

The third factor was an ongoing and powerful sense of humiliation, deprivation, frustration, and discrimination. A feeling of humiliation was pervasive in life under protracted occupation. Individuals felt humiliated when, for example, they were subjected to strip-searches as part of security checks for residents returning from Jordan via the two Jordan River bridges.

A sense of deprivation and discrimination was discernible in many of the young people who worked in Israel. Over half of the male workforce in the Gaza Strip (50,000 out of 90,000 men) and about one-third of the workforce in Judea-Samaria (50,000 out of 150,000) were employed in Israel. The result was an inevitable sense of discrimination, as they received lower wages than Israelis, were ineligible for tenure, and were often employed in menial labor.

The fourth factor was a fierce enmity for Israel on religious grounds, most potently in the Gaza Strip. Various analyses conclude that the momentum for the uprising in the Gaza Strip was primarily religious, characterized by an uncompromising fanaticism and a burning hatred of Israel.

The fifth factor was the emergence of a new generation of youngsters since the advent of Israeli rule who had no memory of the Jordanian and Egyptian regimes in the West Bank and Gaza, respectively, or of the heavy hand wielded by their security forces. They spoke a different language from their parents, let alone their grandparents, and railed at them for their submissiveness during two decades of Israeli rule and for shirking their national duty to rise up against the occupiers.

The sixth factor was the growing conviction of the Arabs in the Administered Territories that neither the Arab states nor the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) could advance their national interest. Israel's deputy chief of staff said that "the uprising is an attempt to attain goals and objectives that Arab armies and terrorism were unable to achieve."

The seventh element was the organizational infrastructure created by the Palestinians in the preceding years, without which it is doubtful whether the uprising would have broken out or lasted so long. Its major components include the following:

1. Former prison inmates, individuals imprisoned for acts of terrorism who, after their release, rehabilitated themselves with the aid of the PLO by becoming active in national organizations or in Islamic groups. There were estimated to be about 25,000 of these former prison inmates, including some 600 terrorists released in the 1985 deal with the Jibril organization, who remained in the Administered Territories or Jerusalem.

2. Trade unions. Ultimately four federations of workers – run by Fataḥ, George Ḥabash's Popular Front, Naif Hawatmeh's Democratic Front, and the communists – emerged. By 1987 there were 180 unions in the Administered Territories, operating in every city and large village. The leading activists in the unions were former prisoners.

3. Women's organizations. The dominant influence was exercised by left-wing organizations, which preceded Fataḥ by some years. In 1988 four organizations were unified under a single roof-organization called the "Supreme Women's Council." The four PLO affiliates are: The Union of Women's Work Committees, founded in 1978 by the Democratic Front; The Union of the Palestinian Working Women, founded by the Communist Party in 1978; The Women's Union for Social Work, a Fataḥ-affiliated group founded at a relatively late date, in 1981; and The Palestinian Women's Union, affiliated with the Popular Front, that commenced its activity in early 1981 in the Bethlehem area.

4. Charitable societies. From the late 1970s these organizations were undergoing a process of severance from the Israeli authorities. There were several hundred charitable societies in the Territories. In Judea-Samaria alone there were 206 societies (as of March 1989), of which 45 were operated by women and 94 jointly by men and women. The Judea-Samaria societies employed 2,240 men and women and could call on tens of thousands of activists and volunteers.

5. Student unions. In June 1967 not a single university existed in the Territories; by 1990 there were six in the West Bank and one in the Gaza Strip. The universities were hothouses for Palestinian nationalism and revolutionary ideas, and over the

years students were the primary instigators of disturbances. The early 1980s saw the establishment of the West Bank General Council for Higher Education.

6. Fataḥ's Shabiba youth movement. The Shabiba, the largest and most established youth organization in the Territories, fueled the uprising, chiefly in the West Bank. It was founded by Fataḥ in 1981. Initially the organization was comprised of former security prisoners and other nationalist activists within the Fataḥ framework. In 1983–84 the organization began operating in the Gaza Strip (where Islamic elements are dominant), setting up 150 local committees.

7. Islamic movements. In the Gaza Strip Islamic groups were the prime propellants of the uprising, especially the Muslim Brothers and the Islamic Jihad. The Muslim Brothers operated under cover of an association called al-Mujamaa al-Islami which was registered with the Israeli authorities in 1978. The Military Government had permitted its establishment hoping that it would constitute a counterweight to the PLO.

A militant offshoot of the Muslim Brothers known as "Hamas" (Arabic acronym for Islamic Resistance Movement, meaning fervent ardor) began operating in the Gaza Strip shortly after the start of the Intifada. Hamas espoused stands that were far more extreme than those of the PLO.

8. The eighth cause of the Intifada can be traced to an erosion in the Israel Defense Forces (IDF)'s deterrent image in the year preceding its onset. Successes scored by rioters and terrorists in 1987, and the IDF's withdrawal from Lebanon under pressure of civilian violence, undermined IDF deterrence and undercut the traditional status of the Israeli soldier.

Another phenomenon not lost on the inhabitants of the Territories was a gradual escalation in bold acts of terrorism perpetrated against Israelis by young individuals using knives and operating without an organizational base. The final factor was the shattering of the deterrent image of the General Security Service (GSS) in the wake of the extended crisis in the organization that ensued from the "No. 300 Bus affair" (see YB 86–87:281), and led to the resignation of the GSS chief and senior agents.

The period immediately preceding the uprising saw a number of flagrantly unusual incidents.

GAZA STRIP. An Islamic Jihad squad, in July 1987, escaped from the military prison in the Gaza Strip, situated in the most heavily guarded military base in the area. The squad's successful prison break and its subsequent attacks on Israeli security personnel, had a destabilizing effect throughout the Gaza Strip.

In the middle of November 1987 violent demonstrations on an unprecedented scale (in one case more than 2,000 people took part) were held in the Jibalyah refugee camp. For the first time demonstrators tried to break through the fence of the military base located near the offices of the Civil Administration.

JUDEA AND SAMARIA. In 1986 and 1987 two events occurred in Judea-Samaria which to the local population showed IDF weakness and its inability to cope with an organized mass. These developments were interpreted as signaling a decline in Israeli involvement.

In April 1986, Israeli authorities knew in advance that Fataḥ activists intended to "take over" the funeral of assassinated Nablus major Jafr al-Masri and transform it into a major national event. It was decided to avoid a confrontation and not deploy IDF troops on or near the funeral route. In the course of the huge procession, in which 10,000 people filled the streets of Nablus from one end to the other, banners and PLO flags were raised, and masked individuals marched openly. The second event occurred in 1987 when for the first time the IDF allowed Bir-Zeit University students and lecturers to hold a parade from the new to the old campus along a broad route 3 km. long. What took place was a national demonstration with the participation of about a thousand people in which flags and banners were hoisted. In their perception, the very fact that the authorities had permitted a national demonstration was proof that the government had been weakened and could not cope.

Some observers maintain that the Intifada actually began not in the Gaza Strip on December 9, 1987, but a few months earlier in the Balatah refugee camp near Nablus. So sharply did the situation in this camp deteriorate in 1986 and 1987 that Israel's very control there was called into question.

On the morning of May 31, 1987, an IDF force exceeding two battalions in strength entered the camp, in order to demonstrate Israeli sovereignty. Balatah was placed under curfew, and some 3,500 males were rounded up for identification. However the operation had to be halted when women in the camp staged a mass riot which was joined by the detained men. In forcing the IDF to halt the operation, the rioters scored a major success. For the local residents this was an extraordinary event: for the first time they had forced the IDF to retreat and in doing so had consolidated their self-rule in the camp. The broader ramification was a significant erosion in the IDF's deterrent capacity in the eyes of the entire population of the Territories.

Immediate Causes

A single hang-glider operation near Kiryat Shemonah on November 25, 1987, fired the imagination of the Palestinians. The attack, in which six Israeli soldiers were killed by a single terrorist, was perceived in the Territories as a major success in the Palestinians' struggle against Israel. It also helped create the perception that the IDF was not invincible and, concomitantly, engendered an image of a new Palestinian hero.

Rumors played a significant inflammatory role in generating the outbreak and spread of the riots, with the Israeli authorities unable to find an effective means to squelch them. The immediate spark for the riots, in the Jibalyah refugee camp on December 9, was a rumor concerning a road accident the previous day in which four Gazans were killed when their car collided with a truck driven by an Israeli. According to this rumor, the driver of the Israeli vehicle was the brother of an

Israeli who had been killed two days earlier in a terrorist attack in Gaza, and the four Arabs were from the Jibalyah camp. In fact, the driver was not the brother of the murdered man; and the Arabs who were killed were not from the Jibalyah camp but from a village of the same name.

The Israeli Factor

A series of Israeli mistakes at the outset of the uprising, in part structural and in part ongoing, contributed to the success of the Intifada.

The first mistake was the failure of the Israeli intelligence community to foresee the possibility that an uprising might break out. The principal reason for this was an ongoing conceptual fallacy encompassing both the political and military domains. Politically, a series of misappraisals were made: that time was on Israel's side concerning the Palestinian question; that the inhabitants of the Territories had no choice but to accept Israeli rule; that Israeli-Palestinian coexistence was an evolving process; and finally, that the struggle of the Palestinian population would not go beyond past parameters – sporadic disturbances.

There were three faults in the evaluation: the failure to assess that an uprising of these dimensions could or would occur, a concomitant failure to predict its timing, and, perhaps most serious, a misplaced confidence that the IDF could handle any disturbances that might erupt. It was assumed that an intensification of the struggle against Israel would take the form of increased terrorism and not a popular insurrection. That a new situation was emerging should have been evident from the surge in the number of incidents recorded in the Territories in 1987. Fatalities among Jews and Arabs killed in the Territories increased sharply in 1987 as compared with 1986. Arafat would later contend that the rumblings of the uprising could already be felt in 1986 although the full eruption occurred at the end of 1987.

Even in the days immediately after the start of the riots, the prevailing assessment was that they did not constitute an uprising and that order would be restored shortly. Notably, in this period the PLO leadership also failed to grasp the import of the events.

The second mistake occurred in the first days and weeks of the uprising, and stemmed from the evaluation that the riots were the same as past disturbances. It was not until two weeks after the rioting erupted that large forces were rushed to the Gaza Strip – and even later in Judea-Samaria. The non-reinforcement of the Israeli forces enabled the insurgents to score an initial success, and further eroded the IDF's deterrent image and resulted in an intensification of the violence.

The third mistake was a direct result of the second. In the first days of the uprising the limited forces in the Territories were deployed in numerous small units and frequently found themselves in life-threatening situations, facing large numbers of inflamed rioters, and had to open fire. The result was a relatively large number of casualties among the rioters (12 killed and 108 wounded in the Gaza Strip in the first two weeks, and 7 killed and 56 wounded in Judea-Samaria). This high casualty rate spurred the rioters to continue and even aggravated the situation.

The fourth mistake stemmed from the IDF's policy of action and reaction regarding manifestations of civil disobedience. The local population viewed the military's abrupt shifts and vacillations of policy in the early stages of the uprising as proof of the authorities' confusion.

The fifth mistake occurred in the realm of Israeli counteractivities. Unlike past waves of unrest, the uprising was marked by more instances of excesses by IDF soldiers. There were too many such "irregularities" for them to be characterized as sporadic.

The sixth mistake was in some ways unavoidable in the circumstances: the severe damage caused to Israel's image in the international arena. This resulted primarily from the situation in the field, not from the absence of an effective information line. Not even the most brilliant information campaign could have nullified (or even moderated) the powerful message generated by television images of the disturbances. Television screens across the globe primarily showed irregular, violent behavior by IDF soldiers against stone-throwing youths, or against women and children. The result was to drive home the point that the IDF was an occupation army facing a civilian population fighting for its political right of self-determination.

Conclusion

The uprising was generated by a combination of underlying causes that were aggravated over the years, as well as by more immediate causes. Four major reasons may be adduced to explain why the Intifada erupted only after 20 years of Israeli rule: a rise in nationalism, increased frustration, the Palestinians' creation of a national organizational infrastructure, and the erosion in the IDF's deterrent capability. Two decades of Israeli control, far from bringing about coexistence, produced mounting resistance to Israel and a growing desire among the population to divest themselves of Israeli rule. A new generation of Palestinians born and brought up under Israeli occupation, proved ready to fight, take greater risks, and make more sacrifices than their forebears. To this must be added the Palestinians' feeling that time was working against them (in the aftermath of the Lebanon War and Israel's intensified settlement policy in the Territories) and that past modes of action, including terrorism, had done little to advance their cause.

An important cause was the erosion of the IDF's deterrent ability vis-à-vis the local population. The decline began in the aftermath of the Yom Kippur War. The process was escalated by the Lebanon War of 1982–85 in which, according to the Palestinians' reading, an indigenous civilian population had forced the IDF to withdraw from Lebanon. The shattering of the deterrent image projected by the GSS (in 1986 and 1987) because of the No. 300 Bus affair, further diminished the Israeli authorities' deterrent image. The rioting was triggered by immediate and ongoing causes, once the underlying causes were ripe. From this point of view, the uprising could have broken out before or after December 1987.

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE VIOLENT STRUGGLE AND THE CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE IN THE UPRISING

The uprising in Judea, Samaria, and the Gaza Strip differed from past acts of disorder. The case under review constituted a popular uprising encompassing the entire population of the Territories characterized by violence on a broad scale as well as manifestations of civil disobedience. The considerable efforts of the Israeli security forces proved insufficient to halt the violence and restore the status quo ante.

Objectives

The uprising began spontaneously. Hence, no specific objectives were set (although the inhabitants' basic desire since June 1967 had been to divest themselves of Israeli rule). A variety of goals were enunciated as events took their course. These involved one fundamental long-term goal as well as immediate or intermediate-range goals.

The essential long-term objective was sweeping in nature and went far beyond the aims of past waves of unrest. It was, in short, release from Israeli rule and the establishment of a Palestinian state. In the words of PLO leader Yasser Arafat, "To end the Israel occupation, recover our land, and our right to self-determination and an independent state." Arafat was ambivalent about whether the Palestinian state he envisaged would be confined to the boundaries of June 4, 1967, or would incorporate all or part of the State of Israel as well.

To this must be added the "right of return" demanded by the Palestinians. This would entail Israel's permitting the three million Palestinians living in the Arab world, of whom 2.2 million are refugees (one million living in refugee camps), to reclaim their property in Israel, or receive compensation.

Additional objectives were as follows:

(1) To forge a political power base for the PLO and the Palestinians while weakening Israel politically;

(2) To induce the superpowers to coerce Israel into agreeing to an international peace conference under UN auspices with the participation of the PLO in an independent delegation;

(3) To strengthen the PLO as the symbol and sole representative of the Palestinian cause, and to undercut King Hussein's ability to represent the Palestinians and enter into negotiations with Israel; and

(4) To generate an internal debate in Israel and polarize stands on the Palestinian issue which, ultimately, would bring about a policy change.

Intensifying the Struggle

The aims of intensifying the struggle were the following:

(1) To ensure that struggle assumes a broad popular character and can continue indefinitely;

(2) To involve the majority of the Palestinians in the Territories in the struggle; and

(3) To transform the uprising into a stage toward the onset of "comprehensive" civil disobedience.

Moving toward Self-Government

Another objective was to reduce to the minimum Israeli control in civilian areas of life and to establish, gradually, local Palestinian bodies (associated with the PLO or Islamic Jihad) to administer routine civil affairs and replace the Israeli authorities.

The Violent Struggle

The violent struggle can be characterized by

(1) Duration. The Intifada was ongoing for years and seemed open-ended – a fact that some local residents regard as its primary characteristic.

(2) Geographical scope. The uprising gradually came to encompass all of Judea, Samaria, and the Gaza Strip, and East Jerusalem, taking root even in previously tranquil locales, some of which assumed leadership roles in the uprising despite, or because of, their former good relations with Israel (e.g., Kalkilya, Tulkarm, and Jenin).

(3) Targets: Israelis and Palestinians. Whereas past disturbances had been aimed primarily at the Israeli authorities in the Territories, this time civilians were also targeted. In fact, since the violence is directed in the first place against Israeli vehicles in the Territories, its target is any Israeli – soldier or civilian – traveling on the roads.

IDF Spokesman statistics show that from the start of the uprising until April 8, 1989, 6,951 disturbances (not including the throwing of petrol bombs) in the Territories were directed against soldiers, 7,216 against civilians, and 11,031 incidents in which people were not the target (e.g., tire-burning). According to data supplied by the Egged Bus Company, the first nine months of the uprising saw attacks on 1,650 of the firm's buses of which 39 were torched (the majority in the early stages); and 188 passengers and 24 drivers were wounded by stones. By June 8, 1989, 3,136 buses had come under attack and 337 passengers had been wounded.

Palestinian "collaborators" were also targeted, and in some cases violence was used to settle personal accounts. One-quarter to one-third of those murdered were killed to settle personal accounts, some were disposed of for moral-religious reasons, and others because they were suspected of collaborating with Israeli intelligence or engaging in economic collusion. Although the Israeli authorities took a very grave view of this phenomenon, measures taken to stop the practice were ineffectual.

(4) Scale of casualties and detainees. The high number of casualties among the rioters – far exceeding anything in the past – did not deter the population.

Considerable disparities exist regarding the statistics on Palestinian casualties. Taking all the different figures into account, the total number of Palestinians killed by the IDF and Jewish settlers in the first year and a half was probably about 550, with more than 6,500 wounded – a daily average of one killed and 12 wounded.

There were 15 Israelis killed and 1,822 wounded in the period under discussion. The number of Israelis wounded is relatively high, constituting 28 percent of the number of Palestinians wounded. In contrast, the number of Israelis killed stands at 0.3 percent of the number of Palestinians.

(5) Scale of involvement. The extent and number of participants in riots was far greater than in the past, when a few dozen or at most a few hundred demonstrators would take to the streets. Some of the riots involved thousands of people – including one riot in the Gaza Strip in which more than 10,000 people took part – until the IDF began fielding large forces to prevent demonstrations swelling to this size. About ten percent of the population were actively involved in the violence but it had the moral and material support of virtually everyone in the Territories.

(6) Boldness. Greater boldness, intensity, and determination were manifested by the population. Weapons employed – all of them potentially lethal – included stones, rocks, bricks, steel balls fired with slingshots, knives (either thrown or in stabbing attempts at close quarters), hatchets, petrol bombs, maces made of sticks with protruding nails, and nails and oil scattered on roads to bring traffic to a standstill.

The Palestinians evinced growing daring as the uprising progressed, even when the risk of being wounded or killed was palpable. In contrast to the past, the population as a whole was more willing to tolerate casualties (including fatalities), hardships, and adversities of all kinds in order to advance the uprising.

(7) Use of firearms. Although the Intifada did not involve the use of firearms, terrorism continued to be perpetrated in dissociation from the riots.

It was primarily a "street-smart" attitude (and not so much PLO directives from outside) that accounted for the non-use of firearms. The rationale for this tactic was threefold: the desire of the Palestinians to produce a favorable impression on world public opinion of the uprising as a popular manifestation; fear that the use of firearms in demonstrations would result in a Palestinian bloodbath due to the IDF's absolute superiority in this domain; and an insufficient quantity of firearms in the possession of organized cells to render their use effective (although light arms in the thousands are held by individuals, families, and clans, particularly in villages).

Despite this, firearms continued to be employed parallel to the Intifada as an additional means of struggle against Israel (the "armed struggle"). However, the uprising itself was now the principal weapon.

(8) Women had taken part in disturbances in the past, but without engaging Israeli troops at close quarters. In the uprising they were involved on a large scale in the rioting and in throwing stones and petrol bombs. In some cases riots were led by women, and there were also demonstrations consisting exclusively of women. The uprising leadership was undoubtedly aware that Israeli soldiers would react more moderately vis-à-vis women rioters. Notably, women from rural areas and refugee camps were more prone to violence than their urban counterparts.

(9) Central organizing in the uprising. The uprising erupted spontaneously, but within a short time local leaderships sprang up. Each neighborhood had its popular and revolutionary committees comprised of representatives of up to four organizations (Fataḥ, Popular Front, Democratic Front, and Communists), or popular committees consisting of Islamic groups. Above them in each city was a central coordinating council (made up of the same factions as the popular committees). Beyond the city level was the United National Command (UNC) of the Uprising to which the four main factions assigned second- or third-rank functionaries. The UNC was formed piecemeal and was a loosely knit structure of cells. The population was activated and events controlled through the distribution of written communiqués (leaflets) or via radio broadcasts (Radio Baghdad, etc.). Its first leaflet was issued about three weeks after the start of the uprising for dissemination in the Territories. These numbered leaflets were drawn up following discussion with the PLO leadership.

No high command existed on which all four PLO factions were represented. The leaders of each faction formulated policy on the basis of direct guidelines received from PLO headquarters. These central figures did not meet and did not coordinate their actions. They acted by issuing instructions to their representatives on the UNC. It was via the leaflets, which gave directives to the general population, that coordination was achieved. The top-level leadership comprised about 45 persons based for the most part in East Jerusalem.

Even though the names of the political leaders of the Intifada were known to the Israeli authorities, no attempt was made to arrest them en bloc.

(10) East Jerusalem. The disturbances there, together with acts of civil disobedience (such as a commercial strike), took place parallel to the events in Judea-Samaria, and in some cases on a larger scale and with greater intensity. This may have derived from the feeling that fiercer opposition needed to be shown in East Jerusalem to annul Israel's formal annexation of the area.

In Jerusalem the Intifada began on December 19, 1987. It was differentiated from the uprising in the Territories by various features:

(a) The leadership of the uprising was based in East Jerusalem.

(b) The level of violence was lower than in Judea-Samaria.

(c) World press coverage was far more intense than in the Territories.

(d) As East Jerusalem is formally part of Israel, the Israel Police – trained in riot-control methods – were deployed there, rather than (as in the Territories) soldiers untrained in police tactics who are soon replaced by others.

(e) Since Judea-Samaria is a far larger area than Jerusalem, and the scale of incidents is far lower in Jerusalem, combating the Intifada in Jerusalem was less problematic.

(g) The number of casualties in Jerusalem was relatively small on both sides (until the Temple Mount clash in October 1990).

(h) Few Arab policemen heeded the calls in the leaflets to resign.

(i) Both sides considered Jerusalem, with its many holy places, a symbol. A serious incident in Jerusalem had an almost immediate effect on the behavior of the Palestinians in the Territories.

(11) Torchings of forests and crops. The use of arson to destroy forests, orchards, and field crops, and the sabotaging of agricultural equipment – for the most part in Israel proper but also in the Territories – began as a local initiative but quickly gained the support of the PLO leadership. The torchings began in May 1988 without any previous calls to the population to adopt this tactic either in UNC leaflets or PLO broadcasts.

Civil Disobedience

Aspects of civil disobedience were part of the uprising:

(1) Origins: The first to urge a boycott on the purchase of Israeli goods and on work in Israel, along with tactics of passive disobedience, was Dr. Mubarak Awad, a Palestinian-American who arrived in Jerusalem in 1984. Hana Siniora drew on Awad's ideas when he called for civil disobedience already in early January 1988, preceding the uprising leadership.

Siniora's program began to be implemented once it became possible for the uprising leadership to enforce the boycott by means of the strike units and popular committees. As a result, manifestations of civil disobedience were part and parcel of the uprising for far longer than past attempts. The tactic included strikes and demonstrations, resignations of policemen and tax collectors, reduced purchases of Israeli goods, non-payment of taxes, and diminished contact with the Civil Administration, its functions being filled by the popular committees. True, some of the measures called for were purely demonstrative in character, but the majority sought to undercut Israeli civilian rule in the Territories and, if possible, to reduce and eventually eliminate the population's economic dependence on Israel.

(2) The struggle for the reopening of schools. Generally speaking, the population carried out the directive of the UNC, but not all its calls for civil disobedience were obeyed. One example was the call to students, teachers, and administrative staff of educational institutions in Judea-Samaria to break into the schools and thus "overturn the enemy's decision [to close the schools]… to organize teaching on a national basis."

Israel had closed the schools in the Territories in order to contain the uprising. The uprising leadership wanted to bring about a situation in which teachers and headmasters would violate the orders of the Civil Administration by breaking into schools and resuming studies. However, this failed to occur in the 840 government and 100 UNRWA schools (there are also 300 private schools), although sporadic short-lived attempts were made. Evidently the teachers feared a direct confrontation with the authorities and the high risk of being fired. Furthermore, some schools had been seized by the IDF to accommodate certain units. In contrast, the private schools, attended by about 11 percent of the pupils in Judea-Samaria, continued to operate normally.

(3) Cessation of work in Israel. Another demand of the leadership which the population ignored was to cease work in Israel. As early as January 18, 1988, the call went out to continue the strike "in factories inside Israel" with the aim of "paralyzing the Israeli production line and undermining the Israeli economy." Toward the end of that month this call was extended to cover not only factories but all work in Israel. Indeed, it was perhaps the uprising's major failure that it was unable to prevent Palestinians from the Territories from continuing to "build" Israel. Work in Israel was the major source of livelihood for the inhabitants of the Territories. Manifestly, the cessation of work in Israel would mean mass unemployment, as no alternative exists. The uprising leadership, grasping the impracticality of the demand, moderated its call to workers by degrees. Undoubtedly the leadership knew that this demand, too, was impractical – supervision was impossible – but thought it might score points in the media.

MANIFESTATIONS OF CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE. The civil disobedience campaign continued and took principally the following forms:

(a) General strike days on which all economic activity including commerce, transportation, work, etc., ceases. Strike days were set by the authors of the leaflets and were fully and precisely carried out by the urban population but less so as one moved away from the cities.

The strikes were not intended to create chaos. The purpose of the general strikes, which were sometimes intensified by calls for a hunger strike, was not only to express resistance and anger in the face of ongoing Israeli rule but also to help unify ranks and heighten solidarity and motivation for the struggle.

(b) Commercial strikes. In addition to the cessation of commerce during general strikes, merchants were called upon – this began in East Jerusalem already at the end of December 1987, spreading thereafter to the Territories – to "open shops, gas stations, and vendors' stalls each day for three hours." Pressure was exerted on merchants to ensure that shops remained closed during the hours stipulated. While commercial strikes had been used as acts of defiance toward the Israeli authorities since 1967, never before had they become a continuous and virtually permanent tool which the military was unable to break.

(c) The cessation of tax payments to the Civil Administration was first demanded in a leaflet of early March 1988 and unabated. At the same time, local tax collectors were urged to resign.

In mid-July 1988, Defense Minister Yitẓḥak Rabin told the Knesset that revenue from tax payments in the Territories had dropped by 40 percent since the start of the uprising.

Taxes collected in 1988 amounted to 60 percent of the total collected the previous year. The budget of the Civil Administration was reduced by more than one-quarter, the planned budget of NIS 588 million being revised to NIS 420 million. This was also the figure set for 1989. The Civil Administration was therefore compelled to dismiss workers and slash its activity. The development budget was totally canceled in Judea-Samaria and drastically reduced in the Gaza Strip.

(d) Resignation of policemen. Beginning in March 1988, leaflets of the uprising leadership called "on all policemen… to submit their resignations immediately" (noting that the resignation demand was directed at "the police and taxation sectors only"), threatening them with "the long hand of the punitive squads." Ad hominem pressures were in fact brought to bear on policemen to leave their jobs, including the murder of a Jericho policeman. Efforts at counter-persuasion by the Israel Police and the Civil Administration proved unavailing. Wearing the uniform and insignia of the Israel Police, they constituted the most blatant legal manifestation of the local population's integration into the Israeli occupation administration.

(e) Pressure was exerted for the resignation of local municipal councils, especially those which had been appointed by the Civil Administration rather than having been elected. This tactic was employed primarily in Ramallah, El Bira, and Nablus. The Intifada leadership had only limited success in this matter. Only three of 88 village councils in Judea-Samaria resigned. Likewise, even though the mayor of El Bira was assaulted and wounded, only one of 25 mayors resigned (the mayor of Nablus, the largest city in Judea-Samaria). No appointed councils resigned en bloc, and very few individual councilors resigned. The main reason for this state of affairs was the assessment by local officials that if they left they would be replaced by direct Israeli civil rule (as had already occurred in the past). Around the end of 1988 the PLO revised its tactics and ceased demanding the resignation of appointed councils.

(f) A development with far-reaching ramifications was the Palestinians' attempt to establish a self-rule mechanism as an alternative to Israeli rule. The Palestinians in the Territories tend to assess that they have acquired effective rule in many fields and that, as a result of the uprising, they are on their way toward establishing a state of their own. From the start of the Intifada, a process was underway of the institutionalization of PLO bodies in the Territories and the formation (or consolidation) of supreme councils with authority for the entire West Bank. "Auxiliary" committees were established in every locality and every neighborhood in order to administer community activities and in general "to look after all the affairs of the neighborhood."

Funds on a huge scale were required to keep the uprising going for almost three years. According to Muhammad Milhem, head of the Occupied Territories Section on the PLO's Executive Committee, in 1988 the damage sustained in the Territories by inhabitants and institutions totaled $571 million. This represented the salaries of activists, PLO compensation to families of fatalities (an initial payment of about 2,000 Jordanian dinars and then 100 dinars a month) and to the owners of houses demolished by the IDF according to their value (for purchasing or building a new house), and payments to the families of detainees (about 50 dinars a month if the detainee is unmarried, and 60 dinars to the family of a married detainee).

During the uprising, Israel took a number of steps to halt the smuggling of funds into the Territories via Jordan. Control was tightened at the Jordan River bridges (and at the Rafa checkpoint on the Egyptian border), and the amount of money a person entering from Jordan – either a local inhabitant or a visitor from an Arab state – could bring in was reduced to 200 dinars (instead of $2,000). A Palestinian inhabitant of the Territories entering the country via Ben-Gurion International Airport could bring in up to $400. Yet despite these measures and the close supervision of the Cairo-Amman Bank, PLO funds continued to reach the Territories and fuel the uprising.

The three primary conduits were (in ascending order) tourists arriving via Ben-Gurion Airport, who may bring in an unlimited sum of money, and are "recruited" abroad by the PLO for this purpose; money-changers from East Jerusalem, the Territories and even the Me'ah She'arim quarter of Jerusalem, who have branches abroad through which the PLO can transfer funds; and Western banks – a resident of Israel or the Territories with an account in an Israeli bank may legally transfer funds into the account from banks abroad (though the money can be withdrawn in Israeli shekels only). Funds are thus transferred directly to the Territories or, in some cases, via Israeli Arabs.

Conclusion

The civil disobedience campaign was not all-embracing and did not cover all areas of life. Its purpose was not to foment chaos but to demonstrate Israel's inability to rule in many spheres and to build a self-rule infrastructure for a future Palestinian state. The civil disobedience was not carried to extremes which would enfeeble the population's staying power, but was judiciously applied, staying within the parameters of the residents' capacities.

Civil disobedience was partial. In April 1989 Salah Khalaf (Abu Iyad) explained why the Intifada had not evolved into outright civil disobedience. Such a development would entail the destruction and replacement of the existing administration, he said, and as this would require funds on a scale not currently available, civil disobedience was being implemented only in part. All the same, a self-image was created of a people fighting for its liberty through the utilization of all means, including civil disobedience. In 1990 most of the local Palestinians employed by the Civil Administration continued on the job, but there were signs that their integration into the system was ebbing. At the same time, a large percentage of the working force in the Territories continued to work in Israel.

Summing up, the primary characteristics of the uprising were violence, large-scale participation, the involvement of all the cities, villages, and refugee camps in Judea-Samaria and the Gaza Strip, its duration (more than 36 months), its central control and direction, its political aims (liberation from Israeli rule), its manifestations of civil disobedience, and the Palestinians' struggle to take gradual control of civilian areas of life.

MAJOR RAMIFICATIONS OF THE UPRISING

Political Ramifications

The major consequence of the uprising was the shattering of the political consensus inside Israel. The fact that the uprising continued for such a lengthy period despite all the IDF's efforts, and the growing realization that it could not be stopped by military force alone, generated a new political situation.

For years the conception harbored by the majority of Israel's political parties was that the Territories did not constitute a burden of any sort and that the policy of creeping annexation could be pursued without fear of a popular revolt by the Palestinians. The uprising overturned this conception.

The uprising produced a growing polarity within Israeli public opinion and radicalization toward both left and right. Some Israelis saw no possibility of restoring the previous situation and believed that a political solution was essential, even if it entailed concessions. At the other end of the scale were those in whom the Intifada had instilled despair of any political solution and who were more convinced than ever that force was necessary to eradicate the uprising and beyond. The majority of Israelis still continued to oppose the establishment of a Palestinian state.

Criticism of the Army

Both right and left have been critical of the IDF's performance in combating the Intifada. The left spoke of brutalization; the right said the military was evading its duty to stamp out the uprising. Yet the public at large was less critical of the IDF than of the political leadership, and the uprising did not generate a crisis either within the IDF or between it and the Israeli public.

The Palestinian Issue on the International Agenda

The struggle of a civilian population against Israeli military rule, with images of children and youths throwing stones and Israeli troops reacting with sometimes excessive force screened day after day on TV around the world, generated sympathy for the Palestinians and harsh criticism of Israel, political and other. Furthermore, the uprising placed the Palestinian issue on the international political agenda for the first time in years. The Intifada forced the parties to the conflict to go beyond violence and counterviolence and embark on the path of a political solution. A series of political initiatives ensued, launched by Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak and U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz followed by a turnabout in the stand of the PLO, the onset of a U.S.-PLO dialogue, and the Israeli political initiative.

Political Initiatives

THE MUBARAK INITIATIVE. Mubarak put forward his plan toward the end of January 1988, some six weeks after the start of the uprising. The main points of the initiative, which was intended to set in motion a political process, were:

(1) a six-month moratorium on violence by the inhabitants of the Territories;

(2) a freeze on the establishment of new Israeli settlements in the Territories; and

(3) an Israeli declaration of readiness to accept steps toward an international conference and to recognize the Palestinians' political rights.

THE SHULTZ PLAN. The second initiative was put forward on behalf of the United States by Secretary of State Shultz following his visit to the Middle East at the end of February 1988. On March 4, Shultz forwarded his plan, and its operative points were as follows:

1. An international conference would be convened in mid-April 1988 by the UN secretary-general. The conference "will not be able to impose solutions or veto agreements reached."

2. On May 1, 1988, negotiations between an Israeli delegation and a Jordanian-Palestinian delegation "will begin on arrangements for a transitional period" with the objective of concluding these talks within six months (by November 1).

3. The "transitional period" would begin three months after the completion of the negotiations (i.e., February 1, 1989) and last for three years.

4. "[F]inal status negotiations" would commence on December 1, 1988 – before the start of the transitional period – and should be completed within one year.

The Shultz initiative was not accepted by the sides directly involved in the conflict and therefore could not serve as a basis for the start of negotiations. Nevertheless, the very fact that it was undertaken, in the final year of the Reagan administration, constituted an achievement for the uprising (irrespective of its contents).

By late May 1988 the impact of the uprising on the Jordanian authorities was clearly visible, their major priority now being to beef up the security of the East Bank.

On July 31, in an address to the Jordanian nation, King Hussein announced Jordan's disengagement from the West Bank, in his words: "the undoing of the legal and administrative bond between the two Banks," this in response "to the will of the PLO." In a press conference a few days later, he declared that Jordan no longer exercised any sovereignty over the West Bank and that it belonged to "the Palestinians."

THE THIRD INITIATIVE. *Changes in the stands of the PLO and the U.S.* Prominent Palestinians in the Territories pressed the PLO leadership, which was soon convinced of the need to launch a political process.

On November 15, 1988, the Palestinian National Council (PNC) adopted and published a series of resolutions, of which the two most significant are:

(1) The declaration of the establishment of an "independent national state, on their national soil." The proclamation

of statehood was based on UN General Assembly Resolution 181, of 1947 (rejected at the time by the Palestinians and the Arab states), which recommended the partition of Palestine into two states and recognized "the national rights of the Palestinian people, including the right of return, the right of self-determination and independence, and a sovereignty over its national soil."

(2) Politically, the intention was to achieve "a comprehensive political settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict, and its crux the Palestinian question" within the framework of the UN Charter and Security Council Resolutions 605, 607, and 608. The declaration stressed the PNC's "rejection of terrorism in all its forms," while drawing a distinction between this and a liberation struggle against occupation in order to achieve independence. The two PNC resolutions signified a more flexible PLO stance on two cardinal issues: establishment of a Palestinian state alongside Israel (even though the boundaries envisaged, based on the UN Partition Resolution, were unacceptable to Israel as a starting point for negotiations); and the goal of "a comprehensive political settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict" through direct negotiations with Israel.

Addressing the meeting of the General Assembly on December 13, 1988, Arafat reiterated the main resolutions which had been passed by the PNC.

Arafat's address to the UN still did not induce Washington to enter into a dialogue with the PLO. The change in the American stand occurred in the wake of a press conference held by Arafat in Geneva (apparently following prior coordination with the U.S.) in which he moderated his stance on the terrorism issue. Arafat stated that "we totally and categorically reject all forms of terrorism, including individual, group, and state terrorism." He offered no change, however, on the topic of Resolutions 242 and 338, continuing to maintain that the PNC had accepted these "as a basis for negotiations with Israel within the framework of the international conference." Arafat added that the PNC considered Resolution 181 "a basis for Palestinian independence." U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz, in a press conference the same day, announced Washington's decision to open a dialogue with the PLO in the wake of Arafat's statement.

For the PLO the onset of an official dialogue with the U.S. constituted a major achievement. To obtain the revision in the American stand, the PLO had to make concessions which it had refused to do for 14 years. It was the uprising in the Territories that caused the PLO's turnabout.

Israeli Responses

DEFENSE MINISTER'S PLAN. In late January 1989, Defense Minister Yitzḥak Rabin made public the main points of his plan for launching a peace process with the Palestinians.

The Rabin Plan consisted of two principal stages based on the principles of the Camp David accords: an interim settlement (transitional period) and, following a specified time, negotiations on a permanent settlement. These two stages would be preceded by: first, 3–6 months of calm and quiet in the Territories. Secondly, elections would be held not at the municipal level but for a "political representation" which would negotiate with Israel on an interim settlement. The object of the elections was "to find a partner [for negotiations] among the residents of the Territories." Rabin proposed two phases:

(1) Negotiations with representatives from the Territories, to be chosen in free elections, on an interim settlement and a transitional period.

(2) Following the transitional period, negotiations would be held to work out the permanent solution. The solution could take the form of "partnership with Jordan, federative or other," or "an idea of a federation of some kind with Israel."

The Rabin Plan was rejected, for public consumption at least, by the Palestinians. However, the Palestinians did discern a few positive elements in the Rabin Plan, notably that the defense minister had moved toward accommodation with them, and his readiness for a permanent solution in the form of a confederation between Jordan and the Territories, a solution going beyond Camp David.

THE SHAMIR PLAN AND THE GOVERNMENT'S INITIATIVE. At his meeting with U.S. President Ronald Reagan in Washington on April 6, 1989, Prime Minister Shamir put forward a four-part plan. The prime minister's plan was accepted by President Reagan as a starting point and basis for negotiations, and talks with both Israel and the PLO got underway. Israel was asked to formulate a more concrete and detailed proposal, and the result was the May 14 government initiative based on points adduced by the prime minister and the defense minister. The following were the principal points of the Israeli initiative.

"Basic Premises [include]:

"Israel opposes the establishment of an additional Palestinian state in the Gaza District and in the area between Israel and Jordan.

"Israel will not conduct negotiations with the PLO.

"Subjects to be Dealt with in the Peace Process":

(1) The initiative calls for "promoting a comprehensive settlement for the Arab-Israel conflict, including recognition, direct negotiations, ending the boycott, diplomatic relations…"

(2) On the subject of the elections, "Israel proposes free and democratic elections among the Palestinian Arab inhabitants of Judea, Samaria, and the Gaza District… In these elections a representation will be chosen to conduct negotiations for a transitional period of self-rule."

(3) Immediately after the elections, negotiations will be held with the Palestinian representation "on an interim agreement." In these negotiations "all the subjects relating to the substance of the self-rule" will be determined.

THE PALESTINIANS' STAND. Both Egypt and especially the PLO found it difficult to accept the Israeli initiative. President Mubarak transmitted to Israel a list of ten conditions for holding elections, while Arafat and other PLO leaders assailed the

Israeli initiative publicly and rejected it in their dialogue with the U.S. Their virtually uniform line consisted of agreement to elections but only after "Israel's withdrawal from Palestine."

The PLO's stand on election in the Territories was summed up in an interview given by Arafat to an Egyptian newspaper. His four conditions included a radical approach toward key principles:

(1) A partial IDF withdrawal from the West Bank and Gaza prior to elections;

(2) Determination of a timetable for total Israeli withdrawal from the Territories, within 27 months;

(3) Elections to be held under UN supervision and agreement to the Palestinian refugees' right of return to their former homes;

(4) Specifying a date for the proclamation of an independent Palestinian state.

The Israeli initiative did not meet the PLO's conditions, but the organization did not reject it outright.

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENTS AND RAMIFICATIONS

The Administered Territories

DEPENDENCE ON ISRAEL. The Territories' economic dependence on Israel continued. These regions cannot survive without imports from and via Israel. The Territories are self-sufficient only in a few areas of agriculture, domestic animals, dairy products, various foods, and textiles.

WORK IN ISRAEL. Employment in Israel continued to be the main source of income in both regions.

PURCHASE OF ISRAELI GOODS. The local industry benefited from the boycott of Israeli merchandise. Consumption declined, local factories once more found themselves in dire straits. The owner of one large factory said his revenues had decreased by 30 percent.

AGRICULTURE AND EXPORTS TO JORDAN. The only area that showed a rise in production was agriculture. However, exports from Judea-Samaria to Jordan fell by 40 percent in the first nine months of 1988. Exports from Gaza were unaffected as compared with 1987.

UNEMPLOYMENT. Official figures put the unemployment level in Judea and Samaria during the uprising at an insignificant 3–4 percent – a good deal lower than in Israel. The real figure was probably far higher.

DECLINE IN LIVING STANDARD. The uprising caused a decline in the standard of living – up to 35 percent in some spheres.

The economic ramifications of the uprising were severe in the extreme. In the long term, the increasing pauperization among the population of the Territories may well have constituted a greater threat to the continuation of the uprising than the IDF's countermeasures.

Developments and Ramifications in Israel

Economically, the uprising affected Israel in three main areas:

(1) The unusually large mobilization of reservists caused a sharp decline in production. This was aggravated by the falloff in workdays of residents of the Territories in Israel.

(2) Israeli exports to the Territories fell drastically.

(3) Incoming tourism to Israel decreased by 15 percent in 1988, a loss of $120 million.

One sector that "benefited" from the uprising was Israel's Arabs, due to the tarnished image of West Bank cities that had served as commercial centers for Israeli Arabs – and for many Israeli Jews as well. Israelis, both Jews and Arabs, fearing for their lives, ceased almost completely to enter the West Bank for shopping.

To sum up the economic ramifications, the economic hardship experienced by the residents of the Territories did not stop the uprising and showed no signs of doing so for a number of reasons: their refusal to surrender (as they saw it) and their desire to register political achievements via the uprising; despite the financial crunch (above all due to the fall of 42 percent in the value of the dinar in 1988) money entered the Territories from PLO sources and there was no large-scale unemployment (many of those who lost their jobs in Israel found work locally); a household economy and primitive agriculture reduced economic dependence on Israel and allowed the struggle to continue. From Israel's point of view, the economic damage caused by the Intifada was bearable.

Overall, then, the uprising caused both sides economic difficulties – although these are certainly more severe in the Territories – but as long as the Palestinians felt that they were chalking up political successes, such difficulties did not suffice to stop the uprising.

Social Upheavals in the Territories

One effect of the uprising was to accelerate processes of social upheaval in the Territories. This was particularly evident in three areas. For one, the veteran leadership from the Jordanian period, whose status had already declined in the years preceding the Intifada, disappeared altogether. They were replaced by leaders and activists at the local level, and at the broader level by public figures, most of them based in East Jerusalem, who had been in the front rank of the national leadership even before the uprising.

Another result was a decline in the authority traditionally vested in the father as the head of the family and in the *ḥamula* (clan) system as a whole. The younger generation who led the uprising were deeply critical of their parents and grandparents for living under Israeli occupation for 20 years without fighting to liberate themselves. As the uprising developed, fathers lost all control over the activities of their sons. Indeed, family bonds were replaced by ties of a nationalist-political nature. There was no doubt that the young generation would exercise a greater influence than at any time in the past with regard to political decisions about the Territories.

The third area of social change concerned women, although here views differ. Civil Administration personnel contend that the status of women in the Palestinian society did not undergo a basic change as a result of the uprising, notwithstanding that women were far more active than formerly in violent demonstrations and confrontations with the IDF.

In contrast, Palestinians, both men and women, contended that a social upheaval had already occurred in the status of Palestinian women in the Territories. The pace of developments was accelerated by the active and crucial role women played in the uprising from its very outset. The result was that women gained a status within Palestinian society, approaching the status of men.

Ramifications for Israel's Arabs (excluding East Jerusalem)

After the general strike, accompanied by demonstrations and violent disturbances, held by Israel's Arab population within the framework of "Peace Day" (December 21, 1987), Israeli Arabs became increasingly involved in assisting the struggle in the Territories. True, the scale of incidents was not great, but it is the very fact of their occurrence that was serious, and the dramatic surge as compared with the previous year. Israeli Arabs increasingly identified with the Arabs in the Territories and underwent a process of Palestinization and growing nationalism.

It was all but inevitable that a violent confrontation between Palestinians and Israel in the Territories would generate feelings of solidarity among Israeli Arabs. Manifestations of this solidarity included support in the form of delegations, fund-raising, and donations of food and medicine. These activities were organized by the Israeli Arab leadership, notably the heads of local councils. In addition, youths, apparently acting spontaneously, occasionally hoisted Palestinian flags, scrawled slogans on walls, threw stones and petrol bombs, and erected road barriers.

Most of the nationalist incidents took place in the Northern District of the Israel Police (north of Ḥaderah) and in the Iron Valley. Relatively few events were recorded in the south of the country.

In sum, it is difficult to determine whether the Intifada had already filtered across the Green Line by 1990, but violent nationalist incidents that were occurring with greater intensity than in the past may have foreshadowed the spread of the uprising. Dr. Ahmed Tibi, from Taibe, the chairman of the Association of Arab Academics, said: "The Intifada in all its manifestations will penetrate the Israeli-Arab street, it is only a question of time." The danger definitely existed that if the uprising in the Territories would continue and intensify, violence would also become more pervasive among Israeli Arab youths, and the leadership would be forced to submit to radical nationalist demands.

Conclusion

The cardinal political ramifications of the uprising were the following: the emergence of a new situation that precludes a return to the status quo ante; the placing of the Palestinian issue on the international agenda; serious polarization in Israel concerning policy toward the Territories and the Palestinian question; and more flexible stances adopted by the PLO and the Israeli government which would probably not have been forthcoming without the Intifada – the PLO agreeing to the idea of a Palestinian state alongside Israel, and Israel putting forward a political initiative involving elections in the Territories for representatives to negotiate an interim settlement as a stage toward a final settlement.

[Aryeh Shalev]

The Hall of Names in the Holocaust History Museum at Yad Vashem, Jerusalem, is the repository of the Pages of Testimony memorializing the victims of the Holocaust. *Courtesy of Yad Vashem, Jerusalem. Photo: Yossi Ben David.*

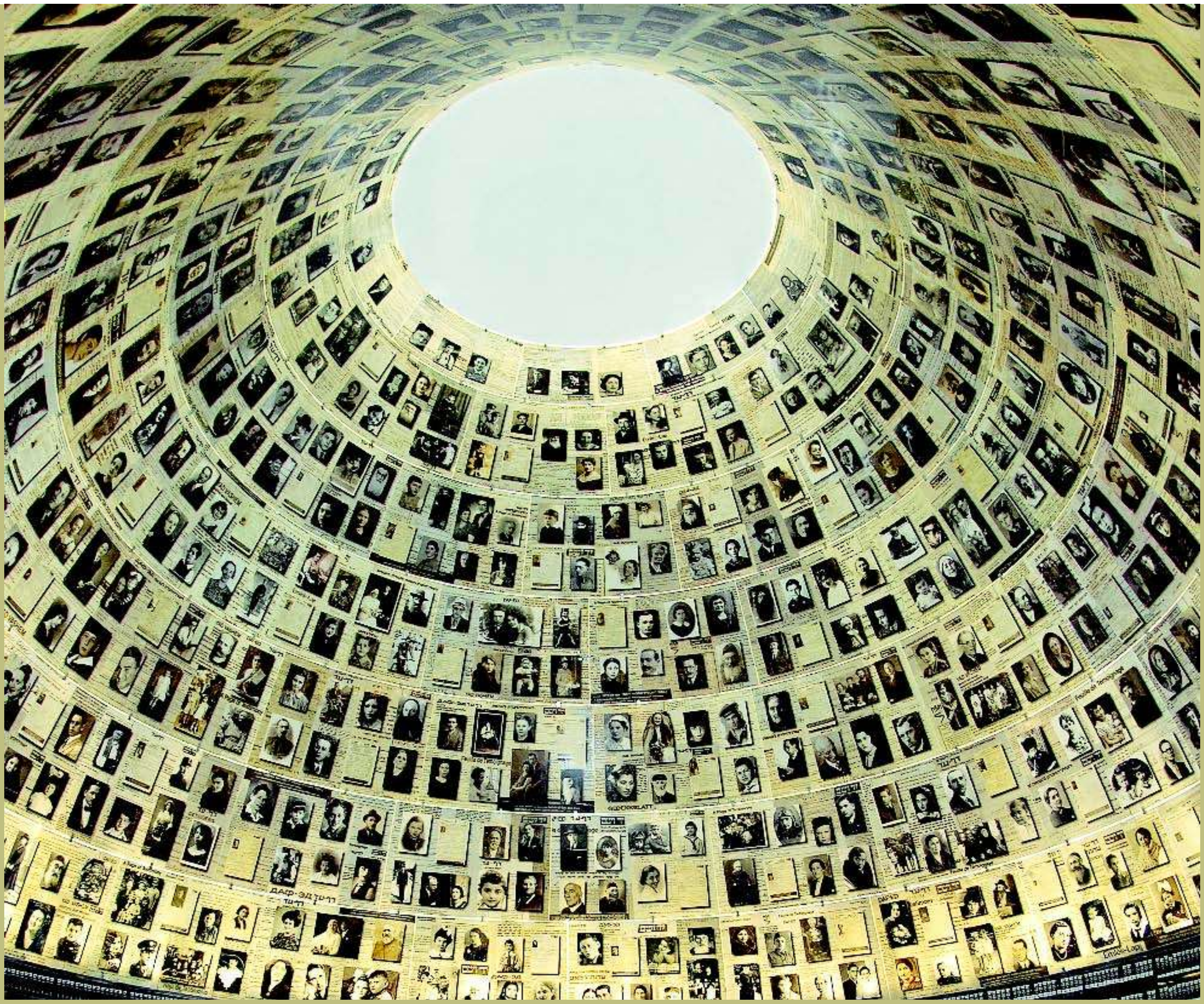

Around the world there are many museums and monuments that memorialize the Holocaust and its victims. Most are in Europe and North America; some are on the sites of the death camps themselves. From six luminous towers in Boston to a single cattle car atop a railroad bridge in Yad Vashem, some of these striking memorials are depicted here.

MEMORIALIZATION OF THE HOLOCAUST

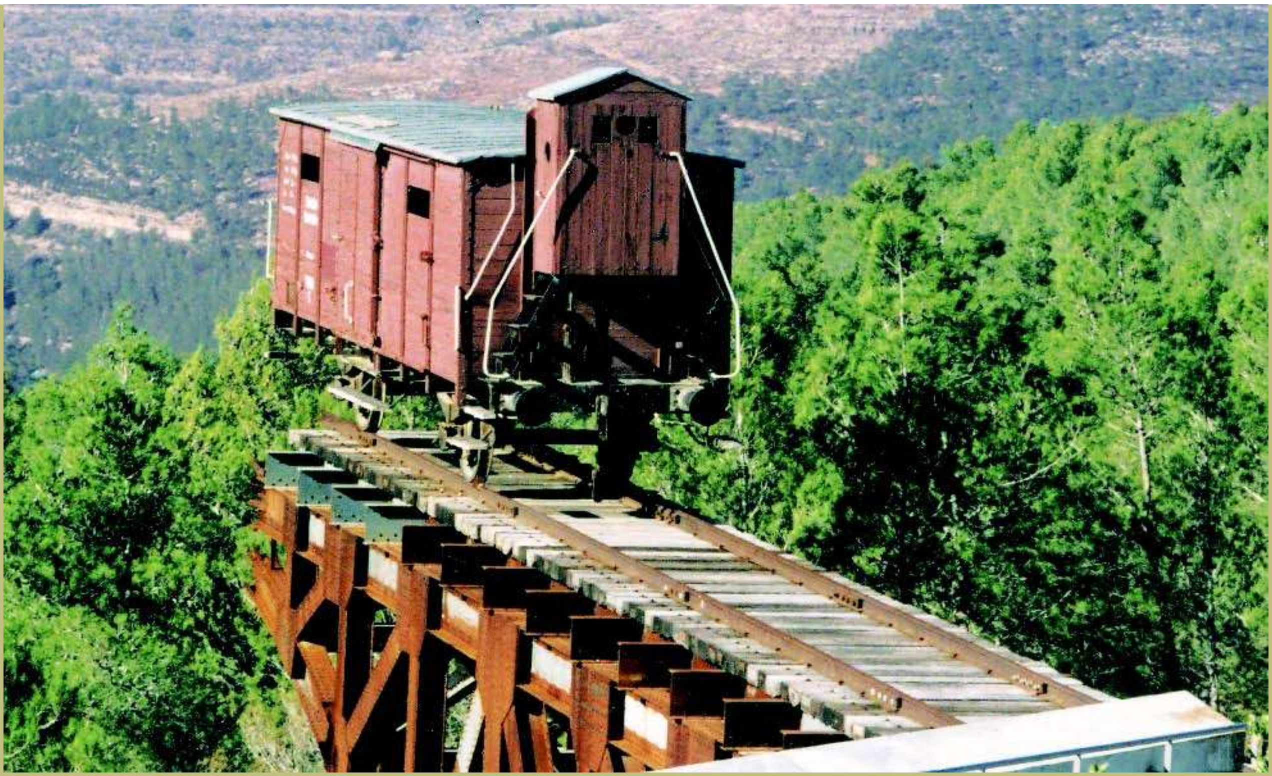

Memorial to the Deportees at Yad Vashem, Jerusalem. At the center of the memorial site stands an original German cattle car used to deport Jews to the extermination camps. Perched on the edge of a severed iron track, the cattle car is paused on the brink of the abyss—symbolizing the journey towards annihilation and oblivion. However, facing the hills of Jerusalem the memorial also conveys the eternal hope and renewal of life after the Holocaust. *Courtesy of Yad Vashem, Jerusalem.*

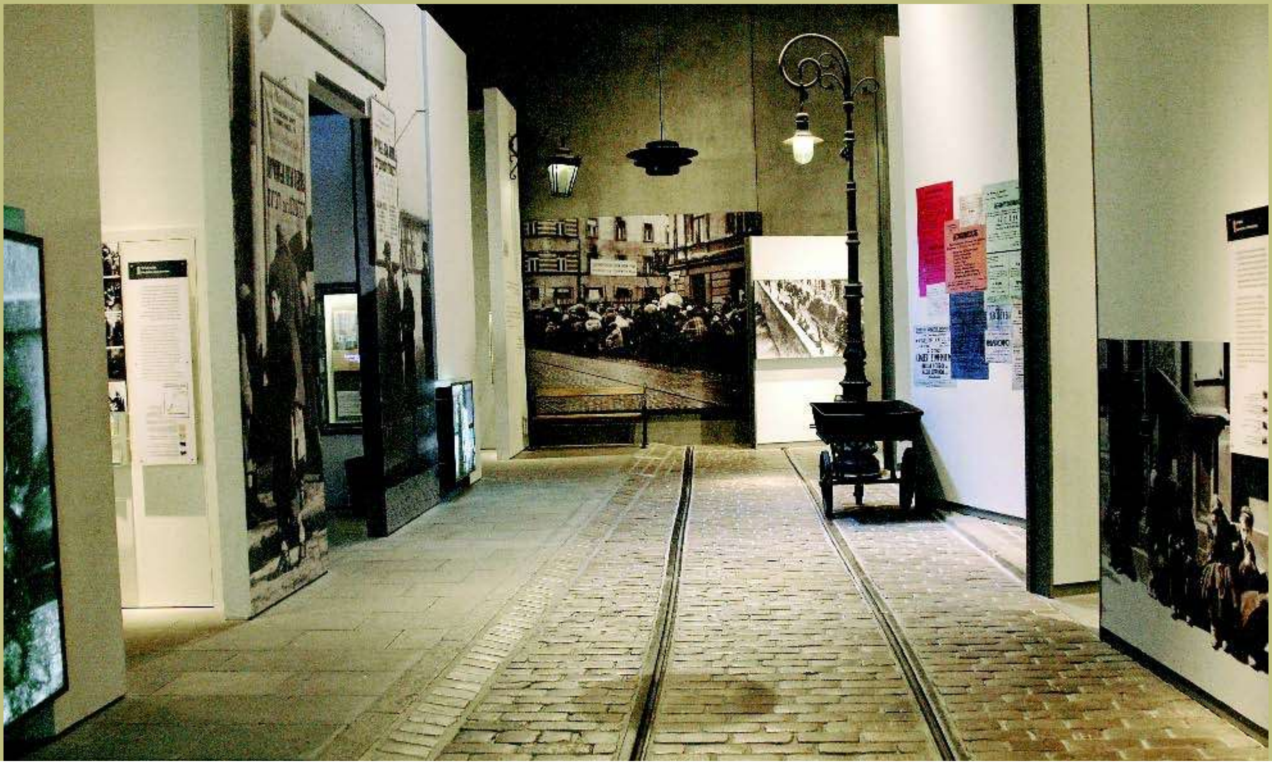

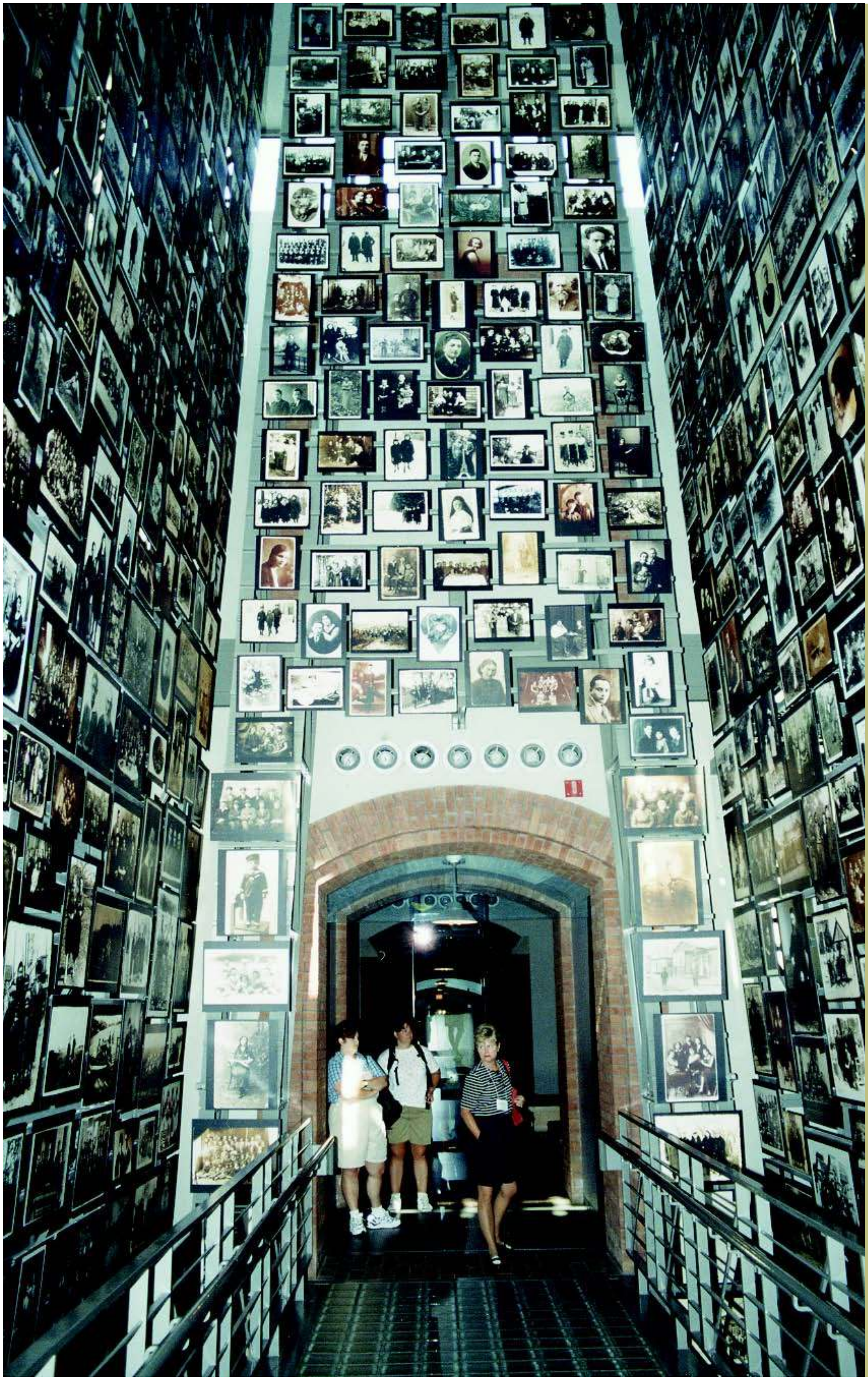

(opposite page) BOTTOM: **Symbolic reconstruction of the Leszno Street, in the Warsaw Ghetto in Poland, that includes authentic artifacts.** *Courtesy of Yad Vashem, Jerusalem.*

(this page): **Visitors in the Tower of Faces, U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum.** *Courtesy of the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, Washington.*
Photo: Max Reid.

The Hall of Remembrance at the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum.
Courtesy of the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, Washington. Photo: Max Reid.

General view of the "weeping willow" holocaust memorial, in Budapest, Hungary.
Courtesy of Government Press Office, Jerusalem. Photo: Moshe Milner.

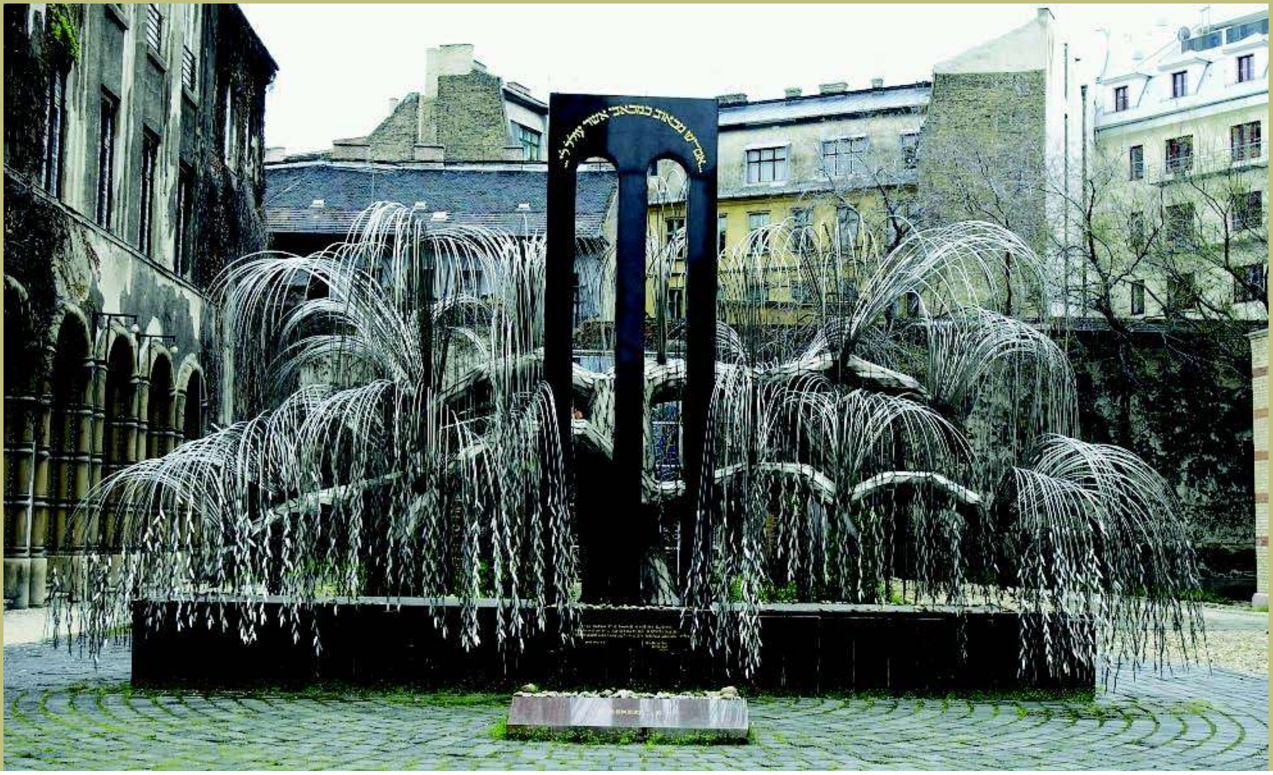

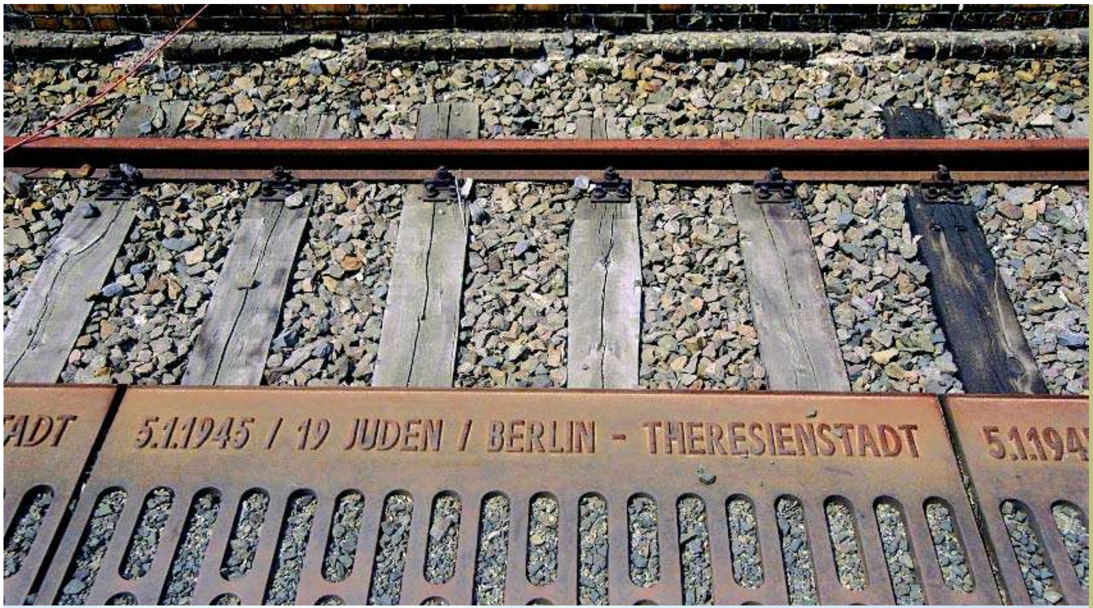
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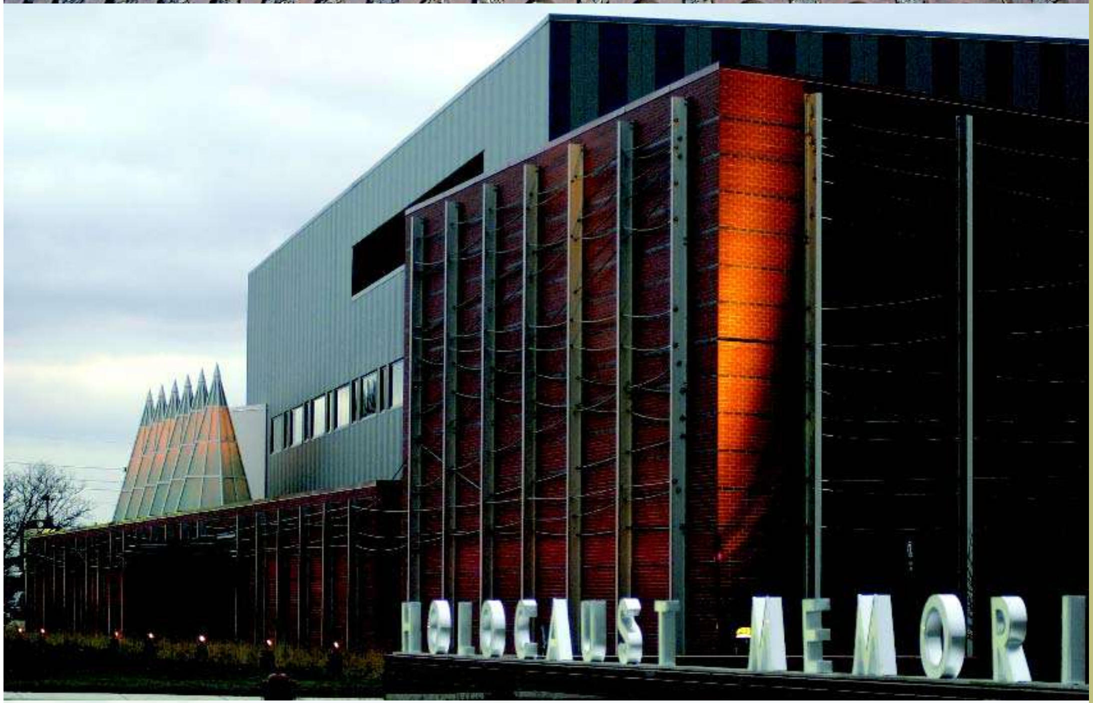
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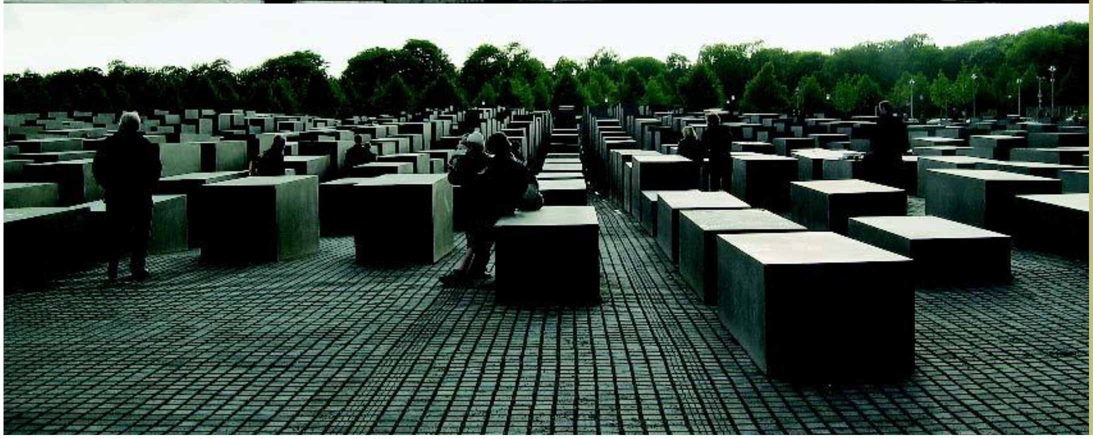

TOP: **"Memorial at Track 17" at Grunewald Station in Berlin, Germany.** *Courtesy of Government Press Office, Jerusalem. Photo: Moshe Milner.*

CENTER: **Holocaust Memorial Center in Farmington Hills, Michigan. The brick building is designed to symbolize the concentration camps. The facade resembles a barbed-wire fence surrounding the prisoners clad in striped uniforms. The six glass pyramids commemorate the 6 million victims of the Holocaust.** *AP Images.*

BOTTOM: **Evening at the Field of Stelae, Berlin.** *Courtesy of Foundation Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe, Berlin.*

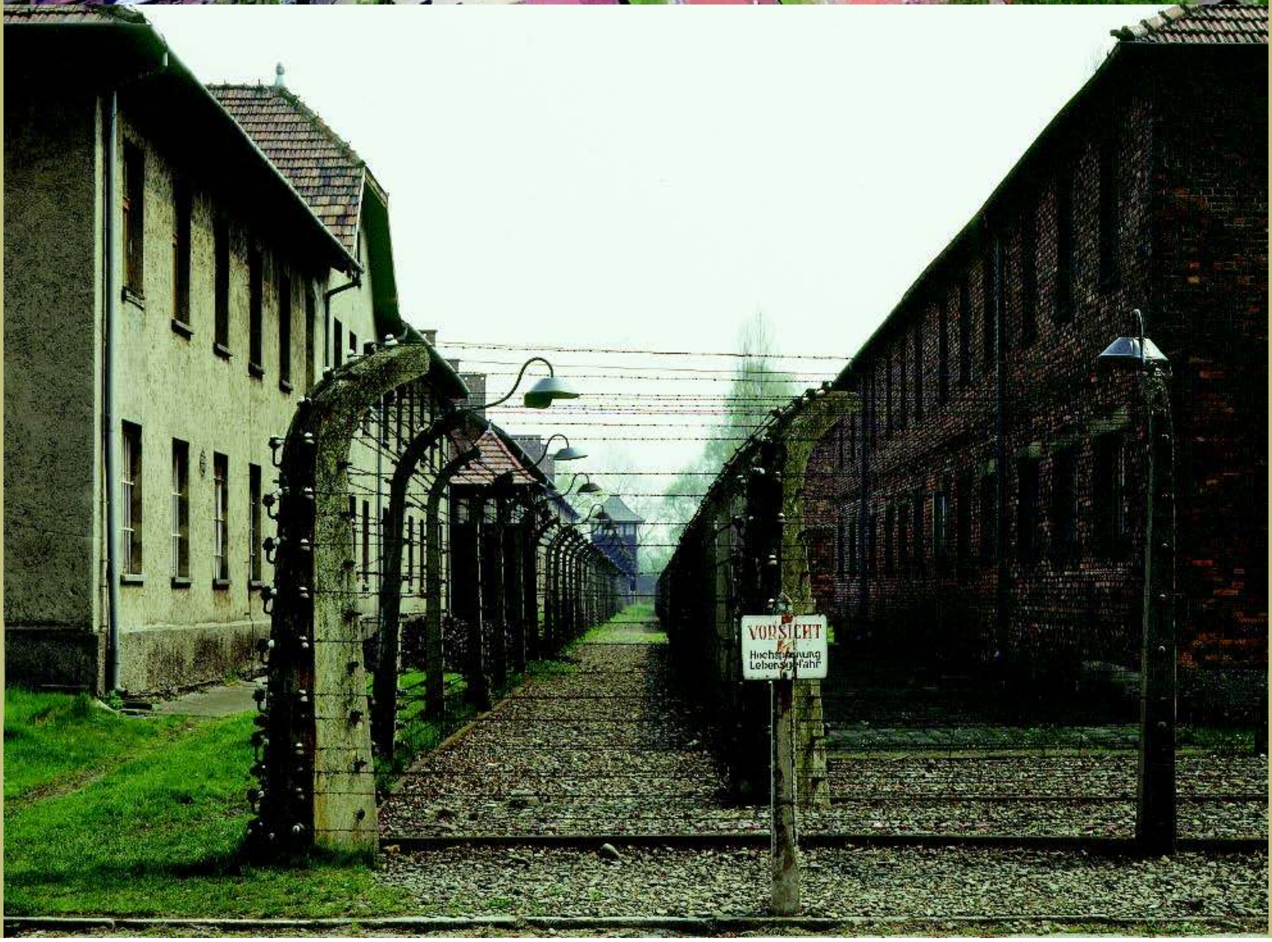
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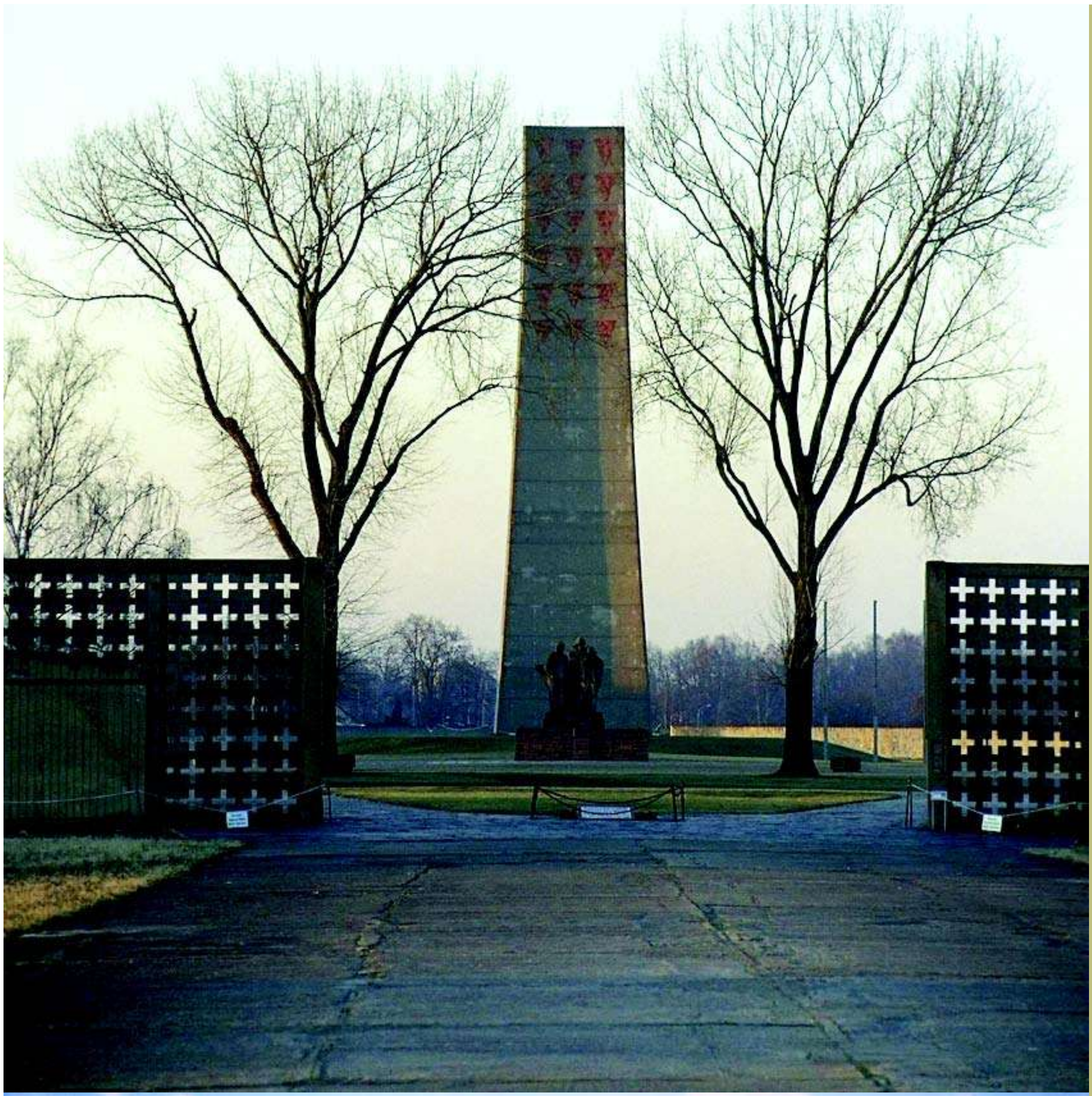

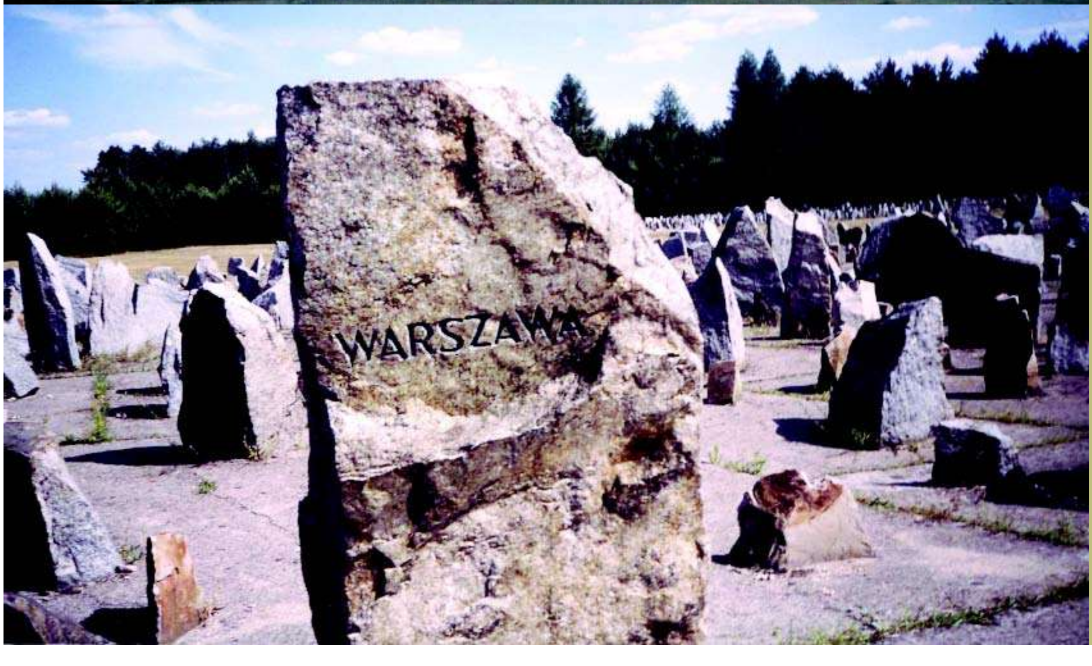

(opposite page) TOP: **Auschwitz-Birkenau death camp in Poland.** *Courtesy of Government Press Office, Jerusalem. Photo: Ya'acov Sa'ar.*

(opposite page) BOTTOM: **View of the main camp at Auschwitz surrounded by a section of the barbed wire fence.** *Courtesy of the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, Washington.*

(this page) TOP: **The monument at the Sachsenhausen Nazi death camp in Germany.** *Courtesy of Yad Vashem, Jerusalem.*

(this page) BOTTOM: **Memorial at the site of the Treblinka death camp in Poland.** *Courtesy of Government Press Office, Jerusalem. Photo: Ya'acov Sa'ar.*

The New England Holocaust Memorial was begun by a group of survivors of Nazi concentration camps who settled in the Boston area. The memorial features six luminous, 54 feet high glass towers. Each tower is etched with the numbers 1 to 6,000,000 to memorialize those killed. © *Richard Cummins/Corbis.*

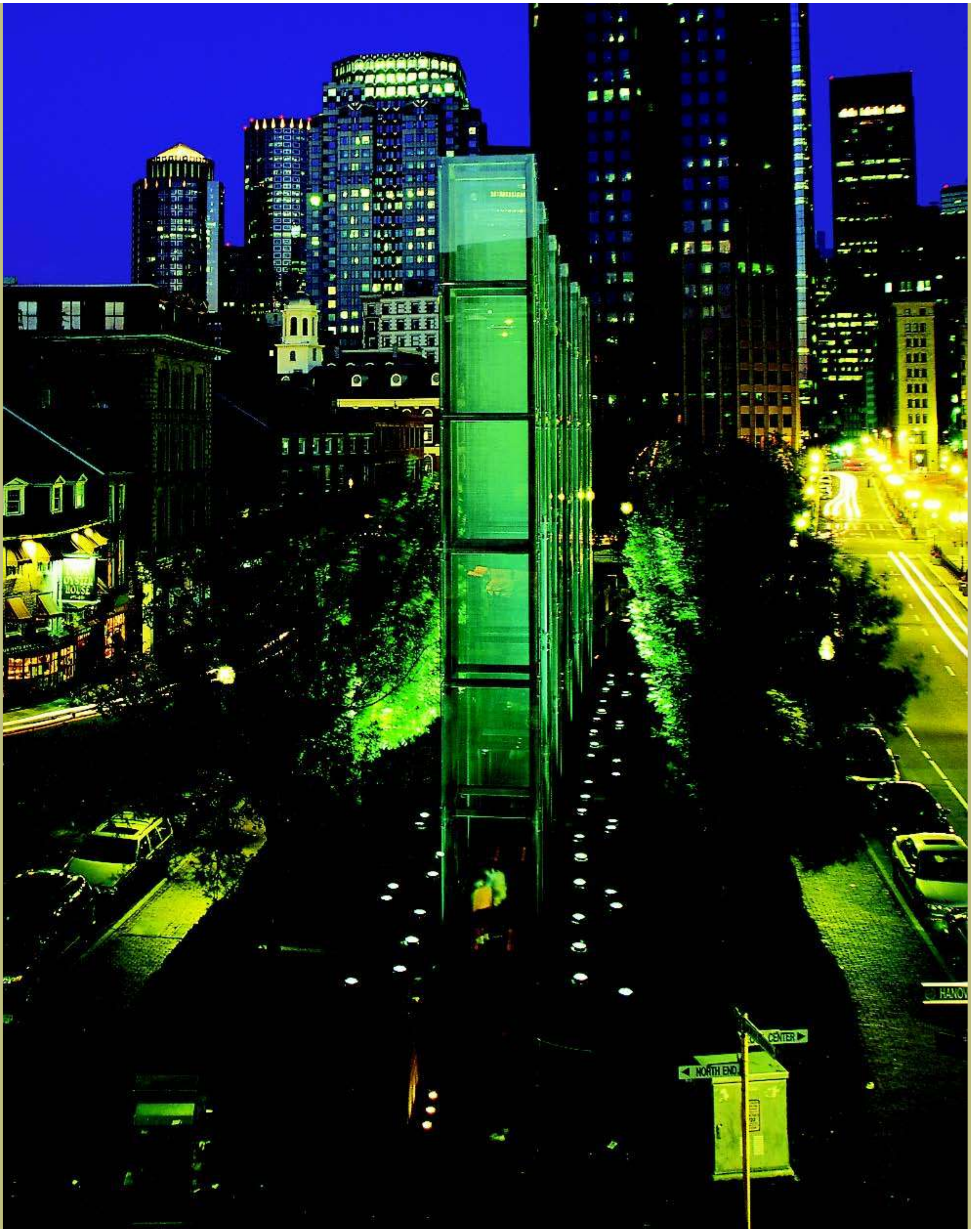
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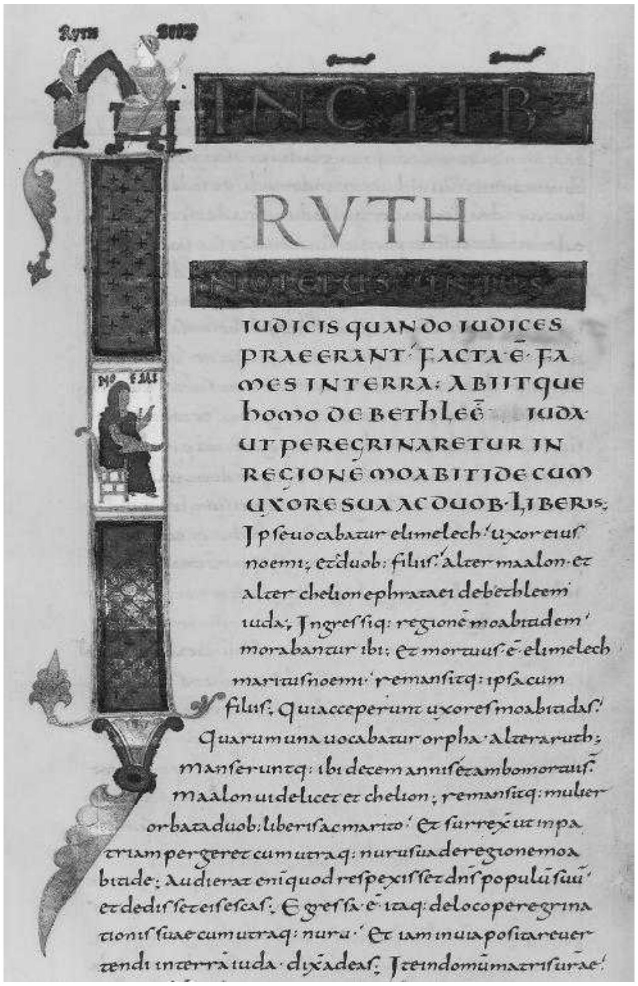

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REGIONĒ MOABITIDE CUM
UXORE SUA AC DUOB· LIBERIS;
Ipſe uocabatur elimelech· uxor eiuſ
noemi; et duob: filiiſ· alter maalon· et
alter chelion ephrataei de bethleem
iuda; Ingreſſiq: regionē moabitidem·
morabantur ibi; Et mortuuſ ē elimelech
maritus noemi· remanſitq: ipſa cum
filiiſ; Qui acceperunt uxoreſ moabitidaſ·
Quarum una uocabatur orpha· altera ruth;
Manſeruntq: ibi decem anniſ et ambo mortuiſ·
maalon uidelicet et chelion; remanſitq: mulier
orbata duob: liberiſ ac marito· Et ſurrexit ut in pa
triam pergeret cum utraq: nuru ſua de regione moa
bitide; Audierat eni quod reſpexiſſet dnſ populū ſuū·
et dediſſet eiſ eſcaſ; Egreſſa ē itaq: de loco peregrina
tioniſ ſuae cum utraq: nuru· Et iam in uia poſita reuer
tendi in terrā iuda· dixit ad eaſ; Ite in domū matriſ ſuae·

Initial letter "I" of the phrase In diebus unius iudicis *at the beginning of the Book of Ruth from the Latin* Bible of Charles the Bald*, Rheims, ninth century. The illumination shows Ruth and Boaz above the letter and Naomi seated in the middle of it. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. Lat. 1-88v.*

INZ–IZ

IN-ZIKH, the Introspectivist movement in American Yiddish poetry, arose in 1919 and centered on the literary organ *In Zikh* ("In the Self," 1920–40). The founders of the movement included A. *Glanz-Leyeles, Jacob *Glatstein, and N.B. *Minkoff, who in their first volume declared: "The world exists and we are part of it. But for us, the world exists only as it is mirrored in us, as it touches *us*. The world is a nonexistent category, a lie, if it is not related to us. It becomes an actuality only *in* and *through* us." In contrast to *Di Yunge, the Inzikhists espoused all themes, rhythms, and vocabulary, so long as the poetry reflected the poet's individuality. They declared that free verse and social realities must be combined, that poetry required the poet to look into the self (*in zikh*) and thus present a truer image of the psyche and the world. Urbane modernists, the Inzikhists considered associations and allusions as the two most important elements of poetic expression. Dedicating themselves to the Yiddish language and poetry, they published some of the most important poets and prose writers of the 20th century.

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[Sol Liptzin / Anita Norich (2nd ed.)]

IOANNINA (**Janina**), name of town and region in Greece, N.W. of Athens. According to an old tradition, there was a Jewish community in Ioannina as early as the ninth century; the archaic Greek spoken by the Jewish inhabitants suggests that this may be true. During the first half of the 13th century the town was part of the despotate of *Epirus and the Jewish community suffered from persecutions. Jewish serfs are mentioned in two bulls, dated 1319 and 1321 respectively, issued by Emperor Andronicus II Palaeologus (1282–1328). During his reign the emperor placed the Jews under his direct protection. In 1431 when the town was taken by the Turks, there was a sizable Jewish community, which continued to grow in succeeding generations. When Jewish refugees from Spain settled there, they assimilated into the local Romaniot population and adopted their Greek dialect. There were two synagogues, one known as the "old community," the other as the "new." Apulian and Sicilian Jews also settled in Ioannina and retained special circumcision and Purim customs. In 1612 the Jews were falsely accused of having handed Bishop Dionysios, the leader of a revolt, over to the Turkish authorities, who executed him. Ali Pasha, who was governor of the area from 1788 to 1822, imposed a heavy tax burden on the wealthy Jews. In 1821 when the Greek rebellion broke out, some Jews found refuge in Ioannina. In 1851, the community suffered a major blood libel. The 1869 fire ruined half the Jewish shops in the market. In 1872 there were anti-Jewish riots in the town. The local wealthy banker Effendi Davitchon Levy was one of four Jews in the Ottoman Empire elected to the first national assembly in 1876. The Hebron emissary Rabbi Ḥayyim Shemuel Halevy (*Ha-Ḥasm'al*) remained in Ioannina for more than three decades (1848–81) and prophesied that the redemption of Israel would take place in the year 5708 (1948). Ioannina Jews maintained trade relations with Europe and the East, and also engaged in silk weaving and the manufacture of scarves, veils, and silver belts for sale to the Albanians; there were also goldsmiths, dyers, glaziers, tinsmiths, fishermen, and coachmen among them. The wealthy merchant Meir Gani moved to Jerusalem in 1880 and initiated Jewish settlement in the Christian Quarter of the Old City of Jerusalem owing to his close connections to the Greek Orthodox Church, and he also purchased much land from the latter for the Jewish National Fund in Jerusalem in the Rehavia neighborhood as well the site of the present-day Israel Museum and land in the Dead Sea region (where Kibbutz Bet ha-Aravah was located). At the beginning of the 20th century, there were 7,000 Jews in Ioannina, but due to fear of political instability, compulsory military service, and economic decline, several thousand Jews began emigrating, heading to New York City. In 1910 the Jewish population was 3,000 and on the eve of the Holocaust it was 1,950. In the Depression of the early 1930s, many Ioanniote Jews migrated to Athens for economic betterment. The local Jewish poet, philologist, and teacher Joseph *Eliyia (1901–1931) is remembered and highly revered in contemporary Greece for his prose and poetry. On March 24, 1944, 1,860 Jews were seized by the Nazis and deported to Auschwitz. In 1948 there were 170 Jews living in the town, and by 1967 their number had dwindled to 92. The Ioannina community has continued to maintain the Romaniot prayer rite. A Ioannina synagogue, Bet Avraham ve-Ohel Sarah, exists in Jerusalem in the Maḥaneh Yehudah quarter.

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[Simon Marcus / Yitzchak Kerem (2nd ed.)]

IONESCO, EUGÈNE (1912–1994), Romanian-born French playwright. Ionesco's mother, Thérèse Icard, was a French Jewess who, while teaching in Romania, married a non-Jewish lawyer, Eugène Ionesco. In 1913 the family moved to Paris, returning to Romania in 1925, and a few years later the father abandoned his wife and two children. The young Eugène specialized in French studies. He became a teacher and literary critic, studying in Paris (1938–40). When he returned to Romania he encountered the Fascism which he was later to attack in the bitterest terms, and in 1942 he fled back to France with his wife.

Ionesco's first two books, written in Romanian and published in 1934, were a volume of lyrical poems, *Elegii pentru ființele mici* ("Elegies for Little Souls"), and *Nu* ("No"), a collection of essays criticizing established Romanian authors. Ionesco's plays, which reveal the influence of *Kafka and of the important Romanian dramatist Ion Luca Caragiale, are mostly one-act caricatures of middle-class smugness and philistinism. A mixture of comedy and tragedy, surrealistic and grotesque, they attack what Ionesco terms "the universal petty bourgeoisie … the personification of accepted ideas and slogans, the ubiquitous conformist." This "Theater of the Absurd" (Ionesco himself preferred the designation "Theater of Derision") had its birth in the highly successful play *La Cantatrice chauve* (1949; *The Bald Soprano*, 1958). The best known of the many plays that helped to consolidate Ionesco's reputation were *La Lyçon* (1950; *The Lesson*, 1958), *Les Chaises* (1951; *The Chairs*, 1958), *Victimes du devoir* (1952; *Victims of Duty*, 1958), *Le Nouveau Locataire* (1953; *The New Tenant*, 1958), *Tueur sans gages* (1957; *The Killer*, 1960), *Rhinoceros* (1959), which appeared in an English translation in 1960, and *Le Roi se meurt* (1962; *Exit the King*, 1963). Ionesco's plays were collected in four volumes (1954–66) and have been translated into nearly 30 languages. A series of essays appeared in book form as *Notes et Contrenotes* (1962; *Notes and Counternotes*, 1964), and he also wrote the scripts for several distinguished films. Later plays included *Macbeth* (1973), *Man with Bags* (1975), and *Journey Among the Dead* (1980).

He visited Israel and made declarations in favor of the state on the eve of the Six-Day War. After it was over he wrote about his family history for the first time in the second volume of his memoirs, *Présent Passé, Passé Présent* (1968), a sequel to *Le Journal en Miettes* (1957, *Fragments of a Journal*, 1968), expressing a new awareness of his Jewish origin. Ionesco, whose qualities of wit and mordant satire had led to his being referred to as "the Molière of the Twentieth Century," was elected to the French Academy in 1970.

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[Claude Gandelman / Rohan Saxena and Dror Franck Sullaper (2nd ed.)]

IOSIFESCU, SILVIAN (1917–), Romanian literary historian and critic. A former illegal Communist, he decided in favor of an academic career and was, from 1948, professor of Literary Theory at the Bucharest University. He wrote on the Romanian classics and problems of aesthetics, and, after a short period of dogmatic Marxist esthetic, Iosifescu became an eminent literary analyst of modern prose. His works include *Drumuri literare* ("Literary Paths," 1957), *In jurul romanului* ("On the Novel," 1959), *Literatura de frontieră* ("The Frontier Literature," 1969), *Mobilitatea privirii* ("The Mobility of Sight," 1976), *Trepte* ("Steps," 1988). Iosifescu translated (partially in collaboration with Vera Călin) from Romain Rolland, H. Taine, John Steinbeck, Robert Graves, and published anthologies of French and English humor.

ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Dicționarul scriitorilor români*, D-L (1998), 629–31; M. Martin and N. Rata-Dumitriu, in: *Observator cultural*, 157 (2003).

IOWA, state in midwestern U.S. In 2005 Iowa had a Jewish population of 6,100 out of a total of 2,944,000. The largest Jewish community was in Des Moines (3,500), the state capital, where there were four synagogues – Orthodox, Conservative, Reform and Chabad – a Jewish Federation which is situated on the community campus and includes Iowa Jewish Senior Life Center, a synagogue, and the Community Hebrew School. There were also organized Jewish communities with one or more synagogues in Ames, Cedar Rapids, Waterloo, Council Bluffs; Davenport (450); Dubuque (105); Iowa City (200), Sioux City (300), and Postville, now home to 450 Jews, most associated with the kosher meat processing plant, AgriProcessors.

The first mention of Jews in connection with Iowa appeared in a memoir published in London in 1819 by William Robinson, a non-Jewish adventurer and land speculator, who proposed mass colonization of European Jews in Iowa and Missouri. The first known Jewish settler was Alexander Levi, a native of France who arrived from New Orleans in 1833 and established himself in Dubuque in the year the town was laid out. Credited with being the first foreigner naturalized in Iowa (1837), Levi helped develop the lead mines first worked by Julien Dubuque, for whom the town was named. One of Dubuque's leading citizens for 60 years, Levi was elected justice of the peace in 1846. In the late 1830s and early 1840s Jewish peddlers from Germany and Poland reached Dubuque and McGregor, key points for traffic across the Mississippi, in eastern Iowa, as the immigrant tide began pushing westward. Solomon Fine and Nathan Louis were doing business at Fort Madison in 1842. In that year Joseph Newmark opened a store at Dubuque. Among the early settlers in McGregor were the parents of Leo S. Rowe (1871–1946), director-general of the Pan-American Union (1920–46), who was born there. Samuel Jacobs was surveyor of Jefferson County in 1845. In the 1850s Jews were also settled at Davenport, Burlington, and Keokuk. William Krause, the first Jew in Des Moines, arrived with his wife in 1846, when it was still known as Raccoon Forks. His brother Robert came to Davenport about the same time. Krause opened Des Moines' first store in 1848, a year before Joseph and Isaac Kuhn arrived there. Krause was one of the incorporators of Des Moines, helped found the town's first public school, contributed toward the building of Christian churches, and was a leading figure in having the state capital moved from Iowa City to Des Moines. Other pioneer Jews were Michael Raphael, paymaster of the Northwestern Railroad while it was building west from Davenport; Abraham Kuhn, who went to Council Bluffs in 1853; Leopold Sheuerman, who had a store at Muscatine in 1858; and Solomon Hess, who represented Johnson City at the 1856 convention at which the Iowa Republican Party was organized.

The first organized Jewish community was formed at Keokuk in 1855 in the home of S. Gerstle under the name of the Benevolent Children of Israel. This society maintained a cemetery from 1859 on and four years later was incorporated as Congregation B'nai Israel. In 1877 it erected Iowa's first synagogue. Other communities grew up in Dubuque and Burlington in 1857 and in Davenport in 1861. There was a handful of Jews in Sioux City on the banks of the Missouri River in the 1860s, but no congregation was formed until 1884. The Council Bluffs community dates from the late 1870s and that in Ottumwa from 1876. Davenport's Temple Emanuel is the oldest existing congregation (the one in Keokuk went out of existence in the 1920s). Des Moines' pioneer congregation, B'nai Jeshurun, was founded in 1870 and erected the state's second synagogue in 1878.

The best-known Jews in Iowa in the 1880s were Abraham Slimmer, of Waverly, and Moses Bloom, of Iowa City. Slimmer, a recluse, endowed hospitals, schools, and orphanages throughout Iowa and other states and was a generous contributor to synagogues. Bloom was elected mayor of Iowa City in 1869 and 1874 and served in both houses of the state legislature in the 1880s. Benjamin Salinger served on the Iowa State Supreme Court from 1915 to 1921. Joe Katelman was elected mayor of Council Bluffs in 1966. David Henstein was mayor of Glenwood (1892) and Sam Polonetzky was mayor of Valley Junction (1934).

[Bernard Postal]

Des Moines remains the largest center of Jewish life in Iowa. Its Federation, located on a community campus which includes the Jewish Community Relations Commission, the Greater Des Moines Jewish Press, Jewish Family Services, the Iowa Jewish Senior Life Center, and Tifereth Israel, the Conservative synagogue which houses the Federation-run com-

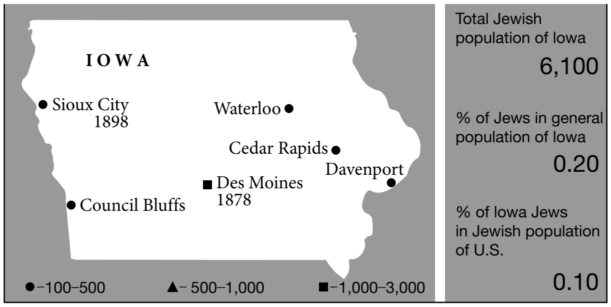

Jewish communities in Iowa, with dates of establishment of first synagogue. Population figures for 2001.

munity Hebrew School, is very active and influential. The Des Moines Jewish Academy, a day school started in 1977 by three families, merged in 2004 with a secular private school to become The Academy, Des Moines' only secular private school. The Academy offers an after-school Jewish curriculum. An additional Federation facility for social, cultural, and recreational activities, the Caspe Terrace, located in nearby Waukee, Iowa, is the site of the children's camp, Camp Shalom, as well as the museum of the Iowa Jewish Historical Society, a committee of the Federation founded in 1989.

Des Moines boasts four synagogues, and ritual practice in most has become more traditional over time. The Reform Temple, B'nai Jeshurun, has the largest membership with Shabbat services now held on both Friday night and Saturday morning. Ritual at the Conservative synagogue, Tifereth Israel, has remained largely unchanged. Beth El Jacob, the Orthodox synagogue which allowed mixed seating beginning in the 1950s, now has a *meḥizah* in both its small chapel and its main sanctuary. Lubavitch of Iowa/Jewish Resource Center, operating with its current rabbi since 1992, holds Shabbat services and publishes a monthly magazine, *The Jewish Spark*, and contains a *mikveh*, as does Beth El Jacob synagogue, less than half a mile away. Beth El Jacob synagogue and Lubavitch of Iowa clashed over a bequest, which resulted in a civil law suit. The resulting settlement led to the establishment of a Chabad-run kosher deli, Maccabee. The Jewish population in Des Moines has moved westward. With the purchase of land west of Des Moines, plans are under discussion for moving the campus that contains both the Federation and Tifereth Israel synagogue.

Perhaps the most interesting development in Iowa has been the growth of an ultra-Orthodox community in rural Postville, where once there were only Christians. Heshy Rubashkin moved to this town of 2300 in 1989 to set up AgriProcessors, a kosher meat processing plant. Five years later, when they opened a Jewish school, more hasidic families followed. Today 75 ḥasidic families live in Postville, which offers K-8 Jewish education for girls and K-11 Jewish education for boys. The Postville Jewish community boasts a Jewish doctor, a family-run kosher cheese manufacturing business, Mitzvah Farms, and a kosher grocery store and adjacent restaurant. Tensions developed between the ḥasidic newcomers and their Christian neighbors. The cross cultural conflict became the subject of much national press coverage, a best-selling book, and a PBS movie. Though tensions still persist, Jews and non-Jews are learning to live with each other. One member of the hasidic community was elected to a term on the Postville City Council. Recently the Lubavitch community, which houses Postville's only synagogue where all types of Ḥasidim pray together, including those of Ger and Bobov, opened a Jewish Resource Center. The JRC, open to all comers including non-Jews, contains a Jewish library, meeting room, gift shop and offers Jewish tutorials for the few non-observant Jews in Postville.

One Postville resident, observing the harmony among diverse Ḥasidim described life in Jewish Postville as "moschiah time."

Sioux City, which was at one time Iowa's second largest Jewish community, now numbers only 300. To address the crisis of a Jewish population decreasing through death and not replenishing with new families, the Conservative and Reform synagogues merged in 1994, maintaining in congregation Beth Shalom affiliation with both the Conservative and Reform movements. Ritual observance at Beth Shalom generally follows the Reform tradition, though Conservative traditions apply to both Shabbat morning and second day holiday prayer. Beth Shalom maintains a K-12 religious school and employs a full-time rabbi, ordained at a trans-denominational seminary.

In Iowa City, home to the University of Iowa, the Reform and Conservative synagogues also merged, and congregation Agudas Achim, with a membership of 200 families, is affiliated with both the Reform and Conservative movements. Services, led by a Conservative-ordained Rabbi, generally follow the Conservative ritual, though once each month Reform services are held. The University of Iowa with a Jewish population of roughly 600 undergraduates and 200 graduate students runs a Hillel in which about 10% of the students are active.

Nearby, Temple Judah of Cedar Rapids, a Reform Congregation, has maintained a stable Jewish community with 125 families and a school enrollment of 53 students.

Davenport, one of the Quad Cities, has a Jewish population of about 450 people, most affiliated with either the Reform Congregation, Temple Emanuel, or a Conservative synagogue across the river in Rock Island, Illinois. An Israeli *shali'aḥ* sent to Davenport's Federation for one year, has helped revitalize Jewish life and promote outreach to the non-Jewish community.

Ames, the home of Iowa State University, maintains the Ames Jewish Congregation, a community of 62 families, affiliated with the Reform Movement since 1962.

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[Marlene Booth (2nd ed.)]

IPSWICH, town in southeastern England. A medieval community existed there until 1290 with its own *archa. However, relatively little is known about it. Jews began to resettle in the mid-18th century. A synagogue was built in 1792 and a cemetery acquired in 1796. During the French Revolution, the Jews were suspected of Jacobin sympathies and the magistrates had to intervene to save them from attack. The community ceased to exist during the 19th century. At the outset of the 21st century, no Jewish institutions existed in Ipswich.

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[Cecil Roth]

IQUITOS, city in Peru. Surrounded by the Amazon River and two of its tributaries, and separated from other cities by the vast tropical rain forest and the high Andean summits, Iquitos, located 1,200 miles from Lima, was the most isolated city in South America until the coming of the airplane. Nevertheless, like Manaus and Belén do Pará, it was the hub from which representatives of foreign industries administered their businesses during the rubber boom of the 19th century. Hence, starting in 1870, around 150 Sephardi Jews, mainly from Morocco but also from places such as Gibraltar, Malta, Alsace, and the city of Manchester, made their way to Iquitos in search of quick fortunes working as traders and owners of commercial houses that provided services to the people who exploited rubber in the jungle. In a few years the little town founded by Jesuits became a cosmopolitan city that boasted the only organized Jewish community in Peru besides the one in the capital city of Lima.

In 1905 the Jewish immigrants, who initially had no intention of staying long in the city, built a cemetery to accommodate the inevitable loss of life in a frontier area while refraining from building such permanent structures as a synagogue or a school. By 1909, they had founded and formally registered with the local authorities of the city the Israelite Society of Beneficence of Iquitos in order to provide assistance to fellow Jews, although, they only met for the Jewish high holidays and scarcely developed a Jewish life. Most of the Jews, like all the immigrants, married or had children with local Amazonian women. During the 1910s, with the decline of rubber prices, most of the Jews left the city. The few who stayed, together with the first generation of their descendants, met occasionally for Sabbath services in private homes. Though they continued to intermarry with local Christian natives, the descendants of Jews preserved a strong sense of Jewishness, kept up some Jewish traditions, and made several attempts to sustain a fragile community, which made its first contacts with Lima's Jews during the 1950s, especially after the visit of the Jewish Peruvian geologist Alfredo Rosenzweig, who in 1948 got to know the first generation of Jewish descendants during a trip to the Amazon region. In an article published in 1967 Rosenzweig provided the first detailed account of the presence of Jews in Iquitos, telling about the economic contribution of the big and famous Kahn, Israel, and Cohen commercial houses, among others, and obtaining a copy of the statutes of the Israelite Society and a list with 29 documents concerning community members buried at the Israelite cemetery, where "Israelite," "Hebrew," or "Jewish" is explicitly written as the faith of the deceased.

In 1995 Dr. Ariel Segal visited Iquitos in order to research the syncretic identity of the Jewish descendants of the city after learning that there was still an organized community of self-proclaimed Jews who celebrated the main Jewish holidays. These had been visited twice by Rabbi Guillermo Bronstein of the Conservative Jewish congregation of Lima and by officials of the Jewish Agency who helped those members who expressed an interest in learning about Judaism and immigrating to the State of Israel and whose cases fell under the Law of Return, to make *aliyah*. Their Judaism has been also debated in Orthodox circles after they were visited by a member of Israel's Rabbinate.

Iquitos descendants of Jews still bury members of their congregation in the Israelite cemetery, they celebrate *Kabbalat Shabbat* services – although some of them also attend churches – and speak proudly of their Jewish heritage while a few of them practice some local Amazonian and Christian rituals. They define themselves as members of the "chosen people" with Jewish blood. This sense of lineage and identity is part of the fascinating historical consciousness that Dr. Segal, in the book *Jews of the Amazon*, categorized as *Marranic*, claiming that the identity of the "Jewish *Mestizos*" – *Mestizaje* is understood as biological and cultural miscegenation – resembles the identity of many descendants of Jews forced to convert to Christianity in the Iberian Peninsula, and of other communities that combined Judaism and another religion, such the *Bene Israel of Bombay.

Defining *Marranism* also as an identity, a product of isolation rather than exclusively a result of compulsory conversion to another religion, is, however controversial, useful in understanding the sense of peoplehood of the Iquitos community after living almost 100 years without a rabbi, a synagogue, or a Jewish school.

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[Ariel Segal (2nd ed.)]

IRAN (official name: Islamic Republic of Iran), country in S.W. Asia, before 1935 known as Persia. Iran covers an area of 1,648,195 square km and includes 28 provinces, 714 districts, 718 towns, and 2,258 villages. Up to 1948 Jews were scattered in about 100 towns and villages, their number was then estimated at between 100,000 and 120,000.

The name Iran for the entire Iranian plateau has been in usage since the Sasanian period (224–650 C.E.) and also in classical literature, e.g., in the *Shāhnāmeh* of Ferdawsi (about 10th century). Persia as a name for the country was used by foreigners; geographically it referred to the Province of Fārs in the south from which the Achaemenian kingdom of Cyrus the Great emerged. It was officially changed to Iran in 1935, most probably under the influence of strong German-Iranian relations during the 1930s. The many German agents in Iran emphasized the so-called Aryan origin of the Iranians, which appealed to the nationalist mood of the time. This type of nationalism in Iran did not allow any social and political activities with ties to foreign countries, and thus Communist and Zionist activities were forbidden in Iran during Reza Shah's reign (1925–41). There were also difficulties faced by Jews who wanted to immigrate to the Land of Israel. However, it must be said that Reza Shah's reign proved to be the beginning of an era of relative freedom and socioeconomic opportunities for Jews and other non-Muslim communities. In this period, Jews were active in trade, industry, and tourism. Several Jews reached the highest levels of fame and prosperity in the modern history of Iran. Among them were Haim Moreh, Morteza Moʿallem, and Soleiman Haim in education and scholarship; Iraj Lālehzāri and Shemooil Rahbar in science; Morteza Ney-Dāvoud and Yonah Dardashti in music; Morād Ariyeh, Habib Elghanaian, Ebrāhim Rād, and many others in economics.

With the occupation of Iran by Russia and Britain in August 1941 and the abdication of Reza Shah in September, Iran experienced a new era of relative democracy and freedom such as it had never had before. Jews began to take advantage of the situation and from 1942 on they started to renew their Zionist and social activities. During the 1940s, a dozen Jewish organizations emerged in *Teheran and in other major cities, such as *Shiraz, *Isfahan, *Hamadan, *Kermanshah, and Sanandaj. Among these organizations were the following: several youth organizations named Kānun-e Javānān; Ha-Histadrut ha-Ẓiyyonit; the Ḥalutz Movement; the Jewish Hospital; the Oẓar ha-Torah Educational Schools; the Women's Organization; ORT Schools; newspapers, such as *ʿĀlam-e Yahud, Yisrāel, Sinā*, and so on. State universities, colleges, elementary and high schools became more accessible to Jewish students and teachers. Jews were able to find employment in governmental offices with less difficulty than before. This relative freedom also gave rise to fascist parties such as the Pan-Iranism Party that regarded the Jews as an undesirable Semitic foreign element in Iran. The Tudeh Party favored the Jews, whose intellectuals, in general, were sympathetic to it, and a few hundred of them became active members of the party.

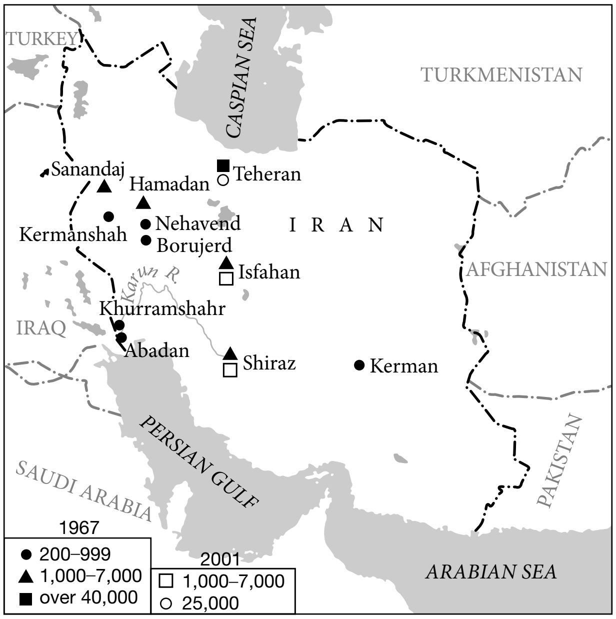

Jewish settlements in Iran, 1967 and 2001. 1967 data based on E. Spicehandler, Yahadut Iran, *Jerusalem, 1970.*

Population

The earliest report of a Jewish population in Iran goes back to the 12th century. It was *Benjamin of Tudela who claimed that there was a population of about 600,000 Jews. This number was later reduced to 100,000 in the Safavid period (1501–1736), and it further diminished to 50,000 at the beginning of the 20th century, as reported by the *Alliance Israélite Universelle (AIU) emissaries in Iran. The drastic decrease in number was the result of persecution, forced conversions, Muslim laws of inheritance (which encouraged conversion and allowed the convert to inherit the properties of his Jewish family), and massacres. These problems continued at least up to the Constitutional Revolution in Iran (1905–09). According to unofficial statistics released by the Jewish Agency in Teheran, there were between 100,000 to 120,000 Jews living in Iran in 1948. The following numbers, with some variation, were reported for the Jews of major cities: Teheran, about 50,000 Jews; all Iranian Kurdistan, between 15,000 to 20,000; Shiraz, 17,000; Isfahan, 10,000; Hamadan, 3,000; Kashan, 1,200; *Meshed, 2,500; Kermanshah, 2,864; Yazd/Yezd, 2,000 (uncertain). There are no reliable statistics for other communities scattered in many small towns and villages, such as Borujerd, Dārāb, Fasā, Golpāygān, Gorgān, Kāzrun, Khunsār, Lahijān, Malāyer, Nowbandegān, Rasht, and many more. There were also censuses carried out once every 10 years by the government, beginning in 1956. These censuses usually were not reliable as far as the Jewish communities were concerned, since Jews were not enthusiastic about being identified as such. For example, the official census of 1966 cites 60,683 Jews in Iran, but the Jewish sources put the number much higher than 70,000. The data provided by different sources, especially by those involved or interested in Iran's Jewish community affairs, differ greatly from one another.

Occupation

We do not possess a reliable source regarding the occupations of the Jews in different towns and settlements in Iran. The data varies in time and place, but one may nevertheless find similarities in the reports. We have more reliable statistics concerning the second largest community in Iran, the Jews of Shiraz which may, to some degree, represent the Jewish occupations in other major cities – with the exception of the goldsmiths and musicians who made Shirazi Jews famous. The following was reported by Dr. Laurence Loeb, who resided in Shiraz from August 1967 through December 1968, as investigated and reported on the distribution of occupations. (See table: Occupations in Shiraz.)

Table 1. Occupations in Shiraz, 1967–1968

Occupation	Number	Percentage
Peddler	49	12.10
Cloth store	42	10.37
Goldsmith	27	6.67
Haberdasher	25	6.17
Doctor	19	4.69
Nurse, hospital worker	17	4.17
Teacher, principal	16	3.95
Engineer	12	3.46
Musician	12	2.96
Liquor seller	12	2.96
Moneylender	12	2.96
Spinner	12	2.96
Merchant of gum tragacanth	11	2.72
Druggist	9	2.22
Grocer	9	2.22
Fruit and vegetables	9	2.22
Smith	8	1.98
Mason	7	1.73
Carter	6	1.48
Office worker	6	1.48
Real estate	6	1.48
Butcher	4	0.99
Technician	4	0.99
Tailor	4	0.99
JDC worker	4	0.99
Industrial worker	4	0.99
Household goods shop	4	0.99
School janitor	4	0.99

In addition to what was reported above, Loeb found in Shiraz 41 persons who were dentists, cooks, carpenters, barbers, seed merchants, laborers, librarians, mullas, restaurant workers, bath attendants, leather tanners, photographers, beauty parlor attendants, appliance store clerks, lambswool merchants or dairy store attendants. They constituted 10.12 percent of the work force of the community. There were also 8 unemployed persons (1.98%).

Education

Modern Jewish education in Iran was in general in the hands of the Alliance Israélite Universelle (AIU) from 1898. The AIU was active only in major cities such as Teheran (from 1898), Hamadan (1900), Isfahan (1901), Shiraz (1903), Sanandaj (1903), and Kermanshah (1904). In the second decade of the 20th century it opened schools in Kashan and Yazd, and also in some small towns close to Hamadan, such as Tuyserkān, Borujerd, and Nehāvand. Parallel to the AIU schools, community schools were established in a few towns, such as Koresh in Teheran and Koresh in Rasht. During the Pahlavi regime, some Jews also studied in non-Jewish schools.

In 1946/47, the Oẓar ha-Torah schools were opened in Teheran and other cities. Rabbi Isaac Meir Levi, a Polish Jew who had come to Iran in 1941 to organize the dispatch of parcels to rabbis and synagogues in Russia, was appointed by the Oẓar ha-Torah center in New York to establish a network of schools in Iran.

Given the great wave of immigration to Israel which swept the Jews of Iran in the 1950s, most immigrants being poor and unskilled, the economic prosperity which Iran enjoyed in the 1960s and 1970s, and the rise to wealth of a large segment of the remaining Jewish community, more attention was devoted to education. In 1977/78 there were in Teheran 11 Oẓar ha-Torah schools, 7 AIU schools, and 6 community schools, including one ORT vocational school and the Ettefāq school belonging to Iraqi Jews resident in Teheran. This picture changed drastically with the mass exodus of Jews resulting from the Islamic revolution. Prior to the Islamic Republic of Iran (= IRI) there were three Jewish schools in Shiraz and one Jewish school in each major city. By the end of the 20th century there were generally three Jewish schools in Teheran, one in Shiraz, and one in Isfahan. Most of these schools were funded and sponsored by Oẓar ha-Torah (Netzer, 1996).

Aliyah

Immigration to Israel was facilitated and accelerated through the Zionist Association in Teheran (founded in 1918) and its branches in 18 major cities. The following official statistics published by the Government of Israel show the rate of Iranian Jewish immigration to Israel (the number 3,536 below for the years 1919–1948 does not accurately reflect reality, since thousands of Iranian Jews immigrated to Israel illegally and were consequently not registered by the British Mandate or the Jewish Agency). It is believed that on the eve of independence there were about 20,000 Iranian Jews living in Israel.

Table 2. Immigration of Iranian Jews to Israel, 1919–2001

Period	Number of Immigrants
1919–1948	3,536
1948–1951	21,910
1952–1960	15,699
1961–1964	8,857
1965–1971	10,645
1972–1979	9,550
1980–1989	8,487
1990–2001	257
Total	78,941

In the past, the majority of Iranian Jews lived in Jerusalem, while at the beginning of the 21st century they were to be found primarily in Tel Aviv, Holon, Bat-Yam, Rishon le-Zion, Kefar Saba, Nes Ẓiyyonah, and Reḥovot. A smaller number chose to reside in Jerusalem, Netanyah, Haifa, Ashkelon, Ashdod, and Beersheba. Since 1948, the Jews of Iran have founded several moshavim: Agur, Amishav (now a quarter in Petaḥ Tikvah), Avdon, Dovev, Eshbol, Givati, Givolim, Hodayah, Margaliyyot, Maslul, Melilot, Nes-Harim, Netiv ha-Shayarah, Neveh Yamin, Nogah, Pa'mei TaShaZ, Patish, Kadimah, Talmei Bilu, Ẓerufah, and others.

With the change of the regime and *Khomeini's rise to power, about three-quarters of Iran's 80,000 Jews left. Many immigrated to Israel and the United States, but a part preferred to settle in European countries. The official statistics of Israel show that in 2001 there were 135,200 Jews who were considered Iranian either as *olim* or as individuals one of whose parents was Iranian-Jewish. The above figure includes 51,300 who were born in Iran and 83,900 who were born in Israel. Iranian Jews in Israel became active and reached high ranks in academic life, in the socioeconomic realm, politics, and the military. Since 1955, they have had about a score of university teachers; Rabbi Ezra Zion *Melamed, professor of Talmud at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem was granted the Israel Prize. There have been several Knesset members, two chief commanders of the Air Force (General Eitan Ben-Eliyahu and General Dan Ḥaluẓ), two army chiefs of staff (Major-General Shaul *Mofaz and Major-General Dan Ḥaluẓ); one defense minister, Shaul Mofaz; one Sephardi chief rabbi (Rabbi *Bakshi Doron); and the president of the State of Israel, Moshe *Katzav.

Jewish Representation in the Majles

The Jewish representatives in the Iranian Parliament (Majles) since its inception (1907) were the following: Azizollah Simāni, a merchant (replaced by Ayatollah Behbāhni after only a few months); Dr. Loqmān Nehoray, a physician (1909–23); Shemuel Haim, a journalist (1923–26); Dr. Loqmān Nehoray (1926–43), Morād Ariyeh, a merchant (1945–56); Dr. Mussa Berāl, a pharmacologist (1956–1960), Morād Ariyeh, (1960–64), Jamshid Kashfi, a merchant (1964–68), Lotfollah Hay, a merchant (1968–75), and Yosef Cohen, a lawyer (1975–79).

Iran-Israel Relations

Relations between the Yishuv and Iran began in 1942, when the Jewish Agency opened a Palestine Office in Teheran, with the aim of assisting the Jewish-Polish refugees from Russia and arranging for their immigration to the Land of Israel. This office continued to function until 1979. Iran voted, together with the Muslim and Arab states in the UN against the partition of Palestine (November 29, 1947). In the Israel-Arab conflict, Iran sided with the Arabs. However, Iran's need for socioeconomic reforms drove it to establish closer relations with the West, especially with the U.S. Consequently, after the Shah's trip to the U.S. in 1949, Iran recognized Israel de-facto in March 1950. The relations between the two countries remained "discreetly unofficial," even though diplomatic missions were operating in Teheran and Tel Aviv. These continued to function until early 1979. Practical relations between the two states existed in a variety of fields such as trade, export-import, regular El-Al flights to Teheran, supply of Iranian oil to Israel, and student exchanges. They developed especially strong relations in three major fields: agriculture, medicine, and the military. Israeli experts assisted Iran in various development projects such as the Qazvin project in the 1960s. The Six-Day War is regarded as the high point of friendly Israel-Iran relations, particularly in the area of the Intelligence Service. The Shah and his military were surprised by the swift Israeli victory over *Syria, *Jordan, and *Egypt. Likewise, the Israeli setback in the Yom Kippur War (1973) induced the Shah's pragmatic diplomacy to develop amicable relations with Anwar *Sadat of Egypt. It has been said that it was this policy of the Shah that encouraged Sadat to make peace with Israel. With the coming to power of Khomeini in February 1979, the friendly relations between the two states changed into strong enmity. In 2006 the growing Iranian nuclear threat and President Ahmadinejad's declaration that Israel should be wiped off the face of the earth led to increasing talk of a preemptive military strike against Iran.

Jews in the Last Year of the Pahlavi Regime

The economic boom of the 1960s and the 1970s in Iran benefited the Jews too. Many Jews became rich, which enabled them to provide higher education for their children. In 1978 there were about 80,000 Jews in the country, constituting one-quarter of one percent of the general population. Of these Jews, 10 percent were very rich, the same percentage were poor (aided by the Joint Distribution Committee) and the rest were classified as from middle class to rich. Approximately, 70 out of 4,000 academicians teaching at Iran's universities were Jews; 600 Jewish physicians constituted six percent of the country's medical doctors. There were 4,000 Jewish students studying in all the universities, representing four percent of the total number of students. Never in their history were the Jews of Iran elevated to such a degree of affluence, education, and professionally as they were in the last decade of the Shah's regime. All this changed with the emergence of the Islamic Republic of Iran (IRI).

Iranian Jews in the IRI

On January 16, 1979, the Shah was forced to leave Iran. Two weeks later Ayatollah Khomeini entered Teheran to assume power, after having lived in exile for almost 15 years. On February 11, 1979, for the first time in the history of Iran, the government of the Ayatollahs came into being, and the kingdom of Iran turned into the Islamic Republic of Iran (IRI). This political phenomenon has significantly changed the demographic map of the Jewish community of Iran. By the end of 20th century – that is to say, at the end of 20 years of the Islamic regime in Iran – taking into consideration the birthrate, there were about 30,000 Jews in Iran, of which 25,000 lived in Teheran, 3,000 in Shiraz, 1,500 in Isfahan, while the rest were scattered in other cities and settlements. In the IRI, Jews as well as other religious minorities were regarded as the supporters of the royal regime, because it was under the Pahlavi dynasty that they had enjoyed prosperity and some measure of relative freedom. When the revolution broke out, Israel-Iran relations and the diplomatic, economic, and military cooperation between the countries were markedly strong. Consequently the situation of the Jews became precarious, because of the anti-Zionist attitude and character of the revolution. The Jews of Iran were accused of being the supporters of the Shah, Israel, the Mossad, the CIA and the U.S. All were defined as "Satan." A few wealthy Jews, among them the former head of the Jewish Community of Teheran, Habib Elghanian, were tried by the revolutionary courts and sentenced to death (May 9, 1979). Jewish-owned property worth at least one billion dollars was confiscated by the regime. This alarming situation caused many Jews to leave Iran.

Under the Islamic Republic of Iran, the following persons represented the Jewish community in the Majles: Eshāq Farahmandpour, a teacher (a few months in 1979 and then Jews had no representative until 1982); Khosrow Nāqi, a lawyer (1982–84); Dr. Manouchehr Nikruz (1984–92); Dr. Kuros Keyvāni (1992–96); Dr. Manouchehr Elyāsi (1996–2000); Moris Mo'tamed, an engineer (2000–).

Iranian Jews Abroad

It is estimated that during the first 10 years of the Islamic regime about 60,000 Jews left Iran; the rest, some 20,000, remained in Teheran, Shiraz, Isfahan, and other provincial cities. Of the 60,000 Jews who emigrated, about 35,000 preferred to immigrate to the U.S.; some 20,000 left for Israel, and the remaining 5,000 chose to live in Europe, mainly in England, France, Germany, Italy, or Switzerland. The spread of the Iranian Jews in the U.S. provides us with the following demographic map: of the total 35,000, some 25,000 live in California, of whom about 20,000 prefer to dwell in Los Angeles; 8,000 Iranian Jews live in the city of New York and on Long Island; the remaining 2,000 live in other cities, mainly in Boston, Baltimore, Washington, Detroit, or Chicago.

In every city abroad, the Jews of Iran tried to establish themselves in their own newly founded organizations and synagogues. In Los Angeles alone, they set up more than 40 organizations, 10 synagogues, about 6 magazines, and one television station. The Iranian Jewish community in the U.S. is, for the most part, well-educated and financially stable. Education is one of the strongest values stressed by the Iranian Jewish community, which considers itself the cream of all immigrant groups in the U.S. The Iranian Jews brought with them money, doctors, engineers, upper-class educated businessmen, and professionals in almost all fields. Many of them became wealthy in their new homes in the U.S., Europe, and Israel.

[Amnon Netzer (2nd ed.)]

Musical Tradition

The musical patrimony of the Iranian Jews contains several different styles. The nature of their non-synagogal music, and the general approach to music and the way it is performed, are identical with those of their non-Jewish neighbors. The attachment to poetry and music which has been characteristic of Iranian culture from its earliest days is also found among the Jews, with similar attention devoted to the cultivation of these arts, the special connection of music with the expressions of sorrow, meditation, and mystical exaltation, and the same ideal of voice color and voice production. Some of these characteristics have of course been transposed in order to suit the specific conditions of a Jewish culture. The tendency toward mysticism finds its fullest expression in a predilection for the *Zohar, which is recited with a special musical intonation. The great importance attached to lamentations for the dead, which constitute a rich and interesting repertoire, may be analogous with the *ta'ziya-t* of the Persian Shi'ites, which are a kind of vernacular religious drama commemorating the tragedies which marked the birth of the Shi'a sect.

Notwithstanding some analogies in style and form, the Iranian influence is, however, hardly traceable in the Iranian synagogal tradition. In the structure of the melodies of free rhythmical or recitative character, A.Z. *Idelsohn found a strong resemblance to the synagogal tradition of the Yemenite Jews. Their tradition of Pentateuch cantillation is among the more archaic ones, being centered almost exclusively on the major divisive accents (see *Masoretic Accents, Musical Rendition). On the other hand, most of the metrical **piyyutim*, mainly those of the High Holidays, are sung to melodies common to all Near Eastern, i.e. "Eastern Sephardi," communities.

In the paraliturgical and secular domain, the poetry and music of the Iranian Jews are simply a part of the general culture, with a few exceptions. Among these are the works of non-Persian Jewish poets, such as Israel *Najara, of which a Judeo-Persian translation is in wide use, and which are sung on such occasions as *se'udah shlishit* and **bakkashot* (among Persians Jews, contrary to other communities, these are performed at home and not in the synagogue).

The most impressive production was in the domain of epic songs. Here, the Persian Jews closely followed the Persian model in language, meter, and musical rendition, though the Jewish poets and musicians naturally sang of the achievements and history of their own people. The chief representative of epic poetry is *Shahin, a Persian Jewish poet of the 14th century. His poetic paraphrase of the narrative parts of the Pentateuch, called in brief *Shāhīn*, is sung in public on Sabbath afternoons and at festive gatherings by specialized "epic singers." The public, although knowing every word by memory, expresses its enthusiasm anew each time. The *Shahīn* also became a favorite in Bukhara, which was considered a cultural province of Persian Jewry. Shahin himself and after him other poets, especially 'Amrani, wrote other epic songs on Jewish topics which also attained great popularity.

Another branch of poetry, but one of a more folkloristic nature, consists of the songs which are improvised in an impromptu competition of poets. These are performed at family celebrations, after wine-drinking bouts, and the competition between the two singer-poets adds to the atmosphere of good cheer. (For the music of the Kurdistan region of Iran see *Kurdistan.)

[Amnon Shiloah]

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IRAQ, country in S.W. Asia (for period prior to 634 C.E. see *Mesopotamia and *Babylonia).

The Diaspora of Iraq was one of the most ancient of the Jewish people. The Jews came to Babylon after the destruction of the First Temple (586 B.C.E.), or even 10 years earlier, with the exile of Jehoiachin. They integrated into their land of captivity and took part in its economic and cultural development.

The contribution of Babylonian Jewry to molding the spirit and character of the Jewish people in the Diaspora was channeled through its famous academies (yeshivot) of *Sura and *Pumpedita. There, the Babylonian Talmud was composed and sealed. The heads of those academies functioned as the leaders of Babylonian Jewry and of other Jews. They continued to do so until the conquest of the country by the *Mongols in 1258 C.E. The decline of the Jewish communities of *Baghdad and *Basra continued for many generations. Only at the end of the 18th and the beginning of the 19th centuries did Baghdad begin to recover economically and culturally and start to function again as a religious center for the Jewish communities of *Kurdistan, *Persia, *India, and *Aden.

Under Islamic Rule

The Jews of Babylonia, who had suffered from persecutions at the end of the rule of the Persian Sasanid dynasty, welcomed the Arab conquest of the land, which became known as Iraq.

The legal status of the Jews, as **dhimmīs*, was defined by the *Shari'a* (the Islamic Law), under which they had certain rights including the right to worship and to administer their own religious law. On the other hand they were required to pay the *jizya* (poll tax) in exchange for protection by the Islamic rulers. They were also exempted from serving in the Muslim armies.

UNDER THE UMAYYAD CALIPHATE (661–750). The extant information on the attitude of the caliphs of the *Umayyad dynasty (661–750) toward the Jews is very limited. During this period the Jews suffered from the political disputes and controversies which took place in Iraq. In the times of the caliph Omar II ibn 'Abd al-Azīz (717–720) the Jews suffered, with other *dhimmīs*, intolerance toward their religion. He forbade the governors to appoint members of non-Muslims as tax collectors and scribes; he also prohibited the *dhimmīs* from dressing like Muslims and sought to degrade them socially (The Covenant of *Omar).

UNDER THE ABBASID CALIPHATE (750–1258). The situation of the Jews during the *Abbasid period was not stable. Some of the rulers were tolerant to them while others oppressed them variously. The caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd (786–809) persecuted the Jews and sought to humiliate them. He imposed heavy taxes and discriminated against them in regard to their dress, commerce, and other matters. The attitude changed under his son, the caliph al-Ma'mūn (813–833), who was a devotee of the sciences. At the beginning of his rule he revealed a tolerant attitude toward the Jews, but at its end he changed this policy for the worse as a result of his advisers' influence. During the reign of the caliph al-Mutawakkil (847–861) the Jewish situation was severely aggravated. This caliph issued, in 850, decrees which degraded the Jews and other non-Muslims. He instituted a yellow head covering and, for the servants and the poor, a yellow patch to be prominently worn on their clothes, on the chest or on the back. Four years later he added some new decrees on the color of clothes and on women's clothing. Various restrictions concerned with living quarters, taxes, and other matters are also attributed to him (see Covenant of *Omar). It may be assumed that not all these decrees were applied. In spite of all the restrictions, many Jews adapted themselves to the values of the Muslim culture. They distinguished themselves as physicians and writers, played important roles in the economic life and held government positions. The fact that it was necessary from time to time to renew the decrees on clothing proves that they were not generally enforced.

During the terms of office of the *gaon* *Aharon b. Joseph ha-Cohen Sargado, Baghdad was conquered by the Buwayhid emirs who ruled Iraq for more than a century (945–1055). This Persian Shi'ite dynasty was extremely fanatic and cruelly persecuted the Sunni Muslims, the Jews, and the Christians. They abolished the former rights of the exilarch to collect the poll tax, and the Jews were compelled to pay it to Muslim collectors who oppressed them severely. The situation of the Jews improved during the rule of the *Seljuks (1055–1150). After the

Seljuks the Abbasid caliphs restored their power, and a change for the worse occurred during the reign of caliph al-Muqtadī (1075–1094), who adopted a harsh attitude toward both the Jews and the Christians. He imposed heavy taxes upon them and compelled them to live according the discriminatory decrees issued by the caliph al-Mutwwakil. After him the situation of the Jews improved and their former autonomy was restored.

*Baghdad was founded by the caliph al-Manṣūr (754–775) and became the capital of the Abbasids. The Jewish community begin to expand until it became the largest one in Iraq and the seat of the *exilarch.

Under Muslim rule the academies of *Sura and *Pumbedita began to prosper. The heads of these academies were known, from then on, as **geonim*. The golden age of the *geonim* parallels the days of splendor of the Abbasid caliphate.

According to the traveler *Benjamin of Tudela, who visited Iraq in about 1170, the caliph was most favorable to the Jews; there were many Jewish officials in his service. The traveler R. *Pethahiah of Regensburg, who visited Iraq at the beginning of the reign of the caliph al-Nāṣir (1180–1225) greatly admired the erudition of the Jews of Babylonia: "… Babylonia is an entirely different world, their occupation consisting of Torah study and the fear of heaven, even the Ishmaelites are trustworthy … in Babylon there are 30 synagogues in addition to that of Daniel …" (*Sibbuv Rabbi Petahyah* (1905), 8, 24).

After the death of R. Hai the offices of the head of the academy (*rosh yeshivah*) and the exilarch (*resh galuta*) were both held by *Hezekiah b. David (1038–1058).

The academies of Sura and Pumbedita had been transferred to Baghdad during the 9th and the 10th century. In the middle of the 11th century they ceased to exist and were replaced by the Academy of Baghdad.

Under Mongol Rule (1258–1335)

Following *Mongols' occupation of Iraq in 1258, which caused total destruction and disaster all over the south and the center of the land, the Jewish communities of Baghdad and Basra did not recover for many generations. The attitude of the new rulers toward the Jews at the beginning of their reign changed for the better. Some of them advanced to high positions of state. The first of these was *Saʿd al-Dawla who was appointed a physician of the sultan Arghun Khan (1284–91) and then as a finance minister of the Il-khan kingdom. However, in 1291, when the sultan was in his sickbed, Sa'd al-Dawla was executed. The same fate was met 27 years later by another Jewish personality, *Rashid al-Dawla (1247–1318), who was a physician, capable financier, historian, and philosopher. He attained high rank and was appointed as physician of the khan and the chief minister (vizir); his enemies accused him of having poisoned the khan and had him executed. The situation of the Jews began to worsen when Ghazan Khan (1295–1304) converted to Islam. At that time a number of Jews were compelled to follow suit. In 1333 and 1334 the synagogues of Baghdad were destroyed, Jewish property was looted and, again, a number of Jews converted to Islam.

The occupation of the country by Tamerlane in 1393 caused destruction of a large part of Baghdad and other towns. The Baghdad community did not recover until the end of the 18th and the beginning of the 19th century.

Under Ottoman Rule

The Ottomans occupied Baghdad in 1534; their rule continued until 1917, except for 15 years (1623–38) when the Persians ruled the country and dealt very harshly with the Jews.

The *shariʿa* (the Islamic Code) was the law of the *Ottoman Empire, so the *dhimmīs* were treated according to this religious code. Jews suffered from minor discrimination under the Ottomans, and the Iraqi Jews, in general, lived under a tolerant regime. They paid a moderate poll tax and enjoyed relative freedom. Nevertheless, anti-Jewish crime or agitation on a petty scale was ready to appear. At times the Turkish governors oppressed the Jews and the poll tax was collected with many abuses by the highest bidder.

From 1830 to 1917, 42 Turkish valis governed Iraq. Mustafa Nuri Pasha (1860–61) tried to confiscate the shrine of the prophet *Ezekiel (traditionally considered buried in the village of Kifil) from the Jews; and Mustafa 'Asim Pasha (1887–89) made false accusations against the Jews. In the time of the last vali, Khalil Pasha, 17 Jewish notables of Baghdad were accused of having engaged in illegal commerce. They were cruelly tortured and then executed. Conversely, there were some enlightened officials who restored order and brought peace to the country. The most prominent of these were Midhat Pasha (1869–72) and Hüseyin Nazim Pasha (1910–11). During their rule the Jews enjoyed security and tranquility.

DEMOGRAPHIC CHANGES. The Jewish population of Baghdad in 1824 was estimated at about 1,500 Jewish families. In 1831 it was reported that about 7,000 Jews were dwelling in a special quarter of the city and that they were employed in various governmental jobs. In 1845 the population of Baghdad was estimated at about 16,000 Jews, 40,000 Muslims, and 4,000 Christians. The traveler R. *Benjamin II (1848) put the number of the Jewish families in Baghdad at 3,000 with nine synagogues.

Scores of small Jewish communities were scattered throughout northern Iraq. The largest was in Mosul, which in 1848 had about 450 Jewish families. The figure of 3,000 Jews in this city remained stable until approximately the beginning the 20th century. The decline of the economic standing of Mosul seems to have contributed to the departure of Jews for Baghdad. According to official figures, there were in 1919 in all the northern districts (Mosul, Arbil, Suleimania, and Kirkuk) 13,835 Jews. According to the census of 1947 there were in the northern districts 19,767 Jews.

The main demographic changes occurred from the mid-19th century on. A considerable internal emigration from north to south followed the opening of the Suez-Canal (1869), which shifted the commercial pathway from the overland route (from Europe to India via *Aleppo in *Syria and Mosul in northern Iraq) to the naval route, thus favoring the Iraqi port of Basra. Economic conditions in the north begin to deteriorate. The

Jews, like others, started to move southward. North to south emigration was also encouraged by changes introduced during the reign of the Vali Midhat Pasha (1869–72), who succeeded in pacifying the tribes of central and southern Iraq and protecting the cities from their attacks. The two small Jewish communities in southern Iraq (Basra and Hilla) had grown larger, and additional communities settled in ‘Amara, Qal’at Salih. ‘Ali al-Gharbi, and Musyab. The Jewish movement to the south, however, declined after World War I, except for Basra.

The Jewish community of Baghdad continued to increase. In the year 1860 there lived in Baghdad about 20,000 Jews among 70,000 non-Jews. In 1889, they were estimated at about 25,000 among a population of 100,000 Muslims and 5,000 Christians. An account by the British Consul in Baghdad, in February 1910 stated, “The Jewish community at Baghdad is, after that of Salonica, the most numerous, important, and prosperous in Turkey.” At the beginning of the 20th century the Jewish community of Baghdad numbered about 45,000, In 1919 the British put the figures of Iraqi Jews at 87,488 among a total population of 2,849,283; that is to say 3.1%. In the Baghdad district there were about 50,000 Jews in a total of 250,000 inhabitants. Official Iraqi statistics, based on the 1947 census, put the total number of Iraqi Jews at 118,000 or 2.6% of the total population of 4.5 million. In spite of this official census, some studies suggest that the real number of Jews in the late 1940s was higher. During the years 1948–51, 123,500 Jews immigrated to Israel, with several thousand others leaving during this period for other countries. About 6,000 Jews remained in Iraq after the mass immigration. This led to the conclusion that the total number of Jews in Iraq in the late 1940s was about 135,000.

Major Jewish Settlements in Iraq, based on the official census of 1947

Provinces	1920	1932	1947
Amara	3,000	2,540	2,145
Baghdad	50,300	42,799	76,825
Basra	6,928	7,260	9,388
Diyala	1,689	2,252	2,850
Diwaniya	6,530	531	809
Dulaym	2,600	897	1,661
Hilla	1,065	1,000	1,893
Irbil	4,800	3,090	c. 4,226
Karbala	—	—	—
Kirkuk	1,400	2,633	c. 4,025
Kut	381	346	359
Mosul	7,635	7,537	c. 8,696
Muntafiq	160	555	644
Sulaimaniya	1,000	1,343	c. 2,256
Total	87,488	72,783	115,777

SOCIAL CHANGE. The reforms in the Ottoman Empire that took place in the second half of the 19th century (*Tanzimat*) improved the legal status of the Jews. Theoretically they became equal in rights and obligations. The traditional poll tax (*jizya*), which symbolized the inferiority of the *dhimmis* and their subject status, was rescinded. The fiscal change was, however, cosmetic in a sense, since the *jizya* was replaced in 1855 by a new levy, *Bedel-i ‘Askari* or military substitution tax, which exempted the non-Muslims from military service, for which they had become technically liable with the granting of civil equality. In 1909, shortly after the Young Turks’ coup, this tax was canceled, and about 100 young Baghdadi Jews applied for admission to officers training school.

When World War I broke out, several thousands of Iraqi Jews were drafted into the Ottoman Army and sent to distant fronts, from which many of them did not return.

The most far-reaching of the reforms came in the reorganization of the millet all over the Empire. In Baghdad the post of the *Nasi* (the leader of the Jewish community) was suppressed in 1849, and the community was recognized as a millet. Its leadership was vested in a religious personality (the *ḥakham bashi*), “the chief rabbi.” Later on, in 1931, under the British Mandate a new law was enacted to replace the Ottoman one. This law permitted the vesting of the leadership of Baghdad’s Jewish community in a secular personality. Relying upon this law, it was possible in 1949 to replace Chief Rabbi *Sassoon Kadoorie with Heskel Shemtov.

As a result of the improvement in their civil status deriving from the reforms, the Jews were appointed to positions of judges, lecturers in the universities, officials in governmental service, and police officers. They also were appointed as members of city councils.

In 1869, when Midhat Pasha carried out the vilayet system, he appointed a leading Jewish notable, Menahem *Daniel, as council member of the Baghdad vilayet (*Majlis al-Idāra*). Daniel was also elected to parliament, which was opened in 1877 in Istanbul. This was a precedent which was followed in 1908 by the election of Heskel *Sassoon (1860–1932) to parliament.

The changes in the status of the *dhimmis* did not sit well with the traditionally minded Muslims. Anti-Christian violence erupted in many places in the Middle East, but not in Iraq. However, when the Young Turks tried to bring into force their notions of liberty, equality, and justice in Iraq, the Muslims greeted them with shock and dismay. They reacted on October 15, 1908, with violence against the Jews of Baghdad, which resulted in 40 wounded Jews. This event disabused the Jews of Baghdad of any illusions of equality.

Education and Literature

RELIGIOUS EDUCATION. In 1832 Midrash Talmud Torah was founded in Baghdad, which continued its activity until the mass immigration in the mid-20th century. In 1840 a religious academy, “Yeshivat Bet Zilkha,” was founded after 100 years during which there was no such institution. This yeshivah educated rabbis for the Iraqi communities and those of its neighboring countries.

The founding of modern schools accelerated the secular trend in education among Iraqi Jews. The role of the *bet midrash* and the yeshivah was steadily undermined and became insignificant by the 1940s.

SECULAR EDUCATION. The first school of the *Alliance

Israélite Universelle for boys was founded in Baghdad in 1865 and for girls in 1883. More elementary schools were later opened in the provincial towns of Iraq. Those schools introduced modern methods of teaching and included foreign languages in the curriculum alongside Arabic, French, English, and Turkish. It created a real gap between the educational level of the Jews and that of the non-Jews. It qualified the Jews to be businessmen, clerks, and employees in the governmental offices and banks. This gap prevailed until the mass emigration and aroused the jealousy of the non-Jews in the country, causing friction between the Jews and their neighbors.

By the 1920s numerous schools had been established, mostly by Jewish philanthropists, and maintained by both Jewish community funds and regular contributions by the Iraqi government.

The number of the schools supervised by the Jewish community in Baghdad continued to rise, reaching 20 at the time of the mass exodus of 1950–51. In addition to the regular schools, a number of other institutes were established, including a school for the blind, orphanages, a music school, vocational centers, and charitable organizations.

Jewish students began attending universities in Iraq and abroad after World War I, and government schools were open to Jews as well as to other religious and ethnic minorities. In the 1930s there was no restriction on the number of Jewish students in governmental schools and colleges. Later, in the 1940s, a preferential quota introduced for scientific and medical colleges affected Jews' chances of entering these colleges.

The liberal and secular trend brought about a stronger association of Iraqi Jews and Arab culture and led Jews to take a more active role in public and cultural life. A considerable number of prominent Jewish writers and poets emerged, whose works in Arabic were both well known and well regarded; among them were the poet and historian Meir *Basri (1911–) and the poet Anwar *Shaʿul (1904–1984). Jewish journalists founded a number of newspapers and magazines in Arabic, such as *al-Misbah* (1924–1929) and *al-Hasid* (1929–1937). Jewish journalists contributed to the Iraqi press and occasionally wrote for the Arabic press outside Iraq.

From the 1920s a number of Jews were also prominent in the Iraqi theater and performed in Arabic. Many Jews in Iraq distinguished themselves in music as singers, composers, and players of traditional instruments.

Some works by the Jewish intelligentsia were Arabic in essence and expressed the cultural life of the country.

[Abraham Ben-Yaacob and Hayyim J. Cohen / Nissim Kazzaz (2nd ed.)]

British Occupation and Mandate (1917–1932)

The Jews under the British occupation (1917–21) enjoyed full rights of equality and freedom as well as a feeling of security. The majority of the Jews considered themselves as British citizens. Some grew rich, others were employed in the British administration, especially in Baghdad and Basra. They were interested in the continuation of British rule, and they expressed this in 1918, only a week after the armistice went into effect, when the Jewish community of Baghdad presented a petition to the civil commissioner of Baghdad, asking him to make them British subjects. Twice again, in 1919 and 1920, the Jews of Iraq appealed to the British high commissioner and asked him not to allow an Arab government to come to power or at least to grant British citizenship to the Jewish community en masse. The British authorities rejected this request, and the Jews were eventually appeased by personal assurances that ample guaranties would be afforded. However, when in April 1930 the League of Nations decided to adopt the mandate, the Jewish leaders decided to support the establishment of an Iraqi state under the British Mandate.

The Jews were given further assurances by Amir Faysal (1883–1933), who was the leading British candidate for the Iraqi throne. The new monarch-to-be made numerous speeches, including one before the Jewish community of Baghdad on July 18, 1921, one month before his coronation, in which he emphasized the equality of all Iraqis, irrespective of religion.

King Faysal continued to maintain cordial personal relations with individual members of the Jewish elite through his 12-year reign. As his first finance minister, he appointed Sir Sasson *Heskel, the only Jew who ever held cabinet rank in Iraq. Four members represented the Jews in the Iraqi parliament. In 1946 their number increased to six. In the Senate Menahem Salih *Daniel represented them and after him his son, Ezra *Daniel.

Because of their generally superior educational qualifications, Jews and Christians could be found in the civil service during the first decade of the kingdom while it was still under the British Mandate. However, as early as 1921, a strong Arab nationalist element rejected the employment of foreigners and non-Muslims. This opposition intensified after Iraq had gained full independence in 1932 and became even stronger after the death of Faysal the following year.

ZIONIST ACTIVITY DURING THE BRITISH MANDATE. Zionist activity resumed in Iraq about a year after World War I ended; though still unorganized, serious fundraising was undertaken through the initiatives of a few individuals. Despite the substantial sums donated by a few wealthy philanthropists for development projects in the Holy Land, most of the Jewish mercantile elite of Iraq remained unattracted by Zionism. The first organized Zionist group in the postwar period included a schoolteacher, a law student, and a police officer. In 1920 they founded an association in Baghdad with the innocuous name of "Jamʿiyya Adabiyya Isrāʾiliyya" ("Jewish Literary Society"), which published a short-lived journal in Hebrew and Judeo-Arabic, *Yeshurun*. In early 1921, a group within the Jewish Literary Society founded a separate Zionist society, "Al-Jamʿiyya al-Sahyuniyya li-Bilād al-Rāfidayn" ("The Mesopotamian Zionist Society) under the presidency of Aaron Sassoon b. Eliahu *Nahum, who was also known as "ha-Moreh" (the teacher). The society received a permit from the government. Ha-Moreh was very active together with his deputy, the lawyer Joseph Elias

Gabbai, and others. The organization's headquarters were in Baghdad and branches existed in Basra, Khanaqin, Amara and Arbil. Fundraising was the principal object of the Zionists in Iraq during the 1920s. Emissaries from the Holy Land were well received and helped by the authorities of the British Mandate and senior Iraqi officials. The Zionists enjoyed considerable sympathy from the poorer Jewish masses, who demonstrated their support in vocal public gatherings, which offended Arab public opinion, but failed to attract any influential community figures. The unrestrained behavior of the Zionists caused anxiety among members of the upper class such as Menahem Salih Daniel, a leading Baghdadi Jewish notable and later, as noted above, a senator in the Iraqi Senate. In reacting to the request for help in promoting Zionist activities in Iraq, he foresaw the danger to the community because of the political style the Zionists endorsed. Zionist ideology was attacked by another prominent figure, Joseph al-*Kabir, a Baghdadi Jewish lawyer, in a letter published in the *Iraq Times* in November 1938.

British officials and the native Arab authorities also warned both the Zionists and the visiting representative of the movement against public activities and indiscreet statements. The nationalist press was more emphatic in this regard. Therefore, even though no actual ban was imposed upon their activities in Iraq until 1929, the need to maintain a low profile increased when the Zionist committee found it could not renew its permit in 1922, although it was allowed to continue operating unofficially until 1929.

In 1923 a "Keren Hayesod" committee was founded in Baghdad; contributions to the national funds passed through this committee. The size of contributions increased during the early years of British rule (1920–1924), but declined steadily afterwards, and Iraqi Jews were not represented at any international Zionist Congress after 1927. Evidence also shows that Congress representatives of the community before that date were actually foreigners who had succeeded in selling in Iraq the number of shekels required for representation by Zionist Congress rulers.

Short-lived Zionist societies were established at the end of the British Mandate, such as "Agudat Ahi'ever" (1929), whose aim was to spread the Hebrew book; the "Maccabi" sport society (1929–1930); "Histadrut ha-Noʿar ha-Ivri" (1929) and others. Hebrew teachers from the Holy Land were invited to teach Hebrew and Jewish history.

The visit of Sir Alfred Mond (a well-known Zionist) to Baghdad, in February 1928, marked the first anti-Zionist demonstration in the city. Some Jews who passed by were beaten.

The Palestine disturbances, which erupted in August 1929, aroused a widespread and highly vocal reaction in Iraq. The press published exaggerated reports placing the Arab casualties in the thousands. A leading national paper claimed that the Jews had thrown a bomb into a mosque, killing 70 worshipers at Friday prayers. On August 30 some 10,000 Arabs gathered in a Baghdad mosque, where prayers were recited for the victims of British and Zionist aggression. After the speeches, the crowd poured out into the streets for a demonstration march, which turned into violent clashes with the police. Some of the speakers did not differentiate between Zionists and other Iraqi Jews.

From that time the Iraqi government began to persecute Zionism, Palestinian Jewish teachers were expelled. In 1935 ha-Moreh was arrested and forced to leave Iraq for Palestine. After that there was no legal Zionist activity in Iraq.

Fascism and Antisemitism (1933–1941)

Iraqi Jews did not know the kind of *antisemitism that prevailed in some Christian states of Europe. The first attempt to copy modern European antisemitic libels was made in 1924 by Sādiq Rasūl al-Qādirī, a former officer in the White Russian Army. He published his views, particularly that of worldwide conspiracy, in a Baghdadi newspaper. The Jewish response in its own weekly newspaper, *al-Misbah*, compelled al-Qādirī to apologize, although he later published his antisemitic memoirs.

At that time the press drew a clear dividing line between Judaism and Zionism. This line became blurred in the 1930s, along with the demand to remove Jews from the genealogical tree of the Semitic peoples. This anti-Jewish trend coincided with Faysal's death in 1933, which brought about a noticeable change for the Jewish community. His death also came at the same time as the Assyrian massacre, which created a climate of insecurity among the minorities. Iraqi Jewry at that time had been subject to threats and invectives emanating not only from extremist elements, but also from official state institutions as well. Dr. Sāmī Shawkat, a high official in the Ministry of Education in the pre-war years and for a while its director general, was the head of "al-Futuwwa," an imitation of Hitler's Youth. In one of his addresses, "The Profession of Death," he called on Iraqi youth to adopt the way of life of Nazi Fascists. In another speech he branded the Jews as the enemy from within, who should be treated accordingly. In another, he praised Hitler and Mussolini for eradicating their internal enemies (the Jews). Syrian and Palestinian teachers often supported Shawkat in his preaching.

The German ambassador, Dr. F. Grobba, distributed funds and Nazi films, books, and pamphlets in the capital of Iraq, mostly sponsoring the anti-British and the nationalists. Grobba also serialized Hitler's book *Mein Kampf* in a daily newspaper. He and his German cadre maintained a great influence upon the leadership of the state and upon many classes of the Iraqi people, especially through the directors of the Ministry of Education.

The first anti-Jewish act occurred in September 1934, when 10 Jews were dismissed from their posts in the Ministry of Economics and Communications. From then on an unofficial quota was fixed for the number of Jews to be appointed to the civil service.

Pro-Palestinian, anti-British, anti-Jewish, and anti-Zionist sentiments rose to new heights in Iraq in 1936. The Arab general strike and the revolt, which erupted in Palestine that year, gave the conflict a new centrality in Arab politics. The atmosphere in Baghdad became highly charged. The Committee for the Defense of Palestine circulated anti-

Jewish pamphlets. Over a four-week period, extending from mid-September to mid-October, three Jews were murdered in Baghdad and in Basra. A bomb, which however failed to explode, was thrown into a Baghdadi synagogue on Yom Kippur (September 27). Several other bombs were thrown at Jewish clubs, and street gangs roughed up a number of Jews.

The president of the Baghdadi Jewish community, Rabbi Sassoon *Kadoorie, who was himself a staunch anti-Zionist, issued a public statement, in response to a demand from the national press, affirming loyalty to the Arab cause in Palestine and dissociating Iraqi Jewry from Zionism. This did not bring about any real improvement in the situation and, in August 1937, incidents against the Jews were renewed, fostered then and later by Syrians and Palestinians who had settled in Iraq.

THE ANTI-JEWISH POGROM ON JUNE 1–2, 1941 – "AL-FARHUD." On June 1, the first day of Shavuʿot, which in Iraq was traditionally marked by joyous pilgrimages to the tomb of holy men and visits of friends and relatives, the Hashemite regent, ʿAbd al-Ilāh, returned to the capital from his exile in Transjordan. A festive crowd of Jews crossed over the west bank of the Tigris River to welcome the returning prince. On the way back, a group of soldiers, who were soon joined by civilians, turned on the Jews and attacked them, killing one and injuring others. Anti-Jewish riots soon spread throughout the city, especially on the east bank of the Tigris, where most of the Jews lived. By nightfall, a major pogrom was under way, led by soldiers and paramilitary youth gangs, followed by a mob. The rampage of murder and plunder in the Jewish neighborhoods and business districts continued until the afternoon of the following day, when the regent finally gave orders for the police to fire upon the rioters and Kurdish troops were brought in to maintain order.

In the "*Farhud*," 179 Jews of both sexes and all ages were killed, 242 children were left orphans, and 586 businesses were looted, 911 buildings housing more than 12,000 people were pillaged. The total property loss was estimated by the Jewish community's own investigating committee to be approximately 680,000 pounds.

The "*Farhud*" dramatically undermined the confidence of all Iraqi Jewry and, like the Assyrian massacres of 1933, had a highly unsettling effect upon all the Iraqi minorities. Nevertheless, many Jews tried to convince themselves that the worst was over. A factor in this was the commercial boom during the war, of which the Jewish business community was the prime beneficiary. Another factor was the tranquility which prevailed during the next years of the war. But the shadow of the "*Farhud*" continued to hover for years.

The pogrom caused a split between the youth of the Jewish community and its traditional leadership. The new generation turned to two separate directions: the Communist and the Zionist movements, the activity of both being underground.

The Jewish Youth Between Zionism and Communism

IN THE COMMUNIST PARTY. The Communist underground was joined by some young Jewish intellectuals who believed that by changing the regime of the state salvation would come to them as a minority. During the 1940s they played an important part in organizing demonstrations and anti-government activities. Two of them reached the top ranks of the party and were hanged in 1949. In 1946 ʿUṣbat Mukāfahat al-Ṣahyūniyya' (the Anti-Zionist League) was authorized by the Iraqi government. This League succeeded in attracting many intellectuals. Its meetings were well attended and its daily newspaper, '*al-'Usba*', was widely read. The League soon established itself as an outspoken representative of the Iraqi Jewish community on the issue of Palestine. It distinguished between Judaism and Zionism, terming the latter a "colonialist phenomenon." In June 1946 the League organized a large demonstration in Baghdad against "the injustice in Palestine." Three months after granting permission, the authorities banned '*al-'Usba*' and closed it. Its leaders were arrested and sentenced to various terms of imprisonment.

The role of Jewish communists was visible in the daily demonstrations of February 1948, which erupted against the Portsmouth Agreement, endangered the regime, and brought down the government. The Jewish communists succeeded in convincing many Jews, including the leadership of the Jewish community, to participate in the demonstrations. By their behavior they stirred the anger of the government, which removed its protection from its Jewish subjects and began to display an official antisemitic policy.

THE ZIONIST UNDERGROUND. The Zionist Movement renewed its activity in March 1942 by forming the youth organization called Tenu'at he-Ḥalutz (the Pioneer Movement) and paramilitary youth, Haganah, among Iraqi Jews. Contrary to the Communist underground, the Zionists did not work against the regime. They concentrated on teaching Hebrew and educating the young generation to Zionism and pioneering. A main purpose was to convince the Jews, mainly the youth, to immigrate to Ereẓ Israel.

The ranks of the Zionist movement in Iraq increased when World War II was over, and the Iraqi press began to address the Palestine question. The Zionist underground organizations in Iraq, despite some crises, were flooded, from 1945 until 1951, with requests for joining. The most dangerous crisis was that of October 1949, which nearly wiped out the Zionist movement in Iraq. The Iraqi authorities arrested about 50 Jews who were accused of Zionism and court-martialed. The second crisis was that of May–June 1951. When the evacuation of the Jews was nearing its end, the Iraqi government uncovered a spy ring in Baghdad, run by two foreigners, Yehuda Tajir and Rodny, who were arrested. The authorities also discovered explosives, guns, files, typewriters, presses, and membership lists hidden in synagogues or buried in private homes. As a result, the police arrested about 80 Jews, 13 of them were sentenced to long terms of imprisonment, two others (Yosef Basri and Shalom Saleh) were sentenced to death and hanged on January 19, 1952. By June 15, 1951, the order was given to the Zionist underground to cease its activity in Iraq.

Official Antisemitism

When World War II was over the former pro-Nazi followers were released and began anew their activities and incitement against the Jews. The General Assembly vote in favor of the partition of Palestine on November 29, 1947, increased tensions between Arabs and Jews in Iraq and the authorities started to oppress the Jews.

The declaration of martial law, before sending Iraqi troops to Palestine, marked the beginning of official antisemitism. At first it was directed mainly against Communists but soon was used against Jews, when it became clear that the Arab offensive in Palestine was encountering serious difficulties. Now the Iraqi authorities seemed increasingly willing to accommodate anti-Jewish demands as a mean of diverting the attention of the Iraqi population from the failure in Palestine and from concern with social and political reforms. From now on, abuses and restrictions characterized the life of the Jews in Iraq. Restrictions were imposed on travel abroad and disposal of property. Hundreds of Jews were dismissed from public service; efforts were made to eliminate Jews from the army and the police; they were prohibited from buying and selling property; they were also discriminated against in obtaining the necessary licenses granting access to some professions.

At the same time the nationalist press opened with aggressive attacks against the Jews, practically daily. The longstanding distinction between Judaism and Zionism was fast becoming blurred, The Jews were held responsible for the economic hardship faced by Iraq in 1948–49, and their leaders were threatened by the national press. The most important effect, which shook the Jewish community to the core, was the hanging of Shafiq Adas, one of the wealthiest Jews in the country, in front of his house in Basra on September 23, 1948. Adas was condemned on the unlikely charge of having supplied scrap metal to the Zionist state.

When Adas was executed about 450 Jews were in the jails; added to these were those arrested the following year, in early October 1949. The detainees were sentenced to terms of imprisonment ranging from 2 to 10 years. In carrying out the arrests the police also arrested another 700 Jews and released them after investigation, most of them were relatives of those who were brought before martial courts.

The Exodus – Operation Ezra and Nehemiah

Throughout 1949, the general disaffection of Iraqi Jewry was exacerbated. With this atmosphere Jewish youths were fleeing the country. The clandestine crossing of the Iranian border began to assume major proportions. Within a few months in 1950, about 10,000 Jews fled Iraq in this way. Once in Iran, most Iraqi Jews were directed to the large refugee camp administered by the Joint Distribution Committee near Teheran, and from there they were airlifted to Israel.

In an attempt to stabilize the situation and to solve the Jewish problem, the government introduced a bill in the Iraqi Parliament at the beginning of March 1950 that would in effect permit Jews who desired to leave the country for good to do so after renouncing their Iraqi citizenship. The bill also provided for the denaturalization of those Jews who had already left the country. The bill was duly passed in the Chamber of Deputies and the Senate as Law No. 1 of 1950.

Iraqi government officials thought that only about 6,000–7,000 and at most 10,000 Jews would take advantage of the new law. The British diplomats in Baghdad and the Israelis shared this view as well. They were all mistaken. The Jews were tired of life in Iraq. And when the Zionist organization in Iraq issued a call at the end of Passover (April 8, 1950) for Jews to come forward and register for emigration in the centers which had been set up at the major synagogues, the call was highly effective. The overwhelming majority of the Jewish community preferred to leave their birthplace. By July 5, 1951, about 105,000 had arrived in Israel.

On March 10, 1951, only one day after the registration deadline had passed, while nearly 65,000 Jews were waiting for departure, the authorities enacted a law which froze the assets of all departing Jews and placed them under the control of a government bureau. Parliament passed a second law, which declared that those Iraqi Jews who were abroad and did not return home within a specific period would forfeit both their nationality and their property. Although some individuals succeeded in smuggling out some money after March 10, 1951, many more were reduced to paupers, being allowed to take out only 50 dinars ($140) per adult and 20 to 30 dinars ($56 to $84) per minor, depending upon the age.

After the Mass Emigration

About 6,000 Jews preferred to remain in Iraq after the mass emigration. Over the years this number fell to about 4,700 in 1957 and about 3,000 in 1968 when the Baʿth Party came to power in Iraq. Their number continued to decline and in the early 21st century there were only a handful of Jews still living in Iraq. Most of those remaining were from the elite and the rich families, who believed that the violent storm which had marked the life of the Jews in Iraq before and during the mass emigration would pass.

The Jewish community, which consisted before the mass emigration of about one quarter of the population of Baghdad, now became a small and unimportant one. These Jews no longer dominated the economic and the financial life of the country, and Jewish youth posed no danger to the regime through activities in the communist underground. So the regime removed some of the restrictions, and the pressure upon them was lightened to some degree. But in principle, the antagonistic attitude to them remained. Still in force were the restrictions on Jews registering in the universities and the sanction of taking away Iraqi nationality from those who did not return to the country within a limited time, which was marked in their passports. In 1954 the authorities nationalized the Jewish Meir Elias Hospital, which was the most modern and largest in Iraq. The Iraqi government also expropriated from the Jewish community the Rima Kheduri Hospital, which treated eye diseases.

Relief came under Brigadier ʿAbd al-Karīm Qāsim (1958–1963), who toppled the monarchy by a military revolution on July 14, 1958. Qāsim canceled all the restrictions against the Jews. He also released Yehuda Tajir and let him go back to Israel. The Jewish golden age under Qāsim was affected however by the confiscation and destruction of the Jewish cemetery, located in the middle of the capital, in order to build a tower to immortalize his name.

Qāsim was assassinated by Colonel ʿAbd al-Salām ʿĀrif, who carried out a successful coup on February 13, 1963. The new rulers reinstated all the restrictions which had been in force before Qāsim, and added others: Passports were not to be issued to Jews; the Jews were prevented from discounting their promissory notes and it was prohibited to grant them credit in the then-nationalized banks; again, Jewish students were not to be admitted to government colleges; a warning was issued to all Jews abroad to return to Iraq within three months, otherwise they would be denationalized and their movable and immovable property in Iraq would be sequestrated; Jews were not allowed to sell their landed property.

After the Six-Day War, the situation of the Iraqi Jews worsened more. They were terrorized and cruelly persecuted. The government opened with a series of detentions, enacted laws, and issued instructions which brought the Jewish community to the threshold of starvation. The measures taken against the small isolated Jewish community of Baghdad after the Six-Day War included: warning the public not to cooperate with them; expelling them from all social clubs; depriving Jewish importers and pharmacists of their licenses; forbidding all transactions with Jews (including access to the banks); prohibiting them from selling their cars and furniture; and cutting off all telephone communications from their homes, offices, or stores.

Under the Baʿth regime (1968–2003), persecution increased and many Jews reached starvation level. Some were jailed, accused of spying or held without any formal charge. Within one year (January 1969–January 1970), 13 were hanged; up to April 1973 the total number of Jews hanged, murdered, kidnapped, or who simply disappeared reached 46; dozens more were jailed.

The shock following the executions of the innocent Jews caused repercussions throughout the world and the world conscience was aroused. The Iraqi government responded to the world reaction by relaxing, for a while, some of its anti-Jewish discriminatory measures, including those limiting travel in Baghdad and throughout Iraq, too. At the same time a peace treaty was signed (March 1970) between the Iraqi government and the Kurdish rebels. Some Jews seized the opportunity and escaped across the Kurdish Mountains, in the summer of 1970, to the Iranian frontier. Up to 300 Jews fled the country in this way. In September 1971 the authorities began to issue passports to the Jews, and about 1,300 Jews left Iraq legally. They sought refuge mainly in England, Canada, the United States, and Israel. In 1975 the Jews in Iraq numbered about 350; over time this figure declined further, reaching c. 120 in 1996. At the beginning of the 21st century, as stated, there were only a handful of Jews there. Thus came to its end the most ancient Diaspora of the Jewish people.

[Nissim Kazzaz (2nd ed.)]

Iraq and Israel

*Jordan and *Syria, including 440 mi. (700 km.) of desert and steppe, come between Iraq and Israel, making Iraq's interests and fears vis-à-vis Israel less realistic than those of the Arab states that border directly upon the latter. Iraq has no territorial questions to settle with Israel, and its own internal and foreign problems (the Kurds, the Persian Gulf, conflicts with *Iran, social and economic unrest, the absence of a stable and representative government) are more pressing and important than the conflict with Israel. The position taken by Iraq toward Israel has been a function of its inter-Arab aspirations and relations; the importance of the Pan-Arab factor among active Iraqi circles, especially the Sunnis, who, under Ṣaddām, were the basic support of the Iraqi authorities; and its interest in an outlet on the Mediterranean Sea. Under both Hashemite and republican rule, Iraq nonetheless displayed active and extreme hostility toward Israel.

There were, however, certain differences in Iraqi policy toward Israel between the Hashemite period and the revolutionary republic established in 1958. During the Hashemite monarchy and Nūrī al-Saʿīd's rule, the latter proposed (in his "Blue Book" of 1943) a certain degree of autonomy for the Jewish community in Palestine in the framework of his plan for a federation of the Fertile Crescent. This period was also characterized by the special ties between Hashemite Iraq and Jordan and the need to justify the alliance between Iraq and Britain by displays of anti-Israel extremism and anti-Israel influence on Britain. On the other hand, in his contacts with the British, Nūrī al-Saʿīd was willing to discuss a compromise solution in Palestine on the basis of the UN partition plan. At the time leftist circles in Iraq did not show any special hostility toward Israel. ʿAbd al-Karīm Qāsim (July 1958–February 1963) exploited anti-Israel positions and support for the Palestinians in his inter-Arab struggles, but he did not actually turn his attention to a struggle against Israel and personally was not particularly extreme in relation to this subject. After Qāsim's fall the combination of a military government and the Pan-Arab ideology of the ruling Baʿth Party exacerbated hostility toward Israel.

Iraq became increasingly one of the most extreme forces in Arab deliberations and often called for the destruction of Israel. This extremism was motivated by Iraq's competition with *Egypt for supremacy in the Arab world and the desire to place Egypt in an untenable position by proposing initiatives that Egypt could not accept and thus making the latter seem to be weak and hesitant. Anti-Israel extremism also served the Iraqi regimes as (a) a pretext for initiatives and intervention in the countries of the Fertile Crescent and competition with Syria, one of the most outspoken of Israel's enemies; (b) in the struggle with the opposition nationalist factors within Iraq, which tend toward Pan-Arabism and hostility toward Israel; (c) as a justification of government policy among the Iraqi public and to deflect attention from more pressing internal problems. It was also motivated by feelings of injured prestige and the longing for revenge, especially among the army following the defeats in the wars against Israel.

Despite the logistical difficulties, Iraq participated in two wars against Israel (1948, 1967), and during the Sinai Campaign (1956) sent troops into Jordan. As early as December 1947, it demanded that regular Arab troops invade that country, following the UN decision to partition Palestine. When irregular Arab forces were waging war in Palestine (end of 1947–May 14, 1948), Iraqis stood out among the officers and soldiers of the Arab "rescue force." The Iraqi deputy chief of staff, General Ismāʿil Ṣafwat, was appointed head of the Palestinian forces and volunteers, and Ṭāhā al-Hāshimī was appointed inspector general of the "rescue force." With the invasion of Palestine by regular Arab forces (May 15, 1948), the Iraqi general Nūr-Din Maḥmūd was appointed acting commander. The Iraqi force that invaded Palestine waged hard-fought battles against the Israel Defense Forces in the Jenin area at the beginning of June 1948. Just before the Six-Day War a token force came from Iraq to Egypt (May 31) and after hostilities broke out an Iraqi brigade entered Jordan (June 5) and an Iraqi plane bombed Netanyah (June 6). The Iraqi brigade that entered Jordan at the beginning of the war was not withdrawn with the cease-fire and was added to later on until the Iraqi expedition force reached 12,000 soldiers. In March 1969 an Iraqi force of 6,000 men entered southern Syria in the framework of the Eastern Arab Command against Israel. The Iraqi contingent in Jordan participated in bombardments of Israel territory a number of times after the Six-Day War.

Iraq objected to the cease-fires of June and July 1948, and refused to conduct negotiations on an armistice with Israel (as Egypt, Jordan, Syria and Lebanon did). In June 1949 Iraq withdrew its forces from the "triangle" sector (Shechem-Jenin-Ṭūl-Karm). It also avoided expressly agreeing to the 1967 cease-fire, replying on June 15, 1967, that its forces were under joint command with Jordan, which agreed to the cease-fire. Iraq strongly opposed the Security Council resolution of Nov. 22, 1967 and any political settlement in Palestine.

Except for times of war there has been a large gap between the ostensible extremism of Iraq and its actual contributions to Arab belligerence against Israel. Among the factors that precluded more active Iraqi participation were internal struggles and difficulties, the extended battles against the Kurds, and tension regarding Iran and the Persian Gulf. Iraqi propaganda also accused Israel of lending support to the Kurds. Iraqi hostility to Israel continued unabated; a symptom was its firing 39 scud missiles into Israel in the 1991 first Gulf War (although Israel was not a participant in that war). The downfall of Saddam Hussein in 2003 did not produce any normalization of Israel–Iraq relations.

Iraq was one of the leading forces in the Arab economic boycott of Israel. On the eve of the UN resolution to partition Palestine, it demanded that the Arab states cancel all Western oil rights. In April 1948, it closed off the IPC oil pipeline to Haifa, and its consequent losses in the period 1948 to 1958 were estimated at more than $400,000,000. In 1967 Iraq was again among the more extreme forces in its desire to use oil as a weapon in order to prevent Western support for Israel (see also *Arab Boycott).

[Asher Goren]

Musical Traditions

In view of the antiquity of the community, one could assume that ancient elements have been preserved in their traditional music. A long period of cultural decline, however, and contact with the powerful and flourishing music of the Muslim world, of which Iraq was for a long time an influential center, deeply marked their music and somehow altered their pre-Islamic heritage. Although it is difficult to trace a borderline between the older and the more recent elements, it would appear that older elements have been preserved only in the biblical cantillations and some of the synagogal melodies.

The second volume of A.Z. *Idelsohn's *Thesaurus of Hebrew-Oriental Melodies* (1923) contains the Babylonian traditions. Idelsohn classified the synagogal melodies according to 13 basic "modes," but these are fairly common to many of the Near Eastern communities. However, the Babylonians also had a number of melodic patterns peculiarly their own. One of these is the "lamentations mode," for which Idelsohn could find an analogy only in the chants of the Syrian Jacobites and the Copts (cf. *Thesaurus* II, no. 17). It has become possible to identify still another Babylonian "lamentations mode," which shows similar archaic features (see A. Herzog and A. Hajdu in: *Yuval 1*, 1968, pp. 194–203). In this context it is surely significant that *Al-Ḥarizi in his *Taḥkemoni* (ch. 18) emphasized the mournful character of their songs, while denigrating the Babylonian poets.

From the early Middle Ages the Babylonian rabbinic authorities were known for their strict adherence to traditional liturgical chant. One of the oldest masters of post-talmudic synagogal chant was *Yehudai b. Naḥman Gaon of Sura (eighth century), whose tradition was supposed to go back to the talmudic period. Two of the earliest documents concerning Jewish music come to us from Babylonian Gaonic circles. The first is a paragraph in *Saadiah Gaon's Sefer *ha-Emunot ve-ha-De'ot* ("Book of Beliefs and Opinions") where he speaks of the influence of the rhythmic modes on the soul; the second is by R. Hai Gaon and it proposes an answer to a question put by the Jews of Gabes (Tunisia) concerning the use of singing and playing during the marriage ceremony. A vivid description of responsorial and even choral singing in tenth-century Baghdad is given in *Nathan b. Isaac ha-Bavli's description of the installation of the Exilarch Oukba, who was himself a poet-musician having composed and performed songs in honor of the caliph. Benjamin of Tudela reports from his travels (c. 1160–80) that Eleazar b. Ẓemaḥ, the head of one of the ten rabbinical academies of Baghdad, and his brothers "know how to sing the hymns according to the manner of the singers of the Temple." Another traveler of the same period, *Pethahiah of Regensburg, gives a most picturesque description of the simultaneous talmudic chanting of the 2,000 pupils of Samuel b. Ali's Yeshivah at Baghdad. He also reports that the Jews there "know a certain number of traditional melodies for each psalm," and on intermediate days (*ḥol ha-mo'ed*) "the psalms are performed with instrumental accompaniment." The instrumental skill went side by side with the creation of a rich repertoire of folk and para-liturgical song in Judeo-Arabic by Babylonian poets. A great number of talented instrumentalists and singers rose to prominent positions in the musical life of the surrounding culture. The best known of these, in the 19th and 20th centuries, were the *kamān* player Biddūn, the singers Reuben Michael Rajwān and Salmān Moshi, the santour player Ṣaliḥ Raḥmūn Fataw and his son, and the composer and *'ud* player Ezra *Aharon. All of them were highly proficient in the performance of the prestigious classical genre known as the *Iraki maqam*. Ezra Aharon led the official group of such distinguished specialist performers who represented Iraq in the first International Congress on Arab music held in Cairo in 1932. This group comprised six Jewish instrumentalists and an Arab vocalist. Not long after this congress, in 1936, composer and violinist Saleh *Kuwaiti and his brother (*'ud* player) founded the first official musical ensemble, that of the Iraq Broadcasting service. Among the finest executants of S. Kuwaiti's works was the famous Umm Kulthum who sang his compositions.

FOLK MUSIC. Folk music was an inseparable part of all events including two main categories: (1) Events connected with the annual cycle (especially those concerning the general religious life affairs of the community); (2) Those connected with life cycle (events chiefly concerning the life of the individual). The rich repertory of folk music comprises men's songs and women's songs whose texts are in Hebrew and in Judeo-Arabic dialect and they are performed either by amateurs or by professionals accompanied by various musical instruments. A special genre held in great favor among Jews is the group of Station's songs in Judeo-Arabic called Kunag sung at the pilgrimage to the Ezekiel and Ezra graves. Jews from many parts of the country were accustomed to spend several days there, during which time music and dance played a prominent role. Since the Kunags are religious in content they were accepted into the category of *piyyutim* and were accorded the status of sacred songs.

Another two popular Hebrew pilgrimage songs to the mentioned graves and another one for Lag ba'Omer were composed by the venerable religious authority R. Yoseph Hayyim (1839–1909). His Lag ba'Omer song (*we-amartem ko leḥay*) and two songs for Simḥat Torah were introduced into the repertory of Israeli songs and published by Idelsohn.

Until 1950 there existed in Baghdad a famous group of four or five woman singers and players on various drums called *Daqaqāt* (Drummers), who performed at Jewish and non-Jewish family rejoicings and festivities. There were also the woman wailers, both professional and private. Their most notable appearances were at the mourning ceremonies for young people not yet married: two groups of women chanted antiphonally, first wedding songs and then lamentations, beating their breasts and scratching their faces.

Many folk songs were written down and are to be found in manuscripts with musical indications, such as the **maqāma* or the name of the song to the melody of which the poem has to be sung (see especially Ms. Sassoon 485). Sometimes the poets composed according to the rhythm, rhyme, and even used the first verse of a given song with slight changes. A number of the songs in Judeo-Arabic have an introduction in Hebrew in the form of a prayer or of a laudatory nature. The public as a refrain usually sings this introduction after each verse sung by a soloist. Almost all the folk songs are performed in this sort of responsorial style.

For the musical traditions of Iraqi Kurdistan, see *Kurdistan, musical tradition.

[Amnon Shiloah (2nd ed)]]

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°IRĀQĪ, ELEAZAR BEN AARON HA-KOHEN (d. 1864), Yemenite-*Indian scholar and printer. Though born in Cochin, India, before 1816, ʿIrāqī was of Yemenite parentage. He spent most of his life in Calcutta where he served as teacher, *ḥazzan*, and *shoḥet* in the new Jewish community. He opened a printing press in Calcutta in 1841, becoming the first Jewish printer in India; during the next 16 years he printed 25 ritual books for the use of the Jewish communities of India and the East. He made special efforts to print the works of Yemenite scholars and poets. In the *Sefer ha-Pizmonim* ("Book of Hymns," 1842) which he printed, some of his own poems are also included.

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[Yehuda Ratzaby]

IRĀQĪ, SHALOM HA-KOHEN (**al-Usta;** 18th century), community leader in *Yemen. His family originated in *Egypt. He was appointed governor of the mint and he also supervised the collection of taxes and the royal properties at the courts of the Imam al-Mahdī and his successor Imam al-Mansūr (1731–61). During his period of office, the Jewish community enjoyed a brief period of peace and tranquility; this was due partly to his personality and status, and partly to his silencing slanderers by means of bribes. He built synagogues in several towns. The best known was the beautiful Kanīsat al-Usta synagogue in *San'a, the capital of Yemen, which was in use until the dissolution of the Yemenite community. He also made use of his political status to influence decisions in religious and communal affairs. The spread of the Sephardi version of prayer (*Shāmī*) in the communities of Yemen was caused by his generous distribution of printed prayer books to replace the handwritten *maḥzorim* which were in use until then. ʿIrāqī lost his influence in 1761 when the new imam removed him from office, imprisoned him, and levied a heavy fine on him, while at the same time the Jewish community was attacked by the Muslims.

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[Yehuda Ratzaby]

ʿIRĀQĪ, SHALOM JOSEPH (1843–1917), leader of the Yemenite community in Jerusalem. Born in San'a (Yemen), in 1882 ʿIrāqī immigrated to Palestine, together with all his family. In Jerusalem he earned his living as a goldsmith, at the same time devoting himself to study in the Sephardi yeshivah of the Old City, and acting as rabbi and leader of the Yemenite community. Because of his relationship with the ʿIrāqī family in India, he was sent to India, together with R. Meyuḥas, as an emissary of the Sephardi *kolel* (congregation). With the separation of the Yemenites from the Sephardi *kolel* in 1908, he was appointed as one of the three leaders of the independent congregation.

[Yehuda Ratzaby]

IRBIL (or **Erbil;** formerly **Arbil**), one of the four important towns of Assyria and now situated in Iraq to the E. of *Mosul, in the fertile plain between the Great Zab and the Small Zab. A Jewish community existed in Irbil continuously from the end of the Second Temple period when it was the capital of the *Adiabene kingdom until the 1950s. At the end of the 12th century and during the first half of the 13th century, Irbil was the capital of an independent principality. During that period there was a large community there; it was considered as one of the most important in northern *Babylonia. In the dispute between the exilarch Samuel and the famous *rosh yeshivah* *Samuel b. Ali at the end of the 12th century the community of Irbil supported the exilarch. At that time there was no lack of intellectuals in the community. Judah *al-Ḥarizi, who visited Iraq at the beginning of the 13th century, mentions poets among the Jews of the town, as well as the "noblemen of Irbil." During the middle of the century the *Gaon* Eli b. Zechariah, the Irbilite, lived in the town. In 1275 *Maimonides' *Guide of the Perplexed* was copied from its Arabic original by Joseph ha-Kohen b. Eli b. Aaron in Irbil (Neubauer, 1237).

There was also an important community in Irbil under the Turkish rule. During the second half of the 16th century Irbil was mentioned by the author-traveler Zakariyyā al-Ẓāhirī, in his *Sefer ha-Musar* ("Book of Ethics"); information on the community during subsequent generations has been preserved in the letters of the Ereẓ Israel emissaries who frequently visited the town. In 1767 the emissary of Tiberias, R. Solomon Aznati, stayed in Irbil. In 1848 the Jerusalemite emissary, R. Pethahiah, died in Irbil, and the Kurds who resented the respect shown to him by the Jews exhumed his body and abused it. However, the Jews also suffered numerous times at the hands of Turkish soldiers. After one such case in 1895 the matter was taken up by R. Isaac Abraham Solomon, the *ḥakham bashi*, with the commander of the army in *Baghdad, where due justice was executed in favor of the Jews of Irbil. The Jews of the town were engaged in commerce and crafts: dyeing, shoemaking, building, and porterage. According to an official estimate made in 1919 some 4,800 Jews lived in the district of Irbil of whom about 250 spoke *Aramaic. This number dwindled to 3,109 in the first census of population taken in 1947. Out of this last number 1,300 lived in the city of Irbil and in 1951 all the Jews of the town emigrated to Israel, in the great exodus of Iraqi Jewry.

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[Eliyahu Ashtor]

IRELAND, island W. of Britain comprising the Republic of Ireland (Eire, 26 counties) and Northern Ireland or Ulster (part of the United Kingdom, six counties). The *Annals of Inisfallen* record that in 1079 five Jews (apparently a delegation to secure the admission of Jews) went to Ireland bringing gifts for King Toirdelbach of Munster, but were sent back. The beginning of a Jewish settlement dates from the 12th and 13th centuries. The few Jews who established themselves there as merchants and financiers probably had to leave on the expulsion from England (1290). Some refugees from Spain and Portugal settled in Ireland at the close of the 15th century. In the 16th and 17th centuries, persons of Jewish origin held office in Ireland under the English crown. The founding of Trinity College, in its capital *Dublin, in 1591 witnessed the birth of Hebrew studies in the city.

Five or six years after the resettlement in England (1656), a handful of ex-Marranos from Holland, who were engaged in the export trade, went to Dublin as "foreign Protestants." A synagogue is said to have been established in 1661. England's Glorious Revolution (1688) gave a considerable impetus to the tiny community of Dublin. In 1690 Isaac Pereira, a London Sephardi, was appointed commissary general to William III's expeditionary force and employed in his commissariat other Jews who later established themselves in Dublin. At the turn of the 18th century, some Ashkenazi families from Poland and Germany settled in Dublin. During the second half of the 18th century, further Jewish immigrants arrived from Germany, Poland, Holland, Bohemia, France, and England, and the Dublin community increased to approximately 40 families, engaged largely in the jewelry trade, with a few pencil-makers. Some richer Jews were accepted into Christian society, while Freemasonry provided an important sphere for contacts between Jews and the Protestant minority. A number of Jews also established themselves outside Dublin. As early as 1702 a Sephardi Jew was granted the freedom of the city of Waterford. A congregation was established in Cork, as an offshoot of the Dublin community, in about 1725, with its burial ground in Kemp Street. In the 18th century, Cork Jews imported wines and merchandise from Spain and Portugal in their own ships, while others exported preserved meat, certified by the local *shoḥet*, to England and the West Indies. By 1796 the Cork community was defunct, to be revived only some 60 years later. In the latter half of the 18th century, an organized community may have existed in *Belfast where the presence of individual Jews is attested already in the second half of the 17th century. Throughout the 18th century, missionaries were active among the Dublin Jews, some of whom became converted to Christianity. By 1791 the Jewish population had decreased to such an extent that the synagogue had to be closed. Abraham Jacobs (1656–1725?), "priest" of the Dublin Jews, who was baptized in 1706, translated the Anglican Book of Common Prayer into Hebrew in 1717.

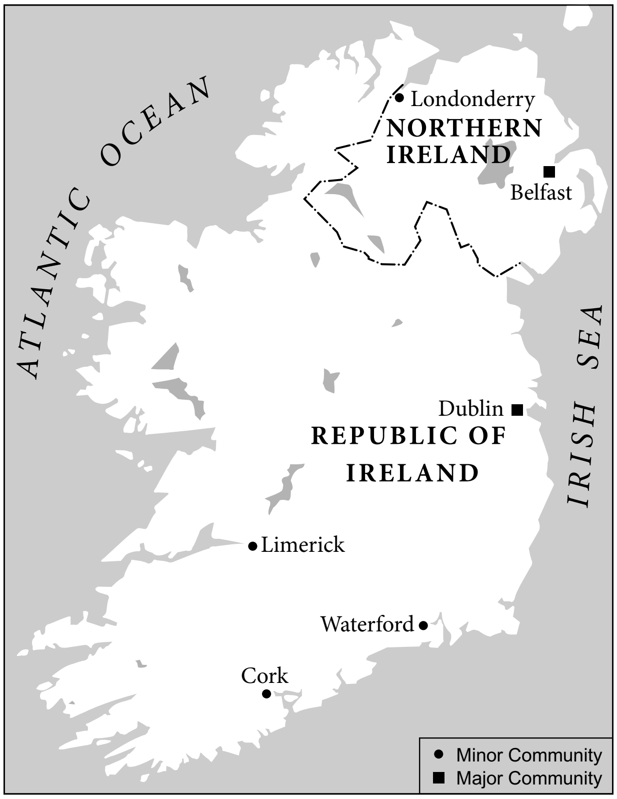

Modern Jewish communities in Ireland.

From 1743 to 1748 four bills were introduced in the Irish parliament to facilitate the naturalization of foreign Jews, but all were rejected because of the hostility of the peers. Acts of parliament passed in 1780 and 1783, granting aliens the right of naturalization, expressly excluded the Jews. It was not until 1816, when there were only three Jewish families in Dublin and a few others in the rest of the country, that the Irish Naturalization Act of 1783 was repealed.

In 1822, with the arrival of Jews from Germany, Poland, and England, the Jewish community in Dublin was reestablished. By 1881, the number of Jews in the country had grown from a mere handful to about 450, rising by 1901 to 3,769, the majority living in Dublin. This increase was the result of the immigration of Russian Jews after 1881, reinforcing the Dublin, Belfast, and Cork communities and leading to the establishment of new ones such as *Limerick, Waterford, and Londonderry. In 1901 the Jews of Dublin were mainly occupied as petty traders and moneylenders, but they have since played a leading role in the manufacture of clothing, furniture, and jewelry. Apart from some anti-Jewish rioting in Limerick in 1884 and in Cork in 1894 (JC, April 11, 1894), the most serious anti-Jewish agitation took place in Limerick in 1904, when a Catholic priest attacked the local Jews from the pulpit. This resulted in an economic boycott, which remained in force until 1906, and led to the decline of the Jewish community there from 200 to less than 40 people. The antisemitic campaign ceased only with the removal of the priest. During World War I, Limerick had again a congregation of about 40 families.

Modern Period

When in 1921 Southern Ireland became independent of Britain, first as the Irish Free State and later as the Republic of Ireland, the majority of its Jews became, at least *de jure*, independent of the Anglo-Jewish community, under their own chief rabbi and with their own representative council (1938). The 1937 Constitution of the Republic recognized Judaism as a minority faith and guaranteed Jews complete freedom from discrimination. In 1968 the Jewish population numbered 4,000 out of a total population of 2,800,000, of whom 95% were Roman Catholics. There were three main Dublin congregations and four smaller synagogues at the time, and all other Jewish institutions were unified under the Orthodox auspices of the chief rabbi. The Jewish Progressive Congregation of Dublin, comprising about 60 families, functioned independently. The chief rabbinate has been held by Isaac *Herzog (c. 1926–37), Immanuel *Jakobovits (1949–58), Isaac Cohen (1959–79), David Rosen (1979–84), Ephraim Yitzhak Mirvis (1984–92), Gavin Broder (1996–2000), and Yaakov Parlman (from 2002). Community affairs were coordinated by the Jewish Representative Council of Ireland, which was established in 1938 and is responsible for the appointment of the chief rabbi and the *bet din*. The council represents the views of the Jewish community in government departments and in the general public. Autonomous bodies in Dublin administer *sheḥitah*, Hebrew education, welfare, burial, Zionist affairs, youth activities, and student societies. In 1968, 400 pupils, constituting 90% of all Jewish schoolchildren, received Hebrew education in Jewish day schools (primary and secondary) and afternoon classes. In Cork, a rapidly dwindling community of about 50 Jews existed in 1970, dropping to just 21 in the late 1980s. Although friendly relations existed between the Jewish communities of Northern Ireland (see below) and Eire, there was no common activity between them, the former regarding themselves as part of English Jewry, under the authority of the chief rabbi of Great Britain, while the latter operate as an independent body.

The salient feature of Irish Jewish life in the modern period has been the decline of the Jewish population, due both to a fall in the birth rate and to emigration, from 3,255 in 1961 to 2,633 in 1971, 2,127 in 1981, and around 1,300 in the mid-1990s, though in 2004, about 1,790 Jews were recorded, with 1,500 in Dublin. At the turn of the 20th century there were five Orthodox synagogues and one Liberal in Ireland, with four in Dublin and one each in Belfast and Cork. The two major Orthodox synagogues in Dublin were Adelaide Road (which celebrated its centenary in 1992) and Terenure; the two smaller congregations were Machzikei Hadass (formerly St. Kevin's Parade, which celebrated its centenary in 1983) and the Abraham Gittleson synagogue in the Jewish Home for the Aged, opened in 1991. The Dublin Jewish Progressive congregation marked its 40th anniversary in 1986. The Greenville Hall synagogue was sold in 1986 but the developers have retained the original perimeter walls, windows and cupola, and welcome visitors. The *mikveh* was restored in 1984.

The main educational facility, Stratford College, was rebuilt after an arson attack in 1983, and its three-tier educational complex remained in full operation. It was awarded the Jerusalem Prize for Jewish education in 1989. The Edmonstown Golf Club built a new 6,000-square-foot clubhouse, opened in 1990. The old Jewish cemetery at Ballybough, which was in use from 1718 to 1890, was reopened to the public in 1990. An extension to the Jewish Home for the Aged was opened by the Irish president, Mary Robinson, in 1992. The old headquarters of the Board of Guardians and former Talmud Torah premises in Bloomfield Avenue were sold in 1983.

A number of new organizations were founded in the 1980s and 1990s: the Irish Council of Christians and Jews in 1983; the Ireland-Israel Economic and Business Association in 1992; while the Irish-Israel Friendship Association was revived in 1989.

A number of international conferences of Jewish interest were held in Dublin. These included the International Council of Jewish Women (1985); the International Council of Christians and Jews (1985); the International James Joyce Symposium in 1991, which held a session at the Irish Jewish Museum; while the first Irish Genealogical Congress in 1991 held a workshop on Irish Jewry.

Relationships with the authorities continued to be cordial. The president of Ireland, the lord mayor of Dublin, and many dignitaries were guests of honor at Jewish occasions and delegations from the Jewish Representative Council of Ireland have reciprocated with courtesy visits. The chief rabbis continued to make TV appearances on major Jewish festivals.

There has also been a rise in Jewish participation in the top sectors of public life. Throughout various general elections, three Jewish TDs (members of the Dail, the Irish parliament) retained their seats – one for each of the main parties. Ben Briscoe, who represented Fianna Fail, was also lord mayor of Dublin in the city's millennium year (1988), following in the footsteps of his father, Robert *Briscoe. Gerald Goldberg was lord mayor of Cork in 1977. Alan Shatter of Fine Gael was also appointed his party's environment spokesman. Mervyn Taylor of the Labour Party in 1993 became Ireland's first Jewish cabinet minister.

Antisemitism was very low-key, although occasionally exacerbated by casualties suffered by Irish troops serving in

UN units in Lebanon. The tiny Nationalist Socialist Irish Workers' party, which exported anti-Jewish pamphlets to the United Kingdom in 1984, has not surfaced for years. Nevertheless, Ireland has taken high-profile positions at international bodies like the UN which have seen it come into conflict with Israel. A survey by St. Patrick's College, Maynooth, found only 40% of the respondents would marry or welcome Jews into their family (which should be seen partly against religious backgrounds) while 13% did not welcome them as Irish citizens.

Apart from Dublin, the only other community that still exists in the Republic of Ireland is in Cork, which has a burial ground and synagogue. However, services take place only during the High Holy Days when the *minyan* is brought up to strength by volunteers from Dublin. Park Shalom was dedicated by Cork Corporation and the Irish Gas Board, 1989, in fond memory of the city's Jewish community, and is appropriately situated in the area where they lived.

The disused Limerick Jewish cemetery (early 20th century) was restored in 1990 by the Limerick Civic Trust. The ceremony was attended by many church and civic leaders.

[Asher Benson]

In recent years there has been a good deal of interest in the history of the Jews of Ireland, with such works as Dermot Keogh's *Jews in Twentieth-Century Ireland* (1998) and Ray Rivlin's *Shalom Ireland: A Social History of the Jews of Modern Ireland* (2003).

Relations with Israel

Ireland accorded de facto recognition to Israel on Feb. 12, 1949, but only established full diplomatic relations with Israel in 1975 and a residential embassy in 1996. Relations between the two states have been friendly, and Ireland has frequently supported Israel at the United Nations. Trade relations developed satisfactorily; in 1969 Israel exported $800,000 worth of goods to Ireland and imported $700,000 worth.

Israel's president Chaim *Herzog, who was born in Belfast and educated in Dublin, paid a state visit to Ireland in 1985. On this occasion he opened the Irish Jewish Museum in the former Walworth Road Synagogue. A pro-PLO Palestine Information Office was established in Dublin in 1986.

Northern Ireland

By the Anglo-Irish treaty of 1921 the six northwestern counties of Ireland (Ulster) became a self-governing province of the British Crown under the name of Northern Ireland, with the Jewish community recognizing the authority of the British chief rabbi.

The Jewish population was mainly concentrated in its capital, Belfast; a smaller community existed in Londonderry from the 1880s to World War II. The 1964 census recorded about 1,200 Jews living in Northern Ireland. The decrease to 968 recorded in 1971 can be linked to the outbreak of disturbances between the Catholics and Protestants and has continued, with quiet but steady emigration to Australia, Britain, the United States, and Israel. The community is now estimated at about 200 families, maintaining an active communal life.

[Louis Hyman and Isaac Cohen]

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IRGUN ẒEVA'I LE'UMMI (Heb. "National Military Organization" – **I.Ẓ.L.**, **Eẓel**, or the **Irgun**], a Jewish underground armed organization founded in Jerusalem in the spring of 1931 by a group of *Haganah commanders, headed by Avraham Tehomi, who had left the Haganah in protest against its defensive character. Joining forces with a clandestine armed group of *Betar members from Tel Aviv, they formed a parallel, more activist defense organization.

In April 1937, during the Arab riots, the organization split over the question of how to react against Arab terrorism, and about half its three thousand members returned to the Haganah, which was controlled by the *Jewish Agency. The rest formed a new Irgun Ẓeva'i Le'ummi, which was ideologically linked with the Revisionist movement and accepted the authority of its leader, Vladimir *Jabotinsky. Rejecting the "restraint" (Heb. *havlagah*) policy of the Jewish Agency and the Haganah, the organization carried out armed reprisals against Arabs, which were condemned by the Jewish Agency as "blemishing the moral achievements of the Jews of Ereẓ Israel, hindering the political struggle, and undermining security." Many members and sympathizers were arrested and one of them, Shelomo *Ben-Yosef, was hanged for shooting at an Arab bus, but IẒL intensified its activities. It also cooperated with the Revisionist movement in *"illegal" immigration, succeeding in smuggling many thousands of Jews into Palestine.

After the publication of the *White Paper in May 1939, IẒL directed its activities against the British Mandatory authorities, sabotaging government property and attacking security officers. The British retaliated with widespread arrests, and at the outbreak of World War II, when hundreds of Revisionists and members of IẒL (including its commander David *Raziel and his staff commanders) were in prison, IẒL declared a truce, which led to a second split (June 1940) and the formation of a new underground group (*Loḥamei Ḥerut Israel, or Leḥi) led by Avraham *Stern. IẒL members contributed to the war effort against the Nazis by joining the British Army's Palestinian units and later the Jewish Brigade. During a clandestine operation by an IẒL unit, in cooperation with British Intelligence, against the pro-Nazi regime of Rashid Ali in Iraq, David Raziel fell at Habbaniya, near Baghdad, on May 20, 1941. Ya'akov Meridor took command, and was succeeded in December 1943 by Menahem *Begin. By this time, the full extent of the Holocaust in the Nazi-occupied territories had become known, and in February 1944 IẒL declared war against the British administration, which continued to implement the White Paper. It attacked and blew up government offices, several CID headquarters, and four police stations, also capturing weapons and ammunition.

The British authorities made many arrests, and 251 prisoners (including Leḥi members) were deported to Eritrea on Oct. 20, 1944. No organized reaction to the deportation was possible because of the repercussions following the assassination of Lord Moyne by Leḥi in Cairo (Nov. 6, 1944). The Jewish Agency and the Haganah moved against the IẒL in a campaign nicknamed by the underground the "saison" ("hunting season"), during which some of IẒL's members (including several leaders) were kidnapped and handed over to the British authorities. The "saison" limited the scope of IẒL's activities, but did not halt them; after the war it began attacking military installations, bridges, and the vital Kirkuk-Haifa oil pipeline (May 25, 1945).

When the British Labour government's anti-Zionist policy disappointed post-war hopes, Haganah, IẒL, and Leḥi formed a united front, sabotaging bridges, railways, and patrol boats. IẒL again attacked CID and police stations, as well as seven army camps, gaining control of their ammunition stores, and damaged planes at two military airfields. The IẒL attacks culminated in blowing up a wing of the King David Hotel in Jerusalem, headquarters of the Palestine government and the military command, on July 22, 1946.

The united fighting front disintegrated in August 1946, after the arrest of the Jewish Agency leaders, but IẒL and Leḥi continued their attacks on military and governmental objectives. The British increased their military strength to a hundred thousand men and reacted with increased ferocity: curfews, arrests, deportations, floggings, and hangings. IẒL reacted by flogging British officers and kidnapping hostages. It also extended its activities abroad, the most striking act being the bombing of the British embassy in Rome on Oct. 31, 1946. Four members of IẒL – Dov Gruner, Yeḥiel Drezner, Mordekhai Alkaḥi, and Eliezer Kashani – were hanged in Acre prison on April 16, 1947, and another two – Meir Feinstein and the Leḥi member Moshe Barazani – who were due to be hanged in Jerusalem, blew themselves up in the condemned cell on April 27. IẒL broke into the fortress at Acre on May 4, and freed 41 IẒL and Leḥi prisoners. Under the pressure of the continual attacks, the British retreated to security zones where they lived in a state of siege. When three other IẒL members, Meir Nakar, Ya'akov Weiss, and Avshalom Ḥaviv, were condemned to death by the British, IẒL kidnapped two British sergeants and hanged them in July, when the three were executed. The IẒL revolt was given wide publicity in the United States, where the Hebrew Committee for National Liberation, led by Peter Bergson (Hillel Kook), was established. In Palestine publicity was conducted through a clandestine radio station, newspapers, and leaflets bearing the IẒL emblem, a hand holding a rifle on the background of a map of Ereẓ Israel including Transjordan.

After the United Nations resolution of November 29, 1947, on the partition of Palestine, IẒL gradually came out of hiding, helped to repulse the Arab attacks, and continued to attack British army camps in order to capture weapons. On April 25, 1948, it began a large-scale attack on Arab Jaffa; the capture of the town was completed by the Haganah. After the Declaration of Independence, the high command of IẒL offered to disband the organization and integrate its members into the army of the new Jewish state, but, until integration was achieved, it acted independently in various sectors, particularly in Jerusalem, where its activities were loosely coordinated with the Haganah. Its attack on the Arab village of Deir Yasin near Jerusalem, which caused many civilian casualties and led to panic among the Arabs, was denounced by the Jewish Agency. On June 20, during the first Arab-Israel cease fire, an IẒL ship, *Altalena*, clandestinely reached the shores of Israel, carrying a huge quantity of weapons and ammunition and about eight hundred young people, some of whom had received military training. During negotiations with the newly established provisional government of Israel, IẒL demanded 20% of the arms for the use of its units in Jerusalem. IẒLrejected a government ultimatum to hand over the ship, and when it appeared off the shore of Tel Aviv it was blown up by Israel artillery. The Jerusalem units of IẒL fought in most sectors of the city and joined the national army on Sept. 21, 1948, on the orders of the provisional government.

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[David Niv]

IR HA-NIDDAḤAT (Heb. עִיר הַנִּדַּחַת, the "subverted" or "apostate" city). Deuteronomy 13:13ff. enjoins the utter destruction of a city, including its inhabitants, its animals, and its inanimate contents, the citizens of which have been "subverted" (*va-yadiḥu*) by "scoundrels" (sons of Belial). In essence it is an extreme example of the *Ḥerem but in the Talmud it is regarded as belonging to a special category. The punishment meted out to an *Ir ha-Niddaḥat* was never applied in practice in talmudic times, and in fact the Tosefta (Sanh. 14:1) enumerates it as one of those things that "never was and never will be," but which was enjoined only so that one should receive the reward for its study. The discussion on it (Sanh. 10:4–6 and the *Gemara* on these passages) is therefore purely theoretical. A city could be declared an *Ir ha-Niddaḥat* only if the majority of its male inhabitants were found guilty of collective apostasy and only the Great Sanhedrin could make the declaration (Sanh. 16a). Jerusalem, however, could never be declared an *Ir ha-Niddaḥat*. The destruction of Jericho and the ban against its rebuilding (Josh. 6:26) were taken as the model. There is a difference of opinion as to whether the verse "it shall not be built again" (Deut. 13:17) meant that it was to be left completely waste, or whether the prohibition of rebuilding referred only to a city, but the site could be turned into gardens and orchards. The wholesale destruction applied to all the property of the transgressors, whether it was in the city or beyond its borders, and to the property of the innocent residents within the city only. With regard to consecrated objects a distinction was made. Animals dedicated to the altar and **terumah* and second tithe were left to rot. Dedications for the repair of the Temple, first fruits, and the first tithe could be redeemed. R. Simeon explains the destruction of the property of the innocent ("righteous") inhabitants of the city by pointing out that since it was the desire for wealth which brought them to reside there, that wealth is destroyed (Sanh. 112a).

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[Louis Isaac Rabinowitz]

IRKUTSK, city in Russia. Several Jews settled in Irkutsk at the beginning of the 19th century, of whom the majority were sent there as prisoners or exiles. Subsequently, Jewish soldiers discharged from the army of Nicholas I (see *Cantonists) settled in the city. The Jewish population grew from 1,000 in 1875, to 3,610 in 1897 (7.1% of the total), and 6,100 in 1909 (5.6%). Jews played a considerable role in the city's commerce and industry and in the development of the gold mines in the vicinity. After the 1917 Revolution, a Jewish political exile, P.M. Rubinstein, was appointed president of the newly founded Irkutsk University. There were 7,159 Jews in Irkutsk in 1926 (7.2% of the total population), 7,100 (2.8%) in 1939, and 10,313 in Irkutsk oblast in 1959. In 1970 the city's Jewish population was estimated at about 15,000. There was one synagogue, but no rabbi or cantor. In the early 21st century there were an estimated 5,000 Jews still in the city, with community life revolving around the synagogue and Chabad rabbi Aaron Wagner.

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[Yehuda Slutsky]

IR-NAHASH (Heb. עִיר נָחָשׁ), biblical locality in Judah established by Tehinnah, son of Eshton (I Chron. 4:12). Ir-Nahash ("Serpent City") was probably originally called Ir Neḥoshet ("Copper City") after Tehinnah's craft – brass artisan. It has been tentatively identified with the village of Deir (Dayr) Naḥḥās, 2 mi. (3 km.) northeast of Bet Guvrin, but only remains from the Roman period and later have been discovered there. These include cisterns, remains of a pool, and a tomb with *loculi*. Leases drawn up in the name of Bar Kokhba and dated to 133, which were found in the Murabbaʿāt caves in the Judean Desert, mention that Eleazar the Shilonite, Ḥalifa, son of Joseph, and Judah, son of Rabba, leased land in Ir-Nahash from Hillel, son of Garis, the representative of Bar Kokhba at Herodium. These leases indicate that Ir-Nahash was situated in a crown domain; rent for the land was to be paid in grain.

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[Michael Avi-Yonah]

IRON (Heb. יִרְאוֹן), city in the territory of Naphtali mentioned in the Bible only in Joshua 19:38. It may possibly occur in the inscriptions of Tiglath-Pileser III, among the cities conquered in his campaign of 733 B.C.E., in the fragmentary form Ir-ru-[na], but the reading is uncertain. The Arab village of Yarun on the Israel-Lebanon border is situated near an ancient mound containing Iron Age and later pottery. Iron was apparently one of the cities founded by the Israelites in the mountainous and wooded area of Galilee.

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[Michael Avi-Yonah]

IRON GUARD, right-wing, antisemitic movement and party in Romania. In 1927 nationalist students, headed by Corneliu Zelea Codreanu, founded the Legion of Archangel Michael, which fostered the Iron Guard mass movement in 1930 and merged with it. The Iron Guard became a political party with a Christian-nationalist and totalitarian platform combining elements of fascism, Nazism, and Christian-Orthodox mysticism and symbolism. The Iron Guard press, *Buna Vestire* ("The Annunciation"), and the press under its influence, *Porunca Vremii* ("The Command of Our Times"), instigated antisemitism in the vein of *Der Stuermer*. The Iron Guard held conferences and student rallies that were often accompanied by anti-Jewish riots in which synagogues and Jewish newspapers and shops were destroyed, as in Oradea-Mare and Cluj (1927), and in Timișoara (1938). In the mid-1930s, the Iron Guard, known as *Totul pentru Țară* ("All for the Fatherland"), became the third largest party in Romania; but it was temporarily dissolved in 1938 by King Carol. On the eve of the dissolution of Greater Romania, the Iron Guard, reconciled for the time being with King Carol, carried out mass slaughters of Jews, especially in Moldavia (June–September 1940). On September 6, the Iron Guard proclaimed a National-Legionary State under joint rule with Ion *Antonescu. Anti-Jewish legislation was enacted to eliminate the Jews of Romania from economic, political, and cultural life. The final goal of Iron Guard policy was the deportation of the Jews (see *Romania, Holocaust).

A struggle for hegemony led to the Legionnaire rebellion in Jan. 19–20, 1941, in which 120 Jews were killed in Bucharest and some 30 in the countryside (notably in *Ploiești and *Constanța). The rebellion was quashed by Antonescu; Horia *Sima and other leaders of the rebellion fled the country. Following the outbreak of war against the Soviet Union (June 1941) the German forces and Antonescu's police, joined by Iron Guard elements, committed anti-Jewish outrages, including the *Jassy pogrom (June 29, 1941) and "death train," and other such attacks in Moldavia with thousands of victims. The Romanian anti-Nazi coup of August 1944 put an end to the Iron Guard in Romania, and the Germans set up in December 1944 a Legionnaire government-in-exile in Vienna led by Sima. For more than 25 years after the liquidation of the Iron Guard, Legionnaire emigrant groups were still in existence in some western countries, and post-Communist Romania.

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[Bela Adalbert Vago]

IRVING, AMY (1953–), U.S. actress. Irving was born in Palo Alto, California, the daughter of influential stage director/producer Jules Irving and actress Priscilla Pointer. Although her father was Jewish, Amy was raised a Christian Scientist like her mother. As a young woman she trained at the American Conservatory Theater in San Francisco before moving to England to study at the prestigious London Academy of Music and Dramatic Art. When Irving was only 17, she made her off-Broadway debut. She appeared in guest roles on several TV shows before landing the role of Sue Snell, the sympathetic supporting character in Brian De Palma's supernatural thriller *Carrie* (1976), launching her career. Romantic leads in such films as *Voices* (1979), *Honeysuckle Rose* (1979), and *The Competition* (1980), not to mention her deep blue eyes and long curly locks, made Irving the idol of young men around the globe. Irving went on to star in mostly mature and independent productions such as *Crossing Delancey* (1988), *Deconstructing Harry* (1997), and *Yentl* (1983), for which she won the Academy Award nomination for Best Supporting Actress. All are popular films that addressed Jewish identity in their own way. Irving remained loyal to the stage, appearing in many acclaimed Broadway productions, most notably *The Heidi Chronicles, Amadeus,* and *The Road to Mecca,* for which she won an Obie Award in 1988. After several years of courtship, Irving married film director Steven *Spielberg in 1985 and had one child with him before their marriage ended in 1989.

[Max Joseph (2nd ed.)]

°IRVING, JULES (Jules Israel; 1925–1979), U.S. theatrical director. Born in New York, Irving was professor of drama at San Francisco State College. In the early 1950s he co-founded – with his wife, actress Priscilla Pointer, Beatrice Manley, and Herbert *Blau – the Actors' Workshop, which represented the United States at the Brussels Exposition of 1958. In 1965 he and Blau were named directors of the Lincoln Center Repertory Theater, New York. When Blau resigned in 1967, Irving continued as sole director until 1973.

On Broadway, Irving directed such plays as *The Country Wife* (1966); *The Caucasian Chalk Circle* (1966); *Galileo* (1967); *The Little Foxes* (1967); *Tiger at the Gates* (1968); *A Cry of Players* (1968); *Camino Real* (1970); *An Enemy of the People* (1971); *Man of La Mancha* (1972); and *A Streetcar Named Desire* (1973).He was the father of actress Amy *Irving, director David Irving, and singer Katie Irving, and the brother of producer/director Richard Irving.

[Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

IRVING V. LIPSTADT, legal case initiated by Holocaust denier David Irving against defendants Deborah Lipstadt and Penguin Books, tried in a London court from January to March 2001, and resulting in the defeat of Irving. At stake was not the truth of the Holocaust but the quality and nature of Irving's historiography.

David Irving was a Holocaust denier who had written many books on the Third Reich. Deborah Lipstadt was a history professor who had written, among other works, a book about Holocaust denial, *Denying the Holocaust*. It described Irving as a Holocaust denier. He did not care for the description, because he understood it to mean that he was something less than a reputable historian. Therefore he sued Lipstadt and her publishers, Penguin Books, for defamation. He might have sued in the United States, where the book was first published, but then Irving would have had to prove a reckless disregard of truth by Lipstadt. Instead he chose to sue in England because English law gives certain advantages to libel claimants. The defendant must prove the truth of their statements. The case came to trial on January 11, 2000, and lasted five weeks. The evidence of expert witnesses dominated the proceedings. In accordance with defense decisions: no Holocaust survivors were called, for the Holocaust was not on trial; Lipstadt herself did not testify. The case was heard without a jury by Mr. Justice Charles Gray. A 335-page judgment was delivered on April 11, 2000.

The judge decided the case in favor of the defendants, Lipstadt and Penguin. Irving's falsifications and distortions were so egregious, and his animus towards Jews so plain that he won the case for them. They had proved the truth of their allegations against Irving by demonstrating Irving's manipulation of the historical record (which became *the* issue in the case). The multiple concessions made by Irving during the course of the trial did not save him from the judgment that he was indeed a Holocaust denier. The judge also decided that he was an antisemite, a racist, and a falsifier of the historical record. Penguin Books published the judgment, and donated the sale proceeds to a hospital specializing in the treatment of cancer patients. An interim costs order was made against Irving in the sum of £150,000.

Irving, who had represented himself at the trial, instructed lawyers to represent him on his appeal. The appeal was heard in June 2001 and dismissed. Penguin then enforced the costs order and when Irving did not pay, bankrupted him. After the trial, he was asked, "Will you stop denying the Holocaust on the basis of this judgment?" Irving replied, "Good Lord, no." The case attracted a great deal of attention, and large claims continue to be made for its significance. Deniers dismissed it. "Gray's verdict," said a denier, "was predictable, given the display of naked Jewish power during the trial."

David Irving

David Irving (b. 1938) had been writing history books for over 40 years. His first book, published in 1963, was about the bombing of Dresden in February 1945. It wildly overstated the numbers killed, relying in later and foreign editions on a document known by Irving to be a forgery. The intended effect of the book was to narrow the moral distance between the Allied and Axis powers. It introduced into the historiography of World War II the novel concept of the German nation as victim. His principal work, *Hitler's War* (1977; 1991), told the story of World War II from what Irving supposed to be Hitler's perspective, and it thereby made a case for him as an intelligent and even estimable leader. Irving has always been protective of Hitler, and in the earlier part of his career as a writer tended to put the responsibility for the regime's crimes on Hitler's subordinates. He proposed that the Holocaust was executed behind Hitler's back. Irving thus ignored, or explained away, Hitler's own statements about the Jews, the reports on the killings destined for him, and the statements of subordinates that the policy of genocide was determined at the highest level. This special pleading has its own momentum and in due course Irving came to embrace Holocaust denial (among other places, evident in the 1991 edition of *Hitler's War*). Irving came to denial, and then persisted in it, out of tenderness for Hitler and hostility to Jews, and out of a misplaced bravado and a deficient moral sense.

Holocaust Denial

Irving had at various times asserted that the number of Jews killed by the Nazis was far lower than commonly asserted, that gas chambers were not used or used on only an experimental and limited basis, that the killing of the Jews was not systematic, that the Holocaust was an invention of the Allies and that it was then exploited by the Jews to swindle the Germans, to procure a state, and to distract attention from their own crimes. In advancing these theses, he joined a small, ignominious group of published deniers – charlatans, cranks, dedicated haters of Jews. The object of these deniers, or "negationists," is to unwrite the history of the Holocaust.

Deborah Lipstadt

Deborah Lipstadt (b. 1947), a professor at Emory University, Atlanta, was not the first to write about Holocaust denial. She was not even the first to write about Irving's career as a denier, but was the first defendant in a denial libel trial. *Denying the Holocaust* described Irving as a writer of popular historical works. He believed that Britain made a mistake, Lipstadt said, in going to war against Germany, and he regarded the Allies and the Nazis as equally at fault. It was a "disturbing new development," she proposed, that he had "joined the ranks of the deniers." Lipstadt summarized criticisms of his use of evidence and assessed him as being "one of the most dangerous spokespersons for Holocaust denial." She did not allege that Irving was an antisemite, though the charge was implied in the libel proceedings and the defense expressly pleaded his antisemitism.

The Legal Proceedings

In September 1996 David Irving issued a writ against the author and her U.K. publishers, Penguin. He complained that the book represented him to be a Nazi apologist, a manipulator of the historical record, a Holocaust denier, a racist, and an antisemite, and a consorter with racists and antisemites. The defendants broadly agreed that that was indeed what the book maintained, and they insisted that this was the truth about him. The bad history was a consequence of his bad politics, his alliance with the Far Right and his assumed role as apologist for Hitler and the Nazi project. Irving also claimed that he was the victim of an international Jewish conspiracy to silence and discredit him. Here the defendants did not agree, nor did the judge.

In the 3½ years between the start of the legal action and the trial, Irving lost control of his claim. Required to disclose his library of speeches, diaries, and other written materials, he thereby secured the defendants' case against his politics. Confronted by expert reports by scholars such as Richard Evans, Christopher *Browning, Peter Longerich, and Robert Jan Van Pelt that he was unable to counter, he thereby conceded their case against his historiography. The disclosure hanged him; the expert evidence hanged him a second time over. The contribution made by the experts to the defendants' case was considerable, though not in itself determinative of the outcome.

While the disclosure was plainly objectionable, proving the sin of his books required experts. This was hard work, but not difficult work. It needed much checking of sources. The experts demonstrated that Irving mistranslated documents, disputed, overstated or ignored or dismissed adverse, impeccable witnesses and relied upon unreliable witnesses, all to one end. The pattern of deceit was clear: the only witnesses to the Holocaust Irving accepted were those who saw nothing. Euphemistic or otherwise evasive documents were taken at face value; documents that were candid about the extermination process were dismissed as forgeries or otherwise explained away or ignored. An unattainable standard of proof was demanded to "prove" the Holocaust; yet anything, however flimsy and unreliable, was accepted to "disprove" it. There was no consistency to his methodology, only to his politics. It was by the systematic application of "double standards" that Irving honored Hitler's memory.

The Nature of Irving's Antisemitism

The trial exposed the nature of Irving's antisemitism. It was evident both in his performance at the trial itself and in the materials obtained from him in consequence of pre-trial hearings. There was, of course, the desire to rehabilitate Hitler and the Third Reich, and there was the fantasy of a Jewish conspiracy. Irving made wild allegations – Churchill was in the pay of the Jews, the Jews dragged Britain into the war, Jews dominated many of the postwar Communist regimes, the world is in great measure controlled by Jews. There were also lies, including lies told to the judge.

However, so short is the memory, so limited is the understanding, of English newspapers that within a short while of the trial Irving was being referred to by them once again as a historian, his opinions solicited on matters of current controversy. Still, the judgment diminished, though it did not eliminate, Holocaust denial. For the duration of the trial and especially upon the decisive and stinging judgment, the morale of some survivors was lifted. There was the sense that battle had been joined with an antisemite in which the oppressor, for once, did not have the upper hand. Jews and non-Jews of good will came together in defense of the historical truth of the Holocaust, and thereby repelled the attack of an antisemite. It was an act of resistance. And though it was merely one among countless others, it had its own, distinctive merit.

In 2006 an Austrian court sentenced Irving to three years' imprisonment for Holocaust denial.

See also *Holocaust Denial.

[Anthony Julius (2nd ed.)]

ISAAC (Heb. יִצְחָק, יִשְׂחָק), son of *Abraham and *Sarah, second of the *patriarchs of the people of Israel. Isaac was born when Abraham was 100 years old (Gen. 21:5) and Sarah 90 (17:17), exactly a quarter of a century after the family had migrated from Haran, its ancestral homeland, in response to divine prompting and promise of offspring (12:4). By his birth, which took place long after his mother had passed the normal childbearing age (18:11), and in his very person, Isaac represented the fulfillment of the oft-repeated divine assurances of posterity. He alone was the true heir of the Abrahamic tradition and covenant (17:19, 21; 21:12). His name had been preordained by God (17:19), and at the age of eight days he became the first to be circumcised (21:4) in accordance with the divine command (17:12). Further emphasis is given to Isaac's role as Abraham's sole heir by the expulsion of his half-brother *Ishmael in resolution of the domestic crisis which Isaac's birth precipitated (21:9–14).

Nothing is related of Isaac's childhood except the celebration held on the day of his weaning (21:8). Not mentioned as having participated in the burial of Sarah (chapter 23), the only other recorded incident of Isaac's life prior to his marriage is the episode known as "the binding of Isaac" (**Akedah, Aqedah*; chapter 22), where he is the potential victim of child sacrifice. His age at this time is not given, but since he was able to recognize a sacrifice and to ask an intelligent question, he must have been a lad (cf. 22:5).

God ordered Abraham, in a test of his constancy, to sacrifice Isaac, his favored son, the object of his love (22:2; cf. 22:12, 16), as a burnt offering on one of the heights in the land of Moriah. Observing the firestone and the knife in his father's hand, while he himself carried the wood, Isaac asked, "Where is the sheep for the burnt offering?" (22:7–8). From Abraham's evasive reply, "God will see to the sheep for His burnt offering, my son," Isaac must surely have sensed the truth. Although the *Aqedah* was the climactic event in the tales of Abraham, who demonstrated his willingness to obey God even when God contradicted himself (see Rashi to Gen. 22:12), the fact that "the two of them walked on together" (22:8; cf. 22:6), and that Isaac fell completely silent, must be taken as an implication of the lad's surrender to God's purposes. As it is, the narrative closes with a reaffirmation of the divine blessings. Isaac is thus inextricably bound up with God's promises and their fulfillment.

At the age of 40 (25:20), Isaac married *Rebekah, daughter of Bethuel, nephew of Abraham. The story of the marriage, arranged by Abraham who had sent his servant to Haran to bring back a suitable wife, is told in extraordinary detail (chapter 24) and in a manner calculated to show the intervention of Divine Providence in the sequence of events.

Unique among the patriarchs, Isaac remained monogamous, and he was also exceptional in that he did not have concubines (see *Patriarchs) even though Rebekah was barren during the first 20 years of their marriage (25:20, 21, 26). After "Isaac pleaded with the Lord on behalf of his wife" (25:21), Rebekah gave birth to twins, *Esau and *Jacob, who early became rivals (verses 25–34). During her pregnancy, which was very difficult, Rebekah received an oracle from God concerning the destiny of her progeny (verses 21–23).

Isaac's wanderings were restricted to the area around Gerar (26:1, 17), Beer-Sheba (21:32; 22:19; 26:23, 33; 28:10), and Beer-Lahai-Roi (24:62; 25:11). He had wanted to go down to Egypt in time of famine, but was forbidden to do so by God (26:1–2) and, in fact, he never left the land of Canaan (cf. 24:5, 8). At both Gerar and Beer-Sheba he received divine affirmation of the Lord's promise of protection, numerous progeny, and the land (26:3–5, 23–24), and in Beer-Sheba he built an altar and invoked the Lord by name (verse 25) just as his father had done before him (cf. 21:25–33). Unlike the other patriarchs Isaac engaged in agriculture with great success (26:12), becoming a wealthy man, possessed of flocks and herds and a large retinue. On the whole, his relationships with his neighbors were peaceful, but he did arouse their envy (26:13–16). On one occasion he felt compelled to pass off his beautiful wife as his sister, fearing the men of Gerar would murder him in order to possess Rebekah (verses 6–11). On another occasion he clashed with them over watering rights (verses 15, 18–22; cf. verses 25, 32–33). His status and power were such that Abimelech, king of the Philistines in Gerar, came to Beer-Sheba to conclude a pact of mutual nonaggression (verses 28–31).

The final episode in Isaac's life was the oral testament (chapter 27). Old and blind and not knowing how soon he would die, he decided to communicate his blessing to Esau for whom he had quite early shown partiality (25:28), even though Esau had married Canaanite women, of which Isaac and Rebekah, like Abraham before them (24:3–4), had disapproved (26:34–35; cf. 27:46; 28:8). At Rebekah's direction, however, Jacob deceived his father by assuming the guise of Esau and succeeded in gaining the birthright for himself (27:1–29), a situation in which Isaac finally acquiesced (verse 33; cf. 28:3–4). To insure that Jacob would not marry a Canaanite woman Isaac sent him to the home of his wife's family in Paddan-Aram to find a wife (28:1–2).

Isaac lived on for another 20 years. Like the other patriarchs, Isaac lived a fantastically long time, dying in Hebron at 180, "a ripe old age" (35:27–29). His two sons buried him in the cave of Machpelah beside his wife (49:31).

The biblical data concerning Isaac are relatively sparse, and followers of the documentary theory regard them as an amalgam of J and E with an admixture of P (see *Pentateuch). In any event, it appears likely that numerous traditions have been lost. Thus, in treaty negotiations with Laban, the fact that Jacob employed a divine name, *Paḥad Yiẓḥak* ("Fear [or "Kinsman"?] of Isaac"; 31:42), not otherwise attested, implies that there once existed some historic framework in which this epithet had special meaning. Although the narratives of Isaac are set in a time that would in our chronology correspond to the early or mid-second millennium, individual markers such as the encounters with the Philistines, marriage ties with Arameans, and the founding of the city of Beersheba indicate that the oldest Isaac traditions cannot be earlier than the late second millennium, and are probably later. No independent traditions about Isaac have been preserved outside of the Pentateuch. In some respects, Isaac, like Abraham and Jacob, is an allegorical figure whose actions reflect historical personalities and situations of the monarchic period (Sperling).

The triad of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob appears with great frequency throughout the Pentateuch, and became enshrined in the cultic traditions of Israel. Amos actually employs "Isaac" as a synonym for Israel (7:9, 16), though it is uncertain whether this is the sole biblical remnant of a once more extensive usage, or an oratorical device invented by the prophet for purposes of wordplay.

Although no explanation for Isaac's name is given in Genesis (cf. Gen. 17:19; 21:3), the recurrent association of the laughter of the aged Abraham and Sarah when foretold of the birth of a son (17:17; 18:12–15; 21:6) has suggested the popular etymology that the name comes from *saḥak* (*saḥaq*, "laugh"). In actuality, the name is a verbal form, probably originally accompanied by a divine subject and meaning, "may (God) laugh," i.e., look benevolently upon.

[Nahum M. Sarna / S. David Sperling (2nd ed.)]

In the Aggadah

Isaac was born on the first day of Passover (RH 11a). At his birth, many other barren women were also blessed with children. The sun shone with unparalleled splendor, the like of which will only be seen again in the messianic age (Tanḥ. B, Gen. 107; PR 42:177a–177b). To silence the accusations of slanderers who questioned Abraham's paternity, which they ascribed to Abimelech, Isaac was given the exact appearance of his father (BM 87a). As his name was given by God before his birth (Gen. 17:19), he was the only one of the patriarchs whose name was not later changed (TJ, Ber. 1:9, 4a).

The *Akedah* of Isaac was the result of Satan's complaint after Abraham's celebration of the weaning of Isaac. Satan said to the Almighty: "Sovereign of the Universe! To this old man Thou didst graciously vouchsafe the fruit of the womb at the age of a hundred, yet of all that banquet which he prepared, he did not sacrifice one dove or pigeon to thee!" God therefore decided to show Satan that Abraham would offer up even Isaac to Him. According to another tradition, it was Isaac, then 37 years old, who himself suggested the *Akedah* in response to Ishmael's claim that he was more virtuous since Isaac was circumcised at eight days, whereas he was 13 years of age at the time and could have refused (Sanh. 89b; Gen. R. 55:4). On the way to the *Akedah*, Satan unsuccessfully attempted to dissuade Isaac from obeying his father and, when he failed, tried to impede their journey (*Sefer ha-Yashar*, Va-Yera, 77–78; Gen. R. 56:4). Isaac cooperated fully with his father in the proposed sacrifice, even begging him to bind him tightly lest he might involuntarily struggle and render the sacrifice invalid (Gen. R. 56:8). When Abraham lifted up his knife, the angels cried for Isaac. Their tears fell into Isaac's eyes and they caused his subsequent blindness, which was also attributed to his having looked directly at the *Shekhinah* while on the altar (Gen. R. 65:10). Others attribute it to his constantly looking at his wicked son, Esau. His lack of vision later kept him at home and spared him from hearing people say, "there goes the father of the wicked Esau" (Gen. R. 65:10. According to one tradition, during the *Akedah* Abraham drew one fourth of a log of blood from Isaac which symbolized the essence of life (Mekh. SbY, p. 4). According to another version, Isaac actually lost his life as a result of the terror he experienced when Abraham lifted his knife. He was revived by the heavenly voice admonishing Abraham not to slaughter his son, and he then pronounced the benediction, "Blessed are Thou, O Lord, who quickenest the dead" (PdRE 31). God therefore accounted Isaac's deed as an actual sacrifice, and his harsh judgments against Israel are constantly mitigated when he recalls "Isaac's ashes heaped up upon the altar" (Lev. R. 36:5; Ta'an. 16a). Abraham also prayed that God should mercifully recall his binding Isaac whenever the children of Isaac give way to transgressions and evil deeds (Lev. R. 29:9). The *Akedah* therefore became a central theme in all penitential and **selihot* prayers. Isaac is also depicted as the patriarch possessing the deepest feelings and compassion for his descendants. He pleads for them even when they are sinful, and the verse "For thou art our father, for Abraham knoweth us not, and Israel doth not acknowledge us" (Isa. 63:16) is applied to him (Shab. 89b). The institution of the **Minḥah* prayer is attributed to Isaac (Ber. 26b). Like Abraham, he observed the Commandments (PR 25, p. 127b) and made God known in the world (Men. 53a). He was one of three who had a foretaste of the future world while in this world; one of six over whom the angel of death had no power; one of seven whose bodies were not devoured by worms; and one of three upon whom the "evil inclination" had no influence (BB 17a).

[Aaron Rothkoff]

In Christian Tradition

Isaac appears in the New Testament as a type and prefiguration of Christ: "Now to Abraham were the promises spoken, and to his seed. He saith not, And to seeds, as of many; but as of one, And to thy seed, which is Christ" (Gal. 3:16). In the same epistle, Paul also explains that Isaac and Ishmael symbolize the old and the new covenants and thus represent Christians and Jews respectively. Isaac is the heir of the spiritual inheritance and messianic blessing implied in God's promise while Ishmael, the son of the slave, is turned out of his father's house. In the same way, the Christians are delivered from the fetters of the Old Testament commandments and enjoy the freedom granted to God's children (*ibid.* 4:22–31). Isaac's sacrifice, which is interpreted typologically in the Epistle to the Hebrews, prefigures both the Passion by offering, and the resurrection of Jesus.

The Church Fathers developed this typology further: Isaac's miraculous birth by a sterile woman is a prefiguration of the virginal maternity. They also drew more detailed parallels between the sacrifice of Isaac and Jesus on the Cross: in the same way as Isaac was offered by his father Abraham and carried the sacrificial wood, so Jesus was offered by his Father and bore the Cross. Both obey the divine order of death and, because of that, triumph over death. The vicarious death of Jesus is compared to the substitution of the ram for Isaac. The ram represents the visible sacrifice of the flesh and Isaac prefigures the Eternal Word (Christ). Like Philo before them, the Church Fathers also interpreted the marriage of Isaac and Rebekah symbolically, though they did so in a specifically Christian manner. Rebekah symbolizes the Church waiting for a long time; she sees Isaac (i.e., the Messiah) coming toward her as announced by the prophets, and their union is consecrated.

In Islam

Isḥāq (Isaac) and Yaʿqūb (Jacob) were the descendants of Ibrāhīm (Abraham) and both were prophets and righteous men (Koran, Sura 19:50–51; 21:72–73; and in other places such as 6:84). The tale of the binding (37:99–110) does not mention the name of the one destined to be the sacrifice. According to the Ḥadīth which is quoted by al-Ṭabarī (*Taʾrīkh*, 1 (1357 A.H.), 184–5), Muhammad himself declared that the intended one was Isaac. This is also the opinion of Muhammad's colleagues: the caliphs Omar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb and Ali ibn Abī Ṭālib and the members of the second generation (*tābiʿūn*), e.g., *Kaʿb al-Aḥbār (Thaʿlabī, 76). In his *Taʾrīkh* (history) and his *Tafsīr* (commentary) Ṭabarī quotes the Ḥadiths of all the Arab masoretes and exegetes, who were divided as to whether the object of the binding was Isaac or Ishmael. Umayya ibn Abī al-Ṣalt, a contemporary of Muhammad, gives a description of the binding (29:9–21) as it is told in the Bible and in the Midrashim (Hirschberg, in bibl., pp. 58–61, 124–9). In spite of its similarity to the Koran, it is definitely an original poem. In a fragment of the *genizah* of al-Samawʾal al-Kuraẓī there is the mention of the *dhabīḥ* ("the bound one") as he is also referred to in Arab legend; he was redeemed for a lamb, specially created for this purpose.

[Haïm Z'ew Hirschberg]

In the Arts

In most literary treatments of the patriarch Isaac the theme of the binding of Isaac predominates (see *Akedah). This is the case with the medieval English miracle plays (Chester, York, Towneley, Dublin, Brome cycles; the many religious *autos* of the Spanish Renaissance; Metastasio's *Isacco figura del Redentore* (1740); and Laurence Housman's *Abraham and Isaac*, one of the English writer's fiercely anti-biblical *Old Testament Plays* (1950)). The *Akedah* theme inspired a drama in the Aztec language of Mexico (1678), which was later translated into Spanish; and two Italian plays of the 18th century, Pietro van Ghelen's *Isacco, figura del Redentore* (Vienna, 1740) and *Isacco al monte* (Padoya, 1766), a *sacra rappresentazione* in verse by Ferdinando degli Obizzi.

In other works dating from the Middle Ages onward the Sacrifice of Isaac is incidental or omitted. The 12th-century *Ordo de Ysaac et Rebecca et Filiis Eorum* makes Esau the representative of "pharisaical Judaism" and Jacob the spokesman of Christianity. Dramatic works of the 16th–18th centuries include a *Farsa de Isaac* by Diego Sanchez (c. 1530); Francesco Contarini's tragedy *Isaccio* (Venice, 1615); *Izsák házassága* ("The Marriage of Isaac," 1703), a Hungarian play by Ferenc Pápai Páriz; a drama by the Spanish Marrano writer Felipe *Godínez; and *Isaac* (1779?; Eng. 1807), a comedy for young people by the French author Félicité Ducrest de Saint-Aubin, countess de Genlis. The subject declined in importance during the 19th century, an exception being Julius *Zeyer's Czech drama *Z dob ružového jitra* ("From the Times of the Rosy Dawn," 1888), based on Gen. 26, the first of several fresh treatments by Jewish writers. Thus, Edmond *Fleg's poem "La Vision d'Isaac" (in *Ecoute Israël*, 1913–21) dealt with Isaac's traditional plea to God for Israel's preservation. A 20th-century treatment is in Soviet writer Yosif *Brodski's "*Isaak i Avraam*," which only appeared in the West in the verse collection *Stikhotvoreniya i poemy* (1965).

In art, the chief episodes represented are the *Akedah*, the meeting of Eliezer and Rebekah, the marriage of Isaac and Rebekah, and the blessing of Jacob and Esau. The meeting of Eliezer and Rebekah (Gen. 24:15–28) has generally been more popular with artists than the marriage of Isaac and Rebekah. In medieval Christian iconography Isaac was equated with Jesus, and Rebekah with the Virgin Mary, who symbolized the Church. There is a charming early representation of the meeting of Eliezer and Rebekah in the sixth-century Vienna Genesis. It is later found in 12th-century mosaics in the Capella Palatina at Palermo and the cathedral of Monreale, in Sicily; in the St. Louis Psalter (c. 1256); and in the 14th-century English *Queen Mary Psalter*. There are Renaissance and later paintings of the subject by Paolo Veronese at Versailles, by Nicolas Poussin in the Louvre, and by Bartolomé Murillo in the Prado, Madrid. The marriage of Isaac and Rebekah (Gen. 24:63ff.) occurs in an illumination in the *St. Louis Psalter*. A noteworthy representation is the spacious landscape ("The Mill") by Claude Lorrain (1648 National Gallery, London). In the Raphael Loggia in the Vatican there is a representation of Isaac and Rebekah intercepted in their lovemaking by Abimelech (Gen. 26:8–11).

The lyrical subject of Isaac's marriage with Rebekah, preceded by Eliezer's mission, has been treated in several musical works, mainly oratorios. Some examples are G.C. Arresti's *Lo sposalizio di Rebecca* (1675); A. Sacchini's *Lo sposalizio d'Isaaco con Rebecca* (1739); Michael Haydn's *Rebecca als Braut* (also called *Eliezer*), a "Singspiel," i.e., a kind of operetta (1766); Ferdinand *Hiller's *Rebekka*, an "idyll" for solo choir, opus 182 (date unknown); César Franck's *Rebecca*, produced as an oratorio in 1881 and as a one-act "sacred opera" in 1918; and Maurice Jacobson's *Rebecca's Hymn* for choir and orchestra (1930). The meeting of Eliezer and Rebekah at the well was set as a simple children's dialogue song by the Israel composer Yedidya *Admon-Gorochov in the early 1930s (*Na'arah tovah, yefat einayim*), and has remained popular with Israel children.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: For Isaac in the Bible see bibliography to *Abraham and *Patriarchs, and N.M. Sarna, *Understanding Genesis* (1966), 154–165, 170–180. IN THE AGGADAH: Ginzberg, Legends, 1 (1942^{2}), 261–6, 271–86, 291–9, 321–36; A.A. Halevy, *Sha'arei ha-Aggadah* (1963), 20–23, 35, 37, 103–5; G. Vermes, *Scripture and Tradition in Judaism* (1961), 193–227. IN THE CHRISTIAN TRADITION: J. Daniélou, *Sacramentum Futuri* (1950), 97–128; idem, in: *Biblica*, 28 (1947), 363–93 (Fr.); Schoeps, in: JBL, 65 (1946), 385–92. IN ISLAM: Tabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, 1 (1357 A.H.), 184–9; idem, *Tafsīr*, 23 (1329 A.H.), 51–54; Tha'labi, *Qiṣaṣ* (1356 A.H. 76–81; Kisā'ī, *Qiṣaṣ*, ed. by I. Eisenberg (1922), 150–3; H.Z. (J.W.) Hirschberg, *Der Dīwān des As-Samu'al ibn 'Adijā'*… (1931), 33, 631.; idem, *Juedische und christliche Lehren* (1939), 58–61, 124–9. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** R. Martin-Achard, in: ABD, 3:462–70 (incl. bibl.); J. Levenson, *The Death and Resurrection of the Beloved Son* (1993); S.D. Sperling, *The Original Torah* (1998). IN ISLAM: W.M. Watt, "Isḥaḳ," in: EIS^{2}, 4 (1978), 109–110 (incl. bibl.).

ISAAC (middle of the second century), *tanna*. He is not mentioned in the Mishnah but is often cited in *beraitot*, especially those dealing with halakhic exegesis in the Talmuds, and in the halakhic Midrashim of the school of R. Ishmael: *Mekhilta, Sifrei Numbers*, and *Sifrei Deuteronomy*. It appears that he was a Babylonian, and if so he was one of the earliest known *tannaim* hailing from Babylonia. During the period of persecution following the Bar Kokhba War, when Hananiah, the nephew of R. Joshua b. Hananiah, attempted to proclaim leap years and to sanctify new moons in Babylonia, and thereby make Babylonia independent of Ereẓ Israel, Rabbi (the *nasi* at the time, perhaps *Simeon b. Gamaliel) sent him "three communications through R. Isaac and R. Nathan" so as to restrain the Diaspora from taking this step (TJ, Sanh. 1:2). Isaac moved to Ereẓ Israel, where he debated halakhic matters, particularly with the disciples of R. Ishmael. He also associated with R. *Simeon b. Yoḥai (Gen. R. 35:16), and engaged in dispute with Judah ha-Nasi and others (Ber. 48b, Git. 27b, etc.). Among his expositions of biblical verses some are of an aggadic character: "Remember the Sabbath day, i.e., count not [the days of the week] as others count them, but count them with reference to the Sabbath" (Mekh., Jethro, 7). He also engaged in mystical studies (Ḥag. 13a).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Bacher, Tann; Hyman, Toledot, 78ff.; Epstein, Tanna'im, 570.

[Zvi Kaplan and Shmuel Safrai]

ISAAC (seventh century), *gaon*, head of the academy in Firuz-Shapur in Babylonia. In 658 the city was captured by Caliph Ali. Isaac, together with other Jewish notables, at the head of 90,000 Jews, welcomed the caliph upon his entry; the conqueror in turn gave the Jewish delegation a cordial reception. No responsa or decisions written by this *gaon* are extant. The commentaries and decisions mentioned in the responsa of the *geonim* and other early authorities and attributed to a R. Isaac (*Sha'arei Teshuvah*, no. 217; Zedekiah *Anav, *Shibbolei ha-Leket*, no. 225; *Abraham b. Isaac of Narbonne, *Sefer ha-Eshkol*, 2 (1868), 158; Aaron ha-Kohen of Lunel, *Orḥot Ḥayyim*, ed. by M. Schlesinger, 2 (1902), 414, et al.) originated with another R. Isaac, a *gaon* of Sura, who was also known as Isaac Zadok.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: A. Harkavy, *Zikkaron la-Rishonim ve-gam la-Aḥaronim*, 1, *Teshuvot ha-Ge'onim* (1887), 355–6; B.M. Lewin (ed.), *Iggeret Rav Sherira Ga'on* (1921), 101; Weiss, Dor, 4 (1904), 7–8; J. Mueller, *Mafte'aḥ li-Teshuvot ha-Ge'onim* (1891), 62; Mann, in: JQR, 8 (1917/18), 340–1.

[Simha Assaf]

ISAAC, Jewish merchant of Aachen, the first Jew in Germany to be mentioned by name. In 797 he was appointed by Charlemagne as guide and interpreter to an official delegation to Harun al-Rashid, entrusted with a delicate and important mission. Charlemagne's ambassadors died on the way and Isaac completed the journey and was received in audience when he returned four years later. He brought with him precious gifts from the caliph, including an elephant. According to one account *Machir, the Babylonian scholar credited with founding a Jewish academy in Narbonne, traveled from the East to Europe with Isaac.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Germ Jud, 1 (1963), xxviii; Graetz, Hist, 3 (1949), 143; M. Steinschneider, *Jewish Literature* (1965), 81; S. Katz, *Jews in Visigothic Spain and France* (1937), 133; Baron, Social^{2}, 4 (1957), 45, 257.

ISAAC (**Ishak**; late 12th or early 13th century), Spanish-Hebrew poet. Isaac is only known from his *Mishlei Arav* or *Mishlei Musar*, a translation of an Arabic text which is no longer extant, comprising proverbs, ethical poems, and prose passages. The material is divided into 50 sections called "gates." The last gate includes admonitions and proverbs in poetic form. The most interesting of them is *Ḥidat ha-Nazir ve-ha-Soḥer* ("The Riddle of the Nazirite and the Merchant"), an allegorical tale which in character and presentation is reminiscent of ***Ben ha-Melekh ve-ha-Nazir* ("The Prince and the Hermit") of Abraham *Ibn Ḥasdai. These proverbs are of great importance for research into the motifs of Hebrew proverbs and poetry, and they also shed light upon the literary taste of Isaac's time. Several of them are already cited by Menahem b. Solomon *Meiri (1249–1316) in his *Kiryat Sefer* (Smyrna, 1863–1881). The proverbs and poems in the supplement to *Mivḥar ha-Peninim* of *Jedaiah ha-Penini Bedersi (Venice, 1546) are taken in their entirety from the *Mishlei Arav.* In those poems written in the form of an acrostic the name Isḥak appears. According to Steinschneider, the author of the *Mishlei Arav* was in fact

Isaac b. Krispin, author of the *Sefer ha-Musar* mentioned in the *Taḥkemoni* of *al-Ḥarizi, in which case he lived at a much earlier date. His book has been published once only in serial form by S. Sachs in *Ha-Levanon* (vols. 2–6, 1865–69).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Steinschneider, Uebersetzungen, 884–7; Schirmann, Sefarad, 2 (1960²), 60–66; A.M. Habermann, in: *Sinai*, 25 (1945), 288–99; Davidson, Oẓar, 4 (1933), 423f.

[Abraham David]

ISAAC (Isak), AARON (Aron; 1730–1816), founder of the Jewish community in Sweden. Born in Treuenbrietzen, a small city in the Duchy of Mecklenburg, Isaac started his career as a peddler at the age of 18. Yielding to an artistic impulse, he taught himself seal-engraving, achieving some success in this craft, and settled in Buetzow. During the Seven Years' War (1756–63) he did business with the Prussian and later the Swedish armies. Learning from the Swedish soldiers that there were no seal-engravers in Sweden, Isaac decided to settle in that country, although no Jew had lived there previously. When he arrived in Stockholm in June 1774 after a difficult journey, he was informed that permission to settle would be granted only if he accepted baptism. This he refused to do and petitioned the king, whom he impressed by his sobriety and persistence. His request was granted and Isaac, his brother, and his partner in Germany, with their families, received permission to settle in Stockholm. After these early struggles the fledgling settlement began to flourish, Isaac remaining head of the Stockholm community for many years. His memoirs in Yiddish, completed in 1804 with an introduction in Hebrew, *Sjelfbiografi* (1897), are important not only historically but also for Yiddish philology and have been frequently republished.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: N. Stif and Z. Rejzen (eds.), *Aaron Isaacs Autobiografia* (Yid., 1922); Z. Holm (ed.), *Denkwuerdigkeiten des Aron Isak* (1930); A. Brody and H. Valentin (eds.), *Aaron Isaacs Minnen* (Swedish, 1932), annotated critical edition; L. Schwarz, *Memoirs of my People* (1963²), 166–81; 299; H. Valentin, *Judarnas historia i Sverige* (1924), index; idem, *Judarna i Sverige* (1964), index.

[Hugo Mauritz Valentin]

ISAAC, JULES MARX (1877–1963), French historian. Born in Rennes, he became chief inspector of history teaching at the Ministry of Education. Isaac wrote history textbooks for French secondary schools; his research works concerned the origins of World War I and the problem of the origins of superstitions and popular prejudices. From 1943, traumatically influenced by the Nazi persecutions and the deportation and death of his close relatives, including his wife and daughter, Isaac began to study Christian antisemitism, to which he dedicated the remainder of his life. He did not content himself with the publication of the result of his studies and vigorous polemics against his critics, but also assumed a militant role as founder and member of the executive committee of the Amitié Judéo-Chrétienne. He took an active part in the Judeo-Christian meeting of Seelisberg (1947), whose resolutions called for a revision of the attitude of the churches toward Judaism. After the accession of Pope *John XXIII, the Vatican sought Isaac's advice; upon the request of Cardinal *Bea and after an audience with Pope John in 1960, he drew up a record of the history of the relations between the Catholic Church and Judaism. Isaac's writings had a great influence on the decision to introduce a statement on relations with the Jews at the Vatican Council that ended in 1965.

In his historical works, Isaac points out the falsehood and the tendentious intentions of the claim that the dispersion of Israel was the result of its rejection of the messianism of Jesus. At the same time, he reached the conclusion that there was no reason whatsoever to maintain that antisemitism was as old as Judaism itself. On the contrary, he showed that the Church promoted a system of degradation by gradually burdening the Jews with a lengthy series of restrictions, exclusions, and humiliations which were decreed by the secular governments subjected to ecclesiastic influence. This system was based on the "teaching of contempt," which was essentially the work of the Church Fathers of the fourth century C.E. and whose most harmful thesis was that of describing the Jews as a "deicidal people." Isaac developed his arguments in *Jésus et Israël* (1948; Eng. tr., 1971), *Genèse de l'antisémitisme* (1956), and *L'Enseignement du mépris* (1962; *The Teaching of Contempt*, 1964).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: C.H. Bishop, in: J. Isaac, *The Teaching of Contempt* (1964), introduction. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** A. Kaspi, *Jules Isaac ou la passion de la vérité* (2002).

ISAAC, TESTAMENT OF, pseudepigraphical work. There is no reference to an apocryphal book of Isaac in the ancient lists of *apocrypha, such as that of Nicephorus. The Apostolicae Constitutiones 6, 16 may, however, refer to it by its mention of the "apocryphal books of the three Patriarchs." A text entitled *The Testament of Isaac* was published in an English translation from the Arabic by M.R. James. Ethiopic and Coptic texts of the work also exist (see S. Gaselee in bibliography). The book opens with a homiletic preface which is followed by the story of how an angel, resembling Abraham, announces to Isaac his imminent death and commands him to instruct his sons. The instruction that follows is similar in tone to that encountered in some parts of the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, such as those relating Isaac's instructions to Jacob (Test. Patr., Levi, ch. 9). Jubilees 21 also contains similar materials, as do the Greek fragments of the Testament of *Levi and other associated texts. This section of moral instruction is followed by an apocalyptic vision which features the punishments of hell, and in particular the river of fire which can distinguish between the righteous and the wicked. The text concludes with an exhortation for the commemoration of Isaac. It seems that older material may be embedded in the moral instruction, but in its present form the work is probably a late imitation of the Testament of Abraham.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: M.R. James, *Testament of Abraham* (1892), 140–51, 155–61; S. Gaselee, in: G.H. Box, *Testament of Abraham* (1927); J.-B. Frey, in: DBI, Suppl. 1 (1928), 38.

[Michael E. Stone]

ISAAC BAR DORBELO (12th century), one of the best-known pupils of Jacob *Tam. Isaac transmitted details of the various personal practices of Jacob Tam and other scholars, incorporating them in the **Maḥzor Vitry*, which he apparently edited. The book describes the conduct and the teachings of *Rashi and his school ("*de-Vei Rashi*") and there is no doubt that Isaac's share in it amounted to much more than the passages quoted in his name. Many of his "additions" do not bear his name at all but are simply signed with the letter *tav* (*tosefet*, "addition"). Isaac traveled extensively in France, Germany (*Maḥzor Vitry*, ed. S. Hurwitz (1923), 388), Russia, and Bohemia, where he met *Isaac b. Jacob ha-Lavan (*ibid.*, 243). He also visited Worms where he saw the text of the two queries sent by the Rhenish scholars to Ereẓ Israel – one on the subject of the Messiah, and the other concerning the question of the ritual implications of a cardiac adhesion of the lung in an animal – as well as the replies received. This is the oldest extant German-Jewish document of its kind.

The origin of the name Dorbelo is not certain. It may indicate that his father came from the town Ourville in northern France, but Isaac is not to be identified with the scholar Isaac of Ourville – author of the *Sefer ha-Menahel*, an abridgment of which is included in the ritual compendium **Kol Bo*. It is quite possible that Dorbelo is a personal name, a person of this name appearing in the list of the martyrs of Mainz of 1096 (cf. also responsa of Meir b. Baruch, ed. Prague (1608), no. 501). It may be that both of these are identical with the scholar of this name to whom Rashi addressed a responsum in deferential terms, or that Isaac is his son.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: S.H. Kook, *Iyyunim u-Meḥkarim*, 1 (1959), 292–7; Perles, in: *Jubelschrift… Graetz* (1887), 31–2.

[Israel Moses Ta-Shma]

ISAAC BAR ISRAEL IBN AL-SHUWAYK (c. 1167–1247; known in Arabic as **Fakhr al-Dawla Abu al-Fatḥ Is ḥaq**), head of the *Baghdad academy from 1221 to 1247. Isaac was born in Baghdad. In addition to his erudition, Isaac was a prominent *paytan*. He wrote six *vidduyim* and *tokhaḥot* (penitential *piyyutim*) for the Day of Atonement, which were published in the *maḥzorim* of Sephardi rites. According to the testimony of the historian Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, he also possessed a wide knowledge of astronomy and mathematics. Judah Al-Ḥarizi mentions him in his work *Taḥkemoni* (ed. by A. Kaminka (1899), 190) and praises his noble character. In a letter to him R. Abraham b. Moses b. Maimon refers to him as "the sage of our generation, unequaled in our time, the crown of our heads, the head of our academy…." In a eulogy written for him by the contemporary poet R. Eleazar ha-Bavli, it is said of him that "he was like Koheleth in wisdom." His remains were interred on the Mount of Olives.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: S. Poznański, *Babylonische Geonim im nachgaonaeischen Zeitalter* (1914), index; Mann, Texts, 1 (1931), 225–7; A. Ben-Jacob, *Yehudei Bavel* (1965), 31–3.

[Abraham Ben-Yaacob]

ISAAC BAR JOSEPH (first half of fourth century C.E.), Palestinian *amora*. Isaac was a pupil of *Abbahu and of *Jeremiah who transmitted to him the teachings of *Johanan (Pes. 72a; Git. 11b). He may have studied under Johanan himself in his youth (cf. Yev. 64b). He was among the **neḥutei*, the rabbis who brought to Babylonia the doctrines, traditions, and customs of the Palestinian *amoraim* (Ber. 9a; RH 30a; Av. Zar. 73a; et al.). Statements by him are quoted in the Babylonian Talmud but he is not mentioned in the Jerusalem Talmud. Although on one occasion Abbaye relied upon him in an important matter (Yev. 64b), he was considered less reliable than Rabin, also one of the *neḥutei*. They said: "Rabin is reliable, Isaac *sumka* ['the red'] is not *sumkha* ['reliable']; Rabin *yeshno ba-ḥazarah* ['revises his learning,' so Rashi, *ibid.*], Isaac *sumka* does not revise his learning." According to another interpretation given by Rashi, "Rabin is well acquainted with any change [in the view of R. Johanan] but Isaac 'the red' is not so acquainted."

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Hyman, Toledot, 793–5.

[Zvi Kaplan]

ISAAC BAR RAV JUDAH (end of the third and beginning of the fourth century), Babylonian *amora*. Isaac was the son of *Judah b. Ezekiel, head of the academy of Pumbedita. He studied under his father (Shab. 35b; Pes. 104b; et al.) and was already a distinguished scholar during his father's lifetime, being appointed by him to preach in the *bet ha-midrash* (Ta'an. 13b). He also studied under *Huna (Nid. 17b), *Rabbah b. Naḥamani, who succeeded his father as head of the yeshivah of Pumbedita (Shevu. 36b), *Rami bar Ḥama, and *Sheshet (Zev. 96b). Both halakhic and aggadic statements by him are given in the Talmud (Shab. 21a; Er. 84a; et al.). One of his sayings was: "A man should always pray not to fall sick; for if he falls sick, he is told, 'Show thy merits and be quit'" (Shab. 32a). Isaac refrained from marriage in his youth because he sought a woman of good family and unsullied descent, for which he was rebuked by Ulla (Kid. 71b). His granddaughter, a daughter of his son Isi, was the beautiful Ḥomah, wife of Abbaye (Yev. 64b).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Hyman, Toledot, 792f.

[Zvi Kaplan]

ISAAC BEN ABBA MARI OF MARSEILLES (1120?–1190?), rabbinical scholar in Provence and Spain. Isaac studied under his father, *Abba Mari b. Isaac, and when only 17 years of age composed a work on the laws of **sheḥitah* and forbidden foods, at his father's behest. Later he went to Barcelona, where he was received with great honor and, at the request of Sheshet *Benveniste, wrote a commentary on chapter 4 of the tractate *Menahot* which deals with the laws concerning **ẓiẓit*, **mezuzah*, and **tefillin*. He corresponded with the most illustrious figures of his generation, such as *Abraham b. David of Posquieres and Jacob *Tam, whom he frequently mentions and quotes. His place in the first rank of rabbinic authorities is due to his encyclopedic work, *Sefer ha-Ittur*, a compilation of the main halakhic laws which are of practical application. Part one deals with the various laws of bills, both financial and of divorce. It is arranged according to subject matter but following a mnemonic acrostic *Tashkef be-Geza Ḥokhmah*. תשקף בגזע חכמה ("Consider the Root of Wisdom"), each letter representing a certain concept. Thus ת stands for *tenai* ("condition"), ש for *shover* ("receipt"), ק for *kiyyum* ("authentication"), etc. Part two includes the laws for the preparation of meat, *sheḥitah*, circumcision, *tefillin*, marriage benedictions, *ẓiẓit*, and a separate section entitled "Ten Commandments" containing ten positive commands which must be performed at specific times. This arrangement is unique in halakhic literature. Isaac b. Abba Mari made use of his vast knowledge of geonic literature and his work is still an important source for that literature. He also made extensive use of Spanish authorities and those of Germany and northern France. He used the Jerusalem Talmud to a considerable extent and also engaged in establishing the correct text of the Talmud on the basis of ancient sources, some of which are no longer extant.

The *Sefer ha-Ittur* was accepted as an authoritative halakhic treatise by the great rabbinical authorities of Spain and Germany and even such renowned talmudic scholars as Naḥmanides made frequent use of it without specifically mentioning it. Both the manuscript and the printed editions (Pt. 1: Venice, 1608; Warsaw, 1801; Pt. 2: Lemberg, 1860) of the text of the *Sefer ha-Ittur* are faulty to the extent of the deletion of entire lines, rendering its study difficult. A new edition of the entire work, together with a commentary, was prepared and published by Meir Jonah (1874–85). Additional fragments, entitled *Tashlum ha-Ittur* were published (from manuscripts) in the Festschrift in honor of Dr. Jakob Freimann (1937) by Alfred Freimann. Besides this work Isaac b. Abba Mari wrote a short treatise on Isaac Alfasi called *Me'ah She'arim* (printed at the end of some of the talmudic tractates in the Romm-Vilna edition).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Michael, Or, no. 1072; Benedikt, in KS, 25 (1949), 164–6; Assaf, in: HHY, 6 (1922), 289–309.

ISAAC BEN ABRAHAM (**Riẓba**; 12th century), French tosafist. Isaac is variously referred to as Riẓba, Riba, and Isaac ha-Baḥur of Dampierre. He was the pupil of Isaac b. Samuel ha-Zaken and also studied for a time under Jacob *Tam. He was not a pupil of *Judah b. Isaac-Judah, Sir Leon, as a number of scholars have thought (see Urbach, Tosafot, 269 n. 29). His brother was *Samson of Sens and his maternal grandfather, *Samson of Falaise. He succeeded his teacher as head of the yeshivah of Dampierre.

No complete work by him has survived, but his statements are cited in the *tosafot* to various tractates, chiefly *Eruvin, Yoma, Mo'ed Katan, Yevamot, Ketubbot, Kiddushin, Nedarim, Bava Kamma*, and *Zevaḥim*. He wrote numerous responsa, some of which are quoted in the *Haggahot Maimuniyyot*, the *Or Zaru'a* and in other works. During the Maimonidean controversy, Meir b. Todros Abulafia, an opponent of the books of Maimonides, approached him in 1202 to express his opinion. Among those who addressed problems to him was Jonathan b. David, the leading scholar of Lunel. There is mention of a work by him on the Passover *seder*, entitled *Yesod Rabbenu Yiẓḥak b. Avraham be-Leilei Pesaḥ*. His pupils included Nathan b. Meir and *Judah b. Yakar, the teachers of Naḥmanides, and Samuel b. Elhanan.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Gross, Gal Jud, 495; Michael, Or, no. 1073; Urbach, Tosafot, 219–26, 269 n. 29, 287 n. 14, 484 n. 106.

[Shlomoh Zalman Havlin]

ISAAC BEN ABRAHAM DI MOLINA (d. before 1580), Egyptian rabbi. Isaac's surname probably derives from the town of Molina in southeast Spain, and it may be assumed that he came to Egypt with the Spanish exiles. His father was a wealthy person and was on friendly terms with the *nagid*, Isaac *Sholal. Isaac appears to have headed the yeshivah of Solomon *Alashkar. R. Isaac himself was wealthy and for a time was the head of the Egyptian mint, a position which was held by other Jews as well in Egypt in the 16th century. He is mentioned in the responsa of Moses di *Trani (Resp. Maharit, vol. 2, no. 16) and of Joseph *Caro (Resp. *Beit Yosef*, EH *Dinei Ketubbot*, 14) as being exceptionally strict with regard to (*Gershom b. Judah's) ban on bigamy, in contrast to Joseph Caro, Moses di Trani, Israel di *Curiel and others, who took a more lenient view. Caro complains that Isaac slighted him and his work *Beit Yosef* in stating that it was a mere digest of the rulings of his predecessors. Isaac is the author of a commentary on the Mishnah. One of his responsa was published in the *Avkat Rokhel* (130) of Caro. A number of his responsa have remained in manuscript and three of them have been published (see bibliography). Isaac's name came to the fore during the scandal surrounding the *Besamin Rosh* (Berlin, 1793), by Saul *Berlin, who falsely claimed the book to contain responsa by *Asher b. Jehiel and his contemporaries which had been collected, annotated, and prepared for publication by Isaac di Molina.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: A. David, in: KS, 44 (1968/69), 553–9. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** A. David, in: KS, 46 (1971), 580–2; idem, in: KS, 61 (1986), 368–70;. Z. Havlin, *Shenaton ha-Mishpat ha-Ivri*, 2 (1975), 240–50.

[Abraham David]

ISAAC BEN ABRAHAM HA-GORNI (13th century), Hebrew poet. Born in the city of Aire (i.e., "threshing floor," Heb. *goren*, hence the name Gorni) in southwestern France, Gorni seems to have spent part of his life in Luz (Hautes Pyrénées) and Lucq (Basses Pyrénées). From his verses, it seems that he led a wandering life and he was constantly dependent on patrons. He was, among other places, at Arles, Aix-en-Provence, Manosque, Carpentras, Draguignan, and Perpignan, complaining almost constantly about the shallow culture and the parsimony of their inhabitants. Because of various love affairs he was bitterly persecuted by his compatriots. Several features of his poetry could have been taken from troubadour poetry, and although he uses the meters and rhymes of classical Andalusian poetry, he is far removed from most of its poetical conventions. According to Neubauer, Gorni was on intimate terms in Perpignan in about 1280–90 with Abraham *Bedersi, to whom he addressed many complimentary poems, but received an answer only after a long delay. Their friendship does not seem to have lasted long: Bedersi composed a series of blunt, poetical lampoons ridiculing Gorni and did not consider him worthy of inclusion in his poem, *Ḥerev ha-Mithappekhet* (publ. in *Ḥotem Tokhnit*, 1865), in which he lists the names of the famous contemporary poets. Their way of understanding poetry was too different, and apparently for not a few intellectuals of the time Gorni's poetry, far removed from Andalusian traditions, was not highly esteemed. Gorni was involved in another literary quarrel with Isaiah Debash of Aix, whose friend Shiloni he had violently attacked.

Although in some places his style is uneven and at times awkward, Gorni was undoubtedly a poet of unusual talent and originality. The poem on his fate after death, a kind of "last will and testament," replete with both sarcasm and anxiety, is unique in the literature of the Middle Ages. Two centuries later, his fame was still firmly established: Jacob ben David *Provençal names him together with Al-Ḥarizi and Sulami as the best Hebrew poets of Provence (Letter of the year 1490, ed. by E. Ashkenazi in *Divrei Ḥakhamim* (1849), 70). Gorni's poems were published by M. Steinschneider, H. Gross, A.M. Habermann, and J.H. Schirmann, but they deserve a new critical edition. We know today 18 of his probably much more numerous poems: praising the generosity or fustigating the heartlessness of several Provençal communities, invectives against other poets, etc. He represents himself as one of the wandering jongleurs of his time, going from place to place with his musical instrument, as shown by J.H. Schirmann and A. Brenner.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Steinschneider, in: A. Bedersi, *Ḥotem Tokhnit*, pt. 3 (1865), 4–6; Renan, Rabbins, 719–25, 747; Gross, in: MGWJ, 31 (1882), 510–23; Schirmann, Sefarad, 2 (1956), 472–84; idem, in: *Sefer Yovel Y. Baer* (1960) 168–72; idem, in: *Lettres Romanes*, 3 (1949), 175–200; J. Zinberg, *Geschihte fun der Literatur bay Yiden*, 2 (1943), 130–4; Davidson, Oẓar, 4 (1933), 420. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** A.M. Habermann, *Shirei Avraham ha-Bedersi ve-Yiẓḥak ha-Gorni ve-Ḥugam* (1968), 29–44; Carmi, *The Penguin Book of Hebrew Verse* (1981), 397–400; A. Brenner, in: *Zutot*, 1 (2002), 84–90. Schirmann-Fleischer, *The History of Hebrew Poetry in Christian Spain and Southern France* (1997), 484–98 (Heb.).

[Jefim (Hayyim) Schirmann / Angel Sáenz-Badillos (2nd ed.)]

ISAAC BEN ABRAHAM OF NARBONNE (13th century), halakhist of Provence. Almost no biographical details on him are known. He was a pupil (according to some, a colleague-disciple) of *Naḥmanides and Jonah *Gerondi and one of the teachers of Solomon b. Abraham *Adret. Some identify him with Isaac of Carcassone, who is mentioned in a work on *Pesaḥim* ascribed to Yom Tov *Ishbili (Ritba), in novellae to *Avodah Zarah* by the pupils of Jonah Gerondi, in *Nimmukei Yosef* to *Ketubbot*, and in responsa by Simeon b. Ẓemaḥ *Duran. There is, however, insufficient evidence to establish this identification. Meir (Introduction to *Beit ha-Beḥirah* to *Avot*, ed. by B.Z. Prag (1964), 57) states that Isaac compiled commentaries on *halakhot* by Isaac *Alfasi. Some scholars have attempted to ascribe various commentaries preserved in manuscript to Isaac, but their evidence is doubtful. Benedikt claims that the commentaries ascribed to a pupil of Naḥmanides on the tractates *Beẓah, Megillah, Ta'anit, Pesaḥim*, and *Makkot* are by Isaac; his opinion is shared by Blau and Chavel, but rejected by B. Naeh. A manuscript comprising a commentary by Alfasi to *Ḥullin* has been ascribed to Isaac by Marx, as well as another manuscript comprising a commentary by the same author to *Pesaḥim* (by Sassoon). Naeh has raised serious doubts about these ascriptions, and they cannot be accepted with certainty. Isaac of Carcassone is said to have written commentaries on *halakhot* by Isaac Alfasi to *Pesaḥim, Avodah Zarah, Bava Meẓia*, and *Bava Batra*.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Marx, in: REJ, 58 (1909), 301–3; D.S. Sassoon, *Ohel David*, 2 (1932), 1075 no. 1050; S. Assaf, *Sifran shel Rishonim* (1935), 53; Benedikt, in: KS, 29 (1953/54), 413–7; M.Y. Blau (ed.), *Perush ha-Ra'ah… Massekhet Berakhot* (1957), 10f. (introd.); idem (ed.), *Shitat ha-Kadmonim… Bava Meẓia* (1967), introd., 15, 30f.; B. Naeh (ed.), in: *Gemara Shelemah*, 1 (1960). 26 (introd.); Chavel, in: *Ha-Darom*, 12 (1960), 32; Hurwitz, *ibid.*, 24 (1967), 43–7.

[Shlomoh Zalman Havlin]

ISAAC BEN ABRAHAM OF POSEN (d. 1685), rabbi and author. Isaac was a pupil of Jonah Teomim and Abraham Meir of Bar. He was on friendly terms with the kabbalist Moses *Zacuto. His first position was as rabbi in Lutsk. In 1664 he was appointed rabbi of Vilna and from there he went to Posen in 1667. His extensive knowledge of the Talmud and Kabbalah earned him the title of R. Isaac the Great, his opinion on halakhic questions being frequently sought by contemporary scholars (see *Magen Avraham* to Sh. Ar., OḤ, 1:7; 32:35; *Gaon Ẓevi* of Ẓevi Hirsch Horowitz (Prague, 1737), 2a–3a). His novellae are mentioned in *Sha'arei Shamayim* of Jehiel Michael ha-Levi (Prague, 1675), 94b; in *Lev Aryeh* of Judah Aryeh Hotchke (Wilhelmdorf, 1674 – on the weekly portion *Toledot*), 16a; *Leket Shemu'el* of Samuel Feivush Katz (Venice, 1694); and in *Even ha-Shoham u-Me'irat Einayim* of Eliezer Goetz b. Meir (Dyhernfuerth, 1733), nos. 11 and 48. Part of his responsa collection was published under the title *Be'er Yiẓḥak* (Vienna, 1894), and part of the remainder was published at the end of Asher b. Jehiel's commentary to *Sukkah* (1903). The whole collection of responsa was in the possession of R. Spira of Munkacs. Isaac died in Posen.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: S.J. Fuenn, *Kiryah Ne'emanah* (1915^{2}), 97; H.N. Maggid-Steinschneider, *Ir Vilna* (1900), 5–7; Kaufmann, in: MGWJ, 39 (1895), 38–46, 91–96.

[Samuel Abba Horodezky]

ISAAC BEN ASHER HA-LEVI (known as **Riba,** initials of **R**abbi **I**saac **B**en **A**sher; second half of 11th and beginning of 12th century), talmudist of Speyer, the first of the German tosafists. He was a pupil of *Rashi and the son-in-law of Rashi's colleague Eliakim b. Meshullam ha-Levi. Contemporary scholars addressed their problems to him and treated him with great respect. His pupils referred to him as "*ha-Kadosh*" ("the Saint," cf. Eliezer b. Nathan, *Sefer Rabban* (Prague, 1610), 149a; Simleul-Silvaniei edition, 1926, 298b). This appellation may be connected with the manner of his death, it being related that he became very ill on the Day of Atonement and on being told by the physicians that if he fasted he would certainly die, but if he ate he might live, he decided to fast and succumbed to his illness (Menaḥem of Recanati, *Sefer Recanati* (*Piskei Halakhot*), Bologna, 1538, no. 166). He compiled *tosafot* to most tractates of the Talmud, but only extracts included in the later collections of *tosafot* are extant. Some of his statements are likewise quoted in subsequent halakhic literature (*Sefer ha-Yashar* of Jacob Tam, *Or Zaru'a* of Isaac b. Moses of Vienna, Meir of Rothenburg, and others). He compiled halakhic collections on loans, on usury, on the tractates *Ḥullin, Bava Batra* chapter 4, *Avodah Zarah, Gittin*, and *Ketubbot*. It is stated that before teaching he went over the *halakhah* by himself four times (Aaron Ha-Kohen, *Orḥot Ḥayyim*, pt. I, Law of Mondays and Thursdays, no. 20, Jerusalem, 1956 ed., 49). It is also stated that he and his pupils endeavored to create a *Golem by the aid of practical Kabbalah (Commentary to *Sefer Yeẓirah* attributed to Saadiah Gaon, 2:4, Grodno, 1806 ed., 42b). Among his pupils were Isaac b. Mordecai (the Riẓbam), Moses b. Joel Saltman, and Shemariah b. Mordecai.

Isaac b. Asher had a grandson of the same name (first quarter of the 12th century–1195) who is known as Riba II, to distinguish him from his grandfather. He was also known as Riba ha-Baḥur ("The Younger"). He was born in Speyer on the day his grandfather died and they applied to him the verse (Eccles. 1:5), "The sun also ariseth and the sun goeth down" (see Eccles. R. to 1:5; *Da'at Zekenim* to Ex. 7:25). He studied under Shemariah b. Mordecai and Abraham b. Moses of Regensburg. He was a member of the *bet din* among whose other members were Meir b. Kalonymus and alternately Meir's brother Judah. His signature appears with theirs on a responsum to R. Joel. Among his pupils were *Eliezer b. Joel ha-Levi (the Ravyah) and Simḥah b. Samuel of Speyer. He met a martyr's death in 1195 after rioters abused the dead body of his daughter (Narrative of Ephraim of Bonn in *Quellen zur Geschichte der Juden in Deutschland*, 2 (1892), 74f.).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: RIBA I: Michael, Or, no. 1074; V. Aptowitzer, *Mavo le-Sefer Ravyah* (1938), 259, 369f.; Urbach, Tosafot, 141–8, 304–5, and index s.v.; J. Lipschuetz, *Sanhedrei Gedolah* (1968), introd.; I. Ta-Shema, in: KS, 43 (1968), 573, n. 17. RIBA II: Urbach, Tosafot, 304f.

[Shlomoh Zalman Havlin]

ISAAC BEN AVDIMI (late third–early fourth century C.E.), Babylonian *amora*. Almost all Isaac's sayings in the Babylonian Talmud are in the sphere of biblical exegesis and aggadic or halakhic Midrash. His interpretations were regarded as so authoritative that in the following generation *Rava stated that "any biblical verse not explained by Isaac b. Avdimi remains unelucidated" (Zev. 43b). Most of his statements and his discussions on biblical exegesis are given together with the differing view of *Ḥisda (Sanh. 56b) on the verse under discussion. The main figures of the following generation, such as *Abbaye and Rava, transmit his sayings (Zev. 28a, 43b). It would therefore appear that Isaac went from Sura, where Ḥisda lived, to Pumbedita, to the academy of Rabbah, and there Abbaye and Rava heard him. Abbaye introduces the statements of Isaac with the words: "When Isaac b. Avdimi came, he said" etc. (Zev. 28a). The usual meaning of this wording is that he came from Ereẓ Israel to Babylonia, but it cannot have this meaning in this instance since his name is found neither in the Palestinian sources nor in connection with Palestinian scholars. The reference must be to his arrival in Pumbedita from Sura.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Hyman, Toledot, 786; Ḥ. Albeck, *Mavo la-Talmudim*, 1 (1969), 294f.

[Shmuel Safrai]

ISAAC BEN BEZALEL OF VLADIMIR (d. 1576), Polish rabbi. To Isaac, as to his contemporaries *Shalom Shachna and Kalman of Worms, belongs the credit for the expansion of talmudic studies in Poland. He was considered a front-ranking authority in the halakhic field (cf. resp. Solomon *Luria, nos. 1, 15, 35ff.; resp. She'erit Yosef (Joseph Kohen), 17; resp. Moses *Isserles, 91). An opinion of Isaac on an **agunah* matter is included in the "new" responsa of Joel *Sirkes (no. 4). He also wrote annotations to the Talmud, to *Asher b. Jehiel, and *Mordecai b. Hillel. Numerous decisions of Isaac are quoted by his grandson, *David b. Samuel ha-Levi (*Turei Zahav*, OḤ no. 153; YD no. 113; EH no. 129; ḤM no. 3).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Ḥ.N. Dembitzer, *Kelilat Yofi*, 1 (1888) 48a–49b; Zunz, *Ir ha-Ẓedek*, n. 28; Fuenn, Kenesset, 601; Kahana, *Anaf Eẓ Avot*, 34; Lewinstein, *Dor Dor ve-Doreshav* (1900), no. 795.

[Samuel Abba Horodezky]

ISAAC BEN ELEAZAR, name of two Palestinian *amoraim*. The first lived during the second half of the second century C.E. He was a relative of R. Johanan and an associate of R. Isaac and of Ḥiyya b. Abba. Although referred to in the Babylonian Talmud as Isaac b. Eleazar, he is also identical with the Isaac Ḥakola or Ben Ḥakola mentioned in both the Talmuds (cf. Ket. 109a; TJ, *ibid.* 13: 1, 35b); the correct reading in *Pesaḥim* 113b (see Dik. Sof., p. 354, no. 100) is "Isaac b. Ḥakola is identical with Isaac b. Eleazar."

The second *amora* of this name lived in the second half of the fourth century. He was a native of Caesarea, and several of the halakhic and aggadic teachings transmitted by him are connected with the town. When R. Mana went to Caesarea he turned to him with a halakhic question (TJ, Dem. 2:1, 22c). Jacob of Kefar Nibburaya, in his sharp criticism of the *nasi* for appointing *dayyanim* because of their wealth, contrasted them with Isaac: "But 'The Lord is in His holy Temple' (Hab. 2:20), is to be applied to Isaac b. Eleazar in the Maradata [turbulent] Synagogue of Caesarea" (TJ, Bik. 3:3, 65d). The leading halakhists and aggadists of the following generation, such as Mana and Tanḥuma, quote sayings in his name (*ibid.*, TJ, Bik. 1:3, 63d). His most distinguished pupil was Oshaya b. Shammai, also a native of Caesarea, who transmitted several *halakhot* in his name. When Oshaya was about to undertake a sea voyage, Isaac instructed him in the *halakhah* of travel by sea during the intermediate days of the festival (TJ, MK 2:3, 81b). Among his aggadic dicta are "That which wisdom has placed as a crown upon its head [i.e., the fear of God] humility has made the heel of its shoe" (TJ, Shab. 1:5, 3c; cf. Tanh. B. Num. 52); and "The prophets know that their God is true. Hence they do not flatter Him" (TJ, Ber. 7:4, 11c).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Hyman, Toledot, s.v.; Epstein, Mishnah, 167–8; I.W. Rabinowitz, *Sha'arei Torat Bavel* (1961), 457–9; Ḥ. Albeck, *Mavo la-Talmudim* (1969), 186–7, 339–40.

[Shmuel Safrai]

ISAAC BEN ELIAKIM OF POSEN (17th century), Yiddish moralist and author. Isaac wrote *Lev Tov* (Prague, 1620), an ethical-religious work in 20 chapters, providing rules for prayer and correct observance of *mitzvot*, and proper behavior for home and synagogue. It was reprinted with additions by Ḥayyim b. Jacob Orbach (Cracow, 1641). Unlike other Yiddish ethical works, *Lev Tov* was addressed to both men and women. It counseled the men to honor their wives – since they educate the children to keep a Jewish home – and, despite a traditional view of gender relations, stressed that men and women have equal rights. This work became very popular but was criticized in the anonymous Yiddish book, *Hasoges* (*Hassagot*; Amsterdam, c. 1710). Isaac was apparently attracted to Kabbalah. From Venice, Moses *Zacuto sent him his treatise on the laws of writing Torah scrolls, *Tikkun Soferim*, for approval (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Opp. 554, which also contains Isaac's reply).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Fuerst, Bibliotheca, 2 (1863), 140f; Zinberg, Sifrut, 4 (1958), 82f.; M. Erik, *Geshikhte fun der Yidisher Literatur* (1923), 294–301. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** J. Winter and S. Wünsche, *Juedische Literatur*, 3 (1896), 541–2; J.C. Frakes, *Early Yiddish Texts: 1100–1750* (2004), 536–40.

ISAAC BEN ELIEZER (known as *segan Leviyyah* – meaning a levite; d. 1070), one of the great "scholars of Worms" and a teacher of *Rashi. Isaac b. Eliezer apparently originated from *Vitry (see Asher b. Jehiel, to Ḥul 4:7). He studied at the yeshivah of Mainz under *Eliezer b. Isaac of Worms and thereafter went to Worms, where he headed the yeshivah and where he introduced several regulations into the local liturgy. Of his many disciples there, the most noteworthy were Rashi, Eliakim b. Meshullam, and *Meir b. Samuel. Rashi states that "he was leader and guide of the generation, nothing being done without his approval." Some of his responsa and rulings, written in an unusually terse manner, appear in the books of the "School of Rashi" and in the responsa of Rashi and the scholars of France and Lorraine, along with some of his scriptural interpretations. In his commentary on the Talmud, Rashi refers to him as *Leviyyah* and elsewhere (*Likkutei ha-Pardes*, Munkaes ed. (1897), 36b) "our holy teacher," apparently in allusion to his saintliness and asceticism (cf. *Sefer Ravyah*, ed. by V. Aptowitzer (1964²), part 2, 659: no. 886). *Piyyutim* by him are also extant. Of his three sons, whom the *rishonim* called "our levite teachers," the best known is Jacob, called *Ya'veẓ*, whose halakhic rulings are included among those of the *rishonim* and whose elegy on the massacres of 1096, beginning "*Oi li al shivri*" has been preserved.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Davidson, Oẓar, 4 (1933), 421; Epstein, in: *Tarbiz*, 4 (1932/33), 167–70; V. Aptowitzer, *Mavo le-Sefer Ravyah* (1938), 367–9; Urbach, Tosafot, index; Roth, Dark Ages, 2 (1966), index.

[Israel Moses Ta-Shma]

ISAAC BEN ḤAYYIM BEN ABRAHAM (c. 1500), Spanish-Hebrew poet. Isaac left Spain, according to his own testimony, in the summer of 1492, together with the exiles from the city of Jativa. Later he came to Naples and Apulia. In Adar 1501 he was in Constantinople, where in 1503, he composed a parody on a marriage contract. Isaac's works *Ma'yan Gannim* and *Eẓ Ḥayyim* (manuscript in the Bodleian Library) contain, among others, a detailed work on prosody, *Melekhet ha-Shir*, poems by himself and by his grandfather, Isaac b. Joseph.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Neubauer, Cat, 2 (1906), 186, no. 2770; M. Drechsler, *Mekonen Evlenu* (1932); Davidson, Oẓar, 4 (1933), 420.

[Jefim (Hayyim) Schirmann]

ISAAC BEN JACOB HA-KOHEN (second half of 13th century), Spanish kabbalist. He was born in Soria and was related to *Shem Tov b. Abraham ibn Gaon. He traveled through Spain and Provence together with his brother *Jacob and also on his own and collected the traditions of the elder kabbalists there. Isaac was among the leading spokesmen of the Gnostic circle in Spanish Kabbalah; his books are full of important material having no counterpart in his colleagues' works; but some of it was incorporated as well as freely edited by his pupil *Moses b. Solomon of Burgos.

Isaac's writings include (1) a treatise on *aẓilut* ("*emanation"; *Madda'ei ha-Yahadut*, 2 (1927), 244–64; other excerpts in *Ha-Ẓofeh*, 13 (1929), 261 and in *Kitvei Yad be-Kabbalah* (1930), 69–70). Another edition of this treatise was edited with additions and elaborations of several passages by Moses of Burgos (*Tarbiz*, 5 (1934), 190–6); (2) *Perush al Merkevet Yeḥezkel* ("Commentary on Ezekiel's Chariot," *Tarbiz*, 2 (1932), 188–218, and additions from the elaborations of Moses of Burgos; *Tarbiz*, 5 (182–90)). This commentary was mistakenly inserted in the commentary of *Moses de Leon on the *Merkabah in his *Mishkan ha-Edut* in some manuscripts; (3) *Ta'amei ha-Nekuddot ve-Ta'amei ha-Te'amim* ("On vowels and accents") on which no author's name appears but whose content and language prove the identity of the author (*Madda'ei ha-Yahadut*, 2 (1927), 265–75); (4) *Inyan Gadol Meva'er Keẓat Ma'aseh Merkavah* ("An important theme, which explains part of the mystery of the chariot"; *ibid.*, 279–84); (5) a commentary on the Torah seen by Isaac b. Samuel of Acre; (6) a speculative work which belonged to Shem Tov *Ibn Shem Tov explaining the doctrine of the *Sefirot* and connecting it with neoplatonic ideas; some quotations from it are quoted by Shem Tov ibn Shem Tov (*ibid.*, 276–9).

Isaac *Albalag mentions Isaac among the three most famous and most authoritative kabbalists of his generation and indeed in several manuscripts of his major treatise he is called "Paragon of the Generation." His treatise on emanation contains the first formulation of the doctrine of left emanation (see *Kabbalah) according to pseudepigraphic sources. This article is composed of different parts, apparently letters which he wrote to his colleagues at different times, and they contain parallel and different versions of this doctrine. As can be seen from his commentary on Ezekiel 1 and remnants of his theoretical book, he had a complete system on the hierarchy of the worlds which came to him from neoplatonic sources in different channels: *olam ha-mitboded* ("the transcendent world of divine unity"), *olam ha-yeẓirah* ("the world of formation") which is also called *olam ha-madda* ("the world of cognition"), *olam ha-nivdal* ("the world of separation," i.e., separate intelligences) or *olam ha-nevu'ah* ("the world of prophecy"), *olam ha-tekhunah* ("the world of astronomy") and *olam ha-beḥinah* ("the world of trial") which is *olam ha-shafel* ("the terrestrial world," *Tarbiz*, 2 (1939), 436–42).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: G. Scholem, in: *Madda'ei ha-Yahadut*, 2 (1927), 163–293; idem, in: *Tarbiz*, 2–5 (1931–34); Toledano, in: *Ha-Ẓofeh* 13 (1931), 261–7; G. Scholem, *Les Origines de la Kabbale* (1966), 310–4, 376–82.

[Gershom Scholem]

ISAAC BEN JACOB HA-LAVAN OF PRAGUE (12th century), tosafist of Bohemia. It has been maintained by some that he was called "ha-Lavan" ("white") because of his white hair and by others that the name is derived from the river Elbe. He was also known as Isaac of Bohemia and Isaac of Regensburg. He was a brother of the well-known traveler *Pethahiah of Regensburg. Isaac lived in Germany and in France, where he studied under *Isaac b. Asher ha-Levi, and under Jacob b. Meir *Tam. He was the author of *tosafot* to *Ketubbot* and *Yoma* which have been published on the basis of various manuscripts – *Ketubbot* (1954) by P.J. Kohn; *Yoma* by D. Genachowski (1956) and by P.J. Kohn (1960) in a different reading of the manuscript. *Eliezer b. Joel ha-Levi possessed a collection of Isaac's responsa. He is known also to have compiled various *piyyutim*. The *Sefer ha-Yashar* of Jacob Tam, containing sayings of Tam preserved by his pupils, also contains traditions transmitted by Isaac (Urbach, *Tosafot*, p. 82 n. 27). Isaac is mentioned in the *tosafot* in the printed editions of the Talmud to *Yevamot, Ketubbot* and *Zevaḥim*, as well as in the following works of the *posekim: Yiḥusei Tanna'im ve-Amora'im, Arugat ha-Bosem, Roke'aḥ* (which includes a responsum by Isaac to *Judah b. Kalonymus b. Moses), the responsa of Isaac Or Zarua, and *Meir b. Baruch of Rothenburg (which quotes a complete responsum by him), *Orḥot Ḥayyim, Kol Bo*, and others. According to Aptowitzer, Isaac died before 1188 but according to Zunz and Tykocinski, after 1193.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Zunz, Lit Poesie, 313, 489; Zunz, Gesch, index; Gross, Gal Jud, 168, no. 4; S.D. Luzzatto, in: *Kerem Ḥemed*, 7 (1843), 69; V. Aptowitzer, *Mavo le-Sefer Ravyah* (1938), 174, 260, 296, 375 f.; G. Scholem, in: *Tarbiz*, 3 (1931/32), 276 f.; Tykocinski, in: Germ Jud, 1 (1934), 275 f.; and index s.v.; Urbach, Tosafot, index s.v.; D. Ganchowsky, in: *Sinai*, 38 (1956), 288–311; idem (ed.), *Tosefot R. Yiẓḥak ben Ya'akov ha-Lavan le-Massekhet Yoma* (1956), introduction.

[Shlomoh Zalman Havlin]

ISAAC BEN JACOB MIN HA-LEVIYYIM ("of the levites"; b. 1621), Italian rabbi. He was orphaned at an early age and was brought up in the house of his grandfather, Leone *Modena. He was a printer, proofreader, cantor, and preacher in his native Venice. He was the author of *Ma'asei Ḥakhamim* (Venice, 1647), talmudic *aggadot* based on Jacob ibn *Ḥabib's *Ein Ya'akov*, Leone da Modena's *Beit Yehudah*, with commentaries; *Medabber Tahpukhot*, memoirs (published by L. Blau); *Yiẓḥak Meẓaḥek*, an anthology of poems, apparently no longer extant (several of Isaac's poems have been printed in other works, e.g., Yom Tov Valvason's *Hed Urim*, Venice, 1662); extracts from Moses *Cordovero's *Pardes Rimmonim* (Salonika n.d., Venice, 1586); and *Pesikta Rabbati*, a collection of decisions (neither of the latter works is extant). Isaac also wrote introductions to numerous works by others, including his grandfather's *Magen va-Ḥerev.* He was one of those who took part in the inquiry against *Nathan of Gaza (see Samuel *Aboab, *Devar Shemu'el*, no. 375).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: L. Blau (ed.), *Leo Modenas Briefe und Schriftstuecke* (1905), 74 (Ger. section), 165 (Heb. section); idem, in: HHY, 2 (1912), 168–71; 3 (1914), 45–54, 69–96; Scholem, Shabbetai Ẓevi, 2 (1957), 417–9; Leone (Judah Aryeh of) Modena, *Ziknei Yehudah*, ed. by S. Simonson (1956), 44 (introd.).

[Umberto (Moses David) Cassuto]

ISAAC BENJAMIN WOLF BEN ELIEZER LIPMAN (d. before 1698), German rabbi. Isaac's father, ELIEZER, was called Goettingen, a name taken from the city of that name in Germany. Isaac studied under Isaac b. Abraham, *av bet din* of Vilna and Posen. He served as rabbi of Landsberg an der Warthe. From 1687 he was rabbi of Slutsk and then of Olyka. While still young, he wrote *Naḥalat Binyamin*, a work in four parts; only the first part was published (Amsterdam, 1682). The book is a pilpulistic commentary on 147 precepts, positive and negative. In the introduction he praises his brother JUDAH, known as Judah Kaẓin ("leader"), one of the heads of the Berlin community. Judah assisted him in covering the cost of the publication of the first part of the work. Isaac's approach is explained in the introduction. He based all his works "on what was possible, without coming to any halakhic decision. That is why I have reviewed all aspects in the hope of arriving at the truth at least in one matter." His novellae to *Bava Meẓia* were also published (1686). Of his sons, ELIEZER, LIPMAN GOETTINGEN, the rabbi of Coblenz, and Aaron, known as ARND BENJAMIN WOLF (1670–1721), who was born in Landsberg, are known. The latter's uncle and father-in-law, Judah Berlin, founded a *bet ha-midrash* in Berlin and appointed Aaron as its head. In 1697 Aaron was appointed deputy to the aged rabbi of Berlin, Shemaiah b.

Abraham Issachar Ber, and when the latter died in 1709 he was appointed the official rabbi of Alt-Mittel-Neumark. From 1713 he served as rabbi of Frankfurt on the Oder and his brother-in-law, Michael (Mikhol) Ḥasid, succeeded him in Berlin.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: E.L. Landshuth, *Toledot Anshei ha-Shem u-Fe'ulatam ba-Adat Berlin* (1884), 1–10; Lassally, in: MGWJ, 80 (1936), 408 f.; *Pinkas Slutsk u-Venoteha* (1962), 33 f.; J. Meisl, in: *Arim ve-Immahot be-Yisrael*, 1 (1946), 100.

[Yehoshua Horowitz]

ISAAC BEN JOSEPH OF CORBEIL (known as **Semak** after his main work; d. 1280), one of the great French codifiers of the 13th century; son-in-law of *Jehiel of Paris. Isaac was renowned for his piety which is reflected in his *Sefer Mitzvot Katan* (*Se-Ma-K*), "Small" Book of Commandments, for which he is mainly known. In this work, he provided the masses with a compendium of contemporary *halakhah*, interspersed with ethical homilies, parables, and *aggadot*. He divided the precepts into seven "Pillars," corresponding to the seven days of the week, apparently intending that the work be read through every week. In his enumeration of the precepts and their details, though not in his division of the work, Isaac was guided by the *Sefer Mitzvot Gadol* of *Moses of Coucy, but he omitted the extensive halakhic discussions of that work. The *Semak* achieved wide popularity, receiving recognition from outstanding scholars of France and Germany and even being included by some early authorities in the prayer book "so that the precepts could be recited daily… in place of supplications (see **Teḥinnah*) and the reading of psalms." *Meir b. Baruch of Rothenburg's encomium gained wide circulation for the book in Germany, and it soon became an accepted source for the *posekim* ("codifiers"), particularly *Aaron ha-Kohen of Lunel and Joseph *Colon. In the course of time many annotations (the best known being those of *Perez b. Elijah of Corbeil) were added; in later editions, these were sometimes merged with the original text and printed as one. The glosses of Moses of Zurich were known (but never published) as "The *Semak* of Zurich;" this consists of a selection from the works of German and French scholars which were added to the *Sefer Mitzvot Katan*. *Sefer Mitzvot Katan* was first published in Constantinople (1510) and many times later. Many manuscripts still exist, evidence of its wide popularity. Isaac's other writings include his "decisions," collated by one of his disciples from his responsa. His *tosafot* to several tractates are also referred to in rabbinic literature.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Urbach, Tosafot, 447–57; Waxman, Literature, 2 (1960^{2}) 128 f.

[Israel Moses Ta-Shma]

ISAAC BEN JUDAH (c. 1080), liturgical poet. While it is not known where Isaac flourished, his *piyyutim* have been included for the most part in the *Maḥzor Romania*; for that reason Zunz assumed that Isaac must have originally come from the Byzantine Empire. Isaac composed *yoẓerot* with the corresponding *zulatot* (hymns) for the four special *Sabbaths, for Shabbat *ha-Gadol, and for Shabbat *Bereshit. He may also have composed an *ofan*, as well as a *seliḥah*, for the Fast of *Esther. Content, structure, and stylistic peculiarities of Isaac's poetry indicate that he belonged to the old paytanic school.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Zunz, Lit Poesie, 91, 142–4, 248; Davidson, Oẓar, 4 (1933), 419. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** E. Fleischer, *Ha-Yoẓerot be-Hithavutam ve-Hitpatteḥutam* (1984), 616, 624, 690.

[Jefim (Hayyim) Schirmann]

ISAAC BEN JUDAH HA-SENIRI (i.e., of Mount Senir; end of 12th century-beginning of 13th), Provençal *paytan*. He was one of five sons of the scholar *Judah b. Nethanel of Beaucaire whom Judah *Al-Ḥarizi met on his travels. Isaac's brother, Samuel b. Judah, was also a liturgical poet. The dates 1208 and 1220 appear in three of his poems and the poet's productive period can be determined according to them (Zunz, Lit Poesie, 472 nos. 1, 8, 9). In the acrostic of one poem he speaks of himself as "living on [or "at"] Mount Senir." There has been much discussion as to the meaning of Mount Senir, but it almost certainly refers to Mount Ventoux in the region of Carpentras.

Isaac is one of the few non-Spanish poets whom Al-Ḥarizi praises without reservation ("Isaac makes the stars turn pale," *Taḥkemoni, sha'ar* 46). Similarly, Isaac's poems are praised lavishly by his friend *Meshullam de Piera, by Abraham *Bedersi in *Ḥerev ha-Mithappekhet* (verse 139), Menahem de *Lonzano (16th century) in *Shetei Yadot* (Venice 1618). He wrote only liturgical poetry. About 59 of his religious poems have been preserved; most of them formed part of and were printed in the rite of Carpentras and the Comtat Venaissin. Individual poems were also used in the rite of Tripoli (*Siftei Renanot*), Algiers, and others. B. Bar-Tikva (1996) published a complete edition of Ha-Seniri's *piyyutim*. Isaac cultivated almost all styles of the *piyyut*: Bar-Tikva's edition includes nine *yoẓerot* (*me'orah*, *ofan*, *zulat*, *geulah*, *mi-khamokha*), three *kedushta'ot* and *silluk* for the *amidah*, eight *reshuyyot,* some Spanish preferences, such as four *nishmat, kaddish, barekhu* and three *shillum* of Provençal style*;* 20 of his poems are *seliḥot* of different genres, including four *tokhaḥot*, three *mustagāb*, three *rehuṭot*, one *bakashah*, one *teḥinnah*; two *kinot* for Tishah be-Av, eight *hoshanot* for *Sukkot* (he devoted a large composition, preserved in the *Carpentras Maḥzor,* to Hoshana Rabba which embodies one of the most lengthy and elaborate acrostics on record), and one *petirat Moshe* for *Simḥat Torah*. In some cases, different forms of the same poem have been preserved, reflecting the changes of the time (Einbinder). Sometimes he drew on halakhic material and converted it to poetic form. He is also a witness of the historical conditions of his time and shows in some poems his perceptions of ritual violence. About half of his poems use the Spanish meter, in particular the syllabic one; not a few take strophic patterns. Other poems are written using the language and the technique of the old Palestinian *piyyut*, with stress or word meter. E. Fleischer considers Ha-

Seniri the best and the most representative of the Provençal *paytanim*.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Zunz, Poesie, 12, 110, 290f.; Zunz, Lit Poesie, 472–75; Landshuth, Ammudei, 118–20; Renan, Rabbins, 715 n. 1; Gross, Gal Jud, 120, 360f.; Kahn, in: REJ, 65 (1913), 182f.; Davidson, Oẓar, 4 (1933), 424f.; Schirmann, Sefarad, 2 (1956), 275–84. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** B. Bar-Tikva, *Piyyutei R. Yiẓḥak ha-Sheniri* (1996); Schirmann-Fleischer, *The History of Hebrew Poetry in Christian Spain and Southern France* (1997), 452–64 (Heb.); S. Einbinder, in: REJ, 163 (2004), 111–35.

[Angel Sáenz-Badillos 2nd ed.)]

ISAAC BEN JUDAH OF MAINZ (11th century), German scholar; teacher of *Rashi. Practically no biographical details are known of him or his family. The description given by J.N. Epstein (see bibliography) of the characteristics of the yeshivah of Mainz during the period that Isaac was its head, and the manner in which it differed from the contemporary yeshivah of Worms, has been rejected by Aptowitzer (see bibliography). Isaac was head of the famous yeshivah in Mainz founded by his teacher *Gershom b. Judah, to whom he was apparently related, as he was to Rashi. He seems to have come from France (Zedekiah b. Abraham ha-Rofe, *Shibbolei ha-Leket* ed. by Buber (1886). 66 no. 93). He was also a pupil of *Eliezer ha-Gadol of Metz who was also one of the heads of the Mainz yeshivah. In addition to Rashi, he numbered Eliakim b. Meshullam among his distinguished pupils. Eliakim refers to him as *Moreh Ẓedek* ("the righteous teacher") whenever he mentions him in his commentary to *Yoma* and Rashi uses the same title on *Yoma* 16b and in his responsa. According to Abraham Epstein, the commentary attributed to Rabbenu Gershom in the Romm (Vilna) editions of the Talmud to the tractates *Menaḥot, Bekhorot, Arakhin, Temurah, Keritot, Me'ilah, Tamid, Ḥullin, Ta'anit*, and *Bava Batra* was compiled in Isaac's *bet midrash*. Eight of his responsa are included in the *Teshuvot Ḥakhmei Ẓarefat ve-Loter* (1881), and in the introduction to this work J. Mueller gives a list of 17 of his responsa and novellae which are scattered throughout the literature. I. Elfenbein's edition of Rashi's responsa (1943) contains 38 of Isaac's, mainly directed to Rashi.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: E.M. Lipschuetz, *R. Shelomo Yiẓḥaki* (1912), 18f., 56f.; Epstein, in: *Festschrift… M. Steinschneider* (1896), 115–43; S. Buber (ed.), *Sefer ha-Orah*, 1 (1905), introd. 15–6; idem. (ed.) Zedekiah b. Abraham ha-Rofe, *Shibbolei ha-Leket* (1886), introd. 713; J. Mueller (ed.), *Teshuvot Ḥakhmei Ẓarefat ve-Loter* (1881), introd. 23–5; N. Epstein, in: *Tarbiz*, 4 (1932/33), 167–78; V. Aptowitzer, *Mavo le-Sefer Ravyah* (1938), 260, 296f., 311, 371f., 406f.; S. Hurwitz (ed.), *Maḥzor Vitry* (1923^2), introd. 33–6; D. Genachowski (ed.), *Perush R. Elyakim le-Massekhet Yoma* (1964), 12f.; I. Elfenbein (ed.), *Teshuvot Rashi* (1943), introd. and index 403; S. Eidelberg (ed.), *Teshuvot R. Gershom Me'or ha-Golah* (1956), introd. 26–33.

[Shlomoh Zalman Havlin]

ISAAC BEN MEIR (**Ribam**; mid-12th century), one of the first tosafists. Isaac was the brother of *Samuel b. Meir (the Rashbam) and of Jacob *Tam, all of them grandsons of Rashi. No biographical details are known of him. He died during his father's lifetime and left seven orphans. In a responsum to Eliezer b. Nathan, his brother Jacob lamented him: "I cry in the bitterness of my spirit… because the holy ark has been taken" (*Sefer ha-Yashar* (responsa) by F. Rosenthal (1898), 71). His widow later married Judah b. Yom Tov, a grandson of Judah b. Nathan, Rashi's son-in-law (see Urbach from a Ms.). The well-known tosafist *Isaac of Dampierre was his pupil; he subsequently married the daughter of Isaac b. Meir's wife by her second marriage, and asked his mother-in-law for details of various decisions given by her first husband. *Tosafot* written by him on the tractates *Yevamot* and *Nedarim* are referred to. His opinions are frequently quoted in the *tosafot* to many tractates. His appellation Ribam is the same as that of Isaac b. Mordecai, and consequently the two have sometimes been confused.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: V. Aptowitzer, *Mavo le-Sefer Ravyah* (1938), 376f.; Urbach, Tosafot, 52f.

[Shlomoh Zalman Havlin]

ISAAC BEN MELCHIZEDEK OF SIPONTO (c. 1090–1160), the first Italian commentator on the Mishnah. It is unknown whether his commentary covered the whole of the Mishnah, since only the commentaries on *Zera'im* and *Tohorot* are known. The former is printed in the Romm Vilna Talmud, while the latter is quoted by the *tosafot* in the *Sefer ha-Makhri'a* (Leghorn, 1779) of Isaiah di Trani (nos 62, 86, et al.) and by other rabbis. Abraham b. David of Posquières refers to him as "*ha-rav ha-Yevani*," "the Greek rabbi," part of southern Italy being at that time Byzantine. Isaac's commentary is based on the Babylonian and Jerusalem Talmuds, and he quotes from the *Tosefta*, the *Sifra*, the **Sifrei Zuta*, and mentions R. Nissim, R. Daniel of Rome (brother of Nathan, the author of the *Arukh*), the *Arukh*, and Hai Gaon. He often translates Hebrew words into the vernacular, making use of Greek, Italian, and Arabic. His commentary is brief and clear, like that of Rashi, and he does not give halakhic decisions.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Frankel, Mishnah, index; Ch. Albeck, *Mavo la-Mishnah* (1959), 245; V. Aptowitzer, *Mavo le-Sefer Ravyah* (1938), 261, 283, 377–8; E.E. Urbach, Tosafot, index.

[Hirsch Jacob Zimmels]

ISAAC BEN MENAHEM THE GREAT (11th century), French scholar of the generation of *Rashi's teachers. In his youth Isaac studied in Mainz at the yeshivah of *Eliezer b. Isaac of Worms. Later he settled in France and the correspondence thereafter between Isaac and his teacher shows that the two were very closely attached and contains great praise by Eliezer for Isaac. Rashi made extensive use of Isaac's teachings, both written and oral, particularly in determining the correct text of the Talmud. Isaac had apparently copied out in his own hand several orders of the Mishnah and the Talmud while still in the yeshivah, and Rashi, in at least one case, preferred Isaac's text to that of his own teachers and "of all the manuscripts" (Suk. 40a). Rashi also made use of Isaac's work to explain difficult words (Shab. 67a; BM 7b; et al.). At the same time, Rashi did not hesitate to disagree with one of his rulings and to set it aside completely (J. Mueller (ed.), *Teshuvot Ḥakhmei Ẓarefat ve-Loter* (1881), 10a–b, no. 17), and some of Isaac's other rulings met with opposition from authorities of the time (Tos. to Git. 21b; S. Hurwitz (ed.), *Maḥzor Vitry* (1923^2), et al.). His text and explanation of words were generally relied on by scholars, in that they were based on the traditions of the main yeshivah in Mainz (*Maḥzor Vitry*, 610, 635). Many scholars accepted as authoritative the example of the religious practices of his sister, Bella, who apparently grew up in his house and thus learned them from him (*ibid.*).

[Israel Moses Ta-Shma]

ISAAC BEN MERWAN HA-LEVI (11th–12th centuries), Provençal communal leader and halakhist. He headed the *bet din* and the yeshivah in Narbonne. His father, Merwan, was described as a "man of great piety and rich in material things and good deeds, who applied his wealth for the benefit of his brethren and thus obtained the repeal of several oppressive edicts" (addition to the *Sefer ha-Kabbalah* of Abraham ibn Daud, Neubauer, Chronicles, 1 (1887), 83). Isaac studied under Judah b. Moses (ha-Darshan of Toulouse?), a pupil of *Gershom b. Judah of Mainz. In a ruling cited by Menahem b. Solomon Meiri (Pes. 42a, *Beit ha-Beḥirah al Massekhet Pesaḥim* ed. by J. Klein (1964), 142) which bears the signatures of "five scholars of world standing," Isaac's is the first. The five scholars apparently constituted the *bet din* of Narbonne (B.Z. Benedikt, in *Tarbiz*, 22 (1951), 107). It is not certain whether Isaac left anything in writing; his words are usually quoted as "having been heard," but sometimes it is stated that "he wrote." Some of his statements were cited by his pupil Abraham b. Isaac, the author of the *Eshkol*; Zerahiah b. Isaac ha-Levi Gerondi in *Ha-Ma'or*; Joseph b. Migash in *Temim De'im*, and Moses ha-Kohen in his **hassagot* to Maimonides' *Mishneh Torah* (Shabbat 6:5; S. Atlas, in: HUCA, 27 (1956), 60), in the *Shibbolei ha-Leket* (Pt. 1, no. 48 and 51, ed. by S.K. Mirsky (1966), 256, 260), etc. Among his pupils were some of the greatest scholars of Provence in the following generation, Moses the son of his brother Joseph, Moses b. Todros ha-Nasi, and Abraham b. Isaac "Av Bet Din." Joseph studied under him. Isaac left no descendants, and he must have died before 1134, since in that year his brother Joseph lodged a claim in connection with his estate (Isaac ha-Sardi, *Sefer ha-Terumot*, 14:5, Prague 1605, 26a).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Gross, Gal Jud, 412f.; Z.B. Auerbach (ed.), Abraham b. Isaac of Narbonne, *Ha-Eshkol* (1968), introd. 9; S. Albeck (ed.), Abraham b. Isaac of Narbonne, *Ha-Eshkol*, 1 (1935), introd. 3; B.Z. Benedict, in: *Tarbiz*, 19 (1948), 19, n.7, 22 (1951), 96, n. 109, 107; I. Twersky, *Rabad of Posquières* (1962), 236, 239.

[Shlomoh Zalman Havlin]

ISAAC BEN MORDECAI (known as **Ribam,** initials of **R**abbi **I**saac **B**en **M**ordecai; 12th century), German tosafist. Isaac was also known as Isaac b. Mordecai of Bohemia and Isaac b. Mordecai of Prague. The abbreviated form of his name, Ribam, led to his being confused at times with *Isaac b. Meir (see Urbach, Tosafot, 170 no. 37). Active in the community of Regensburg, he served as head of its *bet din* and was regarded as the greatest scholar of the town and its leader (as described by Jacob b. Meir *Tam in *Sefer ha-Yashar*, part of responsa ed. by F. Rosenthal (1898), 178 no. 80). He was a pupil of *Isaac b. Asher ha-Levi (Riba I) of Speyer and of Jacob Tam. He compiled *tosafot* to most tractates of the Talmud, a large part of them while with his teachers. A considerable part of his *tosafot* to *Bava Batra* are included in the printed edition of the Talmud and in the *tosafot* of *Isaiah di Trani. He is known to have written *tosafot* to the tractates *Pesaḥim, Mo'ed Katan*, and *Bava Kamma* compiled before his teacher, Isaac, and to *Shabbat, Ketubbot, Gittin, Sotah, Nazir*, and *Bava Meẓia*. He is quoted in the printed *tosafot* to *Yoma, Ḥagigah, Sanhedrin, Zevaḥim*, and *Ḥullin*, and in *Sefer ha-Ravyah* and *Or Zaru'a*. *Eliezer b. Nathan of Mainz sent his book to him and his colleagues *Ephraim b. Isaac and Moses b. Joel on the *bet din* of Regensburg. They criticized many of his statements and in his reply Eliezer treated them with great respect. He also sent them the well-known responsum on *ḥallonot* ("windows," i.e., the prohibition against disturbing the privacy of a neighbor by opening a window facing his premises).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Eliezer b. Nathan, *Sefer Rabban*, ed. by S. Albeck (1904), introd. p. XI; V. Aptowitzer, *Mavo le-Sefer Ravyah* (1938), 29, 42f., 288, 378f.; Epstein, in: *Tarbiz*, 12 (1940/41), 200–2; Urbach, Tosafot, 167–70.

[Shlomoh Zalman Havlin]

ISAAC BEN MOSES OF VIENNA (c. 1180-c. 1250), halakhic authority of Germany and France. He is usually referred to as Isaac Or Zaru'a, i.e., by the title of his important halakhic work. Isaac was born in Bohemia which he usually refers to as "the land of Canaan." In his youth he suffered from "poverty and wanderings" (*Or Zaru'a* pt. I, 6d), but as a result of his peregrinations he came in contact with contemporary German and French scholars, by whose teaching he was influenced. Among the scholars of Bohemia under whom he studied were Jacob b. Isaac ha-Lavan of Prague and *Abraham b. Azriel, author of *Arugat ha-Bosem*. In Regensburg he studied under Judah ben Samuel he-Ḥasid and Abraham b. Moses. His chief teachers, "on whom he waited," were, according to him, *Simḥah b. Samuel of Speyer, Eliezer b. Joel ha-Levi (the Ravyah), and *Judah b. Isaac Sir Leon of Paris. He noted their decisions and learned from their conduct and customs. In Wuerzburg he studied under Jonathan b. Isaac, and in France was a pupil of Samson of Coucy. He transmitted a ruling in the name of Samson of Coucy in connection with the decree in 1215 of Pope Innocent III compelling Jews to wear the yellow *badge (*ibid.*, pt. II *Hilkhot Shabbat* 84:3).

Isaac's monumental work *Or Zaru'a* shared the fate of similar halakhic works which were apparently not sufficiently copied because of their extensive nature, and as a result did not achieve large circulation. Only 600 years after his death were the first two parts of the work published (1862) from a manuscript in the possession of Akiva *Lehren of Amsterdam (the adventures related in connection with the manuscript are pure legend). The first part deals with blessings, laws connected with the land of Israel, *niddah* and *mikva'ot*, laws of marriage, and a collection of responsa, mostly by the author, but some by other scholars. Part II contains topics which are now included in the *Oraḥ Ḥayyim* section of the Shulḥan Arukh. Two further parts were published at a later date (1887–90) from a manuscript in the British Museum. These contain halakhic rulings derived from the tractates *Bava Kamma, Bava Meẓia, Bava Batra, Sanhedrin*, and *Avodah Zarah*. A supplement to this section, comprising decisions based on the tractate *Shevu'ot*, which had not been published in the previous collections because they were thought to pertain to tractate *Shevi'it*, was published by A. Freimann (in *Festschrift zu I. Lewy*… (1911), Heb. pt. 10–32). A number of abridgments have been made of the work, the best known of which is that by Isaac's son *Ḥayyim b. Isaac Or Zaru'a, entitled *Simanei Or Zaru'a* which achieved a wide circulation although this work too was not at the disposal of all scholars. The quotations from Isaac Or Zaru'a in the *Haggahot Asheri* of *Israel of Krems are from this abridgment. Although the work did not have a wide circulation, later authorities quote his views to a considerable extent from secondary sources, such as the *Mordecai*, the *Haggahot Maimuniyyot*, etc. The complete work constitutes a valuable collection of the halakhic rulings of German and French scholars as well as being of great value for the history of Jewish communities in Europe during the Middle Ages (for instance, he discusses whether "our brothers in Bohemia" are permitted to carry arms on the Sabbath when they have to guard the city). A great part of the work (according to Aptowitzer, a third) is derived from his teacher *Eliezer b. Joel ha-Levi, whose *Ravyah* was already available to Isaac. There is no definite information as to how the work was composed and edited, or the order in which the various parts were written. One reason pointed out by Urbach (Tosafot, 367 n. 61) is that an examination of the manuscripts indicate that the existing text is not the original. Urbach came to the conclusion that copyists made copies of the work in sections, which were subsequently combined into a unified book. The book itself was compiled over a long period, the author adding various supplements. As a result there are mutual cross references between passages and it is impossible to determine which was written first. Before compiling the book, the author made notes and assembled data which were later written up, as he himself states (*Or Zaru'a*, pt. II, no. 38). He was still engaged in its compilation in 1246 (idem, Av. Zar. no. 107).

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[Shlomoh Zalman Havlin]

ISAAC BEN NOAH KOHEN SHAPIRA (late 16th–early 17th century), Polish rabbi and author. Isaac received his talmudic education at the yeshivah of his uncle, Ḥayyim b. Samuel, rabbi in Kremenets. At an early age he was appointed rabbi in Gorodnitsa, later serving in Mezhirech. He was the author of an alphabetically arranged compendium in rhymed verse of the four parts of the Shulḥan Arukh under the title *Sefer Zikkaron* (also called *Zikhron Dinim* or *Kiẓẓur Pirkei Dinim*, Cracow?, 1559?). He further published *Petiḥat ha-Lev* (Cracow, 1645?), kabbalistic homilies on the Pentateuch, consisting of extracts from his larger unpublished work "*Harḥavat ha-Lev*."

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Zunz, Gesch, 299; Carmoly, in: *Ha-Karmel*, 6 (1866/67), 301–2; Fuenn, Keneset, 666.

[Jacob Freimann]

ISAAC BEN SAMSON HA-KOHEN (d. 1624), talmudist of Bohemia. Isaac was born in Prague and married the daughter of *Judah Loew b. Bezalel of Prague. He served as a rabbi in Vienna and Nikolsburg, later becoming *dayyan* and leader of the Prague community. He was renowned both for his extensive talmudic knowledge and philanthropic activities. His opinions on halakhic questions, as well as his approbation of contemporary works, were widely sought. He is believed to be the author of a Yiddish translation of the Pentateuch that first appeared in Basle in 1583, or to have supplemented this work with midrashic explanations appearing for the first time in the Prague edition (1610), which contains a poem with his name in acrostics. He wrote a supplement to the *Ḥatan Damim* of Solomon *Runkel on the Pentateuch (Prague, 1606); published Isaac b. Judah ha-Levi's *Pa'ne'aḥ Raza*, with his own introduction (*ibid.*, 1607) and commentary on *Midrash Psalms, Midrash Proverbs*, and *Midrash Samuel* (*ibid.*, 1613). He edited the sermon delivered by his father-in-law on the festival of Shavuot, in Posen in 1592, entitled *Derush al ha-Torah*, adding to it notes, an index of sources, and three introductory poems (*ibid.*, 1953). He also wrote introductions to *Ḥayyim b. Bezalel's *Sefer ha-Ḥayyim* (Cracow, 1593) and to Meir of Rothenburg's responsa (Prague, 1608). A work called *Sidrei Bereshit* remained uncompleted. He accompanied his father-in-law when he was received in audience by the emperor Rudolph in 1592 and reported on the interview. His sons Ḥayyim and *Naphtali also served as rabbis; his daughter Eva married Samuel Bachrach of Worms.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: K. Lieben, *Gal Ed* (1856), no. 84 (Hebrew section); S. Buber (ed.), *Midrash Tehillim (Shoḥer Tov)* (1891), introd., 114 n.4; N. Gruen, *Der Hohe Rabbi Loew* (1895), 24, 29; E. Schulmann, *Sefat Yehudit-Ashkenazit ve-Sifrutah* (1903), 10f; I.Z. Kahana, in: *Arim ve-Immahot be-Yisrael*, 4 (1950), 262f.

[Samuel Abba Horodezky]

ISAAC BEN SAMUEL HA-LEVI (1580–1646?), Polish talmudist and grammarian. Isaac was the elder brother and teacher of *David b. Samuel ha-Levi. He was born in Ludomir, and studied under Joshua *Falk at Lemberg. He served as rabbi of Chelm and in 1627 was appointed *rosh yeshivah* in Posen. He was one of the leading talmudic scholars and sages of his generation and was recognized as a halakhic authority, linguist, and grammarian. He had a sound knowledge of geometry and of German. He was kind and never adopted a didactic attitude toward his questioners, not even to his own students. Isaac is the author of *She'elot u-Teshuvot ve-Ḥiddushei Mahari ha-Levi* (Neuwied, 1736). These show him to have been considerate, balanced in judgment, and inclining toward leniency whenever possible. In his novellae he does not hesitate to attack the views of such outstanding authorities as Solomon *Luria, Samuel *Edels, *Judah Leib b. Bezalel and Levi *Ibn Ḥabib. He possessed a concise style and penetrated to the very heart of the problems under discussion. In his halakhic decisions he takes into consideration the rules of grammar, attaching great value to a knowledge of Hebrew and its grammar. He published *Si'aḥ Yiẓḥak* (Basle, 1627) on the rules of grammar and the conjugation of the verb. To it he appended *Beit ha-Levi*, discussing all compound and doubtful words in the Bible. In its introduction, Isaac complained of "the lack of attention paid to the knowledge of Hebrew. Its study is neglected and its origins are not investigated." He pointed out that the meanings of some words were not known because even scholars had no knowledge of the conjugation being used. Instead of devoting themselves to a thorough study of grammar, they disparaged it as being a mere routine task, requiring no intelligence. Even were this so, he writes, it is still a highly skilled accomplishment, essential for all scholarship, and a prerequisite for all sacred study, since, without it, no one can write or speak Hebrew correctly. The book carried an approbation by Yom Tov Lipman Heller, and was highly praised by Samuel David *Luzzatto. An abbreviated edition, *Derekh Si'aḥ* (Frankfurt, 1693), was published by J.L. Oppenheim. A poem of Isaac's, *Shir Ge'ulim*, commemorating the freeing of Lemberg Synagogue from the hands of the Jesuits, was published in 1609. He left an unpublished manuscript, *Elleh Toledot Yiẓḥak*, a supercommentary on Rashi. Many of his ideas and opinions are incorporated in his brother's *Turei Zahav* and one of his responsa in *Bayit Ḥadash he-Ḥadash* (Korzec, 1785), no. 78. In the 1646 edition of *Turei Zahav* he is referred to as being no longer alive.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Fuenn, Keneset, 628–9; H.N. Dembitzer, *Kelilat Yofi*, 1 (1888), 50; S. Buber, *Anshei Shem* (1895), 114–5; S.M. Chones, *Toledot ha-Posekim* (1910), 561; S.D. Luzzatto, *Prolegomeni ad una grammatica ragionata della lingua ebraica* (1836), 60; M. Steinschneider, *Jewish Literature* (1857), 240.

[Abram Juda Goldrat]

ISAAC BEN SAMUEL OF ACRE (late 13th–mid-14th century), kabbalist. In his youth Isaac of Acre studied in the yeshivah of Solomon Petit in Acre and he quotes Petit's story in which Aristotle is ridiculed by the wife of Alexander the Great. In 1291 Isaac left Acre for Italy, traveling from there to Spain (where he apparently arrived in 1305). There he met numerous kabbalists and he quotes many of their writings. Of great importance was his meeting with *Moses b. Shem Tov de Leon, whom he questioned concerning the *Zohar – asking whether it had been written by *Simeon b. Yoḥai or whether it was Moses de Leon's own work. Even after the death of Moses de Leon, Isaac continued his investigations, which he described in *Divrei ha-Yamim* (see below). Isaac was close to the circle of Solomon b. Abraham *Adret, but his knowledge of Adret's kabbalistic writings was vague and his testimony should be treated with great reservation. At least three statements which he attributes to Adret were made by *Ezra and *Azriel of Gerona.

Four of Isaac's works have been preserved:

(1) *Me'irat Einayim*, a major commentary on Naḥmanides' mysticism, incorporating a large collection of writings from the Gerona circle and other groups which are not part of his explications of Naḥmanides. Isaac criticizes commentators who discovered ideas in Naḥmanides' writings which were far from the intention of the author – yet he himself deliberately does the same. *Me'irat Einayim* contains references to books and personalities otherwise unknown. Many copies of the work are in existence. Considerable use was made of it by the kabbalists of the 15th and 16th centuries and it has also been an important source for scholars of the 19th and 20th centuries.

(2) *Oẓar Ḥayyim*, a kind of mystical diary of visions and revelations; not an intimate diary, but one written with the object of describing revelations to the reader. Dealing with the *ẓerufim* ("combinations") which he considers essential for prophecy, he sets store on visions, thoughts, and automatic utterances. Most of his revelations came while he was in a state of trance, and many things were revealed through his dreams. Isaac was especially interested in outlining the way to attain prophecy, a subject he had already treated at length in *Me'irat Einayim*. He notes three states in the ladder of ascent leading to the Holy Spirit:

(a) devotion, which means the performance of two actions, one visual. In his mind's eye man sees the letters of YHWH "as if they were written before him in a book," while at the same time he concentrates his thoughts on the aspect of the Divinity, called by the kabbalists **Ein-Sof* ("the infinite"); (b) indifference, i.e., acquiesence in any occurrence in earthly life, except that which is concerned with the Divinity. Only a man who has reached this level of indifference, who is insensitive to the honor or scorn with which men regard him, is able to reach the state in which his soul becomes one with the Divinity; (c) solitude – a complete emptying of the mind of any matter which is not divine. The central focus of Isaac's prophetic ideal is individual spirituality. He applies sayings from the realm of national redemption to the realm of the redemption of the soul, and considers that the public mission of the prophet hampers his intimate contact with the Divinity. The work remains almost in entirety in Ms. 775 of the Guenzburg Collection, Moscow. Selections from it are in *Leket Shoshannim* (Neubauer, Cat, no. 1911). Many extracts are found in various manuscripts (Sassoon Ms. 919, Adler Ms. 1589, et al.).

(3) A commentary on the *Sefer *Yeẓirah* (ch. 1 only), published by G. *Scholem (KS, vol. 31, 1955/56).

(4) A shortened free translation of the Arabic commentary of Judah b. Nissim ibn Malka on **Pirkei deRabbi Eliezer*. Isaac's comments occupy the main place in the work, which is to be found in Sassoon manuscript 919b.

There is evidence that other works by Isaac also existed, the most important being *Sefer ha-Yamim*, as it is called in *Sefer ha-Yuḥasin* which quotes the large section concerning the composition of the Zohar. No other author who quotes from *Sefer ha-Yamim* is known, but there is no doubt that such a book did exist, since Isaac himself refers to it in his *Oẓar Ḥayyim*, where he calls it *Sefer Divrei ha-Yamim*. Sachs' description of manuscript 775 in the Guenzburg collection led to the belief that this was *Sefer ha-Yamim*, but apparently this is not so. There are no means of knowing from which works the author of *Reshit Ḥokhmah* took the four quotations which he cites in the name of Isaac of Acre. Similarly the nature of the mystical book mentioned in *Novelot Ḥokhmah* by Joseph Solomon *Delmedigo of Candia is not known. David Azulai writes that he saw treatises of Isaac of Acre, according to which he was visited by angels who revealed to him secrets and acts of practical Kabbalah. It is possible that the reference was to the treatises of *Oẓar Ḥayyim*, but this is not certain.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Graetz-Rabbinowitz, index; A. Jellinek, *Beitraege zur Geschichte der Kabbala* (1852), 72 (Ger. pt.); vi (Heb. pt.); G. Scholem, in: KS, 2 (1926), 102–3; 31 (1955/56), 379–96; idem, in: *Tarbiz*, 3 (1931/32), 59–61; idem, *Ursprung und Anfaenge der Kabbala* (1962), index; idem, in: *Madda'ei ha-Yahadut*, 1 (1920), 17ff.; E. Gottlieb, *Fourth World Congress of Jewish Studies*, 2 (1969), 327–34; idem, *Ha-Kabbalah be-Khitvei R. Baḥya b. Asher* (1970), index; G. Vajda, in: REJ, 115 (1956), 27–71.

[Efraim Gottlieb]

ISAAC BEN SAMUEL OF DAMPIERRE (usually referred to by the initial letters of his name as **Ri** (initials of **R**abbi **I**saac) or **Ri the Elder**, or **Ri of Dampierre**, d. c. 1185), one of the most important of the *tosafists and leading authority of Franco-German Jewry in the second half of the 12th century. Isaac was the nephew and pupil of Jacob *Tam. His father was the son of Simḥah b. Samuel of Vitry, and his wife the daughter of Judah b. Yom Tov, great-grandson of *Rashi. He was thus related to the distinguished Jewish families of scholars and communal leaders of his time. He lived in Ramerupt for many years, accompanying his teacher, Jacob Tam, and helping him with his ramified correspondence. After R. Tam left Ramerupt, Isaac went to live in Dampierre. For some time he also lived in Joinville. Even after leaving his teacher, Isaac regarded himself as completely subordinate to R. Tam until his death, and rarely deviated from his rulings. Together with R. Tam, he is the central pillar of the entire *tosafot* activity, there being hardly a page of the printed *tosafot* where he is not mentioned. His *tosafot* have not survived in their original form except for fragments in some manuscripts and quotations in the works of the *rishonim*. His teachings were interwoven in the published *tosafot*, being handed down by a line of his pupils. Ḥ.J.D. *Azulai still had Isaac's *tosafot* to *Kiddushin* and quotes them in his *Petaḥ Einayim*. However the commentary published in the editions of the Talmud on *Kiddushin* with the title *Perush Ri ha-Zaken* is not by Isaac but by *Abraham b. Isaac of Montpellier. Especially abundant use of Isaac's *tosafot* was made by his pupil, *Samson b. Abraham of Sens, who based his own *tosafot* on them. Another important source for his teachings is the *Haggahot Asheri* of *Israel of Krems. There are historical testimonies (see introduction to the *Ẓeidah la-Derekh* of *Menahem b. Aaron ibn Zeraḥ, as well as a tradition cited by Solomon *Luria in the introduction to his *Yam shel Shelomo* on tractate *Ḥullin*) to the effect that the school of Isaac was the main creative center in which the *tosafot* were developed as a system of study and as a literary genre, and it was there that the system of study whose foundations had been laid by Rashi's sons-in-law reached its peak.

Many of Isaac's responsa are preserved in the works of the *rishonim*. These contain historical and cultural material of great value for a knowledge of the internal lives of the Jews and their relations with their neighbors. Despite his central position in the Jewish world of his time, his responsa lack the note of polemic, controversy, and vehemence that characterizes the responsa of the great tosafists, particularly of R. Tam. Great humility and an exceptionally gentle approach are especially conspicuous. His piety and uprightness were renowned and already in the 14th century there was a legend that he had ascended on high and received information from the angels. A tendency toward mysticism is discernible in his writings, and it is possible that he was in contact with *Samuel, the father of *Judah ben Samuel he-Ḥasid. *Elhanan b. Yakar of London, who wrote a commentary on the *Sefer Yeẓirah* (published by Vajda in *Koveẓ al Yad*, 6 pt. 1 (1966), 147–97) in the succeeding generation, quotes statements he heard in his name. Among his important pupils were *Abraham b. Nathan ha-Yarḥi, who acted as the intermediary between him and *Asher b. Meshullam of Lunel, and his own son *Elhanan who died during his father's lifetime. Noteworthy among his other pupils, all of whom were important tosafists, are *Baruch b. Isaac of Worms, *Isaac b. Abraham, and the above-mentioned Samson of Sens. Isaac's rulings were also known to the early scholars and manuscripts of them are still extant. His *Hilkhot ha-Get*, which he apparently composed toward the end of his life, has recently been published (Kupfer, in *Koveẓ al-Yad*, 6 pt. 1 (1966), 123–44). It is very doubtful whether he wrote a commentary on the *Hilkhot ha-Rif* of Isaac *Alfasi, its ascription to him being due to a printer's error (Responsa of the Rosh (Asher b. Jehiel), Kelal 85, no. 10 (ed. Zolkiew, 1803), 84b).

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[Israel Moses Ta-Shma]

ISAAC BEN SHESHET PERFET (known as **Ribash** from the initials of **R**abbi **I**saac **B**en **Sh**eshet; 1326–1408), Spanish rabbi and halakhic authority. Perfet was born in Barcelona, where he studied under such eminent scholars as *Perez̦ ha-Kohen, Ḥasdai b. Judah Crescas (the grandfather of the philosopher), and *Nissim b. Reuben Gerondi, and where he later acted unofficially as rabbi. In 1370, Isaac, together with Nissim and five other Jewish notables, was arrested on a false charge and imprisoned for several months. After acquittal, he moved to Saragossa, where he accepted the position of rabbi, only to be involved in the first of the many controversies and family tragedies that were to embitter his career. In Saragossa he made strenuous efforts to secure the abolition of certain objectionable customs. He did not succeed, but brought upon himself the opposition of the local scholars. Finally he decided to leave for Calatayud but was persuaded to change his mind. Faced with continued disharmony in the community, he moved to Valencia, where from 1385 he acted as rabbi.

The anti-Jewish riots of 1391 drove him to North Africa. A close reading of the Valencia court records reveals that the authorities asked Perfet to convert as a way to stop the riots. After he refused, they trumped up a charge against him that would have resulted in his death unless he converted. This time Perfet relented and he converted, thereby becoming a Marrano. He was baptized on July 4, 1391, which was the Ninth of Av. A year and a half later, he managed to leave Valencia for North Africa and resume his life as a Jew. A number of his responsa deal with the issue of those compelled to convert to Christianity. After a short stay at Miliana, he finally settled in Algiers, where he was enthusiastically welcomed. Fresh vexations awaited him; however, as another refugee, jealous of Isaac's prestige, launched a violent campaign against the newcomer in the hope that he would leave Algiers. Thanks to the intervention of *Saul Astruc ha-Kohen, the civil authorities put an end to the conflict by appointing Isaac *dayyan* or communal rabbi. Their action, however, antagonized a celebrated refugee from Majorca, Simeon b. Z̦emaḥ *Duran, who declared the appointment invalid, no government having the power of jurisdiction in Jewish communal affairs. Duran relented when he was convinced that Isaac harbored no thoughts of personal aggrandizement, and the latter was left free to enjoy general affection and respect in his last years. On the anniversary of his death pilgrimages were made to his tomb until recent years.

Perfet's most important work is his responsa (Constantinople, 1546). They exercised considerable influence on subsequent *halakhah*, and were one of the pillars upon which the Shulḥan Arukh rested. They contain a vast amount of halakhic material – part derived from sources which are no longer extant – together with much valuable information about popular customs in Spain and North Africa. The collection is of very great importance for knowledge of the history of the Jews in those countries in the 14th century. Perfet was involved as a halakhist and decisor in the great controversy connected with the French chief rabbinate (see *Trèves (Trier)); he was one of the first to discuss the status of *Marranos from the halakhic point of view, which had become one of the crucial problems of Spanish and North African Judaism. He was one of those who established the *minhag* of Algiers regarding the financial rights connected with matrimonial law. Perfet recognized five categories of *minhag*: (a) Those acts that are halakhically acceptable but deemed prohibited by custom, thus creating a defensive "fence" around the Torah; (b) those acts that are halakhically acceptable but which certain communities deemed prohibited by custom; (c) a prohibitive custom based on one opinion in a rabbinic dispute; (d) those behaviors that are not customs but for which the sages avowed that whoever acts in such a way will be blessed; and (e) when a person errs thinking that what he does is correct. Perfet argued that one cannot change the custom in categories (a) through (c). However, the last two categories do not constitute *minhag* and can therefore be changed. On three occasions, Perfet accepted customs based on Islamic customs (see responsa nos. 94, 158, 102, and 148). In each case, the practice was not in violation of *halakhah* and thus acceptable.

Perfet also wrote an extensive commentary on several talmudic tractates, and a commentary on the Pentateuch. Poems and *kinot* composed by him were published in *Z̦afenat Pa'ne'aḥ* (1895). His work shows some knowledge of philosophy, even though he opposed its study and regarded the philosophical preoccupations of *Maimonides and *Levi b. Gershom with misgiving. He also dissociated himself from the Kabbalah. The responsa *She'elot u-Teshuvot ha-Ribash ha-Ḥadashot* (Munkacs, 1901) are not all his.

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[Hirsch Jacob Zimmels / David Derovan (2nd ed.)]

ISAAC BEN SOLOMON (1755–1826), prominent *Karaite scholar and spiritual leader from Chufut-Qaleh, a reformer of the Karaite calendar system, and authority on religious law. He was a disciple of Isaac ben Joseph *Kalfa. At the age of 17 he worked for Benjamin *Aga and went with him to St. Petersburg. After returning to Chufut-Qaleh he engaged in commerce but went bankrupt. In 1776 he was appointed by Benjamin Aga to teach at the school in Chufut-Qaleh and soon was appointed as a *hakham* of the community at the age of 21. In 1795 he traveled with Benjamin Aga and some other community leaders to St. Petersburg with a special mission to the government, which achieved exemption for Crimean

Karaites from the double taxation imposed on all the Jews of the Russian Empire, and the attainment of other rights. Isaac was a physician, who cured Jews and non-Jews of Chufut-Qaleh and the surrounding area. He had a wide knowledge of astronomy, which he studied for six months during his stay in St. Petersburg. In 1806 he was one of the founders of a publishing house in Chufut-Qaleh. He read proofs of Karaite books and prayer books that were printed there and sometimes added introductions to them. Isaac was a prominent religious authority in his generation, establishing several new regulations of Karaite *halakhah*: He forbade the ritual purification of golden and silver vessels without passing them through fire; forbade moving things in the public domain on Shabbat; permitted weddings during the Ten Days of Penitence and so on. His most important innovation was calendar reform (1779). It was an attempt to establish a uniform permanent system of calendation among the Karaites, which was not based on observation. It was supported by most scholars in Crimea and some other communities. His initiative led to a fierce dispute among the communities of Constantinople and the Crimea that lasted 18 years. The opposition to this reform was headed by *Benjamin ben Elijah Duwan, a Karaite leader from Evpatoria. In 1781 Benjamin Duwan came to Chufut-Qaleh at the head of a group of Karaite worthies of his town in order to conduct a debate with Isaac ben Solomon. According to Isaac's report, Benjamin was defeated, and Isaac's calendar calculation was supported by the majority. His book *Or ha-Levana* (Zhitomir 1872) is a detailed exposition of his calendar reform. Isaac also wrote the following works: *Iggeret Pinnat Yiqrat* (Evpatoria 1834), a theological treatise based on the ten principles of faith formulated by Elijah *Bashyazi in *Adderet Eliyahu* (with a Tatar translation of the principles; Nemoy published an English abridged translation of the work, with a detailed appraisal [see bibl.]); it includes many refutations ("replies") of philosophical positions, in which he actually criticized Bashyazi for his theological innovations; *Moladot* – lunar calculations for 34 years for the years 1806–40 (Chufut-Qaleh, 1806) and a commentary on the Song of Songs (Ms B 316 at the St. Petersburg Institute of Oriental Studies of the Russian Academy). He also wrote many liturgical poems, which were included in the Karaite *Siddur*. Many letters, responsa, and short treatises by him are preserved in manuscripts the St. Petersburg Institute of Oriental Studies of the Russian Academy and the Russian National Library.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: G. Akhiezer, in: M. Polliack (ed.), *Karaite Judaism* (2003), 740–2, and index; E. Deinard, *Massa Krim* (1878), 70; R. Fahn, *Sefer ha-Kara'im* (1929), 79–81; J. Mann, Texts, 2, (1935), index; L. Nemoy, in: JQR, 80:1–2 (1989), 49–85.

[Golda Akhiezer (2nd ed.)]

ISAAC BEN TODROS (mid-fourteenth century), known as **Isaac Tauroci** (**ben Todros**) in Latin; French physician. Isaac ben Todros practiced in Carpentras and audited the accounts of the Jewish community in 1367. He was the pupil of the astronomer, Emmanuel b. Jacob *Bonfils, with whom he calculated the constellations in Avignon during the month of Nisan (April) 1373. Isaac possessed a profound knowledge of theology and philosophy. He wrote a work dealing with the plague in Avignon entitled *Be'er la-Ḥai* ("Source of Life"). This work included a study of the dietetics and the therapeutics of the sick, as well as of the healthy. He declared that there were many Jewish victims of the epidemic. This treatise was published by Baron David *Guenzburg from the only existing Hebrew manuscript on the occasion of the 90th birthday of Leopold *Zunz. Isaac also wrote another medical work on facial convulsion (*Avit ha-Panim*; Oxford, Bodleian Library, Heb. Ms. 2141, 31).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: E. Wickersheimer, *Dictionnaire Biographique des Médecins en France au Moyen Age* (1936), 311f.; Kaufmann, Schriften, 3 (1915), 482–6.

[Isidore Simon]

ISAAC BEN TODROS OF BARCELONA (c. end of the 13th, beginning of the 14th century), Spanish talmudist, a pupil of Naḥmanides. Isaac occupied himself with the *Kabbalah to a considerable extent. No biographical details of him are known. His signature appears on the well-known ban on the study of philosophy promulgated in Barcelona in 1305 (Responsa Rashba 1, nos. 415–6). He was the author of a commentary to the *maḥzor*, remnants of which were discovered by G. Scholem in manuscript (H. Zotenberg, *Catalogues des manuscrits* (1866), 839:11); a commentary to the **seliḥot* (M. Steinschneider, *Die hebraeischen Handschriften… in Muenchen* (1895^{2}), 237); a commentary to the **azharot* of Solomon ibn Gabirol (see bibl. Freimann, introd. 10 (99), n. 45). The work *Be'er la-Ḥai* edited by D. Guenzburg (in: Jubelschrift… L. Zunz; 1884) is not by him (see Freimann p. 11). E. Gottlieb too has shown that the ascription of the commentary on the *Ginnat ha-Bitan* attributed to Isaac is a forgery. Among his pupils were *Shem Tov Gaon b. Abraham who describes his relation with his teacher in the introduction to his *Keter Shem Tov* (not in the printed edition but in the Ms., see bibl., Loewinger, p. 30 and Gottlieb, p. 65). His kabbalistic teachings are included in the works of Naḥmanides' disciples, e.g., *Ibn Shuaib's commentary to the *Sodot ha-Ramban*, Meir b. Solomon Abi *Sahula, *Keter Shem Tov, Me'irat Einayim*, and *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut*.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Nathan b. Judah, *Sefer ha-Maḥkim*, ed. by J. Freimann (1909), introd. 9–11 (= *Ha-Eshkol*, 6 (1909), 98–100); Loewinger, in: *Sefunot*, 7 (1963), 11, 27, 38; Gottlieb, in: *Studies in Mysticism and Religion Presented to Gershom G. Scholem* (1967), Heb. pt. 63–86.

[Shlomoh Zalman Havlin]

ISAAC BEN YAKAR (12th century), *paytan*. In two acrostics of his *seliḥot* Isaac adds to his signature *yeled meshu'sha* and in two other acrostics, *millul*. The first designation is probably an allusion to his family name (according to Jer. 31:33), while the second seems to indicate his place of residence. *Gross reads מלוך (*milokh*) for מלול (*millul*) having in mind a French village, probably Luc in the Pyrenees; Lille could hardly have been meant. Six of Isaac's *seliḥot*, with the complete acrostic of his name, are extant; three have appeared in print, among them a very ingeniously constructed *seliḥah*, *Ḥatanu*, consisting only of "ring" words. One of the remaining three *seliḥot* was rendered into German by *Zunz.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Zunz, Poesie, 90, 110, 251, 271; Zunz, Lit Poesie, 268 f., 618; Steinschneider, Kat. Hamburg, 51:134; Ziemlich, in: MWJ, 12 (1885), 137; Fuenn, Keneset, 1 (1886), 615; Davidson, Oẓar, 4 (1933), 419; Gross, Gal Jud, 275 f.; D. Goldschmidt, *Seliḥot… Lita* (1965), 228–31, 247–50.

ISAAC THE BLIND ("**Sagi Nahor**"; c. 1160–1235), a central figure among early kabbalists, the son of *Abraham b. David of Posquières. He was usually referred to as "He-Ḥasid" and *Baḥya b. Asher called him "the father of Kabbalah." No biographical facts or details of his life are available, but apparently he lived in Posquières for a time. His name meant hardly anything to 19th century Kabbalah scholars; so little was known of his personality or his work that several incorrect conclusions were drawn about him; for example, that he was the author of Sefer ha-*Bahir (Landauer). In fact, a considerable amount of information concerning Isaac can be gleaned from traditions preserved among his disciples and their disciples, as well as from his pamphlets and those fragments of his other writings that have been preserved.

The question of whether he was born blind remains undecided. His direct disciples do not mention his blindness, but a kabbalistic tradition from the 13th century testifies that "his eyes never saw anything during his lifetime" (*Me'irat Einayim*, Munich Ms. 17, 140b). Several fragments of his writings contain long discussions on the mysticism of lights and colors, which might seem to refute the assumption that he was born blind, but most of his mysticism is not essentially visual. However, as it appears that he was well-versed in books and even states, "this I found in an ancient manuscript," it is possible that he became blind only after reaching maturity.

Shem Tov b. Abraham ibn Gaon (1287–1330) mentions that Isaac could sense "in the feeling of the air" whether a person would live or die (Recanati, *Perush la-Torah, Ki-Teẓe*), and "whether his soul was among the new [meaning that it had not undergone transmigration] or among the old" (*ibid.*, *Va-Yeshev*). To his mystical powers should be added testimonies that he had received "the revelation of Elijah," and magical power in prayer (*ibid., Ki-Teẓe*).

The fragments of his writings about *kavvanah* ("intention") and the various forms of meditation which should be employed in different prayers are constructed on a complete system of the *Sefirot*, the attributes of God, which emanated from Ancient Divine Thought (*Maḥashavah*) as found in *Sefer ha-Bahir*. Isaac speaks of three levels within the Divine: **Ein-Sof, Maḥashavah* ("Thought"), and *Dibbur* ("Speech"). His views on *Ein-Sof* or "the Cause of Thought" avoid any positive attributes or personal characteristics and are intentionally couched in unclear, vague language. *Ein-Sof* is "that which cannot be conceived of through thought" or the "annihilation of thought," a realm which is mysterious and transcendent even in relation to Divine Thought itself (which is a certain kind of revelation). In contrast with his brief discussion of the *Ein-Sof,* Isaac deals at length with the first *Sefirah, Maḥashavah*. It appears that he based his system on the theory that *Maḥashavah* should not be included among the ten *Sefirot*, and he adds, in order to complete the number of *Sefirot*, *Haskel* (the "Intellect") – the hypostasis of the intellectual act – placed between the levels of *Maḥashavah* and *Ḥokhmah* ("Wisdom"). The Divine Will, as a force which activates thought and is superior to it, is absent from his system. Thought is the sphere with which every mystic aspires to unite and thence derive sustenance, the object of *kavvanah* around which the religious aspiration is centered. Thought is the revelation of the hidden God; it is called the *Ayin* ("Nothingness," a paradoxical appellation which is used as a symbol of the first emanation). Nothingness symbolizes the higher existence of the Divine in its most hidden manifestation, as well as the annihilation of human thought which desires to contemplate it.

The world of *Dibbur* begins with the *Sefirah Ḥokhmah*. Isaac often uses the concept *devarim* ("words") or *dibburim* ("speeches" or *logoi*; in the language of *Sefer ha-Bahir, ma'amarot*, "sayings") as a synonym for *Sefirot*. This outlook, which underlies Isaac's system, views the development of the world as a linguistic development, the Creator's expression in His language. He sees the materialization of the Divine Speech in all areas of creation. The apparent letters are nothing but a manifestation of the inner letters by which the Divine Words came into being, and they are the bases of the world.

The *Sefirot* are not only attributes of God but are the principles of the world outside the world of the *Sefirot*, which is called the *olam ha-nifradim* ("world of the separables," in the sense of the world of multiple being). There is a continuous stream of emanation from the Divine Transcendence to the "world of the separables"; Isaac's main aim was to show the way (by contemplation, intention, and devotion) to communication with the world of the Divine Attributes. This is the secret of the whole Torah and of prayer. The internal connection between all essences and stages of creation is *ẓepiyyah* ("contemplation"). All things contemplate one another and are connected with one another, and there thus exists a universal dialectical process of emanation and spreading out to the limit of lower existence on the one hand, and contemplating upward (*teshuvah*, "repentance") on the other. The return of things to their origins is an ontological process from unity to plurality and vice versa which exists in every moment of creation and it contains within itself an eschatological significance, for creation is seen as an act of contemplation by God within Himself, and finally a return to the source.

Isaac's writings include commentary to *Sefer Yeẓirah* (many Mss.; first published by G. Scholem at the end of *Ha-Kabbalah be-Provence*, 1963); a mystic treatise on sacrifice (several Mss.); commentary on the beginning of *Midrash*

Konen (Ms.; New York, Jewish Theological Seminary); letter to Naḥmanides and Jonah Gerondi (in *Sefer Bialik* (1934), 143–4); detailed instructions on meditation in prayer (*Reshit ha-Kabbalah* (1948), 245–8).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: G. Scholem, *Reshit ha-Kabbalah* (1948), 99–126; idem, in: *Sefer Bialik* (1934), 141–55; idem in: KS, 6 (1929/30), 389, 398–400; idem in: MGWJ, 78 (1934), 496–503; idem, *Ursprung und Anfaenge der Kabbala* (1962), index; Scholem, Mysticism, index; I. Tishby, in: *Zion*, 9 (1944), 180–2; idem, *Perush ha-Aggadot le-Rabbi Azriel* (1945), 136; Ch. Wirszubski, in: *Tarbiz*, 27 (1957/58), 257–64; A. Jellinek, *Ginzei Ḥokhmat ha-Kabbalah* (1853), 4–5; A.B. Gottlober, *Toledot ha-Kabbalah ve-ha-Ḥasidut* (1869), 64–65.

[Esther (Zweig) Liebes]

ISAAC FROM OURVILLE (second half of the 13th century), rabbinic author. No biographical details are known of him. According to Gross, he originated from Ourville in Normandy, but Schwarzfuchs is of the opinion that the town of Orville on the border of the Champagne district north of Dijon is more probable. Isaac studied under Ḥayyim of Blois. He wrote a halakhic work called *Sefer ha-Menahel* which is no longer extant; however, extracts from it appear in the *Kol Bo* and the *Orḥot Ḥayyim*. The *Kol Bo* has a section (no. 143) headed: "The Laws of Isaac, of blessed memory, author of the *Menahel*." There have also been published: "Ancient **ḥaramot* of Rabbenu *Gershom, copied from the *Sefer ha-Menahel* of Isaac of Ourville" (Schwarzfuchs, see bibl.). Some (including Rapoport and Hurwitz) have tried to identify him with the Isaac b. Durbal mentioned in the *Maḥzor Vitry* who was a pupil of Jacob *Tam. However, there is no basis for such identification, which would be impossible.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Rapoport, in: *Kerem Ḥemed*, 3 (1838), 200 n.; Jacob Kopel Levy, in: *Shomer Ẓiyyon ha-Ne'eman*, no. 11 (5 Kislev, 1847), 22; J. Hurwitz (ed.), *Maḥzor Vitry* (1923^{2}), 36 (introd.); Berliner, *ibid.*, 177; Gross, Gal Jud, 27 f.; Schwarzfuchs, in: REJ, 115 (1956), 109–16; idem, in: *Bar Ilan, Sefer ha-Shanah*, 4–5 (1967), 214.

[Shlomoh Zalman Havlin]

ISAAC NAPPAḤA (third century), Palestinian *amora*. A R. Isaac, without epithet, is frequently mentioned in the Babylonian and Palestinian Talmuds and in the Midrashim. There was another contemporary scholar called Isaac Nappaḥa (i.e., "the smith") who is mentioned in the Babylonian Talmud and in the late Midrashim. Many of the sayings quoted in one source in the name of Isaac are attributed in the parallel passages to Isaac Nappaḥa, and most scholars regard the Isaac without qualification to be Isaac Nappaḥa (for the name of his father, see the vague tradition at the bottom of Pes. 113b, Dik. Sof., *ibid.*, and Rabbenu Hananel and the commentators). Isaac studied under R. Johanan in Tiberias and transmitted many statements in his name in *halakhah* and in *aggadah*. He was highly regarded by his colleagues and Resh Lakish once remarked with reference to the explanation of a verse on which R. Johanan and R. Isaac differed: "The interpretation of the smith [Isaac] is better than that of the son of the smith" (i.e., Johanan; Sanh. 96a). He also transmitted sayings in the names of Resh Lakish and R. Eleazar (Av. Zar. 14a, 70b), and was an older colleague of *Ammi and *Assi (BK 60b). He also served as *dayyan* and halakhic authority in Tiberias and Caesarea together with Ammi, *Abbahu and *Ḥanina b. Pappa (BK 117b; Ned. 57b). He was one of the **neḥutei* who brought teachings of Ereẓ Israel to Babylonia (Er. 27a; et al.), and similarly transmitted some of the teachings of the Babylonian scholars, Rav and R. Judah (Ber. 43a; TJ, Shevu. 4:1, 35c). There is mention of his preaching in the house of the exilarch (MK 24b) and disputing with Naḥman b. Jacob (Ber. 7b), R. Ḥisda, and R. Sheshet (Ber. 27a; Shab. 43b).

Many Babylonian *amoraim* transmit *halakhah* and *aggadah* in his name. On one of his visits to Babylon Isaac was the guest of R. Naḥman. When he was about to take his departure Naḥman requested Isaac to bless him. He replied with a parable: "A man was once journeying in the desert. He was hungry, weary, and thirsty, and chanced across a tree whose fruits were sweet, its shade pleasant, and a stream of water flowed beneath it… When he was about to resume his journey he said: 'Tree, with what shall I bless thee?… That thy fruits be sweet? They are sweet already; that thy shade be pleasant? It is already pleasant; that a stream of water should flow beneath thee? It already flows beneath thee; I pray that all the shoots planted from you be like you'" (Ta'an. 5b). Isaac was renowned both as a halakhist and an aggadist, and the following story is told. Once Ammi and Assi were sitting before him. One of them asked him to expound a *halakhah* and the other an *aggadah*. "He commenced an *aggadah* but was prevented by the one, and when he commenced a *halakhah* he was prevented by the other. He said to them: This may be compared to a man who has two wives, one young and one old. The young one used to pluck out the white hairs to make him appear young and the old one his black ones, to make him appear old. He thus became completely bald" (BK 60b). He devoted himself, however, particularly to the *aggadah* and is numbered among the most important aggadists. He saw in it a means of encouraging the people during the difficult period through which they were passing, as is evident from his saying (PdRK 101): "In the past when money was plentiful people used to crave to hear the words of the Mishnah and the Talmud. Now that money is in short supply and moreover we suffer from the government, people crave to hear the words of Scripture and of the *aggadah*." It was his custom to give an introduction to the homilies he delivered in public and the expression, "Isaac opened (i.e., "his discourse")" is frequently found (see Gen. R. 1:7; et al.). He interlaced his homilies with parables and proverbs and engaged much in biblical exposition. His *aggadah* reflects contemporary events (e.g., Meg. 6a).

The following are some of Isaac's sayings: "If you see fortune favoring the wicked, do not contend with him" (Ber. 7b); "a man should always divide his wealth in three parts, [investing] one in land, one in merchandise, and [keeping] one ready to hand" (BM 42a); "if a man says to you: 'I have labored and not found,' believe him not; 'I have not labored, yet found,' believe him not; 'I have labored and found,' believe him" (Meg. 6b); "a leader should not be appointed over the community without the approval of the community" (Ber. 55a). He was opposed to those who took vows to abstain from permitted worldly pleasures, saying of them: "Are not those things forbidden by the Torah enough, without you wanting to add to them?" (TJ, Ned. 9:1, 41b).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Hyman, Toledot, 782–4, 800–2; Bacher, Pal Amor, 2 (1896), 205–95; Z.W. Rabinowitz, *Sha'arei Torat Bavel* (1961), 457–8.

[Yitzhak Dov Gilat]

ISAAC OF CHERNIGOV (12th century), one of the first rabbinical scholars in Eastern Europe. Originating from Chernigov, Ukraine, Isaac toured the Jewish communities in Western Europe, and probably also reached England. In rabbinical literature he is also mentioned as Isaac (b. Ezekiel) of Russia, a disciple of R. *Judah he-Ḥasid.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: HḤY, 13 (1929), 224; S.D. Luzzatto, in: *Kerem Ḥemed*, 7 (1843), 69; A.A. Harkavy, *Ha-Yehudim u-Sefat ha-Slavim* (1867), 14, 62; J. Jacobs (ed.), *Jews of Angevin England* (1893), 66, 73.

[Yehuda Slutsky]

ISAAC OF EVREUX (first half of 13th century), brother of *Moses and Samuel of *Evreux, the three of whom were referred to as "the scholars of Evreux." Their well-known school in Evreux, Normandy, was attended by students from various countries, including Spain; among them were some, such as Jonah *Gerondi, who were to become the leading scholars of the next generation. Greater freedom in teaching than was customary at the time was one of the characteristics of the school, the pupils being permitted to study independently and even to disagree with their teachers, provided they produced proof for their statements. Isaac was apparently the youngest of the brothers. His teachings are interwoven with those of his brothers in the collections of *tosafot* that emanated from their school, known among early scholars as *Shitot me-Evreux* ("Opinions of Evreux"). His commentaries on several tractates are also quoted in the printed *tosafot*. According to Urbach, the printed *tosafot* to tractate *Nazir* were edited by Isaac, and those to *Kiddushin* by one of his pupils; while those to *Nedarim* are based upon the *tosafot* of Evreux.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Urbach, Tosafot, 397–8, 493–5, 519–20; Y. Lipschitz (ed.), Tosafot Evreux (1969), 32–4.

[Israel Moses Ta-Shma]

ISAAC OF SOUTHWARK (d. 1289/90), English lawyer and financier. Isaac appears as a possibly professional lawyer, speaking on behalf of clients, in the Exchequer of the Jews in 1268 and 1270, but later only as a financier lending money. In 1285 he was accused of the murder of Maud of Worcester, but was subsequently cleared of this charge. Not long before his death in 1289/90 he sold his house in Southwark, just south of the river Thames opposite London, to Richard Clerk and his wife, Alice, but his widow, Zipporah, was able to continue living in a house in St Lawrence Jewry in the City of London.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: P. Brand, *Plea Roles of the Exchequer of the Jews*, *VI* (2005); idem, PROME, Parliaments of Edward I, appendix of material related to Roll 2, no. 178; J. Hillaby, "London: The 13th Century Jewry Revisited," in: JHSET, 32 (1990/92).

[Paul Brand (2nd ed.)]

ISAACS, U.S. family prominent in New York City. Founder of the family was SAMUEL MYER ISAACS, born in Leeuwarden, Holland, who immigrated to the United States in 1839 from London, where he had been the principal of an orphan asylum. He was the first *ḥazzan* and preacher of Congregation B'nai Jeshurun in New York. After the congregation split in 1847 Isaacs became rabbi of Congregation Shaarei Tefila, remaining there until his death. In *Jewish Messenger*, a weekly newspaper which he founded (1857), Isaacs took a stand against Reform Judaism, but called for certain minor ritual changes. A supporter of the abolition movement, Isaacs lost southern subscribers as a result. He was associated with the founding of Mount Sinai Hospital in 1852 and became its first vice president. Isaacs also helped found the Hebrew Free School Association of New York City in 1864 and Maimonides College in Philadelphia, the first, though short-lived, American rabbinical school, in 1867. In 1859 he was one of the organizers of the Board of Delegates of American Israelites, an organization that worked for Jewish civil and religious rights in the U.S. and abroad. He helped organize the United Hebrew Charities in 1873 with his eldest son, MYER SAMUEL ISAACS (1841–1904), New York lawyer and community leader. Myer Samuel was born in New York, graduated from NYU (1859) and NYU Law School (1861), and was admitted to the bar in 1862. He then started his own office, founding the family firm M.S. and I.S. Isaacs. In 1880 Isaacs was appointed judge on the City (then Marine) Court to fill an unexpired term. Later he received nominations to the Superior Court (1891) and the Supreme Court (1895). He lectured on real estate law at New York University Law School from 1887 to 1897. Active in community affairs, Isaacs helped his father found the Board of Delegates of American Israelites and the Hebrew Free School Association, serving in leadership positions in both organizations. In civic affairs Isaacs was one of the organizers of the Citizens' Union in 1897 and was instrumental in creating Seward Park for the crowded East Side of New York City. He was a leader in many other Jewish charitable and educational efforts, particularly to aid East European Jewish immigrants, and was editor of the *Jewish Messenger*, which he helped his father found.

ABRAM SAMUEL ISAACS (1852–1920), another son of Samuel Myer Isaacs, who was a rabbi, writer, and educator. Educated at New York University, the University of Breslau (1874–77), and the Breslau rabbinical seminary, Isaacs taught Hebrew, German, and postgraduate German literature at NYU between 1885 and 1906. He was named professor of Semitic languages in 1906, a post which he held until his death. Isaacs was also a preacher at the East 86th Street Synagogue in New

York City and rabbi of the B'nai Jeshurun Congregation in Patterson, N.J. (1896–1906). Following his father's death in 1878 he became an editor of the *Jewish Messenger* until its merger in 1903 with the *American Hebrew*. Isaacs wrote several books for adults and children, including *A Modern Hebrew Poet: The Life and Writings of Moses Chaim Luzzatto* (1878) and *What is Judaism* (1912).

LEWIS MONTEFIORE ISAACS (1877–1944), son of Myer Samuel Isaacs, lawyer and musician. Born in New York City, Isaacs joined the family law firm in 1903. Isaacs was secretary and treasurer of the Beethoven Association, and director of the Musicians Foundation and the Edward Macdowell Association. He wrote songs and compositions for piano and orchestra as well as books about music, notably (with Kurt J. Rahlson), *Koenigskinder, a Guide to Engelbert Humperdinck's and Ernst Rosmer's Opera* (1912) and *Haensel und Gretel, A Guide to Humperdinck's Opera* (1913). He was also a trustee of the family's West End Synagogue (Congregation Shaarei Tefila) and a member and officer of several bar associations. His wife, EDITH JULIET RICH ISAACS (1878–1956), was active in the theatrical world. Born in Milwaukee, she became a literary editor of the *Milwaukee Sentinel* in 1903 and wrote drama criticism for periodicals. Later she was the editor and business manager of the quarterly *Theatre Arts Magazine*, which became the *Theatre Arts Monthly* in 1924. Edith Isaacs edited *Theatre* (1927), a collection of essays; *Plays of American Life and Fantasy* (1929); and *Architecture for the New Theatre* (1935), another collection of essays. She wrote *American Theatre in Social and Educational Life; a Survey of its Needs and Opportunities* (1932) and *Negro in the American Theatre* (1947).

Another son was STANLEY MYER ISAACS (1882–1962), lawyer and New York City official, who practiced law from 1905 until 1919, when he went into the real estate business. A longtime member of the Republican Party, Isaacs was a leading supporter of municipal reform and was elected president of the Borough of Manhattan on the La Guardia fusion ticket in 1937. Failing to be renominated by his party in 1941 as a result of a controversy started when he appointed a Communist to the post of confidential examiner, Isaacs ran and was elected to the New York City Council, where he served until his death, for many years as its only Republican member. An exemplar of civic leadership, Isaacs' many progressive causes included slum housing improvements, laws prohibiting racial discrimination in housing, and the Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy. He was also active in the settlement houses, notably the Educational Alliance, and in 1934 was president of the United Neighborhood Houses. A trustee of the Federation for the Support of Jewish Philanthropic Societies, Isaacs worked also for many other charitable, civic, and political organizations.

ISAACS, EDITH JULIET (1878–1956), editor of *Theater Arts* magazine from 1919 to 1945. Isaacs tried to make American theatergoers aware of people and movements in the European theater and to make them familiar with the London Old Vic and the Moscow Art Theater. She printed early plays by Eugene O'Neill, Thornton Wilder, and others, and work by American designers. Her magazine also encouraged the growth of pioneer progressive groups. Isaacs was active in the Federal Theater Project and supported black culture. She was married to LEWIS MONTEFIORE ISAACS (1877–1944), a real estate lawyer and accomplished musician who was one of the founders of the Musicians Foundation of New York and the MacDowell Artists Colony in Peterborough, New Hampshire.

Books she edited include *Theater: Essays on the Arts of the Theater* (1927); *Plays of American Life and Fantasy* (1929); and *Architecture for the New Theater* (1935). She wrote *The Negro in the American Theater* (1947).

[Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

ISAACS, SIR ISAAC ALFRED (1855–1948), Australian lawyer and politician who became governor-general and chief justice of Australia. Isaacs' father emigrated from Poland to England and then to Australia at the time of the gold rush (c. 1851). Isaac Isaacs was born in Melbourne. He entered the Government Law Department and studied law at Melbourne University, graduating in 1880. His legal acumen and astute mind soon earned him recognition, and he advanced rapidly. In 1892, Isaacs entered politics and was elected as a member to the state parliament. In the following year he became solicitor general and in 1894 attorney general. He was acting premier of Victoria for a short time in 1899. Active in the debates of the inter-state conventions which led to the formation of the federal government of Australia, Isaacs was elected for the constituency of Indi, in Victoria, when the first federal parliament was formed in 1900. In the federal parliament, he served with distinction as attorney general and in 1906 was appointed a justice of the federal High Court in which he served for 24 years. In 1930, Isaacs became chief justice of Australia. He held strong views on the need for strengthening the power of the federal government as against that of the states and although he did not secure this in the framing of the constitution, his subsequent judgments did much to influence events in that direction. In 1931, after a lengthy public controversy, the Australian Labor government decided on the appointment of an Australian-born governor-general and Isaacs was chosen as the first Australian for this post, which he occupied with dignity, decision, and leadership. He became a privy councillor in 1921 and was knighted in 1928.

Isaacs remained a conscious and practicing Jew but he saw his Jewishness as a religion, rejecting completely its national and political side. Strongly opposed to political Zionism, he engaged in a vigorous public controversy at the age of 90 in which he took a strong anti-Zionist line. He supported the official British government policy on Palestine in 1945–47 as laid down by Ernest *Bevin. Isaacs died a few months before Israeli independence, so that it is impossible to know whether, like many of his non-Zionist associates, he would have fundamentally altered his views on the Jewish state; those who knew him are divided on this point. Even in the last years of his long life, Isaacs preserved his brilliant qualities as a political speaker. The man who, many years later, became Australia's second Jewish governor-general, Zelman Cowen, wrote the authoritative biography, *Isaac Isaacs* (1967).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: M. Gordon, *Sir Isaac Isaacs* (1963). **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** Australian Dictionary of Biography; H.L. Rubinstein, Australia I, index; W.D. Rubinstein, Australia II, index.

[Isidor Solomon]

ISAACS, ISAIAH (1747–1806), U.S. merchant, communal leader, and public official. Isaacs, who was born in Germany, went to Richmond, Virginia, by 1769, and was Richmond's first permanent Jewish resident. A silversmith by trade, he entered into a prosperous partnership later with Jacob I. Cohen, as merchants and owners of land, houses, and slaves. A founder of Beth Shalome Congregation, he gave part of his land to the congregation for cemetery purposes in 1791. Active in political affairs, Isaacs was appointed clerk of the market (1785), later became a tax assessor, and served as a member of the original Common Council of Richmond along with John Marshall.

[Saul Viener.]

ISAACS, JACOB (c. 1730–1798), U.S. inventor. He lived in Newport, Rhode Island, and was listed as a member of the Jewish community. In 1758 he became involved in a law case against John Merritt of Providence and the king's council decided in his favor. In 1759 he was one of the ten signatories to a letter of thanks sent to the congregation of the Shearith Israel synagogue in New York for their help in the building of the synagogue in Newport. Here the name appears as Jacob Isaacks. In 1760 his name (in the form of Isaacs) appeared in a list of Newport Jews made by Ezra Stiles. His family was listed as five souls and in 1762 he was registered as the owner of a brig. In 1783 he made an offer to build ships and in 1791 he invented a method of water desalination and petitioned the House of Representatives to take over the discovery for payment. He interested George Washington and though Thomas Jefferson recommended it, Congress set the matter aside.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Friedenwald, in: A.J. Karp (ed.), *The Jewish Experience in America*, 1 (1969), 222–8.

[Samuel Aaron Miller]

ISAACS, JACOB (1896–1973), literary scholar. Born in the East End of London, Isaacs was educated at Oxford and specialized in Shakespearean studies. He was interested in the Hebrew Bible as a literary source, which was reflected in his contribution to H. Wheeler Robinson's *The Bible in Its Ancient and English Versions* (1940). He was the first professor of English at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem (1942–45) and from 1952–64 was professor of English at London University. Isaacs became a well-known broadcaster on English literature on BBC radio and wrote *The Background of Modern Poetry* (1951).

ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY: ODNB online.

ISAACS, SIR JEREMY (1932–), English producer and arts executive. Isaacs was educated at Oxford, where he was president of the Union in 1955. In television, his main interests were in documentaries and current affairs, and he was responsible for celebrated series and programs both for BBC (Panorama) and Independent Television as producer, controller, editor, and sometimes journalist. The 26-part series *The World at War* about World War II, which received worldwide praise, was initiated and produced by Isaacs in 1974. As an independent, he produced "A Sense of Freedom" for Scottish TV and a series for BBC, *Ireland – a Television History.*

He became founding chief executive of Channel 4 in 1981, serving until 1987. Isaacs created a much envied model for cultural television. He was a major influence in the arts by attaching a high priority to opera and ballet as well as literature and the visual arts.

In 1988–96 Isaacs was general director of the Royal Opera House, Convent Garden, where he had served as a member of the board since 1985. Despite great financial difficulties in the arts and much media criticism of the Royal Opera House, Isaacs brought Covent Garden back to internationally acclaimed artistic levels.

A private and somewhat reserved personality, he is also a distinguished TV interviewer of singular discretion, allowing recognition for the personality being addressed (he rarely appears on the screen himself). He suffered a personal tragedy when his brother was killed by a terrorist bomb in Jerusalem in 1975.

Isaacs has been the recipient of many honors and awards and was a governor of the British Film Institute from 1979. France made him a Commandeur de l'Ordre des Arts et de Lettres in 1988. He also became chairman of *Artsworld,* a non-commercial cable television station. Isaacs was kighted in 1996 and is the author of *Storm Over 4: A Personal Account* (1989).

[Sally Whyte]

ISAACS, JORGE (1837–1895). Colombian novelist and poet. The son of a converted English Jew and a Colombian mother, Isaacs was born in Cali and educated as a Catholic; in 1868 he became a Freemason; he nevertheless assumed what he defined as his "racial" Jewish identity. After publishing a collection of poems (1864), he won instant fame with his novel *María* (1867), a tragic love story in which the partial Jewishness of the main characters plays an important role. The novel became a classic of Latin American literature; it was translated into many languages and an English version by Rollo Ogden appeared in 1890. Some of his poems, such as "La tierra de Córdoba" ("The land of Cordoba"), "A Cali" ("To Cali") and "Río Moro" ("Moro River"), contain allusions to his Jewish origins. Isaacs subsequently entered politics and became a Colombian diplomat, but achieved no further distinction as a writer.

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[Kenneth R. Scholberg / Florinda F. Goldberg (2nd ed.)]

ISAACS, JOSEPH (1659–1737), New York pioneer. Colonial records afford only glimpses of Isaacs' career. It is known that he enlisted in the provincial militia in 1691 during King William's War; that as a resident of the North and East Wards of New York City he was made a freeman of the city in 1698; that he was a merchant and a butcher, and that he unsuccessfully petitioned the municipal authorities in 1702 for permission to manufacture rum. In addition Isaacs was a party to numerous lawsuits, including one in which he was charged with possessing illegal weights. The assessment rolls of the city indicate that he was one of its less affluent businessmen, yet he contributed to the building of the Shearith Israel synagogue in 1729–30.

[Leo Hershkowitz]

ISAACS, NATHAN (1886–1941), U.S. lawyer, educator, and author. Isaacs taught law at the university of his native Cincinnati (1912–18; interrupted by service in the U.S. Army during World War I), at Harvard (1919–20 and from 1924) and at the University of Pittsburgh (1920–23). He also lectured at Yale Law School (1937–39). Isaacs was active in Jewish affairs and was an American delegate to the first World Jewish Congress in Geneva (1936). His books include *The Law of Business Problems* (1921, revised 1934), and *Course in Business Law* (1922). He co-edited the National Law Library with Roscoe Pound (1939).

ISAACS, NATHANIEL (1808–1872), South African trader and explorer, regarded as one of the founders of Natal. He left a record of his visits to the kraal of the Zulu kings, Chaka and Dingaan, *Travels and Adventures in Eastern Africa*, 1–2 (1836), which is an important contemporary account of Zulu life and customs. Isaacs was a nephew of Saul Solomon, merchant of St. Helena, and was sent from England at the age of 14 to join his uncle's countinghouse. In 1825, befriended by J.S. King, commander of the brig *Mary*, he accompanied him to Port Natal, and decided to explore the interior. His party reached the royal kraal of Chaka 130 miles inland, and was received by the monarch, who already knew King. Isaacs observed tribal life at close quarters and was later able to describe the tyrannical rule of Chaka with much horrifying detail. He traded in ivory and accompanied the Zulus in an expedition against a Swazi tribe (in which he was wounded) and was given the name "Tamboosa" (Brave Warrior). He was granted a concession of land at what is now Durban, which he surrendered to H.F. Fynn, another Natal pioneer. Much of our knowledge of Chaka Zulu derives from him.

After Chaka's assassination by Dingaan, Isaacs vainly urged upon the Cape Government the advisability of colonizing Natal. He was then only 20, and he spent two more years in Natal where he trained the Zulus in cultivation and cattle raising. In 1831 he returned to England, still hoping Natal would be declared a colony, but received no encouragement. Natal was annexed by the British in 1843, but by then Isaacs was in West Africa, trading in Sierra Leone.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: H.G. Mackeurton, *The Cradle Days of Natal* (1930), 125ff.; L. Hermann, *A History of the Jews in South Africa* (1935), 79–82. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** M. Jolles, *Samuel Isaac, Saul Isaac and Nathaniel Isaacs* (1998).

ISAACS, SUSAN (1943–), U.S. author. Brooklyn-born Isaacs, a novelist, essayist, and screenwriter, was educated at Queens College. She left before she earned her degree to work as an editorial assistant at *Seventeen* magazine. She rose to senior editor but resigned to stay home with her children. At the same time, she freelanced, writing political speeches and magazine articles. She used her work background in her novels. While living on Long Island, a suburb of New York City, she published her first book, *Compromising Positions*, a comic novel, in 1978. It was a main selection of the Book-of-the-Month Club and was the first of 10 novels, all of which made the bestseller list. The whodunit told the tale of a suburban housewife who investigates, and solves, the murder of a philandering periodontist. In 1985, Isaacs adapted the book into a successful film, with Susan Sarandon playing the investigator-housewife. She also wrote and co-produced a comedy, *Hello Again*, in 1987, with Shelley Long and Judith Ivey.

Isaacs's second novel, *Close Relations*, was a love story set against a background of ethnic, sexual, and New York Democratic Party politics. It was published in 1980 and was a selection of the Literary Guild. Her third, *Almost Paradise*, in 1984, was also a Literary Guild main selection. In this work Isaacs used the saga form to show how the people are molded not only by their histories but also by family fictions that supplant truth. Her fourth novel, *Shining Through*, published in 1988, was set during World War II and a film adaptation starred Michael *Douglas and Melanie Griffith. Her other books include *After All These Years, Lily White, Red White and Blue, Long Time No See,* and *Any Place I Hang My Hat*. Her fiction has been translated into 30 languages.

Isaacs served as chairman of the board of Poets & Writers and was a president of the Mystery Writers of America. She was also a member of the National Book Critics Circle, PEN (Poets, Essayists and Novelists) and served on various educational and family guidance organizations.

[Stewart Kampel (2nd ed.)]

ISAACSOHN, SIEGFRIED (1845–1882), German historian. Isaacsohn wrote a three-volume work on Prussian history, *Geschichte des preussischen Beamtenthums vom Anfang des fuenf-*

zehnten Jahrhunderts bis auf die Gegenwart (1874–84, reprint 1962), and together with Harry Bresslau, *Der Fall zweier preussischer Minister, des Oberpraesidenten Eberhard v. Danckelmann 1697 u. des Grosskanzlers C.J.M. v. Fuerst 1779. Studien zur brandenburgisch-preussischen Geschichte* (1878). He was editor of the tenth volume of the series devoted to the documents of the Elector Frederick William of Brandenburg (1620–1688), *Urkunden und Actenstuecke zur Geschichte des Kurfuersten Friedrich Wilhelm von Brandenburg. Auf Veranlassung Sr. koeniglichen Hoheit des Kronprinzen v. Preussen* (1880).

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ISAACSON, JOSE (1922–). Argentinian writer, essayist, and lyric poet of Sephardic origin. Many of his works have received awards, including *Amor y Amar* ("Love and To love," 1960), *Elogio de la poesía* ("Praise of Poetry," 1963), *Oda a la alegría* ("Ode to Joy," 1966), and his essay *El poeta en la sociedad de masas* ("The Poet in Mass Society," 1969). Other noteworthy works were *Kafka: la imposibilidad como proyecto* ("Kafka: Impossible as a Project," 1974) and *Cuaderno Spinoza* ("The Spinoza Notebook," 1977) a philosophical poem on the apogee of 18th-century reason before the advent of the crisis of contemporary thought and the alienation of 20th century man. In 1980 he received the Latin American Prize for Intellectual Jewish Merit, conferred by the Latin American Jewish Congress. From the Jewish perspective Isaacson writes about the post-emancipation period and from the perspective of Argentine history; his literary production belongs to the most pluralistic and humanist tradition generated by Liberalism. Thus he appealed both to Jewish intellectuals and to the non-Jewish cultural world which appreciated his human, universal, and abstract values. He was president of the Argentine branch of the International Pen Club. From 1953 to 1970 he was board secretary of the Jewish-Argentine quarterly *Comentario.*

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[Jose Luis Nachenson and Noemi Hervits de Najenson]

ISAIAH (Heb. יְשַׁעְיָה, יְשַׁעְיָהוּ "Salvation of YHWH"), one of the eight books (as the Rabbis and the Masorah count them) of the *Nevi'im*, or Prophets, the second division of the Hebrew canon (see *Bible, Canon).

INTRODUCTION

Outside the Book of Isaiah itself, the prophet is mentioned in II Kings 19–20 and II Chronicles 26:22; 32:20, 32. He is called the son of Amoz, who is otherwise unknown. According to a tradition in the Babylonian Talmud (Meg. 10b), Amoz was the brother of *Amaziah, king of Judah. A contemporary of *Micah, Isaiah was preceded slightly by Hosea and Amos, both of whom preached in the Northern Kingdom.

The pseudepigraphical Ascension of *Isaiah relates that Isaiah was "sawn asunder" by the wicked *Manasseh (5:1ff., cf. also Heb. 11:37). A variation of this theme is found in the Babylonian Talmud (Yev. 49b), which relates that a genealogical record in Jerusalem reports the death of Isaiah by the hand of Manasseh: Isaiah was "swallowed by a cedar tree, and the tree was sawn asunder." Also in the Jerusalem Talmud (TJ, Sanh. 10:2, 28c), Isaiah is said to have hidden in a cedar tree which was then "sawn asunder." The tradition is therefore consistent that the prophet was martyred in the days of Manasseh.

For other biblical figures with the name Isaiah see Ezra 8:7; 8:19; Neh. 11:7; I Chron. 3:21; 25:3, 15; 26:25.

SURVEY OF VIEWS OF THE AUTHORSHIP OF ISAIAH. Ben Sira attests that by 180 B.C.E. Isaiah had already reached its present form (Ecclus. 48:17–25). This is corroborated by the Isaiah scroll discovered in the area of the Dead Sea which contains all 66 chapters of Isaiah (but see W.H. Brownlee, *The Meaning of the Qumran Scrolls for the Bible* (1964), who believes, on the basis of a gap following chapter 33 in the Isaiah scroll, that a literary division should be made at that point). On the basis of this evidence, it is highly unlikely that some portions of Isaiah date from the Maccabean period (see R.H. Kennett, *The Composition of the Book of Isaiah in the Light of History and Archaeology* (1910)). The New Testament speaks of the entire book as Isaianic: John 12:38 refers to Isaiah 53:7 by the formula "spoken by the prophet Isaiah" while the next verse, 12:39, refers to Isaiah 6:9, 10 with the statement "For Isaiah again said…" (see further E.J. Young, *Who Wrote Isaiah*? (1958), 11ff.). According to *Bava Batra* 15a, Hezekiah and his colleagues "wrote" Isaiah. However, it was generally axiomatic among the rabbis that the Book of Isaiah was the work of one prophet, and they answered the apparent time discrepancy by attributing the latter chapters to the outcome of prophetic powers. Abraham ibn Ezra, anticipating modern criticism, hints that because chapters 40–66 of Isaiah contain historical material subsequent to the time of Isaiah, it is likely that these chapters were not written by Isaiah ben Amoz (see M. Friedlaender, *Commentary of Ibn Ezra on Isaiah* (1873), 170). Modern criticism began with J.B. Koppe's observation, in the German edition of Lowth's *Commentary* (1780), that chapter 50 may not have come from the prophet. In 1789, J.C. Doederlein denied the Isaianic authorship of chapters 40–66. Taking up the issue, J.G. Eichhorn and E.F.K. Rosenmueller defined the criteria for distinguishing between genuine Isaianic and non-Isaianic portions. By the middle of the 19th century, these views had a very wide following, although they were challenged by C.P. Caspari, J.A. Alexander, and, in his early years, F. Delitzsch. More and more scholars began to write on the subject, refining and correcting previous positions. Among these were G.A. Smith (1889) and B. Duhm, who, in 1892, labeled chapters 40–55 and 56–66 of the book Deutero-Isaiah and Trito-Isaiah, respectively. In 1914, H. Gressmann applied the method of *Formgeschichte* to the study of Isaiah (in: ZAWB, 34 (1914), 254–97). This method, introduced by H. Gunkel and

H. Gressmann, is concerned with identifying the *Gattungen* (literary types) of a given book and placing them in their *Sitz im Leben* (life situation, historical context). C.C. Torrey maintained that chapters 34–66, excluding 36–39, were the work of one author, writing that "the paring process, begun with a penknife, is continued with a hatchet, until the book has been chopped into hopeless chunks" (*The Second Isaiah: A New Interpretation* (1928), 13). There has been a trend toward synthesizing the methods of literary criticism and the methods of *Formgeschichte* in the manner of Childs' *Isaiah and the Assyrian Crisis*, 1967. Y.T. Radday has attempted to utilize computers in determining the authorship of the work (Y.T. Radday, in: *Tarbiz*, 39 (1969/70), 323–41; idem, in: JBL, 89 (1970), 319–24; idem. in: *Computers and the Humanities*, 5 no. 2 (1970), 65 ff.). Radday's work concludes that there was at least one other author for the second part of Isaiah. J.H. Hertz put the traditional Jewish viewpoint on this subject thus: "This question can be considered dispassionately. It touches no dogma, or any religious principle in Judaism; and, moreover, does not materially affect the understanding of the prophecies, or of the human conditions of the Jewish people that they have in view" (*The Pentateuch and Haftorahs* (1956), 942). For a more recent survey of Isaiah scholarship see J. Sawyer, DBI I, 549–54.

The virtually unanimous opinion in modern times is that Isaiah is to be considered the work of two distinct authors: First Isaiah (chs. 1–39) whose prophetic career in Jerusalem covers the years c. 740–700 B.C.E., and that of an unknown prophet (Deutero-Isaiah, chs. 40–66; see below) whose prophecies reflect the experience and events of the Babylonian Exile (c. 540 B.C.E.).

The beginning of (First) Isaiah's prophetic career (6:1; "the year of the death of King Uzziah," c. 740 B.C.E.) coincided with the onset of a highly critical period in the fortunes of both the kingdoms of Israel and Judah, and the events of this period furnish the immediate background of Isaiah's prophecies. The march of conquest of both Babylonia and Syria, launched by Tiglath-Pileser III upon his accession to the Assyrian throne (745 B.C.E.), raised a looming threat to the future independence and, indeed, to the very existence of both kingdoms. The coming to power of the usurper Pekah (736 B.C.E.) in Israel marked a concerted effort, in which he was joined by Rezin, king of Damascus, and a few other neighboring principalities, to throw off the yoke of Assyrian domination. Upon King Ahaz of Judah's refusal to join the alliance, his kingdom was invaded by the leaders of the anti-Assyrian alliance who proposed to depose him and replace him with a pro-Aramean puppet, the "son of Tabeel" (II Kings 15:37; 16:5; Isa. 7:1 ff.). In that critical hour, in a meeting with the panic-stricken monarch, Isaiah urged the king to be confident and calm. Ahaz spurned the prophet's quietistic counsel and, instead, sent an urgent appeal for help, accompanied by tribute, to Tiglath-Pileser (II Kings 16:7). Thus, the independence of Judah was surrendered. For Isaiah, the fateful act, while buying temporary security for Judah, ultimately invited disaster at the hands of its rescuer. King *Hezekiah (c. 715–687 B.C.E.), Ahaz's son and successor to the throne, cautiously stayed aloof, for a time, from abortive attempts initiated by Egypt to throw off the Assyrian yoke. Perhaps it was the insistence of the prophet on the futility of an alliance with Egypt that prompted this attitude; Isaiah dramatized his insistence by going about barefoot and naked for three years as a symbol of the fate that would overtake Egypt and its ally Nubia at the hands of the Assyrians (ch. 20). Some years later, internal troubles in Assyria apparently persuaded Hezekiah that, despite the prophet's warnings and dire predictions (39:5–7), the hour was ripe to break the yoke of vassalage. Isaiah's warning that dependence upon Egyptian aid could only lead to disaster went unheeded (31:3). In 701 B.C.E. Sennacherib invaded Palestine, after defeating an opposing Egyptian and Nubian force at Eltekeh. The countryside was quickly overrun (22:7), and much of its population deported. Soon afterward Jerusalem was besieged. Isaiah, prompted by his faith in the inviolability of Jerusalem, encouraged Hezekiah to refuse to surrender the city to the invader despite the threats and demands of Sennacherib's high officer (36:4 ff.; II Kings 18:17 ff.). The prophet predicted that Jerusalem would not be taken and that God would "turn back the invader the way by which he came" (37:22–29). The siege of Jerusalem was lifted, an event credited to a divine visitation (37:36; II Kings 19:36) that devastated the camp of Sennacherib. (For Sennacherib's account see Pritchard, Texts, 287–8; COS II: 302–3; L.L. Honor, *Sennacherib's Invasion of Palestine*, 1926.) Though the political and military events of the prophet's time, briefly described above, help to illuminate a number of passages in Isaiah (essentially, those already cited), the major portion of the book is devoted not to Judah's foreign policy but to the inner state of the nation, its social order, and its religious situation. Isaiah's career began at a time of growing prosperity that brought comfort and luxury. Material growth was accompanied by the territorial expansion of the Kingdom of Judah, achieved by military power cultivated by King Uzziah (II Chron. 26:6–15). The economic and political situation never seemed brighter. A national sense of complacent self-satisfaction and pride could hardly be avoided. Isaiah, however, saw that wealth had been purchased at the price of oppression. Corruption was rife in high places (1:23); the guilty were acquitted for bribes and the innocent were denied justice (5:23); the fatherless went undefended (1:23); the mansions of the rich contained the spoils of the poor (3:14); the poor farmer was evicted from his land to make room for the estate of the plutocrat (5:8). The aristocratic women of Jerusalem, in their elaborate attire and jewelry, especially served the prophet as target for his denunciations and predictions of doom (3:16–24). Foreign trade and imports apparently brought with them idolatrous religious practices and superstitions; at least, the prophet links the two (2:6–8) and he charges that "Everyone worshippeth the work of his own hands" (10:10 f.). The prophet does not repudiate the sacrificial cult carried out in the Temple; indeed, he seems to have been a frequent Temple visitor, for it is here that he receives the divine call to prophecy in a vision. However, sacrifice and oblations brought by hands "full of blood" are "vain" and an "abomination" (1:11–15). If the divine demand "to seek justice, relieve the oppressed, judge the fatherless, plead for the widow" (1:17) is heeded, "ye shall eat the good of the land"; if not, "ye shall be devoured by the sword" (1:19, 20). The coming of God in His fierce anger to punish Israel and the nations is a recurrent theme (5:15, 16, 24, 25; 9:14–19; 13:11–13; 30:27, 28; cf. 9:20; 10:4). Yet, the divine anger is but an instrument wherewith to humble the arrogant and punish the evildoers. Once it has accomplished its purpose, God will show His graciousness and mercy (10:25; 26:30; 30:18). The latter are presumably meant for the "holy seed" that will remain when the work of destructive purification has been fulfilled (6:13). Only a remnant of Israel shall return (8:18; 10:21, 22; Heb. *She'ar Yashuv*, the symbolic name of the prophet's son, 7:3). In addition to the concrete historical hope of the survival of a remnant, the prophet holds out an eschatological hope, one to be consummated at the end of days when the whole world will be transformed. Isaiah's eschatology is grounded in his faith in God's permanent attachment to Israel and to Zion (28:16). God's design for the history of the nations is to reach its fulfillment in Zion, to which the nations will repair to learn the ways of God and to walk in His paths (2:2–4, 5; 33:20; 28:16; cf. Micah 4:14). The denouement of history will see the abolition of war and the turning of the nations to peace. Closely linked to Isaiah's eschatology are his visions of the messianic figure. Sprung from the root of Jesse (father of David), he will be endowed with the spirit of God in its fullness. With unblurred vision, he will intervene on behalf of the poor and deliver them from their persecutors, establishing thereby a reign of righteousness and truth. Under his reign, even the ferocity of the wild beasts will be transformed into gentleness (11:1–10). In a similar passage, the prophet invests the messianic king with extraordinary traits, calling him "Wonderful in counsel… the everlasting father, the prince of peace" (9:5 ff.). In summary fashion, the essential doctrines of Isaiah may be described as

(1) an emphasis on the holiness of God;

(2) a rejection of human schemes and wisdom as the means of working out the destiny of Israel and, in their stead, a total reliance on God;

(3) an ardent faith in Jerusalem as the inviolable city of God and its proclamation as the future site of universal acceptance of the God of Israel by the nations;

(4) the delineation of the messianic king under whose reign final justice and peace will be inaugurated;

(5) the doctrine that only a remnant of Israel shall emerge out of the doom to be visited upon it;

(6) the primacy of the moral dimension of the religious life without which ritual observance becomes an abomination in the sight of God.

Chapters 40–66 of the Book of Isaiah constitute the prophecies of an unknown prophet of the Babylonian Exile, commonly referred to as Deutero-(Second) Isaiah. Fairly widely accepted critical opinion (but with exceptions) attributes chapters 56–66 to a different prophet conveniently called Trito-Isaiah. (Since the essential ideas of these latter chapters form a consistent whole with chapters 40–55, for purposes of this article they will be considered in conjunction with them.) The dramatic turn of events of his time, the impending conquest of Babylonia by Cyrus, the Persian king of Anshan (539 B.C.E.), to which the prophet alludes (45:1 ff.; 47:1), enables the prophet's utterances to be dated with approximate accuracy to 540 B.C.E. In the light of the predicted downfall of Babylonia, and hence presumably an end to exile, the prophet's message to his people who are in despair over the ruin of Judah is, in the first instance, one of hope and consolation. He speaks in vivid terms of "the waste and desolate places, the land that has been destroyed" (49:19). Zion is a widow bereaved of her children (49:19 ff.) or a barren mother without offspring (54:1; cf. 51:18–20). It was not only the thought of Zion in ruins that weighed heavily on the mind and heart of the prophet; hardly less oppressive was the fact that thousands of his fellow countrymen, owing to a variety of circumstances, had been widely scattered and were to be found at all points of the compass (43:5; 49:12, 22). To judge from repeated references, the exiles in Babylonia were subject to contempt and hostility (41:11; 51:7, 13, 23; 54:15). A pervasive despair and fear, coupled with a sense of abandonment by God, had overcome the exiles (40:27; 49:14; 50:1). Here and there, some, despairing of the God of Israel's power to deliver them (40:28; 45:24; 46:12; 50:2), had readily succumbed to the lure of Babylonian idolatry (44:17; 48:5). In the midst of the depressing situation, the anonymous prophet reaffirms with striking emphasis and clarity the ancient faith that the God of Israel is not only the creator of heaven and earth (40:26; 44:24; 45:7), but the ultimate arbiter of the destinies of the proud empires, to do with them as he would (40:15 ff.). It was the God of Israel who directed history (43:12) and who, even now, was guiding the course of events in bringing overwhelming victory to Cyrus (41:2 ff., 25). Incisively, he predicts the collapse of the idols of Babylon (46:1 ff.) and sets forth again and again the exclusive divinity of the God of Israel besides whom there is no redeemer (43:10; cf. 44:24; 45:6, 18, 21; 46:9; 48:11 f.). True, Israel had sinned (43:27 f.; cf. 48:1 ff.), but divine wrath and punishment were things of the past, and God had freely pardoned Israel's sins (40:2; 44:22; cf. 48:9; 51:22; 54:6 ff.). As expressions of God's love and His assurance that they had not been abandoned, the prophet employs a whole series of endearing epithets for Israel (43:7; 44:1, 5, 21; 51:4, 16; 54:17). In precise terms, the exiles would be released from Babylonia when that empire had vengeance wreaked upon it for its oppression of Israel (45:1 ff.; 47:1 ff.). It is Cyrus, heir to Babylonia's throne, who would let the exiles go free (45:13; 52:11 ff.). The return to Zion would be led by God Himself (40:9 ff.). The Temple would then rise upon a new foundation, and Zion would gain a new, incomparable splendor (54:11 f.). There would also be a vast ingathering of Israelites out of the lands to which they had been scattered (43:5 f.; cf. 49:12; 51:11; 53:12). Non-Israelites would join the House of Israel in allegiance to its God (44:5). The prophet speaks warmly of the aliens who associate themselves with the faith of Israel and assures them that they will receive an "everlasting memorial" (56:4–8). In a burst of exaltation at the thought of Israel's forthcoming restoration, he sees Israel as supreme over the nations and the latter as subservient to it (43:3; 45:14; 49:22f.; 54:3). A group of passages in Second Isaiah (42:1–4; 49:1–6; 50:4–9; 52:13–53:12) are known as songs of the Servant of the Lord. Around the question of the identity of the figure described in these passages, a vast literature has grown up. The preponderance of scholarly opinion inclines to the conclusion that the Suffering Servant is to be identified with the people of Israel and, at the same time, perhaps with an "individual who both represents the whole community and carries to its supreme point the mission of the nation" (H.H. Rowley, *The Faith of Israel* (1953), 122). The mission of the servant is not only "to raise up the tribes of Jacob" but to be a "light to the nations" (49:6). His task is to set justice in the earth, bringing it forth in truth (42:3, 4), and to serve as liberator (42:7; see *Servant of the Lord).

[Theodore Friedman]

FIRST ISAIAH

Within this can be distinguished (1) the core, chapters 1–33, and (2) the historical appendix, chapters 36–39. The latter, a variant of II Kings 18:13, 17–20:19, does not purport to be by Isaiah, and was only copied from (a variant recension of) the Book of Kings and appended to Isaiah 1–33 because it tells about Isaiah. Even within chapters 1–33 there are some pericopes which are about, rather than by, Isaiah (e.g., ch. 20) and some which are neither by Isaiah nor about him. For the authentic utterances of Isaiah, the dating by the (not Isaian, but editorial) superscription 1:1 "in the reigns of Kings Uzziah, Jotham, Ahaz, and Hezekiah of Judah" is reliable, and the modern student of Isaiah does well to add: "and of Kings Tiglath-Pileser (III, 745–727), Shalmaneser (V, 726–722), Sargon (II, 722–705), and Sennacherib (705–681) of Assyria."

Divisions and Content of Chapters 1–33

The block Isaiah 1–33 falls into two main divisions of unequal length: A. The Diary, chapters 1–12; B. The Archive, chapters 13–33. The Diary has been so named by Ginsberg (1964) because despite deviations (which can be accounted for) its arrangement is chronological (c. 740–715 B.C.E.) in principle, with the result that when read in light of the most up-to-date knowledge of the relevant history it resembles a diary. The Archive, on the other hand, is a repository of prophecies of which only a minority at the end seem to be arranged chronologically.

THE DIARY, CHAPTERS 1–12. The Diary, Chapters 1–12, may be likened to a triptych with a narrow inner panel, chapter 6, and two broad outer panels, chapters 1–5 and 7–12, each of which is divided (horizontally or vertically, according to the reader's preference) into two fields. Panel 1 dates basically from before the death of King Uzziah; Panel 2 – as 6:1 states – from "the year that King Uzziah died"; Panel 3 – as stated by 7:1 – begins in the reign of Ahaz, whether it continues into the reign of Hezekiah depends on whether Ahaz's reign was short (some date his death as early as 727, see below) or long (some have him live till 715). The somewhat detailed discussion which follows will serve as an introduction to the person, background, style, and outlook of Isaiah and will make possible considerable economies of space in the treatment of the Archive.

Panel 1, Field A, Chapter 1. *Ewald titled this chapter "The Great Arraignment." More apt would be "The Great Exhortation" for it appeals for reform (vv. 16–18), and offers total remission of even grave past sins on condition of reform (18–20). S.D. Luzzatto pointed out that *Lekhu na* (note the precative particle *na!*) *ve-nivvakheḥah* (*we-niwwakheḥah*) can only mean "Come, let us reach an understanding," since that is the only meaning that fits both here and in the only other undamaged passage in which the *nifal* of *ykḥ* occurs, Job. 23:7 (Gen. 20:6b is obscure). And escape is offered to everyone in Zion who reforms: verse 27: "In the judgment, Zion shall be saved (as in Job 5:20); in the retribution (so *ẓedakah* (*ẓedaqah*) is also to be rendered in 5:16; 10:22; 28:17), those in her who turn back." Only the rebels and sinners will perish, verse 28. The implication is that they will be a minority. When it is noticed that nowhere else does Isaiah summon to repentance, but only expects it after an ever greater depopulation (even in 31:6, the continuation in the third person in the same verse and in the following one show that *shuvu* [imperative, "turn back!"] is to be emended to *we-shavu*, "The children of Israel will then turn back to him to whom they were so false"), it is clear that chapter 1 belongs exactly where it is, at the beginning of the book; only verses 5–9 (10?) have been added – by Isaiah – either after the extinction of the Kingdom of Ephraim in 722 or after Sennacherib's invasion of Judah, his transfer of some of its territory to the Philistines, and his imposition of a heavy tribute on Hezekiah in 701. The fact that 1:2–20 (apart from the verses just mentioned) is Isaiah's maiden composition may explain its heavy dependence on earlier models. The models in question are the Song of Moses and the message of Amos. Isaiah 1:2 may be said to summarize the whole of Deuteronomy 32:1–18. Isaiah 1:2a = Deuteronomy 32:1–4 minus the elaborate adornment: Let heaven and earth give respectful attention, for these are the words of no other than the Lord. Isaiah 1:2b = Deuteronomy 32:5–18 in a nutshell: children nurtured and reared (Deut. 32, less restrained, also uses five verbs of engendering, Deut. 32:6b, 18) by the Lord have defected from him. Isaiah 1:3 merely repeats the preceding thought: ox and ass acknowledge their master and feeder, Israel does not. In turning from heaven and earth to address Israel reproachfully, Isaiah 1:4 takes its cue from Deuteronomy 32:6, but two of its epithets are inspired by Deuteronomy 32:5: "corrupt children" (Heb. *banim mashḥitim*) goes back to Deuteronomy 32:5a, which even in its mutilated condition has preserved the elements *banaw* and *shiḥet* and which originally may have read very much like *banim mashḥitim yalad*, "He gave birth to corrupt children," while *zeraʿ mereʿim*, "brood of evildoers," is synonymous with Deuteronomy 32:5b, "a crooked and twisted generation." Here the echoes of Deuteronomy 32 in content and diction cease, but its form persists through Isaiah 1:20. For just as in Deuteronomy 32 the speaker alternately utters his own "discourse" (*lekaḥ, leqaḥ*, verse 2), verses 1–18, 36a, 43, and introduces and quotes YHWH, verses 19–35, 36a–42, so Isaiah 1:2–20 gives the following alternation: Isaiah introduces and quotes YHWH, 2–3; Isaiah adds his own comment, 4–9 (but 5–9 were added by him later); Isaiah introduces and quotes YHWH, 10–18; Isaiah adds his own interpretation, 19–20. The idea of disloyal children is repeated in 30:1, 9. The last cited verse is preceded (30:8) by an introduction remarkably reminiscent of the introduction to the Song of Moses, Deuteronomy 31:19, for as the Targum, among other versions, realized, *lʿd* in the former is to be vocalized *le-ʿed*, "for a witness"; but in this case it is hard to decide which passage is dependent on which. As for the message of Isaiah 1:10–17 – the protest against the topsy-turvy scale of values applied to cult and justice – its dependence on Amos 5:21–25 is obvious, and the identical or equivalent elements can be picked out. The themes of the oppression of the poor and the subversion of justice occur again both in Isaiah and in Amos, and it is not difficult to recognize in Amos 2:6b–7a; 3:15; 5:11–12 the elements of Isaiah 5:8–10 (cf. 1:29–30, which speak not of cult gardens but of luxury gardens in view of verse 31 *he-ḥason… u-foʿalo* ("treasure… and he who amassed it"); 5:23, 10:1–2). Not dependent on either the Song of Moses or the words of Amos is the glorification of Jerusalem, Isaiah 1:21–27. Disappointed as he is in her present state, Isaiah firmly believes that she was a faithful city where justice dwelt in the past, and will be such again in the future. He may well have idealized the past unduly. Jerusalem's judges had probably been officials appointed by the king ever since David's conquest, and it seems that in the Ancient Near East it was understood that an official derived much of his income from the gifts of the private persons who needed his services. From the start, therefore, a judge was exposed to a powerful temptation (1) to be too busy to hear an action brought by a widow or an orphan, who could not afford to bring an adequate gift (Isa. 1:23), (2) not only to hear but also to favor a litigant who did bring such a gift. However, Isaiah is to be judged as a prophet, not as a historian. The initial impression of nobility of thought and language is confirmed by the following chapters.

Panel 1, Field B, chapters 2–5. Furnished with a superscription of its own, 2:1, this collection dates from a slightly later period than Field A, as explained above, but the last pronouncement in it, 5:25ff., dates still from the reign of Uzziah, since the latest misfortune it speaks of as having already occurred (though it is not destined to remain the last) is the famous earthquake of Uzziah's reign (Amos 1:1; Zech. 14:5). The pericope 9:7[8]ff., which begins its survey further back in history, also knows of later calamities as having already been endured: it comes to the earthquake in 9:18[19]a, and goes on in 9:18b–20a [19b–21a] to speak of Ephraim's savage civil wars – see II Kings 15:9–16, 23–25 – and of its ensuing attack on Judah, for which see II Kings 16:5–6; Isaiah 7:1ff. The date of this last event is 733, and if there were any merit to the argument that Isaiah 5:25 (with or without 5:26ff.) belongs in the context of 9:7[8]ff. "because it has the same refrain" it would follow that Isaiah 5:25(ff.) likewise dates from 733. However, the said argument begs the question; for a stich that occurs only once is not a refrain, and in chapter 5 the stich "Yet his anger has not turned back, and his arm is outstretched still" (5:25b) occurs only once. No time need be wasted on R. Kittel's egregious suggestion (*Biblia Hebraica*, 1929^3, which is not peculiar to him) that the statement at the beginning of 5:25 to the effect that God's anger has been roused against his people and that he has extended his arm to strike it, presupposes four previous occurrences of "Yet his anger has not turned back and his arm is outstretched still." But it is also the opposite of probable that Isaiah contemplated repeating "Yet his anger has not turned back, etc," and going on to depict still further slaughter either in Israel or in Judah at the time when he announced (5:26–29) the coming with uncanny speed "from the end of the earth" of a legendary nation of barbarians equipped with the fangs (for *wšʾg* [so the consonantal text] read *wšnym, we-shinnayim*), the voracity, and the irresistibleness of lions. (The description no more contemplates a specific, real, nation – like the Assyrians – here than in Deut. 28:49–51; Jer. 5:15–17.) What more was necessary for making the land desolate (Isa. 6:11–12)? See also Panel 3, Field A.

Excursus: The Zion Vision, 2:2–4. This is one of the most remarkable pericopes in the entire Book of Isaiah. It reads as follows (verse 2): "In the days to come, the Mount of the Lord's House shall stand firm above the mountains and tower above the hills; and all the nations shall gaze on it with joy. (3) And the many peoples shall go and shall say: 'Come, // Let us go to the mount of The Lord,/to the House of the God of Jacob;// That he may direct us according to his ways,/And that we may walk in his paths'//For direction shall be forthcoming from Zion,/And words of the Lord from Jerusalem.// (4) Thus he will judge among the nations/And arbitrate for the many peoples,//And they shall beat their swords into plowtips/and their spears into pruning hooks://Nation shall not take up/Sword against nation;//They shall never again know war."//The use of the verb "to direct" (*horah*) of the issuing of messages by the Lord and of the delivering of such messages by prophets is characteristic of Isaiah (9:14; 28:9, 26; 30:20 [bis]), and the use of the noun "direction" (*torah*) of messages from superhuman sources is even more characteristic of him (1:10; 5:24; 8:16, 20; 30:9). This is true of ad hoc prophecy that is characteristic of Isaiah, though occasionally emulated by Habakkuk (2:19). Not merely characteristically Isaian but specifically Isaian is the parallelism "direction//word of the Lord" (or, once, "utterance of the Holy One of Israel"): 1:10; 5:24. In this as in other matters (see below), Isaiah's weaknesses lie in the field of practicality. Isaiah 2:2–4 is unmistakably Isaian not only in its diction but also in its ideology. For both its Zion-centeredness and its concern that other nations beside Israel may be spared the horrors of war (contrast Lev. 25:18; 26:5; Jer. 30:10; 46:27; Hos. 2:20) are in line with much else. Although the prophecy occurs again in Micah 4:1–4, its uniquely Isaian "*Torah*//word of the Lord," which has already been commented upon, makes it unlikely that it is the work of some anonymous genius who preceded both Isaiah and Micah; and both this feature and the ideological congruence with Isaiah and clash with Micah – who cancels the universalism of the passage in the very next verse (Micah 4:5) as well as in 5:7–8, and its Zionism (he was a provincial from Morashah, 1:1) in 3:12 – preclude the priority of Micah (see Kaufmann on Micah).

Panel 2, chapter 6. Both the rabbis and modern research regard this as Isaiah's earliest prophecy (his "inaugural vision"); but Kaplan and Kaufmann have dissented, as have Milgrom, Knierim, and Schmidt. There is a new harshness here. God tells Isaiah to go and harden the hearts of "that people" (*ha-ʿam ha-zeh*, verses 9, 10) – the first occurrence of this deprecating designation; contrast "my people," 1:3 (though God is here reproaching Israel); 3:15 – in order that it may not (*pen*) "turn back and be healed" (cf. 19:22). To Isaiah's shocked question, "How long, O Lord?" – with which is to be compared Ezekiel's horrified exclamation (Ezek. 11:13b), "Oh, Lord YHWH, You are completely destroying the remnant of Israel!" – YHWH replies, just as He does to Ezekiel (Ezek. 11:14–21), that a small remnant shall turn back to the Lord and be spared. Unless *we-hayetah levaʿer* is moved, for purely stylistic reasons, to the end of verse 11, Isaiah 6:13 is to be rendered thus: "But while a tenth part still remains in it, it shall turn back (cf. *She'ar-yashuv* (Shear-Jashub), "a remnant shall turn back," the name of the son with whom Isaiah appears, a year or two later, in 7:3; see also 10:21). For it shall be ravaged (*we-hayetah levaʿer*) like the terebinth and the oak, of which stumps remain even when they are felled; its stump shall be a holy kindred." The only interpolation in Isaiah 6 is verse 12a, "The Lord will remove the population," which – referring to the Lord in the third person in the midst of a speech by the Lord – stems from a post-Exilic glossator who thought the prediction of devastation was a prediction of the exiling of the population to Babylonia (a century and a half later). In the inaugural visions Exodus 3:2–4:17; Jeremiah 1:4–9 (verse 9 makes this a vision); and Ezekiel 1:1–3:13, there are no participants but God and prophet (in the last cited vision the Lord does not address the creatures that bear His throne), and there is no call for a volunteer: the prophet is assigned his mission willy-nilly. The true analogue to Isaiah 6 is I Kings 22:17 ff.; in the former, however, the prophet is purged by a peculiar visionary rite (Isa. 6:6–7) so that he, as well as the celestial creatures of the Lord's council, may participate (imitated in Zech. 3:4–7). No wonder he believes that not only he but also his unnamed wife (she is simply "the Prophetess," perhaps herself a prophet, 8:3) and his children (8:11 ff., 18) – the last word in 8:16 is probably also to be emended to *ba-yeladim*, "in the children" – are something set apart from "the masses" (*rabbim*, 8:15)!

Panel 3, Field A, chapters 7–9. The Arameo-Ephraimite Attempt to Depose the House of David, 734–732. The Arameo-Ephraimite attack is the occasion for 9:7 [8]ff., whereas it is only the starting point of 7:1 – 9:6 [7], which in 8:23 [9:1] alludes to the Assyrian annexation of Sharon (in 734) and of Gilead and Galilee (732) as having already taken place (cf. II Kings 15:29). But 7:1–9:6 [7] was attracted to the vicinity of chapter 6 by the similarity of the openings 6:1 and 7:1. To the attempt to dethrone the Davidic dynasty, Isaiah reacted with the fury of a devout "legitimist." For to him the divine election of the House of David was as axiomatic as the divine election of Zion (see above). Recalling Amos 4:6–12, in which his predecessor had traced a series of disasters which had failed to induce repentance in the Northern Kingdom, because of which he had threatened it with ominous vagueness (Amos 4:12), with something much worse than anything that had preceded, Isaiah first repeated the last two of the disasters to which Amos had already looked back and then paraphrased Amos' threat for the future with appalling explicitness. For in Isaiah 9:7 [8] the Septuagint is unquestionably right in interpreting the consonants of the first two Hebrew words as *dever shillaḥ* ("let[past tense] loose pestilence"), and Ehrlich in changing *we-nafal* to *we-negef* ("plague"). Isaiah 9:7[8] alludes to the same pestilence, and Isaiah 9:10–11[11–12] to the same military disaster(s), as Amos 4:10. For the military disasters, this identity is confirmed by Haran's observation that Amos 1:6 speaks of Gaza (i.e., Philistia generally) handing over Israelite captives to Aram (so read for "Edom"). Then in 9:12[13], Isaiah paraphrases the final clause of Amos 4:10. Accordingly, Isaiah 9:13, 16a[14,17a] spells out the vague threat of Amos 4:12, and the beginning of it must be translated, "The Lord will exterminate from Israel head and tail, palm branch and reed, in one day." After that, Isaiah 9:17–20[18–21] traces the stages in the fulfillment of this threat that have been realized between the time that Amos uttered it (see Amos 1:1) and Israel's attack on Judah. Unlike Isaiah 5:25 ff., therefore, Isaiah 9:7[8] ff. resembles Amos 4:6ff. in looking back on not one but a whole series of past blows, and so this passage (emphatically not Isa. 5:25ff.) does, like Amos, employ a refrain. The roughly parallel block 7:1–9:6[7] has preserved the reason for this implacable attitude of Isaiah toward the sister kingdom: the purpose of the attack on Judah was to put an end to the reign of the Davidic dynasty in Judah, 7:6. Isaiah is convinced that Aram and Ephraim have thereby dug their own graves. That Judah will be ravaged by a cruel foe is the gist of 5:26ff., which has already been dealt with, and presently Isaiah will substitute for this legendary people the Assyrians (8:7–8a); but the Davidic dynasty is inviolable. That its subjects are greatly outnumbered by those of either one of the two attacking kings makes no difference. The entire world outside the Davidic polity is a world without God, whereas YHWH is an integral part of the Davidic polity; and what could even all the nations in the world do against God? (8:8b–10 belongs between 7:9a and 7:9b; see *Immanuel.) But Judah – through its king Ahaz – must exhibit the same faith as Isaiah. If it solicits the aid of heathen Assyria, it thereby implies that it does not credit the Lord with the ability to dispose of Aram and Ephraim unaided. ("You treat my God as helpless," 7:13.) One obvious advantage of taking Isaiah's own word for it, instead of imputing to him the astute diplomatic motive so dear to rationalists who like to believe that the prophets were rationalists like them, is that the same irrational reason explains why Isaiah later opposed enlisting the aid of Egypt in disposing of Assyria, whereas for this the rationalizers have to discover still another secret rational motive. The fact is that only in the latter case can the course advocated by Isaiah also be justified by practical considerations (though they were foreign to Isaiah's thinking). Of the three premises of those who justify on practical grounds the policy advocated by Isaiah in the face of the Arameo-Ephraimite attack, two are at least doubtful: the premise that Tiglath-Pileser had not already imposed his suzerainty on Judah either when he defeated the *Uzziah-led coalition in 738 or when he swept into Philistia in 734; and the premise that although he had not moved betimes against the same *Pekah – who had perhaps been aided by the same *Rezin – when he rebelled against *Pekahiah, the presumably loyal son and successor of Assyrophile *Menahem, he would certainly, and without being solicited, attack Pekah and Rezin in time to save the House of David. The third premise is nonsense: that stronger powers do not subjugate weaker ones which do not either attack them first or solicit their protection! By procuring the aid of Assyria, Ahaz probably saved his dynasty and possibly his nation. Isaiah, however, bitterly confirmed his prediction of chapter 6, of an appalling devastation and added that the very power – Assyria – that Judah had hired to save her would be the instrument of her devastation (7:20). The best farmland (7:23, corresponding to the most hairy parts of the body, verse 20) would be reduced to thornbrakes infested by dangerous beasts. Just the marginal farmland, which could only be tilled with the hoe because too rocky for the plow (corresponding to areas of the body with scant hair), would escape infestation by dangerous beasts and would serve as pasture, the shrunken population being dependent on cows, sheep, and goats for its subsistence. (See also *Immanuel.) Chapter 8 begins, like chapter 7, with a piece of narrative; but unlike chapter 7 and like chapter 6, it is first person narrative. Isaiah's wife bears him a son whom the Lord instructs him to name Maher-(to be vocalized rather *Mihar*?) Shalal-Hash-Baz, "Pillage hastens, looting speeds," in token of the early plundering of two cities: "(4) For before the boy has learned to call 'Father!' and 'Mother!' the wealth of Damascus and the spoils of Samaria (6b) and the delights of Rezin and the son of Remaliah (the respective kings) (4b) shall be carried off before the king of Assyria." Isaiah is also instructed to symbolize this fact by writing an "undertaking (*ʾnwš*, which in 33:8 is parallel to *ʿedim* [so manuscript 1Qisa^{a}] and *berit*; perhaps in both passages read *ʾmwn* [i.e., *emun*], since confusion of *sh* and *m*, which resemble each other in the Paleohebraic script [see *Alphabet] is frequent in First Isaiah) to Maher Shalal Hash Baz," and having it formally witnessed. But as in chapter 7, Judah's want of faith must also be punished and through the same agent, Assyria. Unlike Aram and Israel, however, Judah would only be imperiled, not destroyed (8:5–8a). In this connection the opprobrious epithet "that people" is again applied to Judah (8:6), and twice more in 8:11, where Isaiah tells how, when the Lord singled him out (*be-ḥezqat* (*be-ḥezkat*) *ha-yad*, "when He grasped me by the hand"; cf. Isa. 45:1; Jer. 31:31[32]; Job 8:20), He warned him and his household not to walk in the path of "that people" (and here, as verse 14 makes clear, he means "both Houses of Israel," both Ephraim and Judah) so as not to stumble like the masses (verse 15; *rabbim*, as e.g., in Mal. 2:8, means "the many, *hoi polloi*"). On 8:16ff., see Ginsberg 1956, except that verses 20b–22 are to be arranged as follows: "(20b) For him who speaks thus there shall be no dawn. (21b*c*) Whether he turns upward, (22b) or looks downward (*el ereẓ* = Aram. *laʾaraʿ<leraʿ*), behold, distress and darkness with no day-break (reading *meʿif* with 1QIsaa), straitness and gloom with no dawning (read *mi-negoah*). (21a–b*b*) He shall walk in it wretched and hungry, and when he is hungry he shall rage and revolt against his king (better "kings"; vocalize *bi-mlakhaw*) and his divine beings." The sense of 8:23[9:1] is "For if (read *lu* with 1QIsa^{a}) there were to be drawn for her that is in straits, only the former [king, i.e., Pekah] would have brought disgrace on the land of the Zebulunites and the land of the Naphtalites (read *ereẓ ha-zevuloni we-ereẓ ha-naftali*) but the latter [king, i.e., Hoshea] would have brought honor to the other side of the Jordan and Galilee of the nations." In other words, the failure of Hoshea to regain the provinces lost by Pekah shows that the decree of the sack of Samaria (8:4) has not been revoked; its execution has merely been postponed, which dates at least 8:19–23 in the reign of Hoshea (732–725). Verse 5:30 (But on that day there will resound over him (i.e., over the subject of 8:20b–22, once he has learned to spurn his kings and his divine spirits) a roaring like that of the sea; and when he then looks down, behold, distressing darkness with light, darkness with dawn [*beʿefah*]) belongs here and (in a manner analogous to 29:5b*b*–6) it creates a transition from 8:20bff. to 9:1ff. The latter's message is: Following the final liquidation of the Northern Kingdom, its people shall enjoy freedom and happiness again – in a Davidic kingdom which shall again embrace them and be headed by a model king whose reign shall be blessed. Improved restoration and rendering of verses 5–6[6–7] are: "For a child has been born to us, a son has been given to us, and prosperity (?) has become the import of his name (read *shemo*). He has been named 'The Mighty God is planning grace, the Puissant One of Jacob intends well being' (*avir yaʿaqov ʿoseh shalom*), (6) in token of abundant prosperity and measureless well being, etc." (Explanations: Meaning of *hmṣrh* unknown. 1QIsaa reads המשורה, perhaps cf. מְשׂוּרָה "liquid measure." *Avir Yaʿaqov* is synonymous with and commoner than *Avir Yisraʾel* [Isa. 1:24], which, however, is to be restored in 43:15. For the synonymous parallelism of *yʿẓ* and *ʿsy*, cf. 5:19; 29:10. The root *ʿsy* also has this meaning in 5:12; 22:11; 32:6; 37:26. For *peleʾ* ("grace" see 25:1, and Psalms 88:11, 13; 89:6 and Qumran Hebrew.)

Panel 3, Field B, chapters 10–12. Isaiah 10:1–4a is a social protest in the style of 5:3–10. 4b is not a conclusion of what precedes – since 1–4a is not a recollection of a past blow but a threat of a future one. It is rather a repetition of the last clause of chapter 9 intended to serve as a link between the latter and the former (since its key words *af,* "anger," and *yad*, "arm, hand," occur again in 10:5). Since 10:16–19 is a threat against Israel (note, among other things, the resemblance of 10:16 to 17:4) and it originally followed directly on 9:16a [17a] (note, among other things, "in one day," 9:13 [14] and 10:17), what originally stood in its present position may very well have been 14:24–27; note among other things the antithesis between the Lord's purpose (*dimmiti*, 14:24) and Assyria's purpose (*yedammeh*, 10:7). Isaiah 10:5–15; 14:24–27 is a remarkable display of concern for the right of nations – not just Israel – to exist that is worthy of the man who authored 2:2–4; see above, panel 1, field B. The *terminus post quem* is given by the reference in 10:9 to the Assyrian annexation of Carchemish, which took place in 717 B.C.E. At the same time, verses 27bff. can best be understood against the background of Sargon's Arabian campaign of 715. The date of 10:5–15; 14:24–27 is therefore probably 716. Since the time when Isaiah assigned to Assyria the missions of liquidating the states of Aram and Ephraim and severely chastising Judah (see above), between ten and 15 years have elapsed, and he has been sickened by the ruthlessness (born, like every vice, of pride) of the Assyrian, who is not content to attack the nation he is commissioned to attack but conquers insatiably, and is not content to plunder (in accordance with 8:4; 10:6) but needs must annihilate (10:7), namely by expatriation (10:13bc; the Karatepe inscriptions confirm that *horid* means "to exile [populations]"). Assyria has still to carry out its mission of chastising Judah (8:5–8a), but after that the "Lord… will punish the majestic pride, and overbearing arrogance of the king of Assyria" (10:12). And 14:24–27 tells us in what manner: (24) The Lord of Hosts has sworn this oath: "As I have designed, so shall it happen;/What I have planned, that shall come to pass://(25a) To smash Assyria in my land,/ To trample him on my mountain (i.e., in my country; vocalize *hari* in view of Isa. 11:9; 25:6, 7, 10; 65:25; Ex. 15:17; Ps. 78:54)."/ /(26) That is the plan that is planned/For all the earth;//That is what an arm is poised for/Over all the nation.//(25b) And off them his yoke shall drop,/And his burden shall drop from their backs.//(27) For the Lord of Hosts has planned,/ And who can foil it?//It is His arm that is poised,/And who can stay it?//In 10:27bff. the prophet anticipates that the predicted imperilment of Judah by Assyria will take place by Sargon marching up the road from the Jordan Valley to Ai but turning southwestward before reaching Ai in order to advance on Jerusalem by way of Michmas and Geba. The only time when Sargon could be expected to march on Jerusalem by way of the Jordan Valley was when he was campaigning in, or returning from, North Arabia, in 716 or 715. The ravaged forest of verses 33–34 is, of course, no less than that in verses 17–18a*a*, 19 and in 9:17[18], the local population, not the invading army. In this passage, however, the ravaging is done with the ax, not with fire, and stumps – including notably the stump of Jesse, 11:1ff. – can produce new crowns of foliage, and so they shall, 11:1ff. The stump of the tallest tree of all, "the stump of Jesse shall, in regenerating, produce a marvelous shoot; a prince with a charismatic gift of justice. For he shall be endowed with the charismas of wisdom, resourcefulness and valor, and piety (*daʿat* being, as in Hos. 4:6; Prov 1:29, short for *daʿat elohim*/YHWH, "devotion to, or mindfulness of, God/YHWH"). He shall know the rights and wrongs of a case by instinct, and destroy the wicked by his mere utterance. (For *ruaḥ* (lit. "spirit"), "charisma," cf. e.g., II Kings 2:8–9, 14–15; Hos. 9:7; Micah 3:8). Down to this point, the doctrine of the election of the House of David had merely asserted that his family would reign forever; here the attention is transferred from the perpetuity of the dynasty to the marvelous qualities of the individual ruler. One might therefore say that Isaiah's concern, which has already been noted, about the social ills of his time, particularly the judicial oppression of the poor, has led him (most strikingly here but also in 9:5–6 (1–6) and 16:4b–5) to combine the peculiarly Judahite – really peculiarly Jerusalemite – doctrine of the perpetuity of the Davidic line with the common West Asiatic ideal of kingship as expressed in Israel's wisdom literature (Prov. 16:21b; 20:28; 25:5b; 29:14). By taking this step Isaiah made possible the evolution of the post-biblical idea of "the *Messiah." There followed visions of peace in the animal kingdom (at least within the borders of the Land of Israel, 11:9), the reconciliation of Judah and Ephraim under the Davidic dynasty (11:10, 13), and the reconquest of the dependencies of David (14); finally, the redemption of the Israelites exiled by the kings of Assyria.

THE ARCHIVE, CHAPTERS 13–33. This falls into three parts: I. The Book of Pronouncements *(Massaʾot)*, 13–23, minus the two misplaced "*ah*'s" 17:12–14; 18:1–7 (place these after chapter 33); II. "The Isaiah Apocalypse," chapters 24–27; III. The Book of *Ah*'s: 17:12–18:7, chapters 28–33. (30:6–7 is not a misplaced "pronouncement"; the first three words are corrupt for *bmšwʾt* (Job. 30:3; 38:27) *hngb*, "in the wasteland of the Negev").

The Book of Pronouncements. That there is no chronological arrangement here is easily demonstrated: 14:28ff. is dated "in the year that King Ahaz died," for which the earliest possible identification is 727 B.C.E.; yet 17:1ff., which predicts a total and definitive destruction of Damascus, which was taken but not destroyed in 732, cannot date from later than 732 B.C.E. (note that the depopulation of Israel is also still in the future, 17:4–6). The arrangement is actually geographical, namely, in two arcs beginning at Babylon and ending in the West: (a) chapters 13–21 (Babylon, 13:1, 19; 14:4; Assyria, 14:24–27; Philistia, 14:28ff.; Moab, chapters 15–16; Damascus and Israel, 17:1ff. [on the two "*ah*'s," 17:12ff.; 18:1–7, see above]; Egypt, chapter 19; Egypt and Nubia, chapter 20); (b) chapters 21–23 (Babylon, 21:1–10; Dumah, 21:11–12; Northwest Arabia, 21:13–17; Jerusalem, chapter 22; Tyre-Sidon, chapter 23). The material may be classified in four categories:

1. Definitely or probably Isaian. (i) 14:4b–21, a magnificent ode composed in the summer of 705, when the Assyrian defeat and the ignominious death of King Sargon seemed, even though they took place hundreds of miles northeast of "my land//my mountain" (14:24–25, see above) to be the fulfillment of Isaiah's prediction of the crushing of Assyria and the liberation of "all the nations" (14:26, see above). (ii) 14:24–27 (dealt with above, under The Diary, Panel 3, Field B). (iii) 14:28–29, 30b–31 (32, 30a [read *be-kharo*, "in His – YHWH's, referring to 32b – pasture"] belong after 16:5). It would seem that Ahaz died in the same year as Tiglath-Pileser; in any case, not Ahaz but the latter, who invaded Philistia both in 734 and in 733, is the rod of him [i.e., Assyria] that beat Philistia. (iv) 17:1–11 clearly 733–732. (v) 19:1–15. In Isaiah's time the nomes (districts) of Lower Egypt were governed by hereditary princes, which is why his contemporary Sennacherib speaks of defeating "the kings (plural) of Egypt." In line with this is Isaiah's reference to the nomes of Egypt as kingdoms (19:2). In addition, the rhythm and diction of 19:1–15 are typically Isaian; for the presumable occasion see on chapter 22. On verses 16ff., see below. (vi) chapter 22. The background of this chapter is the situation after the fall of Azekah to the Assyrians in 712 B.C.E., and the feverish preparations in Jerusalem for the eventuality of a siege (whose non-materialization is probably to be ascribed to timely submission). The main target of the Assyrians was Ashdod which headed a revolt of vassal states against Assyria in the years 713 and 712 until it was besieged and captured. As can be seen from Isaiah 20:4ff., the rebels hoped for help from Nubia and Egypt. Isaiah opposed Judah's involvement for the same reason as he had 20 years earlier opposed soliciting the aid of Assyria against Aram and Israel: it signified that Judah relied on the might of heathen Egypt and Ashdod because it had no faith in the Lord's ability to dispose of Assyria – as he surely would, in his own good time. (vii) 23:1–14. The diction is Isaiah's, and the period is the Assyrian one. (The corrupt verse 13 is to be restored something like this: The land of Kittim itself, which [this is one of the instances of the use of *zeh* as a relative pronoun] Sidonians founded – whose turrets they raised, whose ramparts they erected – is a people no more; Assyria has turned it into a ruin.) On verses 14ff., see below.

2. Not by but about Isaiah, chapter 20. The year of the Assyrian capture of Ashdod is 712 (see above on chapter 22). The account is in the third person, but it obviously contains a historical core. As already mentioned, Isaiah disapproved of his own people's attempting to throw off the Assyrian domination with the help of Egypt and Nubia, and he was convinced that both Egypt and those who relied on her would come to grief. That he took off his clothes and sandals to dramatize – and thus quasi-magically effectuated – the ignominious end of Egypt that he predicted is entirely conceivable (cf. the Maher-Shalal-Hash-Baz sign, 8:3–4). That Isaiah's regular attire was a loincloth, and that he went entirely naked and barefoot for three years are not impossible data; but they may be a distorted recollection that so long as the rebellion lasted he went about in sack-cloth and sandals, and when Ashdod fell he took these off and went naked and barefoot for a while.

3. Definitely neither by nor about Isaiah. (i) 13:1–14:4a, 22–23. Both Isaiah 13 and Zephaniah 1:7, 14ff. announce a day of divine wrath and stress that it is close at hand, but only the latter likens it explicitly to a day of a private sacrificial slaughter, and feast of which one notifies one's guests in advance and "has them cleanse themselves (ritually)" (*hikdish*, *hiqdish*, Zeph. 1:7; cf. *kiddesh*, *qiddesh*, Job 1:5, of having persons on whose behalf burnt offerings are made cleanse themselves ritually). Consequently it is only Zephaniah 1 that enables us to understand why the armies summoned by the Lord to execute the carnage of the day of His wrath are styled by him in Isaiah 13:3 "My ritually cleansed ones." Moreover, the age of prophecies that Media would overthrow Babylon was the Babylonian age; Jeremiah 51 is an indication for Isaiah 13 and Isaiah 21:1–9; naturally, for it was the Median empire whose power balanced that of the neo-Babylonian until the year 550, when King Astyages of Media was defeated and captured by his vassal Cyrus of Anshan, the founder of the Persian empire. For 14:1–2, a comparison with Zechariah 1:12–16 is suggestive, and 14:3–4a, 22–23 are clearly an editorial framework from the Babylonian period to verses 14b–21, representing it as an Isaian prediction of what the Jews will say on the death of the Babylonian tyrant rather than as the expression of Isaiah's own satisfaction – on the ignominious death of the Assyrian king, Sargon II, and the apparent collapse of Assyria, in 705 B.C.E – that it is (see above). (ii) chapter 21.21:1–10 is to be judged in light of what has just been said about predictions about the fall of Babylon to the Medes, and a presumption is thereby created against the enigmatic "pronouncements" 21:11–12 and 21:13 ff. as well.

4. Tantalizing in-betweens. (i) The Moab Pronouncement, chapters 15–16 (with 14:32, 30a restored to its original position after 16:5, as indicated under 1). It seems equally clear that on the one hand the bulk of this composition must be old, and on the other, that it cannot be an Isaian composition pure and simple. As regards the basic text, its dating must take account of the fact that the Moabites are represented as fleeing southward from as far north as Heshbon and Elealeh. However, it is known (from the Mesha inscription) that Moab recovered (from the Israelites, who had dispossessed the Amorites) much of the anciently Moabite territory north of the Arnon; and when Israel was forced out of Transjordan, Moab may very well have emulated Ammon (Amos 1:13), so that the old suggestion, most recently defended by Rudolph, that the basic lament was composed on the occasion of Jeroboam son of Joash's reconquest of Transjordan "from Lebo of Hamath to the Sea of the Arabah (i.e., the Dead Sea)" (II Kings 14:25) still has to be considered. For one has the impression that the old lament already had at 16:1 counsel to the Moabite refugees who have reached the southernmost point in Moab, Zoar (15:5), to cross over to Edom (Moab's southern neighbor) and send messengers from Sela in Edom to Jerusalem requesting asylum; only 16:4b–5; 14:32, 30a; 16:6 seem to have been added

by Isaiah. In 4b–5 the speaker explains to Moab why asylum in Judah would be particularly desirable; "For violence (read *ḥamaẓ*, equivalent to *ḥamas*) has vanished, rapine is ended, /and marauders have perished from this land: //and a throne shall be established in goodness/in the tent of David//and on it shall sit in faithfulness/a ruler devoted to justice/and zealous (read *we-shoḥer*, Ginsberg 1950; *mahir* would require a different construction, see Prov. 22:29; 7:6) for equity." But then in 14:32, 30a; 16:6 he reveals how this ruler will react to the Moabite's petitions (14:32). "And what will he reply to a nation's messenger?// That Zion has been established by YHWH; in it the needy of His people shall find shelter (14:30). In His pasture (read *be-kharo*, see 30:23b) such as are poor may graze/and such as are destitute may lie down secure."// The immediately preceding sentence seems to imply that non-Israelites who seek asylum will be welcomed, but only if they are poor and humble. Verse 5 then explains – and it makes no difference whether the speaker is still the Davidic king or the poet who reports the former's answer – why Moab is not welcome: "We have heard of Moab's pride-/most haughty is he-//of his pride and haughtiness and fury,/and of the iniquity in him" (16:6). There is no such word as bad "falsehood," or "prating." *Baddaw* is the suffixed form of the preposition *bede* (Jer. 51:58; Nah. 2:13; Hab. 2:13; Job 11:3, and what *bdnm* is in the Eshmunazor inscription (Phoenician), line 6). Now if one takes the above translations bit by bit, it is not difficult to find striking parallels to every bit. 16:4b–5 is insistently reminiscent, in content and partly in diction, of 9:3–6 [4–7] and 14:32, 30a, reminiscent of 3:15, of 5:17 (especially if we emend וְרָעוּ כְבָשִׂים כַּר בְּרִיִּים, "and the lambs shall graze the pasture of the fat (rams), etc." – but even also as it stands), and of 11:4a, 9a; while to 16:6 the closest single parallel is 10:7a, 12–15 (cf. 37:23–25), but see also 2:10–17; 3:16–17; 5:15–16; 28:1ff. Indeed, anyone who has not been struck by the importance in Isaiah's thought of the doctrine that pride is the root and essence of wickedness has never done more than skim his book; cf. further 16:5b (reading *we-shoḥer* as above) with 1:17a (reading *shaḥaru ẓedeq* for the insipid "guide the robbed").

(ii) and (iii) the prose, or mainly prose, appendices to the Egypt and Tyre Pronouncements, i.e., 19:16–25 and 23:15ff. The latter does not sound like Isaiah either in diction or in sentiments, but the former is occasionally reminiscent of Isaiah in its diction and is tantalizingly suggestive of events in Isaiah's time by which they could have been suggested to Isaiah: 19:19–20 of the stele Tiglath-Pileser erected on the border of Egypt in token of his sovereignty over it, and verse 23 of Sargon's forcible opening of Egypt to trade with Assyria. And certainly the universalism of 19:24–25 ("my [YHWH's] people Egypt," "Israel… third to Egypt and Assyria") is worthy of Isaiah.

"The Isaiah Apocalypse." (Isa. 24–27). It may be admitted that though the language and the ideas are often Isaian, frequent divergences from Isaiah's style, spirit, and outlook argue that the resemblances are due to imitation of Isaiah rather than Isaian authorship. On the other hand it is unwise to descend below the Babylonian exile, and at least the key passage 25:6–12 sounds like nothing so much as an assurance by an early seventh-century writer that Isaiah's prediction 14:24–27 (translated above in connection with The Diary, Panel 3, Field B) of the liberation of the nations as a result of the Lord's destroying Assyria by trampling it on "his mountains," i.e., in the Holy Land, will yet come true. For consider what 25:1–6 says: It says that the Lord's trampling of a certain entity "on this mountain" is going to result in a feast for "all the peoples" (verse 6) because of the destruction of "the shroud that is drawn over the faces of all the peoples and the covering that is spread over all the nations" (verse 7) and the "destruction of 'death' [i.e., the Assyrian killing of whole peoples, 10:7 (and 14:20, where "countries" and "peoples" should be read for 'your country' and 'your people' of MT)] forever and the wiping away of tears from all faces and the end of the reproach of peoples [so for MT's "his people"] over all the earth" (25:8). – Let who will try to escape the conclusion that first, "this mountain" here is identical with "my mountain" in 14:25 (which stands in parallel with "my country," – and means the Holy Land), and that, secondly, the entity that is to be trampled to death by the Lord on the said mountain must be, here as in 14:25, Assyria. Moab was never of such international importance. The received reading "Moab" might be taken as a cryptogram for "Assyria," though *atbash*, the system by which *ššk* represents *bbl* in Jeremiah 25:26; 51:41 and *lbqmy* represents *kšdym* in Jeremiah 51:1, is of no use here. However, the better explanation of מואב is simply that it was a misreading for אשור (confusion of ב and ר was possible and occurred in all periods, and confusion of ש and מ was possible in the Paleohebraic script in which it has occurred a number of times throughout chapters 1–33. A well-known instance is אִמְרוּ for אַשְׁרֵי ("Happy is"; 3:10), Kaufmann has very plausibly emended עַמְּךָ to עֹשְׂךָ ("your Maker"; in 2:6); Another possibility is to read אֵמוּן (with the surmised meaning "undertaking" [cf. *amanah*]) for אֱנוֹשׁ in 8:1; 33:8. Further תִּשָּׂא is to be emended to אִתָּם (read וֶאֱלִלֵיהֶם אִתָּם ("and their idols along with them")) in 2:9, מַיִם to שִׂמְלָה ("clothing,) in 3:1, and the inapposite שִׂיד of 33:12 to שָׁמִיר ("brambles"; the מ omitted by haplography after the ש which it resembled in the Paleohebraic script) so as to parallel קוֹצִים, cf. 32:13. (The resemblance between *m* and *š* in the Protohebraic script also played a part in the loss of a *m* in *mšlwḥ*), 11:14, and in the double writing of the *m* in *wmmšltk*, 22:21, for *wmšʿntk*.) As has been shown, we must now add *mwʾb*, 25:10, for *ʾšwr*; but we must also add, in the same verse, *khdwš tbn* for *khdwš mtbn* (the *m* is a dittogram of the preceding *š* and *md*(*w*)*šh* for *mdmnh*). For the sense required is not the remarkable "as a *pile* of straw chips [the meaning of *matben* in the Mishnah] is threshed to bits in a dunghill" (?; as a common noun *madmenah* is not otherwise attested) but "as straw chips are threshed to bits in threshing (21:10)." This confusing of *m* and *š* does not extend to Deutero-Isaiah. Consequently the incorporation of "the Isaiah Apocalypse" in the Book of Isaiah antedates that of Deutero-Isaiah. Consequently, though "Assyria" in our verse may conceivably

refer, as e.g., in 52:4, to the neo-Babylonian empire and date from after 605, it cannot refer to the Persian Empire and date from after 539. Finally, the meaning of 25:11 is, "Then he will spread out his hands in their (i.e., the Assyrians') homeland as a swimmer spreads out his hands to swim, and he will humble their pride along with their citadels (read *armenotaw*). Yea, the secure fortification of their walls (read *ḥomotaw*) he will lay low and humble, will raze to the ground, to the very dust." Of course the same – Assyrian or Babylonian – cities are meant in 26:5–6; 27:10.

The Book of "Ah's," chapters 28–33, 17:12–18:7. The background of 30:1ff. and 31:1ff. is obviously Judah's negotiations with Egypt for aid in a contemplated or ongoing revolt against Assyria's suzerainty, and the only doubt is whether the revolt in question is that of 713–712 against Sargon or that of 705–701 against Sennacherib. Skinner still favored the former because of 30:4 (which could be read immediately after verse 2) "For his [Pharaoh's] officers are present [read *yihyu*?] in Tanis [in the eastern Delta], and his monarchs [read *melakhaw*] reach as far as Heracleopolis magna [in Middle Egypt]." That would be a fair description of the eastern and southern limits of the realm of Tefnakhte and Bocchoris, the Pharaohs of the 24th Dynasty, whose residence was Sais in the western Delta and whose rule was terminated in the year 710. If correct, this would mean (so Skinner) that there is no evidence that Isaiah again condemned the policy of attempting to win independence from Assyria with the help of heathen allies during the revolt of 705–701, at the end of which he definitely encouraged Hezekiah, 37:5, 38:6. If chapters 30–31 are nevertheless dated, as with the majority of critics, to the revolt of 705–701, 30:4 must be regarded as formulaic. The Masoretic Text's *mal'akhaw*, "his messengers," cannot be made to refer, along with "his officers," to Hezekiah's delegation (where is Hezekiah mentioned?). That the displaced block of "*Ah*'s" 17:12–18:7 belongs after chapter 33 is suggested by the similarity between 33:21–23 (we shall be as inaccessible to enemies as if surrounded by an impassable sea) and 17:12–14 (the multitudes of our enemies may create a tumult like that of the seas, but they shall be terrified into flight by the roar of YHWH (like the primeval waters, Ps. 104:5–9)). Chapter 33, for its part, seems to date from after the final subjugation of Judah in 701 (Judah's past and future situations (3–6 and 10ff. respectively) are enviable, but the present (7–9) deplorable). There is thus no obstacle in the way of regarding the arrangement of the entire Book of "*Ah*'s" as basically chronological.

THE HISTORICAL APPENDIX, CHAPTERS 36–39. It is of course nothing but a parallel version of II Kings 18:13–20:19, mostly shorter (the most important omission is Hezekiah's abject surrender, II Kings 18:14–16) but with Hezekiah's Psalm, Isaiah 38:9–20, added. It relates three incidents in which Isaiah played a part: (1) the deliverance of Jerusalem, chapters 36–37; (2) Hezekiah's illness and recovery, chapter 38; and (3) the visit of the ambassadors from Babylon, chapter 39.

(1) Within the first, two versions of the manner of Jerusalem's deliverance have been combined: (a) 36:2–37:9a (plus *wa-yishmaʿ*^{2}), 37–38; (b) 37:9b (minus *wa-yishmaʿ*^{2})–36. The former is full of circumstantial details and virtually dispenses with miracles: Sennacherib, at Lachish, sends the *Rabshakeh (it is a title, not a proper name) with a force to Jerusalem to demand that its people surrender so that they can at least eat decent food and drink decent drink while awaiting Sennacherib's inevitable return to carry them off into an exile which is also tolerable, instead of continuing to put up with the terrible conditions of siege that they are enduring. The Rabshakeh deliberately shouts this, in the Judean language, to the men on the walls of Jerusalem and over the heads of the Judahite officials – their names and offices are given – who were sent out to parley with him in Aramaic. Hezekiah then sends a delegation to Isaiah, who sends back an assurance that a disquieting report will compel Sennacherib to withdraw to his own country, where he will fall by the sword. Returning to Sennacherib, the Rabshakeh finds that he has already moved northward to Libnah, which is to the north of Lachish, because of a report that King Tirhakah of Nubia is advancing upon him. Sennacherib, as a matter of fact, withdraws all the way to his capital Nineveh, and there (some 20 years later but telescoped in the narrative; see *Adrammelech) two of his sons assassinate him; another son, Esarhaddon, succeeds him on the throne. The other version (37:9b–36), on the other hand, is short on details and long on the miraculous: Sennacherib sends anonymous messengers with a written demand of surrender, addressed not to the people but to Hezekiah and supported by the argument not that YHWH Himself has sent the Assyrians because Hezekiah has offended Him but that the Lord is helpless to save him. Isaiah spontaneously sends Hezekiah a reassurance that Sennacherib will never even lay siege to the city but will return to his homeland, and that night an angel of the Lord kills 185,000 men in the Assyrian camp. Although this second account is manifestly farther removed from actual history than the first, it contains in 37:22b–29 what sounds, in thought and in diction, like a genuine Isaian composition. As for the first account, either it refers to an (unlikely) second invasion of Judah by Sennacherib which, occurring after the year 697, the last one that is covered by his annals, is unattested by any Assyrian source, or else its divergences from the course of events in 701 (Tirhakah was then not yet king of Nubia but only a boy who had never left Nubia; Sennacherib did not retreat from Lachish to avoid the advancing Nubian army but met and defeated the Nubian and Egyptian forces at Eltekeh-which is north of Lachish and even of Libnah-apparently before advancing further south and dispatching a force to Jerusalem. See *Hezekiah, *Sennacherib.

(2) Hezekiah's illness and recovery. The legendary sun miracle had an antecedent in the reign of Ahaz, as the rabbis guessed from 38:8; see *Immanuel.

(3) The visit of the ambassadors from Babylon, chapter 39. Since Merodach-Baladan, who had been driven out of Babylon by Sargon in 710, returned on the latter's death in

705 from the Chaldean country by the Persian Gulf to reign in Babylon again until expelled in 703 by Sennacherib, and then successfully eluded him in the southern marshes, the visit by a delegation from the leading anti-Assyrian of the east to the leading anti-Assyrian of the west is presumably historical, but hardly the conversation between Isaiah and Hezekiah reported in 39:3–8.

[Harold Louis Ginsberg]

CHAPTERS 34–35

Chapters 34–35 of Isaiah constitute an independent unit. Chapter 34 contains a prophecy of wrath and destruction of the nations in general and Edom in particular, and chapter 35 deals with the Redemption of Israel and the Return to Zion. Since the beginning of modern biblical criticism scholars have held that chapters 34–35 do not relate to Isaiah son of Amoz, either in terms of content or style, and even certain conservative critics do not attribute them to Isaiah son of Amoz. There is no consensus, however, regarding their inclusion within prophetic units, or their exact time. Some scholars suggested joining these chapters to Isaiah 13–14 and regarding them as the product of a single author (Gesenius); some suggested joining them to Jeremiah 50–51 and regarding them as the product of a single author (Ewald); but the majority tend to relate them to Isaiah 40–66 (but esp. Torrey, who not only related them to Isaiah 40–66 but maintained that originally 34–35 were joined to, and served as, an introduction for 40–66; Steck regards 34–35 as a redactional bridge between First and Second Isaiah when the book was almost complete; the later account of Sennacherib's campaign against Judah, chapters 36–39, was added to them). Most critics tended to attribute them to the time of Deutero-Isaiah, i.e., the second half of the sixth century B.C.E., but some date them later, to after the time of Malachi, i.e., the middle of the fifth century B.C.E. (M.H. Segal), while still others dated them even later, to the fourth century (Pfeiffer). The injunction to "search in the book of Yahweh, read! Not one of these failed" (Isa. 34:16) points to the existence of a collection of written prophecies of destruction that have now materialized (Cf. Blenkinsopp a.l. 454).

Together with the question of the placing and dating of these chapters, scholars also began to doubt that these two chapters are a single unit, and some of them distinguished between them. Graetz was the first (1891) who separated them, attributing chapter 35 to Deutero-Isaiah. He regarded it as an integral part of Deutero-Isaiah and even inserted it into chapter 51 between verses 3 and 4. As for chapter 34, he attributed it to Jeremiah. When a distinction began to be made between Deutero- and Trito-Isaiah (see below), some scholars joined chapter 35 to 40–55, which are seen as part of Deutero-Isaiah (see Olmstead), while some joined it to 56–66, which are seen as part of Trito-Isaiah (Scott). Actually only the dating of these chapters, but not their relation to any particular prophet, can be determined. These two chapters are only part of a multifaceted literature which grew and flourished after the destruction of the First Temple and before the Return of the Exiles, of which Isaiah 40–66 are but the most important part. It was concerned, on the one hand, with announcing the downfall of Babylon the destroyer of Judah and the downfall of Edom the ally of Babylon, and, on the other, with announcing the Redemption of Israel and the Return to Zion. The contents of Isaiah 34–35 bears witness to their time of origin, i.e., after the destruction of Judah and on the eve of the Return to Zion (between c. 580 and 540 B.C.E.). The acts perpetrated by Edom against Judah during the period of the destruction, which were denounced by the prophets (Ezek. 35; Obad.) and poets (Ps. 137; Lam. 4:21–22), are still very much in the mind of the prophet and his audience and are expressed here with extreme wrath (cf. Isa. 63:1–6). Edom is the people whom God has doomed (34:5). The time is a "day of vengeance for the Lord, a year of recompense for the cause of Zion" (34:8), and perhaps there is also an allusion to the destruction of Edom (which also took place in the sixth century). The anticipated and desired destruction of Edom is total, in accordance with the literary tradition of maledictions against breakers of alliances (see esp. Hillers' work, but his attribution of the chapter to the time of Isaiah son of Amoz has been criticized in terms of historical background). Chapter 35 completes the picture and expresses the yearning for the Redemption of Israel and the Return to Zion which will follow the downfall of Israel's enemies. In light of its subject and content it is related in terms of content and style to Isaiah 40–66.

DEUTERO-ISAIAH

DIFFERENTIATION BETWEEN CHAPTERS 1–39 AND 40–66. Hints of a dichotomy between chapters 1–39 and chapters 40–66 of Isaiah are to be found even in medieval Jewish Bible exegesis (see e.g., *Ibn Ezra, Ibn *Gikatilla, and others). The question of the dichotomy between these chapters was revived at the beginning of modern biblical research, in 1775, by the German scholar J.Ch. Doederlin, and since then the dichotomy has been generally maintained as an incontrovertible fact. This differentiation between the two groups is based on a conclusive combination of historical, conceptual, stylistic, and linguistic evidence. One of the characteristics of chapters 40–66 is the scarcity of historical data and the vagueness of the historical background. However, some distinctly historical information (such as the two explicit references to Cyrus, 44:28; 45:1), and the mention of Babylon and the Chaldeans (43:14; 47:1; 48:20), and reflections of the historical background (the Exile and Redemption, the return to Zion and Jerusalem, the exiles and their "joiners"), attest another background which is more than 150 years later than the time of Isaiah son of Amoz. Similarly, there are conceptual differences between the two groups. For example, in the first part the idea of rebuke is predominant, while in the second consolation is the major idea; in the first part there are central motifs such as the idea of the remnant, of the end of days, and of the future king, while in the second these are not mentioned; and, in contrast, the central idea which dominates the second part, the "Servant of God," is neither mentioned nor hinted at in the first. Furthermore, despite important similarities of diction, there are clear and distinct differences between the two parts, which prove that not only were these two parts not written by the same person, but they are not even products of the same period. It appears that there were a number of reasons for joining chapters 40ff. to the group attributed to Isaiah son of Amoz. The first and decisive reason was apparently the intention of the editors of the Prophets to conclude them with chapters of comfort. An additional reason is that despite the differences between the two parts in language and style, there is some relationship between them. Another contributive factor was the paucity of historical data in chapters 40–66. Although they did sense that the two groups were from different periods, the editors' faith in the prophet's ability to envision the distant future allowed them to overcome this difficulty. This view is still held in certain circles, especially fundamentalists. Although the distinction between the two parts has been accepted in biblical research as a fact, several writers in the 20th century have maintained the unity of the book and have attempted to disprove most of the arguments of those who distinguish between the two parts (Zlotnick, Kaminka, et al.).

Structure of 40–66 and its Composition. Critics of the Book of Isaiah have raised the question of whether chapters 40–66 all stem from a single prophet or are the products of two, three, or more prophets. B. Duhm was the first to divide these chapters into two blocs (40–55 and 56–66). According to him, the two blocs are distinct in historical background, conceptual content (attitude to ritual, polemic against the Samaritans), language and style, and place and time of authorship. The first bloc belongs to "the Second (Deutero-) Isaiah," who lived during the time of Cyrus, while the second bloc, 56–66, belongs to another prophet whom he called "the Third (Trito-) Isaiah," who lived in Jerusalem close to the time of Ezra and Nehemiah. This differentiation into two blocs and two prophets was accepted, with various modifications, by many scholars – E.S. Sellin and Elliger held that the "Third Isaiah" was a disciple of the "Second" and edited his prophecies, that he lived at the end of the sixth century, the time of Haggai and Zechariah, and that the prophecies were written in Jerusalem. Some scholars follow Duhm in maintaining that the group is divided into two blocs, but they hold that it is impossible that chapters 56–66 were the work of one author and were produced during the lifetime of one prophet. Rather, they maintain that there are in this bloc prophecies from different periods, differing, however, in the times they assign to the prophecies. Some limit the period of time reflected in these prophecies to that between Ezekiel and Ezra-Nehemiah (Cheyne, Smith, Kittel). Some expand it to the period from the seventh to the third centuries B.C.E. (Budde, Volz, Eissfeldt). Other scholars, such as Glahn, Klausner, Segal, Kaufmann, and Haran, defend the unity of chapters 40–66. Kaufmann made the greatest attempts to disprove the arguments of those who maintained division into blocs and into separate prophets or prophecies, by determining that the historical background of chapters 40–66 is explicitly before the building of the Second Temple. He also emphasized that these prophecies contain no reflection of what befell those who returned from the Babylonian Exile to Palestine. Kaufmann concluded that these prophecies date from before the building of the Second Temple and their location is in Babylon. Segal also supported the unity of the book and its author, but unlike Kaufmann he held that the background reflected is that of Palestine. M. Haran has argued for the unity of the book and the author, but not of the place, as did Segal and Kaufmann. It is Haran's opinion that chapters 40–48 originated in Babylon. In the return to Palestine, which the prophet had foretold, he too returned to Jerusalem with the exiles, and chapter 49 on reflects the Palestinian background. This is expressed especially in these chapters in which there is a direct address to Jerusalem (49:14–26; 51:17–23; 54:1ff.; 60:1ff.; 62:1–9). More recent study has moved in the direction that chapters 56–66 do not come from one hand or one time period (Blenkinsopp (2003), 59).

SONGS OF THE SERVANT OF THE LORD. In dividing chapters 40–66 into two blocs and two authors, Duhm also maintained that there are additions and editing of other authors in both blocs. The word *ʿeved*, "slave," "servant," occurs 20 times in chapters 40–55 (once in the plural in 54:17). In 13 of these instances the servant is Israel the people. From the first bloc, 40–55, Duhm first separated four poems which he called "Songs of the Servant of the Lord," maintaining that they are by a different prophetic personality, not by Deutero-Isaiah. The four songs according to Duhm, are (1) 42:1–4; (2) 49:1–6; (3) 50:4–9; and (4) 52:13–53:12. According to Duhm and his followers, the servant is not Israel, but an idealized figure who is predestined by God for a function on account of which he suffers greatly. (Although "Israel" is found in most versions of Isa. 49:3, it is inconsistent with the mission to Israel in 5–6, and is probably a gloss; see Blenkinsopp, a.l. 297–98.) Some scholars who agree with the isolation of the "Songs of the Servant of the Lord" and their unity of content did not accept Duhm's method of dividing them and rightly added to what is called the first song, 42:1–4, verses 5–7 of the chapter, whose subject matter is similar to that of the preceding verses. Some scholars consider verses 1–9 as a unit, despite the differences in person and approach. Similarly, verse 7 is added to what is called the second song, 49:1–6, and there are some scholars who attribute to it even some of the following verses. There is also doubt about the inclusion of what is called the third song, 50:4–9, among the other songs. It seems that there are verses outside these four songs which may be identified with verses of the four songs, both in terms of content and in terms of style (e.g., 41:8; 42:1–25; 44:1–2, 21–22, 26; 50:10; 51:16; 61:1–3). Furthermore, a detailed analysis of the language and style of what are called the "Songs of the Servant of the Lord" within the other chapters shows no differences among them (see Ch. North, *The Suffering Servant in Deutero-Isaiah*, 1956^2). In consequence, it has been argued that any distinction between these units and their contexts is somewhat arbitrary (cf. also Haran). The "servant" of Duhm's fourth song (52:13–53:12) received special attention because of the New Testament's identification of him with Jesus (directly in Acts 8 8:26–40 and implied elsewhere, e.g., Mark 10:45).

LITERARY UNITS IN 40–66. The analysis of the boundaries and scope of the literary and prophetic units that comprise chapters 40–66 has gone through several stages. The stage that preceded Gunkel and Gressmann recognized a prophetic unit of the length of a chapter or more. Skinner, for example, divided the first section, chapters 40–48, into six units, each of which was delivered at a different time, and whose order reflects the prophet's reactions to the events of his time. Budde regarded chapters 40–66 as a planned book which included four prophecies with a prologue and epilogue. This was followed by the approach associated with Gunkel, who originated the method of "form criticism." Gunkel maintained that the prophetic books are composed of small units of separate "oracles," which were joined together by editors. He determined the limits of the units by the formal criteria of opening and conclusion. Gressmann applied this method of Gunkel to Deutero-Isaiah, and in his literary analysis (1914) attempted to prove that chapters 40–55 are composed of 49 small independent units. Gressmann also classified the prophecies into about 12 "types," comprising nine prophetic *Gattungen* and three non-prophetic ones. This method played a major role in German biblical criticism. Koehler distinguished 70 units in chapters 40–55, while Volz distinguished 50 units (apart from the "Songs of the Servant of the Lord"). Mowinckel divided these chapters into 41 units (excluding the "Songs of the Servant of the Lord"), while Begrich pointed to the existence of more than 70 units. The protagonists of the small unit attempted to discover the system according to which these units were arranged. Mowinckel stated that these small prophecies, which were at first separate, were later organized according to the principle of "key words" (*Stichwörter*). Similar words or expressions appeared at the beginnings and ends of prophecies and served the editors as guides. Sometimes this principle of verbal associations was combined with, or varied by, conceptual associations. In the third stage there appeared a reaction to the method of *Gattungen* and small units, and several scholars attempted to show that the prophetic units are longer. Kaufmann strongly rejected the "form critical" method and maintained that "the error of this approach is the confusion of the formal or typological unit with the unit of composition." An author can fashion his creation out of many separate units formally joined together, which nevertheless combine into one composition. Kaufmann holds that Mowinckel's theory of "key words" is a mechanical approach which is unacceptable. The verbal linkings are not a matter of technical arrangement, but rather a phenomenon of composition: it is the author, not an editor, who is fond of such associations and more than once strains the meaning of a word in order to be able to repeat it. Kaufmann maintains that the prophecies in Isaiah 40–66 – both the units of the books and the separate prophecies within each unit – are arranged chronologically. According to him there are 14 prophecies in the first unit, 40–48; in the second unit, 49–57, he counts about 20 prophecies; while in the third unit, 58–66, he finds nine prophecies. According to him the traditional division into three sections is primary and reflects the stages in which these prophecies came into being. Similarly Muilenburg maintains that the literary units are large. According to him section 40–48 contains 14 prophecies (the same number as that of Kaufmann but with minor divergences). He maintains, however, that the prophecies of Deutero-Isaiah are made up of strophes which are joined in various ways by means of openings and conclusions, and, in this way, Muilenburg sought a formal structure in each and every prophecy. Haran affirmed the system of the long prophetic units, but according to him the criterion for the division of the prophecies has to be based not on formal mechanics but rather on the context of the individual cycles: formal linguistic considerations can be added subsequently by way of confirmation. The construction of the complete prophecies is accomplished by linking a concatenation of short sections, each of which contains a new idea or a new poetic image. The combination of the separate parts results in a kind of sum total of ideas and images, subjects and motifs, which is repeated several times throughout the first division 40–48. Each consecutive set of strophes which approaches a sum total makes up a whole literary unit. Each image or motif serves as a typical component of a prophecy, while the total prophecy is made up of a set which includes most of the components. It is not necessary, according to Haran, that the internal order of the components be uniform. The prophet can combine the typical components in a different order every time. There is a certain consistency in the total content of the set but not within the arrangement of components within it. The number of prophetic units in division 40–48, according to Haran, is 10, including the satirical lamentation for Babylon in chapter 47. More recent work (see Sweeney 1993, Sawyer) has focused on redactional analysis that studies the connections between the prophetic speeches and the extant prophetic book at the literary level, with the goal of explicating independent literary layers, the original foundation, and added-on layers not only in Deutero-Isaiah but in the entire canonical book (Kratz, Steck, Vermeylen). Other approaches are those of Baltzer, who views chapters 40–55 as liturgical drama, and Lau, who understands chapter 56–66 as a composite collection of texts brought together as "scribal prophecy" by scholars working within circles of transmitters of prophetic tradition.

CONCEPTUAL ASPECTS. *Exile and Redemption.* The Book of Ezekiel attests the frame of mind of the exiles of Judah and Jerusalem. The depression and despair of the exiles are expressed in the words of the people in the vision of the dry bones: "Our bones are dried up and our hope is lost" (Ezek. 37:11). This same pessimistic view of the relationship between the people and its God and of the future of the people persisted among the exiles. Some time (about 20 years) later, when the prophet who is called Deutero-Isaiah appeared, he found that the people believed that God was "hiding His face" from them and that their case was hopeless: "Why do you say, O Jacob, and speak O Israel, My way is hid from the Lord, and my right is disregarded by my God" (40:27). Against the background of this depression and despair, the prophet of comfort and encouragement arose and, like Ezekiel in his later years, he began at the outset of his career to comfort and encourage the exiles of Judah and Jerusalem and breathe new life into them. He brought the people tidings of the end of the time of wrath and the beginning of God's goodwill. The sin of Jerusalem was expiated, since she had atoned doubly for all her transgressions. The prophet tirelessly wove into all his early prophecies (40–48) words of comfort and tidings of redemption, describing God as the creator and director of history who has erased the guilt of His people and is about to redeem them from the captivity and exile, by both natural and supernatural means, according to His will and power. Despite the miraculous and eschatological nature of the described redemption, it is no mere consolation for the end of days but is rather based on, and connected with, current events. In the same way that God, the guide of history, created Babylon "to punish His obedient people, to destroy Jerusalem, and burn its Temple, so He has set up Cyrus" to promote the redemption of the Israelite people, to rebuild Jerusalem, and reestablish its Temple (44:28; 45:13). The prophet proclaims that the time has come for Babylon and Chaldea to be punished (43:14; 46:1; 47:1ff.), and actual events serve as proof of the truth of his words. The defeat of Babylon by Cyrus is seen as evidence that just as God fulfilled the "first promises" (probably the fall of Babylon; see Haran, *Bein Rishonot le-Ḥadashot*, 1963), so he will fulfill the "new promises" – the tidings of redemption, of the revival of the people, and of their return to Zion. The description of the redemption is not limited to the redemption of the people but includes also the redemption of Judah and Jerusalem. The redemption of the forsaken Jerusalem, the forgotten and widowed, the "bereaved and barren" (49:14, 21), is described in poetic and hyperbolic terms. She will shake herself out of the dust of her mourning, she will put on her power and her glory, her justice and her salvation will be seen by the nations and the kings, she will draw exiles to her from all corners of the land until there will not be room to contain them, and all the nations will stream to her to render her honor and glory (see 49:14–26; 51:17–23; 52:11ff.; 54:1ff.; 60:1ff.; 62:1ff.). Actually, the dreams of redemption foretold by the prophet were not fulfilled and realized, and there is, in fact, a discrepancy between the redemption as envisioned by the prophet and the actual Return. Apparently the prophet was among the first returnees, fulfilling what he had foretold. From Jerusalem he called on the people still in exile to forsake their exile (52:11). Although Jerusalem, the holy city, did not become the mother city of all the lands and nations, the returnees did rebuild its ruins.

Comfort and Rebuke. Prophecies of comfort and salvation predominate among the prophet's first prophecies, especially in the first section, chapters 40–48. The sin of the people was forgiven and the transgressions erased and pardoned, but even these first prophecies contain a tone of rebuke. Together with the notion that the sin was forgiven because they had paid "double for all their sins," there is the view that God pardoned the transgressions of Israel and would not bear their sins in mind not because of Israel's merit but for the sake of God's name (43:25). The words of comfort and tidings of redemption apparently did not arouse within Israel the anticipated reaction, and for this they are rebuked by the prophet (see 42:18–20; 43:8; 46:9–13). The wrathful rebuke, which is not merely implied but elaborated, is contained in the last chapter (48:1–11) of the first group, which is replete with prophecies of comfort, and which is also intended for those of little faith. Beginning with chapter 50, the prophet appears as an instrument of rebuke, and the rebuke overshadows the element of comfort. The subjects of rebuke are many and varied: he repeats his rebuke against those of little faith (chapter 50), against the forsaking of God (51:12–13). Whether or not chapters 56–66 are the words of this prophet, rebukes continue against the wicked among the people (chapter 56), against giving priority to ritual over social morality (chapter 58), against social transgressions (chapter 59), and against idolatry (chapter 65).

The Servant of the Lord. The biblical descriptions of the Servant are not unequivocal – he is sometimes portrayed as an individual, either biographically or autobiographically, while at other times he appears as a collective figure, identified with the People of Israel. This lack of clarity gave rise to varied and ramified interpretations among both Jews and Christians in all generations. The methods of interpreting the image of the Servant of the Lord have varied. The Servant has been seen as an individual personality, as a collective, and as a figure of myth with associated ritual. The individual approach is based on the assumption that what is written about the Servant is a description of an individual figure. Those who adopt this method disagree about the identity of this figure. In attempting to identify him, they identify him variously, as a figure from the past (the historical approach); as a contemporary of the prophet, including possibly the prophet himself; as one whom the prophet envisions as destined to appear in the future (the eschatological approach). These methods are intimated in early interpretations, and explicitly stated and argued in modern studies and commentaries. Numerous varied and strange proposals have been advanced concerning the identification of the Servant of God with historical figures from the Bible. The Servant was identified with various kings of the House of David and their descendants, whose biographies include some feature or features suggestive of the Servant, such as – among the Kings – Uzziah's leprosy, Hezekiah's dangerous illness, Josiah's untimely death despite his righteousness, or Jehoiachin's captivity. Among the post-Exilic members of the House of David with whom he is identified are Zerubbabel, the object of unfulfilled messianic hopes, Elioenai (a scion of the House of David, I Chron. 3:23), and Anani (last in the list of the Davidic line, 3:24). Other individuals with whom the Servant of the Lord has been identified were selected from among the prophets: e.g., Isaiah son of Amoz, who, according to the *aggadah*, was killed by Manasseh; the much-suffering Jeremiah; or Ezekiel, who bore the burden of the sin of the House of Israel (Ezek. 4:4–8). Still others are historical figures such as Moses or Job. According to the biographical approach, the prophet was describing a contemporary figure, known to himself and his listeners. The figures proposed for identification were Cyrus, Zerubbabel, or an anonymous person. Some maintained that the prophet was describing himself, or that he was being described by a disciple. According to the eschatological approach, the Servant of God is the destined redeemer, the Messiah. The approach is found at first in Targum Jonathan ("my servant the Messiah," at 52:13), but it has left few traces in Jewish exegesis, in contrast to its important role in Christianity, which identified the Servant of God with Jesus (beginning with the New Testament; see above). According to the collective method of interpretation, the Servant is Israel. If there are any personal elements in the description they are merely allegorical. It is explicitly stated in a number of places that the Servant is Israel (see e.g., 41:8; 44:1, 2, 21; 45:4; 59:1). While there are some who maintain that this refers to all of Israel, the real Israel, this is difficult since the real Israel is sinful and the Servant, free of sin. Therefore the Servant is identified with an ideal Israel, not the Israel of the present but the Israel of the future. Some adherents of the collective method hold that it is not all of Israel which is being referred to, but rather an elite within Israel, and there are varied opinions regarding the nature of this elite. Some maintain that it refers to the prophets, while others maintain that it refers to the priests. Still others speak of an undefined minority, "the righteous of Israel," and there are some who see the Servant as a visionary figure, the symbol of the righteous Israel. According to the mythological method, in portraying the figure of the Servant of God the prophet utilized a mythological figure, ignoring certain mythological traits and adopting several other characteristic traits. The image is that of a god who died and is resurrected, like the god Tammuz or Adonis (Baal). The central part of the Songs of the Servant of the Lord, 52:13–53:12, basically corresponds to the hymns sung during the Mesopotamian ritual of mourning the death of the god. According to this view there existed in Israel the ceremony of mourning for Tammuz and there was also the "bewailing of Hadadrimmon in the plain of Megiddo" (Zech. 12:11) which is assumed to have originated in the tragic death of Josiah at Megiddo (II Kings 23:29). These two wailing rites were combined into one ceremony and served as the basis for the description of the figure of the Servant of the Lord. Thus, the description of the Servant was influenced by a historical figure (Josiah) and a mythological figure (Tammuz). This method was associated with the Scandinavian school of myth and ritual. The "individual approach" and the "collective approach" are both plausible. It is, however, possible to interpret what is written about the Servant of the Lord in other ways. Some point to a lack of firm distinction in Hebraic thought between the particular or the individual – the prophet – and the general or the many – the people. Such fluidity could give rise to prophecies having both an "individual" and a "collective" style, i.e., the prophet Deutero-Isaiah, like his predecessors Hosea, Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel, saw himself as a symbol of, and an "examplar" and model for, the people. His personal life was interwoven with the life of the people, the private domain became commingled with the public, and events from his personal life were interpreted by him as allegories of the people. There was also an opposite process, i.e., the image of the Servant of the Lord refers both to the prophet and to the people. At times, the individual type of description predominates, while at others, the collective style is prominent, referring also to Jacob and Israel. In the same way that the preceding prophets had interpreted their private and family lives as a sign and model for the people, so biographical details of the prophet were interwoven with the description of the Servant. The above hypotheses are based on the assumption of a unified conception of the Servant on the part of a writer or editor, which is far from certain.

Israel and the Nations. The relationship between Israel and the nations had political significance as well as religio-social significance. With the political victory of Babylon, Judah lost its political and territorial framework, and there was a danger that, as in the case of other nations, Israel's loss of a state would lead to its loss of religious identity, and that the people would assimilate among the nations. In the face of this danger, the prophet called Deutero-Isaiah played a decisive role in the crystallization of a well-informed national-religious group and the later crystallization of Judaism. Earlier biblical writings stressed monolatry, the principle that Israelites must serve Yahweh alone, but left open the possibility that other gods existed and might be worshipped by gentiles (Ex. 20:3; Deut. 4:19). It is in Deutero-Isaiah, followed by Trito-Isaiah, that we find for the first time a militant full-blown monotheism that denies the existence of all other gods but Yahweh, and calls gentiles to his service (Isa. 42:8; 43:10–11; 44:6–8; 45:5–7, 18–22; 46:9; 49:6; 56:1–8; 66:21–3). The victorious, conquering gods, the advanced material culture, and the impressive idolatrous ceremonies of Babylon constituted a danger that the exiles in Babylon would be attracted to assimilation. This prophet described in harsh polemic and with mockery and loathing the practices of idolatry and its followers (e.g., 40:17, 26; 44:6–20). He placed Israel vis-à-vis the gods of the nations, emphasizing the opposition between them. Israel and its God are lined up against the nations and their gods for "battle" and judgment. Opponents who strive and contend against Him rise up against Israel (41:11–12; 45:24). Some of the nations taunt and revile Israel (49:7; 51:7) and some of them blaspheme the name of the God of Israel (52:5). This religious-national battle recurs a number of times. But this is only for the present.

Chapters 40–66 are replete with the faith that the law of God will be disseminated by His Servant, Israel, among the nations which will be led from darkness to light. Israel will be "a light (or rather, 'a salvation') unto the nations" and Jerusalem will be the place of God's shining glory to which all the nations will stream with song and praise. They will emerge from spiritual darkness to the light which will shine for them in Zion. In Israel's redemption the world will also be redeemed and in the end of days all men will come to bow down before God (66:23). Traces of the envisioned end of days were already seen at this time. Israel's presence among the nations gave rise to the phenomenon of the "joiners" (chapter 66) who forsook idolatry and joined the religion of Israel. Questions were raised with regard to their status within the people of Israel and its future. The prophecies found in Isaiah 40–66 confront these problems and provide a positive response.

[Isaac Avishur]

IN THE AGGADAH

Amoz, the father of Isaiah, was also a prophet, for "when the name of the prophet's father is given, the father was likewise a prophet" (PdRE 118; Lev. R. 6:6). Isaiah came from Jerusalem, for "whenever the city of a prophet is not specified, he hailed from Jerusalem" (Lam. R., proem 24, beginning). An ancient *aggadah* reports that Amoz and Amaziah, king of Judah, were brothers (Meg. 10b.). "Because Isaiah was the king's nephew, he used to chastise Israel" (PdRK, 117). Isaiah uttered words of censure at the very outset of his prophecy. When the call came to him (Isa. 6:8), God said to him, "Isaiah! My children are obstinate and troublesome, are you ready to be beaten and degraded by them?" (PdRK, 125). As he stood bewildered he uttered words saying, "I am a man of unclean lips, and I dwell in the midst of a people of unclean lips" (Isa. 6:5), whereupon the Holy One blessed be He said to him, "You are permitted to say 'I am a man of unclean lips,' since you are your own master, but are you the master of My children that you refer to them as a people of unclean lips?" He was punished on the spot; Isaiah 6:6–7 are interpreted to mean that his mouth was scorched (PR 33:150), for having transgressed "Slander not a servant to his master" (Prov. 30:10). When Sennacherib besieged Jerusalem, Shebna and his companions wished to submit and conclude peace with him: "King Hezekiah, afraid lest the Holy One blessed be He be with the majority, was told by Isaiah, 'It is a conspiracy of wicked men, and a conspiracy of wicked men is to be disregarded'" (Sanh. 26a; cf. Isa. 8:12). When Hezekiah fell ill and was told by Isaiah that he would die (II Kings 20:1) because of his refusal to beget children, he attempted to justify himself by explaining that it had been foretold to him that he would beget a wicked son; whereupon Isaiah proposed to him that he marry his daughter in the hope that a worthy son would result from the union. In spite of this, however, only a wicked son was born to him (TJ, Sanh. 10:2, 28b–c). Of that wicked son, Manasseh, it is written that he "filled Jerusalem (with blood) from one end to the other" (II Kings 21:16). Scripture is silent as to the victims of Manasseh and the reason for his killing. According to Josephus (Ant., 10:38) "Manasseh killed all the righteous men among the Hebrews, nor did he spare even the prophets, everyday putting some to death." Many aggadists, however, see Manasseh's blood spilling as confined to Isaiah alone (TJ, Sanh. 10:2, 28c). According to the *aggadah* Manasseh accused Isaiah of being a false prophet. Isaiah, knowing that whatever he said in his defense would not be accepted, said nothing, both to absolve Manasseh and his people from the responsibility for deliberately murdering a prophet, and to prevent his blood from bubbling like that of the prophet Zechariah. Isaiah's silence was regarded as a confession and he was sentenced to death. When the sentence was about to be carried out, however, he uttered the ineffable name and was swallowed by a cedar tree. The tree was sawn, but the saw was powerless against Isaiah's body, which had become like a pillar of marble. One organ, alone, his mouth, was vulnerable, because of its having uttered the words, "And I dwell in the midst of a people of unclean lips." As a result, when the saw reached Isaiah's lips, he died (Yev. 49b).

[Elimelech Epstein Halevy]

Christian View

For discussion of the Christian use of Isaiah see *Immanuel, and Servant of the Lord (above).

IN ISLAM

Slightly altering the version in II Kings 18:13–21 the authors Tabarī and Thaʿlabī, related that Shaʿyā (Isaiah) ibn Amaṣyā (Amaziah) (!) the prophet was sent during the reign of Zedikah (Zedekiah) to lead the king along the righteous path and to warn the people of Israel to repent. Allah sent the Assyrian king Sennacherib with a force of 600,000 soldiers against them. At the command of God, Shaʿyā informed the king that his death was imminent and that he should make his will and appoint a successor. Zedikah prayed to Allah, who lengthened his life by 15 years and also delivered him from Sennacherib. Sennacherib's army was annihilated and only he and five dignitaries and scribes escaped to a cave, where they were found by the king of Judah. Sennacherib confessed that he had heard of God, even before he left his country, but weakness of his mind had prevented him from reaching the right conclusion. The king of Judah let Sennacherib and his scribes circle the Temple for 70 days, giving them two loaves of bread made of barley daily. He sent Sennacherib home, according to God's command, in order that he might serve as a sign of warning. However, Tabarī (p. 381) also knew the correct name of the king, which was Hezekiah. In their tales on Isaiah, Umāra and Thaʿlabī quote paraphrases of his prophecies (ch. 1, etc.). After Hezekiah, his son Manasseh ruled for 55 years (II Kings 20:21–21:1). Tabarī also knew of Amon and Josiah, who reigned after Manasseh. Concerning Isaiah's end, Tabarī and Thaʿlabī relate that the people of Israel persecuted him for his prophecies and rebukes and that he escaped into a tree. Satan however held the fringes of his garment, which thus could be seen from without. They then brought a saw and cut through Isaiah. This tale was handed down by Wahb ibn Munabbih; its Jewish source is evident.

[Haïm Z'ew Hirschberg]

IN THE ARTS

The prophecies of Isaiah have found stronger echoes in art and music than in literature. In the 12th-century Anglo-Norman *Jeu d'Adam* Isaiah is one of the Old Testament prophets consigned to Hell after submitting reluctant evidence to the truths of Christianity; and he also figures in the medieval *Ordo Prophetarum*. Thereafter, Isaiah played only a minor part in literature until the 19th century, when the French writer Victor Hugo produced an appreciative sketch in his apocalyptic study *William Shakespeare* (1864; Eng. tr. 1864). The first Jewish writer to deal with the theme was Abraham *Mapu, the creator of the modern Hebrew novel; his *Ahavat Ẓiyyon* (1853, *In the Days of Isaiah*, 1902) was remarkable less for its characterization than for its Haskalah ideas and local color. *Ahavat Ẓiyyon* enjoyed amazing success and was translated into several languages, including no less than three English versions. Mapu later wrote another historical novel set in the times of Isaiah, *Ashmat Shomeron* (1865–66). In the 20th century, various plays were devoted to the subject. A modern Jewish treatment of the theme was *Der Novi* (1955; *The Prophet*, 1955), a novel about Deutero-Isaiah by Sholem *Asch.

Isaiah was represented by artists from early Christian times onward and owed his great popularity in the Middle Ages to three biblical passages thought to foretell the Incarnation and Nativity. More than any other prophet, Isaiah benefited from the cult of the Virgin. The passage, "the young woman shall conceive and bear a son" (Isa. 7:14), was seen as a prediction of the birth of Jesus. Even in the oldest surviving representation of the prophet, a second-century mural from the catacomb of Priscilla, Rome, Isaiah is shown seated opposite the Virgin and Child. Another prophecy, that of the "twig" that "shall grow from the roots of Jesse" (Isa. 11:1), gave rise to genealogical trees purporting to trace the ancestry of Jesus to the house of David. The distinguishing symbols of Isaiah in art are these "Jesse Trees" or one of his prophecies inscribed on his phylactery. Scenes from the life of Isaiah are found in Byzantine and premedieval art. Figures of the prophet often appear among the sculptures of 12th-century French Romanesque churches such as Vézelay and Moissac. The most striking example is the tempestuous swirling image from the abbey church at Souillac. There are also 13th-century sculptures of Isaiah in the great Gothic cathedrals of Chartres, Amiens, Burgos, and Bramberg. At the same period, his image adorned the wing of a painted "life of Christ" by the Sienese artist Duccio (1282–1319). In the 15th century, Isaiah appeared chiefly in painting and sculpture. Naturalistic sculpture by Claus Sluter adorns the fountain of the Chartreuse at Dijon. Renaissance treatments of the subject include a round painting by Perugino (Nantes Museum); and figures of Isaiah from the fresco by Raphael in Sant' Agostino, Rome, and from the Sistine Chapel ceiling by Michelangelo. A painting of the subject by Fra Bartolommeo is in the Uffizi Galleries, Florence. The German Renaissance artist Matthias Gruenewald included a figure of Isaiah in his painting of the Annunciation, which forms part of his Isenheim altarpiece in the Colmar Museum. Although the subject later lost favor, the 18th-century artist Tiepolo painted a figure of Isaiah for the ceiling of the Archbishop's Palace in Udine. Artists have also illustrated a number of episodes from the Book of Isaiah. There is an amusing painting called *Isaiah Rebuking the Women of Jerusalem* (on Isa. 3:16ff.) by the 19th-century English artist *Salaman. Isaiah's vision of God enthroned amid the Seraphim (Isa. 6:1–4) was quite a common theme in Byzantine and medieval art (see *Cherubim and *Seraphim). The purification of the prophet's lips with a burning coal (Isa. 6:5–7) is illustrated in premedieval and medieval manuscripts, including the 15th-century breviary of the Duke of Bedford (Bibliothèque Nationale); in murals; and in the 13th-century stained glass of La Sainte Chapelle, Paris. The visits of the prophet to the dying Hezekiah and the miraculous prolongation of the monarch's life (Isa. 38:1–8) are treated in an eighth-century fresco at Santa Maria Antiqua, Rome, where Isaiah is shown standing by the bedside of the sick king. The rabbinic tradition that Isaiah met his death by being sawn asunder in the hollow of a cedar is illustrated in various murals, including a sixth-century Coptic fresco, and in medieval sculpture and manuscripts.

In music, composers have dealt either with the "Triple Sanctus" or with the inspiring figure of the prophet himself. The "Thrice Holy" acclamation of the angels in the vision of Isaiah (Isa. 6:3) is the main text of the *Sanctus* section of the Roman Catholic mass; it is followed by the jubilant *Hosanna in excelsis*, the mystically interpreted *Benedictus*, and by a repetition of the *Hosanna*, the combination having been adapted from Matthew 21:9, Mark 11:9–10, and John 12:13. It has 21 traditional ("Gregorian") chant melodies dating from the tenth to the 13th centuries. In some of these, the initial "*Sanctus*" is rather florid and its reiterations are expressed in progressively rising phrases. This restrained attempt at word painting was carried much further in the *Sanctus* of the mass compositions, which date from the 14th century onward. Although these works naturally reflect the varieties of individual expression and the style of their era, certain conventions in the setting of the *Sanctus* can, nevertheless, be identified. The angelic acclamation is interpreted either as an outpouring of sweet sounds, often by two or three high solo voices (as in most of the 16th-century works), or as a mighty thundering of massed praise (as in Bach's *Mass in B Minor*). The *Sanctus* in Beethoven's *Missa Solemnis* (1823) is an exception, since it begins with a whispered stammering of awe. All composers take advantage of the differences in mood suggested throughout the sequence of *Sanctus, Hosanna, Benedictus*, and *Hosanna*. For the Protestant liturgy Martin *Luther created the rhymed "German Sanctus" (*Jesaia dem Propheten das geschah*, 1526), the melody of which is also attributed to the reformer. There are two settings by Bach of simple chorale tunes, based on the "Gregorian" melodies, with the Latin or German (*Heilig, Heilig, Heilig*) text. The many works for concert performance based on extended passages from the Book of Isaiah include Antonio Caldara's oratorio *Le profezie evangeliche d'Isaia* (1729; text by A. Zeno); Granville Bantock's *Seven Burdens of Isaiah* for men's choir *a cappella* (1927); Willy Burkhard's oratoria *Das GesichtJesaias* (1933–36; première 1936); Alexandre *Tansman's oratorio *Isaïe le prophète* (1951); Bernard Rogers' cantata *The Prophet Isaiah* (1954; published 1961); Robert *Starer's *Ariel, Visions of Isaiah* (1959); Bohuslav Martinu's cantata *The Prophecy of Isaiah* (première in Jerusalem, 1963); and Ben Zion *Orgad's *Isaiah's Vision*. Another modern work was Jacob *Weinberg's *Isaiah* (1947), an oratorio for solo voices and chorus with organ accompaniment and trumpet obbligato. The first part of Handel's oratorio *The Messiah* (première in Dublin, 1742), for which the text was compiled by Charles Jennens, contains so many passages from Isaiah (beginning with "Comfort ye, comfort ye my people") that it may almost be considered an Isaiah oratorio. Some of the most striking parts of Brahms' *Deutsches Requiem* (1857–68), for which the composer himself compiled the text from the Old and New Testaments, also originate in this biblical book. Settings of single verses or brief passages for liturgical or concert use are numerous. There are also traditional tunes from the various Jewish communities, ḥasidic melodies, and modern Israel folksongs.

[Bathja Bayer]

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ISAIAH, ASCENSION OF, early Christian apocalypse, containing the Jewish apocryphon t*he Martyrdom of *Isaiah*. The *aggadah* about Isaiah's violent death was already known at the beginnings of Christianity (see Acts 8: 34). Thus the Jewish apocryphon was expounded by Christians as early as in the first century of Christianity. Of the Greek original only a papyrus fragment is extant and parts of Latin, Slavonic, and Coptic translations have been preserved. The whole work exists only in an Ethiopic translation. The apocryphal description of Jesus' birth, life, and resurrection (11:1–21) is a later interpolation lacking in the Latin version and in the three Slavonic versions. In the Christian part of the book Isaiah is described as a seer according to the spirit of apocalyptic literature. His violent death is regarded as revealing the coming of Jesus and the early history of the Church (3:13–31). This passage and the following chapter (4) containing a description of the *Antichrist are very important witnesses for the oldest Christian history and beliefs. The author sees inter alia the degeneration of contemporary Christianity in the small number of Christian prophets, an institution which disappeared in the second century. He is the oldest witness to Peter's martyrdom by Nero (4: 3). At the end of days Beliar (Belial), "the great prince, the king of this world," will descend from heaven in the shape of Nero; he will do many wonders and lead humanity astray, but he will finally be destroyed. This description reflects an Antichrist tradition more or less independent of the New Testament, whose main motifs are taken from Jewish sources.

It is very probable that the description of Isaiah's ascent to the seven heavens was also written by the same Christian author (chapters 6–11). The similarities between this vision and similar visions in Jewish apocalyptic literature and old Jewish mysticism are noteworthy. According to the book, Isaiah also saw the miraculous descent of Jesus from the seventh heaven and his future ascent after his resurrection. This description resembles the similar motifs of the *Epistola Apostolorum* ("Letter of the Apostles"), a Christian work of the beginning of the second century. The mystical theology of the Christian parts of the *Ascension of Isaiah* is imbued by Jewish mystical and apocalyptical material, and its opinion about the heavenly nature of Jesus is close to gnostic speculations, although the book is, compared with contemporary Christian products, not heterodox. Later, when orthodox Christian tenets were firmly established, the book was used by Christian sects with gnostic elements and even by Arians.

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[David Flusser]

ISAIAH, MARTYRDOM OF, one of the source documents discerned by scholars in the *Ascension of Isaiah* (see *Isaiah, Ascension of), relating Isaiah's persecution and eventual martyr's death at the hands of *Manasseh, king of Judah. From the first publication in 1819 of the Ethiopic version with Latin translation (the most important text) by R. Laurence, the martyrdom legend was recognized as of Jewish origin. Gesenius in 1821 first distinguished two parts (1–5, 6–11) and the two most important divisions of the material were those of A. Dillmann (*Ascensio Isaiae, aethiopice et latine*, 1877) and R.H. Charles (*Ascension of Isaiah*, 1900). Dillmann considers that the material falls into (1) a Jewish martyrdom of Isaiah (2:1–3:12 + 5:2–14); (2) a Christian ascension of Isaiah (6:1–11:1 + 23–40); (3) Christian editorial reworkings of these two (ch. 1, except 1, 3, 4 and 11:42–43); (4) a final Christian editing which added the apocalypse (3:13–5:1) and certain other passages. Charles concluded that the work is composed of three documents: (1) martyrdom of Isaiah (1:1, 2, 6–13; 2:1–8, 10–3:12; 5:1–14 – substantially identical with Dillmann's first document); (2) testament of Hezekiah (3:13–4:18); and (3) vision of Isaiah (6:1–11:14). Both the latter are Christian. Charles' hypothesis has been widely accepted, although C.C. Torrey, for example (*The Apocryphal Literature* (1945), 133–5) queries the existence of the martyrdom as a separate work.

In view of the obviously composite nature of the *Ascension* and the wide circulation of the story of the martyrdom in Jewish sources (e.g., Yev. 49b; Sanh. 103b; TJ, Sanh. 10:2, 28c; PR 84:14, cf. Ginzberg, Legends (1928), 373ff.), it seems likely that the work is of Jewish origin. It is probably to be connected with the traditions about the deaths of prophets (Mart. Isa. 5:12 and parallels; Jub. 1:12; cf. II Chron. 24:19, I En. 89:51–53, 4Qp–Hosb 2:4–6; et al.) and with a type of hagiographic literature of which the *Vitae Prophetarum* is an example. Eissfeldt relates it to the martyrdom legends of the period of Antiochus Epiphanes, such as those of Eleazar and of the mother and her seven sons (II Macc. 6:18–7:42). Flusser (IEJ, 3 (1953), 30–47) interprets the work as a typological representation of the story of the Qumran Teacher of Righteousness. This interpretation is carried to great extremes by M. Philonenko (*Pseudépigraphes de l'Ancien Testament et manuscrits de la Mer Morte* (1967), 1–10). Certainly notable is the use of the name Beliar (2:4 et al.) along with Satan (e.g., 2:2) and Sammael (1:8). The name Belchira (with variants) for the false prophet, Isaiah's opponent, remains without conclusive explanation. The book may supply important information about the life and mores of apocalyptic seers, and is an example of little-known Jewish hagiographic writing. The transmission of the work is complex and is dealt with by Charles, E. Tisserant (*Ascension d'Isais*, 1909), and others. As well as the Ethiopic text, there are fragments or versions in Greek, Slavonic (Vaillant, in *Revue des Etudes Slaves*, 42 (1963), 109–21), Latin, and Coptic (Lacau, in *Le Muséon*, 59 (1946), 453–67).

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[Michael E. Stone]

ISAIAH BEN ABRAHAM (d. 1723), rabbi and kabbalist, grandson of *David b. Samuel ha-Levi. He wrote *Ba'er Heitev*, a commentary on the Shulḥan Arukh, *Oraḥ Ḥayyim*, which the title page describes as "a digest of the legal decisions of all the early and later halakhic authorities, and of all extant responsa." The book, which contains many kabbalistic quotations, particularly from Isaac Luria, achieved immediate acclaim, many editions appearing within a few years (first ed. in Shulḥan Arukh, *Oraḥ Ḥayyim*, Amsterdam, 1708). In 1742, however, Judah *Ashkenazi, *dayyan* of Tiktin, published a book serving the same purpose, with the same form and content and even the same name. Because the later book treated the material in greater detail, the earlier one lost its popularity, and whereas Ashkenazi's edition was published with the Shulḥan Arukh, Isaiah's was forgotten. His work on the other sections of the Shulḥan Arukh was never published. Isaiah, his wife, and his daughter met their death in an inn fire in Mogilev, on their way to Ereẓ Israel.

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[Abram Juda Goldrat]

ISAIAH BEN ELIJAH DI TRANI (the Younger, "Riaz"; d. c. 1280), rabbinical scholar; grandson of Isaiah b. Mali di *Trani (the Elder). Little is known of his life, and even his works have remained mostly in manuscript. His novellae are known mainly from quotations in Joshua Boaz' *Shiltei ha-Gibborim* on the *Halakhot* of *Alfasi. Isaiah's halakhic works on a few tractates (*Berakhot* and *Shabbat* (Jerusalem, 1964) and on *Eruvin, Pesaḥim, Yoma*, and *Sukkah* (*ibid*., 1966)) have been published and several fragments appear in the *Me'at Devash* of D. Sassoon (1928). He frequently quotes his grandfather, and his own *Kunteres ha-Re'ayot*, apparently an extensive work in which he enlarged on his brief decisions. In his halakhic works Isaiah disputes philosophical interpretations while he deals with the *aggadah*. Isaiah adopted a less tolerant attitude toward philosophy and the general sciences than did his grandfather. The *Perush Rabbenu Yeshayah*, printed in *Mikra'ot Gedolot*, as well as the commentaries on the Prophets and Hagiographa recently published as the work of his grandfather, should apparently be ascribed to him.

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[Israel Moses Ta-Shma]

ISAIAH BEN MALL DI TRANI (the Elder; c. 1200–before 1260), early Italian halakhist, scion of a well-known rabbinic and scholarly family. Born in Trani, he is mainly known as the author of extensive commentaries and *pesakim* ("decisions") on the Talmud. Isaiah was a pupil of Simḥah of Speier and kept in contact with German scholars. His responsa are to be found in the *Or Zaru'a* of *Isaac b. Moses of Vienna, who greatly esteemed him. He traveled in the Mediterranean countries, spending some time in Greece and in Ereẓ Israel. Among the scholars whom he quotes mention should be made of Baruch "of Greece" (see *Baruch b. Isaac of Aleppo) while Zedekiah b. Abraham *Anav, author of *Shibbolei ha-Leket*, quotes him extensively.

Isaiah's works cover a wide range. They include (1) *Pesakim* on the Talmud, containing a summary of the subject under discussion, along the lines of *Alfasi, with additional comments on unresolved difficulties and a final decision on the conflicting views in the manner of *Hananel b. Ḥushi'el. The following *pesakim* have been published: on *Berakhot* and *Shabbat* (1964); on *Eruvin, Pesaḥim, Yoma*, and *Sukkah* (1966); on *Sukkah* alone in *Sam Ḥayyim* (Leghorn, 1801); on *Beẓah* (in *Maḥaneh David*, 1889, wrongly described as *Tosafot Rid*); on *Rosh Ha-Shanah, Ta'anit* and *Ḥagigah* (in *Oholei Yiẓḥak*, Leghorn, 1821); on *Yevamot* (called *Tosafot Rid*, 1931); on *Ketubbot* and *Gittin* (in margin of TB, Vilna edition, wrongly described as *Tosafot Rid*); on *Kiddushin* (1965); on *Makkot* (in: *Talpioth*, 8, 1963); on *Horayot* (*ibid*., 9, 1965); on *Ḥullin* (first chapter, in *Ha-Segullah*, 1940), and on *Niddah* (1963). His *pesakim* on the *Halakhot Ketannot* have also been published (Leghorn, 1801). The remainder are still in manuscript. (2) *Sefer ha-Makhri'a* (Leghorn, 1779) deals principally with important *halakhot* in regard to which the codifiers were in dispute, and which Isaiah attempts to resolve. (3) *Sefer ha-Leket* (not extant) is similar in nature to *ha-Makhri'a*. (4) *Tosafot Rid*, novellae to the Talmud. Extant are his novellae to the tractates: *Shabbat, Eruvin, Pesaḥim, Yoma, Sukkah, Beẓah, Rosh Ha-Shanah, Megillah, Ḥagigah, Mo'ed Katan, Nedarim, Nazir, Bava Kamma, Bava Meẓi'a, Bava Batra, Avodah Zarah*, and *Niddah* (Lemberg, 1862–68; new edition in preparation partly printed); *Kiddushin* (Sabionetta, 1553, and subsequent editions, such as, New York, 1965); *Ta'anit* (at end of *Sefer ha-Makhri'a*). *Tosafot Rid* was compiled in several "editions" in the form of pamphlets in which Isaiah retracted or supplemented his previous statements. The exact relationship between this book and his *pesakim* has not been established, as much of the material is common to both and in addition the printers added to the confusion. (5) Responsa (1967). (6) Commentary on the Pentateuch. Extracts from this commentary were published by Ḥ.J.D. *Azulai in his *Penei David* (Leghorn, 1792). The commentaries on the other books of the Bible, published under his name in Jerusalem in 1959, are apparently to be ascribed to his grandson. (7) *Piyyutim*.

Isaiah was an independent thinker with considerable originality of approach and with a critical attitude to the opinions of his predecessors. Occasionally he sharply rejects the teachings of *geonim*, such as *Hai Gaon and *Samuel b. Hophni, and of other distinguished predecessors. He even criticizes his own works, commenting, "All that I have written is valueless (*hevel*)." He is not awed by authority and is concerned only with examination of the source material. His books are distinguished by clarity of explanation, careful choice of correct readings, and methodological approach to talmudic principles and lines of reasoning.

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[Israel Moses Ta-Shma]

ISAIAH BEN UZZIAH HA-KOHEN, medieval Karaite scholar of uncertain date (12th–15th centuries). He was the author of a work in Arabic known under the Hebrew title *Siddur* or *Sefer ha-Mitzvot*, of which two different versions are known. The first part deals with prayer and ritual matters (fasts and feasts, Sabbath, circumcision, marriage, diet, etc.). The second part deals with dogmatic theology, Hebrew grammar, etc., as well as with some subjects already covered in the first part; this second part refers to Isaiah in the third person, and may therefore be by another hand. Isaiah is generally referred to in Karaite sources by the title *al-Muʿallim al-Fāḍil* ("the excellent preceptor").

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[Leon Nemoy]

ISAIAH ḤASID FROM ZBARAZH (17th–18th centuries), Shabbatean scholar, the son-in-law of *Judah he-Ḥasid. In 1700 Isaiah Ḥasid immigrated to Jerusalem with his father-in-law and his companions. When the kabbalist Abraham *Rovigo arrived in *Jerusalem in 1702 and founded there a *bet midrash* for ten select members, he took Isaiah Ḥasid's advice as to who should be admitted to it. Isaiah's name occurs among the signatories of a letter sent from Jerusalem to Breslau seeking help for the Ashkenazi community in Jerusalem. As a result of falling under the influence of Shabbatean beliefs and performing "strange deeds," he was compelled, apparently before 1706, to leave Jerusalem. Settling in Mannheim, Germany, he installed himself in the Shabbatean *bet midrash* of the philanthropist Asher Lemmle Regenheim. From there, together with others of the sect, he spread Shabbatean propaganda in the communities of Germany and Poland. He became a follower of the Shabbatean leader Loebele *Prossnitz, who he believed to be the Messiah. In 1725, when Moses Meir Kamenker, the emissary of the Polish Shabbateans, came to Mannheim, he entered into a conspiracy with Isaiah. The two disseminated writings condemning the Talmud and hinting that adherents of the Talmud did not believe in the God of Israel. They even wanted to proclaim Jonathan *Eybeschuetz as the Messiah. When their activity became publicly known the rabbis of Frankfurt excommunicated them, a ban which was also proclaimed in Altona, Amsterdam, Mannheim, and other communities.

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[David Tamar]

ISAIAH MENAHEM BEN ISAAC (d. 1599), rabbi in Poland. In accordance with the custom prevalent in his time, his father-in-law's name was added to his and he was referred to as "Mendel [Menahem] Avigdors." Isaiah Menahem was one of the chief spokesmen of the *Council of Four Lands. He served as rabbi of Praga (a suburb of Warsaw), head of the yeshivah of Szczebrzeszyn, rabbi of Lodomeria, and in 1591 succeeded *Meir of Lublin as rabbi of Cracow. While rabbi of Lodomeria, he drew up a new formula for the *hetter iska* (permitting the lending of money on interest), which was opposed by Mordecai *Jaffe and Joshua *Falk. As a result, when he became rabbi of Cracow, he amended the formula. This amended formula, known as *Shetar Hetter Iska ke-Tikkun Muram* (Morenu Rav Mendel), was wrongly attributed to Moses *Isserles. In his *Naḥalat Shivah*, *Samuel b. David ha-Levi defends the formula and highly praises Isaiah Menahem. Isaiah Menahem was among the signatories of the *takkanah* adopted by the Council of Four Lands at Lublin in 1587, prohibiting anyone from acquiring rabbinic office by payment or other unjust means. He is referred to in the responsa Baḥ of Joel *Sirkes (no. 77) and in the *Matenat Kehunnah* on the *Midrash Rabbah* (Lev. R. 2) of Issacher Ashkenazi who acknowledges his indebtedness to him for the explanation of a certain passage. Together with his son Moses he wrote notes to the *Ammudei ha-Golah* of *Isaac of Corbeil which were published with the text (Cracow, 1596). He wrote a supercommentary on Rashi's commentary on the Pentateuch (*Be'urim Kabbedu ha-Shem*, Cracow, 1604). One of his *piyyutim* was published in the *Ḥag ha-Pesaḥ* of J. Kitzingen (Cracow, c. 1597).

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[Abram Juda Goldrat]

ISBAKH, ALEXANDER ABRAMOVICH (**Itzhak Bakhrakh**; 1904–1977), Russian writer and literary scholar. Isbakh was born in Daugavpils, Latvia, and graduated from the Literary Department of Moscow University in 1924. He published poems and novels about the Red Army, including descriptions of Jewish soldiers. During World War II he was an army correspondent. He was also a member of the editorial staff of the journals *Oktober* and *Znamia*, and taught in the university. In 1949 he was arrested as a "cosmopolitan" and sentenced to 10 years in forced labor camps. He was released in 1959, rehabilitated, and returned to writing. He published a number of autobiographical novels and a book about the French Resistance (1960), always using Jewish imagery and themes. He also published a personal account of the Nazi offensive, *Front* (1941). His literary studies include one on Louis Aragon (1957) and *Na literatunykh barrikadakh* ("On the Barricades of Literature," 1964). He later wrote the fictional family chronicle *Masterovoy* ("The Artisan," 1966).

[Shmuel Spector (2nd ed.)]

ISCANDARI (originally **Al-Iscandari,** from al-Iscandria = *Alexandria, also written as **Ascandarani, Scandarani,** and **Scandari**), family of talmudists and authors, heads of the *Mustaʿrab (Arabic-speaking Jews) community who were in close touch with government circles in Ereẓ Israel and Egypt in the 17th and 18th centuries. According to Joseph *Sambari, the family originated in *Spain, the first of the family to immigrate to *Egypt being a certain Joseph who settled in Alexandria and, on moving to *Cairo, was called Scandari. This is, however, doubtful; it is almost certain that the Iscandaris were an ancient Mustaʿrab family.

(1) JOSEPH BEN ABRAHAM ASCANDARANI (1430?–after 1507) lived in *Jerusalem. He studied together with Obadiah of *Bertinoro and according to Jacob *Berab was a most erudite scholar. He moved to *Safed, c. 1491, where he became the head of a Mustaʿrab yeshivah; he spent the rest of his life there. He wrote commentaries on the *Yad* of Maimonides and on the *Tur* of *Jacob b. Asher. The letter he sent in about 1507 to the *nagid*, Isaac ha-Kohen *Sholal, in Egypt, is one of the most important documents about the Jewish community in Ereẓ Israel after the expulsion from Spain. He described the yeshivah, and asked for Sholal's intervention in a dispute he had with Moses ha-Dayyan who was responsible for its administration.

(2) JOSEPH SCANDARI (after 1527), rabbi and physician. He is said to have lived first in Alexandria before moving to Cairo, where he became one of five appointed leaders of the Mustaʿrabim community.

(3) ABRAHAM THE ELDER, son of Joseph (2), was also a rabbi and physician, and succeeded to his father's post in the community. Ḥayyim Joseph David Azulai possessed a manuscript of his halakhic rulings.

(4) ELEAZAR B. ABRAHAM SCANDARI (d. 1620; called Aba, after the initials of his name), son of Abraham, court physician of Sinan Pasha, the Turkish governor of Egypt. He healed Sinan of a severe illness, whereupon the latter appointed him finance minister of his dominion. Eleazar was the head of the Mustaʿrabs. In 1591 when Sinan was appointed chief vizier, Scandari moved to Constantinople where he became the leader of the Jewish community. As a result of his participation in the formulation of Turkish policy in Moldavia and Transylvania, he became involved in a dispute with the Moldavian governor, Aron-Wodah, who did not fulfill the promises he had made to Scandari. On one occasion when Scandari accompanied Sinan Pasha to Jassy, he was arrested by the governor and held captive in Transylvania until 1596. On his release he returned to Cairo and in 1618 was awarded the Turkish title, *chelebi*. He was put to death on the orders of the Turkish governor of Egypt after he had been falsely accused by the Muslims. According to Joseph *Sambari, he was the author of glosses on the *Yad* of Maimonides.

(5) ABRAHAM B. ELEAZAR ISCANDARI (1565?–1650), one of the four sons of Eleazar, was one of the greatest Egyptian rabbis and halakhists. He was a pupil of Abraham *Monzon I. He maintained a yeshivah in his own home and possessed a large and valuable library, containing many manuscripts. Through him an impressive collection of the responsa of Maimonides was copied. From his responsa, copies and digests were made, some of which were published in the books of the scholars in Egypt, Palestine, and Turkey. The historians Joseph Sambari and David *Conforte resided with him and assisted with his library. He also engaged in the study of Kabbalah and copied the *Sifra de-Ẓeni'uta* with the commentary of Isaac *Luria, adding his own glosses (Benayahu collection). Collections of his sermons are extant in manuscript (Ms. Guenzburg, Moscow, no. 1055).

(6) JOSEPH HA-LEVI ISCANDARI (d. 1768) was head both of the Mustaʿrabim and the general Egyptian community where he also served as a tax collector. Ḥayyim Joseph David Azulai was one of his friends. He was executed by Ali-Bey.

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ISENSTEIN, KURT HARALD (1898–1980), Danish sculptor, born in Hanover. Isenstein directed an art school in Germany, which he reestablished when he moved to Denmark. His works include portraits of Einstein, Hindenburg, and Pirandello. He carved a monument in memory of the Danish refugees in Sweden (1943–45) and two memorials to the Norwegian Jews who perished at Auschwitz. The latter are found in the Jewish cemeteries in Oslo and Trondheim, Norway.

ISER, JOSIF (1881–1958), Romanian artist and draftsman. Iser, who studied in Munich and then in Paris under Derain, began his career as a draftsman. However, after World War I, he devoted himself entirely to painting, working until 1928 at Neuilly-sur-Seine. Iser's work is characterized by the almost linear manner in which he emphasizes the contours of people and objects. His style is a mixture of neoclassicism and impressionism, influenced by Cézanne. Some of his recurring themes are the Oriental landscapes of Romania (Doboudja), old Turks in cafés, and interiors with odalisques.

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[Isac Bercovici]

ISFAHAN, city in Iran on the route from Teheran to the Persian Gulf. The origin of the Jewish settlement in Isfahan, one of the oldest in Persia, has been ascribed by Pehlevi, Armenian, and Muslim sources to various early historical periods. Though not mentioned in the Talmud, the city's Jewish community is first recorded in the time of the Sassanid ruler Fīrūz (472 C.E.) who, according to Ḥamza al-Iṣfahānī, put to death half the Jewish population in Isfahan on a charge of killing two Magian priests. When the Arabs conquered Persia (641), they found a strong Jewish community in Isfahan. The Arab chronicler Abu Nuʿaym reported that at that time the Jews were celebrating, dancing, and playing music in expectation of a "Jewish king." Under the caliphate, the Jewish quarter in Isfahan, known as *Jayy*, had grown to such a degree in number and size that Arab and Persian geographers called it *al-Yahūdiyya*, "the city of the Jews." Isfahan was the birthplace of the first Jewish sectarian movement, led by *Abu ʿIsā of Isfahan, in the time of the Umayyad caliph ʿAbd al-Malik (685–705). Abu ʿIsā, claiming to be a messiah and a religious reformer, gained a considerable following among the Jews of Isfahan and other places and it is reported that his followers, known as "Isavis" or "Isfahanis," still existed in Isfahan in the tenth century.

*Maimonides mentioned the Jews in Isfahan in his *Iggeret Teiman* (Epistle to Yemen); the city was regarded as a center of Hebrew grammar and exegesis. About 1166 *Benjamin of Tudela estimates their number at 15,000 and also mentions the chief rabbi Sar Shalom, who had been appointed by the exilarch of Baghdad, with authority over all the communities of Persia. When the Safavid dynasty made Isfahan its capital (1598), the Jews prospered economically and were engaged as craftsmen, artisans, and merchants in drugs, spices, antiquities, jewelry, and textiles. They suffered greatly when the persecution and forced conversion, initiated under Shah *Abbas I and renewed under Shah *Abbas II, swept throughout the Jewish communities of Persia in the 17th century. Their sufferings were described in the Judeo-Persian chronicles of *Babai ibn Luṭf and *Babai ibn Farḥad, and by Carmelite, Jesuit, and other eyewitnesses.

Religious life in Isfahan had a rigid traditional rabbinical basis, with the Sabbath and dietary laws strictly enforced. There existed several synagogues, schools, and other communal institutions, and the community was well organized. A *Karaite group also existed there. On the instructions of *Nādir Shah (d. 1747), the Isfahani Jew Bābā ibn Nuriel translated the Psalms and the Pentateuch into Persian in 1740. Bible manuscripts in Judeo-Persian were found in Isfahan at the beginning of the 17th century by the Italian scholar and traveler G. Vechietti, who cooperated with Jewish scholars there in the transliteration of Judeo-Persian manuscripts.

With the advent of the Qājār dynasty (1794–1925) and the transfer of the capital to *Teheran, Isfahan and its Jewish population lost much of its cultural and political prominence. European travelers of the 19th century, such as *David d'Beth Hillel (1828), *Benjamin II (1850), and E. *Neumark (1884), estimated the number of Jews in Isfahan at between 300 and 400 families. Jewish cultural life in Isfahan was threatened by the activities of the *Bahai movement and the Christian missionary societies, who, exploiting the plight of the Jews, began to work in the Jewish ghettos and established a missionary school in Isfahan in 1889. These inroads were counteracted in 1901 by the establishment of a Jewish school in Isfahan by the *Alliance Israélite Universelle. Isfahan is the seat of some revered "holy places," especially the alleged burial place of Serah bat Asher b. Jacob (granddaughter of the patriarch mentioned in Num. 26:46), situated in the vicinity of Pir Bakran, 20 miles (30 km.) south of Isfahan and a popular place of pilgrimage for all Isfahan Jews, who bury their dead there, with an inscription dated 1133 C.E.

[Walter Joseph Fischel / Amnon Netzer (2nd ed.)]

Contemporary Period

Of the 10,000–12,000 Jews who lived in Isfahan in 1948, about 2,500 remained in 1968. Many had settled in Israel, while others moved to Teheran. According to the census of 1956, Isfahan was the third-largest Jewish community in Iran, after Teheran and Shiraz. The number of synagogues had dropped from 18 to 13 by 1961. Most Jews were poor peddlers; in 1952 it was estimated that only 1% lived in reasonable circumstances, while 80% were poverty-stricken, and the rest lived on the verge of poverty. Most of the poorest left for Israel. In 1968 the town had an Alliance Israélite Universelle school with high school classes, and schools run by *ORT and *Oẓar ha-Torah. In 1961, 150 pupils attended Jewish high school; 897 attended elementary school; other children attended government schools, while there were about 50 Jews at Isfahan University. However, even in 1967 many Jewish children did not attend any educational institution. In 1968 Isfahan had a branch of the Iranian Jewish Women's Organization and of the Zionist youth organization He-Ḥalutz, founded before 1948. At the beginning of the Islamic regime in Iran (1979) there were an estimated 3,000 Jews in Isfahan, reduced to 1,500 by the end of the 20th century.

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[Hayyim J. Cohen / Amnon Netzer (2nd ed.)]

ISH-BOSHETH (Heb. אִישׁ־בֹּשֶׁת), son of *Saul; reigned over Israel for two years (II Sam. 2:10), at the same time that David reigned over Judah in Hebron. The name Ish-Bosheth is a dysphemism (*Baal* = *Boshet*; see *Euphemism and Dysphemism) for his true name, Eshbaal (Heb. אֶשְׁבַּעַל, I Chron. 8:33; 9:39). The meaning of the syllable *ʾesh* is unclear. It is possibly derived from the root איש, whose meaning (as in Ugaritic) is "to give [a present]"; the name would then mean "given by Baal" (cf. the Phoenician name Matanbaal and the Hebrew names Mattaniah, Nethanel, et al.). Others explain the name as meaning "man of Baal" or see in the radical אש a form corresponding to יש.

After Saul and his three sons (including his firstborn) died in the battle against the Philistines at Mount Gilboa

(I Sam. 31), *Abner son of Ner, the uncle and general of Saul, took Eshbaal (Ish-Bosheth), the son of Saul, and proclaimed him king "over Gilead, and over the Ashurites [= Asherites], and over Jezreel, and over Ephraim, and over Benjamin, and over all Israel" (II Sam. 2:8–9). The capital was fixed in Mahanaim on the eastern bank of the Jordan, at a distance from the Philistine garrisons, who controlled western Israel (I Sam. 31:7), and from the borders of Judah, where David reigned. By enthroning Ish-Bosheth, Abner intended, on the one hand, to prevent David from reigning over the whole of Israel and, on the other, to govern, in fact, the northern tribes; Ish-Bosheth, the legal successor of Saul, would be king in title but dependent on the will and mercy of Abner, the general of the army. Indeed, Abner concentrated the full authority of the government in his hands and led the war against David (II Sam. 2:12–17; 3:6). It is a measure of Abner's power and Ish-Bosheth's impotence that Abner dared to cohabit with *Rizpah daughter of Aiah, the concubine of Saul. It is not surprising that Ish-Bosheth reproached him for it; for he might well regard it as not only an affront to the memory of Saul, but also reason for suspecting Abner of ambitions to the throne (cf. 16:21–22; I Kings 2:17–22). Abner for his part regarded Ish-Bosheth's rebuke as an act of ingratitude for his efforts in preventing David from reigning over all Israel (II Sam. 3:8). It is also possible that Abner, realizing that the military situation was in favor of David (3:1), welcomed Ish-Bosheth's rebuke as a pretext for coming to terms with David and thus assured his continuing in the position of army commander in Israel (3:12–21). The dispute sealed Ish-Bosheth's fate. He had lost his main supporter (4:1) and the hope of remaining in power. According to II Samuel 4, Ish-Bosheth was murdered by two officers, Rechab and Baanah. It can be assumed that the conspirators, who came from the town of Beeroth, one of the four Hivite towns (Josh. 9:17), murdered Ish-Bosheth in order to avenge the execution of the Gibeonites by Saul (II Sam. 21:1).

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[Bustanay Oded]

ISH-KISHOR, EPHRAIM (1863–1945), one of the first followers of *Ḥibbat Zion and of political Zionism in England. Born in Ponjemon, Lithuania, he lived from the beginning of the 1880s in England, where he taught Hebrew. He was one of the first to promote Ḥibbat Zion in England through essays, stories, and poems in Yiddish newspapers that he published and edited at the end of the 1880s and the beginning of the 1890s. Ish-Kishor adhered to Herzl upon his first appearance in England, and in his diary, on July 15, 1896, Herzl mentions that Ish-Kishor came to see him and proposed the establishment of an organization to be headed by Herzl: "A hundred persons will gather in the East End; they will enlist members in all the countries and they will create propaganda for a Jewish state." Ish-Kishor later participated in the First Zionist Congress and was active in the Zionist Federation of Great Britain. In 1907 he went to the United States, where he continued his Zionist work. He was also among the founders of the Judea Insurance Company and worked for it when he settled in Palestine in 1933. His daughter, SHULAMITH ISH-KISHOR (1896–1977), who lived in New York, was a noted children's writer whose work included *Our Eddie* (1970).

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[Getzel Kressel]

ISHMAEL (Heb. יִשְׁמָעֵאל; "God hears," wordplays on the name occur in Gen. 16:11–12; 17:20; 21:13, 17), the first son of Abraham, born to him when he was 86 years old. Ishmael's mother was the Egyptian *Hagar, the maidservant of Sarah (Gen. 16). After Hagar had conceived, she became insolent toward her barren mistress, and Sarah treated her harshly. She fled to the wilderness but eventually returned and submitted to Sarah's torments, as commanded by an angel of the Lord. However, after the birth of Isaac many years later, Abraham, with divine consent, acceded to Sarah's demand and expelled Hagar and Ishmael (Gen. 21). The relationships among Abraham, Sarah, and Hagar have analogs in ancient Near Eastern family law and practice. Ishmael is the eponymous ancestor of the *Ishmaelites. His circumcision at age 13 (Gen. 17:25) reflects a practice among Arabs of circumcision as a rite of puberty. The reference to him as a bowman (Gen. 21:21) reflects the tradition that Arabs were marksmen (Isa. 21:17). According to Gen. 25:9, Isaac and Ishmael together buried their father Abraham.

In the New Testament (Gal. 4:21–31) Paul treats the banishment of Hagar and Ishmael as an allegory for the replacement of God's old covenant with the Jews through law by God's new covenant with the Christians through promise.

[Yehuda Elitzur / S. David Sperling (2nd ed.)]

In the Aggadah

Abraham tried to train Ishmael in the right way (Gen. R. 148:13), but failed, his excessive love for him causing him to "spare the rod and spoil the child" (Ex. R. 1:1). Abraham closed his eyes to Ishmael's evil ways and was reluctant to send him away (Gen. R. 53:12). Sarah, on the other hand, fully recognized the true character of Ishmael, for he dishonored women, worshiped idols, and attempted to kill Isaac (Gen. R. 53:11; Tosef. Sot. 6:6). He also mocked those who rejoiced at the birth of Isaac (Gen. R. 53:11). Ishmael is identified with one of the two lads who accompanied Abraham to the **Akedah*. He was left behind with *Eliezer and the ass at the foot of Mount Moriah because he could not see the divine cloud which enveloped the mountain (Lev. R. 26:7). When abandoned by Hagar, Ishmael prayed for a quick end rather than a slow torturous death from thirst (PdRE 30). The angels hastened to indict Ishmael, exclaiming to God, "Wilt Thou bring up a well for one whose descendants will one day slay Thy children with thirst?" Nevertheless, God provided the well that was created during the twilight of the Sabbath of Creation for Ishmael since he was at that time righteous, and God judges man "only as he is at the moment" (Gen. R. 53:14; PdRE 30).

Ishmael's skill in archery was so great (Gen. 21:20) that he became the master of all the bowmen (Gen. R. 53:15). He married a Moabitess named Ayesha. When Abraham later visited them, Ishmael was away and his wife was inhospitable. Abraham thereupon left a message with her that Ishmael should "change the peg of his tent." Ishmael understood the message, divorced his wife, and married a Canaanite woman, Fatima. Three years later, when Abraham next visited, Fatima received him kindly and Abraham declared that the peg was good. Ishmael was so pleased with his father's approval that he moved his entire family to the land of the Philistines so that they could be near Abraham (PdRE 30; *Sefer Yashar*, *Va-Yera*, 41a–b. Ayesha (ʿAi'sha) and Fatima are the names of Muhammad's wife and daughter respectively, and the Midrash is obviously a late one). Ishmael became a genuine penitent at the end of his father's lifetime and he later stood aside out of deference for Isaac at his father's funeral (BB 16b). A man who sees Ishmael in a dream will have his prayers answered by God (Ber. 56b; cf. Gen. 21:17). Gradually Ishmael became identified not only as the ancestor of the Ishmaelites but also of the Arabs, who were often named Ishmael in the Middle Ages (see Ginzberg, Legends, 5, 223, 234).

In Islam

Ismāʿīl was a prophet (Sura 19:55; 21:85; 38:48), but it was only in *Medina that it became known to *Muhammad that he was the son of Abraham, one of the founders of the cult at the Kaaba in Mecca, one of the forefathers of the Arabs, and, like Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, one of the worshipers of Allah, even though he was neither Jew nor Christian (Sura 2:119, 127, 130; 3:78; 14:44; 19:55). In the tale of the binding (Sura 37:99–110) Muhammad identified the son who was to be sacrificed as Ishmael and, indeed, the opinions of the traditionalists were also divided on this subject (cf. *Isaac). It is related that a renowned traditionalist of Jewish origin, from the *Qurayẓa tribe, and another Jewish scholar, who converted to Islam, told the caliph Omar ibn Abd al-Azīz (717–20) that the Jews were well informed that Ismāʿil was the one who was bound, but that they concealed this out of jealousy (Tabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, 1:189; idem, *Tafsīr*, 23:54; Thaʿlabī, *Qiṣaṣ*, 77). Muslim legend also adds details on Hājar (Hagar), the mother of Ismāʿīl. After Abraham drove her and her son out, she wandered between the hills of al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa (in the vicinity of Mecca) in her search for water. At that time the waters of the spring Zemzem began to flow. Her acts became the basis for the hallowed customs of Muslims during the Ḥajj. According to Arab genealogists, Ismāʿīl was the progenitor of the northern Arabs, the *Mustaʿriba, i.e., Aramite tribes which were assimilated among the Arabs.

[Haïm Z'ew Hirschberg]

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ISHMAEL, son of Nethaniah son of Elishama, one of the military commanders in the period after the destruction of the First Temple (II Kings 25:25; Jer. 41:1). Ishmael, a descendant of the Judahite royal family, assassinated *Gedaliah son of Ahikam (Jer. 40:13–14), who presided over the Judean puppet government set up by Nebuchadnezzar. It would appear that Ishmael's assassination of Gedaliah at Mizpah was both personally and politically motivated. Ishmael may have been jealous of Gedaliah, who had been appointed by the Babylonians as head of the remnant of the population in Judah, and therefore may have wished to kill him for that reason alone; but he could hardly have hoped that the Babylonians would reward him for the murder by appointing him in Gedaliah's stead. His only hope to gain a positive advantage lay in continued resistance to Babylon, which would, if successful, result in his succession to the throne of David. *Baalis, the king of Ammon, with whom Ishmael found refuge, apparently encouraged Ishmael, because Gedaliah was a collaborator whereas the Ammonites were in open revolt against Babylon (cf. Ezek. 21:24–27, and Zedekiah's attempt to flee across the Jordan, II Kings 25:4–5), and not, as some scholars maintain, because they hoped that after the murder of Gedaliah, the Babylonians would punish the Judahite remnant and attach what was left of the territory of Judah to Ammon. After killing Gedaliah (and 70 other Israelites who had later come to Mizpah to worship), Ishmael attempted the forcible transfer to Ammon of the remnants of the Judean population left at Mizpah (Jer. 41:2–10). However, this plan was frustrated by *Johanan son of Kareah and the military commanders with him. They met Ishmael and his captives at Gibeon and took them back to Mizpah; only Ishmael and eight of his men escaped to the Ammonite king (Jer. 41: 11–15).

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[Josef Segal]

ISHMAEL BEN ABRAHAM ISAAC HA-KOHEN (1723–1811), Italian rabbi. Ishmael ha-Kohen, rabbi of Modena, enjoyed a high standing in the Jewish world generally and was the last Italian rabbi who was accepted throughout the rabbinic world as a halakhic authority. He was among those to whom Naphtali Hirsch *Wessely appealed in his *Divrei Shalom ve-Emet* (Berlin, 1782) to defend the introduction of secular studies in Jewish schools. Though formally disassociating himself from the ideology of the *maskilim*, in practice he concurred with it. It is of note that he occasionally wrote secular poems. Ishmael was among those invited by Napoleon to answer questions put to the *Assembly of Jewish Notables which took place in Paris in 1806. From his replies on this occasion as well as from his other halakhic rulings, both published and in manuscript, he emerges as a rabbi alive to the needs of the times and inclined to narrow the gap between them and traditions. His realistic and moderate approach is clearly revealed in his responsa published under the name *Zera Emet* (pt. 1, Leghorn, 1785; pt. 2, *ibid.*, 1796; pt. 3, Reggio, n.d.), see especially pt. 1, nos. 69, 74, and 89; pt. 2, no. 107; and pt. 3, nos. 32, 33, and 42. Many responsa remain unpublished.

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[Moshe Shraga Samet]

ISHMAEL BEN ELISHA (first half of the second century C.E.), *tanna*, the Ishmael generally mentioned without patronymic. Ishmael was one of the sages the stamp of whose personality and teachings had a permanent effect on tannaitic literature and on Judaism as a whole. He was a kohen (Ket. 105b), and in a *baraita* (Tosef., Ḥal. 1:10) it is stated that he once took an oath "by the [priestly] garments worn by my father and by the miter which he set between his eyes"; this suggests that his father was a high priest, but since no high priest called Elisha is known during the relevant period, he may have had an ancestor in mind. Still a child at the time of the destruction of the Second Temple, he was taken captive to Rome and ransomed by R. Joshua (Git. 58a), whose pupil he became (Tosef., Par. 10:3). He also studied under Neḥunyah b. ha-Kanah, who was his teacher in halakhic Midrash (Shev. 26a). Ishmael lived at Kefar Aziz, south of Hebron near Idumea (Kil. 6:4; Ket. 5:8), and appears to have taken local tradition into account in his decisions (Ket. 5:8). One of the chief spokesmen among the sages of *Jabneh, he took part in and expressed his view at all its meetings and assemblies and was present, too, on the day when Eleazar b. Azariah was appointed in the yeshiva (Yad. 4:3). In the debate concerning the commandments for which one should suffer martyrdom rather than transgress, he was of the opinion that it was permissible to transgress the prohibition against idolatry in order to save one's life, as long as it was not done in public (Sifra, Aḥarei Mot. 13:14).

His most intimate colleague was *Akiva, and he disputed with him on *halakhah*, *aggadah*, and in halakhic expositions of the Bible. Both of them laid down and evolved different systems of exposition and the derivation of the *halakhah*, and different schools were named after them: De-Vei ("the house (or school) of") R. Ishmael and De-Vei R. Akiva. Most of the extant halakhic Midrashim belong to one of those schools, the *Mekhilta de-R. Ishmael* on Exodus, and the *Sifrei* on Numbers coming from Ishmael's school, the *Sifra* on Leviticus and the *Sifrei* on Deuteronomy coming from Akiva's school. For the fundamental differences between these two schools see **Midreshei Halakhah*, section II.

Many of the actions and ethical sayings ascribed to Ishmael testify to his love of mankind, and especially of every Jew. On one occasion, when mentioning "the children of Israel," he added: "May I be an atonement for them" (Neg. 2:1); on another he said: "All Israel are to be regarded as princes" (i.e., there can be no distinctions between Jews; BM 113b). He declared that mourning over the destruction of the Second Temple would demand abstinence from meat and wine, were it not for the principle that no restriction is imposed on the public unless the majority can endure it; similarly the prohibition instituted by the Roman authorities against the study of the Torah and the observance of the *mitzvot* would require that one should not marry or beget children, so "that the seed of Abraham might cease of itself. But let Israel go their way. Better that they err unwittingly than presumptuously" (BB 60b, and parallels). The following story is told in the Mishnah (Ned. 9:10): "It once happened that a man vowed to have no benefit from his sister's daughter (i.e., not to marry her); and they brought her to the house of R. Ishmael and beautified her. R. Ishmael said to him, 'My son, didst thou vow to abstain from this one?' And he said, 'No!' And R. Ishmael released him from his vow. In that same hour R. Ishmael wept and said, 'The daughters of Israel are comely but poverty destroys their comeliness.' When R. Ishmael died the daughters of Israel raised a lament saying, 'Ye daughters of Israel, weep over R. Ishmael!'" His very human approach is evidenced in his aphorism: "Receive all men joyfully" (Avot 3:12). From his school came the dictum, "One should always use decorous language" (Pes. 3a), as well as an ethical explanation of why the whole ear is hard and only the lobe is soft – "so that if one hears anything improper, one may stop up the ear with the lobe" (Ket. 5b).

According to the Talmud he opposed the extreme view of Simeon b. Yoḥai, who encouraged men to refrain from mundane pursuits, such as plowing, sowing, reaping, threshing, and winnowing, in order to fulfill the literal interpretation of the verse, "This book of the law shall not depart out of thy mouth" (Josh. 1:8). For his part, Ishmael recalled that the Bible states, "Thou shalt gather in thy corn" (Deut. 9:14), thus teaching that the study of the Torah is to be combined with a worldly occupation (Ber. 35b). Yet the Talmud states that he prohibited Eleazar b. Dama, his sister's son, from learning Greek wisdom because this would be at the expense of studying the Torah (Men. 99b). He adopted an uncompromising attitude toward the Christian sectarians, then still within the Jewish fold, and several of his statements against them and their writings are couched in harsh terms (Shab. 116a, and see Av. Zar. 27b).

It is doubtful whether Ishmael survived until the Bar Kokhba revolt. His name is apparently included among the first martyred sages killed in the persecutions which followed that revolt (Mekh. Nezikin 18; and parallels, but cf. Tosef., Sot. 13:4). Later *aggadot* combined various traditions on the martyrs into a single literary work, making their martyrdom take place simultaneously (see *Ten Martyrs) and dwelling in legendary terms on the personality of Ishmael. This legendary figure of the high priest's son (see Tosef., Ḥal. 1:10 above), who is said to have himself been a high priest, knew the Tetragrammaton, by means of which he was able, at the request of his companions, to ascend to heaven to learn whether the decree of death had indeed been issued from on high. While Akiva, the leading figure among the "four who entered the *pardes*," served as the protagonist of the early *heikhalot* text, *Heikhalot Zutarti*, it was R. Ishmael who took over this role in later works like *Heikhalot Rabbati*, and similar works relating to *Ma'aseh Bereshit*, and *Ma'aseh Merkavah* (see *Kabbalah and *Merkabah Mysticism). Among his pupils were Illai, the father of R. Judah (Git. 6b), Meir (Er. 13a), Jonathan, and Josiah (Men. 57b), who are most mentioned in the halakhic Midrashim of the school of Ishmael.

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[Shmuel Safrai]

ISHMAEL BEN JOHANAN BEN BEROKA (middle of the second century), *tanna*. He was a contemporary of *Simeon b. Gamaliel II, and he is often quoted as being in agreement or disagreement with him (Tosef., Er. 5 (4):2; Tosef., Yev. 13:5). He is mentioned three times in the Mishnah (BK 10:2, San 11:1, Avot 4:5), about 30 times in the Tosefta, in all areas of *halakhah*, and about the same number of times in Babylonian Talmud and the Jerusalem Talmud. He is mentioned several times in connection with the scholars of Jabneh (Tosef., Yev. 6:6, 10:3). His only aggadic teaching is included in *Avot* (4:5): "He who learns in order to teach, Heaven will grant him the opportunity both to learn and to teach; but he who learns in order to practice, Heaven will grant him the opportunity to learn and to teach, to observe and to practice."

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[Harry Freedman]

ISHMAEL BEN PHIABI (Phabi) II, high priest, appointed by Agrippa II in 59 C.E. He is not to be confused with a high priest of the same name appointed by the procurator Valerius Gratus in 15 C.E. The Phiabi family was one of the few from whose ranks the high priests were chosen. The name suggests an Egyptian origin and the immigration of the family to Ereẓ Israel seems to have taken place in the time of Herod, when Joshua b. Phiabi held office as high priest (Jos., Ant. 15:322). According to Josephus, Ishmael was a member of the delegation sent to Rome in connection with Agrippa II's opposition to the wall erected at the Temple by the priests (see Sabina *Poppaea). Though Nero upheld the appeal (Jos., Ant. 20:194–6), Ishmael was detained in Rome as one of the hostages and Joseph b. Simeon was appointed to succeed him. He apparently held office for a period of two years only. An Ishmael b. Phiabi is mentioned on various occasions in the Talmud as a righteous man, but it is not clear which of them is referred to. A well-known *baraita* (Pes. 57a; Ker. 28b; Tosef., Men. 13:21) states: "Woe is me because of the house of Ishmael b. Phiabi, woe is me because of their fists," etc., but it continues that "the Temple court cried out, 'Lift up your heads, O ye gates, and let Ishmael the son of Phiabi, Phinehas' disciple, enter and serve as high priest.'" The Mishnah also states that with his death the glory of the high priesthood departed (Sot. 9:15). He was one of those who prepared the ashes of the *red heifer, of which only seven (or nine) were prepared in the whole history of the Second Temple (3:5). A slightly different version is given in the Tosefta (Par. 3:6; cf. Num. R. 19:10), which suggests that he prepared two, the first not in accordance with the Pharisaic requirements, whereupon he prepared the second. According to Buechler, this accounts for the favorable mention of a Sadducean priest by the Talmud. Derenbourg is of the opinion that this act is to be ascribed to the first Ishmael.

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[Lea Roth]

ISHMAEL BEN YOSE BEN ḤALAFTA (end of the second century C.E.), *tanna*. He is not mentioned by name in the Mishnah (apart from *Avot*, see below), and most of the halakhic sayings transmitted by him in the Tosefta are in his father's name (Tosef. Ter. 4:2, Maas. 1:2, Kel. BK 5:16; Oho.18:14; Nid. 4:12. Ṭoh. 10:12). He was mentioned as a member of a *bet din* (along with R. Eleazar Hakappar and R. Pinhas ben Yair) who discussed the establishment of *halakhot* and *takkanot* (Tosef., Oho. 18:18). According to the Talmud Ishmael was the eldest son of *Yose b. Ḥalafta (Shab. 118b) and succeeded him in the leadership of the town of Sepphoris (Er. 86b). The sources note Ishmael's extensive knowledge of the whole of the Bible (TJ, *ibid.*). He was greatly occupied with civil law and much is related of his exceptional care to maintain his impartiality and not to allow any suspicion or hint of bribery to attach to him, so that to him was applied the verse (Isa. 33:15): "That shaketh his hands from holding of bribes" (Mak. 24a). His great experience as a judge made him say: "He who shuns the judicial office rids himself of hatred, robbery, and vain swearing; but he who presumptuously lays down decisions is foolish, wicked, and of an arrogant spirit." He used to say: "Judge not alone. For none may judge alone save God" (Avot 4:8). Ishmael was appointed by the government, against his will, to head the local police. He is criticized for not fleeing abroad in order to avoid having to deliver Jews to the government (BM 83b). According to the Talmud he died prior to the death of Judah ha-Nasi (Pes. 118b). The great pupils of Judah, such as *Ḥanina b. Ḥama in Ereẓ Israel and *Rav in Babylon, transmitted some of his teachings and customs (Kid. 71a; Ber. 27b). One of his aggadic sayings is: "The older scholars grow, the more wisdom they acquire … but as for the ignorant, the older they become the more foolish they become" (Shab. 152a).

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[Shmuel Safrai]

ISHMAELITES (Heb. יִשְׁמְעֵאלִים), a group of nomadic tribes related according to the Bible to *Ishmael, son of Abraham and Hagar. In Genesis 25:13–15 and I Chronicles 1:29–31 there is a list of "the sons of Ishmael," which requires special consideration (see below). Apart from this list, the designation "Ishmaelite(s)" is found in Genesis 37:25–28; Judges 8:24; Psalms 83:3; I Chronicles 2:17 and 27:30. To date no mention of Ishmaelites as a designation of nomads has been found in other sources of the biblical period. The assumptions concerning the identification of the name Sumu(ʾ)ilu in the inscriptions of Sennacherib and Ashurbanipal, kings of Assyria, with Ishmael (J. Lewy, R. Campbell Thompson) are based on incorrect interpretations of these texts.

Knowledge of the area and the characteristics of the nomads called Ishmaelites can be derived, therefore, only from the biblical references to the Ishmaelites (apart from the list of the "sons of Ishmael"), as well as from what is related in Genesis about Ishmael. The "father" of these nomads is definitely connected with the desert regions between Ereẓ Israel and Egypt, and he is the son of Hagar, the Egyptian maidservant (Gen. 16:1, 3). Hagar's meeting with the angel of God who brought her tidings of Ishmael's forthcoming birth and his destined greatness is connected with the "spring of water in the wilderness, the spring on the road to Shur," which is later called Beer-lahai-roi, and "is between Kadesh and Bered" (*ibid.*, 16:7, 14). After having been expelled by Abraham, Hagar and Ishmael are saved by an angel of God in the wilderness of Beer-Sheba (21:14–19). When he grew up and became a bowman, Ishmael lived in the wilderness of Paran, and his mother got a wife for him from Egypt (21:21). The Ishmaelites' area of habitation is defined in Genesis 25:18: "from Havilah, by Shur, which is close to Egypt …" This area includes the region in which Saul defeated Amalek: "from Havilah as far as Shur, which is east of Egypt" (I Sam. 15:7). The exact location of the Havilah mentioned in these passages is unknown, but according to the description of Saul's battle with the Amalekites it can be established with certainty that this place is in southern Palestine.

The Ishmaelites are described as Bedouin who live in the desert, raise camels (see especially the inclusion of Obil the Ishmaelite, who was "over the camels," among David's officers, I Chron. 27:30), are desert robbers (cf. Gen. 16:12), and periodically overrun the permanent settlement and plunder it (Ps. 83:7; Judg. 8:24). In addition, the Ishmaelites engaged in caravan trade (Gen. 37:25). (For relations of kinship and intermarriage between the Ishmaelite groups, who were close to the borders of settled areas, and the permanent inhabitants cf. Gen. 28:9, 36:3; I Chron 2:17.)

At the time when the Midianites, Amalekites, and Bene Kedem had become a rare sight in the land of Israel a biblical writer explained to his contemporaries that these were a species of Ishmaelites (cf. Judg. 6:3, 33; 7:12; 8:10, 22, 26 with 8:24). The account of the sale of Joseph mentions an Ishmaelite caravan on its way from Gilead to Egypt (Gen. 37:25, 27; 39:1). The same account also calls these traders Midianites (37:28) or Medanites (37:36). The identification of the Midianites, Medanites, and Amalekites with the Ishmaelites, as well as the inclusion of the latter's areas of habitation with that of the Amalekites, support the assumption that during a specific period the Ishmaelites were the principal group of nomads on the borders of Palestine (cf. Gen. 16:12: "He shall dwell alongside of all his kinsmen"; 25:18: "they camped alongside of all his kinsmen"; and 21:18: "… for I will make a great nation of him"). It is also possible that groups that were not directly related to the Ishmaelites were sometimes called by their name (Midian and Medan are listed among the sons of Abraham and Keturah, Gen. 25:2; I Chron. 1:32; Amalek is listed among the descendants of Esau, i.e., Edom, Gen. 36: 12, 16; I Chron. 1:36). It appears that this period ended no later than around the middle of the tenth century B.C.E., from which time on there is no mention of the Ishmaelites in the historiographic and literary sources in the Bible.

Genesis 25:13–15 and I Chronicles 1:29–31 contain the list of "the sons of Ishmael," in which 12 groups are listed by name: Nebaioth, Kedar, Adbeel, Mibsam, Mishma, Dumah, Massa, Hadad, Tema, Jetur, Naphish, Kedmah (for the number of the 12 sons of Ishmael cf. also Gen. 17:20). Of these, Kedar, Mibsam, Mishma, Dumah, Massa, Jetur, and Naphish are mentioned in other passages of the Bible. Assyrian and North-Arabian inscriptions mention Nebaioth, Kedar, Adbeel, Dumah, Massa, and Tema; while Greek sources from the second century B.C.E. on mention also the sons of Jetur. It should be noted that apart from the genealogical list, not one of these groups is mentioned in any source from the period preceding the tenth century B.C.E. In light of what is known about the peoples just mentioned, especially from Assyrian sources, it can be seen that they are not connected with the unified framework of the Ishmaelite tribes mentioned above: the scope of their wanderings is much greater than that of the Ishmaelites and covers an area from northern Sinai (Adbeel) to the edge of Wadi Sizhan (Duma) and the western border of Babylonia (Kedar, Nebaioth, and Massa). The collective name for these groups in all the sources is "Arabs" (Aribi, Arabu, Arbaia, etc.), and there is no doubt that this is the name by which they called themselves. On the other hand, the Assyrian sources make no mention of an ethnic framework called Ishmael; and there is no evidence that the nomads were called by this name.

According to this view the list of "the sons of Ishmael" is composed of nomadic peoples who dwelt on the borders of Palestine and in the wide desert area in North Arabia and the Syrian-Arabian desert from the eighth century B.C.E. on, and who were called the "Sons of Ishmael" although the ancient Ishmaelites by this time – as a result of the battles of Saul and David with the nomads on the borders of their kingdom and the appearance of new nomadic groups who forcefully pushed them away from the areas adjacent to Palestine – no longer inhabited this area.

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[Israel Eph'al]

ISHMAEL OF ʿUKBARA (Ar. **Ismāʿīl al-ʿUkbarī**; ninth century), sectarian teacher from ʿUkbarā, near *Baghdad. *Al-Qirqisānī asserts that Ishmael dubbed *Anan b. David, the titular founder of *Karaism, an ass, yet some of his own teachings were so absurd as to cause ridicule. Nevertheless, when he felt his end approaching, he instructed his followers to inscribe upon his tombstone "The chariots of Israel and the horsemen thereof" (II Kings, 2:12). Ishmael did not recognize the Masoretic emendations (*keri*) in the biblical text, and ruled that it should be read as written (*ketiv*), yet at the same time he asserted that some passages reflect a corrupt reading. He permitted the consumption on the Sabbath of food cooked or gathered on that day by persons of other faiths. He permitted a person to use the income of a business operating seven days a week, such as a bathhouse or a shop, provided he devoted the proceeds of each seventh and forty-ninth or fiftieth day for charity (on the analogy of the Sabbatical and Jubilee years for agricultural produce). He also prohibited the consumption of meat.

His followers appear to have been comparatively few, and Al-Qirqisānī states that in his day (tenth century) none was left. They were presumably absorbed in the slowly consolidating Karaite sect. In ʿUkbarā, Ishmael was succeeded by Mīshawayh al-ʿUkbarī, who organized a separate group of his own disciples.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: L. Nemoy, in: HUCA, 7 (1930), 329, 388; idem (ed.), *Karaite Anthology* (1952), 52, 335.

[Leon Nemoy]

ISIDOR, LAZARE (1814–1888), French rabbi. Born in Lixheim, Lorraine, he became rabbi of Pfalzburg in 1838, of Paris in 1847, and chief rabbi of France in 1867. While rabbi of Pfalzburg, he refused to permit a member of the congregation of Saverne to pronounce the humiliating *oath *more Judaico*, in the synagogue of Saverne when requested by the tribunal of Sarrebourg. As rabbi in charge, Isidor closed the synagogue, and was consequently prosecuted (1839). A brilliant defense by Adolphe *Crémieux brought about Isidor's acquittal. This and similar cases contributed to the final abolition of the oath *more Judaico* in France (1846).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: AI, 49 (1888), 310; Consistoire Central des Israélites de France, *La mort de M. Lazare Isidor* (funeral orations, 1888); L. Berman, *Histoire des juifs de France* (1937), 412.

°ISIDORE OF SEVILLE (**Isidorus Hispalensis**; c. 560–636), archbishop of Seville, theologian, and encyclopedist; one of the last Church *Fathers. Isidore was probably born in Cartagena, but when he was still a child his family moved to Seville. He was educated by his elder brother Leander, archbishop of Seville, and after his brother's death in 600, Isidore succeeded him in the episcopate, which he held until his death. In his numerous writings Isidore encompassed all the sciences of his time; his great erudition was mainly expressed in his book *Originum, sive etymologiarum*. His most important historical work is *Historia de Regibus Gothorum Vandalorum et Suevorum*.

During his episcopate, Isidore presided over several regional and national church councils in Visigothic Spain, most important of which was the fourth national council of Toledo in 633, which determined the authority of the Visigothic kingdom and the status of the Church. Though the council agreed with Isidore's fundamental views against forced conversion of Jews, it may be assumed that he prompted the numerous laws decreed by this council against converts of Jewish origin who had remained faithful to Judaism. While Isidore was strictly opposed to forced conversion, he believed that the political status of the Jews should be exploited to bring about their voluntary conversion, an attitude he expressed in his polemical writings against Judaism. In the first of these, *Isaiae testimonia de Christo Domino*, he tries to prove that Isaiah's prophecies herald Jesus as Messiah. In his main apologetic book *De fide catholica ex Veteri et Novo Testamento contra Iudaeos*, he tries to find evidence for the truth of Christianity in all the biblical books. Despite its title, the book does not contain any dogmatic evidence against the Jews from the New Testament. In both these works Isidore does not refer to the original Hebrew text of the Bible nor does he appear to have any knowledge of talmudic literature. His information in this field is based mainly on the writings of the Church Fathers, *Jerome in particular. Despite his missionary fervor, his writings are characterized by their moderate and restrained language, contrary to the prevailing anti-Jewish polemics.

In his exegetical works Isidore generally preferred mystical and allegorical interpretations, especially in *Mysticorum expositiones sacramentorum seu quaestiones in Vetus Testamentum*, where he tries to reconcile divergencies between the Old and New Testaments. This work was designed to support Christian arguments in anti-Jewish disputations. His book *Liber de variis quaestionibus adversus Iudaeos*, attributed by some scholars to a later period, was aimed at bringing back into the fold of the Church those converts who had returned to Judaism.

Isidore's works were widely read in the Middle Ages, as attested by the great number of manuscripts remaining as well as the translation into German of *De fide catholica*…, made at a relatively early date. Up to the 12th century all anti-Jewish apologetic writers in Western Europe were inspired by Isidore's writings and his influence on the anti-Jewish disputations in Spain lasted even longer. Isidore's writings are collected in Migne's *Patrologia Latina* (vols. 81–84, 1850–62).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Baron, Social², index; A. Lukyn Williams, *Adversus Judaeos* (1935), index; J. Fontaine, *Isidore de Séville et la culture classique dans l'Espagne wisigothique*, 2 vols. (1959); M.C. Diaz y Diaz (ed.), *Isidoriana* (Sp., 1961), includes bibliography.

ISIS, Egptian deity, at whose instigation, it was said, the Jews were forced to leave Egypt. Cheremon, the enemy of the Jews, asserted that the goddess Isis had appeared to the Egyptian king Amenophis, and had censured him because her sanctuary had been destroyed; whereupon the priest Phritibantes told the king that the terrible vision would not recur if he would purge Egypt of the "foul people." Then the departure of the Jews from Egypt took place (Jos., Apion I, 32). Tacitus has a different version, according to which the Jews were natives of Egypt, and had emigrated during the reign of Isis (Hist. V, 2–5). In the Epistle of Jeremiah (30–40) either the cult of Isis or that of Cybele is described. The violation of the chaste Paulina in the Temple of Isis at Rome was one of the reasons for the expulsion of the Jews from that city by Tiberius (Jos., Ant. XVIII, 3:4). After the destruction of Jerusalem, Vespasian and Titus celebrated their triumph in the Temple of Isis at Rome (Jos., Wars VII, 5:4).

ISKENDERUN (formerly **Alexandretta**), harbor town on the Mediterranean coast of Turkey on the gulf of the same name; population (2004), 173,900. The town (along with its district), first attached to Syria under the French mandate, was annexed to Turkey in 1939. Jews settled in Iskenderun in the Middle Ages. They were expelled by the Crusaders in 1098, but returned during the 16th century. During the 17th century the Jews of Iskenderun were among the supporters of Shabbetai *Ẓevi. The community was small and numbered some tens of families. After World War I about 20 families remained in Iskenderun. Most of the Jews emigrated from Iskenderun to Israel with the establishment of the State.

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[David Kushner (2nd ed.)]

ISKOWITZ, GERSHON (1921–1988), Canadian painter. Iskowitz was born in Kielce, Poland. He registered at the Warsaw Academy of Art in 1939. With the German invasion of Poland, he was put to forced labor. In 1942, his parents and sister were taken to Treblinka. A year later, he and his brother were transported to Auschwitz. In the fall of 1944, he was transferred to Buchenwald. Liberated on April 11, 1945, he was the only member of his family to survive the Holocaust. In 1947 he studied at the Munich Academy of Art and privately, for a short time, with Oskar Kokoschka. In September 1949 he emigrated to Canada and settled in Toronto. He held his first solo exhibition in Toronto in 1957.

Only a few of Iskowitz's early sketches recording life in the ghetto and the camps survived. His memories and the horrors of the war, however, remained a principal focus of his drawings into the 1950s. In 1952 Iskowitz began taking sketching trips into the countryside around Toronto. This work became the basis for the development of the dramatic, painterly abstract canvases for which he is best known, a direction that was confirmed on the first of several trips into the Canadian north; the first, by helicopter, was funded by a Canada Council grant. These large-scale abstractions, which begin with the perception of landscape, have been described as radiant and joyful expressions that transform the immediacy of vision into colored light.

Iskowitz exhibited regularly in Toronto; after 1964, with the Gallery Moos. He was one of two artists selected to represent Canada at the 1972 Venice Biennale. In 1982, the Art Gallery of Ontario held a major retrospective of his work. In 1985, he established the Gershon Iskowitz Foundation that continues to award an annual prize to experienced, professional Canadian artists.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: A. Freeman,*Gershon Iskowitz: Painter of Light* (1982); D. Burnett, *Iskowitz* (1982).

[Joyce Zemans (2nd ed.)]

ISLAM. The word conveys the sense of total and exclusive submission to Allah and is the name of the religion enunciated by the Prophet *Muhammad in the city of Mecca at the beginning of the seventh century C.E. An adherent of it is called a Muslim, a person who submits to Allah totally and exclusively. While the word is normally used in this sense, in traditional Muslim usage the word also denotes the ancient monotheistic faith associated with *Abraham. It is in this sense that Abraham is explicitly designated as Muslim in *Koran 3:67; the same designation is implicit for the Old Testament prophets and for Jesus as well. Liberal-minded modern Muslims tend to interpret this as a reflection of Muslim tolerance and recognition of the prophets of Judaism and Christianity; viewed from a different perspective, the idea may also be construed as an appropriation of Jewish and Christian religious history by Muslims.

In contradistinction to other religions whose names were frequently given to them by outsiders (cf. W.C. Smith, *The Meaning and End of Religion*, (1963), 80–82), the name Islam is indigenous and appears in the Koran eight times; moreover, the Koran maintains that Allah himself approved of Islam (Koran 5:5) and it is "*the* religion in the eyes of Allah" (Koran 3:19). Conversely, "whoever desires a religion other than Islam, it will not be accepted from him, and he will be in the hereafter one of the losers" (Koran 3:85). Muslims use Islam as the only name for their religion; other names by which Islam has been known until recently in European languages – such as "Mohammedanism" or "Mahométanisme" – are totally unacceptable to them. Nevertheless, in medieval Muslim texts one occasionally encounters expressions such as "Muhammadan way" (*ṭarīqa muḥammadiyya*) in a sense identical with Islam. In the literature of tradition, the terms Islam and Muslim are sometimes also given a more sublime significance; playing on the various meanings of the Arabic root *s-l-m*, a tradition says that "a Muslim is someone by whose hands and tongue the Muslims are not harmed" (al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ, Kitāb al-īmān,* 4; ed. Krehl, vol. 1, 11). Recent interpretations according to which Islam is related to *salām* ("peace") seem to have no basis in traditional literature, though the linguistic root of the two words is identical.

In the pre-Islamic period (called the era of barbarism and ignorance, *al-Jāhiliyya*), Arab inhabitants of the Peninsula believed in a multiplicity of gods but were not unaware of Allah whom they believed to be the strongest among these. In the Muslim tradition, this is called "associationism" (*shirk*), the belief that Allah has associates (*shurakāʾ*) in His divinity. These associates were believed to have an essential mediatory role between human beings and Allah. Muslim tradition maintains, nevertheless, that pre-Islamic Arabs understood that Allah was more powerful than all other gods and in times of extreme danger they placed their trust in Him alone, becoming, in a manner of speaking, "temporary monotheists" (cf. Koran 29:65–66, 31:22; Izutsu, *God and Man*, 102–103). In the Peninsula there were also Jewish and Christian communities. The Jews lived in the northern city of *Khaybar and in *Medina where the Prophet Muhammad was active from 622 C.E. until his death ten years later. The Christians inhabited the town of Najrān and also lived elsewhere: the Christian tribe of Taghlib lived first in the Najd region of the Peninsula and later on the lower Euphrates (M. Lecker, "Taghlib" EIS², s.v.). Small Zoroastrian communities probably existed in the eastern part of the Peninsula. Islam developed out of polemics with these religious communities and a substantial part of Muslim belief and ritual can only be understood against this background.

"The Pillars of Islam" (arkān al-islām)

In contradistinction to Judaism which speaks of 613 (*taryag*) commandments, the Muslim tradition does not keep count of the commandments incumbent on a Muslim. However, five of these have acquired a special standing in Islamic tradition. One of them is related to the manner in which an unbeliever embraces Islam, while the other four belong to the ritual aspect of the religion. Each of these commandments is mentioned several times in the Koran, but there they do not appear as a separate group. However, in the literature of prophetic tradition (**ḥadīth*), the five commandments are grouped and designed as the pillars on which Islam stands. In the collection compiled by al-Bukhārī (d. 870 C.E.), we read: "Islam is built on five (pillars): Witnessing that there is no god but Allah and that Muhammad is the messenger of Allah, and the performance of prayer, and giving of alms, and pilgrimage, and the fast of Ramaḍān" (al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ, Kitāb al-īmān*, 2; ed. Krehl, 1, 10).

1. The double formula saying that "there is no god but Allah and Muhammad is the messenger of Allah" (called in Arabic *shahāda* ("witnessing"), *kalima* ("word"), or *kalimat al-ikhlāṣ* ("the word of exclusive devotion") does not appear in the Koran as one unit. Its first part appears with slight modifications several times. Koran 3:18 reads: "Allah witnessed that there is no god except Him." (Cf. Koran 2:255, 37:35 and elsewhere.) The second part appears only once, in Koran 48:29: "Muhammad is the messenger of Allah. And those who are with him are hard against the unbelievers, merciful one to another…" This formula is the most distinctive expression of Muslim monotheism and of the central position accorded in Islam to the Prophet Muhammad. It is an important part of worship, appearing in the call to prayer and in the prayer itself. It is also the formal requirement for joining the Muslim community. Like other Muslim rituals, this formula seems also to have undergone certain developments before reaching its final form. The tradition maintains that the first part of the *shahāda*, affirming the oneness of Allah, was sufficient to indicate the conversion of Arab polytheists to Islam because it is unambiguous in the rejection of their former belief in multiple gods. When the call to Islam was directed at Christians and Jews, this part of the *shahāda* was no longer sufficient: an affirmation of Allah's oneness by monotheist Jews or Christians does not indicate their conversion to Islam because Christians and Jews may identify with the first part of the *shahāda* without changing their religious affiliation. For a Jew or a Christian, therefore, the acknowledgment of Muhammad's prophethood was considered essential. And since some Jewish groups were willing to acknowledge Muhammad's prophethood but restricted its validity to Arabs alone (see Y. Erder, "The Doctrine of Abū Īsā al-Isfahānī and Its Sources," in: *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam*, 20 (1996), 162–99), Jews and Christians were obliged – according to some traditions – not only to pronounce the double *shahāda*, but also unequivocally to renounce their former faiths.

2. Prayer (*ṣalāt*): Pre-Islamic Arabs did not observe an obligatory daily routine which could be seen as an inspiration for the Islamic prayer. It is therefore significant to observe that *ṣalāt* ("prayer") is an Aramaic loan word which means bowing or prostration. Nevertheless, prayer is mentioned as an obligation of the believer already in the Meccan period of the Koran (Koran 108:1–2; 107:4–5). It seems that in the first stage of the development, the Prophet spoke of two daily prayers: in the evening and at dawn. Koran 17:80 enjoins the Muslims to "perform the prayer at the sinking of the sun to the darkening of the night and the recital of dawn (*Koran al-fajr*)…." Later developments in this field are not very clear, but it appears that after the *hijra* to *Medina an additional prayer, called the "middle" one, was added when the Koran says: "Be watchful over the prayers and the middle prayer…" (Koran 2:239). The "middle prayer" is variously explained as the noon or the afternoon prayer.

If we assume that the prayers mentioned in the first part of the verse are the two prayers which had been referred to in the Meccan period, we reach the conclusion that after the *hijra* the number of prayers reached three. Though there is no hard evidence to substantiate this notion, some scholars tend to speculate that this happened under the influence of the Jews with whom the Prophet came into contact in Medina. The number of the Muslim prayers eventually reached five, but we do not know exactly when this development took place. There is some evidence to suggest that during the *Umayyad period in *Syria the number of the obligatory prayers was not generally known, and at the time of the Umayyad caliph ʿOmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz (r. 717–720 C.E.) the proper time for prayer was not known either (Goldziher, *Muslim Studies*, 2, 39–40). As for the reasons why the Muslims eventually decided on the number of five daily prayers, these are not clear. Goldziher maintains that the number was influenced by the Zoroastrian tradition which had five daily prayers. Islamic tradition connects the establishment of the five prayers with Muhammad's miraculous nocturnal journey to heaven (*isrāʾ, miʿrāj*). According to this tradition, Allah intended to impose on the Muslim community 50 daily prayers, but after some negotiations (which Muhammad conducted with Allah in compliance with the advice of Moses), the number was reduced to five. The tradition maintains, however, that these five prayers have the value of fifty.

In any case, post-Koranic Muslim tradition established five daily prayers: morning (*fajr*), noon (*ẓuhr*), afternoon (*ʿaṣr*), evening (*maghrib*), and night (*isha*). Before each prayer it is necessary to perform an ablution (*wuḍu*), which involves washing the hands up to the elbows, rinsing the mouth and nose, and washing the feet including the ankles. If water is not available, sand may be used; in this case the procedure is called *tayammum* (Koran 5:8–9). In preparation for the Friday prayer washing the entire body (*ghusl*) is required. The prayer itself consists of a prescribed sequence of bodily movements (*rakʿa*), including bending, standing, prostration, and half-kneeling, half sitting. The only texts which are essential for the prayer being valid are the formula *Allāhu Akbar* and the *Fātiḥa*, the opening chapter of the Koran.

Three elements associated with Muslim prayer will serve as an illustration of the idea that Islam developed out of polemics with, and attempts to differentiate itself from, Judaism and Christianity. As is well known, Muslims now pray barefoot. However, there is evidence to suggest that in the early days of Islam, Muslims prayed with their shoes on. This was recommended, even enjoined, in order to distinguish between Muslims and Jews who are said to have prayed barefoot. The second element is the *adhān*, the call preceding each prayer. The tradition maintains that in the beginning the Prophet used a horn "like the horn of the Jews" for this purpose. Later he disliked this and ordered the clapper (*nāqūs*) to be used to summon the believers, in emulation of Eastern Christians. Eventually, ʿOmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, the second caliph, had a vision in which he was told: "Do not use the clapper, rather call to prayer (with human voice)." In this way the characteristic Muslim call to prayer is said to have emerged. This call now consists of pronouncing the formula "Allahu Akbar" four times, the *shahāda* twice, the formula "come to prayer, come to success" twice, "Allahu Akbar" twice again, and, finally, the *shahāda*.

The development of the Muslim direction of prayer (*qibla*) is the most famous reflection of the progressive dissociation of Islam from Judaism. The Muslim direction of prayer underwent several changes. The relevant traditions are reasonably clear, but there is no way to verify their historicity. Koran 2:216, considered by some commentators to be abrogated, seems to belittle the importance of the direction of prayer, saying that "To God belong the East and the West; wherever you turn, there is the face of God." On the other hand, we have three traditions concerning the direction of prayer in Mecca before Muhammad's migration to Medina in 622. According to one of them, in Mecca the Prophet faced the Kaʿba while praying; according to another, he faced Jerusalem; according to a third, which constitutes an attempt to harmonize between the first two ones, he faced Jerusalem, but took care to have the Kaʿba on the straight line between himself and Jerusalem. In this way, the tradition maintains, he faced both sanctuaries.

Regarding the period of the Prophet's sojourn in Medina (622–632 C.E.), the tradition is unanimous and maintains that for the first 16 or 18 months of his stay in Medina, the Prophet and the Muslims with him prayed toward Jerusalem; this is why Jerusalem came to be known in Islam as "the first *qibla* and the third sanctuary" (after Mecca and Medina) (*ūlā al-qiblatayn wa thālith al-ḥaramayn*). There is no record of a divine command to do this; nevertheless, some commentators think that such a command was issued, while others maintain that praying in the direction of Jerusalem was the Prophet's own decision. Some suggest that the Prophet was commanded to pray toward Jerusalem "in order to conciliate the Jews." Frequently we read that at some point in time the Prophet became averse to this direction of prayer, and Koran 2:150, which commands the Muslims to pray in the direction of Mecca, was revealed in response to the Prophet's desire. The change of the *qibla* to Mecca introduced a crucial Arabian element into Islam and was a major step in its disengagement from Judaism.

The five daily prayers may be performed in public or in private, though according to the tradition public prayer is always preferable. The only prayer which must always be performed in public is the noon prayer on Friday (*jumʿa*).

Naturally, no congregational prayer was held before the *hijra* in Mecca because of the precarious position of the few Meccan Muslims in that period. Though there are some references to the *jumʿa* prayer in Medina before the *hijra*, it is clear that the *jumʿa* prayer acquired its central standing in Muslim ritual in the Medinan period of the Prophet's career. The choice of Friday as the Muslim day of congregational prayer was explained in various ways. Some thought that it was just to differentiate Islam from Judaism and Christianity; but this argument is good for any day except Saturday and Sunday. A classical tradition observes that although the Jews and the

Christians were given their holy books before the Muslims, the Muslims precede them in their day of prayer, in order to do them justice. The most widely accepted scholarly explanation was given by S.D. Goitein ("The Origin and Nature of the Muslim Friday Worship," *Studies in Islamic history and institutions* (1968), 111–25). Goitein suggests that Friday was chosen because on that day the Jews of Medina used to prepare provisions for the Sabbath; because of this Friday became a market day on which not only the inhabitants of Medina, but also the inhabitants of the adjacent areas assembled in the city and engaged in commerce. Since Koran 62:9–11 clearly says that commercial activity must cease when the call to prayer is sounded, this explanation sounds convincing.

The Friday prayer is the only prayer during which a sermon (*khuṭba*) is delivered. The sermon normally includes praise of Allah, a prayer for the Prophet, exhortation to good deeds, and a chapter from the Koran. It is also customary to mention the ruler. This custom has great political importance: it is a symbol of the worshipers' allegiance to the government in power. Mentioning the ruler's name in the sermon is considered indicative of the preacher's (and the congregation's) political loyalty, while its omission is considered a symbol of rebellion. *Mutatis mutandis*, sermons are at times used for political statements in the modern period as well. Religiously speaking, Friday is not a day of rest like the Jewish Sabbath. As is clear from Koran 62:9–11, work is prohibited only during the prayer itself; after the prayer is concluded, all activities may be resumed. Nevertheless, Friday has acquired in Islam the characteristics of a holiday and is the official day of rest in many Muslim states.

3. Pilgrimage (*ḥajj*): In contradistinction to prayer, the Muslim pilgrimage has clear antecedents in the pre-Islamic period. Muslim tradition maintains that pre-Islamic Arabs performed pilgrimage to the Kaʿba in Mecca, which was then a pagan place of worship, with images of idols. The transformation of the Kaʿba into a Muslim sanctuary and of the pilgrimage into a Muslim ritual necessitated an infusion of monotheistic elements into the history of both. This was achieved by describing the pilgrimage as a ritual which had begun long before Arabian idolatry came into being and was a part of the ancient monotheistic religion associated with Abraham "who was neither a Jew nor a Christian but a *ḥanīf* Muslim and was not of the idolaters" (Koran 3:67). According to the Koranic account, Abraham was the man who built the Kaʿba together with his son Ishmael and made it into a pure place of worship (Koran 2:125, 3:95–97).

Hence the Kaʿba, an idolatrous sanctuary in the pre-Islamic period, became the holiest place in Islam. The way was now open for the next step, transformimg the pilgrimage to Mecca into an Islamic commandment: "It is the duty of all people to come to the House as pilgrim, if he is able to make his way there" (Koran 3:97). Thus the pilgrimage is a case in which Islam did not abolish a pre-Islamic ritual, but rather filled it with new content and significance. The identity of the Muslim rituals with the pre-Islamic ones caused misgivings among some early believers and at least in one case a special revelation was needed to give legitimacy to such a ritual.

The pilgrimage is held annually in the month of Dhū al-Ḥijja, the last month of the Islamic year. It is obligatory for every Muslim once in a lifetime, if he has the means to perform it. At the outskirts of Mecca, the pilgrims enter into the state of sacredness (*iḥrām*), symbolized by the white, seamless garment worn during the pilgrimage. The uniform clothing is understood as symbolizing the equality of all believers. When the pilgrim reaches Mecca, he starts the ritual by circumambulating the Kaʿba seven times (*ṭawāf*). Then he covers seven times the distance between the hills of al-Safā and al-Marwa (*saʿy*). This is understood as commemorating Hagar's search of water for her son Ishmael. The collective rituals, so characteristic of the annual Muslim pilgrimage, begin on the 8th of Dhū al-Ḥijja, when the pilgrims set out for the plain of ʿArafāt, east of Mecca. On the 9th of the month the pilgrims stand there and listen to a sermon at the time of the noon-prayer. This is the central ritual of the pilgrimage (*wuqūf*). On the way back to Mecca, the pilgrims throw stones at Minā; this is meant to symbolize the stoning of the devil. On the 10th, 11th, and 12th of the month the Feast of Sacrifice (*ʿīd al-aḍḥā*) is celebrated. The sacrifice of an animal is obligatory on every free Muslim who can afford it. After this, the pilgrims return to Mecca and can come out of their state of sacredness.

The pilgrimage has acquired tremendous importance in Islam. It allows millions of Muslims from all parts of the world to meet, exchange ideas, and get acquainted with each other. The pilgrimage is therefore an extraordinary event: in recent years, about two million Muslims participate in it. It gives the Muslims a sense of belonging to a large, universal community and strengthens the feeling of unity in the Muslim world.

4. Fasting (*ṣawm*): The development of the Muslim commandment of fasting began with the migration of the Prophet to Medina in 622, when the Prophet instructed the Muslims to fast the *ʿāshūrāʾ* (cf. *ʿasor*, Lev. 16:29) on the 10th of Muḥarram, the first month in the Muslim calendar. One version of this tradition maintains that this was in emulation of, or in competition with, the Day of Atonement. Other traditions deny any Jewish connection and hold that the *ʿāshūrāʾ* commemorates the saving of Noah during the flood, or a fast observed by the tribe of Quraysh in the pre-Islamic period. In 2 A.H./624 C.E., Koran 2:185 was revealed, instituting the month of Ramaḍān as the month of fasting, from sunrise to sunset. This is another example of the progressive dissociation of Islam from the Jewish tradition. Henceforth, *ʿāshūrāʾ* was downgraded to a voluntary fast, but there are indications for its persistence into the Muslim period. Later the fast of *ʿāshūrāʾ* merged with the Shīʿī commemoration of the death of al-Hūsayn, the Prophet's grandson, in Karbalāʾ in 680 C.E.

Throughout Ramaḍān, the believer must refrain from food, drink, and sexual relations during the daytime. *Imsāk* is the beginning of the fast at dawn, while *ifṭār* signifies the breaking of the fast after sunset. Unrelated to Ramaḍān is fasting of various durations as expiation for failing to fulfill an oath (Koran 5:92), for repudiating a wife in a forbidden way (*ẓihār*, Koran 58:4), for failing to perform the pilgrimage rituals properly (Koran 2:196), or for an accidental killing of a believer (Koran 4:91).

5. Alms-giving (*zakā*). The pre-Islamic secular value of generosity was transformed into mandatory almsgiving in Islam. In the early Sūras of the Koran, the commandment is phrased in very general terms (Koran 13:24–26). In the late Medinan period, the tone is much more specific and the purposes for which the collected money may be used are specified: "The alms are for the poor and the needy, and those who collect them, and those whose hearts are to be reconciled, and to free the captives, and the debtors, and for the sake of Allah and for the wayfarers; a duty imposed by Allah" (Koran 9:60). Those "whose hearts are to be reconciled" are understood to be people who needed economic incentive to join Islam, while "for the sake of Allah" is interpreted as the *jihād* (q.v.). This suggests that the Prophet used the alms money not only as help for the needy, but also for political purposes. According to some prophetic traditions, the payment of the alms "purifies" the property retained by the payer. The Qur'an does not specify the amount to be paid as alms. Koran 2:219 seems to indicate that one should give as alms whatever is his surplus (for details on this in Islamic law, see A. Zysow, "Zakāt," EIS², 11, 406–22).

The Expansion of Islam

The first wave of conquests by Muslim Arabs, completed at the beginning of the eighth century C.E., included the Fertile Crescent, *Iran, *Egypt, North Africa, *Spain, the western fringes of *India, and some parts of Central Asia. From the 10th century Turkish people originating on the steppes between the Caspian Sea and the Altai mountains became increasingly important as political and military champions of Islam. The conquest of South Asia (comprising today India, *Pakistan, and Bangladesh) began with the Indian campaigns of Maḥmūd Ghaznawī in the early 11th century, and was almost completed by the Delhi Sultanate in the 13th. The conversion of the *Mongols to Islam which began in the 13th century significantly extended the boundaries of Islam. The manner in which Islam came to South East Asia has not been satisfactorily described so far, but it is clear that it was not by way of conquest. The presence of Muslims in the Indonesian archipelago has been attested since the late 13th century. Muslim merchants and mystics are normally credited with bringing Islam to these areas. It is clear that Muslim conquests and the establishment of Muslim dynasties are not coterminous with the spread of Islam among the population and that the former aspects of Muslim history are known much better than the processes by which Islam became the religion of a substantial part of Asian and African populations.

The number of Muslims was estimated in 2000 at 1,262 million, 77% of these living in countries where the majority of the population is Muslim. The largest concentration of Muslim population is found in the three countries of South Asia (India, Pakistan, and Bangladesh) which are home to 384.3 million Muslims. Indonesia is the largest single Muslim political unit, with 212.1 million Muslims. The Arabic-speaking countries of North Africa (including the Sudan) and the Middle East comprise 257 million Muslims. Turkey follows with 66.5 million, Iran with 62.2 million, the five Muslim states of Central Asia (Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan, Tajikistan, Kirgyzstan, and Kazakhstan) with 41.5 million, and Afghanistan with 22.5 million. In Africa 58.9 million Muslims live in West Africa (south of the Sahara) and 47.1 in East Africa. The Muslim minority of China is estimated at 19.2 million, of Russia at 14.7 million, and of Europe (including the Balkans, France, and the U.K.) at 8.1 million. The number of Muslims in the U.S. and Canada is put at 2 million, although some Muslim organizations in the U.S. speak of 6 million Muslims in the U.S. alone. Reference to religion in demographic statistics is not universal, and these figures must therefore be viewed with caution. It is estimated that the number of Muslims will reach 1.8 billion by 2025; the Muslims are then expected to form almost a quarter of the global population.

General Characteristics

The general character of Islam is determined by two main factors: its foundational literature and its global expansion. The foundational literature – including the Koran, the prophetic tradition (*ḥadīth*), the jurisprudence (**fiqh*) and mysticism (*taṣawwuf*) – should be seen as unifying factors. The global expansion of Islam, the diverse conditions in the various areas, the different degrees to which the classical sources of Islam were internalized, the different degrees of modernization – all these explain the distinct characteristics of Islam in various areas of the world.

In addition to its fierce monotheism, the universal, global appeal of Islam seems to be its most conspicuous general feature. It is based on the firm belief that in contradistinction to all other prophets who had been sent to specific communities, Muhammad was sent to all humanity. Furthermore, Muḥammad is considered the last prophet to be sent to earth. Consequently, Islam and the Koran – the consummate embodiment of the divine will – will remain valid until the end of days: no prophet will ever be sent in order to bring another revelation or another sacred law. Therefore, Islam does not countenance the establishment of any new religion after the coming of Muhammad. Also, the Koran is considered to be the only scripture which was transmitted reliably and suffered no interpolation, while the Torah and the New Testament had allegedly been tampered willfully by the Jews and the Christians (*taḥrīf*). As a result of these and similar considerations, Muslims are "the best community ever brought forth to mankind" (Koran 3:110), and "Islam is exalted and nothing is exalted above it" (*al-Islām yaʿlū wa lā yuʿlā* (al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, *Kitāb al-janāʾiz 80*; ed. Krehl, 1, 337–38). The idea of Islamic exaltedness has numerous ramifications for the relationship between Islam and other faiths (Friedmann, *Tolerance and Coercion*, 34–39).

The Muslim ideas relevant to this relationship have been subject to significant changes since the earliest period of Islam. Even the Koran includes divergent ideas about the relationship between Islam and other religions. On the one hand, it includes verses which seem to promise divine reward for the Jews and the Christians without mentioning their conversion to Islam as a precondition (Koran 2:62; cf. 5:69). On the other hand, it speaks about the humiliation inflicted upon them (Koran 2:61, 3:112), instructs the Muslims not to forge alliances with them (Koran 5:51), and calls upon the Muslims to fight them "until they pay the poll-tax (**jizya*) out of hand while being humiliated (Koran 9:29). These and verses of similar import have been extensively commented upon in Muslim tradition and jurisprudence. The Muslim attitude to the Jews and Christians gradually moved from an initial conciliatory approach in the direction of increased rigor. (See Friedmann, *Tolerance and Coercion*, 194–99.)

The Koran and the prophetic tradition (*ḥadīth*) (q.v.) constitute the major unifying factors in Islam. The Koran is considered to be the literal word of Allah. Muslim theologians debated whether it has existed since all eternity and is uncreated (*ghayr makhlūq*), or was created (*makhlūq*) at a certain point in time. Perceived as divine in origin, its style is considered inimitable (*muʿjiz*) in the sense that no human being is capable of producing a book of so sublime a stylistic standard. This is the dogma known as *iʿjāz al- Koran*, the idea that the Koran renders human beings unable to imitate it. The distinctive character of Koranic style is unmistakable; from the secular vantage point it may derive from the fact that the Koran is the only extant literary work from seventh-century Arabia. In any case, the Koran has always been the subject of boundless veneration by Muslims. Although the Koran considers itself as "a book in which there is no doubt" (Koran 2:2) and as a revelation in "clear Arabic language" (Koran 26:195), many verses are difficult to understand and the book has inspired a vast literary corpus of exegesis (*tafsīr*). Once the meaning of a verse was agreed upon by mainstream exegetes, the accepted meaning acquired an uncontested normative value in Muslim law and piety.

The prophetic tradition (*hadīth*) has developed out of the conviction that a pious Muslim should emulate the Prophet in whatever he did, recall whatever he said, and even keep a record of things which gained his tacit approval. This attitude is based on the firm conviction that Muhammad possessed a perfect personality and should be treated with utmost respect. Any action which is judged incompatible with this basic idea is rejected with great severity. Therefore, one of the most meritorious actions which a Muslim can do is to revive a custom of the Prophet (*sunna*) which for some reason fell into disuse. The customs of the Prophet were recorded in the *ḥadīth* which has become a major part of Muslim religious literature, a major source of Muslim law and an important vehicle through which later generations could influence the development of Islam. The desire to emulate the Prophet brought about a tremendous proliferation of the *ḥadīth*, which soon became an extensive branch of Muslim religious literature.

According to the traditional Muslim view, a considerable part of the *hadīth*, which has a reliable chain of transmitters and thus can pass the traditional test of authenticity, was actually pronounced by the Prophet and has therefore a normative value second only to the Koran itself. Modern scholarship, on the other hand, maintains that the authenticity of this material is unverifiable: since we have no extant books of *hadīth* from the lifetime of the Prophet, there is no reliable method which can establish whether a certain saying was pronounced by the Prophet, or originated in a later period and was attributed to the Prophet in order to prove a point of law or an idea in the religious thought of a Muslim group. In some cases it is possible to discern the religious tendency or political interest embedded in a tradition; but in the countless traditions of general ethical content lacking a point of historical reference this is frequently impossible. In the brilliant formulation of *Goldziher, whose study of the *hadīth,* written in the late 19th century, is still an indispensable masterpiece, "the *hadīth* will not serve as a document for the history of the infancy of Islam, but rather as a reflection of the tendencies which appeared in the community during the maturer stages of its development. It contains invaluable evidence for the evolution of Islam during the years when it was forming itself into an organized whole from powerful mutually opposed forces. This makes the proper appreciation and study of the *hadīth* so important for the understanding of Islam in the evolution of which the most notable phases are accompanied by successive stages in the creation of the *hadīth*" (Goldziher, *Muslim Studies*, vol. 2, 19).

The third unifying factor is Islamic jurisprudence (**sharīʿa*, **fiqh*). From the very beginning, Islam strove to control the life of the community in all fields. Like Judaism, Islam is not satisfied with regulating man's obligation toward God, but also aspires to regulate his daily behavior and legislates in matters which in other cultures belong to the field of civil or secular law. Legal matters do not constitute a major part of the Koran, though topics such as the law of marriage, divorce, inheritance, and penalties for a restricted number of transgressions (theft, highway robbery, wine drinking, unlawful sexual intercourse and false accusation thereof) are discussed in some detail. Beginning in the last decades of the 8th century C.E., major compendia of Muslim jurisprudence began to emerge. Numerous schools of legal thinking (*madhhab*, pl. *madhāhib*) came into being in the formative period of Islam. Four of them (Ḥanafīs, Ḥanbalīs, Mālikīs, and Shāfiʿīs) survived and are regarded as valid versions of the religious law of Islam. The Ḥanafī school, which originated in the Iraqi city of Kūfa, is the most widespread. It was the dominant school in the *Abbāsid empire, in the *Ottoman empire, in the *Moghul empire in India and in Central Asia. The Mālikīs school was predominant in Muslim Spain, and still is in North Africa. The Shāfiʿīs school is deeply rooted in Egypt and has many adherents in the Fertile Crescent. The Ḥanbalīs have official status in *Saudi Arabia and numerous adherents elsewhere.

While the division into schools of law may indicate some measure of diversity, the common denominator between the schools is more than sufficient to consider the law as a unifying factor in Islam. The law is administered by a judge (*qāḍī*), sometimes assisted by a legal specialist authorized to issue legal opinions (*fatwā* pl. *fatāwā*).

The formative period of Islam was characterized by immense worldly success. The great conquests of the first century of Muslim history, in which Muslims took control of vast areas in the Middle East, in the western fringes of India, in Central Asia, in North Africa and in the Iberian peninsula, transformed the history of these regions and brought them under the aegis of Islam. Later expansion and conquests did the same for other areas of the world. The chronicles of the early conquests abound in descriptions of the wealth accumulated in the course of these events, and the conquerors do not seem to have had any qualms about the riches which they amassed. Mainstream Islam legitimized this and regulated the ways in which booty may be taken and used. This reflects a positive approach of Islam to worldly success (cf. Smith, *Islam in Modern History*, 22–23). Yet at the same time, one can discern in early Islam a completely different trend of thought: a trend which is contemplative, stresses the uselessness of this world and sees it only as a corridor through which one must pass, but which has no real value when compared with the everlasting bliss promised to the believers in the hereafter. This was the attitude of early Muslim ascetics (*zuhhād*, sg. *zāhid*) who spared no effort to revile this world, to describe it as "a corpse pursued by dogs," as a place of unbearable stench, a place which is a prison for the believer and Paradise for the infidel. These were the precursors of the Ṣūfī movement (see *Sufism) which developed into a major trend in Muslim religiosity. Since the 10th century C.E., Ṣūfī thinkers produced numerous manuals in which they described the path (*ṭarīqa*) to God and which served as guides on the seeker's (*murīd*) way to spiritual perfection. These manuals, of which "The book of (mystical) flashes in Ṣūfism" (*Kitāb al-lumaʿ fī al-taṣawwuf*) by Abū Naṣr al-Sarrāj (d. 988 C.E.) is a prime example, surveys the practices and modes of thinking of the Ṣūfīs. The book speaks about the standing of the Ṣūfīs among the believers and reaches the conclusion that they are more assiduous than others in observance and do not try to avoid the inconvenient commandments by seeking allegorical explanations and legal evasions. Thus, they not only obey the letter of the law, but go beyond it and reach degrees of religiosity which can not be attained by jurists and others. They leave aside all irrelevant matters and cut every connection which may interfere with attaining their objective, which is God alone. The book also describes in great detail the spiritual stages on the Ṣūfī's way to God.

In a later stage, from the 12th century onward, the Ṣūfīs were not only individuals exploring divine mysteries, but also organized themselves into Ṣūfī orders (*ṭuruq*, sg. *ṭarīqa*) which spread all over the Muslim world from the Maghrib in the West to Indonesia in the East. These orders developed around Ṣūfī masters (*shuyūkh*, sg. *shaykh*, or *pīr* in the eastern part of the Muslim world). These orders were of considerable importance in the life of the Muslim communities everywhere. It stands to reason that participation in the Ṣūfī ritual, such as the communal *dhikr* (the constant repetition of God's name), gave the common man a spiritual satisfaction unachievable by other means. Trimmingham (*The Ṣūfī Orders,* 229) sees a similarity between the spiritual role of a Ṣūfī order and that of a local church in Europe; another possible comparison is with the Ḥasidic movement in Judaism.

While the orders developed numerous disparate characteristics in the various parts of the Muslim world, the similarities between them are sufficient to include Ṣūfism among the unifying factors of Islam. The more unified picture of Islam can be found in Islamic literature, while its diversity can be most profitably studied in anthropological research. Anthropological fieldwork in various areas of the Muslim world has revealed numerous characteristics which show the extent to which Islam was influenced by local cultures, especially in rural areas. In almost every Muslim house in the Indian district of Purnea a little shrine existed in which prayers were offered both to Allah and to the Indian goddess Kālī. In the same place, a part of the Muslim marriage ceremony was conducted in a shrine of the goddess Bhagvatī (Mujeeb, *The Indian Muslims,* 13–14). There is substantial literature about the existence of caste system among Indian Muslims, despite the classical Islamic principle of equality of all believers (Ahmad, *Caste and Social Stratification…*). Geertz (*Islam observed*, 66) maintains that in Indonesia, "the mass of the peasantry remained devoted to local spirits, domestic rituals and familiar charms. … Christians and pagans apart, all these people, gentry and peasantry alike, conceived themselves to be Muslims." Muslims for whom the classical literature of Islam is the only guide as to what constitutes Islam will probably consider such phenomena as cases of incomplete Islamization; but, of course, there is no guarantee that the Muslims in question will ever be transformed into believers conforming to the ideal of Islam as embodied in the classical tradition.

Modern Islam

Barring a few exceptions, classical and medieval Muslim thought developed against the background of a dominant Muslim civilization. Both in the formative period of Islam and in the later pre-modern centuries, Muslim thinkers were active in areas which were part of secure and relatively stable political systems, headed by Muslim rulers. This situation began to change with the first Western incursions into the Muslim world and with the gradually developing sense that Islam had lost its erstwhile primacy in its relationship with other civilizations. The reaction of Muslim thinkers to this evolving situation was manifold. During the second half of the 19th century, the Muslim modernist movement came into being. In Egypt, the prominent intellectual figure was that of Muhammad ʿAbduh (1849–1905). At various times, he was teacher, journalist, and judge; his career culminated between 1899 and

1905, when he served as the *muftī* of Egypt. His leading ideas included the insistence on the compatibility of Islam with reason and modern science, since the Koran encouraged the study of the physical universe; the preference of reason when it conflicts with traditional knowledge; rejection of the blind following of the tradition (*taqlīd*); and the revitalization of independent reasoning (*ijtihād*). He also maintained that the restrictions placed in Islam on polygamy (the obligation to treat the wives with equality and justice; cf. Koran 4:3) are such that they amount to prohibition, and advocated the education of girls. Among his numerous followers, mention should be made of Qāsim Amīn (1865–1908), who became famous because of his advocacy of women's rights, and ʿAlī ʿAbd al-Rāziq (1888–1966), who maintained that Islam "is a religion, not a state" (*dīn lā dawla*). In other words, and in contradistinction to the prevalent view, he advocated the separation of religion and state in Islam. This idea aroused serious opposition and caused him to be expelled from the ranks of the *ʿulamāʾ* and from his position as a religious judge.

In the Indian subcontinent, the modernist movement was launched by Sir Sayyid Aḥmad Khān (1817–1898). Having been knighted for his loyal behavior during the Indian uprising of 1857, he devoted his life to the improvement of the Indian Muslims' relationship with the British rulers and to the advancement of modern education among Indian Muslims. In 1875 he established (with British support) the Anglo-Muhammadan Oriental College, which came to be known since 1920 as Aligarh Muslim University, and served as an important Muslim institution of higher learning in which modern science was taught alongside the humanities. He promoted the idea that there can be no contradiction between the word of God and laws of nature which are God's doing. Therefore, there can be no contradiction between the Koran, Islam, and the laws of nature, and there can be no objection in Islam to the study of modern Western sciences. Aḥmad Khān also devoted considerable effort to the demythologizing of Islam and interpreting its leading ideas as conforming to human intellect. In his attempt to improve the relationship between Islam and Christianity, he disagreed with the classical Muslim accusation that Christians and Jews had falsified the Scriptures, maintained that the books of the Bible are to be considered genuine and denounced the Indian Muslim custom of refusal to dine with Christians. Like Muhammad ʿAbduh, he maintained that Islam actually prohibited polygamy by insisting on the equal treatment of all wives, an attitude of which men are emotionally incapable.

Sayyid Aḥmad Khān's views found support among numerous Indian Muslim thinkers. Chirāgh ʿAlī (1844–1895) devoted much attention to the interpretation of *jihād* and argued that "all wars of Mohammad were defensive." He argued that "there are certain points in which the Mohammadan Common Law is irreconcilable with the modern needs of Islam, whether in India or Turkey, and requires modification. The several chapters of the Common Law, as those on political institutes, slavery, concubinage, marriage, divorce, and disabilities of non-Moslem fellow-subjects are to be remodeled and rewritten in accordance with the strict interpretations of the Koran…." He also opposed the blind following (*taqlīd*) of the Islamic schools of jurisprudence which were "never intended to be either divine or finite." It may be said that Chirāgh ʿAlī was one of the most radical reformers in Indian Islam. His definition of the *sharīʿa* as "common law" which may be changed by human intervention is a major departure from traditional norms.

The most famous among Indian Muslim modernists was Muhammad Iqbal (1875–1938). A poet, a philosopher and a political thinker – he is a towering figure among the Indian Muslims in the 20th century. He enjoyed immense popularity among the Indian Muslims, mainly because of his powerful and compelling poetry in Urdu and Persian, although his philosophical and political ideas also played a role in the development of his popularity. His *Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*, which reflects his Islamic upbringing as well as his knowledge of European philosophy, is the most systematic formulation of his thought, though some of the arguments proffered in it are not clear. A substantial part of this work is dedicated to the description of Islam as a dynamic force in human history and to the analysis of the reasons which caused its stagnation in modern times. In Iqbal's view, the stagnation of Islam was caused by several reasons. One is the failure of the Muʿtazila which he considers a rationalist school of thought. Like other modernists, Iqbal is severely critical of Ṣūfism which preferred other-worldliness and caused the Muslims to neglect the concrete world which had been, in his view, at the center of the Koran's attention. He maintains, however, that Islam is capable of renewal and maintains that the belief in the finality of Muhammad's prophethood is a powerful intellectual tool that can be used for this purpose. In contradistinction to the classical interpretation, which used this belief as a proof of the eternal validity of the Koran and of Islamic law, Iqbal maintains that "in Islam prophecy reached its perfection in discovering the need for its own abolition." Finality of prophethood means that after the completion of Muhammad's mission nobody can ever claim personal authority of supernatural origin. Man has reached a stage in which he can open new horizons without being hampered by any constraints. The ideal believer is, therefore characterized by creativity, vitality, abhorrence of stagnation, and love of perpetual movement. Together with the use of the reinterpretation of Islamic law (*ijtihād*), these are the qualities which can revitalize Islam and restore its original dynamic character.

The modernist movement, which aimed at bringing Islam into conformity with the modern world and was characteristic of Islamic thought in the second half of the 19th century and the first half of the 20th, gradually lost its primacy and was replaced by radical trends of thought. Driven by the acute sense that modernity failed to deliver on its promise and stands in sharp contrast with the traditional Islamic ideal, radical Muslim thinkers, such as Abū al-Aʿlā Mawdūdī (1903–1979) in India and Sayyid Quṭb (1906–1966) in Egypt, initiated scathing attacks on the modernist approach. A central component of these attacks has been a categorical rejection of modern Western civilization which is seen as corrupt, licentious, irreligious and dangerous for Islam. The *leitmotif* of Mawdūdī's thought is that all sovereignty in the world belongs to God alone; no other source of authority, such as the will of the people, or laws promulgated by elected legislative assemblies is legitimate. In 1941, Mawdūdī juxtaposed obedience to divine law – which is Islam – with obedience to man-made laws and customs; the latter he called Jāhiliyya, a term traditionally used for the pre-Islamic, pagan period in Arab history. When Pakistan was established in 1947, Mawdūdī (and the "Islamic Group," Jamāt-i Islāmī organization which he founded) immersed himself in a struggle to enhance as much as possible the Islamic characteristics of the newly established state. While he saw himself as the vanguard of opposition to things modern and desirous of implementing the classical ideal of Islam, in many details modern ideas and modern conditions influenced his understanding of the ideal. Sayyid Quṭb, the leader of the Muslim Brethren in Egypt (executed in 1966), gave much currency to the dichotomy between Islam and the Jāhiliyya which is, in his as well as in Mawdūdī's view, not only a specific historical period but also a state of affairs and a mentality which allows people to choose a way of life different from the one prescribed by God and by the Prophet Muhammad. Jāhilī society is not only that which denies the existence of God, but also that which does not deny it, but relegates God to the kingdom of heaven and does not apply His law on earth. Such societies, including those which are nominally Muslim, have to be replaced by societies living under the divine Muslim law. The radical Muslim trends which we exemplified by reference to Abū al-Aʿlā Mawdūdī and Sayyid Quṭb have gained much currency since the middle of the 20th century.

As a religion and a civilization, Islam has been in existence since the seventh century. At the beginning of the 21st century, Muslims live in dozens of countries in most areas of the world. These plain facts go a long way to explain the diversity of the Islamic experience. Islam has always been many things. Muslims have been warriors, rulers, mystics, writers, poets, artisans, and scholars in various fields; they have been, and still are, engaged in the whole range of human activity in widely differing circumstances. Within one century of Muslim history, they conquered a substantial part of the then known world. During the first three centuries of that history, Muslim writers produced a rich historiography, extensive literature in linguistics and lexicography, literary criticism, poetry, and jurisprudence. They stood for a long period at the cutting edge of scientific development. In its formative period, Muslim religious thought was characterized by a wide variety of views on numerous subjects. The variety of views and the nature of the arguments marshaled by their protagonists testify to the vibrant intellectual life of Islam in the early period of its history. Muslims have differed on questions such as determinism versus free will; the existence of the Koran since all eternity versus its being created at a certain point in time, with the rest of creation; the equality of all prophets versus the unquestioned superiority of Muhammad; the validity of personal reasoning versus the irrefutable authority of the prophetic tradition in jurisprudential matters; the identity of unbelievers who may be offered the status of protected communities (**dhimmīs*) rather than being forced to embrace Islam; the extent of tolerance to non-Muslims living under Muslim rule and the measure of humiliation to be imposed on them. The list of these much debated issues could easily be augmented. This diversity of Muslim thought and experience has crucial significance. It means that all Muslims, in any place and historical period, must choose the type of Islamic thought and belief most appropriate to the circumstances of their lives and to their world view. It also means that the Muslim tradition includes material capable of substantiating almost any interpretation of Islam which a Muslim may want to develop. He may choose to be a fundamentalist or a modernist. He may choose to view Judaism and Christianity as basically illegitimate and corrupt versions of the divine will, or adopt a more pluralistic view of religious diversity. Professional men of religion tend to promote the view that their interpretation is the only legitimate one, and they are frequently supported by the autocratic regimes in many Muslim states. Such attitudes are belied by the long history of intellectual controversy in Islam and by the various forms which Islam took on in various times and places. Since the middle of the 20th century, radical interpretations of Islam have held sway in some of the most important areas of the Muslim world, but there is no doubt that the building bricks for a different version of Islam are readily available in the Muslim tradition.

[Yohanan Friedmann (2nd ed.)]

Polemics against Judaism

Islamic polemics directed against Judaism and Jews are substantial neither in quantity nor in quality. The great masses of Christian subjects within the Islamic domain and the Christian powers outside caused Islamic polemics to focus on Christianity. On the whole, Arabic lore and literature reflect a negative attitude toward the Jews, one of distrust and suspicion, contempt and animosity. It is argued that from the days of the Prophet the Jews were enemies of Islam, either in direct military confrontation with the Prophet, or in plots to undermine Islam through heresy, subversion, and cunning ill will. An 11th-century admirer of *Samuel b. Joseph ha-Nagid or the 14th-century mystic al-Jīlī (I. Goldziher in JZWL, 11 (1875), 68 ff.) are exceptions in their positive attitude toward the Jews. The prevailing attitude may have come from Christian polemics which in turn were rooted to some extent in classical anti-Jewish lore. This holds true even concerning the Koran (T. Andrae, *Ursprung des Islams…* (1923–25), 198 f.; cf. Waardenburg in *Liber Amicorum, Studies… C.J. Bleeker*, 1969). It is not surprising that the ever-growing mass of Christian converts to Islam should have contributed to the anti-Jewish mood. As early as the ninth century, al-Jāḥiz stated that although Judaism may seem closer to Islam than Christianity, Muslims are more negative in their attitude toward Jews than toward Christians (ed. and tr. by J. Finkel, in JAOS, 47 (1927), 311–34).

Polemic remarks appear in the Koran and the *Ḥadith* (G. Vajda in JA, 229 (1937), 57–127) and in numerous theological works. Systematic treatment appears in courses and manuals on theology, heresies, and comparative religion. Muslim scholars displayed a very limited knowledge of Judaism and were not acquainted with original Jewish sources, and only rarely with translations. For example, the historian Ibn Khaldūn (14th century) even quoted the Bible from the 10th century historian al-Masʿūdī. The judgments and references of the polemists were usually based on sets of passages, presumably supplied by Jews converted to Islam, and, in the critique of post-biblical Judaism, possibly going back to some *Karaite material. Sometimes polemics may have been geared to social-political public agitation and mob riots. For example, the enemies of the family of Samuel ha-Nagid accused Jewish dignitaries and officials of selling *terefah* meat to the believers. The Moroccan al-Maghribī (G. Vajda in *Étude à la mémoire de Lévi-Provençal*, 2 (1962), 805–13) voiced a similar argument.

CONTENT. The subject matter of polemics can be reduced to a few points. Islam claims to be the final dispensation, following the abrogation (Ar. *naskh*) of Judaism and Christianity, and regards the development of Judaism, after its abrogation, as abnormal and as a human invention (*bidʿa*) contrary to divine dispensation (*sharʿ*). This is demonstrated by a critique of the Bible. Jews are charged with tampering (*tabdīl*) and distorting (*taḥrīf*) the texts, either in reading or in interpretation. Indeed, the Scriptures contain accounts unworthy of and senseless in a divine book (e.g., the stories of Lot, Judah and Tamar, kings of Edom, stations in the wilderness). Many of the numerical computations seem faulty; contradictions and anthropomorphisms (*tajsīm*) abound. Conversely, the Scriptures fail to elaborate on reward and punishment in the hereafter. Disrupted by the Babylonian captivity, the transmission of events (*tawātur*) is defective. Finally, if the Scriptures are authentic, they must contain annunciations (*aʿlām*) of the advent of Muhammad. The latter are gleaned from **gematria*, the interpretation of the numerical value of significant words (Muhammad = 92 = *bi-meʾod meʾod* in Gen. 17:2; Paran wilderness = Mecca) etc. (cf. Strauss-Ashtor, in *Sefer ha-Zikkaron le-Veit ha-Midrash le-Rabbanim be-Vinah* (1946), 182–97).

HISTORICAL SURVEY. A tenth-century compendium by the theologian Bāqillānī presents a discussion of Judaism (Brunschvig, in *Homenaje a Millás Vallicrosa*). Partly provoked by the high position attained by Samuel ha-Nagid, the philosopher and historian Ibn Ḥazm (11th century) composed a substantial attack on Judaism in vitriolic language (M. Perlmann, in PAAJR, 18 (1948/49), 269–90). In the 12th century, a Jewish convert to Islam, *Samuel ibn Abbas al-Maghribī produced the most important polemic work (idem, in PAAJR, 32, 1964), which was often used and plagiarized by later polemists such as Qarāfī (13th century) and Ibn Qayyim ibn al-Jawziya (14th century). The Egyptian Jew Saʿīd b. Hasan of Alexandria who converted to Islam in 1298 (I. Goldziher, in REJ, 30 (1895), 1–23; S.A. Weston, in JAOS, 24 (1903), 312–83) and the Moroccan convert ʿAbd al-Ḥaqq al Islāmī (14th century) wrote popular tracts. In about 1360, Abu Zakariyyā Yaḥyā al-Rāqilī, a Morisco in Christian Spain, wrote a manual of disputation against the Jews who "loosen their tongues… against our prophet" (as in Palacios, in *Mélanges Hartwig Derenbourg* (1909), 343–66). As late as the 19th century, the account of Tabātabaʾī's disputation and the pamphlet *Risāla Sabʿiyya* appeared in Egyptian editions of Samuel's aforesaid tract (1939, 1962^{2}).

Jewish replies to the Islamic contentions began to appear in the tenth century and their authors include the philosophers *Saadiah Gaon, *Judah Halevi, Abraham ibn Daud, and *Maimonides. The former three were also outstanding polemists against the Karaites. Separate tracts against Islam were rare. *Maʾamar ʿal Yishmaʾel* (13th century), ascribed to Solomon b. Abraham Adret (J. Perles, 1863; M. Zikier, in *Festschrift A. Kaminka*, 1937), and *Keshet u-Magen* (M. Steinschneider, in MWJ, 7 (1880), 1–48) of R. Simeon b. Ẓemaḥ Duran (d. 1444) came from the Jewish milieu peculiar to Christian Spain. While Jewish polemists were bitter about oppression and humiliation under Islam, they were aware that Islam showed greater affinity to Judaism than did Christianity, despite the biblical background shared with the latter.

[Moshe Perlmann]

Judaism and Islam

Centuries before the rise of Islam many Jewish communities were scattered over *Arabia, so that Judaism, in its normative and also sectarian versions, was known to the sedentary population and even to the Bedouin tribes. It was especially widespread in South Arabia, where Judaized groups and proselytes were very common. The deciphering of the South Arabian inscriptions, some of which were discovered only in the 1950s, confirm the many accounts and reports of early, pre-Islamic Christian writers about Jewish missionary activities and the persecutions of the Christians, especially in *Najrān by *Yūsuf Dhū Nuwās, the Jewish (proselyte) king of *Himyar. Raḥmān, the Merciful, as a name of God, without any other attribute, has been found many times in those inscriptions and indicates their Jewish origin. Arab historians and biographers of Muhammad's life describe the Jewish communities and tribes living in Hejaz generations before his rise. The years spent by Muhammad the Prophet and Messenger of God in the Jewish Yathrib-Medina gave him many opportunities (positive and negative) to come into close contact with the Jewish tribes living in that group of oases. This historical background explains the fact of the strict uncompromising monotheism preached by Muhammad (who objected to the Christian belief that Jesus was the son of God). Most of the *Bible tales to be found in the Koran and the normative form of Islam based on precepts are to be traced to the Bible and to the Oral Law. At the same time, some descriptions of the Last Judgment and of eschatological events which preoccupied Muhammad in his early period in Mecca, and also some historical tales, stem from Christian sources and inspirations. But the main eschatological beliefs belong to the common Jewish-Christian heritage, even though they were transmitted by Christian monks. In a *Ḥadith* ʿAisha, Muhammad's wife, is said to have heard the tradition about the punishment in the grave (*ḥibbuṭ ha-kever*) from two old Jewish women in Medina. More Jewish elements can be found in those beliefs after Jerusalem was accepted as the location of the Last Judgment.

Nonetheless, the Arabian character of the Koran must always be stressed as it was Muhammad's genius which founded and established Islam. The fact that some of his contemporaries, prophets, and *ḥanifs* tried unsuccessfully to spread monotheism in Arabia cannot lower Muhammad's stature. A large number of Jewish teachings, sayings, and normative and ethical precepts have been included in the *Ḥadith* literature, sometimes in the name of Jews or Jewish converts to Islam although most were inserted anonymously. Much of the narrative material gathered in the *Qiṣaṣ al-Anbiyā*ʾ ("Legends of the Prophets") goes back to *Kaʿb al-Aḥbār, the Jewish convert to Islam who accompanied the caliph *Omar during his visit to Jerusalem, or to *Wahb b. Munabbih, also a convert or son of a Jewish convert. All of this *Ḥadith* literature (and the legends are also systematically arranged like the oral tradition) shows an astonishing knowledge of the *halakhah* and *aggadah* as laid down in talmudic and midrashic literature. As in Judaism, at first there was opposition in Islam to writing down the sayings and teachings which were transmitted, by *isnād* (lit., leaning, ascription of an oral religious tradition), a chain of traditioners (see below). The caliph Omar disapproved of the literary fixing of the *sunna* (the sayings and exemplary actions of Muhammad): "Would you like to have a [written] *mathnat* like the *mathnat* [Aramaic: *mathnitha* – Heb. Mishnah] of the Jews?" (Ibn Saʿd v, p. 140).

It is not always possible to postulate a clear-cut dependence of Islamic teachings and methods on Judaism. The fundamental similarity of Judaism and Islam, both based on religious laws in principles, methods, and legislation, caused parallel developments in later centuries. It is a well-known fact that the **geonim*, the heads of the two famous talmudic academies in *Sura and in *Pumbedita, received questions concerning legal and social matters; there are many tens of thousands of their responsa extant. This was also the practice of the Muslim muftis, a category of jurists from whom every Muslim could ask a *fatwā*, a legal opinion based on the religious law. The *fatwā* and the responsum both possessed legal power. It is difficult to decide if the development of this branch of literature in both religions was independent or whether this was an example of mutual influence. For example, at the end of the typical question one finds in the *fatwā* and in the responsum the formula: "May our rabbi (or mufti) give his instruction [= decision] and his reward will be doubled by Heaven [= God]." Goldziher (ZDMG 52, p. 645) sees an Islamic influence in this formula of the responsum.

In the first centuries of Islam the jurists were allowed to use their independent judgment (*ijtihād*) in their decisions, but had to base it on primary sources. Later they were restricted in their freedom of independent decision and were obliged to follow the *taqlīd* (precedent) and to rely on former judgments. One finds a parallel development in rabbinic Judaism, in which even the *geonim* were obliged to follow the authority of their predecessors. Nonetheless, social and economic transformations sometimes demanded departure from accepted laws and rules. Thus the *geonim* and the later generations of rabbis were obliged to establish ordinances adjusted to the new situation. A similar principle was current in the *madhhab* (legal school) of Mālik b. Anas, i.e., the *istiṣlāḥ*, the adaptation (or correction) of laws, for the benefit of the community.

The influence of **fiqh* (Islamic jurisprudence) is clear in the systematic dealings of the *geonim* with halakhic materials according to their contents, e.g., the laws of inheritance, gifts, deposits, oaths, usury, witness and writs, loans, and obligations, as they were arranged by Saadiah, Hai, Samuel b. Ḥophni, who wrote their works in Arabic. This is especially clear in Maimonides' code, *Mishneh Torah*, written in Hebrew and preceded by *Sefer ha-Mizvot* (Book of Precepts), the first exposition of the 613 precepts. Maimonides' arrangement of these works indicates knowledge of the methods and principles of the *fiqh* literature and of the *Ḥadith* collections of al-Bukhārī, Muslims, and others. Maimonides applied the *ijmā*ʿ (consensus), one of the four *uṣūl al-fiqh* (roots of *fiqh*), in his code. In his introduction to this code he gives the chain of the teachers and rabbis who during 40 generations transmitted the Oral Law from Moses to R. Ashi. This is a classic illustration of how the *isnād* – the method of verification of the sayings of Muhammad and his companions – was taken over by early Islam from Judaism, which traced the chain of tradition from Moses to the Men of the Great Synagogue (Avot 1); and in turn was used by Maimonides as a principle to verify the *halakhah*.

But Islamic influence was not restricted to methodology. Some Muslim customs concerning ablutions, prostrations, and general behavior during prayer were accepted by Maimonides and his son Abraham, and aroused disagreement among the majority of the Jewish society. Jewish apocalypses ascribed to R. Simeon b. *Yoḥai, and pseudepigraphic works such as *Pirkei de Rabbi Eliezer* and *Targum Jonathan* show traces of Islamic influence. Note should be made of the book of R. Nissim b. Jacob (Kairouan, first half of the 11th century) called *Ḥibbur Yafe me-ha-Yeshuʿah* ("A Fine Treatise on Salvation"), which in its Hebrew translation was known for centuries and was often reprinted because of its popular religious contents. Its Arabic original (the exact title of which is unknown) was found in the last decade of the 19th century (ed. by J. Obermann, 1933). In Jewish literature it is the only representative of a type known in Islamic literature as *Kutub al-Faraj baʿda al-Shidda* ("Books of Comfort after Disaster"). A detailed comparison between the *Ḥibbur* and the Muslim books shows that Nissim, who was head of the talmudic academy in *Kairouan, knew the stories then current in his non-Jewish environment, whether in literary form or as folktales.

Islamic culture, which had absorbed the legacy of Greece and the Hellenistic world, made a tremendous impact on some aspects of Jewish thought and science. After centuries of complete disruption between that world and Judaism, the works of the Greek philosophers and scientists came back to the orbit of Jewish thinkers and scholars through Arabic translations (from earlier translations in the Syriac language). From the tenth century on, Aristotle, Plato, and Neoplatonism influenced Jewish philosophers of religion, theologians, poets, and scientists. The most famous include: Saadiah, Isaac Israeli (from Kairouan), *Ibn Gabirol, Baḥya ibn *Paquda, Judah *Halevi, *Abraham ibn Daud, Maimonides, and his younger contemporary Joseph ibn Aknin (not to be mistaken for Maimonides' pupil of the same name). As S.D. *Goitein has shown, early *Sufism was also supplemented by Jewish sources. In its higher and later states, Sufism was inspired by Greek philosophy. Sufi influence is to be found in the poems of Ibn Gabirol, but the classic work which wholeheartedly advocates asceticism is Baḥya ibn *Paquda's *Ḥovot ha-Levavot*, which was written in Arabic. Although there is a great deal of eclecticism in this work, it is modeled mainly on Muslim sources. The most prominent representative of Sufism in Judaism is Abraham b. Moses b. *Maimon. In his book *Kifāyat al-ʿĀbidīn* Sufi traces are discernible, even more than in the work of Baḥya. Abraham recommends study and contemplation in order to perfect the soul engaged in the service of God. He used the term "highways" as a means that lead to perfection. In its highest degree, perfection culminates in ecstasy through the praise of God in love. Pure, humble, and sincere souls have access to the esoteric, inner mystical sense of the Torah. Baḥya's *Ḥovot ha-Levavot* and Abraham's *Kifāyat al-ʿĀbidīn* especially influenced the Jewish communities in the East, and played an important role in some later mystic movements; sometimes these mystics found common ways with Muslim Sufis (cf. also *Isrāʾīliyat, *Naḍīr, *Qurayẓa, *Qaynuqāʿa).

[Haïm Z'ew Hirschberg]

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ISLE-SUR-LA-SORGUE, L' (Heb. לישלאה), town in the Vaucluse department, S.E. France. The L'Isle community, smallest of the four communities of *Comtat Venaissin, was formed at the latest at the close of the 13th century. During the French Revolution, the *carrière* (Jewish quarter) of L'Isle was all but abandoned. At the time of the Reign of Terror, when there was a controversy over the sale of the silver belonging to the synagogue, no Jew intervened; it can therefore be assumed that the community had ceased to exist. Known scholars of L'Isle were the brothers Isaac and Jacob Gard (mid-16th century) and Ḥayyim Judah b. Jacob Segre, who died in L'Isle in 1633.

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[Bernhard Blumenkranz]

ISOU (Goldstein), ISIDORE (1925–), poet. Isou immigrated to France from Romania. He wrote verse and created *Lettrisme*, an ephemeral literary theory which advocated the dislocation of the word and a return to the original letter; in this some critics have seen an unconscious echo of the Kabbalah. In his essay, *L'agrégation d'un Nom et d'un Messie* (1947), Isou pessimistically foretold a second Auschwitz that would engulf surviving Jewry.

ISRAEL (Heb. יִשְׂרָאֵל).

(1) The name of honor given to *Jacob after his mysterious struggle with the angel, "Thy name shall be called no more Jacob but Israel, for thou hast striven [*sarita* from the root *sarah*, שרה] with God [*El*, אֵל] and with men and hast prevailed" (Gen. 32:28, 29). The explanation of the name is not etymological, and was probably not meant to be. More likely, the name literally means "El-is-Just/ Straight/ Upright." It may be noted that the name occurs in Ugaritic as a proper name, and is spelled with *shin*. Despite the apparent prohibition contained in this verse against the subsequent use of the name Jacob, in the following scriptural narrative the names Jacob and Israel are both used indiscriminately with regard to the father and his sons (cf. Gen. 49:2 and 46:5): "and the sons of Israel carried Jacob their father." The discrepancy between Genesis 32:28–29 and the subsequent use of the name is due to different sources. The Talmud specifically states that both names may be employed; Israel, however, shall be of greater importance (Ber. 13a).

(2) When the immediate descendants of Jacob, "the children [*benei*, "sons"] of Israel" (Ex. 1:1), grew into a people, they were called "the people of the children of Israel" (idem, 1:9), and henceforth, until the division of the kingdom under *Rehoboam, "Israel" or "the children of Israel" were the only designations for what is now known as the Jewish people. If the "Israel" mentioned in the inscription of Merne-ptah (king

of Egypt, c. 1225 B.C.E.) is to be identified with Israel and not, as some have suggested, with Jezreel, it is the earliest known use of the name outside the Bible.

(3) With the division of the kingdom during the reign of Rehoboam, the Southern Kingdom, consisting of the two tribes which remained loyal to the House of David, Judah, and Benjamin, took the name Judah; the Northern Kingdom, consisting of the 10 defecting tribes, was called the Kingdom of Israel (cf. I and II Kings with regard to the respective kings, and Amos 2:4, 2:6).

(4) After the Kingdom of Israel fell in 721 B.C.E., only the southern Kingdom of Judah remained, the inhabitants of which were referred to as "Judahites" (*Yehudim*), from which derives the alternative name "Jew." Thus Esther 2:5 reads "There was a certain *Yehudi* in Shushan, whose name was Mordecai … a Benjamite," *Yehudi* being his people and Benjamin his tribe. The designation becomes reinforced by the fact that under Roman rule the land was designated as the province of Judea. Nevertheless, the name Israel continues to be used in the Bible in the books written after the end of the Northern Kingdom as well as in rabbinic literature, especially in the *aggadah*, to denote the Jewish people as a whole, and continues in the post-talmudic period.

(5) The term "Ereẓ Israel" ("Land of Israel") to denote the country of the people of Israel is first used in the Mishnah.

(6) Although the name Israelites was revived in some Western countries in the 19th century to designate the Jews, it is of little historical or theological significance, and is primarily due to the pejorative association which the word Jew had acquired in literature.

(7) The word Israel is also used to designate a Jew who is neither a *kohen nor a *levite.

(8) When the Jewish state was established, the decision was taken to call it the State of Israel. Since 1948, therefore, Israel has become a national connotation and Jew a religious one. The term Israeli applies to all citizens of the state, irrespective of religion.

(9) Mention should also be made of the native Indian Jews, who call themselves *Bene Israel, and of the Ethiopian Jews who call themselves *Beta Israel.

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[Louis Isaac Rabinowitz]

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LAND OF ISRAEL

GEOGRAPHICAL SURVEY

Names

The name Ereẓ Israel (the Land of Israel) designates the land which, according to the Bible was promised as an inheritance to the Israelite tribes. In the course of time it came to be regarded first by the Jews and then also by the Christian world as the national homeland of the Jews and the Holy Land. The concept of *ha-Areẓ* ("the land") had apparently become permanently rooted in the consciousness of the Jewish people by the end of the Second Temple period, at which time the term Ereẓ Israel also became fixed and its usage widespread. Prior to this there was no name in existence, or at any rate in general use, to denote the land in its entirety. At different periods there were names that designated parts of the country, either alone or together with an adjacent territory; in some periods it was regarded as part of a wider geographical unit.

During the Egyptian Middle Empire and the beginning of the New Empire (up to the 19th Dynasty), Ereẓ Israel together with part of Syria (and the Lebanon) was called Retune (Rtnw). In the New Empire period, especially from the 19th Dynasty (14th–13th centuries B.C.E.) onward, Ereẓ Israel and (central-southern) Syria were referred to as Ḫurru (Ḫù-rú) chiefly as an ethnic term, after the Horites who inhabited the country, especially Syria. The term *pa-Ḫurru* ("[Land of] the Hori[tes]") is still found as late as 238 B.C.E. (Ptolemaic period) in the Greek text of the Canopus inscription as the synonym for "Syria." An additional name employed from the late 14th to the 12th century B.C.E. is Pꜣ-Knʿn. For two important designations of pre-Israelite Ereẓ Israel, *Ereẓ ha-Emori* (Land of the Amorites) and *Ereẓ Kenaʿan*, see *Amorites, *Canaan, and *Phoenicia.

With the Israelite conquest began an entirely new period in the history of Ereẓ Israel, as is expressed in its names. An early term with a widespread usage is *Ereẓ ha-Ivrim* ("land of the Hebrews" – Gen. 40:15). Even later writers, especially Josephus and Pausanias (second century C.E.) sometimes employ this term. After the Israelite conquest, the name Canaan became merely an historical concept but many generations passed before the term Ereẓ Israel became standard usage. The expressions "*ereẓ bene Israel*" ("land of the children of Israel") in Joshua 11:22 and Ereẓ Israel in I Samuel 13:19 refer only to the area inhabited by the Israelites and not to the country as a single geographical entity within its natural boundaries.

Saul, David, and Solomon reigned over the kingdom of Israel, but it is doubtful whether their dominions had an official designation. The biblical references to Ereẓ Israel in the days of David (I Chron. 22:2; II Chron. 2:16) apparently reflect the later period of their composition. After the first split of the united monarchy early in David's reign, "Judah and Israel" sometimes appear side by side to indicate the territory of all the Israelite tribes, but this expression is also considered an anticipation (Josh. 11:21; II Sam. 3:10; 5:5; I Kings 4:20; 5:5). With the final division of the kingdom the name Israel was restricted to the area of the kingdom of Ephraim while the kingdom of the Davidic dynasty was known as the land of Judah. The land of Israel mentioned in II Kings 5:2 refers to the kingdom of all the tribes. In Ezekiel, Gilead and Judah in one reference are explicitly excluded from the territory of Ereẓ Israel; in another Jerusalem, though in Judah, is included in Ereẓ Israel (27:17; 40:2; 47:18).

The shortened form *ha-Areẓ* is already found in Leviticus 19:23; Joshua 11:23; 12:1; Ezekiel 45:1; Ruth 1:1; but the Mishnah, which also uses it, is the first to employ the term Ereẓ Israel to denote the "land of the children of Israel." After the Assyrian Exile, when the remnants of the people in the country centered in Judah, the name Jew (*Yehudi*) became a synonym for Israelite and Hebrew (Jer. 34:9). In the post-Exilic period, Judah (*Yehud* in Aramaic) was the official name of the autonomous area of Jewish settlement and later of the Hasmonean and Herodian kingdoms, even though these extended over a much larger area than that of Judah in the First Temple period. The Persian authorities in their Aramaic documents used the name Yehud and it also appears on coins struck by the province; the Greeks (Iouda, Ioudaia) and the Romans (Judaea) continued it. After the Bar Kokhba War (132–135), the Romans changed its name to Palaestina so as to emphasize that the rebellious Jewish nation had lost its right in its homeland. Coins from the Hasmonean period do not mention Israel but only *Ḥever ha-Yehudim ("Council of the Jews"), which perhaps designates the governing body of the nation and not the territory. On the other hand, coins issued during the Jewish and Bar Kokhba Wars bore the inscription Israel (e.g., "*Shekel Yisrael,*" "*Le-Ḥer[ut] Yisrael*") but whether this referred to the people or the country is unknown. The name Judah in its broader meaning disappeared almost entirely from Hebrew literature and the Aramaic language and in the end it was replaced by the terms Ereẓ Israel and the Aramaic Ar'a de-Yisra'el and the name Ereẓ Israel entered all the languages spoken by Jews throughout the Diaspora.

The name "*Palestine" was originally an adjective derived from Philistia (*Peleshet*). It is first mentioned by Herodotus 1.105 in the form Συρία ἡ Παλαιστίνη, i.e., "the Philistine Syria"; it was subsequently shortened, the adjective "Palaistinei" becoming a proper noun. The emperor Hadrian, who applied it to the whole country in order to eradicate the name Judea, revived it and from Byzantine times became the accepted name of Ereẓ Israel in non-Jewish languages. (For fuller details, see *Palestine.) On May 14, 1948, the Jewish-held part of Western Palestine was given the name the "State of Israel" in the declaration of independence promulgated by the People's Council. Transjordan, together with Arab-inhabited parts of Western Palestine, the so-called "West Bank," later became the Hashemite Kingdom of *Jordan, and a strip on the southwestern coast, occupied by Egypt, became known as the *Gaza Strip. The *Six-Day War brought the whole area, including the *Golan Heights, which were captured from Syria, under Israeli control, though only the formerly Jordanian-occupied part of Jerusalem and the Golan Heights were formally annexed by Israel. Internationally, all these areas were commonly referred to as the "occupied territories." On part of them the Palestinians established the *Palestinian Authority, which embraced most of the Gaza Strip and certain areas, including the Arab towns, of the West Bank. The common Israeli terms for these areas are "Judea and Samaria" (Yehudah ve-Shomron) for the West Bank and Ḥevel Aza (the Gaza District) for the Gaza Strip.

[Abraham J. Brawer]

Boundaries

ACCORDING TO BIBLE AND TALMUD. Eretz Israel is an abstract geographical name. Its boundaries were never agreed upon and up today, there are lots of definitions concerning the dispersion of the area. Jewish sources distinguish between three borders of Ereẓ Israel:

(1) "the boundary of the Patriarchs," based on Genesis 15:18–21: "from the river of Egypt (the Nile) unto the great river, the river Euphrates…"; (2) "the boundary of those coming out of Egypt," based on Deuteronomy 1:7–8; 11:24; Joshua 1:4; 13:2–5, which was interpreted as extending from the coastal Galilee (not including Acre-Akko) to the Brook of Egypt (Wadi el-Arish; Tosef., Ter. 2:12; Tosef., Ḥal. 2:11; Git. 8a, et al.); and (3) "the boundary of those returning from Babylonia," within which the halakhic rules for Ereẓ Israel applied, i.e., this is the actual area of Jewish settlement in talmudic times (Tosef., Shev. 4:11; Sif. Deut. 51; TJ, Shev. 6:1, 36c). According to this definition, the border extended from the coast of the Mediterranean Sea in the western Galilee (south of Acre) to the Golan, continued to the Hauran in the east, followed the desert road down to Amman and Petra, returned to the coast along the Roman *limes,* excluding the southern coastal cities up to, and excluding, Ashkelon.

The biblical expression "from Dan even to Beer-Sheba" is used in II Samuel 24:2 and I Kings 5:5 to designate Ereẓ Israel in its limited sense corresponding to the area "from the valley of Arnon unto mount Hermon" in the lands beyond the Jordan (Josh. 12:1). The term Holy Land (Terra Sancta) which is used in Christian sources also never defines the exact limits of this area.

NATURAL FEATURES IN HISTORICAL SOURCES. The ancient texts do not mention all of the country's natural geographical features. Those found include the principal rivers of the Coastal Plain, Litas (Egyptian *Ntn*, cf. Theophanes, *Chronography*, 6235), Belus (Jos., Wars, 2:189), Kishon (Judg. 5:21; I Kings 18:40), Chorseus (Ptolemy, *Geography*, 5:14, 3), Shihor-Libnath

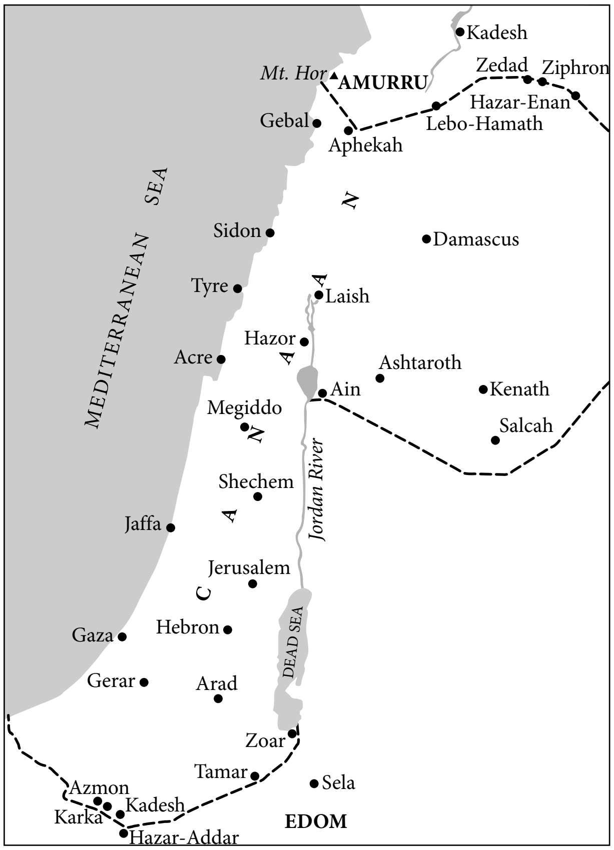

Map 1. The borders of the Egyptian province of Canaan (early 13th century B.C.E.). After Y. Aharoni, Carta's Atlas of the Bible, *Jerusalem 1964.*

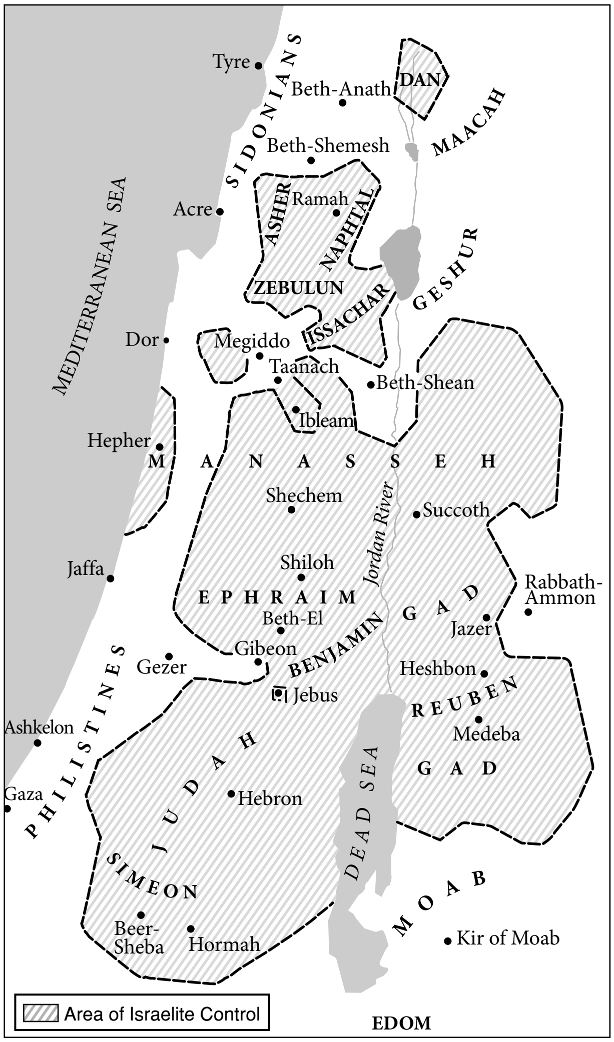
Tyre
SIDONIANS
Beth-Anath
DAN
MAACAH
Beth-Shemesh
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
Acre
ASHER
Ramah
NAPHTALI
GESHUR
ZEBULUN
ISSACHAR
Dor
Megiddo
Taanach
Beth-Shean
Ibleam
Hepher
MANASSEH
Shechem
Succoth
Jordan River
Shiloh
Jaffa
EPHRAIM
Rabbath-Ammon
GAD
Beth-El
Jazer
Gibeon
BENJAMIN
PHILISTINES
Gezer
Heshbon
Jebus
REUBEN
Ashkelon
Medeba
GAD
JUDAH
Hebron
DEAD SEA
Gaza
SIMEON
MOAB
Kir of Moab
Beer-Sheba
Hormah
▨ Area of Israelite Control
EDOM

Map 2. The limits of Israelite control in the time of the Judges (12th century B.C.E.). After Y. Aharoni, Carta's Atlas of the Bible.

(Josh. 19:26), and Yarkon (Josh. 19:46). In the central mountain range, termed the "hill country of Naphtali" (Josh. 20:7), Mts. Tabor and Moreh are prominent landmarks (Josh. 19:22; Judg. 7:1). South of the Jezreel Valley (Judg. 6:33), also known as the "Great Plain" (I Macc. 12:49), are Mt. Carmel, the *rosh kadosh* ("sacred promontory," as it is already called in inscriptions of Thutmosis III, c. 1469 B.C.E.) in the west, and Mt. Gilboa in the east (I Sam. 28:4). These mountains are outcrops of Mt. Ephraim (Josh. 17:15) whose most outstanding peaks are Mts. Gerizim and Ebal (Deut. 11:29). Baal-Hazor (II Sam. 13:23) marks the beginning of the Judean mountains, where the famous Mount of Olives stands (Zech. 14:4). The Sharon and the Shephelah extend to the west of the central mountain range which ends in the Negev (Isa. 65:10; Josh. 9:1; Deut. 1:7). The four main rivers of Ereẓ Israel east of the Jordan are the Hieromices (Yarmuk; Pliny, *Natural History*, 5:16, 74), Yabbok (Josh. 212:2), Arnon (Deut. 2:24), and the Zered (Num. 21:12), of which the latter two empty into the Dead Sea. The Jordan itself flows through Lake Semechonitis (Lake Ḥuleh, Jos., Wars, 4:3) and Lake Gennesareth or Chinnereth (Num. 34:11 – modern Lake Kinneret) and completes its course in the Salt Sea (Num. 34:3, now known as the Dead Sea) which is also called Lake Asphaltitis (Pliny, *Natural History*, 5:12, 72; Jos., Wars, 4:476). The term Aravah is applied to the whole of the Jordan Valley and the area south of the Dead Sea (Deut. 1:7; 34:1–3). The latter area is also called the Valley of Salt (II Sam. 8:13). To the east beyond the Jordan are the mountains of Bashan (Ps. 68:16), Gilead (Gen. 31:25), Seir (Gen. 14:6), and the most prominent – Mt. Nebo (or Pisgah, Deut. 32:48–50; 34:1) from which Moses beheld the Promised Land.

HISTORICAL BOUNDARIES AND SUBDIVISIONS. The earliest complete description of the boundaries of Ereẓ Israel is contained in Numbers 34. Scholars regard this description as

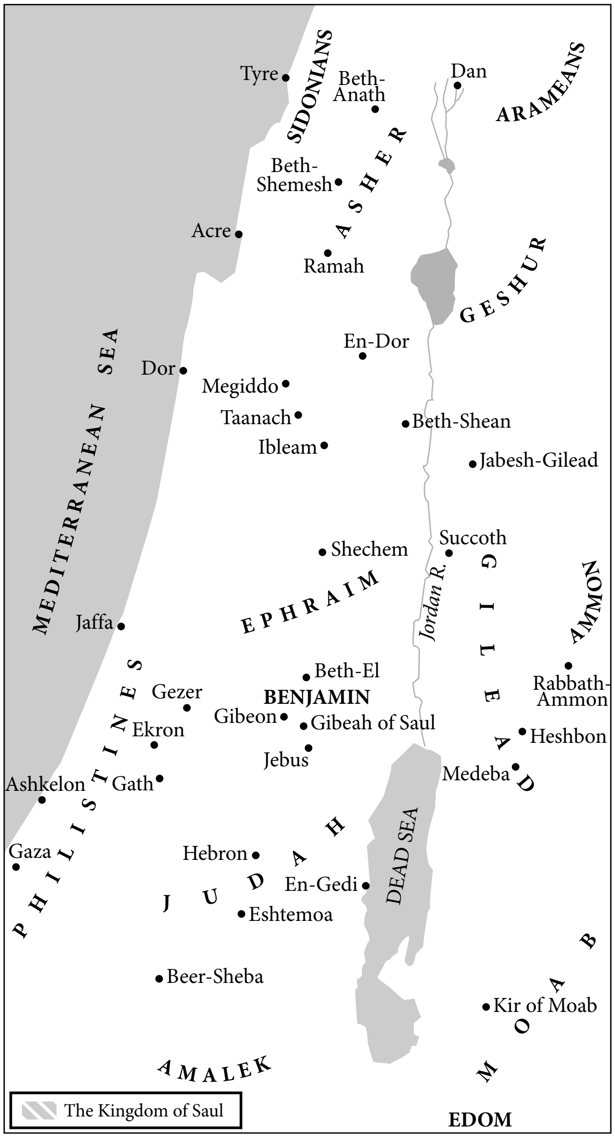
Tyre
SIDONIANS
Beth-Anath
Dan
ARAMEANS
Beth-Shemesh
ASHER
Acre
Ramah
GESHUR
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
En-Dor
Dor
Megiddo
Taanach
Ibleam
Beth-Shean
Jabesh-Gilead
Shechem
Succoth
Jordan R.
GILEAD
AMMON
EPHRAIM
Jaffa
Beth-El
Rabbath-Ammon
PHILISTINES
Gezer
BENJAMIN
Gibeon
Gibeah of Saul
Heshbon
Ekron
Jebus
Medeba
Ashkelon
Gath
Gaza
Hebron
JUDAH
En-Gedi
DEAD SEA
Eshtemoa
Beer-Sheba
MOAB
Kir of Moab
AMALEK
▨ The Kingdom of Saul
EDOM

Map 3. The limits of Saul's kingdom (end of 11th century B.C.E.). After Y. Aharoni, Carta's Atlas of the Bible.

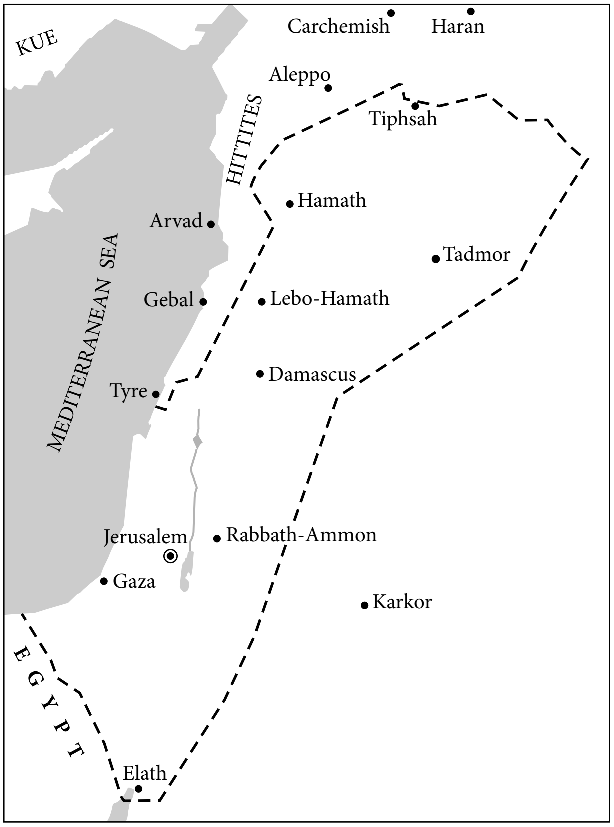
KUE
Carchemish
Haran
Aleppo
Tiphsah
HITTITES
Hamath
Arvad
Tadmor
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
Gebal
Lebo-Hamath
Damascus
Tyre
Jerusalem
Rabbath-Ammon
Gaza
Karkor
EGYPT
Elath

Map 4. The limits of the kingdom of David and Solomon (10th century B.C.E.). After Y. Aharoni, Carta's Atlas of the Bible.

a definition of the limits of the Egyptian province of Canaan as established in the peace treaty between Ramses II and the Hittites (c. 1270 B.C.E.). The province of Canaan included the entire area west of the Jordan, Phoenicia up to Mt. Hor north of Byblos, and the Bashan, Hauran, and Hermon areas. No subdivisions of this area are known – the system of Canaanite city-states did not lend itself to any clear administrative organization. The next detailed account of the borders appears in Joshua 13–19. Scholars dispute the date of this source and of the various fragments of lists from which it was compiled. It is nevertheless evident from the list of unconquered Canaanite cities in Judges 1:21–35 that the ideal and actual limits of Israelite power did not coincide. The theoretical boundaries extended from Sidon in the north and Lebo-Hamath in the northeast to the Brook of Egypt and the Negev in the south and included east of the Jordan the Bashan and Hauran, and Gilead and Moab down to the Arnon. In actual fact, however, the area occupied by the Israelite tribes before the time of David was limited to the mountains of Galilee and Ephraim, Judah to the southern end of the Dead Sea, and most of the area between the Yarmuk and the Arnon, excluding Ammon. In the Coastal Plain Israelite control was tenuous and Canaanite enclaves in the Jezreel Valley and around Jerusalem virtually cut Israelite territory into three separate parts. South of Jaffa the entire Coastal Plain remained the domain of the Philistines who threatened to encroach on the territory held by the Israelites.

The lands of the tribes were divided as follows: the Bilhah tribes, Dan and Naphtali, held eastern Galilee (Dan being a latecomer to the area after an unsuccessful attempt to take possession of part of the Shephelah west of Jerusalem); three tribes of the Leah-Zilpah group, Issachar, Asher, and Zebulun, settled western and southern Galilee; the central group of tribes, the House of Joseph (Ephraim and Manasseh) together with the allied Benjamite tribe – all three of the Rachel group – occupied the hill country from Jerusalem to the Jezreel Valley, with Manasseh overspilling into Issachar and east of the Jordan (Josh. 17:11; Judg. 1:27; Num. 32:33); the

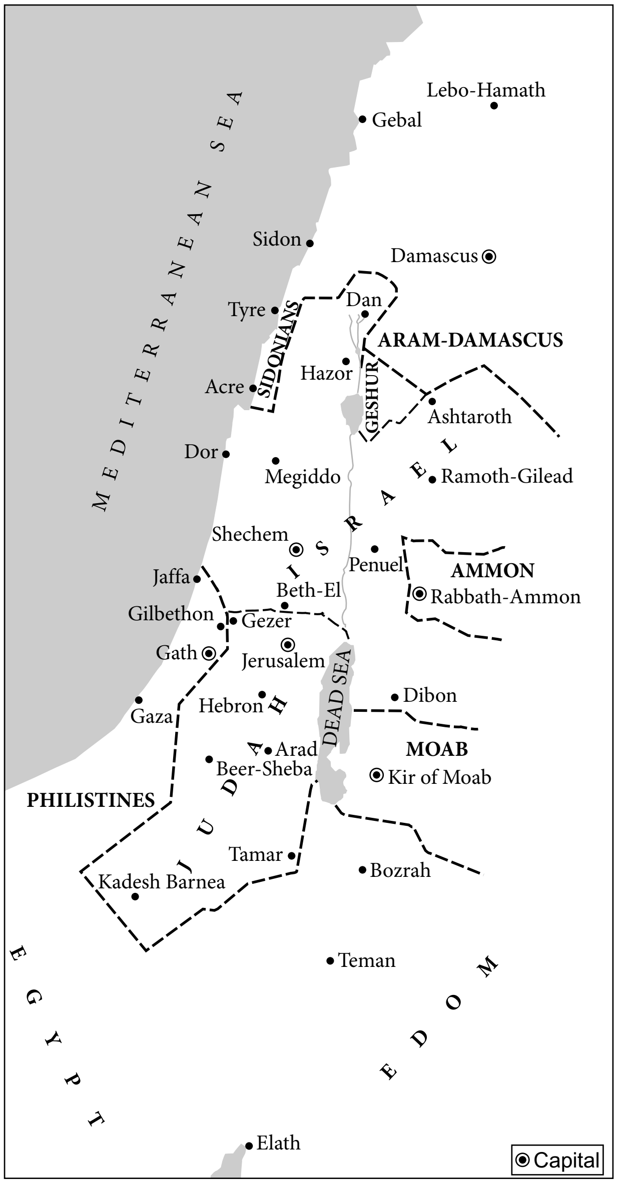
Lebo-Hamath
Gebal
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
Sidon
Damascus
Tyre
Dan
SIDONIANS
ARAM-DAMASCUS
Acre
Hazor
GESHUR
Ashtaroth
Dor
Megiddo
ISRAEL
Ramoth-Gilead
Shechem
Penuel
AMMON
Jaffa
Beth-El
Rabbath-Ammon
Gilbethon
Gezer
Gath
Jerusalem
DEAD SEA
Dibon
Gaza
Hebron
JUDAH
Arad
MOAB
Beer-Sheba
Kir of Moab
PHILISTINES
Tamar
Bozrah
Kadesh Barnea
Teman
EGYPT
EDOM
Elath
Capital

Map 5. The divided kingdom of Israel and Judah in the time of Jeroboam and Rehoboam (end of 10th century B.C.E.). After Y. Aharoni, Carta's Atlas of the Bible.

southern group included the Leah tribes of Judah, centered upon Hebron, and the weak tribe of Simeon on the borders of the Negev; Reuben, Gad, and half of Manasseh occupied the lands east of the Jordan with Reuben subject to Gad as was Simeon to Judah.

From the time of King David onward, the ideal borders of Ereẓ Israel came much closer to realization. According to the Bible, David closed the gaps dividing the tribes by conquering Jerusalem, the Jezreel Valley, and the coastal area between Jaffa and Acre. Jerusalem, originally within Benjamin, was made a royal domain outside the tribal system. David, moreover, subdued all the lands up to Lebo-Hamath, annexed Ammon, Moab, and Edom (thereby reaching the Arabah and the Red Sea) and dominated the kings of Hamath and the Philistines by means of vassal treaties. David's kingdom thus extended from the Brook of Egypt to Tiphsah on the Euphrates, although not all his entire domain was regarded as Ereẓ Israel proper. He established a network of levitical cities to serve as administrative centers uniting the kingdom. Solomon reorganized the kingdom into 12 districts (excluding Judah), unequal in size, but equal in economic importance. Each district was to supply his court with its needs during one month of the year. Some of these districts were identical with the old tribal areas while others were new units. According to I Kings 4:7–19, the districts included:

(1) Mount Ephraim;
(2) Makaz (from Beth-Shemesh to the coast);
(3) Hepher (the Sharon coast);
(4) Dor and its region;
(5) Jezreel Valley;
(6) northern Gilead;
(7) southern Gilead (Mahanaim);
(8) Naphtali;
(9) Asher;
(10) Issachar;
(11) Benjamin;
(12) Gad.

Judah's exclusion from this tax-paying area was one of the causes of the subsequent split of the monarchy. As to the external boundaries of the kingdom, Solomon gained Gezer, but gave Cabul to Hiram of Tyre as well as *Aram-Damascus, which deprived him of access to the Euphrates.

With the division of the monarchy under Rehoboam, the northern kingdom of Israel consisted of Ephraim, Galilee, Gilead, and the rest of Israelite territory east of the Jordan. The southern kingdom of Judah retained Benjamin. The subject areas of Ammon, Moab, and Edom soon liberated themselves from the overlordship of weakened Israel and Judah. Apart from some futile attempts by Abijah of Judah to advance into Israel (c. 911 B.C.E.) and of Baasha of Israel to push the frontier closer to Jerusalem, the boundaries of the two kingdoms remained fairly stable. Their external borders, however, changed according to the vicissitudes of their power. On the northern front the house of Omri, and of Ahab in particular, waged several wars with Aram-Damascus and in the end lost Ramoth-Gilead (c. 850 B.C.E.). With the weakening of Aram under Assyrian pressure, *Jehoash and Jeroboam II (c. 790–770) advanced to Damascus and Lebo-Hamath, almost restoring the boundaries of David. Moab was definitely lost to Mesha in approximately 855 B.C.E. In Judah, Asa or Jehoshaphat (c. 860 B.C.E.) advanced to Elath, which, together with Edom, was later lost but reconquered in the days of Uzziah (c. 750 B.C.E.) who also extended the frontier of the Judahite monarchy in the direction of Philistia (II Chron. 26:6). As to the internal administration of the two kingdoms, the capital of Israel was first at Shechem, then – perhaps already under Jeroboam in the tenth century B.C.E. – at Tirzah, and from

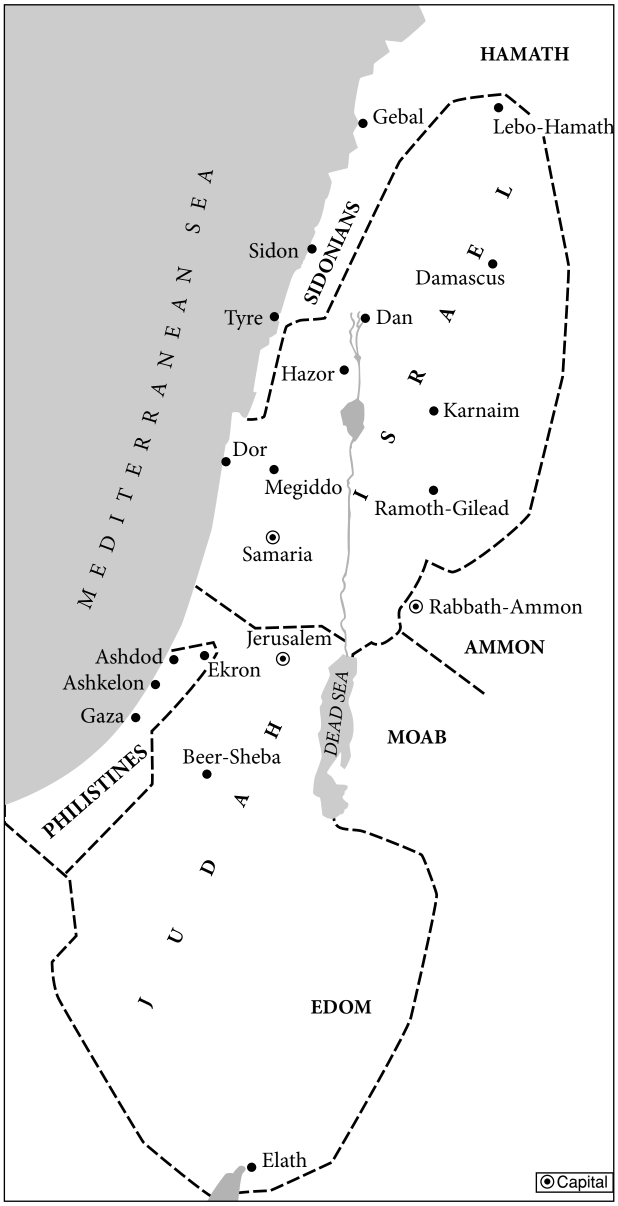

Map 6. The borders of the kingdoms of Israel and Judah in the time of Jeroboam II and Uzziah (mid-eighth century B.C.E.). After Y. Aharoni, Carta's Atlas of the Bible.

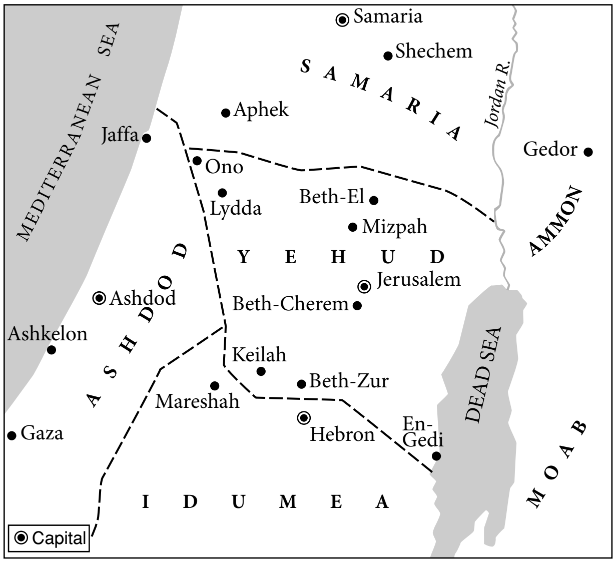
Samaria
Shechem
SAMARIA
Jordan R.
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
Jaffa
Aphek
Ono
Lydda
Beth-El
Mizpah
Gedor
AMMON
YEHUD
ASHDOD
Ashdod
Jerusalem
Beth-Cherem
Ashkelon
Keilah
Beth-Zur
Mareshah
Gaza
Hebron
En-Gedi
DEAD SEA
MOAB
IDUMEA
Capital

Map 7. The borders of the Persian province of Yehud in the days of the Return (mid-fifth century B.C.E.*). After M. Avi-Yonah* Carta's Atlas of the Period of the Second Temple, the Mishnah and the Talmud.

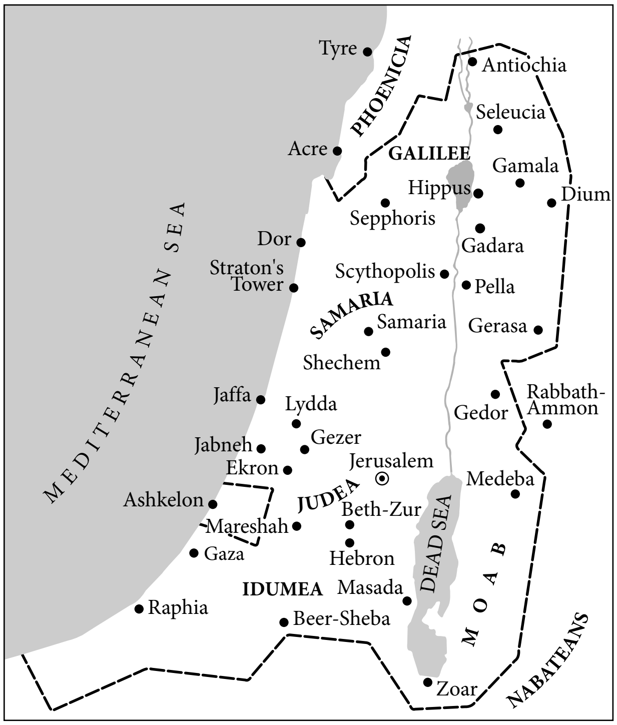
Tyre
PHOENICIA
Antiochia
Seleucia
Acre
GALILEE
Gamala
Hippus
Dium
Sepphoris
Gadara
Dor
Straton's Tower
Scythopolis
Pella
SAMARIA
Samaria
Gerasa
Shechem
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
Jaffa
Lydda
Gedor
Rabbath-Ammon
Jabneh
Gezer
Ekron
Jerusalem
Medeba
Ashkelon
JUDEA
Beth-Zur
Mareshah
Gaza
Hebron
DEAD SEA
MOAB
IDUMEA
Masada
Raphia
Beer-Sheba
Zoar
NABATEANS

Map 8. The borders of the kingdom of Alexander Yannai (103–76 B.C.E.*). After M. Avi-Yonah* Carta's Atlas of the Period of the Second Temple, the Mishnah and the Talmud.

the time of Omri (882–871 B.C.E.) at Samaria. Ostraca found at Samaria provide information on the division of the kingdom into districts in the eighth century B.C.E. The division of the Judahite monarchy into 12 districts is preserved in Joshua 15:21–62; 18:25–28. From the eighth century onward, the Assyrians began reducing the boundaries of Israel. In 732 B.C.E.

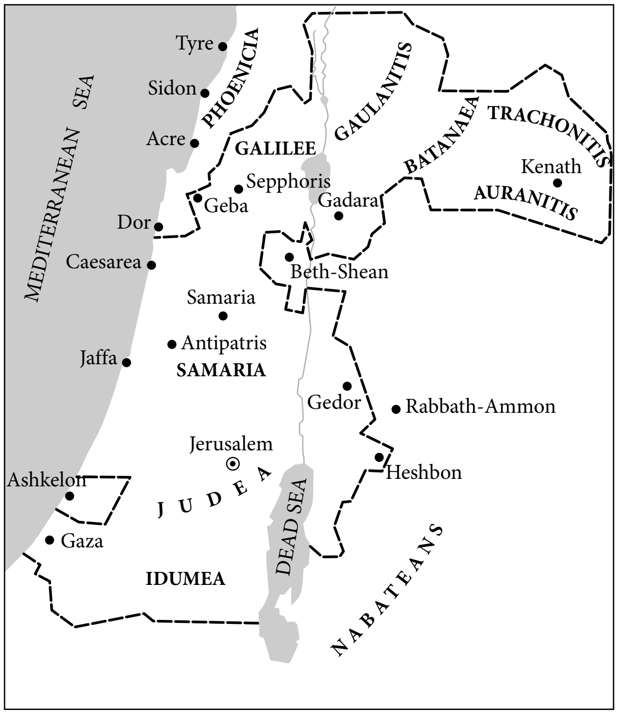
Tyre
Sidon
PHOENICIA
GAULANITIS
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
Acre
GALILEE
BATANAEA
TRACHONITIS
Kenath
Sepphoris
Geba
Gadara
AURANITIS
Dor
Caesarea
Beth-Shean
Samaria
Antipatris
Jaffa
SAMARIA
Gedor
Rabbath-Ammon
Jerusalem
Ashkelon
Heshbon
JUDEA
DEAD SEA
Gaza
IDUMEA
NABATEANS

Map 9. The borders of the kingdom of Herod (37–4 B.C.E.*). After M. Avi-Yonah* Carta's Atlas of the Period of the Second Temple, the Mishnah and the Talmud.

Tiglath-Pileser III captured Galilee and Gilead, leaving only Samaria to Israel. In the conquered territory he established the Assyrian provinces of Megiddo, Dor, Karnaim, Hauran, and Gilead. Sargon II (722–705 B.C.E.) conquered the rest of the Northern Kingdom (721 B.C.E.) and Philistia and organized them into two additional provinces: Samaria and Ashdod. Assyria's decline in the seventh century enabled Josiah of Judah (639–609 B.C.E.) once again to extend the rule of the Davidic dynasty over most of Samaria and Galilee, but the Babylonian conquest in 587 B.C.E. brought about the final downfall of Judah. The Babylonians diminished its borders and established an additional province in Edom south of Judah.

After the establishment of Persian rule (539 B.C.E.) all of Ereẓ Israel was included in its fifth satrapy called ʿAbarnaharah ("beyond the river," i.e., the Euphrates). Its satrap residing at Damascus had under his control the various provinces as inherited from the Assyrians and Babylonians. The province of Judah (officially called Yehud) extended from Beth-El in the north to Beth-Zur in the south and from Emmaus and Keilah in the west to the Jordan in the east. The province was subdivided into six districts (called *pelekh* in Hebrew), each with a capital and subcapital. These included Jerusalem with Netophah as its subcapital in the center of Judah; Beth-Cherem (Ein Kerem) in the west Zanoah as its subcapital, Keilah with Adullam in the southwest; Beth-Zur with Tekoa in the south; Jericho with Hassenaah in the east; Mizpah (Tell en-Nasbeh) with Gibeon in the north. The Persians continued the Babylonian provinces but added the province of Ammon which was administered by the Jewish Tobiad family (see *Tobias). The coastal area was divided between the Phoenician cities Tyre and Sidon.

The Hellenistic conquest (332 B.C.E.) did not alter the country's internal subdivision for the time being. The Ptolemies, kings of Egypt, who ruled the whole of Ereẓ Israel from 301 to 198 B.C.E., granted autonomy to the coastal cities and gave Greek names to various cities (e.g., Acre became Ptolemais, Rabbath-Ammon became Philadelphia, etc.). The Tobiads were restricted to the Western part of their district. All of Ereẓ Israel was administered from Alexandria. When the Seleucid monarchy under Antiochus III conquered Ereẓ Israel, larger units, eparchies, were established, each of which included several smaller districts or hyparchies. Thus Samaria now ruled over Judea and Galilee and Perea of the Tobiads. Idumea remained a separate district, the coastal cities were joined into one district, and Paralia and all the lands east of the Jordan were combined into Galaaditis, except for Perea. The Seleucids, who were energetic Hellenizers, particularly Antiochus IV (175–164 B.C.E.), founded many Greek poleis, such as Scythopolis (Beth-Shean), Pella, Gerasa, Gadara, and Hippus. Samaria had been a Macedonian colony since the time of Alexander.

The main events in the period between the outbreak of the Hasmonean revolt (167 B.C.E.) and the death of Alexander Yannai (76 B.C.E.) were the expansion of the Jewish state, paralleled by the disintegration of Seleucid rule. In 147 B.C.E. Jonathan, the first ruler of the Hasmonean dynasty, received Ekron and the three districts of Lydda, Arimathea, and Aphaerema. Some time before 144 B.C.E. he was also ceded Perea. His brother Simeon (142–135 B. C.E.) annexed Jaffa and Gezer, thus open the sea for his state. Simeon's son John Hyrcanus I (135–104 B.C.E.) extended his sway over Idumea, Samaria, Scythopolis, and the inner Carmel, as well as Heshbon and Medeba east of the Jordan. Judah Aristobulus I, the son of Hyrcanus, who barely reigned one year, added Galilee. The last of the conquering Hasmoneans, Alexander Yannai (103–76 B.C.E.), captured the whole coast from Rhinocorura (El-Arish) on the Brook of Egypt to the Carmel promontory, all of Western Gilead from Paneas (Banias) to Gerasa, and all the lands around the Dead Sea. Only Acre-Ptolemais, Philadelphia, and Ascalon remained outside his rule, the last with Yannai's consent. In their internal organization of the state, the Hasmoneans preserved the basic subdivision – toparchy – of which there were 24, corresponding to the 24 *ma'amadot* (literally, "place of standing") of the Temple service. They also followed Ptolemaic practice by establishing a larger administrative unit called *meris*, and divided the country into five of them: Galilee, Samaria, Judea, Idumea, and Perea.

Roman intervention under Pompey put an end to the expansion of the Hasmonean State. Under Pompey's settlement of 63 B.C.E. the Jewish State was reduced to Judea, including Idumea and Perea, and to Galilee. The Greek cities conquered by the Hasmoneans were "freed." Those cities along the coast were placed under the supervision of the Roman governor of Syria and those east of the Jordan were united into a league of ten cities, known as the Decapolis. The Samaritans regained their independence, the Itureans obtained the Golan and Paneas, and the Nabateans, the Negev and the lands around the Dead Sea. Pompey's harsh arrangements were somewhat alleviated by Julius Caesar, who in 47 B.C.E. restored Jaffa and the Plain of Jezreel to Judea. When Herod replaced the Hasmonean dynasty in 40 B.C.E., he was given, in addition to the lands held by Mattathias Antigonus, the last Hasmonean ruler, the region of Marisa and the lands of the Samaritans. In 30 B.C.E. Augustus granted him the coastal area from Gaza to Caesarea (originally called Straton's Tower) as well as Samaria (renamed Sebaste), Gadara, and Hippus in the interior. In 23 B.C.E. Herod received Batanea (Bashan), Trachonitis, and the Hauran, and in 20 B.C.E. Augustus finally added Paneas and the Gaulan. Herod's kingdom was administered on a dual basis: the Greek cities were more or less autonomous, while the remainder, the "King's country," was ruled directly by royal officials. Herod retained the division into *merides* and toparchies. Two lists of his toparchies have been preserved: one by Pliny (*Natural History*, 5:15, 70) who enumerates them as follows:

(1) Jericho;
(2) Emmaus;
(3) Lydda;
(4) Joppa (Jaffa);
(5) Acrabitene;
(6) Gophna;
(7) Thamna;
(8) Betholeptephene (Beit Nattif);
(9) Orine (Jerusalem);
(10) Herodium.

To this list Josephus adds Idumea, En-Gedi, and Jamnia (Wars, 3: 54–55). After Herod's death (4 B.C.E.) his kingdom was divided among his three sons. Archelaus received Judea, Idumea, Samaria, and Caesarea; Herod Antipas received Galilee and Perea; Philip received Caesarea Philippi and the lands east of the Jordan. The Greek cities were placed under the governor of Syria. When Archelaus was deposed in 6 C.E., his lands were administered by a Roman procurator. This was the situation in Jesus' time. After the death of Philip, his nephew Agrippa I received his inheritance, to which were added the lands of Antipas in 39 C.E., and in 41 C.E. also those of Archelaus. When Agrippa I died in 44 C.E., part of his kingdom was reserved for his son Agrippa II (Philip's share and eastern Galilee) but most of it was administered by Roman procurators up to the Jewish War (66–73).

After the siege and destruction of Jerusalem, the Provincia Judaea was under the rule of Roman governors. Urbanization progressed rapidly in the following centuries. Vespasian turned the lands of the Samaritans into the city of Neapolis; Hadrian set up Aelia Capitolina on the ruins of Jerusalem; Septimius Severus turned Lydda into Diospolis and Bet Guvrin into Eleutheropolis until finally only Upper Galilee, the Gaulan and, and the Jordan Valley remained non-urban areas. Under Diocletian (284) the southern part of the Roman province of Arabia was attached to the province of Palaestina, which was partitioned in Byzantine times. In 358 the Negev and southern Transjordan were detached and formed into Palaestina Salutaris. In approximately 400 the remainder was subdivided into Palaestina Prima (with its capital at Caesarea) and Palaestina Secunda (with its capital at Scythopolis) and the third province, Palaestina Salutaris, was now called Palaestina Tertia; its governor resided in Petra.

This threefold division continued under the Arabs who conquered the area in the 7th century: Palaestina Prima became Jund Filastīn, Palaestina Secunda, Jund al-Urdunn, and Palaestina Tertia was abandoned to the Bedouins. The province of Filastīn was administered from the new city of Ramleh and Urdunn from Tiberias. The Crusaders who came in 1099 first established themselves on the coast and to the west of the Jordan; at the zenith of their power their kingdom (the Kingdom of Jerusalem) included all of Ereẓ Israel west of the Jordan to Deir el-Balah, the Jordan Valley, and the Seir Mountains down to Elath. Their feudal administration was centered on a royal domain around Jerusalem with royal vassals in the rest of the country: the principality of Galilee, the seigniories of Jaffa and Ashkelon, Caesarea, St. Jean d'Acre (Acre), Naples (Nablus), St. Abraham (Hebron), Toron (northern Galilee), and Outre Jourdain. After the debacle at the hands of Saladin in 1187, Richard the Lion-Hearted in 1192 reconstituted the Crusader kingdom along the coast from Jaffa to Tyre and included western Galilee. In 1228 Frederick II added a corridor to Jerusalem and Bethlehem, and Richard of Cornwall (1240/41) added the area southward to Ashkelon and Beit Guvrin and eastward to the Jordan near Jericho and in Galilee. From 1250 the kingdom gradually shrank under Mamluk attacks which finally led to the capture of Acre, the Crusader capital, in 1291. The Mamluks (1250–1516) divided Ereẓ Israel into a number of "mamlakas": Ghazza (coast); Safed (Galilee); Dimashq (Damascus; Samaria, Judea, northern Transjordan); and el-Kerak (southern Transjordan). Under the Turks, who took over the country in 1517, a Wali (governor) at Acre ruled from the Carmel to Galilee, while his colleagues at Esh-Sham (Damascus) held the rest of Ereẓ Israel, which was subdivided into the sanjaks of Nablus (including Al-Salt), Al-Quds (Jerusalem), Gaza, Hauran, and Kerak. From 1874 Jerusalem with southern Judea was administered directly from Constantinople as a separate sanjak or *mutessarifliq*. The Turks reestablished their rule over the Negev, but in 1906 the British, who ruled Egypt from 1882, forced them to cede the Sinai Peninsula to Egypt. The British, who took over Palestine in 1917, were the first to establish it as a modern political entity with clear boundaries. The Zionist Organization requested a more extensive area, including the lower Litani River and Mt. Hermon in the north, a line just west of the Hejaz Railway in the east, and a line running from Aqaba to El Arish in the southwest. The British, in agreement with the French, established a boundary which ran from Ras el Naqura between Acre and Tyre on the Mediterranean shore to Metullah and then to El Hama, east of the Sea of Galilee. In the east the Jordan River, the Dead Sea, and the Arava Valley marked the boundary line, while in the south the British adopted the 1906 line between Egypt and the Ottoman Empire. Thus the Mandatory area of Palestine (from which Transjordan was detached in 1922) extended from Dan (Metullah) to Umm Rashrash (today Eilat), and from the Mediterranean coast at Ras en-Naqura to the sources of the Jordan River. This area is seen today by most people dealing with the area as Palestine or Ereẓ Israel. During the 30 years of the British Mandate, the subdivision of the country varied from six districts to two (with a separate Jerusalem division). In 1946, at the end of the Mandate, there were six: Galilee, Haifa, Samaria, Jerusalem, Gaza, and "Lydda," so called because, although it contained the largest city in Ereẓ Israel – Tel Aviv – the Mandatory officials refused to honor it with the name of a district.

From 1949 to 1967 the State of Israel was bounded by the lines of the Armistice Agreements (the "Green Line"). The Six-Day War established ceasefire lines on the Suez Canal, along the Jordan River, and east of the Golan. These lines were partially changed after the *Yom Kippur War of 1973. As stipulated by the peace treaty between Israel and Egypt (1979), both countries accepted the Mandatory line (Rafah – Taba) as the international boundary between them. The peace treaty between Israel and the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan (1994) also adopted the Mandatory line, with some modifications, as the international boundary. (See also Israel, State of: Historical Survey below.)

ETHNOGRAPHY. The earliest inhabitants of Ereẓ Israel of whom there is historical documentation are the West Semitic tribes known as Amurru (Amorites). In the Bible they are subdivided into a large number of groups, known collectively as Canaanites, a name properly belonging to the Phoenicians. In the Bronze Age, peoples of Indo-Aryan origin (Hittites and Mitanni) became the rulers of various cities in Ereẓ Israel. The Israelite conquest and the Philistine entrenchment on the southern coast (c. 1200 B.C.E.) produced a change in the population balance. The Canaanites were gradually absorbed by the Semitic Israelites, while the Philistines retained their separate character. The Assyrian deportations created a new mixed element, the Samaritans, in Mt. Ephraim. Under Babylonian rule, the Edomites settled in southern Judea, the Nabateans occupied the Negev and southern Transjordan, and a remnant of Jews clung to Jerusalem. In Persian times Jews returned from captivity in Babylonia and the Phoenicians and some Greek settlers inhabited the coast. Hellenistic rule brought an influx of Greeks as officials, soldiers, merchants, and estate owners and the coastal areas and part of the inland cities became Hellenized. At that time there was an overspill of Jews northward into Samaria and eastward into Perea. The Hasmoneans made the Idumeans (Edomites) and the Galileans assimilate with the Jews. During Herod's rule Jewish settlements in northern Transjordan expanded, while a sprinkling of Romans and Greeks settled in Judea and Galilee. After the Bar Kokhba War, the Jews were expelled from Judea and replaced by Syrian and Arab colonists; Galilee, however, remained Jewish up to the end of Byzantine times.

Arabs gradually began to infiltrate into Ereẓ Israel in the late Byzantine period, even before the Arab conquest. After their conquest the Christians in the country slowly became Islamized. The Crusader period brought an incursion of West Europeans, mainly French, Normans, and Italians, but they were unable to root themselves in the country and withdrew after the Crusader collapse. From the ninth century onward, Seljuk, Kurdish, and Turkish mercenaries settled in the country, remaining its rulers until the World War I. The German Templars resumed European colonization on a small scale in the late 19th century, and many other Europeans and Americans settled in the cities in that period for religious or commercial reasons. The Jews, who had clung to the "Four Holy Cities" (Jerusalem, Safed, Tiberias, and Hebron) and were reinforced from time to time by newcomers from Europe and the Ottoman Empire, began to expand their settlement from 1878 onward, assisted first by the Rothschilds and later by the Zionist Organization. From a population of 55,000 in 1918 they increased to 5.5 million in 2003, mostly by immigration from Eastern and Central Europe, Asia, and North Africa.

For natural boundaries, see Israel, Land of: *Physiography.

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[Michael Avi-Yonah / Gideon Biger (2nd ed.)]

Physiography

INTRODUCTION. (Official transliteration of place-names can be found in *The New Israel Atlas*; 1969.) Despite its historical origin and usage, the name Ereẓ Israel (Land of Israel) may very appropriately be applied to designate a major regional entity within the Fertile Crescent, wedged between the Mediterranean on the west and the Syrian and Arabian Deserts on the east and southeast. Throughout historical and very likely also prehistorical times, this area served as a bridge between adjacent African and Asian regions. It is adequately defined by "natural boundaries," i.e., major physiographical features beyond which relief configuration or climatic conditions and associated surface phenomena change markedly, as postulated by regional geography for the concept of a major unit of the earth's surface. The region is distinctively delimited on the west by the vast expanse of the Levantine Basin of the Mediterranean. Moreover, along this particular section of the coastline there are no islands, which could complicate proper delineation. Similarly, the coast of Eilat, by which Ereẓ Israel has access to the Indian Ocean, clearly demarcates the maximum extension toward the south. On the east, northeast, southeast, and southwest, Ereẓ Israel is bounded by extensive tracts of the great global, subtropical desert belt (Syrian Desert, Arabian Desert, and Sinai Desert). The marginal areas of this desert belt, in which the climatic conditions undergo a change from semiarid to fully arid, form the historical border zone of Ereẓ Israel as well. In the Sinai Peninsula, the Negev plains continue without interruption up to the Wadi el-Arish, the Brook of Egypt according to the tradition. To the east, an adequate, though not continuous, delineation is afforded by a watershed zone between rivers west and east of it. Although it is not a prominent relief feature, this zone also denotes a sort of a border between the semiarid and Mediterranean areas to the west and the arid ones to the east. The northern boundaries of Ereẓ Israel are fairly well defined. There the valley of Qasimiye – the lower course of the Leontes (Litani) River – and, further east, the towering Hermon Massif form a marked natural boundary between Ereẓ Israel and the Lebano-Syrian region.

Ereẓ Israel, however, is not considered a regional entity merely because of its natural confines. These are mainly concomitant consequences of the fact that the area is morphogenetically a very consistent surface unit in almost all its physiographical aspects. The area is decidedly influenced by a singular major phenomenon: the Jordan-Dead Sea-Arabah Rift Valley, which also forms the meridional axis of Ereẓ Israel along its entire length. The morphogenetic impact of the Rift Valley is outwardly expressed by the main drainage pattern of the region. About 70% of Ereẓ Israel's rivers (and far more of its overall runoff, if the quantities of the inflow are considered) discharge into the Rift Valley, in relation to which the areas with river outlets into the Mediterranean form a sort of foreland. From the hydrographical point of view alone, Ereẓ Israel thus represents primarily the catchment area of the Rift Valley, which, within this region, is characterized by some unique topographical features. It is the deepest continental depression on the earth and contains an inland sea (the Dead Sea) whose level is about 1,300 ft. (400 m.) lower than that of the Mediterranean with one of the highest mineral contents of any body of water in the world. Its second large body of water is Lake Kinneret, which is the lowest freshwater body on the earth's surface, about 660 ft. (200 m.) below sea level. The two bodies of water are connected by a river (Jordan River) whose bed, accordingly, is the lowest in the world. This hydrographical condition, namely the predominance of the endoreic area (i.e., an area without outlet into an ocean or a major body of water connected with it), is only one of the many influences exerted by the formation of the Rift Valley upon almost all of the surface configuration of Ereẓ Israel.

From the anthropogeographical point of view, however, the Rift Valley has proven a rather disuniting element. Due to its relative depth, and still more to the height and steepness of the mountain slopes ascending from it to highlands more than 3,300 ft. (1,000 m.) above its floor, enclosing it wall-like with a single wider breach giving access to it only from the west, the Rift Valley was throughout history one of the main factors for the division of the region into two parts, very infrequently – and then only partially – united into a single state.

The Rift Valley is thus the prime cause of Ereẓ Israel's subdivision into two main parts: a western one – Mediterranean-oriented Cisjordan (referred to as western Palestine in political and historical geography) – and an eastern one – Transjordan (eastern Palestine). The first may be regarded from the geographic point of view as the mainland, the second as the backland of the entire region.

Situated between the Mediterranean on the west and an almost continuous desert belt on the south and east, and being long and relatively narrow – about 280 mi. (450 km.) in length and about 110 mi. (180 km.) at maximum width – Ereẓ Israel also morphogenetically represents a transition zone. It contains almost all the major relief elements characteristic of the adjacent countries, although generally on a much smaller scale and in somewhat subdued form; coastal plains; mountain ranges, partly continuing the systems of folds fully developed and culminating in Lebanon-Syria and Asia Minor; plateaus, much smaller and more discontinuous here than in the neighboring countries; and basins of all kinds, most of which are greatly affected by and subordinated to the dominant relief feature – the Rift Valley. The same is true of lithological conditions. Outcrops of most kinds of rocks, from basement (magmatic, metamorphic) to sedimentary ones of most recent ages, form its bedrock. Volcanic rocks (basalts, tuffs) are also widely distributed there, as are evaporites (i.e., sediments mainly generated by deposition in outletless inland seas given to intensive evaporation and thus to concentration and consequent consolidation of their solutional contents).

Located between the Mediterranean and the deserts, Ereẓ Israel exhibits complex climatic gradations and transitions ranging from conditions mainly influenced by the sea and manifested primarily by the amount of precipitation to those which already show all the characteristics of a fully desert region – manifested, inter alia, by the relatively extensive surfaces composed of evaporites. A most important characteristic of the region, and particularly of Cisjordan, is therefore the proximity of greatly differing landscapes within relatively small areas resulting mainly from the structural, lithological, and climatic conditions changing over very small distances. The region's very mosaic-like quality is also crucially important as physiographical background to its history, illuminating, e.g., the tendency to regional particularism throughout the area. Notwithstanding the great number of small, highly different regions, it is customary to subdivide Ereẓ Israel into only four major units: (1) the Coastal Plains, (2) the Western Mountain Zone, (3) the Rift Valley, and (4) the Transjordan Plateau.

THE COASTAL PLAINS. *The Coastal Zone.* Ereẓ Israel is bordered on the west by the Mediterranean Sea. The length of its coastline is about 170 mi. (270 km.) from the mouth of Wadi el-Arish to that of the Qasimiye River. From the morphogenetic and typological points of view, the coast of Ereẓ Israel represents a transition between the coasts of Egypt and Sinai, which are mainly deltaic, and the Lebano-Syrian coast, whose configuration is primarily determined by faulting. The coast of Ereẓ Israel is fairly smooth, without any islands representing detached parts of the mainland. A shelf zone, relatively wide at the southern portion and progressively narrower toward the north, extends along the coast up to about 500 ft. (150 m.) in depth. The coastal zone (i.e., the areas adjacent to the coastline that are directly influenced by the sea) consists of two main parts: a rather uniform southern part, extending from the mouth of the Wadi el-Arish to Tel Aviv-Jaffa, and a northern one that extends up to the mouth of the Qasimiye River. The northern part is far more complex in its origin and consequently in its outline. The southern part of the coastline is almost straight, and its course accords with that of the series of anticlines that form the mountainous backbone of Cisjordan. Sandy beaches, attaining several hundreds of meters in width, extend along the coastline, broken only at the alluvia-filled valley-exits of the rivers discharging into the Mediterranean. Breaks also occur at four other spots: Deir al-Balah, a portion of the coast south of Gaza, Ashkelon, and Mīnat Rūbīn (south of the mouth of the valley of the River Sorek), where coastal cliffs border almost immediately on the sea. The beaches are covered almost exclusively by quartz sands brought from the Nile delta and from the coast of Sinai by currents running close to the shore. Inland, the beach zone is delimited mainly by low ridges composed of sand grains cemented by calcareous material – a rock type called *kurkar* in the vernacular – and passes into areas covered by shifting dunes. The sands of these dunes are mainly of marine origin, i.e., they were brought to the coast by shore currents and waves and then transported inland by winds. The width of the sand-dune belt varies considerably; it attains its maximum – about 4.5 mi. (7 km.) – in the vicinity of Rishon le-Zion.

The northern coastal zone is rather different, in some aspects even opposite, in configuration. It is no longer straight throughout, but indented at some sections by small embayments, several of which form coves (e.g., at Dor and Athlit). Off-branchings of the inland mountains, the Carmel and the Ḥanitah Range (Rosh ha-Nikrah), border immediately upon the sea, forming high and steep headlands, north of which the coastline recesses to form wide embayments. Only the first of these, at Haifa, represents a true bay, extending southeast for about 4 mi. (6 km.) and even forming a small secondary bay at its northern extremity at Acre. The rest of the northern coastline is bordered along its entire length by cliffs of *kurkar*. These cliffs are high as far north as Athlit – attaining a maximum height of about 130 ft. (40 m.) in the vicinity of Netanyah – and then becoming progressively lower. A very discontinuous small abrasion platform, i.e., a rocky, narrow shore-plane generated by progressive down-and-back erosion of the cliff faces, extends along the greater part of the coast. Waves undercut the cliffs at their bases, and as the cliffs are worn back, their bases form a progressively widening plane. The seaward parts of the platform, subject to the continuous and generally very intensive impact of the waves, in turn gradually become destroyed, with only small isolated remains –

reefs – evidencing the earlier extension of the coast 1.2–1.8 mi. (2–3 km.) west of its present course. Beaches are very poorly developed along this northern portion of the coast zone. They exist mostly around coastal indentations or along the bases of cliffs, where they are somewhat protected against the onslaught of waves by an outlying strip of reefs close to the shore or tiers of beachrock (i.e., coarse sands, pebbles, and shells cemented into rocks). Areas of sand dunes are small and can be found only where the valleys of rivers discharging into the Mediterranean breach the cliffs, creating sufficiently wide gaps for the landward intrusion of wind-borne sands accumulating on the shore. Thus only at the bay of Haifa are beach and dune areas fully developed.

The Coastal Plains. In the narrow sense, the Coastal Plains are lowlands covered mainly by alluvial soils that extend from the coastal dune areas and the coastal cliff zone, respectively, to the bases of the inland mountains. The plains exhibit a large number of minor relief features, particularly isolated hillocks or those forming small ridges composed of *kurkar* and a fairly well-developed drainage net, which is more dense toward the north and sometimes exhibits minute gorge-like valleys where traversing the *kurkar* ridges. The ridges extend without a major break from the mouth of Wadi el-Arish to the headland of the Carmel, and from there to the Rosh ha-Nikrah promontory, recurring on a very small scale as far as the valley of the Qasimiye River. From the earliest times the Coastal Plains were one of the most densely populated and intensively cultivated parts of the country, although secondary in historical importance to the mountainous interior regions. They may be rather arbitrarily subdivided into seven units: the Southern Plains (frequently referred to as the Negev Plains); the Judean Plain (including the Philistine Plain as its southern part); the Sharon; the Carmel Coast Plain (usually referred to only as Carmel Coast); the Haifa (Zebulun) Plain; the Galilean Plain (Acre Plain); the Tyre Plain, north of the cape of Rosh ha-Nikrah. Each of the last three units is usually referred to in Hebrew as *emek*, i.e., valley or narrow lowland, because of their limited width.

The Southern Coastal Plains. These plains are separated from the Mediterranean by a relatively narrow belt of sand dunes, 2 mi. (3 km.) wide on the average. Their most important characteristics are determined by climatic conditions. They receive the smallest amount of precipitation in comparison with the other units of the Coastal Plains – El-Arish, approximately 8 in. (200 mm.); Gaza, somewhat less than 16 in. (400 mm.). Due to its proximity to the desert areas, the soils of this plain are composed predominantly of wind-borne loess, probably redistributed by surface flow, and exhibit many intermixing gradations with sands in the southern parts of the plains and with the red-sand soils (called *ḥamra* in the vernacular) at its northern limits. Only two main ephemeral streams (Naḥal Besor and Naḥal Shikmah), about 12 mi. (20 km.) apart at their debouchures into the Mediterranean, traverse the region. Naḥal Besor and its tributaries have turned part of the loess zone into spectacular "badlands," i.e., intensively dissected surfaces that form a microrelief landscape of miniature hillocks and gullies of the most variegated shapes.

Three major topographical zones may be distinguished more or less parallel to the coast. East of the coastal sands, where some dunes attain heights of several tens of meters, a relatively low zone extends, delimited to some extent by discontinuous *kurkar* ridges. This zone forms a gradual ascent to a hillock region in the east and to relatively large areas covered by inland sands of eolian origin in the southeast. Because of its narrowness, elongated shape, and low topography (in comparison with the bordering zones), this area is frequently referred to in the regional geography of Ereẓ Israel as the *marzevah* ("corridor"). This is also a major topographical feature on the plains farther north and had a decisive influence in the past on the sites of settlements and communication lines (Via Maris).

Judean Plain. Rather wide in its southern part – about 15 mi. (25 km.) – the Judean Plain narrows progressively toward the north – about 10 mi. (17 km.), a characteristic common to all the plain regions described below. The plain is separated from the sea by a dune belt, which attains its maximum width – about 4 mi. (7 km.) – here. The "corridor" between the sand zone and the base of the hill country to the east of the plain (the "Shephelah") is more distinct and forms a fairly uniform surface with far fewer and smaller remains of *kurkar* ridges than are found in the Negev Plain. Climatic conditions are fully Mediterranean – 16–20 in. (400–500 mm.) annual average precipitation – and are reflected in the soil cover – loess in the southernmost part and *ḥamra* covering almost the whole remaining area with rather large enclaves of heavy soils of alluvial and swamp origin. The genesis of the latter types of soil is connected with the greater number of rivers draining the plain. Although only four of these rivers reach the sea, their courses are frequently deflected to run meridionally by the extension, width, and continuity of the dune belts.

Sharon Plain. Lengthwise, the Sharon Plain extends from the Yarkon, the largest river in Cisjordan discharging into the Mediterranean, up to the Zikhron Ya'akov spur of Mount Carmel. Its width varies considerably, generally narrowing northward to a minimum of about 2½ mi. (4 km.). It also exhibits a distinct meridional zonation, far more pronounced than that of the Judean Plain. Dune areas between the sea and the plain proper, as mentioned before, are rather sporadic there, narrow and short, and restricted to the cliffless parts of the coast, i.e., to the vicinity of the river exits into the sea. Elsewhere, the plain begins immediately behind the zone of the cliffs, which attain considerable height and are continuous, thus preventing the ingress and accumulation of sand further inland. More or less parallel to the sea cliffs appear two major, though discontinuous, closely spaced *kurkar* ridges which indicate the former coastline. Between them are situated elongated and narrow lowlands, of which only the eastern one attains a width of about 2 mi. (3 km.), whereas the western one is much narrower. East from the *kurkar* ridge zone the "corridor" extends up to the outliers of the Samarian Highland. In contrast to the two above-mentioned intermediate areas between the *kurkar* ridges, with their prevailing *ḥamra* cover, the soil of the "corridor" is mainly alluvial. The amount of precipitation is approximately 4 in. (100 mm.) greater than in the Judean Plain, exceeding an annual average of 24 in. (600 mm.) in some places. This was one of the main preconditions for the large forested areas characteristic of the Sharon in the past. The river network is relatively dense, with far more rivers discharging into the sea than on the Judean Plain. The exits of the rivers here have also been largely blocked both by the dune areas and the *kurkar* ridges. Consequently, large tracts of the Sharon became swampy, particularly in the environs of Ḥaderah and the Ḥefer Plain (the latter was drained by Jewish settlers only in the 1930s).

Carmel Coast Plain. About 22 mi. (35 km.) long, 2–2.5 mi. (3–4 km.) wide at its southern end and a few hundred meters wide at its northern limit, the Carmel Coast Plain ends prominently at the Carmel Headland. The shape of this land unit would fully justify the omission of the term "plain" or even "valley" in its usual meaning. Like the Sharon, a considerable part of this plain consists of *kurkar* ridges, the westernmost of which is almost entirely transformed by marine erosion and ingression into reefs and abrasion platforms and is mainly characterized by several kinds of indentations, including some coves and minute headlands. The other two ranges of *kurkar* ridges are still preserved, particularly in the southern portion, and greatly impede the passage of the numerous streamlets descending from the Carmel, so that in the past artificial outlets had to be cut into the ridges. Another characteristic of this plain is the relative scarcity of *ḥamra* in comparison with the alluvial soils that are derived mainly from Mount Carmel by erosion and river deposition.

Haifa Bay Plain. Tectonically, this plain represents the westernmost component of the Beth-Shean–Harod–Jezreel Valley system that traverses the entire width of Cisjordan from the Jordan Rift Valley to the Mediterranean. Flanked on the southeast by the high and steep slopes of the Carmel, it exhibits several features absent from the adjacent parts of the coastal plain north and south of it. Along the coast a relatively wide and continuous beach reappears, followed by a belt of sand dunes about a mile wide; no cliff formations are interposed between the plain and the sea. Farther inland it borders the relatively low and gently sloping Yodefat Hills – outliers of the Lower Galilee Mountains. The eastern part of the plain is covered by heavy alluvial soils, partly in consequence of the extensive swamps that existed here in the past. The southern portion of the plain is drained by the sluggishly meandering Kishon River; the northern part is drained by the Na'aman River, fed by springs and extensive swamps behind the sand area. For several kilometers the Na'aman flows parallel to the coastline and along the inland margin of the dune belt.

Acre-Tyre Plain (Galilean Coastal Plain). The coastal plain north of Acre terminates abruptly in the promontory of Rosh ha-Nikrah. It bears some resemblance to the Sharon and still more to the coastal plain of the Carmel. Here the coast is bordered by cliffs (albeit inconsiderable in height) accompanied by an extensive abrasion platform, disjointed parts of which can be discerned in the form of reefs at a distance of 1.2–1.8 mi. (2–3 km.) from the coastline. There are several very small indentations in the coast, which is subject to strong marine erosion. The paucity and smallness of beaches and their predominant cover of coarse sands are also the result of wave erosion. No larger dune-sand accumulations intervene between the coast and the plain, and there are only few and small remnants of *kurkar* ridges. The narrow plain – 4 mi. (7 km.) maximum width – is bordered on the east by interfluves, i.e., mountain spurs created by the numerous rivers from the Upper Galilee Mountains discharging into the Mediterranean. These rivers also supply the bulk of the heavy soil material that forms the cover of the plain almost exclusively. The promontory of Rosh ha-Nikrah (the biblical "Tyrian Ladder"), the seaward scarp of an Upper Galilean mountain range along which the present-day border between the State of Israel and Lebanon runs, sharply delimits the Acre Plain. The headland, of a type frequently encountered along the Lebano-Syrian coast and bordering immediately on the sea for a length of about 7 mi. (12 km.), consists of calcareous rock, and its base contains deep sea caves cut in by wave erosion. Beyond the promontory the coastline curves gently in and out, and along it extend beaches and even a continuous, although very small, dune belt. Of specific interest here is Tyre, formerly situated on a reef island but now connected to the mainland as if by a tombolo. This transformation was caused by the accumulations of sand at the dam constructed during the siege of this harbor town by Alexander the Great, and it is one of the countless instances of major landscape transformations effected by man in the Middle East. The coastal plain east of the sand zone is narrower than the Acre Plain and irregularly confined by the east-west-oriented spurs of the Lebanese-Galilee Mountains. It is traversed by a relatively great number of ephemeral rivers which are the main suppliers of the predominantly alluvial soil cover of the plain.

THE WESTERN MOUNTAIN ZONE. Often referred to metaphorically as the backbone of Cisjordan, the Western Mountain Zone extends from Eilat to the Valley of Qasimiye along the entire length of the region. Within the Levant, it tectonically represents the southernmost outliers of the great Alpine orogenic system and accordingly consists mainly of rather simple and short fold structures generally of medium height. The latter characteristic is also reflected in the term "Hills" (Judean Hills, Samarian Hills, etc.), which is frequently used in this region. In addition to folding, the formation of these mountains was strongly affected by faulting, particularly in the vicinity of the Rift Valley and in Galilee. Despite its moderate elevation above sea level and in relation to the lower surroundings (valleys and basin floors), the relief of this mountainous region, which occupies more than two-thirds of the Cisjordan area, is very pronounced. Steep slopes often appear as major and minor scarp and cliff faces, and surface roughness even on moderate slopes is frequently accentuated, particularly in the southern part of the Mountain Zone, by the almost complete absence of soil and vegetation cover. In the central and northern parts, large tracts were once covered by forests (now largely reduced to sporadic maquis and garigue – brush-and-thorn vegetation), and the slopes were terraced, creating a main area of cultivation. These terraces, now largely disused and in disrepair, form one of the most conspicuous external features of the slopes. The slopes that were not terraced and the mostly flat or gently domed summit surfaces are covered by coarse detritus of different sizes or are pitted by mostly small and shallow depressions, as a result of strong weathering (especially solutional) of the bare surfaces (which are composed mainly of limestone).

The bold relief of the Cisjordan Mountains is mainly a result of deep incisions by the watercourses, which created valleys that frequently take the form of gorges or even canyons. In the other types of valleys as well, most of the slopes are very steep, and often no valley floors developed along the river beds. The relatively high frequency of intramontane basins of all sizes is another very important characteristic of the overall relief that contributes greatly to the multiformity and mosaic-like composition of the mountainous region. The extremely variegated pattern of the mountainous zone, resulting in a large number of small regions – and thus contributing to the particularist tendencies of its inhabitants throughout history – was brought about by the complexity of its tectonic, lithological, and climatic conditions. Tectonically, the most characteristic aspect of Cisjordan – in sharp contrast to Transjordan – is the most intensive intermixing of major features originating through up- and downfolding, mostly with subsequent forms produced by faulting. In the southern and central parts of the Mountain Zone the first group of processes determined – mainly in the form of anti- and synclines – the build-up, extension, and course of the principal ranges, whereas the latter played a decisive role in their disruption. Particularly in the northern part, faulting and associated features virtually obliterate the former structures, creating a relief mainly characterized by intramontane tectonic valleys and ranges, the extent and orientation of which is determined by these valleys. The role of some major subsidence regions (Rift Valley, Beth-Shean-Harod-Jezreel Valley and Haifa Bay) in relation to general exterior configuration has already been pointed out. Fault zones and lines also exert decisive influence upon the drainage system of a greater part of Cisjordan.

The lithology of the Cisjordan Mountain Zone is rather diversified, considering the small size of the area. Most of the mountains consist of calcareous rocks, with only small areas of outcropping sandstones, magmatic, metamorphic, and volcanic rocks. Due to the great differences in their composition (limestone, dolomites, chalk, calcareous marls, etc.) and frequent intercalations – each responding rather dissimilarly to denudational processes – these calcareous formations greatly contribute to the diversification of the landscape, determining major and minor morphological features specific to the predominant bedrock. The influence of climatic factors, mainly the amount and type of precipitation, is even greater. The southern part of the Cisjordan Mountain Zone, although consisting predominantly of the same types of rock as the central and northern parts, differs greatly from the latter in its morphological physiognomy. Weathering processes are dissimilar here in degree and even to some extent in kind. For example, farther north solutional processes exert the greatest influence upon the surface configuration by creating karstic features that dominate the landscape, particularly in Galilee. These processes are almost entirely lacking in the southern highlands. Runoff is much greater and consequently erosion is much more intensive here than in regions receiving much larger amounts of precipitation. The eastern flank of the central area is semiarid and arid (the Judean Desert), due to its location leeward of the Judean Mountains, with the precipitation caused by the moisture-bearing winds from the Mediterranean consequently decreased. This area also exhibits a specific set of morphological features, in many respects similar to those of the Negev, which is also mainly affected by climatic conditions.

Mainly in accordance with the three criteria mentioned above (tectonic, lithological, and climatic conditions), the mountain region of Cisjordan can be subdivided into the following major physiographical units: the Negev Highlands, the Central Mountain Massif, and the Galilean Mountains. Each of these units comprises several subregions determined by geological, tectonic, lithological, climatic, and consequently morphological conditions. Each is very different from the others in the overall character of its landscape. The width of the Mountain Zone varies proportionately with that of Cisjordan as a whole (i.e., the distance from the Mediterranean coast to the Rift Valley), decreasing from about 50 mi. (80 km.) in the Negev Highlands to about 22 mi. (35 km.) in Galilee.

Negev Highlands. In many respects, the Negev Highlands represent a direct continuation of the plateau and mountainous regions of the Sinai Peninsula, exhibiting great similarity of tectonic, lithological, and climatic conditions and, consequently, relief. The similarities are most evident in the southern part of the Highlands, the Eilat Mountains, which extend from the Gulf of Eilat to Bikat Sayyarim and Bikat Uvdah in the north. Here, though confined to a comparatively small area, are found ranges and blocks composed of magmatic and metamorphic rocks that build up the larger part of the southern apex of the Sinai Peninsula and are not found in any other region of Cisjordan, with the exception of Makhtesh Ramon. Similarly, outcrops of Nubian Sandstone, exposed only on the floors and the foot of the slopes of the *makhteshim* (see below), are relatively widely distributed here as surface rocks. These types of rock are in very close contact with calcareous ones, creating relief forms of singular diversity and even contrast. The extremely variegated composition of the crystalline rocks makes them particularly susceptible to granular weathering, exfoliation, and sheeting. These processes result in steep, serrated, and crenulated ridges (Jehoshafat, Shelomo, Roded, Sheḥoret), separated from one another by steep fault-conditioned valleys. Even more spectacular are the relief features that developed from Nubian Sandstone. Columnar jointing – of which the Solomon Pillars in the Timna region, about 15 mi. (25 km.) north of Eilat, are but one outstanding example. Column relicts in the form of mushroom rocks, castellated rocks, rocking stones, and intensive alveolation, producing cave-like tafoni and canyons – deeply incised in the multicolored sandstone by the extremely strong erosive action of the many river courses (the Red Canyon, Naḥal Amran, etc.) carrying only flash floods once or twice within a year – give rise to landscapes even far more diversified in ever-changing micro-features than those which developed in the crystalline bedrock. In sharp contrast to these landforms are those which developed on other bedrock, limestone in particular. The relief in limestone is generally far more uniform and massive and is mainly characterized by flat-topped ranges and small plateau-like elevations covered by angular gravels. The latter are produced by weathering, which imparts to the surfaces covered by them the appearance of typical *ḥamada* (block-strewn desert surfaces).

The Paran Plateau. This area comprises mainly the Cisjordan catchment area of the Paran River, a major tributary of the Arabah, which is the collecting stream of the Rift Valley south of the Dead Sea. The headrivers of the Paran drain the parts of the Sinai adjacent to the Eilat Mountains in a relatively dense network of wide channels filled with sand and pebbles. The highest elevations of the Paran Plateau – some of which form mountain blocks or ridges – are on its northeastern side – Har Nes, 3,329 ft. (1,015 m.); Har Saggi, 3,229 ft. (1,006 m.). In the eastward direction, elevations become lower and surfaces generally more uniform. In strong contrast to the variegated lithology of the Eilat Mountains, the tableland here is built up almost exclusively of calcareous strata: limestones interbedded with chalk, marls, and thin layers of chert. The surface of the plateau features the widest areas of "desert pavement" found in Cisjordan, i.e., areas covered by angular gravels (*ḥamada*) or rounder pebble-like debris (a desert surface type morphologically known as "serir"). At the southern periphery of the plateau, Bikat Sayyarim and the far larger Bikat Uvdah represent typical intramontane desert basins covered and filled by sands. They are subject to occasional flooding and drain – albeit through very indistinct channel beds – into the Ḥiyyon River, a major tributary of the Arabah River, running about 12 mi. (20 km.) south of the Paran. To the northeast the tableland is delimited by the gravel-covered Ha-Meshar Basin, which, from the hydrographical point of view, belongs to the Central Negev region.

The Central Negev Highlands. The anticline of Ramon is essentially the only major structure of the Central Negev Highlands. This upfold extends approximately 43 mi. (70 km.) in length from the biblical Kadesh-Barnea in the Sinai almost to the very escarpments bordering the western side of the Arabah Rift. It is not only the highest portion of the Negev Highlands – Har Ramon, 3,395 ft. (1,035 m.) – but also structurally and morphologically the most complex. This is very evident in one of the most pronounced occurrences of relief inversion, i.e., the conversion of a major structural element into a morphologically "negative," i.e., reverse form. Here the anticline was transformed, chiefly by erosion, into a wide, elongated, valley-like basin, about 28 mi. (45 km.) in length, enclosed by almost perpendicular slopes, some of them about 1,000 ft. (300 m.) high. This specific form, which also occurs in some anticlines of northern Sinai and in the northern part of the Negev Highlands, is referred to in Hebrew as *makhtesh* ("mortar" or "mixing bowl"), which in the geomorphology of arid regions is now becoming a general term to denote affinite landforms. The greatest influence upon the formation, lithology, and configuration of Makhtesh Ramon was exerted by faulting along its southern flank. Accordingly, magmatic-volcanic rocks are exposed here. Wherever the enclosure is composed of these rocks, it assumes the form of a serrated range, resembling those in the crystalline Eilat Mountains and strongly contrasting with the other enclosured portions of the *makhtesh*, which consist of Nubian Sandstones in the lower and hard limestone in the upper parts of their slopes. The floor of Makhtesh Ramon, covered mainly by detritus of Nubian Sandstone, reveals many small elevations, preponderantly in the form of flat-topped basalt-covered remains of former surface levels. The *makhtesh* is drained by the multichanneled Ramon River, which breaches the eastern enclosure in a narrow steep gorge to join the Arabah River system. To the northwest of the *makhtesh*, its foreland forms a rather level, or gently undulating, tableland up to its very rim; only at the periphery of the plateau does the relief become mountainous (Har Loẓ, Har Ḥorshah, Rekhes-Nafḥa).

The Northern Negev Highlands. On the northeast, the Central Negev Highlands are separated from the Northern Highlands by the wide, deeply incised Valley of the Zin River. This tectonically conditioned valley begins as a wide erosive cirque, the southwestern side of which forms precipitous, almost perpendicular, scarps. At a small distance from the northern side of the valley two *makhteshim* are situated: Ha-Makhtesh ha-Gadol (the "Big Makhtesh") and Ha-Makhtesh ha-Katan (the "Little Makhtesh"). They differ from Makhtesh Ramon not only by their smaller size and almost regular oval shape, but also in structure, lithology, and consequently morphology. Not affected by faulting, they represent upfolds turned into deep valley-basins, on the floors of which older sedimentary strata became exposed through erosion by the watercourses draining them. Their almost perpendicularly sloping walls of Nubian Sandstone are overlaid by much more resistant limestones and dolomites. The Ḥatirah and Ḥaẓevah Rivers, running parallel to the long axes of Ha-Makhtesh ha-Gadol and Ha-Makhtesh ha-Katan, respectively, breach their eastern walls in impressive gorges to join the Zin River. Toward the west and northwest elevations become progressively lower, although there are several upfolds rising above their surroundings as short ridges with moderate slopes, frequently worn down to isolated table-hills. In the west the plateau margins are partly covered by relatively large areas of sand dunes (Ḥaluẓah, Agur), which form a transition zone to the Plain of the Negev. On the northern side, the highlands terminate in the wide Beersheba Basin and its much narrower eastern continuation, the Valley of Arad. Structurally, and in particular climatically, these two intramontane depressions form a marked border zone between the arid Negev Highlands and the mountains north of it, where Mediterranean conditions prevail. In the Beersheba Basin, the mean annual precipitation is 10 in. (250 mm.), a quantity indicating the transition from semiarid to subhumid conditions. The thick loess cover and the amount of precipitation together give rise to the most convenient conditions for agriculture within the Negev. The main drainage artery of this part of the Negev is the Beersheba River (a tributary of the Besor River), and several of its confluents originate in the Hebron Mountains, although its almost annually recurring floodings are mainly caused by the tributaries crossing the relatively impervious loess areas.

The Central Mountain Massif. This range extends from the Beersheba Basin up to the Beth-Shean–Harod–Jezreel Valley sequence in the north. It represents the most compact and continuous mountain region of Cisjordan. Its basic structures are relatively large, meridionally trending anticlinoria, i.e., systems usually composed of one major upfold flanked by downfolds and smaller anticlines. Faulting does not exert a great influence upon the configuration of the southern part of the area; its effect is far stronger in the northern portion, though not yet as decisive in determining the landscape as in Galilee. According to climatic, lithological, and hypsographical conditions, this area can be subdivided into several major units. The most important difference exists between the western part, which is fully exposed to the climatic influences of the Mediterranean, and the eastern flank descending into the Dead Sea and Jordan Valley. The landscape of the eastern portion, which is leeward of the precipitation-bearing winds, is consequently semi-desertic and desertic in character (Judean Desert). The difference is accentuated by lithological variance. The western flank is built predominantly of limestone and dolomite strata, whereas in the eastern one chalks and marls prevail. To the west a subregion or different lithology and elevation is interposed between the southern part of the Central Mountain Massif and the Coastal Plains. Considerably lower and built mainly of chalky rock, it is a hill region gradually rising toward the massif but separated from it in a very pronounced manner by a series of valleys running parallel to the foot of the massif. Toward the north, two major protrusions of the massif can be regarded as distinct mountain regions: a smaller one – the Gilboa – separating the valleys of Harod and Jezreel, and another, much larger and more complex in structure – the Carmel, in the broad sense – which, as already mentioned, delimits the southern Coastal Plains. According to the criteria enumerated above, the Central Mountain Massif can be subdivided into the following regions: Judean Mountains, comprising the Mediterranean southern portion of the massif; Judean Desert; Shephelah (the hill region to the west of the Judean Mountains); Samarian Highlands (the northern part of the massif) and its two subunits, Gilboa and Carmel.

The Judean Mountains. The core region of Cisjordan, the Judean Mountains consist structurally of two consecutive large anticlinoria, whose axes – in contrast to the upfolds in the Negev, which trend mainly southwest-northeast – run almost meridionally. Built up of limestone and dolomite strata with chalky and marly intercalations (the latter very important as groundwater horizons), the mountains' main topographical features are an almost continuous watershed zone (rather uniform in height and delimiting them toward the Judean Desert) and the many interfluves (i.e., ridge-like mountainous spurs separated by deeply incised valleys) extending mainly westward. The watershed zone is generally flat and widens considerably in many places. Its topography thus provided suitable conditions for defense and the development of communications by means of a highway between the cities that were built in this area from earliest times.

Not far from this divide, watercourses begin to incise progressively deeper valleys, the steep slopes of which almost fully converge at the narrow rocky river beds; generally there are no accompanying floodplains. The slopes rising from the valley floors are, for the most part, intensively terraced and end in almost flat or only slightly domed tops separated by wide gentle saddles. Both the mountain tops and the slopes (where not terraced) are densely covered by block detritus, deeply corroded by solutional processes, which also produced the many rounded depressions, holes, and cavities in the slope surfaces as well as many caverns and caves. The prevalent terra rossa is mainly another product of this weathering process, here strongly effective due to the considerable amounts of precipitation – about 20 in. (500 mm.) on the annual average. From the orographic point of view, three parts of the Judean Mountains, very unequal in size, are distinguished: Hebron Mountains, Jerusalem Mountains, Beth-El (Ramallah) Mountains.

The Hebron Mountains extend from the Beersheba Basin up to the Wadi Arṭās in the north (a valley belonging to the drainage area of the Dead Sea), the site of the Solomon Pools. They rise steeply from the Beersheba Basin (one of the southward protrusions of these mountains separates the latter from the Arad Basin) to heights of about 2,600 ft. (800 m.), culminating in summits near Ḥalḥul (north of Hebron) that rise to 3,300 ft. (1,000 m.). The Hebron Mountains are also the largest constituent of the Judean Mountains, with an area greatly exceeding the total of the two other subunits. From the morphological point of view, the southern portion of the Hebron Mountains can be subdivided into two main parts, separated by the relatively wide, mostly flat-floored, and not very deeply incised valley of the Hebron River, a tributary of the Beersheba River, which runs for about 18 mi. (30 km.) almost parallel to the meridional axis of the mountains. The mountains here thus consist of two main ridges. An eastern, higher one is called the Eshtemoa (Samūʿ) Range after one of the villages, the name and site of which have remained virtually unchanged since biblical times. Along this ridge extends the divide between the dry valleys (except at times of flood) descending into the Dead Sea Rift and the southern and western ones that drain into the Mediterranean. The western ridge is named after the village of Adoraim (Dūrā), also mentioned in the Bible. The highway connecting Beersheba with the townships and villages of the watershed zone runs along this ridge. Also characteristic of the Hebron Mountains are several topographic depressions, the largest of which, the valley of Berachah, is distinguished by an abundant spring. The waters of this spring, together with those of others issuing in the vicinity, feed the Solomon Pools, which were the most important source of water for Jerusalem in the past. Near Hebron the two ridges merge to form a single watershed zone that continues along the entire length of the Judean Mountains. Climatically, the Hebron Mountains represent a transition zone from semiarid to Mediterranean conditions. Whereas at al-Ẓāhiriyya, the southernmost village along the main highway, the annual precipitation is only about 12 in. (300 mm.), it increases to 20 in. (500 mm.) in Hebron, and 28 in. (700 mm.) in the region of the highest elevations, where snowfall is frequent. Accordingly, the larger part of the soil cover (where preserved) in the Hebron Mountains is terra rossa.

The Jerusalem Mountains are about 500 ft. (150 m.) lower on the average than the Hebron and Beth-El Mountains – highest elevation, al-Nabī Samwīl, 2,870 ft. (875 m.) – and form a wide saddle-like region between these sections. This topographical feature somewhat facilitates the ascent from the Coastal Plains to the watershed region, with its settlements and highway, and the descent into the Rift Valley, in particular to Jericho, the most important township of the Valley region throughout history. The Jerusalem Mountains are also intensively dissected into interfluvial ridges. One of these, Mount of Olives – Mount Scopus, immediately east of Jerusalem, forms a conspicuous border with the Judean Desert. The Judean Mountains are drained mainly by the Sorek River, one of the major watercourses of the Central Mountain Massif. The Sorek River discharges into the Mediterranean, and its markedly meandering valley proved sufficiently wide for the construction of the railway connecting Jerusalem with the Coastal Plains.

The Beth-El Mountains, covering an area similar in size to that of the Jerusalem Mountains – about 9 mi. (15 km.) in length – rise to summit heights exceeding 3,300 ft. (1,000 m.) – Baal-Hazor, 3,332 ft. (1,016 m.). One of their most important characteristics is that the watershed attains considerable width there. A road along one of the interfluves extending to the west (Beth-Horon Ridge) was formerly the main approach to Jerusalem from the Coastal Plains and consequently of particular strategic importance.

The Judean Desert. According to its appearance, the Judean Desert could be regarded as a northward extension of the arid Negev lands that border on it at the valley of the Ḥemar River. Genetically, however, it belongs to the orographic types of deserts, whose aridity – much less pronounced than in "true" deserts – is due mainly to the fact that the area is situated on the leeward side of the massive and high Judean Mountains, which intercept the rain-bearing winds. This effect is made more pronounced by the steepness of the eastern flank of the Judean anticlinoria toward the Dead Sea–Jordan Rift Valley, about 1,000–1,300 ft. (300–400 m.) below sea level. Actually, only the lower portions of this flank are arid. Even there, the larger part of the area receives more than 4 in. (100 mm.) of rain per annum – Jericho receives about 6 in. (150 mm.) – whereas on the upper portions the precipitation decreases gradually from about 16 in. (400 mm.) near the watershed region to the amounts mentioned above. The Judean Desert also comprises the eastern flank of the Samarian Mountains up to the wide valley of Wadi Fāriʿa and the spur of Qeren Sartaba protruding from the Samarian Mountains into the Jordan Rift Valley. It differs markedly from the Judean Mountains in lithology as well as in structure and is composed predominantly of chalky formations younger in origin than those forming the bulk of the Judean Mountains. In contrast to the latter, faulting – syngenetical with that which created the Dead Sea-Jordan Rift Valley – exerted a great influence upon the configuration of this desert, particularly by creating the step-like descent toward the Rift Valley. The relative imperviousness of the bedrock, the much lower resistance to erosion, and the steep overall declivity caused by a difference in elevation of about 4,000 ft. (1,200 m.) from the watershed zone to the Dead Sea, over a distance of only 19 mi. (30 km.) result in most of the precipitation turning into highly erosive runoff. Consequently, the Judean Desert represents a "mountain wilderness," an apparently chaotic landscape of innumerable valleys of all kinds. Many of them are canyons cut in harder rock exposed along the flexures and fault lines (Ẓeʾelim, Agurot, Mishmar), whereas the higher-lying portions form a maze of mostly flat-topped hills (some of which are famous as sites of ancient fortresses such as Herodium and Masada). In the Ḥatrurim area these hills impart to the landscape the appearance of badlands. It was mainly this type of relief, the absence of productive soils of the terra rossa type, and the very short duration and scantiness of the vegetation cover – almost excluding trees and actually confined to a few weeks during the rainy season – that throughout historical times rendered it a region of "desolation" and a refuge for fugitives from the law and prevented any permanent settlement or the establishment of communication networks.

Shephelah. Topographically, the Shephelah represents a transition zone between the Coastal Plains and the Hebron and Jerusalem Mountains. It is relatively narrow – about 8 mi. (13 km.) – in proportion to its south-north extension – about 35 mi. (60 km.). Though they form the foothills of the Judean Mountains, the Shephelah hills differ from the former in almost all respects. Structurally, they form a major synclinal part of the south Judean anticlinorium, composed mainly of chalky formations of Senonian-Eocene origin. Hypsographically, the Shephelah consists of two parts: a western one (the "Low Shephelah"), rising to a height of about 600 ft. (200 m.) above the Coastal Plains, and an eastern one (the "High Shephelah") about 600 ft. (200 m.) higher than the former. On the north the Shephelah borders on the tectonically conditioned Aijalon Valley, one of the main natural approaches to the Judean Mountains. The Shephelah is a region of gently sloped hills separated by the confluents of the major rivers descending into the area from the Judean Mountains. At their entrance into the Shephelah, these rivers, and several of their tributaries, form relatively wide-floored valleys that run for a considerable stretch along the border between the hill and the mountain region. Passage between these longitudinal valleys is relatively convenient, and this natural communication channel has been very important throughout history.

The Samarian Mountains. Morphotectonically, the Samarian Mountains (less frequently referred to as the Ephraim Mountains) form a transitional link between the massive Judean Mountains, which are influenced little by faulting, and those of the Galilees, where faulting has all but obliterated the other tectonic elements. No topographic features form any pronounced boundary between the two parts of the Central Mountain Massif, and it is only by convention that the upper reaches of the Shiloh River – a tributary of the Yarkon – are used for this demarcation. Structurally, the Samarian Mountains consist of two main parts: an eastern anticlinal one, built up of Cretaceous formations, and a synclinal western one, consisting mainly of rocks of Eocene origin. Characteristically, the highest elevations are found in the latter part. Here the twin mountains of Ebal and Gerizim attain heights of 3,083 ft. (940 m.) and 2,890 ft. (881 m.), respectively. Northward, approaching the valleys of Beth-Shean and Jezreel, respectively, elevations become progressively smaller – about 1,300 ft. (400 m.) above sea level. The structure and its morphological expression are mainly influenced by faulting, which produced tectonic valleys and almost enclosed basins (the latter additionally affected and shaped by solution processes). Sequences of short ranges and mountain blocks thus rise steeply above their flat surroundings, which sometimes form relatively extensive intramontane plains. Thus, the wide tectonic valley of Shechem (Nablus) separates Ebal from Gerizim and continues eastward as Wadi Fāriʿa, which separates the southern, higher part of the Samarian Mountains from the spurs of a much lower northern part. The broad, tectonic valley of Dothan delimits the Samarian Mountains, in the narrow sense, in the direction of the Carmel, whereas in the interior parts, several wide alluvia-filled basins (Emek Shiloh, the Lubban Valley, Emek Hamikhmetat, and the largest of them, Marj Sānūr) endow the region with some features characteristic of Lower Galilee. The shorter distance between the Samarian Mountains and the sea, with no intervening foothill region, the many and wide valley openings, and the smaller amount of depression in the Rift Valley bordering it to the east resulted in a Mediterranean climate for almost all of Samaria, except for a narrow belt adjacent to the Jordan Rift, where semiarid conditions still prevail. Samaria receives larger amounts of precipitation than the Judean Mountains – 28–36 in. (700–800 mm.) annual average rainfall – and the soil cover (terra rossa and rendzina) is also much more continuous. There is a great deal of evidence that considerable parts of Samaria were once covered by woods.

Mount Gilboa. According to its situation and structure, Mount Gilboa represents a direct continuation of the Samarian Mountains, although almost separated from the main body of these mountains by the Jenin Plain – an extension of the Jezreel Plain. It is bordered on the east and southeast by steep fault-scarps, which, together with some outcrops of volcanic rocks, indicate the complex tectonic processes that caused the separation of the Samarian from the Galilee Mountains, also resulting in the formation of the Harod-Jezreel Valley. Composed of Eocene strata, with outcrops of Senonian ones on the northeast side, the surface here is mostly barren, block-strewn, and covered by soil in patches only – probably as the result of intensive slopewash and consequent soil erosion, mainly caused by the difference in elevations of about 1,600 ft. (500 m.) over a distance of only about a mile between the mountain crest and the floor of the surrounding valleys. Precipitation amounts to about 18 in. (450 mm.) on the annual average. The barrenness of the Gilboa, in such strong contrast to the once forested landscapes of Samaria, may serve as the factual background to the explanation of the well-known biblical curse laid upon this mountain. Nowhere in Cisjordan is there such a concentration of springs, some very abundant in discharge, as is found at the bases of the fault escarpments of the Gilboa (Ein Moda, Ein Ḥumah, Ein Amal, En-Harod). These are now one of the most important sources of irrigation for the Harod and Beth-Shean Valleys.

Carmel Mountain. To the northwest a highland body branches off from the Samarian Mountains, differing from the latter in many respects, particularly in structure. In the regional literature of Cisjordan, this branch is usually referred to as the Carmel, although it consists of three very distinct parts of very different structure, lithology, topography, and consequent relief features. The Carmel, therefore, represents a triplet mountain body about 35 mi. (60 km.) long along its median axis and stretching southeast-northwest – a single major occurrence within Cisjordan, although recurring in some lesser ranges. Its general shape is that of an elongated triangle, the relatively short base of which is formed by the Dothan Valley, separating it from Samaria, with the two long sides facing the northern Sharon Plain on the west and the Plain of Haifa and the Jezreel Valley on the northeast. The apex of this triangle – the Carmel headland – abuts almost immediately on the Mediterranean; this is a feature that recurs only at Rosh ha-Nikrah. All the flanks of the mountain, as well as those of its parts, exhibit high and steep slopes, mainly created by faulting, rising abruptly above the adjacent plains. The three subunits of the Carmel (from southeast to northwest) are the Umm al-Faḥm Block, separated from Samaria by the wide Dothan Valley; the Manasseh region, disjointed from the former by the tectonically conditioned Iron Valley; and the Carmel, in the narrow sense, its largest component, separated from the Manasseh region by the Jokneam–Tut Valley sequence, also of tectonic origin.

The Umm al-Faḥm Block (lately also called the Amir Range) forms a quadrangle-shaped plateau, whose undulating surface provides a gradual descent toward the southwest. Toward its northeast confines, the plateau becomes higher, with bolder relief, and ends in a scarp descent facing the Jezreel Valley. Structurally, it represents an upwarped and uplifted part of the Carmel and accordingly consists of resistant Cenomanian limestone and dolomite formations framed at the periphery of the block by formations of Turonian age. Relatively large areas are covered by basalts and volcanic tuff, a lithological feature recurring in the two other subunits of the Carmel. It receives a mean annual precipitation of about 20 in. (500 mm.) and the prevailing soils are of terra rossa type. There are very scanty remains of forests, and still larger areas covered by maquis, their degraded forms, indicate that in the past extensive areas here were wooded. With the exception of its southernmost part, the area is drained almost exclusively by tributaries of the Kishon River.

The region of Manasseh, similar in its quadrangular outline to that of Umm al-Faḥm, contrasts with it in almost all other respects. Composed predominantly of soft Eocene chalks, which also accounts for the scantiness of terra rossa and the wide distribution of rendzina soils in this area, its originally tabular surface became intensively dissected. The dominant relief features of the region are thus hills with moderate slopes rising to relatively small heights above the valley floors. The overall height of the region above sea level is about 600 ft. (200 m.) less than than Umm al-Faḥm Block and still less than that of the Carmel. Its slopes to the Jezreel Valley are also far lower and less steep and continuous than those of the two adjacent units. Due to the relative impermeability of the surface rock, and consequently the considerable percentage of runoff and particularly the erodibility of the bedrock, the drainage net is rather dense, flowing to the Kishon River in the north and to Ha-Tanninim ("Crocodile") and Daliyyah Rivers in the south, both of which discharge directly into the Mediterranean.

The singularity of the Carmel within Cisjordan – used in the Scriptures, together with Mount Tabor, as a paradigm of beautiful mountainous scenery – is based on the following factors: it appears as a very regularly shaped mountain block, well defined on all its sides, and conspicuously elevated above the surrounding plain; it is the only major mountain – about 22 mi. (35 km.) long along its central axis – in Cisjordan with an extended slope rising only a small distance from the Mediterranean; its apex forms a most conspicuous headland, and beyond its northern flank the coastline recedes, forming the only true bay of the country; fully exposed on both its flanks to the Mediterranean, it receives large amounts of rain – about 32 in. (800 mm.) per annum – and dew; arboreal vegetation persisted here, due to its great regenerative power, mainly as a result of favorable climatic conditions. Structurally the Carmel represents a sort of counterpart to the Umm al-Faḥm Block. It, too, was upwarped and uplifted and is mainly composed of Cenomanian-Turonian limestones and dolomites. Volcanic outcrops, in particular tuff, are relatively widespread, and the latter greatly influence the form of valleys. Whereas the valleys incised into the hard, intensively jointed calcareous rocks are deep, narrow, and have steep slopes – frequently actually minor canyons (Naḥal Me'arot, Daliyyah, Oren), those which developed in the tuffs are conspicuously wide and flat-floored, and exhibit relatively gentle valley slopes (Kerem Maharal, Shefeyah Valley). The calcareous parts are strongly affected by solutional weathering. Thoroughly corroded blocks cover large portions of the surfaces, and many of the almost perpendicular valley slopes contain caves, some of which are of considerable prehistoric importance. The Carmel is strongly affected by faulting, which not only gave rise to the almost uninterrupted slopes descending steeply to the Haifa Plain and to the Jezreel Valley and less pronounced ones along the Jokneam trough, which separates it from the Manasseh region, but also strongly influenced the relief of its interior parts. Faulting here gave rise to several depressions and had a major influence upon the course of some of the valleys. The Carmel, like its adjacent mountain units, consists of two topographically differentiated parts: a higher one, its summit region, along its northeast flank – from Rosh ha-Carmel, 1,790 ft. (546 m.), to the somewhat lower Keren ha-Carmel – referred to in regional literature as the "High Carmel," and a far larger part sloping down to the Carmel Coast, the "Low Carmel." The latter consists mainly of broad interfluves, created by the many valleys descending to the Coastal Plain. The drainage net is characteristically varied in catchment area and pattern, in close accordance with the relief differentiation described above. The divide between the watercourses descending on the northeastern slopes and tributary to the Kishon runs a very small distance from the scarp rim. The valleys of these watercourses are short and relatively straight and are joined by very few tributaries. The watercourses running west and draining more than three-quarters of the total area of the Carmel are more numerous and intensely ramified, particularly the Oren and Daliyyah Rivers. Toward the south the Carmel juts out into the Plain of Sharon and up to the valley of the Ha-Tanninim River in a large spur separated from the main body by the valley of the Daliyyah River. Called the Zikhron Ya'akov

Mountains, after the principal settlement, the spur encloses the Carmel Coastal Plain to the west and separates it from the Plain of Binyaminah, a northward extension of the Sharon.

THE VALLEY SEQUENCE. From the Jordan Rift Valley to the coast of the Mediterranean, Cisjordan is traversed by an east-west sequence of large, interconnected, elongated basins that are of preeminent physio- and anthropogeographical importance. These are the Harod Valley, named after its main water artery, the Harod River; the Jezreel Plain, the largest component of the sequence; and the Plain of Haifa, which, genetically, forms the continental terminal part of this tectonic trough and continues westward as the Bay of Haifa. The three basins form relatively wide plains, enclosed on their southern and northern sides by abruptly rising, steep mountains, and constitute a marked discontinuity within the Cisjordan highlands north of the Beersheba Basin. The vale sequence subdivides the highlands very conspicuously into two main mountain complexes: a larger, southern one (Judean Mountains, Samarian Mountains, and Carmel) and a northern one, approximately one-third the size of the former, the Galilees.

The Harod Valley. The Harod Valley – the easternmost component of the sequence – represents, hypsographically, topographically, climatically, and lithologically, a westward salient of the Beth-Shean Valley. There is no major relief feature that could serve as demarcation between these two units; therefore the travertine terraces, more correctly their remnants near Beth-Shean, are used by convention for this purpose. Their correlative characteristics are as follows: the surface of the eastern part of the funnel-shaped vale gradually descends to below sea level and merges imperceptibly with the depression of the Beth-Shean and Jordan Valleys; temperatures and precipitation (in both amount and distribution) are very similar to those of the Beth-Shean Valley; a close likeness of the soil cover in two valleys, particularly in the types resulting from decomposition of basalts and travertine; the already mentioned abundance of springs, particularly at the foot of the Gilboa scarps. In the past the Harod Valley was partly covered by swamps due to the relative impermeability of some of its soil cover, heavy flooding by the many watercourses reaching it from the nearby high, steep mountain enclosure, and the incapacity of the bed of the Harod to contain the floodwaters. The many springs were an additional cause of swamp formation.

The Jezreel Valley. The largest of all intramontane basins in Cisjordan is the Valley of Jezreel, formerly also known as the Plain of Armageddon (after the fortress of Megiddo, which was renowned in the annals of the Fertile Crescent). Roughly triangular in shape, it is bordered on the southwest by the Carmel, Manasseh Plateau, and the Umm al-Faḥm Block; on the north by the Lower Galilee Mountains; and on the east, discontinuously, by Mount Tabor, Givat ha-Moreh, and the Gilboa Mountains. The shape of this valley is straight only along the Carmel; at the other borders there are several embayment-like extensions of the plain into the surrounding mountains. The largest of these extensions is the Plain of Jenin, enclosed on the east by the Gilboa and joined on the southwest by the Dothan Valley. Eastward, the Jezreel Valley downgrades imperceptibly in the vicinity of Afulah into the Harod Valley and intrudes deeply into the Lower Galilee Mountains, separating their outliers, Mount Tabor and Givat ha-Moreh, by the wide Chesulloth Plain. The Jezreel Valley is connected at its apex with the Haifa Plain by a narrow passage 1,600 ft. (500 m.) wide created by the valley of the Kishon (at Kiryat Ḥaroshet) near the site of Bet She'arim, between the Carmel and the Lower Galilee Mountains. The winding course of the Kishon River begins near Afulah, less than 230 ft. (70 m.) above sea level and at a distance of about 25 mi. (40 km.) from the Mediterranean, into which it discharges. In the past it was inadequate to drain the valley, particularly in the rainy season. Its many affluents from the enclosing mountains, which receive about 8 in. (200 mm.) more precipitation than the Jezreel Valley, together with the many local topographic depressions and poorly permeable alluvial heavy soil cover, turned a large part of the valley into swamps. Consequently, it was sparsely populated and little utilized agriculturally. Only after the marshes were drained and malaria, once endemic in this area, eradicated, did the valley become the area of the most intensive and continuous cultivation within the mountain zone of Cisjordan. The physiognomy of the Jezreel Valley, and to some extent also of the Harod Valley, is largely determined by the two massive, high mountain blocks rising abruptly above the plain; Mount Tabor and Givat ha-Moreh. Pronouncedly isolated from each other and from the highlands to the north and south, their summits attain heights of over 1,600 ft. (500 m.) above sea level and only slightly less above the surrounding plain. Because of the almost perfect dome shape of Mount Tabor, it was, together with the Carmel, often used to exemplify the beauty of mountainous scenery. Differing as they do in lithological structure (limestones and dolomites in Mount Tabor, outcrops of volcanic rocks in Givat ha-Moreh), these two mountains probably represent remnants of a highland zone connecting the Samarian Mountains with those of the Galilees that was shattered by the tectonic movements, which also formed the entire basin sequence.

Haifa Plain. Despite its being a part of the Coastal Plains, according to its situation and surface configuration, the Haifa Plain (formerly referred to also as the Zebulun Plain) morphotectonically represents the westernmost unit of the vale sequence. The plain continues in its submerged part as the Bay of Haifa. Accordingly, the interior part of the plain, east of the dune belt, is covered by heavy alluvial soils with very little *ḥamra*. Drainage here was also greatly impeded, mainly by the dune belt (as evidenced by the deferred debouchures of its two main streams, Kishon and Na'aman), and marsh areas persisted up to the time of Jewish colonization.

THE GALILEE MOUNTAINS. Occupying a smaller area than the Judean or the Samarian Highlands, the Galilee Mountains are nevertheless far more complex in lithology, structure, and consequently morphology. Basalts (there is even a remnant of a true volcano – Karnei Ḥittin, the "Horns" of Ḥittin) cover large tracts in the eastern parts, a feature recurring only in Transjordan. This cover imparts to several of its landscapes a peculiar plateau-like relief of great uniformity, in vivid contrast to areas of much more variegated configuration in the west, where the surfaces consist of calcareous rocks. Faulting, however, has exerted a far more decisive influence. In the Negev and in the Central Highlands, fold structures are found almost everywhere and are visually recognizable as the most important tectonic element that determines the relief of the region even in its minor features. In the Galilees, however, the influence of fold structures upon the relief is largely upset, permuted, and even inverted by faulting. Tectonic activity seems to be continuing at present, as evidenced by the relatively frequent, and sometimes strong, earthquakes affecting the region. Generally characteristic of the landscape of the Galilees as a whole are closely spaced sequences of basins or valleys and mountain ranges that are uplifted unequally and thus tilted, so that one slope is much steeper than the opposite. Here mountain blocks, separated from their surroundings by faults and upthrusting, constitute some of the highest summit regions of Cisjordan. Since the prevailing direction of the major fault lines is west–east, the general trend of Galilean ranges follows this direction, in strong contrast to the Central Mountain Zone's prevailing meridional trend and particularly to the Judean Mountains, where a continuous watershed zone running south–north emphasizes the compactness of this body. Tectonic conditions, resulting in an increase of rock exposures, and the relatively large amounts of precipitation produced relatively abundant karst features in the Galilees. Among these there are simple and complex dolines (small solution basins), sinkholes, even a large polje, and caves several of which contain speleothems (stalactites, stalagmites, etc.) or, they are caves which are of prime importance as prehistoric sites. Thus, lithologically, and still more so morphologically, the Galilees form the most contrasted and variegated mountain province (excluding the Eilat Mountains) of Cisjordan. Although strongly disjointed by the numerous basins, tectonic valleys, and uplifted blocks, the Galilee may be clearly subdivided into two main regions: a southern one of comparatively moderate height, Lower Galilee, and a northern one, separated from the first by an extended tectonic valley (Valley of Beth-Cherem), and rising immediately behind it to maximum summit heights in Cisjordan, Upper Galilee.

Lower Galilee. The Lower Galilee Highlands, which rise abruptly and steeply from the vale sequence in an in- and outcurving front, are markedly subdivided into an eastern part and a western one. The first is characterized by a widespread basalt cover of considerable thickness that buried a former, probably intensively sculptured relief, turning the area into groups of plateau-topped mountain bodies. This landscape, which is geologically recent, is now subject to vigorous dissection by rivers (many of them perennial) that discharge into Lake Kinneret or into the Jordan (Ammud, Ẓalmon, Ha-Yonim and Tabor Rivers). They flow through deeply incised gorges created by their great erosive power, resulting from very considerable height differences between their respective source regions and their places of debouchure, which are respectively about 700 ft. (200 m.) above and 800 ft. (250 m.) below sea level and are only 12 mi. (20 km.) apart. The rivers also subdivide eastern Lower Galilee into many units, several of which form small plateaus, rising steplike, one above the other (Kokhav – the site of the Crusader fortress of Belvoir – and the Jabneel-Kefar Tabor plateau are the largest of them). In the other two-thirds of Lower Galilee, the surface rock consists of limestone (subject to strong solutional processes and to the formation of karstic features, such as dolines, sinkholes, caverns), chalk and marl, generally intensively interbedded. In this part of Lower Galilee almost all of the landforms bear visible evidence of the decisive role played by faulting in determining the relief of the present landscape.

Central Galilee consists of a series of basins, separated by generally narrower ranges, usually representing remnants, partially uplifted portions, of the former highland surface. The series begins with the Plain of Jezreel, which, from the general morphotectonic point of view, represents the foreland of Lower Galilee. It is separated from the Tiran Basin by the abruptly rising, steeply sloping Nazareth Mountains. Beyond the Tiran Basin lies that of Beit Netofah (the largest one), separated from the Tiran Basin by the Tiran Range. The Tiran Basin now contains a large storage lake, part of the National Water Carrier System. It is bordered on the north by the Yodefat Range, which, in turn, separates it from the Sakhnīn Basin. The Shezor (Sājūr) Ridge extends north of the Sakhnīn Basin, near the boundary valley of Beth-Cherem, beyond which the first group of the Upper Galilee Mountains rises, wall-like to heights exceeding 3,280 ft. (1,000 m.). The interbasin ranges are not compact, but rather form series of rounded hills separated by wide saddles, being the short fluviatile valleys of tributaries of the major rivers that drain the basins (Ẓippori and Ḥillazon Rivers). The rivers draining the basins, however, were inadequate to collect and carry off the waters flowing down to them from the enclosing ridges. Large areas of them were flooded during the rainy season and the thick cover of heavy soils, mainly a product of slope erosion, greatly impeded infiltration. In addition to the flatness of the basin floors, the sluggishness of the flow of waters in their main channels, due to the very small gradient, strongly enhanced marshy conditions.

Upper Galilee. Most of the essential differences between the Lower and the Upper Galilee are conspicuous at their boundary, Valley of Beth-Cherem, one of the most distinct morphotectonic border zones of Cisjordan. Here, without any transition, the slopes of several mountain blocks rise abruptly to the highest summit heights in Cisjordan – Mount ha-Ari, 3,434 ft. (1,047 m.), Mount Kefir, 3,221 ft. (982 m.) – culminating slightly to the north in the three summits of the Meron Block with heights of 3,621, 3,745, and 3,962 ft. (1,104, 1,151, and 1,208 m.). Structurally these mountains, as well as the majority of the mountains throughout Upper Galilee, are horsts, i.e., blocks separated from their surroundings by faults and partially uplifted to very considerable heights. The relative abundance of the horsts, which predominate over other tectonic structures, seems to be a result of the variety of fault directions. Whereas in the Lower Galilee the major fault lines generally trend east–west, conditioning the pattern of basins and intervening ranges that follow the same directions in Upper Galilee, faults running in these directions are intersected obliquely or even at right angles by other faults. This is one of the prime causes of the isolation of the individual blocks and their apparently random pattern. The difference in height between the blocks is primarily the result of the amount of uplift rather than of different rates of denudation. The Upper Galilee Highlands, as a whole, slope down to the northwest, and their lowest parts, already within the boundaries of Lebanon (Lebanese Galilee), are adjacent to the Qasimiye Valley. Faults also strongly influence the pattern and the individual courses of the valleys, which form almost parallel gorges only several kilometers apart (Ga'aton, Chezib, Beẓet Rivers within Israel; Shamaʿ and ʿArriya in the Lebanese Galilee). In contrast to Lower Galilee, Upper Galilee is predominantly built up of Cenomanian and Turonian limestone formations, framed in the west by a belt of less resistant Senonian ones, which also form the surface rock of the region's intramontane basins. Eocene formations, generally consisting of hard rock sequences, are more extensive in the eastern part of the region. Another important difference between the Lower and Upper Galilee is the much smaller surface covered by basalts in the latter, where they are virtually restricted to some small plateaus (Dalton, Ram Plateaus).

Upper Galilee, being northernmost of all the mountain regions of Cisjordan, with only a narrow coastal plain interposed between it and the Mediterranean to "intercept" the early rains, in particular, and affect their amounts, as in the case of the Judean Mountains, is the region with comparatively the highest precipitation within Cisjordan. Very few parts of the region receive less than 24 in. (600 mm.), while the amount of precipitation on its summit areas exceeds 40 in. (1,000 mm.) annually. Snowfall occurs almost yearly. The large amounts of precipitation combined with the hard, intensively jointed limestone bedrock and the abundance of exposed surfaces (the result of tectonic shattering and fracturing and of the erosive activity of the watercourses) have made Upper Galilee the region most strongly affected by solution processes. Accordingly, it contains almost a full inventory of subaerial and subsurface karstic features. This is the only area where a sort of "holokarst" has developed, i.e., landscapes whose surfaces are primarily affected by solution and that display almost the whole gamut of specific features. Large surfaces are rilled and corroded into a maze of small, sharp-crested ridgelets separated by even narrower minute channels (lapies). Dolines are widespread (particularly in the vicinity of Sa'sa and Alma) as are sinkholes, many of which are tens of meters deep. This is also the site of the only large "true" polje within Cisjordan, i.e., a basin of considerable size (Kadesh Naphtali), mainly a product of solution. Upper Galilee is, in addition, the site of the most abundant and intricate caves in Ereẓ Israel (some of which include a full inventory of speleothems – stalactites, stalagmites, stalagnates, dripstone-draperies, etc.).

The same basic conditions – the large amounts of precipitation and the prevalence of limestone-dolomite surface rock – produced a relatively continuous cover of terra rossa on most moderately sloping areas. These conditions also apply to the relatively large areas of forest, which have great regenerative ability, so that even in the past, when forests were utterly depleted through man's agency, considerable parts of Upper Galilee remained covered by high-grade maquis.

Upper Galilee is an analogue of Lower Galilee in its physiographic subdivision, on the basis of lithological and morphotectonic conditions. The eastern part of Upper Galilee was apparently affected by faulting to a smaller extent, imparting to the landscape a more uniform aspect than in the adjacent parts. Several areas form small plateaus, mainly due to their basalt cover. Basins of considerable size, as well as relatively long mountain ranges, running almost unbroken and not partitioned into isolated blocks, are found here. One of these, the Naphtali Range, with summits over 2,900 ft. (900 m.) high, extends almost due north up to the Qasimiye River. Its eastward slope is precipitous – 1,600 ft. (500 m.) difference in height over a distance of only about a mile – a marked fault-scarp facing the upper Jordan Valley, the Ḥuleh Basin and the Marj ʿAyyūn Basin farther north. Plateau-like on its top surfaces, and strongly affected by karstification, the Naphtali Range forms a wall-like enclosure around the Ḥuleh Basin, uninterrupted by major valleys, and a pronounced watershed zone between this basin and the rivers draining to the Mediterranean. South of this range lies the Safed region, flanked on its east by Mount Canaan and on the west by the dominant Meron Block. Here the surface is divided into individual mountain groups, due largely to the numerous steeply incised valleys of the tributaries of the Ammud River. The central Upper Galilee Highlands are separated from the eastern Highlands by the gorge of the Ammud River, running almost due north-south. Here, as in the portion extending southward to the Beth-Cherem Valley, typical Mediterranean mountain scenery reaches its climax within Cisjordan. Slopes, mostly terraced, rise from deep valley gorges to heights surpassing 3,000 ft. (1,000 m.) above sea level. Covered by patches of trees or scrub growth, they culminate in the gently domed summits of large mountain bodies such as Mount ha-Ari, Mount Hillel, and Mount Addir, which are overshadowed by the summit region of the massive Mount Meron. The western part of Upper Galilee, much lower in absolute and relative heights, is characterized primarily by a large number of valleys (originating in the Central Highlands). As noted earlier, the valleys are very closely spaced, and form deep gorges in their upper and middle reaches (Chezib and Beẓet in the Israeli part of the area and Samara, Shamaʿ, and ʿAzziyya in the Lebanese). These intensively dissected highlands mainly form extended interfluve ranges, the widest of which, the Ḥanitah-Rosh ha-Nikrah Range, ends with a headland into the Mediterranean (Rosh ha-Nikrah).

RIFT VALLEY. The Rift Valley, within Ereẓ Israel, is part of the approximately 3,700 mi. (6,000 km.) Rift Valley system that begins in Africa near the Zambezi Valley and peters out north of the Amanus Mountains. The Red Sea and its two gulfs, Eilat and Suez, are submerged parts of the system, whereas in Ereẓ Israel, as mentioned earlier, the Rift Valley is the prime determining factor of a complex of morphotectonic features unique in the world. Some of the tectonic movements that generated the Rift Valley seem to be still active here, as proved by the frequent earthquakes affecting the valley and the adjacent regions. Other evidence is provided by the many hot springs along the boundaries of the Rift Valley, indicating the presence of near-surface magmatic bodies. Geologically recent volcanic activity also played a major role in forming the basic surface configuration of the valley and its adjacent regions. Streams of lava, extruding mainly in the Bashan (particularly in the Hauran and Golan), formed an almost continuous basalt cover extending as far as to the south of the Yarmuk Valley. The lava moved down into the northern part of the present Jordan Valley, consolidated, and dammed up the valley, thus differentiating it into the Ḥuleh Valley – the head part of the Jordan River system – and a section lying about 800 ft. (250 m.) lower, at present occupied by Lake Kinneret. A vast inland sea covered the Rift Valley floor in the Middle Pleistocene, extending from the present Lake Kinneret to far beyond the southern shores of the Dead Sea. It is termed the Lashon (Lisān) Lake after the wide peninsula, or "tongue" (Heb. *lashon*; Ar. *lisān*), that protrudes into the present Dead Sea and divides it into two basins connected by a narrow strait. The level of the Lashon Lake was once about 700 ft. (200 m.) higher than that of the Dead Sea. Sediments deposited on the floor of the Lashon Lake (accordingly called the Lashon formation) – overlying very thick sediment accumulations of former lake formations, which appeared and disappeared in accordance with climatic variations during the Pliocene and Lower Pleistocene eras, and other fill-in material – are of very specific character. They consist of thinly layered clastic material, particularly clays, and evaporites, i.e., sediments produced by chemical precipitation caused mainly by evaporation. With the gradual regression of the Lashon Lake (evidenced by the many terraces along the Dead Sea slope enclosures marking the former coastlines), the Lashon formation sediments were bared. These sediments, covering the floor and the slope bases of the Rift Valley from Lake Kinneret in the north to Ein Ḥaẓevah about 20 mi. (30 km.) south of the Dead Sea, are easily eroded and thus condition microreliefing processes of the highest intensity. These processes create mazes of badlands containing almost the entire gamut of configuration features in miniature, due mainly to the innumerable gullies that dissect this former floor of the Lashon Lake. Another extremely important lithological characteristic of the Rift Valley is the abundance of rock salt and gypsum forming the bedrock of prominent features (e.g., Mount Sodom).

The Rift Valley, sunk in, troughlike, in some places to considerable depths below the sea level, forms a unique climatic region with very distinct characteristics and exerting great influence upon its adjacent zones. Climatic conditions in the Rift Valley have a decisive influence on the surface relief of its southern and central parts, i.e., from the Gulf of Eilat to Lake Kinneret. The Rift Valley receives very small amounts of precipitation, as it is leeward of the moisture-bearing winds coming from the Mediterranean, due to the interposition of the highlands of Cisjordan. Precipitation averages 1 in. (25 mm.) annually at Eilat, 2 in. (50 mm.) at the southern end, and less than 4 in. (100 mm.) at the northern end of the Dead Sea and gradually increases to approximately 12 in. (300 mm.) annually at Lake Kinneret, the terminal area of the depression below sea level. North of Lake Kinneret, where the Rift Valley floor is well above the level of the Mediterranean, precipitation is 16 in. (400 mm.) annually, imparting to this section subhumid characteristics. The topographical conditions that influence the amounts of precipitation are also the major reason for the generally extreme temperatures and their variations in the Rift Valley. Geomorphologically more important than the temperatures themselves, which frequently reach the highest values within Ereẓ Israel, is the extreme evaporation potential they cause, which greatly influences the bedrock and the processes affecting it, particularly weathering. The abovementioned climatic conditions, together with particular lithological conditions (the high proportion of evaporites), have resulted in large parts of the Rift Valley being devoid of proper soil and vegetational cover, and these develop here only under specific hydrographic or hydrological conditions. The Jordan, for instance, from its exit from Lake Kinneret almost up to its debouchure, is accompanied by a dense gallery forest covering its floodplain. In the vicinity of springs and in areas where topographical conditions cause the formation of salt marshes a type of tree oasis is common.

Hydrographically, the Rift Valley is a vast endoreic basin (i.e., without a discharge outlet to the sea), presently in a state of equilibrium between the amount of inflow from its catchment area – about 15,500 sq. mi. (40,000 sq. km.) in area – and the amount of loss caused by evaporation and infiltration. The level of the Dead Sea, its discharge terminal, does not change in height appreciably from year to year. From the physiographical, and particularly morphotectonic, points of view, the portion of the Rift Valley within Ereẓ Israel may be subdivided into the following major units (dealt with here according to their south-north sequence, which to some degree also follows their genetical order of succession): Arabah, Dead Sea Region, Ḥuleh Basin, and the Jordan Sources Region.

Arabah. North of the Red Sea and the Gulf of Eilat, the Great Rift Valley again becomes a continental feature. Its first portion here extends for about 100 mi. (160 km.) up to the Dead Sea, constituting the longest and largest Rift unit within Ereẓ Israel. It is relatively narrow, as its maximum width is only about 12 mi. (20 km.), and, according to its topography (especially its hydrographic conditions), it consists of two parts. The southern part, about 43 mi. (70 km.) long, ascends gradually from the Eilat coast to a divide between the latter and the Dead Sea about 600 ft. (200 m.) above sea level. From here the valley floor slopes down to below sea level in its last third and merges with the large salt marsh at the southern shore of the Dead Sea. This northern area is drained by the Arabah River and its many tributaries, whereas the southern area lacks any organized drainage, particularly any distinct river channel discharging into the Gulf of Eilat. Another significant characteristic of the southern portion of the Arabah is several major topographical depressions that function as discharge terminals for various very short, sporadic watercourses flowing in shallow, indistinct, rill-like beds and for the sheet floods occurring after each heavy rain.

Southern Arabah. The southern section of the Arabah is bordered by the coast of Eilat-Akaba, which is less than 6 mi. (10 km.) long and runs southwest-northeast. This coast differs in several respects from that bordering the Mediterranean. It is covered by coarse sands and shingle, created by the disintegration of magmatic rocks and Nubian Sandstone, which compose the mountains framing the Gulf of Eilat and the Arabah and by fragments of corals and associated organisms that populate the Gulf. The widely distributed beachrock consists mainly of pebbly material deposited on the coast by the rivers descending from the crystalline Eilat Mountains and their Transjordanian counterpart, the Edom Mountains, in addition to the above-mentioned organogenic material. After somewhat protracted or concentrated rainfall, the coastal part of the Arabah is frequently flooded. In the absence of discharge channels it becomes a kind of playa (i.e., salty marsh) that, after its ensuing desiccation, exhibits wide areas of polygonal clay shards encrusted by salt crystals. Farther north the floor of the Arabah is covered by detritus of various sizes reaching a depth of more than 3,300 ft. (1,000 m.). This layer has been deposited by numerous streambeds that carry only floodwaters (from Roded, Shekhoret, Amram, Reḥam, and Timna on the western enclosure and Yitm, Mulghān, and Muhtadī on the eastern one). Another very important depositional factor is slope wash and gravitational movements (rockfall, sliding, slumping, particle creep) that continuously take place on the mountain slopes flanking the Arabah, which lack stabilization by soil and vegetational cover. These slopes, as mentioned earlier, are lithologically heterogeneous. In the southern part of the Cisjordan Arabah, they are composed mainly of magmatic-metamorphic rocks and Nubian Sandstone (Eilat and Timna Massifs); farther north limestones and dolomites prevail. The Transjordanian side of the mountainous enclosure consists predominantly of crystalline rocks and Nubian Sandstone.

The floor of the southern part of the Arabah is not flat. It is differentiated by many rises and wide shallow depressions. The former originate in alluvial fans spreading out widely into the Arabah at the exits of all the valleys. The fans on the east side are generally more numerous, larger, and longer as a result of the larger supply of detritus. The abundance of this supply is conditioned by several factors. The mountains bordering the Arabah to the east are much higher than the Negev Highlands and receive far larger amounts of precipitation because of their westerly exposure. These two factors endow the watercourses descending from the eastern side with considerably greater erosive power. In addition, the bedrock there, which consists of crystalline rock and sandstones almost along the entire extension of this flank, is subject to intensive disintegration under the prevailing arid conditions and supplies the watercourses with the bulk of the coarse material that is borne down and deposited at their exit into the Arabah. Thus, on the east side an almost continuous detritus apron of coalesced fans envelops the bases and the lower slopes. Where the fans extend farther into the Arabah or meet fans formed by watercourses from the west side (generally smaller in size), rises or topographical swells originate. The floor between the rises is basin-like; runoff is deflected into these basins with consequent flooding and salt marshes of short duration are formed. In several of these basins (Avronah, Yotvatah, and Sa'idiyin are the largest), halophytic vegetation has developed and even trees are able to subsist on brackish subsurface water. Another characteristic of both the southern and northern Arabah is the relatively wide areas of dunes, particularly between the basins of Yotvatah and Saʿīdiyīn.

Northern Arabah. The northern, larger part of the Arabah, which begins with a wide protrusion of the Paran Plateau into the trough valley, differs in several respects from the southern part. The latter is relatively narrow, limited on the east by the relatively straight and continuous fault scarps of the Edom Highlands and on the west by the irregular outline of the southern Negev Highlands with their many mountain outliers and riverhead cirques. The influence of faulting is less pronounced there. Conversely, the northern Arabah often widens into the mountains bordering it, which are in turn frequently interrupted by wide valleys intruding deeply into the confining mountain flanks. The most significant difference between the southern and the northern parts of the Arabah, however, is the presence of a river course almost throughout the length of the latter. It is very indistinct and erratic, functioning mainly as a collecting artery of the many tributaries joining it from the east and west. The existence of this relatively dense drainage net, although it carries flash-flood waters almost exclusively, precludes the existence of any major basins turning into a salt marsh or extensive dune areas. The bed of the Arabah River, several hundred meters wide, is not contained by any permanent or continuous banks and is defined mainly by the accumulation of pebbles and associated fluviatile material. It does not run along the median axis of this part of the Rift Valley, but consistently deviates westward due to the fans growing and spreading out from the eastern side of the valley. These fans receive more alluvial material than those spreading out from the Negev, due to the greater height, larger amounts of precipitation, and consequently greater erosive and tractive capacities of the Transjordanian affluents.

The northernmost part of the Arabah was covered in the Middle Pleistocene by the Lashon Lake. Its surface accordingly consists mostly of laminated, highly erodible marls. The Arabah River and several others (in particular the Amaẓyahu River, almost parallel in course to the former) have cut spectacular canyons into these sediments, accompanied by labyrinthal badlands. The Arabah River does not reach the Dead Sea through a clearly defined bed channel, but disappears in the Sodom playa – the salt marshes south of the Dead Sea – which is flooded periodically by any considerable rise of the Dead Sea and/or by the rivers that discharge into the Dead Sea. Only one river in this area, however, the Zered (Ḥasāʾ) – delimiting Edom from Moab – has a direct debouchure into the Dead Sea. It drains an area in Transjordan that reaches heights of over 3,280 ft. (1,000 m.), receives over 10 in. (250 mm.) precipitation on the annual average, and is fed by numerous springs. Due to these factors, the Zered exhibits perennial flow up to its entrance into the Rift Valley, and after rains it discharges very large quantities of floodwater. A large spring is also located in that section of the valley through which the Zered flows, and this northeast corner of the Arabah (the region of Zoar) forms a sort of an enclave, characterized by plentiful, almost tropical vegetation.

Dead Sea. The deepest part of the Rift Valley is covered by an inland sea about 50 mi. (80 km.) long, 10 mi. (17 km.) wide, and generally similar in shape to the rift lakes in East Africa. With no outlet to the sea and an inflow of river water balanced by evaporation from its surface area of over 380 sq. mi. (1,000 sq. km.), the salt contents of the sea (mainly magnesium, sodium, and calcium chlorides), carried as solutions by the rivers and the other sources of discharge into it (such as springs with a high mineral content), became progressively concentrated. This salt content now amounts to about 28–33%, depending on the depth of the water layer. The Dead Sea consists of two widely differing parts: a southern, small, and very shallow basin – 20 ft. (6 m.) deep – with a higher percentage of salinity; and a northern basin, over three times the size of the southern one, and considerably deeper than it – about 1,300 ft. (400 m.). The two basins are connected by a strait about 2 mi. (3 km.) wide, formed by the westward protrusion of the Lashon Peninsula into the sea. According to topographical and historical indications, the strait was formerly shallower and probably narrower, and it is assumed that in the geologically recent past the two basins were virtually separated. The Lashon Peninsula rises about 200 ft. (60 m.) above the Dead Sea and was probably formed by diapiric movements of underlying deep-seated salt masses (i.e., an upward thrust of salt deposits rendered plastic and mobile by the pressure exerted on them). Its tabloid surface consists of Lashon Marls, as do the steep sides of the peninsula, which are subject to strong wave abrasion. Except for its northern and southern coast and small stretches along its sides, the Dead Sea does not have any shore flats. It is almost immediately bordered along its entire length by steep slopes that sometimes protrude into the sea and form bold capes (Rās Fashkha, south of the site of Qumran, is the most pronounced). Conversely, many rivers, particularly those coming from the Judean Desert, create rather extensive deltas quite close to the exits of their canyons (Kidron, Daraja, the combined deltas of Mishmar, Ẓeʾelim and Masada). These deltas impart to the western coast its sinuous outline, in contrast to the relatively straight coastline on the eastern side, where the deltas built out into the sea are fewer in number and generally far smaller in size. Thus, e.g., the delta of the Arnon River, second only to the Jordan in the amount of water it supplies to the Dead Sea, is small; when the sea is at its high-water stage, its waters even extend up to the river's canyon exit. Even less pronounced is the subaerial delta of the Zarqā Māʿīn River, the third most important contributor to the Dead Sea. This variance in delta size seems primarily to be the result of the greater depth of the sea floor near its eastern coast, probably a consequence of the major fault line running close to it.

A singular relief feature found on the southeastern side of the sea is Mount Sodom. It rises over 600 ft. (200 m.) above the sea, with jagged, almost perpendicular slopes, close to the water line, and gradually slopes down on its western flank. About 6 mi. (10 km.) long, it is composed mainly of salt and gypsum layers capped by Lashon Marls. The mountain is of diapiric origin, i.e., salt and other evaporites have been squeezed upward along an elongated fault, thus uplifting the overlying sediments and then spreading them out sideways. The great solubility and erodibility of the evaporites, augmented by their strong tendency to form cracks as a result of the enormous stresses exerted on the rock masses when they are thrust up and intensively contorted, resulted in the formation of this almost unique mountain ridge. Closely spaced fissures (continually widened and deepened by solution), washout, and corrasion by gully waters created a multitude of pillar-like features ("Lot's Wife"). Their surfaces are pitted by innumerable hollows, crisscrossed by rills ("salt-lapies"); in their flank facing the Dead Sea caverns developed, one of them an actual cave, connected with the upper mountain surface by a chimney-like conduit. The interior of this cave exhibits a rich inventory of speleothems (stalactites, etc.), somewhat more elaborate than those found in limestone caves.

The Lower Jordan Valley. The Lower Jordan Valley morphogenetically represents the floor of the Lashon Lake laid bare after its recession. The valley of the Jordan progressively developed on this floor, as did the lowermost courses of its tributaries, which formerly discharged into the Lashon Lake.

Hypsographical, lithological, and climatic conditions resulted in the formation of a unique riverscape, connected with and focused on the course of the Jordan River from its exit from Lake Kinneret to its debouchure into the Dead Sea. The Jordan and its tributaries are deeply entrenched in the layers of the Lashon formations, which thicken progressively southward. They did not succeed, although greatly aided by the innumerable gullies that developed on the former Lashon Lake floor, in dissecting and reducing it considerably, so that two distinct surface levels exist along the Lower Jordan Valley. The higher one, generally flat, featureless, and only moderately affected by river dissection, is the remnant of the Lashon Lake floor and is referred to as the Ghor (Kikkar ha-Yarden in Hebrew). On both sides it borders high and steep mountainous slopes, formed mainly by scarps and composed predominantly of hard limestones and dolomites. Near the Jordan course, however, the Ghor becomes intensively dissected by innumerable gullies that turn it into intensive and characteristic badlands. Tens of meters below the Ghor extends the alluvial valley of the Jordan formed by its vertical and lateral erosion and much narrower than the Ghor. The Jordan valley, in the narrow sense, consists of the riverbed, about 80–100 ft. (25–30 m.) wide when not in bankful or overflooding stage, and a discontinuous floodplain covered by a dense gallery forest. Walled in by the steep, intensively gullied badland slopes, it contacts the bases of the mountain slopes enclosing the Rift Valley in only a few places.

The length of the Rift Valley between Lake Kinneret and the Dead Sea is about 65 mi. (105 km.); the course of the Jordan along this part of the Rift Valley, however, is approximately 125 mi. (205 km.). The near doubling in length is the result of the river's intricate meandering, despite the great drop in height between its exit from Lake Kinneret and its entrance into the Dead Sea. Despite its tortuous course, the river's gradient and the velocity of its current are still quite considerable, endowing it with great erosive power – factors which are generally adverse to the full development of a meandering course. The intensive meandering of the Jordan – often cited as an example of the phenomenon – seems causally to be connected with the tributaries joining it, which built out progressively, growing fans into its valley, and thus deviate from its course. The rivers contributing the greatest amounts of discharge to the Lower Jordan are its affluents from the Transjordanian side: the Yarmuk contributes about 17 billion cu. ft. (480 million cu. m.) annual discharge, compared with about almost 18 billion cu. ft. (500 million cu. m.) of the Jordan flowing at their confluence; the Jabbok provides approximately 2 billion cu. ft. (about 60 million cu. m.); the Arabah River, over 1 billion cu. ft. (30 million cu. m.); and the other major tributaries contribute only 210–350 million cu. ft. (6–10 million cu. m.) Because the tributaries coming in from the western side of the valley discharge far less, the Jordan is permanently deflected westward. Another factor in determining the river's course is the larger amounts of river-borne material supplied by the eastern affluents (particularly at the flood stages), due to the greater height at which these rivers originate, the larger amounts of precipitation their catchment areas receive, and consequently their far greater erosive and tractive capacities. In addition, exceedingly large amounts of material are delivered to the river from the Rift floor, particularly from the badland zone. Since this material is deposited within the riverbed, where the current is extremely unequal, irregular, and frequently deviated in its course by the outbuilt fans, the large discharge injections are an additional major factor behind the meandering tendency. Finally, waste movements, activated by undermining the river erosion banks, or even – although far more rarely – by earthquakes, bring vast amounts of debris down into the riverbed. According to both historical and contemporary eyewitnesses, this activity has even caused temporary cessation of the river's flow for some time.

The Lower Jordan Valley is fringed on its eastern side by the high scarp-slopes of the Transjordanian plateaus, which are only insignificantly punctuated by the canyon exits of the rivers descending into the Rift Valley. Less linear in outline is the western enclosure, in which the Jordan tributaries created wide valleys, extending far into the eastern flank of the Judean and particularly the Samarian Mountains (ʿAwjā and Fāriʿa Rivers). Some 18 mi. (30 km.) south of Lake Kinneret, the western mountain enclosure is broken by the tectonic valley of Beth-Shean, which begins the valley sequence traversing the width of Cisjordan. Hypsographically and climatically it represents a transition zone. The valley's level rises progressively from about 800 ft. (250 m.) below sea level at its eastern limit – the Jordan River – to about 300 ft. (100 m.) above sea level at its conjunction with the Harod Valley. Two surface levels exist within this embayment of the Rift Valley: a higher one adjacent to Mount Gilboa and predominantly composed of travertine, precipitated mainly from the many fault-conditioned springs at the base of this mountain; and an eastern, lower one, separated from the former by a step slope (now indistinct because of cultivation), merging imperceptibly with the Ghor. The Beth-Shean and Jordan valleys exhibit semiarid characteristics, mainly as a result of the amounts of precipitation (exceeding 12 in. (300 mm.) on the annual average). Conversely, the prevailing temperatures are still very similar to those in the southern part of the Lower Jordan Valley.

Kinneret Region. The Kinneret Region comprises Lake Kinneret (also called the Sea of Galilee or Lake Tiberias) and the narrow plains situated between it and the high, steep mountain slopes enclosing it to the west and east. To the south the plain into which the Jordan exits from the lake and in which the embouchure of the Yarmuk into the Kinneret is situated merges imperceptibly with the Beth-Shean Valley. The lake, however, covers a larger area – about 70 sq. mi. (170 sq. km.) – than all its surrounding plains combined. Lake Kinneret itself, whose maximum depth is only about 200 ft. (60 m.), was created by complex and protracted tectonic movements involving faulting and volcanic activities (the mountains enclosing the lake are to a large extent covered by basalts). These movements, which seem to continue to this day, as may be inferred from the earthquakes of considerable strength that affect the region from time to time (the town of Tiberias was heavily damaged and about 700 people were killed in the earthquake of 1837) and from the presence of hot springs (Tiberias, al-Ḥamma, the ancient Hammath-Gader, in the Yarmuk Valley). Another indirect source of evidence is the many mineral springs issuing from the lake bottom and contributing considerably to the relatively high salinity of the waters – 300 mg./liter. Fault lines are the main factor behind the pronounced asymmetry of the shoreline. Whereas the eastern shore, conditioned by a fairly meridional fault sequence, runs relatively straight, the western one curves out sharply due to crescent-shaped fault lines. Asymmetry is also characteristic of most of the other features of the lakescape. Steep, high slopes rising almost immediately from the eastern and western sides of the lake face littoral plains on the opposite shores. The northern and southern shores of the lake are also very different in configuration. At its northern tip the Jordan River enters the lake in a complex braided course; several branches of it split up and join alternatively, uniting into a single bed only a small distance from the embouchure. The small river plain thus formed is the head of the al-Buṭayḥa (Bet Ẓayyada) Plain, which extends farther southeast and is composed mainly of the alluvial deposits of six small streams descending from the Golan Heights into the lake. South of this plain, and separated from it by a steep mountain spur, extends the shore plain of Ein Gev, dominated by Mount Susita and progressively widening and finally merging with the Yarmuk Plain.

In bold contrast to the northern and eastern sides of the lake, where alluvial plains are prograded into the lake, the southern shore is subject to incessant, strong abrasion and thus to regrading by the wave activity caused by the prevailing north winds. The recession of the shore is strongly aided by the high erodibility of the Lashon formation materials framing the lake. Into this bedrock, which also contains many basalt outcrops, the Jordan has cut its bed in a course that meanders almost from its exit from the lake. The west side of Lake Kinneret is fringed from the exit of the Jordan up to the debouchure of the Arbel River by a steep slope rising in several steps to about 600–800 ft. (200–250 m.) above the level of the lake – 700 ft. (212 m.) below sea level. A large littoral plain – the plain of Ginnosar – developed only at its northwest corner. This plain was created by the coalescence of deposits brought down from Eastern Galilee by several rivers (Arbel, Zalmon, Ammud).

Huleh Basin and Jordan Source Region. At least two subsequent lava flows, descending from the Golan Heights into the Rift Valley north of the present Kinneret Lake and consolidating there, formed a basalt sill that dammed up the flow of the Jordan southward. A result of this stoppage was the formation of a lake whose waters quickly reached a level higher than the sill and finally began to overflow it. This process resulted in the formation of a riverbed incised progressively deeper into the basalt block, and the lake eventually became greatly reduced in surface area and depth. This reduction was probably accomplished in a relatively short time because of the considerable difference in height between the floor of the basin and the surface of Lake Kinneret that must have existed before the up-damming. At present the difference in height amounts to about 900 ft. (270 m.) over a distance of only 10 mi. (17 km.) – the steepest gradient in the Jordan's course, giving it great erosive power, despite the hardness of the basaltic bedrock (as evidenced also by the steepness of the banks along the bed cut into it). The Ḥuleh Lake, which was small – about 5 sq. mi. (14 sq. km.) – and only about 20 ft. (6 m.) deep, and the adjacent Ḥulatah swamps, which occupied an area of about 12 sq. mi. (30 sq. km.) covered by papyrus and kindred hydrophilic plants and populated by waterfowl, buffalo, etc., represented the natural remnants of the former lakescape. Drained off by the lowering, widening, and straightening of the Jordan bed and by artificial channels dug through the marshy areas in the 1930s – uncovering soils extremely rich in organic matter and thick layers of peat – the region underwent one of the most pronounced anthropogenous landscape transformations within Ereẓ Israel. At present it is one of the most intensively cultivated areas in the country (with the exception of a small reservation where the former conditions are preserved); however, it faces the problem of surface subsidence due to the progressive shrinkage of its underground, caused by the draining off of its interstitial water contents into the channels.

North of the former swamp area and lake, which occupied the lowest part of the basin, the land surface gradually rises to the Hills of Metullah, interposed between the Naphtali Range in the west and the Golan Heights in the east. This region is characterized mainly by its many watercourses – the headrivers of the Jordan: namely, from west to east: the Senir (al-Ḥaṣbānī), Dan, and Hermon (Banias) Rivers. All these rivers, as well as several brooks that discharged independently into the Ḥulatah swamps – like the Ijon (ʿAyyūn), which drains the basin bearing the same name farther north – are fed mainly by spring waters. The springs are partly supplied by rainfall and snow melting on the Hermon and fed by subterranean conduits, created by solution. The three above-mentioned headrivers, of which the Senir has the longest course, beginning at the northwest base of the Hermon, flow in deeply incised, precipitously sloped valleys in beds with very irregular gradients, which at times become highly steep and form waterfalls. There are several waterfalls along the course of the Hermon River and some smaller ones along that of the Dan. The most impressive waterfall within Cisjordan, however, is the *Tannur* ("Chimney") of the Ijon River near Metullah.

The Hermon River first joins the Dan, and only some distance from their confluence with the Senir does the Jordan River begin its course in a single bed. Before the swamps were drained, this united flow continued for only a small distance, after which the flatness of the basin bottom and the marshes covering it caused a division of the Jordan's course into several indistinct branches that discharged into the swamps and contributed to their existence. Thus the Jordan proper, in terms of the continuity of the river, and the singleness of its bed, began only at its exit from the Ḥuleh Basin. All these conditions were essentially changed by the draining of the Ḥulatah swamps and the regulation of the river courses discharging into it. The numerous watercourses perennially flowing down from the Hermon foothills, the Golan Heights, and the Naphtali Range – totaling an average annual inflow of over 26 billion cu. ft. (about 740 million cu. m.) – and the abundant springs (among them the largest in Ereẓ Israel) impart to the source region of the Jordan hydrographic characteristics infrequently encountered in the Levant.

Ijon Region The 8.5 sq. mi. (22 sq. km.) basin of Ijon (Marj ʿAyyūn) which is situated within Lebanon, is separated from the Ḥuleh Basin by the Metullah Hills. It represents the northernmost portion of the Rift Valley drained by the Jordan, and also of the endoreic part of the Great Rift Valley System. The basin is over 1,600 ft. (500 m.) above sea level and it also is a tectonically conditioned depression. It is much smaller than the Ḥuleh Basin, with which it shares some properties, particularly its considerable marsh areas and associated vegetation. On its north the Rift Valley continues in the Beqa, which divides the Lebano-Syrian region into two main physiographical parts: a western one (Lebanon, Ansariye, Amanus Mountains) and an eastern one (Antilebanon, Syrian Plateau). In this area as well, both structure and hydrography are largely conditioned by the Rift, but drainage is essentially different from that of the Rift Valley within Ereẓ Israel: the two collecting trunk rivers (Leontes and Orontes) flow in opposite directions and discharge into the Mediterranean.

TRANSJORDAN. The other main part of Ereẓ Israel, Transjordan, comprises the regions east of the Rift Valley from the Gulf of Eilat in the south up to the Hermon and the Damascus Basin in the north. The eastern confines of Transjordan are not marked by any distinct relief features, and most of it gradually merges with the Syrian Desert. Thus only the zone adjacent to the Rift Valley, where the climate is still Mediterranean to semiarid and the water-courses discharge into the Rift Valley, may actually be regarded as the eastern part of Ereẓ Israel, according to its definition as a major natural unit. The zone averages only about 25 mi. (40 km.) in width and has always been politically, culturally, and economically connected with and dependent upon Cisjordan. The Rift Valley is more than just an external disconnection between Cisjordan and Transjordan. In spite of their spatial juxtaposition and the relatively narrow Rift Valley separating them, several differences, although not fundamental, do exist between these two areas. These differences pertain to lithology, tectonics, and consequently to surface features. Lithologically, almost all rock formations (except for the *kurkar* outcropping in Cisjordan) are present in Transjordan, although their areal distribution varies greatly. Formations that form the bedrock of relatively small surfaces in Cisjordan cover large areas in Transjordan, and vice versa. For example, basement rock of magmatic-metamorphic origin, found almost exclusively in the southernmost tip of Cisjordan (the Eilat Mountains), constitutes the surface of a large section of southern Transjordan, extending about 60 mi. (100 km.) north of the Gulf of Eilat. The same is true of Nubian Sandstone and various massive sediments of Paleozoic origin. Similarly, volcanic formations, which are of major importance as surface rock in Cisjordan only in Eastern Galilee, cover much larger areas of Transjordan. North of the Yarmuk they form the almost exclusive surface rock and create in the Bashan a volcanic region, also in all the morphological aspects. Volcanic formations are also widely distributed farther south in Transjordan, i.e., in regions whose counterparts in Cisjordan are almost entirely composed of calcareous rocks. Although the latter is also the most widely distributed type of rock in Transjordan, its predominance in Cisjordan is far more outstanding. These facts, together with studies of tectonic features (mainly the prominence and continuity of the fault lines bordering the Rift Valley to the east), have recently led to the following hypothesis: the formation of the Rift Valley, which continued through several geological ages, involved horizontal displacement and a northward movement of about 60 mi. (100 km.) of the eastern flank of the Rift Valley, whereas the western flank was apparently not affected by a similar movement.

The lithological conditions described above are indicative, albeit indirectly, of tectonic variances between Cisjordan and Transjordan. In Cisjordan, beginning with the Central Negev, folding played a decisive role in determining structure and relief; in Transjordan it appears to have been of subordinate importance, although large-scale up- and downwarping participated in the formation of the region. In the interior of Transjordan, faulting did not produce the basins and tectonic valleys so characteristic of Cisjordan, where it formed the most pronounced features, culminating in the valley sequence of Beth-Shean-Haifa Plain and a large number of small individual regions. In no part of Transjordan did faulting, subsidence, and uplifting influence small-scale relief as strongly as it did in the Galilees. In a general morphological sense, Transjordan can be defined as a plateau, very uniform in surface configuration and elevations. As no large intramontane basins exist there, lowlands covered by alluvial soils can be found only in Ghor, east of the Jordan. The ascent from the valley to the plateau is extremely steep, almost wall-like, interrupted only by the gorges of rivers exiting into the Rift Valley. These gorges are so narrow and steep that nowhere do they provide convenient access to the surfaces of the plateaus.

It is probable that together with the subsidence of the Rift Valley, its eastern flank was subject to strong uplifting, which particularly affected the immediately adjacent zone. This theory would explain why the eastern zone reaches great heights and gradually slopes down eastward at a small distance from Rift Valley. Only the western zone was transformed into a mountainous relief by numerous deeply incised rivers; eastward, as the elevation gradually becomes smaller and the relief flatter, or only gently undulating, the plateau character of the terrain becomes more marked. Further east, the surfaces generally rise again, forming a sort of a broad rise where the major rivers that cut into the plateau and discharge into the Rift Valley originate. Only at Edom does the rise become a mountainous range, from which the plateau gradually slopes down eastward to the large desert basins at the border between Transjordan and Arabian Desert and the riverine lowlands of the Euphrates. This configuration, which represents the general watershed zone between the Rift Valley and the Syro-Arabian Desert, extends only up to the Yarmuk River, beyond which the landforms are primarily volcanic in origin.

The most significant topographical feature of almost all regions of Transjordan is thus the tablelands, which attain greater heights than those facing them on the west. This feature is accentuated by summits several hundred meters higher than the highest ones in Cisjordan. As the highest parts of the plateau almost abut on the Rift Valley, only a relatively narrow zone is effectively exposed to the rain-bearing, mainly westerly winds. This zone is only 20–30 mi. (30–50 km.) wide (broadening considerably only in the Bashan) and its climate is Mediterranean, although the amounts of precipitation it receives exceed those of the opposite regions in Cisjordan only in the highest areas of Edom – 16 in. (400 mm.) as against 2–4 in. (50–100 mm.) in the Negev Highlands. Another significant difference between this part of Transjordan and the highlands of Cisjordan is that most of the main rivers of Transjordan carry flow throughout the year, mainly as a result of the deep valleys reaching aquiferous strata and a large number of springs that feed the rivers.

Climatic and topographic conditions strongly influence the prevalence and distribution of soil types. Due to the relatively smaller areas of limestones and the narrowness of the zone receiving at least 16 in. (400 mm.) mean annual precipitation, the cover of terra rossa is less extensive and continuous here than in Cisjordan. Rendzina soils, *ḥamra* soils, and loess are not found frequently here. In contrast, however, large areas, particularly north of the Yarmuk, are covered by heavy soils produced by the decomposition of volcanic rocks. Alluvial soils form a rather continuous belt on the Rift Valley floor along the course of the Lower Jordan, whereas on the plateau, due to the narrowness of the fluviatile valleys and the absence of intramontane basins, the distribution of alluvial soils is rather patchy. Farther east and south, yellow and gray soils, peculiar to desert-like conditions, become more extensive. Topographic and more extreme climatic conditions produced the natural vegetational cover in Transjordan, which is considerably different both in character and in spatial distribution from that in Cisjordan. Whereas in the latter, whole regions were covered in early historical times by forests, which persisted for many centuries, relatively small areas south of the Yarmuk, characteristically including the highest parts of Edom (Seir), seem to have been forested.

Transjordan may be subdivided physiographically into four main regions and a transitional one. These are, from south to north: Edom, Moab-Ammon, Gilead, and Bashan. The Hermon Massif (which, because of its position, orography, and particularly hydrography, morphotectonically constitutes a part of the Antilebanon system) forms the terminal and transitional arch between the two flanks of the endoreic Rift Valley.

Edom. Like its western counterpart, the Negev, Edom is the longest unit of Transjordan. No major natural feature distinguishes Edom from the northern part of the Arabian Peninsula (the biblical Midian), whereas, on the north the Zered (Ḥasaʾ) River – one of the major watercourses traversing the entire width of Transjordan and draining into the Dead Sea – forms a marked border between Edom and Moab. Nowhere else in Ereẓ Israel are basement rocks Paleozoic sediments, and particularly Paleo-Mesozoic Nubian Sandstone so widespread or exert such influence upon the landscape as in this region. Even the name Edom (red) is thought by some to be derived from the prevalent color of the granite and the predominant reddish-brown hues of the Nubian Sandstone. Farther east the formations are younger (up to Eocene) and the topography is progressively lower, so that structurally the area bears resemblance to a pan. This description applies particularly to the Maon (Maʾon, Maʿān) Basin in the central-eastern part of Edom, where this structure is strongly accentuated by a drainage pattern that converges centripetally toward its lowest part.

As in southern Sinai and the Eilat Mountains, the areas of crystalline rocks in Edom have serrated crenulated ridges and bold dome-shaped summits. The slopes of these ridges are very steep and their bases are buried in debris, mainly produced by weathering under arid conditions. The rock waste progressively fills up the valleys between the ridges and individual mountain blocks. Conversely, the parts composed mostly of horizontally bedded Nubian Sandstones form broad flat-topped ridges, frequently dissected into isolated blocks, mesas, and buttes (i.e., larger and smaller table-mountains, the uppermost beds of which consist of resistant rock that preserves the flatness of the surface). Their steep slopes are pitted by alveoli of various sizes and are strongly subject to disjointing, giving rise to pillar-like columns, mushroom rocks, etc. In contrast, the forms developed by the calcareous formations, which are far less subject to disintegration, usually appear massive, and generally exhibit characteristics of plateaus, mountain-like only where dissection by rivers was more intensive. The climate of Edom is like that of the Negev – as a whole arid. Nevertheless, several regions within it are still exposed to Mediterranean influence, due to their considerable height above sea level and still more – over 1,000 ft. (300 m.) on the average – above the Negev Highlands, which interpose between Edom and the sea. The mean annual precipitation on these summits therefore amounts to more than 12 in. (300 mm.), and even snow is frequent. The precipitation also accounts for the relatively dense drainage net, the rivers of which (with the exception of Zered) carry water only immediately following rain and in the form of flash floods. The great difference of elevation between the head areas of these rivers and the Arabah on the west and the topographical depressions (described later) into which the rivers discharge on the east endows them with very great erosive power, manifested in the deep, almost perpendicularly walled gorges and the very large debris fans at their mouths; these fans coalesce to form an almost continuous waste apron at the foot of slopes along the Arabah. Edom can be subdivided physiographically into the following three parts: Southern Edom, including the al-Ḥismā depression; Central Edom, generally referred to as the Seir (al-Shara᾽), and including the Maon (Maʿān) Basin on the east; and Northern Edom, also called the Jebel (al-Jibāl) region.

Southern Edom The scarp slopes of the highland of Southern Edom rise abruptly above the Arabah. There are no major breaks in their continuity except for the valley exit of the al-Yitm River discharging into the Gulf of Eilat, which facilitated the construction of the only road (Akaba-Ma᾽on) traversing the entire width of the Edom Mountains. The plateau reaches heights of more than 5,000 ft. (1,500 m.) at a distance of no more than 6 mi. (10 km.) from the Rift Valley: Jebel Bāqir, 4,020 ft. (1,592 m.); Jebel al-Aḥmar, 5,220 ft. (1,588 m.). In Southern Edom the belt of basement rocks is the widest in all of Ereẓ Israel – about 12 mi. (20 km.) – as are the areas covered by sandstones. Within the latter zone lies the Ḥismā depression, an elongated, triangularly shaped, tectonically conditioned basin running northwest-southeast. It also contains the head-valley of the Yitm and merges gradually with the plateau of Midian. Considerably lower than the adjacent tableland, the floor of the basin contains a sequence of local depressions (sing. qāʿ) that become saline marshes in the rainy season. Many plateaus bordered by steep slopes – the remains of a former continuous table-mountain surface – still stand high above the basin floor but are subject to incessant reduction by weathering and fluviatile erosion. Notwithstanding its much higher elevation, climatic conditions in Southern Edom are generally similar to those of the southern Negev, as evidenced by the scarcity of soil and vegetational cover and the complete lack of permanent settlement throughout historical times.

Central Edom. The central part of Edom, also referred to as the Seir Mountains (al-Shara᾽), represents the area's largest region in both meridional and east-west extension. It is, except for the Hermon, the highest land unit within Ereẓ Israel, with large surface areas exceeding 3,500–5,000 ft. (1,200–1,500 m.) in height and several summits above 5,500 ft. (1,700 m.). In contrast to Southern Edom the Seir Mountains proper appear as a continuous range towering high above the Rift Valley, only 12 mi. (20 km.) from their summit region, and sloping down far more gradually towards the east to the Basin of Maon. Relevant lithological differences also exist between Southern and Central Edom. Basement rocks in Central Edom are less widespread than Nubian Sandstones or Mesozoic calcareous rocks, and most significantly the belt of highest elevations extends along the zone of sedimentary formations. Structurally the area differs from Southern Edom by its greater frequency of fault lines, which greatly contributed to the prevailing pattern in the magmatic zone of isolated mountains and to the frequent interspersing of areas composed of magmatic-metamorphic rocks with those consisting of Nubian Sandstones and even of Mesozoic calcareous formations. The Seir Mountains form a very distinct watershed between the relatively short watercourses descending to the Arabah and those – far greater in number – discharging into the Maon Basin in a very pronounced concentric pattern. Due to the extremely steep gradient of the westward-flowing rivers and the prevalently hard bedrock into which they are incised, their valleys usually form very deep and narrow canyons, at times widening into small, intramontane, cirque-like basins (e.g., the Wadi Mūsā at Petra, accessible only through the spectacular al-Siq gorge).

Central Edom rises about 1,900 ft. (600 m.) higher than the Negev Highlands and thus receives relatively large amounts of precipitation, rather frequently in the form of snow. Consequently areas covered, albeit patchwise, by productive soils and vegetation are abundant in comparison with Southern Edom, particularly in the vicinity of the relatively numerous springs. These conditions allowed for the existence of some permanent settlements in the area throughout most historical times, the most important of which was Petra (near the Mūsā spring), the famous Nabatean center. A great deal of natural and historical evidence also leads to the conclusion that up to the first decade of the present century some parts of the Seir Mountains were forested. Toward the east the slopes of the Seir Mountains descend into the Ma᾽on Basin, which is enclosed on the north by large outcrops of volcanic rock. As most of the precipitation that falls on the Seir Mountains runs off into this basin, whose floor is wide and flat, the valleys descending into it become progressively wider and indistinct after forming vast fans at their entrance into the basin. The widespread deposits of large amounts of alluvia brought by the rivers created considerable tracts of cultivable soils, particularly in the vicinity of Ma᾽on (Maʿān) the capital of Edom, throughout history.

Northern Edom. Northern Edom, the Jebel (al-Jibāl) region, differs in many regards from Central Edom. Its mean elevation is considerably lower, although some summits still exceed 3,300 ft. (1,000 m.). There is no range-like alignment such as the Seir Mountains, but individual, small mountain bodies are separated by valleys, many of which have wide floors. The significant difference in lithology between the two areas is a major cause of this configuration. Crystalline rocks, widely distributed in the other parts of Edom and constituting the backbone of its structure, and the bulk of the ramparts sloping down to the Arabah occupy far smaller areas in Northern Edom than do sedimentary rocks. The scarp-slopes facing the Arabah consist mainly of Nubian Sandstone and are thus less steep than those composed of crystalline rocks. The greater erodibility of the Nubian Sandstone and certain other sedimentary rocks is also an important explanation for the relative prevalence of wide valleys in this area. The orientation of the valleys is largely determined by intensively developed and complex fault lines. Northern Edom also receives relatively considerable amounts of precipitation. Because of this factor, as well as the many springs, the wide valley floors, and the location, i.e., the relative proximity of the area to the core region of Transjordan (Gilead), Northern Edom became the most densely populated part of Edom.

Moab-Ammon. The Edom Highlands descend gradually to the valley of the Zered River (Wadi al-Ḥasaʾ), the first major river, deeply incised into aquiferous strata and draining a large catchment area – 675 sq. mi. (1,750 sq. km.) – far larger than any catchment area in Cisjordan. The Zered flows throughout the year, discharging into the Sodom Sabkhah (salt marsh), and its course traverses the whole width of the Transjordanian plateau south of the Dead Sea, with head rivers beginning as far as 45 mi. (70 km.) from the Rift Valley. The Moab-Ammon region is delimited on the north by the Jabbok (Nahr al-Zarqaʾ) Valley – one of the most pronounced canyons in Transjordan. Morphologically, this area represents the most compact and homogeneous part of Transjordan. This effect seems mainly to be the result of lithological conditions, namely the prevalence of almost horizontally bedded sedimentary rock formations (sandstones and calcareous rocks) and larger areas of volcanic extrusions (even a major extinct volcano). The elevation of the plateau is relatively high, averaging 3,300 ft. (1,000 m.) with some summits exceeding 4,000 ft. (1,200 m.). Moab is separated from Ammon by the Heshbon (Ḥisbān) River and borders on the Dead Sea along its entire length. With the exception of the low, tabular Lashon Peninsula – morphogenetically a part of the Rift Valley floor – the plateau rises abruptly from the sea, with almost no intervening shore flats, so that it attains a height of 3,300 ft. (1,000 m.) at a distance of only 6–9 mi. (10–15 km.) from the Dead Sea in the southern portion of Moab and of 2,300 ft. (700 m.) at a distance of 6 mi. (10 km.) in the northern one. The ascent to the Ammon Plateau from the Jordan Valley bordering it on the west is much more gradual, although the mean elevation of Ammon is about 600 ft. (200 m.) greater than Moab.

The western parts of Moab and Edom – which are about 18 mi. (30 km.) wide – exhibit the main, albeit marginal, characteristics of the Mediterranean zone. Not only do relatively large amounts of precipitation – more than 24 in. (600 mm.) – fall on their higher parts, but the variations in the amounts of precipitation from year to year, so characteristic of the Edom, are far smaller. Due to the topography and the prevalence of calcareous surface rock, terra rossa and rendzina soils are relatively widely distributed and utilized. Also quite a large number of springs contribute to the perennial flow of the Arnon River, which drains most of Moab – 1,650 sq. mi. (4,460 sq. km.) – and subdivides the region into southern and northern Moab (almost equal in size). Similar hydrographical conditions are responsible for the perennial flow of the Zarqāʾ, Māʿīn, and Heshbon rivers. Topographic and climatic conditions and the considerable areas of cultivable soils, which in the past even produced grain surpluses, were reasons for the area being densely populated in comparison with the southern regions, a large percentage of the population being concentrated in several townships. One of these Rabbath-Ammon (Amman), the capital of the present Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, is connected to Jerusalem by a highway via Jericho. Kerak (Kir Moab), the principal town of Moab, Madeba, and most of the nearby villages lie along the highway running almost straight and parallel to the Dead Sea coast at a small distance from the prevalently wide watershed between the rivers draining into the Rift Valley and those discharging to the east.

Gilead. The Jabbok (Zarqāʾ) River – after the Yarmuk the most important tributary of the Jordan – whose catchment area is about 1,100 sq. mi. (3,000 sq. km.), with about 2 million cu. ft. (70 million cu. m.) mean annual discharge, divides Gilead from Ammon. Gilead represents one of the largest regions of Transjordan south of the Yarmuk, not so much because of its length – which, between the Jabbok and Yarmuk rivers, is 46 mi. (75 km.) – as by its width, which averages 35 mi. (60 km.). It exhibits some morphotectonic similarities to the central mountains of Cisjordan due to the influence exerted upon its morphogenesis by fold structures and by its mountainous appearance, resulting from relatively intensive dissection by rivers. The larger and higher southern part of the region is traversed by four major, perennially flowing tributaries of the Jordan: Rājib, Kafranjī, Yābis (Jabesh), and Siqlāb. In the northern part, which is only about 1,600 ft. (600 m.) high and is drained only by the Arab River, the relief is far less pronounced. The east-west oriented valleys of the rivers and of their many confluents – which are increasingly numerous farther east – give rise to a landscape of mainly short, interfluvial ranges composed of rounded hills whose slopes are terraced to a considerable extent. These ranges do not attain great heights; the highest summit in Gilead, Umm al-Daraj, is somewhat less than 4,100 ft. (1,250 m.). This configuration also reflects the prevalent lithological and climatic conditions. The southern part of Gilead is composed of mainly Cenomanian-Turonian calcareous formations, whereas in the northern one, younger (Senonian-Eocene), generally less resistant strata form the bedrock. Immediately south of the Yarmuk there are several outcrops of volcanic rocks – outliers of the Bashan basalt cover.

Despite its considerably lower elevation (than more southerly regions of Transjordan), Gilead receives the relatively largest amounts of precipitation – more than 20 in. (500 mm.) annual mean on most of the area, whereas in the highest regions in the south precipitation amounts to about 28 in. (700 mm.). Moreover, the 16 in. (400 mm.) isohyet, still the most useful means of delineating regions of Mediterranean-type from those of semiarid climate, runs here at a distance of about 30 mi. (50 km.) from the Rift Valley. Consequently, soils (mainly of terra rossa type) are rather common and extensively cultivated here, which again accounts for the population throughout history being much more dense than in other parts of Transjordan. There is strong evidence that considerable parts of Gilead were forested in the past. The area is relatively easily accessible from the Rift Valley, particularly along the Siqlāb Valley, where the gentle relief near the watershed greatly facilitates communication along the entire length of the region. The divide conditioned the site of a relatively large number of townships (ʿAjlūn in the south and Irbid in the north are the most important) and villages situated along or near the meridional highway and at the springs, particularly abundant in the plateau parts adjacent to the Rift Valley. In the past, Gilead was the region most closely connected with Cisjordan historically, particularly during the Roman era, when Geresh (Gerasha; Ar. Jarash), Arbel (Irbid), and Gadera (Umm Qays) formed part of the Dekapolis.

Bashan. The deeply incised valley of the Yarmuk, the second largest river of Ereẓ Israel – with a catchment area about 2,670 sq. mi. (7,250 sq. km.) – forms a prominent natural border between central Transjordan and its northern region, Bashan. The latter covers about 4,600 sq. mi. (12,000 sq. km.) and differs in almost all physiographical aspects, primarily in morphotectonics and lithology, from the regions south of the Yarmuk. The landscapes of Bashan were formed mainly by volcanic activities that probably persisted from the Pliocene up to prehistoric times. Consequently, almost the whole of the Bashan is covered by extrusive rocks, in many places attaining a thickness of several hundreds of meters. The relief is also determined by these activities, which resulted primarily in vast plains built of consolidated lava sheets that are overtopped by elevations of eruptive origin. Large parts of the terrain still exhibit the characteristics of block fields. Others are covered by heavy soils formed through the decomposition of the basaltic bedrock or from the disintegration of the volcanic tuff. Since the Bashan is the northernmost region of Transjordan, and because its eastern most part is considerably high, the Mediterranean type of climate prevails over an area two to three times wider and extending far further east than the regions having a similar climate south of the Yarmuk. Topographically, Bashan can be subdivided into three major regions: Golan, Bashan Plain, and Hauran.

Golan. The plateau of Golan, situated between the Hermon Massif and the Upper Jordan Valley on the west and the Ruqqād River (a tributary of the Yarmuk) on the east, is only about 15 mi. (25 km.) wide. Its continuous steep slopes rise abruptly above the Ḥuleh Basin and are even steeper in the region of the sources of the Jordan, attaining heights of 3,300 ft. (1,000 m.) at a distance of only about 9 mi. (15 km.) from the latter. Morphotectonically the Golan represents a plateau of lava sheets whose prevalent flatness is accentuated by a number of isolated cones rising without any transitional forms above the vast surrounding plain. These cones are composed mainly of volcanic cinder and extend in a more or less straight line from north to south. This orientation indicates their causal connection with a meridionally running fissure system, along which they originated at spots where lava extrusions and cinder ejections were more intensive, persistent, or recent. The most pronounced of these cones are Tell al-Sheikha, about 4,000 ft. (1,300 m.) high, in the northern part of Golan and Tell Abu Nidāʾ, which contains a crater with a circumference of about 2½ mi. (4 km.), followed by lesser ones (Tell Abu Khanzīr, Tell Yūsuf, and Tell Faras) in the south. In the northern part of Golan a small shallow lake of almost perfect oval shape, Birkat Rām, was in ancient times thought to be one of the sources of the Jordan connected with the Banias Spring by subterranean conduits. It is not, however, a crater lake – as was also formerly assumed, as a part of its enclosure consists of sedimentary rock – but is probably a depression produced by subsidence of pyroclastic material.

According to topographic and surface-rock conditions, two main subregions can be distinguished in the Golan Plateau: a higher, northern one, adjacent to the Hermon, and a considerably lower, south part, consistently sloping down to the Yarmuk Valley. Volcanic cones and extensive block fields with intermittent soil and plant cover characterize the former, whereas most of the surface of the latter is covered by extensively utilized heavy basaltic and tuff soils. Golan receives comparatively large amounts of precipitation, exceeding 32 in. (800 mm.) annual mean in some areas; consequently, large tracts were once covered by forests. Because of the amount of precipitation and the relative impermeability of the bedrock, it has a rather dense net of watercourses, although few of them flow perennially. The northern part of this net drains into the Jordan through a series of almost equidistant and parallel valleys. These are not yet incised deeply in the plateau proper and form gorges only at their entrance into the Rift Valley, where they can erode the far less resistant calcareous formations underlying the plateau basalts. A large part of the southern Golan belongs to the catchment area of the Yarmuk and is drained mainly by the deeply incised Ruqqād and its affluents. The western portion drains into Lake Kinneret in a series of short watercourses, the most important of which is the Samak River.

Bashan Plain. The largest and lowest regional unit of the Bashan – as indicated by its current Arabic name, al-Nuqra ("The Hollow"), the Bashan Plain is situated between the Golan Highlands on the west and the still higher Hauran Massif on the east. The plain is about 40 mi. (60 km.) wide and it is not uniform in elevation. Its slopes descend gradually both from north to south and from east to west where they abut on the Hauran. Unlike in the Golan, no volcanic cones were formed here, but the same difference exists between its northern and southern parts. The former contains large expanses of lava-block fields, whereas the latter exhibits an almost continuous cover of volcanic soils, which rendered the region one of the granaries of the Mediterranean lands in ancient times. Although it is on the leeward side of the Golan Heights, the

Bashan Plain still receives an annual mean precipitation exceeding 16 in. (400 mm.) and its main rivers, Wadi ʿAllān and Wadi al-Iḥrayr, affluents of the Yarmuk, flow perennially.

Hauran. In the eastern part of Bashan, Hauran (the ancient Auranitis, now usually referred to as Jebel al-Druze), relief forms originating in volcanic activities are the most pronounced within Ereẓ Israel. This oval-shaped massif, about 60 mi. (100 km.) long from south to north and 25–30 mi. (40–50 km.) wide, is mainly composed of extinct volcanoes, many of which contain craters and rise to heights above 5,500 ft. (1,700 m.) – the highest summit is Tell al-Janynā, 5,900 ft. (1,800 m.). The massif exhibits two main levels: a lower – up to 4,500 ft. (1500 m.) – comprising most of its southern portion; and a northern portion – 650 ft. (200 m.) higher, in which the relief forms are also much bolder. Due to its height, the Hauran still receives considerable quantities of precipitation, and snowfall is frequent in winter. On the north and east the Hauran Massif is surrounded by lava deserts called *al-ḥarra* in the vernacular. They consist of consolidated "ropy" lava, which forms labyrinth-like serrated ridges of blocks separated by oblong depressions. Only the northwestern lava field, al-Lijaʾ (the ancient Trachonitis), is at least historically connected with Ereẓ Israel.

Hermon. Morphotectonically, the Hermon Massif, the main source area of the Jordan and the northernmost element of the endoreic Rift Valley within Ereẓ Israel, is the southernmost part of the Antilebanon upfold system, strongly affected by faulting, uplifted along their lines, and thus turned into a pronounced horst structure. It is separated from the Antilebanon proper by the Valley of Zabadānī, where the source springs of the Barada River issue. This river irrigates the Ghūṭa (oasis) of Damascus. Composed predominantly of calcareous Jurassic strata, it forms an oblong dome-like mountain block whose three main summits rise to heights of 6,760 ft. (2,465 m.), 7,720 ft. (2,810 m.), and 7,350 ft. (2,680 m.) respectively. It exhibits a rather subdued topography of rounded summits separated by wide and flat saddles. Although the area receives a mean annual precipitation of more than 60 in. (1,500 mm.) and snow cover persists on its higher parts until August, its surfaces have not yet been affected by river erosion, with the consequent formation of deeply incised valleys and associated slopes, nor does it seem to have been glaciated in the Pleistocene as has been assumed.

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[Isaac Schattner]

Climate

INTRODUCTION. Ereẓ Israel is situated between subtropical arid (Egypt) and subtropical wet (Lebanon) zones. This location helps to explain the great climatic contrast between the light rainfall in the south and the heavy rainfall in the north in all three orographic belts: Coastal Plain, Western Mountain Ridge and Jordan Valley. In the rainy season the centers of the barometric depressions crossing the eastern Mediterranean from the west normally pass over Cyprus. Most of Egypt and southern Ereẓ Israel lie in and partly outside this area of cloudiness and precipitation, whereas northern Ereẓ Israel is nearer to the center of the vortex. The cyclonic depressions of the eastern Mediterranean are usually smaller, both in area and in axis length, than the Atlantic depressions. The difference in pressure between the center and the periphery does not exceed 10–13 millibars, with differences between highs and lows not exceeding 17–20 mb. Pressure gradients in winter storms in Ereẓ Israel, however, are just as steep as those in Europe or America.

In the winter, depressions arrive in Ereẓ Israel from the west along two trajectories. The first, of decisive influence on the climate of the country, comes from northern Italy along the Adriatic Sea to Greece and the Aegean Sea. There it divides into two sections, one leading to the Black Sea and the other to Syria. The second leads from southern Italy and Sicily to the central Mediterranean and thence to the southeastern corner of the Mediterranean and Ereẓ Israel. A rare path extends along the North African coast through Egypt to Ereẓ Israel. Depressions sometimes pass along a narrow belt from the Red Sea northward and cause sudden cloudbursts accompanied by torrential floods in the normally dry Sinai Desert, Negev, Jordan Valley, and Syrian Desert. Mediterranean depressions are prevalent in the eight months from October until early June, when cold air penetrates from Eastern Europe through the Balkans to the Mediterranean, influencing the activity of the depressions. Rainfall in the eastern Mediterranean, including Ereẓ Israel, is directly related to the intensity of cold airstreams over Eastern Europe in the winter. The lower the temperatures fall in Eastern Europe, the stronger the influence of the cold airstreams on the depressions moving into the eastern Mediterranean. A narrow belt of high pressure descends from the Balkans and pushes depressions lying to the east. If, simultaneously, a second area of high pressure zones, connected to the great Siberian winter high-pressure system, extends over northern Iraq and Turkey, the activity of the eastern Mediterranean depression increases. Depressions are followed by high pressures, normally centered over northern Syria and Turkey, which are usually connected to the winter anticyclones of central Asia. In such cases, cold air descends from the high mountains of Armenia, which, though warming in descent – sometimes through tens of degrees – is often cold enough upon reaching Israel to cause freezing and frost. Visibility is exceptional. Snowcapped Mt. Hermon and the mountains of Lebanon are then visible from Mt. Carmel – a distance of 60 mi. (100 km.) – and even from Tel Aviv and high points west of Jerusalem – over 100 mi. (nearly 180 km.) away. Barometric pressures are higher in winter than in summer, being low only on stormy days. The difference between winter and summer pressures is smaller in Ereẓ Israel than in Turkey or Iraq.

Lower summer pressures result from Ereẓ Israel's location on the western periphery of the extensive low-pressure system of southern Asia, which causes the Indian monsoon. There is a summer monsoon in Ereẓ Israel too, though it is not accompanied by the heavy precipitation typical of Indian monsoons. The latter, however, affect summer conditions in Ereẓ Israel. Normal monsoons in India result in normal summers in Ereẓ Israel; insufficient pressure gradients and abnormal Indian monsoons cause "abnormal summers" in Ereẓ Israel and the entire eastern Mediterranean. In a normal summer, strong, humid, westerly and northwesterly sea breezes prevail continuously for weeks or months, resulting in extensive dew formation. These are the "etesian winds" known to the ancient Greeks. Other airstreams arise only in the transition months of spring and fall, arriving chiefly from the hot and dry deserts in the east. These are the *ḥamsin* (or *sharav*) winds (see below). *Sharav* winds from July to October are abnormal in summer, indicating undeveloped Indian monsoons.

CLOUDINESS. The frequency of depressions between October and May and their scarcity or total absence between June and September result in marked differences in cloud forms. Between October and May, or sometimes even June, all forms of high, medium, and low clouds occur. In summer only low clouds form through condensation of marine air currents ascending the mountain slopes. Toward the end of September, high ice clouds, then medium, and finally water-laden low cumulus clouds form. Summer clouds are also of the cumulus type, but they are higher than winter clouds. In summer low clouds also approach from the west, carrying more humidity than in winter, but they do not cause rain, lacking ice crystals and the necessary conditions for rainfall. Over high mountains, such as Mt. Hermon and the Lebanon range to the north, these summer clouds reduce penetration of the sun's rays. An afternoon mist that rises from the sea mostly covers the western, seaward slopes and valleys. Clouds over the mountains of Ereẓ Israel at night are very low, while during the day they occur at altitudes of 6,500–10,000 ft. (2–3 km.). Mist clouds are found in mountain valleys on summer mornings and disappear after sunrise. In Upper Galilee summer cloudiness exceeds that in the south, and morning mists are more prevalent. In the winter, cloudiness in the mountains exceeds that in the coastal region; the opposite is true in summer. The Jordan Valley differs from the rest of the country in this respect as few clouds occur even in winter.

There are no completely overcast days in summer: a quarter of the summer days are partly cloudy; the rest are completely clear. Mist occurs in the Coastal Plain in winter and the transition months. In the inland valleys, such as the Jezreel Valley, mists occur mostly in summer. Heavy morning fogs cover the coast on *sharav* days, while morning mists in inland valleys are the result of temperature inversion. Low places in the Jezreel Valley have mist on clear winter mornings and on summer mornings with no easterly wind. Unique fogs rise in the winter from the Ḥuleh Basin and the Dead Sea. The former is covered by heavy mists on cold nights; over the latter, fogs form after sunrise in the wake of depressions, when cold air flows in pushing the local air up the slopes of the Judean Mountains in the west and the Moab Mountains in the east. After sunrise, these fogs ascend to the mountains tops, over altitude differences of 4,000–5,000 ft. (1,200–1,500 m.). They reach Jerusalem late in the morning, thicken toward noon, and scatter in the late afternoon, though they sometimes remain until evening or even throughout the night. Fogs do not cross the mountain crests to the west, but remain stationary in the strong westerly wind as a westward-pointed wedge hundreds of meters thick.

RADIATION. Ereẓ Israel is a sunny country because of its location in the subtropical zone, its low degree of cloudiness, and its extensive desert areas. In the long summer days the sun ascends to over 80° above the horizon, and radiation reaches the ground in 98% of all potential hours of sunshine; in the winter the sky is cloudy, on the average, through half the day. The annual mean daily radiation is 5 million calories on each square meter. On a summer day it is about 7.5 million, on a clear winter day 3 million, and on a cloudy winter day 1 million. Few countries can compete with Ereẓ Israel in abundance of sunshine. Horizontal surfaces receive illumination of some 90 kilo-lux-hours at noon in summer, and an area perpendicular to the sun's rays receives over 130 k.l.h., nearly the absolute maximum the sun can provide. These quantities are reduced by one-third in the winter. Southern slopes as well as southern-oriented walls and rooms receive the greatest amount of sunshine in the winter. In other directions, no marked differences exist between the various seasons.

RAIN. Rainfall normally begins in Ereẓ Israel in November, increases in intensity to about January-February, and decreases again to May, which is sometimes completely dry. First rains sometimes fall earlier and sometimes later. Likewise, the rainy season may end before Purim (March), though small quantities of rain may fall until Shavuot (around the end of May). Most of the rainfall, some 72% of the seasonal total, occurs in December, January, and February. Five types of yearly rainfall can be discerned: (1) normal, with even distribution; (2) rainy in early winter and dry in its second half; (3) dry in early winter and rainy later; (4) heavy rains in the middle of winter with relatively dry early and late seasons; (5) twin – (or even multiple) – peaked season, with dry intervals between peaks. The first type occurs in Jerusalem in about 33% and in Haifa in some 42% of the winters. The second type is found in Jerusalem and the Judean Mountains in about 20% of the winters and only in 6% in northern Israel.

The third type is more frequent in the north (31% in Haifa) than in the south (13% in Jerusalem). The fourth type is rare, occurring in 2–3% of all years. The fifth type is most frequent in the Judean Mountains (35%), with some 24% in Haifa. Regional differences in rainfall are much larger in Ereẓ Israel than in other countries of comparable size. In Israel there is an absolute desert with under 1.2 in. (30 mm.) rain per annum – the Arava: semi-desert areas with 2–3 in. (50–75 mm.) to 6–8 in. (150–200 mm.) – the Negev and Dead Sea Valley; agricultural regions with 12–18 in. (300–600 mm.): and mountain areas with 20–32 in. (500–800 mm.) in Judea and Samaria and up to 44 in. (1,100 mm.) in Upper Galilee. Mountains receive more rain than the Coastal Plain or the Jezreel Valley. Amounts of rainfall increase from south to north in all regions: the Coastal Plain, the western and eastern mountain ridges, and the Jordan Valley. Similarly, the number of rainy days in northern Ereẓ Israel exceeds that in the south. In dry years both the amount of rain and the number of rainy days are reduced; in very wet years both may be doubled. Most cultivated areas are those with over 12 in. (300 mm.) rainfall per annum. Contrary to common belief, the amount of rainfall in agricultural areas in Ereẓ Israel is no less than that in agricultural countries in the temperate zones. The difference lies not in the annual amount of rain, but in the number of rainy days and in the intensity of rain per hour or per day. In Ereẓ Israel the entire annual amount falls in 40 to 60 days in a season of seven to eight months. In temperate climates precipitation occurs on 180 days spread over 12 months.

DEW. The formation and amount of dew are dependent both on meteorological conditions – relative humidity and nocturnal cooling – and on the properties of the cooling surfaces – soil and vegetation. The regional distribution of the number of dew nights and the amount of dew is greatly diverse. Richest in dew are the northwestern Negev and the western and central Jezreel Valley, followed by the Coastal Plain from Gaza to Binyaminah. The central Ḥuleh Basin and parts of the lower Beth-Shean Valley also have large amounts of dew. The Golan and the Naphtali Mountain slopes, which are dry on most nights of the year, surround them. Hilly coast regions (Mt. Carmel), regions near the mountains (Western Galilee), and the Jezreel Valley have smaller amounts of dew and fewer dew nights per month and per year. Still smaller is the amount of dew in the mountains of Jerusalem and Galilee. The eastern slopes of the mountain ridge descending into the Jordan Valley, as well as the western foothills, receive smaller and sometimes negligible amounts of dew. The Carmel foothills and those of western Galilee, Ephraim, and Judea have almost no dew at all. The mean annual number of dew nights exceeds 200 in the entire Coastal Plain and the Jezreel Valley and 250 in the northwestern Negev. The mountains have only 150–180 dew (and fog) nights per year; the western foothills have 100, and the Jordan Valley (excluding lower Beth-Shean Valley and central Ḥuleh Basin) has fewer than 50. An abundance of dew is important for agriculture and settlement. For example, as a result of the dew formation on most summer nights, the vicinity of Khan Yunis in the western Negev, which receives only scanty winter rainfall, is a center for growing watermelons, a typical summer crop. Unirrigated summer field crops (sorghum, corn, and sesame) can be grown only in areas with sufficient dew.

SNOW. In certain mountain areas snow is a normal occurrence. Mountains of 2,500–4,000 ft. (800–1,000 m.), such as those of Hebron and the Upper Galilee – elevation 4,000–5,500 ft. (1,300–1,700 m.) – have snow nearly every year. Mt. Hermon, rising to some 10,000 ft. (3,000 m.) above sea level, receives most of its precipitation as snow, which feeds a relatively large number of perennial streams. Most snow falls in Ereẓ Israel in January or February, but it has been known to occur in November and December and even in March and April. The heaviest snowfall recorded in Jerusalem in the last century was 38 in. (97 cm.) in February 1920.

TEMPERATURE. Air temperature depends on elevation and distance from the sea. Valleys have higher, mountains lower mean temperatures; the higher the location, the lower the air temperature. The highest temperatures are recorded in the Rift Valley, a few hundred meters below sea level, with peak temperatures in the Arava, south of the Dead Sea. The lowest mean temperature is found in Upper Galilee. The mean annual temperature in the coastal regions is 68°–70° F (20°–21° C) with differences between coastal plains that are near mountains and coastal plains that are not. Haifa has lower temperatures than Acre, Netanyah or Tel Aviv. Coastal temperatures vary only slightly in summer, and even in winter their fluctuations are smaller than elsewhere. The Maximum temperatures in summer are not high and winter minima not very low. Fluctuations increase with the distance from the sea; the maximum rises and the minimum decreases markedly. The annual mean temperature is 3° C lower in Jerusalem than in Tel Aviv – difference in elevation 2,624 ft. (800 m.) – but in the winter the difference is larger.

The annual means in the Jezreel Valley and the Coastal Plain are similar, but monthly fluctuations inland, as well as differences between maximums and minimums, are larger than on the coast. Temperatures are lower in the Ḥuleh Basin than around Lake Kinneret or the Dead Sea. The mean annual temperature at the southern end of the Dead Sea is 78.3° F (25.7° C); at the northern end, 74.3° F (23.4° C); at Tirat Ẓevi 71.6° F (22.0° C); and at Kinneret, 72.1° F (22.3° C). The annual mean in the Ḥuleh Basin is similar to that on the coast – 67.8° F (19.9° C) – though the extremes differ widely. Great climatic differences are hidden by a similarity of mean annual temperatures; evaluation of climatic conditions must also take into account the extremes of diurnal cycles and of hourly differences.

DIURNAL CYCLE. Regional differences are most outstanding in the daily temperature cycle. On the coast temperatures reach their maximum values long before noon. The sea breeze prevents any further increase and the temperature remains almost constant until late afternoon. A flat ridge thus replaces the temperature peak. The same is true of the minimum at night, which lasts for several hours after midnight. But, with increasing distance from the sea, both maximal and minimal temperatures decrease in duration. In the Jordan Valley the diurnal cycle is different. Near the northern Dead Sea in the summer there are two peaks. There is an early morning and a late afternoon maximum near the Dead Sea. At Ein Gev on Lake Kinneret the two daily peaks are less developed but still quite prominent. Along the entire Jordan Valley the afternoon peak in temperature results from the adiabatic warming of the westerly wind that descends from the western mountain ridge into the deep Jordan depression. On the southern shore of the Dead Sea the cycle is similar to that near the Mediterranean coast, but the basis temperature values are entirely different. The mountains to the west of this area are not as high and adiabatic heating of the descending air does not increase the temperature above that prevailing locally. The shallow water at the southern end of the Dead Sea has an equalizing effect on daytime temperatures and also maintains high values at night.

HEAT WAVES. A *ḥamsin*, or heat wave, occurs when depression approaches Israel from the west, with easterly winds backing first to south and later to west. It is broken when cool and humid maritime air replaces the hot air; when this occurs temperatures may fall by 45° F (20° C) or more. During a *ḥamsin* the temperature always rises and the humidity decreases. In midwinter, clear days with temperatures rising by 10° C or more in a day are a pleasant phenomenon. Such a temperature rise in spring or fall, however, is far from pleasant, since air temperature may reach body temperature. Mountains are hit first by a heat wave and, although temperature rises are relatively small, it is felt strongly because it lasts longer than in the valleys near sea level. When a *ḥamsin* reaches the valleys temperatures are always higher than in the mountains and reach the absolute maxima recorded in Ereẓ Israel. In May and June and in October and November there are often such severe days with high temperatures. But they may occur in the rainy season, with its centers of low and high pressure arriving from the west.

Another type of *ḥamsin* develops with rising barometric pressure under anticyclonic conditions. A northeasterly wind, turning easterly, blows toward the area from a center of high pressure over Iraq, Syria, and sometimes also Turkey. Such a strong east wind in winter is referred to in the Bible as *kadim* (e.g., Ex. 10:13; Ps. 48:8; Jonah 4:8). Owing to the very low humidity, the air is very clear. At first the temperature is low, but it rises daily while the air becomes both dry and hazy. When pressure begins to fall, the conditions are similar to those occurring in a depression *ḥamsin*, but an anticyclonic *ḥamsin* is not only as hard to bear, but it is often stationary and of longer duration. The action of the sun's rays is weakened during such days, and there is only a slight wind. Humans and other warm-blooded creatures feel unwell because the normal functioning of the body's cooling processes are impaired. Delicate winter plants wither in a spring *ḥamsin* because high evaporation causes excessive loss of moisture and the winter green vanishes as if by magic. The *ḥamsin* is harder to bear near the coast than in the mountains, chiefly because of the high relative humidity of the hot air, which prevents the evaporation of perspiration.

COLD WAVES Every barometric depression is followed by a high-pressure system generally centered over Syria or Turkey. Air flowing in from the northeast usually comes from Siberia in winter, reaching Ereẓ Israel after some warming over the mountains of Armenia, Iran, and Turkey, or, if coming from the north, northwest, or west, over the Black and Mediterranean seas. Such cold waves bring air at a temperature of 14°–19° F (-7° to -10° C) to the Euphrates Valley and 23° F (-5° C) in the Transjordanian Mountains. Each cold wave from the east penetrates first into the Jordan Valley before reaching the Western mountain ridge. In such cases, temperatures near the Dead Sea start to fall some 12 hours earlier than in Jerusalem. The danger of frost in winter is thus greater in the northern Jordan Valley than in the western valleys or the Coastal Plain.

TEMPERATURE EXTREMES. The highest temperature ever recorded in Israel was 131° F (54° C, Tirat Ẓevi, Beth-Shean Valley, June 1942). On the same day the temperature was 122° F (51.5° C) at the Dead Sea, 113° F (45° C) on the Coastal Plain, and 118° F (48° C) in the Jezreel Valley. In the mountains, temperatures exceeding 111° F (44° C) have not been recorded for the past 100 years. In most heat waves, temperatures rise to 110°–113° F (43°–45° C) in the Jordan Valley and 97°–100° F (36°–38° C) on the Coastal Plain; 100° F (38° C) is considered very hot for the mountains. The lowest temperature recorded in Jerusalem in the past 100 years was 19.4° F (−7° C). Even in the Jordan Valley 28°–32° F (-2° to 0° C) was repeatedly recorded. The Coastal Plain, however, seems to be immune to frosts; only twice on record did temperatures fall below freezing. In early 1950, all of northern and central Ereẓ Israel down to the Mediterranean was covered by snow.

HUMIDITY. The relative humidity of the air is highest near the coast and higher at night in summer than in winter. Humidity reaches its daily minimum around noon. Mountain areas are drier, and the humidity there in winter exceeds that in summer, in spite of the dry easterly winds. Conditions in the Jezreel Valley are similar to those near the coast, with high nocturnal humidity in summer. Humidity is lowest in the Rift Valley, especially in the Arava, and around the Dead Sea. The Dead Sea has higher humidity at the northern end than at the southern end; but the diurnal cycle is different at each end. In all areas the daily cycle is simple, with a minimum at noon and a maximum late at night or throughout the night. At the northern end, however, the relative humidity rises to its maximum at noon in summer when the Dead Sea breeze lowers the temperature. In the afternoon and near sunset, when temperatures reach a maximum, the humidity is minimal due to the western breeze that warms up while descending into the valley.

Absolute humidity in the valleys is higher than in the mountains. The Coastal Plain not only has a high relative but also a high absolute humidity, which causes physical discomfort in summer. Absolute humidity near the Mediterranean is similar to that near the Dead Sea, or even exceeding the latter in summer, although temperatures near the coast are lower. In the Beth-Shean Basin the absolute humidity is also high because of the very high summer temperatures. Since a low humidity facilitates evaporation of perspiration, conditions in the mountains are more pleasant.

WINDS. Simple wind conditions prevail on the Coastal Plain. In summer, a sea breeze blows all day and a land breeze blows at night. Wind conditions on clear winter days are similar to those in the summer, but when a barometric depression covers the sea, easterly winds blow at first, slowly backing to the south and southwest. These winds bring clouds and sometimes rain from the sea, until northerly winds disperse the clouds and the sky clears. In summer northwesterly winds blow over the mountains for weeks and even months on end. The strength of the wind rises from near calm in the morning to a maximum in the late afternoon. Local winds are rare in the mountains, where mainly regional winds blow. These winds are dependent upon pressure distribution around centers of high or low pressure. Local winds occur in summer around the lakes of the Jordan Valley as well as near the Mediterranean. The latter receives the sea breeze throughout the day, while the inland lakes generate land breezes only at certain hours. This is a result of the Mediterranean breeze neutralizing all local activity on reaching the Jordan Valley, so that even the lakes become involved in the general climatic conditions. The landward breeze from the lakes is of biological importance in the hot season. The Mediterranean's sea breeze generally has a cooling effect; but upon descending into the valleys lying hundreds of meters below the surrounding mountains and even below sea level, the breeze undergoes such a rise in temperature that, instead of cooling, it heats the area. In summer the westerly winds in the entire Jordan Valley are thus hot and dry. The biological cooling effect of the westerly winds in the Jordan Valley seems to vary. A moist and perspiring body is cooled by it; but upon drying, only the effect of moving air remains, imparting a false sensation of cooling.

Weak winds prevail in the Coastal Plain, the Jezreel Valley, and the Negev. The mountains and the Rift Valley, especially the southern Arava, experience strong winds. Average wind force is higher in summer than in winter throughout the country; but in a winter storm, velocities in January and February equal or surpass those in the summer. Isolated cases of high winds in winter often lead to a general impression of high winter averages. Wind speeds may reach 50 mph. (80 kph.) and even more in winter, but between storms near calm may prevail. In summer, on the other hand, strong winds blow regularly at certain hours. While these are not as strong as the winter storms, summer averages are generally higher than winter ones. In the Manarah ridge in Upper Galilee, e.g., winds of "winter force" blow on summer days, especially at dusk. The diurnal cycle of wind strength in the mountains reaches its maximum in the afternoon, and on the coast and in the Jezreel Valley at noon. Mornings are usually calm in most areas of the country, as are nights, except in the mountains and the southern Arava.

HISTORY OF CLIMATE RESEARCH IN ISRAEL. Scientific climate research in Palestine started in the mid-19th century. The first instruments for weather observation were used at the English Hospital in Jerusalem in 1845, where regular observations were taken until World War I. The records of the first 14 years have been lost, but those for 1860–1913 have been preserved intact. The Scottish Mission also took observations at various places, which were supervised from 1860 by the Palestine Exploration Fund and its meteorologist, G. Glaisher (until 1903). M. Blanckenhorn took meteorological observations for the Deutscher Palaestina-Verein from the mid-1890s.

The first results of these observations are assembled in F.M. Exner's work *Zum Klima von Palaestina* (1910), including the first rainfall map of Ereẓ Israel and the adjacent areas. French and American convents, schools, and scientific institutions also set up meteorological stations in Palestine, Syria, and Lebanon. Jews entered the field of climatic research in Ereẓ Israel only in the 20th century. In 1910 the Palestine Office of the World Zionist Organization set up rainfall stations in several towns and villages. Soon after World War I Dov Ashbel set up a network of meteorological stations in Jewish villages from Metullah to the Negev, and a number of stations were installed by the British Mandatory administration. Meteorological research after 1937 was conducted at two centers. One was at the meteorological station maintained by the government Department of Civil Aviation at Lydda Airport, where upper-air conditions were studied with advanced technical equipment. The other was run by the department of meteorology of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, which controlled the network of meteorological stations in Jewish settlements. The government set up stations in parts of the country populated by Arabs, formerly inaccessible to Jewish research. During World War I, the opposing air forces studied upper winds and upper-air meteorology in Palestine. In World War II, the Allied air forces in the whole Middle East theater systematically collected a mass of meteorological data resulting in a revision of concepts of the conditions in the area. The network of Jewish stations was extended in the latter years of the Mandate.

After the establishment of the State of Israel, both the civil authorities and the Israeli Air Force developed meteorological operations on a national scale for both civilian and military needs. These operations include extensive upper-air observations with radio-sondes as well as meteorological satellite research in collaboration with other countries. The universities in Israel, especially departments of geography, earth science, and geophysics undertook extensive research on climatic conditions for human needs. Their research placed Israel in the front ranks of meteorological and climatic research in the academic world.

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[Dov Ashbel]

Geology

STRATIGRAPHIC EVOLUTION. *The Precambrian Basement.* Upper Tertiary to Recent faulting and uplift led to many exposures of the basement rocks along the flanks of the Arabah graben, the southeastern corner of the Dead Sea, the Eilat area, and eastern Sinai. The morphology of the Precambrian basement rocks is characterized in Sinai and in the Ḥejaz, situated opposite Sinai, by a conspicuously barren and rugged relief (e.g., Mount Sinai, Wadi Yitm), contrasting remarkably with the tabular landscape of the Paleozoic-Mesozoic sedimentary cover. Varieties of granite and granite-porphyry, syenite, diorite, and gabbro, interchanging with gneiss and mica schists, constitute the principal plutonic and metamorphic basement rocks. Volcanic tuffs and lava sheets also occur, as well as abundant acid and basic dikes. Swarms of dikes invade the whole of the crystalline complex, as well as the unmetamorphosed sediments of the Saramūj series.

The Saramūj series consists principally of multicolored conglomerates analogous in rock character and deposition to the Molasse and Verucano of the Alps. Like these Alpine formations the Saramūj series are of simple fold structure, giving reason to assume strong mountain building during the late Precambrian. The Precambrian "Alps" were then leveled on a regional scale, only a few monadnocks remaining on the enormous erosion and abrasion surface of the Lipalian peneplain. Ore deposits of economic importance have not yet been discovered in the basement complex. The feldspar-, barite-, and mica-bearing pegmatites are of very limited economic value.

Paleozoics. Above the Lipalian peneplain (principal unconformity) there is an extensive cover of continental and marine sediments of Paleozoic to Recent age. The sedimentary material is derived either from a landmass in the east, the "Arabo-Nubian" shield, or from the transgressive "Tethys" sea in the west. The few marine Lower Paleozoic outcrops known from Timna, Eilat, and Petra or from Wadi al-Ḥasaʾ and Zarqā Māʿīn at the Dead Sea all appear as thin beds of shallow epicontinental limestone-dolomite, shales, and littoral sands; these are intercalated between sandstones hundreds of meters thick. This continental, as well as littoral, sandy complex is included in the Nubian Sandstone. Reminiscent of the "Old Red" of Europe or the "continental intercalaire" of Africa, the Nubian Sandstone has built the impressive colorful rock escarpments of Petra and the eastern cliffs of the Dead Sea. Erosion and corrosion have sculptured these sandstones to fantastic rock forms, especially well developed in the Ḥismā plains and in the Wadi al-Rūm of the Ḥejaz province. It is also in this region that the complete atmospheric disintegration of the Nubian Sandstone has supplied the sandy fillings of the present extensive valleys of the Ḥismā; in the region outside our map it has provided the material for the large belts of dunes of the Ḍahna and Nafūd of inner Arabia. Copper of an average 1.5% is found as a cementing carbonate in the Paleozoic Nubian Sandstone and is mined at Timna. In the same area, manganese deposits have been mapped (mostly psilomelane) but their economic value is still under discussion.

Mesozoics. Dating the Nubian Sandstone is a persistent difficulty, particularly where there are no marine intercalations. This is the case in the Arabah and Dead Sea graben. Thus in the north-south canyons and steep western slopes of Moab, Sodom, and Midian and in the area opposite, between Eilat and Timna, Triassic and Jurassic marine interbeds are remarkably absent. There the massive sandstone rests directly on the Precambrian or the marine Lower Paleozoic Cambro-Silurian beds and is overlaid by marine Cenomanian strata. In this part of the country the Nubian Sandstone may therefore be of any age from Paleozoic to Mesozoic. Fossil plants found in the uppermost layers of sandstone (here somewhat clayey and shaly) are of continental Lower Cretaceous or Wealden character. Genuine marine Triassic in the Transjordanian part of our map is known from the surroundings of the northeastern corner of the Dead Sea and from the deeper wadi-cuts of the Jabbok River. In the high Negev of Sinai and Israel, Triassic is exposed in the erosion windows of Mt. Arif and Ramon. The predominantly calcareous, occasionally marly beds display lithological affinities with the "Germanic" epicontinental Trias – the Muschelkalk – though their fauna also contain many "Mediterranean" elements. Quasi-continental conditions during the Upper Triassic led to the deposition of gypsum evaporites and to faunistically sterile dolomite varves and Keuper-like variegated marls. The lowermost outcropping strata of the marine Triassic again appear in the "Nubian" facies.

Marine Jurassic is recorded from the neighborhood of the Triassic outcrops of Transjordan and on the Cisjordanian side from the anticlinal cores in Makhtesh Ramon, Ha-Makhtesh ha-Gadol and Ha-Makhtesh ha-Katan; yet none of the calcareous and marly epicontinental formations of the Jurassic or Triassic in Transjordan and in the Negev are completely devoid of sandy intercalations, demonstrating shallow sea conditions in the vicinity of a dune-framed continent. At Ramon, terrestrial influence is also marked by residual deposits of bog-iron and flint clays (up to 55% Al_2O_3) at the Jurassic-Triassic boundary, as well as by a few hundred meters of continental Nubian Sandstone containing some thin intercalations of marine Jurassic. Striking gravel formations recorded from the Jurassic-Cretaceous transition beds of the Ramon in the Negev, as well as of the Lebanon, indicate uplift and widespread erosion at the end of the Jurassic.

The Ramon outcrops are finally distinguished by numerous trachytic dikes and sills of possibly Upper Jurassic age, since they penetrate both Jurassic and Triassic sediments. The syenite-essexite plutonics of the anticlinal core have also been assigned to the Jurassic. The "intermediary" magmatics differ somewhat in rock type from the more basic volcanics, which are extensively represented in the Hermon-Lebanon mountains. In contrast to the continental and epicontinental Jurassic of the Negev and Transjordan, the Middle and Upper Jurassic of Lebanon and Hermon are developed as a 1,000–1,500-meter-thick marine complex prevalently of dolomite and limestone, suggesting deposition in an oceanic basin fairly remote from shore and land.

The recent material obtained from oil-exploration drilling in Israel leads to the conclusion that the Mid-Upper-Jurassic marine sedimentary troughs of Lebanon-Hermon extended south and southwest to Galilee, Carmel, Judea, the Coastal Plain, and the western Negev lowlands. The continental sphere of influence during this period is restricted to the Negev proper and to Transjordan. This paleogeographic zoning of sedimentary conditions persists to a greater extent in the following epoch, during the Lower Cretaceous. Thus in Transjordan and in the Negev-Arabah, the principal representative of the Lower Cretaceous is a uniform sandstone of continental habitus assigned in the map to the "Nubian" complex. Mostly regarded as the time-equivalent of the Wealden, this Lower Cretaceous Nubian Sandstone (kaolinic at the base) is again well exposed in the erosion windows of Ramon, the Makhtesh ha-Gadol, and the Makhtesh ha-Katan. There are, howevever, a few thin marine intercalations.

In the western regions, in the Coastal Plain as well as on Mount Carmel and in Galilee, evidence of the hegemony of the Tethys sea during the Lower Cretaceous is found in the cuttings and core samples from the recent wells at Ḥeleẓ, Tel Ẓafit, Moẓa, Zikhron Ya'akov, Caesarea, Haifa, Ein Na'aman (Kurdāna), Mount Tabor, and Tiberias, as well as in the outcrops of central and northern Galilee (Sartaba-Tabor, Bet Netophah, Har Ḥazon, Har ha-Ari, Manarah) and of eastern Samaria (Wadi Māliḥ-Fāriʿa). The lithology of the Lower Cretaceous is predominantly marly and occasionally sandy. Limestones are less frequent and like the other formations are of shelf and littoral character. The presence of lignite in the sandy beds also indicates the proximity of the continent. The abundance of hydroxides and oxides of iron gives the Lower Cretaceous rocks of Galilee their dominant and characteristic brown colors. Enrichment in a shallow sea led to the deposition of oolitic iron ores. The best ore (28% Fe) was found in the "minette" of the Aptian of Manarah in northernmost Israel (30,000,000 tons of minable ore have been evaluated).

Cenomanian-Turonian. Whereas the Triassic, Jurassic, and Lower Cretaceous appear in restricted outcrops in the anticlinal erosion cirques, Makhtesh Ramon, Ha-Makhtesh ha-Gadol, and Ha-Makhtesh ha-Katan, in the wadi-cuts at Ramallah and Wadi Māliḥ-Farīʿa, and in the uplifted fault blocks of Galilee, more than half of the exposed mountain formations of Israel belong to the marine Cenomanian-Turonian. Thus the prominent mountain bodies of the northern Negev, Judea-Samaria, Carmel, and Galilee are built of Cenomanian-Turonian rocks up to 2,500 ft. (800 m.) thick. The principal strata, hard limestone and dolomite, weather to a rough and rocky karstic landscape characteristic of Mediterranean calcareous terrains. Subdivided by very thin marly (e.g., Moẓa Marl) or by thicker flint-bearing chalk beds (e.g., the Carmel promontory of Haifa), these dolomites and limestones have become the main groundwater aquifer exploited during the last few decades in Israel.

In the central Transjordan section, in the Arabah-Dead Sea Rift Valley, and in the southernmost Negev (Timna), the Cenomanian limestone protrudes as a hard, vertical cliff overlying the rim of Nubian Sandstone escarpments. In southern Transjordan, the lower stage of the Cenomanian is still in the Nubian Sandstone facies. The main Cretaceous transgression starts there only with the Upper Cenomanian, or even, in places, with the Turonian. In northern Transjordan, however, in the upwarped region of the Jabbok-ʿAjlūn, the marine development of the Cenomanian is again complete, of considerable thickness and surface distribution. The landscape here is very reminiscent of the Judean-Samarian uplands. In the Carmel and Umm al-Faḥm mountains, submarine lavas and tuffs are interspersed in the Cenomanian-Turonian.

Senonian (Including Paleocene). The Cenomanian upwarps and anticlines of the Israeli mountain bodies are everywhere framed on their flanks by narrow strips of Senonian, which continue in larger extension in the synclinal areas. Flint-bearing hogbacks and flat-irons are characteristic morphologic features of the asymmetrical slopes of the Negev and Judean anticlines. The greatest surface extension, however, is that of the synclinorial downwarps of the Judean Desert, the Desert of Zin, and the Paran (Jirāfi) and Ẓenifim deserts in the southern Negev. The dominating Senonian of these regions is also distinguished in the landscape by a white to light gray color and badland dissection of its principal rock type, the chalk. Where unexposed to the atmosphere, the Senonian chalk is usually bituminous. Intercalated flints and the now exploited phosphatic limestones are other representative rock-types of the Senonian. In the Negev section of Sinai and of Edom, opposite, the harder flints are the principal components of the pebble pavement of the large Ḥamada plains and plateaus.

Eocene. The surface occurrence of the Eocene is similarly associated with the downwarped regions. The anticlinal ridges of the Cenomanian-Turonian, including their asymmetrical flanks, are practically devoid of Eocene. Eocene is of great extension west of the Ramon and Dimonah ranges in the structural depressions which start from the Avedat plateau down to Niẓẓanah, Revivim, and Beersheba. From Beersheba to the north it extends along the western foothills as far as Ḥuldah. Eocene is likewise extensively represented in the downwarped fold region of Paran and ʿAqof (ʿIqfī) in the southern Negev.

The folds of these synclinorial regions (and this applies also to those of the north) are usually smaller, shallower, more symmetric, and frequently of the brachy-anticline type. Undulations of this kind are developed in the uplifted high plateaus of Transjordan. In Samaria the exposed Eocene is distributed between Ebal-Gerizim and the Umm al-Faḥm range and in Ephraim proper between Umm al-Faḥm and Mount Carmel. A large area of Eocene is analogously situated (though disturbed by faults of the Kishon Valley) between Carmel and southwestern Galilee (Shepharam to Nazareth). In spite of the strong block-faulting which dissected the Galilee in the Pleistocene and the extensive basalt and Neogene cover, it is nevertheless possible to trace the Eocene on the southeastern flanks of the Galilean upwarp. On the western flank of this upwarp, parallel to the Senonian-Paleocene sedimentary girdle, Eocene appears in sporadic outcrops, intimating that its major portion lies hidden below the Coastal Plain and the sea. The Eocene in the foothill region of the Negev and Judea, western Galilee, and Ephraim consists primarily of chalk interspersed with flint and chalky marl. Lithologically it frequently resembles the Senonian and is accordingly marked by a common egg-shaped smooth hill-morphology. Harder limestones in the higher Negev (Avedat plateau) and in Sinai produce an esplanade landscape with enormous regional plateaus and cuestas. In the Lower Eocene table landscape of Edom-Moab, there is much interstratification of phosphatic limestone. Harder limestone and marble limestone of uppermost Lower to Middle Eocene age are widely distributed in central and eastern Galilee, evolving a pronounced karstic rough-hewn landscape which differs sharply from the smoother relief forms found in the foothill regions of Israel. There, rare occurrences of Upper Eocene are still developed in the chalky marly facies of the Middle to Lower Eocene foothills. Some of Galilee's largest springs derive from the Eocene karst, e.g., Gilboa, Migdal, Naḥal Ammud, Kinnerot (al-Ṭabigha), Kefar Giladi.

Oligocene. The Oligocene Tethys sea never reached far inland. The few limited outcrops in the foothills of Bet Guvrin, Ramleh, and Ephraim, as well as the drilling samples of the Coastal Plain, all point to shore deposits of chalky and detritic character. Marine Oligocene, therefore, plays no significant role in Israel's surface formations; continental Oligocene has not, so far, been discovered. Israel's emergence from the sea may have commenced in the Late Eocene from submarine ridges which already existed here and there in the Senonian; but the major elevation and hence the final anticlinal-synclinal fold pattern came about at the end of the Oligocene or earliest Miocene.

Marine Neogene. The beginning of the Neogene coincides with the most widespread rising of the region above the sea since the end of the Precambrian, i.e., since before the first appearance of the Paleozoic Tethys (Lipalian interval). Emergences had taken place before, such as at the end of the Triassic and Jurassic and the end of the Lower Cenomanian, but the whole of the country was not affected then, as shown by the results of recent deep borings in the Coastal Plain.

With the approach of the Miocene, the Tethys ceased to exist, its waters merging with and filling the Atlantic and Indian Oceans. At a later time, this region became connected with these two oceans only by means of small sea branches. Europe and Africa-Arabia were then united by isthmuses or divided by inland seas and the Mediterranean originated. In place of the widespread Mesozoic and Eocene transgressions of the Tethys, marine ingressions are henceforth limited to local embayments of the Mediterranean. These occurred primarily during the two Neogene stages, the Miocene Vindobonian and the Pliocene Astian-Plaisancian. Surface outcrops of the marine Neogene are very small in Israel and restricted to the foothill area or to the Beersheba and Kishon plains. Marine Neogene thus plays a very minor role in the morphology of the country.

The littoral Miocene is found today from Haifa Bay and the Ephraim Hills (Ein ha-Shofet) in the north to Beersheba and Dimonah in the Negev, up to a height of 1,600 ft. (500 m.) above sea level. In all the known exposures, it appears with sharp erosional unconformity on folded Eocene and Cretaceous rocks. The marine Miocene strata consist of lagoonal, sandy marls, beach sands, coarse-grained sands, and coral limestone. Both the facies and the fauna point to a connection with the Red Sea and the Indian Ocean. After the retreat of the Miocene sea, due to uplift in the Pontian of some 700–1,000 ft. (200–300 m.), there followed a new subsidence, accompanied by the Pliocene ingression.

The Pliocene sea in the north again occupied the Kishon Valley, the Jezreel Valley, and eastern Galilee as far as Tiberias. In the south it reached Nevatim, east of Beersheba, and again washed the foothills bounding the present Coastal Plain. The character of the Pliocene (Astian) littoral sediments is similar to the Miocene, except for the absence of coral reef limestone, indicating disconnection from the Red Sea and Indian Ocean. Uplift movements at the end of the Pliocene and during the Pleistocene brought the Pliocene littoral beds to their present height of 700–1,000 ft. (200–300 m.) and the Miocene to 1,600 ft. (500 m.). Where subaerial erosion has removed the Neogene sediments, the ancient abrasion planes often appear as tilted "peneplains."

The marine Miocene-Pliocene lying below the Quaternary of the Coastal Plain has been studied in hundreds of water wells and in many petroleum-exploration drillings. As so-called Sāqiyya beds, it consists of several hundred meters of plastic clays, silty marls, and marly sands; there are some local lumachelle layers and even basalt flows. In the deeper horizons it becomes markedly lagoonal, with several gypsum horizons, but this part of the section may be assigned to the Miocene-Oligocene.

Continental Neogene. The varying relief of Israel and neighboring Levant countries demonstrated by the Neogene irregular gulf and headland coastal configuration is also expressed by the development of large intermontane depressions, with their fill of predominantly continental deposits. Limnic freshwater and brackish sediments, evaporites (Menaḥemiyyah gypsum, Sodom salt), fluviatile gravel, red beds, and desert sands attaining hundreds of meters of thickness have been described under various formation names: Herod, Sodom, Ḥaẓevah (Ḥoṣeb), etc. They occur in the Jezreel Valley, the Jordan Valley, the Negev, and near the Dead Sea. Although of lesser thickness and geographical extension, these inland sediments may be compared in facies and age with the Bakhtiyārī and Fars series of Iran, Iraq, and Syria.

The continental Neogene, like its contemporaneous marine Mio-Pliocene, rests discordantly upon all pre-Miocene formations, frequently starting with a basal conglomerate, e.g., Kefar Giladi, Har Hordos, al-Dhrāʿ, Dimonah, etc. In the folded mountains of the Negev it is associated with synclinal basins (as in the Palmyra chains of Syria), e.g., Naḥal Malḥata (Wadi Milḥ) east of Beersheba, synclinal valleys between Yeroḥam and the Ha-Makhtesh ha-Gadol (Ḥatirah) anticlines, the Ḥaẓevah-Sodom-al-Dhrāʿ basin, and the Upper Paran downwarp. In the Jezreel Valley and eastern Galilee the continental Neogene occurs as filling masses within the huge fault depressions that extend from the Kishon to the Tiberias area. This is the same region of tectonic tension in which Upper Miocene and, more visibly, Upper Pliocene continental basalt eruptions took place and even continued during the Pleistocene. Pleistocene and Pliocene sheet lavas have built up the extensive volcanic plateaus of Hauran and eastern Galilee. They cover Neogene and pre-Neogene sediments, which, due to Pleistocene block and rift faulting, are exposed along the slopes of the Jordan graben and in the transversal fault valleys of Naḥal Tabor (Wadi Bīra), Harod, and eastern Dayshūn.

Quaternary. Uplift and desiccation of the inland lakes not only brought the marine and continental Pliocene into a higher topographic position, but was also accompanied by the complete retreat of the sea far to the west of the present Levant shores. Contemporary with this uplift, fault-dissection on a regional scale produced the graben-trough of Eilat-Arabah, the Dead Sea, and the Jordan Valley and accompanying step-fault blocks. The branching off of diagonal faults both in Cis- and Transjordan gave origin to transversal fault valleys and fault-block mountains, which are especially well developed in Samaria and the Galilee. The Negev, south Judea, Shephelah, and Sharon were far less affected by fault tectonics, and thus the mid-Tertiary fold pattern of anticlinal ridges and synclinal valleys, upwarps and downwarps, remained well preserved. In the synclinal valleys and on the ḥamada-plateaus of the Paran hinterland, continental deposition may have continued from Upper Tertiary to Recent.

Along the western border of the Judean Mountains, gravel fans and terraces plunge below the Coastal Plain (as far west as the Mediterranean) and are found in groundwater exploration wells at depths of 330 ft. (100 m.) overlying the Neogene strata. These clastics are assigned to the Lower Pleistocene or Villafranchian, indicating the extremely high precipitation of this Pluvial stage, synchronized with the Guenz-Mindel glacial time of Europe. Younger gravels of Mid-Upper Pleistocene age interfinger the fossil indurated dunes of the Coastal Plain, known as *kurkar* sandstone. The *kurkar*, which constitutes another important aquifer, is frequently subdivided by a terra-rossa-like, sandy, loamy soil, the *ḥamra* (Ar. *ḥamrāʾ*) or "red sands" of our citrus belt. The unconsolidated dunes are of Recent age. They run along the Coastal Plain and extend into the northern Negev, as far inland as the neighborhood of Beersheba. The undifferentiated Quaternary signifies the loamy, loess, and swampy soils, as well as recent gravels and silts blanketing the coastal and interior alluvial plains. Pleistocene marine sediments are found as foraminiferal limestone in the Haifa-Acre plain (e.g., Kurdaneh) and as marine *kurkar* around the western Carmel border. The water boreholes in the Coastal Plain encountered marine Pleistocene only as far inland as Rishon le-Zion, but this is missing in the Jezreel Valley and the Shephelah foothills. The lower Pleistocene is thus the most insignificant of the ingressions of the Cenozoic Mediterranean Sea. During the Upper Pleistocene, Mousterian man already lived near the present shores.

In the newly formed Quaternary Dead Sea-Jordan graben, the Lower to Middle Pleistocene is distinguished by gravel and freshwater lake and swamp deposits. At the southern end of Lake Tiberias (ʿUbaydiyya), many extinct mammals, skeleton remains of primitive man, and implements both of pebble culture and of Abbevillian were discovered. Slightly younger, but not older than Middle Pleistocene, were the proto-Acheulean tools and extinct fauna found at the Jordan, south of Lake Ḥuleh. During this period volcanic activity was renewed and many basalt layers accumulated, derived in part from the Hauran district. They were partly responsible for separating the Ḥuleh graben section from the Tiberias and southern Jordan graben and for the accumulation of thick peat deposits in the Ḥuleh Valley. The Tiberias region, the middle and southern Jordan valley, the Dead Sea, and the northernmost Arabah valley were occupied during the Upper Pleistocene (some 60,000 years ago) by a large brackish inland lake in which were deposited fine-bedded clays, gypsum, and chalk, called the Lashon (lisān) formation. This formation is interfingered with large fluviatile deposits of gravel and silt. At the end of the Pleistocene (some 20,000 to 15,000 years ago), the ancient Lisān lake receded from its highest stand at the -720 ft. (-220 m.) level to about -1,300 ft. (-400 m.), the present level of the Dead Sea. Young rivers spread their gravels upon the dried-up Lisān lake and cut out the present floodplain of the Jordan River. The raising of the Sodom salt mountain also started in the Lower Pleistocene.

STRUCTURAL PATTERN. The tectonic structures formed by the folding movements that modeled their final features during the Mid-Tertiary are best preserved in the dry climate of the Negev. However, south of the Yotvatah area, the influence of the Plio-Pleistocene graben faulting with its step faults, parallel and transversal to the Arabah graben depression, markedly disturbs the fold pattern that is still well observable at Ẓenifim. From Naḥal Paran as far as Makhtesh Ramon the direction of the folds is close to east-west and this trend persists into Sinai. The folds then turn in a northeast-southwest direction and dominate the central and northern Negev. Their anticlines are mostly asymmetrical on the eastern flanks and frequently limited by reverse strike-faults. These folds are grouped into one unit forming the main anticlinorial uplift, with culminations in the Makhtesh Ramon and Ha-Makhtesh ha-Gadol. In the structurally low areas, such as the central Arabah Valley and the synclinorium of Ḥaluẓah, the folds are smaller and more symmetrical, representing small domes and brachy-anticlines.

The mountainous region of Judea and Samaria is a broad arch, rising to a considerable height, that is subdivided into folds by the anticlines of Maon, Yatta, Ẓāhiriyya, Modi'im, etc. and the synclines of Netiv ha-Lamed-He and Ẓorah. The arch and its folds, again with a northeast–southwest trend, are distinctly asymmetrical, descending unequally to the Coastal Plain in the west and to the Jordan-Dead Sea graben in the east. Thus the pronounced northwest asymmetry observed on the western slopes of the Judean arch contrasts with the southeast asymmetry of the dominant folds of the Judean Desert and the northern Negev. These asymmetrical anticlinal folds are difficult to relate to pressure exerted by the Arabo-Nubian massif, but are apparently connected with the mechanism of epeirogenic and taphrogenic uplifts.

As in most rift valleys of regional extent, it is not always possible to define the exact location of the main border faults. In the case of the Pleistocene Jordan–Dead Sea graben, a throw of a thousand meters or more has been determined at a number of places. The western cliffs of the Dead Sea graben and the graben slopes between Beth-Shean and Lake Kinneret are, moreover, divided by numerous step faults that run parallel to the main border fault. They are also hidden to some extent by *en échelon* faults that have their origin in the main graben. A number of transversal faults, such as those between Wadi Fāriʿa and Jericho, as well as in the foothill region near Tulkarm, cut the anticlinorium of the Judean Mountains.

On the Coastal Plain, just as in the northern Negev and the southern part of the Judean Mountains, the structural lines are directed northeast-southwest. It is not yet clear whether this direction applies only to the folds or, as in the Ḥeleẓ area, to deep-seated faults as well. Petroleum wells of the Ḥeleẓ-Beror Ḥayil ridge indicate the presence of a wide and deep depression filled with Tertiary sediments, constituting the regional (Ashkelon) fault-conditioned trough.

In the Sharon a number of small transversal faults have been observed. It is possible that these constitute the continuation of faults exposed in the foothill area. There are no surface indications of a main, larger border fault, as found along the Jordan graben. Nevertheless one may assume that the great thickness of Tertiary sediments in the Sharon Plain is the outcome of a downfaulted coastal depression that began during or at the end of the Mid-Tertiary, as presumed also for the Ashkelon trough. If the existence of main faults below the young fill on the Coastal Plain and the continental slope area of the Mediterranean should be proved, then a general tectonic picture would evolve presenting Judea as a major horst limited on both sides by major grabens or by downfaulted depressions.

Mount Carmel forms a structural unit by itself. It is an extensive faulted uplift. The direction of some of the smaller anticlines (ʿUsifiyyā, Oren) is northwest-southeast. That is to say, they are not in harmony with the strike of other fold structures in the country. The view has been expressed that the major faults that limit Mount Carmel to the north have been responsible for producing the small anticlinal bends of this exceptional direction. Although the folds in Upper Galilee are more or less obliterated by the predominance of faulting, a certain east-southeast asymmetry of the rudimentary folds, and especially of the central upwarp, is still noticeable. Whereas in eastern Galilee faults are primarily directed northwest-southeast and their fault escarpments face north, in western Galilee, i.e., west of the main watershed, the faults run principally east-west, and their tilted block escarpments usually face south. The region of the watershed thus serves as a structural backbone where both the western and eastern fault systems meet. It is here, at Mount Tabor, Ḥazon, Ha-Ari, Meron, and Addir, that the faults frame the horst blocks on all sides.

In geological maps of Transjordan, many faults are indicated. Among the principal ones, there is the northeast-southwest Wadi Shu'eib fault, which turns into a north-south fault in the Dead Sea, thus becoming the eastern boundary fault of the graben. Between Wadi Ḥasa' and Petra, sets of faults in various directions build an extensive series of blocks in which the influence of the graben tectonics is heavily felt. The most outstanding of these faults extend southward from Petra, forming the eastern boundary fault of the southern Arabah graben and the western boundary of the Midian horst.

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[Leo Picard]

Flora and Fauna

FLORA. The flora of Ereẓ Israel is among the richest and most varied of any country in the world. On both sides of the Jordan River there are close to 2,300 species belonging to about 700 genera, which in turn belong to 115 families of flora. To these should be added scores of species found in Golan. No other place in the world has such floral wealth concentrated within such a comparatively small area. This density of species is due to several factors. Among them are the varied history of the region's landscape, the diversity of its topography and climate, the lengthy period of its agriculture, and especially the fact that it is the meeting place of three phytogeographic areas: the Mediterranean, the Irano-Turanic, and the Saharo-Sindic, with enclaves here and there of the Sudano-Deccanic.

The Flora of the Mediterranean Area. Of the three phytogeographic areas, the most important is the Mediterranean, which includes agricultural land in the mountains and valleys. In it the amount of water precipitation varies from 14–40 in. (350–1,000 mm.). This precipitation, the result of winter rains (with a small additional amount of melted snow from the high mountains), makes the nonirrigated cultivation of plantations and of winter and summer crops possible. The area is subdivided into mountain and coastal subareas.

The Mountain Subarea. This was once agriculturally the most developed area (having since been superseded in importance by farming lands in the valleys and the Coastal Plain). The intensive agricultural cultivation of mountain lands has curtailed or prevented the development of forests in this, their natural habitat, so that only remnants of forests and groves are left. In this subarea several types of forests are to be found containing the common *oak, the Palestine *terebinth, the mastic terebinth, the *carob, the arbutus, and the rhamnus, as well as many shrubs and wild grasses. The **Aleppo pine* (*Pinus halepensis*), thought to be native to the country, is mainly a newcomer, brought by human activities in the last 500 years. Most of the woods in Israel consist of the group of the common oak (*Quercus calliprinos*), and the Palestine terebinth (*Pistacia palaestina*), which can reach a considerable height but are usually shrubby as a result of having been cut or gnawed by sheep and particularly goats. This bush grows extensively on mountains of an altitude between 1,000–4,000 ft. (300–1,200 m.) above sea level. There is also the gall oak (*Quercus infectoria* (*boissieri*)), a deciduous tree with a tall trunk, alongside which grows the hawthorn (*Crataegus azarolus*). Under favorable humid conditions there also grow in this subarea the sweet *bay (*Laurus nobilis*) and the Judas tree (*Cercis siliquastrum*), which in spring adorns the mountains with its lilac flowers. On the western ridges of the Carmel and Western Galilee and on the western slopes of the Judean mountains, there is maquis, where grow the group of the carob (*ceratonia siliqua*) and the mastic terebinth (*Pistacia tentiscus*), along with many species of shrubs, climbers, annuals, and perennials. A third genus of oak – the Tabor oak (*Quercus ithaburensis*) – predominates on the western ranges of the Lower Galilean mountains, accompanied by the *storax tree (*Styrax officinalis*). In the northern Ḥuleh Valley it grows alongside the Atlantic terebinth (*Pistacia atlantica*). These two species of trees are the largest in Israel, some in the neighborhood of Dan having trunks 20 ft. (6 m.) in circumference and reaching a height of c. 65 ft. (20 m.).

All these are types of forest trees. Another genus of Mediterranean plant comprises flora groups called garrigue, which in Israel consist predominantly of shrubs and dwarf shrubs no taller than a man. The characteristic plants of the garrigue are the calycotome thorn bush (*Calycotome villosa*), the rock rose (*Cistus villosus*), and the salvia (*Salvia tribola*). At times the garrigue flora groups are the developing stage of a forest, at others an indication of the former presence there of a forest since destroyed. Characteristic of the unforested Mediterranean landscape are dwarf shrubs, of which the most widespread is the poterium thorn (*Poterium spinosum*). Reaching a height of less than half a meter, it grows densely and is one of the principal factors in preventing the erosion of mountain soil. Where being used either for firewood or for burning lime has destroyed these plants, the eroding effects of wind and rain have denuded the ground.

The Coastal Subarea. The soil here is sandy or a mixture of sandy chalk and sandy clay, which, being poor in organic substances and in its capacity to retain rainwater, is unsuitable for the growth of plants (unless irrigated). In this subarea grows flora that strikes deep roots, and desert and Aravah plants that can exist on small amounts of water, as well as annuals which sprout and ripen during the rainy winter months. Here can be found flora of Israel's three phytogeographic areas, as well as that of the Sudanoz-Deccanic, such as the *sycamore (*Ficus sycomorus*) and the wild *jujube (*Zizyphus spina-Christi*). Sand flora is in constant danger of being covered by moving sands and of having the sand under its roots blown away by the wind. Yet many sand plants are able to survive under such conditions, either by striking deep roots or by developing new shoots above the branches covered by sand. Near the sea, where the winds carry sea spray onto the flora, plants grow which are insensitive to sea water, such as the Russian thistle (*Salsola kali*) and species of fig marigold (*Mesembryanthemum*). Most of the sandy-clay soil is planted with citrus groves. The flora group of the love grass (*Eragrostis bipinnata*) and of the thistle (*Centaurea procurrens*) grow extensively here, as do the group of the cistus and of the calycotome on the brittle sandy-chalk hills in the Coastal Plain area, and the group of the carob and of the mastic in the hard sandy-chalk soil.

The Flora of the Irano-Turanic Area. This is concentrated in the loess or arid soil of the northern Negev and the Judean Desert. Here the climate is dry, with a rainfall varying from 8–14 in. (200–300 mm.), these being the limits for nonirrigated plants which thrive in rainy years (cf. Gen. 26:12). In this area there are almost no forests, but only sparse trees, such as the plant association of the Atlantic terebinth and the lotus jujube (*Zizyphus lotus*). Characteristic of the slopes bordering on the Jordan and Beth-Shean Valleys is the *Retama duriaei* association. Here the most important plant association is of a species of *wormwood (*Artemisia herba-alba*) which grows extensively in the Negev and in the Judean Desert.

The Flora of the Saharo-Sindic Area. This area, which extends over most of Israel but has the poorest flora, includes the southern Negev and the Aravah. Its rainfall, which is limited to a shorter period in winter, does not exceed c. 8 in. (200 mm.) and is usually much less, and there are even parts which in some years are almost completely rainless. The soil here is infertile and includes hammada, desert, gravel, and rocks. Trees grow only in wadi fissures. There are saline tracts bare of all flora, which is in any event very sparse here. The most typical plant in the hammada is the small shrub *Zygophyllum dumosum*, which is capable of surviving in areas with a rainfall of less than 2 in. (50 mm.). Since desert plants have to contend with a severe shortage of water, only those with special properties are able to survive here. Most of them spring up and flower quickly after a shower of rain; some of them, only a few weeks after germinating, scatter their seeds, which are capable of preserving their power of germination for many years. Other species here are bulbous plants that hibernate in dry periods. Generally, desert flora has long roots so as to utilize the sparse amount of water over a wide area, and hence the infrequency of these plants. Many species of desert flora have a great ability to absorb groundwater; one species, the *Reaumaria palaestina*, developing an osmotic capacity of more than 200 atmospheres. Other desert plants shed their leaves in a dry season, thereby curtailing the area of evaporation. Still other species are succulents, which are equipped with cells that in the rainy season store water for the dry period.

In sandy desert regions the flora is usually more abundant, the predominant species here being the haloxylon and the broom (*Retama roetam*). In the Aravah and in the lower Jordan Valley, where there is widespread salinity, saline flora, including species of atriplex and salicornia, grows densely.

In desert regions near sources of water there are oases, where tropical Sudano-Deccanic flora grows, the characteristic plants here being species of acacia, wild jujube, etc. These also grow in wadi fissures in desert regions. In places where the ground becomes sodden from winter floods, crops can be grown and plantations established.

Hydrophylic flora grows near expanses of water in all the areas of Israel. Large numbers of the poplar (*Populus euphratica*), as well as species of the *willow (*Salix*) and of the *tamarisk (*Tamarix*), grow on river banks, as do the *plane (*Platanus orientalis*) and the Syrian ash (*Fraxinus syriaca*) on the banks of streams in the north. Alongside these trees there usually grows the *oleander (*Nerium oleander*), together with numerous species of annuals and perennials. The reed and the cattail are found near almost every expanse of water. The papyrus once flourished extensively in the Ḥuleh swamps, but since they were drained it grows in extremely limited areas. Due to the draining of swamps in Israel and the piping of river water, hydrophytic flora has progressively decreased. On the other hand, some species of riparian plants flourish near fishponds, the area of which has greatly increased.

Cultivated Plants. Ereẓ Israel has a long and varied history of *agriculture. In addition to the older plants cultivated in the country for centuries, many have been introduced from various parts of the world, especially from Australia (mainly many species of the eucalyptus and the acacia) and from America, among these being numerous ornamental plants. Together with these plants, their companion wild grasses have also come into Israel and have flourished alongside the older wild grasses, in particular the prickly species which are a characteristic feature of Israel's landscape, especially in the burning hot days of summer.

FAUNA. *History.* The history of the fauna of Ereẓ Israel is a long one, going back to the earliest geological periods. Of these the Pleistocene epoch was the most dynamic and decisive in this respect by reason of the considerable changes which took place in its zoological character, mainly as a result of the influx of animals from various regions. In this period, fauna at present characteristic of East African savannas predominated in the country. To this period belong the bones, uncovered in the country, of animals no longer extant in Israel, such as warthog, hippopotamus, rhinoceros, and striped hyena, as well as various species of gazelle. The bones of elephants and of mastodons, brought to light in the Jordan Valley, belong to the Lower Pleistocene Age. In later periods animals penetrated to the country from Western and Central Asia, among them the wild horse, the wild ass, gazelles, wolves, and badgers. From the north there was a limited influx of animals as a result of the Ice Age in Europe.

During the Upper Pleistocene Age a tropical climate, warm and humid, predominated in Ereẓ Israel. This was followed by a dry period, which led to the destruction of the tropical fauna. And indeed an examination of the bones of animals found in the caves of prehistoric man in the Carmel shows that the principal game hunted by him consisted of mammals still extant in Israel. This is true also of the bones of birds brought to light in Early Stone Age caves, although several mammals and birds are of species extinct in the country in historical times. As early as the end of the Stone Age (4,000 B.C.E.) there was to be found in the country the fauna characteristic of it since biblical days.

With the enlargement of the settled area in the biblical and later in the Byzantine period, changes took place in the distribution of animals, now forced into the uninhabited areas (see *Animals of the Bible). The invention of rifles led to the extinction of the large carnivores as well as of the large ruminant game.

The present-day Jewish agricultural settlements have altered the distribution of the various animals. Some of them have disappeared, while others, finding favorable conditions in developed farming areas, have begun to multiply. Thus the increase in waterfowl is due directly to the increase of fishponds, in which aquatic mammals (such as the marsh lynx) have also begun to establish themselves. New species of birds have started to nest in plantations and citrus groves. The State of Israel's fauna preservation laws have saved several mammals from threatened extinction and some have begun to multiply greatly, such as the *gazelle, at present to be found in various parts of the country. The *ibex, too, has increased in number and herds of it may be seen in the mountains of En-Gedi and Eilat. On the other hand, toxic substances used to exterminate agricultural pests and jackals have led to the extinction of birds, particularly carrion-feeding ones. In this way the griffon *vultures, found in large numbers in the country up to the 1930s, have become almost extinct, only a few surviving at present.

The Zoogeography of Ereẓ Israel. The fauna in the country is extremely varied, the reason for this being, as in the case of the flora, that Israel is the meeting place of three climatic and floral regions. The regional distribution of the fauna corresponds almost exactly to that of the flora. To the Mediterranean fauna belong the *hare, chukar *partridge, swallow, agama, and others; to the Saharo-Sindic, the desert mouse, desert lark, sandgrouse, *gecko, cobra, and many other species; to the Irano-Turanic, animals that inhabit the northern Negev and the Judean Desert, such as the tiger weasel (*Vormela*), bustard, isolepis, and agama.

The Sudano-Deccanic animals inhabit the Jordan Valley as far as the Aravah. Here are to be found representatives also of tropical fauna, such as the cheetah, honey badger, tropical cuckoo, and carpet viper. In contrast to these animals that love the warmth, there are also representatives of the Holarctic fauna, such as the shrew and meadow pipit.

The catalogue of the names of animals thus far studied testifies to a wealth of fauna. At present approximately 100 species of mammals are known, nearly 400 of birds, more than 70 of reptiles, more then 400 of sweet and salt water fish, and seven of Amphibia. Much larger is the number of invertebrates. These are extensively represented among the insects, of which some 8,000 species are known in the country, their aggregate number being 22,000 according to Bodenheimer, who maintains that there are about 900 species of other *Arthropoda*. Of the invertebrates, other than the *Arthropoda*, some 300 species are known, their total number being estimated at about 2,750.

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HISTORY

For Prehistory see *Archaeology; for Biblical and Second Temple periods, see *History.

Destruction of the Second Temple until the Arab Conquest (70–640 C.E.)

THE EFFECTS OF THE WAR OF 66–70 C.E. The Jewish war against the Romans, which lasted more than four years and encompassed the entire country, the continuing siege of the fortresses of *Machaerus, *Herodium, and *Masada, the last falling only in 73, the capture of *Jerusalem and the destruction of the *Temple – all these gravely affected the Jewish people and the cities and villages of Ereẓ Israel. Josephus (Wars, 6:420) states that during the siege of Jerusalem alone more than a million Jews fell, while his contemporary Tacitus places the number at 600,000 (*Historiae*, 5:13). To these figures are to be added those killed at various stages of the war in Judea, Galilee, and Transjordan. Many fell in the battles fought and the massacres perpetrated by the inhabitants of the Greek cities against the local Jews, such as in *Caesarea, *Beth-Shean, *Acre, and *Ashkelon. In addition to the slain, many were taken captive before the siege of Jerusalem; tens of thousands were sold into slavery, sent to toil in ships and mines, or presented to the non-Jewish cities adjacent to Ereẓ Israel to fight against wild animals in the theaters. While the figures given by the early historians are undoubtedly exaggerated, it is certain that tens upon tens of thousands of Jews were killed or taken prisoner. Cities and villages were burnt and destroyed either in the course of the war or as an act of revenge and intimidation. Agriculture in particular suffered. Fruit trees on the mountains and in the valleys were cut down by the army for use in the siege or by military detachments in order to cow the population. That they might not be utilized by the enemy, many fruit trees were uprooted by the Jewish fighters, as were also the groves of balsam trees in the vicinity of Jericho which, of a quality unequaled in the world, were deliberately destroyed by the Jews, according to Pliny. Several cities and villages, which were demolished and of which Josephus tells that they were razed to the ground and burnt, were not actually destroyed but were damaged in one form or another. Some, like Jaffa, were already rebuilt during the war, others were completely destroyed or never restored.

With the destruction of the Temple, Jerusalem, although continuing to be inhabited by impoverished Jews, completely lost not only its spiritual significance but also its importance as a populated and economic center. Contemporary sages give distressing accounts of the plight of the surviving members of wealthy Jerusalem families (Mekh., Ba-Ḥodesh, 1; TJ, Ket. 5:13, 30b; TB *ibid.*, 67a). A considerable proportion of the inhabitants of Jerusalem and its immediate vicinity had derived their livelihood from the service and the supplies as also from other public duties associated with the Temple, as well as from the pilgrimages. With the destruction of the Temple and of Jerusalem they lost their sole means of support. The protracted war greatly increased the hostility of the soldiers and the authorities toward the Jews, undermining their position and bringing religious persecutions in its wake. The sources attest to the destruction of synagogues and the building of theaters on their sites or with their plunder, "so as to wound the feelings of the Jews." More grievous were the tortures inflicted on the Jews to compel them to transgress the commandments of their religion (Jos., Wars, 2:150 ff.; Apion, 1:43). For a time after the destruction of the Temple the Jews had the legal status of *dediticii*, that is, of a people that had unconditionally surrendered itself, its property, territory, and towns to the Roman state; they were deprived of their communal and religious rights by imperial edict; and were the arbitrary victims both in theory and in practice of unrestrained acts of lawlessness, as were also the Jewish communities in the immediate neighborhood of Ereẓ Israel. The authorities searched out the Jewish families descended from the house of David in order to destroy them and thus eradicate the last remnant of the nation's hope of the restoration of the Davidic kingdom. There was also *Vespasian's decree that, instead of the half shekel which each Jew contributed to the Temple in Jerusalem, a tax of two drachmas was to be imposed on every Jew in Ereẓ Israel and the Diaspora, and given annually to the imperial treasury for Jupiter Capitolinus, the Roman god, whose temple was on the Capitol. More than being a serious financial burden, this tax, which was paid also by women and children, was humiliating and oppressive, in addition to indirectly enforcing idolatry on the Jews. Although levied until the days of Julian the Apostate in the middle of the fourth century, its connection with Jupiter was discontinued some years after the destruction of the Temple. The memory of the war against the Romans and of the subjugation of Judea, with all that these implied, was kept alive by the Flavian emperors who throughout that dynasty's reign struck coins commemorating the victory and emphasizing the fact that Judea had been conquered.

THE ORGANIZATIONAL AND SPIRITUAL CRISIS. No less grave were the consequences in the spiritual and organizational spheres. The destruction of the country, the capture of Jerusalem, the burning of the Temple, and in their wake the abolition of the leading institutions – the high priesthood and the Sanhedrin – brought stupefaction and confusion in spiritual and communal life. Associated with the Temple and its divine service were communal and judicial institutions that had their seat in the Temple. There was the Sanhedrin, which administered justice, proclaimed the new months, and intercalated the year. There was the high priesthood, which had lost none of its commanding spiritual splendor despite its diminished prestige during the generations preceding the destruction of the Second Temple, its curtailed power, and the widespread criticism leveled at it. The destruction of the Temple brought an end to the sacrifices that atoned for Israel's sins and to the pilgrimages, and many categories of *mitzvot* connected with the Temple and its service fell into disuse, and so to some extent did numerous other *mitzvot* associated with festivals, such as the blowing of the *shofar* on the New Year and the waving of the *lulav* on Tabernacles, which were mainly observed in the Temple and only partially outside it. The Temple was also the political, juridical basis of the Jewish communal structure. Centering round it in the Persian and Hellenistic periods, Judea derived its constitutional power from the Temple, the nation's glory as far as the outside world was concerned and the focal point of the Jewish people both in Ereẓ Israel and in the Diaspora. In the Second Temple period Jerusalem was not only the capital of the state but also the theater of every spiritual creativity and political occasion. Coalescing as it were with the Temple, the city was intertwined in the practical life of the people and in the complex of the basic values of the nation's thought. The destruction of the city and of the Temple left a vacuum in the spiritual and practical life of the Jews. The crises that followed the revival and the fervent hopes aroused during the war against the Romans were calculated to undermine the nation's faith both in its teachings and in its future. One senses in the tannaitic literature and in the apocryphal works, composed in the generation after the destruction of the Temple and Jerusalem, the somber sorrow and pain that afflicted many contemporary circles. Some abstained from flesh and wine, for the altar had been destroyed on which flesh had been offered and wine poured out in libations. Many lived in caves and in fasting and self-mortification awaited the messianic era, which would soon dawn. There was no speedy transition to the spiritual, religious reality necessary to rebuild the sole basis of a hope of redemption – the life of the nation, now deprived of its Temple and its political framework.

THE ADMINISTRATIVE CHANGES AND THE REGIME AFTER DESTRUCTION. With the destruction of Jerusalem and the Temple, Judea, except for those settlements (like Caesarea) which, within the confines of Jewish Ereẓ Israel, enjoyed city status, passed under the direct control of the Roman administration. At Motza a colony was set up consisting of 800 Roman veterans, who received confiscated Jewish land. Jaffa and Flavia Neapolis, founded near Shechem, were granted city rights. No new cities were established within the limits of Jewish settlement, except *Tiberias and *Sepphoris which, having previously had city status, in the course of time regained their rights. The province of Judea, *provincia Judaea*, which was now founded, included all the coastal cities from Caesarea to Rafa, the whole of Idumea, Judea, Samaria, Perea in Transjordan, Galilee, and all the cities of the Decapolis, except Damascus and Canatha. After the death of *Agrippa II (92), the last ruler of the Herodian dynasty, a considerable part of his kingdom, comprising territories in Perea, Tiberias, Magdala, and Gaulanitis, was added to Judea. In contrast to the period preceding the destruction, the province was now subject to the authority of a Roman senator who had formerly served as a *praetor* and whose title was *legatus Augusti pro praetore provincia Judaea*.

Contrary to the prevailing Roman imperial practice of stationing legions only in the provinces bordering on the empire, *Vespasian stationed in Judea, an "internal" country, a permanent garrison, the tenth legion, *legio decima Fretensis*, that had taken part in the war against the Jews. During the entire period of the Roman imperial rule of Ereẓ Israel this legion was permanently stationed in the country, and inscriptions and seals of it have been uncovered at its various encampments. Its main camp, located on the city's ruins, was in Jerusalem; its commander was the governor, who resided in Caesarea. To facilitate contact between the military headquarters in the center of the country and the administrative seat of government at Caesarea, a branch of the coastal road was built from Antipatris to Jerusalem. Encamped near the legion were other military units, auxiliary troops, etc., that had been brought from distant lands. The auxiliary forces which had been stationed in Ereẓ Israel before the destruction and which, consisting of soldiers from Caesarea and from Sebaste, were distinguished for their hatred of the Jews whom they had provoked to acts of war, were transferred by Vespasian to other provinces. Assisting the governor was a procurator who was in charge of financial affairs. It is doubtful whether the province of Judea became independent after the destruction and was not annexed to Syria, as it had been before the war, since civil, legal, and military issues of decisive importance still required the decision of the Syrian governor who resided in Antioch. Josephus tells that Vespasian ordered that all Jewish territory was to be hired out, for he founded no city in it (Wars, 7:216). Since in point of fact many Jewish farmers remained on their land as owners, Josephus' statement refers to that land which was confiscated and which indeed constituted a considerable proportion of Jewish territory. Contemporary literature echoes a poignant cry against the Roman tax-collectors (*conductores*) who held land throughout Ereẓ Israel. Some was actually transferred to non-Jews, such as to the 800 veterans, and its former owners were dispossessed. Other land was given to favorites and loyal friends of the Jewish and non-Jewish authorities or to large tenants, the *conductores*. The former owners were not ejected from most of the confiscated land but cultivated their own as tenant farmers, for which they had to pay a high rental in kind, expecting nevertheless to be evicted at any time on the pretext of not paying the rent or some other excuse.

Taxes. On unconfiscated land a tax was levied which was increased after the destruction and from which only a few imperial court favorites, such as Josephus in the days of Domitian, were exempted. But whereas some in the territories of the Roman Empire were liable to a land but not to a poll tax, the Jews in Ereẓ Israel had to pay both. A Roman writer of a generation or two after the destruction states that, because of their rebelliousness, the tax imposed on the Jews of Ereẓ Israel was more severe than that demanded of the inhabitants of the neighboring countries. After the destruction the tax for the provision and maintenance of the army and of the enlarged Roman officialdom in the country, levied in kind (*annona*) from dough, animals, and all locally produced or imported agricultural and industrial products, was increased. There were bitter complaints against the excessive demands and the harshness employed in collecting them, as also against the various forms of forced labor, whereby the authorities and especially the army compelled the population, both urban and rural, to perform work, such as haulage, or repairing and making roads, with their own persons and with the help of their temporary or permanently requisitioned draught animals. A short time after the destruction small watchtower stations were erected along the borders and along the main roads in many places in Ereẓ Israel. In the years following the destruction, under the Flavian dynasty (until 96), a system of defense, known by its latter name of *limes Palaestinae* was established in southern Ereẓ Israel. Extending from Menois, north of Rafa, to the Dead Sea, the *limes* consisted of a series of fortresses connected by a road, along which, on allotments of land, military colonists enjoying a special status were settled. In the rear of the *limes* were two military bases: *Carmel and *Hebron. While its establishment brought security to the country's southern settlements, it further increased the already large non-Jewish population in the country.

THE INCEPTION OF A CENTRAL LEADERSHIP. The renewal in post-destruction Ereẓ Israel of Jewish communal life – which also reconstructed Judaism in the Diaspora – without the framework of a state and without a Temple which was the foundation of Jewish religious and spiritual existence, is associated with the name of Rabban *Johanan b. Zakkai and with his activities in the semi-Greek city of *Jabneh. One of the greatest Pharisaic sages in Jerusalem before the destruction, he vehemently opposed the Sadducees and the Sadducean high priesthood. He was deputy to the president of the Sanhedrin, Rabban *Simeon b. Gamaliel, who was the leader of the government set up after Cestius Gallus had been forced to retreat and with whom he signed the letters sent throughout Ereẓ Israel and the Diaspora in connection with tithes and the intercalation of the year (Mid. Tan. 26:13). To him is ascribed the abolition of the ceremony of the bitter water in the examination of a wife suspected of infidelity (Sot. 9:9). Although a priest, he is depicted as a scholar and teacher who in his statements and teachings protested and strove against the priests' haughtiness and aloofness. It is possible that he gave no support to the revolt against Rome. At any rate, warning the rebels against fanaticism and impetuous acts, he called on them to display moderation in their relations with gentiles and toward their sacred objects: "Be not precipitate in tearing down the altars of gentiles that you do not have to rebuild them with your own hands, that you do not tear down those made of brick and be ordered: Make them of stone…" (ARN^2 31, 66). He was in besieged Jerusalem, but left the city during the siege, apparently in the spring of 68 when Vespasian was closing in on the city. His departure then left a deep impression on talmudic tradition, and there are different versions of his appearance before Vespasian when he prophesied that the latter would become the emperor (which Josephus ascribes to himself, and various sources to different persons in the east). According to later traditions in the Babylonian Talmud, he obtained from the emperor "Jabneh with its sages" and "the dynasty of Rabban Gamaliel" (Git. 56b). But this tradition, which contains much taken from somewhat later circumstances, reflects the time when "Jabneh with its sages" was already established under the leadership of Rabban *Gamaliel, the son of Rabban Simeon b. Gamaliel, and the foundations had been laid for the succeeding dynasty of *nesi'im* who presided over the Sanhedrin and led the nation for more than 300 years. The earlier traditions embodied in the Ereẓ Israel literature (Lam. R. 1:5, no. 31; ARN[1] 40, 22–23; ARN[2] 60, 19–20) indicate that Johanan b. Zakkai was first held in custody at Gophna and later transferred, apparently under duress, to Jabneh, which was used together with other cities such as Ashdod, on account of their large non-Jewish population, as a place for concentrating and imprisoning the Jews, and especially the prominent ones, who had surrendered to the Romans. According to one source, he only requested of the emperor, who granted his request, that certain persons be saved; according to others he succeeded in obtaining Jabneh "to teach his pupils" or "to observe the *mitzvot* and study the Torah" there.

The general circumstances prevailing during the war against the Romans, as also the usual procedures adopted by Vespasian and his son *Titus, support these earlier versions of the origin of Jabneh. When requesting "Jabneh with its sages," Johanan b. Zakkai did not presumably ask of and receive from Rome permission to establish a national or even merely a spiritual center. Although the official permission he received was extremely restricted, he in effect began, with or without the authorities' knowledge, to rehabilitate Jewish life theoretically and to fill in practice the vacuum created by the destruction. He reestablished the *Sanhedrin, and in Jabneh commenced to proclaim the new months and intercalate the years, on which the entire calendar of Jewish festivals depended. The proclamation of the new month, based on the testimony of witnesses, and the intercalation of the year, dependent on the decision of the *bet din*, which were previously done in the Temple in Jerusalem, were now transferred to Jabneh, and the information was transmitted to all the cities of Ereẓ Israel and the Diaspora. By this action alone Jabneh became the leading center and place of assembly for all Israel. To it was transferred some of the authority and activities that pertained to the Temple courtyards in Jerusalem. Several of Johanan b. Zakkai's regulations deal with the proclamation of the new month at Jabneh. He decreed that the *shofar* was to be blown at Jabneh also on a New Year that fell on a Sabbath, which had previously only been done in the Temple and in Jerusalem. Another regulation lays down "that even if the head of the *bet din* is in some other place, the witnesses (who testify when the new moon appeared) should still go only to the place of the assembly" (RH 4:4). His other regulations were likewise intended to fill the void created by the destruction and to rebuild Jewish life while retaining a remembrance of the Temple, so as to rehabilitate the former without the latter. He instituted that the *lulav* be waved all the seven days of Tabernacles, contrary to the situation that obtained during the existence of the Temple when it was waved seven days in the Temple and only one day in other parts of the country (*ibid.* 4:3). He ordained that the priests bless the people during prayers in the synagogue without their shoes on, as had been done at the end of the service in the Temple. According to the *halakhah,* a proselyte, on his conversion, had to bring a sacrifice to the Temple, but with its destruction he set aside a quarter shekel for a sacrifice to be offered when the Temple would be rebuilt, a regulation abolished by Johanan b. Zakkai (*ibid.* 31b). To the people, shaken by the destruction of the Temple, "where the sins of Israel were expiated," he taught: "My son, be not grieved. We have another means of expiation like it. What is it? It is deeds of loving-kindness" (ARN[1] 4, 21). He laid the foundations for the structure of organized life by instituting or renewing the ordination of sages and the title of "rabbi" for ordained sages, a fact of great significance not only for the religious life, law, and leadership in Ereẓ Israel, but also for the country's hegemony over the Diaspora, since the right of granting ordination was restricted to the leading institutions in Ereẓ Israel. The title of rabbi also indicated that its bearer was a member of the Sanhedrin and acted in its name. Furthermore, Johanan b. Zakkai began to work for the consolidation and unity of the nation amid the various trends and movements which appeared in all their destructive virulence during the last days of the Temple's existence. Nevertheless Johanan b. Zakkai's activities are limited in comparison with those that marked the days of Rabban Gamaliel. This is not to be ascribed only to the difficult external conditions then prevailing and the Roman Empire's nonrecognition of the leadership at Jabneh. It is also due to the fact that many sages dissociated themselves from Johanan b. Zakkai and his actions at Jabneh. Conspicuous by their absence were not only the priestly sages who ministered in the Temple and ranked among the influential members of Pharisaic circles, but also many others, some of whom went to Jabneh after the days of Johanan b. Zakkai. Of his five pupils, only two, *Eliezer b. Hyrcanus and *Joshua b. Hananiah, accompanied him to Jabneh. Apparently a considerable number of the sages were unable to reconcile themselves with him, with his leaving besieged Jerusalem, his surrender to the Romans, and his throwing himself on the emperor's mercy. These circles, however, cooperated with Rabban Gamaliel, his successor and a member of the dynasty of the *nasi*.

IN THE DAYS OF THE NASI RABBAN GAMALIEL. A change in the status of Judaism in Ereẓ Israel took place when the Flavian dynasty came to an end with the murder of Domitian (96). The policy of encouraging informers in Rome against those suspected of Judaism was abolished, as was that of persecuting proselytes. To this period is to be assigned the accession of Rabban Gamaliel to the position of *nasi* after having previously been compelled to go into hiding from the Romans. In contrast to Johanan b. Zakkai who according to the evidence had no contact with the authorities during his tenure of the office of *nasi*, Rabban Gamaliel traveled to Antioch where he obtained authorization from "the governor in Syria" (Eduy. 7:7). Roman imperial emissaries were sent to ascertain the nature of Hebrew civil law, then reintroduced and extensively in vogue. There were the journeys to Rome undertaken by Rabban Gamaliel together with the leading members of the Sanhedrin, Eliezer b. Hyrcanus, *Eleazar b. Azariah, Joshua, and *Akiva, their meeting with the authorities, and their visit to the Jews in the city. Under Rabban Gamaliel the center in Jabneh assumed most of the functions fulfilled by the Sanhedrin in Second Temple times. To it questions were addressed from all the cities of Ereẓ Israel and the Diaspora. During this period missions were reintroduced on behalf of the *nasi* and the Sanhedrin to the communities of Ereẓ Israel and the Diaspora, some of the most eminent sages, such as Eliezer b. Hyrcanus, Joshua b. Hananiah, Akiva, and *Ishmael, acting as emissaries and being sometimes accompanied by the *nasi* himself. These missions also had great economic importance, since the emissaries brought back with them the money collected in the Diaspora for the maintenance of the central authority in Ereẓ Israel. The ties that the emissaries formed with the cities of Ereẓ Israel and with the Diaspora had not only an organizational significance but also established a personal link between these places and the great teachers of the Torah acting in the name of the *nasi*. Wherever they went, they gave practical decisions on the questions submitted to them, brought with them the innovations decided upon in the *battei midrashot* in Ereẓ Israel, supervised the communal arrangements and institutions, and established those essential for the life of a Jewish community, such as charitable, educational and other similar ones. The emissaries decisively influenced the appointment of leaders in the cities and villages of Ereẓ Israel and the communities of the Diaspora, and even had the power to depose them if their leadership was found to be defective. During this period the character of the Sanhedrin assumed definite form as a *bet midrash*, a legislature and a dominant executive body.

Many discussions and actions that marked those years until the Bar Kokhba revolt (132) had not only then a decisive effect on the life of the Jews in Ereẓ Israel and in the Diaspora but shaped and directed the existence of the nation throughout all subsequent generations. Amid much argument and conflict the *halakhah* was decided according to Bet Hillel, a fact of great influence on the entire history of the *halakhah*. A final decision was taken on numerous problems concerned with proselytization, priestly dues, tithes, and other subjects. In this period the concept crystallized that study is greater than action, since "study leads to action" (Kid. 40b). At one assembly which took place at Lydda in keeping with the custom of meeting on occasion elsewhere than at the permanent center at Jabneh, it was decided that a Jew, if forced to transgress the *mitzvot* of the Torah, may do so to save his life except in the three instances of idolatry, murder, and incest. But at a time of open religious persecution intended to compel Jews to sin against their religion, a Jew should suffer death and not transgress even a minor custom (TJ, Sanh. 3:6, 21a). At Jabneh the form of the festivals was laid down under the circumstances prevailing after the destruction, when there were now no pilgrimages, sacrifices, or Temple. The order was also fixed of the four fasts instituted after the destruction of the First Temple but either observed partially or totally disregarded in the Second Temple period. Under the direction of the sages of Jabneh, *Aquila the proselyte of Pontus translated the Bible anew into Greek. The earlier Septuagint did not mirror the later halakhic and aggadic interpretation of the Pentateuch and the Prophets, thereby creating a barrier between the Jews who used it and the halakhic and aggadic expositions they heard from the sages. That the Septuagint had been adopted and canonized by the Church and several of its passages were used as a basis for the Church Fathers' interpretations may have influenced the sages to produce a new translation. The Jews did not entirely discard the Septuagint but Aquila's version was adopted in synagogues and in Jewish life. On Rabban Gamaliel's explicit instructions the order was fixed of the prayer of Eighteen Benedictions, known already in Second Temple times (see *Amidah). While it is not certain what precisely was done in the days of Gamaliel, at all events from this period the prayer was permanently instituted for private and public worship two or three times daily.

In the days of Jabneh, too, the breach and separation between Judaism and *Christianity took place. Pharisaic Judaism had in the Second Temple period shown tolerance alike to Gentile and Judeo-Christians. But after the destruction came the separation. The Judeo-Christians dissociated themselves from the war against the Romans and from the tragedy that had come upon the nation. Nor did some share the hope of deliverance, which had, in their view, been fulfilled with the advent of their Messiah. Many of them saw in the destruction of the Temple and of Jerusalem a proof of the truth of Christianity, in that Israel had been punished for killing their Messiah, and Jesus' prophecy regarding the destruction of the Temple had been fulfilled. Some even held that with its destruction and the discontinuance of many commandments, all the *mitzvot* had been annulled and Judaism's hour had passed. Thus they used the destruction of the Temple for propagating Christianity. To this the sages of Jabneh answered with actions calculated to bring about a breach and a separation between the Jews and Judeo-Christianity and especially those trends in Judeo-Christianity that approximated to Gentile Christianity. A notable factor that had a decisive influence in the Jewish community's rejection of Judeo-Christianity was the introduction in the Eighteen Benedictions of an additional blessing directed against its adherents: "To apostates let there be no hope if they return not to Thy Torah, and may the Nazarenes and the sectarians perish as in a moment" (such or something similar was the ancient Ereẓ Israel version). This prayer in effect excluded Judeo-Christianity from the Jewish people.

THE EDUCATIONAL ACTIVITIES OF THE SAGES OF JABNEH INSIDE THE CONFINES OF THE HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY.

The sages of Jabneh succeeded not only in reconstructing the life of the nation but also in achieving the efflorescence of its spiritual and social existence. This was largely due to the activities of the leaders of the *bet midrash* and the Sanhedrin as also to the great personalities with whom that period was favored. Most of them were ordained rabbis and functioned officially as members of the Sanhedrin. But there were also those – and some of them represented the most outstandingly creative and constructive forces – who, unordained, continued as "disciples" and worked as itinerant teachers of the Torah in Ereẓ Israel unhampered by any official obligations. Almost none of the personalities who established and consolidated the institutions of the communal national leadership at Jabneh emanated from the circles that, during Second Temple times, had constituted the social elite, whether of the priestly or the social-economic aristocracy. Some of the sages were indeed priests and even well-to-do or rich, but many, and they included some of the most eminent figures, were poor and of undistinguished birth, their standing being determined only by their learning and their rich personalities. In addition to the *bet midrash* at Jabneh, others flourished in the towns and villages, being found in all parts of the country from the south to the north, at Kefar Aziz in the south, where Ishmael was active; at *Bene Berak, where Akiva lived; at Lydda, the seat of Eliezer b. Hyrcanus and of *Tarfon; at Peki'in, which was under the leadership of Joshua b. Hananiah; and in Galilean cities, such as at Sepphoris, where *Ḥalafta was active, at *Sikhnin, the seat of *Ḥananiah b. Teradyon, and at Tiberias, where *Yose b. Kisma taught. The heads of the local *battei midrashot* came regularly to Jabneh which some made their main place of residence, paying only short visits to their own *battei midrashot*.

RESETTLEMENT AND ECONOMIC RECOVERY. Despite the considerable suffering endured as a consequence of the war, Jewish Ereẓ Israel made a rapid recovery. Many captives, freed with the help of the local Jewish population or by other means, returned to their homes. As a result of the teachings of the contemporary sages, the significance of Ereẓ Israel, its settlement, and the redemption of its land now assumed the character of a basic principle in Jewish thought and action. Large tracts of land were redeemed from the non-Jews, plantations were restored, and new ones planted. Agricultural knowledge increased, and industry in Ereẓ Israel, consisting of processed agricultural products, quickly recovered. Craftsmen's associations plied their trades; farmers reaped bounteous harvests; agricultural and industrial products were exported. Already toward the end of the first century C.E. the economic position had improved considerably. In general, Jewish cities destroyed during the war were rebuilt and rehabilitated. All the Greek cities, whose Jewish settlement had been destroyed during the war, were repopulated by Jews. By the end of the first century C.E. there were flourishing Jewish communities in places like Caesarea, Ashkelon, Acre, Beth-Shean, and elsewhere. Great assistance in the speedy rehabilitation of the Jewish nation in Ereẓ Israel was rendered by those cities which had not revolted against Rome or had at an early stage in the war stopped fighting, while the basis for the restoration of a normal economic life was provided by those cities and circles which had not participated in the war. By reason both of postwar military requirements and of the economic and commercial prosperity of the Roman Empire under the Antonines (96–180), the network of roads in Ereẓ Israel was extended and many bridges were built. In 106 the *Nabatean kingdom was annexed to the Roman Empire, and in 111 a start was made with constructing a road linking Damascus and Akaba. A large part of the foreign trade with the Arabian Peninsula and with India passed along this route, to the benefit of the cities, including the Jewish settlements, adjoining this road and of the Jews in the Greek cities in Transjordan. The Jewish population increased, too, in Akaba, that is, Ezion-Geber.

THE WAR OF QUIETUS. In 115–117 the Jews in the Diaspora rose in a widespread revolt which, embracing Libya, Cyrenaica, Egypt, Cyprus, and Mesopotamia, was marked both by battles between the Jews and the Greeks and uprisings against Roman rule in the east. The focal point of the revolt was in the Diaspora and the early historical sources speak explicitly only of the revolt and the destruction of Diaspora Jewry and especially of North African countries. But epigraphic evidence about military missions sent at that time to Ereẓ Israel and fragmentary literary information indicate that there were uprisings on a considerable scale in Ereẓ Israel too. In Jewish tradition these uprisings are known as "the war of Quietus" (Sot. 9:14), after the Moorish commander Lusius Quietus, who, having ruthlessly suppressed the revolt of the Jews in Mesopotamia, was sent to stamp out the revolt in Judea and was then appointed its governor until recalled to Rome, where he was executed at the beginning of Hadrian's rule (118).

Talmudic traditions tell of meetings on the Temple Mount in Jerusalem, of the revolt spreading to *Galilee, the destruction of various cities in Ereẓ Israel, and the execution of its leaders, *Pappus and Lulianus, whose activities extended also to the Diaspora (Sifra 8:9). With the suppression of the revolt religious persecutions were reinstituted. In an act of deliberate provocation, an idol was set up on the Temple Mount (Ta'an. 4:6).

THE BAR KOKHBA REVOLT. The accession of *Hadrian (117) brought with it a trend to restore peace in the east and to rehabilitate and reconstruct the region on an extensive scale. Apparent in Hadrian's actions was a regard for the national character, predilections, and needs of the provinces. Ereẓ Israel and the Jews, too, benefited from this trend. In his efforts to restore devastated areas, the emperor promised the Jews that he would rebuild and return Jerusalem to them, and permit the rebuilding of the Temple. Jews began to flock to Jerusalem, and organizational and financial preparations were made for rebuilding the Temple (Or. Sibyll. 5:252–4; Epistle of Barnabas, 16: 1–5; Epiphanius, *Liber de Mensuris et Ponderibus*, 170; Gen. R. 64:10). A few years after his accession Hadrian, changing his mind, abandoned the plan of rebuilding Jerusalem as a Jewish city and instead decided to continue its construction as a pagan Roman city. Even the coins struck in Ereẓ Israel in those days show a tendency to ignore the prevailing facts of Jewish existence. It is difficult to determine Hadrian's motives for this change of mind. He may have been prompted to adopt this new course by the profound echo which his promise produced among the Jews and by the political fears he entertained at restoring Jerusalem to the Jewish people. His attitude to Judaism may also have changed, for during his reign and already at the beginning of the twenties he displayed indubitable pan-Hellenistic tendencies, his policy being aimed at introducing in the empire and particularly in its eastern regions the later universal Hellenistic outlook and mode of life. This found expression alike in the erection of buildings and monuments, the passing of laws against Oriental usages, and, inclusion in the ban against castration which was punishable with death, the prohibition of circumcision.

This last was not specifically directed against Judaism, since its practice was also forbidden to others in the east who circumcised their sons. But for no other people did circumcision occupy so significant a place in its thought. Nor did any other people so scrupulously insist on circumcising every single boy. Hadrian, who before becoming emperor had been the governor of Syria and had come into contact with the Jews and their sages, was undoubtedly aware of what these arrangements of his meant for the Jews. But in his resolve to reshape and reconstitute life in Ereẓ Israel, he deliberately ignored the Jewish nation and its past in the country. No wonder that one historian, *Dio Cassius, mentions this resolve of Hadrian as the cause of the revolt: "For it was terrible in the eyes of the Jews that non-Jews should dwell in their city and that gentile temples should be erected in it" (*Historia Romana*, 69:12–14), while another source gives the prohibition of circumcision as the reason for the revolt (*Historia Augusta*: Hadrian, 14). These actions, coming as they did after the spiritual elation engendered by the permission to rebuild Jerusalem and the Temple, led to a profound agitation among the Jews and to military preparations against Rome, to the surreptitious construction of various fortifications, and to the accumulation of arms. Dio Cassius tells that the Jews purposely damaged the weapons they made for the Romans, so that these should be rejected and remain in the possession of the Jews without their stockpiling arousing suspicion. While Hadrian was in Ereẓ Israel and its neighborhood (128–132) the Jews did not openly rebel, but the grave terrorist acts then committed in the country found the permanent Roman forces there insufficient to cope with the situation. An additional legion, the *Sexta Ferrata*, was brought to Ereẓ Israel, and remained in the country after the revolt, being stationed in Kefar Otnai at the entrance to the Valley of Jezreel. The authorities were also compelled to reinforce the tenth legion by recruiting soldiers from nearby countries. When Hadrian left the east, the revolt broke out and assumed large proportions, since "the Jews throughout the entire world were in an uproar too, and joined them, inflicting openly or by stealth great losses on the Romans. They were moreover helped by non-Jews" (Dio Cassius loc. cit.). The *Samaritans, or at least some of them, also joined.

In contrast to the rebellion against the Romans in 66–70, the revolt was distinguished by national unity and centralized leadership. There are references to local heroes and to various messiahs and pretenders to the royal title who flourished in the first stages of the revolt, but conspicuous during its course and until its end were the leadership and the central figure of *Simeon bar Kokhba. It is he who is mentioned in the historical sources, round whose personality are centered talmudic traditions and legends, and in whose name – Simeon, Nasi of Israel – coins were struck. Documents and letters, dating from the time of the war and found in the caves of the Judean Desert, were taken there by fugitives from En-Gedi and its vicinity. In them it is "Simeon bar Kosiba, Nasi of Israel," who issues instructions and commands; in his name public lands are leased out. Christian sources state that he was called Bar Kokhba by reason of the messianic traits ascribed to him. Akiva, too, acknowledged his messiahship and declared: "This is the King Messiah" (TJ, Ta'an. 4:8, 68d). With Simeon the Nasi there also appears on some coins "Eleazar the priest," apparently *Eleazar of Modi'in, a sage of Jabneh, whom talmudic tradition associates with Bar Kokhba. The headquarters of Bar Kokhba and of the commanders of the Jewish fighters was at *Bethar situated at the extremity of a mountain ridge to the southwest of Jerusalem. In the intervening period between the war against the Romans and the Bar Kokhba revolt, the town, having been rebuilt after its destruction, flourished as a commercial and inhabited center for the region in place of Jerusalem. Shortly before the revolt, the Sanhedrin and the household of the *nasi* moved to Bethar, in which not only schools for study of Torah were established but also one for Greek learning. It is not known what connection the household of the *nasi* had with the revolt or with Bar Kokhba, or to what extent the Sanhedrin was associated with the revolt, but it is clear that the sages supported it.

The revolt began with a great offensive. Bar Kokhba succeeded in gaining control of the whole of Judea, including Jerusalem, as well as of a considerable part of the rest of Ereẓ Israel, and in introducing in the territory under his rule an independent Jewish order. The rebels defeated Tinnius Rufus, the Roman governor, and Publius Marcellius, the governor of Syria, who arrived with the legions stationed in Syria and to whose assistance the legions stationed in Egypt and Arabia had been dispatched. The 22nd Legion, which had come from Egypt, was annihilated. At this juncture the Jewish fighters invaded the coastal region and the Romans engaged in sea battles against the Jews. In those days Rome enjoyed complete security, peace prevailed on its borders, and hence it was able to mobilize large numbers of men and forces even from distant places. Hadrian summoned Julius Severus, the governor of Britain, who arrived with his forces and with legions from Danubian countries. There were about 12 legions in all, composed of their full complement or of detachments of them.

Julius Severus, "refraining from engaging in open warfare," forced the Jewish fighters back step by step amid heavy losses to the Roman army, compelled them to retreat to fortresses which were taken one by one. "Fifty strongholds … and 985 of the most important settlements were destroyed"; hundreds of thousands were killed. In the first stage, Galilee, which was not seriously affected, was captured, and the main burden of war fell on Judea. Eventually, the Jewish fighters were thrust back to their last stronghold, Bethar, which fell after a protracted siege. Tradition records that Bethar was captured on Av 9 (the summer of 135), on the anniversary of the destruction of the First and Second Temples (Ta'an. 4:6). With its fall and the death of Simeon bar Kosiba there came an end to the struggle which had lasted three and a half years, although there were sieges and skirmishes in the region of the Judean Desert caves to which the fighters had escaped in the final stages of the revolt, even as had been the case with the fortress at Masada after the war against the Romans. In conformity with Roman custom, Jerusalem was now plowed up with a yoke of oxen, and thus the limits were fixed of the Roman colony, henceforth called *Colonia *Aelia Capitolina* in Roman sources.

Consequences of the Revolt. In addition to the destruction of populated areas and the large-scale massacre, there were great numbers of Jewish captives who filled the slave markets in Ereẓ Israel and in distant lands. Especially notorious was the market under the terebinth near Hebron where a Jewish slave was sold for the price of a horse's feed. Many settlements, especially in Judea, were not rebuilt. The central Judean Mountains were largely depopulated of their Jewish inhabitants. In Galilee, which suffered less from the aftermath of the revolt, the olive plantations were destroyed (TJ, Pe'ah 7:1, 20a). Hadrian now resolved to launch a war of annihilation against the Torah and to expunge the name of Israel from the land. To this end decrees were issued against the observance of the *mitzvot*, gatherings in synagogues for the purposes of prayer or study were prohibited, *battei din* were forbidden to meet. In a description of those times a contemporary Babylonian sage commented: "'Of them that love Me and keep My commandments' (Ex. 19:6) – 'These are the Jews who live in Ereẓ Israel and jeopardize their lives for the sake of the *mitzvot*.' 'Why are you being led out to be decapitated?' 'Because I circumcised my son.' 'Why are you being led out to be burnt?' 'Because I read the Torah.' 'Why are you being led out to be crucified?' 'Because I ate unleavened bread.' 'Why are you being whipped with the scourge?' 'Because I performed the *mitzvah* of the *lulav*'" (Mekh., ba-Ḥodesh, 6). Jews were forbidden to stay in Jerusalem and only once a year, on Tishah be-Av (Av 9), were they permitted to enter the city to weep over the remains of their holy places. Desirous of blotting out, too, all reference to the Jews' association with Ereẓ Israel, Hadrian changed the name of Judea to Syria Palaestina, by which it henceforth came to be known in non-Jewish literature. The authorities confiscated land on an extensive scale on the strength of martial law or of offenses against the new decrees, such as the prohibition of circumcision. Large tracts of land lay waste, their owners having been taken captive or compelled to flee. The Jews in the country underwent a harsh period of persecution. Many, and they included the nation's most eminent men and sages such as Akiva, Ishmael, Hananiah b. Teradyon, Tarfon, and others, were killed in the persecutions, many went into hiding in Ereẓ Israel, large numbers fled abroad and never returned or did so only after several years. There were numerous martyrs, this being the generation that bequeathed to the Jewish people the tradition of martyrdom (see *Kiddush ha-Shem*). From the end of the revolt until the close of Hadrian's reign (i.e., from 135 to 138) the Jews of Ereẓ Israel bore the full brunt of the anti-religious decrees.

The repressive measures were somewhat relaxed only on the accession of *Antoninus Pius. He neither annulled them nor immediately restored to the Jews the status they had enjoyed before the revolt. Gradually, however, their situation improved. Apparently at the beginning of Antoninus Pius' reign, circumcision was permitted, a law enacted by him having allowed the Jews to circumcise their sons but not slaves or proselytes. For the Samaritans the prohibition remained in force, and for a long time they circumcised their sons at great risk. But alike in the days of the Antonines as in those of Hadrian, a harsh military regime prevailed in Ereẓ Israel.

Recovery After the Revolt: Usha. The first signs of the recovery of communal life appeared in Galilee, to which the center of Jewish life henceforth passed and where the main population as also the seat of the Sanhedrin and of the *nasi* remained until the end of the period. The Sanhedrin had first gone to *Usha, whence it moved for a short time to *Shepharam and from there to *Bet She'arim and Sepphoris. In the third century it finally settled at Tiberias, the capital of Galilee. But Judea still had its Jewish population, its *battei midrashot*, and sages – at Lydda there was a large *bet midrash*, which enjoyed independence in many spheres of Jewish life. But the central authority and the focal point of spiritual creativity were in Galilee, where the main work of collecting and of finally redacting the tannaitic and amoraic literature was done.

The leaders who restored the religious and communal life comprised several of Akiva's younger pupils who survived the massacre and who had not yet gained renown in the generation of Jabneh: *Meir, *Judah b. Ilai, *Jose b. Ḥalafta, *Simeon b. Yoḥai, and *Nehemiah. The early meetings of the Sanhedrin were still held in temporary quarters and under semi-underground conditions in the Valley of Bet Rimmon, and only after many years, at "the end of the religious persecutions," did it meet at Usha (Song R. 2:5 no. 3). Among its first decisions was to declare the levitical cleanness of Tiberias. From its foundation at the beginning of the first century C.E. many Jews and especially priests refrained from living there for fear that it had been built on a cemetery. Hadrian had wanted to give the city a pagan character but the temple which he had begun to build was not completed. After the revolt Tiberias was almost entirely Jewish. Simeon b. Yoḥai sought to declare it levitically clean and following protracted discussions it was recognized as such (TJ, Shev. 9:1, 38d). This facilitated the city's growth and enabled it to serve during the years as the spiritual center. Simeon b. Gamaliel, the son of Rabban Gamaliel of Jabneh, did not take part in the Sanhedrin in the early stages of its reestablishment, for he, too, had been compelled to go into hiding for several years. After some time he is mentioned as the head of the Sanhedrin at Usha.

The period not only of his tenure of the office of *nasi* (c. 140–170) but of the entire reign of the Antonines (until 193) was a difficult one both politically and economically. The authorities showed a growing contempt and suspicion of the Jews, and when Marcus Aurelius passed through Ereẓ Israel in 175 he expressed himself in opprobrious terms about them. They, for their part, displayed considerable rebelliousness, hoping as they did for the downfall of Rome, a hope that grew with the latter's clashes and preparations for war with the Parthians. Simeon b. Yoḥai asserted: "If you see a Persian horse tied in the burial places of Ereẓ Israel, expect the Messiah" (Song R. 8:9). This rebelliousness was responsible for the fact that the Jews of Ereẓ Israel, like the other peoples of the east, supported Avidius Cassius who had proclaimed himself emperor and was assassinated shortly before Marcus Aurelius' arrival in the country. Brigandage, too, increased greatly at this time, and although this was due to economic difficulties, it also had overtones of political insurrection. In Ereẓ Israel as a whole the economic situation was quite good during this period, although the country suffered in 166 from a plague which spread in the east. Like other provinces, Ereẓ Israel profited from the expanded international trade. Roads were built and bridges constructed, public institutions were established, markets and grain exchanges were set up and wells dug, creating a sense of security and promoting commerce, so that many cities flourished at this time. There were Jews, too, who benefited from this prosperity.

In Rome two inscriptions of Jews from Tiberias have been found that testify to commercial stations in the city, and some Jews, who were imperial court favorites, rose to positions of eminence. But the Jewish community as a whole lived in dire poverty. Thus reference is made to "the generation of R. Judah b. Illai … six of whose pupils covered themselves with one garment and studied the Torah" (Sanh. 20a). The nonrecognition of the Jews' religious rights brought in its train economic difficulties. Up to the Bar Kokhba revolt the authorities had exempted the Jews from land taxes during the sabbatical year, when they had no income from agricultural produce. After the revolt they had to pay these taxes, and were hard put to find a way of meeting the burden of taxation while observing, at least to some extent, the sabbatical year (Sanh. 3:3 et al.). This circumstance is the background to the *halakhah* which lays down that "if at the present time a man wishes to become a proselyte, he is to be addressed as follows: 'What reason have you for wanting to become a proselyte? Do you not know that at present Jews are persecuted and oppressed, despised, harassed, and burdened with afflictions … and do not conduct themselves in public like other peoples?'" (Yev. 47a; Tractate *Gerim*, beginning). As a result of the harsh conditions, there was an increasing emigration, either temporary or permanent, from Ereẓ Israel. Seeking to stem it, the sages enacted *halakhot* to curtail this tendency.

Despite the difficult political conditions and the imperial nonrecognition, the sages of the generation of Usha and Rabban Simeon b. Gamaliel succeeded in consolidating the leadership of the central authority and in restoring to Ereẓ Israel its hegemony over the Diaspora. During the persecutions, when the house of assembly ceased to function, one of the Ereẓ Israel sages, *Hananiah, the nephew of Joshua, who had been sent to Babylonia, began to proclaim the new months and intercalate years there, and would not desist even when the central authority was reestablished in Ereẓ Israel. Only by resolute persuasion, by appeasement, and with the support of the Babylonian sages was the *nasi* able to make the separatist circles in Babylonia cease their activities, whereupon the Jews there once again submitted to the authority of Ereẓ Israel. In the days of Rabban Simeon b. Gamaliel, the office of *nasi* assumed the form of a triumvirate, consisting of the *nasi* himself, the *av bet din*, and a sage, who was the authorized halakhist. For some time, *Nathan, the son of the exilarch in Babylonia, was the *av bet din*, thereby enabling the *nasi* to associate with his office also a representative of that large Diaspora community. This set an example for future generations, the great majority of those occupying the position of *av bet din* in the tannaitic and amoraic period having been sages who immigrated to Ereẓ Israel from Babylonia.

In the generation following the Bar Kokhba revolt the Samaritans began a large-scale expansion beyond the confines of "the land of the Cutheans." Their expansion to the north having been halted by the Beth-Shean and Jezreel Valleys, they spread northwest along the coast and especially southwest along the southern coastal plain. The reasons for this may have been the Jews' diminished power as well as the plight in which the Samaritans found themselves on account of religious persecution. They therefore sought refuge among the Jewish population, perhaps because of the close contacts established between them during the Bar Kokhba revolt. The Samaritans' expansion into the Jewish areas led to considerable friction, and there were assertions by sages that, since leaving their villages, they had become lax in the observance of *mitzvot*. In contrast to the earlier *halakhah*, they were now more and more adjudged as non-Jews.

THE SEVERAN DYNASTY. R. JUDAH HA-NASI. A period of political and economic efflorescence came to the Jews of Ereẓ Israel under the Severan emperors (193–235), coinciding largely with the tenure of the office of *nasi* by Judah I, the eldest son of Rabban Simeon b. Gamaliel and known as Rabbi. After the murder of Commodus (192) an armed struggle broke out between Pescennius Niger and Septimius *Severus which divided the east, including Ereẓ Israel and the legions stationed there. Pescennius Niger had, as governor of Syria, been ruthless in his attitude to the Jews. When they had asked him to lighten the burden of taxation, he had answered that were it possible he would tax the very air they breathed. He severely punished the cities which supported his rival. While the tenth legion sided with him, the house of the *nasi* and the Jews of Ereẓ Israel supported Severus, whose victory was regarded as a deliverance. The good relations that existed between the Jews of Ereẓ Israel and the Severans, which continued throughout that dynasty's reign, influenced several Severan emperors in their predilection and love for Judaism and for a syncretism in which it, too, was included. Alexander *Severus was derisively called *archisynagogus* (head of the synagogue). The political position of the Jews in Ereẓ Israel improved and they were able to occupy notable positions in the Greek and Roman cities. Their more influential status found expression mainly in an increased autonomy, both public and judicial. The *nasi* was permitted to levy taxes for the maintenance of the central authority, civil and criminal cases were tried, and judgment could be enforced against the guilty party. When necessary, the *nasi* could also try capital cases. While this right was not officially recognized by Roman law, it was not exercised surreptitiously (Origen, *Epistola ad Africanum*, 28:14).

The relations between the Roman Empire and *Judah ha-Nasi were particularly good. Extensive areas of state land in the Valley of Jezreel, Golan, and elsewhere were given to him as a gift or on lease. The *aggadah* frequently mentions the close ties between him and the Roman emperor *Antoninus, but since several Severans bore this name, it is difficult to determine which of them is meant. From what is known of the stay of the emperors in the neighborhood of Ereẓ Israel and their association with Judaism, this reference is probably to *Caracalla (198–217 C.E.) or Alexander Severus (222–235 C.E.). The Jews were grateful to the Severan dynasty and both in Ereẓ Israel (at Kaisan in Upper Galilee) and in the Diaspora synagogues dedicated to the emperors of that dynasty have been found. In their days there was a great expansion of settlement. Thus at this time there were included within the halakhic limits of Ereẓ Israel areas in the north and south, which halakhically had not belonged to Ereẓ Israel since the majority of their inhabitants had been non-Jews and to which the commandments applicable to Ereẓ Israel, such as those relating to priestly dues and tithes, had not previously applied. At this time, too, there was established in Jerusalem a permanent Jewish settlement, known in talmudic tradition as the "the holy community in Jerusalem" (*kehilla kadisha de-bi-Yrushalayim*). While presumably the prohibition against Jews' settling in Jerusalem was not officially rescinded, the authorities chose to ignore it. At this time, too, the economic position of the Jews of Ereẓ Israel improved. The extensive urbanization initiated by the Severan emperors had favorable economic repercussions. Septimius Severus bestowed city rights on *Bet Guvrin, now called Eleutheropolis, and granted it large areas which included the whole of Idumea. Land was even detached from Aelia Capitolina and the *limes* and given to it. Lydda, too, obtained city status, was named Diospolis, and granted considerable areas of land. In 220–221 C.E. the district of *Emmaus was made a city and named Nicopolis. This completed the urbanization of western Ereẓ Israel. Except for the part of Upper Galilee known as Tetracomia (the four villages) and the imperial estates in the *limes* and in the Valley of Jericho, the whole of western Ereẓ Israel became a city area enjoying special privileges.

Emigration from Ereẓ Israel was now replaced by immigration from the Diaspora, among the immigrants being people with expert knowledge, initiative, and money, who developed new branches of the economy, such as flax-growing, and of agricultural industry, such as the manufacture of clothes and dyeing.

The improved economic and political position found expression in splendid *synagogues which were built throughout the country and remains of which have been uncovered, chiefly in Galilee, such as at Kefar Naḥum (*Capernaum), Korazim (*Chorazin), Baram, and elsewhere.

The Jewish people in Ereẓ Israel saw in the enlargement of their power and in the aggrandizement of the *nasi* the beginnings of the redemption. A messianic aura surrounded him. From the days of Judah ha-Nasi and onward the *nasi*'s court was distinguished by an outer splendor, great opulence, and regal pomp. He succeeded in attracting to his court and to a participation in public leadership the heads of the large cities and the financial aristocracy, whom he prevailed on to accept the responsibilities of public office and national discipline. This led to a protest on the part of the popular *Ḥasidean sages, the extremists among whom became estranged from Judah ha-Nasi. In internal affairs, too, Judah ha-Nasi's authority was extensive. The right to grant ordination and the control of the Sanhedrin were concentrated in his hands. Under him the central authority exercised increased supervision over the cities and communities in the Diaspora. Under him, too, there was considerable legislation in the spheres of communal religion, of apportioning the burden of taxes, and the manner of levying them. While not charged with collecting the taxes, he, by virtue of the authority of his office and of being a rabbi, gave decisions on various financial problems, among them being some which impressed their stamp on Jewish communal arrangements for generations, such as exempting scholars, who devote themselves wholly to the study of the Torah, from taxes and civic obligations. He also exempted areas in southern and northern Ereẓ Israel from priestly dues, tithes, and from the laws of the sabbatical year, from which last-named he sought to grant a total exemption, but due to the opposition of *Phinehas b. Jair, a Ḥasidean sage, the question was not brought up for discussion and a final decision.

His activities included the final redaction of the *Mishnah, which constitutes the summary and crystallization of most of the halakhic material of the Oral Law. Judah ha-Nasi was not the first to undertake the task of committing the *Oral Law to writing and of summarizing it in an halakhic compilation. Already in Second Temple times, and especially in the generation of Jabneh, this was done by *tannaim*, but their Mishnah collections were incorporated, either wholly or in part, in that of Judah ha-Nasi, whose compilation is the more comprehensive and extensive. Assembling the teachings and collections of preceding generations, he arranged them in *sedarim* and tractates according to subject matter, *Shabbat, Pesaḥim, Gittin, Kiddushin*, etc., and subdivided these into chapters, generally set out in a logical development of the subject. The final redaction of the Mishnah constitutes a compilation of the Oral Law without deciding between the various views but including also the decisions arrived at and the laws enacted in Judah ha-Nasi's *bet midrash*. His humility in teaching the Torah and in halakhic judgments, his readiness to pay heed to and examine different opinions, his spiritual independence, his exalted status, and his lengthy tenure of the office of *nasi* – all these contributed to the compilation of the Mishnah and its acceptance as the basic work for the study of the Oral Law and as the principal foundation of Jewish jurisprudence. Within a short time his Mishnah, having superseded and consigned to oblivion earlier or contemporaneous collections, became the basis and the prototype of the continued creation of the Oral Law. The close of the Mishnah represents a turning point and a landmark in the history of the Oral Law, which was further elucidated and defined throughout the generations. The literature created up to the close of the Mishnah, even if redacted shortly afterward, is the tannaitic, that which followed it the amoraic, literature. All *halakhot* mentioned in the Mishnah and in the other tannaitic productions are more authoritative than those in the amoraic works. Except for a number of Aramaic and Greek words and expressions, the language of the Mishnah is mishnaic Hebrew, reflecting the prevailing circumstances in Ereẓ Israel from Second Temple times onward. The death of Judah ha-Nasi (c. 225) initiated a process that led to a separation between the office of *nasi* and the Sanhedrin. The last testament ascribed to him states that Rabban *Gamaliel, his eldest son, was to be the *nasi* and the sage *Ḥanina b. Ḥama the president of the Sanhedrin (TJ, Ta'an. 4:2, 68a).

In the following generation the separation was almost complete. Then the Sanhedrin, presided over by Johanan (from c. 240), had its seat at Tiberias, while the office of *nasi* occupied by *Judah ha-Nasi II, had its seat for a considerable time at Sepphoris. Under normal circumstances a sage was the president of the Sanhedrin or the Great Bet Din, which was independent, but not entirely so, of the *nasi*, since the latter was theoretically its president, and in certain areas, as also in particular instances, its dependence on the *nasi* was maintained. Thus the ordination of sages was contingent on the sanction of the *nasi*, who continued to exercise the sole right to enact regulations. There was also cooperation between them in political matters. Alongside the central *bet midrash* or the Sanhedrin at Tiberias there were in amoraic times other *battei midrashot* which, as the centers of instruction and leadership for their immediate vicinity, taught the Torah and appointed *dayyanim* for the neighborhood. At Lydda there was the center, founded by *Joshua b. Levi, for the southern settlements; at Caesarea one established by *Hoshaiah; and a smaller one in Upper Galilee at Akbara, under the leadership of *Yannai, where a considerable nucleus of his companions lived a communal life for several generations. Each of these *battei midrashot* was distinct in its teachings and method of instruction, but in special instances their heads were invited to assemblies, the sages of the south (Lydda) in particular often meeting with the members of the Sanhedrin at Tiberias.

THE PERIOD OF ANARCHY (235–289 C.E.) In this period of the frequent change of emperors, of chaos and collapse throughout the Roman Empire, Jewish Ereẓ Israel in particular suffered. There was indeed no religious persecution of the Jews, and even when the Christians and Samaritans were compelled to participate in emperor worship, the rights of the Jews were recognized and respected. The contemporary diatribes against the evil "Esau" who oppressed "Jacob" were mainly directed against Esau, the robber and plunderer, a circumstance conspicuous, too, in the non-Hebrew sources of the nations neighboring on Israel. The rural population suffered greatly from economic hardship, from taxation, and from oppression at the hands of soldiers, and since the economy of Jewish Ereẓ Israel was largely agricultural, the Jews were affected more than the non-Jewish population. During the period of anarchy there was a decline in agriculture, not because of the diminished fertility of the soil but because of the corrupt administrative arrangements that led to a neglect of the land and lack of interest in fostering the cultivation of the soil. During this period, too, the country suffered from privation and an extremely severe famine. Emigration increased, and although there was also a considerable immigration to Ereẓ Israel, it was not large enough to balance the number of those leaving the country. Despite the upheavals and wars which occurred in the east with the accession and onslaught of the Sassanid kings, there were increasing contacts between Ereẓ Israel and the Diaspora, especially that in Babylonia. In the days of the principal generations of the **amoraim* the contacts between these two Jewish communities were considerable, numerous, and frequent. As a result of the situation created by the fact that the Roman Empire was in the process of disintegration and by the Persian attacks, the kingdom of Palmyra (Tadmor) enlarged its power. This buffer state, situated between Persia and Rome, and subordinate to the latter, first forged ahead from 260 C.E. under Odaenathus within the ambit of the Roman Empire. Later, under Queen Zenobia (267–272), having proclaimed its independence and freed itself from Roman suzerainty, it initiated a policy of conquest and expansion directed against the countries of the east, including Ereẓ Israel. The Palmyrene regime was not only a continuation of Roman rule but also contained elements conducive to creating an independent eastern state. Although wide circles in the east supported it, at the decisive moment, when Rome reconquered the east from Zenobia, the great majority of them refrained from coming to its assistance and instead helped the Romans. When Odaenathus was a client king under Roman patronage, Jewish tradition charged him with being "a brother" (because of the eastern elements in his regime) who had come to the aid of "Esau" (Rome) in the latter's hour of weakness. "Happy is he," declared R. Johanan, the leader of that generation of Jews, "who witnesses the downfall of Tadmor [Palmyra]" (TJ, Ta'an. 4:8, 69b). But with Zenobia, whose attitude toward them was one of protectiveness and esteem, the relations of the Jews were friendlier, the clash between her and Rome even raising messianic hopes in some circles.

STABILITY RETURNS TO THE ROMAN EMPIRE. At the end of the third century (284) Diocletian became emperor and succeeded in transforming the regime and the system of the Roman Empire into a despotic monarchy on the Byzantine pattern with its exaggerated hierarchy and extensive bureaucracy. By dividing each of the provinces into two or three, their number was increased. Ereẓ Israel, one of the smallest among them, was likewise subdivided into several parts, so that from 358 to the beginning of the fifth century (429) it comprised Palaestina Prima, which consisted of Judea, Samaria, the Coastal Plain, Idumea, and Perea (Jewish Transjordan), and whose capital remained Caesarea; Palaestina Secunda, which embraced Galilee, the *Decapolis, and *Golan, and whose capital was Scythopolis (Beth-Shean); and Palaestina Tertia, which comprised the Negev and whose capital was *Petra. As in other provinces, the civil ruler, the *praeses*, was distinct from the military head, the *dux*. Instead of reforming the corrupt government system, the new regime perpetuated it, increasing its sway over the population. Participation in all the associations became compulsory and was enforced, ranging from performing municipal duties to the organization of craftsmen's unions from which all workmen were excluded, and to the obligation of children to continue in their parents' occupation. All the associations were at the disposal of the empire for levying taxes and providing services. During this period land tenancy assumed such proportions that the petty independent farmer, typical of Jewish Ereẓ Israel, all but disappeared. The land passed into the possession of the proprietors of large estates and its former owners became tenant farmers. The imperial law of the *colonatus* was introduced, binding the farmer in perpetuity to the soil. This perpetual tenancy was hereditary and was marked by several expressions of the tenant farmer's servitude to the landlord. The imperial tenant farmers were similarly bound in perpetuity to their tenancy and their holdings. Because land in Ereẓ Israel was retained in the possession of petty farmers for a longer time, the *lex colonatus* was introduced in the country at a comparatively late period, 383–388, about 50 years later than in the other provinces. At the beginning of the fourth century, the Jews were progressively becoming a minority in their ownership of land.

With the stabilization of the imperial regime, a new force emerged in the world: Christianity was gaining a commanding position, commencing with Constantine's recognition of the Christian religion (313). This was destined to have a decisive effect on the status of Ereẓ Israel and of its Jews, henceforth called upon to undertake a joint political self-defense. Hitherto the Jews had struggled culturally against a pagan world, which by its very nature acknowledged the existence of national religions. Even the Roman regime recognized in theory, and for most of the time in practice too, the Jewish religious reality in Ereẓ Israel. Christianity, which within a short period became the imperial religion, did not, as is the way of a monotheistic religion, recognize or tolerate other religions, and in this displayed a greater bigotry and inflexibility than Judaism. Although the Christian Church had a special interest in converting Jews, and particular those in Ereẓ Israel, Judaism was not declared illegal either in that country or in the Roman Empire, which nevertheless fostered an enmity toward and a contempt for Judaism. In addition to the hostility originating in the separation between them the Roman Christians were the object of much of the contempt for Jews prevalent in circles of the pagan Roman aristocracy. The hostile attitude to Judaism was expressed in the emperors' anti-Jewish legislation with its insulting language, and in the attacks of fanatics on Jews and their institutions, such as the campaign of the bigoted monk Bar Sauma of Nisibis who, with his band, passed through Ereẓ Israel in 419–422 C.E. destroying synagogues. Not only did Christianity have an interest in the *holy places, such as the site of the Crucifixion, the sepulcher of Jesus, and others, it also based its gospel on the destruction of Jerusalem and God's rejection of the people of Israel, so that the whole of the patriarchal blessing, including Ereẓ Israel, now belonged to it. Henceforward it was not the Jews alone who sought to have possession of Ereẓ Israel. Many Christian congregations were established in the country. The inhabitants of villages and of the large cities, most of which remained faithful to *Hellenism, had to fight for their continued pagan existence. Constantine and his mother Helena, who was devoted to Christianity and even immigrated to Ereẓ Israel in her old age, set about building magnificent churches, one – the Church of the Nativity – at *Bethlehem, and two – those of the Holy Sepulcher and of the Ascension – in Jerusalem, as also at Abraham's Oak. The Church Father Epiphanius has preserved a detailed account of the manner in which the emperor helped the apostate Joseph to build churches in the Jewish centers, at Tiberias, Sepphoris, and other localities holy to Christianity, such as Kefar Naḥum (Capernaum) and Nazareth, places inhabited exclusively by Jews. The Jews fought Joseph who consequently succeeded only in building a small church at Tiberias (Epiphanius, *Panarion adversus Haereses*, 1:2, xxx, 4). The Christian population increased by reason of the conversion of non-Jews in Ereẓ Israel and of the arrival of Christians or pilgrims who settled in the country. The many monasteries which were first built in the fourth century and multiplied in the fifth and sixth also attracted devout Christians from abroad. There were instances of Jews who were converted to Christianity, as in the case of Joseph, but the number was not large either among them or among the Samaritans.

THE REVOLT AGAINST GALLUS. In June 351 a revolt of the Jews broke out at Sepphoris against Gallus, the Roman ruler in the east. The rebels had heard of various uprisings in the west and of Constantius' reverses in his campaign to suppress them. They also relied on obtaining assistance from the *Persians whose attacks, some of them successful, had increased at that time. Having appointed a leader named Patricius, of whom little is known, the Jews defeated the Roman army in the city. From there the revolt spread through Galilee and reached Lydda in the south. It bore no anti-Christian character, nor were Christians or their institutions attacked, the revolt being directed solely against Gallus' corrupt rule. Ursicinus, an experienced commander, was dispatched against the rebels. The decisive battle took place near Acre. From there the enemy advanced against centers in Galilee inhabited by Jews, and several Jewish settlements and cities were destroyed. Some of them, such as Tiberias, Sepphoris, and Lydda, were rebuilt shortly after the revolt, but there were places like Bet She'arim which were now left with only a meager population. It is not known where the seat of the Sanhedrin and of the *nasi* was during the revolt, but not long after it they were once again engaged in their usual activities. During the years immediately following the revolt the authorities interfered with assemblies for the intercalation of the year and especially with emissaries sent to inform the Diaspora of it (Sanh. 12a). It was therefore apparently decided to draw up a permanent calendar (TJ, Er. 3:11, 21c) which, according to a later tradition, was done by *Hillel II in 359 (*Sefer ha-Ibbur*, 97). Even after the calendar had been laid down and until it received its definitive form, questions were addressed to the sages of Ereẓ Israel to elucidate various problems. In Ereẓ Israel they continued even afterward to proclaim the new month and to celebrate the occasion as had formerly been done when its proclamation was made by the Great Bet Din.

JULIAN THE APOSTATE. Excitement mounted in Ereẓ Israel and the Diaspora during the brief reign of *Julian (360–363) who endeavored to resuscitate Hellenism, to which he was devoted, by diminishing the image of Christianity in the empire. Wishing to reinstitute the sacrificial service of the Jews, which he regarded as more important than anything else in their Bible, he announced and promised in his letters to the "Community of the Jews" and to the *nasi* that he would rebuild "with great diligence the Temple of the supreme God" and "the holy Jerusalem which you have for many years longed to see rebuilt and which I shall restore." When he set out to fight the Persians, a special emissary, Alypius of Antioch, was appointed who filled important duties in connection with the rebuilding and to whom large sums of money were allocated. By this act the emperor may have sought, as he departed for war, to win over the Babylonian Jews, and assure their support, but all his letters are marked by friendship and sympathy toward the Jews. Moreover, he revoked the decrees relating to the special Jewish taxes, such as that of the two drachmas, and even asked the *nasi* to reduce the tax levied for the needs of his high office from the Jews. Julian's proclamations and actions created a ferment among the Jews, who flocked to Jerusalem and began to collect money from Italy and as far afield as Babylonia and Persia. Jews settled in the city, started to expel Christians from certain parts of it, and set up a synagogue in one of the colonnades on the Temple Mount. The Christians were furious, and their writers tell of a fire that broke out when the pagan shrines, abandoned with the rise of Christianity, were removed from the Temple site. It is possible that the Christians, desirous of interrupting the work of building, started the fire. When Julian was killed, apparently by a Christian Arab soldier, on the Persian front, the matter was ended.

After Julian's death, the Christians began to attack the Jewish settlements in the south where the Jews were greatly in the minority. Christian sources report the destruction "in the south of 21 cities of pagans, Jews, and Samaritans, who had had a share in Julian the Apostate's sin." Even after this the Jewish settlements in the south did not cease entirely but were reduced in number and impoverished. In the period between the death of Julian and the accession of *Theodosius I (379) there was no anti-Jewish legislation, and several laws were even enacted which enhanced their status and that of the *nasi*, one law exempting officials of the communities subject to "the illustrious *nasi*" from sitting on municipal councils, another of 368 prohibiting the billeting of soldiers in synagogues. This period was a congenial one for the Jews either because Julian's personality and activities had fostered a tolerant attitude toward other religions and arrested the Church's domination or because the emperor Valens (364–378) acted with moderation due to his not wishing to add to his enemies, since the adherents of Arianism, of which he was one, were already then in the minority. Under Theodosius I and his sons Honorius and Arcadius as also under Theodosius II until the abolition of the office of the *nasi* (i.e., from 379 to 428) there was intensified anti-Jewish legislation which assigned an inferior status to Judaism and the Jews.

THE CLOSE OF THE JERUSALEM TALMUD AND THE ABOLITION OF THE OFFICE OF THE NASI. In the second half of the fourth century C.E. the Jerusalem *Talmud was finalized and redacted in Ereẓ Israel, for the most part at Tiberias. In it was summarized all that was said, initiated, and thought in the world of Ereẓ Israel's sages in the century and a half that elapsed since the close of the Mishnah. No tradition is extant of the time taken to redact it or who its redactors were. The date of its redaction is fixed on the basis of the last sages and of the latest historical events – the revolt against Gallus and the emperor Julian's activities – mentioned in it (TJ, Meg. 3:1, 74a; TJ, Ned. 3:2, 37d). Dating from the end of the fourth century are evidences which combine to portray the firm status of the office of *nasi*, his right to collect money and to appoint and depose the leaders of communities in the Diaspora. At the beginning of the fifth century the position of the last *nasi*, Rabban *Gamaliel VI, was undermined. Accused of contravening the imperial laws by building synagogues, circumcising Christian slaves, and acting as a judge in cases involving Christians, he was deposed from the rank of "Honorary *praefectus*." The existence of the office of *nasi*, who claimed descent from the house of David, was not to the liking of the Church, which tried to diminish his image and spiritual stature. An order in the *Codex Theodosianus* of the year 429 mentions the death of the *nasi* and instructs the Sanhedrins in the two Palestines to transfer to the imperial treasury the money previously collected on behalf of the *nasi*. Taking advantage of the death of Rabban Gamaliel VI and of the "babes who died" (according to Jewish tradition), the authorities refrained from approving the appointment of another *nasi*. With the abolition of this office, the nation lost its leading institution which had persisted for three and a half centuries after the destruction of Jerusalem and the Temple. The Sanhedrin continued to exist, money was sent to it even without official permission, and Jewry was obedient to it and its leaders who were called "the heads of the school" (*rashei ha-perek*), but it progressively lost its hegemony over the Diaspora. With the accession in 520 of Mar *Zutra, the son of the exilarch Mar Zutra, the title of Head of the Sanhedrin was bestowed on him, and until the Arab conquest his descendants continued to occupy that position.

BYZANTINE RULE IN EREẒ ISRAEL. During this period the economic position of the country improved. Many Christians, among them men of wealth and influence, immigrated to Ereẓ Israel. The visits, too, of Christians, as also the existence and export of the bones of patriarchs, prophets, and saints, whose graves were purported to have been discovered, brought much wealth to the land. In this period agricultural settlement, particularly in the Negev, was extended to areas never previously nor subsequently tilled, as evidenced by the remains not only of agricultural cultivation but also of cities in the Negev which flourished at this time. The period from the second half of the fifth century until the revival under *Justinian (527–565) of the aggressive Christian policy was a tranquil one for the Jews in Ereẓ Israel. The Christians were absorbed in a theological controversy between the orthodox and the monophysites on the relation between the human and the divine nature of Jesus, a controversy which was associated with political, military, and communal clashes, so that they had no time to concern themselves with the Jews. The latter benefited from the economic prosperity that had come to the country, as attested by the building, extension, and renovation of synagogues whose remains have been found in the north (Bet Alfa, Hammath-Gader, and elsewhere) and in the south (Jericho, Naaran, Ashkelon, Gaza, and in other places). Although the erection and renovation of synagogues were prohibited, the Jews were able to circumvent various repressive laws. The difficult position of the Samaritans and their hopes of receiving help from the Persians emboldened them to organize in 485 and in 529 two large revolts. At first successful, they set up their own brief government in a small area around Samaria, but the revolts were speedily suppressed with such ruthlessness that the Samaritans were considerably reduced in number. There followed a relentless religious persecution. Justinian's reign was the last glorious period of Roman-Byzantine rule in Ereẓ Israel. He fortified the borders, provided the cities with a water supply, and built magnificent churches in various places in the country. But his reign was marked by the beginning of a harsh legislative attack on Judaism and by the Church's growing obduracy in its policy toward the Jews. When the old laws were selected from the *Codex Theodosianus* for inclusion in Justinian's new legal compilation, several which confirmed the rights of the Jews were omitted, while others depriving them of rights were added.

THE PERSIAN INVASION. In 603 the Persians renewed their attempt to assail the Roman Empire. In 611 they arrived at Antioch, in 613 they entered Damascus, in 614 they reached Ereẓ Israel. The approach of the Persians inspired messianic hopes. Contact was made with the conquerors and the Jews gave them effective help in capturing Galilee. From there the Persians marched on Caesarea; proceeding along the coast, advanced against Lydda, and wound their way up to Jerusalem (May 614), in whose capture Jewish forces also took part. The Persians handed the city over to the Jews who, settling in it, began to remove from it the Christians and their churches. The leader in Jerusalem was one known only by the name of Nehemiah b. Ḥushi'el b. Ephraim b. Joseph, his messianic designation, and a beginning may even have been made to reintroduce sacrifices. His rule in Jerusalem lasted for three years. In 617 the Persians retracted, perhaps in order to gain the support of the Christians for their rule. The Jews did not acquiesce in this and the Persian regime was compelled to fight against them. Nehemiah and some of his closest adherents were killed by the Persians (*Sefer Zerubbabel*). In the meantime *Heraclius, the *Byzantine emperor, having begun to grow powerful, set out in the spring of 622 on a campaign of conquest against Persia. In 627 the Persians, accepting their defeat, agreed to withdraw to their own country and the Byzantine army regained control of Ereẓ Israel. In 629 Heraclius appeared at the gateways of the country. The Jewish leaders made a vain attempt to enter into a compact with him. They presented him with many gifts, he promised to overlook their past actions, and even made an agreement with them, binding himself by oath to observe it. One of the Jewish leaders, *Benjamin of Tiberias, who was extremely wealthy, lodged the emperor in his home there, maintained him and the army accompanying him, and even joined him on his journey to Jerusalem. On March 21, 629, the emperor entered Jerusalem in a typically magnificent Byzantine procession and restored to their site the remnants of the cross given to him by the Persians. The emperor, who was not an antisemite, wished to keep his promises but under pressure from the Church revoked them. A decree was issued expelling the Jews from Jerusalem and its vicinity, and Jews were put on trial. Many were killed and many fled. In the period between Heraclius' return and the Arab conquest there were forced conversions and persecutions by the Byzantine Empire. The Arab conquest brought relief to the Jewish population, but in the Arab period the Jews of Ereẓ Israel lost their central position in the leadership of Jewry.

[Shmuel Safrai]

Arab Period (634–1099)

THE ARAB CONQUEST. The raids against Syria and Ereẓ Israel carried out by Arab tribes from the Hejaz toward the end of *Muhammad's lifetime differed little from the attacks mounted by the inhabitants of the Arabian desert against the agricultural and trading settlements of the border lands from the ancient period on. The Byzantines, heirs of Roman power in the Near East, founded an Arab "state" embracing the territory that had formerly belonged to the Nabateans and Palmyra. In reality, though, it was a drifting camp of nominally Christian (Monophysite) Bedouin of the Ghasn tribe that constituted a buffer between the settled lands and the desert. These semi-barbarians were hired to stand guard against the barbarians of the hinterland, but after defeating the Persians and expelling them from Ereẓ Israel (628) and other lands they had conquered, Heraclius did not think it necessary to spend any more on his Bedouin mercenaries. The Byzantines did not grasp the impact of the rise of Islam in Arabia and did not regard the events seriously. The advance of Arabian bands probing their frontier and raids and incursions into Transjordan, and even into Ereẓ Israel, seemed no more than the usual Bedouin border attacks.

In 629 the Arabs suffered a defeat near Mu'ta (east of the southern extremity of the Dead Sea). According to Arab historians, after the death of Muhammad (632) three commanders were assigned the mission of occupying Syria and Ereẓ Israel. ʿAmr ibn-al ʿAṣ was given the task of conquering "Filasṭīn," i.e., Judea and the southern Coastal Plain; Shuraḥbīl ibn-Ḥasana was to take Galilee and the valleys of the upper Jordan and Jezreel, an area later called Jund Urdunn (the military district of the Jordan); and Yazīd ibn Abī-Sufyān marched on Damascus. ʿAmr invaded Palestine by way of Elath, while the other two advanced along the caravan route from Tabk to the Balqāʾ between the Jabbok and Arnon winter streams. The Byzantines suffered three serious defeats in 633–634, as the Arabs relentlessly pushed them back toward the sea from the east and south, and retreated to Beisan (Beth-Shean). For six months the Arabs raided towns and villages without capturing a single fortified city. When they marched on Beisan, the Byzantines withdrew to Fiḥl (or Faḥl-Pella) in Transjordan after destroying the Jordan River dams to impede the enemy's progress. Defeated near Fiḥl, the Byzantine troops fled to Damascus, with the Arabs in pursuit. The Arabs then briefly occupied Damascus, which they abandoned – along with other cities taken in Syria – when they received news of a large Byzantine force gathering at Aleppo and Antioch. This army, however, composed of about 50,000 Armenian and Arab mercenaries, was crushed in a decisive engagement at the confluence of the Ruqqād and Yarmuk rivers (in Golan) on August 20, 636. By the end of the year, all of Syria as far north as Aleppo was in Arab hands.

In Ereẓ Israel, Jerusalem, Caesarea, and Ashkelon were still garrisoned by Byzantine troops. Jerusalem surrendered in 637 or 638, after the Byzantine commander deserted, ending a two-year siege. Patriarch Sophronius conducted the negotiations with the Arabs, who promised not to harm the Christian churches there. Caesarea was apparently taken by Muʿāwiya in 640, ending a seven-year siege, after a Jew showed the Arabs a secret passage into the city. (According to an Arab historian, there were 700,000 "Roman" soldiers, 200,000 Jews, and 300,000 Samaritans inside the city.) The

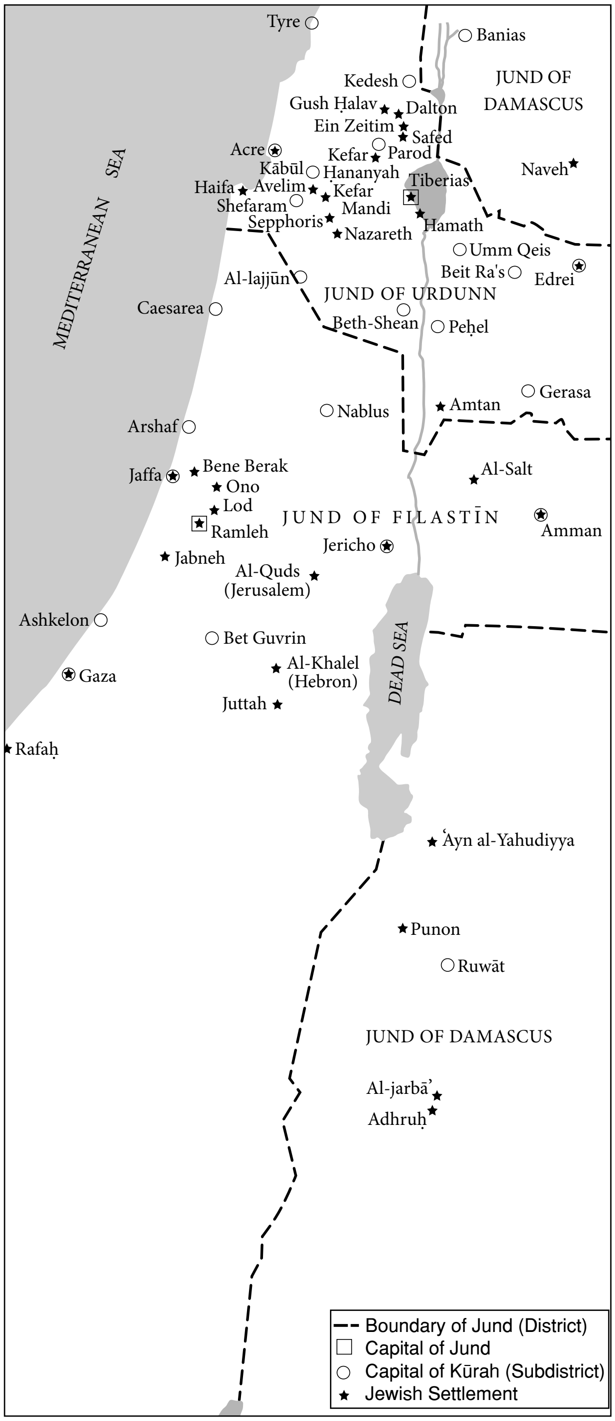
Tyre
Banias
Kedesh
JUND OF DAMASCUS
Gush Ḥalav
Dalton
Ein Zeitim
Safed
Acre
Kefar
Parod
Kābūl
Ḥananyah
Naveh
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
Haifa
Avelim
Kefar Mandi
Tiberias
Shefaram
Sepphoris
Nazareth
Hamath
Umm Qeis
Beit Ra's
Edrei
Al-lajjūn
JUND OF URDUNN
Caesarea
Beth-Shean
Peḥel
Gerasa
Nablus
Amtan
Arshaf
Al-Salt
Jaffa
Bene Berak
Ono
Lod
JUND OF FILASTĪN
Ramleh
Amman
Jericho
Jabneh
Al-Quds (Jerusalem)
Ashkelon
Bet Guvrin
DEAD SEA
Gaza
Al-Khalel (Hebron)
Juttah
Rafaḥ
ʿAyn al-Yahudiyya
Punon
Ruwāt
JUND OF DAMASCUS
Al-jarbāʾ
Adhruḥ
Boundary of Jund (District)
Capital of Jund
Capital of Kūrah (Subdistrict)
Jewish Settlement

Map 1. The Land of Israel under Arab rule (8th century C.E.*). After* Atlas of Israel, *Survey of Israel, 1970.*

fall of Ashkelon followed soon after (641). The Arab conquest of Ereẓ Israel was a major event in the history of the Western world. It opened a gateway to the West for the inhabitants of the desert and brought them into direct contact with a 2,000-year-old culture. Had they been satisfied with their conquest of the Persian Empire, it is doubtful whether their influence on civilization would have been any greater than that of the Sassanids or Zoroastrians.

The conquerors did not change the administrative system in Ereẓ Israel. Northern Ereẓ Israel (the Byzantine Palaestina Secunda) became the military province (*jund*) of Urdunn (Jordan), with Tiberias as its capital, and southern Ereẓ Israel (the Byzantine Palaestine Prima) became *Jund Filastīn*, with Lydda as its capital. The latter province comprised Judea and Samaria and, according to the Arab geographers of the tenth century, the Negev, as well as the southern districts of Transjordan, were annexed to it. The conquest was followed by the migration of Arabs into the area. When taking a town, the Arabs sometimes stipulated that half of its area be handed over to them. Arabic historians record that this was the case in Tiberias and Beisan. At first, most of the Arabs lived in great camps, e.g., al-Jābiya in Golan and Emmaus in the Judean plain, where they soon began to acquire estates and settle down. The number who became landlords and engaged in agriculture increased when Muʿāwiya became governor of Syria and Ereẓ Israel. Arabs bought estates, settled down and became peasants throughout the country. Muʿāwiya also founded colonies of Arabs and other Muslims in the coastal towns as a military safeguard against Byzantine attacks on this vulnerable area.

The Ummayyads also granted lands to Bedouin tribes. Whereas most of the Arabs living in Transjordan and regions to the north before the Muslim conquest belonged to south Arabian Kalb tribes, under Ummayyad rule the North Arabian Qays tribes became predominant. Many Qaysites moved into Galilee, Golan, Hauran, and al-Balqā᾽. On the other hand, the Arabs who settled in Tiberias and Bet Guvrin were Kalbites. The majority of the Arabs of southern Palestine belonged to the Lakhm and Judhām tribes (South Arabians). In the course of the ninth century, the number of Qaysites continued to increase in northern Ereẓ Israel and Transjordan. After the dissolution of the military camps, their inhabitants dispersed and settled in the established towns, and both Islam and the Arabic language proliferated. Nevertheless, these towns did not change completely: a great portion of the town dwellers remained Christians, as borne out by Al-Maqdis (985) in his account of Jerusalem. Ramleh was probably the one exception. Founded by the caliph Suleiman (715–17), who resided there, it became the flourishing capital of the south.

The decline of the Abbasid caliphate began in the ninth century, when Turkish princes established semiautonomous principalities. Ahmad ibn-Ṭūlūn founded an independent kingdom in Egypt (868) and ten years later conquered Ereẓ Israel and Syria; his son defeated the caliph's brother in battle at the Yarkon River (*nahr* abī Fuṭrus – Antipatris) in 885. After Ahmad's death, the Qarmatians – one of the Shiʿite sects from the Syrian desert – began to carry out fierce raids against Syria and Ereẓ Israel in 906. A bit later, Ikhshidi princes became masters over Egypt (935) and Palestine (942) and set out to engage forces with the Turkish rulers of Aleppo. In the second half of the tenth century, the Fatimid Shiʿite dynasty assumed power in Egypt. The Ikhshidis attempted to prevent the Fatimids from taking control of Palestine, but were defeated in a battle near Ramleh in 969.

FATIMIDS AND SELJUKS. During the early period of Fatimid rule in Palestine, the enemies of the dynasty carried out a number of incursions into the country. The first to invade Palestine were the Qarmatians, who captured the entire country except the coastal fortresses in 971. Although their attempt to penetrate into Egypt failed, they remained in control of Palestine for three years. In 974 the Qarmatians were driven out by Fatimid troops, but after a short time they managed to reestablish their authority for a few months. The confusion in Palestine was exploited by the Byzantines, who attacked the Abbasid caliph and, under the emperor Tsimiskes, undertook what modern scholars have called the Byzantine Crusade, penetrating as far as Beisan in 975. They were compelled to retreat from the areas conquered in Syria, but meanwhile the Qarmatians renewed their attacks. After joining forces with the Turkish leader Alptekin, the ruler of Damascus, the Qarmatians defeated the Fatimid troops near Ramleh and laid siege to Ashkelon; however, they were vanquished in 977 by the Egyptian caliph al-Aziz in a battle near Ramleh.

Even after defeating the Qarmatians, the Fatimids could not establish a stable government in the country because of the rising power of Ṭayyi᾽ Bedouin, who had been supported by the Egyptian caliphs in the hope that they would be useful against their governors in Damascus. In effect, the Bedouin chiefs of banū Jarrāḥ, who lived in Ramleh, were the real masters of the country, and the governors of the Fatimid regime were content to maintain their authority only in the coastal towns. In 998 the Bedouin chief Al-Mufarrij ibn Danfal ibn al-Jarrāḥ revolted against the caliph Al-Ḥākim and installed the sharif of Mecca as caliph at Ramleh. Later, the Bedouin were reconciled with the government, but Al-Mufarrij's power continued until his death in 1013, when the Egyptian Fatimid authorities sent a large army to Palestine to put an end to Bedouin rule. At first the caliph Al-Ẓāhir maintained peaceful relations with Al-Mufarrij's son and successor, Hasan; however, when relations again deteriorated, Hasan concluded an alliance with a league of Bedouin tribes ruling Syria, intending to make himself master of the entire region from the Taurus to the Egyptian border. Initially, the Bedouin scored a number of victories, taking Ramleh in 1024 and ruling the country for five years. In 1029, however, they were defeated by a Fatimid army near Lake Kinneret. In 1042 the banū Jarrāḥ again attempted to conquer the country. Fatimid power was already unstable at this period and the first Seljuk forays into Ereẓ Israel had begun.

The Seljuks were a Turkish people that had established an empire in Western Asia in the middle of the 11th century. In 1071 the Seljuk general Atsiz captured Jerusalem and most of the rest of Ereẓ Israel. Although his invasion of Egypt ended in failure, the rebellion that broke out in Jerusalem while he was occupied there was later suppressed. The Seljuk conquest brought an end to Arab rule in Ereẓ Israel, although the struggle between the Fatimids and the Seljuks lasted until the end of the 11th century; the Fatimids held the Coastal Plain and in 1098, a year before the arrival of the Crusaders, even recaptured Jerusalem.

The detailed description of the political events in the 10th–11th centuries indicates a gloomy picture of the living conditions in that period, which is also confirmed by contemporary letters found in the Cairo *Genizah*. Agriculture was predominant in the economic life of the country. The dams near Beisan were quickly repaired and the region soon became famous for its dates, rice, and indigo. Other sectors lost importance, compared to previous periods and neighboring countries. Ereẓ Israel was self-sufficient in the growing of cereals and exported olive oil, dried figs, and raisins. In the Jordan Valley and the Coastal Plain sugar plantations developed considerably, and the Arabs introduced the lemon and orange to Ereẓ Israel. In spite of the flourishing agriculture in the first centuries of Arab rule, heavy fiscal pressure exacerbated the peasants and provoked revolts, e.g., the uprising of Abu-Ḥarb, who in 842, caused turmoil in Ereẓ Israel. The volume of industry decreased, however, when the coastal towns shrank in size as a result of the loss of overseas markets. The interruption of international trade in the Mediterranean area was a foremost phenomenon in the economic history of Syria and Ereẓ Israel under the caliphs. Industry, therefore, produced mostly for local markets, although soap (made from olive oil) and glass vessels were sold in Egypt and Transjordan. On the whole, the decay of maritime trade in the Mediterranean world was outweighed by the intensification of commercial relations with countries that had belonged to other economic regions before the Arab conquest. Ereẓ Israel's economy thus remained intact under the caliphs. Its decline and the subsequent general impoverishment of the population began in the tenth century, due to changes in the political structure, as described above.

In the south (the Negev), however, the deterioration of the economy began even earlier. With the consolidation of the Muslim empire from Spain to India, it became safe for travelers to journey by land, a permanent postal system was established, and new overland trade routes between Europe and the East came into being. These developments eliminated the Negev trade routes, which had functioned as a factor in international commerce, during the Roman and Byzantine periods, and the Negev's key position disappeared for centuries to come. Its cities declined as their inhabitants lost the transit trade and their livelihoods from dyeing and weaving, and the population dwindled. As the markets for agricultural products disappeared, the farmers also moved away, and villages ceased to exist. Ramleh, the headquarters of the administration, was then an important commercial center, and other larger cities were Ashkelon, Caesarea, and Jerusalem. These cities, however, declined like the rest of the country during the period of Fatimid rule. The constant Bedouin raids made life quite difficult for the inhabitants, and, in addition to man-made disasters, earthquakes, which occurred in 1016 and 1033, contributed still further to the country's impoverishment.

The Muslim population of Palestine was for the most part Sunni, and the Shiʿite propaganda of the Fatimid government met with little success. There were large groups of Shiʿites in Tiberias and a number of other places. Most of the inhabitants of Nablus and its environs were Samaritans. In Jerusalem, Bethlehem, Nazareth, and Tiberias, the majority of the population was Christian and enjoyed the protection of the Byzantines who cared for the Christian shrines. The spoken language of all the inhabitants, regardless of religion, was Arabic, although Arabic culture had not struck roots in the country. The intellectual level of the population was lower than that of the neighboring countries. In 985 the Jerusalem geographer al-Maqdisī wrote that it was difficult to find a Muslim intellectual in Ereẓ Israel in his time. The cultural level of the Christians was higher than that of the Muslims, which explains the fact that Christians held most of the government positions. Talented and ambitious members of the population immigrated to the adjacent countries, where the chances of advancement in a number of fields were much greater.

THE JEWISH POPULATION. In the period preceding the Arab invasion, there were Jewish agricultural and trade settlements in the Negev, south of the Dead Sea, along the shores of the Gulf of Elath, and in Transjordan. Delegations sent to conclude protective treaties with Muhammad, once his fame had begun to spread, included Jews from Transjordan and the Gulf of Elath, Maqnā, a small port along the southern portion of the Gulf, was a Jewish community inhabited by the banū Janbā, warriors who earned their livelihood from agriculture, fishing, trade, and home crafts. From the clothing they pledged to deliver to Muhammad, it is apparent that they were wealthy. The delegation from Elath was accompanied by groups of Jews from the neighboring communities of Adhruḥ and Jarbā, between Petra and Maʿān in Transjordan. The region between Edreʿi and Jericho was inhabited by Jews as late as the 10th and 11th centuries, but they disappeared completely during the Crusades. *Estori ha-Parhi, however, mentions a Jewish community in Edreʿi in his time (13th century).

The southern coastal towns continued to flourish after the Arab conquest. In the 11th century there were still Jewish communities in Gaza, Rafa, and El-Arish, but they disintegrated with the Crusades, when the population as a whole declined. Many villages and small towns were destroyed in the Crusader wars against the Fatimids and the Ayyubids, but the disappearance of much of the population in the borderland was also due to the complete cessation of transit trade in the Negev during this period. Controversial reports exist about the resettlement of the Jews in Jerusalem after the Arab conquest. According to Arab sources, the treaty between the caliph *Omar and Patriarch Sophronius about the surrender of Jerusalem to the Arabs contained the condition that the Jews should not be allowed to settle in the city. On the other hand, a document in the Cairo *Genizah* testifies that Omar gave 70 Jewish families from Tiberias permission to settle in Jerusalem. A later Arabic source reports that Jewish families attended the Mosque of Omar in the Temple area. The sources about Jerusalem as seat of the academy do not indicate the date of this event (see section on Religious and Spiritual Life below).

In general, Jewish and Christian communities in Ereẓ Israel prospered during the first 50 years of Arab rule. The founder of the Ummayyad dynasty, Caliph Muʿāwiya (661–680), devoted himself to organizing and expanding his realm. His regime displayed tolerance toward the people under Muslim protection and afforded numerous opportunities to both Jews and Christians. Muʿāwya settled Jews in Tripoli because he regarded them as loyal to the Arabs and wanted to strengthen reliable elements there. The situation changed for the worse when Omar II (717–720) became caliph and introduced numerous restrictions against non-Muslims (see *Omar Covenant). These laws severely affected the public conduct, religious observances, and legal status of the people under Muslim protection. During the Abbasid rule, Jews were sometimes forced to wear yellow turbans, Christians, blue ones, and Samaritans, red ones. These regulations, however, were not strictly observed and had to be stressed from time to time in public proclamations. In 1009–13 the Fatimid caliph *Al-Ḥākim issued severe restrictions against the dhimmi (protected non-Muslim population) that affected the Christians more than the Jews. He also revived the regulations about prescribed garb and ordered the destruction of churches and synagogues. Finally, Jews and Christians were presented with the ultimatum of either adopting Islam or leaving the country. During this period, the Church of the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem was demolished. Soon afterward, however, while Al-Ḥākim was still alive, the orders were rescinded and permission was granted to rebuild the houses of worship and allow persons who pretended to adopt Islam to profess their own religions openly.

Economic Conditions. Because of the heavy land taxes imposed on non-Muslim farmers, Jews ceased to cultivate the soil. They settled in the towns, where economic conditions were better and they were safer, and engaged in crafts such as dyeing and tanning, which became exclusively Jewish occupations for centuries to come. With the exception of Al-Ḥākim's decrees, the attitude of the authorities toward the Jews in the Fatimid period was generally favorable and better than the treatment accorded to the Christians, who sometimes provoked the Muslims with their arrogance. Whereas it was strictly forbidden to employ members of the protected faiths in government posts during the Abbasid period, under Fatimid rule, Jews and Christians were in the service of the caliphs, who had come to learn that the protected peoples were more loyal to them than the Sunni Muslims.

The Jews of Ramleh derived benefits from the trade caravans passing through the city. They traded with Egypt and Syria, as well as with North Africa. However, Bedouin depredations and severe earthquakes, which caused unusual damage to Ramleh, undermined the city's position. The economic status of Jerusalem was less satisfactory because of the city's distance from trade routes and its proximity to the desert. Whenever disorders and highway robberies increased, the number of Jewish and Christian pilgrims to the Holy City fell off. In addition, the tax burden in Jerusalem was heavier than in other Palestinian cities. Most of the Jewish population lived off contributions from foreign Jewish communities or visitors. Whatever Jewish merchants there were in Jerusalem were dependent on those in Ramleh. A number of copyists supported themselves from copying manuscripts to be sold abroad.

Religious and Spiritual Life. In the last century of Byzantine rule, Tiberias was again the center of Jewish spiritual and religious leadership. Mar *Zutra, a scion of the exilarchs, settled there in 520 and was appointed head of the academy. Even the persecutions of the emperor Justinian (527–565) could not destroy the community that had fostered the development of Jewish scholarship. Tiberias was the center of the masoretes (see *Masorah) and the inventors of the Tiberian system of vocalizing Hebrew, the most important cultural achievement of the period. This system superseded two others, the Babylonian and the Palestinian, and came into current use in all Jewish communities. The Tiberian pronunciation became famous for its precision and clarity, and many scholars went to Tiberias to study the proper tradition of reading the Torah. The city also attained renown for its liturgical poets. One of the most famous of them was *Yannai b. Yannai, several hundred of whose *piyyutim* have remained. Fragments from a halakhic work *Sefer ha-Maʿasim li-Venei Ereẓ Yisrael* ("Book of the Deeds of the Ereẓ Israel Jews"), in which important decisions on religious, social, and economic matters have been collected, provide a glimpse into the life of the period. Although the exact date of the collection is still controversial – the end of the Byzantine or beginning of the Muslim period – there is no doubt about its importance as one of the few halakhic works of that period from Ereẓ Israel to have survived. It is not known exactly when the academy passed from Tiberias to Jerusalem and Ramleh. From some hints in the letters of the Ereẓ Israel *Gaon* *Aaron b. Meir (a contemporary and an opponent of *Saadiah Gaon), it can be assumed that the move occurred in the ninth century. It may also be ventured that the transfer of the academy to Jerusalem was caused at least partially by the settlement of the *Karaites (see below) in the city. Among the outstanding heads of the academy during the period, in addition to Aaron b. Meir, were R. *Solomon b. Judah (1025–1051) and *Daniel b. Azariah (1051–1062), a scion of the Babylonian exilarchs who signed with the title "*gaon* of Tiberias," although his seat was in Jerusalem. The last *gaon* whose seat was in Jerusalem was *Elijah b. Solomon. After the Seljuk conquest of Jerusalem (1071) he had to move the academy to Tyre, where it remained until the Crusades. It then moved to Ḥadrak near Damascus and subsequently to Damascus itself. The academy existed in Syria for about a century and was still known as the Academy of the Holy Land.

The Karaites in Jerusalem. In the ninth century a number of Karaites left Iraq and Persia and settled in Jerusalem, which became an important center of Karaism. A letter written by Aaron b. Meir testifies that among them were *nesi'im* (princes), so styled because they belonged to the exilarchic family. The Karaites occupied a special quarter and called themselves "mourners of Zion"; the foremost among them were styled "*shoshannim*" (lilies). A genealogical list of Karaite Davidides published by Mann (Texts, 2 (1935), 131) tells that Ẓemaḥ the prince (third generation after Anan) was also head of the academy, whereas his brother Jehoshaphat was called "head of the academy, the pride (*Gaon*) of Jacob." Abramson (Merkazim, 27) is inclined to assume that Ẓemaḥ was head of the academy in Jerusalem. In any case it seems that the rivalry between the Rabbanites and Karaites in Jerusalem was one of the reasons for the reestablishment of the seat of the Rabbanite academy in Jerusalem (for later developments, see *Karaites: in Palestine).

Leadership. After the extinction of the patriarchate (c. 429), the leadership of the Jewish population passed to the scholars and heads of the academy, rather than to descendants of the Davidic dynasty, although the Karaites attempted to revive the office of the *nasi (patriarch) from the family of Anan, of the family of the exilarchs who were of Davidic stock. In the 11th century a Rabbanite descendant of the exilarchs, R. *Daniel b. Azariah who styled himself "patriarch (*nasi*) and *Gaon*," ascended to the leadership of the community. In an epistle to Egypt, he wrote: "Since we came to this holy place, we guide Israel, with God's help, in the whole of Palestine and Syria, and administer justice even to those in distant places. In all towns and settlements prayers are recited for us. The *Ḥaverim* and judges in every place are authorized by us. Nobody else has any influence even over a small town…." (Mann, Egypt, 1 (1920), 179; 2 (1922), 216). Daniel concentrated the powers of the exilarch and the *gaon* in Iraq in his hands. From the many letters of Solomon b. Judah, Daniel's predecessor in the office as head of the Palestinian academy, it is assumed that he was the acknowledged representative of the Jewish population vis-à-vis the Muslim authorities. The *geonim* *Elijah b. Solomon and his son *Abiathar also assumed leadership beyond the boundaries of Ereẓ Israel.

The *ḥaverim* mentioned in Daniel b. Azariah's epistle were authorized to head the local communities and sometimes also served as *dayyanim*. The judges were paid by their communities, but it is learned from many letters that they did not always receive their fixed emoluments or collections made to pay their salaries. In one of his letters, Solomon b. Judah mentions how the Jerusalemites induced him to become their *ḥazzan* before he became the head of the academy, because he was satisfied with a small livelihood; but two years passed and his services went entirely unrewarded, due to the great distress prevailing in the Holy City (Mann, Texts, 2 (1935), 318). One of Solomon b. Judah's main tasks was to request support for his communities and their functionaries from the Ereẓ Israel congregations in Egypt. The *Gaon* Josiah remarks in a letter (Mann, Egypt, 2 (1922), 69–70) that the academy used to be maintained by the Fatimid government, but this support ceased (during the Al-Ḥākim persecutions?), and the academy was in great distress. These financial problems increased with deteriorating political and economic conditions. At the end of the 11th century the Jewish population in Ereẓ Israel diminished and lost its firm organizational and spiritual features.

[Haïm Z'ew Hirschberg]

Crusader Period (1099–1291)

In 1095 Pope Urban II appealed to the French at Clermont to rescue the Holy Land and recover it for Christendom. The response was instantaneous: Peter the Hermit, a Fleming from Amiens, harangued crowds; fanatical bands of peasants streamed eastward, passing through southern Germany, Hungary, and the Balkans, destroying the Jewish communities on the way; but this first mob "army" did not reach the Holy Land and was destroyed by the Turks (July–October 1096). Two years elapsed before the mailed Christian chivalry could be organized, and it took another year before that military expedition reached the coastal road leading from Lebanon into Ereẓ Israel (May 1099). The coastal cities agreed, out of fear, to furnish the advancing expedition with provisions and funds. The army made its way from Caesarea to Ramleh (whose population fled) on the way to conquer Jerusalem, the proclaimed aim of the *Crusade movement. The Crusaders besieged Jerusalem from June 7 to July 15, 1099, and the city capitulated after Godfrey de Bouillon's troops had broken through the northern wall and Raymond of Toulouse's men had broken through at "Mt. Zion." The conquerors carried out a mass massacre of the population, which numbered between 20,000 and 30,000. The Jews, who had heroically defended their quarter, were in part killed and burned in their synagogue and in part taken captive and sold into slavery in Italy. Only few managed to flee to Ashkelon and Egypt.

Having conquered the capital, the Crusaders proceeded to occupy the rest of the country. Bethlehem had surrendered even before the conquest of Jerusalem; the city was in fact handed over to the Crusaders by its Eastern Christian inhabitants, who constituted the majority of its population. Jericho and Nablus had also surrendered when Tancred took both Tiberias and Beisan without a battle, turning the former into the capital of a new principality. The last serious Fatimid attempt to combat the Crusaders ended in the defeat of the Fatimids at the battle of Ashkelon (August 1099), and the Crusaders were thus free to proceed with the occupation of the coastal cities. Like Ramleh, Jaffa was abandoned by its Muslim population and for a while served the Crusaders as their main port; during this first stage in the existence of their state, they were totally dependent on the supply of men, horses, arms, and provisions from overseas. It took the Crusaders ten years (1100–10) to conquer most of the coastal cities. *Haifa, then a small fortress (1100), was important because of its shipyards; the Jewish community, which resided there by special arrangement with the Fatimids, played an important role in its defense. Arsūf (April 1101), Caesarea (1101), Acre (May 1104), Beirut (1101), and Sidon (December 1110) followed suit. The conquest of the port cities facilitated the renewal of military and commercial ties with Europe and also provided the main residential centers of the Crusader community, which never struck roots in agricultural areas. Ashkelon constituted a serious danger to the Crusaders and was finally captured from the Egyptians in 1153.

Crusader expansion into the southern part of Transjordan had begun by 1100. In spite of the deterring efforts of the rulers of Damascus, the Crusaders succeeded first in establishing control over the local nomad population. In 1107 they captured Wadi Mūsā; in 1112 they fortified Shawbak, calling it Montreal; in 1113 they conquered Elath; and, finally, the fortification of Le Crac (Kerak), captured in 1142, secured their control over the area, the land connection between Syria and Egypt, and the "Pilgrims' Road" from the north to Mecca and Medina. Omitting further details it should be pointed out that from the standpoint of territorial expanse, the Kingdom of Jerusalem (or the Kingdom of David and even Israel, as it was called during the period of *Saladin's rise to power in Egypt (1174)) was at its height. Its border in the north went along the Muʿāmalatayn River (or Nahr Ibrahim) between Giblet (which belonged to the principality of Tripoli) and Beirut and continued in the west along the coast southward to Dayr-al-Balaḥ (Daron of the Crusaders). It extended eastward from Beirut to encompass the sources of the Jordan and reached the foot of Mount Hermon. From there the border turned southward and encompassed parts of Horan and Bashan, Gilead, and all the territory of Moab up to Elath. The desert region of the Negev (Grande Barrie, from the Arabic *bariyya* (desert)) completed the borderline between Elath and Daron.

Saladin, Ayyub's son, directed his policy toward the unification of Syria and Iraq with Egypt, a goal that was fulfilled with his conquest of Aleppo (1183). His halting attempts to attack the Crusaders' borders during the lifetime of Nur al-Din (Gaza, 1170; Montreal and Elath, 1171; Crac, 1173) took on the appearance of a planned mission in 1177, when he attacked southern Gaza, captured Ramleh, besieged Lydda, and reached Arsūf. But at the battle of Gezer (Montgisard, as it was called by the Crusaders), he was routed by Baldwin IV, and his attempts to impose a sea blockade on the Crusaders (1179–82), accompanied by attacks on Montreal, Galilee, Beisan, and Beirut, ended in yet another Crusader victory in the battle of Forbelet (1182). In 1183 Saladin captured Beisan and Zarʿīn, besieged Crac, and destroyed Nablus, Samaria, and Jezreel. His victories terminated in the battle of Hattin (July 1187) with the crushing defeat of the Crusader camp, which had left Sepphoris to come to the aid of besieged Tiberias. As a result of this battle, all the Crusader cities and fortresses, including Jerusalem (November 1187), surrendered to Saladin almost without a fight. Tyre, which was not conquered due to Conrad Montferrat, now became the center of the remaining Crusaders, under the leadership of their king, Guy de Lusignan. The prolonged siege imposed on Acre by the Crusaders (August 1189–July 1191) and their conquest of the city constituted the beginning of a renewed conquest under the leadership of Richard the Lion-Hearted; but, as a result of the conflict between the kings of France and England, this endeavor produced poor results. According to the peace treaty of September 1192, the Crusader state was established in the area between Tyre and Jaffa (the Lydda-Ramleh area was divided between the two sides); in addition, the Christians obtained the right of pilgrimage to Jerusalem, which remained in Muslim hands.

Upon Saladin's death (1193), the Muslim empire was once again broken up. The Crusaders, however, were no longer able to exploit this situation, despite the fact that their state continued to expand by virtue of the various Crusades (such as the German Crusade that succeeded in capturing Beirut in 1197). The treaty of 1204 returned Jaffa (which fell to the Egyptians in 1197), as well as part of the territories of Sidon and Nazareth, to the Crusaders. The Fourth Crusade, which might have brought aid to the Crusaders in Ereẓ Israel, turned to the capture of Constantinople and resulted in the diversion of the European forces to Cyprus (captured by Richard in 1189). The military Crusade of the kings of Hungary and Cyprus in 1217 spent itself in undirected missions in the Galilee, Beisan and Mt. Tabor, and its only positive results were the fortification of Caesarea and the founding of Athlit (Château Pélerins). The remnants of this Crusade joined the daring attempt to attack Egypt (the Fifth Crusade). Fear of the Crusaders prompted the Muslims to destroy their fortresses at Tibnīn, Banias, Belvoir (Kawkab al-Hawā), Safed, Mt. Tabor, and Jerusalem simultaneously.

The Crusaders now awaited the arrival of Frederick II, emperor of Germany and king of Sicily. His departure was delayed until 1228, when, meanwhile excommunicated by the Pope, he reached Acre. In the interim, the Crusaders had captured parts of Sidon, built the walls of Caesarea, and fortified Qalʿat al-Qurayn (Montfort). As a result of his connections with Al-Malik al-Kāmil, the sultan of Egypt, Frederick succeeded in acquiring the Crusaders' territorial sovereignty without entering battle. Sidon (with the exclusion of Beaufort), Tibnīn, Sepphoris, Nazareth, Lydda, Ramleh, Bethlehem, the Ramleh-Jerusalem road, and Jerusalem itself – excluding the Temple area, which remained under Muslim jurisdiction – were transferred to the Crusaders. The kingdom now included two enclaves connected to the coastal region: Nazareth and Jerusalem. Frederick proclaimed himself king of Jerusalem and then left the country. Frederick's excom-

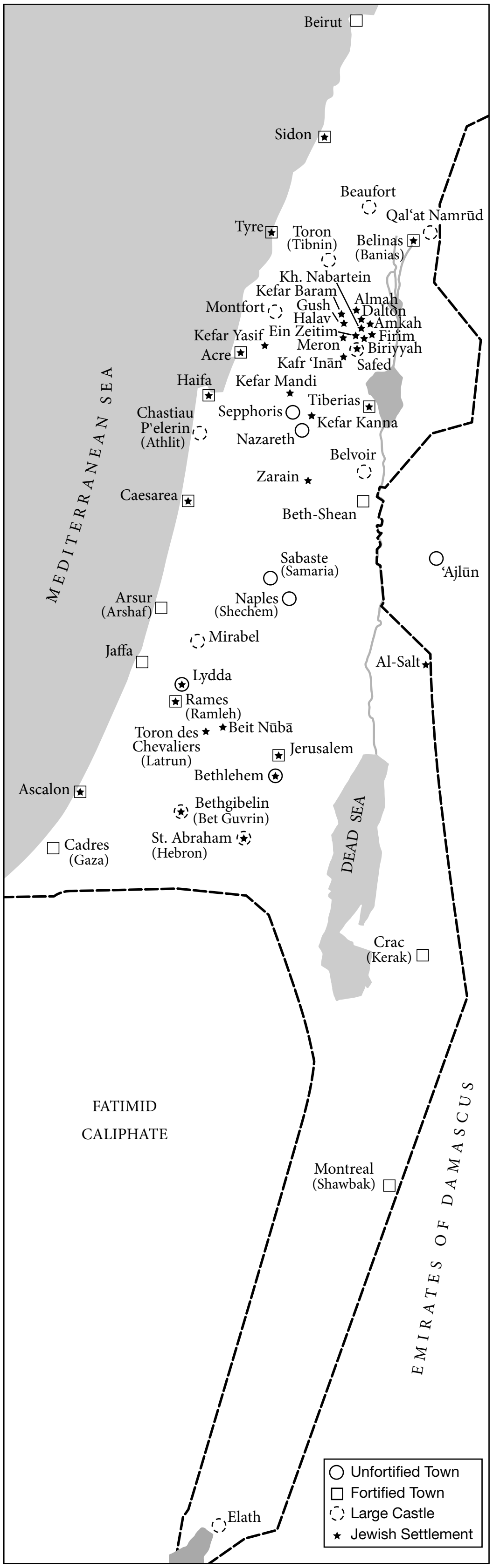
Beirut
Sidon
Beaufort
Qal'at Namrūd
Tyre
Toron
(Tibnin)
Belinas
(Banias)
Kh. Nabartein
Kefar Baram
Montfort
Gush
Halav
Almah
Dalton
Amkah
Kefar Yasif
Ein Zeitim
Firim
Meron
Biriyyah
Acre
Kafr 'Inān
Safed
Haifa
Kefar Mandi
Tiberias
Chastiau
P'elerin
(Athlit)
Sepphoris
Kefar Kanna
Nazareth
Belvoir
Zarain
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
Caesarea
Beth-Shean
Sabaste
(Samaria)
'Ajlūn
Arsur
(Arshaf)
Naples
(Shechem)
Mirabel
Jaffa
Al-Salt
Lydda
Rames
(Ramleh)
Toron des
Chevaliers
(Latrun)
Beit Nūbā
Jerusalem
Bethlehem
Ascalon
DEAD SEA
Bethgibelin
(Bet Guvrin)
Cadres
(Gaza)
St. Abraham
(Hebron)
Crac
(Kerak)
FATIMID
CALIPHATE
Montreal
(Shawbak)
EMIRATES OF DAMASCUS
Elath
○ Unfortified Town
☐ Fortified Town
Large Castle
★ Jewish Settlement

Map. 2. The Crusader kingdom at its greatest extent (1187 C.E.).

munication, self-coronation, and departure from the country brought about civil war, with the opposition to Frederick under the leadership of the House of Ibelin. The war raged intermittently from 1231 to 1243 and depleted the strength of the kingdom of Jerusalem. The Italian communes and military orders carried out their own policy, and the country remained bereft of a true ruler.

The Crusaders' attempt to reconstruct the ruins of Ashkelon terminated with their defeat in the battle of Gaza (November 1239). Meanwhile, the sultan Ismail of Damascus convinced them to enter into a treaty with him against Ayyub, ruler of Egypt and stipulated he would return to them Beaufort (Qalʿat al-Shaqīf), Safed, and Tiberias in Galilee. During the period of mutual political intrigues, Egypt called upon the assistance of the Khwarizmian Turks, who were then in flight from the Mongols. They overran the country, captured Jerusalem from the Crusaders (August 1244), and dealt them a crushing blow at the battle of Hirbiya (Forbie) near Gaza (October 1244), later destroying Galilee. Jerusalem, which was annexed to Egypt, and Judea and Samaria, which were annexed to Transjordan, were never again returned to the Crusaders. Later still (1247), the Egyptians also captured Tiberias and Ashkelon.

The days of the Crusader coastal kingdom were now numbered by the rise of the Mamluks in Egypt (1250), which brought to power a strong military class. With the appearance of a new factor in the Middle East – the Mongols, whose commander (Hulagu) conquered Baghdad in 1258 – it appeared that a Mongolian-European Christian pact that would help the Crusaders withstand the Muslims (rumors circulated that there were numerous Christians among the Mongols) was in the offing. The Crusaders, however, did not exploit the presence of the Mongols and adopted a neutral stance in the severe clash between the latter and the Mamluks of Egypt. In 1260 the Mongols suffered a blow in the battle of Gaza and later a crushing defeat at ʿAyn-Jālūt (En-Harod), which routed their army. A result of the neutral stance of the Crusaders was that they now faced Baybars, the great ruler of Egypt, who slowly but surely captured one fortress after another. Once again the remnants of the Kingdom of Jerusalem did not cooperate with each other and made separate treaties with the conqueror, in order to preserve their meager possessions. Eventually Acre, the center of the kingdom, fell, after a period of siege (April–May 1291), to Al-Malik al-Ashraf the Mamluk. The last fortress, that of Atlit (the Castle of the pilgrims), was abandoned soon after. The period of the Crusades thus came to a close in Palestine.

THE JEWISH POPULATION. During the period of Crusader conquests, the Jews cooperated with the Fatimid forces and the urban Muslim population. Rumors of the murder and pillage perpetrated by the Crusaders upon the Jewish communities in the Rhine area reached the East and gave rise to messianic expectations, which were in turn nourished by the naive belief that the First Crusade served only to gather the nations of the world into the Holy Land in order to destroy them in war ("the war of *Gog and Magog"). Christian sources from that period first mention Jews in connection with the defense of Jerusalem. The Jewish quarter, founded in the 11th century in the northeastern section of the city (between Damascus Gate and the Valley of Jehoshaphat), was the first to be attacked and invaded by the troops of Godfrey of Bouillon. Only a very few survived the terrible carnage and the burning of the synagogues (together with those who sought refuge within them). The Jews are mentioned again in connection with the defense of Haifa in 1100. The Jewish community there enjoyed special conditions conferred upon it by the Fatimids. It is said that Tancred, who retreated from the walls of Haifa, did not attempt to besiege it again until he was admonished that failure to conquer this city defended by Jews would make a mockery of the God of the Christians. The Crusader armies and the Venetian sailors likewise slaughtered the Haifa community.

Contemporary letters and edicts and fragments thereof discovered in the Cairo *Genizah* (some of which have been published by S.D. Goitein; see bibliography) provide more than a glimpse into the life of the Jewish community in Ereẓ Israel under the Crusader rule; they add much to the (sometimes) later descriptions from the non-Jewish sources. A letter found in the *Genizah* describes the fall of Jerusalem, the ransoming of the captives, and the relief efforts on behalf of the refugees who fled with the Fatimid commander. Leaders of the Jewish community in Ashkelon dispatched the letter to the Alexandrian community, begging it to cover the debts incurred by the Jews of Ashkelon in connection with their relief work. A second letter was written by a pilgrim to Ereẓ Israel, who, it may be presumed, came from the Maghreb (North Africa) or Spain. He proceeded as far as Cairo but could not move to Jerusalem because the Holy City had been captured by the "Franks … who murdered all who were in it – Ishmaelites and Israelites. The few who remained after the slaughter have been captured. Some of those have been ransomed and some are still in captivity." He goes on to express the hope that the sultan will defeat the enemies and he will be able to visit Jerusalem soon. Another letter, written in the winter of 1099/1100 by the *av bet din* of the academy, a scion of the Ben Meir family, deals with ransoming members of his family. The writer regards the conquest as an affliction. Indeed, a long letter sent from Ereẓ Israel to Egypt in the first decade of the 12th century informs that conditions changed for the better for those who remained in the country, and the writer would like to renew business relations with his relative and friend. A letter written (in Tyre) to the *dayyan* of Fostat in 1100 includes a short description of the siege of Beirut as related by a fugitive who left the city by night. It seems that all of the 35 Jewish families who lived there were massacred.

Tyre and Banias in the north and Ashkelon and Rafa in the south, which still withstood the Crusaders, absorbed many of the refugees from the massacred communities, while others fled to Egypt. It may be assumed that the communities located in the agricultural region, such as Galilee, suffered minimally from the Crusader conquests. Despite their generally difficult situation, the Jewish settlements still made their influence felt and instances of conversion to Judaism were recorded, such as that of Obadiah the Norman, who remained for a time at Banias and Tyre (when those cities were in Muslim hands). Once the period of military conquest had ended, the Jewish communities began to reconstruct their lives. Their status was enhanced somewhat by the immigration movement from Europe, which was in turn encouraged by improved maritime transportation between the two areas. The legal status of the Jews under the Crusader code, which did not differ from that of Syrian-Christians and Muslims, also helped renew Jewish life in Ereẓ Israel, for inasmuch as the Muslims constituted the majority of the population and the Crusaders' continued existence depended upon them, the Crusader code was very tolerant with respect to infidels. This was in contrast to the hostile attitude of European Christianity toward the Jews that was taking shape in the 12th century. Only in Jerusalem did the Crusaders revive the Byzantine edict that forbade Jews to live within the holy city, and, indeed, only a few families settled there by special permission of the king of Jerusalem.

Various travelers (including *Benjamin of Tudela) who visited Palestine during the second half of the 12th century left descriptions of the conditions of the Jewish communities there. These descriptions are confirmed by the finds in the Cairo *Genizah*. The most important of these communities was Tyre, which apparently continued to exist even after the Crusader conquest. It was an organized community whose leaders and scholars exchanged letters with Maimonides in Egypt on halakhic matters. Next in importance was the Acre community, whose scholars also maintained contact with Maimonides, and third came the Jewish community in Ashkelon, which may not have been destroyed after the surrender of the city to the Crusaders in 1153. The remainder of the Jewish settlements of the period were very small. There were small communities in the coastal cities of Beirut, Sidon, and Caesarea. The cities of Galilee had only the isolated communities of Tiberias in the 12th century and Safed in the 13th century. A letter that mentions the "regnant Dame" of Tiberias (the allusion being to Eschive, who ruled in Tiberias before 1187) has been found in the Cairo *Genizah*. There were also rural Jewish settlements in Galilee: Gush Ḥalav, Almah, Kefar Baram, Amkah, Kefar Ḥananyah, Kefar Tanḥum, Meron, Dalta, Biriyyah. The small communities of Zarʿin, Nablus, Belt Nuba, and Bet Guvrin were scattered in Judea and Samaria. Although the Jewish community in Ereẓ Israel did not intentionally abandon its former settlements, it increasingly concentrated in the Christian area of the coast cities. This move may have been motivated by economic factors, as opportunities for artisans and tradesmen were more abundant in the ports.

Saladin's conquests and those of his successors, the *Ayyubids and the *Mamluks, diminished the territorial scope of the Crusader kingdom and wakened messianic hopes among the Jews in Europe and the East. An important manifestation of the period was the immigration to Palestine from the Diaspora. Many of the refugees of the Crusades longed to return to the Holy Land. The scant information that has been preserved about the 12th-century immigration deals not so much with actual immigration as with visits to the Holy Land (in the 1260s and 1270s) by travelers such as Benjamin of Tudela, *Pethahiah of Regensburg, and R. Jacob b. Netanel Hacohen. Parallel to the unceasing flow of visitors during the 13th century (Judah *Al-Ḥarizi), a trickle of immigrants began to settle. Furthermore, two rather short-lived spiritual centers were created in Jerusalem and Acre. This new movement was probably encouraged by the Crusaders' inability to defeat Saladin and was likewise sustained by the waves of persecution that plagued European Jewry at that time. The Jewish population in Jerusalem, which was limited to a few families during the Crusader occupation, expanded markedly after Saladin's conquest (1187). According to Judah Al-Ḥarizi, who visited Jerusalem (1218), Saladin immediately published a proclamation calling the Jews from all over the world to come and settle in the capital. In his time the Jerusalem community consisted of scholars from France; a fine congregation from Ashkelon (apparently refugees from the Jewish community destroyed there in 1191), led by a Yemenite "prince"; and a large congregation from North Africa, where there was an increase in persecution at the end of the 12th century.

Sources from the Cairo *Genizah* add interesting details to the observations made by Judah Al-Ḥarizi. The fragments published by Braslavi (*Ereẓ Yisrael*, 4 (1956), 156–9) include the names of other French scholars who lived in Jerusalem during the period. A proclamation by Saladin reducing the custom duties to be paid by non-Muslims by half, mentioned in a letter, was no doubt an invitation for Jewish merchants to settle in the conquered area. A letter from 1214 clarifies some of Al-Ḥarizi's remarks about the Jerusalem community. It expressly mentions the synagogue of the "Son of the Yemeni" and ends with greetings for the "Ashkeloni and Maghrebi elders." The first immigration wave from Europe included the "300 French and English rabbis" who immigrated in 1210–11 and settled in Acre. Among them were learned scholars from the ranks of the tosafists, such as R. *Jonathan ben David ha-Kohen from Lunel and R. *Samson of Sens.

The renewed Jerusalem community was short-lived. During the occupation of Jerusalem by the Christians (1229–39, 1243–44), the Jews were not initially allowed access to the city. In about 1236 a special agreement permitting them to visit the Holy City was arranged; it included a special permit for Jewish dyers to settle in Jerusalem, and their presence in the city is mentioned by Benjamin of Tudela and Pethahiah from Regensburg. It may be assumed that the destruction of the city in 1244 by the Khwarizmian Turks caused the simultaneous demise of its Jewish inhabitants. Naḥmanides' immigration to Jerusalem in 1267 stimulated efforts to revive the community, and many students flocked to him from distant places in the East. He completed his commentary to the Pentateuch in Jerusalem. He left Jerusalem for Acre and his death in 1270 apparently brought the Jerusalem community's revival to a halt. At a later period a legend arose about the "Naḥmanides synagogue" in Jerusalem that attempted to ascribe the revival and uninterrupted existence of the Jerusalem community to Naḥmanides.

The development of the Acre community stood out in contrast to Jerusalem's deteriorated condition. Part of the 1210–11 immigration settled in Acre, and later waves were also absorbed there for the most part. Among its important settlers was R. *Jehiel of Paris, who immigrated after 1257 and apparently succeeded in founding a yeshivah in Acre called "*midrash ha-Gadol*" of Paris. Emissaries from the city collected funds in various European communities. The Acre community also maintained connections with R. Solomon b. *Adret and R. *Meir b. Baruch of Rothenburg and played an important role in the second disputation on the writings of Maimonides. The *nagid* *David ben Abraham, grandson of Maimonides, lived in Acre for a considerable time during his exile from Egypt (1284–89) and there met R. Solomon Petit, the most active opponent of Maimonides' doctrines. David used all his influence to procure the issue of a ban (1287) against Solomon by the *nasi* of Damascus as well as a letter against him from *Samuel ben Daniel ha-Kohen, the *Gaon* of the Baghdad Academy (1288). This controversy confirms the existence of a religious center at Acre. The community was almost completely wiped out during the conquest of the city by Al-Malik al-Ashraf in 1291.

As to the economic activities of the Jewish community at the time, the majority of the Jews were artisans, particularly dyers of woven fabrics (dyeing was then a royal monopoly). Another skill practiced particularly by Jews was the blowing of the famous Tyre glass. They also figured among ship owners, as well as druggists and physicians. In contrast, Jews played a minor role in the great Mediterranean international trade (an Italian monopoly), although there were Jewish merchants and peddlers among the local tradesmen.

[Haïm Z'ew Hirschberg / *Encyclopaedia Hebraica*]

Mamluk Period (1291–1516)

When the country again returned to the total rule of the Muslims, its importance in international politics was lost for hundreds of years. Al-Malik al-Nāṣir Muhammad was ruler in Egypt and his governor, Tangiz, longtime omnipotent ruler in Syria and Ereẓ Israel, maintained order and security in the country and constructed waterways and public buildings. Mamluk rule was undermined after the death of Al-Malik al-Nāṣir, and at the beginning of the 15th century disagreement among the chief ministers led to civil wars that wreaked havoc in the Syrian territories. In the middle of the same century, during the rule of the sultans Al-Malik al-Ashraf Barsbāy (1422–38) and Al-Ẓāhir Sayf-al-Dīn Jaqmaq (1438–53), Ereẓ Israel again enjoyed a short period of respite, followed by the increased disintegration of Mamluk rule.

The two-and-a-half centuries of Mamluk domination in Ereẓ Israel brought about little change in the administration of the country. Syria and Ereẓ Israel were divided into large provinces (*niyāba*), which in turn were divided into districts. Each province was headed by a "deputy king" (*nā'ib*) and each district (*wilāya*) by a governor (*wali*). The province of Safed included the districts of Safed, Nazareth, Tiberias, Tibnīn, Athlit, Acre, Tyre, al-Shāghūr, al-Iqlīm al-Shaqīf, and Jenin. It was, in effect, an enclave in the larger province of Damascus, which included a great part of Ereẓ Israel, i.e., the northern districts of eastern Transjordan (Edrei, ʿAjlūn, al-Balqā', Banias), the Beth-Shean district, and the districts of central and southern Ereẓ Israel (Shechem, Qāqūn, Jerusalem, Hebron, Ramleh, Lydda, and Gaza). Various changes were introduced in the administration of the southern districts in the second half of the 14th century. The status of the governor of Jerusalem was raised, and Hebron was added to his district; a special governor, directly responsible to the government in Cairo, was appointed for Ramleh, and Lydda and Qāqūn were added to his district. Because Gaza periodically became an independent province, the status of this district underwent frequent changes. Eastern Transjordan was under the jurisdiction of a special province, Kir Moab (al-Kerak).

Sources from the 14th and 15th centuries attest that the economic structure of Ereẓ Israel remained essentially unchanged during the last centuries of the Middle Ages. The author-prince Abu al-Fidā', who visited the country in 1312, describes the fruit of Ereẓ Israel as export produce. The geographer Al-Dimashkī and a traveler, Ibn Baṭuṭah, both of the 14th century, report that olive oil and soap made from it were the most important products of Ereẓ Israel. Al-Qalqashandī (15th century) relates that there were sugar plantations in the Jordan Valley, and the Burgundian traveler Bertrandon de la Broquière, who visited in 1432, recounts that cotton was cultivated in the Beth-Shean Valley. When the last vestiges of Crusader rule were eliminated, Ereẓ Israel again had no share in the international spice trade, which in the past had been a source of great profits for its inhabitants.

The Mamluks destroyed Acre, Jaffa, and the other coastal cities for fear that they would be used as aids in renewed Crusades. Jaffa remained in ruins until the end of the Middle Ages, while a small settlement was established in Acre in the 15th century. Tiberias and Ashkelon were also partly in ruins at the end of the Middle Ages. Fabri, who visited Ereẓ Israel in 1480 and 1483, found many places in Jerusalem in ruins. According to Obadiah of *Bertinoro, who reached Jerusalem in 1488, the city contained about 4,000 householders, among whom the 70 Jewish heads of families were the poorest of all, lacking any livelihood (A. Yaari, *Massa'ot Ereẓ Yisrael* (1946), 127). According to information from the period of early Mamluk rule, Ramleh was a large city with a flourishing trade; but visitors to Ramleh from the end of the 15th and to the beginning of the 16th century related that it, too, was progressively declining into ruin. All the sources attest that Gaza was a flourishing trading town, about twice the size of Jerusalem. Gaza, Ramleh, and Nablus (Shechem) were apparently the largest towns in Ereẓ Israel at the end of the Middle Ages.

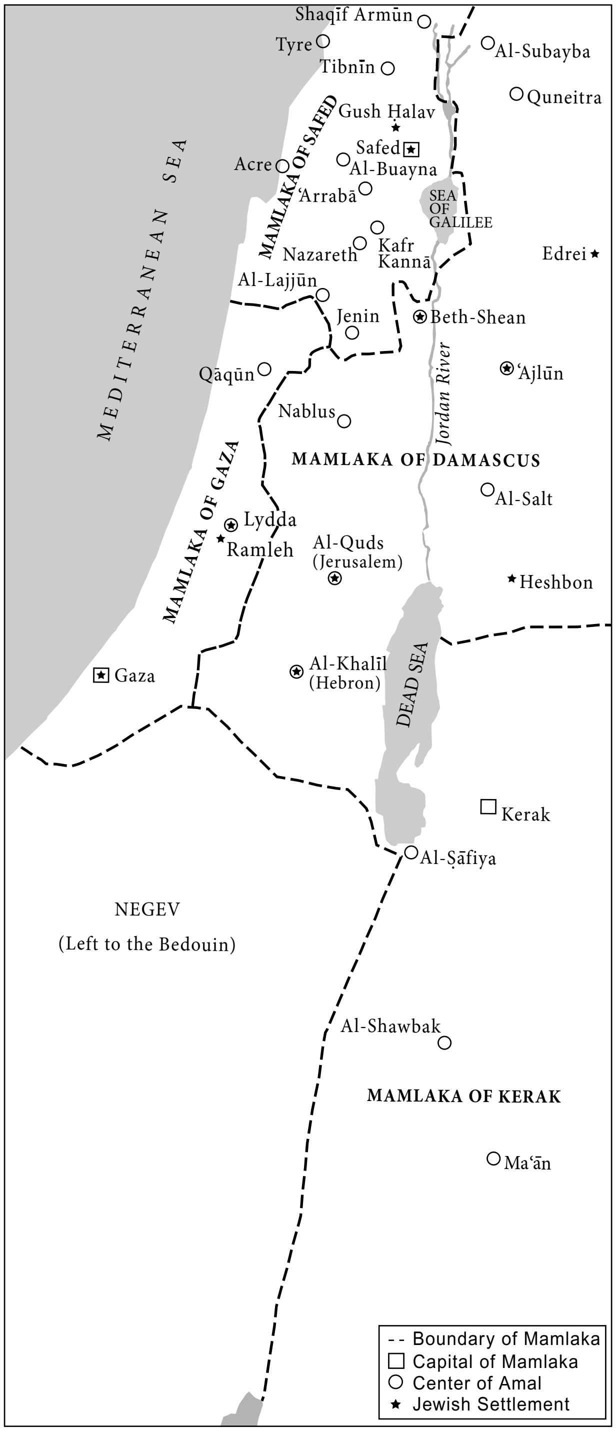
Shaqīf Armūn
Tyre
Tibnīn
Al-Subayba
Quneitra
Gush Ḥalav
MAMLAKA OF SAFED
Safed
Al-Buayna
Acre
ʿArrabā
SEA OF GALILEE
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
Nazareth
Kafr Kannā
Edrei
Al-Lajjūn
Jenin
Beth-Shean
Qāqūn
Jordan River
ʿAjlūn
Nablus
MAMLAKA OF DAMASCUS
MAMLAKA OF GAZA
Al-Salt
Lydda
Ramleh
Al-Quds (Jerusalem)
Heshbon
Gaza
Al-Khalīl (Hebron)
DEAD SEA
Kerak
Al-Ṣāfiya
NEGEV
(Left to the Bedouin)
Al-Shawbak
MAMLAKA OF KERAK
Maʿān
-- Boundary of Mamlaka
☐ Capital of Mamlaka
○ Center of Amal
★ Jewish Settlement

Map 3. The Land of Israel under the Mamluks (14th century C.E.). After Atlas of Israel, *Survey of Israel, 1970.*

Ereẓ Israel did not play an important role in Arabic cultural life during the period, but various sources attest that there was no lack of learning and education in its towns. The Mamluk sultans and their ministers continued to establish *madrasas* (schools) for instruction in religion and allocate funds for the maintenance of their teachers and students. The number of *madrasas* established in Ereẓ Israel by the end of the

Middle Ages reached 50, of which 43 were in Jerusalem. From a religious point of view, the Mamluk period stamped Ereẓ Israel with the characteristic that has distinguished it up to modern times. It became an orthodox Muslim country, while the number of its Shiʿites progressively decreased. Its distance from the ruling centers, on the one hand, and the espousal of religious fanaticism in the *madrasas*, on the other, gave rise to the prominent role played by religion in the daily life. There were periodic complaints by Muslim extremists, which often resulted in lengthy controversies, that the Christians had enlarged their churches in disregard of the Muslim law. Similarly, Jerusalem (from 1473 on) was the scene of a prolonged controversy between the Muslims and Jews over the latter's right to a particular synagogue, which was eventually destroyed by the Muslims (see below). At the same time, the more gifted among the inhabitants would leave Ereẓ Israel for Egypt and Syria. Arabic sources mention a number of Muslim religious scholars who were born or were active in Ereẓ Israel and several local Arabic writers in different areas. Only a few of them, however, were of any significance. Among these, special mention should be made of Mujīr al-Dīn al-ʿUlaymī (1456–1521) who was a judge in Jerusalem and Ramleh and wrote a work on the history of Jerusalem and Hebron.

A number of magnificent buildings were constructed by the Mamluk sultans and their representatives out of a desire to perpetuate their names, even in a forsaken province such as Ereẓ Israel. Fine examples of Muslim architectural art of the period are the tower on the site of the White Mosque in Ramleh, of which only remnants have remained. Others are Bāb al-Qattānīn in the Haram area of Jerusalem ("the cotton-workers' gate"); Qāʾit bāy Sabīl ("the fountain of Qāʾitbāy") on the Temple Mount; and the Tankiziyya *madrasa* near the Western Wall (first half of the 14th century). Also worthy of mention are the Mamluk bridge, the "Jisr Jindās" (second half of the 13th century), which still serves traffic near the town of Lydda.

At the end of the Mamluk period, the security of Ereẓ Israel was undermined, and a worsening of the economic situation ensued. The wars against the Ottomans compelled the Mamluk rulers to seek additional sources of income (e.g., confiscating oil from the farmers in the Nablus district and then forcing the residents of Jerusalem, Hebron, and Ramleh to buy it at exorbitant prices) and to conscript the Bedouin tribes for military service. Such actions caused rebellions among the populace who sometimes even left their permanent places of residence to hide in the mountains and deserts. In the last decade of the 15th century the Bedouins in the Beth-Shean district and Transjordan rebelled. Apart from political and economic upheavals, there were also natural disasters. Arabic sources record the outbreak of plagues in 1438, 1469, 1476, and 1492; a locust plague in 1484, which laid the land waste; and earthquakes in 1458 and 1497. The hardships endured by the people and their dissatisfaction with the authorities gave rise to the general hope that the annexation of Ereẓ Israel to the Ottoman state would result in a change for the better.

JEWISH COMMUNITY. After the wave of bloodshed perpetrated by the Crusaders at the beginning of their conquests, there was a period of respite and gradual recovery among the small and impoverished Jewish communities that managed to survive the difficult times. Gradually, pilgrims began to visit the land and refugees returned to settle there. However, as the Mamluks destroyed the ports that had served the Crusaders as important centers of trade with Europe and the inland towns lost their importance in overland international commerce, the Jews had difficulty in supporting themselves in the large settlements and were scattered in small towns and villages throughout Ereẓ Israel and even Transjordan. R. *Estori ha-Parḥi, a refugee from France (1306) who settled in Beisan during the first half of the 14th century and was the first to study the land, several times makes mention of small Jewish communities in Ereẓ Israel in his book *Kaftor va-Feraḥ*. He even made trips into Transjordan and became acquainted with the communities in Edrei, ʿAjlūn, Salka, Ḥabram (Amrawa). In western Ereẓ Israel he found Jews in Jerusalem (where he lived for some time), Lydda, Ramleh (which he calls Gath), Gush Ḥalav, and Safed. In addition to Rabbanite Jews, he also mentions the Ṣadducees, i.e., Karaites, as well as the Samaritans. He makes special mention of *pilgrimages to Jerusalem from the neighboring countries: Sin (i.e., Syrian Tripoli), Hama, Aleppo, Damascus, Cairo, and Alexandria. There is information from the second half of the 14th century about Jews who lived in Miẓpeh Shemuel (i.e., Nabī Samwīl) near Jerusalem. It is evident, however, that these settlements lacked the economic basis required for peaceful development.

Despite the difficult political and economic conditions in Ereẓ Israel, the Jewish community began to strengthen and consolidate from the beginning of the 15th century, especially in Jerusalem. This caused a reaction on the part of the Franciscan friars, who held the cenaculum above the Tomb of David on Mt. Zion. Properties belonging to the Jewish community were also situated on Mt. Zion. The *Franciscans accused the Jews of having dispossessed them of their share of the tomb, and in 1428 the pope issued an order forbidding the fleets of Italian towns to transport Jews to Ereẓ Israel. The dispute over the ownership of the Tomb of David continued for an extended period (see *Jerusalem) and resulted in great difficulties in Jewish immigration by sea and the renewal of the prohibition against transporting Jews in Christian ships (c. 1468). R. Isaac Sarfati (second half of the 15th century), in a famous letter (whose exact date is unknown), calls on the Jews to settle in Ereẓ Israel, suggesting that they make their way overland for "indeed the way of Turgemah is the way to the land of life, all of it overland until Jerusalem, there is only a passage of six miles through the sea" (A. Jellinek (ed.), *Zur Geschichte der Kreuzzuege* (1854), 20–21). The German traveler Ruter (1479) gives the details of this route: "Following is the description of the overland route from Nuremberg and its neighboring districts to Jerusalem, as described to me by a Jew in Jerusalem who took this road a long time ago. The route can be traveled in great safety. Most of the Jews who come from the lands of Germany to Jerusalem make their way overland … from Nuremberg to Posen … Lublin … Lemberg … through Wallachin to Chocim (?) … Akerman (on the shore of the Black Sea) … Samsun (Turkey) … Tukat … Aleppo … Damascus … Jerusalem" (J. Braslavsky, *Le-Ḥeker Arẓenu* (1954), 142; R. Roehricht and H. Meisner (eds.), *Deutsche Pilgerreisen nach dem Heiligen Lande* (1880), 112–3). This description explains the presence of settlers from Central and Southern Europe in Jerusalem.

The suffering of the Jews of Spain and the Balearic Islands at the end of the 14th and the beginning of the 15th century, even before the expulsions in 1492 and 1497, increased the immigration from hostile countries. Members of their communities could be found in the major cities of Ereẓ Israel even before the Ottoman Turks conquered it. It appears that some of these settlers were Marranos. Obadiah of Bertinoro explicitly states that he found Marranos in Jerusalem and Hebron who had "returned to the fold" (the Spanish refugees in Safed will be discussed below). Many of the details about the population at this time are known from the letters and travelogues of Italian Jews who were then living in Ereẓ Israel: R. *Elijah of Ferrara (1435); R. *Meshullam of Volterra and R. Joseph de Montagna (both 1481); R. Obadiah of Bertinoro and his anonymous disciple (1490–95); R. Israel of Perugia (1517–23); R. Moses *Basola (1521–23). In addition to the settlements already noted, mention should also be made of Kefar Kannā (near Nazareth), where about 38 families lived. R. Obadiah records that 70 families were living in Gaza. According to R. Joseph de Montagna (A. Yaari, *Iggerot Ereẓ Yisrael* (1943), 91) in 1481 there were 300 Jewish families in Safed, more than four times the size of Jerusalem's Jewish population. A "letter about the matter of *shemittah* from the sages of Safed to the rabbis of the holy yeshivah of Jerusalem" from 1504 has been preserved and shows that even before the great influx of refugees from Spain into Safed, there were revered scholars in the town, headed by R. Perez Colombo (for Safed, see also Yaari, *ibid.*, 152), and R. Joseph Saracosti (of Saragossa), teacher of David ibn Abi Zimri.

According to the detailed description by Obadiah of Bertinoro, the economic situation of the Jews of Jerusalem was severe. The heavy tax burden led the wealthy and the scholars of the community to leave the city. Out of 300 Ashkenazi and Sephardi families, only 70 of the poorest remained, of whom only the artisans – strap makers, weavers, or smiths – and traders in spices and medicines made a scant living. The burden of taxes and levies, to the extent that Torah scrolls and religious objects had to be sold, was connected with fines and bribes that the community had to pay in order to save the synagogue (named after Naḥmanides, near the Ḥurvah Synagogue) from the Muslims, who destroyed it in 1474 (see *Jerusalem).

In view of the poor moral and economic situation, the *nagid* Nathan *Sholal also left Jerusalem and returned to Egypt, where he met Obadiah of Bertinoro. Nevertheless, Obadiah praises the relations between Muslims and Jews in Jerusalem and emphasizes that in all his travels he did not come across Muslim hostility toward the Jews. According to him, if there had been a wise Jew possessing political acumen in Ereẓ Israel, he could have been "a minister and judge both for the Jews and for the Ishmaelites" (Yaari, *ibid.*, 128). Obadiah also reveals some of the ignorance and crudeness rampant in Jerusalem in his time. Learning had decreased in these generations, and the scholars who are still remembered are very few. At the beginning of Mamluk rule, Tanḥum b. Joseph ha-Yerushalmi (d. 1291 in Cairo), an exegete and grammarian who wrote his works in Hebrew, lived in Jerusalem. He also composed a lexicon to Maimonides' *Mishneh Torah*, of which only the introduction is extant. The importance of R. Estori ha-Parḥi's work *Kaftor va-Feraḥ* lies not only in the geographic-historical information it contains, but also in the opinions and decisions on the *mitzvot* of Ereẓ Israel discussed therein. R. Elijah of Ferrara (settled in 1435) disseminated the teachings of Maimonides, the Mishnah, and the Talmud with *tosafot* in Jerusalem and was also appointed a *dayyan* and received questions from Cairo, Alexandria, and Damascus. Obadiah of Bertinoro, according to his own account, served as a gravedigger, for there was no one to perform the rites of burial. He was, in effect, the rabbi of Jerusalem – where he also wrote his commentary to the Mishnah. Two Sephardi pupils studied with him regularly, and there were two Ashkenazi rabbis in the city. According to the testimony of his anonymous pupil, the situation in Jerusalem greatly improved because of Obadiah's activities.

The system of *takkanot* in Jerusalem continued after Obadiah's death (c. 1500) and lasted until the Ottoman conquest. The extant version of the *takkanot* was preserved by R. Moses Basola (d. 1572) who copied them from the calendar of the synagogue in Jerusalem. One of the most important *takkanot* was that according to which scholars were exempt from taxes, even if they were wealthy, except for the head tax. In matters of controversy their cases would be brought to the court of the *nagid* in Egypt. This *takkanah* was apparently first formulated by the *nagid* R. Isaac *Sholal (nephew of R. Nathan Sholal) in 1509.

Isaac Sholal went to Jerusalem a short while after the Ottoman conquest of Cairo. R. Abraham ha-Levi had settled there even earlier and had been known before his immigration as an outstanding scholar and kabbalist. The expansion of the Ottoman Empire in the time of Selim I indicated to him the forthcoming downfall of the "Edomite" kingdom, and he prophesied the coming of the messiah in 1530 or 1531.

[*Encyclopaedia Hebraica*]

Ottoman Period

THE GOLDEN PERIOD OF OTTOMAN RULE (1517–1574). Selim I (1512–20), who manifested the same qualities as his grandfather, Muhammad (II) the Conqueror, did not continue his predecessor's attack on Europe. He was "a man of the Eastern front," as one historian describes him, and during his rule the Ottoman territories were doubled through conquests in Asia and Africa. His first campaign was waged against the Persian shah Ismail I, founder of the Safawid dynasty. After defeating him in 1514, Selim pretended he was preparing for a second military campaign against Persia and complained that the Mamluk sultan was conspiring against him together with the "infidel" Safawids, who belonged to the Shiʿite sect. Selim apparently received authoritative reports about the decline of the government in Egypt and intended to entice the Mamluks into leaving their country, extending far from their supply bases in Africa, and attacking him in Asia. This stratagem succeeded: in May 1516 the aged Mamluk sultan Qanṣūh al-Ghawri went to Syria to fight against Selim and in the battle that broke out on Aug. 24, 1516, in the Valley of Dābiq (near Ein Tāb) in northern Syria, the Egyptians were decisively defeated. As a result, Selim gained all the large cities of northern Syria: Aleppo, Ḥama, Homs, and Damascus. From Damascus, Selim sent out commanders to take control of the neighboring districts. Druze chiefs and Bedouin sheikhs from all over Syria arrived there to swear allegiance to the new ruler and the great vizier Sinān Pasha, who left Damascus to conquer Gaza. Even before the end of 1516, the entire country was apparently under Selim's control. At the beginning of 1517, when Selim embarked on his campaign against Egypt (of which he gained control after a military victory), he visited Jerusalem.

At the beginning of the rule of Selim's son, *Suleiman (I) the Magnificent (the Law Giver in Arabic) (1520–66), the wali of Syria and Ereẓ Israel, Jan-Birdi al-Ghazālī, rebelled against him, believing the time had come to overthrow the yoke of Ottoman rule and establish a sovereign kingdom in Syria and Ereẓ Israel. Some scholars maintain that he exploited the ferment among the population that resulted from the poor economic situation. However the wali was killed by the Ottomans, and his head was sent to Constantinople. Calm was restored in the rebellious districts, the roads that had been impassable during the war were again safe, and the movement of trading caravans to Egypt was renewed. A letter by R. Israel of Perugia (written shortly after the conquest) indicates that the Jerusalem community suffered from the general disorder that resulted from the rebellion (A. Yaari, *Iggerot Ereẓ Yisrael* (1943), 177). Subsequent to the rebellion, all native-born walis were removed from their posts, and thereafter all responsible positions in the government were held only by Ottomans. The military and civilian administration was established according to the Ottoman system evolved by Suleiman the Magnificent. The conquered territories were divided among the Ottomans as military feudal states, and the feudal lords were required to join the battle as cavalry, bringing with them auxiliaries in proportion to the size of their states. The cavalries of the entire region were united under a standard (Turk. *sanjak*, Ar. *liwāʾ*) and in battle were under the command of the *sanjak bey* (Turk. "lord of the standard") or the *mir-liwāʾ* (same in Ar.). This commander was at first appointed from among the cavalry. The external symbol of his position was a banner, with a golden ball on top and a horsetail below it.

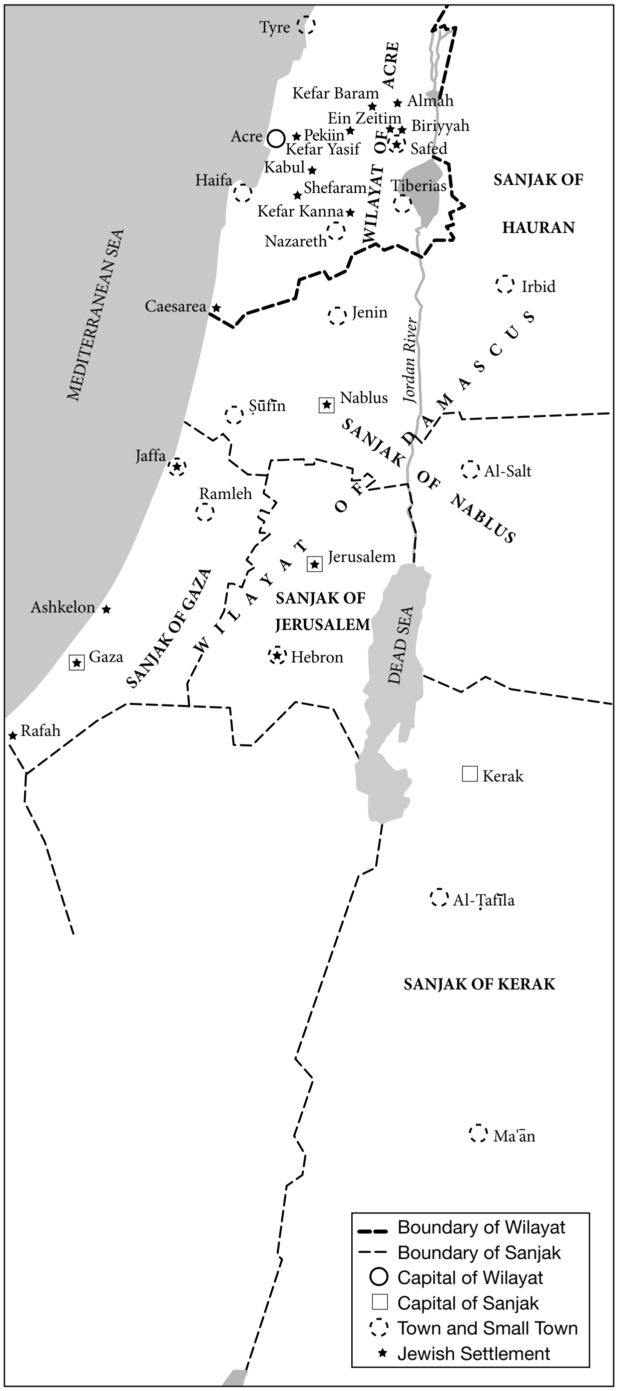
Tyre
ACRE
Kefar Baram
Almah
Ein Zeitim
Biriyyah
Acre
Pekiin
Kefar Yasif
OF
Safed
Kabul
Haifa
Shefaram
Tiberias
SANJAK OF
Kefar Kanna
WILAYAT
HAURAN
Nazareth
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
Irbid
Caesarea
Jenin
Jordan River
DAMASCUS
Ṣūfīn
Nablus
SANJAK OF NABLUS
Jaffa
Al-Salt
Ramleh
WILAYAT OF
Jerusalem
SANJAK OF
JERUSALEM
Ashkelon
DEAD SEA
SANJAK OF GAZA
Hebron
Gaza
Rafah
Kerak
Al-Ṭafīla
SANJAK OF KERAK
Maʿān
Boundary of Wilayat
Boundary of Sanjak
Capital of Wilayat
Capital of Sanjak
Town and Small Town
Jewish Settlement

Map 4. The Land of Israel under Ottoman rule (17th century C.E.). After Atlas of Israel*, Survey of Israel, 1970.*

With the growth of the Ottoman Empire and its expansion beyond the regions of Anatolia, it was necessary to adapt the administrative organization to the new conditions. The number of the sanjaks increased, and it was useful to appoint deputies to the sultan with a rank higher than that of the *sanjak bey*. They were placed in charge of an area including a number of sanjaks and served as intermediaries between the highest authority and the districts. The first 50 years after the conquest of Ereẓ Israel were the decisive years in the evolution of the new organizational framework of the empire. The organizational framework of the *iyāla* (i.e., the authority) or the *wilāya* or vilayet (the "rule" of the district) was probably also established then.

Ereẓ Israel was divided into four sanjaks: Jerusalem, Gaza, Nablus, and Safed. Each sanjak was an organizational, military, economic, and judicial entity. For practical purposes the sanjak was divided into a number of rural regions (*nāḥiya*). In the sanjak of Jerusalem there were two regions: Jerusalem and Hebron. The sanjak of Gaza was at first divided into three regions: Gaza, Ramleh, and Lydda, but according to the second *deftar* (assessment), Lydda was joined to the Ramleh region. In the sanjak of Nablus (Shechem) there were four regions: Jebel Shāmī (the northern mountain, i.e., Mt. Ebal), Jebel Qiblī (the southern mountain, Mt. Gerizim); Qāqūn, and Banī Saʿab. The *deftar* of 1533–39 also mentions the region of Marj Bani ʿAmir (Valley of Jezreel), but according to the *deftar* of 1548/49 this was annexed to the Tiberias region. In the sanjak of Safed there were at first six regions: Safed, Tibnīn, Tyre, Shaqīf, Acre, and Tiberias; later Tyre was annexed to Tibnīn.

The constitution of the province of Damascus, which included Ereẓ Israel, was established in the *qanun-name* of Suleiman (1548). In contrast to the disorganization and lack of security that characterized the end of the Mamluk period, Ereẓ Israel now enjoyed a secure rule and regulated organization. The improvement in the general condition was also manifested in agriculture, which was improved where it previously existed but was not expanded into desolate areas. Censuses conducted during the first 50 years after the conquest show that the population of Ereẓ Israel doubled, reaching approximately 300,000, and only a fifth to a quarter of the population lived in the six towns: Jerusalem, Hebron, Gaza, Ramleh, Nablus, and Safed. The remainder were primarily farmers living in villages, and some were Bedouin and seminomad who worked the land only seasonally and temporarily. The Bedouin also engaged in collecting a variety of plants for medicine, resin, and the burning of the kali, using its ashes for the manufacture of soap. The major agricultural products of the field were wheat, barley, maize, and different strains of beans (which served as food for man and beast (vetch)), vegetables, cotton, and sesame. The orchards produced dates, figs, pomegranates, berries, olives, apples, pears, and nuts. Fruit was also used for fruit honey. The Jews and Christians produced grape wine, as well as grape honey, which were permitted for the Muslims. The sources also make frequent references to beehives. Cattle breeding was undertaken mainly by the Bedouin, as well as by the fellahin and the residents of urban settlements. There were many jamus (buffalo) in the area of the Ḥuleh swamps, and fishing was popular in the settlements near the Ḥuleh and Lake Kinneret, as well as a few points on the shores of the Mediterranean (Acre, Jaffa).

The growth of the population, the expansion of cultivated lands in villages and the outskirts of cities, and the cultivation of orchards and olive trees led to the expansion of agriculture. There was an increase in the number of oil presses for the production of olive and sesame oils and for extracting fruit juices for the preparation of fruit honey. Together with oil production came the manufacture of soap, which was well known for its quality throughout the Middle East. The windmills operated regularly. Apparently at the initiative of the Jewish immigrants, new branches of industry were established in Safed, e.g., the manufacture and dyeing of cloth and felt. Information about these fields is also supplied by the tax lists in the canuns and the *deftars* of private censuses of the centers of these industries and the countries to which the products were exported. Especially noteworthy were the taxes that were levied on olive oil produced in Jerusalem and Ramleh and on the soap from Jerusalem exported to Egypt. The soap factory in Hebron was the property of the *waqf.* The center of the weaving and cloth dyeing industry was in Safed and its environs, although dyeing was also carried out in Kafr Kann, Nablus, and Gaza. In addition, there were tanneries in Nablus and Ein Zeitim. The fact that a special tax was levied on berry trees indicated that they were apparently cultivated for the feeding of silkworms. In fact, silk spinners are mentioned in a number of places. With the expansion of the cultivation of cotton in Ereẓ Israel, spinning began in Majdal, Lydda, Nablus, and Acre. Apart from the crafts undertaken by the Jews during the period of Mamluk rule, the Christians in Jerusalem, Bethlehem, and neighboring villages engaged in the home manufacture of religious objects (from wood and shells), which were sold to pilgrims on their visits to Ereẓ Israel or exported for sale abroad.

New Developments in the Jewish Communities. The writings of R. Moses Basola (who visited Ereẓ Israel in 1521/22) testify that Jerusalem grew in his time as a result of the Spanish immigration. According to his estimate the Jews of Jerusalem numbered about 300 families, not including widows, who numbered no more than 150 and were not subject to taxes, thus enjoying a comfortable income. About 200 people were supported by charity from public funds and from funds collected in the Diaspora. From 1502 to 1524 the community was headed by the *nagid* R. Isaac Sholal. The detailed Ottoman *deftar* of 1525–26 dealing with the *jamʿāti yahudyin* (the Jewish community) contains a detailed listing of 199 names of householders, excluding bachelors, and it can be assumed that not all of Jerusalem's Jewish residents were included in this census. The community was then composed of four groups: (1) the Ashkenazim, numbering 15 families descended from the Ashkenazim who had lived there since the time of Maimonides, joined by immigrants from Europe (the Italians were counted together with the Ashkenazim at that time); (2) the Sephardim, refugees of the expulsion who were the majority in the city; (3) immigrants from North Africa, known as Maghrebis; and (4) *Mustaʿrab (the Moriscos), longtime residents, descendants of the local inhabitants who had never left Ereẓ Israel. Among the *dayyanim* and scholars, including members of all the communities, there were often differences of opinion regarding the arrangement of prayers, the synagogue, etc. According to R. Israel Ashkenazi, after the conquest spiritual hegemony passed from the Mustaʿrabs and Maghrebis to the Sephardim.

In the center of the country there was still a Jewish settlement in Nablus, and in the south there were settlements in Hebron and Gaza. The community of Safed comprised more than 300 householders, whose economic situation, according to R. Moses Basola, was good. There were three synagogues: a Sephardi, a Mustaʿrab, and a Maghrebi. With the aid of the Jews of Egypt, the Jews of Safed managed to survive the difficult transition period of Mamluk retreat and Ottoman conquest. Jews also lived in the villages of Galilee: Ein Zeitim (four householders); Birya (Biriyyah, 19 families); ʿAlmāh (18 families); Peki'in (33 householders); Kafr Kannā (40–50 families); Kefar Ḥananiah (14 families); and Kefar Yasif, Shepharam, and Kābūl. It is estimated that there were about 1,000 Jewish families (i.e., 5,000 persons) in Ereẓ Israel at the beginning of the Ottoman conquest. The transition period gave rise to messianic hopes among the Jews of both Ereẓ Israel and the Diaspora. In 1523 David Reuveni and Shelomo (Solomon) Molcho arrived in Jerusalem bringing tidings of the forthcoming redemption. When he was in Portugal (1526), David Reuveni asked the king John III: "Help us and let us go out to battle against the provoking Suleiman and take the Holy Land from his hands" (Joseph ha-Kohen, *Emek ha-Bakha*, ed. by M. Letteris (1895), 113). Such hopes, as well as the improvement in the economic situation, gave rise to increased immigration, especially among the refugees from Spain. A few of them went to Jerusalem, whose population, according to official Turkish *deftars*, increased from approximately 200 families in 1526 to 338 families in 1554. R. Levi b. Ḥabib also settled there and cared for the spiritual and material needs of the community. Among the great teachers who lived for a long or short period in Jerusalem were R. *David ibn Abi Zimra (c. 1485; died in Safed, c. 1575) and R. Bezalel *Ashkenazi, a native of Jerusalem (beginning of 16th century) who headed the yeshivah in the city.

The majority of the new immigrants settled in Safed, which developed into an important commercial and industrial town. According to R. David de Rossi, who settled in Safed in 1535: "Whoever saw Safed ten years ago and sees it again now is amazed, for the Jews are constantly coming in and the clothing industry is expanding daily.… There is no *galut* here like in our country [Italy] and the Turks respect the important Jews. Here and in Alexandria [cf. Egypt], those appointed over the taxes and incomes of the king are Jews" (A. Yaari, *Iggerot Ereẓ Yisrael* (1943), 184, 186–7). In the middle of the 16th century, the Jews of Safed apparently numbered 10,000, i.e., the majority of the Jewish population of Ereẓ Israel was concentrated in Safed and its environs – Ein Zeitim, Birya, and other villages in Galilee. During the 16th century Safed became known as a large and important center of Torah and teaching. In 1524 R. Jacob (I) *Berab settled there and sought to renew the system of *ordination, which had not been used for hundreds of years. His plans aroused the violent opposition of the sages of Jerusalem, especially R. Levi b. Ḥabib, guardian of the spiritual and material needs of that community. They argued, inter alia, that the renewal of ordination required the authorization of all the scholars of Ereẓ Israel. Nevertheless, R. Jacob (I) Berab ordained four of the great scholars of his day, who were his students and colleagues: R. Joseph *Caro, author of the *Shulḥan *Arukh*; R. Moses *Trani (the Mabbit); R. Abraham *Shalom; and R. Israel di *Curiel (1538). Furthermore, these four ordained a number of their own disciples. This attempt to renew ordination and reinstate the full authority of the *battei din* of Ereẓ Israel ultimately failed, but the spiritual influence of the scholars of Safed continued, as evidenced by Caro's *Shulḥan Arukh*, which has been accepted by the Jewish world.

Safed became the center of mysticism during this period. In fact all the great halakhic scholars who lived there at the time studied Kabbalah and the Zohar. *Maggid Mesharim*, dialogues between the author and the mystical inspiration (*Maggid*) who guided him, was written by R. Joseph Caro. Before the arrival of R. Isaac *Luria (ha-Ari) in Safed (1569?), mystical scholars and formulators of new methods, such as R. Moses *Cordovero and R. Solomon *Alkabeẓ, author of the Sabbath hymn *Lekhah Dodi*, became known there. The system of practical Kabbalah established by Luria soon acquired many adherents throughout the Diaspora. His teachings were disseminated by his outstanding disciple, R. Ḥayyim *Vital, and other disciples known as "gurei ha-Ari."

The yearnings for redemption and messianic hopes which increased during this period, especially among the Spanish refugees, found ultimate expression in the bold attempt by Doña Gracia Mendes *Nasi and her nephew Don Joseph *Nasi, the wealthy Marrano statesman and Jewish leader, to rebuild Tiberias from its ruins. Don Joseph and Doña Gracia leased from the sultan the area of Tiberias, which was then desolate. Joseph sent his representative Joseph b. Ardict, or Joseph Pomar (presumably identical to Joseph Cohen, his secretary at about this time), to deal with the settlement of Jews in Tiberias. The area, intended to become a city, was surrounded with a wall (1564). As there are but few sources, it is difficult to determine whether Don Joseph intended to establish a Jewish state in Ereẓ Israel or create a limited haven for the Spanish refugees and derive economic benefit from the establishment of a new economic center in which wool and silk cloth would be manufactured. Whatever the original intent, the rebuilt Tiberias began to attract settlers from near (even from Safed) and far (Yemen). At the end of his life, Don Joseph displayed less enthusiasm in dealing with Tiberias. After his death, Solomon *Abenaes received new rights over Tiberias from the sultan Murad III and erected a number of buildings in Tiberias. Finally, however, the plan to reconstitute the city disintegrated and was abandoned because of various political and economic factors.

In connection with these messianic trends and hopes during the time of Sultan Suleiman, when Ottoman rule was at its peak, Christian priests in Syria, still adhering to Crusader ideas, suggested to Emperor Charles V that he conduct a campaign to regain the *holy places. This plan was never realized. Once again, during the rule of Selim II, the Greek patriarch Sophronius (1570) asked the German kaiser to deal mercifully with Jerusalem by renewing Christian rule there.

BEGINNINGS OF THE DECLINE. During the rule of Murad III (1574–95), his son Muhammad III (1595–1603), and succeeding sultans – Ahmed I (1603–17), Mustafa I (1617–18; 1622–23), and Murad IV (1623–40) – the Janissary army lost the strict discipline instituted by Selim I and became a constant source of danger to the sultan by its frequent rebellions and exaggerated demands over salaries and various grants. The situation in the political center was quickly reflected first on the borders of the desert through signs of overthrowing the yoke of the empire. Sheikhs and small princes began to entertain a hope of rebuilding from the ruins wrought by the Ottoman rulers. Prominent among the emirs of the *Druze who ruled in Lebanon was the Maʿan family, whose head, Fakhr al-Din II (1590–1635), conquered the Safed region and ʿAjlūn in eastern Transjordan while Muhammad III's army was engaged in battles with the Persians. Fakhr al-Din successfully uprooted the robbers who had spread throughout the land, and he turned Galilee into a tranquil and secure area. The same period saw the growth of the idea to establish an independent Christian Crusader state in Syria, Ereẓ Israel, and Cyprus. Fakhr al-Din utilized this idea to expand the scope of his influence in Ereẓ Israel with the help of the Christians. He occupied territories in the area of Jenin, came close to Mount Carmel, and signed agreements with the Bedouin in the mountains of Hauran. This activity aroused a violent reaction from the Turkish throne. In 1613 the great vizier Mansur instructed the wali of Damascus, Ahmad al-Ḥāfiẓ, to engage Fakhr al-Din in battle. The Druze emir passed on the administration of his political affairs to his brothers and left for Italy, where he spent a number of years in the courts of the prince of Tuscany and other rulers; he visited the knights of Malta and returned to Lebanon in 1618. Immediately upon his return, he renewed his efforts to regain all the territories lost while he was in exile. Eventually, he conquered the sanjaks of Safed, ʿAjlun, Shechem, and Gaza. At that time the sultan had no statesman or commander who could instill fear into the Druze emir, who even dared to renew the plan for establishing a Christian state in Ereẓ Israel through negotiations with the representatives of the king of Spain.

The expansion of the Maʿan family's rule over almost the entire area of Ereẓ Israel led to clashes with other local rulers, especially the members of the Ṭarbāyā. According to tradition, they received the Jenin region from the conquering Sultan Selim and expanded their sphere of influence gradually to Haifa, along the seacoast, and up to Gaza, sometimes even enforcing their rule over certain areas in Galilee. The al-Furaykh family, a Bedouin family from the Lebanon valley, established their rule by force in Safed, Nablus, and ʿAjlun. Under their influence, the wali of Damascus, Ahmad Kūtshuk ("the Small") was ordered by the central authorities to wage battle against Fakhr al-Din whom the *kapudan pasha* (commander of the fleet), Jaʿfar, was ordered to besiege from the sea, thus preventing Christian boats from rendering assistance. Fakhr al-Din attempted to conciliate the wali of Damascus by giving him Sidon (Saida) and Beirut, and in the meantime he sent Bishop Maroni to Italy to seek aid. Disappointed by his allies, he decided to surrender to the Ottoman rulers. In 1634 he was imprisoned in Constantinople and a year later was killed together with his two sons, who had been taken captive with him. His death, however, did not terminate the Druze's attempts to gain control of Ereẓ Israel. The settlements in Galilee, especially Safed and Tiberias, suffered from the renewed attempts by several Druze emirs to reconquer the region.

The total defeat of the Maʿan family did not improve the situation in the country. The gradual decline of the Ottoman Empire was reflected in repeated rebellions by the Janissaries, the increasing burden of taxes, and the loss of large areas in Europe. Clearly the general situation had a negative influence on the population of Ereẓ Israel in general and on the Jews in particular.

Jewish Population. During the last quarter of the 16th century the security situation of Ereẓ Israel deteriorated. Safed and Galilee suffered particularly from robbery raids by Bedouin and Druze tribes eager for the wealth of this industrial commercial town. Several sources give evidence that such acts were repeated several times. An Ottoman decree of 1576 ordered the expulsion of 500 or 1,000 wealthy Jewish families of Safed, forcing them to move to Cyprus. This decree was annulled later, but the very existence of the order undermined faith in the authorities. Safed began to be depleted of its wealthy residents, a phenomenon that sometimes took on the form of actual flight. The scholars also began to abandon the town, including R. Joseph Trani (son of R. Moses Trani, in 1599), who went to Constantinople. R. Ḥayyim Vital moved to Damascus. R. Isaiah ha-Levi *Horowitz (kabbalist, author of the famous moralistic work *Shenei Luḥot ha-Berit*) decided not to settle in Safed and went to Jerusalem in 1621.

Although Safed was not totally abandoned, as was the case with Tiberias (where not one Jew remained by the end of the 17th century), the decline was evident.

A short time after R. Isaiah Horowitz' arrival in Jerusalem, the community was harmed by the greed of a Bedouin sheikh, Muhammad ibn Farukh, who achieved the position of *sanjak bey* of Jerusalem (1625) and began to tyrannize the population, and especially the Jews, through the imposition of heavy taxes. After a year of persecution, the pasha in Damascus finally dismissed ibn Farukh, but the heavy debts remained in force and many emissaries went out to the Diaspora to collect funds to save the community. The situation was not as favorable as envisioned by R. Isaiah Horowitz, but Jerusalem was rebuilt to some extent, as were other communities in the south – notably Hebron, in which a few of the disciples of R. Moses Cordovero and R. Isaac Luria settled.

During periods of trouble in Jerusalem, Hebron and Gaza served as a temporary refuge from persecution and oppression. The number of Jerusalem's residents increased especially after the decrees of 1648, when some Jewish war refugees from the Ukraine arrived in Ereẓ Israel. The rulers of the city exploited the situation by imposing a heavier burden of taxes on the Jews, especially affecting the poor. Many awaited aid that was usually sent regularly by the Diaspora communities. When this assistance did not arrive in time and was insufficient, emissaries would be sent abroad to arouse the sympathy of the Jews. One of these emissaries was *Shabbetai Ẓevi, who left Jerusalem shortly after his arrival there in order to collect funds in Egypt (1664). On his way to Egypt he stopped in Gaza. The Gaza community was very important at that time because the city was regarded as the capital of the Negev and Sinai and was a large commercial center and a stopping place on the route between Africa and Asia. It was an asylum for Jewish refugees because it enjoyed an independent administration and was also even a refuge in times of plague. In the 16th–17th centuries there were outstanding scholars there. Shabbetai Ẓevi also made the acquaintance there of *Nathan of Gaza. It was in Gaza that Shabbetai Ẓevi saw his visions, and the city became an important center for the dissemination of Shabbeteanism.

Jerusalem, which was then the center of most of the scholars of Ereẓ Israel and even attracted some of the great scholars from the countries of the East, again took over the spiritual leadership, which it had relinquished during the previous century to Safed. Despite the difficult material situation and the harsh attitude of the local rulers, in the 17th century the Jewish population succeeded in consolidating its position in Jerusalem and in the entire southern section of the country.

NEW DEVELOPMENTS IN THE 18TH CENTURY. At the turn of the century, during the reign of Mustafa II (1695–1703), there was a change in the political status of the Ottoman power in Europe. The Treaty of Karlowitz (Jan. 26, 1699) forced the sultan to make many territorial concessions in his border regions. Russia demanded, inter alia, control of the holy places in Jerusalem and all Orthodox Christians in the Ottoman Empire, be they Greeks, Serbs, Bulgarians, or others. This control was expected to provide personal immunity and exemption from taxes and Muslim jurisdiction. With the decline in the military power of the Janissaries, the central authority was compelled to allow its walis to conscript soldiers in another way, in order to put them to use locally. Thus cavalry and infantry troops, composed of Albanian, Bosnian, and Maghrebi mercenaries, were founded. Their salaries were derived from the incomes of government estates and special taxes levied on the population, usually without basis in religious tradition and regarded as illegal by religious scholars. These private armies were one of the sources of the anarchy in Turkey during the 18th century. The walis used them for the purposes of tax collection and expanding their rule at the expense of weaker neighboring provinces.

At the beginning of the 18th century, Ẓāhir al-Omar, a local Bedouin ruler, received the *iltizām* (the right to levy taxes) for most of the districts of Galilee (in the regions of Nazareth, Tiberias, and Safed) from the tribe of Zaydān. He very soon overcame some of his opponents and extended his rule over the district of Tiberias, where he fortified himself as the tax farmer of the pasha of Sidon. In 1742 the pasha of Damascus was ordered by the sultan to fight against Ẓāhir. This episode was described in Hebrew by the son-in-law of R. Ḥayyim *Abulafia, who rebuilt the Jewish community in Tiberias (1740). The attack on Tiberias failed, and in 1743 the pasha tried again. A short while later he died. Thereafter Ẓāhir was able to overcome his remaining opponents and annexed their estates (such as Shepharam) to his territories. He then turned to the sea and conquered Acre. His control of Acre and Haifa (and economically also of Dar-Ṭanṭūra) brought him in direct contact with the traders and agents of Europe who had established bases in the coastal towns to conduct trade with inland regions.

Ẓāhir formed an alliance with the ruler of Egypt, Ali Bey, and the Russian fleet, which arrived in the Mediterranean to the surprise of the Ottomans. In 1771 almost the entire country was under his control, and his Egyptian allies captured Damascus. Ẓāhir captured Gaza, Lydda, Ramleh, and Jaffa, but the Egyptian commander joined the sultan's army, regaining what Ẓāhir had captured and perpetrating a massacre in Jaffa (1775). The Ottomans attracted to their side Ẓāhir's mercenary forces, who betrayed their master and murdered him (1775). On the same day the sultan's army captured Acre and Ahmad Pasha al-Jazzār ("the Butcher") was appointed *sanjak bey* of the Sidon area.

Ahmad Pasha was wali of the Sidon area, whose capital he transferred to Acre, for 29 years (1775–1804). He also became the ruler of the Tripoli area and in 1790–99 and 1804 was the wali of Damascus. He organized a private army of Albanians, Bosnians, Maghrebis, and Bedouin and fortified the walls of Acre, and the value of these fortifications was proven during Napoleon's siege.

Napoleon's invasion of Egypt in 1798 came as a complete surprise for Istanbul, which had considered him an ally when he was conquering Malta and putting an end to the activities of the pirates. At the beginning of 1799, Napoleon's army was advancing toward Ereẓ Israel. He attempted to bribe Ahmad al-Jazzār into joining his side, but the pasha refused to receive Napoleon's delegation. The French then conquered Gaza, Ramleh, Lydda, and Jaffa without difficulty, but had to unleash a fierce attack on Jaffa because of the presence of a large garrison there. Most of the city was destroyed during and after the siege. The population welcomed the conquerors, for Napoleon had incurred their affection through various promises and a humane attitude. Napoleon's army did not turn to Jerusalem because he was interested only in strategic conquests that would open the way to the centers of the Ottoman Empire (for the international constellation, see The Land of Israel in International Affairs). The French conquered Haifa and then besieged Acre. The English fleet came to the aid of al-Jazzār and remnants of the Ottoman army engaged the French in battle but were ambushed near En-Harod by the French general J.G. Kleber. This victory opened the way to Safed, but the opportunity was not exploited. In contrast, Acre defended itself, and Napoleon could not destroy its fortifications because the British fleet destroyed his navy and he lacked heavy cannons. In the meantime, plagues broke out in the French camp, and the famous commander was forced to retreat with his army to Egypt and from there he returned to France.

The situation of the farmers who worked the lands of the government was, at the beginning of Ottoman rule, not unfavorable. The "miri," or the land of the emirate that was taxed, was not a burden on the fellahin, while the land was populated and they benefited, directly or indirectly, from profits made through international trade. With the impoverishment of the Ottoman Empire, however, the tax burden increased and the people began to abandon the villages for the towns. The various payments demanded from the villages became an intolerable burden in the absence of working hands. Furthermore, the Bedouin harassed the villagers in the plains and the valleys and robbed them of the fruits of their labors, which was an added reason to abandon the fertile lands.

According to the French traveler C.F. de Volney (in 1783–85), the decisive majority of the population were fellahin. Nevertheless, this traveler, and others who visited the country, noted the strange contrast between the fertility of the land and the poor state of the few farms. This was the situation in the southern plain (between Gaza and Ashkelon and Hebron) and in the area between Bethlehem and Jerusalem. The broad Acre plain and the region around the Kinneret, which were known for their abundance of water, were overgrown with reeds. The naturalist T. Shaw (1722), who investigated the flora and fauna of North Africa and the Middle East, records that the soil of many valleys was fertile and good. He mentioned that if the land had been cultivated as in the past, it would have yielded a larger crop than the best lands on the shores of Syria and Phoenicia. According to him, cotton grown in the valleys of Ramleh, Jezreel, and Zebulun was of a better quality than that cultivated near Sidon or Tripoli. It was difficult to find beans, wheat, or other grains superior to the produce sold regularly in Jerusalem. The desolation about which travelers sometimes complained was not a result of the natural character of the country, but rather of the sparseness of the population and the indolence of the inhabitants.

Ẓāhir al-Omar attempted to improve the condition of agriculture in Galilee. He encouraged the fellahin to work their lands by granting loans and he especially tried to protect them from bandits. He favored the settlement of Jews and they reestablished themselves in Peki'in, Shepharam, and Yasif. In contrast, a traveler accuses Ahmad al-Jazzār, Ẓāhir's successor in Galilee, of not being concerned with the development of agriculture in the Acre plain, which remained a swampland.

Reconstruction of the Jewish Community. The messianic ferment that increased in the Diaspora at the end of the 17th century was connected with increased immigration to Ereẓ Israel. At the beginning of the 18th century it was headed by *Judah Ḥasid and Ḥayyim *Malakh, both Shabbeteans – the former covertly and the latter overtly – who arrived in Jerusalem at the end of 1700 at the head of a convoy organized in Europe. Before their arrival, the Jewish community of Jerusalem numbered 1,200, of whom 200 were Ashkenazim weighed down by a burden of debts. Of the people who left with this convoy, which took two routes (one through Venice and the other through Istanbul), about 500 died on the way and only about 1,000 reached Jerusalem. Its leader, Judah Ḥasid, died almost immediately after the convoy's arrival, and conflicts arose with the veteran settlers, who were opposed to the Shabbatean movement. The new arrivals were a heavy burden on the Ashkenazi community, for the Arabs had lent money to the members of the convoy and now demanded reimbursement from the veteran Ashkenazim. They appealed to the *Council of the Four Lands for the aid of the Polish communities in their battle against the Shabbateans and sent emissaries to Frankfurt and Metz, where financial help for the poor of Ereẓ Israel was concentrated. Help did not arrive, due to political reasons unconnected with Ashkenazi Jewry. The Arab creditors broke into the Ashkenazi synagogue on a Sabbath (Nov. 8, 1720), set it on fire, and took over the area, which they held until 1816. For several years after the burning of the synagogue, Ashkenazi Jews, who were recognizable by their dress, could not settle in Jerusalem for fear of being held for the old debts. Those who dared to do so a generation later had to disguise themselves as Jews from Oriental communities. The European immigrants settled mainly in Hebron, Safed, and even Tiberias.

At that time the Jews lived mainly on charity received from abroad and, in a few cases, on income from businesses in their lands of origin. Any slight change in the situation of the contributors, or any delay in sending aid, could bring disaster upon the poor. The extreme poverty led R. Moses b. Raphael Mordecai *Malkhi, a scholar and famous physician in Jerusalem (end of 17th century), to speak out against the immigration of very poor people, arguing that Ereẓ Israel needed immigrants who could be self-sustaining. In order to supervise the distribution and use of funds and also facilitate the payment of the numerous debts burdening the Jerusalem community, the "officials for Jerusalem" in Istanbul, sent a special *parnas* to act as a kind of administrator for the community and take care of Jewish pilgrims. For those Jews who wanted to devote themselves to the study of the Torah, yeshivot were established in Jerusalem, where outstanding scholars studied. Ḥayyim Joseph David *Azulai, R. Sar Shalom *Sharabi, and R. *Abraham Gershon of Kutow (brother-in-law of Israel b. Eliezer Baal Shem-Tov) were in the yeshivah Beth-El, where kabbalistic studies were also pursued.

The Jews of Hebron suffered because of constant civil wars between the Arabs of Hebron, who belonged to the

Qays faction (of north Arabian origin), and those of Bethlehem, who belonged to the Yemen faction (from south Arabian tribes). The Istanbul officials extended their activities to include Hebron, whose situation had been aggravated by debts owed by the community. Ḥayyim Joseph David Azulai went to Western Europe in 1753 and in 1773 on behalf of the Hebron community. Another emissary was Ḥayyim Isaac *Carigal, who reached North America. In the 1880s the number of the Jews in the city of the patriarchs reached about 300.

The community of Gaza was smaller than that of Hebron and suffered from repeated incursions made by the various armies. It was decimated after the conquest of the town by Napoleon (1799), and in 1811 no one remained there. Many Ashkenazim from Poland and Lithuania settled in Safed and Tiberias, which were centers of Ḥasidism from the second half of the 18th century, establishing a new link with the greatest Diaspora community of the time. Immigrants from Eastern Europe thus settled Galilee and Tiberias, which had been almost depleted of inhabitants during the 17th century. Tiberias was rebuilt by R. Abraham *Abulafia (1740) with the help of the sheikh Ẓāhir al-Omar. After the *Ḥasidim came a wave of their opponents, disciples of R. *Elijah, the *Gaon* of Vilna. According to tradition, the *gaon* himself wanted to immigrate but halted his journey in the middle. In 1770–72, his most important disciples, R. Ḥayyim of Vilna and R. *Israel b. Samuel of Shklov, arrived and a few years after his death many of his disciples, called *perushim*, immigrated. The immigration of the *perushim* was brilliantly described by R. Israel of Shklov.

1800–1917. The beginning of this period saw the end of the district system of administration, during which time Ereẓ Israel displayed all the characteristics of a neglected province of a disintegrating empire but after 1840 there was a turn for the better. The population increased appreciably. The administration of the country was changed and there was an increase in Western influence, resulting from the revolution in means of communication, which brought the Ottoman Empire closer to Europe. The increased rivalry among the European powers turned Ereẓ Israel into a focal point of the "Eastern problem."

According to estimates, which tend to be exaggerated, the number of the inhabitants in Ereẓ Israel in 1800 did not exceed 300,000. The number of Jews apparently did not exceed 5,000, most of whom were Sephardim. Most of the Jewish population was concentrated in the "Four Holy Cities," Jerusalem, Safed, Tiberias, and Hebron. The Christians, who apparently numbered about 25,000, were scattered over a wider area. Their main concentrations – in Jerusalem, Nazareth, and Bethlehem – belonged primarily to the Greek Orthodox, Greek Catholic, and Roman Catholic Churches. The remaining inhabitants were Muslims, almost all of them of the Sunni sect. As more Jews immigrated to the country, the size of the Jewish population doubled by about 1840, with the Christian and Muslim elements unchanged. Between 1800 and the end of 1831, Ereẓ Israel was divided into two Ottoman vilayets (pashaliks). The borders of these changed from time to time, but in general the eastern central mountain region from north of Nablus to south of Hebron (including Jerusalem) belonged to the vilayet of Damascus (al-Shām) and Galilee and the Coastal Plain, to Khan Yunis, belonged to the vilayet of Acre. The coastal region from Khan Yunis to Caesarea was divided into three *nāḥiyāt* (sub-districts): Gaza, Ramleh, and Jaffa. Most of the Negev was at that time under the vilayet of Hejaz, centered in Medina, in the Arabian Peninsula.

The structure of the Ottoman state should not be analyzed from a Western point of view. Even during its zenith, no attempt was made to Ottomanize non-Turkish conquered regions. The children of ruling groups often married local women and assimilated into the local population. Thus local traditions and officials were maintained in Ereẓ Israel and a subject of the Sultan had to maintain his prime allegiance not to the imperial government, but to the religious group or the social class into which he was born. The Christians and Jews, as members of special millets, even had limited direct contact with the Ottoman government. Even the head tax, which exempted one from military service, was collected by means of the millet. Only those non-Ottoman subjects belonging to the Sunni sect of Islam could identify to some extent with the higher (though only nominal) function of the sultan: the defense of the Muslim faith against apostasy.

The vague connection between Ahmad al-Jazzār and the supreme authority continued during the rule of Ahmad's successors – Suleiman, Ismail, and Abdallah (1804–32), who were less active and cruel than he. Of a similar nature were the relations between the supreme authority and the pashas who ruled in Damascus and Gaza. Public welfare had no significance in the view of the rulers, who regarded as their prime function the collection of taxes derived from three major sources: the "miri" land tax (from Muslims); the "kharj," head tax; and customs. When these sources proved insufficient, various crop taxes were levied arbitrarily on Muslims and non-Muslims alike.

At the beginning of the 1780s, Ramleh and Acre derived their income from the sale of raw cotton and plain cotton cloth to the French traders in the Levant. Clothes, dyes, sugar, and coffee (from the West Indies) were bought from the French traders. These traders, however, disappeared from the country after the French Revolution and returned only after the Napoleonic wars. The (British) Levant Company, which filled the gap created by the disappearance of the French traders, was not interested in the cotton of Ereẓ Israel. When the French traders returned to the East after 1815, they did not succeed in reestablishing their former trade connections. In 1821, when the long-fibered strain of cotton was introduced into Egypt, the manufacture of cotton in Ereẓ Israel became relatively useless, except during the U.S. Civil War, when it enjoyed a brief revival. Acre and Ramleh never regained their primary position in the economy of the country. In 1825, when the concession to the Levant Company and privileges granted the Trade Bureau of Marseilles were abolished, the way was opened for free trade.

The period of Egyptian rule in Syria and Ereẓ Israel, which lasted nine years (1832–40), marked the peak of provincial government. This was the first time that an independent pasha had rebelled against the Sublime Porte, conquered territories from other pashas, and compelled the sultan to admit the "legality" of his conquests. Nevertheless, after consolidating his position in Syria and Ereẓ Israel, *Muhammad Ali, the pasha of Egypt, agreed to pay to Sultan Mahmud II the "accepted quota" of the tax (1834). Ibrahim Pasha (stepson of Muhammad Ali), who successfully conducted the military campaign, became the general ruler of the conquered area and established his residence in Damascus. The whole of Ereẓ Israel, whose northern border reached Sidon, now became one district. The few forests remaining in the valleys and on the mountain slopes in central Ereẓ Israel were cut down to supply wood for Muhammed Ali's fleet. Ibrahim Pasha forced the Muslim farmers to join the Egyptian army. Rebellions, which occurred in most of the towns, were put down by force and law and order established. Swiftly executed punishments halted the incursions of the Bedouin. Even a blood revenge feud between the Qays and the Yemen factions was put down and travelers from Jaffa to Jerusalem no longer had to pay taxes to the Circassian sheikhs of *Abu Ghosh. Attempts were made to eradicate bribery in the courts, institute a fair division of taxes, and avoid discrimination against the Jews in favor of the Muslims.

For more than a decade before Egyptian rule in Ereẓ Israel, Protestant missionaries from Britain and the United States tried to obtain permission to establish regular institutions in Jerusalem and other parts of the country. These attempts met with the strong opposition of the provincial rulers and their representatives. Ibrahim Pasha allowed the missionaries not only to preach but even to establish schools. The Egyptian period also saw the beginning of extensive activity in biblical geography and archaeology, especially by the U.S. scholar Edward *Robinson. Moreover, in 1838 the Egyptian government permitted Britain to open a regular consulate in Jerusalem; previously, consular representations were limited – apart from ephemeral French attempts in Jerusalem in 1699–1700 and 1713–15 – to the coastal towns (Acre, Haifa, Jaffa) and Ramleh, and even in these places the powers would appoint local agents as their representatives. Twenty years later, all the important Western nations, including the United States, were represented in Jerusalem by regular consular delegations.

The intervention of the European powers in 1840–41 in the Egyptian-Ottoman conflict forced Ibrahim Pasha and his forces to leave Ereẓ Israel and Syria, which returned to the direct control of the Ottoman Empire. Egyptian rule did not last long enough to have any lasting influence, but thousands of Egyptian farmers who had settled in the southern parts of the country remained there after the retreat of the Egyptian Army. The Qays and the Yemen factions again caused disturbances in the rural areas and the people of Abu Ghosh reinstated the collection of taxes from travelers (lasting until 1846). Former pashas, however, were not returned to their posts and a new administration was established on the basis of strict centralization.

The increasing administrative changes were finally expressed in the Vilayet Law of 1864, which unified the whole provincial administration into one framework. Most of Ereẓ Israel was covered by the sanjaks of Nablus (which, until 1888, included the area of Balqāʾ, east of the Jordan) and Acre, which were part of the vilayet of Beirut, and the independent sanjak or mutaṣariflik of Jerusalem (previously part of the vilayet of Damascus), which was now placed directly under the authority of Istanbul. Each district was divided into sub-districts (Ar. *qaḍāʾ*, plural *aqḍiya*) and each *qaḍāʾ* into subdistricts (Ar. *nāḥiyāt*). The provincial administration was composed of a strict hierarchy of Ottoman officials: *mudīr* (head of a *nāḥiya*), *qāymaqām* (head of a vilayet). Each official was subordinate to the head of his administrative region, while the Wali was subordinate to the ministry of the interior in Istanbul (established in 1860). A council (*majlis*) representing all sectors of the population, both Muslim and non-Muslim, aided Ottoman officials of every grade who headed an administrative unit. This administrative system, of course, did not terminate all corruption and abuse or institute representative rule, but it greatly curtailed the arbitrary actions of the provisional rulers and even granted the various religious communities a small measure of influence in public affairs.

Missionary organizations, representing almost every sect in Western Christianity, increased quickly after the departure of the Egyptians. They were concentrated mainly in Jerusalem, which had, toward the end of the 19th century, the greatest proportion of missionaries per capita of any city in the world. Some of the missionary groups developed an increasing number of educational, medical, and charitable institutions. The number of those converting to the new faith, even among Eastern Christians, was negligible, but the establishment of schools and clinics by Protestant missionaries stimulated the Latin and Greek Orthodox communities, as well as the Ottoman government and even the Jewish community, to establish similar institutions.

Political considerations led to increased rivalry among the missionary groups from various countries. The great European powers, which made attempts to gain areas of influence in every part of the Ottoman Empire as potential holding points in a future division of the empire, exploited the missionary activities of their subjects in Ereẓ Israel for the advancement of their political aims. Austria-Hungary, France, Prussia, and Russia rendered financial assistance to missionary activities. After the signing of the Treaty of Kutchuk-Kainarji (1774), Russia claimed the right to protect the Arabs who belonged to the Greek Orthodox Church and even granted its protection to the Greek Orthodox patriarchate in Jerusalem. The czarist government, which was aided by the Russian Orthodox Company for Palestine and the delegation of the Russian church in the country, contributed funds for the establishment of schools, churches, and hostels. France, claimed similar rights in relation to the Roman Catholic community, institutions, and holy places. The Pope reinstituted the Roman Catholic patriarchate in Jerusalem in 1847. The status of France as the protector of Roman Catholicism in the Ottoman Empire was officially confirmed in Article 62 of the Treaty of the Congress of Berlin (1878). This status, however, aroused increasing rivalry on the part of other Catholic countries. In 1841 the Protestant missions of England and Prussia established a joint bishopric in Jerusalem, which the Germans stopped supporting in 1881.

The activities of the Protestant powers within the Ottoman Empire were conducted under less favorable conditions than those of Russia and France since the former had no millets in Ereẓ Israel to "adopt" for religious reasons. Thus, during the Ottoman-Egyptian War of 1839–41, Britain became the "defender" of the Jewish and Druze communities in Ereẓ Israel, as a sort of countermove to France's identification with the Christian Maronite community of Lebanon. One of the causes for the outbreak of the Crimean War (1853–56) was the conflicting claims of France and Russia to the guardianship of the holy places. After 1868 the German *Templer movement established settlements in Jaffa, Sarona, Haifa, and Jerusalem, reaching over 500 in the course of time. The Templer settlements, which continued to expand, later supplied William II with the means of political penetration. Of the U.S. groups of Millennarians who lived in Artas (near Bethlehem) in 1852, in Jaffa in 1866/67, and in Jerusalem in 1881, only the last remained. This was called the "American Colony," although after 1896 it comprised more Swedes than American subjects. Archaeological investigation of the biblical period expanded. A U.S. naval unit headed by Lt. W.F. Lynch explored the Jordan and the Dead Sea. The *Palestine Exploration Fund, established in 1865, completed a survey map of the area west of the Jordan, before embarking on the exploration of ancient sites. The American Palestine Exploration Society, which was short-lived (1870–81), concentrated on eastern Transjordan.

With the appearance of steam boats in the Middle East in the 1830s, regular communications between Ereẓ Israel and Europe were established for the first time. In 1837 Austria and France gained licenses to operate postal services in the Asian provinces of the Ottoman Empire. The Turkish-Tatar postal messengers, who traveled between Istanbul and the capitals of the provinces at approximately six-week intervals, were finally replaced in the mid-19th century by an Ottoman service which, although more frequent, was no less confused. In 1865 telegraphic communications were set up in Jerusalem and other important towns of Ereẓ Israel with the capital of the empire and Europe. Three years later the provincial administration completed the first road in Ereẓ Israel (between Jerusalem and Jaffa) that was suitable for wheeled carriages. Improvements in transportation and communications led to an increase in the number of pilgrims and tourists, who brought new sources of income. By 1880 the population of Ereẓ Israel had increased appreciably, reaching 450,000, of which 24,000 were Jews and 45,000 were Christians. Jerusalem, which had expanded beyond the walls of the Old City following the Crimean War, became the largest town in the country. Its population was estimated as at least 25,000; more than half of them were Jews.

See also the Land of Israel in International Affairs, in *Israel, State of: History.

The Jewish Population. In the history of the Jews of Ereẓ Israel there is a distinct contrast between the periods 1800–40 and 1841–80. In the first 30 years of the 19th century the corruption of Ottoman rule reached heights of perversion. The eight years of the Egyptian conquest (1832–40) were a kind of transition period. After 1840 the Jews were drawn into international conflicts connected with the Eastern problem, but began to enjoy the protection of Western powers. Their numbers increased considerably, as did their economic and cultural influence, although Napoleon's campaign in Egypt and Ereẓ Israel and his call to Eastern Jewry to come to his aid and thus pave the way for the political renaissance of Ereẓ Israel – if such a proclamation was indeed made – made little impression on the Jews of the country. The restraining influence of Ḥayyim Salim *Farḥi, scion of an ancient Jewish family from Damascus, was felt in the country for 20 years. As the financial official and general adviser of Aḥmad al-Jazzāār and his successors in the pashalic of Damascus, Farḥi somewhat eased the lives of not only the Jews, but the Muslims and Christians as well. After 20 years of rule he was murdered in 1820 by Abdallah Pasha, whom Farḥi had aided in his rise to the status of governor.

At that time most of the Jews of the country lived in the four holy cities: Jerusalem, Safed, Tiberias, and Hebron. Although they were sustained by funds from the **ḥalukkah*, they labored under a heavy yoke of taxes imposed by the Ottoman officials. Thus J. Conder wrote in 1831: "The extortions and oppressions were so numerous that it was said of the Jews that they had to pay for the very air they breathed." Nevertheless, the population continued to increase, especially as a result of immigration from Europe. This flow increased with the introduction of steamboat transportation on the Odessa-Jaffa and other routes. The age-old attraction of Ereẓ Israel, which was then felt especially among Eastern European Ḥasidim, brought a constant stream of ḥasidic settlers to Jerusalem and other holy cities. The first Ashkenazi community was established in Hebron in 1820 by Ḥabad Ḥasidim influenced by Ber, the son of R. Shneur Zalman of Lyady. Jaffa, which had been rebuilt by the Ottoman ruler Mohammed Abu Nabut in 1800–20, attracted a considerable number of Jews from 1830 on. The development of the community, interrupted by the bad earthquake of 1837, was renewed after 1839 and especially after the establishment of the rabbinate in 1841. Most of the Jaffa Jews came from North Africa; in 1857 there were only three Ashkenazi families there. In 1874 their number increased to 20, and the total Jewish population of Jaffa numbered 500. Safed, which competed with Jerusalem for spiritual hegemony, suffered greatly in the earthquake of 1837, when some 2,000 Jews lost their lives, and never regained its former position of leadership. The first Hebrew printing press in Ereẓ Israel, which was established there in 1831, moved to Jerusalem after nine years.

Egyptian rule did not greatly ease the burden of taxes, but Muhammad Ali's efforts to institute Western methods opened the way for vital internal and external changes. Although the promises in the sultan's decree of 1839 to grant equal rights to members of the three faiths – Jewish, Christian, and Muslim – were never fulfilled, there was a considerable improvement in the situation of the Jews. The high-flown proclamations of the Ottomans, such as that of 1841 ("Muslims, Christians, Israelites, you are all the subjects of one ruler, you are all the sons of one father"), also had some influence on the status of the oppressed minorities. Of similar significance was the fact that the Western powers, in their struggle for the hegemony of the Middle East, displayed a certain interest in the Jews of Ereẓ Israel. According to the system of *Capitulations (agreements granting special rights to foreign powers in the Ottoman Empire), the Western consuls in the country "protected" the interests of their citizens. Great Britain, and often Russia as well, became (for the reasons mentioned above) the patrons of the Jews of Ereẓ Israel. Britain intervened on behalf of Jews who were Ottoman subjects, but primarily on behalf of Jews from European countries when their own consuls refused to provide assistance. This was so not only during dramatic events, such as the *Damascus Affair of 1840 and the Christian massacre in Syria in 1860, but even under normal conditions. The British government even ventured, in connection with the Damascus Affair, to suggest that the sultan allow the Jews of the "*raʿāyā*" class (non-Muslim subjects of the sultan) to address their complaints against local Ottoman authorities to him through the mediation of the British consuls.

Although the Ottomans rejected this suggestion, the British consular authorities found opportunities to intervene on behalf of the Jews. In 1849 R. Isaiah *Bardaki, the leader of the Russian Jews of Jerusalem, requested that the British consul in Jerusalem grant protection to Jews who had become stateless as a result of discriminatory legislation in Russia. Thirty years later Russia relented in its hostile attitude toward the Jews of Ereẓ Israel and even granted them some protection, while persecuting the Jews in Russia itself. Laurence *Oliphant reflected: "Had Russia encouraged Jewish immigration to Ereẓ Israel and protected the immigrants, she could have had an excellent pretext for political interference in the country."

The idea of establishing a Jewish state or, at least, an autonomous Jewish settlement under supreme Ottoman control became a subject for serious discussion. In 1839, during the second of his visits in Ereẓ Israel, Sir Moses *Montefiore opened negotiations with Muhammad Ali to gain a charter for Jewish settlement in Ereẓ Israel in return for a large loan to Egypt. These negotiations failed, however, because of the downfall of Muhammad Ali, in 1841. The idea of establishing a Jewish buffer state between Egypt and the rest of the Ottoman Empire, however, gained supporters during the conflict between the two powers. The first who advocated this solution was Rev. Wilson Filson Marsh. A detailed plan for Jewish settlement was advanced at that time by Abraham *Benisch, a Bohemian Jew who became editor of the London *Jewish Chronicle*. The memorandum he composed on the question was made available to the Foreign Office by the British consul in Jerusalem, William Young, and gained the support of Montefiore and other British Jewish leaders. Similar plans, though less detailed, were offered at that time on the European continent. The idea was supported by English notables such as Col. Charles Henry Churchill (1840–56), Col. George Gawler (1845), Laurence Oliphant (1879), and others.

Relations between Jews and non-Jews in Ereẓ Israel were not at all amicable. Religious disputes were always common and the Jews were in a state of conflict with the missionaries, who were prohibited by law to convert Muslims, although the London missionary society for the dissemination of Christianity among Jews usually fought for the rights of Jews in Ereẓ Israel. This group was supported by British consuls such as James *Finn, whose autobiographical account, *Stirring Times* (1878), is an important source of information. Although contemporaries often remarked that missionary progress in Ereẓ Israel was slow, Ludwig August Frankel, who visited Jerusalem in 1856, found 131 converts there. According to the estimation of Goodrich-Freer, no fewer than 523 Jews converted in 1839–96, and the expenses for baptizing one Jew amounted to £1,000. In their battle against the missionaries, the Jews often came into conflict with the British and other consuls.

There were also serious internal conflicts within the Jewish community itself. Recipients of *ḥalukkah* funds often complained about discrimination, real or imagined, in their treatment by the *ḥalukkah* officials. The Jews of Germany and Holland were the first to establish a separate *kolel* for themselves, known as "Kolel Hod" (Holland-Deutschland), which served as a model for *kolelim* established by other factions of the community. By the beginning of the 20th century, there were 30 such *kolelim*. This division aroused internal controversies and also damaged the work of the **meshullaḥim* (see *Sheluḥei Ereẓ Israel) sent to collect money for the welfare funds. In 1886 the Ashkenazi *kolelim* in Jerusalem organized a general council under the leadership of Meir *Auerbach and Samuel *Salant.

Although the authority of the Ashkenazi rabbis was solid within their own community, they did not enjoy the legal recognition accorded the Sephardi *ḥakham bashi*, as most of the Ashkenazim were foreign subjects. The first Sephardi chief rabbis, including Solomon Moses *Suzin (in the time of Muhammad Ali), Jonah Moses *Navon (1836–40), and Judah Navon (1840–41), lacked governmental recognition, but from the time of Ḥayyim Abraham *Gagin (1842–48), the *ḥakham bashi* received an official status by governmental appointment, or rather by the sultan's confirmation of his election by the Sephardi community of Jerusalem. After Gagin, the post of *ḥakham bashi* was held by Isaac Kovo (1848–54), Ḥayyim Nissim *Abulafia (1854–61), Ḥayyim David *Ḥazzan (1861–69), and Abraham *Ashkenazi (1869–80) who came from Larissa, Greece.

The number of Ashkenazim gradually exceeded the Sephardim in most of the communities of Ereẓ Israel, and while the old settlements grew from decade to decade, new ones were established. Nablus, the old center of Samaritanism, began to attract Jews when it became a trading center. In 1864 there were in Nablus about 100 Jews, 150 Samaritans, 600 Christians, and 9,400 Muslims. According to Ludwig August Frankl, there were about 100 Jews in the renewed community of Haifa in 1856. The influence of the Jews grew, especially in Jerusalem, which came to have a Jewish majority. When the Old City could no longer contain them, the Jews set up the first suburb outside the walls in 1860 (Mishkenot Sha'ananim, established by Sir Moses Montefiore). During the twenty succeeding years they established more than ten additional suburbs, including Naḥalat Shiva (1869) and Me'ah She'arim (1872), which became the nucleus of the New City.

The economic situation of the Jews of Ereẓ Israel remained generally unchanged, despite several attempts to settle some Jews on the land and teach them useful trades. In 1839 and again in 1849 Montefiore responded to requests by the Jews of Ereẓ Israel to implement far-reaching plans to settle Jews on the land. Montefiore, together with the Rothschilds of Paris, who worked mainly through their adviser, Albert Cohen, and other European philanthropists, helped to establish a Jewish hospital in Jerusalem (1854) and supported the Laemel school, founded by Frankl in 1856 to teach Jews professions and to remove Jewish children from the mission schools. Since the teaching methods of this school were new from several points of view, and since European languages were also taught there, it met with the fierce opposition of extreme Ashkenazi Orthodox Jews and their supporters in the Diaspora, so that Frankl had to turn over the administration of the school to Sephardim, who were more tolerant.

The process of the Jewish community's transformation into a productive factor did not cease but rather increased in pace. Even the missionaries thought of establishing an agricultural settlement for apostate Jews. In 1861 the first land purchase by Jews for agricultural purposes in modern times was made by the Yehuda family at Moẓa. Finally, in 1870, the *Alliance Israélite Universelle established the *Mikveh Israel agricultural school near Jaffa. Agricultural settlements were established at *Moẓa (1873), Petaḥ *Tikvah (1878), and Jauni (Rosh Pinnah), which, although they were abandoned after a short time, opened the way for future development and were reestablished later. In 1881 the U.S. consul wrote that about 1,000 Jews in Ereẓ Israel earned their livings through agricultural labor, and therefore many of them were no longer "paupers and beggars." On the other hand, the appearance of the first Hebrew journals – *Ha-Levanon* in 1863 and **Ḥavaẓẓelet* in 1870 – attested to the expansion of the cultural horizons. In this way the population became ready to open its gates to new immigrants, ways of life, and ideas, which were brought to Ereẓ Israel by the *Ḥibbat Zion movement.

[Haïm Z'ew Hirschberg]

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STATE OF ISRAEL

HISTORICAL SURVEY: THE STATE AND ITS ANTECEDENTS (1880–2006)

Introduction

It took the new Jewish nation about 70 years to emerge as the State of Israel. The immediate stimulus that initiated the modern return to Zion was the disappointment, in the last quarter of the 19th century, of the expectation that the advancement of European civilization would solve the "Jewish question." In Central and Western Europe, the hopes of the Jews to be not only formally emancipated but really absorbed as equals in their respective "host" nations were shattered by waves of social and intellectual antisemitism. In Eastern Europe, particularly in the Russian Empire and Romania, not only did the technical formalities of emancipation seem to be unobtainable, but Jews repeatedly served as the scapegoats of the reactionary regimes in murderous pogroms initiated and organized by the authorities themselves.

In the second half of the century, the traumatic experiences of Jewish intellectuals in East and West produced a movement based on the reaffirmation of Jewish identity, mostly in a secular, nationalist form (e.g., Leon *Pinsker and, later, Theodor *Herzl), and the conviction that the Jewish question would remain insoluble unless the Jewish masses moved out and settled in an autonomous Jewish state to form an independent nation. This rational approach of the intellectuals at first did not necessarily regard Ereẓ Israel as the most desirable territory for the purpose of nation building, particularly in an era when many new nations had emerged on other continents in seemingly empty territories.

The modern Jewish nationalism of the intellectuals soon merged with another powerful trend, deeply rooted in the traditionalist Jewish masses, mainly in Eastern Europe. The latter intuitively sought ways and means of preserving Judaism and Jewish tradition in spite of the rapid disintegration of the self-contained Jewish societies in the ghetto, or shtetl, which were beginning to break up under the impact of the new scientific, urbanized civilization. For the masses of Jewry, any country outside Ereẓ Israel would always be *galut* (exile) even if its population should prove to be predominantly Jewish; a Jewish national renaissance was conceivable only if it was consciously rooted in the Hebrew language and Jewish culture and aimed at the revival of Jewish nationhood in Ereẓ Israel.

The merging of the two trends – the rationally intellectual and the emotionally traditional – gave birth not only to *Zionism as an organized political effort, but also to the beginnings of the pioneering movement of the late 19th century, which laid the foundations, on the soil of Ereẓ Israel, for the economic, social, and cultural rebirth of the Jewish nation. The land itself seemed eminently suitable for the purpose: a marginal province of the weak Ottoman Empire, sparsely inhabited by a population consisting of various religious groups and seemingly lacking any national consciousness or ambitions of its own; a motherland waiting to be redeemed from centuries of neglect and decay by its legitimate sons.

The rebirth of the nation began almost simultaneously from two ends, in Ereẓ Israel itself and in Eastern Europe. Tiny groups of "rebels" against the old *yishuv,* mainly in Jerusalem, decided to break out of the stifling confines of the idle **halukkah* regime and create a national renaissance by tilling the ancestral soil "with their own hands" and reviving the Hebrew language, as the living vernacular of a modern nation, instead of merely a sacred tongue and an inter-community lingua franca. At the same time, small groups of Jewish youth (mostly students) in the Russian *Pale of Settlement and in Romania were so deeply disenchanted with the idea of attaining security, dignity, and equality in any Diaspora country that they decided not to join the mass emigration of Jews overseas, nor to participate in revolutionary endeavors in the countries where they lived, but to make themselves into pioneers in the establishment of the first modern Jewish villages in Ereẓ Israel, which would eventually serve as the cornerstone of an independent, "normal" Jewish nation.

The efforts of this First Aliyah to create new agricultural settlements under a corrupt, hostile regime and in a malaria- and robber-infested environment might have ended in both economic and social failure. The pioneers were in imminent danger of economic collapse from sheer inexperience and complete lack of capital, and, by employing cheap Arab labor, they might have become a thin stratum of "colonists" whose land was in fact tilled by non-Jewish hands. The first danger was averted in time by the philanthropic aid of the Russian *Ḥibbat Zion movement and Baron Edmond de *Rothschild, and later by the more modern methods of the Zionist Organization. The second was eventually avoided by the Second Aliyah, a wave of several thousand new Jewish pioneers who arrived in Ereẓ Israel after the abortive Russian revolution of 1905, determined to create a Jewish working class and to "conquer" by their labor not only the soil but also labor itself, including all manual aspects and forms of it, to ensure the creation of a new Jewish society with a full-fledged productive, self-sufficient structure, rather than an "unproductive," Diaspora-like community.

Some of the men who led this movement (e.g., David *Ben-Gurion and Izhak *Ben-Zvi) lived to see their dream fulfilled in the form of the independent Jewish state. Many despaired of the difficult economic and health conditions and returned to Russia, but a sufficient number of them persisted and remained to lay the foundations of a new, productive, and Hebrew-speaking Jewish society. A few years after their arrival, they established the first clandestine armed self-defense organization (Bar-Giora, later *Ha-Shomer) and the first collective workers groups and "self-labor" settlements. This endeavor, though still very small in size, was large enough to become the focus of a wide Hebrew educational network and a mass movement in world Jewry and to fulfill an important role in the political events during World War I that led to the *Balfour Declaration and the international recognition of the Jewish people's right to establish its National Home in Palestine.

In spite of the more favorable conditions of the British period (1917–48), as compared with the Ottoman era, the fundamental moving forces of the First and Second Aliyah did not change much. Mass immigration, as distinct from the *aliyah* of pioneering groups and individuals, occurred mainly when the condition of Jewish communities in the Diaspora became economically or physically unbearable. The Soviet regime, which cut the Jews of Russia off from the rest of the Jewish people, deprived the reviving nation in Palestine of its main human reservoir; but Jews from Poland, the Baltic states, Romania, and Central Europe exploited almost every conceivable opportunity, "legal" or "illegal," to settle in Palestine, particularly after the closing of the gates to the United States in 1924.

Meanwhile, the "self-labor" principle of the Second Aliyah stimulated the creation of a widespread network of mutual aid institutions combined in a powerful labor federation (the *Histadrut), which enabled the Jewish workers to maintain a bearable standard of living even under adverse conditions. The collective and cooperative settlements of the labor pioneers, as well as urban centers built by Jewish labor with middle-class capital and initiative, soon created a belt of continuous Jewish settlement increasingly resembling a nucleus of national territory. The Hebrew educational system raised a generation of tens and later hundreds of thousands of native-born young people (the "sabras") for whom language, historical tradition, native soil, and national allegiance became one harmonious whole. To protect the *yishuv*'s physical security and prevent pogrom-style Arab violence, a clandestine nationwide defensive militia, the *Haganah, was established. Gradually, self-governing institutions emerged, gaining partial official recognition (such as *Keneset Israel, municipal councils, etc.) and partly serving the Jewish population by mutual consent (e.g., the Jewish magistrates' courts (*batei-mishpat ha-shalom*), voluntary taxes, etc.), which enhanced the independent national character of the expanding community.

After a brief honeymoon, illuminated by the illusion of British benevolence in the beginning of the 1920s, the essential principle of the nation building process remained unchanged: only what the Jews created themselves, despite the unfriendly regime and the hostile environment – by their own initiative, with their own physical efforts, defending themselves with their own arms, at the cost of their own blood – gradually made the new Jewish nation a reality. This principle remained valid during World War II and its aftermath. The new nation was still too small and dependent to save European Jewry during the Nazi *Holocaust, but it made serious efforts to do so. It also prepared itself for all-out self-defense in case of a Nazi conquest of Palestine and, when this danger was averted, for a systematic struggle for national independence against British opposition and Arab violent aggression by "illegal" mass immigration, rapid enlargement of the settlement network, armed sabotage, and so forth.

The establishment of the State of Israel in 1948 was an historic breakthrough into international recognition and national sovereignty, but in historical perspective it proved to be only a "great leap forward" and not the terminal point in the process of nation building. The main developments since the establishment of the state have been the accelerated growth of the population, mainly through the ingathering of the exiles – paradoxically, from those countries which were, or became, Israel's declared enemies (i.e., the Arab countries and those of the Soviet Bloc, including latterly the former Soviet Union itself); the systematic settlement of empty spaces, particularly in the south; economic development through modernization of agriculture, industrialization, and application of modern science; the implementation of genuine democracy on all levels of government and the protection of civil liberties, in spite of an almost permanent military emergency; and pragmatic, compromise solutions for explosive internal problems, such as the antagonism between religious and secular concepts of Jewish nationhood, the strains and stresses between Jews of European origin and those from the "Oriental" countries, and the conflict between the socialist, cooperative, and egalitarian trends of the labor movement and the need to attract private capital and introduce incentives for economic efficiency. An outstanding success was the maintenance of a highly efficient citizen's army, free of militarist trappings, preserving the old spirit of a people's militia and also serving for collective agricultural pioneering and other pacific purposes.

The central and dominant problem however, proved to be more and more the antagonism between Israel and the Arab world, which ostensibly centered on the plight of the Palestinian Arab refugees, who had fled en masse from the territory of Israel during its *War of Independence. Almost immediately, but particularly from the middle 1950s, the great powers began to exploit this antagonism in their own interests, reinforcing its destructive features instead of working toward constructive solutions, until the *Six-Day War (1967) created an entirely new territorial and political situation, fraught with the danger of a new "round" but also opening perspectives for Arab-Israel peace. This situation placed Israel more firmly at the center of world Jewry's attention and devotion than ever before. In the immediate postwar period the two greatest Jewish communities, in the United States and the Soviet Union, which in the recent past had seemed to be irretrievably on the road to complete assimilation, also began to stir toward Jewish revival. While in the United States, after a short spurt of immigration, it became clear that large-scale *aliyah* was not to be expected, massive *aliyah* from the former Soviet Union would become the miracle of the 1990s. Thus, from several scores of pioneers at the outset of the Zionist enterprise, the revived Jewish nation in Ereẓ Israel numbered in the early 1970s over 2.5 million people and in the early years of the 21st century edged toward 5.5 million, poised to become the largest Jewish community in the world.

However, the euphoria of the Six-Day War was relatively short-lived, unleashing processes that would agitate Israel's national life in the coming decades. The nation's pent-up energies, confined within narrow physical borders and a culture of economic austerity for 20 years, burst forth in a recrudescence of economic activity that created new wealth and new inequalities. A new political regime under Menaḥem Begin hastened the demise of the old-style socialism that had dominated the country for so many years and accelerated the transformation of Israel into a modern Western consumer society. Politically, the country underwent severe polarization as the right and left, hawks and doves, became hardened in their respective positions, while the trauma of the *Yom Kippur War initiated a tortuous process that saw peace treaties signed with Egypt and Jordan and years of unabated Arab terrorism destroying innocent lives.

Israel at the outset of the 21st century stood at a new crossroads, facing challenges that only the resiliency and moral fiber of its people might meet. The challenge of the new millennium was to recapture the sense of a common past and a common destiny that had always sustained the nation.

The Land of Israel in International Affairs, 1798–1923

After the Crusades, the European powers attached no great significance to the Land of Israel, and its conquest by the Ottoman Turks reduced its importance still further. The name "Palestine" had only a historical, archaeological, or antiquarian connotation; it did not denote any clearly defined political entity, or even a separate administrative subdivision of the Ottoman Empire. The country was part of the empire; sometimes it was regarded as a part of Syria. As far as international affairs were concerned, it was no more than a remote territory, a bone of contention among unruly pashas and a prey to Bedouin banditry. Although certain European commercial interests, such as the Levant Company, did pay some attention to it at one period, their operations were designated to extend to the Ottoman Empire as a whole, and Palestine did not play a special role in their plans; nor has this competition been shown to have had any appreciable effect on the policies of the powers.

NAPOLEON'S CAMPAIGN. This situation underwent a drastic change when *Napoleon made his surprising move to land an expeditionary force in the East and succeeded in conquering Egypt (1798; see above), followed by an invasion of Palestine in 1799. The invasion, after initial success, was frustrated by the failure of his efforts to take Acre. The reasons that presumably prompted Napoleon to undertake this campaign are of great significance, for they were the same that were henceforth to induce all major European powers to vie with one another for influence in the area.

The predominant consideration was the territory's geographical position at the crossroads of the three commercial and strategic routes of the modern world, which link the Atlantic Ocean and Mediterranean Sea with the Indian and Pacific Oceans, the Mediterranean with the Persian Gulf, and the Eurasian continent with Africa. When Ottoman rule in Asia entered into a decline at the end of the 18th century, every power felt obliged to deny exclusive control of the crossroads to any of its rivals. For Napoleon, the country was of equal importance for both defense and attack: its conquest would enable him to defend Egypt against Anglo-Turkish attempts to wrest it from his hands and provide him with a springboard for campaigns directed at Anatolia and Istanbul, the Persian Gulf, and India.

Another factor that was to enter into the considerations of every power planning to replace the Ottoman Empire in the control of the area was the presence of ethnic and religious minorities that would presumably be prepared to accept the protection of a European power. At the time of Napoleon's campaign in Palestine, the idea of establishing a Jewish state in the area was mooted in Paris. During the siege of Acre Napoleon was said to have issued a proclamation to the Jews, apostrophizing them as "rightful heirs of Palestine" and calling upon them "to take over that which had been conquered" (some scholars, however, regard the proclamation as apocryphal). Napoleon was known to have had plans for fomenting unrest among the Druze and Maronites in the north and exploiting the existence of Christian and Muslim holy places for his purposes.

MUHAMMAD ALI'S CAMPAIGNS. For these and other reasons the future of Palestine became an issue of general European importance during the wars conducted by Muhammad Ali, who was sent to Egypt by the sultan in 1800 in order to reorganize Egypt after Napoleon's failure. Muhammad Ali sought to base his rule in Egypt on the innovations introduced by the Napoleonic conquest. In order to realize his ambition to create a ruling dynasty in Egypt and ward off a possible direct attack by the Ottoman forces, he dispatched Ibrahim, his stepson, to Palestine and Syria. In 1832–33 Ibrahim overran both territories, and for the next seven years the area remained in the hands of Muhammad Ali. The Egyptian regime brought many changes to Palestine. A central government ruled the country, law and order were established, and tens of thousands of Egyptians migrated to Palestine and established a chain of settlements along the coastal plain from Gaza and toward the Sea of Galilee. The non-Muslim residents of Palestine were able to act more freely. Some synagogues and churches were built and a British consulate, the first European consulate in Palestine, was opened in Jerusalem.

Failure of the Ottomans to push the Egyptians out of Syria in 1840 brought the European powers back to the area. It was at this point that Britain (under Lord Palmerston) and, to a lesser degree, Austria decided that it was in their interest to shore up the sultan's tottering power. From their point of view, it was a timely decision, for otherwise there was a danger of Russian hegemony over the Ottoman Empire or of France – an ally of Muhammad Ali – gaining control of the Mediterranean. Furthermore, by this time Syria and Palestine had become a factor in their own right in the policy pursued by the powers. The growing significance of modern means of transportation – steamships and railroads – lent significance to an area that served as a crossroads and control of which would facilitate the construction of interoceanic canals and intercontinental railroads. Palmerston already recognized this. The possession of Palestine would secure control of the Suez route, which was in use even in those pre-canal days (the early steamers preferred to cruise along the Mediterranean coast rather than risk the stormy passage around the Cape of Good Hope, transferring their cargoes overland across the Suez Isthmus to be shipped to their destination through the Red Sea and the Indian Ocean – the traditional route since early historical times). The eastern Mediterranean coast was also regarded as the proper place for the terminal of a land route – a railroad leading to Iraq and the Persian Gulf; in fact, the vision of such a route was to have an ever-increasing effect upon the imperialist policies of Britain and France.

From the French point of view, these considerations required the extension of Muhammad Ali's domain in Syria as far north as possible; the British, on the other hand, were interested in pushing him back as much as possible toward the Nile Valley and denying him access to the main lines of communication to the Persian Gulf. In 1840, when Muhammad Ali, with French support, rejected a demand that his rule be restricted to Palestine, the other powers, led by Britain, intervened by force of arms and compelled him to give up Syria, including Palestine, and restrict himself to Egypt. The Ottoman

Empire paid back the European powers by changing its attitude toward the non-Muslim inhabitants of the Empire as a whole, but this was mainly applied in Palestine.

PROTECTIVE RIGHTS. In the following two decades, Palestine retained a place in international affairs due to its importance for those powers that wanted the right to protect one or the other of the religious minorities in the decaying Ottoman Empire. Russia had long had such rights, confirmed in the Kutchuk-Kainarji Treaty of 1774 (Article 7), over Orthodox Christians in Turkey and the Orthodox Christian holy places in Palestine. France's rights to protect the Catholics (Latins) and their holy places, which had their roots in the age of the Crusades, were confirmed by Capitulations (privileges for the foreigners). Britain and, to some extent, Prussia sought to counter these advantages by extending their protection to the insignificant Protestant minority (which accounts for the creation of the Jerusalem bishopric in 1841). Palmerston and his successors also sought to extend unofficial British protection to the Jewish minority. Under the pressure of the European powers, the Ottomans first allowed the non-Muslim citizens of the Empire to buy and own land and buildings, later extending the right to everyone, including foreigners. This allowed the Europeans and Americans to put up new churches, hospitals, schools, and other buildings in the main towns of Palestine from 1840 on. During the 1860s Christian groups built new agricultural settlements in Palestine. An American group established the American colony near Jaffa in 1866, while a larger group of Germans built three German colonies in Haifa, Jaffa, and Jerusalem. Later on they built new settlements in the Coastal Plain (Sarona), Lower Galilee, and near the Jaffa–Jerusalem road. The Jewish immigrants of the 1880s were also able to establish the first moshavot (agriculture settlements) as a result of this process. Throughout the 1840s and 1850s, fierce competition ensued among the powers to improve their position as protective powers. The struggle was carried out mainly through their consular representatives in Jerusalem, which was an ideal arena in which to press their claims; their real purpose, of course, was to give the powers exercising these rights a hold on the Ottoman Empire that they could exploit whenever its collapse would lead to the ultimate disposition of its territories. It will be recalled that the contradictory claims of Russia and France with regard to the holy places were the direct cause of the outbreak of the Crimean War.

THE STRUGGLE OVER COMMUNICATIONS. Developments in Egypt between 1860 and 1890 again put the emphasis on the control of communications. The Suez Canal was opened in 1869 and France's hegemony in Cairo assured her control of the new waterway. This was a situation that the British felt they could not tolerate; in 1878 Britain took over Cyprus and finally, in 1882, it took Egypt by military conquest, ousting the French and maintaining its position for many decades to come. The two powers now switched roles: it was Britain that now aspired to extend its influence to the north, by way of Palestine and southern Syria, while France, which had struck roots in the Lebanon and in central and northern Syria, sought to confine British influence to Egypt.

In the last decade of the 19th century, when the advance of capitalism and industry played an increasingly important role in general political developments, the competition between the European powers (Britain, France, Imperial Germany, Italy, Austria-Hungary, Imperial Russia) for influence in Syria and Palestine was concerned with religious and cultural hegemony as well as with economic and financial issues. Traditional British-Ottoman friendship had turned into enmity as a result of the British occupation of Egypt and the ascendancy of German influence over the Sublime Porte at the turn of the century. In spite of the Entente of 1903, relations between Britain and France in the Middle East continued to be competitive, rather than friendly. To guard against the possibility of an Ottoman attack upon Egypt, with the possible support of Germany or France, Kitchener, the British commander in Egypt, thought it imperative to establish a buffer state under British protection in the area adjacent to Egypt, between Acre and Aqaba.

These strategic considerations played a dominant role in the struggle between Britain, France, and Germany over railroad construction in the area. The German plans provided for the construction of a railroad link leading from northwest to southeast, from Constantinople to Alexandretta and thence to the Persian Gulf. This plan for a Baghdad Railroad threatened British interests in the Persian Gulf and clashed with two other plans: a British proposal for an east-west route from Baghdad to Haifa (the Willcocks Plan) and a French proposal for a railroad linking Alexandretta or Homs with Baghdad. Another project, in which the Germans took an active part, was that of the Hejaz Railroad (Damascus to Mecca), which competed with the French-built north-south railroad (Aleppo to Mezerib). Of special significance was the Haifa-Darʿa section of the Hejaz Railroad, which competed with the Beirut-Damascus section of the French railroad and came in place of the British Willcocks Plan. Furthermore, the Hejaz Railroad represented a strategic threat to British interests in Egypt, an aspect borne out by the Ottoman demand that the Germans and the French extend their railroad lines to Rafa and construct a line from Maʿan to Akaba (which would have created a direct link between the Mediterranean and the Red Sea and threatened the Suez Canal's monopoly).

By 1912 the struggle among the powers had become sharp enough for the French upper chamber to adopt a resolution emphasizing French interests in Syria (including Palestine). Although the British foreign secretary, Sir Edward Grey, publicly declared that Britain would follow a "hands-off" policy in Syria, he soon modified his statement by denying any intention to recognize exclusive French rights in the area. Moreover, the British representatives in Cairo did not feel committed by his declaration.

In 1914, on the eve of World War I, the Germans settled their differences with the other two powers by two railroad conventions that were to divide the Asian part of the Ottoman

Empire into British, German, and French spheres of economic interest. The German-French convention granted the Germans economic supremacy in Anatolia, northern Syria, and Mesopotamia, while French economic interests would predominate in central and southern Syria, up to the Egyptian border (i.e., the area served by the French railroads and the Hejaz line). The Anglo-German convention, which divided Mesopotamia into German and British spheres of influence, acknowledged the supremacy of British economic interests in the area lying to the south of Beirut and west of Amman as well as in the desert lying between Transjordan and Iraq (this would have enabled the British to build a Suez-Akaba-Kuwait-Barash railroad as compensation for the Willcocks scheme). It should be noted that in the German agreement with the French, Palestine was recognized as lying within the French sphere of interests, while in the German-British agreement it appears as part of the British sphere; thus the Germans succeeded in settling their own differences with the British and the French and simultaneously planted the seeds of contention between the two powers with regard to the future status of the country.

THE AQABA INCIDENT AND THE SINAI BORDER. The Aqaba incident of 1906 is a striking illustration of the importance the British attached to the whole area even before World War I. (It also led to the delineation of the eastern border of Sinai, which eventually became the boundary of Mandatory Palestine.) The peace agreement with Muhammad Ali (1841) had left him, in addition to Egypt, an area in the Sinai Peninsula from the town of Suez to a spot south of Gaza, on the Mediterranean coast, and several fortified cities on the Red Sea coast on the route to Mecca. In 1892, ten years after the British conquest of Egypt, the Ottomans demanded the return of Sinai and the Hejaz cities. Sir Evelyn Baring (later Lord Cromer) rejected the Ottoman demand, and eventually a compromise was achieved by which the Hejaz cities were placed under Ottoman rule, while the Sinai Peninsula was to remain Egyptian territory. In the course of the negotiations, it transpired that the borders in the Sinai Peninsula were under dispute. The Ottomans claimed that the Egyptian border extended from Rafah to Suez. Baring claimed that southern Sinai also belonged to Egypt and that the new border should be a straight line from Rafah to Aqaba. The Ottomans refused to accept this demand.

The controversy played a certain role in the negotiations between Theodor *Herzl and Joseph Chamberlain in 1902–03 concerning Jewish settlement in northern Sinai, which Chamberlain was inclined to believe would help to ward off a possible Ottoman attack and might eventually lead to the inclusion of Palestine in the British sphere of influence. Baring, however, would not hear of this plan, preferring the local Bedouin as instruments of British policy.

As a result of this "Bedouin policy," the British seized an area of Ottoman territory near Aqaba in 1906, although there was no doubt that their action was a flagrant violation of Ottoman sovereignty. The Ottomans charged that this was part of an attempt to extend the Egyptian border at their expense. The tension soon turned into a full-fledged crisis. An Ottoman compromise proposal, which would have divided the Sinai Peninsula in such a manner as to leave both banks of the Gulf of Suez in Egyptian hands and both banks of the Gulf of Aqaba Ottoman, was rejected. The British regarded the issue important enough to warrant an ultimatum to Istanbul, to which the sultan submitted in September 1906. The new Ottoman-Egyptian border now became a line extending from Rafa to Ṭaba and underwent no further change until 1948. Thus the first boundary of modern Palestine was established.

THE *SYKES-PICOT AGREEMENT AND THE MCMAHON – HUSSEIN CORRESPONDENCE. World War I further exacerbated, rather than reduced, differences among the Allies. The railroad agreements with Germany had left the future of Palestine a matter of controversy between Britain and France, and in the very first months of the war the two powers reiterated their interests in the area so as to lay the foundations for the claims they would submit when victory had been achieved. Between November 1914 and March 1915, the British cabinet held several sessions devoted to the subject, finally resolving that, at the very minimum, British interests required the internationalization of Palestine if exclusive British control could not be obtained. The French raised their claims to supremacy in Syria and Palestine in the legislature and in the press; they also asked for Russian support in exchange for French support of Russian claims on Constantinople. The Russians in their turn asked for the exclusion of the Orthodox Christian holy places (in Galilee as well as in Jerusalem) from French control, and the French countered by offering, as a maximum concession, the internationalization of the Jerusalem-Bethlehem area, provided the rest of Palestine became French. Both the Russians and the British refused to accede to this proposal, and in July 1915 the British cabinet came to the conclusion that the best way to counteract French demands was to obtain Russian agreement for a joint Anglo-French-Russian regime in Palestine after the war. The Russians appear to have agreed to this plan.

When the Syrian and Hejazi leaders of the Arab revolt, with British encouragement, raised their claims to the area (as reflected in the Hussein-McMahon correspondence – see next paragraph), it was decided to appoint a mixed Anglo-French commission to submit an agreed plan for the postwar partition of the Ottoman Empire. The commission was appointed in the fall of 1915, with Sir Arthur Nicholson – shortly afterward replaced by Sir Mark Sykes – as the British representative and Charles François Georges-Picot (the former French consul to Jerusalem) for France. The recommendations of the commission, as accepted by the powers, became known as the Tripartite (*Sykes-Picot) Agreement of 1916. It provided for joint Anglo-French-Russian-Italian and Arab control of all parts of Palestine containing holy places. This included the area between a line running from the Dead Sea to Rafah in the south to a line running from the northwest corner of the Sea of

Galilee toward Ras el-Naqura on the Mediterranean shore in the north. The Jordan River was to be the eastern boundary of this area, safeguarding the interests of the European powers as well as those of all religions. France got the rule over the area north of Nazareth and the Sea of Galilee (Lake Kinneret – i.e., northern Galilee and Safed), together with the Lebanon. Britain got the control over Haifa Bay (with the towns of Haifa and Acre) to satisfy the requirements of the British navy and to serve as the terminal of the Baghdad Railroad. The agreement also defined the incorporation of Transjordan and the Negev into an Arab State under British protection, as a corridor between British bases in Egypt and those in southern Iraq, and the creation of a French-protected Syrian-Arab state, including the Hauran.

Meanwhile, Sir Henry McMahon, the British high commissioner in Cairo, had been negotiating with Hussein ibn Ali, the sharif of Mecca, for his assistance in the war against the Ottoman Empire in return for a British promise to support his bid for the restoration of the caliphate. On behalf of his government, Sir Henry McMahon agreed to support Arab independence within the boundaries proposed by Hussein, who asked for all the Arab areas of the Ottoman Empire south of the Taurus Mountains, with two provisos: first, "The two districts of Mersina and Alexandretta and portions of Syria lying to the west of the districts of Damascus, Homs, Hama, and Aleppo, which cannot be said to be purely Arab, and should be excluded from the limits demanded"; secondly, the undertaking to support Arab independence was given only "… for those frontiers wherein Britain is free to act without detriment to the interests of her ally, France…". The term "Syria" was often regarded, particularly by Arabs, as including Palestine and the "district" or vilayet of Damascus extended to the whole of Transjordan. The first proviso, as well as the second, therefore, according to British sources, clearly excluded the whole of western Palestine. This was subsequently verified by Sir McMahon himself and by a British government committee that examined the correspondence. On the other hand, the Arabs claimed that the letters spoke of excluding the cities of Aleppo, Hama, Homs, and Damascus; thus, as Palestine lay south of Damascus, it was not excluded from the Hussein demand and the area of Palestine was promised to the Arabs.

In order to provide a counterweight to French protection of Catholics and Russian protection of Orthodox Christians in the proposed jointly administered area, the British, in 1916, recommended that the Allies permit Zionist settlement in Palestine (presumably under British protection), an idea that had been discussed by the British cabinet as far back as 1914.

THE ZIONIST CLAIMS. When the Zionist leadership heard of the truncation of the Land of Israel envisaged by the Sykes-Picot Agreement, Chaim *Weizmann dispatched a strong protest to the British Foreign Office. In Weizmann's opinion the realization of Zionist goals required that the whole of the Land of Israel be placed under British protection. Eventually, Britain also came to the conclusion that British control of the entire area of Palestine would serve her interests in Egypt and Mesopotamia, and this realization gave added impetus to the British plans for the conquest of the country by her forces alone. Zionist pressure and the wish to win over the Jews of Russia (after the revolution of February 1917) and those living behind enemy lines (Germany, Austria-Hungary) to Britain led to the *Balfour Declaration, which promised the help of Britain in establishing a Jewish National Home in Palestine. This Declaration made no attempt to establish the exact boundaries of the National Home, which later led to much discussion about the limits of the Jewish National Home.

World War I ended with the British conquering Palestine (1917–18). During the war the Zionists had won French support for their aims, mainly through the efforts of Nahum *Sokolow. A month after the war had ended, in December 1918, the French Premier Georges Clemenceau, who was indifferent to Middle East affairs and wholly absorbed in the problem of Germany, gave his consent to British rule over the entire area of Palestine "from Dan to Beersheba" (no more precise definition being given) in exchange for British support of French territorial claims concerning its boundary with Germany. The Zionist leaders, having coordinated their territorial demands with those of Emir Feisal, Hussein's son (which eventually led to the Weizmann-Feisal accord), presented their demands to the Council of Ten at the Paris Peace Conference in February 1919. They called for the borders of Palestine to run from a point on the Mediterranean coast south of Sidon along the foothills of the Lebanon up to Rāshiya (thereby including most of the Litani valley and all the sources of the Jordan), proceeding further east along the Hermon ridge, and then southward parallel to and west of the Hejaz Railroad down to the Gulf of Aqaba. Such an arrangement would have given both Palestine and the Arab state access to the Transjordan section of the Hejaz Railroad. In the south, the Zionists asked for a boundary which would be agreed upon with the Egyptian government. It took 70 years to realize this wish, as Israel and Egypt only agreed on their common border in 1979.

The borders of Palestine were also the subject of an exchange of notes between Britain and France in September 1919 and June 1920 and of discussions by the foreign ministers of the two powers in December 1919 and June and December 1920. Both parties attached great importance to this question, and at one point the French, incensed at British opposition to their Syrian plans, demanded a return to the Sykes-Picot Agreement with its provisions for a truncated Palestine. In the end, the British only partly succeeded in getting the Zionist border proposals accepted and agreed to a narrow interpretation of the agreement they had reached with Clemenceau in 1918. As a result, a boundary agreement was signed between France and the United Kingdom on December 23, 1920. In it the border outlined in the Sykes-Picot Agreement was extended as far as "Dan" only, i.e., including the Safed district and a narrow corridor (the Galilee panhandle) northward, containing Lake Ḥuleh and Metullah as well as half of the Golan Heights but only half of the Sea of Galilee. Details of the border were fixed by a special demarcation commission that functioned from 1920 to 1923, and its final version was amended to include both banks of the Ḥuleh, the Jordan River, and Lake Kinneret (the Sea of Galilee) in Palestine, but left the Golan with Syria. Efforts by the Zionist leaders to obtain more favorable borders, including the water sources in the north and the extensive uncultivated areas in the east, had been frustrated by the compromise between the powers. This final version was ultimately ratified by the League of Nations *Mandate for Palestine.

[Uri Ra'anan / Gideon Biger (2nd ed.)]

Boundaries

BOUNDARIES OF MANDATORY PALESTINE. *In the South.* The formation of the frontiers of Israel actually began with the delimitation and demarcation of the boundary between Egypt (then under British protection) and the Ottoman dominions in 1906. In 1841, after Muhammad (Mehemet) Ali had been pushed back into Egypt, an Ottoman firman (royal decree) fixed the boundary as a straight line connecting the northern outskirts of Suez, at the northern tip of the gulf of that name, with a point southwest of Gaza, near the small village of Rafah, on the Mediterranean. This boundary gave Egypt a triangular area in northern Sinai, which included the entire Mediterranean coast of the peninsula. A few years after the British took control of Egypt in 1882, a dispute broke out over the actual position of the boundary. The British were very unhappy about the Suez-Rafa line, which gave the Ottomans easy access to the Suez Canal (opened in 1869), especially its southern end. They put forward various claims and proposals aimed at pushing the boundary as far eastward, away from the canal, as possible. The dispute reached its climax early in 1906, when the British sent forces to occupy the vital positions in the Sinai Peninsula and at the head of the Gulf of Aqaba. The crisis, which brought the two countries to the verge of war, was settled when the Ottomans were forced to agree to draw the boundary along a line from Rafa to a point on the northern shore of the gulf three miles west of Aqaba village. The British demand for the Rafa-Aqaba line was based on a detailed survey of northern and eastern Sinai. It gave them, as controllers of Egypt, the entire width of the Sinai desert as a natural barrier between Ottoman territory and the Suez Canal, and left them in control of nearly all the main water resources in eastern Sinai, as well as the roads and tracks connecting the Gulf of Aqaba with the Mediterranean Sea.

The demarcation of the boundary was carried out under very difficult conditions, at the height of the summer, and the boundary as marked out on the ground deviates slightly from the line laid down in the agreement – due mainly to mistakes in survey and measurement in the extremely rugged terrain, and partly to the insistence of the Ottoman delegation. Thus the line reached the Gulf of Aqaba near Bir Ṭaba, five miles southwest of the point designated in the agreement, leaving the entire northern shore of the Gulf on the Ottoman side. It should be pointed out that in 1906 this was formally only an administrative line and not an international boundary. It was agreed at the time between the Ottomans and the British that the Sinai Peninsula would continue to form part of the Ottoman Empire, though it was under Anglo-Egyptian administration. This border, 135 mi. (224 km.) long, was adopted in 1919 as the boundary between Egypt and British-mandated Palestine. Except for its northern section (the southern border of the Gaza Strip) it also became the armistice demarcation line between Egypt and Israel during the period 1949–67. It was actually abolished after the occupation of Sinai by Israel in the Six-Day War but the peace agreement between Egypt and Israel, signed in 1979, established this line as the agreed international boundary between them.

In the North. The next stage in the formation of the modern boundaries of Israel came with the delimitation and demarcation, in 1922–23, of the boundary between British-mandated Palestine and the French-mandated territories of Syria and Lebanon. The starting point for the delimitation of this boundary was the Sykes-Picot Treaty of 1916 (see also the Land of Israel in International Affairs, above). According to the treaty, the northern boundary of Palestine was to be a line from the Mediterranean coast a short distance north of Acre to a point on the northwestern shore of Lake Tiberias (Lake Kinneret). The area south of this line was to come under an international regime, except for a British enclave around the Bay of Acre, while the area to the north was assigned to the French.

Toward the end of World War I and during the two years which followed, there was much political activity around the question of the final location of this boundary. Strenuous efforts were made by the Zionist movement to induce the British and French governments to move it much further north, so that it would correspond to the northern frontier of the biblical Land of Israel and bring the whole of Galilee within British-mandated territory. At one stage the Zionist movement pressed for a northern boundary which would run from the outskirts of Sidon (Saida) eastward to the northern foot of Mount Hermon, to encompass most of the valley of the Litani and all the headwaters of the Jordan (see *Zionist Policy).

After lengthy discussions and much lobbying, an agreement was reached and embodied in the Franco-British Convention of Dec. 23, 1920. The boundary between Palestine and Syria-Lebanon was to be a line starting on the Mediterranean coast about 1.2 mi. (2 km.) south of Rosh ha-Nikrah (Ras al-Naqura) where the present Israel-Lebanese border reaches the sea, and running eastward along the watershed between the Fāra Hindāj wadis (now Naḥal Dishon) and Qarqara (now Naḥal Beẓet) in the south, and the al-Dubba al-Ayyūn and Zarqāʾ valleys to the north. Then it was to run along the watershed between the head-streams of the Jordan and the river Litani (Qāsimiyya) up to Metullah. The northwestern part of the *Ramat ha-Golan was to be included in Palestine: from Metullah the boundary was to run along the track leading to Banias and Kuneitra, leaving the track on the French side of the border. Further south the boundary would follow the bed of Wadi Masᶜadiyya and one of its tributaries to the northern shores of Lake Kinneret a short distance southeast of the entry of the Jordan, cut across the lake to Samakh (Ẓemaḥ), leaving the eastern half of the lake on the French side of the frontier, and run south to the valley of the Yarmuk river, which it would then follow eastward.

Even before the conclusion of the agreement, the actual border line between the areas under British and French military occupation did not conform with the Sykes-Picot line of 1916. The British extended their control over considerable areas further north, up to a line running from al-Zīb (Keziv) on the Mediterranean coast to the northern shore of Lake Ḥuleh, and later up to the northern fringe of the Ḥuleh Valley. While a Franco-British commission was at work on the exact delimitation of the boundary (1921–22), further negotiations and bargaining between the two governments led to the acceptance of significant changes. The British gave up the area allotted to them in the Golan Heights in return for complete control of the river Jordan and Lake Tiberias. The work of this commission led to the final demarcation of the northern and northeastern boundary of Palestine, which later became the border of Israel (in the northeast up to June 1967).

Between the Mediterranean coast and Metullah there were only minor deviations from the December 1920 agreement, extending the area of Palestine northward by 1–3 mi. (2–5 km.), with a total gain of nearly 70 sq. mi. (200 sq. km.), containing 20 Arab villages. From Metullah to the eastern shores of Lake Kinneret the boundary gave the British full control of the main sources of the Jordan and the entire area of Lake Ḥuleh and Lake Kinneret. The border line ran a short distance east of the Jordan (in some sections only 160 ft. (50 m.) away), so that both banks of the river were inside Palestine, thus giving the British sole ownership of the river and its lakes. This was done with future development possibilities in mind, to enable the British to harness the waters without having to obtain French approval. Along the northeastern shores of Lake Kinneret the boundary ran only 33 ft. (10 m.) from the edge of the lake, thus avoiding the division of six Arab villages and their lands between two states, while leaving the entire lake inside Palestine. It was only about halfway along the eastern shores of the lake that the boundary left the shore and climbed up the steep western slopes of the Golan Heights and ran southward, along the top of the escarpment, to the valley of the Yarmuk near the spa of al-Ḥamma (Ḥammath Gader). Here the boundaries of Syria, Western Palestine, and what was later Transjordan met.

In the final stage of the commission's work the French demanded that the boundary should be moved about three-quarters of a mile (1,300 m.) westward, with its extreme northeastern point near the village of Banias, so as not to cut the main track connecting the Golan Heights with the Lebanon and the Mediterranean coast. This meant that the Banias springs, one of the main sources of the Jordan, would pass from the British to the French controlled area. It was agreed to concede the French request temporarily and leave the final settlement in this section to further negotiations. As the matter was not subsequently raised, the Banias springs remained on the Syrian side of the boundary until June 1967. The section of the northern boundary running between the Mediterranean at Rosh ha-Nikrah and a point 4.4 mi. (7 km.) southeast of Metullah (total length 49 mi.; 78 km.) is the Israel-Lebanese border, while from Metullah roughly southward to the bed of the Yarmuk River – 50 mi. (80 km.) – it was the Israel-Syrian border (until June 1967).

In the East. The boundary between Palestine and Transjordan was first officially delimited in a memorandum submitted by the British government to the League of Nations in September 1922, in the following words: "A line drawn from a point two miles west of the town of Akaba, on the gulf of that name, up the center of the Wadi Araba, the Dead Sea, the river Jordan to its junction with the river Yarmuk; thence up the center of that river to the Syrian frontier." In fact, the boundary ran (1922–48) along the river Yarmuk from al-Ḥamma to its junction with the Jordan and then along the Jordan to the Dead Sea. Being in control of both Palestine and Transjordan, the British placed the boundary at these rivers and in the middle of the Dead Sea as they thought that by these, the two separate states they wanted to establish in that area – Jewish Palestine and Arab Transjordan, would have to cooperate in using the water of the rivers and the minerals of the Dead Sea. After cutting across the middle of the Dead Sea it was assumed to run in the wide bed of the Wadi Araba (Naḥal ha-Aravah) to a point near Be'er Menuḥah. From there to the coast of the Gulf of Akaba the actual position of the boundary was not clear, but this was of little significance during the British Mandate, especially since the region was uninhabited except for a few hundred Bedouin. It was only when it was decided to grant Transjordan independence (1946) that the demarcation of this part of the boundary was undertaken. It was done, however, only partially – at the southern end – by the time the British Mandate over Palestine came to an end, and the full demarcation of the boundary in the Arabah was only carried out in 1950 by the Israel-Jordan Mixed Armistice Commission. In 1994, the peace agreement between Israel and the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan adopted this line, with some small modifications, as the international boundary between them.

PARTITION PLANS. Two plans to partition Palestine were produced in the course of efforts to settle the Jewish-Arab conflict over the country: the first by the British Royal Commission (the Peel Commission) in 1937, and the second by the United Nations Special Committee on Palestine – UNSCOP – in 1947. The Peel Commission proposed the following boundary for the Jewish State to be established according to its scheme: "Starting from Ras al-Naqura[Rosh ha-Nikrah on the Mediterranean coast]it follows the existing northern and eastern frontier of Palestine to Lake Tiberias [Kinneret] and crosses the Lake to the outflow of the river Jordan whence it continues down the river to a point a little north of Beisan[Beth-

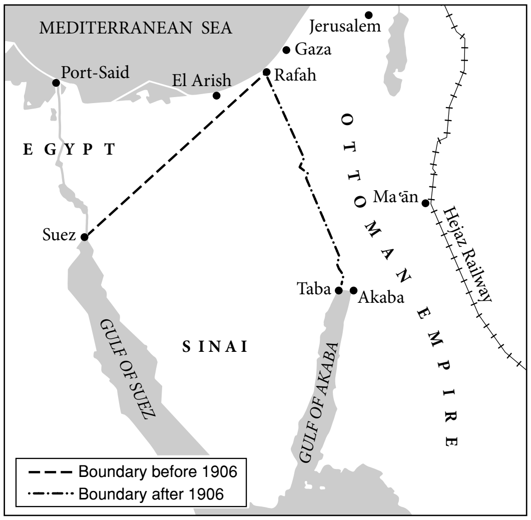
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
Jerusalem
Gaza
Port-Said
El Arish
Rafah
EGYPT
OTTOMAN EMPIRE
Ma'ān
Hejaz Railway
Suez
Taba
Akaba
SINAI
GULF OF SUEZ
GULF OF AKABA
Boundary before 1906
Boundary after 1906

Map 1. Turko-British agreement, 1906.

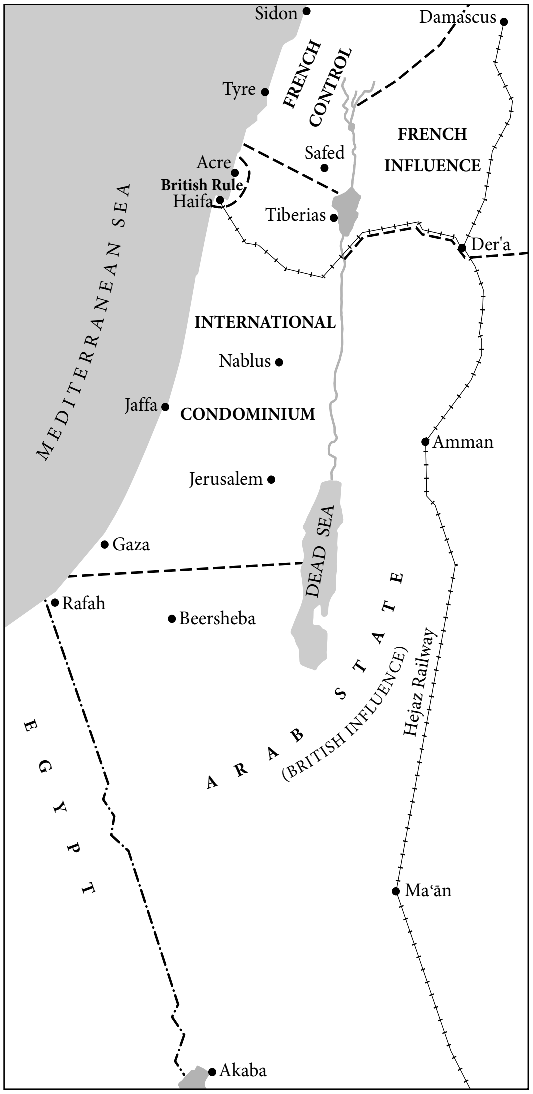
Sidon
Damascus
Tyre
FRENCH CONTROL
FRENCH INFLUENCE
Acre
British Rule
Haifa
Safed
Tiberias
Der'a
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
INTERNATIONAL
Nablus
Jaffa
CONDOMINIUM
Amman
Jerusalem
Gaza
DEAD SEA
Rafah
Beersheba
ARAB STATE
(BRITISH INFLUENCE)
Hejaz Railway
EGYPT
Ma'ān
Akaba

Map 2. Sykes-Picot agreement, 1916.

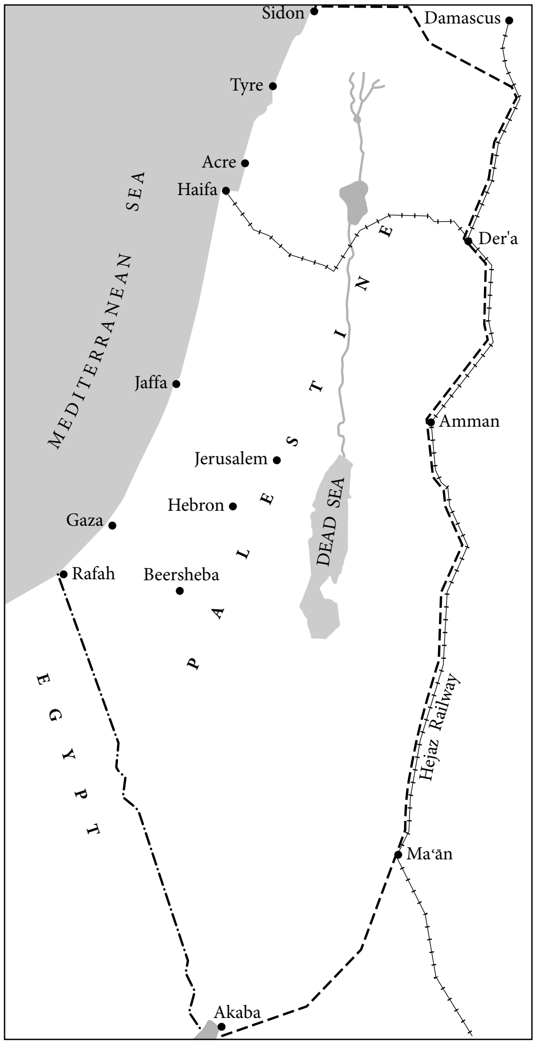
Sidon
Damascus
Tyre
Acre
Haifa
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
Der'a
PALESTINE
Jaffa
Amman
Jerusalem
Hebron
DEAD SEA
Gaza
Rafah
Beersheba
EGYPT
Hejaz Railway
Ma'ān
Akaba

Map 3. Zionist Movement frontier proposals, 1919.

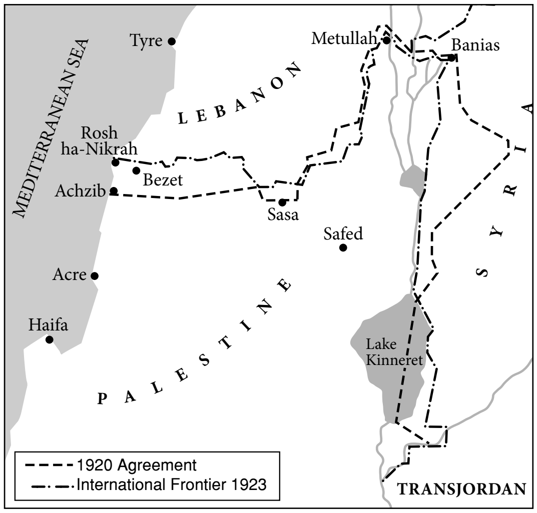
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
Tyre
Metullah
Banias
LEBANON
Rosh ha-Nikrah
Bezet
Achzib
Sasa
Safed
SYRIA
Acre
Haifa
PALESTINE
Lake Kinneret
1920 Agreement
International Frontier 1923
TRANSJORDAN

Map 4. Franco-British agreements, 1920–23.

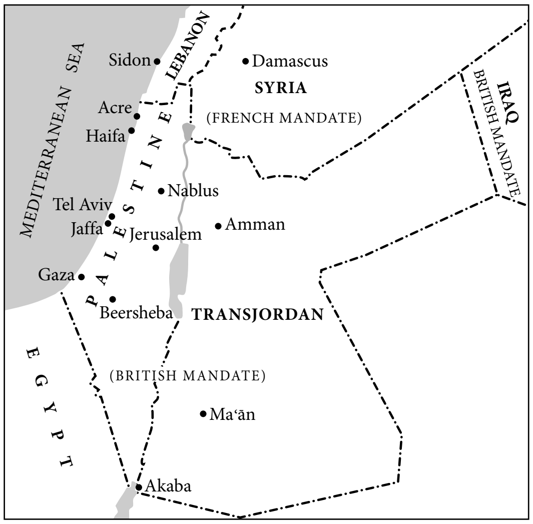
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
Sidon
LEBANON
Damascus
SYRIA
(FRENCH MANDATE)
IRAQ
BRITISH MANDATE
Acre
Haifa
PALESTINE
Nablus
Tel Aviv
Jaffa
Jerusalem
Amman
Gaza
Beersheba
TRANSJORDAN
EGYPT
(BRITISH MANDATE)
Ma'ān
Akaba

Map 5. The British Mandate, 1922.

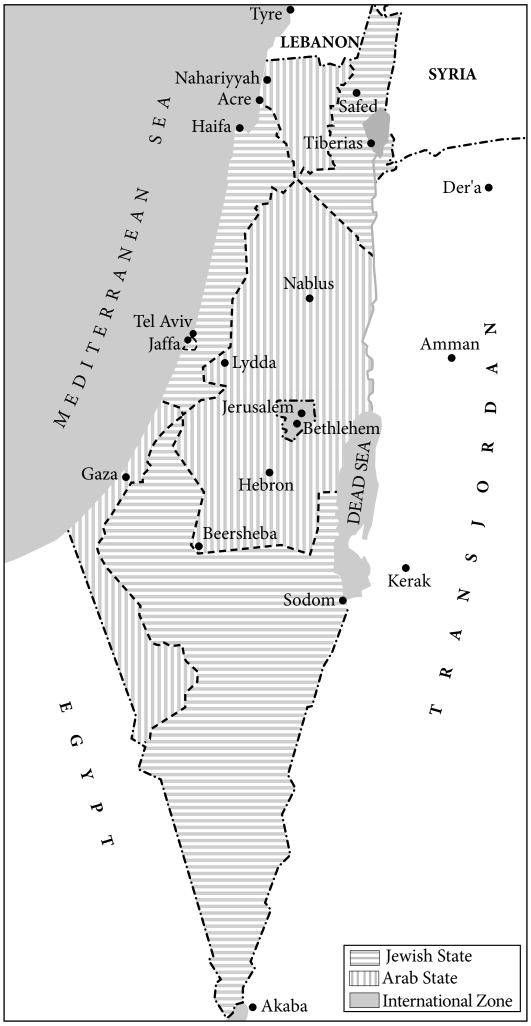
Tyre
LEBANON
SYRIA
Nahariyyah
Acre
Safed
Haifa
Tiberias
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
Der'a
Nablus
Tel Aviv
Jaffa
Lydda
Amman
TRANSJORDAN
Jerusalem
Bethlehem
Gaza
Hebron
DEAD SEA
Beersheba
Kerak
Sodom
EGYPT
Akaba
▤ Jewish State
▥ Arab State
▒ International Zone

Map 6. UNSCOP partition plan, 1947.

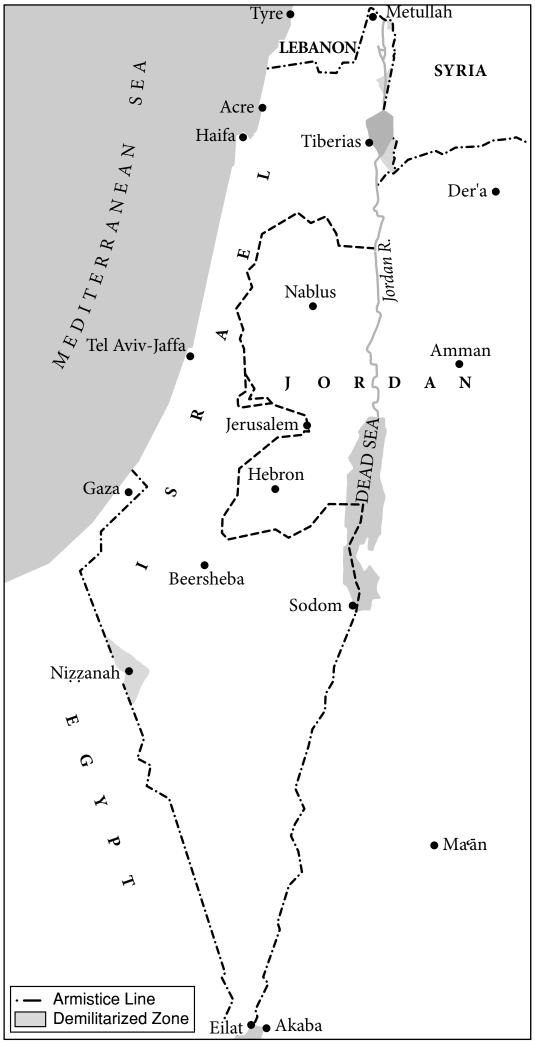
Tyre
Metullah
LEBANON
SYRIA
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
Acre
Haifa
Tiberias
Der'a
ISRAEL
Nablus
Jordan R.
Tel Aviv-Jaffa
Amman
JORDAN
Jerusalem
Hebron
DEAD SEA
Gaza
Beersheba
Sodom
Niẓẓanah
EGYPT
Ma'ān
Armistice Line
Demilitarized Zone
Eilat
Akaba

Map 7. Armistice demarcation lines, 1949.

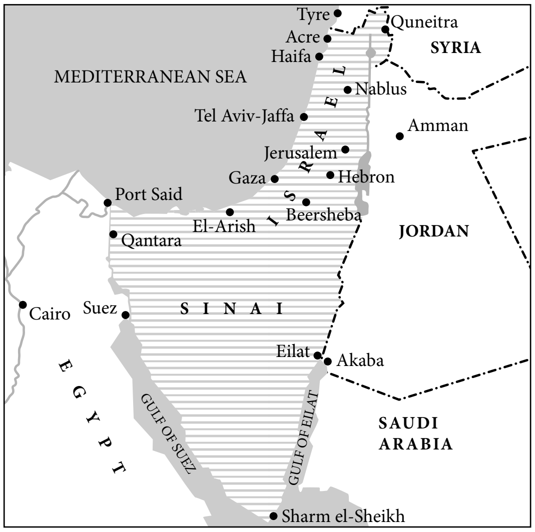
Tyre
Quneitra
Acre
SYRIA
Haifa
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
Nablus
ISRAEL
Tel Aviv-Jaffa
Amman
Jerusalem
Gaza
Hebron
Port Said
Beersheba
El-Arish
JORDAN
Qantara
SINAI
Cairo
Suez
Eilat
Akaba
EGYPT
GULF OF SUEZ
GULF OF EILAT
SAUDI ARABIA
Sharm el-Sheikh

Map 8. Israel and its neighbors, after the Six-Day War. Shading indicates area within 1967 cease-fire lines.

Shean]. It then cuts across the Beisan Plain and runs along the southern edge of the valley of Jezreel and across the Plain of Jezreel to a point near Megiddo, whence it crosses the Carmel ridge in the neighborhood of the Megiddo road[the Wadi Āra (Naḥal Iron) road of today]. Having thus reached the Maritime Plain the line runs southward down its eastern edge, curving west to avoid Tulkarm, until it reaches the Jerusalem-Jaffa corridor near Lydda[Lod]. South of the corridor it continues down the edge of the plain to a point about 10 miles south of Reḥovot, whence it turns west to the sea." This partition plan gave the Jews the entire area of Galilee (within the boundaries of the British Mandate), the upper Jordan Valley as far as Beth-Shean, the valley of Jezreel, most of the Carmel range, and the Coastal Plain as far as 3 mi. (5 km.) south of the present port of Ashdod. The Jewish State was thus allotted about 20% of the area of Mandatory Palestine. Jerusalem and its environs, including Bethlehem, with a corridor leading to the coast comprising Jaffa, Ramleh, and Lydda, remaining under British Mandate, while the rest of the country (about 75% of its area) would become an Arab state. The Woodhead Commission, appointed in 1938 to study the possibility of implementing this scheme, also considered two alternative plans, but came to the conclusion that partition was impracticable and the British government decided to drop it.

The UNSCOP plan was much more complicated and less clearly defined in so far as boundaries were concerned. It proposed that the country be divided into seven segments. The Jewish state and the Arab state were to consist of three segments each, while the seventh segment, including the Jerusalem-Bethlehem area, would come under international control. The Jewish state was to get the eastern part of Galilee; the Jordan Valley from the northern end of the country to a point about 10 km. south of Beth-Shean; the plain of Jezreel; most of the Carmel range; the Coastal Plain from a short distance south of Acre to about 4.5 mi. (7 km.) south of the present port of Ashdod; the eastern part of the Coastal Plain from the latter point to the vicinity of Beersheba; the western and southern parts of the plain of Beersheba, and most of the Negev (with the exception of its northwestern part). Nearly 60% of Palestine was assigned to the Jewish state, but over half of this area was the uninhabited, semidesert Negev. The northern segment (Galilee) of the Jewish state connected up with the central segment (Coastal Plain) only at one point, near Afulah. Similarly, the central and southern (Negev) segments met near Be'er Toviyyah. It was not, however, intended that the partition should be actually implemented according to the border lines specified in the UNSCOP plan, but that they should constitute the basis for negotiations between Jews and Arabs, which would lead to the exchange of areas and the agreed delimitation of more practicable boundaries. The resolution passed by the UN General Assembly on Nov. 29, 1947, which called for the partition of Palestine, made minor changes in these boundaries.

See also *Palestine, Partition Plans.

THE ARMISTICE DEMARCATION LINES – 1949. The de facto boundaries of the State of Israel were delimited after the War of Independence (the 1948 war) in a series of armistice agreements signed with the neighboring states in 1949 on the basis of the position of the front lines between the opposing armies on the day the cease-fire came into force. The armistice lines were later demarcated where they did not coincide with the boundaries of the British Mandate or where demarcation had not been carried out by the British. It was stated in the agreements (e.g., article 5, par. 2 of the agreement with Egypt) that the armistice demarcation lines were not to be regarded as territorial or political boundaries and that the rights and claims of the parties were unaffected. However, since the agreements forbade any acts of hostility or penetration across the lines, they served, in practice, despite repeated violations, as Israel's boundaries until the *Six-Day War of 1967.

The boundary between Israel and Lebanon remained unchanged and was identical with that of Palestine under the British Mandate. Israel handed back to Lebanon a strip north and west of the Palestine-Lebanon border occupied by its forces during the fighting.

In the Israel-Syrian armistice demarcation lines there were only minor de facto changes from the mandatory boundaries. The Syrians occupied during the War of Independence and held until June 1967 the small areas east of Jordan, east of Lake Kinneret, and in the Yarmuk valley which belonged to Palestine during the British Mandate, a total of some 9 sq. mi. (25 sq. km.). Following the signing of the armistice agreement the Syrians withdrew from small areas west of the Jordan (in the Mishmar ha-Yarden area) and near the eastern and northeastern shores of Lake Kinneret. The agreement provided for the formation of demilitarized zones along most of the demarcation lines. These were the occasion for much friction and numerous incidents – mainly due to Syrian interference with Israeli development works and the cultivation of lands by Israeli farmers in the zones. The actual position of the Syrian forces prior to the Six-Day War became the basis of their demand for the withdrawal of Israel from Syrian territory occupied during the war.

Various parts of the long armistice line between Israel and the Kingdom of Jordan were drawn in three different ways. Two parts of the line coincided with the boundaries of Palestine during the mandatory period: the section running along the Yarmuk to its confluence with the Jordan and then along that river to a point approximately 2.5 mi. (4 km.) southeast of Tirat Ẓevi, and the section running across the middle of the southern part of the Dead Sea and all along the Arabah.

Secondly, a line was drawn between the positions held by each side when the fighting stopped, dividing up the no-man's-land. Along two sections, in the valley of Aijalon (Latrun area – from the Budrus to Qaṭanna) and in Jerusalem, no agreement could be reached on the division of no-man's-land. As a result, there were two parallel demarcation lines enclosing strips about 300–4,000 ft. (100–1,200 m.) wide, which citizens of each side could enter only with the consent of the other side.

Thirdly, there were places where the line agreed upon involved the exchange of territory. These were mainly areas required by Israel to maintain communications (mostly railway lines) and areas handed over to the Jordanians in exchange. Israel received a strip up to 3 mi. (5 km.) wide along the eastern fringe of the Sharon Valley, so that the railway from Lydda to Haifa, except for a section of 2 mi. (3 km.) on the outskirts of Tulkarm, was in Israeli territory. The same applied to a narrow strip in the Judean highlands, along the Jerusalem-Lydda railway. In return, the Jordanians got small areas in the Hebron region of the Judean Highlands.

The armistice demarcation line (later called the Green Line because of its color on the agreed maps) left the mandatory boundary along the river Jordan southeast of Tirat Ẓevi and turned westward into Naḥal Beẓek and up the eastern slopes of Mount Gilboa. It then ran along the top of the eastern and northern slopes of the Gilboa and cut across the southern corner of the Jezreel Valley in a westerly direction, leaving the southern tip of the valley on the Jordanian side of the border. The boundary then turned southwest and crossed the southern part of the Carmel range, running parallel with the Naḥal Iron (Wadi ʿĀra) road 2–2.5 mi. (3–4 km.) to the southeast. It then followed the eastern fringe of the Coastal Plain southward to the valley of Aijalon, where it turned eastward near Latrun into the Judean Highlands, running north of the Jerusalem-Sha'ar ha-Gai (Bab al-Wād) road to the northern outskirts of Jerusalem. It then turned south, dividing the city between Israel (western and southern parts) and Jordan (the Old City and the eastern and northern parts). The armistice agreement provided for two small enclaves in the Jerusalem area: one under Israel control, on Mount Scopus, about a kilometer to the north of the city, and the other, under UN control, about half a kilometer south of the city on Government House hill. Israel kept a police garrison in its part of the Scopus enclave, which was relieved once in two weeks by a convoy under UN supervision. On the southern outskirts of Jerusalem the boundary turned southwest, first running parallel to the railway and south of it and then descending to the western slopes and foothills of the Judean Highlands, which it followed southward to a point about 10 mi. (16 km.) northeast of Beersheba. From here the boundary turned east and then northeast, leaving the southern reaches of the Judean Highlands on the Israel side of the border, and reaching the Dead Sea about 2 mi. (3 km.) north of En-Gedi. This section of the line (the Green Line) marked the area which was occupied by Israel in the Six-Day War and (along with the Gaza Strip) was regarded by the Palestinians as the territory earmarked for their independent state. Opposite En-Gedi, in the center of the Dead Sea's western shore, the line joined the mandatory boundary, with which it was identical down to the Gulf of Eilat (Akaba).

The Israel-Egyptian armistice coincided with the Palestinian-Egyptian boundary, as demarcated in 1906, from the shores of the Gulf of Eilat to a point about 4.5 mi. (7 km.) south of Rafa, about 7.5 mi. (12 km.) from the Mediterranean coast. From this point it turned northward and ran almost parallel to the Mediterranean coast, at a distance 4–7.5 mi. (6–12 km.) from the coast to the vicinity of Beit Ḥānūn (northeast of Gaza), where it made a sharp turn westward and reached the coast. This part of the lines, from Rafa to the coast near Beit Ḥānūn, enclosed the Egyptian-held area known as the Gaza Strip. It followed the front line on the day the cease-fire came into force, with minor rectifications in addition to the division of no-man's-land. The agreement also provided for a demilitarized zone around Niẓẓanah (ʿAujā al-Ḥafīr), a frontier post on the Israel side of the boundary and a strategic position on the road from Beersheba to Isma'iliya on the Suez Canal. This triangular enclave, which was under Israel administration, had a base 22 mi. (35 km.) long along the Israel-Sinai boundary with a vertex 7.5 mi. (12 km.) to the east, inside Israel. Niẓẓanah was the seat of the Israel-Egyptian mixed armistice commission and the UN Truce Supervision Observers during the period 1949–56.

The total length of the armistice demarcation lines, the de facto boundaries of Israel during the period 1949–67, was approximately 771 mi. (1,239 km.): 118 mi. (190 km.) along the Mediterranean; 51 mi. (82 km.) with Lebanon; 48 mi. (77 km.) with Syria; 382 mi. (614 km.) with Jordan, including 73 mi. (118 km.) along the Jordan river and 33 mi. (53 km.) along the Dead Sea; 7 mi. (11 km.) along the Gulf of Eilat; 128 mi. (206 km.) with the Sinai Peninsula, and 37 mi. (59 km.) along the Gaza Strip.

CEASE-FIRE LINES – 1967. The Six-Day War of June 5–10, 1967 ended with the acceptance by Egypt, Jordan, Syria, and Lebanon of the Security Council's call for a cease-fire. Israel declared that the armistice regime had collapsed as a result of repeated Arab violations, and that she would maintain the cease-fire lines, which were determined by the positions held by each side when fighting stopped on June 10/11, until the establishment of agreed, secure and recognized borders as part of a permanent peace settlement with her neighbors.

The cease-fire line between Israel and Egypt ran along the Suez Canal from its southern end to Ras el-ʿEsh (about 10 km. from the northern end) and from there due north to the Mediterranean – a total of 112 mi. (180 km.).

The Israel-Jordan cease-fire line was identical with the 1949 armistice line from the shores of the Gulf of Eilat to a point halfway across the Dead Sea opposite En-Gedi. From here it left the armistice line and ran northward across the center of the Dead Sea to the entrance of the river Jordan and then along the course of that river to its confluence with the river Yarmuk, which it followed to a point about a kilometer east of its confluence with Wadi al-Ruqqād. The total length of the Israel-Jordanian cease-fire lines was 298 mi. (480 km.). The Israel-Syrian cease-fire line started from the valley of the Yarmuk, a short distance east of the entry of Wadi al-Ruqqād. For about 3 mi. (5 km.) it followed the eastern edge of the narrow, deeply incised, valley of the wadi, then it crossed to the western side of the valley and ran along the head of the escarpment overlooking it to a point about 2.5 mi. (4 km.) east of the village of Khasfīn. From here to the eastern outskirts of the abandoned village of Rafīd it ran straight northeast, made a sharp turn to the west and then to the north near Rafīīd, and continued in a general northerly direction to the southern slopes of Mount Hermon, passing about 2 mi. (3 km.) east of Kuneitra and 2 km. east of Majdal Shams. The cease-fire line then climbed to the peaks of the southern ridge of Mt. Hermon 7,500 ft. (2,300 m.), where it turned southwestward down the western slopes of the Hermon, reaching the upper Jordan valley east of the village of Ghajar, south of which it met the Israel-Lebanon boundary. The total length of the Israel-Syrian cease-fire line was 50 mi. (80 km.). The Israel-Lebanon boundary remained unchanged except for an added stretch at its extreme east, where Israel held former Syrian areas bordering on Lebanon, which brought the total up to 63 mi. (102 km.). The peace treaties with Egypt (1979) and Jordan (1994) established with some minor modifications the mandatory boundaries between those countries and Mandatory Palestine as the international boundaries between the independent states of Israel and Egypt and between Israel and Jordan. The withdrawal of Israeli forces from Lebanese territory in spring 2000 reestablished the Israel-Lebanon line as an active boundary although Lebanon did not accept it as an international boundary.

[Moshe Brawer / Gideon Biger (2nd ed.)]

1880–1948

UNDER OTTOMAN RULE, 1880–1917. In the last 50 years of Ottoman rule over the Land of Israel, the decaying empire was partly opened to the growing political and economic influence of the European powers in the country. The Sultan Abdul Ḥamid II (1876–1908) tried to preserve his position by increasing the number of officials and strengthening the police forces, encouraging the emigration of loyal elements and settling them in areas inhabited by the rebellious Bedouin, and playing on the differences between the powers. In 1900 Beersheba was rebuilt and became the seat of government offices and a police garrison, and in 1908 ʿAwjā-Ḥifīr (*Niẓẓanah) was also made into an administrative center, the first step taken to get the Negev under control. Another important factor in strengthening law and order was the building of new gravel roads. New wagon ways from Jerusalem to Jaffa, Nablus, and Hebron were constructed as gravel roads in the 1880s. Important rail links were established: a concession for the Jerusalem-Jaffa line was awarded to Yosef *Navon, of Jerusalem, but the railroad was eventually built by a French company in 1890–92. Another railroad, the Haifa-Edrei line, linking up with the Hejaz Railroad (Istanbul-Damascus-Medina), was built by German engineers and completed in 1906.

In 1878, on the conclusion of the Balkan War, a special law was enacted to encourage the immigration of Muslims and their settlement on lands owned by the sultan, providing for 12 years' exemption from taxes and military service. As a result Moroccans settled in Lower Galilee, Circassians from the Caucasian Mountains settled in Galilee, and Bosnians settled in Caesarea. Concurrently, severe restrictions were imposed on the purchase of lands by foreign nationals, and the construction of dwellings and business premises on foreign-owned land was forbidden without a permit from Istanbul. At the same time, the European powers were increasing their foothold in the country, utilizing the Capitulations regime. Following the British occupation of Egypt in 1882, the Ottoman Empire based itself primarily upon its friendship with Germany, which was highlighted by an official visit in 1898 by Kaiser William II and his Kaiserin. They made a triumphant entry into Jerusalem, where the Kaiser received *Herzl. The influx of Europeans (of various types – settlers, monks, pilgrims, tourists) forced the Ottoman government to ensure law and order in order to deprive the foreign powers of a pretext to interfere in its internal affairs. The result was a considerable improvement in public security.

The Jewish Community. In 1880 the total number of Jews in the country was 20–25,000, two-thirds of whom were in Jerusalem, where they constituted half the population. There were smaller communities in the three other "holy cities" – Safed (4,000), Tiberias (2,500), and Hebron (800) – and two more recently established ones in Jaffa (1,000) and Haifa (300). The Sephardim were the older part of the Jewish population and also absorbed immigrants from North Africa, Bukhara, Persia, etc. The Ashkenazim were mostly of East European origin and were divided into *Ḥasidim and their opponents, the Perushim. Most of the Jews subsisted on *ḥalukkah* donations from Jews abroad that amounted to over £100,000 a year. Among the Sephardim the money was distributed by the community leaders, the recipients being mainly talmudic scholars and widows and orphans; among the Ashkenazim, the funds were administered by the *kolelim* (charitable organizations based largely on the origin of the beneficiaries), of which the largest were those of Vilna, Zamut, Grodno, Warsaw, Volhynia, Austria, Hungary, and Chabad Ḥasidim. There were considerable numbers of artisans, unskilled laborers, and small shopkeepers who led a life of poverty and want. Although the Jews were a recognized community and the Sephardi chief rabbi in Jerusalem (the *rishon le-Zion*) enjoyed official status, their status was low; Many Jews, especially among the Ashkenazim, sought the protection of foreign consuls, who readily gave it in order to extend their influence.

The great majority of the Jews were strictly orthodox and accepted the authority of the rabbis, who were opposed to all modern trends and resisted the winds of change that were blowing in from Europe. The help of Jewish philanthropists abroad was readily accepted as long as it did not involve any change in the traditional way of life. Thus free housing was constructed for scholars and the poor, as well as hospitals and yeshivot, but any attempts to establish modern schools or to train people for productive employment in agriculture and handicrafts was met with fierce resistance by the leaders of the *ḥalukkah* regime. Nevertheless, even among the "old *yishuv*" (as the pre-Zionist Jewish community came to be called), there were some who called upon the Jews to earn their living by their own labor. These included the editors of the first newspapers to be published in Jerusalem, notably I.D. *Frumkin of *Ḥavaẓẓelet* (reestablished in 1870), and the founders of the first settlements in 1878 – Gei Oni near Safed and Petaḥ Tikvah near the Yarkon River. At the beginning of the 1880s there was a group of men in Jerusalem who made strenuous efforts to bring about a renaissance of Jewish life; the leading figures among them were Y.M. *Pines (who had settled in the country in 1878), Ze'ev *Herzberg (1877), Eliezer *Ben-Yehuda (1881) and two natives of Jerusalem, David *Yellin and Yosef *Meyuḥas. They also encountered strong opposition from the *ḥalukkah* trustees.

The international conferences and negotiations which followed the 1878 Balkan War were accompanied by renewed proposals for the creation of a Jewish state in the Land of Israel, especially from British visionaries. An outstanding example was Laurence *Oliphant's plan, proposed in his book *The Land of Gilead* (London, 1880), after a visit to the country in the previous year, for large-scale Jewish settlement to the east of the Jordan under the sultan's patronage; Oliphant went so far as to negotiate with the sultan on his plan.

Beginnings of the First Aliyah. A new period in the life of the Jews in the Land of Israel opened in 1882 as a result of the 1881 pogroms in Russia, the persecution of the Jews in Romania, and the rise of the *Ḥibbat Zion movement, whose members were known as Ḥovevei Zion. A considerable wave of *aliyah* set in, which brought to the area about 30,000 Jews between 1882 and 1904. Among the newcomers was a small group of young people, members of the *Bilu movement, who aimed at creating political and economic conditions for the large-scale settlement of East European Jews, and groups of people with small amounts of capital who wanted to settle on the land. Within a year or two a number of agricultural settlements were established in Judea (*Rishon le-Zion, *Ekron, *Gederah, and *Petaḥ Tikvah, which was revived by the new arrivals), the coastal hills (*Zikhron Ya'akov), and Upper Galilee (*Rosh Pinnah and *Yesud ha-Maalah). These villages, known as moshavot, would have collapsed at the outset, however, had it not been for the help extended to them by Baron Edmond de *Rothschild of Paris (known as *Ha-Nadiv ha-Yadu'a*, "the well-known benefactor"), who took most of them under his wing. He established a large administrative apparatus, consisting of managers, agronomists, doctors, teachers, etc., which operated along philanthropic lines from 1883 to 1899. The settlers were completely dependent upon the Baron's officials, from whom they received monthly allowances, and were not permitted to show any initiative. The officials created a type of farmer whose plantations depended on the work of hired laborers, and there was much waste and corruption. It must be stated, however, that they also acquired large tracts of land in Judea, the coastal hills, and Galilee, established new settlements (Metullah, Bat Shelomo, Shefeyah, Mazkeret Batyah, Be'er Toviyyah), and tried to foster industry (wine making, silk manufacture, and a glass factory in Tantura). Independent Jewish settlements were built in 1890 in Ḥaderah and Reḥovot. During this period of direct assistance, the Baron invested £1,600,000 sterling in the settlements. In 1900 he entrusted them to the *Jewish Colonization Association (ICA), which he continued to support. ICA introduced new methods aimed at helping the settlements to achieve independent status as quickly as possible. New villages, in which the farmers worked their own land, were established by ICA in Lower Galilee, (Sejera, Mesḥa, Milḥamiyyah – later Menaḥemiyyah, Yavneel, and Bet Gan).

Government Restriction on Aliyah. The Ottoman government soon recognized that the new *aliyah* was of a different character from its predecessors and regarded it as a source of political danger. As early as June 1882, a law was enacted prohibiting the settlement of East European Jews in the country. The intervention of various Jewish personalities and organizations, and diplomatic pressure (such as that of U.S. Ambassador Oscar Straus in 1887) were of no avail. Although the Ottoman government was forced to permit the temporary stay of pilgrims and tourists, a law passed in 1901 provided for the deposit of their travel documents with the authorities upon arrival in exchange for a permit of pilgrimage covering a stay of three months (the "red slip"). This did not bring Jewish immigration to a stop, and the immigrants remained in the country, avoiding expulsion by baksheesh (bribery) or by seeking the protection of foreign consuls. The ban on immigration was only one of the obstacles to Jewish settlement, however. There were also some restrictions in the 1880s on the purchase of land, and the ban on the construction of buildings in new settlements without a special permit from Istanbul. Throughout the period of Ottoman rule, these measures hampered Jewish land settlement, which was only a very minor trickle in the tremendous stream of migration that took three million Jews to various parts of the world, mostly to the United States.

In 1890 and 1891, increased persecution of Jews in Russia stimulated a new wave of *aliyah*, including groups of well-to-do Jews. It was in this period that the villages of Reḥovot and Ḥaderah were established, and there was a rush to buy land, resulting in speculation and a steep rise in prices. A special delegation from the Ḥovevei Zion in Russia, headed by Vladimir (Ze'ev) *Tiomkin, came to the country to rectify the situation, but did not succeed. The Ottoman government took determined steps to stop Jewish immigration; the great awakening ended in a crisis, and many left the country. For the next decade the major problem confronting the leaders of the *yishuv* was that of hundreds of Jewish laborers waiting for the opportunity to settle on the land. In 1896 a small group of them settled in Metullah and Be'er Toviyyah, but many had to leave.

Many of the newcomers, including Jews from Oriental countries (Yemen, Bukhara), as well as Eastern Europe, made their homes in the cities. By the beginning of the 20th century, Jerusalem had a Jewish population of about 30,000 and the *ḥalukkah* regime was still in force, but new quarters were established outside the Old City, including the Bukharan quarter, Battei Ungarn, and Bet Israel. The Midrash Abrabanel library, later the nucleus of the National and Hebrew University Library, was founded in 1892. In Safed (which had a population of 6,600 at the time), Tiberias (3,200), and Hebron (1,500), the traditional way of life was also kept intact. In the coastal towns, however, a more productive society came into being, and under the influence of the new immigrants and the workers in the nearby villages, many people began taking up trades and commerce. Near Jaffa two new Jewish quarters were founded, Neveh Ẓedek (1887) and Neveh Shalom (1890). In 1891 a mixed Ashkenazi-Sephardi community council was formed in Jaffa, which had a total Jewish population of 3,000. In Haifa, with some 1,500 Jews, the first Jewish quarter was founded in 1891. Together with the 6,000 farmers living in 20 villages, the new *yishuv* now numbered some 10,000, 20% of the Jewish population.

The Clash Between the Old Yishuv and the New. It was this period that witnessed the first struggle over the spiritual character of the *yishuv.* The first clash occurred in 1889, the Jewish year 5649, which was a sabbatical (**shemittah*) year. The Jerusalem rabbis demanded that the farmers let their fields lie fallow during the year and promised to support them from *ḥalukkah* funds, but the settlers refused, quoting rulings of leading Russian rabbis permitting them to work in the *shemittah* year. Among the immigrants who arrived in 1890–91 were a substantial number who were not prepared to follow the old ways, and the rabbis complained of "young men dancing with maidens." When the first Hebrew play, *Zerubbavel* by M.L. *Lilienblum, was staged in Reḥovot in 1890, the performance was stopped by the Ottoman authorities, who had received word that the play called for insurrection against the established government. Eliezer Ben-Yehuda and the newspaper he had founded in 1884 (*Ha-Ẓevi*) roused the ire of the *ḥalukkah* trustees. In 1894 they denounced him to the Ottoman authorities, alleging that he was inciting the Jews to rebellion; he was sentenced to a year's imprisonment and released only after intervention by the Baron's officials. This incident caused a deep rift between the old *yishuv* (joined by some of the newcomers, such as Y.M. Pines and Z. *Jawitz) and the new one, headed by the disciples of *Aḥad Ha-Am. The issue was the character of the *yishuv,* its way of life, and the education of its youth. The controversy spread abroad and might well have done harm to both sides, but fortunately, a kind of armistice was reached in 1897. As a result the secular, nationalist elements of the *yishuv* achieved the right to lead their own way of life, side by side with the strictly religious circles.

It was during this period, too, that the modern Hebrew school was created. The first stage, in which Jewish studies, as well as the Hebrew language itself, were taught in Hebrew, was introduced by Ben-Yehuda, David Yellin, and Nissim Behar. The second stage – the teaching of general subjects in Hebrew – was first introduced in the villages in 1889–92. In the latter year, a teachers' assembly was held for the first time to fix the Hebrew terms to be used in mathematics and the natural sciences as well as to formulate a uniform curriculum for the village schools. The Hebrew Teachers' Association was founded in 1903, eventually becoming a major factor in the country's school system.

In spite of these advances, the new *yishuv* faced a profound moral crisis at the beginning of the 20th century. It was obvious that any rapid development depended upon its political status. This had also been a basic premise in the program of Theodor Herzl, who had started his political activities by attempting to persuade the Ottoman government to grant the Zionist Organization a charter for the settlement of the Land of Israel. Herzl and the political Zionists were critical of settlement methods employed by their predecessors, regarding them as "infiltration" and pointing out their inherent political risks. After several years of fruitless negotiations, Herzl despaired of ever obtaining the Sultan's agreement to his proposals and was ready to entertain the British government's proposal to support a Jewish settlement project in East Africa, known as the *Uganda Plan. It is indicative of the state of mind of the new settlers in the Land of Israel at this time that many of them, including Ben-Yehuda, supported this plan, thus admitting, in effect, that for political and other reasons there was no real prospect of a substantial Jewish settlement in the homeland. This moral crisis led to some emigration of workers, settlers, and even young people born in the settlements. In 1903 the Ḥovevei Zion, headed by Menahem *Ussishkin, called a general meeting in Zikhron Ya'akov at which they proposed the creation of an executive committee to represent the entire *yishuv,* but in the prevailing atmosphere of despondency this proposal fell on deaf ears.

Beginnings of the Second Aliyah. A new wave of immigration – the Second Aliyah – commenced in 1904 and continued until the outbreak of World War I. Again, this was only a small part of a great movement of Jews from Eastern Europe caused by repeated pogroms and the general impoverishment of the Russian Jews. It is estimated that some 40,000 new settlers went to the Land of Israel in this period. Although many returned to Russia or emigrated to other countries, the newcomers, together with natural increase, brought the Jewish population to 85,000 (about 12% of the total) for the country in 1914. The Second Aliyah was not of a uniform character. Some of the newcomers joined the old *yishuv* and settled in the "holy cities," especially in Jerusalem, which at this time contained about half the Jewish population of the country. Here they built new quarters, such as Zikhron Moshe, Romemah, and Aḥavah. Others belonged to the middle class, most of whom came with their families as Zionists seeking a full Jewish national way of life for themselves and their children. Some of them made their homes in the towns or the established rural settlements.

The moshavot, especially those in the south, did not take long to overcome the crisis which had marked the early years of the century. In addition to grapes, they began to grow almonds and citrus fruits and established marketing cooperatives: Hitaḥdut ha-Koremim – the Viticulturists' Association – and Pardes – the Citrus-growers' Association. They also attracted Jewish investments from abroad and a special society – Aguddat Neta'im – was set up to prepare plantations for sale to such investors. In the Diaspora, Jewish societies were formed to establish their own *aḥuzzot* ("estates") in the country (Migdal, Poriyyah, Saronah, Ruḥamah, Karkur). The new settlers also introduced an enterprising spirit into the towns. It was on their initiative that the modern garden suburb of *Tel Aviv was founded on the outskirts of Jaffa in 1909 and reached a population of 2,000 by 1914. In Haifa, the Jewish population rose to 3,000. There were also beginnings of new industry, such as the Stein Iron Works in Jaffa and the Atid Oil Factory in Lydda and Haifa.

Labor and Defense Problems. A difficult social problem confronting the new *yishuv* was that of the Arab labor on which Jewish agriculture was based. It was natural for the Jewish settlers to employ Arabs: their wages were low and they made few demands on their employers. The Zionist Movement, however, both in the Land of Israel and abroad, regarded this practice as running counter to one of its major aims – the transition of the Jews to productive labor – and as a potential danger to the political position and security of the Jewish population. An associated problem was that of protection of life and property in the Jewish villages, which were entrusted to local Arab, Circassian, or other strong men. These problems were of particular interest to the young people of the Second Aliyah, who had experience of the revolutionary movement and Jewish self-defense in Russia and regarded themselves as pioneers of the Zionist Movement. Both their political parties – Po'alei Zion and Ha-Po'el ha-Ẓa'ir (see Israel, State of: *Political Life and Parties) – considered it their major task to achieve the employment of Jewish labor in the Jewish sector of the economy and to create a Jewish working class on the land. To tackle the problem of security, a small group of former members of the Jewish self-defense organization in Russia met in 1909 and established the *Ha-Shomer (Watchman) Society, which soon made a good name for itself and took over the responsibility for security in many of the villages in Galilee and Judea. Their work also served to raise the prestige of the Jews in the eyes of their Arab neighbors.

A partial solution to the problem of Jewish agricultural labor was provided by the success of a mission undertaken in 1911 by S. *Yavne'eli, who visited Yemen and called upon the Jews there to settle in the Land of Israel. Thousands of Yemenite Jews heeded his call, establishing their own quarters in the vicinity of the large villages and working in the Jewish plantations and orchards. Among the methods used to facilitate the employment of Jewish labor in the villages was the establishment of labor exchanges, workers' kitchens, and a medical insurance fund (Kuppat Ḥolim). Another was the founding of workers' settlements (*moshevei po'alim*) in which the worker was provided with a small plot of land that enabled him to set up his own auxiliary farm (Ein Gannim, Naḥalat Yehudah).

A more radical change in the status of the labor movement and its methods of operation took place in 1908, when the Zionist Organization started its settlement activities by establishing the Palestine Office in Jaffa under the direction of Arthur *Ruppin. In the initial stage, the workers were employed at the "national farms" (Ben Shemen, Ḥuldah, Kinneret, etc.) established on land purchased by the *Jewish National Fund and managed by agronomists. As a result of controversies between managers and laborers, the work on some of these farms was entrusted to groups of workers on their own responsibility. The first such experiment was made at Deganyah (founded in 1909); this was the beginning of the *kevuẓah* (see *kibbutz), which eventually became the major type of settlement sponsored by the Zionist Organization. In 1911 the workers began to organize in regional federations in Galilee and Judea, and a national health insurance fund was established in 1912. Gradually the organized workers of the Second Aliyah made their imprint upon the *yishuv* and laid the foundations of the labor movement (see Israel, State of: *Labor), which was to become, for about 60 years, the predominant force in the country.

Cultural Development. It was in the period of the Second Aliyah that the Hebrew language and culture took root in the country. Hebrew daily newspapers made their appearance (*Ha-Ẓevi*, edited by Ben-Yehuda, in 1908, and *Ha-Ḥerut*), and Hebrew periodicals published by the labor movement (*Ha-Po'el ha-Ẓa'ir* and *Ha-Aḥdut*) exerted a considerable influence on Jewish youth in the Land of Israel and abroad. Hebrew authors and thinkers, such as J.H. *Brenner, C.E. *Gordon, J. *Fichman, D. *Shimoni, S.Y. *Agnon, and M. *Smilansky settled in the country. Hebrew became the daily language of an ever-increasing number of workers, teachers, and young people. In 1904 the German-Jewish Hilfsverein founded a teachers' seminary in Jerusalem, and in 1905 the Herzlia Hebrew Gymnasium (high school), which was to serve as a model for Hebrew secondary schools all over the world, was established in Jaffa. In 1906 the *Bezalel School of Art, headed by Professor Boris *Schatz, opened in Jerusalem. The foundation stone of a college of technology, the *Technion, was laid in Haifa in 1912. This precipitated a dispute between the Hilfsverein, which wanted the language of instruction in the *yishuv*'s first institution of higher learning to be German, and the Hebrew-speaking public in the country with their supporters abroad, who insisted on Hebrew. This "language war" led to a revolt by the teachers of the Hilfsverein schools and the establishment of a national Hebrew school network, which in 1914 encompassed 3,200 pupils (see Israel, State of: *Education).

At the end of the Second Aliyah period, there were 40 moshavot with a population of 12,000 and landholdings of

409,000 dunams (about 102,000 acres). Of these, 24 had been created or supported by Baron Edmond de Rothschild. Together with the newcomers in the towns, especially in Jaffa and Haifa, the new *yishuv* accounted for a third of the total Jewish population, and it was by far the most active and dynamic section.

Awakening of Arab Nationalism. General developments in the Ottoman Empire in this period also had their effect. While the revolt of the Young Turks (1908) did not fulfill the hopes placed on it by some Zionist leaders (such as Aḥad Ha-Am, Jacobus *Kann, and Vladimir *Jabotinsky) and members of the *yishuv,* it made it possible to campaign openly for the support of public opinion in Istanbul and in the Land of Israel. One of the most important results of the revolt, however, was the rise of separatist movements among the Arabs, who interpreted the new *hürriyet* (liberty) as freedom to realize their national aspirations. The pioneers of this Arab nationalism were mostly Syrians and Lebanese – some of them Christians. The movement also developed in the Land of Israel, where Arab newspapers (*al-Karmil* in Haifa and *Filasṭīn* in Jaffa) were founded and engaged in systematic incitement against Jewish immigration and settlement. In the elections to the Turkish parliament in 1908, the Arabs succeeded in preventing the election of a Jewish deputy to represent the Jerusalem district. In Istanbul, the Arab members of parliament denounced Jewish settlement in the Land of Israel and described the Zionist Movement as a danger to the Ottoman Empire. Arab officials tried to obstruct Jewish land purchase and settlement (as in the *Merḥavyah affair).

Some attempts were made by Zionist groups to establish contact with Arab nationalists, and upon the initiative of Ḥayyim *Margolis-Kalvaryski, an ICA official, a meeting took place between Nahum *Sokolow of the Zionist Executive and Arab leaders. There was the danger, however, that such contacts would arouse suspicions on the part of the Turks, who regarded Arab nationalism as a separatist movement and – perhaps for that reason – showed some signs of an improved attitude toward the *yishuv* in 1913–14 (such as the abolition of the "red slip"; see section in Israel, State of: Historical Survey, Arab National Movement).

World War I. World War I caused general havoc and destruction in the country and had a disastrous effect upon the *yishuv.* In the first three years of the war, the Land of Israel served the Ottoman Empire and her allies as a base for their attempts to launch an attack upon the Suez Canal and Egypt, and, together with Syria, it had to provide the supplies required by the 4th Turkish Corps. In addition to large-scale recruitment, the population suffered from heavy taxes; compulsory labor service on road building, railroads, and tree cutting; and the confiscation of property, such as horses, wheat, and piping. In the fourth year of the war, the front reached the Land of Israel. The presence of large military forces brought various contagious diseases in its wake; in addition there were natural calamities, such as the locust invasion of 1915–16. On October 31, the inflation of the Turkish currency sealed the ruin of the economy, and by the end of 1917 the country faced starvation.

The Jewish population, whose economy depended largely upon the transfer of funds from abroad – especially the old *yishuv,* which was not properly organized to meet an emergency – was exposed to great hardship; in 1917 thousands in Jerusalem and Safed died of starvation. The new *yishuv* was slightly better off; its economic affairs were handled by an emergency committee representing all sections and institutions – the Zionist Executive, ICA, the Alliance Israélite Universelle, the moshavot, the Tel Aviv Committee, the workers' parties, and so forth. A decisive role in alleviating the plight of the Jews was played by the money and food shipped by American Jewry on American naval vessels.

Anti-Jewish Measures. There were also disasters of a political nature. On the eve of its entry into the war, the Ottoman government had abolished the Capitulations regime, jeopardizing the civil status of the many Jews who had enjoyed the protection of foreign consuls. The attitude of the Ottoman military administration, headed by Jemal Pasha, to the Jews was ambivalent. On the one hand, there was the centuries-old tradition of regarding the Jews as a pro-Turkish element, augmented by political considerations, such as the alliance with Germany and Austria and the influence of America; on the other hand, the spirit of independence displayed by the new *yishuv* and its intimate connections with the Zionist Movement made its loyalty to Turkey suspect in the eyes of the rulers. At the outbreak of the war, the authorities confiscated arms from the settlers in the moshavot and in Tel Aviv. A grave problem concerned inhabitants, including Jews, who were nationals of enemy states, especially Russia. The Ottomans asked them to become Ottoman citizens, promising not to draft them into the army for one year. On Dec. 17, 1914, 700 foreign Jews who refused to become Ottoman citizens were detained in Jaffa and deported to Egypt on an Italian boat. This act was followed by a mass exodus of foreign Jews, which continued throughout 1915, in the course of which 11,300 (over an eighth of the entire Jewish population) left the country, mainly by American and Italian boats. Most of them stayed in refugee camps in Egypt, and about 500 enlisted with Joseph *Trumpeldor in the Zion Mule Corps, which fought on the Allied side in the Gallipoli campaign against the Ottomans.

In their efforts to prevent further deportations and the emigration of Jews, the leaders of the *yishuv* managed to persuade the authorities to facilitate the acquisition of Ottoman nationality by waiving the fee and exempting the new Ottoman subjects from military service for a year. Another demonstration of the *yishuv*'s loyalty to the regime was the enlistment of dozens of students of the Hebrew secondary schools and their enrollment in the Istanbul officers' school in 1916. In the spring of 1915 the policy of the Ottoman military administration toward the Jews took on a more definite shape. Zionism, the Zionist flag, the Jewish National Fund stamps, etc., were all outlawed. Several of the active Zionist leaders, especially former delegates to Zionist Congresses, leaders of Ha-Shomer, those who had been active in land purchases, etc., were deported. Two notable deportees were David Ben Gurion and Izḥak Ben-Zvi. On the other hand, there was a more favorable attitude to those who remained. Jemal Pasha even invited some of the Jewish leaders who had no direct connections with the Zionist movement (e.g. Albert *Antebi, Aaron Aaronsohn, Meir *Dizengoff, and Menasheh Meyerowitz) to participate in various projects launched by the government.

In the spring of 1917, when the battlefront was drawing near, the evacuation of the civilian population was taken in hand, and all the inhabitants of Jaffa (about 40,000 of them) including the Jews of Tel Aviv were deported. The Jews found shelter in the moshavot in Galilee and Samaria. A further plan to deport the residents of Jerusalem and the moshavot themselves was dropped after an appeal to Istanbul. The organization of aid to the refugees in their camps was one of the finest chapters in the history of the *yishuv,* but hundreds died of starvation, disease, and cold. In September 1917, when the secret *Nili intelligence ring was uncovered, widespread searches were instituted and hundreds of people were jailed – most of them were deserters from the Turkish army and only a few were in fact members of Nili or of Ha-Shomer. The leadership of the *yishuv* made great effort to ease the lot of these "Damascus prisoners," as they came to be called.

On Oct. 31, 1917, the British opened an unexpected offensive and took Beersheba, going on to Gaza (Nov. 7) and Jaffa (Nov. 16). On Dec. 11, 1917, General Allenby entered Jerusalem and Ottoman rule over the Holy City came to an end 401 years after it had started in 1516. The British advance spared the *yishuv* further persecution and saved it from extinction by starvation and disease. A small part – the inhabitants of Samaria and Galilee – were to endure nine more months of Ottoman rule, until the north was occupied by the British in September 1918. The Jewish population had been reduced by hardship, expulsion, and emigration to 57,000.

The conquest of the south of the country coincided with the issue of the Balfour Declaration "of sympathy with Jewish Zionist aspirations," which was issued by the British foreign secretary on November 2, with the approval of the cabinet (see *Balfour Declaration for full text). The principles of the declaration were approved by the Allied governments and the United States (first unofficially by President Wilson and, on June 30, 1922, by a resolution of Congress). Thus the Land of Israel, under the name of Palestine, reappeared on the world political map, and the small *yishuv,* as the nucleus of the Jewish national home, assumed a significant role on the international scene.

UNDER BRITISH RULE, 1917–1948. The military administration established in Palestine after its occupation by the British forces (Occupied Enemy Territory Administration – OETA) was manned by military men and experts on Arab affairs. Prominent among the occupying troops was the *Jewish Legion, consisting of two Jewish battalions: the 38th ("London") battalion of the Royal Fusiliers and the 39th ("American"). Their arrival caused a great stir among the Jewish workers and the youth, who called for the creation of a third, Palestinian battalion. Negotiations with the British authorities led to the establishment of the battalion, which attracted 850 local Jewish volunteers, in June 1918. In the final attack on the Turkish positions, the 38th and 39th battalions participated in the capture of the Jordan crossings. After the war, when the demobilization of the war-weary troops was speeded up, the three Jewish battalions played an increasingly important role in the occupying forces. At the end of 1919 the Palestinian battalion was renamed the First Judeans, with the seven-branched *menorah* as its emblem. The existence of the battalion was widely regarded as tangible evidence of British intention to carry out the Balfour Declaration.

Arab Nationalist Agitation. The end of the war was followed by great agitation among the Arab nationalists, who declared the Land of Israel to be "Southern Syria" and demanded its incorporation into a large Arab state with its center in Damascus. The British military administration showed no sympathy with the Balfour Declaration; during the years 1918 and 1919 it was not officially published or referred to in Palestine. The Zionist Commission consisting of Jewish representatives from Britain, France, and Italy (joined later by American and Russian members), headed by Chaim *Weizmann, that went out with British government sanction in March 1918 met with many difficulties due to the hostile attitude of many of the men on the spot. Weizmann succeeded, however, in reaching some measure of understanding with the Emir Faisal, who headed the Arab movement at the time. On Jan. 3, 1919, the two men signed an agreement that spoke of "the closest possible collaboration in the development of the Arab State and Palestine" and of measures "to encourage and facilitate the immigration of Jews into Palestine on a large scale." The agreement, however, was repudiated by the Arab nationalists. In April 1920 the Jewish settlements in Upper Galilee were attacked by Arabs, and *Tel-Ḥai and other places were abandoned after an incident in which Joseph Trumpeldor and others were killed. In March 1920 anti-Jewish riots broke out in Jerusalem. The military authorities gave the Arabs a free hand, while arresting the Jewish defenders, led by Vladimir Jabotinsky, who were sentenced to long terms of imprisonment.

Samuel Becomes High Commissioner. The policy of the military administration in Palestine, however, was not supported by Whitehall. On April 24, 1920, the Supreme Council of the Peace Conference at San Remo resolved that the Mandate over Palestine be conferred on Britain, charging her with the establishment of a national home for the Jewish people as laid down in the Balfour Declaration. The frontiers were to be negotiated between Britain and France; as subsequently delineated they included Transjordan (see section in Israel, State of: Historical Survey: Land of Israel in International Affairs and Frontiers). OETA was abolished and Herbert Samuel, a Jew and a Zionist, was appointed high commissioner, arriving on July 1, 1920.

Samuel tried to facilitate Jewish immigration and at the same time to appease the Arabs. He lent his aid to the pioneering immigrants – the *ḥalutzim* – who began to arrive in large numbers at the end of 1919 and gave orders for them to be employed on road projects in the north. He also made Hebrew an official language, side by side with Arabic and English. As a concession to the Jews who wanted the country to be called by its historic name, Ereẓ Israel, the initials (א״י) were added in parentheses to the Hebrew form of the name Palestine. On the other hand, the best government-owned lands in the Beth-Shean Valley were distributed among the Bedouin (who did not know what to do with them and later sold them to the Jews, at a high price). A compromise was reached with the military authorities providing for the creation of one Arab and one Jewish battalion for the defense of the country. To placate Arab nationalist opinion, Samuel appointed Hajj Amin al-*Husseini, who had been sentenced in absentia to 15 years' imprisonment for his part in inflaming the 1920 riots, as mufti of Jerusalem in 1921. In the following year, Husseini was elected president of the Supreme Muslim Council and used these positions of great influence and power to whip up opposition to the *yishuv.*

In the early part of 1921 there were important developments in regard to Transjordan. *Abdullah, a brother of Faisal, invaded the territory with a band of Beduins in order to help his brother, Faisal, who had been pushed out of Damascus by the French in the summer of 1920. (According to recent opinion by prearrangement with, or at least with the connivance of, the British.) On March 27 he was recognized by Winston *Churchill, the British colonial secretary, as emir, with a British advisor and a subvention from Britain. Subsequently, Transjordan was excluded from the area to which the Balfour Declaration applied and was thus closed to Jewish settlement. In May 1921 an outbreak of violence in Jaffa was followed by large-scale attacks on Reḥovot, Petaḥ Tikvah, Ḥaderah, and other places. Forty-seven Jews were killed and 140 wounded; Arab casualties were 48 dead and 73 wounded, mostly due to action by British troops. These disturbances demonstrated the ability of the Arab national movement to inflame the Arab masses and revealed the relative weakness of the *yishuv.* Samuel began to backtrack: he ordered a temporary halt of immigration and entered into negotiations with the Arab Executive Committee.

The Churchill White Paper. The outcome of these negotiations was a White Paper issued by Churchill on June 22, 1922. It gave a restrictive interpretation of the Balfour Declaration, which it said "did not contemplate that Palestine as a whole should be converted into a Jewish National Home" and introduced the principle of "economic absorptive capacity" as the yardstick for Jewish immigration. A system of immigration certificates was adopted, under which people with capital (at first £500, later £1000) could enter Palestine with their families without any restriction while the number of workers without capital to be admitted would be determined by a half-yearly schedule to be fixed by the government after negotiations with the Zionist Executive. The White Paper also stated, however, that the Balfour Declaration was not subject to change and that the Jews were in Palestine "as of right and not on sufferance" (see *Palestine, White Papers).

On July 22, 1922, the League of Nations Council confirmed the Palestine Mandate, citing the Balfour Declaration in the preamble and recognizing "the historical connection of the Jewish people with Palestine, and… the grounds for reconstituting their National Home in that country." The Mandate provided for the recognition of the Zionist Organization as the "*Jewish Agency" to advise and cooperate with the administration "in such economic, social and other matters as may affect the establishment of the Jewish National Home and the interests of the Jewish population in Palestine."

A step designed to appease the Arabs was the plan for a legislative assembly. Although it was to have only limited powers, the Arabs were to have the majority on the basis of their numerical strength. (According to a census taken at the end of 1922, there were 83,794 Jews, about 11% of the total population of 757,182.) The Arabs, however, boycotted the elections to the assembly, and the plan was abandoned (1923). The Arab Committee also rejected Samuel's proposal for the establishment of an "Arab Agency" similar to the Jewish Agency. In the end, a colonial regime was established, headed by the high commissioner and senior officials, almost all British.

The 1921 disturbances also brought about a change in security policy. The plan for locally recruited battalions was abandoned and a British gendarmerie, made up of British soldiers (the "Black and Tans") who had been demobilized after suppressing the Irish rebellion was established. The Jewish villages were provided with sealed armories containing rifles and ammunition, which they were permitted to open only in case of emergency. In April 1925 Lord Balfour attended the opening ceremony of the *Hebrew University in Jerusalem; his visit caused no disturbances, indicating that Pax Britannica prevailed. This situation continued under the next high commissioner, Lord Plumer (1925–28) and encouraged the government to reform the security forces with a view to reducing their high costs. The British gendarmerie was disbanded in 1926, and some of its members were absorbed into the Palestine Police. In addition, the Transjordan Frontier Force, consisting almost entirely of Arabs, was established, and the sealed armories were withdrawn from most of the moshavot. The policy followed by both Samuel and Plumer was to regard the maintenance of law and order, by political and military means, as the prime responsibility of the government, leaving the Jews to build the National Home through their own institutions and with their own resources – by immigration, settlement on the land, the development of industry and commerce, and so forth. Politically the period 1921–29 presented the Jewish people and the Zionist movement with a great opportunity.

The Third Aliyah. The immigration of the period 1919–23 (the Third Aliyah) was of a special character. The driving force behind it was the *He-Ḥalutz movement, which had risen in Eastern Europe, inspired by the Second Aliyah and the emissaries from Ereẓ Israel (notably Joseph Trumpeldor) and impelled by the sufferings of the Jews during the war and the postwar pogroms. Most of the newcomers were young people of strong Zionist convictions who had been influenced by the profound changes and revolutionary upheavals that had taken place in their countries of origin. Many were graduates of the He-Ḥalutz movement in Russia and Poland and *Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir (in Galicia). In December 1920 they cooperated with the men of the Second Aliyah in founding the *Histadrut, the General Federation of Jewish Labor, which declared as its aim the creation of a new Jewish working society in the Land of Israel (see also Israel, State of: *Labor, section on Jewish Labor Organizations).

The *yishuv* was small and impoverished and, from an economic point of view, incapable of absorbing the tens of thousands of new immigrants. For the first year or two they were employed on public works, mainly road building in the north. It was while working on the roads that various people banded together to form collective settlement groups such as the *Gedud ha-Avodah and the kibbutzim of Ha-Shomer Ha-Ẓa'ir. In 1920 the Jewish National Fund completed the purchase of 50,000 dunams of land in the Jezreel Valley – the "Emek," which was used for large-scale settlement. Some of the newcomers, as well as Second Aliyah veterans, were settled in the villages established in the Emek, which included kibbutzim and kevuẓot (En-Harod, Tel Yosef, Geva, Bet Alfa, Ḥefzi-Bah, Ginnosar as well as Kiryat Anavim near Jerusalem), and moshevei ovedim (Nahalal, Kefar Yeḥezkel). Others worked on construction sites in the cities, where a large part of the building was done by the Histadrut's Public Work Office (later reorganized under the name of *Solel Boneh). There was also a renewed attempt to introduce Jewish labor into the moshavot, where groups of workers sought employment with the Jewish farmers and prepared themselves for their own settlement on the land. In 1923 a severe economic crisis hit the *yishuv,* mainly affecting the newcomers. Thousands were unemployed and 3,200 people left the country, as against a total influx of 8,200 in the course of the year.

In all, the Third Aliyah brought in some 35,000 immigrants: 53% from Russia, 36% from Poland, and the rest from Lithuania, Romania, and other East European countries, apart from 800 from Western and Central Europe (Germany, Austria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, etc.). The Jewish population reached 90,000 and the *yishuv* underwent a profound change, growing not only in size but also in quality. The new *yishuv* was now in the majority and the old *yishuv*'s efforts to resist the onset of modern trends were doomed to failure. For example, the attempt to deny women the right to vote in the elections to the Jewish community's representative institutions was defeated. Extremist elements in the old *yishuv* tried to combine as a political force and, in cooperation with the Arabs, oppose the new Jewish immigration; the attempt came to a tragic end with the assassination of their leader, Jacob de *Haan.

The thousands of new *ḥalutzim* also added considerable strength to the *Haganah, the self-defense organization formed in June 1920, when the riots in Jerusalem and Jaffa had demonstrated that the *yishuv* could not rely on the British authorities for their security. Members of the Third Aliyah continued to play an important role in the following years, as in the settlement of the Kishon region (1927) and the Ḥefer Plain (1933). Another feature of this period was the introduction of industry. The Silicate Brick Factory was founded in 1922, followed by the salt works at Athlit, the Grands Moulins flour mills, the Shemen edible oil factory, the Nesher cement works, etc.

The Fourth Aliyah. In the middle of 1924 a new wave of immigration, the Fourth Aliyah (1924–28), set in. It was different in social composition from its predecessor. There was a drop in the inflow of *ḥalutzim*, mainly because of the ban on departure from Soviet Russia. On the other hand, there was a rise in the immigration of middle-class people – shopkeepers and artisans – mostly from Poland. This was the result of two developments: the economic crisis in Poland and the economic restrictions imposed on the Polish Jews (hence the name "Grabski Aliyah" after the Polish finance minister); and the severe limitations on immigration to the United States, introduced in 1924 (when only 10,000 Jews emigrated to America, as against 34,000 who went to Palestine). Most of these newcomers, having no desire to change their way of life, settled in the towns, primarily in Tel Aviv, which had the special attraction of being an all-Jewish city. They invested some of their scanty capital in workshops and factories, small hotels, restaurants, and shops, but most of their investments were made in building. In 1925, when the Fourth Aliyah was at its height, 45% of Tel Aviv's labor force was employed on construction, and the city's population grew to 40,000. Haifa also developed (the Hadar ha-Carmel quarter being founded) and some progress was made in Jerusalem. The Slobodka Yeshivah was established in Hebron and the Nur match factory in Acre. The American Zion Commonwealth Company purchased land in the heart of the Jezreel Valley, where it planned the establishment of a central town, Ir Yizre'el ("Jezreel Town") later called Afulah.

There was also significant rural development in the Coastal Plain. The area under citrus cultivation was trebled within a few years, and new villages, based on citrus growing, were founded: Magdiel, Herzliyyah, Binyaminah, Pardes Ḥannah, a group of settlements in the Tel Mond area, in addition to Ra'anannah (founded in 1921). A new town, Netanyah, was founded in the Sharon Valley. In the new villages, the farmers employed Jewish labor for the most part. An interesting episode was the arrival of hundreds of ḥasidic families, headed by their rabbis, and their settlement on the land at Kefar Ḥasidim, near Haifa. In the course of two years, over 62,000 newcomers made their homes in the Land of Israel. It appeared that in addition to the settlement of *ḥalutzim*, financed by national capital, a way had been found to attract the Jewish middle class to agricultural and urban settlement, based on the import of private capital.

Crisis and Recovery 1926–1929. A downward turn came in the spring of 1926, when a severe economic crisis set in. Worsening economic conditions in Poland caused a cessation of the flow of capital from that country, and as a result, the great construction boom came to an end. In 1927 over 5,000 people left the country and only 2,300 came, while unemployment reached 7,000 in the summer of that year. The crisis, which lasted for two years and plunged many middle-class families into penury, was a severe political blow to Zionism and the labor movement. Thousands of workers subsisted on a dole from the Zionist Executive; Solel Boneh was temporarily dissolved; Gedud ha-Avodah, the pioneering labor organization established by the Third Aliyah, split into rightist and leftist factions and some of its members demonstratively went back to the Soviet Union, where they joined the Jewish agricultural settlement project in the Crimea.

The first signs of economic recovery came in 1929, when immigration was renewed. New hopes were aroused by the creation of the enlarged Jewish Agency, through which non-Zionist circles – notably a group of outstanding American Jews – were to associate themselves with the Zionist Organization's constructive work in Palestine. Despite the crises of 1923 and 1927, the balance for the ten years 1919–29 was positive. The population of the *yishuv* had almost trebled, reaching a total of 160,000. Over 1,200,000 dunams (300,000 acres) had been acquired, and an almost uninterrupted chain of towns and villages stretched from Metullah in the north to Be'er Toviyyah in the south. Hebrew had become the living tongue of the *yishuv* and its schools. A significant Hebrew literature, press, and theater (Habimah and Ohel) had come into being. The Hebrew University was opened in 1925 and the Haifa Technion had been officially inaugurated. The *yishuv* was recognized in 1927 as a corporate entity, *Keneset Israel, with its democratic institutions: Asefat ha-Nivḥarim (Assembly of Deputies); and *Va'ad Le'ummi (National Council), elected by the Assembly. Keneset Israel represented the entire Jewish population, except for the extreme Orthodox faction (see *Governance, the section on Jewish Communal Organizations, and *Political Life and Parties).

The Zionist Executive, with funds supplied by Jews abroad through the *Keren Hayesod, financed immigration, supported the Hebrew school system (the government spent most of its education budget on Arab schools), fostered agriculture, industry, and commerce, and coordinated the public health activities of the *Hadassah Medical Organization, Kuppat Ḥolim, and other bodies. Together with the Va'ad Le'ummi, it represented the Jews vis-à-vis the administration and performed, as far as the Jewish population was concerned, a large part of governmental functions. Thus the *yishuv,* as the vanguard of Jewry, was more than a local community; it had become the nucleus of the Jewish state-in-the-making.

Violence and Political Struggle, 1929–31. During the preceding ten months there had been minor disputes between Jews and Arabs about the Jews right to pray at the Western ("Wailing") Wall of the Temple Court in Jerusalem. These arguments were exploited by the mufti of Jerusalem, Hajj Amin al-Husseini, to foment religious hatred by accusing the Jews of designs upon the Muslim Holy Places in the city. On August 23, an Arab mob tried to attack the Jews in Jerusalem; the attacks were repeated on the following days, but were repulsed by the Haganah. (See also *Jerusalem; *Western Wall.) The violence spread to other parts of the country. On the Sabbath, August 24, the Arabs of Hebron fell upon the small defenseless Jewish community in the town, who belonged mainly to the old *yishuv,* and slaughtered some 70 men and women. Old people and infants were butchered, the survivors, numbering several hundred, being evacuated to Jerusalem. Attacks on Tel Aviv and the Jewish quarters in Haifa were repulsed, but on the fifth day of the riots an Arab mob killed 18 Jews and wounded many more in Safed before the Jews could take refuge in the police headquarters while the mob ransacked and burned the Jewish quarter. In Be'er Toviyyah all the settlers held out in a cowshed while the attacking mob plundered and destroyed the village. Huldah, too, was destroyed after the Jewish defenders had held out for many hours against thousands of Arabs and were evacuated by a British army patrol. Many of the attacks on Jewish settlements were repulsed, however. Before a week had passed, large detachments of British troops were brought in and order was restored, but the Arab nationalists had achieved their aim: the problem of Palestine had once again become the subject of political discussion.

A parliamentary commission of inquiry headed by Sir Walter Shaw, was sent to inquire into "the immediate causes" of the outbreak, but exceeded its terms of reference by dealing with questions of major policy. It found that the fundamental cause of the riots had been "the Arab feelings of animosity and hostility to the Jews consequent upon the disappointment of their political and national aspirations and fear for their economic future." Accordingly, the commission proposed restrictions on Jewish immigration and the purchase of lands from the Arabs. A minority report, by Harry Snell, the Labor Party representative, criticized government policy and the Arab attitude. In 1930, a British expert, Sir John Hope-Simpson, reported that "with the present methods of Arab cultivation" there was "no margin of land available for agricultural settlement by immigrants." In October of the same year, the colonial secretary, Lord Passfield (Sidney Webb) issued a White Paper further whittling down the meaning of the Balfour Declaration and the Mandate and foreshadowing fresh restrictions on Jewish immigration and settlement. Chaim *Weizmann, in protest, announced his resignation as chairman of the Jewish Agency, and prominent British statesmen denounced the new policy. Under the pressure of public opinion, the prime minister, Ramsay MacDonald, published a letter to Weizmann in February 1931 reinterpreting the White Paper in such a manner as to nullify its restrictions and make it possible to continue the upbuilding of the Jewish National Home. At the end of 1931 a new high commissioner, General Sir Arthur Wauchope, was appointed. A man of wide erudition and great vision, he showed understanding and sympathy for Jewish efforts in Palestine (see *Palestine, Inquiry Commissions, and *Palestine, White Papers).

The Fifth Aliyah Reaches Its Peak. The next four years were of decisive importance for the development of the *yishuv.* The Fifth Aliyah had begun with a small trickle in 1929, but in 1933, when Hitler rose to power in Germany, the trickle became a flood, and 164,267 Jews entered the country legally in the period 1933–36, while thousands of refugees came as "illegal" immigrants (the *yishuv* regarded British restrictions on *aliyah* as arbitrary and a violation of the Mandate). By the spring of 1936 the Jewish population in Palestine was close to 400,000 – some 30% of the total. The immigration was accompanied by a large influx of capital from Germany, as well as other countries. In these four years of "prosperity," private investment by Jews came to £31,570,000 sterling, over half of which was invested in construction, some £6 million in citrus culture and other forms of agriculture, and £7 million in industry. There was also a considerable rise in the amounts invested by the national funds.

The Fifth Aliyah also settled mostly in the cities and towns. Over half the newcomers made their homes in Tel Aviv, which by 1936 had become the largest city in Palestine with a population of 150,000 and a budget exceeding that of the 22 other municipalities put together. In Haifa, the construction of the country's first modern port by the British authorities was completed in 1933, and its Jewish population was trebled, reaching 50,000, about half the population of the city. Its Jewish quarters were built on the slopes of Mount Carmel, as well as on the sandy terrain in the north of the city (Kiryat Ḥayyim and the other *kerayot*). In Jerusalem a great building boom was initiated by former residents of the Old City, who left after the 1929 riots, and was continued by well-to-do immigrants, including German Jews, who expanded the Reḥaviah quarter. The development of the city was also greatly facilitated by the completion of the water supply line, based on the Rosh ha-Ayin springs. In 1936 Jerusalem had a Jewish population of 76,000 – 60% of the city's total population.

Progress in Industry and Agriculture. In the cities and their environs, modern industry came into being, based mainly on the production of food, textiles, and building materials. The Levant Fair, first held in Tel Aviv in 1932, and again in 1934 and 1936, helped to promote domestic and foreign trade. Two key companies, the Palestine Electric Corporation and the Palestine Potash Company, the concessions for which had been allotted by the British to Jews in the 1920s, were now working at full capacity, employing thousands of Jewish and Arab workers. There was a steady expansion of citrus culture: tens of thousands of dunams were planted and exports rose from 2½ million cases in 1931 to 15,300,000 in 1939, half of it from Jewish citrus groves. Agricultural settlement, however, lagged behind. After the 1929 riots, the settlements which had been hit were rehabilitated with the help of the Emergency Fund collected in Jewish communities abroad. About 20 new villages were established in the Ḥefer Plain, between Ḥaderah and Netanyah (Kefar Vitkin, Aviḥayil, Givat Ḥayyim, Ma'barot, etc.). New moshavim and kibbutzim based on the small budgets provided by the Zionist funds and on work in the citrus groves were also set up near the established moshavot.

Internal Changes and Controversies. There were also changes in the organizational structure of the *yishuv.* In 1932 the Hebrew school system was transferred from the Zionist Executive to the Va'ad Le'ummi, making the *yishuv* responsible for its own education. At the time the system included some 20,000 children, the number increasing to 100,000 by the establishment of independence (1948). It was divided into three "trends": general, religious, and labor. The status of the Haganah also underwent a significant change. The 1929 riots had demonstrated the organization's importance and thousands joined its ranks. A national leadership accepted by all sections was now a necessity, and in 1931 agreement was reached on the establishment of a National Command, consisting of three Histadrut delegates and three representatives of the non-labor sector. The Haganah developed into a nationwide underground organization, with branches in all Jewish towns and villages, running training courses for instructors, accumulating arms in its secret stores, and creating the beginnings of a military industry.

The labor movement played a central role in the life of the *yishuv.* In 1937, the Histadrut had a membership of 100,000 – about a quarter of the Jewish population, and there was a large labor party, *Mapai, which had been established by a merger of the main labor parties in 1930. The Histadrut's economic enterprises and social services made an important contribution to the transformation of the *yishuv* into a "state-on-the-way." Its kibbutzim and moshavim helped, not only to grow food, but also to widen the map of Jewish settlement and establish bases for defense. Solel Boneh, the cooperatives for industry, housing, transport and finance, and marketing agencies like Tnuva and Hamashbir, consolidated the *yishuv*'s economic base. The Histadrut's school system, labor exchanges, and social services – notably Kuppat Ḥolim – fulfilled quasi-governmental functions.

This organizational unity of labor was not matched by a similar concentration of non-labor forces (such as the Farmers Union, the Citzens' Bloc in Tel Aviv, etc.); all they had in common was fear of domination by the "left." At the beginning of the 1930s, the *Revisionist movement came into existence as a result of the differences between Weizmann and Jabotinsky over the policy of the Zionist Organization. Jabotinsky and his adherents engaged in a campaign designed to confront the power of the Histadrut and established a rival *Histadrut ha-Ovedim ha-Le'ummit (National Labor Federation). Revisionist-minded workers and immigrants competed for jobs and sometimes acted as strikebreakers. There was bitter tension between the two camps, which reached its climax in June 1933, when Chaim *Arlosoroff, one of the foremost labor leaders, was assassinated and members of the Revisionist movement were wrongly accused of the murder. The labor movement obtained key positions in the Jewish Agency, the Va'ad Le'ummi, and the Haganah, and remained the major political force in the *yishuv.*

Growth of the Arab National Movement. Among the Arab population there were also far-reaching changes. Jewish mass immigration benefited the Arabs in various ways: their economic situation improved, thousands of them found employment in the Jewish sector, and the land of the fellahin rose in value. Government revenue, supplied largely by the Jews, was used to create a public health service and a progressive school system for the Arabs. The prosperity of the Palestine Arabs became the envy of their brethren in Transjordan; in 1933, Emir Abdullah, the British-appointed ruler, and the Transjordanian tribal chiefs entered into secret negotiations with the Jewish Agency on the possibility of a large-scale Jewish immigration into their area, but the talks were nipped in the bud by British disapproval.

At the same time, however, the rise in Jewish strength and influence was accompanied by the growth of the Arab national movement. The 1929 disturbances had enhanced the prestige of the mufti of Jerusalem and made him the leading Arab figure in Palestine, and a Muslim conference that he called in 1931 added to his standing. In 1932 an Arab political party, Istiqlāl (Independence) came into being, headed by veteran leaders like ʿAwnī ʿAbd-al Hadī and supported by many of the younger generation. An extensive daily press, predominantly nationalist – even fascist – in character, was established and indulged in daily diatribes against the Jews. In 1931 a terrorist organization led by Sheikh ʿIzz al-Dīn al-Qassām was formed in Haifa and from time to time murdered individual Jews. The Arab nationalists tried to prevent Jews from purchasing land by intimidating prospective Arab sellers; they fomented land disputes and turned them into political issues, as in the case of the prolonged dispute between Jews and Bedouin over the Ḥefer Plain (1930–33).

In October 1933 the Arab Executive Committee called for demonstrations throughout the country against growing Jewish immigration. The demonstrations, which were directed against the British authorities, were firmly suppressed by the police and the military; some of the demonstrators were shot to death and others wounded. As a result the committee, which had shown itself as lacking in resolute leadership, lost its influence and disintegrated, giving way to political parties combining modern elements with the old feudal type of leadership. Terrorism also was renewed, and in November 1935 Sheikh ʿIzz al-Dīn al-Qassām's band was trapped by police on Mt. Gilboa and wiped out. The Arab nationalists glorified the fallen terrorists as martyrs for their country. Tension rose steadily. In October over 500 barrels containing arms for the Haganah had been seized in Jaffa port, and the Arab parties declared a general strike in protest against the acquisition of arms by Jews.

External events added to the growing tension. The Italian-Ethiopian war revealed the weakness of British policy; there were riots and strikes in Egypt and Syria, where Britain and France had to make concessions. The British government decided that the time had come to appease the Arab nationalists in Palestine as well. In December 1935 High Commissioner Wauchope revived the old plan for a legislative council, with limited powers, to consist of 14 Arabs, seven Jews, and seven British government officials and business representatives. This time it was the Jews who rejected the proposal, fearing that it would obstruct Jewish immigration and settlement in that tragic hour for European Jewry, while some Arab leaders favored acceptance. When the plan came up for discussion in the British Parliament, it was severely criticized, and the government decided to withdraw it. Instead, the Arabs were invited to send a delegation to London for political negotiations.

The Arab Revolt. On April 19, 1936, riots broke out in Jaffa. The funeral in Tel Aviv of two Jews killed by Arab terrorists had been turned into a demonstration, which was followed by the murder of two Arabs by Jews. It took the government two days to quell the riots. Sixteen Jews were killed and many wounded and Jewish property was ransacked and set ablaze, especially in the border area between Jaffa and Tel Aviv. The Arabs proclaimed a general strike and an assembly of Arab parties in Nablus elected an Arab Higher Committee, headed by the mufti. The committee announced that the strike would go on until the government fulfilled three demands: the stoppage of Jewish immigration; the prohibition of the transfer of land to Jewish ownership; the establishment of "a national representative government." Thus began the three-year period of disorder and violence known as the Arab Revolt.

The strike lasted for nearly six months, coming to an end on Oct. 12, 1936, in response to an appeal by the heads of Arab states. It failed to achieve its aims and the Arab Higher Committee's attempt to organize civil disobedience, based upon a strike of Arab civil servants and police, was not successful either. Shortly after the outbreak of the strike, a campaign of terror was initiated, beginning with the burning of Jewish property and going on to the murder of Jewish passersby and attacks on Jewish settlements, which were repulsed by the Haganah, and upon Jewish interurban transport. Eighty Jews fell victim to the terror in the period of the strike. In the hill regions armed bands of terrorists, with the support of the Arab population and the clandestine assistance of senior Arab officials and police officers, tried to attack Jewish settlements and convoys, as well as British police and army detachments. In August efforts were made to create a cohesive force out of the various terrorist bands, and a former Ottoman Arab army officer, Fawzī al-Kaukji, was invited to undertake the task. By then the British had brought in large military forces and launched a large-scale attack upon the terrorists, using planes and light tanks. When the general strike came to an end, Kaukji left the country.

The Partition Proposal. The British government was not prepared to meet the demands of the Arab Higher Committee and sent out a royal commission, headed by Lord Peel, to institute a thorough inquiry into the problems of the country. The commission heard a host of witnesses – British, Jewish, and Arab – and published its findings at the beginning of July 1937. These included a revolutionary proposal: to partition Palestine into two states: a Jewish state, which would consist of the whole of Galilee and the coastal strip, up to a point south of Reḥovot; and an Arab state, which would comprise Samaria, Judea, and the entire Negev. Jerusalem and its environs, linked to the coast at Jaffa by a corridor, was to remain in British hands, for the supervision of the Holy Places (see *Palestine, Inquiry Commissions; *Palestine, Partition). The British government announced its readiness to carry out the partition plan, but opinions were divided among both Jews and Arabs. Weizmann, David Ben-Gurion, and Moshe Shertok (later *Sharett) supported the plan, while Ussishkin, Jabotinsky, and Berl *Katznelson opposed it. Among the Arabs it was Emir Abdullah who favored partition, hoping to incorporate the Arab portion into his kingdom and thus create a large Arab state which would cooperate with the Jewish state in economic affairs. In any event, the Arab Higher Committee rejected the plan and insisted on the fulfillment of its own demands.

After the end of the general strike, an uneasy calm had prevailed, sporadically broken by outbreaks of Arab terror, but in September 1937, two months after the publication of the commission's report, the disturbances were renewed. At the end of the month the British district commissioner in Galilee, Andrews, was murdered; the government retaliated by disbanding the Arab Higher Committee, arresting its leaders, and expelling them to the Seychelles Islands; but the mufti escaped to Syria, from where he continued to direct the terror. The armed bands resumed their operations on a large scale, although no attempt was made to organize them into a unified military force. Their leaders took control of large areas and instituted a regime of terror against their Arab opponents. Attacks upon the Jews were also stepped up: 415 Jews were killed by the terrorists in the period 1937–39, over half of them between July and October 1938. Nevertheless, the terrorists failed, with very few exceptions, to break into Jewish towns or villages.

In the summer of 1938 the Arab Revolt reached its climax. Terrorist bands captured police stations and broke into Arab towns; for a short while, in October, they held the Old City of Jerusalem (except for the Jewish quarter), though they were easily driven out by British military forces. Then, however, the Revolt began to decline. The British had concentrated large forces, about 16,000 troops, to combat the terrorist bands. The Arab population had also wearied of the murder and blackmail perpetrated by the terrorists, who had been responsible for more Arab than Jewish and British victims. "Peace bands" set up among the Arabs received arms from the British and joined the fight against the terrorists. By the spring of 1939 the Revolt had come to an end.

The 1939 White Paper. At the end of 1938, however, British policy underwent a significant change. After the Munich agreement between Britain, France, Italy, and Nazi Germany (1938), the British came to the conclusion that the Arab world had to be appeased, whatever the price, lest it join Britain's enemies in the event of a world war. On Nov. 9, 1938, the government announced the abandonment of the partition plan and invited Jewish and Arab leaders, including representatives of the Arab states, to a round-table conference in London. The Arab refused to meet the Jews, and in fact there were two conferences, the British meeting separately with Arabs and Jews. No agreement was reached at these talks. On May 17, 1939, the British colonial secretary, Malcolm MacDonald, published a new White Paper that went a long way toward accepting Arab demands. Immigration was to be restricted to 10,000 a year for a period of five years, bringing the Jewish population to a third of the total, after which further immigration would depend upon Arab consent. As a special gesture, 25,000 additional immigration certificates were promised for Jewish refugees in Europe. The sale of land to Jews was to be severely restricted. Finally, the White Paper provided for the establishment within ten years, circumstances permitting, of an independent Palestine state, which would maintain strategic and economic links with Britain.

The British government immediately began to apply the White Paper policy. A reduced immigration schedule was issued for the period May–September 1939. For the six months October 1939 to March 1940 – after the start of World War II – no immigration certificates at all were allotted for Jews on the ground that there had been a large influx of "illegal" immigration. In February 1940 the Land Transfer Regulations envisioned in the White Paper were duly enacted, dividing the country into three zones: Zone A (the hills of Judea and Samaria, Western Galilee and the Northern Negev) in which the sale of land to Jews was completely prohibited; Zone B (Jezreel Valley, Eastern Galilee, and most of the Coastal Plain) in which the sale of land required the approval of the high commissioner; and Zone C (the coastal strip from Zikhron Ya'akov to a point north of Reḥovot, as well as urban areas) in which no restrictions applied. Thus it seemed that the Arab national movement had scored a significant achievement. Yet for the extremists among them, headed by the mufti, this was not enough. By this time, they had tied themselves to the enemies of Britain, mainly to Nazi Germany, in the hope that with their help they would be able to destroy the *yishuv.*

Jewish Defense and Resistance. The three years of the Arab Revolt had been a severe test for the *yishuv,* but despite the uncertain political and security conditions, it grew in numbers, and a total of 60,000 legal and "illegal" immigrants (the latter known in Hebrew as *ma'pilim*) entered the country during the period. Although some branches of the Jewish economy suffered from the Arab boycott, others were strengthened by it. The moshavot now employed Jewish labor, and Jews filled jobs abandoned by the Arabs in ports, quarries, etc. Thousands of people were employed by the various bodies set up for the *yishuv*'s defense. There was a rise in the income of the national funds and a spectacular growth in agricultural settlement, which absorbed many of the new immigrants. In growing measure, the *yishuv* was able to supply its own vegetables, fruit, eggs, and other food. In summer 1936 a port was constructed in Tel Aviv as a result of the strike in Jaffa port, thus opening a Jewish door to the world.

The paramount problem was security. The Haganah developed into a military force that bore the responsibility for the *yishuv*'s safety, and a general staff was set up. From the beginning of the riots, the Jewish Agency had called for self-restraint (*havlagah*) by the *yishuv,* as well as self-defense (*hagannah*): no blind revenge or indiscriminate killing but appropriate defensive measures, including active operations against terrorist bands. All the Jewish villages were fortified with barbed-wire fences, strongpoints, and searchlights; wherever necessary they were reinforced with fighting men. Inter-settlement communications were ensured by armed escorts for individual vehicles and convoys and by the construction of new roads. Ambushes were set outside the settlement perimeter for marauding gangs who sought to destroy the crops.

Through the Jewish Agency, close – albeit unofficial – links were established between the Haganah and the British security forces. A force of Jewish special police (also known by the Arab-Turkish term *Ghafirs*) equipped with uniforms and arms by the police (some of its members received regular pay) guarded railroads, air-fields, and government offices. The Jewish Settlement Police (JSP) was set up to protect the Jewish villages and comprised, by the end of the period, ten district battalions, with mobile patrols equipped with armored cars and Lewis guns. The creation of these forces was tantamount to de facto legalization of the Haganah, to which most of the men belonged.

During this period, the Haganah also formed "field companies" (*peluggot sadeh*), which were trained for action against the terrorists beyond the perimeter of the settlements, and by the summer of 1938 held a continuous line along the borders of the Jewish areas, preventing the incursions of terrorist bands. In cooperation with the British Army, Special Night Squads (SNS) were established, consisting of regular British troops and members of the Haganah. Commanded and trained by Capt. Orde *Wingate, they used guerrilla tactics against the Arab terrorists and succeeded in clearing them out of a wide area in Eastern Galilee.

Agricultural settlement, which had not been halted by the disturbances, was stepped up further when the Royal Commission made its proposal for the partition of the country, for it was clear that the borders of the Jewish state would be determined by the extent of Jewish settlement. Some 50 new settlements, most kibbutzim, were established in areas where no Jewish settlements had previously existed: in the Beth-Shean Valley, Mount Carmel, Western Galilee, etc. In the initial stage, these *stockade and watch-tower settlements were organized as armed camps in hostile territory, and the members, all belonging to the Haganah, lived like soldiers until the Arabs around had become used to their presence. The Arab terrorists repeatedly attacked these outposts, e.g., Tirat Ẓevi in February and Ḥanitah in March 1938, but failed to dislodge them. The high costs of security were met by a voluntary tax, *Kofer ha-Yishuv,* which the Jewish population imposed upon itself.

Throughout this period the Haganah continued to strengthen its underground forces. Arms manufacture was developed under a secret agreement with Polish governmental circles. *Ḥalutzim* were given military training before emigration, and large quantities of light arms were purchased. The Jewish Agency's *havlagah* policy was opposed by the *Irgun Ẓeva'i Le'ummi (IẒL), a group which had seceded from the Haganah and was associated with the Revisionists. The IẒL engaged in terrorism against Arab civilians, which increased in scope in the summer of 1938 after the British had hanged one of its members, Shlomo *Ben-Yosef, who had taken part in an abortive attack against an Arab bus near Rosh Pinnah. The majority of the *yishuv* opposed their methods.

The worsening situation of the Jews in Europe brought about a renewal of "illegal"*immigration, known as Aliyah Bet ("Class B Immigration"), which was organized by He-Ḥalutz and the Revisionist movement. After the annexation of Austria and Czechoslovakia by Nazi Germany (1938–39), Aliyah Bet swelled with its own momentum and became a significant factor in immigration: by the outbreak of World War II, 15,000 Jews had entered the country in this manner. An underground body, known as the Mosad and linked to the Haganah, was set up at the end of 1938 to organize and coordinate the clandestine influx. The anti-Jewish switch in British policy at the end of 1938 caused great bitterness in the *yishuv*, exacerbated by the severe measures employed against the "illegal" boats, some of which were fired on and forced back into the open seas with their human cargo. From time to time strikes and protest demonstrations were held. On May 17, 1939 – the date on which the White Paper was published – a general strike was called and mass demonstrations took place in all Jewish towns and villages. The Haganah formed a special unit to attack telephone lines, railroads, and other government property.

War Breaks Out – Repression Continutes. The outbreak of World War II raised expectations of a change in British policy, in view of the *yishuv*'s readiness to cooperate in the fight against the common enemy, as reflected in the immediate registration of 136,000 volunteers, almost the entire Jewish population between the ages of 18 and 50, for national service. It was hoped that the White Paper policy would at least be suspended for the duration of the war. These hopes, however, were soon disappointed. The Mandatory government, headed by the high commissioner Harold MacMichael (1938–44) persisted in its campaign against the refugee boats arriving from Europe. When it became apparent that the internment of the refugees would not stop the flow, the government decided to deport them. In November 1940 the first deportation ship, the *Patria*, was about to sail for *Mauritius with 1,700 people aboard when it was sabotaged by the Haganah to prevent its departure. By a tragic mischance the boat sank and 250 refugees were drowned in Haifa Bay. Soon afterwards, the government deported another group of 1,645 refugees to the island. In February 1942 the *Struma*, carrying refugees from Romania, was turned back by the Turkish authorities when the British government had made it clear that the Jews would not be permitted to land in Palestine. The ship foundered in the Black Sea and 770 refugees lost their lives.

The beginning of the war also coincided with the introduction of repressive measures against the Haganah. In October 1939, 43 of its members, some of whom had served with the SNS during the Arab Revolt, were arrested while participating in an officers' training course and sentenced to five years' imprisonment. Searches for arms were conducted in many Jewish villages. The Jewish Agency's demand for the formation of Jewish military units was rejected: only a few hundred specialists were taken on to bring the British units up to strength, and several companies of the Auxiliary Military Pioneer Corps were formed, the first of these being sent to the front in France. In May 1940, after the Haganah-organized demonstrations and riots in protest against the Land Transfer Regulations, the British military commander demanded the surrender of the Haganah's arms. The first months of the war also caused a severe economic crisis, as a result of the sudden rupture of foreign trade.

The Yishuv and the War Effort, 1940–1942. Some changes took place after Italy's entry into the war in June 1940. The arms searches and arrests were halted and relations between the British authorities and the *yishuv* took a turn for the better. The Middle East became a huge military base. Volunteer men and women were accepted for service and transportation units in the British army which gradually became Jewish units also included women with, for the most part, Jewish officers in command. They rendered important service in Libya, Egypt, Ethiopia, Greece (where a thousand Jewish volunteers were taken prisoner by the Germans), and Crete. In September 1940 a new stage was reached with the formation of Palestinian Jewish and Arab companies of the Buffs, a British infantry regiment, which were to do garrison duty in Palestine; by the end of 1942 the Jewish companies had become three Jewish infantry battalions. Jews also served in antiaircraft units in Haifa and Cyprus. By the end of the war 26,620 Jews from Palestine had joined the British forces, including 4,000 women in the ATS and the WAAF.

The later war years brought about a radical change in the Jewish economy. The isolation of the Middle East from Europe facilitated a great economic advance, based largely on the requirements of the large military forces in the area. There was a significant increase in agricultural production and food processing and a considerable expansion of industry – especially in metals. Jewish scientists and technicians made important contributions to the supply of the forces' needs. There was a glaring contrast between the Jewish participation in the Allied war effort and the attitude of the Arabs, most of whom were indifferent to the outcome of the war, while a substantial number, headed by the exiled mufti, favored an alliance with the Nazis. The mufti and some of his aides went to Germany in 1941, participated in the plans for the destruction of European Jewry, and did all in their power to help the German propaganda machine.

In November 1942 the Zionist General Council approved the *Biltmore Program, which had been formulated earlier in the year by the American Zionist movement on David Ben-Gurion's initiative. It urged "that the gates of Palestine be opened, that the Jewish Agency be vested with the control of immigration into Palestine and with the necessary authority for the upbuilding of the country, and that Palestine be established as a Jewish Commonwealth integrated in the structure of the new democratic world." In the period 1941–42 there was a change in the British attitude toward the Haganah. In May 1941 the Haganah established the *Palmaḥ which in a short time became its regular full-time force. As the German threat to the Middle East became more acute, the Haganah was called in to assist in the invasion of Syria. A joint plan, the "Palestine Scheme," was prepared with the British for the creation of a resistance movement in case Palestine was occupied by the Germans, and hundreds of members of the Palmaḥ were trained by British officers in sabotage and commando tactics.

Relations Deteriorate Again, 1943–1945. When the war front receded at the end of 1942, however, relations between the British and the *yishuv* took a turn for the worse. This was a reflection of the struggle that was being waged between the makers of British Middle East policy and pro-Zionist elements in Britain. The British encouraged the creation of the *Arab League, in which all the Arab states took part and which at its first conferences (October 1944–March 1945) pledged its members to defend the rights of Palestine Arabs. On the other hand, the British Prime Minister Winston Churchill, the British Labor Party, and various British statesmen had promised a change in British policy in favor of the Jews at the end of the war. To many observers, the first sign of such change seemed to be the establishment of the *Jewish Brigade Group in 1944. It consisted of Jewish infantry, artillery, and service units from Palestine and took part in the final battles of the war on the Italian front in the spring of 1945. At the same time, however, the Palestine government stepped up its campaign against the Haganah. Political trials were staged at which the organization was accused of acquiring arms from British arsenals, and searches were made for arms in the kibbutzim, meeting with passive resistance on the part of the members, as at Ramat ha-Kovesh.

At the beginning of 1944 the IẒL, headed by Menahem *Begin, embarked upon a series of armed attacks on government and police installations in order to exert pressure upon the government to change its policy. In October of that year 251 men suspected of belonging to Jewish terrorist organizations were deported to an internment camp in Eritrea. Relations between the British and the Jews were seriously impaired by the murder of Lord Moyne, the British minister of state in the Middle East, on Nov. 6, 1944, by members of *Loḥamei Ḥerut Israel (Leḥi, called by the British the "Stern Gang") – an underground group that had seceded from IẒL in 1940 – which, from the beginning of the war, had adopted a violent anti-British attitude and even sought contact with the Italians and Germans. This act stood in contrast with the general policy of the *yishuv,* which hoped that the end of the war would bring about a better understanding with the British, and the Jewish national institutions called upon the dissident organizations to put a halt to their activities. When the IẒL refused, the Haganah took repressive measures against it in what was euphemistically called the "Saison." There was an impassioned controversy in the *yishuv* over the surrender to the British authorities of some IẒL members arrested by the Haganah.

It was not until the end of 1942 that the *yishuv* became aware of the appalling tragedy of European Jewry, and great efforts were made to help and rescue the Jews of Europe. The British, however, regarded these efforts as a violation of the White Paper policy and did all they could to obstruct them. Eventually a way was found to transfer several thousand Jewish refugees who had reached Istanbul to Palestine. Another project – to drop Haganah parachutists into occupied European countries, where they would rouse Jewish youth to resistance against the Nazis – was severely restricted in scope by the British. Only 32 such volunteers reached various European countries in the period 1943–44, and seven of them lost their lives.

Throughout the war years agricultural settlement continued to grow. Forty new villages were established in various parts of the country; among them were Bet ha-Aravah in the Dead Sea area, Kefar Eẓyon in the Hebron Hills, ten settlements in the southern Shephelah, and three (Revivim, Gevulot, and Bet Eshel) in the northern Negev; which inaugurated Jewish agricultural settlement in that area.

Postwar Disappointment. When the war came to an end, the *yishuv* expected a radical change in British policy. Above all, it expected the gates of the country to be reopened to large-scale Jewish immigration. A few hundred thousand European Jews had survived the Holocaust in German labor camps, in the forests and other hiding places, or as refugees in the eastern parts of the Soviet Union. As they had lost their families and were unable to go back to the scene of their tragic experiences, they made their way to the *Displaced Persons camps established by the Allies in Germany, Austria, and Italy. Essentially, this was a spontaneous mass movement, but it was guided and organized by the *Beriḥah ("Flight") organization, a clandestine body headed by emissaries from Palestine. The DP's received aid from general refugee agencies (UNRRA and later IRO) and Jewish organizations (the *American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee and a delegation from the *yishuv*), but their main goal was to leave Europe at the earliest possible moment and settle in the Land of Israel. The problem of the refugees troubled the military authorities in Europe, and in August 1945 President Truman appealed to the British prime minister, Clement *Attlee, to permit the immigration of 100,000 Jews into Palestine.

The election victory of the British Labor Party, which had always adhered to a pro-Zionist policy, increased hopes for a favorable change in the political position of the *yishuv,* but it soon became clear that a positive solution to the Palestine problem was still far away. Anti-Zionist forces exerted great pressure on the British government to prevent any deviation from the White Paper policy, and it was obvious that Attlee and Ernest *Bevin, the new foreign secretary, intended to maintain, or even intensify, the anti-Zionist line. In order to demonstrate its refusal to accept this state of affairs, in the fall of 1945 the *yishuv* organized the Jewish Resistance Movement, which was run by the Haganah in cooperation with the IẒL and Leḥi. The movement carried out its first operation on Oct. 10, 1945, when a Palmaḥ unit attacked the Athlit internment camp and liberated the 208 "illegal" immigrants who were held there. The Mosad, in turn, renewed the organization of clandestine immigration from Europe. A few boats got through, but the British soon tightened security measures along the coast using all available means, including aerial patrols and coastal radar installations. On Nov. 22, 1945, a boat named *Berl Katznelson* was intercepted, and thereafter most of the refugee boats were apprehended on the high seas and their passengers interned. Each such event caused an uproar in the country and strengthened the *yishuv*'s determination to offer active resistance to the government's policy.

On Nov. 1, 1945, the Jewish Resistance Movement showed its strength by launching a major attack on railroads all over the country and sinking several coastal patrol launches. A fortnight later the British foreign secretary Ernest Bevin, in a long-awaited statement, in effect repudiated his party's pro-Zionist commitments. He announced the despatch of an Anglo-American Commission to Palestine and Europe to inquire into the problem of Jewish refugees. In the meantime, Jewish immigration would continue at a rate of 1,500 per month, beyond the limit laid down in the White Paper, but the "illegal" immigrants would be deducted from the quota.

Struggle and Repression, 1946–1947. The *yishuv* entered upon a long struggle against the British. "Illegal" boats continued to arrive. Two of them, the *Dov Hos* and the *Eliyahu Golomb*, with 1,000 passengers aboard, were ready to sail from the Italian coast at La Spezia when the British military authorities tried to prevent their departure. This attempt, and the ensuing hunger strike by the refugee passengers, roused world opinion, and the British were forced to let them in. Palmaḥ, IẒL, and Leḥi units continued their attacks upon British police posts, coast guard stations, radar installations, and airfields. There were also frequent violent clashes between the security forces and Jewish demonstrators. This was the atmosphere in the country when the Anglo-American Commission arrived, after visiting the DP camps in Europe. Its report, submitted to the two governments on May 1, 1946, recommended the speedy admission of 100,000 Jewish refugees (see *Palestine, Inquiry Commissions). The British government rejected this recommendation and the Resistance Movement responded on June 17 by blowing up the bridges linking Palestine with the neighboring states.

The government reacted to this attack on June 29, 1946 ("Black Saturday"), by arresting the members of the Jewish Agency Executive who were in the country at the time, sending military forces to dozens of settlements suspected of harboring Palmaḥ units, and conducting exhaustive searches for arms caches, discovering a large one at Yagur. Similar searches took place in the following days and it was obvious that, apart from looking for arms, the military were also trying to do extensive damage. Thousands of persons suspected of being members of the Palmaḥ were interned in camps at Rafa. There was also a further aggravation of the policy towards the "illegal" boats, all refugees apprehended on their way to Palestine being taken to Cyprus and interned there. Tension reached new heights when, on July 22, 1946, the IẒL blew up the central government offices in the King David Hotel in Jerusalem and 91 people were killed – government officials and civilians, Britons, Jews, and Arabs. The Jewish Agency ordered a halt in the armed operations against the British, but IẒL and Leḥi refused to obey.

The government's aim had been to break up the Haganah and bring about the formation of a new, more moderate Jewish leadership, but it soon realized that this objective could not be achieved. In November 1946, the interned Jewish leaders were set free. At the beginning of 1947 negotiations were opened with Jewish and Arab representatives, to whom the British government submitted a new proposal (the Morrison-Grady Plan) providing for the division of Palestine into three sectors, Jewish, Arab and British (the latter including Jerusalem and the Negev), with the British retaining supreme control for another four years. Both Jews and Arabs rejected this proposal, and in February 1947 the British government announced that it was handing over the Palestine problem to the United Nations.

Throughout 1947 tension continued to rise and there was no end to the acts of terror. The IẒL and Leḥi now attacked the military, in addition to government installations. Their most spectacular operation was the liberation of some of their comrades by a daring attack upon the Acre fortress prison. The government's response was further repressive measures and the execution, by hanging, of seven IẒL and Leḥi men, to which the IẒL retaliated by hanging two British sergeants who had fallen into their hands. The transfer of refugees in Haifa port to the British boats, which were to take them to Cyprus, was accompanied by passive resistance and mass demonstrations; on several occasions, special Palmaḥ units succeeded in sabotaging the boats. In July 1947, when the *Exodus 1947* arrived in Haifa with 4,500 refugees aboard, the government decided to force it to return to its French port of departure. There, however, the refugees refused to disembark, and the British took the boat to Hamburg in their occupation zone, where the passengers were forcibly taken off and returned to the soil of Germany. The *Exodus* affair had a profound effect on world public opinion and reinforced the British decision to give up the Mandate. The feeling that a decisive hour was fast approaching impelled the *yishuv* to step up its settlement activities. The establishment of 11 new settlements in the Negev in a single night (the night after the Day of Atonement, Oct. 15, 1946), was to be decisive in securing the inclusion of the Negev in the area allotted to the Jewish state. By the end of 1947 the Jewish population in Palestine was 630,000 – about a third of the total.

The UN Recommends Partition. In May 1947 the Palestine problem came before a special session of the UN General Assembly. To the surprise of all, the Soviet delegate, Andre Gromyko, expressed his government's support for the right of the Jews to establish their own state in Palestine. An international committee, the United Nations Special Committee on Palestine (UNSCOP), was appointed to study the problem and submit recommendations for a solution. After investigating the position in Palestine and in the DP camps, the committee unanimously resolved that the Mandate should be terminated. The majority recommended the partition of Palestine into two independent states – Jewish and Arab – joined by an economic union, with Jerusalem and its environs as an international zone, while the minority proposed the establishment of a federative binational state. On Nov. 29, 1947, the General Assembly accepted the majority recommendation by a vote of 33 to 13 with 10 abstentions. The Jewish state was to consist of Eastern Galilee, the northern part of the Jordan Valley, the Beth-Shean and Jezreel Valleys, the coastal strip from a point south of Acre to a point south of Reḥovot, and the whole of the central and eastern Negev, including Umm Rash Rash (later Eilat) on the Red Sea. Jerusalem and its environs were to have an international regime; the remaining parts of the country were to form the Arab state. The British government announced that it would not cooperate in the execution of the partition plan and would withdraw British civilian staff and military forces by May 15, 1948. The *yishuv* received the news of the impending withdrawal with immense satisfaction; the Palestine Arab leaders and the Arab states announced their rejection of the UN decision and their determination to solve the problem by force (see *Palestine, Inquiry Commissions, and *Partition Palestine).

The Fighting Begins. On the morrow of the UN vote, there were outbreaks of Arab violence. On November 30 a bus was fired on and five Jews were killed. The Arabs proclaimed a general strike and the next day an Arab mob attacked the

Commercial Quarter, a mixed Jewish-Arab neighborhood in Jerusalem adjoining the Old City. The British police stood idly by, while the Haganah was unprepared, and within a few hours the quarter went up in flames. The riots soon spread to all parts of the country. At first they were similar in character to the 1936–39 Arab Revolt, except that now the Jews were alone in facing the armed Arab bands. The Arabs began to organize under local leaders such as ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Husseini in the Jerusalem hills. The Arab states, as yet unable to intervene directly because of the presence of British forces, gave the Palestinian Arabs financial support and encouraged the infiltration of Arab volunteers, which the British did nothing to prevent. Some of the volunteers were organized in the Liberation Army, commanded by Fawzī al-Kaukji (see under Israel, State of: Historical Survey, 1880–1948, from the section The Arab Revolt onwards). The *War of Independence had, in effect, begun.

The defense of the *yishuv* became the sole responsibility of the Haganah. In addition to ensuring the safety of the Jewish population in town and country, it had to keep communications open. Special difficulties were encountered in maintaining contact with isolated Jewish villages, such as those in Upper and Western Galilee and in the Negev, and the four villages of the Eẓyon Bloc in the Hebron Hills. A crucial problem was contact with Jewish Jerusalem, besieged by Arab bands who tried to cut if off from the rest of the country. There were heavy casualties in the fight for the maintenance of communications during the early months of the fighting; serious losses were sustained, for example, by the convoys to Ben Shemen, the Eẓyon Bloc, Yeḥi'am, and, above all, to Jerusalem. Strict rationing of food and water had to be introduced in the capital, which also suffered from large-scale bomb outrages, such as the Ben-Yehuda Street explosion and the blowing up of the *Palestine Post* premises, perpetrated by Arabs with the aid of British army deserters. At the beginning it was the Palmaḥ units, already trained and mobilized in three brigades, that bore the brunt of the struggle. In the course of the riots and the war, six more brigades were set up: Golani and Carmeli in the North; Alexandroni, Kiryati, and Givati in the coastal area; and Eẓyoni in Jerusalem. Air, naval, and artillery forces were created from scratch. General mobilization of all able-bodied men was ordered, and by the time the State of Israel was declared (May 14), 51,500 people were serving in the Jewish armed forces. The major problem confronting the *yishuv* was the lack of arms, which prevented the proper development of operations. It was not until the beginning of April that large consignments arrived, mainly from Czechoslovakia, bringing about an immediate and radical improvement in the armament situation.

Preparations for Independence. In this initial period, when the very existence of the *yishuv* was at stake, the world had grave doubts as to the Jews' ability to hold out. On March 19, 1948, the United States withdrew its support of the Partition Plan and proposed instead a UN Trusteeship over Palestine to last until Jews and Arabs reached agreement. The U.S. State Department brought pressure to bear on the Jewish Agency and the *yishuv* to postpone the establishment of independence, but the Zionist General Council decided in the middle of April to go ahead with all preparations to set up the Jewish state on the departure of the British. A People's Council of 37 members, representing all parties and sections, and a People's Administration of 13, headed by David Ben-Gurion, were set up to act as an unofficial provisional legislature and government.

At the same time there was a radical change in the course of the fighting. The Haganah seized the initiative, rapidly establishing its hold on the entire area allotted to the Jewish state and ensuring its territorial continuity. On April 3, 1948, in Operation Naḥshon – the first in which a full brigade was employed – the road to Jerusalem was cleared by occupying Arab villages and areas on both sides of the road, and large convoys of food and reinforcements were rushed through to the beleaguered city. On April 9, a combined IẒL and Leḥi group attacked the Arab village of Deir Yasīn, west of Jerusalem, and many of its civilian inhabitants were killed – an event which greatly served Arab anti-Jewish propaganda and increased the panic among the Arab population. Kaukji's forces launched a major attack upon Mishmar ha-Emek (April 4), aiming at a breakthrough which would clear the way to Haifa, but were completely routed. On April 11 Safed was cleared of Arab forces. On April 14, Arab terrorists ambushed a convoy of Jewish doctors, nurses, and teachers on their way to the Hadassah hospital in Mt. Scopus – 78 persons were killed. Jewish forces took Tiberias on April 18 and on April 22 the Haganah, after a brief battle with local Arab forces, occupied the whole of Haifa.

Hundreds of thousands of Arabs fled from the areas occupied by the Jewish forces. The mass flight was encouraged by the Arab leadership, which spread atrocity stories about the behavior of the Jewish forces and their intentions toward the Arab inhabitants. On the eve of the British departure, the Haganah seized most of New Jerusalem, but the Jewish quarter in the Old City was cut off and besieged by the Arab legion, a Jordanian force commanded by British officers. The Legion attacked the Eẓyon Bloc with its tanks and overran it on May 13. On the same day Jaffa surrendered to the Haganah after the attack on the town by the IẒL. By the middle of May, the *yishuv* had suffered about 2,500 fatal casualties, almost half of them among the civilian population.

On May 14, 1948, the day preceding the end of British rule, the People's Council convened in the Tel Aviv Museum and approved the Proclamation of Independence, which declared the establishment of the State of Israel.

[Yehuda Slutsky]

From Independence to the Six-Day War

THE END OF THE MANDATORY REGIME. The Declaration of Independence began by explaining the justification for the establishment of the Jewish State at that moment of history. It recalled the shaping of the Jewish people and their culture in the Land of Israel, their unbroken attachment to the land in dispersion, and their return in recent generations to found a thriving and self-reliant society. The right of the Jewish people to national restoration in their land, the declaration continued, was voiced by the First Zionist Congress, acknowledged in the Balfour Declaration, confirmed in the League of Nations Mandate, and now irrevocably recognized by the United Nations. "By virtue of our natural and historic right and of the resolution of the General Assembly of the United Nations," the People's Council proclaimed the establishment of "a Jewish State in the Land of Israel – the State of Israel." From the concluding moment of the Mandate, at midnight on May 14/15, 1948, the council was to act as the Provisional Council of State and the 13-member People's Administration as the provisional government. The declaration concluded by proclaiming the basic principles on which the State of Israel was to be founded, undertaking to cooperate with the United Nations in carrying out the resolution of Nov. 29, 1947, calling upon the Arabs in Israel and the neighboring states to cooperate with the independent Jewish nation in its land, and appealing to the entire Jewish people to join forces with the State of Israel in its constructive efforts.

At the same meeting the council resolved by acclamation that all legal provisions deriving from the 1939 White Paper – particularly the restrictions on Jewish immigration and land purchase – were null and void. Subject to this decision, the law presently in force would remain valid until amended, with such changes as followed from the establishment of the state and its authorities. The provisional government was empowered to enact emergency legislation. At midnight, a few hours later, the last British high commissioner, Sir Alan Cunningham, left Haifa on board a British destroyer. The Mandate was over. At 00:11 A.M. on May 15, U.S. President Truman recognized the provisional government "as the de facto authority of the new State of Israel." Three days later the Soviet Union. (as well as Guatemala) granted the new state de jure recognition. During the first month of its existence, nine more countries recognized Israel: five Communist, three Latin American, and South Africa.

THE ARAB STATES JOIN IN THE ATTACK: MAY 15–JUNE 11, 1948. During the night of May 14/15, Tel Aviv was bombarded by Egyptian planes. The attempt by the Arab states to crush Israel at birth had begun. Ben-Gurion, who was in charge of defense, and Ya'-akov *Dori (Dostrovosky), the Haganah chief of staff, could look back on substantial military achievements. Four of the towns with mixed Jewish-Arab population were in Jewish hands; Acre was encircled; Jewish Jerusalem held out, and some of its adjacent Arab quarters had been taken. The Haganah held crucial strong points on the road to the capital from Tel Aviv. About 100 Arab villages had fallen; western and eastern Galilee were cleared of enemy forces; the roads to the north and the Negev were open. Local Arab armed contingents had been crushed, and Kaukji's Liberation Army had suffered severe reverses. Israel had 30,000 fully armed men in the field; the IẒL and Leḥi forces were placed under Haganah command, though both maintained their autonomy in Jerusalem. To reinforce the three Palmaḥ and six other brigades, artillery units were being organized around nuclei of World War II veterans. With the aid of Jewish volunteers from abroad (*Maḥal), Israelis who had served with the RAF, and pilots trained by the Palmaḥ, the tiny air force was expanded. A small navy, similarly manned, had also been founded. Two more brigades – the 7th, consisting mainly of new immigrants, and Oded, made up mainly of men from the Palmaḥ and the kibbutzim – were set up. On May 26 the provisional government issued an ordinance establishing the Israel Defense Forces – Ẓeva Haganah le-Israel (the second word in the name marking the nexus between the IDF and the pre-state militia) and forbidding the maintenance of any other armed force. On the other hand, the exhausted Israel forces, which at first did not have a single tank, fighter plane, or field gun and had suffered heavy casualties, faced fresh, organized troops, equipped with tanks, artillery, and fighting craft. In the north, the Syrians invaded in two columns, one advancing down the Jordan Valley toward Deganyah and the other in Eastern Galilee in the direction of Mishmar ha-Yarden. The former offensive was repulsed, but the other column succeeded in taking Mishmar ha-Yarden on June 10, a day before a truce was declared. The Lebanese, after linking up with Kaukji's irregulars, were content to help him maintain a large pocket in Central Galilee.

In the center, the Transjordanian Arab Legion, which, despite repeated British promises, had not been withdrawn before the end of the Mandate, had taken up positions in and around Jerusalem and together with Iraqi troops, in the "Triangle" area marked by the Arab towns of Nablus, Jenin, and Tulkarm. They hoped, after a speedy victory, to advance to the lowlands, forestalling the Egyptians, who were attacking from the south, by taking the Coastal Plain and the Syrians by occupying Haifa. The Legion reached *Latrun, on the road to the capital, took up positions in the Old City, cut off Mount Scopus, and threatened the Jewish quarters in the north of Jerusalem.

Units of the Harel Brigade penetrated through the Zion Gate and made contact with the defenders of the Jewish Quarter of the Old City, but they were unable to hold out against superior forces and left the Old City. The Jewish Quarter surrendered on May 25. No Jews were left in the Old City, and the Jewish Quarter, with its ancient synagogues and places of learning, was almost completely demolished. The Legion troops could make no further progress, however, and contented themselves with indiscriminate bombardment of the Jewish areas, in which 170 civilians were killed and over 1,000 injured. The Israelis' attempts to lift the siege were unsuccessful, but at the beginning of June they succeeded in bringing up supplies and reinforcements along a makeshift track in the mountains, named the "Burma Road" in recollection of *Wingate's exploits in World War II.

The Iraqis took little part in offensive operations but were able to prevent the fall of Jenin. The Egyptians, however, were more successful. They advanced with a rapid pincer movement through mainly Arab territory, one arm advancing northward along the coast, while the other moved northeast, through Beersheba and Hebron, to southern Jerusalem. The western arm, after being held up by the desperate resistance of the Jewish villages of *Yad Mordekhai, *Kefar Darom and *Niẓẓanim, was halted by Israeli forces north of the Arab village of Isdūd (Ashdod). The eastern arm split the Negev and cut off its 28 Jewish villages, but it was unable to subdue them.

The first Messerschmidts of the infant Israel air force were assembled only on May 29, with others arriving at the rate of one or two a day. A direct confrontation with the superior Arab forces was out of the question, but they carried out a variety of operations, cooperating with the ground forces, flying in supplies to isolated outposts, bombarding Amman and Damascus, and attacking Egyptian troop-carrying ships. Some of the refugee boats, which had brought "illegal" immigrants, were hurriedly repaired and fitted with antiquated cannon; one of them, the *Eilat*, took part in the battle against Egyptian troop carriers off the Gaza Strip.

On May 20 the UN General Assembly appointed Count Folke Bernadotte as mediator for Palestine to ensure the maintenance of essential services and the protection of the Holy Places and to promote a peaceful solution to the conflict. At the same time, the Security Council called on the parties to cease fire. Israel agreed, but the Arabs refused. On May 29, the day after the mediator's arrival in the Middle East, the council again called for a cease-fire – this time for a period of four weeks – and after bargaining over details and several postponements, the truce went into force on June 11. Israel was in control of eastern and western Galilee, the Jezreel Valley from Haifa to the Jordan River, the coastal strip to a point north of Isdod, a corridor from the coast to Jerusalem, and a large pocket in the heart of the Negev, not including Beersheba.

ORGANIZING THE STATE: MAY 1–JULY 7, 1948. In the midst of battle, the infant state had to improvise the machinery of government. Law and order in the Jewish areas, transport and communications, purchase and distribution of supplies, social services, and the like had been organized on a voluntary basis by the People's Administration during the chaotic last days of the Mandate, but there was only the nucleus of a civil service, consisting of the staffs of the Jewish Agency and the Va'ad Le'ummi and the Jewish officials in the British administration. At its first regular meeting the Provisional Council of State elected Chaim *Weizmann as its president. The administrative headquarters of the government were set up in the rural surroundings of Sarona, a suburb of Tel Aviv evacuated by the German *Templer settlers who had been deported during the war. On May 19 the council adopted the Law and Administration Ordinance, which laid down, in broad lines, its own powers as the legislature and those of the provisional government, thus establishing a rudimentary constitution. Other laws were concerned with weekly and annual days of rest for Jews and non-Jews, the tenure of civil servants and police officers, and the operation of the courts. There was now no bar to the arrival of immigrants. At the end of July the minister of immigration announced that over 25,000 had arrived, mainly from the camps in Cyprus and the Displaced Persons' camps in Europe, although the British and American authorities were making it difficult for young men of military age to leave in case they should strengthen Israel during the truce period.

The truce brought advantages to both sides. While the Arabs were able to rest and reorganize their troops, the Israelis also had a valuable breathing space for redeployment, training, and planning. At the beginning of June the newly formed government faced a critical internal challenge to its authority. Although IẒL had undertaken to stop all independent arms purchases, it was learned that a ship called the *Altalena* (the literary pseudonym of Vladimir Jabotinsky) was on its way from France carrying not only 900 immigrants, but also 250 light machine guns, 5,000 rifles, and a large quantity of ammunition. The government demanded that the ship, with its cargo, be placed unconditionally at its disposal, but the IẒL leaders refused. On June 20, when the ship approached the shore at Kefar Vitkin, soldiers were sent to prevent the arms and ammunition from being unloaded and a battle developed with IẒL adherents, including two companies who had left their army posts. The IẒL contingent surrendered, but the ship succeeded in escaping and reaching Tel Aviv, where another skirmish took place between IẒL members and a Palmaḥ detachment. The army shelled the ship, and most of the immigrants barely succeeded in jumping into the shallow water before it blew up and sank. The incident left a deep deposit of bitterness but made it clear that no sectional armed force competing with the IDF would be tolerated (see *Irgun Ẓeva'i Le'ummi).

As the end of the truce approached, efforts were made to extend it: on July 1 Count Bernadotte invited Arabs and Jews to meet for negotiations at Rhodes, and on the 7th the Security Council called on the parties to renew the truce. The Arabs refused, though agreement was reached in Jerusalem on the demilitarization of the Mount Scopus area, including the Hebrew University, the Hadassah Hospital, the Augusta Victoria building, and the Arab village of ʿIsawiyya.

TEN DAYS' FIGHTING: JULY 8–18, 1948. On July 8 the Egyptians renewed their attacks in the south with a view to sealing off the Negev. Now, however, Israel's strong points were fortified and its forces much better trained and armed. Mobile commandos, "Samson's Foxes," inflicted heavy casualties and captured valuable supplies, including armored vehicles. In ten days the Egyptian attack was shattered, with the loss of 740 killed, 1,000 wounded, and 200 prisoners.

On July 9, with the official expiry of the truce, the IDF launched a strong offensive, led by tanks and armored cars, aimed at repelling the threat to Tel Aviv and driving at the Latrun-Ramallah road. On July 11 Lydda was taken, and Ramleh surrendered next day. The Arab Legion counterattacked but was driven back, losing 600 killed and 250 wounded, and on the 16th the objective was achieved. At the same time, the Israelis attacked in Lower Galilee, taking Nazareth and driving most of Kaukji's forces back to Lebanon. In the Jerusalem sector, the Israelis, who could now bombard Legion posts all along the front, broke the Egyptian line in the south and took ʿAyn Karm (Ein Kerem) on the western outskirts of the city. An attempt to take the Old City, however, was unsuccessful. On the night of July 16/17 IDF forces broke in from Mount Zion, while IẒL and Leḥi contingents breached the New Gate, but they were forced to withdraw a few hours before the second truce went into effect in the city. During the "Ten Days" the Egyptians bombarded Tel Aviv and the Negev villages, but the Israelis had acquired a number of "flying fortresses," which attacked Cairo on their way to Israel, carried out many operations in support of the ground forces, and bombed Damascus twice. Twelve enemy planes were shot down, bringing Arab losses from the beginning of the invasion to 34.

On July 15 the Security Council adopted a strongly worded resolution noting the Arabs' rejection of appeals for the extension of the truce, determining that the situation constituted a threat to peace, ordering a cease-fire "until a peaceful adjustment of the future situation of Palestine is reached," and declaring that failure to comply would be a breach of the peace and might involve sanctions under Chapter VII of the UN Charter. The cease-fire was to take effect in Jerusalem on July 17 and in the rest of the country on the next day. This time it was the Arabs who willingly accepted the cease-fire, since the Israel forces were on the offensive. Israel agreed with some reluctance, for, although it had achieved considerable gains, the Syrians still held Mishmar ha-Yarden in the north; Jerusalem was still split, with Mount Scopus an enclave in Arab-held territory; the main road to Jerusalem was blocked at Latrun; and the Egyptians held strategically important positions in the Negev.

POLITICAL AND INTERNAL PROBLEMS: JUNE–NOVEMBER, 1948. Since the beginning of the first truce, the mediator had been trying to work out a solution to the dispute. He did not consider himself bound by the partition plan, which he thought was favorable to the Jews, and tried to find ways of satisfying the demands of the Arabs. On June 27, after consulting separately with representatives of the two sides, he proposed a union of two states (neither completely independent) – one Jewish and one Arab – the latter to comprise Transjordan and part of Western Palestine. After two years Jewish immigration was to be subject to the approval of the UN Economic and Social Council, while the Arab refugees were to be repatriated and their property restored. In an appendix he suggested territorial changes in the partition plan: Transjordan to get Jerusalem (with autonomy for the Jewish population) and most or all of the Negev; Israel to get western Galilee; Haifa port and Lydda airport to become free zones.

Almost all of Bernadotte's proposals were completely unacceptable to Israel, and the Arab League refused to consider anything less than an Arab state in the whole of Western Palestine, with protection for the Jewish minority. After the second truce came into operation, the Arabs still refused to start negotiations and there was a halt in efforts to find a solution. With Arab troops still occupying key positions, the Israel government regarded the indefinite continuance of the truce as highly dangerous. The Arabs committed repeated breaches of the ceasefire, such as the blowing up by the Arab Legion of the pumping station at Latrun, which was to supply water to Jerusalem. Internally, there was uncertainty about the status of Jerusalem, where IẒL and Leḥi units were still in existence.

The economic situation was critical. The burden of the war effort was heavy, and costs were high because of restricted imports, world price increases, and labor shortages due to general mobilization. The cost-of-living index stood at 344 points at the end of July 1949, compared with 280 in November 1947. Although the Haifa refineries had been reopened on July 22, there was a shortage of fuel and the licenses of nonessential civilian vehicles were revoked. Immigrants were still pouring in, however, and as young men were called up the new-comers took their places in office, shop, field, and factory. Thousands of families were accommodated in houses abandoned by Arab refugees, and dozens of new villages were founded, many of them kibbutzim settled by groups for whom no land had been available under the Mandate. On August 17 the minister of finance, Eliezer *Kaplan, announced that the Palestine pound would be replaced by the Israel pound, a new currency with the same exchange value, issued by the Anglo-Palestine Bank.

At the end of August the Zionist General Council met in Tel Aviv to discuss the changes in the structure and functions of the Jewish Agency necessitated by the establishment of the Jewish state. Obviously, the Agency could no longer deal with such matters as defense and relations with foreign governments. Some of its leading members were now ministers responsible to the Israel legislature, and the American Zionists demanded complete separation between the Agency Executive and Israel government. Ultimately, compromises were reached: the Agency would concentrate on immigration, absorption, settlement, youth work, and information; as land purchase was no longer a problem, the Jewish National Fund would devote itself to afforestation and land amelioration. The Agency Executive was enlarged by the co-option of Mapam and Revisionist representatives: 11 were to sit in Jerusalem, seven in New York, and one in London. Kaplan retained his place on the executive as a link with the government.

To regularize the position in Jerusalem, the government placed the Israel-held area under Israel law and appointed Dov *Joseph as military governor. The city's economy had been badly injured by the siege, supply difficulties, and the transfer of government departments to Tel Aviv. On September 17 Count Bernadotte and his assistant, Col. Sarraut, were assassinated in Jerusalem. An unknown organization called the Fatherland Front, generally considered to consist of ex-members of Leḥi, claimed the credit. The government arrested some 200 men and decided to impose strict discipline over all sectional forces. An ultimatum was issued to IẒL to disband immediately and hand in all its arms.

A few days after the murder, Bernadotte's last report to the United Nations was published. It called for the replacement of the truce by a permanent peace, or at least an armistice, and made new territorial proposals: to give the Negev to the Arabs and Galilee to the Jews; to place Jerusalem under international supervision; to join the Arab area with Transjordan; and to permit the refugees to return to their homes. The report was well received in Washington and London, but Israel rejected most of its proposals.

Ben-Gurion had already raised the problem of the separate command of the Palmaḥ, which dealt with recruitment, training, supplies, and even operational matters. The Palmaḥ enjoyed the political support of Mapam, the United Workers' Party: of its 64 senior officers, 60 were associated with that party. Ben-Gurion, while deeply appreciating its spirit and achievements, insisted that the general staff must have complete and unified control of all units. The Palmaḥ and its supporters argued that it fulfilled a vital function and that unified control was assured, through the subordination of its command to the IDF general staff. After prolonged and at times heated debates over the question, which was even discussed by the Histadrut, the government decided on November 7 to dissolve the separate Palmaḥ command and transfer its functions to the appropriate departments of the general staff. Its three brigades continued to exist and played an outstanding part in the IDF's operations until the end of the fighting.

LAST BATTLES: OCTOBER 1948–JANUARY 1949. In the middle of October, fighting broke out again in the Negev. Despite the rulings of Ralph Bunche, who had succeeded Bernadotte as mediator, the Egyptians refused to allow the Israelis to send supplies to their villages and outposts. On October 15, after notifying the UN observers, a convoy was sent down to the Negev; when it was attacked by the Egyptians, the Israel forces opened a general offensive in the area, known as Operation Ten Plagues. In five days the road was cleared, Beersheba taken, and the Egyptians hemmed in around Faluja. The air force played an important part in the campaign by bombarding the Egyptians in the Faluja pocket, while the small boats of the navy harassed them, prevented supplies and reinforcements from arriving by sea, and sank the Egyptian flagship, the *Faruk*. At the same time, a number of posts commanding the railroad to Jerusalem were taken and an attack was launched at the remnants of Kaukji's forces in Galilee, which did not recognize the cease-fire. Operations in the north were completed at the end of the month with the capture of several Lebanese border villages.

The fighting was not yet over, however. The Egyptians held out in the Faluja pocket and threatened Israel villages and communications in the Negev. On November 9 the formidable fortress at Iraq-Suweidan, which had withstood seven attacks, was taken. On November 23 Israel forces advanced from Beersheba to take the desert crossroads at Kurnub and Ein Huṣb, which controlled the road to the Dead Sea Works at Sodom. At the beginning of December the Egyptians took a number of strong points as preparation for a renewed advance on Beersheba, but on the 22nd the Israel forces started a large-scale offensive that turned the Egyptian flank by advancing with an armored column into Egyptian territory from Niẓẓanah (ʿAuja al-Ḥafīr) and taking the northern Sinai crossroads at Abu-Aweigila and the airfield at the coastal town of El-Arish. The Israelis withdrew from Sinai under pressure from the powers and the United Nations, but started to advance toward Rafa, the border town on the coast. On Jan. 7, 1949, after the Egyptians agreed to open negotiations for an armistice, the final cease-fire was called.

The War of Independence was, in effect, over, although it was not formally ended until the signature of the Armistice Agreement with Syria in July 1949. The fighting had been spread over a period of more than 13 months, including 61 days of continuous combat. Israel had paid a heavy price: 4,000 soldiers and 2,000 civilians killed. The financial cost was also heavy: about 500 million dollars. The Jewish state, however, was now a definite fact, created by the effort and sacrifice of its people with no effective assistance from the United Nations, which had called for its establishment. On Ben-Gurion's insistence, it had been decided not to specify boundaries in the Declaration of Independence, and Israel did not feel bound by the partition map, which the UN mediator had ignored. It held an area of almost 8,000 sq. mi., compared with some 6,200 sq. mi. within the boundaries delineated in the partition plan, including the whole of Galilee; a coastal strip reaching down to some 27 miles north of the Sinai border, narrowing to six miles north of Tel Aviv and broadening into a corridor from the coast to Jerusalem; and the whole of the Negev. Western Jerusalem was firmly in Jewish hands. The establishment of an Arab state and the internationalization of Jerusalem had been frustrated by the Arab attacks and the occupation (later turned into annexation) by Transjordan of the Arab-inhabited eastern parts of Palestine, later called the West Bank (including East Jerusalem), and the Egyptian occupation of the Gaza Strip, which was also earmarked for the Arab state. This, however, did not prevent the Arabs, in later years, from repeatedly demanding a return to the boundaries laid down in the General Assembly resolution of Nov. 29, 1947.

THE FIRST ELECTIONS: NOVEMBER 1948–AUGUST 1949. While sporadic fighting was still going on, and before the de facto boundaries of the new state had been settled, steps were taken to put the regime on a firm footing of democratic consent. On Nov. 8, 1948, an all-day curfew was proclaimed and, while the entire population remained in their homes, a census was carried out. The population of the areas then under Israel control was found to be 782,000–713,000 Jews and 69,000 Arabs (after the conclusion of the Armistice Agreements and the readmission of Arabs separated from their families, the number of Arabs rose to about 120,000). Of this number, 506,567 had the right to vote. There was no time to divide the country into constituencies, and the elections were held by the proportional representation system in force for the Zionist Congresses and the Elected Assembly of Keneset Yisrael. The number of seats was fixed at 120, like the membership of Keneset ha-Gedolah, the Great Assembly that functioned after the ancient return from Babylon.

The elections were held on January 25; almost 87% of the electors – 440,000 – went to the polls, including over 73,000 votes cast at special polling stations for soldiers. The results showed a considerable degree of political continuity. The largest party in the Assembly was Mapai with 46 seats, followed by Mapam, the United Workers' Party, with 19 and the United Religious Front (Mizrachi, Ha-Po'el ha-Mizrachi, Agudat Israel, and Po'alei Agudat Israel) with 16. The Revisionist Party was replaced by the Ḥerut movement, founded by the IẒL, which obtained 14 seats. The various middle-class parties coalesced into two groups: General Zionists with 7 and Progressives with 5. The Communists and the communal list of the Sephardim had 4 seats each. There was also an Arab party, the Nazareth Democratic List, with 2 seats; other Arab votes went to various Jewish lists, especially Mapai and the Communists. The Fighters' List (Leḥi), WIZO (Women Zionists), and the Yemenite Federation received one seat each.

The first meeting of the Assembly was held in Jerusalem as a sign of Israel's determination that the Holy City should be the capital of the Jewish state. It was opened at the headquarters of the Jewish Agency, by Chaim Weizmann as president of the Provisional Council of State.

The 114 members who were present made the declaration of allegiance, and four committees were elected to make arrangements for the continuation of the Assembly's work. The first session also elected Yosef *Sprinzak as speaker, and the second elected representatives of Mapam and the United Religious Front as his deputies.

On February 16, the Assembly adopted the Transition Law as a provisional constitution, outlining the functions and procedures of the legislature, the election and powers of the president, the formation of the government, and its relations with the Assembly, which was to be called the Knesset. On the same day it elected Weizmann president, and he was installed on the 17th. The provisional government thereupon submitted its resignation to the president, as provided by the Transition Law, and, after consultations with representatives of all the parties, he called upon Ben-Gurion to form a new cabinet. The first regular government, which obtained a vote of confidence on March 10, was based on a coalition between Mapai, the United Religious Front, the Progressives, and the Sephardim. With the exception of the last, who split up subsequently between Mapai and the General Zionists, these parties constituted the nucleus of almost all subsequent Israel cabinets up to 1977. Contrary to expectations, the Knesset did not proceed immediately to draft a formal constitution. After lengthy

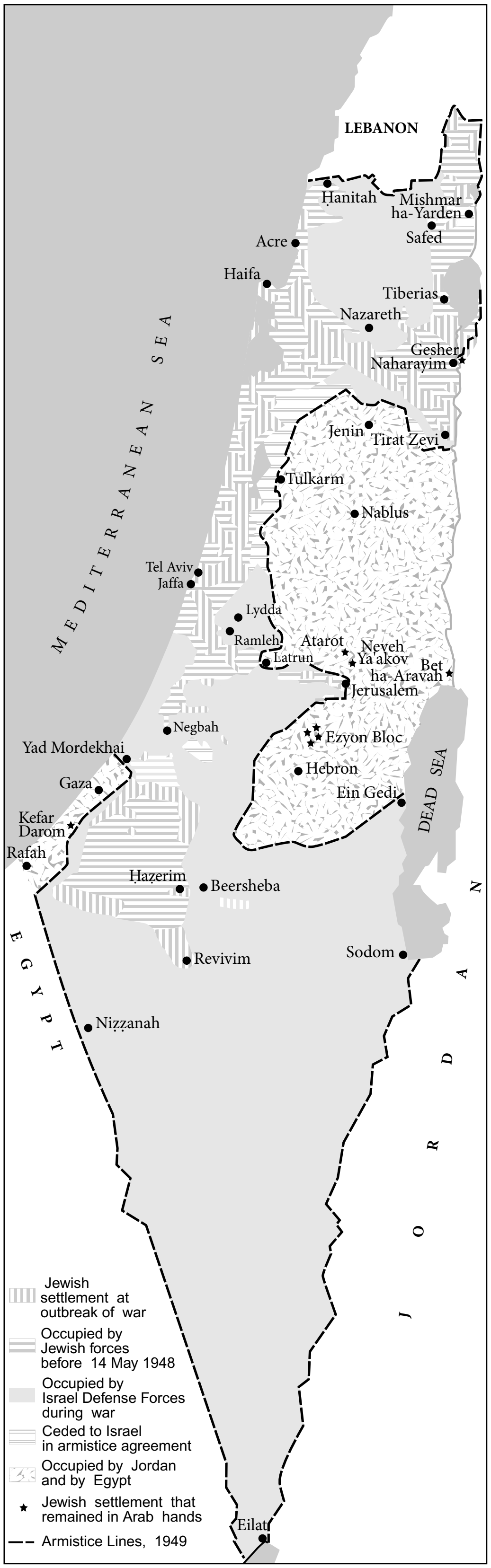
LEBANON
Ḥanitah
Mishmar ha-Yarden
Safed
Acre
Haifa
Tiberias
Nazareth
Gesher
Naharayim
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
Jenin
Tirat Zevi
Tulkarm
Nablus
Tel Aviv
Jaffa
Lydda
Ramleh
Atarot
Neveh Ya'akov
Latrun
Bet ha-Aravah
Jerusalem
Negbah
Ezyon Bloc
Yad Mordekhai
Hebron
Gaza
Ein Gedi
DEAD SEA
Kefar Darom
Rafah
Ḥaẓerim
Beersheba
EGYPT
Revivim
Sodom
JORDAN
Niẓẓanah
Eilat
Jewish settlement at outbreak of war
Occupied by Jewish forces before 14 May 1948
Occupied by Israel Defense Forces during war
Ceded to Israel in armistice agreement
Occupied by Jordan and by Egypt
Jewish settlement that remained in Arab hands
Armistice Lines, 1949

The Israel War of Independence, 1948–49. Based on Atlas of Israel, *Survey of Israel, 1970.*

discussions and debates, it was decided in June 1950 to enact a number of separate "Basic Laws," which would ultimately be combined to form the constitution. (See also Israel, State of: *Political Life and Parties) Israel's debt to the man who proclaimed the vision of the Jewish state was recognized when, on Aug. 17, 1949, the remains of Theodor Herzl were brought by air from Vienna and reinterred in Jerusalem on a hill renamed Mount Herzl.

ISRAEL JOINS THE FAMILY OF NATIONS: JANUARY–JULY 1949. Negotiations for an armistice between Israel and Egypt started on the island of Rhodes on Jan. 13, 1949, under the auspices of Ralph Bunche. At first the mediator met the representatives of each side separately; when there were signs of progress, the parties held informal meetings; and when agreement was reached, the representatives met under his chairmanship to affix their signatures.

The *Armistice Agreement with Egypt, signed on February 24, gave the entire Negev, down to the border with Sinai, to Israel but left the *Gaza Strip under Egyptian occupation. A demilitarized zone was established around ʿAuja al-Ḥafīr (Niẓẓanah) and also on the Egyptian side of the line, in the same area. To ensure de facto control over the Negev, two infantry columns were sent out at the beginning of March 1949 in Operation Uvdah ("Fact"). On March 10 the advance party reached the abandoned police post at Umm Rash Rash on the Gulf of Akaba, ensuring Israel's outlet to the Red Sea and restoring the biblical name, Eilat.

Under the agreement with Lebanon, signed on March 23 at Ras al-Naqura (Rosh ha-Nikrah), the former international frontier was specified as the armistice line, Israel forces withdrawing from the Lebanese villages they had occupied.

The agreement with Jordan, signed on March 4 after a month's negotiations, established a winding border 530 km. (330 miles) long. It left under Jordanian occupation the thickly populated hill country of Judea and Samaria (called the "West Bank" after its annexation by Transjordan), including East Jerusalem, and ran through the Dead Sea down the Mandatory eastern border of Palestine to the tip of the Red Sea (the Gulf of Akaba), about three miles west of Akaba Port. It was agreed that the Arab Legion should replace the Iraqis in the "Triangle" area.

Under the agreement with Syria, which was not signed until July 20, the Syrians withdrew from the areas they had occupied west of the international frontier and Israel agreed, in return, that the areas should be demilitarized and the Arabs who had abandoned them during the fighting be permitted to return. Thus Israeli control over Lake Kinneret and Lake Ḥuleh was assured, but the demilitarized zones were a frequent focus of friction during the following years. Iraq did not conclude an armistice agreement with Israel. See also Israel, State of: *Historical Survey, section on Frontiers.

Although the agreements specifically reserved to the parties the right to make territorial claims in the future, it was stated in each case that the agreement was concluded "in order to facilitate the transition from the present truce to permanent peace in Palestine" (preamble), that "No aggressive actions by the armed forces – land, sea, or air – of either Party shall be undertaken, planned or threatened against the people or the armed forces of the other" (Article 1), and that "No warlike act or act of hostility shall be conducted from territory controlled by one of the Parties… against the other Party" (Article 2). The armistice lines thus constituted de facto boundaries as long as they were respected by both sides, and, despite repeated violations, they served as such until the Six-Day War of 1967. A United Nations Truce Supervision Organization (UNTSO), composed of soldiers from various countries under the command of a chief of staff, and four Mixed Armistice Commissions (MACs), each with Israel and Arab representatives under an UNTSO officer as chairman, were set up to supervise the execution of the agreements and consider complaints. In default of unanimity, the UN chairman acted as an arbiter.

On Dec. 11, 1948, the UN General Assembly recommended (Resolution 194 [III]) that "the Governments and authorities concerned" should "seek agreement by negotiations conducted with a view to a final settlement of all questions outstanding between them," that "the refugees wishing to return to their homes and live in peace with their neighbors should be permitted to do so at the earliest practical date," and that a Palestine Conciliation Commission, consisting of U.S., French, and Turkish representatives, be set up to bring the parties together. When the commission met at Lausanne on April 26, 1949, the Arab delegations insisted on the return of all Arab refugees as a precondition to negotiations, while Israel was prepared to discuss the problem only in the context of comprehensive peace negotiations. Israel later offered to admit 100,000 refugees as part of a comprehensive peace settlement, but the Lausanne talks made no progress and were broken off in September. An Economic Survey Mission headed by Gordon R. Clapp, appointed by the PCC, suggested constructive schemes to employ the refugees in their new locations, but the proposal was rejected by the Arabs, and the United Nations confined itself to relief work through the Relief and Works Agency (UNWRA), appointed in 1949. Meanwhile, Israel had been steadily winning its place in the family of nations. Within a year of its establishment it was recognized by over 50 states, and on May 11, 1949, it was admitted as a member of the United Nations.

The question of Jerusalem, which was to have been internationalized under the partition plan, was still on the agenda of the United Nations and was debated by the General Assembly toward the end of the year. A surprise coalition of Muslim, Catholic, and Communist states voted on Dec. 9, 1949, in favor of internationalization. Israel categorically rejected the proposal and on December 13 the Knesset decided to hold its sittings in Jerusalem as the capital of Israel (it had been meeting in Tel Aviv) and speed up the transfer of government offices from Tel Aviv. The UN Trusteeship Council, which was entrusted with the preparation of a constitution for the international regime on the city, found that the scheme was impracticable, and after the 1950 Assembly had failed to pass any resolution on the subject by the required two-thirds majority, the proposal was, in effect, dropped (see section on Jerusalem in Israel, State of: Historical Survey, Foreign Policy and International Relations).

THE INGATHERING OF THE EXILES BEGINS: 1948–1951. The early years of statehood witnessed the beginnings of the realization of an ancient dream: the *ingathering of the exiles. By the end of 1948, with the state barely six months old, over 100,000 Jews had arrived – the number the Jewish leaders had pleaded with the Mandatory government to admit into undivided Palestine. The right to *aliyah*, implicitly recognized by the annulment of all Mandatory restrictions on immigration, was explicitly proclaimed by the *Law of Return (July 5, 1950), the first clause of which read: "Every Jew has the right to come to this country as an *oleh*" (defined in a footnote as: "a Jew immigrating to Israel for settlement").

Most of the survivors of the Nazi Holocaust were eager to leave Europe. The Displaced Persons' camps were emptied. At first only Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, and Yugoslavia let their Jews go, but Poland, Romania, and Hungary followed suit later. In addition, there was a great mass migration from North Africa and the Middle East, where the Zionist movement had hardly existed. Thousands came from Turkey and Iran, Morocco and Tunis, Algeria and Libya. By the end of 1951, almost all the Jews of Yemen and Iraq had been brought over in dramatic airlifts. The arrival of these Oriental Jews, most of them deeply pious and with distinctive, centuries-old traditions and customs, brought back into the mainstream of Jewish life communities that had lived on the margin of the great 19th-century Jewish political, cultural, and religious movements. The confrontation between the Ashkenazim from Eastern and Central Europe, who had played the main role in building the National Home, and the Oriental communities, which differed widely in language, outlook, and manners, had profound implications. The flood gathered strength in 1949, when almost 240,000 *olim* arrived, and slackened only slightly in the two following years, when the influx totaled 170,000 and 175,000, respectively. In three and a half years, by the end of 1951, the Jewish population had been doubled by the arrival of over 684,000 immigrants – one-third more than came in the 70 years of pre-State Zionist *aliyah*. The newcomers were divided almost equally between Ashkenazim and Orientals, whereas before 1948 almost 90% had come from Europe.

The handling of this tempestuous flood was a task of staggering dimensions for a small nation still at war, with an untried administrative machine. Efforts were made to get the construction of housing started, using various methods of prefabricated and accelerated building. But the pace inevitably fell short of the needs: in the years 1948–51, 78,000 dwellings, comprising 165,000 rooms, were completed – a remarkable achievement for a country with a population of 1,500,000 at the end of the period, but still only one room for every four newcomers.

A considerable proportion of the new arrivals had, therefore, to be content with temporary accommodation. By the summer of 1949, almost 100,000 persons were living in camps, receiving their meals from central kitchens and supported almost entirely by public funds. Life under such conditions was demoralizing, and it was not always easy to induce the camp residents to move out and become self-supporting. Few of the immigrants knew enough Hebrew to communicate with the authorities and understand what was going on. Most were penniless and unfit – sometimes unwilling – to work with their hands in field or factory. There was a danger that the result would be the creation of not a homogenous nation, but two Israels: one consisting of mainly Ashkenazi veterans, who held positions of power and influence and understood the new society because they had built it, the other mostly underemployed, undereducated, and underprivileged Orientals. It was therefore decided to transfer the immigrants to transitional camps or quarters (**ma'barot*) where, though the accommodation was still primitive, each family could look after itself and find work in the neighborhood. By the end of 1951, about 400,000 of the new immigrants had found permanent housing, though 250,000 were still living in 123 *ma'barot* and ten immigrants' camps.

Settlement on the land, one of the great ideals of Zionism, was now an urgent necessity to solve a triple problem: the overcrowding in the camps and *ma'barot*, the need to till large areas of cultivable land abandoned by Arab refugees, and the shortage of food for the growing population. Although there were some experiments in the cultivation of large stretches by public or private management, which gave the newcomers their first taste of manual labor, the Jewish Agency, which was responsible for new settlements, adhered to the principle of enabling small groups to form autonomous, self-supporting farm villages. While 79 kibbutzim were founded during the first year and a half – more than half as many as during the previous 40 years – the great majority of the newcomers were sent off to establish moshavim, in which each family was responsible for its own holding in a cooperative framework, with guidance and help from the Agency. Thus, in 1949 and 1950, 126 moshavim were established – many on the sites of *ma'barot* or abandoned Arab villages – almost trebling the number of moshavim. An intermediate type was the work village (*kefar avodah*), where the newcomers were employed, generally by the Jewish National Fund, on afforestation or land amelioration. Altogether 345 new villages of all types were established during 1948–51, compared with 293 during the previous seven decades. They filled up gaps in all parts of the country, not only in the Coastal Plain but also in areas where only isolated groups had lived before: Upper Galilee, the Judean Hills, and the arid Negev.

A feature that assumed greater psychological significance in later years was the small proportion of immigrants from Western Europe and the Americas, the main centers of the Zionist movement. Ben-Gurion, in particular, challenged the right of the Zionist to claim a privileged status when so few of them were prepared to carry out their ideals in practice (see also Israel, State of: *Aliyah and Absorption).

ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL PROBLEMS: 1949–1953. Mass immigration, though welcomed as the fulfillment of one of Israel's basic aspirations, aggravated the economic difficulties. The defense burden and the cost of feeding and housing large numbers of unproductive immigrants intensified inflationary tendencies inherited from the Mandatory period. Taxation was high and productivity low; the rate of exchange, which kept the Israel pound on a par with the pound sterling, discouraged foreign investors, and there was a shortage of imported raw materials. Dov Joseph, the minister of supply and rationing, introduced a strict austerity regime: basic foodstuffs were doled out in small quantities month by month and, later, clothing and footwear were rationed too; the economy of the household was dominated by the ration book. Those with relatives or friends abroad could receive food parcels or foreign-currency "scrip," which was exchanged for food; others resorted to a flourishing black market. There was serious unemployment, which had to be mitigated by expensive and unproductive public works, since there was no unemployment insurance. The austerity policy, however, succeeded in conserving resources and lowering prices: the cost-of-living index fell from 493 points at the beginning of 1949 to 378 a year later.

Israel could not bear these burdens unaided. Funds from the *United Jewish Appeal in the United States and similar efforts by Jews abroad helped to support the newcomers, but much capital was needed for housing and development. A $100,000,000 loan from the American Export-Import Bank in January 1949 was followed by a series of grants-in-aid from the U.S. government and technical assistance under "Point 4" administered by a U.S. Operations Mission in Israel. In 1950 the Law for the Encouragement of Foreign Investment was passed. In the same year a conference of Jewish communal leaders and businessmen from the United States, Britain, and South Africa launched a drive for the sale of State of Israel *Bonds, the proceeds to be used for development and immigrant housing.

In 1951 the World Zionist Congress met in Jerusalem for the first time and pledged continued assistance to Israel in the common task of settling and integrating the immigrants. Uneasiness was expressed, particularly by the General Zionists and the Ḥerut-Revisionist Union, at the decline in the status of the Zionist Organization, which Ben-Gurion and the Israel government were accused of belittling and neglecting. In November 1952, after discussions between the Jewish Agency Executive and the government, the Knesset passed the World Zionist Organization Status Law, which recognized the organization as "the authorized agency which will continue to operate in the State of Israel for the development and settlement of the country, the absorption of immigrants from the Diaspora, and the coordination of the activities in Israel of Jewish institutions and organizations active in those fields." A "Covenant," regulating the cooperation between the two bodies, was concluded by the government and the Executive of the Zionist Organization and the Jewish Agency.

In September 1952, after a virulent controversy (see Israel, State of: *Political Life and Parties), an agreement was signed with the German Federal Republic for payment to the State of Israel, which had taken in hundreds of thousands of homeless refugees, as the representative of the Jewish people, of DM3,000,000,000 ($715,000,000) as partial reparations for material losses suffered by the Jews under the Nazi regime. In addition, DM450,000,000 was to be paid to the Conference on Jewish Material Claims, representing Diaspora Jewry, and individuals who had suffered under the Nazis were to receive personal restitution.

Despite difficulties and periodical crises, there was considerable progress. One of the first legislative acts of the Knesset (Aug. 1, 1949) was to pass the Compulsory Education Law, which, though not abolishing the party "trends," brought them under state control. Economic policy was adapted to the changing circumstances: strict controls on imports were eased and premiums were introduced to encourage exports. Funds from abroad were invested in irrigation, and settlement and the building of new villages, loans to industry, road building, and large-scale development schemes like the drainage of the Ḥuleh. *El Al, the Israel National Airline, was established, and a beginning was made with the expansion of the four small ships owned by *Zim, Israel Navigation Co., into a national merchant marine. Government geologists went out to map the mineral deposits of the Negev, and government companies were set up to exploit phosphates, copper, and other resources. A beginning was made with labor legislation, providing for a 47-hour work week, a weekly rest day, and an annual 14-day paid vacation. In 1951 the Equal Rights for Women Law was passed. In November 1952 President Chaim Weizmann died and in the following month Izhak Ben-Zvi was elected as his successor.

Nevertheless, the population felt the strains of shortages, high prices, and government restrictions. The General Zionists, as the mouthpiece of middle-class discontent, registered significant gains in the municipal elections in November 1950. There were disagreements between Mapai and the religious parties over religious education and the recruitment of girls for army or civilian national service. A controversy over an attempt to introduce non-party religious education in the *ma'barot* led to the resignation of the cabinet in February 1951 and premature elections in July of the same year. While Mapai and the religious parties retained their strength, the General Zionists trebled theirs (largely at the expense of Ḥerut), and after an unsuccessful attempt by Mapai to govern with the support of Mizrachi and Ha-Po'el ha-Mizrachi alone, the cabinet was reconstituted, the General Zionists receiving four ministries (including the important ones of Commerce and Industry and the Interior). Economic difficulties, reported by newcomers to their friends and relations abroad, were largely responsible for a sudden and drastic drop in *aliyah*: only 24,000 arrived in 1952 and 11,000 in the following year.

The conclusion of the reparations agreement with West Germany, the success of the UJA and similar appeals and the Bond Drive, the U.S. government grants-in-aid, and the long-term loans obtained from U.S. and international sources allowed Israel to look forward with some confidence to a decade of relative financial security. In 1952 a "New Economic Policy" was instituted to reduce inflationary pressures and cover the gap in the foreign-trade balance. Many controls were removed and prices were allowed to rise to an economic level; the consumers' price index rose by 50% during the year. The government undertook to cut its expenditures, balance the ordinary budget, and stop inflationary expansion of the currency. A beginning was made with the devaluation of the Israel pound to a more realistic level by the institution of three exchange rates, ranging from $2.80 to $1 per Israel pound for different kinds of imports and foreign-currency transactions. Advantage was taken of the introduction of new currency notes to impose a 10% compulsory loan on cash and bank balances. The new policy slowed down consumer spending, construction, and public works, and, consequently, led to a drop in production and a rise in unemployment during 1953. However, these effects were regarded as temporary difficulties involved in the transition to a healthier basis for the economy.

In July 1953 the "trend" school system was abolished by the passage of the State Education Law, under which the general and labor trends were amalgamated as the state education system and the Mizrachi trend became the state religious system, both under the control of the Ministry of Education and Culture. The Orthodox Agudah trend remained independent, but was subsidized from state funds. The fourth trend was the Arab trend, also under the Ministry of Education.

The close of a period of struggle and stress was marked by the temporary resignation of Ben-Gurion from the premiership in December 1953 and his replacement in the following month by Moshe Sharett as prime minister and Pinḥas *Lavon as minister of defense. The reason Ben-Gurion gave for this step was the strain of the accumulated tension of the past two decades, but it was generally believed that he felt a need for a fundamental reappraisal of the nation's problems. In a lengthy essay on "Jewish Survival," published in the *Government Year Book* for 1953/54, he discussed the clashes between religious and non-religious elements, the fragmentation of political life, the confrontation between Ashkenazim and Orientals, the need for a revival of the pioneering spirit, and the problematic relationship between Israel and Diaspora Jewry, especially in Western Europe and America, where the Zionist Organization was relatively strong but the will to *aliyah* was weak. In his retirement, at the new kibbutz of Sedeh Boker in the Negev, he tried, by precept and example, to stimulate the will to voluntary pioneering effort, particularly among the youth as well as settling the Negev

THE WAR ON THE BORDERS: 1950–1955. On May 25, 1950, the United States, Britain, and France, in a tripartite declaration on the Middle East, stated that they would take action if necessary to prevent any violation of frontiers or armistice lines by any state in the area. Arms supplies to Middle East countries, the declaration said, would be governed by their needs for internal security, legitimate self-defense, and their role in the defense of the area. For several years, however, it was chiefly the Arabs who received Western arms, while Israel had to rely mainly on semi-obsolete equipment from various sources.

There was no progress toward the "permanent peace" envisaged by the armistice agreements. In June 1950 the members of the Arab League concluded a collective security agreement against "the Zionist danger" and "Jewish expansionist aspirations." The Arab states continued to regard themselves as at war with Israel, refusing to recognize it or to negotiate a peaceful settlement of outstanding problems. They replied to Israel's calls for direct negotiations with, on the one hand, a refusal to recognize its right to exist, and, on the other, demands for "the implementation of UN resolutions," which they interpreted as meaning the unconditional repatriation of all Arab refugees and the restriction of Israel to the boundaries drawn in the 1947 partition plan. The very existence of Israel was regarded as "aggression," and its destruction became a fundamental aim of Arab national policy. Sometimes indirect terms were used, such as "the restoration of the stolen rights of the Palestinian people," "the liberation of Palestine," the reconquest of the "stolen territory," or "the liquidation of Zionist aggression," but it was frequently stated in the plainest terms that the aim was a "second round" in which Israel would be destroyed and its people "pushed into the sea." The Arab League established a ramified boycott organization to dissuade businessmen in other countries, by economic pressure, from trading with Israel or investing in her economy. Egypt denied passage through the Suez Canal and the Straits of Tiran to shipping and cargoes belonging to, or bound for, Israel.

It was impossible to protect every kilometer of the long and winding borders by sentries or patrols. Border violations by Arab infiltrators bent on plunder, shooting by trigger-happy Arab soldiers, mine-laying on Israel roads and tracks, and, later, armed incursions by trained and organized bands, were almost daily occurrences. In the period 1951–56 over 400 Israelis were killed and 900 injured as a result; there were 3,000 armed clashes with Arab regular or irregular forces inside Israel territory, and some 6,000 acts of sabotage, theft, and attempted theft were committed by infiltrators. UNTSO was powerless; the Mixed Armistice Commissions could do no more than register complaints, appeal for restraint, or, at best, pass resolutions of censure. The Security Council took no action to rectify the situation, and Israel had to look to its own defenses. The Defense Service Law, passed in September 1949, provided for two years' compulsory service in the armed forces for men and women, with reserves training up to the age of 49. In an emergency the reserves could be summoned to their units in a matter of hours. Reprisals against Arab attacks were carried out from time to time, but, although they may have discouraged even graver violations of the Armistice

Agreements and at certain periods induced the governments concerned to restrain infiltration for a while, they did not put an end to the chain of violence. As each reprisal was a reaction to a series of attacks, it was generally on a larger scale, and since these operations were carried out by IDF units, they were immediately censured by the MACs and often by the Security Council.

The trouble with the Syrians was mainly over the demilitarized zones, for they objected to Israel's development work there, arguing that Israel was violating the armistice agreements and changing the geography of the area. At the beginning of 1951, when Israel started work on the *Ḥuleh drainage scheme near Mishmar ha-Yarden, there were several exchanges of fire. In March, seven Israelis were killed in the al-Ḥamma area and the Israel air force bombarded two Arab villages in reprisal. On May 19, after General Riley, chief of UNTSO, had failed to obtain agreement, the Security Council ordered Israel to stop the works on Arab-owned land in the zones. A new dispute broke out at the beginning of September 1953, when the Israelis started work in the demilitarized zone south of the Ḥuleh on the first stage of a major project to channel part of the Jordan waters to the Negev. The Syrians protested, and General Bennike, the new UNTSO chief, ordered Israel to suspend the work until agreement was reached with Syria. Under international pressure, Israel ultimately complied while the Security Council was considering the matter. In January 1954 a proposal calling for a compromise between Israel and Syrian interests was blocked by the Soviet veto in the Security Council, and Israel revised its plans in order to keep the works out of the demilitarized zone.

Meanwhile, in October 1953, U.S. President Eisenhower sent a special envoy, Eric Johnston, to the Middle East to present proposals for a constructive solution of the water problem to the governments of Israel, Syria, Lebanon, and Jordan. Johnston submitted a plan prepared by Gordon Clapp, chairman of the Tennessee Valley Authority, for the utilization of the Jordan and Yarmuk waters by the four countries for agricultural development and refugee resettlement on the basis of mutually agreed quotas. In 1955 a Unified Water Plan, which assured each country of the quantities of water claimed by its experts, was accepted by the parties on the technical level, but the Arab League, meeting in October, refused to give political approval. Israel stated, however, that it would not utilize more than the quantities of water allotted in the plan. Repeated Syrian attacks on Israeli fishing in Lake Kinneret led to further Israel reprisals in December 1955, in which the Syrians suffered about 100 casualties.

A serious dispute with Jordan over the blocking of the road to Eilat by Legion forces in November 1950, followed by three murders by infiltrators in and around Jerusalem and an Israeli reprisal, was settled in February 1951, the Jordanians agreeing to cooperate to stop infiltration. Secret peace negotiations took place with King *Abdullah, but hopes were shattered when a Palestinian assassinated him in Jerusalem on July 20. The position deteriorated. The Jordanians refused to carry out their undertaking in Article 8 of the Armistice Agreement to negotiate arrangements for Israel's use of the Latrun road to the capital and access to Jewish holy places in Jerusalem and the Jewish institutions on Mount Scopus. In January 1953 the Jordanian prime minister announced the annulment of the agreement to prevent infiltration and there were numerous attacks by infiltrators and Jordanian troops on Israel civilians and soldiers. In June 1953 the Jordan government renewed the agreement for the prevention of infiltration, but the attacks continued.

At first ordinary Israeli army units carried out reprisals, but it soon became clear that these troops, consisting mainly of inexperienced draftees – many of whom were newcomers – were unsuitable for such commando-type raids. A special body of volunteers, called Unit 101 (later merged with the paratroops) was formed for the purpose. One of its raids, on the Arab village of Qibya, in which 45 houses were blown up and heavy casualties were caused to civilians hiding in them, was severely censured by the Security Council (Oct. 15, 1953).

Israel initiated an attempt to obtain agreement on a modus vivendi by invoking Article 12 of the Armistice Agreement, under which either party could summon a conference to consider the working of the agreement. At the end of the year, the UN secretary-general issued invitations for such a conference at Israel's request, but Jordan refused to attend. The vicious circle of repeated Arab attacks, reprisals by Israel, and international condemnations of Israel continued throughout 1954; outstanding examples were the killing of 11 passengers in an Israel bus at Ma'aleh Akrabim ("Scorpions' Ascent") on March 17, the killing of three Jews in the Jerusalem corridor on May 9 and of three more in the same area on June 19, and a three-day outbreak of shooting by Legionaries from the Old City wall later in the month. In the following year much of the infiltration was carried out by bands organized by the Egyptians in the Gaza Strip and sent into Jordan to operate from there.

Egypt took the lead in the Arab boycott by banning Israel shipping and the passage of "contraband goods" or "strategic goods" (later extended to include foodstuffs) through the Suez Canal. This practice was defined by General Riley, the chief of UNTSO, in a report to the Security Council as "an aggressive action," and the Council called on Egypt on Sept. 1, 1951, to terminate the restrictions. The resolution stated that "since the armistice regime… is of a permanent character, neither party can reasonably assert that it is a belligerent" (Paragraph 9). Egypt ignored the resolution, and cargoes destined for Israel were confiscated from Norwegian, Greek, and Italian ships trying to pass through the canal. In September 1954 an Israeli vessel, the *Bat Gallim*, and its cargo were confiscated at the entrance to the canal and the crew was imprisoned for three months. In 1949 Egypt occupied the uninhabited islands of Tiran and Sanafir in the Red Sea at the entrance to the Gulf of Akaba; later it established a garrison at Sharm el-Sheikh, interfered with Israeli and international shipping to and from Eilat, and banned Israeli planes from the airspace over the gulf.

On Aug. 18, 1952, Ben-Gurion welcomed the Egyptian officers' revolution led by General Nagib and declared that there was no reason for any antagonism between the two countries. But there was no improvement in relations under Nagib or his successor, Gamal Abdal *Nasser. Sporadic incidents on the Gaza Strip and Sinai borders, which claimed a score or more casualties – seven or eight fatal – in each of the years 1951–53, became more serious and frequent in the last quarter of 1954. Tension was increased by the trial in Cairo of 11 Jews charged with belonging to a "Zionist espionage and sabotage group." Two were executed on Jan. 31, 1955, and the rest were sentenced to long periods of imprisonment. On February 2, Pinḥas Lavon resigned due to disagreements with the prime minister arising out of a dispute over the responsibility for an ill-advised security operation. Ben-Gurion returned from Sedeh Boker to take up the post of defense minister under Sharett's premiership.

Toward the end of February, Egyptian saboteurs, known as *fedayeen* ("suicide fighters"), penetrated deep into Israel territory, and on the 28th a clash between Israeli and Egyptian forces on Israeli territory opposite Gaza developed into the fiercest battle since the War of Independence. The fight was carried over into the Strip; in an Israeli attack on an army camp near Gaza, 38 Egyptians were killed and 44 wounded. The Anglo-American-Iraqi Baghdad Pact had just aroused Nasser's anger against the West, and he turned to the Soviet Bloc for weapons to strengthen his forces. At the end of August came the first reports of an Egyptian deal with the Soviet Union for the supply, through Czechoslovakia, of large quantities of modern heavy arms. Meanwhile the Arab attacks were stepped up; many of them were carried out by *fedayeen* recruited and trained by the Egyptians but operating mainly from the Gaza Strip and Jordan, as well as from Syria and Lebanon. Israel's proposals for a high-level meeting with Egyptian representatives, as well as for the erection of a security fence along the border and other methods of reducing tension, were rejected.

Although Israel had, in principle, followed a policy of non-identification with either of the two world blocs, the sympathies of its leaders and most of its people were undisguisedly on the side of the West, where Jews could organize political and financial support for Israel and *aliyah* was unfettered. In 1952, after the *Slansky trial in Prague, the Israeli minister to Czechoslovakia had been declared *persona non grata*, and in February 1953, after a bomb placed by a fanatic exploded in the courtyard of the Soviet Embassy in Tel Aviv, the U.S.S.R. had broken off diplomatic relations. Although relations were restored a few months later, continued Soviet support for the Arabs at the United Nations indicated a distinct change in the atmosphere, and the Soviet arms deal though a shock, was not altogether a surprise. On Sept. 27, 1955, Nasser broadcast an announcement of the deal; two days later it was reported that large quantities of tanks, artillery, jet planes, and submarines were already on their way to Egypt and that Syria was also getting generous supplies of weapons from the East. Although the Western powers expressed grave concern at this development, they gave no clear reply to Israel's appeals for arms to redress the balance, and the United States warned against any "hasty action." A wave of anxiety swept the country; Israelis from all walks of life came forward spontaneously with donations of cash and jewelry for the purchase of arms.

On October 17 Egypt and Syria signed a military pact. The Syrians renewed their attacks on Israel fishing boats on Lake Kinneret (Sea of Galilee), and an Israeli reprisal was followed by Egyptian attacks in the south. Foreign Minister Sharett went to Paris and Geneva, where the Big Four foreign ministers were meeting, but his talk with Molotov of the U.S.S.R. was fruitless, and only France responded sympathetically to Israel's request for arms. The Egyptians had encroached on the demilitarized zone at Niẓẓanah and attacked an Israel police post, and their planes repeatedly violated Israel airspace. In retaliation, the Israel army attacked an Egyptian military camp at Kuntilla in Sinai. Presenting his new cabinet to the Knesset on November 2, Ben-Gurion announced his readiness to meet Egyptian and other Arab leaders at any time to discuss a settlement, but warned that "if the armistice lines are opened for the passage of saboteurs and murderers – they shall not be closed again to the defenders." The same night Israel forces ejected the Egyptians from Niẓẓanah, inflicting heavy casualties. Egyptian attacks multiplied all along the front: there were four or five incidents a day, and the activities of the *fedayeen* from the Gaza Strip and Jordan were stepped up. Typical *fedayeen* tactics were also used in attacks from Lebanese territory.

On August 26 U.S. Secretary of State John Foster Dulles had suggested territorial changes as part of a possible Arab-Israel settlement. The idea was echoed in a speech at the Guildhall, London, on November 9 by the British foreign minister, Sir Anthony Eden, who suggested a compromise between the Arab demand for a return to the partition plan boundaries and Israel's insistence on the borders demarcated by the Armistice Agreements. On Nov. 15 Ben-Gurion categorically rejected any idea of truncating Israel's territory; Eden's approach was also rejected by Egypt. France agreed to supply Israel with a number of military jet planes, but continued to sell arms to Egypt, while the U.S. and Britain went on sending armaments to Lebanon, Iraq, and Jordan.

THE SINAI CAMPAIGN AND AFTER: 1956–1959. As 1956 opened, the war clouds were visibly gathering. On January 2, Ben-Gurion warned the Knesset of "the danger of the approaching attack from Egypt, and perhaps not only by it." While the U.S.S.R. virulently denounced Israel, the Western powers sponsored a Security Council resolution censuring her for a reprisal operation against Syrian posts that had fired on fishermen in Lake Kinneret. The U.S. still refused to sell arms to Israel, but consented to France supplying her with advanced Mystère aircraft. On February 13 the Soviet Foreign Ministry declared that the U.S.S.R. could not remain indifferent to developments in the Middle East and warned the Western powers against unilateral action in the area. UN Secretary-General Dag Hammarskjöld paid several visits to the Middle East in unsuccessful attempts to achieve a settlement. The dismissal of General Glubb, the British commander of the Jordanian Arab Legion, was followed by an increase in Egyptian influence in Jordan. Israel speeded up the building of shelters, the training of civil defense personnel, and the fortification of border villages. At the end of April, after artillery duels on the Gaza Strip border and widespread *fedayeen* attacks, Hammarskjöld announced agreement on a general, unconditional cease-fire between Israel and its neighbors, but the arms race continued. Jordan agreed to facilitate the operation of *fedayeen* from its territory and the Arab countries competed in threats against Israel.

For some time there had been differences between Sharett, who favored greater trust in the UN and international opinion, and Ben-Gurion, who emphasized the need for Israel to rely first of all on its own strength. In June, feeling that complete harmony between prime minister and foreign minister was essential in view of the growing dangers, Ben-Gurion replaced Sharett with Golda *Meir. Attacks from Jordan continued throughout July; at the end of the month, after Egypt nationalized the Suez Canal, there were a number of incidents on the southern border as well. The clashes continued in the following months and rose to a peak in October, while international tension grew over the future of the canal. On October 13 the Security Council called for "free and open transit through the Canal without discrimination" and declared that its operation "should be insulated from the politics of any country," but Nasser announced that no Israeli ships would be allowed to pass. Two days later Ben-Gurion told the Knesset that Israel was being subjected to a guerilla war conducted by bands of *fedayeen* organized, equipped, and trained mainly in Egypt and recalled the right to self-defense guaranteed by Article 51 of the UN Charter. He also said that Israel reserved freedom of action if the status quo were violated by the entry of troops from Iraq (which had not signed an Armistice Agreement with Israel) into Jordan. On October 25, after an election victory for pro-Nasserist elements in Jordan, that country joined the Egyptian-Syrian military pact against Israel. Abu-Nawar, commander of the Arab Legion, declared, "We and not Israel will fix the time and place of the battle."

The growing attacks on Israel and the threat of a concerted offensive from the north, east, and southwest coincided with growing apprehension in Britain and France over the threat posed by unfettered Egyptian control of the Suez Canal to their communications and interests. Thus Israel's danger was matched by the opportunity. Ben-Gurion paid a secret visit to France in October to ask Prime Minister Guy Mollet for help. Large quantities of French heavy armaments were sent to Israel and unloaded in secret. On October 27 Ben-Gurion submitted to the cabinet a proposal for a large-scale operation to demolish the bases of the *fedayeen* and the Egyptian army in the Sinai Peninsula and the Gaza Strip and to occupy the shore of the Gulf of Akaba in order to safeguard navigation (even if, as he expected, Israel was compelled by international pressure to evacuate the territory occupied).

Orders were given for the mobilization of the reserves, and on October 29 Israel troops moved into Sinai, taking a number of vital positions near the Negev-Sinai border. On the next day an airborne battalion was dropped near the Mitla Pass in west-central Sinai, and a mechanized column reached the same point on the night of October 30–31, capturing vital points in the heart of the peninsula, outflanking the Egyptian positions in its northeast, and threatening the Suez Canal. At the same time another column thrust toward the same point from the northeast. Israel fighter planes established air superiority over the combat areas.

On the afternoon of October 30, Britain and France had issued an ultimatum calling on both sides to stop fighting and withdraw to ten miles on either side of the Suez Canal. The same evening they vetoed a U.S.-sponsored resolution in the Security Council calling for immediate withdrawal of Israeli troops. Israel accepted the Anglo-French demand, but since Egypt rejected it, the advance continued. On the next morning British and French bombers began a systematic bombardment of military targets in Egypt. Israeli infantry and armor, supported by the air force, continued to move southward into the peninsula, westward toward the canal, and north toward the Egyptian lines of communication with the Gaza Strip.

On November 1, Israel forces took Rafa and El-Arish on the Mediterranean coast, and the Egyptian high command ordered a general retreat, which soon turned into a rout. During the next two days the armored spearheads of the IDF halted ten miles from the canal and the Gaza Strip was taken. Meanwhile a reserve infantry brigade had been moving down the western shore of the Gulf of Akaba, and a pincer movement, threatening the last remaining positions, was completed by a southward advance along the eastern shore of the Gulf of Suez. On November 2 the UN General Assembly, in an emergency session, called for an immediate cease-fire and prompt withdrawal of forces. Israel agreed to the cease-fire the next day, provided Egypt reciprocated. On November 5 Israel occupied Sharm el-Sheikh, and the campaign was over.

The Assembly resolved on the establishment of a UN Emergency Force "to secure and supervise the cessation of hostilities." Israel declared that Egypt's hostile acts had "undermined the peace" and "destroyed the armistice agreement" and called for direct peace negotiations. There was no response to this call. Instead, the United Nations, backed by strongly worded letters from U.S. President Eisenhower and Soviet Premier Bulganin, applied intense pressure on Israel for unconditional withdrawal. Ben-Gurion replied on November 7 that troops would be withdrawn on the conclusion of satisfactory arrangements for the deployment of the UN Emergency Force.

During the next three months Israel fought a stubborn political rearguard action to safeguard free navigation in the Gulf of Akaba and ensure that, in return for the withdrawal of its forces, the Gaza Strip would not be used again as a spearhead for attack. Gradual evacuation started late in November and continued pari passu with efforts to obtain the safeguards required. The withdrawal was completed in March, despite considerable misgivings in Israel and vigorous denunciations of the government by Ḥerut, Aḥdut ha-Avodah, and other opposition parties, which charged it with "wasting the fruits of victory." The UN Emergency Force was stationed in the Gaza Strip and at Sharm el-Sheikh, and a number of the foremost maritime nations, headed by the United States, declared their support for freedom of navigation in the Straits of Tiran and the Gulf of Akaba. Israel, for its part, made it clear that any interference with free navigation in the straits or the gulf would constitute a casus belli. As a result of the Sinai Campaign, Israel secured a considerable degree of quiet on its southwestern borders and free access to Eilat, its outlet for trade with West Africa and Asia – gains that were preserved for ten years.

A tragic incident had occurred on the day the Sinai Campaign began. A strict curfew had been proclaimed on part of the eastern border and 43 Arab villagers, returning from the fields to the village of Kafr Qasim after the start of the curfew, were shot and killed by a Border Police patrol. Compensation was immediately paid to the families, and the men responsible were placed on trial. At a special Knesset session on December 12, Prime Minister Ben-Gurion expressed profound concern at this "flagrant violation" of the sacred principle of the sanctity of human life. Sentencing two officers, one corporal, and five privates to periods of imprisonment ranging from 7 to 17 years in October 1958, a military court emphasized that a soldier was not obliged to obey a manifestly unlawful order and would be held criminally responsible if he did. The principle having been established, it was widely felt that allowance should be made for the tension under which the men acted; the sentences were reduced on appeal and the one officer still in prison at the end of 1959 was granted presidential clemency.

While there was comparative quiet on the Gaza Strip and Sinai borders for several years after the Sinai Campaign, tension broke out from time to time with Jordan and, even more sharply, with Syria. Toward the end of 1957 Jordan tried to obstruct communications with the Israeli enclave on Mount Scopus, and in May 1958 a UNTSO officer and four Israel policemen were killed by Jordanian fire. UN Secretary-General Hammarskjöld discussed the problem with the Jordanian and Israel governments and three times sent special representatives to deal with it, as well as paying a personal visit to the area; but Jordan refused to fulfill its obligations under Article 8 of the Armistice Agreement. At the end of 1958 and the beginning of the following year there were a number of serious incidents in the north in which Israeli settlements were machine-gunned and shelled by the Syrians. Israel appealed to the Security Council but without result. In the spring of 1959 Egypt again interfered with ships carrying goods for Israel through the Suez Canal.

More important, however, were the long-term implications of the situation, particularly in view of Soviet arms supplies to Egypt and later, to Syria. With the failure of British and French intervention in Suez, the United States began to take a more active interest in the Middle East. The Eisenhower Doctrine, approved by the U.S. Congress in March 1957, authorized the President to extend "assistance against armed aggression from any country controlled by international Communism." Despite the opposition of two coalition parties, Mapam and Aḥdut ha-Avodah, the government, in effect, acceded to the doctrine on May 21, but the Israeli statement made no mention of Communism and expressed opposition to "aggression from any quarter against the territorial integrity and political independence of any country." On October 21 Ben-Gurion told the Knesset that "almost a fundamental transformation" was taking place in the Middle East: "The forces contending in our area are not so much the forces of the area itself, but the world blocs of the East and the West."

In February 1958 the United Arab Republic was established by the union of Egypt and Syria and a short-lived Iraqi-Jordanian union was concluded. Israel made considerable efforts to keep the local balance of power in its favor, which could only be done by obtaining more arms from the West. Relations with France in this sphere became even closer; the United Kingdom sold Israel submarines; and the United States also began to be cooperative. Despite the opposition of the left-wing members of the coalition, which led to two cabinet crises in 1958–59, military supplies were also bought from West Germany. In 1958 first approaches were made to the European Economic Community to obtain a trade agreement. Despite this leaning toward a Western orientation, relations with Poland steadily improved and those with other Communist countries remained, on the whole, correct.

At the same time efforts were made to foster technical and economic cooperation with the developing countries in Asia and Africa that were achieving independence from colonial rule. The first country to enter into joint projects of this kind with Israel was Burma, as early as 1954; the second was Ghana, in 1957. Although Israel was accused of collaborating with imperialism in the Suez crisis, the Sinai Campaign brought its problems and the importance of its role to the attention of many countries – particularly in Asia and Africa – that had known little or nothing of Jewish history and the achievements of the Jewish state. In 1958 the Foreign Ministry set up an International Cooperation Division. Leaders of the emergent nations visited Israel, many of them even before their countries achieved independence, to study her social structure and methods of building a new society and economy through vocational training, cooperative enterprise, agricultural settlement, education, and industrial development. It was largely through the international cooperation program that Israel began to extend relations with Asian and African countries, which, it was hoped, might ultimately help in Israel's efforts to achieve peace with its Arab neighbors (see also section on Foreign Policy and International Relations in this entry).

CONSOLIDATION AND DEVELOPMENT: 1954–1959. The second half of Israel's first decade was marked by social consolidation and rapid economic progress. The great majority of the new immigrants, who came mainly from Eastern Europe and North Africa, found homes and jobs, learned the elements of the Hebrew language and the ways of the country, enhanced their skills, and improved their standard of living, although there was still a disturbing gap between the newcomers from the Oriental countries and the mainly Ashkenazi veterans. The large-scale capital imports were used to mechanize agriculture and increase its efficiency; expand roads, telecommunications, and electricity supply; enlarge the merchant fleet and the national airline; modernize the Dead Sea potash works and exploit Negev copper, phosphates, and other minerals; and develop industries, many in partnership with foreign investors.

Despite occasional governmental crises, there was a high degree of political stability. In 1954 Aḥdut ha-Avodah seceded from Mapam and in the following year Mizrachi and Ha-Po'el ha-Mizrachi merged to form the *National Religious Party; otherwise the political structure remained unchanged. The Second and Third Knessets completed their statutory terms. Mapai lost five seats in the 1955 elections, largely due to the economic difficulties that still afflicted considerable sections, but remained the backbone of the cabinet and was able to form an administration with a sound parliamentary majority by replacing the General Zionists with Mapam and Aḥdut ha-Avodah. In 1959, after a period of relative border tranquility following the Sinai Campaign and a general improvement in living standards, it more than recouped its electoral losses. In 1958 the first basic (constitutional) law, dealing with the composition and powers of the Knesset, was passed.

The increased foreign-currency resources at the disposal of the economy helped to moderate inflationary pressures. The three exchange rates were reduced to two (IL11.000 and IL11.800 to the dollar) at the beginning of January 1954 and then to a single stable rate of IL1.800 in July 1955. The curve of consumer prices, which rose by some 20% in each of the years 1953 and 1954, gradually flattened out until, in 1959, there was hardly any rise. National income grew from IL1,000,000,000 in 1950 to almost IL3,000,000,000 in 1958 (both at 1956 prices), i.e., from IL790 to nearly IL1,500 per capita. The gross national product grew by around 10% a year, a figure almost unequaled in any other country. While foreign-currency controls were eased, the public sector (government, local authorities, Jewish Agency, and Histadrut) had a very strong influence on the economy, being directly responsible for about one-fifth of the employment and of the national product. The government extracted some 30% of the national income in the form of taxes and, through incentives to investors and control of the development budget, was able to direct most of the long-term capital investment into socially and nationally desirable channels.

A vast expansion of agriculture made the austerity of the early years a memory of the past. By the end of the first decade, self-sufficiency was achieved in the supply of eggs and poultry, dairy products, vegetables, and fruit. This was accomplished by establishing new villages and consolidating existing ones, improving crop yields by mechanization and better methods, extensive land reclamation and soil conservation, and better utilization of water for irrigation. During the ten years 1948/49 to 1957/58, the area under cultivation grew by about 150% – from 400,000 to 1,000,000 acres – while the irrigated area rose more than fourfold to over 300,000 acres. About 70% of the vegetables, 30% of the poultry, and 45% of the milk were produced by new immigrants' villages established during the decade. The drainage of the Ḥuleh swamps, completed in 1957, reclaimed 15,000 acres of high-quality farmland. The Jewish National Fund and the government afforested some 50,000 acres – four times as much land as during two generations of Zionist settlement – and planted trees along almost 500 miles of highway.

The main road network was expanded from about 1,000 mi. to 1,860 mi.; in 1957 the 147-mile first-class road from Beersheba to Eilat was completed, providing a good road link between the Red Sea and the Mediterranean for the first time in history. The railroad was extended to Beersheba and the rolling stock was dieselized. Haifa port was modernized and a start was made with the utilization of Eilat. The merchant fleet grew to 41 vessels, with a total deadweight of 280,000 tons. El Al carried 70,000 passengers in 1,240 flights in 1958, compared with 15,500 in 475 flights in 1950. About IL260,000,000 was invested in expanding electric generating capacity, which rose more than fivefold to 350,000 kilowatts, consumption rising almost sixfold to 1,400 million kwh.

The output of industry was doubled during the decade, reaching almost IL3,000,000,000 in 1958; so was the number of employed, which came to some 160,000. Industrial exports increased from $18,000,000 in 1950 to $81,000,000 in 1958, including $33,000,000 worth of polished diamonds, four times as much as in 1950. Special inducements, including government loans and tax reliefs, were held out to foreign and local investors prepared to help in the dispersal of the population by setting up enterprises in the new development areas. Up to the end of 1958, IL226,000,000, including IL136,000,000 from the development budget, was invested in 366 undertakings to these areas. During the same period 832 undertakings were approved under the Law for the Encouragement of Capital Investment, involving $192,000,000 of foreign and IL 194,000,000 of local capital, as well as IL242,000,000 in government loans. About IL140,000,000 were invested by the state in the exploitation of minerals, including copper, phosphates, potash, and bromine; a new potash plant, replacing the works at the northern end of the Dead Sea destroyed in the War of Independence, was completed at Sodom in 1956. In September 1955 oil was struck at Heleẓ near Ashkelon, and about 100,000 tons, almost 10% of the country's consumption, were pumped in 1958. Two gas wells, with an output of 1,000,000 cu.ft. per day, were sunk.

In 1958, when there were widespread celebrations to mark the country's tenth anniversary, the population passed the 2,000,000 mark; over 1,800,000 were Jews, constituting 15% of world Jewry, as against less than 6% in 1948. The Jewish population had grown since independence by over 1,160,000 or 179%. Over 940,000 immigrants had come in and 105,000 had left, leaving a migration balance of almost 840,000, which accounted for 72% of the growth (the remaining 28% resulted from natural increase). The non-Jewish, mainly Arab, population had grown by 61,000, of which over 95% was due to natural increase.

Toward the end of 1954 a new "ship to settlement" policy was introduced. Instead of the immigrants being housed temporarily in camps or *ma'barot*, they were sent directly from the ship or plane to a new village or "development town" where housing was ready and work available in the neighborhood. A regional settlement scheme for populating large, sparsely inhabited areas was initiated. Clusters of 5–8 villages were focused on a rural center, with an elementary school, cultural facilities, a dispensary, and farm-service institutions. The scheme was first carried out in the Lachish area, with 54 villages by 1959 and the "county town" of Kiryat Gat, where a secondary school, shopping facilities, and industrial plants were located. A social advantage of this arrangement was that immigrants from a particular country – sometimes even a district or town – could be concentrated in a fairly homogeneous village, obviating the friction that often arose between communities of different cultural backgrounds, while the process of merging and integration proceeded when the villagers and their children met in the rural or urban centers and their schools.

Out of a civilian labor force of some 700,000 the daily average of unemployment registered at the labor exchanges was 9,300 – 1.4% of the total. Some 150,000 homes were built for the newcomers during the period, and 45,000 families moved from the *ma'barot* to permanent housing, though 20,000 families (about 110,000 souls) were still to be rehoused. The great majority of the newcomers had thus been provided with the fundamental necessities of integration: homes and jobs. A high proportion, approaching one half, had learned new skills: 106,000 unskilled and semi-skilled adult workers had attended vocational training courses run by the Ministry of Labor, the Histadrut, the municipalities, and voluntary organizations; average output per worker had been raised by about 50%. An entire new farming class, mainly smallholders, had risen, learning to till the soil by practice, example, and the teaching of Jewish Agency instructors. Practically all the children of the immigrants, like those of the veteran population, went to school. When they were called up for military service, the army taught the rudiments of the language, the national culture, and general knowledge to those who had not completed their education; for young newcomers the period of national service was decisive in preparing them for integration and citizenship.

Gradually, the immigrants started to find their way in social and political life. They grew somewhat more independent in their dealings with the authorities and began to learn the techniques of self-government in the village councils, factory and shop committees (the basic cells of the trade-union movement), local political party branches, and local authorities. They played only a minor role in national politics, however. Seeking their votes, the parties placed representatives of the various communities on their election lists, but these were more often veterans of the same origin as the newcomers rather than recent immigrants. At every parliamentary election, independent immigrants' lists, claiming to represent Sephardim or other communal groupings, were submitted, but none of these managed to return any candidates after 1951.

There was still a considerable backlog in the complete absorption and integration of the immigrants, however. The houses built for them during the mass influx were small, often hopelessly inadequate for the many large families. While the immigrants were improving their skills, the veterans were making even faster progress and still largely monopolized senior administrative and managerial posts. Elementary education was free and universal, but standards were lower in the new immigrant areas, where it was difficult to obtain good teachers, and the children did not receive the full benefit, since the home made little or no contribution to the learning process. The major educational effort during the decade had to be devoted to the basic tasks of building schools and providing teachers for the vastly increased school population (in the school year 1958/59 there were over 550,000 pupils and students, compared with 130,000 in 1948/49). Toward the end of the period, special efforts were initiated to bring up the educational standards in immigrant areas. In the secondary schools, scholarships were offered by the state, the Histadrut, and public bodies, and requirements for admission were modified in the case of children from immigrant areas and the Oriental communities. There was a gradual improvement in the percentage of children born in Asia and Africa receiving post-primary education; between 1956/57 and 1958/59, while 71% of the secondary-school population was born in Israel in both years, the percentage of the foreign-born who came from Asia and Africa rose from 36% to 43%.

Perhaps the most serious aspect of the communal problem was the psychological one. To many of the newcomers from North African and Middle Eastern countries, the wide gap between the status, educational achievements, and social conditions of the Ashkenazi and Oriental communities appeared to be due, not only to objective circumstances, but also to favoritism on the one hand and deliberate discrimination on the other. In July 1959, passions erupted into rioting in the Haifa slum quarter of Wadi Salib, the new township of Migdal ha-Emek, and Beersheba. In the last two places, the trouble arose over employment difficulties; in the first – a former Arab neighborhood inhabited largely by North African immigrants who had drifted to the town from various places of prior settlement – the riots, which started with a café disturbance, assumed serious proportions. But in the parliamentary elections that followed in November, the communal lists received comparatively little support and, on the whole, the new immigrants continued to support the established parties. The success of Mapai, which gained seven seats, was thought to be due not only to Ben-Gurion's enhanced prestige after the Suez Campaign and the general rise in the standard of living, but also to a backlash generated by fear of communal fragmentation and the desire for a strong government (see also Israel, State of: *Population, section on Intercommunal Problems).

Another focus of controversy was the place of religion in the country's life, particularly where legislation or administrative action was concerned. From time to time there were heated arguments – sometimes accompanied by street demonstrations – over public Sabbath observance, complaints of discrimination against state religious schools, and such matters as mixed bathing in a Jerusalem municipal swimming pool. The fanatical *Neturei Karta group in Jerusalem often took the lead, more moderate religious circles following suit to avoid losing support. The non-Orthodox community was also concerned with the place of Jewish tradition in the country's life. In 1957 the minister of education and culture, Zalman Aranne, initiated a "Jewish Consciousness" program in the state (non-religious) schools. It aimed at laying greater stress on the Jewish cultural heritage and spiritual values, stimulating the study of Diaspora Jewish history and contemporary Jewry, and inculcating respect for Jewish religious observance and a feeling of responsibility toward the nation in Israel and abroad. People from all sections cooperated in disseminating a knowledge of the Bible through study circles and conventions, in which the prime minister played a prominent role, and there was an unprecedented, almost universal, interest in the World Bible Contest held in Jerusalem in 1958. In 1958 a heated controversy arose over the ruling of the minister of interior, Israel Bar-Yehudah of Aḥdut ha-Avodah, that a person declaring in good faith that he was a Jew by nationality should be so recorded in the Population Register and that minors should be registered according to the declaration of their parents. The National Religious Party objected to anyone being registered as a Jew by nationality unless he was recognized by rabbinical law as a Jew by religion (i.e., born of a Jewish mother or converted according to the *halakhah*) and resigned from the government in protest. A cabinet committee appointed to reconsider the question invited Jewish scholars and religious leaders the world over to express their opinions, which were overwhelmingly in support of the halakhic ruling. The matter was left in abeyance until March 1960, when Ḥayyim Moshe *Shapira, the NRP leader who had rejoined the cabinet as minister of the interior, issued new regulations in keeping with the rabbinical interpretation. The problem came to the fore again in 1970, when the validity of these regulations was challenged in the High Court.

The shadow of the Nazi Holocaust dominated a *cause célère* that aroused bitter feelings in the late 1950s and precipitated a cabinet crisis. In 1955 Malkiel Gruenwald was charged with criminally slandering Israel *Kasztner, then a government official and a candidate for the Knesset on the Mapai list, by accusing him of having collaborated with the Nazis in Hungary during World War II. The Jerusalem District Court found that Gruenwald's charges were, on the whole, justified and acquitted him. The state appealed, but in March 1957, while the appeal was pending, Kasztner was murdered by three young men, who were imprisoned for the crime. At the beginning of the following year the Supreme Court reversed the lower court's findings, clearing Kasztner of most of the accusations against him.

Higher education was considerably expanded with the financial aid of Jewish benefactors abroad. At the end of the decade there were about 10,000 students at the Hebrew University, the Technion (Israel Institute of Technology, Haifa), Tel Aviv University (founded in 1956), and the Bar-Ilan religious university (opened in 1955), compared with 1,500 in 1948. Cut off from its original buildings on Mount Scopus, the Hebrew University opened a new campus in western Jerusalem in 1958. Fundamental and applied research at the Weizmann Institute of Science, founded in 1949, and other institutions was achieving a growing reputation abroad, as evidenced by research grants from the United States and other countries.

Israel took second place in the world for the number of titles published (1,210 in 1958) in proportion to the population, as well as for book imports per head. The *Academy of the Hebrew Language, founded in 1953 to succeed the Va'ad-ha-Lashon ("Language Council"), conducted research and issued authoritative rulings on grammar, terminology, and spelling. The conclusions of Israel scholarship were embodied in new editions of the Bible, the Talmud, and outstanding works of rabbinic literature, as well as encyclopedias of various types, notably the comprehensive Encyclopedia Hebraica. *Archaeology received a new impetus with the achievement of independence and the discoveries made in establishing new villages and digging foundations for new buildings. Seven of the *Dead Sea Scrolls were acquired for the nation, and Israeli scholars, speaking Hebrew as a living language and intimately familiar with the Holy Land, made distinctive contributions to their study.

The established repertory theaters, *Habimah, *Ohel, and the *Cameri, as well as many smaller companies, presented world classics, recent successes, and a smaller number of original works. The *Israel Philharmonic Orchestra, with its 22,000 subscribers (a world-record percentage of the population), the Kol Israel (State Broadcasting Service) Orchestra, and others reached a high standard, and large audiences attended regular music and dance festivals. Israel artists and composers worked in a variety of styles, and some achieved international recognition. There were 18 morning papers – 11 of them in Hebrew – and two afternoon papers, both Hebrew, as well as 320 other periodicals in 12 languages.

The Arab and Druze communities shared in the general rise in living standards. They benefited from universal, free primary education, the national insurance scheme, the legal protection of women and children, and the improved social welfare and health services provided by the state authorities and the Histadrut. Local government was gradually extended to Arab areas; roads were built and water, electricity, and sanitation facilities installed. As a result of irrigation, reclamation, and improved farming methods, the output of Arab agriculture increased sixfold during the decade. Arabs voted in parliamentary elections: 91.2% of them went to the polls in 1955 and 88.4% in 1959 – a higher proportion than among the Jewish electors. There were eight Arabs in the Third Knesset and seven in the Fourth, five of whom represented Arab lists associated with Mapai. In the predominantly Arab-inhabited areas, close to the low and winding borders, military government was in force to prevent espionage and infiltration; residents had to receive permits from the military governors to leave, and others required permits to enter. The system, which was a cause of deep dissatisfaction among the Arabs, was severely criticized by opposition parties, who accused Mapai of exploiting it to ensure political domination over the Arab inhabitants, and the regulations were gradually eased over time (see *Israel, State of: Arab Population).

ECONOMIC ADVANCE AND POLITICAL REALIGNMENT: 1960–1966. The seven years that followed the 1959 elections, in which Ben-Gurion seemed to have reached the zenith of his popularity and power, were marked by continued economic progress – especially in the development of industry – on the one hand, and a series of political crises that transformed the party map of Israel, on the other. While the immediate issue in the internal struggle within Mapai seemed, on the surface, to be the Lavon Affair, there were deeper issues involved. Israel was developing into a modern, mainly urban and industrial, society. Living standards – in housing, household equipment, education, and entertainment – were rising to levels that would have been regarded as unreasonably luxurious by the early pioneers. The electric refrigerator and the gas stove were replacing the ice-box and the kerosene cooker; the veteran population was well on the way to West European standards, and the new immigrants were hot on their heels. The egalitarianism which had reigned – in theory, at least – in the Histadrut and the public service was being challenged. Most of the political leaders had won their spurs in trade-union activity and agricultural settlement; now new strata of administrators, scientists, and businessmen, concerned more with practical affairs than with ideologies, were arising. Professional men and senior officials demanded salaries in keeping with their skills and experience. Younger men, with some encouragement from Ben-Gurion, were breaking into the ranks of the top leadership. Even in the kibbutzim, new problems were arising – some as a result of restitution payments made by Germany to individual members.

The political controversies of the period (treated in greater detail in Israel, State of: *Political Life and Parties), may be divided into three phases. In the second half of 1960, Pinḥas Lavon claimed that new evidence, recently disclosed, proved that he had not been responsible for the security "mishap" that had led to his resignation. In the meantime, he had been appointed secretary-general of the Histadrut, but his further progress in the political field was blocked by the memory of the old affair. Lavon's efforts to clear his name developed into a virulent controversy with Ben-Gurion and his supporters, which came to a climax with Mapai's decision to depose Lavon from his Histadrut post.

At the same time a second focus of controversy emerged: the decision of a cabinet committee clearing Lavon, which Ben-Gurion denounced as a misuse of authority and a miscarriage of justice. When Ben-Gurion resigned and no solution to the subsequent crisis could be found but premature Knesset elections, his party again rallied round him and helped him reform his government after the elections. Ben-Gurion, however, had not given up his struggle to rectify the "miscarriage of justice," and in 1963, shortly before submitting his final resignation as prime minister, he commissioned a new inquiry into the background of the affair.

In 1963 President Ben-Zvi died and was succeeded by Shneour Zalman *Shazar.

Levi *Eshkol, nominated by Ben-Gurion as his successor, at first proclaimed a policy of continuity, but his personal style and inclinations, as well as his associations with the veteran leadership, soon found expression. He displayed a more friendly attitude toward the Zionist Organization, which he assured of full state backing and cooperation in its work in the Diaspora, as well as in Israel, and adopted a more conciliatory tone toward the opposition, placating Ḥerut by authorizing the reinterment in Israel of its deceased leader, Jabotinsky (who had requested in his will, written in the 1930s, that his remains should be transferred to Palestine only "by order of that country's eventual Jewish government"). Eshkol was more restrained in his public references to Arab leaders and to the Soviet Union, though speculations as to a new trend in foreign relations were not justified by any substantive change in policy. At the same time there was no advancement for the Ben-Gurionist "young guard"; the veterans were firmly in the saddle, and the attempt to conclude an alliance with Aḥdut ha-Avodah was widely believed to be motivated not only by the long-standing aspiration for labor unity, but also by the Mapai leaders' desire to establish a counter-weight to the challenge from within their own party.

The third phase started toward the end of 1964, when Ben-Gurion renewed his demand for a judicial inquiry into the actions of the 1960 cabinet committee. The pent-up antagonisms came to the surface and a heated controversy broke out, reaching a climax shortly before the 1965 elections with a split in the party and the establishment of a break-away list, *Rafi (Reshimat Po'alei Yisrael – Israel Labor List), headed by Ben-Gurion, Moshe *Dayan, and Shimon *Peres. The partial healing of the 1944 rift in Mapai by the establishment of an "Alignment" with Aḥdut ha-Avodah was thus achieved only at the expense of a new breach, which was closed only after the Six-Day War.

There were also other changes in the party map. In 1961 the General Zionists and the Progressives united to form the Liberal Party, but the new body disintegrated in 1965, when the General Zionist section merged with Ḥerut to form *Gaḥal (Gush Ḥerut Liberalim – Ḥerut-Liberal Bloc), while most of the Progressives established the Independent Liberal Party. In the latter years the Communists split into a mainly Jewish section, which kept the old name, Maki (Miflagah Komunistit Yisre'elit – Israel Communist Party), and a mainly Arab section, Rakaḥ (Reshimah Komunistit Ḥadashah – New Communist List), with strong Nasserist sympathies.

Controversies over religious matters arose from time to time during the period. It took three years before agreement could be reached on the procedure for electing the Ashkenazi and Sephardi chief rabbis after the death of Rabbi Herzog in 1959 and the expiry of Rabbi Nissim's term in the following year. Between 1962 and 1964 there were repeated demonstrations and sit-down strikes by immigrants of the *Bene Israel community from India in protest against difficulties in getting rabbinical approval to marry with other Jews because of doubts as to the validity of their marriage and divorce procedures in their country of origin. In 1964 there were controversies over the proposal to install an "international" (non-kosher) kitchen on the Zim liner SS *Shalom* and the problem of supervising *kashrut* at the large regional slaughterhouse at Kiryat Malakhi. Considerable feeling was aroused over the case of the ten-year-old Yossele Shumacher, who was withheld from his parents by extreme religious groups associated with his grandfather in order to assure his receiving a rigidly Orthodox education and was ultimately found in 1962 by the Israel Secret Service in New York, where he was being kept under cover. A League for the Abolition of Religious Coercion was established and occasionally clashed with religious zealots.

Religious life flourished, however, with little connection with such controversies. About one-third of the children attended state and other religious schools; in 1968 there were 250 yeshivot, with 18,000 students, mostly in Jerusalem and Bene Berak, constituting the greatest center of Jewish rabbinic learning in the world. A new generation of Israel-born religious youth, recognizable by their knitted skull-caps, were growing up in their own youth movements and a wide network of religious kibbutzim and moshavim. Sabbath and festivals were not only observed in the home but also, as official public holidays, were marked by the closing of shops, factories, offices, and public institutions.

A profound impression was made on the country by the trial of Adolf *Eichmann, who had been the main organizer of the Nazi extermination program. His apprehension in Argentina by Secret Service volunteers was announced on May 23, 1960, and he was indicted under the Nazis and Nazi Collaborators (Punishment) Law, 1950. He was put on trial in Jerusalem on April 11, 1961, and sentenced to death on December 15; on May 31, 1962 – two days after the rejection of his appeal to the Supreme Court – he was executed – the first and only death penalty carried out under Israel law. The trial brought home to the consciousness of the public, particularly the youth and the Oriental communities, the horrors of the Holocaust and its significance in modern Jewish history. It also emphasized the role of Israel as a Jewish state where, for the first time since the beginning of the Exile, a Jewish court could mete out justice for crimes against the Jewish people.

Despite the political, religious, and other controversies, most of the second decade was a period of rapid economic development. During the period 1960–65, the gross national product increased by an average of about 11% a year. Exports were almost doubled, reaching a total of $406,000,000 (50% of imports) in 1965. The domestic market for locally grown food was approaching saturation point; with the rise in the standard of living, further increments in personal incomes were being spent mainly on manufactured goods. Farmers, therefore, concentrated on growing more variegated crops, specialization, and increasing efficiency by mechanization and other means. Exports of fresh agricultural produce totaled $86,000,000 in 1965, of which $71,000,000 was citrus. New crops were introduced: cotton, supplying almost all the local demand; groundnuts, mainly for export; and sugarbeets, processed in local refineries. The national water carrier, which brought the upper Jordan waters through Lake Kinneret down to the Negev, was completed and went into full operation in 1965. As conventional water resources were now almost fully exploited, attention was focused on the desalinization of sea and brackish water, various methods being closely studied and tried out. U.S. President Johnson and Prime Minister Eshkol agreed in 1964 to study the feasibility of erecting a joint atomic-power and sea-water desalinization station, but difficulties in producing water at an economic price delayed execution of the project.

The greatest growth was in industry, which had now become the main instrument for absorbing the immigrants and reducing dependence on external resources by replacing imports and stepping up exports. Industrial production totaled IL6,900,000,000 in 1965 and employed 236,000 hands. The growth was more rapid in new industries, like metals and machinery, chemicals and fertilizers, copper and phosphates, and electronic equipment, than in the established ones, such as food, textiles, and building materials. Israel now manufactured products like paper, tires, radios, and refrigerators, which had had to be imported in the previous decade. Israel Aircraft Industries, Lydda, which had started as the Bedek works for maintenance and overhaul, was now the country's largest industrial organization, manufacturing small military and civilian planes. As Jaffa and Tel Aviv ports were inadequate to handle the greatly increased trade, a new deepwater port was built at Ashdod and started operations at the end of 1965. A new harbor at Eilat was inaugurated in the same year. The merchant fleet grew to over 100 ships, with a deadweight capacity of some 1,100,000 tons, and El Al carried over 300,000 passengers in 1965 – over six times as many as in 1960. Widespread improvements in technical, financial, and administrative skills helped to raise productivity. The government directed extensive resources – in some years two-thirds of the development budget – to industrial development. Its influence was not always exerted on purely economic grounds. To promote the dispersal of the population and provide employment for newcomers, investors were often induced to erect their plants in *Kiryat Shemonah, *Beth Shemesh, or *Dimonah instead of Tel Aviv or its environs, where they could have operated more profitably. For the sake of self-sufficiency the Histadrut was helped to expand its "Steel City" at Acre, and private entrepreneurs were aided in setting up paper mills at Ḥaderah, though it might have been cheaper to import the paper and the finished steel.

Prices had risen considerably since the exchange rate of IL1.80 to the dollar was fixed, and government efforts to direct investment into socially and politically desirable channels had led to the proliferation of subsidies, preferential loans, tax reliefs, administrative restrictions on imports, and other inducements and pressures. The result was that the average effective rate of exchange in 1961 was about IL2.70 to the dollar, and for some protected or subsidized products as high as IL6.00 or IL8.00 per dollar. Budgetary deficits in 1960 and 1961, as well as a considerable influx of personal restitution payments from Germany, which grew from $26,000,000 in 1960 to $110,000,000 in 1961, added to the inflationary pressures.

In February 1962, a second "New Economic Policy" was announced. It was based on devaluation to the rate of IL3.00 per dollar and the gradual reduction or annulment of discriminatory subsidies, levies, premiums, etc., in order to put production on an economic basis, expose local industries to competition from imports, make exports more profitable, and compel manufacturers to increase efficiency. The policy was not consistently applied, however. Concessions were made to various groups of producers, as well as to mortgagees whose payments were linked to the value of the dollar. Inflationary pressures continued: prices started rising in 1963 at the rate of some 7% per year, and wage increases in the private sector were followed by a considerable rise in civil service salaries, a by-product of the introduction of a uniform grading system. Average nominal hourly wages rose by 17% in 1964 and again in 1965. The adverse trade balance (goods and services) grew to an average of some $500,000,000 in the years 1962–65. This was the price for the continued rise in the national product, a 6–7% annual growth in national income per capita, and a state of full employment.

After the 1965 elections the government took steps to cool down the overheated economy, raising taxes and cutting down its expenditures. Several important public works projects, such as the national water carrier and the building of Ashdod port, had been completed. A drop in immigration from an average of about 60,000 a year in 1961–64 to 30,000 in 1965 and 16,000 in 1966 led to a decrease in the demand for housing and a slump in the building and ancillary industries. The government's measures of economic restraint succeeded in stabilizing prices, keeping imports stationary, and reducing the adverse trade balance by some $75,000,000 in 1966, but only at the cost of an economic recession and a considerable rise in unemployment, to the level of 30,000. After 15 years of almost continuous expansion, the national product in effect did not increase at all during the year. The government hoped that a wage freeze, increased productivity, and the transfer of labor and resources to production for export would, in the long run, put the economy on a sounder footing, but the economic difficulties had a depressing effect on public morale. It was in an atmosphere of gloom and uncertainty that the threat to national survival, in the early summer of 1967, galvanized the nation into a new upsurge of energy and confidence, which encompassed all spheres of national life.

Education continued to expand: in the 1966/67 school year there were some 750,000 pupils and students, including about 120,000 in post-primary schools and 30,000 in the universities. A graded fee system was introduced by stages in the post-primary schools: those who passed a uniform examination in the basic subjects were subsidized, partially or wholly, in accordance with family income and circumstances. About 70% of pupils continued their studies after the age of 14: half in academic high schools and the rest in agricultural or vocational secondary schools. Special efforts were still needed to equalize the educational opportunities of children whose parents had come from Asia and Africa, only about 25% of whom received post-primary schooling. Measures taken in new immigrant areas included free kindergartens for three-and four-year-old children; a longer school day; separate grouping of children in the higher grades of the primary school according to attainments in Hebrew, mathematics and English, enabling them to progress at the rate best suited to their abilities in each subject; and the establishment of an Israel Education Fund through which donors from abroad helped to build comprehensive and other schools in the development areas. The Hebrew University and the Technion continued to expand, with 12,000 and 5,000 students, respectively; Tel Aviv University, which became an independent institution in 1961, had 8,000, and Bar-Ilan 3,500. The nuclei of two more universities at *Beersheba (from 1970 the University of the Negev) and *Haifa (from 1969 the University of Haifa), were established under the supervision of the older institutions.

More and more, Israel was becoming a world Jewish center. In addition to the Zionist Organization, which held its quadrennial congresses and the annual meetings of its General Council in Jerusalem, many Zionist and other Jewish organizations held their conventions in Israel. Thousands of young people attended study institutes and youth-leaders' courses organized by the Jewish Agency or came for periods of work in kibbutzim. The Jewish Agency also conducted courses for teachers and communal leaders, and rabbinical seminaries and other Jewish institutions abroad arranged their own courses in Israel. Ties between Israel and the Diaspora were reinforced by a growing network of family and other personal relationships: a high proportion of the thousands of Jewish tourists had relatives and close friends in Israel. The ideal of the "spiritual center" enunciated by Aḥad Ha-Am was taking shape, although there were those who pointed to evidence of cultural and sociological divergences between the "sabras" growing up in Israel and young Jews in the Diaspora.

There was a steady expansion in the scope, and improvement in the cordiality, of Israel's foreign ties during the period. In 1967 Israel maintained diplomatic relations with 98 countries, with permanent missions in 78 of them, compared with 55 countries and 38 permanent missions in 1958. The number of countries with diplomatic missions in Israel increased from 43 to 58, seven others having non-resident representatives. The only significant exceptions were the Arab and some Muslim countries and a few others, like India, closely associated with them. Relations were particularly close with the United States, the British Commonwealth countries, West European states (like France, Holland, and the Scandinavian countries), and some of the countries of Latin America and Africa. Although the U.S. Operations Mission in Israel was withdrawn in 1962, as Israel could no longer be considered an underdeveloped country, American aid, in the form of government and other loans and the sale of agricultural surpluses, continued. In view of the flow of Soviet jet bombers and missiles to Egypt, U.S. President Kennedy stated in May 1962 that, if necessary, America would take measures to prevent or halt aggression in the Middle East, and in September 1962 the United States, for the first time, publicly agreed to supply arms to Israel by selling Hawk ground-to-air defensive missiles. President de Gaulle maintained France's policy of cordial support and, on the occasion of visits by Ben-Gurion in 1961 and Eshkol in 1964, publicly referred to Israel as "our friend and ally." French Mystère jets constituted a major part of Israel's air-strike force. The international cooperation program was expanded to cover Latin American and some Mediterranean, as well as African and Asian, countries.

Relations with the German Federal Republic aroused considerable difficulty and controversy. Israel was represented by a mission at Cologne, which, while primarily concerned with trade, also performed consular and informative functions. Deliveries under the reparations agreement were duly completed, totaling over $400,000,000 in the ten-year period ending 1962. After a meeting between Ben-Gurion and Chancellor Konrad Adenauer in New York in March 1960, West Germany began to give Israel secret military aid and there were discussions on the possibility of large-scale economic assistance after the end of reparations. Leading individuals and various groups from Germany visited Israel; trade relations developed and there were some cultural exchanges. These trends were criticized by some survivors of the Holocaust and others as "treason to the memory of the victims of the Nazis." Ḥerut and left-wing critics accused the government of giving the stamp of Israel approval to German efforts to attain respectability and of endangering Israel's relations with the Soviet Union. Ben-Gurion replied that only a racist outlook could justify a boycott of Germans as such and that Israel needed German aid and support to safeguard her security. In 1963 there were reports that German scientists were helping Egypt to develop weapons of mass destruction, and Israel demanded that the German government put an end to their activities. Another crisis arose in 1965, when West Germany succumbed to Arab pressure by ending military assistance to Israel, but offered, in compensation, to establish full diplomatic relations and consider extended economic aid. The crisis was resolved when the first German and Israel ambassadors presented their credentials in the respective capitals in August; agreement on a German loan of DM160,000,000 was concluded in May 1966.

The Soviet Union continued to denounce Israel and Zionism, rejecting charges of cultural and other discrimination against Soviet Jews and appeals to permit them to settle in Israel, at least if they had relatives there. There was no response to Israel's efforts to improve economic and cultural relations, apart from isolated exchange visits by sports teams, musicians, etc. In reply to a Soviet note on the denuclearization of the Mediterranean area in 1963, Israel declared that the immediate danger arose out of the conventional arms build-up of the Arab states, which was openly directed against Israel. In May 1964 Prime Minister Eshkol repeated an assurance given by Ben-Gurion in December 1960 that "nuclear development in Israel is designed exclusively for peaceful purposes" and declared that the government "has not taken the initiative in introducing new arms or new types of arms – either conventional or non-conventional – to the Middle East." There was growing concern about the U.S.S.R.'s supply of arms to Egypt and Syria and its use of the veto in the UN Security Council to prevent the adoption of any decision unfavorable to the Arabs.

For a decade after the Sinai Campaign there was no large-scale outbreak of hostilities between Israel and the Arabs, but neither was there a decline in tension. Arab hatred of Israel was continually fanned by teachers, journalists, and politicians; incessant declarations of undying hostility came from leaders of both "progressive" and "conservative" Arab states. Ben-Gurion repeatedly stated that Israel was prepared for complete disarmament in Israel and the Arab countries under mutual supervision and proposed a joint American-Soviet guarantee of the territorial independence of all Middle East states, but there was no response to either proposal.

Nasser made no secret of his refusal to acquiesce in the continued existence of Israel. In June 1962, for example, he spoke of his people's "determination to liquidate one of the most dangerous enclaves opposing the struggle of our peoples." In the main, however, especially after the beginning of his involvement in the Yemen toward the end of 1962, he stressed that a long period of preparation would be required before the final clash. Apart from occasional flare-ups on the border with Jordan, most of the attacks came from Syrian positions on the Golan Heights overlooking the demilitarized zones and Lake Kinneret. An Israeli reprisal operation in 1962 drew the usual Security Council condemnation, but a resolution condemning the killing of settlers in border villages in the following year was vetoed by the Soviet Union.

The Arab summit conferences in Cairo and Alexandria, in January and September 1964, decided to intensify the struggle against Israel by diverting the headwaters of the Jordan River to frustrate Israel's water-development plans, setting up a unified Syrian-Lebanese-Jordanian military command, and establishing a Palestinian Liberation Organization, headed by Aḥmad Shukeiri, with an "army" composed of Arab refugees. On January 20 Prime Minister Eshkol pointed out that Jordan, Syria, and Lebanon were drawing considerable quantities of water from the Jordan-Yarmuk system and that Israel was taking no more than her share in accordance with the Johnston Plan. "Israel will oppose unilateral and illegal measures by Arab countries and will act for the preservation of her vital rights," he declared. In the spring of 1965 Israel artillery, returning Syrian fire, damaged preliminary works in connection with the diversion scheme.

In the same year a new Palestinian terrorist organization, al-Fataḥ, began operations on a considerable scale, sending small bands of terrorists from bases in Syria, Lebanon, and Jordan into Israel to sabotage railroads and other installations and blow up homes and public buildings. Israel warned that it would hold its neighbors responsible for attacks initiated from their territories and carried out reprisals in Jordan and Lebanon. The seizure of power in Syria by an extreme wing of the Baath Party, with pro-Communist leanings, was followed by more frequent shooting at Israeli farmers and army patrols and greater encouragement for al-Fataḥ operations. Syrian Premier Yusuf Zu'ayin warned: "We shall set the entire area afire and any Israeli movement will result in a final resting place for Israel." Israel Foreign Minister Abba Eban told the Security Council in October 1965 that armed infiltrators organized in Syria had committed 61 outrages on Israeli territory since January. He declared that Israel had no interest in the social philosophy or international orientation of the Syrian regime and emphatically denied allegations that Israel was planning to overthrow it. Further attacks took place while the Council was deliberating, but a motion "inviting" Syria to stop sabotage incursions from her territory was vetoed by the Soviet Union.

In default of international action, Israel took steps to strengthen her defenses. On November 8 Prime Minister Eshkol announced that the period of compulsory service for men, which had been reduced to 26 months in 1963, would be restored to 30 months. On November 13, the day after three Israeli soldiers were killed and six wounded by a land mine near the armistice line in the Mt. Hebron area in Jordanian territory, a strong Israeli force crossed the armistice demarcation line and, after evacuating the residents, blew up 40 houses in es-Samu and two other villages where marauders had found shelter; 15 trucks carrying Arab Legion reinforcements were also destroyed. The Security Council unanimously (except for one abstention) censured Israel for the raid.

The Six-Day War and After: 1967–1970

Israel celebrated her 19th Independence Day on May 15, 1967, with a modest military parade in Jerusalem, from which aircraft, armor, and artillery were excluded in compliance with the 1949 Armistice Agreement with Jordan. Three and a half weeks later, after the *Six-Day War, the situation in the Middle East had been radically transformed: the Egyptian, Jordanian, and Syrian armies had been shattered; Israel was in control of territories stretching from the Golan Heights to Sharm el-Sheikh and from the Suez Canal to the Jordan River; and a new upsurge of national energy and confidence had been matched by a wave of concern and devotion that swept over world Jewry, engulfing hundreds of thousands who realized, when the Jewish state was in peril, how much its survival meant to them. This feeling affected Jews in all countries, including both the youth and the most assimilated.

Tension on the Syrian frontier had risen steadily during the early months of 1967, despite a special series of meetings of the Israel-Syrian MAC to discuss practical arrangements for securing a peaceful atmosphere on the armistice demarcation line. Israel repeatedly complained to the UN Security Council and warned that she would take all measures necessary to protect the lives of her citizens. On April 7, after heavy shelling of border villages by Syrian tanks and heavy artillery, Israeli aircraft went into action and shot down six Syrian Mig 21s.

Radio Moscow accused Israel of attacking Syria in the service of American "reactionary and imperialist circles" that were plotting to prevent the consolidation of the "progressive" Syrian regime. While terrorist raids into Israel continued, the Soviet Union told the Egyptians that Israel was concentrating "huge armed forces" near the Syrian border. Dmitri Chuvakhin, the Soviet Ambassador to Israel, refused an invitation from Prime Minister Eshkol to verify, by personal inspection on the spot, that the allegation was unfounded. Israel immediately denied the Soviet allegations and as UN Secretary-General U Thant stated on May 19, "reports from UNTSO observers confirmed the absence of troop concentrations and significant troop movements on both sides of the line."

Meanwhile, on May 14, Nasser had begun openly dispatching large numbers of Egyptian troops into Sinai. Eshkol told the Israel government that the Egyptian troop movements, apparently, had more demonstrative than practical significance, but ordered part of the reserves mobilized as a precautionary measure. On May 16 Cairo Radio declared: "The existence of Israel has continued too long. We welcome the Israeli aggression, we welcome the battle that we have long awaited. The great hour has come. The battle has come in which we shall destroy Israel." On the same day Egypt demanded the withdrawal of the UN Emergency Force (UNEF) from the Gaza Strip and Sinai borders and Sharm el-Sheikh, and when U Thant replied that any such request would be regarded as a demand for its complete withdrawal, officially requested the evacuation of the force. On May 19 the UNEF commander, General Rikhye, told Israel that the force would cease to function the same day. U Thant flew to Cairo on May 22; on the next day Nasser announced his intention to block the Straits of Tiran to Israeli ships and others carrying "strategic cargoes," and Eshkol immediately declared that any interference with freedom of passage in the Gulf of Akaba and the straits constituted "an act of aggression." On May 26 Nasser declared: "Sharm el-Sheikh means a confrontation with Israel. After having taken this step we must be prepared to wage total war on Israel." The Security Council met on May 24 but could not agree on any action. On May 25 Foreign Minister Eban left for Washington, London, and Paris to ask for support and, specifically, measures to lift the blockade in the straits. Only four out of a score of maritime powers that had announced their support for free passage in 1957 were willing to cooperate. Neither Britain nor France was willing to stand by the 1950 Tripartite Declaration. The French spoke of the need to examine the legal position on free passage through the Straits of Tiran, and General de Gaulle warned Eban that he would oppose whichever side struck first.

Under the looming shadow of war, the country was preparing for the worst. The organization and training of the reserves units was being brought up to concert pitch, while older men and women and schoolchildren helped to keep services going. Many worked overtime without pay to get in the harvest, keep up supplies, and fill export orders. After a day's rush on groceries, the government announced that ample supplies of food were available and kept the warehouses open until late at night so that shops could replenish stocks. The country anxiously awaited a government decision to end the uncertainty, and army leaders pressed for action.

A cabinet meeting on May 27 decided to make another effort to avert war. In a broadcast to the nation on the next day, Eshkol said that further diplomatic measures were to be taken to safeguard free passage in the Straits of Tiran and that "lines of activity" had been laid down "for the purpose of removing the military concentrations from Israel's southern border, protecting our sovereign rights and security on the borders and averting aggression, so that we shall not have to act in self-defense with military force." Widespread demands were made for the establishment of a government of national unity to fortify public confidence and, specifically, for the appointment of Moshe Dayan as minister of defense. On May 30, King Hussein of Jordan placed his forces under Egyptian control. Egyptian, Saudi Arabian, and Iraqi troops were sent to Jordan, and Iraqi, Algerian, and Kuwaiti forces to Egypt. On June 1 Dayan was co-opted to the cabinet as defense minister and three days later Menaḥem Begin, the Ḥerut leader, and Yosef Sapir, the Liberal leader, as ministers without portfolio. On June 3 Radio Cairo quoted an order of the day by General Murtaji, commander of the Egyptian Forces in Sinai, hailing "the Holy War through which you will restore the rights of the Arabs which have been stolen in Palestine and reconquer the plundered soil of Palestine." On the next day, Iraq followed Hussein's example.

Surrounded by Arab forces that were liable to attack at any moment, Israel could delay no longer. On the morning of June 5 the Israel air force attacked the airfields of Egypt, Jordan, Iraq, and Syria, destroying 452 planes – 391 of them on the ground – in under three hours and achieving complete superiority in the air. As the attack was nearing completion, the southern command moved against the Egyptian armies massed on the Negev border. One divisional task force broke through heavily defended positions on the coast and reached El-Arish by the evening. A second advanced toward the main Egyptian positions around Abu Aweigila, opposite Niẓẓanah, while a third moved through the sand dunes further north to the Egyptian rear. At the same time, Gaza was attacked from the south. On the second day of fighting, the Israeli forces advanced toward the Egyptian second line and concentrated most of their armor in the heart of Sinai. On the third day, Israeli tanks carried out a large-scale encirclement operation, closing up all avenues of escape for the Egyptian armor and compelling it to engage in frontal combat. In one of the largest armor battles in history, with over 1,000 tanks participating on both sides, the Egyptian power was shattered, and on June 8 the Israeli forces had reached the Suez Canal and were moving south along the eastern shore of the Gulf of Suez. Meanwhile the Gaza Strip had been taken, Israeli naval forces had captured Sharm el-Sheikh, and parachute troops landed there were moving northward to link up with the armor. By dawn on Friday June 9, Israeli forces were encamped along the canal and the Gulf of Suez. The Egyptians had had over 400 tanks destroyed and 200 captured, losing more than 10,000 men and 12,000 prisoners.

On the morning of June 5 Israel had notified King Hussein, through the UNTSO chief of staff, that if his forces kept the peace Jordan would be immune from attack. Nevertheless, almost immediately Jordanian forces opened fire all along the armistice line, occupied UN headquarters in East Jerusalem, and indiscriminately shelled the Jewish areas in the west of the city. Israel's central command counterattacked, concentrating on the hills round the city. By the next day, after bitter fighting that lasted throughout the night, the garrison on Mount Scopus had been relieved and the whole of Jerusalem outside the Old City was in Israel's hands. At the same time the northern command attacked the Jordanian forces in Samaria (the northern part of the "West Bank"), while central command forces, which had taken the strong points on the hills to the north of the Jerusalem Corridor, moved eastward to cut the road from the city to the north. By June 7 Israel was in control of Nablus, Ramallah, Jericho, and Bethlehem. It was now possible to start the historic battle for the Old City, which was taken by a paratroop unit breaking in through St. Stephen's (Lions) Gate in hand-to-hand fighting to avoid any damage to the holy places. By the evening the whole of Samaria and Judea were in Israel's hands.

In the north, the Syrians had been shelling Israel towns and villages from their heavily fortified positions on the Golan Heights. With the fighting over in the south and the center, the Israel air force opened fire on the gun positions, and at noon on June 9 the infantry and armor attacked. After fierce fighting, in which one position after another was taken in close combat, the Israel forces reached the town of Kuneitra, on the main road to Damascus, at 2:30 P.M. on the 10th.

The Security Council, which met on almost every one of the six days of fighting, called for a cease-fire on June 6, 7, and 9. With the acceptance of the cease-fire by Israel, Egypt, Jordan, Lebanon, and Syria, the Six-Day War came to an end. Israel casualties were 777 killed and 2,586 wounded; the Arabs had lost some 15,000 men, hundreds of tanks, and the bulk of their air forces. Israel held 26,476 sq. mi. of territory previously in Arab hands: 444 sq. mi. on the Golan Heights, 2,270 sq. mi. in Judea and Samaria, 140 sq. mi. in the Gaza Strip, and 23,622 sq. mi. in Sinai. A Soviet-sponsored proposal to condemn Israel as the aggressor and demand immediate withdrawal from all occupied territories was rejected by the Security Council on June 14, and three similar proposals were turned down by the General Assembly on July 4.

When Defense Minister Moshe Dayan paid his first visit to the Old City of Jerusalem on June 7, he said: "We have unified Jerusalem, the divided capital of Israel. We have returned to the holiest of our holy places never to depart from it again." On the same day, Prime Minister Eshkol assured the heads of all the religious communities that they would retain control of their holy places, the chief rabbis being in charge of the Western Wall of the Temple Court (the "Wailing Wall"). On June 27 the minister of the interior, under a law passed by the Knesset the day before, issued an order extending the limits of Jerusalem and the jurisdiction of Israel law to the eastern part of the city. At noon the next day the 19-year-old barriers between East and West Jerusalem were removed; henceforth the 66,000 Arabs (54,000 Muslims and 12,000 Christians) and 195,000 Jews of Jerusalem were free to mingle as citizens of one city.

Military government was established in the areas administered under the cease-fire agreements, but the existing local authorities and officials were left free to operate without interference, except where security interests were concerned. Schools were reopened with the same staffs, curricula, and textbooks, apart from the revision or replacement of those containing incitement against the Jews or Israel. A small number of Israel officials, seconded to central and regional military government headquarters, helped to improve services, introduce modern agricultural methods, and stimulate industrial development. The courts were reopened, with the same judges and staffs administering the law previously in force; Israel military courts dealt only with offenses against security. An "open bridges" policy was instituted: West Bank Arabs moved freely to and fro across the Jordan and sold their produce in the Arab countries; residents of the Gaza Strip could travel for the first time to the West Bank and further afield; high school graduates could take Egyptian matriculation examinations and go to study in Egyptian and other Arab universities. Some 200,000 Arabs fled eastward across the Jordan River during the fighting or left to join their families afterward. The applications of 21,000 to return were approved, but by the end of August 1967 only 14,000 had done so. Further applications for the purpose of family reunification were considered on their merits. Relatives and friends of West Bank residents were allowed to come for prolonged visits each summer. Thousands of Arabs worked inside Israel's pre-1967 borders: in March 1970, 18,000 from the West Bank and 6,600 from the Gaza Strip were thus employed through the labor exchanges. Many of the refugee camps were connected with the electricity network; refugees, especially in the Gaza Strip, were a high proportion of those who worked in Israel, earning considerably increased wages (see also Israel, State of: *Arab Population).

Nevertheless, the Arabs of the areas, the great majority of whom had close relatives in Jordan and other Arab countries, regarded themselves as closely connected with the Arab world and, although there was a widespread desire for peace, looked forward expectantly to the withdrawal of Israel forces and the end of Israel rule. In the early months after the war, there were political demonstrations, and some of the young people cooperated with the terrorist organizations. In the Gaza Strip, particularly in the refugee camps, grenades were repeatedly thrown at army patrols and at Arabs "collaborating" with the authorities by going out to work in Israel. Stern measures were taken by the security forces against anyone using violence or harboring terrorists, and the great majority of the population kept the peace and denied shelter to armed infiltrators.

Israel ignored a Security Council resolution of May 21, 1968, calling for the annulment of measures taken to change the status of Jerusalem, but expressed recognition of universal spiritual interests in the city and readiness to guarantee the immunity of the holy places of all faiths. A fire in the al-Aqṣa Mosque in Jerusalem on Aug. 29, 1969, was exploited by Arab propaganda to rouse anti-Israel sentiment in the Muslim world and get a censure resolution passed in the Security Council (September 15), although the arsonist, an Australian named Michael Rohan, was immediately apprehended and found to be suffering from paranoiac schizophrenia. Almost none of the East Jerusalem Arabs applied for Israel citizenship, but they were automatically entitled to vote in municipal elections and 7,000 of them did so in 1969 – more than in the last elections to the city council under Jordanian rule.

The weeks of tension preceding the Six-Day War led to an unprecedented awakening among Jews abroad, especially the youth. Thousands of young volunteers invaded Israel missions and Jewish Agency offices, clamoring to be allowed to help in the emergency; many made their own way to Israel by any available plane. While they arrived too late to fight, they worked in fields and orchards, helped the army clear up the debris of battle, and began the reconstruction of the Hebrew University and Hadassah Hospital buildings on Mount Scopus. About 30% of them stayed and others established *aliyah* groups on their return abroad. The Zionist movement issued a call for *aliyah*, and the 27th Zionist Congress, meeting in Jerusalem in June 1968, adopted a new "Jerusalem Program" calling for *aliyah* from all countries. For the first time there was a large influx of immigrants from the West. The task of fitting absorption machinery to their needs became a matter of urgency, and a Ministry of Immigrant Absorption, headed by Deputy Prime Minister Yigal Allon, was set up for the purpose. Donations by Diaspora Jewry reached unprecedented levels, rising from $50,000,000 in 1966/67 to $350,000,000 in 1967/68. The Jerusalem Economic Conference, attended in April 1968 by over 500 prominent Jewish businessmen and economists from abroad, set up a network of regional and trade subcommittees to organize practical measures for increasing investments, establishing new undertakings in Israel, and enhancing efficiency.

The war had raised far-reaching problems of policy for Israel's leaders and public. The new situation and the entry of Moshe Dayan into the cabinet helped heal the rift in the labor movement: in January 1968 Mapai, Aḥdut ha-Avodah, and Rafi merged to form the *Israel Labor Party, which established an "alignment" with Mapam a year later (for other political developments, see Political Life and Parties). It was clear that a new and critical stage had been initiated, and might determine the destiny of Israel for many years to come. All but a tiny minority agreed that the 1949 armistice lines were dead and buried and that united Jerusalem and the Golan Heights, which had threatened the Jewish villages below for two decades, must not be given up. Apart from these points, however, there were deep differences, cutting across party lines, as to the map of the future. Gaḥal and some members of the Labor and National Religious parties believed that Israel must hold on to the boundaries achieved in June 1967 in order to fulfill the ideal of *Ereẓ Yisrael ha-Shelemah* ("The Undivided Land of Israel") as the national homeland of the Jewish people, with the Sinai Peninsula as a buffer against any further threat from Egypt. Others, including Rakaḥ, some individuals, and small groups, mostly left-wing, called for the return of all the occupied territories as the price of peace. The majority of the Labor Party, Mapam, and the Independent Liberals, as well as many members of the religious parties, were prepared to give up most of the territories in return for definitive peace treaties with Egypt and Jordan.

There was also the problem of the political attitude to be adopted toward the former Palestinian Arabs in the administered territories. The official policy was that peace could be concluded only with the government of Jordan, and that the relations between the former Palestinians and King Hussein were an internal matter of no concern to Israel. Others advocated an attempt to reach a settlement with the population of the West Bank, perhaps on the basis of setting up a separate Palestinian state in the area. Voices were also raised in favor of an attempt by Israel to solve the problem of the refugees under its rule, but the majority view was that large-scale schemes would only arouse antagonism and that the best policy was to improve the employment and social conditions of the refugees as part of the measures for increasing prosperity in the administered areas in general.

The government decided, in view of the differences of opinion within it and the fact that no Arab country was ready to negotiate, that there was no need to take any decisions on boundaries unless and until definite proposals would have to be submitted at the peace conference table. Various interim government pronouncements were summarized, however, in an "unwritten doctrine" adopted, mainly in response to pressure from Dayan, at the first Labor Party convention in August 1969. According to this program, advocacy of which was optional for party spokesmen, the Gaza Strip, as well as the Golan Heights and the whole of Jerusalem, should remain under Israel rule; there should be a territorial link with Sharm el-Sheikh to safeguard freedom of shipping from and to Eilat, and the Jordan River should be Israel's "security border." Under the last head, which was in keeping with the "Allon Plan" proposed by the deputy prime minister, most of the West Bank could be reunited politically with Jordan, but no Arab military forces would be permitted east of the Jordan River.

There was some controversy over the question of Jewish settlement in the administered areas. While the maximalists advocated the establishment of villages and urban quarters wherever possible, as an expression of Jewish rights in the whole of Ereẓ Israel and in order to strengthen Israel's hold on the areas, other circles objected on the ground that such settlement could prejudice peace negotiations. General opinion supported government policy to give priority to settlement required mainly for security reasons. A number of *Naḥal outposts – some of which were later converted into civilian villages – were set up on the Golan Heights, along the Jordan Valley, and on the northern Sinai coast. Two of the villages in the Eẓyon Bloc, destroyed during the War of Independence, were resettled. Most controversial was the beginning of the establishment of a Jewish quarter on the outskirts of Hebron, first on the independent initiative of a religious group and later with government assistance. The building of new quarters in East Jerusalem and the rehabilitation of the Jewish Quarter in the Old City met with virtually unanimous approval in Israel.

Meanwhile, the quest for a solution was proceeding, to the accompaniment of renewed fighting from time to time on various sectors of the cease-fire lines. Immediately after the Six-Day War, Israel called for direct peace negotiations. There were hopes that the Arabs might now be ready to discuss some form of peace or coexistence with Israel. These soon disappeared, however, after the Soviet Union undertook to rehabilitate the Egyptian and Syrian armies, initiating a vast airlift of planes, tanks, and other equipment to replace their losses and sending in thousands of Soviet advisers and experts. The Khartoum Arab Summit Conference in August 1967, at which Saudi Arabia, Libya, and Kuwait promised Egypt and Jordan generous subsidies, resolved that there would be no peace with Israel, no negotiations with Israel, no recognition of Israel, and no compromise at the expense of "the rights of the Palestinian people." Yasser Arafat, leader of al-Fatah, was elected head of the Palestine Liberation Organization, which was subsidized by the Arab governments and provided with facilities to operate from Syrian, Jordanian, and, later, Lebanese territory.

The cease-fire lines were much easier to defend against the threat of a large-scale assault than the armistice lines, with the Suez Canal and the Jordan River as "anti-tank ditches" and the increased warning time available before Egyptian aircraft could approach the populated areas. It was not long, however, before the cease-fire lines were under attack. On the Suez Canal, which Nasser blocked immediately after the war, the Egyptians fired at Israel positions from time to time and the Israelis replied in kind. Land, sea, and air clashes culminated in the sinking of the Israel destroyer *Eilat* on October 21 and the shelling of oil installations in the town of Suez a day later. Al-Fataḥ detachments, trained and organized in Syria, tried to cross the Jordan to carry on the war. Most were intercepted on or near the cease-fire line, but some sabotage was done, especially in Jerusalem and some of the border villages.

The Security Council met again and this time arrived at a decision. On Nov. 22, 1967, after several alternative drafts had failed to win agreement, the Council unanimously adopted a British-sponsored resolution (no. 242, 1967), which emphasized "the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by war and the need to work for a just and lasting peace in which every state in the area can live in security." Such a peace should provide for "(I) Withdrawal of Israeli armed forces from territories (the French and Russian traslations had "the territories") occupied in the recent conflict; (II) Termination of all claims or states of belligerency and respect for and acknowledgment of the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of every state in the area and their right to live in peace within secure and recognized boundaries free from threats or acts of force." The resolution further affirmed the necessity "(a) for guaranteeing freedom of navigation through international waterways in the area; (b) for achieving a just settlement of the refugee problem; (c) for guaranteeing the territorial inviolability and political independence of every state in the area, through measures including the establishment of demilitarized zones." The secretary-general was asked to designate a special representative "to establish and maintain contacts with the states concerned in order to promote agreement and assist efforts to achieve a peaceful and accepted settlement in accordance with the provisions and principles in this resolution."

Foreign Minister Eban declared that Israel would "respect and fully maintain the situation embodied in the cease-fire agreements until it is succeeded by peace treaties between Israel and the Arab states ending the state of war…" President Nasser, speaking on November 23, reiterated the "noes" of Khartoum and declared: "Israel's withdrawal from all the occupied areas is not a matter for negotiation." Later, Jordan and Egypt announced their acceptance of the resolution, but insisted on "implementation" by Israel's withdrawal to the boundaries existing on June 4, 1967, as a *sine qua non* of any settlement. They also made it clear that, even after a settlement, they would recognize the right of the Palestinians to continue their struggle for "the liberation of Palestine." Syria refused to have anything to do with the resolution, while al-Fataḥ opposed any agreement whatsoever, calling for the "liberation of Palestine" by force. The Israel representative told the UN on May 1, 1968, that Israel accepted the resolution as a means "for the promotion of agreement on the establishment of a just and lasting peace." As the resolution did not call for withdrawal from "all the territories" or even "the territories," Israel emphasized that the "secure and recognized boundaries" must be determined by negotiation; while they would not be identical with the cease-fire lines, there would be no return to the prewar boundaries, which, Israel spokesmen declared, would be a constant temptation to renewed hostilities. Furthermore, no territory would be evacuated until the conclusion of a peace treaty covering all the points at issue. Gunnar Jarring, Swedish ambassador in Moscow, who was appointed by UN Secretary-General U Thant as his representative, paid repeated visits to Jerusalem, Cairo, and Amman as intermediary between the governments, but there was no change in the irreconcilable attitudes of the two sides.

Meanwhile, the military situation deteriorated on both fronts. Explosive charges planted by infiltrators on the outskirts of villages and in Jerusalem, Tel Aviv, and other places killed and injured civilians and did damage to property. Along the Jordan River, mine-laying; firing at Israel forces by Palestinian irregulars, often with support from Jordanian military posts; shelling of Israel villages, especially in the Beth-Shean and Jordan valleys; and attempts by al-Fataḥ and other detachments to cross the river were almost daily occurrences. By constant vigilance, patrolling, and pursuit, the Israel forces severly hampered the activities of the infiltrators and inflicted heavy casualties on them: up to the end of 1970, 1,828 were killed and 2,884 captured. Al-Fataḥ bases in Jordan were attacked, compelling the terrorists to scatter; after the largest such operation, at Karama on March 21, 1968 – in which Israel losses were heavier than in any other such action – Israel was censured by Security Council. In 1969 the Palestinian guerrillas operated increasingly from bases in Lebanon, which were also attacked by Israel forces. Border villages and towns like Kiryat Shemonah and Beth-Shean were indiscriminately bombarded with Soviet "Katyusha" rockets. Large sums were spent on building shelters, in which the village children regularly spent their nights. Men in the reserves were called up for longer periods, and at the beginning of 1969 compulsory army service was extended from 30 to 36 months for men.

The Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP), a Marxist rival of al-Fataḥ, specialized in the hijacking of aircraft and attacks on the offices of El Al and other Israel institutions abroad. On Dec. 28, 1968, two days after an armed attack on an El Al plane at Athens airport, an Israel commando unit destroyed 14 Arab aircraft at Beirut, where the terrorists had their headquarters. The Security Council censured Israel for the raid, though throughout this period it did not condemn Arab attacks on Israel or (apart from general appeals for the observance of the cease-fire) call for them to be halted or prevented. The PFLP's operations culminated in the hijacking of five international aircraft in August 1970 (in the case of one, an El Al plane, the attempt failed) and the holding of passengers for ransom to obtain the release of Arab terrorists held in Switzerland, Germany, and Britain. This act was one of the factors in the outbreak of the Jordanian civil war, which reduced the pressure on Israel's eastern front during the last part of the year, when the Palestinian organizations seemed to be devoting most of their energies to the struggle against King Hussein.

The most serious military threat came from Egypt. Apart from several sporadic flare-ups, the Suez Canal zone was quiet for a time; in fact, it was frequently visited by tourists from the Israel side. On April 10, 1968, however, Nasser declared: "The Arab nation has decided to embark on the path of struggle and war. We have reequipped our armed forces, so that we may stand firm, later we will move to the containment of Israel and, after that, to the eradication of the aggression." In September and October the Egyptians heavily bombarded Israel positions on the canal, taking the troops by surprise and inflicting heavy casualties. Israel artillery replied, doing serious damage to the towns on the western side, and carried out commando raids deep into Egyptian territory. Israel built a series of bunkers and fortifications, heavily protected, along the length of the canal. In the second week of March 1969, the Egyptians heavily bombarded what they called the "Bar-Lev Line" (after the Israel chief of staff), and on March 30 Nasser announced that Egyptian troops would no longer be bound by the cease-fire. "We ask every soldier at the front to account for his action if he sees the enemy and does not fire at him," he said. On May 1 he announced that 60% of the "Bar-Lev Line" had been destroyed and that the attacks would continue until its destruction had been completed. Egyptian patrols were also sent across the canal, but were repulsed with heavy losses. On July 23 Nasser declared: "Now, brethren, we begin the act of liberation… We are now in the midst of a long, drawn battle… to wear down the enemy." Israel replied to this war of attrition with further commando raids on targets ranging from the Upper Nile Valley to the west coast of the Gulf of Suez and repeated air strikes at Egyptian antiaircraft batteries and posts. Forty-seven Egyptian aircraft were shot down in 1969, and it became clear that Israel had the mastery of the skies.

The cost of military operations, the building of fortifications and shelters, the maintenance of large numbers of men under arms, the purchase of large quantities of military equipment, and the expansion of local arms manufacture, as well as a massive housing program to meet the needs of increased immigration, had a threefold effect. There was a sharp upward trend in economic activity, which started in the second half of 1967 and continued in the succeeding years; the state budget swelled and the government had to take more money from the public in taxes and loans; and there was a drastic worsening in the balance of payments, leading to a drop in foreign-currency reserves (see Israel, State of: *Economic Affairs, section on Economic Development). Full employment and rising prices led to pressures for wage increases, which were partially restrained by a "package deal" between the government, the Histadrut, and the employers' associations in 1970, providing for moderate wage rises (partly in the form of government bonds), coupled with stabilization of prices and taxes. The balance of the agreement was somewhat upset toward the end of the year by a tax increase, mainly in indirect taxes, which necessitated some rise in prices, and salary claims by professional men, port workers, and others, many of them supported by strike action. In view of the strain on the government's finances, the Jewish Agency took over a larger part of the responsibility for social services and support for higher education. Appeal funds totaled about $250,000,000 in each of the years 1968/69 and 1969/70.

In 1970 the Israel air force stepped up its attacks on the Egyptian army camps near Cairo and other towns along the Nile in an attempt to compel the Egyptians to observe the cease-fire. In March it became known that the Soviet Union had come to Egypt's rescue by installing SA3 missiles, which had to be manned by Soviet crews, and providing Soviet pilots to fly operational missions in the canal zone. Until then the Soviets had confined themselves to the function of "advisers" to the Egyptian army, although these were to be found on a low tactical level, as well as at headquarters, and were known to have played an active part in the planning and execution of military operations. On April 18 Israel aircraft were challenged by Russian-flown Egyptian planes, and it was clear that Soviet involvement in the war had reached an advanced stage. Israel decided to refrain from further deep air penetration in order to avoid a dangerous clash with the Soviets, but replied to the Egyptians' spring offensive with heavy air bombardments of their lines close to the canal in order to prevent the rebuilding of their antiaircraft defenses, which might have enabled them to neutralize Israel's air power and, later, to make an attempt to cross the canal in force. In July the Soviet SA3 missiles went into operation for the first time against Israel planes. Israel stated that, while not wishing to clash with the Soviets, she would repel any attempt to make her withdraw from the Suez Canal line without a peace settlement and called upon the United States to deter the Soviets from active involvement in the war. At this stage, an American peace initiative produced a new situation.

Since early in 1969 Four-Power talks – between the U.S., the U.S.S.R., Britain, and France – and Two-Power talks, between the two superpowers, had been proceeding in an effort to agree on "guide lines" for Ambassador Jarring's mission. Israel expressed serious reservations about these talks, in which it could only rely on qualified American support while the Arabs were assured of out-and-out Soviet backing and general support from France, with Britain's attitude, at best, uncertain. Israel contended that a settlement would only be reached by agreement between the parties to the dispute and repeatedly called on the Arab states to enter into peace negotiations in which each side would be free to make any proposals it pleased. On October 1 Prime Minister Golda Meir responded affirmatively to a reported hint by Egyptian Foreign Minister Mahmud Riad that his country might be prepared to accept "something like the Rhodes formula of 1948–49" for indirect negotiations, but the proposal was disavowed by the Egyptian government spokesman. Detailed U.S. proposals for a settlement with Egypt and Jordan, announced by U.S. Secretary of State Rogers in December 1969, were rejected by the Israel government and the Knesset, as they would only permit "insubstantial changes" in the pre-1967 borders. Continual efforts were made to obtain further arms from the United States, which had become Israel's only supplier of military aircraft, as 50 French Mirages, ordered and paid for before the Six-Day War, were held up and a complete embargo on military supplies, imposed by President de Gaulle after the raid on Beirut airport, was being maintained by his successor. In December 1968 it was announced that President Johnson had agreed to supply Israel with 50 Phantom planes, but Israel now asked for 25 more Phantoms and 100 Skyhawks in addition. No public reply was given, but American spokesmen indicated that the United States would not allow the arms balance to be disturbed to Israel's disfavor.

On June 19, 1970, Secretary of State Rogers proposed that discussions on the establishment of a just and lasting peace should be held between Israel and Egypt and Jordan, respectively, under the auspices of Ambassador Jarring. The discussions should be based on "mutual acknowledgment" by the parties "of each other's sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence," and on "Israeli withdrawal from territories occupied in the 1967 conflict" in accordance with Security Council resolution 242. To facilitate agreement, the cease-fire with Egypt should be renewed for a period of three months at least. On August 4 Israel accepted the American proposal, making it clear that she regarded the original Security Council cease-fire resolution as still binding, that the object of the discussions would be to achieve "an agreed and binding contractual peace agreement," that Israel armed forces would be withdrawn only to "secure, recognized and agreed boundaries to be determined in the peace agreements," and that each party would be free to present its proposals on the matters under discussion. The decision was taken after receiving assurances from the United States that the cease-fire would include a standstill in a zone extending 30 mi. (50 km.) on either side of the Suez Canal, in which both parties would refrain from changing the military status quo by stationing additional missiles or other installations. Gaḥal, while accepting the cease-fire proposal, would not agree to negotiations on withdrawal from the territory of Ereẓ Israel, and its six ministers resigned from the cabinet, with effect from August 6.

The renewed cease-fire went into effect on August 7, but on its very first day Israel intelligence discovered that a number of missile sites in the standstill zone west of the canal had been moved forward, and further violations of the agreement were discovered on succeeding days. After several days the violations were confirmed by the United States from its own intelligence sources. Israel charged that a complete new electronic defense system, consisting of SA2 and SA3 missile batteries, had been erected up to within 6 mi. (10 km.) of the canal, capable of striking at Israel aircraft up to a distance of 20 mi. (30 km.) east of the canal and providing cover for Egyptian artillery, which could inflict heavy damage on Israeli positions as a preliminary to an attempt to cross the waterway. Defense Minister Dayan and army spokesmen, however, stated that Israel's armed strength had increased during the cease-fire and expressed their confidence that any renewed Egyptian attack would be doomed to failure.

The Israeli government, while appointing Foreign Minister Eban as the Israeli representative to the Jarring talks and UN Ambassador Tekoah as his deputy, declared that the immediate and massive violation of the cease-fire standstill agreement cast doubt on Egypt's readiness to observe any agreement to which she might set her hand. It therefore decided on September 6 to suspend participation in the Jarring talks until the missiles were withdrawn and the status quo ante in the canal zone restored. The United States showed understanding for Israel's reluctance to continue the talks in the circumstances and pressed the Soviet Union and Egypt to rectify the position in the Canal zone. These efforts were unsuccessful and there was no apparent change in the situation after the death of Nasser on September 28 and the election of Anwar Sadat to succeed him. The United States tried to induce Israel to return to the talks, however, and President Nixon asked Congress to appropriate $500,000,000 in credits for the supply of arms to Israel to neutralize the Egyptian build-up. At the end of the year, after intensive negotiations with the U.S. administration, the Israeli government decided that conditions had been created that would justify the reopening of the Jarring talks, and the decision was approved by the Knesset on December 29.

Toward the end of the year public opinion in Israel was deeply moved by the plight of Jews in the U.S.S.R. and their open demand for the right to *aliyah*. Mass demonstrations were held at the Western Wall in Jerusalem in the second half of December, during the trial of Jews in Leningrad on charges of planning to hijack a plane in order to leave the Soviet Union. After a statement by the prime minister on behalf of the government, the Knesset called on friendly nations and world public opinion to press for the removal of the restrictions on the freedom of Soviet Jews to leave the U.S.S.R. and settle in Israel.

[Misha Louvish]

From the Yom Kippur War to the First Intifada

With the relaxation of military tension and the cessation of almost all military activities along the borders from 1971 to 1973, the period was marked by a greater concentration on domestic problems. In spite of the border tranquility, however, security expenditure kept rising due to the need to finance costly and modern weapons, about one-third of the budget being earmarked for defense. The growing budget, shortage of labor, influx of foreign capital, and spiraling wage demands resulted in rising inflation. The continued economic boom resulted in conspicuous consumption, including massive foreign travel, and stressed the growing social inequality.

This inequality was at the root of growing discontent among the lower income strata, predominantly Oriental Jews, living in urban slums or in development towns, with large families, and inferior education. This gave rise to a group of young people known as the Black Panthers who organized demonstrations in Jerusalem and Tel Aviv calling attention to their plight and demanding housing for young couples, better schools, and job opportunities. The initial reaction of the Labor Government was to dismiss the entire affair, and the prime minister termed them "not nice," a phrase that was to cost Labor heavily in the elections of 1973 and, more particularly, of 1977.

After some consideration, however, the government did begin to deal more urgently with social needs, and increased budgets for education, housing, and social welfare were allocated. In June 1973, the Prime Minister's Committee on Disadvantaged Youth, consisting of 126 experts, issued its report, which revealed that in the late 1960s there were some 160,000 disadvantaged children in lsrael from the point of view of parents' income or educational status and substandard housing. Of them 25,000 were disadvantaged in all three criteria. On the eve of the Yom Kippur War, the cabinet decided to establish a Youth Authority consisting of representatives of ministries dealing with social affairs. Additional budgets were allocated for housing, education and social services, but the ambitious plans fell victim to the Yom Kippur War and the need to finance massive rearmament in its wake.

Between 1971 and 1973 a wave of strikes hit Israel, chiefly in the public service sector, causing hardship and resulting, usually, in wage rises. In some cases the strikes were called without the knowledge or agreement of the Histadrut, in others against its wishes, and it lost out to works committees who were highly critical of the government policies, which, they claimed, favored the rich. The secretary-general of the Histadrut, Yiẓḥak *Ben-Aharon, was also outspoken in his criticism of the policies of Finance Minister Pinḥas *Sapir, charging him with giving preference to industrialists, investors, and the newly rich, but ignoring tens of thousands of families in poverty.

The major preoccupation of the government on the eve of the 1973 elections consisted in the security situation, which seemed better than ever, social problems, and the future of the Administered Areas, which was the focus of a major debate in the Alignment. The discussion on the territories took first place in the minds of the Israeli leaders, and as elections drew near Minister Galili issued a document for approval by the Labor Party designed to placate Defense Minister Dayan and determine Israel's policy in the areas in the next four years. This was to include continued development of the services, new settlements, the continuation of the open bridges policy, the expansion of plans for Arab refugee resettlement, the continuing development of the Jerusalem area as well as the purchase of land in the areas. Among the areas to be developed was the Rafiaḥ Salient, to include a new city, Yammit, and a deep water port. The Galili Document became part of the Labor election platform.

Another important political development took place in July 1973, when General Ariel *Sharon, recently demobilized from the IDF, was able to bring about a new political bloc called the Likud, consisting of Ḥerut, the Liberals, the Free Center and the State List. General Sharon was co-opted to the Likud list of candidates for the Knesset.

There was no abatement in the struggle against Arab terror during the 1971–73 period, with Israel scoring major successes but also suffering tragic setbacks, such as the massacre committed at Lod Airport in May 1972 by a group of Japanese terrorists, who killed over 25 people in cold blood. In September of that year the PLO captured and killed eleven Israeli athletes and trainers, the bulk of the Israeli team for the Munich Olympic Games. The tragedy raised serious questions in Israel regarding the protection of the team and led to the appointment of an inquiry committee and a tightening up of security measures. Successful operations by Israeli agents in Europe and in Beirut nipped in the bud many planned PLO attacks and saved countless lives.

THE YOM KIPPUR WAR AND ITS AFTERMATH. On the eve of the *Yom Kippur War the mood of Israel was mixed. Supreme confidence reigned with regard to security matters, but serious questions were raised regarding the country's goals, and there was growing disenchantment with its aging leaders, who, it was claimed, were beginning to lose touch with the new realities. Whatever achievements had been attained in the previous 25 years, all of them under Labor rule, were clouded by a sense of loss of direction, a drift towards the unknown, and open dissension in matters such as religion, social progress, relations between Israeli Jews and Israeli Arabs, Israel and the Diaspora, and even the arrival of Soviet immigrants, a miracle in itself, ran into difficulties in their absorption.

The buildup of Syrian and Egyptian forces during the month of September 1973 had been noted by Israel but written off as routine maneuvers. Few imagined that the Arabs would dare challenge Israel's military supremacy. Israel's overconfidence and its misreading of Arab intentions and capabilities were a recipe for military disaster. Only hours before the Arab attack was launched did it become clear that the armies of Syria and Egypt were massing for war. Immediately Israeli reserve units were called up, but by then it was too late.

At 2 P.M. on October 6, Yom Kippur, three Syrian divisions accompanied by 1,400 tanks rolled into the Golan Heights while 70,000 Egyptian troops crossed the Suez Canal and quickly overran Israel's entire line of defense. The Syrians advanced toward Rosh Pinnah and the Sea of Galilee while the Egyptians established three major bridgeheads on the Canal. On the Syrian front Israeli counterattacks brought a halt to the Syrian advance by October 8. Two days later the Syrians were in retreat and on October 11 Israeli forces moved into Syrian territory and established a line of defense 20 miles from Damascus.

The Egyptians had dug in along the Canal and only resumed their advance on October 14. By that time Israel had massed its reinforcements and these were able to block the Egyptian advance. On the night of October 15, under General Sharon, Israeli forces crossed the Canal and within days managed to surround the 20,000-man Third Egyptian Army. Fighting ended on October 24 with the Egyptians still entrenched on the east bank of the Canal while Israel maintained its stranglehold on the Third Army on the west bank.

The Yom Kippur War changed everything. Despite the fact that Israel won the most impressive military victory in her history, the shame and humiliation of the surprise attack by the Syrians and the Egyptians and the staggering number of casualties (over 2,500 dead) stunned the country. Serious doubts were sown in the minds of people regarding the capability of Israel's leadership. Demands were made for a thorough investigation of the events that led to the war and the shortcomings and blunders that found Israel unprepared. Israel's growing international isolation, serious economic problems, its almost total dependence on the United States for military, political and economic aid, and internal disarray, all led to the rise of a number of protest movements that demanded an immediate change in the government. The cabinet appointed a commission of inquiry in November 1973 headed by the president of the Supreme Court.

The 1973 elections, postponed from October to December 31, 1973, were held in this atmosphere. Labor won 51 seats, remaining the strongest and largest party. Likud increased its strength to 39 and became the major opposition party. The religious parties held their ground, as did the Communists. A new group, called the Citizens' Rights Movement, won three seats. Prime Minister Meir reformed her cabinet, but following the publication of the Agranat Commission Report on the events that preceded the Yom Kippur War, which led to the resignation of the Chief of Staff David Elazar, the removal of the director of military intelligence, and the commander of the Southern Front, but found no fault in the conduct of Defense Minister Dayan, Mrs. Meir resigned on April 11, 1974. She remained as caretaker prime minister during the negotiations with Syria for a disengagement agreement, while the Labor Party chose Yitzhak *Rabin over Shimon Peres as its candidate for the office of prime minister. He presented his new cabinet to the Knesset in June.

Rabin, born in Jerusalem in 1922, was the first prime minister born in the country, thus bringing to an end the rule of the "founding fathers." He did not include in his cabinet Abba Eban or Moshe Dayan, and Pinḥas Sapir chose to become chairman of the Jewish Agency. Rabin's policy was concentrated on the rehabilitation of the IDF, a slow progress towards peace with Egypt in a series of limited agreements, while re-building the shattered Israeli economy and, above all, the morale of the people and their self-confidence. Following the 1975 Interim Agreement with Egypt, the failure to reach an agreement with Jordan, and the continued civil war in Lebanon, Rabin felt that he could concentrate more on domestic matters, which had been neglected because of the war and its aftermath. He was unable, however, to exert leadership in this sphere and the old problems that plagued Israel before the war resurfaced. Labor relations deteriorated and strikes, especially in the public services, were endemic. The Israel pound was devaluated constantly and inflation rose at an alarming rate. Nevertheless, in 1976 the economic policies of the government were able to reduce Israel's chronic balance of payments deficit. Social tensions continued, but there was little the government could do to divert funds into social services, owing to the need for a crash program of re-arming and of purchasing the most modern and sophisticated American weapons.

Rabin was also being challenged by *Gush Emunim, a group that demanded large scale Israeli settlement in Samaria. In November 1975 it defied the government by settling in Kaddum. It was supported by Menaḥem Begin and the NRP, and Rabin surrendered to pressures and agreed to allow the settlers to move to a nearby army camp. Other attempts made to settle in other parts of Samaria and in Judea were thwarted by the IDF.

At the end of 1975 there was already open criticism of the leadership of Rabin, not only among the opposition and coalition parties, but even in the governing party itself. An invitation to Golda *Meir to join the "Leading Forum" of the Labor Party was regarded as a sign of weakness of Rabin's position. It transpired that the most vehement critics against the government came from the "dovish" circles of the Alignment itself, the most prominent among whom were the former Foreign Minister Abba *Eban and Yiẓḥak Ben-Aharon. In the middle of May 1976 an unsuccessful attempt was made within the Labor Party to bring about reconciliation between Rabin and Defense Minister Peres who was challenging the prime minister.

The prestige of the Labor Party in general and that of Rabin in particular, was hard hit when it became known that Asher Yadlin, who had been nominated as governor of the Bank of Israel and was one of the central figures of the Labor Party and chairman of the Kuppat Ḥolim of the Histadrut, was being investigated by the police following rumors of his having been involved in foreign currency violations and illegal business transactions. Yadlin was subsequently found guilty of receiving a bribe, tax evasion, and illegal land transactions and sentenced to a 5-year prison term.

A NEW POLITICAL ERA. At the end of May 1976 Prof. Yigael *Yadin announced his intention of forming a new political party, which was formed in November, under the name "The *Democratic Movement for Change" (DMC). Among the basic principles of his program was his belief in a "Jewish democratic Israel," that Judea-Samaria could not remain under Israeli rule, and that the new party would be willing to conduct negotiations with the PLO, if the latter recognized Israel's right to exist. He maintained, however, that Israel should not be obliged to return to the pre-1967 borders, that important strategic positions must be retained, and opposed the establishment of another state "between the desert and the sea." Yadin also called for a change in the electoral system of Israel.

The year 1976 ended with a government crisis. A delay in the arrival of new American planes involved the desecration of the Sabbath at the official reception. The *National Religious Party protested, and on December 14, 1976, a Knesset session was devoted to this incident and, although a vote of no-confidence against the government was defeated, most of the N.R.P. members abstained.

This unprecedented action by a coalition party made Rabin decide on December 19 to remove the N.R.P. from the government, a step that would involve early national elections. He presented his resignation of the government to President Ephraim Katzir on the following day but continued to serve, in accordance with the law, as head of an interim government until the elections, which were fixed for May 17, 1977. In March 1977 the Labor Party convention chose Rabin as its candidate for the office of prime minister by a narrow majority. In the elections the Likud increased its representation to 43, while two seats were gained by Shlomẓion, which joined the Likud immediately after the elections.

The Alignment declined from 51 members to 32, and the Democratic Movement for Change won 15 seats. An analysis of the voting trends indicated that members of the Oriental communities and the younger voters tended to vote more for the Likud. Younger voters with higher education tended more to vote for the DMC.

The decline in the relative power of the Alignment had started in 1969 when it gained 56 mandates, but, as stated, only 51 in 1973, and 32 in 1977. Part of this continual decline stemmed from basic causes that were exacerbated, while others were due to special factors. The accumulation of opposition to any government with the passage of time is normal in any democratic society, but added to it were the effects of the Yom Kippur War which had not been properly reflected in the 1973 election because of the shock effect.

Additional factors were added in 1976 and 1977, among them the revelations of corruption in the upper echelons of government, the revelation of an illegal foreign currency account held abroad by Prime Minister Rabin and his wife, the treatment in the media of the foreign currency accounts of Abba Eban, for which, however, it was revealed that he had a permit, the suicide of Minister Avraham Ofer, the struggle between Rabin and Peres, the deterioration of labor relations with the approach of the elections, and the declaration of the president of the U.S.A. favoring a "homeland for the Palestinians" a short time before the elections in Israel. In addition there were the report of the state comptroller on the Defense establishment and the tragedy of a helicopter crash virtually on the eve of the elections.

The *Begin government took office on June 20, 1977, with the participation of the Likud, the NRP, and the support of Agudat Israel, Poalei Agudat Israel, and M.K. Flatto-Sharon; on October 24, 1977, the DMC joined the government.

Prior to that, on June 21, 1977, elections were held for the Histadrut. The results established a kind of balance to those of the Knesset elections. Apparently some of the voters in these elections refrained from voting against the Alignment and "balanced" their Knesset vote by continuing to give their support to the Alignment in the Histadrut. The results of the Histadrut elections were Alignment (EMET), 54.6%; Likud (MAḤAL), 28.8%; and the DMC, 8.2%.

The first few months of the Begin administration were marked by a cabinet led by a strong leader who insisted on unity and discipline in the ranks of the ministers. But after six months, following the visit of Sadat to Jerusalem and the beginning of the 16-month-long negotiating process for an Israel-Egypt *peace treaty, cracks appeared. The prime minister was totally absorbed in foreign affairs; the economic ministers were soon facing major problems of spiraling inflation, shortage of housing, and strained labor relations. The Histadrut had almost no common language with the Likud government and at times urged workers to make radical wage demands. Most hurt by the inflation were those who voted for the Likud, the Oriental Jews who, at the lowest levels of Israeli society, were expressing disenchantment with the government and its lack of coherent economic and social policies.

By the end of 1978, while Israelis appreciated the historic breakthrough in the Camp David Agreements, there was growing apprehension over the social and economic costs of peace with Egypt and the need to evacuate all of Sinai, including its 20 settlements and all its military installations. Personal rivalry among cabinet members, constant open bickering and the leaking of secrets, brought a serious deterioration in the stature of the cabinet and damaged the standing and reputation of the prime minister.

In December 1978 the era of the Founding Fathers came to an end with the death of Golda Meir, who had led Israel during one of its most trying times – the Yom Kippur War. Scores of world leaders attended her funeral in Jerusalem. Israel figured on the world scene when Prime Minister Begin shared the Nobel Peace Prize with President Anwar Sadat. The early months of 1979 were devoted to the conclusion of the negotiations for an Israel-Egypt peace treaty, which was finally signed after dramatic round the clock talks in Jerusalem, Washington and Cairo, and a flying visit by President Carter to the area. The historic occasion of the signing of the Peace Treaty on March 26, 1979 was impressively celebrated throughout the country. Mr. Begin was the focus of admiration and congratulations for his role in achieving this historic breakthrough. In April 1979 he paid a two-day visit to Cairo for the purpose of cementing the relations between the two countries.

The peace treaty, however, could not cover up the growing difficulties of the Begin government, which was constantly plagued by internal dissent and rift. The splits in the cabinet grew worse when Dr. Yosef Burg, the minister of interior and police, was appointed chairman of the Ministerial Committee for the conduct of the Autonomy talks. As a result Foreign Minister Dayan tendered his resignation in October 1979. He was succeeded by Knesset Speaker Yitzhak *Shamir, a Ḥerut loyalist who had abstained in the voting on the peace treaty with Egypt, Shamir being succeeded as speaker by the Liberal MK Yitzhak Berman. In May 1980 Defense Minister Ezer Weizman resigned following disagreements over cuts in the defense budget and continued bickering with the prime minister over relations with Egypt. In October 1980 Justice Minister Shmuel Tamir resigned as well. He felt that three ministers could not represent his shrunken party, the Democratic Movement, in the cabinet when its entire strength in the Knesset amounted to four members.

In November 1979 Finance Minister Ehrlich was replaced by Yigael Hurwitz, the former minister of industry, commerce and tourism, who resigned in September 1979 because of his opposition to the Camp David Agreements. Mr. Hurvitz vowed to curb inflation, balance the budget and increase exports. (For details see Israel, State of: *Economic Affairs.) The mood of the country as a result of the economic situation was further dampened by the increase in the percentage of drop-outs among emigrants from Soviet Russia and in emigration from the country (see Israel, State of: *Aliyah and Absorption 1971–1981).

The inflationary spiral was also fueled by the evacuation from Sinai and the new deployment of the IDF in the Negev, where two airbases were built by American companies. The almost clockwork operation of the evacuation from Sinai (see Israel, State of: *Defense Forces, 1971–1981) was conducted by the army alone and did not disrupt the civilian economy.

Growing unrest in the administered areas marked the year 1980. This followed the Camp David Agreements and the refusal of Jordan and the Palestinians residing in Judea, Samaria and the Gaza region to become involved in the negotiations leading to their autonomy. In separate incidents, two Arab mayors were attacked by unknown assailants and seriously injured, while the murder of six Israelis in Hebron in May 1980 was followed by the expulsion of the mayors of Hebron and Halhoul, an act that was later upheld by the Israeli Supreme Court. The unrest, expressed mostly in strikes by students, resulted in harsher Israeli measures which led to increased disquiet. The coexistence policy adopted by Defense Minister Dayan in the late 1960s and followed by his successors Peres and Weizman was apparently coming to an end. But living standards in the areas continued to improve as did the economy there.

The feeling of isolation was increased by the annual UN General Assembly discussions, where Israel was the focus of some 50 percent of the debates and was roundly censured. Hopes that the Israel-Egypt Peace Treaty would ease the situation and at least restore relations with some African and Asian nations did not materialize. On the contrary, after the passage of the Jerusalem Law in October 1980, all the embassies that still resided in Jerusalem moved to Tel Aviv.

In the last quarter of 1980, for the first time in the history of Israel, a member of the cabinet was charged with a criminal offense when Religious Affairs Minister Abu-Hatzeira was accused of taking bribes. His Knesset immunity was lifted and he prepared to face a trial. The affair rocked the National Religious Party and further weakened the standing of the Begin government.

The dominant issue in 1981 was the elections for the Tenth Knesset held on June 30. Bitterness, animosity, and violence, chiefly between the two large blocs – the Labor Alignment and the Likud, marked the election campaign. They campaigned on the slogan of who would offer effective leadership, economic programs, the continuation of the peace process, social progress, reduction of tensions between secular and religious, Sephardi and Ashkenazi, young and old, veteran and newcomer, urban and rural settlers, Arab and Jew, and even men and women. Part of the campaign was focused on the retention of the administered territories, championed by the Likud, Teḥiyyah, and part of the National Religious Party. The prime minister dominated the scene and led his Likud party to a second term in office.

In foreign policy, the major initiatives of Israel were undertaken at the end of the year and included the signing of a Memorandum of Understanding on Strategic Cooperation with the United States on Nov. 30, the passage of the Golan Heights Law on December 14, and major efforts to renew ties with the African continent. The initiatives were sponsored by the prime minister and the defense and foreign ministers, who formed an inner "leading team" which determined major policy issues.

The decision of the defense minister to substitute military government with civilian administration in the West Bank and Gaza sparked unrest in those areas, which resulted in stern measures being taken against rioters and the closure, for two months, of Bir Zeit University near Ramallah.

Immigration declined drastically and sank to a low of 11,500, the lowest figure since 1953. Emigration rose and was estimated at 20,000. The Jewish population of Israel grew by only 1.5 percent in 1981 and reached 3.29 million. The major reason for the decline in immigration was the Soviet Union's decision to sharply curtail exit permits for Jews and the very high rate of drop-outs in Vienna (85 percent on the average).

Labor unrest continued and was expressed by many strikes, the most prominent of which was in the national airline, which almost led to the closure of El Al. At year's end the Histadrut attempted to reassert its declining authority when it forced the defense minister to freeze the planned reorganization of his ministry.

The death of Moshe Dayan on October 16 deprived Israel of one of its most colorful personalities, soldier and statesman, who had led Israel in war and peace.

FROM THE LEBANESE WAR TO THE FIRST INTIFADA. In a broad perspective of Israeli history, the decade of the 1980s was a period of internal strife, growing dissent over major issues such as the war in Lebanon, an era of economic reverses, serious decline in immigration but ending with a major influx, especially from the Soviet Union, and finally – the *intifada*, which brought Israel to face a renewed outburst of Palestinian nationalism.

The Lebanese War, which started on June 6, 1982, was long in the planning and was expected by many Israelis, who felt that the northern border area could not be left exposed to terrorist attacks emanating from the mini-PLO state which had emerged in southern Lebanon. Initially, there was little public debate on the wisdom of the invasion. It was assumed that it would amount to a brief operation lasting less than a week, with few casualties, and covering a limited area, not dissimilar to other operations taken in the past. The Israel Defense Forces (IDF) planners, and above all the key figure pushing for war, Defense Minister Ariel Sharon, based their plans on a number of assumptions. They assumed that the United States would not oppose a brief operation, and that the Soviet Union would not get involved. They assumed correctly that apart from Syria, no other Arab state would intervene. They thought that Israel would need some five to seven days to complete the destruction of the mini-PLO state. They assumed that the Lebanese Christian forces would participate alongside Israel and that once the aims would be achieved, a central and effective government would be installed in Beirut which would sign a peace treaty with Israel. Sharon thought that the destruction of the PLO bases in Lebanon would allow him to deal more effectively with the Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza. He also thought that in the future Israel and Syria would have to collaborate on deciding the future of Lebanon. Most of these assumptions proved to have been correct.

There were also a number of dissenting voices. The defense minister was warned by both the Mossad and Army Intelligence (*Aman*) that the Christian forces were an unreliable element, more of an armed militia than a trained and disciplined fighting army. Israeli planners did not understand the nature of Lebanon and its society, being more of a tribal and communal nation than a unified one. Above all, the planners failed to gauge the reaction inside Israel to a prolonged war which would demand a high number of casualties, and would give the IDF a new role – that of a police force in a neighboring country. The official aims, contained in the government's announcement of June 6, 1982, were the moving of the Northern Galilee settlements out of PLO artillery and katyusha range, the removal from Lebanon of external forces, and the restoration to that country of a centralized authority which would sign a peace treaty with Israel. It called on Syria not to participate in the war and promised not to attack its troops in Lebanon.

Within five days, most of the military aims were achieved. The IDF expelled the PLO units from southern Lebanon and destroyed the mini-state it had created there. But this was done with a higher casualty rate than anticipated, and with Syrian involvement. Superior Israeli military technology resulted in the destruction of over 100 Syrian jet fighters and a vast number of Syrian missile batteries on Lebanese territory. By the fifth day Israeli military units reached the edge of Beirut. It was then that the United States ordered Israel to cease fire, claiming that it had far exceeded its limited territorial war aims by moving farther north than the 40 kilometers it spoke of initially. Israeli Premier Menaḥem Begin had to accept a ceasefire, which actually never came into being as Palestinian troops continued to fight, as did the Syrian army, now threatened in its positions along the strategic Beirut-Damascus highway. By the end of the first week, public opinion in Israel was aroused. Questions were being asked about the true agenda of the government, the real war aims, the growing number of casualties, and above all how long the IDF intended to stay in Lebanon and in what role. During June, July, and August 1982, while diplomats tried to hammer out an agreement which would remove the PLO from Lebanon and bring about a new order in that country, Israeli troops continued to shell Muslim West Beirut, cutting off water, power, and food. The aerial and artillery bombardment of West Beirut aroused growing international criticism and created hostile world public opinion. In Western media, Israel was portrayed as an aggressor fighting helpless civilians, creating a new refugee problem, this time in Lebanon. Feeble Israeli efforts to explain the true causes of the war and the need to remove the PLO threat to Israel fell on deaf ears. Growing dissent inside Israel was also reflected in the Western media. It became clear that Israel was becoming mired in the Lebanese bog with few considering how to extricate the IDF from that country. Prime Minister Begin argued that the achievements in Lebanon erased the shame of the Yom Kippur War, but that did not convince many Israelis of the need to remain in that country for any length of time.

Protracted negotiations led to the removal of both the Syrian army and the PLO from Lebanon. Israel was instrumental in getting the Christian forces leader Basheer Gemayel elected as president of Lebanon. But on September 1, 1982, Israel suffered two major setbacks. The first was the announcement of Gemayel, in a meeting with Prime Minister Begin, that he did not intend to sign a peace treaty with Israel, because he was first and foremost an Arab. The second was the proclamation of the "Reagan Plan" for a Palestinian settlement, which called on Israel to withdraw from most of the territories it held, and return them to Jordan in the context of a peace treaty. There was to be no Palestinian state, but Jordan would grant special status to the West Bank and Gaza. The situation of Jerusalem would have to be negotiated in the future. Begin, who had no prior notice of the plan, rejected it outright, saying it was not even a basis for negotiations. It looked as though the war in Lebanon had yielded little apart from securing northern Galilee and destroying the PLO as a military force and an important element in the Arab world. The assassination of Basheer Gemayel shortly before his inauguration (September 14, 1982) was the signal for a vicious reprisal by his Christian forces on Palestinians living in two refugee camps in Beirut – Sabra and Shatilla. With the IDF standing by not far from the camps, and unaware of the magnitude of the massacre which lasted three days (September 17–19, 1982), some 400 Palestinians – men, women, and children – were massacred before the IDF put an end to the killing. A clamor went up in Israel to establish a commission of inquiry to investigate the events in the camps. The demand, backed by a demonstration organized in Tel Aviv by left wing parties and groups in Israel, reputedly attracted some 400,000 people, the largest ever held in Israel. When Begin still resisted, he was confronted with a threat by President Navon to resign his office. Finally, the prime minister relented and a commission was constituted headed by Supreme Court President Justice Kahan. While it began its work, tempers cooled and the country awaited two decisions – the verdict of the commission and a political decision on how long and within which borders the IDF would remain in Lebanon.

The government decided to order the IDF to remain in Beirut until an agreement could be worked out with the new Lebanese government headed by Amin Gemayel, the brother of the late Basheer Gemayel. As time went on, the IDF became involved in local communal strife in Lebanon. The Kahan commission issued its report in February 1983. It found the IDF indirectly responsible for the massacre, calling for the resignation of the defense minister and senior army officers. Ariel Sharon had to leave his post but remained in the government as minister without portfolio. Senior officers also had to leave, among them the director of military intelligence. Others, including the chief of staff, did not have their term of duty extended.

On May 17, 1983, after long and difficult negotiations with the participation of U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz, Israel and Lebanon signed an agreement, which fell short of a peace treaty. It ended the state of war, recognized Israel's need to have a security zone in southern Lebanon under its control, called for an Israeli diplomatic presence in Beirut, and demanded the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Lebanon, which meant in effect Syrian troops. The agreement was hinged on this withdrawal. When Syria announced that it would not withdraw its troops, the agreement became a dead letter. Nine months later the Lebanese parliament failed to ratify it and the agreement in effect lapsed. For the next two years, the IDF sought ways to extricate itself from Lebanon, finally withdrawing under orders from the National Unity Government which came into being in 1984. By the summer of 1985, the Lebanese episode ended, leaving Israel in a security zone in southern Lebanon, the PLO re-established in Tunisia, the Syrian army in Lebanon, and Israeli public opinion highly uncertain whether the toll of three years in Lebanon – 659 dead and thousands wounded – had been worthwhile.

In 1983 Israel faced an unprecedented economic threat, caused by the over-valuation of bank shares, inflated by the banks themselves. When the public began to unload these bank shares, there was a danger that the Israeli financial institutions would collapse and that overseas investors and depositors would remove billions of dollars, leaving the Israeli economy in the lurch. In October 1983 the Tel Aviv stock market was closed for 17 days and the government decided to buy the bank shares at a cost to the Israeli taxpayer of some 7 billion dollars. By late 1983 inflation in Israel reached the figure of 200% annually and by 1984 it had amounted to 448%. Inflation was destructive for the country's economic growth, morale, overseas investments, and labor relations. Even the resignation of Finance Minister Yoram Aridor, whose policies brought Israel to the brink of economic disaster, did not alleviate the situation. It took the Government of National Unity's rescue plan (July 1985), which froze prices and wages and put in a mechanism of retrenchment to save the situation. Within a year, the rate of inflation was down to 20%. The plan was made possible by the cooperation of the government, the Histadrut (Trade Union Federation), and the Manufacturers' Association. The three factors realized that with no serious action, Israel's economy would literally collapse. Prime Minister Peres engineered the rescue operation, with the help of Finance Minister Yitzḥak Modai and the Histadrut leadership. The Israeli public, asked to make sacrifices in lowering its standard of living, agreed once it saw a coherent economic policy.

The Government of National Unity (see Israel, State of: *Political Life and Parties) brought about three major achievements – it extricated Israel from Lebanon, it rescued its economy, and it restored public confidence in the economy and the leadership. It failed to attract a mass wave of immigration, and the decade of the 1980s up to 1989 saw an average of some 12,000 immigrants a year, while the number of emigrants leaving Israel reached similar figures. The gates of the Soviet Union were closed and immigration from the free world dwindled. The outstanding exception was the airlift of 17,000 Ethiopian Jews to Israel in 1984. The Jewish Agency decided to transfer to the government much responsibility in the area of immigrant absorption, previously under its domain. The peace process was virtually at a standstill because of the vast chasm between the views of the Likud and those of Labor (see Israel, State: *Foreign Relations).

The absence of meaningful progress towards peace, the growth of a generation of young Palestinians who knew nothing else but Israeli occupation, an economic recession in the oil-producing Arab states which drastically reduced flow of funds to the areas held by Israel causing serious economic hardship, and above all resentment of the prolonged Israeli presence on the one hand and the impotence of the PLO and the Arab governments to change the situation, all this erupted in late 1987 in an uprising called the *intifada* ("shaking off"). A series of demonstrations in the Gaza Strip on December 9, 1987 signaled the beginning of the *intifada*, led by young men in their early twenties, asserting themselves against both Israel and their elders. Starting with demonstrations, throwing stones, burning tires, the aims of those involved in the *intifada* were to call attention to the plight of the Palestinians, to the prolonged occupation in all its ramifications, to focus on the Palestinization of the conflict, to force the Arab states to take notice, to move the rest of the world to take action, and to make the Israel public and government take decisions on future policies. The major achievement of the *intifada* in its first four years was mainly in the area of public relations. Israel's image in the Western media plunged dramatically. The *intifada* leaders forced the PLO to follow its lead. The leaders of the *intifada* hurt the Israeli economy by calling on Arabs in the areas to boycott Israeli goods. The *intifada* helped to precipitate the decision of the U.S. government to recognize the PLO in December 1988, after the latter announced the creation of a Palestine State in the 1947 partition borders, the acceptance of Israel, and what appeared to be a renunciation of terror. The U.S then embarked on a dialogue with the PLO. The *intifada* created major problems for Israel, whose army now had to deal with civil unrest, the mass demonstrations manned by women and young children. This time, unlike the years that followed the 1967 war, the bulk of the Palestinian Arab population seemed to support the uprising, as did a growing number of Israeli Arabs.

Faced with a new type of war, the IDF had to consider the ethical and moral issues involved in fighting against civilians. It was initially thought that if the *intifada* leaders would be caught and deported or imprisoned, the wave of attacks would die down, but this was not the case. As the *intifada* spread from Gaza to the West Bank, it began to claim Israeli lives, both civilian and military. By early 1993, some 160 Israelis had lost their lives. In that period over 1,600 Palestinian Arabs were killed, the majority at the hands of other Arabs who had accused their victims of collaborating with Israel. The IDF found itself having to fight what was essentially an unpleasant, at times "dirty," war. On the whole it succeeded, but there were cases of torture, unnecessary shooting and killing and a number of Israeli officers and soldiers were court-martialed for using illegal force. These were highly publicized in Israel and abroad, where the issue of human rights was prominent in the headlines and Israel was often the object of criticism.

The impact of the *intifada* on Israelis was at first marginal, but as time went on it became central. There was a feeling of a loss of personal safety, and as more acts of terror were committed in Israeli cities, Israelis realized that they were facing a new breed of Palestinians, some of whom were even prepared to engage in suicide attacks. The Gulf War and the resultant peace process put the *intifada* on the back burner for a time, but it remained a major problem for all Israeli governments, which feared that if not dealt with properly, the allegiance of the Palestinians would move from the PLO to the *Hamas (Islamic fundamentalists) who opposed the peace process, negotiations with Israel, and called for the elimination of the Jewish state. By 1991 the areas held by Israel were the arena for a fight for the hearts, minds, and souls of the Palestinians between the PLO and the Hamas movement. There was also a growing demand in Israel for unilateral withdrawal from the Gaza Strip and gradual disengagement from the West Bank as well. The reliance on some 120,000 laborers from these areas meant that their absence could cause havoc to Israeli agriculture, housing construction, and many services. Measures were undertaken to replace Palestinians by Israelis, but there was the need to find employment for Palestinians, as long as they remained an Israeli responsibility. Massive unemployment in the areas could result in an explosion, it was argued.

By the end of the 1980s, the continued *intifada*, the wave of immigration from the Soviet Union, and the end of the Cold War brought about the need for Israel to reconsider many of its social, political, and economic institutions. Many of them had served the country well in its formative years, but no longer provided answers to the complex issues of the final decade of the 20th century. It was widely agreed that reforms were sorely needed in the Histadrut, government corporations, political parties, the electoral system, and government control of many aspects of the life of its citizens; there was need to reconsider the relations between the secular majority and the Orthodox minority. Questions dealing with the nature of Israeli politics and the ties between big business and government had to be considered. But momentous events awaited the country.

[Meron Medzini]

The Road to Oslo and After

THE 1990 NO-CONFIDENCE VOTE. Unlike the post-1984 Knesset election situation, following the 1988 elections Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir could have formed a narrow coalition of all the right-wing and religious parties. Shamir, however, had preferred to form a "national unity" government with Labor and other political parties.

On March 15, 1990, Shamir's government failed in a no-confidence vote in the Knesset, and became the only cabinet in Israel's history to be dismissed in this way, with 60 MKs voting against it, 55 for, and five abstaining. This followed a political maneuver which was later described as "the dirty trick" by former Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin. Although officially the crisis began with the dismissal of Peres from the cabinet by Prime Minister Shamir, on March 13, the maneuver was actually planned by Labor leader Peres and Shas leader Aryeh *Deri, who hoped to form a new government under Peres as the new premier.

On March 20 President Chaim *Herzog asked Peres to try to form the new government. By April 11, just hours before the planned Knesset vote of confidence for the new government, it became clear that Peres' efforts had failed and that he could not mobilize a Knesset majority to support his new government. Herzog granted Peres further time to secure a majority, but on April 25 Labor conceded defeat. As a result, on April 27, President Herzog invited Acting Prime Minister Shamir to form the new government. Shamir succeeded in his efforts and his new government won a vote of confidence of 62 to 27 from the Knesset, with one abstention, on June 11. The Shamir government, officially Israel's 24th, was supported by the Likud, a few MKs who had previously defected from the Likud, the religious parties, and the extreme right wing parties. A number of Likud members who had previously challenged Shamir's leadership supported the new government. These included Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs David *Levi, Housing and Construction Minister Ariel Sharon, and Finance Minister Yitzhak Moda'i (who had previously defected from the Likud with a few other MKs to form the "Party for the Advancement of the Zionist Idea").

The failure of Peres and the success of Shamir demonstrated that most politicians belonging to the religious parties normally preferred participation in a Likud-led government to participation in a Labor-led government. Prior to the 1977 upheaval, religious parties had joined Mapai/Labor-led governments, but all this had occurred when the Likud or its forerunners could not possibly have formed a majority coalition even with the full support of all the religious and right-wing parties.

IMMIGRATION. During 1990 over 200,000 immigrants arrived in Israel. During the following decade almost one million people immigrated to Israel and became Israeli citizens. Almost 90 per cent of the immigrants came from former republics of the Soviet Union. Between 1990 and 2003 another 50,000 or so immigrated from Ethiopia. This wave of immigrants was almost equivalent – in total numbers – to the huge wave of immigrants that flooded Israel after its birth and marked a significant shift from the decline in immigration during the 1980s, during which only 153,833 arrived. The main cause for the huge immigration was the collapse of the U.S.S.R. The new citizens of Israel changed its demography and its political profile significantly. The very high economic growth rate during the 1990s is also partially attributable to the huge immigration to Israel.

THE 1991 GULF WAR. The first Gulf War marked another strategic shift in the political environment of Israeli politics caused by global developments. In January and February of 1991, during the Gulf War, Iraq launched more than 40 SCUD missiles at civilian target in Israel. Israelis, who feared that some of these missiles would carry chemical warheads, were forced to wear gas masks during the attacks. The government faced a severe "retaliation dilemma." On the one hand, the U.S. supplied Israel with Patriot missiles to protect Israelis from these attacks, but it also pressured Israel not to intervene in the war in any active manner. On the other hand, Israel's ability to deter potential aggressors, which marked Israeli defense strategy for years, became questionable. The enthusiastic support of Saddam Hussein by the Arabs, such as PLO leaders, Jordanians, and residents of the West Bank, convinced many Israelis – including dovish left-wing politicians – to adopt more hawkish positions. At the time, it seemed that the government's relatively moderate policies during the war, coupled with the reactions of various Arab parties, significantly increased the popularity of the right-wing parties in general and the Likud in particular.

THE MADRID CONFERENCE. On October 30, 1991, Israel attended the Madrid Peace Conference, which was co-sponsored by the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. In their letter of invitation Presidents Bush and Gorbachev established a framework for both bilateral negotiations between Israel and Arab parties and multilateral talks. It seems that developments in the USSR and the Soviet bloc, the massive immigration to Israel, and the Gulf War were among the causes for participation of even hardline Arab parties in the conference. One innovative element of the talks was the presence of a Palestinian delegation, which was considered part of a "joint Jordanian-Palestinian delegation." In fact, the Palestinians participating in the conference could have been regarded as semi-official representatives of the PLO. The acceptance of such a formula by Shamir and his relatively hawkish government signified a deviation from the past as talks with PLO representatives not only contradicted an explicit Knesset law but had also caused the dismissal of former Labor Minister Ezer *Weizman from the government by Prime Minister Shamir on December 31, 1989. It is also interesting to note in this context that Peres had been officially dismissed by Shamir in March 1990 following "unauthorized" talks he held with King Hussein of Jordan in London.

Shamir's decision to take part in the Madrid Conference increased the tension between the Likud and the small hawkish parties, Teḥiyya, Tzomet, and Moledet. Within a few weeks after the conference it became clear that Knesset elections would take place at a date earlier than that required by the law.

THE 1992 BASIC LAWS AND THE "CONSTITUTIONAL REVOLUTION." The Knesset decided to dissolve itself and to hold early elections for the Thirteenth Knesset on June 23, 1992. But prior to these elections many politicians believed that major changes should be made in the constitutional framework.

In March 1992 the Knesset passed three new basic laws: Basic Law: Freedom of Occupation; Basic Law: Human Dignity and Freedom; and Basic Law: the Government.

Basic Law: Freedom of Occupation was the most sublime of all Israeli laws from the formal point of view since it was protected by both a "limiting clause" and a "majority shield." The first protection was guaranteed by Article 4: "There shall be no violation of rights under this Basic Law except by a law befitting the values of the State of Israel, enacted for a proper purpose, and to an extent no greater than is required." The second protection was guaranteed by Article 7: "This Basic Law may not be amended except by a Basic Law passed by a majority of Knesset members." Basic Law: Human Dignity and Freedom was protected only by a limiting clause (Article 8) and Basic Law: the Government was protected only by a majority shield (Article 56).

It should be mentioned that other Israeli Basic Laws, with the exception of a few specific articles (most famous of which is Article 4 of Basic Law: the Knesset, pertaining to the system of elections and stipulating that it can only be amended by a majority of Knesset members, i.e., 61), are neither protected by a limiting clause nor by a majority shield. Nevertheless, in a number of cases, the Supreme Court under the leadership of its president, Aharon *Barak, ruled that all Basic Laws take precedence over regular Knesset laws. These rulings and the special formal status given to the 1992 Basic Laws gave the Court almost unlimited power to exercise judicial review.

The main idea behind another new Basic Law: the Government, which replaced the 1958 version of Basic Law: the Government, was the adoption of direct election of the prime minister. A major motivation behind this innovation, which significantly changed the basic nature of Israeli parliamentary democracy, was the dissatisfaction with a number of untoward developments associated with the "dirty trick" of March 1990. Nevertheless, the implementation of this law was delayed until the elections to the Fourteenth Knesset, and the 1992 elections were held, as usual, for the Knesset only. A third version of Basic Law: the Government, which abolished direct elections of the prime minister, as a result of variious unresolvable complications in the system, was passed by the Knesset in March 2001. In the meanwhile, Binyamin *Netanyahu (1996), Ehud *Barak (1999), and Ariel Sharon (2001) had been elected by direct vote.

In 1994 a major development in the battle over judicial review took place when the Knesset rephrased Basic Law: Freedom of Occupation, stating that basic human rights would be honored in accordance with Israel's Declaration of Independence – thus giving the Declaration a legal status that took precedence over Knesset laws. In should be noted in this context that the Declaration of Independence determines that the State of Israel will be based on foundations of "freedom, justice, and peace, according to the vision of the prophets of Israel," and that it will provide "absolute equal social and political rights" to all its citizens.

THE 1992 ELECTIONS. The elections to the Thirteenth Knesset ended in an upset. The Labor Party recaptured the pivotal (middle) position in the Knesset. For the first time since the 1973 Knesset elections, Labor and the more "dovish" parties gained a majority – together controlling 61 out of the 120 seats. It is interesting to note that more votes were given to the right wing and religious parties, which together controlled only 59 seats, than to the left-wing parties. This occurred mainly because of a slight change in the electoral procedure: the threshold was raised from 1.0 per cent to 1.5 per cent of the valid votes. As a result 5.0 per cent of the valid votes went to parties that did not pass the threshold, as compared with 2.4 per cent in 1988. More votes were given to unsuccessful right-wing parties (such as Teḥiyya) than to unsuccessful left-wing parties (such as the Progressive List), and therefore these votes were lost to the right.

Ten lists of candidates won representation in the Thirteenth Knesset: four "left-wing" parties – Labor (44 seats), Meretz (12), Ḥadash (3), and the Arab Democratic Party (ADP) (2); three right-wing parties – Likud (32), Tzomet (8), and Moledet (3); and three religious parties – NRP (6), Shas (6) and Yahadut ha-Torah (4).

Public opinion polls conducted at the beginning of the campaign indicated a convincing lead for the Likud over Labor. Therefore, it is plausible to assume that developments during the campaign persuaded a decisive number of voters to change their votes. One such major event was the nomination of the popular Yitzhak Rabin instead of the unpopular Shimon Peres as Labor leader. Rabin's popularity inthe general public exceeded his popularity in his own party: In Labor's primaries almost 60 per cent preferred other candidates for the premiership. Rabin was considered as a relatively hawkish leader of Labor whose record as chief of staff of the Israeli Defense Forces (IDF) was emphasized by his party to offset its dovish image, as the Palestinian Intifada (uprising) that had started in late 1987 continued to claim a heavy toll.

The Likud, which had reached the peak of its popularity toward the end of 1991 with Israel's participation in the Madrid Peace Conference, suffered a sharp decline in its popularity, especially due to severe internal dissent that made a bad impression on the electorate.

Nine per cent of eligible voters were immigrants, most of whom had come to Israel from the U.S.S.R. (and its successor republics). The new immigrants played a major role in the elections. According to several public opinion polls, turnout among immigrants resembled that of veteran voters. Approximately half of the immigrants supported Labor. In the following elections most immigrants had a change of heart and supported right-wing parties. Apparently, the 1992 immigrant vote resulted from absorption difficulties, while in later elections, right-of-center political views dictated their voting behavior.

Following the Likud's defeat in the 1992 general elections, Moshe *Arens, who was considered by many as a potential successor to Prime Minister Shamir, tendered his resignation from the Knesset. Shamir himself announced that he did not intend to continue leading the Likud. Consequently, the Likud held "primaries" to choose its new leader on March 24, 1993. The winner was Binyamin ("Bibi") Netanyahu, who was supported by 52 per cent of the 145,000 Likud members who cast votes. David Levi came second with 26 per cent, while Binyamin *Begin (15 per cent) and Moshe *Katzav (7 per cent) shared the remaining votes.

RABIN'S GOVERNMENT. After the 1992 elections Labor held negotiations with almost all the other parties which had had seats in the Knesset. Rabin presented his government – Israel's 25th – to the Knesset on July 13, forming a coalition with Meretz and Shas that controlled 62 of the Knesset's 120 seats. In the vote of confidence, Ḥadash and the ADP also supported the government. On the date of its investiture there were 13 Labor members in the cabinet, three Meretz members, and one Shas member. Rabin held, in addition to his position as prime minister, the portfolios of Defense and Religious Affairs. Shimon Peres, the second senior member of the cabinet, held Foreign Affairs.

Although Meretz and Shas could have been considered as the closest possible allies to Labor on questions related to the Arab-Israeli conflict, one of the main problems of Rabin's coalition was the constant tension between the anti-clerical Meretz and the ultra-Orthodox Shas on matters concerning religious affairs. Many of these clashes involved Meretz leader and Minister of Education and Culture Shulamit *Aloni and Shas leader and Minister of the Interior Aryeh *Deri. In December 1992, following another crisis, both Meretz and Shas were appeased by Labor: Meretz was given an additional seat in the cabinet and Shas was given control of the Ministry of Religious Affairs when one of its MKs was made deputy minister there.

Both Minister of the Interior Aryeh Deri and Deputy Minister of Religious Affairs Raphael Pinḥasi had been under investigation since 1990 on suspicion of corruption. Nevertheless, when Attorney General Yosef Ḥarish presented a draft of the indictment to the prime minister on June 20, 1993, Deri followed the instructions of Shas spiritual leader Ovadiah *Yosef and refused to resign. He and the three deputy ministers of Shas did resign on September 12, 1993, following a ruling of the Supreme Court ordering the dismissal of Deri and Pinḥasi. These resignations came into effect on September 14, a day after Israel and the PLO signed the famous Declaration of Principles (the first Oslo agreement; see below) in Washington, D.C.

Although Rabin's government became a minority government following the defection of Shas, it continued to enjoy the support of two parties which were not formal members of the coalition: the Communist-led Ḥadash and the ADP. Thus, Rabin continued to enjoy the support of 62 MKs. Furthermore, two MKs who defected from Raphael *Eitan's right-wing Tzomet Party joined the government as a minister and deputy minister in January 1995.

The main threat to the stability of the government was a result of its policies concerning the Arab-Israeli conflict. More than a third of Labor's parliamentary faction joined a group called "the Third Way." The Third Way opposed both the "ultra-dovish" positions of certain Labor leaders and the "ultra-hawkish' positions of various Likud leaders. It claimed that while Israel had to make major concessions in order to promote the peace process, Rabin's government was taking too many risks without an adequate response from the Arab partners to negotiations. The Third Way focused its criticism on the declarations made by the minister of foreign affairs and other dovish Labor leaders about the future of the Golan Heights. Peres repeatedly expressed his opinion that the Golan is "Syrian soil" and that no peace could be achieved without Israel's withdrawal from the Golan. Towards the end of 1995 it became clear that two Third Way Knesset members would defect from Labor and run their own party in the 1996 Knesset elections.

THE OSLO PROCESS. U.S. Secretary of State James Baker visited Israel immediately after Rabin's cabinet took office. This demonstrated the joint efforts by the U.S. and Israel to continue the bilateral and multilateral negotiations between Israel and its Arab counterparts as agreed to at the Madrid Conference. The peace talks were resumed in Washington D.C. on August 24, 1992. No practical agreement between the parties was reached, but a dramatic development took place in a completely separate negotiating channel.

After months of secret talks, most of which had been held in Oslo under the auspices of Norwegian Minister of Foreign Affairs Johan Jorgen Holst, Israel and the PLO reached an agreement concerning a Declaration of Principles – also known as "the first Oslo agreement" – signed between the parties in the presence of U.S. President *Clinton on September 13, 1993.

Many Israelis had been ready to negotiate with the PLO, at least according to the "formula" proposed by two members of the first Rabin cabinet (in 1974), Victor Shemtov and Aharon Yariv. The formula asserted that Israel would negotiate with "any Arab partner who recognized the right of Israel to exist and who was not involved in terrorism." The PLO, however, had not demonstrated a clear readiness to accept the Shemtov-Yariv formula, although the first steps towards such an end were made by it already in 1988. One reason for the declared readiness of the PLO to conduct negotiations with Israel in 1993 was its relative weakness as a result of its support of Iraq during the Gulf War, the consequent halt of financial aid from the Arab oil monarchies, the collapse of the Soviet Union – the other main sponsor of the PLO – and the growing popularity of groups competing with the PLO, including those inspired by fundamentalist Islamic beliefs.

The September 13 Declaration of Principles was preceded by an exchange of letters between Arafat, Rabin and Holst (September 10). In his letter to Prime Minister Rabin, Chairman Arafat accepted the principles of the Shemtov-Yariv formula and agreed to amend the Palestinian Covenant, which called for the violent extermination of the State of Israel (or any other "Zionist entity in Palestine"). In his letter to Foreign Minister Holst, he also promised to encourage Palestinians in the Gaza Strip and the West Bank to stop the violent *intifada* begun in 1997. In his reply to Arafat, Rabin recognized the PLO as the representative of the Palestinian people and welcomed its participation in the peace process.

Article I of the Declaration of Principles stated that: "The main aim of the Israeli-Palestinian negotiations in the current Middle East peace process is, among other things, to establish a Palestinian Interim Self-Governing Authority, the elected Council of the Palestinian People in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip …." A common reference to the declaration as the "Gaza-Jericho" agreement derives from Article XIV, which confirmed Israel's intention to withdraw from most of the Gaza Strip and the Jericho area.

One of the most vocal critics of the Israeli-PLO negotiations was the new leader of the Likud, Binyamin *Netanyahu.

The Oslo process continued in spite of an anti-Palestinian terrorist attack in Hebron and in spite of terrorist attacks against Jews in Israel and in other countries. On February 2, 1994, a Jewish settler, Dr. Baruch Goldstein, opened fire on Arab worshippers inside the Tomb of the Patriarchs (Ibrahimi Mosque) in Hebron – a site sacred to both Moslems and Jews. Goldstein killed 29 worshippers before he himself was killed. The unprecedented attack was strongly denounced not only by the president and the prime minister but also by all leaders of the Knesset factions and by the leaders of the Jewish settlers in the occupied territories.

On October 19, 1994, a bus was blown up in the middle of Tel Aviv, killing 22 civilians and injuring 47. More than 40 lost their lives in the explosion of the the Jewish community center in Buenos Aires on July 22, 1994, and more than 20 were killed in Panama on July 19, 1994, in the explosion of a plane carrying many Jewish businessmen.

The continued bilateral Palestinian-Israeli negotiations led to a number of agreements between Israel and the PLO.

On May 4, 1994, Prime Minister Rabin and Chairman Arafat signed in Cairo an agreement on the Gaza Strip and the Jericho area. This agreement followed Article XIV of the Declaration of Principles (see above). The Cairo agreement consisted of 23 articles, four annexes, four accompanying letters, and six maps. During the ceremony, Prime Minister Rabin discovered that Chairman Arafat had deliberately neglected to sign the map of the Jericho area. This endangered the completion of the ceremony, which continued only after Arafat finally added his signature to the document.

The Cairo Agreement established a "Palestinian Authority" (PA), which "has, within its authority, legislative, executive and judicial powers and responsibilities." It was also agreed that "in order to guarantee public order and internal security of the Palestinians of the Gaza Strip and the Jericho Area, the PA shall establish a strong police force." Article XVIII stated that "both sides shall take all measures necessary in order to prevent acts of terrorism, crime and hostilities directed against each other, against individuals falling under the other's authority and against their property, and shall take legal measures against offenders."

On September 24, 1995, Foreign Minister Shimon Peres and Chairman Yasser Arafat initialed in Taba the Israeli-Palestinian Interim Agreement on the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, also known as the "Oslo B Agreement." This agreement was signed by Prime Minister Rabin and Chairman Arafat in Washington, D.C., on September 28, 1995. In the detailed 315-page document, Israel agreed that the Palestinians would gain full control of the six largest towns of the West Bank and civic authority and responsibility for public order in 440 Arab villages. The agreement transferred powers and responsibilities from Israel to an elected Council and elected Ra'is (President) of an Executive Authority. Chapter 1 of the agreement dealt with "the Council. Chapter 2 dealt with "redeployment and security arrangements." Chapter 3 dealt with "legal affairs," Chapter 4 with "cooperation," and Chapter 5 with "miscellaneous provisions." The document included seven annexes and nine maps.

Supporters of the Rabin government praised the agreement as a major step toward real peace between the Palestinians and Israel. They claimed that Israel had made only necessary concessions while preserving its option to reconsider the situation if the Palestinians did not fulfill their part of the agreement.

Critics claimed that the PLO would be generously rewarded in spite of the fact that it did not intend to give up its dream of eliminating the State of Israel voiced in its Covenant. They also doubted whether the PLO would fulfill its promise to change the Palestinian Covenant.

THE PEACE WITH JORDAN. When the secret negotiations between Israel and the PLO became public, King Hussein of Jordan expressed his dissatisfaction with the fact that the parties to the Madrid framework were holding their direct bilateral talks under cover. But soon enough he willingly participated in bilateral talks with Israel and on September 14, 1994 – a day after Israel and the PLO singed their Declaration of Principles – Israel and Jordan signed a "common agenda" for negotiations.

As was the case in 1993, the Israel-PLO Cairo agreement was followed by an Israel-Jordan agreement. On July 25, 1994, Prime Minister Rabin and King Hussein of Jordan signed the Washington Declaration in which they announced the termination of the state of belligerency between their two countries. President Clinton of the U.S. witnessed the declaration.

On October 26, 1994, the prime ministers of Israel and Jordan, Yitzhak Rabin and Abdul Salam Al-Majali, signed at the Aravah border crossing the Treaty of Peace between the State of Israel and the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan. President Clinton also signed the treaty as a witness. The audience at the ceremony was addressed by King Hussein of Jordan, Prime Minister Rabin, Russian Foreign Minister Kozyrev, U.S. Secretary of State Christopher, Israeli Minister of Foreign Affairs Peres, and U.S. President Clinton. The exchange of instruments of ratification of the treaty by King Hussein and Prime Minister Rabin took place on November 10, 1994. The peace treaty included 30 articles, five annexes, and agreed minutes. In the preamble to the treaty the parties expressed their desire "to develop friendly relations and cooperation between them."

Unlike the case of the agreements with the PLO, almost all the leaders of the Likud supported both the Washington Declaration and the Treaty of Peace, and in the Knesset 105 members voted to confirm the agreement. Even vocal opponents of the government like Reḥavam Ze'evi, leader of the extreme Moledet Party, refrained in a Knesset speech from opposing the idea of peace with Jordan but criticized details of the treaty and reminded members of Jordan's past involvement in anti-Jewish and anti-Israeli policies, e.g., Jordanian support of Iraq during the Gulf War. It should be noted in this context that in 1994 it became publicly known that Prime Minister Shamir and King Hussein had held secret talks during the Gulf War in which they coordinated positions.

THE ASSASSINATION OF YITZHAK RABIN. On the evening of November 4, 1995, Yitzhak Rabin was assassinated. It was the first assassination of an Israeli cabinet member since the establishment of the State of Israel. Only once prior to Rabin's assassination had a Knesset member been assassinated. Rabin was shot in the back upon leaving a mass peace rally in Tel Aviv in which both he and Peres had participated.

Several gestures made by the generally restrained Rabin during the rally had been unprecedented. He had embraced his onetime arch-rival Peres and joined in during the singing of "The Song of Peace." The bloodstained text of the lyrics was later found in his pocket.

The murderer, Yigal Amir, a 25-year-old religious extremist and student of law at Bar-Ilan University, expressed his satisfaction when he learned of the results of his act. A comprehensive investigation by the police and a judicial commission of inquiry headed by a former president of the Supreme Court, Meir Shamgar, concluded that no organization had stood behind the crime. Yigal Amir's brother Hagai and two friends were also indicted for their previous knowledge of Amir's plans and for the help they gave him. The investigation suggested that security measures had not been adequate and several officials, including the head of the General Security Service, were forced to resign.

The emotional reaction to the assassination threatened to tear the Israeli public apart. Many, including Rabin's widow, blamed the leaders of the right wing parties for creating the atmosphere that had made Amir's crime possible. Some suggested that the crime was the result of declarations made by extremist rabbis blaming Rabin for his "cooperation with the enemy." Consequently, a number of rabbis were investigated by the police. The leaders of all right-wing political parties and movements, including the leaders of the settlers in the occupied territories, and all prominent religious leaders, strongly condemned the crime.

Rabin's funeral was attended by a number of world leaders, including President Clinton of the United States, Prime Minister Chernomyrdin of Russia, Prime Minister Major of the United Kingdom, Chancellor Kohl of Germany, and President Chirac of France. A number of representatives of Arab countries, including a few who had never visited Israel before, also attended. King Hussein of Jordan said in his eulogy that Rabin died "as a soldier of peace." Other prominent Arab representatives were President Mubarak of Egypt and government ministers from Oman and Qatar.

Prior to the assassination it seemed that public support for Labor was on the wane, but according to public opinion polls conducted after the assassination, in November and December, it was the popularity of right wing leaders and right wing political parties that dropped considerably while the popularity of Shimon Peres and Labor reached a peak. This led to speculation that Peres, who succeeded Rabin as prime minister, might call early elections.

PERES' GOVERNMENT. Two weeks after being named acting prime minister, Shimon Peres completed the formation of a new government – Israel's 26th.

The parliamentary basis of the new government was similar to Rabin's. Most of the ministers continued to hold the same portfolios. Nevertheless, a number of changes in the composition of the cabinet are notable. Peres took the portfolios of prime minister and defense minister, previously held by Rabin. Peres added two new ministers to his cabinet. He asked Rabbi Yehudah Amital to join the government as a minister without portfolio. Amital, who had established a yeshiva in the West Bank, was the leader of the Meimad movement – a moderate religious group that had been established by former members of the National Religious Party (NRP) and that had participated unsuccessfully in the 1988 Knesset elections. Amital's nomination was intended to signal that in spite of Rabin's assassination, religious Jews and settlers in the occupied territories should be regarded as an integral part of the nation. The other new minister was Ḥaim *Ramon, who rejoined Labor and was named minister of the interior. He gave up his position as secretary general of the Histadrut. Amir *Peretz, Ramon's partner in the leadership of the Ram Party, became the new secretary general. Ramon had defected from Labor and established Ram in his successful 1994 attempt to capture the leadership of the Histadrut. Ehud *Barak, former chief of staff of the IDF, who had been appointed by Rabin as a minister of the interior in July 1995, became minister of foreign affairs.

Paradoxically, Peres, who had challenged Rabin's leadership so many times in the past, was regarded now as the late premier's closest friend and ally. Given the new circumstances, many observers argued that Peres was not only the most senior and experienced Israeli politician but also that his leadership was unshakable. Apparently, some of these observers overlooked the dissatisfaction with various government policies and the lack of popularity from which Peres perennially suffered. Nevertheless, Peres decided to call early elections for May 29, 1996.

On January 20, 1996, Palestinians living in Jerusalem, the West Bank, and the Gaza Strip elected the 88 members of the Palestinian Council and the Ra'is (president) of the PA, using a procedure agreed upon by Israel and the PLO in the September 1995 Interim Agreement. Arafat received 88.1 per cent of the vote. The candidates of Arafat's Fataḥ group won an impressive majority in the Council, with little strong opposition to the Oslo process.

On April 24, 1996, the Palestinian National Council (PNC), the quasi-parliamentary supreme body of the PLO, voted to amend the Palestinian Covenant (the quasi-constitution of the PLO) by removing all clauses calling for the annihilation of Israel. Some Israelis criticized the nature of the PNC move, claiming that it did not meet the obligation undertaken in the Interim Agreement and in the letter sent to Rabin by Arafat on September 9, 1993. The critics emphasized that the PNC had not actually amended the Covenant but instead decided in principle that changes would be made, without specifying concrete clauses and concrete dates.

During the last week of February and the first week of March 1996, a series of suicide attacks on Israeli civilian targets shocked the country. The largest number of victims died in attacks carried out in Israel's largest cities, Jerusalem and Tel Aviv. Most of the attacks were carried out by the extreme Islamic group Hamas. As a result, the Peres government decided to impose almost total closure of the West Bank and Gaza Strip until after the May elections. The closure had a serious impact on the Palestinian economy.

Following attacks on Israeli soldiers in the "security zone" in southern Lebanon and the firing of Katyusha rockets into Israel by the paramilitary *Hizbollah organization, the government decided to launch a military operation, "Grapes of

Wrath," in Lebanon. The operation commenced on April 11, 1996. On April 18, a large number of Lebanese civilians were killed by artillery shells near the village on Qana. Prime Minister Peres blamed Hizbollah, stating that its strategy was to fire rockets and initiate other attacks while "hiding behind Lebanese civilians." The Qana incident provoked severe criticism of the government and its policy in Lebanon. Many Arab supporters of Peres declared that they would not support him in the May elections. On election day, however, over 95 per cent of Arab voters who participated in the elections supported Peres. Operation Grapes of Wrath ended in an "understanding" announced simultaneously in Jerusalem and Beirut on April 26, 1996.

THE 1996 ELECTIONS. In the May 29 elections the new electoral and institutional procedure that derived from the 1992 Basic Law: the Government, was implemented. Simultaneously with the elections to the Fourteenth Knesset the voters also elected the prime minister of Israel directly. According to the new law, in order to win a candidate had to have over half the valid votes. In the event that no candidate had an absolute majority, a second round, in which only the two leading candidates participated, would take place. A second round was not necessary in the 1996 elections, as there were only two candidates in the race: Shimon Peres of Labor and Binyamin Netanyahu of the Likud.

According to all public opinion polls, Peres led the race through the entire campaign. Nevertheless, following the wave of terrorist attacks on Israeli civilians in February and March, the gap between the two contestants narrowed to only a few points. Peres continued to lead until election day. Immediately after the closing of the polling booths, the two Israeli television networks declared Peres the winner on the basis of their exit polls. It only became evident that Netanyahu was the new prime minister of Israel four days later, when the count of those who voted in "double envelopes" (mainly IDF soldiers) was completed. Netanyahu won by a margin of 50.5 to 49.5 per cent of the valid votes. It should be mentioned, however, that 4.8 per cent of the votes were invalid. It seems that many voters preferred to express their dissatisfaction with both candidates by casting invalid ballots. Hence, Netanyahu actually got only 48.1 per cent of the total votes.

A primary aim of those who supported the new electoral system was to reduce the dependency of the prime minister on the small parties and individual members of the Knesset. But the law stated that although "the prime minister serves by virtue of his being elected," he must present his government to the Knesset. "Should the Knesset reject the prime minister's proposals for the composition of the government, it will be regarded as an expression of no-confidence."

Almost all the small parties called upon their supporters to split their vote, telling them which candidate to vote for as prime minister. The small centrist parties did not endorse any of the candidates but stressed the need to support their own parties in the Knesset elections "in order to ensure that the elected prime minister will not become a captive in the hands of extremists in his bloc." In fact, the strength of the two large parties decreased dramatically, and the dependence of the newly elected prime minister on the small parties increased. Furthermore, in an early stage of the campaign, two small parties, Tzomet and Gesher, promoted their respective leaders, Raphael Eitan and David Levi, as possible candidates for the premiership. In order to increase the odds of being elected, Netanyahu agreed to join forces with both these parties at the price of giving their Knesset candidates relatively high places on the joint list. It is quite evident that Netanyahu would have had no real chance of being elected in the first round if Levi and/or Eitan had run as independent candidates.

In spite of Netanyahu's victory, the Likud-Gesher-Tsomet list came only second in the Knesset race, winning 32 seats compared with Labor's 34. The religious parties – Shas, NRP, and Yahadut ha-Torah – won 10, 9, and 4 seats, respectively. The anti-clerical and dovish Meretz Party won 9 seats. Two new parties, the "Russian" immigrants party, Yisrael ba-Aliyah, led by former dissident Natan *Sharansky, and the Third Way, led by former Labor member Avigdor Kahalani, won 7 and 4 seats respectively. The Communist-led Ḥadash party won 5 seats, the Arab Democratic Party (ADP) 4, and the extremist Moledet 2.

Prior to the elections, Labor had enjoyed a "blocking majority" of 61 together with its government coalition partner, Meretz, and with the support of Ḥadash and the ADP. In spite of the dramatic increase in the representation of the latter two, the entire "dovish" bloc dropped to only 52 seats, leaving the center in the hands of parties like the Sephardic-religious Shas, the ultra-Orthodox Yahadut ha-Torah, the centrist Third Way, and the new immigrants party, Yisrael ba-Aliyah. The Likud was placed by most observers to the right (i.e., being more hawkish) of these parties. Right of the Likud were the third religious party, the NRP, and Moledet.

NETANYAHU'S GOVERNMENT. Netanyahu's coalition (the 27th government of Israel) rested on 66 Knesset members. All the center and right-wing parties except Moledet participated in it. One of the cabinet members, Minister of Justice Ya'akov Ne'eman, was not affiliated with any of the political parties. When the attorney general ordered a police investigation into allegations that Ne'eman had obstructed court proceedings, he was forced to resign (August 8, 1996). Later he was acquitted.

Although many had argued prior to the elections that Netanyahu was not committed to the peace process in general and to the Oslo process in particular, his government decided within weeks of the elections to continue the negotiations with the PA. Only one minister, Binyamin Begin, voted against this decision. An initial meeting between Netanyahu and Arafat took place on September 4, 1996.

On September 23, 1996, the Hasmonean Tunnel at the ancient Western Wall was opened in the Old City of Jerusalem. On September 24, Yasser Arafat called on Palestinians to strike and demonstrate against this opening of the tunnel. Muslim leaders claimed that the tunnel ran underneath the Temple Mount and that it would undermine the foundations of the Dome of the Rock and the Al-Aqsa Mosque built on the Mount. In fact, the tunnel did not run beneath the Temple Mount. The restoration of the tunnel by archaeologists had been going on since 1987. On September 25, violence erupted in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. Attacks by Palestinian civilians and Palestinian police (who used weapons supplied by Israel) on Israeli soldiers and Israeli settlers left 15 Israeli soldiers and at least 50 Palestinians dead. These clashes were the most serious since the signing of the Declaration of Principles in September 1993.

On January 16, 1997, Binyamin Begin resigned from the cabinet in protest against the agreement between Israel and the PA for the withdrawal of the IDF from the Arab part of Hebron.

The most dramatic political scandal of 1997 was known as the "Bar-On for Hebron deal." According to a TV news report, Shas ministers had voted for the IDF pullback in Hebron in return for the nomination of Roni Bar-On, a criminal attorney, to the post of attorney general. According to the TV report Bar-On, who was forced to resign the post only two days after being named to it, was expected to arrange a plea bargain for the indicted Shas leader, Aryeh Deri. After an investigation, both Netanyahu and Justice Minister Tzachi Hanegbi were exonerated.

On March 12, 1997, a Jordanian soldier opened fire at schoolgirls who were visiting the "Island of Peace" located on the Jordanian side of the Israel-Jordan border. Seven girls died in the attack. On March 15 King Hussein came to Israel to make condolence calls to each of the seven mourning families.

During 1997 and 1998 the Netanyahu government as well as the Likud party suffered a number of major internal crises. It seemed that the stability promised by those who had supported direct elections of the prime minister was far from being achieved

One of the most important developments in the Palestinian-Israeli conflict was the agreement reached between Arafat and Netanyahu at Wye Plantation in October 1998. Both leaders, in the presence of President Clinton and the ailing King Hussein of Jordan, signed the agreement in the White House on October 23. According to the agreement, Israel was to transfer control over 13 per cent of the West Bank to the civil control of the PA as well as military control over an additional 14 per cent of the West Bank in which the PA already enjoyed civil control. In return, the Palestinian National Council (PNC) of the PLO was to revoke the articles in the Palestinian Covenant that called for the extermination of the State of Israel. The hardliners in Netanyahu's coalition opposed the agreement and his coalition became even less stable.

On December 21, 1998, the Knesset decided to have early elections "within six months" instead of the elections that should have taken place towards the end of 2000. A week later it was agreed that the new elections would be held on May 17, 1999.

THE 1999 ELECTIONS. Netanyahu's position prior to the 1999 elections grew weaker and weaker. His government had already lost its Knesset majority in December 1998. On January 23, 1999, Netanyahu decided to dismiss Defense Minister Yitzhak Mordechai following Mordechai's negotiations with the leaders of the new Center Party. Later, Mordechai was chosen as the Center's leader and its candidate for the premiership.

Already on June 3, 1997, Ehud Barak had been elected as the new chairperson of the Labor Party and its candidate for the premiership. Barak decided to call the Labor party "Yisrael Aḥat" ("One Israel") to give it a semblance of broad appeal and reach out for the religious and working class vote, which had been moving away from the party. David Levi's Gesher and Meimad joined forces with Labor in the creation of the new list.

The most dramatic events of the 1999 campaign took place in its last two days. Three candidates for the premiership: Azmi Bishara of Balad, Yitzhak Mordechai of the Center Party, and Binyamin Begin of National Unity decided to withdraw their candidacies, leaving only Likud's Netanyahu and Yisrael Aḥat's Barak in the race.

Barak won the election by an impressive majority of 56.1 to 43.9 per cent. Nevertheless, it appeared that among Jewish voters alone the elections ended in a virtual dead heat. In Jerusalem, the capital and largest city, Netanyahu won the race by a margin of 64.5 to 35.5 per cent.

Netanyahu resigned his position as Likud leader on May 18. He also resigned from the Knesset a few weeks later. The Central Committee of the Likud appointed Ariel Sharon as its new leader on May 27 after he defeated Jerusalem's Mayor Ehud *Olmert, and MK Meir Shitrit in party elections with 53 per cent of the vote

The elections to the Fifteenth Knesset marked a further fragmentation of the party system. Fifteen parties won seats in the new Knesset. The total of the two big lists of candidates combined, which had reached a peak of 95 seats in 1981, dropped to just 45 in the 1999 Knesset elections. As in the 1996 elections, there is no doubt that one of the reasons for this phenomenon was the new electoral system and the split vote it encouraged, as many voters felt free to support a small party in the Knesset elections while voting for the candidate of a big party for prime minister.

The Likud won just 19 seats. Labor remained the biggest party, but even bolstered by its partners in Yisrael Aḥat it dropped to 26 seats. Shas impressively won 17 seats. It was followed by Meretz (10), Yisrael ba-Aliyah (6), Shinu'i (6), the new Center Party (6), NRP (5), Yahadut ha-Torah (5), the Moslem Ra'am (5), the hawkish National Union (4), the new Russian immigrant party Yisrael Beitenu ("Israel Our Home") (4), Ḥadash (3), the nationalist Arab Balad (2), and Am Eḥad ("One Nation") led by Histadrut General Secretary Amir Peretz (2).

The unexpected success of Shas is attributed to three factors: First, disappointed with the Likud's performance, many former Sephardi Likud supporters voted this time for Shas. Second, many voted Shas as a protest following the conviction of Shas leader Aryeh Deri by the Jerusalem District Court on March 17, 1999. The court had found Deri guilty of bribery, fraud, and breach of public trust. Eliyahu Yishai was appointed as the new leader of Shas on September 27, 1999. Third, Yisrael ba-Aliyah directed its blatant anti-clerical campaign against Shas, using insulting slogans which could have been interpreted as anti-Sephardi. Many voters believed that supporting Shas on election day was the proper response to these attacks.

BARAK'S GOVERNMENT. The Fifteenth Knesset was split between 60 MKs who leaned toward Barak in their preference for a prime minister (i.e., the MKs of Yisrael Aḥat, Meretz, Shinu'i, the Center Party, Ra'am, Ḥadash, Balad, and Am Eḥad), and 60 MKs who probably preferred the Likud's leadership (i.e., the MKs of the Likud, Shas, Yisrael ba-Aliyah, NRP, Yahadut ha-Torah, National Union, and Israel Our Home). Nonetheless Barak had a number of options to form his government. After conducting negotiations with most of the parties, he formed a coalition including Yisrael Aḥat (with representatives of Gesher and Meimad in addition to those of Labor), Shas, Meretz, the Center Party, Yisrael ba-Aliyah, the NRP, and Yahadut ha-Torah. The structure of the coalition proved to be fatal, especially because of the policy distances between some of its members on questions of state and religion as well as on issues related to the Arab-Israeli conflict.

Following the formation of his government (Israel's 28th), Barak gave priority to the peace process. He promised, on several occasions, "to achieve peace with Israel's neighbors within a year." Criticized for his "zigzagging" policies on many issues, Barak proved to be very determined and very consistent on the issue of peacemaking.

On the evening of the Sabbath, Friday, August 27, 1999, the government authorized the transport of a 260-ton electric turbine. This led to threats from the two ultra-Orthodox religious parties to leave the coalition. Following the movement of a second turbine a few weeks later, Yahadut ha-Torah decided to cease its participation in Barak's coalition.

The turbine incidents were followed by a number of clashes between the largest ultra-Orthodox party, Shas, and Meretz. Strangely enough, Meretz decided to leave the government in June 2000 in order to ensure that Shas remained in the coalition. Meretz believed that Israeli-Palestinian negotiations were moving in a promising direction and did not wish to spark a government crisis.

In his 2000 negotiations with the Syrians in Washington, D.C., and with the Palestinians in Camp David, under the auspices of President Clinton of the United States, Barak expressed his readiness to carry out an almost 100 per cent withdrawal from all the territories occupied by Israel since the 1967 war. In May he ordered the Israel Defense Forces to withdraw from the "security zone" in Lebanon on a unilateral basis.

Most "right-of-Labor" politicians were opposed to the major concessions Barak was apparently ready to make to the Palestinians. In fact, even a number of relatively dovish figures, including Shimon Peres, criticized Barak for going too far, especially with regard to future arrangements in Jerusalem. It was against this background that the four Shas ministers and the Yisrael ba-Aliyah minister left the coalition on July 11, 2000. They were followed by the NRP minister, whose resignation came into effect on the following day, and by the defection of David Levi, the Gesher minister of foreign affairs, who left the coalition on August 4. Thus the government shrank to a twelve-minister cabinet, supported by only 30 MKs.

It was against this background that early elections looked inevitable. Barak once again demonstrated his skill at "zigzagging." He made a "secret" agreement with the Likud that would have guaranteed a relatively stable "national unity" government, but then retreated and decided to postpone its implementation. When it became clear that the Knesset was about to call early elections, Barak objected. Then he surprised even the members of his own party, declaring in December that he had no objections to simultaneous Knesset and prime ministerial elections. A few days later, he handed in his resignation to the president. According to Basic Law: the Government, when the prime minister resigned, Knesset elections were not necessary, only "special" prime ministerial elections. Barak's resignation conceivably came in order to block former premier Netanyahu from participating in the coming elections. As mentioned, Netanyahu had resigned from the Knesset following the defeat of the Likud in the 1999 elections. The Basic Law allowed only MKs to be candidates in "special" elections. Barak, however, declared almost immediately that he had no objections to changing the law so that Netanyahu could run against him. But it soon became clear that the candidates would be Labor's Barak and the Likud's Ariel Sharon.

THE 2001 ELECTIONS AND THE FIRST SHARON GOVERNMENT. On February 6, for the third time, Israel went to the polls to elect a prime minister by direct popular vote. Unlike the 1996 and 1999 elections, the Knesset was not elected at the same time.

In a reversal of his 12 per cent 1999 victory, Barak now lost to Sharon by twice that margin: 62.4 per cent of the valid votes were vast for Sharon and 37.6 per cent went to Barak. Barak not only lost the election but the vote of every sector that had supported him in 1999.

The turnout in 2001 was the lowest in Israel's history – 62.3 per cent. The biggest decline was in the Arab sector, which dropped to 25 per cent of what it had been in 1999. In the 15 elections held between 1949 and 1999, the average Arab turnout had been 78 per cent. Now, after giving Barak almost 95 per cent of their vote in 1999, most Arab voters felt they could neither support Barak nor Sharon and the Arab turnout dropped to less than 20 per cent. The background to this extreme expression of alienation was rooted in the fact that 13 Israeli Arabshad been killed by police fire in the October 2000 riots that broke out in support of the Palestinian cause following the beginning of the "second *intifada*" (see below).

Before presenting his government (the 29th government of Israel) Sharon insisted that the entire system of direct election of the prime minister must be scrapped and the old, purely parliamentary system restored. The Knesset acceded to his demand on March 7. Later that day Sharon presented his government to the Knesset. The government consisted of seven parties, controlling over 70 seats in the Knesset. These included the three biggest parties, Likud, Yisrael Aḥat and Shas alongside four smaller parties, National Union, Yisrael Beitenu, Yisrael ba-Aliyah, and One Nation. The two senior representatives of Labor in Sharon's cabinet were former prime minister Peres, who served as minister of foreign affairs, and Labor chairman Binyamin Ben-Eliezer, who served as minister of defense. Most of the more dovish Labor leaders remained outside the government. Sharon wanted to include Barak, but opposition within Labor made such a partnership impossible and Barak retired from active political life "for the time being." Two MKs of the Center Party joined the cabinet in August 2001. In October, Cabinet Minister Rehavam Ze'evi was shot dead in a Jerusalem hotel by terrorists. Two days earlier, Ze'evi had been one of two ministers who had handed in their resignations from the government because of their opposition to what they regarded as too moderate a government response to terrorism encouraged by the PA.

In the first few months after Sharon's government took office, Israel found itself in embarrassing international situations more than once. Thus, in July 2001, the Brussels Public Prosecutor's Office announced that it had opened an investigation of Sharon for alleged crimes against humanity in the massacre of Palestinian civilians by Lebanese Christian militiamen in the refugee camps of Sabra and Shatilla in September 1982. Early in September 2001, Israel and the United States decided to withdraw from the World Conference Against Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia and Related Intolerance (WCAR), convened in Durban, South Africa, in protest against the virulent anti-Israel language of its draft resolutions. It would seem, however, that the atmosphere changed dramatically following the attack on America on September 11, 2001. The attack demonstrated to many that Israel was in the forefront of the war against a dangerous combination of terrorism, Islamic fundamentalism, and weapons of mass destruction.

Despite the violenceof the Palestinian-Israeli conflict, Sharon continued to work toward the establishment of an independent Palestinian state within the framework of a peace agreement. Many in his party opposed this policy. Thus, on May 12, 2002, the Likud Central Committee rejected Sharon's request to postpone its vote on a binding resolution against the creation of a Palestinian State "west of the Jordan River."

The National Unity government was quite popular according to most public opinion polls, and the circumstances created by the terrorist war against Israel might have enabled the two big parties to continue their cooperation. Nevertheless, when the minister of finance, Silvan *Shalom, presented in October 2002 his budget proposal for 2003, the Labor Party decided to pull out of the government because of the allocations to settlements in the occupied territories. It would seem, however, that a major reason for this decision was the leadership struggle within Labor that pitted the chairman, Ben-Eliezer, against a popular challenger, Haifa's Mayor Amram *Mitzna, whose campaign called for Labor's withdrawal from the coalition. Sharon could still muster a bare majority and remain in office, but he too had party problems, mainly concerning an expected challenge for party leadership by former prime minister Binyamin Netanyahu. On December 5, 2002, Sharon formally announced his decision to dissolve the Knesset and early elections were called for January 28, 2003.

Following Labor's withdrawal Sharon named the popular former chief of staff of the IDF, Shaul *Mofas, as defense minister, and Netanyahu as minister of foreign Affairs.

On November 19 Mitzna won the Labor Party primaries, defeating Ben-Eliezer, and on November 28 Sharon won the Likud primaries, defeating Netanyahu.

THE TERRORIST WAR. The results of Barak's negotiations with Arab partners had been far from being promising. No new agreement was achieved between Israel and any of its Arab partners. Furthermore, in late September 2000 the Palestinians used a visit of Likud leaders headed by Ariel Sharon to the Mount Temple as a pretext for a new wave of violence. It seemed that the withdrawal from Lebanon was interpreted by a number of leading Arab elements as a proof that Israel could be defeated though attrition. The extreme Hamas, Islamic Jihad, Palestinian secular movements, and PA elements joined forces in large-scale terrorist activity against Israelis. At times it looked as if this new *intifada* was initiated and orchestrated by Arafat. At times it looked as if Arafat had lost control of the situation. In any case, the term *intifada* (i.e., uprising) was misleading. The vast majority of terrorist acts were either initiated by Arafat and elements within his organization, Fatah, or by those belonging to the Moslem fundamentalist organizations, Hamas and Islamic Jihad.

Almost from the beginning of the new wave of violence, various international attempts were made to get the parties to the negotiation table. Thus, on April 30, 2001, the Sharm el-Sheikh Fact-Finding Committee headed by George J. Mitchell, former majority leader of the U.S. Senate, published its report on the new Intifada. On June 14, 2001, a Palestinian-Israeli Security Implementation Work Plan, better known as the Tenet Plan, laid out a six-stage timetable for the parties. At the end of 2001 and the beginning of 2002, former U.S. Army general Anthony Zinni tried to mediate between Israel and the Palestinians. On April 30, 2003, the United States, the European Union, the United Nations, and Russia ("the Quartet") published a "Road Map" for a Permanent Two-State Solution to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. The aim of the plan was to reach a final and comprehensive settlement of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict by 2005. All these efforts proved fruitless.

On January 4, 2002, the IDF captured a 4,000-ton freighter in the Red Sea carrying 50 tons of weaponry, including tons of explosives, rockets, missiles, long-range mortars, mines, etc. The captain of the ship confessed that the PA had hired him and that the shipment was organized and financed by it.

One of the most decisive terrorist attacks took place on March 27, 2002, when 250 Passover guests at the Park Hotel in Netanya were the victims of a suicide bomb carried by a Hamas terrorist. Twenty-nine people were killed and 140 injured. Following the Park Hotel attack, the government decided to carry out "a wide-ranging operational action plan against Palestinian terror," known as Operation Defensive Shield. During the operation, Israel recaptured most of the territories previously controlled by the PA. The most highly publicized action took place in Jenin. Palestinian spokesmen and activists all over the world claimed that Israel had carried out a massacre in the city in which between 1,000 and 5,000 Palestinian civilians were murdered. In fact, 52 Palestinians – most of them terrorist fighters – were killed in Jenin. In one incident during the battle, 13 IDF soldiers were killed when they were ambushed from civilian residences by Palestinian fighters. Documents captured during Operation Defensive Shield proved that the PA, Iran, Iraq, and Saudi Arabia were directly involved in terrorist activities. Furthermore, money provided to the PA by donors such as the European Union and the U.S. had been allocated to finance terror and incitement.

The international dimension of anti-Israel terrorism was underscored on November 28, 2002, when 13 people were killed in Mombasa, Kenya, in an Israeli hotel. Simultaneously, two missiles were fired at an Israeli passenger jet flying from Mombasa but missed their target. The political bureau of Osama bin Laden's al-Qaeda network claimed responsibility for these attacks.

Between the beginning of the "Second Intifada" and the end of 2004 approximately 22,000 attacks on Israeli targets were carried out. Most devastating were the approximately 130 attacks carried by suicide bombers. Over 1,000 Israelis – 70% of them civilians – were killed and over 7,000 injured. The peak in the number of casualties was reached in March 2002, when 135 Israelis were killed. Towards the end of this period, the number of successful attacks and the number of casualties decreased considerably. This was caused mainly by different preventive measures taken by Israel. Thus, over 400 suicide attacks were prevented.

One significant preventive measure was the construction of an "anti-terrorist" fence intended to serve as a physical barrier against terrorist attacks. Arab countries and the Palestinian leadership protested, calling it a "a unilateral step on Arab soil" worsening the living conditions of Palestinians.

On November 11, 2004, the president of the PA, Yasser Arafat, 75, died in a military hospital outside Paris after being flown there from his Ramallah Headquarters. Mahmoud Abbas ("Abu Mazen"), one of the founding fathers of the Fatah and the PLO, succeeded Arafat as interim president. Abas opposed many of Arafat's policies, including the decision to initiate the new wave of violence in September 2000. Hence, he was considered a more moderate potential partner to talks with Israel. Nevertheless, many noted his basic hardline positions and questioned his ability to confront militant Palestinian leaders and organizations. Abas was formally elected as president in general elections held on January 9, 2005.

THE 2003 ELECTIONS. In the January 28, 2003, elections to the Sixteenth Knesset, 13 parties won seats, down from 15 in 1999. For the first time since 1981, the strength of the two biggest parties combined increased. These developments can be attributed in part to the abrogation of direct election of the prime minister and the return to a regular parliamentary system. Voters could no longer split their votes between the candidate of a large party for the premiership and a small party in the Knesset ballot, as so many had in 1996 and 1999. The turnout was the lowest in the history of Knesset elections: only 67.8 per cent.

The most important outcome of the elections was the unquestioned success of the Likud, which won 38 seats – twice as many as Labor's 19 seats. Immediately after the elections, the two MKs of Yisrael ba-Aliyah joined the Likud.

It would seem that Sharon attracted many middle-of-the-road voters, as he projected a position more dovish than any of those previously held by Likud leaders. On the other hand, Labor moved away from the center with Mitzna's repeated calls to negotiate with Arafat, despite the continued terrorism. Mitzna also proposed unilateral withdrawal from the territories if such negotiations failed, and pledged not to sit in a government with the Likud.

Another dimension of the electoral campaign was religion. This placed the anti-clerical Shinu'i, with its 15 seats, on one end of the political spectrum and the ultra-Orthodox Shas (11 seats) and Yahadut ha-Torah (5 seats) on the other. The third religious party, the hawkish NRP, gained 6 seats, balancing the 6 seats of the dovish, anti-clerical Meretz.

The hawkish National Union–Yisrael Beitenu bloc won 7 seats. Three parties won 3 seats each, the Communist-led Ḥadash, Amir Peretz's One Nation Party, and the nationalist Arab Balad. The Islamic Ra'am dropped to 2 seats. On May 4, 2003, Labour's new leader, Mitzna, resigned.

THE ECONOMY. During the 1990s Israel's economy was marked by consistent growth in gross domestic product (GDP) and by a steady rise in GDP per capita. Both indicators reached a peak of around 7.5 per cent in 2000. The early 2000s were marked by clear signs of recession. Both the GDP and the GDP per capita showed a negative growth. The decline in economic activity affected employment. Thus, while unemployment was less than 9 per cent up to the first half of 2001, it climbed to almost 11 per cent in the second half of 2003. At the same time the number of foreign workers in Israel increased to approximately 300,000 towards the end of the 1990s. The deterioration of the economy produced a number of large-scale anti-government demonstrations – some of which were organized by the Histadrut under the leadership of Peretz.

There were a number of reasons for the slowdown of the economy. The four most significant were: global developments and especially the global crisis in the high-tech industry; the considerable decrease in immigration, especially when compared with the early 1990s; government spending policies; the impact of terrorism, with such consequences as a sharp drop in tourism. The recession in areas under the control of the PA was by far more severe.

After the elections of 2003, there seemed to be strong evidence of a growing number of positive economic indicators, such as renewed economic growth and low inflation rates. It seemed that these developments had been partly caused by global developments, by the failure of the terrorist war against Israel, and by new government policies initiated by Netanyahu, who became minister of finance in Sharon's second government.

SHARON'S SECOND GOVERNMENT. Following the 2003 parliamentary elections, Sharon tried to get Labor to join his coalition. But when Labor demurred he formed a coalition with Shinu'i, the NRP, and the National Union-Yisrael Beitenu bloc. The new government (Israel's 30th) was approved by the Knesset on February 27, 2003. In his new cabinet, Netanyahu became minister of finance, switching places with Silvan Shalom, who became minister of foreign affairs. Sharon apparently believed that Netanyahu, a graduate of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology in business administration, was better qualified to oversee Israel's problematic economy.

A number of scandals rocked the political scene during Sharon's second term. These included police investigations of a number of ministers, including the prime minister and his sons, resignation of a Shinu'i minister who apparently tried to incriminate another Shinu'i minister, and resignation of a Likud minister from his post (but not from the government) following publication of the state comptroller's report and possible indictment for politically motivated appointments.

The most prominent issue in Israeli politics in 2004 and 2005 revolved around Prime Minister Sharon's disengagement plan. Sharon's plan was presented to the public for the first time in December 2003. The main assumption behind the plan was that in the absence of any serious partner to peace talks on the Palestinian side, and following the construction of the security fence, it was in Israel's political and security interest to withdraw from the Gaza Strip and dismantle the 21 settlements there (*Gush Katif) as well as four settlements in northern Samaria (the northern part of the West Bank).

The conflict surrounding the disengagement plan shook Sharon's leadership. On May 2, 2004, Sharon was defeated in an internal Likud referendum on the disengagement plan by a margin of 60 percent to 40 percent. Following this defeat, Sharon revised the plan slightly. On June 6, 2004, the cabinet approved the revised plan by a vote of 14 to 7. This result was made possible, among other reasons, by the dismissal of the two National Union–Israel Beitenu ministers. Five of the 13 Likud ministers and the two NRP ministers voted against the Plan. Two members of the NRP left the coalition in June 2004. The other four NRP members left in November 2004. The future of the government looked quite gloomy. But on October 28, the Knesset approved the disengagement plan by a 67–45 vote. This was followed by the dismissal of hawkish Minister Landau of the Likud. However, 17 of the 40 Likud MKs had voted against the plan. On November 3 the Knesset approved a bill to compensate the approximately 8,000 settlers who would be evacuated from the Gaza Strip and northern Samaria according to the disengagement plan. A war of nerves now commenced between the Gush Katif settlers and their supporters and government authorities, including demonstrations, clashes with police and the army, and organized disruptions of the country's daily life by the more extreme elements among the opponents of disengagement.

With the government losing its majority in the Knesset, Sharon and Finance Minister Netanyahu mobilized the support of the ultra-Orthodox Yahadut ha-Torah for the 2005 budget bill in return for government financial support to a number of ultra-Orthodox institutions. Shinu'i declared that it would not support the budget bill under these conditions. Following a humiliating defeat in a Knesset vote on the budget, Sharon dismissed all five Shinu'i ministers on December 4. Sharon's government survived, however, as a result of an agreement with the Labor Party. On January 10, 2005, eight Labor MKs received ministerial portfolios. The budget was approved in March 2005.

[Abraham Diskin (2nd ed.)]

THE 2006 ELECTIONS. The dismantlement of the Gush Katif settlements was carried out as scheduled in the summer of 2005. However, opposition to Sharon within the Likud and the threat that he would be deposed as party chairman by the Likud Central Committee led him to bolt the party and form a new political entity, the Kadimah Party, joined by senior ministers from both the Likud and the Labor party, including Shimon Peres. In January 2006, with elections two months away, Sharon suffered a massive brain hemorrhage and was incapacitated. He was replaced by Ehud *Olmert, who subsequently led Kadimah to an election victory with 29 seats in the Knesset. Negotiations began immediately with Labor, the next largest party with 19 seats and now led by Amir *Peretz, to form a coalition government. In the meanwhile Hamas had won an unexpected victory over the PLO in the Palestinian parliamentary elections, creating a new reality and making future relations with the Palestinian Authority problematic. Olmert's avowed intention was to establish Israel's final borders during his term of office, if necessary unilaterally. Among other declared aims in the coalition agreement were a rise in the minimum wage to $1,000 a month, guaranteed pensions for all citizens, a broader spectrum of medicines to be covered by the National Health Insurance Law, and full implementation of the civil rights of minority groups.

RENEWED FIGHTING. The new government was soon tested. Palestinian rocket attacks on Sederot and other Negev settlements were capped on June 25 by the abduction of an Israeli soldier from an army outpost. Israel responded with air strikes and the movement of ground forces into the Gaza Strip for the first time since the evacuation of the previous summer. On July 12 Hizbollah struck in the north, attacking an Israeli patrol on Israel's side of the Lebanese border. Three Israeli soldiers were killed and another two were taken captive. The fighting rapidly escalated as Hizbollah indiscriminately fired rockets into Israel's northern settlements, including Haifa, and Israel launched massive air strikes into Lebanon aimed at Hizbollah strongholds and staging areas which at the same time caused extensive damage throughout the country as well as a high death toll among Lebanese civilians and mass flight from South Lebanon. As Israelis too fled the north or huddled in shelters, Israeli special forces began crossing the border to hunt down rocket launchers, meeting stiff resistance. Though by and large Hizbollah was condemned as the aggressor by the international community and Israel's right to self-defense was affirmed, many decried what was seen as the use of excessive force by Israel and diplomatic efforts to bring the fighting to a halt intensified. Many, however, also saw Israel as a surrogate for the West in the war against terrorism and made it clear that they would not regret Hizbollah's destruction. However, progress on the ground was slow as the highly trained and disciplined Hizbollah fighters stood fast, and as the fighting dragged on criticism of both the army and government was heard in Israel, though the country remained united in its determination to deal Hizbollah a crippling blow. In the meantime a draft resolution calling for a cease fire was produced by France and the United States as Israel called up its reserves and expanded its ground operations in an effort to reach the Litani River about 18 miles (30 km.) north of Israel's border. The resolution was adopted by the Security Council of the United Nations on August 11 and went into effect on August 14. Among other things it called for the Lebanese army, bolstered by a beefed-up UNIFIL force of up to 15,000 men, to occupy South Lebanon and arms shipments to Hizbollah to be halted. However, it did not assure the dismantling of Hizbollah or the return of the abducted Israeli soldiers. The extent to which the resolution satisfied Israel's expectations, coupled with questions about the performance of the army and government, now became the subjects of increasing public debate.

The toll in the Israel-Hizbollah fighting up to the cease fire was 117 Israeli soldiers and 41 civilians killed. Around 1,000 Lebanese civilians were also killed. Nearly 4,000 rockets had been fired into Israel and 7,000 targets in Lebanon had been hit by Israel's air force in over 15,000 sorties.

Foreign Policy and International Relations

FOREIGN POLICY. *The United Nations Decision.* Although the United Nations did not have the machinery or the power to implement the General Assembly resolution of Nov. 29, 1947, and the State of Israel was established by the efforts of the *yishuv* with the support of the Jewish people, the new state ascribed considerable importance to the fact that its creation was based on the UN decision. The Proclamation of Independence, recalling the Assembly resolution, declares: "This recognition by the United Nations of the right of the Jewish people to establish their own state is irrevocable"; the establishment of the Jewish state is proclaimed "by virtue of our natural and historic right and of the resolution of the General Assembly of the United Nations"; and a later paragraph declares, "The State of Israel will be prepared to cooperate with the organs and the representatives of the United Nations in carrying out the General Assembly Resolution of Nov. 29, 1947, and will work for the establishment of the economic union of the whole Land of Israel."

Care was thus taken to emphasize that the Jewish people's decision to establish the Jewish state was in keeping with the UN's historic ruling. For this reason, and because of violent Arab opposition, one of Israel's main objectives was to achieve international recognition. The first encouraging responses came from the U.S. government, which granted de facto recognition a few hours after the declaration of independence, and from the Soviet Union and Guatemala, which granted de jure recognition three days later. By the end of its first year, following the young state's success in defeating the Arab attack, establishing its legal institutions, and holding general elections to the first Knesset, Israel was recognized by 55 states (the vast majority of those existing at the time, with the exception of the Arab and a few other Muslim countries), and on May 11, 1949, Israel was accepted as a member of the United Nations. Thus the struggle for international recognition was crowned, on the whole, with success, though the effort to establish normal diplomatic relations with all states was much more prolonged and has not yet been completed.

Efforts Toward Peace. The second, even more important, aim of Israel's foreign policy was to bring the war to an end and establish permanent peace with the Arab peoples and states. At first Israel hoped to receive UN support for this aim. It responded to the UN call for a cease-fire and was prepared to cooperate with the UN mediator. However, the first mediator, Count Folke Bernadotte of Sweden, failed in his efforts at mediation and exceeded his powers by proposing a solution of his own to the Palestine problem that was incompatible with both the Assembly decision and the new situation created after the war and was quite unacceptable to Israel. The second mediator, Ralph Bunche, confined himself to actual mediation and succeeded in bringing about negotiations between the two sides, ending with the signature of the Armistice Agreements.

Faithful to the spirit of the Security Council resolution and the uniform text of the preamble to all the agreements, Israel regarded the Armistice Agreements as a transitional stage between truce and permanent peace. It was generally assumed that the armistice period would be brief and would be spent mainly in peace negotiations – an assumption confirmed by the fact that the agreements laid down a procedure for their amendment in case they were not replaced by peace treaties within a year. It was on this assumption, too, that Israel agreed to certain provisions that were not perfectly clear, in order not to hold up the signature of the agreements. Events, however, developed in the opposite direction. The Armistice Agreements were not the starting point for progress toward peace but marked the end of a brief period of goodwill. They were followed by a renewed deterioration in the situation, the gradual erosion of their significance, and Arab threats of an approaching "second round." Nor was any progress achieved at the meetings of the UN Palestine Conciliation Commission, which consisted of representatives of the United States, France, and Turkey. The disappointing experience of the P.C.C. strengthened Israel's conviction that only through direct negotiations would it be possible to achieve peace, or even partial solutions to specific problems.

The principle of direct negotiations has been the cornerstone of Israel's policy ever since, and the Israel government has always tried to secure the support of other countries for it. However, just as the Arab countries were not prepared for progress from armistice to peace, they were equally unprepared for direct negotiations with Israel. The armistice regime was undermined over the years under the pressure of the Arab doctrine and practice of belligerency against Israel. During the Sinai Campaign (1956), Israel declared that in view of Egypt's continual violations of the Armistice Agreement, Israel no longer recognized its existence, and all the Armistice Agreements became null and void as a result of the *Six-Day War in June 1967. Even if they had been strictly observed, however, they left many basic questions unsolved, notably those of the frontiers, the status of Jerusalem, the refugee question, and the problem of Arab economic and political warfare against Israel.

Borders. The Armistice Agreements expressly stated that the demarcation lines laid down in them were not on any account to be regarded as political or territorial frontiers, but as a result of the long period during which the agreements remained in force and the failure to replace them with peace treaties, the demarcation lines were generally identified with the frontiers of the state. Israel repeatedly declared that it was prepared for peace talks without prior conditions, but also made it clear that it regarded the existing lines as a basis for negotiations on permanent frontiers despite their unsuitability for effective defense. David Ben-Gurion and Moshe Sharett stated on several occasions that in a peace treaty Israel would be ready to recognize these borders as frontiers fixed "for a hundred years." The Arabs argued, on the other hand, that there could be no negotiations as long as Israel did not "comply with UN resolutions," i.e., withdraw to the boundaries laid down in the 1947 partition scheme and agree to the return of the refugees. However, they gave no undertaking to sign peace treaties on the basis of these borders. The Soviet Union also referred to Israel's frontiers in terms of the 1947 partition borders.

Israel declared that a return to the partition borders was unacceptable. The partition proposal was based on the assumptions that the two peoples would accept the proposed solution and agree to live in peace, that an Arab state would rise in Palestine side by side with the Jewish state, and that the two would form an economic union. All these assumptions had been refuted by Arab belligerency. Nor were the Western powers prepared to identify the armistice lines with political borders. John Foster Dulles, the U.S. secretary of state, made this clear in a speech in New York on Aug. 26, 1955, and British Foreign Secretary Anthony Eden, in his Guildhall address on Nov. 9, 1955, called for a compromise between the partition borders and the status quo. Both were thinking mainly of territorial concessions by Israel in the Negev, which would facilitate the creation of a land bridge between Egypt and Jordan. It was only after the Sinai Campaign and the withdrawal of the Israel forces from the areas occupied during the fighting that pressure for frontier changes died down and the powers reconciled themselves, in practice, with Israel rule over the areas delimited in the Armistice Agreements. In the absence of any Arab will for peace, however, these lines were never secure borders, and the entire armistice regime collapsed in the crisis of 1967.

As a result of the Six-Day War, the territory under Israel's control now comprised the whole of western Ereẓ Israel, including those areas in Judea and Samaria that had been under Jordanian rule since 1948, the Gaza Strip, the Sinai Peninsula up to the Suez Canal, and the Golan Heights. Israel stated that it would not withdraw from these areas, whose boundaries were determined by the cease-fire agreements of June 10, 1967, until peace treaties were concluded that would assure her of agreed and secure frontiers. The government of Israel also made it clear that it did not regard the previous armistice demarcation lines as secure frontiers and would not return to the boundaries that existed before the Six-Day War. In its acceptance of the American peace initiative in the middle of 1970, the Israel government expressed readiness for withdrawal "to secure and recognized borders" as part of a permanent peace settlement, without specifying which territories it would be prepared to evacuate in return for peace. The attitude of the Arabs and their supporters, on the other hand, was that Israel must evacuate all the territories occupied in the June 1967 war. According to some other states, the principle of secure boundaries implied that the frontiers must differ from those that existed before the war, "without reflecting the weight of conquest" (see also Israel, State of: Historical Survey, The Armistice Demarcation Lines, in the Frontiers section).

Jerusalem. According to the partition scheme, the city of Jerusalem and its environs were to constitute a *corpus separatum*, administered by the United Nations under a special international regime as part of the economic union. During the first ten years of the international regime, the UN Trusteeship Council was to consider the problem in the light of the experience gained in the meantime. The Jewish Agency agreed to the internationalization proposal in 1947 under protest, since it was an inseparable part of the partition plan, but the Arabs categorically rejected it. Jerusalem became the scene of bitter fighting, which the UN was unable to prevent. In the armistice agreement with Transjordan, the demarcation line bisected the city, the Old City and the eastern neighborhoods being held by Jordan and the New City by Israel. Mount Scopus constituted an Israeli enclave; Article 8 of the agreement provided for free Israeli access to the Jewish institutions (the Hebrew University and the Hadassah Hospital) on Mount Scopus and to the Western ("Wailing") Wall. The UN, however, did not abandon the idea of internationalization, and on Dec. 9, 1949, the General Assembly decided that Jerusalem would be placed under a permanent international regime, calling upon the Trusteeship Council to complete the preparation of a constitution for the city. Israel vigorously opposed the idea, since it had been proved to be impracticable, would be a denial of the basic rights of the Jewish population, and would imperil their safety. It was prepared to agree to "functional" internationalization, i.e., the establishment of an international regime for the holy places alone. In reaction to the Assembly resolution, Israel decided to establish its capital in Jerusalem and transfer the Knesset and most of the government offices to the city. The transfer was completed in a few weeks (though the Foreign Ministry did not make the move until 1953 and the Ministry of Defense remained housed in Tel Aviv).

The Trusteeship Council soon arrived at the conclusion that the Assembly plan for territorial internationalization was impracticable. At the autumn 1950 Assembly, Sweden proposed the revision of the previous decision and its replacement by functional internationalization, but the proposal did not receive the necessary two-thirds majority. A Belgian proposal to reiterate the previous decision met with the same fate. On the plane of UN resolutions, therefore, a dead end had been reached, but the 1949 resolution remained formally in force. Accordingly, many countries refused to recognize Jerusalem as Israel's capital or to transfer their missions to it; their representatives sometimes even boycotted official ceremonies there. In the course of time, however, more and more countries acquiesced to the situation, and in 1970, 22 states maintained their diplomatic missions in Jerusalem, while 25 still kept them in the Tel Aviv area, and nine had nonresident missions.

In the Six-Day War, after the Jordanians had started a heavy bombardment of Jewish Jerusalem and occupied the headquarters of the UN Truce Supervision Organization in the zone between the armistice lines, heavy battles developed, and by the third day of the war (June 7) the whole of the city was in the hands of the Israel Defense Forces. Under an amendment to the Municipalities Ordinance passed by the Knesset on June 27, the city was reunified on the following day. In July 1967 the General Assembly adopted two resolutions calling on Israel to annul the steps taken to unify the city, and a similar resolution was adopted in 1968 by the Security Council. However, Israeli public opinion was united in its determination to preserve the unity of Jerusalem as Israel's capital.

Throughout the existence of the armistice regime, Jordan had refused to comply with Article 8 of the agreement, despite all the efforts of Israel and the United Nations. Israeli Jews were not permitted to approach the Western Wall, and the Hebrew University and Hadassah buildings on Mount Scopus were derelict and only Israel police guards, relieved every two weeks by UN convoys, were permitted to protect them. Extraordinary efforts by Dag Hammarskjöld, then secretary-general of the UN, were required in 1958 to obtain permission for the removal of the university's books and collections, and the Jews returned to the Western Wall, the Old City, and Mount Scopus only after the Six-Day War. On July, 27, 1967, a few weeks after the end of the fighting, the Knesset enacted the Law for the Protection of the Holy Places and Israel protected the holy places of all faiths, in close cooperation with their religious leaders.

The Arab Refugee Problem. More than any other aspect of Arab-Israel relations (apart from military clashes), it was the Arab refugee problem that occupied international public opinion in the period between the establishment of the state and the Six-Day War. As early as Dec. 11, 1948 – prior to the signing of the Armistice Agreements – the UN General Assembly adopted a resolution dealing with the question, among others. The Arabs insisted upon the right of the refugees to return to their homes and made no attempt to conceal their hope and intention of using the masses of returning refugees as a force to bring about the destruction of the State of Israel. Israel pointed out that it was not she who had created the problem, but rather the Arab leaders, who had urged the Arab masses to leave the area that was to become the Jewish state; that Israel could not be expected to absorb a hostile population: that, on the other hand, Israel had provided a home for hundreds of thousands of Jews from Arab countries and thus an exchange of population – albeit unplanned – had in fact taken place.

When the Palestine Conciliation Commission began its work, Israel declared its readiness to take the far-reaching step of permitting the return of 100,000 refugees; this offer, however, was withdrawn when the Commission failed to bring about a meeting of the two parties. However, Israel did confirm its willingness to pay compensation for the property the refugees had left behind, irrespective of and before the conclusion of peace, provided the Arabs would put an end to their economic warfare against the state. This offer met with no response from the Arab states, who continued to insist upon the refugees' right to return to their homes; nor did they respond to the unilateral steps like the unfreezing of refugee bank accounts in Israel banks. Thus the debate was repeated year after year, the Arabs attacking Israel and the latter claiming that it was not the fate of the refugees with which the Arab states were concerned, but rather the destruction of Israel (see Israel, State of: Historical Survey, section on Arab Refugees).

Boycott and Blockade. Arab political warfare against Israel was accompanied by economic warfare: not only did the Arab states impose a boycott on Israel and its products, but they also attempted to strangle its economy by persuading other countries not to maintain economic relations with Israel. The Arab boycott organization boycotted companies that had established enterprises in Israel, invested there, or entered into partnership with Israeli firms, and blacklisted ships that called at Israel ports and even airlines running regular flights to Israel. At first the boycott registered some success, but as time went on its effect wore off as a result of Israel's economic growth and the determined action taken by some countries against the activities of the boycott offices. Only firms for whom trade with the Arab countries was of overriding importance gave in to Arab threats and refrained from setting up commercial ties with Israel. Thus the boycott ceased to be an effective weapon (see also *Boycott, Arab). Much more serious was the effect of the maritime blockade. From the very beginning the Suez Canal was closed to Israel shipping and even to ships of other nations bound for Israel ports, and as a rule cargoes en route to Israel were confiscated, although in 1951 the Security Council ruled that this practice was illegal and called upon Egypt to desist from it. Egypt paid no heed to the call. Moreover, at the beginning of the 1950s, Egypt closed the Tiran Straits to Israel shipping and to foreign ships bound for Eilat. As a result of the Sinai Campaign, freedom of passage was established in the Tiran Straits and maintained by the presence of the UN Emergency Force. It was the expulsion of that force by Egypt and the reimposition of the blockade of the straits in May 1967 that were the direct cause of the Six-Day War.

From War to Peace. The period 1970–73 was marked by almost full observance of the cease-fire along Israel's entire frontier. Israel agreed to return to the talks with Gunnar Jarring, the UN emissary, on Dec. 28, 1970, and Jarring returned to Israel in another attempt to break the deadlock. On Feb. 8, 1971, he requested Israel to commit itself to complete withdrawal to the Mandatory border and Egypt to enter into a peace agreement with Israel. Israel maintained that it was desirous of negotiating an agreement on secure and recognized borders but refused to agree in advance to withdraw to the old border, while Egypt insisted that it would consider peace with Israel only if the latter would implement Resolution 242 in all its parts. Egypt saw no need for negotiations as it felt the resolution could be automatically implemented. This Israel refused to accept, with the result that the stalemate continued and the Jarring mission was suspended.

Efforts were now directed towards reaching a partial solution for the re-opening of the Suez Canal. Israel had put forward a proposal to this effect in 1968 and on February 4, 1971, President Sadat returned to the idea, but linked a partial Israeli withdrawal from the east bank of the Canal with an overall withdrawal. Israel was willing to accept the re-opening of the waterway and this was the focus of the talks held during the visit, in May 1971, of the U.S. Secretary of State William Rogers. The talks failed, however, as Egypt insisted that the partial withdrawal be tied to a timetable for full withdrawal; Israel retorted that the interim agreement should remain unlinked with the fundamental issues. The U.S. government argued that the interim solution was a step in the right direction. In the course of 1971–1973 fruitless negotiations continued on this proposal.

Meanwhile there were important developments in the other Arab states. Jordan, which had succeeded in removing the PLO threat already in September 1970, expelled the remnants of the PLO forces in summer of 1971 and they went to Syria and Lebanon. The latter country became the staging area and base of operations against Israel and Israeli personnel and installations abroad.

Preventive Israeli counter-action in Lebanon hurt terrorist plans and was able to reduce their operations effectively. But the PLO continued to attack Israeli targets and forced Israel to devote manpower and an increasing budget to fight off this type of warfare, which was aided and abetted by most of the Arab states.

In 1971–73 Egypt was already making preparations for war. Its relations with the Soviet Union were often strained because of Russia's refusal to supply it with advanced weapons. Sadat had hoped that war threats would bring American pressure on Israel to withdraw. Instead, U.S. policy of rapprochement with both China and detente with the U.S.S.R., as well as the end of the Vietnam War, ushered in a new era of strengthening its friends and seeking diplomatic solutions for conflicts. The U.S. and Russia sought to avoid another war in the Middle East and in two Nixon-Brezhnev summit meetings, both super-powers appealed to Israel and Egypt to renew the Jarring mission and seek a peaceful settlement of the Israel-Arab conflict. The U.S. continued to arm Israel and provide it with economic aid. Israel and the U.S. cooperated in bringing an end to the Syrian invasion of Jordan in September 1970 and the relations between the two were very close. The new situation lulled Israel into a false sense of security. Sadat was determined to demonstrate that a limited war would be the only means of destroying the existing status quo which, while comfortable for Israel, was becoming unbearable for Egypt. He felt that only a war would force the U.S. to pressure Israel and would leave the Soviet Union no other option but to aid Egypt.

There was little diplomatic activity in 1973, and Israel's major concern was the fight against terrorism. But in May 1973, Egypt and Syrian forces made threatening moves and a state of alarm was declared in Israel. It proved, however, to have been false, and this strengthened Israel's feeling that there would be no imminent war. By late summer 1973, while Israel was engaged in an election campaign, Egypt and Syrian forces were deployed in battle positions. In late September Egypt informed the Soviet Union of its intention to attack, and on Oct. 6, 1973, as Israel was observing the Day of Atonement, Egypt and Syria struck (see *Yom Kippur War).

As a result of the war, Israel became isolated in the world. The majority of the African states suspended diplomatic ties with it; the European nations issued pro-Arab statements, the oil embargo was effective in frightening them to submit to Arab demands. The U.S. felt that the time was ripe for a major diplomatic offensive to break the deadlock that had led to the war. Israel and the U.S. now agreed that, before proceeding to negotiations, the first move should be the stabilization of the cease fire that was being repeatedly violated by all sides. U.S. mediation secured the signing of the Six Point Agreement on November 1, 1973, negotiated directly by Israeli and Egyptian officers. The agreement dealt with exchange of prisoners, the lifting of the naval blockade from the Straits of Bab el Mandeb, supply convoys to the encircled Third Army, and a UN presence. The point dealing with withdrawal of forces to positions they held on October 22 was not implemented. The U.S. having gained the confidence of Egypt, was determined to proceed directly to talks, but was desirous of maintaining the overall initiative in its own hands. It was thus decided to call for a peace conference in Geneva to establish a mechanism for the negotiations. At the request of the U.S., Israel agreed in advance to enter into talks for a disengagement of forces agreement, and was able to gain an American agreement not to include the PLO in the conference. Israel refused to commit itself in advance to disengagement on the Golan front, with the result that Syria boycotted the conference which opened on December 21, under the chairmanship of UN Secretary-General Waldheim, with the participation of Israel, Egypt, Jordan, the U.S., and the U.S.S.R. The main tangible result of the conference was the decision on a consensus basis to order an Israeli-Egyptian military working group to reach a separation of forces agreement. This was achieved on Jan. 18, 1974, after ten days of shuttle diplomacy by Secretary Kissinger, when the agreement was signed by the chiefs of staff of the IDF and the Egyptian Army. Even before this agreement was concluded and implemented, preparations were under way for a similar Israel-Syria agreement. This was part of a new American strategy of a "step-by-step" approach to the solution of the Arab-Israel conflict. The U.S. realized that the time was not ripe for an overall settlement in view of Israel's refusal to withdraw to the June 1967 lines and the inability of the Arabs to conceive of peace relations between them and Israel. Hoping to utilize the situation to improve America's standing in the Arab world, remove the Soviet influence, and secure the flow of oil to the West, the U.S. was able to persuade Israel and Syria to agree to reach an agreement, but a month of shuttle diplomacy by Secretary Kissinger between Jerusalem and Damascus failed to achieve it. The agreement was finally signed in Geneva on May 31, 1974. New cease fire lines and buffer zones were established and areas of limitation of forces and armaments were agreed upon, to be supervised by UN forces whose mandate was to be renewed periodically by the Security Council.

The Rabin government, which took office on June 3, 1974, was determined not to negotiate with the PLO and in July issued a statement to the effect that Israel was willing to negotiate an agreement with Jordan based on the existence of two states, Israel and a Palestinian-Jordanian state to the east. American efforts to secure Israel-Jordan talks failed in the summer of 1974. The PLO was gaining momentum; it was recognized by the UN General Assembly as the spokesman for the Palestinians and later, in the Arab summit conference at Rabat in October 1974, as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinians to set up a national authority in areas that would be given up by Israel. This effectively removed Jordan from the scene and thus left Egypt as the only candidate for further negotiations.

Talks between Israel and the U.S. were renewed in the fall of 1974, after the resignation of President Nixon and the accession of President Ford. They focused on another agreement with Egypt. By then Dr. Kissinger had established close working relations with President Sadat, and Egypt pinned high hopes on him. In late 1974 and early 1975 Israel announced its willingness to withdraw from the Mitla and Gidi passes in Sinai and even from the Abu Rodeis oilfields in return for an Egyptian declaration of nonbelligerency. In March 1975 Kissinger undertook another shuttle trip, but on March 24 had to admit failure, as Egypt refused to agree to the Israeli demands. The U.S. blamed Israel for the failure of the talks, but a few weeks later, when cooler counsels prevailed, the parties resumed the talks which lasted all that summer and were crowned with an Israel-Egypt agreement signed on September 1, 1975. The agreement involved Israeli withdrawal further east, the establishment of a new buffer zone that included the Mitla and Gidi passes, electronic surveillance stations by both Israel and Egypt, supported by a U.S. surveillance team to supervise the movement of forces in this area, a UN presence and a new limited forces zone.

Israel was able to win from the U.S. commitments not to recognize the PLO, to coordinate in advance with it new political initiatives such as a Geneva Peace Conference, the sale of additional weapons, financial aid, and assurances on the supply of oil. This was considered a major achievement for the Rabin government, which now felt that it could devote more attention to the home front, having satisfied most of the U.S. demands. No progress was made with either Syria or Jordan. The cease fire lines, however, remained quiet, and in 1976, for the first time in its history, there were no Israeli casualties along the borders. The civil war in Lebanon gave Israel a respite and brought it closer to Christian Lebanese elements, which were fighting both Palestinian elements and the Syrian army. In 1976 Israel could therefore feel that its position was strong. Civil war in Lebanon kept the Arab world focused on that country, Egypt was satisfied with the Interim Agreement, while Syria was occupied with Lebanon. The U.S. was engaged in an election campaign and the European States, while not happy with the political situation in the Middle East, nevertheless granted Israel the status of an Associate Member of the Common Market. Israel did not fare well in the UN however. In a series of General Assembly resolutions, the PLO was recognized, as stated, as the sole and legitimate representative of the Palestinians. The "legitimate and just demands" of the Palestinians were also recognized and in November 1975 Zionism was branded as a form of "racism and racial discrimination." In the U.S., too, there were voices calling for a reappraisal of the U.S. position on the Palestinians. In a series of documents, the State Department slowly focused the Arab-Israel conflict on the Palestinian issue and suggested the possibility of a separate Palestinian state, in order to prepare public opinion, to mollify Egypt, and to keep the peace initiative in the Middle East in American hands. These moves alarmed Israel as they went counter to the understanding reached in September 1975.

In 1974–1977 terrorist activities continued, the targets being mainly civilians. On May 15, 1974, PLO terrorists attacked a school at Ma'alot killing 27 people, mostly children and teenagers. Other attacks were on a Tel Aviv hotel in March 1976, Zion Square in Jerusalem in July 1976, and on Israeli installations abroad. The Israel air force often bombed terrorist bases in Lebanon, thus keeping down the number of planned attacks.

The main efforts following the signing of the Israel-Egypt peace treaty were to promote the normalization of the relations between the two countries. For that purpose, joint committees, consisting of Foreign Ministry and IDF officers and their Egyptian counterparts negotiated a series of agreements dealing with the opening of the land border at El-Arish for civilian traffic, the inauguration of direct flights between Tel Aviv and Cairo, the creation of telephone and telex linkage, and arrangements for tourism. Simultaneously, the IDF began its withdrawal from Sinai. The first part was completed, according to the agreement, by January 26, 1980, and on that date, the Israel ambassador to Egypt and the Egyptian ambassador to Israel presented their credentials and the respective embassies were opened. President Sadat visited Beersheba in May 1979 and Haifa in September, while Prime Minister Begin held talks with Sadat in Alexandria in July 1979 and met with the Egyptian leaders in Aswan in January 1980. Among other visitors to Egypt were the deputy prime minister, and the ministers of defense, foreign affairs, agriculture, commerce and industry, and senior civil servants. There were considerably fewer high-level visitors from Egypt to Israel.

The normalization proceeded very slowly although a series of agreements were initialed, among them on tourism, communication, civil aviation, agriculture and trade. There arose serious difficulties however in the actual implementation of these agreements, with Egypt raising many bureaucratic difficulties, including a long wait for entry visas for Israeli tourists. Some progress was made during the visit of President Navon to Egypt in November 1980. He addressed the Egyptian ruling party leadership, held lengthy talks with editors, writers and professors, as well as political figures. Speaking in fluent Arabic, his visit was a definite turning point in the relations with Egypt.

There was no progress in the talks on the institution of autonomy in the West Bank and Gaza, due to serious disagreements between Israel, on the one hand, and Egypt and the U.S. on the other. The latter felt that Israel must withdraw its military forces from the territories, give up its control over public land and water resources, halt Jewish settlement, include East Jerusalem in the autonomous area and grant the franchise not only to Arabs living in East Jerusalem but even to Palestinians living in the East Bank of the Jordan. Israel objected and the talks stalled. Efforts by Special Ambassador Sol Linowitz of the U.S. to find a formula that would satisfy the conflicting stand of the parties failed.

Even the involvement of President Carter in the process did not help. The U.S. presidential elections froze the negotiations, the progress of which was hampered by the refusal of Jordan and the local Palestinians to participate in the talks.

In other matters affecting foreign affairs, the peace treaty failed to improve Israel's standing in the third world. Not a single African country which had suspended diplomatic relations with Israel in 1973 made an overt effort to restore them. They continued to vote against Israel in the UN and in other international forums. The nine European members of the Common Market all but opposed the Camp David Agreements and the peace treaty. In a series of resolutions, chiefly that of Venice of June 1980, they proposed their own plan providing for total Israeli withdrawal to the 1967 lines, the establishment of a Palestinian state, and the creation of a European military force to oversee the borders of Israel. These were rejected out of hand by Israel, which charged Europe with tampering with the peace treaty.

Developments in the Middle East, chiefly the invasion of Afghanistan by Soviet forces and the Iran-Iraq war, deflected attention from the immediate Arab-Israel conflict and somewhat eased the pressure off Israel. Nevertheless, it did not prevent the UN General Assembly from passing, in December 1980, a series of violently anti-Israel resolutions which were approved by a massive majority. Among them were calls for amending Resolution 242, for immediate and total Israeli withdrawal from all the territories including East Jerusalem and the halting of settlements. There was a demand that the Security Council impose economic sanctions on Israel.

Following the adoption of the Jerusalem Law in the fall of 1980, all the remaining embassies moved from Jerusalem to Tel Aviv in protest. Turkey reduced the number of its diplomats in Israel and demanded a similar reduction by Israel. Threats were made in an effort to dissuade Israel from annexing the Golan Heights.

Relations with the United States were marked by many areas of agreement, among them the Camp David Agreements, the peace treaty, the need to maintain a balance of power in the region, the need to keep Jerusalem united (but not as Israel's capital with Israeli sovereignty over the entire city). There were agreements concerning water rights and freedom of navigation and the U.S. continued to remain the major arms supplier to Israel, but differences of opinion loomed over such issues as the future of the Palestinians, the future borders of Israel, the problem of Jerusalem, Israel's activities in southern Lebanon, Israeli settlements in the territories, American arms sales to Saudi Arabia, Jordan and Egypt, and the preference accorded to Egypt in the American strategic thinking for the Middle East. There was concern at the end of 1980 that the newly elected President Reagan might want to make some changes in the Camp David Agreements that could pave the way to a Palestinian state in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip.

Israeli foreign aid continued, especially in Latin America, and a large number of trainees from developing countries continued their studies in Israeli institutions.

The year 1981 witnessed Israel's continued isolation in the world, its growing dependence on the U.S., and gnawing doubts about the future of the peace treaty in the wake of the Sadat assassination on October 6. While plans for the final withdrawal from Sinai were being prepared, the government came under increasing pressure from various groups in Israel to reconsider its commitments under the 1979 peace treaty. There were, however, a number of agreements signed between Israel and Egypt that led many Israelis to hope that Egypt would honor its commitments after Israel returned all of Sinai.

Relations with the European nations remained chilly, and were exacerbated by verbal attacks by Prime Minister Begin who, during the heat of the election campaign lashed out against Chancellor Schmidt of Germany, Chancellor Kreisky of Austria, Prime Minister Thatcher of Britain, and other European leaders. They responded to the attacks and relations soured. Israel continued to oppose the Venice Declaration of the "Nine" and conditioned the participation of the forces of four European nations in the international peace keeping force in Sinai to a European proclamation that the force would observe the implementation of the Israel-Egypt peace treaty, and not the Venice Declaration. At year's end there was no certainty that the Europeans would participate in the force. Relations with France improved somewhat in December following the visit to Israel of Foreign Minister Cheysson. But the Golan Law chilled the ties again.

Improved ties with some African nations were reported in November, following a secret visit to Zaire, Gabon, and the Central African Republic by Defense Minister Sharon and the signing of agreements for the sale of Israeli weapons. But hopes for the early resumption of diplomatic ties were dashed after the passage of the Golan Law in December 1981.

Relations with the United States were mostly strained during 1981. The U.S. did not hide its hope that Israel would have a new government after the June 30 elections. However, when Mr. Begin was returned to power, he paid an official visit to Washington where he was greeted warmly by President Reagan. During this visit the ground was laid for the signing of an Israel-U.S. memorandum of understanding on strategic cooperation, designed to coordinate actions against the Soviet Union or forces directed by that power in the region. The agreement was signed by Defense Minister Sharon and Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger in Washington at the end of November. Following the Knesset law annexing the Golan Heights on December 14, the U.S. suspended the meetings of the joint U.S.-Israel working teams designed to give the agreement contents, and linking them with progress in the autonomy talks, continued quiet in Lebanon, and other issues. Israel retorted by declaring that the memorandum of understanding was frozen for the time being. This, together with the U.S. displeasure over the Israeli bombing of an Iraqi nuclear facility near Baghdad on June 7 and the bombing of the PLO headquarters in Beirut a month later, and the passage of the bill to sell U.S.-made AWACS and other advanced equipment to Saudi Arabia, considerably soured the relations between the two countries.

By the end of 1981, strenuous efforts were being made by both Israel and the U.S. to restore their dialogue and improve relations. Yet, a residue of bitterness remained and the formerly pro-Israel U.S. public opinion was slowly turning against Israel. U.S. Jewry was also asking questions as to the wisdom and timing of certain Israeli moves.

The decade of the 1980s began with Israel's international standing and image seriously tarnished by the war in Lebanon, and ended, in 1991 and 1992 in a major breakthrough on the international arena, the beginning of a peace process, and the acceptance of Israel by major powers which had traditionally shunned it, among them China and India. Israel also resumed diplomatic ties with nations which had broken them in 1967 (Eastern European nations) and in 1973 (most of the African nations). In spite of repeated periods of strain, Israel-American relations remained very friendly and a close strategic cooperation marked the ties in many spheres. There was also a noted improvement in Israel's economic performance. Two rescue operations which brought to Israel over 30,000 Ethiopian Jews, and the beginning of massive immigration from the Soviet Union restored Israel to its proclaimed role as a haven for oppressed Jews.

The peace process which began in 1977 following Egyptian President Anwar Sadat's visit to Jerusalem, the Camp David Accords (1978), and the Israel-Egypt Peace Treaty (1979), was halted when Egypt suspended the talks on the implementation of the Camp David interim autonomy regime for the West Bank and Gaza (1981). Shortly after that President Sadat was assassinated in Cairo. His successor, Hosni Mubarak, was busy building his own regime and waiting for the last Israeli soldier and settler to evacuate Sinai. This was done on April 26, 1982. Two months later, the Israel Defense Forces (IDF) entered Lebanon to destroy the PLO power base there, to seek the creation of a unified central government in Lebanon, and sign a peace treaty with it. Above all, Israel wanted to protect Galilee from PLO attacks that stemmed from Lebanon despite a cease fire agreement which was brokered by the United States in July 1981. The war in Lebanon generated much ill-will for Israel in the international media. Exaggerated reports on the number of Lebanese and Palestinian civilian casualties as well as physical destruction of cities and refugee camps placed Israel on the defensive. Domestic Israeli opposition to the war also helped Israel's detractors to portray that country as an aggressor. The siege of West Beirut and the massacre in the Sabra and Shatilla camps carried out by the Phalange (Christian Lebanese Forces) resulted in an outcry against Israel. Egypt withdrew its ambassador from Tel Aviv, and the Security Council adopted a number of condemnatory resolutions. When the dust settled down, it was American diplomacy which once again was instrumental in arranging for an agreement to end the state of war between lsrael and Lebanon and create a security zone for Israel in southern Lebanon. It even called for the establishment of diplomatic ties between Jerusalem and Beirut. When a peace treaty was actualized, although it fell short of the one Prime Minister Begin wanted, it was an important milestone. It was based on the assumption that all foreign forces, among them the Syrian forces, would leave Lebanon. When this did not happen, it was clear that the agreement was invalid. Nine months after it was signed (January 13, 1984), the Lebanese parliament failed to approve it and it lapsed.

For the next two years, 1983 and 1984, Israel sought ways to maintain a military presence in Lebanon, while keeping the number of its casualties to the minimum and attempting to refrain from becoming involved in ethnic strife. The government of Yiẓḥak Shamir, which took office in September 1983 following the resignation of Prime Minister Begin a month earlier, sought ways and means to extricate the IDF from Lebanon, but felt that it could not do so unless peace was ensured for Galilee. Meanwhile there was no progress on the negotiations for autonomy for the Palestinians. Relations with various European and Latin American nations soured as a result of Israel's Lebanese involvement. The Government of National Unity, which came into being in September 1984 under Shimon Peres, placed as its central foreign policy objectives the continuation of the peace process, consolidation of the peace with Egypt, and withdrawal of the IDF from Lebanon, while insuring the security of the northern settlements. The government would also strive to restore links with the Soviet Union and African and Latin American states that had suspended such ties. At the top of the agenda was the fostering and deepening of the relations of friendship and understanding with the U.S.

The first priority was the withdrawal of the IDF from Lebanon. This was achieved in three stages in the course of 1985, leaving a security zone in southern Lebanon manned by pro-Israeli Southern Lebanese Army units. Parallel to this track, efforts were made to settle outstanding issues with Egypt. The issue of Taba, a small border area which was a thorn in the ties between the two nations, was resolved in 1988 after years of protracted negotiations and international arbitration when Israel agreed to turn Taba over to Egypt, which reappointed its ambassador to Tel Aviv. However, efforts to inject some warmth into Israel-Egyptian relations were, on the whole, unsuccessful. Egypt preferred to maintain a cold peace between the two governments and objected to attempts to create people-to-people ties. The military arrangements of the peace treaty were usually adhered to by both parties.

The major difficulty was over the Palestinian issue. Prime Minister Peres sought to break the stand-off, but was unable to convince his Likud partners over the modalities and procedures required to achieve progress. While Labor and Likud agreed that in the future, under any circumstances, the Jordan River must be Israel's security border in the East, Jerusalem must never be divided or placed under foreign rule and would remain Israel's capital, there would be no Palestinian state between the Mediterranean Sea and the desert, there would be no negotiations with the PLO, and the Israeli settlements in the territories would remain under Israeli jurisdiction, there were disagreements on how to proceed. Peres hoped that Israel would be able to negotiate with local Palestinian leaders who would be part of the Jordanian-Palestinian delegation but would not include Arabs from East Jerusalem and the Palestinian diaspora. He was not averse to an international "event" or "happening" to mark the opening of the negotiations, before moving on to face-to-face talks with the Arab states and the Palestinians. The aim of the talks would be to implement the autonomy regime for a five-year transition period. Various contacts between Israeli leaders and King Hussein of Jordan convinced Peres that Jordan would accept such an arrangement, which was finally agreed upon in a secret meeting in London between Peres and Rabin and King Hussein (April 11, 1987).

The agreement, however, was not accepted by the Likud, which vetoed it in the inner cabinet. The Likud's position consisted of vehement opposition to an international event of any sort, to the participation of the European Economic Community and the United Nations, to Soviet involvement, and even to American mediation. The Likud objected to the concept of "Land for Peace" which Labor was prepared to follow, and championed the concept of "Peace for Peace." An important event took place in July 1986, when Premier Peres paid an official visit to Morocco as guest of King Hassan II. While no concrete results were achieved, here was another Arab state that was prepared to deal openly with Israel. A major role was played by the United States in efforts to resume the stalled peace process. The Reagan Administration, mainly in the person of Secretary of State George Shultz, devised many formulae to close the gap between the Israeli and the Arab positions. But it was evident that King Hussein could not make an independent move without the approval of Syria and the PLO. Syria, still heavily dependent on the Soviet Union for military, economic, and political support, adhered to the Soviet line that called for the resolution of the Arab-Israel conflict on the basis of various United Nations resolutions through an international conference chaired by both the Soviet Union and the United States. In the second half of the 1980s there was little pressure on Israel to make concessions to the Arabs. The Middle East was wracked by the Iraq-Iran war, the military situation along the Israel-Lebanon border was quiet, the peace treaty with Egypt was working, and the Palestinians in the areas were relatively quiet. In 1988 both Israel and the United States held elections, and the issue of the peace process was shelved for the duration of the election campaigns. The onset of the *intifada* (Palestinian uprising) in December 1987 and the decision of the Reagan Administration to enter into a dialogue with the PLO in December 1988 placed Israel in a difficult position, forcing its government to come up with a new peace plan. This initiative, announced on May 14, 1989, called for negotiations with Palestinians for an interim agreement based on the Camp David autonomy plan. At the end of a five-year transition period, discussions would be held for the final resolution of the issues. The U.S. welcomed the plan as a very useful step, but both the PLO and King Hussein rejected it. In an effort to move the process forward, U.S. Secretary of State James Baker devised a five-point plan in October 1989 calling for Israeli-Palestinian dialogue in Cairo. The next problem was how to put together a list of Palestinian delegates acceptable to all. Shamir objected to East Jerusalem and "Palestinian Diaspora" delegates while Peres was prepared to be more conciliatory on the issue. The problem brought down the government of National Unity in March 1990. There was little movement while Shamir constituted his new government, and when the parties were ready to state their positions, the Iraqi dictator Saddam Hussein had invaded Kuwait (August 2, 1990) plunging the Middle East into a major crisis which dwarfed the Arab-Israel conflict.

As the United States began to build its anti-Iraqi coalition, which included Syria, Egypt, Saudi Arabia, and the Gulf States, Israel feared that Washington would link the resolution of the Iraqi crisis to that of the Arab-Israel conflict and would make concessions at Israel's expense to maintain its war coalition. In a number of high level meetings in Washington between Prime Minister Shamir, Defense Minister Arens, and senior members of the Bush administation, agreement on military and strategic cooperation was reached and greater coordination arranged. Israel was assured that no deals would be made at its expense. Meanwhile, the PLO lost much credibility in the West when it openly supported Iraq's invasion of Kuwait. The PLO was joined by Yemen, Libya and Algeria. Palestinians in the territories, then in the third year of the *intifada*, also hoped for an Iraqi victory. King Hussein quietly supported Iraq, although he was warned by Israel that entry of Iraqi forces into Jordan would be seen by Israel as a *casus belli*. Israel began to realize that war was imminent and took measures to prepare its civilian population for such an eventuality.

The allied victory over Iraq ushered in a new era for the Middle East. Futhermore, the collapse of the Soviet Union deprived Syria and other Arab states of their military, political, and economic backer, leaving the United States as the sole super power in the region. New thinking was the order of the day. For the Arabs, it was evident that the main threats to their stability and political regimes were Iran, Iraq, and Islamic fundamentalism, leaving Israel as their fourth perceived danger. It was also clear to them that another Middle Eastern war would be fought with non-conventional weapons, unleashing mutual destruction. The Middle East had entered into the era of a regional balance of terror. The United States sought to reorganize the defense of the Middle East and of its own economic and strategic interests, insuring an uninterrupted supply of oil and helping its allies thwart the dangers of Islamic fundamentalism. Israel emerged from the war bruised, sustaining 39 Scud missile attacks from Iraq, which caused few casualties but much damage in the greater Tel Aviv and Haifa regions and paralyzed the country for some three weeks. Israel's economic vulnerability and dependence on the U.S. were exposed. For the first time in its history it did not engage in preventive war or a pre-emptive strike or retaliatory action, acceding to the request of the United States not to become militarily involved in the war. It allowed the stationing on its territory of American, Dutch, and German soldiers who were manning Patriot anti-missile missiles. The Palestinians emerged from the war badly hurt. Some 350,000 Palestinians were expelled from Kuwait in the wake of the war; the PLO was totally discredited in the West; Palestinians in the areas who supported Iraq were in despair. The Soviet Union, preoccupied with its own internal affairs, was content to let the United States manage the restructuring of the Middle East peace process as long as it was kept in the picture formally as an equal partner.

Between March and October 1991, Secretary of State James Baker visited the Middle East eight times in order to prepare the ground for the resumption of the peace process. The breakthrough came when in July, Syria agreed to attend a peace conference and negotiate directly with Israel. It was agreed that a Palestinian delegation would formally be part of the Jordanian delegation. The U.S. and the Soviet Union would be co-chairmen of the peace conference which was to commence in a ceremonial event and continue in a series of bilateral and multilateral talks. The latter would deal with issues of water, refugees, disarmament, economic development, and environment. The bilateral talks were to focus on borders (withdrawal), the nature of peace, security arrangements, and economic issues. The letter of invitation to the Madrid Peace Conference (October 30, 1991) spelled out the terms of reference under which the Palestinian issue would be discussed; at its core was the creation of a five-year autonomy regime. A final settlement and the issue of Jerusalem were not to be discussed at this stage. Eight rounds of talks took place in Washington in the course of 1991 and 1992, which defined the issues but did not achieve any concrete results. The peace process, however, had become a reality in the Middle East.

Parallel to this development, there was a major improvement of Israel's international standing. Already in the 1980s relations were resumed with a number of African nations starting with Zaire and the Ivory Coast. As Eastern Europe freed itself from Soviet domination in the late 1980s, Israel resumed diplomatic relations with Poland, Hungary, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, and on the eve of the Madrid Conference with the Soviet Union. Israel conditioned UN participation in the peace process on the revocation of the infamous General Assembly Resolution 3379 (Zionism = Racism) and this was done on

December 16, 1991. On the Asian continent, full diplomatic ties were established with China and India, an embassy was opened in South Korea, and there was a major improvement in Israel-Japan relations, with more Japanese companies defying the Arab economic boycott and selling directly to Israel. Contacts with Vietnam were entered into while the Israeli ambassador was also named ambassador to Outer Mongolia. The breakup of the Soviet Union into the 16 republics of the Commonwealth of Independent States resulted in the establishment of Israeli diplomatic representations in the Ukraine, Belarus, and the Baltic States, Kazakhstan, and Kirghizia in addition to the Russian Republic.

Relations with the United States were on the whole close and friendly. Israel and the United States agreed on certain principles, among them: the peace process would be based on Resolutions 242 and 338; the PLO would not take part; there would be no Palestinian state; Jerusalem would not be divided again; Israel would only be asked to withdraw from the areas in the context of a peace treaty; close military and strategic cooperation would continue; Israel would be entitled to economic and military aid; and the regional balance of power would be maintained in such a manner to insure Israel's qualitative edge. There were also agreements on freedom of navigation and Israel's water rights. But there were also a series of disagreements, among them: Israel's eastern borders, the future of the Golan Heights, and the resolution of the Palestinian issue (the favored American position was the return of the West Bank and Gaza to Jordan and the granting by Jordan of a special status to these areas). There was constant disagreement over the future of Jerusalem, with the U.S. opposed to Israeli sovereignty over Jerusalem. There were arguments over American arms sales to Arab states and Israeli arms sales to various nations, over Israel's nuclear development, over Israel's presence in Lebanon, and over whether Israel or Egypt should play a greater role in the American planning in the Middle East. The main disagreement was over the key issue of the meaning and nature of Israel's security and who would determine its needs. On a number of occasions there was much strain in the personal relations between President Bush and Prime Minister Shamir, considered by the United States as an "ideological" leader, meaning inflexible and rigid. A major problem occurred in December 1988, when the U.S. decided to recognize the PLO and enter into a dialogue with this terrorist organization. This dialogue, however, was suspended in June 1990 when the PLO refused to denounce a terrorist attack on Israel which had been foiled by the IDF. There were also disagreements on the interpretation of the Camp David Accords, the meaning of the balance of power, and the nature of the autonomy plan.

While Israel became an associate member of the European Economic Community and maintained growing economic ties with the nations of Western Europe, there were serious disagreements on the peace process. The EEC's traditional position called for an international peace conference, the creation of a Palestinian state in the areas, and the redivision of Jerusalem. There were constant arguments over the role played by certain European countries in the arming of Iraq and the building of its war machine. The EEC never failed to condemn Israel for its behavior in the areas, and the criticism grew stronger as the *intifada* broke out and Israel took stern measures.

The traditional friendly ties between Israel and the Latin American continent continued, with Israel extending much technical assistance to various states and training a growing number of students from that continent. Similar close relations were maintained with Australia and New Zealand, even while disagreeing on the resolution of the Arab-Israel conflict. President Herzog of Israel traveled extensively during his two terms of office to the U.S., Canada, Britain, France, Holland, Belgium, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Romania, various South American nations, Spain, Australia and New Zealand, Singapore and Sri Lanka.

Jewish communities worldwide continued to be Israel's most loyal and trusted allies. They were thrilled when Israel airlifted Ethiopian Jews in two daring operations (Moses in 1984 and Solomon in 1991),airlifted the Jewish community of Albania (1992), and had begun the herculean task of absorbing the hundreds of thousands of Jews who had begun to stream to its shores from the Soviet Union, once the gates were opened in October 1989. Between that date and April 1993, some 425,000 Jews arrived in Israel from the former U.S.S.R. Israel was instrumental in getting the Syrian government to allow the emigration of hundreds of the previously besieged members of the Syrian Jewish community and to start the process whereby the remnant of the Jews of Yemen were reunited with families overseas. Yet there were also ongoing debates on the centrality of Israel in Jewish life and on organizational frameworks in which to achieve common goals. The Jewish Agency for Israel continued to be the most effective body for the implementation of the immigration and absorption process, combining in it the Zionist (mainly Israeli) element with the New Zionists (mainly fund raisers) from the diaspora.

One of the major consequences of the peace process, started at the Madrid Peace Conference in October 1991, was the dramatic change in Israel's international position and the network of its diplomatic ties. Before that conference, Israel maintained diplomatic and consular relations with 91 nations, the majority in Europe, North, Central, and Latin America, few in Africa, Asia, and the Far East. Most of the African nations had suspended diplomatic ties with Israel just prior, during, and after the 1973 Yom Kippur War, citing the Arab oil boycott, economic inducements and threats made against their rulers by terrorist Arab groups as the main reasons for doing so. Of the Communist bloc nations, only Romania retained diplomatic ties with Israel after the break of June 1967, when all Eastern European nations followed the Soviet Union and broke off diplomatic ties with Israel.

By early 1995 Israel maintained diplomatic relations with 153 countries (out of the 185 United Nations members), and was represented by an ambassador, minister, or consul, resident and non-resident, in over 100 capitals.

Many factors brought about this development, the origins of which were in the 1980s, but the bulk occurred after the Madrid Peace Conference and were accelerated after the signing, in September 1993, of the Israel-PLO Declaration of Principles.

Resentful over Arab unwillingness to carry out promises made in 1973, mainly in the economic sphere, a number of African leaders reached the conclusion that breaking ties with Israel was counter-productive and brought no appreciable gains. On the contrary, their efforts to obtain economic help were often frustrated by the absence of ties with Israel, a fact cited to them on a number of occasions by international financial organizations. Israel was not there when needed to support their applications for loans and loan guarantees.

Among the first nations to resume ties with Israel in the early 1980s was Zaire. It was followed by the Ivory Coast, Togo, and Kenya. Another reason given by African nations was the change in Israel's relations with South Africa, the end of military ties between both nations since 1987, and, finally, the collapse of the apartheid regime in South Africa and the ascendance of the African National Congress.

In the case of Eastern Europe, the accession of Mikhail Gorbachev to power in 1985, and his decision to pursue a policy based on *perestroika* and *glasnost*, meant that he required vast economic aid from the West to shore up the foundering Soviet economy. He understood that in order to obtain help from the West, and chiefly from the United States, he would have to change the traditional Soviet attitude to Jewish emigration and to Israel. The issue of better relations with the West was linked to freedom of emigration and the restoration of ties with Israel. Israel indicated that it would be prepared to restore diplomatic ties only on condition that the gates of the Soviet Union be opened for Jewish immigration. Arrangements were made to facilitate emigration, first through third countries (such as Hungary, Poland, and Romania), and from 1991 direct to Israel.

Israel and the Soviet Union began negotiations on improvement of relations in the mid-1980s. Russian diplomats admitted to their Israeli counterparts that their decision to break off ties in 1967 had been erroneous and self-defeating. These talks culminated with the decision to re-establish consular relations in 1989. By then, on the eve of the collapse of the Berlin Wall and the bloodless revolutions in all Eastern European nations, it had become evident to the leaders of these countries that in order to bolster their legitimacy, mainly to Western public opinion, they would have to resume ties with Israel. This was done by Hungary, Poland, and Bulgaria even before 1991. President Herzog, Prime Minister Shamir, Finance Minister Peres, and other senior Israeli officials visited the capitals of Eastern Europe, and agreements were signed in various spheres. To some leaders in Eastern Europe, diplomatic ties with Israel was one of the symbols of their release from the Soviet yoke. Poland, Hungary, and Romania facilitated Jewish immigration to Israel. This was done in spite of Arab protests and threats.

In October 1989 the Soviet Union agreed that Jews leaving that country for Israel must go there. Those wishing to travel to other countries had to obtain entry visas to those countries prior to departure. By 1990 more than 200,000 Russian Jewish immigrants had arrived in Israel. Talks were held for the restoration of full diplomatic relations. Israel made it clear to the Soviet government that it could serve as a co-sponsor of the Madrid Peace Conference only if it restored full diplomatic relations, so that there would be symmetry in relations between Russia, Israel, and the Arabs. The Russians agreed, and a day before the opening of the Madrid Peace Conference, both nations announced in Jerusalem the resumption of full diplomatic relations.

The breakup of the former Soviet empire resulted, among other things, in the creation of 15 independent republics called the Commonwealth of Independent States, established in 1992. The leaders of these new republics assumed, rightly or wrongly, that Israel was a very important "door opener" to the West. It was believed that Israel exercised vast influence on the American government and that its contacts, direct or through American Jews, could be used to obtain assistance. Shortly after obtaining their independence, the following republics established full diplomatic ties with Israel: Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Georgia, Kazakhstan, Kirghizstan, Lithuania, Moldavia, Tadjikistan, Turkemanistan, the Ukraine, and Uzbekistan. Israeli embassies were opened, Jewish immigration was permitted, and Jewish Agency emissaries and teachers were allowed to work in those countries with no hindrance. The ties with all of these republics grew considerably warm in the course of visits of senior officials, and the signing of cooperation agreements in the fields of science, technology, agriculture, and education. Israel did exercise some influence in helping these nations obtain assistance from the west. But early high expectations that Israel could do the impossible were not realized, and there was some disappointment as the economic conditions of a number of these republics verged on collapse.

While the Soviet Union disintegrated, it had little time or inclination to deal actively with the affairs of the Middle East. It failed to prevent the Gulf War and played a small role in that conflict. The major role in the Arab-Israel peace process was left to the United States. But when the Yeltsin regime began to consolidate its hold on Russia in late 1991, Russia served notice that it had a large interest in the affairs of the Middle East and that it intended to play a part in the evolution of the peace process. Russia also announced on a number of occasions that it saw itself as the traditional defender of the interests of the Eastern (Greek) Orthodox Church in the Holy Land and was entitled to be consulted on the future of Jerusalem.

Two other countries in Eastern Europe, Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia, also disintegrated. Israel re-established diplomatic ties initially with the Czech republic and later with Slovakia. In the former Yugoslavia, it maintained ties with Serbia and Slovenia. Full diplomatic ties were established with Albania. These enabled the rescue of the tiny Jewish community in that country and their transfer to Israel in 1992.

On the African continent, where Israel had 28 diplomatic missions prior to the break of 1973, more nations requested resumption of relations, arguing that there were no longer any impediments for normalization of ties. Among the African nations which resumed ties with Israel after October 1991 were Angola, Benin, Botswana, Burkina Fasso, Cape Verde, Equatorial Guinea, Eritrea, Gabon, Gambia, Ghana, Guinea Bissau, Lesotho, Madagascar, Mauritius, Mozambique, Namibia, Nigeria, Rwanda, Sao Tome, Senegal, Seychelles, Sierra Leone, Uganda, Zambia, and Zimbabwe. Israel and Ethiopia resumed full diplomatic ties in 1990 and this was of vast significance when "Operation Solomon," which saw the airlifting of 14,500 Ethiopian Jews to Israel, was carried out in May 1991. By 1995 Israel maintained diplomatic ties with 36 nations on the African continent (including Egypt and Morocco). Once again hundreds of African trainees were going to Israel for a variety of courses and Israeli experts were again working in many African nations. In 1994 Israel sent a medical team to help ease the plight of refugees in Rwanda following the civil war in that country.

An even more dramatic change occurred on the Asian continent. Contacts with the People's Republic of China had been maintained since the late 1970s, but they were covert. By 1989 China agreed to the setting up in Beijing of an Israeli scientific mission, the nucleus for an embassy. Full diplomatic relations were established in January 1992 during the visit to China of Foreign Minister David Levy. Subsequent high level visits included the visit of Prime Minister Rabin (in October 1993), Foreign Minister Peres, and other Israel officials. From the Chinese side, the vice premier and foreign minister visited Israel. A growing number of Israeli firms are now represented in the two main Chinese centers – Beijing and Shanghai.

China was followed by Mongolia and later by the three republics of former French Indo-China – Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia. These three sought Israel's help to obtain aid from the West. An Israel embassy was reopened in Seoul in 1992 (it had been closed in 1978 due to budgetary considerations). Similarly, an Israeli consulate general was reopened in Hong Kong in 1987 to facilitate ties with China. There is an Israeli economic office in the Republic of China in Taipei. Israeli offers to sell arms to Taiwan were criticized by Beijing. In 1993 Israel sought to establish direct links with North Korea in order to persuade that country not to sell missiles and nuclear technology to Syria and Iran. The United States objected to these efforts and they were suspended at Washington's request.

There were also changes in ties with some Muslim nations in Asia. On his way home from China in October 1993, Prime Minister Rabin made a stop in Jakarta for talks with Indonesia's President Suharto. There were also attempts to establish contacts with Malaysia, one of whose ministers visited Israel unofficially in 1994. All this resulted in growing numbers of Indonesian and Malaysian tourists to Israel and Israeli nationals were also able to visit Indonesia.

For many years ties with Japan remained formal and cool. At the end of the Gulf War they warmed up considerably. Japan abandoned its policy of accepting the Arab economic boycott on Israel and trade between the two nations rose. Prime Minister Rabin led a large trade mission to Japan (and South Korea) in December 1994. More Japanese firms were investing in Israel and opening offices in Tel Aviv. Asia became the third major export market for Israeli goods, accounting for some 20% of total exports. El Al, the national air carrier, inaugurated direct flights from Ben Gurion Airport to Delhi, Bombay, Bangkok, Hong Kong, and Seoul. Thousands of Asian workers, mainly from Thailand and the Philippines, were working in Israel.

India, which had followed a pro-Arab policy since it recognized Israel in 1950, realized the new international trends and established full diplomatic ties with Israel in early 1992. Commercial and military contacts were considered and there were high levels visits, including one of Foreign Minister Peres in May 1993.

The peace process brought about a revolutionary change in Israel's position in the Middle East. In early 1995 Israel and Jordan opened their respective embassies in Amman and Tel Aviv. In October 1994 Israel opened an office of interests in Rabat, Morocco, and a Moroccan official opened a similar office in Tel Aviv. Talks were held about the opening of a diplomatic representation in Tunisia. Israeli officials visited Tunisia, Oman, and Qatar. Relations with Turkey also warmed up considerably and culminated with the visit to Israel of Prime Minister Cellar in early 1995. Turkey was keen on increasing its economic ties with Israel. By 1994 it had become the favorite vacation spot for Israelis due to low prices and close proximity to Israel. In 1994, some 400,000 Israelis vacationed in Turkey. Cypriot President Glafcos visited Israel in 1994 to further cement ties between the island republic and Israel. Ties with Greece, which had been maintained on the level of a diplomatic mission, were raised to full ambassadorial level. Greece was seen to be displaying a far more evenhanded policy in the Middle East than in the past.

In its relations with the countries of Western Europe, mainly with the members of the European Union (formerly European Economic Community), Israel sought to bring about an improvement in its 1975 trade agreement with the Common Market and to coordinate more closely activities in the area of internal security and the anti-terrorist struggle. The growing threat of Islamic fundamentalism, which menaced not only Israel but a number of Moslem countries and European nations, became an international concern. An agreement between the police forces of Israel and Italy was signed in Rome in 1994, and similar agreements were being projected with other countries. On the European continent itself, the warm ties with Germany continued with periodic visits of heads of state and ministers. Germany supported Israel's stance on its agreement with the European Union and continued to provide Israel with an annual grant. In May 1995 Chancellor Kohl paid a visit to Israel in which he apologized on behalf of the German people for the Holocaust.

Relations with France remained cordial in spite of a fundamental disagreement between Israel and France (under President Mitterrand) over the issue of a Palestinian state which France favored. A new and warm spirit was injected into the ties between Israel, Spain, and Portugal. This was apparent during the visit to Israel of King Juan Carlos and Queen Sophia of Spain (October 1993) and of Prime Minister Rabin to Spain (February 1994). Mr. Rabin was also Israel's first prime minister to pay an official visit to Portugal.

Ties with the Benelux and Scandinavian countries improved vastly. Norway was the host for the secret Israel-PLO negotiations and the agreement was signed initially in Oslo. Rabin, Peres, and Arafat were awarded the 1994 Nobel Peace Prize which was presented in Oslo in December 1994. Ties with Britain improved when Britain lifted its arms embargo against Israel and supported its stance in the EU. Mr. Rabin visited London twice and John Major was in Israel in March 1995.

Another important dividend of the peace process was the signing on December 31, 1993 of the Israel-Holy See Basic Agreement, which heralded diplomatic relations between Israel and the Vatican, and also had enormous significance in terms of the relations between the Catholic Church and the Jewish people. Embassies were established in July 1994. The Vatican's rights and privileges in its property in Israel, including churches, schools, hospitals, and orphanages, were guaranteed by Israel.

The Israel-Holy See agreement had important consequences for Israel-Latin America relations. The relations had always been cordial and warm, and the only Latin American countries that had suspended ties with Israel were Nicaragua and Cuba. Nicaragua restored them, while Israel expanded its diplomatic presence in that continent by opening missions in the Caribbean area. In Buenos Aires, the Israel embassy was blown up in 1992 with many casualties.

The new regional and international realities were also partly reflected in the voting pattern in the United Nations. During the annual deliberations of the General Assembly, some 20 resolutions dealing with the "Palestine" question are generally discussed. Most of them are anti-Israel, many of them repetitive, and all of them irrelevant to the events in the region. Many countries justified their anti-Israel votes by arguing that they did not matter and that what counted were the bilateral relations. Israel usually countered by saying that this was a formal declaration of a political stand. From 1991 there was toning down of the anti-Israel resolutions and the Assembly began to take note of the peace process. But on the whole, even while paying lip service to the process, it did pass anti-Israel resolutions, although with a growing number of abstentions. Thus, for example, in December 1994 the Assembly, in the resolution termed "The Situation in the Middle East," called on Israel to unilaterally withdraw from the Golan Heights. The resolution was adopted by a vote of 77 in favor, 2 against (Israel and the United States), with 70 abstentions (including Russia). In the past the majority of the UN members voted against Israeli nuclear armament. In the vote taken in December 1994 on a resolution which singled Israel out by calling on nations to renounce nuclear weapons, 60 countries voted in favor, 4 opposed and 100 abstained. One resolution, dealing with the future status of the territories, which was approved by 147 nations, contradicted the Israel-PLO Declaration of Principles. But this did not seem to deter those who voted in favor.

Israel's key partner remained the United States. That nation played a crucial role in the peace process. While it pressed Israel not to become actively involved in the Gulf War, it helped defend Israel and provided it with economic and military aid to offset the damage. The Bush and later Clinton administrations were determined to pursue the peace process and exerted much effort in doing so. Washington pushed Israel and Syria to move towards the Madrid peace conference, gave assurances to Israel that its interests would not be harmed, and while initially refusing to grant the Israeli request for a ten billion dollar loan guarantee, did so in the summer of 1992, after the accession to power of the Rabin government.

The United States hosted the bilateral talks which followed the Madrid meetings. Although not crowned with much success, they nevertheless provided a framework for some progress and paved the way for the Israel-PLO agreement and the Israel-Jordan peace treaty.

The warm ties with the United States were evident mainly in strategic cooperation, placing at Israel's disposal new military technology, helping Israel develop new weapons systems, and above all in maintaining its military qualitative edge, so that it could take risks for peace. The annual three billion dollar military and economic loans and grants were maintained, in spite of fears that, they, too, might be cut due to budgetary considerations. The United States' support for Israel was seen in the Arab world as a major factor in changing their traditional thinking of dealing with Israel on the battlefield to dealing with Israel across the negotiating table. The United States played a key role in the Israel-Jordan treaty, a lesser role in the Israel-PLO agreement, and a major role in the negotiations between Israel and Syria. Those required a number of shuttle trips undertaken by Secretary of State Warren Christopher and his peace team. President Clinton visited Israel and witnessed the signing of the Israel-Jordan Peace Treaty on October 26, 1994. Prior to that he witnessed in White House ceremonies the signing of the Israel-PLO Declaration of Principles and the Israel-Jordan Washington Declaration (July 25, 1994). The United States also suggested to many nations that had suspended ties with Israel that it would be useful if they resumed them. There was no change in the American policy regarding Jerusalem. The city should remain united but not entirely under Israel sovereignty. Congressional attempts to legislate the moving of the American Embassy from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem by 1999 ran into opposition from the Clinton administration (and partly the Israel government). Both did not want to jeopardize the situation prior to the talks on the final status of the holy city.

In the mid-1990s, Israel's international position was highly positive, its reputation soaring, its trade growing, and its advice sought by many world leaders. It had come a long way since its isolation in the wake of the Yom Kippur War. However, its new position would see many ups and downs in the post-Oslo period as events continued to take their bloody course and exact their toll on human lives.

For a fuller discussion of the post-Oslo period see "The Road to Oslo and After" above. For Israel and the United Nations, see *United Nations.

[Meron Medzini]

INTERNATIONAL AID AND COOPERATION. Through its international cooperation program of technical assistance, Israel helped many other developing countries find solutions to their economic, social, and educational problems. Israel's contribution is based on its own recent and continuing experience in developing human and material resources. The history of the program began in 1954, when Israel entered into a number of joint projects with Burma under the guidance of its ambassador, David Hacohen. In March 1957, when Ghana became independent (the first sub-Saharan African country to achieve this status in the post-World War II period), Israel answered her request for technical cooperation. In the following year, the program was formally launched with the establishment of the International Cooperation Division within the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, on the initiative of Golda Meir, then foreign minister.

In 1961 an agreement was signed between Israel and Brazil, on the proposal of the Brazilian government, for cooperation in agricultural and water development, mainly in North Brazil. In 1963 Venezuela and Israel started a scheme for the adaptation of Israel's regional development methods under the guidance of planners from the *Lachish regional development scheme. These two projects were followed by the spread of cooperation with Israel to most of Latin America. Meanwhile, several South and Southeast Asian countries invited Israel's cooperation in development, as did several countries closer to Israel: Iran, Turkey, Cyprus, Greece, and Malta. In several instances, public and private, commercial organizations in Israel were asked to carry out projects, but generally, the International Cooperation Division itself carried out schemes through associated governmental and public agencies. By the end of its first decade of activity in 1968, the International Cooperation Division had sent 2,562 experts to development projects in 64 countries in all continents, and had trained 10,569 men and women from 82 countries in Israel. About $60,000,000 was spent on the program from Israel government funds during that period.

Agriculture accounted for more than half of all development projects in which Israel has engaged, with youth organization and training in second place and health programs third. Science and technology comprised a larger share of the total program each year. Half of all projects were undertaken in Africa, but Latin America's share was increasing steadily. Approximately 450 Israelis served abroad each year in more than 150 projects. In addition, about 100 Israelis served as experts on schemes financed by the United Nations. Israel commercial corporations engaged in development abroad employed an additional 400 Israelis in their undertakings. More than a thousand men and women from developing countries graduated from middle- and high-level courses in Israel each year. Courses were usually from four to six months in duration and were held in a variety of languages, principally in English, French, and Spanish. Regular courses were held in cooperation at the Afro-Asian Institute and the Center for Latin American Cooperation Studies in Tel Aviv; in agriculture at the Ruppin Institute, near Netanyah; and in community development at the International Center for Community Development, Haifa. Courses were also held from time to time at a number of other locations. The *Hebrew University, together with Hadassah and separately, as well as the Haifa *Technion, held regular higher-level courses. In addition, lower and middle-level courses were held in the developing countries and graduated more than a thousand trainees each year.

From its inception through the early years of the 21st century, 200,000 men and women had participated in the program's training courses in Israel and abroad and over 10,000 Israeli experts had been dispatched to foreign countries. In the post-Oslo era Israel looked to develop similar partnerships with its neighbors.

[Benad Avital]

Arab Refugees

During the fighting in Palestine that followed the adoption of the *United Nations Partition Resolution of Nov. 29, 1947, and the growing anarchy that accompanied the British withdrawal from Palestine, hundreds of thousands of Arabs abandoned their homes and fled to neighboring Arab countries and to parts of Palestine later occupied by Jordan and Egypt. The refugee problem was thus born out of the unsuccessful Arab attempt to frustrate the UN Partition Plan by force, to prevent the emergence of a Jewish state, and to occupy Palestine at the end of the British Mandate. This political background explains the stubbornness of the question. Though substantially absorbed in fact, the refugees remain permanent wards of the United Nations, and it seems clear that only an Israel-Arab peace settlement can resolve this problem.

ORIGINS OF THE PROBLEM. On Feb. 16, 1948, the United Nations Palestine Commission (appointed to supervise the partition plan) reported to the Security Council that "powerful Arab interests both inside and outside Palestine are defying the Nov. 29, 1947, resolution of the General Assembly and are engaged in a deliberate effort to alter by force the settlement envisaged therein." On April 10, 1948, the Commission reported that "… armed Arab bands from the neighboring states have infiltrated into the territory of Palestine, and, together with local Arab forces, are defeating the purpose of the partition resolution by acts of violence." By that time fighting had swept through the country.

During April the tide turned in favor of the *Haganah, especially in mixed towns such as Haifa, Safed, and Tiberias. The morale of the Arab population sank, and an exodus started into surrounding Arab territories with the encouragement of the Arab leadership, who did not want their people to remain under Jewish control and promised that they would soon return behind the victorious Arab armies. In Haifa, for example, the local Arab National Committee refused to sign a truce and insisted on the evacuation of their community despite an appeal by Shabbetai *Levi, the Jewish mayor. The exodus was accelerated by rumors, spread by the Arabs, of Jewish atrocities. The heavy civilian casualties suffered by the Arabs during an attack by the *Irgun Ẓeva'i Le'ummi on the village of Deir Yasīn near Jerusalem were extensively publicized as a massacre and added to the panic.

On May 15, with the end of the Mandate and the withdrawal of the British forces, the State of Israel was proclaimed. The regular armies of the neighboring Arab states crossed the borders and the residents of many Arab villages were evacuated by their leaders. During the fighting of the next few months, the flight continued into the Arab-held areas of Judea and Samaria (later annexed by Jordan as the "West Bank") across the river into Transjordan, into the *Gaza Strip, and, to a smaller extent, into Syria and Lebanon.

UNITED NATIONS ACTION. Initial efforts to give the Palestine refugees emergency relief were made by voluntary organizations. In December 1948, the General Assembly endorsed a nine-month relief program to be supervised by the secretary-general. At the same session, Resolution 194 (III) was adopted on Dec. 11, 1948. It called upon the states involved in the Israel-Arab conflict to negotiate a peace settlement and established a Palestine Conciliation Commission (consisting of the United States, France, and Turkey) to assist them in doing so. Paragraph 11 of that resolution stated, in part, "Those refugees wishing to return to their homes and live at peace with their neighbors should be permitted to do so at the earliest practicable date" and "…compensation should be paid for the property of those choosing not to return…" Paragraph 11 remained a bone of contention thereafter. The Arab side maintained that it conferred on the refugees a free and unconditional choice between repatriation and compensation. The Israel side argued that the refugee question could not be taken out of the general context of peace; that no return was "practicable" until normal conditions were restored; that only the government of a sovereign state could "permit" entry into the territory of that state; and that political, economic, and security conditions, such as the readiness of the refugees "to live at peace with their neighbors," had to be taken into account. In the negotiations which the Conciliation Commission tried to promote, the refugee problem was treated as one element in a general peace "package."

By 1949, it was already clear that no immediate peace settlement was likely and that more long-range plans would be required for the refugees. The emphasis shifted to their economic absorption in the region as a whole, though the phrase "without prejudice to paragraph 11…" was formally repeated in resolutions. The Conciliation Commission had appointed a United Nations Economic Survey Mission for the Middle East, headed by Gordon Clapp of the Tennessee Valley Authority. The 1949 General Assembly endorsed a three-pronged program recommended by the Clapp Mission: the termination of direct relief within a year, the absorption of the refugees through public works projects, and the transfer of responsibility to the host governments at an early date. As an instrument for carrying out this program, the Assembly set up the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestinian Refugees in the Near East (UNRWA). At the next Assembly, in 1950, the objective was defined as "reintegration of the refugees into the economic life of the Near East," and a three-year program was adopted envisaging the expenditure of $50 million for relief and $200 million for reintegration. UNRWA's original mandate was, therefore, to rehabilitate the refugees and take them off the relief rolls as soon as possible.

THE NUMBERS OF THE REFUGEES. Great difficulty was experienced throughout in reaching a reliable figure for bona fide Arab refugees. It is generally agreed that the figures were inflated at the outset and became more so in the course of time. First, there had been an influx of migrant labor from surrounding Arab countries during the Mandatory period, owing to the tempo of Zionist development. A substantial part of the refugee exodus in 1948 was, therefore, a return to home territory. In a 1949 report on the refugees, the secretary-general pointed out that the rolls had been compiled in a haphazard way and included large numbers of local unemployed or poor persons and nomadic Bedouin tribesmen.

The Clapp Mission estimated that at least 160,000 non-refugees had managed to get onto the relief rolls. Taking Mandatory census figures as a starting point and deducting from them the Arabs who remained in Israel and the indigenous population of the districts occupied by Arab forces (East Jerusalem, the West Bank, and the Gaza Strip), it may be deduced that the total number of bona fide refugees did not exceed a few hundred thousand. UNRWA adopted the following working definition of a refugee:

"… a person whose normal residence was Palestine for a minimum of two years immediately preceding the outbreak of the conflict in 1948 and who, as a result of that conflict, lost both his home and his means of livelihood…" However, UNRWA took over the existing rolls from voluntary agencies without revising them in accordance with the above definition.

In subsequent years the figures became even more unreliable through fraudulent birth registrations, failure to report deaths, and the lack of adequate means for determining family income or physical presence in the area. Thousands of ration cards were acquired by merchants who collected the supplies. Under pressure from the contributing countries, United Nations resolutions repeatedly called for rectification of the rolls, but the host governments were unwilling to cooperate for fear of stirring up trouble in the camps. To the tables in the annual UNRWA reports, a prudent footnote was added that "the above statistics are based on the Agency's registration records, which do not necessarily reflect the actual refugee population." In 1968 the UNRWA registration records contained over 1,300,000 names. Of these, only a little more than 800,000 had ration cards. Of the rest, some received medical education services without rations and others no assistance at all, depending on the degree of self-support. The distribution of the 1968 total by areas, according to UNRWA statistics, was as follows (in thousands): West Bank 245, Gaza Strip 265, East Jordan 494, Lebanon 166, Syria 150, UAR 3.

EXCHANGE OF MINORITIES. The upheaval of 1948 brought about not one population movement, but two, in opposite directions. Following the establishment of the State of Israel, the Jewish minorities started leaving the Arab countries for reasons of political, economic, and often physical insecurity. The majority of them found refuge in Israel. What happened from 1948 onward was in effect a spontaneous and unplanned population exchange, in roughly equal numbers – about half a million or a little more each way. Today, with natural increase, the Jews who reached Israel from the Arab countries constitute a group of nearly a million. This exodus never became a United Nations question and no UN agency was set up to deal with it, because these Jewish refugees became completely absorbed into the life and economy of Israel. Israel spokesmen in the United Nations debates stressed that this exchange of population had to be accepted as a reality, as had happened in certain situations elsewhere, and it could not be put into reverse. The future of the Arab refugees lay in their final absorption into the Arab world, and not in their repatriation to their original homes. Some 40,000 of them were actually repatriated to Israel in the first few years after the 1948 war, for family reunion or hardship reasons.

ATTEMPTS AT RESETTLEMENT. In the period 1950–5, UNRWA initiated a variety of self-support programs, and two major land-settlement projects were planned: one in the northern Sinai and the other in the Yarmuk-Jordan River Valley. The Sinai project was based on an agreement between UNRWA and the Egyptian government, by which a large area in northwest Sinai would be reclaimed with Nile water to be syphoned under the Suez Canal. According to the plan, some 10,000 refugee families from the Gaza Strip would eventually be engaged in agriculture, and another 2,000 families supported by ancillary services and trades. Engineering and economic studies were carried out, and a comprehensive plan drawn up, but the project came to naught when the Egyptian government changed its mind about making water available.

The plan for the development of the Yarmuk and Jordan valleys aimed at the irrigation of about 125,000 acres to provide a living for between 100,000 and 150,000 people. Under its agreement with the Jordan government, the Agency was to provide $40 million out of the Rehabilitation Fund for this project. Some of the preparatory work was carried out, but UNRWA withdrew from the project when the division of the Jordan basin waters became caught up in Security Council debates, followed by the abortive efforts of the United States to promote a regional plan.

In the next few years, the Agency's small-scale self-support measures also withered away. After a decade of existence the Agency had lost its original rehabilitation purpose and had settled down as a self-perpetuating relief operation, with registration rolls that swelled steadily from year to year. The original working definition was extended to include children born after 1948, and by the 1960s a third generation began to appear. By 1969, children and young people far outnumbered the original refugees, and the registered total included about 500,000 infants and children under the age of 15. The constructive side of UNRWA's work remained its education and vocational training services. With the technical assistance of UNESCO, the Agency developed an elementary school network parallel to that of the host governments and provided grants for secondary and higher education. As a result, thousands of youths from refugee families were absorbed locally or found employment further afield in oil-producing countries, such as Kuwait and Saudi Arabia.

"IMPLEMENTING PARAGRAPH 11." By 1959, it was clear that the economic approach, through planned refugee absorption projects, had not solved the problem. The General Assembly launched an effort to reach a political accord limited to the refugee question, taken out of the context of the general Israel-Arab conflict. The Palestine Conciliation Commission, which had abandoned its peace-making efforts by 1951, was now instructed to find ways "to implement paragraph 11" of the 1948 Resolution. In due course, the Commission appointed Joseph E. Johnson, president of the Carnegie Endowment Fund in New York, as its special representative for this purpose. After two years of discussions with the governments concerned, Dr. Johnson submitted a set of proposals based on a "preference" to be indicated by each refugee and referred to the government concerned. A United Nations Rehabilitation and Compensation Fund would be established, and Israel would make an "adequate contribution" to it in lieu of direct compensation. These proposals proved unacceptable to the governments concerned and were shelved. In the General Assembly debates on the annual UNRWA reports, Arab spokesmen developed the thesis that this was not a humanitarian problem concerning displaced persons, but a national problem concerning a displaced people seeking national self-determination. The refugee problem appeared too deeply imbedded in the basic political conflict to be settled as a separate issue.

DE FACTO INTEGRATION. In the course of time, the refugees became in fact economically absorbed to a much greater extent than was revealed in UNRWA statistics or admitted by Arab governments. Such integration was inevitable, since they were living among their own Arab brethren without any barrier of race, religion, language, culture, or way of life between them and their environment. This process was entirely in accordance with the general pattern of the refugee problems caused by wars and upheavals in the contemporary world. Since the end of World War II alone, some 50 million persons were displaced in Europe, Asia, and Africa and were finally absorbed into countries with which they had national, racial, or religious affinities.

In a special report on the refugees submitted in 1959, Secretary-General Dag Hammarskjöld called for intensified investment and development in the Arab countries in order to accelerate what he called the "integration de facto" of the refugees in productive life. He stated that

> The unemployed should be regarded not as a liability, but, more justly, as an asset for the future; it is a reservoir of manpower which in the desirable general economic development will assist in the creation of higher standards for the whole population of the area.

The Secretary-General's views came under political attack from the Arab States, and the report was shelved. The extent to which unplanned absorption was actually taking place, however, was acknowledged in the 1964 annual report of a new commissioner-general of UNRWA. Dr. Michelmore estimated that not more than 40–50% of the registered total were destitute or nearly destitute, about 30–40% were partially self-supporting, and 10–20% securely reestablished. In the same year, Dean Rusk, the U.S. secretary of state, in testifying before the Senate Subcommittee on Refugees, estimated that "there are almost half a million refugees who have registered refugee status but who in fact have jobs – some of them at some distance from the camps, living reasonably normal lives."

In his 1967 report, the commissioner-general stressed the social and economic progress the refugees had made, though he admitted that it had not been possible to reflect the extent of this rehabilitation in UNRWA's published statistics. Even the minority who lived in camps came and went as they pleased and found work in adjacent towns and farming areas. Dr. Michelmore put on record that some of these camps had become thriving villages. The hard core of the refugee problem remained the Gaza Strip, where the refugees outnumbered the local population, and where the economic opportunities were too limited for their full absorption.

THE ABANDONED PROPERTY. The immovable property abandoned in Israel by the refugees was vested in an official custodian. In subsequent years this property, particularly large tracts of agricultural land, became integrated in Israel's economic development and absorbed by its expanding population under appropriate Knesset legislation. This was done without prejudice to the Israel government's offer to pay compensation to the original owners, as part of an agreed settlement of the refugee problem as a whole. In reaffirming this offer at the United Nations, Israel's spokesmen added that any settlement of compensation claims should also take into account Jewish property that had been taken over by Jordan in the 1948 war, as well as a huge amount of property confiscated in Iraq, Egypt, and elsewhere and belonging to Jews from those countries now settled in Israel.

With the cooperation of the Israeli authorities, an office set up by the Palestine Conciliation Commission embarked on the formidable task of compiling an inventory and making an evaluation of all immovable property that had belonged to the Arab refugees. This program took 12 years to complete and the voluminous records that were compiled have remained stored at UN Headquarters in New York, pending a settlement. In the meantime the Israel government released and paid out frozen refugee bank accounts in the sum of $11 million and handed over all the valuables left behind in safe deposit boxes. From 1960 onward, each General Assembly Session was presented with Arab proposals for the appointment of a United Nations custodian to take over the abandoned property and to make available to the refugees revenue from the properties, alleged to total scores of millions of dollars a year. The Arab delegations argued that this revenue would make it unnecessary for the refugees to be maintained on international charity. The Israel reply was that appointing such a custodian would violate sovereignty, that there was no legal basis or precedent for it, that it was beyond the competence of the General Assembly, and that the alleged revenue was nonexistent. The proposals were invariably defeated.

THE ISRAEL-HELD TERRITORIES. As a result of the *Six-Day War (1967), Israel found itself in control of two territories – the West Bank and the Gaza Strip – containing hundreds of thousands of refugees falling under UNRWA's mandate. On June 14, 1967, immediately after the cease-fire, an agreement was signed between the Israel government and UNRWA by which the Agency was invited to continue its operations in these territories with the full cooperation and assistance of the government. In subsequent annual reports, the commissioner-general confirmed that this cooperation was effective. The financial cost of the UNRWA operation to the Israel taxpayer is considerable. In the year ending June 30, 1968, it came to about $3½ million: $2½ million as the Israeli contribution to services for the refugees; $700,000 for port services, transportation, storage, etc.; and a cash contribution of IL 1 million. In addition, the refugees benefited indirectly by the maintenance of public services and economic activity in the territories, the government budget for which amounted to IL140 million per annum.

A joint technical study of the numbers of refugees in these areas was undertaken by Israel and UNRWA officials.

The UNRWA statistics were checked against the results of the census carried out in the territories in September 1967 and the identification cards issued to the inhabitants. The Agency adjusted its figures downward, but they remained somewhat above the levels of the Israel census, which indicated the presence of 207,000 refugees in the Gaza Strip (out of a total population of 360,000), and 105,000 in the West Bank (out of 600,000 plus). The census statistics on housing standards and possession of household goods showed that while the living conditions of the refugees in the camps were not as good as those of the average town population of the areas, they were better than those prevailing in the Arab villages.

THE 1967 DISPLACEMENT. During and after the Six-Day War, there was another large-scale population movement – mainly from the West Bank into East Jordan, and also including over 100,000 from the Golan Heights into Syria. UNRWA reports quoted a Jordanian figure of 400,000 persons alleged to have crossed from the West Bank, including over 100,000 UNRWA registered refugees. According to Israel's estimates, the total was little more than half that figure. A limited number had fled during the 72 hours of hostilities on this front, mainly from the Jericho camps. In addition, the Jordanian lists were presumed to include other groups: local residents left destitute by the war; inhabitants of the eastern side of the Jordan Valley who had moved further inland because of continued border clashes; persons from the West Bank who were already residing in East Jordan before the war; and a steady migration across the bridges that continued for a long period after the cease-fire, for family, income, and other reasons. The policy of the Israeli authorities was neither to encourage nor to prevent their departure.

In the summer of 1967, the Israel government initiated a repatriation scheme with the assistance of the International Red Cross Committee. Under this project 14,000 persons returned from Jordan to their homes in the West Bank and another 7,000 permits were issued but not utilized. After that, a return in small numbers continued under a family reunion scheme. Speaking before the General Assembly on Oct. 8, 1968, Foreign Minister Eban undertook that the processing of applications for the uniting of families would be intensified, and the 7,000 unused permits from the 1967 repatriation project would be made available to other would-be returnees. International concern focused on the plight of the displaced persons in Jordan, particularly some 80,000 of them who were housed in tented camps under winter conditions. The Israeli government was urged to lift restrictions on their return, and in December 1968 the General Assembly adopted a resolution to this effect. The Israel delegation voted against it and maintained that the extent and rapidity with which a return could be facilitated had to be considered in the light of current political and security conditions, which remained disturbed as a result of border warfare and terrorist activity promoted from Jordan.

INCITEMENT IN SCHOOL TEXTBOOKS. For a number of years prior to the Six-Day War, Israeli representatives in the United Nations debates had complained about the fact that textbooks used in the UNRWA/UNESCO schools were indoctrinating the minds of a whole generation of refugee children with hatred, revenge, and incitement to war. After the Six-Day War, the textbooks in the non-refugee government schools now in areas under Israel rule were revised or replaced. As regards the refugee schools, the matter was referred to UNESCO. A three-man committee of experts was appointed to examine the textbooks and found that most of them needed to be revised or replaced. The Syrian government withheld its cooperation, while the Jordanian government rejected the committee's findings on the ground that refugee children were entitled to be taught about their political claims to Palestine. Israel found the expert recommendations generally acceptable.

THE REFUGEE PROBLEM AND PEACE. The resolution unanimously adopted by the Security Council on Nov. 22, 1967, called for the establishment of "a just and lasting peace" between Israel and the neighboring Arab States. As "a just settlement of the refugee problem" was one of the elements in the resolution, it therefore tacitly abandoned the earlier hopes of resolving the problem as a separate issue, and again placed it in the framework of an overall Israel-Arab peace settlement. In his statement to the General Assembly of Oct. 8, 1968, outlining nine principles for peace, the Israel foreign minister proposed that

> A conference of Middle Eastern States should be convened, together with the Governments contributing to refugee relief and the Specialized Agencies of the United Nations, in order to chart a five-year plan for the solution of the refugee problem in the framework of a lasting peace and the integration of refugees into productive life. This conference can be called in advance of peace negotiations.

There was no response to this proposal.

In the later debate on the UNRWA Report, the Israel delegation also proposed that a refugee program should include a Reintegration and Compensation Fund, and reaffirmed the willingness of the Israel government to give substantial financial support to such a Fund. The practical aspects of a solution would take a number of years and very substantial funds, but should not be unduly formidable once the political and psychological roadblocks had been removed. Until there was a peace settlement, the best hope for the refugees lay in stimulating the process of spontaneous economic absorption, especially for the younger persons who had acquired education and skills.

[Michael Comay]

Arab National Movement

THE RISE OF ARAB NATIONALISM. Arab nationalism – as opposed to ethnic self-awareness – did not appear until the end of the 19th century; it was the claim to political rights for the Arabs on the basis of their existence as a separate group that turned mere self-awareness into nationalism in the modern sense. Arab consciousness is of long standing and was based primarily on three factors: the belief in a common descent from Arabian tribes that engulfed the Middle East and North Africa in the seventh century; the existence of literary Arabic; and the special position of the Arabs in Islam. Until the end of the 19th century, however, this consciousness was devoid of all political implications. The religion of Islam provided the source for political organization, government administration, and the legitimacy of rule; the various Muslim empires were the political framework of Islam from the first Caliphate up to the Ottoman Empire.

The wavering of Arab allegiance to the Ottoman Empire may be traced to various sources. The reforms instituted in the empire in the course of the 19th century brought about a substantial change in its traditional Muslim image. The reformist central government sought to impose a Western-style administration and law upon a society that was neither interested in nor ready for modern innovations. The local leaders of Arab provinces reacted vehemently against the secular aspects of the reforms, especially the attempts to place non-Muslims on an equal footing with Muslims. The feeling that Islam was in danger was further heightened by the confrontation with the culture, material progress, and military and economic power of the West. Muslim leaders believed that in order to stand up to the spiritual and military challenge posed by the Christian West, Islam had to regain its pristine strength. Originally, Islam had been Arab in its leadership, predominant culture, and prevailing social and administrative institutions. Thus, the desire to restore its pristine glory resulted in a reassessment of the place of the Arabs in Islam and the conclusion that this aim could be achieved only by reestablishing the Muslim Caliphate in its original form, under the leadership of a descendant of the Prophet's tribe. This conclusion was the origin of the political-religious demand for a change in the status quo prevailing in the Ottoman Empire.

In the course of time, this aim received a tremendous impetus from a variety of other sources. The second and third generation of Ottoman reformers – the Young Turks – sought a new and more forceful ideological basis for the preservation of the tottering empire. The process of Westernization brought them into contact with a concept that appeared to be the key to the success of Western civilization – the concept of nationalism. For a while they vacillated, unable to decide the nature of their nationalism: Pan-Ottoman, pluralist, and liberal, in which all citizens of the empire would participate on the basis of equality and fraternity in a common fatherland – and therefore a nationalism that would be more aptly described as patriotism – or a restricted Turkish nationalism, in which the decisive criterion would be ethnic and linguistic and which would transform the Muslim and supernational Ottoman Empire into a single nation-state, in which the Turks would impose their will, language, and characteristics upon all the other groups. Slowly but surely the Young Turks adopted the second alternative – the liberal, Central-European type of nationalism – and proceeded with efforts to bring about the Turkification of the entire empire. Their aim became noticeable on the eve of World War I and was among the factors responsible for the emergence of a parallel, diametrically opposed, Arab nationalism. Once the Muslim character of the empire was put in question and an attempt made to turn the empire into a Turkish one, it became inevitable that the consciousness of the existence of a separate Arab entity should be transformed into a political attitude (which regarded the Arab entity as the only possible basis upon which a political framework could be established). This cultural and ideological development, however, was confined to educated members of the social elite. The general population continued to regard Islam and the Ottoman Empire as the principal frameworks of its identity. In the years before World War I, only a few hundred activists and political thinkers were converted to the new ideology of Arab nationalism.

PALESTINIAN OPPOSITION TO ZIONISM. Palestine, in the borders defined by the British Mandate, did not yet exist as a separate administrative entity. The Acre and Nablus districts were part of the province (vilayet) of Beirut while the district (sanjak) of Jerusalem, because of its religious and international significance, came under the direct supervision of the Ottoman Ministry of the Interior.

The Arab movement, based primarily upon the awareness of common language and common descent, was by its nature all-embracing and unaffiliated with any particular region of the empire. Nevertheless, there were areas that played a more prominent role in this development. Damascus played a leading part as a seat of Muslim scholarship and the home of Arab families claiming descent from the Prophet, and it became the center of the Arab movement in the prewar years. (The term "Syria" was sometimes used to refer to the vilayet of Damascus, which also included Transjordan, and sometimes to comprise the whole of Palestine, as well as modern Syria and Lebanon.) During World War I, and especially toward the end, Mecca became the center of the movement, due to the desire to defend and strengthen the position of the Hashemite family of Hussein Ibn Ali as the emirs of Mecca. These developments, however, had little impact on Palestine. Only an insignificant number of Palestinian Arabs took part in the movement. It was only toward the end of the war that the attitude of the Arab population in Palestine underwent a change, as a result of the sufferings caused by the war and the intolerable repression carried out by the Turkish government, which saw its very existence hanging in the balance.

Other developments, concerned primarily with Palestine itself, played a greater role. The establishment of the special district of Jerusalem endowed the social elite of that city with a higher status, comparable to that of the capitals of the adjoining provinces of Damascus and Beirut. In general, the rise of the local elite to positions of leadership in society, religion, and administration was a central feature of life in the area in the 19th century. The local leadership group that came into being was a breeding ground for the activists in the movement for Arab awakening; simultaneously, however, a social stratum was created that had regional, economic, and social interests, rather than Pan-Arab aims. The establishment of the special sanjak of Jerusalem – which comprised the southern half of Palestine – also marked the beginning of a process by which Palestine came to be regarded as an entity in its own right. Opposition to Zionism and the British Mandate completed this process and gave it a political character.

As early as the end of the 19th century, the Arab population of Palestine began to pay attention to a new phenomenon: the immigration and settlement of Jews, while some of the veteran Jews were leaving the walled-in quarters in the cities, buying land, building housing estates, and entering new trades and professions. The Arabs also became aware of the new type of Jew that was entering the country, so different from the Jew that the Arabs had known. Instead of remaining secluded in his corner and accepting his inferior status in Muslim-Ottoman society, the new Jew was proud and self-confident. He was also foreign – in language, manners, and mores – and often also alien to the traditional religious atmosphere prevailing among the population. Gradually, both the local Arab leaders and the Ottoman officials came to suspect that the newly arrived Jews had political ambitions and that they had come to the country in order to establish a Jewish state.

It was not surprising, therefore, that from the beginning Jewish settlement met with opposition from both the local Arabs and the Ottoman administration. While at most times this opposition was dormant, there were many instances when it was expressed publicly. The opposition of the local population was direct, taking the form of sporadic attacks, usurpation of lands, and the like; it is doubtful whether this opposition had any political connotations. In 1891, however, nine years after the beginning of the First Aliyah, the first sign of political opposition to Zionism made its appearance. Jerusalem notables – both Muslim and Christian – called upon the Ottoman administration to prohibit the immigration of and the sale of land to Jews. This request was repeated time and again; local spokesmen demanded the enforcement of the restrictions against the entry of the Jews, which had been enacted, but not always observed.

Appeals to the Ottoman administration were not the only form of political opposition. After the 1908 revolution of the Young Turks, the first Arab newspapers made their appearance in Palestine. Some of these supported the Young Turks and others were followers of the liberal opposition (the Entente Liberale Party), but they were all united in their opposition to Zionism. They claimed that Zionism was a danger to the country and called upon both the population and the administration to put an end to it. A similar attitude was also expressed in the first books on the Arab question that began to appear at this time, such as *Le Réveil de la Nation Arabe dans l'Asie Turque* by Negib Azoury (Paris, 1905). Officials of the Ottoman administration who were imbued with the new spirit of nationalism did all they could to put obstacles in the way of Jewish immigration and land purchases. One well-known example was Shukrī al-ʿAsalī, the Kaimakam (subdistrict commissioner) of Nazareth, who in 1910–11 tried to prevent the purchase of the al-Fūla lands (the present Afulah-Merḥaviah area) by Jews. (For Zionist efforts to contact Arab nationalist leaders, see *Zionist Policy.)

THE STRUGGLE AGAINST THE MANDATE. The opposition to Zionism made further advances when the British conquered the country in 1917–18. The severance from the Ottoman Empire was a fact. Beginning in October 1918, a semi-independent Arab regime, under Faisal Ibn Hussein, gradually established itself in Damascus. Palestine, on the other hand, was administered by the British occupation forces. While Syria appeared to have excellent prospects of achieving independence, reports came into Palestine concerning promises made to the Jews by the British (see *Balfour Declaration). The Turkish regime, which was in the process of retreating from Palestine, took care to give these reports wide dissemination, adding exaggerated stories concerning the insolence displayed by Jews in the areas taken over by the British. In November 1918, the British and French governments – partly in order to counteract Turkish propaganda – promised the inhabitants of Syria and Iraq that they would be free to choose their own form of government. This move caused the Arab leaders in Palestine to feel that they were excluded from the promise and would thus be subject to a special regime that would strive for the realization of the Balfour Declaration. At the time, both Jews and Arabs understood the Declaration to have more far-reaching implications than were intended by the British government.

Against this background, the political organization of Palestinian Arabs began to develop. The first political societies were established toward the end of 1918: the Muslim-Christian Society, the Arab Club, and the Literary Club. In January 1919 representatives of these societies met for their first countrywide conference and adopted resolutions defining Palestine as "Southern Syria" and declaring their aim to have Palestine annexed to the Faisal regime in Damascus. The representatives of the Jerusalem leadership, who had the most to gain from an independent or semi-independent, separate Palestinian regime, were not pleased with the results of the conference. Nevertheless, the belief that union with Syria was the best guarantee for the suppression of Zionism prevailed at the conference and it continued to prevail as long as Faisal's star was on the rise. In March 1920, when Faisal was crowned king of all of Syria (including Lebanon and Palestine) and was at the height of his career, enthusiastic demonstrations of support took place in the towns of Palestine; the Nebi Mūsā celebrations in Jerusalem in April 1920 were turned into a manifestation of pro-Faisal feelings and became the occasion for anti-Jewish riots.

In July, however, the Arab Hashemite regime in Syria collapsed under French pressure and the Palestinians were left on their own. Although Syrian exiles tried to continue their struggle for the reestablishment of an all-Syrian kingdom in cooperation with the Palestinian leaders, the latter consistently refused to join them in their work. The Palestinians saw their main interest in the organization of the Arab rank and file for the campaign against Zionism. In December 1920 they convened the "Third" Palestinian Conference (the first conference was held in January 1919; the second had been scheduled to take place in May 1920, but was prohibited by the British military government), at which the Palestine Arab leaders defined their future policy. It was to consist of two basic demands: absolute rejection of Zionism and the establishment of a local government in Palestine, to be elected by the prewar inhabitants of the country. No mention whatsoever was made of union with Syria. In order to realize its aims, the conference elected an executive committee under the chairmanship of Mūsā Kāẓim al-Husseini.

The executive committee based itself upon the Muslim-Christian Societies and found its support among the urban elite of landowners, clergy, merchants, and a few modern intellectuals. As a rule, the committee was dominated by the same elements that had earlier withheld support from the idea of union with Syria. The modus operandi that the committee employed consisted of the formulation of demands, the presentation of protests, and the organization of strikes. It rejected violence and did not lend support to the riots of May 1921, which were organized by the remnants of more extremist organizations that had campaigned for union with Syria in 1919–20 and had received moral and financial support and arms from the Hashemite regime in Damascus. Until the summer of 1922 the committee sought to prevent the confirmation of the Mandate on Palestine by the League of Nations, and until 1923 it persisted in its efforts to have the terms of the Mandate amended. The committee's petitions and the talks held by its delegations in London and Geneva uniformly stressed its opposition to the Zionist connotation of the Mandate, i.e., the promise to help in the establishment of a Jewish National Home in Palestine and the recognition of Hebrew as an official language and of the Zionist Organization as an official body (the Jewish Agency) authorized to advise the Mandatory government on matters pertaining to the establishment of the National Home.

This policy also guided the committee's attitude toward the Zionist movement. The committee refused to recognize Zionism as a legitimate partner in Palestine and would not negotiate with Zionist representatives. During the visit of the first Palestinian Arab delegation in London (August 1921–July 1922), when negotiations with the British government came to a deadlock, the Colonial Office sought to arrange a meeting of the delegation with the leaders of the Zionist Organization. At first, the Arabs refused even to meet with the Zionists, but eventually they agreed to an informal meeting with Chaim Weizmann, which took place in December 1921. The outcome was completely negative, as the Palestinians did not budge from their stand that Zionism had no rights whatsoever in Palestine and persisted in their refusal to negotiate with Zionist representatives. This meeting, however informal, was the only one to take place between Weizmann and the leaders of the Palestine Arab national movement.

The Arab leaders in Palestine also refused to have anything to do with the attempts made in 1922 by Syrian leaders living in Egyptian exile to reach a settlement with the Zionists. The Syrians were prepared to recognize the rights of the Jews to a National Home in Palestine in return for Jewish support of their struggle for independence. Such an agreement, however, would have necessitated a break with Britain, and therefore the Zionist movement was not inclined to accept it. Equally important, however, was the fact that the Palestinian Arab leaders flatly rejected the idea of such an arrangement and refused to accede to the Syrians any right to decide that fate of their country for them, as they had similarly rejected the agreement reached between Faisal and Weizmann three or four years before (see Chaim *Weizmann). Furthermore, the entire affair caused great bitterness against the Syrians and thus reinforced the trend toward Palestinian separatism and abandonment of the concept of all-Syrian Arab unity. For many years, preoccupation solely with the affairs of Palestine became a principle of the Palestine Arab movement and its various organizations.

THE QUESTION OF LOCAL SELF-GOVERNMENT. When they failed in their demands for the abolition of the pro-Jewish provisions of the Mandate, the Palestinian Arabs adopted a policy of noncooperation with the Mandatory government in matters related to the establishment of organs of self-government, as set forth in the Mandate and the Palestine Constitution (1922 Order-in-Council). Toward the end of 1922 and the beginning of 1923, they campaigned against participation in the elections for a legislative council and succeeded in preventing the establishment of this body (which was to have been made up of the high commissioner, ten government officials, and twelve locally elected representatives – eight Muslims, two Christians, and two Jews). In the course of 1922 they also rejected the establishment of a Consultative Council, to be made up of appointed members, and of an "Arab Agency," which was to concern itself with safeguarding the "civil and religious rights" of the non-Jewish population in accordance with the Balfour Declaration and the terms of the Mandate.

At the end of 1923, when the ineffectiveness of this policy became clear, a new force, which advocated more moderate methods, came to the fore. It argued that in order to achieve the expulsion of Zionism from Palestine, the Arabs should cooperate with the Mandatory government and thus attain their goal by influencing government institutions through day-to-day contact. This group centered around the Mayor of Jerusalem, Rāghib Bey al-Nashāshībī. The Nashāshībī family was involved in a feud with the al-Husseinis (who were in control of the executive committee and the Supreme Muslim Council), and the quarrel between the two families now found its expression in political antagonism. The committee's failure to bring about the abrogation of the pro-Zionist provisions of the Mandate made it possible for Nashāshībī 's supporters (the opposition) to increase their influence and standing. There was a perceptible abatement of anti-Zionist fervor, the committee's work came to a standstill, and in the 1927 municipal elections the opposition scored a decisive victory.

In 1928, after a lapse of five years, the Seventh Palestinian Conference was convened to decide upon a new policy. The resolutions adopted by the conference emphasized the need for a local government, responsible to an elected parliament; opposition to Zionism was mentioned only indirectly by confirming the resolutions passed by previous conferences. A moderate atmosphere prevailed at the conference, the result of the realization that the Arabs had made a mistake in rejecting all the British proposals made in 1923 concerning the establishment of a self-governing body. This line was taken by both the opposition and the executive committee and its supporters. The Seventh Palestinian Conference took place at a time when Zionist settlement had for two years been facing the most severe crisis it had yet undergone. In 1927 more Jews left the country than entered it, and those that did come met with intolerable conditions. Many Palestinian Arabs thought that the Zionist vision was about to evaporate. Accordingly, they thought it preferable to adopt a practical line and not insist on the abrogation of a policy that they thought had in fact failed.

At the beginning of 1929, on the basis of the resolutions adopted by the conference, the executive committee approached the high commissioner with a proposal to establish a "local government." In June of that year, an agreement was reached between the Mandatory government and the leaders of the two factions, Mūsā Kāẓim al-Husseini and Rāghib Bey al-Nashāshībī, on the establishment of an appointed legislative council. The Arabs were now ready to accept an even more moderate form of the arrangement they had rejected in 1923. Other developments, however, foiled the plan. In August 1929 a clash over the *Western Wall was followed by a wave of Arab violence against the Jews, and under the circumstances the British government felt that the time was not ripe for concessions on matters of local administration.

The following year, however, the British government sought to appease the Palestinian Arabs by restricting immigration and the sale of land to Jews (the "Passfield White Paper," October 1930 – see Palestine *White Papers). But when this policy encountered vehement opposition and worldwide protests from Zionist and pro-Zionist circles, the British government, in effect, reversed its policy in a letter from Prime Minister Ramsay MacDonald to Weizmann in February 1931. The government did not give up the idea of finding a way to appease the Arabs, however, and toward the end of 1931, when complete calm had been restored, it again broached the idea of a legislative council. Although the executive committee continued to press for a "local government," it did not appear too difficult to bridge the gap between the British proposal and the Arab demand. Once again, however, the Zionist Movement took issue with the British government and the renewed plan for a legislative assembly was again shelved.

The Zionist Organization declared its unalterable opposition to a local governing body that would give constitutional expression to a minority status for the Jews of Palestine. Its adamant resistance strengthened the hand of those members of the British government who were reluctant to run the risk of establishing a self-governing body in a country in which there were several hostile communities. The plan was not officially revived until the end of 1935, when the representatives of the local population were invited to participate in discussions for its enactment. The reaction of the Arabs was mixed: although they did not totally reject the plan, they did not display any enthusiasm over it, hoping to obtain more by hard bargaining. Jewish opposition was absolute, and all the supporters of Zionism in Britain acted against the proposal. Members of Parliament also had their doubts about its merits and many thought that Palestine, with its host of problems, was not yet ready for self-government. These doubts were strengthened by Zionist resistance, and, when the plan came up for discussion in the House of Commons in February 1936, there was hardly a member who was ready to support it. Thus the plan was finally buried.

The defeat of the plan for a legislative council may have been the spark that set off the "Arab Rebellion" of 1936–39. The roots and motives of the rebellion, however, lie in the early years of British rule.

THE RISE OF HAJJ MUHAMMAD AMIN AL-HUSSEINI. When the British first occupied Palestine, they were faced with a problem that they had to solve immediately, i.e., the organization of Muslim religious life. The severance of Palestine from the Ottoman Empire had left the Muslim community courts and the administration of the *waqf* (religious foundations) without leadership and supervision. These establishments were put under the temporary supervision of the military government, but it was clear that, as a Christian power, the British government would seek to rid itself of this function. At the same time, the British began to enhance the status of the mufti of Jerusalem, Kāmil al-Husseini, appointing him president of the Muslim Court of Appeals. They treated him as the head of the Muslim community of Palestine, although there was no historical or religious basis for this attitude. The result was that when Muslim religious life was organized in the course of 1921, and the Supreme Muslim Council was established (January 1922), the mufti of Jerusalem was elected, as a matter of course, to stand at its head.

In the meantime, however, events had taken a new turn. In March 1921 Kāamil al-Husseini died. He had done all he could to help the British regime, and it had in turn strengthened his position. After his death there were many candidates for the post of mufti of Jerusalem. The al-Husseini family and its supporters closed ranks in support of the candidacy of Hajj Muhammad Amīn al-*Husseini, who lacked the proper religious qualifications, but in the period 1919–20 had come to the fore as a skillful political leader and organizer and was in the forefront of the campaign for union with Hashemite Syria.

He was also one of the instigators of the anti-Jewish riots in Jerusalem of April 1920 and was sentenced *in absentia* to 15 years in jail; in the autumn of that year, however, he was pardoned by the high commissioner, Sir Herbert *Samuel, and returned to Jerusalem.

Now the high commissioner was faced with the demand to appoint him mufti of Jerusalem. Above all, the high commissioner wanted to ensure that the bloody riots that had taken place in Jerusalem would not be repeated during the Nebi Mūsā celebrations in April 1921. He also looked for ways and means to appease the anti-Zionist feelings that prevailed among the Arabs of the country. He came to the conclusion that appointing the leader of the extremist elements to a prestigious religious and public position would assure his proper behavior. Furthermore, Hajj Amīn al-Husseini himself stated in a talk with the high commissioner (as recorded by the chief secretary of the Palestine government) "that the influence of his family and himself would be devoted to maintaining tranquility in Jerusalem, and he felt sure that no disturbances need be feared this year."

Thus in May 1921 Amīn al-Husseini was appointed mufti of Jerusalem and in January of the following year, with the support of the Mandatory government, was elected president of the Supreme Muslim Council. On the whole, peace reigned until 1929. Amīn al-Husseini made good use of this period to reinforce his position and turn the Supreme Muslim Council into a stronghold of his supporters and sympathizers. The council became a government-within-a-government, and the Mandatory authorities did not interfere with the administration of the *waqf* (which yielded a yearly income of £60,000 at the time) and the Sharīʿa courts. Moreover, the Mandatory government favored the strengthening of the Supreme Muslim Council, which thus became – in fact if not in theory – a counterpart to the Zionist Organization and the outstanding representative body of the Palestinian Arabs, thereby creating a measure of balance between the two communities.

From the outset al-Husseini spared no effort to enhance the status of Jerusalem in the eyes of the Muslims. He initiated an impressive project to renovate the city's two principal mosques (Dome of the Rock and al-Aqṣā), after conducting a campaign for contributions throughout the Muslim world. One of the principal themes he used in the campaign was the allegation that the area in which the mosques were situated (known to the Jews as Har ha-Bayit, the Temple Mount, and to the Muslims as al-Ḥaram al-Sharīf) was threatened by the Zionists, who were planning to rebuild the Temple on the site. Amn al-Husseini alleged that the efforts of the Jews to obtain clear and unequivocal rights to pray at the Western ("Wailing") Wall were in fact the beginning of an attempt to take over the entire area. The Muslim authorities pointed to the provision of the Mandate for the safeguarding of the status quo of the Holy Places that existed under the Turkish regime and contended that according to that status the Jews had had no clear rights at the Western Wall. Technically there were grounds for such a contention; in fact, however, the Jews had been praying at the Western Wall both before and during the Turkish regime, although there was no regular synagogue on the spot. The restrictions imposed by the Turks were often circumvented by paying off the local officials.

The constant friction concerning Jewish rights at the Western Wall caused a series of clashes during the 1920s which culminated in the anti-Jewish massacres in *Hebron and *Safed in August 1929. Against this background, the Palestine problem ceased to be an issue of local interest and began to engage the attention of the Muslim world. Amīn al-Husseini encouraged this development and, toward the end of 1931, convened a world conference of Muslims to discuss "the defense of the Holy Places." On the basis of this issue Amīn al-Husseini became the chief spokesman of the Palestinian Arabs. He proved himself the most extreme and consistent foe of the Jews and overshadowed all the other Arab leaders. His rise was facilitated in large measure by the helplessness displayed by the executive committee and its leaders, who were only able to issue anti-Zionist protests, and had even failed in preventing the sale of land to Jews. Furthermore, the same leaders who demanded the passage of a law prohibiting the sale of Arab land to Jews were not averse to making such sales themselves.

Thus, at the beginning of the 1930s, the mufti and his followers began to attack the executive committee and its outdated methods. Under the pressure of these attacks, the committee made a final attempt to organize anti-British riots in October 1933, but retreated in the face of sharp government reaction. The committee members came to realize their impotence, and the death of the chairman, Mūsā Kāẓim al-Husseini, in March 1934 also marked the committee's downfall. Amn al-Husseini rose to leadership with the support of a younger and more extreme generation of activists, who were prepared to solicit aid for their struggle from Arabs outside Palestine and even non-Arab Muslims. They organized scout groups and young Muslim clubs and, from 1934–35 onward, attempted to thwart "illegal" Jewish immigration and the sale of land to Jews. The president of the Supreme Council used the prestige of his office and the power of religious functionaries to intimidate the Arabs who would not comply with his policy.

All his efforts, however, were of no avail. These were the years in which Jewish settlement was expanding at an unprecedented rate. The enlargement of the *Jewish Agency through the adhesion of non-Zionist Jews in 1929 enabled the Zionist Organization to extricate itself from its financial difficulties. The Nazi rise to power in 1933 and the wave of antisemitism that spread through Eastern Europe resulted in a tremendous growth in Jewish immigration. In 1935, no fewer than 61,500 Jews entered Palestine legally. Palestinian Arabs calculated that if this rate continued, it would take the Jews only 12 years to achieve a majority in the country.

The militant Muslim youth, who saw in Hajj Amīn al-Husseini their leader and savior, felt that Jewish immigration and settlement had to be prevented by the use of force. The first group of fighters had been organized as early as 1931 under the leadership of a Haifa Muslim cleric, Sheikh ʿIzz al-Dīn al-Qāsim. The failure of the plan for a legislative council at the beginning of 1936 served the Palestinian Arabs as a sign that they would not achieve their aim with the help of Britain and that the only choice left to them was to take the law into their hands.

ARMED STRUGGLE AND ITS OUTCOME. The first stage of the "Arab Revolt" was a six-month strike, which began in April 1936. Although there were Arab attacks upon Jews and British soldiers and installations during this period, the emphasis was on the general strike and political action by the leaders. The strike ended in October in response to an appeal by the Arab kings, which was welcomed both by the British (who had in fact inspired the appeal) and by the Palestinian Arabs (who had by now tired of the strike). The appeal marked the first intervention in Palestinian affairs by non-Palestinian Arabs – a development that was destined to become a central feature of the entire problem. The end of the strike was followed by the appointment of the Peel Commission, which eventually recommended the partition of the country (see *Palestine, Partition Plans). The plan was turned down by the Arabs; the Jews did not receive it with great enthusiasm; and in the end it was cancelled by the British, upon the recommendation of the Woodhead Commission.

After the publication of the Peel Commission's proposals, the Palestinian Arabs renewed their struggle, terrorism becoming its principal expression. The terror campaign had several aspects: it was directed against the Jews, against the British, and, internally, against Arabs – opponents of the mufti, who were not prepared to offer blind obedience to his leadership and his methods. In 1937 there were even contacts between some Palestinian Arab and Jewish leaders in an attempt to arrive at a political solution to the problem. The first such contacts were made in 1934 on the initiative of David Ben-Gurion, then a member of the Zionist Executive and from 1935 its chairman. No results were achieved and no way found to remove the main stumbling block – the issue of unrestricted Jewish immigration. Although some Arab leaders were prepared to agree to limited immigration, which would raise the proportion of Jews among the population to a maximum of 40%, the Jewish Agency was adamant in refusing to accept minority status for the Jews. In return for the uninterrupted flow of Jews into the country, the Jewish leaders were ready to have Palestine join a Pan-Arab confederation or even federation; for the majority of the Palestinian Arab leaders, however, Arab unity was not an end in itself but only a means in their struggle against Zionism, and the Jewish Agency's readiness to join a wider Arab framework made no impression on them. Significantly, the only Palestinian Arab leader who was at least prepared to discuss such a proposal was ʿAwnī ʿAbd al-Hādī, of the Istiqlāl Party, who advocated Arab unity for its own sake.

Militarily, the "revolt" of 1936–39 ended in defeat, but it brought the Palestinian Arabs a political reward – the 1939 White Paper (see Palestine, *White Papers) – which was in effect an abrogation of the policy formulated in the Balfour Declaration. Ostensibly, Britain had reached the conclusion that the Jewish National Home had become a reality and that by enabling some 450,000 Jews to establish a social, cultural, and political framework in Palestine under conditions of semi-autonomy, the British government had fulfilled its obligation under the Balfour Declaration. This change in policy was rooted in the realization that war with Nazi Germany had become unavoidable and that it was therefore necessary for Britain to secure friendship, or at least a passive attitude, from the Arabs. No concessions had to be made to the Jews, whose support in the struggle with the Nazis was not in the slightest doubt.

Although preparations for World War II brought forth the White Paper policy, the war itself and its tragic consequences for the Jews deprived this policy of the foundations upon which it had rested. Many Palestinian Arab leaders supported the Nazis, and Amn al-Husseini and his associates spent the war years in Berlin and Rome taking part in the Nazi war effort and trying to induce the Muslim population in the occupied territories (Bosnia and the Crimean Peninsula) to collaborate with the Germans. The situation of the Jews was quite different. The war affected them more severely than any other people, and they contributed their utmost to the Allied victory. In these circumstances, the attempts of the British Labor movement to follow, in one way or another, the policy laid down in the White Paper, faced strong opposition from public opinion in the Allied countries. At the same time, the Palestinian Arabs were in great difficulty. Although the "Arab Revolt" had earned them the White Paper, their terror campaign had brought internal dissension to an unprecedented pitch. It took the intervention of the Arab League to establish the Higher Arab Committee in 1945 as the representative body of Palestinian Arabs, and the League even had to appoint its members. Moreover, Palestinian Arab leadership bore the stigma of collaboration with the Nazis, and in the United Nations (which was founded by the anti-Axis nations and in 1947 became the arena for the political struggle for Palestine) the representatives of a people that had fought against the Nazis and had been their principal victim had a tremendous moral and political advantage over Nazi collaborators.

Against this background, the independent Arab governments and the Arab League gradually assumed the task of representing the Palestinian Arabs, while the Arab Higher Committee played a purely negative role, opposing every compromise offered by Britain in 1946 and preventing the Arab League from accepting any solution that did not recognize Palestine as a purely Arab country in which the Jews had no political rights whatsoever. Even individual civil rights, according to the Arab Higher Committee, were to be given only to those Jews who had settled in the country before World War I.

Although the Arab Higher Committee realized that its radical goals could be achieved only by the force of arms, its preparations for the eventuality of war were highly inadequate. No countrywide military organization was established among the Palestinian Arabs, the standard of combat training was low, and it appeared that the committee was relying on volunteers from the neighboring countries and the regular Arab armies. On Nov. 29, 1947, when the UN General Assembly voted to partition Palestine into an Arab state and a Jewish state, the Arab Higher Committee announced its resistance to the resolution and its determination to prevent its implementation by force, but its capacity to carry out the threat was severely limited. Until May 15, 1948, when the regular Arab armies invaded Palestine, the *yishuv* succeeded in defending its territory and even in occupying several important Arab towns and rural centers. The invading irregular Arab troops did not succeed in changing the situation.

The Palestinian Arabs from 1948

The military intervention by the Arab states, the establishment of the State of Israel, the Egyptian occupation of the Gaza Strip, and the annexation of Samaria, East Jerusalem, and the Hebron area by Jordan all had a far-reaching effect upon the subsequent history of the Arab National Movement in Palestine. Palestinian Arabs no longer existed as a political entity. Those who remained in Israel became Israel citizens; those who were under Jordanian rule were given Jordanian nationality; and only in the Gaza Strip was there an insignificant remnant of Palestinian Arab political existence. In addition, hundreds of thousands of the Palestinian Arabs had become refugees, and as a result many of their social institutions were destroyed: villages were uprooted and families torn apart, regional institutions ceased to exist, and it seemed as though the voice of the Palestinian Arab had been silenced.

It took the Arabs who had remained in Israel several years to recover from the shock of defeat. Many believed that the newly established Jewish state was a passing episode and passively waited for the neighboring Arab states to restore the status quo ante. When the Israel Arabs realized that the State of Israel was a permanent feature in the Middle East, two groups developed among them: one accepted the existence of Israel and tried to find a way of leading a peaceful life in the democratic framework of the country, while the other refused to accept the Jewish state and joined anti-Zionist groups to lead a political struggle for equal rights and the return of all Arab refugees and abandoned Arab property. The first group cooperated with the government in their daily lives, devoted themselves to their economic advancement (in which they enjoyed government assistance), and cast their votes in municipal and Knesset elections for lists linked with Mapai, the largest Jewish party. The second group expressed its attitude mainly by supporting the Communist Party or, at times, purely Arab nationalist organizations. Most of the Arab population, however, vacillated between the two trends, and the fact that many Arabs supported Mapam – a leftist, though Zionist, party – was a characteristic expression of the prevailing condition.

In the Gaza Strip, the refugees preserved their Palestinian identity but had no leadership of their own. The difficult conditions in which they lived under Egyptian rule – hundreds of thousands of refugees crowded into a small area and practically not allowed to leave – precluded their social and economic integration and added to their implacable hatred of the Jews and of Israel.

In Jordan, on the other hand, there was a more complex development. A considerable part of the Palestinian population was unhappy about their incorporation as the "West Bank" of the Jordan Kingdom. The supporters of Amīn al-Husseini and many of the young people who had been influenced by the extreme nationalistic ideology of the revolutionary Baʿth Party and the Arab Nationalist organization were in violent opposition to the annexation and it was years before they came to accept it. Until the late 1950s, Jordanian rule on the West Bank was based upon the rivals of al-Husseini, i.e., the supporters of Rahib Bey al-Nashāshībī. In the 1960s, however, the situation changed, largely as the result of the economic advance in Jordan during this period. The cultivation of new lands, the beginnings of industrial development, the increase in trade, and the expansion of education, and other services all required skilled manpower, which the Palestinians were able to supply. Many left for the East Bank, where most of the development was taking place, in order to benefit from the favorable economic conditions there. They were successful in business and assumed important positions in the administration of the country. In fact, from the social and economic aspect, it was Jordan that was being "Palestinianized," rather than the opposite.

The refugees were also affected by this process. Many of them left the refugee camps, found a livelihood in new branches of a budding economy, and in fact were no longer refugees. This process was further accelerated by the growth of an "Arab America" along the Persian Gulf and in Saudi Arabia. Tens of thousands of Palestinians were employed in these areas and were able to make their families independent of the UNRWA rations. Various observers have estimated that on the eve of the Six-Day War at least half of the refugees in Jordan had, from a practical point of view, ceased to be refugees. Nevertheless, this development did not result in a mitigation of the Israel-Arab conflict. The Arab states, which were at all times at odds with one another, exploited the refugees' plight for political ends and tried to outdo one another in adopting extremist stands. Arab solidarity induced them to sustain the urgency of the "Palestine problem," but, with the exception of Jordan, they did nothing to improve the refugees' sorry lot.

At the beginning of the 1960s, when Egyptian-Iraqi tension was particularly acute, the idea of a "Palestine Entity" was again raised, with Egypt and Iraq vying with each other for the sponsorship of the plan and both using it in their attacks upon Jordan. As a result of various inter-Arab developments, the first Arab summit conference, held in January 1964, passed a resolution calling for the unification of Arab efforts on behalf of Arab Palestine. The groundwork was also laid for a Palestine Conference, which was held in May 1964 on the Mount of Olives in Jerusalem and established the Palestine Liberation Organization, with Ahmad Shukeiry as its head. The effectiveness of the organization was limited, for it had come into existence as a result of inter-Arab political maneuvers, each Arab state having its own interpretation of the organization's meaning and purpose. Its leaders were appointed by the Arab League, and the participation of Palestinians in its activities was limited.

Eventually of greater importance for the renewal of the idea of a "Palestine Entity" after the 1967 war was the al-Fataḥ organization, which originally came into being in 1965, largely as the result of inter-Arab quarrels. The revolutionary Baʿth regime in Syria, established in 1963, sought to appear as the outstanding champion of the Palestinian cause and the most extreme in its hatred of Israel. It had not taken part in the establishment of the Palestine Liberation Organization and regarded al-Fataḥ as an excellent weapon to use in its attacks upon the other Arab States. Al-Fataḥ developed the ideology of a "people's war" that would bring about the destruction of Israel, and the Baʿth regime was eager to lend it support and assistance. The increasing terrorist activities from Syrian territory, carried out by al-Fataḥ, created ever-growing tension which finally led the Arab states into a new war against Israel in June 1967, but the outcome of the war was a bitter disappointment to those who had been its prime instigators.

Al-Fataḥ appeared, therefore, as a new version of a Palestinian Arab body, no longer willing to accept Pan-Arab custodianship of Palestinian Arab affairs. This was borne out by the events after June 1967. While in the past Palestine Arab terror organizations had served only as a tool in the hands of Arab rulers, they were now largely independent bodies that from time to time were even able to exert pressure upon Arab governments, particularly in Jordan and Lebanon. Although the terrorist organizations continued to receive financial aid and arms from Arab States (Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Egypt, and Syria), their leadership was largely independent. Their members were Palestinians first and their Pan-Arab ideology receded. In light of this revival of Palestinian Arab Nationalism, the theory so widely accepted in the 1960s that Pan-Arab ideology had won out over particularist trends lost much of its validity.

The Arab National Movement in Palestine began as a force opposed to Zionism. When it failed in its efforts to stem the realization of the Zionist aim, it turned to the Arab states and to the Muslim world for help. Various developments during the 1940s resulted in the almost complete removal of an independent Palestinian Arab element from the political arena. Yet almost 20 years later, it appeared that the shock and paralysis that the Palestinian Arabs had suffered as a result of their defeat in 1948 was wearing off, and Palestinian Arabs were reappearing upon the political scene. This development was enhanced by the disappointing failure of the Egyptian-Syrian union (in 1961), by the outcome of the Algerian war, and also by the trend of successful "people's wars" and guerrilla tactics in other parts of the world. However, the revitalized Palestinian Arab nationalism, even after adopting a leftist style, remained characterized by unmitigated hostility to Israel, absolute refusal to accept its existence and recognize the right of the Jews to a state of their own, and hatred of Jews, which was virtually indistinguishable from antisemitism.

SINCE THE SIX-DAY WAR. The Six-Day War was a decisive turning point for the Palestine national movement. On the one hand, the Palestinian nationalists' hopes of drawing the Arab states into all-out war with Israel were realized, but on the other, the war resulted in a resounding victory for Israel. The strategy of the al-Fataḥ had been based on the theory that an independent "popular war" would provoke or even compel Israel to initiate retaliatory and preventive action and this, in turn, would lead to a new war, in which the growing power of the regular Arab armies would achieve victory.

As a result of the Six-Day War, however, not only was "Palestine" not "liberated," but Israel now occupied the entire area usually defined as Palestine. The Gaza Strip and the West Bank, which had been under Arab control until June 1967, now came under Israeli rule. About 1,000,000 additional Palestinian Arabs came under Israel's military administration, bringing the total under Israeli rule, together with the Arabs living in Israel since the establishment of the State, to about 1,400,000. This situation had important new aspects, which the Palestinian guerrilla organizations, under the leadership of Yasser Arafat, tried to exploit to their advantage. In the political arena, the Israeli occupation of the whole of Ereẓ Israel reopened the debate about the rights of Jews and Arabs in Ereẓ Israel. The existence of close to one-and-a-half million Palestinian Arabs under Israel authority reawakened a question that had been all but dormant since 1948: the political definition of the Palestinian Arabs. As a result of Israel's conquest, which united the Arabs of the Gaza Strip, the West Bank, and Israel under one government, it was possible, for the first time since 1948, to relate to the Palestinians as a single political body.

After the traumatic shock had passed, the first question marks about the continuation of the struggle began to appear. On June 23, 1967, the central committee of al-Fataḥ met in Damascus and discussed the continuation of the struggle. One opinion called for concentration, in the meantime, on preparations and the building of an underground resistance movement in the territories occupied by Israel. Arafat and his supporters were in favor of the immediate transfer of the activities of the organization from Syria and Jordan to the occupied territories in order to start a "popular liberation war" as soon as possible, in the belief that this time the war would succeed, as it would be based upon much greater popular support then in the past. Arafat's view prevailed, and the leaders began to implement their mission immediately. Hundreds of guerillas, under Arafat's leadership, began to penetrate the occupied territories and set up networks (based upon cells), disseminate propaganda, and carry out the first acts of sabotage.

These efforts ended in failure, however, as the Israel authorities succeeded – through a combination of liberal treatment of the local population and efficient security intelligence – in dislocating the networks and exposing the majority of their members, thus forcing the handful of guerrillas that were not caught (including Arafat) to fall back to the East Bank.

Henceforth, al-Fataḥ gradually adopted a new form of fighting. Its forces concentrated close to the cease-fire lines on the Arab side, along the eastern Jordan Valley and the Lebanese border, whence they fired upon Israel border settlements and sometimes attempted to cross over to lay mines and attack Israel Defense Force (IDF) patrols or passing civilian traffic. Counteraction by the IDF, however, forced the guerillas to withdraw from the Jordan Valley into the interior of Jordan, as they could not withstand IDF raids and the Israel air force attacks. The Hashemite government in Jordan was less than enthusiastic over this development, but it did not do much to prevent it, for fear of being branded as a traitor to the Palestinian cause. Thus al-Fataḥ succeeded in establishing itself deep in the Kingdom of Jordan, with refugee camps as natural bases for its activities.

Although these developments did not lead to military victories for al-Fataḥ, it achieved important successes in the political and propaganda spheres. To the world at large it often succeeded in presenting its efforts as a war of national liberation against a foreign, colonialist conqueror. Within the Arab world, al-Fataḥ became the most outstanding Palestinian organization, overshadowing, and finally gaining control over, the Palestine Liberation Organization. The dubious personality of Aḥmad Shukeiri, head of the PLO, was exposed during the Six-Day War by his flight from Jerusalem and his stand after the war contradicting ideas he had voiced a few days before it. Although he tried to return to the arena of the struggle, Shukeiri could not be trusted, and toward the end of 1967 he was forced to resign as the head of the PLO, Yaḥya Ḥammuda, a lawyer from Ramallah, taking his place. Ḥammuda attempted to make the PLO into a roof organization for all the guerrilla organizations and even established the "Popular Liberation Forces" as the guerrilla arm of the PLO. Al-Fataḥ, however, was willing to join the roof organization only as its decisive power. It agreed to participate in the Palestinian National Conference that convened in Cairo in May 1968, where it won a representation of 38 members (out of 100) on the Palestinian National Council elected at the conference. Even this situation, however, did not satisfy al-Fataḥ, which aspired to a more powerful position. At the following meeting of the council in February 1969, al-Fataḥ and its supporters achieved a majority, Arafat being elected chairman of the organization in place of Ḥammuda.

The council meeting in May 1968 also drafted a Palestinian National Covenant to serve as an ideological basis for the struggle against Israel. The document declared that the Palestinians will struggle for the liberation of all of Palestine, according to the borders in effect during the British Mandate and that the country belongs to the Palestinians alone (Article 6). It stated that "Jews who were living permanently in Palestine until the beginning of the Zionist invasion will be considered Palestinians." In another article, the "Zionist invasion" was said to have started in 1917. Only those Jews who lived in the country before 1917 would, therefore, be considered Palestinians and would be permitted to live in "liberated Palestine."

At the same time, the Palestinian organizations tried to present their struggle as a progressive, humane, and anti-imperialist one. It was difficult to reconcile this attempt with the general spirit of the National Covenant. Shortly after the meeting of the council, therefore, the organizations began to disseminate the idea that the Palestinians were fighting for the establishment of a "democratic and multi-racial Palestine," which would have room for the Jews living in Israel. It was impossible, however, to reconcile this slogan with the terms of the covenant. Some members of the Palestinian organizations attempted to reopen the question at later meetings of the council, but the majority refused to return to it and continued to maintain both aspects of the paradox – the "progressive" slogan and anti-Jewish article – simultaneously. There is also a contradiction between the slogan and Article 1 of the convention, which states that "Palestine is… [an] integral part of the Great Arab Homeland and the People of Palestine are part of the Arab Nation." If the guerrilla organizations took the slogan of a "democratic and multi-ethnic Palestine" seriously, they would have had to take into consideration the fact that today the number of Jews in "Palestine" is greater than the number of Arabs; and if every Jew in Israel were to become a citizen of a "democratic and multi-racial Palestine," it would be difficult to see how the people of such a state could be part of the "Arab Nation."

These contradictions are the expression of the general confusion among the Arabs over their national identity. Should they formulate their political frameworks on the basis of the borders established after World War I? Or perhaps the wider area in which the Arab-speaking peoples live is a more proper framework? Can a common written language bridge the economic, social, and dialectical differences that exist within the great expanse called the Arab world? This search for identity is not confined to the Palestinians alone, but is one of the basic phenomena of Arab life.

The attitude toward this key question contributed substantially to the division among the Palestinians. On the side of al-Fataḥ were the organizations politically connected with the Baʿth Party and unquestionably loyal to the aim of Arab unity. But the split within the Baʿth Party itself brought about the establishment of a number of organizations: The Arab Liberation Front, affiliated with the Iraqi Baʿth Party; the Pioneers of the Popular War of Liberation, called al-Saʾeka and affiliated with the Syrian Baʿth Party; and smaller organizations established by people who were affiliated with the Baʿth but preferred to remain independent. An interesting development took place in the "Arab Nationalist Movement" (al-Kawmiwoun al-Arab). This organization was established during the early 1950s by two Palestinian physicians, George Habash and Wadʿa Haddad (both Greek-Orthodox Christians) in order to work toward Arab unity and thus revenge the defeat of 1948 (their motto was "Unity, Freedom, and Revenge!"). They gradually began to look upon *Nasser as the personality who would realize their goal, and when he turned to the left they followed him. In the 1960s, however, they began to become more leftist than Nasser and despair of the hope that Arab unity would bring about the destruction of Israel. In 1966 the organization decided to adopt the policy of a "popular war" to liberate Palestine without waiting for the realization of Arab unity.

Immediately after the defeat in June 1967, the heads of al-Kawmiwoun al-Arab amalgamated with the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP), which began to advance a Marxist-Leninist ideology and a strategy of exhibitionist terrorism against Israel (sky hijackings, etc.). Because of its leftist position, the PFLP avoided participation in the Palestinian National Council. In contrast to al-Fataḥ, the PFLP also claimed to operate against "reactionary" elements in all the Arab states and was not content with the struggle against Israel alone.

Within the PFLP, an extreme left-wing branch developed and progressively began to emphasize the notion of a comprehensive social revolution. This branch, under the direction of Nayef Hawatmeh, began a struggle for the control of the Front, and in February 1969 broke away from it to create the Democratic Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine. It accused the leader of the PFLP of fascism, chauvinistic nationalism, and betrayal of Marxism-Leninism. In its founding platform the DPFLP stated that the solution to the Palestinian problem was "a popular democratic Palestinian state in which all citizens will enjoy full religious and cultural rights and constitutional and social equality." This was the first Arab publication in which the Jews of Israel were not considered as only a religious community, but also as a collective body with its own culture. A year later Hawatmeh raised the possibility that the solution to the Palestinian question could be found through the establishment of a federation, on the lines, perhaps, of Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia, containing a Palestinian Arab component and an Israeli one, with the stipulation that the Israeli element must liberate itself from the Zionist ideology. This ideological development was restricted to the DPFLP, whose influence was minimal. The other organizations, despite the divisions between them, were united in their denial of national and cultural rights, as distinguished from religious rights, to the Jews of Israel.

The establishment of the Palestinian guerrilla organizations in Jordan brought to the fore the question of their relationship to the Hashemite government. In contrast to the PFLP, al-Fataḥ preferred not to interfere in Jordan's internal affairs. It wanted to concentrate its energies against Israel, with Jordan, as a pro-Western state, providing it with immunity against fierce Israel counterattacks. It was difficult to implement this approach, however. As a result of the growth in the numerical strength of al-Fataḥ, the refugee camps and many areas in Jordan were, in effect, removed from the scope of Jordanian rule. From time to time clashes took place between armed Jordanian forces and members of the guerrilla organizations. It appeared that al-Fataḥ was gradually gaining ascendency over the Jordanian government and was turning the kingdom into a large anti-Israel base, without wishing to control the country's internal affairs. Though the Hashemite authorities tried to avoid clashes with the Palestinian organizations, a bitter clash took place between them and the Jordanian army in June 1970. At that time King Hussein restrained his forces and gave in to the organizations on every point connected with their position in Jordan, but in September 1970 there were fierce battles in which the guerrilla organizations were dealt a severe blow. The hijacking of American passenger planes to Zarqā, and the guerrilla control of Irbid, the second-largest city in the country, was viewed by the king and his army as a grave threat to their rule and position. The confrontation proved again that the military strength of the guerrilla organizations had been exaggerated and deflated the popularly held image of the Palestinian "revolutionary" movement.

This defeat at the hands of the Arab "reactionaries," added to the failure of terrorist tactics to force Israel to withdraw from territories occupied during the Six-Day War, exposed the weakness of the Palestinian national movement. In one unexpected area, however, it had some success. If it had seemed, up until 1967, that the Arabs of Israel were reconciled to their problematic position as citizens of the State of Israel, the appearance of a Palestinian factor, since 1967, led to the emergence of small guerrilla groups affiliated with Palestinian organizations among the Arabs of Israel. Israeli Arabs found themselves faced with a multiple dilemma: not only were they torn between two types of identity – pan-Arab and Palestinian – but they also had to reconcile that identity with the obligations involved in Israeli citizenship.

For subsequent developments, see *Palestine Liberation Organization.

[Yehoshua Porath]

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POPULATION

THE JEWISH POPULATION

Growth by Aliyah

In 1882 the Jewish population of Ereẓ Israel numbered some 24,000, roughly 5% of the total, and about 0.3% of the world Jewish population. Since then there has been an almost continuous flow of *aliyah*, which brought in roughly 3,467,000 persons over a period of 120 years and created Israel's Jewish population of 5,094,200 persons at the end of 2002 – 76.8% of the total of 6,631,100. At the end of 2003 the total population reached 6,748,000, with the lowest increase of 117,000 persons (1.8%) in one year since 1990. In the year 2000 the population increase was 2.2%; in 2001, 2.2%; and in 2002, 1.9%. The reason for this decline was the emigration of *olim* (immigrants).

This large movement may be divided into three distinct periods. The first (a) was during the last years of the Ottoman regime, when immigration totaled 55,000 to 70,000. The average in the years of the First Aliyah (1882–1904) was about 1,000 a year, rising in 1904–14, the period of the Second Aliyah, to about 3,000 a year. During 1882–1914, a little less than 3% of the enormous numbers of Jews who migrated overseas, mainly from Eastern Europe, went to Ereẓ Israel. The second (b) was during the British Mandatory regime (1919–48), when *aliyah* totaled about 485,000, some 16,000 per year on the average. The peaks were in 1925 (34,000 – 285 immigrants per 1,000 of the country's Jewish population) and 1935 (66,000 – 206 per 1,000). During this period, *aliyah* constituted some 30% of the total Jewish overseas migration. The third period (c) was after the establishment of the State of Israel, when over 2,930,000 went to the new state between May 1948 and the end of 2002, or some 55,000 per year. Of these, some 687,000 immigrated between 1948 and 1951, the peak being in 1949, when about 240,000 arrived – about 266 per 1,000 of the Jewish population. A second great wave of immigration took place in the 1990s, mostly from the former Soviet Union (see below).

There were considerable fluctuations. Immigration tended, on the whole, to increase from period (a) to (b) and to (c), but within each period the curve of immigration was characterized by a wave-like rise and fall. (For figures see *Israel, State of: Aliyah and Absorption.) Waves in immigration were largely due to the interplay of a variety of changing political, economic, social, and ideological factors in the Land of Israel and the various countries of the Diaspora: the influence of Zionism, religion, *ḥalutziyyut*, socialist ideas, and the attraction of the independent Jewish state; the work of Jewish institutions in propagating ideologies, organizing *aliyah*, and helping the newcomers; policies regarding emigration in general, and Jewish emigration in particular, in various countries; changing immigration and absorption policies, as well as political and economic conditions, in the land of Israel and in other countries absorbing Jewish immigration. In the later Ottoman period, immigrants came from many countries, but in the Mandatory period and since the achievement of independence, practically every Jewish community in the Diaspora was represented. While some attraction to Israel seemed to be generally felt throughout the Jewish world, the intensity of participation, as measured by the yearly rates of immigration to Israel per 1,000 Jewish inhabitants of each country, varied considerably between different parts of the world and for each region in different periods. The table on the following page shows the immigration from each of the main Diaspora regions in the various periods between 1919 and 2003, as well as the percentage of immigration from the two regions (Asia and Africa; Europe and America) in each period.

From the end of 1989 a large wave of immigration began arriving in Israel (mostly from the states of the former U.S.S.R.). Within three years (1990–1992) some 450,000 immigrants entered Israel. (In the wave which arrived in Israel after the establishment of the state in 1948 and which was designated a "mass immigration," 690,000 arrived within three and a half years.) They constituted some 10% of the Jewish population. This mass immigration came after a decade of low-level immigration in which 15,000 immigrants on the average arrived each year.

As stated, this large wave – 1990 – 185,000; 1991 – 148,000; 1992 – 65,000; 1995–1996 – 119,000; 1997–1998 – 102,000; 2002 – 19,300 – came mostly from the various regions of the U.S.S.R. By comparison, in the 1970s the total number of immigrants arriving from Russia was 155,000. The second large group came from Ethiopia, from where some 27,000 arrived in 1990–1992 (of whom 15,000 arrived in a special operation, "Operation Solomon," within one day). In the 1980s some 15,000 arrived from Ethiopia; 46,800 immigrated since 1990.

Smaller groups of immigrants arrived from various countries in America (U.S., Argentina, and some other Latin American countries) and Western European countries.

The immigrants of the 1990–92 wave reflected the characteristics of the Russian immigrants. The proportion of females was 53% (similar to that found within the 1970 immigrants). The percent of females was much higher in the older age groups where it reached 61% (in the ages 65 and over).

The age structure of the 1990–92 immigration was characterized by a low percentage of children and a relatively high percent of older persons in comparison to the age structure of the Jewish population in Israel, and even compared to the 1980 immigration.

The immigration of 1990–92 included a high percent of those with high-level education (e.g., those with 13 years of schooling or more comprised 50% of those 15 and above, and those with 16 years and over 11%). A very high proportion of those in academic, scientific, professional and technical fields was found in this immigration.

The number of physicians and dentists who arrived in the 1990–92 immigration was 12,000 and the number of engineers and architects was 45,000.

Like immigration, emigration (*yeridah*) also displays wavelike fluctuations, which are, to a certain extent, connected with waves of *aliyah*, since the former is, to a certain degree, due to a backflow of the latter. However, since the 1960s emigration of veteran foreign-born and Israel-born adults has also been noticeable, probably largely due to economic factors. Bachi has estimated in a very rough way that at the end of 1975 some 11% of the Israeli population (including both emigrants and their descendants) resided abroad. This Israeli Diaspora may have been as large as some 370,000, mostly in Northern America and Western and Central Europe. A rough estimate at the beginning of the 21st century put the figure at over half a million.

The Growth of the Jewish Population

The most immediate demographic effects of *aliyah* were as follows. Between 1882 and 1914, the Jewish population increased by 61,000 (from 24,000 to 85,000). Immigration roughly accounted for this increase, while emigration and natural increase probably canceled each other out. Immigration failed to bring a sizable proportion of the Jewish people to the country and did not succeed in reducing the absolute size of the Diaspora (in 1914 only 0.6% of world Jewry lived in the land of Israel). It did succeed, however, in creating a nucleus of population that was able to survive the expulsions and emigrations, diseases, and famine brought on by World War I (during which the Jewish population was reduced to some 57,000) and served as a basis for further development. During the Mandatory period, the Jewish population of Palestine increased by about 566,000 (from 84,000 according to the census of 1922 to 650,000 on the eve of independence), 71% of the growth being due to immigration and 29% to natural increase. At the end of the period, the Jews of Palestine constituted 5.7% of world Jewry.

During the period between May 1948 and the end of 1970, the Jewish population increased by 1,910,000, of which about

62% was due to the immigration balance and 38% to natural increase. At the end of 1970, the Jewish population of Israel (2,559,000 persons) constituted over 18% of world Jewry.

In the period 1971–1978, the population of Israel as a whole continued to grow, though at an average yearly rate of 27 per 1,000, which was less than in 1961–1970 (35 per 1,000) and much smaller than in 1948–1960 (81 per 1,000). The lower rate of growth was due mainly to a relatively low level of Jewish immigration and decline of the natural increase.

In 2002 the Israeli population numbered nearly 6.7 million persons. Within the period 1983–2002, it increased by 2.5 million (by 38%; an average annual growth rate of 2%). The increase of the population was very uneven. While the first seven years of the period (1983–1989) witnessed a slow growth (1.7% per year), the growth rate in the next three years (1990–1992) was much larger (4.4% per year, adding 200,000 each year) and between 1993 and 2002 was 2.7% per year.

These large differences in growth relate to a Jewish population, which increased in 1983–2002 by 1,681,700 (an average of 5.5% per year) and reached 5,094,200 by the end of 2002. In the period 1983–89 the annual growth attained 1.5%, while in the period 1990–2002 the average growth rate reached 2.4%.

The large differential growth is attributable wholly to the mass immigration which began arriving in Israel at the end of 1989 and brought within three years 450,000 immigrants, so that natural increase (the difference between the number of births and deaths) which contributed 92% of the Jewish population increase in the period 1983–89, contributed only 27% in this later period.

During the period between May 1948 and the end of 2002, the Jewish population increased by 4,335,500, of which about 62% was due to the immigration balance and 38% to natural increase. At the end of 2002, the Jewish population of Israel (5,094,200 persons) constituted over 38% of world Jewry and was exceeded in size only by the Jewish community of the United States (see *Demography). The population increase varied considerably from year to year, largely due to the fluctuations in *aliyah*.

Composition According to Place of Birth

Mainly as a consequence of changing sizes and origins of immigration and of differentials of fertility (which will be discussed below), the composition of the Jewish population according to country of birth has changed considerably in the course of time, but has always been extremely heterogeneous. The following are some of the main aspects of this phenomenon:

PROPORTION OF FOREIGN-BORN. With increasing rates of immigration, the proportion of persons born abroad increased from approximately 42% of the Jewish population in 1916–18 to 58% in 1931 and 64.6% in 1948, and decreased to 37.2% at the end of 2002. The percentage of foreign-born was higher in the adult age-groups, which is exceptional, even in countries of large immigration. If conditions in Israel had been different and a considerable part of the immigrant population had not identified itself strongly with the new country, such high percent ages of foreign-born citizens could have produced a very unstable society, since the majority of the people acquired their cultural background in foreign countries.

Jewish Immigrants to Israel by Continent of Birth, 1882–2004

	Absolute Numbers			Percentages		
Period	Asia and Africa	Europe and America	Total[1]	Asia and Africa	Europe and America	Total
1882–1919[2]			65,000			
1919– May 14, 1948[2]	44,809	385,066	452,158	10.4	89.6	100.0
May 15, 1948–1969	696,670	577,605	1,294,026	54.7	45.3	100.0
May 15, 1948–1951	330,456	334,971	684,201	49.7	50.3	100.0
1952–1954	39,978	11,187	51,193	78.1	21.9	100.0
1955–1957	110,714	49,630	160,961	69.1	30.9	100.0
1958–1960	25,926	46,460	72,393	35.8	64.2	100.0
1961–1964	133,561	86,748	220,323	60.6	39.4	100.0
1965–1969	56,035	48,609	104,955	53.5	46.5	100.0
1972–1979[3]	38,729	228,459[4]	267,188	14.4	85.6	100.0
1980–1989[3]	43,097	110,267[4]	153,364	28.1	71.9	100.0
1990–2001	108,236	951,348[4]	1,060,091	10.2	89.8	100.0
2002–2004	19,345	58,380[4]	77,733	29.5	70.5	100.0

Source: Statistical Abstract of Israel, Central Bureau of Statistics, Jerusalem.

1 Including unknown origin.
2 Palestine.
3 Including potential immigrants.
4 Including Oceania.

GROWING DIVERSIFICATION OF FOREIGN-BORN. Whereas in the last years of the Ottoman period and the first part of the Mandatory period three-quarters of the foreign-born were East European (Russians, Poles, Latvians, Lithuanians, and Romanians, who constituted the backbone of the Zionist enterprise), their proportion in the foreign-born population rapidly decreased, falling to 26.9% by 2002. Central Europeans (Germans, Austrians, Czechs, Slovakians, Hungarians), once a small minority, reached the considerable proportion of 18.4% in the period of Nazi persecution, but they decreased to less than 2.9% by 2002. All Europeans taken together dropped from 76.4% of the foreign-born in 1948 to 24% in 2002. On the other hand, those from Asian countries increased from 12.5% in 1948 to 13.3% in 2002, while the African communities grew from 2.6% to 16.1% (of which four-fifths came from Morocco, Algeria, and Tunisia) in the same period.

These changes have been accompanied by a deep change in stratification according to ages. While people of European origin still constitute the majority of the middle aged and the old, the largest group in the younger, productive ages is of Asian and African origin. Among the children, the native-born ("sabras") constitute the majority. Considering together those born abroad and their children, in 2002 Jews of Asian and African origin constituted 29.5% of those whose origin was known, while people of European and American origins constituted 41.1%. The increasing variety in the composition of the Jewish population confronted the State of Israel with very complex problems arising from the need to give everyone a common cultural, political, and linguistic basis and from the lower educational standards of the Asian and African newcomers.

Distribution of Immigration and Population by Sex and Age

Unlike most international migration processes due mainly to economic factors, modern *aliyah* was in general well balanced in regard to sex. Only in very difficult periods, as for instance in the first waves of 1919–23 and among the "illegal" immigrants in the 1940s, did the proportion of men considerably outweigh that of women. Accordingly, the distribution of population by sexes was also generally well balanced and subject only to minor fluctuations: the percentage of males at different times was the following: 1922 – 52.3; 1931 – 50.5; 1936 – 50.0; 1940 – 50.5; 1948 – 51.7; 1961 – 50.7; 1969 – 50.3; 2002 – 51.2. The age structure of the *aliyah* in the Mandatory period differed from that of the period of independence. Due to selection, the former was extremely abnormal in age distribution; it included a very high proportion of young people and was strongly at variance with the age distribution of the communities of origin (the Jewish population in Europe was largely characterized by a high proportion of old people). In the first phases of the Mandatory period, the Jewish population of Palestine reflected these characteristics and presented a typically strong swelling of the age pyramid in the very young age groups. The high proportion of people of young working age was presumably a considerable asset for the economic, social, and political development of the Zionist enterprise. In the long run, however, the situation was considerably changed by the aging of the young immigrants; the low fertility of the Europeans, then constituting the large majority of the population, which set in motion a general process of aging, and the inadequate influence of the smaller, new immigration waves in rejuvenating the population. The population therefore became more regular in its distribution and lost much of its young character.

During the period of statehood, a considerable part of the *aliyah* was nonselective and reflected the structure of the communities of origin. This *aliyah* had a much higher proportion of children, a somewhat higher proportion of old people, and a higher proportion of those in dependent ages to those in working ages. Unlike the immigration of the Mandatory period, it contributed to a leveling-out of the age distribution of the population. It widened the base of the age pyramid and the high fertility of the Oriental immigrants checked or offset the aging of the population, particularly that of the population in the working ages. As a consequence of all these processes, the Jewish population of Israel is today more regular in its age distributions than in the past; it is younger than many Western populations, but older than Eastern populations. Due to fluctuation in the number of births in the last decade, the percentage aged 15–19 is higher than the 0–14 age bracket and a much higher percentage than in the following brackets.

At the end of 2002, 1.88 million (28.4% of the population of Israel) were children under 15; 61.8% were in the ages 15–64; and 9.9% were older people (aged 65 and over).

The age distribution in 2002 differs from that of a decade earlier in a decrease in the proportion of children, and a small increase in the proportion of older people. These changes were influenced by the age structure of immigrants who arrived in 1990–1992, who had a lower fertility and so a lower proportion of children and a higher proportion of older persons. The proportion of those 65 and over in the veteran population, had the immigration not taken place, would not have changed to any significant degree up to 2010.

The process of aging which the Jewish Israeli population underwent brought the proportion of those 65 and over from 4.0% in 1948 to 7.2% in 1970, 9.7% in 1980, 10.5% in 1990, and 9.9% in 1992. Within this older group the proportion of 75 and over, from among those 65+, was 25% in 1970 and 32% in 1980, 41% in 1992, and 45.7% in 2002.

Considerable differences in the age structure of the Jewish and Arab communities persist; to a large extent as a result of fertility differentials. The proportion of children was 41% among Arabs compared to 25.4% among Jews in 2002; the proportion of those aged 65 and over was 3.9% in the Arab population compared to 11.4% among Jews.

The decrease in the proportion of children found in both the Jewish and Arab population was counterbalanced by the increase in the proportion of those aged 25 and over (mostly in the age group 25–44).

Large differences in the age structure were found between various localities in the country. Tel Aviv-Jaffa and Haifa cities have an older population (16–17% of the population were aged 65 and older), while Jerusalem had a younger population (7.6% aged 65 and over). A similar rate is found in smaller towns and in rural areas. This is a result of the structure of the population in various localities. In localities with a larger proportion of those originating in Asia and Africa, or a large proportion of Orthodox population, the age structure was younger (a larger proportion of children and a smaller proportion of older people).

Marriages, Births, Deaths, and Natural Increase

The study of the vital statistics of Israel's Jewish population is of interest from many points of view. While it has been established and expanded mainly by immigration, its future development, in the long run, will largely depend on the reproductive capacity of the immigrants and their descendants. Since Israel is a new and small country, the enlarging of its population may be of importance in order to provide a sufficiently large and differentiated basis for its economy and social structure. The demographic situation of the Jews of Israel may be significant in the light of the demography of world Jewry, which emerged from the Holocaust extremely reduced in numbers, and the fact that demographic trends in considerable parts of the Diaspora, such as aging of the population, low fertility rates, and losses due to intermarriage, are producing further population decreases. From a scientific point of view, the analysis of the evolution of marriage habits, fertility, mortality, and health standards among the various groups of the Jewish population in Israel is of interest within the larger framework of modern demographic evolution in general and that of the various branches of world Jewry in particular. Demographic patterns in the Diaspora differ considerably in relation to general environment, cultural development, degrees of religious conservatism, and assimilation of Jews into different social classes. In very broad terms, it appears that in many Asian and African communities the old Jewish customs of universal, early, and endogamous marriage, accompanied by high fertility, still tended to prevail until recently. Mortality rates had begun to fall considerably, creating a comparatively large reproductive force. On the other hand, European Jews, particularly in Central Europe, have in general had comparatively low marriage rates, rather high marriage ages, and generally increasing rates of exogamous marriage. Fertility has decreased (mainly among Central European Jews) to such an extent as in many cases to be well below replacement level, despite the generally favorable age-specific mortality rates among Jews as compared with those of non-Jews in the same countries (see *Demography). The following are some of the main features of the vital statistics of the Jewish population of Israel.

MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE. Marriage in Israel is almost exclusively endogamous within the Jewish community. Marriage is almost universal in all groups of the Jewish population: the percentage of single persons at the end of the fertility period is generally small. Only recently has there been some tendency toward increased rates of celibacy among Jewish women. In addition, the generally favorable age structure and the influx of unmarried immigrants – who often appear to postpone marriage before immigration and are afterward eager to marry – have contributed to generally high crude marriage rates among the Jewish population in Israeli during periods of heavy immigration. Average age of Israel brides at first marriage was 25.9 in 2001, which is low by European standards, but higher than that found in Oriental countries. The propensity to marry has continued to be comparatively strong in three population groups – the Jews, the Moslems and the Druze – and weak among the Christians. In 2000 the proportion of Jewish women reaching the age of 45–49 without having been married was 6%. Age at marriage tends to become more uniform than in the past among the various groups of the population of Israel. Early marriages which were frequent in the past among the Moslems, the Druze and among Jews of certain Asian and African origins have become by far less frequent.

Among Jews, preference in marriage between people of same origin still constitutes a rather general feature, but this tendency is clearly decreasing in the course of time; it decreases among people born abroad, with length of stay in Israel, and it is weaker among people born in Israel than among foreign born. Data shows that homogamy (tendency to marry people of equal origin) was comparatively higher – within each class of length of stay – among people born in certain Asian and African countries, such as Yemen, India, Iraq, Iran, Morocco and Libya, where the Jewish communities were on the whole more traditional and less "modernized."

Among those of European origin, homogamy by country was generally much lower. However, those Jews of Romanian, Polish, Bulgarian, and Greek origin had a higher homogamy rate than those from Central Europe and other Western countries. Among Jews marrying a partner originating from a country different from their own, there is still some tendency to prefer a marriage mate originating from a country where customs, culture or language are equal or similar to those of one's own country. Among such areas of marriage preference the following may be quoted: Eastern European countries; Central Europe; former French North Africa; Latin America; Anglo-Saxon countries; and the Sephardi community. The frequency of marriages between people of African or Asian origin and those of European origin is gradually increasing.

DIVORCES. Divorce rates, which had decreased in the 1950s and 1960s, have shown a tendency to increase since then. On the basis of the 1972 census it has been calculated that the average yearly number of divorces per 1000 married persons was, among the Jews of Israel, about four and in 2001 about nine. These rates are higher than those prevalent in many other countries, but lower than those found in the U.S.A., and among various Scandinavian, Central European, Balkan, and Muslim populations. Probability of divorce reaches a maximum two years after marriage and then declines slowly. The propensity to divorce decreases with increasing number of children. However, the percentage of divorced couples with children has increased in the course of time. Divorced people have a high tendency to remarry. Actually, divorced men marry more than bachelors or widowers of same age and divorcées marry more than spinsters and widows. This feature is not peculiar to Israel and is sometimes interpreted as showing that divorce is generally less a repudiation of marriage as such, than an expression of dissatisfaction with a particular marriage partner. This may be connected also with the likely fact that some divorces are obtained to marry somebody else. However, divorced people have also a particularly high propensity to divorce again.

FERTILITY. Patterns of fertility differ among various Jewish population groups far more than marriage patterns. Fertility may be indicated by the average number of children born per woman in the entire reproductive period – about 15–49 (it must be remembered that an average of more than two children per couple is necessary for ensuring adequate reproduction, as some children die before reaching maturity). From the scanty statistical material available it appears that at the beginning of the 20th century, Jews in the Land of Israel still had a rather high fertility. However, in the 1920s and 1930s fertility fell rapidly (1927–29, 3.57 children per woman; 1935–38, 2.54; 1939–42, 2.33. This decrease was due to the rapid spread of birth control (by contraception and abortion), mainly among the Jews of European origin, who constituted the great majority of the Jewish population. Limitation of births was particularly strong in periods of political or economic difficulties, like that of the Arab riots (1936–39) and the beginning of World War II. In the late 1940s there was a "baby boom" among European Jews in Palestine, comparable with that which developed at the time in many Western countries; many of the births may be considered as "delayed" from previous bad times.

Total Fertility Rates (average number of children per woman)

	Jews born in				Non-Jewish population		
Years	Israel	Asia-Africa	Europe-America	Total	Muslims	Christians	Druze
1955–59	2.79	5.40	2.53	3.56	8.17	4.56	7.21
1960–64	2.73	4.79	2.38	3.39	9.23	4.68	7.49
1965–69	2.83	4.35	2.59	3.36	9.22	4.26	7.30
1970–74	3.05	3.92	2.83	3.28	8.47	3.65	7.25
1975–79	2.91	3.40	2.80	3.00	7.25	3.12	6.93
1980–84	2.82	3.09	2.76	2.80	5.54	2.41	5.40
1985–89	2.82	3.14	2.66	2.79	4.70	2.49	4.19
1990–94	2.72	3.33	2.14	2.62	4.67	2.18	3.77
1995–99	2,93			2.62	4.67	2.56	3.24
2004	2.90			2.71	4.36	2.13	2.66

Source: Statistical Abstract of Israel 1995, No. 46; 2005, No. 56.
Data for the five year periods are arithmetical means.

In 1949–50 the fertility of European Jews reached the top level of 3.24. Later, however, it declined again (1960–63, 2.4; 1965, 2.6; 2002, probably in connection with the recession, 2.64). In 1968–69, after the end of the recession, it somewhat increased, possibly also due to a change in public opinion in regard to the fertility problem. However, in general, the fertility of European Jews in Israel was not much higher than the minimum reproduction level. Fertility differentials were not large among European Jews. The main factors of differentiation were religious outlook (among religious women, particularly those observing the injunction of the *mikveh* or ritual bath, there was considerably higher fertility and less contraception and induced abortion than among others); work (working women had less children than others); place of residence (women in Tel Aviv and Haifa had lower fertility than in other towns), the highest fertility being found in Jerusalem, with its large proportion of religious people, and the kibbutzim; education (the higher the education, the lower the fertility); length of stay (the veteran settlers and the second generation have a somewhat higher fertility than new immigrants).

Jews of Afro-Asian origin somewhat reduced their fertility during the Mandatory period, mainly in places and among strata having more contact with European Jews. However, their average fertility remained higher than that of European Jews. Mass immigration brought many large families not accustomed to birth control, which considerably increased the fertility of Asian-African Jews. However, in the course of time, birth control spread among them, especially among the younger generation. Differences in fertility in this group were very large; as among the Europeans, religious outlook and work played some part, but the main differentiations are related to length of stay in the country, education, and place of residence. In the higher educational levels and in certain places, such as the kibbutzim, the differences by origin almost disappeared, while women living in more secluded places, like the moshavim, had a very high fertility rate.

On the whole, the fertility of people of Asian or African origin was still rather high, and due to their large proportion among women in the reproductive ages, the average fertility of Jews in Israel was considerably above reproduction level. However, the fertility of Jews of Asian-African origin continued to decrease in the period after the Six-Day War. This decrease was connected with spreading knowledge of, and the actual use of, contraceptive methods among this group of the population, as indicated above. This rapid evolution is accelerated by increasing levels of education, a larger proportion of working women, growing secularization and increasing contacts with other population groups.

In consequence the fertility of Jews born in Asia and Africa is lower in Israel than it was in the countries of origin, and it is lower in Israel among those born in Asia and Africa than among those born in Israel from parents of Asian-African origin.

Among those of European origin the opposite evolution has taken place. Fertility is higher in Israel than in the countries of origin and it is higher among Israelis born of European origin than among immigrants from Europe. The fertility of people of European origin (first and second generation) is still lower than that of those of Asian-African origin. However, in the late 1960s and early 1970s it tended to increase to some extent and to remain at a more sustained level than in previous periods. Among groups of European origin, the kibbutz population had a more considerable upsurge of its birth rate. Various demographic, political, psychological, economic and social explanations of the increase of fertility rates among people of European origin during the late 1960s and early 1970s may be proposed. In the late 1970s a tendency toward decline of fertility appeared again also among those of European origin.

Among the non-Jewish population a growing tendency toward control of births and reduction of fertility is also noticeable. These tendencies are strong in the Christian population which is more urbanized and has a higher educational level. They have started later and are less pronounced in the Moslem and Druze populations.

Considerable changes have also occurred with regard to abortions. In Mandatory Palestine regulations concerning abortions were very rigid and heavy penalties were laid down both for the woman procuring her own miscarriage or for any person procuring it. Although these regulations remained theoretically in force in Israel, they were not applied in practice. Abortions were very largely performed, generally by physicians, but almost without any public control. In 1966 penalties against the woman were abolished, and those against persons procuring abortions were mitigated. However, growing uneasiness was felt with regard to the discrepancy between written law and actual practice, and in 1977 a law was passed declaring abortions performed outside hospitals to be unlawful and fixing norms for cases which can be permitted in public hospitals by special committees. Those norms permit abortions for social reasons.

The practice of abortion seems to have been in the past widespread among European women, but to have then declined (probably with the wider spread of birth control) mainly among women of a higher educational level. Later, use of abortion increased among women of Asian-African origin, but also apparently declined. Abortion is practiced to a lesser extent among religious women than among non-religious. Legal abortions stood at 12.4% of live births in 2002 compared with a peak of 16.1 in 1984.

In Table: Total Fertility Rates, fertility has been measured by using – in order to enable comparison – the same method employed in the initial section on fertility above.

A total of 139,535 babies were born in Israel in 2002 (of whom 94,327 were Jewish). The last two decades saw a continuous decrease in the birth rate: from 24.6 births per 1,000 population in 1983 to 22.6 in 1988 and 21.2 in 2002. However, the rate in 2002 was still higher than that found in most developed countries (in 1989 the average birth rate for Europe was 12.9, for North America 15.0) but much lower than developing countries (the average in Africa – 45, Asia – 28).

The number of children per woman (at the end of her fertility period = "total fertility") was estimated as 3.21 in 1983, falling to 3.06 in 1988 and 2.64 by 2002. This number reflects large differences in fertility of the various communities in Israel. The birth rate (per 1,000 population) was 19 for the Jewish population compared to 37 among the Muslim population. The "total fertility rate" was 2.64 for the Jewish population, 4.58 for the Muslim population, 2.77 for the Druze population, and 2.29 for the Christian population.

The fertility of the Muslim population declined from 5.4 in 1983 to 4.53 in 1988, but later increased to 4.58 by 2002.

In the Jewish population large differences in fertility still exist between the various communities. The number of children of an Asian-born mother was 40% higher than of a European-born mother (for an African-born mother higher by 66%). But differences among mothers born in Israel of various origins were much lower.

A very distinct change in fertility for European-born mothers was noticed in the period from 1989 to 1992: a decline in total fertility from 2.6 to 2.05. This was caused by the very low fertility level of immigrants from the former Soviet Union who arrived in the large immigration wave of 1990–92 (total fertility for this group 1.5 children).

The decrease in fertility occurred for mothers of practically all levels.

MORTALITY. Before World War II health conditions were favorably affected by the fact that most of the immigrants came from Europe, where the Jews, in general, had lower age-specific mortality rates than non-Jews in the same localities, and that candidates for *aliyah* were generally selected. On the other hand, the change in environment, the transition to harder work, and the presence of an Arab majority with a high mortality rate may have been adverse factors. Since World War II further adverse factors have been operative, i.e., the mass immigration of people who underwent persecution and suffered in the concentration camps and of unselected Oriental immigrants with low health standards. Large-scale medical services, voluntary health insurance for the majority of the population, an exceptionally high proportion of physicians in the population, preventive services, and supervision of most mothers and children have acted as very favorable factors throughout the Mandatory and statehood periods. On the whole, the double challenge of bringing European immigrants to a prevalently Oriental country (up to 1948) and bringing Oriental immigrants to a prevalently European country (after 1948) has been met with considerable success. Life expectancy has steadily increased – from 54 in 1926 to 77.4 for men and 81.6 for women in 2001, and mortality has decreased at all age levels, especially among children and young people. The infant mortality rate, which in 1924 was ranked in the middle of the world list, decreased at so rapid a pace that in 1947 it was lower than that of 89 countries and higher only than that of four and had reached the record low level of 29.2 per 1,000; with mass immigration, it rose again to 51.7 per 1,000 in 1949, but afterward began to drop again and stood at 5.6 per 1,000 births in 1995 and 4.7 in 1999 for Jews. This level was found in countries having the lowest infant mortality rate in the developed countries. The wide gulf between the mortality of children of Asian and African immigrants and that of children of European origin has been bridged to a considerable extent, and the life expectancies of these two main groups of population are now quite close. For Muslims the decrease in infant mortality was from 21.3 to 13.1.

The total number of deaths from all causes was 35,348 in 1995 (i.e., 7.1 per 1,000 population). The major causes of death were similar to those found ten years earlier: heart conditions and cerebrovascular diseases were responsible for 40% of all deaths and cancers, 20%.

Intermarriage Between Groups of Different Origins

The Central Bureau of Statistics of Israel publishes yearly data on marriages according to country of birth and length of stay in Israel of the bride and groom, and particularly detailed data on this point were collected in the censuses of 1989 and 1995. The figures show that the tendency to marry people of the same origin (endogamy) is still very considerable in Israel. However, endogamy differs from group to group: it is lower in smaller than in larger groups; it is lower among people having higher educational standards and in such places as kibbutzim, where the members are more integrated into the life of the community. The most relevant feature found is that endogamy decreases with the length of stay in Israel. Where both husband and wife are new immigrants, endogamy by place of birth is found to be very high, but it is generally low in marriages between veteran residents and practically vanishes among veterans belonging to smaller groups. This finding and the general decrease of endogamy in the course of time show that there is a clear tendency toward a systematic lowering of marriage barriers between different origin groups. About 70% of marriages are still between couples of the same continent of origin, not because of preference for mates from the same community but mainly because of preference for a given level of education and the availability of single people of different ages in different countries.

Geographical Distribution of the Population

One of the most well known characteristics of modern Israel is the "return to the soil" – the establishment of hundreds of villages and the creation of a rural population, which are almost unknown in the Diaspora. Nevertheless, the Jewish population has been largely urban. With increasing mechanization and efficiency in Jewish agriculture, the proportion of people living on the land has been decreasing (17.3% in 1959; 10.8% in 1969, and 8.8% in 2002). Moreover, the share of the rural population in moshavot and moshavim has tended to increase, while that in the kibbutzim has decreased. Due to industrial development in urban areas the two large conurbations of Tel Aviv and Haifa contained, respectively, 54.7% and 18.4% of the total Jewish population at the end of 2002. Great efforts have been made by the authorities to prevent the over-rapid development of these areas and the over-concentration of the population in the coastal strip. This has been done by policies designed to increase the rural population, particularly in border areas, and by establishing "development towns" (mainly in the southern and northern districts). Some of the main developments in the geographical distribution of the population are shown in the following three tables: Jewish Population in Israel by Type of Settlement; Population and Settlements in Israel by Size of Settlement; and Jewish Population of Israel by District and Sub-District, showing the proportion of Jewish population living in each subdistrict.

Jewish Population in Israel by Type of Settlement, by percentage (1945–2003)

	1945	1948	1954	1961	1969	1983	1994	2003
Urban Population	84.6	83.9	76.1	84.6	89.2	90.2	90.5	91.2
Towns	64.3	64.4	64.5	69.7	73.2	–		
Urban settlements	20.3	19.5	11.6	14.9	16.0	–		
Rural Population	15.4	16.1	23.9	15.4	10.8	9.8	9.5	8.8
Villages	3.2	3.5	4.0	4.5	1.7	–	–	–
Moshavim	5.2	4.4	7.3	6.4	5.1	4.5[2]	3.9[2]	4.2
Kibbutzim	6.3	7.9	5.0	4.0	3.4	3.4	2.8	2.1
Other	0.7	0.3	7.6[1]	0.5	0.6	1.9	2.8	2.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

[1] Including immigrant transit centers.

[2] Including collective moshavim.

Population (in thousands) and Settlements in Israel by Size of Settlement (1953–2002)

	1953		1969		2002	
Size of Settlement	Settlements	Population	Settlements	Population	Settlements	Population
5,000–9,999	20	139.9	21	148.6	49	341.2
10,000–19,999	9	135.7	23	306.4	40	562.2
20,000–49,999	10	269.5	16	506.0	45	1,375.5
50,000+	3	651.5	10	1,441.1	9	647.2
100,000–199,999	—	—	—	—	8	1,374.8
200,000+	—	—	—	—	4	1,523.2
Living outside settlements	—	—	—	3.9	—	
Other	—	—	—	—	—	—
Bedouin tribes	—	20.1	—	36.8	—	n.a.
Total	42	1,216.7	69	2,442.8	155	5,828.1

Source: Statistical Abstract of Israel, Central Bureau of Statistics, Jerusalem.

The distribution of the population is marked by the following characteristics. Within the extremely irregular boundaries of Israel (within the 1949 armistice demarcation lines), the population is highly concentrated in certain areas, such as the Coastal Plain, and there is a very low density in the southern areas, which are largely desert. However, in the course of time there has been some tendency to modify these characteristics. The actual distribution has become a little less concentrated than it was in 1948. Population dispersal has increased, and the center of gravity has shifted considerably to the south (toward the Tel Aviv conurbation and southern development towns and zones). These changes have largely been due to the policy of attracting new immigrants to the development zones on the periphery of the country by providing housing and labor facilities in those regions. This policy has had a particularly strong effect on new immigrants from Asia and Africa.

Jewish Population of Israel by District and Sub-District[1] (1948–2003)

	Population (thousands)					Percentages				
District and Sub-District	**Nov. 8, 1948**	**May 22, 1961**	**Dec. 31, 1969**	**Dec. 31, 1994**	**Dec. 31, 2003**	**Nov. 8, 1948**	**May 22, 1961**	**Dec. 31, 1969**	**Dec. 31, 1994**	**Dec. 31, 2003**
Jerusalem district	**84.2**	**187.7**	**237.6**	**473.2**	**560.5**	**12.0**	**9.7**	**9.5**	**10.7**	**10.9**
Northern district	**53.4**	**194.3**	**244.6**	**458.7**	**516.4**	**7.6**	**10.0**	**9.8**	**10.3**	**10.0**
Safed sub-district	8.9	42.6	51.4	73.8	79.8	1.3	2.2	2.1	1.7	1.5
Kinneret sub-district	14.4	35.4	38.0	60.0	63.8	2.1	1.8	1.5	1.3	1.2
Jezreel sub-district	24.1	66.6	87.7	163.0	184.5	3.4	3.4	3.5	3.7	3.6
Acre sub-district	6.0	49.7	67.5	148.5	172.5	0.8	2.6	2.7	3.3	3.3
Golan sub-district					15.8					0.3
Haifa district	**147.7**	**322.3**	**386.3**	**562.6**	**608.4**	**21.1**	**16.7**	**15.5**	**12.7**	**11.8**
Haifa sub-district	116.4	257.6	311.9	430.2	438.8	16.6	13.3	12.5	9.7	8.5
Ḥaderah sub-district	31.3	64.7	74.4	132.4	169.6	4.5	3.4	3.0	3.0	3.3
Central district	**106.2**	**380.1**	**48.24**	**1,071.8**	**1,391.8**	**15.2**	**19.7**	**19.4**	**24.1**	**26.9**
Sharon sub-district	26.5	85.1	106.1	209.8	261.9	3.8	4.4	4.3	4.7	5.1
Petaḥ Tikvah sub-district	45.9	131.8	171.5	392.2	492.8	6.6	6.8	6.9	8.8	9.5
Ramleh sub-district	1.8	63.9	74.7	133.9	212.2	0.2	3.3	3.0	3.0	4.1
Reḥovot sub-district	32.0	99.3	130.0	335.9	425.0	4.6	5.2	5.2	7.6	8.2
Tel Aviv district	**302.1**	**692.6**	**852.5**	**1,115.4**	**1,095.4**	**43.2**	**35.9**	**34.1**	**25.1**	**21.2**
Southern district	**6.0**	**155.3**	**292.5**	**632.6**	**766.6**	**0.9**	**8.0**	**11.7**	**14.2**	**14.8**
Ashkelon sub-district	4.8	76.4	139.2	313.2	399.7	0.7	3.9	5.6	7.1	7.7
Beersheba sub-district	1.2	78.9	153.3	319.4	366.9	0.2	4.1	6.1	7.2	7.1
Judea, Samaria, and Gaza[3]					**226.3**					**4.4**
Not known	**17.1**	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Total	**716.7**	**1,932.3**	**2,496.4[2]**	**4,441.1**	**5,165.4**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**

Source: Statistical Abstract of Israel, Central Bureau of Statistics, Jerusalem.

[1] According to the boundaries of the sub-districts in the years listed.

[2] Including Israel residents in the Administered Territories.

[3] Following the disengagement from Gaza in Aug. 2005, the approx. 8,000 Jewish residents of the Gaza region were dispersed elsewhere in Israel.

These developments have been strengthened by the fact that there are more of the more prolific elements in the peripheral zones, while a higher proportion of the less fertile sections of the population and the older age groups is to be found in the central areas. Natural increase is therefore higher in peripheral zones and lower in the center, which increases population dispersal. These developments are offset, to some extent, by the effects of internal migration, as recent immigrants move mainly from the periphery to the center. Since the settlement of new immigrants in development areas has been the main factor in population dispersal, the latter has increased more in the periods of considerable immigration.

As new immigrants in the more peripheral areas have been largely of African and Asian origin, there has been a certain tendency toward regionalization. The immigrants of European origin, especially the veterans, are more concentrated in the large conurbations and the older settlements of the Coastal Plain, the Jezreel Valley, etc., while there is a higher proportion of people of African-Asian origin in the southern and northern regions. This regionalization explains the peculiar distribution of the population according to social, economic, and cultural characteristics (such as concentration of veteran immigrants in the central part of the country and dispersion of more recently arrived persons over more peripheral regions), higher educational standards and better economic conditions along the Mediterranean coast, and so on.

[Roberto Bachi / Elisha Efrat (2nd ed.)]

The Communities of Israel

In 2002, Jews constituted 76.8% of the total Israeli population. Most of the others were Arabs and Druze. These were divided by religion as follows: Muslims – 15.5% of the total Israeli population, Christians – 2.1%, and Druze and others, 5.6%.

The percent of the Jewish population declined from 84% in 1980 to 81.5% in 1989 (owing mostly to the large differences in the rate of natural increase of Jews and Arabs). The large immigration from Russia in 1989–1991 caused the proportion of Jews to increase to a smaller extent to 81.9% by the end of 1991.

Jews in Israel Born Abroad According to Native Countries and Periods of Immigration

Countries	Until 1918	1918–38	1939–47	1948 and unknown date	Total no. of immi-grants
Yemen and Aden	1,800	8,510	5,676	316	16,302
Syria and Lebanon	459	4,243	5,850	237	10,789
Turkey	399	4,897	4,042	1,214	10,552
Iraq	470	5,272	2,983	277	9,002
Iran	563	2,833	423	97	3,916
The rest of Asia	38	1,451	645	717	2,851
Egypt	152	2,061	2,165	251	4,629
Morocco, Tunisia and Algeria	468	506	534	3,823	5,331
Libya	7	297	439	507	1,250
Asia and North Africa	4,356	30,070	22,757	7,439	64,622
Rest of Africa excluding South Africa	10	170	164	67	411
Soviet Asia	428	3,035	378	261	4,092
Europe, America, South Africa, and Oceania	7,478	211,424	96,334	76,347	391,783
Unknown	56	576	362	665	1,695
Total	12,328	245,265	119,995	84,979	462,567

THE VARIOUS JEWISH COMMUNITIES. The large immigration which arrived in 1989–1991 brought some important changes in the size of the various communities of Israel. The proportion of the "Israeli-born" population, which increased continuously in the previous decades and reached 64% of the total Jewish population in 1989, declined to 60.5% in 1991 (37% of this group were second generation Israeli-born, i.e., born to fathers who were born in Israel). The Israeli-born population was composed of 55% young persons (less than 20 years old), while only less than 1% were aged 65 and over.

The immigration of 1989–91 – which brought mostly immigrants from the former Soviet Russia – increased the proportion of those born in Europe, after a long–term reduction in their proportion. The proportion of those born in Europe and America among the total population decreased from 25% in 1981 to 20% in 1989, but by the beginning of 1992 the proportion returned to 25%. The Asian and African communities born abroad declined continuously from 20% of the total population in 1981 to 16% in 1989 and 15% in 1992.

Use of Languages and Literacy

From statistical data on the use of languages in Israel, collected at the population censuses in 1916–18, 1948, and 1961 and in various sample surveys, two dominant features of the linguistic situation in Israel are obvious: the amazing variety of languages brought by the immigrants from the countries of the Diaspora; and the important role played by the Hebrew language. The revival of Hebrew began at the end of the 19th century, when the majority of immigrants still spoke Yiddish, while the minority generally spoke Ladino or Arabic. At the end of the Ottoman period, Hebrew had succeeded in winning over some 34,000 (40% of the total Jewish population), mainly among the younger generation in "modern" localities (e.g., the new settlements and Tel Aviv). At the close of the Mandatory period, almost all those born in the country were Hebrew speakers, and those born abroad who had arrived before the age of 20 were found to use Hebrew almost to the same extent. At higher ages, it was found that the adoption of Hebrew diminished in speed and intensity in proportion to the age of the immigrants upon arrival. By 1948, 511,000 persons, 75% of the total, used Hebrew as their only or principal language. After the establishment of the State of Israel, the percentage of newcomers who knew Hebrew before arrival was far lower than that of pre-state immigrants, who were largely preselected and ideologically motivated. This decreased the proportion of Hebrew speakers in the period of mass immigration. Subsequently, however, the use of Hebrew again largely increased. The following table shows the changes in numbers and proportions of Hebrew speakers in the course of time. In 1966 they constituted some 70% of adults and there is no doubt that they were the overwhelming majority among the children.

Persons Speaking Hebrew as Only or First Language Among the Jewish Population (Israel), 1914–66

	Age 12 and over Total	Age 2 and over*	Age 2–14*	Age 15 and over*
1914[1]	34,000[2]	40.0[2,3]	53.7[2,3]	25.6[2,3]
1948	511,000	75.1	93.4	69.5
1950	679,000	60.0	80.3	52.0
1954	861,000	60.9	83.9[4]	52.8[5]
1956	—	—	—	58.4[5]
1961	1,391,400	75.3	92.8	67.4
1966	—	—	—	69.3[5]

* Rates per 100 of the Jewish population.
1 Palestine.
2 Aged one year and over (estimate).
3 Excluding Jerusalem.
4 Aged 2–13.
5 Aged 14 and over.

Before statehood, the Jewish population was characterized by the low proportion of illiterates. This was due to the high educational level of the immigrants, who were largely of European origin, and to the fact that most of the Jewish population saw to the education of their children, although it was not compulsory at the time. Only among women in the higher age groups was the proportion of illiterates considerable. With mass immigration from Asia and Africa, the proportion of illiterates increased considerably, mainly in the higher age groups and especially among women. Due to the efforts made by the State of Israel in the educational field, the situation has improved in the course of time. The following table shows the classification of the Jewish population by number of years of schooling according to continent of birth, sex, age, and period of immigration. The higher standards of those born in Israel, Europe, and America, as compared with those of people born in Asia and Africa, are immediately seen.

Percentages of Israel Population Aged 15 and Above, by Population Group, Number of Years of Schooling, Sex, Age, and Continent of Birth, 1961–2004

	Number of Years of Schooling							
	0	1–4	5–8	9–10	11–12	13–15	16+	Median
				Jewish Population 2004				
Total	2.4	1.1	7.1	9.8	36.8	23.3	19.5	12.6
Sex								
Males	1.5	1	6.9	10.5	37.6	22.5	20	12.6
Females	3.3	1.2	7.3	9.1	36	24.1	19	12.6
Age								
15–17			2.2	43.7	53.5			11.2
18–24	0.2	0.2	1.1	3.4	63.9	27.6	3.6	12.4
25–34	0.5	0.3	1.8	3.9	33.2	30.7	29.6	14
35–44	0.8	0.2	2.5	7.4	36.9	25.2	27.1	13.3
45–54	1.1	0.5	7	9.6	31.7	24.5	25.5	13
55–64	3.3	1.4	13	10.1	25.7	22.5	24	12.7
65+	10.6	5	22.5	11.4	20.5	16.7	13.2	11
County or continent of birth								
Israel		0.4	2.9	8.4	44.8	23.6	19.8	12.7
Asia and Arica		12.3	12.5	12.7	39.2	14.7	8.6	11.6
Europe and America		1.3	5.2	11.6	29.2	29.2	23.5	13.3
				Jewish Population 1961–1994				
1961	12.6	7.5	35.4	34.6		6.3	3.6	8.4
1970	9.3	6.3	31.7	39.7		8.1	4.9	9.3
1975	7.6	4.3	25.5	18.8	26.1	10.7	7.0	10.3
1985	5.0	3.1	17.3	16.6	33.6	14.2	10.2	11.5
1994	3.4	2.0	10.8	12.6	37.3	19.3	14.6	12.1
				Non-Jewish Population 1961–2004				
1961	49.5	13.9	27.5	7.6			1.5	1.2
1970	36.1	13.7	35.1	13.0	1.7		(0.4)	5.0
1975	22.9	12.9	38.0	12.6	9.1	3.1	1.4	6.5
1985	13.4	7.7	32.0	19.3	19.2	5.9	2.5	8.6
2004	6.4	4.4	19.0	18.7	32.9	10.4	8.0	11.1

Source: Statistical Abstract of Israel, Central Bureau of Statistics, Jerusalem.

The Regional Distribution of the Population

In 2002, the distribution of the population of Israel by the various regions of the country was very similar to that of a decade earlier, although some differences can be traced, brought about mostly by the dispersion of the large wave of immigration that arrived from the end of 1989 onwards.

At the beginning of 2002, 70% of the population resided in the various sub-districts along the coastline of Israel. (These include the sub-districts of Acre in the north through Haifa District, Central and Tel Aviv Districts, and down to Ashkelon sub-district in the south.) This is similar to the proportion in 1983. Some small increase is found in the part of the population living in the peripheral area in the North and the South and the population living in Judea and Samaria and the Gaza Regions on the other side, but the population of the Tel Aviv and Haifa Districts grew at a slower rate than other districts. (Tel Aviv District population increased in the period 1983 to 2002 by 15.8%, Haifa by 45.8%, while other areas grew by 27 to 30 percent.)

The large immigration which arrived from 1989 did reside to a larger extent in the Haifa and the Northern Districts, and to a smaller extent in the Jerusalem, Tel Aviv, and the Central Districts, compared to the veteran part of the Jewish population in these regions. Thirty-three percent of the immigrants (of the 1990–91 wave) resided in Haifa and Northern Districts compared to 25% of the Jewish population. The percent of immigrants entering the Tel Aviv and Central Districts was 46% (compared to 51% of the population). These movements continued the trend of decrease in the part of the Jewish population of the Tel Aviv District (in 2002, 21.5% of the population compared to 30% in 1983 and 43% in 1948). Data on internal migration of these new immigrants show that the Northern, Southern, and Central Districts did gain on balance from their movement.

As the regional distribution of the Arab population did not change to an important extent, the part of the Jewish population in the Northern District was 50.3% in 1992 compared to 48.4% in 2002.

The population of Israel is an urban population. Only 8.4% live in the small localities of less than 2,000 persons while 43.7% (50% of the Jewish population) reside in 13 localities of 100,000 persons or more. This is very similar to the distribution a decade ago. The three large cities (Jerusalem, Tel Aviv-Jaffa, and Haifa) continued the decline in their proportion of the population, while the population of towns of 100–200,000 inhabitants increased. These localities are Ḥolon – population 165.8 thousand; Petaḥ Tikvah – 172.6; Bat Yam – 133.9; Rishon LeZiyyon – 211.6; Netanyah – 164.8; Be'ersheva – 181.5; Ramat Gan – 122.6; Bene Berak – 138.9.

The largest city of Israel was Jerusalem with 680,000 at the end of 2002 (of whom 459,000 were Jews), followed by Tel Aviv-Jaffa with 360,000, and Haifa with 270,800. If the population of the whole conurbation of Tel Aviv is added a total is reached of 1.5 to 1.8 million, depending on how the boundaries of the metropolitan area are defined. The population of the Haifa conurbation is 971,000.

Within the rural area, the population of the moshavim and the kibbutzim grew at a slower rate than did the total Jewish population, so that the percent of the population residing in moshavim declined within a decade from 4.5% to 4.1% and that of the kibbutzim from 3.5% to 2.1%.

HUMAN RESOURCES

In 2002 the labor force of Israel (i.e., those employed and those unemployed seeking work) numbered about 2.5 million. In the decade from 1982 to 1992, the labor force grew by some 480,000 (i.e., by more than a third or 3.0% per annum). Parallel to the population change, the labor force grew at a slow pace in the period 1982 to 1989 (by 2.3% yearly), and at a much higher rate in the period of the mass immigration (by 4.9% per year).

This decade marked a high increase in unemployment compared to that of the employed. While in 1982 the rate of unemployment (unemployed as a percent of the labor force) was 5%, it increased to 6.4% in 1988 and increased sharply up to 10% in 2002. This was caused partly by the entry into the labor force of a large number of new immigrants who were still looking for a job in the first stages of their stay in the country.

The main trends regarding labor force participation found in the 1970s continued through the 1980s and the beginning of the 1990s. The major development is the continuous increase in the participation of women in the labor force; from 36% of the women aged 15 and over in the labor force in 1982 to 48.4% in 2002, with women constituting 42% of all the labor force. Another continuous trend was the decrease in the labor force participation of men, mostly in the retirement and pre-retirement ages. The participation of men aged 55–64 in the labor force declined from more than 80% in 1982 to 65.9% in 2002, and of those aged 65 and over from 28% to 15.4%. Smaller declines are also found in age 35 and over. Thus, the labor force has become more feminine and of a younger age. The continuous increase in the proportion of those aged 35–44 in the labor force was related to the changes in the age structure and to the decline in participation in other ages.

The labor force is of a higher level of education. Thus persons who had 13 years and over of schooling constituted 28% of the labor force in 1982 and 38% in 2002 (17% had 16 years and over of schooling). The high level of education of the mass immigration which arrived from 1990 contributed to this trend.

The average number of hours worked by the employed population was 36.0 per week. No important trend changes were noticed in the decade 1982–2002.

The large increase of the employed population between 1982 and 2002 was absorbed in the various branches of the economy in similar proportions. Some differences were noticed; a continued decrease in the proportion of those employed in agriculture and industry; the proportion working in construction increased as activity in this branch grew in 1990–91 owing to the large-scale building for immigrants. In addition to the Israelis employed in the construction industry, some 70,000 workers from Judea and Samaria and the Gaza Region were employed in this branch in Israel. The proportion of those working in commerce, business, and personal services continued its growth.

The occupational distribution of the employed population did undergo some changes: the percent of those in scientific and academic (8.2%, 1982; 8.9%, 1991), professional and technical (14.6%, 1982; 16.8%, 1991), managerial/administrators (4.2%, 1982; 5.1%, 1991; 7.3%, 2002;), clerical (18.5%, 1982; 16.5%, 1991; 17.0%, 2002), sales (7.5%, 1982; 8.7%, 1991), and service workers (12%, 1982; 13.2%, 1991; 18.5%, 2002) rose, while those in agricultural (5.2%, 1982; 3.4%, 1991), skilled (25.1%, 1982; 23.7%, 1991; 20.3% 2002), and other occupations declined.

Some 81% of all employed persons in 1992 were wage and salary earners, 14% were employers, self-employed persons and members of cooperatives, 4% were kibbutz members, and 1% were unpaid family workers.

The Israeli Household

The average Israeli household (i.e., the group of people living regularly in the same apartment and sharing common meals, including households of one person) consisted in 2002 of 3.37 persons (3.4 persons in the Jewish household and 5.5 persons in the Arab household).

There were in Israel in 2002, 1.85 million households (1.56 million Jewish). The typical household (68.3% of all households) consisted of a couple with or without children, and in some of them also additional members; 17.6% were households of one person (i.e., widows living alone, young persons living on their own outside their family, etc.), 4.6% were one-parent households with children. Other households consisted of various other structures.

The long-term trend of a slow decrease in the size of the average Israeli household was not found in the 1990s. This trend was reversed in the Jewish population, and a small increase was registered in the Jewish population. This resulted from the entrance of immigrants in 1990–92 in larger households. Though immigrants from Russia came in small nuclear families, some proportion of the families lived together in the same household (i.e., a couple with a parent or parents of the husband or wife).

The proportion of single-member households, which increased continuously up to 1989 (15% of Jewish households in 1981 and 17% in 1989) decreased somewhat (17.6% in 2002), as did larger households of 5 members and over (from 27.2% in 1989 to 24.7% in 1997). Large differences in the size of households were found between households of various communities. The average household of those born in Africa in 1997 was 3.54, in Asia 3.17, and in Europe and America 2.80. The household of those born in Israel was 3.65, resulting from the young age structure of this group.

HOUSEHOLD FORMATION AND DISSOLUTION. The number of marriages and their frequency continued decreasing in the 1980s, as formal marriage was postponed, by some one year for grooms and brides who married for the first time. This occurred as cohabitation of younger men and women continued increasing. The decrease in the marriage rate was found in all age groups but especially in the younger age groups.

The dissolution of families by divorce increased to a small extent. One of every nine marriages contracted in Israel was broken by divorce. The divorced couple was married on the average for 11.5 years and had 1.8 children on divorcing.

[Moshe Sicron]

JEWISH COMMUNITIES ("EDOT")

Jews who went to Ereẓ Israel from a particular geographical region, country, or sometimes town or district often brought with them a characteristic cultural heritage, comprising language (in some cases specifically Jewish, like *Yiddish, *Ladino, *Judeo-Arabic, *Judeo-Persian, Georgian, or Kurdish *Aramaic), religious rites and customs, habits, and traditions. They are sometimes referred to, figuratively, as modern "tribes" (*shevatim*). Members of such a group, known as an *edah* (plur. *edot*), usually established their own synagogues, burial societies (see **ḥevra kaddisha*), and mutual aid or charitable organizations, built their own quarters or (in modern times) settled in the same villages, and tended to support each other in local or, to a smaller extent, national politics. The term *edot* often applies specifically to those groups of immigrants who came from, or trace their origin to, the Islamic countries ("Oriental" immigrants). The *edot* preserved their identity, to a greater or lesser extent, for several generations, their members tending to marry within the *edah*, and the tensions between them were of some importance in the history of the *yishuv* and the State of Israel (See *Israel, State of: Population, section on Intercommunal Problems). There are no accurate statistics on the sizes of the various *edot*, as census figures specify only countries of origin and language groups, which are not identical with community membership.

Communal separatism is particularly recognizable in the composition of the populations of neighborhoods and various streets in Jerusalem, in which about 100 quarters were founded up to the establishment of the State of Israel – most of them on a communal basis – and also in greater Tel Aviv, Haifa, and some other towns. The attempt to mix various communities in the new-immigrant moshavim after the creation of the State of Israel was generally unsuccessful. It was abandoned in the 1950s, after which most of the new settlements were established on a more-or-less homogeneous basis from the point of view of origin and social mores. In the kibbutzim the percentage of non-Ashkenazim is small, but in many of them youth groups composed of immigrants from Asia and Africa have been successfully absorbed.

The Ashkenazi Community

This is the largest and, socially, politically, and economically, the most important and influential community in the country. The Ashkenazim consist of Jews of European origin and their descendants, including most of North and South American Jewry. Most Ashkenazi families spoke – or at least understood – Yiddish at some point in their history. Ashkenazim first went to Ereẓ Israel as individuals or as families from the 13th century onward, and, at the latest by the middle of the 15th century, founded their own community in Jerusalem. In the 18th century it numbered a few hundred souls, but ceased to exist, temporarily, after the first quarter of the century. In Safed, however, there was an Ashkenazi community from the 16th century, and it grew particularly after the ḥasidic immigration in 1777. Some of the newcomers moved to Tiberias, and it was from those two towns that the Ashkenazi community in Jerusalem was revived. In 1816 the *Perushim*, the opponents of the Ḥasidim, organized their own community in Jerusalem.

According to a census held in 1839 on behalf of Moses *Montefiore, the number of Ashkenazim in the country was 1,714 – 26.2% of the total Jewish population. In the next 75 years, until the outbreak of World War I, when the Jewish population grew to about 85,000, most of the immigrants who created the "old *yishuv*" were Ashkenazim. In 1876/77 they numbered 6,800 in Jerusalem – 43% of the city's Jewish population; two-thirds of them were *Perushim* and the rest Ḥasidim. By the time of the First Aliyah (1882), they constituted half of the 25,000 Jews in the country, and for many years afterward the proportion of Ashkenazim among the immigrants was on the increase. It is estimated that in 1895 they numbered 25,800 – 63% of the 40,700 Jews; in Jerusalem they constituted 15,000 out of 28,000 Jews, in Safed 4,500 out of 6,600, in Tiberias 1,600 out of 3,200, and in Jaffa 1,700 out of 3,000. The overwhelming majority of the 2,200 Jews in the new agricultural settlements were Ashkenazim.

According to the 1916–18 census, Ashkenazim accounted for 60% of the 56,700 Jews left in the country after the hardships of World War I. They constituted the majority (about 85%) of the immigrants from the end of the war until the creation of the State of Israel (1948). At the time of the declaration of the state, more than 80% of the 650,000 Jews in Israel were Ashkenazim, but since then their proportion of the total population has been steadily on the decrease, due to the increased immigration from Asian and African countries and the comparatively low Ashkenazi birthrate. In the 1961 census, community of origin was not recorded, but on the basis of the information on country of origin and father's country of origin, it may be estimated that Ashkenazim constituted 52.5% of the population; by 1965 they had declined to less than half the total.

In 1948, 46.8% of the Jews speaking foreign languages spoke Yiddish as their sole language or as the first after Hebrew. By 1961 the proportion had decreased to 22.7% (273,615 persons). Other languages spoken by Ashkenazim were German (73,195), Romanian (69,945), Polish (51,760), English (46,615), Hungarian (43,245), Russian (21,255), Czech and Slovak (4,095), Dutch and Flemish (1,530); smaller groups spoke French, Spanish, Serb, Bulgarian, Portuguese, Danish, and Swedish.

The Sephardi Community

The Sephardim in the strict sense of the term, that is, those speaking Ladino or their descendants, have the longest continuous history in the country, the origin of the community dating back to the 15th or early 16th century. It assimilated the Portuguese Jews, expelled a decade or two earlier, who are mentioned by the 16th-century travelers, the remnants of the Byzantine Jews, and, at a later period, the *Musta'rabs (Arabic-speaking Jews) and Jews from other communities, including some Ashkenazim. Individual Jews of Spanish origin were living in Ereẓ Israel as far back as the 11th century, but there was little immigration in medieval times, and, moreover, few of the Jews expelled from Spain and Portugal at the end of the 15th century made their way to Ereẓ Israel because of the insecure conditions in the country. By the end of the 15th century, however, there were many Sephardim in Safed and in 1509 there was a separate Sephardi community in Jerusalem. The flow of immigration increased after the Ottoman conquest, the immigrants receiving aid from their brethren who had settled in Turkey. The Sephardi community of the 16th century developed a flourishing social and cultural life; it included many famous talmudic scholars and served as a center for learning for the whole of the Diaspora. In the census of 1839 Sephardim were incorporated with the Jews from the Oriental communities, but on the basis of the country of origin of Jews born abroad, it can be estimated that at least half of the total were Sephardim. With the creation of the post of **ḥakham bashi* (chief rabbi) of Jerusalem by the Ottoman authorities in 1842, this honored post was always occupied by a Sephardi.

During the 19th century, there were no organized groups of Sephardi immigrants, but there was increased Sephardi immigration in some years, e.g., after the liberation of Greece in 1829 and of Bulgaria in 1878. By 1877 there were 5,970 Sephardim (not including the Maghrebis – immigrants from North Africa) in Jerusalem, and it appears that 5,500 of this number, 40% of the Jewish population of the city, were descendants of exiles from Spain. Most of them were employed in various branches of commerce, but a few families from Bulgaria settled on the land at Hartuv. There was little Sephardi immigration in the 20th century until 1948, and the Sephardim, therefore, did not found their own quarters in Jerusalem like the other communities. Until 1920, however, when the Ashkenazi chief rabbinate was established, it was the *ḥakham bashi* (also styled *rishon le-Zion*) who was the official religious head of the entire Jewish community. In Jerusalem, the Sephardi community maintained its own community council and *ḥevra kaddisha*. In the 1961 census, 63,000 persons, including some Ashkenazim from South America, entered "Spanish" as their sole or second language; 31,535 spoke Bulgarian; 7,750 Turkish (young people who had been educated in state schools in their country of origin); and 2,635 Greek.

The Italian Community

Visitors and individual settlers came from Italy in all periods and Italian Jews in Jerusalem are mentioned until close to 1870. It was only after Mussolini's anti-Jewish measures in 1938, however, that significant numbers settled in Palestine, when about 500 Italian Jews, including a high proportion of scientists and technological experts, arrived. A number of synagogues have been fitted out with *Sefer Torah* arks and other furnishings transferred from disused synagogues in Italy. According to the 1961 census, 5,300 persons spoke Italian, 1,650 as their first or only language. This figure, however, may have included some Jews from Libya (Tripolitania).

Jews from the Maghreb

This term includes all the Jews of North Africa, with the exception of Egypt. Jews from the Maghreb had come to Ereẓ Israel as far back as the 11th century, though mostly as individuals, and in 1218 *al-Ḥarizi mentions a *Maghrebi community in Jerusalem. Immigration increased after the defeat of the crusaders, and individual Maghrebi Jews settled in Jerusalem throughout the centuries. In 1509 there was a Maghreb community in Safed as well. From the second third of the 19th century onward, immigration from the area increased, mostly from *Morocco, with smaller numbers from Tunisia. For a time there was also immigration from *Algeria, but it dwindled with the spread of French culture in that country. Jews from these countries were the founders of the Jewish communities in Jaffa, where 18% were of Maghreb origin in 1905, and in Haifa. In the first half of the 20th century there was a decline in the proportion of educated and professional men among the immigrants from this area. Before World War I there were an estimated 2,000 Maghreb Jews in Jerusalem. During the British Mandate period there was hardly any immigration to Palestine from these countries, but since the middle 1950s Jews from the Maghreb have constituted a high proportion of the immigrants. In 2002 there were 163,000 Jews who were born or whose parents were born in Morocco, 41,200 from Algeria and *Tunisia, and 18,800 from *Libya, almost the entire Jewish community of which settled in Israel. Many of them were among the 122,250 persons who in 1961 recorded Arabic as their first or only language. Of the 24,300 who spoke only, or mainly, French, the majority were from Algeria and Tunisia; the majority of the 43,000 who gave it as their second language were Moroccan. Many Jews from Libya also spoke Italian. Some Berber-speaking Jews from the Atlas mountains settled in the Adullam region. The Maghreb community in Jerusalem has its own *ḥevra kaddisha*.

Iraqi (Babylonian) Jews

It is customary nowadays to describe the Arabic-speaking Jews from southern and central *Iraq, and even from parts of northern Iraq (Mosul), as "Iraqis," but their community and *ḥevra kaddisha* in Jerusalem, unlike that in Ramat Gan, are still called "Bavlim" – Babylonians. Until the middle of the 19th century, very few immigrants came from that part of the world because of the long and dangerous journey. With the introduction of steamships, which traveled down the Tigris River through the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea to Ereẓ Israel, immigration from Iraq increased. In the 30 years preceding World War I, there was a small community of Iraqi Jews, with three synagogues, which printed its own books in Hebrew with translation in Iraqi Jewish Arabic and booklets in the same dialect. In 1916 the community had 371 members. Between the two world wars, the Zionist idea flourished in Baghdad and Hebrew teachers were sent there from Palestine, but they were expelled in 1935 with the growth of the Arab national movement. Their ties with the *yishuv* were renewed during World War II, when many Jews served in the British forces in Iraq or went there to help in the transfer of refugees from the U.S.S.R. and Persia. In 1951 almost the entire Jewish community was forced to leave (*Israel, State of: Aliyah and Absorption), thus virtually liquidating the oldest Jewish community outside Israel. In 2002, 171,700 Jews were registered as of Iraqi origin, among them 2,000–3,000 of Kurdish extraction. The Iraqi community in Israel includes people from all strata of society and of all educational levels.

Jews from Aleppo

Throughout the ages, there had been immigration from *Aleppo, which was an important Jewish economic and scholastic center. Most of the immigrants, however, assimilated with the Mustaʿrabs and later with the Sephardim. In 1862 they founded the synagogue of Aram Zoba (Aleppo) in the Old City of Jerusalem, and by 1908 eight more synagogues had been founded in the quarters outside the Old City. The second and third generations of the Aleppo community included large numbers of traders and distinguished scholars. It is difficult to estimate the number of Jews of Aleppan origin. In the 2002 census they were recorded with the 36,900 from Syria and Lebanon.

Yemenites

Few Jews from *Yemen settled in Ereẓ Israel before the 19th century. Noteworthy among them were R. Solomon *Adani in the 16th century and R. Shalom *Sharabi in the 18th. The travels of R. Jacob *Saphir and the Orientalist Joseph *Halevy in Yemen may have stimulated Yemenite Jews to go to Ereẓ Israel, and in 1882 a few hundred of them joined together and made their way to Jerusalem with only the clothes on their backs. The help extended to them by the Jews of Jerusalem and the Diaspora did little to alleviate their distress. In 1885 Ashkenazim active in the community purchased a tract of land for them in the village of Silwān, south of Jerusalem, which was extended over the years. In 1908 it contained five synagogues, as the Yemenites in Ereẓ Israel split into two groups: one following the traditional Yemenite (*Baladī*) version of the prayers, which goes back to the Middle Ages, and the other following the "Syrian" (*Shāmī*) rite, that of the Sephardi communities (with many deviations). In addition, special houses of prayer had to be established for the devotees of the Zohar and the Kabbalah and their opponents (the "Dor De'ah"); the Yemenites also had prayer houses in the Old City and 14 small ones in the poorer quarters of Jerusalem outside the walls. The Yemenites' reputation as diligent farm workers suggested the idea of bringing more of them to Ereẓ Israel and the plan succeeded through the efforts of Shmuel *Yavnieli, an emissary of the Palestine Office in Jaffa. Three convoys arrived in 1908/09 and settled in the large moshavot of Judea and Samaria, where special neighborhoods were established for them.

The Yemenite Jews separated themselves from the Sephardim and established a separate community with a rabbi, *bet din*, ritual slaughter facilities, and cemetery plots of their own. They were outstanding for the level of their religious Jewish scholarship and their devotion to the Torah. In spite of the smallness of the community, they printed their special prayer book (*tiktāl*), R. *Saadiah Gaon's translation of the Pentateuch (*Sharḥ*), and other religious books. They still preserve their traditional pronunciation and melodies in prayer and the reading of the Torah (together with the Aramaic Targum), the *haftarot*, and the Five Scrolls.

In 1916 it was estimated that there were 4,058 Yemenites in Palestine: 1,636 in Jerusalem, 859 in Jaffa, 943 in the moshavot in Judea and 620 in Samaria and Galilee. Almost all the Jews in Yemen were transferred to Israel during "Operation Magic Carpet" (1949–50), and many were absorbed in villages and development towns. In the 1961 census close to 120,000 people born in Yemen and Aden, or whose father was born there, were registered and at the end of 2002 the estimated Yemenite population of Israel was 146,000. The veteran members of the community have risen in the social scale and their characteristic leanness has gradually disappeared with the improvement of nutritional standards (although the adoption of the Israel diet has made them susceptible to certain illnesses from which they were previously virtually immune).

Georgians

(in the vernacular, Gurjim). The first Jews from *Georgia (Heb. *Geruzyah*) arrived in Ereẓ Israel in about 1860, after the development of steamboat transportation. By 1862 they had established a house of prayer in the Old City of Jerusalem and before 1914 had five more in their quarters near the Damascus Gate (abandoned in the riots of 1929) and in the Simeon ha-Ẓaddik quarter in the north of the city. After the disturbances of 1936 they dispersed throughout Jerusalem. They spoke Georgian in the Diaspora and are the only Oriental Jewish community that did not employ Hebrew letters to write their vernacular. No scholars from Georgia settled in Ereẓ Israel, but once in the country some members of the community turned to the study of the Torah. The Georgians succeeded in commerce, and some grew wealthy. In 1916 there were 420 Georgian Jews in Jerusalem and 19 in Jaffa. As Russian nationals they were forced to leave the country during World War I, but after the war most of them returned. Since 1916 they have not been registered as a special community in the censuses. Since the establishment of the State of Israel, their language has been growing extinct and their unity as a community has been disintegrating. After the Six-Day War there was a reawakening among Georgian Jews of the desire to go to Israel. Several groups of them are settled in Lydda, Kiryat Malakhi, and other places.

Persians

It appears that the first Persian-speaking Jews who settled in Jerusalem after the destruction of the Second Temple were *Karaites, who came in the middle of the ninth century. In 1839 14 Persians were registered in Safed. In about 1815 the *Perushim* in Jerusalem were said to have hired an ʿAjami ("foreigner" in Arabic, i.e., a Persian) to complete their *minyan*. The first Persian house of prayer in Jerusalem was founded in 1895 in the Shevet Ẓedek quarter (near Maḥaneh Yehudah) and eight more were established through 1908. In the same year, 80 Persian pupils studied in two *talmud torah* schools in Jerusalem. In 1916 120 Persians were registered in the city: it appears that many more of them registered as Sephardim. Before the end of the 19th century Jews came to Ereẓ Israel from *Isfahan and, especially, *Meshed, and the numbers grew after the establishment of the State of Israel. The Jews from Meshed, who were descendants of forced converts to Islam, were known as *Jadīd al-Islām* "neo-Muslims." They were the richest of the Persian community and created international commercial ties in the export of rugs. Since the Ottoman period they have had two synagogues in the Bukharan quarter of Jerusalem and others lived in some of the poorer quarters. During the Mandate and after the establishment of the state, the educated and affluent among them scattered throughout the new quarters of the city. Two communities, the "Persian" and the "Iranian," were registered during the Mandate period, because of an internal dispute, but this distinction later disappeared. Jews from Afghanistan are also counted among the Persians. In 2002 about 135,400 people were of Iranian extraction, 84,600 of whom were born in the country. More than 37,000 of them spoke Persian, and for 16,370 it was their only tongue or their first language after Hebrew (see *Iran).

Bukharans

This term is used to denote Jews who speak a Persian dialect and whose land of origin is *Uzbekistan. In 1827 the first Bukharans set out for Ereẓ Israel and reached Baghdad, but it is not known if any of them actually arrived in Ereẓ Israel. After *Bukhara was conquered by the Russians, individual Bukharans settled in Ereẓ Israel in 1868 and in the middle of the 1870s a number of Bukharan families were living in Jerusalem. Following R. Yaakov *Meir's journey to Bukhara in 1882 as an emissary for charitable institutions, hundreds of affluent families settled in Ereẓ Israel, and in 1892 they established a quarter in Jerusalem ("Street of the Bukharans"), which was uncommonly spacious and elegant for the period. In most of the families some of the members kept up their businesses in Bukhara while others lived in Jerusalem and were supported by the profits of the family business (in some instances, the members abroad and in Ereẓ Israel changed places every few years). In 1908 the Bukharans had 17 beautiful synagogues in Jerusalem, and the number had grown by 1914. During this period the affluent members of the community had books printed in their native language and in Persian, which they understood. During World War I some of the Bukharans fled and some remained in a state of poverty and deprivation. The Communist authorities in Uzbekistan confiscated the property of the Jews, and those who succeeded in returning to Ereẓ Israel supported themselves by renting out houses. In the census of 1961, 2,300 people were registered as "Bukharan"-speaking, but only 660 entered the language as their only or first tongue.

Dagestanis

A few hundred Jews from Dagestan, who speak Tat (an Iranian dialect), settled in Ereẓ Israel at the beginning of the 20th century: some in Be'er Ya'akov, which was established by them, and some in Jerusalem. Their courage and command of weapons won them a reputation in Ereẓ Israel and in the Diaspora, and some of them were outstanding in *Ha-Shomer. As Russian nationals they were also affected by the expulsion at the outbreak of World War I, but some of them returned during the Mandate period, especially to Tel Aviv, where they lived in the "Caucasian" Quarter. Some of those born in Ereẓ Israel do not speak the language used by the community in the Diaspora.

Krimchaks

The Krimchaks are Rabbanites (in contradistinction to the Karaites) from the *Crimea who speak "*Judeo-Tatar"; their *aliyah* may have had some connection with R. Hezekiah *Medini. Before 1915 they had a small community in Jerusalem and published books and pamphlets in their native tongue, apparently for export. They also departed during World War I and in 1916 there was only one family left. After the war a few returned and established their own synagogue in Tel Aviv.

Kurds

During the 19th century, individuals from the cities and townships of *Kurdistan settled in Ereẓ Israel, and at the beginning of the 20th century, a few hundred more followed. Their language, mistakenly called "Kurdish," is a modern Eastern Aramaic and they consequently called themselves Targum Jews. They lived in some of the poorer quarters in western Jerusalem in huts constructed from discarded kerosene cans, boards, and the like (known as the "Tin Quarter," now called Shevet Ẓedek), although stone houses were later constructed. In 1908 they built their own synagogue. Physically powerful and trained for physical labor over the generations, the Kurds were dominant among the porters in the large cities. Some of them helped the Europeans of the Second Aliyah to establish settlements in Lower Galilee. The conquest of Iraq by the British liberated the Jews in the mountains of Kurdistan from their subservience to local feudal lords, but few of them left their villages. With the call to settle in Israel in 1951, however, they abandoned their property and moved to Israel *en masse*. Most of them settled on the land and their youth adjusted to the Israel way of life.

In 1916 174 Kurds were registered in Jerusalem and 222 in Galilee (together with the Urfalis, see below). In 1916, 8,560 Kurdish-speaking residents were recorded, and 3,920 entered

Kurdish as their only language or first language after Hebrew. The Kurds have their own *ḥevra kaddisha* in Jerusalem.

Close to the Kurds from the point of view of language (but not in life style) are the Jews of Persian *Azerbaijan, most of whom settled in Ereẓ Israel after World War I (immigrating via various countries) and established synagogues in Jerusalem, Tel Aviv, and other places. Exact population figures are not to be had. Most of the older generation deal in commerce, while the youth are employed in technical trades.

Urfalis

The Urfalis and residents of the other cities of Upper Urfa (in southern *Turkey) speak Arabic. Jews from this area began to settle in Jerusalem at the beginning of the 20th century; their first house of prayer was established in 1904. In 1916 206 of them were registered in Jerusalem and a few more in Galilee (together with the Kurds). Settlers from two towns in the mountains north of Urfa (*Jarmuk and Siverek), who came with the Urfalis, were registered in 1916 and during the Mandate period as a separate community. In 1916 there were about 200 of them in Jerusalem, where they had a special synagogue. In the same year there were several settlers from Diyarbakir, who were joined by others from the same place during the 1920s in the wake of the Kurdish revolt in their area of Turkey. They also established a synagogue in Jerusalem.

Mustaʿrabs

This term denotes Jews who adopted the language and life style of their Arab neighbors, and some of whom, it appears, were descendants of families that never went into exile. Over the years, most of the *Mustaʿrabs were absorbed into the Sephardi community in the broad sense of the term, and only a few families remained in *Peki'in. In the 20th century, even those families, except for one clan, dispersed in Galilee and Samaria.

Karaites

As early as the middle of the ninth century C.E., a movement to settle in Jerusalem and mourn the destruction of the Temple arose among the *Karaites in Babylon and Persia. In the first generation of the tenth century, the Karaite community in Jerusalem was stronger and larger than the Rabbanite one, but the crusaders destroyed it in 1099. In 1540 Karaites settled for a short period in Hebron. In the middle of the 18th century some settled in Jerusalem and established a synagogue, which continued to exist (but never had a *minyan* of worshipers) until the fall of the Old City in 1948. After the establishment of the State of Israel, about 2,000 Karaites went from Egypt to the new state and settled mainly in Ramleh, Ashdod, Beersheba, and the moshavim of *Maẓli'aḥ, near Ramleh and *Ofakim in the northern Negev. The determination of their status, as Jews according to *halakhah* or as a separate religious community, aroused difficult problems.

Indian Jews

After the establishment of the State of Israel, members of two closely knit communities went from *India: the *Bene Israel, who speak Marathi, and the Jews from *Cochin, who speak Malayalam. Through 1954, 1,200 of the Bene Israel settled in Israel, and in 1965 their number had grown to 7,000. Because of their remoteness from the Jewish world and their ignorance of rabbinical laws of marriage and divorce, the halakhic problem of recognizing their right to marry within the Jewish community arose on their arrival. In 1970, there were about 3,400 Cochin Jews in Israel, many of whom settled in development towns and moshavim established by them in the Judean Mountains.

[Abraham J. Brawer]

INTERCOMMUNAL PROBLEMS

A basic factor in the relationship between the "communities" (*edot*) in Israel is the long-standing dominance of the Ashkenazim in the economic, social, cultural, and political spheres. As a result, the various *edot* did not undergo a process of mutual acculturation: instead, the non-Ashkenazi communities tended to assimilate with the Ashkenazi community and adopt its values and way of life. To the extent that the process of assimilation was impeded, inter-community tension developed and was made much more acute by the fact that the distinctions between the communities were largely superimposed on the existing economic and educational stratification: on the whole, the Ashkenazim were better educated and more prosperous, while there was a higher proportion of poverty, under-education, and illiteracy among the Sephardim and other Oriental communities, particularly the new immigrants from African and Asian countries. The closing of the gap between "the first Israel" and "the second Israel" became a central problem. The alleviation of intercommunal tension through the "integration of the exiles" (*mizzug galuyyot*) became a major aim of national policy. At the same time, the opinion was widely held that the tension would be alleviated with the disintegration of the communities themselves and the disappearance of communal allegiances, and that as long as the communities themselves continued to exist there would not be a sense of a united people in Israel. This process of disintegration, however, proved a much more lengthy and complicated process than was initially envisaged.

During the period of the British Mandate, when a large Ashkenazi majority was created by the mass *aliyah* from Europe and the comparatively small *aliyah* from Asian and African countries, intercommunal tension was expressed primarily in the relations between various Ashkenazi groups, such as "Russians." "Poles," and "Galicians," but especially between these three groups together (Eastern Ashkenazim) and those from central Europe (Western Ashkenazim). This situation even led to the crystallization of specific political groups (such as the Aliyah Ḥadashah Party established by immigrants from "Central Europe" – actually from Germany).

The sting of this tension became blunted, however, during the first few years after the founding of the state due to the arrival of thousands of immigrants from the Islamic countries, as the differences between the newcomers and the Ashkenazim obscured the much finer distinctions between the groups within the Ashkenazi community. Among the Ashkenazi community no one group was outstandingly superior in the economic, political, and educational spheres: immigrants from Eastern Europe had molded the main institutions of the country and its pre-1948 ethos and they were dominant in the political leadership of the Zionist Organization, the *yishuv*, and afterward of the state and in their contribution to the shaping of social values. Immigrants from Germany were distinguished in the liberal professions and economic life and those from Western Europe and America were prominent in the technological and scientific developments after 1948. The confrontation between Ashkenazim and non-Ashkenazim, on the other hand, took place under conditions of obvious inequality.

Until the establishment of the new *yishuv*, the communal frameworks were accepted as the basis of public life and there was no conscious aspiration to merge the *edot*. This aim was a product of the modern nationalist movement and the new *yishuv*, and since the builders of the new *yishuv* were Ashkenazim, the idea of "merging" was conceived as the assimilation of non-Ashkenazim to the way of life and value system of the Ashkenazim. At the same time the secular character of the new *yishuv* widened the gap between the two groups by undermining the religious base common to Jews of all communities.

Under the Ottoman regime, the Jews of the new *yishuv* did not hold commanding economic and political positions in the life of the community: indeed, these hardly existed at all until the institution of the Mandatory regime. When the new *yishuv* acquired such positions during the 1920s, political and communal organizations began to develop among the Sephardim, but they reflected, for the most part, the aspirations of affluent businessmen and products of a Western education, themselves candidates for rapid assimilation to the Ashkenazi way of life.

The problem of intercommunal relations became of central importance with the large immigration after the establishment of the state, which created a situation of numerical equality between Ashkenazim and non-Ashkenazim. The immigrants from Islamic countries, especially from areas that had had all but no contact with Europe (such as Yemen) or countries from which it was mainly the poorer strata who came without the communal leadership (such as Morocco), quickly became an economic, social, and especially cultural proletariat in Israel. They felt uprooted in their new surroundings, where the dominant social forces demanded that they abandon their traditions and culture and assimilate unconditionally into modern Israeli society, which was basically Western. Consciously or unconsciously, the authorities and the prevailing public opinion in the country tended to regard the older generation of new immigrants from Islamic countries as a lost generation that would eventually die off, and their main concern was to help the younger generation throw off the burden of its paternalistic traditions. Israel society, however, was successful in many instances only in shattering the patriarchal family structure, which was the principal framework of the immigrants from Islamic countries, and thus destroying old values without simultaneously transferring its own value system as an integral part of the newcomer's personality. In effect, this resulted in the creation of a segment of society that was socially displaced, living on the fringes of two cultures and attracted to the glittering commercial aspects of modern materialistic culture.

However, manifestations of intercommunal tension and bitterness did not come about principally as a result of cultural deprivation, but because of discrimination affecting the immigrants personally. Basically, this discrimination was a consequence of culture deprivations; but this was not the major complaint of the immigrants from Islamic countries. Their complaint was that their absorption into Western society was not being sufficiently accelerated, that they were being prevented from enjoying its social and material fruits to the same extent as the Europeans, and that prejudice was being displayed toward them. The non-Ashkenazim developed psychological sensitivity toward what the Ashkenazim said and did, and this sensitivity sharpened intercommunal tension.

Most of the communities that came from Islamic countries did not develop a leadership that could serve as their spokesman (with the exception, to a certain degree, of the Yemenites – some of whom were considered veterans – and Jews from Iraq, who came *en masse* together with their communal elite). Manifestations of bitterness by "the second Israel" generally took the form of outbursts – sometimes violent – by individuals; there were very few mob outbreaks, the most serious of which occurred in 1959, especially in the Wadi Salib quarter of Haifa. However, attempts to establish political parties on a communal basis proved failures. Almost all the political parties made a habit of including in their election lists a token number of candidates from the "Oriental" communities and every government had one or two members from these communities.

In the 1960s there was a slackening in intercommunal tensions. This was partly a result of the integration of children of all the communities in the school system. In the early years of the State it was felt that a common education would eliminate differences, but cultural deprivation was perpetuated even under equal educational facilities. Factors at work here were differences in home background and tradition (Oriental families did not have the same tradition of sacrificing everything for their children's education), in living conditions (Oriental families could not provide the same atmosphere for study), the Western outlook of the schools and the teachers, and the concentration of better teaching facilities in the large cities (whereas the Oriental communities were largely in the development areas). There was thus a high dropout rate among pupils of Oriental origin.

However, steady progress was evidenced, for example, by the fact that whereas 13% of secondary school pupils in

1956 were from Afro-Asian origin, the percentage increased to 26% in 1961/62 and 42.6% in 1969/70 – though in the 12th (highest) grade the percentage in the latter year was still only 30.2%. Conscious efforts were made to help such children, not only by special tuition and scholarships, but even by lowering pass standards for children of Afro-Asian background so as to encourage them to continue their education. The rate of intermarriage between Ashkenazi and Sephardi-Oriental communities has risen less sharply than was forecast in the early years of the State but it has nevertheless shown a consistent increase. In the late 1960s, 17% of all Jewish marriages were between the two groups. In addition, army service, in which members of all communities meet under conditions of equality, also helped to blur intercommunal distinctions and the common experiences of the Six-Day War and its aftermath had a powerful influence in the same direction. In 1971, however, there was some recrudescence of intercommunal tension.

Attempts to draw parallels with community problems in other countries are misleading. There are no racial distinctions between the *edot* in Israel; there is a feeling of common national (and, obviously, religious) affiliation; there is no legal discrimination against the members of any community; and no one in Israel is interested in perpetuating the gap between the communities. On the contrary, every effort has been made to work toward the fullest integration. Basically, the communal problem in Israel is only the outcome of a sudden confrontation of two cultures, the first sure of itself and the second in a stage of decline, and of the high correlation between communal affiliation and social and educational attributes. These factors reinforce each other, it is true, but the weakening of one also tends to weaken the other. The sense of communal affiliation is on the decrease among those born in Israel; and immigrants from Islamic countries are rising in social status, being exposed to the dominant culture in the country, and in integration with the Ashkenazim without feeling it necessary to create a parallel leadership of their own.

[Aharon Amir]

Tensions between Jews from African-Asian countries and the Ashkenazi elements in Israel continued from 1970. They were expressed in the early 1970s with the emergence of a group calling themselves the Black Panthers who demanded better jobs and educational opportunities for Jews from Islamic countries. The election in 1977 of Menaḥem Begin and the Likud Party helped change the image of these Jews in their own eyes, since many of them supported the Likud against the Labor Party, which was accused of not doing enough to close the ethnic gap. Mr. Begin launched a program called "Project Renewal" designed to rehabilitate 160 distressed neighborhoods throughout Israel with world Jewry aid. The plan was on the whole a success. For a while it seemed that tensions were abating, and that those "Oriental" Jews had finally found their niche in Israeli society. This was illustrated by the growing number of such Jews in the Knesset, government, top army ranks, and the professions. Almost half of the members of the cabinet came from such families who had grown up in development towns. There was a marked improvement in housing solutions and educational opportunities.

This changed, however, with the onset of the massive immigration from the former Soviet Union, especially that beginning in 1989. This brought to Israel some one million immigrants up to 2002, many of whom were highly trained, educated, and skilled. The attention of Israel was now focused on their immediate absorption. This was seen by many "Oriental" Jews as being accomplished at their expense. The feeling was rife that the Russian immigration, with its tremendous potential, had once again pushed down the eastern Jews to the lower rungs of Israeli society with little chance of breaking out of what they considered to be a vicious circle. They accused both the Likud and Labor governments of not paying enough attention to their plight.

Although some of the resentment was imaginary, much of it was real and based on statistics such as poverty lines, slum areas populated by these Jews, and massive unemployment mainly in development towns populated by this segment of Israeli society. There was no appreciable rise in the number of eastern Jews graduating from universities or finding jobs other than as industrial workers.

The anger was seen in the rise of new political parties based solely on ethnic (and religious) lines in the case of Shas and neighborhood lines in the case of the David Levy faction in the Likud, seen as a counter-balance to the possibility of a "Russian" political party. While the two major political blocs assigned spots in their Knesset slates to eastern Jews, this was not enough to assuage the frustration felt mainly by the second and third generation trying to break out of what they considered a gridlock. By 2002 the ethnic element was seen to be playing an important role in national politics, but at a lower priority than the peace process which seemed to absorb the almost total attention of the government, another cause for resentment and bitterness.

[Meron Medzini]

THE NON-JEWISH POPULATION

Ottoman Period

Although no detailed statistical data are available for the Ottoman period, it is possible to sketch the main demographical characteristics of the non-Jewish population in the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century. Economic standards were, on the whole, very low, the population living largely on primitive agriculture. Urban development was limited; only a small part of the Muslim population lived in the towns, and in the few larger ones the proportion of Christians and Jews was considerable. As health services were almost nonexistent in most of the country and the government took very little interest in the health and welfare of the population, it may be assumed that mortality was high and offset the high birthrate to a considerable extent. Under those conditions, the population increased slowly. A rough estimate for the year 1914 indicates that the total population of the area that later became Palestine under the British Mandate was 689,000; 604,000 non-Jews and 85,000 Jews.

British Mandate Period

During this period demographic conditions changed quickly. In the first year of British administration, the situation of Muslims in Palestine was more or less similar to that of other countries in the Middle East, such as Egypt. Mortality was still high; malaria still predominated in certain regions of the country; trachoma was widespread; and epidemics of typhoid, measles, etc. were frequent. Child mortality was particularly high in 1927–29; for example, 41% of Muslim children died before reaching the age of five.

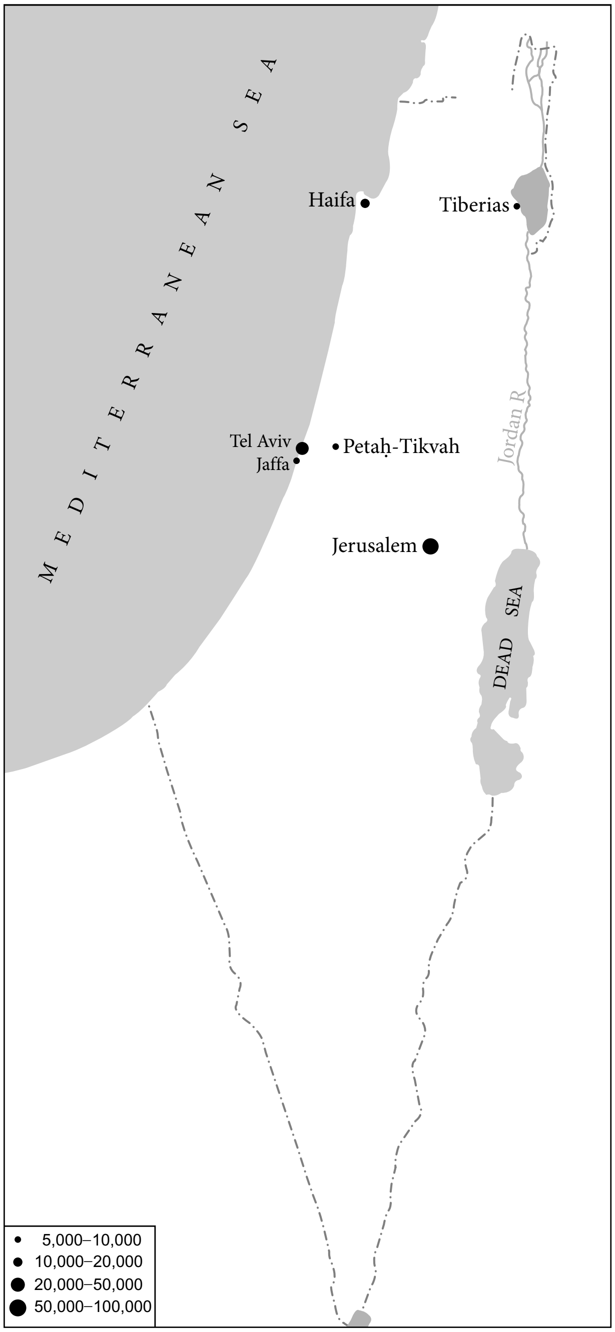
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
Haifa
Tiberias
Tel Aviv
Jaffa
Petaḥ-Tikvah
Jordan R.
Jerusalem
DEAD SEA
• 5,000–10,000
● 10,000–20,000
● 20,000–50,000
● 50,000–100,000

Map 1. Settlements with Jewish population numbering over 5,000, Nov. 1931.

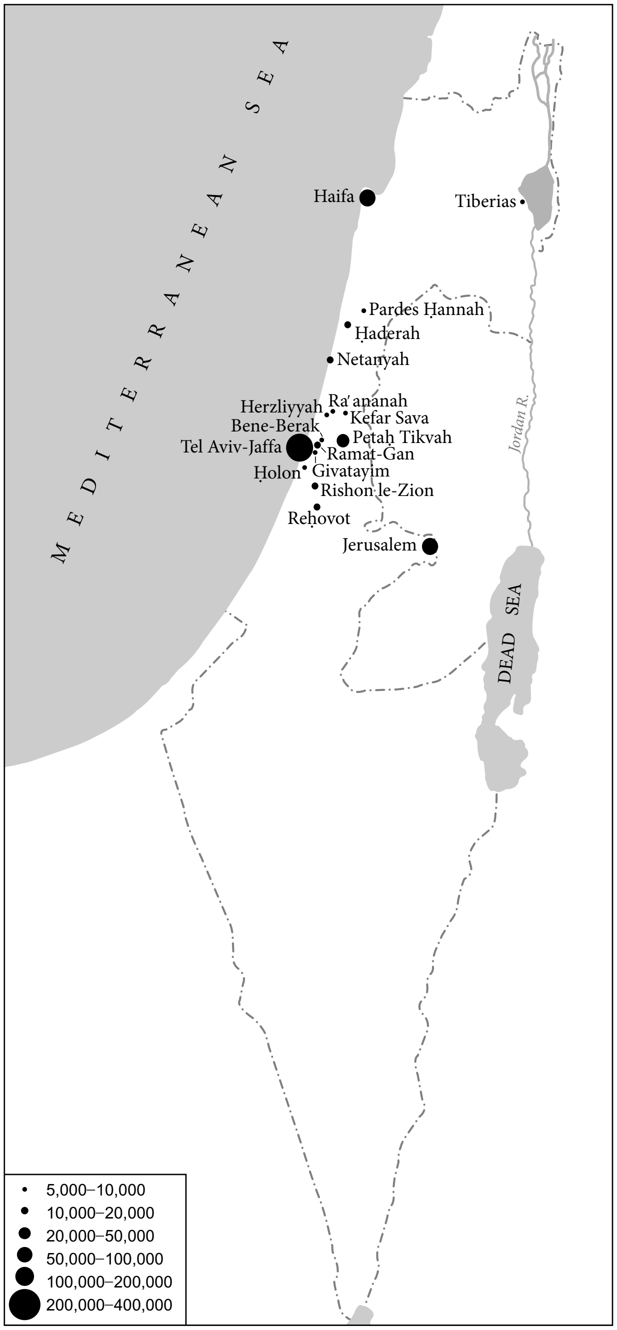
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
Haifa
Tiberias
Pardes Ḥannah
Ḥaderah
Netanyah
Herzliyyah
Ra'ananah
Kefar Sava
Bene-Berak
Petaḥ Tikvah
Tel Aviv-Jaffa
Ramat-Gan
Ḥolon
Givatayim
Rishon le-Zion
Reḥovot
Jerusalem
Jordan R.
DEAD SEA
• 5,000–10,000
● 10,000–20,000
● 20,000–50,000
● 50,000–100,000
● 100,000–200,000
● 200,000–400,000

Map 2. Settlements with Jewish population numbering over 5,000, Nov. 1948.

With improving health conditions, better security, economic development, and improved communications, however, mortality quickly decreased: the death rate of Muslims dropped from 30 per thousand in 1924–28 to 21 in 1939–41, while the average life expectancy increased from about 37 in 1926–27 to 47 and the child mortality up to the age of five fell to 29%. In the later years of the Mandate, mortality is known to have continued to decrease, but no reliable data are available (as the village heads who were responsible for reporting were also responsible for food distribution and were thus interested in concealing deaths). The fall in mortality was particularly marked in areas where the Arabs lived in closer contact with the Jewish population and could enjoy the services of Jewish physicians and medical institutions, as well as the benefits of more rapid economic development.

Marriages during the Mandatory period were practically universal among the Muslim population and were contracted at a very young age. Remarriages of divorced and widowed persons were also frequent. Nuptial mores were on the whole very favorable to fertility, which was high, as measured in terms of children per woman in the entire productive span, and tended to increase during the period, due probably to improved health and economic conditions. Among the Muslim population, the fertility rate was 6.1 children per woman in 1927–29, 7.6 in 1939–41, and 8.1 in 1942–43. Among the Christians, marriage was less universal and fertility was lower on the average.

Although no data are available on internal migration, it is known that a considerable movement took place toward the Coastal Plain, which developed more quickly under the impact of Jewish enterprise. The towns that increased their non-Jewish populations most were Jaffa, Haifa, and Gaza. In the interior of the country there was a very considerable development of the non-Jewish population only in Jerusalem; Hebron and Nablus each passed the 20,000 mark toward the end of the Mandatory period. On the whole, Judea and Samaria remained predominantly rural, having an urban population of less than 25% throughout the Mandatory period. Emigration from Palestine was, on the whole, very limited, while in periods of more intense economic development there was some immigration, mainly to find work, from neighboring countries. Under the impact of the large and growing natural increase, the main feature of the demographic evolution of non-Jews in the Mandatory period was the very considerable increase in population: the non-Jewish population almost doubled itself between 1922 and 1948. This corresponds to an average increase of 2.5% per year, which was exceptional at the time for underdeveloped countries.

In the State of Israel: 1948–67

The tension in the late months of 1947 and the beginning of 1948, followed by the invasion from Arab countries and the War of Independence, brought about dramatic changes in the political and demographic situation. The territory of Mandatory Palestine was divided into three parts. In the part that passed under Israel rule, the non-Jewish population was drastically reduced by the flight of Arabs, who took refuge in various Arab states. The number of Palestinian Arab refugees has been assessed at different levels by different research workers, institutions, and political agencies. The difficulty in establishing the true figures stems from lack of accurate data for the end of the Mandatory period (the last census taken by the British authorities was in 1931), the fact that applicants for assistance from the United Nations Relief and Works Agency included many who were not refugees, and the inability of the UNRWA to keep accurate records of deaths, migration, and so on. Despite the difficulties, however, it may be roughly reckoned that the Arab population before the disturbances of 1947–48 and the war of 1948 in the part of Palestine that passed under Israel rule was of the order of magnitude of 750,000. It is known that after the departure of the refugees about 156,000 Arabs remained in Israel.

The economic and social conditions of Israel's Arabs improved quickly and the death rate decreased to the same level as that of the Jewish population. Marriage among Muslims remained practically universal although a little more delayed than during the Mandatory period, and remarriage

Non-Jews in Israel by Religion (1922–2002)

	Oct. 23, 1922[1]	Nov. 18, 1931[1]	Dec. 31, 1949[2]	May 22, 1961[2]	Dec. 31, 1969[3]	1994[3,4]	2002
Muslims	589,177	759,700	111,500	170,830	314,500	766,400	1,038,300
Christians	71,464	88,967	34,000	50,543	73,500	154,500	140,400
Druze and others	7,617	10,101	14,500	25,761	34,600	90,400[5]	355,400
TOTAL	668,258	858,768	160,000	247,134	422,600	1,011,300	1,534,100

Source: Statistical Abstract of Israel, Central Bureau of Statistics, Jerusalem.

1 Palestine.
2 Israel.
3 Israel including East Jerusalem.
4 Average.
5 Druze only.

Non-Jewish Population of Israel by District and Sub-District[1,2] (1948–2003)

	Population (thousands)					Percentages				
District and Sub-District	Nov. 8, 1948	May 22, 1961	Dec. 31, 1969	Dec. 31, 1994	Dec. 31, 2003	Nov. 8, 1948	May 22, 1961	Dec. 31, 1969	Dec. 31, 1994	Dec. 31, 2003
Jerusalem district	**2.9**	**4.2**	**76.6**	**172.8**	**251.7**	**1.8**	**1.7**	**18.1**	**16.8**	**16.1**
Northern district	**90.6**	**142.8**	**202.7**	**468.1**	**611.0**	**58.1**	**57.7**	**48.0**	**45.4**	**39.3**
Safed sub-district	1.9	3.0	3.9	8.4	15.3	1.2	1.2	0.9	0.8	1.0
Kinneret sub-district	5.1	7.9	10.9	22.4	32.2	3.3	3.2	2.6	2.2	2.1
Jezreel sub-district	34.9	53.5	75.0	168.1	228.0	22.4	21.6	17.8	16.3	14.7
Acre sub-district	48.7	78.4	112.8	252.4	335.5	31.2	31.7	26.7	24.5	21.5
Haifa district	**27.4**	**48.0**	**68.8**	**159.5**	**237.5**	**17.6**	**19.4**	**16.3**	**15.5**	**15.3**
Haifa sub-district	9.1	18.6	24.8	53.1	90.8	5.9	7.5	5.9	5.2	5.8
Ḥaderah sub-district	18.3	29.4	44.0	106.4	148.7	11.7	11.9	10.4	10.3	9.5
Central district	**16.1**	**26.9**	**39.1**	**101.4**	**185.1**	**10.3**	**10.9**	**9.2**	**9.8**	**11.9**
Sharon sub-district	10.4	17.4	24.7	57.2	84.2	6.6	7.0	6.8	5.5	5.4
Petaḥ Tikvah sub-district	3.0	4.7	7.3	21.8	45.4	1.9	1.9	1.7	2.1	2.9
Ramleh sub-district	2.6	4.4	6.7	20.6	34.5	1.7	1.8	1.6	2.0	2.2
Reḥovot sub-district	0.1	0.4	0.5	1.9	21.0	0.1	0.2	0.1	0.2	1.4
Tel Aviv district	**3.6**	**6.7**	**8.0**	**25.4**	**68.9**	**2.3**	**2.8**	**1.9**	**2.5**	**4.4**
Southern district	**15.4**	**18.6**	**27.5**	**102.2**	**202.0**	**9.9**	**7.5**	**6.5**	**9.9**	**13.0**
Ashkelon sub-district	2.4	0.3	0.4	8.1	34.2	1.6	0.1	0.1	0.8	2.2
Beersheba sub-district	13.0	18.3	27.1	94.2	167.7	8.3	7.4	6.4	9.1	10.8
Total	**156.0**	**247.2**	**422.7**	**1,030.4**	**1,556.2**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**

Source: Statistical Abstract of Israel, Central Bureau of Statistics, Jerusalem.

1 According to the boundaries of the sub-districts in the years listed.

2. Excluding Golan Heights, Judea, Samaria, and Gaza.

was still frequent. The fertility rate remained extremely high (eight or nine children to each woman on the average). Only among the Christian Arabs have signs of increasing birth control appeared in recent years. Emigration was practically nil. Under the impact of all these facts, the natural increase of Arabs in Israel has been very high by international standards, and the Arab population doubled itself between 1948 and 1967.

Table: Non-Jews in Israel by Religion gives some details on the changes in the non-Jewish population of Israel classified by religion. Its structure by sex is well balanced and the age structure is very young. Table: Non-Jews in Israel by District shows the geographical distribution of the non-Jewish population by regions. While the Muslim population has largely retained its rural character, the Christian population is largely urban. On the whole, the geographical distribution of the non-Jewish population is very different from that of the Jews; but there is an increasing intermingling of the two populations, as many non-Jews, while still residing in their areas, go out to work in Jewish towns and villages.

Population of the "West Bank" and Gaza Strip Between the Two Wars

The population of Judea and Samaria (called "the West Bank" under Jordanian rule) increased very considerably in 1948 due to the large influx of refugees, but the population increase was very limited in the period between 1948 and 1967. Fertility was high (more or less on the level of eight children per woman), but mortality declined very little, and it may be reckoned to have been almost three times that of the Arabs in Israel at the end of the period. The West Bank remained prevalently rural and largely underdeveloped. Consequently, a considerable emigration developed toward Amman and other more developed regions of the East Bank, the Arab oil states (such as Kuwait, Iraq, and Saudi Arabia), and, to some extent, to overseas countries. As a consequence of the Six-Day War there was a considerable efflux of refugees, mainly from the Jericho region. As a result of all these factors, the population of the West Bank after the Six-Day War was probably only a little larger than it had been in 1948.

The population of the Gaza Strip increased very considerably in 1948 owing to the mass influx of refugees, who were largely settled in refugee camps. This increased still further the non-rural character of the population.

Natural increase in the Gaza Strip was probably similar to that of the West Bank, but emigration was smaller, and the total increase of population was therefore higher. Due to these factors the density of population in the Gaza Strip is very high compared with that of the West Bank.

Population of Administered Territories, 1967–2002

In 1967 and 1968 there was considerable emigration from these territories, mainly toward Jordan and other Arab states, which has brought about some decline in the population. This move-

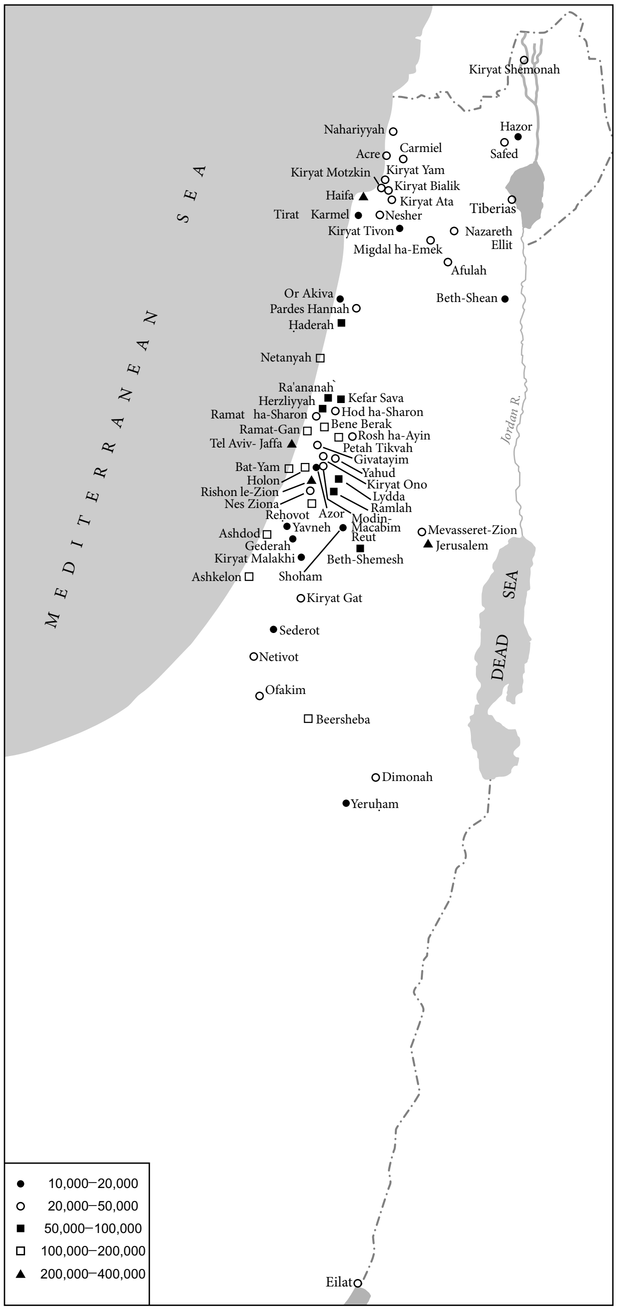
Kiryat Shemonah
Nahariyyah
Hazor
Safed
Acre
Carmiel
Kiryat Motzkin
Kiryat Yam
Kiryat Bialik
Haifa
Kiryat Ata
Tiberias
Tirat Karmel
Nesher
Kiryat Tivon
Nazareth Ellit
Migdal ha-Emek
Afulah
Or Akiva
Pardes Hannah
Beth-Shean
Ḥaderah
Netanyah
Ra'ananah
Kefar Sava
Herzliyyah
Hod ha-Sharon
Ramat ha-Sharon
Bene Berak
Ramat-Gan
Rosh ha-Ayin
Tel Aviv- Jaffa
Petah Tikvah
Givatayim
Bat-Yam
Yahud
Holon
Kiryat Ono
Rishon le-Zion
Lydda
Nes Ziona
Ramlah
Reḥovot
Azor
Modin-Macabim Reut
Ashdod
Yavneh
Mevasseret-Zion
Jerusalem
Gederah
Kiryat Malakhi
Beth-Shemesh
Ashkelon
Shoham
Kiryat Gat
Sederot
Netivot
Ofakim
Beersheba
Dimonah
Yeruḥam
Eilat
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
DEAD SEA
Jordan R.
● 10,000–20,000
○ 20,000–50,000
■ 50,000–100,000
□ 100,000–200,000
▲ 200,000–400,000

Map 3. Settlements with Jewish population numbering over 10,000, 2004.

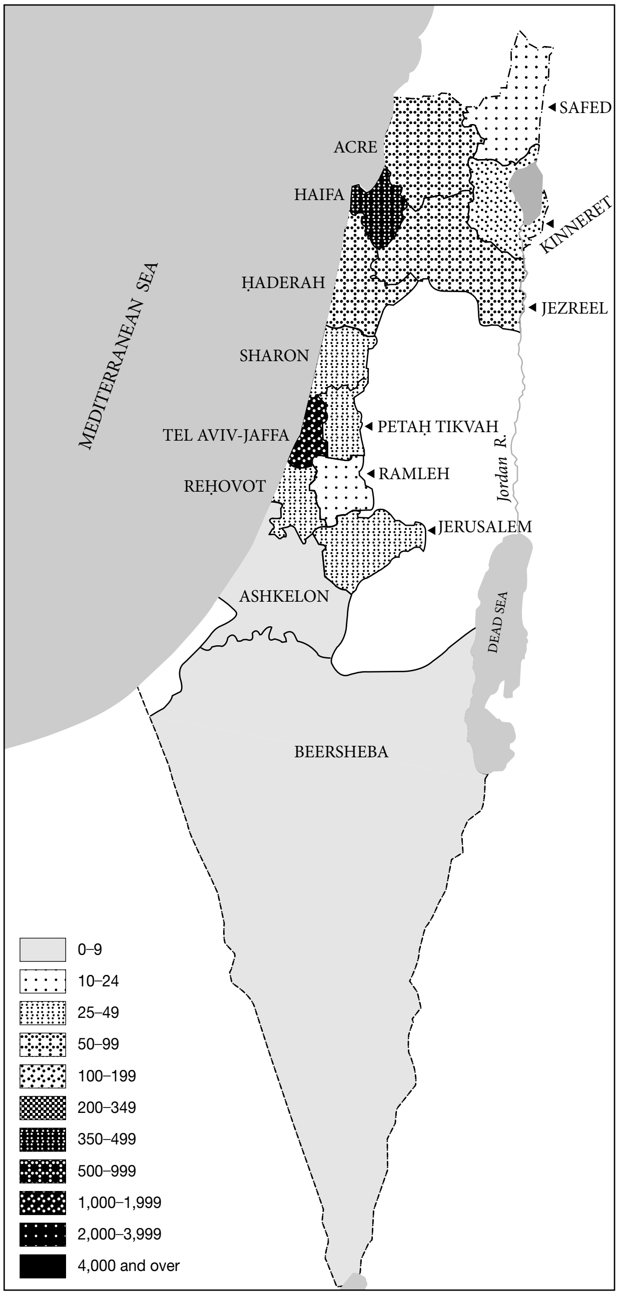
SAFED
ACRE
HAIFA
KINNERET
ḤADERAH
JEZREEL
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
SHARON
TEL AVIV-JAFFA
PETAḤ TIKVAH
Jordan R.
REḤOVOT
RAMLEH
JERUSALEM
ASHKELON
DEAD SEA
BEERSHEBA
0–9
10–24
25–49
50–99
100–199
200–349
350–499
500–999
1,000–1,999
2,000–3,999
4,000 and over

Map 4. Israel population density per sq. km. 1948. The sub-district boundaries are those of 1969. Based on data from Statistical Abstract of Israel, *1970.*

ment has practically stopped, however, and the population has begun to increase, due to a considerable excess of births over deaths. At the end of 1969 the population of Judea and Samaria was 601,000 and of the Gaza Strip 337,000.

The economic condition of the population of the administered territories has very considerably improved. This, and the extended network of medical and social services explain the quick reduction of its mortality during the period under survey. As fertility has remained high, the natural increase has grown. Despite some emigration from Judea and Samaria in the past few years, the size of population has increased considerably, from 581,700 at the beginning of 1969 to 699,600

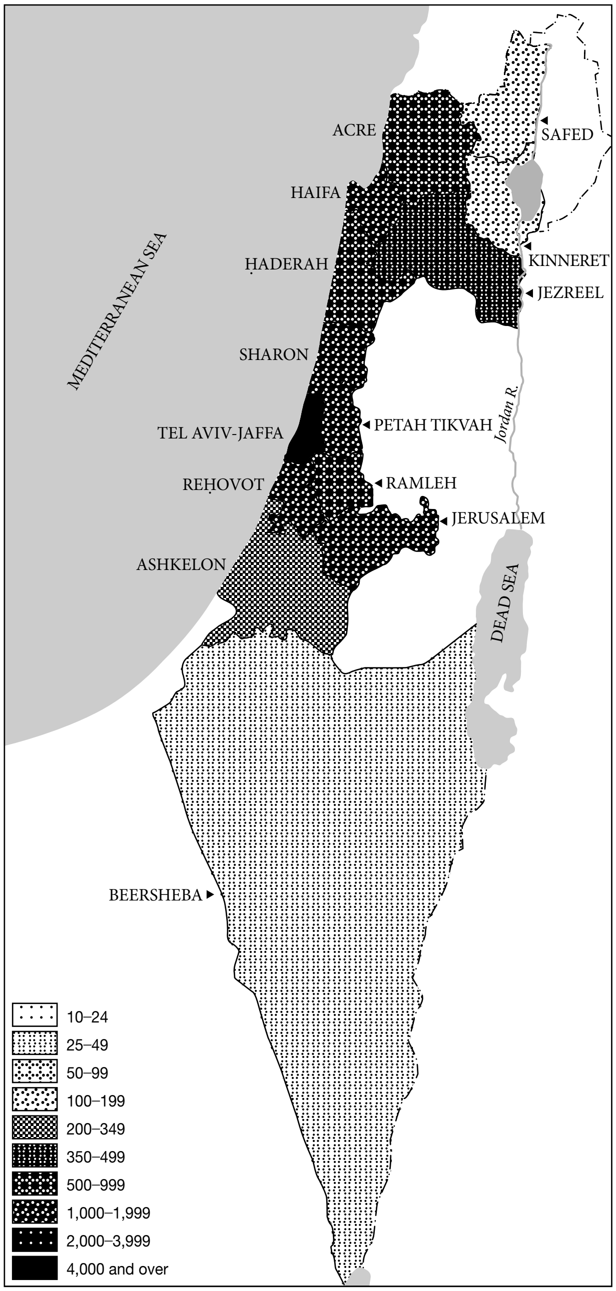

Map. 5. Israel population density per sq. km. 2004. The sub-district boundaries are those of 1969. Based on data from Statistical Abstract of Israel, *2005.*

at the end of 1980 in Judea and Samaria, and from 355,900 to 431,500 in the Gaza Strip and Northern Sinai.

The number of Jews living in the administered territories was estimated at the end of 1977 as 4,400 in Judea and Samaria, 3,500 in the Gaza Strip and Sinai and 3,000 in the Golan Heights. In 2002 it was estimated that 203,700 lived in the administered territories, about 7,000 of them in the Gaza Strip (evacuated by the Israelis in 2005).

[Roberto Bachi]

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ISRAEL PLACE LIST (2004) – PLACES OF JEWISH HABITATION IN ISRAEL AND THE ADMINISTERED TERRITORIES

A – Amana
G – Gadna
H – Herut
H – Histadrut
HH – Ha-Ichud ha-Kehilati
HI – Hitahadut ha-Ikkarim
IH – Ihud Hakla'i
IK – Ihud ha-Kevuzot ve-ha-Kibbutzim
KA – Ha-Kibbutz ha-Artzi (Ha-Shomer ha-Za'ir)
KD – Ha-Kibbutz ha-Dati
KM – Ha-Kibbutz ha-Me'uhad
M – Mapam
MH – Hamerkaz ha-Hakla'i
OZ – Ha-Oved ha-Ziyyoni
PAI – Po'alei Agudat Israel
PM – Ha-Po'el ha-Mizrachi
TKM – Tenua Kibbutzit Mehuhedet
TM – Tenu'at ha-Moshavim

NOTES:
Geographical Region: The sign "67+" indicates a settlement beyond the pre-1967 borders.
Year of Founding: Where the year is not indicated, the settlement is ancient.
Form of Settlement: Only the present form of settlement is given.
Affiliation: Only the present affiliation is given.
Municipal Status: RC – the settlement is represented in the regional council indicated.
(RC) – the settlement belongs to the area of the regional council, but is not represented in it.
No. of Inhabitants: The sign .. indicates that the population figures are not available.

Name	Geographical Region	Year of Founding	Settlement Form	Affiliation	Municipal Status	No. of inhabitants 31 Dec. 2004
Acre (Akko)			Town		municipality	45,553 thereof 11,810 non-Jews
Adamit	Western Upper Galilee	1958	Kibbutz	KA	RC Sultam Zor	106
Adanim	Southern Sharon	1950	Moshav	RC	RC Ha-Yarkon	428
Adderet	Judean Foothills (Adullam Region)	1961	Moshav	TM	RC Matteh Yehudah	513
Addirim	Jezreel Valley (Taanach Region)	1956	Moshav	TM	RC Ha-Gilboa	222
Adi	Western Lower Galilee (Shefaram region)	1980	Urban Community		RC Jezreel Valley	1,705
Adora	Southern Hebron Mountains; 67+	1983	Rural Community	H	RC Hebron Mountain	186
Afek	Acre	1939	Kibbutz	KM	RC Na'aman	429
Afik	Golan Heights; 67+	1967	Kibbutz	IK	RC Golan	235
Afikim	Kinneret Valley	1932	Kibbutz	IK	RC Jordan Valley	985
Afulah (Ir Yizre'el)	Jezreel Valley	1925	Urban Settlement		local council	38,864
Agur	Southern Judean Foothills	1950	Moshav	TM	RC Matteh Yehudah	331
Aḥi'ezer	Coastal Plain (Lod Region)	1950	Moshav	PM	RC Lod Plain	1,285
Aḥihud	Acre Plain	1950	Moshav	TM	RC Na'aman	678
Aḥisamakh	Coastal Plain (Lod Region)	1950	Moshav	TM	RC Modi'im	1,076
Aḥituv	Central Sharon	1951	Moshav	TM	RC Ḥefer Plain	775
Aḥuzzam	Southern Coastal Plain (Lachish Region)	1950	Moshav	OZ	RC Lachish	411
Aḥvah	Southern Coastal Plain		Urban Community		RC Naḥal Sorek	246
Ale Zahav	Samaria; 67+	1982	Rural Community	H	RC Samaria	429
Alfe Menashe	Samaria; 67+	1983	Urban Community		local council	5,433
Allonei Abba	Southern Lower Galilee	1948	Moshav Shittufi	OZ	RC Kishon	317
Allonei ha-Bashan	Golan Heights; 67+	1981	Moshav Shittufi	PM	RC Golan	251
Allonei Yiẓḥak	Manasseh Hills	1949	Youth Village	OZ	(RC) Manasseh	208
Allon ha-Galil	Jezreel Valley (Shefaram region)	1980	Urban Community	TM	RC Jezreel Valley	899
Allonim	Jezreel Valley	1938	Kibbutz	KM	RC Kishon	537
Allon Shevut	Hebron Hills; 67+	1971	Rural Center	PM	RC Etzyon Bloc	3,229
Almagor	Kinneret Valley	1961	Moshav	TM	RC Jordan Valley	219
Almah	Eastern Upper Galilee	1949	Moshav	PM	RC Merom ha-Galil	727
Almog	Dead Sea Region; 67+	1977	Kibbutz	IK	RC Megilot	142
Almon	Southern Samaria; 67+	1982	Rural Community	A	RC Matteh Benjamin	739
Alumim	Northwestern Negev (Besor Region)	1966	Kibbutz	PM	RC Azzatah	380
Alummah	Southern Coastal Plain (Malakhi Region)	1965	Rural Center		(RC) Shafir	531

Name	Geographical Region	Year of Founding	Settlement Form	Affiliation	Municipal Status	No. of inhabitants 31 Dec. 2004
Alummot (Bitanyah)	Kinneret Valley	1941	Kibbutz	IK	RC Jordan Valley	251
Amaẓyah	Lachish (Adoraim) Region	1955	Moshav Shittufi	H	RC Lachish	137
Amir	Ḥuleh Valley	1939	Kibbutz	KA	RC Ha-Galil ha-Elyon	552
Amirim	Eastern Upper Galilee	1950	Moshav	TM	RC Merom ha-Galil	469
Amkah	Acre Plain	1949	Moshav	TM	RC Ga'aton	549
Ammi'ad	Eastern Upper Galilee (Hazor Region)	1946	Kibbutz	IK	RC Ha-Galil ha-Elyon	426
Ammikam	Iron Hills (Northwestern Samaria)	1950	Moshav	H	RC Allonah	509
Amminadav	Jerusalem Hills	1950	Moshav	TM	RC Matteh Yehudah	611
Ammi'oz	Northwestern Negev (Besor Region)	1957	Moshav	TM	RC Eshkol	224
Amukka	Upper Galilee	1980	Community		RC Merom ha-Galil	211
Ani'am	Golan Heights; 67+	1978	Moshav Shittufi	TM	RC Golan	379
Arad	Northeastern Negev	1961	Urban Settlement	–	local council	23,477
Arbel	Eastern Lower Galilee	1949	Moshav	TM	RC Ha-Galil ha-Taḥton	333
Argaman	Lower Jordan Valley; 67+	1968	Moshav	H	RC Jordan Valley	166
Ariel	Central Samaria; 67+	1978	Urban Settlement		municipality	16,414
Arsuf	Sharon	1995	Urban Community		RC Ḥof ha-Sharon	127
Arugot	Southern Coastal Plain (Malakhi Region)	1949	Moshav	TM	RC Be'er Tuviyyah	731
Aseret	Coastal Plain (Reḥovot Region)	1954	Rural Center	–	RC Gederot	1,099
Asfar (Meiẓad)	Etzyon Bloc; 67+	1983	Rural Community	PAI	RC Etzyon Bloc	275
Ashalim	Central Negev	1976	Moshav Shitufi	IK	RC Ramat ha-Negev	233
Ashdod	Southern Coastal Plain	1955	City		municipality	196,903
Ashdot Ya'akov	Kinneret Valley	1933	Kibbutz	IK	RC Jordan Valley	552
Ashdot Ya'akov	Kinneret Valley	1933	Kibbutz	KM	RC Jordan Valley	350
Ashkelon	Southern Coastal Plain	–	City		municipality	105,088
Ateret	Western Samaria; 67+	1981	Rural Community	A	RC Matteh Benjamin	350
Athlit	Carmel Coast	1904	Urban Settlement		local council	4,438
Avdon	Western Upper Galilee	1952	Moshav	TM	RC Ma'aleh ha-Galil	474
Avi'el	Northern Sharon (Ḥaderah Region)	1949	Moshav	H	RC Allonah	417
Avi'ezer	Judean Foothills	1958	Moshav	PM	RC Matteh Yehudah	513
Avigedor	Southern Coastal Plain (Malakhi Region)	1950	Moshav	TM	RC Be'er Tuviyyah	646
Aviḥayil	Central Sharon	1932	Moshav	TM	RC Ḥefer Plain	1,133
Avital	Jezreel Valley (Taanach Region)	1953	Moshav	TM	RC Ha-Gilboa	439
Avivim	Eastern Upper Galilee	1960	Moshav	TM	RC Merom ha-Galil	443
Avnei Eitan	Golan Heights; 67+	1978	Moshav	PM	RC Golan	337
Avnei Ḥefeẓ	Samaria; 67+	1990	Urban Community	A		1,038
Avtalyon	Northern Lower Galilee	1987	Urban Community	HH	RC Misgav	311
Ayanot	Coastal Plain (Rishon le-Zion Region)	1930	Agricultural School	–	–	388
Ayyelet ha-Shaḥar	Ḥuleh Valley	1918	Kibbutz	IK	Ha-Galil ha-Elyon	1,271
Azaryah	Judean Foothills	1949	Moshav	TM	RC Gezer	753
Azor	Coastal Plain (Tel Aviv Region)	1948	Urban Settlement		local council	9,993
Azri'el	Southern Sharon (Kefar Sava Region)	1951	Moshav	PM	RC Hadar ha-Sharon	515
Azrikam	Southern Coastal Plain (Malakhi Region)	1950	Moshav	TM	RC Be'er Tuviyyah	1,020
Baḥan	Central Sharon	1953	Kibbutz	IK	RC Ḥefer Plain	246
Balfouriyyah	Jezreel Valley	1922	Moshav	TM	RC Yizre'el	293
Barak	Jezreel Valley (Taanach Region)	1956	Moshav	TM	RC Ha-Gilboa	251
Baram	Eastern Upper Galilee	1949	Kibbutz	KA	RC Merom ha-Galil	462
Bareket	Coastal Plain (Petaḥ Tikvah Region)	1952	Moshav	PM	RC Modi'im	1,124
Bar Giora	Jerusalem Hills	1950	Moshav	H	RC Matteh Yehudah	378
Barkai	Iron Hills (Northwestern Samaria)	1949	Kibbutz	KA	RC Manasseh	341
Barkan	Western Samaria; 67+	1981	Urban Community	H		1,215

Name	Geographical Region	Year of Founding	Settlement Form	Affiliation	Municipal Status	No. of inhabitants 31 Dec. 2004
Bat Ayin	Etzyon Bloc; 67+	1989	Rural Community	A	RC Etzyon Bloc	796
Bat Hadar	Southern Coastal Plain	1995	Urban Community		RC Ḥof Askhelon	378
Bat Ḥefer	Central Sharon	1996	Urban Community		RC Ḥefer Plain	5,081
Bat Shelomo	Manasseh Hills	1889	Moshav	HI	RC Ḥof ha-Karmel	387
Bat Yam	Coastal Plain (Tel Aviv Region)	1926	City		municipality	130,389
Be’eri	Northwestern Negev (Eshkol Region)	1946	Kibbutz	KH	RC Eshkol	759
Be’erotayim	Coastal Plain (Ḥefer Valley)	1949	Moshav	TM	RC Ḥefer Plain	583
Be’erot Yiẓḥak	Coastal Plain (Petaḥ Tikvah Region)	1948	Kibbutz	PM	RC Modi’im	416
Be’er Orah	Southern Arabah Valley	1950	Youth Camp	G	(RC) Ḥevel Eilot	
Beersheba (Be’er Sheva)	Northern Negev	(1948)	City		municipality	184,500
Be’er Tuviyyah	Southern Coastal Plain (Malakhi Region)	1930	Moshav	TM	RC Be’er Tuviyyah	769
Be’er Ya’akov	Coastal Plain (Lod Region)	1907	Urban		local council	8,906
Beka’ot	Northern Jordan Valley; 67+	1972	Moshav	IH	RC Jordan Valley	152
Beko’a	Judean Foothills	1951	Moshav	TM	RC Matteh Yehudah	492
Ben Ammi	Acre Plain	1949	Moshav	TM	RC Ga’aton	461
Benayah	Southern Coastal Plain (Reḥovot Region)	1949	Moshav	TM	RC Brenner	770
Bene-Berak	Coastal Plain (Tel Aviv Region)	1924	City		municipality	142,334
Benei Atarot	Coastal Plain (Petaḥ Tikvah Region)	1948	Moshav	TM	RC Modi’im	600
Benei Ayish	Southern Coastal Plain (Reḥovot Region)	1958	Village	–	RC Ḥevel Yavneh	7,659
Benei Darom	Coastal Plain (Reḥovot Region)	1949	Moshav Shittufi	PM	RC Ḥevel Yavneh	332
Benei Deror	Southern Sharon	1946	Moshav Shittufi	TM	RC Hadar ha-Sharon	1,117
Benei Re’em	Coastal Plain (Reḥovot Region)	1949	Moshav	PAI	RC Naḥal Sorek	978
Benei Yehuda	Golan Heights; 67+	1972	Rural Community		RC Golan	971
Benei Zion	Southern Sharon (Herzliyyah Region)	1947	Moshav	IH	RC Ḥof ha-Sharon	835
Ben Shemen	Coastal Plain (Lod Region)	1921	Youth Village		(RC) Modi’im	628
Ben Shemen	Coastal Plain (Lod Region)	1952	Moshav	TM	RC Modi’im	584
Ben Zakkai	Southern Coastal Plain (Reḥovot Region)	1950	Moshav	PM	RC Ḥevel Yavneh	624
Berakhah	Samaria; 67+	1983	Urban Settlement	A		970
Berekhyah	Southern Coastal Plain (Ashkelon Region)	1950	Moshav	TM	RC Ḥof Ashkelon	893
Beror Ḥayil	Southern Coastal Plain (Ashkelon Region)	1948	Kibbutz	KM	RC Sha’ar ha-Negev	459
Berosh	Northern Negev (Gerar Region)	1953	Moshav	TM	RC Benei Shimon	209
Bet Alfa	Harod Valley	1922	Kibbutz	KA	RC Ha-Gilboa	556
Bet Aryeh	Western Samaria; 67+	1981	Urban Settlement		local council	3,446
Bet Arif	Coastal Plain (Lod Region)	1951	Moshav	TM	RC Modi’im	547
Betar Illit	Judea; 67+	1985	Urban Settlement		municipality	24,895
Bet Berl	Southern Sharon	1947	Educational Center	H	(RC) Ha-Sharon ha-Tikhon	250
Bet Dagan	Coastal Plain (Lod Region)	1948	Urban Settlement		local council	5,352
Bet El	Northern Judea; 67+	1977	Urban Community		RC Matteh Benjamin	4,763
Bet Elazari	Coastal Plain (Reḥovot Region)	1948	Moshav	TM	RC Brenner	989
Bet Ezra	Southern Coastal Plain (Malakhi Region)	1950	Moshav	TM	RC Be’er Tuviyyah	918
Bet Gamli’el	Coastal Plain (Reḥovot Region)	1949	Moshav	PM	RC Ḥevel Yavneh	830
Bet Guvrin	Southern Judean Foothills	1949	Kibbutz	KM	RC Yo’av	239
Bet ha-Aravah	Dead Sea Region	1980	Kibbutz	TKM	RC Megillot	69
Bet ha-Emek	Acre Plain	1949	Kibbutz	IK	RC Ga’aton	447
Bet ha-Gaddi	Northern Negev (Gerar Region)	1949	Moshav	PM	RC Azzatah	642

Name	Geographical Region	Year of Founding	Settlement Form	Affiliation	Municipal Status	No. of inhabitants 31 Dec. 2004
Bet Ḥagai	Southern Hebron Mountains; 67+	1984	Rural Community	A		429
Bet ha-Levi	Central Sharon (Ḥefer Plain)	1945	Moshav	TM	RC Ḥefer Plain	551
Bet Hanan	Coastal Plain (Rishon le-Zion Region)	1930	Moshav	TM	RC Gan Raveh	537
Bet Hananyah	Northern Sharon (Ḥaderah Region)	1950	Moshav	TM	RC Ḥof ha-Karmel	607
Bet Ḥashmonai	Judean Foothills	1972	Rural Community		RC Gezer	914
Bet ha-Shittah	Harod Valley	1935	Kibbutz	KM	RC Ha-Gilboa	871
Bet Ḥerut	Central Sharon (Ḥefer Plain)	1933	Moshav	TM	RC Ḥefer Plain	651
Bet Ḥilkiyyah	Coastal Plain (Reḥovot Region)	1953	Moshav	PAI	RC Naḥal Sorek	438
Bet Hillel	Ḥuleh Valley	1940	Moshav	TM	RC Ha-Galil ha-Elyon	577
Bet Ḥoron	Northwestern Judea; 67+	1977	Rural Community		RC Matteh Benjamin	825
Bet Kamah	Northern Negev (Gerar Region)	1949	Kibbutz	KA	RC Benei Shimon	220
Bet Keshet	Eastern Lower Galilee	1944	Kibbutz	KM	RC Ha-Galil ha-Taḥton	254
Bet Leḥem ha-Gelilit	Southern Lower Galilee	1948	Moshav	TM	RC Kishon	617
Bet Me'ir	Judean Hills	1950	Moshav	PM	RC Matteh Yehudah	561
Bet Neḥemyah	Northern Judean Foothills (Lod Region)	1950	Moshav	OZ	RC Modi'im	689
Bet Nekofah	Jerusalem Hills	1949	Moshav	TM	RC Matteh Yehudah	433
Bet Nir	Southern Coastal Plain (Lachish Region)	1955	Kibbutz	KA	RC Yo'av	279
Bet Oren	Mount Carmel	1939	Kibbutz	KM	RC Ḥof ha-Karmel	306
Bet Oved	Coastal Plain (Rishon le-Zion Region)	1933	Moshav	TM	RC Gan Raveh	313
Bet Rabban	Coastal Plain (Reḥovot Region)	1946	Yeshivah	KD	RC Ḥevel Yavneh	586
Bet Rimon	Central Lower Galilee	1977	Kibbutz	KD	RC Lower Galilee	250
Bet-Shean	Beth-Shean Valley	–	Urban Settlement	–	local council	16,039
Bet She'arim	Jezreel Valley	1936	Moshav	TM	RC Kishon	508
Bet-Shemesh (formerly Hartuv)	Judean Foothills	–	Urban Settlement	–	municipality	61,931
Bet Shikmah	Southern Coastal Plain (Ashkelon Region)	1950	Moshav	TM	RC Ḥof Ashkelon	684
Bet Uzzi'el	Judean Foothills (Lod Region)	1956	Moshav	PM	RC Gezer	484
Bet Yannai	Central Sharon (Ḥefer Plain)	1933	Moshav	IH	RC Ḥefer Plain	395
Bet Yehoshu'a	Southern Sharon (Netanyah Region)	1938	Moshav	OZ	RC Ḥof ha-Sharon	744
Bet Yiẓḥak (Sha'ar Ḥefer)	Central Sharon (Ḥefer Plain)	1940	Rural Settlement	–	RC Ḥefer Plain	1,606
Bet Yosef	Beth-Shean Valley	1937	Moshav	TM	RC Beth-Shean Valley	348
Bet Zayit	Jerusalem Hills	1949	Moshav	TM	RC Matteh Yehudah	1,191
Bet Zera	Kinneret Valley	1927	Kibbutz	KA	RC Jordan Valley	721
Bet Ẓevi	Carmel Coast	1953	Educational Institute	–	(RC) Ḥof ha-Karmel	510
Beẓet	Acre Plain	1949	Moshav	TM	RC Sullam Ẓor	332
Binyaminah (Givat Ada)	Northern Sharon (Ḥaderah Region)	1922	Urban Settlement	–	local council	9,765
Biranit	Western Upper Galilee	1964	Rural Settlement	–	(RC) Ma'aleh ha-Galil	
Biriyyah	Eastern Upper Galilee	1945	Rural Settlement	–	RC Merom ha-Galil	780
Bitan Aharon	Central Sharon (Ḥefer Plain)	1936	Moshav	IH	RC Ḥefer Plain	633
Bitḥah	Northwestern Negev (Besor Region)	1950	Moshav	TM	RC Merḥavim	683
Biẓẓaron	Southern Coastal Plain (Malakhi Region)	1935	Moshav	TM	RC Be'er Tuviyyah	900
Boẓrah	Southern Sharon (Kefar Sava Region)	1946	Moshav	IH	RC Ḥof ha-Sharon	745
Burgetah	Central Sharon (Ḥefer Plain)	1949	Moshav	TM	RC Ḥefer Plain	890
Bustan ha-Galil	Acre Plain	1948	Moshav	IH	RC Ga'aton	433
Caesarea	Northern Coastal Plain	1977	Urban Settlement		local council	4,022

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Dafnah	Ḥuleh Valley	1939	Kibbutz	KM	RC Ha-Galil ha-Elyon	551
Daliyyah	Manasseh Hills	1939	Kibbutz	KA	RC Megiddo	738
Dalton	Eastern Upper Galilee	1950	Moshav	PM	RC Merom ha-Galil	698
Dan	Ḥuleh Valley	1939	Kibbutz	KA	RC Ha-Galil ha-Elyon	408
Daverat	Jezreel Valley	1946	Kibbutz	IK	RC Yizre'el	278
Deganim (Merkaz Shapira)	Southern Coastal Plain (Malakhi Region)	1948	Rural Center	–	(RC) Shafir	2,910
Deganyah (Deganiyyah) Alef	Kinneret Valley	1909	Kibbutz	IK	RC Jordan Valley	560
Deganyah (Deganiyyah) Bet	Kinneret Valley	1920	Kibbutz	IK	RC Jordan Valley	540
Dekel	Western Negev	1982	Moshav	IH	RC Eshkol	95
Devir(ah)	Northern Negev (Beersheba Region)	1951	Kibbutz	KA	RC Benei Shimon	373
Devorah	Jezreel Valley (Taanach Region)	1956	Moshav	TM	RC Ha-Gilboa	227
Dimonah	Negev Hills	1955	City	–	municipality	33,676
Dishon	Eastern Upper Galilee	1953	Moshav	OZ	RC Ha-Galil ha-Elyon	390
Dolev	Northern Judea Mountain	1983	Rural Community	A	RC Matteh Benjamin	963
Dor	Carmel Coast	1949	Moshav	TM	RC Ḥof ha-Karmel	341
Dorot	Southern Coastal Plain (Ashekelon Region)	1941	Kibbutz	IK	RC Sha'ar ha-Negev	457
Dovev	Eastern Upper Galilee	1963	Moshav	TM	RC Merom ha-Galil	430
Efrat	Etzyon Bloc; 67+	1980	Town		local council	7,273
Eilat (Elath)	Southern Negev	1951	Town	–	municipality	44,538
Eilon	Western Upper Galilee	1938	Kibbutz	KA	RC Sullam Ẓor	631
Eilot	Southern Arabah Valley	1962	Kibbutz	KM	RC Ḥevel Eilot	270
Ein Ayyalah	Carmel Coast	1949	Moshav	TM	RC Ḥof ha-Karmel	703
Ein Gev	Kinneret Valley	1937	Kibbutz	IK	RC Jordan Valley	520
Ein ha-Emek	Manasseh Hills	1944	Rural Settlement	–	RC Megiddo	625
Ein ha-Ḥoresh	Central Sharon (Ḥefer Plain)	1931	Kibbutz	KA	RC Ḥefer Plain	721
Ein ha-Mifraẓ	Zebulun Valley	1938	Kibbutz	KA	RC Na'aman	670
Ein ha-Naẓiv	Beth-Shean Valley	1946	Kibbutz	KD	RC Beth-Shean Valley	510
Ein ha-Sheloshah	Northwestern Negev (Besor Region)	1950	Kibbutz	OZ	RC Eshkol	333
Ein ha-Shofet	Manasseh Hills	1937	Kibbutz	KA	RC Megiddo	720
Ein Hod	Mount Carmel	1954	Artist's Village	–	(RC) Ḥof ha-Karmel	472
Ein Iron	Northern Sharon (Ḥaderah Region)	1934	Moshav	TM	RC Manasseh	414
Ein Karmel	Carmel Coast	1947	Kibbutz	KM	RC Ḥof ha-Karmel	401
Ein Sarid	Southern Sharon (Kefar Sava Region)	1950	Rural Settlement	–	RC Hadar ha-Sharon	1,180
Ein Shemer	Northern Sharon (Ḥaderah Region)	1927	Kibbutz	KA	RC Manasseh	761
Ein Vered	Southern Sharon (Kefar Sava Region)	1930	Moshav	TM	RC Hadar ha-Sharon	1,006
Ein Ya'akov	Western Upper Galilee	1950	Moshav	TM	RC Ma'aleh ha-Galil	544
Ein Zivan	Golan Heights; 67+	1968	Kibbutz	KM	RC Golan	214
Ein Ẓurim	Southern Coastal Plain (Shafir Region)	1949	Kibbutz	KD	RC Shafir	537
Eitan	Southern Coastal Plain (Lachish Region)	1955	Moshav	PM	RC Shafir	363
Eitanim	Jerusalem Hills	1952	Hospital	–	(RC) Matteh Yehudah	200
Elad	Eastern Sharon	1988	Urban Settlement		local council	22,600
Elazar	Etzyon Bloc; 67+	1975	Moshav	PM	RC Etzyon Bloc	993
Eli	Samaria; 67+	1984	Urban Settlement	A	RC Matteh Benjamin	2,308
Eli'ad (El Al)	Golan Heights; 67+	1968	Moshav	PM	RC Golan	247
Elifaz	Arabah Valley	1982	Kibbutz	TKM	RC Eilot	45
Elifelet	Eastern Upper Galilee (Hazor Region)	1949	Moshav	TM	RC Ha-Galil ha-Elyon	476

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El-Rom	Golan Heights; 67+	1971	Kibbutz	TKM	RC Golan	267
Elishama	Southern Sharon	1951	Moshav	TM	RC Ha-Yarkon	875
Elkanah	Northern Samaria; 67+	1977	Urban Settlement		local council	2,983
Elkosh	Western Upper Galilee	1949	Moshav	TM	RC Ma'aleh ha-Galil	354
Elon Moreh	Samaria; 67+	1979	Urban Community	A		1,152
Elyakhin	Central Sharon (Ḥefer Plain)	1950	Rural Settlement	–	RC Ḥefer Plain	2,561
Elyakim	Manasseh Hills	1949	Moshav	TM	RC Megiddo	637
Elyashiv	Central Sharon (Ḥefer Plain)	1933	Moshav	HI	RC Ḥefer Plain	452
Emunim	Southern Coastal Plain (Malakhi Region)	1950	Moshav	TM	RC Be'er Tuviyyah	694
Enav	Samaria; 67+	1981	Rural Community	A	RC Shomron	468
Enat	Coastal Plain (Petaḥ Tikvah Region)	1925	Kibbutz	IK	RC Mifalot Afek	655
En-Dor	Eastern Lower Galilee	1948	Kibbutz	KA	RC Yizre'el	723
En-Gedi	Dead Sea Region	1953	Kibbutz	IK	RC Tamar	584
En-Harod	Harod Valley	1921	Kibbutz	IK	RC Ha-Gilboa	549
En-Harod	Harod Valley	1921	Kibbutz	KM	RC Ha-Gilboa	763
En-Tamar	Dead Sea Region	1982	Moshav	TM	RC Tamar	149
Erez	Southern Coastal Plain (Ashkelon Region)	1949	Kibbutz	IK	RC Sha'ar ha-Negev	324
Eshar	Central Lower Galilee	1989	Community		RC Misgav	392
Eshbal	Central Lower Galilee	1979	Kibbutz	TKM	RC Misgav	54
Eshbol	Northern Negev (Gerar Region)	1955	Moshav	TM	RC Merḥavim	244
Eshel ha-Nasi	Northern Negev (Besor Region)	1952	Agricultural School –		(RC) Merḥavim	397
Eshkolot	Southern Hebron Mountains; 67+	1982	Rural Community	A	RC Hebron Mountain	231
Eshtaol	Judean Foothills	1949	Moshav	TM	RC Matteh Yehudah	778
Even Menaḥem	Western Upper Galilee	1960	Moshav	TM	RC Ma'aleh ha-Galil	301
Even Sappir	Jerusalem Hills	1950	Moshav	TM	RC Matteh Yehudah	630
Even Shemu'el	Southern Coastal Plain (Lachish Region)	1956	Rural Center	–	RC Shafir	516
Even Yehudah	Southern Sharon (Netanyah Region)	1932	Rural Settlement	–	local council	8,991
Even Yiẓḥak (Galed)	Manasseh Hills	1945	Kibbutz	IK	RC Megiddo	401
Evron	Acre Plain	1945	Kibbutz	KA	RC Ga'aton	702
Eyal	Southern Sharon (Kefar Sava Region)	1949	Kibbutz	KM	RC Ha-Sharon ha-Tikhon	387
Eẓ Efrayim	Samaria; 67+	1985	Urban Settlement		RC Shomron	627
Ezer	Southern Coastal Plain (Malakhi Region)	1966	Rural Center	–	(RC) Be'er Tuviyyah	970
Ga'ash	Southern Sharon (Herzliyyah Region)	1951	Kibbutz	KA	RC Ḥof ha-Sharon	507
Ga'aton	Western Upper Galilee	1948	Kibbutz	KA	RC Ga'aton	41
Gadish	Jezreel Valley (Taanach Region)	1956	Moshav	TM	RC Ha-Gilboa	275
Gadot	Eastern Upper Galilee (Hazor Region)	1949	Kibbutz	KM	RC Ha-Galil ha-Elyon	371
Galon	Southern Judean Foothills	1946	Kibbutz	KA	RC Yo'av	307
Gan ha-Darom	Coastal Plain (Reḥovot Region)	1953	Moshav	IH	RC Gederot	352
Gan ha-Shomron	Northern Sharon (Ḥaderah Region)	1934	Rural Settlement	–	RC Manasseh	638
Gan Ḥayyim	Southern Sharon (Kefar Sava Region)	1935	Moshav	TM	RC Ha-Sharon ha-Tikhon	666
Gannei Am	Southern Sharon (Kefar Sava Region)	1934	Moshav	–	RC Ha-Yarkon	235
Gannei Tikvah	Coastal Plain (Petaḥ Tikvah Region)	1953	Urban Settlement	–	local council	11,970
Gannei Yehudah	Coastal Plain (Petaḥ Tikvah Region)	1951	Moshav	IH	RC Mifalot Afek	
Gannei Yoḥanan (Gannei Yonah)	Coastal Plain (Reḥovot Region)	1950	Moshav	TM	RC Gezer	593

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Gan Ner	Gilboa Mountain	1987	Urban Settlement		RC Ha-Gilboa	2,599
Gannot Hadar	Southern Sharon (Netanyah Region)	1964	Rural Settlement	–	RC Ha-Sharon ha-Ẓefoni	498
Gan Shelomo (Kevuẓat Schiller)	Coastal Plain (Reḥovot Region)	1927	Kibbutz	IK	RC Brenner	411
Gan Shemu'el	Northern Sharon (Ḥaderah Region)	1913	Kibbutz	KA	RC Manasseh	829
Gan Sorek	Coastal Plain (Rishon le-Zion Region)	1950	Moshav	TM	RC Gan Raveh	323
Gan Yavneh	Coastal Plain (Reḥovot Region)	1931	Rural Settlement	–	local council	13,970
Gan Yoshiyyah	Central Sharon (Ḥefer Valley)	1949	Moshav	TM	RC Ḥefer Plain	561
Gannot	Coastal Plain (Lod Region)	1953	Moshav	IH	RC Emek Lod	480
Gat	Southern Coastal Plain (Lachish Region)	1942	Kibbutz	KA	RC Yo'av	378
Gat Rimmon	Coastal Plain (Petaḥ Tikvah Region)	1926	Rural Settlement	–	RC Mifalot Afek	201
Gazit	Southeastern Lower Galilee	1948	Kibbutz	KA	RC Yizre'el	570
Ge'ah	Southern Coastal Plain (Ashkelon Region)	1949	Moshav	TM	RC Ḥof Ashkelon	534
Ge'alyah	Coastal Plain (Reḥovot Region)	1948	Moshav	TM	RC Gan Raveh	1,095
Gederah	Coastal Plain (Reḥovot Region)	1884	Urban Settlement	–	local council	13,643
Gefen	Southern Judean Foothills	1955	Moshav	PM	RC Matteh Yehudah	315
Gelil Yam	Southern Sharon (Herzliyyah Region)	1943	Kibbutz	KM	RC Ḥof ha-Sharon	321
Gerofit	Southern Arabah Valley	1963	Kibbutz	IK	RC Ḥevel Eilot	325
Gesher	Kinneret Valley	1939	Kibbutz	IK	RC Jordan Valley	472
Gesher ha-Ziv	Acre Plain	1949	Kibbutz	IK	RC Sullam Ẓor	663
Geshur	Golan Heights; 67+	1971	Kibbutz	KA	RC Golan	192
Ge'ulei Teiman	Central Sharon (Ḥefer Plain)	1947	Moshav	PM	RC Ḥefer Plain	298
Ge'ulim	Southern Sharon	1945	Moshav	TM	RC Ḥefer Plain	749
Geva	Harod Valley	1921	Kibbutz	IK	RC Ha-Gilboa	548
Geva Binyamin (Adam)	Judea; 67+	1984	Rural Community	A	RC Matteh Benjamin	2,032
Geva Karmel	Carmel Coast	1949	Moshav	TM	RC Ḥof ha-Karmel	704
Gevaram	Southern Coastal Plain (Ashkelon Region)	1942	Kibbutz	KM	RC Ḥof Ashkelon	307
Gevat	Jezreel Valley	1926	Kibbutz	KM	RC Kishon	664
Gevim	Southern Coastal Plain (Ashkelon Region)	1947	Kibbutz	IK	RC Sha'ar ha-Negev	363
Gevulot	Northwestern Negev (Besor Region)	1943	Kibbutz	KM	RC Eshkol	233
Gezer	Judean Foothills	1945	Kibbutz	IK	RC Gezer	356
Gibbethon	Coastal Plain (Reḥovot Region)	1933	Moshav	–	RC Brenner	279
Gidonah	Harod Valley	1949	Rural Settlement	–	RC Ha-Gilboa	168
Gilat	Northern Negev (Gerar Region)	1949	Moshav	TM	RC Merḥavim	826
Gilgal	Lower Jordan Valley; 67+	1970	Kibbutz	KM	RC Bikat ha-Yarden	164
Gilon	Lower Galilee	1980	Rural Community	H	RC Misgav	952
Gimzo	Judean Foothills	1950	Moshav	PAI	RC Modi'im	190
Ginnaton	Coastal Plain (Lod Region)	1949	Moshav	TM	RC Modi'im	648
Ginnegar	Jezreel Valley	1922	Kibbutz	IK	RC Yizre'el	442
Ginnosar	Kinneret Valley	1937	Kibbutz	KM	RC Jordan Valley	488
Gita	Galilee	1980	Urban Community	MH		225
Gittit	Lower Jordan Valley; 67+	1973	Moshav	H	RC Bikat ha-Yarden	161
Givat Adah-Binyaminah	Northern Sharon (Ḥaderah Region)	1903	Rural Settlement	–	local council	
Givat Avni	Lower Galilee	1991	Urban Settlement		RC Lower Galilee	2,010
Givat Brenner	Coastal Plain (Reḥovot Region)	1928	Kibbutz	KM	RC Brenner	1,186
Givat Ela	Jezreel Valley	1988	Urban Community		RC Jezreel Valley	1,680
Givat ha-Sheloshah	Coastal Plain (Petaḥ Tikvah Region)	1925	Kibbutz	KM	RC Mifalot Afek	428

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Givat Ḥayyim	Central Sharon (Ḥefer Plain)	1932	Kibbutz	IK	RC Ḥefer Plain	805
Givat Ḥayyim	Central Sharon (Ḥefer Plain)	1932	Kibbutz	KM	RC Ḥefer Plain	919
Givat Ḥen	Southern Sharon	1933	Moshav	TM	RC ha-Yarkon	336
Givat Ko'aḥ	Judean Foothills	1950	Moshav	TM	RC Matteh Yehudah	478
Givat Nili	Northwestern Iron Hills	1953	Moshav	H	RC Allonah	445
Givat Oz	Jezreel Valley	1949	Kibbutz	KA	RC Megiddo	344
Givat Shapira	Southern Sharon	1958	Moshav	IH	RC Ḥefer Plain	168
Givat Shemu'el	Coastal Plain (Petaḥ Tikvah Region)	1942	Urban Settlement	–	local council	17,409
Givat Ye'arim	Jerusalem Hills	1950	Moshav	TM	RC Matteh Yehudah	993
Givat Yeshayahu	Judean Foothills (Adullam Region)	1958	Moshav	OZ	RC Matteh Yehudah	363
Givat Yo'av	Golan Heights	1968	Moshav	TM	RC Golan	398
Givat Ze'ev	Judea Mountains; 67+	1983	Urban Settlement		local council	10,635
Givatayim	Coastal Plain (Tel Aviv Region)	1922	City	–	municipality	47,948
Givati	Southern Coastal Plain (Malakhi Region)	1950	Moshav	TM	RC Be'er Tuviyyah	752
Givolim	Northern Negev (Gerar Region)	1952	Moshav	PM	RC Azzatah	268
Givon Ḥadashah	Judean Hills; 67+	1980	Urban Community		RC Matteh Benjamin	1,179
Givot Bar	Northern Negev	2003	Urban Community		RC Beni Shimeon	66
Givot Zaid	Jezreel Valley	1943	Rural Settlement	–	RC Kishon	
Gizo	Judean Foothills	1968	Rural Settlement		RC Matte Yehudah	190
Gonen	Eastern Upper Galilee (Hazor Region)	1951	Kibbutz	IK	RC Ha-Galil ha Elyon	310
Goren	Western Upper Galilee	1950	Moshav	TM	RC Ma'aleh ha-Galil	425
Gorenot ha-Galilee	Northwestern Upper Galilee	1980	Regional Center		RC Ma'ale Yosef	174
Ha-Bonim	Carmel Coast	1949	Moshav Shittufi	TM	RC Ḥof ha-Karmel	271
Hadar Am	Central Sharon (Ḥefer Valley)	1933	Rural Settlement	–	RC Ḥefer Plain	460
Ḥaderah	Northern Sharon (Ḥaderah Region)	1890	Town	–	municipality	75,283
Hadid	Northern Judean Foothills	1950	Moshav	PM	RC Modi'im	556
Ḥad Nes	Golan Heights; 67+	1989	Rural Community	H	RC Golan	439
Hagor	Southern Sharon (Kefar Sava Region)	1949	Moshav	TM	RC Mifalot Afek	615
Ha-Gosherim	Ḥuleh Valley	1949	Kibbutz	KM	RC Ha-Galil ha-Elyon	508
Ḥafeẓ Ḥayyim	Southern Coastal Plain (Reḥovot Region)	1944	Kibbutz	PAI	RC Naḥal Sorek	429
Ha-Ḥoterim	Carmel Coast	1948	Kibbutz	KM	RC Ḥof ha-Karmel	499
Ḥaifa	Mt. Carmel and Zebulun Valley	–	City	–	municipality	268,251 thereof 25,065 non-Jews
Ḥalamish	Southern Samaria; 67+	1977	Rural Community		RC Matte Benjaim	931
Ḥaluẓ	Lower Galilee	1985	Urban Community	MH	RC Misgav	352
Ḥamadyah	Beth-Shean Valley	1942	Kibbutz	IK	RC Beth-Shean	343
Ha-Ma'pil	Northern Sharon	1945	Kibbutz	KA	RC Ḥefer Plain	496
Ḥamrah	Lower Jordan Valley	1971	Moshav	–	RC Bikat ha-Yarden	125
Ḥanitah	Western Upper Galilee	1938	Kibbutz	IK	RC Sullam Ẓor	440
Ḥanni'el	Central Sharon (Ḥefer Plain)	1950	Moshav	TM	RC Ḥefer Plain	774
Ha-Ogen	Central Sharon (Ḥefer Valley)	1947	Kibbutz	KA	RC Ḥefer Plain	538
Ha-On	Kinneret Valley	1949	Kibbutz	IK	RC Jordan Valley	170
Har Adar	Judea	1986	Urban Community		local council	2,074
Har Amasa	Judean Desert	1983	Rural Settlement		RC Tamar	
Ḥarashim	Upper Galilee	1980	Rural Settlement		RC Misgav	179
Harduf	Jezreel Valley	1982	Kibbutz	TKM	RC Jezreel Valley	385
Harel	Judean Foothills	1948	Kibbutz	KA	RC Matteh Yehudah	146
Har Giloh	Judea Hills	1973	Rural Community			371
Ḥaruẓim	Southern Sharon	1951	Rural Settlement	–	RC Ḥof ha-Sharon	662
Hashmonaim	Judea	1985	Rural Settlement	A	RC Matteh Benjamin	2,235
Ha-Solelim	Western Lower Galilee	1949	Kibbutz	OZ	RC Kishon	697

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Ḥavaẓẓelet ha-Sharon	Central Sharon (Ḥefer Plain)	1935	Moshav	IH	RC Ḥefer Plain	286
Ha-Yogev	Jezreel Valley	1949	Moshav	TM	RC Yizre'el	543
Ḥaẓav	Southern Coastal Plain (Malakhi Region)	1949	Moshav	TM	RC Be'er Tuviyyah	880
Ḥaẓerim	Northern Negev (Beersheba Region)	1946	Kibbutz	IK	RC Benei Shimon	795
Ḥaẓevah	Central Arabah Valley	1965	Moshav	TM	RC Tamar	419
Ḥazon	Eastern Lower Galilee	1969	Moshav	PM	RC Merom ha-Galil	358
Ḥaẓor Ashdod	Southern Coastal Plain (Malakhi Region)	1946	Kibbutz	KA	RC Be'er Tuviyyah	535
Ha-Zore'a	Jezreel Valley	1936	Kibbutz	KA	RC Megiddo	917
Ha-Zore'im	Eastern Lower Galilee	1939	Moshav	PM	RC Ha-Galil ha-Taḥton	424
Ḥaẓor ha-Gelilit	Eastern Upper Galilee (Hazor Region)	1953	Urban Settlement	–	local council	8,431
Ḥefẓi-Bah	Harod Valley	1922	Kibbutz	KM	RC Ha-Gilboa	393
Ḥeleẓ	Southern Coastal Plain (Ashkelon Region)	1950	Moshav	TM	RC Hof Ashkelon	433
Ḥemdat	Lower Jordan Valley	1980	Rural Community	A	RC Bikat ha-Yarden	120
Ḥemed	Coastal Plain (Lod Region)	1950	Moshav	PM	RC Emek Lod	551
Ḥerev le-Et	Central Sharon (Ḥefer Plain)	1947	Moshav	IH	RC Ḥefer Plain	727
Hermesh	Northern Samaria	1982	Rural Community	H	RC Shomron	229
Ḥerut	Southern Sharon (Kefar Sava Region)	1930	Moshav	TM	RC Hadar ha-Sharon	1,028
Herzliyyah	Southern Sharon	1924	City	–	municipality	83,638
Ḥever	Jezreel Valley (Taanach Region)	1958	Rural Center	–	(RC) Ha-Gilboa	382
Ḥibbat Ẓion	Central Sharon (Ḥefer Plain)	1933	Moshav	HI	RC Ḥefer Plain	458
Hila	Upper Galilee	1980	Rural Community		RC Ma'ale Yosef	490
Ḥinanit	Western Samaria; 67+	1981	Rural Community	MH	RC Shomron	707
Ḥispin	Golan Heights; 67+	1974	Regional Center		RC Golan	1,262
Hod ha-Sharon	Southern Sharon (Kefar Sava Region)	1924	Urban Settlement	–	municipality	41,746
Hodiyyah	Southern Coastal Plain (Ashkelon Region)	1949	Moshav	TM	RC Hof Ashkelon	544
Ḥofit	Central Sharon (Ḥefer Plain	1955	Rural Settlement	–	RC Ḥefer Plain	753
Ḥoglah	Central Sharon (Ḥefer Plain)	1933	Moshav	TM	RC Ḥefer Plain	487
Ḥolon	Coastal Plain (Tel Aviv Region)	1933	City	–	municipality	165,778
Ḥoreshim	Southern Sharon (Kefar Sava Region)	1955	Kibbutz	KA	RC Mifalot Afek	224
Hosa'aya	Jezreel Valley	1981	Urban Settlement	PM	RC Jezreel Valley	1,328
Ḥosen	Western Upper Galilee	1949	Moshav	H	RC Ma'aleh ha-Galil	657
Ḥukkok	Eastern Lower Galilee	1945	Kibbutz	KM	RC Jordan Valley	266
Ḥulatah	Huleh Valley	1937	Kibbutz	KM	RC Ha-Galil ha-Elyon	368
Ḥuldah	Judean Foothills	1930	Kibbutz	IK	RC Gezer	313
Idan	Aravah Valley	1980	Moshav	TM	RC Mid Aravah	232
Ilaniyyah	Eastern Lower Galilee	1902	Moshav	IH	RC Ha-Galil ha-Taḥton	477
Immanuel	Samaria; 67+	1983	Urban Settlement		local council	2,585
Itamar	Samaria; 67+	1984	Rural Community	A	RC Shomron	600
Jerusalem	Jerusalem Hills	–	City	–	municipality	706,368 thereof 37,061 non-Jews
Kabri	Acre Plain	1949	Kibbutz	KM	RC Ga'aton	756
Kadarim	Upper Galilee	1980	Kibbutz	TKM	RC Upper Galilee	117
Kadimah-Ẓoran	Southern Sharon (Kefar Yonah Region)	1933	Urban Settlement	–	local council	15,709

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Kadoorie	Eastern Lower Galilee	1931	Agricultural School	–	(RC) Ha-Galil ha-Taḥton	200
Kaḥal	Upper Galilee	1980	Moshav	TM		353
Kalanit	Upper Galilee	1981	Moshav	PM	RC Merom ha-Galil	222
Kalyah	Dead Sea Region; 67 +	1968	Kibbutz	IK	RC Megillot	260
Kammon	Bet-Hakerem Valley	1980	Rural Community		RC Misgav	553
Kanaf	Golan Heights	1991	Moshav	TM	RC Golan	285
Kannot	Southern Coastal Plain (Malakhi Region)	1952	Agricultural School	–	(RC) Be'er Tuviyyah	284
Karmei Yosef	Judean Foothills	1984	Moshavah	HI	RC Gezer	1,873
Karmei Ẓur	Etzyon Bloc; 67+	1984	Rural Community	PM	RC Etzyon Bloc	665
Karmel	Southern Hebron Mountains; 67+	1981	Moshav	A	RC Hebron Mountain	319
Karmi'el	Western Lower Galilee	1964	Urban Settlement	–	municipality	43,507
Karmiyyah	Southern Coastal Plain (Ashkelon Region)	1950	Kibbutz	KA	RC Ḥof Ashkelon	302
Karnei Shomron	Western Samaria; 67+	1978	Urban Settlement		local council	6,170
Kaẓir-Ḥarish	Iron Valley	1982	Urban Settlement		local council	3,669
Kaẓrin	Golan Heights; 67+	1977	Town		local council	6,357
Kedar	Judea Mountains; 67+	1985	Rural Community	H	RC Etzyon Bloc	658
Kedmah	Southern Coastal Plain (Malakhi Region)	1946	Rural Settlement	–	(RC) Yo'av	90
Kedummim	Central Samaria; 67+	1977	Urban Settlement		local council	3,010
Kefar Adummim	Judean Desert; 67+	1979	Rural Community	A	RC Matteh Benjamin	2,006
Kefar Aḥim	Southern Coastal Plain (Malakhi Region)	1949	Moshav	TM	RC Be'er Tuviyyah	467
Kefar Aviv	Coastal Plain (Reḥovot Region)	1951	Moshav	IH	RC Gederot	606
Kefar Avodah	Southern Sharon (Herzliyyah Region)	1942	Educational Institution	–	(RC) Hadar ha-Sharon	400
Kefar Azar	Coastal Plain (Tel Aviv Region)	1932	Moshav	TM	RC Ono	545
Kefar Azzah	Southern Coastal Plain (Ashkelon Region)	1951	Kibbutz	IK	RC Sha'ar ha-Negev	690
Kefar Barukh	Jezreel Valley	1926	Moshav	TM	RC Kishon	263
Kefar Bialik	Zebulun Valley (Haifa Bay Area)	1934	Moshav	IH	RC Zebulun	783
Kefar Bilu	Coastal Plain (Reḥovot Region)	1932	Moshav	TM	RC Gezer	1,041
Kefar Bin Nun	Judean Foothill	1952	Moshav	IH	RC Gezer	398
Kefar Blum	Ḥuleh Valley	1943	Kibbutz	IK	RC Ha-Galil ha-Elyon	497
Kefar Dani'el (Bet Ḥever)	Coastal Plain (Lod Region)	1949	Moshav Shittufi	TM	RC Modi'im	268
Kefar Eẓyon	Hebron Hills; 67 +	1967	Kibbutz	KD	RC Etzyon Bloc	416
Kefar Galim	Carmel Coast	1952	Agricultural School	–	–	272
Kefar Gidon	Jezreel Valley	1923	Moshav	PAI	RC Yizre'el	199
Kefar Giladi	Ḥuleh Valley	1916	Kibbutz	IK	RC Ha-Galil ha-Elyon	489
Kefar Glickson	Northern Sharon (Ḥaderah Region)	1939	Kibbutz	OZ	RC Manasseh	285
Kefar Ḥabad	Coastal Plain (Lod Region)	1949	Moshav	–	RC Emek Lod	4,538
Kefar ha-Ḥoresh	Southern Lower Galilee	1933	Kibbutz	IK	RC Kishon	421
Kefar Ḥananaya	Upper Galilee	1990	Urban Settlement	PM	RC Merom ha-Galil	373
Kefar ha-Makkabbi	Zebulun Valley (Haifa Bay Area)	1936	Kibbutz	IK	RC Zebulun	295
Kefar ha-Nagid	Coastal Plain (Rishon le-Zion Area)	1949	Moshav	TM	RC Gan Raveh	936
Kefar ha-Nasi	Eastern Upper Galilee (Hazor Region)	1948	Kibbutz	IK	RC Ha-Galil ha-Elyon	490
Kefar ha-No'ar Ha-dati	Zebulun Valley (Haifa Bay area)	1937	Agricultural School	–	RC Zebulun	571
Kefar ha-Rif	Southern Coastal Plain (Malakhi Region)	1956	Moshav	IH	RC Yo'av	586
Kefar ha-Ro'eh	Central Sharon (Ḥefer Plain)	1934	Moshav	PM	RC Ḥefer Plain	421

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Kefar Ḥaruv	Golan Heights; 67+	1974	Kibubtz	IK	RC Golan	239
Kefar Ḥasidim Alef	Zebulun Valley (Haifa Bay area)	1924	Moshav	–	RC Zebulun	570
Kefar Ḥasidim Bet	Zebulun Valley (Haifa Bay area)	1950	Rural Settlement	–	RC Zebulun	188
Kefar Ḥayyim	Central Sharon (Ḥefer Plain)	1933	Moshav	TM	RC Ḥefer Plain	467
Kefar Hess	Southern Sharon (Kefar Sava Region)	1933	Moshav	TM	RC Hadar ha-Sharon	1,037
Kefar Ḥittim	Eastern Lower Galilee	1936	Moshav Shittufi	TM	RC Ha-Galil ha-Taḥton	369
Kefar Jawitz	Southern Sharon (Kefar Sava Region)	1932	Moshav	PM	RC Hadar ha-Sharon	481
Kefar Kisch	Eastern Lower Galilee	1946	Moshav	TM	RC Ha-Galil ha-Taḥton	298
Kefar Maimon	Northern Negev (Gerar Region)	1956	Moshav	PM	RC Azzatah	213
Kefar Malal (formerly Ein Ḥai)	Southern Sharon (Kefar Sava Region)	1922	Moshav	TM	RC Ha-Yarkon	447
Kefar Masaryk	Zebulun Valley (Haifa Bay area)	1938	Kibbutz	KA	RC Zebulun	597
Kefar Menaḥem	Southern Coastal Plain (Malakhi Region)	1937	Kibbutz	KA	RC Yo'av	462
Kefar Monash	Central Sharon (Ḥefer Plain)	1946	Moshav	TM	RC Ḥefer Plain	705
Kefar Mordekhai	Coastal Plain (Reḥovot Region)	1950	Moshav	IH	RC Gederot	487
Kefar Netter	Southern Sharon	1939	Moshav	–	RC Ḥof ha-Sharon	619
Kefar Pines	Northern Sharon (Ḥaderah Region)	1933	Moshav	PM	RC Manasseh	946
Kefar Rosenwald (Zarit)	Western Upper Galilee	1967	Moshav	TM	(RC) Ma'aleh ha-Galil	241
Kefar Rosh ha-Nikrah	Acre Plain	1949	Kibbutz	IK	RC Sullam Ẓor	535
Kefar Ruppin	Beth-Shean Valley	1938	Kibbutz	IK	RC Beth-Shean Valley	417
Kefar Rut	Judean Foothills	1977	Moshav	TM	RC Modi'in Region	221
Kefar Sava	Southern Sharon	1903	Town	–	municipality	79,771
Kefar Shammai	Eastern Upper Galilee	1949	Moshav	PM	RC Merom ha-Galil	304
Kefar Shemaryahu	Southern Sharon (Herzliyyah Region)	1937	Rural Settlement	–	local council	1,790
Kefar Shemu'el	Judean Foothills	1950	Moshav	OZ	RC Gezer	581
Kefar Silver	Southern Coastal Plain (Ashkelon Region)	1957	Agricultural School	–	(RC) Ḥof Ashkelon	322
Kefar Syrkin	Coastal Plain (Petaḥ Tikvah Region)	1936	Rural Settlement	–	RC Mifalot Afek	963
Kefar Szold	Ḥuleh Valley	1942	Kibbutz	KM	RC Ha-Galil ha-Elyon	413
Kefar Tapu'aḥ	Samaria; 67+	1978	Rural Community	A	RC Shomron	593
Kefar Tavor	Eastern Lower Galilee	1901	Rural Settlement	–	local council	2,375
Kefar Truman	Northern Judean Foothills	1949	Moshav	TM	RC Modi'im	515
Kefar Uriyyah	Judean Foothills	1944	Moshav	TM	RC Matteh Yehudah	424
Kefar Veradim	Upper Galilee	1993	Rural Community		local council	5,406
Kefar Vitkin	Central Sharon (Ḥefer Valley)	1933	Moshav	TM	RC Ḥefer Plain	1,545
Kefar Warburg	Southern Coastal Plain (Malakhi Region)	1939	Moshav	TM Be'er Tuviyyah	RC	781
Kefar Yeḥezkel	Ḥarod Valley	1921	Moshav	TM	RC Ha-Gilboa	641
Kefar Yehoshu'a	Jezreel Valley	1927	Moshav	TM	RC Kishon	707
Kefar Yonah	Southern Sharon	1932	Rural Settlement	–	local Council	12,351
Kefar Zeitim	Eastern Lower Galilee	1950	Moshav	TM	RC Ha-Galil ha-Tahton	479
Kela Alon	Golaln Heights	1984	Rural Community		RC Golan	58
Kelaḥim	Northern Negev (Gerar Region)	1954	Moshav	IH	RC Merḥavim	265
Kelil	Western Upper Galilee	1979	Rural Community	IH	RC Matteh Asher	255
Kemehin	Central Negev	1988	Moshav	TM	RC Ramat Negev	161
Keramim	Northern Negev	1980	Kibbutz	KA	RC Benei Shimeon	75
Kerem Ben Zimrah	Eastern Upper Galilee	1949	Moshav	PM	RC Merom ha-Galil	401
Kerem Maharal	Mount Carmel	1949	Moshav	TM	RC Ḥof ha-Karmel	425

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Kerem Shalom	Northwestern Negev (Besor Region)	1956	Kibbutz	KA	RC Eshkol	
Kerem Yavneh	Coastal Plain (Reḥovot Region)	1963	Educational Institution (Yeshivah)	PM	RC Ḥevel Yavneh	335
Kesalon	Judean Hills	1952	Moshav	IH	RC Matteh Yehudah	325
Keshet	Golan Heights; 67+	1974	Moshav	PM	RC Golan	501
Keturah	Arabah Valley	1973	Kibbutz	IH	RC Eilot Region	435
Kevuẓat Yavneh	Coastal Plain (Reḥovot Region)	1941	Kibbutz	KD	RC Ḥevel Yavneh	1,052
Kidmat Ẓevi	Golan Heights; 67+	1985	Moshav	HI	RC Golan	341
Kidron	Coastal Plain (Reḥovot Region)	1949	Moshav	TM	RC Brenner	1,067
Kinneret	Kinneret Valley	1908	Kibbutz	IK	RC Jordan Valley	625
Kinneret	Kinneret Valley	1909	Rural Settlement	–	local council	503
Kiryat Anavim	Jerusalem Hills	1920	Kibbutz	IK	RC Matteh Yehudah	307
Kiryat Arba	Hebron Area; 67+	1972	Town		local council	6,651
Kiryat Ata	Zebulun Valley (Haifa Bay area)	1925	Town	–	municipality	48,930
Kiryat Bialik	Zebulun Valley (Haifa Bay area)	1934	Urban Settlement	–	municipality	36,755
Kiryat Ekron	Coastal Plain (Rehovot Region)	1948	Urban Settlement	–	local council	9,719
Kiryat Gat	Southern Coastal Plain (Lachish Region)	1954	Urban Settlement	–	municipality	47,820
Kiryat Ḥaroshet	Zebulun Valley (Haifa Bay area)	1935	Rural Settlement	–	local council	
Kiryat Malakhi	Southern Coastal Plain (Malakhi Region)	1951	Urban Settlement	–	municipality	19,391
Kiryat Motzkin	Zebulun Valley (Haifa Bay area)	1934	Urban Settlement	–	municipality	39,526
Kiryat Netafim	Samaria; 67+	1983	Rural Community	PM	RC Shomron	419
Kiryat Ono	Coastal Plain (Tel Aviv Region)	1939	Urban Settlement	–	municipality	24,791
Kiryat Shemonah	Ḥuleh Valley	1950	Urban Settlement	–	municipality	22,006
Kiryat Tivon	Southern Lower Galilee (Tivon Hills)	1937	Urban Settlement	–	local council	13,567
Kiryat Yam	Zebulun Valley (Haifa Bay area)	1946	Urban Settlement	–	municipality	39,976
Kiryat Ye’arim	Jerusalem Hills	1952	Educational Institution	–	(RC) Matteh Yehudah	249
Kishor	Central Upper Galilee	1980	Kibbutz and Rural Community		RC Misgav	71
Kissufim	Northwestern Negev (Besor Region)	1951	Kibbutz	KM	RC Eshkol	170
Kokhav Mikha’el	Southern Coastal Plain (Ashkelon Region)	1950	Kibbutz	TM	RC Ḥof Ashkelon	531
Kokhav ha-Shaḥar	Northeastern Judea; 67+	1977	Rural Community		RC Matteh Benjamin	1,365
Kokhav Ya'akov	Judea; 67+	1985	Urban Community	A	RC Shomron	4,389
Kokhav Yair (Ẓur Yigal)	Eastern Sharon	1981	Urban Community		local council	11,802
Komemiyyut	Southern Coastal Plain (Malakhi Region)	1950	Moshav	TM	RC Shafir	246
Koranit	Northwestern Lower	1982	Rural Community		RC Misgav	627
Korazim	Upper Galilee	1983	Moshav	HI	RC Mevo’ot Ḥermon	430
Lachish (Lakhish)	Southern Coastal Plain (Lachish Region)	1955	Moshav	TM	RC Lachish	480
Lahav (Ẓiklag)	Northern Negev (Beersheba Region)	1952	Kibbutz	KA	RC Benei Shimon	393
Lahavot ha-Bashan	Ḥuleh Valley	1846	Kibbutz	KA	RC Ha-Galil ha-Elyon	437
Lahavot Ḥavivah	Northern Sharon (Ḥaderah Region)	1949	Kibbutz	KA	RC Manasseh	257
Lapid	Judean Lowland	1996	Urban Settlement			2,228
Lapidot	Central Upper Galile	1978	Moshav	TM	RC Ma'ale Yosef	161
Lavi	Eastern Lower Galilee	1949	Kibbutz	KD	RC Ha-Galil ha-Taḥton	671
Lavon	Lower Galilee	1980	Rural Community		RC Misgav	183
Liman	Acre Plain	1949	Moshav	TM	RC Sullam Ẓor	593
Li On	Judean Foothills (Adullam Region)	1960	Rural Center	–	(RC) Matteh Yehudah	
Livnim	Upper Galilee	1982	Rural Community	TM	RC Merom ha-Galil	402

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Lod (Lydda)	Coastal Plain (Lod Region)	–	Town	–	municipality	66,572 thereof 14,661 non-Jews
Lod Airport	Coastal Plain (Lod Region)	(1961)	Airport and Industrial Area	–	–	
Loḥamei ha-Getta'ot	Acre Plain	1949	Kibbutz	KM	RC Ga'aton	468
Lotan	Aravah Valley	1983	Kibbutz	KM	RC Eilot	188
Lotem	Lower Galilee	1978	Kibbutz	TKM	RC Misgav	430
Luzit	Southern Judean Foothills	1955	Moshav	TM	RC Matteh Yehudah	341
Ma'agen	Kinneret Valley	1949	Kibbutz	IK	RC Jordan Valley	338
Ma'agan Mikha'el	Carmel Coast	1949	Kibbutz	KM	RC Ḥof ha-Karmel	1,331
Ma'aleh Adumim	Judea Desert; 67+	1977	Urban Settlement		municipality	28,923
Ma'aleh Amos	Etzyon Bloc; 67+	1981	Rural Community	H	RC Etzyon Bloc	319
Ma'eleh Efrayim	Eastern Samaria; 67+	1970	Urban Settlement		local council	1,456
Ma'aleh Gamla	Golan Heights; 67+	1976	Moshav	TM	RC Golan	306
Ma'aleh Gilboa	Mt. Gilboa	1962	Kibbutz	–	(RC) Beth-Shean Valley	256
Ma'aleh ha-Ḥamishah	Jerusalem Hills	1938	Kibbutz	IK	RC Matteh Yehudah	340
Ma'aleh Levonah	Samaria; 67+	1983	Rural Community	A	RC Matteh Benjamin	514
Ma'aleh Mikhmas	Judean Desert; 67+	1981	Rural Community	A	RC Matteh Benjamin	1.055
Ma'aleh Shomron	Samaria; 67+	1980	Rural Community	H	RC Shomron	549
Ma'a lot-Tarshiḥah	Western Upper Galilee	(1957)	Urban Settlement	–	municipality	20,991 thereof 4,447 non-Jews
Ma'anit	Northern Sharon (Ḥaderah Region)	1942	Kibbutz	KA	RC Manasseh	467
Ma'as	Coastal Plain (Petaḥ Tikvah Region)	1935	Moshav	TM	RC Mifalot Afek	652
Ma'barot	Central Sharon (Ḥefer Plain)	1933	Kibbutz	KA	RC Ḥefer Plain	751
Mabbu'im	Northern Negev (Gerar Region)	1958	Rural Center	–	RC Merḥavim	1,012
Ma'gallim	Northern Negev (Gerar Region)	1958	Rural Center	–	(RC) Azzatah	1,395
Magen	Northwestern Negev (Besor Region)	1949	Kibbutz	KA	RC Eshkol	449
Magen Shaul	Jezreel Valley (Taanach Region)	1976	Moshav	TM	RC Ha-Gilboa	249
Maggal	Northern Sharon (Ḥaderah Region)	1953	Kibbutz	IK	RC Manasseh	509
Magshimim	Coastal Plain (Petaḥ Tikvah Region)	1949	Moshav	IH	RC Mifalot Afek	699
Maḥanayim	Eastern Upper Galilee (Hazor Region)	(1939)	Kibbutz	KM	RC Ha-Galil ha-Elyon	354
Maḥaneh Yisrael	Coastal Plain (Lod Region)	1950	Rural Settlement		(under liquidation)	
Malkishu'a	Mount Gilboa	1976	Rehabilitation Institution		RC Beit Shean Valley	92
Malkiyyah	Eastern Upper Galilee	1949	Kibbutz	KM	RC Ha-Galil ha-Elyon	323
Manarah	Eastern Upper Galilee	1943	Kibbutz	KM	RC Ha-Galil ha-Elyon	241
Manof	Northwestern Lower Galilee	1980	Rural Community	IH	RC Misgav	556
Manot	Western Upper Galilee	1980	Moshav	TM	RC Ma'aleh Yosef	335
Ma'on	Southern Hebron Mountain; 67+	1981	Rural Community	A	RC Hebron Mountain	308
Ma'or	Northern Sharon (Manasseh Region)	1953	Moshav	TM	RC Manasseh	742
Ma'oz Ḥayyim	Beth-Shean Valley	1937	Kibbutz	KM	RC Beth-Shean Valley	566
Margaliyyot	Eastern Upper Galilee	1951	Moshav	TM	RC Ha-Galil ha-Elyon	367
Masad	Lower Galilee	1983	Rural Community	MH	RC Lower Galilee	342
Mashabbei Sadeh	Negev Hills	1949	Kibbutz	KM	RC Ramat ha-Negev	450
Mashen	Southern Coastal Plain (Ashkelon Region)	1950	Moshav	TM	RC Ḥof Ashkelon	651
Maslul	Northwestern Negev (Besor Region)	1950	Moshav	TM	RC Merḥavim	343
Massadah	Kinneret Region	1937	Kibbutz	IK	RC Jordan Valley	289
Massu'ah	Lower Jordan Valley; 67+	1970	Moshav	OZ	RC Bikat ha-Yarden	140
Massu'ot Yiẓḥak	Southern Coastal Plain (Malakhi Region)	1949	Moshav Shittufi	PM	RC Shafir	539
Matan	Southern Sharon	1997	Urban Settlement		RC Southern Sharon	2,900

Name	Geographical Region	Year of Founding	Settlement Form	Affiliation	Municipal Status	No. of inhabitants 31 Dec. 2004
Matat	Northwestern Upper Galilee	1979	Rural Community		RC Ma'ale Yosef	182
Mattityahu	Judan Hills; 67+	1981	Moshav	PAI		1,347
Matta	Judean Hills	1950	Moshav	TM	RC Matteh Yehudah	528
Mavki'im	Southern Coastal Plain (Ashkelon Region)	1949	Moshav Shittufi	TM	RC Ḥof Ashkelon	225
Ma'yan Barukh	Ḥuleh Valley	1947	Kibbutz	IK	RC Ha-Galil ha-Elyon	252
Ma'yan Ẓevi	Mt. Carmel	1938	Kibbutz	IK	RC Ḥof ha-Karmel	488
Mazkeret Batyah	Coastal Plain (Reḥovot Region)	1883	Rural Settlement	–	local council	7,822
Maẓli'aḥ	Coastal Plain (Lod Region)	1950	Moshav	TM	RC Gezer	1,126
Mazor	Coastal Plain (Petaḥ Tikvah Region)	1949	Moshav	TM	RC Modi'im	970
Maẓẓuvah	Western Upper Galilee	1940	Kibbutz	IK	RC Sullam Ẓor	441
Mefallesim	Southern Coastal Plain (Ashkelon Region)	1949	Kibbutz	IK	RC Sha'ar ha-Negev	458
Megadim	Carmel Coast	1949	Moshav	TM	RC Ḥof ha-Karmel	743
Megiddo	Jezreel Valley	1949	Kibbutz	KA	RC Megiddo	326
Meḥaseyah	Judean Foothills	1950	Rural Settlement	–	RC Matteh Yehudah	
Meḥolah	Lower Jordan Valley; 67 +	1968	Moshav	–	RC	360
Mei Ammi	Samaria (Iron Hills)	1963	Kibbutz	KA	Bikat Ha-Yarden	
Me'ir Shefayah	Mt. Carmel	(1923)	Agricultural School	–	RC Ḥof ha-Karmel	417
Meishar	Coastal Plain (Reḥovot Region)	1950	Moshav	IH	RC Gederot	501
Meitar	Northern Negev	1987	Urban Settlement		local council	6,515
Meitav	Jezreel Valley (Taanach Region)	1954	Moshav	TM	RC Ha-Gilboa	347
Mele'ah	Jezreel Valley (Taanach Region)	1956	Moshav	TM	RC Ha-Gilboa	329
Melilot	Northern Negev (Gerar Region)	1953	Moshav	PM	RC Azzatah	248
Menaḥemiyyah	Eastern Lower Galilee	1902	Moshav	IH	local council	1,080
Menuḥah (Vardon)	Southern Coastal Plain (Malakhi Region)	1953	Moshav	TM	RC Lachish	351
Me'onah	Western Upper Galilee	1949	Moshav	TM	RC Ma'aleh ha-Galil	511
Merav	Bet Shean Valley	1987	Kibbutz	KD	RC Bet Shean Valley	366
Merḥav Am	Central Negev	2002	Urban Settlement		RC Ramat Negev	99
Merḥavyah	Harod Valley	1922	Moshav	TM	RC Yizre'el	658
Merḥavyah	Harod Valley	1911	Kibbutz	KA	RC Yizre'el	724
Merom Golan	Golan Heights	1967	Kibbutz	KM	RC Golan	411
Meron	Eastern Upper Galilee	–	Moshav	PM	RC Merom ha-Galil	794
Mesillat Zion	Judean Foothills	1950	Moshav	TM	RC Matteh Yehudah	692
Mesillot	Beth-Shean Valley	1938	Kibbutz	KA	RC Beth-Shean Valley	401
Metullah	Eastern Upper Galilee	1896	Rural Settlement	–	local council	1,490
Mevasseret Zion (Ẓiyyon)	Jerusalem Hills	1951	Urban Settlement	–	local council	21,734
Mevo Beitar	Jerusalem Hills	1950	Moshav Shittufi	H	RC Matteh Yehudah	292
Mevo Dotan	Northern Samaria; 67+	1977	Rural Community	A	RC Shomron	287
Mevo Ḥammah	Golan Heights; 67+	1968	Kibbutz	IK	RC Golan	325
Mevo Ḥoron	Judean Hills; 67 +	1969	–	PAI	–	827
Mevo Modi'im	Judean Foothills	1964	Kibbutz	PAI	RC Modi'im	152
Meẓadot Yehudah	Southern Hebron Mountain	1983	Moshav	A	RC Hebron Mountain	425
Meiẓar	Golan Heights	1981	Kibbutz	TKM	RC Golan	44
Meẓer	Northern Sharon (Ḥaderah Region)	1953	Kibbutz	KA	RC Manasseh	382
Midrakh Oz	Jezreel Valley	1952	Moshav	TM	RC Megiddo	483
Midreshet Ruppin	Central Sharon (Ḥefer Plain)	1948	Seminary	–	–	
Migdal	Kinneret Valley	1910	Rural Settlement	–	local council	1,470
Migdal ha-Emek	Southern Lower Galilee	1952	Urban Settlement	–	local council	24,760
Migdalim	Samaria; 67+	1983	Rural Community	A	RC Shomron	151
Migdal Oz	Etzyon Bloc; 67+	1977	Kibbutz	KD	RC Etzyon Bloc	313
Mikhmannim	Lower Galilee	1980	Rural Community		RC Misgav	270

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Mikhmoret	Central Sharon (Ḥefer Plain)	1945	Moshav and Educational Institution	TM	RC Ḥefer Plain	1,056
Mikveh Yisrael	Coastal Plain (Tel Aviv Region)	1870	Agricultural School	–	–	747
Misgav Am	Eastern Upper Galilee	1945	Kibbutz	KM	RC Ha-Galil ha-Elyon	242
Misgav Dov	Coastal Plain (Reḥovot Region)	1950	Moshav	H	RC Gederot	529
Mishmar Ayyalon	Judean Foothills	1949	Moshav	M	RC Gezer	406
Mishmar David	Judean Foothills	1949	Kibbutz	IK	RC Gezer	234
Mishmar ha-Emek	Jezreel Valley	1926	Kibbutz	KA	RC Megiddo	922
Mishmar ha-Negev	Northern Negev (Gerar Region)	1946	Kibbutz	KM	RC Benei Shimon	581
Mishmar ha-Sharon	Central Sharon (Ḥefer Plain)	1933	Kibbutz	IK	RC Ḥefer Plain	459
Mishmar ha-Shivah	Central Coastal Plain (Lod Region)	1949	Moshav	–	RC Emek Lod	677
Mishmar ha-Yarden	Eastern Upper Galilee (Hazor Region)	(1949)	Moshav	H	RC Ha-Galil ha-Elyon	445
Mishmarot	Northern Sharon (Ḥaderah Region)	1933	Kibbutz	IK	RC Manasseh	253
Mishmeret	Southern Sharon (Kefar Sava Region)	1946	Moshav	TM	RC Hadar ha-Sharon	618
Mivtaḥim	Northwestern Negev (Besor Region)	1950	Moshav	TM	RC Azzatah	314
Mizra	Jezreel Valley	1923	Kibbutz	KA	RC Yizre'el	710
Miẓpeh	Eastern Lower Galilee	1908	Rural Settlement	–	RC Ha-Galil ha-Taḥton	150
Miẓpeh Aviv	Lower Galilee	1981	Rural Community		RC Misgav	636
Miẓpeh Netofa	Lower Galilee	1979	Cooperative Settlment		RC Lower Galilee	572
Miẓpeh Ramon	Central Negev Hills	1954	Urban Settlement	–	local council	4,631
Miẓpeh Shalem	Dead Sea Region; 67 +	1970	–	–	–	
Miẓpeh Yeriḥo	Dead Sea Region	1978	Rural Community	A	RC Matteh Benjamin	1,469
Modi'in (Makkabim-Re'ut)	Central Israel	1996	Urban Settlement		municipality	53,079
Modi'in Illit	Judea Hills	1996	Urban Settlement		local council	27,386
Moledet (B'nai B'rith)	Southeastern Lower Galilee	1937	Moshav Shittufi	TM	RC Ha-Gilboa	192
Moran	Northern Lower Galilee	1976	Kibbutz	KM	RC Misgav	124
Moreshet	Northwestern Lower Galilee	1981	Rural Community	IH	RC Misgav	879
Moẓa Illit	Jerusalem Hills	1933	Rural Settlement	–	RC Matteh Yehudah	827
Moẓa Taḥtit	Jerusalem Hills	1894	Rural Settlement	–	(RC) Matteh Yehudah	
Na'aleh	Southwestern Samaria	1988	Rural Community		RC Matteh Benjamin	600
Na'an	Coastal Plain (Reḥovot Region)	1930	Kibbutz	KM	RC Gezer	1,169
Na'aran	Lower Jordan Valley; 67 +	1970	–	–	–	
Naḥalah	Southern Coastal Plain (Malakhi Region)	1953	Moshav	TM	RC Yo'av	385
Nahalal	Jezreel Valley	1921	Moshav	TM	RC	926
Naḥalat Yehudah	Coastal Plain (Rishon le-Zion Region)	1914	Rural Settlement	–	local council	
Naḥaliel	Southwestern Samaria	1984	Rural Community	PAI	RC Matteh Benjamin	282
Naḥal Golan	Golan; 67 +	1967	Kibbutz	IK	–	. .
Naḥal Oz	Northwestern Negev	1951	Kibbutz	IK	RC Sha'ar ha-Negev	285
Naḥam	Judean Foothills	1950	Moshav	PM	RC Matteh Yehudah	
Nahariyyah	Acre Plain	1934	Town	–	municipality	49,306
Naḥsholim	Carmel Coast	1948	Kibbutz	KM	RC Ḥof ha-Karmel	392
Naḥshon	Judean Foothills	1950	Kibbutz	KA	RC Matteh Yehudah	380
Naḥshonim	Northern Judean Foothills	1949	Kibbutz	KA	RC Mifalot Afek	305
Naomi	Lower Jordan Valley	1982	Moshav	TM	RC Bikat ha-Yarden	127
Nataf	Jerusalem Corridor	1982	Rural Community			390
Natur	Golan Heights; 67+	1980	Kibbutz	KA	RC Golan	

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Naẓerat Illit	Southern Lower Galilee	1957	Urban Settlement	–	municipality	43,939 thereof 4,848 non-Jews
Negbah	Southern Coastal Plain (Malakhi Region)	1939	Kibbutz	KA	RC Yo'av	387
Negohot	Southern Hebron Mountain; 67+	1982	Rural Community		RC Hebron Mountain	135
Neḥalim	Coastal Plain (Petaḥ Tikvah Region)	1948	Moshav	PM	RC Modi'in	1,946
Nehorah	Coastal Plain (Lachish Region)	1956	Rural Center	–	RC Lachish	1,121
Ne'ot Golan	Golan Heights; 67+	1968	Moshav	HI	RC Golan	291
Ne'ot ha-Kikar	Northern Arabah Valley	(1970)	Moshav Shittufi	–	RC Tamar	226
Ne'ot Mordekhai	Ḥuleh Valley	1946	Kibbutz	IK	RC Ha-Galil ha-Elyon	481
Ne'ot Semadar	Arabah Valley	1982	Kibbutz	TKM	RC Eilot Region	157
Nes Harim	Jerusalem Hills	1950	Moshav	TM	RC Matteh Yehudah	554
Nesher	Zebulun Valley (Haifa Bay area)	1925	Urban Settlement	–	municipality	21,174
Nes Ẓiyyonah	Costal Plain (Rishon le-Zion Region)	1883	Urban Settlement	–	municipality	27,830
Neta'im	Coastal Plain (Rishon le-Zion Region)	1932	Moshav	TM	RC Gan Raveh	479
Netanyah	Southern Sharon	1929	City	–	municipality	169,415
Netiv ha-Gedud	Lower Jordan Valley	1976	Moshav	TM	RC Bikat ha-Yarden	132
Netiv ha-Lamed He	Southern Judean Foothills	1949	Kibbutz	KM	RC Matteh Yehudah	402
Netiv ha-Shayyarah	Acre Plain	1950	Moshav	TM	RC Ga'aton	444
Netivot	Northwestern Negev (Gerar Region)	1956	Urban Settlement	–	municipality	23,654
Netu'ah	Western Upper Galilee	1966	Moshav	TM	(RC) Ma'aleh ha-Galil	256
Ne'urim	Central Sharon (Ḥefer Plain)	1953	Educational Institution	–	(RC) Ḥefer Plain	561
Nevatim	Northern Negev (Beersheba Region)	1946	Moshav	TM	RC Benei Shimon	627
Neveh Ativ	Golan Heights; 67+	1972	Moshav Shittufi	OZ	RC Golan	167
Neveh Daniel	Etzyon Bloc; 67+	1982	Rural Community	PM	RC Etzyon Bloc	1,225
Neveh Efrayim (Monosson)	Coastal Plain (Petaḥ Tikvah Region)	1953	Rural Settlement	–	local council	
Neveh Eitan	Beth-Shean Valley	1938	Kibbutz	IK	RC Beth-Shean Valley	147
Neveh Ḥarif	Arabah Valley	1987	Kibbutz	TKM	RC Eilot Region	62
Neveh Ilan	Jerusalem Hills	(1946)	–	–	–	324
Neveh Mivtaḥ	Southern Coastal Plain (Malakhi Region)	1950	Moshav	TM	RC Be'er Tuviyyah	486
Neveh Shalom	Judean Mountains	1983	Rural Community		RC Matteh Yehudah	180 thereof 92 non-Jews
Neveh Ur	Northern Beth-Shean Valley	1949	Kibbutz	KM	RC Beth-Shean Valley	416
Neveh Ziv	Western Upper Galilee	1989	Rural Community		RC Ma'ale Yosef	368
Neveh Yam	Carmel Coast	1939	Kibbutz	IK	RC Hof ha-Karmel	201
Neveh Yamin	Southern Sharon (Kefar Sava Region)	1949	Moshav	TM	RC Ha-Sharon ha-Tikhon	1.048
Neveh Yarak	Southern Sharon (Herzliyyah Region)	1951	Moshav	TM	RC Ha-Yarkon	938
Neẓer Sereni	Coastal Plain (Rishon le-Zion Region)	1948	Kibbutz	IK	RC Gezer	523
Nili	Western Samaria	1981	Rural Community	A	RC Matteh Benjamin	829
Nimrod	Golan Heights; 67+	1981	Rural Community		RC Golan	
Nir Akiva	Northern Negev (Gerar Region)	1953	Moshav	TM	RC Merḥavim	225
Nir Am	Southern Coastal Plain (Ashkelon Region)	1943	Kibbutz	IK	RC Sha'ar ha-Negev	298
Nir Banim	Southern Coastal Plain (Malakhi Region)	1954	Moshav	TM	RC Shafir	588
Nir David	Beth-Shean Valley	1936	Kibbutz	KA	RC Beth-Shean Valley	530

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Nir Eliyahu	Southern Sharon (Kefar Sava Region)	1950	Kibbutz	IK	RC Ha-Sharon ha-Tikhon	341
Nir Eẓyon	Mt. Carmel	1950	Moshav Shittufi	PM	RC Ḥof ha-Karmel	830
Nir Gallim	Southern Coastal Plain (Yavneh Region)	1949	Moshav Shittufi	PM	RC Ḥevel Yavneh	563
Nir Ḥen	Southern Coastal Plain (Lachish Region)	1955	Moshav	TM	RC Lachish	341
Nirim	Northwestern Negev (Besor Region)	1949	Kibbutz	KA	RC Eshkol	356
Nir Moshe	Northern Negev (Gerar Region)	1953	Moshav	TM	RC Merḥavim	343
Nirit	Southern Sharon	1982	Urban Settlement		RC Southern Sharon	1,068
Nir Oz	Northwestern Negev (Besor Region)	1955	Kibbutz	KA	RC Eshkol	368
Nir Yafeh	Jezreel Valley (Taanach Region)	1956	Moshav	TM	RC Ha-Gilboa	377
Nir Yisrael	Southern Coastal Plain (Ashkelon Region)	1949	Moshav	OZ	RC Ḥof Ashkelon	650
Nir Yiẓḥak (formerly Nirim)	Northwestern Negev (Besor Region)	(1949)	Kibbutz	KA	RC Eshkol	570
Nir Ẓevi	Coastal Plain (Lod Region)	1954	Moshav	IH	RC Emek Lod	1,005
Niẓẓanah	Central Negev	1980	Educational Center			142
Niẓẓanei Oz	Southern Sharon (Kefar Yonah Region)	1951	Moshav	TM	RC Ha-Sharon ha-Ẓefoni	759
Niẓẓanim	Southern Coastal Plain (Ashkelon Region)	1943	Kibbutz	OZ	RC Ḥof Ashkelon	360
No'am	Southern Coastal Plain (Lachish Region)	1953	Moshav	PM	RC Shafir	404
Nof Ayalon	Judean Lowland	1994	Rural Community		RC Gezer	2,377
Nofekh	Coastal Plain (Petaḥ Tikvah Region)	1949	Rural Settlement	–	RC Modi'im	341
Nofim	Samaria; 67+	1987	Rural Community		RC Shomron	414
Nofit	Western Lower Galilee	1987	Rural Community			2,291
Nogah	Southern Coastal Plain (Lachish Region)	1955	Moshav	TM	RC Lachish	332
Nokedim	Etzyon Bloc; 67+	1982	Rural Community	A	RC Etzyon Bloc	674
Nordiyyah	Southern Sharon (Netanyah Region)	1948	Moshav Shittufi	H	RC Ha-Sharon ha-Ẓefoni	2,104
Odem	Golan Heights; 67+	1976	Moshav Shituffi		RC Golan	93
Ofakim	Northwestern Negev (Besor Region)	1955	Urban Settlement	–	municipality	24,017
Ofer	Mount Carmel	1950	Moshav	TM	RC Ḥof ha-Karmel	367
Ofra	Northeastern Judea; 67+	1973	Rural Community	A	RC Matteh Benjamin	2,264
Ohad	Northwestern Negev (Besor Region)	1969	Moshav	TM	(RC) Eshkol	219
Olesh	Central Sharon (Ḥefer Plain)	1949	Moshav	TM	RC Ḥefer Plain	744
Omen	Jezreel Valley (Taanach Region)	1958	Rural Center	–	(RC) Ha-Gilboa	449
Omer	Northern Negev (Beersheba Region)	1949	Rural Settlement	–	local council	5,995
Omeẓ	Central Sharon (Ḥefer Plain)	1949	Moshav	TM	RC Ḥefer Plain	403
Orah	Jerusalem Hills	1950	Moshav	TM	RC Matteh Yehudah	876
Or Akiva	Northern Sharon (Ḥaderah Region)	1951	Urban Settlement	–	municipality	15,772
Oranim	Southern Lower Galilee (Tivon Hills)	1951	Kibbutz Seminary	–	RC Zebulon	211
Or ha-Ganuz	Upper Galilee	1989	Rural Community		RC Merom Galilee	364
Or ha-Ner	Southern Coastal Plain (Ashkelon Region)	1957	Kibbutz	IK	RC Sha'ar ha-Negev	382
Orot	Southern Coastal Plain (Malakhi Region)	1952	Moshav	TM	RC Be'er Tuviyyah	407
Or Tal	Golan Heights; 67+	1978	Kibbutz	KM	RC Golan	258
Or Yehudah	Coastal Plain (Tel Aviv Region)	1950	Urban Settlement	–	municipality	30,071
Oshrat	Western Galilee	1983	Rural Community		RC Matteh Asher	567
Otniel	Southern Hebron Mountain; 67+	1983	Rural Community	A	RC Hebron Mountain	692

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Ovnat	Judea Desert	1983	Rural Community			
Ozem	Southern Coastal Plain (Lachish Region)	1955	Moshav	TM	RC Lachish	541
Pa’amei Tashaz	Northern Negev (Gerar Region)	1953	Moshav	TM	RC Merḥavim	311
Palmaḥim	Coastal Plain (Rishon le-Zion Region)	1949	Kibbutz	KM	RC Gan Raveh	401
Paran	Arabah Valley	1972	Moshav	TM		374
Pardes Ḥannah-Karkur	Northern Sharon (Ḥaderah Region)	(1913)	Urban Settlement	–	local council	29,32
Pardesiyyah	Southern Sharon	1942	Rural Settlement	–	local council	6,073
Parod	Eastern Upper Galilee	1949	Kibbutz	KM	RC Merom ha-Galil	254
Pattish	Northern Negev (Besor Region)	1950	Moshav	TM	RC Merḥavim	671
Pedayah	Judean Foothills	1951	Moshav	TM	RC Gezer	539
Peduyim	Northern Negev (Besor Region)	1950	Moshav	TM	RC Merḥavim	316
Peki’in Ḥadashah	Western Upper Galilee	1955	Moshav	TM	RC Ma’aleh ha-Galil	328
Pelekh	Central Upper Galilee	1980	Kibbutz	IK	RC Misgav	
Pene Ḥever	Southern Hebron Mountain; 67+	1982	Rural Community	A	RC Hebron Mountain	377
Perazon	Jezreel Valley (Taanach Region)	1953	Moshav	TM	RC Ha-Gilboa	309
Peri Gan	Western Negev	1981	Moshav	OZ		125
Pesagot	Judea Mountains; 67+	1981	Rural Community	A	RC Matteh Benjamin	1,388
Petaḥ Tikvah	Coastal Plain (Petaḥ Tikvah Region)	1878	City	–	municipality	176,230
Petaḥyah	Judean Foothills	1951	Moshav	OZ	RC Gezer	689
Peẓa’el	Lower Jordan Valley; 67 +	1970	Moshav	–	–	215
Porat	Southern Sharon (Kefar Sava Region)	1950	Moshav	PM	RC Hadar ha-Sharon	974
Poriyyah (Kefar Avodah)	Eastern Lower Galilee	1955	Moshav	–	RC Jordan Valley	303
Poriyyah (Neveh Oved)	Eastern Lower Galilee	1949	Rural Settlement	–	RC Jordan Valley	890
Ra’anannah	Southern Sharon (Herzliyyah Region)	1921	Urban Settlement	–	municipality	70,503
Rakefet	Lower Galilee	1981	Rural Community	TM	RC Misgav	701
Ramat David	Jezreel Valley	1926	Kibbutz	IK	RC Kishon	253
Ramat Efal	Coastal Plain (Tel Aviv Region)	1969	Rural Settlement	–	RC Ramat Efal	2,762
Ramat Gan	Coastal Plain (Tel Aviv Region)	1921	City	–	municipality	127,394
Ramat ha-Kovesh	Southern Sharon (Kefar Sava Region)	1932	Kibbutz	KM	RC Ha-Sharon ha-Tikhon	595
Ramat ha-Sharon	Southern Sharon (Herzliyyah Region)	1923	Urban Settlement	–	municipality	35,850
Ramat Magshimim	Golan Heights	1968	Moshav Shittufi	PM	RC Golan	483
Ramat Pinkas	Coastal Plain (Tel Aviv Region)	1952	Rural Settlement	–	RC Ono	521
Ramat Raḥel	Jerusalem Hills	1926	Kibbutz	IK	RC Matteh Yehudah	312
Ramat Raziel	Judean Hill	1948	Moshav	H	RC Matteh Yehudah	425
Ramat Yishai	Southern Lower Galilee (Tivon Hills)	1925	Rural Settlement	–	local council	5,419
Ramat Yoḥanan	Zebulun Valley (Haifa Bay area)	1932	Moshav	IK	RC Zebulun	721
Ramat Ẓevi	Southwestern Lower Galilee	1942	Moshav	TM	RC Ha-Gilboa	400
Ramleh	Coastal Plain (Lod Region)	–	City	–	municipality	63,46 thereof 13,311 non-Jews
Ram On	Jezreel Valley (Taanach Region)	1960	Moshav	TM	RC Ha-Gilboa	596
Ramot	Golan Heights; 67+	1970	Moshav	–	RC Golan	472
Ramot ha-Shavim	Southern Sharon (Kefar Sava Region)	1933	Moshav	IH	local council	1,139
Ramot Me’ir	Coastal Plain (Lod Region)	1949	Moshav Shittufi	TM	RC Gezer	496
Ramot Menasheh	Manasseh Hills	1948	Kibbutz	KA	RC Megiddo	464
Ramot Naftali	Eastern Upper Galilee	1945	Moshav	TM	RC Ha-Galil ha-Elyon	459

Name	Geographical Region	Year of Founding	Settlement Form	Affiliation	Municipal Status	No. of inhabitants 31 Dec. 2004
Rannen	Northern Negev (Besor Region)	1950	Moshav	TM	RC Merḥavim	374
Regavim	Manasseh Hills	1948	Kibbutz	KM	RC Manasseh	256
Regbah	Acre Plain	1946	Moshav Shittufi	TM	RC Ga'aton	579
Reḥan	Northwestern Samaria; 67+	1977	Moshav	OZ	RC Shomron	148
Reḥov	Beth-Shean Valley	1951	Moshav	PM	RC Beth-Shean Valley	308
Reḥovot	Coastal Plain (Reḥovot Region)	1890	City	–	municipality	101,873
Re'im	Northwestern Negev	1949	Kibbutz	KM	RC Eshkol	332
Rekhasim	Zebulun Valley (Haifa Bay area)	1957	Urban Settlement	–	local council	8,272
Reshafim	Beth-Shean Valley	1848	Kibbutz	KA	RC Beth-Shean Valley	344
Retamim	Negev Hills	1983	Moshav	TM	RC Ramat Negev	196
Revadim	Southern Coastal Plain (Malakhi Region)	1948	Kibbutz	KA	RC Yo'av	319
Revaḥah	Southern Coastal Plain (Lachish Region)	1953	Moshav	PM	RC Shafir	738
Revayah	Beth-Shean Valley	1952	Moshav	PM	RC Beth-Shean Valley	225
Revivim	Negev (Southern Beersheba Basin)	1943	Kibbutz	KM	RC Ramat ha-Negev	660
Rimmonim	Northeastern Judea; 67+	1977	Rural Community		RC Matteh Benjamin	536
Rinnatyah	Coastal Plain (Lod Plain)	1949	Moshav	TM	RC Modi'im	795
Rishon le-Zion	Coastal Plain (Rishon le-Zion Region)	1882	City	–	municipality	217,366
Rishpon	Southern Sharon (Herzliyyah Region)	1936	Moshav	TM	RC Ḥof ha-Sharon	823
Roglit	Judean Foothills (Adullam Region)	1958	Moshav	HI	RC Matteh Yehudah	
Ro'i	Lower Jordan Valley; 67+	1976	Moshav	TM	RC Bikat ha-Yarden	115
Rosh ha-Ayin	Coastal Plain (Petaḥ Tikvah Region)	1950	Urban Settlement	–	municipality	36,284
Rosh Pinnah	Eastern Upper Galilee (Hazor Region)	1882	Rural Settlement	–	local council	2,298
Rosh Ẓurim	Etzyon Bloc; 67+	1969	Kibbutz	KD	RC Etzyon Bloc	298
Rotem	Lower Jordan Valley	1983	Rural Community	RC	Bikat ha-Yarden	
Ruḥamah	Southern Coastal Plain (Ashkelon Region)	(1944)	Kibbutz	KA	RC Sha'ar ha-Negev	389
Sa'ad	Northwestern Negev (Gerar Region)	1947	Kibbutz	KD	RC Azzatah	555
Sa'ar	Acre Plain	1948	Kibbutz	KA	RC Ga'aton	388
Safed (Ẓefat)	Eastern Upper Galilee	–	Town	–	municipality	27,327
Sal'it	Samaria; 67+	1977	Moshav	H	RC Shomron	443
Samar	Arabah Valley	1976	Kibbutz	IK	RC Eilot Region	211
Sansna	Southern Hebron Mountain	1998	Rural Community		RC Hebron Mountain	179
Sapir	Arabah Valley	1979	Rural Settlement			314
Sarid	Jezreel Valley	1926	Kibbutz	KA	RC Kishon	600
Sasa	Eastern Upper Galilee	1949	Kibbutz	KA	RC Merom ha-Galil	372
Savyon and Ganei Yehudah	Coastal Plain (Tel Aviv Region)	1954	Rural Settlement	–	local council	3,233
Sedeh Boker	Central Negev Hills	1952	Kibbutz	IK	RC Ramat ha-Negev	441
Sedeh Boker (Midrashah)	Central Negev Hills	1965	Educational Institution	–	RC Ramat ha-Negev	
Sedeh David	Southern Coastal Plain (Lachish Region)	1955	Moshav	OZ	RC Lachish	406
Sedeh Eli'ezer	Ḥuleh Valley	1952	Moshav	OZ	RC Ha-Galil ha-Elyon	599
Sedeh Eliyahu	Beth-Shean Valley	1939	Kibbutz	KD	RC Beth-Shean Valley	669
Sedeh Ilan	Eastern Lower Galilee	1949	Moshav	PM	RC Ha-Galil ha-Taḥton	354
Sedeh Moshe	Southern Coastal Plain (Lachish Region)	1956	Moshav	TM	RC Lachish	337
Sedeh Naḥum	Beth-Shean Valley	1937	Kibbutz	KM	RC Beth-Shean Valley	351
Sedeh Neḥemyah	Ḥuleh Valley	1940	Kibbutz	IK	RC Ha-Galil ha-Elyon	392
Sedeh Niẓẓan	Northwestern Negev (Eskhol Region)	1973	Moshav	TM	RC Eskhol	275

Name	Geographical Region	Year of Founding	Settlement Form	Affiliation	Municipal Status	No. of inhabitants 31 Dec. 2004
Sedeh Uzziyyah	Southern Coastal Plain (Malakhi Region)	1950	Moshav	OZ	RC Be’er Tuviyyah	1,234
Sedeh Warburg	Southern Sharon (Kefar Sava Region)	1938	Moshav	IH	RC Ha-Sharon ha-Tikhon	1,036
Sedeh Ya’akov	Jezreel Valley	1927	Moshav	PM	RC Kishon	861
Sedeh Yiẓḥak	Northern Sharon (Ḥaderah Region)	1952	Moshav	M	RC Manasseh	491
Sedeh Yo’av	Southern Coastal Plain (Malakhi Region)	1956	Kibbutz	KA	RC Yo’av	199
Sedeh Ẓevi	Northern Negev (Gerar Region)	1953	Moshav	IH	RC Merḥavim	222
Sedei Avraham	Western Negev	1981	Moshav	TM		171
Sedei Ḥemed	Southern Sharon (Kefar Sava Region)	1952	Moshav	TM	RC Ha-Sharon ha-Tikhon	641
Sedei Terumot	Beth-Shean Valley	1951	Moshav	PM	RC Beth-Shean Valley	418
Sederot	Southern Coastal Plain (Ashkelon Region)	1951	Urban Settlement	–	municipality	19,968
Sedom (Sodom)	Dead Sea Region	–	Industrial Site	–	–	
Sedot Mikvah	Southern Judean Foothills	1955	Moshav	TM	RC Matteh Yehudah	
Sedot Yam	Northern Sharon (Ḥaderah Region)	1940	Kibbutz	KM	RC Ḥof ha-Karmel	672
Segev	Western Lower Galilee	1953	Rural Settlement	–	–	911
Segullah	Southern Coastal Plain (Malakhi Region)	1953	Moshav	TM	RC Yo’av	342
Senir (Ramat Banias, Kefar Moshe Sharett)	Ḥuleh Valley	1967	Kibbutz	KA	RC Upper Galilee	384
Sha'al	Golan Heights; 67+	1976	Moshav Shitufi	H	RC Golan	230
Sha’albim	Northern Judean Foothills	1951	Kibbutz	PAI	RC Gezer	1,232
Sha’ar Efrayim	Southern Sharon (Kefar Yonah Region)	1953	Moshav	TM	RC Ha-Sharon ha-Ẓefoni	1,074
Sha’arei Avraham	Coastal Plain (Reḥovot Region)	1958	Educational Institution	–	(RC) Naḥal Sorek	
Sha'arei Tikvah	Western Samaria; 67+	1983	Urban Community		local council	3,685
Sha’ar ha-Golan	Kinneret Valley	1937	Kibbutz	KA	RC Jordan Valley	500
Sha’ar Ḥefer (Beit Yiẓḥak)	Central Sharon (Ḥefer Plain)	1940	Moshav	IH	RC Ḥefer Plain	1,606
Sha’ar Menasheh	Northern Sharon (Ḥaderah Region)	1949	Rural Settlement	–	(RC) Manasseh	1,164
Shadmot Devorah	Eastern Lower Galilee	1939	Moshav	TM	RC Ha-Galil ha-Taḥton	402
Shadmot Meḥolah	Lower Jordan Valley	1979	Rural Community	PM	RC Bikat ha-Yarden	517
Shafir	Southern Coastal Plain (Malakhi Region)	1949	Educational	–	RC Shafir	440
Shaḥar	Southern Coastal Plain (Lachish Region)	1955	Moshav	TM	RC Lachish	485
Shaḥarut	Arabah Valley	1985	Rural Community	IH	RC Eilot	105
Shaked	Northern Samaria; 67+	1981	Rural Community	H	RC Shomron	509
Shalvah	Southern Coastal Plain (Lachish Region)	1952	Moshav	PM	RC Shafir	
Sham‘a	Hebron Mountain	1989	Rural Settlement		RC Hebron Mountain	344
Shamir	Ḥuleh Valley	1944	Kibbutz	KA	RC Ha-Galil ha-Elyon	553
Sharonah	Eastern Lower Galilee	1938	Moshav	TM	RC Ha-Galil ha-Taḥton	468
Sharsheret	Northwestern Negev (Gerar Region)	1951	Moshav	PM	RC Azzatah	283
Shavei Shomron	Central Samaria; 67+	1977	Rural Community		RC Shomron	539
Shavei Zion	Acre Plain	1938	Moshav Shittufi	IH	local council	640
She’ar Yashuv	Ḥuleh Valley	1940	Moshav	OZ	RC Ha-Galil ha-Elyon	342
Shedemah	Coastal Plain (Reḥovot Region)	1954	Moshav	IH	RC Gederot	410
Shefayim	Southern Sharon (Herzliyyah Region)	1935	Kibbutz	KM	RC Ḥof ha-Sharon	935
Shefer	Eastern Upper Galilee	1950	Moshav	–	RC Merom ha-Galil	252

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Shekef	Lachish Region	1982	Moshav	H		468
Shekhanya	Northwestern Lower Galilee	1980	Rural Community	IH	RC Misgav	545
Shelomi	Acre Plain	1950	Rural Settlement	–	local council	5,384
Sheluḥot	Beth-Shean Valley	1948	Kibbutz	KD	RC Beth-Shean Valley	400
Shetulah	Western Upper Galilee	1969	Moshav	TM	RC Ma'aleh ha-Galil	230
Shetulim	Southern Coastal Plain (Malakhi Region)	1950	Moshav	TM	RC Be'er Tuviyyah	1,492
Shezor	Western Lower Galilee	1953	Moshav	TM	RC Merom ha-Galil	359
Shibbolim	Northwestern Negev (Gerar Region)	1952	Moshav	PM	RC Azzatah	316
Shilat	Northern Judean Foothills	1977	Moshav	TM		360
Shilo	Samaria; 67+	1979	Rural Community	A	RC Matteh Benjamin	1,825
Sho'evah	Judean Hills	1950	Moshav	IH	RC Matteh Yehudah	468
Shokedah	Northwestern Negev (Gerar Region)	1957	Moshav	PM	RC Azzatah	187
Shomerah	Northwestern Upper Galilee	1949	Moshav	TM	RC Ma'aleh ha-Galil	306
Shomrat	Acre Plain	1948	Kibbutz	KA	RC Ga'aton	348
Shomriyyah	Western Negev	1984	Kibbutz	KA		75
Shorashim	Lower Galilee	1985	Rural Community	TM	RC Misgav	250
Shoresh	Judean Hills	1948	Moshav Shittufi	OZ	RC Matteh Yehudah	469
Shoshannat ha-Amakim	Central Sharon (Ḥefer Plain)	1951	Rural Settlement	–	(RC) Ḥefer Plain	537
Shoshannat ha-Amakim (Ammidar)	Central Sharon (Ḥefer Plain)	1956	Rural Settlement	–	RC Ḥefer Plain	
Shoval	Northern Negev (Gerar Region)	1946	Kibbutz	KA	RC Benei Shimon	566
Shuvah	Northwestern Negev (Gerar Region)	1950	Moshav	PM	RC Azzatah	356
Sifsufah	Eastern Upper Galilee	1949	Moshav	TM	RC Merom ha-Galil	
Sitriyyah	Coastal Plain (Reḥovot Region)	1949	Moshav	TM	RC Gezer	907
Susia	Southern Hebron Mountain; 67+	1983	Rural Community	A	RC Hebron Mountain	663
Tal El	Lower Galilee	1980	Rural Community	HH	RC Misgav	888
Talmei Bilu	Northern Negev (Gerar Region)	1953	Moshav	HI	RC Merḥavim	323
Talmei Elazar	Northern Sharon (Ḥaderah Region)	1953	Moshav	HI	RC Manasseh	662
Talmei Eliyahu	Northwestern Negev	1970	Moshav	TM	RC Eskhol	194
Talmei Yafeh	Southern Coastal Plain (Ashkelon Region)	1950	Moshav Shittufi	OZ	RC Ḥof Ashkelon	133
Talmei Yeḥi'el	Southern Coastal Plain (Malakhi Region)	1949	Moshav	TM	RC Be'er Tuviyyah	591
Talmon	Northwestern Judea Mountain	1989	Rural Community	A	RC Matteh Benjamin	1,760
Tal Shaḥar	Judean Foothills	1948	Moshav	TM	RC Matteh Yehudah	817
Ta'oz	Judean Foothills	1950	Moshav	PM	RC Matteh Yehudah	441
Tarum	Judean Foothills	1950	Moshav	PM	RC Matteh Yehudah	471
Te'ashur	Northern Negev (Gerar Region)	1953	Moshav	TM	RC Benei Shimon	301
Tefaḥot	Upper Galilee	1980	Moshav	PM	RC Merom Galilee	265
Tekoa	Etzyon Bloc; 67+	1975	Rural Community		RC Etzyon Bloc	1,179
Tekumah	Northwestern Negev (Gerar Region)	1949	Moshav	PM	RC Azzatah	446
Tel Adashim	Jezreel Valley	1923	Moshav	TM	RC Yizre'el	580
Telalim	Central Negev	1980	Kibbutz	TKM		277
Telamim	Southern Coastal Plain (Lakhish Region)	1950	Moshav	TM	RC Lachish	579
Tel Aviv-Jaffa	Coastal Plain (Tel Aviv Region)	1909	City	–	municipality	371,439 thereof 5,399 non-Jews
Tel Kazir	Kinneret Region	1949	Kibbutz	IK	RC Jordan Valley	233
Tel Mond	Southern Sharon (Kefar Sava Region)	1929	Rural Settlement	–	local council	8,288
Tel Yiẓḥak (includes Neveh Hadassah)	Southern Sharon (Netanyah Region)	1938	Kibbutz	OZ	RC Ḥof ha-Sharon	699

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Tel Yosef	Harod Valley	1921	Kibbutz	IK	RC Ha-Gilboa	372
Tene	Southern Hebron Mountain	1983	Rural Community	A	RC Hebron Mountain	538
Tenuvot	Southern Sharon	1952	Moshav	TM	RC Ha-Sharon ha-Ẓefoni	650
Tiberias (Teveryah)	Kinneret Valley	–	Town	–	municipality	39,944
Tidhar	Northern Negev (Gerar Region)	1953	Moshav	TM	RC Benei Shimon	225
Tifraḥ	Northern Negev (Besor Region)	1949	Moshav	PAI	RC Merḥavim	1,287
Timmurim	Southern Coastal Plain (Malakhi Region)	1954	Moshav Shittufi	OZ	RC Be’er Tuviyyah	644
Timrat	Jezreel Valley	1983	Rural Community		RC Jezreel Valley	1,699
Tirat ha-Karmel	Carmel Coast	1949	Urban Settlement	–	municipality	18,862
Tirat Yehudah	Coastal Plain (Petaḥ Tikvah Region)	1949	Moshav	PM	RC Modi’im	734
Tirat Ẓevi	Beth-Shean Valley	1937	Kibbutz	KD	RC Beth-Shean Valley	641
Tirosh	Southern Judean Foothills	1955	Moshav	PM	RC Matteh Yehudah	
Toḥelet	Coastal Plain (Lod Region)	1951	Rural Settlement	–	RC Emek Lod	
Tomer	Lower Jordan Valley; 67+	1978	Moshav	TM	RC Bikat ha-Yarden	296
Tushiyyah	Northwestern Negev (Gerar Region)	1958	Rural Center	–	RC Azzatah	748
Tuval	Central Upper Galilee	1980	Kibbutz	IK	RC Misgav	187
Vardon	Northern Negev	1968	Rural Community		RC Yoav	379
Vered Yeriḥo	Jericho Region; 67+	1980	Moshav	IH		161
Udim	Southern Sharon (Netanyah Region)	1948	Moshav	IH	RC Ḥof ha-Sharon	742
Urim	Northwestern Negev (Besor Region)	1946	Kibbutz	IK	RC Merḥavim	403
Ushah	Zebulun Valley (Haifa Bay area)	1937	Kibbutz	IK	RC Zebulun	348
Uzzah	Southern Coastal Plain (Lachish Region)	1950	Moshav	PM	RC Shafir	496
Ya'ad	Northwestern Lower Galilee	1975	Moshav	TM	RC Misgav	556
Ya'af	Southern Sharon	1974	Rural Community		RC Southern Sharon	129
Ya’arah	Western Upper Galilee	1950	Moshav	TM	RC Ma’aleh ha-Galil	538
Yad Binyamin	Coastal Plain (Reḥovot Region)	1949	Rural Center	–	RC Gan Raveh	390
Yad Ḥannah (Me’uḥad)	Central Sharon (Ḥefer Plain)	1950	Kibbutz	KM	RC Ḥefer Plain	116
Yad Hannah (Semol)	Central Sharon (Ḥefer Plain)	1950	Kibbutz	–	RC Ḥefer Plain	
Yad ha-Shemonah	Jerusalem Hills	1978	Moshav Shituffi			85
Yad Mordekhai	Southern Coastal Plain (Ashkelon Region)	1943	Kibbutz	KA	RC Ḥof Ashkelon	724
Yad Natan	Southern Coastal Plain (Lachish Region)	1953	Moshav	OZ	RC Lachish	294
Yad Rambam	Coastal Plain (Lod Region)	1955	Moshav	PM	RC Gezer	892
Yafit	Lower Jordan Valley; 67+	1980	Moshav	TM	RC Bikat ha-Yarden	101
Yagel	Coastal Plain (Lod Region)	1950	Moshav	TM	RC Emek Lod	668
Yagur	Zebulun Valley (Haifa Bay area)	1922	Kibbutz	KM	RC Zebulun	1,116
Yahel	Aravah Vaelley	1976	Kibbutz	TKM	RC Eilot	196
Yakhini	Northwestern Negev	1950	Moshav	TM	RC Sha’ar ha-Negev	432
Yakir	Western Samaria; 67+	1981	Rural Community	A	RC Shomron	960
Yakum	Southern Sharon (Herzliyyah Region)	1947	Kibbutz	KA	RC Ḥof ha-Sharon	537
Yanuv	Southern Sharon (Kefar Yonah Region)	1950	Moshav	TM	RC Ha-Sharon ha-Ẓefoni	753
Yardennah	Beth-Shean Valley	1953	Moshav	TM	RC Beth-Shean Valley	440
Yarḥiv	Southern Sharon (Kefar Sava Region)	1949	Moshav	TM	RC Ha-Sharon ha-Tikhon	713
Yarkonah	Southern Sharon (Kefar Sava Region)	1932	Moshav	TM	RC Ha-Yarkon	312
Yashresh	Coastal Plain (Lod Region)	1950	Moshav	TM	RC Gezer	692
Yas’ur	Zebulun Valley (Haifa Bay area)	1949	Kibbutz	KA	RC Na’aman	266
Yated	Western Negev	1981	Moshav	TM		178

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Yavne'el	Eastern Lower Galilee	1901	Rural Settlement	–	local council	2,747
Yavneh (Jabneh)	Coastal Plain (Reḥovot Region)	1950	Urban Settlement	–	municipality	31,830
Yaziz	Southern Coastal Plain (Lachish Region)	1950	Moshav	TM	RC Lachish	778
Yedidah	Judean Hills	1964	Educational Institution	–	(RC) Matteh Yehudah	162
Yedidyah	Central Sharon (Ḥefer Plain)	1935	Moshav	TM	RC Ḥefer Plain	540
Yeḥi'am	Western Upper Galilee	1946	Kibbutz	KA	RC Ga'aton	348
Yehud	Coastal Plain (Petaḥ Tikvah Region)	(1949)	Urban Settlement	–	municipality	25,124
Yeroḥam	Central Negev Hills	1951	Urban Settlement	–	local council	8,749
Yesha	Northwestern Negev (Besor Region)	1957	Moshav	TM	RC Eshkol	155
Yesodot	Judean Foothills	1948	Moshav Shittufi	PAI	RC Naḥal Sorek	377
Yesud ha-Ma'aleh	Ḥuleh Valley	1883	Rural Settlement	–	local council	1,219
Yevul	Western Negev	1987	Moshav	IH		149
Yifat	Jezreel Valley	(1926)	Kibbutz	IK	RC Kishon	750
Yiftaḥ	Eastern Upper Galilee	1948	Kibbutz	IK	RC Ha-Galil ha-Elyon	477
Yinnom	Southern Coastal Plain (Malakhi Region)	1952	Moshav	TM	RC Be'er Tuviyyah	867
Yiron	Eastern Upper Galilee	1949	Kibbutz	KM	RC Merom ha-Galil	351
Yish'i	Judean Foothills	1950	Moshav	PM	RC Matteh Yehudah	553
Yitav	Southeastern Samaria; 67+	1976	Kibbutz	KM		141
Yiẓhar	Samaria; 67+	1983	Rural Community	A	RC Shomron	534
Yizre'el	Mt. Gilboa	1948	Kibbutz	IK	RC Ha-Gilboa	464
Yodefat	Western Lower Galilee	1960	Kibbutz	–	RC Na'amon	369
Yokne'am	Jezreel Valley	1935	Moshav	IH	RC Megiddo	1.050
Yokne'am (Illit)	Jezreel Valley	1950	Urban Settlement	–	local council	17,787
Yonatan	Golan Heights; 67+	1976	Moshav Shitufi	PM	RC Golan	344
Yoshivyah	Northwestern Negev (Besor Region)	1950	Moshav	PM	RC Azzatah	
Yotvatah	Southern Arabah Valley	1951	Kibbutz	IK	RC Ḥevel Eilot	601
Yuval	Ḥuleh Valley	1952	Moshav	TM	RC Ha-Galil ha-Elyon	359
Yuvalim	Lower Galilee	1987	Rural Community	IH	RC Misgav	999
Ẓafririm	Southern Judean Foothills (Adullam Region)	1958	Moshav	TM	RC Matteh Yehudah	275
Ẓafriyyah	Coastal Plain (Lod Region)	1949	Moshav	PM	RC Emek Lod	622
Zano'ah	Judean Foothills	1950	Moshav	PAI	RC Matteh Yehudah	404
Zavdi'el	Southern Coastal Plain (Malakhi Region)	1950	Moshav	PAI	RC Shafir	414
Ẓe'elim	Northwestern Negev (Besor Region)	1947	Kibbutz	IK	RC Eshkol	434
Zeitan	Coastal Plain (Lod Region)	1950	Moshav	TM	RC Emek Lod	845
Zekharyah	Southern Judean Foothills	1950	Moshav	TM	RC Matteh Yehudah	669
Ẓelafon	Judean Foothills	1950	Moshav	TM	RC Matteh Yehudah	582
Zeraḥyah	Southern Coastal Plain (Malakhi Region)	1950	Moshav	PM	RC Shafir	
Zeru'ah	Northwestern Negev (Gerar Region)	1953	Moshav	PM	RC Azzatah	246
Ẓerufah	Carmel Coast	1949	Moshav	TM	RC Ḥof ha-Karmel	765
Ẓeviyyah	Central Lower Galilee	1979	Rural Community	KM	RC Misgav	282
Zikhron Ya'akov	Mt. Carmel	1882	Urban Settlement	–	local council	15,659
Zikim	Southern Coastal Plain (Ashkelon Region)	1949	Kibbutz	KA	RC Ḥof Ashkelon	347
Zimrat	Northwestern Negev (Gerar Region)	1957	Moshav	PM	RC Azzatah	253
Ẓippori	Western Lower Galilee	1949	Moshav	TM	RC Kishon	498
Zivon	Upper Galilee	1980	Kibbutz	KA	RC Upper Galilee	92
Ẓofar	Arabah Valley	1975	Moshav		RC Mid Aravah	332
Ẓofit	Southern Sharon (Kefar Sava Region)	1933	Moshav	TM	RC Ha-Sharon ha-Tikhon	811

Name	Geographical Region	Year of Founding	Settlement Form	Affiliation	Municipal Status	No. of inhabitants 31 Dec. 2004
Ẓofiyyah	Coastal Plain (Reḥovot Region)	1955	Educational Institution	–	(RC) Ḥevel Yavneh	
Zohar	Southern Coastal Plain (Lachish Region)	1956	Moshav	IH	RC Lachish	344
Ẓorah	Judean Foothills	1948	Kibbutz	IK	RC Matteh Yehudah	705
Ẓovah	Jerusalem Hills	1948	Kibbutz	KM	RC Matteh Yehudah	583
Ẓufim	Samaria; 67+	1989	Rural Community		RC Shomron	1,048
Ẓukim	Arabah Valley	1983	Rural Community		RC Mid Aravah	
Ẓur Hadassah	Jerusalem Hills	1960	Rural Center	–	(RC) Matteh Yehudah	3,623
Ẓuri'el	Western Upper Galilee	1950	Moshav	PAI	RC Ma'aleh ha-Galil	302
Ẓur Moshe	Southern Sharon (Kefar Yonah Region)	1937	Moshav	TM	RC Ha-Sharon ha-Ẓefoni	1,904
Ẓur Natan	Southern Sharon	1966	Kibbutz	KA	(RC) Ha-Sharon ha-Tikhon	224

ALIYAH AND ABSORPTION

GENERAL SURVEY

Introduction

Aliyah, "ascension" or "going up," is the coming of Jews as individuals or in groups, from exile or diaspora to live in the Land of Israel. Those who "go up" for this purpose are known as *olim* – a term used in the Bible for the children of Israel who went up from Egypt (Gen. 50:14 and Num. 32:11) and, at a later period, for the exiles who returned from captivity in Babylon (Ezra 2:1, 59 and Neh. 5–6). The call of Cyrus – "Whosoever there is among you of all His people – his God be with him – let him go up…" (Ezra 1:3; II Chron. 36:23) – has been used as a watchword for *aliyah*. It was *aliyah* that re-created the Jewish commonwealth in the Land after the Babylonian Exile, provided the community with some of its prominent spiritual leaders during the Second Temple and subsequent periods, preserved and repeatedly renewed the Jewish presence in Ereẓ Israel during the periods of Byzantine, Arab, Mamluk, and Ottoman rule, and reestablished the State of Israel in modern times.

Motives for Aliyah

The following were the principal motives that led individuals and groups to leave the Diaspora to settle in Ereẓ Israel at various periods:

1) The divine commandment (*mitzvah*) to go to Ereẓ Israel and settle there. There is a dispute about this precept in the Talmud (Ket. 110–111a), where both advocates and opponents of *aliyah* are presented. The Tosafists (see **Tosafot*) stated that the precept was no longer in force (see Tos. to the passage beginning "If the husband desires to go up…" – Ket. 110b), and *Maimonides did not include it in his list of *mitzvot*. *Naḥmanides was the first to maintain that settlement in Ereẓ Israel was a commandment fixed for posterity. This assertion aroused controversy throughout halakhic literature. The dispute was revived with the appearance of the Ḥovevei Zion (see *Ḥibbat Zion), who advanced the commandment to go to Ereẓ Israel, in addition to national and social factors, as a reason for settlement. In the heat of the argument a new position was formulated by some of the orthodox, who argued that not only is it not a *mitzvah* to go to Ereẓ Israel but it is even forbidden, as it contradicts the oath sworn by the Jews: "That Israel shall not go up [all together as if surrounded] by a wall," and that "they shall not rebel against the nations of the world" (Ket. 111a).

2) The desire to study the Torah in Ereẓ Israel, where the Sanhedrin and the great academies were to be found. *Aliyah* for this purpose occurred mainly in the tannaitic and part of the amoraic periods, and has recurred in modern times with the increase in the number of important yeshivot in Ereẓ Israel. There have been cases of entire yeshivot moving to Israel.

3) The belief that one who is buried in Ereẓ Israel has many privileges (TJ, Kil. 9:4, 32c; Gen. R. 96), which led many elderly people to come to Ereẓ Israel in order to die there. This belief existed during the time of the Temple, although it was attacked by some of the talmudic sages (Gen. R. 96:5). Characteristic of this outlook in later generations were the statements of Solomon Shlomel (Dreznitz), a disciple of Isaac *Luria and author of *Shivḥei ha-Ari* ("He who was privileged by God to fix his home in Ereẓ Israel is blessed, and blessed is he who can attain the World to Come"; *Ha-Me'ammer*, ed. A.M. Luncz, 3 (1919), 294).

4) The belief that only in Ereẓ Israel can one fulfill the *mitzvot* of the Torah. This was the watchword of the Karaites in the ninth to 11th centuries, and was stressed by religious groups during the period of the Ḥovevei Zion movement.

5) The persecution of the Jews in Europe. Beginning with the 13th century, Jewish refugees, in order to escape persecution in Europe, began to go to Ereẓ Israel since it was not under Christian rule. There are several questions in the

halakhah concerning those who vowed in times of stress to emigrate to Ereẓ Israel and broke their vows when the trouble had passed.

6) The messianic factor and the anticipation of redemption. Emigration to Ereẓ Israel would help to bring the advent of the Messiah nearer. The following statement of Raphael Mordecai Malki (late 17th century) is characteristic of this approach: "It is a known fact that the Messiah son of Ephraim does not come and is not revealed before 100 or 200 people (as in Jerusalem today), but before thousands and tens of thousands." The emigration of kabbalists after the expulsion from Spain in 1492 was considered to be due to messianic motivations – a letter dated 1521 announces that signs of the redemption are at hand (*Ha-Me'ammer*, 196–201). So are the *aliyyot* of the disciples of *Elijah the Gaon of Vilna and the *Ḥasidim, though the messianic factor in the ḥasidic *aliyah* is a subject of dispute among contemporary historians, some of whom think that it was motivated by the desire to win Ereẓ Israel for Ḥasidism.

7) The curing of illness and barrenness.

8) National and social factors – see *Historical Survey, Introduction, and also Modern Aliyah, below.

Difficulties

Many difficulties stood in the way of those coming to Ereẓ Israel. Transportation was arduous and irregular. Many of the ships which set sail for Ereẓ Israel were dilapidated and they sometimes sank with all their passengers. *Menahem Mendel of Vitebsk, leader of the ḥasidic *aliyah* of 1777, boasts that only one ship sank on his voyage. In addition there were cruel captains and pirates, who sometimes murdered their passengers or sold them into slavery. Large ransoms often had to be paid by various Jewish communities. As a result of these difficulties, there arose the halakhic question of whether it was permissible, for reasons of safety, for a convoy to continue its journey through the desert on the Sabbath. In addition to the many difficulties encountered by the travelers on arrival, there were the harsh political and economic conditions in Ereẓ Israel itself. Despite this, *aliyah* encompassed all currents of Judaism and all Diaspora communities.

From the Second Temple to Ḥibbat Zion

During the time of the Second Temple there were many immigrants to Ereẓ Israel. A famous example is the *aliyah* of Hillel, who went from Babylonia (Pes. 66a) poor and without means, and later became the head of the Sanhedrin (Suk. 20a), founding a long line of *nesi'im* (see **nasi*). One of the high priests appointed by Herod was Hananel ha-Bavli, i.e., of Babylonia. *Aliyah*, mainly from Babylonia, did not cease after the destruction of the Second Temple (70 C.E.). Sources cite many immigrant scholars who achieved a prominent place in the Jewish community of Ereẓ Israel. In the third generation of *tannaim* after the destruction of the Temple (110–135 C.E.), Hanan ha-Miẓri ("of Egypt"; Yoma 63b) and Yose b. Dormaskos, who went from Damascus (Sif. Deut. 1), are mentioned. The next generation (135–170 C.E.) included R. Johanan ha-Sandelar of Alexandria (TJ, Ḥag. 3:1, 78d) and R. Nathan ha-Bavli, who was the son of the exilarch in Babylonia. Among the fifth generation of *tannaim* are (170–200) R. Ḥiyya the Great, the disciple and colleague of Judah ha-Nasi (Er. 73a), and Issi b. Judah (Pes. 113b), both of whom emigrated from Babylonia, and Menahem the Gaul (i.e., France; TJ, Ber. 4:4, 8b).

Aliyah from Babylonia did not cease in the amoraic period, despite the fact that the great centers of Jewish scholarship were located there. Of the first generation of *amoraim* (220–250), R. Ḥanina b. Ḥama, a disciple of Judah ha-Nasi and one of the greatest *amoraim* in Ereẓ Israel, emigrated from Babylonia (TJ, Pe'ah 7:4, 20a). In the second generation (250–290), Eleazar b. Pedat, *rosh yeshivah* in Tiberias (Ḥul. 111b), R. Zakkai (TJ, Shab. 7:1, 9a) and R. Ḥiyya b. Joseph (Ḥul. 54a), who emigrated from Babylonia, and Ḥinena Kartigna'ah (of Carthage; TJ, Shab. 16:2, 15c) are mentioned. The latter attests emigration from Africa. Two *amoraim* called Rav Kahana also emigrated from Babylonia (Zev. 59a). There was a particularly large *aliyah* among the third generation of *amoraim* (290–320), some of the immigrants forming the leadership of the Jewish community in Ereẓ Israel. Prominent among them were: R. Abba (Ket. 112a); R. Avina (TJ, Shev. 4:2, 35a); R. Oshaiah and his brother Hananiah (Sanh. 14a); R. Assi, the colleague of R. Ammi, who was *rosh yeshivah* of Tiberias (MK 25a); R. Zera, a central figure of both Talmuds (Ket. 112a); R. Ḥiyya b. Abba (Shab. 105b); and R. Ḥelbo (Yev. 64b; TJ, Ta'an. 2:1, 65a); R. Yudan of Gaul (Lev. R. 20:4); R. Jeremiah, who later became *rosh yeshivah* at Tiberias (Ket. 75a); R. Samuel b. Isaac (TJ, Ber. 3:5, 6d); R. Samuel of Cappadocia in Asia Minor (Ḥul. 27b); R. Simlai (TJ, Pes. 5:3, 32a); and others. In the fourth generation (320–350) the well-known immigrants included: Ray Huna b. R. Avin (TJ, RH 2:2, 59a), R. Haggai (MK, 25a), R. Yudan of Cappadocia (TJ, Ber. 3:1, 6a), and R. Kahana (TJ, RH 2:6, 59b). Constantine the Great's proclamation of Christianity as the official religion of the state in 323 and his persecution of the Jews in his dominions initiated the decline of Jewry in Ereẓ Israel. In this period – the fifth generation of *amoraim*, in which the Jerusalem Talmud was completed – the stream of immigrants from Babylonia stopped almost completely. The statements of the *amora* R. Abiathar (250–290 C.E.), who opposed the *aliyah* of Jews who left their families behind without a livelihood (Git. 6b), attest that the flow of *aliyah* was coming to an end. In 520, Mar Zutra, a descendant of the exilarchs in Babylonia, settled in Tiberias and was appointed head of the academy. Because the times were not conducive to *aliyah*, only individuals came.

There is little information on *aliyah* in the next few centuries, in which the Muslim conquest took place (636–38), but the *aliyah* of R. Aḥa of Shabḥa, one of the greatest Babylonian scholars, who came in about 750, is well known and other disciples probably immigrated with him. The Karaites, who proclaimed to their faithful: "Be assembled in the holy city and gather your brethren," began their *aliyah* as early as the ninth century. Among them was the author *Daniel b. Moses al-Qūmisi. A Karaite legend attributes the beginnings of their community in Ereẓ Israel to the founder of the sect, *Anan b. David. In the tenth century a cultural efflorescence took place among the Karaites in Ereẓ Israel, among whom were Sahl b. Maẓli'aḥ and Salmon b. Jeroḥam, and the Karaite community spread to Ramleh. In the 11th century important arrivals included Solomon b. Judah, from Morocco, head of the Academy in Jerusalem and Ramleh (1025–1051), and the *nasi* Daniel b. Azariah, a scion of the exilarchs of Babylonia. From the 12th century, testimonies of travelers and not of immigrants have been preserved; the political situation under the Crusaders did not facilitate *aliyah*. According to a famous legend (now known to be untrue) *Judah Halevi went to Ereẓ Israel in 1141 and was killed at the gates of Jerusalem. In 1165 Maimon b. Joseph, the father of Maimonides, went there with his sons, but left after six months. In the late 12th century more Jews from North Africa arrived as a result of the persecutions there during the Almohad regime. Benjamin of Tudela found approximately 1,000 Jewish families during his stay in Ereẓ Israel (c. 1170). Ten years later, Pethahiah of Regensburg mentioned a much smaller number. According to Judah Al-Ḥarizi, who traveled to Ereẓ Israel in 1218, Saladin invited the Jews to settle in the land in 1190, after his victory over the Crusaders. Al-Harizi stated: "From the time when the Ishmaelites [Arabs] occupied the land, Jews settled there" (*Taḥkemoni*, ed. A. Kaminka (1899), No. 28, p. 245).

Persecution of Jews in Europe also contributed to *aliyah*. The most important immigration of this wave was that of the "300 French and English rabbis" who went to Ereẓ Israel in 1210–11. According to an anonymous source: "The king honored them greatly and built synagogues and academies there… A miracle occurred when they prayed for rain and were answered, and, thus, they sanctified God's name" (*Shevet Yehudah*, ed. Azriel Shochat (1947), 147). There are many opinions as to the causes of this *aliyah*. Horodezky holds that it resulted from spiritual pressure – the decline in Torah study in France; in contrast, Dubnow believes that it stemmed from severe economic oppression (*Divrei Yemei Am Olam*, pt. 5, p. 15). A new and improbable view has been advanced: that the purpose was to establish a Sanhedrin – in accordance with Maimonides' opinion that the establishment of a Sanhedrin is a condition for redemption. In about 1260, there were more *olim* from these countries, including Jehiel b. Joseph of Paris, whose yeshivah in Acre was called by the name of his town, Midrash ha-Gadol de-Parisi. The most important *aliyah* in this century was that of *Naḥmanides in 1267. Since his arrival, settlement is said to have been continuous in Jerusalem; hence his title "*Avi ha-Yishuv*" ("Father of the Community"). In the late 13th century, *aliyah* ceased as a result of the fierce battles between the Crusaders and the Muslims. The expulsion from France (1306) led R. *Estori ha-Parḥi, the first Jew to write a geography of Ereẓ Israel, to come to the Land in about 1322. Many came from Spain and Germany in the 14th century, as stated in a letter from a disciple of Naḥmanides: "At present many have arisen willingly to emigrate to Ereẓ Israel" (S. Assaf, *Yerushalayim, Koveẓ shel ha-Ḥevrah la-Ḥakirat Ereẓ Yisrael ve-Attikoteha*, A.M. Luncz (1928), 51). Among those who came from Spain was the well-known kabbalist R. Shem Tov b. Abraham Gaon, who wrote his *Keter Shem Tov* in Ereẓ Israel. In the 15th century Jewish pilgrims and prospective *olim* had to fight against a new obstacle: an order by Pope Martin v (1428) forbidding Italian ships to transport Jews to Ereẓ Israel. This decree remained in force for only a very brief period but it was renewed toward the end of the century, and led to many wanderings in order to circumvent the sea routes, if possible – for instance, as suggested by R. Isaac Ẓarefati in a letter to the Jews, via Turkey (see Historical Survey, above). A number of Italian Jews went to Ereẓ Israel in the 15th century and made their mark on the Jewish community. Among them were *Elijah of Ferrara, who wrote a letter of great importance for the history of *aliyah* in the late 14th and early 15th centuries (first published by Eliezer Ashkenazi in *Divrei Ḥakhamim* (1849), 61–63), and members of his family. The Ashkenazi Joseph da Montagna came from Italy via Venice and was appointed *dayyan* in Jerusalem at the end of 1481. Isaac b. Meir Latif apparently came from Ancona in about 1480.

Immigrants from Mesopotamia, Persia, India, China, Yemen, and North Africa are also mentioned in this century. Yemenite Jews came in caravans from Aden and Turkey, e.g., R. Abraham B. Solomon Treves of Constantinople. The increase in *aliyah* between 1488 and 1495 is attested by the fact that in 1495 it was difficult to find a place to live in Jerusalem. The most important of the Italian scholars who immigrated to Ereẓ Israel was R. Obadiah of *Bertinoro, who arrived in 1488 after three years of wandering. In his letters he writes about other *aliyyot* from Italy and under his influence the number of immigrants increased. In a letter written in 1495, an anonymous student of his praises his master's manifold activities in Jerusalem and he tells of immigrants from Italy and Sicily, some of whom had drowned. After the Turkish conquest (1516), many Jews from the Orient, Sicily, Italy, France, and Germany, as well as refugees from the Spanish and Portuguese expulsions, immigrated to Ereẓ Israel. One of them was R. Isaac *Sholal ha-Kohen, the last *nagid* of Egypt, whose *aliyah* (1517) was of great importance in the development of the Jewish community in Jerusalem. The immigration of Spanish Jews with their characteristic laws, manners, language, and customs had an important impact on the community. Some of them settled in Jerusalem – the most important being the kabbalist *Abraham b. Eliezer ha-Levi and *Levi Ibn Ḥabib – but most of them settled in *Safed, notably Joseph Saracosti, Jacob *Berab, Joseph *Caro, Moses *Cordovero, Moses *Galante, and *David b. Abi Zimra. The immigrants to Safed also included a considerable number from Italy, who even established an independent "Italian community." The extent of the increase of *aliyah* to Safed is attested by the fact that its population numbered 10,000 in the mid-16th century, while according to the Yemenite traveler *Zechariah al-Ḍāhiri, it numbered 14,000 in 1567. A great role in *aliyah* was played by the immigrants from North Africa. Among important immigrants from North Africa were Issachar ibn Susan, who went to Ereẓ

Israel in about 1527: Aaron b. Abraham *Ibn Ḥayyim, author of *Korban Aharon*; and R. Solomon ibn Ẓur. The flourishing of the Kabbalah in Safed contributed to additional *aliyah*, which continued throughout the 16th century, from France, Germany, Italy, and other European countries, as well as from North Africa and the Orient. The immigrants from Europe included: R. Ephraim b. R. Judah, son-in-law of R. Solomon *Luria, who headed the Ashkenazi community in Jerusalem; R. Solomon Shlomel of Dreznitz (Moravia); R. Judah of Ofen (Buda), and his brother-in-law R. Jacob Zak, father of Ẓevi Ashkenazi ("Ḥakham Ẓevi"). Ofen (Buda) served as a gathering place for Jews from France and Germany, who could travel from there in convoy via Turkish territory. Simeon Bak went in 1582 and R. Masʿud Saggi Nahor (*Azulai) went from North Africa. Important newcomers were R. Bezalel *Ashkenazi, author of *Shitah Mekubbeẓet*, who arrived in 1588 and became head of the community in Jerusalem, and R. Isaiah ha-Levi *Horowitz (author of *Shenei Luḥot ha-Berit*), who came in 1621 and became head of the Ashkenazi community in Jerusalem, whose members were "multiplying greatly, literally by hundreds, and constructing great buildings" (letter to his sons). In the early 17th century a renewed *aliyah* of Karaites began, but the persecutions of Ibn Farukh (1625–27) slowed down the influx. Nevertheless, immigrants continued to arrive; among them was Abraham *Azulai, author of *Ḥesed le-Avraham*.

Shabbateanism (see *Shabbetai Ẓevi) stimulated a new wave of longing for *aliyah*. Rumors of vast *aliyyot* spread everywhere; there were rumors of "80 ships" from Amsterdam and "400 families ready to depart" from Frankfurt. However, this enthusiasm died out with the apostasy of Shabbetai Ẓevi. The only great *aliyah* that occurred as a result of Shabbateanism was that led by R. *Judah Ḥasid and Ḥayyim *Malakh (both crypto-Shabbateans) at the turn of the 17th century. There was no *aliyah* like it for many generations before or after it until modern times. In its beginnings the group numbered only 31 families, but more joined it along the way. The enormous influence of the emissaries of the immigrants, who assembled at Nikolsburg (Mikulov) for departure is attested by an eyewitness, the German author J.J. Schudt (*Juedische Merckwuerdigkeiten*, 2 (Frankfurt on the Main, 1714), 58). On its arrival the convoy numbered about 1,500 – some said 1,700. There was a serious setback, however, when R. Judah Ḥasid died immediately after the group's arrival in Jerusalem and the lack of sources of livelihood, illness, and anti-Shabbatean persecutions contributed to the dispersal of the new arrivals. The *aliyah* of R. Abraham Rovigo from Modena, Italy, in 1702, with a convoy of 25 persons was also influenced by Shabbateanism.

But these were not the only convoys. According to one emissary, the Jewish community in Jerusalem numbered 10,000 persons in 1741. Ḥayyim *Abulafia came from Smyrna in 1740 and reestablished the yeshivah in Tiberias. Moses Ḥayyim *Luzzatto and his family arrived in 1743, although his activities in Ereẓ Israel were less important than his work in the Diaspora. There was an important *aliyah* of Turkish Jews at the time, including Gedaliah Ḥayyun, who founded Beth El, the *bet ha-midrash* of the kabbalists in Jerusalem, and the Rosanes, Gabbai, Naḥmias, and Pardo families. There were also Shalom *Sharabi, a Yemenite immigrant, who held a position of prominence in Jerusalem, and Eleazer Rokeaḥ, the rabbi of Amsterdam, who settled in Safed. R. Ḥayyim b. *Attar, author of *Or ha-Ḥayyim*, went from Salé (Morocco) in 1741 and established a yeshivah in Jerusalem. Nathan *Bordjel, author of *Ḥok Nathan*, went from Tunis. An organized *aliyah* of proselytes, who settled in Safed and even sent a special emissary abroad, also took place in the 18th century.

The end of the 18th century marks the beginning of the *aliyah* of Ḥasidim, who made it a principle of their teachings. Ḥasidic legend describes at length how *Israel Ba'al Shem Tov, the founder of Ḥasidism, longed to immigrate to Ereẓ Israel in order to meet with R. Ḥayyim b. Attar, and even made attempts to fulfill this wish, but was compelled to reconsider. His disciples, however, did everything to carry out their master's will. Thus, R. Abraham Gershon of Kutow (Kuty), the Ba'al Shem Tov's brother-in-law, immigrated with his family, and many Ḥasidim from Galicia and Volhynia followed him. The first organized *aliyah* of Ḥasidim took place in 1764, led by the Ba'al Shem Tov's disciples Menahem Mendel of Peremyshlyany, who settled in Jerusalem, and *Naḥman of Horodenko in Tiberias. An *aliyah* of great value to the community in Ereẓ Israel took place in the spring (Adar) of 1777, 14 years after the first; it was led by *Menahem Mendel of Vitebsk and Abraham of Kalisz, whose convoy numbered 300 persons. They left Galatz, Romania, in small boats for Constantinople and from there they sailed to Acre. The voyage lasted four months, and the convoy endured much hardship. They settled in Safed, where they met with many difficulties and most of them moved to Tiberias. This *aliyah* was rightly regarded as having revived Galilee and laid the basis for Jewish settlement there. Many of the leaders of the ḥasidic *aliyah* are worthy of mention: *Jacob Samson of Shepetovka; *Ze'ev Wolf of Zbaraz (Zbarazh); *Jacob b. Aaron the Great of Karlin; Issachar Dov Baer of Zloczow, author of *Bat Eini*; David Solomon of Soroki, author of *Levushei Serad*; *Ḥayyim b. Solomon of Czernowitz, author of *Be'er Mayim Ḥayyim*; and Aryeh Leib of Woloczyska, author of *Ahavat Shalom*. More Ḥasidim came in subsequent generations, notably Abraham Dov of Ovruch in 1832, who headed the ḥasidic community of Safed, and Israel *Bak, who brought his publishing house with him from Volhynia in 1831. The Ḥabad Ḥasidim formed another organized *aliyah*, consolidating the Ashkenazi community in Hebron, which was first organized by Ḥabad Ḥasidim from Safed and Tiberias. Ḥasidim have continued to come up to the present day.

At the same time the *Perushim*, the disciples of Elijah the Gaon of Vilna, also organized an *aliyah*, establishing a community in Jerusalem. The Gaon of Vilna is reported to have made many efforts to go to Ereẓ Israel himself but did not meet with success. The first *Perushim* arrived as early as 1722, led by R. Israel of Shklov, but their impact was not noticeable and they did not even have a *minyan*. A second group, headed by *Menahem Mendel of Shklov, arrived in 1808. Later, Saadiah b. Nathan Nata of Vilna and Nata b. Menahem Mendel of Shklov arrived. Menahem Mendel of Shklov and R. Israel of Shklov are rightly considered the fathers of their community in Jerusalem because of their initiative and powers of organization. Among other members of the community were Hillel Rivlin, scion of the prominent *Rivlin family; R. Abraham Solomon Zalman *Ẓoref; R. Shemariah Luria, a man of means who arrived with a convoy of 40 persons: R. Joseph Sundel of *Salant, the spiritual father of the *Musar movement; and R. Samuel *Salant, his son-in-law, who officiated as the city rabbi in Jerusalem for many years. It is of interest that these *aliyyot* included not only scholars but also artisans.

In 1830 the *aliyah* from Germany began, led by Moses Sacks, the first who thought of large-scale productivization of the Jewish community in Ereẓ Israel. The German immigrants included Jehoseph *Schwarz (arrived in 1833), the author of *Tevu'ot ha-Areẓ*, the most thorough work on Ereẓ Israel since the 14th-century *Kaftor va-Feraḥ*, and R. Eliezer Bergman. A notable *aliyah* came from Holland, which eventually merged with the German *aliyah* to form a joint community known as *Kolel* 'HOD' (Holland-Deutschland). There was also a sizable *aliyah* from Hungary, which was inspired by R. Moses *Sofer, the author of *Ḥatam Sofer*, and played an important role in Jerusalem, though it consisted mostly of individuals, largely youths. Noteworthy are R. Israel Ze'ev Horowitz, Abraham Sha'ag, and Akiva Joseph Schlesinger. As they increased, they formed a separate *kolel*, as did the Polish immigrants. In the 19th century sizable *aliyyot* took place from the Oriental countries as well, including Turkey, North Africa, Iraq, Persia, Bukhara, Kurdistan, Afghanistan, the Caucasus, and Yemen (see *Israel, State of: Population, section on Jewish Communities (*Edot*)).

[Itzhak Alfassi]

Modern Aliyah, 1880–1948

(See Table on following page.)

THE FIRST ALIYAH. The beginnings of the modern Jewish return to the Land of Israel, which laid the foundations for the establishment of the State of Israel, were due to a combination of three causes: the age-old devotion of the Jews to their historic homeland and the hope of messianic redemption; the intensification of the intolerable conditions under which Jews lived in Eastern Europe; and the efforts of an active minority convinced that the return to the homeland was the only lasting and fundamental solution to the Jewish problem (see *Zionism).

In the early 1880s the growing oppression of the Jews assumed acute forms in several Eastern European countries: the pogroms and repression that followed the assassination of Alexander II of Russia; the restriction of Jewish autonomy in Galicia; the pogroms and the restrictions imposed on Jewish trade in Romania; and the Tisza-Eszlar blood libel in Hungary. A spontaneous mass migration movement was the result: between 1880 and 1900 over a million Jews fled from persecution and poverty to the United States. The hopes of the *Haskalah movement for a normalization of the Jewish position through education and enlightenment had been shattered; the Jewish masses were on the move.

Simultaneously with this headlong flight to the New World, another Jewish migration movement, infinitesimally smaller but radically different in character, arose. A handful of young men felt that it was not enough to run away from persecution; the time had come to take the first step toward a fundamental solution of the Jewish problem: the return of the Jews to the Land of Israel. This vital first step must be to go up to live in the Promised Land and cultivate its soil. Branches of the new *Ḥibbat Zion movement sprang up all over Eastern Europe, especially in Russia, though they had to meet in secret and their members ran a risk of arrest. The best-known section of the movement, *Bilu, defined its aim as "the political, economic, and national-spiritual revival of the Jewish people in Syria and Ereẓ Israel." On July 7, 1882, a small group of 14 – including one woman – landed at Jaffa and made its way to the *Mikveh Israel training farm, founded in 1870, where it was given work. Further contingents followed, bringing the number of settlers up to over 50. The unaccustomed work was hard, the pay was wretched, and the novices were treated with contempt by the farm manager. Some of the Bilu'im moved to Jerusalem, where they formed a short-lived cooperative carpenters' workshop. Others received a plot to cultivate in Rishon le-Zion, but the crops were poor. Hopes that the Ḥibbat Zion movement abroad would help them buy land for a settlement of their own were disappointed, and the movement began to disintegrate. The Bilu'im were saved by Yehiel Pines, who bought 800 acres of land in the southern Shephelah, where they founded the village of *Gederah, and appealed to Ḥibbat Zion abroad to defray the cost.

Meanwhile, Ḥibbat Zion had been organizing groups to settle in Ereẓ Israel. In January 1882, a conference at Focsani, Romania, had decided to send out representatives to buy land, to be followed almost immediately by the first group of *olim* (sing. *oleh*), who would settle in the country. The Turkish government immediately ordered the cessation of Jewish immigration, and efforts to secure the withdrawal of the ban by appeals to Laurence *Oliphant and by representations at Constantinople were unsuccessful. The pioneers were undeterred, however; by 1884 six settlements had been established (including Gederah), and *Petaḥ Tikvah revived. Four were supported by Baron Edmond de *Rothschild, the other three being the responsibility of Ḥibbat Zion. In the same year the first international conference of Ḥibbat Zion, with 35 delegates from Russia, Romania, Germany, Britain, and France, met at Katowice and established a provisional central committee in Odessa. The number of societies reached close to 100, with 14,000 members who collected about 30,000 rubles a year, as well as 20,000 rubles from various campaigns. Ramified propaganda was carried out in many parts of Europe and in America.

In these early beginnings, many of the characteristic features of modern *aliyah* were already present in embryo. Like the later Zionist movement, Ḥibbat Zion consisted of three main strata: a large periphery of uncommitted sympathizers; smaller groups of organized members, who propagated the idea and collected funds for practical work; and a still smaller nucleus, without whom nothing could have been done, who followed the principle of *hagshamah aẓmit* ("personal implementation"), to use another term that was current at later stages. Some of those who contributed to the cost of the work did so out of belief in the aims of the movement; others, as in later years, were moved by purely philanthropic motives, or a mixture of the two. There were also rudimentary arrangements in the country to help the newcomers: the Mikveh Israel farm helped to train them; local Jewish leaders cooperated with Ḥibbat Zion missions; Baron de Rothschild sent out officials to administer his benefactions; in 1891 an abortive attempt was made to set up an executive of Ḥibbat Zion in Jaffa, headed by Vladimir *Tiomkin.

Although the seeds of later developments were there, their growth at first was painfully slow. The entire effort would have collapsed but for the benevolence of Rothschild, whose money not only bought land and implements, built homes, and purchased the crops, but also erected synagogues and schools, hospitals and old-age asylums. His administrators, many of whom were corrupt, kept the settlers on a tight rein, however, and stifled any signs of independence. The advent of Theodor *Herzl and the founding of the *World Zionist Organization in 1897, while arousing a tidal wave of enthusiasm in the Jewish world, had little effect at the time in the Land of Israel itself, as the new movement devoted most of its energies to political work in the hope of obtaining a charter for the establishment of a Jewish autonomous territory. The idealism of the settlers was withering away under the pressure of the difficult conditions; most of the new villages employed cheap Arab labor, and the enterprise, started with such high hopes, was producing not a self-reliant community of cheap cultivators, but a class of colonists, with the shallowest of roots in the soil, which was still – even when owned by Jews – being tilled mainly by the native Arab population.

By 1903, the end of the First Aliyah period, a score of new villages had been founded, 350,000 dunams (almost 90,000 acres) of land had been purchased, and some 10,000 Jews had settled in the country, over half of them on the soil. There were also beginnings of urban settlement, especially in Jaffa, where 3,000 newcomers had made their homes. Hebrew was beginning to be a spoken tongue once again, and the first Hebrew elementary schools had been established, though French culture, propagated by the Alliance Israelite Universelle and the Rothschild administration, was widespread. On the whole, however, the pioneering drive had been exhausted and a period of stagnation had set in.

Immigration to Israel, 1882–May 14, 1948

Year	Immigrants[1]	Rate[2]	Year	Immigrants[1]	Rate[2]
1882–1914	55–70,000		1934	45,267	177
1919	1,806	32	1935	66,472	208
1920	8,223	135	1936	29,595	80
1921	8,294	115	1937	10,629	27
1922	8,685	104	1938	14,675	36
1923	8,175	91	1939	31,195	72
1924	13,892	146	1940	10,643	23
1925	34,386	285	1941	4,592	10
1926	13,855	93	1942	4,206	9
1927	3,034	20	1943	10,063	20
1928	2,178	14	1944	15,552	30
1929	5,249	34	1945	15,259	28
1930	4,944	30	1946	18,760	32
1931	4,075	24	1947	22,098	36
1932	12,553	69	Jan. 1– May 14, 1948	17,165	73
1933	37,337	177			

1 Including immigrants without visas and tourists who settled.
2. Immigrants per 1,000 of the Jewish population.

THE SECOND ALIYAH. The depression caused by the stagnation of the first settlements, the controversies in the Zionist organization over the *Uganda Scheme, and the death of Herzl in 1904 were followed by a new upsurge of pioneering fervor which produced the Second Aliyah. The first impetus of the new wave came from the Kishinev pogroms of 1903 and the others that followed two years later. The impotence of the great Russian community in the face of these savage mob attacks shocked thousands of young Jews into a new determination to build a Jewish homeland. Many of them were imbued with socialist ideals and, sorely disappointed by the failure of the 1905 Revolution, decided that they must create their own revolutionary movement on the basis of national revival.

These young men and women were guided not only by a more conscious and consistent national ideology, but also by the ideal of laying the foundations for a workers' commonwealth in the Land of Israel. Naḥman *Syrkin had already advocated an organic synthesis of Zionism and Socialism. The Socialist-Zionist philosophy of the *Po'alei Zion movement, formulated by Ber *Borochov, was founded on a Marxist analysis of the Jewish problem that led to the conclusion that social and economic forces were working for the Socialist-Zionist solution. Others, under the influence of A.D. *Gordon's philosophy of labor, founded the *Ha-Po'el ha-Ẓa'ir movement, which emphasized the importance of physical labor, rather than the socialist reorganization of society, as the foundation of national revival. Both parties added to the idea of personal participation in the building of the homeland the concept of *avodah aẓmit* ("personal labor"; see *Israel, State of: Labor, section on Ideology of Labor).

Among the youth organizations set up at this time was one called *He-Ḥalutz ("The Pioneer") in Romania – the first to use the name. Unlike their elders, its members were not content to make propaganda, collect funds, and prepare for an undefined future. They organized only to make preparations for the journey; once a group, usually consisting of young people from the same town, had gone out, it would make way for another, which would go through the same process. In 1905 a He-Ḥalutz society was set up in the United States, and in 1911 Joseph *Trumpeldor tried to establish a countrywide organization in Russia with a detailed plan for organized training in the Diaspora and activity in the Land of Israel, but the project was dropped when he himself left Russia to settle.

The pioneers of the Second Aliyah were also much more self-reliant than their predecessors. As there was no possibility of exercising political influence on the government of the country, the parties engaged in practical work, looking after the housing, employment, and, later, the health and welfare of the newcomers. The Zionist Organization had also started practical work in the Land of Israel. The *Jewish National Fund was founded in 1901, and two years later the Anglo-Palestine Company (later the Anglo-Palestine Bank) was established in Jaffa as a subsidiary of the *Jewish Colonial Trust; in 1908 Arthur *Ruppin set up the Palestine Office in Jaffa. The workers, however, were far from passive. In 1907 Joseph *Vitkin issued a call for more pioneers, which, coming from one of those who had led the way, had greater force than the exhortations of Zionist leaders in the Diaspora. The workers fought not only for better conditions, but also for the right to employment on the Jewish farms, and in 1909 it was their initiative that led to the establishment of the first *kevuẓah* (see *Kibbutz Movement), the harbinger of a new type of social unit. They were also active in the beginnings of Jewish self-defense (see *Ha-Shomer) and the introduction of Hebrew into all spheres of life. By the beginning of World War I the *yishuv*, 85,000 strong, was a source of inspiration to the movement abroad and a magnet for further *aliyah*.

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF HE-ḤALUTZ. The Third Aliyah, which started in 1919, was partially a continuation of the second, which had been interrupted by the war. A renewed impetus, the result of the Bolshevik Revolution and the postwar pogroms and excesses in the Ukraine, Poland, and Hungary, coincided with a renewed hope, inspired by the *Balfour Declaration and the British conquest of Palestine. The westward road to the United States was still open, and most of those who chose the Land of Israel did so out of Zionist convictions. In 1915–16 David *Ben-Gurion and Izhak *Ben-Zvi, exiled from the Land of Israel by the Turks, had founded a He-Ḥalutz organization in the United States, which merged with the movement for joining the *Jewish Legion. A larger and more lasting pioneering organization arose in Russia after the February Revolution of 1917. A national council of He-Ḥalutz groups in Russia met in January 1918, and the first conference of the Russian He-Ḥalutz movement took place a year later in Moscow under Trumpledor's leadership. He-Ḥalutz gave the underlying principles of the previous *aliyah* movements a more definite and consistent form. Its members belonged to the World Zionist Organization, accepted its authority, and took part in its activities, especially the work of the Jewish National Fund. It was not a party body, though it regarded itself as a part of the Jewish labor movement, and its members in the Land of Israel helped to forge the degree of labor unity which led to the establishment of the Histadrut (see *Israel, State of: Labor).

He-Ḥalutz set up a network of training centers in the Diaspora in which its members studied the ideals of the movement, learned Hebrew and its literature, and gained experience in manual labor and farming. Some groups found employment with non-Jewish farmers; others set up their own training farms. To some extent, this stage was regarded as a regrettable necessity in the absence of immediate facilities for *aliyah*, but it ensured that the young men and women arrived not as complete novices, but equipped with a consistent social philosophy, some experience of living in communes, and at least some rudimentary skills. Even while in the Diaspora, they submitted themselves to the democratic discipline of the movement and were ready to set out for the Land of Israel whenever called upon to do so. Contact was maintained with those who had gone on ahead through emissaries (*sheliḥim*) from Palestine who knew the conditions and spent several months or years in the Diaspora as instructors and leaders. The training farms and communes also performed a valuable function as centers of attraction for youth, who could thus see the principles of the movement put into practice even in the Diaspora.

There were also two other main pioneering organizations: *Betar, affiliated to the *Revisionist organization, and He-Ḥalutz ha-Mizrachi. A non-party religious pioneering body, *Baḥad (Berit Ḥalutzim Datiyyim – "League of Religious Pioneers"), was founded in Germany and later spread to Britain and other countries.

THE ZIONIST MOVEMENT AND ALIYAH. When the Zionist movement started to rebuild its organization immediately after World War I, *aliyah* and settlement were, of course, among its major concerns. The Central Office established in London had sections for immigration and agricultural settlement. The 1920 London Conference, held instead of a regular Zionist Congress, decided that the Jewish National Fund should safeguard Jewish labor on its land and assist the settlement of Jewish agricultural workers on their own farms. A Central Immigration Office was to be opened in Palestine without delay, with Palestine Offices in all countries from which *Ḥalutzim* might come. Each office was to be controlled by a committee representing the local Zionist parties in proportion to their size. They were to give preference to candidates for *aliyah* who had been trained as farm workers or artisans, could speak Hebrew, and were physically fit.

The contributions of Diaspora Jewry to the cost of immigration and settlement were to be channeled through a new agency, *Keren Hayesod, the Foundation Fund, which was to be an instrument of voluntary self-taxation on the principle of the biblical tithe (though this quota was not actually reached in practice). The 12th Zionist Congress in 1921 resolved that Palestine Offices should be set up in the chief ports of embarkation – Trieste in Italy and Constanta in Romania – as well as the principal lands of emigration, and undertook to subsidize the vocational training of the *ḥalutzim*. Of the executive of 13, six members were to sit in Jerusalem and take charge of affairs in Palestine. Thus the World Zionist Organization, with its democratically elected and controlled legislative and executive organs, representing Jews throughout the world who were devoted to the idea of national revival, established the machinery for financing, fostering, and controlling *aliyah* and settlement as the basic methods for establishing the Jewish National Home.

Aliyah, however, was now also a major issue in the relations between the Zionist movement and the non-Jewish population of Palestine, in the policy of the British government and its administration in the country, and, through the League of Nations *Mandate, in international affairs. Although Winston Churchill as colonial secretary rejected Arab demands in 1920 for the stoppage of Jewish immigration, *aliyah* was in fact suspended temporarily after Arab attacks on Jews in 1921. The Churchill White Paper of 1922 (see *White Papers), while affirming that Jewish immigration must continue, stated that it "cannot be so great in volume as to exceed whatever may be the economic capacity of the country at the time to absorb new arrivals" and that "the immigrants should not be a burden upon the people of Palestine as a whole."

THE MANDATORY POWER AND ALIYAH. The Mandate for Palestine recognized the Zionist Organization's right to advise and cooperate with the administration in matters affecting the establishment of the Jewish National Home and the interests of the Jewish population and instructed the administration to "facilitate Jewish immigration under suitable conditions and… encourage… close settlement by Jews on the Land," adding the limitation: "while ensuring that the rights and position of other sections of the population are not prejudiced." This reservation, as well as the phrase "under suitable conditions" was frequently cited in later years by the British as justification for severe restrictions on Jewish immigration, which hampered the development of the Jewish National Home. Arab pressure for the stoppage of *aliyah*, reinforced by repeated and violent attacks on the Jews and the restrictions imposed by the British in response to this pressure from time to time, constituted a leading, perhaps the major, theme in the political history of Palestine throughout the Mandatory period.

In September 1920, shortly after the establishment of the British Civil Administration in Palestine, an Immigration Ordinance was issued authorizing the Zionist Organization to bring in 16,500 immigrants per annum, provided that it be responsible for their maintenance for one year. About 10,000 were admitted in the first 12 months, but new regulations were issued in June 1921 specifying the categories of immigrants to be allowed to enter. The main classes were: persons of independent means, professional men, persons with definite prospects of employment, and small tradesmen and artisans with a capital of £500. Other applicants, apart from tourists, had to be approved in each case by the Immigration Department of the Palestine government. After the publication of the 1922 White Paper, permits were granted to groups of artisans and laborers selected by the Zionist Organization's Palestine Offices, the number of permits being fixed every three months by the government after negotiations with the Zionist Executive. A new Immigration Ordinance, issued in 1925 and amended in 1926 and 1927, defined the rights and functions of the Zionist Executive in regard to the Labor Schedule, which was drawn up for a six-month instead of a three-month period on the basis of an estimate of the demand for labor. It provided for the admission of the following categories:

A.
(i) Persons in possession of not less than £1,000, and their families.
(ii) Professional men in possession of not less than £500.
(iii) Skilled artisans in possession of not less than £250.
(iv) Persons with an assured income of £4 per month.
B.
(i) Orphans destined for institutions in Palestine.
(ii) Persons of religious occupation whose maintenance was assured.
(iii) Students whose maintenance was assured.
C. Persons who had a definite prospect of employment.
D. Dependent relatives of residents in Palestine who were in a position to maintain them.

While the Zionist Executive had to be constantly on the watch to ensure what it regarded as a fair interpretation of these definitions, the most serious differences with the administration arose over category C, which was the only one allowing for the admission of workers without means or capital of their own. As the time came round for the issue of each half-year quota, the Executive would submit a detailed estimate of the demand for labor in the existing economy and in enterprises to be set up with its aid or by private enterprise, but these were invariably slashed by the administration. The result was often a shortage of Jewish labor, which hampered economic development and caused a drift from the countryside to the towns in search of better-paid employment.

The *ḥalutzim* were the outstanding element in the 35,000 immigrants of the Third Aliyah (1919–23). They did not merely find their places in the existing economic social structure or act as passive recipients of aid from the Zionist institutions; they were a creative force, which transformed the character of the *yishuv* and played a prominent part in its leadership. Together with their predecessors of the Second Aliyah, they founded the Histadrut, the comprehensive countrywide labor organization; played a leading role in the creation of the *Haganah defense organization; provided workers for the construction of housing and roads and the beginnings of industry; strengthened the foundations of Jewish agriculture;

and expanded the map of Jewish settlement by establishing many kibbutzim and moshavim. To a large extent, they not only integrated themselves, but also prepared the way for others to follow.

RISE IN MIDDLE-CLASS ALIYAH. The drop in the influx of *ḥalutzim* in 1924, mainly due to Soviet restrictions on the work of He-Ḥalutz, was compensated for by a considerable increase in middle-class immigration, bringing the influx up from some 8,000 in each of the years 1920–23 to almost 13,000 in 1924 and 33,000 in 1925. This was the start of the Fourth Aliyah. About half the *olim* in the two latter years came from Poland, where many Jews were impoverished by an economic crisis and the anti-Jewish policy of Grabski, the finance minister (after whom this wave was often referred to as the "Grabski Aliyah"), while severe restrictions were imposed on immigration into the United States. Most of these newcomers had a little capital of their own, which they invested in small enterprises and construction of housing in the towns.

In 1926, however, the unorganized influx was halted by a severe economic crisis, and of the 13,000 who arrived in 1926 more than half left the country. These were known as *yoredim* ("descenders" – in contrast to *olim*). In the following year there was an even more serious decline to 3,000 immigrants, with nearly twice as many *yoredim*; in 1928 the number of arrivals and departures was about the same – some 2,000 – and it was not until 1929 that the balance was restored, with over 5,000 *olim* and about one-third as many emigrants. This was a striking illustration of the close connection between conditions in Palestine and the rate of *aliyah*. For over a year the Zionist Executive had to pay out "doles" to the unemployed, and it was not until public works had been initiated by the government and some municipalities, and the Zionist Executive, with special funds raised in America and Britain, had started works of its own, that unemployment was reduced and the "dole" system abolished. Despite the setback, the Fourth Aliyah made an important contribution to the development of the *yishuv*, particularly in modern urbanization and the establishment of industry.

ASSISTANCE IN ABSORPTION. While the entire structure of the Jewish community in Palestine and the development of its economy was designed to facilitate the absorption of the immigrants into its cultural, social, and economic life, the Immigration Department of the Zionist Organization (later, of the *Jewish Agency) undertook special measures to help the immigrants find their way. Those who had nowhere to go on arrival were generally accommodated in hostels or transit camps. If their destination was a *Youth Aliyah center, a kibbutz, or a moshav, they usually stayed a few days for registration and medical examination; if they were going to the moshavot or the towns, they might stay longer. The Jewish Agency provided the immigrants with health services for an initial period through the Histadrut's *Kuppat Ḥolim or its own medical department. If in need of help, they were provided with bedding, clothing, and financial aid. The Jewish Agency built houses for the newcomers and subsidized various cooperative and private housing schemes. It set up small cooperative workshops for handicapped or elderly immigrants and contributed to the cost of the social welfare services of the *Va'ad Le'ummi and the municipalities. It also subsidized Hebrew classes for immigrants run by the Va'ad Le'ummi, the labor organizations, and the immigrants' associations. The latter played an important role in the integration of the newcomers by dealing with special cases, acting as liaison with the Jewish institutions, and supplying loans, housing grants, etc.

The vital importance of *aliyah* for the individuals concerned, as well as for the movement as a whole, gave rise to frequent controversies. The Revisionists and other parties complained of discrimination against their members in the allocation of immigration certificates by the Zionist Palestine Offices. Various groups and individuals resorted to a variety of methods to overcome the British restrictions on *aliyah*, which were regarded as violating intrinsic Jewish rights. Many entered as tourists and remained without permission when their legal period of stay was over. To enable penniless immigrants to enter as "capitalists," they were provided with fictitious deposits of £1,000; formal marriages were arranged to enable two to enter on one certificate; some succeeded in crossing the border surreptitiously from Lebanon, Syria, or via Transjordan. In 1934 the first attempt was made to send over an immigrant ship without the permission of the authorities. In Palestine, Jews, including some in the British government service, regarded it as a national duty to help these immigrants. It is estimated that some 50,000 arrived in such ways between 1920 and 1937. The British government made strenuous efforts to prevent this *"illegal" immigration and from time to time deducted the estimated number of "illegals" from the regular immigration quotas.

POLITICAL STRUGGLE FOR ALIYAH. The establishment in August 1929 of the enlarged Jewish Agency (based on Article 4 of the Mandate, which called upon the Zionist Organization to take steps "to secure the cooperation of all Jews who are willing to assist in the establishment of the Jewish National Home") extended the responsibility for the Jewish enterprise in Palestine in principle to Jewry as a whole. A brilliant array of distinguished Jews from Europe and the Americas took part in its founding conference, at which a joint Executive was elected under the presidency of Chaim Weizmann. The expected expansion was held up, however, by the outbreak of Arab violence in the following month and the political struggle of the next two years. *Aliyah* was the major practical issue of this struggle and the touchstone of Britain's capacity to carry out the fundamental provisions of the Mandate. The Zionist Organization had accepted the principle that immigration should be regulated according to the economic absorptive capacity of Palestine, while conducting a continuous struggle with the administration over the interpretation and implementation of the principle. But when Lord Passfield, the British colonial secretary, imposed political restrictions on *aliyah*, as well as limitations of Jewish land purchases, in surrender to Arab violence, the Zionist Organization and the *yishuv* regarded this as a blow to the future of the Jewish National Home, and Weizmann resigned from the presidency of the Zionist Organization in protest. The struggle against the Passfield White Paper was ultimately crowned with success, however, and the MacDonald letter of February 1931, which effectively nullified the White Paper restrictions, reestablished the political conditions for further development and progress.

It was none too soon. Dark clouds were gathering over European Jewry. The worldwide economic crisis was having an increasing effect on the Jews of Eastern and Central Europe; antisemitism was spreading and sharpening; the star of Hitler was in the ascendant in Germany; and at the same time immigration restrictions in the countries not so severely affected were tightening. For millions of Jews in Eastern Europe, in the poignant words of Weizmann's address to the Peel Commission in 1936, the world was divided into "places where they cannot live" and "places which they cannot enter." The only place of refuge was Palestine, where a Jewish community of over 200,000 (in 1933) was ready to welcome them.

IN THE SHADOW OF NAZISM. Between 1933, the year of Hitler's rise to power, and 1936, 164,000 *olim* arrived in Palestine; 24,000 of them were citizens of Germany, in addition to nationals of other countries and "stateless" individuals who had been living there. About a quarter of the immigrants arrived with "capitalist" immigration certificates and the £31,570,000 brought in during the period by private investors was about ten times as much as the total contributed by fund-raising organizations.

Almost a quarter of this sum came through a special arrangement between the Jewish Agency and the German authorities for the transfer (*Haavara) of German-Jewish capital. Under this agreement, emigrants from Germany obtained their first £1,000 in cash so that they could get their immigration certificates and deposited the rest of their assets with a clearinghouse in Berlin; the sterling equivalent was recovered after arrival from a second clearinghouse in Palestine, to which Jewish merchants made their payments for goods imported from Germany, while the German exporters were paid in Berlin. Moneys collected for the Jewish national funds and various other remittances to Palestine were also transferred through Haavara. The arrangement was fiercely criticized as a breach of the worldwide Jewish boycott of German goods, but it was strongly defended on the grounds that it was the only way to salvage the property of German Jews. The 19th Zionist Congress, which met at Lucerne in 1935 and which paid special attention to the plight of German Jewry, approved the agreement but ruled that it be placed under the control of the Executive.

In 1933 a new type of immigration, called *Youth Aliyah, was started to enable boys and girls to be looked after in educational institutions and villages in Palestine. The government issued special immigration certificates for them on the basis of guarantees given by the Jewish authorities. The work was largely financed by *Hadassah and organized by its leader, Henrietta *Szold. Up to the outbreak of the war, 5,000 young people were saved in this way (70% of them from Germany, 20% from Austria, and the rest from Czechoslovakia, Poland, and Romania); another 15,000 were brought over to Britain and the Scandinavian countries.

The German and Austrian Jews made an important contribution to the progress of the *yishuv*. They constituted the first large-scale influx from Western and Central Europe, and their skills and experience raised business standards and improved urban amenities. A relatively high proportion of them practiced medicine or one of the other professions, and they provided a majority of the musicians who formed the new Philharmonic Orchestra, as well as a considerable part of its audiences.

The flood tide of immigration was again halted, however, in 1936, when the Arab revolt began. One of its major demands was the stoppage of Jewish immigration, and the Peel Commission (see *Palestine Inquiry Commission), while proposing the partition of Palestine and the establishment of a Jewish state, also recommended that the government should fix a "political high level" of 12,000 Jewish immigrants a year for the next five years, irrespective of the country's economic absorptive capacity. In August 1937, a new Immigration Ordinance was issued empowering the high commissioner "temporarily" to fix a maximum aggregate number of immigrants for any specified period, as well as the maximum number to be admitted in any category. For the eight-month period up to March 1938, not more than 8,000 Jews were to be allowed in. From March 31, 1939, the ordinance was given general validity, despite the increasing intensity and range of the persecution of the Jews in Europe. The Zionist movement bitterly protested against the imposition of the "political high level" and denounced it as a violation of one of the most fundamental provisions of the Mandate.

The sufferings inflicted on the German Jews by the Nazi regime attracted worldwide attention, and in 1938 President Roosevelt called an international conference at *Evian to seek homes for the refugees. The dismal failure of the conference, which was not allowed to consider Palestine, showed that no one was ready to welcome them but the *yishuv*. The Jewish Agency submitted to the conference a plan for the rapid and constructive absorption of 100,000 refugees in Palestine, but the Jewish National Home was not permitted to perform its most vitally important function at the very time when it was most desperately needed. Immigration had dropped from some 27,000 in 1936 to 9,400 in the following year, and, although it rose slightly to 11,200 in 1938 and 13,700 in 1939, it was far too little to save the Jews of Europe. The British *White Paper of 1939 went a long way to meeting Arab demands for the artificial limitation of Jewish immigration, which was regarded as the major instrument for establishing the Jewish National Home, and envisioned the stoppage of its future development by making further immigration at the end of the five years dependent on Arab consent. The *yishuv*, supported by Jews in the Diaspora and many non-Jewish sympathizers, denounced the White Paper as a betrayal of Britain's obligations under the Mandate. The organization of "illegal" immigration was intensified, and more and more refugee ships made their way to Palestine.

"ILLEGAL" ALIYAH. "Illegal" ships had been dispatched by He-Ḥalutz, bringing pioneering youth, and later by the Revisionists and some individuals, who brought out large numbers of Central and East European Jews, sometimes in collusion with their governments. It was known in the *yishuv* as "Aliyah Bet" ("B Aliyah"). At first this activity was frowned upon by the Jewish authorities, but in 1938, when British restrictions were maintained despite the growing and urgent needs, the underground Mosad le-Aliyah Bet ("Institute for Aliyah Bet"), headed by Shaul *Avigur, took the lead on behalf of the Haganah and the Jewish Agency. Between July 1934 and the outbreak of war in September 1939, 43 ships succeeded in disembarking over 15,000 refugee passengers on the shores of Palestine. The *yishuv* and the Zionist movement did not regard these Jews – most of whom were refugees from poverty, persecution, and, as the event showed, death – as "illegal immigrants"; for them the Mandatory government's attempts to stop them entering the Jewish National Home were illegal. They were referred to as *ma'pilim* ("trail-blazers" or "daring pioneers").

Of the Jews trapped in Europe by the outbreak of war in September 1939, only a few thousand managed to escape the impending catastrophe. It was desperately difficult to get ships, fuel, supplies, and crews willing to risk the voyage in wartime conditions. Legal immigration had declined to a trickle, and those who landed without getting permission in advance, which was seldom possible, were still treated as illegal immigrants. The British navy kept constant watch. Some of the refugee boats were fired on as they approached the coasts. Some were turned back: three of these sank, and only the human cargo of one of them (the *Pancho* in May 1940) was saved from drowning; the passengers on the others were interned in camps or deported to British colonies. The refugees were embarked at ports in the Balkan countries, and some of them landed at Constantinople, whence they made their way by land to Palestine. Twenty-one boats in all completed the voyage, carrying some 15,000 refugees, whose numbers were deducted from the official quotas. There was also some "illegal" immigration overland by Jews from Iraq, Syria, and Lebanon across the northern border.

In the summer of 1943, after the world had learned of the Nazi Holocaust, the British government instructed its embassy in Turkey to give entry permits to Palestine to Jews who succeeded in escaping from Nazi-occupied Europe. The emissaries of the Haganah, including those who were parachuted into enemy territory, did all they could to facilitate the flight of the refugees. From the beginning of 1944 they were assisted by the United States, which set up the War Refugee Board for the purpose. Altogether, some 61,000 persons entered Palestine, with or without immigration certificates, during the years 1940–45.

THE POSTWAR STRUGGLE. After the war, when the British maintained the White Paper policy despite the pressure of the survivors of the Holocaust in the *displaced persons' camps in Europe, *aliyah* became, even more than before, the major practical preoccupation of the Zionist movement. The urgent problem of the survivors, which could not be solved anywhere but in Palestine, aroused the movement and the *yishuv* to greater exertions and stiffened their determination to fight the British policy of continued restrictions. At the same time it was a striking demonstration to the world of the central importance of the Jewish National Home for the Jewish people and the inadequacy of the Mandate, as interpreted by the British government, to provide an answer. The arrival of the refugee boats and the treatment of their passengers by the British did more than anything else to arouse world sympathy for the Zionist cause. The demand for the admission of 100,000 Jews, supported by U.S. President Truman and later by the Anglo-American Committee on Palestine, was a major focus of the Zionist struggle. The visits paid by the UN Special Committee on Palestine to the DP camps and the determination expressed by the survivors of the Holocaust to accept no solution but *aliyah* were major factors in persuading the members of the committee that the Mandatory regime must be ended and a Jewish state established. (As this phase of the struggle for *aliyah* was of such central importance in the history of the *yishuv*, it is described in greater detail in the Historical Survey.) Between August 1945 and May 1948, 65 refugee boats, all but one of which were brought by the Mosad, arrived, with almost 70,000 immigrants on board, bringing the total of Aliyah Bet since 1934 to over 100,000, of which some 80% had come in the Mosad's ships.

During the entire period of the Mandate, some 483,000 Jews had settled in Palestine – almost six times the size of the Jewish population at the beginning of the period. Almost 88% had come from Europe, where the Zionist movement was strong and the pressure of persecution was great, including 39.6% from Poland, 14.2% from Germany and Austria, 12.2% from the Soviet Union, Lithuania, and Latvia, and 4.1% from the Balkan countries. Less than 2% came from the Americas, and some 10.4% from Asia and Africa, which for some time had been outside the mainstream of the development of Zionism.

[Misha Louvish]

In the State of Israel

"INGATHERING OF THE EXILES" BEGINS. With the departure of the British and the assumption of sovereignty by the independent State of Israel, the nature of *aliyah* was radically transformed. The first of Israel's aims, as defined in the *Declaration of Independence, was: "The State of Israel shall be open to Jewish immigration and the ingathering of the exiles." The first act of the newly constituted Provisional Council of State was the abolition of all previous restrictions on Jewish immigration: the only limitations henceforward were to be the readiness of Jews to come, their freedom to leave, and the facilities for transporting them; absorptive capacity was taken for granted. The way was open for the realization of the prophetic dream of the *ingathering of the exiles, i.e., the return to the homeland of all Jews who were willing and able to come and the transfer of complete Jewish communities within a short space of time. This national purpose was given legislative expression in the *Law of Return 1950, which granted every Jew the automatic right to become an *oleh*, i.e., to settle permanently in Israel, and the Citizenship Law, 1952, which enabled every *oleh* to become a citizen as soon as he set foot on Israel soil. At an early stage, it was decided that immigration and absorption should be the joint tasks of the State of Israel and Jewry in the Diaspora. The World Zionist Organization, represented by the Jewish Agency, was therefore charged to encourage and organize immigration and assist in the absorption of the immigrants in close cooperation and coordination with the Government of Israel. The terms of these responsibilities and functions were set down in the World Zionist Organization-Jewish Agency Status Law, 1952, which recognized the Zionist Organization-Jewish Agency as representing Diaspora Jews in all matters concerning immigration and absorption. In 1954 a Covenant was signed by the government and the Agency, further defining the latter's functions and methods of coordinating their activities.

Between May 15, 1948, and the end of 1970, over 1,300,000 Jews – twice as many as the Jewish population at the end of the Mandate – settled in Israel. (See tables: Immigration to Israel, 1948–1970; Immigration to Israel, 1971–2004; Immigrants and Potential Immigrants to Israel by Period of Immigration and Country of Birth, 1919–2004.) They started coming as soon as the State was established. First to arrive were the 25,000 "illegal" immigrants detained by the British in Cyprus: within a few short weeks, they were all brought over. During May–August 1948, while the War of Liberation was raging, 33,000 immigrants came in; then the pace quickened and 70,000 arrived during September–December, mostly survivors of the Holocaust from the displaced persons camps in Germany, Austria, and Italy. In the next four months, January–April 1949, the number of immigrants reached 100,000. In all, 203,000 Jews from 42 countries arrived in the first year of independence. This mass immigration continued until the end of 1951. During this period entire Jewish communities were transplanted to Israel, producing drastic changes in the map of Diaspora Jewry. More than 37,000 of Bulgaria's 45,000 Jews came; 30,500 of Libya's 35,000; all but about 1,000 of the 45,000 in Yemen; 121,512 of the 130,000 in Iraq; two-thirds (103,732) of Polish Jewry; and one-third (118,940) of the Jews in Romania. The DP camps in Europe could be closed because their inmates had gone to Israel. This mass immigration was marked by unexpected and dramatic events, when the Jewish Agency had to improvise the movement of tens of thousands of people within a very short time and in adverse conditions. These migrations were organized as special operations, planned and executed by special emissaries. The most dramatic were Operation Magic Carpet, for the Yemenite Jews, and Operation Ezra and Nehemiah, which brought over Iraqi Jewry.

Thousands of Yemenite Jews, gripped by messianic enthusiasm, had been making their way south on foot, carrying their scanty belongings, to the British colony of Aden. On the establishment of independence, Jewish Agency representatives started negotiations with the imam of Yemen, the local sultans and sheikhs, and the British authorities, and in May 1949 agreement was reached. Although the Jews of Yemen were not forced to leave, almost the entire community made the long and arduous trek to Aden, whence they were brought to Israel in an intensive large-scale airlift. About 47,000 were thus transported "on eagles' wings" (Ex. 19:4) and by the end of 1950, when the operation was concluded, only a few hundred remained.

In March 1950, the Iraqi government suddenly enacted a "Special Law Authorizing the Emigration of Jews" providing they renounced their citizenship in writing. Those above the age of 20 were permitted to take out a sum equal to some $16 each; young people up to 20 and children up to 12 could take only $10 and $6 respectively. Many Jews had to sell their property in haste for pitiful sums not in any proportion to its real value, but they could not take out the proceeds. The Jewish Agency immediately made emergency arrangements to move the Iraqi Jews to Israel. They were flown to Cyprus and then brought to Israel by air or sea, the whole operation being completed within 18 months.

All in all, 684,201 immigrants – more than the entire Jewish population the day independence was proclaimed – came between May 15, 1948, and the end of 1951. (See Table: Mass Immigration to Israel, May 1948–December 1951.)

ABSORBING THE FIRST WAVE. *Aliyah* was the lifeblood of the new state, but it was only the beginning of the process of integrating veterans and newcomers from a hundred countries into one nation. The second stage was *kelitah* ("absorption"), a word that denoted a multitude of tasks: collecting the immigrants at the port or airfield; providing them with food and lodging; building temporary and permanent housing; finding employment; expanding health services; organizing education. Complete absorption was a task that affected all areas of the country's life and demanded massive financial participation by Diaspora Jewry through the Jewish Agency. In one year the Agency's staff had to transport 200,000 immigrants from the point of arrival to their new homes. In the first place, most of them were taken to Sha'ar ha-Aliyah ("Gateway of Aliyah"), near Haifa, a converted British army camp, where they were registered, medically examined, inoculated and vaccinated, classified, and sent on to their destinations. An average of 1,000 a day passed through Sha'ar ha-Aliyah at peak.

At first large numbers were accommodated in dwellings abandoned by the Arabs who had fled during the War of In-

Mass Immigration to Israel, May 1948–December 1951

All Countries	**684,201**
Eastern Europe	
Romania	118,940
Poland	103,732
Bulgaria	37,231
Czechoslovakia	18,217
Hungary	13,631
Yugoslavia	7,595
Soviet Union (Lithuania, Latvia)	4,698
Total	304,044
Western Europe	
Germany	8,856
France	4,008
Austria	2,994
Greece	2,005
Britain	2,143
Italy	1,415
Belgium	1,108
Netherlands	1,102
Spain	412
Sweden	429
Switzerland	386
Other European Countries	147
Total	25,005
Asia	
Iraq	121,512
Turkey	34,213
Iran	24,804
Aden	3,155
India	2,337
China	2,167
Cyprus	136
Yemen	45,199
Other Asian Countries	3,700
Total	237,223
Africa	
Morocco	30,750
Tunisia	13,139
Algeria	1,523
Libya	30,482
South Africa	584
Ethiopia	83
Egypt	16,508
Other African Countries	108
Total	93,177
Western Hemisphere	
United States	1,909
Canada	233
Argentina	1,134
Brazil	442
Other Latin American Countries	870
Total	4,588
Australia	171
Unregistered	19,993

dependence. A national housing corporation, *Amidar, was set up in 1949, and by the end of 1951 28,000 homes had been built (see *Israel, State of: Housing). At the same time prefabricated huts were imported from Sweden. Some went to villages of various types and a number were received by relatives, who helped them to find housing and employment. All these expedients, however, were not sufficient to accommodate the influx and many of them had to be sent to camps – some converted from British army quarters – where they were fed and looked after until homes and work could be found for them. Those who needed to know Hebrew to work in their professions were sent to *ulpanim, special language courses using intensive modern methods, the first of which was set up in 1949.

More than two-thirds of the 393,197 immigrants who arrived during two critical years, from May 1948 to May 1950, were settled in towns and villages: 123,669 were accommodated in houses abandoned by Arabs and 53,000 in permanent housing in towns and villages; 36,497 were helped by relatives to find homes and work; 35,700 settled in newly established moshavim and 16,000 in kibbutzim; and 6,000 children were placed in Youth Aliyah institutions (see section on Youth Aliyah, below). Less than one-third – 112,015 persons – remained in immigrant camps and temporary housing, while no information was available with regard to 9,596.

As the pressure of immigration increased, the camps were filled to capacity. The overcrowding and enforced idleness, without work for the adults or decent conditions for their families, were demoralizing and it became urgently necessary to find better methods of dealing with those for whom permanent housing was not yet available. The immediate solution, devised in 1950, was the **ma'barah*, the transitional camp or quarter, in which the newcomers were provided with work and made responsible for looking after themselves. Some of the large camps were closed down; others were converted

Main Periods of *Aliyah* from Asian countries

Country	Main period of *Aliyah*	Number of Immigrants to Israel	Jewish Population in 1945
Turkey	1919–1950	37,000	80,000
Lebanon+Syria	1950–1955	12,000	25,000
Iraq*	1950–1951	106,662	90,000
Iran	1950–1965	18,000	50,000
Afghanistan	1950	1,200	5,000
China	1949	5,000	9,000
Manchuria	1949	1,000	10,000
Japan			2,000
Philippine Islands	1950–1955	22	1,000
Pakistan	1949–1953	1,500	1,500
India	1950–1955	4,000	30,000
Indonesia	1950	20	2,000
Yemen	1948–1950	43,000	45,000
Aden	1950	2,825	6,000

* Iraq served as an assembly center for immigrants from other places. The high emigration figures do not indicate that all the Jews left Iraq in this period.

into *ma'barot* by closing the communal dining hall and providing each family with facilities for buying and cooking its own meals. In addition, *ma'barot* were specially built near the towns or in other places where work was available in the neighborhood. At first some of them consisted of tents, but these were soon replaced by canvas-walled huts or tin shacks. In each *ma'bara* there were wooden huts for the labor exchange, clinic, school, and kindergarten. The construction of a large *ma'barah* took not more than a few weeks and thus thousands of immigrants were given temporary shelter within a short period. By May 1952 there were 113 *ma'barot* with a population of 250,000.

Jewish Immigrants to Israel[1] by Origin, May 1948–1967

Year	Number	Percent born in Europe, America, or Oceania
May–Dec. 1948	101,828	87.3
1949	239,576	53.7
1950	170,249	50.9
1951	175,249	29.2
1952	24,369	29.6
1953	11,326	28.4
1954	18,370	13.9
1955	37,478	8.6
1956	56,234	13.8
1957	71,224	57.6
1958	27,082	55.3
1959	23,895	66.3
1960	24,510	70.5
1961	47,638	52.9
1962	61,328	22.6
1963	64,364	31.8
1964	54,716	58.3
1965	30,736	53.6
1966	15,730	57.7
1967	14,327	38.2

[1] Including tourists settling.

For those who could not as yet find employment, special relief-work projects were organized in afforestation, clearing and reclamation of land, weed-removing and other agricultural work, and road construction. Many such schemes were carried out by the *Jewish National Fund, which specialized in afforestation and land reclamation, the government, road making, etc., and private employers, who were subsidized to encourage them to "make work." Although the projects were often artificial from the purely economic point of view, they provided the unskilled with opportunities to earn an income and accustomed them to manual labor. In each *ma'bara* there were social workers to handle the individual problems of the immigrants: from the repair of leaking huts and contact with the labor exchange to the running of the local kindergarten and school, the provision of facilities for learning Hebrew, maintenance of sanitary conditions, and full medical and social welfare services. Ninety clinics were established in the *ma'barot*, employing more than 100 doctors and 300 nurses.

Meanwhile, there had been an enormous advance in the establishment of new villages: kibbutzim, mainly manned by young people who had been denied the opportunity to settle on their own because of the White Paper restrictions and the shortage of land, and moshavim, the form favored by the great majority of the newcomers. In 4½ years, up to the end of 1953, 345 new villages – 251 moshavim and 96 kibbutzim – with a population of over 20,000 families, were founded – more than in the preceding 70 years. The new settlers cultivated 1,048,000 dunams (262,000 acres) of land, of which 130,000 dunams were irrigated and 53,000 were planted with orchards and vineyards. Their livestock consisted of 660,000 poultry, 22,000 sheep, and 21,000 head of cattle, including 8,000 milch cows. With the aid of Jewish Agency instructors in each village, the apprentice farmers were rapidly increasing their skills, expanding production, and beginning to make a significant contribution to the replacement of imports by home-grown food (see also section on Settlement, below).

Jewish Immigration to Israel by Origin and Some Demographic Characteristics, May 1948–1967

	Total	Europe, America, Oceania	Asia, Africa
Females (percent)	50.0	50.8	49.3
Age distribution (percent)			
0–14	31.3	21.7	39.6
15–29	26.5	23.2	29.2
30–44	20.0	25.0	15.7
45–64	17.7	24.1	12.3
65 and over	4.5	6.0	3.2
Average Number of Persons per Family Unit, 1952–1967	2.9	2.3	3.7
Occupational distribution of earners, 1965–1967 (percent)			
Industrial, building, transport, and services	54.5	50.3	59.8
Managerial, administrative, and clerical	15.4	17.7	12.5
Professional and technical	15.1	21.8	6.7
Mercantile	8.2	5.6	11.4
Unskilled	4.8	3.4	6.5
Agricultural	2.0	1.2	3.1

LULL IN IMMIGRATION. Following the peak, a regression set in: in the years 1952–54 the total number of immigrants was only 51,463. The main reason was the economic recession, which compelled the government to impose a strict austerity regime and reduced the standard of living of the greater part of the population. There was mass unemployment and housing conditions for the immigrants were woefully inadequate. In addition, there was a significant increase in emigration: veteran Israelis and new immigrants were tempted to emigrate to affluent countries, and at times the number who left was higher than the total of those who came in. The lull was used to overhaul the machinery and methods of immigration and absorption. Instead of sending the new arrivals to *ma'barot* or camps, they were taken directly from the ships to homes ready for them and in a few days they were able to go out to work. A start was made with the establishment of new "development" towns, some with the *ma'barot* in the Negev and Galilee as nuclei. Thus *Yeroḥam was originally a *ma'bara*; the Bet She'arim *ma'barah* became the town of *Migdal ha-Emek; and the one at Ḥalsa became *Kiryat Shemonah. Other towns were established from the start on a permanent basis, e.g., *Dimonah, *Kiryat Gat, and *Beth-Shemesh, while existing towns, like *Afulah and *Safed, were given "development" status.

NEW METHODS OF ABSORPTION. In 1955 mass immigration was renewed and from 1955 to the end of 1957 most of the immigrants came from Morocco, Tunisia, and Poland. During these years immigration totaled 162,308, as against 51,463 during the slack period of 1952–54. Immigration from Morocco was stimulated by the surge of nationalism which swept that country in 1954 and was further intensified after it achieved independence in March 1956: during these three years 70,053 Moroccan Jews arrived. Following a similar surge of nationalism and the achievement of independence by Tunisia in 1956, 15,267 Jews came from that country during the same period. The political situation in Poland, and particularly the influx of Polish Jews and their families expatriated from the U.S.S.R., also led to a considerable rise in Jewish emigration: 34,426 in the years 1955–57. Following the Hungarian revolution in 1956, thousands of Jews succeeded in fleeing to Austria, whence the Jewish Agency brought over 8,682, and after the Sinai Campaign in the same year 14,562 Egyptian Jews reached Israel.

The absorption of immigrants during this period was facilitated by the country's economic recovery. There was a considerable growth in industry and agriculture and new development projects increased absorptive capacity. The ship-to-settlement method was put into general use; immigrants founded villages and towns in the regional settlement areas, like the *Lachish area, in the south, with its central town of Kiryat Gat, and the *Taanach area, in the Jezreel Valley, where *Afulah was the urban center.

From 1958 to 1960 immigration slowed down again: the total during this period was 72,781. The largest group came from Romania (27,697) and the total from Eastern Europe was 41,702. During these years there was an increase in the number of professional men among the immigrants: doctors, engineers, economists, and teachers – a trend which had started in 1956. In order to cope with immigrants of this type, the Jewish Agency set up a network of hostels where they could stay with their families in small flats for periods of up to six months, while learning Hebrew and looking for suitable work and housing.

The ulpanim, run jointly with the Ministry of Education and Culture, which was responsible for the teaching, were expanded. Besides the resident ulpanim, which had boarding facilities, there were non-resident ulpanim in the cities, which also catered to part-time students and provided evening classes. Ulpanim were also held in the kibbutzim, where the immigrants put in half a day's work and studied half a day. These schools were described in a UNESCO report as an "excellent institution for adult education." In addition, hundreds of Hebrew courses were run by municipal authorities and voluntary organizations.

After the 1958–60 lull, immigration swelled again from 1961 to 1964, when a total of 215,056 immigrants arrived. There was great disappointment, however, in 1961 and 1962, when most of the 130,000 Algerian Jews who were French citizens, rooted in French civilization, and wished to benefit from the generous assistance given by the French government, opted against *aliyah* when Algeria achieved independence. The great majority settled in France; only 7,700 came to Israel.

During this period the liquidation of the *ma'barot* was speeded up, as more permanent housing schemes were started in all parts of the country. By the end of 1964 only 2,350 families and 980 single persons remained in them; ultimately, only a few who refused to be transferred to permanent homes were left.

YOUTH ALIYAH. Youth Aliyah was an important factor in the absorption of the immigrants. It looked after their children in special educational institutions and in kibbutzim, as well as organizing the immigration of children in advance of their parents. Its aims were: to rescue boys and girls from countries where their physical welfare or cultural identity as Jews was threatened; to help them to adjust to their new home by overcoming physical, emotional, and social handicaps; to raise their cultural standards, and develop their intellectual potentialities. Youth Aliyah provided its wards, in addition to a complete education, with clothing, social and medical services, vocational training; guidance in free-time recreation; psychological guidance and care; religious teaching for children of religious families; and recreation camps. Its educational program was based on the *ḥevrat no'ar* ("youth group") and included study and work on the land in a youth community, guided by *madrikhim* ("youth instructors") and teachers. Special day centers were set up in several new development towns, where adolescents were given vocational training as well as general education. Youth Aliyah graduates also benefited from scholarships for higher education and professional training. The newcomers from Yemen and Iraq, from Persia and Tunisia, differed from their predecessors, and Youth Aliyah had to learn by trial and error how to cope with the new problems. In the course of time, it had to turn its attention to new-immigrant families with poor home conditions which were not conducive to the educational development of the children. Besides, Israel itself was changing: it was becoming more industrialized, and greater technical skill, instead of being the prerogative of the few, was now a necessary part of the equipment of any wage earner, so Youth Aliyah had to adapt its educational program to these changing needs. Since the 1960s some 12,500 children have been under Youth Aliyah's care every year: about 3,000 in kibbutzim; 6,000 in children's and youth villages; 500 in special rehabilitation institutions; and about 3,000 attending day centers in the towns. From its inception in 1934, after the rise of the Nazis in Germany until the end of 1969, Youth Aliyah brought up over 120,000 children and young people. One out of every 20 Jewish citizens of Israel has received his education in Youth Aliyah. As of September 1996, Youth Aliyah became a division of the Israel Ministry of Education.

EDUCATIONAL AND YOUTH WORK. The Zionist Organization's educational work among youth and adults in the Diaspora was of considerable long-term importance for *aliyah*, especially from Western Europe and the Americas. The Youth and He-Ḥalutz (Pioneering) Department maintained contact with Zionist and, later, other Jewish movements in the Diaspora (as well as the pioneering youth movements in Israel), providing them with emissaries, guidance, educational material, training facilities, and financial support. Its Institute for Youth Leaders from Abroad in Jerusalem, established in 1946, offered a year of study and work, including five months' study of Hebrew language and literature, Judaism, geography of Israel, the history of Zionism and of Jewish settlement in the Land of Israel, and youth leadership methods, and five months' work and continued study at kibbutzim. In addition, thousands of young people attended the department's annual six- to eight-week Summer and Winter Institutes in Israel. Two departments were set up for education and culture in the Diaspora, one general and one for Torah education and culture. They organized short seminars for teachers in Israel and abroad and set up two permanent centers in Jerusalem for the training of Diaspora teachers: the Ḥayim Greenberg Institute in 1955 and the Rabbi Ze'ev Gold Institute, for religious teachers, in 1957. These and other schemes helped to foster closer links between Israel and the Diaspora, disseminate knowledge of Judaism, strengthen commitment to Israel and the Jewish people, and stimulate the desire for *aliyah*. Up to 1967 over 30,000 persons spent some time in Israel under one of these schemes, and it is estimated that at least one-third of the participants returned eventually as *olim*.

WESTERN IMMIGRATION. The overwhelming majority of the immigrants in the mass-immigration period came from what have been called "lands of stress," who were motivated not only by the positive pull of the free, sovereign Jewish State, but also by the push of various negative factors. Such were the survivors of the Holocaust who wished to have nothing more to do with Europe, the Jews in certain countries where the defeat of Nazism had failed to stamp out traditional, endemic antisemitism, and the Jews in the Arab and Muslim countries. By the early 1970s, in addition to the 3,000,000–4,000,000 Jews of Soviet Russia, from which there had never been more than a small trickle of Jewish immigration for family reunion, only about a quarter of a million Jews remained in the "lands of stress."

From 1965 to 1967 there was a decline in the rate of immigration: in 1965 the total fell to 33,098; in 1966 there were only 18,510, and in 1967, 18,065. Many came from *Latin America at that period. A number of these people found it hard to settle, in view of the economic recession and other causes, and went back. The Jewish Agency devoted much thought and resources to the requirements of "free" immigration – that is, the immigration of Jews who are free to leave, if they wish, and settle in Israel out of positive motives. The small numbers who came from the "lands of stress" during this period also required, and received, individual treatment.

Immigration to Israel, 1948–1970*

Year	Immigrants[1]	Tourists Settling[2]	Temporary Residents[3]	Returning Residents[4]	Total
May 15–Dec. 31, 1948	101,819	9			101,828
1949	239,076	502			239,578
1950	169,405	808			170,213
1951	173,901	1,228			175,129
1952	23,375	994			24,369
1953	10,347	979			11,326
1954	17,471	899			18,370
1955	36,303	1,175			37,478
1956	54,925	1,309			56,234
1957	71,100	1,491			72,591
1958	26,093	1,163			27,256
1959	23,045	908			23,953
1960	23,643	1,023			24,666
1961	46,650	1,067			47,717
1962	59,600	1,855			61,455
1963	62,156	2,278	2,031		66,465
1964	52,456	2,523	1,867		56,846
1965	28,795	2,235	2,068		33,098
1966	13,610	2,348	2,552		18,510
1967	12,275	2,194	3,587	393	18,449
1968	18,156	2,547	8,404	1,964	31,071
1969	23,207	2,260	12,628	2,374	40,469
1970	22,470	[5]	15,460	4,111	42,041
Total	**1,309,878**	**31,795**	**48,597**	**8,842**	**1,399,112**

Source: Statistical Abstract of Israel, Central Bureau of Statistics, Israel

* Empty spaces denote absence of information.

[1] Until 1956 Jews only.

[2] Until 1965 Jews only.

[3] Figures for temporary residents arriving before 1963 are not available.

[4] In the years 1967–1970 returning residents were given some immigrants' privileges.

[5] For 1970, tourists settling were counted in the figures for immigrants.

Immigration to Israel, 1971–2004

Year	Immigrants	Year	Immigrants
1971	41,930	1988	13,034
1972	55,888	1989	24,050
1973	54,886	1990	199,516
1974	31,981	1991	176,100
1975	20,028	1992	77,057
1976	19,754	1993	76,805
1977	21,429	1994	79,844
1978	26,394	1995	76.361
1979	37,222	1996	70,919
1980	20,428	1997	66,221
1981	12,599	1998	56,730
1982	13,723	1999	76,766
1983	16,906	2000	60,192
1984	19,981	2001	43,580
1985	10,642	2002	33,567
1986	9,505	2003	23,268
1987	12,965	2004	20,898
Total 1971–2004			1,601,169
Total 1948–2004			3,000,281

A first step in this direction was taken in 1965, when the Agency started setting up hostels – actually small-scale hotels – where newcomers could stay for six months, or even a year, while they studied Hebrew at special ulpanim, looked for jobs, decided where they wanted to live, explored possibilities, and became familiar with the conditions of life. Now more of these hostels were set up and the existing ones improved and enlarged. Then the concept was broadened and "absorption centers" were established, each containing all the services and facilities – residential, social, and cultural – that the new immigrants required until they could move into permanent housing. Special personnel helped them to adjust to the new environment, choose schools, and find employment and housing.

To encourage immigration from the free countries it was necessary not only to "process" immigration, but also to further the idea of *aliyah* and encourage prospective immigrants by facilitating their absorption. This kind of immigration was marked by its individualistic character. Each immigrant was moved to *aliyah* by his own reasons and each had his specific potentialities and needs. In addition to his positive inner motivations, he also had to know that he could find in Israel a job in keeping with his training and experience, housing that reasonably approximated what he was used to, and suitable schooling for his children. Immigrants of this type were easily discouraged by bureaucratic inefficiency and the need to make the rounds of Agency and government offices. Those who gave up the struggle and went back deterred others from making the attempt. Most newcomers from the West came in the first place as "temporary residents," changing their status to that of immigrants only when they were assured of successful integration. The government and the Jewish Agency, therefore, had to make special efforts to provide suitable facilities and minimize the "run-around" to which the immigrants objected. Various schemes were initiated by groups of immigrants who set up housing estates in Israel with the Agency's assistance. Some of these were organized by ḥasidic rabbis who lived in the United States and wished to transplant their communities to Israel. The first, Kiryat Tsanz, near Netanyah, was the blueprint for similar projects in other parts of the country (see also *Israel, State of: Religious Life.).

IMMIGRATION AFTER THE SIX-DAY WAR AND DURING THE 1970S. A significant breakthrough in immigration from the West came after the Six-Day War in 1967. The unprecedented rallying of material and moral support for Israel during the crisis embraced many Jews in the Diaspora who had long since renounced any interest in and concern for things Jewish. It had a particularly cathartic effect on Jewish youth, and over five thousand volunteers went to Israel during May–June 1967 to help in any way they could. By the beginning of 1968, the total number of volunteers from abroad was 7,500, of whom 4,500 went for short periods of up to four months and the rest for six months to a year. They hailed from 40 countries, mainly from Britain (1,900), Latin America (1,500), South Africa (850), France (800), the United States (750), Canada (300), and Australia and New Zealand (275).

More than 4,700 worked in kibbutzim; 450 in moshavim; 1,200 as civilian auxiliaries attached to the Israel Defense Forces; more than 200 in the reconstruction of the University and Hadassah Hospital buildings on Mount Scopus in Jerusalem, and 150 in archaeological excavations; others worked in their own professions, including 225 doctors and nurses, and 100 teachers, youth-group leaders, and social workers, or in land reclamation. The majority received instruction in Hebrew.

About 1,800 remained – as students, or working in their professions or in kibbutzim with a view to permanent settlement. From 1968 volunteers came at a steady annual rate of about 1,800 under various schemes. The largest was Sherut la-Am ("Service to the People") – a year's voluntary service in kibbutzim and development areas. It was estimated that about a third of the volunteers remained in Israel after their year's service, while many of the others eventually returned as immigrants.

There was also a considerable overall increase in *aliyah* from western countries. On July 10, 1967, the Israel government and the executive of the Zionist Organization and the Jewish Agency issued a "Call to Aliyah" appealing to the Jewish people the world over to come to Israel and build the land. During the second half of 1967 there was a visible rise in the rate of immigration; in 1968 the total increased to over 30,000 and in each of the years 1969 and 1970 to over 40,000. To cope with the new mood and the new absorption requirements it was necessary to introduce radical changes in the immigration machinery. Thus, in 1967, the three Agency departments involved – Immigration, Absorption, and Economic – were merged into one and a joint Government-Agency Authority on Immigration and Absorption was set up to centralize planning and execution of policy. The Authority worked out various proposals, later passed into law, for special facilities for new immigrants in the spheres of customs, taxation, housing, school and university tuition fees, etc. New absorption centers, hostels, and kibbutz *ulpanim* were set up all over the country. At the beginning of 1970 there were 14 absorption centers, with a capacity of 4,000 beds; 13 hostels, with 2,500 beds; 6 students' hostels, with 1,700; and 64 kibbutz *ulpanim* with 2,250. Since these facilities were intended for half-yearly periods, their annual capacity was double these figures.

In June 1968 the 27th Zionist Congress in Jerusalem decided to found the Aliyah Movement, organized in local circles or countrywide movements in the Diaspora. Each member committed himself to settle in Israel within three years of joining, but many came within a short period and the membership was in constant flux, members leaving for *aliyah* and others taking their places. In May 1970 there were 125 *aliyah* circles in 22 countries with a total membership of over 15,000, the largest being in the United States (4,000), France (4,000), Argentina (1,400), South Africa (1,000), Britain (900), and Brazil (900).

With the rapid increase in immigration from the West, absorption became an issue that more directly involved several government agencies, in housing, employment, and other services. It was therefore decided in 1968 to set up a Ministry of Immigrant Absorption. It was agreed that, in the main, the Agency should handle immigration while the Ministry would deal with absorption, but the Agency also continued to be directly responsible for the absorption of needy immigrants and refugees, and operated the hostels, absorption centers, and *ulpanim*. The work was coordinated by the Authority, whose joint chairmen were the minister of immigrant absorption and the chairman of the Agency Executive, with a coordinating committee meeting once a week. One of the objects of the new arrangements was to cut down on the bureaucratic procedures of absorption which had often come under criticism, especially by newcomers from the West.

Facilities and concessions available to immigrants in 1970 included: interest-free loans to cover passage and part of shipping costs; exemption from customs and purchase tax on personal and household effects and factory or farm equipment; exemption from purchase tax and reduction in customs on automobiles; exemption from registration fees and part of property tax on purchasing house or business premises; preferential treatment in obtaining employment; partial exemption from income tax and capital gains tax; the right to hold foreign currency for ten years and to redeem State of Israel bonds; accommodation in absorption centers, hostels, and *ulpanim*; housing on easy terms or assistance in purchase or renting of housing; loans for establishment of businesses; free health assistance through a sick fund for six months; various concessions in national insurance benefits; free secondary schooling and university education; and exemption from travel tax. Most of the concessions were available for three years from the date of immigration and also applied to temporary residents.

The government and the Agency established a Student Authority to assist the greatly increased number of students – many of them originally volunteers – who wanted to study in Israel after the Six-Day War. During the academic year 1969-70 there were 7,000 students and 1,500 yeshivah students from abroad in Israel. Over 5,000 of them, who came as immigrants or intended to settle, received assistance and services from the authority: guidance, grants, Hebrew study in *ulpanim*, and support for special preparatory courses. It also helped the universities build additional dormitories and lecture rooms.

From 1971 to 1973 there was an increase in *aliyah* compared with the previous years, the number being 42,000 in 1971; 56,000 in 1972; and 55,000 in 1973. As a result of the Yom Kippur War, however, there came a considerable drop and the figures for 1975–76–77 were: 20,281, 19,745, and 21,420, respectively. Of the 56,000 in 1972, 13,000 were from the Soviet Union.

From the U.S.S.R. The Six-Day War was also followed by the intensification of Jewish consciousness and devotion to Israel among Soviet Jews – partly, it seems, as a reaction against official support for Arab hostility to Israel and partly due to renewed pride in Israel's achievements. In previous years a few Jews had been allowed to leave the U.S.S.R. to join relatives in Israel, but the Knesset, the government of Israel, and representative Jewish institutions everywhere had always demanded that all Jews who wished to leave the Soviet Union and settle in Israel be permitted to do so.

In 1969 and 1970 there was a new development: scores of Soviet Jews publicly declared, in letters to the Israel government and international organs signed with full names and addresses, that they regarded Israel as their historic homeland and demanded recognition of the right to *aliyah*, invoking the Declaration on Human Rights which explicitly guarantees the right of every man to leave any country, including his own. Those who were allowed to leave – often after years of effort – reported that there was a widespread awakening among the younger generation, many of whom were studying Hebrew and hoping to come to Israel. Toward the end of 1970 the severe sentences imposed, after a trial in Leningrad, on a number of Jews accused of planning to hijack a Soviet plane aroused intense indignation among Jews everywhere and widespread support for the Soviet Jews' right to settle in Israel. In 1970 almost 1,000 Jews were permitted to leave the U.S.S.R. for Israel; in 1971 the pace of *aliyah* increased, despite the obstacles raised by the authorities and the holding of further trials of Jews who wanted to go to Israel.

There was a melancholy last act to the tragedy of Polish Jewry. After the Six-Day War the Polish government unleashed an antisemitic campaign against the small Jewish community that still remained, but allowed them to leave. Of the 20,000 Jews who lived in Poland, about 11,500 left by May 1970, but only 3,500 of them went to Israel.

[Zvi Zinger (Yaron)]

Immigrants and Potential Immigrants[1] to Israel by Period of Immigration and Country of Birth, 1919–2004

Country	Period of Immigration									
	1919–Nov. 14 1948	Nov. 15 1948–1951	1952–1960	1961–1964	1965–1971	1972–1979	1980–1989	1990–2001	2003	2004
Eastern Europe	299,719	310,560	98,425	75,507	61,230	164,002	48,955	862,456	10,084	8,390
Bulgaria	7,057	37,260	1,680	460	334	118	180	3,999	57	72
USSR (former)	52,350	8,163	13,743	4,646	24,730	137,134	29,754	844,139	9,816	8,067
Hungary	10,342	14,324	9,819	1,115	1,486	1,100	1,005	2,444	49	113
Yugoslavia (former)	1,944	7,661	320	101	221	126	140	2,029	12	3
Poland	170,127	106,414	39,618	4,731	9,975	6,218	2,807	3,064	24	15
Czechoslovakia (former)	16,794	18,788	783	905	1,849	888	462	527	36	15
Romania	41,105	117,950	32,462	63,549	22,635	18,418	14,607	6,254	90	105
Western Europe	75,439	20,899	7,789	5,069	19,852	19,165	21,640	24,265	1,906	2,055
Italy	1,554	1,305	414	221	719	713	510	656	17	34
United Kingdom	1,574	1,907	1,448	1,260	5,201	6,171	7,098	5,365	274	309
Austria	7,748	2,632	610	297	724	595	356	368	8	8
Belgium	–	291	394	225	887	847	788	1,053	86	102
Germany	52,951	8,210	1,386	796	2,379	2,080	1,759	2,442	92	99
Holland	1,208	1,077	646	353	1,117	1,170	1,239			
Greece	8,767	2,131	676	166	348	326	147			
France	1,637	3,050	1,662	1,192	6,858	5,399	7,538	11,986	1,299	1,403
Nordic Countries[2]	–	85	131	119	767	903	1,178	1,145	30	34
Switzerland	–	131	253	218	668	634	706	981	76	51
Spain	–	80	169	222	184	327	321	269	24	15
Asia	27,651	230,823	32,326	17,882	32,094	17,198	12,320	75,712	3,068	2,718
India	–	2,176	5,380	2,940	10,170	3,497	1,539	2,055	158	94
China	–	504	217	40	56	43	78	277	8	8
Iraq	–	123,371	2,989	520	1,609	939	111	1,325	26	19
Iran	3,536	21,910	15,699	8,857	10,645	9,550	8,487	4,326	133	160
Turkey	8,277	34,547	6,871	4,793	9,280	3,118	2,088	1,311	68	53
Yemen[3]	15,838	48,315	1,170	732	334	51	17	686	4	12
Africa	2126	93,038	143,380	116,424	47,816	18,729	28,539	55,622	3,871	4,559
Ethiopia		10	59	23	75	306	16,965	45.131	3,027	3,701
Algeria[4]	9944	3,810	3,433	9,680	3,177	2,137	1,830	1,682	180	238
South Africa	259	666	774	1,003	2,780	5,604	3,575	3,283	82	112
Tunisia	[5]	13,293	23,569	3,813	7,753	2,148	1,942	1,607	263	228
Libya	873	30,972	2,079	318	2,148	219	66	94	–	–
Morocco	–	28,263	95,945	100,354	30,153	7,780	3,809	3,276	283	151
Egypt, Sudan	–	16,024	17,521	1,233	1,730	535	352	202*	15*	14*
America and Oceania	7,189	3,317	12,523	9,925	30,299	43,099	37,818	39,682	4,083	3,035
U.S.A.	6,635	1,711	1,553	2,102	16,569	20,963	18,904	17,512	1,445	1,578
Canada	316	236	276	241	1,928	2,178	1,867	1,963	150	163
Argentina	238	904	2,888	5,537	6,164	13,158	10,582	11,248	1,345	484
Brazil	–	304	763	637	1,964	1,763	1,763	2,356	207	234
Mexico	–	48	168	125	611	861	993	1,049	67	52
Chile	–	48	401	322	1,468	1,180	1,040	683	104	55
Columbia	–	–	–	126	289	552	475	657	74	79
Venezuela	–	–	–	109	188	245	180	418	60	78
Uruguay	–	66	6474	726	1,118	2,199	2,014	983	375	85
Unregistered Central America[6]	–	17	43	18	111	104	8	824	83	70
All Countries	412,124	658,654	294,486	224,825	191,402	262,297	149,280	1,060,091	23,268	20,898

Source: Statistical Abstract of Israel, 1995, Jerusalem.

Hyphens indicate unavailability of information.

* Includes Sudan.

[1] Since the establishment of the State of Israel (5.15.48), includes tourists who changed their status to immigrants; as from June 1969, includes tourists who changed their status to immigrants or potential immigrants. As of 1970 excludes immigrating citizens.

[2] Finland, Sweden, Norway, Denmark.

[3] Including South Yemen and the former state of Aden.

[4] Including Tunisia.

[5] Included in figure for Algeria.

[6] Honduras, Nicaragua, Guatemala, Costa Rica, El Salvador, Haiti, the Dominican Republic, Puerto Rico, Jamaica, Panama.

The *aliyah* from the U.S.S.R. in 1972 was the beginning of the massive immigration of Jews from the U.S.S.R. Although Russia continued to be a primary source for *aliyah*, there were worrying factors which began with the Yom Kippur War and have since worsened. The percentage of dropouts continued to rise and reached 50.4% in 1977 compared with 49.5% in 1976, 36% in 1975, and 19% in 1974, and continued to increase. In addition, there was also a rise in the emigration of Russian *olim* from Israel in 1976 as compared to previous years, and it reached 10% for the immigrants of 1973, though it must be added that 1973 was the peak year of Russian *aliyah* – 33,477.

Immigrants from the U.S.S.R. can be divided into three categories:

1) European Ashkenazi Jews who had been Soviet citizens since the October Revolution of 1917. These Jews involuntarily underwent a forced, intensive process of assimilation. Their culture was Russian and their attachment to Judaism weak. The national reawakening among Russian Jewry in the wake of the Six-Day War, which is gauged primarily by their desire to settle in Israel, affected only limited circles, mostly among the social elite, while the masses were not attracted.

2) Ashkenazi Jews from regions annexed to the U.S.S.R. during World War II: the Baltic States, Belorussia and Western Ukraine (previously East Poland), Transcarpathia (originally part of Czechoslovakia), and Northern Bukovina and Moldavia (which belonged to Romania). Before the annexation of these areas to the U.S.S.R., and the sufferings of their Jewish communities during the Holocaust, they were the very heart of Eastern European Jewry, and Jewish life flourished there. The survivors of the Holocaust who returned there after the war, in contrast to the veteran Soviet Jews who also came to these regions, continued to lead a full and dedicated Jewish life with no tendency to assimilate.

The same is generally the case with their children brought up under the Soviet regime who, in spite of having had no formal Jewish education, absorbed their Jewishness from the warmth of their parents' home. It is natural that the national reawakening attracted these Jews in large numbers and that they were, in fact, the pioneers of the struggle for the right to settle in Israel after the Six-Day War.

3) Non-Ashkenazi Jews living in the southern republics in the Caucasus and Central Asia. The three communities in this category are: the Georgian Jews, the Bukharan Jews, and the Mountain Jews, the Tats, of the Caucasus.

The members of these communities, although Soviet citizens ever since the victory of the Bolshevik revolution, have remained faithful to Judaism both religiously and nationally. They speak their own national dialects and have not assimilated culturally or linguistically. They meticulously observe some of the practical commandments, especially in the sphere of family life, such as circumcision, religious weddings (in addition to civil marriages according to the law of the land), and Jewish festivals, especially the Day of Atonement.

The 1970 U.S.S.R. population census showed that 90% of Russian Jewry belong to the first group (Ashkenazim who are long-standing Russian citizens), while the remaining 10% is divided equally between the two other groups.

Whereas, however, in the years 1971 and 1972 the Georgian Jews comprised more than one third of all the immigrants, and in 1972 they constituted 34% of all immigrants, there has been both an absolute and relative reduction in the years following, and in 1977 they were only 5% of all the Russian *olim*, the total of which was only about a quarter of the 1973 figure – the peak year.

The number of Bukharan *olim* declined from 3,750 in 1973 to only 380 in 1976, but rose to 760 in 1977. The *aliyah* of Mountain Jews from Dagestan and Azerbaijan in the Caucasus began in significant numbers only in 1974, when 1,570 emigrated to Israel, reaching its peak in 1975 with 2,270 *olim*, constituting 27% of all Russian *olim* in that year, but in 1976–77 this *aliyah* also decreased.

Since the scope of *aliyah* from the European sectors of Russia, according to its pre-World War II borders, was stable throughout the whole period under discussion, it is reasonable to assume that this stability reflects the Soviet policy of a fixed yearly quota in relation to *aliyah* from these areas, and the reduction of *aliyah* during 1975–77 by about a quarter each year, as compared to the peak year 1973, is the result of a drastic decrease in the *aliyah* of the non-Ashkenazic communities in these years. Since the Russian authorities adopted a relatively liberal attitude to this *aliyah*, it would seem that the main reason for the reduction is to be found with these Jews themselves, due probably to the defamation of Israel's image by Soviet propaganda, and the absorption problems of relatives and friends in Israel, as described in their letters.

It may be said that the absorption of immigrants from the Soviet Union is one of the most difficult and painful processes experienced by any group of new arrivals and that most of the problems have been psychological for both the authorities and the newcomers. It was fortunate that the years of large-scale immigration (1971–74) were a time of comparative affluence and economic prosperity, when there was a large demand for manpower, and the State had sizable resources to finance absorption. The national awakening and the heroic struggle of Soviet Jewry evoked widespread admiration and profound sympathy in Israel. Nevertheless serious misunderstandings arose between the community and the newcomers. It became evident that the favorable conditions were insufficient to bridge the deep gap between the unrealistic expectations of both sides and did not prevent deep disappointment and hostility between both the absorbing and the absorbed.

In spite of all these difficulties, the absorption and integration of Soviet immigrants into the Israel economy, community, and way of life progressed. Their identification with Israel, its problems, and its struggles was increasing. Gradually they were beginning to feel that they belonged, and their children, growing up in Israel, bridge the gap and assuage misunderstandings.

Soviet Jews who Immigrated to Israel (*Olim*) According to Ethnic Composition 1970–79

Ethnic group	Number	Percentage	Relative percentage within Sov. Jewish pop.
Ashkenazi Jews	98,500	64.3	93.5
Georgian Jews	29,600	19.4	2.3
Mountain Jews	9,800	6.4	2.3
Bukharan Jews	15,100	9.9	1.9
Total	153,000	100.0	100.0

Although (according to the Russian population census of Jan. 1979) non-Ashkenazi Jews – Georgian, Bukharan, and Mountain Jews – constitute only 6.5% of Russian Jewry, they continue to comprise, as during the whole decade, a third of all Russian immigrants. Moreover, the proportion of drop-outs among them was minimal.

The issue of the drop-outs and the methods for dealing with it became a disputed issue between the government of Israel and the Zionist Executive on the one hand, and the Jewish organizations – HIAS, JDC, United Jewish Federations, and the welfare funds in the United States – on the other. The disagreement focused on two main issues:

(1) recognition of the drop-outs as political refugees who were therefore eligible to emigrate to countries willing to absorb them, especially the United States;

(2) the generous material assistance given to them to ease their absorption in those countries.

The former wished to nullify the recognition of the drop-outs as refugees on the grounds that an emigrant with an entry permit to Israel who refuses to proceed there is not to be considered as a homeless refugee seeking a haven. They also maintained that the generous assistance given at that time to the drop-outs was an irresistible attraction and constituted unfair competition to the conditions of absorption in Israel.

Those who supported the drop-outs maintained that they are honoring the right of the Jewish emigrant to choose his country of destination. They also claimed that the aid afforded was reasonable and modest, especially since it was covered by the government of the United States to a large extent. They argued that if they would stop dealing with the drop-outs and aiding them, other Jewish and non-Jewish organizations would take their place and alienate the drop-outs even further from Israel and the Jewish people.

From May 1980 on there was a drastic decline in the number of Jews allowed to leave Russia. The exit from Ukrainian cities such as Kiev, Odessa, and Kharkov, among whom the percentage of drop-outs was close to 100% in 1979, was especially restricted. In the first half of 1980 only 570 Jews were allowed to leave Kiev compared with 3,893 in the first half of 1979 (a decrease of 85.3%); from Odessa 441 as against 4,736 (a decrease of 90.6%); from Kharkov, 52 as against 550 (a decrease of 90.5%), respectively. This decline reinforced the arguments of the Zionist representatives who claimed that the drop-outs harm the chances for the exit of other Russian Jews, since the Russians granted exit permits only when they were accompanied by requests from relatives in Israel for entrance permits to it. In the early 1980s the Russians also rejected applications for emigration if the party was not a member of the immediate family.

As a result, a partial agreement was reached between the Zionist groups and HIAS and the JDC that assistance and support be given only to drop-outs joining close relatives, but it was rejected by the United Jewish Federations, the welfare funds, and the leaders of the large Jewish communities of the U.S.A. and at the time of writing no acceptable agreement had been reached.

Moreover the "internal" conflict between the government of Israel and the Jewish Agency which had gone on since 1976, as to who should be responsible to deal with *aliyah* and absorption remained unsettled. The Jewish Agency insisted on the complete application of the recommendations of the Ḥorev Commission (see below) according to which one single authority for *aliyah* and absorption was to come into being, consisting of representatives of the government and the Jewish Agency, in place of the hitherto separate functioning by the Ministry of Absorption and the Department for Aliyah and Absorption of the Jewish Agency. The government suggested in its stead the establishment of one supervisory authority headed by the minister of absorption, which would establish policy, coordinate, and supervise the two existing authorities, which would however continue to exist separately with parallel activities but with a clear division of function and areas of authority.

In the absence of an agreement, the Jewish Agency announced that it would not participate in the budget of the Ministry for Absorption as of January 1981.

Other countries. The figures for *aliyah* from other countries are given in tables on Immigration to Israel.

The political situation in South Africa and Argentina resulted in an exodus of Jews from those countries; only a minority of those leaving came to Israel however, but although the actual numbers are small, they show a relatively significant increase over previous years; from South Africa about 41% over 1975 and 148% in 1977 over 1976, and from Argentina 81% in 1976 over 1975 and 34% in 1977 over 1976.

About a third of all the *olim* had completed higher education at the time of their immigration. Approximately another 10% had post-secondary education. Almost all from North America had more than 12 years of education. Only about 12% defined themselves as religious. About two-thirds of the *olim* had no previous Jewish education, but nearly all the North Americans had received some; 18% of all the *olim* had been members of a Jewish or Zionist organization during the two years preceding their *aliyah*. Almost all the West European and North American immigrants had visited Israel prior to their *aliyah*; naturally, the Russians had not visited Israel before.

White collar workers constituted a large majority of all *olim*. The Israeli economy has suffered for many years from a chronic problem of imbalance between workers in industry versus those in services, with a large excess of white collar workers. It is natural, therefore, that the economy has difficulty in absorbing the work force which comes through *aliyah*, since it suffers from the same imbalances, but even more acutely. Moreover, the economy had hardly grown since the Yom Kippur War.

A well-developed system of courses for professional retraining was set in operation. In 1976, 53 retraining courses were opened with 1,585 immigrants participating, and 50 courses were completed in which 1,376 *olim* took part. In 1977, 80 courses were begun with 2,200 participants, and 55 with 1,520 participants were completed. They were mainly in the fields of bookkeeping, pricing, quality control, teaching, medicine and nursing, engineering and technicians. In addition to these courses, there were preparatory classes for about 1,000 *olim* in 1977 in Hebrew and English, as a step towards the retraining programs.

Until the early 1980s immigrants with academic backgrounds were immediately sent to an absorption center where they studied Hebrew intensively for five hours a day for five months. During this period the immigrants received living expenses and initial arrangements were made for their employment. Grants were also made to academicians, quasi-academicians, or government workers who did not reside in absorption centers, but whose continued attendance at daytime ulpanim was a requirement towards finding employment, and to those who did not require retraining, but who could not be employed because of the freeze on budgets and hiring.

In 1978–79 some 7,000 immigrants arrived from Iran and about 30,000 from the Soviet Union, making up for the decrease in *aliyah* from South Africa and Argentina whose increase in 1976–77, albeit in more moderate dimensions, aroused unfulfilled expectations for increased growth. In 1980 there was a disappointing decrease in *aliyah* from Iran and Russia, and a general drastic decline in the number of immigrants as compared to 1979. In the first eight months of the year only some 15,000 immigrants arrived as compared with 25,000 during the same period of 1979 – a decrease of about 40%.

ALIYAH, 1982–1992. The decade 1982–1992 witnessed both the lowest annual immigration figures and the highest recorded since the first years of statehood. The decade also marked the reopening of the gates of the Soviet Union, a cherished dream, and the completion of the evacuation of Jews from certain countries of stress. Some 573,000 new immigrants arrived in this decade and in many respects revolutionized Israeli society. Between 1989 and 1992 some 476,000 immigrants came, the majority from the former Soviet Union, compared with a yearly average of 12,000 during previous years.

For decades, Israeli governmental and non-governmental bodies had worked for the eventual emigration of Soviet Jews. Massive pressures were exerted by Israel and world Jewry through a variety of organizations and institutions to bring about a change in Soviet emigration policy, and eventually these bore fruit. The Soviet government, in return for winning a most-favored nation status in its trade relations with the United States, began to ease emigration restrictions. In the two decades, 1969–1989, some 190,000 Soviet Jews arrived in Israel, of whom 170,000 remained. However, this period was also marked by a growing number of Soviet Jews opting to drop out on the way to Israel and travel to settle in the United States and to other countries. The percentage of these dropouts reached 90% in the mid-1970s. Since these Jews were leaving the Soviet Union on the basis of a scheme for family reunion in Israel, this trend endangered the operation. Israel found itself confronting a growing number of American Jewish organizations who favored the freedom of choice of Soviet Jewish emigrants to decide their destination. Israel claimed that there was no point in moving Russian Jews from one diaspora to another. The issue was resolved in 1989 in an agreement between Israel, the Soviet Union, and the United States, whereby from October 1, 1989, Russian Jews who wished to travel to the United States (or elsewhere) would have to obtain an entry visa in the embassies of their country of destination in Moscow. The United States established a quota of 40,000 emigrants a year. Those traveling to Israel would get their entry visa in the Israeli consulate in Moscow, which had been reopened in 1988.

The end of the 1980s also marked a massive change in Soviet-American relations with the realization of the Soviet president Mikhail Gorbachev, that his country's economic development would require massive Western, especially American, aid. This meant that he had to reduce elements of friction with the United States, one of them being the issue of human rights in general and Jewish emigration in particular. The end of the Cold War in 1989 brought about radical changes in Soviet emigration policies, which allowed most Jews who so wished to leave for Israel, although restricting the movements of a few hundred whom the Soviet government claimed were in possession of state secrets because of previous employment.

The massive wave began in late 1989 and soon swelled into a human tide. The Jewish Agency, which was responsible for the movement of immigrants to Israel, established transit stations for Soviet Jews on their way to Israel in Budapest, Warsaw, and Bucharest. A few traveled through Prague and Helsinki. These stations played a major role in the transit of Jews who came from the Soviet Union by bus, train, and plane, sometimes in private cars, to Israel. The reestablishment of consular, and later full diplomatic, relations between Israel and the Soviet Union also facilitated the transit of Jews. After 1989 the Jewish Agency was permitted to set up Hebrew classes in various parts of the Soviet Union and send emissaries and teachers to prepare Jews for *aliyah* and to teach them Hebrew, Judaism, and Jewish history.

The Soviet Government estimated in late 1988 that there

Immigrant Population from USSR (Former) Immigrated 1990–2004[1], by Year of Immigration and Age

Age	Thereof Jews	Year of immigration								
		1990–1991	1992–1994	1995–1996	1997–1998	1999	2000	2001–2003	2004	Total
	Thousands									
Total	671.8	312.8	187.9	118.7	101.2	66.8	51.0	66.6	11.0	916.1
0–4	40.0	17.5	11.8	7.8	6.5	3.8	2.9	4.4	1.0	55.7
5–9	39.2	19.1	12.6	6.8	5.4	3.8	2.9	3.4	0.5	54.4
10–14	34.5	14.6	11.3	6.6	6.0	4.2	3.0	3.6	0.5	49.9
15–19	43.1	21.8	12.9	8.0	6.7	4.8	3.5	5.0	1.4	64.1
20–24	48.3	23.7	12.6	7.7	7.9	5.7	4.9	7.5	1.1	71.0
25–29	47.6	21.3	13.4	9.6	9.5	5.5	4.5	6.7	1.0	71.6
30–34	43.7	19.0	14.1	9.8	9.3	6.4	4.8	5.9	0.9	70.2
35–39	36.6	16.2	12.8	8.0	7.2	5.1	3.7	4.3	0.7	57.9
40–44	42.6	21.6	12.9	7.8	6.6	4.6	3.5	4.2	0.6	61.8
45–49	46.2	25.4	12.3	7.2	6.1	3.9	2.9	3.9	0.6	62.3
50–54	45.7	24.7	11.2	6.8	5.6	3.7	2.8	3.8	0.5	59.1
55–59	47.2	24.4	10.7	6.9	5.5	3.7	3.0	3.9	0.6	58.8
60–64	23.9	10.0	5.6	4.0	3.4	2.4	1.9	2.6	0.4	30.3
65–69	43.5	15.9	9.8	7.9	6.4	4.0	3.1	3.5	0.6	51.3
70–74	29.6	10.9	7.9	5.1	3.5	2.1	1.4	1.6	0.2	32.7
75–79	30.2	13.0	8.3	4.5	2.9	1.6	1.1	1.1	0.2	32.8
80–84	19.2	9.0	4.9	2.5	1.7	0.9	0.7	0.7	0.1	20.5
85+	10.9	4.7	2.8	1.6	1.1	0.6	0.4	0.4	0.1	11.7
Median age	40.4	40.8	37.0	36.9	34.6	34.4	34.0	32.3	29.5	36.8
	Thereof: females									
Total	358.9	164.5	99.6	64.3	54.7	36.3	27.7	36.4	6.0	489.5
0–4	19.3	8.4	5.6	3.9	3.1	1.9	1.4	2.2	0.5	27.1
5–9	18.9	9.3	6.0	3.2	2.6	1.9	1.5	1.6	0.3	26.4
10–14	16.8	7.1	5.5	3.3	2.9	2.1	1.5	1.8	0.3	24.4
15–19	21.1	10.6	6.3	3.9	3.4	2.4	1.7	2.4	0.7	31.4
20–24	24.0	11.6	6.1	3.7	3.7	3.0	2.5	4.1	0.6	35.3
25–29	24.0	10.3	6.4	5.0	5.2	3.1	2.6	3.8	0.6	36.9
30–34	22.3	9.3	7.4	5.2	4.9	3.5	2.6	3.2	0.5	36.5
35–39	19.2	8.6	6.6	4.2	3.8	2.6	1.9	2.3	0.3	30.3
40–44	22.6	11.7	6.7	4.2	3.6	2.5	1.9	2.3	0.3	33.2
45–49	24.9	13.7	6.7	4.1	3.4	2.2	1.6	2.2	0.3	34.2
50–54	24.7	13.9	6.2	3.9	3.2	2.1	1.6	2.3	0.3	32.5
55–59	25.9	12.8	5.9	4.0	3.2	2.2	1.8	2.4	0.4	32.6
60–64	13.7	5.3	3.2	2.4	2.1	1.5	1.2	1.6	0.2	17.5
65–69	25.2	8.8	5.9	4.9	3.9	2.4	1.8	1.9	0.3	29.9
70–74	17.3	6.6	4.9	2.8	2.0	1.1	0.7	0.9	0.1	19.2
75–79	18.3	8.1	4.9	2.7	1.8	1.0	0.7	0.7	0.1	20.1
80–84	12.9	6.0	3.3	1.8	1.2	0.7	0.5	0.5	0.1	14.0
85+	7.6	3.2	1.9	1.2	0.8	0.4	0.3	0.3		8.2
Median age	43.0	43.0	39.9	39.8	37.0	35.8	35.3	33.6	30.5	39.4

[1] Incl. 109.9 thousand children aged 0–14, born in Israel to mothers who immigrated from USSR (former), by mother's year of immigration.

Immigrant Population from Ethiopia[1] by Period of Immigration and Age

Thousands, end of year	2004				
Age	Born abroad			Born in Israel	Total
	Immigrated since 1990	Immigrated until 1989	Total		
Total	53.4	16.0	69.4	30.8	100,2
0–4	1.4		1.4	9.7	11.1
5–9	3.9		3.9	9.1	12.9
10–14	6.2		6.2	7.7	14.0
15–19	8.6	0.2	8.9	3.0	11.9
20–24	7.5	2.2	9.7	0.9	10.6
25–29	5.8	2,6	8,3	0.1	8.5
30–34	4.1	2.5	6.7	0.1	6.7
35–44	5.5	3.7	9.2	0.1	9.3
45–54	3.9	2.0	5.9	0.1	6.0
55–64	2.8	1.3	4.0		4.0
65+	3.7	1.6	5.3		5.3
Median age	24.4	36.2	27.8	8.1	20.1
Males					
Total	26.7	8.1	34.7	15.6	50.3
0–4	0.7		0.7	4.9	5.6
5–9	2.0		2.0	4.5	6.5
10–14	3.2		3.2	4.0	7.2
15–19	4.6	0.1	4.7	1.5	6.2
20–24	3.8	1.1	4.9	0.4	5.4
25–29	2.9	1.3	4.2	0.1	4.2
30–34	1.9	1.3	3.2		3.2
35–44	2.6	1.8	4.4		4.5
45–54	1.8	1.0	2.8		2.8
55–64	1.3	0.7	2.0		2.0
65+	2.0	0.7	2.8		2.8
Median age	23.9	36.1	27.3	8.2	19.7
Females					
Total	26.7	0.8	34.7	15.2	49.9
0–4	0.7		0.7	4.6	5,5
5–9	1.9		1.9	4.5	6.4
10–14	3.0		3.0	0.8	6.8
15–19	4.1	0.1	4.2	1.5	5.7
20–24	2.7	1.0	4.8	0.4	5.2
25–29	2.9	1.3	4.2	0.1	4.3
30–34	2.3	1.2	3.5	0.0	3.5
35–44	2.9	1.8	4.8	0.0	4.8
45–54	2.1	1.0	3.1	0.0	3.2
55–64	1.5	0.6	2.1	0.0	2.1
65+	1,6	0.9	2.5	0.0	2.5
Median age	24.9	36.3	28.3	8.1	20.6

[1] Incl. children born in Israel to fathers who immigrated from Ethiopia.

were some 1.8 million Jews in the country, the Israelis put the figure at 2.8 million. By early 1993, some 420,000 Soviet Jews had gone to Israel, another 150,000 to North America, and some 20,000 to Germany. In April 1993 there were still some 1.7 million Jews in the CIS (Commonwealth of Independent States), a million of whom were holding Israeli documents as a first step towards their immigration. It was assumed that at the current rate of emigration (70,000 a year), some 500,000 Jews would remain in the CIS at the end of the century.

Jewish emigration was a result of both a push and a pull. The push came in 1989 when Jews feared that there might not be much time before the Iron Curtain would slam down again and left en masse. There was genuine fear that the collapse of the Soviet empire would be accompanied by a civil war in which the Jews would be the main victims. They thought that in a period of vast social, economic, and political instability, antisemitism, long ingrained in Russia, would reappear. Moreover the greater democratization allowed in Russia meant that antisemitic propaganda and organizations were also permitted. Chief among these groups was Pamyat, a virulently anti-Jewish nationalist organization. Jews felt that life in the former Soviet Union was becoming intolerable for them. There were limited economic and occupational possibilities. Promotion in the army and government was very limited and there were quotas on the number of Jewish students at universities. Academic and professional promotion was also very slow. Many wanted to reunite with families already in Israel. The majority of the immigrants were not permeated by Zionist or even Jewish sentiments. The majority were secular, some third having married non-Jews. But as the Iron Curtain lifted, more people discovered their Jewishness and wanted to leave, most of them for economic reasons. There were some drawbacks. A number feared that the Jewish state was a theocracy. Being secular, and cut off from Judaism for seventy years, this could have problems, mainly for those with non-Jewish spouses. There was concern over military service, *intifada*, and above all fear that the professionals among them would not be able to find suitable jobs. The last concern proved to be true. A number of Jews chose to remain behind to participate in the building of a new society in the CIS, but many of these became disappointed, especially those who found themselves in the midst of civil war in Moldova, Abkhazia, and Tadjikistan.

From a figure of some 200,000 in 1990, 176,000 in 1991, the numbers dropped to 76,000 in 1992. The task of moving Russian Jews to Israel and settling them there was shared by the *Jewish Agency, representing world Jewry, and the government of Israel. The Agency launched a fundraising campaign called "Exodus" which resulted in over $500 million being raised in three years to help cover the costs of flying the Jews to Israel, bringing their luggage and helping in their initial absorption. The government of Israel provided housing, education, health care, and welfare.

Unlike previous years, when immigrants were directed to absorption centers where they would learn the language before being let out into the Israeli economy and society, the majority of Soviet Jews were absorbed in what was termed "direct absorption track," in which they were given a yearly allowance to cover costs of housing and subsistence, were told to look for work, put their children into school, and become absorbed almost overnight. This, on the whole, proved successful. By 1993 some 35,000 Soviet Jews had found work in industry, others in professions and trades. A major problem was posed by the large number (over 16%) of immigrants over 65 years old who were no longer productive and became the responsibility of the local and national governments. Another difficulty arose with those immigrants who had to be certified again by Israel before they could practice, among them physicians and engineers. They had to be maintained while studying for their qualifying examinations. Many had to be re-trained as the number of physicians, for example, who came between 1989 and 1993 was 12,000 as against the 16,000 doctors already practicing in Israel. Scientists and academics also found difficulties obtaining suitable jobs. But only 2.8% of the immigrants who arrived since 1989 left Israel. Immigrants continued to arrive even during the Gulf War when Israel was attacked by Iraqi Scuds.

The addition of some 420,000 high-quality immigrants from the CIS had vast strategic implications for Israel. The Jewish population increased by 12% in three years. The quality of the immigrants was remarkable. They raised the cultural level of Israel, in music, arts, literature, and drama. Three new orchestras were created for immigrants. They began slowly to replace some Arabs from the Administered Territories who were working in Israel. Their numbers meant that once again there was a Jewish majority in Galilee. Strenuous Arab efforts to stop this immigration demonstrated that the Arab states realized the magnitude of this immigration and its potential for Israel in the scientific, technological, and military areas. The immigration also had an impact on the peace process. Israel with over 4.4 million Jews was a different country from previously. The new reality was slowly grasped by Arab governments, especially after their efforts to block the *aliyah* failed. Sheer numbers enabled the Israel army to consider reducing the length of military service. Israel's economy received a tremendous boost by the arrival of almost half a million new consumers. In 1992 the country recorded a 6.4% growth in its Gross Domestic Product and a rise in exports.

The major problems accompanying this immigration were in the social sphere. Israeli society welcomed immigrants with open arms. They were absorbed mainly by voluntary organizations, previous Russian immigrants, and local authorities. But there were strains, some of them due to a different mentality. Since most of the immigrants were not motivated by Jewish or Zionist ideology, they had to be re-educated in many ways about the meaning and nature of life in a Jewish State. There was some grumbling among Jews of Asian and African origin who feared that well-educated Russian Jews would get the better positions. The ultra-Orthodox and the Orthodox were dismayed over the prospect of the Russian immigrants voting mainly for secular parties, and affecting their political clout. Inevitably, there was considerable disappointment and disillusionment among many of the newcomers. For all the efforts to help a quick absorption, the country could not cope with many of the problems while the immigrants found themselves in unaccustomed surroundings and faced with a new language which some could not master. It was the economic problems that were uppermost. While the immigrants received grants for their initial period, this ran out and they had to face the challenge of finding work, with the possibilities especially limited in the professions and arts. Many found themselves unemployed and others took menial jobs in order to survive. Some of them organized demonstrations to draw attention to their plight. Reports of these difficulties reaching Russia dampened the enthusiasm of many potential immigrants and were a major factor in the drop in immigration figures from 1990 to 1991 and from 1991 to 1992. But on the whole, the Russian immigrants absorbed themselves well into Israeli society and many were beginning to make meaningful contributions to its economy, science, and technology.

The decade also witnessed the end of a number of diasporas. In two dramatic air lifts, the government of Israel and the Jewish Agency brought to Israel over 22,000 Ethiopian Jews. Some 7,500 were airlifted at the end of 1984 from Sudan in an operation called "Moses." To escape famine Ethiopian Jews walked hundreds of miles to Sudan and from there were taken to Israel with the help of the United States government and air force. Between 1985 and 1991, Israeli emissaries brought thousands of Ethiopian Jews to Addis Ababa to prepare them for immigration. Two days before the final collapse of the Mengistu government, in May 1991, and with the active help of the United States, Israel secured use of the Addis Ababa airport for 36 hours. During this time 41 flights brought to Israel 14,440 Jews in "Operation Solomon." Subsequently the rest of Ethiopian Jewry was brought to Israel and effectively, apart from *Falas Moura*, converts to Christianity, the Jewish community of Ethiopia ceased to exist.

By the end of 1992, Israel airlifted the entire Jewish community of Albania (350 souls) while over a 1,000 Jews were rescued from the civil war which engulfed Yugoslavia. Eventually, the numbers of Jews in distressed countries diminished significantly during the decade under review. In 1948 there were over 800,000 Jews in Arab countries, by 1993 there remained some 60,000 Jews in those countries, the three largest communities being Iran, Turkey, and Morocco with about 20,000 Jews in each.

Immigration from Western countries continued to arrive in a trickle. Some 2,500 Jews came annually from North America, and hundreds from South Africa, Australia, France, and Britain.

[Meron Medzini]

DEVELOPMENTS IN ALIYAH AND ABSORPTION, 1993–2002. From 1993 the rate of *aliyah* to Israel averaged between 5,000 and 6,000 a month, the majority coming from the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS). As compared to the figures for 1990–1992 (1990 – 199,500 immigrants, of those

184,681 from the former Soviet Union; 1991 – 176,000 and 147,673, respectively; 1992 – 77,00 and 64,790, respectively), the numbers for 1993 showed that some 76,800 immigrated to Israel; in 1994 the number rose to 79,800. Some 76,300 arrived in 1995, 60,192 in 2000, and 33,567 in 2002. Immigrants came mainly from the Ukraine, the Central Asian Republics, and the Caucasus areas, driven by the uncertain local conditions, and civil war, the eroding economic situations and sometimes by fear of antisemitism. There was a marked drop in the number of immigrants coming from the Russian Republic. Immigration remained the sole responsibility of the Jewish Agency, which had some 70 emissaries spread throughout the CIS registering Jews for immigration and processing them for travel to Israel.

A new program designed to bring to Israel high school students started in 1993. Called "Aliyah 16," it sent to Israel thousands of teenagers to complete their studies in Israeli high schools, hoping they would remain in Israel after graduation and bring their families in their wake.

The Jewish Agency was also involved in rescue operations of Jews in such distressed areas as Chechniya and Bosnia. Emissaries risked their lives to bring out hundreds of Jews trapped in civil war situations. In 1994 it was announced that the emigration from Syria had been completed with many going to Israel, including the chief rabbi of Damascus. Some 400 Jews remained in Syria of their own free will. Efforts were made to complete immigration from Yemen and bring the Jews remaining in Ethiopia. Between 1990 and 2001, 2,655 came from Ethiopia.

Once in Israel, the major problems were finding suitable jobs for the large number of professionals, among them thousands of doctors, engineers, scientists, and musicians. Surveys have shown that most immigrants made a positive adjustment to Israel after being there for three or four years. This was illustrated by the number of housing mortgages taken out, cars and durable goods purchased, and small businesses established.

Immigration from Western countries continued at about 6,000 annually, mainly from the United States, Britain, France, and Latin American countries.

[Meron Medzini (2nd ed.)]

HOUSING

TO END OF THE MANDATORY PERIOD. Throughout the history of modern Palestine, the construction of housing played a dominant role in the country's economic life. Before World War I, and up to the early 1930s, industry and agriculture were not on a large enough scale to provide immediate employment for new immigrants, and building was the occupation in which they could be absorbed almost as soon as they stepped off the boat. In 1925 no less than 43% of all Jewish workers were employed in construction, and in 1926-27 the percentage was still 34.2. It was only in the 1930s, after the rapid development of industry and agriculture, that the share of construction in total employment was sharply reduced, declining to 19.4% in 1935 and 11% in 1936. Even so, construction remained an important factor in the economy, and in the period 1932–39 it accounted for as much as 47% of capital investment from Jewish sources.

Jewish Housing Quarters. Even before the period of modern resettlement, Jews tended to leave the traditional confines of the old, established cities in order to establish their own urban quarters. As early as 1860, a group of Jewish inhabitants left the unsanitary and overcrowded Old City of *Jerusalem and took the revolutionary step of moving into a new quarter outside the city walls, Mishkenot Sha'ananim, founded by Moses Montefiore. Later, two other quarters were established: Naḥalat Shiv'ah (1869) and Me'ah She'arim (1874). This trend was continued by the new settlers who came to the towns. At first they found homes in Jaffa, Jerusalem, or another of the existing cities, but after a while they sought to establish more modern and spacious quarters for themselves. Perhaps the most striking example was the founding in 1909 (by a group of Jaffa Jews) of Tel Aviv, which, from a mere suburb, became the country's largest city. New Jewish quarters were also founded in Jerusalem (Beit ha-Kerem, Talpiyyot, Reḥavyah, Kerem Avraham) and Haifa (Hadar ha-Karmel, Har ha-Karmel, Kiryat Ḥayyim, Kiryat Motzkin, etc.). A variety of factors contributed to this trend. In addition to the desire to escape from the primitive conditions of the Arab urban centers, there was the urge to create completely Jewish surroundings; to live among people of the same origin and background, or among equally observant Jews; and to enhance security. Furthermore, the price of land inside the old cities was too high to permit the construction of popular housing on any appreciable scale.

Expansion of Building. Every new wave of immigration resulted in an expansion of building activity. In 1934–35, the record year for immigration in the Mandatory period, housing construction reached unprecedented heights, while at the end of the 1930s, when immigration was curtailed, there was a corresponding decline in building. As a rule, however, the rate of construction lagged behind demand and severe housing shortages arose. A census taken in 1937 disclosed that 40% of Histadrut members had less than one room to accommodate their families, while only 15% lived in two-room apartments. The price of land soon became a severe problem in the new Jewish cities and quarters. This brought about a sharp rise in the cost of rented dwellings, which, it became apparent, could not solve the housing problem. On the eve of World War II the price of a building plot accounted for 30–50% of the capital investment required for housing. Credit was another problem: the rate of interest was high (8–9%) and adequate mortgages were not available, so that the builder had to look for additional finances, which was even more expensive. During the war rents were frozen by law, while prices and building costs kept rising. The controlled rents no longer had any realistic relationship to actual building costs. The result was the introduction of "key money," a large one-time payment to the landlord and the former tenant whenever an apartment changed hands. For the lower-income groups, the war veterans and the refugees from Europe, this payment was too heavy a burden.

Public Housing. As a result of this situation, various forms of public and cooperative housing came to the fore. This was not a new feature; most of the Jewish quarters and towns were founded by building societies. In the course of time, large housing companies were established and sought to lower the costs and lessen the burden upon the individual. They obtained low-cost land from the Jewish National Fund and mortgages from public or semi-public financial institutions on comparatively easy terms; lowered contractors' profits; and introduced more rational and standardized construction methods. The Histadrut played a leading role in this field since its early years (see *Israel, State of: Labor) by building workers' quarters (Shekhunat Borochov, near Tel Aviv, built in 1922, was the first) and in 1935 had founded its own housing company, Shikkun, which built houses for immigrants and, after World War II, for war veterans. In addition, the Histadrut founded Neveh Oved, a housing company for agricultural laborers, and Shikkun Amami, for non-Histadrut low-income groups. Another large housing company was Rassco (Rural and Suburban Settlement Co.), founded by the Jewish Agency, which had been engaged in the settlement of middle-class immigrants on the land and now went in for urban housing as well. Some of the political parties had their own housing companies, and in 1945 the municipalities were also authorized by the government to provide housing. The growing share of public and semi-public housing companies in residential construction after the war is illustrated by the figures for 1945–46, when they were responsible for the construction of 12,742 rooms out of 29,000 built for the Jewish population, or 44% of the total.

IN THE STATE OF ISRAEL. *The Early Years.* Housing was one of the most pressing problems faced by the infant state. While the population doubled by immigration in the first three years (see *Israel, State of: Population), improved housing for the existing population was urgently needed. At the end of 1949, the government established a Housing Division, which became the main agency for immigrant housing, as a branch of the Ministry of Labor and put at its disposal budgetary funds, land in various parts of the country, and the planning facilities of the Government Planning Division. The building-materials industry also adapted itself to the growing needs. Other important factors which facilitated the execution of a great housing program in these years were the training of building workers and the experience gained in earlier periods by public and private construction companies.

The rate of construction grew by leaps and bounds: from 843,000 sq. m. in 1949 to 2,137,000 in 1952. There was a slowdown in 1953, but the rate picked up again the following year and continued to be high for most of 1955. The number of building workers increased considerably, but not sufficiently to meet demand, and there was a scarcity of building materials; consequently, the quality of the houses built in this period was rather low. Housing and public works accounted for 45% of all capital invested in 1949, 44% in 1950, and 70% in 1951. Building on this scale was one of the principal causes of the inflation that marked the Israel economy in this period. The pressing needs forced the government to finance two-thirds of all construction, including practically all immigrant housing, public buildings, and housing for special groups. The government was able to use housing to effect a greater dispersal of the population, resulting in an increase in the percentage of the rural and semi-rural population. Private building, accounting for the remaining third, supplied the needs of the established residents.

A unique aspect of housing in Israel was the fact that only a small percentage was built for rental. This was partly due to the freezing of rents by the Tenants' Protection Law 1954, and although rents were raised from time to time, they did not provide sufficient incentive for investors. Moreover, due to the high cost of building, rentals had to be subsidized if they were not to be too high for the great majority of tenants. In view of the need for economy and the avoidance of inflation, therefore, the government favored apartment purchase wherever possible.

Improved Standards. As the standard of living rose, large sectors of the population sought to improve their accommodations. The average size of publicly built apartments grew from 44.6 sq. m. in 1955 to 77.4 sq. m. in 1968; in 2002 privately built apartments averaged 142 sq. m. The average number of rooms per apartment also grew: from 2.0 in 1955 to 2.9 in 1968 and 4.5 in 2002. There was also a general improvement in the finish of the apartments, as well as planning and environmental services. The owner's share in the financing of construction grew appreciably and a considerable part of the finance was raised by stocks issued by financial institutions.

In 1955 a Saving-for-Housing Scheme was introduced by the government, designed to facilitate saving and the use of the proceeds to finance current construction. By the end of 1967, some 70,000 apartments had been built under this scheme, which from 1961 no longer received aid from the government development budget (except for houses built in development towns). Building was increasingly mechanized: modern equipment made it possible to accelerate the rate of construction and erect high-rise buildings (a matter of necessity in view of the increase in land prices after 1960, especially affecting private housing). Most of the public building in this period was for new immigrants. Almost half of immigrant housing was constructed in the development towns (see below), adding further to the dispersal of the population. In 1961 the Housing Division became a separate ministry. This has facilitated advances in the standard of housing and its planning and adaptation to the general development of the country and its social aims.

Housing for Immigrants. It was immigration that was responsible for the extraordinary dimensions of the housing problem in the State of Israel: in two decades homes had to be built for a trebled population, the newcomers carrying with them the habits and the prejudices of sharply contrasting cultures from East and West. The housing authorities had not only to provide them with a roof, but also to establish the conditions for immigrants from a hundred countries to live harmoniously together and adapt policies to the needs of a rapidly developing modern economy. In the five years 1948–53, during which the population grew by 117%, homes had to be built rapidly with inadequate resources in money, materials, and skilled labor. Inevitably, improvised solutions had to be adopted. Abandoned Arab housing provided a breathing space, but thousands had to be accommodated in camps. The Housing Division of the Ministry of Labor cooperated with the Jewish Agency officials in choosing locations for 123 *ma'barot* all over the country and put up every kind of temporary shelter, using wood, corrugated iron, asbestos boards, and canvas stretched over wooden frames.

The next stage was the erection of permanent housing in the old and new villages, in the suburbs, and on the sites of *ma'barot*. Owing to the tremendous pressure, standards were necessarily low: houses were built of the cheapest materials by methods suitable for the relatively unskilled manpower available. The area of the dwellings ranged from 28 to 54 sq. m.; they were often handed over to the tenants barely finished, without internal doors to the rooms, except for lavatories and bathrooms, and the occupants had to make do with a shower until they could find the money to install a bath. It was only in the second half of the 1950s that some progress in housing standards was possible. In the 1960s, and especially with the growing immigration of Jews from Western countries, standards became, on the whole, reasonably satisfactory.

In the early stages, the immigrants themselves, though unskilled, were given employment in the building of their own homes, and as much use as possible was made of materials available in the neighborhood. Efforts were made to mechanize the building industry. Thirteen plants for the manufacture of prefabricated structures were established, and a degree of mechanization was introduced in conventional building methods. From the establishment of the state until 1970, 40,000,000 sq. m. of housing have been built for the accommodation of immigrants and other social purposes. In addition to dwellings, the state also had to erect in the new villages, towns, and suburbs buildings for public services, such as commercial centers, industrial estates, schools and kindergartens, synagogues, cultural centers, and cinemas.

[Haim Darin-Drapkin and David Tanne]

Slums and Overcrowding. Slums and defective or inadequate housing were created by:

(1) the rapid deterioration of abandoned Arab houses in some of the larger towns and the Jewish quarters constructed before World War I (some of these could be repaired, while others had to be pulled down and the inhabitants rehoused);

(2) the building of small and overcrowded, though generally sound and habitable, apartments in the early years of the state (rooms were added where possible, two adjacent apartments turned into one, and large families transferred to more spacious quarters);

(3) the continued occupancy of some temporary buildings by immigrants (these were gradually transferred to permanent homes and the buildings demolished).

A Slum Clearance and Building Authority was set up under the Clearance and Building Law of 1965 to deal with the legal, social, economic, and planning aspects of the problem. Tasks still to be tackled were: reexamination of housing operations in the past, with a view to correcting planning and other defects of the work done in the early years of the state; more building in the development towns to provide accommodation for the growing population; and speeding up slum clearance.

From 1948 to 1967, 600,000 units of permanent housing were built in Israel, 225,000 by private enterprise and 375,000 by public bodies. In addition, 22,000 dwellings were completed in 1968 and 26,000 in 1969. From 1970 to 2002 around 807,000 permanent housing units were constructed.

[David Tanne]

The problem of housing had become more difficult. In 1976–77 the situation which had arisen in earlier years, of lack of coordination between the apartments available (both number and size) and the demand, continued. Although thousands of apartments were available in the development towns, opportunities of employment in these towns are few and in 1976 alone the Ministry of Absorption returned about 1,000 apartments which could not be used to meet the needs of immigrants. On the other hand, there was a serious shortage of housing in the central areas and at the end of 1976 there was a shortage of 3,000 apartments for the immigrants, which was reduced by only a few hundred by the end of 1977. In 1976, 7,450 apartments were provided for the *olim* and 7,060 in 1977. In addition, in 1976, 2,750 mortgages for a total of IL231 million were granted to *olim* for buying apartments on the open market, and in 1977 there were 3,400 mortgages totaling IL293 million. Thus in 1977 the number of immigrants who preferred to buy apartments themselves with the aid of a mortgage, increased significantly.

About two-thirds of all *olim* in 1976–77 received permanent housing in the central coastal region; 10% in the Jerusalem area, and the remainder in development areas. Two-thirds of the 1977 immigrants were directed to their temporary or permanent residences by the Ministry of Absorption; the others chose by themselves. However, 70% of those who were directed by the Ministry agreed to the choice, while 16% went against their will; the others did not consider the choice important. In 1976, 1,130 immigrants were accepted by kibbutzim and 980 in 1977; 95% of them from Western countries. In 1976–77 immigrants were no longer sent to apartments rented by the Ministry of Absorption; the great majority were sent to other temporary residences, about half to absorption centers, and the remainder to relatives, kibbutz ulpanim, or other transition frameworks.

UNIVERSITY AND YESHIVAH STUDENTS. The diminution of *aliyah* in the past few years was reflected also by a decline in the number of student immigrants. The special administrative body set up to deal with them cared for 5,000 students in 1977 compared with 5,600 in 1976 and 6,200 in 1975. (The number of students under the care of the Student Administration in any year is not identical with the number of immigrant students in that year, because many students are handled for several years. However, there is undoubtedly correlation between the two.) In addition, at the end of 1977 there were 2,000 yeshivah students, also under the care of the administration. Of the students in 1977, 54% were immigrants, 43% potential immigrants, and 3% returning minors; 44% came with their parents. Among East Europeans the percentage is 85% as contrasted to 21% from South America. Of the yeshivah students, 72% came from North America, the great majority from the United States. Almost all of them came alone for a fixed time, after which they intend returning to their country of origin. Despite the fact that yeshivah students usually come only for study, a survey undertaken five years after their immigration showed that about half of the yeshivah students who came in 1969–70 had remained in Israel. There was, however, no similar follow-up for yeshivah students who arrived after those years.

Among the yeshivah students were included 25% who came to study at Torah institutions for women; 53.4% of all the university students in 1977 were females. The Student Administration helped the university and yeshivah students in registering at their educational institute (sometimes while the student was still abroad), in preparation towards their studies, with Hebrew ulpanim, in professional guidance and counseling, with individual and group auxiliary lessons, with cultural and informational activities, and with financial aid.

ORGANIZATION OF ABSORPTION. The diminution in immigration, the growing drop-out rate which increased monthly in 1974–75, and the increased criticism of the various absorption authorities in the Israeli mass media, all prompted the Israeli government and leaders of the Jewish Agency to reassess the issues of immigration and absorption. At the beginning of 1976 the prime minister, Yiẓḥak Rabin, and Yosef Almogi, then chairman of the Executive of the Jewish Agency, appointed a "Public Committee for Studying Issues of Aliyah and Absorption." Gen. (Ret.) Amos Ḥorev, president of Haifa University, was appointed chairman of the committee, and the members were mostly well-known public figures from various sectors of the society and the economy, long-term residents and immigrants. The main suggestion in the report of the committee was to abolish both the Ministry of Immigrant Absorption and the Aliyah and Absorption Department of the Jewish Agency and to set up instead an "Authority for Aliyah and Absorption to be operated by the chairman of the Executive of the Jewish Agency and under its auspices." The practical meaning of this suggestion was to transfer the handling of immigration and absorption to the Jewish Agency, as was the case before the establishment of the Ministry of Immigrant Absorption in the second half of 1968. This suggestion gave rise to considerable controversy between the ministry and the Jewish Agency, the former firmly rejecting it and the latter urging its implementation.

Three well-known Hebrew University scholars, who had undertaken extensive research into absorption, since the establishment of the State – Dr. Rivka Bar-Yosef, Dr. Tamar Horowitz, and Prof. Judith Shuval – sent a memorandum to Yiẓḥak Rabin sharply criticizing the method of operation and the conclusions of the Horev Committee. They alleged that the committee had heard the testimony and opinions of immigrants chosen at random, who were not representative of immigrants as a whole. Those who turned to the committee of their own accord were naturally interested parties or persons of extreme positive or negative opinions. The committee presented the current treatment of immigrants as a series of mistakes and ignored the achievements in several areas. They also felt that the committee ignored the objective reasons for the scant immigration and the absorption difficulties; for instance, the decrease of ideological-national motivation toward *aliyah* among Diaspora Jews, the low quality of life in Israel, the closed nature of Israeli society, the lack of correspondence between the Israel labor market and the occupation of the immigrants, etc. The main thrust of the criticism was that the committee considered the organizational aspect as the root of the trouble, while they felt it was of secondary importance.

[Yosef Litvak]

SETTLEMENT

UNTIL WORLD WAR I. Modern Jewish settlement (*hityashevut*) in the Land of Israel is usually reckoned as beginning with the founding of *Petaḥ Tikvah in 1878 by Jews from Jerusalem, with the aid of a group from Hungary. The Zionist movement initially left urban resettlement almost entirely to private initiative, so that the term *hityashevut* was identified with the establishment of new villages. It is only in recent years that it has been extended to cover the development of new towns and urban areas.

The First Settlements. The impetus to the large-scale renewal of Jewish settlement on the land was given by the First Aliyah. (See Table: Population and Area of the Jewish Settlements of Israel, 1898.) The newcomers founded *Rishon le-Zion, *Zikhron Ya'akov, and *Rosh Pinnah in 1882, *Yesud ha-Ma'alah and *Ekron in 1883, *Gederah in 1884, and *Reḥovot, *Mishmar ha-Yarden, and *Ḥaderah in 1890. They were primarily interested in setting up agricultural communities and tried to establish villages like those they had known in Europe, calling them moshavot. Many obstacles were placed in the way of the settlers by the Turkish authorities, and few of them had the slightest knowledge of farming meth-

Population and Area of the Jewish Settlements of Israel, 1898

Region	Settlement	Inhabitants	Area (in dunams[1])
Judea	Mikveh Israel	225	2,600
	Rishon le-Zion	531	6,800
	Nes Ẓiyyonah	121	1,800
	Reḥovot	281	10,500
	Ekron	150	4,090
	Gederah	69	3400
	Be'er Toviyyah	105	5,630
	Moẓa	15	650
	Hartuv	28	5,000
Samaria	Petaḥ Tikvah	502	13,850
	Ḥadera	870	29,880
	Kefar Sava	153	7,500
	Tanturah and Athlit	1,070	20,000
	Zikhron Ya'akov	–	–
Galilee	Sejerah	–	27,000
	Rosh Pinnah	325	14,000
	Ein Zeitim	51	5,600
	Mishmar ha-Yarden	93	2,380
	Yesud ha-Ma'alah	100	12,500
	Meron	–	2,000
	Maḥanayim	–	8,500
	Metullah	233	12,000

1 Four dunams = one acre.

ods. It was not long before the moshavot were threatened with collapse.

At this stage Baron Edmond de Rothschild stepped in. He made considerable investments in the farms, sent out experts to teach viticulture, and installed his own administrators. The settlements were saved, but at a considerable price: the settlers became completely dependent on outside support and had little say in the management of their holdings. By 1898 there were 22 of the new Jewish villages in the country, most of them based on monoculture, with fruit plantations as their mainstay. In 1900 the *Jewish Colonization Association (ICA, founded in 1891), which at first acted only as a source of credit for the farm communities, took over the management from Rothschild's administration. It developed a wider range of activities, established a training farm for agricultural laborers in *Sejerah (1901) and founded Mesḥa (*Kefar Tavor), Menaḥemiyyah, and *Yavne'el (1902), Beit Gan (1902), and *Mizpeh (1908), based on field crops (cereals).

The Zionist Organization's Role. In 1898, at the Second Zionist Congress, the Zionist Organization recognized the major role of settlement in the national revival, appointing a committee for the purpose. It started real activity, however, only after the foundation of the *Jewish National Fund in 1901 and, in particular, after the establishment of its Palestine Department and Palestine Office, headed by Arthur *Ruppin, in 1907 and 1908 respectively. Many of the newcomers of the Second Aliyah wanted to work on the land; at first they sought employment in the existing villages, which employed Arabs almost exclusively, and then, in 1908, began to found their own settlements. The Zionist organization's first settlement enterprise, in 1908, was the Dalāyikat Umm Jūnī training farm on the Jordan. In the following year the Palestine Office handed over part of the farm at Dalāyika, on the west bank of the river, to a group of workers who set up the first kevuẓah or collective village (see *kibbutz), called *Kinneret. Another group later leased the land at Umm Jūnī, on the east bank, on similar terms; it was later called *Deganyah. A third venture, in *Merḥavyah, based on the cooperative principles of Franz *Oppenheimer, proved a failure.

Starting with field crops, Deganyah and Kinneret gradually added new types of agriculture. Yosef *Busel, one of the founders of Deganyah, suggested diversified farming, combining fruit plantations with field crops and animal husbandry, so that the kevuẓah could pay its way and lay the foundation for permanent settlement. Ruppin and Y.A. *Elazari-Volcani, who was then setting up an agricultural research station at *Ben

Jewish Agricultural Settlement and Population up to the Establishment of the State of Israel

	End of 1900	End of 1914	End of 1922	End of 1941	End of 1944	May 1948
Moshavot						
Settlements	21	32	34	45	44	15[1]
Inhabitants	4,950	11,000	11,540	63,240	76,000	24,160
Moshavim						
Settlements		3	11	94	99	99
Inhabitants		400	1,410	24,820	29,500	30,142
Kibbutzim						
Settlements		4	19	87	111	159
Inhabitants		180	1,190	23,190	33,500	54,208
Others[2]						
Settlements	1	8	7	5	5	4
Inhabitants	260	410	780	1,750	4,000	2,121
Total						
Settlements	22	47	71	231	259	277
Inhabitants	5,210	11,990	14,920	113,000	143,000	110,631

1 Some rural settlements have become urban.

2. Agricultural schools, farms, etc.

Shemen, supported the idea, which gradually gained general acceptance. Settlement progressed slowly but steadily until the end of World War I, spreading to new areas in which the Jewish National Fund had acquired land. The moshavot also donated plots of land for daughter settlements, which were set up in 1912–13 by immigrants from Yemen: Maḥaneh Yehudah on the outskirts of Petaḥ Tikvah, Naḥali'el near Ḥaderah, and Sha'arayim near Reḥovot, "Workers' neighborhoods" – auxiliary farms for farm laborers – were established in Ein Gannim, *Naḥalat Yehudah, and Ein-Ḥai (*Kefar Malal), as well as independent villages like *Gan Shemu'el, founded in 1913. By the beginning of World War I there were 47 Jewish villages in the country, 14 of them supported by the Zionist Organization through the Palestine Office.

UNDER THE MANDATE. *Kibbutz and Moshav.* During World War I settlement activities came to a virtual standstill, but in 1919, after the *Balfour Declaration and the start of the Third Aliyah, activities were resumed by the Zionist Organization's Settlement Department, which replaced the Palestine Office. Much attention was paid to the ideological, as well as the practical aspects of the work. The ideal of the kevuẓah or kibbutz (the latter term was first used for the large settlement of *En-Harod, founded in 1921) was fully defined. In 1920 a renewed attempt was made, on a scientific basis, to settle in the hill areas, with the establishment of *Kiryat Anavim, west of Jerusalem, and *Atarot, to the north of the city. (Previous attempts had been made at Moẓa, in 1894, and Hartuv, in 1895.) Between 1921 and 1923 four kevuzot and three kibbutzim were founded in the Jezreel Valley – Emek Yizre'el, known simply as the Emek – where the first large, continuous stretches of land for settlement had been purchased by the JNF (see Table: Jewish Agricultural Settlement).

At the same time a new type of settlement, the cooperative smallholders' village or moshav, developed out of the workers' neighborhoods, but while the latter were intended as auxiliary farms for farm laborers working elsewhere, the moshavim were designed for independent settlers. This development, suggested by Eliezer *Joffe, was first applied in 1921 at Nahalal, in the Emek.

With the acquisition of additional areas in the Kishon basin, southeast of Haifa, in the Jordan Valley, and on the Coastal Plain, the network expanded. The land remained in the ownership of the JNF, which leased it to the settlers for long terms. The settlements established by the Zionist Organization were based mainly on diversified farming, including fruit plantations, field crops, and livestock. Some private villages, based mainly on citrus, also made headway, and moshavot were founded: *Binyaminah in 1922, and *Pardes Ḥannah and Ramatayim in 1928, mainly by middle-class settlers who raised all or part of the funds by their own efforts, requiring less help from the Settlement Department.

Standardizing Farm Units. As yet there were no well-defined types of farms. The size of holdings was not standardized, and the various villages engaged in different varieties of mixed agriculture, so that income levels varied greatly. To encourage standardization, the Zionist Executive appointed a committee in 1929 to devise a "farm index" for the different parts of the country. It examined the size of holding required for a family's livelihood, the equipment and supplies needed per unit, and the crops and livestock best suited to each area. In irrigated areas, such as the Beth-Shean and Jordan valleys and the Coastal Plain, 25 dunams (6¼ acres) were allotted for each farm unit; in non-irrigated or partially irrigated areas, such as the Jezreel Valley, 140 to 280 dunams (35–70 acres). This was the first step toward overall agricultural planning based on the natural conditions of the country.

As irrigation was extended, Volcani proposed reducing the farm unit to 24–30 dunams, to be made viable by more intensive methods, so as to facilitate the maximum utilization of the limited land resources and maintain the principle of "personal labor" (*avodah aẓmit*), to which both moshavim and kibbutzim adhered. The system also enabled each settlement to become an autonomous unit, almost independent of outside supplies and able, if necessary, to subsist in isolation and withstand a state of siege. Volcani's "organic diversified farm" became the prevalent type in Jewish agriculture during the Mandatory period and the early years of statehood.

The countrywide federations of kibbutzim and moshavim, run by the villagers' representatives, played an important role: they recruited new members, made regulations for the affiliated settlements, and dealt with economic problems. Newcomers were frequently organized abroad as "nuclei" (*garinim*), which could settle as a group immediately on arrival. Sometimes the organizations set up new villages on their own, without initial assistance from the Settlement Department of the Jewish Agency, which took them under its wing at a much later stage.

Special Settlement Projects. Between the early 1930s and World War II, a number of special settlement projects were carried out. The "Thousand Family Project" (which in the end comprised only a few hundred families) was started in 1932 and led to the founding of several villages on the Coastal Plain near Reḥovot – *Kefar Bilu, *Neta'im, *Bet Oved – and in the Sharon region – *Ẓofit, *Kefar Hess, *Rishpon, and others. Immigrants from Germany, starting in 1933, set up villages in the Ḥefer Plain and the Sharon. The Arab riots of 1936–39 inspired a new method of setting up outposts overnight: the *Stockade and Watchtower (*ḥomah u-migdal*) settlements, in order to forestall Arab attacks and official British opposition. The Zionist Organization decided to speed up the pace of settlement and set up strongpoints in areas where Jews had not lived previously, so as to create a new Jewish population map in case partition was adopted. The main areas concerned were the Beth-Shean Valley and upper Galilee. In all, 53 new villages, mostly based on diversified farming, were set up between 1936 and 1939. Despite the White Paper restrictions, the establishment of new villages continued during and after World War II: 94 were founded, almost half of them during the war. After the end of hostilities, there was a renewed effort to extend the area of Jewish settlement, special attention being devoted to the northern Negev, where 11 new villages were set up in a single night (Day of Atonement, 1946). Seven more were set up in 1947, and a provisional pipeline was laid from the center of the country to provide them with water.

IN THE STATE OF ISRAEL. The War of Independence in 1948 provided ample validation of the doctrine that settlement ensures control. Practically all areas in which there were Jewish settlements, however few or isolated, withstood the invading Arab armies and helped to determine the boundaries of the state. Political and economic conditions were completely transformed, and the new situation led to a new settlement policy, much broader in scope, covering wider areas, and founded on new organizational and economic principles. The severe food shortage of the first few years necessitated an immediate increase in farm production. At the same time employment had to be found for the new immigrants, many of whom lacked vocational training. Land was no longer a problem, since there were large unsettled areas within the armistice boundaries, though they were exposed to marauders.

Vast agricultural settlement projects were launched, with the Jewish Agency's Settlement Department still in charge. The department was responsible for the planning, execution, and supervision of the work, including the siting of the villages; the planning of buildings, water supply, and irrigation networks; the provision of equipment, seeds, and livestock; and expert guidance in farming methods and the problems involved in the establishment of self-reliant, socially integrated rural communities. Veteran farmers were sent to live in the villages as instructors and, in the early stages, help the villagers solve their social problems. At first the settlers were employed largely in building or (in the case of abandoned Arab villages) repairing houses, paving roads, and laying pipelines; they were usually provided with outside employment in afforestation and the like until they could live on the produce of their farms. The department's central and regional offices, with their expert agronomists, engineers, and architects, supervised the work of the men in the field and, in conjunction with the Ministry of Agriculture, coordinated the choice of crops and the methods of cultivation in accordance with the climatic and soil conditions in various parts of the country.

In each of the two years 1948–49 and 1950–51, some 100 new settlements were founded, at first mainly in abandoned Arab villages on the Coastal Plain and in the mountains of Jerusalem and Galilee, then in the Negev, the Lachish and Adullam areas in the south, the Taanach area in the eastern Jezreel Valley, and finally in the arid Arabah. Settlements in border areas were sometimes established first as outposts by *Naḥal units of the Israel Defense Forces and some of them later became civilian villages.

Between the end of 1947 (when the UN partition resolution was passed) and 1970, 439 new villages were established, with over 27,000 families living in them, while many existing ones were expanded and new urban communities established.

POPULARITY OF THE MOSHAV. An outstanding feature of this period was the growing popularity of the moshav. Before independence kibbutzim outnumbered moshavim; of the new villages founded subsequently (up to the end of 1970, 309 were moshavim and only 130 kibbutzim). The development is shown in Table: Jewish Agricultural Settlements. The main reason for the shift was the ethnic and social background of the newcomers. Before 1948 most of the immigrants who were of European origin intended from the first to become farmers. The later arrivals, on the other hand, over half of whom came from Asia and Africa, were placed on the land without any prior practical or ideological preparation. The collective structure, making as it does much greater ideological demands on the individual, hardly suited their social background and they preferred the moshavim, which are closer to the ordinary type of village.

Modification of Farm Patterns. Until 1953 most of the new villages were based on diversified farming because of the urgent need for fresh agricultural produce, especially milk, eggs, vegetables, and fruit. The structure of the farms was almost identical with the diversified organic farm type, for which the pattern had been set some 15 years before, and it was only after the beginning of 1953 that certain modifications were introduced. In some of the newly settled regions, the hill areas and the Negev, natural and climatic conditions were not suited to this type of farming. Moreover, production methods had improved and increasing mechanization called for greater specialization. The political conditions which had required small farm units and large settlements crowded into a small space, or autonomous units independent of outside supplies, no longer existed. The diversified farm model was therefore gradually abandoned or modified. Specialized farms were set up according to specific local conditions and domestic and foreign market requirements, the farms in each region now specializing in a particular branch of agriculture. Most of the moshavim established in 1955 – in the Lachish region, for instance – were based on field crops, allowing almost twice as much land per farmer as the diversified farms – some 50 dunams (12½ acres) per unit. Industrial crops for export or for replacement of imports, as well as vegetables for consumption and processing, are grown. Farms suited for growing export vegetables are located in special areas, mainly the Besor region in the western Negev. The diversified farms have also been modified in the direction of greater specialization, most of them being converted into dairy farms, while others concentrate on citrus, vegetables, and similar special products.

Regional Settlement Schemes. The political, economic, and social changes that followed the establishment of the State of Israel have also affected the rural pattern. Instead of each village being a closed, independent economic and social unit, they are integrated in a comprehensive regional structure.

A pattern of this kind was first adopted in the Negev settlements founded between 1951 and 1952, which were clustered around service centers, and was further developed in the Lachish area, settled in 1955. The pattern is based on the comprehensive planning of all the agricultural settlements and urban and rural centers in the area. The villages are placed in clusters of four or five around a rural center which provides the necessary facilities, while a larger town community serves the whole region. Only everyday facilities – kindergarten, food store, synagogue, etc. – are situated within the village itself. Other services, such as schools, shopping centers, sorting and packing sheds, and tractor stations, are located in the rural center, while more widely used facilities are located in the regional town. Since larger populations are catered for, the services are cheaper and more efficient, while civil servants, teachers, technicians, and the like can live in the rural center. Industries, mainly processing plants, are sited in the regional towns, closer to supplies of raw materials, thus reducing transportation costs. Services and industries located in the midst of the rural areas provide jobs for the surplus manpower in the villages, stemming the flow to the towns and preventing the impoverishment and abandonment of the countryside.

The regional structure also facilitates greater integration among settlers from different parts of the world, whose divergent backgrounds make it undesirable to make them live in close proximity. Under the regional system each village can be made up of a single ethnic group, while all the groups use the facilities provided at the rural center, where there is contact with people from the other villages. The result is a gradual process of integration which does not disrupt the life of the individual communities. Steps are being taken to establish rural service centers in areas settled before 1954, when the regional system was introduced.

Regional cooperation has also developed among the kibbutzim, which have begun to set up joint ventures. Here, for ideological and social reasons, the service center is not actually lived in; it contains facilities and plants shared by a number of kibbutzim, but does not constitute a separate village, the staff living in adjacent kibbutzim or coming in from a nearby town. A typical example is the center maintained by the Sha'ar ha-Negev regional council, in which 11 kibbutzim jointly run a refrigeration plant, a poultry slaughterhouse and a cotton gin, besides an amphitheater, sports facilities, a regional school, a regional laundry, and other consumer services.

National Planning. Another direct consequence of statehood is that land settlement has become an integral part of the national physical and economic master plans. Under the Mandatory regime, when there was no overall planning and development, the Jewish Agency's Settlement Department was practically independent. Now settlement is a part of national development, and close coordination is therefore maintained with all the other planning authorities. This considerably facilitates integration of rural and urban development: settlement activities are no longer confined to the rural areas, and every project has to take into account urban developments in the neighborhood. Thus, a development project for the Galilee area, started in 1966, covers the entire region, including, in addition to villages and rural centers, towns like Nazareth, *Karmi'el, and Safed. Joint teams representing the Settlement Department and all the other competent authorities collaborate in the preparation of such projects. In line with this trend, the Jewish Agency and the Ministries of Housing, Labor, and Agriculture set up a Rural and Urban Settlement Study Center to investigate the problems involved and outline suitable methods for new development and the modification of existing settlement patterns. The new regions developed in this way were central Galilee, the Besor Region and the western Negev, and the Arabah.

[Raanan Weitz]

New Settlement Since the Six-Day War and Its Challenges

THROUGH THE 1970S. Since its beginnings Zionism has pursued a twofold objective: restoring Jewish national independence through an ingathering of the exiles in the Homeland, and normalizing the people's social structure through a return to productive occupations, in particular to farming. Experience in the pre-State period had taught that wastelands bought and reclaimed with Jewish effort and settled by Jews reinforce the political claim to the relevant districts of the Land of Israel. Although Zionist philosophy regarded the "conquest of the land" as a purely peaceful endeavor, settlements soon proved to be indispensable for defense against armed attacks. The outcome of the 1948 War of Independence vindicated this policy of land acquisition and settlement which had increasingly been conducted under strategic considerations.

Following the Six-Day War, veteran pioneer farmers were the first to take the initiative for new settlement beyond the "Green Line" (the pre-June 1967 armistice borders). Youth and older members of Ḥuleh Valley kibbutzim volunteered to ascend to the Golan and establish outposts there to prevent the Syrians from returning to their dominating positions which through two decades had been a nightmare for the valley's inhabitants. In July 1967 they set up kibbutz Golan which became later, at a new site, Merom Golan, the region's largest Jewish rural location. Children of *Kefar Eẓyon settlers orphaned in 1948 insisted on renewing the Eẓyon Bloc on the Hebron Hills; in September 1967, the reconstruction of Kefar Eẓyon was begun.

Israeli citizens of various political affiliations united in the summer of 1967 to establish the *Ha-Tenu'ah le-Ma'an Ereẓ Israel ha-Shelemah (Land of Israel Movement), with Y. *Tabenkin as one of the proponents. Among the settlement organizations, *Ha-Kibbutz ha-Me'uḥad was the first to project settlement programs beyond the Green Line. The other associations joined in readily, with only *Ha-Kibbutz ha-Arẓi ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir expressing serious reservations.

The political aspect of settlement beyond the Green Line soon became an issue of considerable discussion. Shades of opinion appeared within the Israel Labor Party, although most members accepted Yigal *Allon's plan which became fully known in 1968. Seeking to combine the indispensable improvement of Israel's military defense with a minimum increase in its Arab population, Allon demanded new settlement in the Golan, the Lower Jordan Valley together with the northwestern Dead Sea shore and parts of the eastern slopes of Samaria and Judea, as well as the northeast corner of Sinai (subsequently called the "Rafiaḥ Salient" and, finally, the "Yammit Region"), and a strip paralleling the gulf shore to connect Eilat with the peninsula's southern tip. He also stipulated minor adjustments to the 1949 lines, so as to include within the territory of Israel the Eẓyon Bloc, the Ayyalon Valley, stretches on the Sharon border, etc., thereby emphasizing that he did not intend foregoing the historical link with the Jewish people's heartland but that political realities dictated the limitation of new settlement to the most vital areas.

The Labor-led government accepted the Allon Plan as a guideline, hinting at it in its directives of December 15, 1969, "to speed up the establishment of security outposts and permanent settlement, rural and urban, on the soil of the homeland." A ministerial committee headed by Y. *Galili decided, in cooperation with the Jewish Agency Settlement Department, on the locations to be settled.

At international forums, Jewish settlement in the administered territories encountered growing criticism. Even friendly Western powers showed little understanding of its vital importance for Israel's security. The American administration was at best prepared to acquiesce in Naḥal settlements which could count as military installations, but not in their being later converted into civilian Jewish villages.

The government at first gave precedence to settlements in the Golan which already at the close of 1967 had four outposts, while elsewhere there existed two isolated footholds in Sinai (Naḥal Yam and Naḥal Sinai), and rebuilt Kefar Eẓyon in Judea. During 1968, the number of Golan settlements rose to ten, and in the Lower Jordan Valley a beginning was made with three outposts. On the eve of the Yom Kippur War (October 1973), the Golan had 17 settlements and the Jordan Valley 12, the Gaza Strip four and Sinai nine (in addition to the two earlier outposts, four settlements in the Rafiaḥ Salient and three along the shore of the Gulf of Eilat); Judea had three villages in the Eẓyon Bloc, in addition to the urban nucleus of Kiryat Arba near Hebron, a field school on Mt. Giloh south of Jerusalem, and several new suburbs of the capital; Mevo Ḥoron in the Ayyalon Valley was founded in what had been neutral territory until 1967.

The Yom Kippur War and the soul-searching which came in its wake produced partly contradictory reactions. On the one hand, the inability of the Golan settlements to stem the Syrian assault, the necessity to evacuate several of them during the fighting and to reconstruct them only after the Israel army had thrown back the aggressors, gave rise to doubts whether in fully mechanized warfare rural settlements could still be regarded as an integral part of Israel's defense system. On the other hand, there arose new circles, both in Israel and in the Diaspora, willing personally to take part in pioneer settlement. Foremost among them were religious youth desirous of ensuring settlement throughout Judea and Samaria. "*Gush Emunim" was founded in February 1974 as their framework.

While the interim agreements with Egypt and Syria were being negotiated, Gush Emunim and others saw as their immediate task the prevention of a withdrawal from any area which had been under Israel's control since 1967. A case in point was Keshet, its name being an acronym of the Hebrew words "Kuneitra shall be ours," in the urban area of this Golan town. After the ratification of the agreement with Syria, Keshet, a moshav shittufi, was transferred southward to Khushniya, to serve as a connecting link between the southern and northern settlement blocs of the Golan. Not far from there, Yonatan, another moshav shittufi, was similarly founded without seeking the previous sanction of the authorities.

Gush Emunim, in contradiction to the Allon Plan, soon concentrated its efforts on establishing nuclei of settlement in the heart of Judea and Samaria. Its discussions with the Labor-led government and with dovish circles coincided with mounting pressure from abroad that settlement beyond the Green Line cease altogether. The Rabin government delegated army units to prevent demonstrative Gush marches and settlement attempts in Judea and Samaria and revised government directives were endorsed by the Knesset on June 3, 1974: "Settlement and establishment of outposts shall continue in accord with the resolutions that will be taken by the Israel Government." On July 31, 1974, Rabin declared in the Knesset: "It cannot be permitted that any group of people take the law in their own hands… every single act of settlement may be carried out only after the Government has approved it, after weighing its security and political aspects… the Government will continue to work for settlement, but also protect the settlement ideal from being exploited for anti-democratic purposes." Spokesmen of Gush Emunim claimed that dovish utterances of Israelis engendered the mounting pressure from abroad and complained that the government dragged its feet in developing centers like Kiryat Arba, Yammit, Ma'aleh (Mishor) Adummim, etc. In the discussions, positions coincided increasingly less with party lines and divided not only the Labor bloc but also the National Religious Party and even the Likkud. However, wishing to avoid an extreme confrontation, in January 1976 the government decided as a compromise, to transfer the would-be settlers of Elon Moreh, west of Shomron (Sebastiye), to the Kaddum army camp.

U.S. pressure in the matter was strongly applied before the May 1977 Knesset elections when Rabin visited Washington. President Carter termed the settlements "illegal" and, later in the year, called the adding of new ones "a defiance." More Gush Emunim settlement attempts were thwarted in the spring of 1977. Prime Minister *Begin, immediately after coming into office, visited the settlers at the Kaddum camp together with Ariel *Sharon, minister of agriculture and chairman of the Ministerial Committee on Settlement, and promised "there will be many (more settlements like) Elon Moreh," i.e., unreserved support of the Gush Emunim program. Following his own visit to Washington in September 1977, however, Begin and his government saw need to restrain the Gush. From the beginning of October temporary solutions were found for six of its groups by permitting them to settle inside army camps (Beth Ḥoron, Givon, Bet El, Neveh Ẓuf, Shomron, Dotan; the idea of drafting the settlers for reserve duty in the army was soon abandoned).

Sharon in his long-range program fully backed settling Judea and Samaria, particularly its western slopes which are less densely populated by Arabs than their central parts, together with the building of two or three highways crossing Judea and Samaria from west to east, also these to be secured by new Jewish towns and villages at strategic points. He based his program on a forecast of two million Jews who would live in the region. In October 1977 his proposal to recognize Gush Emunim as a regular settlement movement entitled to moderate government aid was jointly accepted by the government and the Zionist Organization.

In July 1977 Gush Emunim had published its own 25-year master plan, based on the assumption that even without an increase in births and immigration the Jews of Israel would number 5.5 million at the end of the century and half a million more if there was annual immigration of 20,000; the total Arab population would by then number 2.5 million. The plan was modeled so as to increase the Jewish population of Galilee and the Golan from 450,000 to 800,000, that of Judea and Samaria (including Jerusalem) from 300,000 to 1,050,000, and that of the southernmost Coastal Plain, the Negev and Sinai from 350,000 to 850,000, but with an addition of only 500,000 to the 2 million in the Central Coastal Plain. It saw as goals: the inclusion in Israel both of the hill crests and the Jordan Valley, the bolstering of Jerusalem's dominant position as Israel's capital, the reduction of demographic and ecological dangers by a better regional population distribution, and the improvement of the social structure by a transfer of workers from the service to the productive sector. The Gush plan proposed the establishment within 25 years of two cities of 60,000 inhabitants each, the one Kiryat Arba and another near Nablus, as well as four towns of 20,000 inhabitants, 20 "garden towns" with a population of 10,000 and 125 "community settlements" averaging 1,000–2,000 inhabitants, the latter to be grouped in "clusters" of four to eight around regional centers which would provide higher-grade services. In the long run, some clusters would amalgamate into towns or cities. The "community settlement" (*yishuv kehillati*) was to be organized as a cooperative society imposing on its members duties on the community's behalf, but leaving them free in the choice of their occupation, in the structure of their homes, etc. The plan contained maps and tables detailing location and economic foundations for every suggested settlement.

In the summer of 1978, Defense Minister Ezer *Weizman put forward his ideas with regard to settlement in Judea and Samaria. He opposed small farming communities scattered over wide areas and instead suggested six urban centers to be built on rocky ground with no large Arab population in the vicinity, enumerating Efrat, Givon, and Ma'aleh Adummim as supplementary satellites of Jerusalem, and Neveh Ẓuf, Ari'el (Ḥaris), and Karnei Shomron in western Samaria.

In August 1978 Professor Raanan *Weitz, for many years a member of the Israel Labor Party and head of the Jewish Agency's Agricultural Settlement Department, published his own Outline Plan for Rural and Urban Settlement for the period 1979–1983. Radically opposed to the approach of Gush Emunim, Weitz warned against Israel overreaching itself beyond the available manpower and against mingling Jewish and Arab populations within communities or restricted areas, which experience had always shown to have exacerbated antagonism. Judging it impossible to "judaize" Judea and Samaria, he demanded priority for developing the Yammit Region as a barrier between the Gaza Strip and Sinai, and the Lower Jordan Valley confronting Jordan. His five-year plan allocated 14 supplementary rural settlements to the former region and 17 to the latter, while the Golan, of second priority, was to get 11. Within the Green Line, he placed Galilee first with 20 planned rural settlements and later with 16 others stretched along the borders, while for the western Negev he envisaged 10 settlements, eight for the Aravah Valley, and six for the Negev Hills. Of these 102 localities to be peopled by 9,900 units (families), 60 were to be based mainly on farming, seven on industry and 35 combining both. For urban development, Weitz pointed to the need to bring towns to a "threshold size" beyond which they would expand spontaneously. Until 1983, a total of 11,900 families were to be absorbed in Kaẓrin on the Golan, Ma'aleh Efrayim in the Jordan Valley, Allon Shevut in the Eẓyon Bloc, Yammit, and Sapir in the Aravah Valley. Five existing towns of Galilee were to grow by 13,000 families, and Jerusalem with its suburbs by 23,500. With 13 other development towns within the Green Line reckoned to absorb 20,000 families, the plan foresaw a total of 68,400 families to be absorbed in the urban development sector. Weitz's ideas on strengthening communal cohesion preceded those of the Gush's program.

President Sadat's visit to Jerusalem (November 19–20, 1977) and the announcement of the Israel government's preparedness eventually to restore all of Sinai to Egypt, moved the Yammit Region into the center of attention. Shortly before, in September 1977, Prime Minister Begin, together with Housing Minister Gideon Patt, had visited Yammit and announced the go-ahead for the region's master plan, urging the increase of the town's population within two years from about 1,500 to 30,000. On November 2, Begin had requested membership and a house for himself at Ne'ot Sinai, the region's westernmost settlement. In December 1977, the approval of the government and the Knesset to restoring to Egypt the sovereignty over Yammit drew strong protests not only from Gush Emunim but also from the Labor Party and all settlement associations. Moshe Dayan and Ariel Sharon, visiting Yammit on January 2, 1978, disappointed the settlers in spite of their promise that local settlements would be strengthened and afforded full security by the Israel Defense Forces. Bitterness was aroused by Dayan's statement that "when peace is not achieved because of the settler's opposition, the people will not support them." Simultaneously, JNF work crews acting on government authority started groundbreaking work for eight, and then more, sites for settlement nuclei west and south of the region's existing villages, but were withdrawn after a fortnight. On President Sadat's demand that all Jewish settlements in Sinai be dismantled, Premier Minister Begin replied that Israel might rescind its peace proposal if Cairo did not permit the settlements to remain.

In the same month, Weitz published his Southern Project of 100 new settlements of 100 families each, to engage mainly in glasshouse farming, and 15,000 persons to live in nonfarming communities, which were to be established between Beersheba and Yammit, one third of them beyond the Green Line, even if it came under Egyptian sovereignty.

During 1978 and until the first Camp David Conference, the town of Yammit and the region's villages continued to consolidate their economy and increase their population. Construction of two villages begun earlier was pursued, but no new sites were allocated. After Camp David, the Knesset voted on September 25, 1978, to evacuate the region in the event of the signing of a peace treaty, with all speakers pointing to this as the decision's most painful aspect. On December 11, 1978, Weitz revealed to the Knesset Finance Committee his department's plan for "Pitḥat Shalom" ("Peace Salient") in the western Negev to resettle the Yammit Region inhabitants in 24 new villages of 60 units each, at a cost of $250 million, envisaging for the purpose also the Keturah area of the Aravah Valley, the Negev Hills and the vicinity of Niẓẓanah, the latter to be a city which would receive the Yammit inhabitants. These city dwellers, however, like the region's farmers, immediately declared they would by no means resettle anywhere else, and demonstrated their opposition in various ways. The protests culminated in the establishment of a "settlement" by Gush partisans 20 km east of el-Arish on March 20, 1979, the day of the Knesset debate on the signature of the Peace Agreement with Egypt.

Settlement in Judea and Samaria was not directly affected by the negotiations with Egypt. However, some people preparing to join settlements in the Lower Jordan Valley canceled their applications in view of the Yammit developments, although few actual members left villages during 1978. Gush Emunim, on the other hand, claimed that growing numbers wished to join its own existing sites and founded new ones. In July 1978, Sharon reported that, apart from 21 Jordan Valley settlements (by the end of 1976), Kiryat Arba and the Eẓyon Bloc villages, a skeleton network existed in Judea and Samaria comprising 16 settlements and three Naḥal footholds, of which four had been established under the previous government and the remainder since the Likkud had come into power. He announced the intention of doubling the number of families in these places to 1000 within a year.

At the Camp David Conference, the Israeli delegation consented to a temporary lull in the creation of new settlements in the region until the final agreement with Egypt scheduled for mid-December. A Gush group trying to set up camp on a hill near Nablus was expelled by the army (September 17–21, 1978), with Defense Minister Ezer Weizman being present at the tussle. While the Israel government reserved the right of "thickening" existing places, America interpreted the promise of Israel to refrain from further settlement as being unlimited in time. When the date passed without the expected agreement, Premier Begin declared settlement to be renewable. However, until President Carter's visit to Egypt and Israel (March 1979), no further settlements were established in the region.

In a newspaper article in January 1979, Y. Allon refuted the claim that rural settlements were no factor in zonal defense in modern warfare, and criticized the Likkud government for having given up Sinai without attempting to achieve border changes, thereby creating a precedent which could encourage other Arabs to demand, and eventually obtain, Israel's retreat everywhere to the untenable Green Line. He maintained that settlement in selected regions must be given new impetus and villages provided with all the necessary means to throw back even full-scale enemy assaults. In February Y. Galili declared that the Labor Party demanded continued Israeli sovereignty over the Lower Jordan Valley, the Eẓyon Bloc, the southern section of the Gaza Strip, and the Golan, and the adding of settlements in these regions.

In March 1979, when President Carter visited Egypt and Israel, the administered region of Judea and Samaria totaled 49 Jewish-inhabited locations. Of these, 23 were in the Lower Jordan Valley, near the Dead Sea, and on the adjoining hill slopes along the patrol road running from Rimmonim to Ma'aleh Efrayim, which separates them from the region densely inhabited by Arabs. Apart from Ma'aleh Efrayim, designed to serve as a semi-urban center, most settlements, moshavim and moshavim shittufiyyim (except for the southern sector where kibbutzim were prominent), were based principally on export-oriented farming of out-of-season vegetables and flowers.

The Eẓyon Bloc at that date contained the semi-urban center Allon Shevut, three kibbutzim, and one moshav shittufi. The construction of nearby Efrat as an urban community was officially approved in early 1979.

Over the rest of Judea and Samaria, 21 footholds were spread, most of them connected with Gush Emunim. Some of them grew quickly, others numbered only a few inhabitants who continued to maintain their jobs and apartments in the cities. Either Jewish-owned or "dead land" claimed by no one which had always, under Turkish, British, and Jordanian rule, counted as state property, was taken. Therefore, practically all hill settlements covered areas of rocky ground largely unfit for agriculture and were generally compelled to direct their future economy toward non-farming ventures.

Settlements in the Golan totaled 26, including the urban nucleus of Kaẓrin whose first residents moved in in 1977. While the first Golan settlements were kibbutzim and moshavim in the southern and northern sectors where some stretches were reclaimed for farming, the newer ones, largely in the central sector, were often built on permanently uncultivable ground and therefore concentrated on industry and other occupations. Since the early 1970s, the JNF has installed on the Golan plateau storage lakes to retain winter rainwater for summer use.

The Yammit Region (dismantled, evacuated, and ultimately leveled in 1982) and the Gaza Strip had 20 Jewish locations, of which nine were in the Strip. In early 1979 the town of Yammit had over 2,000 inhabitants, most having their place of work in pre-1967 Israel. There were two kibbutzim and 12 moshavim and moshavim shittufiyyim engaged in highly intensive and remunerative cultivation of export crops, some of them employing Bedouin of the vicinity as hired laborers. Water was received from shallow groundwater horizons and larger quantities came from the National Carrier. The settlements in the Gaza Strip, located on sand dunes, were kibbutzim and moshavim concentrating on glasshouse and open-air cultivation of out-of-season crops.

On the shore of the Gulf of Eilat existed three settlements, their economy principally based on tourism.

The task of establishing outposts after 1967 slowed similar activities within the Green Line, but in the early 1970s the urgent need was recognized to renew efforts, principally in mountainous Galilee and in the Aravah Valley.

In Galilee, including the Acre Coastal Plain, the Ḥuleh Valley and the Lake Kinneret shore, the proportion of Jews in the population shrank continually to little over 50% in 1978, and to hardly more than 20% in Galilee's hilly interior as a result of the enormous natural increase of non-Jews and, to some extent, by the migration of Jews to other parts of the country. Led by the New Communist Party, Arabs staged, particularly in 1976, riotous "land days" to protest against alleged expropriation of land from Arabs, although these amounted in Galilee to about 6,000 dunams only, much less than Jewish and state property taken for purposes like housing and other development, and although the development plans were designed to benefit Arab citizens no less than Jews. Non-Jews built thousands of houses scattered over state property or applied it to other use, with the intention both to create for themselves a claim to such land and to obstruct further Jewish settlement and development. In a few instances the Arabs of the Galilee demanded that their region should be severed from the State of Israel.

A Galilee development program had been proclaimed in the mid-1960s by Prime Minister L. *Eshkol, but after the founding of three moshavim, two of them near the Lebanese border, it was no longer energetically pursued. The plan was revived at the beginning of the 1970s with the consolidation and "re-planning" of hill moshavim (both in Galilee and the Jerusalem Corridor), and their infrastructure was broadened, especially by enlarging the poultry branch. Residential and farm buildings zones were separated and room was gained for absorbing more settler families in each village, particularly from the locally born second generation. Work started on the reclamation of land for industrial zones, e.g., Goren near the Lebanese border, Tefen in Central Upper Galilee between Ma'alot and Karmi'el, Segev in northwestern Lower Galilee, and Tur'an on the ridge of the same name further to the southeast. From 1976 onward the novel concept of industry-based villages (*kafatim*), consisting of kibbutzim, moshavim, and "community settlements," began to take shape with the founding of outposts, some of them initially maintained by Naḥal. At the end of 1978 they numbered eight. At the founding ceremony of a ninth, in February 1979, Minister Sharon described this location as the first of 29 temporary footholds in Galilee immediately to be created, in order to guard and prepare land for later permanent settlements to take shape within four to five years. Concurrent with new rural settlement were programs for expanding housing, industrial, and other enterprises of urban and semi-urban centers (Safed, Ma'alot, Karmi'el, Shelomi, Kiryat Shemonah, Ḥaẓor). Road building was started in 1978 to make older and more recent locations more easily accessible and to increase the attraction of their residential and industrial zones. Afforestation and preparation of pasture grounds were speeded up, both for their intrinsic economic and ecological value and the prevention of unlawful encroachment on public lands. These measures, at least as much as they promised to multiply Jewish settlers, benefited Galilee's non-Jews. This was in line with Israel's policy which regards the steep rise in the non-Jews' living standard as an integral part of its development objectives. While there were numerous candidates for farming and other enterprises in independent rural locations there were only few for hired employment in factories, tourist enterprises, etc., and vacancies were readily taken up by the region's non-Jews.

In the Aravah Valley, all settlements must be likened to "artificial oases," won by thorough land reclamation and the exploitation of profound, partly fossil, water reserves. Adding new links to the chain of Jewish villages was essential for Israel's security, because the Jordanian border splits this 180 km.-long desert rift lengthwise. The program gathered momentum after 1968, with eight farming settlements added to the five founded previously. Sapir, a semiurban center, was also under construction. This center promises to increase decisively the region's population and to promote its intensive agriculture actively, e.g., with an airfield for the direct dispatch by freightplanes of the region's produce to European markets, or a turkey slaughtering and packing plant to permit the renewal of this profitable branch which the settlements had been obliged to discontinue temporarily because of the long transport run to central Israel.

Of the settlements founded between 1967 and 1981 in other parts of pre-1967 Israel, some are very close to the Green Line and link up with development endeavors beyond it.

[Efraim Orni]

THE 1980S AND AFTER. Between 1983 and 1992, the size of settlement and its regional distribution depended largely on the influence of the main political parties and their approach to Israel's current situation. The Likud and Gush Emunim (whose settlement association is named Amana) persevered in putting the emphasis on Judea-Samaria (the West Bank) and the Gaza Strip. The Ma'arakh Labor Bloc, on the other hand, insisted on restricting new settlement beyond the pre-1967 areas to the Allon Plan (see above) areas that had been envisaged for development after the Six-Day War. It explained that the peace process had to be kept going without the impediment of settlement in areas closely inhabited by Arabs. When the National Unity government was established in 1985, the Likud partners had to be content with a compromise that permitted the establishment of only a few new settlements in the Administered Areas.

Foreign powers showed increased interest in the settlements. The U.S. kept repeating its wish that Israel refrain from further settlement in the territories and, especially, from directing new immigrants to them. The U.S.S.R. made full renewal of diplomatic relations conditional upon Israel's readiness for compromise concerning the territories although the relations were eventually restored without any concessions. The Arabs made cessation of settlement part of their conditions in peace negotiations.

Israel's right wing endeavored to make up for the decrease in new foundings by "thickening" the territories' Jewish population through speedy enlargement of existing places, aspiring to obtain appropriate budgets for land purchase, road construction, and other investments. Their success was considerable. In Judea-Samaria and the Gaza Strip the number of Jews rose from 22,800 in mid-1983 to 203,700 at the end of 2002. However, Teḥiyyah and other right-wing parties opposing the National Unity government complained that far from enough was being done for expansion.

Within the pre-1967 boundaries, Galilee and the Negev were the locales for few new settlements. In the Golan Heights no change was made.

Between 1983 and 2002, 105 places were founded: 47 in Judea-Samaria; 13 in the Gaza Strip; 3 in the Golan; 42 within pre-1967 Israel. In fact, however, the total of additions in the period was smaller, because the survey indicates as founding date the year when it recognized a settlement's existence, which is frequently later than when the foundations were laid.

A trend discernible in the 1980s and 1990s was the preference given to the novel forms of "community village" or "private village." Permitting settlers much greater freedom in their occupational and private sphere than do the veteran kibbutz or moshav, the community village not only attracted nuclei of new settlers but also groups which had originally intended to choose one of the traditional forms. Even a number of existing settlements decided, or were considering, to turn themselves into community villages. The designers of the new forms had predicted that they would each contain 200 or more families. While most community villages remained below this size, a few had grown beyond it and become, or were on the way to becoming, urban localities.

Of the sites available for new settlement both within pre-1967 Israel and in the Administered Areas, very few have at their disposal a minimum of cultivable soil. Therefore only a very small number of the new settlements included farming in their economic projection. This was encouraged by the fact that the size of cultivable acreage is no longer seen as decisive for Israel's farming capacity and profitability. Instead, most new places endeavor to promote industry, tourism, and other productive services or are content that most of their members commute to their work places in the country's major agglomerations. Among the settlement sites, those which are easily accessible for commuters have an advantage. Construction of good and easy roads has thus become an integral part of regional development.

[Efraim Orni]

PLANNING: URBAN AND RURAL DEVELOPMENT

THE NATIONAL PLAN. On its establishment the State of Israel set itself two political goals: (a) to bring the maximum number of Jews from the lands of their dispersion back to the country of their biblical origin, and (b) to integrate the newcomers into the framework of the new state. A further basic aim was to develop, populate, and provide employment in the entire territory of the state in order to achieve, in the course of time, a fairly equal standard of living in all parts of the country. It was the task of national, physical planning to give these basic objectives their technical and detailed expression and to point out ways for their realization.

When independent Israel came into being (1948), the greater part of the population was concentrated in the coastal strip and the cities of Tel Aviv, Haifa, and Jerusalem. In view of the large influx of new immigrants and the need to settle the sparsely populated areas, the government adopted a policy for the balanced distribution of the population over the entire country. On the basis of this policy, a national plan was prepared for urban development by the building of new towns and rural development by the expansion of agriculture and the establishment of new villages.

After the first decade and a half of intensive planning and implementation, this situation was altered and progress made towards achieving the desired results. To the three existing major cities, a fourth was added – Beersheba, the capital of the Negev. The three major cities still exceed all others both in size and attraction and are constantly enlarging their conurbations. Free enterprises flourish in these cities and they offer a favorable labor market. Recently, there has been a rapid rise in the price of land and a tendency to use good agricultural land for urban settlement and services is making itself felt. The Coastal Plain is the most favored area of settlement and is even preferred to the capital, Jerusalem. Additional urban conurbations are forming in the Coastal Plain (e.g., Ashkelon, Ashdod, Netanyah, Ḥaderah). Agriculture in the Coastal Plain, which is well irrigated and close to the cities, is in a favored position as compared with other regions.

The waves of immigration since the foundation of the state were perhaps proportionally the largest known in history. For a decade and a half an annual average of 13.5% of the initial Jewish population entered the country. To this must be added the natural increase at the rate of 17 per thousand and an increase in the Arab population at the rate of 42 per thousand. This provided sufficient human material for the expansion of the existing settlements and the establishment of new settlements. About 400 rural settlements have been set up since the establishment of the state and many new cities founded. Galilee, the mountain district of Jerusalem and the Southern Region (the Negev) were populated with urban and rural settlements.

This expansion over the entire territory of the state coupled with the partial implementation of an extensive development program has been accompanied by the usual social phenomena. The economic situation of the major cities and the longer-settled areas is better than that of the newly developed regions. The new immigrants for the most part came to Israel devoid of economic means. They had to be housed and economically integrated at the public expense and the required services had to be provided. They had to bear the strains of a period of initial development which the veteran populations had encountered and overcome several decades before.

A national plan for the entire territory of the country was worked out in detail. It was intended to serve as a guide, and it was estimated that it would remain valid for 15 to 20 years. Major parts of the plan involved decisions and investments which would affect generations to come.

Of primary importance was the part showing the distribution of the population against the background of the new cities which were to be planned and developed. Since the establishment of the state, the Planning Department has on six occasions drawn up general plans showing the desired distribution of the population and from time to time has brought these plans up to date.

The 1957–8 plan, which was worked out on a scientific basis, was submitted to an inter-departmental committee for approval.

The final version of the plan, prepared in 1964, envisaged an estimated population of 4 million.

The main functions of the plan were the following:

a) to provide a balanced framework for the plans of individual settlements;

b) to serve as a guide to the practical measures to be taken towards implementing the distribution of the population, e.g., the geographical distribution of housing units and the siting of industrial enterprises;

c) to guide government offices and other bodies in determining the size and location of institutions and other establishments.

In drawing up the plans, the general aim was to further the process of population distribution – a policy vital to the country's defense and settlement needs and one that is necessary to relieve the mounting pressure on land in the overcrowded coastal strip. On the other hand, the plans did not ignore the existence of factors operating against dispersion and in favor of concentration, some of which are based on legitimate demands – e.g., a concern for the best conditions for those industries which will have to compete in world markets.

A continued distribution of the population and a check on the expansion of the big cities were the main objectives which found expression in the plans. At the same time the proposals were drawn up on a practical scale. They did not seek to impose on the state a burden of special investment which it could not bear. Only the measures to be taken in remote and underdeveloped areas justified exceptional effort and large-scale investment on the part of the State (e.g., in Northern and Central Galilee, the Besor Region, Arad, and the Central Negev).

On the other hand, such steps are not required when the aim is merely to increase the existing population of settlements which are fairly well established or which already have a large population (e.g., Beershebaa, Ashkelon, and Afulah).

Finally, it is important to stress that the urbanization of the Coastal Strip (unless this process is limited to the sand dune areas) is likely to produce results as negative as those caused by the continued expansion of the population in the Haifa and Tel Aviv areas.

The plan for the distribution of an estimated population of 4 million was not tied to any particular year. The date on which Israel's population would reach 4 million depended to a large degree on the rate of immigration, a factor which it was impossible to predict. Nevertheless the plan presumed that the population would reach this figure in 1982. In working out the plan, all those factors which affect the growth of population and which to a certain extent offset one another (e.g., the demographic aspect, the possible size of the agricultural and village population, the estimated occupational structure of the population, the limits to the distribution of industry and the possibilities of absorption in outlying regions of the country) were taken into account.

The plans for distribution of the population indicated the way in which development was to take place in the rural and urban sectors and in the new towns.

In addition to the significant expansion of the few cities existing at the time of the establishment of the State, a large number of new towns have been founded. They may be divided into the following types:

1. Former agricultural settlements which have grown into towns (first Petaḥ Tikvah and Rishon le-Zion, then Nahariyyah, Kefar Sava, and Zikhron Ya'akov).

2. Former Arab towns that were repopulated and considerably expanded (Ramleh, Lod, Bet Shean, Beersheba, and Acre – the area outside the city walls).

3. Completely new cities (Kiryat Shemonah, Ashkelon, Ashdod, Dimonah, Bet Shemesh, and Eilat).

4. Larger Arab villages, which are slowly assuming the character of small towns (Shefaram, Rama, Marar, Taiba, and Tira).

5. Small towns in the Negev (Mizpeh Ramon, Arad, and others).

6. Rural service centers for groups of 5–10 villages, which fulfill the urban needs of the rural sector.

The establishment of satellite towns or single neighborhoods within the major and medium-size conurbations of the Coastal Plain cannot be regarded as the foundation of new towns or as a contribution to the distribution of population. It merely constitutes a shift of emphasis within the existing conurbation.

The areas which were most difficult to settle were those along the frontier, less for security reasons than as a result of the low agricultural quality of soil and their distant position. They were at first settled by kibbutzim at considerable distances from each other. Previously low-populated areas in the mountain regions (e.g., the Jerusalem Corridor and parts of Galilee) were provided with a network of agricultural settlements, backed by small townships (e.g., Bet Shemesh, Ma'alot, Kiryat Shemonah).

Several regions whose soil has been neglected but was naturally of good quality were re-populated under major development projects.

Lachish with its township of Kiryat Gat is the oldest and best known among these. It is followed by the projects for Karmiel, Arad, and Besor. In Galilee and along the southern Coastal Plain (around Ashkelon), equivalent results have been achieved by ordinary government development methods.

The development of the arid Negev region constitutes a special problem. What the area lacks in water and agricultural land is to some extent balanced by its natural resources. Towns of various sizes – Beershebaa as a major city, Eilat as a port city, Dimonah as an industrial center, and four additional smaller townships – were meant to provide for the population of this arid zone once the communications system was fully established.

The broad central strip of the Coastal Plain, from the Carmel down to the Gaza border, offers excellent agricultural soil. The prospering coastal towns as well as the towns which have developed from former rural settlements tend to encroach upon this agricultural land and urbanize it. Since the quantity of good agricultural land in Israel is limited and since in the future it will have to provide food for a far larger population, this trend had to be restricted. Measures were therefore taken to ensure that urban expansion did not proceed at the expense of the country's best nutritional soil.

PLAN FOR JERUSALEM. The plan for Jerusalem, which covered the entire city, is of special interest. In keeping with the topography of the capital, which has profoundly influenced its character, the hilltops and mountain slopes were specified for building purposes, constituting compact neighborhood units, while the valleys were left open as public areas. Special attention was paid to holy places and archaeological sites, and typical quarters of special interest were preserved. The open spaces form a suitable setting for public buildings, mostly on the hilltops, such as the Knesset, the government offices, the University, Herzl's tomb, Yad Vashem (the memorial to the victims of the Nazi Holocaust), and the Hadassah Hospital. A special team of experts, set up by the Ministry of the Interior and the Municipality, prepared plans for areas of special historical and religious importance, including the Old City, the Mount of Olives, and their environs. Special attention was paid to the Old City and very strict regulations laid down to preserve its character.

RURAL PLANNING. Land reclamation, soil improvement schemes, swamp drainage, afforestation, terracing, and cultivation of lands neglected for centuries have all been carried out on a large scale. Flood control, catchment, and diversion of surface water, and extensive tapping of underground water have added thousands of acres of good agricultural land to the total cultivable area. The introduction of scientific methods of research and the mechanization of farming have considerably improved and increased agricultural output.

By 1948, when the State of Israel was established, the rural population numbered some 85,000 in about 320 Jewish agricultural settlements. Though agricultural development was certainly guided by the circumstances of the time, there was no comprehensive planning. On the whole, the development was sporadic, conditioned by opportunity, and uncoordinated. The turning point came in 1948 and only since then could comprehensive development be envisaged. Today agricultural and industrial, rural and urban, and economic and social development are all coordinated, thus ensuring the best results for the national economy.

The planning of agricultural development is now based on soil surveys, on land classification, and on the exploitation of water resources.

The supply of water in Israel is limited. The allocation of water for various uses in accordance with the planned economic development of the country is essential and is strictly enforced. A countrywide water supply grid was planned and established. The total water resources are insufficient for the maximum exploitation of all available agricultural land and for the industrial development envisaged. Schemes for harnessing the waters of the Jordan River and for catching rain water flowing from the hills to the sea are in progress. Research into the desalination of sea water and the purification of brackish underground water is also well advanced.

Planned cultivation, guided by government authorities and backed by research, together with the introduction of new scientific methods and an increase in mechanization, have all improved agricultural production. Once the national needs for fresh agricultural produce were met, a shift to the cultivation of industrial and export crops was encouraged. During the period of 1955–61 agricultural exports increased by 85%. The increase in the cultivation of industrial crops was coordinated with the development of the processing industry.

During the first years of development and under the pressure of mass immigration, agricultural settlements were located where water and good soil were available. Little consideration was given to regional integration. As immigration slackened off, reexamination was possible and further development was based on a comprehensive development plan for each region. Regional development authorities were set up to direct an area's development until economic, social, and administrative maturity was attained.

Since the establishment of the State of Israel, 944 rural settlements have been founded and the rural population has increased from 85,000 to about 476,000. It comprised in 2002 about 8.9% of the total population as compared with 12.7% in 1948. Employed in agriculture in 2002 were some 71,700 persons, as compared with 32,000 in 1948. Agricultural production has been increased and marketing methods improving. The rural community has now attained cultural and material standards comparable to those in the towns.

In the early 21st century, agricultural development has pretty much come to a standstill, as all available water resources having been exploited. Improvement in methods of cultivation and in marketing continue, but the continued exploitation of the high-quality agricultural land available must await further progress in the supply of water.

LEGISLATION. Planning procedures and activities are regulated by the Planning and Building Law, 1965, which is administered by the National Planning Board, six district planning commissions, special planning commissions, and local planning and building commissions. The main function of the National Board is to prepare national outline schemes, approve district outline schemes, and advise the government on all planning and building matters. There is a committee for the protection of agricultural land under the auspices of the National Board. The most important functions of the district planning commissions are to approve local outline schemes and detailed plans, and to draw up district outline schemes. The country is divided into town planning areas, each with a local planning and building commission, which prepares local planning schemes and detailed schemes, issues building permits, etc.

The minister of the interior may, upon the recommendation of the minister of housing, declare by order that any area situated within one district shall be a special planning area. Every such area has a special planning and building commission, which acts, with certain restrictions, as a local and district commission. Other provisions of the law deal with expropriation, compensation, defense installations and obstructions to aviation, non-conforming use, offenses, penalties, and miscellaneous matters. The minister of the interior is charged with the implementation of the law and may make regulations after consultation with the National Board.

ADMINISTERED AREAS. Israel's new geographical goals after 1967 were the occupation, as rapidly as possible, of areas beyond the Green Line by the establishment of numerous settlements; the creation of new security belts beyond the 1967 borders, continued socio-economic consolidation of previously established settlements within these borders; and further expansion of infrastructure.

The ways in which these aims were to be achieved were basically the same as 20 years before. In this period too, border settlements were founded, although the borders were now in the Golan Heights, the Jordan Rift Valley, and the northeast of the Sinai Peninsula. Development districts were set up on the Golan Heights, in the southern Gaza Strip, in the Jordan Valley, and at selected and more restricted spots.

Most of the development took place not within the sovereign domain of Israel, but far beyond it. This new development did not form a continuum with the settlement complexes established during the two previous decades. Moreover, the change in priorities in basic investments and the diversion of resources to the occupied territories left insufficient funds for the socio-economic consolidation of the settlements established in the past. In the 1970s a new settlement geography began to take shape, with comprehensive political and security interests beyond the original borderline. Development priority has also been accorded to Jerusalem over the years, despite the 33 towns founded when the state was established to attract urban settlers and scatter the population. The desire was to transform Jerusalem into a big capital city, for nationalist and religious reasons, although this was not justified on objective geographical grounds.

Instead of solving substantive and physical problems within the territory of Israel, accelerated development activity was being directed to sites outside it. In the wake of the frustrations of the withdrawal from Sinai in 1981, and the enforced territorial shrinkage, the declared policy of the government gave greater impetus to the west-east direction, turning its attention to the occupied territories for reasons of security, strategic depth, and territorial integrity. The three objectives of this expansion were naturally the Golan Heights, the Gaza Strip, and Judea and Samaria. The Golan Heights had a great deal of unoccupied land and a small local population, while Judea and Samaria had both, considerable unoccupied land and a large population. On the Golan Heights the acquisition of physical control had been relatively easy and was already accomplished; in the Gaza Strip there was no possibility of expansion, because there were about a million people in an area of about 363 square kilometers, one of the highest densities in the world. There thus remained one possible objective for expansion – Judea and Samaria. It must be borne in mind that this latitudinal direction was beset with considerable difficulty, facing a million-strong Arab population in dense concentration throughout Judea and Samaria, facing a continuum of villages and towns, facing difficulties in acquiring land, and facing a hostile population that did not make things at all easy for the civil administration in the areas. The latitudinal expansion was based on a number of phenomena characteristic of the Israeli population. The Jewish population has a definitely urban mentality and is therefore primed for non-agricultural settlement with industry and services; it is interested in places of residence with improved environmental quality and without pollution and it is prepared to flee chaotic urban crowding even for places beyond the "Green Line." The motivation derived from the fact that in Judea and Samaria it was possible to find relatively easy solutions to all the glaring defects in Israel's living conditions and for which no reasonable solutions were planned.

However, the authorities made a different response to the new geographical conditions. In their change of direction they disregarded the principles that underlay the upbuilding of the country in the past. There is no doubt that the settlement map of the 1970s and 1980s was influenced primarily by political, military, and security factors, subject to pressure from the United States, Egypt, and Syria which dictated various measures in Israel. Yet there were also various domestic nationalistic motives and political party interests that contributed to the settlement activities and the change of the map of Israel. In the course of the process, various social and economic pressure groups arose which were very interested in having Israel change direction so that they could derive certain benefits.

Thus the 1970s and 1980s differ from earlier decades in the political motivation for settlement, going beyond economic considerations, in mass settlement, rural and urban, public and private, in areas whose ultimate fate was not yet known, involving penetration within a dense Arab population, and in new types of settlement – all this with almost daily political strife. Israel's new borders led to a regrettable diffusion of the new settlements; it created too few consolidated areas like the Golan Heights and the Jordan Valley. In the past the Negev had been the chief focus of settlement, later replaced by Galilee. In the 1970s it was Sinai, the Golan Heights, Judea and Samaria, and the Jerusalem environs. In 1977–91 the right-wing Likud government politicized the settlement of Judea and Samaria in order to change the map of the country within a short period of time and strengthen it towards the east. It is doubtful whether this new map is one which will allow the maintenance of a single national sovereignty and a democratic society.

[Jacob Dash / Elisha Efrat (2nd ed.)]

REGIONAL AND SETTLEMENT PLANNING

Regional planning in Israel has always been a highly centralized activity, formulated through a series of statutory national, district, and local guidelines. The National Council for Planning and Construction prepared occasional outline plans at the country-wide level, and these provide the framework for more detailed district and local plans. The National Council is chaired by the chief planner of the Ministry of Interior and is composed of members representing other government ministries (such as Housing and Construction, Education, Economic Planning) and other major interests (the Committee for Land Preservation, environmental groups, and so on).

In 1985, the National Council for Planning completed the Outline Plan (No. 16) for the Geographical Distribution of Seven Million Inhabitants, expected to occur during the 1990s. This plan replaced the existing Outline Plan (No. 6) for Five Million Inhabitants which had been completed in 1975. The expected distribution of population was divided among the six major administrative districts of the country.

The demographic assumptions behind the plan assumed continued natural growth coupled with significant immigration. While at first these assumptions did not appear realistic, the sudden influx of Russian immigrants between 1989 and 1991 transformed the Seven Million Plan into a realistic indicator of demographic growth for the 1990s.

The urban landscape continued to grow, with some 20 percent of Israel's population residing in the four major towns of Tel Aviv, Haifa, Jerusalem, and Beersheba by the year 2002. Within the Dan Bloc metropolitan region, encompassing Tel Aviv and the surrounding towns from Kefar Sava and Netanyah in the north, to Ashdod in the south and Petaḥ Tikvah to the east, over half of the country's population resided on only 25% of the country's land surface, with 40% of the population within the metropolitan center alone. This was in direct contrast to the peripheral regions, especially the Negev, wherein 11% of the population lived in 60% of the country's land area. Despite government attempts to promote population dispersal, through the granting of tax cuts, cheap mortgages and other benefits, the population showed its preference for the center of the country.

A major change to have taken place within Israel's settlement landscape during the 1980s was the continued transformation of the rural landscape. What had previously been a largely homogeneous settlement pattern, composed of cooperative agricultural communities, such as the kibbutz and the moshav ovedim, now gave way to a more varied pattern. On the one hand, many of the existing agricultural communities underwent functional transformation as many of the residents ceased working in agriculture. This was particularly true of the moshav sector, with inhabitants finding an employment alternative in nearby towns. This was one the results of the severe economic problems which afflicted these communities in the wake of the high inflation of the early part of the decade.

Of greater significance was the founding of over 100 dormitory communities, similar in nature to the exurban commuting villages to be found throughout the Western world. Approximately two-thirds of these new communities were established in the West Bank, many of them by Gush Emunim adherents, this region lying within the natural commuting hinterland of both the Tel Aviv and Jerusalem metropolitan regions. A large number of these exurban communities were also founded in Galilee, mostly in the western Galilee region of Segev. These communities were distinct from the traditional agricultural cooperatives in many respects. In the first place, little – if any – employment takes place within the village itself. Nearly all the working residents commute to the nearby towns for their employment. Moreover, these communities are based on a vision of "Western high-quality of life" living standards characterized by the private construction of large detached houses, giving further evidence of the clear emergence of a growing Israeli middle-class. While the majority of these communities were founded with substantial governmental assistance, private investment was responsible for a minority of cases (approximately 20 communities). The private communities were, on the whole, extremely large from the outset, with some of them (such as Metar in the northern Negev, or Koḥav Ya'ir in the center of the country) reaching 1,000 households (5–6,000 people) by the early 1990s.

The sudden arrival of the mass Russian immigration in 1990 and 1991, resulted in short-term, dramatic changes in both planning and construction. At the national level, the National Council for Planning prepared an Outline Plan for the distribution of population, as expected to take place by 1995 – reaching a total of 6.1 million inhabitants. This plan followed the general trend already noted in the Plan for Seven Million Inhabitants, although it proposed some variations on the detailed patterns of distribution.

The lack of sufficient housing for all of the immigrants led to the granting of emergency powers, designed to shortcut the normal bureaucratic delays encountered in the housing process, to the respective ministries, and in particular to the Ministry of Housing and Construction. Large-scale construction programs were put into effect throughout the country. The varied building programs included the construction of both high and low density neighborhoods, some of which consisted of imported housing units. Some of the smaller development towns underwent substantial population increase – as much as 25–30% – in the space of only one or two years. However, this has resulted in significant municipal and functional problems for the local authorities in their attempt to continue to supply a reasonable level of municipal services.

In addition to the major programs of housing construction, thousands of mobile caravan units were imported in order to provide short-term housing solutions until the solid housing would be completed. The government was conscious of the fact that the large caravan estates which sprang up throughout the country could lead to the development of social and economic conditions similar to those which occurred in the immigrant camps of the 1950s. As a result, the new government of June 1992 declared its intention of evacuating all of these camps within as short a time period as possible and encouraging their residents to move into the permanent housing.

[David Newman]

LAND OWNERSHIP

UNDER OTTOMAN RULE. Until 1858, there were no official title deeds for land in the country. There was a plentiful supply for all who wished to cultivate the land, and no one needed to establish official ownership of a specific plot. In the hills, in particular, there were large uncultivated areas which were used only for spring and pasture. In 1858 the Ottoman government promulgated the ṭābū law, designed to enforce registration and establish ownership for all land. But the obligation was no more than theoretical: only limited areas were registered, and many holders did not register their lands at all, to facilitate evasion of taxes and other imposts. Many peasants recorded the natural boundaries of their land but deliberately underestimated the area – there was no cadastral survey at the time. In return for a few coppers other peasants waived their rights in favor of effendis (rich landlords) in the towns. Lands were sometimes registered in the name of a whole village (mushā'a land) without stipulating the names of the current holders; the area was divided up afresh every year according to the number of members in each family, with a steady decrease in the area of the individual holding. Much land was left uncultivated because it had not been manured for centuries and the exhausted soil afforded inadequate yields, while the burden of taxation and extortion by the authorities and the tax farmers was heavy.

The enforcement of the *maḥlūl* law, under which cultivable land untilled for three consecutive years escheated to the state, led to the concentration of considerable areas in the hands of the government, which, being unable to cultivate them, leased them to urban capitalists for trivial rents. As a result, extensive stretches were concentrated in the hands of individual rich landowners, the sultan (*Jiftlik* land), the state, and the waqf (Muslim public, state, or religious trust), to which land was often dedicated to avoid taxation. At the end of the 19th century, large estates were owned by the state and the sultan at Beersheba and Beth-Shean and in the Ḥuleh and Jordan valleys; by *effendis* and foreigners in the valley of Jezreel, along the coast, and in various villages, and by village communities, charitable institutions and associations.

Jewish land purchases outside the four "holy cities" of Jerusalem, Hebron, Safed, and Tiberias began in 1855 with the acquisition of 100 dunams (25 acres) of citrus groves near Jaffa by Sir Moses *Montefiore. This was followed by the purchase of land at Moẓa, near Jerusalem, in 1859, at Mulabbas (Petaḥ Tikvah) in 1878, and ʿUyūn Qārā (Rishon le-Zion), Zammārīn (Zikhron Ya'akov), and Jā'ūna (Rosh Pinnah) in 1882. By the end of 1882, 22,000 dunams (5,500 acres) of land, mostly rural, were in Jewish possession. Jews bought much land after 1882, mainly from owners of large estates, and owned 418,000 dunams (104,500 acres) at the outbreak of World War I.

UNDER THE MANDATE. There was no considerable change in land ownership during the war, but, after the Allied occupation and the establishment of British Mandatory rule in 1920, the old Ottoman land registries were reopened and transactions renewed. A special Land Court was established, at first in the north, to expedite determination of ownership on the basis of surveys, documents, and prescriptive rights. With increased Jewish immigration, more land was purchased, still mainly from owners of large estates. By November 1947, when the UN decided on the partition of Palestine, Jews had 1,820,000 dunams (455,000 acres) of land, of which 800,000 dunams (200,000 acres) were owned by the Jewish *National Fund (JNF), 450,000 by the *Palestine Jewish Colonization Association (PICA), and the rest by public and private companies and by individuals.

IN INDEPENDENT ISRAEL. The area of the State of Israel, within the Armistice demarcation lines of 1949, was 20,700,000 dunams. Of these, 425,000 were covered by water and of the remaining 20,255,000 dunams the state owned 17,675,000 dunams; the JNF 800,000 dunams; PICA 450,000; Jewish individuals 510,000 dunams; and Arab individuals 820,000 dunams. State lands included 14,500,000 dunams inherited from the Mandatory government (mostly uncultivable land, e.g., the southern Negev), and 3,175,000 dunams abandoned by Arabs during the *War of Independence.

Under a series of laws enacted in 1950 and 1951, the government lands were vested in the State of Israel and administered by the State Property Office; the abandoned lands were vested in the Custodian of Absentee Property, while their administration was handed over to the Land Development Authority; a third category, lands formerly owned by Germans and seized during World War II by the Custodian of Enemy Property, were handed over to the Administrator General. In 1955, the State Properties Division was set up to administer all lands owned or held by the state. Although this step did away with most of the duplication, there was still the question of the land owned by the JNF. By agreement with the JNF and the Zionist Organization, a single Israel Lands Authority to administer both state and JNF lands was set up in 1960 under the Israel Lands Law and the Israel Lands Authority Law, both passed in the same year. The former, which is one of Israel's basic constitutional laws, lays down the principle that state, Development Authority, and JNF lands shall not be sold, with exceptions specified in the law itself. The Israel Lands Authority Council consists of seven government and six JNF representatives, with the minister of agriculture as chairman. Between May 1948 and June 1967 the JNF acquired about 1,500,000 dunams from the Development Authority and a further few thousand dunams from Arabs. PICA transferred most of its holdings to the farmers in its villages and some 120,000 dunams to the JNF. At the beginning of 1968, the state and the Development Authority owned 16,200,000 dunams and the JNF, 2,570,000 – making up 92% of the country's area. The Muslim waqf and Christian churches held 150,000 dunams and private persons (Jews and Arabs), 1,385,000.

[Joseph Weitz]

LAND RECLAMATION

The reclamation of hilly terrain was practiced in the Land of Israel in ancient times. The viticulturist in the hills of Judea prepared his plot by digging and clearing stones before planting his vines (Isa. 5:2). Clearing stones and terracing occupy an important place in the *halakhot* dealing with land in the Mishnah and Talmud. Dry-stone walls (in mishnaic terminology *gappot* (Pe'ah 6:2); in Arabic *sinsala*) prevented the rain from sweeping the soil away into the lowlands and enabled it to be absorbed where it fell. The hill regions remained fertile as long as the terraces remained intact, but when the country was overrun by Bedouin, the walls were neglected and collapsed, so that the soil was exposed to erosion. As the prophet foretold: "The mountains shall be thrown down, and the steep places (Heb. *madregot* – "steps," or "terraces") shall fall, and every wall shall fall to the ground" (Ezek. 38:20).

In the second half of the 19th century some of the ancient terraces were repaired and new ones built. With the start of Jewish settlement in the 1880s, all types of land reclamation were utilized: swamp drainage by planting eucalyptus trees in Petaḥ Tikvah and Ḥaderah, stone clearing, deep plowing and terracing for vineyards and orchards in Zikhron Ya'akov, Rosh Pinnah, and Moẓa. Under the British Mandate the Jewish National Fund sponsored the drainage of 87,000 acres (350,000 dunams) of swamps in the Jezreel, Zebulun, Ḥefer, and Ḥuleh valleys, and the reclamation of 4,000 acres (16,000 dunams) of hilly terrain. In the same period PICA reclaimed the Kabarah swamp and others totaling 37,500 acres (150,000 dunams), while 22,500 acres (90,000 dunams) were reclaimed by other agencies.

The greater part of the uncultivated area in Israel consists of the Judean and Negev deserts, which support only desert vegetation and cannot be utilized even after reclamation unless supplied with water. Most of the other categories may be reclaimed by mechanical means. Hard soil – stony or rocky – or steep terrains, unfit for cultivation even if the earth between the boulders or under the stony stratum is fertile or sustains useful wild plants, is common in hill regions, of which there are about 1,080,000 acres (4,242,000 dunams), apart from deserts. About 48% of this area is cultivable, but some 550,000 acres (2,200,000 dunams) can be utilized only after reclamation by stone clearing, deep plowing – including removal of boulders, embedded rock, or outcrops (and terracing) and construction of stone revetments along the declivities to form terraces and prevent soil erosion. If the ground still harbors superfluous trees and shrubs, these have to be extirpated. Swampland, waterlogged for the whole or the greater part of the year, cannot be utilized for agriculture without draining. Scrub soil, choked with undesirable wild brush or grasses, requires deep plowing and root clearance. Saline soil, common in the Negev, the Aravah, and the Plain of Jericho, is ameliorated by leaching out the salts, which entails the use of 2,000–3,000 cu. m. of water per dunam. Gullied soil, where the earth has been swept away and eroded by flash floods due to unskilled plowing of the slopes, is common all over the country, in particular in the southern and northern Negev. It may be reclaimed by filling in the gullies, leveling, and channeling to divert flood-water runoff. Unstable or sandy soil, such as the coastal dunes or the loess of the western Negev, may be utilized for intensive irrigated farming after amelioration with green and organic fertilizers.

Since the establishment of the state (up to the end of 1966), the Jewish National Fund has reclaimed 76,250 acres (305,000 dunams) in the hill regions, 11,500 acres (46,000 dunams) in the valleys, and 8,750 acres (35,000 dunams) in the Negev and the Arabah, totaling 96,500 acres (386,000 dunams), while some 3,750 acres (15,000 dunams) were reclaimed under private ownership. The land is utilized for fruit farming, vineyards, extensive cultivation of vegetables, and irrigated crops. It has been estimated by J. Weitz that an area of another 125,000 acres (500,000 dunams) can be reclaimed for agricultural use.

[Joseph Weitz]

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HUMAN GEOGRAPHY

In respect of human as well as of physical geography, it is convenient to divide the Land of Israel into four major units:

(1) the Mediterranean Coastal Plain
(2) the hill regions of northern and central Cisjordan (west of the Jordan)
(3) the Rift Valley of the Jordan River and the Dead Sea
(4) the desert regions of the Negev and the Aravah Valley (which are similar to parts of the Sinai Peninsula).

The great variety in natural features (see Physiography in *Israel, Land of: Geographical Survey) entails profound differences in historical evolution, demography, and economic development.

In the light of present-day economic considerations, the Coastal Plain has clear advantages and the deserts of the south come last for human settlement. Throughout most of history, however, security considerations were paramount in determining population density. In most periods, therefore, the hills were preferred to the lowlands. On the hilltops or the upper slopes, even small villages could hope to defend themselves against superior enemy forces; they used the poorest and rockiest ground, while retaining the better soils in the valleys for farming. Their economy being basically autarkic, they depended little on lines of communication. Settlers were repelled from the Coastal Plain and the large valleys of the interior (the Jezreel, Beth-Shean, and upper Jordan valleys), on the other hand, because the international thoroughfare, the Via Maris, ran through this area and provided foreign armies, which would plunder the inhabitants of any territory through which they passed, access to this region. Moreover, the assiduous hill farmer could build his terraces with primitive tools, make cisterns in which to collect his drinking water in winter and store it all year round, and thus draw a livelihood – albeit meager – from the soil. In many parts of the lowlands, on the other hand, which were covered with dense brush or malarial swamps, superior skill and knowledge were required to prepare the ground for habitation and agriculture and develop sources of fresh water. Consequently, successive generations of conquerors and rulers shifted the center of population and administration alternately between the Cisjordanian hills (west of the Jordan River) and the Coastal Plain. Peoples coming from the land side (i.e., mainly from the east), whose achievements in material civilization were inferior (i.e., Israelites, Arabs, Mamluks, and Turks), generally preferred the hills, while those crossing the sea from the west, possessing technical know-how and a talent for international commerce, like Phoenicians, Philistines, Hellenes, Romans, Crusaders, or Jews in modern times, preferred the coast.

Only in periods of peak density and cultural achievement did the sedentary population spill over into the poorest areas – the northern and central Negev, the Lower Jordan Valley, the Aravah Valley, and southern Transjordan. As soon as the regime showed signs of weakness and decline, these regions again became the exclusive domain of the Bedouin nomad. The border between the desert and the arable land, though basically determined by climatic variations, oscillated violently with the interplay of human factors. Border peasants, protected by a strong central power, could extend their holdings over marginal lands in the transition zone, and governments sometimes settled active or demobilized soldiers to farm desert outposts. The nomads, on the other hand – dependent on the same transition zone for grazing in the dry season – awaited every opportunity to harass the farmers, tear down the fences and destroy homes, and cut trees for firewood or burn them down to use the ground for pasture. If they met no effective resistance, they penetrated ever deeper into the settled area. It happened repeatedly, however (as in the case of the Israelites), that intruding nomads or semi-nomads gradually became tillers of the soil themselves and later found it necessary to repel fresh Bedouin onslaughts.

As the country lies on the crossroads of three continents and two oceans, its population was in constant flux. Multitudes came and went, not only in the wake of historical events (e.g., the entry of the Israelites, the Muslim-Arab conquest, the Crusaders, or modern Jewish immigration), but even in periods when large-scale movements were hardly in evidence. Thus, for example, Egyptians may be supposed to have settled in considerable numbers during the first half of the 19th century, under the rule of Muhammad Ali. Under the British Mandate, there was again a substantial, though unrecorded and uncontrolled, immigration of Arabs overland from Transjordan, the Hauran, Egypt, etc.

Fundamental changes in the country's population were brought about not only by migration but, perhaps on an even larger scale, by the assumption of new national, religious, or linguistic identities on the part of entire sections of the population. Most of the Philistines, for example, seem to have been gradually absorbed into the Canaanite population, which, in turn, was largely Hellenized after the conquest of Alexander the Great. In both the First and Second Temple periods, a considerable part of the pagan population may be assumed to have adopted Judaism. The nascent Christian faith attracted followers among both pagans and Jews, and the process of conversion was accelerated when Christianity became the Roman, and then the Byzantine, state religion. A solid rural Jewish population existed for centuries, however, during the Roman and Byzantine periods, particularly in Galilee and Judea. While the early Arab rulers did little to promote the adoption of Islam by the indigenous population, Islamization spread before and after the Crusades, which led not so much to conversion to Christianity as to a fierce competition between the various Christian denominations. The group most strongly affected by developments from the early Middle Ages was the Samaritans; once prominent in the central areas, they dwindled to some 400 by the middle of the 20th century. Conversion to Islam, which seems to have engulfed the bulk of the remaining autochthonous Jews from the seventh century, continued among both Samaritans and Christians into the 19th century and later. Of the present Christian population, the majority speak Arabic and regard themselves as Arabs.

Distribution of the Population

After Israel's War of Independence (1948) and the signing of armistice agreements with its neighbors, the State of Israel measured 7,993 sq. mi. (20,700 sq. km.), of which 7,821 sq. mi. (20,255 sq. km.) constituted land surface. East Jerusalem, with an area of 24 sq. mi. (70 sq. km.) was reunited with the rest of the city after the Six-Day War (1967). The areas that came under Israel administration in June 1967 total 26,476 sq. mi. (68,589 sq. km.): the Golan Heights 444 sq. mi. (1,150 sq. km.); Judea-Samaria (the "West Bank"), with the districts of Jenin, Nablus, Tulkarm, Ramallah, Jordan Valley, Bethlehem, and Hebron, 2,270 sq. mi. (5,878 sq. km.); the Gaza Strip 140 sq. mi. (363 sq. km.), and Sinai 23,622 sq. mi. (61,198 sq. km.), with the districts of north Sinai, central Sinai, and Merḥav Shelomoh (the Sharm el-Sheikh region). The entire area governed by Israel from June 1967 thus totaled 34,493 sq. mi. (89,359 sq. km.).

The emergence of the State of Israel led to far-reaching changes in the geographical distribution of the Arabs. With few exceptions, they left those parts of the Coastal Plain, the Foothills and Hills of Judea, the Manasseh Hills, the Ḥuleh and Beth-Shean valleys, etc. that were occupied by Israel forces in 1948–49, and most of the Negev Bedouin left the region when it finally came into Israel hands. In Galilee, however, a considerable part of the non-Jewish population, particularly Druze and Christians, remained, while a larger number of Muslims left. In the small areas added to Israeli territory in 1949 in accordance with the Armistice Agreement with Jordan – notably the east rim of the Sharon Plain and the Iron Valley and Hills – the entire Muslim population remained. Consequently, Upper and Lower Galilee, the Iron Valley and Hills, and the eastern Sharon Plain constitute the main centers of Arab and Druze population inside the pre-1967 armistice lines; to these, East Jerusalem was added after the Six-Day War. Of the 36,800 Bedouin in Israel, most lived in the Arad region east and northeast of Beersheba.

At the end of 1969, the overall population density amounted to 371.9 per sq. mi. (143.6 per sq. km.) as compared with 111.6 per sq. mi. (43.1 per sq. km.) in 1948. As in most countries in the 20th century, rapid urbanization took place. Of Israel's population, 82.5% (89.2% of its Jews) were inhabitants of 26 towns and 50 other urban communities; of the 2,397,200 town dwellers, 2,215,500 were Jews and 181,700 non-Jews. The categories termed "large" and "small" villages, totaling 154, included 98 Arab villages and 56 Jewish moshavot or villages of similar form; the former had 201,800 and the latter 53,300 inhabitants. The 349 moshavim, with 122,700 inhabitants, constituted the largest Jewish rural group, followed by the 230 kibbutzim, with 84,400. There were 22 moshavim shittufiyyim, with 5,200, and 46 farms, institutions, and schools with 12,500. There was a preponderance of moshavim in comprehensive regional settlement areas (e.g., Lachish, Taanach, and Merḥavim) and a concentration of kibbutzim in the Jordan-Yarmuk (Kinneret), Ḥuleh, Beth-Shean, and Harod valleys and in areas near the pre-1967 borders. Of the 26 cities and towns, 18 were exclusively Jewish, two (Nazareth and Shepharam) exclusively non-Jewish, and six others (Jerusalem, Tel Aviv-Jaffa, Haifa, Acre, Ramleh, Lydda) were mainly Jewish but had non-Jewish minorities. Inside the pre-1967 armistice lines, Israel had a total of 877 settled places, 76 urban and 801 rural.

Although the geographer's "law of the primate city" (the tendency of the largest city in a country or region to overdevelop at the expense of the remote areas) is at work in Israel, as in other modern countries, planning and development have succeeded to some extent in counteracting the overriding attraction of the metropolis and influencing the distribution of the Jewish population. In 1936, 78% of Palestine's Jewish population lived in the central part of the Coastal Plain, between Haifa in the north and Gederah in the south; 12% in Jerusalem and the Judean Hills; 9.6% in Galilee and the interior valleys; and only 0.4% in the Negev. This compares with an estimated 63% for the central Coastal Plain in 1968; 9.5% in Jerusalem and the Judean Hills; 11.5% in the South and the Negev (Ashkelon and Beersheba sub-districts); 10% in the northern district; and an estimated 7% in those parts of the Haifa, Ḥaderah, Ramleh, and Reḥovot sub-districts lying outside the Coastal Plain or south of Gederah. After the Six-Day War there was also a steady increase in the growth of the Jewish population in Jerusalem.

In 2002 the main part of Israel's population was concentrated in the districts lying along the coastal strip. Over the years the dispersion of population reached the peripheral areas of the country, while the changes in the rate of dispersion occurred mainly in the Jewish population.

In 2002, 21.5% of the Jewish population lived in the Tel Aviv District; 26.7% in the Central District comprising the central lowlands; 10% in the Northern District lowlands; 14.8% in the South; 11.9% in the Haifa District, and 10.8% in the Jerusalem District.

The period after 1967 was characterized by the rapid settlement of the administered territories in Judea, Samaria, and the Gaza Strip, the establishment of such new towns as *Ariel, *Ma'aleh Adumim, and Efrat, and the building of many new neighborhoods in Greater Jerusalem. Another noteworthy feature was the mass immigration of Russian Jews to Israel in the 1990s and their rapid absorption in all parts of the country.

The Coastal Plain

The lowland strip along the Mediterranean shore is geologically the youngest part of the country. The shoreline is mainly straight with a few promontories and indentations, notably Jaffa Hill; a stretch of the Carmel coast between Dor and Athlit, with diminutive bays and headlands; the slightly protruding Carmel cape at the mountain's northern extremity; and Haifa Bay further north. The straight course of the shoreline is unfavorable to the construction of anchorages and ports and has, through most of the country's history, given little encouragement to the development of seafaring and fisheries. The Coastal Plain narrows gradually from 25 mi. (40 km.) wide in the south (at the latitude of Gaza) to 9–12 mi. (15–20 km.) in the Sharon, a few hundred meters in the northern Carmel coast, and 2.5–3 mi. (4–5 km.) in the Acre Plain south of Rosh ha-Nikrah. It is crossed by numerous watercourses, of which the majority are ephemeral. Of the few perennial ones, the Yarkon River carries the most water. Sands thrown up by the sea form a belt of coastal dunes obstructing the outlet of watercourses and contributing to the forming of swamps, principally in the Sharon and Zebulun valleys, which finally disappeared in the 20th century with intensive Jewish settlement and drainage work. The most characteristic soil of the central Coastal Plain is the "red sand," which combines a coarse, porous texture, easily drained and aerated, with adequate mineral content; it is best suited to the cultivation of the local "Jaffa" orange. Toward the south and Negev, it has an admixture of loess, which is concealed over certain stretches beneath a cover – generally thin – of arid dune sand. The eastern Sharon, the Carmel Coast, and the Acre Plain have mostly heavier soils, and parts of the Zebulun Valley are characterized by black swamp soil.

The climate of the Coastal Plain is influenced by the sea, which reduces temperature spans between day and night and summer and winter. Relative humidity is generally high; in built-up areas, like Tel Aviv, it is an irritant on hot summer days. Annual precipitation increases in general, from south to north: rainfall ranges from 4–6 in. (100–150 mm.) at the southern end of the Gaza Strip to 20–24 in. (500–600 mm.) in the Sharon, the Carmel Coast, and the Zebulun Valley, and somewhat more in the Acre Plain. With the exception of its Negev and Sinai sections, the Coastal Plain forms part of the lowland type of the Mediterranean vegetation zone.

The Coastal Plain, which was prosperous during the period of the Crusades, was laid waste by the Mamluk ruler Baybars to prevent any further Crusader invasions. Of the seaports, all but Jaffa and Acre ceased to exist, and even these retained only a fraction of their former importance. Paradoxically, the destruction was worst in those parts enjoying a relatively humid climate, where impenetrable brush and malarial swamp spread quickly, providing hideouts for highway robbers. At the end of the 18th century, conditions reached their nadir.

From the beginning of the 19th century, villages situated near the western rim of the hills began to cultivate lands in the adjoining plain, and even hill peasants from more remote villages ventured out into the lowlands, at first staying only during the sowing and harvesting seasons but later transforming their temporary huts into permanent dwellings. These became daughter settlements of hill villages and often bore the same names, with the Arabic words *nazla* ("descent" – from the hills) or *khirba* ("ruined place" or "outpost") attached. At approximately the same time, new villages, which supposedly drew many of their inhabitants from Egypt, came into being in the southern Coastal Plain. Jaffa, too, began to expand again, serving as the country's only port for, inter alia, renewed Christian and Jewish pilgrimages. Orange and other fruit groves were planted in the town's immediate neighborhood; Sir Moses Montefiore's aid to the Jewish community included the planting of a citrus grove near Jaffa (today Tel Aviv's Montefiore quarter). In the second half of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century, the German *Templer colonies were founded, mostly in the Coastal Plain (Sarona near Jaffa, Wilhelma near Lydda, and Neuhardthof and the German Colony near Haifa).

A new era in the history of the area opened with the establishment of the Mikveh Israel farming school in 1870. Then came the attempt by "old *yishuv*" families from Jerusalem to set up Petaḥ Tikvah in 1878 and, finally, from 1882 onward, the founding of the first modern settlements by Jewish pioneers from abroad: Rishon le-Zion, Nes Ẓiyyonah, Gederah and Mazkeret Batyah south and southeast of Jaffa; the new site of Petaḥ Tikvah northeast of the town; and Zikhron Ya'akov on Mt. Carmel north of the Sharon. In the 1890s followed the establishment of Reḥovot and Ḥaderah, and the tentative erection of two settlements further south (Be'er Toviyyah and Ruḥamah). The transition from grain to fruit farming and the larger openings for hired labor entailed therein increased the capacity of the Coastal Plain moshavot to absorb Jewish newcomers, but also stimulated a large-scale migration of Arabs from the hills – and even from beyond the country's borders – and the quick expansion of Arab villages in the area.

In the first decade of the 20th century, citrus groves were planted in the veteran moshavot of the Coastal Plain and Jewish workers' quarters, some of them with auxiliary farm holdings, were established to absorb immigrants from Yemen and elsewhere (Naḥalat Yehudah near Rishon le-Zion; Tirat Shalom, Sha'arayim, and others near Reḥovot; Maḥaneh Yehudah near Petaḥ Tikvah; Naḥali'el near Ḥaderah). The network of villages began to spread in the southern Sharon (Kefar Sava, Kefar Malal, and others). Parallel with this was the accelerated growth of Jaffa, where a sizable Jewish community took root. The Palestine Office of the Zionist Organization opened there under Arthur Ruppin in 1908, and Tel Aviv was founded as a suburb of Jaffa in 1909. On a more modest scale, Haifa took on an urban character: the Hadar ha-Carmel quarter was founded, and the Jewish community of the city began to grow.

In the years following World War I, the settlement network became closer in the southern Sharon (renewal of Kefar Sava, founding of Herzliyyah, Ra'anannah, etc.), the citrus groves expanded, and Tel Aviv became a town on its own. In the beginning of the 1930s a continuous chain of Jewish villages was already in existence in the Sharon, thanks to the acquisition (in 1927/28) of the Ḥefer Plain by the Jewish National Fund (JNF), which had also purchased parts of the Zebulun Valley (Haifa Bay area) and prepared the latter's development according to a master plan, dividing it into industrial, residential, and agricultural zones.

This was followed by the establishment of numerous kibbutzim and moshavim in the Sharon and the Rishon le-Zion–Gederah area, as well as the first Jewish foothold in the Acre Plain (Nahariyyah, 1934; Shavei Zion, 1938). The Petaḥ Tikvah–Ḥaderah road, completed in 1936, was the first fairly long communications line running through an area inhabited exclusively by Jews. Tel Aviv and Haifa became the country's largest cities. The port of Haifa was opened in 1934, and Tel Aviv was permitted to construct an anchorage when the Arab riots paralyzed Jaffa port in 1936. At the same time, the Arab villages in the Coastal Plain, particularly those in the Jaffa-Lydda area, expanded further, thanks to the prosperity brought by Jewish settlement activity. Tulkarm and Qalqīlya, on the eastern border of the Sharon, as well as Majdal (Ashkelon) in the south, became small towns.

The founding of Negbah in 1939 heralded settlement in the southern Coastal Plain and the northern Negev, which was pursued throughout World War II and the 1946/47 struggle with the British authorities; Dorot, Nir Am, Gevaram, Yad Mordekhai and other outposts came into being, and another kibbutz, Beror Ḥayil, was set up in May 1948 during a War of Independence battle on the site. With few exceptions (e.g., Fureidis near Zikhron Ya'akov and al-Mazra'a near Nahariyyah), the Arab villages in the Coastal Plain were abandoned in the 1948 war, generally even before Israel forces occupied them. On the other hand, the population stayed on in the Arab villages of the eastern Sharon (al-Ṭīra, Ṭayyiba, Jiljiliya, Qalansawa, etc.), which became Israel territory in 1949, following the Armistice Agreement with Jordan. At the end of the War of Independence, few Arabs remained in former Arab towns (Acre, Ramleh, Lydda, Majdal) and mixed towns (Jaffa, Haifa), where Jewish immigrants were housed from the end of 1948.

After 1949, several veteran moshavot in the Coastal Plain (Rishon le-Zion, Reḥovot, Petaḥ Tikvah, Netanyah, Ḥaderah, Nahariyyah) acquired city status. New villages, mostly moshavim, were set up in all parts of the area, especially in the Acre Plain, the eastern rim of the Sharon, the Lydda Plain, and the Southern Plain. Settlement in the latter region expanded further, mainly eastward, with the implementation of the Lachish regional development project from 1954. From the middle 1950s, a number of development towns were erected, particularly in the south (Kiryat Gat, Kiryat Malakhi, Sederot, etc.). Simultaneously, the Tel Aviv region became Israel's major conurbation.

In the 1960s Ashdod, Israel's second Mediterranean port, was founded and quickly expanded on the sand dunes near the mouth of Naḥal Lachish. Similarly, other Coastal Plain cities and towns progressed, some reaching populations of 50,000 and over. The population of the Tel Aviv conurbation, together with the "outer ring," exceeded 1,000,000 in 1970.

After 1967 industry and services expanded still further in the Coastal Plain. Haifa and Ashdod ports and Ben-Gurion Airport attained record turnovers. All these entailed a further concentration of population and a further steep increase in population density. At the end of 2002, the inhabitants of the districts lying within the Coastal Plain (including parts of Haifa on Mt. Carmel) numbered nearly 4,648,000, approximately 70% of the total population within the pre-1967 borders. The Tel Aviv conurbation and, to a lesser degree, the Haifa conurbation have naturally formed the major attraction for immigration and internal migration. At the same time, however, there has been a slight but constant displacement of the population center toward the south since the early 1950s. This is due not only to the speedy growth of Beersheba (see below), but also to the successful planning and development of Ashdod, Ashkelon, and smaller urban centers in the southern Coastal Plain and to the sound foundations laid for farming villages.

In 2002 the Coastal Plain was the most densely settled and intensively utilized agricultural region of Israel, and an outstanding example of the impact of agrotechnical changes and the evolution of a region. The most striking changes in land use came through urbanization, mainly after 1967. The most marked urban development took place in rural settlements which also included a stretch of coastline: Ḥaderah, Netanyah, Herzliyyah, and Tel Aviv. Almost all other former agricultural moshavot have become towns based on services and industries, such as Pardes Ḥannah, Ra'anannah, Kefar Sava, and Ramat ha-Sharon.

THE SOUTHERN PLAIN (NEGEV COASTAL PLAIN AND PHILISTINE PLAIN). The Southern Plain extends from the mouth of Naḥal Lachish to the south and southwest to merge, almost imperceptibly, with the Sinai coastal area. In the east, it borders on the southern Judean foothills and, in the southeast, on the Beersheba depression, where again, the transition is hardly noticeable. The parts lying within the pre-1967 borders cover an area of some 560 sq. mi. (1,450 sq. km.), whereas the Gaza Strip measures 140 sq. mi. (363 sq. km.). Of all sections of the Coastal Plain, this has experienced the most thorough transformation since 1948.

The population of the Gaza Strip at least tripled when it was flooded by refugees late in 1948. At the end of 2003, the Strip's sub-districts of Gaza and Khan Yunis had about 1.2 million inhabitants. It had the extremely high population density of 8,262 per sq. mi. (3,305 per sq. km.). The Ashkelon sub-district, evacuated by practically all its Arab inhabitants in the wake of the same events, has been covered by a network of 101 Jewish villages, towns, and cities; it has grown faster in population and density than any other area in Israel, with the exception of the northwestern part of the Beersheba sub-district. Its population rose from 7,200 (4,800 Jews and 2,400 non-Jews) in November 1948 to 426,800 (393,400 Jews and 33,400 non-Jews) at the end of 2002 and the population density of the sub-district increased from 14.0 per sq. mi. (5.8 per sq. km.) to 830.2 per sq. mi. (372.1 per sq. km.).

Concurrently, land use underwent profound changes in the Gaza Strip and the rest of the South, as irrigated fruit orchards and garden and field crops replaced dry farming. While in the Gaza Strip this entailed the drilling of numerous, mostly shallow wells and the over-exploitation of the groundwater table, in the Ashkelon sub-district and the northwestern Negev it was the regional Yarkon-Negev pipeline and, later, the National Water Carrier that made intensification of agriculture possible. In the Gaza Strip and the western part of the Ashkelon district, which have lighter soils, citrus groves took the lead. On the heavier soils further inland, particularly in the central and eastern parts of the Lachish region, preference is given to irrigated field crops (cotton, sugar beets, fodder plants, etc.). In the southernmost reaches (Sha'ar ha-Negev and the Eshkol development region), out-of-season export vegetables and flowers, which are favored by mild winters, have become important since the late 1960s. There were 39 Jewish villages in the northwestern part of the Beersheba district (the Besor region, part of which belongs geographically to the Coastal Plain) and 102 in the Ashkelon district. Most are moshavim, although kibbutzim are preponderant in the zone next to the Gaza Strip. Comprehensive regional planning, facilitated in the Southern Plain by the extensive areas abandoned in 1948, is characterized by clusters of villages around regional centers, which in turn depend on regional towns (Sederot, Kiryat Gat, Kiryat Malakhi). These towns also introduced industry based generally on farm produce. The oil wells of the Ḥeleẓ-Beror Ḥayil area introduced an additional feature (see Oil and Gas in *Israel, State of: Economic Affairs). Ashkelon (founded 1948) and Ashdod (founded 1955) became the sites of large and middle-sized industrial plants. The economic pivot of Ashdod is its port. Ashkelon has also developed recreation and tourism. The erection of the terminal of the large oil pipeline at Ashkelon and the refineries, whose construction began in 1970 at Ashdod, herald a quickened urbanization process in the South.

The 21 Jewish settlements of the *Gush Katif group in the Gaza Strip, established between the early 1970s and the 1990s and reaching a population of around 8,000, were dismantled in August 2005 following an Israeli government decision to withdraw from the area.

JUDEAN PLAIN. The term Judean Plain may be applied to the section lying between a line running east from the mouth of Naḥal Lachish and the bed of the Yarkon River. Together with those parts of the Tel Aviv district and Petaḥ Tikvah sub-district, which, lying north of the Yarkon River belong geographically to the Sharon area, it measures 310 sq. mi. (about 800 sq. km.). It includes the Tel Aviv district, the Reḥovot and Petaḥ Tikvah sub-districts, and most of the Ramleh sub-district. This region was the scene of the earliest modern Jewish settlement (Mikveh Israel, Petaḥ Tikvah, Rishon le-Zion, etc.). Today most of it is occupied by the Tel Aviv conurbation (Tel Aviv-Jaffa, Ramat Gan, Ḥolon, Bat Yam, Bene Berak, Givatayim) and its outer ring (Rishon le-Zion, Reḥovot, Ramleh, Lydda, Petaḥ Tikvah, etc.). In 2000 it had over 2 million inhabitants in 154 settled places, more than one-third of the country's population. The population density at the end of 2002 was 3,600 per sq. mi. (1,440 per sq. km.). Thanks to a rich groundwater table and the light "red sands" prevalent in the southern and southwestern parts, this is one of the main centers of Israel's citriculture. On the heavier soils between Lydda and Petaḥ Tikvah there are citrus groves and other intensive crops, largely of the truck-farming type. The Judean Plain contains over half of Israel's industrial enterprises as well as the country's most dense communications network. Planning efforts in this area aim largely at preventing it from becoming one shapeless "megalopolis" and preserving a neat separation between residential, commercial, industrial, agricultural, and recreational zones, permitting the cities within the conurbation to merge, with time, into one single social and economic unit, but guarding the independence of the towns in the "outer ring." It is thus intended to keep commuting within reasonable limits and not to complicate the grave traffic problems even further.

The wide areas of the Judean Plain served as the largest receiving ground for new immigrant settlers. They facilitated the adoption of new planning principles which found their successful expression in the Lakhish Planning Region, a model of integrated rural and regional planning which was later adopted in other regions of Israel.

The development towns in the south were created and planned according to the policy of population dispersal. The largest town is Ashdod, which became the central town of the Judean Plain. Ashkelon developed on the abandoned Arab township of Majdal and became an industrial town beside its natural park and resort areas. Minor development towns were developed as intermediate links in the urban hierarchy of the region, such as Kiryat Gat, Yavne, and Kiryat Mal'akhi.

SHARON. The Sharon, extending from the Yarkon River north to Naḥal Tanninim, is Israel's foremost farming area. Administratively, it includes the Sharon sub-district and most of the Ḥaderah sub-district, as well as the northern part of the Petaḥ Tikvah sub-district. The Sharon measures about 330 sq. mi. (860 sq. km.). It has 155 settled places and 267,900 inhabitants (including 11 Arab villages with 70,000 inhabitants), and the population density is 2,423.2 per sq. mi. (969.3 per sq. km.). The western halves of all three sub-districts are characterized by light "red sands," particularly favorable to citriculture, while in the east heavier soils prevail. Water supply is ample throughout the region. The southernmost reaches are included in the Tel Aviv conurbation (Herzliyyah, Ramat ha-Sharon, North Tel Aviv) and its outer ring (Ra'anannah, Kefar Sava, etc.). Netanyah is the urban center for the central Sharon and Ḥaderah for the north. A dense network of Jewish rural agglomerations – mostly moshavim and moshavot, with a smaller number of kibbutzim – covers most of the Sharon. The eastern rim, however, on both sides of the pre-1967 armistice lines, has a predominantly Arab population. Ṭayyiba is the largest village within the former borders, while the towns of Tulkarm and Qalqīlya lie beyond them. Besides farming enterprises based exclusively on citrus and villages combining citrus with truck farming (vegetables, dairy cattle, poultry), there are also farms geared to special export crops, such as flowers. There are industrial plants in the major towns and moshavot, as well as in the kibbutzim. Tourism and recreation are catered to by towns and villages near the coast.

CARMEL COAST REGION. Administratively, most of this narrow, elongated area belongs to the Ḥaderah sub-district. With an area of 29 sq. mi. (76 sq. km.), it has 67 settled places (54 Jewish and 13 Arab) with 309,500 inhabitants (including 134,800 non-Jews), and a population density of 1,401 per sq. mi. (541.0 per sq. km.). The region has the advantages of fertile, mostly heavy, alluvial soil and an abundant groundwater reserve, not only facilitating fully irrigated farming but also leaving a water surplus, which is diverted to other parts of the country. In addition to citrus groves, vineyards, deciduous fruit, and field, fodder, and garden crops, there are banana plantations, which benefit from the mild winters and, particularly, from the wind shelter provided by the wall-like slope of Mt. Carmel rising in the east. In addition to 13 Jewish and two Arab villages, a number of settlements on Mt. Carmel (e.g., Bet Oren, Ma'yan Ẓevi) cultivate fields in the Carmel Coastal region. Athlit is the principal agglomeration. The northernmost part, with Tirat Karmel, belongs to the Haifa conurbation.

HAIFA BAY AREA (ZEBULUN VALLEY). Mt. Carmel in the southwest, the Tivon-Shepharam Hills in the southeast, and the hills of Lower Galilee in the east clearly delineate this valley; in the north, the Acre-Aḥihud highway is a recognizable border. It covers an area of some 90 sq. mi. (230 sq. km.). Administratively, its southern part belongs to the Haifa district and the northern one to the Acre sub-district. This area was the object of the first regional planning effort, undertaken with the aid of the British town planner, Patrick Abercrombie, at the end of the 1920s and the beginning of the 1930s, which determined its present physical and habitational characteristics. The coastline was largely transformed by the construction of Haifa port, and later, of the Kishon port. The original partition into an industrial zone in the south, a residential zone – the *kerayot* (pl. of *kiryah*, "township") – in the center, and agricultural area in the north, with further farming land in the eastern part of the region, has been superseded by the expansion of the Haifa-Acre conurbation. One industrial zone stretches from Kishon port, near the southeast corner of Haifa Bay, southeastward to Nesher, along the foot of Mt. Carmel; a second has developed north of the *kerayot* zone, extending along the shore to the southern approaches of Acre and including the "Steel City" complex; Kiryat Ata in the east forms a third industrial nucleus. The residential zone of the "*kerayot*" (Kiryat Ḥayyim, which is within Haifa's municipal boundaries, Kiryat Yam, Kiryat Motzkin, and Kiryat Bialik) has expanded considerably northward, particularly on the east side of the

Haifa-Acre highway, thus leaving to agriculture only the easternmost and southeastern sections of the region, with Jewish villages (Kefar Masaryk, Afek, Kefar ha-Maccabi, Yagur, etc.) and Arab centers (Shepharam, etc.). The Haifa Bay area is Israel's primary center of heavy industry. Agriculture includes intensive field and garden crops. This is the only section of the Coastal Plain where citrus is not grown (see *Haifa).

Within the industrial zone there exists a certain functional differentiation. The old industrial zone between the main and Kishon harbor includes the old Shemen table and cooking oil factory, the power stations, and gas installations. To the east is the area of the chemical and petrochemical industries based on the oil refineries.

The residential quarters have spread out in all directions, while the most important development was in the west towards Bat Gallim, Kiryat Eliyahu, and Kiryat Eliezer.

Owing to the proximity of the Bay and Mount Carmel, Haifa is one of the most beautiful towns of the Mediterranean and in addition enjoys a pleasant climate on the top of Mount Carmel and a diversity of landscape which is matched by a diversity of functions.

ACRE PLAIN. The Acre Plain extends from the Acre-Aḥihud highway north to Rosh ha-Nikrah and the Ḥanitah-Adamit ridge. In the east, the limestone hills of Upper Galilee rise in stark contrast to the fertile, intermediate-to-heavy soil cover of the Plain which, measuring about 45 sq. mi. (some 120 sq. km.), is included in the Acre sub-district. In addition to Acre, Nahariyyah exercises administrative and economic functions as a second center of this region. Apart from highly intensive and almost fully irrigated farming, recreation facilities are important in the region's economy. Industry is principally based on the two towns. There are 17 Jewish and nine non-Jewish villages and the development town Shelomi.

THE HILLS. At least half of Israel's area within the pre-1967 armistice borders, and over 60% of Cisjordan, have a hilly or mountainous topography. Elevations reach 3,380 ft. (1,035 m.) in the Negev (Mt. Ramon), 3,350 ft. (1,020 m.) in Judea (Mt. Ḥalḥul), 3,085 ft. (940 m.) in Samaria (Mt. Ebal), 3,963 ft. (1,208 m.) in Galilee (Mt. Meron), and, outside Israel-held territory, 9,233 ft. (2,814 m.) at the peak of the Hermon block. Apart from the Negev, the hill region proper includes Judea in the south, Samaria in the center, and Galilee in the north. The transition from Judea to Samaria is gradual, but Galilee is clearly separated from Samaria by the tectonic valleys of Jezreel and Ḥarod. The characteristic soil of limestone areas is the reddish-brown, relatively heavy and fertile "terra rossa." The chalk hills have mostly rendzina soils of paler hues which, although inherently poorer, are friable and easy to till; on valley bottoms, they are often enriched with organic matter. Erosion runoff has always been the central problem of hill farming. The streambeds are dry in summer and even in winter carry water only occasionally after heavy rain.

The hill climate differs, generally, from that of the Coastal Plain in sharper temperature differences between day and night and, mainly on hilltops, in perceptibly cooler winters, although even there the summer heat is equal to that of the lowlands, and the *sharav* (ḥamsin) is even more oppressive. Humidity is generally lower in the hills, except in midwinter, and evaporation stronger, but rainfall on the western side of the hills is superior to that on the Coastal Plain. Snow falls in Jerusalem and Hebron on the average once in two or three years, and in the highest parts of Upper Galilee nearly every year, although, as a rule, it remains on the ground for a few hours only. In contrast, the eastern side of the hills descending to the Jordan rift lies in the rain shadow, but the arid zone in Samaria is much narrower than in Judea, and on Galilee's eastern slopes rainfall is everywhere above 16 in. (400 mm.) per year. Deforestation has left few remnants of the original plant cover, belonging to the hill type of the Mediterranean vegetation zone. The eastern side of Judea (the Judean Desert, Wilderness of Judah) and of Samaria belong partly to the Irano-Turanian dry-steppe zone and partly to the Saharo-Arabian desert zone. Of the hill regions west of the Jordan – Judea, Samaria, and Galilee – the lower parts (Shephelah, northern Samaria, Lower Galilee), with their broader intermontane valleys, deeper soils, and easier thoroughfares, have been better endowed for settlement since antiquity than the higher reaches (Judean Hills, southern Samaria, Upper Galilee).

Since the late 18th century, Christian churches and monasteries erected in the hills have contributed to the progress of farming, at least in their immediate neighborhood (e.g., Ein Kerem near Jerusalem, Bi'r Zayt in southern Samaria, Kafr Kannā in Lower Galilee), as well as to the importance of towns sacred to Christianity (Bethlehem, Nazareth). In the 19th century, earthquakes caused ravages at Safed, Tiberias, and Nablus, but in the long run did not impede a certain amount of growth in these centers, paralleling that of other towns in the hills and on their outskirts (Hebron, Ramallah, Tulkarm). For Jerusalem, a new chapter began when Jews and non-Jews founded new quarters outside the city walls. At the end of the 19th century, however, the hills began to cede their dominant position to the Coastal Plain. Although emissaries of early Jewish pioneer groups tried to acquire land for settlement near Hebron and elsewhere in the hills, they were soon discouraged by the high prices of land, the unavailability of sizable holdings, and the restricted possibility of farming on European models. Of the three small Jewish hill settlements established before 1899 – Moẓa, Ein Zeitim, and Hartuv – the two latter existed only intermittently.

A new phase opened in the first decade of the 20th century, when the *Jewish Colonization Association (ICA) founded grain-farming villages in eastern Lower Galilee (Ilaniyyah, Yavne'el, Kefar Tavor, etc.). A few private villages (Mizpah, etc.) were established and a training farm opened at Kefar Ḥittim on JNF land. All these villages, like their few predecessors in the hills, did not develop satisfactorily. Kiryat Anavim, a kibbutz founded in 1920 west of Jerusalem, made the first steps toward modernization of hill farming, and two more small villages, Atarot and Neveh Ya'akov, were set up north of Jerusalem. The next hill settlement, Kefar ha-Ḥoresh, was founded only in 1935 west of Nazareth.

Three out of the four traditional "holy cities," all of them in the Hills, suffered setbacks in the 1930s. The old Jewish community of Hebron ceased to exist after the 1929 Arab riots; the Safed community gradually dwindled; and that of Tiberias stagnated. Only Jerusalem's Jewish population increased vigorously in that period.

Hill outposts were finally established on a planned basis and on a larger scale as *stockade and watchtower settlements: from 1937 in the Manasseh Hills (Ein ha-Shofet, Daliyyah, etc.), with the aim of creating a "settlement bridge" between the Sharon and the Jezreel Valley; in eastern Lower Galilee (Sharonah, Kefar Kisch, etc.), to strengthen the existing network of villages; and, since 1938, near the Lebanese border in western Upper Galilee (Ḥanitah, Eilon, etc.). In the Judean Hills, Kiryat Anavim was joined, in 1938, by Ma'aleh ha-Ḥamishah and, in 1946, by Neveh Ilan. The Eẓyon Bloc was established in the Hebron Hills between 1943 and 1947, but was destroyed in the 1948 War of Independence, when Neveh Ya'akov and Atarot also had to be evacuated. While the 1947 UN partition map allocated practically all the hill regions to the proposed Arab state (with the exception of a narrow strip of eastern Galilee, Mt. Carmel, and part of the Manasseh Hills), the 1949 armistice borders added to Israel the rest of Galilee and the Manasseh Hills, the Jerusalem Corridor, and most of the Shephelah, as well as part of the Iron Hills.

Energetic settlement activity started at the end of 1948 in the Jerusalem Corridor and, to a lesser degree, in Galilee. To overcome the particular difficulties of hill settlement, which requires large investments in land reclamation in the initial stage and a long period of waiting until farming becomes remunerative, the JNF established work villages. Afforestation was carried out on a large scale, transforming the landscape and providing initial or supplementary employment to new settlers in the Hills. In 1955, the development of the Adullam region, south of the Jerusalem Corridor, was commenced as an extension of the Lachish region, and in 1963 another development program was launched in central and northern Galilee. Of the relatively few development towns built in the hills, not all expanded as anticipated. In Galilee, Ma'alot struggled hard to overcome its difficulties and attract industry, while the hope of turning Shelomi into a growing urban center was practically given up. Naẓerat Illit (Upper Nazareth) and Migdal ha-Emek, on the other hand, succeeded after initial hardships, and the progress of Karmi'el, slow until 1967, accelerated after the Six-Day War. Similarly, Beth-Shemesh in the Judean Hills, for a long time problematic, made some progress only after sizable industrial plants were established there in the late 1960s. Of the ancient towns in Galilee, Safed and Tiberias regained their original population figures soon after the flight of their Arab inhabitants, but further growth was slow after the early 1950s. Nazareth, which hardly suffered in the War of Independence, greatly improved its economic situation in the State of Israel and became its primary Arab center. There were record increases (averaging 4% and more annually) in the population of the Arab hill villages of Galilee and the Iron Hills, which greatly broadened their economic foundation.

JUDEA. The parts of the region west of the 1949 armistice lines belong to the Jerusalem, Ramleh, Ashkelon, and Petaḥ Tikvah sub-districts. East Jerusalem was reunited with the capital's western parts in 1967. The remaining area of the former Jordanian Jerusalem district was added partly to the Bethlehem and partly to the Ramallah district. The third district of former Jordanian-held Judea is that of Hebron.

Shephelah (Foothills). In this area, which was completely abandoned by Arabs in 1948 and had only a few small Jewish settlements (Ḥuldah, Gezer, Ben Shemen), resettlement began at the end of that year near the "Highway of Valor" (Kevish ha-Gevurah), built to secure the access to Jerusalem, and in 1949 east of Ramleh and Lydda. The kibbutzim of Netiv ha-Lamed-He and Bet Guvrin were at first solitary outposts further south, but more villages were established as part of the Adullam Project after 1955. At the southern and northern extremity of the area, only isolated villages were founded on the sites of the projected Adoraim and Modi'im regional schemes. While Kiryat Gat, Ramleh, Lydda, and Petah Tikvah, all situated outside the western rim of the Shephelah, have become population centers for the area and exercise economic and other functions, Beth-Shemesh is the only development town in the Shephelah proper. In population density, the Shephelah remains well below the average of central and northern Israel. Farming is mostly of a transition type, with partly intensive field crops located on valley bottoms (Elah, Aijalon, Sorek valleys, etc.) and deciduous fruit orchards and vineyards prominent on higher ground. Afforestation takes up considerable areas.

Jerusalem Corridor. In the part of the Judean Hills proper included in Israel in 1948/49, the first new settlements were founded near the Jerusalem highway, and others were added later further south. The easternmost reaches (Mevasseret Zion, Moẓa, Bet Zayit) have since the late 1960s been gradually becoming suburban extensions of Jerusalem. Farming is based principally on poultry and fruit orchards, the latter planted on laboriously terraced hillsides, but there are also some recreation and tourist facilities.

Hebron and Bethlehem Districts. In the population census held by Israel in 1967, the Hebron and Bethlehem districts had about 180,000 inhabitants, the great majority being Muslim Arabs. The Hebron district had a population density of 290 per sq. mi. (112 per sq. km.) and the Bethlehem district 88 per sq. km.; about half the area of the former and over two-thirds of the latter lie within the uninhabited Judean Desert in the east. Of the 87 Arab villages in the Hebron and the 45 in the Bethlehem district, some of the largest lie, characteristically, near the desert border. Most of the villages have existed for centuries or millennia, but small agglomerations, inhabited by Bedouin in the transitional stage from nomadic to sedentary life, refugees of the 1948 war, and others, came into being between 1948 and 1967 in the southwest corner of the Hebron Hills and east of Bethlehem. The dominant crop is the late-ripening vine; vineyards have spread in the last decades over new hillsides. Wheat and olives are second and third in importance. Hebron and Bethlehem (the latter with its sister towns Beit Jālā and Beit Sāḥūr) are the only urban agglomerations. After the end of 1967, the Jewish *Eẓyon Bloc, destroyed during the 1948 war, with 14 villages, a rural center named Allon Shevut, and the town of Efrat were revived.

The Ramallah District. The Ramallah district numbered some 89,000 inhabitants (1967), with a population density of 298 per sq. mi. (115 per sq. km.). Besides the twin towns of Ramallah and al-Bīra, it had 87 villages, after the inclusion of part of the former Jordanian Jerusalem district. Its northern border coincides approximately with that separating Judea and Samaria. Apart from Ramallah and al-Bīra, where first steps toward industrialization have been taken, the district has a rural economy based on olive groves, other fruit orchards, and field crops – the latter principally in small intermontane valleys like that of Levonah (Marj Lubbān).

SAMARIA. Most of this region lies in what was, after 1967, the Israel-held territory of Judea-Samaria, comprising the three districts of Nablus, Tulkarm, and Jenin. Only the northwestern extension of the Samaria Hills, composed of the three subregions of the Iron Hills and Valley, the Manasseh Hills, and Mt. Carmel, as well as the northern rim of Mt. Gilboa, were part of pre-1967 Israel.

Nablus, Tulkarm, and Jenin Districts. In 1967 the Nablus, Tulkarm, and Jenin districts had a combined population of some 303,000, nearly exclusively Muslim Arabs. At the same date, the population density amounted to 565 per sq. mi. (218 per sq. km.) in the Tulkarm, 355 (137) in the Jenin, and 249 (96) in the Nablus district. Villages are more or less evenly distributed over the region, the eastern slopes descending to the Jordan Rift excepted. In farming, olive groves are dominant on the hillsides, and sheep, goat, and cattle herds constitute important supplementary branches. Small fig orchards thrive on relatively moist sites. Thanks to the numerous intermontane valleys covered with fertile alluvium (Shiloh, Mikhmetat, Dothan valleys, Marj Sānūr, etc.), however, agriculture in Samaria is much more variegated than in Judea, comprising winter and summer field crops, vegetables, watermelons, and so on. In the north, deciduous fruit orchards and some citrus groves have been added since the 1950s. From 1967, farming methods greatly improved under the guidance of Israeli experts and new crops, like cotton, have been introduced. An area apart is the narrow Fāriʿa Valley descending to the Jordan rift, where intensive crops irrigated with the water of the perennially flowing Wadi Fāriʿa include citrus, dates, bananas, and other subtropical and tropical fruit, as well as vegetables, green fodder, and so on. The three district centers – Samaria's only urban agglomerations (two of them, to be exact, lying outside the Hills) – subsist mainly on handicrafts, commerce, and administrative functions, although the process of industrialization, begun on a very modest scale before 1967, was speeded up under Israeli administration. The northern and northeastern edges of Mt. Gilboa, which belonged to Israel prior to 1967, have for the most part become an area of afforestation, and one outpost kibbutz, Ma'aleh Gilboa, has been founded there.

Israel's conquest of Judea and Samaria and East Jerusalem in the 1967 War enabled it to extend its frontiers, to improve its security and strategic position, and to realize what many Jews perceive to be their historical right to "all the Land of Israel." After the Six-Day War in 1967 the territories came under Israeli military administration and the previous orientation to Jordan was partly replaced by linkages with Israel. During the conquest of Judea and Samaria some 250,000 Arabs fled the region. Jerusalem then became a reunified city.

At the end of the Six-Day War Judea and Samaria had approximately 595,000 inhabitants, some 225,000 of them in 12 urban centers. By 2002 the Arab population has increased to over a million. The rural population also underwent intense urbanization and is dispersed in over 400 villages of various size. The main reason for the population expansion is the very high natural increase among the Arabs, approximately 37 per 1,000 annually in contrast with 19 per 1,000 among the Jews. The fertility rate among the Arabs remains seven births per woman, while infant mortality is decreasing. The Arab population is much younger than the Jewish one. More than half the Arabs in the administered territories are less than five years old. This figure promises an even higher population in the future. To this should be added the fact that the Arabs still live together in large families and that their attachment to their land does not encourage emigration.

Jewish settlement in Judea and Samaria after 1967 was undertaken for the most part by the religious right as a religious imperative, under the auspices of such groups as Gush Emunim. Settlement commenced with a return of Jewish inhabitants to their pre-1948 homes in settlements or neighborhoods evacuated in the 1948 war, such as the Jewish Quarter in Old Jerusalem, the Eẓyon Bloc, and Hebron. Settlement was accelerated when the Likud under Menaḥem Begin came to power in 1977. The new government authorized settlements on ideological grounds in locations avoided by Labor governments, because they did not serve a strategic purpose and were positioned in areas of dense Arab population concentration.

A highly significant process was the post-1977 wave of settlement that exploited the spatio-economic potential of the West Bank, namely its proximity to Israeli population centers. In effect, settlers were supplied from four major sources: the Tel Aviv metropolitan area, the city of Jerusalem, Israel's periphery in Galilee and the Negev, and Jews from abroad. Most settlers from the Tel Aviv area moved to settlements in the West Samaria area, while most settlers from Jerusalem moved to a group of settlements around Jerusalem. The Haifa area contributed its part to the settlement of North Samaria, while the Israeli periphery contributed mostly to West Samaria and the Jerusalem area. Jewish colonization of the West Bank was mostly part of the metropolitan expansion of Tel Aviv and Jerusalem. The development eastwards started mainly after 1977 as a consequence of the massive and rapid construction of new settlements on the western fringes of the Samaria mountains. These settlements were constructed as suburbs, without a local economic base, as part of the declared government policy of populating the occupied territories. It involved large-scale government spending on land purchases, the construction of infrastructure, and housing projects, with the whole of the occupied territories accorded the status of a development area, which meant government subsidies for housing and loans to private construction companies and industries willing to relocate. By 2002 around 130 settlements with about 230,000 Jews had been established in the region by the Israeli government. The Jewish population in Judea and Samaria was widely dispersed, in keeping with a policy of occupying as much land as possible. Only a few urban or semi-urban settlements in the region are likely to play a role in the future redelineation of boundaries. Foremost among them are the towns of *Ariel, Emmanuel, Elkanah, and Alfei Menasseh, the town of Ma'aleh Adummim east of Jerusalem with its 25,000 inhabitants, and the Eẓyon Bloc with its 19,000 settlers.

Iron and Manasseh Hills. Of the Iron and Manasseh Hills, belonging partly to the Ḥaderah and partly to the Jezreel subdistrict, the former is predominantly inhabited by Arabs and characterized by partly intensive mixed farming, in which there was considerable progress after 1949. Villages like ʿAra, ʿArʿara, and Umm al-Faḥm much more than doubled their population. Mei Ammi was founded in 1963 as a border kibbutz on the armistice line. Farming in the Manasseh Hills- which contain 11 Jewish villages, mostly kibbutzim, as well as one Arab village – comprises intensive field crops and fruit orchards, milch cows, sheep, poultry, and so on. Most kibbutzim have industrial enterprises to complement their economy. The Manasseh Forest, with over 7,000,000 trees planted by 1970, is the largest in the country.

The main importance of the region lies in its role as the historic transit zone from the Coastal Plain to the Jezreel Valley and on to Transjordan and Damascus. The pass between the Menasseh hills and Iron valley was used throughout history as part of the "Way of the Sea" route and was guarded by the town of Megiddo. Even today the Iron-Megiddo pass is on the main road from the Coastal Plain to the Jezreel Valley and Galilee.

Mt. Carmel. The northwestern extremity of the Mt. Carmel block is occupied by suburbs of Haifa. Large parts of its central and southeastern sections have been declared nature reserves, and the expanses covered with pine woods form the background for the recreation facilities developed at several sites (Bet Oren, Ya'arot ha-Karmel, Nir Eẓyon, etc.). Villages on or near the mountain's western edge cultivate land in the Carmel coastal plain below. On the top of Keren ha-Karmel, at the mountain's southeast corner, a Catholic monastery stands on the spot traditionally held to be the site of the prophet Elijah's contest with the priests of Baal.

The difficult topography of Mount Carmel allowed only a small area to be used for agriculture, so that natural vegetation has been preserved there more than in any other part of the country. All slopes are covered with well-developed Mediterranean scrub, and in favored places natural forests, consisting mainly of pine, have survived. All these areas have now been designated as a nature reserve.

GALILEE. Administratively, the Galilean hill country belongs to the Acre, Kinneret, and Safed sub-districts. The hills proper cover an area of over 700 sq. mi. (approximately 1,815 sq. km.). Their population density amounts to about 344 per sq. mi. (132 per sq. km.). Arabs and Druze are in the majority, with 351,100 out of 685 800 inhabitants.

Lower Galilee. The area south of the Bet ha-Kerem Valley and southwest of the Ammud Gorge falls into two separate parts. The first is western and central Lower Galilee, with the towns of Nazareth and Naẓerat Illit (Upper Nazareth) and a few Jewish rural settlements scattered among many Arab villages, some of which are large. The second part is the exclusively rural southeastern Lower Galilee, characterized by nearly flat basaltic plateaus dissected by deeper gorges, in which Jewish villages constitute the majority. In the west and center, olives, deciduous fruit orchards, and vines are to be found on hillsides, while field crops, primarily wheat, are cultivated in the valleys. The largest intermontane valley, Bikat Bet Netofah, with an open canal of the National Water Carrier running through it, is in some rainy winters partly flooded, and its fertile soil is therefore used mainly for summer crops. Eastern and southeastern Lower Galilee, which before 1948 cultivated grain almost exclusively, have introduced additional crops (e.g., cotton, deciduous fruit, etc.) since Israel's independence.

The Lower Galilee has a normal Mediterranean climate with continental influences and a greater range of temperatures. From the point of view of human settlement Lower Galilee is one of the favored regions in Israel. Human occupation has persisted there throughout history, and most of today's villages are situated on sites which have been continuously occupied since earliest historical times, and in many cases have preserved their biblical or Roman names. The number of historical routes there is greater than anywhere in the country; they usually follow basins or deeply cut valleys.

Upper Galilee. Bordering on the Acre Plain in the west, Lower Galilee in the south, the Ḥuleh Valley in the east and northeast, and Lebanon in the north, Upper Galilee bears a more pronouncedly mountainous character. Its cultivated area therefore constitutes only a small percentage of its total surface, whereas considerable expanses are covered with stunted remnants of natural woods or planted forests. Hill farming, with olives and tobacco prominent in Arab villages and deciduous fruit orchards, vineyards, and poultry in Jewish settlements, is practiced largely on terraced slopes. Among the non-Jewish population, Druze are prominent in the west and center (Yirkā, Jatt, Beit Jann, Ḥurfaysh, etc.), and Christians in the north-center (Miʿilyā, Fassūṭa, Gush Ḥalav, etc.), while the majority of Jewish settlements lie close to the Lebanese frontier. Urban agglomerations are Safed and Ma'alot.

The climate of Upper Galilee is typical Mediterranean, modified by altitude. Precipitation there is the highest in Israel with annual average of 800 mm in the central portion. Settlements in the mountains of Upper Galilee show relative stability over the centuries. There were no periods of great prosperity but neither were there periods of almost complete abandonment. Throughout history major roads have been completely absent from the area, with the international routes circumventing it along the valleys of the west, south, and east. The lack of natural routes in Upper Galilee prevented the formation of a natural urban center. In medieval times Safed became the main urban center, located at the top of an isolated hill a short distance from natural routes.

The Jordan and Dead Sea Rift and Its Jezreel Valley Branch

The outstanding features of the Rift Valley in Israel, which is part of the 4,000 mi. (6,500 km.) Syrian-East African Rift, are its straight north-south course, the precipitous mountain walls hemming it in on both sides, and the thick cover of alluvium, nearly flat on the surface, which conceals the enormous depth of the rift bottom. The rift neatly separates Cisjordan from Transjordan. It falls into five major sections: the upper Jordan Valley, comprising the Ḥuleh Valley and the Rosh Pinnah-Korazim sill; the central Jordan Valley, including Lake Kinneret and its surroundings and the Beth-Shean Valley; the lower Jordan Valley, with the subregions of the Succoth and Peẓa'el (Phasael) valleys and the Jericho Plain (Ha-Kikkar); the Dead Sea and its region; finally, the Arabah Valley, which, at least in aspects of human geography, is closely related to the Negev. The Ḥuleh Valley measures 15 mi. (25 km.) from north to south and 4–6 mi. (6–8 km.) from west to east. The northern rim of the valley is 525 ft. (170 m.) above sea level and the surface of the former Lake Ḥuleh was 220 ft. (70 m.) above sea level. The surface of Lake Kinneret lies some 696 ft. (213 m.) below sea level, the figure oscillating with the seasons and the rainfall. With a capacity estimated at 3,000,000,000 cubic meters, it serves as the National Water Carrier's principal reservoir. Three river terraces may be distinguished in the Beth-Shean Valley, the Jordan meandering on the lowest and the town of Beth-Shean lying on the highest. South of this valley the Samaria Hills approach the Jordan bed, leaving only a narrow passage on its west bank. Further south, the rift widens into the Succoth Valley. Mt. Sartaba separates the Succoth Valley from the still wider Peẓa'el Valley, which, in turn, goes over, south of Wadi ʿAwjā, into the Jericho Plain, where the west-east distance between the slopes of the Judean Desert and the edge of the Moab Plateau is 20 mi. (32 km.) and where the valley bottom lies between 820 and 1,250 ft. (250–380 m.) below sea level. The Dead Sea is an inland lake covering the deepest continental depression on earth: in 1963 its water surface lay 1,308 ft. (398.5 m.) below sea level. The Lashon (Lisān) Peninsula divides the lake into a larger, northern and a smaller, southern basin. The high temperatures and evaporation, as well as the absence of any outlet, explain the extremely high salt content of the sea – the highest of any body of water on earth, attaining 29–32% in the southern basin – and the specific gravity of these waters exceeding that of any other lake.

A side branch of the Rift, composed of the Ḥarod and Jezreel valleys, leads from the Beth-Shean Valley northwestward. The Harod Valley, 11 mi. (18 km.) long and 3 mi. (5 km.) wide, is a narrow corridor separating the Ẓeva'im Ridge in Lower Galilee from Mt. Gilboa in Samaria. Naḥal Harod runs through it from its source at the foot of Mt. Gilboa toward Beth-Shean and the Jordan River. The Jezreel Valley is triangular in shape, its apex pointing south to the town of Jenin.

Soils in the Jordan Rift Valley change from dark, heavy alluvium (partly swamp and peat soils) in the Ḥuleh Valley and alluvium of partly basaltic origin around the northern shores of Lake Kinneret to pale, marly *lashon* soils, predominant from Lake Kinneret southward through the Beth-Shean and Succoth valleys to the Jericho region.

In the past, extensive swamps and waterlogging excluded human settlement from the larger part of the Ḥuleh Valley. In the Beth-Shean Valley, the success of farming was dependent on the readiness of settlers to prevent flooding of fields by spring waters and watercourses; when this was not done, thorny brush spread and soils became increasingly saline. In the lower Jordan Valley, agriculture is essentially oasis farming, of which Jericho is the most striking example. The heavy, alluvial soils of the Harod and Jezreel valleys resemble those of the northern parts of the Jordan Valley, as did, until the recent past, their swamps and their waterlogging problems. All the swamps are now drained.

Going from north to south, the climate of the Jordan Valley becomes progressively hotter and drier. The Ḥuleh Valley has a mean annual temperature of 68° F (20° C); although summer days are frequently oppressive, winter frosts, caused by temperature inversion, exclude subtropical crops but are beneficial to the extensive apple orchards. The Kinneret region has hot summers and mild winters, and the Beth-Shean Valley is characterized by a continental temperature regime, with peak summer heat but not entirely frost-free winters. On the Dead Sea shore, the mean annual temperature soars to 77° F (25° C), with summer maximums frequently exceeding 104° F (40° C). Differences in rainfall are no less extreme: the Ḥuleh Valley's northern rim receives an annual precipitation average of 24 in. (600 mm.); the Kinneret region between 16 and 20 in. (400–500 mm.); the Beth-Shean Valley between 10 and 16 in. (250–400 mm.); and the Jericho region about 4 in. (100 mm.), while at Sodom only 2 in. (50 mm.) are registered. The lower the averages, the more extreme are the fluctuations between one rain year and the next. Evaporation in the Rift is very strong, particularly from Lake Kinneret southward, having a negative influence on the water balance and promoting salination.

Great variety is found in the Rift's flora and fauna. The Ḥuleh Valley belongs to the Mediterranean vegetation zone's lowland type; in the former Ḥuleh swamps there was a dense vegetation grouped around the papyrus reed, which has been partly preserved in the Ḥuleh Nature Reserve; the Kinneret region is of a transition type between the Mediterranean and Irano-Turanian (dry-steppe) vegetation zones, and the Beth-Shean and Succoth valleys are within the confines of the latter zone. The Jericho and Dead Sea regions belong to the Saharo-Arabian (desert) zone; the flood terrace of the lower Jordan River and some other stretches have a halophytic (salt-loving) flora, whereas Jericho, En-Gedi, and some other cases constitute enclaves of the Sudanian (moist-tropical) vegetation zone.

Lines of communication crossing the Rift from west to east were through most of history of greater importance than lengthwise north-south roads. The Jordan Valley's role in prehistory is outstanding; finds from the Paleolithic (Ubaydiyya), the Neolithic (Jericho, Sha'ar ha-Golan), and the Chalcolithic periods (Tulaylāt al-Ghusūl, etc.), have been discovered. In most prehistoric and historic periods, however, habitation was discontinuous in time and space; sections of the valley often had more contacts with the adjoining hill regions than with each other. The decline setting in after the Muslim conquest was, in the initial centuries, less pronounced in the Jordan Valley than in other parts of the country; after the Crusades, however, the Rift Valley remained a total waste, as did the Jezreel Valley. In the 19th century, new Arab villages came into being in the Ḥuleh Valley, many of whose settlers presumably hailed from Egypt.

Some of the earlier Jewish settlements in the country (Yesud ha-Ma'alah, Mishmar ha-Yarden, etc.) were founded in or near the Ḥuleh Valley. In the first decade of the 20th century, Jewish settlement gained a foothold in the Jordan-Yarmuk Plain (Kinneret, Deganiyyah). The Jezreel and Harod valleys became the principal object of pioneering efforts in the 1920s, and in the Beth-Shean Valley the first stockade and watchtower settlements were erected in the 1930s. The lower Jordan Valley, on the other hand, did not come into the scope of Jewish development (with the exception of the Rabbat Ashlag potash works and Bet ha-Aravah) and remained outside Israel's 1948 armistice borders. Between 1951 and 1958, the great Ḥuleh drainage project was carried out, making the lake and swamp disappear and creating conditions for adding new settlements, particularly the town of Kiryat Shemonah and the development town of Ḥaẓor. In the Kinneret region, few new villages were founded after 1948. In the Beth-Shean Valley, the town of Beth-Shean became Jewish, and a few more moshavim and kibbutzim were founded. The Jezreel Valley settlement expanded southward with the establishment of the Taanach village bloc. In the lower Jordan Valley, tens of thousands of 1948 Arab war refugees were housed in camps of mud-brick huts by the Jordanian regime. After the Six-Day War, beginnings were made in intensive farming and in development of tourism in the formerly Syrian Baṭeiḥa Valley, and by 1971 eight *Naḥal outposts had been established in the lower Jordan Valley.

HULEH VALLEY. The Ḥuleh Valley, measuring 93 sq. mi. (240 sq. km.), forms part of the Safed sub-district. It has 23 settlements and 34,100 inhabitants (all Jewish), 21,600 living in Kiryat Shemonah and the rest in kibbutzim and moshavim. The area of the valley, fully and intensively cultivated, is entirely covered with irrigated apples and other deciduous fruit orchards, carp ponds, and field and fodder crops. In addition to the local villages, Galilee hill settlements have been allocated fields in the Ḥuleh Valley. Industry exists in Kiryat Shemonah and in several kibbutzim.

THE KINNERET REGION. The Kinneret region forms part of the Kinarot sub-district. With an area of 59 sq. mi. (152 sq. km.) it has 29 settled places (all Jewish) with a population of 56,700 of whom 39,800 live in Tiberias, where their economy is principally based on tourism and recreation. In the rural sector, the 15 kibbutzim are the predominant element, as this was the area where collective settlement came into being and where important ideological and cultural centers of the kibbutz movement (study centers, museums, etc.) are located. Farming, highly intensive and fully irrigated, specializes in tropical and subtropical species (bananas, date palms, etc.); field and fodder crops, vegetables, dairy cattle, and poultry are also important. In addition to carp ponds, fishing in Lake Kinneret is developed. Industrial enterprises are to be found in some of the Jordan-Yarmuk Plain kibbutzim.

THE BETH-SHEAN VALLEY. The Beth-Shean Valley, with an area of 85 sq. mi. (219 sq. km.), numbers 25,000 inhabitants (all Jewish) in 22 settlements. The town of Beth-Shean (with 15,900 inhabitants) contains the majority of the population. Among the villages, 14 are kibbutzim and five are moshavim. Farming is based on salt-resistant date palms and pomegranates, cotton, and other intensive field crops, and carp ponds (making use of brackish spring water); bananas are not cultivated because of the danger of frost. A number of kibbutzim have industrial plants.

LOWER JORDAN VALLEY AND THE DEAD SEA REGIONS. From 1968 the lower Jordan Valley, together with most of the uninhabited hill slopes at its western side, formed the Jericho-Jordan district of Israel-held Judea-Samaria. In 1968 it had a population of 9,600 Arabs, most of whom lived in Jericho. Few fields are cultivated outside the Jericho oasis and the lower reaches of Fāriʿa Gorge.

The Negev

Covering an area of over 4,600 sq. mi. (some 12,000 sq. km.), the Negev constitutes a challenge to Israel's constructive efforts because of its relative vastness, the potential of its mineral wealth, and its position as a communications link with the

Red Sea and the Indian Ocean. While the desert climate sets it apart from the country's center and north, structurally it continues to the south the division of Cisjordan into the Coastal Plain, the Hill Region, and the Rift Valley to the south. The Beersheba depression, gradually rising eastward from some 300 ft. (less than 100 m.) to 1,650 ft. (500 m.) above sea level, has a thick cover of fine-grained, yellowish-brown loess as its outstanding characteristic, although large stretches in the west and southwest are overlaid by sand dunes. The loess is susceptible to severe gullying by flash floods and to sheet and wind erosion, necessitating special soil conservation measures, e.g., contour plowing and planting of shelterbelts of eucalyptus and tamarisk trees around the fields, to make farming possible. Almost the entire Beersheba region belongs to the drainage basin of Naḥal Besor.

The topography of the Negev Hills is basically determined by parallel folds running from northeast to southwest, the highest elevations lying in the southwest. On the bedrock of the Negev Hills, desert erosion has imposed sharp, angular landscape features, most strikingly exemplified in the three *makhteshim* ("erosional cirques" or "craters"): Makhtesh Ramon, Ha-Makhtesh ha-Gadol (Ḥatirah), and Ha-Makhtesh ha-Katan (Ḥaẓerah). There is hardly any arable soil.

The Eilat Mountains at the Negev's southern extremity, which belongs to the same geological province as southern Sinai, eastern Egypt, Edom, and western Arabia, are fundamentally different from the rest of the Negev. The landscape is of infinite variety, with narrow clefts hemmed in by rock walls rising 1,000 ft. (300 m.) over them, which cut through the granite mountains in various directions. Rock debris fills the gorges, while erosion has sculptured awe-inspiring rock facades, like Solomon's Pillars near Timna, the Amram Columns, etc.

The Arabah Valley, the Rift's southern section in Israel, stretches from the Dead Sea to Eilat over a distance of 105 mi. (170 km.) between the Negev Highlands in the west and the Edom Mountains in the east. Particularly in its south, landscape features typical of the Rift are even more spectacular than anywhere else in the country. A thick cover of alluvium, mostly coarse sand and gravel, everywhere obscures the valley's rock foundations. The Arabah has a number of springs, brackish in various degrees, on its western and, more so, on its eastern side. Deep well drillings, particularly in the Ḥaẓevah area, have yielded water in previously unsuspected quantities.

Only the northwestern corner of the Negev has a climate that can, at best, be described as semiarid; all the other parts are desert proper. While peak temperatures, with the exception of the Arabah Valley, hardly exceed those of other parts of the country, there is a large diurnal span of temperatures, typical of continental climates. Humidity decreases in southern and eastern directions, as does rainfall, which is extremely capricious; entire years may pass without any rain, and a thunderstorm lasting a few hours at a desert spot may yield the total annual average. Only the northern half of the Beersheba region and the highest reaches of the Negev hills belong to the Irano-Turanian dry-steppe vegetation zone. All the rest of the Negev belongs to the Saharo-Arabian desert zone, where the vegetation cover is extremely sparse or totally absent over long distances.

Basically, the Negev always seems to have been the nomad's domain, but other forms of human presence and activity appeared in certain periods, conditioned by the exploitation of minerals, the development and maintenance of lines of communications, and the holding of defense posts of the sown land against the wilderness. While prehistoric artifacts found over wide areas and in considerable number possibly testify to periods of greater rainfall in the earlier Stone Age, it is certain that the impressive achievements of the Chalcolithic period, which included manufacturing near Beersheba (Tell Abu Matar) and copper mining and transporting in the Arabah Valley, coincided with climatic conditions hardly different from those of the present. For a millennium the Negev had no sedentary population after the period of the Nabateans, who made enormous efforts in Roman and Byzantine times to conserve water for farming and town dwelling. Only in 1900 did the Turks decide to build Beersheba as an administrative center. Even in the 1930s, no other towns or villages existed south and east of the Rafa-Gaza-Bet Guvrin-Dhahiriyya-Samūʿ (Eshtemo'a) line. Bedouin, affiliated with five large tribal associations – Tarābīn, al-Tiyāha, ʿAzāzma, al-Ḥanājira and al-Jabārāt – roamed the Negev, mainly subsisting on their goat flocks and camel herds and occasionally, in rainy winters, sowing some wheat or barley.

Early Jewish settlers visualized the Negev as a field for future development. Z.D. *Levontin's plan, around 1882, to found Rishon le-Zion south of Gaza, as well as later attempts at purchasing holdings near Rafa and elsewhere in the northern Negev, came to naught, however, mainly because Bedouin would-be vendors did not have their ownership rights entered in the land registry. In the first decade of the 20th century, the idea of Jewish settlement in the Negev was brought up again, first as a daring plan for a Jewish-Bedouin alliance, then as a project to be assisted by the Turkish authorities, in connection with Herzl's *El-Arish project. After World War I, veterans of the *Jewish Legion tried to settle on state land offered by the British authorities at Arad, but despaired when no water was found. In the 1920s and 1930s, Jewish individuals and groups acquired isolated holdings in the Negev, which were taken over by the JNF and secured and enlarged after the end of the 1930s. This made it possible to set up the three "observation outposts" of Gevulot, Revivim, and Bet Eshel in the spring and summer of 1943, and three years later 11 more villages in the south and Negev, on the night following the Day of Atonement (Oct. 6, 1946). By the outbreak of hostilities after the UN partition resolution of Nov. 29, 1947, the number of Negev settlements had grown to 18, and two pipelines drawn from the Nir Am and Gevaram wells supplied them with drinking water and a limited quantity of irrigation water.

In the years 1949–51, settlement activity was energetically pursued. Fifteen thousand of the Bedouin population, estimated at 50,000 before 1947, remained (their number increased to about 126,100 in 2002, when nearly all of them lived in the Arad region). Whereas farming villages are concentrated northwest of Beersheba, since the 1950s outposts have begun to be established in the Negev hills and the Arabah Valley. Urban nuclei were started in the central and eastern Negev (Yeroḥam, 1951; Miẓpeh Ramon, 1954; Dimonah, 1955; Arad, 1961), and the development of Eilat became feasible after the 1956 Sinai Campaign. In the northwest, Ofakim and Netivot were built as immigrant towns. All these made the Negev an integral part of Israel demographically as well as politically. Beersheba became Israel's sixth-largest city, and mineral quarrying and processing (Dead Sea minerals, phosphates, methane gas, copper, ceramic clays, glass sands, etc.) furnished the basis for industrialization. Important were the traffic arteries that came into being after 1948; previously, the only one was the Gaza-Beersheba-Niẓẓanah road, with a branch leading up to the present-day Yeroḥam. Among these are the Beersheba-Dimonah-Sodom road (continuing to En-Gedi), the Beersheba-Miẓpeh Ramon-Eilat and Tel Shoket-Arad-Shefekh Zohar roads, and the Sodom-Eilat highway. To these was added the Tel Aviv-Beersheba railroad, which was later continued to Dimonah, Oron, and Ẓefa-Efeh.

The entire Negev is included in the sub-district of Beersheba which extends over 4,956 sq. mi. (12,835 sq. km.). The sub-district has 521,200 inhabitants: 393,100 Jews and 128,100 Arabs. Practically all the latter are Bedouin, living as nomads or in transition to sedentary life, mostly in the area between Beersheba and Arad. The population density has increased from 2.85 per sq. mi. (1.1 per sq. km.) in 1948 to 100 per sq. mi. (40.3 per sq. km.) in 2002.

NORTHWESTERN NEGEV. This region, which includes the Gerar and Besor regions, has an area of 549 sq. mi. (1,423 sq. km.). Farming is almost entirely dependent on irrigation, mainly with water from the National Water Carrier. Out-of-season vegetables for export, flowers, deciduous and subtropical fruit trees, and fodder crops are characteristic. A beginning has been made with auxiliary irrigation to secure the grain harvest in the rain-deficient years. Citrus groves have begun to appear in the northwestern Negev since the 1960s. There are 69 inhabited places in this relatively small area; most are moshavim, grouped in the settlement regions of Benei Shimon, Merḥavim, and Eshkol. The development towns of Ofakim and Netivot are based on various industries. The total population of the region, all of them Jewish, numbers 30,500.

BEERSHEBA REGION, The Beersheba region, measuring 614 sq. mi. (1,589 sq. km.), has only 19 inhabited places, among them the city of Beersheba and the town of Arad, where 206,000 Jewish inhabitants live; the rest of the population are Bedouin. The principal economic activity is industry, concentrated in the two towns and partly based on Negev minerals. Beersheba's academic and research institutes have had a mounting impact on the life of the city and its vicinity. Dry farming (mostly barley and wheat fields) is practiced on relatively small areas. While the Bedouin used to wait until the first rains had come down in promising quantity before sowing, auxiliary irrigation has been introduced with the aid of small storage dams that retain occasional flash-flood waters.

NEGEV HILLS, PARAN PLATEAU, AND ARABAH VALLEY. The vast area, extending over 3,793 sq. mi. (9,823 sq. km.), comprises the Negev Hills, Paran Plateau, and Arabah Valley (including the southern section of the Judean Desert and the west shore of the Dead Sea). It has 16 inhabited places, among them the towns of Dimonah and Eilat and the development centers of Yeroḥam and Miẓpeh Ramon. In addition, there are important mining and industrial sites (e.g., Oron, Ẓefa-Efeh, Timna, Sodom, etc.) with no resident population. Phosphates, copper, clay minerals, and the Dead Sea minerals are extracted and treated. Oasis-type farming is to be found in the Arabah Valley settlements (numbering 17 in 2002), where tropical fruit (dates, mangoes, etc.) and out-of-season export vegetables and flowers are prominent. The region contains 80,600 residents, most of them in Dimonah and Eilat.

Mount Hermon

Mount Hermon is a huge uplifted block, 9,232 ft. (2,814 m.) high, which towers above its surroundings – the Litani (Leontes) and ʿĀyūn (Ijon) valleys in the west, the Ḥuleh Valley in the south, the Golan in the southeast, and the Ghuta (Damascus region) in the northeast – and deeply influences their climate and water economy. Much of the annual precipitation on its highest reaches – over 60 in. (1,500 mm.) a year – largely comes in the form of snow, which remains on the ground for several months. The larger part of the mountain belongs to Lebanon, the northeast is in Syria, and the southeast ridge, Ketef ha-Hermon (the "Hermon Shoulder"), which rises to 7,220 ft. (2,200 m.), came under Israeli control after the Six-Day War. Most of the mountain is uninhabited; a number of villages, peopled mainly by Druze, Alaouites, etc., nestle in protected sites on the lower slopes. Among them is the Druze village of Majdal Shams, the northernmost inhabited place held by Israel, which lies in a secondary valley at a height of 3,940 ft. (1,200 m.) above sea level.

See also Physiography in *Israel, Land of: Geographical Survey and entries on places and regions mentioned in this article.

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[Efraim Orni / Elisha Efrat (2nd ed.)]

GOVERNANCE

Ottoman and Mandatory Periods (1880–1948)

CENTRAL GOVERNMENT. *Ottoman Rule.* At the beginning of the period the Land of Israel was not a political or administrative unit; officially, there was no such entity as Palestine. The Ottoman Empire (see History, Ottoman Period) was divided into vilayets (provinces), each governed by a Turkish vali sent from Constantinople, which were subdivided into sanjaks (districts), each under a mutessarif. Northern Ereẓ Israel formed part of the vilayet of Damascus and, from 1888, of Beirut, while Transjordan belonged to the former. The north of the country comprised the sanjaks of Acre and Nablus, while the south was designated as the independent sanjak of Jerusalem, dependent directly on Constantinople. Sanjaks were further subdivided into *aqḍiya* (equivalent to Israel's *nafot*, or sub-districts), each under a *qaimaqam* (equivalent to *keẓin ha-nafah*, or district officer). The smallest Turkish subdivision was the *nāḥiya*, containing a number of villages, which was equivalent to the area of the *mo'eẓah ezorit* ("rural district") of the State of Israel and was under the jurisdiction of a *mudīr*.

The first Turkish parliament, convened in 1912 in Constantinople, included five delegates from Ereẓ Israel – two each from Jerusalem and Nablus and one from Jaffa. All were Muslims from well-established families. In each vilayet and in the independent sanjak of Jerusalem a *majlis umumī* (popular council) was elected, with one delegate representing every 12,000 male Ottoman taxpayers. Elections were held in Jerusalem only once, in 1910: no Jew was elected, one member was a Christian Arab, and the rest were all Muslim. The councils, which met for 40 days a year under the chairmanship of the vali (or, in Jerusalem, of the mutessarif), had limited advisory powers only. They were, however, suspended altogether at the outbreak of World War I.

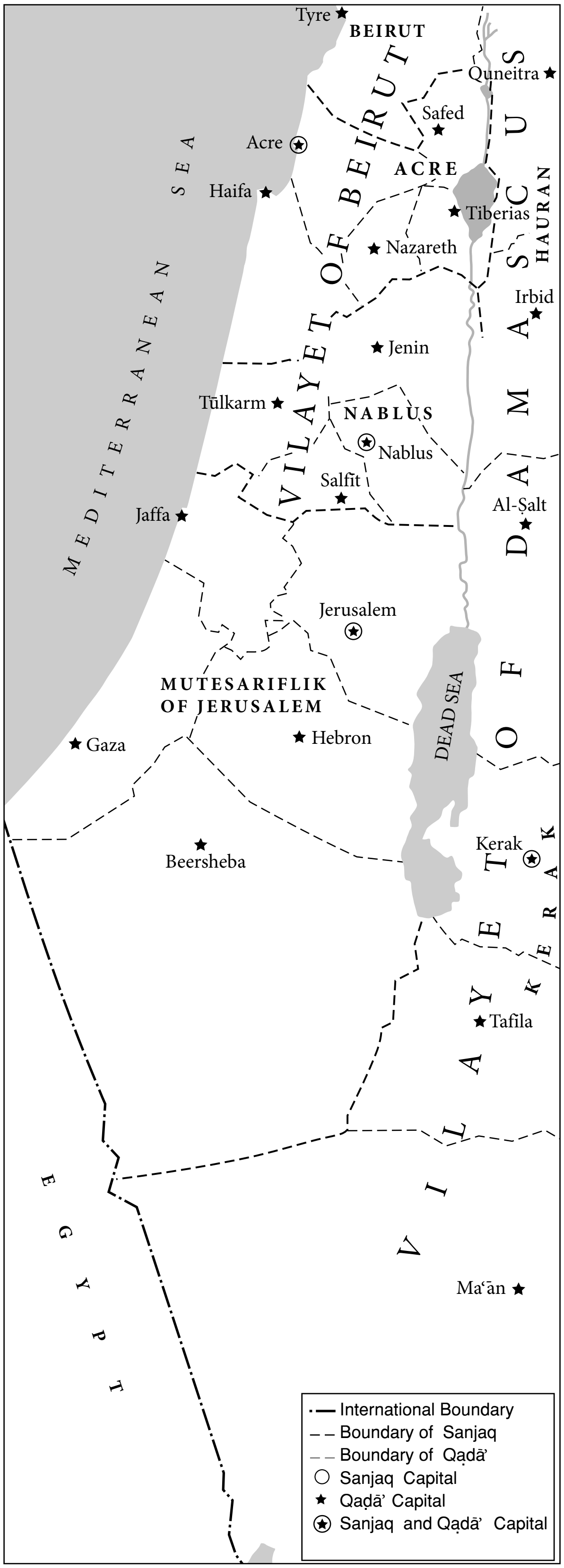
Tyre
BEIRUT
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Quneitra
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Irbid
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
Jenin
Tūlkarm
NABLUS
Nablus
Salfit
Al-Ṣalt
Jaffa
VILAYET OF DAMASCUS
Jerusalem
MUTESARIFLIK OF JERUSALEM
DEAD SEA
Gaza
Hebron
Beersheba
Kerak
KERAK
Tafila
EGYPT
Ma'ān
International Boundary
Boundary of Sanjaq
Boundary of Qaḍā'
Sanjaq Capital
Qaḍā' Capital
Sanjaq and Qaḍā' Capital

Map 1. Administrative division of Ereẓ Israel at end of Ottoman period, 1910. After Atlas of Israel, *Survey of Israel 1970.*

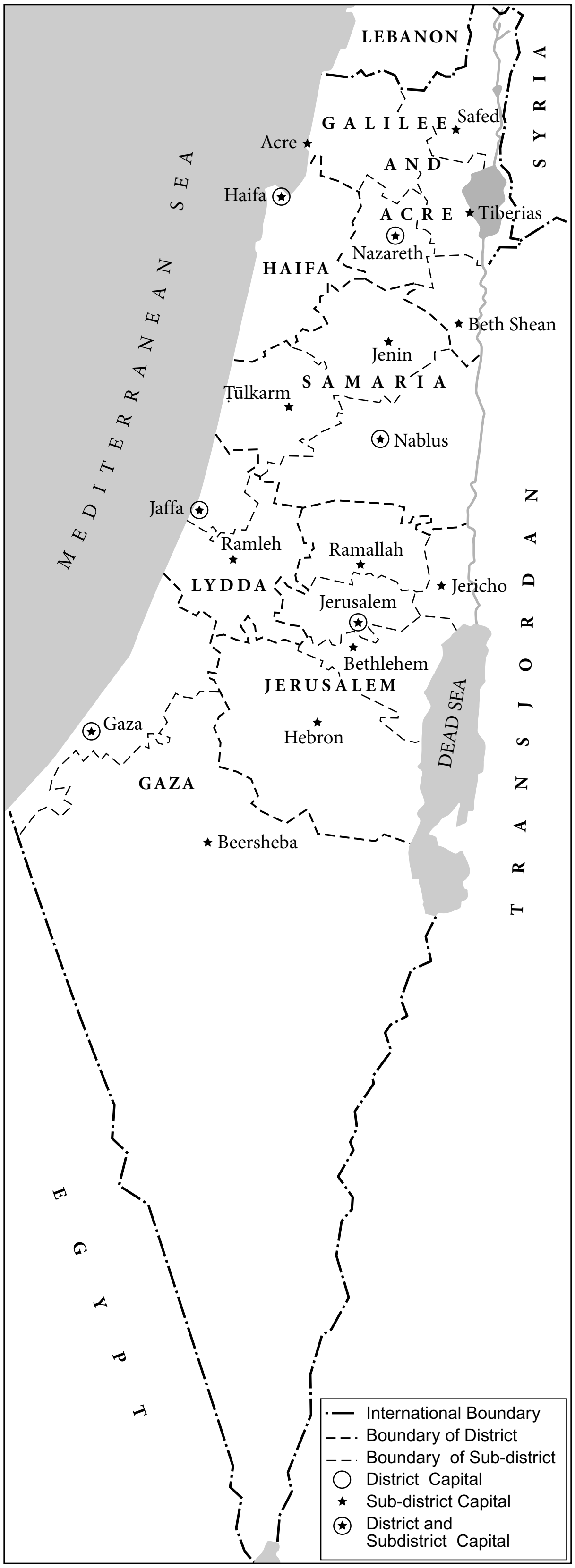
LEBANON
SYRIA
GALILEE AND ACRE
Safed
Acre
Haifa
Tiberias
Nazareth
HAIFA
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
Beth Shean
Jenin
SAMARIA
Ṭūlkarm
Nablus
TRANSJORDAN
Jaffa
Ramleh
Ramallah
LYDDA
Jericho
Jerusalem
Bethlehem
JERUSALEM
DEAD SEA
Gaza
Hebron
GAZA
Beersheba
EGYPT
International Boundary
Boundary of District
Boundary of Sub-district
District Capital
Sub-district Capital
District and Subdistrict Capital

Map 2. Administrative division of Palestine, 1939. After Atlas of Israel, *Survey of Israel 1970.*

In each *qaḍā*ʾ of Ereẓ Israel (namely Jerusalem, Jaffa, Hebron, Gaza, Nablus, and Acre) a *majlis idara* (administrative council) also functioned, consisting of the local qadi (Muslim judge); the mufti (Muslim jurisconsult); the heads of the local Jewish, Greek-Orthodox, and Armenian communities; Turkish officials from the local departments of finance and public works and from the *qaimaqam*'s secretariat; and some elected members. In Jerusalem Rabbi Ḥayyim *Elyashar was elected.

The country was garrisoned by Turkish troops (one unit was stationed in the Citadel in Jerusalem). Outside the cities a gendarmerie operated, but public security was poor, and blood feuds, sometimes lasting for centuries, were prevalent in the Muslim villages.

British Mandate. From its occupation by British troops in 1917–18 until July 1920. Palestine was under military administration by the so-called Occupied Enemy Territory Administration (OETA "South" – OETA "North" being Lebanon, and OETA "East" Syria and Transjordan). *Mandates were given by the Allied and Associated Powers to Great Britain and France to administer these countries (and Iraq) until self-government became practicable. The operation of all these mandates was under supervision by the League of Nations' Permanent Mandates Commission, to which the two powers reported annually on each territory. The *Balfour Declaration was embodied in the preamble to the Palestine Mandate.

The administration of Palestine did not differ much from that of a Crown Colony. The governor and (titular) commander in chief was called the *high commissioner, who also served as high commissioner for Transjordan with a separate staff in Amman. He was appointed by the Colonial Office and responsible, through it, to the cabinet and Parliament in Britain. During the 28 years of Mandatory government, the following were the incumbents:

1920–25	Sir Herbert (later Viscount) *Samuel
1925–28	Field Marshal Lord Plumer
1928–31	Sir John Chancellor
1931–38	General Sir Arthur Wauchope
1938–44	Sir Harold Mac-Michael
1944–45	Field Marshal Lord Gort
1945–48	General Sir Alan Cunningham

The high commissioner was advised by an Executive Council, consisting of his principal deputy, the chief secretary (from 1920 to 1922 Sir Wyndham *Deedes); the attorney general (from 1920 to 1923 styled legal secretary; until 1931 Norman *Bentwich); the treasurer (afterward styled financial secretary); and, from time to time, one or two other members.

In 1920 Herbert Samuel set up a nominated Advisory Council of ten British heads of department ex officiis, four Muslim and three Christian Arabs, and three Jews. After the signature of the peace treaty between Britain and Turkey at Lausanne in June 1922, the Mandate was formally approved by the League of Nations. The Palestine Order in Council (in effect a constitution) came into force on Sept. 1, 1922, and an attempt was made to replace the Palestine nominees on the Advisory Council by elected members – eight Muslim and two Christian Arabs and two Jews. The elections, however, were boycotted by the Arabs on the principal ground that the preamble to the Order in Council incorporated the Balfour Declaration, which they rejected. An Advisory Council consisting exclusively of nominated British officials was therefore set up.

In 1935–6, Arthur Wauchope tried to establish a Legislative Council of twelve elected (eight Muslim Arabs, three Jews, and one Christian Arab) and fifteen nominated members (five British officials, four Jews, three Muslim and two Christian Arabs, and two representatives of commercial interests). The Jews opposed this attempt, since in their opinion it would have endangered the growth of the Jewish National Home. The plan also aroused strong differences among the Arab leaders.

All civil servants were responsible to the chief secretary, save the chief justice (who dealt directly with the high commissioner), and the government auditor (directly responsible to the colonial auditor in London). The officer actually commanding British troops was responsible to the War Office (from 1924 to 1930, to the Air Ministry). The chief secretary's office, known as the Secretariat, dealt with all correspondence between the high commissioner and the Colonial Office and between the chief secretary and heads of departments and district commissioners.

Administrative districts varied in number between seven in 1920 to two in 1925 and to six in 1939; but there were always 18 subdistricts (based on the Ottoman *qaḍā*ʾ). Each district was in the charge of a district commissioner (in place of the former Ottoman *mutessarif*) with a district officer for each subdistrict (in place of the Ottoman *qaimaqam*). The smallest Ottoman unit, the *nāḥiya*, was abolished. All district commissioners were British; at the beginning, so were all district officers, but by the end of the Mandate they were all Palestinians. A new post of assistant district commissioner in charge of one or more subdistricts was created later: at first, all were British; by 1948, several were Palestinian.

In their areas, district commissioners, assistant district commissioners, and district officers represented the Crown. They were primarily responsible for maintaining law and order and coordinating the work of all departmental officers. One of the best-known district commissioners was Ronald *Storrs, in Jerusalem. Legislation under the military administration took the form of proclamations, orders, and notices. From 1920 onward, it was by ordinance, approved by the high commissioner in Executive Council, authorized by the Colonial Office, and formally passed without discussion by the wholly British Advisory Council. There also were subordinate regulations, orders and bylaws. All military and civil legislation up to 1934 was codified by R.H. Drayton, a former solicitor general.

The Palestine Zionist Executive and, later, the *Jewish Agency were recognized under the Mandate as the competent authority in several matters affecting Jewish development and made frequent representations on questions of major policy. After the enactment of the Religious Communities (Organization) Ordinance in 1926 and of the Jewish Community Regulations the following year, the *Va'ad Le'ummi shared with the Agency the responsibility for providing certain services for the *yishuv*, in particular education, health, and social welfare (Va'ad Le'ummi), land development, immigration, settlement, agricultural research, and afforestation (Jewish Agency). Parallel departments – government and Jewish – grew up, facilitating the transfer of authority when Israel became independent.

The Palestine Civil Service in 1948 numbered 10,000, only 250 of whom were British (apart from the British members of the Palestine Police Force, which was not considered part of the civil service). Of the Palestinian civil servants, two-thirds were Arab and one-third Jewish, roughly the demographic ratio. In certain departments (for example, public works), the Jewish proportion was higher; in others (for example, health, curiously enough), it was lower. The proportion of Christian Arabs was much higher than their population ratio and, for lack of suitable education, especially in English, that of Muslim Arabs was much lower.

The budget of the Mandatory Administration rose from under LP2,000,000 (LP1 = £1 sterling) at the beginning to over LP20,000,000 by the end. Even allowing for inflation in World War II, this meant at least a fivefold rise.

The departments at the end of the Mandate fell into the following groups: Secretariat (including Central Translation Bureau, Government Printer, Press Censorship, and Public Information Office); Legal Department (including the offices of the attorney general and solicitor general); Treasury, including the office of the treasurer (later divided into the office of the financial secretary and that of the accountant general), controller of banks, stamp duty commissioners and currency officer (on behalf of the Palestine Currency Board in London); Revenue Departments (Customs and Excise and, later, Income Tax); Security Services (apart from the British forces; including the Transjordan Frontier Force, which protected both Palestine and Transjordan – Palestine paying $\frac{6}{7}$ and Transjordan $\frac{1}{7}$ of its cost), the Palestine Police Force (including the British Police and Department of Prisons); Land Services (Departments of Surveys, Land Settlement, and Land Registration); Production Services (Department of Agriculture, Department of Forests, Veterinary Department, Cooperatives Department, Development Department, and Department of Commerce); Social Services (Departments of Health, Education, Labor, and Social Welfare); Public Utilities (Departments of Public Works, of Posts, Telegraphs and Telephones, Palestine Broadcasting Service, Palestine Railways, Ports, and Civil Aviation – the Palestine Electric Corporation was a public (concessionary) company, while water supplies were municipal); Wartime Departments, some of which had closed down by the end of the Mandate (War Supply Board, Food Control, Price Control, Heavy Industries Control, Light Industries Control, Salvage, Foreign Exchange Control, Custody of Enemy Property, Road Transport Control, and Imperial Censorship); Judiciary (Magistrates' Courts, District Courts, Land Courts, the Supreme Court, and Municipal Courts; Muslim shariʿa (religious) courts, Jewish religious courts, and the several Christian religious courts came under the control of their respective ecclesiastical authorities – see below: Judiciary and Religious Life and Communities); other departments (Antiquities, Immigration, Statistics, Administrator General (public trustee, official receiver, registration of companies, partnerships, trademarks, patents and designs) and Town Planning).

[Edwin Samuel, Second Viscount Samuel]

LOCAL GOVERNMENT. *Ottoman Rule.* The modernization of local government began under the vilayet law of 1864, according to which *nāḥiyas*, or rural districts, were gradually introduced throughout the country. By the end of Ottoman rule many of the *mudirs*, in charge of *nāḥiyas* and controlling the villages comprising them, were local Arabs. Each *nāḥiye* was supposed to have a council, but few were established. The sheikhs who had exercised authority over the *ḥamūlas* (village clans) were replaced by mukhtars (village headmen), two of whom were to have been elected in each village together with a council of village elders – the *ikhtiyāriyya*. But most mukhtars were appointed rather than elected, although consideration was given to the wishes of the local notables. The mukhtar assessed and levied taxes among the villagers, settled disputes, and acted as intermediary in the relations between the provincial administration and the village.

The Jewish villages or moshavot, of which there were 28 by the end of the Ottoman rule, were initially outside this system. They originated their own pattern of self-government, based on Jewish communal self-rule in Eastern Europe, relying on the self-discipline and loyalty of the settlers rather than on any legal powers, and resisting attempts by the Ottoman provincial administration to control them. The ultimate authority in the moshavah was the general assembly, which met several times a year. A village executive committee was elected annually or biannually, and some of the larger moshavot elected village councils, to which the executive committee was responsible. The chairman and other officeholders were elected from among the committee members. In some villages, equal rights were granted, from the start, to all adult members of the community. In others, there were prolonged struggles over political rights between those who owned property in the village and those who did not, mainly the workers. By the end of Ottoman rule, democracy had usually triumphed. Until 1904 the Ottoman provincial authorities paid little attention to the moshavot and their methods of self-government. Then, the four largest were recognized as villages, and those elected by the village council were accepted as mukhtars. By 1914, all moshavot had acquired a similar status.

Municipal government was an innovation of the Ottoman *tanẓīmāt* ("reforms"). In 1863 Jerusalem was made a municipality by special imperial firman ("decree"). Under the 1877 Provincial Municipalities Law, 22 towns and larger villages were given municipal status in the 1880s and 1890s. They were provided with an impressive list of duties and legal powers but, in effect, they were under strict surveillance by the provincial district and subdistrict governors. Municipal staffs were pitifully small and incompetent and their budgets minimal. Only Jerusalem had one or two resourceful mayors, who constructed roads and municipal buildings (including a hospital) and introduced street lighting. Tel Aviv was still a suburb of Jaffa. Under the law, municipal councils (*majlis umumī*) of six to twelve members were to be elected by local taxpayers who were Ottoman subjects; in fact, genuine elections rarely took place. In Jerusalem, Jewish and Christian members sat on the council together with Muslim members. Mayors were appointed by the government, usually for short terms of office.

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[Edwin Emanuel Gutmann]

British Mandate. Municipalities. At the beginning of the Mandatory period there were 22 municipalities in western Palestine: 16 Arab and six (Jerusalem, Jaffa, Haifa, Tiberias, Safed, and Hebron) mixed. Tel Aviv, though administered by an autonomous Jewish council, was regarded as a suburb of Jaffa. In 1926 a Municipal Franchise Ordinance was issued, giving the municipal vote to tenants (males only), even if they held no property, as long as they paid at least one Palestine pound in municipal rates.

A comprehensive Municipal Corporations Ordinance was issued in 1934, authorizing the high commissioner to set up new municipalities or change the boundaries of existing ones on the recommendation of a public committee of inquiry. It prescribed in detail the method of elections, the duties and powers of the councilors and the municipality, sources of revenue (taxes, rates, fees and fines), the procedure for approving the budget, methods of financial control, and the rules for filling major posts, such as those of town clerk, treasurer, town engineer, and medical officer. The procedure for council and committee meetings and the rules for setting up committees were also laid down in detail. The high commissioner retained the right, inherited from the Ottoman rulers, to nominate the mayor and the deputy mayor; bylaws could be passed only on specific subjects listed in the ordinance and subject to the high commissioner's approval. Through the district commissioners, the central government kept the municipalities under strict control.

The ordinance confirmed the unique status of Tel Aviv, which became the world's first all-Jewish city, with the franchise for all residents, men and women – including foreign nationals – who paid as little as LP 0.50 a year in rates. These more democratic provisions were the model for other Jewish councils established later. In Jerusalem, where the Jewish majority had been represented on the municipal council by four members out of 12, there were now six Jewish councilors, four Muslims and two Christians. A Muslim was always appointed by the high commissioner as mayor, however, with a Jew and a Christian as deputies. In 1937 the Jewish deputy was acting mayor for a time, but in the following year another Muslim mayor was appointed.

The first Town Planning Ordinance, issued in 1921, did not repeal any Ottoman law, but stopped the custom of granting immunity from demolition to an unlawfully built house if the builders had succeeded in covering it with a roof. In 1936 it was replaced by a more modern ordinance, which created local town planning committees identical with the town councils and with the mayor as chairman. These were supervised by the District Town Planning Commissions, headed by the district commissioner, on which government departments were represented, and which received general directives from the central Government Planning Division.

Local and Regional Councils. The Local Council Ordinance of 1921 created a new category of elected local authority. While the Jewish rural communities thought the local council had too little power and authority, the Arab villagers regarded its establishment as interference in their ancient way of life and a threat to the social structure of their communities. During the next five years 21 Arab councils, four Jewish, and one German-Christian (Sarona, near Tel Aviv) were set up. The first Jewish local council established under the ordinance was Petaḥ Tikvah, followed during the next two decades by Rishon le-Zion and Reḥovot (1922), Tel Aviv (1923), Ramat Gan and Afulah (1926), Ḥaderah (1935), Bat Yam, Ra'anannah and Kefar Sava (1936), Bene-Berak and Herzliyyah (1937), and others.

In 1941 the 1921 ordinance was replaced by a new, streamlined one, granting the local councils even more powers than the municipalities and authorizing them to act for the public benefit on any matter so long as they did not come into conflict with other legislation. The high commissioner was empowered, by subsidiary legislation, to declare any village a local council or any group of villages a regional council. Two Jewish rural councils, near Ḥaderah and Petaḥ Tikvah, were set up in 1936–37 to protect the agricultural character of these areas.

By the end of the Mandate, in 1948, 11 small Arab towns and large villages, 26 Jewish villages, and Sarona were local councils, and four groups of Jewish villages were combined to form the Emek Ḥefer, Kishon, Nahalal, and Tel Ḥai regional councils. A new source of income was provided for the local authorities in 1945 by the Local Authorities (Business Tax) Ordinance, which allowed them, after passing a bylaw, to tax businesses operating within their boundaries, subject to approval by the high commissioner.

Villages. In 1944, a Village Administration Ordinance was issued, under which small Arab villages were to elect village councils, with tax powers but under closer supervision by the district commissioner and the central government than the local councils. Up to 1948, 24 were gazetted, in an effort to replace the rule of the elders and mukhtars by democratically elected bodies, but most of them existed only on paper, as the villagers were reluctant to depart from their old ways of life.

Local Government and the Development of the Jewish National Home. The tight control of the Jewish local authorities by the central government often led to tension and was criticized by the Peel Commission in 1937 as hampering advance toward self-rule. The Jewish councils cooperated closely with the national authorities of the *yishuv* and were represented at important meetings of the Asefat ha-Nivḥarim (Elected Assembly) and the Va'ad Le'ummi (National Council), which made continual efforts to enlarge their powers and coordinate their activities. The development of Jewish local government was an important factor in justifying the proposal to set up a Jewish state in part of Palestine and in enabling the *yishuv* to establish independence after the British withdrawal.

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[Yehuda Levanon]

JEWISH COMMUNAL ORGANIZATION (1880–1948). *General Characteristics.* The Jews in the Land of Israel not only had to organize themselves for the purpose of satisfying their religious and cultural needs, but because of the vast difference in culture and standards of living between themselves and the Arab majority, they also had to engage in municipal, political, and economic activities for which the government was nominally responsible. The Ottoman authorities and, from 1918, the British administration performed most of their functions in accordance with the requirements of the Arab majority, while the Turks granted considerable internal freedom to minorities and were usually lax in enforcing law and order. Even before 1918, therefore, the Jewish population assumed some governmental tasks and duties, such as the protection of life and property, the paving of roads and streets, and the administration of justice among its members, while under the British they had, inter alia, to maintain their own educational, social welfare, and health services, apart from those maintained by the government. In addition, the Balfour Declaration and the Mandate conferred upon the Jews certain special rights, not very clearly defined, by virtue of the fact that, although a minority, they were entitled to regard the country as their National Home. This gave an additional impetus to organized Jewish communal life in the land of Israel and endowed the *yishuv* with an importance far transcending its numerical size. The Jewish population also participated, though to a small extent, in some of the general administrative organs (see sections on Central and Local Government, below).

Jewish World Bodies. The communal activities of the *yishuv* were supplemented by the work of world Jewish philanthropic and Zionist organizations, which did not confine themselves to charity, but engaged in agricultural settlement, the maintenance of schools, the provision of health services, and the like. Under the Mandate, in fact, the Zionist Organization and the Jewish Agency undertook a variety of quasi-governmental functions. At the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th, such bodies as the Alliance Israélite Universelle and the Hilfsverein der deutschen Juden were mainly engaged in educational activity, while Baron Edmond de Rothschild and later the Jewish Colonization Association (ICA) also established agricultural settlements and maintained their communal services. In 1924 the activities of Baron de Rothschild and ICA were taken over by the Palestine Colonization Association (PICA).

The major Zionist bodies active in the country were, during the last two decades of the 19th century, the Russian Ḥibbat Zion movement and, in the first half of the 20th, the World Zionist Organization. Through the Zionist Executive – later the Executive of the enlarged Jewish Agency – it carried out extensive activities in the absorption of immigrants, settlement on the land, and the economic, social, and educational progress of the Jewish population, all of which contributed to the rapid development of Jewish communal life.

The Central Jewish Community. Whatever organized communal life existed in Ereẓ Israel prior to 1900 was confined to local communities. Between 1900 and 1917 three ineffective attempts were made to organize a large part or the whole of the *yishuv*. In 1900 representatives of the Jewish villages in Judea met to further their mutual interests; a year later this organization disintegrated. In 1903 a mission sent from Russia by the Ḥibbat Zion movement, headed by Menaḥem *Ussishkin, convened a *Kenesiyyah* (Congress) of 79 representatives, elected by over 2,000 Jewish dues-paying voters, in Zikhron Ya'akov, with a view to founding a national organization of the *yishuv*. The organization did not outlive the year. In 1913 another attempt to establish a general organization also failed.

More fruitful attempts in the same direction were inaugurated at the end of 1917, with the conquest of the country by the British forces, which coincided with the Balfour Declaration. The heterogeneity of the Jewish population and its constantly changing composition were serious difficulties: the formation of a united Jewry proved to be neither easy nor peaceful. There was much opposition and dissension and many obstacles, internal and external, which had to be overcome. The exceedingly diverse social and religious outlooks in the *yishuv* gave rise to a large number of political parties, which also complicated the formation of communal organization.

Between 1917 and 1919 three preparatory assemblies, consisting of delegates from various parties and organizations in the *yishuv*, met to arrange for a Constituent Assembly elected by direct, equal, secret ballot and universal suffrage, including women. The provisional council elected by these assemblies encountered many difficulties. The old *yishuv*, including the ultra-Orthodox and *Agudat Israel, were strongly opposed to uniting with nonreligious Jews. The *Mizrachi and some sections of the *Sephardim objected to giving women the right to vote. Elections to the Constituent Assembly, renamed Asefat ha-Nivḥarim (the Elected Assembly), finally took place in April 1920.

The Asefat ha-Nivharim and the Va'ad Le'ummi. Between 1920 and 1948 the Asefat ha-Nivḥarim was the supreme organ of the *yishuv* in conducting its communal affairs. The elections to this body, originally planned to be held every three years or so, were repeatedly postponed because of the exhausting endeavors to reconcile the dissenting views of the numerous parties, the frequent Arab-Jewish disturbances and consequent unrest, and the protracted negotiations with the Mandatory authorities for the legal recognition of the organized Jewish community.

The first two elections to the Asefat ha-Nivḥarim were held prior to the legal recognition of the status of the Jewish community. Though recognition was given in 1928, it took a considerable time to work out the regulations for the election and the various compromises among the parties. The third election was held on a *curia* basis; every voter could vote only in his own *curia*, Ashkenazi, Sephardi, or Yemenite. The number of members for each *curia* was predetermined: 53 Ashkenazi, 15 Sephardi, and three Yemenite. In the fourth election, election by *curiae* was not strictly adhered to.

Jewish Population (composition by *curiae*, in percentages)

	1918	1928	1943
Ashkenazi	59	71	79.4
Sephardi	33	23	15.9
Yemenite	8	6	4.7

The Asefat ha-Nivḥarim was convened infrequently, for sessions lasting from one to four days, to deal with internal and political issues, organizational matters, and the approval of budgets. The first met three times and the second twice; the third held 18 sessions and the fourth seven. It met for its last working session in October 1947, and the concluding session took place after the establishment of the State of Israel, shortly before the first meeting of the Knesset in February 1949. The Asefat ha-Nivḥarim elected the *Va'ad Le'ummi (National Council or, as referred to by the Mandatory authorities, the General Council), which met several times a year and represented the *yishuv* between sessions of the Asefat ha-Nivḥarim. The membership of the Va'ad Le'ummi during 1920–48 varied from 23 to 42, representing almost all parties in the larger body. It elected an Executive of 6 to 14 members, who headed departments of political affairs, local communities, rabbinate, education, health, social welfare, physical culture, and information. The Va'ad Le'ummi was headed by David *Yellin (1920–29), Pinḥas *Rutenberg (1929–31), Izhak *Ben-Zvi (1931–44), and David *Remez (1944–48), with Ben-Zvi as president.

*The Regulations of the Jewish Community (*Keneset Yisrael).* In 1920 the first Asefat ha-Nivḥarim decided to prepare a draft constitution for the self-government of the Jewish community and to obtain its formal recognition by the British authorities. It took five years to prepare the document and another three for its legal ratification. The long period of preparation was due to internal differences over the rights of women to vote and the nature of the community: whether it should be based on the personal principle (i.e., as in the Diaspora, for the sole purpose of satisfying religious and cultural needs) or on the territorial principle, according to which the communities should also be vested with all municipal rights and duties. In addition, Agudat Israel did its utmost to prevent the establishment of a united Jewish community not based on strictly Orthodox religious lines, even appealing to the Mandates Commission of the League of Nations.

Negotiations with the British authorities were no easier. The Va'ad Le'ummi, following the conceptions recognized under the Turkish regime, advocated obligatory membership: every person born a Jew was to be considered a member of the community unless he declared himself outside the Jewish ranks. It also wanted the organized Jewish community to have the right to levy compulsory taxes to meet the communal requirements of the *yishuv.* The British were accustomed to the idea of national self-government on a territorial, rather than communal, basis, and wanted the *yishuv* to be a voluntary religious community. Finally, compromises were worked out. In 1926 the Religious Communities Organization Ordinance was promulgated, empowering the authorities to approve for each community regulations which went beyond the satisfaction of its religious needs. Almost two years later, on Jan. 1, 1928, the *Official Gazette* published the Regulations of the Jewish Community, which recognized a Community of the Jews in Palestine, as apart from the local communities. Its central organs were granted judicial powers and the right to levy taxes. Membership was automatic for all Jews after a residence of three months, but once a year any person who wished to have his name struck from the register of the community might do so. The territorial principle was partly recognized in the provision that in any Jewish township, village, or quarter where a local council was established, it could also serve as the local community under the regulations.

The regulations provided for lay authorities – the Asefat ha-Nivḥarim, the Va'ad Le'ummi and the local community – as well as religious ones – the Rabbinical Council and the local rabbinical offices. It took two more years for the parties to agree on election regulations, approved and promulgated early in 1930, under which the elections to the Third Asefat ha-Nivḥarim were held in January 1931. The Regulations of the Jewish Community redefined and confirmed the Rabbinical Council as the supreme religious authority of the *yishuv.* The Council consisted of two chief rabbis, one Ashkenazi and one Sephardi, and six additional rabbis, three Ashkenazi and three Sephardi, all elected by an assembly consisting of 71 members, two-thirds rabbis and one-third lay representatives.

The Local Community. The Jewish local community is older than its countrywide counterpart. The newcomers joined existing Jewish communities in the towns and villages or established new ones in order to satisfy their communal religious, social and cultural needs.

In the towns the local communities were not spared the trials that were the lot of the national organization of the *yishuv.* The same conflicting interests of Sephardi and Ashkenazi congregations, ultra-Orthodox and secularists, property owners and workers, and the numerous parties contributed in varying degrees to the friction that plagued the organized local communities in Jerusalem, Jaffa, Haifa, Tiberias, and Safed. Tel Aviv, established in 1909, gained the status of a local council in 1921 and that of a township in 1922 and, being an all-Jewish community, exercised both communal and municipal functions.

Under Turkish rule and, to a lesser extent, under British administration, the rural Jewish communities, first the moshavot and later the kibbutzim and moshavim, had not only to meet the religious and cultural needs of their members, but also to fulfill municipal functions, such as water supply, sewerage, pavement of roads, protection of life and property, and maintenance of educational, social welfare, and health services. These functions, even when not legally recognized, strengthened the corporate life of the rural community, which was regulated by self-imposed rules and financed by self-imposed taxes.

The Regulations of the Jewish Community provided that only one recognized community might be formed in any one place, but the special religious needs of minorities were considered. The community was granted the right to levy taxes and deal with the communal needs of its members. A system of elections was provided for, and the relations between the community and its local rabbinical office were defined. The supervision of the Va'ad Le'ummi over the local councils was officially exerted, even if not always exercised. Both municipal and communal functions were merged in one authority in the Jewish municipalities and local councils in the country. By 1948 there were two such municipal councils (Tel Aviv and Petaḥ Tikvah) and 26 local councils. (See also section on Local Government, below)

Two generations of intensive communal life, both on the local and the national level, contributed a great deal to the maturity of Jewish public life. On the whole, communal activity became gradually more democratic, and the wide experience in self-government thus gained by the *yishuv* served the State of Israel well in setting up its constitutional organs and administrative machinery.

See also *Political Life and Parties.

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[Moshé Avidor]

State of Israel

INTRODUCTION. The *Declaration of Independence on May 14, 1948, which declared Israel to be a Jewish state based on universal democratic principles, was accompanied by the establishment of the Provisional State Council as a temporary legislature and the Provisional Government of the newly established State of Israel, which were to be replaced by democratically elected bodies as soon as general elections could be held. Five days later the Law and Administration Ordinance was enacted, which specified the powers and procedures of the two bodies, transformed the system of governance from a colonial system in which all power was vested in the high commissioner, to that of a parliamentary democracy. These provisional institutions consisted mainly of members of the executive bodies of the Zionist Organization and the elected assembly of the *Yishuv*, as well as the heads of several political groups that had not been represented in them. One of the first acts of the Constituent Assembly, which soon changed its name to "the First Knesset," was to pass the Transition Law. In the absence of a constitution, this law provided the basis for the state's governmental system, which was subsequently elaborated and then replaced by additional legislation and amendments, as well as the development of practice and court decisions.

The system that evolved was that of a multiparty parliamentary democracy. At first it was characterized by the predominance of one party, *Mapai, strong governments, administrative centralization, and a large state-run economic sector. However, after 1977 Mapai's successor, the *Israel Labor Party, was no longer predominant, Israel's governments were no longer as strong, and as the years went by the central administration weakened, while large sections of the public sector were privatized. It is only vis-à-vis the local government that the central government in Israel is still omnipotent.

Like the systems of other democratic states, the system of governance in Israel is based on a separation of powers among the Legislature, Executive, and Judiciary, though this separation is not absolute, and there is occasional tension among them (see below). Israel has a president, who is a figurehead without any real power. Its judiciary (see Legal and Judicial System) is independent, and held in high esteem. Though its civil service has undergone a certain measure of politicization, it too is relatively independent.

An overwhelming majority in Israel accepts and respects the system that has evolved. Nevertheless, there are certain groups in the country that question the system's justice and/or legitimacy. On the one hand, there are certain religious circles that refuse to accept the supremacy of the secular state and its institutions, especially when their acts and policies appear to clash with the proscriptions of Jewish law – the *halakhah*. This tendency manifests itself in particular with regard to certain decisions of the High Court of Justice, and issues connected with the future of the territories occupied by Israel in the course of the Six-Day War. On the other hand there are circles among the Arab citizens of the state who would like to change the definition of Israel from a Jewish state to the state of all its citizens, or a bi-national state (see, *Binationalism), a change that if ever introduced would require major changes in its system of governance.

CONSTITUTION AND BASIC LAWS. Israel does not have a comprehensive, formal, written constitution, despite the fact that in the Declaration of Independence it was stated that a constitution was to be prepared by a Constituent Assembly by October 1948. The fact that a constitution has not been written is due primarily to opposition within religious circles to the inclusion of certain human rights issues and to the legal supremacy inherent in such a document over all other laws, both secular and religious.

In pursuance of the Knesset's decision of May 13, 1950, to introduce a constitution by stages in the form of Basic Laws, 11 such laws were introduced by 2004, laying down most of the basic principles of Israel's system of governance (see *Knesset). Though the Basic Laws have not been formally declared as superior to other laws, the High Court of Justice has on a few occasions ruled that provisions in certain ordinary laws are in contradiction to certain Basic Laws, and must therefore be amended. In addition, a few Basic Laws include the provision that certain articles in them can only be amended by an absolute majority (i.e., with the support of at least 61 of the 120 Knesset members), which sets them apart from ordinary laws that can be amended by an ordinary majority.

Though two Basic Laws dealing with human rights were passed in the early 1990s (Basic Law: Human Dignity and Freedom and Basic Law: Freedom of Occupation), in the absence of a complete human and civil rights law it is the judiciary, but particularly the High Court of Justice, that is the main instrument to prevent governmental infringements of these rights.

In the course of the Sixteenth Knesset, efforts were made by the Knesset Constitution, Law and Justice Committee, headed by Knesset Member Mikhael Eitan, with the support of the Israel Democracy Institute, to work out "a constitution by agreement."

THE ELECTORAL SYSTEM. Since Israel is a parliamentary democracy, both the make-up of its parliament and its government are determined by the results of general elections.

Basic Law: The Knesset of 1958 prescribes that elections must be "universal, nationwide, direct, equal, secret and proportional." The Knesset is elected by an extreme form of proportional representation, in which the entire country is regarded as a single 120-member constituency. Seats are distributed according to the percentage of votes polled by each list, limited only by a qualifying threshold that was at first 1%, raised to 1.5% in 1992, and to 2% in 2004. Since the number of seats has remained fixed since the first elections in 1949, but the number of votes cast has risen from 434,684 in 1949 to 3,148,364 in 2003, the number of votes per seat has constantly risen.

Though, as stated above, elections are direct, it is not individual candidates that are elected but lists, each of which is made up of one or more parties (see below). Nevertheless, because many of the parties underwent a process of democratization from the early 1990s, the members of some parties participate in the election of the candidates for their party's list. The members entering the Knesset after elections are determined according to their order in the list on which they ran, on the basis of the number of seats won by it. Should a seat fall vacant due to the resignation or death of a Knesset member, his place is taken by the next candidate on the list.

All resident Israeli citizens are enfranchised at the age of 18. Candidates for election must be at least 21 years old.

Lists represented in parliamentary groups in the outgoing Knesset have a slight advantage over newly formed ones, due to more generous financing arrangements for parliamentary groups already in the Knesset under the amended 1969 Elections Financing Law. This is the main reason why several months before new elections are held one witnesses numerous new parliamentary groups forming in the Knesset by Knesset members breaking off from their previous parliamentary group, for election financing purposes. Most election financing comes from the state budget, but lists may collect contributions from private and corporate bodies for election purposes, within strict limits prescribed by the Law. The state comptroller (see below) is responsible for checking whether the various lists have remained within these limits, and if they have not, they are fined.

To guarantee the utmost fairness, the organization and management of elections are entrusted to a Central Election Committee made up of the representatives of most of the parties, which is presided over by a Supreme Court justice as an impartial chairperson.

Since the current electoral system results in more than 10 lists passing the qualifying threshold in each election, and no list has ever won an absolute majority of the seats in any Knesset (though towards the end of the Sixth Knesset in 1969 the Alignment parliamentary group, made up of the newly founded *Israel Labor Party and *Mapam, briefly had a majority), many proposals have been made to change the electoral system, either to a single-member or multi-member constituency system, or a mixed constituency/proportional representation system, in the hope that such a change would reduce the number of parliamentary groups in the Knesset and increase the stability of Israel's system of government. However, no electoral reform bill has gone beyond first reading in the Knesset.

Though it is argued that strict adherence to parliamentary democracy is incompatible with the use of referenda to decide highly controversial issues, such as electoral reform or withdrawal from territories in Ereẓ Yisrael occupied in the course of the Six-Day War, several attempts were made to introduce a Referenda Law. In 2004 Prime Minister Ariel *Sharon resisted pressure to introduce such a law over the issue of his plan for disengagement from the Gaza Strip and the dismantlement of settlements, since he viewed it as a tactic to delay the implementation of his policy.

POLITICAL PARTIES. The Parties Law of 1992 defines a party as "a group of people who became associated in order to further, in a legal manner, political or social goals, and bring about their representation in the Knesset by means of representatives." Since the Parties Law was passed, all parties must register with the Party Registrar, they must have rules of procedure in accordance with which they operate, and certain institutions that ensure their proper operation. According to the law, a party cannot register if "there is among its goals or in its acts, explicitly or implicitly, one of the following: (1) the rejection of the State of Israel as a Jewish and democratic state; (2) incitement to racism; (3) reasonable basis (to believe) that the party will act as 'camouflage for illegal acts.'" On the basis of Amendment 19 to the Basic Law: the Knesset of 1996, only a party can run in elections to the Knesset.

The parties in Israel are an extremely heterogeneous group of political bodies, whose large number is primarily the result of the electoral system, but also the historical background of the state, and its complex social structure.

Parts of the parties and political blocs in Israel have roots in the pre-state *Yishuv* or World Zionist Organization. These include the Israel Labor Party, the *Likud, the *National Religious Party, and *Agudat Israel. There were parties – such as the *Democratic Movement for Change in 1977, Tami in 1981, and the Third Way in 1999 – that made a brief appearance on the scene against the background of some issue of protest and then disappeared. Among the protest parties *Shas – an ultra-Orthodox Sephardi Party formed in 1984 – was unique, since it survived, and became one of the pillars of the current Israeli party system.

There have been parties with comprehensive ideologies and philosophies, such as *Mapam or the *Liberal Party, or with party platforms that dealt with every political, security, social, and economic aspect of Israel's existence, such as the Israel Labor Party and the Likud, while others have been single-issue parties, such as Teḥiyyah back in the 1980s, whose almost exclusive concern was Jewish settlement in Ereẓ Yisrael, or the Third Way, formed in 1996, which objected to Israeli withdrawal from the Golan Heights. Some parties, such as the Labor Party and the Likud, try to appeal to a wide variety of populations, while others appeal to a specific homogeneous community or sector: Yahadut ha-Torah to the **ḥaredi* population, Yisrael be-Aliyah to new immigrants from the former Soviet Union, and the United Arab List to Israel's Arab citizens.

Frequently the splitting of a parliamentary group in the Knesset (see below) has led to the establishment of a new party – though the "new" parties are occasionally old parties that have reemerged (as in the case of *Aḥdut ha-Avodah-Po'alei Zion, which broke away from Mapam before the 1955 elections, the *Independent Liberal Party – formerly the *Progressive Party – which broke away from the Liberal Party when the latter formed the *Gaḥal bloc with the *Ḥerut Movement in 1965, and Mapam, which broke away from the Alignment in 1984).

While strong charismatic figures have stood at the head of most of the major parties – David *Ben-Gurion at the head of Mapai, Menaḥem *Begin at the head of the Ḥerut Movement (and then Gaḥal and the Likud), Meir *Ya'ari and Ya'akov *Ḥazan at the head of Mapam – these parties survived their departure. However, whenever such charismatic figures have left their base party and tried to form new parties around themselves – as in the case of Ben-Gurion and Rafi in 1965, Ariel Sharon and Shlomzion in 1977, Moshe *Dayan and Telem in 1981, and Ezer *Weizman and Yaḥad in 1984 – they invariably failed, and only Ariel Sharon revived his political career by returning to the Likud.

In the secular parties that emphasize liberalization and pluralism, women have always been present, and their percentage has risen. Two parties have been established and were led by women: Shulamit *Aloni founded the Civil Rights Movement in 1973 and Geula *Cohen founded the Teḥiyyah in 1979. The Israel Labor Party was led by Golda *Meir in the years 1969–74. The *ḥaredi* and Arab parties have never elected women.

Today the parties are much less ideological than they were in the past, and frequently resemble pragmatic pressure groups out to gain as much as they can for their activists and their voters. The problem as seen from the vantage point of the first decade of the 21st century is that unlike the situation in the early days of the state, and perhaps even until the mid-1990s, there is not a single political force – whether in the form of a party or bloc of parties – that commands a stable majority, able to confront the horrendous problems that Israel faces in terms of its economy, its society, its relations with the Palestinians, the Arab states and the Muslim world, and its own identity. Some expect a major implosion (*ha-mapaẓ ha-gadol* – a term coined by Haim *Ramon) that will change the whole party make-up and political structure, but that is all in the realm of speculation.

See also *Political Life and Parties.

The Knesset. The Knesset is a 120-member single-chamber legislature, whose main functions include representation of the citizens of the state, legislation, and supervision of the government. Its members run in elections on lists that are made up of a single party, or several parties, and occasionally also individuals who are not party members. A list that passes the qualifying threshold and enters the new Knesset turns into a parliamentary group. In the course of the terms of all the Knessets except for the Third, parliamentary groups have broken up or united, and the make-up of each Knesset was different at the end of its term from what it had been at its beginning.

It is frequently argued that the Knesset is weaker than the government (see below), but as is true in all democracies, the question is not whether the legislature is stronger or weaker than the executive, but whether the interaction between the two leads to an effective running of the country.

The prime minister, most of his ministers, and all the deputy ministers are members of the Knesset, and a government can be effective only if it is supported by a majority in the Knesset. For the system to run smoothly it is also desirable that the speaker should not only come from the prime minister's party, but that he should sympathize with the government's policies and work in harmony with it. Both in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Knessets such harmony did not always exist. Another prerequisite for the system to work smoothly is that the chairmen of the Knesset Foreign Affairs and Defense Committee, the Finance Committee, the Constitution, Law and Justice Committee, and the House Committee should come from the coalition benches. The chairman of the State Control Committee must come from the opposition benches. These unwritten rules have, to the present day, been observed.

If the government's majority in the Knesset is extremely large (as in the period 1984–88, when the National Unity Governments led by Shimon *Peres and then Yitzhak *Shamir were supported by over 95 out of the 120 Knesset members) and the opposition is extremely small, the Knesset acts more or less as a rubber stamp. However, when the ratio between coalition and opposition is more balanced, the Knesset is more effective in scrutinizing the work of the government, by amending the bills it proposes, ensuring that ministers report to it and answer questions posed to them, and approving (or rejecting) its policies. If the government does not command a majority in the Knesset, it cannot survive for long, as it must depend on temporary conjunctural coalitions, as occurred in the vote on the removal of all the Jewish settlements from the Gaza Strip and of several settlements in Samaria on October 26, 2004.

Most of the parliamentary work of the Knesset is divided between the plenum, in which all 120 members of the Knesset can participate, and committees, in which a limited number of members participate. This division is especially important in the passage of legislation, where the more detailed work is done at the committee stage, while minor amendments and final approval is in the hands of the plenum. In the past, while the work of the plenum was open and fully reported, the work of the committees usually convened *in camera*, though minutes of Committee meetings were taken and eventually made available to the public. Today committee meetings are much more transparent, and their minutes (except for those of the Foreign Affairs and Defense Committee) are published within a short time after the meetings are held. Both the minutes of the plenum and the committees are published on the Knesset website. All plenum debates and some committee deliberations are broadcast on the Knesset television channel.

One of the difficulties in the smooth functioning of the various types of Knesset committees – permanent committees, special issue committees, and parliamentary inquiry committees – is that since one-quarter to one-third of the Knesset members are ministers or deputy ministers, there are not enough Knesset members left to fully man the committees, and many committees hold meetings with very few members present. Occasionally the chairman is the only member present at a committee meeting. Some have proposed that Israel introduce the so called "Norwegian Law" (called so because of article 62 in the Norwegian Constitution that stipulates that members of the government should resign their parliamentary seats), which would oblige ministers to resign their Knesset seats. Others suggest that quorums be introduced both in the plenum and the committees.

In the past the number of government bills passed was much larger than of private members' bills; today the number of private bills proposed is much larger than that of government bills, and most of the legislation passed is private. In the case of the annual Budget Bill the Knesset has only marginal influence, though there is the habitual last-minute ritual of the Ministry of Finance giving in to the financial demands of minor coalition partners in order to ensure their support. If the Knesset does not pass the Budget Law by March 31 of the financial year for which the new budget applies, new elections must be held. However, the most problematic piece of legislation is what is known as the "Arrangements Law," accompanying every Budget Law since 1985, which enables the government to pass amendments to existing laws, supposedly to facilitate the implementation of the budget, without the Knesset having a real opportunity to properly scrutinize them.

The Knesset dissolves before its four-year term is up under the following conditions: (a) If the Knesset itself decides to dissolve itself before its term is up. In this case a special law is passed, and the third reading requires the support of at least 61 Knesset members; (b) If 61 Knesset members vote for a motion of no-confidence in the government, and the Knesset member proposed by them to form an alternative government fails; (c) If the prime minister decides to dissolve the Knesset, and a candidate proposed by at least 61 Knesset members does not manage to form an alternative government; (d) If the Knesset fails to pass the state budget by March 31 of the year to which the budget applies.

It is the Knesset that elects the president of the state and the state comptroller.

THE PRESIDENT OF THE STATE. The president is the titular head of state, who has primarily ceremonial duties and few powers.

Originally, Basic Law: the State President, which was passed in 1964, stipulated that the president is elected by the 120 members of the Knesset, by secret ballot for a five-year term, which can be prolonged by an additional term (this was after the second president, Izhak *Ben-Zvi, was elected to a third term in 1962). In 1998 the law was amended, so that now the president is elected to a single seven-year term.

The tasks of the president include participation in official ceremonies, including the opening of each Knesset session; official visits in Israel and abroad as the representative of the state; addresses to the public on festive occasions; the granting of credentials to Israeli ambassadors to other countries, and the receiving of the credentials of foreign ambassadors to Israel; receiving the reports from government meetings, and recommending parole, or the reduction of sentences for prisoners.

Except for the period 1996–2001 when the prime minister was directly elected, the president is responsible for consulting all the parliamentary groups elected to a new Knesset with regard to the appointment of a new prime minister, and it is he who calls upon the candidate with the best chances of mustering a stable coalition to form a new government. Should a government resign in the middle of a Knesset term, he has a similar task.

Though the first president, Chaim *Weiẓmann (1948–52), was affiliated on the whole with the General Zionists, his choice as president reflected appreciation for his role in representing the Zionist cause between the two world wars. Izhak Ben-Zvi (1952–63), Shneor Zalman *Shazar (1963–73), Ephraim *Katzir (1973–78), Yitzhak *Navon (1978–83), Chaim *Herzog (1983–93), and Ezer *Weizman (1993–2003) were all Mapai or Labor Party candidates. Israel's eighth president, Moshe *Katsav (2003–), was the first Likud candidate to be elected.

During his tenure of office the president is not expected to take controversial political positions. The only president who blatantly broke this unwritten rule was Ezer Weizman. Navon was the only president who returned to active politics after ending his term.

Should the president of the state be abroad or be temporarily indisposed, it is the speaker of the Knesset who fulfils his functions.

THE STATE COMPTROLLER. The task of the state comptroller is to audit and examine the proper functioning of ministries, the government, local government, the armed forces, all persons and bodies operating on behalf of the State, enterprises, institutions, funds, and other bodies in whose management the government participates, or any body which is financed by the State and is subject to control by law, on the basis of a Knesset decision or government agreement. The control concerns the legality, integrity, proper management, efficiency, and frugality of the audited body's activities and is much broader than what is customary in most other countries. While the comptroller enjoys many of the powers of committees of inquiry, he does not have the administrative power to enforce laws or impose sanctions on the controlled bodies. In his annual and special reports, which deal with a variety of bodies or specific spheres of activity, the comptroller publishes his findings, and may recommend to the state attorney that a criminal investigation be opened, should there be suspicion of criminal wrongdoing. His reports also comment on whether the controlled bodies have paid heed to his findings in previous reports.

Basic Law: the State Comptroller, which was passed in 1988 and amended in 1998, stipulates that the state comptroller be elected for a single seven-year term by the Knesset. He presents his reports to the speaker of the Knesset and the president of the state, and in accordance with the State Comptroller Law of 1958 the Knesset State Control Committee deliberates his reports. Before Basic Law: the State Comptroller was passed the comptroller was appointed by the president of the State, and used to present his reports to the minister of finance.

Since 1971 the state comptroller also serves as ombudsman.

Israel's state comptrollers to date were Siegfried *Moses (1949–61), Yiẓḥak Nebenzahl (1961–82), Yiẓḥak Tunik (1982–86), Ya'akov Meltz (1986–88), Miriam Ben-Porat (1988–98), and Eliezer Goldberg (1998–2005), and Micha Lindenstrauss (2005–). Meltz, Ben-Porat, and Goldberg all served on the Supreme Court before being elected to the job.

THE CENTRAL GOVERNMENT. The government (*memshalah*) is the main policy-making body in Israel. Its make-up and functions were first laid down in the Law and Administration Ordinance (1949). This was replaced by Basic Law: the Government of 1968, which was replaced by a second version of this law in 1992, and a third version in 2001.

Following general elections the president of the state consults with all the parliamentary groups that were elected to the new Knesset, and on the basis of these consultations decides who among their leaders has the best chance of forming a stable government. Should a government resign or be brought down by a vote of no-confidence in the Knesset, it is again the president who calls on the head of one of the groups to form a new government. The designated prime minister has a period of 28 days, which may be further prolonged, in which to form his government. Should he fail, a majority of the Knesset members may ask the president to approach another candidate. So far there have been three occasions on which the person designated by the president failed to form a government. On the first two occasions – in 1951 and 1961 – Ben-Gurion (Mapai) failed to form new governments, and the result was early elections. On the third occasion, after the Twenty-Third Government was brought down by a vote of no-confidence on March 15, 1990, the president called on Peres (Labor) to form a government, and when he failed, turned to Yitzhak Shamir (Likud).

The only period when it was not the president of the state who determined who should form the new government was in the years 1996–2001 when the second Basic Law: the Government was in force, and the prime minister was elected directly by the electorate. Three prime ministers were directly elected: Binyamin *Netanyahu (Likud) in 1996, Ehud *Barak (One Israel) in 1999, and Ariel Sharon (Likud) in 2001.

Since no list in Israel has ever received a majority of the Knesset seats, and since the government requires the confidence of the Knesset in order to survive, all of Israel's governments to the present have been based on coalitions of varying political composition. All the coalitions that have served since the establishment of the State were led either by Mapai or by the Likud. The make-up of Israel's coalition governments has not always been based on ideological cohesion, but on political expediency, with the main goal being maximum political stability. In the years 1967–70, 1984–90, and 2001–2, Israel had National Unity Governments in which both major political parties served together. In the Twenty-First and Twenty-Second Governments, which served in the years 1984–88, the governments were based on parity between the two. The fact that all of Israel's governments have been coalition governments, based on compromise, has meant that the prime minister has never been able to implement his party's platform in full.

The prime minister (*rosh ha-memshalah*, head of the government) is the person who runs the government, and even though he does not always get his way, only he among the government members can decide to break up a government, or recommend that new elections be held. In the years before the lists of the two major parties for the Knesset were elected by their central committees or registered members, the leaders of these parties had much more leverage over their Knesset members and ministers, since the future of the latter's political careers was largely in their hands. However, since the early 1990s, the party leaders, even when they are in the position of prime minister, have much less control over their Knesset members and ministers, since the latter owe their position and power to members of their party's central committee or registered members, and members of the Knesset and even ministers are less afraid to defy the leader of their party than in the past. This was clearly manifested in the Likud in 2004, when the issue of the disengagement from the Gaza Strip and dismantlement of settlements came up both in the government and the Knesset. The direct election of the prime minister was to have strengthened the position of the prime minister vis-à-vis the Knesset, but this system survived for less than five years, for other reasons.

Except for a brief period in the Fifteenth Knesset, there has been no legal limitation on the number of ministers that could serve in the government. In the early governments formed by David Ben-Gurion the number of ministers was 12, and for a certain period the Twenty-Ninth Government formed by Sharon in 2001 had 29. Not all ministers need be members of the Knesset, though most are. The prime minister and deputy ministers must be members. The prime minister may choose a deputy prime minister or deputies. In the event that the prime minister is absent or temporarily indisposed, the deputy prime minister (if such has been chosen) or another designated minister runs the meetings of the government. In the government formed by Ariel Sharon in January 2005 a new position of vice prime minister was created, side by side with the deputy prime minister, in order to resolve a coalition problem. Since Ehud *Olmert already held the position of deputy prime minister, Shimon Peres was given the title of vice premier.

Ministers may hold more than one portfolio, while there may be ministers without portfolio. The number and definition of ministries has changed over the years. At times the creation of a new ministry has reflected changing objective requirements, at times coalition constraints, and at yet others the need to provide a certain prospective minister with a "respectable" portfolio. Thus, for example, in 1990 the Ministry of the Environment was established by removing various functions from other ministries for Roni Milo (Likud), and the same was done in 1996 when the Ministry for National Infrastructures was established in the same manner for Sharon.

The work of the government is governed by several documents. First of all, there are the coalition agreements, signed between the parliamentary group of the prospective prime minister and the other parliamentary groups joining the coalition. Next there are the government guidelines, which indicate the policies that the government intends to pursue in various areas, and are outlined by the prime minister to the Knesset when he presents his government to it and seeks its confidence; a document called "The Procedures for the Work of the Coalition" that outlines how members of the parliamentary groups that are in the coalition are expected to relate to government bills and private members' bills, and other matters connected with coalition discipline; and finally the Rules of Procedure for the Work of the Government, which might vary slightly from government to government. The first three documents are political rather than legal documents, and there are no legal sanctions for their breach. It should be noted that some of the most dramatic steps taken by Israeli governments have run counter to their original guidelines. This was especially notable in the case of the peace treaty signed by Begin in 1979 with Egypt, which involved full Israeli withdrawal from the Sinai Peninsula, and the Declaration of Principles signed by Yitzhak *Rabin in 1993 with Yasser *Arafat, followed by the Cairo and Taba Agreements, which involved Israeli recognition of the PLO and Israeli withdrawal from much of the Gaza Strip and the West Bank in favor of a Palestinian Authority. However, in both cases the documents were brought to the Knesset for approval before they went into force.

The government meets as a rule once a week, on Sundays, to discuss major policy issues and other government business and to approve legislation for submission to the Knesset. Decisions may be taken by majority vote and are then covered by collective government responsibility. All government deliberations are officially secret, but in other than security matters "leaks" to the media are common. At the end of government meetings the government secretary (a political appointee) issues a statement. Government decisions on matters that are not secret have been published, since September 2004, on the website of the Government Office. Before that they could be obtained on request from the Government Secretariat – a professional body that is in charge of providing clerical services to the government and the committees, preparing their agendas, taking minutes at meetings, and circulating decisions.

Much government business is done by permanent or *ad hoc* ministerial committees made up of the ministers directly concerned. Decisions of ministerial committees are usually automatically adopted by the government. In the past two decades it has also become the practice to appoint an inner cabinet to deal with security issues and other sensitive matters. During the office of the two National Unity Governments of 1984–88, the cabinet was made up of 10 members – five from the Alignment and five from the Likud, and no decision could be adopted, unless supported by at least six members. Thus, the decision to leave Lebanon in 1985 was adopted, and approval of the London Agreement, reached between Foreign Minister Shimon Peres (Alignment) and Jordanian King Hussein, was rejected.

Governments in all parliamentary democracies are based on the collective responsibility of all its members, and the prime minister has the right to fire ministers who have voted in the Knesset against government bills or other votes concerning the government's status and policy, or if members of their parliamentary groups did so in the Knesset. It was on this basis that in 1976 Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin dismissed the ministers from the *National Religious Party, when members of their parliamentary group voted in favor of a motion of no-confidence in the government. In 2004 Prime Minister Ariel Sharon dismissed the ministers from the National Unity Party, not only because they intended to vote in the government against his policy of separation from the Gaza Strip and the removal of the Jewish settlements there, but because he believed they were guilty of incitement against him personally and his policies.

A government continues to serve until a new government is formed, occasionally as a transition government, to which different rules apply than for an ordinary government. The service of a government ends if the prime minister passes away or resigns.

From the First to Eighth Knesset (1949–77, 28 years), 17 governments served. From the Ninth to Sixteenth Knesset (1977–2004, 27 years) 13 served. Nevertheless, the first period, in which Mapai and the Labor Party were predominant, was more stable, and the fact that four different governments served in the course of the Second Knesset merely reflected Ben-Gurion's inclination to try to get his way with problematic coalition partners by resigning and forming a new coalition, frequently with the same make-up as the previous coalition. Since 1977 the make-up of the governments – both in terms of parliamentary groups and personalities – has been much less stable. Whereas in the first period there were several ministers who held particular portfolios in numerous successive governments (for example, Beḥor Shalom Shitrit, who was minister of police from the First to the Thirteenth Governments), in the second period there have been ministries run by several different ministers in the course of a single government (for example, both in the Eighteenth Government led by Menaḥem Begin and in the Twenty-Seventh Government led by Netanyahu, there were three different ministers of finance).

There is never a situation in which there is no government. A government serves until a new one is formed, though after the prime minister has resigned or has passed away, or after new elections have been held, it becomes an interim government until the new government is formed. Only in four Knessets did a single government serve (the Fourth, Seventh, Ninth, and Fourteenth), and of these only two – the Fifteenth

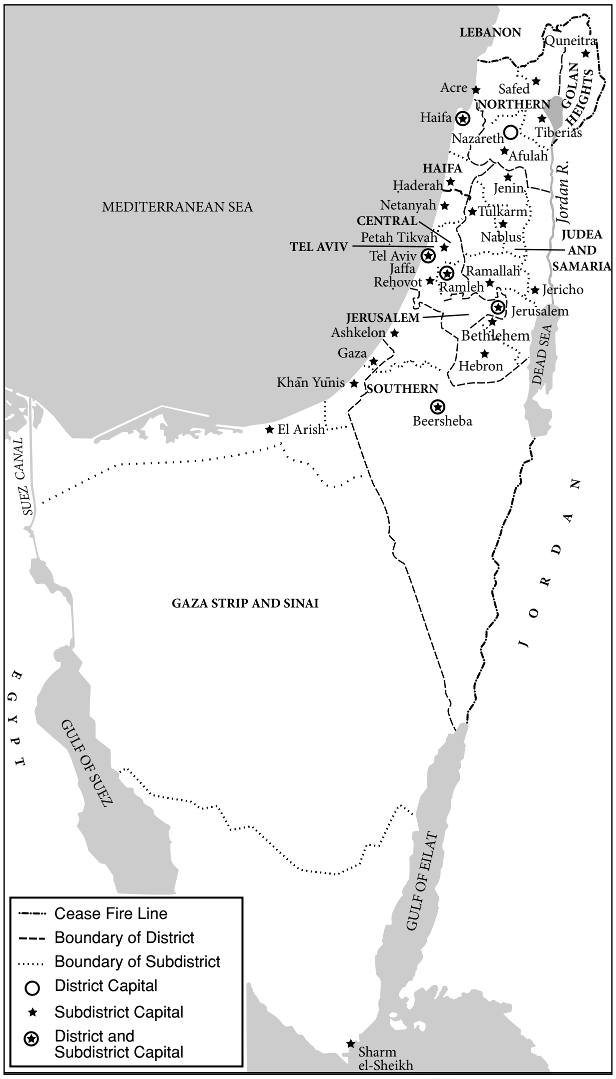
LEBANON
Queneitra
Acre
Safed
NORTHERN
GOLAN HEIGHTS
Haifa
Nazareth
Tiberias
Afulah
HAIFA
Ḥaderah
Jenin
Jordan R.
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
Netanyah
Tulkarm
CENTRAL
Petaḥ Tikvah
Nablus
JUDEA AND SAMARIA
TEL AVIV
Tel Aviv
Jaffa
Ramallah
Reḥovot
Ramleh
Jericho
Jerusalem
JERUSALEM
Ashkelon
Bethlehem
Gaza
DEAD SEA
Hebron
Khān Yūnis
SOUTHERN
Beersheba
El Arish
SUEZ CANAL
JORDAN
GAZA STRIP AND SINAI
EGYPT
GULF OF SUEZ
GULF OF EILAT
Cease Fire Line
Boundary of District
Boundary of Subdistrict
District Capital
Subdistrict Capital
District and Subdistrict Capital
Sharm el-Sheikh

Map 3. Administrative division of Israel and Administered Territories, 1971. After Atlas of Israel, *Survey of Israel 1970.*

Government headed by Golda Meir in 1969–73 and the Eighteenth Government headed by Menaḥem Begin (1977–81) – served full four-year terms. There were two governments that came to an end due to the death of the prime minister – the Thirteenth Government, after Prime Minister Levi *Eshkol passed away in February 1969, and the Twenty-Fifth Government, after Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin was assassinated in November 1995.

See also Political Life and Parties.

THE CIVIL SERVICE. The civil service, in particular its top echelons in key ministries such as the Finance Ministry, has played, over the years, a prominent role in the policy-making system. In the early days of the State much of the civil service was mobilized from the pre-state Va'ad Le'ummi, Jewish Agency, employees in the British Mandatory Government and its armed forces, and the Histadrut. Many of the low-level jobs in the civil service were filled by young persons born in

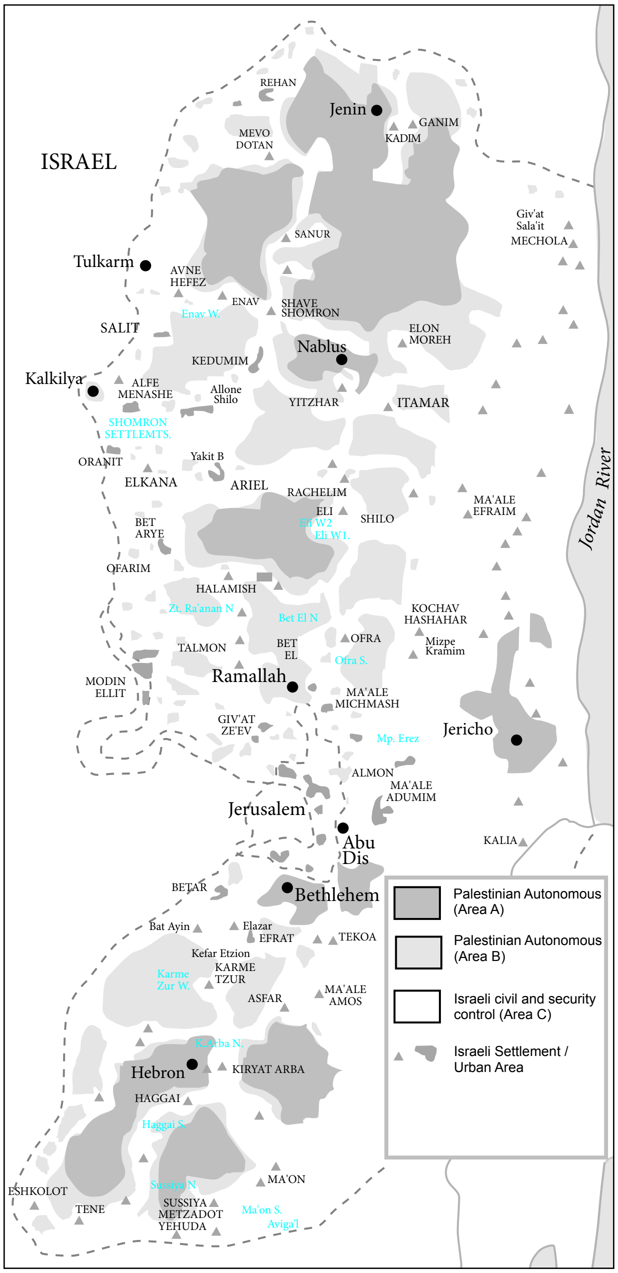
ISRAEL
REHAN
Jenin
GANIM
KADIM
MEVO DOTAN
Giv'at Sala'it
MECHOLA
SANUR
Tulkarm
AVNE HEFEZ
ENAV
SHAVE SHOMRON
Enav W.
SALIT
ELON MOREH
Nablus
KEDUMIM
Kalkilya
ALFE MENASHE
Allone Shilo
YITZHAR
ITAMAR
SHOMRON SETTLEMTS.
ORANIT
Yakit B
ELKANA
ARIEL
RACHELIM
ELI
Eli W2
Eli W1.
SHILO
MA'ALE EFRAIM
Jordan River
BET ARYE
OFARIM
HALAMISH
Zt. Ra'anan N
Bet El N
KOCHAV HASHAHAR
TALMON
BET EL
OFRA
Mizpe Kramim
Ofra S.
MODIN ELLIT
Ramallah
MA'ALE MICHMASH
GIV'AT ZE'EV
Mp. Erez
Jericho
ALMON
MA'ALE ADUMIM
Jerusalem
Abu Dis
KALIA
BETAR
Bethlehem
Bat Ayin
Elazar
EFRAT
TEKOA
Kefar Etzion
KARME TZUR
Karme Zur W.
ASFAR
MA'ALE AMOS
K.Arba N.
Hebron
KIRYAT ARBA
HAGGAI
Haggai S.
MA'ON
ESHKOLOT
Sussiya N
TENE
SUSSIYA METZADOT YEHUDA
Ma'on S.
Aviga'l
Palestinian Autonomous (Area A)
Palestinian Autonomous (Area B)
Israeli civil and security control (Area C)
Israeli Settlement / Urban Area

Map 4. Administrative division of Israel and Palestine, 2004.

the country and new immigrants. In the early years party appointments for top civil service positions were common, and it was highly unlikely that members of the former dissident groups, the Ḥerut Movement or the Communist Party, would be appointed to any but the lowest positions.

Over the years the Civil Service Commission, which was first situated in the Ministry of Finance and later moved to the Prime Minister's Office, made great efforts to ensure that the civil service enlist new workers on the basis of tenders and that it be run according to a merit system. The main goal of the Civil Service (Appointments) Law of 1959 was to ensure neutrality in the selection of employees at all levels. However, to the present day, many of the tenders are still tailored for specific candidates.

Both the law and the Rules of Procedure in the State Service (*Takshir*), which deals with the status, rights, and duties of state employees, recognize that ministers and director generals should be able to employ their own people in certain positions – especially in their bureaus – considered "trust positions." However, the moment the minister or the director general leaves his position, those installed in the trust positions must leave their positions as well. There are also certain senior posts that are free from tenders, or for which the selection is by means other than tenders, and it is the government's prerogative to decide who should be appointed to them, or to approve them. There are 53 categories of such positions. In addition there are 11 senior diplomatic posts that are political appointments, even though the candidates must be approved by the government after being reviewed by an appointments committee. Since the scandal of the appointment of attorney Roni Bar-On as state attorney in January 1997, a public-professional committee selects suitable candidates for the position from which the government chooses.

Under various laws and the Rules of Procedure in the State Service civil servants are not allowed to engage in any political activities in their place of employment; they cannot be actively involved in party activities or fund raising for political purposes. In addition, civil servants may not engage in private employment unless they have received express permission to do so, and must beware of any conflict of interests. Nepotism is forbidden, as is the receipt of gifts and other benefits, unless expressly permitted. In June 1987 the civil service commissioner published rules of ethics for all state employees, and this in addition to the various laws and the Rules of Procedure in the State Service.

Despite the attempts to run the civil service on the basis of the highest ethical standards, in practice the picture is not always satisfactory. The greatest problem is that of unsuitable political appointments at all levels. The problem intensified after Tami, a Sephardi party headed by Aharon Abuhatzeira, first entered the government in 1981, and later when Shas, a *ḥaredi* Sephardi party, first entered the government in 1984. Both these parties felt that they had a duty to their constituents to redress years of what they viewed as discrimination on ethnic grounds. The problem further intensified after the major parties started to democratize the procedures by which they chose their own candidates for the Knesset in the early 1990s, and politicians became more dependent on members of their parties' central committees or registered party members. The state comptroller (see above) has frequently warned against political appointments that result in unqualified persons being given key jobs, but his special report on political appointments published on August 25, 2004, was the most severe. The state comptroller was especially critical of massive political appointments – to the point of fictitious jobs actually being created for cronies – in the Ministry for the Environment, when Tzaḥi Hanegbi (Likud) headed it in the Twenty-Ninth Government formed by Sharon in 2004. The state comptroller's allegations led the state attorney to recommend that Hanegbi be investigated on possible criminal charges, and Hanegbi – then minister of internal security – voluntarily left his new post to enable the charges against him to be investigated. The Supreme Court has also ruled against political appointments.

It should be noted that the ratio of regular civil servants in the general population fell from around 1.7% in 1952 to around 0.8% 50 years later (these figures include employees in government hospitals but do not include teachers, policemen, military personnel, and many others). This drop resulted from the privatization of certain services previous provided by the government, from the shift of certain services to local government, and since the 1990s from greater use of manpower workers and outsourcing. In general there appears to be a striving for "smaller government," and for certain ministers of finance, like Binyamin Netanyahu, who assumed the post in February 2003, the motivation was not only budgetary but also ideological.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT. The local government system of Israel is still based on the British Mandatory Municipalities Ordinance of 1934, and the Local Councils Ordinance of 1941, as amended by the Law and Administration Ordinance of 1948, with all the powers that had been vested in the high commissioner in this sphere now handed over to the minister of the interior. The minister supervises the activities of the local authorities through six district commissioners and district officers, who operate in 14 subdistricts. If a council's work breaks down through gross inefficiency or chronic dissension among the councilors, the minister may appoint a committee of officials (*va'adah keru'ah*) to administer its affairs until the next elections.

Though in the early years of the State, Knesset members seemed united in the idea of giving local government a suitable position in the Israeli democracy, and passing appropriate legislation to fulfill this vision, in fact no major changes were introduced in the local government system.

Until 1978 municipal elections, first held in 1950, were held for municipal or local councils, and the councilors elected a mayor or head of the local council. From 1955 to 1973 local elections were held simultaneously with elections to the Knesset. Since 1978 mayors and heads of local councils have been directly elected in elections held every four or five years. While the direct election of mayors and local council heads was considered progress in the democratic sense, it has weakened the position of the major parties, increased the number of independent candidates and local lists, and increased the chances of mayors or heads of local councils being elected without enjoying a majority in the council, which has increased the bargaining power of splinter groups and individuals. Until 1989 the Israel Labor Party managed to maintain its hegemony in local government – a hegemony it has since lost.

Until 1996 mayors and local council heads could run for election in the Knesset within the framework of the lists participating in the elections. Already in the elections to the Constituent Assembly several mayors and heads of local councils were elected to the Knesset. Towards the end of the Tenth Knesset the Israel Labor Party forbade its Knesset members to serve simultaneously as mayors, as a result of which two Labor Knesset members resigned as mayors – Jacques Amir in Dimona and Aharon Nahmias in Safad. However, in the elections to the Eleventh Knesset several Labor mayors and heads of local councils were elected to the Knesset and refused to resign. In October 1996 an amendment was introduced to the Law on the Immunity, Rights and Duties of Members of the Knesset, prohibiting Knesset members to serve simultaneously as mayors or heads of local councils. This was part of a decision to prohibit Knesset members to serve in any other position – with the exception of chairmen of one of the trade union associations – while serving in the Knesset, to ensure that they would carry out their duties as Knesset members on a full-time basis. It should be noted that when given the choice between serving in the Knesset or serving as mayors or heads of local councils the choice has almost always been in favor of the former. There are those who feel that this prohibition has weakened local government in Israel, since its heads have been removed from one of the main foci of influence in the country.

There are three types of local authority in Israel: municipalities representing cities and larger towns; local councils representing small towns; and regional councils representing several small settlements of various sizes and types. In May 2004 there were 70 municipalities (compared to eight in 1948), of which 57 were Jewish within the Green Line, three Jewish outside the Green Line, and 10 non-Jewish (Arab, Druze, and Circassian) within the Green Line. There were 142 local councils (compared to 24 in 1948), of which 57 were Jewish within the Green Line, 14 Jewish outside the Green Line, and 71 non-Jewish within the Green Line. Finally there were 54 regional councils (compared to six rural and regional councils in 1948) representing several small settlements of various sizes and types, of which 45 were Jewish within the Green Line, seven Jewish outside the Green Line, and two non-Jewish within the Green Line. In the course of 2003, as part of a plan to increase the efficiency of the local government system, it was decided to reduce the number of small local councils by uniting some of them with each other or with existing municipalities. The plan succeeded only partially, primarily due to pressure from stronger local councils refusing to unite with weaker ones, and pressure from politicians concerned about the loss of jobs at the local authority level.

The local authority provides two types of services: state services, especially in the sphere of education, welfare, and health, and local services, primarily in the spheres of sewage and sanitation, city planning, recreation, sports and cultural activities, and fire-fighting services. The budget of the authorities is divided into the "regular budget," earmarked for current activities, and "extraordinary budgets" for development purposes. The main sources of income are locally collected municipal taxes, various charges for services provided and fees for licenses; income from government allocations for state services (in the case of education and welfare the government covers 75% of costs), and grants, to cover certain budgetary deficits. Towards the end of 2004, of the 266 local authorities, only 15 did not require grants in order to provide their inhabitants with a basic level of services. Since the establishment of the state the scope of services provided by the local authorities has progressively grown, as has their financial dependence on the central government.

Not all the local authorities have demonstrated responsible management, with some actually involved in corrupt practices. Early cases of corruption that reached the courts involved Shmuel Rechtman in Reḥovot in the late 1970s and Aharon Abuhazeira in Ramleh in the early 1980s. In the 1990s and the beginning of the new millennium, such cases were no longer rare. Irresponsible management and corruption were among the reasons why the government has became increasingly wary of covering the deficits of many local authorities, and despite the appointment of several commissions of inquiry (see below), the problem has not been resolved. Already in 1999 only half the local authorities managed to balance their budgets, while the rest had to borrow from the banks. In 2003 only 55 authorities out of 266 were balanced. In 2004 numerous local authorities were unable to pay salaries to their employees for months on end.

Put another way, one might argue that the local government system in Israel is subject to a structural problem, due to the fact that the source of power of the authorities is the local populace but the main source of money to finance their activities, and the main source of decisions affecting them, is the central government. The centralization of the decision-making process is an inseparable part of the Israeli political culture, and it is therefore difficult for the local government to engage in independent activity, while the central government avoids delegating its powers downwards.

Since 1964 six commissions have investigated the situation in the local authorities with the intention of improving the situation. These were the Vitkon Committee of 1964, which investigated the tax system in local authorities; the Kubersky Committee of 1976, which dealt with improving the system of financing local authorities; the Zanbar Committee, which sat from 1976 to 1981 and dealt with the whole system of local government and the relations between the central and local governments; the Harmelech Committee, which sat from 1991 to 1992 and investigated the level of services and budgetary allocations for health and welfare in the local authorities; the Suari Committee, which sat from 1992 to 1993 and dealt with the deficit-covering grants to local authorities; and finally the Shahar Committee, which sat from 1995 to 1998 and dealt with merging some of the smaller authorities and thus reducing their number.

THE SEPARATION OF POWERS. Among parliamentary democracies, such as Israel, the separation of powers among the legislature, executive, and judiciary, even though extensive, is not absolute. Thus, it is not always possible to determine whether the checks and balances that have been installed in the system to ensure that none of the three administrative branches diverges from its legitimate sphere of activity have not themselves created a divergence.

In the case of the Knesset and the government the separation cannot be complete since the prime minister, most of the ministers, and all of the deputy ministers are Knesset members, and though they do not function as ordinary members they do vote in the plenum. Some of those who propose that Israel should adopt the so called "Norwegian Law" do so because they wish to do away with the anomaly created by the existing situation. In addition, the government is responsible for setting much of the Knesset's agenda. Another sphere in which a blurring of the separation of powers occurs between the legislature and the executive is in the case of subsidiary legislation, where the ministries concerned lay down regulations based on the primary legislation, i.e., the laws passed by the Knesset.

As is true in all parliamentary democracies (as opposed to presidential democracies) the Knesset is able to bring down the government by means of a vote of a motion of no-confidence, which since 1996 has required that at least 61 of the 120 Knesset members vote for it. Until 1996 a simple majority of those voting could bring down the government.

As to the separation of powers between the Knesset and the judiciary, in the absence of a constitution, and as a result of the activist inclination of the Supreme Court since the mid-1990s, the courts have on several occasions declared a certain piece of legislation, or certain articles in a law, to be in contradiction to a basic law and consequently unconstitutional. The courts cannot abrogate a law, but they can call upon the Knesset to amend it. One of the proposals made in recent years to deal with this situation was the establishment of a constitutional court which will be separated from the regular judicial system and stop the ordinary courts from meddling in the work of the Knesset.

In the case of the executive and the judiciary, part of the blurring in powers is created by the fact that the attorney general is not only a legal adviser to the government but is also the head of the state's public prosecution. Furthermore, the relationship between the attorney general and the state attorney with the Ministry of Justice is also liable to create a certain blurring of the separation of powers, even though the method by which the attorney general and state attorney are chosen is supposed to ensure their independence within the system. It should be noted that while the activities of the executive are subject to judicial review, this is only true in so far as the upholding of the law is concerned, and the courts refrain from deciding on purely political or military issues.

Though the judges are completely free of the meddling of the legislature in their decisions, two Knesset members and two ministers (the minister of justice and another minister) are members of the committee that selects and promotes judges. The minister of justice chairs the committee.

RELIGION AND STATE. Israel's Declaration of Independence proclaims Israel to be a Jewish State. This was not meant to say that Israel would be Jewish in the sense that Jewish religious law would be supreme in the land as it is in various theocratic regimes, but merely that it would be the State of the Jews, in which all Jews (with few exceptions) would be allowed to settle, in which the official day of rest would be the Sabbath, the official holidays would be the Jewish holidays, and state emblems and symbols would be Jewish.

Though the law in the State of Israel, in all spheres except marriage, divorce, and burial, is the secular law passed by the Knesset, there is no strict separation between religion and the State. Thus, the chief rabbis, municipal rabbis, employees of the religious councils, and their counterparts in other religions are financed by the State. Religious services, in the form of synagogues, *mikva'ot*, and the provision of wedding and burial services, are also the responsibility of the State. In the sphere of weddings and burial services the religious authorities have an almost absolute monopoly that is only very slowly being broken as a result of growing numbers of citizens who are either denied such services (in the case of mixed marriages and persons not considered Jewish by the religious establishment, which is exclusively Orthodox) or demand alternative, non-religious or non-Orthodox services.

But even in the so-called secular law book, there is quite a bit of "religious legislation" – laws that curtail certain activities that touch upon religious beliefs and observance such as the sale of pork, working on the Sabbath, archaeological digs in locations, where there are burial grounds, the performance of postmortems, etc.

It should be noted, however, that there are religious circles in Israel – both in the *ḥaredi* and National Religious camps – that do not accept the supremacy of the laws passed by the Knesset over the *halakhah*, or at least do not accept its supremacy in certain spheres. This is the basis for the opposition of certain circles to the introduction of a secular constitution in Israel and for the rejection by some of government decisions which are felt to be in violation of the *halakhah*, such as the decision to remove Jewish settlements from the Gaza Strip and the West Bank.

[Edwin Emanuel Gutmann / Susan Hattis Rolef (2nd ed.)]

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LEGAL AND JUDICIAL SYSTEM

UNDER THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE (1876–1917)

Judiciary

Throughout the period from the promulgation of the Ottoman Constitution of 1876 until the present time there have been both secular and religious courts exercising jurisdiction in the territory of the land of Israel, but the extent of the jurisdiction of such courts, the qualifications of the judges thereof and of the persons authorized to plead therein, the procedure thereof and the language of pleading therein have varied from time to time.

Under the Ottoman Constitution of 1876 it was strictly forbidden to institute any extraordinary court other than the established courts of justice, but arbitrators might be appointed subject to the provisions laid down by law, and a special high court could be convened by Imperial Irade when necessary to try ministers, members of the Court of Requests or any person who was guilty of an attempt against the person or rights of the sultan or who had attempted to endanger the safety of the state. The constitution also provided that cases under Shariʿa (Muslim religious) law had to be heard by the Shariʿa Courts and civil cases by the Civil Courts.

RELIGIOUS COURTS. Shariʿa Courts were given jurisdiction in matters not within the jurisdiction of the Civil Courts, such as property in waqf (Muslim religious trust), inhibitions and the termination of inhibitions, wills, the appointment and removal of guardians and trustees, and the granting of loans from the estates of orphans and waqf estates. They also had jurisdiction to hear suits to decide the shares of heirs to property and suits relating to estates in which letters of administration had to be taken out, as well as all other suits concerning rights under the Shariʿa law. Where the parties before a Shariʿa Court made a written agreement that a matter in dispute should be dealt with by the Shariʿa Court, although it was within the jurisdiction of the Civil Court, no application could subsequently be entertained in the matter by the Civil Court. The Ministry of Justice in Constantinople exercised administrative powers in regard to the procedure and internal organization of the Shariʿa Courts, the rules of procedure for which were established by law. The Jewish and Christian Religious Courts had jurisdiction over members of their respective communities in matters of personal status.

CIVIL COURTS. Under Regulations of June 30, 1877, courts were divided into two divisions, namely, civil and criminal, in each of which there were courts of first instance and courts of appeal. In addition, there were Peace Courts and Courts of First Instance presided over by a single judge. Courts of First Instance were established in every *qaḍa'* (sub-district) of the empire competent to hear civil actions when the subject matter did not exceed 5,000 piasters or a revenue of 500 piasters per annum without appeal. In cases of higher amounts there was a right of appeal to a Court of Appeal. There were 13 Courts of First Instance west of the Jordan. Commercial Courts were established in important commercial centers; in other places commercial cases were dealt with by the civil courts. In such cases an appeal lay to the Commercial Court in the chief town of the vilayet (province), and from judgments of the latter an appeal lay to the Commercial Court of Constantinople. In each *qaḍā* a Criminal Court, consisting of a president and two members, was competent to deal with contraventions without right of appeal, and crimes subject to appeal to a Court of Appeal. A court of appeal in the principal town of each vilayet was competent to hear appeals from courts of first instance. Such courts were divided into two sections, a civil and a criminal section, and were composed of five or more judges. There were three courts of appeal in Palestine, one in each of the sanjaks (districts) of Jerusalem, Balqa (Nablus), and Acre. Finally, there was a Court of Cassation for the whole empire in Constantinople. It was divided into three sections, a civil section, a criminal section and a Court of Requests.

In the courts that were composed of three or of five judges the president was a professional judge. Not infrequently he had graduated as a clerk or registrar of the courts. The other judges were usually laymen of some local position or apprentices in the judicial service, and it was understood that their function in part was to see that members of their religious community were not oppressed in judgment. Under the constitution of 1876, duly appointed judges who were appointed by the state and held an Imperial Berat were to be irremovable, though their resignation might be accepted; their promotion, transfers, and pensions, and their removal on account of a conviction, were to be subject to a special law, which should indicate the qualifications required. The persons authorized to plead in the courts were the few advocates who had obtained a diploma in the Law School of Constantinople and a few persons who had certificates of practice before the courts in virtue of a long apprenticeship. The language of the courts was Turkish, and their procedure was based on that of the French courts. The position of foreigners was usually safeguarded by the consular authorities of their country until the Ottoman government unilaterally declared the Capitulations abolished at the outbreak of World War I.

Legislation

Under the Ottoman Constitution of 1876 the sultan was empowered to sanction and promulgate all legislation, to make proposals for all kinds of laws, and to safeguard and enforce the rules of the Shariʿa and the laws of the state. Islam was the religion of the Ottoman Empire, but subject thereto the state was required to protect the free exercise of all religions recognized in the empire and the integral enjoyment, in accordance with previous practice, of all religious privileges granted to the various communities, provided that such religions were not contrary to public morals or conducive to the disturbance of public order. All Ottoman subjects were equal in the eyes of the law as regards both rights and duties, except for matters relating to religion. Turkish was the official language of the state.

The parliament consisted of the senate and the chamber of deputies. The president and members of the senate were appointed directly by the sultan for life. They had to be at least 40 years of age and well-known persons who had gained by their acts the confidence and reliance of the public and had a past of honorable government service. Among those eligible for appointment were chief rabbis. The deputies were elected by secret ballot and had to be at least 30 years of age and Ottoman subjects. There was one deputy for every 50,000 Ottoman subjects.

Bills passed and accepted by both houses came into force when approved and sanctioned by an Imperial Irade issued by the sultan. All laws, usages, and customs in force at the time of the constitution remained in force unless and until amended or repealed. Subsequent laws and regulations had to be based on public morals and human relations and on such principles of Muhammadan law and jurisprudence as might be best suited to human intercourse and requirements of the time. This constitution was suspended, however, by order of the sultan a few months after its introduction. It was only put into effect – and then intermittently – after the Young Turk revolution of 1908. Under the Law on the Method of Publishing and Proclaiming Laws and Rules, laws and rules issued under Imperial Irade had to be published without delay in the judicial gazette and inserted in the *dustūr*, the official collection of laws. They then came into operation over the whole of the Ottoman Empire from the date specified in the text or, when no date was specified, 60 days after the date of publication. No law or rule could have retrospective effect, except in cases where a lesser penalty was substituted for a greater.

The Ottoman laws were of three categories: those written originally in Turkish, those written originally in Arabic and translated into Turkish, and those written originally in a European language, mainly French, and translated into Turkish. The most important of those laws written originally in Arabic is the Mejelle, an elaborate code of 1,851 articles containing rules of law and maxims of Muhammadan jurisprudence. It is little more than a Turkish translation from the Arab authorities on Muhammadan law, which is based primarily on the Koran and custom. The substantive part of the Mejelle is arranged in 16 books dealing with: sale, hire, guarantee, transfer of debt, pledges, trusts and trusteeship, gift, wrongful appropriation and destruction, interdiction, constraint and preemption, joint ownership, agency, settlement and release, admissions, actions, evidence and administration of oath, and administration of justice by the court.

French influence reigned supreme in the Ottoman Empire from the early part of the 19th century, when the Turkish sultans, who were the sole legislators, began to carry out the legal reforms insisted upon by the European powers. To save time and trouble they borrowed almost en bloc the principal legal codes of France, such as the commercial, maritime, civil procedure, and criminal codes. This borrowing process continued almost without interruption until Turkey entered World War I. It is therefore impossible fully to understand Ottoman legal principles without a study of French law, and Turkish lawyers and judges frequently consulted French legal textbooks and court decisions on difficult or disputed points of law.

UNDER THE BRITISH MANDATE (1917–1948)

British Military Administration, 1917–1920

One of the first acts of the British Military Administration in the Occupied Enemy Territory of Palestine was to reestablish the courts, reopening them in Jerusalem on July 24, 1918. They reduced their number to two Courts of First Instance in the original occupied territory of southern Palestine, one at Jerusalem and the other at Jaffa, and subsequently, when northern Palestine was occupied in the autumn of 1918, two others, one at Nablus and the other at Haifa, each with a British president and two Palestinian judges. In addition, a Court of Appeal was established for the whole country, composed of two British and four Palestinian judges: two Muslims, one Orthodox Christian, and one Jew. Three of the original judges of that court were taken from the small band of advocates practicing in Palestine, who were of higher caliber than the Ottoman judges. In addition, a number of Turkish judges were appointed for the Peace Courts to deal with the smaller cases. The first head of the legal department of the British Military Administration, known as the senior judicial officer, was a British army officer (Major Orme Clarke) who had been adviser to the Ottoman Ministry of Justice a year before World War I. He was the administrative head of all the judges, clerks, and staff of the Civil Courts and laid the foundations of the Palestine judicial system. He also appointed the judges of the Muslim Religious Courts after consultation with a committee composed of the Muslim members of the Court of Appeal and the inspectors of the Shariʿa Courts. The records of the civil courts, which had previously been kept in Turkish, were, as from the British occupation, kept in Arabic, which was then the predominant language in the country. The privileges of the consular jurisdiction which had been enjoyed by foreigners in Palestine by virtue of the Capitulations were not restored, but provisions were made for trial by British judges of cases in which foreigners were involved.

British Civil Administration, 1920–48

JUDICIAL. The above military system was retained with several modifications by the British Civil Administration. During the first two years (1920–22), the legal secretary, who had replaced the senior judicial officer of the British Military Administration, besides being the legal adviser of the high commissioner, was the administrative head of the courts and responsible for the appointments and dismissals. In 1922 he was replaced as administrative head of the courts by the chief justice of Palestine, who was the head of the judiciary, and he became the attorney general. The Courts of First Instance became District Courts, the Criminal Courts became the Court of Criminal Assize, and the Peace Courts became Magistrates' Courts.

Civil Courts. The Civil Courts established by the Palestine Order-in-Council, 1922, were the Magistrates' Courts, the District Courts, the Court of Criminal Assize, and the Supreme Court. The high commissioner was also empowered, by order, to establish Land Courts, as might be required from time to time. Magistrates' Courts had the jurisdiction assigned to them by the Ottoman Magistrates Law of 1913 as amended by Palestine legislation. District Courts had jurisdiction as Courts of First Instance in all civil matters not within the jurisdiction of the Magistrates' Courts and in criminal matters not within the jurisdiction of the Court of Criminal Assize, and as Appellate Courts from the Magistrates' Courts. Each was composed of a British president and two Palestinian judges. Any two judges of a District Court could sit to try misdemeanors and civil cases, but the full court had to sit to try grave charges and hear appeals. The Court of Criminal Assize had exclusive jurisdiction with regard to offenses punishable with death and such jurisdiction with regard to other offenses as might be prescribed by ordinance. It was composed of the chief justice, or any British judge of the Supreme Court, and the full District Court of the district in which the crime was committed. The Supreme Court, sitting as a Court of Appeal, had jurisdiction, subject to the provisions of any Ordinance, to hear appeals from all judgments given by a District Court in first instance, the Court of Criminal Assize, or a Land Court. Sitting as a High Court of Justice, it had jurisdiction to hear and determine petitions or applications not within the jurisdiction of any other court and necessary to be decided for the administration of justice.

In civil matters when the amount or value in dispute exceeded LP500 an appeal lay from the Supreme Court to His Majesty in Council under Article 44 of the Palestine Order-in-Council. In criminal matters, according to a decision of the Privy Council, an appeal lay to it if it gave leave, but such appeals were very rare. Under Article 45 of the Palestine Order-in-Council, 1922, the high commissioner was empowered by order to establish for the district of Beersheba and other tribal areas separate Tribal Courts, in which tribal custom was applied insofar as it was not repugnant to natural justice or morality. In addition there were Municipal courts and military courts. The former, established under the Municipal Courts Ordinance (of 1928) in certain municipal areas, had jurisdiction to try offenses against municipal regulations and bylaws and certain other offenses, such as town planning offenses committed within the municipal area, while the Military Courts had jurisdiction to try offenses under the Emergency Regulations, 1936 and the Defense (Emergency) Regulations, 1945. There were also numerous tribunals, in many of which a judge presided, established under various laws, as need arose, to deal with special classes of cases, such as those for general claims, shipping, and rents. The civil courts were empowered to exercise jurisdiction in all matters and over all persons in Palestine, but they were expressly precluded from exercising jurisdiction in any proceeding whatsoever over the high commissioner or his official or other residence or his official or other property, and no action could be brought against the Government of Palestine or any department thereof unless with the written consent of the high commissioner previously obtained. During the period of the Mandatory regime, nearly all the Ottoman rules of procedure in civil and criminal cases were replaced by rules based upon those obtaining in England save that no provision was made for trial by jury.

Jurisdiction over Foreigners. Article 8 of the Mandate declared that the privileges and immunities of foreigners, including the benefits of consular jurisdiction and protection as formerly enjoyed by Capitulations or usage in the Ottoman Empire, should not be applicable in Palestine, and Article 9 provided that the Mandatory regime should be responsible for seeing that the judicial system established in Palestine should assure to foreigners, as well as to natives, a complete guarantee of their rights. The Palestine Order-in-Council, therefore, contained special provisions for the exercise of jurisdiction over foreigners. It defined "foreigner" as meaning any person who was a national or subject of a European or American state or of Japan, but as not including native inhabitants of a territory protected by, or administered under, a Mandate granted to a European state, Ottoman subjects, and persons who had lost Ottoman nationality and had not acquired any other nationality, but the definition was altered by the Palestine Amendment Order-in-Council, 1935, to mean a person who was not a Palestinian citizen. Under the provisions, matters concerning foreigners had to be dealt with by a British judge or a majority of British judges. The burden of proof that they were entitled to be treated as foreigners was upon the persons claiming that right. The Order-in-Council also provided that a consul in Palestine might execute such non-contentious measures in relation to the personal status of nationals of his state as the high commissioner with the approval of the secretary of state might from time to time prescribe by regulation. By the Personal Status (Consular Powers) Regulations of Dec. 1, 1922, the high commissioner prescribed such non-contentious measures.

Religious Courts. In matters of personal status, namely, suits regarding marriage or divorce, alimony, maintenance, guardianship, legitimation and adoption of minors, inhibition from dealing with property of persons who are legally incompetent, successions, wills and legacies, and the administration of the property of absent persons, jurisdiction was conferred by the Palestine Order-in-Council, 1922, upon the courts of the religious communities established and exercising jurisdiction at the date of the Order (Sept. 1, 1922), namely the Muslim Religious Courts, the Rabbinical Courts, and the courts of the nine recognized Christian communities: Eastern (Orthodox), Latin (Catholic), Gregorian Armenian, Armenian (Catholic), Syrian (Catholic), Chaldean (Uniate), Greek (Catholic) Malkite, Maronite, and Syrian Orthodox. The Muslim Religious Courts were given exclusive jurisdiction in matters of personal status of Muslims and also exclusive jurisdiction in cases of the constitution or internal administration of a waqf constituted for the benefit of Muslims before a Muslim Religious Court, and there was an appeal from the court of the qadi to the Muslim Religious Court of Appeal, whose decision was final. The Rabbinical Courts of the Jewish community and the courts of the several Christian communities had exclusive jurisdiction in matters of marriage and divorce, alimony and confirmation of wills of members of their community, other than foreigners, and jurisdiction in any other matter of personal status of such persons, where all the parties to the action consented to their jurisdiction. The Rabbinical Courts and the courts of the several Christian communities, also had exclusive jurisdiction over any case as to the constitution or internal administration of a waqf or religious endowment constituted before these courts according to the religious law of the community concerned.

Matters of personal status affecting foreigners other than Muslims were within the jurisdiction of the District Courts, but those courts had no jurisdiction to pronounce a decree of dissolution of marriage. Foreigners could consent to matters of personal status being tried by the courts of the religious communities having jurisdiction in like matters affecting Palestinian citizens, but such courts, other than Muslim Religious Courts, had no power to grant a decree of dissolution of marriage to a foreign subject. Where any action of personal status involved persons of different religious communities, application could be made by any party to the chief justice, who was required, with the assistance, if he thought fit, of assessors from the communities concerned, to decide which court should have jurisdiction. Whenever a question arose as to whether or not a case was one of personal status within the exclusive jurisdiction of a Religious Court, the matter had to be referred to a Special Tribunal composed of two British judges of the Supreme Court and the president of the highest court in Palestine of the religious community concerned, or a judge appointed by him. The chief justice or the senior puisne judge of the Supreme Court, presided over the Tribunal.

The jurisdiction of the Rabbinical Courts and the Christian Religious Courts remained unchanged throughout the period of the Mandatory regime, but that of the Muslim Religious Courts was altered by the Palestine Amendment Order-in-Council, 1939, whereunder they could exercise jurisdiction over Muslims who were foreigners only if, according to their national law, Muslim Religious Courts had jurisdiction over them in matters of personal status. No provision was made in the Palestine Order-in-Council, 1922, for the granting by the courts of orders or decrees in connection with the marriage of persons neither of whom was a Muslim or a member of the Jewish community or of any of the nine recognized Christian communities, or for the dissolution or annulment of such marriages. The Palestine Amendment Order-in-Council, 1939, authorized the making by ordinance of provision for such matters, but no such ordinance was enacted.

Appointment and Qualifications of Judges. Under the Palestine Order-in-Council, 1922, the high commissioner was empowered, subject to the direction of the secretary of state, to appoint, or authorize the appointment of, such public officers of the government under such designations as he might think fit, and to prescribe their duties, and all such officers, unless otherwise provided by law, held their offices until the Order-in-Council was amended in 1939, during the pleasure of the high commissioner and thereafter during His Majesty's pleasure.

Under the Courts Ordinance, every judge of the Supreme Court or of a District Court had to be appointed by the high commissioner and held office during the pleasure of His Majesty. The persons qualified to be appointed as British judges were British judges of any court in Palestine already appointed at the date of the commencement of the Courts Ordinance (Sept. 1, 1924), and any person, being a British subject, who had been duly admitted to practice as a barrister-at-law or advocate in any part of His Majesty's dominions, or in any territory which was under His Majesty's protection, or in any territory in respect of which His Majesty had accepted a mandate from the League of Nations, and who was in any case of not less than three years' standing. Persons qualified to be appointed as Palestinian judges were judges of any court in Palestine already appointed at the date of the commencement of the ordinance, persons who had held office in Palestine as magistrates or junior government advocates or inspectors of the courts for not less than three years in any one of those offices or consecutively in one or any one of those offices, and advocates of Palestine of not less than three years' standing.

Magistrates were appointed by the high commissioner by warrant. Under the Magistrates' Courts Jurisdiction Ordinance the high commissioner was empowered to impose by the warrant of appointment such restrictions or limitations upon the jurisdiction of the appointee as he thought fit, and it was the practice to issue restricted warrants to district commissioners and British district officers, as well as to a number of Palestinian officers who had passed an elementary law examination, to enable them to try minor criminal charges, to issue warrants of arrest, and to release on bail.

The qadis of the Muslim Religious Courts, the president and members of the Muslim Religious Court of Appeal and the inspectors of the Muslim Religious Courts were nominated by the Supreme Muslim Shariʿa Council for approval by the Palestine Government and, after such approval, were appointed by that council, the president and members whereof received salaries from the Palestine government in consideration of their services in connection with the affairs of the Muslim Religious Courts. Under the Jewish Community Rules each Rabbinical Office sat as a Rabbinical Court of First Instance, and the Rabbinical Council was the Court of Appeal in matters in which the Rabbinical Courts had jurisdiction. The judges of the courts of the recognized Christian religious communities were appointed by the heads of the communities.

Qualifications of Advocates. Under the Advocates Ordinance, 1922, licenses to practice as advocate in Palestine were issued by the chief justice, who was advised by a Legal Board appointed by him consisting of at least three members who were officials of the government holding office of a legal or judicial character and not less than two advocates practicing before the civil courts. Licenses were granted either to practice before any civil courts or before any Muslim Religious Court in Palestine. Applicants for a license to practice before any civil court had to satisfy the Legal Board that they had attained the age of 25 (reduced to 23 in 1944), had passed not less than two years' service in a licensed advocates' office, and were adequately qualified by examination as to their knowledge of law. Qualifying examinations were taken by students of the Palestine Government Law School, known as the Jerusalem Law Classes; persons with legal qualifications acquired abroad could take qualifying examinations in Palestine law.

Applicants for a license to practice before the Muslim Religious Courts had to satisfy the board that they were adequately qualified by examination as to their knowledge of Muslim law and were of good character, or that they were so certified by the Supreme Muslim Shariʿa Council. Advocates alleged to be guilty of disgraceful, fraudulent, or unprofessional conduct were subject to Courts of Discipline constituted by, and subject to, the control of the chief justice. Until the ordinance was amended in 1930, no woman could be granted a license to practice as an advocate. That disqualification was removed by the amending ordinance, but a woman holding such a license did not have the right of audience in a Tribal Court or in a Muslim Religious Court unless she was certified by the Supreme Muslim Shariʿa Council to be qualified to practice. Under the Law Council Ordinance, 1938, the Legal Board was replaced by the Law Council, which was composed of not less than six members appointed by the high commissioner of whom not less than four had to be practicing advocates, with the attorney general as ex officio chairman. It was also empowered to inquire into the conduct of advocates and persons permitted to practice before the Muslim Religious Courts.

LEGISLATION. Under the Mandate for Palestine, confirmed by the Council of the League of Nations on July 24, 1922, His Britannic Majesty, who had been selected by the principal Allied Powers as mandatory for Palestine, was given full powers of legislation and of administration in Palestine save as such powers were limited by the terms of the Mandate. Under article 15, the mandatory was required to ensure complete freedom of conscience and the free exercise of all forms of worship for all, subject only to the maintenance of public order and morals. There was to be no discrimination of any kind between the inhabitants of Palestine on grounds of race, religion, or language, and no one was to be excluded from the country on the sole ground of his religious belief. Under article 22 English, Arabic, and Hebrew were the official languages. Under article 21 the mandatory was required to secure the enactment of a law of antiquities based on the rules set out in that article. Such a law – the Antiquities Ordinance – was enacted and is still in force. Under article 7 the administration of Palestine was made responsible for enacting a nationality law, which was to facilitate the acquisition of Palestinian citizenship by Jews taking up their permanent residence in the country.

The Palestine Order-in-Council, 1922, was made by His Britannic Majesty by virtue and in exercise of his powers in that behalf by the U.K. Foreign Jurisdiction Act, 1890 or otherwise, and came into force on Sept. 1, 1922. It provided (article 46) that the jurisdiction of the civil courts should be exercised in conformity with the Ottoman law in force in Palestine on Nov. 1, 1914 (the date when Turkey entered World War I), such later Ottoman laws as had been or might be declared to be in force by public notice, and such orders-in-council, ordinances, and regulations as were in force in Palestine at the date of the commencement of the order (Sept. 1, 1922) or might thereafter be applied or enacted. Subject thereto, and so far as the same should not extend or apply, the jurisdiction of the courts should be exercised in conformity with the substance of the common law and the doctrines of equity in force in England, so far as the circumstances of Palestine and its inhabitants and the limits of His Majesty's jurisdiction permitted and subject to such qualification as local circumstances rendered necessary.

Provision was made for the election of a legislative council in and for Palestine, but the election held was boycotted by the Arabs (see *Governance), and was declared by the Palestine (Amendment) Order-in-Council, 1923, to be null and void. By article 3 of the amending order-in-council the power to legislate in and for Palestine was vested in the high commissioner appointed by His Majesty in council, and it was exercised by him alone throughout the period of the mandatory regime. He was given full power and authority, without prejudice to the powers inherent in or reserved by the Palestine Order-in-Council to His Majesty, and subject to any conditions and limitations prescribed by royal instructions, and after consultation with the advisory council composed of senior government officials, to promulgate such ordinances as were necessary for the peace, order, and good government of Palestine.

However, no ordinance could be promulgated which restricted complete freedom of conscience and the free exercise of all forms of worship, save insofar as was required for the maintenance of public order and morals, or which tended to discriminate in any way between the inhabitants of Palestine on the ground of race, religion, or language; or which was in any way repugnant to, or inconsistent with, the provisions of the Mandate. Furthermore, no ordinance which concerned matters dealt with specifically by the provisions of the Mandate could be promulgated until a draft thereof had been communicated to a secretary of state and approved by him, with or without amendment.

Every ordinance promulgated by the high commissioner was subject to disallowance by His Majesty within one year of the date of its promulgation, while certain classes of ordinance could not be promulgated by the high commissioner unless he had previously obtained instructions thereupon from one of His Majesty's principal secretaries of state. Those included ordinances relating to immigration, divorce, Palestine currency, or the issue of bank notes; ordinances the provisions of which appeared inconsistent with obligations imposed upon His Majesty by treaty or by the Mandate; and ordinances interfering with the discipline or control of His Majesty's forces by land, sea, or air. No ordinance could be promulgated unless a draft had first been made public for one calendar month at least before its enactment, unless immediate enactment was, in the judgment of the high commissioner, indispensably necessary in the public interest.

Article 35 of the order-in-council applied to Palestine the enactments in the First Schedule to the Foreign Jurisdiction Act, 1890, with certain modifications. (Generally speaking, Palestine ordinances were modeled upon English law and cannot be fully understood without a thorough study of its principles and the decisions of the English courts on the English law upon which they were based.) All ordinances were published in English, Arabic, and Hebrew and the Interpretation Ordinance provided that in the case of any discrepancy between the English text and the Arabic or Hebrew text, the English text should prevail. In some ordinances, such as the Bills of Exchange Ordinance, the Partnership Ordinance, and the Bankruptcy Ordinance, 1936, it is expressly provided that they are to be interpreted by reference to the relevant law of England. In the Criminal Code Ordinance, 1936, it is provided that it is to be interpreted in accordance with the principles of legal interpretation obtaining in England, and expressions used in it are to be presumed, so far as is consistent with their context except as may be otherwise expressly provided, to be used with the meaning attached to them in English law and are to be construed in accordance therewith. The Civil Wrongs Ordinance, 1944, must be similarly interpreted, but subject to the Interpretation Ordinance.

For the most part, by the time the Mandate was terminated, Palestine legislation had replaced the Ottoman law which formed part of the law of Palestine on Nov. 1, 1914, when Turkey entered the war, although some important parts of it, including part of the civil law (Mejelle) and the Land Law, were not replaced. Thus, for example, the commercial and criminal law and the law of civil and criminal procedure were replaced by Palestine legislation modeled upon English law adapted to local circumstances. The process started at the very beginning of the mandatory regime and continued with increasing speed throughout the period. On the other hand, in the early days of the Mandate the Palestine courts were very reluctant to apply English judge-made law, although during the second half of the period, in view of certain decisions of His Britannic Majesty's Privy Council, which was an appellate court from the Supreme Court of Palestine, they increasingly introduced English judge-made law into the law of Palestine, and referred more and more in their judgments to English legal textbooks and judicial decisions.

[Henry Eli Baker]

IN THE STATE OF ISRAEL

ISRAEL'S DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE. On Friday, 5 Iyyar 5708, May 14, 1948, the establishment of the State of Israel – the Jewish state in Palestine – was proclaimed by the National Council (Mo'eẓet ha-Am). The Council comprised 37 representatives of the Jewish community of Ereẓ Israel (the *yishuv*) and of the Zionist movement. The Mandate over Palestine, which the League of Nations had conferred on Great Britain in 1922, had come to an end. The British Parliament, for its part, had enacted on April 29, 1948, the Palestine Act, by which the jurisdiction of the British Crown over Palestine would cease on May 15, 1948. The Declaration of the Establishment of the State turned the National Council into a provisional legislature called the Provisional State Council, which together with its executive arm, the National Administration (Minhelet ha-Am) served as a provisional government. These were to function until regular authorities were duly elected, in accordance with a constitution which was to be instituted not later than October 1, 1948. The Declaration included the "credo" of the new state:

> THE STATE OF ISRAEL will be open for Jewish immigration and for the Ingathering of Exiles; it will foster the development of the country for the benefit of all its inhabitants; it will be based on freedom, justice and peace as envisaged by the prophets of Israel; it will ensure complete equality of social and political rights to all its inhabitants irrespective of religion, race or sex; it will guarantee freedom of religion, conscience, language, education and culture; it will safeguard the Holy Places of all religions; and it will be faithful to the principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

The development of constitutional law in Israel corresponds to the course which the Declaration of the Establishment of the State of Israel has run to reach its present status in Israel's legal system. In the early days of the State of Israel, the tendency of the Supreme Court was to deny the Declaration any legal force, let alone any constitutional status; the Declaration was regarded as a political instrument to be used on the international level (Ziv v. Gubernik (1948) 1 PD 85). Thus the Supreme Court refused to accept the argument that certain Mandatory Emergency Regulations, empowering the authorities to detain – without due process – a person suspected of acts prejudicial to public safety, contravened the Declaration, wherein human rights and individual liberties were expressly guaranteed (El-Kharbutli v. Defense Minister (1949) 2 PD 5). At a later stage the Supreme Court saw in the Declaration an instrument for the interpretation of statutes. Thus in the landmark decision of the Supreme Court in what was probably Israel's most famous and consequential civil rights case (*Kol ha-Am* v. Minister of the Interior (1953) 7 PD 87i, where the respondent had suspended the publication of a newspaper after it published an article which in the minister's opinion was "likely to endanger the public peace," in the language of the Mandatory Press Ordinance), Supreme Court President Agranat declared:

> The system of laws under which the political institutions … have been established and function are witness to the fact that this is indeed a State founded on democracy. Moreover, the matters set forth in the Declaration of Independence – especially as regards basing the State "on the foundations of freedom" and securing freedom of conscience – meant that Israel is a freedom-loving state. It is true that the Declaration "does

> not include any constitutional law laying down any rule regarding the maintaining or repeal of any ordinances or laws" … yet insofar as it "expresses the vision of the people and its faith" … we are bound to pay attention to the matters set forth therein when we come to interpret and give meaning to the laws of the state, including the provisions of a law made at the time of the Mandate and adopted by the State after its establishment; for it is a well-known opinion that the law of a people must be studied in the light of its national way of life. Thus … we must interpret the term "likely," when we read it together with the other matters stated in (the) section …, in the sense of "near certainty" ….

A further development in the legal interpretation of the Declaration occurred when the Supreme Court saw in it the source of such human rights and freedoms as those of freedom of expression (Israel Film Studies Ltd. v. Levi Gerri and Film Censorship Board (1969) 23 PD (1) 693), or freedom of worship (Peretz v. Kefar Shmaryahu Religious Council (1962) 16 PD 2101). In the case of Yerdor v. Chairman of the Central Elections Committee for the Sixth Knesset (1965) (19 PD 3, 365) the appellant represented a party list which was refused confirmation by the Elections Committee. Technically, the list was valid, but its platform did not recognize the integrity of the State of Israel nor its existing boundaries. Most of the members in the list were former members of the El Ard group, which had been outlawed by government decree. The Supreme Court dismissed the appeal (by majority decision). In the decision, President Agranat stated that the continuing existence of the State of Israel was the major premise in the light of which all Israeli laws have to be interpreted. This underlying condition was derived from an interpretation of the Declaration of the Establishment of the State of Israel and is considered to be a "fundamental constitutional fact, the existence of which no organ of the State, be it administrative, judicial or quasi-judicial, may deny when it comes to exercise any of its powers." Following this line of reasoning the president arrived at the conclusion that, notwithstanding the candidates' eligibility when treated as individuals, the list of candidates, qua list, had no right to take part in the elections to the Knesset. The Declaration, in effect, received through this decision a supra-constitutional character.

Several attempts were made in the Knesset to confer on the Declaration the status of law, but they all failed. In 1994 the Declaration reached the acme of its legal standing, when a new section was added to Basic Law: Human Dignity and Freedom and Basic Law: Freedom of Occupation. Called "Basic Principles," it read as follows: "Fundamental human rights in Israel are founded upon recognition of the value of the human being, the sanctity of human life, and the principle that all persons are free; these rights shall be upheld in the spirit of the principles set forth in the Declaration of the Establishment of the State of Israel."

Thus the Declaration was now a cornerstone of human rights and freedoms in Israel and part of Israel's emerging constitution. In the draft constitution which the Israel Democracy Institute (a non-government academic organization) has drawn up, the Declaration figured as the preamble to the proposed constitution.

THE LAW OF THE LAND. When the Provisional State Council – the legislature of the new state – convened, its first enactment was the Law and Administration Ordinance, 1948. The term "ordinance" was the Mandatory designation of all primary legislation issued by the High Commissioner in accordance with British royal instructions. The laws which the Provisional State Council adopted continued to be called "ordinances." Early in 1949, when the newly elected Constituent Assembly convened, its first act of legislation was to change its name to "the First Knesset" and its enactments were henceforth to be termed "laws" (*ḥukkim*). Section 11 of the Law and Administration Ordinance, 1948, stated that the law which existed in Palestine on the eve of the establishment of the State of Israel would continue to be in force, subject to any enactments of the new legislature and also subject "to such modifications as may result from the establishment of the State and its authorities."

The law which was in force upon the establishment of the new state comprised remnants of Ottoman law, British Mandatory legislation (incorporatimg a large body of English law) and, in matters of personal status – the law of the various religious communities: Jewish law, Muslim law and Christian law (see above).

It remained for the courts to decide to what extent the law of Palestine was altered as a result of the establishment of the State of Israel. The courts, under the leadership of the Supreme Court, adopted at the outset a conservative attitude in preserving parts of Mandatory legislation, which in later years would hardly be able to stand up to judicial scrutiny, e.g., the Press Ordinance or the notorious Emergency (Defense) Regulations, 1945.

THE QUEST FOR A CONSTITUTION. The Declaration of the Establishment of the State of Israel, in the section immediately following the proclamation of the establishment of the state, clearly expressed the determination of the founders that the duly elected regular authorities of the state should be instituted "in accordance with a Constitution which shall be adopted by the Elected Constituent Assembly not later than October 1, 1948." Indeed, preparations for a constitution were initiated by the Jewish national organizations even before the state was proclaimed. However, it became very clear that a constitution would not be forthcoming. The reason for this, first of all, was the war for the existence of the state, which raged for many months following its establishment. The population was enlisted in the war effort, and thus a Constituent Assembly could not be elected by the date – October 1, 1948 – set forth in the Declaration. Secondly, "the ingathering of the exiles" – the incoming flow of Jewish immigrants from all quarters of the world, especially from Europe and the Arab countries – and the attitude of the religious parties, which objected to any constitution other than the Torah, together made it necessary to back off from the idea of drawing up a constitution.

An expedient was found early in 1949 after the election of the Constituent Assembly. The first law considered by the newly elected Assembly provided for a change in the name of the Constituent Assembly, which thus became the "First Knesset." The change, of course, was not a mere matter of semantics; it meant a departure from the initial determination to base the newly established state on a democratic constitution. This departure was explained at the time with the argument that the existing population of Israel should not impose its ideals on coming generations; and therefore only when more Jewish immigrants came to the country – only then – would the time be ripe for drafting a constitution.

Long and recurrent debates were held, both in the Knesset and in the general public, on the question of whether or not there should be a written constitution. A compromise was reached in the Knesset whereby the constitution would be drawn up chapter by chapter through the enactment of Basic Laws, which in time would be collected into a single document and together form Israel's constitution. The initiator of this compromise was Member of Knesset I. Harari, and the resolution adopted by the Knesset on June 13, 1950, bears his name and is still considered binding. It was not until 1958 that Basic Law: the Knesset, the first of Israel's Basic Laws, was enacted, followed, at a slow pace, by the following Basic Laws: State Lands (1960); President of the State (1964); Government (1968); State Economy (1975); Israel Defense Forces (1976); Jerusalem, Capital of Israel (1980); Judicature (1984); State Comptroller (1988) Human Dignity and Freedom (1992), and Freedom of Occupation (1992). A revised version of Basic Law: the Government was enacted in 1992 and again in 2001: a revised version of Basic Law: Human Dignity and Freedom and Basic Law: Freedom of Occupation was enacted in 1994.

The Basic laws were adopted by the Knesset in the same manner as other legislation, that is to say, in general, by a simple majority. Their constitutional import derived from their content, and, in some Basic Laws or certain provisions therein, the inclusion of "entrenched clauses," which require a special Knesset majority for their amendment. Such an entrenched provision was included in section 4 of the Basic Law: the Knesset, which lays down the principles of the electoral system, and it provides that these may not be changed except by an absolute majority of the Knesset (i.e. at least 61 of 120 members).

In the case of Bergman v. Minister of Finance (1969) (23 (1) PD 693) the petitioner challenged the validity of a law providing for the financing of the expenses of the parties in elections for the Knesset and the local authorities. Financing, according to the law, was to apply only to those parties which had sat in the outgoing Knesset; any new party would be denied financing. Since one of the principles of the electoral system set out in the said section 4 of the Basic Law was that elections should be equal, the Supreme Court ruled that the financing law indeed violated the principle of equal elections and that, since it had not been enacted by an absolute majority, it was inoperative. This decision has been followed in a number of cases in which the Supreme Court has struck down legislation passed with an ordinary majority and which contravened the principle of equal elections.

A modification occurred in 1992 with the enactment of Basic Law: Freedom of Occupation and Basic Law: Human Dignity and Freedom. These Basic Laws contained a "limitating clause," which stated: "There shall be no violation of rights under this Basic Law except by a law befitting the values of the State of Israel, enacted for a proper purpose, and to an extent no greater than required, or by a regulation enacted by virtue of express authorization in such laws." The "values of the State of Israel" mentioned in the limitating clause are those mentioned in the opening sections of both Basic Laws on human rights – "recognition of the value of the human being, the sanctity of human life, and the principle that all persons are free," in conjunction with the overall principles set forth in the Declaration of the Establishment of the State of Israel.

The language of the "limitating clause" is the basis for judicial review of legislation, since it clearly opens all legislation which violates any of the human rights protected by the Basic Laws to the review of the courts. The courts must then decide whether the particular law befits the values of the State of Israel, whether it was enacted for a proper purpose, and whether the violation is proportionate to the benefits of the legislation. The Basic Laws therefore assume the effect of constitutional articles. In 1995 the Supreme Court indeed ruled, in a special panel of nine judges (one member dissenting) that the new Basic Laws are indeed part of the constitution of Israel (CA 6821/93 United Mizrachi Bank Ltd. v. Migdal and Others 49 (4) PD 221). We thus have a judicial proclamation of a constitution, although generally a constitution is enacted by a constituent assembly.

In the case mentioned above, the Supreme Court was asked to declare a piece of legislation to be of no legal force due to its violation of the right to property protected by Basic Law: Human Dignity and Freedom. In that particular case, the Supreme Court did not declare the legislation null and void, but judicial review of legislation has become part of Israel's legal legacy.

In addition, two of the justices in the panel of the Supreme Court expressed the view that all Basic Laws have superior normative status and that all legislation which is substantially inconsistent with them may also be declared invalid. Since that landmark decision, the Supreme Court has shown great reluctance and restraint in using its power to strike down legislative propositions found to be contrary to the limiting clause of the Basic Laws; it has done so – through the early years of the 21st century – in a very limited number of cases.

The above decision furnished a powerful impetus for the demand to adopt a full constitution. In the Knesset, the Constitutional, Legislative and Judicial Committee took matters in hand and initiated a long series of deliberations to promote a draft constitution. The Israel Democracy Institute, a non-government academic organization, undertook the herculean task of preparing a draft constitution, with the aim of rallying, as much popular support as possible. By 2005 this effort was in its final stages. The Institute intended to submit its draft to the Knesset for further and final action.

THE BILL OF RIGHTS. In June 1950, the Knesset adopted the Harari Resolution, according to which Israel's constitution would be built up by the Knesset, chapter by chapter, in the form of Basic Laws. These, according to the decision, would eventually be bound together into one document, the Constitution. As has been already mentioned, the first Basic Law, dealing with the Knesset, was enacted in 1958. After an interval, additional chapters were enacted; the question of a Bill of Rights was sidetracked. One of the main obstacles was the objection of the religious parties to an equality clause, which could jeopardize legislation giving preference to religious laws. This would be problematic, for example, in matters of marriage and divorce, governed in Israel by religious law, which gives men a certain preference over women. The same goes for laws imposing Sabbath observance or those affecting the import and sale of non-kosher meat.

As early as 1949, however, the Supreme Court ruled that there are in existence natural rights, which, though not written in the law books, are recognized by the courts. The specific case dealt with the right of a person to engage in any occupation he chooses, unless prohibited expressly by legislation. The case was later expounded upon, with the Court maintaining that these rights stem from the character of the State of Israel as a freedom-seeking democratic country, where the courts interpret the laws and review administrative action in light of these fundamental rights. Additional rulings of the Supreme Court emphasized the legal existence of freedom of expression, freedom of worship, the right of assembly, freedom of association, and indeed all basic freedoms. Nevertheless, precedence was always given to the enactments of the legislature, even if they were unjust.

In the late 1960s a special subcommittee was set up in the Knesset to prepare a Bill of Rights – Human Rights of the Citizen. The bill was presented in 1973; it passed the first reading but did not proceed any further. In the 1980s an additional attempt was made in the same subcommittee of the Knesset. A new draft was prepared, but it did not win substantial support in the Knesset and the attempt failed.

Early in the 1990s a comprehensive draft Bill of Rights was prepared at the Ministry of Justice under the direction of Dan *Meridor, then minister of justice. This draft tried to incorporate the lessons of previous attempts. It followed the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms, which was part of the Constitution Act, 1982, and which included a "limitating clause" applying to all the rights and freedoms set out in the Charter. The Canadian Charter gave expression to the notion that human rights are not absolute, and they are "subject only to such reasonable limits prescribed by law as can be demonstrably justified in a free and democratic society." Still, the government did not approve the draft owing to the opposition of the religious parties upon which the coalition depended. In 1992, Member of Knesset Amnon *Rubinstein presented to the Knesset, as a private member's bill, parts of the Justice Ministry's draft bill. The first section dealt with human dignity and freedom, the second with freedom of occupation; other parts failed to pass the threshold of enactment. On March 3, 1992, Basic Law: Freedom of Occupation was enacted; two weeks later Basic Law: Human Dignity and Freedom passed its third reading in the Knesset plenary and became law. On March 9, 1994, the revised text of the Basic Law: Freedom of Occupation became law. This text included the "Basic Principles" of the early 1990s Ministry of Justice draft, referring to the values of the State of Israel enunciated in the Declaration of the Establishment of the State of Israel.

The enactment of these two Basic Laws was described by Minister of Justice Meridor and by the president of the Supreme Court, Judge Aharon *Barak, as a "constitutional revolution." The reason for the use of such a radical expression was that the Knesset had, for the first time, placed limitations on itself with regard to the subject matter of the laws it was empowered to legislate (prior to that, such limitations had existed only with regard to the form and procedure of legislation). From now on, the Knesset could limit human rights only "by a law befitting the values of the State of Israel, designed for a proper purpose and to an extent no greater than required."

As mentioned above, these two Basic Laws were declared by the Supreme Court to be of basic constitutional force. They became the basis of the judicial review of legislation. Although not all the fundamental human rights have come to be protected, these laws have had tremendous reverberations in the public and produced widespread enthusiasm for the cause of human rights. There was great confidence that additional Basic Laws protecting more and more fundamental human rights would eventually be enacted. These, together with the existing Basic Laws, supplemented by Basic Law: Legislation, which as of 2005 had not yet been enacted, was expected to set the stage for the completion of the constitution.

THE LAW UNDER THE BRITISH MANDATE. (For a more general survey of the judicial and legislative systems under the British, as well as under the Ottoman Empire, see above.)

When the British administration succeeded the former ruler of Palestine, the Ottoman Empire (in which Palestine was the southern district of the province of Syria), it found a quite elaborate legal system. In keeping with the general 19th century trends, substantial parts of the law were made up of codes – to a large extent based on European codes, mostly French. There was thus a code of commercial law and criminal procedure. The comprehensive Civil Code, the Mejelle, was based on Islamic law. In matters of personal status, mainly family matters, the Ottomans accorded extensive autonomy to the various religious communities; that autonomy was also imposed on the Ottomans by the system of capitulations, where European consuls had jurisdiction in personal matters concerning their nationals.

When the British assumed the Mandate over Palestine, they issued under the King's seal the Palestine Order-in-Council, 1922. Section 46 of this Order defined the sources of the laws which would apply in Palestine. Priority would be given to the enactments of the new legislator, the British High Commissioner, to the Orders-in-Council issuing from the King of Great Britain and to Acts of the British Parliament. Subject to these, the Ottoman laws would continue to apply, as they were in force in Palestine prior to the British occupation. Next in line would come the religious laws. In cases of lacunae in the sources quoted above, the law to be applied was "the substance of the common law and the doctrines of equity in force in England"; these bodies of law were to apply only "so far as the circumstances of Palestine and its inhabitants … permit."

The British Mandatory administration, in keeping with the policy of Great Britain in administering its colonies, was anxious to introduce into Palestine the essentials of the English legal system. The major judicial officials, judges and lawyers working for the government, were English or had been trained in England. From the constitutional aspect, the English principles of the common law and equity were to prevail in Palestine only in cases where the local law did not seem to offer a solution.

Nevertheless, the courts were most eager to adjudicate on the basis of English law. In view of certain decisions of His Britannic Majesty's Privy Council, which was an appellate court from the Supreme Court of Palestine, the courts increasingly introduced English judge-made law into the law of Palestine and referred more and more in their judgments to English legal textbooks and judicial decisions. Thus extensive legislation based on English law (either codified or common law) was introduced into Palestine with regard to subjects such as companies, cooperative societies, banking, bills of exchange, bankruptcy, patents and copyright. In 1936 a Criminal Code Ordinance was introduced, which, together with legislation on criminal procedure and evidence, based the penal law in Palestine on the same principles obtaining in England. Additionally, the force of precedent – by which decisions of the Supreme Court were binding for all the lower courts – was introduced. One British institution which was not introduced was the jury system. The English administrators believed that the strife which tore the country asunder, with the ever-rising tension between the Jewish and Arab populations, made the system unfit for Palestine (as a matter of fact, the jury system had not been introduced in any of the British colonies).

The latter part of the Mandatory period, beginning in 1936, was marked by severe outbreaks of Arab hostilities against the Jewish population in Palestine, known as the Arab Revolt. At that time the attention of the administration was focused on security and defense measures. The exigencies of World War II and the Jewish effort to secure independence, which continued long after the war had subsided, stimulated a tremendous legal effort to regulate the economy and finance and further develop emergency defense regulations. These culminated in the imposition of martial law over large areas of Palestine and for ever-increasing periods of time. In this regard mention has to be made of the Emergency (Defense) Regulations, 1945, which allowed the British "an impressive array of legal tools of detention, deportation, confiscation, censorship, demolition of houses, restraint of movement, food control, press control, money control, rent control and capital punishment" (Yoram Shachar, "History and Sources of Israel Law," in *Introduction to the Law of Israel*, p.5).

One exception to the general trend described above was the enactment of the Civil Wrongs Ordinance, 1944, which came into force in 1947. This Ordinance codified the law of torts and replaced the provisions of the Mejelle on the subject.

On the eve of the establishment of the State of Israel, the law was engaged to a large extent in emergency legislation. This legislation was directed at the activities of the Arab dissident population, which was bent on thwarting the UN resolution for the partition of Palestine into a Jewish state and an Arab state. On the other hand, the British Mandatory administration was at war with Jewish resistance groups, who strove to drive the British out of Palestine. The organized Jewish population, represented by its elected bodies and the Jewish Agency, was busy setting up the framework for the future army and other branches of government of the forthcoming State of Israel. At the same time, it endeavored to facilitate a massive movement of immigration of Jewish deportees and displaced persons from Europe who had survived the Holocaust, and of Jews from Arab countries in North Africa and the Middle East.

THE LEGISLATIVE PROCESS. The procedure and prerequisites for legislation have not – generally speaking – been laid down by provisions of law. These have been included in the several drafts of Basic Law: the Legislature, which have not succeeded in passing the third reading in the Knesset and becoming law. The legislative procedure is set forth in the Standing Rules which the Knesset has adopted and amended from time to time. A draft of every law submitted to the Knesset for enactment is published in *Reshumot* (the official gazette) either by the government or by a member of the Knesset; a note is attached explaining each proposed section. Over 90% of laws passed by the Knesset were originally introduced by the government, which has evolved a procedure for presenting its draft laws to the Knesset. In recent years the proportion of private members' bills is rising steeply. The initiative for a government-sponsored draft law comes from the ministry concerned with its subject, which prepares the first draft together with an explanatory note. That draft is examined in the Ministry of Justice, which prepares a draft for submission to the cabinet Committee on Legislation, and the draft approved by the committee is submitted to the government for approval. The draft approved by the government is sent by the secretary to the government to the speaker of the Knesset, who has it placed on the table of the Knesset and entered as an item on its agenda.

In accordance with the procedure laid down by the First Knesset and now incorporated in the Standing Rules, each draft law goes through three readings, in addition to the committee stage which follows the first reading. At the first reading of a government-sponsored bill the minister who will be charged with the implementation of the law, if it is enacted, explains the provisions and purposes of the law, and then there is a general debate dealing primarily with its general principles. It is then examined in detail by a standing committee, which prepares the text to be submitted to the Knesset for the second reading. At the second reading the chairman of the committee reports to the Knesset on the draft law and it is put to the vote section by section. At the third reading the final text is voted upon by the Knesset. Subsequently, it is submitted for signature by those persons who by law are required to sign it and it is then published in *Reshumot*.

A private member's bill is submitted to the speaker of the Knesset and has to pass a preliminary stage in the Knesset plenary and, if approved, goes to a standing committee, which may either prepare the text for the first reading in the Knesset or propose that the bill be quashed. If approved in the first reading, the bill follows the same procedure as a government-sponsored bill.

Where a draft law has been referred by an outgoing Knesset to one of its committees after the first reading, the government formed in the incoming Knesset may notify the Knesset in plenary session that it wishes the continuity provisions of the Continuity of Consideration of Draft Laws Law, 1964, to apply to it. If it does so each parliamentary party may propose within two weeks that those provisions shall not apply, giving reasons for the proposal. If no such proposal is submitted, or if the proposal is rejected by the Knesset, then the incoming Knesset must continue the consideration of the draft law from the stage reached by the outgoing Knesset, and it must treat the latter's deliberations on the draft law as if they were its own deliberations.

THE JEWISH ELEMENT IN ISRAEL'S LEGISLATION. The vast majority of the laws passed by the Israel legislature have their counterparts in the legislation of most other countries, but some of them are peculiar to Israel, owing to its being a Jewish state and the realization of the aims of Zionism. Among these are the Days of Rest Ordinance, 1948, proclaiming the Sabbath and the Jewish festivals to be the official days of rest in the country; the Transfer of Herzl's Remains Law, 1949; the *Law of Return, 1950, under which the right of every Jew to settle in Israel is recognized; the *World Zionist Organization – Jewish Agency (Status) Law, 1952, which regulates the status of the World Zionist Organization in Israel and its relationship to the State. The State Education Law, 1953, defined the object of the education provided by the state elementary schools, as follows: "to base elementary education in the State on the values of Jewish culture and the achievements of science, on love of the homeland and loyalty to the State and the Jewish people." In 2000 the Law was revised and the aims of the state education system greatly enlarged. They include: "to implant the principles set out in the Declaration of the Establishment of the State of Israel and the values of Israel as a Jewish and democratic country" and also "to teach Israel's Torah, the history of the Jewish people. Israel's legacy and Jewish customs (*masoret*), to implant awareness of the remembrance of the Shoah and Jewish heroism, and to teach respect for them." Laws relating to Jewish law and religion cover such subjects as *kasher* food for soldiers (1948), Jewish religious services budgets (1949), the Chief Rabbinate Council (1955), the jurisdiction of religious courts in marriage and divorce (1953), *dayyanim* (1955), the prohibition of pig breeding (1962), phylacteries and mezzuzot (prevention of cheating) (1974), the Chief Rabbinate of Israel (1980), prevention of cheating in *kashrut* (1983), Passover prohibition of *ḥameẓ* (1985).

Furthermore, whenever legislation is required on any particular subject, the relevant principles of Jewish law, if any, are examined and, if found suitable, incorporated, for example, the Restoration of Lost Property Law, 1973, the interpretation of which raised the still undecided question in the Supreme Court of whether the language used, which was derived from Jewish law, referred to the substance of Jewish law or was to be interpreted independently from Jewish law (FH 13/80 Hendeles v. Kuppat-Am Bank (PD 35 (2) 785)). With reference to non-Jewish communities, on June 27, 1967, less than two weeks after the Six-Day War, the Knesset passed a law for the protection of all holy places under Israeli jurisdiction.

The Holocaust and its consequences have led to the enactment of laws on the punishment of Nazis and their collaborators (1950), the establishment and administration of the *Yad Vashem Memorial Authority (1953), compensation for those disabled in the war against the Nazis (1954) or by Nazi persecution (1957), Holocaust Memorial Day (1959), and Prohibition of Holocaust Denial (1986).

The Jewish character of the State of Israel first came to the fore in the above-mentioned case of Yerdor v. Elections Committee for the Sixth Knesset (1965), where the Supreme Court invoked the Declaration of the Establishment of the State of Israel. It was 20 years later, in 1985, that the Knesset responded, when a list of candidates was presented to the Elections Committee for confirmation which did not recognize the right of the State of Israel to exist as a Jewish and democratic state. In 1985, Basic Law: the Knesset was amended and a new section, 7A, inserted, by which no list was to participate in Knesset elections if it rejected the existence of the State of Israel as the state of the Jewish people, or rejected the democratic nature of the state or incited to racism. In 2002, section 7A was amended and the cause for disqualification was phrased: "rejection of the existence of the State of Israel as a Jewish and democratic state." A similar terminology was used in the Parties Law, 1992, and again in the human rights Basic Laws.

THE LAW OF RETURN. During the first years of independence most of legislation was concerned with amendments to the Mandatory statutes, in order to adapt them to the new circumstances and changing needs. The first major piece of legislation was enacted in 1950; it was The Law of Return, 1950, which guaranteed every Jew's right to immigrate to Israel and become an "*oleh*" (immigrant). That law was complemented by the Citizenship Law, 1952, which awarded Israeli citizenship to every *oleh* (*olim* also have the right to opt out) and regulated the issue of citizenship for Israel's non-Jewish inhabitants. Another complementary law was the Law of Entry, 1952, which regulated the issuing of visas and residence permits to non-Israelis.

The question of "Who is a Jew," for the purposes of the Law of Return, came up before the Supreme Court in 1962 in the case of Rufeisen-Brother Daniel, who was born Jewish but had converted to Christianity and joined a Catholic order (HC 72/62–16 PD 2428). He petitioned the court to have his nationality registered in the register of inhabitants as Jewish, since he felt he still belonged to the Jewish people. The Court denied the petition, reasoning that, in Judaism, nationality and religion come together and cannot be separated.

The question came up again in 1968 in the Shalit case (HC 58/68–23 PD (2) 477), where a Jew and his non-Jewish wife demanded that their children be registered as Jewish, since they were brought up as such (but had not converted to Judaism). In a majority decision, the Court accepted the petition and the children were registered as Jews.

In 1970 the Law of Return was amended to include a definition of "Jew" according to which a Jew was anyone who was born to a Jewish mother or had converted to Judaism and did not belong to another faith.

In yet another case (HC 264/87–43 PD (2) 727) the Supreme Court decided in 1987 that a person who had converted to Judaism need not necessarily have done so according to Orthodox practice. The Supreme Court had a hand in additional developments in this area.

CODIFICATION OF THE LAW. After the establishment of the State of Israel, the binding text of the Mandatory statutes incorporated into the Israeli legal system was their English version; the Hebrew and Arabic official translations were not conclusive. That situation was untenable. In 1952 a huge task was undertaken: the production of an authoritative Hebrew text of the statutes in which all the amendments were to be incorporated. For this task, special committees were set up, headed by judges. The final text was to be authorized by the Constitutional, Legislative and Judicial Committee of the Knesset and published in the Official Gazette – *Reshumot*. Henceforth the "New Version," as it came to be called, would be the only binding text of the law.

In 1964, as amendments to old Mandatory statutes and to Israeli laws proliferated, it became a more and more daunting task to produce an authoritative text of the original statute as amended from time to time. A procedure was therefore introduced whereby special committees were set up to draft a "Consolidated Version" of the laws. The draft could consolidate several statutes, including a "New Version" of Mandatory legislation. In this manner, the laws became more accessible to those who had recourse to them.

A greater and far more ambitious project was undertaken to codify the civil law of Israel and harmonize the provisions included in the various laws comprising the civil law of the State. A special committee of experts was appointed by the minister of justice, headed by the president of the Supreme Court, Prof. Aharon Barak. After years of arduous work and extensive research, the draft Civil Code of Law was delivered and due to be presented to the Knesset for enactment.

REFORM OF THE CIVIL LAW. It was only in the 1960s that a major and formidable effort was undertaken to reform the then existing legislation, which, as has been seen, was mostly Mandatory and even Ottoman. A series of laws was enacted in the field of civil law, which, step by step, replaced the provisions of the Ottoman Civil Code, the Mejelle, with modern legislation, in keeping with the most progressive trends in the Western world. Some of the important laws that were enacted in the field of civil law are Legal Capacity and Guardianship Law, 1962; Standard Contracts Law, 1964; Agency Law, 1965, Inheritance Law, 1965; Guarantee Law, 1967, Pledges Law, 1967, Bailees Law, 1967; Sale Law, 1968, Gift Law, 1968, Land Law, 1969. Transfer of Obligations Law, 1969, Movable Property Law, 1971; Contracts (Remedies for Breach of Contract), 1970; Hire and Loan Law, 1971. Contracts (General Part) Law, 1973; Contract for Services Law, 1974; Insurance Contract Law, 1981, and the Credit Card Law, 1986. In 1995 the Knesset passed the Computers Law, bringing Israeli law into line with the new technology.

The comprehensive Land Law, 1969, replaced nearly all the Ottoman and Palestine legislation relating to land. The comprehensive Planning and Building Law, 1965 replaced the Mandatory Town Planning Ordinance, 1936. In 1975 the Road Accident Victims Compensation Law was passed. In general terms, this law provides that anyone injured in a road accident is automatically entitled to compensation, irrespective of who was at fault. An advance on the compensation is payable within 60 days of a request by the victim of the accident.

The cumulative effect of these laws was revolutionary: they constituted a severing of Israel's link to its immediate legal heritage, which was English law sprinkled with Ottoman laws. Israel emerged at last as an independent nation, capable of formulating its own legal solutions adapted to Israeli society; at the same time, the new legislation brought Israel into line with the most progressive trends of the modern world. At the same time, special efforts have been made to incorporate into Israel's legislation, as much as possible, concepts of Jewish law.

The new civil legislation rendered the Ottoman Mejelle unnecessary, and in 1984 it was abolished, symbolizing the end of an era, which in fact had ended many years earlier.

Another departure from Israel's legal past occurred with regard to its linkage to English common law and doctrines of equity, which were binding in Palestine by virtue of Section 46 of the Palestine Order-in-Council, 1922. That section provided for the application of the English sources of law only in cases of lacunae – i.e., whenever local law was silent on the matter at hand – and even then only to the extent that local conditions allowed. The Courts, however, applied English principles quite freely. It was only in the case of Kochavi v. Becker (11 PD 225) that the Supreme Court of Israel finally had the opportunity to settle a question which had come up before it but had not required adjudication – what effect, if any, did English precedents, laid down after the establishment of the State of Israel, have on the law of Israel? Justice Witkon's reply was:

> To my mind, English precedents can no longer be binding for us, even if they were delivered before the establishment of the state. These precedents have great power to direct us and to persuade us, but they cannot be binding on our courts. Indeed we are free to deviate from them, either on the basis of the express provision of section 11 of the Law and Administration Ordinance, 1948, or on the basis of the mere fact that our courts now operate in a sovereign country which is no longer dependent on the adjudication of a foreign country.

The deputy president of the Supreme Court, the late Justice *Heshin, said:

> It does not stand to reason that a sovereign state, having its own set of laws and its own legal system, should continue to be subjected to the rule of a foreign legal system and to the innovations which its courts produce concerning its legal thought, for the sole reason that in the past, when the two countries were closely linked, one of the countries suckled from various spheres of the law of the other country.

It was only in 1980 that Section 46 of the Palestine Order-in-Council, 1922, was officially and finally repealed, although by that time it had no real legal effect. The occasion was the enactment of the statute entitled Foundations of Law, 1980, which stated the following:

> Where a court, faced with a legal question requiring decision, finds no answer to it in statute law or case law or by analogy, it shall decide it in light of the principles of freedom, justice, equity and peace in Israel's heritage.

A new controversy arose regarding the meaning and relevance of the phrase "the principles of freedom, justice, equity and peace in Israel's heritage." The Supreme Court was divided on the question of whether the phrase allowed the introduction of the provisions of Jewish law – that is, whether the question before the court should be decided according to Jewish law, or whether the principles referred to are those derived from the Jewish heritage that are also accepted universally, since the Bible is also a vital component of Western civilization. As mentioned above, no decision was reached, since each of the opposing views was supported by only one of the judges – Justices Barak and Elon. The president of the Supreme Court, M. Landau, who presided over the bench, decided that the question did not require a decision in the particular case, and thus the link remained unresolved.

CORPORATE LAW. When the State of Israel was established, it inherited the Mandatory Companies Ordinance, 1929, which was an almost exact replica of the English Companies Act, 1929. Many amendments have since been enacted by the Knesset. In 1982 a "New Version" was introduced, in Hebrew, to consolidate the law with its amendments, taking into consideration other pieces of legislation bearing on the subject. However, the basic notions of corporate law remained old-fashioned and unsuitable for a thriving modern economy. Several efforts were made to replace the old ordinance and introduce a new companies law, but these efforts were not successful.

In 1999 a new companies law was enacted on the basis of a draft prepared by Prof. H. Procaccia of the Hebrew University Faculty of Law. The new law reflected the progressive features of corporate law obtaining in the Western democracies.

In 1975 the Knesset enacted the Government Companies Law, which regulates the establishment and functioning of government companies. These controlled a significant part of the country's means of production at the time. Another development in corporate law was the enactment of the Amutot (Non-Profit Associations) Law, 1980, which replaced the Ottoman Law of Association of 1909.

REFORM OF CRIMINAL LAW. In the more than 50 years that have passed since the establishment of the State of Israel, a dramatic change has been effected in criminal law. At the beginning, the Mandatory Criminal Code Ordinance, 1936, was the binding text. It was built along the lines of English criminal law; indeed, one of the provisions of the Code was that for purposes of interpretation, reference was to be made to English law. This provision was abolished in 1972. A long series of amendments was enacted. The most outstanding of them included the following: The Penal Law Revision (Bribery) Law, 1952; The Penal Law Revision (State Security) Law, 1957; The Penal Law Amendment (Deceit, Blackmail and Extortion) Law, 1963; The Penal Law Amendment (Bigamy) Law, 1959; The Penal Law Amendment (Prostitution Offenses) Law, 1962; and The Penal Law Amendment (Prohibited Games, Lottery and Betting) Law, 1964.

In the field of penology, the law was reformed radically. Thus, in 1950, the penalty of whipping was abolished; so was collective punishment (1964). The death penalty for murder was abolished in 1954. In that year, the Penal Law Revision (Modes of Punishment) was enacted, introducing the imposition of conditional sentences of imprisonment, and entirely overhauling the penal system.

In 1977 a "Consolidated Version" of the Criminal Code Ordinance was introduced – in Hebrew – replacing the Mandatory English version. In 1994, the Knesset enacted the Penal Law (amendment No. 39) (Introductory Part and General Part), which entirely reformed the basic notions of the legal elements of crime and criminal responsibility. This law was based on a draft prepared by Prof. S.Z. Feller and Prof. M. Kremnitzer, both from the Faculty of Law at the Hebrew University.

LABOR LAW AND SOCIAL SECURITY. One of the impressive achievements of Israel's legal system was the emergence and development of labor and social security law. It began in the 1950s with the country's socialist agenda to get the workers' unions into the law books. Coupled with this interest was the need to regulate the welfare services offered to the population, a great portion of which consisted of new immigrants who had come destitute from the refugee camps in Europe or from North Africa and the Middle East.

Upon its establishment, Israel inherited a meager fund of legislation on labor and social security. The whole field clamored for reform. A series of laws was enacted in the 1950s, based to a large extent on standards designed by the ILO (the International Labor Organization): Hours of Work and Rest Law, 1951; Night Baking (Prohibition) Law, 1951; Annual Leave Law, 1953, Apprenticeship Law, 1953; Youth Labor Law, 1954; Employment of Women Law, 1954. These laws were all intended to protect vulnerable persons in the workplace. Then came a series of laws intended to safeguard the interests of employees: Sick Pay Law, 1964; Severance Pay Law, 1963; Wage Protection Law, 1958; Employment (Equal Opportunities) Law, 1981 (replaced in 1988); Male and Female Workers (Equal Pay) Law, 1964 (revised in 1996); Male and Female Workers (Equal Retirement) Law 1987; Minimum Wage Law, 1987. Another series of Laws dealt with organizing labor and labor disputes. Thus the Employment Service Law, 1959, set up labor exchanges; the Labor Inspection (Organization) Law, 1954 provided for safety in the workplace; and the Settlement of Labor Disputes Law, 1957, was intended to deal with strikes and lockouts in essential public services.

One outstanding piece of legislation was the Collective Agreements Law, 1957, which consolidated the power of the large labor unions and employers' organizations to sign collective agreements which would be binding for future employees and employers as well.

In 1954 the National Insurance Law came into effect, providing for the payment of pensions to the elderly and to victims of work accidents, as well as allowances for mothers. The National Insurance Institute was established, setting up an impressive array of institutions for the rehabilitation of handicapped persons, professional training, and financial and other care for invalids.

Under the National Health Insurance Law, 1994, the entire population is entitled to receive health care from any one of the four sick funds operating in the country. Everyone is obliged to belong to a sick fund of his choice; the dues are collected by the National Insurance Institute and distributed in a prescribed manner to the sick funds.

The disruption of life caused by a growing number of labor disputes and the special nature of labor relations were the basis upon which the labor tribunals were set up by the Labor Courts Law, 1969. The Law instituted a two-tier system of adjudication: Regional Labor Tribunals and a National Labor Tribunal. The tribunals are headed by career judges, who are appointed, like regular judges, by the president of the State on the recommendation of the Judges Nominating Committee (where the cabinet minister in addition to the minister of justice is the minister of industry, trade, and employment). Alongside the presiding judge there are panels of representatives of the public – laymen with a background in labor relations – who represent employees and employers. They are appointed for a term of three years jointly by the minister of justice and the minister of industry, trade, and employment, after consulting with representative employees' and employers' organizations.

The regional labor tribunals sit as courts of first instance in matters of labor relations and disputes arising from the employee-employer relationship. They also adjudicate in disputes between individuals and the National Insurance Institute. In addition, they sit in criminal cases dealing with offenses related to specific labor legislation.

The National Labor Tribunal sits in panels of three career judges and two lay representatives of the public; in certain matters the panel consists of four lay representatives of the public and three career judges. The National Labor Tribunal hears appeals from the Regional Tribunals. It also sits as a court of first instance in specified matters.

The Labor Tribunals are generally considered to be a great success in settling labor disputes and in reviewing decisions of the National Insurance Institute. Their greatest achievement was the development of labor law and the establishment of an Israeli common law in labor matters.

EMERGENCY LEGISLATION. When the establishment of the State of Israel was proclaimed, Israel found itself from the outset in a state of war with the neighboring Arab countries whose armies had invaded Palestine and were advancing towards Jerusalem, Tel Aviv, and the Galilee to thwart the UN resolution on the partition of Palestine. It was because of this situation that the first enactment of the Provisional State Council, the Law and Administration Ordinance, 1948, side by side with establishing the Council as the legislative authority of the new State, also authorized the Council to declare a state of emergency. In the event of such a declaration, the provisional government was authorized to empower the prime minister or any of the ministers to make emergency regulations to such an extent as he considered desirable for the defense of the state, public security, and the maintenance of supplies and essential services. Such emergency regulations could amend any law, or temporarily suspend its operation, and were to cease to have effect at the expiration of three months, unless their validity was extended or they were replaced by the minister who made them or by an ordinance of the legislature. Immediately after enacting the first ordinance, the Provisional State Council issued a declaration that a state of emergency existed in Israel; the declaration was published in the Official Gazette on May 21, 1948. An extensive set of emergency regulations was drawn up, covering a large part of the economy and all security matters.

The state of emergency which was declared in 1948 was still in force at the beginning of the 21st century, although the legal framework for making such a declaration was now Basic Law: the Government (both in the 1992 version as well as the later version which was enacted in 2001 and came into force in 2003). In the 1948 version, the state of emergency – once declared – would remain in effect until repealed by a declaration of the legislature. Under Basic Law: the Government, a state of emergency can be declared for a maximum period of one year, and the Knesset must review the situation and decide from time to time whether conditions warrant a new declaration of a state of emergency. Under the 1948 provisions, emergency regulations could alter any law or suspend it; the new laws clearly state that emergency regulations cannot prevent recourse to the law courts, or establish retroactive punishment, or permit violation of human dignity (sec 39 (d)). In addition, several Basic Laws include a provision forbidding emergency regulations to alter, suspend, or impose conditions on the operation of any provision of those Basic Laws. Through the years, the broad discretion which the language of the law accorded to the ministers in enacting emergency regulations became more and more limited. In the case of Poraz v. the Government of the State of Israel HCJ, 2994/90-(44 (3) PD 317) the Supreme Court invalidated emergency regulations promulgated by the minister of construction and housing which bypassed existing statutory arrangements for building permits, in part on the ground that it was not necessary to employ emergency powers when it was possible to achieve the same purpose through the ordinary, if slower, legislative process.

It should also be noted that beside the existence of emergency regulations, the Knesset has enacted laws which are in force solely for the duration of a state of emergency, e.g. Supervision of Goods and Services Law, 1957, or Emergency Powers (Detention) Law, 1979, which repealed part of the Mandatory Emergency (Defense) Regulations, 1945, concerning preventive or administrative detention of persons.

THE COURTS OF LAW. *(a) The Supreme Court.* The Supreme Court plays a distinct role in Israeli society and stands out as one of the most important institutions in the State.

Basically, the Supreme Court stands at the head of a three-tier system of adjudication; under it are the district courts and at the lowest level are the magistrates courts. Under Basic Law: Judicature, every decision of a court sitting in first instance is appellable to the higher court. Thus the Supreme Court sits as an appellate court on decisions which the district courts deliver as a court of first instance, and – by special leave – also sits as an appellate court on decisions made originally by magistrates courts. In this capacity, its rulings on legal norms are binding for all the lower courts, according to the principle of the binding precedent which applies in Israel, following the Anglo-American tradition. The greater achievement of the Supreme Court occurred in its other capacity, that of High Court of Justice. In this capacity, the court reviews administrative action and acts as an arbiter between the individual and the state and other public authorities, thus safeguarding the rights of the individual and imposing the rule of law.

As a matter of fact, the powers of the Supreme Court, as set out in the statute, have not changed basically from what they were during the time of the British Mandate. What changed was the gradually broadening scope of both the review of administrative action and the petitioners legally permitted to apply for redress of public grievances. Thus, members of the Knesset, law professors, and civic bodies are generally allowed to present their petitions in matters of general public interest, both when the government has acted and when it has refrained from action. It is in this manner that the Supreme Court entertained a petition against the prime minister for not dismissing a minister and a deputy minister against whom criminal charges had been brought. Similarly, the Supreme Court has entertained a petition against the attorney general for refraining from bringing charges against banks and bankers who were responsible for a disastrous collapse of bank shares in the 1980s.

In its capacity as a High Court of Justice, the Supreme Court has made itself a guardian of civil liberties. Furthermore, the Supreme Court acts as a constitutional court in the sense that it imposes the rule of law on the lawgiver, the Knesset, and that it has ruled that laws which do not conform to provisions of a Basic Law have no legal effect, by reason of unconstitutionality. While it is true that the Court is considered a bastion of the rule of law, some of its decisions have aroused public controversy, and in certain political circles proposals have been put forth to curtail the powers of the Supreme Court. However, the Court generally enjoys deep respect and prestige among large parts of the population.

The Supreme Court is seated in Jerusalem. It is composed of such number of members as the Knesset, by resolution, determines; in December 2003 the number was 15. The Court is composed of the president, the deputy president, and 13 other members. The Court sits in panels of three, and occasionally in panels of five, seven, or an uneven larger number, depending on the importance attached to the forthcoming decision. Whenever a judgment which has been delivered by a panel of three is contrary to existing adjudication or deals in a matter which the Court deems deserving of review owing to its importance, difficulty, or novelty, then there is a "Further Hearing" either on the entire judgment or on parts thereof.

The caseload of the Supreme Court is extremely heavy in view of the statutory right of appeal from decisions of the district courts sitting as first instance. Several commissions have proposed reforming the system to the extent that recourse to the Supreme Court would be discretional. These proposals have not been realized to date; part of the load on the Court has been alleviated by transferring some of its powers to the district courts, in specified administrative matters.

(b) District Courts and Magistrates Courts. The administration of the courts is the responsibility of the minister of justice; in practice, the courts are administered by the director

of courts, who is generally a judge of the rank of president of a district court, appointed by the minister of justice with the consent of the president of the Supreme Court. The courts operate according to the provisions of the Courts Law (Consolidated Version), 1984.

As stated above, the courts operate under a three-tier system, similar to the one used in Mandatory times. The jurisdiction of the magistrates courts is prescribed by the Courts Law: in criminal matters they sit in cases of contraventions and misdemeanors and also in specified felonies. In civil matters, the magistrates courts have jurisdiction where the amount of the claim or the value of the subject matter does not exceed the sum of NIS 2.5 million. They also have jurisdiction in claims concerning the possession, use, or division of immovable property. Usually the court is presided over by a single judge, but in special cases the bench is composed of three judges.

District courts have unlimited jurisdiction to deal with any civil or criminal matter not within the jurisdiction of a magistrates court or any other court or tribunal. As stated above, the district courts have concurrent jurisdiction with the Supreme Court in specified administrative matters. The transfer of jurisdiction to the district courts is gradual; at present not all the district courts have been empowered to act in this field. Judgments given by a magistrates court are appealable to a district court. Judgments given by a district court on appeal are appealable to the Supreme Court by leave to appeal. Judgments given by a district court sitting as a court of first instance are appealable to the Supreme Court. There are five district courts: in Jerusalem, Tel Aviv-Jaffa, Haifa, Beersheba, and Nazareth.

(c) Other Courts and Tribunals. There are also municipal courts, presided over by magistrates. Small claims courts, presided over by magistrates, are empowered to deal with civil claims not exceeding NIS 17,800 in value. These courts, which are not bound by the usual rules of procedure, are required to act in a manner most expedient for a just and speedy determination of the cases brought before them. Advocates may not appear for the parties to litigation in these courts, save by leave of the court and for special reasons. Traffic magistrates, appointed in the same way as judges of a magistrates court, have jurisdiction to try offenses against the Road Transport Ordinance or rules thereunder. A fairly recent innovation was the establishment of family courts under the Family Affairs Court Law, 1995. This Court deals with a variety of family and personal status matters, which previously were under the jurisdiction partly of a district court and partly of a magistrates court. It thus deals, inter alia, with claims for maintenance, parenthood, adoption, inheritance, visitation rights, and cases arising from the operation of the Prevention of Domestic Violence Law, 1991. The family courts are presided over by magistrates court judges. Judgments given by this court as well as those given by the other courts mentioned above are appealable to a district court.

Under the Military Justice Law, 1955, there are various courts martial and a court martial appeal court, which deal with offenses by soldiers and army employees.

There are also numerous tribunals, boards, and committees established under various laws to deal with special classes of cases, over many of which a judge presides. The procedure in these tribunals is regulated by the Administrative Tribunals Law, 1992. The labor tribunals were described above.

RELIGIOUS COURTS. As stated above, upon the establishment of the State of Israel, the law of the new state comprised all sections of the law which had existed on the eve of its establishment. Mandatory law, in its turn, inherited the Ottoman law which had existed prior to the establishment of the British Mandate for Palestine. In Ottoman times all matters of personal status were within the jurisdiction of the religious courts of the various religious communities. These courts are still operating, although several changes were made by the Israeli legislature, particularly as regards the rabbinical courts.

Under the Rabbinical Courts Jurisdiction (Marriage and Divorce) Law, 1953, the rabbinical courts have exclusive jurisdiction in matters of marriage and divorce of Jews in Israel, who are nationals or residents of the state, in any matter connected with a suit for divorce between Jews which has been filed therein, whether by the wife or the husband, including maintenance for the wife and for the children of the couple, and claims for **ḥaliẓah* filed therein by a woman against her deceased husband's brother, including maintenance for the woman until the day when *ḥaliẓah* is given. Furthermore, when a Jewish wife sues her Jewish husband or his estate for maintenance in a rabbinical court, otherwise than in connection with divorce, the plea of the defendant that a rabbinical court has no jurisdiction in the matter may not be entertained, and in matters of personal status of Jews in which a Rabbinical Court has not exclusive jurisdiction under the law, it will have jurisdiction after all the parties concerned have expressed their consent thereto. Upon the coming into force of the Adoption of Children Law, 1960, the adoption of children was excluded from the definition of matters of personal status in the Palestine Order-in-Council; so were successions, wills and legacies upon the coming into force of the Inheritance Law, 1965. Jurisdiction in matters of adoption under the above law is conferred upon Religious Courts, however, if the parents, the adopters, and the adoptee have consented in writing to their jurisdiction, or, in the case of an adoptee not being capable of understanding the matter, or being under the age of 13 years, if a social welfare officer and the attorney general have consented to their jurisdiction. Under the Inheritance Law, 1965, a Religious Court which had jurisdiction in matters of personal status of the decedent may make an order of inheritance or an order confirming a will and determine rights to maintenance from the estate if all the parties concerned according to the law have expressed in writing their consent thereto.

The Druze Religious Courts Law, 1962, established, for the first time in Israel, a Druze Religious Court and a Druze

Religious Court of Appeal. The Druze Religious Court is given exclusive jurisdiction in matters of marriage and divorce of Druze in Israel who are nationals or residents of the state and matters relating to the creation or internal management of a religious trust established before a court under Druze religious law or of a Druze trust established before the coming into force of the Law in accordance with Druze custom otherwise than before a religious or civil court. In matters of personal status of Druze in which a Druze Religious Court has no exclusive jurisdiction under the law, such court will have jurisdiction after all the parties concerned have expressed their consent. The Druze Religious Court of Appeal has jurisdiction to deal with appeals from judgments of the Druze Religious Courts.

Matters of dissolution of marriage, including divorce, annulment of marriage, and recognition of a marriage as void *ab initio*, which are not within the exclusive jurisdiction of a Jewish, Muslim, Christian, or Druze Religious Court, are within the jurisdiction of the District Court or a Religious Court as determined by the president of the Supreme Court in accordance with the provisions of the Jurisdiction in Matters of Dissolution of Marriage (Special Cases) Law, 1969. That law will not apply if both spouses are Jews, Muslims, Druze or members of one of the Christian communities maintaining a Religious Court in Israel. In cases to which the law applies, the provisions of the Palestine Order in Council, prohibiting the District Courts and Religious Courts from granting decrees of dissolution of marriage, will not apply. When a District Court upon which jurisdiction has been conferred under the law deals with the matter, it must do so in accordance with the following order of priority: (1) the internal law of the place of permanent residence common to the spouses; (2) the internal law of the last place of permanent residence common to the spouses; (3) the internal law of the country of the common nationality of the spouses; (4) the internal law of the place where the marriage was celebrated; but it may not deal with the matter according to a law as aforesaid if according thereto different laws are applicable to both the spouses. If there is no law applicable as aforesaid, the court may deal with the matter in accordance with the internal law of the place of permanent residence of one of the spouses as appears to it just in the circumstances of the case, but the consent of the spouses will always be a ground for divorce.

APPOINTMENT OF JUDGES IN CIVIL AND RELIGIOUS COURTS. Under Basic Law: Judicature an entirely new system of appointment was created: all the judges of the Magistrates' Courts, the District Courts and the Supreme Court are appointed by the president of the state upon the recommendation of a Nominations Committee submitted to him by the minister of justice, who is its chairman. The Nominations Committee is composed of three judges, namely, the president of the Supreme Court and two other judges of the Supreme Court elected by the judges of that court for three years; two members of the government, namely the minister of justice and one other member chosen by the government; two members of the Knesset elected by it by secret ballot; and two practicing advocates elected by the Chamber of Advocates. Candidates for appointment may be proposed by the minister of justice, the president of the Supreme Court, or jointly by three members of the nominations committee.

Persons qualified to be appointed as judges of the Supreme Court are persons who have held office as a judge of a District Court for a period of five years, persons inscribed, or entitled to be inscribed, in the Roll of Advocates in Israel and who, for not less than ten years, including at least five years in Israel, have been engaged in any of the following: (1) the profession of an advocate; (2) a judicial or other legal function, in the service of the State of Israel or another service approved by the minister of justice, by regulations, for this purpose; (3) the teaching of law at a recognized university or law school.

Eminent jurists may also be appointed. Persons qualified to be appointed as judges of a District Court are persons who have held office as a judge of a Magistrates' Court for a period of four years, persons inscribed, or entitled to be inscribed, in the Roll of Advocates in Israel and who, continuously or intermittently, for not less than seven years, including at least three years in Israel, have been engaged in one or several of the occupations enumerated above. Persons qualified to be appointed as judges of a Magistrates' Court are those inscribed or entitled to be inscribed in the Roll of Advocates in Israel for not less than five years, including at least two years in Israel.

Similar systems of appointment have been created for judges of the Rabbinical Courts, the Muslim Religious Courts, and the Druze Religious Courts, but no legislation has yet been passed regulating the appointment of the judges of the Christian Religious Courts, who continue to be appointed by the head of the community. Under the Dayyanim Law, 1955, the judges of the Rabbinical Courts, known as *dayyanim* (see **dayyan*) are appointed by the president of the state upon the recommendation of a Nominations Committee submitted to him by the minister for religious affairs. Currently the duties of the minister for religious affairs are performed by the minister of justice. The committee is composed of the two chief rabbis of Israel, two *dayyanim* elected by the body of *dayyanim* for three years, two members of the government, namely, the minister for religious affairs and one other member chosen by the government, two members of the Knesset elected by it by secret ballot, and two practicing advocates elected by the Chamber of Advocates. Persons qualified in accordance with regulations made by the minister with the consent of the Chief Rabbinate Council are eligible for appointment as *dayyanim* if they were so qualified within the two years preceding the appointment. Under those regulations they must have a rabbinical certificate authorizing them to teach and adjudicate (*Yoreh, yoreh, yadin, yadin* – see **semikhah*) issued by an expert rabbi or Torah institute whose certificate is recognized as sufficient by the Chief Rabbinate Council, be 30 years of age, be or have been married, and have a character and mode of life which befit the status of a *dayyan* in Israel. In addition, a *dayyan* of a Rabbinical Court must have passed examinations held on behalf of the Chief Rabbinate Council or be exempted therefrom, while a *dayyan* of the Rabbinical Court of Appeal must have been a *dayyan* of a Rabbinical Court for at least three consecutive years, or be known as an illustrious Torah scholar (*gadol ba-Torah*) according to a majority of the members of the Council of the Chief Rabbinate Council including the two chief rabbis. The subjects of the examination for *dayyanim* are (1) general knowledge of the Talmud and the **Posekim*; (2) thorough knowledge of the *Shulḥan Arukh, **Even ha-Ezer* and **Ḥoshen Mishpat*; (3) drafting of a judgment in a hypothetical case with reasoned findings of fact and decisions of substantive law; (4) knowledge of the rules and procedure based upon the **Halakhah*.

Under the Qadis Law, 1961, the judges of the Muslim Religious Courts, known as qadis, are appointed by the president of the state upon the recommendation of a Nominations Committee submitted to him by the minister for religious affairs. The Nominations Committee is composed of two qadis elected by the body of qadis for three years, two members of the government, namely, the minister for religious affairs and one other member chosen by the government, three members of the Knesset, including at least two Muslims, elected by the Knesset by secret ballot, and two advocates, including at least one Muslim, appointed by the Chamber of Advocates. Persons qualified to be appointed as qadis are Muslims who have had suitable training in Shariʿa Law, whose way of life and character befit the status of a qadi in the State of Israel and who are at least 30 years of age and are, or have been, married.

Under the Druze Religious Courts Law, 1962, judges of the Druze Religious Courts, known as qadis *madhhab*, are appointed by the president of the state upon the recommendation of a Nominations Committee submitted to him by the minister for religious affairs. The Nominations Committee is composed of the chairman of the Druze Religious Council constituted by rules made by the minister for religious affairs under the Religious Communities (Organization) Ordinance, the president of the Druze Religious Court of Appeal, or, if he serves also as the chairman of the Druze Religious Council, a qadi *madhhab* elected by the body of qadis *madhhab* for three years, another qadi *madhhab* similarly elected, the minister for religious affairs and the minister of justice, two Druze members of the Knesset (or other Druze, if there is only one Druze member of the Knesset or none) elected by the Knesset by secret ballot, and an advocate elected by the National Council of the Chamber of Advocates for three years. Persons qualified to be appointed as qadis *madhhab* are Druze who have had a suitable training in Druze religious law, whose way of life and character befit the status of a qadi *madhhab* in the State of Israel and who are at least 30 years of age and are, or have been, married. As from July 9, 1964, no person may be appointed as a judge, *dayyan*, qadi, or qadi *madhhab* of the courts to which the above laws apply, unless he is an Israel citizen. If the candidate for appointment has also another nationality and the laws of the state in which he is a national enable him to divest himself of such nationality, he will not be appointed until after he has done everything necessary on his part in order to divest himself thereof.

Every person appointed as a judge, *dayyan*, qadi, or qadi *madhhab* must, before assuming his office, make before the president of the state a declaration whereby he pledges himself to bear allegiance to the State of Israel, to dispense justice fairly, not to pervert the law and to show no favor, while every judge must also pledge himself to bear allegiance to the laws of the State of Israel. Every judge, qadi, and qadi *madhhab* in judicial matters is expressly declared by the law applicable to him to be subject to no authority other than that of the law, while under the Dayyanim Law, 1955, every *dayyan* in judicial matters is expressly to be subject to no authority other than that of the law according to which he judges. The reason for the difference in wording as regards the *dayyanim* is to make it clear that only the laws concerning the legal system of the *dayyanim*, including those laws which restrict the jurisdiction of the *dayyanim* and no other laws, bind the *dayyanim* in judicial matters.

An additional safeguard for the integrity of the judges is stated in section 10 of Basic Law: the Judicature, where the salaries and pensions of the judges are provided for. The Basic Law declares that no decision should be made to reduce only the salaries of judges.

Every judge, *dayyan*, qadi, and qadi *madhhab* will hold office from the day of his declaration of allegiance and his tenure will end only upon his death, resignation, retirement on pension, or removal from office by virtue of the law applicable to him. He may resign his office by submitting a letter of resignation to the appropriate minister, and his tenure of office will terminate upon the expiration of three months from the submission of the letter of resignation, unless the minister has consented to a shorter period. He may retire on pension if he has attained the age of 60 after having held office for 20 years, if he has attained the age of 65 after having held office for 15 years and if he so requests and his request is approved by the appropriate Nominations Committee. A magistrates court judge may retire on pension if he has attained the age of 50 after having held office for 20 years, or if he has attained the age of 55 after having held office for 15 years. Every judge must retire if the appropriate Nominations Committee, on the strength of a medical opinion, decides that, owing to his state of health, he is unable to continue in office, or on attaining the age of 70 years, unless he is a chief rabbi of Israel or a senior presiding *dayyan*, in which case he must retire on pension on attaining the age of 75 years.

Every judge, *dayyan*, qadi and qadi *madhhab* is subject to the jurisdiction of a Court of Discipline constituted under the law applicable to him. The Court of Discipline for judges consists of five members, including three judges of the Supreme Court, as the president of the Supreme Court may in respect of each case prescribe, and its members are appointed in respect of each case by the body of the judges of the Supreme Court. Similar provisions apply, *mutatis mutandis*, to *dayya-*

nim. The courts of discipline for qadis and qadis *madhhab* consist of three members: the president of the Shariʿa Court of Appeal or the Druze Religious Court of Appeal, as the case may be, or the qadi or qadi *madhhab*, as the case may be with the greatest length of service, an advocate appointed for each case by the National Council of the Chamber of Advocates, and one member appointed for each case by the minister of religious affairs. The minister of justice may submit a complaint against a judge, and the minister for religious affairs against a *dayyan*, a qadi or a qadi *madhhab*, to the competent Court of Discipline on one of the following grounds: (1) he has acted improperly in carrying out his functions; (2) he has behaved in a manner unbecoming his judicial status in the State of Israel; (3) he has been convicted of an offense which in the circumstances of the case involves moral turpitude; (4) the Nominations Committee has found that he obtained his appointment unlawfully.

The Court of Discipline must submit its findings, whether favorable or unfavorable, to the appropriate minister; if it finds that the person concerned is unworthy to continue in his functions, the minister must submit its findings to the president of the state, who must remove him from office. Criminal proceedings may not be brought against a judge, *dayyan*, qadi or qadi *madhhab* save by the attorney general before a District Court composed of three judges. The salaries and other payments to be made to a judge, *dayyan*, qadi and qadi *madhhab* during and after his period of tenure, including those to be made to his dependents after his death, are fixed by resolution of the Knesset or by the Finance Committee of the Knesset if so authorized by the Knesset.

THE BAR. The Chamber of Advocates Law, 1961 established a self-governing integrated bar, administered by institutions elected democratically by the body of advocates. This is the only profession enjoying autonomy: other professions are controlled by the government. Under that law a person may not practice the profession of an advocate in Israel unless he is a resident of Israel, is 23 years of age, has qualified as an advocate by passing the prescribed examinations and serving one year as a law apprentice, and has been accepted as a member of the chamber. Law apprenticeship may be served with a judge of the Supreme Court or a district court or with a magistrate of at least five-years' standing, a court martial judge who is a jurist of at least five years' standing, or a member of the Chamber of Advocates who is of five years' standing or holding a post in the Government Legal Service prescribed for that purpose by the minister of justice. At the end of the period he must undergo written examinations of the Chamber of Advocates in practical subjects and an oral examination conducted by examining committees composed of three members each, namely, a judge, as chairman, and two advocates, one of whom is a member of the Legal Service.

Advocates are subject to the jurisdiction of Disciplinary Tribunals composed solely of advocates as prescribed by the Chamber of Advocates Law, 1961. From a judgment of a Disciplinary Tribunal the accused advocate, the prosecuting chamber, and the attorney general, may appeal to the National Disciplinary Tribunal; there is an additional appeal to the Supreme Court. There are about 33,000 members of the Chamber of Advocates, not all of them necessarily in actual legal practice.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL. The attorney general occupies one of the most important senior positions in the administration of the country and is one of the pillars upon which the rule of law is upheld within the government framework. Based on the Mandatory model, the attorney general is a professional jurist. In 1997 the minister of justice appointed a public committee to examine the proper method for appointing the attorney general and subjects related to his post. The committee was headed by retired president of the Supreme Court Meir Shamgar, who, before being elevated to the Bench, occupied the post of attorney general. With him were three former ministers of justice and a renowned law professor. The report, submitted in 1998, describes the duties of the attorney general as follows:

(1) He is the head of the public prosecution. In this capacity he is responsible for applying the penal law in the State, including appearance in the law courts, either in person or through his representatives.

(2) He represents the State in non-criminal litigation, namely in civil suits as well as administrative, fiscal, and labor relations litigation and in any other representation in non-criminal matters.

(3) He gives legal advice to the government and other public officials.

(4) He gives legal advice and assistance to the government in general and to the minister of justice in particular in preparing legislation to be submitted to the Knesset and oversees its proper integration in the law of the land. Likewise he examines private-member bills submitted to the Knesset.

(5) He represents the public interest and upholds the law in a variety of additional subjects specified in provisions of the law.

The attorney general is appointed by the government for a single term of six years.

THE STATE COMPTROLLER. The office of the state comptroller was established by law in 1949. In 1988 Basic Law: the State Comptroller was enacted. Section 2(a) charges the comptroller with the duty to "carry out inspection of the assets, finances, undertakings, and administration of the state, of government offices, of every enterprise, institution or public corporation of the state, of local authorities, of bodies or other institutions subject to inspection by this Law." The office of state comptroller is the most effective instrument for review of public administration.

The state comptroller is elected by the Knesset for a tenure of seven years, which may not be renewed, and is empowered to request all information from the public body being audited. The comptroller's reports are presented to the Knesset, where they are discussed by its Public Audit Committee. The comptroller thus serves as the long arm of the Knesset for the efficient review of the administration and as a main source of information necessary for the Knesset's control over government activities.

The state comptroller also serves as the public complaints commissioner (Ombudsman), and decides authoritatively on thousands of complaints from citizens against state and government agencies, government corporations, and local authorities. In addition, the state comptroller inspects the finances of the political parties and their campaign accounts. The publication of the yearly comptroller reports is covered extensively by the media. The state comptroller enjoys enormous public prestige. (See also Israel, State of: Political Life and Parties.)

[Henry Eli Baker / Shlomo Guberman (2nd ed.)]

POLICE. The establishment of the Israel Police preceded that of the State itself. At the end of 1947, after the United Nations partition decision, the Mandatory police began to break up. Non-Jewish constables were withdrawn from the coastal area; only about 700 Jewish policemen and a little inferior equipment were left. The most serious problem was the shortage of men to fill command and technical posts, most of which had been held by British officers. Second in urgency was the need to change the character of the Police, which, especially in the few preceding years, had been more military than constabulary, into the kind of force normal in a democracy, dedicated only to ensure the rule of law and the public welfare. At the end of 1948, the Police had a strength of 1,882.

Three stages of development may be distinguished. The first was organization and recruitment. This was not easy, for the army demanded first choice of men and material. Nevertheless, within two years 3,497 men had joined, and equipment was assembled from whatever source, regardless of uniformity. In organization and methods, new forms had to be found to fit new needs. Mass *aliyah*, unemployment, and a flood of new legislation naturally enlarged the scope of police work. Relations between the people and the Police were not good, partly because of the aftereffects of the Holocaust and of two wars, and the suspicions of newcomers from eastern European and Arab lands where the policeman was suspect and disliked. Policemen often found themselves confronted by angry demonstrators in front of Government or public offices; the men were pressed into service day and night, with inadequate compensation. The growing manpower, with a large turnover, was also troublesome. In the second stage, fall-out was heavy, but these were years of natural selection, which strengthened those who stayed on, contributed to their professional specialization and built up a cadre of experts and officers. By the second half of the 1950s long-range planning was feasible and different techniques could be tried out in organization and command, in criminal investigation and traffic control. Some of these were borrowed, but most were the fruit of the force's own ideas and experience. This was a period of ever-increasing traffic and accidents, security problems complicated by border infiltration, and more crime. In the third stage administration and organization were stabilized and efficiency was steadily increased.

A task unknown to most other police forces is the guarding of the cease-fire lines against infiltration and attack from the neighboring countries. This was done by the Frontier Guard, in cooperation with the army. After the Six-Day War, the Israel Police was also responsible for law and order in the areas administered under the cease-fire agreements. Local Arab policemen, 90% of whom served under Jordanian and Egyptian rule, were recruited and retrained for the purpose. Increasing terrorist attacks led the government to give the police responsibility for internal security in 1974. This involved the creation of a Civil Guard joined by tens of thousands of citizens to patrol neighborhoods as well as the creation of an Anti-Terrorist Unit and Bomb Disposal Division. Beginning in the late 1970s, rising crime also led to the creation of such units as the National Serious Crimes Investigation Unit, the National Fraud Unit, the Internal Investigations Unit, the Headquarters Staff Work Unit, Tel Aviv District's Central (Serious Crimes) Unit, etc.

The police faced many challenges and crises in the course of its history. Over 50 were killed in 1982 and 1983 bombings in Tyre during the Lebanese War. The two Intifadas severely taxed its resources and during rioting in the North of Israel in October 2000, 13 Israeli Arab citizens were killed and hundreds wounded in a police action that drew heavy criticism. In August 2005 the police joined the army in the evacuation of the *Gush Katif settlements, an operation which won it much praise for the restraint and patience shown in dealing with the angry settlers.

The Israel Police is controlled by national headquarters in Jerusalem and commanded by the Inspector General. In 2005 the strength of the force was around 25,000 in six districts, 10 subdistricts, and 80 police stations.

WEBSITE: www.police.gov.il.

POLITICAL LIFE AND PARTIES

Introduction

It was largely due to the existence of the pre-state political parties, which had conducted intensive political activities for almost half a century within the framework of the **yishuv*, under the British Mandate for Palestine, that upon gaining its independence in May 1948 the State of Israel was able to embark immediately on the establishment of an orderly and democratic parliamentary system. After the first *Knesset elections in January 1949, before the *War of Independence was formally over, the main concern of the parties was to gain governmental and municipal power, though most of them also continued their activities on the world Zionist scene, and for a certain period maintained independent social and economic services. The *Histadrut, which remained an important power center until the mid-1990s, was another forum in which many of the political parties, but especially the labor parties, vied for control.

Since its establishment Israel has always had coalition governments, which except for one brief period in the early 1990s, always included at least four coalition partners. The main reason for this phenomenon is Israel's electoral system, which has led to a multiplicity of parties entering the Knesset, and none ever winning a majority of the Knesset seats, which is a prerequisite for forming a government in a parliamentary system (see *Governance).

The political history of the State of Israel may be divided into two periods. The first lasted from the establishment of the state until the political "upheaval" of 1977, in which *Mapai (until 1968) and the *Israel Labor Party thereafter were predominant and headed all the coalition governments formed. The second began in 1977, when the *Likud gained power for the first time and remained the predominant political party for the majority of the time, except for the years 1984–88 when the political bloc which it led was equal in size to that led by the Labor Party, and the years 1992–96 and 1999–2001 when the Labor Party managed to establish coalition governments, which excluded the Likud.

It should be pointed out that since its establishment, all of Israel's presidents but one (Chaim *Weizmann), all of Israel's prime ministers, and all but two of the speakers of the Knesset (Nahum Nir for part of the Third Knesset, and Avraham *Burg in the Fifteenth Knesset) have been members of the ruling party at the time.

In the early period Israel had a strong central government, with a relatively small number of ministers, a large public economic sector (either state- or Histadrut-run), and a relatively egalitarian society, in which the Histadrut and the kibbutzim were viewed – in Israel and abroad – as symbols of communalism. Despite the famous religious "status quo," Israel was predominantly secular, and despite the heterogeneous make-up of its population, relatively homogenous in its social values and culture. In this period occurred all but one of the major wars in which Israel participated, and only at its end did some minor steps in the direction of peace materialize.

In the second period, the government weakened, to a point that in 1992 a attempt was made to change the system of government in order to strengthen the prime minister and his government (see below), state control over many spheres of life gradually decreased, Israel moved from a predominantly social democratic to a predominantly neoliberal economy, and by the beginning of the 21st century ranked high among the Western democracies in terms of economic and social polarization within its society and emphasis on individualism. In this period the Histadrut greatly weakened, as did the kibbutzim, and it was now the settlements beyond the Green Line that gained predominance as symbols of the new Israel. The heterogeneity of Israeli society became much more visible, and the role of religion grew. In the second period Israel fought only one major war (the *Lebanese War), though it faced two major Palestinian uprisings. A significant peace process began with the peace treaty that was signed with Egypt in 1979, which was followed by the Oslo process, peace with Jordan (1994), and the establishment of formal relations with several additional Arab states.

The political map of Israel changed significantly during the first 56 years of its existence, even though there are still several parties today – the Likud, the Labor Party, the *National Religious Party, *Agudat Israel, and Ḥadash – whose origins can be traced to the pre-state period. In general one may speak of a movement from left-wing to right-wing predominance, even though on many (though not all) issues the differences between the political right and left have become blurred. Whereas until the *Six-Day War of June 1967 Israel's main concern was its physical survival, since then it has been the borders and nature of the state.

Since its establishment, the population of the State of Israel has grown more or less sixfold, mostly through immigration, and parties based on "ethnic" origin have existed, but they have usually been relatively insignificant. Over the years the religious representation in the Knesset has grown, but the greatest changes have been in the strengthening of *Ḥaredi* religious parties at the expense of "Zionist" religious parties and the growing role played by the religious parties – until the Sixteenth Knesset – as "balancers" in the political game.

As to the Arab representation in the Knesset, this has changed both in size, quality, and nature, but except for one Arab deputy minister in the course of the Thirteenth Knesset, Arabs have not been admitted to the government, and their percentage in other power centers, the judicial system and the civil service has remained much below their percentage in the population. Whereas in the first Knesset Arab representation was through the Israel Communist Party and traditional family (*hamulah*)-based parties supported by Mapai and later the Alignment (see below), by the end of the 20th century the Arab representation in the Knesset was more nationalistic, radical, and independent.

[Susan Hattis Rolef (2nd ed.)]

Early Parties, 1900–1918

The first parties in the new *yishuv* were founded in the first decade of the 20th century by newcomers belonging to the Second Aliyah. *Ha-Po'el ha-Ẓa'ir ("the Young Worker," as distinct from the "old workers" of the First Aliyah, most of whom had become overseers or private farmers), led by Yosef *Aharonovitz, Yosef *Vitkin, and Yosef *Sprinzak, was founded in 1905. *Po'alei Zion, a Socialist Zionist party which originated in Russia, Austria, and other countries, was established in the Land of Israel in 1906. Among its leaders were Izhak *Ben-Zvi, David *Ben-Gurion, and Yiẓḥak *Tabenkin. Its aim was "to create a Jewish society based on socialist foundations in the Land of Israel," and the method it envisaged was "an unremitting class struggle." Ha-Po'el ha-Ẓa'ir rejected the class struggle on the ground that the Jewish society and economy in Palestine were still in the precapitalist stage. "Our interest – to create a Jewish center in the Land of Israel – and the class struggle are a contradiction in terms," wrote Aharonovitz. The first article in the Ha-Po'el ha-Ẓa'ir program called for "the conquest of all branches of work" (Hebrew *kibbush avodah*, meaning that Jewish workers should do even menial work themselves, not leaving manual effort to non-Jews). A group of nonparty workers, notably Berl *Katzenelson and David *Remez, opposed the division into two parties and called for labor unity.

The parties engaged in practical work as well as theoretical discussion. New arrivals in Jaffa often found that they had to choose between two hotels, one for each party. But there was little difference in their day-to-day lives and their practical approach to problems. Both groups tried to remove the obstacles to Jewish immigration, win rights of employment for Jewish workers in the Jewish farms and orange groves, and improve working conditions.

At its first conference in Jaffa, at the beginning of 1907, Po'alei Zion proclaimed its aspiration for "political independence for the Jewish people in this country," and decided to send an independent faction of delegates to the Zionist Congress. It was associated almost from the first with the Po'alei Zion world movement, whereas Ha-Po'el ha-Ẓa'ir established ties with the *Ẓe'irei Zion movement in the Diaspora only in 1913.

In 1908 a controversy broke out in Ha-Po'el ha-Ẓa'ir on the question of how to encourage the workers to remain on the land. At a special conference Vitkin called for the establishment of workers' smallholdings near the moshavot to enable them to become independent cultivators instead of mere agricultural laborers. The "conquest of labor," he declared, must be accompanied by the "conquest of the soil." He was opposed by Aharonovitz, who believed that the only way to increase the Jewish population was to create an agricultural proletariat, working as wage earners on private farms, and leave the "conquest of the soil" to the Zionist Organization. The issue was ultimately decided by the exigencies of life: members of Ha-Po'el ha-Ẓa'ir were among the founders of *Deganyah, the first kevuẓah, and *Nahalal, the first moshav, while Po'alei Zion, despite its class-war doctrine, devoted most of its energies to constructive activities, including the establishment of labor exchanges, cooperative groups, and mutual aid institutions.

A bureau of the religious *Mizrachi Party, which had been a part of the World Zionist Organization since 1902, was set up in the Land of Israel in 1912, but did not become active until after the end of World War I. Its labor wing, *Ha-Po'el ha-Mizrachi, was founded in 1922. The basic principle of the movement was: "The Land of Israel for the People of Israel in accordance with the Torah of Israel." The non-Zionist Orthodox *Agudat Israel, which opposed the secular organization of the *yishuv*, was also established in the Land of Israel in 1912, simultaneously with the founding of its parent world organization.

Steps Toward Labor Unity

Toward the end of World War I, the nonparty labor group led by Berl Katzenelson appealed for an end to the rivalry between the two workers' parties, so that labor could exert its full influence in the development of the *yishuv*. It called for the establishment of an all-inclusive labor organization which would be a trade union as well as a political party, establishing settlements and cooperatives, helping new immigrants, and providing social services for its members. At a unity conference in February 1919, Po'alei Zion and the nonparty group, with the support of a majority of the Agricultural Workers' Federation, formed *Aḥdut ha-Avodah ("Unity of Labor"). Ha-Po'el ha-Ẓa'ir refused to join, mainly because the new organization described itself as "a branch of the socialist labor movement in the world." To an attack on these grounds by A.D. *Gordon, Joseph Ḥayyim *Brenner replied that although the critics rejected socialism, they followed its principles in daily life. Ha-Po'el ha-Ẓa'ir also believed in building up small, closely knit communes, while Aḥdut ha-Avodah aimed at developing a mass movement.

To diminish the growing rivalry between them, Joseph *Trumpeldor, a leading figure of the Second Aliyah, proposed the establishment of a neutral, independent trade union federation to which both would be affiliated. His initiative bore fruit after his tragic death, when the organization he envisaged, the Histadrut, was established at a labor movement conference in Haifa in December 1920. The 4,433 registered members elected 38 delegates from Aḥdut ha-Avodah, 27 from Ha-Po'el ha-Ẓa'ir, 16 from the New Immigrants list representing *He-Ḥalutz, *Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir, and others, and six from the extreme leftist Mifleget Po'alim Soẓialistim ("Socialist Workers' Party"), nicknamed "Mopsim," which had split off from Po'alei Zion when Aḥdut ha-Avodah was formed.

Immediately after the end of World War I, preparations were made for the establishment of an autonomous, democratically elected body to organize the *yishuv* and represent it in dealings with the authorities. A provisional committee held three sessions in 1918 and 1919, the first representing only Tel Aviv and its surroundings, the second Jerusalem as well, and the third consisting of delegates from all parts of the country. On April 19, 1920, elections were held to an Asefat Ha-Nivḥarim (Elected Assembly). In addition to the workers' parties and Mizrachi, a variety of communal, religious, vocational, and local groups sought representation and nineteen lists of candidates were submitted. Each list received one delegate for every 80 votes polled; 77% of the electors voted and 314 delegates were elected. Aḥdut ha-Avodah, with 70 delegates, was the largest group; next came the Sephardi Union with 54, Ha-Po'el ha-Ẓa'ir with 41, the Farmers' Union with 16, the Progressive Party (Mitkaddemim) with 13, the Yemenites with 12, two Mizrachi lists with a total of 11, and 11 other groups with a total of 46 places. An additional 51 delegates were chosen at separate polls by Orthodox men, who refused to participate in elections in which women had the franchise.

At the Assembly's first session, in October 1920, the 20 factions combined into three wings: right, consisting of the Oriental Jews and the religious groups; left, composed of the two labor parties; and center, consisting of the other groups.

The Assembly elected a Va'ad Le'ummi (National Council) of 36, comprising Aḥdut ha-Avodah 8, Sephardim 6, Ha-Po'el ha-Ẓa'ir 5, Orthodox 5, Progressives 3, Farmers 2, Yemenites 2, Mizrachi and Clerks 1 each. Meir *Dizengoff, Vladimir *Jabotinsky, Haim Margolis-Kalvaryski, and David *Yellin were elected on a personal basis. The Va'ad Le'ummi was headed by a presidium of three, assisted by an executive council whose membership varied from 7 to 14.

The second session of the first Assembly, which was scheduled for May 1921, did not take place until the following March, because of the May riots and their aftermath, the categorical refusal of the Orthodox delegates to participate as long as women were allowed to vote, and the Sephardim's and Farmers' objections to the proposed self-taxation system. Further negotiations with these groups, as well as fruitless attempts to obtain official recognition by the Mandatory government, held up the convening of the third session until June 1925. Despite prolonged efforts to solve the problem of women's suffrage, the Orthodox and Mizrachi delegates did not attend the second and third sessions, and it was not until the eve of the next elections that the Mizrachi agreed to participate, with the Orthodox maintaining their boycott.

At the elections to the second Assembly, held on December 6, 1925, the Palestine branch of the Revisionist Organization, led by Jabotinsky, made its first appearance in the politics of the *yishuv*, gaining 15 seats out of 201. The labor parties increased their relative strength, while the middle class and the religious Jews became even more fragmented than before. Aḥdut ha-Avodah had 54 seats, Ha-Po'el ha-Ẓa'ir 30, Sephardim and Oriental groups 19, five Mizrachi lists together 19, the Women's Equal Rights Association 13, and the Agricultural Bloc 9. A "working-class" list, with 6 seats, reflected the influence of the Palestine Communist Party (PKP), which had been formed illegally in 1921 by members of the "Mopsim" and other groups. The Yemenites, alleging discrimination, boycotted the elections, but were later permitted to elect 20 additional delegates of their own. The second Assembly elected a Va'ad Le'ummi of 38: 18 representing the United Bloc (Mizrachi, Sephardim, Yemenites, Farmers, and others), 9 for Aḥdut ha-Avodah, 5 for Ha-Po'el ha-Ẓa'ir, and 2 each for Women, Revisionists, and the Democratic group.

Strengthening of the Political Parties

The high commissioner's ratification of the regulations for Keneset Yisrael, officially recognizing its representative bodies, the Asefat ha-Nivḥarim and the Va'ad Le'ummi, was announced on Jan. 1, 1928, but it took more than two years to draft the election rules and to prepare a register of all the members of the Jewish community as prescribed by the regulations. The total number of Assembly members was fixed at 71, with the electors divided into three colleges, or curiae: Ashkenazim, with 53 delegates, Sephardim 15, and Yemenites 3. Each elector was allowed to vote only in his own college.

In 1930 Aḥdut ha-Avodah and Ha-Po'el ha-Ẓa'ir merged to form Mapai (Mifleget Po'alei Ereẓ Israel – "Palestine Labor Party"), which immediately became the strongest political force in the *yishuv*. The Left Po'alei Zion and Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir remained outside the merger.

At the elections to the third Assembly, on Jan. 5, 1931, Mapai, with 27 delegates, together with 4 Sephardi Labor, was by far the strongest party. The Revisionists, with 16, including 5 Sephardim, also increased their strength considerably, followed by the Sephardim (general) with 6, Mizrachi and Ha-Po'el ha-Mizrachi 5, and General Zionists 4. The Farmers refused to participate in the elections when their demand for three guaranteed seats was refused and the Communists did not win a place. In the 23-member Va'ad Le'ummi, Mapai had 11 members, Sephardim 4, Mizrachi 3, General Zionists 3, Women 1, and Yemenites 1. The Revisionists refused to join the Va'ad Le'ummi because of dissatisfaction with the Assembly's political decisions, but were given 5 seats in the following year, leaving Mapai with 10 seats and the three other main parties with 2 each.

The third Assembly lasted for over 13 years, as elections were repeatedly postponed because of recurrent Arab violence, continuous political tension, and then the outbreak of World War II. With the growth of the *yishuv*, the parties in Palestine, especially Mapai, became the dominant influence in the Jewish Agency. Chaim *Arlosoroff, named head of the Jewish Agency political department in 1931, was succeeded, after his assassination in 1933, by Moshe Shertok (*Sharett). David Ben-Gurion became chairman of the executive in 1935.

While the Jewish Agency was responsible for major political affairs, politics played a prominent role in most of the Assembly's 18 sessions. Jewish Agency representatives reported regularly to the Assembly and the Va'ad Le'ummi, political resolutions were generally drafted in close cooperation between the two bodies, and representations to the British authorities were often submitted jointly. Other issues were defense against Arab violence; the utilization of national funds; the allocation of immigration certificates; education; trade union policy and the right to strike; the role of the Histadrut in the establishment of new settlements and economic enterprises; and the activities of local authorities and local councils.

Most political parties not only worked in the Va'ad Le'ummi, the Jewish Agency, the local authorities, and the Histadrut but also established agricultural settlements, schools, housing projects, industries, transport, and service cooperatives, and other constructive enterprises, either independently or through affiliated economic bodies. Almost all the parties organized their own youth movements. Conflicting party influences were also apparent in the ranks of the Haganah.

The most outspoken opposition to the official policies of the Jewish Agency and the *yishuv* came from the Revisionists, who called on the Zionist movement to proclaim the establishment of a Jewish state on both banks of the Jordan as the ultimate aim of Zionism. They accused Chaim Weizmann and his labor supporters of compromising with the British government, alleged that the Executive discriminated against middle-class immigrants and businessmen, opposed the "trend" system in education (see Israel, State of: Education, 1918–1948), and demanded compulsory arbitration in labor disputes. Tension mounted after the murder of Arlosoroff in 1933, when two Revisionists were accused of the crime. An agreement reached in the following year by Ben-Gurion and Jabotinsky on a modus vivendi in labor relations was rejected, after a referendum, by the members of the Histadrut. Controversy grew still more heated after the majority of Revisionists left the World Zionist Organization in 1935, and a minority, refusing to leave, founded the *Jewish State Party.

Revisionist criticism of Labor's economic and social policies was, on the whole, supported by the right wing of the General Zionists. In 1935 the General Zionists split into the Federation (Hitaḥadut) and the Union (Berit) of General Zionists, known respectively as the A and B Factions. The A group, with Weizmann as its leader, cooperated with Labor. So did Mizrachi and Ha-Po'el ha-Mizrachi, though they frequently opposed Mapai on religious and educational issues. On the left, Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir, which gradually became more active as a political party, demanded joint organization of Jewish and Arab workers and greater efforts to reach an agreement with the Arabs, while also endorsing the principle of immigration to the full economic absorptive capacity of the country. Despite party differences, there was a large measure of common ground on such practical issues as immigration, settlement on the land, defense, and opposition to the restrictive policies of the Mandatory government. An exception was the anti-Zionist Palestine Communist Party, which made largely unsuccessful efforts to recruit Arab members and in 1936–39 openly supported the Arab revolt and Arab terrorism against the Jews. In 1939 it split up into separate Jewish and Arab groups.

The 1937 Peel Commission's proposal for the *partition of Palestine into two states, Jewish and Arab, and a British zone, aroused controversy that largely cut across party lines, particularly in Mapai and in both factions of the General Zionists. While the majority in these parties was prepared, in principle, to consider partition, Berl Katzenelson of Mapai and Menaḥem *Ussishkin of the General Zionists B were categorically opposed. The Revisionists were against partition on political grounds and the Mizrachi on religious grounds, while Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir advocated the establishment of Palestine as a binational state. The latter joined forces on the issue of Arab-Jewish relations with a small nonparty group, founded as *Berit Shalom ("Peace Alliance") in 1925 and later called Kedmah Mizraḥah (from 1936), the League for Jewish-Arab Understanding (from 1939), and Iḥud (from 1942). Among its leaders were *Rabbi Binyamin (Radler-Feldman), Haim Margolis-Kalvaryski, Judah L. *Magnes, and Martin *Buber. Bitter, occasionally violent, controversy arose over defense policy during the Arab riots of 1936–39. The Revisionists rejected the Haganah's policy of *havlagah* ("restraint"); their members were the backbone of the *Irgun Ẓeva'i Le'ummi, which carried out reprisals against the Arabs and engaged in guerrilla activity against the British forces.

During World War II, after the abandonment of partition by the British and the adoption of the White Paper Policy, opinion in the Zionist movement crystallized around the *Biltmore Program. This plan, calling for the establishment of Palestine as "a Jewish Commonwealth integrated in the structure of the new democratic world," was approved by the Inner Zionist General Council on Nov. 10, 1942, by 21 votes to 4, with 3 abstentions. The program was supported by Mapai, the General Zionists, and Mizrachi, and opposed by Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir, which called for political parity of Jews and Arabs, and by the Left Po'alei Zion. The abstentions came from representatives of Si'ah Bet (the "B Faction" of Mapai), who insisted on a demand for Jewish rights in the whole of Palestine.

A new party, Aliyah Ḥadashah, mainly representing recent immigrants from Germany and Central Europe, founded in 1942, favored a continuation of the British Mandate and a further attempt to reach an agreement with the Arabs (see *Independent Liberal Party). The struggle conducted within Mapai by Si'ah Bet for the right to fight for its independent left-wing views on social policy came to a head at the Mapai

Representation of Parties in the Elected Assemblies, Palestine.

	First	Second	Third	Fourth
Date of elections	**April 19, 1920**	**Dec. 6, 1925**	**Jan. 5, 1931**	**Aug. 1, 1944**
Number of electors	28,765	64,764	89,656	300,018
Percentage of votes cast	77%	57%	56%	67%
Number of lists represented	20	25	14	18
Composition of Delegates:				
Aḥdut ha-Avodah	70	54	—	63[6]
Ha-Po'el ha-Ẓa'ir	41	30	27[6]	63
Other labor groups	—	6	7[7]	40[9]
Sephardim	54	19	6	—
Other Oriental communities	18	21[3]	3	6
Orthodox	51[1]	—	—	—
Mizrachi groups	11	19[4]	5	24
Other religious groups	2	—	—	3
Revisionists	—	15	16[8]	—
Farmers	16	9	—	—
Women's groups	5	14	3	4
General Zionists	—	—	4	7
Other Groups	46[2]	34[5]	—	24[10]
Total	314	221	71	171

[1] Elected at separate polls

[2] Eight lists.

[3] Including 20 Yemenites elected at separate polls.

[4] Five lists.

[5] Eleven lists.

[6] Mapai.

[7] Including four Sephardi Labor.

[8] Including five Sephardi Revisionists.

[9] Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir – 21; Le-Aḥdut ha-Avodah – 16; Popular Democrats (Communists) – 3.

[10] Including 18 Aliyah.

conference at Kefar Vitkin in October 1942, with a majority decision to prohibit factions within the party. In May 1944 Si'ah Bet formed a new party, Ha-Tenu'ah le-Aḥdut ha-Avodah (see *Aḥdut ha-Avodah, second entry), which amalgamated with Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir and the Left Po'alei Zion in January 1948 to form *Mapam (Mifleget ha-Po'alim ha-Me'uḥedet, "United Workers' Party").

The fourth Asefat ha-Nivḥarim was elected on August 1, 1944. The Revisionists, General Zionists B, and Sephardim boycotted the elections because their demands for changes in the electoral system were refused, while Agudat Israel maintained its ban. However, 67% of the vastly increased electorate of 300,000 went to the polls (see Table: Parties of Elected Assemblies).

Labor continued to dominate the Va'ad Le'ummi: of 42 members, 15 were from Mapai, and eight from the other two left-wing parties, while Izhak Ben-Zvi and David Remez were elected president and chairman respectively. During the subsequent period, major political and defense issues overshadowed all others. Interparty conflict was reflected in the dissensions between the Haganah, which was controlled by the Jewish Agency, and the largely Revisionist Irgun Ẓeva'i Le'ummi. Left-wing predominance in the *Palmaḥ, which was part of the Haganah, also gave rise to occasional disagreements.

When the Palestine problem was submitted to the United Nations (1947), however, the majority of the *yishuv* and the Zionist movement was united in support of the demand for the establishment of a Jewish state, even in part of the country, though the Revisionists pressed for their maximalist program and Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir continued to advocate a binational state. After the UN Special Committee on Palestine (UNSCOP) issued its report recommending the establishment in Palestine of both a Jewish and an Arab state, almost all parties (including the Communists after the U.S.S.R. had expressed its support for partition) collaborated in the effort to carry out the transition to independence.

[Misha Louvish]

Transition to Statehood and to First Elections

On April 12, 1948, the Zionist General Council laid the foundations for the self-governing institutions of the Jewish state by appointing a provisional legislature, called Mo'eẓet ha-Am (People's Council), and an executive called Minhelet ha-Am (People's Administration). Seats were allocated on the basis of the existing relative power of the parties. The 37 members of the People's Council consisted of the 14 members of the Executive of the Va'ad Le'ummi (National Committee), the 11 members of the Jewish Agency Executive from the **yishuv*, and 12 delegates from parties not represented on either. Its party makeup was 10 from Mapai, six General Zionists, five from *Ha-Po'el ha-Mizrachi and *Ha-Mizrachi, five from *Mapam, three from *Agudat Israel, three Revisionists, and one each representing the Communists, *WIZO (Women's International Zionist Organization), *Aliyah Ḥadashah, the Sephardim, and the Yemenites. Chaim *Weizmann was the president of the Council and its 38th member. For the first time, Agudat Israel and the Communists were represented on the governing bodies of the Yishuv.

On May 14, the People's Council and the People's Administration became respectively the Provisional Council of State and the Provisional Government of the independent State of Israel. The Revisionists and Communists were in opposition.

The Provisional Government set the basic pattern for Israel's future coalition system. Until the eve of the *Six-Day War in June 1967 all political parties from the General Zionists in the Center to Mapam on the Left were welcome to join the coalition. The *Ḥerut Movement, established by Menaḥem *Begin in June 1948 as the successor to the Revisionist Party, and the Communists, were excluded. Towards the elections to the Constituent Assembly, which were to be held in February 1949, a few of the veteran leaders of the Revisionist Party decided not to join the Ḥerut Movement and to submit their own list.

The General Zionists split in August 1948. One group retained the original name while the other, together with Aliyah Ḥadashah and *Ha-Oved ha-Ẓiyyoni, formed the new Progressive Party.

During the War of Independence of 1948–9, internal political problems remained more or less in the background, though the Ḥerut movement denounced Ben-Gurion's measures against the IẒL (*Irgun Ẓeva'i Le'ummi), especially in connection with the *Altalena* affair, measures that were also criticized by the General Zionists and Mizrachi, while Mapam was disturbed by the disbandment of the *Palmaḥ high command.

The First Knesset, 1949–1951

The elections to the Constituent Assembly, which soon was renamed "the First Knesset," were held on January 25, 1949, and the first meeting of the Assembly was held 20 days later, on February 14, 1949.

Table 1. Results of the elections to the Constituent Assembly

Electorate:	506,684
Valid votes cast	434,684
Qualifying threshold (1%)	4,346
Votes per seat	3,592

The first elections were held for a Constituent Assembly that was to act as a parliament but also to prepare a constitution for the state. The Constituent Assembly held its first meeting in Jerusalem on February 14, 1949 – *Tu bi-Shevat* – and two days later changed its name to the First Knesset.

The First Knesset elected Joseph *Sprinzak as its speaker, and Dr. Chaim *Weizmann as the first president of the state.

For several months the Knesset held its meetings in Tel Aviv. This was due both to the security situation and the fact that the status of Jerusalem as the capital of the State of Israel had not yet been finalized. The Knesset formally moved to Jerusalem in the middle of December 1949, and in March

Table 2. Results of the elections to the Constituent Assembly by party

Name of list	Number of valid votes	% of total votes	Number of seats	1st Govt.	2d Govt.
Mapai	155,274	35.7	46	X	X
Mapam	64,018	14.7	19		
United Religious Front*	52, 982	12.2	16	X	X
Ḥerut Movement	49,782	11.5	14		
General Zionists	22,661	5.2	7		
Progressive Party	17,786	4.1	5	X	X
Sephardim ve-Edot Mizraḥ	15,387	3.5	4	X	X
Maki (Communists)	15,148	3.5	4		
Minority List associated with Mapai	7,387	1.7	2	X	X **
Fighters List	5,363	1.2	1		
WIZO	5,173	1.2	1		
Yemenite Association	4,399	1.0	1		

* A list combing all four religious parties: Ha-Mizrachi, Ha-Po'el ha-Mizrachi, Agudat Israel, Po'alei Agudat Israel.

** Members of the coalition, but not the government.

1950 settled in the Arazi-Frumin building on King George Street in Jerusalem, where it was to remain until August 29, 1966.

Soon after the elections, President Weizmann called upon the leader of Mapai, David Ben-Gurion, who had headed the provisional government, to form the first government of the State of Israel. Ben-Gurion was chosen by the president both because Mapai was the largest parliamentary group in the Knesset and because no other group was able to form a coalition commanding a majority in the Knesset, as was to remain the case until after the elections to the Ninth Knesset in 1977.

It took Ben-Gurion one and a half months to put together his first government. From the start he excluded the Herut Movement and the Communists as potential coalition members, for ideological reasons. Though the two labor parties – Mapai and Mapam – together held 65 seats in the Knesset, Ben-Gurion, taking a more statist (*mamlakhti*) approach, preferred to set up a coalition with the United Religious Front, the Progressive Party, the Sephardim, and the Arab lists associated with Mapai (though the latter did not receive seats in the government itself).

In addition to urgent security matters, the new government's attention was focused on the very difficult economic situation and on immigration absorption. The Knesset, on the other hand, had its hands full with adapting some of the Mandatory legislation to the needs of the independent Jewish state while passing new laws at an average rate of 7.5 bills per month. In addition to the laws concerned with the country's system of government and legal system, one of the important laws to be passed was the first version of the *Law of Return, passed in July 1950, which recognized the right of every Jew to settle in Israel.

Table 3. Members of the First Government (formed on March 10, 1949)

Ministerial Position	Name (party)
Prime Minister and Minister of Defense	David Ben-Gurion (Mapai)
Agriculture (from 1.6.50) and Supply & Rationing	Dov Yosef (Mapai)
Education & Culture	Shneur Zalman Shazar (Mapai)
Finance and Trade & Industry	Eliezer Kaplan (Mapai)
Foreign Affairs	Moshe Sharett (Mapai)
Health, Immigration and Interior	Ḥayyim Moshe Shapira (URF)
Justice	Pinḥas Rosen (Progressive)
Labor & Social Security	Golda Meir (Mapai)
Police	Beḥor Shalom Shitrit (Sephardi)
Religions and War Victims	Yehudah Leib Maimon (URF)
Transportation	David Remez (Mapai)
Welfare	Yiẓḥak Meir Levin (URF)

Though the Proclamation of Independence had assigned to the Constituent Assembly the task of passing a constitution, it soon became apparent that this was an impossible mission, due to differences of opinion with the religious parties regarding the nature of such a document. In June 1950 the Harari resolution was passed, which stipulated that the Knesset would concentrate instead on the passing of Basic Laws, each of which would deal with a specific issue regarding the democratic system of government. Once work on the Basic Laws was completed, they would be combined into a constitution. It should be noted that even by the Sixteenth Knesset, work on the Basic Laws had not yet been completed, largely due to religious opposition to basic laws dealing with human rights as envisioned by the secular society, and a Basic Law on legislation that would declare the constitutional legislation to be supreme.

The economy, as run by the Mapai-led government, was highly centralized, with most agriculture in the hands of the collective kibbutzim and the cooperative moshavim. The Histadrut was not only a very powerful trade union association but controlled a large section of the country's industry, financial institutions, retail outlets, and health services. Though there was a growing sector of private industry, much of the industry in the country was state- or Histadrut-owned and run. The General Zionists and Ḥerut Movement both urged greater freedom for private enterprise, and denounced the austerity policy – the *Ẓena* – associated with Minister of Supply and Rationing Dov *Yosef. From the left Mapam criticized Mapai's policy of wage restraint and actively supported demonstrations by the unemployed.

There were also difficulties within the coalition. The Compulsory Education Law of September 1949 confirmed the division of the educational system into four streams: general, labor, national religious, and *ḥaredi*. A crisis soon developed since the religious bloc was dissatisfied with the fact that the children of religious immigrants in the transit camps (**ma'barot*) were receiving a nonreligious education.

It was against this background that Ben-Gurion submitted his first resignation in October. In the new government formed on November 1, the Ministry of Supply and Rationing no longer existed, its functions being taken over by the Ministry of Agriculture and the Ministry of Commerce and Industry – the latter in the hands of Ya'akov Geri, who was not a Knesset member. While the party make-up of the new government remained the same, the ministers on behalf of Mapai were shuffled.

Table 4. Members of the Second Government (formed November 1, 1950)

Ministerial Position	Name (party)
Prime Minister and Minister of Defense	David Ben-Gurion (Mapai)
Agriculture	Pinḥas Lavon (Mapai)
Education & Culture	David Remez (Mapai) (d. 5.19.51)
Finance	Eliezer Kaplan (Mapai)
Foreign Affairs	Moshe Sharett (Mapai)
Health, Immigration and Interior	Ḥayyim Moshe Shapira (URF)
Justice	Pinḥas Rosen (Progressive)
Labor & National Security	Golda Meir (Mapai)
Police	Beḥor Shalom Shitrit (Sephardim)
Religions and War Victims	Yehudah Leib Maimon (URF)
Trade & Industry	Ya'akov Geri (not an MK)
Transportation	Dov Yosef (Mapai)
Welfare	Yitzḥak Meir Levin (URF)

Growing dissatisfaction with the policy of rationing resulted in some losses to Mapai in the municipal elections of November 1950, in favor of the General Zionists. On February 14, 1951, the General Zionists presented a motion for the agenda regarding education in the immigrant camps and *ma'abarot*, and the education streams. When a vote took place on this motion, the government lost, with 49 members of the Knesset voting against the government and 42 voting in favor. Even though this was not formally a vote of no confidence, Ben-Gurion viewed it as such, resigned and called for new elections.

On the eve of the new elections a major strike broke out amongst the seamen employed by the publicly owned ZIM shipping company. The strike, which was finally broken up by force, lasted for half a year. Though it broke out against the background of pay and work condition claims, it was fueled by political tension between supporters of Mapai, which represented the establishment, and Mapam, which represented a radical position.

The Second Knesset, 1951–1955

The elections to the Second Knesset were held on July 30, 1951, and the first meeting of the Knesset was held 52 days later, on September 20, 1951.

In the elections to the Second Knesset, the General Zionists increased the number of their seats from 7 to 20 (which soon rose to 23, when the Sephardi and Yemenite parliamentary groups joined them). This increase took place largely at the expense of the Ḥerut Movement, which went down from 14 to 8 seats, and the labor parties Mapai and Mapam, which together went down from 65 to 60 seats – Mapam losing to Mapai, and Mapai losing to the General Zionists.

Table 5. Results of the elections to the Second Knesset

Electorate:	924,885
Valid votes cast	787,492
Qualifying threshold (1%)	7,874
Votes per seat	5,692

Table 6. Results of the elections to the Second Knesset by party

Name of list	Number of valid votes	% of total votes	Number of seats	3d Govt.	4th Govt.	5th Govt.	6th Govt.
Mapai	256,456	37.3	45	X	X	X	X
General Zionists	111,394	16.2	20		X	X	
Mapam	86,095	12.5	15				
Ha-Po'el ha-Mizrachi	46,347	6.8	8	X	X	X	X
Ḥerut Movement	45,651	6.6	8				
Three minority lists associated with Mapai	32,288	4.7	5	X*	X*	X*	X*
Maki (Communists)	27,334	4.0	5				
Progressive Party	22,171	3.2	4		X	X	
Agudat Israel	13,799	2.0	3	X			
Sephardim ve-Edot Mizraḥ	12,002	1.8	2				
Po'alei Agudat Israel	11,194	1.6	2	X			
Ha-Mizrachi	10,383	1.5	2	X	X	X	X
Yemenite Association	7,965	1.2	1				

* Members of the coalition but not the government.

The Second Knesset once again elected Joseph Sprinzak as its speaker. It took Ben-Gurion two months to form a new government. The Third Government included the same groups that had participated in the Second Government, less the Progressives. The General Zionists who conditioned their joining the government on their receiving the Ministry of Commerce and Industry, did not join the new government, though together with the Progressives they did join the Fourth Government, formed about a year later.

During the term of the Third Government the emotionally charged issue of *restitution payments from Germany came up against the background of the country's desperate foreign exchange situation. In January 1951, the government decided to make a claim for reparations from Germany for Jewish property lost during the Nazi period. In September West German Chancellor Konrad *Adenauer announced that the German Federal Republic was prepared to open negotiations on the subject with representatives of the Jewish people and the State of Israel. On January 9, 1952, Ben-Gurion made an announcement in the Knesset to that effect. Not everyone in Israel viewed this decision favorably, and the leader of the Ḥerut Movement, Menaḥem Begin, led a mass demonstration in protest. The crowd made its way toward the Knesset build-

Table 7. Members of the Third Government (formed October 8, 1951)

Ministerial Position	Name (party)
Prime Minister and Defense	David Ben-Gurion (Mapai)
Deputy PM	Eliezer Kaplan (Mapai) (from 6.25.52 to his death on 7.13.52)
Agriculture	Levi Eshkol (Mapai) (until 6.25.52) Pereẓ Naftali (Mapai)
Commerce & Industry	Dov Yosef (Mapai)
Education & Culture	Benzion Dinur (not an MK)
Finance	Eliezer Kaplan (Mapai) (until 6.25.52) Levi Eshkol (Mapai)
Foreign Affairs	Moshe Sharett (Mapai)
Health	Joseph Burg (Ha-Po'el ha-Mizrachi)
Interior and Religions	Ḥayyim Moshe Shapira (Ha-Po'el ha-Mizrachi)
Justice	Dov Yosef (Mapai) (until 6.25.52) Ḥayyim Cohen (not an MK)
Labor	Golda Meir (Mapai)
Police	Beḥor Shalom Shitrit (Mapai)
Postal Services	Mordechai (Max) Nurock (Ha-Mizrachi) (from 11.3.52)
Transportation	David Zvi Pinkas (Ha-Mizrachi) (d. 8.14.52) David Ben-Gurion (Mapai)
Welfare	Yitẓḥak Meir Levin (Agudat Israel) (until 9.18.52)
Without Portfolio	Pereẓ Naftali (Mapai) (until 6.25.52)
Without Portfolio	Pinḥas Lavon (Mapai) (from 8.17.52)

Table 8. Members of the Fourth Government (formed December 24, 1952)

Ministerial Position	Name (party)
Prime Minister and Defense	David Ben-Gurion (Mapai)
Agriculture	Pereẓ Naftali (Mapai)
Commerce & Industry	Pereẓ Bernstein (General Zionists)
Development	Dov Yosef (Mapai) (from 6.15.53)
Education & Culture	Benzion Dinur (not an MK)
Finance	Levi Eshkol (Mapai)
Foreign Affairs	Moshe Sharett (Mapai)
Health	Yosef Sapir (General Zionists) (until 12.29.53) Yosef Serlin (General Zionists)
Interior	Israel Rokach (General Zionists)
Justice	Pinḥas Rosen (Progressive)
Labor	Golda Meir (Mapai)
Police	Beḥor Shalom Shitrit (Mapai)
Postal Services	Joseph Burg (Ha-Po'el ha-Mizrachi)
Transportation	Yosef Serlin (General Zionists (until 12.29.53) Yosef Sapir (General Zionists)
Welfare and Religions	Ḥayyim Moshe Shapira (Ha-Po'el ha-Mizrachi)
Without Portfolio	Pinḥas Lavon (Mapai)
Without Portfolio	Dov Yosef (Mapai) (until 6.15.53)

ing, breaking some windows and clashing with the police. For his part in the demonstration Begin was suspended from participation in Knesset sittings for several months. However, with the support of the Progressives, the Knesset Foreign Affairs and Defense Committee finally authorized the government to open negotiations, which commenced in March 1952 and were concluded in September.

Added to the reparations crisis was the growing dissatisfaction of the two *ḥaredi* parties, Agudat Israel and Po'alei Agudat Israel, with the government's education policy and the proposal to institute national service for religious girls who had been exempted from military service. On September 19 their representatives in the coalition resigned, leaving the government without a majority in the Knesset. When Ben-Gurion failed to bring the General Zionists into the coalition immediately, he resigned, and in December formed a new government, with the participation of the General Zionists and the Progressives, but without the *ḥaredi* parties.

The coalition agreement of the new government provided for the abolition of the "streams" in the national education system (dividing them into national and religious sections), for income tax reforms, and for a liberalization of export regulations. Mapam was not invited to join the coalition. This was partially due to its position regarding the *Slansky Affair in Prague, in which a Mapam member – Mordekhai Oren – had been implicated. Mapam did, however, finally support the election of the Mapai candidate for president of the State – Izhak *Ben-Zvi – to succeed Chaim Weizmann, who had passed away in November 1952.

The Fourth Government passed the law for free compulsory education, approved by the Knesset on August 15, 1953. Under the new system only Agudat Israel was permitted to maintain an independent school system, which was to receive state assistance.

In November 1953, Ben-Gurion unexpectedly announced his desire to retire from the premiership for personal reasons, explaining that he needed a rest after 23 years of incessant political activity. He proposed that Levi *Eshkol replace him as prime minister and that Pinḥas *Lavon replace him as minister of defense. But after Eshkol refused the premiership Mapai nominated Moshe *Sharett for the post. In keeping with his call for the settlement of the Negev, Ben-Gurion established his new home in Kibbutz Sedeh Boker. His last action before retirement was to appoint Moshe *Dayan as IDF chief of staff.

As prime minister in the Fifth Government, Sharett continued to hold the Foreign Affairs portfolio, while as proposed by Ben-Gurion, Lavon became minister of defense.

Beneath the surface this partnership did not work, owing to disagreements between Sharett and Lavon over defense policy. The prime minister complained that he was not consulted in advance about reprisal attacks across the borders. Then came the infamous *Esek Bish* (lit. "bad business"), involving a botched-up security operation in Egypt, which resulted in the arrest of 13 Egyptian Jews, of whom one committed suicide and two were executed following a trial in Cairo. A committee of inquiry, made up of the president of the Su-

Table 9. Members of the Fifth Government (formed January 26, 1954)

Ministerial Position	Name (party)
Prime Minister and Foreign Affairs	Moshe Sharett (Mapai)
Agriculture	Pereẓ Naftali (Mapai)
Commerce & Industry	Pereẓ Bernstein (General Zionists)
Defense	Pinḥas Lavon (Mapai) (until 2.21.55) David Ben-Gurion (Mapai)
Development	Dov Yosef (Mapai)
Education & Culture	Benzion Dinur (not an MK)
Finance	Levi Eshkol (Mapai)
Health	Yosef Serlin (General Zionists)
Interior	Israel Rokach (General Zionists)
Justice	Pinḥas Rosen (Progressive)
Labor	Golda Meir (Mapai)
Police	Beḥor Shalom Shitrit (Mapai)
Postal Services	Joseph Burg (Ha-Po’el ha-Mizrachi)
Transportation	Yosef Sapir (General Zionists)
Welfare and Religions	Ḥayyim Moshe Shapira (Ha-Po’el ha-Mizrachi)
Without Portfolio	Zalman Aran (Mapai)

preme Court, Isaac *Olshan, and former Chief of Staff Ya’akov *Dori, established to investigate the affair, failed to reach any conclusions. Though Lavon refused to take responsibility for the affair, he was forced to resign in February 1955, and was replaced by Ben-Gurion, at Sharett’s request. The “Lavon Affair,” as the *Esek Bish* came to be known, continued to bedevil Israeli politics for another decade, and was the first of many occasions on which no one in authority was willing to take responsibility.

Sharett resigned on June 29, 1955, against the background of a vote of no-confidence concerning the Kasztner Affair (see *Kasztner, Reszo Rudlof), presented to the Knesset by the Ḥerut Movement and the Communists, in which the General Zionists abstained. Since the General Zionists refused to resign from the government, Sharett resigned, forming the short-lived Sixth Government – a minority government – without the General Zionists and the Progressives.

Throughout the term of the Second Knesset the labor movement underwent several major personal and ideological upheavals. In addition to Ben-Gurion’s temporary withdrawal, towards the end of the Knesset’s term Mapam broke up again into two parties: Mapam and *Aḥdut ha-Avodah-Po’alei Zion, while the *Ha-Kibbutz ha-Me’uḥad settlement movement split in two, with several individual kibbutzim breaking up. Ha-Kibbutz ha-Me’uḥad was now associated with Aḥdut ha-Avodah-Po’alei Zion, while *Iḥud ha-Kevuẓot ve-ha-Kibbutzim was associated with Mapai (*Ha-Kibbutz ha-Arẓi continued to be associated with Mapam).

It is worth noting that in this period, while the kibbutzim formed no more than 3 percent of the population, close to 20 kibbutz members were members of the Knesset – over 15 percent of the total.

Table 10. Members of the Sixth Government (formed 29 June, 1956)

Ministerial Position	Name (party)
Prime Minister and Foreign Affairs	Moshe Sharett (Mapai)
Agriculture and Commerce & Industry	Pereẓ Naftali (Mapai)
Defense	David Ben-Gurion (Mapai)
Education & Culture	Benzion Dinur (not an MK)
Finance	Levi Eshkol (Mapai)
Health and Development	Dov Yosef (Mapai)
Interior	Israel Rokach (General Zionists)
Justice	Pinḥas Rosen (Progressive)
Labor	Golda Meir (Mapai)
Police	Beḥor Shalom Shitrit (Mapai)
Postal Services	Joseph Burg (Ha-Po’el ha-Mizrachi)
Transportation	Zalman Aran (Mapai)
Welfare and Religions	Ḥayyim Moshe Shapira (Ha-Po’el ha-Mizrachi)

The Second Knesset dealt extensively with foreign policy issues, many debates dealing with the government’s growing Western orientation. Those who had hoped that Israel would be able to remain neutral were disappointed by the fact that it was not invited to participate in the 1955 Bandung Non-aligned Conference.

The problem of Arab infiltrators from Jordan and the Gaza Strip frequently came up in the Knesset, and the debate on the issue came to a peak after the attack on a bus at Ma’aleh ha-Akrabim in the Negev in March 1954, in which numerous civilians were killed. The detention of the freighter *Bat-Galim* by the Egyptian authorities in September 1954, and the denial of passage to Israeli ships and cargoes destined for Israel though the Suez Canal, engaged the attention of the MKs as well as Israel’s representatives to the UN.

The essence of Israeli democracy and the relations between religion and state were frequently raised by Knesset members in the course of the debates on various issues, especially in connection with three “religious” laws adopted on August 26, 1953: the Anatomy and Pathology Law, the National Service Law, and the Rabbinical Courts Jurisdiction (marriage and divorce) Law.

In September 1954, the Mapai Central Council adopted Ben-Gurion’s proposal to press for the replacement of the proportional representation electoral system by a single-member constituency system. What Ben-Gurion had hoped to achieve was a reduction in the number of parties elected to the Knesset, which would have simplified the task of forming governments in Israel. It was claimed at the time that by “gerrymandering” the constituencies, Mapai would actually be able to win an absolute majority in the Knesset. However, the proposed system was never adopted by the Knesset.

The Third Knesset, 1955–1959

The elections to the Third Knesset were held on July 26, 1955, and the first meeting of the Knesset was held 20 days later, on August 15, 1955.

Table 11. Results of the elections to the Third Knesset

Electorate:	1,067,795
Valid votes cast	853,219
Qualifying threshold (1%)	8,532
Votes per seat	6,938

Table 12. Results of the elections to the Third Knesset by party

Name of list	Number of valid votes	% of total votes	Number of seats	7th Govt.	8th Govt.
Mapai	274,735	32.2	40	X	X
Ḥerut Movement	107,190	12.6	15		
General Zionists	87,099	10.2	13		
National Religious Front (National Religious Party)	77,936	9.1	11	X	X**
Aḥdut ha-Avodah-Po'alei Zion	69,475	8.2	10	X	X
Mapam	62,401	7.3	9	X	X
Religious Front (*Ḥaredi* parties)	39,836	4.7	6		
Maki (Communists)	38,492	4.5	6		
Three minority lists associated with Mapai	37,777	4.4	5	X*	X*
Progressive Party	37,661	4.4	5	X	X

* Members of the coalition but not the government.
** Left the government on July 1, 1958.

In the elections to the Third Knesset Mapai lost 5 seats, 4 of which went to Mapam and to Aḥdut ha-Avodah-Po'alei Zion, which ran for the first time as an independent list. Within the center-right political camp, the General Zionists lost 7 seats to the Ḥerut Movement.

At its first meeting, the Third Knesset elected Joseph Sprinzak (Mapai) for a third term as its speaker. After his death in January 1959, Naḥum Nir of Aḥdut ha-Avodah-Po'alei Zion was elected to succeed him, defeating Mapai's candidate.

It took Ben-Gurion three months to form a new government, but he finally managed, for the first time, to bring all three labor parties into the coalition.

In the speech in which he presented his new government and its program to the Knesset, Ben-Gurion emphasized the gravity of the security situation, and especially the problem of the *fedayeen* infiltrations from the Gaza Strip and the major arms deal signed between Egypt and Czechoslovakia with the blessing of the Soviet Union, and this after it had been Czechoslovakia that had supplied Israel with arms during its War of Independence, then too with Soviet blessings. In the following year Ben-Gurion was to hold negotiations with France and Great Britain for collaboration in what was to become known abroad as the Suez Operation and in Israel as the *Sinai Campaign.

Table 13. Members of the Seventh Government (formed November 3, 1955)

Ministerial Position	Name (party)
Prime Minister and Defense	David Ben-Gurion (Mapai)
Agriculture	Kadish Luz (Mapai)
Commerce & Industry	Pinḥas Sapir (Mapai)
Development	Mordekhai Bentov (Mapam)
Education & Culture	Zalman Aran (Mapai)
Finance	Levi Eshkol (Mapai)
Foreign Affairs	Moshe Sharett (Mapai) (until 6.19.56) Golda Meir (Mapai)
Health	Israel Barzilai (Mapam)
Interior	Israel Bar-Yehudah (Aḥdut ha-Avodah-Po'alei Zion)
Justice	Pinḥas Rosen (Progressives)
Labor	Golda Meir (Mapai) (until 6.19.56) Mordekhai Namir (Mapai)
Police	Beḥor Shalom Shitrit (Mapai)
Postal Services	Joseph Burg (NRP)
Transportation	Moshe Carmel (Aḥdut ha-Avodah-Po'alei Zion)
Welfare and Religions	Ḥayyim Moshe Shapira (NRP)
Without Portfolio	Pereẓ Naftali (Mapai)

While Ben-Gurion's acrimonious exchanges with the leader of the Ḥerut Movement, Menaḥem Begin, became increasingly bitter, differences of opinion between the prime minister and Moshe Sharett over the coordination of defense and foreign policy finally led to Sharett's replacement as minister for foreign affairs by Golda *Meir. Mordekhai *Namir, who had served as secretary general of the Histadrut, replaced Meir as minister of labor, while Namir was replaced in the Histadrut by Pinḥas Lavon in June 1956.

On the eve of the Sinai Campaign 49 Israeli Arab villagers were shot dead by border policemen at Kafr Kassem for breaking a curfew of which they were not aware. The persons responsible for the massacre were put on trial and given prolonged prison sentences. However, even though Ben-Gurion referred to the event as one that "struck a blow at the most sacred principles of human morality," all those imprisoned had their prison sentences reduced.

Israel's military success in the Sinai Campaign, which had commenced on October 29, 1956, though greatly dependent on the coalition with France and Great Britain, increased Ben-Gurion's popularity while turning Chief of Staff Moshe Dayan into a national hero. Mapam had disapproved of the operation, but remained in the cabinet. The Ḥerut Movement strongly supported Ben-Gurion's move, but following Ben-Gurion's decision to give in to international pressure and withdraw from the Sinai Peninsula, the Gaza Strip, and Sharm el-Sheikh following the war, it accused him of defeatism and of squandering the military gains.

In May 1957 a violent strike broke out at the Ata textile factory, due to the owner's refusal to accept an agreement signed between the Histadrut and the Manufacturers Association. The government refused to back the workers' militant position. However, it was over the question of Israel's endorsement of the Eisenhower Doctrine, which called for U.S. assistance to any country threatened by Communist aggression, that a crisis broke out in the coalition in that very same month. Aḥdut ha-Avodah-Po'alei Zion and Mapam argued that Israel should not adopt such a pro-American position. These two parties advocated a more neutral policy, not only for ideological reasons but also because they feared it might negatively affect the chances of Jews to leave the Soviet Union. However, when Ben-Gurion's policy came up for a vote in the Knesset on June 3, both parties abstained rather than vote against the government. The Ḥerut Movement and the General Zionists also abstained, but for the opposite reason, because they felt that Israel's support for the American policy should be stronger.

On October 28, 1957, Izhak Ben-Zvi was reelected by the Knesset for a second term as president of the state. The following day a mentally disturbed person threw a hand grenade into the Knesset plenary hall, which wounded Prime Minister David Ben-Gurion and several ministers.

A new government crisis broke out in December 1957 against the background of Israel's relations with West Germany, when it became known that Dayan had visited Germany to discuss arms purchases. The plan fell through as a result of pressure by Aḥdut ha-Avodah-Po'alei Zion and Mapam, but the whole episode led Ben-Gurion to tender his resignation on December 31. His new government, formed a week later, had the same party make-up as the previous one, but only after Aḥdut ha-Avodah-Po'alei Zion and Mapam undertook to uphold coalition discipline and cabinet secrecy.

On February 12, 1958, the Knesset adopted the first Basic Law – Basic Law: the Knesset. The new law included an article that stated that it could only be amended by an absolute majority of the MKs. Nevertheless, it was not given superior status to ordinary laws.

A General Zionist proposal to institute an electoral system containing elements of both proportional and constituency representation – a proposal which was to be put forward on numerous occasions in the future – was rejected.

As in previous Knessets, the religious parties frequently raised the issue of the nonobservance of the Sabbath in the State of Israel, while Knesset members from the Communist Party frequently raised the issue of the military administration and movement restriction to which the Arab and Druze citizens of Israel were still subject.

A new coalition crisis, this time involving the NRP, erupted over regulations issued by the minister of the interior defining a Jew for the purposes of the population register. The NRP objected to the definition's diverging from the halakhic definition, and its two ministers resigned from the government when the regulations were approved by the Knesset on June 29. However, their resignation did not cause the government to lose its parliamentary majority.

No sooner was this crisis over than a new government crisis broke out over the sale of Israeli arms to West Germany, which Aḥdut ha-Avodah-Po'alei Zion and Mapam objected to. When the two parties voted in the Knesset against a motion approving the transaction, Ben-Gurion demanded the resignation of the ministers who had voted with the opposition, and when they refused, submitted his resignation. An attempt by Ben-Gurion to form an alternative government with the General Zionists and the NRP failed, leading to new elections.

Table 14. Members of the Eighth Government (formed January 7, 1958)

Ministerial Position	Name (party)
Prime Minister and Defense	David Ben-Gurion (Mapai)
Agriculture	Kadish Luz (Mapai)
Commerce & Industry	Pinḥas Sapir (Mapai)
Development	Mordekhai Bentov (Mapam)
Education & Culture	Zalman Aran (Mapai)
Finance	Levi Eshkol (Mapai)
Foreign Affairs	Golda Meir (Mapai)
Health	Israel Barzilai (Mapam)
Interior	Israel Bar-Yehudah (Aḥdut ha-Avodah-Po'alei Zion)
Justice	Pinḥas Rosen (Progressives)
Labor	Mordekhai Namir (Mapai)
Police	Beḥor Shalom Shitrit (Mapai)
Postal Services	Joseph Burg (NRP) (until 7.1.58) Israel Barzilai (Mapam) (from 11.24.58)
Religions	Ḥayyim Moshe Shapira (NRP) (until 7.1.58) Ya'akov Moshe Toledano (not an MK) (from 12.3.58 until 11.30.59)
Transportation	Moshe Carmel (Aḥdut ha-Avodah-Po'alei Zion)
Welfare	Ḥayyim Moshe Shapira (NRP) (until 7.1.58) Pereẓ Naftali (Mapai) (from 1.25.59)
Without Portfolio	Pereẓ Naftali (Mapai) (until 1.25.59)

In the course of the election campaign serious riots by immigrants from North Africa broke out in the Wadi Salib quarter of Haifa, in the development town of Migdal ha-Emek, and in Beersheba, against the background of claims of discrimination and hardship. This was the first open protest by immigrants of Muslim country origin against the Mapai-Ashkenazi establishment, but the latter failed to read the writing on the wall. Among the "new faces" introduced by Mapai into its list prior to the elections to the Fourth Knesset, none were of representatives of the new immigrants.

The Fourth Knesset, 1959–1961

The elections to the Fourth Knesset were held on November 3, 1959, and the first meeting of the Knesset was held 27 days later, on November 30, 1959.

Table 15. Results of the elections to the Fourth Knesset

Electorate:	1,218,483
Valid votes cast	969,337
Qualifying threshold (1%)	9,693
Votes per seat	7,800

Table 16. Results of the elections to the Fourth Knesset by party

Name of list	Number of valid votes	% of total votes	Number of seats	9th Govt
Mapai	370,585	38.2	47	X
Ḥerut Movement	130,515	13.5	17	
National Religious Party	95,581	9.9	12	X
Mapam	69,468	7.2	9	X
General Zionists	59,700	6.2	8	
Aḥdut ha-Avodah-Po'alei Zion	58,043	6.0	7	X
Religious Front (*Ḥaredi* parties)	45,569	4.7	6	X
Progressive Party	44,889	4.6	6	
Three minority lists associated with Mapai	34,353	3.5	5	X*
Maki (Communists)	27,374	2.8	3	

* Members of the coalition but not the government.

Mapai emerged from the elections to the Fourth Knesset with 47 seats – the largest number of seats that it had ever received in an election. It gained three of its seats at the expense of Aḥdut ha-Avodah-Po'alei Zion and another three at the expense of the General Zionists, who lost two additional seats to the Ḥerut Movement.

Mapai's strong position was due to the rapid rise in the standard of living, and the almost total cessation of border incidents on all fronts. The port of Eilat was able to develop, while friendly relations had been forged with several Asian and new African countries. None of the "ethnic" lists, representing "Oriental" immigrants, that participated in the elections managed to pass the qualifying threshold, and this despite the ethnic awakening that had occurred in the aftermath of the Wadi Salib riots.

The fourth Knesset elected Kadish *Luz as its third speaker. Ben-Gurion's new government included three new Mapai Knesset members, two of whom were to become household names: Abba *Eban, who had recently returned to Israel after eight years as ambassador to the U.S. and the UN, former Chief of Staff Moshe Dayan, and Giora *Josephthal, who had served as treasurer of the Jewish Agency. Shimon *Peres, who had served as director general of the Ministry of Defense and was largely responsible for promoting the close relations with France, was appointed deputy minister of defense.

The NRP rejoined the Coalition, after a satisfactory arrangement was reached regarding the registration problem of the previous government. Aḥdut ha-Avodah-Po'alei Zion was represented in the new government by Yiẓḥak *Ben-Aharon, who was also to become a household name over the years.

One of the new government's first tasks was to arrange for the election of the chief rabbis, but due to political controversies the election did not take place for another five years, with the post of Ashkenazi chief rabbi remaining vacant following the death of Chief Rabbi Isaac Halevi *Herzog on July 25, 1959.

Table 17. Members of the Ninth Government (formed December 17, 1959)

Ministerial Position	Name (party)
Prime Minister and Defense	David Ben-Gurion (Mapai)
Agriculture	Moshe Dayan (Mapai)
Commerce & Industry	Pinḥas Sapir (Mapai)
Development	Mordekhai Bentov (Mapam)
Education & Culture	Zalman Aran (Mapai) (until 5.10.60) Abba Eban (Mapai) (from 8.3.60)
Finance	Levi Eshkol (Mapai)
Foreign Affairs	Golda Meir (Mapai)
Health	Israel Barzilai (Mapam)
Interior	Ḥayyim Moshe Shapira (NRP)
Justice	Pinḥas Rosen (Progressives)
Labor	Giora Josephthal (Mapai)
Police	Beḥor Shalom Shitrit (Mapai)
Postal Services	Benjamin Minz (Torah Religious Front) (from 7.17.60 until 5.30.61)
Religions	Ya'akov Moshe Toledano (not an MK) (until 10.15.60)
Transportation	Yiẓḥak Ben-Aharon (Aḥdut ha-Avodah-Po'alei Zion)
Welfare	Joseph Burg (NRP)
Without Portfolio	Abba Eban (Mapai) (until 8.3.60)

A lengthy dispute over the claims of the secondary school teachers for salary increases, and recognition of their separate union, led to the resignation, on April 24, 1960, of Minister of Education Zalman Aran, who was eventually replaced by Abba Eban on August 3.

In May the Religious Front presented a motion of no confidence in the government over the question of how many Jews had left Egypt at the time of the Exodus. Prime Minister David Ben-Gurion made it clear that "the Knesset cannot decide on issues of history and faith." Two months later, on July 18 Benjamin *Minz – a member of Po'alei Agudat Israel in the Religious Front – was appointed minister of postal services. Since Rabbi Minz had not received the blessing of the spiritual leaders of the Religious Front, his agreement to assume the post created a crisis within the Religious Front, which split, with Agudat Israel and Po'alei Agudat Israel forming two separate parliamentary groups. It should be noted that after this event and until the Sixteenth Knesset, no Ashkenazi *ḥaredi* MK ever again considered joining a government in a full ministerial post, though several were appointed as deputy ministers.

Toward the end of 1960, the Lavon Affair, which had taken on the shape of a personal vendetta by Ben-Gurion against Lavon, once against shook the Israeli political scene. On January 30, 1961, the Knesset rejected a motion of no confidence in the government against the background of the affair by 77 votes to 26, but in the debate, Mapam, Aḥdut ha-Avodah-Po'alei Zion, and the Progressives severely criticized Ben-Gurion's conduct, leading him to submit his resignation on the following day. Ben-Gurion proceeded to get the Mapai Central Committee to vote in favor of the removal of Lavon from his post as secretary general of the Histadrut. However, when President Ben-Zvi called on Ben-Gurion to form a new government, Mapam, Aḥdut ha-Avodah-Po'alei Zion, and the Progressives refused to serve under him, while the NRP was unwilling to remain Mapai's only coalition partner. Since Mapai refused to put forward a new candidate for the premiership, the Knesset decided on March 13 to dissolve itself and call for new elections.

Prior to the new elections the General Zionists and the Progressives united into a single parliamentary group, which called itself the Liberal Party.

In the interim period between the announcement of new elections and their actually taking place, the trial of Nazi war criminal Adolf *Eichmann, who had been abducted from Argentina in May 1960, began.

The Fifth Knesset, 1961–1965

The elections to the Fifth Knesset were held on August 15, 1961, and the first meeting of the Knesset was held 27 days later, on September 9, 1961.

Table 18. Results of the elections to the Fifth Knesset

Electorate:	1,274,280
Valid votes cast	1,006,964
Qualifying threshold (1%)	10,070
Votes per seat	8,332

Table 19. Results of the elections to the Fifth Knesset by party

Name of list	Number of valid votes	% of total votes	Number of seats	10th Govt	11th Govt	12th Govt
Mapai	349,330	34.7	42	X	X	X
Ḥerut Movement	138,599	13.8	17			
Liberal Party	137,599	13.6	17			
National Religious Party	98,786	9.8	12	X	X	X
Mapam	75,654	7.5	9			
Aḥdut ha-Avodah-Po'alei Zion	66,170	6.6	8	X	X	X
Maki (Communists)	42,111	4.2	5			
Agudat Israel	37,178	3.7	4			
Two minority lists associated with Mapai	35,376	3.5	4	X*	X*	X*
Po'alei Agudat Israel	19,428	1.9	2	X**	X**	X**

* Members of the coalition but not the government.
** Held post of deputy minister.

Though Mapai tried to ignore the Lavon Affair during the election campaign, the other parties and several academics denounced Ben-Gurion's behavior as a danger to democracy. Mapai ended up losing five seats and its affiliated Arab parties one. The new Liberal Party, which had been formed by the merger of the General Zionists and the Progressives on the eve of the elections to the Fifth Knesset, gained three seats, totaling 17, equaling the Ḥerut Movement.

The Fifth Knesset reelected Kadish Luz as its speaker. The negotiations for a new government, conducted by Levi Eshkol on behalf of Ben-Gurion, were prolonged and difficult, due to the insistence of the other potential coalition members that Mapai, with its reduced strength, should no longer hold a majority of the seats in the cabinet. Finally Aḥdut ha-Avodah, the NRP, Po'alei Agudat Israel, and the Arab parties joined the coalition. Of the latter two, the first appointed a deputy minister while the latter declined to receive a ministerial post. Two changes took place in the Eleventh Government: after minister of housing and development Giora Josephthal passed away he was replaced by Yosef *Almogi, while after Minister of Transportation Yiẓḥak Ben-Aharon resigned due to differences of opinion with his colleagues in Aḥdut ha-Avodah over his advocacy of unification among the three labor parties, he was replaced by Israel Bar-Yehudah.

Table 20. Members of the Tenth Government (formed November 2, 1961)

Ministerial Position	Name (party)
Prime Minister and Defense	David Ben-Gurion (Mapai)
Agriculture	Moshe Dayan (Mapai)
Commerce & Industry	Pinhas Sapir (Mapai)
Education & Culture	Abba Eban (Mapai)
Finance	Levi Eshkol (Mapai)
Foreign Affairs	Golda Meir (Mapai)
Health and Interior	Ḥayyim Moshe Shapira (NRP)
Housing and Development	Giora Josephthal (Mapai) (until 8.23.62) Yosef Almogi (from 10.30.62)
Justice	Dov Yosef (not an MK in the Fifth Knesset)
Labor	Yigal Allon (Aḥdut ha-Avodah-Po'alei Zion)
Police	Beḥor Shalom Shitrit (Mapai)
Postal Services	Eliyahu Sasson (not an MK in the Fifth Knesset)
Religious Affairs	Zeraḥ Wahrhaftig (NRP)
Transportation	Yiẓḥak Ben-Aharon (Aḥdut ha-Avodah-Po'alei Zion) (until 5.28.62) Israel Bar-Yehudah (Aḥdut ha-Avodah-Po'alei Zion) (from 5.28.62)
Welfare	Joseph Burg (NRP)
Without Portfolio	Yosef Almogi (Mapai) (until 10.30.62)

Though Ben-Aharon was not immediately successful, his advocacy of unity was eventually to bear fruit (see below).

During this period there was considerable controversy over the continuation of the strict Military Administration under which the Arab and Druze citizens of the country lived, imposed soon after the establishment of the state. Ḥerut leader Menaḥem Begin was one of the strongest advocates of its abolition, just as he had fought against the continued application of the Emergency Regulations which Israel had inherited from the British Mandatory Government. Begin was supported in his fight against the Military Administration by the Liberals, Mapam, partially by the NRP, and of course by the Communists and Arab parliamentary groups. Attempts to bring about the abolition of the Military Administration were defeated narrowly both in 1962 (though on that occasion the Druze were exempted) and 1963. It was finally abolished in 1966.

President Izhak Ben-Zvi, who had been elected for a third term, passed away on April 23, 1963, and was succeeded by Zalman *Shazar, who defeated the opposition's candidate Pereẓ Bernstein of the Liberal Party.

Ben-Gurion submitted his resignation on June 16, 1963. Formally he resigned on personal grounds, but in fact it was due to the Lavon Affair, of which he refused to let go. On Ben-Gurion's recommendation, Levi Eshkol was nominated by Mapai as his successor. Eshkol completed the negotiations for the formation of the Eleventh Government, with the same party make-up as the previous government, in one week. He was replaced in the Ministry of Finance by Pinḥas Sapir. Abba Eban became deputy prime minister.

Table 21. Members of the Eleventh Government (formed June 26, 1963)

Ministerial Position	Name (party)
Prime Minister and Defense	Levi Eshkol (Mapai)
Deputy Prime Minister	Abba Eban (Mapai)
Agriculture	Moshe Dayan (Mapai) (until 11.4.64) Chaim Gvati (not an MK in the Fifth Knesset) (from 11.9.64)
Housing and Development	Yosef Almogi (Mapai)
Education & Culture	Zalman Aran (Mapai)
Finance and Commerce & Industry	Pinḥas Sapir (Mapai)
Foreign Affairs	Golda Meir (Mapai)
Health and Interior	Ḥayyim Moshe Shapira (NRP)
Justice	Dov Yosef (not an MK in the Fifth Knesset)
Labor	Yigal Allon (Aḥdut ha-Avodah-Po'alei Zion
Police	Beḥor Shalom Shitrit (Mapai)
Postal Services	Eliyahu Sasson (not an MK in the Fifth Knesset)
Religious Affairs	Zeraḥ Wahrhaftig (NRP)
Transportation	Israel Bar-Yehudah (Aḥdut ha-Avodah-Po'alei Zion)
Welfare	Joseph Burg (NRP)
Without Portfolio	Akiva Govrin (Mapai) (from 12.1.63)

Eshkol's style was very different from his predecessor's, and he was more conciliatory towards the Ḥerut Movement, finally enabling the former Revisionists to bring the remains of Ze'ev *Jabotinsky to Jerusalem. Eshkol was also more open to criticism on foreign affairs issues, especially in reference to the Soviet Union.

Though Eshkol considered his government "a government of continuity," tensions developed between those members of Mapai who remained loyal to Ben-Gurion, and the rest. When a strong minority of Ben-Gurion loyalists in the Mapai Central Committee tried to get Eshkol to hold a new inquiry on the Lavon Affair, he resigned as prime minister with the demand that the party stop interfering with the decisions of the government. The party reacted by calling upon him to form a new government, which he presented to the Knesset on December 23, 1964.

Table 22. Members of the Twelfth Government (formed December 22, 1964)

Ministerial Position	Name (party)
Prime Minister and Defense	Levi Eshkol (Mapai)
Deputy Prime Minister	Abba Eban (Mapai)
Agriculture	Chaim Gvati
Commerce & Industry	Pinḥas Sapir (Mapai) (until 5.23.65) Haim Zadok (from 5.23.65)
Development	Yosef Almogi (Mapai)* Haim Zadok (Mapai) (from 5.31.65)
Education & Culture	Zalman Aran (Mapai)
Finance	Pinḥas Sapir (Mapai)
Foreign Affairs	Golda Meir (Mapai)
Health and Interior	Ḥayyim Moshe Shapira (NRP)
Housing	Yosef Almogi (Mapai)* Levi Eshkol (Mapai) (from 5.31.65)
Justice	Dov Yosef) (not an MK in the Fifth Knesset)
Labor	Yigal Allon (Aḥdut ha-Avodah-Po'alei Zion)
Police	Beḥor Shalom Shitrit (Mapai)
Postal Services	Eliyahu Sasson (not an MK in the fifth Knesset)
Religious Affairs	Zeraḥ Wahrhaftig (NRP)
Transportation	Israel Bar-Yehudah (Aḥdut ha-Avodah-Po'alei Zion) Moshe Carmel (Aḥdut ha-Avodah-Po'alei Zion) (from 5.30.65)
Tourism	Akiva Govrin (Mapai)
Welfare	Joseph Burg (NRP)

* Left Mapai to form Rafi.

Moshe Dayan had resigned as minister of agriculture before the new government was formed, and was replaced by Chaim *Gvati. Ben-Gurion loyalists objected not only to Eshkol's policy over the Lavon Affair but also to an agreement he had reached with the leader of Aḥdut ha-Avodah, Israel *Galili, on the formation of a joint list for the elections to the Sixth Knesset.

The clash between Eshkol's and Ben-Gurion's supporters came to a head at the Mapai Convention of February 1965, following which Eshkol called upon those ministers who supported Ben-Gurion's positions to resign. As a result, Minister of Housing and Development Yosef Almogi and Deputy Minister of Defense Shimon Peres resigned their posts. Haim *Zadok joined the cabinet on May 23 as minister of commerce and industry and development, while Eshkol assumed the position of minister of housing. Minister of Transportation Israel Bar-Yehudah was succeeded, after his death, by Moshe Carmel.

On June 29 Ben-Gurion announced that he intended to run at the head of an independent list for the elections. Two weeks later seven Mapai MKs, headed by him, formed a new parliamentary group – Reshimat Po'alei Yisrael – or as it came to be known: *Rafi.

Significant political changes were also taking place in the opposition, when in May 1965 the Ḥerut Movement and the Liberal Party (minus seven former members of the Progressive Party) formed a new political bloc and parliamentary group called *Gaḥal (Gush Ḥerut Liberalim). The former Progressives now formed a new party and parliamentary group called the *Independent Liberal Party.

In August Maki (the Israel Communist Party) split in two. The new party called itself Rakaḥ, which consisted mainly of Arabs (the main exception being Meir *Vilner), while Maki remained predominantly Jewish.

It should be noted that in the course of the Fifth Knesset the government's new economic policy, introduced by Pinḥas Sapir after becoming minister of finance, which dealt with the stabilization of the market by means of price stability and the setting of a single exchange rate for the currency, came under harsh criticism from the opposition. Furthermore, growing awareness of the issue of discrimination on ethnic grounds resulted in frequent questions to ministers and motions for the agenda. The end of the Eichmann trial, the affair of the German scientists working on Egypt's rocket project, and the establishment of diplomatic relations with West Germany also raised storms.

The Fifth Knesset held several serious debates around the issue of religion and state, as a result of violent events against this background.

The Sixth Knesset – 1965–1969

The elections to the Sixth Knesset were held on November 1, 1965, and the first meeting of the Knesset was held 21 days later, on November 22, 1965.

Table 23. Results of the elections to the Sixth Knesset

Electorate:	1,449,709
Valid votes cast	1,206,728
Qualifying threshold (1%)	12,067
Votes per seat	9,881

In the elections to the Sixth Knesset the Alignment of Mapai-Aḥdut ha-Avodah received 45 seats – four more than the combined pre-election strength of its constituents after Rafi had broken away from Mapai. Rafi increased its representation to 10 MKs. An interesting addition to the Knesset was Ha-Olam ha-Zeh Ko'aḥ Ḥadash, headed by Uri *Avneri, editor of the weekly *Ha-Olam ha-Zeh*. This was the first time that a radical protest list had gotten elected to the Knesset. In the Jerusalem municipal elections, Teddy *Kollek of Rafi, who was to remain in office for 27 years, was elected mayor with the support of Gaḥal and the religious parties.

Table 24. Results of the elections to the Sixth Knesset by party

Name of list	Number of valid votes	% of total votes	Number of seats	13th Govt	14th Govt
Alignment	443,379	36.7	45	X	X
Gaḥal	256,957	21.3	26	X*	X
National Religious Party	107,966	9.9	11	X	X
Rafi	95,328	7.9	10	X*	X
Mapam	79,985	6.6	8	X	X
Independent Liberals	45,299	3.8	5	X	X
Agudat Israel	39,795	3.3	4		
Two minority lists associated with the Alignment	39,464	3.3	4	X**	X**
Rakaḥ (New Communist Party)	27,413	2.3	3		
Po'alei Agudat Israel	22,066	1.8	2	X**	
Ha-Olam ha-Zeh Ko'aḥ Ḥadash	14,124	1.2	1		
Maki (Communist Party)	13,617	1.1	1		

* Joined the government on June 4, 1967.

** Members of the coalition but not the government.

The Sixth Knesset reelected Kadish Luz as its speaker for the third term, while President Zalman Shazar was elected for a second term.

Golda Meir, who was suffering from ill health, was not a member of the Thirteenth Government, and she was replaced in the Ministry for Foreign Affairs by Abba Eban. Haim Zadok resigned in November 1966 from the Ministry of Commerce and Industry over differences of opinion with the minister of finance, and was succeeded as minister of commerce and industry by Ze'ev *Sherf. Beḥor Shalom Shitrit, who had been minister of police since Ben-Gurion's first government, resigned in November, and was succeeded by Eliyahu Sasson, whose position as the minister of postal services was taken over by Israel Yeshayahu, the first minister of Yemenite origin.

When Eshkol introduced his new government, nothing indicated that this would turn into a historical government – historical in that it was to see Israel through its most brilliant and fateful military victory since its War of Independence, and historical in that for the first time in Israel's history, Menaḥem Begin was invited to join a government.

The new government was soon confronted by a deep economic recession. For the first year and a half of the Sixth Knesset's term, Rafi frequently joined Gaḥal in criticizing the government's economic policy, which, they claimed, had led to the recession. Rafi and Gaḥal also accused Eshkol and Eban of unfounded optimism in foreign and security affairs.

In 1966 the military administration to which the Arab population of Israel had been subjected since the state's establishment was finally removed.

At the end of March 1967 Shmuel *Tamir, and another

Table 25. Members of the Thirteenth Government (formed January 12, 1966)

Ministerial Position	Name (party)
Prime Minister	Levi Eshkol (Alignment-Labor Party-Alignment*) (d. 2.26.69)
Deputy PM and Absorption	Yigal Allon (Alignment-Labor Party-Alignment*) (from 7.1.68)
Agriculture	Haim Gvati (Alignment-Labor Party-Alignment*) (resigned from the Knesset)
Commerce & Industry	Haim Zadok (Alignment) (until 11.22.66) Ze'ev Sherf (Alignment-Labor Party-Alignment*) (from 11.22.66)
Defense	Levi Eshkol (Alignment-Labor Party-Alignment*) (until 6.5.67) Moshe Dayan (Rafi-Labor Party-Alignment*) (from 6.5.67)
Development and Tourism	Moshe Kol (Independent Liberal) (resigned from the Knesset)
Education & Culture	Zalman Aran (Alignment-Labor Party-Alignment*)
Finance	Pinḥas Sapir (Alignment-Labor Party*) (until 8.5.68) Ze'ev Sherf (Labor Party-Alignment*) (from 8.5.68)
Foreign Affairs	Abba Eban (Alignment-Labor Party-Alignment*)
Health	Israel Barzilai (Mapam-Alignment*) (not an MK)
Housing	Mordekhai Bentov (Mapam-Alignment*) (resigned from the Knesset)
Information	Israel Galili (Alignment-Labor Party-Alignment*) (until 6.5.67)
Interior	Ḥayyim Moshe Shapira (NRP)
Justice	Ya'akov Shimshon Shapira (Alignment-Labor Party-Alignment*) (not an MK)
Labor	Yigal Allon (Alignment-Labor Party*) (until 7.1.68) Yosef Almogi (Labor Party-Alignment*) (from 7.8.68)
Police	Beḥor Shalom Shitrit (Alignment) (until 1.2.67) Eliyahu Sasson (Alignment-Labor Party-Alignment*) (from 1.2.67)
Postal Services	Eliyahu Sasson (Alignment) (2.1.67) Israel Yeshayahu (Alignment-Labor Party-Alignment*) (from 1.2.67)
Religious Affairs	Zeraḥ Wahrhaftig (NRP)
Transportation	Moshe Carmel (Alignment-Labor Party-Alignment*) (not an MK)
Welfare	Joseph Burg (NRP)
Without Portfolio	Israel Galili (Alignment) (until 6.5.67)
Without Portfolio	Menaḥem Begin (Gaḥal) (from 6.5.67)
Without Portfolio	Yosef Sapir (Gaḥal) (from 6.5.67)
Without Portfolio	Pinḥas Sapir (Labor Party-Alignment*) (from 8.5.68)

* The first Alignment was between Mapai and Aḥdut ha-Avodah. Mapai, Aḥdut ha-Avodah, and Rafi formed the Labor Party on Jan. 23, 1968. The Labor Party and Mapam formed the second Alignment on Jan. 28, 1969.

two Ḥerut Movement members of Gaḥal, broke away to form the Free Center parliamentary group. The main reason for the secession was criticism of Begin's leadership.

The threat posed by Egyptian troop concentrations in Sinai in May 1967, and what appeared to many as indecisiveness on Eshkol's part and servility to the gentiles on Eban's part, led to a widespread demand for the establishment of a National Unity Government. Begin proposed that Ben-Gurion return to the premiership in order to reassure the public or, alternatively, that the defense portfolio be given to Moshe Dayan. Eshkol preferred Yigal Allon – Dayan's lifelong political rival – as defense minister, but Dayan was a favorite with the NRP and a large section of Mapai, while Allon happened to be abroad when the crisis began, so Dayan was finally chosen. Begin and Yosef Sapir of Gaḥal were also added to the Government on June 5 – the first day of the war, when the government held its meeting in the Knesset air-raid shelter due to Jordanian shelling of the area of the government compound. Immediately after the fighting ended Prime Minister Levi Eshkol announced the unification of Jerusalem, and the Knesset added to the Government and Legal Procedures Ordinance article 11(b) regarding the application of the Israeli system of justice, jurisdiction, and administration to the territories of Ereẓ Israel liberated, held, or occupied – depending on one's ideological point of view.

In 1968 a wave of airline hijackings and terrorist attacks inside Israel began, which was to bedevil Israeli politics for many years to come.

In the course of the negotiations on the enlargement of the government in May, Peres, on behalf of Rafi, had proposed that Mapai and Rafi reunite. Half a year later, on January 21, 1968, the two parties, together with Aḥdut ha-Avodah, jointed together to form the Israel Labor Party. In the institutions of the new party Mapai received 57% of the seats, while Rafi and Aḥdut ha-Avodah received 21.5% each. Ben-Gurion refused to join the new party, and remained in the Knesset as a single MK. Golda Meir was elected secretary general of the Labor Party but was later replaced by Pinḥas Sapir.

To compensate Allon for his failure to appoint him minister of defense, Eshkol appointed him deputy prime minister in addition to giving him the Ministry of Immigrant Absorption. Almogi of Rafi replaced Allon in the Ministry of Labor. After being appointed secretary general of the Labor Party Sapir remained in the government as minister without portfolio, and was replaced in the Ministry of Finance by Sherf, who now held the two central economic positions in the government.

On January 20, 1969, before the approaching elections to the Seventh Knesset, a new Alignment was formed between the Labor Party and Mapam, despite the opposition of Rafi. For the first and only time in the history of Israel a single parliamentary group held an absolute majority in the Knesset – 63 seats.

Once Jerusalem had been reunited and the euphoria of the Six-Day War started to subside, serious debates began regarding the appropriate policy that should be followed to make the most of the military victory. Though Eban had informed the UN in February 1968 that Israel accepted UN Security Council Resolution 242, this fact was only made public in August 1970. In the meantime various policies and plans started to be debated, including the Allon Plan, which called for an Israeli withdrawal from most of the West Bank and Gaza Strip and the incorporation of these territories in a Jordanian-Palestinian state, and Dayan's policy of integrating the territories occupied during the war into the Israeli economy but keeping Israel and the territories functionally separate.

The sudden death of Levi Eshkol on February 26, 1969 resulted in Golda Meir's reentering active politics after being chosen by the Labor Party as his successor. Meir's new government had a similar makeup to Eshkol's, and only the foreign affairs and security chapter in the government's guidelines was redrafted in agreement with Gaḥal.

Table 26. Members of the Fourteenth Government (formed March 17, 1969)

Ministerial Position	Name (party)
Prime Minister	Golda Meir (Alignment)
Deputy Prime Minister and Absorption	Yigal Allon (Alignment)
Agriculture	Chaim Gvati (Alignment) (not an MK)
Defense	Moshe Dayan (Alignment)
Development and Tourism	Moshe Kol (Independent Liberal) (not an MK)
Education & Culture	Zalman Aran (Alignment)
Finance and Commerce & Industry	Ze'ev Sherf (Alignment)
Foreign Affairs	Abba Eban (Alignment)
Health	Israel Barzilai (Alignment) (not an MK)
Housing	Mordekhai Bentov (Alignment) (not an MK)
Interior	Ḥayyim Moshe Shapira (NRP)
Justice	Ya'akov Shimshon Shapira (Alignment) (not an MK)
Labor	Yosef Almogi (Alignment)
Police	Eliyahu Sasson (Alignment)
Postal Services	Israel Yeshayahu (Alignment)
Religious Affairs	Zeraḥ Wahrhaftig (NRP)
Transportation	Moshe Carmel (Alignment) (not an MK)
Welfare	Joseph Burg (NRP)
Without Portfolio	Menaḥem Begin (Gaḥal)
Without Portfolio	Israel Galili (Alignment)
Without Portfolio	Pinḥas Sapir (Alignment)
Without Portfolio	Yosef Sapir (Gaḥal)

The issue of the disappearance of Yemenite children in the early years of the state came up for the first time in this period, and a commission of inquiry was set up to deal with it. The problem of elected representatives changing political allegiance in return for material gain – which was referred to as *kalanterism*, after a certain Raḥamim Kalanter, who had changed sides in the Jerusalem municipality in return for such benefits – was also an issue that came up for debate in the Knesset.

Other issues over which there were deep differences of opinion were the implementation of a national health insurance system, demanded by Gaḥal on the one hand and Uri Avneri on the other, and the issue of organ transplants, raised by the religious parties.

Towards the end of the Knesset's term, Rafi considered seceding from the Labor Party and running separately in the elections to the Seventh Knesset, but was finally pacified when it was agreed that the former members of Rafi would be allowed to nominate their own candidates to the Labor Party list and as ministers in the government that would be formed after the elections. Ben-Gurion decided to run in the elections within the framework of a new list – Ha-Reshimah ha-Mamlakhtit (the State List).

The election campaign preceding the elections to the Seventh Knesset was comparatively subdued, one of the reasons for this being a new Election Financing Law that limited spending on the campaign. For the first time TV was used for electioneering, while the role of mass public rallies was reduced.

[Misha Louvish / Susan Hattis Rolef (2nd ed.)]

The Seventh Knesset, 1969–73

The elections to the Seventh Knesset were held on October 28, 1969, and the first meeting of the Knesset was held 25 days later, on November 17, 1969.

Table 27. Results of the elections to the Seventh Knesset

Electorate:	1,758,685
Valid votes cast	1,367,743
Qualifying threshold (1%)	13,677
Votes per seat	11,274

Table 28. Results of the elections to the Seventh Knesset by party

Name of list	Number of valid votes	% of total votes	Number of seats	15th Govt
Alignment	632,035	46.2	56	X
Gaḥal	296,294	21.7	26	X*
National Religious Party	133,294	9.7	12	X
Two minority lists associated with the Alignment	44,989	3.5	4	X**
Agudat Israel	44,002	3.2	4	
Independent Liberals	43,933	3.2	4	X
State List	42,654	3.1	4	
Rakaḥ (New Communist Party)	38,827	2.8	3	
Po'alei Agudat Israel	24,968	1.9	2	
Ha-Olam ha-Zeh Ko'aḥ Ḥadash	16,853	1.4	2	
Free Center	16,393	1.2	2	
Maki (Communist Party)	15,712	1.1	1	

* Left the government on 6.8.70.

** Members of the coalition but not the government.

Table 29. Members of the Fifteenth Government (formed December 15, 1969)

Ministerial Position	Name (party)
Prime Minister	Golda Meir (Alignment)
Deputy PM and Education & Culture	Yigal Allon (Alignment)
Agriculture	Chaim Gvati (Alignment)
Commerce & Industry	Yosef Sapir (Gaḥal) (until 8.6.70)
	Pinḥas Sapir (Alignment) (from 9.1.70 until 3.5.72)
	Haim Bar-Lev (Alignment) (from 3.5.72)
Communications (formerly Postal Services and Transportation)	Shimon Peres (Alignment) (from 9.1.70)
Defense	Moshe Dayan (Alignment)
Development	Ḥayyim Landau (Gaḥal) (until 8.6.70)
	Chaim Gvati (Alignment) (from 9.1.70)
Finance	Pinḥas Sapir (Alignment)
Foreign Affairs	Abba Eban (Alignment)
Health	Chaim Gvati (Alignment) (from 12.22.69 until 7.27.70)
	Victor Shemtov (Alignment) (from 7.27.70)
Housing	Ze'ev Sherf (Alignment)
Immigrant Absorption	Shimon Peres (Alignment) (from 12.22.69 until 7.27.70)
	Natan Peled (not an MK)
Interior	Ḥayyim Moshe Shapira (NRP) (d. 7.16.70)
	Joseph Burg (NRP) (from 9.1.70) (resigned from the Knesset)
Justice	Ya'akov Shimshon Shapira (Alignment) (until 6.13.72 and from 9.12.72 until 11.1.73)
Labor	Yosef Almogi (Alignment)
Police	Shelomo Hillel (Alignment)
Postal Services	Elimelekh Shimon Rimalt (Gaḥal) (until 8.6.70)
Religious Affairs	Zeraḥ Wahrhaftig (NRP)
Tourism	Moshe Kol (Independent Liberal) (resigned from the Knesset)
Transportation	Ezer Weizman (Gaḥal) (until 8.6.70)
Welfare	Joseph Burg (NRP) (until 9.1.70) (resigned from the Knesset)
	Ya'akov Mikhael Hazani (NRP) (from 1.9.70)
Without Portfolio	Israel Galili (Alignment)
Without Portfolio	Shimon Peres (Alignment) (until 22.12.69)
Without Portfolio	Israel Barzilai (Alignment) (d. 6.12.70)
Without Portfolio	Victor Shemtov (Alignment (until 7.27.70)
Without Portfolio	Menaḥem Begin (Gaḥal) (until 8.6.70)
Without Portfolio	Arye Dulzin (Gaḥal) (not an MK)

In the elections to the Seventh Knesset, the new Labor-Mapam Alignment lost the overall majority it had commanded in the Sixth Knesset when it was first formed, but nevertheless won an impressive victory – 56 seats, more than any list had ever received in an election – and together with the two minority lists, it controlled half the Knesset seats.

Gaḥal maintained its strength with 26 seats, even though the Free Center, which had broken away from Gaḥal, received two. The National List, headed by Ben-Gurion, received 4 seats, while the National Religious Party received 12. Ha-Olam ha-Zeh Ko'aḥ Ḥadash doubled its strength, but before long split in half.

In the negotiations for the new government, Gaḥal demanded representation in proportion to its Knesset strength and greater influence over the government's basic principles. In protest against the appointment of the six Gaḥal ministers, of whom four were given portfolios, at first Mapam refused to play an active role in the government, and its two ministers remained without portfolio.

Despite the changes in the government, there was no significant break with the past.

Against the background of a continued wave of airline hijackings and terrorist attacks by Palestinian terrorists, in the condemnation of which nearly all the parties joined, there were several peace initiatives – one on behalf of the UN (the Jarring mission) and another led by the U.S. (the Rogers Plan) – on which opinions in Israel were divided. The willingness of the Labor leaders to respond favorably to the second Rogers Plan for negotiations with Egypt resulted in Mapam's finally accepting ministerial responsibilities on July 27, 1970, and in Gaḥal's decision to resign from the National Unity Government, on August 6, even though its Liberal wing believed this to be a mistake. The departure of Gaḥal from the government led to a redistribution of seats among the remaining coalition members, and two portfolios formerly held by Gaḥal – Transportation and Postal Services – were united in the Ministry of Communications under Shimon Peres.

Pinḥas Sapir, who had returned to the Ministry of Finance in the new government, now also assumed the Commerce and Industry portfolio, while Chaim Gvati added the Development portfolio to the previously held Agriculture.

Gaḥal's return to the opposition, in addition to reducing the number of ministers in the government, rejuvenated Israel's parliamentary life. Even though the NRP remained in the government, some of its younger members started to express opposition to the Alignment's declared willingness to consider withdrawal from part of the territories occupied during the Six-Day War in return for peace, marking the beginning of the NRP's gradual shift to the right, and the beginning of the end of its 20-year "historic coalition" with the labor camp.

However, even within the Alignment there were differences of opinion on the issue of the future of the territories, with certain sections of the Labor Party – especially former members of Rafi, and some former members of Aḥdut ha-Avodah (with the marked exception of Yigal Allon) – taking a more hawkish position. Though Allon's Plan – which advocated the return of most of Judea and Samaria, as well as the Gaza Strip to Jordan, leaving the Jordan Valley and Eastern Mountain Range, as well as Gush Eẓyon, the Latrun corridor, and several other areas in Israeli hands – was never formally accepted by the government, it did constitute the basis for Israel's new settlement map in the course of the Seventh and Eighth Knessets. At the same time Dayan, who had started implementing his "open bridges" policy soon after the Six-Day War, developed the concept of the "functional partition."

Nevertheless, at this point, with a prosperous economy and no real prospects for serious negotiations with Israel's neighbors due to the three "noes" of the 1968 Khartoum Arab Summit Conference, the position of the Alignment, and its various components, seemed strong and stable, and as in the past, Gaḥal, and its components, seemed no closer than in the past to unseating the labor camp from power.

The appearance of the Black Panther protest movement in 1970, which held a series of violent demonstrations in Jerusalem, should have lit a red light for the Alignment. But instead of reacting to growing dissatisfaction and disaffection by Israeli citizens of Sephardi origin, who were demanding their fair share in the booming economy, Golda Meir brushed the Black Panthers off as being "not nice," alluding to the criminal records of some of them. Nevertheless, the Knesset dealt extensively with the subject of economic gaps in society, and the term "poverty line" came into use.

Other issues on the political agenda in the course of the Seventh Knesset were the amendment of the Law of Return, which defined a Jew for the purpose of the right of return as "anyone born to a Jewish mother or who has converted, and is not a member of another faith"; the absorption of a wave of immigration from the Soviet Union, which was followed in the Soviet Union itself by the persecution of Jews who identified with Israel; the immigration to Israel of the leader of the *Jewish Defense League rabbi Meir *Kahane, who was to radicalize right-wing politics in Israel, and the attempted immigration to Israel of Meyer *Lansky, one of the Jewish heads of organized crime in the U.S., who sought asylum but was refused entry.

The outbreak of the Yom Kippur War on October 6, 1973, came to Israel as a total surprise, despite early warning signals. The surprise was the outcome of what might be described as cockiness resulting from overconfidence, and a mistaken concept that the neighboring states would not dare attack Israel. Though with the help of U.S. supplies Israel managed to emerge from the war, after close to three weeks of fierce fighting, in a favorable strategic situation, the war had been extremely costly in human lives, economic resources (Israel's enormous national debt dates from that time), and public loss of faith in the political and military leadership.

Though the political consequences of the war did not manifest themselves immediately, there is no doubt that the consequences of what came to be known as the *meḥdal* – the failure – was a major contributor to the election upset (*mahapakh*) three and a half years later. The convening of the Geneva Peace Conference towards the end of December, with the participation of Egypt and Jordan but the marked absence of Syria, did not help in any way to mitigate the sense that an earthquake had occurred.

Elections to the Eighth Knesset were to have been held in November 1973, but were put off to December 31 due to the outbreak of the war.

After retiring from the army as a brigadier general in June 1973, Ariel (Arik) *Sharon actually considered joining the Labor Party, but finally decided to join the Liberal Party within Gaḥal, and was instrumental in getting the Ḥerut Movement, the Liberals, the Free Center, and the State List (without Ben-Gurion, who resigned from the Knesset in May 1970) to form the *Likud. However, before entering the politics arena as an active player, Sharon returned to active service during the war, strengthening his reputation as a brilliant tactician with serious disciplinary problems.

The Eighth Knesset, 1973–77

The elections to the Eighth Knesset were held on December 31, 1973, and the first meeting of the Knesset was held 21 days later, on January 21, 1974.

Table 30. Results of the elections to the Eighth Knesset

Electorate:	2,037,478
Valid votes cast	1,566,855
Qualifying threshold (1%)	15,668
Votes per seat	12,424

Table 31. Results of the elections to the Eighth Knesset by party

Name of list	Number of valid votes	% of total votes	Number of seats	16th Govt	17th Govt
Alignment	621,183	39.6	51	X	X
Likud	473,309	30.9	39		
National Religious Party	130,349	8.3	10	X	X*
Religious Torah Front	60,012	3.8	5		
Independent Liberals	56,560	3.6	4	X	X
Rakaḥ (New Communist Party)	53,353	3.4	4		
Two minority lists associated with the Alignment	39,012	2.4	3		X**
Civil Rights Movement (CRM)	35,023	2.2	3		X***
Moked	22,147	1.4	1		

* Joined the government on 30.10.74.
** Members of the coalition but not the government.
*** Left the coalition after the NRP joined.

The full political repercussions of the Yom Kippur War were not to be felt until the elections to the Ninth Knesset. Nevertheless early signs of what lay ahead could be discerned in the results of the elections to the Eighth Knesset. The Labor Alignment lost five of its seats and now had 51, while the Likud received 39 seats. The Alignment lost three of its seats to the new Citizens' Rights Movement (Ratz), established by Shulamit *Aloni, who had left the Labor Party due largely to her personal rivalry with Golda Meir. The new party, besides being more dovish than Labor, advocated a strong human and civil rights agenda. But what was more significant was that the Alignment lost two seats to the Likud.

It took Golda Meir over two months to form a new government, with the participation of the NRP and the Independent Liberals. The distribution of seats in the new Government was almost identical to that at the end of the Fifteenth Government, with the new addition of Yitzḥak *Rabin, who had recently returned from serving as Israel's ambassador to Washington, as minister of labor.

Table 32. Members of the Sixteenth Government (formed March 10, 1974)

Ministerial Position	Name (party)
Prime Minister	Golda Meir (Alignment)
Deputy PM and Education & Culture	Yigal Allon (Alignment)
Agriculture	Chaim Gvati (Alignment)
Commerce & Industry and Development	Ḥaim Barlev (Alignment)
Communications	Aharon Uzan (Alignment) (not an MK)
Defense	Moshe Dayan (Alignment)
Finance	Pinḥas Sapir (Alignment)
Foreign Affairs	Abba Eban (Alignment)
Health	Victor Shemtov (Alignment)
Housing	Yehoshua Rabinowitz (Alignment)
Immigrant Absorption	Shelomo Rosen (Alignment) (not an MK)
Information	Shimon Peres (Alignment)
Interior	Joseph Burg (NRP)
Justice	Ḥayyim Yosef Zadok (Alignment)
Labor	Yitzḥak Rabin (Alignment)
Police	Shlomo Hillel (Alignment)
Religious Affairs	Yiẓḥak Rafael (NRP)
Tourism	Moshe Kol (Independent Liberal) (resigned from the Knesset)
Transportation	Aharon Yariv (Alignment)
Welfare	Ya'akov Mikhael Hazani (NRP)
Without Portfolio	Israel Galili (Alignment)
Without Portfolio	Gideon Hausner (Independent Liberal) (resigned from the Knesset)

However, a month after establishing her government, on April 11, 1974, Golda Meir resigned, following the publication of the interim report of the *Agranat Commission, which had investigated the background to the outbreak of the Yom Kippur War. Meir resigned despite the fact that the report had exonerated her from any responsibility for the war's failures, placing the full blame on the military.

It was only on June 3 that a new government was finally established by the political novice Yitzhak Rabin, who was chosen by the Labor Party as Meir's heir, after a political contest between him and Shimon Peres. Rabin's advantage was that his name had not been associated in any way with the Yom Kippur War. Three of the veteran Labor leaders – Moshe Dayan, Abba Eban, and Pinḥas Sapir – were left out of the new government, with Peres becoming defense minister, Yigal Allon foreign minister, and Yehoshua Rabinowitz finance minister. The fact that Rabin was the first Israeli-born prime minister, with another Israeli-born cabinet member, Allon, responsible for foreign affairs, seemed to herald a new and optimistic era of Israeli politics. The presence in the government, at its inception, of Shulamit Aloni, side by side with the Independent Liberals, and the absence of the NRP, also appeared to promise a new direction.

However, soon the NRP joined, Aloni left, and the government proceeded on a bumpy, unstable road that led to the election upset of 1977.

Table 33. Members of the Seventeenth Government (formed June 3, 1974)

Ministerial Position	Name (party)
Prime Minister	Yitzḥak Rabin (Alignment)
Deputy PM and Foreign Affairs	Yigal Allon (Alignment)
Agriculture	Aharon Uzan (Alignment) (not an MK)
Commerce & Industry and Development	Ḥaim Barlev (Alignment)
Communications	Yitzḥak Rabin (Alignment) (until 3.20.75) Aharon Uzan (from 3.20.75) (not an MK)
Defense	Shimon Peres (Alignment)
Education & Culture	Aharon Yadlin (Alignment)
Finance	Yehoshua Rabinowitz (Alignment)
Health	Victor Shemtov (Alignment)
Housing	Shelomo Rosen (Alignment) (from 1.16.77)
Immigrant Absorption	Shelomo Rosen (Alignment)
Information	Aharon Yariv (Alignment) (until 2.4.75)
Interior	Shelomo Hillel (until 10.29.74) Joseph Burg (NRP) (from 10.30.74 until 12.22.76) Shelomo Hillel (from 1.16.77)
Justice	Ḥayyim Yosef Zadok (Alignment)
Labor	Moshe Baram (Alignment)
Police	Shelomo Hillel (Alignment)
Religious Affairs	Ḥayyim Yosef Zadok (Alignment) (until 10.29.74) Yiẓḥak Rafael (NRP) (from 10.30.74 until 12.22.76) Ḥayyim Yosef Zadok (Alignment) (from 1.16.77)
Tourism	Moshe Kol (Independent Liberal) (not an MK)
Transportation	Gad Yaacobi (Alignment)
Welfare	Victor Shemtov (Alignment) (until 10.29.74) Ya'akov Mikhael Hazani (NRP) (from 10.30.74 (d. 7.2.75)) Yitzḥak Rabin (Alignment) (from 7.7.75 until 7.29.75) Joseph Burg (NRP) (until 11.4.75) Zevulun Hammer (NRP) (until 12.22.76) Moshe Baram (Alignment) (from 1.16.77)
Without Portfolio	Israel Galili (Alignment)
Without Portfolio	Gideon Hausner (Independent Liberal) (not an MK)
Without Portfolio	Shulamit Aloni (CRM) (until 11.6.74)

The Rabin government had to contend with a major foreign debt, created as a result of the Yom Kippur War, but despite generous U.S. economic and military aid, the rate of inflation started to rise sharply, and to the anti-Alignment protest movements that emerged against a political background was added social unrest against an economic and social background.

The shuttle diplomacy of U.S. Secretary of State Henry *Kissinger led to disengagement agreements with Egypt and Syria in 1974, and another interim agreement with Egypt in 1975 that involved the principle of "territories in exchange for peace." An initiative by Allon to continue this process *vis-à-vis* Jordan with the "Jericho Plan" came to naught after the results of the Rabat Arab Summit Conference of October 1974, which declared that only the PLO could negotiate a settlement for Palestine. However, what seemed to some a welcome development in the Arab-Israeli conflict also sharpened the political divide in Israel regarding the future of the territories occupied by Israel in the course of the Six-Day War, between those willing to give up territories for peace and those opposed.

The emergence of *Gush Emunim and the sharp turn to the right among the younger leaders of the NRP must be seen against this background. The growing number of Palestinian terrorist attacks on Israeli territory and against Israeli targets, Israel's growing isolation in the international arena, which reached its peak with the 1975 UN General Assembly Resolution 3379 that equated Zionism with racism, and the decision of the Soviet Union to once again close its gates to emigration to Israel contributed to the gradual movement of Israeli public opinion to the right.

The killing of six Israeli Arabs by Israeli security forces on March 30, 1976, in the course of "Land Day" demonstrations, proclaimed by the Arab community to protest against the confiscation of Arab land by the state, was to have a profound effect on political developments among Israeli Arabs.

Several financial scandals connected with senior members of the Labor Party – the first involving Asher Yadlin, who had been a candidate for the position of governor of the Bank of Israel and ended up in prison; the second involving Minister of Construction and Housing Avraham Ofer, who committed suicide before charges were brought against him; and the third involving a bank account held by Rabin's wife in the U.S. in contravention of Israel's foreign currency laws, and which ultimately resulted in Rabin's resignation from the premiership – added to a sharp decline in Labor's popularity.

In fact, the government resigned on December 22, 1976, before the bank account scandal became known, against the background of the abstention of the NRP in a vote on a motion of no confidence, brought by Agudat Israel in connection with the alleged breach of the Sabbath caused by a ceremony held at an air force base, and the removal of its ministers from the government that followed.

In 1976, in preparation for the elections to the Ninth Knesset, various protest movements and individual politicians who had left the labor movement, on the one hand, and the Likud, on the other, formed a new party under the leadership of Yigael *Yadin, which called itself the *Democratic Movement for Change (DMC, popularly known as "Dash").

In the course of the Eighth Knesset there were also early attempts by the government to enact two central Basic Laws, Basic Law: Legislation and Basic Law: Human Rights, but both efforts were cut short due to the opposition of the religious parties.

The Ninth Knesset, 1977–81

The elections to the Ninth Knesset were held on May 17, 1977, and the first meeting of the Knesset was held 27 days later, on June 13, 1977.

Table 34. Results of the elections to the Ninth Knesset

Electorate:	2,236,293
Valid votes cast	1,747,820
Qualifying threshold (1%)	17,478
Votes per seat	14,173

Table 35. Results of the elections to the Ninth Knesset by party

Name of list	Number of valid votes	% of total votes	Number of seats	18th Govt
Likud	583,968	33.4	43	X
Alignment	430,023	24.6	32	
Democratic Movement for Change	202,265	11.6	15	X*
National Religious Party	160,787	9.2	12	X
Hadash	80,118	4.6	5	
Agudat Israel	58,652	3.3	4	X**
Flatto Sharon	35,049	2.0	1[#]	
Shlomzion	33,947	1.9	2	X***
Maḥaneh Sheli	27,281	1.6	2	
One minority list associated with the Alignment	24,185	1.4	1	
Po'alei Agudat Israel	23,571	1.3	1	
Civil Rights Movement	20,621	1.2	1	
Independent Liberals	20,384	1.2	1	

[#] Received sufficient votes for two seats, but did not have additional members on his list.

* Joined the government on Oct. 24, 1977. After the DMC fell apart in 1978, most of its members went into opposition.

** Did not hold a ministerial post.

*** Joined the Likud on July 5, 1977.

The elections to the Ninth Knesset produced what came to be known as the *mahapakh* or "big upset." The Alignment lost 19 seats and was now left with 32, while the Likud gained four and went up to 43. Most of the remainder of the former Alignment votes went to the DMC, which obtained 15 seats. Soon after the election Moshe Dayan left the Alignment to join the new government formed by Menaḥem Begin and remained in the Knesset for a time as an independent MK. Shlomzion, a party formed by Sharon just before the elections against the background of disagreements within the Likud, gained two seats, and soon joined the Likud.

The main reasons for Labor's defeat were a late reaction to the Yom Kippur War; a general feeling that the movement had been in power for too long, and was both no longer in touch with popular feelings and showing clear signs of corruption; a full-scale revolt by the movement's former Sephardi voters – many of them of the second generation of immigrants from the Muslim countries; and growing dissatisfaction with Labor's economic policy, with the central role played by the state and the Histadrut. However, until after the elections to the Tenth Knesset in 1981, many Labor leaders were inclined to see the defeat as a mishap, or temporary setback – not a change in political trends.

Other noteworthy election results were the gains of Ḥadash, which received five seats. Ḥadash, formed in the course of the Eighth Knesset, was now made up of the Communist Party and the colorful Charlie Bitton of the Black Panther movement, who had held talks with several of the Zionist parties before deciding to opt for Ḥadash. Flatto Sharon, a Polish Jewish businessmen and fugitive from French justice, won enough votes for two seats, but did not have a second member on his list. Later on Sharon was to stand trial on charges of having bribed voters.

While the DMC's electoral success was impressive, the new party's main success was in significantly weakening the Alignment. However, the Likud, under Menaḥem Begin, managed to rally a coalition of 61 MKs, even before the DMC decided to join the government, and within a year the new party broke up into a number of parliamentary groups and individual MKs, while two of its MKs joined the Alignment.

The Ninth Knesset elected Yitzhak *Shamir from the Likud as its speaker, and afterwards when he was appointed minister for foreign affairs, Yiẓḥak Berman. The Knesset also elected Yitzhak *Navon of the Labor Party as president of the state.

It took Begin just over a month to form his government. This was to be a new government in more senses than one. It was the first government without any of the labor parties, even though Moshe Dayan, as an individual, agreed to assume the post of minister for foreign affairs. Most of the ministers had never held ministerial posts, despite the brief participation of Gaḥal in the National Unity Government of 1967–70. Simḥah *Ehrlich, of the Liberal branch of the Likud, became minister of finance and embarked on a policy of liberalization. The two religious parties in the coalition – the NRP and Agudat Israel – which gave Begin his parliamentary majority without the DMC, were also able to bring about changes in the famous "religious status quo," through the introduction of amendments in the Anatomy and Pathology Law, the Abortion Law, and the regulations relating to the service of women in the IDF. Agudat Israel refused ministerial posts in the government, but received the chairmanships of two important Knesset committees: Finance and Labor, and Welfare.

Paradoxically, it was this government that was to sign the first peace treaty between Israel and an Arab state. Though the first steps towards a rapprochement with Egypt had been taken by the Rabin government, it was the Begin government that hosted Egyptian President Anwar *Sadat, who delivered a speech in the Knesset on November 20, 1977. Dayan and Ezer Weizman, who became minister of defense in the new government, played a central role, together with Begin, in first attaining the Camp David Accords of September 1978 and then the Israeli-Egyptian peace treaty of March 1979.

Table 36. Members of the Eighteenth Government (formed on June 20, 1977)

Ministerial Position	Name (party)
Prime Minister	Menaḥem Begin (Likud)
Deputy PM	Simḥah Ehrlich (Likud) Yigael Yadin (DMC) (from 10.24.77)
Agriculture	Ariel Sharon (Likud)
Commerce & Industry and Tourism	Yigael Hurwitz (Likud) (until 10.1.78) Gideon Pat (Likud) (from 1.15.79)
Communications	Menaḥem Begin (Likud) (until 10.24.77) (with Transportation) Meir Amit (DMC) (until 9.15.78) (with Transportation) Yitzḥak Modai (Likud) (from 1.15.79 until 12.22.80) Yoram Aridor (Likud) (from 1.5.81) (with Finance)
Construction & Housing	Gideon Pat (Likud) (until 1.15.79) David Levy (Likud) (from 1.15.79)
Defense	Ezer Weizman (Likud) (until 5.26.80) Menaḥem Begin (Likud) (from 1.28.80)
Education, Culture & Sport	Zevulun Hammer (NRP)
Energy & Infrastructures	Yitzhak Modai (Likud)
Finance	Simḥah Ehrlich (Likud) (until 11.7.79) Yigael Hurwitz (Likud) (until 1.13.81) Yoram Aridor (Likud) (from 1.21.81) (with Communications)
Foreign Affairs	Moshe Dayan (Single MK) (until 10.23.79) Menaḥem Begin (Likud) (until 3.10.80) Yitzhak Shamir (Likud) (from 3.10.80)
Health	Eliezer Shostak (Likud)
Immigrant Absorption	David Levy (Likud)
Interior and Police	Joseph Burg (NRP)
Justice	Menaḥem Begin (Likud) (until 10.24.77) Shmuel Tamir (DMC) (until 8.5.80) Moshe Nissim (Likud) (from 8.13.80)
Labor and Welfare	Menaḥem Begin (Likud) (until 10.24.77) Israel Katz (not an MK) (from 10.24.77)
Religious Affairs	Aharon Abuhaẓeira (NRP)
Transportation	Menaḥem Begin (Likud) (until 10.24.77) (with Communications) Meir Amit (DMC) (until 9.15.78) (with Communications) Ḥayyim Landau (Likud) (not an MK) (from 1.15.79)
Without Portfolio	Ḥayyim Landau (Likud) (not an MK) (from 1.10.78 until 1.15.79)
Without Portfolio	Moshe Nissim (Likud) (from 1.10.78 until 8.13.80)

The Peace Treaty with Egypt, which was based on a complete withdrawal of Israel from the Sinai Peninsula, was not accepted by some Likud members, but was approved by the Knesset with a large majority, due to the support of the Alignment. However, the signing of the treaty led to the departure of two members from the Likud – Geulah *Cohen and Moshe *Shamir – who formed a new parliamentary group, Teḥiyyah-Banai, to the right of the Likud.

While the new government pushed forward the achievement of peace in the south, it also engaged in a military operation in the north – the Litani Operation of March 1978, led by Chief of Staff Mordechai (Motta) *Gur – the goal of which was to hit the Palestinian terrorist organizations that had gained a controlling foothold in Southern Lebanon. The Litani Operation was in reaction to a terrorist attack along Israel's coastal road carried out by Palestinians who had come from Lebanon.

As minister of agriculture, Ariel Sharon played a major role in promoting Jewish settlement in Judea, Samaria, and the Gaza Strip. A permanent settlement was set up at Elon Moreh, Bet Hadassah in Hebron was occupied, and the number of Jews in the territories rose to around 8,300. The polarization of Israeli society against this background started to manifest itself, with the Peace Now movement being established in 1978 and the so-called "Jewish Underground" in 1980.

Despite its promising beginning, Begin's coalition proved to be extremely unstable. After the DMC fell apart, some of its former members, including Minister of Justice Shmuel Tamir, left the government. Dayan and Weizman also left the government, because of their dissatisfaction with the lack of progress in the negotiations for the establishment of autonomy for the Palestinians, which had been included in the Camp David Accords. Dayan was replaced in the Ministry for Foreign Affairs by Yitzhak Shamir, while Begin replaced Weizman. Changes also took place in the Ministry of Finance, when a massive deterioration in Israel's balance of payments and rising inflation forced Ehrlich to resign. After his resignation Yigael Hurwitz became Minister of Finance, with a declared economic policy of "not a penny to spare." Hurwitz then resigned when his policy did not gain the government's support, and he was replaced by Yoram Aridor, who embarked on what could be called election economics. These were just a few of the changes that took place in the government. By December 1980 the government's majority in the Knesset had shrunk from 76 to 63.

In the Labor Party, in 1979 Yigal Allon decided to challenge Shimon Peres' leadership. However, Allon passed away suddenly in February 1980, and the challenge to Peres' leadership reverted to Yitzhak Rabin, who in 1979 had published a book in which he referred to Peres as a "tireless schemer." The contest, which took place in December 1980, ended with Rabin suffering a bitter 71–29 defeat, and Peres being reconfirmed as the party's chairman and candidate for prime minister.

In the course of the Ninth Knesset an unprecedented number of new parliamentary groups was formed, and of MKs changing their allegiance – some as many as three times.

Early in 1981 the Knesset voted to hold early elections on June 30. The election campaign was accompanied by a good deal of verbal and physical violence. In addition to Minister of Finance Aridor's raising salaries and keeping prices down by lowering customs duties, the decision to bomb the Iraqi nuclear reactor Osiraq, a month before the elections, was also viewed as an election ploy.

The Tenth Knesset, 1981–1984

The elections to the Tenth Knesset were held on June 30, 1981, and the first meeting of the Knesset was held 20 days later, on July 20, 1981.

Table 37. Results of the elections to the Tenth Knesset

Electorate:	2,490,014
Valid votes cast	1,937,366
Qualifying threshold (1%)	19,373
Votes per seat	15,312

Table 38. Results of the elections to the Tenth Knesset by party

Name of list	Number of valid votes	% of total votes	Number of seats	19th Gov't.	20th Gov't.
Likud	718,941	37.1	48	X	X
Alignment	708,536	36.6	47		
National Religious Party	95,232	4.9	6	X	X
Agudat Israel	72,312	3.7	4	X*	X*
Ḥadash	64,918	3.4	4		
Tami	44,466	2.3	3	X	X
Teḥiyyah	40,700	2.3	3	X**	X
Telem	30,600	1.6	2	X	X
Shinui	29,837	1.5	2		
Civil Rights Movement	27,921	1.4	1		

* Did not hold a ministerial post.

** Joined the coalition on July 26, 1982.

Despite the fact that the opinion polls had predicted that the Alignment would be victorious in the elections to the Tenth Knesset, the Likud emerged from the elections as the largest parliamentary group with 48 seats to the Alignment's 47. The Alignment had hoped for an upset vistory of its own but it failed to materialize. Since the results were close, one may assume that what finally made the difference were the successful attack on Iraq and Aridor's election economics, but the Alignment had begun to realize that the results of the elections to the Ninth Knesset were not simply a temporary setback. For the sake of parliamentary convenience, Shulamit Aloni, with the CRM's single seat – down from three – joined the Alignment for the duration of the Tenth Knesset.

Four new lists – Shinui, Telem, Teḥiyyah, and Tami – entered the Knesset. All four lists were formed by members of the Knesset who had broken away from other parliamentary groups in the course of the Ninth Knesset. Shinui, led by Prof. Amnon *Rubinstein, was the only parliamentary group that had broken away from Dash and survived, receiving two seats. Telem, headed by Moshe Dayan, who had left the Alignment soon after the previous election, also received two seats. Dayan was to pass away soon after the elections. Teḥiyyah, led by Geula Cohen, who had broken away from the Likud, fared better with three seats, as did Tami, an ethnic party formed by Aharon Abuhaẓeira, who had broken away from the NRP after being acquitted of criminal charges that had been leveled against him in 1980. Abuhaẓeira felt that his former colleagues – predominantly Ashkenazi – had not stood by him because of his Moroccan ethnic origin.

The NRP, which had always received 10–12 Knesset seats, now fell to six. It lost some of its Sephardi voters to Tami, while Teḥiyyah gained some of its right-wing voters.

Table 39. Members of the Ninteenth Government (formed on August 5, 1981)

Ministerial Position	Name (party)
Prime Minister	Menaḥem Begin (Likud)
Deputy PM	Simḥah Ehrlich (Likud) (d. 6.19.83)
Deputy PM	David Levy (Likud) (from 11.3.81)
Agriculture	Simḥah Ehrlich (Likud) (d. 6.19.83) Menaḥem Begin (Likud) (from 6.19.83)
Communications	Mordekhai Ẓippori (Likud)
Construction & Housing	David Levy (Likud)
Defense	Ariel Sharon (Likud) (until 2.14.83) Moshe Arens (Likud) (not an MK) (from 2.23.83)
Education, Culture & Sport	Zevulun Hammer (NRP)
Energy & Infrastructures	Yiẓḥak Berman (Likud) (until 9.30.82) Yitzhak Modai (Likud) (from 10.19.82)
Finance	Yoram Aridor (Likud)
Foreign Affairs	Yitzhak Shamir (Likud)
Health	Eliezer Shostak (Likud)
Industry & Trade	Gideon Pat (Likud)
Interior and Religious Affairs	Joseph Burg (NRP)
Justice	Moshe Nissim (Likud) (from 8.13.80)
Labor and Welfare and Immigrant Absorption	Aharon Abuhaẓeira (Tami) (until 5.4.82) Aharon Uzan (Tami) (from 5.4.82)
Science & Development	Yuval Ne'eman (Teḥiyyah) (from 7.26.82)
Tourism	Gideon Pat (Likud) (until 8.11.81) Avraham Sharir (Likud) (from 8.11.81)
Transportation	Ḥayyim Korfu (Likud)
Without Portfolio	Mordekhai Ben-Porat (Telem) (from 7.5.82)
Without Portfolio	Sarah Doron (Likud) (until 10.19.82)
Without Portfolio	Yitzhak Modai (Likud) (until 10.19.82)
Without Portfolio	Ariel Sharon (Likud) (from 2.14.83)

The Tenth Knesset elected Menaḥem Savidor of the Likud as its speaker. It was also to elect Chaim *Herzog of the Labor Party as president of the state.

It took Begin three weeks to form his new government. In many respects it resembled the makeup of his previous government at the end of its term of office, with one significant change: Ariel Sharon was appointed minister of defense, despite some misgivings on Begin's part. Of the new parties Tami and Telem joined the coalition when it was formed, while Teḥiyyah joined in July 1982. A novelty in this government was the large number of deputy ministers, whose number now reached 11. This was to become a regular feature in Israel's governments, which were to become increasingly large, thus leaving fewer of the Knesset's 120 members to perform parliamentary work.

The new government followed its predecessor in making major concessions to the religious parties in the sphere of religious legislation, such as an amendment to the Law of Return on the issue of Who is a Jew, the suspension of El Al flights, and drastic limitations on the granting of work permits on the Sabbath and religious holidays, increased funding for yeshivot and religious institutions, and amendments to the laws dealing with *kashrut*. Efforts by the new government to bring about administrative changes in the ministries met with labor unrest and sanctions. Whereas during the first Likud-led government few personnel changes were made in the civil service, now there were many new political appointments – a sign that the Likud had gained confidence as a ruling party.

In the political sphere, the new government remained committed to the peace treaty with Egypt, and Sharon – one of the architects of Jewish settlement in the territories occupied in the course of the Six-Day War – oversaw the dismantlement of the remaining Jewish settlement in the Sinai, including the town of *Yammit. In the course of the Tenth Knesset no progress was made regarding autonomy for the Palestinians, as agreed in the Camp David Accords. However, a new experiment was made, led by the head of the Civil Administration in the territories, Menaḥem Milson, to create an alternative leadership to the PLO, in the form of the village leagues. Settlement activities in Judea and Samaria continued with vigor, and at the end of 1981 the Knesset passed a law to extend Israeli law to the Golan Heights. Seven Alignment MKs voted in favor of the new law.

Half a year later, in June 1982, Minister of Defense Ariel Sharon convinced the government to invade Southern Lebanon in order to oust the PLO, which had created bases there from which it attacked Israel, though the official pretext for what was called "Operation Peace for Galilee" was the attempted assassination of the Israeli ambassador to London, Shlomo Argov.

In its first stage, as long as the operation was limited to a 25-mile (40 km) strip in Southern Lebanon, there was broad Israeli consensus in favor of its goals. However, Sharon was determined to continue advancing, and went on to capture most of the Lebanese capital of Beirut and other strategic positions. A debate was later to develop as to whether Sharon had duped Begin into approving his more ambitious plans, which included the installation of a government in Lebanon that would be friendly to Israel and which would sign a peace treaty with it. However, the massacre by members of the Lebanese Christian Phalange in the refugee camps of Sabra and Shatila in September 1982 following the assassination of newly elected Lebanese President Bashir Jumayyil resulted in a major public outcry in Israel. A mass demonstration, reportedly attended by 400,000 in Tel Aviv, which was organized by the *Peace Now movement and supported by the Alignment, the CRM, and Shinui, called for Sharon's resignation and was followed by the appointment of a National Commission of Inquiry headed by Supreme Court Justice Yiẓḥak Cohen, to investigate the responsibility for the massacre. The Commission exonerated the army from direct responsibility for the massacre, but found that Sharon had not acted to prevent it, and called for his resignation. In a Peace Now demonstration calling for the implementation of the Commission's recommendations, a hand grenade was thrown into the crowd by a right winger, killing one of the demonstrators and wounding several, including future member of the Knesset Avraham *Burg.

Sharon resigned from the Ministry of Defense in the middle of February 1983 and was replaced by Moshe Arens, an aeronautics engineer who was not a member of the Knesset. Six months later Begin resigned. The reasons for the resignation were his beloved wife's death, failing health, and distress over developments in the war in Lebanon, especially the large number of Israeli casualties.

Surprisingly, Begin's resignation, after nearly 40 years of leading the IẒL, the Ḥerut Movement, Gaḥal, and the Likud, was not followed by a power struggle in the Likud, and Yitzhak Shamir – a former leader of Leḥi (*Loḥamei Ḥerut Israel) and of Begin's generation – was accepted by all the groups within the Likud as the heir apparent, despite his much more subdued and passive political style.

The government that Shamir formed in October 1983 was almost identical to Begin's second government.

Table 40. Members of the Twentieth Government (formed on October 10, 1983)

Ministerial Position	Name (party)
Prime Minister and Foreign Affairs	Yitzhak Shamir (Likud)
Deputy PM and Construction & Housing	David Levy (Likud)
Agriculture	Pessaḥ Grupper (Likud)
Communications	Mordekhai Ẓippori (Likud)
Defense	Moshe Arens (Likud) (not an MK)
Education, Culture & Sport	Zevulun Hammer (NRP)
Energy & Infrastructures	Yitzhak Modai (Likud)
Finance	Yoram Aridor (Likud) (until 10.15.83) Yigal Cohen Orgad (Likud) (from 10.18.83)
Health	Eliezer Shostak (Likud)
Industry & Trade	Gideon Pat (Likud)
Interior and Religious Affairs	Joseph Burg (NRP)
Justice	Moshe Nissim (Likud)
Labor and Welfare and Immigrant Absorption	Aharon Uzan (Tami)
Science & Development	Yuval Ne' man (Teḥiyyah)
Tourism	Avraham Sharir (Likud)
Transportation	Ḥayyim Korfu (Likud)
Without Portfolio	Mordekhai Ben-Porat (Movement for Social Renewal) (until 1.31.84)
Without Portfolio	Sarah Doron (Likud)
Without Portfolio	Ariel Sharon (Likud)

The new government had to contend with the complications of the war in Lebanon, growing hostility abroad, growing dissension at home, the collapse of the shares of all Israeli banks except the First International Bank, and a deteriorating economic situation, with an inflation rate that reached three-digit figures. To save the banks from insolvency, the state became their *de facto* owner – a strange twist of events for a government that advocated a free economy and privatization. To deal with the mounting inflation, Minister of Finance Yoram Aridor came up with a "dollarization" plan that would turn the U.S. dollar into the official currency of Israel, and this because, due to the hyperinflation, most prices in Israel were in any case being quoted in dollars. However, the plan was generally received with ridicule, Aridor was forced to resign and was replaced by Yigal Cohen Orgad.

Two major economic projects (*ex post facto*, both found to be beyond Israel's economic means) were launched in the course of the Tenth Knesset: the Mediterranean-Dead Sea Canal for the generation of electricity and desalination and the Lavi fighter plane. It was also at this time that members of the extreme right "Jewish Underground," led by Yehudah Etzion, which had planned terrorist attacks against Arabs and the blowing up of the mosques on the Temple Mount, were apprehended, and the No. 300 bus affair, in which the General Security Service was responsible for killing two Palestinian terrorists after they had been caught, took place. The latter two events had significant, long-term political implications.

The Eleventh Knesset, 1984–88

The elections to the Eleventh Knesset were held on July 21, 1984, and the first meeting of the Knesset was held 23 days later, on August 13, 1984.

Table 41. Results of the elections to the Eleventh Knesset

Electorate:	2,654,613
Valid votes cast	2,073,321
Qualifying threshold (1%)	20,733
Votes per seat	16,786

Tami joined the Likud in August 1988 and Ometz joined the Likud in September 1988.

Even though the Alignment emerged from the election with a larger number of seats than the Likud – 44–41 – neither side could muster a majority to establish a government without the other. The result was a decision to establish a National Unity Government, with the novel idea that in the first two years Shimon Peres would serve as prime minister, with Yitzhak Shamir as vice premier and foreign minister, and in the following two years they would switch places. It took the two parties 54 days to reach an agreement on all the details of this unique coalition scheme, with the idea of rotation of the premiership at its center. Sharon was appointed minister of industry and trade, from which position he continued to encourage Jewish settlement in Judea, Samaria, and the Gaza Strip.

Table 42. Results of the elections to the Eleventh Knesset by party

Name of list	Number of valid votes	% of total votes	Number of seats	21st Govt	22d Govt
Alignment	724,074	34.9	44*	X	X
Likud	661,302	31.9	41	X	X
Teḥiyyah-Tzomet	83,037	4.0	5		
National Religious Party	73,530	3.5	4	X	X
Ḥadash	69,815	3.4	4		
Shas	63,605	3.1	4	X	X
Shinui	54,747	2.7	3	X	X***
Civil Rights Movement	49,698	2.4	3		
Yaḥad	46,302	2.2	3	X**	
Progressive List for Peace	38,012	1.8	2		
Agudat Israel	36,079	1.7	2		
Morashah-Po'alei Agudat Israel	33,287	1.6	2	X	
Tami	31,103	1.5	1		
Kach	25,907	1.2	1		
Ometz	23,845	1.2	1	X	X

* Mapam left the Alignment and formed its own parliamentary group in opposition, and Yossi *Sarid left the Labor Party and joined the CRM in opposition, so that soon after the elections the Alignment was left with only 40 seats.

** Yaḥad joined the Alignment and ceased to exist as a separate parliamentary group.

*** Left the government on May 25, 1987.

The six members of Mapam, who opposed the idea of the National Unity Government, formally left the Alignment on October 22, 1984, and formed their own parliamentary group. On the same day MK Yossi Sarid also left the Labor Party to join the CRM, which had received three seats, while Yaḥad – a party formed by Ezer Weizman after he had sat out the elections to the Tenth Knesset and which had also received three seats – formally joined the Alignment.

Of the 13 smaller lists that had entered the Knesset in addition to the Likud and the Alignment, six joined the coalition, in which the right-wing-religious bloc had a majority.

In this Knesset *Shas, the *ḥaredi* Sephardi Party whose spiritual leader was Rabbi Ovadiah *Yosef, was first elected to the Knesset. The party, which was supported by the spiritual leader of the "Litvak" *ḥaredim*, Rabbi Eliezer Menaḥem *Shach, was formed against the background of the dissatisfaction of the Sephardi rabbis with the status of their followers in the Ashkenazi *ḥaredi* parties. The appearance of Shas halved the strength of Agudat Israel from four to two members.

Two other religious parties elected to the Eleventh Knesset were Morashah-Po'alei Agudat Israel with two seats and the extreme right wing party of Rabbi Meir *Kahane – Kach – which won one seat. Kach had failed to pass the qualifying threshold in the two previous elections, and in the course of the Eleventh Knesset legislation was passed which would exclude Kahane – who advocated a transfer of the Arabs from Israel and proposed several racist bills that the Knesset Presidium refused to place on the Knesset agenda – from running in future elections. At the other end of the political spectrum, a new radical Arab-Jewish party – the Progressive List for Peace – received two seats. Its two representatives were Mohammed Mi'ari, who back in 1964 had been a member of the El Ard movement, which was banned from participating in the elections to the Sixth Knesset, and reserve Major General Matityahu (Matti) Peled, who had been one of the Israeli personalities to hold talks with representatives of the PLO in the course of the late 1970s.

Table 43. Members of the Twenty-First Government (formed on September 13, 1984)

Ministerial Position	Name (party)
Prime Minister	Shimon Peres (Alignment)
Vice Premier and Foreign Affairs	Yitzhak Shamir (Likud)
Deputy PM and Construction & Housing	David Levy (Likud)
Deputy PM and Education & Culture	Yitzhak Navon (Alignment)
Agriculture	Arie Nehamkin (Alignment)
Communications	Amnon Rubinstein (Shinui)
Defense	Yitzhak Rabin (Alignment)
Economics & Inter-Ministerial Coordination (changed name to Economics and Planning)	Gad Yaacobi (Alignment)
Energy & Infrastructures	Moshe Shahal (Alignment)
Finance	Yitzhak Modai (Likud) (until 4.16.86) Moshe Nissim (Likud) (from 4.16.86)
Foreign Affairs	Yitzhak Shamir (Likud)
Health	Mordechai Gur (Alignment)
Immigrant Absorption	Ya'akov Tzur (Alignment)
Industry and Trade	Ariel Sharon (Likud)
Interior	Shimon Peres (Alignment) (until 12.24.84) Yizḥak Ḥayyim Peretz (Shas) (from 12.24.84)
Justice	Moshe Nissim (Likud) (until 4.16.86) Yitzhak Modai (Likud) (from 4.16.86 until 7.23.86) Avraham Sharir (Likud) (from 7.30.86)
Labor & Welfare	Moshe Katzav (Likud)
Police	Haim Bar Lev (Alignment)
Religious Affairs	Shimon Peres (Alignment) (until 12.23.84) Joseph Burg (NRP) (from 12.23.84 until 10.5.86) Zevulun Hammer (NRP) (from 10.7.86)
Science & Development	Gideon Pat (Likud)
Tourism	Avraham Sharir (Likud)
Transportation	Ḥayyim Korfu (Likud)
Without Portfolio	Moshe Arens (Likud)
Without Portfolio	Joseph Burg (until 12.23.84)
Without Portfolio	Yigael Hurwitz (Ometz)
Without Portfolio	Yizḥak Ḥayyim Peretz (Shas) (until 12.18.84)
Without Portfolio	Yosef Shapira (not an MK)
Without Portfolio	Ezer Weizman (Alignment)

The Eleventh Knesset elected Shlomo Hillel from the Alignment, as its speaker. Despite the fact that 15 parties were elected to the new Knesset, the work of the Knesset ran relatively smoothly, as the government enjoyed the support of over 95 MKs. However, the vast size of the coalition damaged the democratic fabric of the Knesset, and its Rules of Procedure had to be amended to enable the opposition, which numbered fewer than the mandatory 30 members required to call a special session during the recess, to function properly.

One of the first decisions of the government was for a three-stage withdrawal of the IDF from Lebanon. This decision, taken in January 1985, was only made possible because Likud Deputy Prime Minister and Construction and Housing Minister David *Levy voted on this issue with the Alignment. Due to the inability to reach an agreement with Lebanon, and its patron Syria, guaranteeing that it would maintain quiet along Israel's border, Israel decided to remain in a security zone in Southern Lebanon and support the local Christian militia known as the South Lebanese Army (SLA). Israel was to remain in Southern Lebanon for another 15 years.

Another urgent issue dealt with by the National Unity Government was the economic crisis that had led to a three-digit rate of inflation. The Economic Stabilization Plan, prepared by Minister of Finance Yitzhak *Modai with the full support of the prime minister, which *inter alia* involved extremely high interest rates, managed to contain the inflation, but at the cost of a sharp rise in unemployment and a serious financial crisis that was a deadly blow to many private and public companies, including the Histadrut-owned holding company Koor, small private businesses, and kibbutzim, moshavim, and many private farms.

In response to a proposal by the Knesset State Control Committee, the government also appointed a National Inquiry Commission, chaired by Supreme Court Justice Moshe Bejski, to investigate the crash of the bank share market that had occurred during the term of the previous government. The Commission published its very grave conclusions in April 1986, and the government set up a ministerial committee to deliberate its recommendations.

Even though Modai's economic policy was generally considered very successful, his sharp tongue caused a falling out with Peres and several other ministers, and on April 16, 1986, he was forced to switch places with Minister of Justice Moshe Nissim. Before finally being forced to resign from the government in July, after once again falling out with Peres, Modai dealt with the GSS affair (Bus No. 300) that had taken place during the term of the previous Knesset (see above).

The *Pollard Affair hit the headlines in November 1985, when Jonathan Pollard, a Jewish U.S. naval intelligence employee, was caught spying for Israel. The Israeli Embassy in Washington, D.C., refused to give Pollard sanctuary, even though it had been Foreign Minister Yitzhak Shamir's adviser on terror who had taken Pollard on when Shamir was prime minister. The government washed its hands of the affair, and cooperated with the U.S. in its investigation, much to the chagrin of several members of the Knesset.

Two months before the rotation, following a deal between the Alignment and the Likud, two significant amendments were passed by the Knesset to the Penal Law and to the Order for the Prevention of Terror. The first made racial incitement a criminal offense, while the second prohibited unauthorized meetings by Israeli citizens with representatives of terrorist organizations.

Despite misgivings on Peres' part, the rotation in the premiership took place as planned on October 20 and a new government was formed, with only minor personal changes.

Table 44. Members of the Twenty-Second Government (formed on October 20, 1986)

Ministerial Position	Name (party)
Prime Minister	Yitzhak Shamir (Likud)
Vice Premier and Foreign Affairs	Shimon Peres (Alignment)
Deputy PM and Construction & Housing	David Levy (Likud)
Deputy PM and Education & Culture	Yitzhak Navon (Alignment)
Agriculture	Arie Nehamkin (Alignment)
Communications	Amnon Rubinstein (Shinui) (until 5.26.87)
	Gad Ya'akobi (Alignment) (from 6.9.87)
Defense	Yitzhak Rabin (Alignment)
Economics and Planning	Gad Ya'akobi (Alignment)
Energy & Infrastructures	Moshe Shaḥal (Alignment)
Finance	Moshe Nissim (Likud)
Foreign Affairs	Yitzhak Shamir (Likud)
Health	Shoshana Arbeli Almoslino (Alignment)
Immigrant Absorption	Ya'akov Tzur (Alignment)
Industry and Trade	Ariel Sharon (Likud)
Interior	Yiẓḥak Ḥayyim Peretz (Shas) (until 1.6.87)
	Yitzhak Shamir (Likud) (from 1.6.87)
Justice	Avraham Sharir (Likud)
Labor & Welfare	Moshe Katzav (Likud)
Police	Haim Bar-Lev (Alignment)
Religious Affairs	Zevulun Hammer (NRP) (from 10.7.86)
Science & Development	Gideon Pat (Likud)
Tourism	Avraham Sharir (Likud)
Transportation	Ḥayyim Korfu (Likud)
Without Portfolio	Moshe Arens (Likud) (until 9.4.87 from 4.18.88)
Without Portfolio	Mordechai Gur (from 4.18.88)
Without Portfolio	Yigael Hurwitz (Ometz)
Without Portfolio	Yitzhak Modai (Likud)
Without Portfolio	Yiẓḥak Ḥayyim Peretz (Shas) (from 5.25.87)
Without Portfolio	Yosef Shapira (not an MK)
Without Portfolio	Ezer Weizman (Alignment)

Soon after Shamir became prime minister, the controversy with Egypt over the fate of Taba, just south of Eilat, was handed over to international arbitration, despite objections in the Likud. The arbitrators decided, just before the elections to the Twelfth Knesset, that Taba belonged to Egypt.

On April 11, 1987, Peres, as foreign minister, reached a secret agreement in London with King Hussein of Jordan for the holding of a peace conference, with the goal of reaching a comprehensive peace agreement between Israel and its neighbors and resolving all aspects of the Palestinian problem. However, when the agreement, of which Peres had not informed Shamir in advance, was brought to the 10-member cabinet (in which the Likud and the Alignment were equally represented) in the beginning of May, there was a tie vote and the agreement was not approved. Seven months later the Intifada broke out, which led to an "iron fist" policy by the IDF, which was led by Minister of Defense Yitzhak Rabin. One of the consequences of the outbreak of the Intifada was the decision of Arab MK Abdel Wahab Darawshe, to leave the Labor Party and form his own parliamentary group – the Arab Democratic Party.

Several months before the elections to the Twelfth Knesset, the Ḥerut Movement and the Israel Liberal Party united into a single party called the Likud.

The Twelfth Knesset, 1988–92

The elections to the Twelfth Knesset were held on November 1, 1988, and the first meeting of the Knesset was held 20 days later, on November 21, 1988.

Table 45. Results of the Elections to the Twelfth Knesset

Electorate:	2,894,267
Valid votes cast	2,073,321
Qualifying threshold (1%)	20,733
Votes per seat	16,786

Table 46. Results of the elections to the Twelfth Knesset by party

Name of list	Number of valid votes	% of total votes	Number of seats	23rd Govt	24th Govt
Likud	709,305	31.1	40	X	X
Alignment	685,363	30.0	39	X*	
Shas	107,709	4.7	6	X	X
Agudat Israel	102,714	4.5	5	X	X
Civil Rights Movement	97,513	4.3	5		
National Religious Party	89,720	3.9	5	X	X
Ḥadash	84,032	3.7	4		
Teḥiyyah	70,730	3.1	3		X**
Mapam	56,345	2.5	3		
Tzomet	45,489	2.0	2		X***
Moledet	44,174	1.9	2		X****
Shinui	39,538	1.7	2		
Degel ha-Torah	34,279	1.5	2	X	X
Progressive List for Peace	33,279	1.5	1		
Arab Democratic Party	27,012	1.2	1		
The Party for the Advancement of the Zionist Idea#	0	0	0		X

Broke away from the Likud.
* Left the government on March 15, 1990.
** Left the government on Jan. 21, 1992.
*** Left the government on Dec. 31, 1991.
**** Joined the government on Feb. 5, 1991 and left it on Jan. 21, 1992.

As in the case of the Eleventh Knesset, so in the Twelfth 15 lists were elected, and the steady decline in the number of members elected on the Likud and Alignment lists continued. A new right-wing party, Moledet, led by former Major General Rehavam *Ze'evi, which advocated voluntary transfer of the Arab population from Ereẓ Israel, emerged, gaining only two seats, but enjoying greater legitimacy than Kach owing to the makeup of its membership. The three Zionist parties left of the Alignment – the CRM, Shinui, and Mapam (which ran on its own for the first time since the elections to the Sixth Knesset) – together gained 10 seats, and towards the end of the term of the Twelfth Knesset merged into a single parliamentary group, though for the time being the three parties continued to exist separately outside the Knesset. For the first time the *ḥaredi* "Litvaks" ran in the election as a separate list from Agudat Israel, on a list called Degel ha-Torah. Though the changes from the Eleventh Knesset did not seem too great, this time the right-wing-religious bloc was markedly stronger than the left-wing-Arab bloc.

The new Knesset elected Dov Shilansky from the Likud as its speaker.

It took Likud leader Yitzhak Shamir close to two months to form his new government. Even though he could have formed a right-wing-religious government, Shamir preferred to continue his coalition with the Alignment. Within the Alignment – now made up exclusively of the Labor Party – there were those who objected to entering a new National Unity Government under worse conditions than the two previous governments. One of those who fought against the entry into the government was the secretary general of the party, Uzi Baram, who before the elections had tried to get former President Yitzhak *Navon elected as Labor's leader in place of Peres. But the majority decided in favor of joining the government. While Yitzhak Rabin continued to hold the Ministry of Defense, Peres now assumed the thankless task of minister of finance. Ariel Sharon was once again appointed minister of industry and trade.

As the Intifada continued, and became increasingly more violent and vicious, the United States showed renewed interest in actively trying to find a settlement to the Palestinian problem, indicating that the PLO could be a party to such a settlement if it were to agree to recognize Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338 and depart from the path of terror. On May 14, 1989, the Israeli government, not willing to consider any dealings with the PLO, came out with a peace initiative of its own. At the center of the plan was the opening of talks with Palestinians from the territories – not representatives of the PLO – with the idea of the holding of elections there to choose leaders with whom Israel could negotiate an interim self-government plan. The idea of holding elections in the territories had originally been broached by Rabin before the elections, and the fact that it was adopted by the Likud and the Alignment together was seen as a positive development.

However, soon opposition to the plan emerged within the Likud, led by Sharon, David Levy, and Yitzhak Modai.

Table 47. Members of the Twenty-Third Government (formed on December 22, 1988)

Ministerial Position	Name (party)
Prime Minister	Yitzhak Shamir (Likud)
Second to the Prime Minister and Finance	Shimon Peres (Alignment) (until 3.15.90)
Deputy Prime Minister and Construction & Housing	David Levy (Likud)
Deputy Prime Minister and Education & Culture	Yitzhak Navon (Alignment) (until 3.15.90)
Agriculture	Avraham Katz Oz (Alignment) (until 3.15.90)
Communications	Gad Ya'akobi (Alignment) (until 3.15.90)
Defense	Yitzhak Rabin (Alignment) (until 3.15.90)
Economics and Planning	Yitzhak Modai (Likud, after 3.15.90 the Party for the Advancement of the Zionist Idea)
Energy & Infrastructures	Moshe Shaḥal (Alignment) (until 3.15.90)
Environment	Roni Milo (Likud) (until 3.7.90) Rafael Edri (Alignment) (until 3.15.90)
Foreign Affairs	Moshe Arens (Likud)
Health	Ya'akov Tzur (Alignment) (until 3.15.90)
Immigrant Absorption	Yiẓḥak Ḥayyim Peretz (Shas)
Industry and Trade	Ariel Sharon (Likud) (until 2.20.90) Moshe Nissim (Likud) (from 3.7.90)
Interior	Aryeh Deri (Shas) (not an MK)
Justice	Dan Meridor (Likud)
Labor & Welfare	Yitzhak Shamir (Likud) (until 3.7.90) Roni Milo (Likud) (from 3.7.90)
Police	Haim Bar-Lev (Alignment) (until 3.15.90)
Religious Affairs	Zevulun Hammer (NRP) (from 12.27.88)
Science & Development	Ezer Weizman (Alignment) (until 3.15.90)
Tourism	Gideon Pat (Likud)
Transportation	Moshe Katzav (Likud)
Without Portfolio	Ehud Olmert (Likud)
Without Portfolio	Mordechai Gur (until 3.15.90)
Without Portfolio	Rafael Edri (Alignment) (until 3.7.90)
Without Portfolio	Moshe Nissim (Likud) (until 3.7.90)
Without Portfolio	Avner Ḥai Shaki (NRP) (from 12.27.88)
Without Portfolio	David Magen (Likud) (from 3.7.90)

As practical steps were taken by the new Bush Administration and Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak to implement the plan, major differences of opinion appeared between the two main coalition partners, with Labor warmly supporting Baker's five points and Mubarak's ten points while the Likud hemmed and hawed.

Led to believe by Shas that it would support an alternative government to the one led by Shamir, Peres embarked on what Rabin was later to term "the stinking ploy." The Labor ministers all resigned from the government on March 13, 1990, the resignation going into effect on March 15, when a vote on a motion of no confidence in the government was brought to the Knesset and passed thanks to the absence of five of the six Shas MKs. This was the first and only time that a government in Israel was brought down by a vote of no confidence. Peres was then summoned by the president to form a new government, but in the end he failed. A new right-wing-religious government was finally formed by Shamir in the middle of June, not before some extreme cases of individual MKs switching sides in return for promises of office or other emoluments.

On March 15, 1990, the day of the vote of no confidence, five members of the Likud – all former members of the Liberal Party – broke away from the Likud to form a new parliamentary group called the Party for the Advancement of the Zionist Idea. In Shamir's new government, formed on June 11, 1990, Modai, the leader of the new group, was appointed minister of finance, but not before demanding a scandalous financial guarantee that Shamir would stick to his agreement with him.

At first two of the parties to the right of the Likud – Teḥiyyah and Tzomet – joined the new government, and in the beginning of February 1991, Moledet joined as well, despite opposition by several Likud MKs, including Menaḥem Begin's son, Ze'ev Binyamin *Begin, who felt that the policies advocated by Ze'evi with regard to the Arabs were unacceptable.

Table 48. Members of the Twenty-Fourth Government (formed on June 11, 1990)

Ministerial Position	Name (party)
Prime Minister and Environment and Jerusalem Affairs and Labor & Welfare	Yitzhak Shamir (Likud)
Deputy Prime Minister and Foreign Affairs	David Levy (Likud)
Deputy Prime Minister and Industry & Trade	Moshe Nissim (Likud)
Agriculture	Rafael Eitan (Tzomet) (until 12.31.91)
Communications	Rafael Pinḥasi (Shas)
Construction and Housing	Ariel Sharon (Likud)
Defense	Moshe Arens (Likud)
Economics and Planning	David Magen (Likud)
Education Culture & Sport	Zevulun Hammer (NRP)
Energy & Infrastructures and Science & Technology	Yuval Ne'eman (Teḥiyyah (not an MK) (until 1.21.92)
Finance	Yitzhak Modai (Party for the Advancement of the Zionist Idea; after 3.3.92 the New Liberal Party)
Health	Ehud Olmert (Likud)
Immigrant Absorption	Yiẓḥak Ḥayyim Peretz (Shas)
Industry and Trade	Moshe Nissim (Likud)
Interior	Aryeh Deri (Shas) (not an MK)
Justice	Dan Meridor (Likud)
Police	Roni Milo (Likud)
Religious Affairs	Avner Ḥai Shaki (NRP)
Tourism	Gideon Pat (Likud)
Transportation	Moshe Katzav (Likud)
Without Portfolio	Rehavam Ze'evi (Moledet) (from 2.5.91 to 1.21.92)

One of the issues that the new government had to deal with soon after it was formed was the flood of immigrants that started to arrive from the former Soviet Union. The main problem faced by the government was housing, which was the responsibility of Ariel Sharon, who was appointed minister of construction and housing in the new government. A new concept of "direct absorption" was introduced in an attempt to do away with some of the bureaucracy associated with immigrant absorption. Another major immigration feat directed by the new government was "Operation Solomon," which took place on May 24, 1991, and involved flying 15,000 Ethiopian Jews directly from Addis Ababa to Israel in a single day.

The new government strongly promoted a policy of further economic liberalization and privatization, and one of its notable achievements was ending the monopoly on radio and television broadcasts of the Israel Broadcasting Association.

Following the Gulf War, in which, at the behest of the U.S., Israel remained passive, even though it had suffered at least 40 direct hits by Iraqi SCUD missiles, the peace process was given a new impetus and changed course, with the Madrid Conference at its center.

The Conference convened in the Spanish capital at the end of October 1991 and was followed by bilateral talks between Israel and its neighbors, as well as multilateral talks on specific issues. Israel conditioned its participation on the Palestinians not being represented by the PLO but by representatives of the West Bank and Gaza Strip, who formed part of a joint Jordanian-Palestinian delegation. Though all the other delegations to the Conference were headed by foreign ministers, Israel's delegation was headed by Prime Minister Shamir, who refused to commit Israel to any territorial concessions or to discuss the establishment of a Palestinian state. All Israel was willing to discuss was an autonomy plan for the Palestinians. Israel's most eloquent spokesman at the Conference was the deputy minister in the Prime Minister's Office, Binyamin *Netanyahu, who had been elected to the Twelfth Knesset on the Likud list after a successful term as Israeli ambassador to the UN.

Following Israel's policy of constraint in the course of the Gulf War, and the Madrid Conference, a significant improvement occurred in Israel's international status, with numerous states reestablishing diplomatic relations with it, or – like China and India – establishing relations with Israel for the first time. The 45-year Arab boycott (which had been declared by the Arab League in 1946) was also implemented now less rigorously, and the U.S. involvement in the peace process intensified. However, towards the end of this period the tension between Israel and the U.S. grew against the background of Washington's making a grant of $10 billion worth of American loan guarantees for the absorption of immigrants conditional on Israel's stopping all settlement activities in the territories.

Despite the impressive achievements of the government in the foreign arena, Shamir's government faltered as a result of the opposition of the three right-wing parties – Tzomet, Teḥiyyah, and Moledet – to the Madrid process. All three left the government in the course of December 1991 and January 1992.

In the last few months of its existence, the Knesset passed several important pieces of legislation. In March 1992 the Knesset passed two Basic Laws dealing with civil rights – Basic Law: Freedom of Occupation and Basic Law: Human Dignity and Freedom. Other important legislation addressed the problem of members of the Knesset who for personal political gain deserted their parties and changed sides, and the problem of political instability, both of which led to growing public cynicism and disaffection with the political system. The latter problem was addressed by means of a new version of Basic Law: the Government, which introduced the system of the direct election of the prime minister. The new law, which was to go into effect only in the elections to the Fourteenth Knesset in 1996, had been introduced by four members of the Knesset from four different groups: Ariel Lynn of the Likud, David Libai of the Labor Party, Amnon *Rubinstein of Shinui, and Yehoash Tzidon of Tzomet.

One of the manifestations of the political instability and disaffection in this period was the increase in the number of petitions to the High Court of Justice – some of them presented by members of the Knesset – in connection with the work of the Knesset.

Left without a Knesset majority for his government after the departure of Tzomet, Teḥiyyah, and Moledet, Shamir called for early elections. Prior to the elections Yitzhak Rabin decided once again to contend for the Labor Party leadership, winning in primaries held for the first time in the Labor Party, with just over the mandatory 40 percent of the vote, over Peres, Ora Namir, and Yisrael Kessar. Primaries were also held in the Labor Party for its list to the Thirteenth Knesset.

The Thirteenth Knesset 1992–1996

The elections to the Thirteenth Knesset were held on June 23, 1992, and the first meeting of the Knesset was held 20 days later, on July 13, 1992.

Table 49. Results of the Elections to the Thirteenth Knesset

Electorate:	3,409,015
Valid votes cast	2,616,841
Qualifying threshold (1.5%)	39,253
Votes per seat	20,715

In the elections to the Thirteenth Knesset, the Labor Party under the leadership of Rabin won an impressive victory, increasing its Knesset representation by 50 percent – from 30 to 44 seats. Meretz also managed to increase the number of its seats from 10 to 12, while the Likud suffered a bitter defeat, losing eight of the 40 seats it had held in the Twelfth Knesset. While some of the Likud votes undoubtedly went to Labor, some former Likud voters opted this time for Tzomet, which quadrupled its strength from two to eight seats. While the left made real gains in the election, the defeat of the right was, in fact, marginal, and it might well have won the elec-

Table 50. Results of the elections to the Thirteenth Knesset by party

Name of list	Number of valid votes	% of total votes	Number of seats	25th Govt	26th Govt
Labor	906,810	34.7	44	X	X
Likud	651,229	24.9	32		
Meretz	250,667	9.6	12	X	X
Tzomet	166,366	6.4	8		
National Religious Party	129,663	5.0	6		
Shas	129,663	4.9	6	X*	
Yahadut ha-Torah	86,167	3.3	4		
Ḥadash	62,545	2.4	3	#	#
Moledet	62,269	2.4	3		
Arab Democratic Party	40,788	1.6	2	#	#
Yi'ud	0	0	0	X**	X

* Left the government on September 14, 1993.

** Broke away from Tzomet on Feb. 7, 1994 and joined the government on January 9, 1995.

# Supported the government from outside the coalition.

tion had it not lost several tens of thousands of votes cast for several right-wing splinter groups that did not pass the 1.5% qualifying threshold. The Ashkenazi *ḥaredi* Party, *Yahadut ha-Torah*, which was made up of Agudat Israel and Degel ha-Torah, lost three seats, while the Sephardi *ḥaredi* party, Shas, kept its strength at six.

It took Rabin three weeks to form a new coalition, and he was able to present his new government at the first meeting of the Thirteenth Knesset, in which Shevaḥ Weiss was elected speaker of the Knesset. The coalition was made up of Labor, Meretz, and Shas, which together commanded the support of 62 members of the Knesset and was supported by an additional five MKs from Ḥadash and the Arab Democratic Party, who did not join the coalition, but reached an agreement with Labor.

Table 51. Members of the Twenty-Fifth Government (formed on July 13, 1992)

Ministerial Position	Name (party)
Prime Minister	Yitzhak Rabin (Labor) (assassinated on 11.4.95)
Second to the Prime Minister and Foreign Affairs	Shimon Peres (acting Prime Minister from 11.5.95)
Agriculture & Rural Development	Ya'acov Tzur (Labor) (not an MK)
Communications	Moshe Shaḥal (Labor) (until 6.7.93) Shulamit Aloni (Meretz) (from 6.7.93)
Construction & Housing	Binyamin Ben-Eliezer (Labor)
Defense	Yitzhak Rabin (Labor) (assassinated on 11.4.95) Shimon Peres (Labor) (acting from 11.5.95)
Economics and Planning	Shimon Sheetrit (Labor) (until 6.18.95) Yossi Beilin (Labor) (from 6.18.95)
Education & Culture	Shulamit Aloni (Meretz) (until 5.11.93) Yitzhak Rabin (Labor) (until 6.7.93) Amnon Rubinstein (Meretz) (from 6.7.93) (the Ministry changed its name to Education, Culture and Sport)
Energy & Infrastructures	Amnon Rubinstein (Meretz) (until 6.7.93) Moshe Shaḥal (Labor) (until 1.9.95) Gonen Segev (Yi'ud) (from 1.9.95)
Environment	Ora Namir (Labor) (until 12.31.92) Yossi Sarid (Meretz) (from 12.31.92)
Finance	Avraham Beiga Shoḥat (Labor)
Health	Haim Ramon (Labor) (until 2.8.94) Yitzhak Rabin (Labor) (from 2.8.94 until 6.1.94) Efraim Sneh (Labor) (from 6.1.94)
Immigrant Absorption	Yair Tsaban (Meretz)
Industry and Trade	Micha Harish (Labor)
Interior	Arie Deri (Shas) (until 5.11.93) Yitzhak Rabin (Labor) (from 5.11.93 until 6.7.93) Aryeh Deri (Shas) (from 6.7.93 until 9.14.93) Yitzhak Rabin (Labor) (from 9.14.93 until 2.27.95) Uzi Baram (Labor) (until 6.7.95) David Libai (Labor) (until 7.18.95) Ehud Barak (Labor) (from 7.18.95) (not an MK)
Jerusalem Affairs	Yitzhak Rabin (Labor) (until 12.31.92 when Ministry was canceled)
Justice	David Libai (Labor)
Labor & Welfare	Yitzhak Rabin (Labor) (until 12.31.92) Ora Namir (Labor) (from 12.31.92)
Police	Moshe Shaḥal (Labor)
Religious Affairs	Yitzhak Rabin (Labor) (until 2.27.95) Shimon Sheetrit (Labor) (from 2.27.95)
Science & Technology	Amnon Rubinstein (Meretz) (until 12.31.92) Shimon Sheetrit (Labor) (until 6.7.93) Shulamit Aloni (Meretz) (from 6.7.93) (Ministry changed name to Science and Arts on 8.1.93)
Tourism	Uzi Baram (Labor)
Transportation	Yisrael Kessar (Labor)
Without Portfolio	Shulamit Aloni (Meretz) (from 5.11.93 until 6.7.93)
Without Portfolio	Aryeh Deri (Shas) (from 5.11.93 until 6.7.93)

In the economic sphere, the Labor-led government, with Avraham Beiga *Shoḥat as minister of finance, did not withdraw from the basically liberal policy of previous governments and affirmed the idea of privatization in principle. It should be noted that the most successful process of privatization had been carried out in the previous few years within the framework of the Histadrut-owned industrial conglomerate Koor by Benny *Gaon.

While Labor did not stop allocating funds to the Jewish settlements in Judea, Samaria, and the Gaza Strip, and to the yeshivot, it did pay greater attention to the development towns and the Arab sector. At the beginning of 1995 the government decided not to introduce a tax on stock market earnings, which Shoḥat had prepared. A watered-down version of this law was finally introduced in the course of the Fifteenth Knesset.

The first year of the coalition's existence was riddled with internal bickering between the *ḥaredi* Shas and the secular Meretz. One of the main foci of tension was Shas's objection to Shulamit Aloni's position as minister of education and culture, and some of her outspoken remarks that offended its leaders. A compromise was finally reached in June 1993, when Aloni was replaced in the Ministry of Education and Culture by Amnon Rubinstein, also from Meretz, while a new portfolio of Science, Arts and Communications was concocted for Aloni. The Ministry of Interior, originally given to Aryeh *Deri of Shas, saw numerous changes of minister – at first due to the Shas-Meretz imbroglio and later, after Shas had left the coalition, due to various internal Labor constraints.

A significant development in the course of the Thirteenth Knesset, which had both political and economic implications, was an upheaval in the Histadrut, which had been controlled by the Labor Party, and its predecessors, Ha-Po'el ha-Ẓa'ir and Mapai, since its establishment in 1920. Though the Histadrut started losing power in the 1980s, largely because of the financial difficulties of Koor, the kibbutzim, and the Kupat Ḥolim health fund, it was still considered one of the important power centers of the Labor Party. In the beginning of February 1994, Minister of Health Haim *Ramon resigned his position due to opposition in the Labor Party to his National Health Insurance Bill, which involved the separation of Kupat Ḥolim from the Histadrut. In April, perceiving the weakness of the official Labor candidate, Haim Haberfeld, for the position of secretary general of the Histadrut in the forthcoming elections, Ramon decided to run for the position, at the head of his own list. In the elections held on May 10, Ramon won an impressive victory. Even though he was temporarily suspended from the Labor Party, Ramon finally managed to get his National Health Insurance Law through the Knesset on June 15, 1994, and was eventually reinstated in the Labor Party.

Around the time that Ramon left the government, three members of Tzomet broke away from it to form Yi'ud, and in January 1995 one of the three, Gonen Segev, joined the government as minister of energy and infrastructure.

The first year of the Labor-led government did not seem to bode well for the peace process. In December 1992, the government decided to expel over 400 *Hamas and Islamic Jihad activists to Lebanon, and the Washington talks that followed the Madrid Conference came to a standstill. However, at first unknown to the Israeli public and even the American government, secret negotiations were held with PLO representatives in Oslo. The Oslo process, which had begun as a private initiative, with the direct involvement of Deputy Minister of Finance Yossi *Beilin, finally became in May 1993 an official process, backed by both Prime Minister Rabin and his deputy and foreign minister, Shimon Peres. When news of the forthcoming agreement became known at the end of August 1993, the Israeli public was taken by surprise by the sudden willingness to recognize the PLO and hand over to it control over Gaza and an area around Jericho in the first stage and the rest of the major Palestinian towns in the second stage. Nevertheless, at this stage there was no talk of the dismantling of settlements.

On September 13 Rabin and Yasser *Arafat signed the Declaration of Principles (DoP) in Washington and addressed letters to President Clinton in which Israel recognized the PLO and the PLO recognized Israel. Shas left the government the following day. Nevertheless, the Accords were approved by the Knesset on September 23. The vote took place in the form of a vote on a motion of no confidence in the government, in which 61 MKs supported the government (Labor, Meretz, and the Arab parties), 50 voted against it, eight members abstained, and one stayed away. The eight who abstained were five of the six members of Shas and three members of the Likud.

The Agreement with the Palestinians was followed on October 26, 1994, by the signing of a peace treaty with Jordan, with which *de facto* relations had existed for many years. This agreement involved only minor territorial changes and was approved by the Knesset on October 25 by a majority of 105, with the three Moledet MKs voting against, six members abstaining, and six absent.

While the initial public reaction to the Oslo Accords was relatively mild, the signing of the second stage in the process – the Taba Agreement of September 28, 1995, which involved Israeli withdrawal from all the major towns in Judea and Samaria, except Hebron, and the holding of elections in the West Bank and Gaza Strip for a Palestinian self-governing authority – was met with a wave of demonstrations against the government and its policy. Some of these demonstrations, organized by various right-wing groups and frequently attended by leaders of the Likud, were accompanied by violence and incitement against the government in general and Rabin in particular. Even though several members of the Likud had abstained in the vote on the DoP and were willing to keep an open mind on the whole process, the Likud as a whole was opposed to it. The Likud's campaign against the Oslo process was led by its new leader, Binyamin Netanyahu, who had been elected in primaries in March 1993.

At the end of a counterdemonstration by supporters of the peace process, held at Kikar Malkhei Yisrael (now Rabin Square) in Tel Aviv on November 4, 1995, Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin was assassinated by Yigal Amir, a Jewish assassin who acted independently. The event caused deep shock throughout the country, and was almost unanimously condemned by everyone, including some of Rabin's most bitter opponents. Eighteen days after the assassination Shimon Peres formed a minority government that was nevertheless approved by the Knesset. Ramon was now reinstated as minister of the interior.

Table 52. Members of the Twenty-Sixth Government (formed on November 22, 1995)

Ministerial Position	Name (party)
Prime Minister	Shimon Peres (Labor)
Minister in PM's Office	Yossi Beilin (Labor)
Construction & Housing	Binyamin Ben-Eliezer (Labor)
Agriculture & Rural Development	Ya'akov Tsur (Labor) (not an MK)
Communications	Shulamit Aloni (Meretz)
Defense	Shimon Peres (Labor)
Education, Culture & Sport	Amnon Rubinstein (Meretz)
Energy & Infrastructures	Gonen Segev (Yi'ud)
Environment	Yossi Sarid (Meretz)
Finance	Avraham Beiga Shoḥat (Labor)
Foreign Affairs	Ehud Barak (Labor) (not an MK)
Health	Efraim Sneh (Labor)
Immigrant Absorption	Yair Tsaban (Meretz)
Industry and Trade	Micha Harish (Labor)
Interior	Haim Ramon (Labor)
Internal Security	Moshe Shaḥal (Labor)
Justice	David Libai (Labor)
Labor & Welfare	Ora Namir (Labor) (until 5.21.96 – appointed ambassador to China)
Religious Affairs	Shimon Sheetrit (Labor)
Science & Arts	Shulamit Aloni (Meretz)
Tourism	Uzi Baram (Labor)
Transportation	Yisrael Kessar (Labor)

Though the shock of Rabin's assassination made it seem unlikely that Peres would lose the approaching elections, in which for the first time the prime minister was to be elected directly together with the Fourteenth Knesset, there were several factors working against Labor. The first was a rise, in the course of March 1996, in the number of terrorist attacks carried out by members of the Hamas and Islamic Jihad, starting in March 1996. The second was the departure from the Labor Party of two of its members – Avigdor Kahalani and Emanuel Zissman – against the background of Labor's willingness to withdraw from the Golan Heights within the framework of a peace agreement with Syria. In March 1996, the two set up a new parliamentary group called The Third Way, which formally opposed any Israeli concessions on the Golan.

However, towards the end of the Knesset's term the Likud too lost two of its members – David Levy and David Magen – who in March 1996 broke away to form an ethnic party with a social orientation, called Gesher.

The Fourteenth Knesset – 1996–99

The elections to the Fourteenth Knesset were held on May 29, 1996, and the first meeting of the Knesset was held 19 days later, on June 17, 1996.

In the elections to the Fourteenth Knesset the Likud, running in a single list with Tzomet and Gesher, received only 32 seats, compared to the 40 that the Likud and Tzomet had received in the Thirteenth Knesset. Labor, losing 10 of the seats it had originally held in the Thirteenth Knesset, received 34, but since Binyamin Netanyahu received close to 30,000 votes more than Shimon Peres in the direct elections for the prime minister, it was he who formed the new government.

Table 53. Results of the Elections to the Fourteenth Knesset

Electorate:	3,933,250
Valid votes cast	2,973,580
Qualifying threshold (1.5%)	44,604
Votes per seat	24,779

Table 54. Results of the elections to the Fourteenth Knesset by party

Name of list	Number of valid votes	% of total votes	Number of seats	27th Govt
Labor	818,741	27.5	34	
Likud-Gesher-Tzomet	767,401	25.8	32	X
Shas	259,796	8.7	10	X
National Religious Party	240,271	8.1	9	X
Meretz	226,275	7.5	9	
Yisrael be-Aliyah	174,994	5.8	7	X
Ḥadash	129,455	4.4	5	
Yahadut ha-Torah	98,657	3.3	4	X
The Third Way	96,474	3.2	4	X
United Arab List	89,514	3.0	4	
Moledet	72,002	2.4	2	

Table 55. Direct election of the prime minister May 29, 1996

Candidate	Votes	Percentage
Binyamin Netanyahu	1,501,023	50.5
Shimon Peres	1,471,566	49.5

One of the unforeseen results of the direct elections for prime minister, which gave the voters a double vote – one for a Knesset list and one for prime minister – was a further weakening of the two main parties, which together received only 66 seats compared to the 76 that they had received in the Thirteenth Knesset. This resulted from the splitting of votes between the two big parties on the prime minister vote and the smaller parties on the Knesset vote.

The religious lists together increased the number of their seats from 16 to 23. Shas gained four additional seats, the NRP gained three, and Yahadut ha-Torah kept its four. The Arab parties – Ḥadash and the United Arab List (UAL) – together increased their strength from five to nine seats. For the first time, members of the more moderate faction in the Muslim Movement entered the Knesset, within the framework of the UAL.

Amongst the new lists, running for the first time, the new immigrant list Yisrael be-Aliyah, led by Natan *Sharansky, received seven seats. Yisrael be-Aliyah, representing immigrants from the former Soviet Union, was the first Ashkenazi ethnic party to emerge since the foundation of the state, when the pre-state Aliyah Ḥadashah ran as the Progressive Party. The Third Way received four seats.

The Fourteenth Knesset elected Dan Tichon of the Likud as its speaker. Netanyahu presented his government – made up of all the right-wing and all the religious parties, which together controlled 66 Knesset seats – on the morrow of the new Knesset's first sitting. Yitzhak (Itzik) Mordechai was appointed minister of defense and David Levy minister for foreign affairs. Ariel Sharon was not included in Netanyahu's original distribution of portfolios, but three weeks after the government was formed, the Ministry of National Infrastructures, given powers that in the past had been vested in various other ministries, was created for Sharon.

Table 56. Members of the Twenty-Seventh Government (Formed on June 18, 1996)

Ministerial Position	Name (party)
Prime Minister and Construction & Housing	Binyamin Netanyahu (Likud-Gesher-Tzomet)
Deputy PM, Agriculture & Rural Development and Environment	Rafael Eitan (Likud-Gesher-Tzomet, from 3.4.99 Tzomet)
Deputy PM, Tourism and in charge of Arab Sector	Moshe Katzav (Likud-Gesher-Tzomet)
Deputy PM and Foreign Affairs	David Levy (Likud-Gesher-Tzomet) (until 1.6.98)
Deputy PM and Education, Culture & Sport	Zevulun Hammer (NRP) (d. 1.20.98)
Communications	Limor Livnat (Likud-Gesher-Tzomet)
Defense	Yitzhak Mordechai (Likud-Gesher-Tzomet) (until 1.25.99) Moshe Arens (Likud) (from 1.27.99) (not an MK)
Education, Culture & Sport	Zevulun Hammer (NRP) (d. 1.20.98) Yiẓḥak Levy (NRP) (from 2.25.98)
Energy & Infrastructures	Yiẓḥak Levy (NRP) until 7.8.96)
Finance	Dan Meridor (Likud-Gesher-Tzomet) (until 6.20.97) Ya'akov Ne'eman (from 7.9.97 until 12.18.98) (not an MK) Meir Sheetrit (Likud) (from 2.23.99)
Foreign Affairs	David Levy (Likud-Gesher-Tzomet) (until 1.6.98) Binyamin Netanyahu (Likud-Gesher-Tzomet) (from 1.6.96 until 10.13.98) Ariel Sharon (Likud-Gesher-Tzomet) (from 10.13.98)
Health	Tsaḥi Hanegbi (Likud-Gesher-Tzomet) (until 11.12.96) Yehoshua Maẓa (Likud-Gesher-Tzomet) (from 11.12.96)
Immigrant Absorption	Yoel-Yuli Edelstein (Yisrael be-Aliyah)
Industry and Trade	Natan Sharansky (Yisrael be-Aliyah)
Interior	Eliyahu Suissa (Shas) (not an MK)
Internal Security	Avigdor Kahalani (Third Way)
Justice	Ya'akov Ne'eman (until 8.10.96) (not an MK) Tzaḥi Hanegbi (Likud-Gesher-Tzomet) (from 4.9.96)
Labor & Welfare	Eliyahu Yishai (Shas)
National Infrastructures	Ariel Sharon (Likud-Gesher-Tzomet) (from 7.8.96)
Religious Affairs	Binyamin Netanyahu (Likud-Gesher-Tzomet) (until 8.7.96) Eliyahu Suissa (Shas) (from 8.7.96 until 8.12.97) (not an MK) Zevulun Hammer (NRP) (from 8.22.97, d. 1.20.98) Yiẓḥak Levy (NRP) (from 2.25.98 until 9.13.98) Eliyahu Suissa (Shas) (from 9.13.98) (not an MK)
Science	Ze'ev Binyamin Begin (Likud-Gesher-Tzomet) (until 1.16.97) Binyamin Netanyahu (until 7.9.97)
Science and Technology	Mikhael Eitan (Likud-Gesher-Tzomet) (from 7.9.97 until 7.13.98) Silvan Shalom (Likud-Gesher-Tzomet) (from 7.13.98)
Tourism and in charge of Arab Sector	Moshe Katzav (Likud-Gesher-Tzomet)
Transportation	Yiẓḥak Levy (NRP) (until 2.25.98) Shaul Yahalom (NRP) (from 2.25.98)
Without Portfolio	Shaul Amor (Likud-Gesher-Tzomet) (from 1.20.99)

The new system was designed to strengthen the power of the prime minister at the expense of the Knesset, but this goal was not achieved, because of the weakness of the prime minister's own party. The new system was also to have reduced the horse-trading that traditionally took place before the formation of each new government. But instead, it increased the number of such deals, since now each of the candidates for prime minister tried to gain the support of the smaller lists for his candidature before the elections, and once one of the candidates was elected, he still had to negotiate terms with each potential coalition partner. The new system also further weakened party discipline in the Knesset. Party discipline had started to weaken following the introduction of primaries for the selection of the Knesset lists in the big parties. Members of the Knesset, who had gotten on their parties' lists after being chosen by the members of their parties, now felt greater loyalty to those who had voted for them than to the leadership of their parties.

Netanyahu's government was characterized by a succession of scandals, some around his own political style, some around controversial decisions, such as the appointment of attorney Ya'akov Ne'eman, who was not a member of the Knesset, as minister of justice, the appointment of Tzaḥi Hanegbi as Ne'eman's successor, and the appointment of attorney Roni

Bar-On as state attorney. Ne'eman resigned when a police investigation was launched against him, which did not prevent his being appointed minister of finance, and once again resigning when he was indicted (though he was subsequently acquitted). Tzaḥi Hanegbi was also investigated, but the state attorney did not object to his appointment as minister of justice. Bar-On's curious appointment as state attorney in January 1997 lasted for just one day. Though Bar-On's credentials as an attorney were not denied, he was not viewed as having the appropriate background and experience for the job, and was perceived as the candidate of certain public and political figures, including former Minister of the Interior Aryeh Deri, against whom a police investigation was underway on suspicion of misappropriating funds. Bar-On was later elected to the Sixteenth Knesset on the Likud list.

Even though Netanyahu had opposed the Oslo process from the beginning, he continued to fulfill Israel's obligations under the Taba Agreement, and in the Protocol Concerning the Redeployment in Hebron of January 15, 1997, reached an agreement with Arafat on an Israeli withdrawal from the Arab parts of Hebron and a continued withdrawal from additional territories in the West Bank, in return for a Palestinian undertaking to complete the process of amending the Palestine National Covenant and to fight terror. The new agreement was passed by the Knesset, with the support of the opposition, by a vote of 87 in favor, 17 against, one abstention, and five members absent. On October 23, 1998, Netanyahu signed the Wye River Memorandum, dealing with steps to facilitate the implementation of the Taba Agreement. This agreement was approved by the Knesset in a vote of confidence in the prime minister on November 17, 1998, again with the support of the opposition, by a vote of 75 in favor, 19 against, nine abstentions, and 17 members absent.

On June 3, 1997, a year after the elections, former Chief of Staff Ehud *Barak, the most highly decorated Israeli officer in the history of the state, who had been elected to the Fourteenth Knesset, was elected in primaries as leader of the Labor Party after he defeated MKs Dr. Yossi *Beilin, Prof. Shelomo Ben-Ami, and Dr. Efraim Sneh with around 50% of the vote.

Throughout the term of the Fourteenth Knesset the *ḥaredi* parties bitterly attacked the judicial system in general, which in the eyes of these parties had an anti-religious bias, and the president of the Supreme Court, Aharon *Barak, in particular, for his activist approach to the functioning of the Court.

In the course of the Fourteenth Knesset there were numerous changes within and among the parliamentary groups, which besides creating an atmosphere of instability at the time, were to bring about changes – some temporary, some more permanent – in the Israeli political map. Among the more significant changes were the following:

Two Knesset members broke away from Yisrael be-Aliyah to form a new immigrant group to its right; Ze'ev Binyamin Begin and two additional members left the Likud to form a group to its right, taking the name Ḥerut; while one member of Tzomet joined Moledet. Prior to the elections to the Fifteenth Knesset and in their aftermath, all these various groups to the right of the Likud started to merge into what was to finally emerge as the National Union.

Several members of the Labor Party, the Likud, and Tzomet left their parliamentary groups to form the new Center Party, with ambitions to become a new political force in the center of the political map. The Center Party was led by Itzik Mordechai, who resigned from the Likud and his post as minister of defense. Another center party that reemerged in the course of the Fourteenth Knesset was Shinui, which was reinstated as an independent political group by Avraham Poraz after he left Meretz and was joined by a member who left Tzomet.

Finally, three members, headed by the chairman of the New Histadrut, Amir *Peretz, left the Labor Party to form a new workers group with a social agenda, under the name Am Eḥad.

Despite frequent changes of ministers in the Ministry of Finance, the government's policy was generally based on budgetary constraint, for the purpose of containing the rate of inflation, while the Bank of Israel implemented a high interest rate policy. The combination of these two policies led to a slowdown in the economy, and bitter criticism of the government's policy by the opposition. The main reason for the calling of early elections to the Fifteenth Knesset was the government's difficulty in getting the budget approved by the Knesset.

The Fifteenth Knesset, 1999–2003

The elections to the Fifteenth Knesset were held on May 17, 1999, and the first meeting of the Knesset was held 21 days later, on June 7, 1999.

Table 57. Results of the Elections to the Fifteenth Knesset

Electorate:	4,285,428
Valid votes cast	3,309,416
Qualifying threshold (1.5%)	49,672
Votes per seat	25,936

In the direct elections for prime minister Ehud Barak, the newly elected chairman of the Labor Party, won an impressive and clear-cut victory over his rival from the Likud, Binyamin Netanyahu. However, despite the fact that the Labor Party had run in a single list with David Levy's ethnic party Gesher and the moderate religious party Meimad, One Israel, as the list was called, received only 26 seats in the Fifteenth Knesset – eight seats less than Labor had received in the Fourteenth. The Likud also crashed, receiving only 19 seats compared to 32 in the previous Knesset. Thus, One Israel and the Likud together commanded together only 45 seats in the Fifteenth Knesset compared to 66 in the Fourteenth Knesset. Soon after his defeat, Binyamin Netanyahu resigned from the Knesset and the leadership of the Likud, and was replaced by the veteran Ariel Sharon.

Shas emerged as the big winner of the elections, increasing its representation from 10 to 17, largely at the expense of the

Table 58. Results of the elections to the Fifteenth Knesset by party

Name of list	Number of valid votes	% of total votes	Number of seats	28th Govt	29th Govt
One Israel (Labor-Gesher-Meimad)	670,484	20.2	26	X	X[#]
Likud	468,103	14.1	19		X
Shas	430.676	13.0	17	X*	X[##]
Meretz	253,525	7.6	10	X**	
Yisrael be-Aliyah	171,705	5.1	6	X*	X
Shinui	167,748	5.0	6		
The Center Party	165,622	5.0	6	X	
National Religious Party	140,307	4.2	5	X***	X
Yahadut ha-Torah	125,741	3.7	5		X
United Arab List	114,810	3.4	5		
The National Union	100,181	3.0	4		X[###]
Ḥadash	87,022	2.6	3		
Yisrael Beitenu	86,153	2.6	4		X
Am Eḥad	66,143	1.9	2		X[####]
Balad	66,103	1.9	2		
Gesher	0	0	0	X	X[#####]

&#42; Left the government on July 11, 2000.
&#42;&#42; Left the government on June 24, 2000.
&#42;&#42;&#42; Left the government on July 12, 2000.
[#] Left the government on November 2, 2002.
[##] Left the government on May 23, 2002 and returned on June 3, 2002.
[###] Left the government on March 14, 2002.
[####] Left the government on February 22, 2002.
[#####] Broke away from One Israel and left the government on August 4, 2000; rejoined the government on April 8, 2002 and left on July 30, 2002.

Table 59. Direct election of the prime minister May 17, 1999

Candidate	Votes	Percentage
Ehud Barak	1,791,020	56.1
Binyamin Netanyahu	1,402,474	43.9

Likud. Though Shas had emerged as a Sephardi *ḥaredi* party, and most of its Knesset representatives were *ḥaredim*, the vast majority of its supporters were traditional in religious outlook, attracted to Shas because of the sense of pride and power that the party bestowed on them. The Center Party, which everyone expected to become a new and more successful version of Dash, disappointed with only six seats. Shinui, with a new leader – journalist and TV personality Yosef (Tomi) *Lapid – and an agenda clearly calling for a reduction in the power of the religious parties, received votes that the Center Party had hoped to get. On the extreme right two lists – the National Union and Yisrael Beitenu – received four seats each. Yisrael Beitenu, which had started off as a predominantly Russian new immigrant party to the right of Yisrael be-Aliyah and was led by a former member of Prime Minister Netanyahu's staff, Avigdor Lieberman, soon merged with the National Union – a list made up of three small parties: Moledet, Tekumah, and Ḥerut. Two parties that vanished from the political map were Tzomet and The Third Way.

The Fifteenth Knesset elected Avraham Burg from the Labor Party as its speaker. Burg, who had not received a ministerial appointment in Barak's government, had contested Barak's candidate for speaker, Shalom Simhon, in the One Israel parliamentary group, and won. In the course of his term he insisted on his right to carry out an independent policy. The Knesset also elected Moshe *Katzav of the Likud as Israel's eighth president. Katzav defeated Labor candidate Shimon Peres.

Barak had hoped to form a government rapidly, but it took him almost two months to put a coalition together. Owing to the weakness of One Israel, and seeking to form as broad and stable a government as possible, Barak finally put together an unlikely coalition. The coalition was joined by Meretz from the left, the Center Party, two religious parties – Shas and the NRP – and Yisrael be-Aliyah. Altogether, the new coalition was supported by 70 MKs but was to prove to be fickle and unstable, and this largely due to the fact that Meretz – abhorred by the religious parties – was the most influential coalition partner, and the fact that the religious parties and Yisrael be-Aliyah felt that Barak was willing to make too many concessions to the Palestinians.

Table 60. Members of the Twenty-Eighth Government (Formed on July 6, 1999)

Ministerial Position	Name (party)
Prime Minister and Defense	Ehud Barak (One Israel)
Deputy PM and Communications	Binyamin Ben-Eliezer (One Israel)
Deputy PM and Transportation	Yitzhak Mordechai (Center Party) (until 5.30.00)
Deputy PM and Foreign Affairs	David Levy (One Israel) (until 8.4.00)
Minister in PM's Office	Haim Ramon (One Israel)
Minister in PM's Office for Social Issues and Dispersions	Michael Melchior (One Israel)
Agriculture & Rural Development	Ḥayyim Oron (Meretz) (8.5.99–6.24.00) (resigned from Knesset) Ehud Barak (One Israel) (until 8.5.99 and from 9.24.00)
Construction and Housing	Yiẓḥak Levy (NRP) (until 7.12.00) (resigned from Knesset) Binyamin Ben-Eliezer (One Israel) (from 10.11.00)
Education	Yossi Sarid (Meretz) (until 6.24.00) Ehud Barak (from 9.24.00)
Environment	Dalia Itzik (One Israel)
Finance	Avraham Beiga Shoḥat (One Israel)
Foreign Affairs	David Levy (One Israel) (until 8.4.00) Shelomo Ben-Ami (One Israel) (from 11.2.00)
Health	Shelomo Benizri (Shas) (until 7.11.00) Roni Milo (Center Party) (from 8.10.00)
Immigrant Absorption	Ehud Barak (One Israel) (until 8.5.99) Yuli Tamir (One Israel) (from 8.5.00) (not an MK)

Table 60 continued

Ministerial Position	Name (party)
Industry and Trade	Ran Cohen (Meretz) (until 6.24.00) Ehud Barak (One Israel) (from 9.24.00)
Interior	Natan Sharansky (Yisrael be-Aliyah) (until 7.11.00) Haim Ramon (One Israel) (from 10.11.00)
Internal Security	Shelomo Ben-Ami (One Israel)
Justice	Yossi Beilin (One Israel) (resigned from Knesset)
Labor & Welfare	Eliyahu Yishai (Shas) (until 7.11.00) Ra'anan Cohen (One Israel) (from 8.10.00)
National Infrastructures	Eliahu Suissa (Shas) (until 7.11.00) Avraham Beiga Shoḥat (One Israel) (from 10.11.00)
Regional Cooperation	Shimon Peres
Religious Affairs	Yiẓḥak Cohen (Shas) (until 7.11.00) Yossi Beilin (One Israel) (from 10.11.00) (resigned from Knesset)
Science	Ehud Barak (One Israel) (until 8.5.99)
Science, Culture and Sport	Mattan Vilnai (One Israel) (from 8.5.99) (resigned from Knesset)
Tourism	Ehud Barak (One Israel) (until 8.5.99) Amnon Lipkin-Shaḥak (Center Party) (from 8.5.00)
Transportation	Amnon Lipkin-Shaḥak (Center Party) (from 10.11.00)

When Barak began his term as prime minister, there was still great optimism in most parts of the public regarding the chances that the peace process would enter its third and final stage, leading to the establishment of a Palestinian state. There was also optimism regarding progress on the Syrian front. However, the only political move that Barak succeeded in implementing was a unilateral withdrawal from Southern Lebanon, which he had promised in his election campaign. Despite the far-reaching territorial concessions that Barak was willing to make to the Palestinians, including the subject of Jerusalem and involving over 90 percent of the territory of the West Bank and Gaza Strip, negotiations with Arafat in Camp David in July 2000, under the auspices of President Clinton, came to naught. Between June and August 2000, all of Barak's coalition partners except the Center Party left the government, while the Center Party was on the verge of disintegration, partially due to charges of sexual harassment brought against its leader, former Minister of Defense Itzik Mordechai, which caused him to resign from the government and then from the Knesset.

Following a provocative visit to the Temple Mount by Opposition leader Ariel Sharon on September 28, 2000, the second Intifada broke out in October. Sharon's visit was, however, merely a pretext. The decision of the Palestinian leadership to embark on a violent road was apparently a strategic one. Violence also erupted in October in the Israeli Arab sector, resulting in 13 Israeli Arabs being killed.

Having lost his parliamentary majority, and with growing economic difficulties resulting from the world economic crisis and the Intifada, Barak decided to call for new elections for prime minister, but not for the Knesset. Barak, who faced Ariel Sharon in these elections, suffered a stinging defeat, losing close to half the votes he had received 19 months earlier.

Table 61. Direct election of the prime minister February 6, 2001

Candidate	Votes	Percentage
Ariel Sharon	1,698,077	62.4
Ehud Barak	1,023,944	37.6

Not long after the election Barak followed Netanyahu's footsteps and resigned his Knesset seat and the Labor leadership, though not before considering joining the government Sharon was about to form.

It took Sharon one month to form his government. He convinced Labor-Meimad (after Gesher had left One Israel) to join, appointing Shimon Peres as foreign minister and Binyamin (Fuad) *Ben-Eliezer as minister of defense. In addition to Labor-Meimad, all the religious parties, all the right-wing parties, and Am Eḥad joined the coalition. The government was so big that it was necessary to add a table in the Knesset plenary hall to accommodate its ministers.

Table 62. Members of the Twenty-Ninth Government (formed on March 7, 2001)

Ministerial Position	Name (party)
Prime Minister	Ariel Sharon (Likud)
Deputy PM and Finance	Silvan Shalom (Likud)
Deputy PM and Construction & Housing	Natan Sharansky (Yisrael be-Aliyah)
Deputy PM and Interior	Eliyahu Yishai (Shas) (until 5.23.02 and from 6.3.02)
Deputy PM and Foreign Affairs	Shimon Peres (Labor-Meimad) (until 11.2.02)
Agriculture & Rural Development	Shalom Simḥon (Labor-Meimad) (until 11.2.02) Tzipi Livni (Likud) (from 12.17.02)
Communications	Reuven Rivlin (Likud)
Defense	Binyamin Ben-Eliezer (Labor-Meimad) (until 11.2.02) Shaul Mofaz (Likud) (not an MK) (from 11.4.02)
Education	Limor Livnat (Likud)
Environment	Tzaḥi Hanegbi (Likud)
Foreign Affairs	Shimon Peres (Labor-Meimad) (until 11.2.02) Binyamin Netanyahu (Likud) (from 11.6.02) (not an MK)
Health	Nissim Dahan (Shas) (until 5.23.02 and from 6.3.02)
Immigrant Absorption	Ariel Sharon (Likud)
Industry and Trade	Dalia Itzik (Labor-Meimad) (until 11.2.02) Ariel Sharon (Likud) (from 11.2.02)
Internal Security	Uzi Landau (Likud)
Jerusalem Affairs	Eliyahu Suissa (Shas) (until 5.23.02 and from 6.3.02)

Table 62 continued

Ministerial Position	Name (party)
Justice	Meir Sheetrit (Likud)
Labor & Welfare	Shlomo Benizri (Shas) (until 5.23.02 and from 6.3.02)
National Infrastructures	Avigdor Lieberman (National Union) (until 3.14.02)
	Efi Eitam (NRP) (from 9.18.02) (not an MK)
Regional Cooperation	Tzipi Livni (Likud) (until 8.29.01)
	Roni Milo (Center Party, then Likud) (from 8.29.01)
Religious Affairs	Asher Ohana (Shas) (until 5.23.02 and from 6.3.02) (not an MK)
Science, Culture and Sport	Mattan Vilna’i (One Israel) (until 11.2.02)) (not an MK)
Social Coordination	Shmuel Avital (Am Eḥad) (until 2.22.02)
Tourism and in charge of Arab Sector	Rehavam Ze’evi (National Union) (murdered 10.17.01)
	Binyamin Elon (National Union) (10.31.01–3.14.02)
	Yiẓḥak Levy (NRP) (from 9.18.02 (not an MK)
Transportation	Efraim Sneh (Labor-Meimad) (until 11.2.02)
	Tzaḥi Hanegbi (Likud) (from 12.15.02)
Without Portfolio	Dani Naveh (Likud)
Without Portfolio	Salah Tarif (Labor-Meimad) (until 1.29.02)
Without Portfolio	Ra’anan Cohen (Labor-Meimad) (until 8.18.02)
Without Portfolio	Dan Meridor (Center Party) (from 8.29.01)
Without Portfolio	Tzipi Livni (Likud) (8.29.01–12.17.02)
Without Portfolio	David Levy (Gesher) (4.8.02–7.30.02)
Without Portfolio	Efi Eitam (NRP) (4.8.02–9.18.02) (not an MK)
Without Portfolio	Yiẓḥak Levy (NRP) (4.8.02–9.18.02) (not an MK)

The most urgent task of the new government was to pass the 2001 budget. Sharon also insisted on the immediate cancellation of the direct elections of the prime minister, which had decimated the power of the two major parties. Another important bill that the Knesset passed soon after Sharon was elected was one known as the "Tal Law," which tried to contend with the problem of military service for *ḥaredi* youth – an issue that was causing increasing bitterness and mutual recriminations between the religious and secular parts of Israeli society.

As the Intifada became progressively more violent, with suicide bombers committing increasingly frequent acts of terror, the IDF reacted with growing ferocity. On October 17, 2001, Minister of Tourism Rehavam Ze’evi was murdered by Palestinian terrorists in a Jerusalem hotel. Though international efforts were underway to try and stop the escalating violence, little progress was made.

The cost of fighting the Intifada and the deterioration in Israel's international standing – both diplomatically and economically – continued to exacerbate the economic situation, with growing rates of unemployment and failed businesses. At the same time the cutback in Palestinian workers employed in Israel greatly increased the number of foreign workers, both legal and illegal, from Eastern Europe, Southeast Asia, and Africa, performing jobs that Israelis would not take.

Within the Labor Party a leadership contest between Burg and Binyamin *Ben-Eliezer in December 2001 ended in a very narrow victory for the latter, and accusations of fraud. Eleven months later, a leadership contest between Ben-Eliezer and Amram Mitzna – a former major general and mayor of Haifa – ended in a conclusive victory for the latter. Two weeks before Mitzna's victory, and with growing differences of opinion with the Likud on economic and social issues on the one hand and on relations with the Palestinians on the other, Labor-Meimad decided to leave the government.

By the end of the term of the Fifteenth Knesset, of the six members of the Center Party, the party's leader had been forced to resign from the Knesset, one member joined Labor-Meimad, two returned to the Likud, and another – Dan *Meridor – rejoined the Likud but formally remained in the Center Party parliamentary group with another member for technical reasons. However, while at the end of the Knesset, technically speaking the Center Party still existed, to all intents and purposes it had suffered the same fate as Dash 24 years earlier.

From a political point of view, the term of the Fifteenth Knesset was one of the most complex and unstable that Israel had ever known. It was the second Knesset – the first being the Eleventh – in which two governments served with prime ministers coming from different parties. The difference was, however, that while in the Eleventh Knesset there was a National Unity Government with a rotation agreement between the leaders of the two major parties, this time each of the two prime ministers had been elected directly. As a result of the growing weakness of the government, a peak number of private members, bills were put to a vote – 4,236, of which 239 were adopted. In the same period only 162 government bills were passed and 39 committee bills. After no Parliamentary Inquiry Committees had been established in the Fourteenth Knesset, no fewer than nine were appointed in the Fifteenth. In the course of this Knesset 19 members had resigned – the largest number in the course of a single Knesset.

The Sixteenth Knesset, 2003–2006

The elections to the Sixteenth Knesset were held on January 28, 2003, and the first meeting of the Knesset was held 20 days later, on February 17, 2003.

The elections to the Sixteenth Knesset were once again held on the basis of the old system, without elections for the prime minister. The Likud, doubling the number of its voters, also doubled the number of its seats, and was soon joined by Yisrael be-Aliyah, which suffered a bitter defeat, gaining only two seats. Yisrael be-Aliyah, which had lost two members to the Right in the course of the Fourteenth Knesset, and two members to the Left in the course of the Fifteenth Knesset, appeared to have lost its *raison d'être* as a new immigrants party. The leader of Yisrael be-Aliyah, Natan Sharansky, immediately resigned his Knesset seat, but joined Sharons' new government as minister responsible for Jerusalem affairs. Labor-

Table 63. Results of the Elections to the Sixteenth Knesset

Electorate:	4,720,075
Valid votes cast	3,148,364
Qualifying threshold (1.5%)	47,226
Votes per seat	25,138

Table 64. Results of the elections to the Fifteenth Knesset by party

Name of list	Number of valid votes	% of total votes	Number of seats	30th Govt.
Likud	925,279	29.4	38	X
Labor-Meimad	455,183	14.5	19	X#
Shinui	386,535	12.3	15	X****
Shas	258,879	8.2	11	
National Union	173,973	5.5	7	X**
Meretz	164,122	5.2	6	
Yahadut ha-Torah	135,087	4.3	5	X##
National Religious Party	132,370	4.2	6	X***
Ḥadash	93,819	3.0	3	
Am Eḥad###	86,808	2.8	3	
Balad	71,299	2.3	3	
Yisrael be-Aliyah	67,719	2.2	2	X*
United Arab List	65,551	2.1	2	

* Merged with the Likud on March 10, 2003.
** Fired from the government on June 6, 2004.
*** Joined the government on March 3, 2003, left the government on November 11, 2004.
**** Left the government on December 4, 2004.
# Joined the government on January 10, 2005.
## Joined the coalition on March 30, 2005.
### Merged with Labor-Meimad on May 23, 2005.

Meimad, under Mitzna, suffered a bitter defeat, going down to 19 seats – the same number that the Likud had received in the previous elections. Shinui, which campaigned against what it considered the excessive strength that the *ḥaredi* parties had gained over the previous decade, was the great success story of the elections to the Sixteenth Knesset, repeating the success of Dash in 1977, with 15 seats, taking votes away from both Labor-Meimad and Meretz. Even though Yossi Beilin and Yael Dayan joined the Meretz list after failing to be elected to realistic places on the Labor list, Meretz suffered a bitter defeat and lost four of its ten seats. For the first time since it entered the Knesset in 1984, Shas lost seats, going down from 17 to 11, most of which returned to the Likud.

The Sixteenth Knesset elected Reuven (Ruby) Rivlin from the Likud as its speaker.

Sharon formed his new government on February 29, 2003. He had hoped to form a coalition with Labor-Meimad and Shinui that would not have to rely on the religious and extreme-right parties. But even though Shinui leader Tomi Lapid did his utmost to convince the Labor Party to join a secular government headed by Sharon, Mitzna preferred to remain in Opposition, and Sharon formed a government that included Shinui, the NRP, and the National Union, leaving Shas and Yahadut ha-Torah outside. In May 2003 Mitzna resigned from the Labor Party leadership, and once again Shimon Peres assumed the leadership as a caretaker, promising to step down later on prior to a future leadership contest.

Table 65. Members of the Thirtieth Government (Formed on February 28, 2003)

Ministerial Position	Name (party)
Prime Minister	Ariel Sharon (Likud))
Vice Prime Minister and Minister of Industry, Trade and Labor	Ehud Olmert (Likud)
Vice Premier and Minister for Regional Cooperation	Shimon Peres (Labor-Meimad) (from 10.1.05)
Deputy PM and Foreign Affairs	Silvan Shalom (Likud)
Deputy PM and Minister of Justice	Yosef Lapid (Shinui) (until 4.12.04)
Minister in the PM's Office	Gideon Ezra (Likud) (until 31.8.04)
Minister in the PM's Office	Uzi Landau (Likud) (until 28.10.04)
Minister in the PM's Office	Tsaḥi Hanegbi (Likud) (from 6.9.04)
Minister in the PM's Office	Mattan Vilnai (Labor-Meimad) (from10.1.05)
Agriculture & Rural Development	Israel Katz (Likud)
Communications	Ariel Sharon (Likud) (until 17.8.03) Ehud Olmert (Likud) (29.9.03–10.1.05) Dalia Itzik (Labor-Meimad) (from 10.1.05)
Construction and Housing	Efi Eitam (NRP) (3.3.03–10.6.04) Tzipi Livni (Likud) (acting minister 31.8.04–10.1.05) Yitzhak Herzog (Labor-Meimad) (from 10.1.05)
Defense	Shaul Mofaz (Likud) (not an MK)
Education, Culture and Sport	Limor Livnat (Likud)
Environment	Yehudit Na'ot (Shinui) (until 17.10.04) Ilan Shalgi (Shinui) (17.10.04–4.12.04) Shalom Simḥon (Labor-Meimad) (from 10.1.05)
Finance	Binyamin Netanyahu (Likud) (until 9.8.05) Ehud Olmert (Likud) (acting minister from 9.8.05)
Minister in the Ministry of Finance	Meir Sheetrit (Likud) (until 5.7.04)
Foreign Affairs	Silvan Shalom (Likud)
Health	Danny Naveh (Likud)
Immigrant Absorption	Tzipi Livni (Likud)
Interior	Avraham Poraz (Shinui) (until 4.12.04) Ofir Paz-Pines (Labor-Meimad) (from 10.1.05)
Internal Security	Tsaḥi Hanegbi (Likud) (until 6.9.04) Gideon Ezra (Likud) (from 6.9.04)
Jerusalem Affairs	Natan Sharansky (not an MK) (3.3.03–4.5.05)
Justice	Tomi Lapid (Shinui) (until 4.12.04) Tzipi Livni (Likud) (from 10.1.05)
National Infrastructures	Yosef Paritzky (Shinui) (until13.7.04) Eliezer Sandberg (Shinui) (19.7.04–4.12.04) Binyamin Ben-Eliezer (Labor-Meimad) (from 10.1.05)

Table 65 continued

Ministerial Position	Name (party)
Religious Affairs	Ariel Sharon (Likud) (until 31.12.03, when Ministry was abolished)
Science & Technology	Eliezer Sandberg (Shinui) (until 19.7.04) Ilan Shalgi (Shinui) (24.7.04–29.11.04) Victor Bralovsky (Shinui) (29.11.04 – 4.12.04) Mattan Vilnai (Labor-Meimad) (28.8.05)
Tourism	Binyamin Elon (National Union) (until 6.6.04) Gideon Ezra (Likud) (4.7.04–10.1.05) Avraham Hirshson (Likud) (from 10.1.05)
Transportation	Avigdor Lieberman (National Union) (until 6.6.04) Meir Sheetrit (Likud) (from 4.7.04)
Welfare	Zevulun Orlev (NRP) (3.3.03–11.11.04)
Without Portfolio	Haim Ramon (Labor-Meimad) (from 10.1.05)

One of the characteristics of the Sixteenth Knesset was the entry of a large group of new members to the Knesset both on the Likud and Shinui lists. While those of Shinui were mostly professionals, many of whom had been active in Shinui for many years, those of the Likud were relatively young, with little previous political experience, and strongly committed to those who voted for them in the Likud Central Committee rather than the old-time leadership. Soon a succession of political scandals broke out among both new and old members of the Likud, some bordering on criminal acts, involving election financing, cronyism, and double voting in the Knesset plenum. A police investigation concerning Sharon's 1999 election finances implicated his two sons, MK Omri Sharon and Gilad, but since both chose to remain silent, the investigation dragged on, and only in the summer of 2005 was it decided that charges would be brought against Omri. As a result of the disinclination of the Knesset House Committee to lift the immunity of Knesset members at the request of the state attorney, the Knesset amended the law in July 2005 to facilitate the procedure.

In terms of the peace process with the Palestinians no progress was made until the death of the chairman of the Palestinian Authority, Yasser Arafat, in November 2004, and the IDF continued to act vigorously to prevent acts of terror being committed by Palestinians inside Israel, including the assassination of Palestinians known to be involved in acts of terrorism as planners and perpetrators, and the construction of a security fence to separate Israel from the West Bank. The latter policy was strongly criticized by the international community, primarily due to the delineation of the fence east of the Green Line.

As minister of finance, Binyamin Netanyahu devised a new economic policy designed to pull the Israeli economy out of the deep crisis it had goten into as a result of the world economic slump, the bursting of the hi-tech bubble, and the ongoing *Intifada*. The crisis reduced economic growth to an all-time low, led to unprecedented levels of unemployment that crossed the 10% line, and brought the annual inflation rate down to 1–2%. In his effort to encourage economic growth Netanyahu followed a policy of drastic budgetary cuts, including a steep reduction in all welfare payments, and policies designed to bring the chronically unemployed back to work. Though the policy brought about an improvement in the performance of the economy on the macro level, it caused a good deal of social distress, resulting in numerous strikes and demonstrations, most noteworthy that by single mothers as personified by Vicki Knafo in May 2003. In 2004 efforts also began to cut down on the number of illegal foreign workers in Israel, estimated to have reached 100,000–200,000. Netanyahu initiated major reforms in the banking, tax, pensions, local government, and sea port systems.

In December 2003 Sharon officially announced his policy of unilateral Israeli disengagement from the Gaza Strip, and the dismantlement of all the Jewish settlements there, as well as several settlements in Northern Samaria. The plan was first debated in the Knesset the following month. There were those who argued that Sharon proposed his revolutionary policy in order to divert attention from the criminal investigations being carried out against him. However, the timing of the move could be laid to a combination of American pressure for some Israeli move *vis-à-vis* the Palestinians following the toppling of Saddam Hussein's regime in Iraq, the stalemate with the Palestinians as the second *Intifada* entered its fourth year, and growing international criticism of Israel for constructing the security fence to protect itself against Palestinian suicide bombers. Within the government the plan enjoyed the enthusiastic support of Shinui only. The plan was also fully supported by the Israel Labor Party and Yaḥad from the Opposition. Though a majority of the Likud ministers and the majority of the Likud Knesset members also supported it, within the Likud Central Committee a majority objected to the plan. A group of rebels from within the Likud joined the settlers, Mo'eẓet Yesha (the formal leadership of the settlers in Judea, Samaria, and Gaza), the National Union, and the National Religious Party in placing growing pressure on the Government and the Knesset to reject the plan. This pressure manifested itself in mass demonstrations and, as time went on, clashes with the security forces.

In order to reduce opposition to the plan within the government, Sharon fired the ministers from the National Union in June 2004. Efi Eitam, still formally leader of the NRP, resigned soon thereafter, and together with MK Yitzhak Levy established a new parliamentary group that eventually joined the National Union. The remainder of the NRP remained in the government until November 2004, but then resigned as the disengagement plan was approved by the Knesset and Sharon refused to consider a referendum on the issue. Netanyahu tried, together with a few other Likud ministers, to lead a rebellion against Sharon during the Knesset vote on the implementation of the plan in October 2004, but his attempt failed and he ended up voting for it.

Shinui, which continued to support the disengagement plan, left the government in November 2004, due to Lapid's objection to the proposed increase in financial allocations to the religious parties in the 2005 budget. Left with a minority government, Sharon finally reached an agreement with the Labor Party, which entered the government in January. Besides Peres, who became vice premier and minister for regional cooperation, Labor's two most senior ministers were two of its younger leaders, elected by the party's Central Committee: Ofir Paz-Pines and Yitzhak Herzog. Nevertheless, since the Likud rebels continued to vote against the government on most issues, the government now depended in many votes on Shinui, Yahad, and even the Arab parties.

On August 9, 2005, on the eve of the implementation of the disengagement plan, Netanyahu resigned from the government dramatically, claiming that he did not want to be associated with this act, even though he admitted that there was no chance of preventing it. Netanyahu was replaced in the Ministry of Finance by Ehud *Olmert.

Despite clashes between the settlers, who were to be removed from their homes, and groups of radical youngsters who had joined them before the removal, on the one hand, and large contingents of policemen and soldiers, on the other, the fear of major violence and fatalities in the course of the disengagement did not materialize, and the removal of the settlers, followed by the destruction of their homes, was completed within a week in the middle of August 2005.

[Susan Hattis Rolef (2nd ed.)]

The 2006 Elections

Though Prime Minister Sharon's popularity in the world soared as a result of the disengagement, and he enjoyed extensive support within the Israeli population at large, within the Likud his popularity sank. In November 2005, faced with the threat of being deposed as party chairman by the Likud Central Committee, Sharon dissolved the Knesset, quit the Likud, and formed Kadimah, a new political party. He was joined by Tzipi *Livni, Shaul *Mofaz, Meir *Sheetrit, Gideon Ezra, and Tzaḥi Hanegbi from the Likud and Shimon Peres, Haim *Ramon, and Dalia *Itzik from the Labor Party. Previously, Amir Peretz had defeated Peres in the contest for the Labor Party chairmanship, and in December Binyamin Netanyahu was elected to the Likud chairmanship in place of Sharon.

Sharon suffered a massive brain hemorrhage in early January 2006. Ehud Olmert became acting prime minister. Elections were held on March 28, 2006, with a low turnout of 3,186,739 voters (63.5%). Kadimah received 29 seats and Olmert was invited by the president to form the new government. Labor received 19 seats, the Likud 12, Shas 12, Yisrael Beitenu (led by Avigdor Lieberman) 11, and the pensioners' party, Gil, a suprising 7 seats, seen as reflecting a protest vote among disaffected younger voters.

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DEFENSE FORCES

Ottoman and Mandatory Periods (1878–1948)

The development of the self-defense force of the *yishuv* was an influential part of the history of Jewish settlement in Ereẓ Israel. In the last quarter of the 19th century, when the first Jewish agricultural settlements came into being, the Turkish regime was hostile toward them. The internal security of the village areas left much to be desired, and the safety of the settlers depended on the good graces of the local strong man – the Bedouin or village sheikh. The Jewish settlers had to cope with border friction, disputes on water rights, and intrusions on their crops and property. Their choice was either to fight for their rights or be left to the mercy of their neighbors. As a result, individuals and groups of young people organized to fight for these elementary rights. This was the period of the first watchmen (*shomerim*), typical of whom was Abraham *Shapira, head watchman of Petaḥ Tikvah, who became well known among the Arabs by guarding the village and its fields with the help of the young settlers and hired Bedouin. After some time, guard duty in most of the settlements became the task of local Arab strong men, who undertook to protect them by sending their men to guard Jewish life and property.

HA-SHOMER. The immigrants of the Second Aliyah, which began in 1904, were critical of the early settlers and well aware of the dangers involved in employing non-Jewish watchmen. The young newcomers had been influenced by the ideas of the Zionist Movement and modern Hebrew writers. Many of them had been through pogroms and had learned the arts of self-defense in Russia. They saw the settlers' dependence on outside armed forces as a fundamental defect. Israel *Shochat, one of the first to consider the idea of a Jewish armed force, pointed to various Middle East minorities, such as the Druze and Circassians, who had won their right to exist by proving their bravery against their attackers. Shochat came to the conclusion that a group of Jewish fighters should be created to win the respect of their neighbors and raise the prestige of the *yishuv*'s fighting ability. He therefore established *Ha-Shomer in 1909. Within a period of four to five years, Ha-Shomer had taken over the guard duty of all the Jewish settlements in Lower Galilee, as well as of several of the larger settlements in Samaria and Judea. During the same period, guard duty in several other settlements was also assumed by young Jews. The image of the Jewish fighter was thus created.

Ha-Shomer's principle was to employ Jewish watchmen only; its methods called for a small body of professional watchmen who would study Arab methods of fighting and try to outdo their enemy in organizational ability, discipline, and force of arms. In 1913 Shochat presented a memorandum to the Zionist Organization proposing the establishment of a countrywide organization for the defense of the settlements that would incorporate every male capable of bearing arms. The men of Ha-Shomer were to head the organization, train the members, and be responsible for the security of the arms depots. Ha-Shomer was thus the first stage in the development of the *yishuv*'s military force.

THE JEWISH LEGION. During World War I the idea of the *Jewish Legion was born. Its main protagonist, Vladimir *Jabotinsky, envisaged the Legion (which was established during the war years) as helping the British army to conquer Palestine and, on the conclusion of the war, serving as the garrison of the country. It was also to ensure the security of the Jewish settlements by serving as a concrete symbol of the political status of the Jewish National Home. After the *Balfour Declaration (1917), the opposition of the Arab National Movement (see *Israel, State of: Historical Survey, section on the Arab National Movement) to Jewish immigration and settlement became increasingly stronger. The riots that took place in Palestine in the years 1920–21 strengthened recognition of the need for an independent Jewish force.

The *yishuv* learned its first lesson when faced with the problem of defending settlements in northern Upper Galilee, which was under French rule at that time. As a result of the Arab uprising against the French, the settlements were in danger, and the Jewish authorities were inclined to transfer the settlers to the area under British occupation. This suggestion was indignantly rejected by Ha-Shomer, which sent reinforcements of men and ammunition to the besieged villages and entrusted the organization of the defense to Joseph *Trumpeldor. The stand against the Arabs at *Tel Ḥai in March 1920, during which Trumpeldor and several of his comrades fell in battle, became a symbol of Jewish resistance both in Ereẓ Israel and in the Diaspora. It also established a new principle in the *yishuv*'s defense policy – "No Jewish settlement is to be abandoned for any security consideration whatsoever." The second lesson was derived from the 1920 Passover riots in Jerusalem. Jabotinsky headed a self-defense organization that he had established openly and, he assumed, legally, demanding arms from the British authorities. When the riots broke out in Jerusalem, however, the British prevented this defense force from entering the Old City. Jabotinsky and 20 of his men were arrested and sentenced to long prison terms. The rioting continued for several days before the British army restored order to the city. To ensure its security the *yishuv* needed an autonomous force, independent of any foreign power. Consequently, Ha-Shomer decided to disband and an *Aḥdut ha-Avodah conference held at Kinneret in June 1920, attended by a group of ex-Battalion soldiers led by Eliyahu *Golomb and Dov *Hos, established the *Haganah ("Defense") organization. The third lesson came in May 1921 with the outbreak of bloody riots that spread from Jaffa to the Jewish villages in Judea and Samaria and included the murder of Jews and attempts to break into their villages. The attacks were vigorously repulsed by local defense forces with the help of the British army. The participation in the defense of Tel Aviv of a unit of Jewish soldiers that was to have been the nucleus of a renewed Jewish Battalion led the British to disband the unit and cancel the plan to revive it. These events strengthened the view that the *yishuv* could rely on neither a foreign army nor a Jewish Legion under a foreign command whose policy was guided by extraneous military and political considerations.

HAGANAH – EARLY DAYS. During the first nine years of its existence, the Haganah was a loose organization of local defense groups in the large towns and in several of the settlements. Although it enjoyed Zionist sympathy it received no material support from the Zionist Organization, which regarded the Haganah as a local version of the self-defense organizations of Eastern Europe. Jabotinsky, who felt very strongly about the security problems of the *yishuv*, held to the idea of the Legion, and at first regarded the Haganah not only as a poor substitute, but as an irresponsible security factor likely to cause political harm. The Haganah's development was dealt a serious blow by the withdrawal of the ex-members of Ha-Shomer because of a disagreement on administrative policy. These men established an independent arms depot and a training center within the framework of the *Gedud ha-Avodah ("Labor Legion").

The Arab riots of August 1929 changed the attitude of the *yishuv* and the Zionist Organization toward the Haganah. It had become evident that the bloodiest anti-Jewish riots and the heaviest looting had occurred in those places where there was no Haganah (such as Hebron) or where the Haganah was weak (as in Safed). The Jewish population of Jerusalem, Tel Aviv, Haifa, and several of the settlements had been saved by the stand of the Haganah forces – limited as they were. Following the riots, the Haganah went through a difficult organizational crisis, which was climaxed by the establishment of a countrywide supreme command in which the labor and non-labor sections were accorded equal representation. During this crisis a group of local commanders seceded and established the *Irgun Ẓeva'i Le'ummi (IẒL – "National Military Organization"), consisting mainly of right-wing and *Revisionist elements.

In the period from 1931 to 1936, the Haganah became a large organization encompassing nearly all the youth and adults in the settlements as well as several thousand members from each of the cities. It initiated a comprehensive training program for its members, ran officers' training courses, and established central arms depots into which a continuous stream of light arms (rifles and pistols) flowed from Europe. Simultaneously, the basis was laid for the underground production of arms (Ta'as), the first product of which was the hand grenade.

This period saw the crystallization of two additional principles that brought the Haganah even closer to becoming a national army. The first was the principle of a single defense organization, subject to a single and central command, which inevitably entailed opposition to the existence of dissident groups. The second principle was the recognition of the authority of the *yishuv*'s political leadership, i.e., the *Jewish Agency and the *Va'ad Le'ummi.

During the riots that broke out in April 1936 and the three years of the Arab revolt that followed, the Haganah played a central role in the life of the *yishuv*. Although the British administration did not officially recognize the organization, the British Security Forces cooperated with it by establishing an armed civilian militia. One of the largest units of this force was the Jewish Settlement Police (JSP), with branches in all the villages and city suburbs. Thousands of Haganah members were sworn in as "Supernumerary Police," received uniforms and arms from the administration, and were trained under the supervision of British army and police officers. Other police units were established to guard the railroads, airfields, government offices, and various installations. With the increasing intensity of the Arab revolt, Jews were incorporated into British army units to fight the marauding Arab bands. In the summer of 1938 Special Night Squads (SNS) were established under the command of Captain Orde *Wingate, who trained them in the methods of guerilla warfare. The JSP became a militia of 12 battalions, including mobile defense units equipped with armored vehicles and machine guns.

The British administration attempted to make the establishment of the police units conditional upon the surrender of all illegal arms. However, this condition was resolutely rejected by the Haganah command, who saw these legal units as only one aspect of its activities. The Haganah continued to develop as an autonomous force and stepped up the local manufacture of arms as well as the purchase of arms from abroad. The latter was further increased by a secret agreement between Haganah representatives and Polish government circles. At the outset of the riots, the Haganah's aim was the fortification of the settlements. Barbed-wire fencing and concrete outposts were erected and trenches were dug. As the riots continued it became clear that it was also necessary to guard traffic on the roads and workers in the fields, as well as crops and orchards outside the limits of the settlements. Yiẓhak *Sadeh played an important role in the establishment of mobile units, which quickly became field squads (*peluggot sadeh*). The Arab revolt threatened to slow down Jewish settlement, and it fell to the Haganah to safeguard newly established settlements. To this end, the *Stockade and Watchtower type of settlement was evolved.

One of the most serious questions that faced the Haganah at the outbreak of riots was that of "restraint" (Heb. *havlagah*). Attacks by Arab bands on unarmed men, women, and children aroused a desire for revenge; some Jews began to feel that Arabs interpreted the lack of any Jewish reaction as weakness and that the *yishuv* should adapt its behavior to the "Arab mentality." But the Jewish Agency decided on a policy of restraint on both ethical and political grounds, and the Haganah accepted its authority on this question. A formula was eventually worked out that allowed for limited retaliatory actions sanctioned by the Haganah command. In the spring of 1937, the IẒL split, and a section of its members returned to the ranks of Haganah. The other section, mainly under the influence of the Revisionist movement, maintained a dissident armed force subject to the authority of Jabotinsky. The IẒL did not accept the policy of restraint and, from the summer of 1938, developed methods of mass retaliation against the Arab population.

HAGANAH IN THE STRUGGLE FOR INDEPENDENCE. In September 1939 a General Staff of the Haganah was established under the political direction of the Jewish Agency through the head of the Haganah command. The Haganah's administration was systematically overhauled; countrywide defense plans, training methods, armament plants, and methods for acquiring arms were developed and expanded. The first chief of staff was Ya'akov *Dori. The Arab revolt was the testing ground for the Haganah's fighting capacity. It was during this period that many men who were to be Israel Defense Forces (IDF) commanders – such as Yigal *Allon, Moshe *Dayan, and Moshe *Carmel – received their first taste of warfare. As a result of the British government's anti-Zionist policy (expressed in the *White Paper of 1939), the Haganah took upon itself the additional task of fighting the White Paper regime. It supported organized *"illegal" immigration and organized demonstrations against the White Paper and the 1940 Land Laws. Opinion was divided as to whether the Haganah should limit itself to its former tasks or should become the spearhead of the political struggle. In fact, the Haganah did become actively involved in the struggle in all its forms, although at times within frameworks established for specific purposes, such as the organizations for "illegal" immigration (Ha-Mosad, 1939–48 and *Beriḥah, 1945–48), which did not act under the direct supervision of the Haganah command.

During World War II, the Haganah acted in accordance with the policy laid down by David *Ben-Gurion, "to fight the war as if there were no White Paper, and to fight the White Paper as if there were no war." From the summer of 1940, the Haganah also headed a movement of volunteers from which Jewish units were formed for service in the British Army (these units took part in campaigns in the Middle East, North Africa, Greece, and Italy), as well as the Jewish battalions that led to the creation of the *Jewish Brigade in 1944. Haganah members strove to add national character to the Jewish units and to have them commanded by Jewish officers, many of whom were Haganah men. For Haganah members, British army service meant not only participation in the fight against the Nazis, but also first-class military training. They learned methods of organization and command of large armed units, as well as branches of warfare that could not be taught in an underground framework (for example, the use of heavy artillery). The Haganah cooperated with British intelligence units and sent its men on various commando missions, such as the attempted sabotage of the Syrian oil refineries, in which 23 men were lost, in 1941. Another example of this cooperation was the dropping of some 30 Jewish parachutists behind enemy lines in Europe.

The Haganah further strengthened its independence during the war by establishing its own intelligence service which systematically followed all developments in the Arab community, the British administration, and the Jewish dissident groups (IẒL and *Loḥamei Ḥerut Israel (Leḥi)) that affected the *yishuv*'s security. Haganah members were divided into two main forces, one in charge of the defense of the settlements and the other trained for active warfare in all areas of the country. A systematic program of training was instituted for the youth of the country both in the legal framework of Ḥagam (intensified physical education), and the illegal one of *Gadna (youth battalions). In 1941 the Haganah's first mobilized regiment, the *Palmaḥ, came into being. Its men were mobilized for a two-year period and quartered in various work camps all over the country, where they underwent military training and simultaneously earned their keep by working in nearby kibbutzim and villages.

The war years saw many open clashes between the Haganah and the British Mandatory authorities, when the latter carried out searches for arms, as well as arrests and trials of Haganah members. In the final years of the war, the Haganah was faced with a difficult task: it was asked by the Jewish Agency to intervene and prevent IẒL sabotage of British installations, which was not in accord with Jewish Agency policy at that time. The mission (called "*ha-sezon*"), executed in conjunction with British police, was distasteful to those who participated in it. At the end of the war, when it became clear that the British government had no intention of altering its anti-Zionist policy, the Haganah began an open, organized struggle against the British Mandatory rule in the framework of a unified Jewish Resistance Movement (*Tenu'at ha-Meri ha-Ivri*), consisting of Haganah, IẒL, and Leḥi. "Illegal" immigration was intensified by the establishment of Haganah branches in the Jewish DP camps, and the Beriḥah was organized, bringing refugees from Eastern Europe to the camps in Central Europe and Italy. Haganah members accompanied the immigrant boats as sailors and organizers on their way to Ereẓ Israel and the camps in Cyprus. The systematic sabotage of all British army and police installations in Palestine began with the countrywide sabotage of the railroad network in November 1945 and reached its climax with the "Night of the Bridges" in June 1946, when all the bridges on the country's borders were blown up. On "Black Saturday" (June 29, 1946) and thereafter, countrywide searches were carried out by the British armed forces, one of the purposes of which was to disable the Haganah by arresting Palmaḥ members and uncovering its arms caches. When the Jewish Agency gave orders to limit the extent of the struggle, the IẒL and Leḥi again broke away from the Jewish Resistance Movement.

In the spring of 1947, David Ben-Gurion assumed the task of preparing the Haganah for the possible showdown with the armed forces of Arabs in Palestine and those of the Arab states. Plans were laid for full-scale mobilization of the *yishuv*, the founding of an air force, and the expansion of arms manufacture and acquisition. An important step in this direction was the purchase in the U.S. of machinery for the production of ammunition and explosives. In the first months of the War of Independence, the Haganah became the regular army of the State of Israel. Complete mobilization was declared; seven divisions were organized by fusing British army experience and Haganah fighting practices; and the Palmaḥ was expanded into three brigades. A large armaments industry was created and heavy arms and planes were acquired. An air force and a navy came into existence. After lengthy discussions the members of IẒL and Leḥi were incorporated into the Haganah's forces.

In the spring of 1948, the Haganah went over from defensive to offensive warfare, occupying areas essential for the *yishuv*'s security: "Operation Naḥshon" opened the road to besieged Jerusalem, while other operations liberated Tiberias, Haifa, Safed, Jaffa, and other areas. On May 26 the Provisional Government of Israel decided to transform the Haganah into the regular army of the State, to be called "Ẓeva Haganah le-Israel" ("Israel Defense Forces"). During the 70 years prior to the establishment of the State, a Jewish fighting force had come into being, the image of the Jewish fighter had been created, and a fighting tradition developed.

[Yehuda Slutsky]

Israel Defense Forces

The Israel Defense Forces (abbr. IDF; Heb. צְבָא הֲגַנָּה לְיִשְׂרָאֵל; Ẓeva Haganah le-Israel; abbr. צה״ל, Ẓahal) were established on May 26, 1948, by the provisional government of the State of Israel, and on May 31, 1948, the first official oath-taking ceremony took place. It is unique in the armies of the world in the degree to which it has succeeded in eliminating distance between itself and the people that it serves; indeed it is an organic part of the people. This closeness results from the fact that the IDF is essentially based on reserve service of the civilian population. Accordingly, and primarily due to this reason, it has not developed into a standard professional army but has retained more of the pre-state character of a popular militia. Because of its popular character and the fact that the youth of the country, without exception, have to pass through its ranks, the IDF has proved to be one of the most important factors in effecting the integration of the various cultural elements of the population of Israel. In the early days of the state, the IDF probably had more influence in this respect than any other single element, and today it is on a par with the school system in bringing about national integration. It has taken an active part in the educational integration of the new immigrants in the country by conducting intensive courses to raise all ranks to a minimum educational standard and by allocating women teachers to immigrant villages with a view to raising the standard of education there. The army continues to supply these services as well as providing additional facilities for more advanced education of its officers and men up to and including university education. In times of national stress (not only military) the IDF has been in the forefront. The great waves of immigration in the early 1950s, which posed major organizational problems, were successfully absorbed with the help of the army, which also assisted in conducting welfare activities in the immigrant camps.

TERMS OF SERVICE. From its inception, Israel established a system of compulsory military service that requires both men and women of certain ages to report for varying periods. Men aged 18–55 (inclusive) and women aged 18–38 (inclusive) – Israel citizens and permanent residents of the country – were liable for service. The law governing military service is the Security Service Law, 1959. The IDF comprises three types of service: conscript service, reserve service, and regular service. Men aged 18–29 (inclusive), women aged 18–26 (inclusive), and licensed medical practitioners aged 18–38 (inclusive – both men and women), were deemed liable for conscript service. From the late 1960s, the period of service for conscript males aged 18–26 was 36 months and for males aged 27–29, 24 months; new immigrants aged 27–29 served 18 months. The period of service for women was 24 months, later reduced to 21 months. The minister of defense is authorized to recognize service in the Border Police as military service within the framework of the law.

On conclusion of his conscript service, every soldier is assigned to a reserve unit. Within the framework of the law, a reservist could be called for service one day per month or alternatively three days per three months. The law set out maximum periods of service as follows: men in the rank of private (*turai*) and lance corporal (*turai rishon*) aged 18–39 (inclusive) 31 days per annum, and those aged 40–54, 14 days per annum. Corporals (*rav turai*) and above could be asked to serve an additional seven days to the above periods. Privates and lance-corporals of the women's forces were liable for 31 days per annum and corporals and above for an additional seven days service per annum. Men aged 45–54 were liable for service only in the Civil Defense organization (later replaced by the Homeland Command), unless their rank was that of second lieutenant (*segen mishneh*) and above or the reservist's specialization was a required one, as determined by the minister of defence in accordance with the regulations of the law.

In addition to the monthly and annual reserve service, every reservist is liable for what is known as "Special Service." The minister of defense may, if he is satisfied that the defense of the state so requires, mobilize any reservist for conscript or reserve service in such locations and for such periods as his order specifies. This order can be a general one or can refer to specific units or specific persons. In the event that such an order is issued, the minister of defense is required to bring it to the knowledge of the *Knesset Foreign Affairs and Defense Committee as soon as possible. The committee may or may not approve the order with or without changes, or may bring it before the Knesset. It lapses within 14 days if not approved by the Foreign Affairs and Defense Committee or by the Knesset before the conclusion of the stated period. Such an order, extending service for men to 36 months, was issued in January 1968.

Mothers and pregnant women are exempt from national service within the framework of the Security Service Law. Married women are exempt from conscript service but not from reserve service. The law provides for the exemption of women from service on the basis of religious reasons.

The tendency in the early 2000s was to cut back on reserve service, for which purpose the appropriate legislation was being drafted.

COMPOSITION OF THE IDF. The IDF is composed of three elements: regular officers and NCOs; the standing army, which is composed of the regular officers, NCOs, and conscripts; and reserve forces, which are mobilized at any given time. Officers and NCOs may volunteer for regular service in the armed forces after they have completed their conscript service. They can commit themselves for varying periods ranging from one to five years. Their conditions of service, rates of pay, and so on are linked to those prevailing in the government civil service. The mandatory age of retirement is 55, but regulars who have completed a minimum of ten years' service and have reached the age of 40 may be authorized by the chief of staff to retire on partial pension, based on the payment of 2% per annum of service and related to their last rank.

ORGANIZATION OF THE FORCES. The IDF is subject to the orders of the government of Israel and carries out its policy. The minister of defense is responsible to the government and issues the instructions of the civilian authority to the armed forces. A special ministerial defense committee deals in detail with defense problems on behalf of the Cabinet. Military matters in the Knesset are dealt with, usually in closed session, by the Foreign Affairs and Defense Committee, which also deals, jointly with the Finance Committee, with budgetary matters related to the armed forces. The Ministry of Defense includes the minister of defense's personal staff and is divided into departments dealing with the following subjects: procurement of weapons and equipment; research and development; military industries; the aircraft industries; and manpower problems, such as rehabilitation, disabled ex-servicemen, responsibility for service widows and orphans, and military cemeteries; building and properties; sales; data-processing units; foreign aid; youth and *Naḥal division; *Gadna division; public relations; *shekem* ("canteen services"); soldiers' welfare committee; legal advice; and financial control. The senior military authority is the chief of staff, who commands all the armed forces. The chief of staff is appointed by the minister of defense, after advising the government. The period of service of the chief of staff is usually three to four years.

The IDF is an integrated organization controlling the land, sea, and air forces. Operationally, the armed forces are divided into three regional ground commands, Northern, Central, and Southern, in addition to the air force and the navy. The commanders of the air force and the navy are at the same time senior advisers to the chief of staff in their respective functions. The chief of staff heads the General Staff, which functions in the general headquarters of the IDF. This organization is responsible for carrying out the security policy of the State of Israel and for controlling the IDF in times of war and peace. On occasion there has been a vice chief of staff. Failing such an appointment, the chief of the General Staff Branch replaces the chief of staff in his absence.

The General Staff is divided into four branches. The General Staff Branch, headed by a major general, who is the senior of the chiefs of branch, is responsible for coordination with the General Staff and for the operational control of the armed forces, including training, planning, operations, and research and development. The Intelligence Branch, headed by a brigadier or major general, is responsible for the collection, collation, and dissemination of all military, political, and economic information that might be of interest to the General Staff for the purpose of planning and operations. It is also responsible for security within the armed forces, censorship, the official army spokesman, liaison with foreign attachés, and the appointment of Israel military attachés abroad. The Manpower Branch, headed by a brigadier or major general, is responsible for the mobilization of the manpower required by the IDF, for the assignment of men to units, for planning and control of manpower, education, personal services, discipline, information, religious and medical services, etc. The Quartermaster General Branch, headed by a brigadier or major general, is responsible for the organization of the supply of equipment, arms, food, clothing, housing, etc., for the maintenance of emergency stores, and for the readiness of all administrative emergency organizations falling within its area of responsibility.

In addition to the regional commands and the air force and navy, the commanders of which hold the rank of major general and control all the forces within their particular command, there are a number of specific commands.

Naḥal is a special organization, unique to the IDF. Its initials stand for No'ar Ḥaluẓi Loḥem ("Fighting Pioneer Youth"). New settlement was considered important in Ereẓ Israel from a security point of view, especially in the border areas. With this consideration in mind, a special corps was established that combined military and agricultural training and also engaged in the establishment of new settlements along the borders. Upon conclusion of military service, those Naḥal soldiers who wished to return to civilian life did so, while others remained and continued to live in the kibbutz. As long as a new settlement was not self-supporting, it remained within Naḥal, under military discipline and tied organically to the army. When the settlement developed and began to be self-supporting, it was transferred by the army to the civilian authority and became a civilian village. Starting in the 1980s, however, a transition began toward regular service in the infantry within the Naḥal framework, which in 1999 became part of the Central Command. About 10 percent of Naḥal soldiers continued to serve in settlement frameworks.

Gadna, the abbreviation for Gedudei No'ar ("Youth Battalions"), dealt with premilitary training of Israel youth in and out of school. The organization was essentially educational in nature, although it provided its members with some basic military training in various arms. Members of Gadna assisted in afforestation projects, archaeological excavations, and border kibbutzim. Gadna was designed to develop a spirit of constructive patriotism and to identify the army primarily with construction and not with destruction. In the early 1990s it merged with the Education Corps (see below).

The Training Command sets the training objectives of the General Staff and controls and operates all the military schools and training bases within the IDF.

The Armored Command is directly under the command of the General Staff. It is entrusted with the task of developing the armored strength of the IDF and its doctrine, training programs, and equipment.

Ḥen (Ḥeil Nashim; "Women's Corps") was essentially an auxiliary military organization supporting the armed forces in many fields. It supplied women for duties in communications, hospitals, teaching duties, and many other headquarters functions, and thus relieved the men of the country for active combat. In 2004 the corps was abolished as women sought to become fully integrated in the army, including combat service.

A special arrangement to accommodate modern Orthodox religious soldiers is *hesder* service, which combines regular army service with yeshivah study over a period of four years in which those in the program serve actively for 16 months. Another religious framework, created in 1999, is known as Naḥal Ḥaredi, in which ultra-Orthodox soldiers serve in a special battalion which enables them to adhere more easily to their religious way of life. In 2005 it numbered around 1,000 soldiers.

THE MINORITIES IN THE IDF. Members of the minorities may, under certain circumstances, volunteer for service in the IDF and in the Border Police. The Border Police Force is completely integrated between Jews and *Druze, and many Druze have attained officer rank. The Druze community is now liable for conscription into the IDF in the same manner as members of the Jewish community. Until a few years ago this community was permitted to volunteer for service, but at the specific request of the Druze community itself the National Service Law imposing conscription was applied to its members. Bedouin and members of the Christian Arab community may volunteer for service. The IDF includes a Minorities Unit in which Druze and Christian Arabs serve. A certain percentage of members of the unit are Jewish, and the unit has served with distinction in many border operations.

ARMY CORPS. Troops serving in the IDF are assigned to various army corps, which are responsible for the professional and technical training of officers and the enlisted men and the development of equipment and the doctrines of the various arms. These corps include the air force, navy, infantry, armor, artillery, engineers, paratroops, signals and communications, intelligence, ordnance, supply, medical, military police, general service corps, and homeland. The formations directly under the General Staff are the regional commands, the navy and the air force, and the armored forces. The basic formation in the IDF is the brigade group. Any number of brigade groups can be combined under the command of divisional groupings in time of war.

REGIONAL DEFENSE. The static defense of the country is based on a regional defense system that is controlled by a special staff in the headquarters of the regional command. Various border villages are trained as defensive localities. The villages are controlled by an area headquarters, which in turn is under command of a district headquarters, which is controlled by the special staff for regional defense in command headquarters. The purpose of this organization is to ensure that the armed forces will be relieved of the task of static defense and will be thus free to engage the enemy in battle. The air force is responsible for the entire air defense of the country, and the navy is responsible for all aspects of coastal defense.

TRAINING. The armed forces support a training establishment that provides for every form of training in all arms of service, from the initial training of a private up to and including Command General Staff School. A number of army personnel are sent abroad annually for training. The basic theme of the training given to the personnel of the IDF emphasizes the necessity for personal initiative and the importance of the officers and NCOs displaying personal example in leadership. Great emphasis in all facets of leadership training is placed on this point and on the fact that the officer must always lead his men into battle. In fact, these values have developed into a living tradition of which the IDF is very proud. The IDF assists the training of armies in Asia, South America, and Africa, particularly in fields such as commando and parachute training and specific programs such as Naḥal and Gadna.

EDUCATION IN THE FORCES. The IDF exercises a profound educational influence not only on the youth during their national service but also on those who come in contact with the army during periods of reserve duty. Owing to the close relationship between army and people, which became even closer during the years of almost continuous military activity following the Six-Day War, each had a considerable influence on the other. The IDF's educational work is of particular importance for new immigrants, for whom it is often a basic training in citizenship.

There are three main branches under the control of the Chief Education Officer: Instruction, Education, Entertainment. The primary responsibility for regular educational and cultural activity rests on officers and NCOs, who are trained for the task at the Military College of Education and the Educational Training Institute respectively, and provided with topical printed material. The IDF publishes an illustrated weekly of current events *Ba-Maḥaneh*, and runs a radio program, Gallei Ẓahal, which "sandwiches" news, information, reportage, and comment between layers of popular music and entertainment. Both are served by army reporters with the troops.

All soldiers who do not have a basic knowledge of Hebrew must study the language in the normal course of their training and service, as well as at special intensive courses. Those who have not completed elementary education (eight years' study) attend three-month courses in Hebrew, history, geography, civics, arithmetic and geometry, nature study, and army history at the Army Education School (the Marcus Camp) at the end of their national service, receiving certificates recognized by the Ministry of Education and Culture. Optional post-primary courses, mainly for regular army men, prepare them for the official matriculation certificate. There are also correspondence courses, which can be taken during periods of active service. In the late 1970s a new framework was created, the Center for the Advancement of Special Populations, to help disadvantaged recruits. Hundreds of women NCOs were deployed as instructors. In the 1980s a Corps Training School was established to train its educational leadership. In 1993 the Corps merged with Gadna as the integration of Russian and Ethiopian immigrants became a first priority.

The IDF publishes a wide variety of brochures and books on various regions and sectors, Diaspora Jewry, history of Israel, etc., and a series of low-priced, small paperbacks of Hebrew and translated fiction, called "*Sifriyyat Tarmil*" ("Knapsack Library"). Soldiers in camps and at the front are supplied with daily newspapers, books, games, radio and, wherever possible, TV. Films are shown about twice a week and civilian entertainers perform frequently for soldiers at the front, sometimes in the framework of reserve service.

ARMS PURCHASE AND MANUFACTURE. From the early days the IDF was dependent to no small degree for arms supplies on foreign sources. The story of "*Rekhesh*" – as the "acquisition" of arms was called from the clandestine Haganah period and immediately after the establishment of the State – is a thrilling one. The first major arms purchase directly affecting the future army of Israel was that from Czechoslovakia in 1948, which included rifles, machine guns, and, later, Messerschmitt fighter planes. At the same time arms were purchased in France and from the surplus markets of the United States as well as those of many other countries. Until the British left the arms were smuggled into Palestine despite a British embargo. Supplies continued to arrive after the establishment of the State, primarily from the military surplus markets of the world.

In 1952, Israel formally signed an agreement with the United States government allowing for reimbursable military aid under Section 408E of the Mutual Security Act, but the U.S. remained a very small supplier. Israel's first jet aircraft, Meteors, were supplied by Britain, which also became in due course a major supplier of naval equipment, primarily destroyers and submarines. The 1950s saw the development of a special relationship between Israel and France, which became Israel's major arms supplier, providing aircraft, armor, and artillery. France remained Israel's main supplier of arms – above all, of modern jet aircraft – until June 2, 1967, when an embargo on the sale of arms to Israel was imposed by General de Gaulle.

The United States involvement in the supply of arms to Israel grew in the 1960s, with the supply, first, of Hawk ground-to-air missiles and, later, of Patton M48 tanks, which together with British-supplied Centurion tanks constituted Israel's armored force. The United States became a major supplier of aircraft to Israel only after the Six-Day War and following the French embargo. U.S. supplies, which included F-4 Phantom fighter bombers and A-4 Skyhawk fighter bombers, were designed to offset the massive supply of arms by the Soviet Union to the Egyptian and Syrian forces.

From the earliest days Israel made efforts to develop her own arms industry and in the course of years a major industry, capable of supplying most of the small arms and ammunition requirements of the IDF, as well as other types, was established. Parallel to this, Israel Aircraft Industries was established with a large electronic manufacturing component capable of assembling jet trainers and maintaining all the types of aircraft in service in the Israel Air Force.

UNIFORMS. The first IDF uniforms (1948) were to a large degree identical with those of the British army during World War II, though the symbols of rank were different. Over the years, the IDF developed uniforms that specifically answer to its needs, but influences of style from Western armies (Britain and the United States) are still noticeable. The basic colors of the winter uniform – dark khaki (army), blue-gray (air force), and dark blue (navy) – are of "Anglo-Saxon" origin, as are the beige and white of the summer uniforms (British origin). The official dress uniform has been influenced to a large degree by the United States; the cut of the daily uniforms and caps, however, generally follows the British model: the black and red berets of the IDF follow the example of the British armored and paratroop corps, while the combat helmets follow the American model. The IDF nonetheless aims toward developing an original style of uniform, especially for the women soldiers. The symbols of rank for NCOs are mostly original (straight horizontal stripes in place of the angular stripes in Britain and America); in the lower ranks of commissioned officers, American influence is felt somewhat; and in the higher ranks (major and up), British influence is distinguishable.

CAMPAIGNS. The IDF came into being during the Israel *War of Independence (1948), when seven Arab armies combined to invade the newly created state. A number of outstanding battles were fought, particularly those leading to the defeat of the Egyptian army in the Negev desert and in Sinai, the defeat of the Arab armies in Galilee, and the defense of Jerusalem. The armistice agreements concluded with Israel's neighbors in 1949 were not followed by the hoped-for peace, however, and from 1953 Israel was beset by Arab marauder activity designed to kill and sabotage within the country. As a result, a number of successful retaliatory actions were mounted by the IDF, with the Paratroop Corps in the lead, against Egypt, Syria, and Jordan. This state of affairs culminated in the *Sinai Campaign of 1956, in which the IDF defeated the Egyptian army in the Sinai Desert and cleared the whole of the Sinai Peninsula.

In the following years the IDF was again called upon to engage in a number of retaliatory and defense operations until the outbreak of the *Six-Day War in June 1967. In less than a week the IDF destroyed the enemy air forces, defeated the Egyptian, Jordanian, and Syrian armies, and occupied the whole of the Sinai Peninsula, the Gaza Strip, Judea and Samaria on the West Bank of the Jordan, and the Syrian mountains known as the Golan Heights. Subsequently the IDF was engaged in defending the cease-fire lines and protecting the country against attempts at terrorist infiltration.

[Chaim Herzog]

The victory in the Six-Day War fostered a feeling of invincibility in the country that was to have dire consequences. Harboring a spirit of vast confidence in its ability to predict and stem any attack on Israel, the IDF was taken completely by surprise in the *Yom Kippur War under a combined attack by Egyptian and Syrian forces that initially drove the IDF from its positions on the Suez Canal and Golan Heights. Though it ultimately succeeded in driving Egyptian and Syrian forces back, the Yom Kippur War was a marked watershed in the development of the IDF. As a result of the report of the Agranat Commission a number of senior officers were dismissed and David *Elazar, the chief of staff, submitted his resignation. His successor Major General Mordecai ("Motta") *Gur undertook the slow but steady rehabilitation and rearming of the forces, an unprecedented expansion in the size of the army, navy, and air force, and the absorption of vast amounts of new weapons, most of them from the United States. The IDF was also busy withdrawing to new lines in the wake of the disengagement agreements with Egypt and Syria, the Interim Agreement with Egypt and the Israel-Egypt Peace Treaty of March 1979.

From 1975 the IDF had been engaged in helping the Christian militia forces in southern Lebanon defend themselves against the PLO. Following a murderous terrorist attack on an Israeli bus in March 1978, the IDF launched an invasion into southern Lebanon that brought it to the banks of the Litani. The campaign lasted some days, but did not produce the anticipated results and the army withdrew in June 1978 after the arrival of a United Nations force (UNIFIL). The conduct of the campaign was the subject of criticism by the Israel State Comptroller in his 1979 report. The term of office of General Gur terminated in April 1978 and he was replaced by Major General Rafael *Eitan, a veteran combat officer, who set out to tighten army discipline and instituted various austerity measures.

Israel's military industry produced various types of modern weapons for internal use and for export. Among the latest items manufactured in Israel were the Merkavah ("Chariot") tank, the Gabriel missile carriers, and the Wasp torpedo boats. Other rockets and missiles have won renown at home and abroad. The main activities in 1979 and 1980 were continued military operations against the PLO in southern Lebanon, growing efforts to stem disturbances in the West Bank, and the growth of the IDF, primarily in modern equipment. The signing of the Israel-Egypt Peace Treaty resulted in a massive re-deployment of the forces which were withdrawn from Sinai to the Negev. Operation "*Rimon*" was the code given to the removal from Sinai of tens of thousands of tons of materials, equipment, camps, water, and power lines and almost a million mines were lifted without mishap. The whole operation was carried out meticulously according to the pre-determined time schedule.

The peace treaty, however, did not bring in its wake the anticipated reduction in the defense budget. On the contrary, due to the uncertainties along Israel's Eastern border, the Iraq-Iran war, the support given by Jordan to Iraq, and the threat of a Syrian-Jordanian war, the IDF had to maintain a high degree of alert along that border. Nevertheless, the Finance Ministry was demanding a major reduction in the defense budget in view of the serious economic situation. These demands were resisted first by Minister Ezer Weizman, and after his resignation, by Prime Minister Begin, who took over the Defense portfolio. The discussions concerning the establishment of a Field Forces Command, that started in 1979, which elicited many arguments pro and con, among the Israeli generals, had not been concluded as of 1980.

Israel's arms industries continued to mount their export drives, and it was estimated that in 1980 they would sell equipment abroad to a value of $125 m.

Tension continued along the Israel-Lebanon border in the early part of 1981. In July the Israel air force carried out massive bombing raids on PLO headquarters in Beirut and on supply depots, installations, and offices in other parts of southern Lebanon. Massive destruction was reported. In the Beirut raid, scores of civilians were killed and wounded leading to a Security Council condemnation of Israel. From July 12 to 24, the entire northern part of Israel, from Nahariyyah to the Syrian line, came under heavy PLO shelling, bombing, and firing. Thousands of artillery and mortar shells, as well as Katyusha and other types of rockets were fired indiscriminately, resulting in heavy damage and loss of lives in over 30 Israeli towns and settlements. Israel retaliated in kind and the situation deteriorated. A cease-fire was arranged on July 24 through the mediation efforts of U.S. envoy Philip Habib, who enlisted Saudi Arabia to help persuade the PLO to accept the cease-fire. Cross-border shelling ceased, but the PLO reportedly bolstered its artillery power and strengthened its armed units which at the end of 1981 numbered some 20,000 men.

The IDF continued its orderly withdrawal from Sinai and its new deployment in the Negev. In November 1981 one of the two U.S. built air-bases was handed over to the Israel Air Force and became operational.

At the end of the year, Defense Minister Ariel Sharon announced his plan to reorganize the Defense Ministry in order to bring about better control and greater efficiency. This led to a work conflict with the civilian workers of the ministry. Major changes were also announced in the high command of the IDF with the retirement of two generals and study leaves for two others. The term of office of Chief of Staff Raphael Eitan was extended to an unprecedented fifth year.

The next decade was marked by four major events. The first was the war in Lebanon (1982–85); the second was the slow withdrawal from Lebanon (1985); the third was the outbreak of the first Intifada (1987); and the fourth, Israel's experience during the 1991 Gulf War.

The decision to go to war in Lebanon was the result of many factors, among them the desire to put an end to the emerging PLO mini-state in Southern Lebanon and the destruction of the PLO forces, headquarters, and supply depots strewn throughout Southern Lebanon. There was a feeling that once the PLO would disappear from the Middle Eastern scene, Israel would find it easier to negotiate with Palestinian leaders in the territories under its control who would be free to deal directly with Israel. There was hope that war in Lebanon would bring about Israel-Syria negotiations over the future of that country. Above all, there was the desire to free Galilee from the constant threat of shelling and attacks by PLO elements. There was also the aspiration to bring about the creation of a central government in Lebanon, which would be able to demand the withdrawal of Syrian forces from Lebanon and eventually sign a peace treaty with Israel.

The shooting of the Israel ambassador, Shelomoh Argov, in London by members of the Abu Nidal terrorist group on June 2, 1982, served as the reason for Israel to enter Lebanon on June 6, 1982. Announcing the military action and the code-name "Peace in Galilee," Israel said it was aimed at clearing a zone of 40 miles from its borders from the PLO. It stated that if Syrian forces would remain neutral, Israel would not attack them. Within one week, Israeli forces occupied most of Southern Lebanon, reaching the outskirts of Beirut. Hopes that the Lebanese Christian forces under the command of Basheer Gemayel, with whom prior coordination existed, would join the war did not materialize. The IDF did engage Syrian troops in various parts of Lebanon, culminating in the destruction of Syrian anti-aircraft missiles and the shooting down of close to 100 Syrian jet fighters and bombers. When a cease-fire was proclaimed on June 11, the Israel Defense Forces (IDF) deployed along the Beirut Damascus road and inside Beirut. It had captured vast quantities of PLO equipment, including tanks and artillery. To induce Yasser Arafat, trapped in West Beirut, to leave the city, the IDF began to besiege West Beirut. During June, July, and August sporadic fighting continued in Lebanon while Israeli and American diplomats sought a diplomatic solution that would enable the PLO to depart from Lebanon. An arrangement was reached in late August and the PLO withdrew on September 1, moving its headquarters to Tunis. Technically the war aims were achieved.

However, already in mid-June, there was growing dissent in Israel over the continued war in Lebanon and over its final aims. For the first time during the war, Israelis were questioning its aims and the real intent of the political leadership. The public was shocked when elements of the Lebanese Christian forces carried out a massacre of hundreds of Palestinians in two refugee camps Sabra and Shatilla in Beirut on September 16–18. A demonstration in Tel Aviv, with an estimated 400,000 protestors, forced the government to appoint a commission of inquiry. The final report of the Kahan Commission did not blame the IDF for the massacre, but found it indirectly responsible for not anticipating the consequences of the Christian forces' entry into West Beirut. It recommended the removal of the defense minister and other senior officers from their posts. By then, there had been over 200 Israeli casualties in Lebanon. The impact of the war on the morale of the IDF was highly negative. A new chief of staff, General Moshe Levy, replaced General Rafael Eitan in April 1983 and began to plan a slow disengagement in Lebanon. A political agreement entered into with Lebanon on May 17, 1983, enabled the IDF to start a slow withdrawal south. In the next two years the IDF remained in Southern Lebanon, becoming embroiled in ethnic conflict there, and the number of its casualties mounted. The Shamir government insisted on remaining in Lebanon until a political settlement would be worked out, refusing to admit that the war in Lebanon was erroneous and yielded few benefits. In retrospect it can be seen that the war did destroy the PLO infrastructure in Lebanon, dealt a massive blow to the Syrian army, and resulted in the PLO losing its predominant position in Palestinian politics. But the PLO was replaced in Southern Lebanon by Shi'ite forces whose attacks on the IDF caused many casualties and hastened the decision to withdraw from that country.

The decision was made by the Government of National Unity on January 14, 1985. The withdrawal was carried out in three stages and by the summer of 1985 IDF units were deployed in the newly created Security Zone north of the Israel-Lebanon border. Between 1982 and 1985 Israeli casualties in Lebanon reached 651 dead and thousands wounded.

During the next two years, the Israel defense establishment, under Defense Minister Yiẓḥak Rabin, learned the lessons of the war in Lebanon, created the Territorial Forces Command, deepened strategic cooperation with the United States on many levels, and modernized the IDF's equipment. In the ongoing war against terrorism, the IDF carried out a daring aerial attack on the PLO headquarters in Tunis on October 1, 1985.

Chief of Staff Moshe Levy completed his term of office in 1986 and was replaced by General Dan Shomron who continued to modernize the force and prepare it for any eventuality. Israel's main threat was seen to be from Syria, then busy building its own forces and seeking strategic parity with Israel. The continued Iraq-Iran war, a working peace with Egypt, and friendly relations with Jordan gave Israel a respite, and it could concentrate its efforts on stemming terrorist attacks against its own territories and against Israeli citizens and facilities overseas. Many achievements were recorded in that struggle.

At the end of 1987 the IDF was plunged into another, and wholly new, arena. On December 9, 1987 Palestinian Arab rioting erupted which soon developed into an uprising known as the Intifada. It was led by young Palestinians who despaired of the prolonged Israeli occupation, the political deadlock, their own frustrations with both the local Palestinian leadership and that of the PLO, and their despair over the failure of the Arab states to resolve their plight. The IDF now had to deal with civil disobedience, initially with stones and sticks, and since 1991 with growing cases of shooting and stabbing of Israeli civilians and soldiers in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip as well as inside Israel. Young Israeli recruits faced young Palestinians armed with stones, sticks, knives, and firearms. It was a new kind of struggle for which the IDF was not prepared. Soon moral and ethical dilemmas arose. When can a soldier fire on Arabs? Should he carry out what he may consider an illegal order? There were a number of cases in which IDF soldiers were court-martialed for illegal actions, including the killing of innocent bystanders. The Israeli settlers in the areas accused the IDF of not being effective enough in protecting them and their settlements from attacks. Tension rose between the IDF and the settlers. The IDF sought to minimize the attacks on Israelis, but were unable to stem the growing tide of killing of Palestinians by terrorists who accused them of collaborating with Israel. Between January 1991 and April 1993, 151 Israeli soldiers and civilians were killed in the Intifada, while 1,500 Palestinians were killed by their own brethren.

The IDF, under the command of General Ehud Barak (chief of staff from April 1990), insisted that the solution to the Intifada must be a political and not a military one. But it did employ various methods to combat the Intifada, among them deportation (including the mass deportation of 415 *Hamas (Muslim fundamentalists) activists in December 1992), blowing up of homes of terrorists, curfews on selected areas, and occasionally the sealing off of the entire territories from Israel. By early 1993 it appeared that the Intifada had assumed new dimensions, focusing more on killing of Israelis in the hope that public opinion would force the Rabin government to decide on unilateral withdrawal from the territories in general and from the Gaza Strip in particular.

The 1991 Gulf War caught Israel unprepared for Scud missile attacks against major urban centers. For the first time in its history, Israel did not mount a pre-emptive strike at enemy targets, neither did it retaliate after it was attacked. By so doing, Israel adhered to an American request not to become involved in the war against Saddam Hussein. In return it received additional U.S. military aid and weapons. During the war there was close cooperation between the Israel and American high commands, and Israel was given advance warnings of incoming Scuds. By sheathing its sword, Israel won international support and praises.

The Gulf War ushered in the era of missile warfare into the Middle East. It became obvious that another war would be fought with non-conventional weapons. Israel, in close cooperation with the United States, began developing its Arrow anti-missile missile, which underwent successful preliminary tests in 1992 and was due to be operational in the mid-1990s. One of the lessons drawn by the IDF resulted in the establishment of the Home Front Command, to deal specifically with civil defense, as clearly the next war would not differentiate between soldier and civilians. The IDF came under much criticism from the state comptroller for failure to provide the population with proper gas masks and other means of defense. Another consequence of the war was that with the diminution in Iraq's aggressive potential, Iran became considered as the major threat to Israel and to regional stability. Iran was the main backer of the Ḥamas, the fundamentalist Islamic group which opposed peace negotiations and a peace treaty with Israel. Reports of an Iranian nuclear weapons program meant that Israel had to find the adequate answer for the threat. Islamic fundamentalism had become the main danger to the governments of Israel, Egypt, Syria, and Saudi Arabia, as well as Algeria and Morocco. The IDF was poised at the end of 1992 to deal with continued Intifada, the consequences of a peace process, and preparations for a possible future war that could utilize nonconventional weapons. In spite of the end of the Cold War and the disappearance of the Soviet Union as a major factor in the Middle East, certain Arab states that previously relied on the U.S.S.R. for their armaments now sought weapons elsewhere and began to purchase surplus Soviet equipment and new weapons produced by China and North Korea. The arms race in the region continued despite efforts to stem it and talk about arms reduction within the framework of the Madrid peace process.

While the Israel Defense Forces were not involved in the 1993 secret negotiations that led to the Oslo Accords and the Israel-PLO Declarations of Principles, they became intimately involved in the negotiations for their implementation. Thus the IDF played a key role in the planning and execution of the withdrawal from Gaza and Jericho in May 1994 and in drawing up plans for re-deployment in the West Bank. At the same time, it continued to train its soldiers in the latest weapons systems, acquire modern military technology, and adjust its size and philosophy to the emerging peace process in the Middle East. While the threat from the immediate neighboring countries receded gradually, with Israel and Syria holding negotiations for the future of the Golan Heights, Iraq and Iran loomed high as Israel's major strategic threats. The growing possibility of both these countries acquiring nuclear capability in addition to the development of other non-conventional weapons, forced the IDF to devise new strategies to deal with this threat.

The IDF continued to fight an almost daily war of attrition in Southern Lebanon against *Hizbollah terrorists who were armed and funded by Iran and tacitly aided by Syria. This was reflected in daily clashes causing casualties on both sides. Growing violence and the shelling of Israeli settlements in Galilee forced the IDF to launch, in July 1993, Operation Accountability, during which time Lebanese civilian population abetting Hizbollah was driven north. The United States arranged an understanding whereby Israeli settlements would not be shelled. This arrangement, which had the tacit support of Syria, seemed to work, but did not prevent clashes in the Security Zone in Southern Lebanon.

Lt. General Amnon Likpkin-Shahak was appointed chief of staff on January 1, 1995, replacing Lt. General Ehud Barak. The new deputy chief of staff was Major General Matan Vilnai. Both had to deal increasingly with problems of how to keep the IDF out of Israeli politics, a growing number of training and other accidents, and the eroding image of the IDF, an organization which previously was above national debate. They were also charged with the task of building a smaller, more compact, highly modern and efficient army. Whereas in 1985 the defense budget was some 45% of the national budget, in 1995 it dropped to some 25%, reflecting the new national realities and priorities.

[Meron Medzini (2nd ed.)]

The War against Terrorism

Many important military and political events occurred during the post-Oslo period, but the focus of the period was the violent conflict between Palestinian terrorist groups and the Israeli army. Terrorist groups operated with the support of Yasser *Arafat. The beginning of this period was marked by mixed feelings of apprehension, doubts, and hopes that the peace process would bring an end to the protracted Israeli-Palestinian conflict. These hopes, which were accompanied by political measures, gave Europe and the United States confidence that a stable peace would finally be achieved in the Middle East. The Oslo Accords were seen as a milestone in achieving a settlement between the Palestinians and Israel. It was hoped that a peace treaty between the Palestinians and Israel would achieve stability in the Middle East. This was especially true after a peace treaty that was signed between Egypt and Israel (1981) and between Jordan and Israel (1994). However, these hopes were shattered. Instead of the Accords being implemented, hostile Palestinian terror activity broke out. Between 1995 and 2000, relations between the *Palestinian Authority (PA) and Israel were characterized by a lack of good faith and by instability. As time went on, it became clear to the State of Israel that the PA was not capable of implementing the agreement. This was due to the fact that the PA was incapable of preventing terrorist attacks against Israeli citizens. According to the agreements, Arafat had undertaken to prevent all terrorist activity, but as time went on it became clear that not only was he not preventing terror activity but he was supporting it. The trust between the Israelis and the Palestinians evaporated, and it became impossible to implement the other agreements after the Oslo Accords.

In September 2000, MK Ariel Sharon made a highly publicized visit to the Temple Mount. The visit aroused great anger among the Palestinians, who saw it as a threat to their control of the al-Aqsa mosque there, and brought on the beginning of the so-called al-Aqsa Intifada. The violence sparked by Sharon's visit became the moving force in the Palestinian war of terror. It escalated into a hostile conflict between the IDF and terrorist groups operating from the Gaza strip, Judea, and Samaria against the citizens of Israel. Instead of promoting the Oslo Accords, the IDF was forced to take military action against terrorist groups. The mission of the IDF was to fight and eliminate terrorist activity in order to restore security and peace to the citizens of Israel. The 1995–2005 period was characterized by the integration of political and military activities in which the prime minister and the chief of staff were involved.

The IDF, as the operative arm, which works under political directives, had become the main body fighting Palestinian terror. This was especially true because of the phenomenon of "suicide bombers." The situation in this period created instability in Israeli society. The ordinary Israeli citizen felt less secure, and the future of the Oslo Accords was cast into doubt. The lack of stability in the political sphere caused a split in Israeli society. This is reflected in the fact that during this period there were five different governments. For the first time in Israel's history a prime minister was assassinated as a result of the mounting tension. The IDF's response to Palestinian insurgence terror was Operation Defensive Shield, which began on March 29, 2002. In a matter of days the IDF had taken control of all the cities of the West Bank, in order to wipe out terrorism and prevent the suicide bombings. By the middle of 2004, the IDF found itself in control of all of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. For the first time since the beginning of the Intifada, there was a sharp decline in the amount of terrorist activity. However, in spite of the fact that the IDF had left Lebanon (2000), Israel still faced a threat from Hizbollah on the northern border, and the threat from the West Bank and Gaza Strip remained potentially explosive. In August 2005 the IDF withdrew from the Gaza Strip as well, after dismantling the Israeli settlements there (see *Gush Katif).

1995–2000. Many events preceded this period both in the political and military arena. In September 1992 the first Oslo Accords were signed. It was emphasized in this agreement that the Palestinian Authority recognized Israel's right to exist and took responsibility for preventing terrorist attacks against Israel and its citizens. Israel recognized the fact that the establishment of the Palestinian Authority would be the first step towards the establishment of a Palestinian state. The obstacles that remained in implementing these agreements were the status of Jerusalem, the refugee problem, and the future borders of the Palestinian state. Parallel to the Oslo Accords, Hizbollah continued its terrorist activities along the northern border. After the IDF redeployed in 1985 along the security strip in south Lebanon, the army continued fighting terror with the cooperation of the residents of south Lebanon. As a result of Hizbollah's increased terror activity, the IDF stepped up its defensive activity in the security zone. This activity included patrols, ambushes, and raids to eliminate the terrorist leaders, with the massive use of aircraft, tanks, and artillery. From 1991 Hizbollah began to launch Katyusha rockets against Jewish settlements along the northern border, especially Kiryat Shemonah. After a massive attack of Katyusha rockets, Israel responded with a campaign called Operation Accountability (*Din ve-Ḥeshbon*) commencing July 23, 1993. During this campaign, the Israeli Air Force attacked Hizbollah strongholds, Shi'ite villages, and the cities of Tyre and Sidon. Fifty terrorists were killed and 3,000 citizens fled to the capital city of Beirut. After six days of fighting, both sides agreed to prevent attacks from their sides of the border. Between 1991 and 1995, 6,532 terrorist operations were carried out against the Israeli army in which 77 soldiers were killed and 392 wounded. Parallel to the terrorist activity on the northern border, Palestinian terrorist organizations began to attack civilian targets in Israel's big cities. The Hamas, the Islamic Jihad, and later the Tanzim (al-Aqsa Brigades) began to use suicide bombers. The first suicide bombing occurred on April 16, 1993, when a car driven by a suicide bomber exploded near a group of soldiers in the vicinity of Beit El. From April 1993 to December 2000, hundreds of terrorist acts took place inside Israel, 20 of which were by suicide bombers. The main suicide bombings took place in Tel Aviv, Jerusalem, Netanyah, and Afulah. In these bombings, 240 people were killed. Yitzhak Rabin, as prime minister, Ehud Barak, the chief of staff, and Amnon Lipkin-Shahak as his deputy, realized that terrorism had become a strategic threat to the existence of Israel. For the first time, fundamentalist Islamic Palestinian terror was defined as the main threat to Israel's existence. The IDF began to prepare for a war against terror, especially against the suicide bombers. On February 25, 1995, Dr. Baruch Goldstein, a resident of Kiryat Arba, entered the Cave of the Patriarchs in Hebron with a semi-automatic weapon and killed 29 Palestinians praying in the mosque. In addition, another 101 Arabs were wounded. This event increased the tension between the Palestinian Authority and the State of Israel. On May 4, 1994, the Cairo Agreement was signed between the PA and the government of Israel. This was a continuation of the Oslo Accords. According to this agreement, the Israeli government agreed to turn the control of the Gaza Strip and Jericho over to the PA. The continuation of suicide bombings proved to the Israeli government that Yasser Arafat was not capable of preventing terror attacks. This meant that Arafat was not able to fulfill the main condition of the Oslo Accords. As a result of the terror activity a large segment of Israeli society opposed the Oslo Accords. In spite of the great opposition to the Oslo process, Israel signed another interim agreement with the PA called Oslo B. On September 28, 1995, Rabin and Yasser Arafat signed the agreement with the backing of the U.S., Russia, the European Union, President Mubarak of Egypt, and King Hussein of Jordan. Ehud Barak, the chief of staff, had reservations about the agreement because he did not believe that the PA would be able to carry it out. Under the direction of Rabin the army began to plan its redeployment in Judea and Samaria. The redeployment was carried out by Central Command headquarters of the IDF. It was based on the Oslo B agreement stipulating that the IDF was to withdraw from all the major cities in Judea and Samaria and to transfer control to the PA. The redeployment plan was called *Keshet Ẓeva'im* ("Colors of the Rainbow"). In order to ensure security in Judea and Samaria, the IDF set up headquarters outside the cities. Division headquarters in Judea and Samaria now had under its authority six new brigade headquarters, dozens of battalion headquarters, and dozens of company headquarters. The new deployment expressed itself in the division of responsibility between the IDF and the PA according to Oslo B. The major Palestinian cities were defined as Area A in which the PA was responsible for security and civilian administration. The areas outside the Palestinian cities, which included most of the Palestinian villages, were defined as Area B. In these areas, administrative authority was in the hands of the PA but security was the responsibility of the IDF. The rest of the area was defined as Area C and under the full control of Israel. The deployment of the IDF was based on three important principles: securing the main roads for Israeli settlers; the protection of settlements; and continuing anti-terrorist activities. The IDF began to patrol the main arteries of Israeli transportation. In order to increase security on these roads, access to some of them was denied to the Palestinians. To ensure the security of the settlers, every settlement was given military reinforcement. In addition, patrol roads, security fences, watchtowers, and sometimes even tanks were positioned in the periphery of the settlements. To control the movement of the Palestinians, the IDF deployed over a hundred checkpoints along the main roads of Judea and Samaria. The Ministry of Defense even invested money in armored buses for schoolchildren as well as armored ambulances and had armored convoys accompany them.

In October 1994, a peace treaty was signed between Jordan and the State of Israel. This treaty changed the perception of security along their common border. Division and brigade commanders began to have regular meetings. A hotline was set up between the two armies to coordinate military activities along both sides of the border. In spite of the improved relations, Jordanian-Palestinian soldiers fired upon Israeli patrols along the border. When in May 1996 a group of terrorists killed three Israeli soldiers, Israeli and Jordanian soldiers worked together in Jordanian territory to eliminate the terrorists. The political conflict within Israeli led to the assassination of Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin on November 4, 1995, at a mass rally in support of the Oslo agreement. After this terrible event, Shimon Peres became prime minister. Terrorist activities including suicide bombings continued. On February 25, 1996, a suicide bomber blew himself up on a bus in Jerusalem killing 26 people. Along with Palestinian terrorist activity, the Hizbollah continued its operations along the northern border, which included a massive attack of Katyusha rockets against Israeli settlements. At the beginning of 1996, as a result of the rocket attacks, the settlements on the northern border had become in effect hostages of the Hizbollah. In response, the IDF undertook Operation Grapes of Wrath (*Invei Za'am*) in southern Lebanon. The aim of this operation was to eliminate Hizbollah strongholds, to destabilize civilian life, and to put pressure on the Lebanese government to put an end to Hizbollah activities.

In this operation, the IDF used all of its forces, which included massive airpower, tanks, artillery, and the navy. During the course of the operation, 770 Katyusha rockets fell on Israel. Twenty-four citizens were wounded and three were killed. In the midst of Israel's massive artillery attack, a Lebanese village, Kefar Kana, was mistakenly hit and approximately 100 people were killed. Another hundred were injured. Under the auspices of the Security Council, an understanding was reached between Israel, Lebanon, and Syria under which Lebanon and Syria would prevent the launching of Katyusha rockets against Israel. In this operation the IDF demonstrated its tremendous capability in coordinating naval, air, and ground forces. Palestinian terror activity, parallel to the terror activity of the Hizbollah, forced the army to change its deployment and methods of warfare against terror. This was especially true as far as the suicide bombers were concerned. To achieve this aim, the IDF increased its forces, set up new military units, and increased the cooperation with the regular and border police in fighting terror.

In May 1996, Benyamin Netanyahu (Likud) was elected prime minister of Israel, and Yizhak Mordecai was appointed minister of defense. At the end of September, in spite of the objections of the General Security Service, Netanyahu ordered the opening of the northern gate of the tunnel leading to the Western Wall of the Temple Mount in Jerusalem. This led to violent demonstrations in which 15 Israeli soldiers were killed, as well as 60 Palestinian soldiers and policemen. As a result, a summit meeting was held with Netanyahu, Arafat, King Hussein, and President Clinton participating. This summit led to the signing of the Hebron Agreement on January 17, 1997. By the end of the month, the IDF had withdrawn from most of Hebron, except for Kiryat Arba, the Cave of the Patriarchs, and the Jewish Quarter (Bet Hadassah).

Suicide bombings carried out by so-called *shahidim* (martyrs) continued. In the summer of 1997, two suicide bombings took place in which 21 Jerusalemites were killed. The terrorist activities of the Islamic Jihad and the Hamas caused the IDF to increase its presence in the main city centers. Netanyahu ordered the Mossad to eliminate Halad Mashal, one of the leaders of the Hamas. The attempt to assassinate him in Amman failed, and proved to be a great embarrassment for Israel. To improve relations, Israel agreed to Jordan's request to release Palestinian prisoners. Among them was Sheikh Ahmad Yassin, the leader of the Hamas in Gaza.

In February 1997, while transporting soldiers from Mahanaim in northern Israel to south Lebanon, two helicopters collided while flying above the settlement of She'ar Yashuv. Seventy-three fighters, officers, and crew were killed. It was the worse air disaster in the history of the Israeli Air Force. As a result, the air force commander decided to appoint a senior officer as coordinator of helicopter units. In addition, as part of the preparation of Israel's defense against future threats, the Israel Space Agency began a program to launch space satellites. In coordination with NASA, an Israeli astronaut began his training in Houston, Texas, in 1998.

On October 23, 1998, President Clinton organized the Wye Summit, whose purpose was to implement the Oslo Accords. It was agreed that the IDF would continue withdrawing from Judea and Samaria. In addition, an international airport was to be built in Gaza. As part of the agreement, the Palestinian National Council undertook to abolish sections of the Palestinian Convention that called for the destruction of the State of Israel. In July 1998, Shaul Mofaz was appointed chief of staff of the IDF. On July 6, Ehud Barak was elected prime minister. He also held the portfolio of minister of defense. In his election campaign, Barak had promised to pull all Israeli forces out of Lebanon.

On May 24, 2000, the IDF withdrew from southern Lebanon. This was a unilateral decision not coordinated with the Lebanese or Syrian governments. This overnight withdrawal left the Israeli government and the army with two difficult problems. The first was the inability to support the soldiers of the South Lebanese Army. The second was the fact that the IDF did not have the time to build an electronic fence along the border. It took a year to complete the job, during which time the army had to patrol the border. The Northern Command of the IDF was redeployed along the international border. Its operations were integrated with the air force, intelligence, and special units. The redeployment along the international border now legitimized Israel's response to any attacks of Hizbollah. On May 7, 2000, three Israeli soldiers were abducted by the Hizbollah. In the ensuing investigation conducted by the IDF a brigade commander was dismissed from his post and the advancement of a division commander was held up.

Barak's attempts to reach an agreement with the Syrians (on the Golan Heights) and the Palestinians (Judea and Samaria and Gaza) brought him face to face with Arafat and Clinton at Camp David in July 2000. In spite of the fact that Barak had agreed to give up 90% of Judea and Samaria, and even to give up sovereignty over the Arab neighborhoods in East Jerusalem, the summit failed. Clinton's compromise proposals of December 2000, did not overcome the impasse between Arafat and Barak.

On September 28, two months before this proposal, Barak had given permission to Knesset member Ariel Sharon (Likud) to pay a publicized visit to the Temple Mount. His visit caused an outbreak of Palestinian violence that led to the involvement of the IDF and the Border Police. As a direct result of the Palestinian riots, disturbances broke out among Israeli Arabs a month later. Thirteen Israeli Arab citizens were killed. The riots on the Temple Mount, the identification of the Israeli Arabs with the Palestinians, and the failure of the Camp David summit led to the outbreak of the Al-Aqsa Intifada. This was characterized by Palestinian insurgency accompanied by intensive terrorist activity. The last few months of 2000 saw an increase in Palestinian terror attacks, Hizbollah terror, and especially the involvement of Israeli Arabs in terrorist activities within Israel. Israel reinforced its forces in Judea, Samaria, and Gaza and along the northern border. Arafat's inability to prevent terror against Israel and his rejection of Barak's proposal at Camp David brought about a change in his strategy. Seeking the involvement of the international community by maintaining the volatile situation, Arafat began to give secret support to terrorist groups. Consequently he began to be viewed by the Israeli and the American governments as irrelevant to the peace process. The suicide bombings moved the IDF to plan a military operation that would destroy the terrorist infrastructure and its leaders. The Israeli government instructed the IDF to plan this campaign to restore security to Israeli citizens.

2001–2005. On March 7, Ariel Sharon was elected as the prime minister of a national unity government and Binyamin Eliezar became minister of defense. During this period the suicide bombings continued. From December 2000 until April 2004, 541 civilians and soldiers were killed. As part of their policy, the terrorist organizations attempted to eliminate Israeli leaders. On October 17, 2001, the minister of tourism, Rehavam *Ze'evi, was assassinated in a hotel in Jerusalem. On March 27, 2002, on the night of the Passover *seder*, a suicide bombing in the Park Hotel in Netanyah killed 30 civilians and wounded over a hundred. The prime minister, the minister of defense, and the chief of staff decided to take a drastic step in the war against terror. The ensuing military action was named Operation Defensive Shield (*Ḥomat Magen*), with the following aims:

a) The IDF was to take over and control the cities and villages that had become havens for terrorists;

b) To arrest and capture terrorists and the leaders behind them;

c) To confiscate all weapons;

d) To eliminate terrorist installations, laboratories for making bombs, weapon-making factories, shelters for terrorists, and anyone carrying weapons who was endangering the security of Israel.

Between January and March 2002, the IDF had worked systematically to destroy the terrorist infrastructure. In March and April 2002, a decisive blow was struck in Operation Defensive Shield, and from June 2002 until May 2003 the IDF completed its control of Judea and Samaria. From the middle of 2003 until 2004, the IDF had stabilized its control of Judea and Samaria. Although according to the Oslo Accords some of these areas were in Area A, they returned to full control of the Israeli army. Operation Defensive Shield, which had begun on March 29, 2002, officially ended on May 10, 2002. Infantry and tank units from the regular forces and the reserves participated in this operation.

To improve its control over the forces in Judea and Samaria, a new divisional headquarters was set up which took over the responsibility for Bethlehem and Hebron. The takeover of Palestinian cities was carried out in a relatively short time, and with the exception of Jenin was carried out with virtually no casualties. In Jenin 27 soldiers were killed, 14 of them in the refugee camp. In Ramallah, Arafat and his command were trapped in the *Mukata* (the central command of the Palestinians in Ramallah). In Bethlehem, a number of terrorists took refuge in the Church of the Nativity and were forced to leave the country after an agreement. Alongside of Palestinian terror, the Hizbollah continued its attacks with the support of Syria and Iran. From the time the IDF withdrew from Lebanon in May 2000, until July 2004, numerous attempts to attack Israeli soldiers and settlements took place along the northern border. During this period, 14 attempts were made by the Hizbollah to infiltrate Israel. As a result of these activities, 13 soldiers and six civilians were killed. In addition, 54 soldiers and 14 civilians were wounded.

In June 2002, the American administration proposed its roadmap for peace in the Middle East. Because of its distrust of Arafat the Israeli government was not willing to implement the roadmap. This was the reason it began to erect a fence between Israel and the Palestinians. The area on both sides of the fence included advanced technological early warning systems to prevent Palestinian terrorists from infiltrating into Israel. In the first stage, 132 kilometers were built and another 150 were being planned. The fence more or less followed the pre-Six-Day War "green line." Thanks to the fence terrorist attacks decreased by 75% in January–July 2004 in comparison with the same period the year before. Together with the IDF's activity along the security fence, the army began to eliminate terrorist leaders in Gaza, and Judea and Samaria. Israel's success in killing the chief terrorist leaders, and the lack of experience of their successors, contributed to the decline in terrorist activity. In these killings the IDF integrated intelligence, advanced technology, and helicopters.

In February 2003, the space mission of the American spaceship *Columbia* failed. The first Israeli astronaut, Col. Ilan Ramon, was killed in this mission. This disaster was a serious setback to Israel's space program and curtailed Israeli-American cooperation in space. Israel's space activity had become an important part of the state's national security.

In March 2003, the American army invaded Iraq in order to bring down the regime of Saddam Hussein. This was the end result of the terrorist attack by Al-Qaeda in New York on September 11, 2001. After the United States took over Iraq and had captured Saddam Hussein, terrorist activity against American soldiers in Iraq escalated.

The success of the terrorists in Iraq encouraged Palestinian terror groups to increase their activity in Israel. In the beginning of 2004, Hamas escalated its activities in the Gaza Strip. As a result, the IDF made strikes in Gaza and killed Sheikh Yassin and Aziz El Rantisi. These men had been the most prominent among Hamas leaders in encouraging terror attacks against Israel. After the murder of Tali Hatuel and her four daughters in Gush Katif in March 2004, the IDF intensified its operations against terrorists in Gaza. During these operations, two armored vehicles loaded with explosives blew up and 13 Israeli soldiers were killed. In consequence, the IDF began a campaign to destroy the terrorist infrastructure in Rafah and in particular the tunnels used for smuggling explosives from Egypt to the Gaza Strip. In this campaign 40 terrorists were killed and 56 houses were demolished. The campaign enabled the army to control the Philadelphi Corridor, thus creating a buffer zone that separated Egyptian territory from the Palestinians.

The terrorist groups in Gaza felt limited in their capability to infiltrate Israel and launch mortars and Kassam rockets. To upgrade the level of their attacks on Israel, the Palestinians tried to obtain weapons from outside sources. An example of this was the ship *Karin A* that tried to smuggle weapons from Iran to Gaza. This ship was captured by the Israeli Navy. It was then that the IDF realized that Al-Qaeda and Hizbollah were working hand and hand with the Palestinians.

The escalation of terrorist activities and the inability of the PA to advance the peace process led Prime Minister Sharon to announce a plan for unilateral withdrawal from Gaza. On April 28, 2004, this plan was made known to the public. The main idea of this proposal was to break the political stalemate with the PA and to minimize the friction with the Palestinians. The implementation of this plan would bring Gaza under Palestinian control and give a chance to the PA to prove their ability to prevent terrorist activities. On August 22, 2004, the disengagement task force was set up. A year later, in August 2005, the IDF together with the police, removed the settlers of Gush Katif in the Gaza Strip from their homes, for the most part meeting with passive resistance, and then proceeded to dismantle the settlements.

In this period, based on intelligence reports, the IDF redefined the threats against the security of the State of Israel. These were as follows:

a) The escalation of Palestinian terror through the use of long-range rockets on Israeli aircraft.

b) Hizbollah activities on the northern border launching hundreds of rockets on Israeli settlements.

c) The threat from Syria that could develop into a war of attrition along the Lebanese border and on the Golan Heights. In addition, there was the threat of the use of Scud missiles against Israeli targets in the center of the country.

d) The ability of Iran to launch Shihab missiles on Israeli targets in the center of the country, and the possibility that they would develop nuclear capabilities within a short time.

Along with these threats, Egypt and Saudi Arabia were amassing ballistic missiles. The Middle East was becoming a "powder keg" and this was endangering the security of Israel. The reality of this strategic situation forced Israel to develop advance response systems that would ensure Israel's military superiority and its deterrent ability. The increase in Israel's military strength between 1995 and 2005 occurred in its naval, land, and air forces.

The Israel Space Agency, with the aim of maintaining a military advantage, developed a satellite system in this period. Its purpose was to gather intelligence and serve as a means of communication. In this period the satellites *Shavit*, *Ofek*, and *Amos* were launched. In spite of the *Columbia* disaster, cooperation between the Israel Space Agency and NASA continued. The Israel Aircraft Industry continued to be the main arm in developing advanced military weapons. In land combat, new technologies were developed. These included new means of artillery and an advanced tank Merkavah 4. In Operation Defensive Shield the concept of "limited confrontation" (guerrilla war) began to evolve. To improve means of combat, the IDF began equipping its soldiers with new guns (the Tavor) and began using lightweight armored jeeps. New anti-tank missiles and advanced night-vision binoculars were developed. The air force equipped itself with new helicopters (Blackhawk and Apache), and new aircraft (the F-15i and F-16i). These new fighter jets enabled Israel to reach enemy targets up to 4,000 kilometers away (covering all of the Middle East). The navy acquired three new submarines (Dolphins) that enabled it to operate anywhere in the Middle East. Moreover, the navy developed missile carriers that increased its ability to deter enemy threats. Israel's experience in the Gulf War (1991) led the IDF to develop a defensive ballistic missile system in cooperation with the United States. As a part of its Arrow missile system a special radar device was created to act as an early warning system. In this period (2000–5), after a number of successful test launches the Arrow became an important factor in the defense of Israel. In addition, rockets and long-range missiles were developed for the land, air, and naval forces. In order to deal with new terrorist threats, Israel's intelligence capabilities were upgraded. New means of gathering intelligence were developed. This included unmanned aerial vehicles (UAV).

In spite of the IDF's great military strength, it had to deal with the phenomenon of soldiers' refusal to serve in protest against the Israeli occupation. In this period the number of young people refusing to serve in the army increased. In 2004, pilots and officers in special units published a letter in which they declared their refusal to serve in Judea, Samaria, and Gaza. In the 2005 evacuation of Gush Katif there were also isolated instances of refusal to carry out orders, but the extent of such incidents, at both ends of the political spectrum, were far rarer than had been feared.

In addition to the strategic cooperation between Israel and the United States, Israel advanced its military cooperation with Turkey and India. Israel helped these countries to upgrade their tanks, aircraft, and military technology.

As a result of terror activities all over the world, regular armies have begun to fight militant groups or even individual terrorists. This type of asymmetric combat is what characterizes the period. The greatest fear of the enlightened world is that fundamentalist Islamic groups will gain control of weapons of mass destruction. The threat is one which Israel deals with as well. In order to maintain national security, the State of Israel must remain superior in its deterrent systems and continuously improve its deterrent capabilities. Stability in the Middle East will only be achieved when peace agreements are signed between Israel and Syria, and Israel and the Palestinians. Until that time the Israel Defense Forces must meet all actual and potential military challenges. (For the clashes between Israel and Hizbollah in Lebanon in summer 2006, see *Israel, State of: Historical Survey.)

[Gideon Netzer (2nd ed.)]

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ECONOMIC AFFAIRS

THE PRE-MANDATE (LATE OTTOMAN) PERIOD

Geography and Borders

In September 1923 a new political entity was formally recognized by the international community. Palestine, or Ereẓ Israel as Jews have continued to refer to it for 2,000 years, officially began its existence as a territory ruled by Britain under a mandate from the League of Nations. Since 1917, Britain had ruled the area as an occupier of territory belonging to a defeated enemy (the Ottoman Empire), and since 1920, under the terms of a mandate assigned by the post-World War I San Remo Conference and ratified by the League in July 1922.

The 27,009-square-kilometer area of Mandatory Palestine stretched from the shore of the Mediterranean Sea east to the Jordan River and the Dead Sea, and to the Aravah Valley to the Gulf of Eilat (Akaba). It was in this territory that Britain had promised the Zionist movement, in the words of the *Balfour Declaration of November 2, 1917, to allow the "establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish People." This language was incorporated into the League Mandate, which also provided for the establishment of the *Jewish Agency. In order to accommodate the British commitment to the Zionists, the Palestine Mandate alone, unlike the other Middle East mandates of the League to the British and French, did not provide for the eventual self-rule and independence of the local population, which at the time was 90 percent Palestinian Arab.

The September 1923 borders of Palestine differed from those of the 1920 mandate, which included the almost 90,000 square kilometers east of the Jordan River. That area remained part of the British Mandate until its independence in 1946, but was split administratively by Britain from Palestine in May 1923 and ruled autonomously as the Emirate of Transjordan. The Mandate was divided in this way in part as the result of the British government's decision, proposed in the Churchill White Paper of 1922, to exclude the area east of the Jordan from the scope of the Balfour Declaration.

The borders shared by Mandatory Palestine with two other newly established political entities – Lebanon and Syria to the north and northeast, both under a League mandate to France – were the result of lengthy negotiations, from 1916 through 1922, between Britain and France. The final border settlement was part of a comprehensive agreement that also involved the creation of Iraq (as a British mandate) and the splitting of its spoils. These included, among other things, the allocation of shares of the Iraq Petroleum Corporation, which held exclusive oil concessions in that territory.

Palestine's border with Egypt, which left the Sinai Peninsula on the Egyptian side, was set along a virtually straight line from Rafa on the Mediterranean to Akaba on the Red Sea. The British, in occupation of Egypt since 1882, had imposed this line on the sultan in 1906 as a border between the two districts, which were both nominally part of the Ottoman Empire.

These borders had great significance for future developments, and not only because of the small size of the Jewish state as it emerged 25 years later. The country is located in a semi-arid zone abutting the desert, and the location of the northern and northeastern borders determined the available water supply, which in turn determined the eventual development and structure of its farming sector.

The Genesis of the Jewish Resettlement Effort

For centuries, the area that formally became known as Palestine in the early 1920s had been an outpost of the declining Ottoman Empire. It had a Jewish community of fewer than 10,000 – in 1800 it was less than three percent of the population. A total of 275,000 people lived in that geographical area by that time, and the very small Jewish communities were in the four "holy cities" of *Jerusalem, *Hebron, *Tiberias, and *Safed, and focused primarily on Torah study and religious activities. For their livelihood, these communities relied almost exclusively on contributions from Jewish communities in the Diaspora.

The late 18th- and 19th-century Industrial Revolution in Western and Central Europe that sparked unprecedented economic growth in those countries ultimately spilled over in the closing decades of the 19th century to Europe's fringes, including the eastern shore of the Mediterranean among other places. It brought in its wake a major transformation in travel and trade in the form of railroad and steamship transport. The construction of the Suez Canal (opened 1869) was a clear expression of that process, which was also stimulated by the growing interest in the area by the European powers and competition among them for a stake there. It put the "Holy Land" on the tourist and pilgrimage maps of Europe, as well as on the political maps of its major powers.

ALIYAH AND THE TRANSFORMATION OF THE SOCIAL STRUCTURE OF THE YISHUV. The emergence of the Zionist Movement (see *Zionism) in the closing decades of the 19th century, and the spread of its message among the rapidly growing Jewish communities in Eastern and Western Europe was, of course, closely linked to the economic growth and political expansion occurring at the time in Europe, which contributed to the mass emigration of Jews from Eastern Europe, mainly from the Russian Empire, which at that time had barely initiated its industrialization drive, to Central and Western Europe, and beyond the Atlantic to the United States. A small portion of this mass emigration, reacting to the first pogroms in southern Russia in the 1880s and inspired by the Zionist notion of a "return to the land of the Patriarchs," reached Palestine. These immigrants to Palestine marked the beginning of the First Aliyah of 1882–1903. The Hebrew term *aliyah*, dating from the Second Temple period and referring to the pilgrimage to Jerusalem on the three Jewish festivals, was soon adopted to describe the waves of Zionist immigration to Palestine.

The impact of the first stage of that flow appears already in the population data of 1890, which provides the first reliable estimate of Palestine's population: in the 1880s, the Jewish community grew by 80 percent to 43,000, or about eight percent of the total population, compared to a negligible percentage at the beginning of the nineteenth century and just five percent in 1882, when the first wave of Zionist immigration began to reach the country.

Table 1 offers a first glimpse of the rapidly changing structure of the Jewish community in response to the First Aliyah, 1882–1903, when there was an annual average of 1,000–1,500 immigrants during the 20-year period between 1882 and 1903. This shows in terms of change the size of the Jewish population in Jerusalem and in the three other holy cities (Hebron, Tiberias, and Safed, not shown) as a proportion of the total Jewish population. In 1882 the Jewish community in Jerusalem plus 3,000–4,000 Jews living in the three other holy cities consisted of about 20,000 people, of a total of 24,000. Yet during the short eight-year interval between 1882 and 1890, the proportion fell from 71 percent to about 58 percent of the total Jewish community. These figures underline the predominance through 1882 of the old *yishuv* (Jewish community in Palestine) – the mission of which, as conceived by its members, was to maintain the presence of Jews in Jerusalem in the vicinity of Judaism's holiest site, the Temple Mount, and its Western Wall, the Kotel. Among this sector of the community, the study of the Talmud in the yeshivah was deemed the only worthy activity, a belief that precluded its members from engaging in economic activity. The 1890 population figures show that this sector was still the majority of the Jewish population. However, these figures also indicate that within a very short period – just eight years – its share of the population was significantly reduced.

Table 2 shows the gross and net immigration figures through 1947, the last year before the establishment of Israel.

THE FIRST AGRICULTURAL SETTLEMENTS: 1882–1902. The establishment of *Mikveh Israel as an agricultural boarding school near Jaffa in 1870 signaled a change in the Jewish community's attitude toward the modern world, marking the beginning of its adaptation to the urban-industrial economy rapidly spreading outward from Europe. A full decade passed before Karl *Netter was able, with financing from and on behalf of the *Alliance Israélite Universelle, the organization set up by Jewish notables in France, to transform the school into a functional operation. Under its influence, and following the example of Petaḥ Tikvah (the first modern Jewish settlement, founded in 1878 by an enterprising group from Jerusalem), six agricultural settlements were established near Jaffa and in the eastern Galilee in the first half of the 1880s, populated

Table 1. Population in Mandatory Palestine and Its Major Towns[1]

	1882 (1)	1890 (2)	1914 (3)	1922 (4)	1931 (5)	1939 (6)	1944 (7)	1947 (8)
Population: Total	(500,000)	532,000	689,000	768,000	1,036,000	1,505,000	1,748,000	1,970,000
Jews	24,000	43,000	94,000	85,000	175,000	449,000	536,000	630,000
Arabs[2]	476,000	489,000	595,000	683,000	861,000	1,056,000	1,212,000	1,340,000
Major towns:								
Jerusalem: Total	31,000	42,000	70,000[3]	63,000	91,000	–	152,000	–
Jews	17,000	25,000	45,000	34,000	51,000	–	92,000	–
Arabs	14,000	17,000[4]	25,000	29,000	40,000	–	60,000	–
Jaffa: Total	11,000	23,000	46,000	50,000	55,000	–	94,000	–
Jews	1,000	3,000	13,000	9,000	8,000	–	28,000	–
Arabs	10,000	20,000	33,000	41,000	47,000	–	66,000	–
Haifa: Total	6,500	8,700	20,000	25,000	50,000	–	129,000	–
Jews	500	1,700	3,000	6,000	16,000	(48,000)	66,000	–
Arabs[5]	6,000	7,000	17,000	19,000	34,000	–	63,000	–
Tel Aviv	–	–	1,500	15,000	47,000	(160,000)	166,000	–

Notes:
1. Figures rounded to the nearest one thousand.
2. The dominant component of the Arab population was Muslims. The total number of Arabs includes Muslims, Christians, and a minuscule group of "others." Christians were about 15 percent of the Arab community in 1922, 11.4 percent in 1931, and almost 12 percent in 1944.
3. The estimate refers to 1910.
4. The population figure refers to 1886–87.
5. The relative size of the Christian and Muslim communities in Haifa was altogether different from that in the total Arab population in Mandatory Palestine. In 1922 Christians were about 40 percent of the Arab population of Haifa; while their share of the total Arab population declined during the Mandatory period, in 1944 the Christian community in Haifa grew to about 43 percent of the total Arab population in that town.

See Bibliography for main statistical sources.

Table 2. Aliyah – Immigration, Net Immigration, and Immigration Ratios[1]

Wave of Immigration	Period	Immigration (1)	Net Immigration (2)	Ratio – %[2] (3)
First Aliyah	1882–1903	20,000 – 30,000		
Second Aliyah	1904–1914	35,000 – 40,000		
Third–Fourth Aliyah	1919–1931	117,000	87,000	(92.0)
Fifth Aliyah	1932–1939	248,000	229,000	80.0
Postwar Aliyah	1940–1947	101,000	92,000	–
Total	1922–1945	407,000	396,000	73.0
Total	1919–1947	466,000	408,000	–
Arabs	1922–1945	–	49,000[3]	8.5

Notes:
1. Figures are rounded to the nearest one thousand.
2. Ratio of net immigration to the corresponding increase of the Jewish population in the relevant time interval.
3. Upper round estimate.

It was the revival of immigration during the single decade of the Second Aliyah, from 1904 to 1914, which finally changed the balance between the old and the new *yishuv* in favor of the latter. Using the same yardstick – the population of the Jewish community in Jerusalem as a proportion of the total Jewish population – the share of the old *yishuv* was already only 48 percent by 1914. This figure does exclude the old *yishuv* communities in the three other Holy Cities, but implicitly includes the whole Jewish population of Jerusalem in the old *yishuv*. Yet, already by that time a significant number of Jerusalem's Jews were productively employed in trades and services, and they considered themselves members of the Zionist movement. This was true, to an even greater extent, of the Jewish communities in *Jaffa and its new Jewish suburb *Tel Aviv, in *Haifa, and in the rural settlements (Table 3). A 60–40 percent ratio of new *yishuv* to old *yishuv* would thus better approximate the comparative size of these two components of the Palestine Jewish community by 1914. The new *yishuv* was by that time clearly in the vanguard of Zionist-inspired activity. Its mission according to the Zionist vision and design was nothing less than creating the economic and political infrastructure of the future Jewish state in Palestine.

by new immigrants from czarist Russia and Romania. These colonies represented an attempt to implement the notion of the "Resettlement of the Land of the Patriarchs" articulated by the new Zionist organizations then surfacing throughout the Russian *Pale of Settlement, following a wave of pogroms in 1881. One of the six settlements was *Gederah, established on the southern coastal plain in 1884 by *Bilu, an organization of Jewish students in Russian universities.

The founding of these rural settlements naturally required substantial capital investment. The first stage of the settlement process involved the acquisition of land. through 1918 this had to be done under the Ottoman land code, which endowed vague property rights in land in most areas subject to its jurisdiction and which did not maintain a systematic method of land registration and property rights. The latter were of a bewildering variety, the legacy of the semifeudal system that had existed for ages. On top of that was the hostility of the Ottoman authorities to Jews' acquisition of land, which raised the cost of purchasing real estate.

With limited means at their disposal, these six settlements, with a population of about 500 (Table 3), soon came to grief. Their survival, and indeed the entire resettlement effort, would soon have collapsed but for the appearance on the scene in 1883 of Baron Edmund *Rothschild. For the ensuing two decades Baron Rothschild offered encouragement, financial support, and expertise to the resettlement effort. His funding of that experiment, which helped increase the number of these settlements to 22 by 1900 (Table 3) was 20 times greater than the funds channeled for that purpose by the other Jewish organizations as "grants in aid" to the resettlement drive.

The teething problems of that experiment were not due only to the shortage of funds to finance the buildup of capital stock. There was also the pioneers' lack of experience and know-how in farming. Furthermore, the French farm experts hired by Baron Rothschild to guide the settlers knew little of local conditions, including the native climate, soil, and pests specific to Palestine.

Given their experience and the vision of Baron Rothschild, who was aware of the biblical image of the "land of corn and wine," their choice of crops focused inevitably on high-cost and time-intensive grapes as the main product of these settlements. Viniculture did not provide year-round employment. Maintaining this kind of farming operation entailed hiring seasonal labor, which in practice meant indigenous Arabs paid the prevailing low wage. Furthermore, though each farming household had its own plot, it had to follow the instructions of an administrator put in charge of the settlements by the Baron, thus eroding personal responsibility and enterprise among the settlers. To absorb the output of these vineyards Rothschild built two major wine cellars, one in *Rishon le-Zion for the southern settlements and the other in *Zikhron Ya'akov for the northern settlements. Subsidized by his funds, these first two industrial enterprises in Palestine paid above European market prices for the grape crop. Europe was the inevitable destination of their output.

These pioneer agricultural settlements experienced severe problems in their early years. The acquisition of farming know-how through "learning-by-doing" required time. And so did the emergence of entrepreneurs and entrepreneurial knowledge, and the accumulation of equity by farm households. These were evidently the necessary conditions for freeing settlers from the shackles of the Baron's bureaucracy and the benefit of his funding.

In spite of these tribulations, the groundwork of the resettlement movement was laid in the last two decades of the 19th century. This is evident in the number of Jewish rural settlements, which expanded to 22 by 1900, as Baron Rothschild wound up his organization, granting the settlers the land and the two wine cellars and other elements of infrastructure set up by him, thus putting the settlements on an independent footing. By that time, they had a population of 5,000, or ten times the number of settlers in 1882. There was a similar expansion by this time of Jewish-owned land, half of which was in rural areas (Table 3), although the total amount was negligible; indeed it was small even in proportion to size of the Jewish population, which had grown to 50,000.

Despite their shortcomings, the efforts of the first wave of settlers opened the way for things to come. They led to the emergence of a community of experienced farmers and agricultural entrepreneurs and taught some highly significant lessons to Zionist leaders just as the *World Zionist Organization, established in 1897, was coming into its own. They suggested that a near-European living standard was a necessary condition for the survival of Jewish farming in Palestine, and that this required not only substantial capital investment, but also the diversification of the prevailing agricultural economy – the single-crop farming pursued, by and large, by the first generation of Jewish settlements. By the turn of the century these settlements resembled the European colonies in southeast Asia and Africa with their monocultural plantations producing commercial crops for world markets and exclusively dependent on indigenous seasonal labor. The dominance of Arab workers in the Jewish settlements reproduced the situation in the European colonies.

These features were of course inconsistent with the grand scheme formulated by the World Zionist Organization under the leadership of Theodor *Herzl (1897–1904). Its declared ultimate objective – the establishment of a Jewish State in Palestine – was a response to rising overt antisemitism in Europe and the increasing poverty of Jewish communities, especially in Eastern Europe, which had hardly been touched by the Industrial Revolution but were experiencing a population explosion. These conditions induced mass emigration. In pursuit of its ultimate goal, Zionism envisioned the immediate building up of a self-sustaining economy in Palestine, offering a reasonable standard of living as a necessary condition for inducing a significant fraction of the huge Jewish emigration from Eastern Europe to move to Palestine rather than to Western Europe and to the United States. The Zionists called, therefore, for a major revision of the Palestine resettlement strategy.

THE SECOND ALIYAH AND THE NOTION OF MIXED FARMING. The Second Aliyah started in 1904, in response to another set of pogroms in Russia in 1903–04. In the succeeding decade, ending with the outbreak of World War I in 1914, it brought about 40,000 Jewish immigrants to the shores of Palestine. This was indeed only a small fraction of the Jewish emigration from Eastern Europe during that decade, about three percent, but it was substantially larger than the total inflow of the First Aliyah of 1882–1903 (Table 2).

Table 3. Jewish Agriculture Settlements, Rural Population, Farm Output, and Land Possession, 1882–1947

			Output[2]			Land (In Thousands of Dunams[3])		Irrigated Area (In Thousands of Dunams)		
Year	Rural settlements (1)	Rural population[1] (2)	Total (3)	Mixed farming (4)	Citrus (5)	Total (6)	Rural (7)	Citrus groves (8)	Mixed farming (9)	Total (10)=(8)+(9)
A. Jewish Sector									–	–
1882	6	500	–	–	–	23	–	–	–	–
1900	22	5,000	–	–	–	218	114	–	–	–
1914	47	12,000	–	–	–	418	230	–	–	–
1921	–	–	80	79	80	–	–	–	–	–
1922	79	15,000	100	100	100	575	387	10	–	–
1931	129	38,000	445	277	678	1,008[4]	–	70	13	83
1935	–	–	646	469	890	–	–	153	16	169
1936	199	89,000	846	481	1,349	1,232	626	155	–	–
1939	254	–	1,248	622	2,112	–	–	156	46	202
1941	259	113,000	–	–	–	1,544[5]	1,318[5]	131	77	208
1945	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	120	95	215
1947	308	153,000	–	–	–	1,660	1,380	120	115	235
B. Arab Sector										
1922	–	478,000	100	100	100	–	–	19	–	–
1931	–	577,000	141	131	355	–	–	52	–	–
1935	–	–	218	122	841	–	–	125	–	–
1939	–	–	244	136	966	–	–	143	–	–
1944	–	788,000	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–

Notes:
1. Rounded to the nearest thousand. Figures for the Arab sector include nomads.
2. Real farm output.
3. Rounded to the nearest thousand dunams.
4. The figure refers to 1942.
5. The figure refers to 1933.

Students and other young people, many inspired by the socialist ideology spreading at that time in the Jewish communities of Eastern Europe and which they attempted to wed to Zionism, were the dominant group in this wave of immigration. Their arrival in Palestine had an immediate effect on the old settlements, and particularly on the direction and features of the resettlement process. It soon led to a major transformation in the structure of Jewish agriculture, particularly the employment of Jewish labor. The slogan "*avodah ivrit*" ("Jewish labor"), so much a part of the vocabulary of the post-1903 Socialist Zionist immigrants, reverberated for the next three decades in the politics of the Yishuv, and inspired the restructuring of Zionist settlement policy.

The *Palestine Office set up by the World Zionist Organization in 1908 in Jaffa, under the direction of a new immigrant, Arthur *Ruppin, adopted *avodah ivrit* as its guiding principle. Ruppin identified the reliance of the late 19th-century settlements on Arab labor as their Achilles' heel, particularly as it limited their capacity to absorb new immigrants. The employment of Jewish labor was accordingly specified as the instrument to promote Jewish economic viability and growth. The Palestine Office proceeded to implement the *avodah ivrit* strategy in its chosen first line of activity, forestation, which soon became one of the symbols of the Zionist resettlement effort. With the modest funds at its disposal it initiated the planting of the Herzl Forest in *Ben Shemen and Huldah in 1908, relying exclusively on Jewish labor, as insisted on by the vociferous claims of Jewish workers, whose ranks were by that time swelled by newcomers of the Second Aliyah.

Furthermore, to promote the success of the new immigrants who out of ideological conviction volunteered to go into agriculture, the Palestine Office determined that it should provide basic training in farming. This decision led to the establishment of Ben Shemen, one of the first settlements founded and financed by the Zionist organizations, as an agricultural experiment and training facility.

A second foundation of the resettlement strategy adopted by the Palestine Office was the promotion of mixed farming, involving grain, fodder, vegetable, dairy and poultry production. This kind of agriculture promised a balanced year-round demand for labor and correspondingly stable employment and income throughout the seasons, unlike single-product plantation farming. The Palestine Office launched an experiment along these lines in two new settlements in the north, Kinneret and Deganyah, established in 1908 and 1909 respectively.

Table 3a. Socioeconomic Composition of Jewish Rural Settlements

Year	Private Enterprise[1] (1)	Cooperatives – Moshavim (2)	Collectives – Kibbutzim (3)	Others[2] (4)	Total (5)
1922	64	2	12	1	79
1931	82	10	30	4	126
1936	76	70	48	5	199
1947	60	117	124	7	308

Notes:

1. Though private farm settlements were still established over time, many of the older settlements grew rapidly and were transformed into urban entities in which manufacturing and services dominated occupation more and more. With some lag this was formally recognized by the authorities, which designated them urban settlements. Hence the reduction of the number of private rural settlements from 1930 onwards.
2. Agricultural school (Mikveh Israel, Kadoorie, etc.).

These two settlements opened the door to another venture, which dominated Zionist resettlement policy for decades to come. Deganyah soon became the forerunner of settlements based on the "self-labor" principle: it was to be manned by a group of Jewish workers and run as an autonomous economic entity – operating as a collective of its members. These settlements were allocated land and provided with basic capital – equipment, working capital, and housing – in the form of loans and credit from the Zionist authorities. Running production activity on their own, they were required to pay rent and to repay their debt, including interest, on a long-term schedule. The land was nationalized, the property of the Keren Kayemet Leyisrael (*Jewish National Fund), set up by the World Zionist Organization to purchase and own property. It was to be leased to its cultivators in perpetuity.

The requirement to pay rent and repay loans and credit allocations with interest was a major incentive for agricultural settlements to move into mixed farming, since this structure, involving immediately marketable products in urban markets, offered a cash flow which could provide a current income and the means to meet financial commitments. Thus efficient production made feasible by self-employed labor would assure the settlements' financial viability. The rapid expansion of urban markets, which was indeed a fact of life in the decade preceding the outbreak of World War I, was of course a prerequisite for the success of this strategy.

A score of older late 19th-century settlements in the coastal plain north and south of Jaffa adopted a diversification strategy on their own, in response to market signals. This transition from viniculture dominance was accelerated by the emergence at the turn of the century of a highly profitable new branch of agriculture, the citrus industry, which benefited from rapidly expanding European markets, which were made more easily reachable by the contemporary steam revolution in the shipping industry, and the much greater frequency of landings in the Port of Jaffa. A simultaneous expansion of almond growing was another component in the move towards diversification. Thanks to the differing times of high season in these three branches, this diversification in the older settlements enabled a much more balanced demand for labor, which offered more leeway for the employment of Jewish labor. The introduction of almond and citrus growing required huge investments, and a longish gestation period, before the first crops, and an even longer interval before they reached their peak productivity levels. The older settlements, some of which had been around for as long as two decades, had by this time nurtured a group of entrepreneurs with sufficient capital and collateral to obtain bank credit on their own, allowing them to embark on these new ventures. Similarly, the rapid expansion of the urban Jewish community in Jaffa and vicinity, with its fast-growing market for fresh food, offered an incentive to farmers in the old settlements to move into dairy and vegetable farming. Thus private agricultural enterprise was encouraged to implement the same diversification strategy, though with a different structure offering employment to high-wage Jewish labor, promoted by the Palestine office in its own settlements.

The mixed farming concept adopted in practice by both old and new settlements in the first decade of the 20th century; the high cost of Jewish labor, which encouraged the use of labor-saving devices; and a choice of crops and products that did not involve labor-intense cultivation inevitably imposed a highly significant requirement – the use of irrigation as a major farm input. Palestine's short winter season, the moderate rainfall in that season even along the coastal plain and in the northern part of the country and much more so in the semi-arid areas in the south and southeast, imposed this requirement. It was a necessary condition for high yields per unit of land and labor, generating correspondingly high incomes approaching European standards. The development of irrigation in the Jewish sector, which in the last decades of the Ottoman period involved drilling wells all over, soon became a hallmark of the Zionist resettlement effort.

The 25 Jewish agricultural settlements established between 1900 and 1914, increasing the total to 47, meant first and foremost a significant spatial expansion (Table 3). It involved penetration into new regions. Northeastern Galilee, lower Galilee, and the northern Jordan Valley appeared on the map of Jewish settlements. The number of settlements along the southern coastal plain, north and south of Jaffa, was significantly increased. The result was an increase in rural Jewish population. This grew 140 percent to 12,000 between 1900 and

1914 (Table 3). This rate was indeed significantly greater than that of the overall Jewish population, which grew by around 90 percent to approximately 94,000.

The rural demographic expansion affected the older settlements, several of which, with populations over 1,000, had already acquired some urban features. The focus of their contributions to production and employment, however, was still agricultural. The market-driven diversification, providing for increases both in demand and in seasonal stability of demand for labor, was absorbing a growing number of Jewish workers. As the dominant contributors to the Jewish sector's farm production, these settlements became the main battlefields of the struggle for *avodah ivrit*. This struggle, which started in the previous decade, continued through the mid-1930s, at which time it disappeared from the political agenda.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE URBAN SECTOR. Though the economic performance of Jewish agricultural settlements was significant, whether compared with 1880, when they started, or with 1900 when they moved into their second stage, they still accounted for only about 13 percent of the Jewish population at the outbreak of World War I in 1914. In that period of a little over three decades, which might be called the "warm-up" period of the "Return to Zion," the urban Jewish population increased six times more, in absolute terms, than the agricultural settlements' population. With an 87 percent share in 1914, urban Jews were evidently the dominant group within the Jewish population of Palestine.

These aggregates, however, offer a skewed perspective of the process, in which the dynamic element consisted of immigrants who established the urban version of the Zionist Return to the Land of the Patriarchs, and who established the commercial and industrial infrastructure of a modern economy. By 1914 this element was seemingly more than half of the total Jewish population, which by that time was already close to 100,000 (Table 1). Together with the 12,000 Jews in the rural settlements (Table 3), these made up the new *yishuv*, about two thirds of the total Jewish population. The static element of the urban population was the old *yishuv*, in 1914 still about a third of the total.

The rapid growth of both the Jewish and the total population of Jaffa is evidence of the formation of a modern economy. Arthur Ruppin's 1907 estimate of Jaffa's Jewish population in 1882 put it at 1,000. In 1914, Jaffa's Jewish population was already 12,000, and its Jewish suburb, Tel Aviv, founded in 1909, had by that time a population of 1,500. The Jaffa-Tel Aviv urban center already had a Jewish population of slightly more than the total population of the Jewish agricultural settlements. The Jewish population of Haifa, and perhaps a third of the Jewish population of Jerusalem, were by that time involved in economic activity – commerce, finance, even manual labor – and were thus an active component of the new *yishuv*.

The emergence of Jaffa as the hub of urban development in Palestine in the last decade of the 19th century signaled a growing linkage of that territory with the European economy. The opening of the Jaffa–Jerusalem single-track railroad in 1892 enhanced Jaffa's standing as Palestine's main port, depot, and leading commercial center and contributed to the rise of commercial and quasi-industrial activity. The growth of shipping services serving, among other activities, the increasing tourist traffic reflected the growing interest of the European powers in the territory, highlighted by the visit of the German Kaiser in 1899. The rapidly growing Jewish community was inevitably the vanguard of the expanding commercial, financial, and administrative activity. The main office of the Anglo-Palestine Bank opened in Jaffa in 1903, followed by the establishment of the Palestine Office of the World Zionist Organization in 1908. The presence of these commercial and financial services made Jaffa the urban center for the Jewish agricultural settlements, most of which were located in the coastal plain in Jaffa's periphery.

The rapid increase of the Jewish population of Jaffa, from a negligible fraction of the total in the early 1880s, to more than a quarter of the town's population by 1914 (Table 1), led in 1907 to an initiative to establish a modern Jewish suburb. In response to the proposal of a group of 60 families, the Zionist organization decided to grant the members of that group credit to finance the purchase of the land north of the city. The actual funds came from the Anglo-Palestine Bank and had to be repaid at the market rate of interest. Though an ad hoc decision, this transaction nevertheless set a precedent: Zionist resettlement policy applied not only to the agricultural sector, but also, occasionally, took into account the requirements of the urban sector as well.

The planned suburb of Jaffa, established in 1909, and with a population of 1,500 in 1914, was the kernel of Tel Aviv, which soon after World War I became the leading center of the Jewish resettlement effort. Though the Zionist Organization did provide the financial launching pad for that initiative, urban resettlement activity was on the whole initiated, financed, and run by private enterprise. It received only marginal financial support, seed money, from the Zionist organization. For better or for worse, the urban sector proved to be, already in its early stages, and even more so later on, the dominant factor in Jewish resettlement of Palestine.

The Arab Sector: Demography, Farming, and Urbanization

In the early 1880s the Arab population consisted of a dominant Muslim community and a much smaller group of Christians, totaling slightly less than half a million people. By 1914 it had grown to approximately 600,000, suggesting an average annual growth rate of about 0.7 percent, not significantly different from that suggested (on the basis of a rough estimate of the population for 1800), during the first 80 years of the 19th century (Table 1).

The breakdown in Table 1 of the main Arab population in the urban centers in 1890, to which the population of Nazareth and three other small Arab towns should be added, suggest that about ten percent of the Arab population lived in towns. This means that approximately 90 percent of that population lived in rural areas, eking out a meager living from the land by farming.

Traditional agriculture as practiced for a millennium – dry farming exclusively dependent on the rainfall during a short winter season – provided for the livelihood of this population living in small, almost self-sufficient villages, using and exchanging currency only infrequently. Grain provided the staple food, and a few sheep and goats per family supplied milk and meat. Olive trees and grapes exclusively dependent for water on rainfall provided cash crops. These were grown mainly in the mountainous areas of Galilee, Samaria, and the Judean hills. The payment of heavy taxes in cash was required from the middle of the 19th century onward and made cash crops necessary. The sale of these crops – olive oil and grapes, in particular – provided one of the main economic links with the market towns near clusters of these small villages.

From 1800 on the Ottoman administration attempted to establish registration of land titles. The last vestiges of the feudal system were indeed eliminated during the second quarter of the 19th century. Nevertheless, the traditional periodic redivision of land among members of the clan living in each of these villages did not disappear as Jewish immigration gained momentum in the 1880s. The periodic redivision of fallow land reduced the incentive of the peasants to make improvements, with long-lasting effect on fertility. It also made it quite difficult to purchase landed property subject to the redivision rule.

Nevertheless, that rather stagnant feature of the Arab sector was subjected to meaningful challenge and change in the three decades from the 1880s onward through the outbreak of World War I. By that time the effects of the industrial revolution in Europe began to penetrate the stagnant system. The rising flow of tourists and pilgrims, the establishment of several German agricultural colonies, and the initiation of Jewish economic activity (the latter two involving capital imports) all helped to provide markets for the cash crops of the Arab *fellah* (peasant). Furthermore, the Jewish settlements began to offer seasonal employment, providing a rising flow of cash income. Thus the Arab farm sector was pulled more and more into the market orbit.

This process also reflected the emergence of a new agricultural enterprise, initiated by Arab landlords – citriculture. By the turn of the century the Jaffa orange, a mutation which had first appeared in an orange grove in the vicinity of that town in the 1840s, made its entrance into European markets as a specific and superior orange brand. It was the enterprise of Arab growers that initiated the rapid expansion of orange plantations in the 1890s; Jewish entrepreneurs soon followed. Increased shipping services in the Jaffa port reflected the importance of the Jaffa orange as the dominant export of the country, as it remained for four decades to come. The all-out expansion of the citrus groves and the corresponding growth of exports occurred later, though, after World War I.

These developments fostered the transformation of Jaffa into the major commercial and financial center of the Arab sector of Palestine in the ensuing decades, through 1914 and beyond. Simultaneously it became the leading location of the slow but significant process of Arab urbanization. This increased the Arab urban population from some eight to ten percent at the beginning of the 1880s to about 15 percent of a much larger total in 1914. Jaffa was the vibrant center of that process. Its Arab population grew by more than three times in that formative interval, while the total Arab urban population a little more than doubled. The rising importance of Jaffa as a center of Arab population and economic activity in that 40-year period was underlined by the drastic change in the ratio of the Arab population of Jerusalem and Jaffa. in the early 1880s, the Arab population in Jerusalem was 40 percent larger than Jaffa's; by 1914 Jaffa took a clear lead over Jerusalem (Table 1). This was an omen of things to come in the postwar period.

THE MANDATORY PERIOD, 1918–1948

Palestine as a Unique Political and Economic Entity

The immediate effect of World War I on Palestine was the transfer of the territory from the authority of the dismembered Ottoman Empire to that of the British Empire. The transfer involved radical changes in the institutional and legal structures, as well as in the economic arrangements, within which the affairs of the territory would be carried on.

First was the establishment of a unitary political authority for the entire territory (there was no such authority under the Ottomans; the territory incorporated into Mandate Palestine was part of several Ottoman provinces). The British established a Palestine government with a high commissioner, responsible to the Colonial Office in London, as its head. An administration divided into departments of state (customs and excise, public works, education, immigration, law, and an independent judicial system staffed by British judges with a sprinkling of locals) were the skeleton of that government. The British government sought and received formal approval for these arrangements at the San Remo Conference of 1920 and the League of Nations in 1922, in the form of a mandate. The population of Palestine was not consulted.

A second highly significant change was the legal definition of the borders of the territory approved by the League of Nations' Mandatory committee, which had formal authority over the ultimate disposition of the territory (see Geography and Borders, above).

The text of the League's Mandate to Britain included in its preamble the language of the Balfour Declaration of November 2, 1917, in which the British government stated that "His Majesty's Government views with favour the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish People." The Zionist movement interpreted that statement as an implied commitment to free immigration of Jews into the territory, as well as an implied promise to make available uncultivated state land to the newcomers. Since Palestine had a total population of less than 800,000 in 1922, of whom some 160,000 lived in urban areas, the Zionist leadership presumed initially that plenty of such land was potentially available even within the 27,000 square kilometers allocated to Palestine under the terms of the Churchill White Paper of 1922 (that is, after it had been separated from Transjordan). This was, however, never the perception of the British officials running the Palestine government; land belonging to the public domain was never made available to Jewish settlers. Yet the acquisition of land by purchase was made much more feasible legally than it had been during Ottoman times.

An immediate measure implemented by the government was the census of 1922, which offered a reliable source of demographic information, including data on the national and religious composition of the population, and of its location. Another was the beginning of a process of land registration, specifying legal ownership of real estate in the urban and rural areas. This process, which was to facilitate real estate transactions, was not completed for the whole territory by the end of the Mandatory period.

The establishment of the British Mandatory government had several beneficial economic effects. Three features of the new political entity had immediate and far-reaching long-term significance for the running of its economy. First, the adoption of the Palestine pound as the local currency. Second, the creation of a unitary customs area within the borders of the British Mandate (thus including Transjordan). Third, the maintenance of a policy of "free trade."

The Palestine pound offered a stable monetary and financial anchor for the economic system. Though formally issued by the Palestine Currency Board (located in London), it was similar to its predecessor – the Egyptian pound, adopted as Palestine's currency temporarily in 1918 – in its relationship to the British pound sterling. It was fully backed by sterling, and the one-on-one exchange rate with the British pound underlined its prestigious status. The creditability endowed by this status and the stable exchange rate regime of sterling with other major world currencies facilitated the flow of capital imports, and was a major support of economic growth.

The second feature, the creation of a territorial customs zone, was curious in that Transjordan, the territory east of the Jordan River, which was included in the British Mandate for Palestine, was governed separately from Palestine but was included in the Palestine customs zone. Likewise, it shared the same currency, the Palestine pound, until 1948. Transjordan was excluded from the provisions of the Balfour Declaration and thus from Jewish immigration (see Geography and Borders) and its direct economic impact. In view of its minuscule economic capacity during the Mandate period, this did not make a meaningful difference to the economy of Palestine.

The distinctive feature of the policy on import duties adopted by the Mandatory government was its focus on revenue. Fiscal considerations were almost the exclusive criterion applied by the Department of Customs and Excises in its setting of duty rates on imports; these were thus quite low – a comprehensive standard rate of 12 percent *ad valorem*. In the two prewar decades these import duties provided about 50 percent of total government tax revenue. The standard rate was raised to 15 percent in the war years. A low income tax, applicable only to very high-income brackets and to incorporated business, was also imposed in 1941.

Finally, the third feature was the Mandatory Government's free-trade policy. It adamantly refused to impose protective duties even in the worldwide depression of the 1930s, though all other governments – including Britain and its Empire – resorted to such tactics. It thus did not relent under the pressure of the Jewish community, represented by the Jewish Agency, to impose some protective duties to support the recently established domestic (Jewish) industries from the dumping tactics employed by virtually every state. Free trade and free capital mobility within a fixed exchange-rate regime with sterling were the operating rules of Mandatory Palestine's external economic relations for two decades through the outbreak of World War II.

The Emergence of the Jewish Economy, 1920–1931

IMMIGRATION AND THE DEMOGRAPHIC BALANCE. The 1920s may be identified as the time of the emergence of the Jewish economy, a development triggered primarily by increased immigration. Though much smaller than hoped for by the Zionist leadership, the numbers still signified a major change and a correspondingly significant shift in the balance of the national composition of Palestine's population. During the 12-year period starting in December 1919 with the arrival of the ship *Roslan* from Russia with almost 700 immigrants and ending in 1931, gross immigration was close to 120,000. This was twice the total number of immigrants to Palestine in the more than three decades of the prewar period from the early 1880s through 1914 (Table 2). In the 1920s, it amounted to about 18 percent of total Jewish emigration in that period, a significantly higher proportion than in the pre-World War I decades (in both periods the United States was the dominant destination of Jewish emigrants). Note also that net immigration figures in Table 2 indicate that close to one quarter of the immigrants to Palestine during the 1920s left for other destinations.

This inflow of immigrants had a clear-cut impact on the national composition of Palestine's population. The 1922 census estimates suggest that Jews were about 11 percent of the total population of Palestine. The 1931 census data indicates that the Jewish population had again grown substantially, to 17 percent of the total (Table 1).

This change in the population balance was even more significant in the main urban areas. Thus Tel Aviv's population was about 30 percent of Jaffa's in 1922; by 1931 it had grown to 85 percent of a greatly increased Jaffa population. Furthermore, the Jewish share of the population of the whole Tel Aviv-Jaffa conurbation had grown from 37 percent in 1922 to 54 percent in 1931. The population balance in Jerusalem and

Haifa moved in a similar direction. Only in Haifa was the Arab population still the dominant community in 1939; the Jewish population, which had been growing rapidly, was about one third of the total.

LAND AND THE RESETTLEMENT PROCESS. Most of the growth of Jewish population – 90,000 between 1922 and 1931 – occurred in the urban centers, with Tel Aviv as its focus. Yet the major resettlement effort implemented by the Zionist authorities was designed to establish a significant Jewish foothold all over Palestine as soon as possible. To implement that policy most of the resources at the disposal of the Zionist Organization were directed to the rural sector.

This effort shows in terms of population and the number of settlements. Rural population grew by 2.5 times in the 1922–1931 decade, by more than 3 times compared to 1914, the benchmark figure for measuring the post-Balfour Declaration resettlement effort. The comparison of the growth of the whole Jewish population between 1914 and 1931, which did not quite double during that period, is meaningful in that context (Tables 1 and 3).

The effort in terms of the number of settlements, which rose from 47 in 1914 to 129 by 1931, is even more stunning (Table 3). The number itself suggests a major extension of the geographical presence of Jewish settlements in that period, which might be thought of as the time of the "coming out" of the Jewish presence in Palestine. The penetration into the Jezreel Valley – the formation of two groups of agricultural settlements in its eastern and western parts, and of a small urban center, Afula, in the middle – was the vanguard of that effort.

The necessary condition for the success of this effort was the acquisition of large blocks of land in what was a marshy, malaria-ridden (and thus effectively unpopulated) area in 1920–21. The process of land acquisition shows clearly in the land ownership columns of Table 3: the figure for 1922 indicates an expansion of rural land ownership of almost 70 percent by Jewish entities – private entrepreneurs and households, corporate firms, and, mostly, the Jewish National Fund (Keren Kayemet), the land purchasing and holding corporation created and owned by the World Zionist Organization. In the ensuing decade through 1931, Jewish land purchases accelerated; the total amount of land owned by Jews increased by 75 percent, indicating that the rate of increase of rural land possession by Jews was significantly higher. The Haifa bay area and the Hefer Valley in northern coastal Sharon Plain were the focus of the land acquisition effort in the 1920s. later moves to acquire land, particularly the penetration into the Beit She'an Valley and the northeastern and western Galilee, implemented in the 1930s, were inspired by the realization that the allocation of noncultivated "crown" land to Jewish settlers, as envisioned by the Zionist leadership in the early 1920s, was not going to happen.

The drive to acquire land was maintained in the 1930s, though land prices rose rapidly as a result of that very process. The efforts of private entrepreneurs to acquire land in the coastal plain were induced by the high profitability of the thriving citriculture industry from the 1920s through about the early 1930s, and by the acceleration of urbanization resulting from the increase in Jewish immigration in that decade. Thus, though land purchases by the Jewish sector emerged as a major political issue, and were finally restricted by law in 1940 (reflecting the change in British policy expressed in the White Paper of 1939, abandoning partition as a viable future for Palestine, and regarded by Zionists as an official abandonment of the Balfour Declaration commitments), the amount of land owned by the Jewish sector still grew by 50 percent in the decade ending in 1941. Growth was even greater in the rural areas (Table 3). The highly significant feature of the process in that period and through the war years was the penetration into the Negev, the southern and arid part of Palestine, during the war years and in the face of the Land Transfer Regulations of 1940, which restricted land purchases by Jews. This high-priority effort was implemented by the Jewish National Fund.

The 1947 figure for the total land holdings of the Jewish sector suggests that these grew by about four times during the three decades of the British Mandate. A comparison for rural land holdings based similarly on the 1914 data suggests an almost sixfold increase during the period (Table 3). The spread of these rural holdings through 1941 was almost everywhere, exclusive of the Negev; during the war years it was mostly in the Negev. Yet the total of Jewish land holdings on the eve of independence was only about six percent of the total land area of Mandatory Palestine.

This level of acquisition would not have been achieved without the purchase of land by the Jewish private sector, especially for citrus plantations but also for housing and for commercial and industrial use in urban areas. The entries in Table 3 for citrus plantations, whose area grew by 15 times between 1922 and 1939 – a private sector activity absolutely dominated by the profit motive – offer a clear indication of their contribution to the Jewish land acquisition drive. This drive was a joint effort of the Keren Kayemet and the private sector, which financed its acquisitions in significant part by capital imports. Yet it was the "national sector," whose behavior was not subject to profit considerations, that led the way; its share of land ownership in the Jewish sector increased from about 10 percent in 1920 to about 50 percent in the closing years of the Mandate. Land acquisition policy was obviously designed to serve as the springboard of the resettlement process.

PROSPERITY AND DEPRESSION IN THE 1920S. The employment, capital stock, and national product columns in Tables 4 and 5 indicate vigorous growth in the 1920s through 1931. Employment in the Jewish economy grew by 2.4 times, more than the corresponding growth of population. Due to the substantial growth of the annual investment flow, the capital stock at the end of the period was more than three times greater than at the beginning. This also meant that the capital-labor ratio

Table 4. Patterns of Employment, Labor Force, Capital Stock, and Investment, 1922–1947[1]

Year	Arab Economy				Jewish Economy					Government
	Employment (1)	Net Fixed Capital Stock (2)	Net Investment (3)	Net Capital-Labor Ratio (4) [=(2)/(1)]	Labor Force (5)	Employment (6)	Net Fixed Capital Stock (7)	Net Investment (8)	Net Capital-Labor Ratio (9) [=(7)/(6)]	Capital Stock (10)
1922	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
1931	117	126	317	108	244	240	319	272	133	215
1935	131	157	826	120	489	491	655	1029	134	365
1936	–	–	–	–	588	579	817	790	141	–
1938	–	–	–	–	635	616	1,039	443	169	–
1939	144	195	257	135	684	665	1,109	341	167	541
1941	–	–	–	–	756	746	1,223	144	164	652
1943	–	–	–	–	793	804	1,289	191	160	–
1945	178	239	319	134	877	889	1,359	319	153	717
1947	–	256	–	–	951	963	1,542	1,104	160	7,393

Noes:

1. Figures are rounded to the closest digit. Capital Stock figures refer to the beginning of the year. Capital Stock and Investment figures refer to net investment and net fixed reproducible capital stock.

Table 5. Indices of National Product Aggregates and National Sector Ratios, 1922–1947[1]

Year	NDP (Net Domestic Product)			NNP (Net National Product)		NNP Per Capita		Jewish-Arab Ratios (%)[2]	
	Arab (1)	Jewish (2)	Palestine (3)	Arab (4)	Jewish (5)	Arab (6)	Jewish (7)	NNP (8)	NNP Per Capita (9) [=(7)/(6)]
1922	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	22.8	191.1
1931	140	413	197	143	436	113	204	69.6	344.7
1935	237	1,109	418	246	1,182	175	295	109.6	321.4
1936	227	1,039	395	229	1,039	159	244	112.0	292.5
1939	231	927	376	229	1,023	148	190	101.7	245.6
1941	273	1,157	456	271	1,274	165	216	107.6	249.1
1945	386	1,758	670	384	1,937	207	283	115.1	261.7
1947	488	2,225	848	485	2,452	245	323	117.4	252.6
Average Annual Growth Rates (%)									
1922–1931	3.8	17.1	7.8	4.1	17.8	1.4	8.2		
1931–1935	14.1	28.0	20.7	14.5	28.3	11.6	9.7		
1935–1939	-0.6	-3.9	-2.7	-1.8	-4.3	-4.2	-11.6		
1935–1947	6.2	6.0	6.1	5.8	6.3	2.8	0.8		
1939–1947	9.8	11.6	9.8	11.4	10.7	6.5	6.9		
1922–1947	6.5	13.2	8.9	6.5	13.7	3.6	4.8		

Notes:

1. Index figures are rounded to the relevant digit. The percent in columns (8) and (9) are rounded to the first decimal point.
2. Ratios of Jewish NNP and NNP per capita to Arab NNP and NNP per capita respectively.

was 40 percent higher than in 1922, an increase that generated an almost 80 percent rise in average labor productivity during that period (Table 6). These increases in the major inputs – labor, capital, and land, the last relevant mainly to farm production – and the corresponding increases in productivity generated a more than fourfold increase of the Jewish sector's national product. Thus, though population increased by about two times during that period, the much greater increase in production per capita allowed for a higher standard of living for the Jewish population. This highly significant performance was a feature of the Jewish economy of Palestine even during the last years of this decade (1929–31), in which occurred the advent of the disastrous worldwide economic depression of the 1930s.

Though that final outcome was highly impressive, the going during that decade was not smooth. Its ups and downs were directly linked to the immigration waves of the Third and Fourth Aliyah, which peaked in 1922 and 1925 respectively. The first of these two peaks reflected the entry of 9,000 immigrants in that single year. The second marked the arrival

Table 5a. Ratios of NNP to NDP by National Sectors, 1922–1947 (%)[1]

1922–1931	1922	1931	1935	1936	1939	1941	1945	1947
Arab Sector	102.5	104.3	106.2	103.5	101.6	101.5	102.0	102.0
Jewish Sector	89.4	94.6	95.3	97.0	98.6	98.4	98.5	98.6

Note:
1. Net National Product and Net Domestic Product at 1936 prices.

of 34,000 Jews in Palestine, an event unheard of in the four decades of the Zionist experiment since the early 1880s. This single-year inflow was equal to the total inflow during the entire pre-World War I decade of the Second Aliyah.

These peaks and the following troughs had their inevitable counterparts in terms of employment and unemployment and the level of economic activity. The ups and downs were related to rising waves of immigrants and corresponding waves of increased investment, followed by their significant decline. Thus employment in the Jewish sector was almost 10 percent higher in 1924 than in 1923, and at its peak in 1926 about 65 percent higher than in 1923, a rate that could not be sustained. Corresponding to the ensuing decline in employment, the unemployment rate shot up from a negligible figure at the top of the prosperous year 1925 to almost 7.7 percent in 1927. The inevitable effect of that was a major wave of emigration, almost 75 percent of the (decreased) inflow of new immigrants in 1926–27 (Table 2). It was the collapse of investment, in housing in particular, which generated the cyclical downspin: investment in buildings in 1926 was down to less than one half the 1925 rate, and in 1927 it decreased further to just 20 percent of the peak level. Total investment returned to the 1925 level only after five years in 1930–31. The net product of the Jewish sector, though, kept growing throughout the 1920s, as did the product per capita, which after a short two-year interval of minor decline, passed the previous 1925 peak by 1928, even though the Jewish population grew by 14 percent in the interval.

Both population and product per capita kept growing through 1931, with the latter showing a high annual average growth rate of 8.2 percent (Table 5) in spite of the impact of a "classic" economic recession (1926–27). The well known negative effects of such downturns had in that case a twist specific to the activities in the Jewish sector: it reduced considerably the inflow of immigrants, and owing to a surge of emigration, particularly in the second half of the decade, net immigration was slightly negative in 1927 and 1928. This occurred at a crucial juncture in the Arab-Jewish confrontation and the emerging change of heart of the British government, highlighted by its attempt to impose restrictions on Jewish immigration and land purchase at the turn of the 1930s.

STRUCTURAL CHANGES: AN INTERIM SUMMARY. These developments were not accidental. They were directly linked to the changing demographic balance and economic power, which were the hallmarks of developments in the first decade of the British Mandate through 1931. The growth of the *Yishuv*'s population to 175,000 by 1931 meant that its share of Palestine's population expanded from 11 percent in 1922 to 17 percent in 1931 (Table 1). This also involved a highly significant and much greater spatial distribution by way of the increase in the number of Jewish settlements since the end of the war (Table 3). The most significant development, probably not fully comprehended by contemporaries, was the dramatic change in the economic performance of the two sectors, measured in terms of national product aggregates. The NNP estimate for 1922 suggests that the NNP of the Jewish sector was about 23 percent of that of the Arab sector. Both sectors expanded in that decade, but the disparity between them (the Jewish sector grew by an almost 18 percent average annual growth rate, while its Arab counterpart grew by only about 4 percent annually) had an inevitable cumulative effect: by 1931 the Jewish sector's national product was already about 70 percent of that of the Arab sector (Table 5).

Table 6. Capital Per Unit of Labor and Net Domestic Product per Employee and Real Wages, 1922–1947[1]

Year	Capital Per Unit of Labor (P£)			NDP Per employee (P£)			Real Wages	NDP per Employee
	Arab Sector[2]	Jewish Sector	Ratio	Arab Sector[2]	Jewish Sector	Ratio	Jewish Sector	
	(1)	(2)	(3) [=(2)/(1)]	(4)	(5)	(6) [=(5)/(4)]	(7)	(8)
1922	115	191	1.66	34	57	1.7	100	100
1931	123	249	2.02	43	102	2.4	157	179
1935	137	255	1.86	62	137	2.2	172	240
1939	155	308	1.99	55	92	1.7	149	161
1941	–	308	–	–	101	–	114	177
1945	159	295	1.86	74	129	1.7	207	226
1947	–	308	–	–	151	–	248	265

Notes:
1. Figures in columns (1), (2), (4), and (5) are in constant 1936 prices in Palestine pounds. Figures in columns (7) and (8) are indices with 1922 = 100.
2. The Arab labor input series used for the estimate are the Metzer (1998) series of the Arab labor force. This series, the only available one, offers a reasonable approximation for the labor input generating (domestic) product in view of the still highly self-sufficient character of the dominant Arab farming sector; thus the relatively small size of the wages and salary earning groups.

Table 7. Employment and Unemployment by Economic Branch, 1922–1947

Year	Employment (in thousands)					Employment: 1922 = 100					
	Total (1)	Agriculture (2)	Manufacturing (3)	Construction (4)	Services (5)	Total (6)	Agriculture (7)	Manufacturing (8)	Construction (9)	Services (10)	Unemployment Rates (%) (11)
A. Jewish Sector[1]											
1922	29,800	7,957	4,977	3,963	12,903	100	100	100	100	100	1.5
1931	68,900	17,983	13,987	5,994	30,963	231	226	281	151	240	3.1
1935	139,500	34,736	28,040	–	–	468	437	–	–	–	1.2
1936	154,300	–	–	–	–	518	–	–	–	–	3.0
1939	167,000	37,074	37,909	5,010	87,007	560	466	762	126	674	4.3
1941	187,500	–	–	–	–	629	–	–	–	–	2.7
1945	232,700	30,018	71,904	10,026	120,742	781	377	1445	253	936	0.2
1947	246,800	–	–	–	–	828	–	–	–	–	0.3
B. Arab Sector[2]											
1922	194,000	127,070	9,312	3,492		100	100	100	100	100	–
1931	227,000	143,464	18,614	5,221		117	113	200	150	110	–
1935	255,000	–	–	–	–	131	–	–	–	–	–
1939	280,000	162,960	21,000	3,920		144	128	226	112	169	–
1945	345,000	188,025	30,360	17,250		179	145	326	493	201	–

Notes:

1. Employment data in the Jewish sector refers to Jewish and Arab labor in that sector. Unemployment rates refer to Jewish unemployment as a percentage of the Jewish labor force.
2. Employment in Arab sector is based on Metzer labor forces estimates.

The comparative growth of national product, of course, had an impact on the patterns of product per capita. Even though the Jewish population grew much more rapidly, Jewish product per capita, which was nearly twice that of its Arab counterpart in 1922, nevertheless leapt to a ratio of 3.5 in 1931 (Table 5). This huge gap was not maintained in the second half of the 1930s and in the 1940s because of the much more rapid increase of the Jewish population. But the ratio at which it settled in the late 1930s – about 3.5 – afforded an altogether different living standard for the Jewish than for the Arab population and the setting of altogether different socioeconomic patterns for the two societies.

The result of the robust economic performance by the Jewish sector in that decade was a highly significant change of structure. One aspect of it was the rapidly changing comparative economic status of the two national sectors described above. Of even greater significance were the rapid urbanization of the Jewish sector, involving the emergence of an industrial manufacturing sector and an extensive commercial sector, and the reorientation of Jewish agriculture in both its branch composition (product mix) and its socioeconomic form of organization. Both of these were linked to the resettlement effort, which really came into its own in the Mandatory period.

This process pushed the old *yishuv* into a small and relatively declining demographic niche. It became a kind of backwater component of the Jewish national entity, which was forging ahead with the Zionist project. The mechanism of that process shows in the increased number of Jewish settlements, which in the 13 years from the end of the war almost tripled, and more than tripled in terms of the size of the rural population (Table 3). Their very number suggests the penetration of these settlements into locations everywhere, from Galilee in the north and along the central coastal plain to the vicinity of Jerusalem and south toward the line separating the semi-arid and arid zones of the Negev from the rest of the country. Their contribution to production shows in the growth of farm output by more than five times in the 1921–1931 period (Table 3), with corresponding growth of net Jewish farm product by almost 4.7 times in the 1922–31 interval (Table 8).

This growth involved significant changes in the composition of the branch structure of Jewish agriculture and in the techniques of running and managing it. The new settlements set up by the Zionist Organization adopted *ab ovo* the mixed farming strategy, with fruit plantations and vineyards as part of the mix but neither dominant. The composition of the mix was designed to offer a year-round comparatively balanced demand for labor to assure a steady flow of income to the cultivators.

Irrigation, tractor-driven farm machinery, and improved plant varieties as well as high capital-labor ratios were to serve as the instruments of a meaningful move toward European living standards. The Zionist (later Jewish Agency) authorities would provide financing for the acquisition of these resources and for the cost of purchasing the land. The cultivators would lease the nationalized land for low rents and would repay the long-term credits allocated to them to pay for the investment in capital stock – housing, machinery, and plan-

Table 8. The Industrial Pattern of Real Net Domestic Product, 1922–1947[1]

Year	Agriculture			Manufact.	Construct.	NDP
	Citrus (1)	Other (2)	Total (3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
A. Jewish Economy						
1922	100	100	100	100	100	100
1931	956	222	466	449	222	413
1935	2,157	353	951	1,111	1,330	1,109
1936	1,471	409	759	1,134	1,031	1,039
1939	1,296	446	699	1,143	286	927
1941	–	–	588	1,688	478	1,157
1945	–	892	1,499	3,062	872	1,757
1947	–	–	1,999	2,932	1,539	2,225
B. Arab Economy						
1922	100	100	100	100	100	100
1931	552	102	121	290	257	140
1935	1,066	141	180	444	535	237
1936	880	134	176	421	514	227
1939	647	156	177	482	165	231
1942	–	–	293	683	873	318
1945	–	–	381	764	524	386
1947	–	–	–	–	–	488

Note:

1. Nominal Product (value added) series for each of the branches and for total product deflated by price indices. Deflation for the Jewish sector series in terms of cost of living index in Jewish markets. Deflation of the Arab sector series: the Metzer deflator of Arab material output.

tations. They would also pay (low) interest charges on the outstanding debt.

These settlements were established by groups of pioneers inspired by socialist Zionist ideology following the maxim of "self-labor": this excluded the option of hired workers, and involved by definition adherence to the rule of *avodah ivrit*. The first of these groups, which would soon be organized as legal entities, surfaced in the early 1920s from the "floor" – by the initiative of their members. these self-initiated groupings – there were two types, the kibbutz and the moshav, based on collective and cooperative principles respectively – soon formed the vanguard of the resettlement effort and were at its core for the next four decades. There were already 11 kibbutzim and 2 moshavim in 1921, at the very infancy of the movements; by the end of their formative decade, in 1931, the kibbutz movement counted 30 settlements, and the moshav 10, in locations all over the country, from Galilee and the Jezreel Valley in the north along the coastal plain to the Jerusalem district.

The mixed farm output figures for 1931 (Table 3) indicate that within that decade real output expanded 2.8 times and the corresponding farm product by a lower factor, 2.2. These imply very high growth rates indeed, about nine percent annually, and an even higher figure for mixed farm output (Table 8). This expansion of production was, of course, due not only to the production lines set up in the nascent collective and cooperative settlements, but reflected the vigorous growth of production in the older rural settlements, about 40 in number, already in place by 1914. Rapid urbanization (see below) provided expanding markets for vegetables, dairy products, and poultry from the prewar settlements and postwar private-sector settlements. The latter multiplied in the 1920s and early 1930s in the vicinity of the Tel Aviv-Jaffa urban center. The growth of the Jewish rural population by 2.5 times in the 1922–31 interval, reflecting an almost 11 percent annual growth rate (compared to the 8.4 percent annual rate of the total Jewish population) suggests the extent of new employment resulting from expanding farm production.

This expansion occurred not only in mixed farming, as the farm output and net production figures indicate: total Jewish farm output grew by almost 4.5 times through 1931 while its mixed farming component grew by only 2.8 times. The difference between these two figures is of course the tremendous expansion of citriculture in the two interwar decades. The rapidly increasing demand for Jaffa oranges in Europe in the 1920s generated prices that were highly profitable. Expectations of high profit in the 1920s encouraged private entrepreneurs, Jewish and Arab, to expand citrus orchards rapidly. entrepreneurs in the older settlements and the new private enterprise settlements of the 1920s and early 1930s moved en masse into this line. The Jewish orchard area, which in 1922 was still almost the same as its prewar size, expanded from 10,000 dunams to 70,000 in the decade ending in 1931 (Table 3).

The citrus boom offered rapidly rising employment opportunities, manned to a significant extent by Arab workers, and thus to a sharpened struggle for *avodah ivrit*. However, it had a positive effect on the Jewish labor market too: this is clearly suggested by the more rapid growth of the rural population than of the total Jewish population in the 1922–31 period. The citrus boom generated a structural change in the economy of the older settlements, particularly those located in the citrus growing belt along the central coastal plain. It also encouraged the acquisition of urban features by some of these older settlements, involving rapid expansion of the commercial, financial, and technical service center in the Tel Aviv-Jaffa conurbation and in the Haifa and Haifa Bay area. The commercial and service sectors of the Jewish economy were effectively manned by Jewish workers only, and thus profit considerations were in these activities fully consistent with the *avodah ivrit* principle.

The rapid process of urbanization with Tel Aviv as its center of gravity was primarily the product of the crest of the Fourth Aliyah and the building boom it generated in the mid-1920s. Tel Aviv's population, which was 15,000 in 1922, more than doubled within three years; in 1925 it was already 34,000. With the Jewish population of Jaffa at about 8,000, Jews were by that date already the dominant community in the Tel Aviv-Jaffa conurbation. Though the focus of urbanization in that period was Tel Aviv, the process occurred all over: the Jewish population of Haifa grew by 2.7 times to 16,000 in 1922–31, and that of Jerusalem grew by 50 percent.

With net Jewish immigration of about 90,000 in the 1922–31 period, and an expansion of Jewish urban population in the three main towns – Jerusalem, Tel Aviv, and Haifa – by about 60,000 in 1922–31, to which figures in several small urbanizing settlements near Tel Aviv could be added, the main structural transformation of the Jewish community of Palestine was clearly a robust process of urbanization. This was closely linked to another major change, the emergence of manufacturing industry and its transformation into the major component of the Jewish economy (see below, The Economics of the Fifth Aliyah, 1932–1939/The Advent of Manufacturing).

The Arab Sector: Demographic Growth and Economic Expansion, 1920–1947

DEMOGRAPHICS. One of the significant features of the development of the Arab sector of Palestine was the demographic revolution to which it was subjected through the Mandatory period. This shows clearly in the rapid acceleration of population growth during that period. Population data for the period of 1890–1914 suggests that even at that late stage of the Ottoman period, the annual average growth rate was about 0.8 percent, effectively similar to the 0.7 annual average for the 19th century. Yet the 1922–1931 population growth rate based on census data and much more reliable than the population estimates through 1914 leapt at once to an average annual rate of 2.6 percent: the annual average for the entire period of the Mandate (1922–1947) was 2.7 percent.

A comparison with the Egyptian annual population growth rate is suggestive. That stood at 1.5 percent in the two decades ending in 1947 and 1.3 percent annually in the three decades between 1917 and 1947, coinciding almost exactly with the three decades of Mandatory rule. The much higher growth rates of Palestine's Arab population reflected improving living standards and health services (producing in particular a dramatic reduction of child mortality), as well as immigration, from Syria in particular and also from Egypt. These developments were clearly due to the highly significant transformation of the Arab economy, involving a rapidly rising national product, which allowed for the notable increase in the standard of living.

THE ECONOMIC AGGREGATES. The patterns of national and per capita product demonstrate this performance, in absolute and comparative terms. They had surfaced already in the 1920s, as shown by the annual average growth rate of national product for 1923–1931, which was 4.1 percent. It accelerated in the 1930s and in spite of a politically imposed standstill in 1936–39, during the Arab Revolt, the Arab sector's national product grew almost fivefold, at an annual average rate of 6.5 percent, in the 25 years ending in 1947, the last full year of the Mandate. The per capita product, which reflects the correspondingly rapid growth of population, grew at a lower rate of about 2.5 times through those 25 years, at an annual average rate of 3.6 percent (Table 5).

This was undoubtedly a good performance by international standards in those years, and even better in comparison to the performance of the neighboring Arab states.

Arab immigration into Palestine from the neighboring countries, quite visible in the marketplace at that time, was close to 50,000 during the 25 years ending in 1947. This inflow, which provided about 7.5 percent of the increase in the Arab population (Table 2), offers quantitative evidence of the significantly better performance of the Arab economy in Mandatory Palestine than the economies of the neighboring Arab countries.

The robust performance of the Palestinian Arab economy in the aggregate was in the 1920s and through 1936 linked directly and indirectly to the outstanding economic growth of the Jewish sector, which in the 1920s through 1931 grew at an annual average rate of about 18 percent. During the war and its aftermath of 1940–47, in which the Arab sector's national product grew even more rapidly at an annual rate of close to 10 percent, it was the British army demand for labor and goods that generated the booming prosperity of Palestine's two national sectors through 1945. This prosperity was sustained in the ensuing two years by the release of the suppressed inflationary pressures accumulated during the war.

ARAB-JEWISH ECONOMIC LINKS. The means by which the Jewish sector's economy had a direct impact on the Arab sector's was the employment of Arab wage labor by Jewish enterprises. The indirect means by which the very rapid growth of the Jewish economy pulled the Arab economy in its wake was its purchasing on capital and current accounts. The latter involved purchases of consumer goods and of inputs such as stone for the building industry. Purchases on capital accounts involved primarily the acquisition of land.

An estimate of the direct impact of the payment of wages to Arab labor by Jewish employers is presented in Table 5a, which reproduces the ratios of net national product to net domestic product in each of the national sectors. This table expresses the increment of wage income earned by Arab labor in the Jewish economy; on the Arab sector line, it is added to the domestic product generated by the Arab economy; on the Jewish sector line, it is deducted from the domestic product generated by the Jewish economy. The ratios for the Arab sector through the 25 years of the Mandatory period are consistently above 100 percent in this series, while that of the Jewish sector is less than 100 percent all the way through 1947. At the height of the boom in 1935, wages paid by Jewish enterprises added six percent to the Arab GDP, suggesting that through the entire first half of the 1930s, the average income added to the domestic product of the Arab economy by employment in the Jewish sector topped 4 percent of GDP.

The Arab boycott against the rapidly expanding Jewish political and economic entity in the spring of 1936, which also involved mass demonstrations that devolved into armed riots against Jewish targets and later clashes with the British army and the Haganah, began in 1936 and continued through early 1939. These events shattered the direct economic link with the Jewish sector almost completely. A fraction of the exogenous wage income, mainly from government and military employment, survived; it revived and grew in the war years, as more and more Arab wage labor was drawn into the market.

The comparisons of national to domestic product in Table 5a indicate that Arab wage labor in the Jewish sector was of much lower significance during the war years than it had been in the 1920s through 1935. The severance of the direct links between the national sectors, initially generated by politics in 1936–39, though not complete, became permanent during the war due mainly to two economic factors: the collapse of the citrus industry – the main employer of Arab labor in the Jewish economy – at the outbreak of the war reduced its demand for labor almost totally; and the corresponding rise of manufacturing industry to be the dominant economic sector of the Jewish economy. Manufacturing required different kinds of labor than farming, insuring that the post-1936 labor situation remained the status quo. By 1945 only 1.2 percent of the Arab labor force was employed in the Jewish economy (Tables 5 and 7).

Indirect links between the two national sectors, however, remained strong. The growth of the Jewish economy inevitably had a highly significant indirect effect on the Arab economy, through their trading links. The demand for goods spilling over from the Jewish sector generated a lively Arab export trade, generating higher output and correspondingly higher productivity and income. Another link between the sectors was land purchase, through which funds flowed from the Jewish to the Arab sector. These financed investment (in citriculture, in particular), which generated employment and growth as well.

The significant positive effect of Jewish activity on the Arab economy can easily be substantiated by the aggregate data at our disposal. The world economy plunged into depression and crisis from 1930 onwards. This should have affected the Arab economy negatively, or at least arrested its growth rate. Yet in that very period, through 1935, the growth rate of the Arab economy as expressed in terms of NNP leapt to an annual average of more than 12 percent, stimulated by the rapid growth of the Jewish economy. Similarly, the direct effect of the Jewish economy on its counterpart can be seen in employment figures: close to five percent of the Arab labor force was employed in the Jewish sector by 1935, compared to three percent in 1931 and an even lower rate in the 1920s.

The succeeding period 1936–39 provides the obverse image of these developments: the reduction in the inflow of Jewish immigrants imposed by the British government in response to the Arab uprising, and the correspondingly lower capital inflow (lower by 50 percent), led to a recession. Jewish sector national product was 13 percent lower in 1939 than in 1935. The Arab sector's NNP also fell, though not as much; it declined by only seven percent, mainly due to a major reduction of employment in the Jewish sector. Thus, Palestine's recession was a special case, due largely to the 1936–39 hostilities, just at the time the world economy was recovering from the worst of the crisis. these developments hit the more industrialized and market-oriented Jewish economy more seriously. Its Arab counterpart followed in the same direction, though at a significantly slower pace (Table 5).

URBANIZATION, WAGE LABOR, AND INDUSTRIALIZATION. Through the three decades of the British Mandate the Arab sector had undergone a process of urbanization, involving the emergence of manufacturing, industry, growing intensity of commercial and financial activity, and inevitably a population dependent on wage labor.

The urbanization process was visible yet slow. Table 3 suggests that the rural population grew significantly in absolute terms, including a still nomadic group (which however declined in number). In the 22 years ending in 1944 the rural Arab population grew by more than one third. This estimate is based on reliable data – the first (1922) and second (1931) censuses. The rural share of the total Arab population had been declining slowly but consistently, from about 70 percent of the total in 1922 to 67–68 percent in 1931, and 64–65 percent in the very last years of the British Mandate. This process involved a corresponding increase of urban population to almost 35 percent of the total.

Yet this figure seemingly understates the thrust of Arab urbanization, since it is affected by the population figures of Jerusalem. Jerusalem had been the religious center of the Palestinian Arab community for centuries. In the Mandatory era it soon emerged as its political center also, though it lost its priority in demographic terms. Jerusalem was out of the main areas of Arab demographic and economic expansion, which focused on the two ports of Palestine, Jaffa and Haifa. This shows clearly in the population data. Between 1922 and 1944 Jerusalem's Arab population grew by approximately 50 percent; that of Jaffa, already by 1914 larger than Jerusalem's, by more than 60 percent; that of Haifa, where the new deep-sea port opened in 1931, by over 200 percent, growing larger than Jerusalem's in the 1930s (Table 1).

Jaffa and Haifa were undoubtedly the centers of gravity of the Arab sector's economic development, and thus also the centers of the industrialization process. They were inevitably the location in which manufacturing, industry, and commercial and financial services expanded most rapidly, generating a long-term process of modernization. Among other things, this was manifested in the rapid growth of wage labor relative to self-employment, the dominant economic category in a traditional farming society, including its urban component.

The robust expansion of production reflected rising employment and a much higher investment rate, which contributed to a continuous increase of the Arab capital stock at a rate higher than the increase of employment. This process was slow in the 1920s; by 1931 the Arab capital stock was 26 percent higher than in 1922. Yet employment grew at a lower rate in that period, which meant that the capital labor ratio in 1931 was eight percent higher than in the early 1920s. Conterminously with the all-time high spurt of investment in the Jewish sector from 1932 to 1935, the Arab sector investment rate leapt as well. Thus, toward the end of the Mandate period the

Table 9. Employment, Domestic Product, and Relative Labor Productivity, 1922–1945 (%)[1]

	Arab Sector			Jewish Sector		
	NDP (1)	Employment (2)	RLP[2] (3) [= (1)/(2)]	NDP (4)	Employment (5)	RLP[2] (6) [= (4)/(5)]
1922						
Agriculture	39.4	65.5	0.602	12.9	26.7	0.483
Manufacturing	5.2	4.8	1.083	19.7	16.7	1.180
Construction	1.8	1.6	1.125	12.5	13.3	0.940
Services	53.6	28.1	1.907	54.9	43.3	1.268
Total	100.0	100.0	1.000	100.0	100.0	1.000
1931						
Agriculture	33.9	63.2	0.536	14.6	26.1	0.559
Manufacturing	10.7	8.2	1.305	21.4	20.3	1.054
Construction	3.2	2.3	1.391	6.7	8.7	0.770
Services	52.2	26.3	1.985	57.3	44.9	1.276
Total	100.0	100.0	1.000	100.0	100.0	1.000
1935[3]						
Agriculture	32.0	56.8	0.563	12.3	24.9	0.493
Manufacturing	10.3	7.4	1.391	21.9	20.1	1.090
Construction	–	–	–	–	–	–
Services	–	–	–	–	–	–
1939						
Agriculture	30.1	58.2	0.517	9.7	22.2	0.437
Manufacturing	10.8	7.5	1.440	24.2	22.7	1.066
Construction	1.3	1.4	0.929	3.9	3.0	1.300
Services	57.8	32.9	1.757	62.2	52.1	1.194
Total	100.0	100.0	1.000	100.0	100.0	1.000
1945						
Agriculture	38.9	54.5	0.714	10.7	12.9	0.829
Manufacturing	10.3	8.8	1.170	33.1	30.9	1.071
Construction	2.4	5.0	0.480	6.0	4.3	1.395
Services	48.4	31.7	1.527	50.2	51.9	0.967
Total	100.0	100.0	1.000	100.0	100.0	1.000

Notes:

1. Employment refers to persons employed in each of the national sectors. Thus, Arabs employed in the Jewish sectors are included in its employment.
2. Relative Labor Productivity (RLP) is the ratio between domestic product and total employment in each economic sector. Aggregate relative productivity is equal to unity (1.000) by definition.
3. Figures for agriculture and manufacturing are percentages, which together with figures for construction and services, for which no separate data is available, total 100 percent.

capital labor ratio was higher by one third than at its beginning (Table 4). This, of course, explains the major improvement of labor productivity – by 1931 it had already improved by 26 percent; in 1945 it was more than two times higher than in 1922 (Table 6). It explains the significant rise of real income per capita and of real wages (Table 5).

The performance of the Arab sector suggested by the aggregate factor inputs, by output and by national product figures, are, however, (weighted) averages of the inputs and of the output and product (value added) of several economic branches. The employment and domestic product series of Table 9 illustrate the dominance of agriculture throughout the Mandatory period. These demonstrate a rather slow process of changing economic and social structure.

Agriculture was indeed the dominant branch in terms of employment throughout the three Mandatory decades. Yet its share in employment declined from about two thirds of the labor force in 1922 to around 55 percent towards the end of that period. The corresponding rise of employment in manufacturing and construction from 7 percent in 1922 to 13–14 percent in the late 1930s and mid-1940s were the obverse of the relative decline of agriculture. Yet these figures do not demonstrate fully the highly significant social change – the emerging importance of the wage-earning strata in Palestinian Arab society. The rise of the citrus industry, a farming branch, had a similar effect in agriculture to that generated by the rise of manufacturing and construction – a significant transition to wage labor. Its major impact on that score is suggested by the tenfold increase of output in citriculture between 1922 and 1935, while that in all other farm branches increased only 40 percent or so (Table 3). The subsequent decline of Arab net product between 1935 and 1939 (Table 5) did not reflect, however, a decline of physical output of citrus products and thus of wage employment: it reflected the collapse of prices in the export markets.

The Arab manufacturing and construction employment figures of Tables (7) and (9) do not represent Arab wage labor employed in the Jewish sector, by the Mandatory government, and in the war years by firms working for the British army. Employment in the Jewish sector increased from two percent of the Arab labor force in 1922 to close to five percent at its peak in 1935, after which it declined significantly. Yet this slack was easily absorbed by the late 1930s and even more so in the war years by wage employment in military-sponsored projects. This of course suggests that the proportion of wage earners in the material production branches of the Arab economy and engaged by these "other" labor markets increased by more than the figure suggested in Table 9. These suggest that this increased from 6.4 percent of total employment in 1922 to almost 14 percent in 1945. If the government, military, and Jewish sectors are added, the figure for the end of the Mandate period appears closer to 20 percent. To this should be added wage employment in services, which suggests that at the end of the Mandatory period in the late 1940s, wage and salary employment was already about 35–40 percent of total Arab employment.

The modernization process of the Arab economy and society, showing in terms of urbanization and the emergence of a major population of wage labor, inevitably involved industrialization, underlined by the comparative growth of manufacturing industry. Even at its peak in 1935, affected by high prices in foreign citrus markets, Arab farm net domestic product was only 80 percent higher than in 1922. In the same period the product of Arab manufacturing increased by about 350 percent; the construction boom involved an even greater leap to an all-time high (Table 8). Manufacturing industry started indeed from a low base: the workshop employing a small number of workers was the prevalent feature of that sector in the early 1920s. The soap industry in Nablus, based on a local raw material, olive oil, was a case in point. Urbanization and growth led to the emergence of manufacturing establishments focusing on the production of consumer goods. Flour mills, cigarette factories, and small textile establishments appeared in the later 1920s and 1930, and so did larger manufacturing establishments, supplying raw materials such as stone, bricks, and lumber to the building industry, which was expanding in the mid-1920s and again in 1932–1935, thanks to a building boom in both national sectors. "Exports" to the Jewish construction market were a dominant component of the demand for quarry output. In the four years ending in 1935 the net product of Arab manufacturing grew accordingly by much more than 50 percent. Agricultural product started to grow again during the war years. Yet by 1945 Arab manufacturing product was almost eight times greater than in 1922, while increase in farm production was less than half of that. This applied similarly to the comparative growth of employment in the two branches (Table 7).

THE RESTRUCTURING OF THE FARM SECTOR. Agricultural employment and product grew substantially in absolute terms through that period. It was clearly citriculture, however, that was the backbone of the Arab agricultural sector through 1939. While between 1922 and 1939 total Arab farm output grew just over twofold, the output of citrus grew by almost eight times and that of noncitrus output, which was subject to cyclical yield features, rose by about only 1.6 times. In its peak year, 1937, noncitrus farm output was almost two times higher than in 1922. The growth rate in terms of value added was similar.

With the closure of foreign markets during World War II, the citrus industry effectively disappeared from the map. Yet the other components of Arab agriculture, lagging through 1939, benefited from the booming food markets, civilian and military, in Palestine and the Middle East. Net farm product of the Arab sector, effectively the noncitrus branches, more than doubled during the almost six years of the war. This was evidently a much better performance than that shown during the 17-year period ending with the outbreak of the war (Table 8).

Peasant dry farming was the hallmark of Arab agriculture at the advent of the Mandatory period. For the highly self-sufficient farm population, grain growing provided the basic food requirements, with livestock output also mainly for home consumption. This pattern changed substantially during the period of the Mandate. While Arab rural population grew by about 65 percent, the area under grain cultivation grew by only 13 percent; grain output even declined in the 1930s. Yet the area allocated to vegetables, tobacco, olives, and other fruit grew by 5 to 6 times, and the output of vegetables, largely cash crops, increased eightfold and that of fruit fourfold. The mixed farming output obviously responded to the pull of the markets, through the war years especially.

Thus, though land under cultivation hardly increased, farm employment rose by 14 percent and the intensification of cultivation due to a fourfold increase in the area of irrigated land allowed an increase of mixed farm output that compensated for the collapse in citrus production. Yet the use of mechanical equipment in farming was still small. This is underlined by a simple statistic: out of 500 tractors operating in Palestine in the early 1940s, Arab farmers owned and used only 50.

The dominant factor of Arab peasant farming in the three decades of the Mandate, and particularly from the 1930s onward, was clearly its move into the market system. It heralded the disappearance of subsistence farming and its replacement by cash crop production, complemented by seasonal employment in the rapidly expanding Arab and the Jewish citrus industry. In the war years, employment in military projects served as a substitute for the loss of citrus industry employment.

The Economics of the Fifth Aliyah, 1932–1939

IMMIGRATION, LEGAL AND ILLEGAL, AND PALESTINE'S DEMOGRAPHIC STRUCTURE. The Jewish population, which was

175,000 at the end of 1931, grew to 650,000 at the time of the Declaration of Independence on May 15, 1948. Thus, during that short interval of some 16 years it grew by about 3.5 times (Table 1), at an average annual rate of 8.2 percent. Although this rather unusual growth of population reflected natural population growth rates in situ, it was dominated by a wave of Jewish immigration in the first half of the 1930s, peaking in 1935 (Table 3). During these four years, more than 160,000 immigrants arrived in Palestine, a figure almost equal in size to the total Jewish population of 1931. That high annual average of about 40,000 was cut drastically to about 21,000 in the next four years, through 1939. In the six war years and the two years immediately thereafter through 1947, this low immigration rate was reduced even more, to an annual average of about 12,000, close to the rate prevailing in the first years of the Mandate through 1931.

A highly significant feature with important implications for the size of the Jewish community in Palestine was the rate of emigration, a common phenomenon of countries absorbing significant numbers of immigrants. In the 1920s this was quite high: emigration was on average 25 percent of the total immigration inflow between 1919 and 1931. In the 1930s this rate was down to only about eight percent, a decrease reflecting the hostile attitude of governments of the time toward Jewish refugees – underlined by the attitude of the participants of the 1938 *Evian Conference on refugees. The emigration rate was similarly about nine percent from 1940–47.

The immigration inflow was not smooth, nor was the outflow of emigration. Ups and downs were due mainly to political factors in Europe on the one hand and the changing policies of the Mandatory government on the other. The short-lived surge of the Fourth Aliyah of 1924–27 was clearly a response to the economic crisis in Poland. It was also affected by the drastic limitations on immigration to the United States imposed by the Immigration Act of 1924, which effectively closed the United States as a destination of immigrants from Eastern Europe, thus redirecting Jewish immigration toward Palestine.

In the 1920s, the first decade after the Balfour Declaration, Palestine was on the whole an open destination to Jewish immigrants, even though Churchill's 1922 White Paper imposed conditions of "economic absorption capacity" for the allocation of immigration certificates to workers, i.e., to potential Jewish immigrants who could not prove ownership of a required minimum (£1,000) of liquid funds. Immigrants who did have such funds, the so-called "capitalist immigrants," were automatically allocated entrance permits for themselves and their families, and work permits. For immigrants in the "workers" category there was a quota. Its size was to be negotiated every six months by the representatives of the Zionist authorities and the Immigration Department of the Mandatory government. These entrance permits – "certificates," as they were known in the Jewish community – were put at the disposal of the Zionist Organization and allocated by its Palestine Office to Jewish applicants, mostly in Europe. In the 1920s most of these permits were allocated to applicants in Eastern European countries; from the early 1930s on, those in Germany, Austria, and Czechoslovakia were given priority.

In the negotiations over the size of the six-month quota of labor entrance permits, differences between the optimistic estimates of the so-called "economic absorption capacity" of Palestine, offered usually by the representatives of the Jewish Agency, and the more conservative estimates of the director of the Immigration Department, were inevitably the rule. In

Table 10. The Banking System in the Mandatory Era

	Number of Institutions[1]	Deposits		Credit		Ratios to Totals (percent)			
						Deposits		Credit	
	(1)	Total (2)	APB[2] (3)	Total (4)	APB (5)	APB (6)	Foreign[3] (7)	APB (8)	Foreign (9)
1920	5	–	–	–	–	–	–		
1931	75[4]	–	100	–	100	–	–		
1932	91	–	120	–	106	–	–		
1935	–	–	437	–	256	–	–		
1936	134	100	447/100	100	225/100	37.1	27.4	25.3	19.1
1940	97	93	97	85	126	39.1	40.2	37.3	13.6
1944	91	419	558	125	116	49.4	20.8	23.4	10.3
1946	–	573	726	282	379	47.0	17.5	34.0	11.1

Notes:

1. Includes banks and cooperative credit institutions.
2. APB is the Anglo-Palestine Bank (Bank Leumi after independence), owned by the Zionist Organization and the dominant bank in the country. According to the Mandatory classification of banking institutions, it was identified as a foreign bank since it was incorporated in Britain. There are two index number series representing APB deposits and credit, with benchmarks in 1931 and 1936 respectively, because of changes in classification of debit and credit items in the bank's balance sheet.
3. Other foreign banks were dominated by two institutions: the British Barclays Bank, agent of the Palestine Currency Board and the government of Palestine's banker, and the Ottoman Bank. The balance to 100 percent in columns 6–7 and 8–9 respectively represent the share of other local banking institutions, dominated by the Jewish banking sector.
4. The figure refers to 1930.

Table 11. The Jewish Economy: Net Product, Investment, and Capital Imports

	1936 Prices (P£, in thousands)					Ratio (%)		
			Capital Imports[2]					
	NNP (1)	Net Investment[1] (2)	Private (3)	Public (4)	Total (5)	Net Investment / NNP (6) [=(2)/(1)]	Capital Imports / NNP (7) [=(5)/(1)]	Capital Imports/ Investments (8) [=(5)/(2)]
A. Jewish Economy								
1922	1,549	796	2,477	678	3,155	51.4	203.7	396.4
1925	3,001	1,992	4,944	998	5,942	66.4	198	298.3
1926	3,143	1,289	3,589	1,208	4,797	41.0	152.6	372.1
1928	3,839	1,440	1,623	1,265	2,888	37.5	75.2	200.6
1931	6,761	2,168	2,446	1,059	3,505	32.1	51.8	161.7
1935	18,309	8,191	9,630	942	10,572	44.7	57.7	129.1
1936	17,464	6,285	5,875	1,204	7,079	36.0	40.5	112.6
1938	15,342	3,526	4,781	1,646	6,427	20.0	41.9	182.3
1939	15,843	2,712	4,569	1,818	6,437	17.1	40.6	237.4
1941	19,732	2,204	1,850	1,478	3,328	11.6	16.9	151
1945	30,004	2,536	2,100	2,281	4,381	8.5	14.6	172.8
1947	37,974	8,791	1,550	1,678	3,228	23.2	8.5	36.7
1922–1929	23,385	9,116	23,279	8,637	31,916	39.0	136.4	350.1
1930–1939	130,269	44,621	54,219	11,788	66,007	34.3	50.1	150.0
1940–1947	216,932	27,983	16,950	15,636	32,586	13.0	15.0	116.4
Total	370,586	81,720	94,448	36,061	130,509	22.1	35.2	159.7
B. Arab Economy								
1922	6,796	362	–	–	–	5.3	–	–
1925	7,789	403	–	–	–	5.2	–	–
1928	7,835	762	–	–	–	9.7	–	–
1931	9,709	1,149	–	–	–	11.8	–	–
1935	16,694	2,982	–	–	–	17.9	–	–
1936	15,581	2,642	–	–	–	17.0	–	–
1939	15,584	929	–	–	–	6.0	–	–
1941	18,430	1,698	–	–	–	9.2	–	–
1945	26,075	1,964	–	–	–	7.5	–	–
1946	30,062	2,036	–	–	–	6.8	–	–

Notes:
1. Net investment in fixed reproducible capital stock.
2. The capital import figures are the sum of unilateral transfers and capital account funds of Jewish immigrants, firms, and private investors, according to the balance-of-payments data.

spite of a short-lived attempt by the British government in 1930 to withdraw from its commitment through 1935, the pace of Jewish immigration was more or less determined by the number of European Jews wanting to emigrate to Palestine. The upsurge of the Fourth Aliyah in 1924–27 was determined by economic and political pressures in Eastern Europe. What could be described as the pre-state wave of mass immigration in 1932–36, which brought almost 200,000 Jews to Palestine, more than doubling the size of the Jewish population within those five years, was evidently the all-out economic crisis in Europe which had led to the rise of the rabidly antisemitic Nazi government of Germany. Its influence in such areas as the elimination of the civil rights of Jewish citizens radiated to Eastern European governments, particularly those of Poland and Romania, which had been long pursuing more covert antisemitic policies of their own, generating a "pushing out" effect on the Jewish communities in those states.

The political dominance of Hitler's Germany in Europe, demonstrated by the appeasement embodied in the Munich Agreement of 1938, led finally to the desperate attempts of Jews to emigrate from Europe to almost any destination open to them. This should have led to another wave of mass immigration to Palestine, given the closed-door policies of the United States, Canada, Australia, and South American coun-

Table 12. Main Items of Palestine's Balance of Payments: 1922–1947[1] (P £ Million)

	Current Account			Unilateral Transfers				Capital Account					Errors and Omissions
	Credit[2]	Debit	Net	Credit				Credit	Debit				
				Immigrants[3]	Donations[4]	Other[5]	Net	Private[6]	Banks[7]	Government[8]	Board[9]	Net[10]	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)
1922–39	60	171	-111	75	25	9	109	26	6	2	9	9	7
1940–47	309	313	-4	35	40	11	86	-10	48	9	35	-102	20
1922–47	369	484	-115	110	65	20	195	16	54	11	44	-93	13

Notes:

1) Because of the major inflationary developments during the war years prices rose by 144 percent, at an annual average of about 14 percent in the seven-year period ending in 1946; as a result the nominal Palestine pound figures of this table for that period are not comparable at all to the figures from 1922 to 1939. On the other hand, the stable prices in the 1930s and the comparatively small value of the balance-of-payment flows in the 1920s suggest that the figures for the 1920s are quite comparable to those of the 1930s.
2) The credit figures refer to exports plus receipts from transactions with the British army. These were only P£8 million in 1922–39, but P£180 million in the 1940–47 war years, about 60 percent of Palestine's "export" trade in those years.
3) Funds transferred by Jewish immigrants.
4) Funds transferred by Jewish institutions, donated by communities in the Diaspora.
5) Funds transferred by non-Jewish foreign institutions and by the Palestine government.
6) Capital imports by Jewish private entities.
7) Liquid funds, effectively secondary reserves of the banking system transferred to and held mainly in London.
8) Palestine government funds transmitted mainly to the Crown agent in London.
9) The sterling collateral of the Palestine Currency Board for the outstanding balance of Palestine pounds in circulation.
10) The net figures in the capital account. (12) = (8) – [(9) + (10) + (11)].

tries which were linked to the high unemployment rates in those places.

Palestine immigration data, however, indicates that this was not the case. In the 1936–39 period, Jewish immigration was cut by an annual average of more than 50 percent compared to 1932–35. The same holds true for the entire war period through 1947, even though Jews in eastern and southern Europe, desperate to save their lives from 1935 onward, were looking for havens to escape to. If an open door to Palestine, or at least the relatively liberal immigration policy through 1935, had continued, this option would have been used by many more Jewish refugees in 1936–39. Indeed about a million Jews living in Romania and the Balkan countries could have made use of such an option as late as 1941 and even 1942. More than 100,000 Jewish refugees attempted to make it to Palestine as illegal immigrants in the immediate aftermath of the war in 1945–47.

The reduction of Jewish immigration to Palestine from 1936 on was the result of the policy of the British government, in breach of its 1922 commitment to the League of Nations. It was made in response to the Arab uprising of 1936–39, and during the war years, particularly from 1942 onward, reflecting a cynical reading of the expected relative political power of the Arabs and the Jews in the postwar era. The British Foreign Office, headed by Foreign Secretary Anthony Eden, advocated this policy. The first attempt to adopt such a policy came in 1930–31 from the Labour government's colonial secretary, Lord Passfield (Sidney Webb), but at that time it was revoked by Prime Minister Ramsay MacDonald before being implemented. In 1937, when only 10,000 immigrants were allowed into Palestine, it was finally implemented on the spot on grounds of insufficient "economic absorption capacity." The representative of the Mandatory government argued that a very low base reading of the absorption capacity was warranted, apparently in view of the recession phase of the business cycle, a well-known feature of market economies. In the wake of the roaring Fifth Aliyah-driven prosperity of 1932–35, a short downturn of the level of economic activity was indeed in the offing.

This justification for limiting Jewish immigration was soon superseded. The British government adopted the policy announced in the White Paper of 1939, revoking the commitment to "facilitate Jewish immigration" (and to the eventual partition of Palestine that had been its official solution for the growing strife between the Jewish and Arab communities). The White Paper envisioned an independent Palestinian state after a period of ten years. During this time Jewish immigration would be limited to a quota of 75,000, who would be allowed to enter within five years, after which Jewish immigration would end. It also limited drastically the area of Palestine where Jews would be allowed to purchase land. This policy was adamantly pursued by the Conservative government in power, and later by the coalition government through the years of the war. It was also adopted by the postwar Labour government, which used the British Navy to pursue ships loaded with European Jewish refugees attempting to make it to Palestine illegally. They caught most of the ships while still on the high seas. The refugees were held in camps on Cyprus until the emergence of the state of Israel in 1948.

About 120–150,000 *ma'pilim* (*"illegal" immigrants) made it to the shores of Palestine – i.e., without an entry permit. Transport was organized and financed by the Zionist authorities and Jewish organizations. Some 20–25,000 of these illegal immigrants arrived before the war, between 1934, when the first ship from Europe, the *Welos*, made it to a hidden landing spot, and 1940. About 100,000 were involved in the illegal immigration drive during the war years and especially in the all-out efforts to breach the British embargo after the war. *Ha'palah* was the Hebrew term coined for that entire campaign. This operation was part of the last stage of the struggle for the establishment of the state of Israel, and involved in 1941 and 1942 two accidents that cost hundreds of refugees their lives.

Nevertheless, the Aliyah brought close to half a million immigrants to Palestine during the three decades of the Mandatory period. As is true of mass migrations to any country, some of the immigrants – after 1930, very few – returned to their home countries or went to other destinations. Estimates of Jewish immigration to Palestine for 1936–45, during which the preliminary stage of the illegal immigration effort took place, suggest that about 20 percent of the total of 130,000 immigrants in that period came illegally. They arrived by ship from Europe or through the northern land border with Lebanon and Syria. Those who arrived via the latter route were mostly from the Jewish communities of Iran, Iraq, and Syria.

In the 1920s, the Zionist movement faced an uphill struggle with the Jewish communities in Europe to convince them to use the opportunity of the "free Aliyah" option available in those years and follow the Zionist message of the Return to the Land of the Patriarchs. From the mid-1930s onward the struggle was with the British government, which attempted to implement a closed-door policy while hundreds of thousands of Jews were by that time knocking on the gates. The half a million immigrants who made it to Palestine during these three decades changed the demographic landscape and thus the economic and inevitably the political structure of Palestine. The Jewish community was only 11 percent of the total population in the first Mandatory census of 1922. At the second and final Mandatory census in 1931, it was already about 17 percent. in the following four years, with the mass immigration of 1932–35, it grew to 27 percent of the total population. By May 1948, at the time of the declaration of statehood, the Jewish population was about one third of the total of about two million people living in Palestine.

THE BREAKTHROUGH IN THE JEWISH ECONOMY, 1932–1939. *Labor Force, Employment, Investment, and Capital Stock.* The almost 250,000 Jewish immigrants of the 1930s, two-thirds of whom had arrived by 1935 before the British government began to implement the closed-door policy, represented a major enlargement of the Jewish labor force. By the end of 1935 the labor force was two times greater than in 1931. The significant reduction in immigration reduced its rate of expansion in the next four years through 1939 to only 40 percent, but this meant that by the outbreak of the war it was still close to three times greater than at the beginning of the decade. Employment grew correspondingly by two times through 1935, but at a significantly lower rate than the growth of the labor force in the second half of the 1930s, reflecting the downturn in the business cycle and rising unemployment. Though the rate of unemployment increased to 4.2 percent, employment in the Jewish sector was by 1939 still higher by about 25 percent than in 1935 (Tables 4 and 7).

This rising trend of employment and of production would have been impossible without a major increase of the capital stock of the Jewish economy and the buildup of the infrastructure of Palestine – the "Government Capital Stock" (roads, railroads, ports, telephone and radio facilities, etc.), in the terms used in Table 4. The Jewish sector investment figures show the extraordinary bulge of investment in 1935, which represents the peak of the rising trend of investment from 1932 onward. Though declining afterward through 1939, the lowered investment level of that year was still higher than investment levels in each year previously through 1931.

This means that capital stock kept accumulating through the second half of the 1930s, though at a significantly lower rate than in the 1931–35 interval. The major upswing of the Jewish economy within these four years involved an expansion by more than two times of the reproducible net capital stock of the Jewish economy; at the end of the 1930s it was more than three times greater than at its beginning. The expansion rate of the infrastructure capital stock (the so-called Government Capital Stock) was lower, though it still grew by a factor of 2.5 in the 1930s. The highly significant more rapid increase of the capital stock than of the labor force and employment meant that the capital-labor ratio and the capital-employment ratio, displayed in Table 4, rose at a very high rate of 20 percent in the 1920s, and kept rising in the 1930s at an even higher rate. This pattern was maintained even though, with the growth of immigration, the Jewish labor force and employment grew at a much higher rate than in the 1920s.

Furthermore, the levels of education and expertise displayed by the immigrants of the 1920s and especially the 1930s reflected the state of the art in the industrial countries from which they came and contributed immensely to the human capital of the Jewish community. This feature, among others, underlines the considerable relative decline of the old *yishuv* component of the community. It can also be seen in the establishment of a comprehensive elementary school system, financed and run by the Jewish sector's own political authorities, even though there was no legal enforcement of attendance. A significant secondary school system, initially small in terms of attendance rates of the relevant age group, assured the education of the coming generations.

Production and Living Standards. The expansion of the labor force and of employment, and even the higher growth of capital stock, supported by rising productivity show inevitably in rising production and living standards. The 1939 national product was 2.3 times greater than that of 1931, on the eve of the arrival of the Fifth Aliyah. This means that Jewish national product grew at the enormous annual average of 11 percent through these eight prewar years (Table 5).

The national product of 1939 was indeed significantly smaller than the all-time high of 1935, to which it had risen at a spectacular rate in the four-year period since 1932. This was an expression of the major slowdown of the economy, related to the outbreak of the 1936 Arab revolt, and particularly to the recurring prewar political crises in Europe. These had started with the breach of the Versailles Treaty by Hitler's Germany and Mussolini's invasion of Abyssinia toward the end of 1935, followed by the Anschluss in Austria and the succeeding Munich Crisis, both in 1938, and finally the outbreak of the war in 1939. The specific domestic reason for the downturn of the Palestine economy in the second half of the 1930s was the major reduction by about 50 percent of the inflow of Jewish immigrants and the corresponding reduced inflow of Jewish capital imports – effectively the total capital inflow into the Palestinian economy. This inflow was lower by about 23 percent in the four-year period 1936–39, relative to the all-time high in the preceding four-year period, with investment following suit.

Living standards measured in terms of per capita product, or of real wages, rose at a significantly lower rate than that of total product. At the height of prosperity in 1935, before the emergence of the 1936–40 slowdown, per capita product was higher by 45 percent than in 1931, and real wages grew by close to 10 percent (Tables 5 and 6). These very rapid rising trends were achieved even though the Jewish population grew in these four years by two times, and the labor force by a similar factor. The ensuing slowdown changed the direction of these two indicators of the Jewish sector's average living standards. But by the depth of the depression in 1939, which can be seen in the 4.3 percent unemployment rate (Table 7), per capita product and real wages were about 90 percent and 50 percent higher, respectively, than they had been in 1922. This means that per capita product and real wages had risen at an annual average of 3.8 percent and 2.4 respectively since the early 1920s. This was thus quite a performance in view of the world economic crisis of the 1930s, and the weak, or at best mediocre, performances of the European economies in the late 1920s, with the Mandatory power, Britain, itself in the doldrums.

THE JEWISH AND ARAB ECONOMIES: COMPARATIVE TRENDS AND LINKS. Measures of living standard (product per capita), and productivity (product per employee), which grew by annual averages of 3.8 and 2.8 percent respectively through 1939 (Tables 5 and 6), suggest that during the first two decades of the Mandate the Jewish economy made a major stride into industrialization. The growth of its real economic aggregates, in particular labor force, capital stock, national product, and trade, as well as the considerable and highly significant capital imports, suggest that the Jewish economy at the outbreak of World War II was an altogether different entity than at the advent of the Mandate era.

This conclusion is underlined by the comparative trends in the products of the two national economies. The Jewish national product was less than one quarter of the Arab national product in 1922; by 1935 it was already greater, and about 53 percent of the total product of Palestine, even though the share of the Jewish population was only 27 percent at that time (Tables 5 and 6). The economic slowdown of the late 1930s inevitably had a greater impact on the comparatively more industrialized and urban Jewish economy than on the Arab, still dominated by its farming sector. Thus, by 1939 the ratio between the two economies' products equalized somewhat, with the Jewish share slightly above 50 percent, while its share of the population had reached 30 percent.

These differences between national product and population ratios also show in per capita national product ratios. The advantage of the Jewish sector, indicating a much higher average living standard, emerges already in the 1922 figures; the Jewish per capita product was almost two times greater than its Arab counterpart. This soared to a ratio above three during the first half of the 1930s. The slowdown of the late 1930s and the continuing, though much lower, Jewish immigration, reduced somewhat the gap between the two economies' per capita products to a factor of about 2.5 through the last decade of the Mandatory era.

The gap between the national product and per capita figures for the two economies was greater in terms of domestic product, which relates more to productivity, than in national product, which offers a better index of living standards. This is because the Jewish economy offered employment to Arab labor, while Jewish workers were not willing to work for the wages prevalent in the Arab sector. Another feature of this relationship that boosted the net product of the Arab economy was the sale of Arab farm produce to Jewish urban populations. An estimate of the quantitative effect of that linkage on Arab gross domestic product and net national product is unavailable.

The outbreak of the Arab rebellion in 1936 led to a widespread severing of links between the two economies. Most importantly, it reduced the employment of Arab labor, both in absolute terms and, even more, relative to total employment in the Jewish economy. The war, which after 1939 shut off the main export markets of Palestine's citrus industry, prevented a major revival of employment of Arab labor in the Jewish economy during what was a relatively peaceful time in Palestine. At its peak in 1935 the share of Arab labor of employment in the Jewish sector was 8.4 percent; by 1945 it had fallen to only 1.7 percent, involving only about 1.2 percent of the total Arab labor force. These developments – the Arab rebellion and the impact of war conditions – show clearly in the NNP to NDP ratios of Table 5a. By 1939 the direct contribution to Arab net national product by employment in the Jewish sector was down from 6.2 in 1935 to only 1.6 percent. This ratio was effectively maintained through the end of the Mandate period.

These figures indicate that although the severance of the economic links between the Arab and Jewish economies in Mandatory Palestine became permanent only with the outbreak of the Israeli War of Independence in December 1947, it had already become a fait accompli over the preceding decade, starting in 1936.

The Business Cycle of the 1930s. The rapid transformation of the Jewish economy into industrialization was demonstrated by the duration and intensity of the business cycle to which it had been subject in the 1930s: the effects of this cycle characterized the performance of Palestine's economy as a whole, though they were not as great on the Arab economy. At the very time at which the world's economy plunged into the disastrous economic crisis of the 1930s, the Jewish economy of Palestine, and that of the country as a whole, benefited from overall prosperity and full employment. In spite of a growth in the size of the labor force of the Jewish sector by about 32 percent between 1929 and 1933 the unemployment rate was less than one percent (Table 7), and the national product had grown by close to 145 percent. That rising trend continued through 1935, at which time the wave of mass immigration peaked, with net domestic product almost four times higher than in 1929. Palestine's national product grew inevitably at a lower rate, yet still by a robust rate of about 2.6 times, which indicates a prosperous six-year period through 1935 for Palestine's economy as a whole (Table 5).

In market economies, the "prosperity stage," a term that undoubtedly applies to the Jewish economy of the early 1930s, in a business cycle is usually followed by a recession. This is true especially in a case in which the rising trend of economic activity is as vigorous as it was in the first half of the 1930s in Palestine: an annual average growth rate of 28 percent in the NDP of the Jewish economy in 1931–35, and of 12 percent in Palestine's economy as a whole.

A declining rate of investment is usually the trigger for a slowdown. This was indeed the case in Palestine; that leading economic determinant of a downturn in industrialized economies surfaced at the peak in 1935. The key branches involved were those which had prospered most during the rising pattern of the 1928–35 cycle – the building and citrus industries. At the aggregate level, total investment still increased in the Jewish sector in 1935 to its peak for the entire decade (Table 4): but its rate of increase in that year was only 12 percent, much lower than the almost 50 percent rate of the preceding year, 1934, and even lower than that of 1932. A similar pattern was followed by the building industry; the peak of investment in housing for the decade was reached in 1935 as well. The slowdown of the Jewish population growth rate, which had doubled in the four years from 1932 to 1935, inevitably reduced the increase in demand for living space, with a corresponding lag effect on investment in housing, and thus on the level of activity in the building industry.

A similar development was facing the dominant agricultural branch, and the mainstay of Palestine's exports, the citrus industry. Jewish sector investments in that branch peaked in 1934; investments were lower by about 16 percent in 1935 and by 1937 were only 50 percent of what they had been in 1934. They collapsed altogether in the successive prewar years. Arab peak investment in that branch lagged by two years; its peak was reached in 1936. Yet owing to the dominance of Jewish sector investments, the tide for the citrus industry as a whole, both in terms of investment and of planted area, was turned

Table 13. Monetary Aggregates and Prices, 1922–1947

Year	Monetary Aggregates			Prices		
	Currency[1] (1)	Demand Deposits (2)	Money: M1 (3) [=(1)+(2)]	Jewish Markets[2] (4)	Palestine[3] (5)	Wholesale Prices[4] (6)
Indices: 1931=100						
1922	–	–	–	156	164	174
1927	64	(75)	–	132	143	143
1929	94	–	–	117	125	130
1931	100	100	100	100	100	100
1935	285	325	310	111	99	106
1936	249	326	298	108	105	110
1939	370	319	348	111	109	111
1941	581	479	516	165	168	187
1945	2,104	1,905	1,976	319	256	352
1946	1,886	1,943	1,921	337	266	366
1947	1,830	–	–	342	–	–
Average Annual Rates of Change (percent)						
1927–1931	15.7	12.8	–	-1.5	-2.3	-2.1
1931–1939	17.8	15.6	16.8	1.3	1.1	1.3
1939–1946	26.2	29.4	27.6	17.2	13.6	18.5

Notes:
1. Currency in circulation.
2. Cost of living index in Jewish markets.
3. Weighted cost of living in Jewish and Arab markets.
4. Wholesale price index applies to the entire economy.

by the end of 1934, at the peak of Palestine's prosperity. This significant reduction in investment was a lagging response to market signals: the decline of orange prices in the main European export markets. This trend emerged from the beginning of the decade: by 1934 they were 10 percent lower than in 1931. They declined significantly further, in 1936, even though exports of competing Spanish oranges declined abruptly due to the outbreak of the Spanish Civil War.

The slowdown of the flow of investment in the two leading branches of the economy, the building industry (in the Jewish sector in particular) and citriculture, was triggered by market signals. Inevitably its effects led to a downturn of the business cycle beginning early in 1936. Yet the severity of the downturn, the awareness of which surfaced only later in that year – Jewish NDP declined by 6.3 percent – was due to ominous political developments. The world political crisis, which began late in 1935 with the Italian invasion of Ethiopia, and led finally to the outbreak of World War II in 1939, inevitably had a negative effect on Palestine's economic activity. Its direct impact was compounded by the outbreak of the Arab revolt in April 1936, involving initially a boycott of the Jewish economy, supported by violence against Jews and later by an armed insurgency against the British army. The political response of the British government to that challenge was a drastic curtailment of Jewish immigration (see Immigration, Legal and Illegal, and Palestine's Demographic Structure above). This entailed an inevitable slowdown of Jewish capital imports (by 25 percent), and affected consumption immediately (Table 13). Capital imports were, of course, the main source of investment finance, which declined consequently, and together with lower consumer expenditures, reduced aggregate demand.

Thus, following the 6.3 percent decline of Jewish domestic product in 1936, the three succeeding years through 1939 saw a further cumulative decline of 16.4 percent from what had been an extraordinarily high domestic product in 1935. In terms of national product, which netted out wages paid to Arab workers, the rate of decline was lower, about 13.4 percent. That loss of national product entailed a corresponding reduction of per capita product by 35 percent from 1935, reflecting also the continuing growth of Jewish population due to immigration, which temporarily rose again in 1939, and natural increase (Table 5).

The Jewish economy's per capita product for 1939 was thus down by 35 percent from that of 1935, and regained only toward the end of the war. Similarly, real wages in 1939 were down by 13 percent from 1935, indicating the strain in the labor market. This showed in terms of the growth of unemployment: the rate in the Jewish sector, only about one percent in 1935, rose to 4.3 percent in 1939. This significant growth in unemployment resulted not only from the downturn of the business cycle but from the growth of the Jewish labor force by about 50 percent in the second half of the 1930s, owing to the immigration of about 100,000 additional immigrants.

The social and economic implications of this situation soon led to the establishment of the rudiments of a social security system – unemployment benefits in particular – run by the *Histadrut (the general federation of Jewish labor, founded in the 1920s as a means to establish the institutions of a Jewish national economy; see below, The Histadrut and the Economics of the Yishuv) with significant funding from the Jewish Agency. This added a second welfare state element to its first pioneering effort, the compulsory "sick fund" which all members of the Histadrut had to join; indeed it provided coverage to members only. Reorganized in the 1930s, it was financed almost exclusively by union membership fees, with some support from the Jewish Agency, though none from the Mandatory government. The virtual welfare state, which by the late 1930s was well established, was for the benefit of the Jewish community only. It is another indicator supporting the claim that the Jewish community – the *yishuv* – of close to 450,000 people by that time, was by then already a socioeconomic entity belonging to the industrialized group of countries. In more than one sense, this emerging character was an expression of the Fifth Aliyah's influence.

THE ADVENT OF MANUFACTURING. *The Buildup of Infrastructure: Power, Communities, and Ports.* The history of manufacturing in Palestine emerges only in the Mandatory period. This is underlined by the fact that electricity generation on a commercial scale began only in 1923 by the Palestine (later Israel) Electric Corporation, which received in September 1921 exclusive concessions to exploit the Yarkon and Jordan rivers for irrigation and electricity and which eventually supplied electricity to the whole country excluding Jerusalem. It was Pinchas Rutenberg whose enterprise, stamina, and persistence overcame the major political obstacles and financial risks involved in the founding of this basic infrastructure facility. The PEC was rightly identified as a Zionist undertaking, even though it was a corporation whose shares were traded on the London Stock Exchange and paid dividends to shareholders.

Electricity consumption by manufacturing industries was only one million kilowatt hours (KWH) in 1926. It grew to 20 million in 1938 and to 86 million KWH in 1947, the last full year of the Mandate. This clearly warrants tracing the first steps of manufacturing to the early 1920s. Although the employment and product figures for 1922, presented in Tables 7 and 8, refer to manufacturing as one of the three standard branch breakdowns for analysis of economic structure, the approximately 4,000 employees classified as working in the "handicraft and manufacturing" branch of the Jewish sector (Table 7) that year were working in handicraft workshops – small entities having not more than two or three hired employees, offering services to urban consumers and businesses. This was equally true of the Arab sector, in which at that time the number of employees in handicrafts was lower than in the Jewish sector.

The development of manufacturing and large-scale irrigation in Jewish agriculture, and thus the economic growth of the country as a whole, were interwoven with that of the production capacity of PEC. Its first diesel generator power station, set up in Tel Aviv in 1923, had a capacity of 750 kilowatts. By 1926 its generating capacity was 2,250 KW; in 1932, after the opening of its major hydroelectric project (Jordan-Kinneret) its capacity was increased to 16,200 KW; on the eve of the war in 1938 it was already at 63,000 KW; and in 1947, at the end of the Mandatory period, it was 75,000 KW. The running of the system, the continuing expansion of generating capacity, and the extension of the electricity network across the country required the building up and training of a sizable labor force, supported by a rapidly expanding group of specialists, including engineers, accountants, and managers.

The PEC, the railroad system, and the Public Works Department, which was in charge of building and maintaining the road network (the latter two were departments of the Mandatory government), provided the basic necessities for the rapidly expanding economic infrastructure. The major demand for their services was generated by the rapid growth of Jewish manufacturing industries and the Jewish sector as a whole. Large enterprises employing sizable staffs are a typical feature of an evolving industrial system, and in the 1930s the PEC had more than 1,000 on payroll and the railroad and the works department even more – a sign of Palestine's industrialization by the outbreak of World War II in 1939.

The Emergence of Manufacturing. A manufacturing industry involving state-of-the-art machinery and technology, a significant number of employees, a relatively high capital-labor ratio, requiring heavy long-term capital investment and producing for the mass market, began to appear in Palestine in the 1920s. This industry depended on the existence of a modern infrastructure of transportation and communication facilities, electric power, and a modern port (the deepwater port of Haifa opened in 1931). The proliferation of manufacturing firms in a significant variety of economic areas was quite clearly the dominant activity in the Jewish economy from the mid-1920s onward. It accelerated during the highly prosperous first half of the 1930s, through 1935, and declined during the downturn of the business cycle in the second half of that decade, which were years of consolidation. It reaccelerated strongly during the war years and in the war's aftermath through 1947.

This pattern can be discerned in the manufacturing employment, net product, and output figures in Tables 7 and 8. Employment in 1931 was 2.8 times higher than that of 1922, and real product (and output) of industry had almost trebled. The rapid expansion during the high tide of the Fifth Aliyah years of 1932–35 shows in terms of a roughly 2.5 times growth of net manufacturing product and output during that very short period, an incredible average annual growth rate of about 25 percent. The abrupt downturn of the cycle between 1936 and 1939 is demonstrated by the very slight growth rate of manufacturing product at an annual average of only about one percent for that period. The growth of employment and of capital stock slowed down too, but not by that much. Thus during the decade of the 1930s, ending with the outbreak of the war in 1939, employment in manufacturing grew at an annual average of about 11 percent and net product by about 13 percent (Tables 7 and 8). This means that by the end of that decade and in spite of the downturn of 1936–39, the Jewish economy's manufacturing sector (essentially, by that time, the whole of Palestine's manufacturing sector), was an altogether different and much larger entity than at the beginning.

This can be seen in the number and size of the manufacturing establishments, the kinds and quality of equipment used, the technologies of production, and the diversity of the industrial branches in which they specialized. The number of handicraft and manufacturing establishments, fewer than 2,000 in 1922, grew only to about 2,500 in the decade ending in 1931. By 1935 they were already twice that number – more than 5,000. The number of manufacturing establishments grew rapidly and by the end of the war in 1946 amounted to about 7,000.

An indicator of the rising capital vs. labor intensity and particularly the transformation of manufacturing technology is the rapid increase of the average horsepower of the machinery in use in manufacturing establishments. This was negligible in 1922 (800 HP), about 6,000 in 1930, and 40,000 by 1939. The far-reaching transformation undergone by the technology of production in the 1930s is also suggested by the data on the import of industrial machinery in the 1930s; in the peak year, 1935, the value of these imports was six times higher than in 1932, the year in which these imports increased 40 percent. This corresponded to the increase in Jewish immigration of the Fifth Aliyah.

The immigration inflow of Jews from Germany, which soon turned from a trickle into a flood, also brought a major increase in private capital imports, but only in the form of goods. This was the only way in which the German emigrants were allowed to transfer capital, under the *Haavara agreement of 1933 with the German government (see below). These imports of German equipment and raw materials were the point on which that agreement hinged. Due to the restrictions on immigration imposed by the British from 1936 onward, the flow of capital transfers in general slowed from its 1935 peak. Yet from 1936 through 1939 the import of machinery was still sustained on a level of three to four times that of 1932. This circumstance had a far-reaching impact on the technology, capacity, and volume of production of Jewish manufacturing industry later on. Only after the outbreak of the war, though, was the capacity fully utilized (see above, The Business Cycle of the 1930s).

Clearly the 1920s were the infancy period of manufacturing in Palestine, and the 1930s saw its emergence as a major component of the Jewish economy – effectively, of the economy of the whole of Palestine. This reading of the events is sustained by the data on the average number of workers per establishment, which grew from only 2.6 in 1922, to 5.1 in 1937, and to about 10 by the end of the war. The 1930s averages reflect the appearance of factories of significant size. There were 50 or so firms that employed more than 50 workers; 13 of them even employed more than 100 workers, or about 25 percent of the total employment in manufacturing in 1937. Almost all of these firms were founded only in the 1930s. Two such firms, the Potash Corporation, established in 1929, and the Palestine Electric Corporation were the only business establishments that employed more than 1,000 workers by that time.

The small size of the markets in an economy with a population of less than one million in the 1920s was of course a major constraint on the establishment of manufacturing capacity in Palestine. The only enterprises free of this constraint were those that could produce for export. A case in point was the Potash Company, based on the exclusive concession for Dead Sea minerals acquired by Moshe Novomeisky, a pioneer of the Palestine chemical industry. Its first output came in 1935, and it soon employed several hundred workers, reaching almost 1,000 by 1939; it continued to grow rapidly through the war years. But the dominant group of industrial firms, most of which were established in the 1930s, produced for domestic markets, where they were subject to competition from imports.

In the 1930s, the era of the worldwide economic crisis, governments imposed tariffs to protect their home markets, and assisted domestic firms in dumping their goods on foreign markets. The Mandatory government, which according to paragraph 18 of the Mandate was not allowed to impose discriminatory tariffs, was reluctant to interfere with free trade principles in support of local industry, even though Palestine, as an open market, suffered from dumping and universal (nondiscriminatory) tariffs would have been allowed. This passive attitude was underlined by the British refusal to allow Palestine to join the Imperial preference system established for the Empire in 1931, which offered a modicum of protection to those within. This arrangement thus discriminated against Palestine's exports, yet offered free access to its markets. Another reason for the British reluctance to impose tariffs on imports of manufactured goods was partly political – their expected effect on prices. Such a measure, it was thought, would offer support to a sector of the economy dominated by the Jewish firms, while forcing consumers, most of whom were Arabs, to pay higher prices.

Under these constraints manufacturers could face the competition of imports only if they operated in industries in which distance, and thus transportation costs, and local tastes and style preferences, offered "natural" protection. Construction materials such as cement, stone, and sand, which involve heavy transportation costs per unit of value, fall clearly into this category. This rule applied similarly to major consumer goods, particularly fresh food products, clothing, and furniture. Thus, the major manufacturing enterprises established in the mid-1920s, such as the Nesher cement factory, which for the next seven decades of the 20th century monopolized the domestic market, and the Shemen oil factory, belonged clearly to that category. The latter, though, soon had to face domestic competition from new enterprises that appeared in the 1930s.

The breakthrough of manufacturing occurred with the advent of the Fifth Aliyah in the 1930s. It shows in a twofold increase in manufacturing employment within a period of only four years by 1935 (Table 7), and in a similar increase in the total capital stock of the Jewish economy (Table 4). It was in this decade that Dead Sea potash manufacturing began, and similarly the textile, clothing, and shoemaking industries were established. Several manufacturing firms, competing with each other, appeared in the textile and clothing industries. The new enterprises of the 1930s founded by manufacturers who had been running similar firms in Central Europe followed the trail opened by manufacturers who had arrived from Poland with the Fourth Aliyah in 1924–25, who had been running what was considered at that time the Jewish textile industry in Lodz. Several firms producing chemicals, pharmaceuticals, cigarettes, and chocolate were founded in the late 1930s, as the flow of Jewish capital imports, which rose rapidly (Table 11), provided the financing, and immigrants, especially from Central Europe, provided the expertise and enterprise.

By the outbreak of the war, the Jewish sector had accordingly established a meaningful manufacturing industry. It was heavily oriented toward consumer goods and housing – about three-quarters of the gainfully employed in manufacturing worked in these sectors. It already included, however, some enterprises with significant spare capacity in the metal, machinery, and electrical equipment industries. Yet, though growing rapidly in terms of employment, capital stock, and production – employment grew at an annual average of 13 percent in the eight years ending in 1939 (Table 7), and net product of manufacturing by a similar rate – a meaningful portion of the existing capacity which had been created in the second half of the 1930s was not being utilized. That excess capacity and the high unemployment rate, 4.3 percent, reflected market demand constraint: inability to compete with imports. It made available a production potential, however, that could be used given higher demand.

URBANIZATION AND SOCIOECONOMIC STRUCTURE. The industrialization process initiated in the 1920s, and accelerated as the Fifth Aliyah progressed in the 1930s, entailed simultaneously a clear-cut process of urbanization and a structural change in the Jewish economy, and thus in the economy of Palestine as a whole. As in any country undergoing industrialization, manufacturing activity in Palestine was located mainly in urban centers, and inevitably stimulated the expansion of those centers. The great increase of Tel Aviv's population – actually the emergence of the Jaffa-Tel Aviv conurbation stretching, initially, towards the north, was part of this process. By 1939 the population of Tel Aviv and the Jewish population of Jaffa together were already 175,000. By this date the several urban centers between Tel Aviv and Petaḥ Tikvah to the north already totaled close to 20,000 people. This means that at the outbreak of the war the Jaffa-Tel Aviv conurbation contained a population of around 200,000 Jews, about 45 percent of the Jewish population of Palestine. The official 1944 estimate in Table 1 suggests that by that time the population of that area was about 250,000. During the last decade of the Mandate through 1947 it was thus the center of gravity of the Jewish population, and even more so of the Jewish community's economy, especially manufacturing industry.

Haifa and its Jewish satellite suburbs emerged in the 1930s as a similar northern urban center for the Jewish population. Though smaller than Jaffa-Tel Aviv, it was a mixed town with an Arab population similar in size. The completion in the early 1930s of Haifa's deepwater port, the only one in Palestine; the building of Iraq Petroleum's major pipeline, terminating at Haifa, in the mid-1930s; and finally the opening in 1939 of the IPC Refinery, whose capacity was many times larger than Palestine's own requirements, made Haifa a hub of major Jewish and Arab manufacturing activity. Jewish entrepreneurs and the Zionist authorities had discovered its potential by the mid-1920s, when private entrepreneurs located two major factories (the Nesher cement factory and the Shemen Oil and Food Products firm) in the Haifa Bay area, and the Jewish National Fund participated in 1935 in the purchase of a major tract of land there to serve as a manufacturing zone. By 1939 this zone was home to many Jewish manufacturing. Haifa and its satellite suburbs in the Haifa Bay area had by 1939 a Jewish population of 48,000 (Table 1).

No significant development of Jewish manufacturing took place in Jerusalem. But the growth of the Jewish population to some 80,000 by 1939 involved mostly those belonging to the new *yishuv*. Its labor force was employed in commerce, services, and public sector employment – the Jewish Agency and its subsidiaries – and finally in Palestine Mandatory and municipal government. The old *yishuv*, sticking to its traditional mission of maintaining a presence near the holy sites and engaging in Torah study at the yeshivot, became a proportionately declining component of the Jewish community.

The major structural change generated by the appearance of manufacturing industry and its growing impact on the Jewish economy and on Palestine's economic system as a whole is demonstrated by the figures in Table 9. The contribution of "handicraft and manufacturing," at that time entirely in handicraft workshops, to Jewish national net product in 1922 was somewhat less than 20 percent, and accounted for about 17 percent of employment in the Jewish economy. A decade later, reflecting the effects of the Third and Fourth Aliyah, the contribution rose slightly to 21 percent of the total net product, and employment in manufacturing rose too, to about 20 percent of the total. The 1930s and the war years, especially the latter (see the figure for 1945 in Table 9), brought a major increase: manufacturing employment rose to close to 31 percent of the total in the Jewish economy.

The contribution of agriculture followed an opposite trend: employment fell drastically, to 13 percent of total employment in the Jewish economy, while relative contribution to Jewish NDP fell only slightly, to roughly 11 percent of total product in 1945, compared to 13 percent in 1922. These figures indicate that labor productivity in Jewish farming, which in 1931 was only about one half of that of manufacturing, improved considerably: in 1945 it was up to about 77 percent. The effective disappearance of the citrus industry during the war contributed to this pattern. The major improvement in absolute and in relative terms of labor productivity in farming is a clear expression of the success of the mixed farming strategy adopted by the rapidly growing Jewish self-employed farming community.

The population figures in Table 1, supported by information about Jewish suburbs in the Tel Aviv and Haifa area and several newly urbanized centers, indicate that by 1939 about 80 percent of the Jewish population was living in these conurbations. They had become the Jewish population's centers of gravity as well as of manufacturing, by then the dominant sector of the economy, developments that had obvious political ramifications. The basic socioeconomic character of the Jewish community, which would have to fight for its survival in the War of Independence, was in place by the beginning of World War II.

AGRICULTURE AND THE MAJOR ZIONIST RESETTLEMENT EFFORT. *The Evolving Map of Jewish Settlement Blocs.* Industrialization and urbanization, which inevitably entailed also the rapid expansion of the service sector, dominated the Jewish economy in the 1930s and through World War II. Yet it was the Zionist resettlement effort that was at the core of the drive to establish a Jewish polity and was the focal point of the political and armed clashes with the Arabs. This effort also involved a political struggle with Britain, the Mandatory power, which in attempting to accommodate the national rights of the Palestinian Arabs, was gradually withdrawing from its commitments to the Zionists embodied in the Mandate (see above, Palestine as a Unique Political and Economic Entity).

The expansion of the Jewish settlement effort resulted in a growing number of settlements over an expanding geographical area and of an increase in rural population. The impact of this increased significantly over time. Thirty-nine new Jewish settlements appeared on the map of Palestine in the decade ending in 1931. Within the next five years through 1936, there were more than twice that many – a total of 89. In the so-called *stockade-and-watchtower settlement drive, launched in December 1936 – the name referred to the defensive measures necessitated by the attacks on Jews and Jewish settlements during the Arab Revolt of 1936–39 – 82 new settlements were established, most of the them by 1939.

In the immediate aftermath of the war, the number of settlements grew again and finally reached a total of almost 300 (Table 3). Most of the 22 new settlements founded in that final period of the Mandate came into being during 1946–47, when a campaign was launched to settle the arid southern region hitherto hardly touched by the Zionist settlement drive – the Negev.

Eleven of these settlements, or rather outposts – nuclei of settlements – were quickly set up at the conclusion of Yom Kippur, in early October 1946. The timing was designed to surprise the British authorities, whom it was feared would attempt to prevent the establishment of a Jewish foothold in the Negev. The political future of the area was then under discussion at the United Nations. Two more outposts, the last two settlements founded in the Mandate era, provided a link between the western Negev group of settlements established in 1946 and Revivim in the east. Revivim was the oldest of these outposts, set up in 1943 as a foothold and an agricultural experimental station. These last two settlements were set up on November 19, 1947, just ten days before the final vote in the United Nations General Assembly on the proposed UN Special Committee on Palestine (UNSCOP) partition plan calling for the establishment of two states, one Jewish and one Arab, in Palestine. This move underlined the strategic target of the Resettlement effort, which had been underway for about 70 years – to lay claim to the maximum territory for the intended Jewish State.

In the 1920s, though, the locations of the approximately 50 settlements set up between 1921 and 1931 were not chosen primarily for political reasons. They reflected more the availability of land in large blocs for sale by absentee Arab landowners. The bloc technique had nevertheless been consistently pursued ever since, based on considerations of economies of scale. Common provision of services to and purchase of goods for several settlements as a unit cut the cost of technical support and advisory services, purchase of materials and supplies, marketing of products, schooling, and health services for these small rural entities. The relevance of defense considerations grew over time and from the late 1920s was inevitably high on the settlement planning agenda.

The colonizing of the Jezreel Valley in that decade with about 20 settlements in its eastern and western sections, with a small town, Afula, in its center, was the first example of that policy. The bloc settlement technique is also evident in the mostly private enterprises set up in the 1920s in the citriculture belt of the central coastal plain. This did not exclude the establishment of isolated settlements also. Yet, the deliberate effort to establish a formidable Jewish presence in strategic locations all over Palestine became Zionist policy in the 1930s, as the Arab political pressures expressed by the 1929 riots and the 1936–39 uprising induced the British government to withdraw stepwise from the Balfour Declaration, and even from the more restricted 1922 Churchill White Paper commitment to the Zionist cause. This policy required large-bloc land acquisitions allowing the implementation of the stockade-and-watchtower policy, in the northeastern and northwestern Galilee, the Beit She'an area and the mid-Jordan Valley.

Not all the 55 settlements founded from December 1936 through 1939 were located in these three clusters of stockade-and-watchtower settlements (such as Ḥanitah, established in March 1938 on the Lebanese border in the western Galilee). The two settlements set up in the mountains near Jerusalem to increase the hitherto small Jewish presence along the winding road up to Jerusalem from the coastal plain were a case in point. During World War II, the bloc-forming strategy was maintained, but shifted location towards southern Palestine. Most of the approximately 20 settlements set up between 1940 and 1945 were located in the southern coastal plain penetrating east along the edge of the arid Negev. These settlements served as the springboard for the last resettlement campaign of the Mandatory era, culminating in the 1946–47 effort to establish outposts in the Negev.

Production, Productivity, and Living Standards. The expansion of the rural population by about ten times to 153,000 between 1922 and 1947 (Table 3) and the accompanying growth of employment were the results of the resettlement effort. The corresponding increases in output and national product were just as great. The output figures, available only through 1939, indicate a growth of mixed farming output by more than six times and a tremendous 20-fold expansion of citrus output. Total agricultural production of the Jewish economy grew by 12.5 times between 1922 and 1939 (Table 3). National product figures, which are available for a longer period, through 1947, indicate that net farm product grew by approximately 20 times during those 25 years at an average annual rate of close to 14 percent, a somewhat higher rate than in the 1920s and 1930s.

The closing of shipping routes at the outbreak of the war dealt the citrus industry a severe blow. Yet this very development, which also reduced the competition of imports, generated a prosperous market, invigorated by the British army's demand for the output of domestic mixed farming: the net product figures, the only series available for the War and the postwar years (Table 8), indicate that mixed farm product grew by two times during the six-year period of the war, at an average annual rate of 12 percent. This represents a significant acceleration compared to the 1922–39 period, when growth, though robust, was only 9 percent (Table 8).

This performance is quite interesting in view of the employment data, which indicates a reduction of employment in Jewish farming by significant factor of 20 percent between 1939 and 1945 (Table 7). This reflects mostly and perhaps exclusively the drastic reduction in employment in the highly labor-intensive citrus industry. Most, if not all, of the reduced labor input was thus due to the reduction in the number of hired Arab laborers in the Jewish economy. Jewish farm employment was hardly affected. These figures suggest that the growth of net farm production in the Jewish economy by two times during the war years was created by the same level of, or at most by a small increase in, labor input. This of course means that average labor productivity in farming soared upward during these years, carrying per capita income in that branch with it. The real wage and per capita income for the whole economy, which grew by almost 40 percent in the 1939–45 period, offers supporting evidence for the growth of mixed farming productivity (Tables 5 and 6).

Mixed Farming, Citriculture, Capital Investment, and Irrigation. The performance of Jewish agriculture during the period of the Mandate through 1947, which in the longer run assured the viability of the farming entities set up by the resettlement process, would not have succeeded without heavy capital investment. This allowed major expansion of irrigation, acquisition of state-of-the-art farm machinery, and heavy expenditure on research leading to the development of crop varieties adapted to the climate and specific soil conditions.

The rising capital-labor ratios – capital grew at an annual rate of 11.6 percent while labor at 8.8 percent (Table 4) – were reflected materially in the workshop and in the field (these figures apply to the Jewish economy as a whole, and therefore to manufacturing as well). They clearly reflect developments in the Jewish agricultural sector, one of the most important of which was the mechanization of cultivation. Between 1920 and 1940 Palestine's tractor fleet grew from zero to 500; 450 of these were owned and operated on Jewish farms (because of the war these could not be added to through 1946). Similarly, animal husbandry underwent a major transformation owing to the adoption of modern breeding techniques; average milk production per cow increased by 40 percent in the short period from 1937 to 1941, and grew further through 1947.

Dairy production requires year-round fodder growing. Thus, like poultry, vegetable, and fruit production, the main elements of Jewish mixed farming were from their very beginning highly dependent on irrigation. For citrus cultivation as well, which was not a component of mixed farming but was conducted on monocultural plantations, irrigation was the necessary condition for its existence. The development of water-extraction and water-saving technology was accordingly a life-and-death issue for the Zionist resettlement endeavor. The extension of the irrigation of land was therefore given top priority, and became a symbol of the whole project.

The rapid expansion of the citrus industry in the 1920s and its acceleration in the first half of the 1930s was fully consistent with the rationale of the resettlement policy. High prices in the dominant British market and in other European markets in the 1920s and early 1930s promised high profitability from investment in citrus groves. Citriculture thus attracted a major portion of Jewish capital imports and of funds at the disposal of Jewish entrepreneurs to investment in that branch, which imposed the necessity of digging wells to tap into groundwater. The expansion of the area of citrus groves by about seven times in the decade through 1931, and by more than two times in the short 1931–35 period – thus by 16 times altogether between 1922 and 1935 – meant, of course, a corresponding extension of the irrigated area of the Jewish farming sector.

Though 1935 was the peak year of Jewish immigration and prosperity, the collapse of orange prices in export markets that year effectively stopped for good the further expansion of citrus groves. Prices were already lower by 10 percent in 1931, and by 16 percent in 1932–34, compared to the peak price years of 1926–29. Though further planting was halted by 1936, the cumulative expansion of the area of groves, which peaked in 1939 (Table 3), meant that by the outbreak of the war, about 77 percent of the irrigated area held by the Jewish sector was in citrus groves. These were almost exclusively located along the central coastal plain where access to groundwater was easy and the soil composition was optimal for this crop.

The expansion of mixed farming was linked with the resettlement plan from the very beginning. From the 1920s onward, it was the declared strategy of the Jewish Agency's Settlement Department, the successor to the Zionist Organization's Palestine office, which had been directing settlement operations since 1908. Mixed farming was designed first of all to offer a European standard of living to the settlers. Its viability, with its output of dairy products, poultry, vegetables, deciduous fruit and grapes, was dependent on the rapid expansion of domestic urban markets. Owing to shorter growing periods these products were definitely less capital intensive than the citrus industry, yet nevertheless required substantial capital investment per unit of labor. To assure year-round production and a steady flow to markets, irrigation facilities were required.

The settlement drive of the 1930s and the 1940s thus entailed a major extension of irrigation facilities. Though some settlers who decided to move into farming, mainly immigrants from Germany who began arriving in the mid-1930s, could provide a significant portion of the cost of setting up their settlements, the funds for capital investment for most of the mixed farming settlements were provided by Zionist institutions from contributions collected all over the globe, and by the banking system. The bank credits were guaranteed by the Settlement Department.

The mixed farming resettlement strategy took its first steps in the 1920s. Toward the end of that decade, in 1929, the irrigated area used for mixed farming was 12,000 metric dunams, about 25 percent of the irrigated area at the disposal of Jewish farming entities. This was expanded by 25 percent through 1935–36, but the area of citrus groves grew by 240 percent in the same period, which reduced the share of irrigated land devoted to mixed farming to only ten percent of the total. At this point, the citrus plantations in the Jewish sector – though not in its Arab counterpart – stopped producing commercially for almost two decades. Yet the expansion of mixed farming, and correspondingly the irrigated area devoted to it, expanded rapidly. By 1939 the area of irrigated land used for mixed farming was almost three times greater than in 1935, and thus close to a quarter of the total at the disposal of Jewish agriculture. By 1947, in the wake of the major resettlement effort, supported by the conversion of 10–15 percent of the citrus area to vegetable and fodder growing, irrigated land used for mixed farming was greater by 150 percent than in 1939. Almost 50 percent of the total irrigated area was by that time devoted to mixed farming. The rest was in citrus groves, the intense cultivation of which was revived late in 1945 in response to the postwar revival of European markets.

In the long run, the viability of the settlements' pursuit of mixed farming depended on the availability and expansion of markets for their produce. Output grew by about six times in the 1920s and 1930s, at an average annual rate of about 11 percent from 1922 to 1939. This, however, was a significantly lower growth rate than that of the output of the Jewish citrus industry, which depended exclusively on export markets; citrus production grew by 21 times during the same period. It was, of course, the rapid growth of the Jewish urban population and its rapidly rising per capita income that provided the expanding domestic markets for food products. The importance of these markets is underlined by the data for the war and postwar periods. The rate of growth of the Jewish population declined, though the population and its per capita income kept growing significantly. But the war provided a new group of customers – British and other Allied military personnel; effectively all the markets under the canopy of the Allied Middle East Supply Center. The war also eliminated competition from foreign food imports to Palestine's domestic markets. These prospering markets absorbed the output of the mixed farming sector, which during the six years of war grew by two times at an average annual rate of more than 12 percent. It was this development that assured the viability of the rural settlements and allowed the settlers a reasonable standard of living. The settlements constituted an economically viable Jewish presence everywhere in Palestine north of Beersheba, the whole settled part of mandatory Palestine.

The Economic and Political Rationale of the Irrigation Drive. The expansion of domestic food markets was the crucial element in the success of the mixed farming strategy. The conception of that strategy, however, as the pioneers of the Second Aliyah (1903–14) arrived in Palestine, was linked to the idea of *avodah ivrit*. The pursuit of that agenda from the very start by the Zionist Organization's Palestine Office (founded April 1908) and its successor from the 1920s on, the Settlement Department of the Zionist Authority (from 1929 the Jewish Agency), was based on this consideration, along with the need to assure the long-term economic viability of the rural settlements. This entailed the establishment of farming communities able to provide year-round full employment and income sufficient for a near-European standard of living. Multi-branch mixed farming, which required irrigated land, met these needs.

By the 1930s price considerations led to an even greater emphasis on investment in irrigation. Palestine's population was about 700,000 in 1920, about 1 million in 1931 and 1.5 million by 1939, and the population growth led inevitably to rising land prices. In Palestine this fact had a special twist, because the dominant feature of the land business was the acquisition of land by Jews from Arab sellers. The continuing purchase of land that increased Jewish land holdings from a minuscule fraction to six percent of Palestine's total land area – 12 percent of the northern, non-arid, part of the country – raised average land prices threefold between the early 1920s and the middle 1930s. The rapidly rising seller's market in the 1920s and early 1930s suggested that the substitution of water for land area, that is, a widespread extension of irrigation, was a highly rational business proposition for the buyers. This was noted succinctly by Arthur Ruppin, the grand resettlement operator, in a review of his 25 years with the Zionist Organization in Palestine: "The more water the settler has, the less land he needs."

Political considerations as well offered support for this development in the resettlement strategy. The acquisition of land by Jews was used as a major propaganda device by the Arab leadership to generate pressure on the British government to withdraw from its commitment, embodied in the League of Nations Mandate, which incorporated the language of the Balfour Declaration, to support "the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people." The Arabs finally prevailed on this score: the 1939 White Paper restricted the rights of the Jews to acquire land in most of Palestine's territory. A rapid extension of irrigation was an obvious response suggested by the economic and political conditions. Though expansion of the area under citrus cultivation stopped in 1936, Jewish settlement efforts in the last decade of the Mandate still focused on the extension of irrigation to accommodate the expansion of mixed farming. Between 1935 and 1947, irrigated land cultivated by the mixed farming sector grew sevenfold, and in the twilight of the Mandate period was almost similar in size to that under citrus, and, as noted above, a significant amount of citrus-growing land was converted during the war years to vegetable and fodder production (Table 3).

Schemes to allow major extensions of irrigation, thus increasing the absorption capacity of Palestine for Jewish immigration, were at the top of the Zionist agenda in the late 1930s and 1940s. The technical issues involved extracting groundwater through wells and pumping and distributing it from small rivers and springs located mostly in the north of the country. The significant increase in the irrigated area of Palestine in the Mandatory period to about 400,000 dunams by 1945 was achieved mostly on an ad hoc basis by local private enterprise and the Jewish Agency's Settlement Department. By the mid-1930s, though, the Settlement Department initiated an irrigation project in the Jezreel Valley involving, for the first time, several settlements. In 1936 it founded the Mekorot Water Company to build that project and run the system. That firm and its control of Israel's water system became a fact of public life after 1948.

Yet intensive study of the water problem by local "watermen" and invited foreign experts from the United States, involving a comprehensive vision of the system as a whole, began only during the war period. One of these experts – W.C. *Lowdermilk, an American soil conservationist – presented in 1945 a conceptual outline for a comprehensive national water grid drawing water from the Jordan in the north of the country and linking it with underground reservoirs in the center, to irrigate the arid and empty Negev in the south, comprising about 50 percent of the area of Palestine. This grand design, which presumed the creation of an integrated national water supply system, fired the imagination of the Zionist leadership, but was anathema to the Arab leadership, and inevitably beyond the horizon of practical politics of the British administration. It had to wait for the emergence of Israel as an independent state for its implementation.

The Unique Socioeconomic Structure of the Jewish Farm Sector. The convincing performance of the farm sector, measured in terms of production, productivity, and income, is suggested by the much more rapid rise of output and product than of employment: product per farm employee increased by two times in the decade ending in 1931, and by 1945 was four times higher than in 1922. The growth of product by two times between 1939 and 1945 was especially impressive, since it occurred at a time when the citrus industry had disappeared effectively from the product side of the equation during the war. Furthermore, it was achieved with a 19 percent lower labor input (Tables 7 and 8). It reflected the success of the mixed farming component of Jewish agriculture, which responded to the pull of the markets.

The kibbutz and the moshav, the collective and cooperative settlements that emerged in 1921, dominated this sector. The founders of the two movements were imbued with Socialist Zionist notions already in the air among second Aliyah immigrants in the pre-World War I period. They were reinforced by the new immigrants of the Third Aliyah (1919–23), who carried the message of the postwar western European social democratic movement. These immigrants joined with the veterans of the Second Aliyah in building the Tiberias-Ẓemaḥ road, the first public works project of the nascent Mandatory government in 1920. In the labor camps set up along the route, they organized groups of pioneers who approached the Zionist authorities with a proposal to found farm settlements that would implement Zionist ideas of national land and self-labor. The latter condition meant, of course, the implementation of the Zionist *avodah ivrit* principle, since it excluded by definition the employment of hired (Arab) labor. The self-government feature of these settlements, which they proposed as well, meant that they would be managing the economic activities of the settlements on their own account.

These principles were fully consistent with the notions adopted by the Zionist movement before the war: the ownership of land by the Jewish National Fund, the movement's land purchase and ownership corporation (established in 1901), and the principle of *avodah ivrit*. The socialist principles of the proposed settlements – the self-labor rule and the collective or cooperative principles of running the settlements adopted by the kibbutz and moshav movements – were inconsistent neither with the Zionist message nor with its strategy of resettlement. Indeed, they were fully in line with the latter.

The two movements did differ on a crucial feature of the organization of the settlements, the management of production, and thus correspondingly on the principle of income distribution. The moshav adopted the family model, which meant that the basic social cell, the family, would control its own production and benefit from the income. It would, however, strictly adhere to cooperative marketing of output and cooperative purchase of consumer goods and supplies and equipment required for production, a policy entailing cooperative ownership of major farm machinery. Mutual help in the case of calamities was enshrined in the operating rule of these producer and consumer cooperatives. The initial endowment of land and of capital funds to each family was of course to be equal.

The kibbutz model, in contrast, was a collective. As a collective entity the kibbutz was conceived as operating as a unitary multi-branch firm, with full collective command of the labor and equipment at its disposal, and most income distributed in kind on the basic principle of equality. This initially involved the severance of the direct link between a member's contribution to production and his real income. Among the leadership of the Zionist movement, business-minded opponents of this kind of organization argued that this feature of the kibbutz would have a negative effect on effort, and thus on the efficiency of production, which would soon destroy that utopian project. In spite of the heated debate on the subject, particularly in the 1920s, the political leadership of the Zionist movement stuck to the policy it adopted in the early 1920s to rely on the kibbutz movement, inspired indeed by socialist principles, as the battering ram of the resettlement effort. They claimed that only time would prove whether the opponents or the supporters of that social experiment were right. In 1946 Martin Buber, a professor of sociology at the Hebrew University and a veteran Zionist leader from Germany, described the maturing movement at that time as an "experiment which has not failed."

In more than one sense, the socioeconomic experiment involving the two movements, which survived a very difficult initial period in the 1920s, proved to be a roaring success toward the end of the Mandate period. By that time, roughly from the mid-1930s on, the two movements were an integral component of the Zionist consensus. This shows in their expansion in geographical and demographic terms and in the growth of their production, productivity, and real income, especially during World War II. Only 12 kibbutzim and two moshavim, effectively all post-World War I founded, were on the map in 1922, with a total population not much beyond 1,000. By 1931, there were 30 kibbutzim and 10 moshavim, with a population of close to 3,000 and 2,000 respectively. Ten years later, in 1942, there were 90 moshavim and 86 kibbutzim with almost equal populations totaling 51,000, or about ten percent of the Jewish population. By 1945 kibbutzim and moshavim, distributed throughout the country, numbered 101 and 96 respectively, with a total population in both of about 65–70,000, or some 12 percent of the Jewish population (see Table 3a).

The temporary eclipse of the citrus industry during the war, which led to the abandonment of about 20 percent of the plantation area and its conversion to mixed farming, dramatically affected employment in that sub-branch. This correspondingly reduced the contribution to employment and to farm product of the private farm settlements, which included almost all the pre-World War I moshavot and most of the moshavot founded in the 1920s and early 1930s, which specialized in citrus growing. farm employment figures for 1945 indicate accordingly that during the war years farm employment declined in absolute terms: about 13 percent of the employed persons in the Jewish economy as a whole were engaged in farming activity (Table 7). Only about one-third of these had been employed in the farming activity of the moshavot, with the traditional private enterprise-employee relationship, i.e., wage labor. Two thirds of farm employment – about 8.5 percent of total employment in the Jewish economy, in that period – was engaged in the socialist-inspired and -run settlements (Table 3a). This means that the increase in farm output and product – by two times, or an average annual rate of 12 percent in the six years of the war through 1945 – was to a significant extent due to the performance of these entities. The major increase in relative labor productivity in farming, by more than 80 percent (Table 8) in the decade from 1935 to 1945, can be ascribed to a considerable extent to these settlements, run on the basis of collective and cooperative principles.

This outstanding performance during the war years was shared by the private mixed farming enterprises active in the moshavot, most of which were located in the central coastal area. Their activities during the war met the market's rapidly rising demand for vegetables, dairy products, poultry, deciduous fruit, and grapes, and were evident in the conversion of 20 percent of the land under citrus cultivation to mixed farming. The relative decline of farm employment in the private-enterprise settlements reflects, on the one hand, the temporary eclipse of the labor-intensive citrus industry in which they specialized between the World Wars, and on the other, more importantly, the process of urbanization (including the establishment of manufacturing enterprises) that had been occurring in the older settlements since the early 1930s. This process gathered momentum in the second half of that decade and remained strong through 1947. At least five of the pre-World War I agricultural settlements had populations of 1,000 by the outbreak of World War II. Several more were approaching 5,000 and more by that time. This meant that though farming activity was not completely eliminated in these moshavot, manufacturing and services became more and more the focus of their economic activity. Thus Netanyah, located on the central coastal plain, became from 1940 on the center of the transported diamond industry (see below, The Rise of the Manufacturing Industry, 1936–1947). The urbanization process of these settlements was after a longish period formally recognized by the Mandatory government, which granted them municipal status. The gap between the ratio of population in these "individualist" private-enterprise settlements, which was 50 percent of Jewish farm population in 1942, and that of their employment of Jewish farm labor, which was only 30 percent, is explicable in these terms.

The Histadrut and the Economics of the Yishuv

The two socialist-inspired settlement movements – the kibbutz and the moshav (see above, The Unique Socioeconomic Structure of the Jewish Farm Sector) – were components of the economy operating under the canopy of the *Histadrut, the General Federation of Hebrew Workers of Ereẓ-Israel, established in 1920. In contrast to the traditional European labor federation model, the Histadrut was not conceived as an assemblage, or congress, of trade unions, in which individual workers belong not to the federation but to the member unions, with the federation as an umbrella organization. Histadrut membership was personal; its members belonged to it directly, and in the case of married couples each adult of the family was a member, even if one of them was not part of the labor force. Unions operating in specific industries such as construction, office work, etc., were indeed established, but these were run as subsidiaries of the parent organization.

The adjective "general" in its name was designed to highlight its all-embracing structure, indicating its function as a direct representative of the interests of all workers in town and country, in private enterprises, in the public sector, and in self-employment (the last taken to include membership in the kibbutzim and moshavim). But "general" also represented much more than that; the Histadrut was conceived to embrace not only the traditional functions of unions as representatives of workers in the struggle over wages and work conditions, but those of a quasi-state institution providing social welfare services such as medical and unemployment insurance.

Furthermore, it was also, as a quasi-state institution, to serve as the promoter and owner of an enterprise sector: the establishment of the Workers' Bank in 1921 and a building and public works contracting firm were among the first, but not the only, such enterprises founded by the Histadrut at that time, as the Third Aliyah was reaching Palestine. The Zionist authorities provided some of the equity finance required to set up these two firms. the contracting firm was known as *Solel Boneh ("Road Construction and Building"); its mission was to take on contracts in these areas, offering employment and training in building skills to new immigrants particularly. The building boom of the Fourth Aliyah, starting in 1924, was a major lift to Solel Boneh, which by that time had acquired standing both in the construction and road building industries and with suppliers and banks.

Yet at the height of the crisis of 1926, in the wake of the Fourth Aliyah downturn that began in 1926, Solel Boneh had to declare bankruptcy. This required financial support from the Zionist authorities' meager and declining cash flow. These funds were destined to offer not only (very low) unemployment benefits, but also cash payments to settle a fraction of Solel Boneh's debts. The conservative credit policy of Bank Hapoalim, withstanding the pressure from the Histadrut leadership to increase credit facilities to the collapsing company, allowed it to outlive the major economic crisis of 1926–28. This saved the honor of the labor movement, which by that time was subject to bitter criticism from the supporters of private enterprise among the Zionist leaders. The collapse of Solel Boneh, which led to the tapping of the meager financial resources of the movement, provided a new stimulant to their approach.

At that juncture it led to a redirection of the Histadrut business sector toward cooperative enterprises, in the services in particular. The cooperative bus firms that emerged in the late 1920s and the late 1940s by 1947 dominated the public transportation market after their amalgamation into three major firms. These firms represented one of the dimensions of business activity emerging at that time under the aegis of the Histadrut.

As the rising tide of immigration of the Fifth Aliyah entered Palestine, the building boom of the early 1930s led to the revival of Solel Boneh as a contracting firm in the building trade. Its management had absorbed the lessons of the late-1920s collapse and the firm thus survived robustly the downturn of the late 1930s, acquiring experience and capacity that was put at once into well-paid service as the demands of the war economy grew from 1940 on. The liquidity of the banking system and the very low interest rates prevailing in the Sterling bloc (see below, The Monetary and Financial System) offered liberal credit to Solel Boneh's rapidly increasing project portfolio. From 1941 on these included major building projects ordered by the British military all over the Middle East, including Iran. It was in these years that Solel Boneh emerged as the leading contracting firm in Palestine and vicinity. It soon moved into manufacturing, acquiring from private entrepreneurs in the early 1940s profitable firms such as Nesher, the cement monopoly; Palestine's only glass producer, Finizia; and the Vulcan iron casting firm, all of them located in the Haifa Bay area, the center of Palestine's heavy industry. The broad scope of Solel Boneh's manufacturing interests soon led to the establishment of a manufacturing subsidiary corporation, Koor. For four decades after Independence, the Koor conglomerate dominated manufacturing in Israel, as did Solel Boneh the building industry until its second collapse in the mid-1980s.

Through the mid-1930s the focus of the Histadrut as a union was the *avodah ivrit* agenda, the struggle for the exclusive right of Jewish workers for employment in the Jewish sector of Palestine's economy. Indeed, the ventures of Histadrut into the urban business sector, through both the direct ownership of Solel Boneh, and the promotion of cooperative ventures, some in manufacturing, had the same goal as its rural enterprises, the kibbutzim and moshavim: to provide exclusive employment openings in the Jewish economy to Jewish workers. This does not mean that the Histadrut was not engaged in the traditional business of a workers union, the struggle for employment and better work conditions and wages. Its employment mission was carried out by establishing a system of labor exchanges under its canopy. The unemployment problem and the wage issue finally rose to the top of the agenda in the second half of the 1930s, as the Arab strike and uprising severely eroded the direct links between the two national sectors, eliminating almost completely *avodah ivrit* as a relevant issue. From then on the Histadrut, which had started out with 4,500 members in 1921, had 28,000 in 1930, and by 1939 some 100,000, put an increasing focus on typical trade union issues. During the high inflation, full-employment war years, the maintenance of real wages surfaced inevitably as a major issue. The pressure of the Histadrut led initially, in 1940, to a countrywide agreement with the Jewish Manufacturing Association on a uniform cost-of-living allowance, and eventually to the setting up of a Mandatory government committee on wages, on which the Histadrut was represented. Its recommendation to adopt a technique of automatic periodic cost-of-living adjustments (COLAs) was implemented in 1942.

Government sponsorship of the COLA agreement between the Histadrut and the Manufacturing Association was the first step on the long winding road of price linkages that led ultimately to comprehensive indexation and prevailed for the ensuing five decades in Mandate Palestine and in Israel. It gave the Histadrut major leverage on the operations of the economy in the long run. In more than one sense it represented the political power with which it was endowed by its membership: in 1947, 27 years after its establishment, its membership comprised around 66 percent of the labor force. Its operations as a trade union, as the umbrella of the kibbutzim and moshavim, and its control of major holding companies in the building trade and in manufacturing, with the main sick fund and other welfare state services subject to its control and guidance, made it to a significant extent the executive organ of the Zionist movement in its endeavor to establish a Jewish polity in Palestine.

The Monetary and Financial System

The introduction by the British army in 1918 of the Egyptian pound as the legal tender of Palestine, replacing the confusing mix of monetary units used in the last years of the Ottoman rule, was undoubtedly the first and most significant reform implemented by the Mandatory power. The Egyptian pound, issued by a Currency Board controlled by the British government, was of course a full-blooded fiat of the British pound sterling. Its circulation in Palestine, and that of its replacement (in 1927), the Palestine pound, issued by the newly established Palestine Currency Board, meant effectively that it was sterling that provided the lifeblood of the monetary and financial system of the country for the three decades of British rule through 1948.

The modus operandi of the Currency Board was simple. It set the official rate of exchange of the Palestine pound with sterling at 1:1, and was ready to sell Palestine pounds for the presented value of the sterling, or to purchase Palestine pounds, at that effective rate. There was accordingly a free market in sterling for the Palestine currency, which meant that Palestine was on a sterling base throughout the three decades through February 1948. Sterling, and therefore the Palestine pound, was on the gold standard between 1925 and 1931, hence on a fixed exchange rate with the dollar and other major currencies, and on a flexible exchange rate regime with these currencies as sterling went off gold in 1931.

The rules also meant that the government of Palestine could not borrow from the Currency Board, which prevented it from inflating the currency. (It could borrow in the British capital market, but this option was only marginally used – the Mandatory government had on the whole a balanced budget.) The inflationary option was of course open to the British government, since it could use sterling to buy Palestine pounds for its use, and its budget, authorized by the U.K. Parliament, could involve deficit financing. That option was never used, however, during the two decades before the outbreak of the war in 1939. This meant that the money supply – the number of Palestine pounds in circulation – was, during that time, demand-determined. It was set by the cumulative requirements of private households and commercial firms and other enterprises – in other words ultimately by the "needs of trade." There was no inflation of the currency in the two decades between the wars, and the Palestine pound was regarded justifiably as a stable and highly reliable currency.

The banking system provided another component, which in developed and rapidly developing countries is an important part of the (M1), defined as the sum of currency at the disposal of the (non-banking) public and current account deposits in the banking system. In the mid-1920s even the Jewish banking sector deposit data indicate that banks were not yet a significant factor in the financial system. The Arab banking sector was in its infancy throughout the Mandatory period. The share of deposits in Arab banks in the total for Palestine in 1938 was only two percent; it grew to seven percent by the end of the war in 1946. For those same dates the share of deposits in Jewish banks was 76 and 79 percent of the total, respectively. Foreign banks, dominated by the Palestine branches of two major banking institutions, the Ottoman Bank and Barclays, held 22 percent of total deposits in 1938. This ratio declined to only 14 percent in 1946.

The dominance of Jewish banking in terms of outstanding credit was even more significant. By 1936, the Anglo-Palestine Bank had a greater credit portfolio than all the branches of foreign banks. In 1946 the credit allocated by it was three times greater than the total of all other foreign banks. The contribution of Arab banks to outstanding bank credit was five percent at most; this means that the commercial bank credit market was ruled by the Jewish banking sector. In the 1940s it accommodated 85 percent of outstanding credit (Table 10).

The story of the financial sector of Palestine is therefore the story of the Jewish banking sector. This story begins with the Anglo-Palestine Bank, set up in 1903 by the World Zionist Organization, which owned its voting shares. By 1920, at the advent of the Mandatory period, it was one of the five banking institutions operating in the country. A decade later, in 1931, the banking system already had 75 institutions, more than half of them cooperative credit associations, set up exclusively in the Jewish sector and of minuscule size even in aggregate terms. Only two of the 75 were Arab banks. Somewhat fewer than 10 of these institutions were branches of foreign banks proper, and these were dominated by major banking institutions – Barclays and the Ottoman banks. The rapid rise in the number of banking institutions in the 1920s, and the surge in the number of banks and cooperative credit associations to 134 by 1936 took place almost entirely in the Jewish sector of the economy.

The rapid expansion of the financial sector with its increase in the number of banking institutions was the result of developments in the larger economy. The very high growth rate that accompanied the absorption of the Fifth Aliyah into the Palestine economy – 170 percent in terms of the Jewish national product during the four-year period 1931–35 – of course affected the financial sector. The corresponding increase of debt held by the Anglo-Palestine Bank grew by almost 160 percent, and the more than fourfold increase in its deposits reflected the very rapid growth of the real economy (Tables 5 and 10). These figures represent only the rapidly rising volume of business in one of the approximately 130 banking institutions operating in Palestine at this date. However, with the financial flagship of the Zionist movement holding more than one-third of the deposits and an even greater proportion of the outstanding debt held by banking institutions in the country in 1936, this statistic undoubtedly offers a reasonable approximation of developments in the financial sector as a whole.

The proliferation of banking institutions in this period was not due only to the outstanding growth rate of the real economy. It reflected also the huge capital imports belonging to the immigrants, particularly from Germany and central Europe: the tide of private capital imports peaked in 1935 at a level four times higher than in 1931, and more than two times higher than the previous peak of 1925, which was linked to the arrival of the Fourth Aliyah, mainly from Poland. Indeed, the 1935 capital inflow was the all-time high of the private and total Jewish capital inflow during the three decades of the Mandatory period (Table 11). And this inflow accompanied a significant group of immigrants whose expertise was in the field of banking. The natural inclination of these immigrants was to use their own capital to open a bank in the new country. In view of the effective absence of banking legislation – until 1936 there were hardly any legal requirements, such as a government license or minimum equity requirements – they could simply proceed to do so if they chose. Only a small number of the more than 50 new banks that opened between 1931 and 1936 belonged to these immigrants with expertise and capital of their own; several were quite successful and became household names in the Jewish community. But many soon went out of business, as the 1940 entry in Table 10 indicates.

The 1936 and 1937 banking legislation, which required of banking institutions a government license, minimum capital stock, regular publication of financial statements, personal probity on the part of directors, and which established a government bank supervision department, soon led to the elimination of the more flimsy institutions. But the main reason for the disappearance of a significant number of banks by 1940 – about one-quarter of their number in 1936 – were economic and related to political developments on a world scale rather than specific developments in Palestine's economy.

The immediate causes of the closing of most of these institutions were three runs on the banks – late in 1935 and in the summers of 1938 and 1939. The first run was in response to the Ethiopian crisis, the second reflected the uncertainty related to the Munich crisis that led to the disintegration of Czechoslovakia and Hitler's dominance of Europe, and the third was caused by the Polish crisis immediately preceding the outbreak of the war on September 1, 1939. On the whole, however, the Jewish banking sector survived these three crises very well, even though Palestine had no central bank to act as a lender of last resort. After the second run in 1938, the Palestine government adamantly refused to offer any help, even though a third run was anticipated, and indeed soon occurred as the Danzig crisis gathered momentum. What the Jewish banking community asked the government to do was just to offer a guarantee to the three major foreign banks operating in Palestine – the Jewish Anglo-Palestine Bank, Barclays bank, which was the agent of the Palestine Currency Board and had been earning a hefty income in that capacity, and the Ottoman Bank. This guarantee was to be implemented if and when these banks were called on to rediscount financial assets submitted by other local banks in the case of a run in response to another war scare.

The Jewish banking system survived that run, as it did the two previous, due, among other things, to the special discount facility offered by the Anglo-Palestine Bank, even though it had no government guarantee. The willingness and ability of the APB to act as lender of last resort was, of course, due to its status as the oldest and most important financial institution of the Jewish economy and its function as the umbrella for the Jewish business and financial sector for more than three decades. Its total assets at the end of the 1920s were four times greater than the total value of the assets of the next five largest Jewish banks, and its deposits in 1936 were somewhat larger than the total deposits of all domestic (Jewish and Arab) banks; by 1940 that ratio was even higher.

Its managing director, the grand old man of the Jewish financial community, E.Z. Hofien, could venture into such stormy seas due to a highly conservative credit policy modeled on the traditional pattern of the British banking system. Even though the World Zionist Organization owned the controlling shares of the bank, its management had the freedom to pursue traditional banking policy, which requires the maintenance of high liquidity ratios and protection of the institution's solvency. This allowed APB to plunge into the cold water of the second half of the 1930s to sustain the liquidity of deserving Jewish banks, a move which could be regarded as noblesse oblige. The attitude of the APB management was also affected by the fact that the strain in the financial markets on the eve of the war also reflected the general downturn of economic activity since 1936, involving rising unemployment.

The banking legislation initiated in 1936 shrank significantly the number of banking institutions. Those eliminated, however, were almost exclusively small and ephemeral; those that remained constituted a robust and profitable system. The prosperous economy of the war years bringing a flood of liquidity, high profits for businesses, and rapidly rising real incomes sustained the profitability of the banking system. This applied of course to APB whose share of the business grew to almost 50 percent of the total deposits in the entire banking system of Palestine and to about one-third of the commercial credit (Table 10). This gap between the bank's share of deposits and its share of credit indicates a huge increase in its portfolio of financial investments. The currency controls imposed at the outbreak of the war meant that the excess liquidity was channeled exclusively into British government gilt-edged bonds, turning APB effectively into a trustee of what was soon identified as the Jewish economy's ownership of Palestine's sterling balances. The low two percent interest rate of the war years, a highly inflationary context, meant that the profitability of this investment portfolio was quite low. It provided, however, a large pool of potential liquidity for the bank, which sustained the viability of the state of Israel at a crucial time as it emerged from the 1948 War of Independence.

The Balance of Payments and Jewish Capital Imports

STRUCTURAL FEATURES OF PALESTINE'S BALANCE OF PAYMENTS IN THE INTERWAR DECADES AND THE WAR PERIOD. The outstanding performance of the Jewish sector of the economy during the Mandatory period – its net national product grew by 10 times between 1922 and 1939, and by almost 25 times in the 25 years between 1922 and the end of the Mandatory period (Table 5) – would have been inconceivable without a rapid expansion of the investment flow. The expansion of capital stock by 11 times through 1939 and 15 times for the 25 years ending in 1947 (Table 4) indicate that though the rates of investment over time were subject to significant cyclical variation, this was indeed the case (Table 4). But these huge rates of investment, which through 1936 involved ratios of 35 percent or higher of the net national product of the Jewish economy (and even at the bottom of the cycle in 1939 were still 17 percent of NNP), were not, indeed could not have been, financed by domestic savings. They were inevitably financed predominantly by capital imports associated with the waves of immigration.

Balance-of-payment data offer insight into this phenomenon and on the composition of Palestine's foreign trade and capital flows during the Mandate. These data, however, reflect the economy as a whole and thus also the Arab and government of Palestine sectors, which also grew and maintained flows of investment that expanded capital stocks. These are shown in Table 4, and indicate that net capital stock of the Arab economy grew by 2.5 times through the 25 years ending in 1947, at an average annual rate of 3.8 percent. Investment in infrastructure by the government expanded at a more rapid pace – 7.4 times during the same period, less than half the rate of Jewish capital stock. Yet by and large the government investments were financed by taxation: Palestine government capital imports were very small indeed and constituted only a small fraction of the financing of the country's infrastructure (Table 12).

The Arab economy undoubtedly financed its investment from domestic savings and, to a significant extent, from the substantial sums received from the sale of land to Jewish private entrepreneurs and to the Jewish National Fund.

Unilateral transfers, displayed in the balance-of-payments data (Table 12), reflect accordingly almost entirely Jewish sector inflows. The capital account credit figures also refer almost entirely to the Jewish sector. The flows of the government of Palestine and Palestine Currency Board appear on the debit side of the capital account. These are quite similar in volume to the credit figures in column 6 in the unilateral transfers section, which refers to inflows from non-Jewish sources. These figures indicate that the government of Palestine's contributions to the inflow of resources during the Mandatory period was negligible.

The balance-of-payment figures underline the major difference between the periods (prewar through 1939; war and aftermath, 1940–47) in Palestine's external economic relations. Palestine's current account dominated by trade flows was in substantial deficit in terms of the economic aggregate figures in the interwar years. The import flow was huge, about 45 percent of Palestine's GDP (Gross Domestic Product), while its exports were only about 13 percent. This means that the P£111 million deficit on the current account for that entire period amounted to about 32 percent, almost a third, of Palestine's GDP, a world record. The inflow of Jewish immigrants' funds on capital account, plus the flow of contributions of the Zionist and other Jewish organizations all over the world, effectively provided the funds required to pay for the huge net imports in the interwar period. Similarly, private Jewish firms and immigrants effectively provided the total inflow of funds on capital account, P£26 million in the interwar period. A major portion of this was the capital transferred under the *Haavara Agreement, which between 1933 and 1938 allowed the transfer of Jewish immigrants' private capital from Germany only in the form of goods, which were subsequently sold and therefore reconverted into capital.

These funds allowed the banking system, dominated by the Anglo-Palestine Bank, to invest its excess financial resources in London, to accumulate sterling reserves to sustain their liquidity and offer coverage for their rising current account deposits. A fraction of these funds also provided the required cover for the expansion of the monetary base – reflecting the rapid income-driven increase in the demand for currency. This feature can be inferred from the Currency Board debit balance for 1922–39 of £9 million in the capital account section of Table 12.

The structure of the balance of payments for the 1940–47 period, the years of the war and its immediate aftermath, was an altogether different story. The net current account of the country in the 1940–47 period, minus P£4 million, indicated that the huge deficit in Palestine's current account disappeared altogether, due mainly to the huge expansion of its export business. These "exports" were mainly goods and services provided to the British and allied armies in Palestine and the Middle East. The unilateral transfers account – about 87 percent of its total of P£86 million was from Jewish sources – contributed a major inflow of funds. Yet though the average yearly inflow of these funds, in nominal terms, was approximately two times greater than it had been in the interwar period, its real value, owing to major wartime inflation, was significantly smaller. The major difference was the reduction of such transfers (leading to the collapse of the nominal value, and thus even more the real value, of immigrants' funds (column 4)) reflecting of course the reduction of immigration and the abject poverty of most of those refugees who did arrive. Even so, this positive inflow financed almost entirely the major deficit on Palestine's capital account, which effectively meant an accumulation of sterling balances – a nominal debt of the U.K. government to banks, firms, and households holding currency balances. The P£10 million debit in place of the P£26 million positive private sector capital account figure from the interwar period (Table 12) actually represented investments in British funds – presumably gilt-edged bonds – by Palestine's banking system, businesses, and households. This was the only avenue open to them in view of the currency controls imposed at the outbreak of the war. It can be inferred that most of these funds originated in the Jewish sector, given the dominance of the real Jewish economy by that time in terms of GNP per capita (Table 5), and even more so its dominance of the small capital market of Palestine in those days.

The huge cumulative debit of the banking system in the balance-of-payments account in that period reflects of course the wartime inflationary developments and represents the acquisitions of sterling reserves by the banks to back their inflated current account debits. The same feature is exhibited by the huge debit flow of the Palestine Currency Board, representing its purchase of sterling-denominated gilt-edged bonds, the backing for the (inflated) increase of currency required by the public. These two outflows of nominal finance created the so-called "sterling balances" of Palestine – a nominal debt of the United Kingdom. When Palestine's sterling balances were finally released, as they were between 1949 and 1951 according to agreements between the United Kingdom and Israel, the ownership of these balances by predominantly Jewish economic entities – households, commercial business firms, and the banking system – was finally established.

JEWISH CAPITAL IMPORTS AND GROWTH. This survey of the structure of Palestine's balance of payments identifies the major contributions of unilateral transfers and capital imports to the workings of Palestine's economy during the three decades of the Mandate. These two major inflows of resources were indeed directed to the Jewish sector, providing it with the means for an all-out investment effort generating very rapid growth. Yet the benefit of this was inevitably transmitted to the Arab sector too, directly and indirectly, and to the cash flow of the Mandatory government, which gained from the rising income-induced expansion of tax revenue. The outstanding average annual growth rate of the domestic product of the economy of Palestine as a whole, which was about 9 percent (Table 5) for the 25-year period through 1947, is an obvious case in point.

The overall contribution of capital imports to the fabulous growth rate of the Jewish economy (an annual average of close to 14 percent during the Mandate period) is underlined by the investment and capital import figures presented in Table 11. The high investment-national product ratios are the evidence: the close to 40 percent ratios in the figures for the 1920s, and the roughly 35 percent in the 1930s – the latter reflects the leap by 3.5 times of national product in that decade – could not have been sustained from domestic savings for two consecutive decades. Investment ratios in the 1940s were lower (though not low in comparison with the ratio of Arab investment in Palestine or with conventional peacetime ratios in the major economies). These much lower ratios were due to wartime government controls imposed on investment, in housing in particular. The effect of the abolition of controls after the war shows clearly in the 23 percent investment ratio of 1947.

Investment ratios even on the order of those of the 1930s could not have been sustained by domestic savings rates. Investment rates beyond 20 percent of national product are not sustainable for such long periods even in rich economies. The capital import figures, dominated by the transfer of funds by the private sector, offers an explanation for the extraordinary investment ratios displayed in the figures for the interwar period. The capital import ratio series of Table 11 show that the inflows of these foreign resources were year-in and year-out in the 40–50 percent ratio. The very high ratios of the 1920s do not indicate higher inflows in absolute terms; the capital inflows of the 1930s were on the whole greater. The ratios of the 1920s are high because of the low absolute value of net national product in that decade.

In other words, the inflow of these funds provided full financial backing to the investment effort of the Jewish sector, and even a substantial surplus that could be used for other purposes. Yet since the net investment figures in Table 11 represent net fixed reproducible capital in 1936 prices, a major component of investment in the Jewish economy is not included: the cost of land purchased from Arab owners. These purchases were indeed an investment from the point of view of the Jewish sector, but not from that of Palestine's economy as a whole. Thus, a fraction of the difference between the approximately P£66 million inflow of Jewish capital imports in the 1930s and the approximately P£45 million in investments accounted for in the investment series of fixed reproducible capital stock, was the cost of the acquisition of land. For the whole 25-year period for which data are available the size of the gap between the total Jewish capital import and investments was greater – close to P£50 million, in 1936 prices, about 37 percent of the total capital inflow (Table 11).

The second component for which this P£50 million difference provided backing was monetary liquidity – primarily the acquisition of Palestine pounds currency balances. The total net debit figure of the Palestine Currency Board in the capital account section of Table 12 indicates that these were P£44 million (Table 12). Yet the Arab sector, too, held a fraction of these balances. The figures thus exaggerate the investment of the Jewish economy in the accumulation of a currency balance – which probably was not much more than half of the P£44 million total, and perhaps even less than that. The cumulative building up of inventories was of course another form of investment not recorded in the fixed reproducible capital stock data. It had been absorbing a fraction of the extra resources provided by the capital imports.

The debit entry of the banking system in the balance-of-payments record (Table 12), which reflects the acquisition of its secondary liquid reserves in London accumulated during these decades, was a foreign financial investment that provided the backing for the customer deposits in Palestine's banks. These funds were part of the monetary liquidity of the economy. In this case as well, and owing to the substantial size of British banks, the P£54 million cumulative debit items for banks in the capital account data in Table 12 do not represent a financial investment of the Jewish banking system only. A significant fraction of that figure represents an investment of the foreign banks, and a much smaller one of the Arab banks. Nevertheless, it explains a sizable fraction of the gap between the P£130 million Jewish capital imports and the fixed reproducible investment in the Jewish economy.

These data underline the strategic function of capital imports in the growth of the Jewish economy and that of Palestine as a whole during the Mandatory period. The huge inflow of Jewish capital imports provided the necessary backing for the investment flow that was crucial for generating the 14 percent average annual growth rates of the Jewish economy, and the corresponding nine percent rates for Palestine's economy as a whole. Furthermore, even the much lower investment rate of the Arab economy, which grew at an annual rate of 6.5 percent, would not have been realized but for the funds provided by the Jewish capital imports used to purchase Arab-owned land.

It was thus the total Jewish capital imports that had spurred the Palestine economy to the production potential it had arrived at on the eve of the war. And it was this material potential and the human capital element, dramatically increased by the immigrants, that made it feasible for Palestine to serve as the locus of the Middle east supply system set up by the British and allied forces during the war. It provided in more than one sense the infrastructure of the Middle East war effort.

Money, Prices, and War Finance

MONETARY AND PRICE DEVELOPMENTS IN THE INTERWAR DECADES. A survey of the data suggests that the history of money, prices, and rates of economic activity for the three decades of the Mandate can best be understood as falling into two subperiods: the two interwar decades, and the years of World War II and its immediate aftermath, 1940–47.

Even though the 1920s and 1930s were on average decades of very rapid growth, they were also years of declining prices in the first of the two decades, and of stable prices in the second (Table 13). This was the case even though in the second half of the 1920s, for which only currency-in-circulation data are available, the monetary expansion was quite robust: significantly beyond 12 percent, as the only available indicator, the currency expansion rate of about 20 percent between 1927 and 1929, suggests. The growth rate of the money supply (Table 13) in the 1930s at an average annual rate of about 17 percent, with prices hardly budging until the outbreak of the war, indicates that stable prices were the rule. This was the case even though in the full-employment economy of the early 1930s real growth accelerated immensely. It declined somewhat after 1935, yet the average annual NDP growth rate was still close to nine percent for the decade ending in 1939 (Table 5).

The high growth rates of the money supply – about 17 percent annually for the 1927–39 period (16 percent in the 1930s, based on more reliable data) – did not generate price inflation because they were demand-determined: the increased supply of money provided the liquidity required by the very rapidly growing economy (nine percent in the 1930s, somewhat higher than in the 1920s). The major monetarization process to which the Arab economy was subject during that period, as more and more of its production was transmitted to the market, also contributed significantly to the increase in demand for money, inevitably in the form of currency rather than current account deposits.

Thus, with an effective free-trade regime maintained by the Mandatory government, prices were on the whole determined by world markets. Prices were declining significantly in the sterling and sterling-linked economies in the 1920s; in Palestine they stabilized after the floating and depreciation of sterling in 1931, and in the wake of the worldwide economic crisis and deflation of the early 1930s. Even in the full-employment environment between 1928 and 1935, prices hardly budged. The supply of money was accordingly a dependent variable, expansion of which was determined by the growth of the economy and the monetarization process. Its expansion was a response to these rather than a proactive move by government intended to affect the level of prices.

BRITISH WAR FINANCE AND THE INFLATION OF PALESTINE'S MONETARY AGGREGATES. World War II, however, created an altogether different trade and monetary regime. From September 1939 on it severed lines of communication with Europe and North America and later with Southeast Asia. Shipping space restrictions reduced transport to and from the western and southern hemispheres too, before being interrupted almost completely when Japan entered the war in December 1941. This meant that imports to Palestine were soon reduced to a trickle. Exports – primarily, of course, citrus – also shrank to almost nothing with the closure of European markets.

These war-imposed developments eliminated at once the severe competition from imports to which domestic, almost entirely Jewish, manufacturers and mixed farm producers had been subject in the interwar years. It also meant that Palestine's prices were no longer determined by world markets. It was the rapidly expanding aggregate demand that, from the outbreak of World War II through the end of the Mandate, not only set quantities (as it had before the war), but also determined the level of prices in Palestine's economy, a variable it could hardly have affected earlier.

The factor on which the trend of aggregate demand during the war years depended was, of course, British (and later Allied) military demand. Purchases for military purposes shot up from about three percent of Palestine's gross domestic product in 1937–38 to 22 percent in 1940, a year at the end of which Palestine's economy was operating at close to full employment. The peak of military demand in terms of Palestine's economic capacity was reached in 1941 at 38 percent of GDP. The military still absorbed about 16 percent of GDP in 1945, although military operations were focused from 1943 on southern and western Europe and not the Middle East.

The huge demand generated initially by the need to supply an army of several hundred thousand soldiers located in the Middle East command, which stretched from Iraq to the western border of Egypt, had to be financed. The source of that finance was primarily the United Kingdom budget. The payment instrument was, of course, Palestine pounds, which the U.K. treasury purchased from the Palestine Currency Board by submitting sterling – strictly according to the Board's operating rule. Formally, this procedure involved a deficit in the U.K. budget and not that of the government of Palestine, which on the whole maintained a balanced budget. In any case, it could not "borrow" from the Palestine Currency Board – that is, the Board could not print money.

This constraint did not apply, however, to the U.K. government, which could borrow sterling from its central bank, the Bank of England, and convert it into Palestine pounds to pay for the goods and services its military purchased in its mandatory dependency. The British government did not make use of this tactic during the interwar decades, neither in Palestine nor in other colonies or countries subject to its control, but that inevitably changed during the war. In theory, recipients of Palestine pounds had a claim on U.K. resources, since the Palestine pound was convertible into sterling. In practice this was impossible, owing to wartime currency controls. The only alternative, used by the Palestine Currency Board and the Palestine banks, was to acquire gilt-edged (non-price indexed) bonds, which represented a U.K. debt. These were the so-called "sterling balances" accumulated during the war. Palestine's sterling balances accumulated during the war, like those of other members of the sterling bloc, were frozen immediately at the end of the war. This prevented their use by creditors in Palestine to pay for imports of goods and services from Britain in the postwar period, unless released by the British Treasury.

SURGING WAR INFLATION, 1940–1947. This borrowing by the British government to finance bulging aggregate demand, leading by 1941 to overemployment in Palestine's economy (Table 7), was inflationary by definition. The inflationary effect shows clearly in the monetary series of Table 13. The currency data, which does not represent the whole money supply, but is available from 1927 onward, offers the first evidence of monetary inflation, one of the most significant features of the war years. In the 12 years between 1927 and 1939, currency circulation increased by approximately 5.8 times, at an average annual rate of 15.7 percent. It expanded at 26 percent annually during the seven years ending with 1946, and at an annual rate of 34 percent during the six years of the war. Reliable money supply figures are available only from 1931 on, but these tell the same story: money supply grew by an average annual rate of 34 percent in the six war years through 1945 and at a rate close to 28 percent in the seven years of war and its immediate aftermath through 1946 (Table 13). The annual rate of expansion of the money supply (M1) in the 1930s was roughly 17 percent.

With the monetarization process in the Arab sector close to completion and the gap between the expansion of the money supply on one hand and the growth of national product and income on the other at 10 percent, major inflation was inevitable. It began in 1940; the 1941 price index indicates an annual average rate of price inflation of 22 percent during these two war years. In 1945, after six years of war, the average annual price inflation was lower, but still more than 15 percent. And even though it was significantly reduced in 1946 and 1947, as the data for the Jewish markets in Table 13 indicate, the average annual inflation rate of 15 percent for the 1940–47 period had an inevitable effect on the workings of the economy, particularly on inflationary expectations, inherited by Israel in 1948.

Manufacturing and the Transformation of the Economic Structure, 1937–1947

Inflation was indeed an important feature of the war period and its immediate aftermath. It was not, however, the only significant process with long-term implications. The real economy of the Jewish sector underwent a significant change in structure during the war years, a process that had already begun to emerge in the second half of the 1930s.

THE 1936–1940 RECESSION. Economic processes during the war actually had their origins in the prewar period, and were of course affected by the context in which they began to evolve. A main feature of that context was a significant recession that started in 1936, whose impact was felt primarily by the Jewish economy. The 1936 domestic national product had fallen by six percent from the very high peak of 1935 (which had risen by about 13 percent from 1934). It further eroded somewhat through 1939 to the 1934 level. The trough of the cycle was reached in 1938. Yet in spite of the downturn, total employment in the Jewish economy increased every year through 1939; only employment in the construction industry declined (Table 7). This means that the depression was mainly an income depression, explicable by a significant negative development: the drastic fall of the prices of Palestine's main export, citrus: these were down by 30 percent by 1939. With citrus exports accounting for about 10 percent of the Jewish GDP, the price collapse had an unavoidable effect on incomes, although citrus production was in 1939 more than two times its level in 1935.

The other main source of weakness during the prewar period was the building industry, in the wake of the end of the immense building boom of 1932–35. The net product of that industry in 1939 was about only 20 percent of its 1935 peak (Table 8). Thus, while employment in the citrus industry was at least maintained through the summer 1939, employment in the building industry declined almost at once and was clearly a drag on the labor market by 1936. The unemployment rates in Table 7 show a rise in the Jewish labor market from a negligible figure in 1935 to 4.3 percent in 1938 and 1939. In comparative terms, with unemployment rates of those years in the nine-to-ten percent range in Britain and other western European countries, and at even higher rates in the United States, a rate of 4.3 percent was seemingly quite reasonable. such a retrospective reading of the situation applies particularly to the Jewish community, which continued to absorb immigrants at rates not much below the average of the wave of 1932–35. Indeed immigration in 1939 surged again, to 31,000.

This, however, was not the view of contemporaries, as the political annals of the period indicate. The situation in 1936–40 was perceived as a major crisis. The struggle to get hired for "a day's work," as the Hebrew idiom of those years had it, particularly in the Tel Aviv conurbation which "grew on yeast" in the 1930s, was bitter indeed. However, by late 1940, and particularly from 1941, the employment problem disappeared for almost an entire decade.

The weak labor market, which shows in the unemployment figures, can be seen in the wage series too. Real wages declined by almost 13 percent between 1935 and 1939, not only because of low demand, but also because of the continuous growth of the labor force (and the population as a whole), which in part reflected the continuing flow of immigration. Declining income, in terms of per capita product, was even more severe: Jewish per capita product declined by 17 percent during the same period.

THE RISE OF THE MANUFACTURING INDUSTRY, 1936–1947. The strains in the economy in the second half of the 1930s did not prevent the significant reordering of economic priorities. It was the rise of manufacturing industry that generated a major change in the structure of the production sector. This shows clearly in terms of that sector's employment and contribution to net product during that period, which accelerated during the war. It had grown only somewhat more rapidly in terms of employment and production than agriculture in the first half of the 1930s. In 1935 Jewish manufacturing employment was 80 percent of that of agriculture. By 1939, the figures were even; in spite of the slowdown, employment in manufacturing had grown by 35 percent between 1935 and 1939. By 1945 it employed 72,000, almost twice as much as in 1939 and more than twice the number employed at that time by agriculture (Table 7).

The product figures reveal a similar development. Though the rising trend of manufacturing product (value added) did slow down between 1935 and 1939, it still kept growing. Due to the downturn in the citrus markets (though not in the markets for mixed farming products), the product of agriculture as a whole was down by 26 percent (Table 8). During the war years the net product of manufacturing expanded by an annual average of almost 18 percent even though net investment slowed down. By 1945 it was the dominant sector of the Jewish economy, generating one-third of its net national product and responsible for 31 percent of its total employment, three times more than agriculture. The 1935–45 (or –47) decade accordingly saw a major restructuring of the Jewish economy. Though Zionist ideology and policy still insisted on the priority of agriculture, developments in the economy were attracting Zionist attention to manufacturing.

The surge of growth in manufacturing product was possible because of the existence of excess capacity in the wake of the major investment flow in the second half of the 1930s, which was accelerated by the highly significant contribution of the flow of private capital imports in the form of German equipment and machinery (the only form allowed to Jewish immigrants from Germany). The huge increase in military procurement provided the demand; procurement increased from about three percent of national product in 1938 to 22 percent of GDP in 1940. The peak in absolute terms and relative to NNP was reached in 1941, at 38 percent of national product. Military procurement then declined, although it was still a major component of aggregate demand, as the theater of war moved away from the Middle East. Yet that decline in the last two years of the war, to below 17 percent of GDP, did not reduce manufacturing product. Production continued to grow though 1945 and stayed almost at this peak through 1947 owing to two new demand factors that appeared during the war (Table 8).

One of these was the demand for substitutes for the producer and consumer goods that Palestine had been importing before the war, especially those from Europe. The nascent manufacturing sector in the metals and machinery, electrical equipment, textile, and clothing industries could hardly compete without tariff protections against cheap prewar imports from established industries in developed countries (which maintained their own protective tariffs), and Palestine was not allowed to join the British Imperial Preference System instituted in 1931. The second new source of demand was the economies of the Middle East, in countries where the British (later Allied) Mid-East Procurement Center in Cairo operated, and which, like Palestine, were cut off from their traditional import linkages.

The impact of the expansion of manufacturing activity during the war years is underlined by the data on the growth of electricity use by manufacturing; use grew by almost three times between 1939 and 1946. The Iraqi pipeline transporting crude oil to Haifa, the Haifa refinery that opened in 1939, and finally the heavy prewar investment in generation and transmission capacity made by the Jewish Palestine Electric Corporation (using German equipment imported under the Haavara Agreement) allowed this rapid expansion of electricity generation during the war years. The direct pipeline link from the Iraqi oilfields and the capacity of the Haifa refinery allowed Palestine to avoid energy rationing, a prevalent feature of war economies.

All types of manufacturing activity increased during the war, in response to strong domestic and foreign demand generated by rapidly rising income in Palestine and other Middle East countries. Yet three industries in particular benefited most from the vigorous expansion of these markets. One of these was the diamond industry, which "made Aliyah" – that is, it "immigrated" to Palestine in response to the outbreak of war in Europe. The others – metals and machinery, and electrical and optical equipment – benefited from the war effort, which generated specific demand for their output.

Diamond polishing in Palestine started from scratch in 1939, and by 1943 offered employment to almost eight percent of workers employed in manufacturing in the Jewish economy. In the interwar period this industry had been mainly located in its traditional centers, Belgium and the Netherlands, manned predominantly by Jewish workers and entrepreneurs. Its raw material supply came mainly from South Africa and its primary market was the United States. The two last features, and the fact that Palestine, like South Africa, belonged to the sterling bloc, were highly beneficial to the British economy, which in the war was very short of dollar export revenue. British interest coincided in this case with both the interest of the Jewish operators in that industry in fleeing Nazi-occupied Europe and the Zionist effort to foster immigration to Palestine. It was inconsistent with the major effort, fostered by the British Foreign Office and implemented by the Mandatory government, to restrict Jewish immigration to Palestine. The diamond industry case was from the point of view of the British the exception that proved its (policy) rule.

The relatively simple machinery required for diamond processing and polishing, which could be produced in Palestine, facilitated the forced and rapid transfer of the industry. In more than one sense it involved mainly the transfer of expertise – i.e., human capital at the disposal of the Jewish immigrants. The rapid expansion of output, which provided the entire supply of industrial diamonds for the Middle East, and exported 80 percent of its product, mainly to the jewelry business in the United States, required extensive training of locals. This was soon successfully accomplished. Though its comparative contribution to manufacturing employment declined significantly after the war, the diamond industry survived in Palestine even as the traditional centers of the industry in Belgium and the Netherlands were revived after the war. Israel became one of the major centers of that industry, in trading and polishing, in the second half of the 20th century.

The second industry that expanded vigorously during the war was metal and machinery. It was converted to war production, supplying, among other things, almost all the antitank mines and spare parts for vehicles and ships required in the Middle East. The third, a related precision instruments and optics industry, was a by-product of this development and initially produced exclusively for military requirements. This complex of industries soon provided, in the immediate aftermath of the war, the foundation of what was initially the illegal small-arms industry of the Haganah, and after independence provided the basis for Israel's defense industry. A chemical industry based on the Dead Sea Potash Works, established in the early 1930s, and the beginning of a pharmaceutical industry also emerged in the late 1930s. In the last years of the war they employed about 10 percent of the labor force in manufacturing.

Neither of these industrial complexes, which took shape by the late 1930s and emerged as highly significant components of the Jewish economy's manufacturing capacity, could have emerged without a substantial group of highly trained and experienced workers. In the 1930s this was provided mainly by the stream of immigrants from Germany and Central Europe, which included a significant share, 15 percent, of university graduates: engineers, medical doctors, chemists, etc. These immigrants initially faced severe absorption problems; it was hard for them to find work in their fields of expertise. The outbreak of the war soon resolved their employment problems. The demand for their know-how grew immensely as communications and trade links with Europe and America were disrupted and the British and Allied military supply system in the Middle East had to rely more and more on domestic resources. They were soon reinforced by Hebrew University of Jerusalem and Haifa Technion (the Israel Institute of Technology) graduates, who began moving into the market for highly trained labor.

The rising incomes across the board generated, inevitably, increasing demand for consumer goods such as food and textiles. In the prosperous years of the war and its aftermath these grew, too, in terms of employment and production. However, the growth was at significantly lower rates than in producer goods. Expansion of demand was felt in the Arab manufacturing sector too. Between 1939 and 1945 its employment grew at an average annual rate of six percent and its product by about eight percent, although this was less than half the corresponding annual growth rates of the Jewish sector. Furthermore, while Jewish manufacturing was undergoing a major structural change, Arab manufacturing expanded along traditional consumption goods lines.

Although the citrus industry was in the doldrums, the Arab labor force benefited from the conditions of overemployment of the war years and moved into the openings in its own manufacturing sector, military building projects in particular. This reduced significantly its direct linkage with the Jewish economy, which in 1935 had been employing a meaningful share of Arab labor in citriculture and construction. These years thus saw the beginning of the end of the one-way labor market links between the two distinct economic sectors that had begun with the Arab uprising of 1936.

War Prosperity, Inflation, and the Short-Term Peace Reconversion

In terms of the unemployment rate, which rose to 5.7 percent in 1940, the first year of the war seemingly belongs to the period of the economic slowdown. But with employment in the Jewish economy expanding by almost six percent in that year, the labor market had been improving considerably. The rise of the unemployment rate was due mainly to the almost eight percent increase in the size of the labor force, reflecting, with a lag, the surge of Aliyah in 1939. By 1941 unemployment disappeared from the economic scene for the next seven years.

With unemployment at less than three percent in 1941, and close to zero in the six succeeding years through 1947, the labor market showed the exploding economic prosperity of these years. The relief on the employment front reflected primarily the booming war-induced domestic aggregate demand described above. It was also due to the substantial voluntary recruitment into the British army: the 27,000 Jewish volunteers serving in the Jewish brigade and other Jewish units were about 11 percent of the labor force in 1945. The most interesting feature of the postwar labor market shows in the unemployment data of 1946 and 1947; in these two years, though all the Jewish soldiers had been released from service and rejoined the labor market, and there had been 41,000 new immigrants, the unemployment rates were 0.2 and 0.3 percent in 1946 and 1947 respectively (Table 7). The markets, including the labor market, evidently operated in boom conditions at that time, which were also years of all-out struggle with the British government for "free Aliyah" as well as the illegal immigration drive carried out by the Zionist Organization. These struggles were supported emotionally, politically, and financially by the remaining Jewish communities all over the globe.

Prices, wages, and incomes responded to the war boom immediately. Prices rose at once – by the end of 1940 these were already 20 percent higher than in 1939, and by 1941 they were 49 percent higher than on the eve of the war. Nominal wages also rose, though initially at lower rates: almost seven percent in 1940 and about 14 percent in 1941. Thanks to price inflation, these figures actually represented a highly significant reduction of real wages, as can be seen in the real wage figures in Table 6. If initially, in the still weak labor market of 1940, workers and the population at large were subject to a temporary "money illusion" by the booming labor market, the severe erosion of real wages from 1941 led to a corrective arrangement: an official committee representing labor, industrial employees, and the Palestine government recommended in 1942 that wages be linked to the cost of living, with periodic adjustments to match changes in the cost-of-living index. This recommendation was immediately adopted, initiating the era of price indexation, which turned out to be a major institutional device affecting the workings of the Palestine, and later Israeli, economy for almost six decades to come.

Its immediate effect was an effective upward adjustment of real wages. By 1943 these were approximately back to the level of 1939, but now in the context of overemployment, thus reflecting a major increase in income of the entire labor force. It was increasing productivity that sustained that pattern and allowed real wages to climb further. By the end of the war these were 40 percent higher than at the previous (accidental) peak of 1935. The net domestic product per employee figures in Table 6 exhibit the rising average product of labor and indicate a robust 40 percent rise in labor productivity by 1945 from 1939. These figures explain the factors supporting the highly significant performance of the Jewish economy in terms of real wages during the six years of the war.

The economics of the last two years of the Mandate period were of special significance, particularly in the political context of that period. These were years of confrontation with the British government, which stuck to the policy articulated in the 1939 White Paper, abandoning some of Britain's commitments under the 1922 League of Nations Mandate. Yet these two years of confrontation, which involved clashes with the British army and navy, mainly related to the Zionist-organized illegal immigration of Jewish refugees, were years of roaring prosperity in Palestine, and correspondingly also of declining inflation. Price inflation was down to an average of three to four percent, and national product grew at an average annual rate of 12.5 percent. Correspondingly, per capita product in the Jewish sector grew at a somewhat higher rate due to a lower rate of population increase (Table 5). This performance, reflecting a significant increase of labor productivity in the Jewish economy, was expressed in an outstanding leap of real wages by a 9.4 percent average annual rate.

These highly beneficial developments in terms of price inflation, production, and corresponding income growth and thus overall economic welfare were due to an exogenous postwar factor that supported the maintenance of high aggregate demand yet generated downward pressure on prices. This was, of course, the reopening of communications and transport links with Europe and across the Atlantic and the Indian Ocean, allowing both the revival of citrus production and export and reopening Palestine to a flow of imports. The citrus exports – at a lower level of production than before the war, owing to the conversion to other uses of about 20 percent of the prewar growing area – offered a significant net contribution to exports representing a meaningful increase of net national product, in 1947 in particular. The imports were sufficient to generate downward pressure on domestic price levels.

The postwar high domestic aggregate demand, even though military procurements had been cut drastically, was primarily due to the instantaneous revival of the building industry. After six years in which building for civilian purposes was legally prohibited, and a full decade of a depressed Jewish building industry, the Jewish population – 20 percent larger in 1945 than in 1939 – was eager for an expansion of living space. The much higher per capita incomes and especially the accumulated savings from the war years provided the financing for a major building boom. The war-inherited inflationary expectations were of course also relevant, and suggested to many households the wisdom of an immediate move into the housing market. The building industry revival offered a substitute market for the cement and stone industries just as military procurements were disappearing. Its upturn of activity, and its traditional role in Palestine as the leading branch in the business cycle, provided the stimulus for a major revival of domestic demand. That logic applied similarly to the Arab building sector, which also rebounded sharply in the immediate aftermath of the war. The employment data of Table 7, which indicates a twofold increase in employment in construction in the Jewish sector and an increase of more than four times in the Arab sector, underlines this retrospective reading of events.

These prosperous economic conditions contributed undoubtedly to the morale and steadfastness of the Jewish population in the political struggle with the British between 1945 and 1948 for unrestricted immigration and the establishment of a Jewish state. Thus successful economic performance at this last stage of the Mandate offered the Jewish community a material base for the crucial stage of that effort.

IN THE STATE OF ISRAEL

The Israeli War of Independence, set off by an Arab attack on a Jewish bus on November 30, 1947, in response to the United Nations decision on the Palestine partition plan the previous day, followed by violence against Jews and Jewish property in Jerusalem and all over the country, raged on and off in 1948 between temporary UN-imposed armistices. March 10, 1949, the date when Israel Defense Force units reached Eilat, on the shore of the Red Sea, marked the end of the war.

The four armistice agreements of 1949 – the last signed with Syria in July, following earlier agreements with Egypt, Lebanon, and Jordan in February, March, and April respectively – constituted a crucial geographical and demographic watershed for the emerging Jewish state. These agreements defined the armistice lines, known as the "Green Line," – effectively, an international border – with the four neighboring Arab states. These gave effective political control to Israel over 20,770 square kilometers of the 27,009 sq km area of Mandatory Palestine – about 77 percent of its total area.

The immediate demographic impact of the war, confirmed in practice by the armistice agreements, was also highly significant. A major share of the Arab population – about 500–550,000 – that had been living in the area on the Israeli side of the 1949 Armistice lines escaped during the hostilities to areas behind the lines of the Arab forces. Those refugees who lived in the north, in Haifa and Galilee, went – temporarily, as they believed – to Lebanon and Syria. Those in the central and southern part of Palestine crossed into the Jordanian-held areas later known as the West Bank and the Egyptian-held territory soon known as the Gaza Strip. This meant that at the end of the hostilities only about 150,000 Arabs and 15,000 Druze remained within the Green Line.

On the other hand, from May 15, 1948, onward, the Zionist demand for "free Aliyah" could at last be realized. Thus, from May 15 to the end of 1948, about 100,000 immigrants arrived in Israel. A similar number arrived in the following two quarters through mid-1949 – the total for that whole year amounting to some 240,000. This meant that the Jewish population, which was almost 650,000 at the declaration of Independence, grew to almost 900,000 within one year (Table 14).

These two factors, geography and demography, inevitably determined the economic agenda of the nascent state.

Free Aliyah and Demographics, 1948–2005

THE FIVE WAVES OF IMMIGRATION. The drastic transformation of the demographic structure within that single year was an expression of the initial stage of the first wave of mass immigration, which arrived between May 15, 1948 and the end of 1951. It represented the "free Aliyah" policy adopted by the government, for which the Zionist movement had been struggling for three generations.

Its implementation at that rapid pace also reflected the availability of candidates for immediate immigration to the emerging Jewish state. First there were the approximately 100,000 illegal immigrants whom the British had deported to Cyprus between 1945 and May 1948, and held in detention camps there. Another reservoir of potential immigrants was the population of European Jewish refugees still living in displaced persons camps run by the Allied Military Government in Germany in 1948, three years after the end of World War II. Almost all of the 200,000 immigrants to Israel through the end of 1949 from Europe (and America) shared this experience. Though the flow from Europe continued (at a significantly lower rate), the focus of the effort in 1950 shifted to Yemen and in 1951 to Iraq. Almost all of these two ancient Jewish communities, comprising 70–80,000 and over 100,000 respectively, with roots going back to the era of the Talmud and the Mishna, went to Israel in 1950 and 1951.

That first wave of mass immigration of 1948–51, which involved a gross immigration flow of almost 700,000 (more than the Jewish population at the time of independence) subsided in 1952. This was not accidental. Though the emptying of Jewish refugee camps all over Europe and the almost com-

Table 14. Population in Israel: Selected Years[1]

Year	Population (Thousands)				Population Growth (1950=100)				Ratio
	Jews[2] (1)	Arabs[3] (2)	Druze (3)	Total (4)	Jews (5)	Arabs (6)	Druze (7)	Total (8)	Jews[4] (9)
1947	630	–	–	–	52	–	–	–	–
1948	650[5]	–	–	–	54	–	–	–	–
1949	717	–	–	873	63	–	–	–	82.1
1950	1,203	152	15	1,370	100	100	100	100	87.8
1955	1,591	180	19	1,790	132	118	127	131	88.9
1960	1,911	216	23	2,150	159	142	153	157	88.9
1967	2,384	–	–	2,776	198	–	–	203	85.9
1970	2,582	404	36	3,022	215	266	240	221	85.4
1980	3,283	588	51	3,922	273	387	340	286	83.7
1990	3,947	792	83	4,822	328	521	553	352	81.9
2000	5,181	1,081	104	6,369	431	711	693	465	81.3
2003	5,447	1,188	111	6,748	453	782	740	493	80.7
Average Annual Rates of Change = (Percent)									
					Jews	Arabs	Druze	Total	
1947–2003		–	–	–	3.9	–	–	–	–
1950–2003		–	–	–	2.9	4.0	3.8	3.1	–
1950–1970		–	–	–	3.9	4.5	4.5	4.0	–
1970–2003		–	–	–	2.3	3.5	3.5	2.5	–

Notes:

1. Year-end population figures rounded to the nearest one thousand.
2. The estimate for the Jewish population from 2000 on includes population belonging to the groups classified in the official statistics as "religious unclassified" and "non-Arab Christians." In 2003 the former group included 255,000 people and the latter 27,000.
3. Includes Muslims and Arab Christians.
4. As a percent of total population.
5. Estimate of Jewish population on May 15, 1948.

Table 15. Immigration to Israel: 1948–2003

Year	Immigrants (Thousands)		Immigrants Per Thousand Residents	Immigrants by Continent (Percent)[1]			
	Total (1)	Yearly Average (2)	(3)	Asia (4)	Africa (5)	Europe, America, Oceania (6)	Total (7)
1948–2003	2,951	54	–	13	17	70	100
1948–1951	687	196	180	36	14	50	100
1952–1960	294	33	18	13	50	37	100
1961–1967	289	41	17	10	46	44	100
1968–1979	405	34	9	11	8	81	100
1980–1989	154	15	4	9	15	76	100
1990–1993	529	132	38	–	–	–	–
1990–1999	956	96	18	–	–	–	–
2000–2003	161	40	6	–	–	–	–
1990–2003	1,117	80	–	1	5	94	100

Note:

1. Immigrants by last continent of residence.

plete transfer of the Jewish communities of Iraq and Yemen were highly successful, the major slowdown in 1952 reflected a deliberate, though not officially stated, policy of the Israeli government to shelve temporarily its efforts to encourage, organize, and finance immigration. This was due to the immense strain imposed on the nascent economy of Israel by the first post-independence immigration wave. The all-time high rate of 180 immigrants per 1,000 residents during the 44-month period from May 1948 to December 1951 (Table 15) offers a quantitative indication of that strain.

The absorption organization for new immigrants run by the Jewish Agency almost collapsed under the weight of the numbers; its capacity to provide shelter, food, and medical services (mainly in abandoned British army camps) was pushed to the limit. With its foreign currency reserves drying up, and a major balance of payments current account deficit, the government's ability to provide housing and assure medium-term absorption of the newcomers into the labor force was overwhelmed; the major problem was the need for employment. The economics of absorption thus suggested the absolute necessity of a temporary lull in the inflow. The average yearly number of arrivals, which was 196,000 during that first post-independence wave and which was never repeated in the ensuing five decades, underlines the economic strain to which the system was subjected (Table 15).

The second wave of immigration, after a three-year lull in which the average annual inflow was only 17,000, started in 1955 and ran through 1957. It involved an average annual rate of 55,000. As did the first, it required the allocation of resources for the immigrants' initial absorption and integration, but it imposed an altogether smaller strain on the emerging, still fragile, economic system. This is suggested by the figure of 33 immigrants per thousand residents during this period; for the whole of the decade after the end of the post-independence wave of immigration, from 1952 to 1960, it was only 18 per thousand residents. This was less than one-tenth the size of the first wave (Table 15).

The timing of this second wave was set almost exclusively by the political conditions and considerations of the regimes ruling the countries of origin of these immigrants. Primarily they were Tunisia, Algeria, and Morocco in North Africa (1955–56) and Poland (1956–57) in Eastern Europe. The Algerian war, which by that time was peaking, created the incentive for the Jewish community to emigrate. Covert consent of the governments of Morocco and Tunisia, which were by that time independent states, made emigration organized by the Jewish Agency feasible. In Algeria, at that time still under the control of France, the operations of an Aliyah organization were of course legal. In Poland, a post-Stalinist upheaval bringing a change of the leadership of the ruling Communist party, using overtly antisemitic media propaganda, induced most of the remnants of the Jewish community to take the option the authorities opened of immigration to Israel. By the mid-1950s, after almost a decade of independence, a convincing economic performance, and a much more stable inflow of unilateral receipts from abroad, allowing a formidable current account deficit, the policy of encouraging emigration to Israel and using every political loophole abroad to facilitate it was again given top priority by the government.

The third wave of Aliyah of the early 1960s through 1965, averaging again somewhat more than 50,000 immigrants annually, was also dominated by political upheavals in North Africa, and the covert consent of the Moroccan government to the operation of a Jewish *aliyah* organization offering Jews facilities and expenses to move, semi-legally, to Israel. The fourth, post-Six-Day War wave of immigration, with an average inflow of 45,000 through 1974, was undoubtedly generated by the identification of Jewish communities worldwide with Israel and its victory against all odds. This burst of identification and enthusiasm included even Soviet Jewry, which for almost five decades was perceived by Zionists as a "lost tribe." With Zionism an anathema to the Communist regime, and the universal ban on foreign travel for Soviet citizens, Jewish immigration to Palestine had been virtually stopped since around

1920. Due largely to foreign pressure, the conservative Brezhnev regime allowed an exception to the universal foreign travel ban and even more so on emigration. This was made only for Jews applying to immigrate to Israel. The application procedure and the secret criteria on the basis of which applications were granted or rejected imposed considerable danger on the applicants. Yet many Jews did take the risk. This resulted in an inflow of about 30,000 immigrants annually from the Soviet Union in the early 1970s (1971–74 approximately) before the policy changed and reduced permits to a trickle.

In the post-Yom Kippur War period through the mid-1980s, the so-called "lost decade" ("lost" economically), immigration reached record lows (see below, The Evolution of the Jewish Demographic Structure). The annual average was 18,000 for the 15-year period ending in the late 1980s. The rate of inflow was only four per 1,000 residents (Table 15), which means that for that rather long period *aliyah* had only a minor impact, if any, on the economy. Net immigration was even lower. Emigration was quite small from the 1980s on, but it usually increased during economic slowdowns such as this.

The revival of sustained economic activity began sometime around 1987–88, in the wake of the 1985 stabilization policy (see below), but only gained real momentum from 1990 onwards, as the unexpected mass immigration following the relaxation of the Soviet Union's emigration policies after 1988 began to flow into Israel, from December of that year onward. Within its first 43 months through the mid-1993, over half a million immigrants arrived – not many fewer than the 690,000 who arrived in the first post-independence wave of mass immigration of 1948–51. Though the annual average of immigrants was lower, about 130,000 compared to 200,000 for the first wave, and considerably lower per Israeli resident, 38 compared to 180, an inflow of more than 500,000 immigrants into a country with a population of about 4.5 million, and a Jewish community of 3.7 million, did of course have a significant and immediate economic impact. In the short run it first affected, inevitably, aggregate demand. In the longer run, it made a major contribution to the national product. The very large influx of immigrants of the early 1990s was not sustained throughout the decade. From 1993 to 2000, it ranged from 60–70,000; in the ensuing period through 2005 it was about 30,000. Yet in the closing of the decade of the 20th century and through 2005, about 1.15 million immigrants came to Israel, which by the end of 2005 had a population of about seven million, with a Jewish (and Jewish-affiliated) community of some 5.5 million.

THE EMIGRATION (YERIDAH) EFFECT. These immigration figures and the total immigration data of Table 15, which indicate the total number of immigrants between 1948 and 2003 was close to 3 million, are of course gross figures. Net immigration was inevitably lower; Israel, as is any country absorbing significant immigration, is subject to emigration too. Its incidence among new immigrants is, as elsewhere, higher than that among the longer-established population.

Owing to Israel's inability to agree on a legal definition of "emigrants," the statistics on emigration (in Hebrew parlance *yeridah*, a semiderogatory expression) are rough estimates. The best estimate of emigration in the 1990s, the era of the second mass immigration, was about seven percent of the total number of newcomers. Since the option of returning to the country of origin or moving to another destination was severely limited in the late 1940s and through the 1950s, the emigration rate during the first mass immigration was clearly lower. Between the late 1960s through the 1980s, immigration rates were much lower and options to emigrate were rapidly increasing. These rates, which of course include the emigration of older immigrants and native Israelis as well, were undoubtedly higher than the seven percent of the 1990s. This applied particularly to periods of economic slowdown, for example the second half of the 1980s. All in all the available consensus estimate of emigration from 1948 through 2003 puts it at about 450–500,000. This means that the average emigration rate was about 15 percent of the total immigration inflow (Sicron 2004).

THE PATTERN OF DEMOGRAPHIC BALANCE. The impact of *aliyah* on the demographic balance, a highly sensitive issue from the very beginning of Zionism in the last quarter of the 19th century through the early 21st century and beyond, is indicated in the population data in Table 14. Israel's total population increased 7.7 times in the 55 years between the end of 1948 through 2003, at an average annual rate of 3.8 percent, and Jewish population grew at the same rate. The latter rate was 3.9 percent, based on the rough mid-1948 estimate of the Jewish population.

These were evidently very high population growth rates. An inevitable highly significant economic implication of these very high growth rates was scarcity of land, for the population as a whole and for the Jewish population in particular. The settlements established beyond the Green Line since 1967 do not make a meaningful difference on this account. Yet in spite of the dire predictions of British experts in the early 1930s about the depressant implication of growing land scarcity, which would erode the living standards of the Palestinian Arab population in particular, the living standards of the Arab community of Israel, about one million by 2003, had improved by an order of magnitude even though the land area at the disposal of Israeli Arabs had not grown since 1949. This holds, of course, for the Jewish population too, though Israel, with an area of only about 80 percent of Mandatory Palestine, had by 2004 a population of about 7 million, compared to one million in 1930 when these predictions were made. Indeed Arab population in Israel alone was in 2003 some 20 percent larger than the Arab population of Mandatory Palestine in 1931 (Tables 1 and 14). This of course underlines the fact that land is only one of the relevant factors of production, even in the case of the farming industry.

The demographic balance, which in the seven decades of the pre-state Zionist resettlement effort was a crucial political issue, was at the turn of the 21st century still a highly sensitive subject. Its quantitative dimensions are displayed in Table 14, in terms of the ratio of Jews to the total of Israel's population. The figure for the end of 1948, which represents the initial universal population registration implemented on November 11 of that year (before the end of the war) indicates an 82.1 percent ratio of Jewish population to the total, which at that date was less than one million. The first mass immigration changed that ratio; it peaked at about 89 percent toward the mid-1960s, when Israel's population was 2.5 million.

However, the much lower immigration rates even during the peaks of subsequent immigration waves through 1989 did not overcome the major fertility gap between the Arab (majority Muslim) population and the Jewish population. Jewish total birth rates, which were 3.56 children in the 1950s, declined over the decades to 2.73 in 2001–05. Even the recent low rates are indeed very high compared to those elsewhere in the industrial world, even those of the 1950s, and particularly at the turn of the millennium, when in some industrialized countries birth rates had collapsed to a figure below 1.0. However, Jewish birth rates paled in comparison to the total birth rate of the Israeli Muslim Arabs which were a record even in the Arab world of the 1950s and remained so around the year 2000. (They were as high as 9.23 in the 1960s.) They then declined considerably to 4.5 in 2003. The birth rates of the small Christian Arab communities were for several decades considerably lower than those of the Jewish community.

With such comparative birth rates, the low *aliyah* influxes of the late 1950s through the late 1980s could not overcome the declining trend of the ratio of Jewish population to the total. By 1988, before the arrival of the next, unexpected mass immigration, the Jewish population's share of the total declined to 81.7 percent. That next mass immigration, and the reduction of the Muslim-Jewish birth rate gap from 5.84 in the 1960s to 2.05 in the 1990s and to less than 2 by 2003, halted the decline. The Jewish share of the total population hovered in the 81 percent range from 1990 to 2003.

THE EVOLUTION OF THE JEWISH DEMOGRAPHIC STRUCTURE. The demographic structure of the Jewish community, which in the Mandatory period was dominated by immigrants from European countries, was subject to a significant change during the nearly six decades of the state of Israel's history. This had a direct long-run bearing on the productivity and on the quality of its labor force

According to the rough classifications of immigrants by previous continent of residence, in the successive waves of immigration from 1948 through 1967, about 50 percent of the immigrants were from Asia and Africa through 1960 and close to 60 percent in the 1961–67 period (the Asia-Africa category refers effectively to immigrants from Arabic-speaking countries stretching from Yemen to Iraq and through North Africa). That pattern changed from the 1970s on, since almost all Jewish communities in those countries had by that time already left, mostly to Israel, while the Communist regimes of Eastern Europe, including the Soviet Union, liberalized emigration rules for Jews who wanted to move to Israel. The collapse of the Soviet Union in the early 1990s changed the rules of the game altogether, an opportunity seized by most members of the Jewish community, generating the 1990–2000 mass immigration that brought over a million new immigrants to Israel. Immigrants in the European-American category were accordingly about 59 percent of the 1968–89 "low immigration" period, and close to 94 percent of the immigration avalanche in the 1990s and later. The overall average of European-American immigrants from 1948 through 2003 was about 70 percent of the total, including about 7.5 percent from the Americas, North and South.

The evolution of the social and cultural mosaic of Israel's Jewish community was of course affected by the rapidly growing number of its native-born members; they were 35 percent in 1948 and about 64 percent in 2003. Second generation native Israelis were somewhat less than seven percent in 1948, and more than 30 percent by 2003. What complicates the sociological features even more, and thus the economic implications of the evolving communal structure of the Jewish population, is of course the prevailing widespread intermarriages between members of distinct Jewish communities. This has been loosening significantly the traditional cohesion of these communities, which, separated by history and geography, have found themselves together in Israel. A process of integration into a cohesive entity was of course a high priority for Zionism – the so-called "melting pot," in Zionist parlance. That process has gained considerable momentum, as the rising rate of intermarriage indicates. It was quite high by the 1990s – about 33 percent of marriages.

The immediate implication of the changing mosaic of the intermixed Jewish communal structure had an obvious effect on its comparatively high birth rate. It indeed was lower than that of the Arab Muslim population, which still has Third World features in this sphere. Yet Jewish total birth rates in the range of 2.66–2.73, as they were in the 2000–04 period, are sky-high compared to the comparable rates characteristic of the industrialized world. They were even higher (in the 3.0–3.56 range) from the 1950s through the 1970s. These rates would have been lower if most of the Oriental Jewish community had not immigrated to Israel since 1948. The available data indicates that immigrants from Asia, and particularly from North Africa, had significantly higher birth rates than those of immigrants from Europe and native Israelis. The opposite is true of the immigrants from the Soviet Union in the 1990s; the birth rate among that group was significantly less than two.

Total birth rates were also affected by religious observance. The Orthodox and "traditional" section of the Jewish community had, and has, higher birth rates than the secular group. The behavior of the latter is more in line with that of the industrialized societies of the West. It was, however, still higher by a meaningful margin than that prevalent in the industrialized countries through 2004. The higher birth rates of

Oriental Jews reflect the much higher ratio of Orthodox and traditional observant Jews in that community. Nevertheless, though still higher than that of the European-American section of the Jewish community, an interesting phenomenon over time was the pattern of their obvious and consistently declining birth rates toward the relatively stable overall norm maintained in the late 1990s and into the first decade of the new century. This is evidently another manifestation of the melting pot process which has developed within the Jewish community over almost six decades.

ALIYAH AND HUMAN CAPITAL. Human capital, the accumulation of which is of major significance in the process of economic growth, was another subject affected by the waves of immigration. The pre-state level of that factor was quite adequate, comparable to that of the highly industrialized countries of Western and Central Europe. It was undoubtedly significantly improved by the pre-state Fifth Aliyah of 1932–39, which included a relatively high number of university personnel, medical doctors, architects, and engineers, and made a major contribution towards the emergence of the industrial society of the Jewish community of Palestine. Among other things it enabled the Jewish community to make a crucial contribution to the 1939–45 war effort.

The major mass immigration of the late 1940s and early 1950s could not improve matters on that score. Even maintenance of the previous average level was a problem in view of the composition of the newcomers. The European immigrants who came to Israel were Holocaust survivors, and most of them were young people for whom school attendance had merely been a dream for those years. The immigrants from the Arab countries, about one half of the total, came from what in those decades were Third World environments, which could hardly provide a meaningful preparation for life in an industrial society.

It was thus not an accident that the very first law adopted by the Knesset was the law mandating nine years of compulsory education from kindergarten through elementary school. This assured the continuation of the effectively universal primary education system that the Jewish community had maintained in the Mandate period. The government also immediately channeled major resources into secondary schools and higher education. By the early 1960s secondary education was already universal. The two academic institutions established in the early 1920s, the Hebrew University of Jerusalem and the Technion – Israel Institute of Technology, together had only about 1,600 students in the shortened 1948–49 academic year, which started in April 1949 after the cessation of hostilities. By 1960 the number of students totaled 10,000 at these institutions and Tel Aviv University, which had also opened by that time. The number of university students was close to 40,000 by the outbreak of the Yom Kippur War in 1973, when seven universities were operating, and 125,000 by 2003. In that year there were also some 68,000 students enrolled in first- and second-degree programs in the academic colleges.

The effort to increase training, know-how, and experience during these years was mainly domestic, financed by the public sector. It was supported by significant direct contributions from Jews in the Diaspora, who financed mainly the infrastructure of the rapidly expanding and growing number of institutions of higher education. Furthermore, the immigrants of the 1970s and 1980s were better educated and had mostly come from modern industrial societies. But with *aliyah* low for about 15 years after the Yom Kippur War – the number of immigrants per resident was down to around four per resident (Table 15) – the impact of the better-educated new arrivals could not make a major difference on the stock of human capital. It improved with the rapidly increasing flow of graduates from universities and other institutions of higher education.

This changed as the mass immigration of the 1990s began arriving in Israel. The relatively high number of scientists and experienced engineers, and the impressive array of teachers, nurses, and other trained professionals arriving in that decade (mostly from the former Soviet Union), were reminiscent of the composition of the Fifth Aliyah. Furthermore, elementary and high school-age immigrants arriving with their parents also had a strong educational background.

Most significant was the very size of that immigration, which added more than 20 percent to the size of the population within somewhat more than a decade. Thus, on top of its contributions to the highly sensitive demographic balance of the state at the turn of the century, it undoubtedly increased significantly the stock of human capital – one of the array of factors of production, and a vital component of the labor force. The expected long-run benefit of this feature could not be fully expressed within the short period of just over a decade. Its expected impact in the longer run is obvious.

The Resettlement Saga of the State Years, 1948–2005

The dominating challenges for the leadership of the nascent state in its first decade were its control of population entry into Israel, which involved highly significant though not absolute control of the *aliyah* flows surveyed above, and its control of the land. Most of this latter was uncultivated state land, but it included a significant area hitherto cultivated by the rural Arab population of about 350–380,000, who left their homes during the 14 months of active hostilities between November 1947 and January 1949, and sought refuge in the Jordanian-held sector of Palestine, in Lebanon and Syria, and in the Gaza Strip, occupied by Egypt. These refugees also left housing, most of which was of very poor standards compared to that prevalent in industrialized countries. The 150–200,000 refugees from urban areas – Jaffa, Haifa's Arab neighborhoods, the mainly Arab southwestern sections of Jerusalem, and several much smaller urbanized centers, also left empty housing. A highly significant portion of this housing was used for new Jewish immigrants.

ALIYAH AND MAKESHIFT HOUSING. Of the roughly 200,000 immigrants who arrived within the first year of independence, and the approximately 700,000 in the ensuing 43 months through 1951, only a small number had relatives or others who could help them find housing and offer them support as they began their absorption into Israeli society. Groups organized by the kibbutz movement or the Youth Aliyah Organization would direct some to specific kibbutzim prepared to take them in, but most had no alternative but to rely on makeshift arrangements made by the official absorption organization run by the Jewish Agency. During the first 43 months of the mass immigration phase this organization directed new arrivals to the recently emptied housing in Arab towns and Arab neighborhoods of mixed towns (Jerusalem, Haifa, Safed, and Tiberias). These urban locations offered some basic infrastructure in addition to housing. Other newcomers were sent to Jewish urban centers, which could offer infrastructure, but initially only very limited housing. This process required the virtually overnight erection of campuses of temporary housing – tents and corrugated sheet metal huts for thousands. Former British army camps located in or near these towns, Haifa and Jerusalem in particular, were also used for this purpose. These were the so-called *ma'abarot*, a new Hebrew term invented to specify the transitional nature of these arrangements: temporary neighborhoods for new immigrants.

THE EXPANSION OF JEWISH PRESENCE: SETTLEMENTS, NUMBERS, LOCATION, AND STRUCTURE. The figures shown in Table 16 indicate that by 1952, four years after independence, population in Jewish rural settlements was already about 250,000 – almost 100,000 more than in 1947. Allowing for natural growth, rural settlements therefore had absorbed 70–75,000 of the new immigrants – about ten percent of immigrants who had arrived during the period of what could be described as the genesis of the Jewish state. This process involved the creation of 277 new settlements during the four years after May 1948.

In terms of the number of settlements established, the period from May 1948 through the end of 1952 compares to the 70 years of Zionist resettlement starting with the foundation of Petaḥ Tikvah in 1878, a period within which 308 rural settlements were created. During the war, Arabs destroyed nine in locations outside the Green Line.

Though effectively part of the process of providing housing to new immigrants, this all-out effort was focused on the traditional Zionist objective – extending the Jewish presence everywhere in Ereẓ Israel. This was inhibited by British policy, which over the three decades of the Mandate first slowed the resettlement effort and after the 1939 White Paper attempted to stop it altogether.

The Armistice agreements signed between February and July 1949 meant not only the end of the Mandatory legal restriction on the acquisition of land by Jews, but also led to the transfer of Crown land, which effectively included the entire area of the Negev – about half the area of the state – to the ownership of the state of Israel. On top of that, the state took effective possession of land owned and cultivated by the Arab refugees from the rural areas, including a substantial portion of the Arab citrus groves in the coastal plain, all of which, except for the Gaza Strip, was inside the Green Line. These areas, most of which were used for dry farming of field crops, including other fruit groves, were taken under the management of the so-called Custodian of Absentee Property, serving ostensibly as the legal representative of the original property owners. These areas, too, were immediately available for cultivation at no immediate cost to the resettlement authorities, comparable to Crown land. The state of Israel thus acknowledged implicitly the titles of the original Arab owners of this land, as well as of the urban real estate which was similarly placed under the management of the Custodian of Absentee Property. Conceivably the value of these properties would eventually be negotiated at a future peace conference.

This implicit capital commitment to the absentee owners involved of course no immediate payment for the use of these properties. Nor was any cost involved for the use of cultivable state (formerly Crown) land not previously used for farming. Thus in contrast to the pre-state situation in which a major portion of Jewish capital imports had to be allocated for the purchase of land, this cost item was wiped out (although there was an ostensible conceptual commitment to payment in the future). This meant that whatever resources were immediately available for the resettlement effort could be devoted to capital investment, which among other things involved land improvement and the extension of irrigation – major inputs in agricultural production.

The high priority given to the major resettlement effort that was launched in 1948, while the war was still going on, was underlined by the establishment of 37 settlements between May 15 and the end of that year. These were more than ten percent of the number of settlements established during the previous 70 years. The urgency of this move derived from the belief that the borders of the state could be assured only by the Jewish spade.

Though reflecting the traditional priority given by the Zionist movement to agriculture, economic considerations at the time supported such a policy, not only in Israel, but everywhere. The post-World War II environment, which still involved at that time rationing and price controls (over consumer goods and food in particular), in all western European countries, led to the universal rise of state agricultural policy across Europe (still in force six decades later in the European Union). In Israel, with mass immigration the dominant feature in the 1945–51 period, and the young state's foreign currency reserves at low levels, universal rationing and price controls were also the rule. Promotion of farm production was in these circumstances evidently of the highest economic priority, and fully in line with developments elsewhere.

Finally, the direction of a substantial group of the new immigrants to rural resettlement allowed controlled provision to them not only of housing in the new settlements, but also of an allocation of capital investment in the form of land,

Table 16. Rural Settlements, Populations and Cultivated Area

	1947	1948–49	1952	1961	1972	1983	1995	2003[1]
A. Jewish Sector								
1. Rural Settlements								
a. Total[2]	299	–	628	708	692	878	955	940
b. Kibbutzim	138	–	217	228	226	267	269	266
c. Moshavim	69	–	261	366	374	448	454	451
d. Moshavot	59	–	68	70	44[4]	68	80	71
e. Communal and Institutional Localities[3]	33	–	82	44	48	95	152	152
2. Population (Thousands)	135	–	256	298	255	330	423	481
a. Kibbutzim	(40)	–	69	77	89	115	125	116
b. Moshavim	35	–	79	124	130	150	173	223
c. Moshavot	46	–	72	86	23[4]	40	50	55
d. Communal and Institutional Localities	14	–	36	11	13	25	75	87
3. Cultivated Area (Thousands of Dunams)								
a. Total	1380	1310	2960	3180	3405	3056	3071	3804
b. Irrigated	235	292	638	1331	1707	2079	1824	1770
c. Citrus	120	125	135	339	425	394	276	184
d. Other Plantations	–	275	208	302	289	385	386	464
4. Planted Forests	62	53	148	326	536	678	856	971
B. Arab and Druze Sector								
1. Rural Localities	–	–	102	101	90	91	40[5]	33
2. Population (Thousands)[6]	–	–	132	184	206	200	86	81
3. Cultivated Land (Thousands of Dunams)	–	340	590	850	760	719	599	533
a. Irrigated	–	8	12	29	58	75	83	93
C. Total Cultivated Area								
1. Cultivated Area[7]	–	1600	3550	4150	4165	4300	4300	4337
2. Irrigated	–	300	540	1360	1765	2194	1943	1863
3. Citrus	–	184	135	340	426	400	277	184

Notes:

1. The figures for settlements and population are for 2003; the entries for cultivated areas in sections B and C are for 2002.
2. The difference of nine settlements between the figures for 1947 in tables 3 and 16 reflects the number of Jewish settlements destroyed in the war and located beyond the Green (Armistice) Line.
3. Through 1972, and excluding 1952, the category includes rural educational institutions, which operate as separate settlements. In 1953 it also included so-called "labor villages," a kind of settlement converted later to a cooperative settlement, or abolished altogether, and also private ranches.

   A new type of settlement, which surfaced in the mid-1970s, the so-called "communal locality," is included in this category from 1983 onwards. It reflects the reclassification of settlements by the CBS. This type of settlement is located in rural areas, and is small – several hundred housing units at most. Its residents are not involved in farming; they practice urban occupations mostly in an urban center in the vicinity.
4. The significant reductions of the number of Moshavot between 1961 and 1972, which affected the corresponding population figures, reflects the granting of legal urban status to a significant number of older settlements that had over 2,000 residents. These were thus classified as urban localities by the Central Bureau of Statistics and included in its urban category of settlements.
5. The significant reduction of the number of Arab rural localities is due to the reclassification of localities with populations of 2,000–9,999 as urban entities. The total number of non-Jewish localities, rural and urban, was 110 in 1950 and 122 in 2003.
6. The population figures for Arab rural localities include the Bedouin (nomadic and later semi-nomadic) tribes. Their population was about 30,000 in 1952 and by 2003 was close to 60,000.
7. Israel's total cultivated area figures in Part C also include the areas of planted forest, and the irrigated area figures include the areas of fishponds. These two items are not included in the corresponding entries in Part A-3 or the relevant lines of Part B

farm equipment, and circulating capital, and an immediate opening to productive employment. The integration of all these elements into effective new production units providing adequate real income of course required guidance – on-the-spot instruction for the newcomers, who were not only new immigrants, but also new to agriculture. This service was provided to settlements of new immigrants by a small group of veteran farmers operating as coaches, who volunteered to stay temporarily in the new settlements.

This stage of the resettlement saga, which nearly doubled the number of rural settlements within four years, began only late in 1949. But by the end of 1948 there were the 37 new settlements – 27 kibbutzim and ten moshavim. these had been founded by groups of veterans – graduates of the local youth movements, second-generation members of the settlement movement – who had been serving in the army and had been released from active service during the period within which the last three major campaigns of the war were still being fought, suggesting the sense of urgency with which the state viewed the establishment of these settlements. The supply of this kind of settler, however – young, Mandatory Palestine-educated, graduates of the Jewish school system and youth movements – was limited. Thus, of the roughly 80 kibbutzim added to the 138 already existing in 1947, 67 were already operating by the end of 1949, and only 16 new ones were added in the succeeding three years.

This situation prevailed among the moshavim also. Only a handful of the 67 cooperative settlements established in 1949 were manned by veteran youth; the others were populated by new immigrants, most of whom were not ready to attempt a collective form of life (nor had they an inkling of how to do so). This applies even more to the approximately 70 moshavim established in 1950. Thus, of the over 150 newly established cooperative settlements dotting the map of Israel by the end of 1952, most were comprised of new, post-War of Independence immigrants (Table 16). The new immigrants' share of the total number of Jewish settlements was significantly lower, perhaps 140 of the approximately 540 (excluding the institutional and communal localities) on the ground by the end of 1952. They already made up more than 25 percent of the Jewish rural population, however, which within these four stormy years grew by almost 100,000 to 250,000.

This was not the end of the resettlement saga, which established new settlements all over, with a focus on border areas. It involved the opening of a major new development in the arid, and effectively empty, half of the state – the northern part of the Negev near Beersheba, which was intended to become a major urban center. Another focus of resettlement activity was the Jerusalem corridor, where less than a handful of Jewish settlements existed during the Mandate. The attempted Arab siege of Jerusalem through July 1948, facilitated by the absence of Jewish settlements along the road to the city, was the backdrop of the decision to grant priority to the establishment of settlements in this area at the very beginning of the resettlement campaign through 1952.

The resettlement process, which also involved the establishment of several towns, continued through the coming decades as well. Yet the figures on rural settlements from 1952 on indicate a highly significant reduction in the rate of creation of new rural settlements from 1953 to 1961; their number increased 13 percent to 708 (Table 16), but this has to be compared to the 100 percent increase in the number of settlements within the first four years of the new state. The curve in the trend declined significantly after 1960 and effectively flattened from the late 1980s onward.

Between the census years 1961 and 1971 Jewish rural populations even declined. This development, however, was not due to net migration from the settlements; it reflected rather the growth of the older and larger settlements, which in terms of population and economic activity had been transformed into urban localities and acquired the legal status of towns. Hence the reduction in the number of moshavot (the "individual enterprise" settlements) to only 44 by 1972 (Table 16). From then on, through the following three decades the curve of rural settlements turned upward again, as did rural population, which kept growing at an average annual rate of two percent.

The 1970s signified a major turning point in the resettlement strategy. The target, increasing the number of Jewish settlements, did not change at all. In the almost four decades between the Six-Day War and 2004, the traditional establishment of settlements in the Negev and Galilee, the Golan Heights (captured in 1967 and annexed to Israel), the lower Jordan Valley and Judea and Samaria (the West Bank) was still going on. In many of these new establishments production activity would focus on agriculture. This shows in the growth of the number of kibbutzim, moshavim, and moshavot (Table 16) through 1995, which did stop in the following decade. Yet total rural population still kept growing significantly in the following eight years at an average annual rate of 1.6 percent, due to the emergence of a new type of rural settlement, the "communal settlement." This type of settlement, which emerged in the 1970s both within the Green Line and in the West Bank, was not conceived as an agricultural production entity. Placed within at most an hour's driving distance from a major urban center, this type of settlement was designed as a bedroom community, whose residents would work in the nearby urban center. Some business ventures – high-tech or semi-high-tech industrial activities predominating – were established in some of these communities. And of course the option of working from home, at least part-time, was in the age of the personal computer undoubtedly quite prevalent. The social and economic character of these communal settlements were governed by the rules of their legal form of organization as a nonprofit association. This feature allowed the community to exercise control over the choice of candidates for membership. The location and small size of the communities, with hundreds of units at most, sustained their rural features.

The emergence of this novel type of community in the second half of the 1970s gathered momentum in the coming decades; 103 out of a net addition of 224 rural settlements through 2003, almost one half, were communities of this type. These also accounted for the surge in the rural population from its low point in early 1972. A parallel feature of these developments was the effect of emigration from the existing cooperative settlements, reflecting among other things the increase in mechanization and labor-saving technology. Veteran settlers had been selling their patrimonies to newcomers of the communal village type, and the second generation of settlers, who had had the benefit of Israel's higher education system, joined in and though staying in the villages went into high-tech or other business ventures unrelated to farming.

The emerging pattern of rural settlement in the closing decades of the 20th century and in the first decade of the 21st has thus severed the more than 100-year (since 1869) association of the Zionist movement with agricultural ventures. This was indicated in the farm employment figures: in 2003–04, it was about 30 percent lower than its all-time high in 1960, and 15 percent lower than in 1970. Agricultural product, though, was higher by more than five and three times respectively (Table 17).

Table 17. Farm Production, Employment, Capital Stock and Water Usage[1] (1950 = 100)

	1949	1950	1952	1960	1965	1970	1973	1980	1990	2000	2003
1. Net Product	80	100	144	367	507	664	782	1,238	2,087	3,230	2,049
2. Citrus:											
a. Output[2]	101	100	128	226	325	468	625	571	558	264	187
b. Exports[2]	–	100	97	238	–	488	–	510	276	170	72
3. Farm Employment	50[3]	100	130	165	158	140	128	118	103	123	118
4. Water Usage	77	100	141	319	330	376	390	372	366	343	308[4]
5. Gross Capital Stock	–	100	132	291	443	517	584	730	719	613	616
6. Tractors[5]	26	100	–	286	–	629	–	1,030	1,054	–	–

Notes:
1. Data apply to the whole farming sector.
2. Output and exports in physical terms (tons).
3. The estimate of farm employment refers to 1947.
4. The figure is for 2002.
5. Tractors used in farming only.

Table 18. Resources, National Product, Consumption, and Investment, Total and Per Capita, 1947–1974[1]

Year	Total						Per Capita[3]			Ratio Res/GNP
	Resources[2]	GDP		Consumption		Gross Investment	GDP	Consumption		
		Total	Business	Private	Public			Private	Public	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
A. 1950 = 100										
1947	–	–	50	–	–	–	109	–	–	–
1950	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	1.31
1951	121	130	130	122	121	118	113	106	105	1.21
1954	136	160	155	157	146	95	128	126	117	1.11
1955	160	177	175	169	170	104	135	129	130	1.09
1960	225	278	290	256	236	159	177	163	150	1.06
1965	364	445	442	406	379	264	235	214	199	1.07
1967	387	460	432	423	555	171	227	208	273	1.06
1970	563	644	656	540	869	366	291	244	393	1.14
1973 (Sept.)	724	840	888	694	869	603	–	–	–	–
1973	768	843	858	680	1245	531	345	279	510	1.19
1974	794	889	889	732	1282	511	356	293	513	1.17
B. Annual Average Rates of change (%)										
1950–54	7.9	12.5	11.8	11.9	9.9	-12	6.4	5.9	4.0	–
1954–73 (Sept.)	9.3	9.2	9.7	8.2	10.0	10.4	–	–	–	–
1954–73	9.5	9.1	9.4	6.7	12.2	9.5	5.4	4.2	6.6	–
1950–73	11.3	19	10.0	19.2	10.6	9.2	6.7	5.5	9.0	–

Notes:
1. Figures are rounded.
2. Resources for domestic use: GNP plus Import surplus.
3. Derived from series in columns (2) and (4), (5) and the corresponding population series of Table 14, column (8).

THE PERFORMANCE OF AGRICULTURE. The identification of resettlement and agriculture, the policy pursued during the first decade of independence, had been closely linked in Zionist ideology and in practice. In that first decade in particular, this link was also fully consistent with the needs of the markets: the domestic market for fresh food and the foreign market for Israel's major export item in those days, citrus fruits. Universal rationing and price controls on food meant that from the very first day of independence, the domestic markets for food, fueled by the immense requirements of arriving immigrants in the first wave of mass immigration, were sellers' markets, with supply lagging behind increasing demand. This applied to British and continental markets for Israeli citrus in that decade too.

The expansion of farm output required, of course, corresponding growth in inputs – cultivable land, irrigation, capital stock, labor, and know-how. Cultivable land was not a constraining element in the first decade, and particularly in the first years after independence. This was can be seen in the expansion of the cultivated area of Jewish settlements by more than two times between 1948 and 1952 (Table 16). The 1952 figure includes 300,000 dunams in the Negev, about ten percent of the cultivated area, used for farming. Irrigated areas expanded by approximately the same ratio.

Farm output depended on the contribution of the Arab sector, thus on the amount of land at its disposal, but not exclusively. By 1948–49 and in the 1950s, when the Arab population lived predominantly in rural villages, cultivated land at its disposal was 21 percent of the total. By 1952, due to an agreed border adjustment implemented late in 1949 that added to Israel a group of villages in the fertile eastern section of the Sharon plain, that area grew substantially by about 74 percent. Its relative share in the total declined somewhat later, yet it was still 14 percent of the total area cultivated by Jewish farmers in 2003. The irrigated area at the disposal of Arab farmers, though, was initially minuscule – only about two percent of that at the disposal of Jewish farmers. By 2003 it was only five percent of that total. The Arab land input was accordingly most meaningful in production by dry farming techniques.

The major increase of output and product required a corresponding increase in the water supply to agriculture, which was implemented in that period. Water usage in farming approximately doubled during the short period between 1949 and 1952. A rough estimate for farm employment suggests that it increased by more than land and water usage. In any case the more reliable estimate for expansion of employment in farming for the 1950–52 period is quite consistent with the former figure. Though no estimate for the capital stock in agriculture in the period of the Mandate is available, the 32 percent increase in gross stock within two years (Table 17) speaks for itself. A proxy for that highly significant factor of production in Jewish sector farming – the number of tractors used, which grew almost fourfold between 1948 and 1950 – underlines the massive increase of capital stock which occurred in that brief period. Correspondingly, the capital-labor ratio in Jewish farming rose considerably.

The rapid expansion of these inputs focused initially on mixed farming and thus soon relieved the shortages on the domestic fresh food market. The rapid growth of production shown in the output and net product figures for 1950–52 (Table 17) relieved the shortages in the domestic markets by 1954–55. Even though Israel was again involved in a war, the 1956 Suez-Sinai campaign, rationing disappeared altogether from the system by the second half of the 1950s. Indeed, toward 1960, surpluses appeared in some farm products. the massive increase in farm output at an average annual rate of 13 percent for the decade of the 1960s was also due to the renewed focus on the foreign market for citrus, which shows by the more than twofold increase in the planted area of citrus compared to 1952. This reflected the very high priority given to exports, and to the state of the European markets, which in the 1950s offered generous, and for most of the 1960s adequate, rates of return on capital invested in what had been since the Mandatory period the traditional export of Palestine.

By the 1970s, however, Israel's domestic food market, like the European markets, was subject to pressure from Third World agricultural exports. Its expansion rate in that decade declined to only about five percent. From the 1980s onwards the expansion of demand declined further to two to three percent, similar to the growth rate of the population. This development squeezed rewards in agriculture to labor and capital, as is suggested by, among other things, the lower rate of growth of net product than of output.

IRRIGATION AND ITS NATURAL CONSTRAINT. Farming industry patterns of return were also affected by costs. This is highlighted by the peak in water usage in farming in the 1970s, and the corresponding peak in irrigated and total cultivated land a decade later. All this after a massive increase of both cultivated and irrigated land by almost threefold and sevenfold respectively during the four decades through the mid-1980s. Water usage in farming grew almost fivefold between 1949 and the mid-1970s after almost three decades of rapid expansion.

Water usage was of course limited effectively by natural constraint; Israel's water extraction from the flow of renewable fresh water sources peaked in the late 1970s. Thus, the growth of population and of water use by manufacturing forced the national water system to impose a reduction of the fresh water quota for agriculture. Seawater desalination was an option by that time, but at a very high cost that precluded its use for farm production (see below).

The great expansion of water usage and of irrigated areas in the Jewish farm sector, and also in the Arab sector – total usage went up fivefold between 1949 and 1973 – was supported by highly subsidized water prices. The growing shortage of water led among other things to the creation of sewage water treatment projects. Ultimately, however, despite the subsidies and the political clout of the Jewish farming community the price of water for farming was raised over time; since the 1970s, by about two and a half times, which in turn has affected farming costs and particularly the costs of water-intensive products – with citrus groves a striking example.

Another feature which in the longer run has affected farming costs was the rapidly rising cost of labor, reflecting the rising pattern of real wages, in the wake of rising labor productivity in competing branches; farming could not lag far behind. Wages increased by 44 percent in the 1950s, and by 1970 were twice as high as they had been in 1950 (Table 19). The citrus industry, for instance, which is both labor- and water-intensive, was therefore subjected to a significant squeeze on profitability from 1972 onward.

One way to reduce the impact of rising costs was to change the composition of the branch mix in farming. Thus in the early 1960s kibbutzim phased out vegetable growing due to its high labor intensity. Another device, which the collec-

Table 19. Labor Force, Employment, Capital Stock, Real Wages, and Productivity[1], 1950–1975

	Labor		Capital Stock[2]		"Other"			
Year	Labor Force (1)	Employment (2)	Housing (3)	"Other" (4)	Capital Stock / Labor Ratio (5) [=(4)/(1)]	Real Wages (6)	TFP[3] (7)	Unemployment Rate (%) (8)
A. Indices, 1950=100								
1950	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	11.2
1954	135	140	204	198	147	116	114	9.2
1955	138	144	228	219	159	122	125	7.4
1960	161	177	370	384	238	144	154	4.6
1965	199	224	584	664	334	182	172	3.6
1967	203	210	650	746	367	200	173	10.4
1970	219	243	826	948	433	208	218	3.8
1973	245	275	–	1231	502	219	256[4]	2.6
1975	251	289	1329	1450	577	191	254	3.1
B. Average Annual Rate of Change (%)								
1950–54	7.8	8.8	19.5	18.6	–	10.1	–	–
1954–73	3.1	3.6	–	10.1	–	6.7	–	–

Notes:

1. Index numbers rounded to the closed digit.
2. Reproducible Capital Stock. The "other" Capital Stock figures refer to private sector machinery and production facilities inclusive of structures.
3. TFP is Total Factor Productivity of the private sector exclusive of the contribution of housing.
4. Throughout September 1973, before the outbreake of the Yom Kippur War.

tive settlement movement attempted to avoid, was to employ "available cheap labor." This option came about after the 1967 Six-Day War in particular, which opened the Israeli unskilled labor market to Palestinian workers from the Gaza Strip and the West Bank. In the wake of the political developments of the late 1980s, security considerations reduced the employment of these workers – the farming and building industries were allowed to hire foreign contract labor from Southeast Asia, China, and Eastern Europe as substitutes.

The drastic reduction of the size of the citrus industry – the area under citrus cultivation was cut by 50 percent during the closing quarter of the 20th century (Table 16) – is a clear expression of the process of branch mix restructuring in Israeli agriculture at the aggregate plane. It was clearly propelled by the rising costs of labor and water, and accelerated by the rapid urbanization of the coastal plain, the historical location of citrus plantations since early in the century. Yet the comparison of the rate of decline of land under citrus, and the output of that branch (Tables 16 and 17) between 1970 and 2000, shows that output declined much less than area. This indicates, of course, substantial rising productivity.

This was indeed typical of agriculture as a whole, which also adopted the strategies of employment of cheap foreign labor and elimination of labor- and water-intensive crops. Mechanization of all stages of production from field and orchard through packing and transportation to markets was also adopted by all branches of agriculture. These strategies were supported by close linkage to the extensive agricultural counseling service run by the Ministry of Agriculture, which spread knowledge about new plant varieties and cultivation techniques developed by its agricultural experimentation stations.

An outstanding example is the major increase in the efficiency of water use, initiated in the late 1960s and spread rapidly in the following decades. This involved the transformation of irrigation technique from sprinkler technology, which first appeared in the 1930s, to drip technology based on plastic pipes below the surface of the soil, which more recently is computer- rather than human-controlled. The latter development allows timing the irrigation for nighttime, which reduces evaporation, thus saving water per unit of output. The water-saving features of the Israeli farming industry show already in the first stage of development of Israeli farming in the quarter-century between 1948 and 1973, when farm product increased almost tenfold while water usage increased only fivefold. This was the era of sprinkler irrigation technology which, in the citrus industry in particular, replaced the previous primitive flooding technique.

Yet the major accomplishment in that area occurred in the following three decades through 2003, when farm output and net product kept growing, though at a much lower rate than previously, while water usage declined. Output and net product increased by 2.4 and 2.3 times respectively between 1973 and 2003 while water usage was over 20 percent lower. This reflected the fact that 60 percent of the irrigated area had installed computerized water-saving drip technology over that period. The natural supply constraint (see above) reflected in declining water quotas (vigorously criticized by farmers) and a 150 percent increase in the (still subsidized) price of water for farming pushed the farming community to move in that direction. The same was true of the rise of the cost of labor, since the new irrigation technology also allows for significant labor savings.

THE CHANGING STATUS OF AGRICULTURE. The pattern of rising farm output and net product suggests an outstanding performance; in the somewhat more than five decades through 2004, net product grew at an average annual rate of 6.9 percent. This average obscures the significant changes which had transformed the farming industry, nor does it reveal the major change it had undergone over time in its status in terms of economic aggregates: its comparative demands upon the available economic resources and its contribution to national product and exports.

The changes in the pattern of farm output and net product over time, however, suggest insights about some of these features. The leap suggested by the product figures of 1950 compared to those of 1949 reflect the return to normal economic activity – the end of hostilities and the major release of manpower from the army after the signing of the armistice agreements in 1949. Yet the output figures for 1955, which indicate that total farm production had approximately doubled, and even more the data for 1960, showing that agricultural output was close to four times greater than it had been a decade before, means that by then Israel's farm industry had overcome the extreme scarcity of fresh food of the first years of independence. Driven by the still reasonably good European export markets for citrus, the expansion of the major export industry of the Mandate era was given high priority. Its reconstruction proceeded at a rapid pace; the area of citrus orchards peaked by the early 1970s at a level 3.5 times higher than in 1947. Correspondingly, citrus output was more than six times higher in 1973 and exports about five times higher than in 1950.

Yet though farm output and net product grew rapidly, they did not maintain the outstandingly high growth rate of the economy as a whole during the 1950s. From then through the first years of the 21st century growth rates of farm output and product declined to two to three percent annually, much lower than national product growth rates. This is a clear indicator of a structural change, underlining the transformation of farm production to meet the requirements of the domestic market. Moreover, the demand of foreign markets for citrus exports, which remained stable approximately through the 1970s, declined from the 1980s; by 1990 they were only about 50 percent of what they had been in 1980, and following the downward pressure of prices, exports, and thus total output, collapsed from 1990 on (Table 17).

Overall agricultural exports did not, however, decline along with those of citrus. These were still somewhat higher in absolute value terms in 2003 than in 1980 and previous decades. This was due to a change in the composition of farm exports. New products, flowers in particular, whose export to Europe was made feasible by air transportation from the early 1970s on, made the difference. These grew fortyfold through 2003. Though still growing in absolute terms, farm export growth lagged substantially in comparison to manufacturing exports, which grew tenfold from the early 1970s. This just underlines the growing domestic orientation of the farm industry in the closing decades of the 20th century.

The rapid erosion of the status of agriculture is demonstrated in terms of its relative contribution to employment and domestic product, shown in Table 27. In the 1950s and early 1960s agriculture offered employment to about 17 percent of the total work force. That figure was down to under nine percent by the 1970s, followed by a rapidly declining trend in the following decades to just two percent or so at the turn of the century. The trend was even stronger and more rapid in the Jewish sector labor force. The Jewish farm industry employed an ever-growing number of Palestinian workers after 1967; after the outbreak of the Palestinian Intifada (uprising, literally "shaking off") in 1987, their number declined, but they were replaced by a substantial influx of workers recruited from Southeast Asia.

The domestic product figures follow a similar trend. Farm output and domestic product grew throughout the 50-year period. Product was eight times greater after about 25 years in 1973, and 18 times greater in 2003. Yet the economy as a whole expanded at a more rapid pace. Agriculture held the line in the 1950s – its net product in 1960 was still close to 13 percent of the total, as it was in 1950; yet it declined to seven percent of the aggregate net product by 1970, followed by a rapid decline to about 1.5–2 percent 30 years later, in the first decade of the 21st century.

These data offer the best insight on the background of the change in strategy of the resettlement effort begun in the 1970s and accelerated in the 1980s. While still adhering to the resettlement goal of setting up rural Jewish settlements all over, the strategy employed to achieve this objective was changed. Resettlement, which for about a hundred years was closely linked with its historical twin, agricultural production, was diverted elsewhere. New rural settlements were designed exclusively around alternative production branches; manufacturing and later high-tech service centers served as their production infrastructure. The emergence of the automobile as a cheap, universal method of transportation made this change feasible. in response to demand, making use of their varied geographical locations, more and more older settlements also followed this pattern, in order to offer alternative employment for the younger generation.

THE ARAB RURAL ECONOMY. The product and net output figures of Table 17, and thus the industrial breakdown of employment and national product, refer to the Israeli economy as a whole, the Arab sector's contribution included. This applies also to the variable inputs of Table 17, gross capital stock, tractors, and water usage. Only specific data for inputs – cultivated and irrigated land – and implied figures for employment over time suggested by the rural population data are available. The absolute level of the output and product figures described above represent accordingly the contribution of the Arab sector inputs to farm product. Yet relationships between input and output studied with reference to the Jewish sector refer to the linkage between changes in inputs over time and the corresponding changes in outputs for this sector too. And the changes were quite similar in the two sectors. Both were subjected to a process of urbanization and correspondingly to a reallocation of labor from farm employment to other branches, and both increased substantially the area under irrigation. The latter expanded indeed by a much higher factor than the irrigated area of Jewish agriculture; the rates of expansion were about twelvefold and sixfold for the Arab and Jewish sectors respectively between 1948–49 and 2003 (Table 16). The area under irrigation in the Arab sector was, indeed, initially negligible. This indicates that the Arab rural sector, which emerged after the armistice agreement with Jordan of March 1949, had effectively no citrus plantations from the time of independence.

The dramatic increase in land cultivated by Arab farmers in Israel, by more than 70 percent as suggested by the difference between the figures of 1952 and 1948–49, occurred in the 1949–50 season. It reflected the agreement in the armistice on the Green Line, which transferred the so-called "little triangle" in the eastern coastal plain to Israeli territory. Otherwise, the pattern of the increase over time in the cultivated area is similar to the pattern followed by the Jewish sector, and it also began to decline in the late 1970s, a process that accelerated in the 1980s.

This is demonstrated by the abrupt decline of the number of rural localities and of the rural population due to the rapid growth that transformed rural localities – initially de facto, later de jure – into urban localities. It also involved a transition of a major share of the Arab labor force into nonfarm activities: the building industry, manufacturing, and services, involving the erosion and finally the elimination of almost the last vestiges of rural self-sufficiency and the transition to farm production for the market. The rapid rise of irrigated areas, from a negligible two percent of the total area cultivated by Arabs in the early 1950s, to about 17 percent (Table 16) is an obvious example of this transition. The structural change the Arab farm sector had undergone was highlighted by the specialization of the Arab sector in the cultivation of several crops, strawberries and vegetables, which are cash crops par excellence. This process, which involved integration into the market system of an industrializing society, and a major improvement in educational standards involving universal compulsory elementary school education, and from the 1970s also secondary education, inevitably had far-reaching implications; it was expressed by a major rise in Arab rural living standards.

A Generation of Rapid Growth, 1948–1973

Though punctuated by two wars and periods of economic strain, the first 25 years of Israeli independence were the heyday of economic growth. Rapid growth was indeed produced by all industrial economies in those decades. The Western European economic system in particular, emerging from the catastrophe of World War II, grew at very high rates in the first two decades following the war. Yet the nine percent growth rate of GDP for the close to two decades ending at the outbreak of the Yom Kippur War in October 1973, for which the data on economic aggregates is more reliable, puts Israel at the top of the world's growth league in this era (its performance was even better for the period 1950–73); effectively, for the whole of the 25-year period from the May 1948 Declaration of Independence through the Yom Kippur surprise. The figures for the longer period, in which growth rates were even higher, imply an annual average growth rate of ten percent, made feasible by a more than sixfold expansion of investment (Table 18). The per capita figures for GDP, affected by the very rapid growth of population, indicate much lower expansion factors. GDP per capita grew about 3.5 times compared to that of 1950. This allowed an increase of living standards, in terms of per capita private consumption expenditure, by approximately three times between 1950 and 1973 (Table 18), an average annual increase of over six percent.

Yet that growth was not a smooth process. The tremendous strains imposed on the economy at the very early stages of independence are underlined by the ratio of resources available for domestic use to GNP in 1950; resources allocated to private consumption expenditures, public sector consumption, and gross investment for the economy at large were 31 percent higher than national product. The difference between these two figures was provided by the import surplus, representing the major deficit on the current account of balance of payments. This enormous deficit had to be financed somehow. From 1949 through 1951, this meant the complete running down of Israel's meager international reserves; the country was scraping the bottom of the barrel by the end of 1951.

The major improvement here, showing in the much lower ratio of resources to GNP in 1954 (1.11), was implemented by a major change in economic policy, labeled the New Economic Policy of 1952 (see below, The New Economic Policy (NEP), 1952–1954). The persistent reduction of Israel's dependence on a net inflow of real resources to sustain the level of welfare of the Israeli polity is visible through the 1967 Six-Day War and its immediate aftermath. From that point on the tide turned, and by 1973, in the wake of the Yom Kippur War, the dependence of the economy on foreign resources to maintain its level of welfare in terms of consumption and investment expenditure increased again: it leapt to 19 percent of GNP from significantly below ten percent, where it had been hovering since 1955 (Table 18).

In the early 1970s Israel's economy was generating a national product seven to eight times higher than in the early 1950s, maintained by a population of more than three million compared to the 1.4 million of the early 1950s. This turnabout had a major impact on the economy and on society in the following decade through 1985, known later as the so-called "lost decade."

STRUGGLE IN THE FIRST STAGE, 1948–1954. The major strain imposed on the economy by the first stage of the struggle to absorb the postwar mass immigration shows in terms of the aggregates: consumption expenditures, private and public, grew approximately at the same rate of growth as national product between 1950 and 1954. The rate of expansion of resources at the disposal of the economy – the growth of which was significantly lower than the growth of national product, depending as it did on the size of the import surplus that could be financed – imposed accordingly a constraint on the level of investment. Since mass immigration was still at its height in 1951 consumption expenditure, both private and public, kept growing through 1954, though at a reduced rate. Investment thus had to decline; it was lower by 15 percent in 1953 and by five percent in 1954 than in 1950 (Table 18).

But investment was the crucial ingredient that not only provided the resources to increase rapidly the stock of housing, a vital necessity when the Jewish population more than doubled between May 1948 and the end of 1951, and kept growing at a slower rate through 1954. More than half the new immigrants were at that time still living in abandoned British army camps and corrugated iron sheds put up at the outskirts of urban areas. Investment in the capital stock of production branches to achieve rapid increases in employment and housing was a high-priority requisite for the absorption process. The 11 percent unemployment rate of 1950 and the 9.2 percent rate of 1954 are a capsule expression of the two main issues of that time, housing and employment (Table 19).

The consumption expenditures for 1954, which show that average per capita private consumption was 26 percent higher than at the peak immigration year of 1950, indicates a significant improvement on this score. This shows similarly in terms of housing stock, which increased by two times within these four years, and in terms of the unemployment rate, still towering at 9.2 percent, but already two percentage points lower than in 1950, even though the labor force had increased by 35 percent in that short period.

TOWARD THE FULL EMPLOYMENT THRESHOLD AND BEYOND. It took more than a decade, through the four peaceful post-Suez (1956) years to 1960 before the expansion of employment caught up with population growth. An unemployment rate of 4.6 percent for 1960 put the economy on the threshold of full employment, the dominating economic feature of all the industrialized economies of these decades. This was achieved even though the labor force of 1960 was 20 percent greater than that of 1954, in the wake of a significant increase of *aliyah* from 1955 onward. The rapid expansion of the labor force and employment was still at a significantly lower rate than the accumulation of capital stock. Capital stock – the stock of the production branches plus infrastructure (roads, electricity, etc.) – which had expanded by almost four times between 1950 and 1954, had accumulated at a very rapid pace of about 12 percent annually between 1954 and 1960. The capital-labor ratio, which grew by 42 percent between 1950 and 1954, expanded accordingly by another 60 percent in the ensuing six years through 1960 (Table 19). The rapidly rising total factor productivity (TFP), which was more than 50 percent higher in 1960 than a decade before, led to a somewhat lower yet still highly significant increase of real wages and contributed to the expansion of national product over and above the rates of growth of capital and labor.

The growth of national product by close to three times in the 1950–60 decade, and by 73 percent in the six years from 1954 to 1960, and a corresponding though slower growth of per capita GDP, allowed a significant improvement in living standards. Per capita household consumption expenditures in 1960 averaged more than 60 percent higher than in 1950, and were about 30 percent higher than in 1954. Housing standards, too, were in much better shape. With a housing supply greater by 3.7 times in 1960 than in 1950, and by 80 percent than in 1954, dwelling space per capita did not only increase at a higher rate than total population, it outpaced the growth of the Jewish population, which grew by 59 percent in that period.

These two indicators, the highly significant improvement of housing standards and the increase in per capita consumption expenditures dominated by nonhousing components, are a clear expression of a promising performance. An obvious indicator of what had been going on in the field of housing was the almost complete elimination of the ma'barot, the immigrant housing camps that had sprouted all over during the 1950s. This followed the provision of housing – austere, but permanent, newly built or renovated – for all newcomers.

GROWTH AND GROWTH PAINS: WADI SALIB. These figures are averages, however, and do not indicate the rising inequality in Jewish society, with a dividing line running effectively between "oldtime" settlers, specifically 1948 settlers, and new immigrants. This rift came into the open in the July 1959 riots in Wadi Salib, a dilapidated downtown Haifa neighborhood with rundown housing that had been a poor Arab neighborhood, a slum, in Mandatory times. The residents were immigrants from the Maghreb, the Arab countries of North Africa. The outburst had, therefore, an ethnic component reflecting the immigrants' sense of being discriminated against by the European Zionist establishment. Yet it had undoubtedly a solid economic cause: these people faced poor employment and economic opportunities, while the new immigrants from European countries were already being absorbed quickly into society. The outbreak of these riots was a complete surprise to the community at large and to the political establishment in particular. In their wake the Israeli political agenda was reset, with priority given to economic development and especially more even income distribution, with a focus on the large Jewish immigrant community from Arab North Africa.

Yet, in spite of this worrisome incident at the turn of the 1950s, the 1960s, effectively through the Yom Kippur surprise of October 1973, were a period of robust economic growth and rapidly rising living standards. The decade was punctuated by the policy-designed slowdown of 1966–67 (see below, The Mid-1965-to-Mid-1967 Slowdown), clearly displayed in the 10.4 percent unemployment rate of 1967 (Table 19) and rapidly fading away in the aftermath of the June 1967 war. The growth process in that decade-plus period had finally transformed the branch structure of the economy (Table 27) and generated economic benefits all over. Private consumption expenditures per capita were more than 30 percent higher in 1965 than in 1960; by 1973 they were 71 percent higher, having grown at an annual average of more than five percent during what had been labeled the "seven good years" between the Six-Day War and the outbreak of the Yom Kippur War. Though evidently not evenly distributed among the various population strata, an expansion rate of private per capita consumption expenditures at these huge annual rates could not but filter down to the lowest income groups. Public consumption expenditures for welfare state benefits – education, health, social security – had a similar effect.

The increase of living standards over time was evidently constrained by the corresponding trends of national product and the import surplus, the sum of which had been determining the level of resources available for spending on investment. One of the most important developments from the mid-1950s through most of the 1960s was the meaningful reduction of the contribution of import surplus. This meant a reduction of dependence on foreign real resources to sustain the level of spending on consumption and investment in the domestic economy, and thus sustain welfare levels. By 1960 the ratio of resources to domestic product, which was as high as 1.31 in 1950, was down to 1.06 in 1960, and effectively stayed at that level through 1967. This suggests that the allocation of resources for consumption and investment in the Israeli economy of the 1960s required a real boost from abroad of only six percent, compared to the 31 percent required for that purpose in 1950, over and above the resources generated by domestic production. And this six percent excess over GDP of real resources had a reliable foreign financial backing through this period from the contribution of Jewish communities abroad, U.S. foreign aid, and German reparations (which ended in 1966), as well as Germany's personal restitution payments to individual Israeli residents, the flow of which even increased later on.

THE "SEVEN GOOD YEARS" AND THE MORTGAGE ON THE FUTURE. The impact of growth on rising welfare shows in a rapid rise of per capita private consumption expenditure in the 1960s, particularly during the "seven good years" between the Six-Day War and the Yom Kippur surprise attack against Israel. This was a period of full employment, and from 1970 on, overemployment – in more than one sense, years of exploding prosperity. The 11 years of relative peace along the borders between 1956 and 1967, allowing rather stable defense expenditures in terms of a rapidly rising GNP (Table 20), led to a significant improvement in public sector finances; this was expressed in the closing years of the 1950s by a major reduction in government deficit. Current expenditure on income account flows (excluding capital account operations) even had a slight surplus. Between 1960 and 1965, there was even into substantial surplus (Table 23).

This feature is underlined by the gross savings ratios of the economy at large presented in Table 20. These represent an estimate of the total of private sector and government savings. Thus from 1960 through 1965 domestic savings provided three-quarters of the resources required for investment, compared to one-quarter in the early 1950s, and somewhat more than half in the second half of the 1950s. The balance of the resources required for the major increase of investment during this period was provided by the import surplus, the ratio of which to GNP was comparatively low. Furthermore, this vital component of the total resources at the disposal of the economy had by that time sound backing, even though by the mid-1960s U.S. economic aid was terminated after Israel

Table 20. Domestic Use of Resources and Investment Import Surplus Saving Ratio (%)

Year	Consumption					Ratio to GNP (%)		
	Private	Public						
	(1)	Total (2)	Defense[1] (3)	Gross Investment (4)	Resources[2] (5)	Gross Investment (6)	Import Surplus (7)	Savings (8)
1950	38	30	7	32	100	42	31	11
1952	43	31	6	26	100	30	15	15
1954	44	33	6	23	100	26	11	15
1955	42	34	6	24	100	26	9	17
1960	44	33	7	23	100	24	6	18
1965	43	32	8	25	100	27	7	20
1967	42	44	16	14	100	15	6	9
1970	35	45	21	20	100	23	14	9
1973	32	47	24	21	100	25	19	6
1975	33	47	26	20	100	23	17	6

Notes:

1. The total public sector consumption expenditures (column 2) include defense expenditures (column 3). The figures in columns 1, 2, and 4 thus add up to 100 percent.
2. Total resources at the disposal of the economy for domestic uses, which are the sum of GNP and Import Surplus.

Table 21. Foreign Trade and Balance of Payments, 1949–1975 ($ Million)

Year	Goods and Services								1990 Dollar Prices[1]			
	Export (1)	Import (2)	Deficit (3) [=(2)–(1)]	Net Unilateral Transfers (4)	Net Foreign Interest Payments (5)	Capital Imports (6)	Long-Term Foreign Debt (7)	Foreign Currency Reserves (8)	Deficit: Goods and Services (–) (9)	Net Unilateral Transfers (10)	Foreign Debt (11)	Net Foreign Interest Payments (12)
1949	43	263	220	118	–	–	–	–	1,202	645	–	–
1950	46	328	282	90	1	107	–	–	1,552	483	–	6
1952	86	393	307	191	–	115	–	(30)[2]	1,398	942	–	–
1955	144	432	288	210	20	76	419	50	1,387	990	2,043	100
1960	336	682	346	311	51	107	599	213	1,472	1,291	2,645	223
1965	711	1,234	523	341	57	175	1,214	643	2,034	1,295	1,556	226
1967	949	1,480	531	522	–	–	1,556	715	1,710	2,042	5,842	–
1970	1,374	2,657	1,283	668	126	682	2,622	459	3,952	2,039	8,397	405
1973	2,654	5,325	2,671	2,190	–	–	4,830	1,809[3]	7,742	6,447	14,218	–
1975	3,687	7,536	3,849	1,770	388	1,033	7,617	1,184	8,511	3,289	17,371	887

Notes:

1. In terms of U.S. cost-of-living index.
2. Foreign currency reserve of 1954.
3. At the end of September 1973 reserves were 1,264 million dollars.

Table 22. Main Sources of Unilateral Transfers and Long-Term Capital Imports, 1950–1975

Year	Unilateral Transfers					Transfers Plus Credit[1]					
	Immigrants and others[2] (1)	World Jewry (2)	U.S. Government (3)	German Government[3] (4)	Total (5)	Immigrants and others (6)	World Jewry[4] (7)	U.S. Government[4] (8)		German Government (9)	Total (10)
A. $ Million											
1950	20	90	–	–	110	20	111	(45)	45	–	176
1955	35	83	21	106	245	35	131	(23)	44	106	316
1960	37	124	14	174	349	37	205	(21)	35	174	451
1965	99	206	5	130	440	99	338	(52)	57	129	623
1970	173	290	3	202	668	173	426	(343)	346	202	1,147
1975	263	506	642	359	1,770	256	595	(1,212)	1,854	359	3,064
B. Components of Transfers and of Long Run Capital Imports (Percent)											
1950	18	82	–	–	100	11	63	26		0	100
1955	14	34	9	43	100	11	41	14		34	100
1960	10	36	4	50	100	8	45	8		39	100
1965	22	47	1	30	100	16	54	9		21	100
1970	26	43	(0)	31	100	15	37	30		18	100
1975	15	29	36	20	100	8	19	61		12	100

Notes:

1. Includes American aid and long-term credits from U.S. government agencies; in 1950 from the Export-Import Bank only. The entries in brackets represent the capital account component of U.S. aid; it involved long-term credits from the U.S. government and government agencies.
2. Includes funds of immigrants and other Israeli individuals.
3. Includes reparation payments to the state of Israel, and personal restitution payments to Israeli citizens.
4. Includes contributions from the United Jewish Appeal in the U.S. and from other Jewish community appeals worldwide, plus the annual gross inflow of the Independence Loan Fund initiated in 1951 in the U.S. and later expanded to Jewish communities in other countries. Column 2 entries refer to contributions only.

was officially classified as a "highly successful graduate" of its aid program; German reparations too, which flowed into the coffers of the government, came to their planned end. Slowly rising levels of United Jewish Appeal funds, and personal restitution payments to Israeli residents, which grew for several decades, provided most of the funds required to pay for the import surplus of those years.

Though robust growth and rapidly rising living standards made feasible by an avalanche of investment starting from a cyclical trough in 1967 were maintained through the "seven good years" between the two wars, the financial infrastructure of investment was subjected to a severe shock in the wake of the Six-Day War and succeeding war of Attrition (1968–70). It was rocketing defense expenditures that made the differ-

Table 23. Public Sector Fiscal Indicators: 1949–1974[1] Ratios to GNP (%)

Year	Expenditures[2] (1)	Tax Revenue[3] (2)	Unilateral Transfers[4] (3)	Absorption[5] (4)[=(2)+(3)]	Deficit (–) / Surplus (+) (5)[=(4)–(1)]	Net Public Debt		
						External (6)	Domestic (7)	Total (8)
1949–1951	50.7	12.8	6.5	19.3	-31.4	–	–	–
1952–1955	38.3	17.4	9.4	26.8	-11.5	–	–	–
1956	31.2	21.7	5.6	27.3	-3.9	–	–	–
1956–1960	33.7	27.9	6.7	34.6	0.9	–	–	–
1960–1965	29.2	29.0	5.7	34.7	5.5	–	–	56.5
1966	33.8	30.8	2.7	33.5	-0.3	13.3	33.8	47.1
1967–1969	43.3	33.1	4.5	37.6	-5.7	19.6	35.7	55.3
1970–1973 (Sept.)	59.6	45.3	4.0	49.3	-10.3	–	–	–
1973 (Sept.)	46.7	37.6	4.5	42.1	-4.6	–	–	–
1970–1973	62.6	44.2	6.5	50.7	-11.9	27.3	43.3	70.6
1973	73.6	43.7	15.5	59.2	-14.4	21.8	52.8	74.6
1974	74.9	47.2	8.0	55.2	-19.7	23.6	59.8	83.4

Notes:

1. The indicators refer to the “Great Government,” i.e., to the fiscal cash flow of the government, the Jewish Agency, the municipal governments, and the nonprofit institutions benefiting from the government budget (universities, etc.) and receiving domestic donations and donations from abroad, mainly from Jewish communities in foreign countries.
2. Includes expenditures abroad – mainly for defense imports and net interest payments on foreign debt.
3. Includes tax revenues, receipts on interest accounts and receipts on property income accounts. From 1960 on, the revenue flow includes “virtual” receipts on civil services pension accounts.
4. Unilateral transfers of donations from abroad, flowing into the coffers of the government, the Jewish Agency and linked institutions, universities, etc., from sources such as the UJA, Universities Appeal, German reparations, and U.S. government foreign aid grants.
5. Unilateral transfers by public sector entities from donations collected abroad and foreign government grants are treated as equivalent to tax revenue, since these do not increase the national debt.

ence: they leapt from 8.5 percent of GNP in 1965 to 17 percent in 1967 (and from eight to 16 percent in terms of resources; see Tables 18 and 20), and much more in absolute terms. By 1970 these were about 24 percent of GDP. Through boosting aggregate demand and growth this imposed a major burden on the budget, and on the balance of payments, which was subjected to an avalanche of defense imports. The balanced government budget between 1957 and 1966 was by 1967, and even more so by 1970 and later, a lost cause. The deteriorating fiscal situation shows clearly in terms of government consumption expenditures, which by 1967 were almost 50 percent higher than in 1967, and by September 1973 were again higher by almost 60 percent, in real terms, than the 1967 budget, which had to cover expenditures of the Six-Day War.

The inevitable spurt in the budget deficit eroded Israel’s savings rate; it was cut in half at once from 20 percent of GNP in 1965 to nine percent in 1967, declining further to six percent of GNP by 1973. The increasing rate of investment, which despite these fiscal pressures was maintained between the wars, required accordingly a substitute for the flow of domestic savings: a rapidly increasing import surplus, which was indeed achieved. But it had to be financed by borrowing abroad. in view of the huge resources required, Israel had no option but to approach the U.S. government, which indeed was forthcoming; its aid, however, was in credits, thus increasing the state’s foreign debt substantially (Table 22). An increased flow of donations from Jewish communities in the Diaspora as well as funding on capital account by means of the purchase of State of Israel Bonds and direct investment in Israeli business were the other options pursued in these circumstances.

The booming economy of the almost seven interwar years, involving overfull employment between 1970 and (October) 1973, rode on a rapidly increasing total national debt. Net debt was 47 percent of national product in 1966 and rose rapidly in 1973 to 75 percent of GNP, which had in that time almost doubled. National debt in absolute (real) terms had accordingly nearly tripled. Correspondingly, the foreign debt, a component of the total national debt, rose by somewhat more than three times in nominal dollar terms (Table 23). This ominous development would figure as a major constraint on the economy in the forthcoming decade (1974–85) later referred to as the “lost decade.”

THE ROLE OF INPUTS: LABOR, CAPITAL STOCK, AND PRODUCTIVITY. The growth performance, within the first 25 years of statehood, was set by the rate of expansion of primary inputs at the aggregate plane: the labor force and employment, the accumulation of human and real capital stock, and their interaction subject to improving entrepreneurship. Finally, public sector attitudes and policy had a major impact on the economy as a whole, particularly in the first decade, when comprehensive controls, including through the 1952 universal rationing, were still the order of the day. Currency control, though more relaxed than in the first decade, was still the practice by 1973 and continued for more than another decade.

The free *aliyah* policy inevitably had a major impact on the expansion of the labor force. Between 1950 and 1970 population and the labor force grew effectively at the same rate (Tables 19 and 14). Yet the size of a labor force suggests only its potential as a factor of production. Its effective contribution to the growth of output and national product depends on the state of employment, and also on its quality – a highly educated and trained labor force makes an obvious difference, in industrialized economies in particular. The pre-state Jewish population had a comparatively high education standard, quite comparable to that of industrialized Central and Western Europe and North America. About one third of the labor force had high education qualifications. This proportion declined during the 1950s. In 1947 the median number of years of schooling of immigrant males in the age range of 14+ was 9.9 years; it was down to 7.3 by 1954. The efforts put into education from the very beginning – the first law passed by the Knesset early in 1949 was the Compulsory Education Law – showed results in the statistics after a decade. By 1960 the median figure of years of schooling of the same age group of males was part of the way back toward the higher standard: it was 8.2 years. The effort to improve the qualifications of the labor force was implemented at all stages – primary, secondary, and higher education. Two higher education institutions, the Hebrew University of Jerusalem and the Technion-Israel Institute of Technology in Haifa, had fewer than 2,000 students in 1949–50, and awarded 193 degrees that year. By 1959–60 Israel already had four university-level institutions, with 9,300 students; 1,237 degrees were awarded in that academic year. By 1974–75, there were seven institutions of higher education with 52,000 students, and 8,800 degrees were awarded. By that time, Israel had certainly overcome the decline in the average qualification of its labor force that occurred in the 1950s, in the wake of mass immigration.

Employment opportunities, however, were the most significant immediate constraint on the potential contribution of the labor force to production. Employment through 1954 grew at a rate higher than the growth of the labor force; this reduced the unemployment rate, dominated by the new immigrant group, to 9.2 percent from the very high 11.2 percent in 1950. The struggle to absorb newcomers into productive activity was one of the main priorities of that decade. By its end, that effort was on the threshold of success, as the 4.6 percent unemployment rate of 1960 suggests. The threshold was finally crossed at the very beginning of the 1960s. The 3.6 percent unemployment rate of 1965 is a clear indicator of the prosperous years of the first half of that decade. The engineered slowdown of 1966–67 (see below, The mid-1965-to-mid-1967 Slowdown) generated a significant reversal to 10.4 percent. The slowdown was short-lived, however, interrupted by the outbreak of the Six-Day War. By 1968 the system was already back to full employment levels. Indeed, the 15 percent increase in employment, two times higher than the growth of the Israeli labor force by that time, could not have been implemented without the appearance of a new economic factor: Palestinian workers from the occupied territories. Employers eagerly hired them at a time of overfull employment, which was the state of the labor market and the highly prosperous economy between 1970 and October 1973.

The hiring of Palestinian workers from the West Bank and Gaza Strip reflected the preference of individual employers, in agriculture and the building trades in particular. The tightening labor markets in the closing years of the 1960s, and the much lower wage rates at which these workers could be hired, were incentives. But policy considerations of the government, supported by public opinion, were also in favor of the practice. Employment in the Israeli economy was undoubtedly beneficial to the unskilled and semiskilled laborers who dominated the labor force from the territories. Wages offered by the Israeli employers, though low in Israeli terms, were undoubtedly much higher than the alternatives in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. The response to the demands of the Israeli market was therefore rapid and highly significant in quantitative terms. By 1973, six years after the opening of the border allowing free movement across the lines, close to one-third (31.5 percent) of the total employment of residents from the territories was in Israeli enterprises and municipalities. These workers' comparatively high earnings raised substantially the living standard of the lower income strata of the territories' population in absolute terms, and undoubtedly also in relative terms compared to that of the middle class.

Yet, though Israeli employment of Palestinian workers was soon a major share of employment for the territories, it was only 5.6 percent of total employment in the Israeli economy at that time. The immediate short-run effect on the workings of the economy was accordingly considered beneficial by the political establishment. Political considerations clearly suggested that this "natural" business driven development was highly beneficial politically, as an effective instrument serving peace and stability in the short run, and rapprochement in the long run. The long-run effects of the employment of these workers at the lowest unskilled and semiskilled levels, particularly in the building trades and agriculture, on the wages and employment of low-skilled Israeli labor in the same industries, was not considered, or at least was not considered highly relevant. In the long run, however, it had a major impact on relative wages in the Israeli economy: it reduced the wages of low-skilled workers. This led to a biased income distribution, increasing the spread between the lowest tenth percentile of wage earners and those in the higher brackets. It soon induced an outflow of Israeli workers from these jobs, in the building trades and agriculture especially.

The performance of the economy in these 25 years, during which the growth rate of the economy was on average ten percent a year, was of course conditioned by the increase of the real reproducible capital stock of the production branches. This increase over time is displayed in the "Other" Capital Stock figures of Table 20. In the 23 years through 1973 it grew at an annual average of 11.5 percent. The growth rate was even greater at the very beginning; it was close to 19 percent in the 1950–54 interval, and in the 10 percent range in the following two decades though 1973.

These very high growth rates were achieved by an all-out investment effort, made feasible mainly by government control of the real resources acquired abroad – the import surplus – and the highly significant share of that inflow in the total of the resources at the disposal of the economy. Investment in the early years of the Israeli economy was accordingly very high: it absorbed between one-third and one-quarter of the total resources, which of course implies much higher ratios to national product (Tables 19–20). In spite of the major strain of mass immigration in these years, investment in infrastructure was a very high priority. Thus, the major water projects of 1950–54 – the such as the Yarkon Project providing water to the Negev and Jerusalem – absorbed ten percent of total investment (including housing) in 1950–54, which was close to three percent of GNP.

These very high investment rates in the production branches soon generated rates of expansion of capital stock significantly over and above the high growth rates of the labor force and of employment. The rising capital-labor ratio figures of Table 19 offer insight into the long-run implications of this process on productivity and on the pattern of real wages. The corresponding productivity figures (Total Factor Productivity, TFP), which represent a weighted average of the productivity curve over time, attributed to the two factor inputs – capital and labor – suggest that in the 1950–55 period, factor productivity increased by 25 percent. This means that national product increased by 25 percent more than can be attributed to the expansion of the weighted average of these two factors of production. In the five-year period preceding the war through 1973, the rate of increase of productivity was lower, in the 20 percent range per period. Yet the per capita GDP growth, which was close to 3.5 times during that 24-year period from 1950 to 1973, would not have been realized but for the increase of weighted factor productivity by approximately 2.5 times during the same interval.

The obvious economic implication of rising factor productivity is a feasible increase of the rewards – real wages – as well. This process shows clearly in the real wage figures for that period, covering the span of a generation. The rise of real wages by 2.2 times during the 1950–73 period, an average annual rate of close to seven percent, could not have been achieved without the rising capital-labor ratios, by a factor of five, and the simultaneous rising factor productivity, which implies rising average labor productivity too. The real wage pattern displays accordingly a highly important feature of the growth process: the real wages that rose rapidly even in periods of high unemployment such as 1950–55 and 1966–67 (Table 20) served as a vehicle to spread the benefits of growth widely – hired workers were increasingly a dominant group of income recipients.

On the other hand, the productivity and wage rate figures display and explain another interesting feature: between 1950 and 1955, when productivity rose more rapidly than it did for the next 18 years, wages, at least through 1954, increased more than total factor productivity. This means that no reward was left to the other factor of production – capital and those who provided it, in those years effectively the government. In 1955, a year of transition (see above, The Histadrut and the Economics of the Yishuv), things improved only marginally in that regard. Yet even in this year of recovery, unemployment was still high – 7.4 percent of the labor force, an improvement compared to the 11 percent of the early 1950s. the benefit of the very rapidly rising wages went, of course, only to the employed section of the population, which by that time included a substantial component of post-1948 immigrants. The ranks of the unemployed, however, were dominated by post-1948 immigrants, and they obviously did not benefit from the wage increase. With unemployment still about seven percent in 1957 the inevitable social tension and resentment among the immigrants in the second half of the 1950s clearly prepared the way for the 1959 Wadi Salib riots (see above, Growth and Growth Pains: Wadi Salib), even though unemployment was down to 5.5 percent in that year.

A similar feature, a significantly higher increase of real wages (owing to the success of the Histadrut Labor Federation in pushing them up) than total factor productivity, is visible in the data for 1965 through 1967, with a corresponding leap of unemployment after about six years of nearly full employment (Table 19). The slowdown of these two years, mid-1965 to mid-1967, was due, among other things, to the same feature – the rise in real wages, over and above the rise in labor productivity.

Nevertheless, the rapidly rising employment and corresponding rise of real wages linked to rising factor productivity allowed a major improvement in the welfare of a widening segment of society. This effect may be attributed to, among other factors, the rapid increase of "other" capital stock (the stock of the production branches) as well as to the increased stock of housing, which had undoubtedly a major effect on the welfare of society. The high priority the government gave to housing, which required a major fraction of investment resources, can be seen in the capital stock figures for the period. In the first years through 1955 the stock of housing grew at a higher rate than that of the production branches. This relationship reversed in the late 1950s. Yet even the 1970 and 1975 figures in Table 19 indicate that investment in housing did not lag far behind investment in infrastructure and the production branches.

There was, however, another silent, unmeasured factor that contributed to the pattern of rising national product, and thus of measured productivity improvement in terms of TFP: the accumulation of so-called "human capital," a term that surfaced in the growth literature of the 1960s. Basically, human capital is know-how, expertise, skill, acquired through education in schools, universities, training institutions, and on-the-job training (the last, though, usually also requires some previous formal training or education).

Accumulating human capital involves costs, and in industrial societies these can be heavy in view of the length of the learning process. Secondary school graduates spend 12 to

13 years studying, and those with a higher education close to two decades. These costs are measurable, but measurement of the stock of human capital offers conceptual and technical difficulties. A technique to overcome these problems, involves the use of proxy indicators, such as years of schooling of the labor force, and/or the quantitative expansion of the population of students. For the first decade through 1960, the number of students is the only available measure. From then on, better data on years of schooling and median years of schooling are available.

Thus, in the school year 1959–60, the number of students in the Jewish school system from kindergarten to university was 4.2 times greater than in 1950, and the number of students in universities 4.7 times greater. The much smaller Arab education system grew by almost the same factor. Yet Arab students at universities were at that time still a very small number. In the same period 20.1 percent of the Jewish population had 0–4 years of schooling, a similar number had 5–8 years of schooling, and only 9.9 percent of the Jewish labor force had post-secondary or higher education. The median figure for years of schooling was 8.4 years. The significance of these figures, which suggest a much higher stock of human capital even at this stage, can be seen by a comparison to the data on the Arab population. Its median was 1.2 years of schooling in 1961, with 63.4 percent in the 0–4 years bracket.

Within one decade, by 1970, the standard of education of the post-15-year-old group – effectively the whole labor force – had improved considerably. The more drastic change occurred in the Arab population. The median years of schooling of the Jewish population rose to 9.3 years, and 11.8 percent of the labor force had a post-secondary or university education, while almost 40 percent had secondary education. Correspondingly, the median years of schooling of the Arab population rose to five years and 13 percent had 9–10 years of schooling. By 1975, the median years of schooling were 10.3 and 6.5 years for the Jewish and Arab communities respectively.

These figures suggest a drastic change in the stock of knowledge of the labor force. It was already visible clearly by 1960, and supports the proposition that the rapid accumulation of human capital was a significant factor explaining rapid productivity enhancement, and thus growth of product per capita, and rising welfare.

The Balance-of-Payments Constraint

The outstanding performance of the economy in the long run, involving a 5.5 percent annual rate of increase of private per capita consumption expenditure for a generation, meant that by 1973 this expenditure was 2.5 times higher than in 1950. This is also true of public sector expenditure, which had to finance a heavy burden of defense and welfare-state spending. It required very high rates of investment, and thus a diversion of available resources to the buildup of capital stock: infrastructure, housing, and the equipment and structures used by the production branches.

This effort is demonstrated by the investment figures displayed in Table 20, which show the value of the annual flows of investment in terms of resources and GDP. Investment was above 40 percent of national product through 1951; it declined to what was still a very high percentage of GDP in 1952, and after 1954 settled to still comparatively high rates of 25 and 20 percent for the following decades. These very high rates of investment were not and could not have been financed by domestic production, as indicated by the corresponding rates of saving, which were in 1950 11 percent of GDP, and thus provided resources for only one-quarter of real capital formation in that year. The contribution of domestic savings improved later; by the mid-1950s savings contributed about one half the resources channeled into investment, and in the first half of the 1960s the contribution of savings rose further, to about 75 percent of investment. Yet this trend, which pulled the economy toward "economic independence" (the declared objective of the economic agenda of those years), turned abruptly downwards toward the 50 percent range in the prosperous years of 1967–73, which was, however, a period of combat and exploding defense spending.

The balance of resources required for these very heavy investment expenditures were provided by the huge import surplus. With its exports of goods and services less than 20 percent of its imports between 1948 and 1951 (Table 21), Israel was down to the last dollar of its foreign currency reserves. By that time the government was desperate to raise cash to pay for a tanker of crude oil to fuel the economy's electricity generation capacity. The balance of payments was clearly the dominant constraint on the activities of the system. Things improved on the foreign currency front thanks to the New Economic Policy (see below, The New Economic Policy (NEP), 1952–1954). By 1955 exports covered one third of the cost of imports of goods and services plus net foreign interest payments, which were significant due to the rising foreign debt that had been accumulating since 1949. In 1960 and through the mid-1970s, the much greater and robust economy improved its balance-of-payments current account. Exports in that period financed imports plus interest payments within a range of 45–55 percent of that total. However, even a 50 percent gap here, particularly in an economy which by 1973 generated a national product eight times greater than that of 1950, meant that the foreign payments balance was still of major relevance. It had indeed been the Achilles' heel of the system during the entire 25-year period since 1948. To finance year in and year out such unusually high foreign debt, quite out of line with those prevailing in older industrialized economies, was therefore always at the top of the economic, and thus the political, agenda. Its seriousness was underlined by the contemporary political discussion over the (quite popular) notion of economic independence.

Table 21, Foreign Trade and Balance of Payments, and Table 22, focusing on unilateral transfers and the capital account of the balance of payments, offer insight into the strategy by which successive Israeli governments attempted to maintain simultaneously high rates of investment and private and public sector consumption expenditures requiring resources significantly greater than those generated by domestic production. The thrust of their economic policy required mobilization and control of large balances of foreign finance. It depended on a major and reliable inflow of unilateral receipts, which do not create foreign debt, and from late 1949 on, long-term foreign credits, which do accumulate foreign debt. The dominant share of debt during these 25 years was credits to the government or to public sector utilities, such as the nationalized electricity utility being a case in point. The low credit rating and tight exchange controls prevailing through the early 1970s and later precluded significant private venture capital imports.

Unilateral receipts, which consisted originally only of contributions from Jewish communities abroad, were supplemented from 1952 through 1965 by U.S. government grants, and from 1953 through 1965 by West German reparations. From 1954 on German restitution payments to Israeli citizens, which increased in volume through the turn of the 21st century, were another component of unilateral payments.

The annual totals of these flows of unilateral transfers, which grew persistently over time in real terms, were clearly the mainstay of foreign finance, which made the comparatively large, and sometimes very large, input surplus feasible. Their ratio to the deficit on trade and services plus net foreign interest payments was about 55 percent through 1955. This declined later, but on the whole was still in the 40–45 percent range through 1975 (Table 21).

The balance of the funds required to even out foreign payments consisted of long-term capital imports, which in the 25 years through 1973 were predominantly on government accounts. The first attempt to obtain long-term foreign credits was confined to the U.S. In 1949, the U.S. government-owned Export-Import Bank approved two major loans of $135 million to the Israeli government. These loans were to finance purchases of American products, equipment, and raw materials for the Israeli economy. the immediate contribution of these funds to the capital stock and production facilities of the economy is suggested by the fourfold increase in the number of tractors used in Israeli farming within one year from 1949 to 1950 (Table 17). These funds were used across the board – to purchase equipment for public transportation and for manufacturing industry too.

The second avenue of entrance into the capital market was the setting up of the State of Israel Bonds organization in the U.S. This was later expanded to other industrialized countries in which substantial Jewish communities were living. Since these bonds carried similar rates of return to those of U.S. government bonds of the same term, their sales, which for years was more or less confined to members of the Jewish community, were effectively promoted as quasi-donations. By the early 1960s, after the buildup of foreign currency reserves from virtually zero in 1951, Israel's improved credit rating initiated an inflow of short- and medium-term Jewish capital from other countries, in Latin America in particular, involving government guarantees and denominated in U.S. dollars. These funds were mainly used to increase substantially the foreign currency reserves, thus improving Israel's credit significantly in the post–Six-Day War period (Table 21).

The Table 22 figures showing the sources of unilateral transfers and the sum of transfers and capital imports offer an insight into the considerations leading to a policy that relied on a huge import surplus to sustain a major investment effort during these 25 years. Note first that transfers through 1970 grew threefold in real dollar terms, while GDP grew almost sevenfold. In 1973, transfers significantly outpaced the growth of GDP. This year, similar to 1967, was indeed an exception that proved the rule: in these two years, which were years of full-scale war, transfers grew by almost 80 percent and 100 percent respectively compared to the preceding years. It was the generosity of the Jewish communities abroad that made the difference owing to the special circumstances of these two years.

These exceptions help to identify the assumption underlying the policy. This was that Israel could rely in the long run on the generosity of the Jewish communities of the world to provide a substantial flow of donations through the United Jewish Appeal. And indeed, a stable, slowly rising flow of financial resources have been put at the disposal of Israel's public sector entities. In the 1950s and through the mid-1960s there were two other stable and quantitatively predictable sources of unilateral transfers: U.S. government foreign aid, of which Israel was a recipient through 1965, and German reparations payments, whose annual level was determined in the 1951 Reparations Agreement. Another source of unilateral finance was German restitution payments to individual Israeli citizens. By the mid-1950s these were still small, but toward the late 1950s and even more in the 1960s and later these rose to a significant flow. Finally, there were the funds of immigrants, linked to the waves of immigration. These were negligible in the age of the first, poverty-stricken mass immigration of the early 1950s and through the mid-1960s, but rose in the later decades.

Table 22 offers an outline of the relative contributions of the major sources of unilateral transfers. In the years of mass immigration through 1951 the source of these funds was almost exclusively Jewish communities abroad; they provided 90 percent of the flow in 1950. By 1955 the West German government provided more than 40 percent of these funds, rising to 50 percent by 1960, as the personal restitution payments began. The German share was reduced to 30 percent by 1965, as the reparations commitment was phased out. U.S. aid provided close to ten percent in the 1950s and was also phased out by 1965. It came back with a bang after the Yom Kippur War. In any case, over these 25 years, world Jewry contributed year in and year out about 30–45 percent of unilateral transfers, a reliable flow of resources that sustained Israel's economic activity.

Capital imports – in practice, mainly foreign credits granted to the government of Israel or subject to government guarantee – were throughout that period another major source of funds used to finance a meaningful chunk of Israel's major import surplus. The two U.S. Export-Import Bank loans of $100 million and $35 million in 1949 were a case in point. A significant portion of U.S. economic aid in the 1950s and effectively the whole of it between 1965 and 1973 was in the form of long-term credits at low interest rates, funded by programs such as the Agricultural Surplus Program, designed to promote U.S. farm exports. Because of its volume, which increased considerably from 1970 on to support the purchase of major weapons systems by Israel, the sum of the foreign support of Israel's import surplus was made up of somewhat different elements from that of the transfers alone. In the crucial mass emigration era, U.S. government aid was 25 percent of that total, declining in the late 1950s to ten percent, and leaping to 30 percent of total transfers plus the capital imports component of Israel's balance of payments, as the War of Attrition along the Suez Canal and the Jordanian border peaked in the late 1960s and early 1970s. Yet the mainstay of the economic support was still world Jewry, though its share declined over time. It was about 64 percent of the total in the 1950s and 37 percent in 1970. Germany's relative contribution changed similarly *pari passu* (Table 22, section B).

The major import surplus maintained for these 25 years, which were the gestation period of the Israeli economy, was, as noted, a crucial element of the economy's transformation into a vibrant, rapidly growing system, almost fully industrialized, by around 1970. Its maintenance at high ratios in terms of the economy's aggregates depended crucially on the availability of these three finance flows, provided by world Jewry, by the U.S. government (directly and indirectly), and by the German government, year in and year out for a generation. For better or for worse, the balance of international payments served as a kind of regulator for the net inflow of foreign resources into the system. Israel's economic policy captains had of course only partial control of the size and the timing of the inflow of these resources. U.S. commitments, for instance, were annual, on the basis of its budget years; the contributions of world Jewry were for better or worse the result of the decisions of a multitude of individuals. Even the German commitments, particularly after the completion of the Reparations Agreement in 1965, were to a great extent subject to the decisions of Israeli households. It was in this sense that the balance-of-payments constraint affected behavior, at the level of the policymakers in the first instance, and by the public at large. Events in the external economic front were accordingly a key control instrument of the economy.

The Dominant Role of Fiscal Policy

The public sector had the dominant role in managing the economy because it controlled both the available resources and the instruments of policy. The public sector – that is, the "great government," defined as the government of Israel, the Jewish Agency, municipal authorities, and nonprofit institutions financed substantially by government funds – (1) was the pipeline through which most of the available foreign currency was channeled into the economy, supported by tight currency controls; (2) promoted and enabled the resettlement effort; (3) allocated resources for investment and determined the branch composition of capital formation generated by this investment; and (4) managed immigrant absorption. These functions have been outlined in previous sections. In what follows the focus is on the traditional functions of fiscal policy and measures of fiscal performance, offering a glimpse of the considerations that shaped Israeli policy, its scope and objectives, its successes and failures, and its critical turning points, over the first 25 years of statehood.

The public sector expenditure figures in Table 23 offer clear evidence on the scope of the "great government." At the very beginning, in the first three years after independence, total public sector spending was 51 percent of GNP. The highly significant reduction of its scope to 38 percent in 1952–55 is, among other things, a clear expression of a crisis situation, a crucial turning point along a bumpy road. This budgetary measure of the scope of government was reduced in the following rapid-growth decade through 1966 to about 30 percent of GNP, quite in line with the level of government expenditure in the industrial nations of Western Europe. In more than one sense, the Israeli economy was part of the post-World War II trend among these nations in which the scope of the public sector increased with major extensions of the welfare state.

Yet the expenditures from 1967 through the seven good years until the Yom Kippur surprise attack indicate another crisis situation. Expenditures leapt first to 43 percent of GNP in 1967–69, 10 percentage points higher than in 1966. This reflects mainly a much higher defense budget, due to and in the wake of the Six-Day War. The second even higher spurt in expenditures in 1970–73 to 63 percent of GNP reflects the cost of the War of Attrition, the rebuilding of the Suez Canal defense line, and later the cost of the Yom Kippur War, attributed to 1973. Defense expenditures in that year were about 29 percent of national product (Tables 18 and 20). The 75 percent of GNP fiscal expenditures of 1974 underline the burden the defense budget had imposed on the system from 1966 onward. The political crisis had had an explosive impact on the economy. Defense expenditures of about ten percent of GNP were the rule from 1960 to 1966; they rose to 20 percent of GNP on average from 1973 through 1976.

This does not suggest, however, that the rapid rise of the scope of government, as measured by public sector expenditures, was exclusively due to the defense burden. The decades between 1954 and the Yom Kippur War were an era of a rapidly expanding welfare state. The National Insurance Institute, created in 1954, served initially as a public sector instrument of the absorption process. Compulsory payroll and self-employment contributions to the universal insurance service were initially, through the 1960s, higher than the benefits paid to the insured. Entitlements were only 1.6

percent of GNP in 1957. But these grew rapidly, as more and more programs were added to the system. By 1970 benefits paid out were 5.2 percent of GNP, and by 1974 8.7 percent, which meant that social security benefits were already more than ten percent of total budget expenditures. Adding the cost of health and elementary, secondary, and higher education, we see that by 1970 at least 35 percent of the exploding budget expenditures of the 1970s were allocated to welfare state services.

The huge scope of government expenditures in terms of the initial production capacity of the economy, and the large scope later on in the post-1954 decades, required corresponding revenue. Yet tax revenues through 1951 were minuscule compared to expenditures. To these should be added the income from unilateral transfers flowing exclusively into public sector coffers – mainly to the Jewish Agency, which was put in charge of the initial absorption of immigrants in the era of mass immigration, and of the resettlement effort. Through 1951 these unilateral receipts consisted entirely of contributions from Jewish community appeals abroad; the 6.5 percent of Israel's GNP that these appeals infused into the system at this time could be conceived as a self-imposed tax on Jews all over the world. This infusion of resources was highly significant. Yet, though adding it to the meager tax revenue of that age increased the cash flow into the public sector by 50 percent, to 19 percent of GDP on average in the three fiscal years 1949–51, the public sector still generated a huge deficit, about 31 percent of GNP (Table 23). The gap in the cash flow was covered by the classical technique adopted by governments in this predicament everywhere – printing money.

The mechanics of that process and the impact on price levels of this way of evening out the government cash flow are discussed below (see The Monetary Infrastructure and Suppressed Inflation). The relevant feature in the fiscal context suggested by the data is that the three-year average through 1955 shows a drastic reduction of the fiscal deficit to 11.5 percent of GDP. Furthermore, in the following year, the year of the Suez/Sinai Campaign, the budget deficit was down to less than four percent of GNP. In the following decade, in 1966, it was pulled effectively into the black (Table 23).

The year 1952 was a critical turning point in the realm of government finances. the new Economic Policy (NEP) announced in the Knesset by Prime Minister David Ben Gurion on February 9, 1952, was based on the premise that the necessary condition for stable economic progress was to put government finances on a firm basis. This meant an immediate reduction of the current budget deficit to a reasonable level. The rapid growth of national product and the reduction of rising public sector expenditures below the rate of growth of GNP, indicated by the 38 percent ratio for 1952–55 (compared to 51 percent in 1950), made the difference.

The end of the first wave of mass immigration in 1951 helped to make this achievement more feasible. It was helped, however, by a highly significant boost on the revenue side. Note first the major relative increase of unilateral receipts, reflecting the appearance of U.S. economic aid in the form of grants starting in 1952, and German reparation payments in 1953 (Table 23). Though Israel's robust economic growth soon reduced their ratio from nine percent of GNP to 5–6 percent, these offered a stable source of revenue for more than a decade through 1965.

The further, though relatively small, reduction of the growth of public sector expenditure, which kept it within the 30 percent range through 1966, contributed to the maintenance of fiscal discipline during this period. But the real revolutionary development in the fiscal dimension of the economy occurred on the revenue side of government finances. The revenue system inherited from the Mandatory government was designed within the conceptual framework of the British colonial tradition, which, in line with the "free trade" concept, also envisioned a small government. In any case, the Mandatory model of government did not envision a government attempting to promote growth and construct a welfare state. Thus, for the first two decades of the British rule of Palestine, no comprehensive income tax was instituted.

The small ratio of tax revenues to GNP inherited from the Mandatory government reflected accordingly the absence both of the legal framework and of the experienced revenue administration required to provide significant revenues to government. These were built up during the 1950s. By 1956 the tax system collected revenues on the order of about 22 percent of GNP. By the 1960s, supported by revenue from compulsory payments to the National Insurance Institute, tax revenues amounting to 30 percent of GNP was quite comparable to those collected in the older industrial economies. In the early 1970s through 1973 tax revenues moved to very high absorption rates – 45 percent of GNP, comparable to those collected by the "high–revenue" systems of the Scandinavian countries. These rates were implemented by a major increase of compulsory National Insurance Institute payments and higher effective real income tax rates. This performance of the revenue system was a major factor in keeping tight fiscal discipline between 1955 and 1966. It thus effectively obviated the need for the government to resort to the printing press at the Central Bank.

Yet 1967 was another turning point for public sector finances: they started to move in the opposite direction. The slight 0.3 percent deficit of 1966 was caused by the severe macroeconomic slowdown, which involved a high unemployment rate. But the leap to an average annual fiscal deficit rate of 5.7 percent of GDP in the 1967–69 period was of an altogether different significance. That deficit rate was not due to failure on the revenue side; tax revenue rose considerably to 33 percent of GNP (Table 23) as a result of rapidly rising incomes and the increasing efficiency of the tax administration. The response of the Jewish communities worldwide to the 1967 Six-Day War and the subsequent War of Attrition generated a significant rise of unilateral transfers to 4.5 percent of GNP. What made the difference was rapidly mounting defense costs, which increased government expenditures by ten percentage points to 43 percent in the closing years of the 1960s.

Since the leap in government expenditures and the corresponding rise of aggregate demand were initiated at the bottom of the cycle, showing a 10 percent unemployment rate by mid-1967, the rapidly rising demand was initially absorbed by the rapid expansion of production; national product rose at an annual average of almost 14 percent in 1968 and 1969. This was facilitated by a rapid reduction of unemployment and underutilized manufacturing capacity. The inflation of expenditure thus initially pulled the wheels of the economic system forward. But toward the end of 1969, the economy was clearly on the threshold of full employment. With an unemployment rate of 4.5 percent in 1969, even though a massive inflow of Palestinian workers had already been pulled into the economy to sustain a 13 percent expansion of employment, it was at that time quite clear that by 1970 at the latest the economy would have crossed the threshold of full employment.

This eventually called for fiscal restraint, at least from 1970 on. An attempt at restraint along the revenue route was indeed implemented; owing to the significant rise of rates of social security contributions in that year, and of other tax rates, government revenue leapt from 33 to 45 percent of GNP in the 1970–73 interval. But the spurt of expenditures easily overcame the effort of restraint on the revenue side of the fiscal balance. The very high expenditure levels, averaging almost 60 percent of GNP between 1970 and September 1973 (just before the Yom Kippur War), meant that the inflationary impact of the fiscal policy could not be contained. To even out its cash flow the Treasury had no option but to use its credit facility at the Bank of Israel to print money.

The overfull employment level, underlined by the unemployment rates of 2.7 and 2.6 percent in 1972 and 1973, and the employment of a quantitatively significant group of Palestinian workers, meant that the public sector deficit of 10.3 percent of GNP from 1970 through September 1973, just before the outbreak of the war, generated heavy inflationary pressures. And indeed, this reversal, from more than a decade of tight fiscal restraint to the exploding budget deficits of the early 1970s, could not but provide the fuel for rapid inflation. This rose to double-digit rates from 1970 on. In the three prewar quarters of 1973, it was already running at an annual rate of 21 percent (Table 25).

Table 24. Monetary Aggregates and Interest Rates, 1948–1974

		Outstanding Credit Balances		Bank of Israel[1]		Interest Rates (%)			
Year	Money Supply M1	Banks[2]	Total[3]	Government Net Liabilities[4]	Discounts	Free Credit		Develop Credit[5]	Makam Discount Rate[6]
						Nominal	Real	Real	Nominal
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
Indices: 1954=100									
1948	29	–	–	20	–	–	–	–	–
1950	54	–	–	59	–	–	–	–	–
1951	69	40	40	91	–	–	–	–	–
1952	74	87	–	91	–	–	–	–	–
1954	100	100	100	100	–	–	–	–	–
1955	120	111	120	–	100	7.9	3.0	–	–
1959	208	227	240	239	214	9.5	7.8	–	–
1960	253	286	286	263	363	9.5	5.9	–	–
1965	571	554	734	119	888	8.8	1.6	0.87	–
1966	575	686	877	201	1,667	8.5	0.6	4.9	7.70
1969	850	1,780	1,967	1,929	5,241	11.0	6.8	–	6.30
1970	911	2,123	2,497	2,690	6,417	18.4	7.8	-1.0	7.75
1973 (Sept.)	1,915	3,040	3,726	–	–	–	–	-13.8	8.50[7]
1973	2,115	4,063	5,062	3,502	17,895	20.5	-4.6	–	8.50
1974	2,496	–	–	5,624	30,491	24.6	-20.2	-30.2	9.25

Notes:

1. Selected Bank of Israel assets.
2. End-of-year balances. The entries in Banks, column 2, include the "free" credit and "directed" (BOI-subsidized) credit of the commercial banking system.
3. Total, column 3, also includes the balances of the government's highly subsidized "development budget" credits, for which the banks served as a conduit only, receiving fees for the service of distributing to and receiving payments from beneficiaries.
4. For the period 1948–December 1954, government net liabilities were with the Issue Department of Bank Leumi, which served as the currency board of the state before the establishment of the central bank.
5. Interest rates charged for investment credits financed by the government development budget (by "Pamela deposits") and not from commercial bank sources.
6. Makam (Hebrew acronym for short-term loan) bonds used as an instrument for policy and not as finance for government cash flow.
7. Discount rates in 1971 and 1972 were also 8.5 percent.

Table 25. Prices, Wages, and Exchange Rates, 1948–1974[1]

Year	Prices					Rates of Exchange[2]	
	Consumer C.O.L	GNP Implicit	Import Prices		Nominal Wages	Official	Effective Imports[3]
			I£	Dollar			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
A. Indices 1954=100							
1948	42.1	–	–	–	29.4	18.5	21.5[4]
1950	39.0	46.1	22.3	–	33.6	19.8	22.3
1951	46.9	53.5	–	–	43.1	19.8	22.3
1952	78.1	74.6	44.7	–	73.1	19.8	44.7
1954	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
1959	122.1	138.0	133.5	98.0	139.2	100.0	144.1
1960	126.3	142.2	138.2	98.0	156.1	100.0	149.2
1961	137.3	154.5	138.2	95.1	171.7	100.0	153.8
1962	151.8	167.1	153.0	93.1	193.0	166.7	173.8
1966	192.1	227.5	169.9	100.0	332.7	166.7	179.8
1967	192.5	231.8	174.2	100.0	334.0	194.4	184.3
1969	203.5	238.4	205.6	102.9	369.6	194.4	211.3
1970	244.5	263.9	217.3	103.9	402.9	194.4	221.3
1973 (Sept.)	346.5	408.4	(273.7)	113.7[5]	663.1	233.4	(225.0)[5]
1973	361.5	493.0	–	145.6	681.4	233.4	–
1974	564.7	666.6	–	200.2	927.9	333.4	–
B. Average Annual Rates of Change (Percent)							
1949–1951	3.7	–	–	–	13.6	2.3	–
1952	66.5	39.4	–	–	–	0.0	103.2
1951–1954	28.7	23.2	–	–	32.4	71.6	65.7
1954–1959	4.1	6.6	5.9	–0.5	8.4	0.0	7.6
1959–1966	6.7	6.5	3.5	0.3	12.1	7.5	3.2
1961	9.0	8.9	0.0	–3.0	10.0	0.0	3.6
1962	10.2	8.2	10.7	–2.7	12.4	66.7	13.0
1966–1969	2.0	2.4	6.6	1.0	3.6	5.3	5.5
1970–1973 (Sept.)	15.2	14.7	–	–	16.9	5.0	–
1973 (Sept.)	21.2	–	–	–	24.1	0.0	–

Notes:

1. End prices exchange rates and nominal wages.
2. Exchange rate on the U.S. dollar.
3. Effective exchange rates for imports involve the official exchange rate of the Israeli Pound (I£) plus several "disguised" impositions such as an across-the-line charge of a duty rate, etc.
4. The entry is for 1949.
5. The entry refers to the end of 1972.

The Monetary Infrastructure and Suppressed Inflation

THE EMERGENCE OF THE ISRAELI POUND. One of the first demonstrations of sovereignty made after the Declaration of Independence was the replacement of the Palestine pound (P£) with an Israeli currency. The Mandatory Palestine pound served as legal tender for more than two decades through August 16, 1948, when the Israeli government concluded an agreement with the Anglo-Palestine Bank to issue the Israel pound (I£), as it was named, and confer on it the status of legal tender. The conversion rate of a Palestine pound to an Israel pound was set at 1:1. That established a de facto exchange rate for the new currency, since the nominal value of the Palestine pound was identical to that of the British pound sterling (the exchange rate between them was 1:1). This meant that the Israel pound had, initially, the same nominal exchange rate as the British pound with the U.S. dollar and other currencies.

Neither the date of issue of the Israeli currency, nor the choice of a Currency Board to execute that function, nor the decision to locate the Department of Issue within the Anglo-Palestine Bank, were matters of chance. The exchange rate set for the Israel pound was also not plucked from thin air. All these decisions had well-founded reasons. The three months' delay of the transition to a national currency was imposed by a major foreign policy constraint, set by the United Nations decision of November 29, 1947 to establish two states within the area of Mandatory Palestine, the economies of which were to be linked by a customs union and a single currency. An immediate issue of an Israeli currency would have been inconsistent with this decision.

The implementation of the new currency was accordingly delayed until almost the last minute, even though it generated strain in the markets due to shortages of currency for transactions. This was clearly demonstrated by the appearance of substitutes – municipal coupons, etc. The unilateral exclusion of Palestine from the sterling bloc in February 1948, a clearly hostile move by the British government, and the closing of the Barclays Bank offices in beleaguered Jerusalem, which had been serving as the agent of the London-based Mandatory Issue Department, technically prevented even the use of foreign exchange to acquire Palestine pound notes from March 1948 on. In any case, the closing of the Mandatory Issue Department's Agent's offices offered a political opening for a move by Israel, which could also refer to the declared refusal of the Arab side to proclaim its independent state. In view of the urgent need for circulating money, and even more to provide the government with the required liquidity for its day-to-day operations, the government decided to take the plunge.

Since the creation of a central bank was of course an impossible feat within the first three months of independence, the currency board device was the obvious option. It suggested continuity with the previous system in the provision of monetary liquidity. Furthermore, the establishment of the Israeli Issue Department within the Anglo-Palestine Bank (APB) – the largest banking institution of Mandatory Palestine and the long-standing Zionist flagship in the realm of finance, with over 40 years of experience and presence in Palestine – followed in a sense the classical British Bank Act of 1844. It established the Issue Department as a distinct legal entity, the profits and losses of which were revenue or debit charges on the government budget. According to the covenant between the government and the APB, two representatives of the government were appointed as (minority) members of the management committee of the Issue Department. In a separate letter attached to the covenant, but not published, APB agreed that with regard to two subjects – the volume of credit allocated to the government, and the setting of its rate of discount, the management of the department "could take into consideration the point of view of the government." The covenant, which granted a monopoly for issuing currency to the APB – soon to change registration from a British to an Israeli banking corporation and adopt the Hebrew name Bank Leumi le-Israel (National Bank of Israel) – was set to last three years. Though the length of that term was a bone of contention in the negotiations, the Issue Department stayed in place for more than six years within Bank Leumi, until it was moved to the Bank of Israel, which opened its gates on December 1, 1954.

Though formally similar to its predecessor, the Mandatory Issue Department, the set of assets that it could purchase in return for its issue of currency – the only liability it could create – indicates that it was an altogether different kind of "money-creating" institution. Whereas the Mandatory entity was allowed to purchase sterling only in return for issuing Palestinian currency, and hold its reserves only in gilt-edged British government securities, the Israeli institution was empowered to own a portfolio of "domestic" assets, besides foreign currency. These included short-term Treasury bills and, following the amended legislation of 1949, Land Issue bonds (long-term government debentures), and also "commercial paper."

The last option, however, was never used. The first two, which in practice amounted to the granting of credit to the government, were soon made use of by the Treasury. To reduce the risk of an inflationary impact due to the Issue Department's legal obligation to finance the cash flow of the government, the Board of Directors of APB requested a clear legal restriction on its ability to extend credit to the government. The August 1948 legislation, which made the covenant law, included accordingly the requirement of a minimum of 50 percent foreign currency reserve against the only liquid liability of the Issue Department – the outstanding nominal balance of Israeli currency. The June 1949 amendment to the original 1948 legislation, which added Land bonds – soon to surface in the money market as an asset legally similar to foreign currency – effectively neutralized the foreign currency reserve restriction, which, however, remained in the law.

The money supply figures offer the rationale for this amendment to the original legislation designed to restrict the money supply, only one year after its enactment. Currency in circulation at the end of 1948 had increased at an annual rate of more than 100 percent, and the supply of money by 70 percent, within the seven or so months of independence, including the last quarter of that year after the successful completion of the one-month trial (mid-August to mid-September) during which the population exchanged its Mandatory currency for Israel pounds. The rapid rise in monetary liquidity continued in 1949, the first full year of the new monetary regime. The outstanding balance of currency increased in that year by 60 percent and the supply of money by almost 40 percent. All in all the money supply during the three years between the end of 1948 and the end of 1951, a period of mass immigration, grew at an annual average of about 34 percent (Table 24). This meant eventually a major inflation of the money supply.

This development was triggered by the huge deficit, the average of which was 31 percent of GNP during the 43 months through the end of 1951, in spite of the highly significant inflow of unilateral transfers from the donations of Jewish communities abroad. To even out its cash flow the Treasury sold Treasury bills to the banking system, thus borrowing at an interest rate of about 2.5 percent. These rates charged by the banks were based on the commitment of the Issue Department, made upon its opening, to purchase any quantity of Treasury bills offered to it at a discount rate within the range of 1.3–1.7 percent.

These very low interest rates were quite similar to the comparable rates in the industrialized countries at the time. Such rates were the subject of dispute between managements of central banks and national treasuries, but were still prevailing in Western Europe and North America. The discount rate range set by the management of the Issue Department was therefore not out of line with what was acceptable elsewhere at that time. Yet as in the case of the exchange rate of the Palestine pound with the Israel pound, set at 1:1 in August

1948, the discount rate, though facilitating the acceptance of the new currency and thus seemingly reasonable in the very short run, created major economic problems later.

The complication that triggered these problems involving the exchange rate and the discount rate (and thus the cost of bank credit) was the difference between inflation rates in Palestine and those in Britain and the United States. the inflation rate during the war was much higher in Palestine than in Britain. In Palestine prices rose by about three times between 1939 and 1947 (Table 13). In Britain during the same period they rose by approximately 80 percent. Since British inflation was higher than American during the war and its aftermath, the gap between Palestine's rate of inflation and that of the U.S. was even greater.

The choice of 1:1 as the rate at which Palestine currency was converted into Israeli currency (and was thus the exchange rate with sterling as well) – involved therefore a highly significant overvaluation of the Israel pound in relation to sterling, and an even greater overvaluation against the U.S. dollar. This choice offered therefore an implicit subsidy to imports and penalized exports. The difference between the average annual rates of inflation between 1939 and 1947 in Palestine (about 15 percent) and Britain (about half that) meant that inflationary expectations in Israel, still involved in a shooting war in 1948 and later subject to an avalanche of mass immigration, were much higher than in the U.K. The inevitable consequence of an interest rate for bank credit lower than the inflation rate (in line with the Issue Department's discount rate) was a strong and accelerating demand for credit by businesses and households. The highly liquid banking system was able to provide credit at low rates, in view of the low discount rate set by the Issue Department for treasury bills, which allowed banks to resupply their reserves when required, at low cost. This soon created an all-out inflation of the money supply, shown by the M1 figures in Table 24.

SUPPRESSED INFLATION, 1948–1951. The expansion of the money supply by more than by two times between the end of 1948 and 1951, at an annual average rate of 34 percent, could not but generate a major increase in the price level, though resources grew substantially too. The estimate for the growth of resources for domestic uses during the same period put the annual average rate of increase at 15–20 percent at most. Comparison with an inflation of the quantity of money by 34 percent annually suggests severe price inflation. Yet the price data in Table 25 does not, apparently, warrant the conclusion suggested by economic theory. Indeed, the data indicate that prices even declined somewhat between 1948 and 1950, and that the significant 1951 increase reflects the worldwide Korean War inflation effect of that year, which inflicted a major cost shock on the world economy, since it raised commodity prices all over the globe. However, even this shock, which also affected Israel in 1951, meant that during the first three full years of independence since the beginning of 1949, the annual average increase in prices was apparently within the three-to-four percent range. This was quite similar to the rate of price inflation to which industrial countries were subject in that postwar period.

Yet an inspection of the price data of Table 25 suggests immediately that this very low reading of the inflationary environment in Israel at that period is facile. This is the clear message to be read in the rise of the cost of living by almost 67 percent in 1952 and a further 19 percent in 1953. The price readings for the pre-1952 years, like those in its aftermath, were official prices of a price-controlled economic system subject to tight rationing. The price controls were inherited from the Mandatory period and were inevitably extended during the 14 months of active combat through the first quarter of 1949. The immediate impact of the mass immigration on the limited resources of the economy, involving in these years a huge import surplus (Table 18), financed, among other methods,

Table 26. Manufacturing, Employment, Capital Stock, Product, and Productivity, 1954 = 100

	Employment	Capital Stock	Manufactured Product	Factor Productivity	
				Manufacturing	Business Sector
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
1950	74	54	80	117	88
1954	100	100	100	100	100
1955	102	115	111	106	110
1960	134	260	193	115	135
1965	183	390	362	153	151
1970	213	488	580	203	191
1973	231	639	757	228	223
1975	239	740	810	226	222
1980	244	1,038	962	235	232
1985	258	1,316	1,153	250	248
1990	264	1,550	1,270	256	272
1995	340	2,113	1,824	280	295
2000	356	3,106	2,414	312	280
2004	336	3,732	2,288	288	273
2005	–	3,866	–	–	–

Table 27. Structure of Civilian Employment and of Domestic Product, 1950–2003

Year	Agriculture (1)	Manufacturing (2)	Construction and Public Utilities[1] (3)	Public and Commercial Sector (4)	Others (5)	Total (6)
A. Employment (%)						
1950	17.3	21.2	10.7	(16.0)	(34.8)	100
1960	17.1	23.2	11.5	17.5	30.7	100
1970	8.8	24.3	9.5	24.0	33.4	100
1980	6.4	23.7	7.4	29.6	32.9	100
1990	4.2	21.7	6.2	29.6	38.3	100
2000	2.2	18.0	6.2	32.3	41.3	100
2003	1.8	16.4	6.4	33.5	41.9	100
B. Net Domestic Product (%)						
1950	11.8	28.4	10.2	21.1	28.5	100
1960	11.7	23.8	9.5	18.7	36.3	100
1970	6.9	25.7	13.6	20.3	33.5	100
1980	6.6	20.9	11.4	24.4	36.7	100
1990	3.3	22.1	8.2	24.0	42.4	100
2000	1.5	17.6	7.0	23.7	50.2	100
2003	1.7	15.3	7.3	25.5	50.2	100

Note:

1. Includes employment and product in electricity generation and distribution in the national water supply system.

by drawing on the last dollar of international reserves in 1951, led inevitably to the extension of the scope of rationing early in 1951. While European economies were at that time rapidly getting rid of the shackles of World War II-era rationing, in what the Labour government of Britain described in 1951 as a "bonfire of controls," the Israeli government felt that it had no option but to make a major move in the other direction. It attempted to increase the scope and tighten the regime of supply and rationing – the name of the ministry which later became the Ministry of Trade and Industry – by extending rationing from food to clothing, involving a point coupon book issued to every resident.

The tight and tightening rationing regime supported by price controls was, however, subject to rising pressure from the government deficit of those years (see above, The Dominant Role of Fiscal Policy), which forced the government to print money to sustain its cash flow. This rapidly inflated the volume of currency in circulation – the monetary base – and on top of that allowed an expansion of bank credit, and thus a corresponding increase of the money supply. With the money supply expanding by 138 percent between 1948 and the end of 1951, and official prices rising by only 11 percent, even an annual average 20 percent increase of resources in the economy could not have withstood the immense pressure of that avalanche of money flowing into the pockets of households and businesses during this period.

The success of the price controls and rationing inherited from the British depended inevitably and crucially on the acceptance and support of public opinion, which began to erode by mid-1950. Prime Minister David Ben-Gurion thus put his prestige on the line in a radio address, and appealed to the public to avoid resorting to, and to fight the appearance of, black markets. The increased purchasing power put into the pockets of the populace later on eroded the support of public opinion and burst the price control dam, and black markets spread rapidly. When an early election was called for June 1951 to settle a sensitive dispute over education between the religious and secular segments of the population, the main issue of the campaign turned out to be rationing and price controls.

A small liberal party, advocating the virtues of a market economy and calling for the abolition of controls, succeeded in tripling its parliamentary representation, while left-wing parties lost power. The political turn of the tide, and the growing understanding in political circles, supported by the minister of finance and top Treasury officials, that controls, and the overvaluation of the Israeli currency, are "anti-production" devices, suggested the scrapping of the supply and rationing policy. This position was strongly supported by the agricultural settlements, whose memberships were predominantly supporters of the ruling Labor Party. The major resettlement effort during these three years had generated by 1951 a substantial increase of output, but price controls prevented farmers benefiting from the sellers' market still dominating the produce markets. They could do that only by selling on the black market, which they were reluctant to do, even though they did not avoid these markets altogether. With the election campaign out of the way by midsummer, a reformulation of economic policy involving a dramatic departure from the supply and rationing/suppressed inflation model was put into practice.

The New Economic Policy (NEP), 1952–1954

The alternative model – the New Economic Policy model inaugurated formally on February 9, 1952 in the prime minister's statement in the Knesset – was much more market-oriented. It was obvious that the necessary condition for reform was a reasonable fiscal stance. Budget deficits of the size allowed during the first 44 months of independence were not a viable option any more, especially in the context of a stabilization policy. Yet, the absorption of mass immigration and the resettlement drive, which required an all-out effort to provide housing and urgent infrastructure investment in water and irrigation, roads, school facilities, etc., required a flow of investment resources beyond the small capacity of the Israeli economy to provide. The population figures alone suggest the nature of this constraint. The national product of a Jewish population of about 650,000 by mid-1948 could not have provided the resources for the investment required for a Jewish population of 1.4 million in 1951. This meant that to sustain the investment flow even at the level of 1950, a substantial import surplus was essential. Foreign finance to pay for it was equally essential.

By the end of 1951 Israel's foreign currency reserves, consisting effectively of sterling balances accumulated during World War II through 1947, which had financed partially the capital formation since 1949, were exhausted. During 1951, the Israeli government, with the full support of the Jewish leadership in the U.S., made a successful effort to set up the framework for a stable flow of foreign finance. This involved three new sources of finance, in addition to the annual contribution of United Jewish Appeal (UJA) funds of $90–100 million (current) dollars, which had already been flowing for several years. The first of these was an expected flow of about $65 million annually for 12 years from the West German government under the Reparations Agreement. This agreement was concluded in 1952 after a major, soul-searching and highly divisive political dispute that split Jewish public opinion all over the globe, and led to riots in the streets of Jerusalem in January of that year as the Knesset debated the issue. The submission of a claim for reparations was finally approved by a small majority; the agreement was finally signed in September and the flow of funds started in 1953.

The success of the Jewish leadership in including Israel among the recipients of American economic aid, involving grants, long-term loans, and credits under the U.S. farm surplus program, ensured a second stable source of about 40–50 million current dollars for more than a decade from 1952 onward. Though not formally a long-term commitment, and thus needing renewed Congressional approval annually, it was nevertheless, and rightfully, conceived as a stable source of funds. The third new source for funds on the capital account was the State of Israel Bonds organization supported by the Jewish communities in the U.S. and later in Canada (and over time in other countries with sizable Jewish communities). To avoid competition with the United Jewish Appeal, which collected contributions, and to underline its character as a businesslike organization, the Israel Bonds organization was designed to sell long-term (ten-year) government of Israel debentures carrying an interest rate similar to that of U.S. government long-term debt. This rate did not compensate, of course, for the major difference between the financial risk involved in bonds of the government of Israel and that of U.S. government debentures. The sale of these bonds was accordingly based on campaigns similar to those run by the UJA. The first campaign was inaugurated with a coast-to-coast appeal led personally by David Ben-Gurion in the winter months of 1951. These bonds soon provided a flow of close to $50 million annually. However, they involved the creation of long-term foreign debt to be repaid after 10 to 15 years. Yet what counted most in the formulation and implementation of the NEP was immediate liquidity considerations, for which the Israel Bonds funds were on an equal footing with German reparations and U.S. government aid.

The New Economic Policy was based on the assumption that a flow of roughly 150 million (current) dollars from these three sources was assured. This meant that together with an annual inflow of about $90–100 million of U.S. funds, a cash inflow of about $200–250 million annually could be counted on for investment allocation. On the basis of this assumption, even though the German Reparations Agreement had not been finalized by that time, it was possible to nail down the basic premise of the New Economic Policy: fiscal rectitude. The program committed the government to avoid budget deficits; the regular budget would be covered by tax revenue and the substantial development budget by the flow of funds from abroad.

The monetary dimension of the program committed the government to stop immediately the sale of Land Bonds and Treasury bills to the banking system and to the Issue Department to sustain its cash flow. This meant that the government was to stop forthwith printing money to finance its expenditures, as it had been doing since August 1948.

Though the respective fiscal policy and the corresponding restrictive monetary policy were to serve as the foundation of the policy, what conquered the headlines and public opinion as NEP came into the open in February 1952 was the immediate major devaluation of the Israeli currency: it was to be devalued by threefold, though that move was to be tempered initially by maintaining the previous rate of exchange for the import "essentials" (crude oil, food, and feed grains), and an intermediate rate for the import of other raw materials. That three-tier exchange rate system was eroded over time by moving more and more import items into the higher rate. When the process was finalized late in 1954, and the two lower exchange rates were eliminated, the top rate was again devalued by 80 percent. Thus, by 1955 the official exchange rate of I£1.8 to US $1.00 was higher by five times than the November 1949 rate in which Israel followed the U.K. devaluation of sterling against the dollar at the same rate of about 44 percent.

What was not revealed at the official introduction of the NEP, nor in the government response to the debate in the Knesset made by Eliezer Kaplan, the first minister of finance, who prepared the program, was the last item of the NEP program: a 10 percent tax (formally a non-price-linked loan) on money – that is, on cash and demand deposits. The delay in implementing that important component of the program was caused by a technicality: the implementation of the tax on currency required an exchange of old for new banknotes. The new notes, carrying the new Hebrew name of the issuing bank, Bank Leumi, instead of its former name, the Anglo-Palestine Bank, were not ready for distribution. In any case, the delay was fortunate since the implementation of NEP was expected, and indeed proved, to be a complicated and painful exercise.

One feature of the pain was the necessity to cut government expenditure significantly. The prime minister, who also served as minister of defense, decided to support the commitment to a balanced budget with a 20 percent cut in the defense budget. This led to the resignation of the chief of staff. A related move designed to lower expenditure was the termination of the postwar wave of mass immigration by the end of 1951. Though not actually a drastic move – it was more a passive response to the situation in the countries of origin of potential immigrants – it was still important to the success of the policy. This move was not publicized at the time. The major slowdown in the inflow of immigrants allowed accordingly a slight reduction of the absorption budget.

Yet besides the pain indicated by the rise of unemployment – in 1953 the rate rose again to 11 percent, and was still 9.4 percent in 1954 when the NEP was considered an outstanding success – it was the price explosion that imposed universal pain on households. This was not accidental; on the contrary, the leap of prices (67 percent in 1952, 19 percent in 1953) was part of the disinflation policy. It was this price explosion, combined with the 10 percent tax on money finally imposed in June 1952, that reduced at one go the purchasing power of the Israel pound, and thus the real quantity of money, which had expanded tremendously under the suppressed inflation policy though 1951. Though never stated in so many words by the prime minister or the finance minister, the adoption of the NEP meant the virtual abandonment of the supply and rationing policy pursued through 1951, thus allowing greater market control of the economy.

The first two years of the process was a bitter pill for the economy, and strained the tolerance of the political community and that of the beleaguered new finance minister, Levi Eshkol, who took over from the ailing Kaplan in the summer of 1952. Employment in 1953 was lower than in 1952; the rising unemployment led to a virtual freeze of GNP growth and of the volume of real resources in the economy. Prices rose steeply, as noted above. And the final adjustment of the exchange rate, to a level 80 percent higher than the top rate of February 1952, was about to be implemented through 1954. Under the open inflation of the NEP this was expected to raise prices further.

Yet the economic aggregate and price data for 1954 suggest that the difficult surgery of the NEP had seemingly succeeded, and the sick body of the economy was undoubtedly on the road to recovery. After almost two years of stagnation GNP shot up by about 20 percent, corresponding to the growth of employment by four percent. This reduced the unemployment rate to a still high, but significantly lower, 8.9 percent. Price inflation was down to 7.5 percent. With the government deficit of 1954–55 down to 7.5 percent of GNP it was also clear that a major fiscal improvement had been achieved (Table 23).

These results showed even more strongly in the 1955 data. With inflation down to about 5 percent and GNP starting its rapid, decade-long growth process at an annual rate of 12 percent, employment higher, and the unemployment rate at 7.4 percent, it was clear by that time that the operation had succeeded and the patient had survived. This was clearly felt among most of the population; the per capita product and private consumption expenditures were higher by 35 and about 30 percent respectively than in 1950, only five years before.

The now more regular pulse of the state also showed in what was popularly considered the measure of well-being, the rate of immigration. down to only 11,000 in 1953, it was up to 38,000 in 1955, signaling the beginning of the second wave of mass post-independence Aliyah. It lasted for a decade through 1965, and brought half a million immigrants to Israel.

The Bank of Israel (BOI) and Macroeconomic Policy, 1954–1973

THE CREATION OF A CENTRAL BANK. The last quarter of 1954 marked not only the end of the NEP, by that time already perceived as a highly successful operation. It also marked the establishment of the Bank of Israel (BOI) as the state's central bank. Its incubation period was longer than expected, so the length of service of the Issue Department at the Bank Leumi, initially set for only three years, was extended to more than six years, until December 1, 1954, at which date the Bank of Israel opened for business.

The 1954 Law of the Bank of Israel was prepared by a committee that had the advice of a panel of five (Jewish) experts, who also scrutinized the final results. one member of the panel was a top executive of a major commercial bank in the U.K., another was a member of the Board of Governors of the Central Bank of Canada, and the three others included a leading academic monetary economist in the U.S., the first director of research of the International Monetary Fund, and the secretary of the United Nations Economic Affairs Committee. The law was, of course, significantly affected by the Keynesian worldview, which dominated economic thought in the immediate aftermath of World War II. It gave the bank the classical function of central banks, making monetary policy. It provided its management with the conventional instruments of central banking, forged in the 19th century and developed in the first decades of the 20th.

The Bank's management was accordingly empowered to set minimum commercial bank reserve ratios, and to run a discount window. Through its discount rates it would have the ability to regulate the volume of currency in circulation and affect the volume of current account deposits, the two components that make up the money supply (M1). The Bank, as an institution of governance, worked in tandem with the Treasury, which in accordance with the traditional division of labor in industrialized economies, made fiscal policy.

Coordination of macroeconomic policy, the sum of these two elements (monetary and fiscal), has always been a problem for governments, and Israel's was no exception. The problem soon surfaced in the 1950s and 1960s, and focused on the inevitable issue – the momentum of growth versus price stability. The BOI Law indeed specified the two targets the Bank was to aim at: it was "to ensure the external and domestic stability of currency" and simultaneously ensure "a high level of production, employment, national income and investment."

Price stability and growth were accordingly set on an equal footing as the targets of monetary policy. But policies pursuing these two targets cannot necessarily be compatible over time. The Treasury, representing the political community, would usually focus on full employment and growth, which are not always consistent with price stability. The inflationary experience of Israel through 1951, which forced the economy to go through the drawn-out agony of the New Economic Policy, was an obvious example, just at the time the BOI commenced operations.

The task of guiding the economy along a path of virtue – growth and stable prices – was therefore considered of paramount importance by the first governor of the bank, David *Horowitz, who remained at the helm for 17 years through 1971. His freedom of action, when he believed a situation required restrictive policy such as higher interest rates and slower expansion of the money supply, was constrained by several features of the Bank of Israel Law. The most important of these was the section that allowed credit accommodation of the government by the central bank. It did involve a constraint: the volume of such an accommodation was not to exceed 20 percent "of the size of its budget." The level of such a credit was thus practically set by the decision of the Knesset's Finance Committee – a representative of the political authority, that is, the government itself. That section of the law was formulated in a "permissive" sense: the central bank was "permitted" to make an accommodation, yet not "required" to respond positively to an application for such accommodation.

The Bank of Israel's preliminary decision to change the minimum liquidity ratio required approval by the government. In practice this meant that the approval of the Ministerial Committee of Economic Affairs, of which the Bank's governor was a nonvoting member, could be delayed, partially eroded, or not forthcoming at all. Finally, the ability of the bank to have an "open market" policy, by means of which it could set its discount rate, was effectively limited owing to the shortage of financial instruments such as traded government bonds. An option to overcome this constraint was available under to a specific section of the law, but it too required government approval, which was not forthcoming for more than a decade, until 1966. The Bank's management's freedom of action to implement a restrictive monetary policy on its own volition was therefore quite limited.

Another constraint on the Bank of Israel's degree of freedom was the Ottoman-era law that put a ceiling on the legal nominal rate of interest that creditors, and thus the banking system, could charge for credit. The rate maintained through the Mandatory period was nine percent, a ceiling that was not relevant between 1920 and 1939, an era of declining, and in the late 1930s, stable, price levels. It would, however, have been an effective limit on the ability of BOI to restrict monetary expansion, even in the later 1950s, when the annual average price inflation was in the four-to-five percent range.

The only weapon entirely at the disposal of the Bank of Israel's management, through 1973 and later, was the requirement stated in section 35 of the law that "at whatever date the outstanding volume of means of payment had risen by 15 percent or more over and above its volume in the last 12 months, the governor of the bank has to publish a 'Report on the Expansion of the means of Payments.'"

This reference to the governor in person, rather than to the central bank management, underlines another inherent structural weakness of Israel's central bank through its first 50 years of existence. The BOI Law does not mandate the institution of a board of governors or a committee to be in charge of monetary policy. The only decision-making authority of the central bank is, under the law, the governor of the bank himself. He had a seven-member advisory committee with which he could consult, and a larger advisory council of 15 (including the seven advisory committee members) was also a component of the management structure. But these two bodies were entitled only to advise the governor. The actual decisions on monetary policy were his and his alone. Without the support of a board, the governor, when meeting with his counterparts from the government – the minister of finance and the members of the Ministerial Committee of Economic Affairs – was indeed going alone into the negotiating chamber.

THE BANK OF ISRAEL'S DEBUT. Despite the inherently weak position of the leadership of the institution formally charged with managing the monetary dimension of the economy, the Bank of Israel's performance in the following decade through 1965 was reasonable. During this period, Israel absorbed another half million immigrants; its population grew by 52 percent, its GDP grew by almost 10 percent annually and its per capita GDP increased by an average of 5.7 percent annually (Table 18). And this was achieved at a modest annual average rate of inflation of 5.5 percent, a rate which was not altogether out of line with inflation rates in Western European industrialized countries.

The money supply figures grew at a seemingly high annual average rate of 17 percent, a rate somewhat higher than the 15 percent at which the law required the governor to issue a formal warning – the required "report on the Expansion of the Means of Payment." Yet with GDP growth at almost 10 percent annually, and an extensive monetarization process going on both in the Arab sector of the economy, whose linkage with markets accelerated in that period, and among the substantial population of immigrants who had to acquire quickly domestic means of payment, demand for money in real terms grew on average of 13–14 percent annually. Thus, money supply grew by only a few percentage points, more rapidly than demand for it. The expansion of the money supply beyond the demand for it was accordingly minor for most of those years, with some exceptions mainly towards the end of the period. This indeed reflected fiscal discipline, maintained on the whole throughout that decade, even though Israel was again engaged in a war, the Suez/Sinai Campaign, late in 1956, following increasing tensions and military activity along the borders in 1955. The budget deficit of 1956 was only four percent, and through the following decade there were small surpluses (Table 23). The cash flow on income account of the government was accordingly evened without exceptional applications for central bank credit accommodation i.e., printing money.

Indeed, during its introductory period, through about 1960, the central bank was hardly called upon to exercise monetary restraint. Furthermore, its success in persuading the Treasury and the government to raise the legal ceiling on interest rates allowed it a greater degree of freedom in the making of monetary policy. The low inflation rates of the closing years of the 1950s (in the range of three to four percent), the higher ceiling on interest of 10 to 11 percent, and the elimination of a legal requirement to consider cost-of-living data in setting interest rates, made the difference.

Yet by late 1960, the Bank called for restrictive monetary action, due to the rise of the money supply in that year at a 22 percent annual rate, generated by an unexpected significant increase in West German personal restitution payments, converted into Israeli currency. The advisory bodies of the Bank approved the governor's proposal to raise the banks' minimum legal reserve ratio, designed to restrain their capacity to expand their current account deposits. This would have restrained the expansion of the money supply. Yet government approval of this proposal was not immediately forthcoming. It was delayed by six months, and when it finally came, the ministerial committee approved a smaller increase than the Bank had proposed. Furthermore, the ministerial approval included another erosion of the proposed restriction: it increased the quota of subsidized credit that the banking system was requested to allocate to privileged borrowers in farming and manufacturing.

In more than one sense this was the pattern of the ministerial committee's actions for the next 25 years, whenever the central bank proposed to make a restrictive monetary move. The next incident came soon: the rise of inflation in 1961 at an annual rate of nine percent, compared to the three percent average annual rate in the previous three years, and the rapidly rising restitution payments, data on which was known to the BOI by mid-1961, suggested the need for a further tightening of monetary policy. This was even more urgent in view of the discussion going on at that time between the Treasury and the Bank about a further significant devaluation of the currency. That move was necessitated by the cumulative rise of prices since 1954, the date of the last change in the nominal exchange rate.

This BOI proposal for another raise in the liquidity ratio was also delayed, and the amount of the raise shrunken. It was implemented only a year later, in the third quarter of 1962, after the February devaluation of that year – clearly another critical juncture for the Israeli economy. The devaluation had therefore taken place in an inappropriate monetary environment. Delay in the decision-making mechanism had given the political community the ultimate power in monetary matters.

THE 1962 DEVALUATION. The decision to raise the nominal exchange rate from I£1.8 to I£3 to the dollar, made on February 9, 1962, was not the result of an immediate balance-of-payments crisis, as such a hefty change might suggest. On the contrary, since the receipts of unilateral payments alone covered 80 to 90 percent of the import surplus at that time, there was no short-term foreign payments problem. The corresponding rise of net capital imports easily covered the difference between these two flows, and even allowed a significant increase of foreign currency reserves (Table 21). In 1960, reserves were seven times greater than they were in 1954, and in 1961 alone these increased by 27 percent, while GNP grew by about ten percent, the "standard" rate for that decade. This growth performance involved, among other things, a lower contribution of the import surplus to the economy – its share was down to only six percent of GNP (Table 18) – and ample reserves, which in 1954, 1960, and 1961 were a reasonable three months' worth of imports.

The decision to make the move on the exchange rate was reached after a lengthy debate in which Minister of Finance Levi Eshkol and the governor of the Bank of Israel, supported by academic opinion, were in favor of that move, and the minister of trade and industry was adamantly against it. It reflected purely long-run considerations. It was first of all the import surplus, down indeed to six percent of GNP in 1960 (higher in absolute terms), that was the concern of Treasury officials. The rising flow of unilateral transfers, the level of which was quite close to the value of the import surplus in the early 1960s, served as a medium-run insurance policy. Its importance was enhanced by the corresponding long-term capital imports, which were also rising. Yet it was also obvious that a growing economy, wedded to rapid growth, as in the Israeli case, would require a corresponding increase of imports. Even if imports and exports grew at a similar rate, the gap between them in absolute terms would get larger, requiring expansion of foreign financing – transfer payments and/or capital imports. Yet by the turn of the 1960s the grant element of U.S. aid was already phasing out, and the total of grants and long-term credits was down. Thus, even optimists who presumed that U.S. aid, in the form of long-term credit, would continue beyond 1965, thought that it would not grow in absolute terms. The predictions on German transfers, which in 1960 provided 50 percent of the unilateral receipts (Table 22), were even worse.

According to the 1952 agreement reparations would end by 1965, which meant that approximately one half the foreign currency flow from West Germany would be cut. On the assumption that individual restitution payments would continue to grow and partially compensate for the loss of reparations payments, total German transfer payments would be lower by perhaps 25–30 percent.

This reading of the situation suggested that a highly optimistic estimate of the future balance of payments would assume that the flow of transfers plus capital imports would be maintained at the approximate levels of the 1960s. Yet rapid growth required corresponding growth of imports, which would soon generate a threatening payment gap unless Israeli exports grew at a more rapid pace than imports. Devaluation of what was clearly the nominally overvalued Israeli currency was accordingly the cure prescribed by rational economic analysis.

This reasoning was supported by the relation between the nominal and effective exchange rates. The effective rate was the sum of the nominal exchange rate and the various (and differing) subsidies paid by the state to exporters of goods – citrus exporters, for instance, were paid a different, lower, subsidy for each dollar of foreign currency submitted to authorities, than, among others, exporters of manufactured goods. On the other hand, domestic producers were protected by high duties, by specific impositions over and above the nominal prices that importers had to pay for the foreign currency they required to pay for imports. These impositions were differential too and discriminated between types of product, location of plants, etc. Finally, some domestic products, textiles in particular, were protected by quotas. Thus, though the nominal exchange rate was frozen at its 1954 level, the effective exchange rate – the one that was actually in effect and generated the behavior and decisions of exporters and importers, and thus ultimately of producers and consumers in the domestic market – did change over time.

The data on the effective rate in Table 25, which represents an average of the great number of differential rates, indicates that by 1959 the effective exchange rate on imports was 44 percent higher than in 1954. In the next two years through 1961 it rose to a premium of 54 percent over and above the nominal rate set in 1954 and frozen since then. The corresponding 1961 average effective exchange rate for exports was higher by 45 percent. This nine percent gap between the effective exchange rates averages on imports and exports indicates discrimination in favor of industries selling in domestic markets over export industries. These figures reflect averages; within each of these two groupings, exports and imports, differing subsidies or impositions were assigned to specific enterprises, based on development policy. This practice generated a host of specific rates, which had accumulated haphazardly over time.

Furthermore, though by 1961 imports had the benefit of the average 54 percent higher rate of exchange and exports received a premium of 45 percent on the nominal exchange rate of foreign currency at conversion, unilateral transfers and capital imports were converted at the nominal rate. Since prices, though lagging behind the rate of increase of the effective exchange rate, were still 37 percent higher than in 1954, this meant that the real value of transfer payment funds and capital imports account was eroded by this rate, at least if the funds were converted at the official rate.

Those bearing the burden of the erosion were accordingly those who received funds on unilateral transfer and capital account. They included first of all the public sector, the government, whose real foreign receipts therefore shriveled. To maintain its level of expenditure, it thus borrowed from the central bank, from the banking system, and by issuing price- and foreign exchange-linked bonds. This option was of course not open to private sector recipients of transfers, particularly households receiving German restitution payments and immigrants who had been bringing in their own funds, nor to private sector capital imports. Any policy intended to encourage these inflows, rather than to discourage their transfer, needed to eliminate the effective confiscation of significant portions of these funds through conversion at the nominal rate of exchange. A compensating device was therefore soon invented: another "unofficial" rate of exchange, implemented by means of a complicated capital market device, which was soon applied to private capital imports too. this was added to what was called in the market vernacular of the early 1960s "the set of *one thousand exchange rates*."

The price and cost structure, and thus the allocation of resources, was soon adapted to the differential exchange rate, the impact of which is necessarily strong in small, comparatively open economies like Israel's. This, however, led to a growing distortion of the structure of the economy that reduced efficiency and eroded growth. The complicated set of exchange rates, which in practice involved several prices for the same item, a given unit of foreign currency, was wide open for abuse, and some of the abuses made headlines. The long-term distorting effect of the multi-exchange rate system, which had been growing over time with the additions to the sets of rates, prompted the eventually successful argument made by the academic economists: that there must be an immediate major adjustment to the nominal exchange rate and that all (or at least most) of the industry-specific and product-specific rates accumulated over time must be abolished. The two ministries responsible for quotas, import impositions, and export subsidies, the Ministry of Trade and Industry and the Ministry of Agriculture, were against the devaluation policy, and the Ministry of Finance and the Bank of Israel, supported by the academic economists, were in favor.

Given the differences between the nominal and the effective exchange rates, the 67 percent nominal rate devaluation announced in February 1962, exactly a decade after the initiation of the New Economic Policy, though seemingly very high, was not what appearances suggested. The effective exchange rate of imports in 1961 was already 154 on the 1954 100 base, and the export rate was at 145 on the same base. The cost effect in the markets of the official increase of the nominal exchange rate by 67 percent was accordingly nine percent at most. Weighted to account for import goods, the price effect could not have been more than about five to six percent even if no other factors were involved. Moreover, domestically the cost effect of the devaluation was at least partly compensated for by the elimination, or at least reduction, of some of the impositions that previously substituted for a higher formal exchange rate. Furthermore, due to the downward world market trend, dollar import prices declined by almost three percent in 1962, pushing the cost effect of the devaluation to at most two to three percentage points. On the other hand, the positive effect on exports should have been significantly greater, since the rate of nominal devaluation was about 15 percent higher than the effective export exchange rate of 1961. Thus even the elimination of some export subsidy items from the register in response to the devaluation should still have increased export profitability by some eight to ten percent.

Yet the long-term beneficial effects of the devaluation still hinged on the macroeconomic environment in its aftermath. The rapid growth process, reflecting robustly growing aggregate demand, is not friendly to the simultaneously cost- and demand-boosting effect of devaluation. With an unemployment rate of 4.6 percent in 1960, declining to 3.6 percent in 1961, in spite of a significant rising wave of immigration, the economy was clearly operating at full employment capacity. In these circumstances, a boost to exports to reduce the expansion, in absolute terms, of the imports surplus, which was the main immediate target of the devaluation, required a highly restrictive monetary policy, with higher interest rates, to reduce the demand on resources for domestic use – for investment and consumption.

This policy, however, was not forthcoming, due to the adamant refusal of the government to allow the BOI to pursue it. In the short run the rate of inflation increased considerably in the wake of devaluation: following the leap of inflation to nine percent in 1961, annual rates of inflation in 1962–65 ranged from 8.2 to 9.6 percent, on the verge of double digits. This was quite out of line with Israel's experience in the second half of the 1950s, and of course with contemporary rates of inflation in industrial countries. These rates, which inevitably reflected and affected the pattern of nominal wages, rose by an annual average of 12 percent between 1960 and 1965. This process rapidly eroded the higher post-devaluation real rate of exchange as well as the feasibility of hitting the original target – the reduction of the import surplus relative to GNP.

THE MID-1965–TO–MID-1967 SLOWDOWN. The reckoning of performance early on in 1965 suggested that the prediction of a slower rate of increase of unilateral transfers was right (Table 12). Yet the targeted improvement of the import surplus was not achieved – it increased not only in absolute (real) dollar terms, it grew at an even higher rate than the rapidly growing domestic product, to seven percent of GNP in 1965 compared to its six percent level since 1960. This suggested that the worries about the longer-run ability of the economy to finance the deficit on the current account of the balance of payments were justified. High inflation rates in the full-employment economy persisting for the fourth year by 1965 were another feature that required a response. This situation led to the decision of the Finance Ministry, never stated officially, to attempt to slow down the economy by employing the fiscal tools at its disposal. The slowdown was to be implemented by reducing the size of the development budget used to finance the government's infrastructure investment (cheap credits for business-sector investments in production branches and cheap mortgage credits for housing). The curtailment of the flow of mortgage finance reduced the scope of immigrant and public housing projects, which led to a slowdown in the building industry – the business cycle's leading branch – by mid-1965.

The completion of several major projects made this strategy feasible with hardly any public outcry or political fuss. The completion of the National Water Carrier in 1964 led to the reduction of expenditures on the water system from about 1.2 percent of GDP in the 1960–64 period, to 0.6 percent in 1966. The completion of the Ashdod port project, the country's second deepwater port, which was absorbing a similar fraction of resources; the end of the reconstruction of the Dead Sea Potash Works; and of a major defense project that occurred at about the same time, reduced immediately and significantly the demand for labor, equipment, and raw materials, and of course financing. What the decision on the slowdown amounted to was postponing the start of work on other major projects that were indeed in the pipeline.

The effect of these measures was eventually felt in 1966; the unemployment rate of that year, before the downward pressure on the price level, rose from 3.6 to 7.4 percent. It increased further in the first prewar quarters of 1967 to 10.4 percent of the labor force. This very rapid and substantial deterioration of economic performance reduced the inflation rate early in 1967 from the almost eight percent rate of 1966 almost to zero. The major downturn of 1966 through the first quarter of 1967 was expected by the authorities. They were thus already inclined to initiate fiscal re-expansion to reduce the impact of the slowdown. The unexpected outbreak of the Six-Day War in June 1967 engendered of course an immediate reversal of the economic cycle, which soon turned vigorously upwards.

THE "SEVEN GOOD YEARS" AND THE DEMISE OF MONETARY CONTROL, 1967–1973. The vigorous rise of aggregate demand in the third quarter of 1967 was fed by the dramatic surge in defense expenditures. Domestic defense expenditures were 6.9 percent of a depressed GNP in 1966, higher by only one percent than in 1965. These however averaged almost 13 percent in the six-year period of 1967–72, in which national product grew by leaps and bounds: the GNP of 1972 was almost 80 percent higher than that of 1966. Thus by the outbreak of the October 1973 war, domestic defense expenditures in real terms were close to three times higher than they were before the Six-Day War. These expenditures were generating direct public sector demands for supplies and labor across the board; the size of the standing army, inclusive of reserves, grew significantly. A major fraction of the defense expenditure was channeled to defense industries, whose scope of activity and demand for resources grew astoundingly in that period. Employment in the defense manufacturing sector in 1972 was 2.5 times its size in 1966, and involved 20 percent of employment in manufacturing.

That all-out defense effort showed immediately as it surfaced in the fiscal balance, which for a decade between the Sinai Campaign of 1956 and the Six-Day War of 1967 was not running a deficit on its regular budget expenditures; for most of these years it was even in surplus. Only in 1966 did a slight deficit surface, which was in any case quite warranted economically in view of the slowdown of that year. Yet in the three years from 1967 to 1969 a highly significant deficit averaging 5.7 percent of GNP appeared. And in those three years and the three quarters of 1973 before the unexpected outbreak of the Yom Kippur War, the fiscal rectitude pursued since 1952 collapsed altogether. The annual average deficit of 10.3 percent of GNP is the obvious illustration.

This, however, did not result from Treasury negligence on the revenue front. On the contrary, tax revenue actually leapt from the 31 percent of GNP in 1966 to 45 percent on average for 1970–September 1973. That very high absorption rate, and its overall increase, reflected also the very rapid growth of national income. First of all, however, it was an expression of expanding tax legislation, which among other things significantly increased National Insurance Institute rates. Furthermore, the tax absorption effort also benefited at this stage from the inflationary increase of income, since income tax exemptions were not calibrated to inflation. It was also supported by a meaningful growth of unilateral transfers. These grew significantly in absolute terms: from the trough of 2.7 percent of GNP to four, even 4.5 percent of Israel's much higher GNP of the early 1970s. It reflected also the return of U.S. aid in the form of grants, paying mainly for defense imports from the U.S., and of course the major increase in donations from Jewish communities abroad.

Yet this major rise in public sector revenue could not cope with the flood of rising expenditures. This pattern was not due only to the all-out expansion of defense expenditures. It was also due to a substantial simultaneous increase of the scope of the welfare state, and of the role of the National Insurance Institute, in particular. Its canopy was significantly increased by the widening of the child allowance program and several other small programs in the early 1970s. Nevertheless, through 1972, after a hefty increase in payroll contributions in 1970, it was still paying its way – in 1965 its revenue from contributions was still 30 percent higher than the flow of its benefits. Yet by 1973 its flow of receipts was lower than the benefits, which amounted to roughly two percent of GNP. Substantial increases of expenditure in other welfare state budgetary items, such as education and health, were also implemented in those years, thus contributing to the dangerous increase in the budget deficit.

The overall expansionary fiscal policy characterizing the seven good years called evidently for a restrictive, and after 1970 highly restrictive, monetary policy. The Bank of Israel's failure to convince the minister of finance, and thus the Ministerial Committee of Economic Affairs, to restrict the monetary avalanche in the wake of the 1962 devaluation shows clearly in the interest data for that period. Instead of rising, interest rates continued to decline, even after the devaluation of 1962–65, though monetary policy in the wake of such a move in a full-employment context requires the very opposite.

The post-Six-Day War expansionary fiscal policy began late in 1967, leading to a rise in aggregate demand. A countervailing restrictive move by the central bank was again the order of the day. At this juncture, the BOI was much better equipped to follow along a restrictive policy on its own volition and the timing of its management's choice. This was due to a contract signed with the Treasury in April 1966, in the altogether different very high-unemployment context of that time, with nobody expecting a war within a year. According to this document, the Treasury put at the disposal of the BOI a significant quota of short-term Treasury bonds, or *Makam* (the Hebrew acronym for "short-term loan"). The central bank was allowed to sell or buy them in the money market at discount rates and timing determined by itself. This meant of course that the BOI was handed the option, which it did not have previously in 1961–65, to run open market operations. The Treasury agreed not to use the proceeds of Makam sales deposited at the BOI for its cash flow. It nevertheless still kept ultimate control of the open market operations, since BOI could not sell more than the allocated quota. Thus, on the volume of sales, the Treasury still had the size of the quota as a control mechanism. In 1966 and the prewar quarters of 1967 the Treasury did not bother to control the volume of open market purchases, since these were of course expansionary monetary moves.

Moving into the arena in the recessionary third quarter of 1966, the BOI was initially purchasing Makams rather than selling. By the beginning of 1968 the economy was on the road to recovery. Employment was nine percent higher than in 1967, and the unemployment rate was down to 6.4 percent. The very great expansion of money in 1967 – by 26 percent pushing interest rates downward – was by that time in the sights of BOI management. Its open market desk thus entered the money market vigorously on the selling side, raising the discount rate in 1969 to 6.3 percent from the lowest rate of the series, 5.8 in 1968. The abolition of the legal ceiling for the nominal interest rate in 1970 offered leeway for further restrictive moves, reflected in Table 24 in a further rise in the discount rate to 7.75 percent.

Yet this proved to be too little too late. The final attempt to restrain monetary inflation was made in 1971, when the discount rate was raised to 8.5 percent after a struggle with the Treasury, which was unhappy even with the 1970 adjustment. The interesting feature of this process in which the BOI attempted to implement a restrictive monetary policy was the growing reluctance of the political community represented by the Ministerial Committee of Economic Affairs to allow it to proceed. Yet the data for two subperiods of the seven good years between the wars indicate clearly that the policy of the Ministry of Finance was a crucial mistake. In the first subperiod, embracing the three years from 1967 through 1969, when the BOI was allowed to pursue a restrictive monetary policy, the money supply grew by only about 14 percent, not significantly beyond the growth of demand for liquidity generated by the 10-to-11 percent growth of GNP supported by a monetarization process. During this period, in which by 1969 the economy was operating at the threshold of full employment, and in which there was even a small devaluation against the dollar, prices rose by an annual average of only two percent. Yet as the economy clearly passed the brink of full employment and moved into a period of overfull employment – the unemployment rate was down to 3.8 percent in 1970, and was only 2.7 percent in 1972, even though Palestinian workers were already employed all over – a highly restrictive policy was evidently called for.

At this juncture, however, the BOI was unable to turn the screws tighter. The inevitable result of the expanding fiscal deficits of these years, not countervailed by restrictive monetary moves, was a monetary explosion. The annual average expansion of the money supply in the 45 months between January 1970 and September 1973 was 31 percent. This explosion carried prices to an annual 11 percent inflation rate in 1970, where it hovered though 1972. In the last nine months prior to the Yom Kippur War, inflation in Israel was running at 21 percent annually. This clearly signified a major failure of macroeconomic policy. And it preceded the outbreak of the unexpected war, and thus could not be attributed to it.

The Manufacturing Drive and the Restructuring of the Economy, 1954–1973

The price explosion during the 45 months from 1970 through September 1973, with inflation rising to an even higher double-digit rate for the fourth year running, might suggest a reversion to the environment of the early 1950s; the 1973 prewar inflation rate, 21 percent, was similar to the inflation rate of 1953. Yet the economy of 1973 was altogether different, and not only because of its size. At the outbreak of the war Israel's GNP was more than seven times greater than that of 1950, and more than five times greater that that of 1954, but no less significant was the far-reaching structural change the economy had undergone during these two decades. The most outstanding feature of that change was of course the rise of manufacturing. In terms of its product, it grew to almost ten times its 1950 level, and 7.5 times its 1954 level (Table 26). This means that manufacturing product was growing at an annual average rate of more than 11 percent, outpacing the very rapid growth of GNP, which was around nine to 10 percent in that period.

By the early 1970s manufacturing was the main production branch in terms of inputs (capital stock and employment) and product. In 1970 24 percent of the total labor employed in that full-employment period, and almost 26 percent of national product, were in manufacturing (Table 27). The growth of capital stock clearly outpaced the expansion of employment in that branch, which meant a rising capital-labor ratio. This trend accelerated significantly from the 1960s through the early 1970s, when the highly capital-intensive defense industries surged dramatically.

Israeli industry of the 1950s was still in its early phase. The identification of manufacturing as the growth branch par excellence was made only later, after the 1956 Suez/Sinai Campaign, toward the end of the first decade of independence. Although traditional Zionist policy had identified the resettlement process with the establishment of agricultural settlements, by this time even its most fervent supporters were coming to accept that this had to change. A market constraint imposed by the limitations of demand for farm products (resulting in overproduction of some that had been in short supply just a few years before), and a supply constraint imposed by the natural limitations of the availability of water, both suggested that these settlements were close to the maximum employment that could offer a decent living standard. This led to a new consensus on the policy of economic development, designed to maximize the absorption of immigrants: priority shifted to the development of manufacturing industry.

This shift first appeared in the late 1950s in the program for the Lachish region, in the center of which was to be built a major urban center based on manufacturing, the new town of Kiryat Gat. It was planned as the location of a new major textile manufacturer, Polgat (an acronym formed from the name of the entrepreneur who was to build and run this entity, and the name of the town). A similar industrial hub, based on a textile combine, was to be built in the new town of Dimonah in the arid, empty eastern Negev. Three other new immigrant towns, Kiryat Shemonah in Galilee, and Sederot and Ofakim in the western Negev, were to follow the same model of manufacturing base and service center for new farm settlements, which toward the end of the 1950s had already been operating for several years.

This shift of priorities toward manufacturing shows clearly in the input and production data of Table 26, which record features of manufacturing industry, and in Table 17, which documents inputs and product in agriculture through the 1970s. Initially, farming production grew at a much higher rate than manufacturing. By 1954 manufacturing product was 25 percent greater than in 1950, while that of farming grew by 80 percent – reflecting the booming sellers' market for fresh food in the first decade of the state. But by 1962 manufacturing had drawn even with farming in terms of product growth, and from that point onwards it was always ahead.

This was due to the growth of inputs. Until approximately 1955, when Pinhas Sapir, the new minister of trade and industry, announced the industrialization drive, the expansion of employment in the two branches was similar. After a decade, by the mid-1960s, the growth of employment in manufacturing (and handicrafts) overtook by a significant measure that of agriculture. By 1970, the growth of farm employment has stopped, while manufacturing employment kept growing. This was the end of the story; agriculture, which employed a significant share of the labor force – 17.3 percent of the total in 1950 – and maintained that share through 1960, was down to only nine percent by 1970, while manufacturing employment expanded at a more rapid pace than total employment between 1950 and 1970, when almost 25 percent of total employment was in manufacturing and handicrafts.

The comparative trends of investment and thus capital stock follow a similar pattern. Both branches had had the benefit of a major investment drive, generating corresponding expansion of their capital stock. Yet by 1960 capital stock at the disposal of manufacturing was almost five times greater than a decade before, while that in farming, which also grew very rapidly, was less than three times its 1950 size.

The comparative factor productivity of manufacturing displays an interesting feature. While that for the whole business sector increased significantly between 1950 and 1955, reflecting the success of agriculture and other industries on this score, that of manufacturing declined. This was of course the period of mass immigration, during part of which the economy was under the supply and rationing regime. The price upheaval of 1952 might have distorted the complicated productivity estimates for the period, thus exaggerating the erosion of productivity in manufacturing. But by 1965, at the end of a decade of rapid growth, manufacturing drew even with the business sector as a whole in terms of productivity, and from that point on kept ahead (Table 26). Since the productivity measure for the whole business sector is heavily affected by that of manufacturing, due to its significant weight in the total, this suggests of course that its performance on that score had been much better than that of several other manufacturing sub-branches.

As is the case in any industry, manufacturing consists of a variety of types of activity. Thus any industrialization drive orchestrated by the government would require a decision about focus. The protected domestic market, short of basic manufactured consumer goods, was at this juncture the obvious priority for manufacturing activity. The obvious lines of business for development were food processing, textiles and clothing, and of course building materials, which in 1952 accounted for 17, 23, and 8 percent respectively of total employment in manufacturing. To these, metal machinery and electronic equipment, lines that had expanded rapidly during World War II, and by 1952 accounted for 23 percent of total employment in manufacturing, might be added.

The establishment of major textile works and food processing factories was therefore at the heart of the first industrialization drive in the latter half of the 1950s. This choice reflected not only market considerations; resources were also relevant. There was a shortage of private entrepreneurs and private investment capital, as well as of managerial experience and general know-how. The low capital intensity of these industries, which meant that they offered a high number of employment openings per unit of capital investment, made them better able to accommodate the shortage of investment funds. They also required a less highly skilled labor force, so that they could more easily employ immigrants who lacked industrial experience.

Furthermore, in these two lines managerial skills and know-how were available. Two major private-enterprise textile conglomerates had been established in the Jewish community of Mandatory Palestine in the 1930s, and textiles and clothing had been primarily Jewish industries in prewar Eastern Europe (and in South America, where many Jewish entrepreneurs had fled), whence came most of the new immigrants. Thus, the effort to persuade Jewish entrepreneurs to invest in the textile industry, which also would receive government funding, was high on the agenda. It did generate a response; the Polgat conglomerate of Kiryat Gat was one example.

These traditional manufacturing activities, operating in the protected domestic market of the late 1950s and early 1960s, could not offer much potential for export penetration into the markets of major industrialized economies. Others could; by the early 1960s, Israel had a pioneering pharmaceutical industry. It had been established in the early 1930s; the academically trained and technically skilled manpower required for it was provided in that decade by immigrants from Germany and several other Central and Eastern European countries. It bloomed during the war years, when the Middle East was cut off from European and North American supplies. This situation provided it with the war-protected British military market and those of other Middle Eastern countries. Consequently, it could already hold its own in postwar foreign markets. The same was true of the chemical industry, which, after the reconstruction of the Dead Sea Potash Works, the first stage of which was completed in the late 1960s, developed rapidly.

Yet the real breakthrough of Israel's manufacturing industries into the world market occurred with the emergence of the high-tech electronics industry in the 1960s. This date is highlighted by the fact that the Central Bureau of Statistics 1960 Yearbook had no entry for electronics in its manufacturing industry tables. Yet in the Yom Kippur War, the Kfir fighter jet produced by Israel Aircraft Industries (IAI), a government-owned corporation employing close to 10,000 workers, was already engaged in combat with the Egyptian and Syrian armies. The major components of this fighter jet, though not its engine, were produced by IAI or its subsidiaries; its highly advanced state-of-the-art electronics were designed and produced in Israel. This aircraft symbolized the entry of Israeli manufacturing into the era of high-tech. If textiles were the focus of the first stage of the industrialization drive of the late 1950s and early 1960s, the rapidly expanding defense industries were the engine of the second stage in the late 1960s and through the early 1970s.

Employment in this industrial complex, by that time mostly owned and run by the government, grew by 4.4 times between 1960 and 1972, while that of manufacturing as a whole grew only twofold. Thus, by 1973, about 20 percent of industrial employment was offered by defense industries. Furthermore, since the capital intensity of the production of the sophisticated components of these industries was and is much higher than in other manufacturing sub-branches, the capital stock of the former necessarily expanded at an even higher relative rate. The expansion of manufacturing in the two decades from 1954 to 1973, and its conversion into the major industrial branch in terms of employment, capital stock, production, and from the 1960s onwards, exports, was to a great extent due to the performance of the defense industries.

Exports were undoubtedly a highly meaningful expression of the structural change the Israeli economy had undergone in the 25 years between the Declaration of Independence and the Yom Kippur War. In 1950 the dollar value of industrial exports (exclusive of diamonds) was only about 50 percent of the value of farm exports; by 1970 industrial exports were more than three times greater than farm exports. This, of course, underscores the major transformation of the real dimension of economic activity. In 1950 agriculture was still employing 17 percent of the labor force, compared to 21 percent in manufacturing and handicrafts, and agricultural production was almost 12 percent of net national product. That of manufacturing was 28 percent. By 1970 agriculture was down to only 8.8 percent of total employment while manufacturing employed close to 25 percent of the labor force. By that date, the contribution of agriculture to the NNP was down to 6.9 percent, while that of manufacturing was about 26 percent (Table 27). Israel's socioeconomic structure had been transformed and now exhibited the characteristics of a highly industrialized economy, in which urban manufacturing and services dominated.

ECONOMIC SLOWDOWN, REVIVAL OF ALIYAH, AND THE EMERGENCE OF HIGH-TECH, 1974–2004. The three decades in which Israel's economy moved into its maturing stage between the early 1970s and the first years of the 21st century through 2004 were on the whole significantly affected by war and war-generated strains. It was the Yom Kippur War and its immediate political aftermath that set the economic agenda at the beginning of that period, soon followed in the early 1980s by the 1982–84 Lebanon campaign, which involved an occupation of a significant slice of south Lebanon. The outbreak of the first Palestinian Intifada late in 1987 shifted the focus from the armies of neighboring Arab states to a struggle with Palestinian resistance, which on and off after several short pauses in the 1990s, was restarted on a full scale late in 2000.

This had of course far-reaching domestic political implications and inevitably affected the economy. Soaring defense expenditures that through the whole of the 1970s required the allocation of resources of an order of 25–30 percent of national product imposed a heavy burden on the economy at large, and also on the fiscal system, which almost collapsed under the strain.

Yet in spite of these challenges to the system and populace, the overall economic performance was seemingly reasonable. GDP was higher by more than three times in 2004 than it was in 1973, and the product of the business sector even grew

Table 28. Resources, National Product, Consumption, and Investment: Total and Per Capita[1], 1970–2004

Year	Resources[3]	GDP		Consumption		Gross Investment	Per Capita[2]			Ratio of: Resources / GNP
								Consumption		
		Total	Business	Private	Public Sector		GDP	Private	Public	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
A. 1973 = 100										
1970	73	76	76	79	70	69	84	87	77	1.14
1973	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	1.19
1975	107	110	109	108	113	101	105	103	108	1.17
1980	115	128	125	134	100	83	109	115	85	1.04
1985	131	149	150	168	104	83	116	131	81	1.03
1989	158	172	179	221	98	94	126	161	72	1.04
1990	172	184	194	233	106	117	128	162	74	1.07
1995	251	247	279	340	115	221	147	202	68	1.09
2000	301	309	361	430	134	246	162	225	70	1.06
2004	309	321	371	479	141	191	156	233	68	1.05
B. Average Rate of Change										
1970–73	10.9	9.4	9.4	8.1	12.6	13.1	5.9	4.6	9.1	–
1973–85	2.3	3.3	3.4	4.4	0.3	-1.6	1.2	2.2	-1.8	–
1985–2004	4.6	4.1	4.9	5.6	1.6	4.5	1.6	3.0	-0.9	–
1985–1989	4.7	3.7	4.5	7.1	-1.5	3.2	2.1	5.3	-2.9	–
1989–2004	4.6	4.2	5.0	5.3	2.5	4.8	1.4	2.5	-0.4	–

Notes:

1. Entries are rounded to the nearest digit.
2. Derived from series in columns 2, 4, and 5, and the corresponding population data from Table 14, column 8.
3. Resources for domestic use = GNP plus import surplus (imports less exports).

by about 3.7 times. Correspondingly, private consumption expenditure grew by almost five times in these three decades, benefiting of course from the much lower expansion rate of public sector consumption expenditure. The latter grew by only 40 percent through 2004, due to the relatively stable, in absolute terms, defense expenditures. From the early 1990s on these required, therefore, only about eight to nine percent of a significantly greater GNP. The overall growth figures could not match, of course, the average nine to 10 percent growth rate of the 1948–73 period, but they still allowed a reasonable 1.4 percent annual per capita growth rate (Table 28), even though population increased rapidly, by industrial countries' standards, at 2.5 percent annually.

There was a rapid population increase in the last decade of the 20th century, due to mass immigration from the Soviet Union and, after 1991, its successor states, whose Jewish population had been released from the restrictions imposed by the Soviet state until 1989. About a million people arrived in this immigration (Table 15), lifting *aliyah* from the nadir of the 1980s and making a major change in the demographics of the Jewish population, which grew to about 5.6 million by the end of 2005 (when the total population reached almost seven million).

This growth of course affected the performance of the economy. The familiar lag in economic absorption of the immigrants had a depressant effect on per capita product, though inevitably less of one on per capita consumption. The twofold population increase in the three decades through 2003, an annual growth rate of 2.4 percent (an unusually high rate compared to other industrialized countries), offers a partial explanation of the "meager" (by its historical standards) 1.4 annual average increase in Israel's per capita GNP. It was far off the phenomenal 5.5 percent corresponding growth rate during the 25-year period ending with the Yom Kippur War (Table 18).

The comparatively very high demographic expansion also offers a partial explanation of the decline of Israel's comparative per capita product from the levels reached early in 1990, it was about 70 percent of that of the United States and about 80–85 percent of the European Union average, and declined to somewhat more than 50 percent of the U.S. and E.U. figures by 2000. For better or worse, the Israeli economy, with a population of about seven million and generating a national product more than three times its size of the early 1970s (with corresponding growth of its exports and imports) was by 2005 an entirely different enterprise than in the early 1970s. Yet though it had clearly crossed the threshold of industrialization in the interval, the progress toward that target was sloppy. The period through the mid-1980s was trying indeed, but performance and well-being improved significantly from the 1990s onwards.

The "Lost Decade": War Expenditures and Inflation, 1974–1985

THE GROWTH RECORD. The drastic decline of the growth rate of national product in the so-called "Lost Decade" (economists' name for the interval between the Yom Kippur War in October 1973 and the start of the highly restrictive Economic Stabilization Policy on July 1, 1985) can be seen in the data of Table 28. The national product of that twelve-year period grew at a rate of 3.3–3.4 percent for total and business sector products respectively, only about one third of the very high growth rate, in the range of nine to 10 percent, over the 25-year period through 1973. Per capita GDP grew at an annual rate of only 1.2 percent, about one fifth of the performance in the previous period. The growth rate of private consumption expenditure, an indicator of current living standards, expanded at less than 50 percent of the growth rate prevailing in the 1948–73 period, the so-called formative period of the state.

This decline of growth performance in the later 1970s and 1980s was not unique to Israel. Mediocre performance, even dismal in some cases, as in Britain, was universal from the 1970s on throughout the industrialized countries, which had been driving the world economy in the postwar era. Low or flat output growth and higher rates of inflation led to the emergence of a new economic term, "stagflation," a shorthand expression for the two dominant economic phenomena of these years, stagnation and inflation. The simplistic and popular explanation for these features, which were indeed visible everywhere, attributed them to the so-called "energy crisis," which became the subject of headlines after the OPEC oil cartel's price hikes, the first of which was implemented on October 19, 1973, while the Yom Kippur War was still being fought. The initial quadrupling of oil prices, followed by further hikes in the 1970s through the early 1980s, at which time prices finally collapsed, undoubtedly had a significant impact on the workings of the major economies. Yet the widespread malaise of the 1970s was clearly also affected by the exhaustion of the postwar reconstruction efforts of the Western and even Eastern European economies, which had been going on from the end of World War II until 1970.

The seeds of rapid worldwide inflation were generated by the full employment U.S. economy of the 1960s, which had been pursuing a significant war effort in Vietnam while financing a major Cold War defense budget, and simultaneously implementing President Johnson's War on Poverty programs. The so-called Vietnam inflation was a fact of life in the U.S. by 1968. Given the dominance of the U.S. economy in the world at large, this could not but generate an inflationary impact on the other industrialized and fully employed economies of that era. The sudden price explosion of crude oil, and thus of energy generally, added of course to the conflagration.

THE SLOWDOWN OF ALIYAH AND THE EFFECTS OF SLUGGISH INVESTMENT. These developments had of course an immediate impact on the Israeli economy, which by 1970 had crossed the threshold into a full-employment environment, and from around 1971 moved into overfull employment. Yet structural factors specific to Israel, as well as short-run domestic developments, go a long way to explain the weak economic performance during that decade. The meaningful slowdown

Table 29. Labor Force, Employment, Capital Stock, Real Wages, and Productivity[1]

Year	Labor		Capital Stock[2]		"Other" Capital-Labor Ratio[3]	Real Wages	TFP[4]	Unemployment Rate (Percent)
	Labor Force (1)	Employment (2)	Housing (3)	"Other" (4)	(5) [=(4)/(1)]	(6)	(7)	(8)
A. 1973=100								
1970	89	85	78	77	86	91	86	3.8
1973	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	2.6
1975	102	102	154	118	116	95	100	3.1
1980	117	115	196	154	132	116	104	4.8
1985	129	124	251	182	141	123	111	6.7
1989	143	135	–	202	141	149	116	8.9
1990	147	139	298	207	141	148	121	9.6
1995	187	183	371	265	142	153	132	6.3
2000	217	218	–	391	180	178	126	8.8
2004	238	227	–	469	197	171	122	10.4
2005	(243)[5]	(237)	–	(481)	(198)	–	–	9.0
B. Average Annual Rates of Change (Percent)								
1973–85	2.1	1.8	7.9	5.1	–	1.7	0.9	–
1985–90	2.6	2.3	3.4	2.6	–	3.8	1.7	–
1990–2004	3.5	3.6	–	6.0	–	1.0	(0)	–

Notes:
1. Indices rounded to the nearest digit.
2. The "Other" Capital Stock series refers to reproducible capital stock in production branches.
3. Capital-labor ratios refer to the ratios of "Other" Capital Stock (column 4) to the labor force.
4. Total Factor Productivity refers to business sector productivity.
5. Entries in brackets are preliminary estimates.

of *aliyah*, which had been a major engine of growth for the 25 years through 1973, had undoubtedly a considerable effect on the growth pattern. Though specific to Israel, this factor was imposed by an external authority, the Soviet Union, through its policy on emigration: the flow of Jews from the Soviet Union, which between 1969 and 1973 reached 40–50,000 annually, was reduced to a trickle by 1974. Immigration thus plunged to an annual average of only 19,000 during the ensuing 15 years through 1988.

Thus, with the housing industry, the traditional leading sector of a rising economic cycle, in the doldrums, investment was low. Though the economy did grow, it was sluggish during the lost decade; the rate of growth declined successively year in and year out. Gross investment in 1985 was 83 percent of the level it reached in 1973. It revived in the second half of the 1980s, yet by 1989, in the wake of the 1985 Stabilization Policy, and before the surge in *aliyah*, it was still only at 94 percent of the 1973 levels, when GDP had been only 60 percent of what it was in 1989 (Table 28). Reflecting the dismal economic environment of the lost decade, investment in the production branches was similarly continuously lower in these years than in 1973. Its revival began only in the early 1990s, when the economy changed track (see below, The Resurrection of Growth and Restructuring).

Similarly to the reduction of the growth rate of the labor force to an annual rate of two percent during the lost decade, half what it was in 1970–73, the much lower investment rates reduced the growth rates of the capital stock of the production branches (see the figures for "other" capital stock in Table 29). The slower expansion of capital stock and of the labor force, and the state of the markets, negatively affected the productivity pattern of the economy, with an inevitable negative impact on national product. This shows in the total factor productivity data, implying lower labor productivity measurers (Table 29). TFP stopped growing altogether between 1973 and 1975, and during the lost decade grew on average at only half the rate that had prevailed in the "seven good years" between 1967 and 1973.

DISMAL FISCAL FUNDAMENTALS, 1973–1985. The strangulation of growth and the rapidly increasing inflation were due to the expansionary fiscal policy supported by a permissive monetary stance. Undoubtedly the expanding, indeed exploding, defense expenditures were the cause of fiscal expansion from 1967 on. Defense expenditures did indeed shoot up in 1967; at the end of that year these were higher by almost 80 percent than in 1966, when nobody expected an actual war. At the end of the War of Attrition along the Suez Canal in the summer 1970, defense expenditures were twice the level of 1967 in real terms. The Yom Kippur War generated a further expansion, so that at the all-time high in 1975 they reached a level never reached again through 2005; in real terms these were 55 percent higher than in 1970, thus more than five times the 1966 level in real terms.

The burden that expenditures of this magnitude imposed on the economic system is underlined by the ratios of these rising defense expenditures of domestic resources, shown in the Table 20 data which allow a comparison with defense expenditures before 1967. In one year, from 1966 to 1967, defense expenditures leapt from eight percent to 16 percent of total resources in the economy for domestic use. By 1970 defense expenditures required 21 percent of the same total. This rise reflected the 1968–70 War of Attrition and the threatening strategic environment of the Cold War, in which the Arabs had the political and military backing of the Soviet Union.

This rapid increase of defense expenditures, not only in absolute terms, but also relative to the production capacity of the economy, was subjected to another upward push by the Yom Kippur War and its aftermath; defense expenditures rose to a record high of 26 percent of resources. Since in those years resources included a substantial component of import surplus financed by unilateral transfers, including donations from world Jewry, U.S. government grants, and foreign credits, the ratios of defense requirements to production capacity, and thus to the taxing capacity of the government, offer a more meaningful picture of the tremendous burden defense imposed on the economy. The ratios of defense expenditures to domestic resources displayed in Table 30 show that these were about 21, 24, and 26 percent of Israel's GNP in 1970, 1973, and 1975 respectively. This of course means that if foreign finance had not been available, the public sector would have been required to impose taxes at these levels just to finance defense. Civilian public sector services – education, health, welfare, and roads – would accordingly have required additional taxes.

It was at this juncture, at the beginning of the 1970s, in which welfare state long-term trends and short-run political considerations imposed a further squeeze on the strained fiscal system. The social security system, which started in 1954, had been providing a net contribution to the cash flow of the government, though at declining rates, through 1972. This was due to the youth of the population, which meant that old-age benefits required a lower outflow of payments than the inflow of payroll contributions to the National Insurance Institute. Twenty years after the system began the age structure effect reduced this surplus. Furthermore, child allowances, introduced in the 1960s, were initially negligible, but substantially increased in the early 1970s, reflecting the priorities of the political community at this stage. Thus, between 1965 and 1975 the cost of old-age benefits rose by more than one percent of GNP, and the cost of child allowances grew by more than 1.5 percent of GNP. Hence, despite a major hike in payroll contributions in the early 1970s, before the war, the National Insurance Institute, which had a surplus cash flow of 0.6 percent of GNP in 1970, had a negative cash flow of two percent of GNP from 1973 onward, increasing over time.

To cope with these rapidly rising expenditures, the Treasury attempted persistently to raise tax revenues. Both rapidly rising national income and extensions of the scope of tax legislation contributed to the effort. Thus, between 1967 and 1969, tax revenues grew by 10 percentage points to 33 percent of GNP. In the almost four years before the Yom Kippur War, the rate of increase of tax revenue was significantly greater. By 1970 tax revenue was about 42 percent of GNP compared to only 31 percent in 1966, and by the outbreak of the war it rose to 44 percent (Tables 23 and 33). Furthermore, unilateral transfers, reflecting the contributions of world Jewry and U.S. defense and economic aid (which resumed in 1970 in the form of long-term loans and in 1973 as grants as well), rose very significantly (Tables 22 and 32), thus contributing to government revenue absorption. Yet the leap of absorption, defined as the sum of tax revenue, donations, and grants, was not enough, and could hardly have been large enough to countervail fully the avalanche of expenditures.

Table 30. Components of Domestic Use of Resources and Investment Import Surplus and Savings Ratios, 1970–2003

Year	Consumption Expenditures (%)					Ratios to GNP (%)		
	Private (1)	Public[1] Total[2] (2)	Defense (3)	Gross Investment (4)	Resources[3] (5)	Gross Investment (6)	Import Surplus (7)	Gross Savings (8) [=(6)–(7)]
1970	35	45	21	20	100	23	14	9
1973	32	47	24	21	100	25	19	6
1975	33	47	26	20	100	23	17	6
1980	40	44	21	16	100	17	4	13
1985	45	41	19	14	100	14	3	11
1989	52	33	13	15	100	16	4	12
1990	50	33	12	17	100	18	7	11
1995	50	28	9	22	100	24	9	15
2000	53	27	8	20	100	21	6	15
2003	56	29	9	15	100	15	5	10

Notes:

1. The totals of public sector consumption expenditures do not include direct public sector investment or benefits paid out by the National Insurance Institute.
2. The total public consumption expenditures include the corresponding defense expenditure figures.
3. The entries in columns 1, 2, and 4 total 100 (percent), i.e., the total resources in the economy for domestic use.

Table 31. Foreign Trade and Balance of Payments (in $ Millions), 1970–2004

Year	Goods and Services									At 2000 Constant Dollar Prices[1]			
	Export (1)	Import (2)	Deficit (3) [=(1)-(2)]	Net Foreign Interest Payments[2] (4)	Unilateral Transfers[3] (5)	Current Account (6) [=(3)-(4)+(5)]	Net Capital Imports[4] (7)	Net Foreign Debt (8)	Foreign Currency Reserves (9)	Deficit Goods & Services (10)	Unilateral Transfers (11)	Foreign Debt (12)	Net Foreign Interest Payments (13)
1970	1,178	2,585	-1,407	136	668	-875	682	2,622	459	5,206	2,472	9,710	503
1973	2,420	4,959	-2,539	209	2,197	-551	984	-3,283	1,809	8,126	7,032	10,507	669
1975	3,687	7,536	-3,849	718	1,770	-2,797	1,033	7,617	1,184	11,303	5,198	22,367	1,917
1980	9,791	13,567	-3,776	1,875	2,967	-2,664	1,207	11,640	3,394	7,117	5,592	21,940	5,007
1985	10,125	11,706	-1,581	2,382	4,997	1,034	94	18,574	3,720	2,307	7,290	27,099	3,475
1989	16,088	17,692	-1,604	2,212	4,876	815	88	15,665	5,331	2,071	6,297	20,231	2,857
1990	17,522	20,434	-2,887	2,204	5,906	1,060	-207	15,122	6,316	3,588	7,340	18,795	2,739
1995	27,988	37,058	-9,070	2,020	7,004	-4,086	2,231	19,217	8,309	9,940	7,676	21,061	2,213
2000	45,727	46,551	-824	7,202	6,483	-1,543	455	3,151	23,164	824	6,483	3,151	7,202
2004	50,376	52,048	-1,672	4,022	6,199	505	523	11,867	26,632	1,541	5,713	10,937	3,707

Notes:

1. Derived by applying the U.S. GDP implicit price deflator.
2. This series includes also net wage payments to foreign workers – workers from the Palestinian Authority included. These received the bulk of wages paid to foreign workers in the late 1970s and early 1980s, and only 10 percent of that total from the year 2000 onwards.
3. Net unilateral transfers.
4. Long- and medium-term capital imports.

Table 32. Main Sources of Unilateral Transfers and Long-Term Capital Imports, 1970–2004

Year	Unilateral Transfers[1]					Transfers Plus Credits[1]				
	Immigrants & Others[2] (1)	World Jewry (2)	US Government (3)	German Government (4)	Total (5)	Immigrants & Others (6)	World Jewry (7)	U.S. Government (8)	German Government (9)	Total (10)
A. $ Million										
1970	180	290	3	204	677	180	(131) 421	(339) 342	(40) 244	1,187
1973	386	742	805	264	2,197	386	(359) 1,101	(238) 1,043	(38) 302	2,832
1975	250	511	973	359	2,093	250	(310) 821	(797) 1,770	(68) 427	3,268
1980	601	460	1,495	468	3,024	601	(424) 884	(1,368) 2,863	(127) 595	4,943
1985	275	570	3,843	334	5,022	275	(525) 1,095	(5) 3,848	(138) 472	5,690
1989	1,092	706	2,727	544	5,069	1,092	(825) 1,847	(0) 2,727	(140) 684	6,350
1990	1,142	961	3,163	620	5,886	1,142	(728) 1,531	(0) 3,163	(62) 682	6,518
1995	2,523	1,206	2,679	856	7,264	2,523	(1,113) 2,319	(0) 2,679	(98) 954	8,475
2000	1,460	1,252	3,157	614	6,483	952	– –	(0) 3,157	(40) 654	–
2004	1,244	1,241	2,648	943	6,076	1,244	– –	(0) 2,648	(38) 981	–
B. Components of Transfers and Long-Run Capital Imports (%)										
1970	27	43	0	30	100	15	35	29	21	100
1975	12	24	46	18	100	8	25	54	13	100
1985	5	11	77	7	100	5	19	68	8	100
1990	19	16	54	11	100	18	23	49	10	100
1995	35	17	37	11	100	30	27	32	11	100
2000	16	21	53	10	100	–	–	–	–	–
2004	20	20	44	16	100	–	–	–	–	–

Notes:

1. The figures in brackets in columns 7, 8, and 9 refer to the flow of credits – Israel Bonds funds in the World Jewry entries in column 7, and credit funding by the U.S. and German governments in the entries in columns 8 and 9. The second figure in each column is the total of these credit figures and the Jewish contributions, U.S. government grants, and German reparations displayed in columns 2, 3, and 4.
2. Net transfers.

The balanced budget of the first half of the 1960s, which was initially in surplus on current account and effectively balanced in 1966, disappeared from the horizon for two decades through 1985. In 1967–69 the public sector was already running a significant deficit of 5.7 percent of national product. In 1970 the deficit run by the government was already beyond

Table 33. Public Sector Fiscal Indicators: Ratios to GNP (Percent), 1970–2004[1]

Year	Expenditures[2] (1)	Tax Revenue[3] (2)	Unilateral Transfers[4] (3)	Absorption[5] (4)	Deficit(-) Surplus(+) (5) [=(4)-(1)]	Net Public Debt External (6)	Net Public Debt Domestic (7)	Net Public Debt Total (8)
1970	58.9	42.7	3.9	46.6	-12.3	28.1	35.2	63.3
1973	73.7	43.5	16.5	60.0	-13.7	–	–	–
1975	80.1	47.1	12.0	59.1	-21.0	14.8	60.1	74.9[6]
1980	74.0	50.2	11.8	62.0	-12.0	–	–	–
1984	72.3	41.2	16.6	57.8	-(14.5)	–	–	170.9
1985	67.7	47.5	21.2	68.7	1.0	50.8	110.4	161.2
1989	58.4	44.6	8.4	53.0	-5.4	25.5	107.6	133.1
1990	57.5	44.0	8.7	52.7	-4.8	19.3	98.4	117.7
1995	54.8	46.1	4.5	50.6	-4.2	16.7	68.7	85.4
2000	50.4	43.7	4.7	48.4	-2.0	3.3	69.8	73.1
2004	51.6	43.0	3.4	46.4	-5.2	3.5	82.3	85.8
1974–77	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	113.4
1978–80	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	140.4
1981–83	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	170.9

Notes:

1. The indicators refer to the fiscal cash flow of the "great government," i.e., the government, the Jewish Agency, the municipal governments, and the nonprofit institutions benefiting from the government budget (universities, etc.), which also received domestic and foreign donations, mainly from members of Jewish communities abroad.
2. Includes expenditures abroad, mainly for defense imports and net interest payments on foreign debt.
3. Includes tax revenues, receipts of interest on development budget credits endowed to business and households (for housing), foreign receipts on interest earned by the Bank of Israel on its foreign currency revenues, and receipts on property income account. From 1960 on, the revenue flow included "virtual" receipts on civil services' pension accounts.
4. Unilateral transfers of donations from abroad, flowing into the coffers of the government, the Jewish Agency and other World Zionist Organization institutions, universities, etc., from sources such as the UJA, university appeals, yeshivah appeals, German reparations, and U.S. government foreign aid grants.
5. Unilateral transfers of public sector entities from donations collected abroad and foreign government grants are treated as equivalent to tax revenue, since these do not increase the national debt.
6. The figure refers to 1974.

12 percent of GNP and in the wake of the war it grew further, to its all-time high of 21 percent of product. The reduction of defense expenditures during the next decade through 1984 allowed correspondingly lower deficits, but these persisted beyond the 12–15 percent range (Tables 23 and 33). To even out the cash flow, the government resorted to the age-old device that governments have always used during periods of war and crisis – the printing press. Fully in line with the 1954 Bank of Israel Law, the central bank accommodated the cash flow requirements of the public sector, reflecting of course the dismal imbalance of fiscal fundamentals that surfaced in the wake of the Six-Day War in 1967, and began to generate rapid inflation. It was beyond 10 percent annually from 1970 onward.

The lag in the appearance of price inflation for three years in spite of deterioration of the fiscal fundamentals from 1967 onwards is quite explicable. The vigorous fiscal expansion, followed by a revival of investment in the second half of 1967 after the Six-Day War, occurred in the context of a depressed economic environment. The peak 10 percent unemployment rate of 1967 and the following two years of about 7.5 percent, and inevitably a corresponding underutilized capital stock, indicate the level of excess capacity. The significant average of budget deficits for the three years through 1969 of 5.7 percent of national product generated rising aggregate demand, which had first of all a quantity effect – it could be and was met by rapidly rising production. The price effect, which coincided with an upturn from a major depression, was accordingly very small, even though a devaluation of 17 percent against the dollar (the same rate as the British pound, also devalued that year) was implemented in November 1967.

These years were thus a period of rising product and incomes, at average rates beyond 10 percent, and of comparatively stable prices. Yet the unemployment rate of 3.8 percent in 1970 (even though immigration was rising rapidly from 1969 onward) and the influx of Palestinian workers from the territories who were rapidly increasing the domestic labor supply suggest that by that time the economy had crossed the full-employment threshold. This is highlighted by the unemployment rates in the range of two to three percent in 1972 and 1973 (Table 29), indicating that by that time the economy was already at overfull employment.

Highly restrictive fiscal measures were required, supported by a restrictive monetary policy, to avoid inflation in 1970, and even more so in the succeeding years through the outbreak of the October 1973 war. Yet neither of these policy measures were forthcoming. The budget deficit of 1970, at the very high level of 12 percent of GNP, and the average from 1971 through the nine prewar months of 1973 beyond 10 percent, more than twice its annual level in 1967–69 (Tables 23 and 33), underlines its impact on the inflationary developments which soon affected the economy and society as a whole. In view of the fiscal expansion, which was accommodated, rather than countervailed (see below, The Sterilization of Monetary Policy), the 22 percent annual inflation rate of the nine prewar months of 1973 (Table 36) was, of course, no surprise. That major prewar turn-up of inflation could not be attributed to the unexpected war, nor to the environment of foreign markets, in which inflation also was rising at the time. The most inflationary industrial economy of 1973, Britain's, was undergoing only single-digit inflation.

The immediate impact of the war, which generated a skyrocketing budget deficit of 21 percent of GNP in 1975, added of course to the conflagration (Table 33). Inflation was already running at 40 percent in that year, and in 1976. After a failed attempt to liberalize currency controls late in 1977, inflation took off at 50 percent and soon, towards the end of 1979, crossed the triple-digit mark. It finally accelerated to 400 percent in 1984.

The reduction of defense expenditures in the second half of the 1970s, after a temporary increase in 1981–82 linked to the invasion of Lebanon, made the significant reduction of the budget deficit from the 21 percent of 1975 to the 12–14 percent range of the early 1980s feasible. At such deficit levels, which inevitably required corresponding central bank credits to even out the government's cash flow, a reduction of inflation running at rates beyond 100 percent annually was of course impossible. Government effort to reduce the size of the gap involved the impositions of ever-higher tax rates. These succeeded indeed in pushing tax revenue temporarily to a record high of almost 50 percent of GNP by 1980, which supported the reduction of the deficit to the 12 percent range.

Yet real tax revenue was lower by nine percent of GNP in 1984 than it was in 1980. And this was not due to a reduction of tax rates: it reflected, rather, the dynamic effect of inflation – which by that time was beyond 100 percent annually for the fifth year – on the fiscal fundamentals. These were eroded by the so called "Tanzi Effect," which describes a feature of the behavior of taxpayers and tax transmitters (employers deducting income tax and social security contributions, businesses charging purchase taxes) in economies in which inflation runs at about three percent or more per month. Since, owing to administrative constraints, it is feasible to collect tax revenue only once a month, or at most every 15 days, taxpayers, even law-abiding taxpayers, pay only on the very last day.

Table 34. Monetary Aggregates, 1970–2005

Year	Money Supply		Outstanding Credit Balance[1]		Bank of Israel	
	M1/GDP (Percent) (1)	M1 (2)	Total (3)	"Free" (4)	Government Net Liabilities (5)	Discounts[2] (6)
A. Indices: 1970=100; 1985=100						
1970	17.7	100	100	100	100	100
1973 (Sept.)		193	176	178	–	–
1973	18.8	219	192	181	130	279
1975	17.6	313	427	299	310	659
1980	6.3	1,991	892	891	1,292	9,100
1984	3.8	7,881	–	–	9,084	35,848
1985	3.6	28,170	3,104[3]	30,020	28,756	47,644
1985	–	100	100	100	100	100
1989	5.6	535	369[3]	458	51	95
1990	5.8	702	464	–	81	0
1995	5.3	1,720	1,466	–	22	0
2000	5.6	2,555	3,287	–	(–)[4]	0
2004	7.4	3,954	4,580	–	(–)	0
2005	8.7	4,483	–	–	–	0
B. Annual Rates of Change (%)						
1970–1973 (Sept.)	–	27.0	22.8	23.3	–	–
1973–1985	–	51.5	52.8	51.3	–	–
1985–1989	–	52	–	–	–	–
1989–2000	–	15.3	22.0	–	–	–
2000–2004	–	11.5	8.6	–	–	–
2000–2005	–	11.9	–	–	–	–

Notes:

1. Outstanding balances of the banking system.
2. The figures reflect "directed (subsidized) credit" in terms of foreign currency only, endowed by the central bank. This way of promoting exports was phased out after 1985 and effectively eliminated by 1990.
3. The figures for 1985 and 1989 include the "directed credits" endowed to specified beneficiaries. By 1990, that category of bank credit was finally eliminated, so that totals down the road reflect the so-called "free credit" category of the previous decades.
4. From 2000 on the government had a net credit position with the BOI.

Table 35. Interest Rates and Inflation Rates, 1970–2005

Year	Band of Israel Rates				Banking System			
					Overdraft Rates		Short-Term Deposits	
	Makam[1] (1)	Monetary Loans (2)	Term Deposits (3)	BOI Rate[2] (4)	Nominal (5)	Real (6)	Nominal (7)	Inflation Rates (8)
1970[3]	7.75	–	–	–	17.83	7.0	–	10.1
1973 (Sept.)[3]	8.50	–	–	–	20.5	-1.5	12.0	22.3
1975	9.25	–	–	–	29.4	4.8	–	23.5
1980	–	–	–	–	176.2	18.6	78.0	132.9
1984	–	–	–	–	–	–	406.0	444.9
1985(a)[4]	–	–	–	–	444	12.2	–	385
1985(b)[4]	20.0[5]	25.3[6]	–	20.8[7]	328	33.3	163.0	221
1989	17.5	13.8	–	14.5	34.3	11.3	11.6	20.7
1990	16.5[8]	15.1	–	15.3	29.6	10.2	13.2	17.6
1995	14.5	15.6	14.1	15.6	22.4	13.2	13.3	8.1
2000	8.8	13.0	9.4	9.8	10.1	10.1	8.0	0.0
2004	4.8	–	4.4	4.4	10.2	8.9	3.1	1.2
2005	5.2	–	–	3.9	9.6	7.0	2.8	2.4

Notes:

1. The role of Makam as an instrument of policy was revived in 1986. The rates are for Makam bonds with a life of one year.
2. BOI "bank rate" average for the year. The BOI rate emerged in 1994 as an instrument of monetary policy.
3. The figures for 1970 and 1973 (Sept.) are debit interest rates on "free credit" in the commercial banking system. From 1975 onward these rates were charged by the banks on approved overdraft facilities.
4. 1985(a) refers to the six months, January–June, of that year, before the implementation of the 1985 economic stabilization policy; 1985(b) refers to the second half of this year, July–December, when the stabilization policy was in effect.
5. The figure is for 1986.
6. The figure is for 1987, in which year this BOI monetary instrument was introduced.
7. The figure is for 1988.
8. The figure is for 1991.

In an economy in which inflation had been running at more than six percent per month (just beyond 100 percent annually), taxpayers of all sorts thus make an average of three percent on the flow of taxes passing through their hands. Their gain is of course an equivalent loss to the state's revenue. With very high tax rates, as these usually are, and indeed were in Israel in the late 1970s and early 1980s – marginal income tax rates were 60 percent or more for comparatively low incomes – attempts to overcome this perfectly legal praxis was and is an exercise in futility. The drastic decline of tax revenue from 50 percent to 41 percent between 1980 and 1984, the five years in which inflation was continuously beyond the 100 percent annual rate, was undoubtedly due to the Tanzi effect. It did start before that, as inflation rose towards the 40–50 percent rate. it involves some learning by doing, and requires some time, but when it finally takes hold, as it clearly did in Israel by the early 1980s at the latest, the only way to overcome it is to stop, or at least reduce significantly, the rate of inflation. That was the line adopted by the government as the July 1985 stabilization policy was implemented.

GALLOPING INFLATION, 1974–1985. When the Yom Kippur War occurred in October 1973, Israel had already been subject for almost a year to an inflation rate topping 22 percent (Tables 25 and 26), a fact that was of great significance later on. When the resulting war-generated leap of the budget deficit occurred, simultaneously with the energy crisis resulting from an approximately fivefold increase in the price of oil, the momentum of inflation increased at once to about 57 percent in 1974. The average inflation rate for the four years, 1974–77, was 40 percent (Table 36). This was more than four times the rate of inflation in the industrialized countries, which rose in these years of stagflation to an average of approximately 10 percent.

An economy subject to inflation rates of 40 percent over four years was vulnerable to any shock, external or domestic, that would accelerate the rate of price inflation even further. And such shocks were not long in coming. The first was a clearly domestic affair: the summer election of 1977, which led to the demise of the three-decades-long Labor party-dominated governing coalition. The Likud-dominated coalition adopted the proposals made by Simcha Ehrlich, its finance minister, a member of the Liberal Party faction within the Likud, to signal that its economic policy would represent a new departure. The minister's first strategic move involved the relaxation of the strict currency control regulations originally introduced by the British in 1939 and maintained by every Israeli government. This involved an initial substantial devaluation and the institution of a relatively flexible exchange rate. The budget deficit for 1977, though lower than the all-time high of 1975 (21 percent of GNP), was still in the 15–16 percent range. A substantial devaluation of the currency and the floating of the exchange rate with a budget deficit of this order was a ques-

Table 36. Prices, Wages, and Exchange Rates, 1970–2004

			Nominal Wages		Exchange Rates[1]	
Year	Consumer Prices (1)	Dollar Import Prices (2)	Total (3)	Israeli Workers (4)	Nominal (5)	Real (6)
A. 1970=100						
1970	100	100	100	100	100	100
1973 (9)	163	140	166	168	120	86
1975	342	200	317	320	203	59
1977	685	212	622	629	440	64
1980	4908	364	4,132	4,162	2,157	44
1984	329,370	302	–	–	182,571	55
1985 (6)	646,196	–	–	–	–	–
B. 1985=100						
1984	–	100	–	–	42	–
1985	100	100	100	100	100	100
1989	195	127	311	310	131	105
1990	230	136	354	352	137	103
1995	408	140	664	658	209	103
1998	524	126	902	894	277	113
2000	531	125	1,046	-1,033	269	108
2002	573	123	–		316	114
2004	569	131	1,057[2]	1,053[2]	296	121
C. Annual Average Rates of Change (Percent)						
1969–1973 (Sept.)	13.8	8.7	16.2	16.5	4.7	–
1973 (9)	22.3	–	–	–	–	–
1973–1977	39.6	–	39.1	39.1	38.3	–
1977–1984	141.6	6.9	–	–	136.6	–
1979	111.4	–	–	–	–	–
1985–1995	15.1	3.4	20.8	20.7	7.6	0.3
1998–2004	1.4	0.7	3.21	3.31	0.1	1.1

Notes:

1. The index numbers for the real exchange rates for Part A (1970–1985) were estimated on the basis of the corresponding entries of nominal exchange rates and prices. Since they do not refer to the foreign price inflation, they exaggerate the degree of the real depreciation of the Israeli currency. This was, however, of minor effect owing to the very great spread between Israel's and foreign inflation rates between 1970 and 1985. The figures for real exchange rates for 1985–2004 were standardized with reference to foreign price inflation; hence their significance is not fully equal to the respective ratios of Israel's price and nominal exchange rates in Part B.
2. The figure refers to 2003.

tionable operation in the first place. A delay, to allow time for the reduction of the deficit below perhaps 10 percent of GNP, might have been well advised. The Bank of Israel indeed advised that there be an immediate, thus simultaneous, reduction of the deficit at least.

Though the finance minister accepted the BOI's proposal, agreeing that this requirement was a condition for success, the prime minister and the government were reluctant to agree to the deep cut of expenditures that this would have required. The liberalization was thus implemented in November 1977, without the support of a significant cut in the fiscal deficit. The immediate price effect of an approximately 50 percent devaluation of the currency was a similar leap in the inflation rate in 1978. By 1979 the economy moved into galloping inflation beyond the triple-digit threshold, which forced the Treasury to reverse its relaxation of currency controls, and also brought about the resignation of Mr. Ehrlich.

With inflation running beyond 100 percent annually (about 6.5 percent per month) for more than six years starting in early 1979, feeding inflationary expectations among all economic entities – businesses, households, the banking system – the economy soon lost its bearings. The rising frequency of cost-of-living wage supplements contributed to that development, and to the disappearance of the so-called "nominal anchor." This phenomenon is underlined by the rapid decline of nominal money balances relative to the level of national product. In the Israeli case it shows in the decline of the M1/GDP ratio from close to 18 percent, where it stood in the early 1970s, to only 6.3 percent as Yigal Hurwitz took over the Finance Ministry late in 1979 (Table 34). His attempts to reduce the fiscal deficit, which earned him the nickname "I have not" (and his headline statement addressed to all "madmen – climb down from the roof") came to nothing. In the absence of support from the prime minister and members of the government, Mr. Hurwitz resigned, and the third finance minister in this government, Yoram Aridor, was appointed several months before the election campaign in 1981. His attempt to focus on the bubble component of the inflation, without, at least initially, addressing the component driving the inflationary process – the budget deficit – came to nothing by the summer of 1983. His secret plan to dollarize the system – to substitute the U.S. dollar for the shekel (which had become the country's new unit of currency in 1980 as part of the devaluation of the currency) as the legal tender of the country, thus forcing fiscal discipline on the government, was leaked. This, combined with the bank shares crisis (see below, The Bank Shares Crisis, 1983), led to his resignation in October 1983 and the appointment of Yigal Cohen-Orgad, the fourth finance minister of the Likud government in its seventh year.

In the remaining eight months before the July 1984 election, the Treasury focused on the state of the balance of payments. This required, of course, real devaluations of the currency, involving a further push on the price accelerator. The price level thus rose at an annual rate of more than 300 percent in that short time, which also meant that for the seven years between 1977 and 1984, Israel's annual average inflation rate was more than 140 percent. It also meant that prices in the autumn of 1984, as a new national unity government received its vote of confidence in the Knesset, were 3,300 times higher than in 1970, when the great inflation took off.

The latter figure suggests the effects of the galloping inflation that had accelerated over time and in 1984 was heading toward hyperinflation. It generated havoc not only in the fiscal domain but all over the production sector, and had a major impact on income distribution. It was obviously at the root of the very poor growth performance during the lost decade. This highly dangerous economic situation, if not the result of the 1984 summer election (a tie), called for the establishment of a national unity government, conceived as the only instrument that could face the simultaneous economic and political crises: the former, galloping inflation and a decade of very poor growth; the latter, the 1982 invasion of Lebanon that mired the Israel Defense Forces in the occupation of southern Lebanon.

THE STERILIZATION OF MONETARY POLICY. Monetary policy requires that as economies move into a full-employment environment, the central bank, responsible for the maintenance of price stability, should begin putting on the brakes. The operational implications of this rule require accordingly the raising of the interest rate, designed to reduce the injection of liquidity into the system. This restrictive move might be supported by an attempt to reduce the expansion of bank credit by raising legal minimum reserve ratios. The reduction of monetary expansion – the rate of growth of money – is the target of both instruments.

The money supply figures in Tables 34 and 24 indicate that in the 45 months through October 1973, in the full- and overfull-employment economy, the money supply (M1) expanded at 27 percent annually, much more than the corresponding increase of demand, in the 12–14 percent range, which reflected mainly the real growth rate of national product. Insight into the significance of that rapid monetary expansion can be found in the expansion of the money supply between 1966 and 1969: it was roughly 14 percent, similar to the very rapid rate of growth of national product during these years, in an economy that had been approaching the full-employment threshold it crossed by early 1970. The rather stable price level in that period, which rose at an annual rate of only two percent (Table 25) in that first half of the "seven good years" period, compared to inflation rates beyond 10 percent from 1970 on and 22 percent in the first nine prewar months of 1973, is accordingly easily explicable in terms of the comparative rates of monetary expansion.

The post-Yom Kippur War inflation rates, initially 40–50 percent and moving into triple-digits by 1979, consequently square with the severe average inflation rate of the money supply, about 52 percent annually from 1974 through July 1985 (Table 34). Rates of this order of magnitude for more than a decade suggest, of course, a collapse of monetary control. This inevitably raises questions about the policies pursued by the Bank of Israel. The monetary data in Table 34 indicate that these were fully accommodative.

Though accommodation was its practice, it clearly did not represent the preferences of the BOI's management. Indeed, at the very beginning of the inflationary process, early in 1970, the BOI proposed publicly to initiate immediately restrictive moves. With the 1966 Makam (short-term loan) agreement with the Treasury, which enabled the central bank to implement a restrictive open market policy, still in force, BOI proposed to raise the discount rate at which these bonds were sold to the public in 1970. This conventional move, implemented by central banks in the industrialized countries on similar occasions, was designed to stem the inflation of the money supply generated mainly by the government deficit, financed by borrowing from the central bank. The case in point for restrictive monetary moves was the full employment environment, which by that time was a fact of life. The BOI also proposed to raise simultaneously the legal minimum reserve ratio to reduce the expansionary momentum of commercial bank credit.

In order for the Bank to make these restrictive moves, government approval was required under the 1954 BOI Law, and this was not forthcoming. Only after a 20-month delay, in August 1971, did the Ministerial Committee on Economic Affairs approve the BOI proposal to raise the discount rate on Makams to a range of 8.5–9 percent. By that time inflation was already running at an annual rate of 12 percent; it was the second year in which it was beyond 10 percent. This meant, of course, that the purchase of bonds at this rate would involve a negative rate of return for the buyer. The delay of the approval, and the level to which the rate was belatedly, raised signified the demise of restrictive open market operations by BOI, and thus of effective restriction of monetary expansion.

The government was a bit more permissive with respect to the second instrument, the minimum legal reserve ratio, which the BOI also proposed to use. Though the Ministerial Committee never agreed to the proposed full measure of restraint, the BOI was permitted to raise the legal minimum ratios, thus reducing the impact of the so-called monetary multiplier. But the restrictive moves, already constrained by the range within which the value of this instrument could be reduced, were inevitably too little and too late. The central bank was unable to operate restrictively on the open market, and was injecting liquidity into the system between 1970 and 1973, at a juncture at which its mission should have been exactly the opposite, to drain liquidity from the system. The struggle against inflation was accordingly lost at the very beginning, in the early 1970s, when inflation was still running at annual rates of only 10–23 percent.

It was of course the 1954 BOI Law that handed the ultimate power of monetary control to the political community, represented by the government. This law, legislated in the post-World War II era of the early 1950s, in which the modus operandi of the industrialized economies differed altogether from that of the 1970s onward, was in fact the legal basis of Israel's monetary control in that period. The political community did not cherish inflation, which it considered a highly unfortunate development, showing clearly in the frustrating per capita national product growth rate of only 1.2 percent between 1973 and 1985. Yet short-term political considerations pushed it toward ever-growing fiscal deficits. At the takeoff point of inflation in 1970–73 it was the cost of the War of Attrition, and the cost of rebuilding the Suez Canal defense line afterward. Furthermore, from 1969 on the increase of immigration to 40–50,000 annually, fed mainly by the first wave of immigration of Jews from the Soviet Union after 50 years of closed gates, inevitably required a major increase in the absorption budget. Nobody in his political senses, government or opposition, would dare to question these expenditures. Finally, increased National Insurance Institute transfer payments, by almost three percent of GNP, within these four years through 1973, imposed a further burden on government revenue. A significant portion of these expenditures was clearly inspired by the political considerations of the ruling Labor party, expecting a serious challenge from the leading opposition party, the Likud.

An attempt to finance the increasing expenditures (from 43 percent of GNP in 1967–68 to almost 60 percent of a higher GNP in 1973) was made; tax revenue was raised from 43 percent of GNP in 1967–69 to 45 percent in 1970–73 (9) (Table 23). But this did not close the gap between expenditure and tax revenue, which was about 17 percent of GNP. Unilateral transfers from abroad – world Jewish community donations and U.S. government grants added four percent of GNP to fiscal absorption – reduced the fiscal gap to a still enormous 13 percent of GNP (Table 23).

This was the background that led the finance minister, clearly representing the government's attitude, to reject the BOI's persistent proposals to let it implement a meaningful restrictive monetary policy during that crucial takeoff period, 1970 through October 1973, of the Great Inflation. The simultaneous rising (Vietnam) inflation in the U.S. and similar developments in western European countries involving inflation rates of 5–10 percent, only served to support the Treasury in its running argument with the BOI on the adoption of restrictive moves. It maintained that the rising pattern of the price level reflected mainly the rising costs of imports, and that Israel's 11–12 percent inflation of 1970–72 was thus not out of line with developments in the world economy. The leap to the 22 percent inflation rate of the three prewar quarters of 1973 was, like the war, clearly not expected by the political community. Whether having expected that price explosion, the ruling political forces would have avoided the sterilization of monetary policy they effectively imposed in 1970, or would at least not have implemented the expansionary welfare state policy that added three percentage points of GNP to the government deficit by 1973, is anybody's guess.

The 1985 Economic Stabilization Policy

THE ISSUES AND THE PROGRAM. It took nine months after its inauguration before the national unity government tackled inflation with a comprehensive plan. The priority it gave Lebanon, and other foreign policy issues involving life and death, is understandable. However, it was obvious that withdrawal from Lebanon would contribute to the solution of the economic dilemma, since it would allow a substantial reduction of defense expenditures. Instead, the government worked out with the Histadrut, representing workers, and the Israel Manufacturers Association, representing the manufacturing industry and business in general, a series of three-month package deals freezing prices, wages, and taxes. These did not commit the government to freeze the real rate of exchange, leaving it free to raise the nominal rate by an amount higher than the expected rate of price inflation, generating a "cost push" effect.

In any case, these deals – there were three of them – between October 1983 and June 1984 failed dismally. They reduced inflation rates somewhat for the first month of each of the three periods, but these rose soon afterwards. The inflation rate of about 20 percent per month in April 1985, implying an annual rate of 850 percent, on the verge of hyperinflation, suggested the inevitable demise of the package deals exercise, pegged among other things to price linkage techniques that had been developed and even extended into the tax system through the early 1980s. In 1982 the price linkage device still allowed an increase of real wages, but it failed to do so in 1983. Similarly, the dynamics of triple-digit inflation rates had been rapidly eroding tax revenues too. The labor unions and the government understood by that time that the protective shield against inflation that the price linkage technique had provided for a decade had been shredded to pieces. Production and commercial businesses lost their bearings as rapid changes in relative prices resulting from accelerating inflation made it impossible to calculate price-cost relationships realistically. This of course affected profitability and calculations of resource allocation.

By mid-1985, it was clear that only a comprehensive reform, whose implementation would require toil and tears, and whose success would be visible only after a longish interval, could make the difference. The immediate goal of such a program would be twofold: (1) to rapidly reduce inflation rates to 10–20 percent per annum; and (2) to reduce the deficit on the current account of the balance of payments to a sustainable level. The rock-bottom base of such a program required getting the fiscal domain of the economy into reasonable shape. The condition for success was accordingly the immediate elimination of the budget deficit, which in 1984 was more than 14 percent of GNP and by June 1985 was running at the same level. In view of the already very high tax rates, which were a heavy burden on those paying the full rates but which also provided numerous loopholes to businesses and household entities belonging to one group or another, it was clear that raising taxes was not a meaningful option for the purpose.

The only means that could promise a major and immediate reduction of the deficit was therefore on the expenditure side of the equation. The IDF withdrawal from Lebanon that was gradually implemented in 1985 offered significant and genuine savings. But the main channel for an immediate reduction of expenditures was provided by a single item: government subsidies to essentials, mainly domestically produced food items, which involved by that time an expenditure flow of almost six percent of GNP. More than two thirds of the subsidies were eliminated at once, thus reducing the deficit by about four percent of GNP, on the morning of July 1, 1985. The remaining subsidies were to be eliminated over the following six months.

The immediate direct consequence of that move, apparent only on August 15 when the consumer price index for July was published, was a 27.5 percent price leap. Thus the elimination of subsidies seemed to be another step in the inflationary pattern, but it was actually exactly the opposite. It did, however, have an immediate adverse affect on labor, since in one go it reduced real wages and severed the automatic wage-price linkage, a structural feature of Israel's labor market since 1943, when it was introduced by the Mandatory authorities. An agreement with the Histadrut annulling the automatic monthly cost-of-living adjustments was part of the labor market component of the 1985 stabilization program.

The actual steps toward reducing the budget deficit were preceded by an important amendment to the 1954 Bank of Israel Law. This amendment, known popularly as the "No Printing Law," forbid the BOI from granting credit to the government, which meant that the government would be unable to proceed as before and even out its annual cash flow by "printing money." This seemingly technical legal device served as the foundation of later fiscal policy, and as the control lever for monetary policy. Its passage was a condition set by the U.S. for a special stabilization grant of $1.5 billion, about 1.5 percent of GNP. This inflow, and an increased flow of contributions from world Jewish communities, on top of the reduction of subsidies and defense spending, resulted in an immediate hefty reduction of the budget deficit on the order of 9–10 percent of national product.

The achievement of the second goal of the policy, the rapid improvement in the balance of payments, posed a dilemma for the government. An improvement in the balance of payments required of course a significant devaluation – a significantly higher price for foreign exchange, and therefore for imports, in real terms – and the prevention of the erosion of the new rate in the longer run. This would lower the cost of exports and improve the profitability of the export trade, as well as of import-competing domestic products, but the rise in the prices of imports was inconsistent, from the point of view of the man in the street, with the promised all-out fight against inflation. Indeed, the roughly 31 percent devaluation of the currency that was part of the initial implementation of the stabilization policy on July 1, 1985, contributed significantly to the 27.5 percent rise in prices of that month. This increase was indeed more than expected by the Treasury and the planning committee, and also by the Histadrut, which had agreed to the elimination of the price-wage linkage in return for a permanent future compensation agreement. The agreed rate of compensation in real terms thus turned out to be lower than the rise of prices in July alone; price increases later on reduced real wages even further.

To face and overcome the apparent, though not actual, inconsistency of a major increase in the price level with an inflation-reduction program, the program included a highly publicized so-called "nominal anchor." This was the devalued nominal exchange rate, set at 1.5 New Israeli Shekels (NIS) to the dollar (New Shekels had replaced old shekels as part of the devaluation). The government committed itself to maintain that rate as long as nominal wages did not rise above a prescribed and tightly set limit. Accordingly, foreign currency for current account transactions – for imports and even for foreign travel – would be made available on demand to all and sundry at that nominal fixed exchange rate. Exporters and transmitters of funds on unilateral transfers and capital accounts would receive the same exchange rate. This meant the elimination of the multiple exchange-rate system that had been maintained for decades.

The transparency of this commitment was assured by the fact that foreign currency transactions could be made every day, six days a week. The long-term credibility of the commitment was based on the significant monetary reserves at the BOI, and even more on the support of the U.S. government for the stabilization policy, underlined by its commitment to grant Israel $1.5 billion within two years. The first part of that sum was made available immediately at the inauguration of the program. Furthermore, importers, other businesses, and households had accumulated substantial stocks before the expected inauguration of the program, which everybody knew would involve a devaluation; this amounted to implicit help for the maintenance of these commitments.

The novelty of the stabilization program was symbolized by the notions introduced into the economic and political vocabulary at that time – transparency and credibility. The success of the program was tightly pegged to the credibility of the government's commitment, which could be gauged by the daily information on the rate of exchange. The fact that this information was publicly available every day was accordingly of great significance. To satisfy the political needs of the Histadrut and some of its vocal supporters in the government, a freeze on prices was declared and some taxes slightly raised at the advent of the policy. Yet no control system to enforce the price ceiling was set up beyond the usual very slow-working sanction of a legal proceeding against violations of the price freeze.

Yet a highly restrictive economic mechanism to hold the line on prices was immediately put into effect: monetary policy, to be run by the BOI. It was resurrected now after having been put in cold storage in 1970 (see above, The Sterilization of Monetary Policy). The effective freedom given to the central bank to engage in a restrictive monetary policy was not stated openly in the document summarizing the measures required by the stabilization policy (approved in a night session of the government on June 30–July 1, 1985). The only reference to the monetary dimension spelled out in that document was to bank credit: during the first month of the program, the nominal volume of bank credit was to grow at a rate lower by 10 percent than the price rise during that month. And this volume (i.e., the volume of bank credit on August 1) would be frozen as a nominal quota to serve as the credit ceiling for the next three months.

It was understood that the two quantitative instruments available to the BOI – the legal minimum reserve ratio and the credit quota mentioned explicitly in the program document – would affect interest rates, pushing them upward. Since this development was a condition of success, the BOI was not required to prevent it. The freedom of action granted to the BOI in the money market gave it the ability to raise interest rates to as high as the traffic would bear.

PERSEVERANCE IN IMPLEMENTATION. A well-known immediate post-devaluation effect is the reflow of money that had been "parked" temporarily abroad in expectation of the devaluation. When this parked money flowed back to Israel in 1985, it generated a very high liquidity in the banking system and in the economy in general. Thus, though nominal interest rates were raised, these did not square with the actual leap of the price level by 27.5 percent in July, which was higher than had been expected. This meant that the real interest rate in July may even have been negative, since the banks estimated the probable price hike within a range of 17–20 percent at most.

This changed quickly from August on, however, as the BOI raised the required minimum reserve ratios three times in July, with a fourth and last rise to 50 percent on August 1. Simultaneously, it raised its monetary loan (discount window) rate forcing bank lending rates upward for overdraft facilities. These averaged almost 97 percent in real terms in the first quarter after the inauguration of the stabilization policy, and were even higher – 118 percent – in the next, the last quarter of 1985. The average real interest rate for all bank credit was 12 percent in July–September 1985 and 15 percent in October–December. These rates were allowed to decline substantially in 1986 and 1987, as the success of the stabilization policy became apparent, but were still maintained within a relatively high range. The post-stabilization policy positive real interest feature of commercial bank credit, representing the tight environment of the money market as a whole, was accordingly the real negation of the money-market dimension of the economy before 1985, and particularly since 1970. During this period, zero and even negative real interest rates on bank credit were the effective rule.

To close the loop of the stabilization program, an agreement on income policy was reached several days after the opening move of July 1. The automatic wage-price linkage would be scrapped, and nominal wages would be adjusted upward with a lag, at a rate significantly lower than the initial (unknown at the time) July price shock. In the wake of the nominal permanent upward adjustment of wages, a freeze of three months would follow before negotiations on a new cost-of-living contract were to start. The immediate result of this three-party agreement was a substantial cut in real wages. It involved an immediate cut of 14 percent in the real wages of civil servants, and about seven percent for employees in the business sector. The real wage level in the business sector was restored only after more than a year, toward the end of 1986. Three years were required, through 1988, before the real wage level in the public sector was restored to its 1984 level. This development offered highly welcome support for the necessary reduction of government expenditure and thus of the deficit, the prerequisite for getting inflation down and improving the balance of payments – the twin goals of the program.

The rise in the price level in July 1985 was expected, though not its exact rate. Though apparently inconsistent with the inflation reduction goal, it actually served this goal with the implementation of the other components of the program, leading to a declining pattern of inflation in the somewhat longer term. This first manifested itself in the August 1985 price index, which rose by only 3.9 percent compared with the 27.5 percent of June, and the 15–19 percent range in the two first quarters of 1985. But there had been such monthly ups and downs, and this rate was not identified at the time as an omen of success.

The political community, usually focused on the short term, and some of the planning committee were hoping against hope that the inflation target of 15–20 percent annually (one to two percent monthly) would be reached within three to four months. In the event it was about seven to eight months. By mid-January 1986 when the December price figures appeared, they indicated that price inflation in the last quarter of 1985, the second quarter since inauguration of the stabilization policy, was at a monthly average of 2.2 percent (an annual rate of close to 30 percent). It was still off the (officially undeclared) target, and far above inflation rates in the industrialized countries, but it registered as a success in Israeli public opinion. It still required the maintenance of stringencies through 1986, a year in which the 1985 price and wage freezes were repealed. An average inflation rate of somewhat less than 20 percent was reached in 1986 and maintained through 1989 (Table 36), and there was a major improvement of the goods and services account – by the end of 1985, and in 1986 as well, the dollar deficit was down by more than 50 and 20 percent respectively (Table 31) – so it could be said that the twin goals of the stabilization policy had clearly been met. The goods and services deficit in 1985, which was less than half that of 1980 and allowed the current account of the balance of payments to move into surplus for the first time in the state's history, was in a sense the epitome of that success.

This performance on inflation and the balance of payments was accomplished with a temporary small increase of unemployment, to 7.1 percent in 1986 from 6.7 percent in 1985. The employment constraint – the requirement to minimize the employment effects of the restrictive moves required to implement the stabilization policy – was thus met even in the first stage of the program. With unemployment down to 6.1 and 6.4 percent in 1987 and 1988 respectively, the economy was clearly operating on the threshold of full employment, with a robust balance of payments and inflation down to an annual rate of 15–20 percent. This meant that the mission to restore economic stability seemed to have been successfully completed by around 1988.

MAJOR FISCAL AND MONETARY RESTRAINT. This in any case was the sense of the country, as macroeconomic activity yielded to the highly restrictive measures of fiscal and particularly monetary policy, the major instruments of the stabilization policy. This policy, particularly its monetary policy component, changed the rules of the economic game, affecting households and business, the latter in particular. The fiscal discipline imposed by the stabilization policy showed results almost immediately. By the fourth quarter of 1985, only six months after the policy went into effect, the budget was in the black. The surplus of one percent of GNP for the full fiscal year 1985 (Table 33), compared to the deficit of more than 14 percent in 1984 and an average deficit of more than 12 percent for 1980–84 represented a revolution. Indeed, in the two decades through 2004, the budget deficit effectively never exceeded five percent, and on average was in the range of two to three percent of GNP.

On the whole the Treasury kept aloof from the Bank of Israel's efforts to rein in the monetary and financial markets, a departure from its behavior before 1985. At most the minister himself, or usually one of his lieutenants, would make a critical comment on the "high" interest rate set by the central bank, even though the BOI Law, which aside from the "no printing" amendment of 1985, had not been changed, granted the government veto power with regard to the instruments used by the BOI to determine its interest rates.

The revolution in monetary policy and its impact on the macroeconomy started on the very day the stabilization policy was inaugurated. Its highly restrictive impact showed in the towering real interest rates on overdraft facilities, which rose to nearly 300 percent annually in the first quarter the policy was in effect. These sky-high real interest rates were reduced in the following quarter and after. The approximately 20 percent per annum real interest rate on overdrafts which was still in force after 18 months of the stabilization policy, in the last quarter of 1986, underline the vigor with which monetary policy had been employed to support the disinflation effort. These very high interest rates for overdrafts, which admittedly involved only a small portion of the volume of commercial bank credit (and which for more than a decade through 1985 had been in the negative to zero range), raised the average cost of total bank credit to positive real rates. These were in the three to four percent range by the end of 1986 and had been much higher late in 1985.

During the period of accelerating inflation, businesses had accumulated large amounts of stock, a highly profitable operation as inflation continued to rise. The very high interest rates in the last quarter of 1985 forced them to liquidate these stocks. This liquidation began in the last quarter of 1985, as more and more major store chains started "sales" campaigns. It was this development that finally broke the back of inflation. Maintenance of high real interest rates during the stabilization effort, which were lowered as inflation declined to the 15–20 percent range, was the guiding principle of the BOI in the 1990s. This led on several occasions to criticism from the political community and business leaders, in the production branches especially. Yet on the whole, despite public opinion and political criticism, the BOI stuck to its guns and proceeded with its stringent policy.

The implementation of this policy required, however, the creation of instruments for manipulating the money and capital markets. The BOI began late in 1985, introducing a novel instrument, the monetary loan, auctioned to the banking system weekly. Its effectiveness depended, of course, on demand for reserves by the banking system, and thus ultimately on demand for credit by its customers. Initially the BOI encouraged the need of the banks for reserves by drastically raising reserve ratios, which it could do freely thanks to the hands-off policy followed by the Treasury. Thus, within one month, July 1985, the BOI raised the reserve requirements for commercial banks two times, from 35 percent at the end of June to 50 percent on August 1. Demand for bank reserves got another upward push from the major increase in prices in July.

Another turn of the screw that forced the commercial banks to look for money to bolster their reserves was the campaign launched by the BOI, with silent support from the Treasury, to eliminate entirely within three years the highly subsidized so-called "directed credit." During the "lost decade" this involved at least 30–35 percent of total credit accommodated by the banking system. The simultaneous reduction by the Treasury of long-term business and household "development budget" credit backed by government deposits with the banking system served the same purpose.

To establish the BOI interest rate as "the controlling device of the interest rate structure of the economy," the central bank needed flexible instruments in the money market. The Treasury, which in 1985 and 1986 was focusing on the stabilization policy, agreed to renew the Makam contract of 1966 with the BOI. It had been frozen effectively in the early 1970s, as the Treasury in those days refused adamantly to sanction an increase in the discount rate at which these certificates were sold, which the double-digit inflation rate of these years called for. This had neutralized the relevance of monetary policy as a macroeconomic control mechanism for 15 years through 1985.

Under this contract the BOI was allocated a quota of Makam bonds, which it could use at will, setting the discount rate at issue according to its reading of the state of the markets. To strengthen its grip on the market and reduce its dependence on the attitude of the political community represented by the government, the BOI with at least no formal protest by the Treasury, introduced the monetary loan, mentioned above. In response to the banks' demands, BOI would accommodate them by offering "monetary loan" credits to bolster their reserves. The loans were auctioned at a competitive weekly bidding, thus setting the discount rate for that week. The monetary loan instrument increased the clout of the BOI in managing monetary policy since it was not constrained by a Treasury quota, as it was for Makam bonds. By varying the size of the weekly auctions according to its judgment, the BOI could manipulate the discount rates for these assets. If the state of the economy – the inflation rate in particular, the rate of exchange, and sometimes also the general level of activity – required restriction, the BOI would reduce the quantity offered at auction, which would push the rate upward. If an expansionary move were warranted, it would increase the size of the loan.

Armed with these two instruments, the Makam bond (not fully in its control) and the monetary loan, BOI began to intervene in the money market in 1986. The outstanding balances of Makam bonds and the monetary loan in 1987 indicated that by that time its intervention was quite forceful. Hence by 1987 at the latest the BOI's interest rate, set for every forthcoming month on the last Monday of the previous month, became headline news. It was the basis for the setting of the debit and credit interest rates by the banking system, the cornerstone of the interest rate structure of the economy.

Resurrection of Growth and Restructuring

STABILIZATION AND SLOWDOWN. The shakeup prompted by the stabilization policy was, of course, not confined to stopping the onslaught of inflation and reducing of the balance-of-payments deficit. The immediate reduction of inflation to annual rates of 15–20 percent from close to hyperinflationary levels within the short period of six to eight months, and the prospects for continuing this pattern thereafter, which by mid-1986 seemed excellent, suggested that a revolutionary change in the rules of the game had occurred. This was underlined by the dramatic change in the cost of money; real interest rates, which rose sky-high as the stabilization policy went into effect, were reduced. Yet still the average real interest rate on commercial bank credit between 1986 and 1989 was somewhat above 10 percent; for the 15-year period through July 1985 these rates were at best close to zero. For many major manufacturing enterprises and for the farming entities with large quotas of subsidized credit, these rates were negative during the entire period through 1985.

Economic activity was sustained with little rise in unemployment in 1986, and unemployment rates in the two succeeding years were lower than in 1985 (Table 29). National product in the 1985–89 interval grew at an average rate of 4.4 percent, a whole percentage point more than the average rate in the last decade. Investment was revived meaningfully after its drastic decline in 1984 and 1985, and private consumption expenditure bloomed. The stabilization policy, the model for a number of similar policies instituted at about the same time in South America, was soon hailed as a success in view of its rapid salutary effects on inflation and the balance of payments.

A shakeup nevertheless occurred in 1989 in the wake of the collapse of several major firms. These enterprises were mainly, though not exclusively, components of the so-called Histadrut Production Group, created and run by the labor federation for several decades, which had benefited from significant "development budget" credits and commercial bank "directed credits." As interest rose on the directed credits, both the cash flow and the profit margins of these firms collapsed, putting them under severe strain. The reduction of the flow of "development budget" credits imposed a similar strain on firms benefiting from those. Business entities in the farming sector were subjected to similar strains. The financial squeeze imposed from mid-1985 onward led ultimately in 1989 to bankruptcies across the board, and to a significant economic slowdown involving a leap of unemployment to almost nine percent and an absolute decline of investment (Table 29). This component of aggregate demand, usually a leading indicator of the economic cycle, was already slumping by 1988; it thus predicted the downturn of activity.

The slow growth of national product, only 1.4 percent in 1989, was frustrating, and business GDP did even worse soon after. These developments were seen as a clear omen of a drawn-out slowdown, generated by the highly restrictive fiscal and monetary policies, by that time in place for more than three years. With a real interest rate of about 12 percent on overdraft facilities in 1989 (Table 35), and a similar, though somewhat lower, 10 percent average rate on total bank credit, the immediate future seemed quite bleak to entrepreneurs in the summer months of that year. The Treasury, which ran a low fiscal deficit, and the BOI, which ran a tight shop, considered that slowdown as the inevitable price which had still to be paid to maintain the low inflation rate which only a few years earlier was verging on hyperinflation. By the autumn of 1989, therefore, the immediate future did not seem bright at all either to the man in the street or the man in the government ministry (whether political or administrative), and inevitably not to the entrepreneur in the business sector.

PROSPERITY FOLLOWING THE SECOND MASS ALIYAH. Comparison of the main economic indicators – national product, investment, private consumption, and employment – in 1989 and 1990 might suggest that a magician's wand had changed the economic scene at once. The 1.4 percent national product growth rate of 1989 was replaced by an approximately seven percent rate in 1990. Investment, which had declined in 1989, leapt 25 percent in 1990; employment grew three percent. Indicators across the board, excluding the unemployment rate, were on the rise.

The magician's wand that abruptly cut off the declining trend, and improved the mood all over, was the unexpected turn of events in the Soviet Union; its collapse generated the second mass immigration to Israel of the 1990s. The almost 200,000 immigrants who arrived in Israel in each of the years 1990 and 1991 set the pattern for the forthcoming decade, in which more than one million arrived. By the end of this decade, the flow had added more than 25 percent to the Jewish population, and almost 20 percent to the total population of the country.

It was undoubtedly investment that restarted the growth of the economy. With roofs overhead the first necessity for the new immigrants, public sector housing was initiated by the government and financed by the budget. Initially it absorbed the major share of resources poured into capital formation. The production branches which in 1989 had excess capacity, and which were to absorb the rapidly expanding labor force, came later. Farming was of minor relevance at best; though employment in that branch improved somewhat in the 1990s, its total employment in 2004 was lower in absolute terms than two decades previously, in 1985. And in any case, the labor absorbed in farming in these decades was unskilled and poorly trained, mostly foreign workers from Third World countries. The new immigrants, and the domestically highly educated newcomers to the labor force, were therefore not candidates for low-level farm employment.

The growing labor force was accordingly absorbed mainly into manufacturing, including high-tech lines that had been emerging in the late 1980s, in the wake of the personal computer revolution. These followed the path that was blazed by the growth of Silicon Valley. Figures for employment in manufacturing, which grew by almost 20 percent in the 1990s, underline this feature (Table 39). Trade and services too expanded vigorously; employment in these areas grew by almost 130 percent in the 1990s. This meant that in the last decade of the 20th century and the early years of the 21st, when the economy began growing again, there was a far-reaching intersectoral and interbranch restructuring. Agriculture, which in 1990 still claimed more than four percent of total employment and contributed more than 3.3 percent of GNP, was down to the minuscule requirement of about two percent of the labor force, and contributed a mere 1.5 percent of GNP. The relative standing of manufacturing declined somewhat as well. Employment in manufacturing declined from about 22 percent of the total in 1992 to 18 percent in 2000, and a similar decline of its comparative contribution to national product occurred. Nevertheless, it remained the leading unique sector, whose performance set the pace of the economy. The public sector and "other" service sector expanded both in terms of their employment ratios and their contributions to national product (Table 27).

Yet the most significant restructuring occurred within branches: following the worldwide pattern, in farming (see above, The Changing Status of Agriculture) and in manufacturing, whose restructuring had a profound effect on the pattern and performance of the economy as a whole (Table 39; see also below, The Evolution of Manufacturing and the High-Tech System, 1973–2005).

Table 37. Banking System Aggregates, 1950–2004

Year	Banking System				Ratios (Percent)			Two Major Banks Ratio[2]	
	Banking Corporations (1)	Offices (2)	Employment 1970=100 (3)	Automatic Teller Machines (ATMs) (4)	Deposits/ GNP (5)	Balance Sheet/ GNP (6)	Employees/ Total Employment[1] (7)	Credits[2] (8)	Deposits[2] (9)
1950	108	204	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1967	45	760	77	–	8.3	75.0	1.3	–	–
1970	42	812	100	–	10.5	89.5	1.5	–	–
1975	30	967	154	–	6.7	158.7	2.0	–	–
1980	30	1,099	226	214	4.5	279.5	2.6	–	–
1985	30	1,103	235	540	5.9	279.7	2.5	–	–
1990	29	1,038	212	587	8.1	163.7	2.1	–	–
2000	23	1,032	236	1,322	9.1	135.7	1.5	84.1	69.7
2004	18	951	222	1,406	10.5	137.1	1.3	79.1	68.1

Notes:

1. Ratio of the number of employees in the banking system to total employees in the economy.
2. Ratios to totals in the banking system of credits accommodated to the public by the two dominant banks, Bank Hapoalim and Bank Leumi.

Table 38. Selected Capital Market Indicators, 1960–2003[1]

Year	Market Value of Securities 1990=100		Rates of Return 1979=100		Value of Turnover[2] 1990=100	Capital Issues[3] 1985=100		
	Bonds (1)	Shares (2)	Bonds (3)	Shares (4)	(5)	Shares (6)	Government Bonds (7)	Corporate Bonds (8)
1960	–	–	–	150	–	–	–	–
1970	–	–	–	100	–	–	–	–
1974	–	–	–	81	–	–	–	–
1977	–	–	–	46	–	–	–	–
1979	–	–	100.0	100	–	–	–	–
1980	–	81	107.7	163	–	–	–	–
1982	–	–	189.6	437	–	–	–	–
1985	–	–	92.1	149	27	100	100	100
1990	100	100	109.2	208	100	912	328	511,739
1995	133	298	110.2	343	140	1,297	541	–
2000	148	538	130.5	600	471	5,555	581	518,800
2003	210	574	158.5	658	666	1,286	1,169	1,105,496

Notes:
1. At constant prices of 1979 (columns 3 and 4); 1990 (columns 1 and 2); and 1985 (columns 6, 7, and 8).
2. At the Tel Aviv Stock Exchange.
3. Net shares sold and net government and corporate bonds issued on the Tel Aviv Stock Exchange.

Table 39. Traditional and High-Technology Branches in Manufacturing Industries: Production and Employment by Technological Intensity and Educational and Skill Levels of Employees, 1990–2004

Year	Manufacturing Industry		High-Technology Branches		Medium High-Technology Branches		Medium Low-Technology Branches		Low-Technology		Textiles	Electronics	Skill Endowment of Labor		Wage Ratios	
															Skilled / Unskilled	High Educ./ Others
	Prod.[1] (1)	Employ.[2] (2)	Prod. (3)	Employ. (4)	Prod. (5)	Employ. (6)	Prod. (7)	Employ. (8)	Prod. (9)	Employ. (10)	Prod.[3] (11)	(12)	Skilled (13)	Higher Educ.[4] (14)	(15)	(16)
Indices: 1990, 1994=100																
Percent of Total																
1990	75.4	85.5	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	100.0	100.0	–	–	–	–
1994	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	129.0	170.6	–	–	–	–
1995	108.4	103.8	107.1	102.1	103.7	102.9	115.3	108.3	106.0	102.1	134.7	179.0	18.7	35.9	2.63	1.68
2000	133.4	103.2	187.5	126.7	115.6	99.7	121.7	106.5	101.8	87.9	124.5	332.0	25.4	43.8	2.38	1.75
2003	124.0	93.9	169.2	117.5	109.5	89.7	119.9	100.1	96.2	81.2	111.2	229.0	28.6	46.9	2.37	1.87
2004	132.5	95.0	194.6	122.8	109.8	87.8	123.9	100.1	98.3	81.7	102.3	278.0	–	–	–	–

Notes:
1. Columns 1, 3, 5, 7, 9, 11, and 12 refer to production in the relevant branches.
2. Columns 2, 4, 6, 8, and 10 refer to employment in each branch.
3. Employment in textiles in 2004 was down to 63 percent of the number employed in 1990; employment in electronics and telecommunications equipment was 78 percent higher in 2004 than in 1990.
4. Workers with 13 years and more of schooling.

In spite of the slowdown of 2001–03, the 15 years through 2005, which began as the first wave of the new mass *aliyah* arrived in Israel, was on the whole an era of substantial growth. The stabilization policy of 1985–89, which had succeeded in pulling Israel from the quagmire of (almost) hyperinflation-cum-stagnation and a hopeless foreign payments position, prepared the infrastructure for the revival generated by the unexpected flow of immigrants. The GNP grew at an annual rate of 4.2 percent, one percentage point higher than the annual average during the lost decade; this meant that by 2005 Israel's GNP was almost two times greater than in 1989. The most significant feature of this growth, however, was that the engine powering the economy was the business sector. Its annual average growth rate, in terms of its product, was five percent, which meant that business product grew by 2.2 times during these years. This also indicated that the process had been eroding the traditional role of the public sector in the production dimension of the economy.

This growth performance was led by a major upturn of investment through the decade ending in 2000. After a hiatus in 2001–03, resulting from the global, and Israeli, downturn of the high-tech led business cycle, investment levels turned upward again, pushing beyond their peak of 2000. Thus, by 2004–05 the nonhousing capital stock of the economy was about 2.4 times greater than in 1989. The labor force and employment grew at similar rates through the 1990s. In the wake of the recession through 2003, employment growth lagged by about four percent compared to the expansion of the labor force; this lag was almost eliminated by 2005, as the level of activity revived. Thus, both were about 70 percent greater by 2004–05 than at the advent of the mass immigration of the 1990s.

With the nonhousing capital stock increasing by 140 percent during the same period, this means that capital intensity in production measured by capital-labor ratios rose substantially by about 40 percent during the 15–16 year period through 2004–05. This of course was another significant feature of the period, which had been reducing the demand for unskilled labor. But correspondingly, the treading of the economy along this path meant rising factor productivity (Table 29) and thus rising per capita product; this grew by almost one quarter during that period, allowing significantly rising living standards. In terms of private per capita consumption expenditures, average living standards increased by 45 percent during that period.

The resources for that highly significant performance by an economy continuously absorbing immigration, which increased population by 20 percent, were not provided only by the growth in production. They also came from a small decrease in public sector consumption expenditures. This saving shows clearly in significantly lower per capita public sector consumption expenditures in 2004 than in 1989, and reflects a decline in the defense budget in absolute terms, and particularly in relative terms as a ratio of GDP (Table 28). This reduction in defense spending was implemented even though for most of that time, between 1988 and 2004, the mass resistance of Palestinians in two Intifadas, and the unstable political equilibrium in the Middle East that involved two wars in Iraq, still required a major defense budget.

The declining pattern of defense expenditures from 13.5 percent of GNP in 1989 to about eight percent from 1995 through 2003 (Table 30) indeed made a difference. Yet even these much lower requirements were three to four times higher in terms of GNP ratios than those typical of the industrialized Western European countries, and were even greater than those of the United States. Thus, though an average growth rate of GDP in the range of 4.3 percent annually in the 15 years through 2005 is seemingly quite reasonable, Israel's comparative level of per capita product declined. By the mid-1990s it was already close to 60 percent of that of the U.S. and around 70 percent of the average for the European community, the standard of measurement for the Israeli populace. These ratios were somewhat lower by the end of the following decade. One of the reasons for this disappointing pattern was clearly the defense burden imposed on the productive performance of the economy, and the other was of course the much more rapid population growth than that of the western and northern European countries in particular.

GROWTH AND INCOME DISTRIBUTION. Another feature retarding the growth of national product in this period was the initially low and even decreasing rates of participation in the labor force. This was due to socioeconomic developments encouraged by the growing political clout of the extreme Orthodox sector of the Jewish community, and to the still preindustrial social features of Arab Muslim communities, which involve comparatively rapid demographic expansion. These two groups share a common feature – they have large families. This means that by definition, the participation rates of their members in the labor force are lower; female employment is quite limited and children, who of course affect the average level of per capita product, do not participate in the labor force at all.

Related aspects that reduced significantly the participation of Orthodox Jewish males in the labor force, and thus in income-generating employment, were the considerable increase in child allowances and the much more generous public sector contributions to financing yeshivot. Yeshivot pay is low but meaningful for the students who make Torah study their life's occupation, thereby keeping them out of the labor force for life, and reducing the contribution of their community to national product. The expanding funding of both large-scale child allowances, linked to the number of children in a family and rising significantly with each successive child, and the yeshivot and their students, had of course implications on welfare state spending and thus on public finance. It also negatively affected income distribution. Whatever the level of social security allowances, and it was a heavy and rapidly growing fiscal burden, a growing number of families in which males avoided the labor force altogether were not experiencing rising real family income.

Economic growth in the 1990s was linked to the high-tech production sector, and capital investment and employment in this sector mushroomed, generating a rapidly increasing demand for highly skilled, and highly paid, workers. This demand, and the decline of low-technology industries such as textiles, which had to compete with growing imports from Third World countries, depressed relatively, as they did in all industrialized countries, the wages and incomes of low-skilled workers. In business sector employment, though not in public sector employment, the demand for low-skilled employees even declined. The pressure on both the level and the terms of employment of low-skilled workers was increased from 1990 onward. This was also due to the shortsighted policy of government, which relented to the pressure of entrepreneurs in farming and the building industry in particular, to allow the employment of foreign workers on a temporary (visa) basis, as substitutes for Palestinian workers, whose employment increased rapidly from the 1970s, but from 1988 onwards were increasingly excluded from the Israeli labor market due to security considerations. At the all-time high, around 1987, Palestinian workers accounted for about seven percent of the total employment in the Israeli economy. At the record high, in the highly prosperous year 2000, the share of non-Israelis employed in the Israeli economy was 12 percent, of whom only one third were Palestinians, and the balance legal and illegal foreign workers. This of course means that the share of non-Israelis employed in low-skilled work was much higher, probably 30–35 percent.

This onslaught of foreign workers inevitably generated a significant pressure on the wage rates of low-skilled Israeli workers. Data on pretax and pre-transfer payments (mostly social security benefits) for the late 1990s thus indicate a significantly growing dispersion of wage income of the Israeli employees. The steeply rising income tax rates, which exclude about half of all employees from income taxes altogether, helped to reduce significantly the post-tax and transfer payments gap between the high-wage employees and the unskilled low-wage employees. Transfer payments, particularly the rising, generous child allowances and the so-called guaranteed income benefits paid to low-income families, were the instruments used for that purpose. These increased National Insurance Institute benefits threefold in terms of their ratio to GNP between 1989 and 2000, and thus more than that in real terms; they reduced further disposable income inequality.

Thus, the post-tax, post-transfer payments income distribution inequality grew somewhat over the period of the 15 years in which growth provided for an increase of average per capita GDP by more than 25 percent, close to 1.5 percent annually. The rising inequality in disposable incomes was contained due to the highly progressive income tax structure, which excluded about half the wage-earning population from income tax liability in the first place, and the expanding transfer payment policy pursued by the five governments running the country during that period.

THE DECLINING ROLE OF GOVERNMENT AND THE FADING OF DIRIGISME. This policy had of course an inevitable expansive effect on the scope of fiscal policy. In spite of that expansion, "smaller government" policy was, by and large, implemented through 1989, as the sine qua non of the disinflation policy. The inflation rate was indeed contained within the prescribed 15–20 percent annual rate through 1989, which meant that the preliminary goal of the policy was reached (Table 35). This applies even more to its twin goal, reducing the balance-of-payments deficit; the balance of payments was in surplus on current account from 1985 through 1990, a development unheard of for almost four decades since independence (Table 31). This success on the foreign front put the economy on the threshold of a new economic era.

Israel's rating in the international financial arena, and thus on the world capital market, has improved continuously ever since. The apparent domestic political cost of this policy was a tight lid on the size of the fiscal deficit; in the introductory 1985–89 period, the public sector budget even had a small surplus, though in the last year of the period it ran an exceptionally large deficit of 5.4 percent of GNP (Table 33). This deficit was in contrast not only to the preceding budgets since 1985 but to the succeeding budgets for the next 15 years through 2005, and was due to the slowdown of that year that reduced tax revenues substantially. The tight fiscal ship mandated by the stabilization policy was accordingly maintained with an approximately three percent average annual deficit, the range set by the 1994 Maastricht Convention as the standard for members of the European Union.

The low-deficit rule put Israeli governments during the two decades of 1985–2003 into a tightening corner. At a given structure of tax legislation, a reduction of the rate of inflation from very high to low rates improves the real tax revenue of the government (the Tanzi effect in reverse). This phenomenon indeed occurred in 1985; tax revenues increased at one go by more than six percentage points of GNP (Table 33), making an immense immediate difference to government finances at that crucial time. The withdrawal from Lebanon that began late in 1984, and the ongoing Iran-Iraq War of 1980–88, allowed a substantial cut in defense spending from close to 20 percent of GDP in 1985 to about 14 percent in 1989. This sustained the effort to maintain fiscal discipline at the crucial first stages of the stabilization process (Table 30). The growth process, involving an annual average of six percent GNP growth between 1990 and 1995, while defense expenditures were approximately stable in absolute terms, meant that the latter's share of GDP declined to the range of eight to nine percent, approximately where it remained through 2005.

However, this release of resources from the defense budget was to a great extent absorbed by other public sector expenditures. The most significant of these were welfare state cash benefits, dominated by social security benefits; these increased in the two decades through 2004 by two percentage points, to 8.2 percent of GDP. With the corresponding cash benefits channeled to an absorption "basket" for new immigrants and handicapped victims of Nazi persecution among others, total welfare state cash benefits were about 10 percent of GDP in the early years of the 21st century. Thus, from 1990 on welfare state cash benefits rather than defense costs were the largest item of public sector expenditure. This huge order of magnitude in terms of production capacity is similar to that of the leading industrialized states, even though Israel's per capita GNP was in the first decade of the 21st century only about 55–65 percent of that of these states. It also explains the permanent pressure on fiscal policy to maintain an even keel, in accordance with the EU's 1994 Maastricht Convention on fiscal conduct that Israeli governments have chosen to abide by, though of course it does not apply to Israel at all.

This meant that public sector revenues had to be adapted to the rapidly rising requirements of the social security system. Moreover, the burden imposed on the revenue system to assure the maintenance of the budget discipline was even greater than that imposed by rising social expenditures. This was due to the pattern of the flow of unilateral transfers from abroad received by public sector entities. In the two decades through 2005 these came from two sources: donations from world Jewish communities and a major annual grant from the U.S. government. The latter was fixed in terms of nominal dollars and was the dominant component of the flow; it was 87 percent of the total in 1985, and 68 percent in 2004. It declined in nominal terms from 1990 onward, and much more in real terms.

The Jewish component of that flow increased in nominal terms by more than two times in these two decades, and by about 50 percent in real terms. But this did not compensate for the decline in the U.S. contribution to Israel's public sector budget (Table 32). The real and relevant dimensions of these features are underlined by the pattern of relative contributions to revenue absorption displayed in Table 33. Unilateral transfers were about 29 percent of the total absorption by the public sector in 1985. These rose to 31 percent in 1994, supporting one of goals of the stabilization policy, the elimination of the huge budget deficit. By 1989 the contribution of transfers to absorption was almost down to 16 percent, and in 2004 to about seven percent.

World Jewish donations and U.S. grants contributed only 3.4 percent of GNP to the revenue flow of Israel's public sector in 2004, compared to 21 percent in 1985. U.S. grants were 2.3 percent and the contributions of world Jewry added approximately another one percent. This drastic downward trend of revenue from foreign sources was perhaps the most important piece of news for foreign capital market operators.

The long-run implications of that development were of course highly favorable, particularly the steep decrease of the dependence of Israel's fiscal stability on U.S. funding. But it inevitably shaped tax and revenue policy during these decades, since total expenditure in terms of GDP neither could nor was intended to be reduced at the same rate at which the flow of U.S. grants, in real terms, was declining. This meant that Israel had to substitute tax revenue for the grants, so one of its defining features during that decade was still its traditional "great government" aspect – a high-expenditure, high-tax economy.

Expenditures and tax revenues as a share of GDP indeed declined during these decades expenditures were almost 68 percent and revenue 48 percent, respectively, of GDP as the stabilization policy took effect. Though much lower in relative terms 20 years later, expenditures crossed just under the benchmark of 50 percent of GDP in 2005, and tax revenue was in the 43 percent range; these ratios were still higher than the rates in most E.U. member states, and even more than those of North America.

Prior to the 1990s Israel had a *dirigiste* economy. This pattern changed as the claims of the public sector on economic resources, though still very large, declined, so that by the turn of the century *dirigisme* could no longer be said to characterize the way the economy was run. The growing divorce from direct involvement of the government, as the representative of the political community, in the management of economic activity at the microeconomic level was initiated by the 1985 stabilization policy, which effected a departure of the Treasury and the other economic ministries – the Trade and Industry, Agriculture, and Tourism in particular – from day-to-day involvement in the monetary dimension of the economy. It involved not only the effective freeing of the Bank of Israel to determine interest rates and reserve requirements according to its own judgment, but dictated the neutral stance of the Treasury toward the abolition of "directed credit," which in 1985 was about 35 percent of outstanding commercial bank credit (50 percent in the farming community). This of course increased very significantly the leverage of the interest rate policy of the central bank, simultaneously eliminating the involvement of the government in the allocation of bank credit. This change, which occurred slowly but continuously over about four years through 1989, weaned businesses, including agricultural entities, off cheap subsidized credit. The transition was difficult and led among other things to the bankruptcy of firms that had been household names for more than a generation. The change from a system of subsidized credit to high market interest rates imposed an especially heavy burden on the farming community, which had largely been financed by "directed credit" as part of the Zionist resettlement drive. many settlements, moshavim and kibbutzim, could not hope to repay their accumulated debt in the new economic circumstances. All this was part of the redirection of the economy from its *dirigiste* tradition, and was implicit in the 1985 decision to grant effective freedom to the central bank to manage monetary policy.

The 1985 rules in the foreign exchange market, in particular the setting of the dollar exchange rate as the nominal anchor of the economic system, establishing a single exchange rate for all transactions, constituted of course a major anti-*dirigiste* move even though this was not their immediate objective, which was to simplify the currency control system established by the British in 1939. This very simplification immediately reduced the involvement of the authorities in the micromanagement of foreign exchange. The success of the first stage of the stabilization policy, which reduced inflation to an annual range of 15–20 percent through 1994, led to the reduction of more layers of currency control, which among other things, led later to the elimination of income tax regulations discriminating between domestic and foreign investments. This change was completed only after the turn of the century. It was the last vestige of currency control.

A related process with a similar effect – the reduction of government involvement in the management of production – was the slow but determinate reduction of trade barriers that had been launched in the 1970s. Israel, as a member of the World Trade Organization (WTO), but especially after 1970s–80s trade accords with the European Community and the U.S., persistently pursued a policy of slowly reducing protective import quotas and duties. This process was effectively completed by the late 1990s, reducing significantly the option of protectionist moves by government ministries.

PRIVATIZATION. Privatization, which surfaced as a concept and operational economic target in the 1990s, was not an invention unique to Israel. This notion had been spreading in all the major industrialized economies, with Britain spearheading it in the last two decades of the 20th century. It suggested a feasible reduction of the direct involvement of government in the running of the economy, with a focus on one sector, public utilities, traditionally under the public sector canopy. These were the electricity, water supply, and communications systems and the railroads and broadcasting networks. Almost all of these entities operated in markets in which the technology of production and/or distribution had traditionally offered major advantages to firms with monopoly power.

In the Israeli case this notion had a special twist, since it was initially applied in 1989 to the the banking system, almost entirely nationalized by accident in 1983 in the wake of what became known as the Bank Shares Crisis, an event linked to the triple-digit inflation that dominated the economy for almost five years. To overcome the financial crisis (see below, The Bank Shares Crisis, 1983) the government committed itself to supporting bank share prices by purchasing (through the Bank of Israel) bank stock in the market at a declared minimum price. These purchases cost the BOI an enormous sum, about four percent of GNP, an inflationary move in itself in the context of triple-digit inflation. The longer-run effect of the support policy was state ownership – the effective nationalization of almost the entire banking system by the end of 1983.

With the stabilization policy of 1985 having substantially achieved its goals, the government in power set up a task force in 1988 within the empty shell of an existing government corporation; its unique mission was to reprivatize the banking system as soon as possible. Thus, privatization of banking was a consensus policy from the very beginning. Two small banks were indeed sold in the early 1990s. Yet it required close to a decade, through 1995, before a meaningful move – the privatization of one of the two dominant banks, Bank Hapoalim, could be implemented. Progress afterward was slow, and only in 2005 did the sale in an auction of a substantial portion of Bank Leumi stock, with an option for for a further purchase, and the sale of the controlling interest in the Israel Discount Bank, the third largest, take place.

The difficulty of implementing this reprivatization was not due to political opposition or opposition from the commercial banking system. It was inherent in the small scope of the domestic capital market and the significant size of the banks, two large and one medium-sized. The purchase of a controlling interest in any of them would require a huge fraction of total financial investment. It was only the the inflow of foreign financial resources from 1991 on that enabled a deal requiring an investment of the magnitude involved in the purchase of Bank Hapoalim.

This new foreign investment had far-reaching significance. With the success of the 1985 stabilization policy the capital inflow improved to several hundred million dollars annually, but never crossed the 500 million line before 1991. The rapid and steady elimination of currency control regulations from the early 1990s, supported by the dipping of the inflation rate into single digits in the first half of that decade and declining further toward price stability in the second half, finally made the difference. The average annual inflow of foreign capital funds in the 1992–99 interval leaped to almost five billion dollars annually, with an all-time high of 12 billion dollars in the high-tech bubble year of 2000. After the bubble burst, through 2005 the average foreign investment inflow returned to the $5 billion annual average. That major inflow of foreign private capital, at an average of four to five percent of GDP, created a total transformation of Israel's capital market. Among other things it opened the gates for privatization.

In more than one sense the Bank Hapoalim case provided the opening for privatization supported by foreign funds. Yet even in that case a significant fraction of the cost of the purchase was provided to the group of domestic and foreign entrepreneurs who purchased the controlling interest in the bank by Bank Leumi, the still-nationalized second-largest bank. Several of the smaller banking institutions were privatized as well in the 1990s, with much smaller hurdles of financing required that could be raised in the home market by domestic tycoons. The privatization of the banking system was almost completed by 2005, 23 years after the accidental nationalization: controlling interests in Bank Leumi, the Zionist financial flagship established in 1903 and almost equal in size to Bank Hapoalim, and in the Israel Discount Bank, were finally sold. They were acquired by foreign investors with funds raised in foreign capital markets.

Privatization was not confined to the financial sector. Indeed, the real sectors, in the utilities and manufacturing, had been proceeding rapidly along this route since the early 1990s. The process was facilitated and encouraged by two technical revolutions: the communications revolution, which allowed the building of wireless telephone systems, and the PC revolution, which provided the bedrock for the high-tech industry. These offered a convenient opening for the move to restrict the monopoly power of major firms.

Though it was the government-owned telephone company, Bezeq, that first ventured into the cellular telephone business, its traditional monopoly on that popular means of communications was soon challenged by two private-sector corporations, which were granted licenses to operate in that field. Bezeq's monopoly on international telephone communications was similarly abolished, by permitting other companies into the field by the early 1990s. the sale of Bezeq itself to private entrepreneurs, completed in 2005, symbolized clearly the government's adoption of the idea of privatization fostered in the 1970s and 1980s in Britain, which said that even classic utilities with justified monopoly power would offer better service to the economy as private businesses.

The high-tech revolution in Israel was started within the nationalized defense industry and in the army's intelligence and technology unit. These employed highly educated, trained, and experienced personnel. The adoption of outsourcing by the IDF and the defense industries in the late 1980s soon led to the setting up of small independent civilian groupings, manned by veterans of the army and the defense industries, working by contract on projects, mainly research, for their erstwhile employers. As their numbers grew, several of these converted to private startups financed by venture capital.

The interesting feature of that development is clearly that it was led by veterans of IDF technology and communication units and the research departments of the national defense industries who decided to adopt the Silicon Valley model for their private business ventures. Many of these soon succeeded and by the 1990s and the turn of the century had made major contributions to Israeli manufacturing, its export volume, and its standing in the high-tech world. Indeed, the avalanche of foreign funds in 2000, as the global bubble inflated, was linked to Israel's by then Silicon Valley-like status.

This is not to say that the government sector was and is not still indirectly involved in the promotion of the high-tech industry. Intel, a major international corporation in that field with a significant and growing presence in Israel since the 1980s in both research and production, is a case in point. Its application for an income tax allowance for its major investment in a new production facility, which will employ 1,000 workers in addition to the 6,000 it already employs, was granted in 2005. But this still indirect government involvement is minuscule in relative terms compared to the situation during the first three decades of statehood through the early 1980s. The rapid expansion of the economy, novel technologies of production and communications, and the post-1990s rising inflow of foreign capital – a flow inherently and instantaneously linked to the mood swings of the major world capital markets – eroded the *dirigiste* features of the Israel economy, inherited from the World War II British model. What was left of that structure in the first decade of the 21st century was the high net national domestic debt, along with comparatively large public sector expenditures and tax revenue, in terms of national product.

The Balance-of-Payments Revolution, 1985–2005

The major transformation the economy had undergone in the two decades through 2005 – a major transition to a free-floating exchange rate, a major inflow of foreign capital, privatizations and the shedding of *dirigisme*, and meaningful growth – was inherently linked to a revolutionary change in the balance of payments. A meaningful indication of that change, which offered a kind of insurance policy to international ratings agencies and thus to foreign investors, was the rise in the level of foreign currency reserves. These were only about $3.7 billion in 1985. One of the twin goals of the stabilization policy of that year was an immediate improvement of the balance of payments. Reserves in 1995 were more than two times as great, by 2000 they were already $23 billion, and they continued to grow rapidly through 2005 (Table 31).

What counted for the state's macroeconomic policymakers was the number of months' worth of imports for which the available reserves were able to pay. By the end of 1984 reserves were not scraping bottom, as in the mid-1950s when there was usually enough for only a few weeks, but they were down to only 2.4 months' worth. The stabilization policy improved this. at the end of 1989 there were enough for 3.6 months, and by the end of the 1990s, the decade in which the balance of payments disappeared from the headlines, there were enough reserves for six months' worth of imports. The figure continued to climb through 2005.

What was a more crucial test for the rating agencies, and thus for the foreign investment banks that opened branches in Tel Aviv through this decade, was of course the ratio of foreign currency reserves to foreign debt. This measure underlined the revolutionary change the system had undergone in the two post-stabilization policy decades. At the end of 1985, six months after the inauguration of the policy, Israel's foreign currency reserves were equal to 29 percent of its total foreign debt. By 1989 this ratio improved to about 34 percent of the debt, which was long-term and thus did not impose an immediate threat to the reserves. Within a decade, however, the situation was completely reversed; by 2000 reserves were more than seven times greater than foreign debt. It settled at more than two times the level of debt in 2004, in the wake of a considered move by the government to convert a portion of the bulging domestic debt into a $10 billion loan covered by a U.S. government guarantee, which would reduce its cost.

What counted even more with rating agencies and thus with foreign investors was Israel's robust economic performance during the summer of 1998, in the crisis that involved the collapse of the currencies of the so-called "Asian Tigers," the major South American economy, and Russia. With the Israeli exchange rate effectively, though not formally, fully flexible, the Bank of Israel did not intervene in the exchange market; it allowed the exchange rate to bear the burden of withdrawals, as foreign and domestic investors sold their shekel assets and purchased foreign currency. The depreciation of the shekel vis-à-vis the dollar was indeed significant – 18 percent in 1998, compared to eight percent in 1997 and even lower rates before that (e.g. 1.8 percent in 1994). When the storm was over by 1999, the dollar value of the shekel was restored, and in the prosperous high-tech bubble year of 2000 the shekel appreciated by close to three percent. Thus, the flexible exchange rate – and domestic prices strongly linked to it – absorbed effectively the tremendous pressure from the exchange markets on the so-called emerging economies. Dollar reserves even grew slightly in 1998 and stayed put in 1999, at which time the world crisis condition was over.

But for the Israeli economy, which only within the previous decade had eliminated currency controls altogether, this was undoubtedly a test of maturity from the point of view of foreign observers. Thus, even though the last vestige of indirect control, differential income tax rules applying to the capital market, was eliminated only at the end of 2004, the 1998 incident settled the main issue. Israel's foreign exchange market, and thus its capital market, was given a passing grade with honors. The ensuing avalanche of foreign investment through 2005, years in which the state had to withstand a series of terror attacks, proves the point.

The success in the capital account stakes had by that time a sound basis in the "real foreign front," expressed in terms of the trade account, and summarized in terms of the current account data. That transformation occurred in 1985, when after 37 years of statehood Israel's current account was in a small surplus, contributing to the accumulation of reserves. This reflected the drastic reduction of the deficit in the trading and services account, a process that had been going since the 1960s. By 1985 that deficit was still close to four percent of GNP, to which should be added a similar percentage for the interest charges on the foreign net debt, totaling approximately eight percent of GNP. The improvement in the trade and services account, through greater expansion of exports than of imports, brought the deficit on it within the range of one percent of GNP from 2000 on. The somewhat lower ratio of charges on foreign debt meant that a deficit of four to five percent on these two accounts was easily met by the flow of unilateral payments, which were in the six-to-seven percent range from the late 1980s on (Table 31). Of these only 35–40 percent were from Jewish sources – world Jewry and immigrants – and most of the rest from U.S. government grants, financing mainly U.S.-produced weapon imports. Still, the balance of payments, which for almost four decades was a headache for Israeli governments, disappeared as a pressing economic issue, and no longer made headlines.

Monetary Policy and the Effective Independence of the Bank of Israel, 1985–2005

THE POST-STABILIZATION REVIVAL OF MONETARY POLICY. The success of the stabilization policy in dealing with the twin problems of the balance of payments and inflation, which was finally settled in the second half of the 1990s as the economy achieved price stability, would not have been possible but for the steadfast restrictive monetary policy pursued during these two decades. The monetary orders of the 1985 program were issued by the working party operating under the authority of the Prime Minister's Office and the Treasury. These decreed that the strict nominal quota on bank credit be in force through about six months. The Bank of Israel executed the order, which resulted in sky-high real interest rates through a longer period than had been hoped for. Early in 1986, however, it reduced the inflation rate to a moderate range of 15–20 percent, the short-term target of the policy (see above, The 1985 Economic Stabilization Policy). The BOI, through its newly established monetary department, was to run the monetary show continuously; initially to preserve what had been gained, and later to push the system toward lower inflation rates, ultimately to reach the goal of price stability. The central bank thus took the 1985 orders as a license to execute a highly restrictive monetary policy through two decades. The Treasury at times responded with nonsympathetic noises at greater or lesser volume, but little effective interference.

Carrying out this policy required the creation of suitable instruments for the purpose. At the very beginning, July 1985, the BOI used the only instruments it then had and lifted the required minimum reserve ratios twice to the unheard-of ratio of 50 percent, which it maintained for more than seven months. This forced the banks to maintain a large gap between debit and credit interest rates, which in turn encouraged the appearance of credit gray markets. But the reserve ratio was a blunt instrument in the first place; it could affect only one component of the money supply, the current account deposits, at the cost of reducing the efficiency of the commercial banks as business enterprises. It was an inefficient instrument for the regulation of the money supply, since it could affect only the size of the multiplier, but not the more crucial component of the money supply, its multiplicand, the monetary base.

The "no-printing" amendment, which removed from the 1954 BOI Law the obligation of the Central Bank to respond to the government's application for credit, increased the degree of freedom of the central bank in applying a restrictive monetary policy. It eliminated the power of the Treasury to increase the size of the monetary base, thus to expand the supply of money by borrowing from the central bank, i.e., printing it. Though operationally only a preventive rule, it increased the relative power of the BOI to run the show.

Yet credit accommodation to the government was not the only way expansion of the monetary base could be accomplished; balance-of-payment inflows inclusive of the proceeds of government borrowing abroad were a case in point. To deal with such events it was obvious that the BOI was in need of the same kinds of instruments available to every central bank in the industrialized world. An obvious candidate for that purpose was the Makam debenture – a short-term Treasury bond. According to the defunct 1966 contract between the Bank of Israel and the Treasury, Makam bonds were allocated to the central bank to serve that very function, as an instrument to affect the size of the monetary base. The death knell of its successful service in that capacity in 1967–69 was sounded in 1970, when the Treasury adamantly refused to sanction the raising of the discount rate on Makam debentures as a means of controlling the double-digit inflation rate which by the end of that year was a fact of life. This of course meant the demise of monetary policy as a macroeconomic control mechanism for the next 15 years, through 1985.

The radical change of heart at the Treasury in 1985, with its unique focus on the success of the stabilization policy, led to a renewal of the 1966 contract with the BOI. According to the understanding between them, the BOI was again allocated a quota of Makam bonds, which it could use according to its own judgment. Thus by selling or buying according to its own readings of the preferred pattern and level of discount rates in the money market, it had the freedom to navigate the credit and financial markets and simultaneously support the exchange rate, the nominal anchor of the economy.

The Bank soon began to use the Makam instrument, as the 1986 entries for outstanding balances of Makam bonds on its balance sheet indicate. To strengthen its grip on markets and reduce its dependence on the political attitudes and decisions of the government, the BOI, with at least no formal protest from the Treasury, put in 1986 a second instrument into its arsenal: the so called "monetary loan." This instrument, which was not subject to a Treasury quota, would be used by the commercial banks to bolster their reserves whenever these were close to the legal minimum. It was to be auctioned weekly by competitive bidding, thus setting the discount rate for that loan accommodation. This instrument offered much greater flexibility to the BOI to influence the structure of interest rates, since it was not constrained, as was the Makam bond, by a quota that had to be negotiated with the Treasury. Thus, during the crucial years (1986–89) when runaway inflation was finally contained and brought down to a 15–20 percent annual rate, the outstanding monetary loan was greater than the outstanding balance of Makam debentures. This instrument increased significantly the clout of the BOI in the application of its highly restrictive monetary policy, showing in terms of close to 12 percent real interest rates on overdrafts in 1989 (Table 35). Finally, it succeeded in establishing the Bank's priority in this field, since by varying the size of the auction of the weekly monetary loan, according to its own judgment and discretion, it did push the structure of interest rates towards the 1985 goal.

Yet to fix interest rates in the monetary and financial market by maneuvering on the supply side, rising demand by the banking system for reserves (base money) was required. During the stabilization interval through 1989 this was "naturally" provided by the inflationary process still running at 15–20 percent; to sustain the provision of the volume of credit in real terms to the economy, the nominal credit volume had to grow *pari passu* with the rising price level. A real expansion of commercial bank credit, required by growth, therefore necessarily involved the expansion of bank reserves. Thus, in these crucial years when sustaining the success of the stabilization policy required staunch support on the monetary front, the strengthening of the grip of the central bank on money and finance by means of the "monetary loan" instrument was vital.

The strengthening grip of the BOI on the monetary dimension of the economy gained further support from the abolition of the "directed credit." The gradual abolition of that highly subsidized credit quota, which by 1985 made up about 35 percent of total bank credit, was begun by the BOI with the silent support of the Treasury, even though it imposed hardships on those who had received such credit, particularly those who had a much greater component of cheap credit at their disposal than average. The obvious rationale for this process was the abolition of the dual price system for money, which offered growing benefits to its privileged recipients the higher the inflation rate, and inevitably generated a credit black market. The elimination of "directed credits," led later to the collapse of several major household-name firms, even though it was a gradual, drawn-out process. That gradual implementation was accomplished by moving bank clientele from the cheap credit tranche to the full-priced component at the expiration dates of credit instruments. Since the interest rate subsidy was mainly based on the lower legal minimum reserves that the banks were required to maintain for that purpose, the conversion of credit from subsidized to nonsubsidized required, accordingly, higher reserves per unit of credit. This generated growing demand for bank reserves, hence supported the BOI's effort to gain control of the money market by manipulating the supplies of base money by means of its two newly acquired instruments, the Makam bonds and the monetary loans to commerical banks.

By affecting the the monetary balance by intervening in the money market with these instruments, the BOI could make a liberalizing move with what had hitherto been its only instrument of control over the supply of money, the legal minimum reserve ratio, which determined the size of the money multiplier. The all-time high, a huge 50 percent reserve requirement imposed on the banking system on August 1, 1985, in support of the stabilization policy, was reduced four times in succession in 1986 and 1987 to only 30 percent. Toward the end of 1989 the minimum legal reserve ratio was down to a new all-time low of 15 percent, a ratio never dreamt of for over 40 years. By the mid-1990s it was down to six percent, and to even lower rates for very short-term credit. Reserve ratios were thus rapidly downgraded as an instrument of monetary policy and by the 1990s were effectively excluded from the arsenal of monetary controls.

THE BANK OF ISRAEL ACQUIRES THE MONETARY REINS. The success of the first stage of the stabilization policy, shown by its reaching its two goals – moderate, stable inflation in the 15–20 percent range, and a significant improvement in the balance of payments (Tables 36 and 31) – was of course not the end of the story. Israel's success, in contrast to the dismal failure of Argentina and Brazil, which launched their stabilization programs at approximately the same time, was an argument in favor of the Israeli model. Its success in maintaining the level of economic activity despite its drastic monetary measures was discussed all over the world.

Yet these moderate inflation levels, which through 1988 kept the level of unemployment at an acceptable level, still did not compare favorably with the disinflation programs of the industrialized countries, which had been launched somewhat earlier, and pulled inflation down to mid-single-digit rates by the early 1990s. To maintain the improvement in the real exchange rate, which was necessary to keep the current account of the balance of payments in good shape, there was no option but to adjust the nominal exchange rate, the nominal anchor of the economy since 1985, and devalue the currency against the dollar. The devaluation was implemented early in 1987 after 18 months in which the exchange rate was kept stable in line with the commitment made at the launching of the stabilization policy. Another devaluation, induced in part by speculation against the shekel facilitated by the liberalizing of currency controls in 1987, was implemented in 1988, and another in June 1989, generating a cumulative rate of devaluation of 30 percent within 48 months.

The economic rationale of these developments can be inferred from Table 36, which shows that domestic prices rose by almost two times between 1985 and 1989. Given the much lower inflation ratios in the major industrial countries, these small devaluations still allowed an improvement of five percent in the real exchange rates, its ultimate target. Inflation at annual rates of 15–20 percent, though quite moderate by the standards of the lost decade, still forced the hand of the authorities, who had to allow rises in the nominal exchange rate in order to prevent the erosion of the real exchange rate and avoid its negative effect on the balance of payments.

Both the BOI management and the Treasury were by that time aware that the very success of the stabilization effort posed a dilemma for economic policy. The credibility of the policy was inevitably put to a severe test, since it was pegged to the nominal anchor, the exchange rate. The commitment of the authorities to the exchange rate of 1.5 New Israeli Shekels per dollar made in July 1985 was indeed officially qualified by the condition referring to the real wage rates. Since these rose rapidly, even though unemployment rates were still in the 6–7 percent range and increased to almost nine percent in the wake of the 1989 slowdown, the authorities indeed formally had a case for the devaluation. But the credibility of government commitments depends much more on the actual everyday features, than on qualifying statements made years ago, which after the passage of some time only experts are aware of, if anyone.

The credibility issue was directly linked to the dollar exchange rate as the nominal anchor of the system; its 30 percent rise in the four-year period through 1989 was seemingly inconsistent with the role it fulfilled for several years. The obvious response to the exchange rate problem was to increase its flexibility, thus allowing it to move within a range rather than a point fixation. Such a move would definitely reduce the danger of speculative attacks on the shekel in the short run (which occurred in 1988), offer a better adaptation of the exchange rate to the differential inflation rates of trading partners in the medium run, and a better response to differences in the interstate pattern of rising productivity in the long run.

The move to a flexible exchange rate even within a narrow range would, however, erode its function as a nominal anchor for the system, an essential ingredient of the disinflation process since 1985. A move toward price stability, to perhaps a one to three percent annual average inflation rate, at that time the standard for the major economic powers, from the "moderate" 15–20 percent rate at which the economy was stuck for five years through 1990, would require such an anchor. This meant, of course, that allowing growing flexibility of the exchange rate, the purpose of which was to provide stability to the foreign exchange market, which is so crucial in small open economies such as Israel's, was inconsistent with the nominal anchor role assigned to the dollar exchange rate in 1985. A move to a flexible exchange rate regime would require, therefore, a substitute nominal anchor.

The first moves toward a flexible exchange rate were implemented in 1989, at which time a narrow horizontal range was established within which the rate would be allowed to fluctuate according to supply and demand in the market. This model endowed the central bank with the function of regulating the exchange market by means of its stock of foreign exchange reserves, and the relevant price instrument, the interest rate. The degree of freedom of the BOI as an operator in the exchange market was soon considerably increased as the narrow range within which the exchange rate would be allowed to fluctuate was considerably widened in 1992 from a six to a ten percent range (plus or minus five percent from the targeted middle rate of the range). Furthermore, since the ongoing inflation in 1990–91 was still running at an 18 percent rate (Table 35), the midline targeted rate, and thus the upper and lower bands of the range, identifying the highest and lowest rates at which BOI intervention in the market was prescribed, were to slope upwards. This upward slope, an admission that moderate inflation was still a fact of life, required therefore, a device allowing the maintenance of the real exchange rate. To maintain at least the real rate of 1990, the slope of the midline and thus of the upper and lower lines of the band limiting the range within which the exchange rate would be allowed to fluctuate, was set as the difference between Israel's inflation rate and the inflation rate of several major economic powers – the U.S., the European Community, etc. A good omen that appeared as the new system of exchange rate management was established in 1992 was the significant plunge of the inflation rate from 18 percent in the opening years of the 1990s, to only 9.4 percent. The economy thus moved to a single-digit inflation rate after an interval of more than two decades.

The definite move to a flexible exchange rate in 1992, accompanied by the widening of the exchange rate range to 10 percent, eroded of course by definition its role as a nominal anchor for the system. Following the technique taken up by more and more European members of the OECD from proposals discussed in the academic literature, Israel adopted the so-called "*inflation target*" rule. The authority deciding on, and publicizing, that target would be, as everywhere, the government, which of course was advised by the BOI. In the summer of 1991 deliberations about the forthcoming budget were linked with the formulation of an inflation target. The BOI suggested the adoption of a multiperiod declining *inflation target*, as a signal of the long-term trend of the policy. This proposal was not accepted by the government in power, facing an election campaign by the middle of 1992. The inflation target adopted for 1992, 14–15 percent, was indeed lower than the current rates at the time of deliberations, which were in the 17–18 percent range. This target signaled that the government, and hence its budget for the forthcoming year, was bent on attempting to reduce inflation gradually. If credible, it would notify business and labor unions, households and entrepreneurs how to adapt their plans to that price signal.

Adoption of this strategy was of course a political decision influenced by the advice and prodding of the BOI to adopt a lean fiscal policy and tough inflation targets. It was the government's responsibility, subject to parliamentary approval. But the day-to-day handling of both the foreign exchange rate and domestic money and financial markets was to be the realm of the BOI. This division of labor is and was the traditional model for central banks and treasuries in the major economic powers, identified by OECD membership. The BOI charter of 1954, and circumstances specific to Israel, limited the freedom of action of the central bank, and the Treasury made the full use of the power granted to the government by law, particularly from 1970 onwards. At that time, this led to the demise of monetary policy for 15 years to come through 1985. It was the stabilization policy in 1985 that effectively gave a new lease on life to monetary policy. Its scope was gradually but persistently expanded over longish intervals, during which stringent policy was required to secure the contemporary moderate level of inflation.

The BOI could implement that policy, which among other things eliminated the "directed credit" over time, allowing, ultimately, the widening of the impact of any monetary move initiated by BOI across the board, to the whole volume of commercial bank credit, because of the neutral stance taken by the Treasury and the finance ministers of three successive governments, even though they were of rival parties. This increased significantly the efficiency of monetary policy and by the same token the clout of the central bank and of the interest rate it set to regulate the markets: the so-called BOI interest rate, a term and a concept hammered into the psyche of the financial markets by the early 1990s, and that of the public by around 1994.

The crucial point at which the BOI interest rate became headline news, as it was announced on the last Monday of the month, was late in 1994. At that time the BOI, which was already paying attention to the government's inflation target, yet focusing on the pattern of the exchanges, changed tack. It decided to focus directly on the inflation rate as its guiding principle for monetary policy, letting the rate of exchange, which could fluctuate within a significantly widened range of 14 percent (±7 percent of the targeted mid-rate), find its own level. The healthy status of the balance of payments backed up this meaningful new departure (Table 31), which put the focus of monetary policy in the next decade on the inflation rate rather than on the exchange rate. The specific occasion was highly relevant to the about-turn. Presuming that the decline of the inflation rate to 9.4 percent in 1992 suggested that it would remain near 10 percent in 1993, and assuming a reasonable state of the balance of payments, the central bank responded with a significant 4.5 percent reduction of its marginal monetary loan interest rate from 16 percent in 1991 to 11.4 percent in 1993. This, however, resulted in a zero real rate of interest at the unexpectedly higher inflation rate of 1993.

This relatively expansionary monetary policy coincided with a major wave of mass immigration, with inflows of 75–80,000 annually, and contributed to the high rate of growth – seven percent in 1994. Inflation, however, reaccelerated to an annual rate of 14.5 percent. At this rate of inflation, the BOI marginal real rate of interest on the monetary loan set early in 1994 was negative, and the inflation target for that year, set by the government in 1993 at eight percent, was well under the actual rate. The hand of the BOI's management was thus forced. At the risk of a public confrontation with the Treasury, the central bank immediately jacked up its rate by two percentage points to 13.5 percent, and kept raising that rate though 1996, by a total five percentage points. Its success in pulling inflation down to the 10 percent range, and thus within the official inflation target of 8–11 percent set by the outgoing government in 1995 for 1996 and 1997, spoke for itself. This stiff monetary policy did lead, however, to a publicized clash with the Treasury, which complained of its negative effect on the level of economic activity and the ensuing slowdown in growth that was a fact of economic life through 1999.

THE STRUGGLE FOR PRICE STABILITY. The BOI succeeded in tightening the money market and jacking up interest rates due to the novel monetary reins which it had invented and perfected in the late 1980s and 1990s: the monetary loan, which emerged in 1986–87; and the reverse of that instrument, the "fixed-term commercial banking system deposit" with the central bank, put into service in 1996. The latter was the product of the success of BOI's monetary policy, as the growing foreign confidence in the stability of the economy led to a 33 percent increase in foreign currency reserves between 1990 and 1995, and a trebling of these reserves in the next five years through 2000 (Table 31). The massive capital inflow increased the liquidity of the banking system, releasing its dependence on the BOI's monetary loans. In response, the central bank turned the tables and instead of providing liquidity to the system, it drained liquidity from it by offering them a highly competitive rate for term deposits, set in the weekly BOI auctions.

These developments increased to a very great extent the effective independence of the central bank, though not its legal status, enshrined in the 1954 BOI Law. The government, effectively the Treasury, had the legal option to prevent the implementation of the use of the monetary loan instrument when it came on line in 1985, and really took off in 1987, at which time the BOI was run by one governor; it similarly had the option to prevent the use of the fixed-term commercial bank deposit instrument when this was "invented" by a different governor in 1996. These two devices were introduced and used by four BOI governors between 1985 and 2005 to overcome the constraint which, until 2002, the Treasury had imposed by means of the Makam quota, the technically preferable instrument for open market operations. The political urgency that required the success of the stabilization policy might have been the reason why the finance minister in 1985 and 1986, or the prime minister of the day, turned a blind eye to what might have been understood by them as minor technical matters. The data for 1987, in which the outstanding monetary loan had not only expanded by four times in one year, but was already greater than the total of outstanding Makam debentures, might have drawn the attention of the new finance minister at that time. Yet even though he was presumably aware that the increasing use of that instrument by the BOI reduced the effective restrictions of the Treasury on monetary policy, he chose not to intervene. He adopted that attitude even though it was obvious that the BOI's use of that instrument was designed to circumvent the veto power of the Treasury on the scope of the BOI's open market policy by means of the Makam quota, hence on its power to affect the monetary and financial markets as a whole.

Almost a decade later, when the fixed-term bank deposit was introduced, initially as a supplement and soon effectively as a major substitute for the monetary loan instrument, it was already too late to use the legal power still available to the Treasury to prevent the introduction of that new instrument. Such a move would have led to the resignation of the BOI governor, the third in succession since the launch of the stabilization policy, and would have been considered by the international rating agencies, and so by potential foreign investors, as an attempt to turn the clock back from the strategy of pursuing price stability by opening the economy, which by 1995 was clearly experiencing an upsurge of private capital inflow. This flow was greater by seven times compared to the level of 1990 and by 17 times compared to that of 1985.

The focus on price stability as the guiding principle of BOI policy from 1994 on created growing tensions with the Treasury, supported by the political establishment, and was not popular with public opinion. The open clash of 1995–96 with the finance minister, that continued with his successor in the next government, controlled by the rival political party, is understandable in terms of the declining level of economic activity and rising unemployment to almost nine percent in 1999 (Table 29). Yet the BOI, using as its guiding principle the government's declared inflation target, which from 1993 on was in the upper single-digit range, raised its marginal interest rate by five percentage points within less than three years, between 1994 and 1996. This move succeeded indeed in reaching the price target, locking Israel's inflation rate at ten percent from 1995 through 1998, and leading the system to price stability from 1999 on.

Furthermore, though Israel's outstanding performance in 1998 – as the collapse of their currencies plunged into financial crisis first the "Asian tigers" and soon the major countries of Latin America and Russia as well – was clearly due to the measures initiated in 1994 by the BOI, this did not preclude another highly public dispute with the Treasury in 2001. It was the granting of effectively full flexibility to the exchange rate and the clear downward trend of prices toward stability that in 1998 allowed Israel to ride almost unscathed through the storm, and to be the recipient of an avalanche of capital imports in the year of the global high-tech bubble of 2000 (Table 31).

Though the admittedly quite restrictive monetary policy pursued by the BOI in the second half of the 1990s proved highly successful, this did not prevent scathing attacks on BOI policy from the finance minister and Treasury officials in 2001 as the high-tech bubble burst and economies everywhere, including Israel, experienced a decline in economic activity. In the Israeli case, this decline was smaller than in other places. It involved an absolute decline of GNP by approximately one percent in 2001, which was indeed a major contrast to the eight percent growth rate of the bubble year of 2000. The absolute decline of GDP was even worse than the frustrating three percent growth rate of the three preceding years, 1996–99, when Israel's prices stabilized. In view of the zero rate of inflation in 2000, the BOI interest rate was reduced by three percentage points in 10 steps, even though GNP growth accelerated to eight percent in that bubble year. In response to the bursting of the bubble in 2001, it was moved a further 2.4 percentage points in seven steps to an all-time low rate of 5.8 percent from December of that year.

Yet the finance minister of the new government formed at the beginning of that year mounted a public campaign against the "high-interest-rate policy" of the BOI, and even submitted a proposed bill to the government to amend the BOI Law of 1954 to revoke the power of the BOI's governor to set the central bank interest rate and give it to a committee made up of a Treasury representative and several political personalities. This proposal to erode the authority of the central bank over monetary policy was not only inconsistent with the trend elsewhere in the industrialized world, it was also inconsistent with the conclusions of the Levin Committee, whose mandate was to consider the Bank's role and recommend changes in the BOI Law. The committee's report of 1998 proposed that the BOI's management, structure, and authority be remodeled along the lines of the Bank of England and the European central banks, to increase, not erode, its independence. Price stability was to become its statutory priority.

This all-out political pressure on the governor of the bank led in December 2001 to an understanding with the prime minister that involved an immediate cut of the BOI interest rate by two percentage points to 3.8 percent. The quid pro quo was the government's consent to two proposals that had been advocated for many years by the BOI. The government agreed to the complete abolition of the exchange rate range, legally allowing it to float freely; and secondly, the government agreed finally to allow the BOI complete control over Makam bond issues, which meant the abolition of the Treasury quota. The BOI of course had its devices for circumventing the quota – the monetary loan and its reverse counterpart, the commercial bank term deposits – but these instruments were technically clumsier.

This deal, made in the last week of 2001, was in appearance a complete victory for the government; the quid pro quo items were mentioned by the media, if at all, as technicalities of minor significance. To the public it seemed that in the struggle between the central bank and the Treasury, which had the support of the political community and the media, the BOI had got the worst of it. Yet within three months, in March 2002, the BOI raised the interest rate back to 4.4 percent; in June the rate was 7.1 percent; and in July 2002, seven months after the "victory" of the Treasury, the interest rate was 9.1 percent, higher by more than three percentage points than it had been at the time of the BOI's "capitulation" in December 2001.

Nobody dared to raise his voice against these stringent moves. The reason for this change of tune by the political and business communities was the very developments the BOI had predicted would occur in response to the rapid reduction of the interest rate, even though the economy had then been in a slump. The dollar rate of exchange leapt ominously to a 34 percent an annual rate in the first two quarters of 2002, with a strong and immediate effect on prices, as would be expected in a small economy like Israel's. Prices in those two quarters rose at an annual rate of 13 percent, in contrast to the stable price pattern that had emerged from 1999 on; the inflation rates in the years 1999, 2000, and 2001 were 1.3, zero, and 1.4 percent respectively. The inflation rate in 2002 in the wake of the Treasury's "victory" of December 2001 was 6.5 percent.

Within three months, in March 2002, the governor of the BOI felt free to begin the series of major hikes that pushed the BOI interest rate to 9.1 percent. These developments suggested that the Treasury's victory had proven hollow. In view of this, the political and the business communities kept quiet, even though the moves by the central bank were highly restrictive, and did not oppose the very high nominal and real July 2002 interest rate, in an economy which was in recession.

The successive hikes in the interest rate succeeded by the summer of 2002 in stanching the outflow of funds, and thus stabilized both the exchange rate and the price level at approximately the peak they had then reached. The year-end result of what could retrospectively be described as a laboratory experiment in populist political intervention in monetary and financial policy was a bulge in the curve describing the declining pattern of inflation from 1998 on. The 6.5 percent inflation rate of 2002, in the wake of a 10 percent or so surge in the dollar exchange rate, thus proved to be only an interruption on the road of price stability, the threshold of which the economy had passed by the end of the 20th century (Table 36).

The most significant result of the 2002 learning-by-doing experiment was the clear demonstration of the BOI's effective, though not legal, independence. As of 2006 a revision of the 1954 BOI Law to put the central bank in a 21st-century legal framework similar to those of the central banks of the major economic powers is still pending.

The 2002 incident, though costly – the unnecessary leap in inflation and the exchange rate involved a real cost to the economy – earned the BOI its spurs. It demonstrated the clear benefit of the division of labor in the guidance of the macroeconomy, allowing the central bank to operate as the arbiter of the monetary dimension of the economy. This was admitted by the new finance minister who moved into the Treasury when a new government came to power in January 2003, and the international financial community, represented in a sense by the rating agencies, of course understood the incident in that the same way. The bank's new status also offered greater transparency in and credibility for Israel's surging capital market, which came into its own only in the wake of the 1985 stabilization policy and acquired world significance in the later 1990s.

Though the 1954 Bank of Israel Law had not been changed by 2006, the central bank's role in the formation and running of macroeconomic policy had nevertheless undergone a revolution originating in the 1985 stabilization policy. It was implemented in stages, as the Bank's management, run by four successive governors between 1985 and 2004, acquired more and more freedom of action to manage monetary policy according to their own reading of events at home and abroad. Wielding instruments forged between 1985 and 1995 to control the monetary base, having gradually convinced successive governments to repeal currency controls, the last vestiges of which were finally abolished in 2005, and in view of the full flexibility of the exchange rate effective from 1998 (formal agreement on which was reached only in December 2001), the independence of the central bank as the institution managing monetary policy was effectively accomplished by the first years of the 21st century. Legislation to formalize it, however, is still pending.

Furthermore, in more than one sense, the achievement of price stability was a clear reflection of the *effectiveness* of the central bank's independence. This process was inherently linked with developments in the foreign currency arena: a major structural change represented by the complete abolition of the vestiges of currency control in 2005 and the partial withdrawal of the government from the running of the pension system through privatization. The privatization of the unintentionally nationalized banks was of course a component of that structural change.

The Banking System

A CENTURY OF GROWTH AND PERFORMANCE. From its very beginning, the Jewish resettlement effort in Palestine, led by the World Zionist Organization from the last years of the 19th century, was integrally linked with banking. The establishment of the Jaffa branch of the Anglo-Palestine Corporation, later renamed the Anglo-Palestine Bank in 1903, embodied this linkage. Its legal framework as a corporation registered in England, with a London office, rooted it in conservative British banking traditions and techniques, which became the foundation of its behavior as a financial institution.

The appearance of Britain as the mandatory power after World War I led to a rapid expansion of the banking system involving major banks like Barclays and the Ottoman Bank, which opened branches in Jerusalem and were soon followed by others. In 1920 there were just five banks in Palestine, with a total of eight branches; by 1930 there were 32. The Fifth Aliyah from the early 1930s on generated a flood. In 1936, there were a record-high 75 commercial bank main offices and several also had a number of branches. To this should be added the cooperative credit societies established mostly by the Jewish labor movement, over 100 by 1936. A number of Arab banks and foreign establishments, mainly branches of British banks, also operated in Palestine. Banking, though, was on the whole mainly a Jewish affair. When an inevitable shakeup occurred in the economic downturn after 1936 through the prewar world political crisis, the very small fry, effectively all Jewish banking establishments, disappeared. By the outbreak of World War II, the number of commercial banks was down to 33, and by 1948, upon the declaration of the state, there were only 23, plus 70 local cooperative credit societies.

The major Jewish banking institutions in the Mandatory period mixed conservative English banking traditions with the continental European concept of a versatile structure, allowing them to own firms in the real sectors of the economy. This structure and practice meant that in spite of three runs on banks between 1936 and 1939 generated by the several stages of the prewar crisis, none of the major Jewish banks collapsed, even though there was no central bank to sustain liquidity in times of financial stress. And when after the second Munich Crisis of 1938 that induced the second bank run, the application of the Jewish banking community for a Palestine government guarantee for credit from major *foreign* banks was rejected, it was the flagship of Zionist finance, the Anglo-Palestine Bank, which provided the liquidity to Jewish banks at its own risk, thus preventing their collapse.

It was this historical role that led the management the Anglo-Palestine Bank (renamed Bank Leumi in 1951) to make practical moves designed to prepare the issue of an Israeli currency, even before the November 29, 1947, UN decision about partition. In the winter of 1948, months before the Declaration of Independence, the chairman of the bank, Siegfried *Hoofien, ordered banknotes from an American printer to replace the Mandatory Palestine pound. This was the Palestine pound with the mark of the Anglo-Palestine Bank. The bank also absorbed the cost of that order, though there was no commitment by the Zionist authorities before May 15, 1948, or from the Israeli government for three months after that, that it would declare these banknotes legal tender.

Yet it was this anticipatory act, whose risk was borne by the Anglo-Palestine Bank, which allowed, on August 16, 1948, the signing of a covenant between the bank and the state of Israel setting up an Issue Department as a discrete entity within the bank, authorized to issue the legal tender of the state. The availability of the new notes flown in from the U.S. allowed the immediate conversion of the Mandatory notes, a process successfully completed within one month by the end of September 1948. The emergence and acceptability of the new legal tender provided a basic requirement of the monetary system of the state of Israel, allowing an easy overnight transformation of the banking system.

There were 108 banking corporations in Israel in 1950 (Table 37), reduced to fewer than 50 in 1967, when the banking system had adjusted to the post-World War II situation and the second decade of independence. This apparently major reduction reflects mainly the process of consolidation to which the cooperative credit societies, local banking institutions mostly with single offices, had been subjected. Considerations of economy of scale and rapidly rising real wages had led to the steady absorption of these small cooperatives, mostly creations of the Histadrut, by Bank Hapoalim, the major financial institution of the labor movement; several independent credit societies were absorbed by Bank Leumi. This two-decade-long process thus concentrated the banking system into several major groupings. This is demonstrated by the share of the three largest banks in terms of their numbers of offices, employment, and deposits. Their share of the number of offices was about 14 percent in 1951 and 22 percent a decade later in 1961; their share of employees was 46 percent in 1951 and 56 percent a decade later. These three banking conglomerates held 58 percent of total deposits with the banking system in 1951 and 64 percent a decade later in 1961.

These data underline a dominant feature of the system, its oligopolistic structure, which continued to strengthen over time. This shows clearly in terms of the continuous decline in the number of banking corporations through 2004. They numbered only 40 percent of what they had in 1967, though employment in the system increased almost threefold and deposits, another measure of nominal scope, grew more than nominal GNP (Table 37). Deposits in real terms grew by more than sevenfold at an annual rate of 5.5 percent for these 37 years.

The two largest Israeli banks – giants in Israeli terms – which had absorbed the bulk of the smaller institutions, expanded much more rapidly than the third largest during the closing decades of the 20th century. Thus, in the early years of the 21st century, these banking corporations, Bank Hapoalim and Bank Leumi, held approximately 70 percent of the total deposits, and accommodated close to 80 percent of total credit to businesses, households, and public sector entities. This process apparently suggests growing monopolistic power for these institutions. However, other developments in the financial sector worked in the opposite direction from the 1990s on.

The Jewish economy of Palestine was clearly a monetary economy from the very beginning, hence the very extensive and highly solvent, liquid, and reliable banking system inherited from the Mandatory years. The high liquidity maintained by banks during World War II sustained their ability to stand the stress of the transition period of the War of Independence, even though there was no legal minimum reserve ratio, and bank supervision set up late in the 1930s was effectively in its infancy at independence. The shell of the Bank Supervision Department set up by the Mandatory government moved initially to the Treasury. When the central bank, the Bank of Israel, was established in 1954, it was moved to there. The first instructions regarding legal minimum reserves were issued in 1951, and were hardly relevant since by that time the banks maintained higher reserve ratios than those required. The rationale for government intervention on this matter reflects consideration for the safety of the banking system, but for more than a generation, between roughly 1960 and 1989, the very high reserve ratios imposed by the Supervisor of Banks were used as instruments of monetary policy, and not to sustain bank liquidity.

These very high reserve ratios had, however, a significant affect on the banking system and on Israel's financial markets. The very high reserve ratio created a large gap between credit and debit interest rates, and thus induced the creation of a (nonbank) credit graymarket, the so-called "bill intermediation market." It was designed to circumvent the legal interest rate ceiling (10 to 11 percent in the late 1960s) set under the 1957 Interest Rate Ceiling Law. It soon became a major "free" credit market, in which the commercial banks participated in the guise of intermediaries between specific lenders and specific borrowers. In the mid-1960s this grew into a major credit market, even though the legal camouflage of the "intermediation" device was quite flimsy. It took a first-instance District Court verdict that questioned the legality of the debt created by these so-called "arbitration" deals to force the Treasury to eliminate the interest rate ceiling in 1970. This also eliminated that market overnight.

A substitute for the interest rate ceiling, designed to offer cheap bank credit to preferred sectors in the form of subsidized "directed credits," was put into operation immediately. The subsidy was partially directly financed by the BOI; it had to buy a set quota of promissory notes from these privileged credit recipients at low discount rates. The commercial banks financed a greater quota of these subsidized credits in return for lower minimum reserve requirements for outstanding "directed credit" balances.

Aside from the subsidized "directed credit" tranche, the government was involved in the micromanagement of bank credits financed by the development budget. These were allocated from balances of government "deposits for credit allocation" with the commercial banks, according to government instructions, at interest rates set by the authorities. The banks acted only as administrators of these loans, for set fees.

The close involvement of public sector authorities in the workings of the banks involved the BOI's power to set minimum reserve ratios, and the supervisory responsibility of the supervisor of banks; the direct involvement of the Treasury in the provision of commercial bank credit resources; and the indirect involvement of the Treasury through its maintenance of interest rate ceilings through 1970. Different ministries participated in the allocation of "directed credit" balances and development credits to privileged business entities. The ministries of Agriculture, Trade and Industry, and Tourism were involved in determining the size and allocation of development credits. All this had a major impact on the structure of the banking system. Its oligopolistic nature, which increased over time through 1985, was undoubtedly strengthened because of it.

The growth of the economy of course required an expansion of the capacity of the banking system to offer credit accommodation. This in turn increased the claims of the system on resources. These claims can be seen in the increasing number of bank offices and rising employment in banking entities (Table 37). In the two decades from 1950 to 1970 the number of banking offices grew about fourfold: though no employment data for 1950 is available, employment grew undoubtedly at a lower rate. This clearly shows from a comparison of the number of bank offices and the employment data that could be compared for the almost four decades through 2004. Even in the pre-personal computer age, increase in the volume of banking business allowed the introduction of more and more labor-saving equipment, reducing the intensity of employment.

Nevertheless, the employment data and the ratio of banking sector employment to total employment in the economy suggest some highly interesting features the banking system had to face over time. The very rapid increase in employment from 1970 on, and its effective peak at the end of the lost decade in 1985, was a clear product of rising inflation and its acceleration to the verge of hyperinflation by early 1985. The leap in employment in the banking sector to 2.5–2.6 percent of total employment in the economy is an expression of what in the vernacular is described as the "flight from money" in periods of rapid inflation. That feature shows in the decline in the ratio of the money supply (M1) to GNP from the about 19 percent at the beginning of the lost decade in the early 1970s, to only 3.6 percent in 1985, and in its slow turnaround that year as inflation was arrested (Table 34). The process of "flight from money" occurs when there is an increase of the number of transactions per unit of production – the so-called velocity of circulation of money. In a fully monetarized economy, which Israel was by this stage, this inevitably increases the scope of banking activity over what is warranted by the growth of the economy. This rapidly rising pattern of velocity occurred in Israel even though the 1970s was a decade of computerization, and requirements for manpower were being reduced in the banking and financial sector.

The dramatic change in this situation, as seen in the decline of banking offices and employment during the two decades through 2004, while banking activity grew by more than GNP – four times in terms of deposits and credit accounts – reflects the decline of inflation-induced activity on the one hand, and technological change – the rise of the PC –on the other. The latter is demonstrated by the threefold increase in the number of automatic teller machines (ATMs) between 1985 and 2004 (Table 37).

The Bank Shares Crisis, 1983

In the 1983 Bank Shares Crisis, almost the entire banking system was nationalized, unintentionally. This incident, a highly significant occurrence in a capital market still almost in its embryonic stage in the 1980s, was effectively an expression of an approaching explosive economic crisis caused by triple-digit inflation rather than a problem of the banking system as such. There was no run on the banks, neither before the crisis climaxed, nor during the attempts to find a solution (which entailed closing the stock exchange for several weeks), nor in the aftermath following the settlement and the resumption of trading in bank shares.

The crisis originated in the policy of the large banks of manipulating the prices of their shares in the market, and figures as one of the historic accidents of both the banking system and the capital market. It exploded in October 1983, as the four major banking corporations, which represented more than 90 percent of banking activity, decided to stop "managing" the prices of their shares, a policy they had been following with success on a significant and increasing scale since 1979. The point of that process was to prevent a significant decline of the real, not just the nominal, price of these shares. This required a pool of shares managed by the banks, and the financial resources to enter into the market on the demand side when necessary. A decline in the market price of a bank's shares below the target was accordingly countered by the pool's buying up shares in the market, thus increasing the number of shares at its disposal. A rise of prices beyond the target price would be met by sales from the pool, which reduced the strain on the liquidity of the banks. As long as these price fluctuations approximately evened out within a short time, the technique did not pose a danger to the banks' liquidity position.

The policy of the banks' share pool managements was to assure rates of return on these securities similar to those of government bonds, which were price-linked – a unique advantage among investment instruments – and thus offered a significant real return. The policy was clearly successful between 1979 and 1982. The results were soon visible in the real rates of return, as well as the rising number of bank shares in the new issue market and their relative value in the secondary market, the stock exchange, where bank shares had become a popular investment vehicle even for households. Within one year, by the end of 1980, bank share prices had risen by 40 percent in real terms. Two years later, by the end of 1982, they were 140 percent higher than they had been at the end of 1979. The whole stock market rose at these inconceivably substantial rates during that time, but it was clearly the bank sector shares that led the way. This is clearly shown by the rising volume of new issues of bank stock, 74 percent of new issues in 1980. The share of the total value of bank shares traded in the secondary market, the stock exchange, was similar. The share of bank stock in the total value of the portfolio of financial assets held by the public rose to one-third by that time; it was 10 percent in 1979. This pattern of stock prices in general, and specifically of those of banks, was the result of almost a decade of high double-digit inflation and several years of triple-digit inflation. The price management of their shares by the banks contributed significantly to that process; otherwise the dollar value of their shares would not have risen by about 4.5 times within less than five years as it did. This pattern of bank share prices soon generated an increasing divergence between the dollar market value of the outstanding bank shares, and the adjusted value of the net worth of each of the share price managing banks. This ratio diverged little from unity at the end of 1978, but it had reached between 2 and 3 on the eve of the collapse of the bank shares market in the first week of October 1983.

The major macroeconomic significance of the strain in the capital market that emerged early in 1983 and the related collapse of the bank share market in October is illustrated by two figures. The outstanding value of the bank share portfolio was about one-third of GDP on the very eve of the collapse of the market. It was down to 20 percent of GDP by the end of 1983. It was only because of the direct intervention by the government, which entered the market to buy shares at a cost equal to four percent of GDP, that the price collapse was not much worse.

These orders of magnitude indicate that ownership of bank shares as financial assets was by that time popular and widespread even among ordinary households, and explain the political rationale of the attempt of the government to stem the crisis. The economic rationale for government intervention was fear that a collapse of the price of bank shares would generate a shock in the financial markets overall. This reading of the situation seemed likely given the showing in terms of major price declines of nonbanking stock since January 1983. In these circumstances a run on the banks was thought quite possible. What caused particular anxiety at the Treasury was the danger that even a minor run, which could be countered with support from the central bank if confined to domestic currency deposits, would have led to a widespread withdrawal of foreign currency deposits. Since by that time foreign currency deposits were 40 percent of total deposits with the commercial banks, this would have meant a complete exhaustion of Israel's foreign currency reserves.

The settlement, followed by an immediate reopening of the stock exchange and a resumption of trading in bank stock, committed the government to purchase bank shares offered for sale later at a minimum price of no less than 75 percent of the market price at the time trading had been stopped in October 1983. This amounted to a maximum loss of 25 percent for bank shareowners, who were able to sell immediately at market prices. For many, particularly those who purchased their shares through the end of 1982, this involved no loss at all, or at most, a much smaller loss. Nevertheless, many decided to sell at once, forcing the intervention of the BOI. The state, in other words, through the central bank, bought the banks – almost the entire banking system had been effectively nationalized. The cost to the government was high; the cost of the shares it had acquired was two to three times greater than the adjusted net worth of the banks. The settlement ended the immediate crisis in the capital market, but it had a decade-long negative effect on the propensity of people to enter the Israeli stock market.

A Revitalized Banking System, 1985–2005

Though it was the management of the major commercial banks that led to the shares crisis, the government did not even consider getting involved in running the banks. The managements stayed on, and the government, which had underwritten the value of bank shares, set up a legal structure – an empty shell of a government-owned corporation – that allowed the bank managements to run the banking system without its interference, and even to co-opt new directors if and when required. Though it took more than a decade before the sale of the first major bank, and two decades before most of the commercial banking system was reprivatized, the involvement of government and the BOI in the actual running of the system declined rapidly and significantly after the implementation of the 1985 stabilization policy. This was primarily due to the rapid elimination of the "directed credit" tranche, which excluded the involvement of the economic ministries in the allocation of bank credit, thus leaving allocation of credit resources to the discretion of the banks.

This trend gained support as the banks were allowed to reduce the highly stringent reserve ratios as these were gradually eliminated as instruments of monetary policy. This process, which was implemented between 1987, when minimum required reserve ratios were still 38 percent, and 1994, when these were down to six percent, allowed a major reduction in the "interest gap" – the difference between debit and credit interest rates. This in turn encouraged rapid growth of deposits, showing clearly in the deposit-GNP ratio in Table 37: deposits were only 5.9 percent of GNP in 1985, 8.1 percent in 1990, and 10.5 percent in 2004. The return of the public into the nonprice- (or exchange rate-) linked bank deposits supported rapid expansion of bank credit – the main business of banks. The expanding monetary loan, which was indeed used by the BOI as an instrument of monetary policy, offered nevertheless growing flexibility for the management of credit policy, since banks could acquire reserves, if they preferred to do so, in the weekly auctions of the central bank, or reduce the balance of their debt to the central bank. Furthermore, the interest rates set for these bank deals at the discount window of the central bank served as an efficient index to the cost of finance that banks would charge, or pay to debtors and depositors, respectively.

These features, and the revival of economic growth as the last decade waned, as well as increasing momentum of the 1990s' mass immigration, explain the rapid expansion of bank credit in real terms of about 11 percent annually, and the somewhat lower rate of expansion of seven percent in the 2000–04 period (Tables 34 and 35). Indeed, the 1990s were the heyday of the commercial banks. Instead of the fluctuating rates of return on capital of somewhat less than five percent in the four years through 1990, they made 7.2 percent in the first half of the 1990s, and 10.7 percent in the second half, which included the high-tech bubble year of 2000. The strong demand for credit, with the banks dominating the market, since at that time even major private firms could not yet go to the bond issue market to finance their activities, offered a bonanza to the banks. A case in point was the privatization of the largest bank in the country, Bank Hapoalim, bought in 1995 by a group of major domestic and foreign financiers. To finance a significant share of the cost of the purchase, these leading figures in the business and finance community had to apply to the second largest of the five major banking corporations, Bank Leumi, in which the government still had a controlling interest.

Indeed, the dominant position of the banks as a group in the finance market exhibited highly significant monopolistic features, owing to the size of the two largest, Bank Hapoalim and Bank Leumi, which between them were responsible for more than 60 percent of business volume. The growing impact of the banking system on the economy as a whole even as the state financial dimension of the system declined meant more restricted competition in the financial sector due to the banking oligopoly. This pattern is clearly demonstrated by the rapid decline of the share of government in commercial bank credit. It was 50 percent in 1986, just as the stabilization policy was taking effect, was down to 38 percent in 1990, and below 20 percent by 2000.

The impact of banking on the economy, however, did not result only from the banks' clout in the allocation of credit. Most institutional investors – pension funds, provident funds, and of course mutual funds – were subsidiaries of banks, run as distinct legal entities. A group of private brokers had been operating on the stock exchange for decades, but the scale of their business compared to the brokerage and other capital market facilities offered by the banks was tiny. The challenge to competition in the financial and capital markets was that the supermarket feature of the banking system, benefiting from economies of scale due to the spread of their branches across the country, handed them potential customers on a platter. This feature had been criticized already in 1986.

The committee investigating the bank share fiasco of 1983 referred to that feature in its report. Among other problems it pointed to the inherent conflict of interest involved in the dual functions of banks as owners of mutual, pension, and provident funds; for these they were marketers and sellers, while for the public – private households in particular – they were serving as investment advisors, telling them what to buy. One of the main recommendations of that committee was to require the complete divestment by banks of these entities, and also partial divestment of firms operating in the production sector of the economy. The latter reform, restricting the holding of equity in firms operating in the real sector of the economy to 20 percent of total stock, was implemented only after a decade in the mid-1990s. The recommendation on divesting financial subsidiaries was met with total resistance from the banks. The two decades since 1985 were of course the period in which the capital market really took off. The banks, which historically had funded the capital market and nurtured it through good and bad through the 1980s, felt that this reform was a challenge to their profitability and to their standing in the economy.

Their resistance thus bought them another decade as the effective moderators of the capital market. It took, of course, another committee in 2005 to recommend implementing the 1985 recommendation, before the banking system gave in by late 2005. The interesting feature in that context was that though the recommendation of the Bachar Committee allowed several years for the process of divestment, the banks, which were fighting tooth and nail in 2005 against the reform, took advantage of the boom in Israel's capital market since 2004 and almost completed the process of divestment within one year. They, of course, immediately reaped the benefit from the major capital gain, which the state of the market at that time allowed.

The Reemergence of a Capital Market, 1985–2005

The position of the banking system on the so-called Bachar Reform – named after the director general of the Treasury who chaired the 2005 Bank Reform Committee – was not affected only by profit-and-loss considerations. It reflected also an emotional aspect: the conviction of the upper and mid-level managers that the reform would exclude them from their "creation," the Israeli capital market. This was indeed started and nurtured by the banks. It first appeared in the mid-1930s in a room at the Anglo-Palestine Bank in which a very small number of securities were traded once a week. Yet even after independence, the Tel Aviv Stock Exchange, which was by that time a unique legal entity with a small membership, was of minor significance. The largest group of securities traded were government price-linked bonds with a sprinkling of rate-of-exchange-linked bonds and other bonds carrying a government guarantee, such as those of the government-owned Israel Electric Corporation and a number of similar entities.

The ups and downs of the pre-1985 stabilization policy small capital market can be traced in the rates of return columns of Table 38. The drastic decline of the market in the early 1960s shows in the rates of return on shares, which were lower by one-third in 1970 than in 1960, even though the market had been moving away from its slump in the wake of the post-Six-Day War period.

The inflation-induced upturn in the market, and its short era of glory that ended with the Bank Shares Crisis of 1983, is expressed in the more than fourfold increase of the rates of return on shares between 1979 and 1982. This explosion of the stock market pulled in its wake the government bond market in which rates of return grew correspondingly by 80 percent. The Bank Shares Crisis can be discerned in the collapse of the rate of return figures: the entry for 1985 is one-third of its level of 1982, even though the government guaranteed a floor price for bank shares. Indeed, the dismal state of the capital market in 1985 shows clearly in the government bond market, in which rates of return were at their lowest in 1985: price- (or rate-of-exchange-) linked bonds were down 15 percent compared to 1982 (Table 38).

The depressed state of the bond market during the early stages of the stabilization policy was of course also due to the highly restrictive monetary policy run by the BOI in that period. Though a quite reasonable explanation for the expert observer, what counted initially for public opinion, and particularly for the small private investor, was of course not the sophisticated explanations on the state of the economy, but the dismal experience of 1983 and its aftermath.

The post-stabilization policy period, the 1990s in particular, when the policy's success (and the new rules for fiscal and monetary policies) were finally absorbed, signified an altogether new departure for the capital market. What made the difference was of course the renewal of growth supported by the dismantling of currency control, which required two decades before it was finally completed. This process could be implemented only on the basis of the fiscal discipline pursued by the governments in office from 1985, and the rapidly increasing independence of the central bank, in the 1990s in particular, with its full commitment to price stability within a market economy.

The value of turnover data in Table 38 underlines the revival of activity on the Tel Aviv Stock Exchange, which increased by about four times by 1990, through the stabilization period and its aftermath, and the very rapid expansion of activity from the mid-1990s, when most of the currency control regulations, though not all, had faded away. The post-1995 upward surge of activity, showing an almost fivefold expansion of turnover, and corresponding rising activity in the new issue market, underline the rapidly rising scale of activity and the environment of rising real rates of return in which this occurred.

The data that best demonstrates the major turn of the tide in Israel's capital market are those reflecting the inflow of foreign investment into the economy. In 1985–90 the annual inflow was about $200–300 million annually. It gained a new lease on life after 1990. By 1995 the inflow was $2.3 billion. In 2000, the year of the high-tech bubble, it leapt to $11.5 billion. It settled down at about $6 billion a year between 2001 and 2004.

Not all of this flow was transmitted via the capital market; a portion of it was direct investment in the real sector of the economy. Yet in the late 1990s and in the 2000–04 interval about 80 percent was transmitted through this channel. The growing interest and confidence of foreigners in the Israeli capital market followed the return of the Israeli public to the capital market, after the lessons it learned in the wake of the bank shares fiasco of 1983.

The stabilization policy was the watershed that separates two altogether different environments: the scope of the capital market and, especially, its impact on and relevance to the economy. This is clearly indicated in terms of the value of turnover in the stock market, which grew by almost seven times between 1990 and 2003, responding to the gains of investors: real rates of return on shares grew on average by 9.2 percent annually, and returns in the less risky bond market were almost three percent at an annual average. Yet the clearest structural alteration in the capital market was the appearance of the corporate bond market. The capital issues columns of Table 38 indicate the appearance of this altogether new market component, which appeared before 1990 but did not really flourish until after 2000. Until 1985 corporate bonds simply could not compete with government bonds. Though government bond issues grew by 11 times since 1985, the order of magnitude of the expansion of the volume of corporate bonds is several times greater. This represents a development that affects not only the capital market, but the power of the banking system to set debit interest rates for major debtors, who had now acquired a direct entrance into the capital market.

In the new era, in which by 2005 exchange controls had been completely abolished, events in the stock exchange were to a very great extent affected by developments in the major world capital markets – New York, London, Frankfurt, and the East Asian centers. Another highly relevant feature was the process of major withdrawal of the Israeli state from the capital market. This was possible because of the small budget deficits run by the government for two decades, and by the privatization drive, which provided resources to reduce the foreign national debt to a negligible size by 2003 – smaller than the foreign exchange reserves at the disposal of the BOI. By 2002 it also involved the release of pension and provident funds from compulsory investment in nontradable government securities. This forced these major institutional investors into the private capital market. It offered an opening for the development of a corporate bond market, which for the four decades of the state through the late 1980s did not exist (Table 38).

The final major reform of the capital market, implemented late in 2005, forced on the reluctant bank system the divestment of their investment subsidiaries: pension, provident, and mutual funds, which dominated trading in the stock exchange. The move was conceived as a reform that would substantially strengthen competition in the capital market, now also subject to competition from abroad. This linkage with the world capital market was strengthened by the Israeli economy's safe passage through the world financial crisis of 1998, under the strict and restrictive management of the BOI. It made a major contribution to Israel's ratings on foreign capital markets and also to the self-confidence of its monetary management.

The Evolution of Manufacturing and the High-Tech System, 1973–2005

In the three decades from the Yom Kippur War through 2003, the manufacturing industry grew rapidly. Its product was three times greater than in the early 1970s, capital equipment grew by almost six times, and employment by 50 percent, thus involving a rapidly increasing capital intensity and rising productivity. This allowed the payment of higher real wages, which rose correspondingly by more than 70 percent (Tables 26 and 29). Indeed, the major orientation of manufacturing lines of activity on the protected domestic market still offered through the mid-1970s leeway for rising productivity due to the economics of scale. With a national product more than three times greater in the early years of the 21st century than in the early 1970s (Table 28), and a population more than two times greater (Table 14), the economics of scale, supported of course by rising capital investment, allowed even the traditional industries – textiles and clothing, food processing – to face the challenge of rising imports. More and more of these were indeed penetrating into the Israeli market after trade agreements made with the U.S. and the European Common Market (later the European Community), and also in response to the World Trade Organization agreement, which naturally also covered the exports of developing economies. The inherent feature of all of these agreements was the establishment of a requirement that customs duties, quotas, and other devices designed to protect domestic industries be gradually eliminated. This process, from which consumers benefited, generated pressure on domestic manufacturers, which had either to raise productivity and reduce costs, or phase out the production lines in which it had been engaged.

The significant growth of manufacturing as the mainstay of the production sector indicates that it succeeded in facing the changing world trade environment. This success, however, required a major restructuring. The beginnings of this had already appeared in the late 1960s and early 1970s, leading to a major development of the pharmaceutical industry (including the emergence of Teva as a brand name on the world market), and of an array of defense industries. By the late 1970s and particularly in the 1980s, these were competing in the American and European markets for major contracts in several areas of manufacturing activity: pharmaceuticals, advanced electronics, and optics. By the 1990s the Israeli defense industries had put into orbit the first Israeli-made satellite riding on an Israeli-made missile. In the 1980s there was even begun a major project to produce a fighter aircraft. Limited by the requirements of the IDF, however, the unit cost of that plane, a prototype of which was indeed produced, was too high to continue. The project was thus shelved and the costs written off.

Yet the experience of the manpower employed in that project and many other defense industry lines provided the sophisticated and highly trained personnel who soon moved into high-tech research and development. This emerged in Israel in the late 1980s and flourished in the early 1990s. It carried revolutionary developments in its wake in two areas – the high-tech industry and the capital market. Mirroring developments in California's Silicon Valley and in some major European economic powers, it took a decade before its presence was recognized.

The statistics of production and employment in the high-tech technology branches, indeed the breakdown of manufacturing industry by sub-branches, presented in Table 39 did not yet appear in the CBS Annual of 2000. The breakdown by type of industry involving high-tech is thus available only from 1994 onward. The available data nevertheless demonstrate the revolution in the structure of industry of the 1990s. Employment in manufacturing as a whole grew by only about 10 percent between 1990 and 2004. On the basis of 1994, the first year for which sub-branch statistics are available, employment in 2004, which was a year of slowdown, was even five percent lower. The rising capital intensity of manufacturing overall, and rising productivity, still allowed an increase of manufacturing product in 2004 by about one-third over 1994, and by 75 percent over 1990. Yet this performance, which reflects an average for manufacturing industries as a whole, was far off the performance of the high-tech branches. Employment in these leading branches grew by 23 percent in the decade through 2004, and product grew by almost two times, even though the high-tech bubble of the late 1990s had burst by 2000. (The effect of the burst bubble in terms of lower employment and product is quite visible in the entry for the year 2003 of Table 39.)

The other end of the manufacturing branch spectrum is visible in the textiles production figures: production in 2004 was down by 20 percent from 1994, and similar to its level in 1990. The electronics branch, on the other hand, which includes plants belonging to high- and medium-tech sub-branches, increased output by almost three times. This suggests that the shedding of labor, visible in the manufacturing industry as a whole, was effectively the dominant feature of the low-tech branches, some of which were fading out altogether – sewing workshops being the obvious example.

These developments had social consequences, as is suggested in the skill endowment columns of Table 39, which reflect human capital, and the corresponding wage ratio figures. Both the skill endowment and the high-education components of the manufacturing labor force increased substantially. This is a measure of supply and demand simultaneously. The slight reduction in the wage ratio for skilled and unskilled workers suggests that the increased demand for skilled labor was met by a substantially increased supply, reflecting the comprehensive system of extension studies offered to the Israeli labor force both at the plant and branch levels. On the other hand, the rising pattern of the ratio of wages paid to highly educated workers represents, to a very great extent, the absorption of the rising classes of university-educated students by the high-tech branches that cannot operate without them. These fields pay high salaries, based on their short-run profitability, yet apply the rules of hiring and firing, and do not abide by industry-wide agreements, which as a method of setting wage rates offer employment security too. The rising pretax and pre-transfer payments income inequality that this feature entails has become a major social and political issue in the 21st century.

This rapid rise of high-tech entities, some of which are now household brands in the United States and most industrialized countries, reflects the surfacing of a multitude of small groups of enterprising, usually quite young people with an idea, which might or might not offer a new way of doing things. These are the well-known "startups," which need risk capital. This means that venture capital firms and high-tech start-ups are in a sense Siamese twins. The success of nurturing high-tech enterprises is crucially linked to the availability of venture capitalists raised in a high-tech environment and ready to face the risks.

The availability of an exciting capital market was therefore the sine qua non for the surfacing of Israel's high-tech industry. On the other hand, the very emergence and availability of a multitude of entrepreneurial talent and a highly educated labor force contributed to the expansion of the capital market and its role in forging industrial growth. This underlines the requirement of open lines of communication on capital account transactions, allowing free mobility of foreign and domestic capital into and out of the system. The process, which on the one hand led to price stability, and on the other hand reduced, and finally eliminated, administrative restrictions on the free flow of funds was vital to the rapid expansion and success of high-tech.

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LABOR

Jewish Labor Organizations

IN THE PRE-STATE PERIOD. Since the last decades of the 19th century, a number of sporadic labor associations have arisen in agriculture and in the printing, clothing, and building trades, as well as groups limited to a particular locality or place of work. The *Teachers' Association was founded in 1903, but its aims were only partially those of a trade union. The first abiding Jewish trade union organizations in Ereẓ Israel were the two regional associations of agricultural workers founded in Galilee and Judea in 1911. In 1913 a clerical workers' union was set up. In 1919 a railroad workers' union, including both Jews and Arabs, was founded; it later took in the postal and telegraph workers.

Founding of the Histadrut. The founding of the *Histadrut, the General Federation of Labor, in 1920, was not primarily the result of the development of these early trade unions, but rather the outcome of strongly held ideas about the unity of the Jewish workers in Ereẓ Israel and their mission in the building of the country as a workers' commonwealth. *Aḥdut ha-Avodah, founded in 1919 (see Israel, State of: *Political Life and Parties), aimed at establishing one body, organized on a trade union basis, which would deal with all the interests of the workers including ideological and political activities. However, it did not achieve the support of all the workers, especially those in the *Ha-Po'el ha-Ẓa'ir party, which rejected its socialist definitions. The newcomers of the Third *Aliyah, belonging to the *He-Ḥalutz, Ẓe'irei Ẓion, and *Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir movements, who arrived in 1919 and 1920, were opposed to the authority of both Ha-Po'el ha-Ẓa'ir and Aḥdut ha-Avodah, which had set up competing labor exchanges, contracting companies, and medical services and each of which claimed to represent the workers, especially in the vital area of agricultural settlement.

Joseph *Trumpeldor's appeal (at the beginning of 1920) for the unification of the workers to deal with their common interests and the threat by a conference of ḥalutzim, which met on Mount Carmel in autumn 1920, to set up a separate workers' organization pushed the parties into agreement on the convening of a general conference of workers in December 1920. Eighty-seven delegates, representing 4,433 voters, participated. (Aḥdut-ha-Avodah had 37 delegates, Ha-Po'el ha-Ẓa'ir 26, "newcomers" 16, pro-Communist 6, and others 2.) The very fact that delegates were chosen by general elections (although they were held on a party-list system) constituted an agreement to establish a general organization, and not just an interparty coordinating body, as Ha-Po'el ha-Ẓa'ir wanted, but there was much controversy at the founding conference over the character of the organization. The leaders of Aḥdut ha-Avodah (Berl *Katznelson, Shemuel *Yavne'eli, and others) wanted to endow it with the widest possible powers in political activities, cultural affairs, and defense, while Ha-Po'el ha-Ẓa'ir, led by Yosef *Sprinzak, wanted to preserve the power of the parties. The differences were resolved by a compromise: the founding conference decided to establish the General Federation of Jewish Workers in Palestine (Ha-Histadrut ha-Kelalit shel ha-Ovedim ha-Ivriyyim be-Ereẓ Israel), which, according to its constitution "unites all workers in the country who live on the fruits of their own labor without exploiting the labor of others, for the purpose of arranging all the communal, economic, and cultural affairs of the working class in the country for the building of the labor society in the Land of Israel." With the founding of the Histadrut, the He-Ḥalutz Organization in Palestine announced its dissolution. *Gedud ha-Avodah, the Labor Legion, which had been set up in 1920 to carry out pioneering tasks on a cooperative basis, joined the Histadrut but later developed into an opposition group.

Early Activities. In the early years, the Histadrut devoted itself to creating work and encouraging immigration by building up an independent labor economy. Agricultural settlement was to be the highroad to this goal, but the shortage of national lands and public funds for the purpose, which delayed the start of the Zionist Organization's operations, pushed the workers into public works and building. The Histadrut set up an Immigration and Labor Center, which received immigrants and tried to find them work on a contract basis – groups of workers undertaking jobs and sharing the proceeds. The contracting offices which the different parties had set up before the establishment of the Histadrut were unified into the Office for Public Works and Building, which received government and other contracts. Cooperative contracting seemed the right way not only to build an independent labor economy, but also to compete in the unorganized labor market.

Within the framework of the Histadrut's Office for Public Works and Building, various subcontracting groups from different backgrounds, organized according to different principles, were formed. Some came from the youth movements and some from particular cities abroad, while other groups were organized ad hoc for the purpose of a particular job. Some worked as partnerships, while others divided up the income either in equal parts or with higher shares for the skilled workers. Some of these groups became well enough organized to be ready to establish agricultural settlements. The Histadrut was careful to keep all these groups open to new immigrants and tried to limit the advantages of the skilled workers.

In the organization of its basic units, the Histadrut gave preference to "*kibbutzei avodah*" and "*ḥavurot*" (collective work groups), which undertook subcontracting jobs, the urban cooperatives, which were regarded as stages on the road to an independent workers' economy, and trade union organizations, which were seen as a correlative to the capitalist economy. Of the trade unions themselves, the Histadrut favored those set up on an industrial, rather than a narrow craft basis, despite the very small scope of industrial enterprise at the time. The industrial basis was regarded as a safeguard against separatist tendencies among the skilled workers and as training for the running of industries in the future. In accordance with this policy, a National Union of Public Works and Building Employees was established in 1922; it was also intended to exercise democratic control over the Office of Building and Public Works. There was opposition to this policy from the skilled workers, as well as from the Communists and other left wing adherents, who regarded the building of a workers' economy as utopianism and exploitation of the workers. Bank ha-Po'alim (the Workers' Bank), which was founded in 1921, was intended to be the credit institution for the Office of Public Works and for the contracting groups; its long-range goal was to help to build the independent labor economy. The basic capital of LP 50,000 was invested by the Zionist Organization, which bought the founding shares. A Histadrut delegation which went to America to raise money from the half million Jewish workers there in the summer of 1922 did not succeed in its mission, due to anti-Zionist opposition. The supply organization, Hamashbir, which furnished the workers of the Office with consumer goods on credit, was also included within the framework of the Histadrut. Medical aid was provided by Kuppat Ḥolim (the Workers' Sick Fund), which had been founded in 1913, split in 1919, and was reformed.

Labor Economy versus Class Struggle. At the Second Convention of the Histadrut, which took place in February 1923, the debate between the advocates of the independent labor economy and those who defended purely trade union interests continued. The former view was favored by the great majority of the 130 delegates, representing 6,581 voters. Aḥdut ha-Avodah, which had 69 delegates, more than half the total, regarded it as a Palestinian form of the class war and Ha-Po'el ha-Ẓa'ir, with 36, as the Jewish national way to the building of a people's socialism and a just society. The left-wing opposition, on the other hand, argued that this was "the socialism of poverty" and demanded a class-war policy which would assume the evolution of a capitalist economy and the adaptation of the immigrants to its existence. At that conference, the Histadrut completed its constitution and decided to join the Trade Union International in Amsterdam, against the opposition of the left, on the one hand, and Ha-Po'el ha-Ẓa'ir – which opposed all international ties – on the other.

From 1922 to 1927 the policies of the Histadrut, under the vigorous leadership of David *Ben-Gurion, were guided by three central principles: the building of the Land of Israel as a socialist economy under workers' control; maximum economic self-sufficiency, the workers supplying their own needs in order to accumulate capital; and the syndicalist idea of identity between management and labor. These aims found expression in the legal-economic framework set up by the Histadrut to safeguard its social principles and run the labor enterprises which were under the control of the workers. *Ḥevrat ha-Ovedim, the General Cooperative Association of Jewish Labor in Palestine, which was identical in membership with the Histadrut and the legal owner of its assets, ensured its influence in its subsidiary companies by means of founders' shares. One of the subsidiaries was Nir, the Cooperative Society for Agricultural Settlement, which was established to control and develop the workers' agricultural settlements, and to whose members its shares were sold. A second was *Solel Boneh, the Cooperative Society of Jewish Workers for Public Works, Building, and Industry. By means of preference shares without voting rights, the two companies were able to raise external capital.

The grandiose plans of Ḥevrat ha-Ovedim, which was licensed by the authorities in 1924, were only partially realized, however. Solel Boneh over-expanded its activities in order to give as much employment as possible and went bankrupt in 1927; its failure caused difficulties for Hamashbir, which had given it credit in kind. The Zionist Organization did not recognize Nir as the representative of the agricultural settlements in signing contracts, and there was also internal criticism of excessive control over the individual settlements. For all practical purposes the Histadrut remained in control only of its central institutions, and not of the cooperatives or the communal settlements. During the economic recession of 1923, large-scale public works were stopped, investment and credit were severely limited, and unemployment rose to 1,500–2,000. These developments increased the Histadrut's responsibilities in the distribution of work and assistance, and its leadership proposed the building of the economy by the workers' own resources as a defense against the retreat from Zionism. The planting of tobacco in the villages marked an improvement in the employment situation in 1924. The idea of moving to the countryside suited the aspirations of many workers at that time, and collective contracting groups began to form in the villages. Later on, in 1925, the urban employment situation picked up with the beginning of the Fourth Aliyah.

The leaders of the Histadrut regarded the building of a workers' commonwealth as first and foremost a question of agricultural settlement. There were still groups of workers – some of them formed before World War I – that had been supported by the Palestine Office of the Zionist Organization and wanted to settle on the land. The decisions of the London Conference in 1920 favoring settlement on Jewish National *Fund land by self-employed farmers or groups suited the principles of the workers. The Histadrut represented the candidates for settlement in contacts with the Zionist institutions, which left the choice of the social form of each settlement up to the settlers themselves. Gedud ha-Avodah adopted the idea of the "large commune" conceived by Shelomo *Lavi. Workers' groups from the youth movements or from particular cities also formed collective settlements. Some workers formed organizations for cooperative smallholders' settlements (moshavei ovedim). Groups of all these types settled in the Jezreel Valley in the early 1920s.

In 1923 *En-Harod, the first "large" kibbutz, split away from Gedud ha-Avodah in a dispute over economic autonomy, and in 1927 formed the *Ha-Kibbutz ha-Me'uḥad (United Kibbutz) movement. In the same year *Ha-Kibbutz ha-Arẓi (Countrywide Kibbutz) of Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir settlements was founded. Gedud ha-Avodah split; some of its members became Soviet-oriented communists and left the country for the U.S.S.R., while the others joined Ha-Kibbutz ha-Me'uḥad. The kibbutz movements represented their settlements in dealing with the Histadrut, while the latter's Agricultural Center presented to the Zionist Organization on behalf of the settlers matters dealing with priorities in allocation of land, budgeting, and development of various branches of farming. It also protected the social structure of the settlements – especially in periods of economic difficulty, mediated in disputes between settlements, and looked after agricultural training – especially of women in special training farms. In 1926 it founded an Office for Agricultural Contracting.

Organization in the Cities. Despite the emphasis on the building of an independent agricultural economy, the Histadrut did not neglect job opportunities in the cities. It set up labor exchanges which fixed conditions and priorities for applicants for employment. With the development of industry, in addition to building, and the creation of regular jobs, the trade unions began to develop at the expense of the labor communes of the earlier period. The idea of combining the labor commune with workers' neighborhoods and small auxiliary farm plots or other forms of cooperative economy was not realized on a large scale. The Jewish National Fund did not supply the land, nor the Zionist institutions the funds, for this purpose. The independent workers' economy was limited for the most part to the countryside. Despite the absence of legislation or regulation and the competition of cheap labor, the Histadrut gained many achievements, including recognition of its right to represent the workers in collective bargaining, the conclusion of wage agreements, and the beginnings of social benefits. On the question of allocation of work only through the labor exchanges, the Histadrut ran into opposition from religious workers who did not belong to it (some of whom formed *Ha-Po'el ha-Mizrachi in 1923) and employers who, on one occasion, in 1925, announced a lockout. These conflicts brought on the intervention of the British police. The Va'ad Le'ummi tried to mediate on behalf of the *yishuv*, but ran into difficulties, partly because of the absence of a representative employers' organization. The main Histadrut institution in the towns was the local labor council, which, in practice, set up the various trade unions and coordinated the activities of the other Histadrut institutions in the locality. Elections to the councils were held on a personal basis, which led to complaints of discrimination from the smaller parties, and at the Third Convention proportional representation was introduced.

The ramified activities of the Histadrut swelled the size of its staff and led to complaints of bureaucracy. To bridge the gap between members and officials, the family wage system, under which all the Histadrut's employees were paid on the same scale, wages depending only on whether the official was married and the number of his children, was adopted at the Second Convention. Breaches of the system in the direction of professional scales were condemned at the Third Convention, and a watchdog committee was set up.

Despite its very limited funds, the Histadrut did not abandon its activities in the field of education and culture, which were conducted both by central institutions and local branches with the idea of creating a "workers' culture." These activities included instruction in Hebrew, publications, libraries, theater (see *Ohel), periodical literature, and, from 1925, the daily newspaper *Davar. From 1923 an autonomous "workers' trend" in the Hebrew educational system began to take shape. To overcome the effects of the split in the Jewish labor movement in the Diaspora, the Histadrut tried to set up an organization which would unite all groups supporting labor in Palestine, and the Labor Palestine Committee was founded in 1923. The Palestine Workers' Fund (Kuppat Po'alei Ereẓ Israel – Kapai), which had been founded before World War I by the World Union of *Po'alei Zion, was transferred to Histadrut authority in 1927.

New Policies After the Third Convention. The Histadrut's membership grew more rapidly than the economy as a whole, or even than the number of workers, but it did not succeed in taking in the religious workers: a section of Ha-Po'el ha-Mizrachi joined in 1925 but left again in 1927. The growth of the Histadrut was noticeable at its Third Convention, which took place in 1927, at the height of an economic crisis, when it had 22,500 members – a fivefold increase since 1920, though the Jewish population of the country had only doubled in the period. The majority of the membership, nearly 70%, was urban. Of the 201 delegates, Aḥdut ha-Avodah had an absolute majority with 108, and Ha-Po'el ha-Ẓa'ir had 54.

Communist influence made itself felt, mainly among the unemployed, and the Zionist parties combated it not with the ideal of an independent workers' commonwealth, but by a many-sided policy of activating all public and economic factors. The Histadrut leadership called on the Mandatory Government to adopt a policy of aid and encouragement to agriculture and industry, and urged the Zionist Organization to conduct its settlement activities with a view to establishing productive enterprises. The advantages of private capital investment were recognized, and willingness was expressed to conclude collective agreements on working conditions. The economic institutions of the Histadrut were reorganized, maintaining their autonomous character, and a Control Commission was set up. The convention defined its policy towards Arab workers as the establishment of autonomous trade unions allied with the Histadrut in a federation to be called the Alliance of Palestinian Workers (Berit Po'alei Ereẓ Israel). In view of the economic crisis and the financial retrenchment carried out by the Zionist Organization, the Histadrut leadership agreed in the late 1920s to the enlargement of the *Jewish Agency, in the hope of raising larger sums for agricultural settlement, and decided to seek a more influential role in the Zionist Organization.

In 1928 the employment situation began to improve and there was a shift in the structure of the economy, followed by a change in the structure of the Histadrut. The leading source of employment was no longer building, but large national industrial enterprises like the electric station at Naharayim, the Dead Sea Works, and the Athlit quarries. About 20% of the workers employed in building Haifa port were Jewish. There was development in medium-sized industries, handicrafts, services, and particularly transportation. Many found employment in the large citrus-based moshavot. The 1929 Arab riots also had the effect of increasing the use of Jewish labor, even if only for a short period. As a result, the Building Workers' Union decreased in size, and trade unions based on regular membership and more skilled workers developed. There was an improvement in labor relations and efforts were made to sign collective agreements.

The Histadrut intensified the struggle for Jewish labor in the moshavot, despite the opposition of the left wing (Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir and Left Po'alei Ẓion) who were against the demand for 100% Jewish labor; a Histadrut company for agricultural contracting (Yakhin) was set up. The workers in the villages for the most part regarded hired labor only as a stage on the way to independent settlement; some of them organized themselves into groups ready to set up kibbutzim or moshavim. The Jewish National Fund bought land in the Kishon region and the citrus areas for the scheme to settle 1,000 wage-earners' families on the land (Hityashevut ha-Elef; see Israel, State of: *Aliyah, Absorption, and Settlement, section on Settlement). As the *Keren Hayesod's funds were not sufficient, these settlements were financed partly by workers' savings and partly by Histadrut investment, in the main through the Nir Company. The Histadrut's Agricultural Center determined the order of priority for settlement, had a say in the apportionment of land, and exercised a considerable degree of authority.

Expansion of Activities and Influence. In the early 1930s the Communist challenge to the Histadrut, which had been based on unemployment and the failure to develop an independent socialist economy, weakened. *Mapai, the Palestine Labor Party, founded in 1930 by the unification of Aḥdut ha-Avodah and Ha-Po'el ha-Ẓa'ir, was supported by some 80% of the membership, and there was no longer any large opposition party. The minority parties, Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir and Left Po'alei Ẓion, concentrated on the demand for class militancy in the *yishuv* and in the Zionist movement, and for closer cooperation with the Arab workers. The leadership rejected any limitation of Jewish workers to skilled occupations and stood firmly on the need to penetrate all branches of the economy, state and private Jewish. In the Jewish-owned economy it demanded the employment of Jewish labor only, as the Arab workers had ample scope in the governmental services and also in Arab enterprises which were closed to Jews.

The Histadrut was strengthened by the immigration of members of Ḥe-Ḥalutz, which, since its Third Convention in Danzig, regarded itself as a source of reinforcements for the ranks of labor in Palestine. The growing influence of the Histadrut parties in the Zionist Organization had the effect of increasing immigrant quotas and allocations for agricultural settlement. Opposition to the status of the Histadrut in the *yishuv* in those years came from the Revisionist workers' organization, *Histadrut ha-Ovedim ha-Le'ummit, the National Labor Federation, founded in the spring of 1934, which opposed the integral character of the Histadrut and its control over labor exchanges and job opportunities. The Histadrut leadership rejected all demands for the limitation of its all-inclusive character, and was ready to agree in principle to a labor exchange not exclusively run by the Histadrut only on condition that a single body would be responsible for the organized allocation of work, and that the Histadrut's influence in the representation of the workers not be weakened. In the early 1930s there were violent clashes over these controversies. In the autumn of 1934 Ben-Gurion and Vladimir Jabotinsky, the Revisionist leader, reached agreement on avoidance of violence and the regulation of the relations between the two federations, but the agreement was rejected by a Histadrut referendum. The development of joint labor exchanges began in the second half of the 1930s and continued all through the 1940s, ending only with the establishment of state labor exchanges in independent Israel.

Despite the contraction of the Histadrut's comprehensive economic ambitions, it continued, with some success, to strengthen the labor-owned enterprises, although most of the Jewish sector of the economy was based on private capital. The labor economy was reorganized in 1924–34 according to directives laid down at the Third Convention. These demanded that the economic institutions be put on a sound financial basis; that each enterprise operate on a scale appropriate to its own economic, financial, and organizational capacity; that a regularly constituted authority should be developed for each enterprise, participating in its management and responsible for the economic consequences of its activities; and that each enterprise have complete internal financial autonomy within the framework of the overall authority and control of Ḥevrat Ovedim.

Contracting ceased to be the central branch of the labor sector. Solel Boneh was replaced by a Public Works Center under the control of the Histadrut Executive Committee, while contracting offices were set up under the local labor councils. Solel Boneh was reestablished in 1935 and absorbed the local contracting offices between 1937 and 1945. Some of its veteran employees were granted permanent status and special privileges. Bank ha-Po'alim expanded its turnover and capital through deposits and sale of shares. In 1926 Tnuva was established to market agricultural produce and took over the sales department of Hamashbir. It was divided into regional branches – Haifa, Tel Aviv, and Jerusalem – and was under the control of the settlements that sold their produce through it. In 1928 the Cooperative Center was founded to organize the cooperatives in manufacturing and crafts, transport, and other services; the transport cooperatives were particularly successful, but Histadrut control was fairly lax. In 1930 Hamashbir was reorganized as Hamashbir Hamerkazi, a cooperative wholesale society with defined functions, and was placed under the authority of the kibbutz movement and consumers' cooperatives in the towns and moshavim. A Housing Center was set up in 1930 with all its shares held by Ḥevrat Ovedim. In 1935 it became Shikkun, Workmen's Housing Ltd. It represented tenants' cooperative societies in their dealings with the Jewish National Fund, acquired and developed land, and prepared building plans. The building was done on public land and the apartments were cooperatively owned.

Problems of Prosperity. Between 1927 and 1933 the proportion of urban to rural workers shifted to the advantage of the countryside: the percentage of town workers fell during the period from 70% to 56.9%. The period of prosperity from 1933 to 1935 increased the demand for labor and stepped up wages, but led to developments which the leadership regarded as dangerous and incompatible with labor principles: for example, the renewed concentration of workers in the building trade and in the cities, with a decline in economic activity in the rural areas; employment of hired labor by cooperatives and contracting groups; letting and selling of apartments built with public funds at inflated market prices. There were complaints about the rise of a privileged bureaucracy, isolated from the public it served. All of these questions were taken up at the Fourth Convention of the Histadrut in 1933–34. The number of Histadrut members had risen to 33,815; 22,341 participated in the elections. Of the 201 delegates, 165 belonged to Mapai. The Histadrut leadership regarded the expansion of the labor market through private capital investment and increased demand as a desirable but economically unstable phenomenon, while the status of hired labor (as against labor economy) and the rise in workers' consumption were seen as socially undesirable. It was believed that the Histadrut should concentrate its efforts on stepping up savings during the period of prosperity in order to invest the proceeds in the building of an independent workers' economy, especially in agriculture. Since 1928 the Histadrut had been trying to build up its own credit facilities for agricultural settlement by selling shares in Nir. In 1934 it was decided to reorganize Nir as a limited company in order to secure funds from the private market.

The emphasis on increasing immigration and work on the land brought a renewed struggle for the employment of Jewish labor in the moshavot and citrus groves. The Histadrut called on the workers to go to the villages despite the higher wages in the towns, and demanded that the grove owners provide them with employment. Efforts by the Zionist Organization to mediate did not help very much, but the outbreak of the 1936 Arab riots completely changed the situation. Under Katznelson's leadership, the Histadrut began to widen its cultural activities and its work among the youth, laying greater emphasis on its ideological character. In 1934, after Ben-Gurion had joined the Jewish Agency Executive, he was succeeded as secretary-general by David *Remez.

Enhanced Role in National Leadership. The Arab revolt of 1936, which transformed the life of the *yishuv*, also had an important influence on the activities of the Histadrut. Its political and communal activities widened: it had a political office in London to foster relations with the British Labor Party and the Trade Union International, and its representatives gave evidence before the Peel Commission. In its political appearances the Histadrut attacked the Communist interpretation of the Arab revolt as the uprising of an oppressed people against colonialist domination, emphasizing the progressive structure of the new Jewish society and the economic advantages accruing to the Arabs from Jewish settlement. Its support, as a workers' organization, for increased immigration, despite unemployment, was of great importance.

In the Jewish community itself, the Histadrut used its moral authority and its organizational and economic resources to strengthen the defense of the settlements and road communications, but it opposed retaliation against Arab civilians as practiced by the "dissident" underground organization *Irgun Ẓeva'i Le'ummi (IẒL). In the united *Haganah (defense) organization, which was based from 1937 on parity between labor and non-labor, the Histadrut represented the labor sector. Its authority over the pioneering and settlement organizations made it a leading factor in the establishment of the stockade and *watchtower settlements, while members of He-Ḥalutz and the Histadrut took the initiative in setting up the organization for clandestine *"Illegal" immigration. Although more men had to be employed in defense – as policemen and watchmen and in building fortifications – 1936–40 was a period of recession and unemployment. Building activity slowed down and the demand for labor fell, despite the growth in citrus cultivation. The Histadrut established a Work Redemption Fund to which every worker contributed several days' pay to support the unemployed. Public works were started through public companies established in partnership with the Jewish Agency. Expansion into new fields, such as fishing and shipping, was encouraged. In that period the organizational structure of the Histadrut was strengthened. In 1937 it introduced the "unified tax" – a single membership fee to cover the cost of organization, mutual aid, and health services – thus integrating trade union membership with membership of Kuppat Ḥolim.

In the late 1930s, the Mapai leadership tried to achieve unity with Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir and its urban partner, the Socialist League, hoping to avoid ideological and political controversies that would weaken the Histadrut's capacity for common political action. The ideological conflicts were already too deep, however. Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir regarded the Histadrut as an organization dedicated to the class struggle and refused to accept national authority in labor affairs. It wanted to establish joint Arab-Jewish trade unions and believed that the Zionist goal could be achieved by class partnership with the Arab workers in the framework of a binational state, which would accept the Zionist demand for free immigration. It also developed a leftist orientation in international affairs. It strongly opposed any ideological or cultural activity on the part of the Histadrut. Although the Histadrut had established a publishing house, Am Oved, in addition to its daily organ, *Davar*, Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir set up its own publishing house, Sifriyyat ha-Po'alim, and newspaper *Al ha-Mishmar*.

The period of World War II presented the Histadrut with difficult problems, both as a labor organization and as a Zionist body. At the beginning of the war period, the employment situation worsened because of a decline in investment and building, a shortage of raw materials and industrial goods, and marketing problems, especially in citrus. In November 1939 there were 18,000 unemployed; in January 1941 there were still more than 10,000. Only in 1941 did the tide begin to turn, owing to recruitment to the armed forces, which reduced the numbers looking for work, and increased economic activity, first in building army camps, bridges, and fortifications, and later in the economy as a whole. The scarcity of imported goods created favorable conditions for the development of local agriculture and industry, while the British Middle East Supply Center regulated the supply of raw materials.

The war situation changed the character of trade union activities. In 1943 the Mandatory government issued a decree forbidding strikes and introducing compulsory arbitration. The rise in the cost of living made it necessary to adjust wages, which were linked to the cost-of-living index. During these years the trade unions achieved seniority payments, annual vacations, and employers' contributions to Kuppat Ḥolim for their members. Trade-union negotiations became more centralized, with the development of larger enterprises and the growth of the Manufacturers' Association. The trade unions developed in different directions and along flexible lines on countrywide industrial and craft foundations; in all cases care was taken to preserve the authority of the center over the sectional organizations.

The Zionist character of the Histadrut and its organizational and economic power made it the center for discussion and decisions on the *yishuv*'s war effort. The Histadrut supported enlistment in the British army, with emphasis on the defense of Palestine by Jewish units. The entry of the Soviet Union into the war, in June 1941, overcame the hesitations of some of the pro-communist groups about the war. The Histadrut's control over the labor market made it easier for it to put pressure on those who shirked enlisting. It also agreed to demands, strongly supported by the left groups, to recruit members for the Haganah and the *Palmaḥ. The kibbutzim and other settlements were put at the disposal of these units as places of work and bases for military exercises. The Histadrut also developed and encouraged independent activity in the rescue of European Jewry and "illegal" immigration.

The great possibilities for marketing and investment during the war increased the strength of the Histadrut's economic sector, whose long-range aims had been curtailed since 1927. Initiative, technical and management capacity, and capital, which had accumulated in the contracting and supply companies, were invested in industry. Enterprises were also set up in partnership with private capital on a 50–50 basis. At first Solel Boneh and Hamashbir took up branches closest to their own field of operations – building materials and food products – and then expanded into other areas. The management of the enterprises became more and more independent of the central institutions of Ḥevrat Ovedim, and the Histadrut's control over the cooperative sector was weakened. Efforts to renew Nir ha-Shittufit to take the initiative in labor settlement did not succeed: the kibbutz movements preferred their own separate funds. On the other hand, the Histadrut's credit and social insurance institutions developed successfully.

Controversies and Splits. The war period created political and ideological problems which led to disagreements and splits in the Histadrut. In the elections to the Fifth Convention in 1941, 88,198 members voted out of the total eligible membership of 105,663. Out of 392 delegates, Mapai had 278 and Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir and the Socialist League 77. A non-socialist group, *Ha-Oved ha-Ẓiyyoni, returned 14 delegates. At the convention, which met in 1942, there were outstanding differences between the left, which believed that Zionism might be realized with the support of world Communism, and the majority in Mapai, which stood first and foremost for the enhancement of the *yishuv's* own strength. The definition of Zionist aims in the *Biltmore Program (1942), which demanded the establishment of Palestine as a Jewish commonwealth, sharpened the controversy. Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir continued to support the binational solution and the disagreement came to a head over the question of the instructions to be given to the Histadrut delegation to the conference of the World Federation of Trade Unions, in which the Soviets participated, in 1945. These controversies weakened the Histadrut's capacity for political action, but it was united in its opposition to the 1939 White Paper and to the "dissident" underground organizations (IẒL and *Loḥamei Ḥerut Israel).

Both prewar unemployment and wartime prosperity aroused tensions within the Histadrut over such matters as the relations between workers and unemployed, hired labor in the contracting companies and the cooperatives, and conflict between the bureaucracy and the membership. In 1944 Mapai split, and a minority group, Siah Bet (B Faction), later Ha-Tenu'ah le-Aḥdut ha-Avodah, adopted an independent stance in the Histadrut. It called for more "class independence" and opposed Ben-Gurion's program, which had been followed since the beginning of the 1930s, of emphasizing the Histadrut's leading role in the *yishuv* and the Zionist movement, even to the extent of giving up separate labor activities.

The elections to the Sixth Convention in 1944, in which 106,420 of the 151,860 eligible voters participated, showed that Mapai still had a majority, though a much reduced one: 216 out of the 401 delegates. Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir and Left Po'alei Zion had 83 delegates, Ha-Tenu'ah le-Aḥdut ha-Avodah 71, and Aliyah Ḥadashah, a new non-socialist group (mainly immigrants from Germany and Austria) and Ha-Oved ha-Ẓiyyoni 12 each. The Mapai leadership tried to win greater support among the urban workers and achieved a decision to set up national unions of factory, transport, and building workers, in addition to the existing national unions of agricultural, clerical, engineering, railroad, and postal workers. They also tried to reduce the influence of the left-wing parties on the pioneering and youth movements in the Diaspora and succeeded in getting the Histadrut to decide on a united pioneering movement under its sponsorship. The period between the end of World War II and the War of Independence was not, as some had feared, one of economic depression. Investment capital and increased consumption raised the demand for labor and enhanced the power of the Histadrut. During the struggle against British rule and the War of Independence, the economic and organizational strength of the Histadrut provided a solid basis for the military strength of the Haganah.

[Israel Kolatt]

IN INDEPENDENT ISRAEL – 1948–70. The achievement of independence obviously necessitated a reconsideration of the role of the Histadrut in national life. Some thought that the State could now perform most of the functions the labor movement had assumed during the Mandatory period and that the Histadrut should become purely a trade-union body, dealing only with wages and working conditions. The great majority of its leading members, however, believed that it should continue to combine the defense of the workers' standard of living with the provision of social services, the building of a labor economy, and cultural activity. According to this view, which was held by Mapai and Mapam (founded in 1948 by the union of Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir, Left Po'alei Zion, and Aḥdut ha-Avodah), its centralized structure must be preserved in order to prevent particularist tendencies and exorbitant claims by pressure groups, to influence the allocation of the labor force to those places and trades in which it was required by national needs, and to mobilize public capital and labor potential in development areas which did not attract private enterprise.

In an address to the Eighth Convention of the Histadrut in 1956, David Ben-Gurion expressed this view:

During the period of the British Mandate, the Histadrut fulfilled governmental functions in the consciousness of a historic function and in the absence of Jewish governmental organs. On the founding of the state, the continuation of these functions is a superfluous burden on the Histadrut and a serious injury to the state… The Histadrut is not a rival or competitor of the state, but its faithful helper and devoted support. The labour movement, therefore, has a dual additional aim after the rise of the state:

(a) to mold the character of the state and make it fit to carry out to the full the mission of national and social redemption, and to strengthen and organize the workers for this purpose; and

(b) to initiate pioneering activities in the educational, economic, and social spheres which cannot be carried out by compulsion, law, and the governmental machine alone.

Thus, while the Histadrut's school system and the labor exchanges it ran in cooperation with the other labor federations were taken over by the state, the labor economy in agriculture, industry, and services, and social-welfare agencies, such as Kuppat Ḥolim and the provident and pension funds, were considerably expanded. At the same time, the Histadrut continued to carry out its trade-union functions, coordinating the wage claims and policies of the various sections and reorganizing its structure by establishing additional national trade unions. In several of the enterprises for which it was jointly responsible together with the Jewish Agency, such as the *Mekorot Water Corporation and *Zim Israel Navigation Company, the government supplied a steadily increasing share of the development capital and took over a larger part of the control.

The membership of the Histadrut has risen much faster than the growth of the population: from 133,140 (not counting housewives) at the beginning of 1948 to 448,390 in 1958 – 68% of the labor force – and 722,249 in 1969 – 78% of the labor force. Together with housewife members, the total grew from 180,600 in 1948 to 988,207 in 1969. The "population" of the Histadrut (including members' families) increased sixfold during the same period: from 267,912 to 1,631,607; with the religious labor federations, the total was 1,827,300 in 1969 – 64.4% of the country's population.

Political Forces in the Histadrut. In the elections to the Seventh, Eighth, and Ninth conventions of the Histadrut, held in 1949, 1956, and 1960, Mapai kept its absolute majority with 57.6%, 57.4%, and 55.43% of the total vote. In 1949, Mapam had 34.43%, and when Aḥdut ha-Avodah seceded from it, the two left-wing parties together had 27.15% in 1956 and 30.95% in 1960. There was thus no serious challenge to the traditional view of the Histadrut's structure and functions, which was supported by all three parties. The small Ha-Oved ha-Ẓiyyoni (Progressive) and General Zionist Workers factions, which were in favor of limiting the Histadrut's activities, obtained less than 9% of the votes between them at their peak and, although represented in the federation's executive organs, had little influence on its policies. Mapam, Aḥdut ha-Avodah, and the Communists (who rose from 2.63% in 1949 to 4.09% in 1956 and dropped again to 2.80% at the Ninth Convention), however, hindered Mapai's efforts to ensure wage restraint by proposing higher rates of increase than the majority thought practicable and conducting sporadic agitation among the workers outside the framework of the Histadrut's governing institutions.

At the Tenth Convention, in 1966, there were three new features in the political set-up. Mapai joined with Aḥdut ha-Avodah to form the Alignment (Ma'arakh), which gained only a bare majority, 50.87%. *Rafi, which had broken away from Mapai under Ben-Gurion's leadership, also contested the elections, gaining 12.13%. Perhaps the most significant new departure, however, was the *Ḥerut Movement's decision to take part in the Histadrut elections despite its close association with the *Histadrut ha-Ovedim ha-Le'ummit, National Labor Federation, to which many of its members belonged. Together with its Liberal partners in the Ḥerut-Liberal Bloc (*Gaḥal), it formed the Blue-White Workers' Association (Iggud Ovedim Tekhelet-Lavan), which emerged as the second-largest group with 15.21%, Mapam (without Aḥdut ha-Avodah) obtaining 14.51%. However, Rafi, although many of its members believed in the absorption of Kuppat Ḥolim into a state health service and were not very enthusiastic about the labor economy, did not press its views; at the beginning of 1968 it merged with Mapai to form the *Israel Labor Party and thus joined the Alignment.

All the country's political parties, except the religious ones, took part in the elections to the 11th convention in 1969, at which the Israel Labor Party combined with Mapam in a more comprehensive Alignment, obtaining 62.11% of a reduced poll. The Ḥerut-Liberal Bloc increased its strength to 16.85%, and the Independent Liberals (formerly Ha-Oved ha-Ẓiyyoni) improved to 5.69%, while Ha-Oved ha-Dati, which had formed a part of the 1965 Alignment, gained 3.06% and the two Communist lists 4.04% between them. The presence of representatives of the Free Center, a splinter group which had broken away from Ḥerut (1.99%) and Ha-Olam ha-Zeh (1.33%) reinforced the Gaḥal challenge to the leadership – without, however, undermining the Alignment's control.

The post of secretary-general of the Histadrut, which is one of major influence in national affairs, was held by a succession of personalities of ministerial caliber: Pinḥas *Lavon (1949–51 and 1956–59), Mordekhai *Namir (1951–56). Aharon *Becker (1959–70), and Yiẓḥak *Ben-Aharon (from 1970). The last belonged to the Aḥdut ha-Avodah wing of the Israel Labor Party; all the others were members of Mapai.

The Labor Economy. The labor economy expanded rapidly during the first decade of the state, the numbers employed rising from 60,000 in 1949 to 174,000 in 1960, i.e., from about 6% to 9% of the population and almost 25% of the labor force. During the second decade, its growth was slower: in 1969 it employed 215,000, about 22% of the labor force; there were plans, however, for a renewed drive in the field of industry. Labor enterprises thus played a notable part in the provision of employment for new immigrants. In agriculture there was a considerable increase in the number of kibbutzim and an even larger one in the moshavim, the numbers employed in Histadrut agriculture rising to 74.7% of the national total in 1968. The Histadrut also played a large part in establishing industries in the new villages and towns and in extending transport, marketing, and shopping services to the development areas, especially in the early years, before government incentives to private industry began to take effect. Its role was conspicuous in construction, road building and other public works, harbor expansion and construction, and the extension of the area under citrus, previously the preserve of the private farmer, in which the share of the labor settlements grew to about 50%. *Solel Boneh, the biggest Histadrut enterprise, was reorganized in 1958, despite some opposition, on the initiative of Pinḥas Lavon. It was divided into a Building and Public Works Company, with over 22,000 employees and a turnover of IL 462,000,000 in 1969, an Overseas and Harbors Works Company, operating in Africa, Asia, and the Middle East, with a turnover of IL 138,000,000, and Koor, an industrial holding company, with factories employing 12,000 and a turnover of IL 700,000,000. *Tnuva, which handles over two-thirds of all farm produce and is increasingly active in exports, had a turnover, counting subsidiary food industries, of IL 690,000,000 in 1969. Hamashbir Hamerkazi had about 550 affiliated cooperative enterprises, with a total turnover of some IL 413,000,000, and its industries employed 1,750 workers with a turnover of IL 118,000,000 (all figures for 1969). The Cooperative Consumers' Alliance had some 1,500 branches all over the country, including supermarkets in the large towns. Producers' cooperatives did not expand in the same degree, except for the passenger-transport companies, *Egged and Dan. Bank Hapoalim became the third-largest bank in the country with 150 branches (see Israel, State of: *Economic Affairs, section on Banking). Hundreds of cooperative housing societies raised the standards of workers' housing and enabled thousands of wage-earners to buy their own homes.

The kibbutzim, moshavim, and industrial and service cooperatives were troubled by the problem of hired labor, which was incompatible with their basic socialist principles. Rapid expansion made it impossible for their owner-members to dispense with the employment of outside labor, which aroused serious questions of social inequality. The problem was raised frequently at conferences of the Histadrut and its constituent bodies, and efforts were made to work for a solution by mechanization, automation, and assistance to hired workers to become full members of the cooperatives.

In 1955 the Histadrut decided on the establishment of joint management-labor advisory councils in some of its enterprises, but little was done by the managers to put the decision into effect. With the expansion of the centrally run concerns, which employed tens of thousands of workers, it was felt that they were beginning to lose their specific character as labor enterprises and that the employees saw little difference between them and private plants. The 86th Council of the Histadrut, in 1964, decided that the principle of workers' participation in management should be put into practice in the labor industries. A central department for labor participation, consisting of representatives of Ḥevrat ha-Ovedim and the Trade Union Department, was set up to carry out the decision. Workers' representatives were to be elected to the management of each plant to serve for not more than three years running. In these plants, the workers were also to receive a share in the profits. The tenth convention of the Histadrut in 1966 confirmed the decision, declaring: "The place of the Histadrut economy in the building and development of the country largely depends on the identification of the worker with his enterprise, and his participation in the responsibility for its management and maintenance." Up to 1970, joint management had been established in 15 enterprises.

Wages Policy. The structure of employment in the Israeli economy has had an important influence on the Histadrut's wage policy. About half the wage earners – the highest percentage in any country outside the Communist world – are employed by the public sector: the civil service, local authorities. Jewish Agency and its institutions, Histadrut enterprises, and so forth. In addition, a large part of industry and agriculture is subject to government influence through subsidies, loans, licenses, and various incentives. Thus, some three-quarters of the workers are employed in undertakings over which some measure of public control is exercised in the national interest. In the public and semi-public sectors, a responsible labor organization like the Histadrut cannot be concerned merely with increasing the amount the worker takes out of the undertaking in the form of wages at the expense of the employer's profits, since exorbitant demands may have to be met, in the last analysis, from the pocket of the local taxpayer or the contributor to pro-Israel funds from abroad.

Furthermore, some 90% of wage earners are organized in the Histadrut or the religious labor federations which cooperate with its trade union department. The Histadrut also has a central strike fund, which can assist the workers in an authorized trade dispute even in a weakly organized sector. This gives it a much greater bargaining power than exists in other countries, even in times of slack employment, and certainly in normal times, when there is no significant shortage of jobs. Moreover, it does not represent a downtrodden class, but one of the major elements in the building of the country, whose representatives not only wield considerable power in the trade-union field and control an important sector of the economy, but, through the labor parties, have held a dominant position in parliament and government throughout Israel's history.

This massive power implies a great responsibility, to which the Histadrut's leadership has always been acutely sensitive. Its power has enabled it to lie down and, to a large extent, to enforce, an all-inclusive wage policy covering all industries and services, but lack of restraint in exercising it might have been disastrous to the economy. The Histadrut's wage policies have, therefore, always been based on the assumption that, while using its power to maintain and improve the workers' standard of living, organized labor must share in the responsibility for the future of the economy, since no one is more interested in its stability and progress.

C-o-L Allowances and Labor Contracts. At its seventh convention, in May 1949, the Histadrut decided to press for the maintenance of the cost-of-living allowance system, in order to preserve the real value of wages, while supporting the introduction of methods conducive to greater productivity, such as the institution of work norms with premiums for output above the norm, while assuring the worker of a fair minimum wage. In 1951, the cumulative cost-of-living allowances were merged with the basic wage, and the Histadrut demanded wage increases of 10–15%. In 1953 it was decided not to claim a further increase in the basic wage; pay was to rise only in accordance with increases in the cost of living and by increased premiums earned by greater productivity, with exceptions in backward undertakings. The same general policy was maintained in the following two years.

In 1955 the government appointed a committee headed by Israel Guri, chairman of the Knesset Finance Committee, to consider salaries in the civil service and public institutions, particularly the claims of senior administrative officials and members of the liberal professions, that the differentials between their pay and that of lower-grade employees had been narrowed by the effect of the cost-of-living allowances. The committee recommended a general pay increase, with increased differentials for higher and academic grades, and its recommendations were carried out.

In 1956 the Histadrut decided that, in view of the grave security situation, one-third of the increases granted to the senior civil servants should be frozen for the time being, while other workers should get a graduated increase of 5–15%. The full rates were paid in 1957, and the frozen amounts were repaid during that and the two following years. In January 1957, the basic wages were again consolidated with the accumulated cost-of-living allowance, and it was decided that collective agreements between workers and employers be signed once in two years. In 1958 there was no change in basic wages, but seniority increments were raised, employees belonging to the professions were given a special annual grant to cover the cost of professional literature, and the wages of professional and administrative staffs were increased to cover overtime payments.

In 1959 and 1960 a number of changes were instituted: the addition of another grade at the top of the scale in industry and construction; higher family allowances for industrial workers; a special holiday allowance to cover hotel or recreation home expenses; an increase of 2% in employers' contribution to building workers' pension funds; and the preservation of seniority allowance on promotion for civil servants (who had previously started at the basic salary for the new grade).

At the ninth convention, in the latter year, it was decided in principle that further general increases in wages should be linked with rises in the net national product, and in 1962 the Histadrut established an independent institute, staffed by economists and statisticians, to produce objective figures on the level of national productivity which would serve as criteria for future wage policy.

In 1961 the problem of salaries in the public service again became acute. In the course of time, special salary scales had been instituted for employees belonging to various professions: physicians, technicians, engineers, journalists, social workers, and so forth. There were 20 different scales, resulting in many inconsistencies and frequent claims by those who felt themselves unfairly treated in comparison with members of other professions. Toward the end of 1961, the government appointed another committee, headed by the governor of the Bank of Israel, David *Horowitz, to propose a reform of the system. In the meantime, administrative staffs were paid advances on account of the wage increases expected after the conclusion of the committee's work. The Horowitz Committee reported in 1963, recommending the institution of a single scale for the entire civil service, with the exception of teachers, regular army, police, and prison staffs, and drafted conversion tables for the transfer of all employees to the new scale. The government and the Histadrut, however, felt that automatic conversion would perpetuate the inequalities between the various scales, and it was decided, instead, to carry out a comprehensive job evaluation, so that each employee's grade should be decided according to the work he was doing. The determination of the grades of the various classes of employee was a prolonged process, lasting several years. Owing to pressures exercised by staff representatives and the grant of an 18% increase to professional workers in 1965 in order to keep up differentials, the total civil service wage bill increased by one-third.

In 1963 it was decided to make no change in the existing labor contracts, in order to support the government's policy of economic stabilization following the devaluation of the Israel pound in 1962, but in 1964 the Histadrut decided, in view of a rise in productivity, that wages should be raised by 3% in that and the following year. In addition, family allowances of IL 6 per month for each of the first three children were instituted through an equalization fund (the fourth and subsequent children were already covered by the family allowance scheme of the National Insurance Institute; see Israel, State of: *Health, Welfare, and Social Security, section on Social Security). In 1965 these allowances were taken over by the Institute and financed by a levy on employers of 1.8% of wages. In 1966 the existing labor contracts were further renewed without change for a period of two years.

In view of the burden of increased defense expenditure after the *Six-Day War (1967), the Histadrut made no further wage claims when these agreements expired, so that wages were largely frozen for a period of two years. In 1970 it was felt that complete restraint could no longer be justified and that increased productivity during the past four years warranted a wage increase of some 8%. However, in view of the security situation and the drastic increase in the adverse balance of payments, a package deal was concluded between the Histadrut, the government, and the employers' organizations, providing for a 4% rise in the cost-of-living allowance and another 4% wage increase to be paid in government bonds, while the government undertook not to raise taxes and the employers not to increase prices, as well as to invest a further 4% of wages on government bonds. A committee representing the three parties was appointed to supervise the implementation of the agreement.

Strikes. During the past decade the Histadrut's centrally imposed wages policies were under constant pressure from various groups of workers who felt that they were entitled to higher wages and, in most cases, manned services, where a stoppage would produce considerable inconvenience to the public, such as the ports, the posts, or electricity supply. The tendency toward decentralization, as well as the strong loyalties of the workers to their directly elected local or sectional committees at the expense of their allegiance to the more distant central organs of the Histadrut, made wildcat strikes easy to call and difficult to control. In 1967–1971, the majority of the labor disputes, claims, and stoppages – many of which took the form of slowdowns, working to rule, or similar measures – were not officially recognized. Attempts by the Histadrut and local labor councils to impose discipline were generally unsuccessful, and most of the unofficial disputes ended in compromises, which gave the strikers at least part of their demands.

There were considerable and irregular fluctuations in strike statistics over the period. The number of strikes rose from 45 in 1948 to a peak of 90 in 1955, fell to 46 in 1958 and 51 in 1959, rose to 135 in 1960 and reached a peak of 288 in 1965 and 286 in the following year, falling in 1967 to 142 and in 1968 to 101. The number of strikers during the years 1949–56 varied between 7,308 in 1950 and 12,595 in 1952; it fell in 1957 to 3,648 and rose slightly during the following two years; it increased in 1960 to 14,420 and climbed steeply to a peak of 90,210 in 1965, falling again to 25,058 in 1967 and 42,176 in 1968. The number of days lost by strikes during the period varied from a low point of 31,328 in 1959 to a peak of 242,699 in 1962, going down to 58,286 and 73,153 in 1967 and 1968 respectively. A more significant index of the number of days lost per thousand wage earners showed no consistent trend. The figure was 281.0 in 1949 and 235.1 in 1966, going down to 68.7 in 1959 and rising to 392.7 in 1957 and 447.3 in 1962. In 1967, the index fell to 99.5, rising slightly to 112.6 in 1968. In 1969 there was a slight increase in the number of strikers (44,500) and a considerable one in days lost (102,000). The year 1970 was a particularly bad one, with repeated disputes in the ports (especially in the new port of Ashdod), and prolonged strikes by nurses and secondary school teachers: 114,900 persons struck, and 390,000 days' work were lost.

Reliable statistics on the proportion of authorized to unofficial strikes are available only since 1960. Between that year and 1965 the percentage of strikers participating in authorized strikes varied from 5.5% to 19.3%, but it rose during the three subsequent years to 30%, 55%, and 69% respectively. Similar tendencies are shown by the figures for the number of days lost. In 1969 40%, and in 1970 44% of the strikes were authorized by the Histadrut. Most of the strikes during the years 1965–70 were in the public sector (excluding Histadrut concerns), the percentage varying from 39.5% in 1967 to 50% in 1965, 52.5% in 1968, 60% in 1969, and 55% in 1970. (No statistics on this point are available for earlier years.) Figures classifying strikes according to branch of economy show that in most years until 1964 the number of strikes and days lost were greatest in industry, followed by the public services, but from 1965 the public services were hardest hit by strikes.

Social Services. While the total population increased about fourfold in the 20 years 1948–68, the number of persons insured in Kuppat Ḥolim grew more than sixfold: from 307,623 to 1,968,302, including members of the religious labor federations and certain other categories outside the Histadrut. The main increase took place in the years of mass immigration, as the great majority of the newcomers joined. In 1948, 35.3% of the total population and 43% of the Jewish population were insured with Kuppat Ḥolim; by 1968 these percentages stood at 70% and 82% respectively. It played an important part in providing remedial and preventive medical treatment for the new immigrants, established hundreds of clinics in new towns and rural centers, and taught the elements of hygiene to newcomers from backward countries. (See also Israel, State of: *Health, section on Kuppat Ḥolim)

In the early years of statehood there were a large number of small provident funds, reaching 328 in 1953, with 60,000 members, through which workers saved a regular percentage of their wages, with parallel contributions from the employers. The funds provided small loans and other services from time to time, with a lump sum payable upon retirement. This system was found to be unsatisfactory, and measures were taken to amalgamate small funds into large ones, which would provide pensions instead of lump sum payments. The first of these funds was that for Histadrut employees, founded in 1954. The largest is Mivtaḥim, which provides pension, holiday, and other payments for a large variety of workers, including casual laborers. There are also funds for clerks and officials, employees of Histadrut industries, members of cooperatives, agricultural workers, and building workers. Mivtaḥim and the last two funds also cover payments for holidays, work accidents, rehabilitation, where necessary, and so forth. Pension rates are raised in accordance with the rise in the cost-of-living and keep pace with wage increases. At the end of 1968 the total membership of the funds was over 350,000, together with their families about half the population of the country, and their accumulated capital amounted to more than IL 20,000 million. The funds are under treasury supervision, and 80% of their capital must be invested in government-recognized securities. Most of the remainder is invested in securities issued by Gemul, the Histadrut investment company. Of the remaining 20%, about half is used for cheap loans to members for housing and so forth. The operations of the funds not only constitute a valuable local service but are of considerable economic importance as a method of saving and a source of capital investment.

International Affiliations. When the World Federation of Trade Unions was founded after World War II, the Histadrut cooperated fully with it, but when Communist influence grew in the WFTU and it was left by many Western trade union federations, who formed the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, the Histadrut, after heated debate, joined the latter in May 1950. The Histadrut maintains close ties with the member federations of the ICFTU and sends experienced trade unionists to advise on labor organization, particularly in Asia and Africa. Its representatives also play an important role in the 15 international federations representing specific trades. Many delegations and groups of students, particularly from developing countries, have come to Israel to study the Histadrut's methods and achievements. The trade unions in these countries are interested in the Histadrut's unitary structure, its success in integrating members with varied cultural and educational backgrounds, and its prominent role in national life. Its Afro-Asian Institute has become an important international center for labor studies.

The Histadrut also belongs to the International Cooperative Alliance, which represents cooperative movements in both Western and Communist countries, and Israel's cooperative economy has aroused widespread interest. Despite Israel's small size, Histadrut representatives play a prominent part in the work of the International Labor Office and are regularly elected to its governing body. The Histadrut's influence in all branches of the international labor movement is an asset of considerable political importance for Israel.

Educational and Cultural Activity. The Compulsory Education Law, 1949, maintained the "trend" system, under which the Histadrut was responsible for one of the four school networks. The Labor "trend," which was controlled by the Histadrut's Educational Center (Merkaz le-Ḥinnukh), aimed at "molding a self-reliant pioneering Jewish personality, imbued with the Zionist-Socialist ideal" and "imparting to the child the values of the labor movement in the country and a sense of participation in the fate of its people." It established new schools in many immigrant centers and in 1953 had some 900 schools and kindergartens, with over 3,000 teachers and 60,000 pupils, out of 3,210 institutions, 15,304 teaching posts, and 320,361 pupils in the entire Jewish educational system.

In 1953, when the Knesset passed the State Education Law (see Israel, State of: *Education), the labor schools were merged with those of the "general trend" to form the nucleus of the state educational system and ceased to be organized in a separate framework. However, the influence of its principles may be seen in the clause of the State Education Law which prescribes that state education shall be based, inter alia, "on training in agricultural labor and handicrafts; on fulfillment of pioneering principles; on the aspiration to a society built on liberty, equality, tolerance, mutual aid and love of fellowman."

The Histadrut's Cultural Department provides a variety of services for members in town and country. These include: lectures, films, publications and periodicals; organized trips; courses in Hebrew and geography, Bible, music, dancing, and the arts; clubs and libraries; educational books and materials; theater performances for immigrants; libraries for schools in immigrant centers, in cooperation with the Presidential Residence Fund; educational circles for the parents, and schools for trade union leaders. Volunteers were organized during the mass immigration period to help newcomers by teaching Hebrew and other subjects. In addition, the local labor councils engage in similar activities on their own initiative, and there is a wide network of cultural committees in towns and villages. There are special departments for the kibbutzim and the moshavim.

Arab Workers. In the early years of statehood the Palestine Labor League continued to perform trade union functions on behalf of Arab workers, with the close cooperation of the Histadrut. Labor organization was stepped up in the Arab sector; Arabs could now find employment in the Jewish economy, receiving the same pay and conditions as Jewish workers, and the labor exchanges assured them of participation in the fair division of work. In November 1952 the Histadrut Council decided to open the Trade Union Department at all stages to Arab workers on the basis of complete equality, and grant them full rights in provident funds and other Histadrut mutual-aid institutions. At the end of 1953 a special section for Arab workers was established in the Trade Union Department. Trade union branches were established in Arab centers and, in mixed places of work, joint workers' committees were elected by Arab and Jewish workers.

In February 1959 the Histadrut Council decided on the admission of Arabs and members of other minority communities as full members. With the assistance and advice of the Histadrut, agricultural, industrial, consumers' and housing cooperatives were established in Arab centers. Kuppat Ḥolim opened general and mother-and-child clinics in Arab villages and towns. The Histadrut, especially through its youth and women's movements, maintains clubs and cultural activities in the Arab areas. Arab membership of the Histadrut grew from 6,427 (9,956 including housewives) in 1958 to 31,254 (50,446 including housewives) in 1969. The number of Arab members and dependents increased in the same period from 21,534 to 118,098 – 29% of the Arab population, compared with 10.1% in 1958.

After the reunification of Jerusalem, the Histadrut started to organize the workers among the 65,000 Arabs in the eastern part of the city. Under Jordanian rule, most of them had been badly paid and exploited, and the few trade unions had little influence. Despite the opposition of some Arab notables, about 5,000 workers joined the Histadrut, which tried to equalize their pay with that of the Jewish workers. Most of the Arab employers resisted the efforts, but compromises were reached with the hoteliers and some others. In 1970, there were 2,000 Jerusalem Arabs working for Jewish employers.

Kuppat Ḥolim opened a branch in East Jerusalem, which, after initial difficulties in finding Arab doctors and nurses and overriding the reluctance of Arab women to go to Jewish doctors, won acceptance. Arab trade unionists in Jerusalem took part in Histadrut courses on labor relations and submitted their candidacy in Histadrut elections. The Histadrut's work in the city was regarded as a significant contribution to understanding between Jews and Arabs.

The Women's Labor Movement. All women members – including housewives – are entitled to vote in the elections to *Mo'eẓet ha-Po'alot, the Women Workers' Council, which thus has a membership of almost half a million – 46% of the total. Housewives are organized in Irgun Immahot Ovedot, the Working Mothers' Organization, with branches all over the country. The women's movement has made an important contribution to the integration of the immigrants by teaching the women Hebrew, introducing them to the life of the country, and helping to look after the children. It has also done much to improve the status and conditions of Arab women. Its projects in Israel are assisted by the sister movement abroad, *Pioneer Women.

Youth and Sport. In 1959 *Ha-No'ar ha-Oved combined with the school youth movement, Ha-Tenu'ah ha-Me'uḥedet, to form a single organization of working and student youth. It has more than 100,000 members: some 40,000 of them, aged 14–18, in trade sections, which function as a kind of junior Histadrut, and the rest, aged 10–18, in groups for recreational and educational activities. The *Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir youth movement (with 13,000 members) and Dror-Maḥanot ha-Olim (5,000), affiliated to *Ha-Kibbutz Ha-Me'uḥad, are also, like their parent bodies, within the framework of the Histadrut.

*Ha-Po'el, with 85,000 members in 600 branches all over the country, is the largest sports organization in Israel, engaging in 17 types of sport. Its representatives play a prominent part in the governing bodies of the various sports, such as the Football Association (see also under *Sport). The Histadrut youth and sports movements have done much to bring new immigrants and their children into the mainstream of Israel life.

See also: Youth Movements in Israel, State of: *Education, Kuppat Ḥolim under Israel, State of: *Health

[Moshe Allon]

Ideology of Labor

Labor was one of the central themes, both ideologically and organizationally, which occupied the attention of the Jews at the beginning of their resettlement in the 1880s. Its ideology was developed by a number of leaders and thinkers, such as Ber *Borochov, Nachman *Syrkin, A.D. *Gordon, Joseph Ḥayyim *Brenner, Joseph *Trumpeldor, Berl *Katznelson, and David Ben-Gurion, on the basis of Zionist-Socialist analyses of the Jewish problem and the experience gained in the process of resettlement. For specific historical, religious, and social reasons, the occupations of the Jews in the Diaspora had been limited, for the most part, to finance, commerce, teaching, medicine, and law. Few were to be found in the basic sectors of the economy, such as agriculture, industry, transportation, and mining. The desire to renew the political life of the Jewish people in its historic homeland through the creation of a society in which Jews themselves would carry out all the organizational and economic functions required for its maintenance was thus combined with the concept of *kibbush ha-avodah* ("the conquest of labor"). This meant the establishment of a national economy with a varied and all-embracing productive and organizational framework, and the spiritual vocational and educational preparation of Jews to engage in all the occupations required in such an economy. *Kibbush ha-avodah* was linked with the ideal of *ḥalutziyyut* ("pioneering"), which inspired the individual not only to advocate and support the national revival, but to be ready himself to settle in the homeland as a *ḥalutz*, or pioneer, prepared to do any kind of work, however arduous, unaccustomed, or dangerous, that might be required at the time, to build this new national society (see *He-Ḥalutz).

At first, organized attempts were made to develop the basic, productive branches: agriculture, construction, and handicrafts. Settlement on the land, which was intended to create the agricultural base for the Jewish community in Palestine, was the central sphere of activity in the "conquest of labor" in the first 50 years of renewed national life. Later, in the 1920s and 1930s, construction and handicrafts developed, and so, to a certain extent, did administration, public services, and light industry, which were further expanded by the large wave of Jewish immigration from Germany that followed the Nazi assumption of power in 1933.

The advent of World War II and the increased demand of the Allies for industrial products led to the development of heavy industry, including metals, textiles, and food processing. There was also a considerable technical advance in construction and road building, as a result of army orders, both in Palestine and in other places. At the same time there were significant changes in labor relations and the beginnings of labor legislation.

This process received a great impetus by the establishment of Israel in 1948. Large investments in the development of agriculture, services, administration, industry and mining, construction, sea, air, and land transportation, and all the occupations connected with national defense, widened the productive framework and increased the variety of work available. Labor relations, social conditions, and labor codes were partially transferred from the voluntary to the governmental level.

These events determined the stages of development and affected the status of labor. In the first stage, that of settlement on the land, there was a close identity between ownership and work. Jewish immigrants established villages and cultivated the land on their own farms. At this stage there was no substantial body of hired Jewish laborers, and the wage labor needed in agriculture came from the neighboring Arab villages. This division between Jewish employers, and Arab proletarians aroused the ideological opposition of young immigrants who came from Eastern Europe in the wake of the abortive revolution and the pogroms in 1905–06, especially in the Russian-ruled areas of Poland and Romania. Belonging to a class whose social and economic foundations were crumbling, influenced by revolutionary workers' movements, as well as the Zionist ideal, and having absorbed socialist principles on the role of labor in production and of the workers in society, these pioneers fought for the right to work on the Jewish farms. They regarded their own transformation into manual workers as a part of the social and national revolution of the Jewish people and as a precondition for the creation of a self-sustaining Jewish society and economy.

At this stage, which continued until the beginning of the 1920s, this Jewish working class was only a small part of the small Jewish community of about 60,000. It lacked vocational training and practical experience, but it had a highly developed working-class consciousness and struggled to develop a modern labor policy, achieve as high a wage level as possible, and establish labor relations similar to those accepted in Western countries. In fact, the theory of an ideological and trade union struggle preceded the development of the means of production in the Jewish community. The Jewish workers who came to the Land of Israel after the failure of the Russian Revolution in 1905, the immigrants of the Second Aliyah, regarded it as their mission to achieve a Zionist solution to the Jewish problem through immigration to the Land of Israel, building up a Jewish economy, and establishing progressive social patterns, and they saw the organization of labor as a basic part of that mission.

With the establishment at the beginning of the Second Aliyah of workers' political parties that carried out some trade union functions, as well as political activity, and the establishment, in December 1920, of the Histadrut (see above), which combined trade-union functions with social-welfare services and independent cooperative and workers' enterprises, a new stage was reached, both from an organizational point of view and from the angle of labor's influence in the Jewish community. In many respects the political and trade-union organization of the workers ran ahead of national, social, and economic development. In fact, the established standards and practices in labor relations, wages, and social conditions inside the *yishuv*, although based on voluntary agreements, largely determined the conditions of production.

The organizational structure, practices, and ideology of the Jewish labor movement were, therefore, from the very beginning on a standard characteristic of the advanced industrial countries. The Histadrut, which absorbed the bulk of the immigrants and represented the vast majority of the organized workers, even went beyond that stage by assuming many functions not normally accepted by trade-union organizations in other countries. It saw as its task the practical implementation of social and economic programs that other labor movements regarded as long-term political and social goals. These programs included setting up new villages (moshavim and kibbutzim), industrial and service undertakings, workers' cooperative and contracting enterprises, and public services whose guiding principle was the idea of *avodah aẓmit* ("self-labor" or "personal labor," i.e., that a man must live by the fruits of his own labor without exploiting the labor of others). This concept was the guiding principle in the determination and implementation of the Histadrut's labor policies.

The ideological principles, trade union policy, and organizational patterns of Israel labor were laid down and assumed the force of binding customs in the life of the *yishuv* during the British Mandatory regime (1918–48), when the level of governmental services was largely determined by the condition and needs of the backward Arab population. In the course of that period they reached a standard that was high even in comparison with those achieved by workers' movements and trade unions in Western countries. With the establishment of the State of Israel and the institution of its governmental laws and institutions, under labor political leadership, a new phase in labor relations began. The voluntary social achievements of the *yishuv*, which had been enforced by collective agreements between the Histadrut and the Manufacturers' Association (organized at the end of the 1920s), became part of the state labor code and the pattern of the country's life.

Labor Relations

LABOR LEGISLATION IN THE MANDATORY PERIOD. Due to established custom in colonial territories and because of the possible effects on the Arab and governmental economies, the British Mandatory authorities were in no hurry to enact labor laws. For many years, in fact, they left almost unchanged the situation which they had inherited from the Ottoman Empire, in which relations between employer and employee were regulated by a section of the Mejelle which dealt with lease contracts (see *Legal and Judicial System). During the first 20 years of the Mandate, only a handful of labor laws were enacted: the Mining Ordinance (1925), which regulated safety conditions and prohibited, inter alia, the employment underground of women or children under 14, ordinances prohibiting the use of matches made with white phosphorus (1925), and a law enjoining the fencing of machinery (1928). Article 21 of the Criminal Code, concerning intimidation in labor disputes, the Defense (Trade Disputes) Order (1942), and the Defense (War Service Occupations) Regulations (1942) were concerned solely with meeting emergency needs.

An important, if belated, step was the establishment of a Department for Labor Affairs in 1943, largely under pressure of economic developments during World War II. As if to make up for the backwardness in this field that had marked the period of British rule, the department set to work with dispatch in the few years left before the end of the Mandate, paying more attention to the advanced needs of the Jewish economy. The Accidents and Occupational Diseases Ordinance (1945), which provided for compulsory notification of accidents at work, or occupational diseases which caused more than three days' absence, marked a considerable advance, as did two other ordinances issued in the same year concerned with employment of women and children, which greatly improved health conditions at work. The Factories Ordinance (1946), which established standards of safety and hygiene, was a very important and progressive addition to Mandatory labor legislation. Three other ordinances that would also have improved the Mandatory labor code were issued in 1947, but never came into effect. They were the Trade Boards Ordinance, which was to set up machinery for establishing minimum wages and working conditions in backward industries; the Industrial Courts Ordinance, for the settlement of labor disputes through conciliation and arbitration; and the Trade Union Ordinance, to regulate the legal status of workers' and employers' organizations.

VOLUNTARY AGREEMENTS DURING THE MANDATORY PERIOD. While the Mandatory government concentrated most of its attention on safety conditions, the Jewish community had a large measure of internal autonomy in its labor relations. In the absence of adequate legislation, it established practices and customs which, though voluntary, were firmly adhered to, as attempts to violate them were frustrated by the pressure of the organized community, which was led by the labor movement. This autonomy was reinforced by a High Court ruling to the effect that accepted custom in labor relations was legally binding. An eight-hour work day, annual vacations, severance pay, allocation of work through labor exchanges according to agreed priorities, rest on the Jewish Sabbath and festivals, recognition of the trade unions, collective bargaining, and collective agreements became established practice.

In the early years, labor relations in the Jewish community were concerned mainly not with wages and working conditions, but with the employment of Jewish labor in the citrus groves, which was the main source of employment. Wages and working conditions were practically stable, with slight variations, from the beginning of the Mandate until the outbreak of the World War II, so far as Jewish workers organized in the Histadrut were concerned, and were not, therefore, a serious cause of labor disputes. Tension in the labor sphere was due mainly to unemployment and charges of unfair distribution of the available jobs.

The Histadrut, the General Federation of Jewish Labor, was the largest and most influential workers' organization, but there were also two others, organized along political and ideological lines. The demonstratively secular character of the Histadrut at the time, both in outlook and in practical programs, led to the formation of a religious workers' organization, *Ha-Po'el ha-Mizrachi, which later joined the Histadrut's medical-insurance fund and trade union department, while maintaining its separate framework for other affairs. There was also the National Labor Federation (*Histadrut ha-Ovedim ha-Le'ummit), organized in 1934 under the aegis of the Revisionist Party, which opposed the Histadrut's socialist outlook and some of its trade union principles – especially the use of the strike weapon. From the beginning it had its own trade union department and medical-insurance fund.

In 1925 the Zionist Executive in Jerusalem intervened in a dispute between Ha-Po'el ha-Mizrachi and the Histadrut, when the contracting company of the former engaged workers without using the Histadrut's labor exchange. This intervention, which was intended to avoid direct interference by the Mandatory government, created a precedent. In the early 1930s the number of labor disputes increased as a result of the growth in the numbers of wage earners and of plants. In the course of a full-scale debate on the problem at the Zionist General Council in 1934, there was a demand for the conclusion of labor contracts which should assure fair labor conditions for the workers "within the economic possibilities of the economy" and, on the other hand, "a reasonable level of output, especially from the agricultural laborer." The meeting decided that the agreements should be based on

(1) reasonable working conditions for the employees and adequate productivity;

(2) obligatory resort to arbitration;

(3) the establishment of labor exchanges on a basis of parity between workers and employers, the chairman and secretary being agreed upon by both sides;

(4) the establishment of a labor exchange center under the *Va'ad Le'ummi to supervise the local exchanges and appoint the chairman and secretary wherever the two sides failed to agree.

At the same time, the Labor Department of the Jewish Agency began to concern itself actively in labor disputes. This department, which was headed by Yiẓḥak *Gruenbaum, with representatives of the Histadrut and Ha-Po'el ha-Mizrachi, was the highest authority in all such matters from its foundation in 1935 until the establishment of the state. During this period it dealt with more than 2,500 disputes, for the most part concerning collective agreements, and through its decisions it set the seal of approval on working conditions and practices worked out by collective agreements. Among other things, it developed a system for the resolution of labor disputes by arbitration or the good offices of the department, which was also recognized as a court of appeal.

LABOR LEGISLATION IN THE STATE OF ISRAEL. The emergence of Israel as an independent state in 1948 marked a turning point in the approach to labor relations. The Mandatory government had not had time to put the Industrial Courts Ordinance (1947) into effect; nor did the Provisional Government of Israel in its early days find time to breathe life into this stillborn enactment. In practice, the procedures and customs which had been accepted amongst the Jews of Palestine remained in force. The government set up a Labor Relations Department in the Ministry of the Interior, which inherited the functions of the Labor Department of the Jewish Agency and, after the elections, to the First Knesset was transferred to the Ministry of Labor.

Before long the government submitted to the Knesset the first labor law: the Ex-soldiers (Reinstatement in Employment) Law (1949), which was aimed at alleviating the difficulties caused by conscription for the War of Independence. It was followed by a lengthy series of labor laws, many of which gave legal force to procedures already established by custom and agreement within the Jewish community. They dealt, inter alia, with hours of work and rest (1951), annual leave (1951), employment of youth (1953), apprenticeship (1953), employment of women (1954), enforcement of collective agreements (1957), settlement of trade disputes (1957), penalties for excessive delays in payment of wages (1958), labor exchanges (1959), severance pay (1963), equal pay for men and women (1964), and labor tribunals (1969).

LABOR EXCHANGES. Under the employment Services Law (1959), employers must engage employees, and employees must accept employment, through the state labor exchange. There are exceptions for the civil service above a certain grade, managerial staff, posts requiring higher education or special training, and persons employing a spouse, parent, child, grandchild, brother, sister, or cousin. The manner in which applicants are referred to jobs is laid down in special regulations which generally take into account the nature of the occupation, the type of work, social condition, disablement, recent demobilization from the armed services, etc. The law prohibits any discrimination on the basis of sex, age, race, religion, nationality, party allegiance, etc. This law legalized the situation which was achieved in the pre-state period by a long struggle on the part of the workers, who established their own labor exchanges in order to prevent unorganized labor and protect new immigrants against closed-shop tendencies that might develop in particular occupations or localities.

Anyone seeking employment is registered at the labor exchange nearest his home. His trade or profession and grading are registered on the production of recognized certificates or on the basis of an examination by a qualified authority. He (or she) must reregister daily or at longer intervals according to his trade or profession. The labor exchange receives requests for staff, allocates them among the registered job seekers, and provides vocational counseling for those who lack skills or wish to change their occupation. Its services are given free of charge. There are 15 regional exchanges, divided into 164 branches and sections, as well as 41 branches in Arab areas and 68 branches for young people aged 14–18. Professional men and women are served by a special exchange with branches in Jerusalem, Tel Aviv, Haifa, and Beersheba. There is also an exchange for seamen in Haifa as well as special provisions for domestic servants, with seven branches in the large cities.

COLLECTIVE AGREEMENTS. Labor relations in Israel are based upon a system of collective agreements, or labor contracts, which is recognized in the Collective Agreements Law (1957). These agreements, which are signed by an employer or employers' association on the one hand and the representative of the trade union on the other, lay down conditions of work, including wages, social benefits, working hours, shifts, and labor relations, as well as rules of conduct and discipline, engagement of staff and the termination of employment, negotiation procedures, the settlement of disputes, and the rights and obligations of the parties. Collective agreements may be "special," applying to a particular enterprise or employer, or "general," applying to the whole or part of the country or to a specific type of work.

Collective agreements were to be registered by the chief labor relations officer at the Ministry of Labor. The representative organizations conclude skeleton agreements, which are adapted to conditions in each industry by subsidiary agreements negotiated between the trade union or labor council concerned in each case and the appropriate section of the employers' organization. The minister of labor is empowered to issue an order extending the application of the general collective agreement to employees or employers who are not organized in a trade union or employers' organization. In general, collective agreements are negotiated every two years by the Histadrut and the Manufacturers' Association, which was established in 1924. In 1964, a roof organization called the Coordinating Committee of Economic Organizations was set up to represent the various employers' organizations in agriculture, industry, commerce, etc.

The Trade Union Department of the Histadrut speaks for about 90% of the workers, including, by agreement, members of Ha-Po'el ha-Mizrachi and *Po'alei Agudat Israel, the labor wing of *Agudat Israel. It consists of representatives of the national trade unions, but in determining its policies it is guided not only by the immediate needs of the workers but also by the long-term interests of the national economy. Histadrut ha-Ovedim ha-Le'ummit, which is in favor of compulsory arbitration in labor disputes, has its own trade unions and does not cooperate with the department. In each town there is a directly elected labor council (*mo'eẓet po'alim*), which deals with local matters.

THE WORKERS' COMMITTEE AND THE LOCAL LABOR COUNCIL. The basic unit of trade union representation is the workers' committee (*va'ad ha-ovedim*), which is elected by all the workers (whether they belong to the Histadrut or one of the smaller federations) in each factory, office, shop, etc. It consists of three to nine members, depending on the size of the enterprise, elected every two to three years. Theoretically, voting is on an individual basis, but in practice the workers usually support the candidates nominated by their own parties. Labor councils are elected in each town by proportional representation in the same way, and at the same time, as the national convention of the Histadrut, lists of candidates being submitted by the political parties. The workers' committee, together with the local labor council, represents the workers in all matters connected with the labor contract and protects the rights specified in the contract or the regulations founded on it, as well as rights laid down by law. It discusses with the management any questions of labor conditions or discipline that may arise from time to time and has equal representation on productivity committees. It also organizes mutual aid projects and serves as a channel for information from the management on the position of the enterprise, production plans, technological changes, and so forth. A representative of the local labor council may be invited in advance to join in the discussion of particularly important matters; in any case, he is called in when the workers' committee fails to reach agreement with the management. The committee reports regularly to general meetings of the workers, to which it may submit matters of special importance for a decision by majority. Any decision involving a strike must, according to the regulations, be taken by secret ballot and be approved by the labor council.

WAGES. Wage rates and payments for social benefits in the various branches of the economy are fixed in the annual or biennial labor contracts, in accordance with the wages policy laid down biennially by the Trades Union Department of the Histadrut through negotiation between the trade unions and the employers' organizations. Changes generally take the form of wage increases and higher cost-of-living allowances.

During the British Mandatory regime, the agricultural laborer's wage was generally taken as a basis, the Jewish worker's earnings usually being some 25% higher than the Arab's. In many Jewish public services, such as the Zionist Organization, the Histadrut, the schools, and the health services, the "family-wage" system was in force. Under this system, all employees earned more or less equal wages (with differentials of 20–50% for various professional standards), supplemented by allowances for dependents. During World War II there was a sharp rise in prices, due to the decline in the exchange rate and increased demand for consumer goods and services, coupled with an increased demand for labor for the developing industries and services for the British army. There was a growing need to adjust wage rates to the changing price level. The solution was found in the system of cost-of-living allowances, under which the nominal wage was raised at fixed intervals in accordance with the rise in the cost-of-living index.

After the establishment of the State of Israel the system at first remained in force in the main branches, but the development of the economy, which called for more skill and managerial responsibility, led to the abolition of the "family" system and demands for higher differentials. Up to the economic recession which started in 1964/65, the system of cost-of-living allowances, adjusted annually, had a great influence on wage levels. From 1965 onward, however, both wage rates and differentials began to rise, largely as a result of regrading in the civil service and the pressure of professional men's organizations.

In the biennial negotiations between labor and employers, on which the government exercises an indirect but powerful influence, general wage increases are based on the average rate of increase in output, with adjustments according to the situation in different industries and the state of the labor market. In many enterprises workers receive premiums in return for output in excess of the accepted norm. This system is encouraged by the trade unions, the employers' associations, and the government. There is a growing use of scientifically measured norms, the contribution of technological progress to productivity being taken into account in order to encourage the introduction of automation.

See also section on Jewish Labor Organizations.

SOCIAL BENEFITS AND DEDUCTIONS FROM WAGES. The net wage received by the worker consists of the gross wage paid by the employer minus income tax and other deductions. The gross wage includes: basic salary in accordance with accepted wage rates; cost-of-living allowance, fixed by agreement between the Histadrut and the employers in accordance with the annual fluctuations in the consumer's price index, which is determined by the government's Central Bureau of Statistics; seniority increment for each year of employment in a given enterprise – ranging from IL 5 to IL 15 per annum up to a fixed "ceiling" of years of service or total increment; allowance for a wife, laid down in the labor agreement; children's allowances for the first three children, paid out of an equalization fund financed by the employers collectively through the National Insurance Institute (allowances for the fourth and subsequent children come directly from national insurance – see Social Security and Welfare).

The following deductions are made from the salary: income tax, national insurance contributions (see Social Security and Welfare), and pension fund contributions; in many concerns, by custom or agreement, deductions are also made at source for Histadrut membership fees (covering trade union and Kuppat Ḥolim), municipal rates, and contributions to national institutions. The employer's contribution for social benefits includes: basic pension – 11% of gross wage, excluding overtime and bonuses (with 5% more paid by the employee); comprehensive pension – 11% of gross wage (with a further 5% from the employee); parallel fee – 2.7% of wages, paid by the employers to the medical insurance fund; vacation pay – 4% of wage to cover paid holidays for those employed less than 75 consecutive days (workers with permanent status receive their wages without interruption throughout the vacation period); vacation expenses – cost of accommodation in a recreation home for a certain number of consecutive days at an agreed rate per day, as fixed in the labor contract; sick leave, up to one month per year – the right being cumulative within limits laid down in the labor contract. Salary for a "13th month" is paid in some undertakings and offices. In some offices or institutions, generally in the academic professions, there is a special payment, up to an agreed maximum, for professional literature. Some employers make a monthly deposit to meet the cost of severance pay. In certain posts, mainly managerial, the employer provides a car and pays for upkeep and fuel up to a fixed number of kilometers. He may pay the cost of a home telephone, the employee making a fixed contribution to cover the cost of his private calls.

Permanent status may be granted under the terms of the labor contract after a trial period of six months, which may be extended by prior notice for a further six months. An employee with permanent status may not be dismissed without the agreement of the workers' committee, and only in accordance with an agreed order of priority. In some academic posts senior employees are given a sabbatical year with pay. In case of bankruptcy, employees are guaranteed priority over other creditors for the payment of their wages up to a sum of IL 2,100, as well as severance pay up to IL 1,050 per employee.

INSPECTION, SAFETY, AND HYGIENE. Many factors increased the danger of work accidents after the establishment of the state: the rapid development of industry, construction, and transportation; the expansion of the electricity network; automation and the use of more sophisticated equipment; and the employment of new immigrants and untrained workers. To meet the situation, a considerable body of safety legislation, along the lines of international conventions, was enacted in a short time to comply with local needs. The powers and scope of the factory inspectorate were extended in the Labor Inspection (Organization) Law of 1954, which also established the Safety and Hygiene Institute, jointly run by the Ministry of Labor, the employees, and the employers' organization, for the prevention of industrial accidents by research, guidance, and publicity. Regulations have been issued specifying safety measures required in various occupations. Industrial injuries compensation is provided through national insurance.(See Table: Work Days Lost.)

HOURS OF WORK AND REST. The standard working day in Israel consists of eight hours and the working week of 47 hours. If more than eight hours are worked, whether for unforeseen reasons or under an official overtime permit, each of the first two hours in excess of eight is regarded for wage purposes as an hour and a quarter, and every additional hour as one and a half hours. Every employee is entitled to 36 hours rest per week. The weekly holiday day is Saturday for Jews, Friday for Muslims, and Sunday for Christians. Religious holidays recognized by the government are rest days for workers of the religion concerned, and national holidays are rest days for all workers. Work on the weekly rest day is allowed by special permission of the Ministry of Labor if it is essential for the defense of the state, the safety of the person or of property, the prevention of serious injury to the economy, the maintenance of a continuous work process, or the supply of the essential needs of the public or part of it. A general permit of this kind may be granted by a committee composed of the prime minister, the minister of religious affairs, and the minister of labor. For wage purposes, each hour worked on the day of rest is regarded as not less than one and a half hours.

ANNUAL VACATION. Under the Annual Leave Law (1951), every employee is entitled to an annual vacation with pay totaling at least 12 days, not including weekly rest days and national and religious holidays. Shift workers receive four additional days. Every employee must be given an annual vacation of at least seven consecutive days; in certain occupations, specified in the regulations, a longer period is obligatory. Collective agreements also provide for longer vacations for workers in certain posts, whether at higher levels of responsibility or in certain occupational grades. Day laborers who are constantly changing their place of work receive a cash payment in lieu of vacation. This is paid through a special fund to which the employer contributes 4–5% of wages.

An employee is entitled to accumulate vacation periods, with employer's consent, up to a stipulated maximum (65 days for civil servants) and during a stipulated period in accordance with the labor contract. By mutual agreement an employee may receive a cash payment in lieu of vacation in excess of the seven obligatory days. The dates of the vacation for each employee are fixed by the management in consultation with the workers' committee, taking the wishes of the employee and the needs of the enterprise into account. The following are not included in the vacation period, but are stipulated in collective agreements: sickness during the vacation, if the employee informs the employer within 24 hours; periods of reserve duty or military service; days of mourning, i.e., seven days from the death of a member of the family, in accordance with religious custom; special leave of one day for a son's or daughter's wedding or the birth of a child, and three days for the employee's own wedding. Jewish religious holidays are New Year (Rosh Ha-Shanah) two days, Day of Atonement one day, Sukkot two days, Passover two days, and Shavuot one day, as well as Independence Day and two optional days. For civil servants, the latter may be chosen from the eve of the Day of Atonement, Hoshana Rabba (7th day of Sukkot), the Tenth of Tevet, Purim, the eve of Passover, Martyrs' and Heroes' Remembrance Day, Israel Defense Forces Remembrance Day, Lag ba-Omer, the first of May, 17th Tammuz, and the Ninth of Av.

Under most labor contracts employees are entitled to an annual allowance sufficient to pay for seven days' accommodation in a recreation home or inexpensive hotel, on condition that he takes at least ten consecutive days' vacation during the same year. This right is acquired after three years' service to the same employer (two years for employees under 18). Day workers are entitled to allowances for four to ten days, depending on seniority and other factors, in return for a contribution of 0.5% of wages to a special fund, matched by a similar contribution from the employer. Permanent employees are entitled to paid sick leave usually up to 30 days per year, which may be accumulated on terms laid down in the labor contract. Employees are insured through the insurance funds and are entitled to up to seven months' sick leave per year.

EMPLOYMENT OF WOMEN. Women have the right to work, without discrimination, at equal pay for equal value of work in the same jobs as men, so long as they can do the job in accordance with their physical capacity without impairing their health. Jewish women played a prominent part in the work of the pioneers, in settlement on the land and the "conquest of labor," in the Jewish underground defense forces, and in political effort. The government makes special efforts to increase the share of women in the labor force. The role of women is particularly important in the liberal professions and primary, secondary, and higher education, in administration, in retail distribution, in industries such as food processing, textiles, and electronics, and in various agricultural jobs. Women are constantly penetrating into vocations once regarded as male preserves.

In 1969 women constituted 31.5% of the labor force, which is lower than in most developed industrial countries. The reason is that a large portion of the Jewish population came from Muslim countries, where it was not customary for women to work outside the home. Among the second generation there is a growing tendency to go out to work, which is more marked where the educational level is higher. The fact that girls aged 18–20 (with the exception of those excused on religious grounds) serve in the armed forces increases their readiness to seek work on the completion of their service. The minister of labor is empowered by law to prohibit or restrict the employment of women in a particular job or industrial process which may seriously impair their health. Women may not be employed on night shift, with the exception, under certain conditions and subject to the minister of labor's approval, of work in managerial posts, the customs, telephone exchanges, the police, airline stewardesses, hospitals, newspapers, hotels and restaurants, places of entertainment, etc. By law, a working mother is assured 12 weeks' maternity leave, beginning six weeks before the birth, if the mother chooses, as well as to a maternity grant from the National Insurance Institute. She is also entitled to be absent from work during pregnancy and breast-feeding, or up to one hour's leave per working day for the purpose of breast-feeding.

EMPLOYMENT OF JUVENILES. The employment of, or peddling by, children under 14 is forbidden, but they may be employed in art or entertainment with the approval of the minister of labor. The employment of young persons (aged 14–18) is forbidden in any place which is likely to have an undesirable effect on their physical, emotional, or moral development, such as hotels, cafés, dance halls, mental institutions, mines, abattoirs, various types of manufacture, and so forth, as specified in a list of occupations published by the ministry. Young workers must undergo medical examination before starting work and at six-month intervals, depending on the nature of the job, up to the age of 21. They may be employed for no more than eight hours per day and no more than 40 hours per week, and those under the age of 17 must not be employed at night without the approval of the minister of labor.

According to the law, every young person aged 14–18 in employment must be enabled by his employer to learn a trade, and the employer must not make deductions from his earnings for absence for the purpose of attending recognized lessons. Guidance in the choice of a trade by a qualified vocational counselor must be provided. The Apprenticeship Law (1953) empowers the minister of labor to define certain trades as apprenticeship trades, in which the employment of young persons is prohibited unless they are learning the trade through an approved program of study. During his training, the apprentice is paid in accordance with the collective agreement for the trade. For 1–1½ days per week he is required to attend a special school for apprentices, where he studies the theoretical aspects of his trade and continues his general education. After three years' apprenticeship, he generally receives a trade certificate. In 1970 there were 23 such schools, attended by about 15,000 apprentices; a total of some 50,000 apprentices had qualified since the passing of the law.

DISMISSALS. Labor contracts usually obligate the employer to consult the workers' committee and receive its consent before dismissals are carried out. Grounds for dismissal may be low output, infractions of discipline, sabotage, unjustifiable absence, or unpunctuality. Most labor contracts call for at least two weeks' notice of dismissal. When staff has to be reduced, it is generally stipulated that the last-in-first-out rule be observed, with certain exceptions: for instance, relative levels of skill and social circumstances, such as size of family, are also taken into account. A dismissed employee is entitled to severance pay if he has worked for the same employer for at least one year without interruption, or in two consecutive years in the case of seasonal employees. An employee who resigns is not entitled by law to severance pay, but in many cases he receives it by agreement with the employer. Resignation due to impaired health, change of residence due to marriage, a move to an agricultural settlement, or the resignation of a mother within nine months of the birth of a child for the purpose of looking after the child, or when she has adopted a child, are regarded as equivalent to dismissal for the purpose of severance pay. Severance pay is also awarded in case of resignation due to proven and substantial worsening of working conditions or special circumstances connected with labor relations. The rate of severance pay laid down by law is one month's wages for every year of employment on monthly salary by the same employer, and two weeks' wages for every year during which a worker has been employed on a daily basis. In general, a month's salary, for the purpose of calculating severance pay, is the salary of the last month, but with regard to the years before 1964 there is a special basis for calculation which is specified by law.

VOCATIONAL TRAINING. From the early days of Zionist pioneering, when Jewish traders, shopkeepers, and students tried to turn themselves into farmers, vocational training in the widest sense of the term (then called in German *Umschichtung*) was a fundamental part of the national goal. (Various aspects of the question during the Ottoman and Mandatory periods are dealt with in the section on Aliyah and Absorption.) In independent Israel the vocational training system was built on the foundations established by the Jewish Agency and other voluntary bodies. It started by extending the apprenticeship system and setting up various courses for adults. Later, adult vocational centers were established throughout the country and furnished with up-to-date equipment. The network of vocational schools grew with the help of *ORT (Organization for Rehabilitation and Training), which established well-equipped vocational high schools and also engaged in the training of apprentices.

Vocational high schools are owned and run by public bodies and supervised by the Ministry of Education and Culture. In 1970 there were 278 such schools with 51,000 pupils, run by: ORT-Israel – 84 schools with 13,000 pupils; the Amal network of the Histadrut – 25 schools and 5,250 pupils; local authorities – 94 schools with 15,000 pupils; Youth Aliyah – 22 schools and 32,000 pupils; Agudat Israel – 24 schools with 2,000 pupils; the Working Women's Council (Mo'eẓet ha-Po'alot) – 25 schools and 1,000 pupils; Mizrachi Women's Federation – four schools and 1,540 pupils; WIZO – three schools and 1,250 pupils; the Hadassah Organization – two schools with 900 pupils; and other bodies with 30 schools and 5,600 pupils, most of them learning clerical skills. Students receive both vocational and general education for three or four years, leading to a recognized trade certificate. There are also vocational schools attached to specific industries, the curriculum including practical work on the factory floor. Courses are held for adolescent drop-outs (aged 14–18) from the high schools, the curriculum being devised to enable them to serve in the army in their trades, thus extending their period of training (for apprenticeship training, see above, section on Employment of Juveniles).

For adults, the Ministry of Labor runs specially equipped training centers, some established with outside assistance (e.g., technical aid from the U.S. government, the UN, and the International Labor Office), giving 3–18-month courses depending on the trade. In 1970 there were 22 of these, with about 12,000 trainees. In addition, on-the-job training has been used to deal with the huge number of unskilled adults among the immigrants. The trainee is taught by a skilled tradesman until he is fit for normal employment, and the employer receives a subvention from the government in return for the training. Special attention is devoted to the training of tradesmen to the levels of practical engineer, instructor technician, and foreman, which provide a link between the graduate engineer and the artisan. The shortage of staff at these intermediate levels is one of the more serious defects in Israel's labor force. To fill this gap, the Government Institute for Technical Training has been set up jointly by the Ministries of Labor and Education and Culture, with the technical aid of the International Labor Organization. The institute runs day and evening courses, directly and through the Technion, the universities, and the ORT network. About 6,000 tradesmen attend courses each year. The aptitudes and inclinations of young workers are examined in special vocational guidance centers. There are also diagnosis and observation centers to guide handicapped persons in the choice of a vocation.

ARBITRATION AND MEDIATION. Labor contracts contain provisions for settling differences, generally by agreed arbitration. Sometimes the parties agree on a single arbitrator and sometimes an arbitration court, consisting of one representative each of employees and the employer, and a third person agreed upon by both sides, is set up. This procedure is normally used in disputes over the interpretation of clauses in the labor contract, but not where a new demand is made. Where agreed arbitration is not used, or where the issue is not dealt with in the labor contract, the good offices of the chief labor relations officer at the Ministry of Labor, whose powers are derived from the Settlement of Trade Disputes Law (1957), are invoked. His authority applies to disputes between employers and employees, between an employer and a trade union, or between one trade union and another, but not to disputes between individuals. Either party to a dispute may notify the chief labor relations officer, but in the event of a threat to strike, or to impose a lockout, the party which makes the threat must make the notification.

The officer may mediate in person or appoint a mediator; in general, he prefers the two parties to settle the dispute themselves. Each party must give reasoned replies to the claims of the other side and appear before the mediator at his demand. The parties are not compelled to accept the mediator's proposals, but any signed settlement, whether reached by the parties themselves or in response to the mediator's proposals, has contractual force. The same applies to the ruling of an arbitrator or arbitration commission nominated by the chief labor relations officer when the labor contract provides for agreed arbitration.

There is no compulsory arbitration law in Israel. Attempts to introduce such a law have never secured a majority in the Knesset. Opponents of compulsory arbitration argue that it restricts the freedom of the workers to fight for their interests, that in a democratic country there cannot be control of wages without parallel control of profits, and that, in any case, compulsory arbitration cannot be effectively enforced. Proposals to introduce compulsory arbitration in essential services have also been rejected for the same reasons, as well as because of the difficulty of defining essential services.

STRIKES AND LOCKOUTS. The right to strike is recognized in Israel: strikers and employers imposing a lockout enjoy immunity under the Collective Agreement Law (1957) and the Civil Damages Ordinance. According to the Histadrut's rules, strikes must have the approval of its competent authorities, but wild-cat strikes are not infrequent.

Most strikes are over claims for pay rises and break out before the signature of a new labor contract. The number of strikes over dismissals, the transfer of enterprises, or nonrecognition of labor unions is relatively small; such issues are usually settled through the arbitration machinery specified in the labor contracts. About 60% of the strikes which took place in the decade ending in 1969 were over pay and related issues, 20% over delays in the payment of wages, 10% over dismissals, and 10% over the signing of agreements and the recognition of trade unions; very few were over classification, transfer of factories, and other matters. Strikes are not more frequent in Israel than in other industrialized countries, but in view of the military and economic pressures to which Israel has been subject for a long time, they constitute a grave economic and social burden.

According to an amendment to the Settlement of Trades Disputes Law, passed in 1969, employees or employers must give 15 days' notice to the chief labor relations officer at the Ministry of Labor and to the other party of their intention to declare a strike or a lockout as the case may be, in order to enable the two parties to settle the dispute through direct contact or the chief labor relations officer to attempt to settle it by mediation. Labor contracts include provisions for the settlement of disputes through accepted forms of arbitration. In the great majority of cases, agreements for the settlement of disputes also settle the issue of strike pay. The Histadrut has a strike fund from which grants or loans are made to workers who are on a recognized strike. Neither strikes nor lockouts are regarded in law as a breach of contract, and those responsible are not, therefore, liable for damages – except in cases of sabotage.

UNEMPLOYMENT AND UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE. Fluctuations in the dimensions of immigration and the rate of economic growth, as well as the changing security situation, have led to a varying incidence of unemployment from time to time. A further cause of periodic unemployment has been the dependence of a large part of the Israel economy on construction, which is affected by fluctuations in supply and demand. To alleviate unemployment, the government initiated public works financed from the public purse, such as afforestation, land reclamation, drainage, archaeological excavations, and road construction and maintenance. Relief work of this kind was allocated to the unemployed, each applicant receiving 12–24 days' work per month-depending on the number of persons he had to support. Wages were linked with those of agricultural laborers. Special programs, with five hours' work a day five times per week, were instituted for those with limited ability to work.

Total unemployment figures include both those actually unemployed and those employed on relief work. Two sets of data are published:

(a) manpower surveys, covering a statistical sample of those who make up the civilian labor force aged 14 and over, which define as unemployed those who did not work at all during the week to which the survey related; and

(b) the daily average of unemployed, which is calculated by dividing the total number of unemployment days during the month among those who registered as work seekers at the labor exchanges at least once a week, by the number of working days in the month.

The first set of data includes those who do not normally work; the second covers only those registered at the labor exchanges.

In 1965 it was decided that unemployment grants should be made from the public purse to those unemployed who, for one reason or another, could not be employed even on relief work. The grants, made to persons registered at the labor exchange who had been unemployed for at least 34 days, were the equivalent of 15 days' pay per month at IL 7 per day for a single person, 19 days' pay at IL 8 for a married man without children, and, according to a sliding scale, up to 24 days' pay at IL 10 per day for a man with eight dependents or more. Proposals for the institution of unemployment insurance, financed partly by contributions from workers and employers, were under consideration in 1970.

LABOR COURTS. The Labor Courts Act, establishing a separate judicial network for matters related to labor, came into force in 1969. These matters include labor laws, social conditions, and national insurance questions. The labor courts are empowered to adjudicate claims between employer and employee, disputes arising out of a special collective agreement, touching on the maintenance, applicability, implementation or infraction of the agreement, claims of an employee against a trade union, and any matter related to the National Insurance Law. The claims may relate to trade disputes, employment services, reinstatement of demobilized soldiers, compensation to employees on reserve duty, severance pay, delayed payment of wages, etc.

There is a national labor court, which is also a court of appeal, and four regional labor courts. Each regional labor court is composed of one judge and two lay members, one representing the employees and the other the employers. The national labor court is composed of three judges and one or two representatives each of labor and employers, depending on the case. The labor courts are not bound by the rules of evidence, except in special cases, and are empowered to use the procedure which they regard as best suited to serve the ends of justice. Parties may be represented by appointees of employers' organizations or trade unions, who need not be lawyers.

PENSIONS. There are three types of retirement-insurance schemes:

(a) The national insurance old-age pension (see Israel, State of: *Health, Welfare, and Social Security, section on Social Security and Welfare).

(b) Budgetary insurance entitles the employee to a pension on reaching retirement age (and in certain circumstances at a lower age) equal to 2% of his salary for every year worked, after not less than ten years' service. When an employee has started work after reaching the age of 40, the competent authority may increase his pension in accordance with customary or agreed rules. In this type of scheme, which is in force in the civil service, the employee makes no contribution to the cost of the pension.

(c) There are two types of insurance through pension funds. "Basic insurance" covers pension for the insured person, partial pension and a lump sum for his heirs, mutual life insurance for pensioners and active members of the fund, withdrawal grants, and loans to members. "Comprehensive" pension insurance provides, in addition, full pension for survivors and a full or partial disablement pension.

Contributions vary from 7.5–10% of wages for basic pension, 4–5% coming from the employee and the rest from the employer, and 13.5–16% for the comprehensive pension, the employee paying 4–5% and the employer the rest. Retirement age is 65 for a man and 60 for a woman, or earlier in certain occupations. If an employee continues to work beyond the retirement age, he receives a higher pension on retirement, up to 70% of his salary. The qualifying period of membership is ten years. Accumulated rights may be transferred from one pension fund to another under special conditions laid down in the regulations. An employee who stops working before reaching retirement age is entitled to a severance grant, which includes the accumulated total of his contributions and those of the employer, plus accumulated interest and linkage increments (related to changes in the rate of exchange or the cost of living). Alternatively, if he has at least ten years' contributions to his credit, he may opt to receive the grant on reaching retirement age or continue to pay his contributions in order to receive a full pension. Surviving dependents are entitled to payments ranging from 20% of the deceased's pension for an orphan who has lost one parent to 60% for a widow. Surviving relatives of a member of the fund who dies before acquiring pension rights receive a bereavement grant. A person holding comprehensive insurance for not less than three years is entitled to a disability pension, provided he began to work before the age of 55 (50 for a woman). The pension for a totally disabled person who is unable to work two hours per day is 50% of wages, plus 5% for every dependent (up to a maximum of 20%), plus 1% for every year of service. A partially disabled person receives a pension calculated on the basis of the percentage of disablement.

The Histadrut maintains seven pension funds: for employees of Histadrut institutions, industrial workers, building workers, workers in Histadrut enterprises, agricultural workers, office workers, and workers in cooperatives, excluding transport. There are also company insurance funds in banks, private companies, etc. The pension ranges from 35–40% of the last salary, on the completion of ten years' insurance, up to a maximum of 70% on the completion of 32–35 years.

[Zalman Heyn]

Employment

Successive waves of immigration generally brought with them periods of considerable unemployment and a legacy of underemployment, from which, even in the changed circumstances of the 1960s, it was difficult to escape. Stress was laid on the need to build up the goods-producing sectors – agriculture, industry, and building. In the early days, the development of agriculture was the central Zionist theme, although it is doubtful whether employment in agriculture ever reached 20% of the Jewish labor force. Industrial development began on a serious scale only during World War II, and received special attention after 1955. Because of the lack of previous agricultural and industrial training of most of the immigrants, and the limited growth of the goods-producing sectors, Israel always had a service-based economy.

As late as 1955, 46% of the Jewish labor force was employed in the goods-producing sectors (a proportion slightly higher than that in the United States, the most service-oriented economy in the world, and much lower than in Western Europe). Within the service sectors, the proportion of Jews employed in public and government services was 22%, by far the highest in the world. Whereas in most countries underemployment tended to be concentrated in agriculture, in Israel it tended to be concentrated in public and government services. The unemployment rate, traditionally high in Israel because of unrestricted immigration, reached a peak of about 10% in 1953, but dropped to 7% in 1955.

Between 1955 and 1965, while the Israel gross national product expanded at a real annual rate of 10%, the structure of employment in Israel underwent radical changes. The proportion in the goods-producing sectors actually advanced slightly, from 48.4 to 48.9% (this includes the Israel Arabs). Employment in agriculture, following world trends, declined over the decade, but relative gains in industrial and construction employment more than offset this. Small relative declines in commerce and private services were only partially offset by a relative expansion in public services. The slight rise of employment in goods-producing sectors was contrary to world trends: in Western Europe the proportion employed in the goods-producing sector fell to 50–55%. As Israel living standards neared European levels during this decade, the broad distribution of the labor force between economic sectors began to resemble that of Western Europe. By 1965 the distribution of the labor force by economic sectors had begun to approach normalcy, though some sharp differences were still evident. The proportion of the labor force in industry, despite the rapid absolute and relative rise, was still low compared to Western Europe, as was the proportion in commerce. On the other hand, comparatively large proportions were still engaged in construction and in public services.

The picture of total employment had also changed over the decade. From 1955 to 1960 unemployment fell steadily, from 45,500 to 34,000, or from 7.2 to 4.6% of the labor force. Thereafter, the number of unemployed tended to remain stable, though, because of increased employment, the percentage dropped. The unemployment rate fluctuated only between 3.3 and 3.7% from 1961 through 1965. This rate was considerably lower than that prevailing elsewhere. During the early 1960s, Israel enjoyed its first sustained period of full employment. The residual unemployment was essentially of a frictional character. Indeed, in 1964, a peak year, there were large numbers of unfilled jobs.

The proportion of the total population of working age in the labor force declined slightly over the 1955–1965 decade, but this decline was purely demographic. The number of people in the 14–17 age group and over 55 years of age expanded significantly over the period. This offset increased labor force participation by specific age groups, though differently for men and women. Between 1955 and 1965, labor force participation of male youths aged 14–17 grew: it grew substantially for those over 55 years of age. Thus, while in 1955 it could be argued that male labor force participation was low by western European or American standards, by 1965 it was quite normal.

The labor force participation rates of women also advanced rapidly during the same decade. Despite the unfavorable demographic development, the participation rate grew from 26.5% in 1955 to 30.3% in 1965. But, despite this increased rate, the overall level was generally below that in the United States or Western Europe. The 1965 employment rate for women up to the birth of their first child was comparable to that in other countries. Thereafter, particularly after the age of 35, the rate was much lower, i.e., fewer married women with children tended to return to the labor force as compared to other advanced countries. This is due to the extremely low labor force participation of Jewish women originating from Islamic countries. These women had many children, lived in traditional style, and had few labor market skills. Daughters of these immigrant women are, however, adapting more to western work and childbearing patterns, and the problem appears to be simply generational.

The economic and employment growth patterns were abruptly halted by the recession of 1966–67. During this period, employment declined, especially in industry and building, and unemployment soared briefly over the 10% mark. After the Six-Day War a very rapid recovery set in with a trend to return to full employment. There was, however, a further relative shift to services caused mainly by a decline in building employment and a further decline in agricultural employment.

With the approach of the 1970s, Israel's capacity for economic growth tends to be limited largely by manpower shortage. Immigration is still relatively small, and manpower reserves have been drained. The important tasks are to reduce frictional unemployment and to utilize underemployed manpower by increased training in needed skills.

[Herbert Allen Smith]

Developments in Employment and Labor, 1970–1980

EMPLOYMENT. In the period from 1970 to 1978, the Israeli civilian labor force grew, on the average, by 3% per annum, reaching 1,318,100 persons in 1980, and the demand for workers also increased steadily. Out of the total civilian labor force in 1980 approximately 1,254,000 were employed, while the remainder, 63,600, were unemployed.

The unemployment rate, i.e., the number of unemployed persons as a percentage of all persons in the labor force declined from 3.8% in 1970 to 3.6% in 1978, but increased to 4.8% in 1980. Of particular significance during the period was the increased participation of women in the labor force. Their percentage grew, on the average, by 5% annually, whereas the number of men rose by a mere 2%.

Employment of residents of the Administered Areas in Israel also rose significantly during this period, from approximately 21,000 in 1970 to close to 70,500 in 1980, an average of 16% per annum. The majority of these workers have found employment in Israel in construction, manufacturing and agriculture.

Data from the national Employment Service also reflect the rising demand for labor in Israel's economy. Through 1978 the number of job seekers (monthly average) declined during the period under review by 3% per annum, while the number of job openings (monthly average) declined by 2%. As a result, the number of jobs for which no workers were found had doubled.

WAGES. The average real wages of workers rose by 22% during the period under review. The highest rise was in the economic branch of electricity and water – 74%, and the lowest in the building trade, only 7%.

The rise in industry was greater than that in public services, which increased by only 12% as compared with 29% in industry. From this it would appear that the standard of wages in the industrial sector was 10% higher than in the public service sector, which was a reversal of the trend of the previous decade.

Although the average real increase in wages in the financing and business services economic branch was 22%, a breakdown of the branches reveals that whereas in banking, insurance and property the increase was 32%, in other business services it was only 6%.

The situation changed again somewhat in 1979 as a result of significant increases in salary in the industrial sector and an even greater increase in the public sector, which also received the differences in pay for 1978 retroactively.

The demands of the workers for nominally significant pay increases were affected by the increased rate in the rise of prices at the end of 1978 for the late, partial compensation given through the cost-of-living raise and by the erosion of disposable income because of only partial adjustments in the income tax brackets.

By the end of the year the rapidly increasing rate of inflation had eroded the real gain in salary, despite the fact that the nominal salary continued to increase quickly. The constantly increasing consumer prices resulted in the real salary of employed workers increasing during the year by 3.7% over all the economy and close to only 1% in the industrial sector.

LABOR REIATIONS. The period 1971–1979 can be divided into three main sub-periods which were influenced by three factors extraneous to labor relations: the Yom Kippur War and the rise in the cost of raw materials and in that of oil in the world.

The period January 1971–September 1973 was one of economic growth; October 1973–December 1974, the period of war and emergency, 1975–1979, a slowing down in economic activity.

The first period was characterized by a flourishing and developing economy. There was a demand for workers which could not be met and which led to pressure in the labor market, which was accompanied by an inflationary process. An attempt was made to restrain the rise of wages by collective wage through "package deals," i.e., agreements between the government, the Histadrut, and the employers on limited wage increases, the employers on their part undertaking not to raise prices. The function of the government was price control and an undertaking not to increase municipal taxes.

The "package deals" entered into in 1970 were still in force in 1971, but the rise in prices, with a concomitant increase in the medium of circulation at a time when wage increases were restricted by the package deals, brought about strong pressure in the form of strikes and labor disputes – especially in the public sector – to increase salaries. The strikes, called while the agreements were still in force, were confined to small groups who did not receive the authorization of the Histadrut. They amounted to 169 strikes, involving 88,265 workers with 178,612 days of work lost, and encompassed 58% in the public sector, 25.4% in the private and 9% in that of the Histadrut.

A similar deal was signed in 1972 for the years 1972–73, but the gap between the increase in prices and of goods, which became greater as a result of the devaluation of the currency in August 1971 and the growing inflation in the second half of 1972, had the effect of drawing out the negotiations and the abandonment of the framework of these agreements, with the result that the signing of many of the agreements did not take place until the second half of 1972, and in some cases 1973. The number of strikes and of workers involved was almost identical with that of 1971, but the number of work days lost increased to 235,058. Similarly, although there were only 96 strikes in 1973, they encompassed 122,345 workers, and 375,020 work days were lost.

In 1974 the state of emergency which continued after the Yom Kippur War and the fact that a considerable number of workers were still mobilized, was not conducive to strikes. During the war the labor agreements were extended for a period of three months, and in most branches they were further extended on the termination of this period, the parties involved agreeing to an increase in basic wages of IL50–IL80, while the minimum wage and the cost-of-living increment were increased.

There was a rapid return to the pre-war situation in the second half of 1974 which found its expression in the relative rise in the number of strikes. The majority of strikes were in the public sector such as El Al, the Dead Sea Works, and the ports. Signs of the third period, 1975–78, became evident. As the agreements previously entered into were due to lapse in 1976 – in January in the private sector and in April in the public – the number of strikes in 1975 (118) returned to that of the pre-war period, although the number of work days lost were fewer. In the second half of 1975 the reform in the income tax regulations, the main item of which – insofar as it affected workers – was that all income, including side benefits, was liable to taxation, had its effect upon the labor situation, causing strikes and labor disputes.

The year 1976 saw the signing of labor agreements. In the private sector, they were signed in February and included an increase of 6% for that year and an additional 3% for 1977, but in the industrial sector a larger increase was agreed upon. The agreements in the public sector, which were not signed until April, provided an increase of 2.5% for 1976 and a similar further increase for 1977. The gradual abolition of special increments was also agreed to, as a result of which strikes and sanctions on the part of those affected took place, causing a considerable loss of working days. In view of the realization that the increments granted did not keep pace with the continuous inflation, steps were taken particularly, but not solely, in the public sector to obtain higher wages than were provided for in the collective agreement, and were reflected in the larger number of strikes (50) in the third quarter of the year.

In the light of these many labor disputes in the public sector, negotiations were instituted between the Histadrut and the government for the establishment of an agreed arbitration body, which was set up in February 1977.

The results of the elections to the Ninth Knesset in 1977 had considerable influence on labor relations, and the price increases, which reached 30%–40%, gave rise to the feeling in the public sector that the increases in wages granted in the labor agreement of 1976 were not commensurate with them. The approaching elections afforded the workers in this sector an opportunity to apply pressure on the government to obtain increases. Forty percent of the strikes and 75% of the working days lost occurred in the first quarter of the year preceding the election. The steep rise in the number of working days lost was caused by the large labor groups involved, such as the Treasury officials, the Transport Ministry, the Bank Leumi, and the institutes of the representative workers' organizations.

In 1978, for the first time in three years, there was a marked increase in employment in the industrial sector without a corresponding slowing down in the employment in the public sector. The collective negotiations on labor agreements took place against a background of galloping inflation.

The still further increases which were anticipated during the year gave rise to the need for the working out of an agreed policy on wages between the employer, the government and the Histadrut, in order to render possible the conducting of negotiations in the industrial and public sectors, and the date for the coming into effect of the agreements was postponed to April.

In the industrial sector a collective agreement was signed on March 20, and on its basis individual agreements were entered into in various economic branches, and undertakings, but in a number of cases they were accompanied by labor disputes, particularly in the industrial undertakings connected with the public sector.

In the public sector the negotiations were protracted for a long time, during which prices rose and corresponding situations were established which arose from decisions arrived at through arbitration. The agreements in the public sector were not concluded until November, after which various trade unions joined in them, but as a result of the slow pace of the negotiations, agreements signed at the beginning of 1979 granted higher increments to some of the workers in the public sector and brought about added demands, from organizations which had already signed agreements, for the reopening of negotiations.

These protracted negotiations were accompanied by considerable unrest, particularly in the public sector and large unions. The steep increase in days of work lost was due to the strikes of the teachers' unions in which no less than 500,000 days were lost, but it should be pointed out that most of them were subsequently made up. Sixty percent of the strikes were without the approval of the Histadrut.

The year 1979 was also a restless year in labor relations, despite the fact that, with the introduction of the new economic policy towards the end of the year, there was a noticeable decline in the number of strikes.

In the course of the year there were 116 full strikes in which 529,362 working days were lost, representing an increase of 39% in the number of strikes compared with the previous year, but the number of work days lost was only half of that of the previous year.

There were also 98 partial strikes (i.e., sanctions of different types). The majority (52%) were in the public sector, most of them (52%) of which were for wages and benefits which included demands for new classification of scales.

In 1980 there was a sharp drop in the number of full strikes (84) and partial strikes (54); the number of work days lost was half that of 1979.

The breakdown of the strikes 1971–78 reveals a number of tendencies or characteristics of strikes in Israel:

1. Although the number of strikes remained more or less constant, the number of workers involved and working days lost rose steadily (with the exception of 1974). Even taking into consideration the increase in the number employed, there were larger groups participating in strikes (for example, 88,265 in 1971 and 250,420 in 1979, although for 1980 the number of strikers was 91,451).

2. The majority of strikes took place in the public sector, to which can be added those included under "others" which include doctors, nurses, engineers, teachers with a sharp drop in the other two, the smallest number being in the Histadrut sector.

3. The proportions of distribution of strikes among the various economic branches changed each year. Whereas in 1971, 44.6% of strikes were in the public services, in 1978 it went down to only 20%, while in transport and communications it rose from 14.3% to 36.5%. In industry the strikes were connected with the signing of collective agreements.

4. Some 50%–60% of the strikes were unauthorized. It also reveals a slight increase in the number of lockouts by employers.

LEGISLATION. *The Settlement of Labor Disputes – Law of 1957.* In 1972 this law was amended with the aim of preventing strikes – including slowdowns – during the period covered by agreements. The law defines as unprotected any strike in the public sector where a collective agreement applies, except for strikes not connected with wages or social conditions and which received the authorization of the Histadrut. The same applied to strikes even when the agreements had lapsed if they had not been authorized by the Histadrut. In these cases the workers were not protected and they could be charged with invoking monetary damage.

In 1977 another amendment was adopted which defined a partial, non-protected strike. In brief it may be stated that it provided for partial payment of wages for partial work, i.e., if the workers instituted sanctions, the employers were entitled to apply to the labor courts, and if they decided that the workers were indeed instituting slowdowns, they would be entitled only to partial wages. The amendment was an attempt to grant the employer in the public service a deterrent against such workers after prolonged use on their part of this weapon.

The Law of Collective Agreements – 1957. A number of amendments were enacted to this law also in 1976. One provided for the setting up of committees to supervise the implementation of extended provisions in general collective agreements given by the minister of labor and social affairs.

Despite the fact that, as a result of these instructions, non-organized workers were granted the privileges which had been achieved between the Histadrut and the employers, there was no guarantee that these workers would receive the privileges granted them by the extended provisions. The supervisory committee was set up in order to ensure that they should receive the amendment authorized them to make a list of all the undertakings subject to the law and ensure adherence to them. Each such committee was composed of representatives of the Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs, representatives of the Histadrut and of the employers. A further amendment made it obligatory upon the employer to pay a fee for organizational technical work to the employers' organization, which is a party to the extended collective agreement.

Additional amendments made at the same time granted the right of inspecting collective agreements legally registered, and it was also laid down that an extension order relating to the cost of living allowance, price increase compensation or minimum wage could go into effect from a date up to three months prior to the date of publication.

[Nurit Nirel]

The 1980s and After

With the rise of the Likud to power in 1977 and the acceleration of processes that would alter the economic profile of the country, great changes occurred in the labor sector as well – both institutionally and in the condition of the individual worker. The very rapid transformation of the economy from socialist to capitalist lines in the 1980s in the midst of runaway inflation left the two cornerstones of the socialist economy – the Histadrut and the kibbutz – literally reeling. The Histadrut would be forced to sell off its economic holdings to survive and be divested of its Kuppat Ḥolim health care system under the new State Health Insurance Law, as well of management of its pension fund, thus losing its standing as an economic giant and, in health care, one of its main attractions as a labor union. Membership consequently dropped from 1.5 million in the mid-1980s, 75% of the labor force, to around 700,000 (around 30%) in the early 2000s. Though the Histadrut continued to operate as an ordinary labor union, it was now perceived as being controlled by a few powerful company unions (Bezek, the Electric Corp.) and its strike activity was mainly confined to the public sector. The decline of the kibbutz was also symptomatic of the country's transformation. Caught up in the speculative fever of the 1980s and crushed by spiraling interest rates in the accompanying inflation, many found themselves on the brink of bankruptcy. At the same time, internal pressures weighed in to bring about far-reaching social and economic changes that in effect ended collective life. Among these changes were differential salaries, outside employment for members, privatization of services, and nonmember housing, making the kibbutzim resemble ordinary communities.

The demise of socialism and the special ethos that had characterized the country in its formative years under a Likud government that promoted free enterprise and private initiative, and ironically derived a good deal of its support from low-income voters, together with a broad range of additional factors that affected the labor sector – the failure of traditional industries, rising unemployment, the influx of foreign workers, a welfare system that undermined the work ethic, and then cutbacks in welfare spending that caused hundreds of thousands to slip below the poverty line, a persistent recession tied to the second intifada and global economic conditions – all combined to undercut the status of working men and women. Perhaps nothing was more symptomatic of Israel's new economic spirit than the Basic Law: Freedom of Occupation passed by the Knesset in 1992 and interpreted by the clas-

Employment in Israel by Economic Sector (1955–1991/92)

	Percentage distribution by economic branch								
Year	Agriculture	Industry and mining	Construction	Utilities	Commerce	Transportation	Public services	Private services	Total employment
1955	17.6	21.5	9.3	2.0	13.5	6.6	21.2	8.3	585,700
1960	17.3	23.2	9.3	2.2	12.3	6.2	22.0	7.5	701,800
1965	13.0	25.4	10.5	1.8	12.6	6.9	22.6	7.2	879,200
1969	10.5	26.2	8.2	1.9	12.9	7.7	24.2	8.4	945,800
1991/92	3.4	21.4	6.6	1.1	24.0	6.3	29.6	7.5	1,583,000

Source: Labor Force Surveys, Central Bureau of Statistics.

sically liberal Barak Supreme Court as protecting the right of employers to fire workers, but not of workers to work.

The upshot of Israel's new economic reality is that the gap between rich and poor has been steadily growing. At the beginning of 2006 average income in the upper 10% bracket was 12 times higher than in the lower 10% bracket and accounted for 27.8% of national income. Half the country's wage earners, with incomes of up to a little over $2000 a month, accounted for less than 20% of national income.

In 2006 Israel had a labor force of around 2.5 million, representing about half its working age population, a percentage considerably lower that in the developed nations of the OECD. Unemployment was somewhat over 10%, with the rest of the nonworking population not part of the work force. Nonparticipation in the work force was particularly marked among those with little education, Arab women, ultra-Orthodox men, and residents of provincial areas.

The labor force was employed in the following sectors: public services (31.2%), manufacturing (20.2%), finance and business (13.1%), commerce (12.8%), construction (7.5%), personal and other services (6.4%), transport, storage and communications (6.2%), and agriculture, forestry and fishing (2.6%).

[Fred Skolnik (2nd ed.)]

See also *Israel, State of: Economic Affairs.

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RELIGIOUS LIFE AND COMMUNITIES

Jews

UNDER OTTOMAN RULE. The Jews of the pre-Zionist old *yishuv*, both *Sephardim (from the Orient) and *Ashkenazim (of European origin), dedicated their lives to the fulfillment of religious precepts: the study of the *Torah and the meticulous observance of its commandments; prayer at the holy sites for the coming of the Messiah and interment of their remains in the Holy Land to await his advent. They lived apart – mainly in the holy cities of Jerusalem, Hebron, Safed, and Tiberias – under the authority of their rabbis and religious courts (*battei din*, see **Bet Din*), which dealt with civil disputes as well as problems of **halakhah*, with their own autonomous educational, charitable, and social institutions. Many of the most renowned Jewish religious scholars of the time were to be found in the old *yishuv*. Indeed, religious learning was so widespread that even the humblest possessed a basic knowledge of the Torah, if not more.

Communal Organization. While the *yishuv* was still very small, Ashkenazim and Sephardim prayed together and occasionally intermarried. As the number of Ashkenazi immigrants increased, however, the two communities moved apart, while the Ashkenazim were divided among themselves according to their respective lands of origin. Social and political conditions under Ottoman rule militated against the participation of the Jewish population in the economic life of the country. Moreover, many of the immigrants were elderly people who had come to the Holy Land to be buried there, and there was a high proportion of widows and orphans. Hence, the old *yishuv* had to depend for its sustenance upon contributions from abroad, known as **ḥalukkah*.

Accordingly, in every community there were subcommunities called *kolelim* (or *kolelot*), each with its *va'ad*, (committee), which distributed the funds received from its place of origin. This was the only form of communal organization that existed at the time. At the turn of the century, there were Sephardi *kolelim* of Jews from North Africa, Georgia, Persia, Aleppo, Iraq, Bukhara, Daghestan, Afghanistan, and Yemen. The Ashkenazim were even more fragmented. They were not only divided into *Ḥasidim and *Perushim* (descendants of disciples of *Elijah of Vilna), but subdivided into over 30 *kolelim*, which maintained the only registers of births and deaths, marriages and divorces. Each *kolel* kept to itself; each prospered or declined in proportion to the support it received from its parent community in the Diaspora. Although the total amount contributed may have been increased by the splintering, the resultant dissension impeded the development of the *yishuv*.

Aware of the neglect of the common good caused by the proliferation of the *kolelim*, and influenced by the dominant personality of R. Samuel *Salant (see below), rabbis and communal leaders of the Jerusalem Ashkenazi community established in 1866 an overall committee of all *kolelim*, which they named Keneset Yisrael. Its functions were: to handle the affairs of the Ashkenazim in Jerusalem, especially the payment of taxes to the government; to distribute *ḥalukkah* funds to families not belonging to any of the *kolelim*; and to provide help in special individual cases. Its income was derived from funds collected in countries not connected with any specific *kolel*, such as the United States, Great Britain, and South Africa.

The supervision of *sheḥitah* (ritual slaughter) to ensure perfect *kashrut* was a matter of great concern, as in any Orthodox Jewish community. At first, complete control was in the hands of the Sephardim, but in 1864 the *ḥakham bashi* (chief rabbi) was persuaded to allow the creation of a separate *sheḥitah* board for the Ashkenazi community in Jerusalem. The fees paid for its certification became an important source of revenue for the Ashkenazi rabbis and other religious functionaries. In the other cities Sephardim and Ashkenazim also kept their *sheḥitah* separate.

Like the *kolelim*, the voluntary burial societies became more and more fragmented as time went on. At first all interments took place in the ground owned by the Sephardim on the Mount of Olives, but in 1858 the Ashkenazim acquired their own section on the mount and established a separate burial society. Important as a source of revenue from legacies and the sale of plots, the burial societies became the adjuncts of the various *kolelim*, and to this day there is a multiplicity of such societies in Jerusalem.

The Rabbinate and its Courts. Supreme religious and judicial authority was vested in the *ḥakham bashi* of Jerusalem, also entitled *rishon le-Zion*, who was elected by the leaders of the local Sephardi community. On the recommendation of the *ḥakham bashi* of the Ottoman Empire, he received a firman from the Sublime Porte appointing him official representative of the Jewish community of the Holy Land in its dealings with the government, and investing him with authority over all Jewish spiritual and religious affairs. He and his courts had exclusive jurisdiction in matters of matrimony, personal status, charitable trusts, certification of wills, and legacies of all Jewish Ottoman subjects. His investiture was marked by a solemn ceremony conducted in the R. Johanan b. Zakkai Synagogue in Jerusalem. In the discharge of his functions, he was assisted by two committees: one consisting of Sephardi rabbinical judges, for religious affairs; the other, composed of lay communal leaders, for dealing with the government, etc.

The office was held by Raphael Meir *Panigel (1879–93) and then by Jacob Saul b. Eliezer Elyashar (1893–1906). R. Elyashar's death was followed by a virulent controversy over the succession. When R. Ya'akov *Meir, who, in addition to his rabbinic knowledge, had studied languages and sciences on his own, was elected by a majority, the conservative section of the community vigorously opposed him, and he consequently left the country and accepted the post of chief rabbi in Smyrna. In 1907 the more progressive element elected R. Eliyahu-Moshe *Panigel, who had studied for a while at the modern Laemmel school, but he was forced to resign in 1908 and was replaced by R. Naḥman Batito, who held the office until his death in 1915. In the following year R. Nissim Yehudah Danon was elected, but he relinquished his post in 1918, and no further appointment was made until the official establishment of the Chief Rabbinate in 1921.

The Ashkenazim, who for the most part were foreign nationals, conducted their own rabbinic courts and maintained their own educational and philanthropic institutions. In practice, the large *kolelim* were autonomous, and the *ḥakham bashi* made no effort to interfere. R. Samuel Salant was recognized as the undisputed head of the Ashkenazi community in Jerusalem for almost 70 years (1841–1909), as it grew from 500 to 30,000 souls, though he refused to accept any formal appointment. His enormous erudition and piety earned him the deference of the Sephardim as well. He curbed dissension and also the opposition of the old *yishuv* to the new. As he became weakened by advancing age, he appointed R. Eliyahu David *Rabinovich-Teomim (known as "the *ADeReT*") in 1901 to assist him as head of the *bet din* of the Ashkenazi community of Jerusalem, but the latter died in 1903. On the death of R. Samuel Salant in 1909, R. Ḥayyim Berlin assumed the title and held it until his death in 1915. No new appointment could be made during World War I. In 1895 R. *Shneur Zalman of Lyady, who had settled in Jerusalem, founded, together with local ḥasidic dignitaries, a ḥasidic *bet din* in the city, which functioned in harmony with that of the Ashkenazi majority. In the Sephardi communities, too, separate rabbinic courts emerged for the Moroccan and Yemenite communities. In Safed, Tiberias, and Hebron, the Ashkenazi and Sephardi rabbinates conducted their respective religious courts.

Decisions in all matters, civil and religious, public and private, were rendered in accordance with the law of the Torah. The litigants willingly submitted to the verdicts of the *battei din*; very rarely was it necessary to compel a recalcitrant to comply with a court order by withholding his *ḥalukkah* allotment or imposing some other penalty. Deviations from orthodoxy could be punished by the imposition of the **ḥerem* ("ban"), which was invoked against many prominent rabbis and notable persons. In 1886 R. Naphtali Herz ha-Levi Weidenbaum was sent from Jerusalem to be rabbi of the growing community in Jaffa. In 1890, the Ashkenazim elected a community council, which was joined by the Sephardim and which conducted its deliberations in Hebrew.

In 1904, R. Abraham Isaac ha-Kohen *Kook was appointed rabbi of Jaffa and the surrounding Jewish villages. His was the first appointment made independently of Jerusalem, though he still received his modest salary from Keneset Yisrael, supplemented by fees from the Rishon le-Zion wine cellars for his certificate of *kashrut*. His appointment created a veritable revolution in Jewish religious life. He was the first outstanding rabbi in Ereẓ Israel who was a Zionist. His strong character, rabbinic erudition, and mastery of philosophic and mystic teachings enabled him to pursue his own independent course. Holding that even the least religious of the new settlers had been motivated by deep, subconscious religious impulses to become pioneers in the Land of Israel, and that secular Zionism would therefore ultimately become religious, he treated the nonobservant with respect and affection, proffering them his warm friendship. To the new *yishuv* he was an inspiration, and even the most doughty anti-Zionists among the old had to treat him with respect. R. Ben-Zion Meir Ḥai *Ouziel, appointed Sephardi chief rabbi of Jaffa in 1912, was also an avowed Zionist. Having gone abroad to attend a world conference of *Agudat Israel in 1914, Rabbi Kook was prevented from returning to Jaffa by the outbreak of World War I.

Education. The *yeshivot were of the same pattern as their Diaspora counterparts, except that in the Holy Land heads of families and even the elderly continued to study and draw students' stipends in addition to their regular *ḥalukkah* allocations. In the earliest-founded villages, the farmers' sons would study Torah in the evenings, generally with the local **shoḥatim* as teachers. Between 1900 and 1905 a few more progressive *ḥadarim* were founded, and R. Zerah Braverman, head of the Me'ah She'arim Yeshivah, together with his associates, established *talmud torah*s where secular subjects were taught in conformity with the spirit of Jewish tradition (see also Israel, State of: *Education).

Shemittah. A new issue erupted as the result of the existence of Jewish farming villages. The *sabbatical year (*shemittah*) 5649 (1888/89), when Jewish law required farmers to leave their fields fallow, was approaching. The question arose as to whether they must actually abstain from cultivating their fields or could evade the prohibition by the legal device of having the land "sold" formally to a non-Jew. The Jerusalem rabbis adamantly opposed the formal sale of the land. Some of the settlers abstained from all work, some relied on the rabbinically prepared bill of sale, and others openly defied the *shemittah* laws. The debate was acrimonious and prolonged, growing more intense from one sabbatical year to the next. For the year 5670 (1909/10), Rabbi Kook himself arranged the bill of sale and the conflict reached its peak. The Ashkenazi rabbis of the old *yishuv* endeavored to enlist support all over the world against anything but the complete cessation of all work on the land, although Rabbi Kook pleaded that such rigid adherence to the restrictions would threaten the very existence of the Jewish villages.

UNDER THE BRITISH MANDATE. *The New Yishuv Expands.* From 1919 onward the texture of the *yishuv* began to change, as large numbers of immigrants streamed in; ten or fifteen years later the new *yishuv* had, in numbers, overtaken and surpassed the old. Many of the middle-class families who arrived from eastern Europe were religious, some Ḥasidim. They gravitated toward Tel Aviv and Haifa, where they founded their synagogues and other religious institutions in the traditional mode. They differed from the old *yishuv*, however, in their positive attitude to organized communal life and their western clothing. Many of them filled the ranks of the Orthodox Agudat Israel movement and established its educational system. The Yemenite immigrants who flocked to the newer settlements, especially to Jaffa and Tel Aviv, were deeply religious in outlook and feeling. A considerable number of German Jews who arrived during the 1930s were observant Jews; they established synagogues and religious institutions of their own and made their contribution to religious education.

The Chief Rabbinate. With the end of Turkish rule, the office of *ḥakham bashi* ceased to exist. Furthermore, there had been no president of the Ashkenazi *bet din* of Jerusalem from 1915. On the initiative of Chaim *Weizmann and communal leaders the office of the Rabbinate of the Jewish Community in Jerusalem was established with the participation of Sephardi and Ashkenazi rabbis. Its budget was covered by the Zionist Commission with funds provided by the American Jewish *Joint Distribution Committee. The British authorities granted some measure of recognition, and the rabbinate functioned both as a court of first instance and as a court of appeal. The Va'ad Kelali (Jerusalem community council) convened a national conference of rabbis and heads of *kolelim*, yeshivot, and other institutions, which invited Rabbi Kook, who was about to return to the country, to become president of the *bet din* and chief rabbi of Jerusalem. His former antagonists bitterly opposed the nomination, but he accepted the position. Rabbi Kook's prestige and influence extended far beyond the area of his jurisdiction.

Some of the rabbis of Jerusalem, led by R. Yiẓḥak Yeruḥam Diskin and R. Yosef Ḥayyim *Sonnenfeld, regarded the newly inaugurated rabbinate as a Zionist institution and a disaster for religious Jewry. They went so far as to designate the anniversary of its founding a day of fasting and prayer. They therefore organized their own Ashkenazi council, which later became the *Edah ha-Ḥaredit* ("Orthodox Community") of Agudat Israel, with its own *bet din* (today more or less identical with the *Neturei Karta, who do not recognize the State of Israel). In 1920 the first British high commissioner, Sir Herbert *Samuel, appointed a committee headed by Norman *Bentwich, the attorney general, to consider the creation of a united Chief Rabbinate for the entire country. The committee recommended that a board of 71 electors, of whom two-thirds would be officiating rabbis and one-third laymen, elect a Chief Rabbinate Council for Palestine. This body would consist of Sephardi and Ashkenazi chief rabbis as joint presidents, three Sephardi and three Ashkenazi rabbis as members, and three laymen in an advisory capacity. The Rabbinate would function both as a court of first instance and as a court of appeal. A committee met early in 1921 to arrange the election. It drew up a list of 88 officiating rabbis (59 of them from Jerusalem) and 34 laymen. Later that year, the electors assembled in Jerusalem under the presidency of R. Yehudah Leib Fishman (*Maimon). After prolonged discussion, particularly over the proposal for lay counselors, the elections took place on February 23, and the council was elected, with R. Kook and R. Ya'akov Meir as chief rabbis (The Sephardi chief rabbi retained the title of *rishon le-Zion*). The government immediately recognized the council and any *bet din* sanctioned by it as "the sole authorities in matters of Jewish Law" and undertook to execute through the civil courts judgments given by its *bet din*. The appointment of *ḥakham bashi* was declared to have lapsed. In 1922 the jurisdiction of the Chief Rabbinate was defined by the Order-in-Council. Section 53 of the order stipulated: "The Rabbinical Courts of the Jewish Community shall have:

(a) exclusive jurisdiction in matters of marriage and divorce, alimony and confirmation of wills of members of their community other than foreigners…

(b) Jurisdiction in any other matter of personal status of such persons, where all the parties to the action consent to their jurisdiction.

(c) Exclusive jurisdiction over any case as to the constitution or internal administration of a Wakf or religious endowment constituted before the Rabbinical Courts according to Jewish Law."

In 1928, when the government finally approved the Regulations of the Jewish Community Keneset Yisrael, the Chief Rabbinate Council was recognized by it as the supreme religious body of the Jewish community.

The Chief Rabbinate was not recognized by the religious zealots of Jerusalem. Nonreligious Jews set up their own Courts of Peace (*battei mishpat ha-shalom*), which followed a combination of civil and Jewish law. Although the Mandatory authorities and their High Court of Justice tended to restrict the jurisdiction of the Rabbinate, it regulated a number of matters that had been neglected. It supervised, for example, compliance with the biblical precepts concerned with the cultivation of the soil, such as the separation of tithes (*ma'aser*) from agricultural produce, and the proper observance of the laws of **orlah* and *kilayim*. With the decline of the craft of the scribe in Eastern Europe, all manner of individuals in Jerusalem began to engage in the writing of scrolls of the law and the texts for **tefillin* and **mezuzot*. By its certification stamp, the Rabbinate was able to assure purchasers that the articles were produced in conformity with the prescriptions of Jewish religious law. The Rabbinate also arranged for the immigration of some 3,000 rabbis from Europe above the regular immigration quota.

The Chief Rabbinate Council was enlarged by the cooption of a number of renowned religious scholars. The first incumbents were succeeded by Chief Rabbis Isaac Halevi *Herzog (1936–59) and Ben-Zion Meir Ḥai Ouziel (1939–54). During their tenure, relations with the lay authorities were harmonious and fruitful. R. Herzog played a leading role in the relations between the Jewish population and the Mandatory government. He frequently appeared on behalf of the *yishuv* before the high commissioner and the various commissions appointed to investigate the situation in Palestine. Together with his colleague, R. Ouziel, he initiated cooperation between scientists and rabbis in seeking technological solutions to halakhic problems. He hailed the emergence of the new State of Israel as the beginning of the ultimate redemption.

Local Rabbinates. According to the regulations of Keneset Yisrael, the *battei din* and communal rabbis appointed by a local community and sanctioned by the Chief Rabbinate were recognized as official rabbis and served as the religious representatives of the community in its relations with the governmental district authorities. The local rabbinates served as courts of first instance, and their offices worked harmoniously with the committees of the local communities. With the increase in the population of Jaffa and, later, in Tel Aviv, hundreds of synagogues, houses of study (*battei midrash*) and yeshivot were established and many district rabbis were appointed. *Battei din* with limited jurisdiction were set up to deal with divorce, *kashrut*, etc. The two local chief rabbis were R. Solomon *Aronson and R. Ouziel. Rabbi Aronson was succeeded, on his death in 1935, by R. Moshe Avigdor *Amiel, a leader of the World Mizrachi movement, and R. Ouziel was followed, on his appointment as joint chief rabbi of Palestine in 1939, by R. Moshe *Toledano, a native of Tiberias. In Haifa R. Yehoshua Kaniel, of Jerusalem, was appointed in 1922 to the *bet din* and later became the Ashkenazi chief rabbi of the city. Among the Sephardi chief rabbis of Haifa were R. Eliahu Reine (1923–43), R. Nissim Ohanah (1943–66), and Rabbi Eliahu Bakshi-Doron (1975–1993).

THE KEHILLOT (COMMUNITY COUNCILS). A single community council had served both the Ashkenazim and Sephardim of Jaffa and continued to function for both towns when Tel Aviv was founded. At first it drew its income from *sheḥitah* fees; only in 1919 was a small, direct tax levied, yielding LP 500–1,000 per annum from 1919 to 1925. A joint council was elected in Haifa in 1908 and conducted its operations energetically from its inception. The other communities, however, lacked resources and could not control the local institutions or provide adequate communal services; for generations they had been accustomed to rely on outside support from the *ḥalukkah* or other forms of financial aid. In Jerusalem the first community council was elected in 1918, and similar bodies came into being in Tiberias, Safed, and Hebron in 1919. It was only after the regulations governing the *kehillot* were finally approved by Keneset Yisrael in 1928 that the community councils began to increase their activities. They determined the number of rabbis to be appointed and set up their own *sheḥitah* boards, later called religious councils, which organized and supervised religious facilities and services: *sheḥitah*, synagogues, ritual immersion pools (**mikva'ot*), interments, the separation of tithes from agricultural produce, etc. Where not less than three-quarters of the local population were Jewish, the municipal authority, according to an act of 1921, also performed the functions of the community council or *kehillah*.

Only in 1932, after protracted negotiations with the existing council in Jerusalem, did elections for a new council finally take place there. Several years had to pass before the Jerusalem community council embraced all public services: welfare, culture, education, etc.; its religious council was responsible for *sheḥitah*, *kashrut*, burials, and so forth. In 1929, the Va'ad Le'ummi, the executive organ of Keneset Yisrael, resolved that the community council of Tel Aviv and Jaffa should amalgamate with the Tel Aviv municipal council, which, as Tel Aviv was a totally Jewish city, could fulfill the functions of both bodies. The community council refused to accept the decision, however, and held its own elections in 1933. Its activities were limited to religious services and in 1939 it was absorbed by the municipality. The community council in Haifa was founded in 1931. In Safed elections for the community council took place in 1932 and in Tiberias in 1934. The Jews of Hebron, who were evacuated after the Arab massacre of 1929, returned in 1931 and elected their community council, but were obliged to leave again in 1936 on account of Arab violence. By the beginning of the 1940s, community councils had been set up in Petaḥ Tikvah, Bene Berak, Ramat Gan, Netanyah, Ḥaderah, Reḥovot, and Bat Yam; in other localities, local committees were recognized as community councils, while in some places religious councils were also established.

Education and Settlement. In 1920 the Mizrachi combined its schools with some other religious ones under a supervisory committee headed by R. Ouziel. This religious network, which consisted of 15 primary schools and eight kindergartens, with 2,137 pupils (compared with 6,622 in the general schools), became a part of the Zionist school system with an inspector of its own, and, after prolonged negotiations, was granted autonomy within the system (see Israel, State of: *Education). The Mizrachi "trend" grew rapidly: in 1928 it had 61 schools and 5,774 pupils. In 1948, there were 26,654 pupils in the Mizrachi trend – about one-fifth of the total; 7,253 in Agudat Israel schools; some 3,000 in those of the old *yishuv*; 2,000 in private schools; and 4,000 in yeshivot.

Modern secondary yeshivot were founded by the religious youth movements: *Bnei Akiva (the first at Kefar ha-Ro'eh in 1940); No'ar Mizrachi (the first at *Pardes Ḥannah in 1945) and Ezra, the youth movement of *Po'alei Agudat Israel.

Apart from the religious pioneering youth movements, which established collective and cooperative settlements, Ḥasidim from Poland arrived in the 1920s, during the Fourth Aliyah, and participated in the "return to the soil." Although they had never worked with their hands before, they stood up to their knees in the marshes, their caftans tucked in at the waist, devoting themselves with ḥasidic fervor to what they regarded as a sacred task: draining the swamps of the Holy Land. In 1924 they founded the first religious moshav, *Kefar Ḥasidim, in the valley of Zebulun. *Bene-Berak, near Tel Aviv, was founded in 1925 by another group of Ḥasidim from Poland. It was planned as a moshav, but in the course of time it became a city with a large religious majority and many yeshivot.

IN THE STATE OF ISRAEL. Religious Jewry – with the exception of the ultraorthodox Neturei Karta – played its full part in the struggle for statehood: yeshivah students fought with the *Haganah and other underground organizations; bearded and sidelocked Jews helped to build the emergency "Burma road" to besieged Jerusalem in 1948. Agudat Israel, which had refused to join the institutions of Keneset Yisrael and the Jewish Agency, was represented in the provisional council of state and the provisional government. The mass immigration of the first few years contained a high proportion of religious Jews – especially from the Oriental countries. Hundreds of synagogues were built, and refugee scholars from Europe set up yeshivot bearing the names and continuing the traditions of those destroyed by the Nazis.

At the first elections to the *Knesset, the four religious parties – Mizrachi, Ha-Po'el ha-Mizrachi, Agudat Israel, and Po'alei Agudat Israel (see Israel, State of: *Political Life and Parties) – formed the United Religious Front, which joined the first coalition government after its demands on religious questions, such as the deferment of yeshivah students and the exemption of religious girls from the military service, had been met.

Article 2 of the government's statement of Basic Principles, presented to the Knesset on March 8, 1949, reads:

> The state will provide for the public religious needs of its inhabitants but will prevent coercion in matters of religion. The Sabbath and the Jewish holy days will be fixed days of rest in the State of Israel. The right of non-Jews to their Sabbath and days of rest will be safeguarded.

These principles were restated and rephrased by later governments. From 1959 they were supplemented by the obligation to "guarantee religious education to all children whose parents so desire" and to "maintain the status quo in the state in religious matters," thus confirming an unwritten agreement which had been in force since the establishment of independence.

One of the reasons why the Knesset did not immediately proceed to enact a comprehensive written constitution was the opposition of the religious parties. In the debate on the subject in 1950, they objected to a constitution which did not clearly express the religious character of the Jewish people; the Agudat Israel representatives declared that "Israel's Torah is her constitution" and no other was needed.

Ministry of Religious Affairs. The powers of the Mandatory high commissioner in matters of religion were transferred to the minister of religious affairs, who was responsible for the administrative aspects of the Chief Rabbinate and the rabbinical courts, the religious councils and religious committees, and the appointment and maintenance of local rabbis. The ministry deals with *kashrut*, yeshivot, synagogues, *mikva'ot*, the supervision of burials, and the provision of ritual appurtenances and sacred books. It is responsible for the arrangements at the Western Wall and supervises the activities of the Sabbath Observance Council and Keren Yaldenu ("Our Child's Fund"), which counteracts the use of material inducements by missionary organizations. The ministry also provides religious services for Karaites and Samaritans, Muslims, Christians, and Druze.

Rabbinical Courts and the Chief Rabbinate. In 1953 the Knesset passed the Rabbinical Courts Jurisdiction (Marriage and Divorce) Law, which gave the Chief Rabbinate and the religious courts sanctioned by it exclusive jurisdiction of all matrimonial cases, including alimony and support of children, for all

Jewish residents, including foreign nationals. Jews may marry only by the traditional ceremony (*ḥuppah ve-kiddushin*) after the marriage has been duly registered with the rabbinate, and only rabbis approved by the Chief Rabbinate may conduct marriage ceremonies. Rabbinical courts also have jurisdiction in matters of trusteeship, confirmation of wills, etc., where the parties involved accept their authority. Attempts have been made to legalize civil marriages by appeals to the High Court of Justice, and some people get around the law by civil marriage abroad (particularly in nearby Cyprus). A certain status has, however, been accorded by law to "common law wives." Rabbinical judges (**dayyanim*), who have the same status as judges of district courts, are appointed by the president of the state on the recommendation of a special committee and take the oath of allegiance in his presence.

Sephardi Chief Rabbi Ouziel died in 1954, and in the same year the minister of religious affairs promulgated new regulations for the election of the chief rabbis and the Chief Rabbinical Council. Rabbi Yiẓḥak *Nissim was elected *rishon le-Zion* and Sephardi chief rabbi for a five-year term in 1955. On the death in 1959 of Ashkenazi Chief Rabbi Herzog and the approaching end of Chief Rabbi Nissim's term of office, arrangements had to be made for new elections. After a lengthy controversy over the composition of the election arrangements' committee and of the electoral college, new regulations were issued by the minister of religious affairs in 1963, increasing the number of electors from 75 to 125. Rabbi Nissim was reelected and R. Issar Yehudah *Unterman was elected Ashkenazi chief rabbi.

The Chief Rabbinical Council has departments for *kashrut*, supervision of *scribes (*soferim*), and committees for marriage licenses; confirmation of rabbinical ordination (*semikhah); precepts specific to the Holy Land; and responsa on matters of *halakhah*. The chief rabbis preside over the *Bet Din Gadol* (Rabbinical Supreme Court), which hears appeals from decisions of the district rabbinical courts in Jerusalem, Tel Aviv, Haifa, Petaḥ Tikvah, Reḥovot, Tiberias, Safed, Beersheba, and Ashdod-Ashkelon. Regulations governing the election of local rabbis were issued by the minister of religious affairs in 1966.

Religious Councils. Under the Religious Services Budget Law (1949), which was given its final form in 1967, every local authority is required to appoint a religious council consisting of religious individuals that will provide all public religious facilities for the local population. The composition of each religious council must be ratified by the minister of religious affairs. Forty-five percent of the members are nominated by the minister, 45% by the local authority, and 10% by the local rabbinate. Any deficits in the operation of the religious council are covered by the local authority (two-thirds) and the government (one-third). In 1970, 185 such councils were in existence and their combined budgets totaled IL 28,500,000.

Education. Under the "trend" system, which was incorporated in the Compulsory Education Law of 1949, the state took over the responsibility for providing religious education at the option of the parents. At the beginning of the year, the Agudat Israel network had been recognized as a fourth trend, so that there was now a choice of two types of religious school – Mizrachi and Agudat Israel (in addition to *talmud torah* and other schools outside the state system) – as alternatives to the general and labor trends. To cater to the numerous religious families among the new immigrants, especially from the Muslim countries, a religious subtrend (Reshet Dati) of the labor network was developed by Ha-Oved ha-Dati, but was frowned on by the religious parties. There was considerable difficulty in implementing the parents' rights to choose between the four trends in the immigrants' camps, particularly among the newcomers from Yemen and the other Oriental countries, who could not be expected to understand the differences between the various types of school. Besides, the Mizrachi and Agudat Israel argued that the Reshet Dati was being elevated to the status of a fifth, unauthorized, trend. At first it was agreed, as a compromise, that the Ministry of Education and Culture should run religious classes for the Yemenites, while in the other camps the parents would choose between religious and general classes, but the agreement broke down when the minister of education and culture, David *Remez, refused to apply it to the **ma'abarot* (transitional settlements). The controversy led to a cabinet crisis in February 1951 and a premature general election.

The problem was solved by the passing of the State Education Law (1953), which abolished the trend system and instituted two types of schools, state and state religious, both under the control of the ministry. The Agudat Israel system remained independent. By this time, the Mizrachi trend had more than doubled in size, with almost 55,000 pupils. It became the nucleus of the state religious system, which was also joined by the schools of the Reshet Dati and a few of the Agudat Israel ones. The law provided that the system should have no connection with any party, communal, or other nongovernmental body and that the schools should be religious in their curriculum and way of life. An autonomous wing for state religious education was established in the ministry, with power to supervise the religious aspects of the schools' work and ensure that teachers, inspectors, and headmasters were satisfactory from the religious point of view. Defining the goals and attitudes of state religious education, a brochure published by the ministry in 1953 stated:

> In Israel a religious kindergarten, primary school or secondary school is an institution which aims at the religious personality. It does all the work which a kindergarten or an elementary school has to do in general, but does it in such a manner, with modes of presentation and interpretation of common subject matter, and with classroom and school life organized in such a way, that the pupil may be expected to grow into maturity imbued with ideas, principles and values that mark him as an observer, in deed and in creed, of the Jewish religion.

In 1968–69 the primary schools of the state religious system had 109,358 pupils, over 28% of the total in Jewish schools, in 363 institutions with 4,062 classes (29% and 30% of the total, respectively).

More intense religious study was pursued in 26 yeshivah high schools, where students spend the majority of their day in the study of Talmud and also study secular subjects for the matriculation examination; there were also 15 vocational and agricultural yeshivah high schools; and four schools for girls in the Bnei Akiva movement.

Hundreds of yeshivot had been established by 1970: *yeshivot ketannot*, for students aged 14–15; yeshivah high schools, described above; *yeshivot gedolot* (for those aged 18–25); and *kolelim*, for married men, some of which gave training for *dayyanim* in rabbinical courts, while others encouraged research in specific fields. In 1969/70, there were 62 *yeshivot ketannot*, with over 4,000 students; 26 yeshivah high schools, with 4,235 students; 15 vocational and agricultural yeshivot, with 2,355 students; 66 *yeshivot gedolot* with 5,350 students; and 96 *kolelim*, with 2,900 students – a total of over 20,000 students, including 800 from abroad. In 1969 the Ministry of Religious Affairs allocated IL 2,400,000 toward the maintenance of yeshivot. After the Six-Day War, new yeshivot were established in the Old City of Jerusalem, Kefar Eẓyon, and Hebron.

In *Bar-Ilan University students are required, in addition to the regular curriculum, to take a number of courses in Judaic studies and to conform to religious standards. The Jerusalem College for Women, established in 1964, provided a three-year course, and its graduates were recognized as having the equivalent of a B.A. degree for high school teaching purposes. The type and intensity of the religious training was similar to that of the yeshivah. There was also a religious technical college in Jerusalem, which provided intensive talmudic training, in addition to the study of technical subjects.

Agudat Israel schools, which preferred to stay out of the state system and established its Ḥinnukh Aẓma'i (Independent Education), were recognized and supervised (though not controlled) by the state, and 85% of their costs was met from the state budget. The system opened in 1953/54 with an enrollment of 16,000; in 1969/70 it had 228 schools with over 31,000 pupils. Religious education, in the aggregate, covers some 35% of the pupils in Jewish schools.

Ḥasidic Settlement. Soon after Israel became independent, the rabbi of Lubavitch, the head of the *Chabad Ḥasidim, who lived in the United States, urged some of his followers, originally from the Soviet Union, to settle in Israel. They founded *Kefar Ḥabad, the Lydda Yeshivah, and a number of other institutions. Other ḥasidic leaders have followed in their wake. R. Yekutiel Halberstam, the rabbi of Klausenburg, founded the Kiryat Zanz quarter in *Netanyah and a quarter in Jerusalem; the rabbi of Vizhnitz founded a quarter in Bene-Berak and the rabbi of Bobova one in Bat Yam; the rabbi of Sasov established Kiryat Yismaḥ Moshe and Rabbi Shemuel Ehrenfeld, Kiryat Mattersdorf. Even the rabbi of Satmar, the leader of the Neturei Karta, an inveterate opponent of the "Zionist state," built quarters for his followers in Jerusalem and Bene-Berak.

Various Religious Trends. A number of groups, some of them loosely organized, tried to work out the implications of modern conditions, particularly the revival of statehood, in the sphere of Jewish religious thought and practice. They expressed their views on public platforms, in the press, and in periodicals devoted to religious study and thought. Some religious intellectuals, like Yeshayahu *Leibowitz and Ernst *Simon, maintained that the *halakhah* was created to meet the needs of Diaspora life and must therefore be adapted to the new exigencies and opportunities of Jewish sovereignty. The Movement for Torah Judaism, headed by Ephraim *Urbach, worked for the regeneration of religious life on a nonparty basis within the framework of the *halakhah*. Both groups had some influence in academic circles, especially among student groups like the Yavneh Association, which sought to harmonize the achievements of science and technology with Jewish religious principles and called on the rabbinate to march with the times. There were also various unattached scholars and thinkers, like Samuel Hugo *Bergmann and Dov *Sadan, who tried to establish religious ideas on philosophical, scientific, or mystical foundations.

The radio helped increase interest in the Jewish religious heritage by regular daily Bible readings and commentaries, talks on the Talmud and the Midrash, and discussions on religious problems; there were weekly television programs for the end of the Sabbath and special features for festivals. The Bible Study Association held well-attended conventions, arranged study groups, and issues publications in which religious and nonreligious scholars combine to cast light on the Scriptures. There were various schemes to encourage and facilitate systematic study of a daily page of Talmud, or paragraph of the Mishnah, by disseminating, in pamphlet form, selections from talmudic material and rabbinic commentaries. Religious ceremonials associated with family occasions, such as circumcision, bar mitzvah, marriage, and interment and mourning, are observed by the vast majority, even of those who would not define themselves as "religious."

Controversy over Religious Questions. Though the nonobservant majority regard religion as a matter for the conscience of the individual and resent administrative or legislative restrictions imposed on religious grounds, no *Kulturkampf* developed in the first 20 years of Israel's existence. The observant did, however, manifest a tendency to isolation, some of them concentrating in predominantly religious areas. Controversies flared up from time to time over the application of religious laws and principles to matters in the public domain. Examples are: complaints of inadequate provision for religious education, partially resolved by the appointment of a National Religious Party member as deputy minister of education and culture; licenses for Sabbath work in factories; road traffic on the Sabbath, particularly in the vicinity of religious quarters in Jerusalem; *kashrut*, e.g., the controversy over the proposal to install two kitchens, one non-*kasher*, in the Zim liner *Shalom*; *autopsies, which were sanctioned by the more Orthodox only in rare cases and which, in the view of moderate religious circles, were performed too frequently and with inadequate safeguards; the refusal of the rabbinate to recognize divorces issued by Conservative rabbis in America; the Chief Rabbinate's directives on marriages with members of the *Bene Israel community from India; and the inauguration of television broadcasts on the Sabbath.

The most prolonged controversy has been that over the question of "Who is a Jew?" i.e., how should Jewish "nationality" (*le'om*) be defined for the purpose of the population register? The argument led to a cabinet crisis in 1958 and broke out again in 1970, after the Supreme Court ruled by a majority that a Jewish father, married to a non-Jew, was entitled to have his children registered as Jews "by nationality." The Knesset thereupon passed a law providing that only persons recognized as Jews by the *halakhah* (i.e., children of a Jewish mother or those converted to Judaism) may be registered as Jews by nationality, but amended the *Law of Return to extend the privilege of automatic citizenship to the non-Jewish spouses and close relatives of Jewish immigrants. The controversy was reopened in mid-1970, however, over the recognition of conversions to Judaism performed by Reform and other rabbis not recognized by the Chief Rabbinate.

The Six-Day War and its aftermath intensified the feelings of the Orthodox. The Western Wall draws worshipers at all hours of the day and night, and the crowds swell to tens of thousands on outstanding dates in the Jewish religious calendar. Orthodox Jews were in the forefront of the establishment of yeshivot and synagogues in the Old City of Jerusalem, the resettlement of the *Ezyon area, and the reestablishment of a Jewish community in *Hebron.

[Mordechai Hacohen]

SABBATH AND JEWISH HOLIDAYS IN MODERN ISRAEL. The outstanding feature of the Jewish Sabbath and festivals in Israel is their public character. Even before the establishment of the State of Israel, shops, offices, factories, and most restaurants in Jewish towns and areas were closed; most public transport was suspended, and there was a pervading atmosphere of calm and repose. In Tel Aviv the Oneg Shabbat ("Joy of the Sabbath") meetings, founded by Ḥ.N. Bialik, drew large audiences. Observance was no longer, as in the Diaspora, hampered by the influence of the environment, but open and unrestrained.

In the State of Israel this trend became even more explicit. There is a virtual standstill in labor and trade on Sabbath and holy days: no newspapers are published; bus transportation is mostly suspended; no trains run; government offices and places of amusement are closed. Synagogues are full of worshipers and crowds stroll at their leisure in the streets and gardens. On the other hand, there are many taxis and private cars on the road; the television and radio operate; football and other matches are watched by large crowds of enthusiasts; privately organized trips by bus and truck take thousands of holidaymakers to the beach and countryside.

Some traditions observed in the Diaspora by only the most conscientious, however, are part and parcel of the national scene in Israel. Thus, on the Day of Atonement broadcasting stops and there is virtually no vehicle to be seen in the streets. The traditional booths are seen everywhere during the Feast of Sukkot – in the courtyards or on the balconies or roofs, of even non-religious homes. On Simḥat Torah and the following evening, the Scrolls of the Law are carried in procession through the streets by dancing and singing worshipers. Mass pilgrimages to Jerusalem, especially, since 1967, to the Western Wall, have become a traditional feature at Passover, Shavuot, and Sukkot, the pilgrim festivals of ancient times. On Ḥanukkah, the Feast of Lights, eight-branched candelabra blaze over public institutions and glow in every home. Young torch-bearers carry the light from the birthplace of the Maccabees in Modi'in to the president's residence in Jerusalem. At dusk on the eve of the fast of the Ninth of Av, restaurants, cafés, kiosks, and places of entertainment shut down to mark the anniversary of the destruction of the First and Second Temples. Tens of thousands walk to the Western Wall to chant the *kinot* ("dirges").

Minor festivals hardly observed in the Diaspora have been revived; they include Tu bi-Shevat, the New Year of Trees, on which thousands of trees are planted, and Lag ba-Omer, on which tens of thousands assemble in *Meron, the traditional resting-place of R. *Simeon b. Yoḥai, and bonfires lit by youngsters all over the country illuminate the skies at night. During the Purim holiday brightly costumed children parade the streets and transform it into a kind of popular carnival. Efforts have been made to evolve ways of celebrating Yom ha-Aẓma'ut (*Independence Day) along Jewish traditional lines: special synagogue services are held, and several collections of prayers and songs have been published for the purpose. However, usages for converting the day into a full religious festival have not yet been universally accepted.

Public Services. Vital public services and utilities, such as power stations, water-pumping installations, telephone exchanges, and police services, continue to function on the Sabbath. Religious leaders and members of the Association of Religious Scientists are seeking technical ways and means of avoiding violation of the Sabbath. Some religious kibbutzim have developed automatic irrigation systems and milking machines for the purpose. The idea of using non-Jewish labor on the Sabbath has evoked much discussion and has met with considerable opposition. In many instances, the principle of **pikku'aḥ nefesh* ("saving of human life"), which permits work on the Sabbath, has been applied; thus the supply of electric power and water to hospitals enables their use *post factum* in private homes. One extreme religious group does not, however, take advantage of this provision for non-urgent purposes.

In the Army. Rules for the observance of the Sabbath and festivals, as worked out by the chief chaplaincy of the *Israel Defense Forces, are laid down in the standing orders of the general staff. They take into account the need for the army to be permanently alerted against potential attack. On Sabbaths and festivals all work ceases, except for duties which are essential for security. Leave is so timed that no soldier need travel on the Sabbath on his way home or on returning to his base. The chaplaincy, under Rabbi Shlomo Goren, produced a unified prayer book for Ashkenazim and Sephardim. It deals with the elucidation of the religious law to meet every situation or eventuality. For example, on Rosh Ha-Shanah those in positions near the enemy lines are exempt from the injunction to listen to the sound of the *shofar* if there is a danger that the enemy may hear it. During actual fighting on the Day of Atonement a soldier in battle must break his fast as soon as he feels that hunger is affecting his fighting capacity; in hot areas, like the Arabah, he must drink water. On Sukkot, those in outlying posts near enemy lines are exempt from the duty of dwelling in a *sukkah* by day and by night. On Ḥanukkah soldiers having no candles or suitable oil may light the *menorah* with rifle or lubricating oil.

New Patterns. In the course of time new patterns of festival observance emerged in the collective agricultural settlements, both religious and secular. In the nonreligious villages they were almost entirely transformed into nature festivals, and religious aspects were given a secular interpretation, while the religious settlements added modern nuances to old traditions. In the secular kibbutzim, the reaping of the *omer* is celebrated on the second day of Passover and the bringing of the *bikkurim* ("firstfruits") is observed on the eve of Shavuot. The religious settlements, however, feared that a revival of ancient custom in this form might be regarded as a transgression of the *halakhah*, which forbids "the bringing of the offering outside the precincts of the Temple area." In all kibbutzim, both religious and nonreligious, the *seder* is celebrated as a large communal festivity, but while the religious kibbutzim keep to the traditional text of the *Haggadah*, the nonreligious ones have introduced alterations in the traditional text and added modern literature and pieces of a topical nature.

The Legal Framework. Under the British Mandate, attempts to promulgate a countrywide Sabbath law applying to the Jewish population were unsuccessful. Consequently the religious representatives in the Jewish townships and municipalities pressed for local legislation. In 1948, on the eve of the establishment of the state, such bylaws, varying from one place to another, were in force in 42 towns and localities. One of the first legislative acts of the Provisional State Council after independence was aimed at safeguarding the social aspect of Sabbath and festivals throughout the country. This was the Days of Rest Ordinance of June 3, 1948, which prescribed the Sabbath and the Jewish festivals as regular days of rest, while assuring non-Jews of the right to observe their own Sabbath and festivals.

The Hours of Work and Rest Law of 1951 grants every employee at least 36 continuous hours of leisure each week. For Jews this weekly rest period coincides with the Sabbath, and a similar rest is prescribed on the Jewish festivals. This law, however, does not cover cafés, the self-employed, or cooperative enterprises, including public transport. These are regulated by municipal ordinances, which are not uniform. While cafés are open on the Sabbath, for instance, in Tel Aviv, they are closed in Jerusalem. In both cities the buses do not operate, while in Haifa they run on a limited schedule. In some townships with a mainly religious population, certain streets or quarters are closed to all road transport on Sabbath and festivals. The Council for the Sabbath, which operates within the framework of the Ministry of Religious Affairs, and local groups endeavor to have the existing laws enforced, and to have appropriate bylaws introduced in new communities. They also conduct extensive educational activity and press for further legislation.

The law grants the minister of labor authority to permit work on the Sabbath in enterprises regarded as vital to national security or the economy, or installations like blast furnaces or cement kilns which require continuous operation. The issue of licenses to work on Sabbath is subject to approval by a committee consisting of the prime minister, the minister of religious affairs, and the minister of labor.

[Benjamin Zvieli]

DEVELOPMENTS IN THE 1970S. Synagogue attendance grew considerably from 1970 to 1980. Compared with some 6,000 Orthodox synagogues in 1970, there were in 1980 approximately 8,000, and they existed even in some secular veteran kibbutzim, such as En Ḥarod.

The rise in population, due largely to immigration and the development of new townships, created a shortage of places of worship. In 1978 there was a shortage of 600 synagogue buildings, and temporary places of worship were established in huts, basements, shelters, schools, and private houses. These were being replaced by permanent houses of worship with the assistance of the Ministry of Religious Affairs, the Ministry of Housing, the Jewish Agency, religious organizations, and other agencies. In order to facilitate, and economize on, the erecting of new synagogues the Ministry for Religious Affairs prepared 12 standard models of synagogue buildings.

A chain of 30 Young Israel synagogues was set up. More than 40 synagogues were established by the Wolfson Trust and others were under construction. The old Ramban (Nahmanides) synagogue in the Old City of Jerusalem was restored, following the renewal of the Sephardi Great Synagogue named after Rabban Johanan Ben Zakkai, which includes four synagogues in a single large block.

The Western Wall itself served as a large synagogue at which services were held continuously throughout the day and night. It was estimated that the Wall was visited by two million people annually, naturally with especially large attendances on festivals and days of remembrance. The celebration of bar mitzvahs at the Wall became commonplace, including boys who come from abroad.

A new and modern prayer book (*siddur*) of both the Ashkenazi and Sephardi rites was published, in which all the omissions and alterations of the text in the Diaspora editions, due to censorship, were restored; it includes new prayers, e.g., for Remembrance Day, for Independence Day and Jerusalem Day, and for the welfare of the State of Israel, etc. A series of *maḥzorim* (prayerbooks for the Jewish holidays) in the format of the *siddur* has also appeared.

Translations of the *siddur*, the Bible, and the Passover Haggadah into Russian were published to serve the needs of the new Russian immigrants.

Publication. The publication of numerous books on biblical and halakhic subjects is a prominent feature of Israel religious life. Important projects, such as the complete Jerusalem Talmud, the *Enẓiklopedyah Talmudit, Oẓar ha-Posekim*, and the special edition of the new biblical commentary *Da'at Mikra* by the Rabbi A.I. Kook Institute, continued through the 1970s. The ancient manuscript of the Bible from Aleppo, the so-called *Keter* (of the tenth century) was published, and additional volumes of the new Talmud edition accompanied by a modern commentary by Rabbi A. Steinsalz appeared.

Since the establishment of the State of Israel, both chief rabbis served jointly, both as presidents of the Supreme *bet din* and as chairmen of the Chief Rabbinate Council, and candidates for appointment as *dayyanim* (judges in religious courts) have had to be approved by both. Under a new law enacted in 1980, however, the two chief rabbis would henceforth hold one of these offices in rotation for five years, while their term of office was increased from five to ten years. The Chief Rabbinate Council (Moeẓet ha-Rabbanut ha-Rashit), the representative rabbinical body in Israel, was enlarged from 12 to 16 members.

At the end of the 1970s there were about 500 officiating rabbis in Israel, 210 of whom were entitled to perform and register the marriage ceremony.

Rabbinical courts functioned in nine places throughout the country, besides the Supreme *bet din*, the seat of which is in the Old City, Jerusalem. Those courts were served by 90 *dayyanim* (judges).

There was a Religious Council (Mo'eẓah Datit) in practically each town and settlement, whose duty was to supervise religious matters in the local community. The functions of the Religious Councils were supervised by a special department in the Ministry of Religious Affairs.

New types of yeshivot emerged. An interesting new development was the establishment of a number of yeshivot for "penitents" (**ba'alei teshuvah*), i.e., people who were hitherto estranged from Jewish observance and practice and had now accepted its responsibilities, and they also included synagogues. In addition, together with the traditional advanced yeshivot, a number of yeshivot for juniors, as well as high school yeshivot which combine secular education with Torah studies, were established, while several *yeshivot hesder*, where students combine military service with intensive Torah studies, made their impact on Jewish youth. Ulpanim were established for girls, in which extensive study of Torah and a high standard of general studies prepare them for their future role in Israel society.

[Benjamin Zvieli]

NON-ORTHODOX CONGREGATIONS. *Conservative Judaism.* The first Conservative congregation in Ereẓ Israel, called Emet ve-Emunah, was founded in 1937 in Jerusalem by newcomers from Germany and headed by Rabbi Kurt David Wilhelm, who was authorized to perform marriages by Chief Rabbi Kook. Rabbi Wilhelm was succeeded by R. Aharon Philipp (1948–70), who was also authorized. In 1970 there were also Conservative congregations in Ashkelon, Haifa, Netanyah, and Tel Aviv, of which the first two had recent arrivals from the United States as rabbis. These congregations were a part of the Conservative World Council of Synagogues, forming a separate branch. The teaching arm of Conservative Judaism, the *Jewish Theological Seminary of America, maintained a student center in Jerusalem, and Conservative youth groups conducted summer educational programs in Israel.

At its convention in Jerusalem in 1970, the second to be held in Israel, the World Council of Synagogues urged the Israel authorities to grant full recognition to Conservative rabbis in all spheres of religious life. The convention recognized the importance of "fostering a greater climate of understanding, awareness, and commitment among our communities toward the serious problems facing Israel" and resolved to encourage *aliyah*, visits by students, and other forms of direct contact with Israel.

Developments in Conservative Judaism in the 1970s. By the close of the 1970s Israel had 35 Conservative congregations, of which nine were in Jerusalem. There was also a national youth movement consisting of 23 youth groups in various cities.

The Center for Conservative Judaism in Jerusalem maintains a youth hostel, conducted along traditional religious lines, and a religious educational program for university youth (Beit Atid). In 1978, the synagogue of the center reorganized as a membership congregation which included approximately 200 families. In the same year, a national organization, Hatenuah Le'yahadut Mesortit, was established. The organization represented the United Synagogue of Israel and the Israel Branch of the Rabbinical Assembly, which numbered 100 Conservative rabbis who had taken up permanent residence in Israel. Both bodies were associated with the World Council of Synagogues, the international arm of the Conservative movement. From 1968, the biannual conventions of the World Council took place in Jerusalem.

While the impulse for the establishment of Conservative congregations in Israel came initially from immigrants from the United States, they also attracted a growing number of immigrants from other countries, as well as those Israeli-born. Thus, for example, the congregation in Ashkelon, Nezach Yisrael, included in its membership 20% native born Israeli families; 20% immigrants from English-speaking countries; 23% of eastern European origin, 18% from South America, 12% of western European origin, and 7% Russian immigrants.

Rabbinical students of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America were now required to spend one year at the American Student Center (Neve Schechter) established in Jerusalem as part of their pre-rabbinic training, and in 1978, a school known as Midreshet Yerushalayim opened which offers a one-year program of Jewish study for non-theological students. In addition, the center maintains an institute, known as Machon Chai, in which courses in Judaism are offered to high school students.

In 1976, the World Council of Synagogues officially joined the World Zionist Organization, thus broadening to a considerable extent the direct involvement of the Conservative movement in Zionism.

[Theodore Friedman]

Progressive Judaism or Reform Judaism. Progressive or Reform Judaism was introduced into Israel in 1957 at the initiative of the Israel Committee of the Central Conference of American Rabbis. After a visit by Rabbi Herbert Weiner, a founding committee was established in Jerusalem under the chairmanship of Shalom Ben-Chorin. The services were held first in an apartment and later in a public hall until, in 1962, the congregation moved into its own synagogue, the Har-El. Congregations were also established in Tel Aviv, Haifa, Ramat Gan, Kefar Shemaryahu, Nahariyyah, Upper Nazareth, Beersheba, and Natanyah, as well as a second congregation in Jerusalem at the *Hebrew Union College. In 1959 the Progressive community joined the World Union for Progressive Judaism, which sent rabbis to serve it.

The Progressive congregations in Israel were organized in the Va'ad Arẓi (National Board), which worked with the Israel Committees of the World Union for Progressive Judaism and the Union of American Hebrew Congregations. Four full-time rabbis constituted the Mo'eẓet ha-Rabbanim ha-Mitkaddemim – Maram (Council of Progressive Rabbis), which discussed policy on liturgy, *halakhah*, and public issues. The movement published its own prayer book, the first issued by the Reform movement entirely in Hebrew, and a *maḥzor* for the High Holidays. The main differences between these services and the traditional ones were that men and women prayed together and that congregational singing was accompanied on the organ. The Leo Baeck School in Haifa (founded in 1939), with 700 primary and 250 secondary pupils, and the Hebrew Union College Biblical and Archaeological School, Jerusalem, founded in 1963, were affiliated to the WUPJ.

The Progressive movement in Israel had no official status. Its rabbis were not entitled to perform weddings, grant divorces, or carry out conversions. The Biennial Conference of the WUPJ, held in Jerusalem in 1968, demanded "full and unreserved recognition of the religious rights of all Jews in Israel who are not Orthodox, and the complete and uncompromising accordance to them of all privileges, prerogatives and services presently enjoyed by the Orthodox Jewish Community of the Jewish State." As first steps the Conference urged that: 1) Progressive Jews in Israel be allowed to marry those registered in the Rabbinate as eligible for marriage; 2) anyone converted to Judaism by Reform or Liberal rabbis anywhere be recognized by Israel as Jews and admitted to Israel under the Law of Return; 3) Progressive congregations in Israel receive full support and aid from the Ministry of Religious Affairs. The amendments to the Law of Return and the Population Registry Law passed by the Knesset on March 10, 1970, which did not define the term "conversion," implicitly conceded the second claim in regard to conversions carried out abroad. The minister of justice stated subsequently, however, that in Israel the position was governed, in his view, by the Mandatory Ordinance of 1927, which required the consent of the Chief Rabbinate to conversions to Judaism.

[Schalom Ben-Chorin]

During the 1970s significant developments took place within the Israeli Progressive Movement, and in the programs of World Progressive Judaism in Israel: (1) Rabbinical Conferences – The Central Conference of American Rabbis became the first rabbinical group from the United States to convene its annual meeting in Israel, in 1970, and for a second time in 1974. Yom ha-Aẓma'ut was declared an official religious holiday and a special service drawn up and included in the regular liturgy of the Reform Movement. (2) Rabbinical Training – Both the Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion and the Leo Baeck College in London adopted a policy requiring every student for the rabbinate to spend his first year in Israel in an intensive Hebrew ulpan program, and the former embarked on a program for the training of Israeli rabbis at its Jerusalem campus. All candidates were required to obtain an M.A. degree at The Hebrew University in addition to their rabbinic studies, and the first student was ordained in the summer of 1979. (3) Education – The Leo Baeck School, a secondary school in Haifa, which combines a solid program of secular studies with a liberal orientation in Jewish studies, erected a magnificent new campus; (4) Youth Programs – An Israeli youth movement was established and a national youth center opened in Jerusalem; (5) Kibbutz Movement – Kibbutz Yahel, the first Progressive Jewish collective settlement, was established in 1976; (6) Affiliations with the World Zionist Organization – In 1976 the World Union for Progressive Judaism became the first international Jewish religious organization to affiliate with the World Zionist Organization, and was followed by affiliation with the Conservative and Orthodox religious movements; and (7) Advocacy of Jewish Religious Pluralism – The Progressive Movement continued to advocate the creation of conditions conducive to Jewish religious pluralism in Israel, as well as to oppose successfully all attempts to amend the Law of Return to the detriment of the non-Orthodox movements, and sponsored a resolution adopted by the 29th World Zionist Congress calling for religious pluralism within the World Zionist movement and the State of Israel "to implement fully the principle of guaranteed religious rights for all its citizens, including equal recognition of religious authorities and equal governmental support for all religious movements within Judaism."

[Richard Hirsch]

Other Trends. Another non-orthodox manifestation in Israel's religious life was represented by the Jerusalem congregation Mavakkeshei Derekh (which was unaffiliated with any trend). This grew out of a series of national meetings (in 1962 ff.) between city and kibbutz intellectuals who were trying to find a new way of expressing their religious beliefs in the context of the new situation emerging from the realities of the State of Israel, which they saw as a potential religious force in world Jewry and not only in Israel. The emphasis was not so much on *halakhah* as on Judaism as a communal force. Its prayer service represents the consensus of the group and is built around the reading of the Torah and study (see *Conservative Judaism).

DEVELOPMENTS THROUGH THE EARLY 1990S. Jewish religious institutions continued to be linked to political developments, with a drop in the influence of the modern Orthodox and a parallel rise in the ultra-Orthodox (*ḥaredi*) community. Politically, the *National Religious Party, which spoke for modern Orthodoxy, declined sharply from the 1960s, when it had 11 or 12 representatives in the Knesset. In the 1984 elections, this party won four seats, in 1988, five, and in 1992, six. In contrast, the parties to the religious right of the NRP, which had had six seats in the 1960s, won eight seats in 1984, 13 seats in 1988, and ten in 1992.

The modern Orthodox camp, and in particular, the National Religious Party, had become identified with *Gush Emunim, the movement favoring Jewish settlement of the entire Land of Israel, and in particular, the Administered Territories. The religious obligation to retain all of the Land of Israel was associated with a belief in the potential arrival of the Messiah. The most extreme form of this messianism found expression in movements aimed at restoring a Jewish presence on the Temple Mount, either in addition to, or in place of, the Muslim shrines occupying the site. One small group of extremists was arrested while planning to destroy the mosques there. A group known as the Faithful of the Temple Mount, which had previously attempted unsuccessfully to conduct public Jewish prayer on the Temple Mount, organized a "cornerstone-laying" ceremony with a block of stone weighing several tons, but was barred from the area by the police. Another organization, the Jerusalem Temple Institute, occupied itself with creating ritual objects and garments to be used in the Temple upon its restoration.

A relatively small number of Orthodox leaders tried to disassociate themselves from this trend, by organizing, in 1982, *Netivot Shalom, a religious group loosely identified with the Israeli peace movement, and founding Meimad, a moderate religious party, in 1988. Although Meimad won considerable sympathy in left-wing non-Orthodox circles, it failed to garner even the minimum of votes needed for one seat in the Knesset.

Political developments in the ultra-Orthodox camp were highlighted by the fragmentation of *Agudat Israel, which had formerly been its sole political representative. *Shas, a Sephardi ultra-Orthodox movement, combined religious fervor with bitterness over the discrimination and wrongs of the past. The party participated in the 1983 Jerusalem municipal election and then went on nationally to become the dominant ultra-Orthodox voice. Seeking votes outside the traditional ultra-Orthodox strongholds, Shas brought a new flavor to the local political scene, especially in the 1988 elections when the secular public was bemused to see a television election advertisement in which a group of black-clad rabbis pronounced a formula releasing voters from promises to vote for other parties.

Degel ha-Torah, organized in 1988, was an Ashkenazi split-off from Agudat Israel. Despite the desertions, Agudat Israel enjoyed considerable success in this election, thanks to the support of the Chabad Ḥasidim, who had previously refrained from supporting any party. The change was a result of the bitter attacks by Degel ha-Torah's leader, Rabbi Eliezer Schach, head of the anti-ḥasidic camp, on Chabad's Rabbi Menachem Mendel Schneerson, the Lubavitcher Rebbe, a fellow nonagenarian. Rabbi Schach, who enjoyed an adulation from his followers not unlike that bestowed on ḥasidic rebbes, became the object of harsh criticism in the wake of the 1988 elections, when he ruled out any coalition with Labor because of the lack of religious observance in kibbutzim, whose very Jewishness he questioned.

An apparent victory for the NRP was the election, in 1983, for a ten-year term, of Ashkenazi Chief Rabbi Avraham *Shapiro and Sephardi Chief Rabbi Mordechai *Eliahu, both identified with the nationalist-religious ideology of the NRP. Rabbi Shapiro, in particular, was the principal of the Merkaz ha-Rav yeshivah, the ideological cradle of Gush Emunim. However, the chief rabbinate became more alienated from the secular Jewish majority, while in Orthodox circles, an increasing public looked to the ultra-Orthodox *ḥaredi* rabbis for spiritual leadership.

The challenge to the chief rabbis was especially effective from Rabbi Ovadiah *Yosef, Eliahu's predecessor, who continued to be regarded by many as the rightful leader of Sephardi Jewry. Yosef, the spiritual mentor of Shas, challenged a halakhic ruling by Shapiro and Eliahu that it was impermissible to give up any part of the Land of Israel, even for the sake of peace. Yosef ruled that territorial concessions were permissible to prevent bloodshed.

Another challenge to the chief rabbis concerned the observance of the sabbatical year, during which it is forbidden to work the land of Israel. Prior to the sabbatical year which began in October 1986, the chief rabbis, following a precedent set by their predecessors, ruled that in order to promote Jewish settlement, it was permitted, and even desirable, for Jewish farmers to nominally "sell" their land to a non-Jew and continue to work it. The *ḥaredi* rabbis ruled that one could not eat produce grown as a result of such a ruling and succeeded in convincing the Ministry of Commerce and Industry to import grain, so bakeries would not use that grown locally. This incident highlighted a tendency by food producers to seek *kashrut* certification from *ḥaredi* institutions, although legally, only the official rabbinates were empowered to issue such certification.

In the schools, a growing number of parents preferred the *ḥaredi* schools to the modern Orthodox State Religious system. Even within the State Religious system there was a tendency to extremism, with the establishment of new schools to cater to a more religiously strict public, and many existing schools opted for separate classes for boys and girls. Part of the success of the *ḥaredi* school networks could be attributed to the increasing funds allocated to them as the price for government coalitions. Especially remarkable was the flourishing of *ḥaredi yeshivot*, where a growing number of adults studied religious subjects full-time. It was estimated that there were more yeshivah students than ever before in Jewish history.

The growth of the *yeshivot* became a source of contention with the secular majority, many of whom were unhappy at the government subsidies which went to such institutions. Both the secular and many modern Orthodox objected to the fact that in a country in which universal military service was the rule, the yeshivah students received automatic deferment, often until an age at which they were no longer fit for military service. At one point it was estimated that some 20,000 young men were enjoying such deferment.

The question of public Sabbath observance continued to be an issue, with a tendency for some public desecration of the Sabbath, despite repeated protests and demonstrations. In particular in Jerusalem, for the first time, several cinemas began to have Friday night showings, and a large number of pubs, discotheques, and cafes opened their doors on the Sabbath.

There were acrimonious disputes in Jerusalem over the issue of the exhumation of the bones of Jews. According to the ultra-Orthodox interpretation, land even suspected of containing Jewish remains should remain untouched, so as to facilitate resurrection of the dead. This interpretation led to considerable conflict between Atra Kadisha, an organization devoted to preserving Jewish burial sites, and archeologists and civil engineers. In 1982 and 1983, Atra Kadisha led public protests against the archeological excavations at the City of David. According to Atra Kadisha, the site contained a medieval Jewish cemetery. The archeologists, who denied this, succeeded in completing the excavations. In 1992, a number of tombs from the Second Temple period were uncovered during construction of a major highway interchange at French Hill, and a large burial area which archeologists insisted was Christian, because of the presence of Christian symbols, was uncovered during construction of the Mamilla project. Archeologists removed and then, following violent protests, returned for burial, the bones and sarcophagi of one tomb from French Hill. At Mamilla, the builders removed the bones and bulldozed the burial area in the dead of night. The young demonstrators who reacted introduced a new level of violence into religious-secular disputes, violently confronting the police, stoning cars, and burning garbage dumpsters.

The immigration of Jews, both from Ethiopia and from the former Soviet Union, presented a challenge to the religious establishment. The Ethiopian Jews (see *Beta Israel) were intensely observant, but their practice differed considerably from normative Judaism. When large numbers began to arrive as a result of Operation Moses in 1984, the chief rabbis ruled that they would have to undergo a symbolic conversion ceremony before they could be married. In protest over what they saw as a questioning of their Jewishness, the Ethiopian Jews objected to the ruling and held a sit-in strike for a month, across from the offices of the chief rabbis. Although the Ethiopian Jews garnered considerable public sympathy and support, they were unable to win over the chief rabbis, who eventually circumvented the issue by allowing a rabbi sympathetic to their cause to register their marriages. In 1992, the Ethiopian Jewish community was again unsuccessful in a confrontation with the chief rabbinate, this time in a bid for the community's traditional religious leaders, the *qessim* (Amharic: *qessotch*), to be allowed to perform marriages and carry out divorces in Israel.

Yet another religious dilemma faced the Ethiopian Jewish community after Operation Solomon, the mass airlift in which the bulk of Ethiopian Jewry was brought to Israel in May 1991. Remaining in Ethiopia were thousands of *Falash-Mura* (*falas moura*), Jews who had become estranged from the Jewish community and in many cases had converted to Christianity. Although the *qessim*, for the most part, regarded these people as renegades, to be abandoned, most members of the community in Israel agitated for them to be returned to Judaism and brought to Israel. The government eventually decided that close relatives of those living in Israel could be brought in as a humanitarian gesture.

A different type of problem resulted from the mass immigration from the former Soviet Union. Although some of the immigrants from the Baltic states and Central Asia had some basic knowledge of Judaism, many of the others were almost totally ignorant of even the most basic elements of Jewish history, religion, and culture. A considerable number of these immigrants were either the offspring of mixed marriages or brought with them non-Jewish spouses. It was not clear how many were actually Jewish according to *halakhah*. During the years that Rabbi Yitzḥak Peretz of Shas was the absorption minister, the ministry embarked on a campaign of "spiritual absorption," introducing the immigrants to the practices of ultra-Orthodoxy, with questionable success. The immigrants studied some essentials about Judaism at the ulpanim in which they learned Hebrew, and a wide variety of public institutions and organizations offered courses in Judaism. Perhaps the most promising indication of the immigrants' desire to return to Judaism was the large number of men who asked to be circumcised.

Non-Orthodox movements continued to make limited progress. Their main success was in barring a change in the Law of Return, which would have, in effect, excluded those converted to Judaism by Conservative and Reform rabbis abroad from recognition as Jews eligible for Israeli citizenship. Although the number of such converts immigrating to Israel was minimal, many Jews abroad, particularly in the U.S., saw this as a crucial issue, in view of the high rate of mixed marriages and the fact that a growing part of the American Jewish community included converts or their children. The failure of the religious parties to gain support on this issue from the other parties was a result of massive pressure by American Jewish organizations.

A related issue was the decision of the Interior Ministry not to register such converts as Jews in their identity cards and in the population registry. After Shoshana Miller, a Reform convert from the U.S., successfully petitioned the High Court of Justice to be registered as a Jew, the ministry continued to try to circumvent the decision. It proposed registering all converts as such in the identity cards, a move that aroused opposition not only from the non-Orthodox, but from the chief rabbis and many other Orthodox rabbis, who pointed out that Jewish law forbade reminding a convert of his or her non-Jewish origins.

In 1992, the first woman rabbi, Naama Kelman-Ezrachi, was ordained by Israel's Reform rabbinical school and, in the same year, the rabbinical school of the local Conservative (Masorti) movement decided to admit women as students in its rabbinical program. In 1986, Leah Shakdiel, an Orthodox schoolteacher, was elected to the religious council of Yeruḥam, the first woman to be elected to such a body, but she did not take her seat until the High Court of Justice ordered the religious affairs minister to validate her election two years later. In 1988, women won the right to serve on the body electing the Tel Aviv chief rabbi.

However, the High Court rejected the petition of another women's group, the Women of the Wall, which included women of all religious streams, who aroused the fury of ultra-Orthodox worshipers when they attempted to read from a Torah scroll at the Western Wall. The Court upheld a Religious Affairs Ministry ruling which forbade them to wear prayer shawls, read from a Torah scroll, or even sing aloud at the Western Wall.

[Haim Shapiro]

THE 1990S AND AFTER. At no time in Jewish history has there been such a great flourishing of religious institutions and Jewish life anywhere in the world as in late 20th century Israel. This is a result of the high birth rate among the religious public, the wave of people returning to religion and traditional roots, government allocations to religious services, the Israeli welfare state enabling thousands of yeshivah students to study for many years, and the exemption from military service for yeshivah students.

In May 2000, the Ministry of Religious Affairs was supporting 196,000 students at yeshivot, *kolelim* (yeshivot for married men), and schools with extended Torah studies. These included 41,000 at *kolelim* and 38,000 at yeshivot for unmarried men over the age of 18. Among the important yeshivot in Israel: the Hebron and Mir yeshivot in Jerusalem, with 4,000 students, and the Ponivezh yeshivah in Bene Berak. Yeshivah study was funded by a number of ministries (Religious Affairs, Education, Welfare), as is the establishment of synagogues (Religious Affairs, Housing and Construction, Interior). Research shows that two-thirds of **ḥaredi* men studying at yeshivot do not work, and, as a result, Menachem Friedman, a researcher studying the *ḥaredi* population in Israel, has called them the "society of scholars."

It is hard to find reliable data on the number of synagogues since these are often private and unfunded institutions, and so it can only be estimated that there are many thousands. According to Ministry of Religious Affairs figures, in 2001 there were no fewer than 750 *mikva'ot* operating in Israel, 400 of them in small communities.

Religious Education. The great flourishing of religious life in Israel is also manifested in the field of education. Between 1989/90 and 2004/5 the share of *ḥaredi* elementary education in the Hebrew elementary education system (grades 1 to 8) increased from 6.5% to 20%. The main reasons for this were the high birth rate in the *ḥaredi* population, the establishment by Shas of its own network of schools, and the establishment of Torah-based schools aimed at bringing secular and traditional Jews back to religion. During the same period, state religious education declined from 21% to 19%.

The majority of *ḥaredi* schools do not belong to the state or state religious education systems and are defined as "recognized but unofficial" or "exempt" (exempt from the Compulsory Education Law). In other words, these are private institutions with only limited state supervision of their educational content.

In the middle of the 1980s Shas established its Ma'ayan ha-Ḥinukh ha-Torani network, competing with the independent education system of Agudat Israel. A large number of its students came from the non-*ḥaredi* Sephardi religious public and the traditional public. The result was that many more students were recruited from state religious and state schools than from the *ḥaredi* schools.

As of the beginning of the 1980s, a split developed in the Ashkenazi *ḥaredi* education system. Many ḥasidic sects established independent educational institutions. Independent *talmud torah* schools attracted pupils from the Lithuanian stream, and as a result, independent education became, to a large extent, a network of schools for girls and schools operating in provincial towns.

Since the 1950s, the *ḥaredi* education track for girls has directed all its graduates towards working as teachers and supporting their husbands studying in the *kolel*, and therefore *ḥaredi* girls of high school age study at teachers seminaries. As of the 1980s, there has been a shortage of teaching positions in the *ḥaredi* sector. The schools employ many teachers in part-time positions, but even this is not enough to solve the women's employment needs, and some seminaries are opening training tracks in other fields, such as computers.

Despite the establishment of Shas schools, the Sephardi *ḥaredi* elite, including senior members of Shas, continue to send their children to the schools, yeshivot, and seminaries of the Lithuanian *ḥaredi* community. Many of these institutions, especially the girls' seminaries, have a quota of between 10% and 30% for Mizraḥi students, which is against Israeli law and has provoked harsh public criticism.

In the 1970s and 1980s the Ashkenazi *ḥaredi* schools cut back their efforts to recruit traditional students from the Mizraḥi communities, among other things due to a fear that these students would have a bad influence on the *ḥaredi* students. At the end of the 1990s special schools were set up alongside Agudat Israel's independent education system, specializing in bringing children back to the religious fold – the Netivot Moshe schools which compete, in practice, with Ma'ayan ha-Ḥinukh ha-Torani; and Shuvu, focusing on immigrants from the former Soviet Union and also providing a high standard of general education. These were established with the support of Agudat Israel in the U.S., which also raises funds for them on a large scale. The main recruitment of students is through the Lev LeAchim organization, and the aim is to use the children to bring the whole family back to a religious way of life.

The Compulsory Education Law in Israel prohibits the state from recognizing institutions which do not teach the foundation curriculum, including basic general studies preparing students for life and work in a modern country. For the first 50 years of the state's existence, this law was not applied, and a large number of *ḥaredi* institutions, in particular boys' schools, offered almost no general studies. Following a petition submitted to the High Court of Justice in 1999 by MK Yosef Paritsky of Shinui, the court instructed the Ministry of Education to implement the law. The ministry began a process of gradual implementation of the curriculum, arousing considerable resistance in the *ḥaredi* public.

Since the 1980s, education in Israel has been characterized by an accelerated process of privatization and a move by the elite from state schools to exclusive schools. Whereas among the secular public this has resulted in the opening of experimental and democratic schools, among the national religious public the result has been the establishment of a Torah-based education system, where there is far greater emphasis on keeping the religious precepts than in state religious schools. At the same time, private schools have opened for the moderate religious public, some of which also include secular students.

Yeshivot. Some of the graduates of *talmud torah* schools and *ḥaredi* schools for boys continue to junior high school or equivalent institutions, and some go straight to *yeshivah ketanah*, which is the *ḥaredi* equivalent of high school. Graduates of *yeshivah ketanah* go on to yeshivah *gedolah* at the equivalent of army age and, after marriage, study in a *kolel*.

Lessons at *ḥaredi* yeshivot focus on the Talmud and its interpretations, and also include subjects such as Pentateuch and Ethics, but do not include general studies. The *ḥaredi* curriculum does not train students for any occupation outside the realm of religion. In the 1990s there began to be institutes offering professional and academic training to yeshivah and *kolel* graduates, in fields such as computers, the law and social work.

The national religious yeshivah study track usually includes a yeshivah high school combining religious and secular studies and preparing students for matriculation and *hesder* yeshivah. The *hesder* yeshivah track lasts five years, three and a half years in yeshiva and a year and a half in the army. In 2000, the Ministry of Religious Affairs supported some 5,000 *hesder* yeshivah students – a thousand students in each year. In other words, unlike *ḥaredi* youth who, almost without exception, attend *yeshivah gedolah*, only a small percentage of national religious youth go on to *hesder* yeshivah.

In the 1990s, a new track was developed for national religious youth in which graduates of religious or yeshivah high schools study for a year in a pre-army *mekhinah* (preparatory course) and then go on to full military service. The *mekhinah* is intended to meet two main challenges: the desire of many national religious young men to serve a full three years rather than the shortened *hesder* service, and strengthening the students' faith and reducing the number who turn away from religion in the army.

Returning to the Religious Fold. During the 1940s and 1950s, the demographic movement between the *ḥaredi* and secular public was almost exclusively towards the secular. But as of the 1970s the direction has been reversed. Among the reasons for the wave of people returning to religion are the worldwide trend, the moral crisis in Israeli society following the 1973 Yom Kippur War, the failure of secular education, and more. An entire network of organizations has been set up in *ḥaredi* society to bring people back to the fold and absorb them on their return. These include the Arakhim organization, focusing mainly on seminars to bring people back to religion, and the Or ha-Ḥayyim institutes, which operate yeshivot for the newly religious and schools for their children.

A distinction is usually drawn between two types of return to religion. One is the move from a completely secular life, such as on a kibbutz, to an extreme *ḥaredi* lifestyle. This is usually associated with the Ashkenazi public. The other involves the traditional public drawing closer to religion and becoming more religious. This is usually associated with the Mizraḥi sector and apparently accounts for the majority of the newly religious.

During the 1990s, the Ministry of Religious Affairs financed the studies of 43,000 people in institutes aimed at those returning to religious observance – 27,000 men and 16,000 women. According to a survey carried out by the Dahaf Institute for *Yedioth Aharonoth*, 7% of the adult Jewish population, more than 200,000 people, have returned to religion. Whereas in the beginning lectures and seminars were the main means of bringing people back, in the 1990s the *ḥaredi* pirate radio stations and religious schools for secular children also served this purpose.

The Ministry of Religious Affairs. The 1990s were marked by control over the religious establishment moving from the NRP to the increasingly strong religious party Shas. Between 1990 and the end of 2003 the ministry was headed by no fewer than 13 ministers, an average of one minister a year. This power struggle was symbolized more than anything by the period between 1996 and 1999, when it was agreed that both parties would have deputy ministers in the Ministry of Religious Affairs. The position of minister was rotated annually between the parties. During the 1990s the ministry's budget was one and a half billion shekels a year. Although this is a small budget in terms of a government ministry, this ministry had considerable power because it controlled the transfer of thousands of allocations to religious organizations every year, as well as many religious positions – religious judges, rabbis, and so forth.

In the 1980s and 1990s the Ministry of Religious Affairs became a symbol of corruption to the Israeli public. A series of reports by the state comptroller revealed large-scale fictitious reporting and fraudulent expenses. The report submitted by State Comptroller Miriam Ben Porat in 1995 on allocations in the Ministry of Religious Affairs states that: "The picture emerging from this report is very serious, as if ethical values and fundamental principles of truth and integrity have ceased to exist. The ministry has failed in its role of responsibility for allocating public funds."

Demands to dismantle the ministry were brought up again and again. This move was also supported by *ḥaredi* figures, such as MK Moshe Gafni, who felt that the ministry in its then current form was a cause of blasphemy. At the end of 2003 it was dismantled. The majority of its budget, including the yeshivah budgets, was transferred to the Ministry of Education and Culture. Religious services, including the Chief Rabbinate and the religious councils, *kashrut*, and burial services, were placed in the hands of the Prime Minister's Office. As a result, strong criticism was voiced over the fact that the Likud was introducing dozens of political appointees into the religious services. In 2005 religious services in the Prime Minister's Office became the responsibility of a national authority for religious services.

The Chief Rabbinate. At the end of the 20th century and the beginning of the 21st, Israel's Chief Rabbinate lost much of its status and spiritual authority. The *ḥaredi* public took advantage of its political strength to take control of the Chief Rabbinate. The chief rabbis are usually people supported by the *ḥaredim*, despite the fact that the *ḥaredim* do not obey the Chief Rabbinate. These are rabbis who, even in the view of the *ḥaredim*, are not among the first ranks of leadership. The waning of the Chief Rabbinate was symbolized by the abandonment of its home in the Heikhal Shelomo Synagogue in the center of Jerusalem in 1997, and the move to simple offices in the increasingly *ḥaredi* Romema neighborhood. Heikhal Shelomo was considered a symbol of the state rabbinate and an alternative it to the *ḥaredi* rabbinate.

The last two chief rabbis to be perceived as major rabbis in the religious community and as having an influence beyond this community were rabbis Shlomo Goren and Ovadiah Yosef, who served from 1972 to 1983. Goren was chief rabbi of the IDF for many years, and was strongly identified with the army and Israel's wars. Yosef was considered to be the unquestioned spiritual leader of the religious and traditional Sephardi public. The period of their tenure was characterized by numerous squabbles and infighting. In 1983 the two were forced out of office against their will and the status of the Chief Rabbinate began to decline. Not merely did the supporters of Rabbi Yosef continue to call him Rishon le-Zion, the title of the Sephardi chief rabbi, but he continued to be considered the most important Sephardi rabbi, undermining the status of all those who came after him.

Goren and Yosef were replaced by rabbis Avraham *Shapira and Mordecai *Eliyahu. The two were seen as the spiritual leaders of the national religious public, considered to be the hard core of supporters of the Chief Rabbinate. At the same time, they had very limited influence beyond this group. During their tenure the rabbinate moved towards the political right wing.

In 1993 rabbis Israel *Lau and Eliyahu *Bakshi Doron were elected with the support of rabbis from Shas and Yahadut ha-Torah (UTJ), and were seen as subordinate to them. Rabbi Lau was outstanding in the field of public relations, and was very popular among the secular public. Bakshi Doron solved a number of difficult halakhic issues, including reducing to a minimum the list of people prohibited from marrying. In 2003 rabbis Shlomo Amar, also a disciple of Rabbi Yosef, and Yona Metzger were elected to the position. Metzger had previously been a neighborhood rabbi, and there were complaints that he did not have sufficient experience for the position.

Chief rabbis are elected for a period of 10 years. They serve in rotation as president of the Chief Rabbinate Council and president of the High Rabbinical Court. The religious establishment is the last state body in Israel to retain an ethnic structure. There are two chief rabbis, Ashkenazi and Sephardi, and the same is true in a number of towns. The election of *dayyanim* (religious judges) to the High Rabbinical Court also unofficially preserves the ethnic balance. Proposals to elect a single chief rabbi have not been accepted. But in 2000 Minister of Religious Affairs Yossi *Beilin introduced regulations severely limiting the possibility of electing two rabbis in the same town. As a result, today there is only one chief rabbi of Tel Aviv.

Religious Councils. Religious services in Israel's towns and local councils are provided by 133 religious councils, 21 of them regional religious councils. In 2001, they received a budget of NIS 137 million from the Ministry of Religious Affairs. Among other things, the councils provide marriage registration services, *kashrut* supervisors, *mikva'ot*, neighborhood rabbis, *eruvim*, etc. Proposals to reform religious services have been discussed again and again, with the aim of simplifying elections and funding and reducing political influence, but as of the end of 2005 this had not been implemented.

Since the 1990s the religious councils have been in a state of severe crisis, for a number of reasons. The method of funding the religious councils is very complex, with the government funding 40% and the local council providing 60% of their budget. The severe budgetary crisis in the local authorities meant that many of them did not transfer funds to the religious councils, which were then unable to pay salaries and pensions. The religious prohibition against striking religious services such as *mikva'ot* and burial made it very hard for employees of the religious councils to protest effectively. The image of the councils as corrupt and hostile to the secular public also made it very difficult for them to enlist public support.

Another central factor in the crisis in the religious services was the very complex method of appointing members of the religious councils. This method gives representation on the councils to the minister of religious affairs (45%), the local authorities (45%), and the town rabbis (10%), and requires consultation between the three bodies and a reciprocal right of veto. Differences of opinion are passed on for decision by a committee of ministers. As a result, the religious councils are not reconvened on time, sometimes being delayed by many years.

The main issue regarding the composition of the religious councils involves political power struggles. Until 1992 the NRP (National Religious Party) controlled the Ministry of Religious Affairs and had sole control over the religious councils. With the rise to power of Shas, which also took control of the Ministry of Religious Affairs, there began to be serious power struggles between the two parties, which were frequently referred to the High Court of Justice for decision.

In 1987 the High Court of Justice instructed that Leah Shakdiel be appointed to the religious council of Yeruḥam, and ruled that there should be no discrimination regarding the appointment of women to the religious councils. Despite the objections of the religious establishment to this ruling, it came to terms with it, among other things because for the most part the women elected to serve on the councils are religious or traditional and obey the rulings of the rabbis.

During the 1990s the High Court of Justice ruled a number of times that Reform and Conservative Jews should be allowed to be appointed to the religious councils. To prevent the entry of Reform and Conservative Jews to the religious councils of large cities, in some places these councils were not convened for a number of terms.

Religion and State. During the 1980s and 1990s consensus in Israeli society was on the wane, including the sphere of religion and state. The political upset of 1977 that brought the Likud to power also considerably increased the influence of the religious parties and increased ties between religion and state and the funds transferred by the State for religious education, religious services, and religious job slots. Those who support this state of affairs see it as an expression of the Jewish character of the state, while those who object claim that the result is religious coercion and corruption. The fact that religion is identified with infighting, coercion, and corruption has seriously damaged the image of the religious establishment and increased tensions between the religious and secular populations.

Religious budgets have become a central issue in coalition negotiations and the negotiations over the state budget.

Thus, for example, between 1996 and 1999 (during the government of Binyamin Netanyahu, when the religious parties were a central component of the coalition) the budget for yeshivot in the Ministry of Religious Affairs increased from NIS 691 million to NIS 878 million, an increase of 27%. The budget for the Ma'ayan ha-Ḥinukh ha-Torani schools of the Sephardi *ḥaredi* party Shas increased during the 1990s by over 100%, from NIS 12.5 million in 1990 to NIS 137.5 million in 1999, an indication of the growth of this school system and the increasing power of Shas.

Among the struggles that took place at this time with regard to the authority of the religious establishment and public religious adherence were the following: the demand for civil marriage, the fight over non-Orthodox conversion, passage of the law prohibiting the public display of *ḥameẓ* during Passover, the demand that the Chief Rabbinate not take into consideration Sabbath observance and modesty when giving *kashrut* certification, etc. The Supreme Court played a central role in these religious struggles, usually ruling in favor of increased freedom from religion and religious equality, and acquiring the reputation of an anti-religious entity. Among the court's rulings provoking considerable resistance among the religious and *ḥaredi* public were: permitting the import of non-kosher meat to Israel, recognizing the common-law rights of same-sex couples, recognizing Reform and Conservative conversion carried out abroad, etc. This conflict reached a climax when a quarter of a million *ḥaredi* and religious demonstrators held a prayer rally against the Supreme Court at the entrance to Jerusalem.

Since the 1970s there has also been a radicalization in the lifestyle of both sides, religious and secular. The secular lifestyle has become more free, as seen, among other things, in provocative billboard advertisements, entertainment and shopping on Friday nights, the opening of many non-kosher restaurants, etc. The lifestyle of the *ḥaredim* and part of the national religious community has been characterized by the establishment of separate settlements and neighborhoods, and the increasing number of prohibitions in spheres such as women's clothing, *kashrut*, and the use of electronic devices. A national *ḥaredi* group has emerged among the national religious public characterized by zealous observance of religious law. The shared life of secular and *ḥaredi* has become almost impossible.

The Wave of Immigration. The wave of immigration from the former Soviet Union during the 1990s, bringing more than a million immigrants under the Law of Return, created a new phenomenon in Israel. Among the immigrants were 300,000 Russians who were not Jewish. These immigrants, including the non-Jews, were absorbed into Jewish society and created, for the first time in Israel, a significant phenomenon of assimilation and marriage between Jews and non-Jews. Many people, including Prime Minister Ariel Sharon, aimed for mass conversion of the non-Jewish immigrants, but the Orthodox establishment placed obstacles in the way of conversion, by requiring converts to live a religious lifestyle. The result was a relatively limited rate of conversion of fewer than a thousand immigrants from the FSU each year. A particularly thorny issue is created by the fact that the only recognized form of marriage in Israel is religious. As a result, the 300,000 non-Jewish immigrants are not able to realize their right to marry in Israel and have to go abroad for this purpose. Another trend brought by the immigrants is the opening of dozens of non-kosher food stores in all neighborhoods where there are a large number of immigrants, selling pork and ham. In addition, there is a chain of luxury supermarkets by the name of Tiv Ta'am that remains open on the Sabbath and also attracts secular non-immigrants.

Reform and Conservative congregations. A phrase that is considered characteristic of the attitude of non-religious Israelis to the progressive streams of Judaism is: "The synagogue I don't attend is Orthodox." During the 1990s and early 2000s the Reform and Conservative streams made a few significant achievements, but they were unable to change the overall picture. Only a few thousand people belong to the congregations of each of these movements, representing a very small percentage of the membership of Jewish religious congregations in Israel. In 2005 the Reform movement had 26 congregations in Israel and the Conservative movement had 42.

Where they have had greater success is the increasing trend among the secular population to turn to Reform and Conservative rabbis for their religious ceremonies, weddings, bar mitzvahs, and circumcision. Particularly noteworthy in this field is the Beit Daniel congregation led by Rabbi Meir Ezri which, in many respects, has become the religious institution serving the north Tel Aviv elite. In the 1990s the phenomenon of women serving as rabbis also reached Israel. This is still limited to a few individuals, and even the debate over what they should be called in Hebrew – *rava*, *rabbi*, or *rabbanit* – has not yet been settled.

The Reform movement has been very visible in the legal and public battles undertaken by its lobby, the Center for Jewish Pluralism, led for many years by rabbi and attorney Uri Regev. Among other things, petitions submitted by the movement to the High Court of Justice forced the Ministry of Religious Affairs to fund Reform and Conservative religious institutions.

Conversion. The most important battle waged by the Reform and Conservative movements is the one known as "who is a Jew?" In practice, the question is who is a rabbi or who is qualified to carry out conversion, and whether Reform and Conservative rabbis may do so.

This question is of the greatest importance, because Judaism is the only criterion by which someone who is not a family member of an Israeli can obtain citizenship. As a result, conversion courts hold the keys to citizenship in the Jewish state. The Reform and Conservative streams that make up the majority of United States Jewry see the obstacles that Israel places in the path of recognition of their converts as a kind of statement that their rabbis are second-class rabbis.

The battle over the issue of conversion is being carried out in a way that is very characteristic of the religious struggles in Israel, with the Reform and Conservative movements trying to make use of the High Court of Justice, while the Orthodox movements rely on their political power in the Knesset. These battles have two practical aspects. One is registration as a Jew in the Ministry of the Interior – in the population registry and in identity cards. This is largely a symbolic matter and is of particular importance to converts who are in any case entitled to Israeli citizenship (for example, those with a Jewish spouse or Jewish father) and are interested in symbolic recognition of their Jewishness. In order to sidestep the issue of registration, in 2002, then-Minister of the Interior Eli Yishai of Shas decided to cancel the section denoting nationality in the identity card.

The more significant question is recognition of Reform and Conservative converts under the Law of Return, for receiving Israeli citizenship and the broad economic assistance given to new immigrants. In 1989 the High Court of Justice ruled that the state must recognize every conversion carried out in a recognized Jewish community in the Diaspora – Orthodox, Reform or Conservative – and give converts rights under the Law of Return. At the same time, the legal battle over the fate of Reform and Conservative converts converted in Israel is still underway. The fight over "who is a Jew?" reached its peak in 1997, when the religious parties tried to amend the law so as to ensure an Orthodox monopoly over conversion in Israel, and a serious split arose between the government and leaders of the Reform and Conservative movement in the United States. Following this crisis, a committee was set up to examine the subject of conversion, under the leadership of attorney Ya'akov Ne'eman. Due to its inability to reach agreement, the committee's recommendations were never signed. Nonetheless, the government decided to implement some of them. A joint conversion institute was set up for all three streams of Judaism, with graduates undergoing Orthodox conversion.

Marriage. Israeli law does not recognize non-Orthodox marriage and divorce for Jews. However, at the beginning of the 1960s the Supreme Court ruled that, under the international charters signed by Israel, and in accordance with population registration laws, the Ministry of the Interior was obliged to register Israelis married in an official ceremony outside Israel as married. In this way the concepts of "Cyprus marriage" and "Paraguayan marriage" came into being. Paraguayan marriages were performed for many years by mail. This option has been blocked, but even today it is possible to marry with only one of the partners being present. This offers a solution for couples where one partner is unable to leave the country (for example, for fear that a foreign partner will not be permitted to return). The problem of the absence of civil marriage in Israel was considerably exacerbated in the 1990s, with the arrival of some 300,000 immigrants from the former Soviet Union who are defined in Israel as having no religion and are therefore unable to marry in Israel. Some of them return to their country of origin in order to get married. The number of Jewish couples marrying in Israel in 1970 was 24,000, and the same number married in 1990. This shows a decrease in the number of couples getting married, an increase in the age of marriage, and a decreasing willingness to be married by the Orthodox rabbinate. According to the website of the New Family organization, a few thousand Israeli couples get married abroad each year, some because they cannot get married in Israel and others because they do not want a religious marriage ceremony. It is hard to obtain more precise data, among other things because many of the couples that marry abroad are never registered in Israel. Many couples prefer to live together in a common-law relationship without marrying at all.

Divorce and the Rabbinical Courts. Even couples married in a civil marriage service are required by Israeli law to divorce in the rabbinical court. In 2004, 9,650 Jewish couples divorced in Israel. In 2005 the court system included 12 regional courts and the High Rabbinical Court of Appeals. The position of *dayyan* (religious judge) is considered highly desirable in the rabbinic world, because of the high salary, linked to that of regular judges, and because of the considerable prestige. *Dayyanim* are elected by the Committee for the Election of Dayyanim, in which political entities, especially the religious parties, have great influence.

The rabbinical court system is headed by the president of the High Rabbinical Court and the director of the rabbinical courts. The presidency, which is held by one of the chief rabbis, changes hands every five years. The fact that some chief rabbis have very little experience as *dayyanim* and nonetheless are automatically appointed as president of the High Rabbinical Court has aroused criticism. At the beginning of 2004, as part of the dismantling of the Ministry of Religious Affairs, the rabbinical courts were placed under the control of the Ministry of Justice, which thus became the ministry responsible for all the courts in Israel.

The status of the rabbinical court system began to be considerably eroded as of the 1980s. Serious claims were raised against the rabbinical courts, among other things due to the fact that the majority of *dayyanim* are *ḥaredim* and are not familiar with the secular lifestyle, which includes sexual relations before marriage and extramarital relationships. It was also claimed that there was discrimination against women, with unsatisfactory solutions for **agunot* ("chained" women) and women refused a *get* (religious divorce), many delays and absenteeism on the part of the *dayyanim*, limited working hours, etc. In 1995 the Knesset passed a law enabling the religious courts to impose sanctions on husbands refusing to give their wives a *get*, including imprisonment, preventing them from leaving the country, and taking away their driving license.

The establishment of the Family Courts in 1995 made it possible for a large portion of the public to negotiate almost the entire divorce process in an alternative system, coming to the rabbinical courts with a signed agreement. In a letter sent by the director of the rabbinical courts, Rabbi Eliyahu Ben Dahan, to the *dayyanim* in 1998 he warned that "the public is voting against us with its feet." Ben Dahan ended his letter with an appeal to the *dayyanim* to search their souls and improve their service, because "if we do not come to our senses soon, the day is not far off when we will find ourselves doing nothing more than arranging divorce papers."

However, while the secular public is seeking out alternatives to the rabbinical courts, opposition to them actually developed among the religious public. Religious women's organizations began to lead the fight with regard to *agunot*, as well as the demand to improve the attitude of the *dayyanim* towards women and towards the rabbinic pleaders representing them.

Burial. Until the beginning of the 1990s, the Hevra Kaddisha burial societies had an absolute monopoly over Jewish burial in Israel. The most significant entity in this field was the Tel Aviv Hevra Kaddisha, which had a monopoly throughout almost the entire Dan region, in which almost half of Israel's Jewish residents live. Serious claims were made against this burial society regarding the payment of huge salaries and very high pensions. The society underwent a series of crises, the management was changed several times, and salaries were drastically cut. Jerusalem, on the other hand, suffers from a surfeit of ethnic burial societies. According to the data of the Ministry of Religious Affairs, in 2001 there were 600 burial societies operating in Israel.

Under Israeli law, burial is free and the burial societies are funded by the National Insurance Institute. However, the law permits the burial societies to charge a fee for the purchase of burial plots during a person's lifetime, for reserving a plot alongside a spouse, for purchasing a plot in a closed cemetery (in which only a few plots remain), and in other cases. During the 1980s and 1990s there was considerable criticism over the high prices charged by the burial societies for the purchase of plots, often as much as NIS 20,000, and in exceptional cases even NIS 50,000. In July 2001 the Knesset passed a law setting the maximum price for purchasing burial plots in different areas, ranging from NIS 2,000 to NIS 11,000.

At the end of the 1980s a movement for secular burial got underway, in the form of associations called "Menuḥah Nekhonah." Outwardly, the religious establishment did not object to these initiatives, and it was even argued that it was preferable for observant Jews that secular Jews not be buried alongside them. In practice, the religious establishment engaged in foot dragging, and the only association to succeed in starting burial services by 2005 was Menuḥah Nekhonah Beersheba. Secular people wishing to hold non-religious burial services are forced to turn to the kibbutzim that have opened commercial cemeteries.

A serious problem arose in the mid-1990s following the wave of immigration from the former Soviet Union, when no place was found to bury people without a religion and some bodies lay in the morgues for many days. The problem was eventually solved by the allocation of separate plots in Jewish cemeteries for people without a religion, and by burying some of the non-Jewish immigrants in kibbutz cemeteries.

The Jewish method of burial in the earth is very wasteful of space, only allowing for 250 graves per dunam (a quarter acre). In the 1990s the burial societies began making use of a number of methods for high-density burial, in order to save on land use: multi-level burial (Rama burial) with bodies buried in the earth on each level; burial in niches (Sanhedrin burial) in which the graves are in the walls; and so on. The cost of these burial structures is very high, three times higher than open burial. In 2005 a crematorium began operating in Israel for the first time. On the face of it, there was no legal reason why crematoria did not operate in Israel prior to this. It is reasonable to assume that the main obstacle was the fact that the concept of the crematorium is linked in the Israeli consciousness to the Holocaust.

[Shahar Ilan (2nd ed.)]

Christians

TO 1970. In 1970, over 105,000 Christians, representing almost all the principal branches of Christendom, lived under Israeli rule, mainly in Jerusalem, Bethlehem, Ramallah, Nazareth and Galilee, Haifa, and Jaffa. Most of them were town-dwellers and over 80% spoke Arabic. Juridically, most belonged to religious communities enjoying a large measure of autonomy in matters of personal status and led by patriarchs, who were both their high priests and ethnarchs. The "Community" is the ancient framework of the religious minorities in the Muslim world, but its roots go back to pre-Islamic times. The Ottoman government officially recognized a definite number of them, the so-called *millets*. This system was maintained by the British Mandatory power between 1918 and 1948 and still persists in Israel. In a schedule added in 1939 to the Palestine Order-in-Council of 1922, the religious communities are listed as follows: the Eastern (Orthodox), the Latin (Catholic), the Gregorian Armenian, the Armenian (Catholic), the Syrian (Catholic), the Chaldean (Uniate), the Greek (Catholic) Melkite, the Maronite, and the Syrian Orthodox. Neither the Copts and Ethiopians, nor the Anglicans and other Reformed Churches are mentioned in this list. The Church of England and the Evangelical Lutheran Church were subsequently granted official status by the government of Jordan, however, and the Evangelical Episcopal Church was recognized by the government of Israel in 1970.

Each community, as a rule, is headed by a patriarch assisted by a synod. The clergy (sometimes with the assistance of lay assessors) constitute the ecclesiastical courts of first instance; the synods form ecclesiastical courts of appeal. These courts have jurisdiction in certain matters of personal status, such as marriage, divorce, alimony, and confirmation of wills. In other matters of personal status, such as legitimation and adoption, guardianship, maintenance, and succession, their jurisdiction is conditional upon the consent of the interested parties.

The Christian religious communities have their headquarters in Jerusalem, where the most venerated Christian sanctuary is the Church of the Holy Sepulcher. Equally sacred to all Christian communities, it is controlled in practice largely by the Greek Orthodox, Latin, and Armenian patriarchates. The Syrians and the Copts have small chapels within its precincts, while the Ethiopians and Anglicans have the use of chapels in its immediate neighborhood. This situation is the "provisional" result of centuries of struggle among the various churches over the *holy places. Since the question of the holy places has never been solved, the position has been left, by agreement, in *status quo ante*. Other holy places are to be found in Nazareth and Bethlehem, and on the shores of the Sea of Galilee.

THE (GREEK) ORTHODOX. The most ancient ecclesiastical body in the Holy Land is the (Greek) Orthodox patriarchate of Jerusalem, which is probably the closest successor to the original Judeo-Christian community of St. James. A gentile, Greek-speaking, Christian community emerged in the city, then called Aelia Capitolina, before the middle of the second century, and gained importance in the days of Constantine (after the discovery of the holy places). In 451 Bishop Juvenal received the rank of patriarch. The Church of Jerusalem prospered in Byzantine times, decayed under the Arabs, was superseded by a Latin patriarchate during the Crusades, languished in the later Middle Ages, and recovered some strength under the Turks. At the beginning of the present century, however, it numbered a mere few thousand, fighting for the preservation of Orthodoxy in the Holy Land. In 1969 there were some 37,000 Orthodox in Israel and the Israel-controlled territories.

The head of the church is the patriarch, who is assisted by a holy synod of 14 to 18 members. He is also supported by the Brotherhood of the Holy Sepulcher, made up of a hundred monks, almost all of Hellenic origin, which is the dominant factor in the life of the church, and from whose ranks patriarchs, bishops, archimandrites, and other office-bearers are elected. The Orthodox Church of Jerusalem is therefore an Arabic-speaking community led by an almost exclusively Greek-speaking hierarchy. The lower, married, clergy are Arabic-speaking. The Brotherhood enjoys important rights in the chief holy places, and is the sole owner of some. The patriarchate possesses 45 historic monasteries (some dating back to early Byzantine times) and numerous churches. The seat of the patriarch and the headquarters of the Brotherhood is the Convent of St. Constantine and St. Helena in Jerusalem, which also houses a library containing thousands of manuscripts, some going back to the tenth century.

The Orthodox patriarchate of Jerusalem is the only autocephalous church in the country, all others being dependent in various degrees upon supreme hierarchs residing abroad, for example in Rome, Etchmiadzin (Soviet Armenia), Damascus, and Beirut. In Sinai there is a further autonomous (though not autocephalous) Orthodox church: founded in the third century as a missionary outpost, it is today a tiny monastic community, headed by an abbot with the title of archbishop. In 527 Justinian built a fortified monastery there, and in 566 a church in memory of his wife Theodora. In the ninth century, the monastery received the name of St. Catherine. It houses a famous library which includes numerous priceless manuscripts.

Jerusalem is also the seat of two Russian Orthodox missions. One of them represents the Moscow patriarchate; the other, the Russian Church Abroad. Both claim to be the legitimate successors of the ecclesiastic mission established by the Russian Government in the 19th century. The Moscow mission is in possession of the cathedral in Jerusalem and of a few churches in Jaffa, Haifa, Nazareth, and Tiberias, while the other is in charge of eight establishments, including the Church of St. Magdalene in Gethsemane. The mission of the Church Abroad, being out of communion with the patriarch of Moscow, is not recognized by the Orthodox patriarch of Jerusalem. A representative of the Romanian patriarch is in charge of a church and a tiny community in Jerusalem.

THE NON-CHALCEDONIANS. These are the Churches which recognize only the dogmas defined by the first three ecumenical councils.

The Armenians. This group had 72 monasteries in the Holy Land in the seventh century, and its numbers increased considerably under the Arabs and crusaders. As a result, much of Mount Zion became the property of the Armenian Church as early as the tenth century, and many splendid buildings were built there, e.g., the Church of St. Thoros. They prospered during the existence of the Armenian Kingdom of Cilicia, when they enjoyed the support of Armenian kings and princes and received numerous pilgrims. In 1311 (or perhaps 1281) their bishop was raised to the rank of patriarch. In later times they fared less well, losing all but six of their 72 monasteries, but they managed to maintain – against the Greek Orthodox – what they considered their rights in the main holy places. In Mandatory times (1918–48) they formed a prosperous community of some 5,000 souls, with their own churches, schools, and cultural institutions. Many have emigrated (to Soviet Armenia and elsewhere), and today they number over 2,500 in Israel-controlled territories.

The Armenian patriarchate is organized as the Monastic Brotherhood of St. James, composed of nine bishops, 32 archimandrites, and 70 monks. Only 36 serve in Israel; the remainder minister abroad. The head of the brotherhood is the patriarch, the leader of the church, president of all its assemblies, and governor of church property, who also represents his community before the state. He is assisted by a holy synod, which derives its authority from the general assembly of the brotherhood. Supreme in Jerusalem, the patriarch is, however, to some extent dependent on the *Katholikós* of all the Armenians in Etchmiadzin (Soviet Armenia). The patriarchate of Jerusalem is of great significance to the entire Armenian nation, on account of the holy places and the religious and cultural institutions of which it is in charge. The Armenian patriarch enjoys a position similar to those of the Greek Orthodox and Latin patriarchs, with whom he shares the basilicas of the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem and of the Nativity in Bethlehem. He also holds in common with the Orthodox the Tomb of the Virgin on the outskirts of Jerusalem. The seat of the patriarchate is on Mount Zion, where the convent, the Cathedral of St. James with its historic treasures, the seminary, and the schools are situated. The library contains some 4,000 manuscripts, mostly of the Cilician period, including the oldest gospel in *erkataguir* characters, probably of the eighth century.

The Syrian Orthodox and Copts. The Syrians have had a bishop in Jerusalem since 1140, the Copts since 1236. The Syrian Orthodox (also called the Jacobites), numbering about 2,000 in what was formerly the whole of Jordan, are headed by an archbishop residing in the monastery of St. Mark. On Christmas, the Syrians and Copts celebrate at the Armenian altars in the Church of the Nativity. On other solemn occasions they officiate in their own tiny chapels in the Church of the Holy Sepulcher.

The Ethiopians. Although they owned a considerable number of chapels and altars in various holy places from the Middle Ages until the first part of the 16th century, the Ethiopians are today confined to the Deir al-Sultan on the roof of the subterranean chapel of St. Helena (in the Church of the Holy Sepulcher), a beautiful church and monastery (Debre Gennet) in western Jerusalem, and a chapel near the Jordan River.

THE CATHOLICS. The Catholic Church is represented in Israel by Latins and Uniates (Melkites, Maronites, Chaldeans, Syrian Catholics, and Armenian Catholics). Each community belongs to an independent jurisdiction, but all depend, severally, upon the Sacred Congregation of the Oriental Churches in Rome.

The Latins. The Latins number more than 24,000 Europeans, Arabs, and others. They are headed by a patriarch, under whose jurisdiction are those Latins living in Transjordan and Cyprus. The Latin patriarchate of Jerusalem, which was founded by the crusaders in 1099, ceased to exist in 1291 but was reestablished in 1847/48. The patriarch is assisted by a coadjutor, two auxiliary bishops and a chapter of canons. Seventy diocesan clergy are in charge of 47 parishes distributed over Israel, Jordan, and Cyprus. A patriarchal seminary was founded in 1853.

Within the Latin community there are more than 40 religious orders and congregations. These include the Salesians with their orphanages and trade schools, the Brethren (*Frères*) with their colleges, the White Fathers and the Fathers of Beth Harram with their seminaries, the Trappists with their abbey at Latrun; the Benedictines with their abbey of the Dormition in Jerusalem, the Dominicans with the École Biblique, also in Jerusalem, the Carmelites, with their sanctuaries on Mt. Carmel, the Assumptionists, with their large organized pilgrimages, the Jesuits with their Pontifical Biblical Institute, and, most important, the Franciscans. There are 25 communities of women with more than 12,000 members and several hundred houses. These include the Sisters of the Rosary (who are of local origin), the Sisters of St. Joseph, the Filles de la Charité, the Carmelite Sisters, the Sisters of Zion, and the Poor Clares.

Most of these religious "families" went to the Holy Land during the last 120 years, but the Franciscans had arrived centuries before the other orders. For more than 500 years (since 1333), their "Custody of the Holy Land" was the sole agency in charge of Catholic interests in Palestine and the Near East. They endeavored to regain rights of worship and possession in the major sanctuaries, rehabilitated abandoned shrines, attended to numberless pilgrims, and ministered to the tiny "Latin" communities that sprang up around their convents. In 1848, they surrendered some of their functions and prerogatives, but not the most important, to the restored patriarchate. With over 400 members drawn from 28 nations, they are still the guardians of the most important Catholic sanctuaries. While sharing, under the status quo, the Church of the Holy Sepulcher and the Grotto of the Nativity with the Orthodox and the Armenians, they hold in exclusive possession sacred sites in Nazareth, Cana, Capernaum, Tabor (all in Galilee), Gethsemane, Bethany, and Bethpage (all near Jerusalem), and Mt. Nebo. With worldwide Catholic aid, they have erected many churches and chapels, notably the monumental Basilica of the Annunciation in Nazareth, completed in 1967. Their Studium Biblicum is now a section of the theological faculty of the Pontifical University of St. Anthony in Rome. The numerous religious, cultural, educational, and welfare activities of the Latin Church in Israel, Jordan, and Cyprus are supervised by the apostolic delegate, representing the Holy See.

The Uniates (the Oriental churches in communion with Rome). The Uniates are represented in Israel by comparatively small communities, except for the strong Melkite community. The Maronites number about 3,000, for the most part near the Lebanese border; the Chaldeans and the Syrian and Armenian Catholics are a mere handful. Though all Uniate patriarchs reside in the Arab countries, their jurisdiction is recognized in Israel, where they are represented by patriarchal vicars in Jerusalem. None of the Uniate churches has rights in the principal Holy Places.

The Melkites are a most significant community. They are 26,500 strong: 23,500 in their diocese of Acre and Galilee and smaller numbers in Jerusalem and in the Israel-controlled territories. Under the guidance of their former archbishop, Georges Hakim (from 1967 Patriarch Maximus v of Antioch), they made great strides, increasing numerically, building numerous churches, establishing schools and seminaries, and integrating into the country's economic and social life. Arabic of speech, Byzantine of rite, and Catholic in church allegiance, they feel that they can play an important role in inter-church, and perhaps intercommunal, relations.

ANGLICANS AND PROTESTANTS. Reformed Christianity came to the Holy Land some 150 years ago. One of its aims was missionary work among Jews and Muslims, but most of its converts came from the (Greek) Orthodox. In 1841 an Anglican bishopric was established in Jerusalem in cooperation with Prussian Lutherans, the first incumbent being Michael Solomon *Alexander, a convert from Judaism. The original accord between the English and the Germans broke down in 1881, and the bishopric was reconstituted in 1887 on a solely Anglican basis, the Lutherans carrying on independently.

Anglicanism prospered, especially in the Mandatory period, but by 1948 most of its English-speaking adherents left the country. Today the Evangelical Episcopal Church, some 3,000 strong, is overwhelmingly Arabic-speaking. The bishopric was raised to archiepiscopal rank in 1957, and the Anglican archbishop in Jerusalem presides over a synod composed of the bishops of Egypt and Libya, Sudan, Iran, and Jordan. In 1970 the church was recognized by the Israel government as a separate religious community. The Anglicans have no rights in the Church of the Holy Sepulcher, but they enjoy the privilege of occasionally celebrating in the nearby (Greek) Orthodox chapel of St. Abraham. The archbishop's own cathedral is the Collegiate Church of St. George in Jerusalem, consecrated in 1898.

German Lutherans established schools, hospices, and hospitals in the Holy Land, the best-known being the Augusta Victoria Hospice (now a hospital) on Mount Scopus, the Hospice of the Order of St. John in Jerusalem, the

Talitha Kumi School at Bayt Jālā near Bethlehem, and the German Evangelical Institute for Archaeological Research in the Holy Land. Despite setbacks as a result of the two world wars, the Lutherans have reestablished themselves. Led by a *propst*, residing in the building of the Church of the Redeemer in the Muristan area of the Old City, they now form the Evangelical Lutheran Church numbering about 1,500, mostly Arab.

Non-German Lutheran institutions include the Swedish Theological Institute in Jerusalem, the Swedish school and hospital in Bethlehem, the Finnish Missionary School in Jerusalem, and the Scandinavian Seamen's Church in Haifa. Reformed Christianity is also represented by a number of minor Protestant groups and agencies which, being mostly of foreign and recent origin, do not enjoy the status of official communities, although of course they have complete freedom of worship. These include Presbyterians, Baptists, Pentecostalians, the Society of Friends (Quakers), Adventists, and Brethren.

[Chaim Wardi]

DEVELOPMENTS AMONG THE CHRISTIAN COMMUNITIES IN THE 1970S. Despite some emigration, the Christian population of Israel and the administered areas rose from 105,000 in 1970 to over 120,000 in 1980. The 1970s were marked by manifold activities and developments in the Christian Churches, especially in Jerusalem. In addition, an unprecedented number of congresses and colloquies, seminars and study tours were conducted in Israel by Christian organizations and groups from all over the world, while local ecclesiastics represented their Churches in many overseas forums.

In addition to *Christians News from Israel* published by the Ministry of Religious Affairs, which provides a comprehensive survey of Christian life in Israel, the various communities published their own periodicals and bulletins. They included *Nea Sion* (Greek Orthodox), *Sion* (Armenian), *Terra Sancta* and *Christian Information Centre Bulletin* (Franciscan), *Jerusálem* (Latin), *Proche-Orient Chrétien* (White Fathers), *Ar-Rabita* (Greek Catholic), *Aram* (Syrian Orthodox), *Envangelische Gemeinde Jerusalem* (Lutheran), *Ha-Yahad* (Baptist), and *UCCI News* (United Christian Council in Israel). The Jerusalem Post also published a regular column, *Oekomenikos* on Christian life and developments in the country.

Holy Places. A number of major holy places, a focal point of Christian religious life, were renovated, among them the Tomb of Mary at the church in Gethsemane and the Cenacle (Room of the Last Supper). Restoration of Christianity's most venerated shrine, the Basilica of the Holy Sepulcher, entered its final stage after nearly two decades of intensive work. The Greek Orthodox and Armenian Patriarchates of Jerusalem and the Franciscan Custody of the Holy Land, the three major communities with rights of property and worship in the Basilica, embellished their respective sections and were sharing equally in the restoration of the foundations and facade, the parvis and portals, the Stone of Unction, and the floor and dome of the Rotunda. Despite the traditional sensitivity in inter-Church relations, the work in the Basilica were carried out in a spirit of cooperation, predicated on a strict adherence to the precepts of the status quo and, where agreement between the communities proved impossible, repairs were financed and executed by the Ministry of Religious Affairs, acting as a neutral agent. The ministry likewise undertook improvements at the room of the Last Supper, contested by the Moslems and Franciscans since the sixteenth century, and at Deir el-Sultan in the Basilica of the Holy Sepulcher complex, the object of a century-old conflict between the Coptic and Ethiopian Churches. The latter dispute was taken up in 1971 by a Ministerial Committee of the government which sought to move the sides towards an agreed solution. The question of ownership of the holy places and properties of the Russian Orthodox Church has been the subject of two lawsuits lodged in Israeli courts by the Russian Orthodox Church Outside Russia: one contests the control of Russian church property in pre-1967 Israel by the Moscow Patriarchate's Russian Orthodox Mission; the other seeks to annul a transaction of 1965, by which the Government of the Soviet Union sold Russian property, mainly real estate in the "Russian Compound" in Jerusalem, to the Israel Government.

Religious Life. The 1970s saw the construction and the refurbishing of tens of churches and monasteries throughout the country. The Greek Orthodox Patriarchate renovated many of its more than 50 historic monasteries and churches and built new shrines in Jericho and Shepherds' Field, near Bethlehem. The Armenian Patriarchate was putting up a magnificent new shrine on Mount Zion incorporating archaeological remains which were excavated in 1971–72 and span two and a half millennia. Among the new Catholic sanctuaries and religious institutions were an open-air basilica on the Mount of Olives, commemorating the mystery of the Ascension, a Byzantine style church being built at Tabgha to enshrine the celebrated mosaic pavement and the other remains of the 4th/5th century basilica that stood on the traditional site of the multiplication of the loaves and fishes, a church in Zababadeh in the West Bank, and a retreat house of the Sisters of St. Joseph in Abu Ghosh (Kiryat Ye'arim). The Franciscans repaired many of the shrines in their charge. The Greek Catholic (Melkite) community consecrated new churches in towns and villages in Galilee, and restored others in Jerusalem and the West Bank. The other Uniate Churches have also been active in this respect: in Jerusalem, the Maronites readied a renewed center and chapel, and the Syrian, Armenian, and Chaldean Catholics extensively renovated their respective houses of worship. There was a new Ethiopian convent in Bethany, and the small Church of the Romanian Orthodox Mission in Jerusalem was beautified. Also in the capital, the Lutheran Church of the Redeemer and St. Paul's (Anglican) Church were completely refurbished. The Church of the Latter-Day Saints (Mormons) and an ecumenical Christian group each developed a memorial garden on the Mount of Olives, offering local residents and visitors of all faiths and denominations verdant retreats for meditation and private prayer.

In 1975 the new premises of the 140-year-old Armenian theological seminary for the training of priests for the whole Armenian Church were opened during the visit to Jerusalem of the supreme head of the Armenian Church. Distinguished alumni of the seminary, among them the Patriarch of Istanbul and the Primates of Egypt, Europe, Australia and America, gathered in Jerusalem for a world congress on the contemporary situation and mission of the Armenian Church. The school of the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate, which prepares aspirants to the Brotherhood of the Holy Sepulcher, is housed in the renovated Holy Trinity monastery on Mount Zion. Catholic clergy were trained at theological academies in Jerusalem, Beit Jala, and Cremisan.

Major organizational changes in the Anglican and Lutheran churches granted a far greater degree of local autonomy than heretofore, and for the first time each was headed by an Arab bishop.

Practical steps were taken towards liturgical renewal. The Latin Patriarchate played a central role in the promulgation of catechisms and translations into Arabic of new liturgical texts. For the first time, the Syrian Orthodox Church in Jerusalem published an edition of the eucharistic liturgy in which the Syriac text in the ancient Aramaic characters is accompanied by an Arabic transcription and translation. The Armenian Patriarchate completed the translation of the New Testament into modern Western Armenian. The United Christian Council in Israel, comprising nineteen Protestant and Anglican Church representations, published several liturgical and scriptural works.

A number of the more than 40 Catholic religious orders and congregations celebrated the centenary of their presence in the Holy Land, among them the Rosary Sisters, the Italian Sisters of the Nigrizia, the White Fathers, the Christian Brothers (Frères), the Fathers of the Sacred Heart of Bétharram, and the Fathers of Our Lady of Zion. In addition, some ten new orders have arrived in the last decade.

Among the ranking prelates who came to Israel during the period under review were the Armenian Catholicos, the Orthodox Patriarchs of Russia, Georgia, Bulgaria and Romania, the Patriarch of Ethiopia, the Primate of the Russian Orthodox Church Outside Russia, a large number of Roman Catholic Cardinals and Vatican officials, the Minister General of the Franciscan order, the secretary-general of the World Council of Churches and several successive Moderators of the Church of Scotland. The total of Christian visitors and pilgrims arriving annually has risen from 100,000 in 1969 to 600,000 in 1980. In 1975 it was swelled by many Catholics who included the Holy Land in their Holy Year pilgrimage to Rome.

In 1977 a law passed by the Knesset making it illegal to promise, give, or receive material benefits in exchange for religious conversion caused a concerned reaction from the Christian communities, who felt the legislation might affect religious liberty in general and the functioning of their philanthropic institutions in particular. In reply to a petition submitted to the President of the State by the Greek Orthodox, Latin and Armenian Patriarchs and the Custos of the Holy Land, it was made clear however, that the government had no intention whatsoever of restricting in any way the religious freedom of the Christian, or any other, communities in Israel, or of impeding their pursuit of normal educational, social or philanthropic activities.

The proposed draft of the Basic Law on the Rights of Man studied in the 1970s by the Committee on Constitution, Law and Justice of the Knesset, and particularly the sections dealing with religious freedom, aroused considerable interest among Christian bodies and interfaith groups.

Education. The Church authorities expanded and remodeled many of their 85 schools which had an enrollment of some 20,000, including a large number of Muslims. These schools are directed and, to a large degree, financed, by the various Churches. At the request of the Greek Catholics, however, the government recently assumed the burden of the teachers' salaries in their schools.

There was a marked rise in the number of Christian students, theologians and clergy coming to Israel from all parts of the globe, with an increasing number from the Third World, to participate in courses given by some thirty local religious centers. Among the new programs opened for them in Jerusalem were the sessions of spiritual renewal organized by the White Fathers for members of the Order working in Africa; courses at the Inter-Community Bible Center of Bethesda; the seven-month program of the Dormition Abbey's "Beit Yosef" on Mount Zion, for theology students from West Germany, Austria and Switzerland; courses at Ratisbonne monastery directed by the Congregation of Our Lady of Zion and the Fathers of Zion; the study project for Mormon students from Brigham Young University in the United States; the annual seminars for Dutch and Belgian theologians; and the one-year program at The Hebrew University which is sponsored by West German Protestant Churches. The Institute of Holy Land Studies (Protestant), St. George's College (Anglican), and the renovated Swedish Theological Institute (Lutheran) expanded their existing study programs. An Ecumenical African Institute for Biblical Studies was set up in Jerusalem to help African clergymen and theologians explore the sources of their Christian faith. At the new Mater Ecclesiae Center in Tiberias, nuns from Asia and Africa attend six month sessions of spiritual renewal.

Many of these projects benefited from a close cooperation between local Christian and Jewish scholars. A most significant example was the program initiated in 1975 by the prestigious Pontifical Biblical Institute (Jesuit), which brought students from Africa, Asia, Europe and the Americas under the tuition of scholars from The Hebrew University of Jerusalem. These studies constitute a basic part of the three-year course at the Pontifical Biblical Institute in Rome leading to

Licenciate in Sacred Scripture, which prepares priests as instructors in Catholic seminaries throughout the Christian *oecumene*.

A Dominican scholar in Jerusalem, who was consultant to the Vatican Commission for Religious Relations with the Jews, was appointed head of the philosophy department at The Hebrew University of Jerusalem.

Social and Cultural Activities. The Christian Churches were attentive to the social and cultural needs of their communities and, during the 1970s, a number of new institutions and services were added to the scores already existing.

In Bethlehem, the ultra-modern Caritas Baby Hospital and the Ephpheta Institute for deaf-mute children were opened under Catholic patronage; the unique Institute of Medical Genetics and Twin Studies, on Mt. Olives, staffed by the recently arrived Congregation of the Handmaids of the Sacred Heart, was steadily being developed, while, nearby, the Polish Sisters of Saint Elizabeth established an orphanage for girls. The Lutheran World Federation and Catholic Relief Services instituted a number of new projects, several of them in cooperation with the Ministry of Social Affairs and the Military Government in the West Bank. The Greek Orthodox and Armenian Patriarchates opened new health centers in Jerusalem. In Haifa, homes for the aged were inaugurated by the Greek Catholics and the Lutherans.

Community centers were set up by the Greek Orthodox in a number of towns. The Greek Catholics opened such centers in villages in Galilee and instituted mobile library services in that area.

Two major cultural institutions being developed in the capital have won wide acclaim. For the first time, the accumulated art treasures of the centuries-old Armenian community in Jerusalem were put on permanent display to the public in a forty-room museum which was opened in 1979 in the Armenian Quarter of the Old City. The exhibits include ritual objects, illuminated manuscripts, icons, painted tiles, copper work, mosaics and tapestries. The Notre Dame of Jerusalem Center, which was formally decreed a "Pontifical Institute" in 1978, is to include a hostel for pilgrims, an arts and crafts pavilion where Christian artisans will have facilities for creating and displaying their works, and a large meeting-hall electronically equipped for simultaneous translations for the use of local Catholic communities and pilgrim groups.

A number of Christian clergy were awarded the title of "Distinguished Citizen of Jerusalem" (*Yakir Yerushalayim*) for their contributions to the spiritual and cultural life of the capital.

Ecumenical and Interfaith. Several new ventures were helping the cause of positive relations and cooperation among the various Christian communities. Foremost among them was the Ecumenical Institute for Advanced Theological Studies at Tantur, near Jerusalem, inaugurated in 1972. It provided a place where Christian theologians from all over the world could come together to pursue their own research and to participate in a community dedicated to the recovery of Christian unity through theological study, in the environs in which the Church first came into existence. The Institute seeks also to take advantage of its location in the midst of Jewish and Muslim cultures. In 1979 the Institute launched a major project of research and reflection of Christianity in the Holy Land.

A different undertaking is the Christian Information Center which opened its doors in 1973 in the Old City of Jerusalem. The Center gathers and dispenses information on behalf of all the Christian Churches. The ecumenical spirit is also evident in the increasing participation by Christians from all denominations in the annual Week of Prayer for Christian Unity, and in the activities of the Ecumenical Theological Research Fraternity in Israel.

Reference has already been made to the cooperation between Christian and Jewish scholars in Israel. Christian involvement in groups such as the Israel Interfaith Committee and the Rainbow Group is also noteworthy, as are the "Hope" seminars initiated in 1973, and the appearance, in 1972, of a semi-annual bulletin of religious thought in Israel, *Immanuel*, published by the Ecumenical Fraternity. Two significant interfaith symposia were organized in 1980, one on the occasion of the 15th centenary of the birth of St. Benedict, the other commemorating Armenian Martyr's Day and entitled "Genocide and Collective Responsibility."

Initiatives of another kind are the interfaith Neve Shalom center on land near Latrun, and Nes Amim, a Protestant moshav (co-operative farm village) in Western Galilee, which in 1975 inaugurated a new center to house seminars and study projects which further its ideal of promoting understanding between Jews and Christians through constructive co-existence. A second Protestant moshav, Yad ha-Shemonah, was under development near Abu-Ghosh by a group from Finland. An international Christian "embassy" was opened in Jerusalem by evangelical Christians who wish to demonstrate and promote Christian support for Israel.

In the main, Christian involvement in interreligious activities in Israel remained limited, and was primarily the province of western Christians. The political situation, the lack of a tradition of pluralism among Oriental Churches, and the essential western character of interreligious contacts in Israel tended to minimize the participation of the predominantly Arab indigenous Churches.

Generally speaking, the Churches continued to follow a policy of neutrality in the political realm. In internal matters, such as religious life, administration, culture and education, they maintained their traditional independence.

[Daniel Rossing]

THE 1980S AND AFTER. According to the Central Bureau of Statistics, the estimated Christian population of the State of Israel at the end of 1991 was 128,000, compared with 94,170 Christian inhabitants counted in the 1983 decennial census. Estimates vary greatly regarding the extent to which this number has been augmented by Russian and Ethiopian Christians who arrived in Israel with the most recent waves of immigration from those countries. On the other hand, Christian sources note that in the face of continuing political tension and an uncertain future in the Middle East, a growing number of Christian families in Jerusalem and the Territories have now chosen emigration to the West.

The various strands – Christian, Israeli, Arab, Palestinian – intertwined in the identities of Christians in the land, have been colored by political conflicts in the area during the past decade. The civil and religious strife in Lebanon and renewed contact with fellow-Christians there in the wake of the 1982 War in Lebanon, stirred, especially among Christians in Galilee, stronger feelings of identity with their particular Christian community. The protracted *intifada*, on the other hand, has induced many Christians living in Jerusalem and the Territories to accentuate their Palestinian identity and advocate solidarity with their Muslim neighbors, despite, or perhaps because of, rising Islamic fundamentalism. In the latter circumstance, some Christians have begun to formulate a Palestinian Christian "theology of liberation," designed to strengthen local Christians in their Palestinian context and identity. Church leaders in Jerusalem on their part have issued with increasing frequency joint public statements and pastoral letters expressing their deep dismay over the suffering of their faithful. Israel government officials in turn have accused Church leaders of being one-sided in their political positions, and fault them for their failure to speak out on Palestinian violence and their refusal to publicly acknowledge recurrent instances of Muslim extremism directed against their members and institutions.

The sensitive situation of the Christian communities in the present political climate was brought to the fore in 1990 by the St. John's Hospice Affair. Over the past decade, Muslims have continued without opposition to purchase, lease, or rent many properties in the Christian Quarter of Jerusalem's Old City. However, when a group of Orthodox Jews managed, with assistance from the Ministry of Housing, to sub-lease and subsequently take up residence in a building in the vicinity of the Holy Sepulcher owned by the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate, Christians felt obliged to protest loudly in order to avert Muslim accusations of collusion with Zionist designs. The initial support for the Christian side which was forthcoming from many Jewish circles weakened significantly when the Greek Orthodox Patriarch of Jerusalem, Diodoros I, traveled to Rome to enlist the support of the pope, and to Damascus where President Assad readily offered his help to defend the Christians of the Holy Land.

In line with a process of indigenization in evidence throughout the Catholic world, for the first time in the history of the Latin Patriarchate a local Arab Christian, Monsignor Michel Assad Sabbaḥ, took office as Latin Patriarch in Jerusalem in January 1988. During the past decade his Church and the various Uniate Catholic communities have dedicated a significant number of new houses of worship and refurbished many of their older churches and convents throughout the country. The spiritual life of the local Catholic Church has been strengthened by the arrival of 11 additional religious orders and congregations, and by the publication of a new missal and lectionnaire in Arabic in accord with the liturgical reforms recommended by the Second Vatican Council.

Through official visits to the leaders of Orthodox Churches abroad, and by hosting them in Jerusalem, the Greek Orthodox patriarch of Jerusalem has attempted to reassert the centrality of Jerusalem as the "Mother" Church of the Christian oecumene. For the first time in several centuries, representatives of Orthodox Churches from throughout the world gathered in Jerusalem in October 1986 at his initiative to discuss issues of world peace. The patriarch has also labored to more effectively capitalize on the extensive real estate holdings of his Church, in order to generate the funds required for an ambitious project of renovation of the Patriarchate's historic shrines and convents throughout the country. The Palestinian laity of his community, both in Israel and in Jordan, have lobbied ever more forcefully for a greater say in the affairs of the Patriarchate and for the redirecting of its resources to educational and welfare projects for their benefit.

In February 1990, Yegishe Derderian passed away after 30 years of service as Armenian Patriarch during which the Jerusalem Patriarchate played a central role in the religious and cultural life of the Armenian diaspora. Under the leadership of his successor, Archbishop Torkom Manoogian, renewed access to the Armenian homeland has brought benefit to the community, but also the burden of the tragedies and tribulations of their fellow-Armenians living there.

The religio-political divide within the Protestant communities in the country has widened during the last decade. Among those who deeply identify with Jews, whether as an affirmation of the Jewish roots of their faith or with an aim to pave a path for missionary inroads, western evangelical circles close to the International Christian Embassy have been ever more vocal in their political support for the State of Israel, at times in ways which have irritated the indigenous Churches. On the other hand, most Arab Protestants and many of the expatriate Christians who work among and empathize with them, have adopted a much more critical posture vis-à-vis the State of Israel and endeavor to distance themselves from any religious or political links, past or present, with Israel.

Holy Places. Significant progress has been made in the restoration of major Christian shrines throughout the country. Renovations in the Church of the Holy Sepulcher have continued, although in parts of the basilica progress is still impeded by age-old disputes concerning the Status Quo. The three principal communities – Greek Orthodox, Armenian, and Latin – have completed most of the works of restoration and beautification in the sections of the shrine held respectively by them, and have finally jointly agreed concerning the embellishment of the ceiling of the dome of the Rotunda, darkened for decades by the ugly scaffolding left in place pending the outcome of their deliberations. The Civil Administration in Judea and Samaria has repeatedly patched the roof of the Basilica of the Nativity in Bethlehem but has not been able to achieve agreement among the Churches concerning the major repairs called for since the days of the British Mandate. The annual general cleaning of that shrine has become in recent years the scene of altercations between the three main communities. Both the Egyptian and Ethiopian governments have continued to actively press for a resolution of the long-standing Coptic-Ethiopian dispute over Deir al-Sultan, the monastery on the roof of the Holy Sepulcher, which would favor their respective countrymen.

Among other holy places which have been reconstructed or undergone repairs are the Church of the Multiplication of the Loaves and Fishes at Tabgha, the traditional house of St. Peter in Capernaum, over which a controversial octagonal "memorial" structure has been erected, and the Tomb of the Virgin near the Garden of Gethsemane. The Cenacle on Mount Zion, traditional site of the Last Supper, has been refurbished by the present caretaker, the Ministry for Religious Affairs, and the East Jerusalem Development Corporation has esthetically renovated the Via Dolorosa. The traditional place of the baptism of Jesus at Qasr al Yahud, located in a closed security zone along the Jordan River southeast of Jericho, remains inaccessible to the general public, but in recent years the Civil Administration in the Administered Territories has made arrangements for an annual Catholic pilgrimage to the site, and for the Orthodox celebration of the Feast of Epiphany there. The Government Tourist Corporation has developed baptismal facilities for the convenience of pilgrim groups along the Jordan river just south of the Sea of Galilee.

Education, Social, and Cultural. Nearly all the Christian schools in the State of Israel, with the exception of those in East Jerusalem, have in the course of the last decade received official recognition from the Ministry of Education and Culture and now benefit from extensive funding from the state budget, which has made it possible for them to expand and improve their programs. Christian schools in the Territories have been severely affected by the civil unrest and repeated closures during the Intifada. However, there too Christian educational activities have continued to expand, for example through additional facilities inaugurated at Bethlehem University and at the Salesian Technical School in Bethlehem, as well as through a new theological seminary opened in the village of Beit Sahour by the Greek (Melkite) Catholic Church.

The dozens of study frameworks available to Christians from abroad have been augmented by the Vatican-sponsored Centre Chrétien des Etudes Juives opened in Jerusalem in 1987 at the Monastery of Saint Pierre de Sion (Ratisbonne). The new graduate institute is run under the academic direction of the Institut Catholique de Paris, and, like many other Christian study programs in Israel, benefits from close collaboration with The Hebrew University. Among Jewish educational institutions in the capital which have developed special study programs for Christians are the Shalom Hartman Institute for Advanced Jewish Studies and the Melitz Centers for Jewish-Zionist Education.

A protracted controversy surrounding the construction of a new Mormon Church-affiliated Brigham Young University study center on Mount Scopus was defused by a written undertaking of officials of the Church that the center's staff and students will scrupulously refrain from any missionary activity in the country.

The local Churches, with the financial support of western coreligionists, have devoted increasing attention to the social and cultural needs of their communities. The Greek, Armenian, and Coptic Orthodox, as well as the Latin, Syrian, Greek, and Maronite Catholics, have all established additional community and retreat centers or expanded existing facilities.

Several Churches have initiated much-needed housing projects for Christian residents. Christian medical services have been expanded and improved, *inter alia*, at the Caritas Baby Hospital and the Holy Family Maternity Hospital in Bethlehem and at the Scottish Hospital in Nazareth. Historical museums have been opened to the public in Jerusalem by the Latins, Armenians, Greek Orthodox, and Greek Catholics. During the past decade many of the Christian hospices have been renovated and modernized to meet the needs of today's pilgrim.

The Jerusalem Municipality has honored several Christian personalities with the title "Distinguished Citizen of Jerusalem" and, in January 1987, the Knesset paid special tribute to "Righteous Gentiles" living in Israel.

Ecumenical and Interfaith. Ecumenical and interfaith activities in Israel have continued to attract primarily persons of Western background. Attempts to involve representatives of the dominantly eastern or Arab Christian population have met with little success. Ecumenical contacts among local Christians have focused mainly on discussion of political rather than theological issues. Steps were taken to establish an Arab Christian-Muslim dialogue, but significant progress was impeded by difficulties, magnified by present political realities, in coming to grips with the less than happy history of Muslim-Christian relations in the region.

The opening of formal talks between representatives of the Vatican and the Government of Israel in 1992 was received with mixed emotions by many Christians in the country. There is, on the one hand, deep apprehension that official Vatican recognition of the State of Israel might imperil their fragile relations with their Muslim neighbors, and on the other, the cautious hope that formal agreements between the State and the Vatican will clarify and even enhance their position in local society. Both the Government and the Vatican have stressed that the outcome of the talks will in no way prejudice the existing Status Quo in the Holy Places, and that any rights and privileges which might be secured by the Catholic Churches and institutions would be extended to other Christian communities in the country as well.

The most noteworthy event of the decade was Pope John Paul II's millennium visit to Israel in 2000, with tens of thousands of Christian pilgrims coming in his wake. The pope celebrated mass at the Church of the Holy Sepulcher, as well as in Nazareth, and visited Yad Vashem.

At the beginning of 2005 there were 117,000 Christians in Israel, constituting 2% of the population. The demographic balance between Muslim and Christian Arabs has changed in mixed towns. In Nazareth, for example, the biggest Arab city in Israel with a population of 62,000 in 2002, the balance went from near parity to a 67% percent majority for the Muslims, their new-found hegemony creating tensions, as in their attempt to build a mosque near the Church of the Annunciation.

The internal breakdown of the Christian community in Israel is as follows: 37% Greek Catholic, 30% Greek Orthodox, 23% Latin Catholic, 5% Maronite, and 5% others.

[Daniel Rossing]

Muslims

UNDER TURKISH RULE. Islam drew no distinction between "church" and state, for the latter had both political and religious functions. The Muslims of the Holy Land, therefore, saw no reason to organize as a community. They felt that they were the state, and the government should put their needs first. It was the non-Muslims who needed communal organizations recognized by the authorities and enjoying internal autonomy to protect their interests. The Muslims were almost all Sunnites, most of them, especially in the villages, belonging to the Shāfiʿī school, though the Shariʿa (Muslim religious) courts were conducted according to the Ḥanafī school, prevalent in the towns. Religious life in the countryside followed tradition, receiving inspiration and content from the mosques and the tombs of holy men. In some of the villages, especially the district of Samaria, renowned for its religious fervor, orders of zealots developed which maintained *zawāyā* (small prayer houses) as meeting places for their adherents. Traditional religious education was given in both town and village, the imam serving as teacher, in addition to his other duties. These classes were replaced in the course of time by more modern schools, which were taken over by the British Mandatory government. The pilgrimage to Mecca was the aspiration of all, even the poor making great efforts to get there despite the expense and danger involved, and the return of a pilgrim was a major event. Sufi orders maintained *zawāyā* and *takāyā* (hostels) in Jerusalem, where lodgings were provided for pilgrims on their way to Mecca and bread and soup for the poor, drawing their revenues from waqf (religious trust) funds and contributions from the pilgrims. Such institutions were founded by immigrants from North Africa, India, Bukhara, and Afghanistan.

However, the charitable and educational institutions which the Egyptian rulers had founded in the Ayyubid period, especially in Jerusalem around the Al-Aqṣā Mosque, were in a state of progressive decline. They depended for their maintenance on the waqf revenues, estimated to total 40,000 Turkish pounds, which the government sent to Constantinople, instead of devoting them to the purposes for which they were destined. This was one of the grounds for the dissatisfaction expressed in the Arabic newspapers that started to appear after the revolt of the Young Turks in 1908. Articles were published denouncing the neglect of educational and religious establishments, which was said to have led to a religious and spiritual decline. The writers demanded that the government use the income from the charitable trusts for the maintenance of the institutions and the establishment of new ones, such as a college for religious studies and a vocational school for the children of the poor, aid for the distressed and indigent, and the preservation of the Muslim holy places, some of which were beginning to pass into Christian hands. Fears were expressed for the future of the younger generation, many of whom were being educated in schools run by foreigners, whose teachings were not compatible with Ottoman loyalty or the principles of Islam.

These demands fell upon deaf ears – Turkey was too preoccupied with her wars to pay attention to them. One new religious institution, al-Madrasa al-Ṣalāḥiyya, a training college for religious functionaries, was opened in Jerusalem during World War I in order to counteract the influence of religious leaders in the service of the British, but was shut down when the war ended.

UNDER BRITISH RULE. The passage from four centuries of Ottoman rule to the rule of a Christian government did not, at first, present serious problems for the Muslims. The experienced officials of the British military administration, transferred from Egypt to deal with civilian affairs, did much for religious life. Festivals were celebrated with great splendor under the patronage of the British authorities; plans were prepared for the repair of the Al-Aqṣā Mosque, and the expenses of the annual pilgrimage to Nebi Mūsā (the reputed tomb of the Prophet Moses) were borne by the government. In 1921 the Palestine Administration set up the Muslim Higher Council, a secular body, which managed the religious and judicial affairs of the community, ran the charitable trusts, and was responsible for maintaining mosques. Subject to government approval, it appointed religious judges and functionaries, as well as inspectors and other officials. The Council did little, however, to further religious life. Its attempt, in 1922–23, to set up a secondary school in Jerusalem to train religious functionaries was a failure. The only institution of the kind was the al-Jazzār school in the mosque of that name in Acre.

During the period of British rule, however, nationalist trends, previously not in evidence, came into prominence, working in close alliance with religion. From its inception, the Muslim Higher Council introduced the religious element into the Arabs' political struggle against the Jews. Mass celebrations of Islamic festivals became political demonstrations, often ending in violence. The younger generation was inflamed by religious fanaticism and incited to attack the Jews. Delegations were sent to all Islamic countries to warn the faithful of the danger of Jewish domination over the Al-Aqṣā Mosque, the third in importance in the Muslim world. As a result of the efforts of the mufti of Jerusalem, Hajj Amim *al-Husseini, a Muslim Congress was held in Jerusalem in 1931, which helped to weld Muslim solidarity while furthering the mufti's political ambitions.

The Council was widely criticized in the Muslim community for its commercial enterprises, the preferential treatment of the favored few, the neglect of the villages and their religious functionaries, and the failure to build new mosques and further post-primary education. After the Arab revolt of 1936–39 some of the council's members were dismissed, and it passed to government control. Several groups and institutions freed themselves from its domination and there was a revival of interest in religious life and education. In Haifa, for example, the improving economic situation and the desire to compete with local Christian institutions stimulated the Muslims to establish their own charitable trusts and educational institutions. After World War II a number of societies and clubs were set up to intensify devotion to Islam and reform Muslim social life on the basis of Islamic principles. The Muslim Brotherhood, founded in Egypt, established a few branches in Palestine.

UNDER ISRAELI RULE. The end of the British Mandate saw the complete collapse of Muslim public life. Most of the religious leaders, who had played a prominent part in political activity, fled the country. The religious judiciary crumbled and the charitable trusts were abandoned. Great difficulty was experienced in finding replacements for religious judges and functionaries, especially in the towns, and the whole system of Shariʿa courts had to be reconstructed, with the aid of Sheikh Ṭahir al-Ṭabarī, the only qadi who remained. For the first time in the history of the relations between Judaism and Islam, Jewish authorities had to be responsible for organizing Muslim religious life.

The Israeli government, through the Ministry of Religious Affairs, took steps to restore the institutions of the Muslim community. Shariʿa courts were set up in Jaffa, Acre, Haifa, Nazareth, and Ṭayyiba (for the central region, where Muslims are numerous) and religious functionaries appointed under the authority of the qadis to mosques in towns and villages. Muslim advisory commissions were set up in Jaffa, Ramleh, Lydda, Haifa, and Acre to look after holy places and promote religious and welfare services. The revenues of the waqf properties, which were administered by the Custodian of Absentee Property, were used to finance the work of the commissions in religious education, health, and welfare, as well as the repair of mosques and the erection of new ones. The management of the holy places was entrusted to the Muslim Department of the Ministry of Religious Affairs, and the government assumed responsibility for the salaries of religious judges and functionaries. By a law of 1965, the Custodian of Absentee Property was empowered to release waqf properties, the fruits of which were destined for religious purposes, education, and welfare to committees of trustees, which replaced the advisory commissions, appointed wherever there were waqf properties and Muslim communities.

The adaptation of Muslim life to the laws of the land was a relatively smooth process. There was understanding, on the whole, for the laws that made primary education compulsory for girls as well as boys, fixed the minimum age of marriage for girls at 17, gave women equal rights, prohibited bigamy and regulated divorce. These were not found to be in conflict with Muslim doctrine; the Israel Supreme Court ruled, for example, that polygamy is not obligatory under Islam.

There were about 100 mosques in pre-1967 Israel, over 20 of which had been built after 1948 – notably the Mosque of Peace in Nazareth, the first to be erected to serve the city's 16,000 Muslims. Many mosques were restored with the government's assistance: for example, it contributed over IL 100,000 to repair the mosque of al-Jazzār in Acre. Some 200 religious functionaries receive monthly government stipends. The four Shariʿa courts (the one at Jaffa also has authority over Jerusalem), exercise exclusive jurisdiction over members of the community in matters of personal status, such as marriage, divorce, and inheritance.

The Circassians are one of the minority communities in Israel, adhering to the Muslim faith and numbering about 3,000. When their country, Cherkessia, was subjugated by Russia in 1864, a mass emigration to Turkey took place, some of the refugees later settling in Galilee, where they now inhabit two villages, *Kafr Kama and *al-Riḥaniyya. Circassian (Adyghe) was an unwritten language when they emigrated, and though they still speak it, the language of instruction in their schools is Arabic. Wishing to overcome this drawback, they applied to the Israel Ministry of Education for assistance, and Professor J.C. Catford of the University of Michigan, a specialist in Caucasian and general linguistics, agreed to come and help them learn the Cyrillic orthography now used for their language in the U.S.S.R. He completed a six-week course in Kafr Kama in August 1973. Owing to the absence of teachers and materials, however, it was found impossible to implement this arrangement and, in 1978, following recommendations by a committee appointed by the Ministry of Education, it was decided that all subjects in the school in Kafr Kama would be taught in Hebrew, a measure which was to be extended to al-Riḥaniyya, too. A specialist appointed by the Ministry was to prepare a curriculum and texts in Circassian history and culture. The Circassians are conscripted for service in the Israel Defense Forces and serve in the Israel police.

There are some 600 members of the Aḥmadiyya sect in Kabābīr near Haifa; they conduct missionary activities. Acre is the center of the Shādhiliyya movement of Sufis, the founders of which are buried in the sect's *zāwiyā* in the town.

Religious life follows its traditional path, Fridays and the festivals of Islam being recognized as official holidays for Muslims. The government of Israel declared its readiness to facilitate pilgrimages to Mecca, but the Arab states refused to cooperate. The Arabic station of the Israel Broadcasting Authority broadcasts daily readings from the Koran, as well as prayers and sermons on Fridays and Muslim festivals. Religion is taught in primary and post-primary schools; the teachers are specially trained and religious textbooks compiled. The popular traditional festivities, such as the pilgrimages to the tombs of Sayyidunā Ali near Herzilyyah and Nabī Ṣāliḥ at Ramleh, have been revived. For the first time in the history of the Muslims in the Holy Land, a regular government publication is issued (by the Muslim Department of the Ministry of Religious Affairs) containing the decisions of the courts and views on major Muslim religious problems.

After the Six-Day War. The reunification of Jerusalem after the 1967 war enabled all Muslims in Israel, for the first time since 1948, to pray at the Al-Aqṣā Mosque, since previously, as Israelis, they could not cross the armistice lines. However, the qadis of the Shariʿa courts in East Jerusalem, who continued to receive their salaries from the Jordanian government and obeyed its political directives, remained unwilling to come to an arrangement with the Israeli authorities on the regulation of matters of Muslim personal status. Other Muslim religious officials were paid by the waqf. The qadi of Jaffa, who had authority over Jerusalem, appointed three marriage registrars for the Muslims of the Holy City, who celebrated about 700 weddings for couples from Jerusalem up to 1970. The Shariʿa court in Jaffa also dealt with about 200 cases submitted by Jerusalem Muslims.

The situation in the Israel-administered areas of Samaria and Judea, where the waqf administration looked after mosque repairs and paid the religious functionaries, was somewhat similar, while in the Gaza Strip the latter, as well as the qadis, received their stipends from the government of Israel. In all the areas the Shariʿa courts continued to function in the same way as under Jordanian or Egyptian rule. The Israeli authorities provided facilities for Muslims from the administered areas to go on pilgrimage to Mecca, but the Arab governments concerned still refused to extend the privilege to Muslim citizens of Israel.

Despite the continued lack of religious leaders of stature, Islam serves as a general unifying factor in the Arab Muslim community. However, the practice of religion among them, as among other communities, is on the decline, particularly among the intellectuals and the city workers. This is due to the advance in education, the rise in the standard of living, the change in the status of women, the modernization of the towns and the countryside, and contact with new ways of life and thought, which have weakened the bonds of tradition and patriarchal discipline.

[Jacob Yehoshua]

Religious Life in the 1970s. Considerable improvement was made in everything pertaining to the religious life of the Arabs in Israel during the 1970s. The following areas are of note:

(1) The Haj – Although as early as 1959 the Government of Israel granted permission for Israeli Arabs to make the pilgrimage to Mecca, on the sole condition that Saudi Arabia guarantee their safety, it was not until 1978 that the necessary permission was granted by Jordan (for transit) and by Saudi Arabia. The minister of religion sent his greetings to the 2,700 pilgrims who took advantage of this permission and expressed the hope that they would pray in Mecca for peace in the Middle East.

(2) The Shari'a (Muslim Courts of Law) – These courts were established in Acre, Haifa, Jaffa, Nazareth, Taibeh and Beersheva, but the last was subject to the jurisdiction of the Kadi of Taibeh, and that of Haifa to Acre. The Arabs of East Jerusalem were subject to the jurisdiction of Jaffa, and they had three officials authorized by the Court of Jaffa to deal with registration of marriages. For the first time the Supreme Shari'a of Appeals was established in Jerusalem which had two permanent Kadis.

The Shari'a Courts have a wider jurisdiction than the Rabbinical Courts.

(3) Mosques – Considerable work has been done with regard to the repair and extension of existing mosques, and the erection of new ones, both in the cities and in Arab villages. Subventions were granted both by the Wakf and the Ministry of Religions, but considerable contributions were made by the local inhabitants, and the erection of the mosques in the villages of Iksal and Makre cost 4 million lira.

The Bedouin, who are gradually turning to permanent settlement, established mosques in their settlements; one was established in Bir el Maksur in the Galilee, and another in Shaval in the Negev. Extensive work was also done in the repair and establishment of cemeteries.

(4) Religious Officials – Imams, conductors of religious services and marriage officers, unlike the kadis, were recognized as permanent government employees under Turkish rule and during the period of the British Mandate, but since the establishment of the State they have been in receipt of increasing stipends by the government. Their request, however, for recognition as government employees had not yet been acceded to as of 1980.

(5) Freedom of Religion – The contacts established after the Six-Day War between the Muslims of Israel and those of the West Bank and Gaza, who were much more meticulous in their religious observance and more under the influence of their religious leaders, brought about a change in the religious atmosphere of the Muslims in Israel. Through the leaders of the local councils they have stated that they will continue to be loyal to their nationality and, at the same time, they will make every effort to revive their traditional culture and language, as loyal citizens of Israel, and will cooperate with its institutions and citizens. Although a request by the Muslim authorities to the government, after the establishment of the State, to be permitted to continue their previous practice of punishing Muslims who flouted the religious restrictions applying to the month of Ramadan, was refused, a similar request from the Shari'a courts in the West Bank was being increasingly acceded to. The communications media devoted

considerable time to Muslim religious programs, particularly during the month of Ramadan.

There was a noticeable tendency on the part of Muslims in Israel to demonstrate to their coreligionists in the West Bank that their religious loyalties are no less than theirs, and this constitutes the stimulus behind their demands for a better religious education, the training of religious ministrants, and the erection of mosques. The Muslim religious quarterly which was distributed among religious leaders and Orientalists in the various universities, and which reflected all the development in the religious life of the Muslims and the decisions of the Shari'a courts, ceased publication after 15 years with the retirement of its editor, the director of the Muslim Department of the Ministry of Religious Affairs.

The Muslims, who constitute 80% of the Arabs of Israel, suffer from a severe lack of religious officials. The Ahamadiah School, attached to the al-Jazzar mosque in Acre, which trained the secondary officials referred to above, was closed in 1948 for lack of students, and the closing of the gates of the religious universities in Egypt to Israeli Muslims brought about a diminution in the supply of higher ranking officials. A religious college established in Hebron after the Six-Day War, supported by the Ministry of Religions, attracted a considerable number of students. Similar institutions exist in East Jerusalem and Gaza, but the lack of religious officials is still sorely felt, and at a conference of local heads of councils of the Triangle held in February 1979, a demand was put forward for the establishment of an institution for their training. The Arab department of the Ministry of Education took steps in recent years to deepen religious education among Muslims, and a special department for this purpose exists in the Teachers' Training College in Haifa.

A number of laws were passed by the Knesset regulating the personal status of Moslems.

A law, promulgated in 1972, granting subsidies from the National Insurance to divorced or deserted Muslim wives, after a decision of the Shari'a courts, was enthusiastically received, and the Kadi of Nazareth stated that it was unique in the Muslim world.

Two other laws, however, were received with reservations. The one gave an option to couples to divide assets acquired after their marriage either equally, in the case of divorce, according to civil law should the couple so desire, or according to Muslim law which does not recognize such a right; and the second law accorded the same choice with regard to inheritance.

Dr. Subhi Abu Gosh, the director of the Shari'a courts, declared that all the laws promulgated by the State since its establishment, such as that of equal rights for women, of the prohibition of bigamy, minimum age of marriage, divorce by mutual consent, etc., had paved the way for these new laws.

The Muslim religious authorities have one grievance, however. The rabbinical courts have the right to permit a married man to take a second wife in exceptional cases, provided the decision to that effect by the Beth Din receives the approval of the two Chief Rabbis, whereas in the case of the Shari'a courts this permission is specifically confined to cases of mental illness on the part of the first wife, or absence of the wife for a continuous period of at least seven years. The Muslim authorities demand the same exemptions as those granted by the rabbinic courts. In point of fact, however, in practice, under no circumstances do the Chief Rabbis grant permission for a Jew to take a second wife where there is any possibility of him living with two wives, and confine it to mental cases or desertion by the wife, as is the case with the Shari'a courts.

The 1980s and After. Since the establishment of the State of Israel, the Muslim religious institutions have changed considerably. Due to the growing number of the Muslim population (over 19% of the total population in 2005, constituting 82% of Israel's Arab population), many needs and problems have emerged. Some of these problems have been solved, while others still await solutions.

The Muslim courts, called Shari'a courts after the name of the Muslim law, are located in areas which are heavily inhabited by Muslims. There are seven regional courts covering all the areas in Israel which are inhabited by Muslims: Acre, Haifa, Nazareth, Jaffa, Taibeh, Jerusalem, and Beersheba.

There is also the Shari'a Court of Appeal, which according to the law is located in Jerusalem. According to the law, every kadi is automatically considered a member of the Court of Appeal; however, it is possible to hold the sessions of the Court of Appeal with only two members present.

Shari'a courts implement the Shari'a law, the dominant law in those courts, and have the sole authority to deal with matters of personal status, according to articles 51 and 52 of the Palestine Order in Council of 1922.

These matters include marriage, divorce, custody, maintenance, and other personal issues. Israeli law has narrowed the courts' authorities in specific issues such as inheritance, where the law gives parallel authority to the Civil District Court. The Shari'a Court is not allowed to deal with cases of inheritance unless all beneficiaries sign an agreement for that matter.

The Israeli law prohibits Muslim men to divorce their wives without their consent. Moreover, it prohibits bigamy and the marriage of under-age girls (those under the age of 17 years). Should such violations take place, although they are permitted by the Shari'a law, it is the kadi's responsibility to notify the authorities. These laws, in addition to the Law of Equal Rights for Men and Women of 1951, have caused dramatic positive changes in the status of Muslim women.

The increase in the Muslim population and the growth of religious movements among Muslim youths has led to a noticeable increase in building houses of worship for religious services. New mosques have been constructed and old ones have been renovated or expanded. In the mid-1990s there were around 250 mosques in Israel, four times as many as in 1967. The budget needed for such enterprises comes, mainly, from contributions of local Muslim organizations and individuals, in addition to a sum of money donated by the Ministry of Religious Affairs. Another source of support is the revenues of the Muslim Waqf (religious trust).

In several towns (such as Jaffa, Ramleh, Lydda, Haifa and Acre) the government has appointed special committees, in order to administer the Waqf's properties in these places, to collect the rentals, and to spend them on religious projects, mainly maintenance of mosques. The most famous project, with which the Waqf committee of Jaffa was involved was the reconstruction of Hassan Bey Mosque. Hundreds of Muslim functionaries are working in the religious sphere of life in addition to the kadis and the clerks of the Shari'a courts. This group includes: Imams – conductors of religious services; Muezzins – those who call for prayers; and Ma'zuns – writers of marriage contracts. The first two groups (about 270 persons) were not considered as government officials and were deprived of all kinds of social benefits such as pensions, widows' allowances, clothing, recreation, etc. After a lengthy struggle in 1981, 214 functionaries achieved the status of state employees with all the mentioned benefits. The third group, composed of writers of marriage contracts, are appointed by the kadis each in his own region and have no rights whatsoever. The income of this group is gained by collecting fixed fees upon writing of the marriage contract from the partners concerned.

Until 1978, Muslims in Israel were denied the right to fulfill the fifth religious pillar of Islam – the Hajj, i.e., the pilgrimage to the holy places of Mecca and Medina in Saudi Arabia. In 1978 an unwritten agreement between Israel, Jordan, and Saudi Arabia made possible the carrying out of the Hajj for thousands of Muslims in Israel.

The mass media in both Israel and the neighboring Arab countries broadcast special programs on various religious occasions such as Ramadan – the month of fasting, *ʿid al-Fitr*, the feast which marks the end of Ramadan; *ʿid ad-Adha* the feast of sacrifice; the Prophet Muhammad's Birthday; the Hijra New Year and other occasions. The Friday prayers are usually broadcast live by these stations.

[Awni Habash]

Bahāʾī Faith

The Bahāʾī Faith is a world religion whose center is in Ereẓ Israel. Named after its founder, Bahāʾ Allāh ("The Splendor of God"), Bahaism developed out of the Bābī, a Ṣufi (Muslim mystical) movement, which was founded in 1844 in Persia. It upholds the unity of God, enjoins its followers to search after truth, and advocates promotion of unity and concord among peoples. It maintains equality of rights for men and women, prohibits monasticism, advocates an auxiliary international language, and has abolished priesthood. The faith inculcates the principle of the oneness and wholeness of the entire human race.

Sayyid Ali Muhammad, the founder of the Bābī movement, was born in Shiraz, Persia, between 1818 and 1821 and was brought up as a member of a Shīʿ-Ṣufi sect. Some Shīʿītes and the Ṣufis believe that in each age there is a man, called the Bāb ("Gate"), who initiates in the secrets of the faith. To the Bābīs he is the "Gate" to the knowledge of divine truth. In 1844 Ali Muhammad proclaimed himself the Bāb of his time and was accused of heresy. He was arrested and shot in Tabriz in 1850. His body was interred by his followers in a secret tomb in Teheran.

In 1852 an attempt on the life of the Persian shah, Nāṣir al-Dīn, was followed by severe persecution of the Bābīs, which led the Bāb's successor, Mirzā (Persian, "prince") Yaḥyā, and the latter's stepbrother, Mirzā Ḥusayn Ali (b. 1817), to flee to Baghdad. In 1863 the Turkish government, at Persia's request, exiled Mirzā Yaḥyā to Cyprus. Mirzā Ḥusayn Ali proclaimed himself the successor to the Bāb under the name Bahāʾ Allāh. The government exiled him to Adrianople (1864) and later to Acre, which he reached in 1868, accompanied by about 70 of his family and followers. It was he who turned the faith into a universalist ethical religion, of which he became the leader. In 1899 he had the body of Ali Muhammad, the Bāb, transferred from its tomb in Teheran to Acre. The Bahāʾ Allāh died in 1892, and his tomb in the village of Mazraʿa (near Acre) in a building at Bahjī (Persian, "garden") became a shrine that the Bahāʾīs regard as the holiest place in the world.

Bahāʾ Allāh's eldest son, ʿAbbās Effendi, became the leader of the faith under the name of ʿAbd al-Bahāʾ ("the Servant of Bahāʾ"). After transferring his residence to Haifa, he set out on travels to North Africa, Europe, and the U.S. ʿAbbās Effendi arranged for the interment of the Bāb's body in a shrine in Haifa on Mount Carmel. ʿAbd al-Bahāʾ (ʿAbbās Effendi) died in 1921 and was interred in the same shrine.

The great mausoleum (Maqām-i Aʿla), which is a landmark in Haifa, was only completed in 1953. ʿAbd al-Bahāʾ was succeeded by his eldest grandson, Shoghi Effendi Rabbānī (1897–1957), who, as guardian of the Bahāʾī faith, resided in Haifa.

The faith spread all over the world; Bahāʾīs reside in over 11,000 localities in over 200 countries, with around six million adherents in 2005. The spiritual and administrative center of the Bahāʾī World Faith is the Universal House of Justice (erected in 1963 in Haifa), comprising, in the Holy Land nine members, known as Hands of the Cause.

Bahaism was favorably disposed to Zionism, believing that the return of the Jews to their land was foretold in the writings of Bahāʾ Allāh and ʿAbd al-Bahāʾ. On June 30, 1948, Shoghi Effendi wrote to Prime Minister Ben-Gurion expressing "loyalty and best wishes for the prosperity of the newly proclaimed State of Israel" and recognizing the significance of the ingathering of the Jews in "the cradle of their faith."

Druze

The Druze (in Arabic Durūz, sing. Durzī, derived from al-Darazī, one of the founders of the sect) are a religio-political community inhabiting parts of Syria, Lebanon, and Israel. The Druze are set apart from other groups primarily by their adherence to a separate religion. Their language is Arabic and in overall cultural and social patterns they are not appreciably different from the villagers and mountaineers among whom they live. The factors keeping them apart include the effective prohibition against intermarriage with other communities, the non-admission of converts, a number of individual customs, a long history of armed conflict against intolerant rulers and rival groups, and a strong sense of communal separateness and group solidarity. Their population in the early 21st century has been estimated at around 1 million, living mainly in Syria (the great majority in the Jebel el-Druz Province), Lebanon (mostly in the provinces of Mt. Lebanon and al-Biqāʿ), Israel (in 18 villages, mostly in Upper Galilee, some also in Lower Galilee and Mt. Carmel), and Jordan. In June 1967 several Druze villages of the Golan (province of Quneitra), totaling about 6,000 inhabitants, came under Israel rule. By the early 21st century they had grown to over 15,000. In 2005 the total Druze population of Israel was around 113,000.

HISTORY. The Druze religion has its roots in Ismailism, a religio-political movement which, after years of underground activity, founded the Fatimid Caliphate in the tenth century. The Druze community originated in the reign of al-Ḥākim bi-Amr-Allah (996–1021), the sixth Caliph of the Ismaʿili Fatimid dynasty. Active proselytizing to the new creed was brief and had lasting results only in some of the remoter parts of the caliph's domains. Since about 1050 the community has been closed to outsiders. It has not moved far from the regions where the original conversions were made.

The first testimony on the Druze in non-Arab literature occurs in the book of travels by *Benjamin of Tudela, who toured Syria about 1167. Little is known of the history of the Druze until the Ottoman conquest of Syria (1516). On that occasion, the Emir Fakhr al-Dīn, of the house of Maʿan, helped the sultan Selim I, who confirmed him as Emir of the Druze. They lived in southern Lebanon and northern Palestine, in many of the villages where they are still found, and were a separate, "unbelieving," and warlike community. Their sheikhs and emirs had evidently succeeded in gaining a certain amount of local autonomy, especially on Mt. Lebanon, for, from the Ottoman conquest of Syria and Palestine, there gradually emerged a sort of semi-autonomous emirate that was based, in large measure, on Druze military power and feudal organization. This emirate was centered in Mt. Lebanon. Until the 18th century relations between Lebanese Druze and their neighbors, especially the Maronite Christians, were tolerably good, but they later deteriorated. Civil strife between Druze and Maronites lasted until 1860, when the bloody events of that year ended in an intervention by the great powers and, eventually, in the special autonomous administration of Mt. Lebanon within the Ottoman Empire. The net result of the complex political settlement was a defeat for the Druze, who have never since regained their ascendancy in the Lebanon region.

The main center of the community after 1869 passed to Mt. Hauran, where a Druze settlement had been established approximately one hundred years earlier by immigrants from Lebanon; Mt. Hauran then became known as Jebel el-Druze ("Mountain of the Druze"), a name that had formerly been synonymous with Mt. Lebanon. There the Druze were governed, largely by the emirs of the al-Aṭrash house, as a semi-autonomous community until the end of Ottoman rule in 1918. In 1921 the French tried to set up an autonomous Druze state under French mandate, but this failed and, in 1925, the Druze rose against the French, spearheading a general Syrian uprising.

In Galilee there probably were Druze settlements as early as the 11th or 12th century, and the presence of such settlements is clearly documented from the 13th century on. The Galilean Druze seem always to have kept close contact with the other branches of the community, especially those of Mt. Hermon and southern Lebanon, but do not seem to have participated as a group in the events which called the attention of the world to their brethren. During the British Mandate over Palestine they refrained, by and large, from taking part in the Arab-Israel conflict, and, during the 1948 War of Independence, turned this watchful neutrality into active participation in fighting on the Jewish side. Druze have since then served in the Israel Defence Forces, at first as volunteers and later within the framework of the regular draft system. Many Druze also serve in the Israel Border Police. They thus opted squarely against the mainstream of Arab nationalism and for integration in Israel.

Since 1957 the Druze have been given official recognition in Israel as a separate religious community. In 1962 the Knesset set up official Druze communal courts, which had previously functioned without official sanction. The spiritual leadership of the community is in the hands of its sheikhs from the various centers of Druze population.

RELIGION. The Druze religion, which Druze call *Dīn al-Tawḥīd* ("unitarianism" or "monotheism"), is based on principles derived essentially from Ismailism (Ismāʿīliyya), some of which originate in Neoplatonism and are common to a number of gnostic sects. It includes belief in a deity that operates in the world through a system of five cosmic principles, or "emanations"; belief in periodic human manifestations of the deity and the emanations; and esoteric interpretations of the "revealed" religions whose recognized prophets (e.g., Moses, Jesus, Muhammad) were the bearers of esoteric truths only. The inner meaning of these prophets' mission, in each case, is secretly propagated to a select group by an incarnation of the first cosmic principle, or "Universal Mind." During the time of Moses, that incarnation was Shuʿayb, or *Jethro, Moses' father-in-law; Druze pay homage to his putative grave near Hittim in Galilee. The Druze have few ceremonials or rituals and initiate only a very few members of the community into the precepts of the religion, which are not published or discussed in the outside world at all. Though their religion has its roots in a form of Islam, they are not Muslims.

Further Information on the Druze Religion. Until 1973 the basic principles of the Druze faith were kept a closely guarded secret, but in July of that year the Israel Ministry of Religious Affairs published a pamphlet, written by Nissim Dana, director of the Druze Division of the ministry, which for the first time outlined the three principles of the Druze faith. They are: guarding one's tongue; protecting one's brother; and belief in one God. Publication of the pamphlet was originally approved by the Druze religious leaders, but they later withdrew their sanction.

The first principle obliges a member of the faith to be courteous, honor his promises, and keep secrets; the second principle calls on the Druze to help each other when in trouble; and the third states that they must strive to do God's will, lead a modest life, refrain from pleasure-seeking, and accept both the good and the bad in life with good grace.

The basic element in the Druze faith, according to the author, is the belief in seven prophets – Adam, Noah, Abraham, Moses, Jesus, Muhammad, and Muhammad ibn Ismail. Individual prayer, as practiced by the three other monotheistic religions, is unknown among the Druze. Their prayer-rooms are bare of decorations and furniture, except for cupboards, low stools, and carpets, on which the devout sit when they study their holy scriptures. Women are not excluded from religious duties, and some are known to have risen high in the religious hierarchy. Smoking, alcohol, and the eating of pork are banned, as is a certain plant named *melouhiya*, which is a staple vegetable in Egypt.

According to the pamphlet, the Druze believe in reincarnation – the soul of a dying man reentering the body of a child born at the same moment. They also believe they are descended from the tribes of Reuben, Gad, and the half-tribe of Manasseh, who lived east of the Jordan. On ordination, a graduate of the Druze community's Religious College in Lebanon is given a white garment which strikingly resembles the *tallit (Jewish prayer shawl).

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EDUCATION

Pre-State

1880–1914. Education in the small *yishuv*, which numbered about 25,000 in 1880, largely resembled the traditional types prevailing in Jewish communities elsewhere. The Jews of East European origin maintained the traditional ḥeder, talmud torah, and yeshivah, where Yiddish was the language of instruction; the Sephardi and Oriental Jews sent their boys to the *kutub*, where they studied in Ladino or Arabic. A little Hebrew was taught, mostly as the sacred tongue. Few girls, if any, attended the schools. Several attempts to establish modern schools were made in the second half of the 19th century. In 1856 the Laemel School was founded in Jerusalem by a wealthy Austrian Jewish family to provide secular and religious education in German; its "modernity" aroused much opposition. In 1864 the Evelina de Rothschild School for girls was opened in Jerusalem; in the 1870s it was transferred to the ownership of the *Anglo-Jewish Association, changing its medium of instruction from French to English. In 1870 the *Alliance Israélite Universelle established the first agricultural school in the country – *Mikveh Israel.

The Philanthropic School Systems. Toward the end of the 19th century and at the beginning of the 20th, a number of schools were established by European Jewish philanthropic organizations, while the Anglo-Jewish Association continued to expand the Evelina de Rothschild School. The Alliance Israélite Universelle established schools using French as the medium of instruction in Jerusalem, Jaffa, Tiberias, and Safed, and later in Haifa. The German-Jewish *Hilfsverein der Deutschen Juden (known as Ezra), formed in 1901, soon outdid the Alliance: by 1913 it was maintaining 27 schools in the country, ranging from a kindergarten to a teachers' training college. German was the chief language of instruction, but Hebrew was being taught by competent teachers. The *Jewish Colonization Association (ICA) maintained some of the schools in the villages, and early in the 20th century the Ḥovevei Zion in Russia helped to support some educational institutions.

Hebrew Education. The First Aliyah (see *Israel, State of: Historical Survey, section Modern Aliyah, 1880–1948), in the 1880s, brought to the newly established villages, as well as to Jerusalem and Jaffa, Jews who believed in a national revival and wanted Hebrew to be the language of instruction in the schools they established for their children. In the early 1880s, Eliezer *Ben-Yehuda started teaching Hebrew as a modern language in an Alliance school in Jerusalem. Other teachers bravely ventured into new territory by teaching arithmetic, geography, and other subjects in Hebrew, undertaking the difficult task of devising terminologies and preparing textbooks as they went along. It was in the new villages that Hebrew teaching and Hebrew speech in daily life spread more quickly. Young teachers fired by Ben Yehuda's example taught Hebrew as a living tongue in the village schools, and general subjects were also taught in Hebrew. The establishment of Hebrew kindergartens – the first in *Rishon le-Zion in 1898 – contributed greatly to the spread of spoken Hebrew at home and in the street.

The Second Aliyah, which started in 1904, gave a further impetus to the growth and extension of Hebrew education. In 1906 a group of young teachers, aided by the Ḥovevei Zion in Russia, established in Jaffa the first Hebrew secondary school, the Gymnasia Herzlia, which moved to Tel Aviv in 1909. This daring venture roused enthusiasm in the country and among Zionists abroad, especially in Russia, hundreds of whom sent their children to study in it. In 1908 the Hebrew Secondary School was founded in Jerusalem, and in 1913 the Reali Secondary School was opened in Haifa. In 1906 the *Bezalel School of Arts and Crafts, the first essay in secondary vocational education, was established in Jerusalem.

The Teachers' Association. There was a growing need for some national body to give guidance to individual teachers and schools in methodology and terminology, syllabuses and curricula. Toward the end of the 19th century, in the absence of an organized Jewish community in the Land of Israel, the Hebrew teachers made several attempts to organize themselves. In 1903 Menaḥem *Ussishkin, on a mission to the country on behalf of Ḥovevei Zion, convened a conference of teachers at Zikhron Ya'akov, which laid the foundation for the Hebrew *Teachers' Association. This association, especially in its early years, did a great deal to strengthen Hebrew education, drawing up syllabuses, publishing textbooks and educational material for teachers, improving the status of teachers, and organizing refresher courses and in-service training. It exercised many functions that were later assumed by the organized community, and, after 1948, by Israel's Ministry of Education and Culture.

The constantly growing importance of Hebrew in education, as well as the strength of the Teachers' Association, became apparent in the autumn of 1913, during what was known as the "*Language War." The question arose as to what language should be used in the technical institute (*Technikum*) due to be opened in Haifa. The institution, sponsored by the Hilfsverein, was financed by contributions from its own funds, Zionist sources, and American Jewish donors. The Hilfsverein insisted that German be used, whereupon the Zionist members of the institute, headed by *Aḥad Ha-Am, resigned and a storm of protest swept the *yishuv.* The teachers rose up in arms: most of those in the Hilfsverein schools resigned, and their association, with the assistance of Zionist bodies, opened 11 parallel Hebrew schools, creating the nucleus of a national Hebrew school system headed by a board of education. The "Language Conflict" marked the beginning of the end of the Hilfsverein's educational work in the Land of Israel; when the country was conquered by the British in 1917–18, their schools, being enemy (German) property, were handed over by the military authorities to the Zionist Organization.

UNDER BRITISH RULE (1918–1948). *Development of a National System.* During the 30 years of British rule in Palestine, a Jewish school system was created and developed mainly by the efforts of the Jewish community itself. Throughout the period there were two parallel school systems, Arab and Jewish. The Arab school system was taken over by the British authorities from the Turkish rulers, substituting Arabic for Turkish as the medium of instruction, and was maintained mainly by the government. These schools were attended largely by Muslim children, Christian Arab children receiving their education mostly in denominational or missionary schools. The Jewish schools were by and large the responsibility of the Jewish community, although some of them were private or were supported by Jewish bodies abroad. The Mandatory government's Department of Education, which fully controlled the Arab school system, maintained only nominal supervision over the Jewish schools. There was no law of compulsory education during the Mandatory period, and only about half the Arab children attended school for four years or more. The Jewish community, however, succeeded in providing almost universal schooling for its children. The Jewish school population grew almost tenfold during the Mandatory period and totaled nearly 100,000 in 1948.

From the Jewish Agency to the Va'ad Le'ummi. The Jewish national school system, born in 1914 after the "Language Conflict," was administered by a Jewish Board of Education, which controlled some 40 kindergartens and schools by 1918 and over 100 in 1920. From the beginning of the 1920s the Zionist

Executive (from 1929 the *Jewish Agency) maintained and administered these schools. At first it contributed some 90% of the cost and aimed at bringing all the Jewish schools under its management. Before long, however, financial difficulties forced the Zionist Executive to curtail its educational budget, which was constantly reduced and by 1932 was only 42% of the system's expenditure.

Gradually, the financial responsibility for the maintenance of kindergartens passed into the hands of local bodies; secondary schools mostly fended for themselves by introducing high tuition fees, and the vocational schools secured assistance either locally (for example from the *Histadrut) or from Jewish bodies outside the country, such as *ORT and *WIZO. The Zionist Executive's financial responsibility was limited mainly to the elementary schools and the teachers' training colleges. Not infrequently, financial difficulties caused delays in the payment of salaries to teachers, which brought about teachers' strikes, sometimes for several weeks.

The view gained ground, in Zionist circles as well as in the *yishuv* itself, that the financial and educational responsibility for the school system ought to be transferred to the organized Jewish community in Palestine. In the later 1920s the Jewish population gradually assumed greater financial responsibility for the education of its children, both by paying tuition fees and by self-taxation. It was therefore accepted as a logical and natural development that control of Jewish education in the Land of Israel was formally transferred, in the autumn of 1932, from the Jewish Agency to the *Va'ad Le'ummi, the Jewish National Council. The Jewish Agency continued to be represented on the governing body of the educational system and to contribute annually to its budget, although its share in the late 1930s was less than 8% of the total.

Administration of the Jewish National School System. In the years 1932–48, the national school network continued to expand under the control of the Va'ad Le'ummi, despite the general weakness of its authority and the poverty of the financial resources it could devote to education. Another factor contributing to the lack of unity in the educational system was the growing assumption of responsibility for the control of education by the Jewish local authorities and especially by the political parties and bodies, through the "educational trends" (see below). Four bodies were involved in the administration of the Jewish national system of education in this period: the Va'ad Le'ummi, which exercised supreme authority over major policy and approval of budgets; the executive committee of the school system, which took administrative and financial decisions – it had six members: three, including the director of Jewish education, appointed by the Va'ad Le'ummi, and one representative each of the Jewish Agency, the Tel Aviv municipality, and the central administration of the Jewish settlements; the Education Committee (Va'ad ha-Ḥinnukh), appointed biennially by the Va'ad Le'ummi, consisting of 13 members representing various political and educational trends (including three teachers and one person nominated by the Hebrew University), which dealt with educational matters and functioned only in an advisory capacity; and the Department of Education, consisting of the director of education and the chief inspectors of the three "educational trends," which was the executive body administering the current work of the school system.

The School System: Structure and Content. The Jewish school system in the Land of Israel in 1918–48 included kindergartens, elementary and secondary schools, and teacher-training colleges. The kindergartens, for the three-to-five age group, were highly popular and well developed. Most of them were maintained by local authorities and women's voluntary organizations; others were run privately by their teachers. They fulfilled an important social function by enabling mothers to go out to work as well as the educational function of preparing the children for school. Moreover, they played a significant part in welding together the heterogeneous Jewish population, with its divergencies of language, culture, and modes of life. The toddlers introduced the Hebrew language into their homes, as well as often unfamiliar habits of hygiene and the taste for new foods. In its own special way the kindergarten became an important instrument of adult education in the broadest sense, particularly among the mothers. Elementary schools, consisting of eight grades, were attended between the ages of 6 and 14. They were open six days a week, the first four grades studying four hours daily, and the higher grades five to six hours, in one session. Schools in the kibbutzim had both morning and afternoon sessions. From the very beginning, Jewish educators had to cope with the difficult task of coordinating and integrating Hebrew and general subjects in the curriculum. About one-third of teaching time was devoted to Hebrew subjects, which included on the average four to five periods of Bible a week in all grades. The rest of the time was devoted to general subjects, including arithmetic, history, geography, science, art, singing, physical education, handicrafts, gardening, and in the four upper classes, English. In the religious schools more periods were devoted to Hebrew subjects.

Most of the Jewish secondary schools followed the Central European pattern. They comprised 12 years of study, the first eight of which paralleled the elementary school. As they charged considerable tuition fees, attendance was restricted, and many pupils joined them only in the ninth year of study, after completing eight grades in the elementary schools. Although financially independent of the Va'ad Le'ummi, the secondary schools accepted its educational supervision and presented all their graduates for final examinations conducted by its Department of Education. These examinations were responsible for the development of a more or less uniform curriculum for Jewish secondary schools throughout the country. The kibbutzim and moshavim, however, maintained their own secondary school system which did not prepare its pupils for final examinations or diplomas. These secondary schools also combined Jewish and general studies. In the two upper classes, pupils could choose between programs emphasizing humanistic or scientific studies. In addition to English, they had to take a second foreign language: Arabic or French.

The teacher-training colleges were usually based on five or six years' study, the first three or four paralleling the upper grades of the secondary schools and the last two offering mainly pedagogical training. One section trained kindergarten teachers and the other elementary school teachers. Secondary school teachers were usually university trained.

The Va'ad Le'ummi controlled, financially or educationally, two-thirds of the Jewish schools in the country. The rest were very varied: eight Alliance Israélite Universelle schools with about 3,000 pupils, where Hebrew and French were the media of instruction; the Evelina de Rothschild School in Jerusalem, with Hebrew and English as languages of instruction; a number of vocational schools maintained by voluntary bodies; *talmud torah* institutions and yeshivot of the Orthodox religious type, some using Yiddish; and the nucleus of a network of Orthodox elementary schools controlled by *Agudat Israel. In addition, both the *Hebrew University in Jerusalem and the *Technion opened their gates for regular studies in 1925 as autonomous institutions.

The Educational "Trends." When the Va'ad Le'ummi assumed control of the national school system in 1932 it was already divided into three "trends": General, Mizrachi, and Labor. Between 1918 and 1920 the national school network was unified, but it included some schools, comprising about 20% of all the pupils, which were specifically religious in character. In 1920 the London Zionist Conference decided to recognize two categories of Jewish national schools in Palestine: schools of a general character, designated as belonging to the General Trend; and religious schools, which were included in the Mizrachi Trend, named after and affiliated to the religious Zionist movement.

The General Trend tried to combine national and general progressive values in its education. While maintaining a positive attitude toward Jewish religious tradition, it left religious observance to the individual pupils, in accordance with the desires of their parents. The schools of the Mizrachi Trend, while providing a general education, laid emphasis on religion, and their principals, inspectors, and teachers were observant Jews. In the early 1920s the Jewish labor settlements, both kibbutzim and moshavim, began to organize their own schools, which combined general education with labor ideology and new approaches to educational methods. Such schools were soon established by labor circles in towns as well, and in 1926 the Zionist Organization accorded them a recognized status as the Labor Trend, affiliated to the Histadrut, which by 1938 was included in the administrative network of the Va'ad Le'ummi education system. Each of the three trends, while forming part of the national system, enjoyed considerable autonomy in drawing up the curriculum and appointing teachers and inspectors. Each was led by a school council of ten to twelve members (including parents, teachers, and inspectors) headed by a chief inspector selected by the trend, who represented it in the Department of Education. The chief functions of the council were to protect the interests of the trend, nominate inspectors, hear their reports, and appoint representatives on various educational bodies. Toward the end of the Mandatory period, 53% of the pupils belonged to the General Trend, 24% to the Mizrachi, and 23% to the Labor Trend.

The Orthodox schools of Agudat Israel, as well as the yeshivot and other non-Mizrachi religious institutions, including those of the old *yishuv*, remained outside the national system and formed de facto a separate trend, in which secular subjects were eliminated or drastically reduced. Toward 1948 about half of them were maintained and controlled by Agudat Israel and the other half by the old *yishuv* and others. Together their pupils numbered about half as many as those in the Mizrachi schools.

While the variety of curricula and the freedom of each trend to try new experiments was all to the good, the splitting up of the national system into three separate groups, to a large extent separately administered, was not always beneficial to education, particularly since not only the Mizrachi and Labor trends were backed by political bodies but the General Zionist parties also assumed some sort of responsibility for the General Trend, and rivalry among the trends was sometimes instigated and abetted by the sponsoring parties. This situation became anomalous in the early years of statehood, when political parties supported "their" trends in an effort to attract more pupils from children of newly arrived immigrants who knew little or nothing about the differences between them, believing that by placing a child in one of the schools of its "trend" it would thereby also gain its parents' votes at election time.

Relations with the Mandatory Government. Up to 1922, the British administration gave no financial assistance to the Jewish schools in the country, which were considered "private schools." At first the Zionist Executive was satisfied with this situation, for many Jewish leaders and educators preferred to have an autonomous educational system, without government interference. The British administration, with limited resources at its disposal, was content to deal with the education of the Arab children; even then it could not meet more than about one-fifth of their needs. As the enrollment in Jewish schools grew and the Zionist Executive began to find it difficult to meet all its financial obligations to its education system, it requested the support of the British administration, which made small annual grants to the Jewish schools in the years 1922–26. The Jewish authorities asked for a grant based on the number of Jewish pupils at school and for an allocation per pupil equal to the cost of an Arab pupil in the government schools. The government objected, as this would have entailed allocating to the Jewish schools nearly half the educational budget, whereas the Arabs constituted about five-sixths of the population. In 1927 the government decided to allocate the money in proportion to the size of the Arab and Jewish populations. In 1933, it adopted a new formula, dividing the grant in proportion to the total numbers of Jewish and Arab children between the ages of five and fifteen in the country, as officially estimated. Thus, while government grants for education increased almost every year, they averaged only about 10% of the Jewish educational budget.

The Mandatory government's Education Ordinance of 1933, regularizing the administration of schools, recognized the Va'ad Le'ummi schools, heretofore technically "private," as "public." The ordinance referred to the "Hebrew Public System" as paralled to the "Arab Public System," which was under direct government control. When the government increased its grant to Jewish education in 1927, it insisted on formal approval of its budget, improvements in its administration, and the participation of a government representative in an advisory capacity on the executive committee of the Jewish national system. The government Department of Education, which had a small Jewish inspectorate for Jewish schools, interfered little in their affairs, although from time to time it offered suggestions for administrative and structural reforms. In 1945, at its initiative, a government commission was sent out from England to examine the administrative machinery of the Va'ad Le'ummi education system and its report, published in 1946, proposed far-reaching reforms. This report was still under discussion when the Mandate ended.

Budget and Finance. With the reduction in the contribution of the Jewish Agency to the maintenance of education, the *yishuv* itself had to assume ever greater financial responsibilities for the school system. While in the early 1920s it provided only 10–20% of the funds required, its share rose by 1933 to about 80%. A striking feature was the large percentage of school costs paid by parents. Only the kibbutzim and the moshavim provided free education. To these must be added the Tel Aviv community, which found it possible to abolish elementary school fees by defraying the cost of schooling out of the municipal budget. Only a small registration fee was demanded of parents and this, too, was remitted in whole or in part in needy cases.

On the Eve of the Establishment of the State of Israel. The Jewish national education system under British rule had many weaknesses: it controlled only 65% of the Jewish schools; it was never accorded full legal recognition; it constantly had to contend with financial difficulties; and the trend system enfeebled its administrative unity. Nevertheless, it not only grew tenfold during the period from 1918 to 1948 but also developed the attributes of a state system of education. The national system embraced kindergartens, elementary and secondary schools, trade and agricultural post-secondary institutions, and teacher-training colleges. It included special schools for handicapped children, school luncheons, health services, school clubs, and extracurricular activities. A great deal of attention was paid to curricula and methods of teaching. Rules were laid down for teachers' terms of service, and the Teachers' Association grew into a powerful professional body. In addition to the network of schools maintained or supported by the Va'ad Le'ummi, there were numerous private and semi-private schools, a system of evening schools for working youth maintained by the Histadrut, and a large number of evening courses for adults in which newcomers learned Hebrew and adults could pursue further knowledge in the sciences, humanities, and foreign languages. The State of Israel thus inherited a network of schools which could be easily converted into a state school system.

[Moshe Avidor]

In the State of Israel

The establishment of the State of Israel in 1948 greatly changed the country's Jewish community as well as the Zionist organization and movement. When Israel attained independence 650,000 Jews were living in Palestine and immediately masses of immigrants flooded the new state. In 44 months, up to the end of 1951, the pre-State Jewish community absorbed 684,000 new immigrants from 50 different countries – more people than its original number. First came about 300,000 Holocaust survivors from Europe and then mostly immigrants from Arab countries in Africa and Asia, some of them driven out of their homes and arriving with their entire communities. The total number of the latter reached 500,000 people before the end of the first decade of Israel's independence.

The population of immigrants consisted of mostly poor families with many children. This had a direct and strong impact on the educational system, since there was an intimate relationship between society and the schools: the educational system was oriented toward responding to the needs arising from social processes.

Formation of the Educational System in the Independent State of Israel. Most basic structural and normative characteristics of the Israeli educational system, still operative in the present day, were formed in the first years of the State's independent existence. The Compulsory Education Act was passed in 1949 and the State Education Act was enacted in 1953. During those years education in the newly established State was a matter of sharp political division and confrontation, the outcome of which determined the character and structure of the educational system in the coming years. The public and political debate found expression in issues of structure, authority, and procedures; however, its underlying motif was a struggle over the ongoing application of the "ideological socialization" approach. It meant that the educational system was to be used as means of socialization into the Zionist ideology, or, more precisely, the Zionist ideology as interpreted by the ruling elite.

The Social and Political Atmosphere of the First Years. Until 1953 Israel had four separate educational systems affiliated with different sectors. That was the legacy that pre-independence Jewish society in Palestine brought into the sovereign State of

Israel. The social and political atmosphere in which the ideologically divided system operated had, however, changed. The mass immigration brought in tens of thousands of children whose education had to be administered by the State. The establishment of state administration caused the different parties to fight for government power positions and struggles of the same nature intensified among the educational sectors. The major issue was who would educate the new immigrant children, with each ideological-political party striving to bring more children into its education system. The power struggles over education of the immigrant children were very sharp, often deteriorating to violence, and even brought about appointment of a State investigation committee. The first elected government in Israel fell over this issue; in all those squabbles, however, the preferences of the children's parents were the last to be heard.

Alongside the ideological-political rush for power positions in the state administration a new school of thought emerged at the time, closely associated with the personal and strong leadership of the first prime minister, David Ben-Gurion. This school of thought asserted that the sovereign state as a modern democracy should monopolize authority over certain particularly important functions: the armed forces, and education of the young toward becoming future members of society. This doctrine, which came to be called "Sovereignty" (the Hebrew term "*Mamlakhti'ut*" being a derivative of "*melekh*," a sovereign king), was applied very strenuously by Ben-Gurion in the organization of the armed forces. He intended to do the same in the educational system, in view of the enormous task of educating the large masses of immigrant children who now populated the country.

This educational philosophy is closely related to the "melting pot" philosophy for absorbing waves of immigration. It asserted that new immigrants should go through a process of re-socialization, at the end of which they would become absorbed in the native society as equal members of the Israeli collective. The educational meaning of this philosophy coincided with the "sovereign" state-organized educational system. It claimed that only the state can educate immigrant children to become well integrated as its future citizens, and not their parents, whose integration in a new country is far more difficult, burdened with economic and other survival problems. Another product of the "educating state" idea was to hold the value of patriotism higher than all others.

The Compulsory Education Act. The first statutory change was the Mandatory Education Act adopted by the Knesset on September 21, 1949. It fixed nine years as the length of compulsory education between the ages of 5 and 13, i.e., one year of kindergarten and eight years of elementary schooling. It established that those years of education would be free for all children, and that children would be able to enroll in any of the four segmented educational networks approved by the Ministry of Education. Proponents of the unified national education system claimed that that legislation fostered the disintegration of society into ideological-political factions, as it obligated all parents to enroll their children in one of the four ideological-political networks of schools. Indeed, the immediate effect of the Compulsory Education Act was conflicts between the different networks over enrollment of children in their schools. The law effectively stated that parents should make the decision which school their children would attend free of any coercion or enticement. In practice, however, many complaints were filed in the Ministry of Education, against the "Workers Education Network" operators in particular, regarding cases of pressure, threats, extortion, and enticement of principals and parents with the aim of getting them to transfer children into schools of a particular network of educational institutions.

The Compulsory Education Act stated that it would not be applied in the transit camps (**ma'barot*) of new immigrants, but that the minister of education would be authorized to make the education arrangements there. In the immigrant camps a separate educational system was established, called "Uniform Education." The Uniform Education schools intended to give immigrant children a general education with a political or cultural orientation. They followed the "melting pot" philosophy, which had as its aim the melding of immigrants into one social and cultural fabric.

The National Education Act. Prior to the 1951 general elections the dominant and ruling party, *Mapai, proposed to dismantle the segmented education networks and institute a single national system that would end the debate over the education of immigrant children once and for all. Mapai won the elections and some other political parties supported the idea of unified national education as well, but the National Education Act was ratified only two years after the elections, in August 12, 1953. It determined that the ideologically distinct school networks would be dismantled and in their place two educational systems would be instituted: National and National-Religious (as the religious parties demanded), and that the Agudat Israel (ultra-Orthodox) school sector would continue its independent existence with state funding while retaining its pedagogic and curricular autonomy.

The National Religious educational system was the direct descendant of the Mizrachi network and it incorporated also the institutions of the smaller Religious Worker sector. The National System was the unification of the Workers Education Network and the non-religious General Education Network, each of them losing its unique ideological character in the process.

ESTABLISHING NORMS IN THE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM. *The right to free elementary education.* In the first five years of Israel's independence a number of normative principles were established, and in the coming years they had a lasting effect on the educational system for better or for worse. The Compulsory Education Act institutionalized the right of all children in Israel to elementary education regardless of the economic conditions of their parents. In order to actualize this norm, the Compulsory Education Act encompassed two additional principles: state funding of education on the elementary level (a principle significantly eroded in later years) and legal authorization of the state to impose the compulsory education laws on reluctant parents. The Compulsory Education Act established the liberal social norms that contributed to the fact that the rate of illiteracy in Israel is among the world's lowest.

The educational system as an agent of national socialization. The objectives of the National Education Act were less social than national. It intended to enhance national solidarity in Israel and facilitate the cultural integration of the masses of new immigrants. That law fixed the responsibility of the state for the contents of education to ensure that they were compatible with the state's interests.

The educational system as agent of absorption of immigration. The social-political circumstances that surrounded the legislation of the National Education Act also established the principle by which the educational system serves as an agent of integration of Jewish immigration. The national interest, as represented by the parliamentary majority (the coalition government at the time) was well served by the law that ensured the state's control over the socialization of its new citizens, immigrants, and the young generation.

Additionally, the Labor Movement, the dominant element in the educational system, determined the content of the socialization processes that the immigrant children were made to experience. These contents promoted secularity, a negative outlook on *galut* (exile, Diaspora) existence, Western civilization ("modernity"), and socialism. The immigrants were placed in an inferior position relative to the native or veteran Israelis and were required to shed their old cultural skins and put on the new, better one. In terms of identity, the educational system presented an ideal Israeli model that was completely alien to most immigrants, and demanded of them to adapt. Paradoxically, the educational experience of new immigrants in Israel created a dichotomy: the educational system did indeed facilitate the integration of immigrant children into Israeli society but simultaneously created in them and in their parents residual layers of alienation.

Differentiation and gaps between immigrant and native-born children. The Compulsory Education Act had additional effects. As mentioned, one of its outcomes was the establishment of the "unified education" system in the immigrant camps, separate from the sectoral schools that existed at the time. This was the beginning of differentiation between immigrant children and native children in the educational system. That differentiation continued in the immigrant transit camps that were hastily constructed around the country. Geographic separation of the new immigrants caused separation and differentiation among schoolchildren too. New immigrants were then transferred to new housing units in proximity to old settlements, but even then schools were mostly separate or there were separate classes for immigrant children. In the 1951–52 school year, the educational system in Israel had 80,000 immigrant children; three out of four of them went to schools where all the students were new immigrants and another 9,000 attended separate classes for immigrant children in the General Education sector. The educational reality prevented all contact between new immigrant and native children in contrast to the "melting pot" ideal. The distinction between what has become known as "the First Israel" and "the Second Israel" was thus reinforced and perpetuated for years to come.

Differentiation and gaps between the Jewish and Arab educational systems. The principle of state-supervised compulsory and free education for all children had an impact on education in the Arab minority sector as well. At the outset of Israeli independence the Arab educational system was in very poor shape, with few educational institutions (under the British Mandate in Palestine many Arab children had studied at schools administered by the British). The Compulsory Education Act applied to the Arab minority sector brought tens of thousands of Arab children into the system, while the educational infrastructure of facilities, buildings, equipment, curricula, textbooks, and qualified teachers was very limited. The Compulsory Education Act was not fully applied within the Arab minority sector; many children were left out of school. The reasons for this were the poor conditions of learning and teaching facilities as well as difficulties in administering the education tax.

The institutionalized centrality of Zionist socialization in the national educational system determined the marginality of Arab education in the State of Israel. The official policy in the Arab sector was created by the security establishment and focused on neutralization of opposition and facilitation of loyalty to the State. The educational materials were purged of Arab national contents while religious and cultural-ethnic themes were accentuated.

Differentiation between secular and religious education. The National Education Act legalized the politically biased character of the Israeli educational system and made permanent its division into secular and religious education systems that grew wider apart with the coming years. The control of the National Religious Educational System by Mizrachi (later the National Religious Party) caused it to become more and more independent with the years while the autonomy of the ultra-Orthodox educational system, which was practically complete from the beginning, became ever more uncontrollable by the state.

EDUCATIONAL POLICY. Israeli policy makers for education now encountered a situation in which the population included masses of immigrants from the Islamic countries in Africa and Asia. This situation required that the system grant equal educational opportunity, facilitate social-economic mobility, and serve as the crucible for forging one nation out of people of many different ethnic backgrounds. Problems in attaining such goals were exacerbated by the fact that there existed a high correlation between the country of origin of the new immigrants and basic social variables such as education level, number of children in the family, and socio-economic status (generally low). However, the educational system had a strong belief, rooted in the Jewish and Zionist traditions, in both its responsibility and ability to fulfill its educational, social, and national tasks.

The suddenly realized dream of the Ingathering of the Exiles required that educational policy make it its first objective to establish an adequate and equal educational environment for all the children of Israel. The inequalities in learning potential between various groups of students were discerned from the very beginning and the system coped with them in various ways in order to narrow the gaps. In the first 30 years, the educational policy chosen toward that end was integrative, with many shifts and changes. In the first decade the egalitarian ideology was dominant; in the second decade the emphasis of policy shifted to individual potential, based on the idea of affirmative action. Only in the third decade, after the egalitarian and the affirmative action policies failed to produce the desired results, was the policy of integration adopted. Beginning with the fourth decade of the State's independent existence educational policy in Israel became pluralistic, with school autonomy and students' choice of schools and courses. Educational policies over the years reflected the dominant cultural and ideological trends as they shifted from strong socialist sentiments, aspirations for cultural integration, and high levels of communal solidarity, to capitalism, individuality, and legitimization of multiculturalism. In the following sections the educational policy will be described separately for each of the decades.

The Policy of Equality: 1st Decade. The principle of equality in the educational system was applied, in accordance with policy, in all areas:

Making schools equal for all the children of Israel
One curriculum for all
Teaching procedures and teaching accessories equal for all classes of the same age level
One standard for the number of students in a classroom
Identical textbooks
Formally equal training for all teachers
Equal allocation of resources

Even before the end of the first decade, the policy of equal education was failing. A nationwide survey in the mid-1950s indicated clearly that the equalization objective was not attained. The failure was apparent in three areas:

Low levels of learning achievement.

Poor achievement of students at all levels of learning aptitude, including those with normal learning potential.

Correlation between low learning achievement and ethnic origin.

The Policy of Affirmative Action: 2nd Decade. The unsatisfactory results of state-administered education in the first decade were a cause of concern for the system's leadership and led it to adopt a new policy by the end of the 1950s. It became known as the policy of Affirmative Action. The minister of education in the 1960s, Zalman Aran, referred to this policy once as "educational favoritism." The idea was to institute "reverse-discrimination" or "corrective discrimination" that would intentionally create better educational conditions for underprivileged children. "Eligible for Affirmative Action" became the new key concept in education and it was applied to elementary schools (not to individuals) on the basis of definite criteria. Schools in Israel were thus classified in three categories: First, Second, and "Eligible for Affirmative Action." The eligibility of a school for affirmative action was established on the basis of three criteria: the percentage of ethnically "Eastern" ("Sephardi," not "Ashkenazi") children at the school; the mean level of learning achievement; and the level of physical infrastructure of the school: buildings, facilities, equipment, including the professional level of teachers. According to data of the Ministry of Education in 1970 about one-third of children in elementary schools attended schools that were eligible for affirmative action.

The affirmative action policy produced some educational success, notably in learning reading skills; however, its main goal of narrowing the differences in learning achievement and consequently closing social gaps was not attained.

Social Integration and the Reform in Education: 3rd Decade. The parliamentary commission that decided on a new policy aimed at narrowing the social gaps in education (the Rimalt Commission) set three major goals: upgrading the level of teaching and learning achievement; narrowing the educational gaps among children in Israel and creating conditions for all children to become integrated socially and economically; and creating frameworks that would become meeting grounds for children of parents from all countries of origin, in integrated regional schools. In these frameworks, the committee saw the feature of "national and educational value in itself."

The social program launched was called "the Integration Program," and its main objective was creating ethnically integrated classrooms. The Integration Program was grounded in the Zionist social ideology that had as its national goal ethnic integration of all tribes of Israel in order to prevent the ethnically based polarization of society. The integrated classroom had to include high-aptitude learners (labeled now "Privileged"), most of whom happened to be from middle-class Ashkenazi families, and low-aptitude learners (defined as "Underprivileged"), who were mostly of Eastern origin and children of lower class and lower-middle class families. The suggested optimal ratio of Privileged vs. Underprivileged children in an integrated unit was 60–70 per cent and 30–40 per cent respectively.

The educational program of the integrative social policy was called the "Reform in Education." Its structural aspect was that instead of the 8–4 grade division between elementary school and high school, the division now became 6–3–3, and thus junior high school classes came into being in Israel. The heterogeneous classes planned by the integration program were intended for the junior high school level (grades 7–9). The Reform in Education brought the ninth year of schooling into the framework of the law of compulsory free education for all.

The answer to the question, "to what extent did Integration contribute to the cohesion of the Israeli society," remains unresolved.

Autonomy in Education: 4th Decade. Autonomy could be accomplished only if the national educational administration transferred power and authority over education to the jurisdiction of schools, communities, and the local authorities.

Designers and planners of autonomy in education assumed that local people would be better able to cope with their communities' specific problems, including such perennial problems in education as the low learning achievement of students living in poor areas and problems of social disintegration. It was assumed that in granting autonomy to communities the overall goals of the national educational system would be better served. That new policy became known as "School Autonomy" or "Autonomy in Education."

The range of autonomy in schools includes its organizational structure, distribution of resources, curriculum and teaching methods, evaluation of students' achievement, and partnership with the community to meet its goals. Autonomy in education is synonymous with pedagogic independence granted to schools so that they can develop their particular character and take local initiatives. In this framework, the autonomous school could develop its own pedagogic philosophy, structure, and planning of teaching, and its internal mechanisms of evaluation and feedback.

Community schools. The policy of school autonomy allowed schools to take their own educational approach and led to the development of Community Schools. This model became quite widespread, currently with over 500 such schools in the country.

Community schools began to operate in Israel in 1978 on an experimental basis. The educational philosophy behind that project was that a school needs to be autonomous in choosing its pedagogic methods and has to perform more tasks than the traditional socialization and imparting of knowledge to its students. The school is a part of the community: it should strive to make elements of community life present in the school and elements of school life present in the community. This would constitute a fertile ground for the growth of social and cultural values that enrich the intellectual and spiritual world of students, parents, and the entire community. The planning of community schools in Israel was oriented toward two broad objectives: one was improvement and enrichment of the educational level of schools through contact with adult members of the community; the second was to provide an agency that would answer social and cultural needs of the community by organizing various activities.

Free Choice in Education: 5th Decade. The educational philosophy of free choice was adopted in Israel in the 1990s, after the educational system had already followed the policies of equality, affirmative action, integration, and autonomy. The free-choice trend in education could be regarded in association with a renewed rise of capitalism in the 1980s that generated a stronger demand to satisfy the particular interests of the wealthier classes.

Free choice is thus becoming an ever-more dominant guiding principle in the Israeli educational system, as part of the general processes of liberalization. It is closely associated with the autonomy in education policy and its derivative, the special-interest school.

Summary: Education and Society in Israel. The turning point in Israeli education occurred after the state become sovereign and its charismatic leader at the time, David Ben-Gurion, called upon it to become an agent of radical change from the former language, culture, and values of the Jews who immigrated in masses to begin a new life as citizens of their new homeland, which was struggling to survive. It seemed imperative then that they adapt to the culture and social values of the new society. The radical aspect of this supreme goal and its effect on education in Israel must be kept in view: the educational system was charged with a mission of radically changing the immigrant children and thus effecting a profound change in an entire population.

The Israeli educational system has had the intention and strong motivation to influence social integration. The changing policies it followed were not sufficient to close the educational gaps between Jews of Ashkenazi and "Eastern" descent. There occurred a certain narrowing of differences in learning achievement; however, they still exist as a challenge to Israeli society and its educational policy makers.

THE STRUCTURE OF THE SCHOOL SYSTEM. Not just the essential educational rationale and policies were formed in the 1950s but also the system's organizational structure. This included division into grades and branching into academic and non-academic tracks, work procedures, lines of authority, and links between different organizational units all the way from the individual classroom teacher up to the director-general and the minister of education.

Centralized Administration and Supervision. The basic premise has been that the State is responsible for providing every child with an acceptable level of basic education. Based on this obligation it has been understood that beyond all particular changes and variations the State has, by the agency of its Ministry of Education and Culture, a decisive role in administering the education system and guiding it. The functions of the Ministry of Education cover budgetary, curricular, and operational aspects of the education system's activities. The Ministry itself is monitored by the parliamentary Committee of Education. The main tasks of the Ministry of Education are defined as implementation of the Compulsory Education Law, financing the system, which includes construction of school buildings and of other educational facilities; administrative, curricular, and didactic supervision of the functioning of the system; and employing of teachers up to the 9th grade.

In addition to the Ministry of Education, the Ministry of Welfare covers some areas of the educational system's operations, such as remedial learning services, day care centers, training of personnel, boarding schools, and institutions for handicapped children.

The Ministry of Education is structured according to three formal principles. One is division between sectors of the Israeli population. The most obvious division is between the Arabic and Hebrew educational systems, which in practice are two separate systems under the administrative umbrella of the Ministry of Education. Hebrew education is divided into separate systems of schools, the National and the National-Religious. Thus, in effect, Israeli education is divided into three separate networks, the National, the National-Religious, and the Arab. External to the official system there exists also the "Independent" network of schools of the ultra-Orthodox Jews, associated with the ultra-Orthodox and religious political parties. The "Independent" network is based on existing legislation and is financed by the State; however, the extent of the Ministry's involvement in its operations is almost nil. Yet another independent system, "El ha-Ma'ayan," was initiated in the 1970s. It is nationally Jewish, religiously Orthodox, and ethnically Eastern, associated with the Orthodox non-AshekNAZI political party Shas. Recent years have also seen the establishment of schools called "Mofet," whose prime movers have been immigrants from the former Soviet Union and which include the teaching of Russian culture and intensive teaching of the physical sciences. That network has not been officially recognized, but it too gets financial support from the Ministry of Education. The Ministry of Education maintains a unified Pedagogic Department and the religious schools have representatives in all its other departments as well.

The second basic structural principle of the educational system is a division of the Ministry's units that operate in three separate areas: administrating educational personnel; organization and financing; and supervision in the areas of pedagogy and curriculum.

The third principle concerns routine operations of the educational system. It operates in six districts: North, Haifa, Center, Tel Aviv, Jerusalem, and South. On this regional level it coordinates its operations with the educational departments of local authorities that have a substantial role in routinely managing the system.

The Education Budget. In 2003, Israel spent 10% of its GNP on education, the highest percentage in the world, including rich countries like the U.S., France, Spain, Sweden, Japan, and the U.K. The expenditure per student is close to the average of OECD countries: $3,483 in primary level classes in Israel vs. $3,595 in OECD and $4,777 in secondary classes in Israel vs. $4,971 in OECD.

The high level of national spending on education includes nevertheless a growing share of private spending. This is an indication that private educational services substitute for and supplement the public services.

Gradation and Tracking in the Educational System – An Overview. From the beginnings, the compulsory education system included free kindergarten and eight years of free schooling. The system also included four grades of secondary education that was not free, in three tracks of specialized teaching and learning: academic, technological (at that time called "vocational"), and agricultural. The reform in education in 1968 changed the system to six elementary school years, three junior high school years, and three high school years. Most schools shifted to the 6–3–3 setup though some retained the old 8–4 division. In the 1970s, free compulsory education was extended to include two years of preschool (ages 4–5) and ten years of schooling.

The national school system includes formal and informal educational frameworks. Formal education includes two years of preschool, elementary grades 1–6 or 1–8, junior high school grades 7–9, high school grades 10–12, and "Comprehensive" school grades 7–12. High schools have three tracks: Academic, Technological, and Agricultural, with a small proportion of boarding schools. In 2004 a new reform was under consideration, which aimed to eliminate the junior high school division. It has not been put in practice yet.

In addition, the national school system covers special education institutions and special schools for exceptionally talented students. Academic-level education also falls under the auspices of the national system, including eight graduate and postgraduate level universities, public and private undergraduate colleges, and teachers' colleges. In recent years, foreign colleges and universities awarding first and second academic degrees opened affiliates in Israel; however, the Israeli Ministry of Education has no direct authority over these institutions of academic studies. Frameworks of informal education that are supported by the Ministry of Education include some extracurricular activities in regular schools which go under the name of "Social Education" – art projects, sports, educational TV, and youth organizations.

Kindergarten Education. The first kindergarten in Israel was open in 1898, in one of the first Jewish settlements, Rishon le-Zion, and since then preschool education has been considered an integral part of the system. The insistence on preschool education is based on the premise that many learning problems originate in environmental-social deprivation. Preschools allow the system to supervise and control at an early stage some aspects of the child's close environment. Therefore, preschool curricula attempt to upgrade the child's level of aptitude in learning and in social behavior as a means of closing social and educational gaps.

Day care centers and kindergartens in Israel serve children of 2–6 years of age. Children aged 3–6 fall under compulsory education in kindergartens operated by the local authorities and subject to professional supervision by the Ministry of Education. The day care centers for the 2–4-year-olds are predominantly private. Some belong to women's organizations or the local authorities. Most are supervised by the Ministry of Education. Some day care centers operate until late afternoon and admit infants 6 months old and children until school age. The preschool system, like the school system, is divided into general secular, general religious, ultra-Orthodox, and Eastern-Orthodox kindergartens. Naturally, on this level too the Jewish and the Arab preschools are separate. The national aspect of preschool education in Israel finds expression in compulsory free education for all children age 4–6; in subsidized tuition for ages 3–4; in national curricula; and in implementation of supervision and control laws that apply to all children from the age of two. The system creates conditions that make the rate of attendance at the preschool level very high.

Public kindergartens in 2003 were attended by 313,000 children out of 1,946,000 in the whole system (about 16%), 245,000 of them in the Hebrew sector and 68,000 in the Arabic sector. In the compulsory kindergartens (for age 5) there were 126,000 children, 96,000 in the Hebrew and 30,000 in the Arabic sector (figures of the Central Bureau of Statistics).

Nowadays the emphasis in preschool education is on literacy, appreciation of culture, computer literacy, beginning of scientific-technological education, as well as facilitation of creativity and learning-related activities and games with the participation of the child's parents. The pedagogic goal is to plant the seeds of knowledge and scientific interest, to acculturate children to the quick pace of technological change and sophistication as early as at the preschool age; further, to facilitate good and close relations between preschool teachers and parents, based on the premise that this is an important factor in the child's well being, and to facilitate the child's psychological and social development. On the basis of this educational policy, preschool children in Israel are introduced to computer games and to curricula in different areas of knowledge.

Primary Education. Primary education, more than any other level of the system, experienced two major shakeups in its formative years in the early 1950s. One was the transition from independent, ideologically uniform systems to State supervision and control. The second was separation of the religious and the secular schools. The second development was the less significant, as the separation between independently operating systems of secular and religious education existed already in the pre-State area. The greatest effect of the change was in the secular independent schools, because two different systems, the "General" (ideologically middle-class) and the "Workers" (ideologically socialist) school systems were made into one. The other shakeup was caused by the influx of immigrant children at that time, affecting mostly the elementary schools, which had to shoulder the heaviest share of the burden. As pointed out above, the immediate results of these historic events were a disproportionate and rapid growth of the educational system and de facto separation between immigrant and native-born children which resulted in two qualitatively unequal kinds of schools. This, in turn, contributed to the widening of the gap in learning achievement between students along the lines of native-born vs. immigrants (a variable that disappeared with the passing of years) and of ethnic origin (a variable that still affects learning results).

Until the reform of 1968, elementary schools consisted of eight grades. The legislated reform changed it into six grades. In the early 21st century, over three decades later, one-third of elementary schools still operated according to the old eight-grade structure. Elementary schools are the biggest section of the system in terms of numbers of students, classrooms, teachers, and teaching hours. They operate six days a week, about 200 school days a year, four to eight classroom hours a day, depending on the designation and level of a classroom and a school. One of the outstanding features of the Israeli elementary school is that almost all teachers are female. According to figures of the Central Bureau of Statistics, the number of primary level students in 2003 was 776,000 out of the system's total of 1,946,000 (40%); 572,000 of them were attending Hebrew schools and 204,000 Arabic schools.

In lower grades of elementary schools one teacher teaches many different subjects in her capacity as homeroom teacher (called the class's "educator"). In grades 4–6, the division of classroom sessions into separate subjects is instituted and more teachers teach in each homeroom class. The Ministry of Education tries to introduce the separation of content areas taught by specialized teachers earlier and, at the same time, to require teachers of the lower grades to specialize in teaching two subjects. It also wishes to upgrade the level of math and English teachers to bring elementary school teachers up to the level of secondary school teachers and thus upgrade the quality of teaching in the lower grades.

Most elementary schools have libraries, psychological counseling services, and truant officers. Many are equipped with computers as learning aids. Supervision by the Ministry of Education is administered by a supervisor who has responsibility for teacher placement, supervision, and evaluation. Teachers of particular subjects have professional supervisors as well. Teaching is done in homeroom classes and in equalized-level classes with students from different homerooms, selected according to their learning aptitude in certain subjects (mostly English and arithmetic). The schedule is fixed; students have practically no choice of programs. The basic curriculum is designed by the Ministry of Education but schools have a measure of autonomy in balancing different subject areas and adding their own programs. The Ministry of Education regularly administers nationwide learning achievement surveys in arithmetic, reading comprehension, and English.

Primary level education is the receptor of a large part of innovation and pedagogic initiative, both organizational and curricular. Over the years, schools on this level have been established with designated specializations in art, nature, ecology, as well as open schools, ideologically oriented schools, community schools, and autonomous-democratic schools. Elementary schools have launched new teaching methods such as learning in small groups, coordinated teaching, independent research groups, learning in media centers, and more. Innovative changes include the schools' own curriculum design and alternative achievement evaluation methods.

Parents of elementary school children have limited possibilities of influencing curriculum, methods, or personnel placement in schools. The system, however, encourages parents to take part in extracurricular activities, mostly by way of the PTAS ("Parents' Committees"). This becomes one of the major ways in which inequality among various schools is generated: schools in which parents are relatively wealthy can afford much more in the way of enrichment programs, equipment, and extracurricular projects than schools in poor neighborhoods. Moreover, registration bylaws were formerly more strictly imposed, so that parents could not register their children in any school they chose but had to register them in their registration area. Today parents have more freedom to choose the school they consider the best for their child in or outside their area.

Learning Achievement in Elementary Schools. In 1963, Israel was found on top of the list among 12 leading industrialized nations, based on identical achievement tests in mathematics and science administered in elementary schools. This result was generated in an Israel still absorbing immigrants and having economic problems. Thirty-five years later, in the late 1990s and based on international TIMSS-R testing, Israel was ranked no. 39 among 53 nations in achievement in mathematics and science. The gap between top achievers and bottom achievers among Israel's children was greater than in 49 of the nations that participated in the test. In reality, the figure is much worse, since it does not include students of the ultra-Orthodox schools whose achievement in these subjects is extremely low. The top students in Israel were ranked 35th among the 53 nations.

In 2003, based on a PIRLS test in reading comprehension administered to fourth graders, Israeli children were ranked 23rd in the 53-nation sample.

In 2003, the results of a PISA test administered in 40 countries by OECD, the organization of industrialized nations, to 15-year-old students, were published. The students were tested in reading comprehension, mathematics, and science. Israel was ranked no. 30 in reading comprehension, no. 31 in mathematics, and no. 33 in science (Ben David, 2003). Those results prompted the minister of education to launch yet another educational reform, with the stated goal of improving learning results (on the recommendations of the Dovrat Committee, which issued its Report in 2005 – partially implemented and in many quarters criticized for its emphasis on organizational rather than substantive reform).

Secondary Education. The Israeli education system intends to accommodate diverse populations of students and succeeds in providing most children with 12 years of schooling. In this, it differs significantly from pre-independence days, when secondary education was accessible to only a small segment of the general population and most students failed the entrance examinations. In 1948, only 12% of the Jewish young were actually learning in secondary schools. In 2003, 96.3% of children 15–17 years of age received 9 to 12 years of schooling (97.2% of the Jews and 93.3% of Arabs); 90.8% of Israelis 18–24 years of age had finished secondary school (95.1% of Jews and 75.6% of Arabs).

In reality, wide gaps in learning achievement in elementary schools (or, at the latest, in junior high schools) constitute a barrier on the way to a high school. The stated goals and policy of the Israeli educational system, however, aim at overcoming this barrier and enabling practically all students to get 12 years of schooling. To that end, the Israeli Knesset (Parliament) enacted a law in 1979 granting free education to all up to the age of 16. The idea was also to alleviate the tight financial situation of secondary schools. The Free Education Act had some effect on secondary school attendance, lowering the dropout rates in senior classes, in particular with students of Eastern ethnic origin and, among them, in particular, boys in academic secondary schools. In the year 2003–4, 282,143 students attended Hebrew secondary schools; 65.6% of them were in the National Secular system, 16.8% in the National Religious system, and 17.6% in the ultra-Orthodox system. The number of students in Arabic secondary schools has been 62,142 (5,494 of them Druze).

In light of its ideology and stated goals, the national educational policy was to establish varying types of schools with courses of study for students of widely differing scholastic levels. The leaders of the national educational system have believed in providing an equal opportunity for all children in Israel to get secondary education. Tracks of available courses include academic high schools that prepare students to take the matriculation examinations for post-secondary education and offer a wide range of subjects. There is also the Comprehensive High School, in which some students take the academic track (for matriculation) and others take the non-academic track (vocational, technological); agricultural and technological secondary schools also offer academic courses along with the specifically vocational ones. Critics of this educational policy claim that although the number of students in secondary schools is consistently rising, the ethnically Eastern Jewish students are directed to the vocational tracks and the Ashkenazis to the academic tracks. The differentiation in courses of study constitutes, in the view of critics, a discriminatory practice that sustains the ethnic division in the educational system and preserves class differences as well as the power of the ruling Ashkenazi elite. These critics see the Israeli educational system as stratified by class.

Hebrew high school seniors in Israel (12th grade) currently number 82,805. According to track, 50,357 learn in academic schools, 25,661 in technological schools, and 1,021 in agricultural schools. Arab high school seniors number

14,331, 9,631 in academic and 4,449 in technological schools or courses.

In 2002, 21,600 students (6.6%) dropped out of grades 9–12 in junior high and high schools. The proportion of dropouts in Hebrew schools was 5.6% and in Arabic schools it was 11.1%. Demographically, most dropouts were boys, children of parents with a low education level, children of single mothers, and new immigrants living five years in Israel or less.

Junior High Schools. In 1968, the Israeli Knesset passed legislation on a reform in the structure of the educational system. The Ministry of Education accordingly restructured the elementary and secondary schools and created junior high schools for grades 7–9. Reform in education had two main goals: integration across all social groups and strata and raising the learning achievement level of underprivileged students. The integration policy was put into practice by dividing the country into "educational regions" which did not necessarily include geographical proximity or continuity but were socially heterogeneous. The students in each of the schools in an "educational region" had to come not from one but from different socio-economic groups. Graduates of elementary schools, without selection, were enlisted in junior high schools in the same "educational region" in order to ensure social integration of all students. Classes in those schools became heterogeneous in terms of learning aptitude and achievement; however, they were being subdivided into homogenous higher- and lower-level learning groups, particularly for basic subjects like English and mathematics. This arrangement undermined, to a great extent, the integration reform. Beyond that, in areas where all the population was demographically homogeneous integration was difficult to institute. The political division of the national educational system into the secular and religious makes integration still more difficult, since in the national-religious system there is a relatively dense concentration of underprivileged students.

Twenty-seven years since its inception, the structural reform of the Israeli educational system is applied to 65.5% of the Jewish students, 73.9% in the national secular schools, 58.9% in national-religious schools, and 70.9% in Arab schools. Many junior high schools are not administratively separate but operate within Comprehensive Schools that include also upper secondary school grades.

In 2003–4, 189,006 students were registered in Hebrew junior high schools and 64,999 in Arabic junior high schools. The percentage of registered students on that level, out of the total age group has been 73% in both sectors. The Dovrat Commission appointed by the Ministry of Education in order to draft and recommend a reform aimed at improving learning achievement suggested eliminating junior high schools altogether; so far only a few local governments have begun to implement this recommendation.

Academic Secondary Schools. In 1995–96, 50% of students in grades 10–12 were registered in academic high schools and 43% in technological-vocational schools. The proportion of academic and non-academic students in secondary schools has changed significantly since the early days of statehood in both Hebrew and Arabic schools. The proportion of academic students declined sharply and then increased slightly. This was mainly due to a policy that focused on the development of technological-vocational tracks of study as an alternative for underprivileged students. It should be noted that although the proportion of academic students in Arabic secondary schools is markedly higher than in Hebrew secondary schools, the proportion of Arab students who graduate and pass the matriculation examination is much lower than in Hebrew schools.

Matriculation examinations and certificates. Up until the 1960s, academic secondary schools in Israel were selective, had strict scholastic achievement requirements for admission, and admitted only those who qualified. From the mid-1960s, the Ministry of Education facilitated the way of more students to secondary education. Comprehensive schools were established; vocational and technological tracks of study were opened for students whose chances of passing the matriculation examinations were low. As technological education began to develop dynamically and the academic secondary school did not keep up with developments, it was labeled as old fashioned and its image suffered. In the 1970s, the Ministry of Education, to prevent a further deterioration of the academic school's prestige, initiated changes that made curricula more flexible in comparison with its former rigid learning tracks. The newly introduced concept was "learning modules." In addition to improving the image of academic secondary schools, it intended to enable more students to pass the matriculation examinations. Learning modules were defined in volume as three weekly teaching hours per year and a distinction was made between compulsory and elective modules. Students thus were given a choice of subjects and of the level of learning in each module. The matriculation examinations were changed to accommodate the learning module system, which included both compulsory and elective subjects on different levels.

The process of opening the curriculum to choice and flexibility and the cutback in high school years (three years instead of four with the establishment of junior high schools) contributed to the expansion of specialized high schools and courses, and to a corresponding contraction in basic studies for all students. Many schools offered courses that were not formerly available in secondary education. As a result, the Matriculation Departments in the Ministry of Education had to produce each year hundreds of matriculation examination questionnaires in dozens of subject areas and at different levels.

In the second half of the 1970s, the matriculation system came under mounting public criticism. The gist of the criticism was that the system promoted social selectivity and served as a gatekeeper for institutions of secondary education. Critics claimed that the matriculation system worked mostly against students of low socio-economic status who could not even enter the tracks of study that led to matriculation. Another line of criticism concerned the integrity and fairness of the examinations in such an intricate and complicated system. A public committee was appointed in 1979 to examine the matriculation system and make recommendations. It did not suggest significant changes but recommended preserving the existing structure of the system; criticism continued after the committee published its report. Many critics pointed out that the matriculation examinations, which serve as a mechanism of selection for admission to colleges and universities, turned the academic high school into "matriculation factories" and actually impaired effective teaching and learning. High schools became known and valued only by the performance of their graduates in matriculation examinations, which resulted in much greater competition among schools. In order to keep their position in this competition, some schools adopted a policy of dismissing students who were capable of remaining in school, and wanted to remain, but could not reach the levels of achievement that the school administration demanded.

Matriculation examinations were reformed in 1994–95. The number of compulsory subjects of examination was reduced from seven to four by means of an annual lottery; subjects that the lottery eliminated were to be graded by the school's teachers. The reduction in the number of examinations was intended to allow more students to get the matriculation certificate as well as to help schools teach for broader and deeper knowledge rather than, as the critics claimed, being "matriculation factories." The lottery system came under criticism as not being dignified and because of the concern that important subject like Bible and English would not be taught intensively enough during the school year. The minister of education eliminated the lottery system in 1997–98 but the reform in matriculation examinations – four subjects instead of six – has remained.

Having its students eligible for the matriculation certificate has become a major goal of the Israeli educational system. In the Hebrew academic high schools, 89.7% of the students took the examinations but only 67.3% passed. In technological schools, 77.7% were examined and only 47.8% got the certificate; the rates in agricultural schools were 84.2% and 46.1%, respectively. In Arabic academic high schools, 94.7% of the students were examined and only 58% qualified; in Arabic technological schools 76.5% were examined and 38.2% qualified.

There is big gap in the proportion of Jewish and Arab students who get the matriculation certificate, and the gap is slowly widening. In the Arab sector, the lowest qualification rate is in Muslim schools whereas the rates in Christian Arab schools are the same as in Hebrew schools. In the Hebrew sector, a gap between Eastern and Ashkenazi students still exists; however, it is slowly being narrowed.

A statistically high probability of getting the matriculation certificate correlates with the socio-economic status of students and their parents. In 2003, it was found that in communities with a high socio-economic profile, two-thirds of high school graduates pass the exams and get the certificate. In communities of low socio-economic profile, like the Jewish "development towns" in the provinces and most Arab towns, the proportion of students who pass the matriculation examinations upon graduating from high school was about 40%.

These data indicate that Israeli secondary education did succeed in having more students learn 12 full years. Increase in the number of students who tried to get the matriculation certificate was slower, and many of those who are examined do not get the minimum passing grades in all of the required subjects. The social class factor significantly affects the chances of a student to matriculate.

The Policy of "a Second Chance." The certificate of matriculation in Israel is a crucial factor in determining the educational and occupational destiny of a person. This certificate is the necessary – but not always sufficient – passport to academic studies. In view of its importance, the educational system in Israel allows students a second chance to pass the examinations and get the certificate. Three alternative types of institutions are certified by the Ministry of Education to teach for that purpose: private morning and afternoon schools, pre-academic preparatory courses, and a "Second Chance" project for underprivileged students. These teaching and learning frameworks accept the many high school graduates who did not qualify for the matriculation certificate. Most students who study with the Second Chance project or the pre-academic preparatory courses get the certificate and are admitted to colleges and universities.

The outcome of the "second chance" policy is reflected in the following statistical data: one-third of all students who failed to matriculate on their high school graduation in 1995 upgraded their grades in the subjects they needed through a "second chance" framework and got their matriculation certificates in or before 2003. Accordingly, the total rate of successful matriculation climbed from 50% on graduation to 59% in 2003. Gaps between different populations in Israel can be observed in this area too: in Hebrew schools, 69% of graduates got the matriculation certificate in 1995, rising to 81% in 2003 – an increase of 17%; in Arabic schools, the rate climbed from 49% to 61% – an increase of 25%. In Hebrew schools, ethnic differences could still be noted: the rates for students of Eastern origin climbed from 61% to 74%; for students of Israeli origin, from 72% to 83%; and for students of European and American origin the rates were 75% and 86%, respectively.

The Comprehensive School. Comprehensive schools embody the egalitarian ideal of education and equal educational opportunity for all. The terms "comprehensive" in this context can be understood in two ways. One is that education has to include all members of society regardless of race, ethnicity, religion, gender, or class. Another meaning is that education needs to encompass and include the variety of human interests and talents and facilitate the development of each individual's potential. Those ideals are put into practice in comprehensive schools by a policy of general admittance of all children without selection; then, by providing basic education for all, no dismissal of slow students, a wide range of courses and tracks of study, and social integration. Most comprehensive schools have six grades (7–12). The practice of not dismissing students, including those who finished the junior high school grades, requires the comprehensive schools to offer a variety of other than regular academic courses on different levels.

The Comprehensive School in Israel has a long history. Educators in some schools promoted the "comprehensive" idea as early as 1953; however, until 1963 it did not get official attention. In the 1960s new schools were established that were not called "comprehensive" but did made their curriculum flexible, adjusting it to the needs of underprivileged populations and offering both academic and vocational courses. Schools of this type were established mostly in peripheral areas and in communities with a high concentration of new immigrants; in the following years the educational authorities began working out the organizational and pedagogic frameworks for operating this new model. When, in 1968, the Knesset legislated the Reform in Education program and secondary schools were made over to include six grades (7–12), it recommended that they become "comprehensive" and so this educational idea became officially recognized. In the 1970s some of the most prestigious schools in Israel were already among those that had become fully or partially comprehensive. These schools developed school-based curricula in prestigious areas (arts, computer science, etc.) in order to provide incentives for all junior high school graduates to continue their studies in their high schools. After the October 1973 Yom Kippur War the pace of the changeover slowed down markedly, however, beginning in 1988 the comprehensive school movement began intensive development through a new model of educational institution, the Community Education Center.

Community Education Centers are clusters of organizationally unified schools, usually a number of junior high schools and a comprehensive high school in the same area that accepts all the area's pupils after they finish junior high school. The Community Education Center is a comprehensive system with advanced facilities and a wide range of courses and special classes on all levels. It admits pupils from diverse socio-economic and ethnic backgrounds in order to promote social integration. The model has no parallel in the world; it was developed to meet the unique educational needs of Israel's multicultural immigrant society. Since the beginning of the 1990s, close to 20 Community Education Centers have become operational in Israel and new ones are being planned.

The numbers for students learning in Hebrew comprehensive schools show an increase from 30,845 in 1970 to 52,672 in 1980 and 159,864 in 2000. The numbers leveled out in the 2000s, the figure for 2004 being 153,645. In Arabic comprehensive schools, the number was 5,100 in 1980, 28,195 in 1990, 30,420 in 2000, and 31,377 in 2004. In Hebrew education, there was massive growth in comprehensive schools between 1970 and 2000, then a slow decline. In Arabic education, the massive growth occurred between 1980 and 1990, and then continued slowly to 2004.

In 1978, 1986, and 1990, comprehensive schools were nationally surveyed. The results indicated that the extent of their being "comprehensive" is not yet complete. Admission policies were found to be less selective than those of the academic secondary schools; however, some selective mechanisms were still being used. The choice of courses and tracks of study has been more diversified but not always able to meet the students' preferences (the assignment of students to courses is less often their choice and more often the school's decision). Most students do earn the national matriculation certificate or get the school's graduation certificate; however, their range of mobility between classes and courses is limited, and it opens mainly in the less advanced direction. The survey found that privileged pupils were not negatively affected by attending comprehensive schools, most of them taking the high-prestige courses and passing the matriculation examinations. However, underprivileged pupils benefited less in comprehensive schools in spite of studying a full 12 years and, in lesser proportions, getting the matriculation certificate. In addition, the survey revealed that the comprehensive school had not narrowed the gap in learning achievement across ethnic lines. The hope of accomplishing integration did not really materialize. Integration seems to occur more readily in extracurricular activities, in particular when many schools are rather homogenous in their ethnicity and class composition.

Vocational-Technological Education. A vocational or technological school differs from an academic school in that, besides teaching general academic subjects, it trains students for future work in a specific profession. Until 1953 vocational education in Israel was supervised by the Ministry of Education. Later it came under the administrative authority of the Ministry of Labor and the Ministry of Education supervised only its academic courses. In 1959, vocational schools again came under the auspices of the Ministry of Education. The Ministry of Labor has been responsible only for industrial schools that operate in certain industrial plants.

Students in vocational schools study for three or four years; graduates of five-year courses in some schools obtain upon graduation a technician's degree and certificate, and graduates of six years of vocational education can obtain the professional degree of practical engineer. The tracks of study are divided between technical and non-technical courses. Technical courses are predominantly for boys and non-technical courses are predominantly for girls. Courses teach professions and train for vocations that differ in their relative occupational prestige: metalworkers, mechanics, electricians, electronics technicians, computer technicians, fashion designers, office workers, and the like. The largest organizations of vocational schools in Israel are the school networks of *ORT and Amal.

Up until the 1960s, vocational education of Jewish youngsters was relatively small in proportion to general academic education and it was non-existent in the Arab sector. Beginning with the 1960s, it expanded rapidly in the Jewish sector and in the Arab sector parallel expansion occurred only in the 1980s. The massive expansion is attributed to the dual function of vocational education. On the one hand, its aim is practical, training a skilled workforce for specific occupations. On the other hand, it serves the pedagogic ideal of secondary education for all, including the disadvantaged, being an alternative to academic education. The policy that facilitated the expansion of vocational education resulted in the establishment of vocational-technological schools in areas with a high density of Eastern Jewish communities, notably in the "development towns" in the periphery. The trend affected both the National and National-Religious categories of schools. It turned Israel into one of the countries with the highest proportion of secondary vocational schools at a time when in the rest of industrialized world the share of vocational education dropped steeply in comparison with the rest of secondary education.

Technological schools in Israel developed from the 1960s mostly as alternative institutions of learning for pupils who were not found admissible to regular academic schools. Until the end of the decade, students at vocational-technological schools were not directed to take the matriculation examinations. With the idea of attracting good learners to technological schools, their curriculum was modified to contain four unequal-level tracks. One track led to matriculation; another track led to a professional occupational degree (a license to practice a profession on a certain level) and partial matriculation (not all compulsory subjects included). This modification gave more hours in academic subjects to students following studies on these tracks. Technological-vocational education thus opened itself to high-ability students and turned out to be a track of studies promising greater opportunity for educational, economic, and social mobility.

Rapid technological and scientific advancement demanded scientists and skilled workers in science and industry, and technological education lagged behind. In 1992, a committee was appointed to examine the educational system in areas of science and technology and make recommendations in order to organize technological education for the 21st century. The committee found that scientific and technological knowledge of most graduates of technological schools is insufficient and often outdated. Its central recommendation was to strengthen the theoretical basis of studies in science and technology while doing less practical work in all courses, including courses in which many pupils are slow learners. Another recommendation referred to the need for teachers to upgrade their knowledge of science and technology.

The high proportion of vocational or technological education in Israel relative to other developed countries has been a subject of ongoing concern; however, most criticism was not about the numbers but about its effect on social stratification and mobility. As it turns out, most of the Jewish pupils in technological education are ethnically Eastern. In 2003, 6,439 pupils of Eastern origin were enrolled in technological schools or courses, a full 48% of all Eastern students; 31.3% of them obtained a certificate. The 1,457 pupils of European-American ("Ashkenazi") origin enlisted in technological courses in 2003 constituted only 23.9% of all Ashkenazi students and 35.4% of them obtained the certificate. The figures indicate that the population of students in the technological educational track in Israel is clearly Eastern. Vocational education had as one of its primary objectives to admit slower pupils, usually those who come from underprivileged family backgrounds. This fact as well as the fact that even after most courses were open to matriculation many students in technological schools were not ready for the matriculation examinations turns technological education, for its mostly Eastern students, into an obstacle on the way to the college-level and university education that is the key to upward social mobility. At the same time, the merits of technological education should not be underestimated. It improved the general education level of the young population and enabled most to complete 12 years of study in the national school system.

Boarding Schools. The concept of boarding schools in Israel denotes institutions with students living in a semi-autonomous community of children. They spend most of their time living in a community of peers. Israeli boarding schools are divided into a number of categories: agricultural, vocational, pre-military vocational, military, religious "yeshivot," kibbutz educational institutions, and boarding schools for gifted children.

There exist two opposing philosophies regarding the educational goals of boarding schools. One approach regards the school as an extension of an alternative society, isolating and protecting the children from the outside world and the values that the school rejects. That boarding school wants to develop in students the skills to cope in the outside world in their own way rather than adapting to it. The other philosophy regards the boarding school as an "open house": it educates the young in harmony with the prevalent values in the outside world and prepares its students to become a productive part of it. Both philosophies are applied in Israeli boarding schools, including some compromises between them. The educational impact of boarding schools on their students is seen in such features as a value-oriented curriculum, institutional "totality" and consistency of the educational environment, intensive socialization processes, social isolation, and selection of students.

Historically, boarding schools in Israel developed in line with the Zionist ideology and its pioneering spirit that legitimized education outside the family home. They were established as "Youth Villages" or agricultural schools (farming was specifically a Zionist form of pioneering, directly opposed to Jewish family traditions). Another trend was sending children from towns to be educated in the "Youth Community" of a kibbutz collective village. The boarding school movement peaked in the days prior to the establishment of the State of Israel, when they were a powerful tool in the socialization of the "New Jew" as a member of the new Jewish society in the Land of Israel, a "Sabra." That educational ideal required that a person be distanced as far as it may from the immigrant or Diaspora type and instead live naturally in a free and independent Jewish society. Boarding schools thus served as a means of early socialization of the young to elite groups (many of Israel's political and cultural leaders were graduates of boarding schools, including Yitzhak *Rabin, Shimon *Peres, and the writer Dahn *Ben-Amotz). Boarding schools served to absorb immigrant youth, to socialize them into the new country and integrate many of the war orphans during and after World War II. Later they took in immigrant children from the Muslim world. In those early years, boarding schools were not at all selective in admitting children. They saw their role in re-educating the immigrant young and shaping them as much as possible toward becoming, like the native-born children, equal members of the new Israeli society.

During the 1950s, Youth Villages and some of the Agricultural Boarding Schools underwent changes. The structural changes involved all schools that became nationally administered. Educational policy changed from an ideological-pioneering emphasis to individual and practical achievements according to the pupil's needs. In the days before independence, boarding schools served the collective Zionist ideology and national needs. After the founding of the State of Israel, they became part of the national educational system. Their function as absorption and socialization centers for immigrant children continued, but the role of education in answering specific individual needs became equally important, such as teaching an occupation or opening avenues of upward social mobility for graduates. These changes in boarding schools have mirrored the overall changes in the Israeli society.

Beginning with the 1970s, some of the boarding schools served as centers of education for underprivileged children in need of assistance in developing their learning potential. Those children have been mostly of homogeneous social profile: Eastern ethnic origin, children of parents of low socio-economic strata. This change produced a negative image for boarding school education, except for the yeshivas and pre-military boarding schools that prepared their graduates to become career officers. From the 1980s, boarding schools have admitted many immigrant children from Ethiopia and from the former Soviet Union – actually returning to their traditional role in the pre-State and early statehood days.

Enrollment and registration of students in boarding schools is carried out through the agency of the Ministry of Welfare, Ministry of Education, and Youth Aliyah (an organ of the Jewish Agency). The authorities may direct a child to a boarding school for reasons of the child's welfare and growth, which could be in jeopardy in his or her family environment, under difficult socio-economic conditions and as a function of time in Israel. The educational results meet expectations: the achievement level of new immigrant and other graduates of boarding schools has been higher than that of children of the same social groupings in regular schools.

Although boarding schools did well in integrating immigrant children in Israel, the number of children registered in them has dropped since the 1980s. In 1984–85, 11.6% of all secondary school students in Israel were in boarding schools. In 2002–3 their number dropped to 7.9% (37,893 students). It needs to be noted in this context, that in general-secular boarding schools most students are offered vocational courses while in the general-religious boarding schools most courses are academic.

Agricultural Education. Agricultural education has accompanied Jewish-Zionist settlement in Ereẓ Israel since its very beginnings. The first agricultural school, *Mikveh Israel, was established in 1870 near Jaffa. Agricultural education in the early days was a direct extension of the Zionist movement in its drive to reclaim, settle, and work the land. Farming schools were educating the young to undertake this national effort. The mainstream of the Zionist movement, the Labor Movement, made its greatest effort in what it considered the most important task in building a nation, creating an agricultural infrastructure. That was the heyday of farming schools; they attracted many young people who were the elite of the native-born Israelis from villages and cities. Schools of agriculture were considered elitist, and a spearhead of Zionist national education. Farming was considered a highly important subject of study in all elementary and secondary schools.

With the passing of the years, agricultural education sharply declined. This can be explained by the fact that agriculture in Israel slowly but steadily lost its appeal as a way of life and as a profitable or prestigious occupation. First, the ideology that idealized working the land as the noblest national occupation waned in the first two decades of independence. Secondly, the share of agriculture in the Israeli economy became much smaller while industry and services expanded as a result of both government policy and market trends. Thirdly, the rapid growth in the number of agricultural settlements established soon after the War of Independence to populate all parts of the country with Jews and settle new immigrants resulted in agricultural surpluses and diminished profitability. Finally, advanced technology lowered the demand for workers in agriculture. All those factors brought about a sharp decline in the social and occupational status of farming and, concurrently, a decline in the status of agricultural education. Farming schools, formerly breeding grounds for future national leaders, became boarding schools for the least advanced pupils. Farming education became a form of occupational rehabilitation for troubled youth. The general decline of agricultural education is reflected in student enrollment. It went down from 9.1% in 1959–60 to 2.7% of secondary school pupils in 2002–3. From the 1980s, agricultural schools became boarding schools for immigrant children. In the Arab population, agricultural education went through a similar process. The rates were 4.8% of all students in 1959–60 and 1.4% in 2002–3. It has been assumed that, in addition to the factor of general economic modernization, as in the Jewish sector, the decline in agricultural education among Arabs, who traditionally constituted a predominantly agricultural society, had two additional causes. One was scarcity of arable land as family plots were subdivided among heirs, as well as through land appropriation by the government. Second, later legislation abolished the War Emergency status under which a military government had confined Arabs to their village areas, opening the Jewish job market to Israeli Arabs.

Special Education. Special Education is a separate branch of the national educational system serving mentally or physically impaired children 3–21 years of age (children younger than three in need of special care are the charge of the Ministry of Health and the Ministry of Welfare). "Special children" are children with irregular health, mental, or educational conditions, like mental retardation, emotional disturbance, learning disability, emotional and social neglect, physical impairment, or chronic disease. The "special" child's condition impairs his or her intellectual, psychological, or social development and requires special treatment in education and care.

Special education institutions differ from regular schools in their size, curriculum, pedagogic methods, and psychological approach. Their educational efforts are directed to suit each particular condition of the child and the educational environment is designed for coping with various problems of the pupil population. Special education schools also include special courses that combine academic learning with learning vocational skills and educational-correctional institutions for minors who cannot be accommodated in other institutions or who are directed there by a court order.

Educational, social, and moral considerations made the educational system in the 1990s adopt a policy of integrating as many special children as possible in regular classes and schools. This new policy required reorganization – instituting separate special education frameworks in schools alongside the regular classes – but also budgetary changes. Integration of special children in regular schools has been accomplished in recent years. It is done in special classes of various kinds such as remedial learning, special care classes, integrated classes, and therapeutic centers which pupils attend several hours a day, or in learning specific subjects.

In 1995, special education children constituted 3.3% of all school children 5–18 years of age. The special education budget was 8% of the total national education budget. The data provided by the Central Bureau of Statistics indicate that in the half century prior to the 2000s the proportion of special education institutions relative to regular Hebrew schools declined from 19% to 2.5%. In Arab education, the opposite trend is in evidence: it climbed from 0.6% to 6.7%. The reduction in the proportion of special education schools in Hebrew education is understood as being the result of integration in regular schools. In Arab education, the change reflects a general upgrade in educational services that include attention and care for the special children.

Teacher education for special children is done in separate courses in teachers' colleges. Admission procedures for these courses are more demanding than for others; special education teaching in Israel is generally credited with a higher occupational status than regular teaching. In universities, special education is taught in separate departments in schools of education.

Special education in Israel is grounded in legislation. The Special Education Act was legislated in 1988 and applied since January 1989. It clearly establishes the State's responsibility in caring for special children; the right of any special child to receive free special education; the obligations of local authorities; authorization of parents and their representatives to take part in decision making before assignment of their child to special education; and the duties of parents as partners in the care, rehabilitation, and education of their child. The Special Education Act reflects the efforts Israel has made in becoming a modern welfare state since the 1980s. Political pressure from interested parent groups contributed to the legislation that gave parents a standing in decision making concerning the educational alternatives for their special children. Among special education pupils are children of upper and middle class parents who have an interest in placing them in regular schools. These parents, belonging to the more politically influential groups of society, succeeded in bringing about maximum integration of special children in regular Israeli schools. In contrast, parents of the same groups whose children are normal have been applying pressure from the 2000s for pluralism in education that would bring about greater segregation of special children in separate frameworks of teaching and learning.

Higher Education. Higher education in Israel began with the cultural aspirations of Zionism to make the Jewish community in Palestine a cultural center for world Jewry and create a new Jewish culture with the Hebrew language as its living core. The Hebrew University established in Jerusalem in 1925 was intended to actualize the Zionist program of creating an education and research center not just for the Jewish community in Palestine but also for the entire Jewish world. The Haifa High School of Engineering ("Technion"), also opened in 1925, was intended to serve a Zionist goal as well, that of producing Jewish engineers and architects for building the physical infrastructure of the Land of Israel. Both the Hebrew University in Jerusalem and the Haifa Technion could be regarded as an expression of the intention on the part of the Jewish community in Palestine to establish and maintain its higher education institutions on the European model.

Since the establishment of the State of Israel in 1948, six additional universities have been established. Bar-Ilan University in Ramat Gan was inaugurated in 1955 with the intention to serve the Jewish religious population. Tel Aviv University was established in 1956. Haifa University and Ben-Gurion University in Beersheba opened in 1972. The Weizmann Institute of Science was established before Israel's independence as a research institute only, but in 1958 it became an academic institute that confers degrees in physical and natural sciences. The last of the universities is the Open University (UWW), admitting students since 1976.

Unlike other universities, the Open University admits all applicants and has no admission procedures. Students study off-campus with much independence. This makes the Open University a very prominent example of the equal opportunity in educational principles. It opens its gates to students who failed the matriculation examination, older students who begin their studies after being established economically, full-time working students, and students from depressed neighborhoods and equally depressed "development towns" in the country's periphery.

Alongside the universities Israel has regional colleges with academic courses accredited by the Higher Education Council. Colleges confer first academic degrees in courses offered in cooperation with a university. The Ministry of Education and Higher Education Council support the colleges in order to enable more students to get their first academic degree – a policy in line with the general educational policy of providing an equal opportunity to get an academic degree for the greatest part of the population. Tuition is equal in all universities and its share in the total budget of academic institutions is generally dropping. An amendment to the Higher Education Council Act of 1995 allows colleges to grant first academic degrees, in order to facilitate the arrival of more high school graduates at institutes of higher education. Some colleges in Israel operate as annexes of foreign universities, though their degrees are accredited only by the Ministry of Labor, not by the Ministry of Education. Options for getting a bachelor's and master's academic degrees in Israel have been widened. With higher education becoming more democratized in general, the number of academic degree holders in Israel is increasing, but so is the criticism of academic standards.

Universities, colleges, and annexes of foreign universities in Israel are considered academic institutions. In addition to these, the higher education system includes specialized schools in various professional domains that certify their graduates as teachers, technicians, welfare assistants, and paramedical practitioners, and in administration, business, music, and performing and visual arts. Some of those schools are accredited by the Higher Education Council and confer B.A. or B.Sc. degrees to students in their respective fields of study.

An additional higher education institution is the pre-academic preparatory school that operates under the auspices of academic institutions in cooperation with the Ministry of Defense. Those schools were established to give a second chance to army veterans who had not completed their matriculation studies when in high school, so that they could resume their studies and make it to college. Beginning in the 1990s, half the preparatory school students were of Eastern ethnic origin. Some of these schools prepare their students for the matriculation examinations; others teach toward passing the entrance examinations to universities or colleges.

The Higher Education Council (HEC) is authorized by law to serve as the repository of budgets from the government and the Jewish Agency for institutions of higher education. The direct authority of managing public monies budgeted for higher education is in the hands of the Planning and Budgeting Committee of the HEC. The HEC approves the budget of the universities and allots the funds. It licenses the opening of new institutions of higher learning, gives accreditation to their degrees, and approves the opening of new departments in existing institutions. It also allots funds for teaching positions among academic personnel and supervises academic standards.

As in other countries, higher education in Israel is a major channel of social mobility. The national value of equal educational opportunity is realized in higher education by the system's effort to lower the barriers of admission in order to ease the way for more people. Stringent admission procedures are applied only in some schools or departments that are considered prestigious and where the number of applicants far exceed the institution's capacity. The prestige or desirability of schools leading to various professional degrees changes with social and economic developments. However, demand for or surplus of professionals in specific areas has never been a factor in the admission policies of higher education institutions in Israel; the policy has always aimed at enabling the most people to be admitted and get their degrees. Academicians have no special privileges in army service. Apart from a very limited number of students who learn in a framework called "Academic Reserves" for degrees in areas that are in demand in the army, university studies are not considered a reason to postpone one's army service. High school graduates have to serve their term in the army before they can turn to academic study. For that reason, Israeli students are 2–3 years older than students in other countries.

Higher education in Israel is not free. Scholarships are scarce, given to outstanding students. Tuition costs and other issues of cost, such as the cost and conditions of dormitories, were subject to a number of clashes between student organizations and academic authorities. In the late 1990s, they flared up again and even led to some violence.

The number of graduates who get their degrees is steadily rising in all universities. The annual rate of increase from 1979–1980 to 1992–93 was 3.8% and from 1989–90 to 2002–3 it was 4.7%.

The following figures apply to the 2003–4 academic year: 52.7% of all undergraduate and graduate students study in universities, 30.4% in colleges, and 16.9% in the Open University (UWW). 79.8% of undergraduates in Business Administration and Management and 71.8% of undergraduates in Law study in accredited academic colleges. 93.5% of undergraduates in Physics, Natural Sciences, and Agriculture; 88.1% of undergraduates in Medicine and Paramedical Sciences, as well as 82.7% of undergraduates in Humanities study in universities.

In 2003, the total number of undergraduate and graduate students in Israel was 228,695. In the seven universities the number of registered students was 120,552 (52.7%), 76,581 of them undergraduates. In academic colleges the number of students was 69,420 (30.4%), 68,115 of them undergraduates. An additional 38,723 students (16.9%) enrolled in the academic department of the Open University, 37,406 of them undergraduates.

Between 2000 and 2003, the number of undergraduate students in both universities and accredited academic colleges increased by an average annual rate of 4.4%. The growth occurred mainly in colleges, by an average annual rate of 8.6%; in the universities, it was up by a 1.1% annual average. The proportion of students learning in colleges is still growing.

The proportion of undergraduate students enrolled in various academic fields of study varies widely between the universities and the colleges. As mentioned, 79.8% of undergraduates in Business Administration and Management and 71.8% of undergraduates in Law study in colleges. The figure for Education is 89.7% in colleges; 55% of all students in colleges study in these three fields of study. In other disciplines, the proportion of university relative to college undergraduates is higher: 82.7% in Humanities; 66.2% in Social Science; 88.1% in Medicine and Paramedical Sciences; 63.3% in Mathematics, Statistics, and Computer Science; 93.5% in Physics, Biology, and Agriculture; and 51.5% in Engineering and Architecture. In all those areas combined, 82.9% of all undergraduates study in universities.

Graduate students in 2003 numbered 37,107 (34,568 of them in universities), an increase of 7.5% in comparison with 2002 and an average annual increase of 5.9% since the year 2000. Doctoral students in the universities numbered 7,944, 7.3% more than the previous year and representing an average increase of 6.1% since the year 2000.

In 2004–5 there was increase in the numbers of students in comparison with 2003–4. 245,000 students were registered in the eight universities, 23 colleges, and 26 teacher colleges. Approximately 191,000 were undergraduates, 43,000 graduates, and 9,000 doctoral students; 47,000 new undergraduates were admitted, 56% of them women. The proportion of women in graduate studies has been 57% and in doctoral studies 52.7%. The proportion of Arab students is on the rise but still low, about 11% of undergraduates and only 5% of graduate students. Most undergraduates study in colleges, 54% vs. 46%

Students in universities and in other institutions of post-secondary learning

Educational Institutions	1989–90	1999–2000	2001–2	2002–3	Annual Change 1989–90 to 1999–2000	Percent 1999–2000 to 2002–3
Total	88,464	199,438	217,906	228,906	8.5	4.7
Universities	67,201	112,987	117,146	120,552	5.3	2.2
Thereof: First Degree	46,519	74,194	75,247	76,581	4.8	1.1
Academic Colleges	3,668	33,709	43,492	48,320	24.8	12.8
Thereof: First Degree	3,668	33,250	42,622	47,015	24.7	12.2
Teachers Training Colleges	4,618	20,004	20,546	21,100	15.8	1.8
Open University	13,007	32,738	36,722	38,732	9.7	5.8
Thereof: First Degree	13,007	32,400	36,110	37,406	9.6	4.9

(Source: Central Bureau of Statistics, 2004)

Distribution of Undergraduate[1] Students by Institution and Field of Study, 2002–3

Field of Study	Teachers Colleges	Academic Colleges	Universities	Total (100%)
Total	21,100 (14.6%)	47,016 (32.5%)	76,581 (52.9%)	144,697
Humanities	-	3,391 (17.3%)	16,241 (82.7%)	19,632
Education and Teacher Training	21,000 (88.7%)	243 (1.0%)	2,457 (10.3%)	23,800
Social Sciences	-	9,480 (33.8%)	18,607 (66.2%)	23,800
Business and Management Sciences	-	8,187 (79.8)	2,072 (20.2%)	10,259
Law	-	8,060 (71.8%)	3,162 (28.2%)	11,222
Medicine	-	-	1,298 (100%)	1,298
Paramedical Sciences	-	901 (14.4%)	5,343 (85.6%)	6,244
Mathematics, Statistics, and Computer Science	-	3,883 (36.7%)	6,705 (63.3%)	10,588
Physical Science	-	-	2,781 (100%)	2,781
Biological Science	-	503 (11.2%)	3,989 (88.8%)	4,492
Agriculture	-	20 (2.5%)	796 (97.5%)	816
Engineering and Architecture	-	12,348 (48.5%)	13,130 (51.5%)	25,478

[1] In addition, 37,406 students were registered in academic courses of the Open University, 30,822 in Humanities and Social Sciences, and 6,358 in Mathematics and Natural Sciences.

in universities. The most popular fields of study are Law, Medicine, Paramedical Sciences, Business Administration, Computer Science, Biotechnology, Social Science, and Humanities. The most stringent admission procedures exist in schools of Medicine, Psychology, Law, Engineering, Computer Science, Biotechnology, and Business Administration.

Teacher Training. Teacher training in Israel is carried out separately for elementary school teachers and secondary school teachers. Elementary school teachers are trained in teachers colleges called "seminars," many of which became academic colleges conferring a B.Ed. degree under the supervision of the Ministry of Education. Graduate teachers can resume their studies for an M.A. degree in all universities, pending completion of some additional courses. The transition to the academic level requires teachers colleges to maintain academic standards in admission, teaching staff, and curriculum. This has occurred in line with the national policy of upgrading the level of teachers and teaching in Israel.

In 2003, teacher training in Israel included 21,000 students. The process of bringing teacher training to academic level began in 1971 as an initiative of the then director-general of the Ministry of Education, who appointed a committee to examine the issue of transforming teachers seminars into colleges. This subsequently became a long-range national project under the rubric of "Academic Upgrading of Teaching Personnel in Israel." The stated goal was to allow every teacher employed in the system to gain the first academic degree in 10 years. In 1995, the authorities decided to increase the time for training junior high school teachers. Twenty-six institutions for teacher training operate in Israel; 24 are Hebrew and only two Arabic. In 1979, the total number of teachers seminars was 59, but the "academic upgrading" made it necessary for the small ones to become integrated in larger colleges.

By their essence and legal definition, teacher-training institutions exist in a border area between a post-secondary school and the university. Whereas universities in Israel are academically and organizationally independent, teachers colleges are administered and supervised by the Ministry of Education. They are dependent on the Ministry's approval in making decisions regarding administration or academic changes like, for example, opening new courses or developing curricula in new directions. Their curriculum is academic and professors enjoy full academic freedom; however, their conditions of employment are unlike those in the universities, they are not expected to conduct research, and they are evaluated for the quality of their teaching, not their research.

Teachers for secondary schools are trained in schools of education in the universities. Applicants are generally undergraduate seniors in other university schools. They study two years and graduates get, in addition to their academic degree, a permanent teacher's certificate valid for all schools supervised by the Ministry of Education. Teacher certificate studies in all universities include pedagogic subjects and a limited number of internship hours at a school. The major difference between university teacher training and training in a college is in the time of internship. Universities require only very limited internship (a few hours of practice and teaching of a test lesson) while in teachers colleges it is an integral element of the training course.

Another aspect of upgrading teacher training has been the quality of applicants. In 2003, 94.9% of Jewish teacher training students had held matriculation certificates, compared to 27.8% in 1969–70 and 58.3% in 1979–80. In the Arab sector, 96% of students in 2003 held the matriculation certificate. 15.9% of Jewish students that year were men. The percentage of men in teacher training for Arab schools is declining with the years, from 46.9% in 1969–70 to 22.9% in 1990 and 12.9% in 2003. The figures reflect social developments in Arab society, where women, having gotten a higher education and more independence, turn to professional work as teachers, while men turn to other occupations.

Extracurricular (Informal) Education. Children and young people in Israel take part in various organized activities that are not included in regular school teaching. Those activities are referred to as "informal education," education that is not compulsory. Unlike school, the area, intensity, or character of activity is (or should be) freely chosen by the child. Informal education is associated with activities beyond intellectual learning with emphasis on the development of the child's personality and identity, concern about problems of the adult world, and development of social skills for successful social functioning and social integration.

The Ministry of Education in Israel participates in financing many extracurricular educational activities and organizations. In 2003, informal education was allotted 4% of its budget. The numbers and proportion of children who take part in various informal education activities is difficult to measure, because activities differ widely in their popularity; general estimates are that it engages about 20% of the young 14–17 years of age.

Informal education in Israel originated in youth activism of the Zionist organizations in Diaspora countries, at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries. This continued with great intensity in the Jewish community in Palestine, before the establishment of the State of Israel. The "Pioneering Youth Movements" in Israel were a direct continuation of such movements in European countries before World War II. They played an invaluable role in mobilizing youth for national pioneering enterprises. They successfully socialized the young generation into the ideology of Zionism and particularly the Labor-Zionist movement, served as hothouses for growing future elites and, mostly, were instrumental in creating the Israeli youth culture. At the center of it they were instrumental in creating the new iconic human prototype, the "Sabra," who is ever ready and able to perform the greatest national feats in conformity with Zionist goals. Youth Movement organizations were very conspicuous in the early days and they created the informal education tradition in Israel.

The prominence and strong positive image of the youth organizations continued into the 1950s; they attracted many children and youth age 10–18 and their ideology, culture, and education continued to be popular. Times were changing, the Israeli government was now the main agent of national enterprise; however, the reality of enormous tasks and little resources in early years left much space for voluntary activities such as the youth movements had undertaken. By the late 1950s, the ideological fervor characteristic of the early years following the War of Independence had waned and this had its negative effect on the popularity of youth movements. Their decline has been steady and continued even after they had changed their character as missionaries for national missions toward more personal character education and youth culture.

According to some social analysts, the youth-movement organizations have not accomplished their educational function because their fixed patterns of action, ideals, and images were bogged down in past reality rather than being meaningful to adolescents in the 1990s. Collectivist-egalitarian values were no longer popular in an Israeli society that had become oriented toward individualistic and materialistic goals, while the patterns of organized educational activities had little chance to compete with the many avenues of entertaining pastimes open to the young in the modern world. The exception were the religious-Zionist youth movements, which operated with renewed fervor mirroring the political struggles surrounding Jewish settlement in Judea, Samaria, and the Gaza Strip and continued to affirm nationalist values.

In the 1960s, new frameworks of informal education were established by state and local authorities, for young people who dropped out of school and for schoolchildren after school hours. Those informal education activities were actually an attempt to fill the gaps that formal education left.

Informal education in Israel currently operates in four main frameworks. The first are the youth-movement organizations. In 2002, 14 youth-movement organizations were registered with the Ministry of Education; they are being budgeted in proportion to the number of their members. The second framework is "supplementary education" which the educational system provides outside of regular school hours. Participation in supplementary education is optional and a matter of choice; the adult personnel is professional, operating under the supervision of the local authority and with the financial assistance of the Ministry of Education. Supplementary education activities take place in various locations, youth centers, community centers, schools, clubs, etc. A third framework of informal education is maintained for young people who are not in school or are employed in a work place and so are in danger of becoming alienated from normative social values. In this framework, activities may take place in "street groups," neighborhood "educational working groups," or boarding schools for youth at risk, that is, potential delinquents.

The fourth framework of informal education is Social Education at school, and it is conceived as semi-formal, in subjects that the curriculum does not deal with sufficiently. "Social Education," which actually means character education or socialization for socially accepted national values, is considered of the greatest importance in Israeli society. In the Ministry of Education there is a Youth Department with separate divisions for Social Education in elementary and secondary schools. Social Education is not a separate unit in schools and does not compete with regular curricular teaching and learning. It comes to complete the range of a school's educational goals in affecting the school's living atmosphere and interrelations by specific activities and structured experiences, student councils, election of students for various roles and positions, and other democratic practices.

[Rachel Pasternak (2nd ed.)]

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HEALTH SERVICES

Before Statehood

At the beginning of the 19th century, the Land of Israel (Ereẓ Israel) was ridden with disease. Wide areas were infested with malaria; enteric fever, dysentery, and trachoma took a heavy toll; and infant mortality was very high. There was an improvement under the British Mandatory administration (1922–48), but, due to budgetary restrictions, its earlier efforts were concentrated almost exclusively on malaria control. Its elementary preventive and curative health services, moreover, were mainly intended for the Arab population, and the Jews had to build up their own. Their efforts were spearheaded by two voluntary organizations: *Hadassah, the Women's Zionist Organization of America, and *Kuppat Ḥolim, the medical insurance fund of the *Histadrut.

In 1913 Hadassah had sent two American-trained nurses to do pioneer work in the Old City of Jerusalem; they were followed in 1918 by the American Zionist Medical Unit. From these modest beginnings grew a countrywide network of diagnostic, preventive, and public health services and teaching and research institutions. In 1918–19 modern hospitals were opened in Tiberias, Safed, Jaffa, Haifa, and Jerusalem. The first Jewish nursing school was opened in Jerusalem by Hadassah in 1918. A network of mother-and-child care stations was established in many parts of the country, while school hygiene and lunch programs were initiated in Jerusalem. Most of these were handed over, at different stages, to the municipalities or to the Jewish authorities and, later, to the government of Israel. This also applied to the hospitals, except the one in Jerusalem, which in 1939, in partnership with the Hebrew University, became the country's first university hospital.

Whereas Hadassah began its services in a town, the initial aim of Kuppat Ḥolim ha-Kelalit (General Health Fund) was to bring medical care to the villages. However, its curative services – clinics and hospitals – soon spread to the towns as well, playing a vital role in the development of Jewish medical care. It set up an organizational system aiming to ensure that medical services were available to all its members according to need, no matter where they lived, with premiums based on income.

By the time the State of Israel was proclaimed in 1948, health standards among both Jews and Arabs had risen enormously. Malaria and TB had been wiped out; all children were inoculated against smallpox and typhoid; and infant mortality was low, even by international standards. The Mandatory government's Department of Health was succeeded by a ministry, but existing health services had to be taken over as they stood and gradually adapted to the changing needs. Owing to the conditions prevailing at the time, more radical planning for the future had to be postponed.

Immigration Problems

On the whole, there was a serious deterioration in the health of the population after 1948. Among the hundreds of thousands of immigrants were many whose health standards were low, and a high proportion suffered from contagious diseases, some of which, like trachoma, had been eliminated in Ereẓ Israel. For example, thousands of Yemenite Jews were stricken by tuberculosis within months of their arrival, and tens of thousands more, who hailed from other Eastern countries, lacked the most elementary knowledge of hygiene. Problems were enormous, and immediate solutions had to be found. The new Ministry of Health had to start from scratch, recruiting medical personnel previously employed by various Jewish public institutions and voluntary organizations. The ministry was faced with the dual task of detecting and treating all cases of infectious diseases among the newcomers while protecting the health of the existing population. Since there had been neither time nor opportunity to examine the immigrants in their countries of origin, this had to be done thoroughly on their arrival. Arrangements for such examinations were set up in the transit camps. Serious cases were immediately hospitalized, putting considerable pressure on the country's limited hospital resources, while milder cases were treated on the spot. Health services, such as mother-and-child care stations and general clinics, were set up in the immigrant camps and *ma'barot* by Kuppat Ḥolim ha-Kelalit and the Ministry of Health. Women's voluntary organizations, like *WIZO (the Women's International Zionist Organization), opened crèches and kindergartens in them.

The slowdown in immigration between 1952 and 1954 gave the Ministry of Health breathing space and enabled it to organize on a more permanent basis. By the time large-scale immigration was resumed in 1954, the reception of the newcomers had undergone a radical change. Health examinations took place before their departure for Israel, and healthy arrivals were taken immediately to permanent accommodation. A small number of would-be settlers had their entry deferred if their health fell far below the required standard.

Health of the Population

The state of health of the Israeli population compares favorably with Western standards. Life expectancy at birth in 2000 was 76.6 for males and 80.4 for females. Life expectancy for Israeli males is among the highest in OECD countries while for women it is in the low middle range. In the last two decades of the 20th century life expectancy increased by 4.8 years for males and 5.0 years for females. The crude birth rate in 1995–2000 was 21.7 per 1,000. The crude death rate was 6.1 per 1000. The infant mortality rate was 5.4, per 1,000 live births in 2000.

The leading causes of death at the beginning of the 21st century were heart diseases, malignant neoplasms, cerebrovascular diseases, diabetes, and accidents. Among women, breast cancer was the leading cancer ailment, accounting for approximately 30% of all cancer morbidity and 20% of cancer mortality. Among men the leading cancers were prostate cancer (in Jewish men) and lung cancer (in Arab men). The cancer with the highest mortality was lung cancer for both Jewish and Arab men (National Cancer Registry, www.health.gov.il).

The Ministry of Health

In addition to being the supreme authority in all medical matters, the Ministry of Health operates as the licensing body for the medical, dental, pharmaceutical, nursing, and paramedical professions and is responsible for carrying out all health legislation passed by the Knesset. It is the policy of the ministry to step in where no services are furnished by nongovernmental institutions to assure the provision of adequate medical care throughout the country. It is, in addition, Israel's principal public health agency. It has two main divisions: curative services and preventive and promotive public health services. The former is responsible for the licensing and supervising of nongovernmental medical institutions and operates all government hospitals (general, mental, tuberculosis, and other long-term illnesses). The division for public health services coordinates the six district and 14 subdistrict health offices. It maintains its own public and preventive services and supervises those of nongovernmental institutions, operates mother-and-child care centers and school health services, and is responsible for industrial hygiene, water purity, milk and food supplies, and prevention of air pollution by industry, motor vehicle exhausts, and radiation.

Health Insurance

Israel's population is covered by a compulsory health insurance law, which is operated by the four non-profit health insurance funds (*kuppot ḥolim*). The insured are entitled to free treatment in clinics, at home, or at the physician's residence, free hospitalization, dental and optical care at reduced rates, medicines, facilities for convalescence, and so forth. The law established a range of services equal for all. In addition, people can purchase supplementary services via the health insurance funds or private insurance companies.

[Malka Hillel Shulewitz / Shifra Shvarts (2nd ed.)]

The following were the principal health insurance funds in 2000:

KUPPAT ḤOLIM HA-KELALIT. Kuppat Ḥolim ha-Kelalit, the first health insurance institution in Israel, was founded in 1911 by a small group of agricultural workers and taken over in 1921 by the Histadrut (Federation of Labor). It is the largest countrywide fund of its kind, with its own medical institutions and a staff of 30,000 (in 2000), including 5,000 doctors and 10,000 nurses. Over 50% of the population is insured with Kuppat Ḥolim, which covers inhabitants of town and country, manual laborers and professional people, salaried and self-employed, Israel-born, veterans, and new immigrants.

Its countrywide organization (1,200 primary care clinics in 2000) enables it to extend its services to the most outlying areas. It provides medical care in its own clinics and has its own laboratories, pharmacies, and convalescent homes. Hospitalization, the largest item, is provided in its own hospitals, situated in rural and development districts, as well as in urban areas, or at its expense in other hospitals. These have outpatient clinics for consultation and the follow-up of discharged patients, as well as nurses' training schools, and some of them have centers for postgraduate medical training and research.

Until 1994 a Histadrut member was automatically a member of Kuppat Ḥolim and his insurance premiums were included in his membership dues, which were fixed according to income. Members of certain other workers' organizations, such as *Ha-Po'el ha-Mizrachi and *Po'alei Agudat Israel, were also insured with Kuppat Ḥolim. Between 1948 and 1994, its membership, including dependents, increased tenfold: from 328,000 to 3,600,000.

Kuppat Ḥolim grants medical care to insured breadwinners and their families (covering industrial injuries and chronic illness), as well as convalescence and sick pay. It provides the services of general practitioners, specialists, and nurses in clinics and at the patient's home, hospitalization in its own and other hospitals, X-ray treatment, physiotherapy and medical rehabilitation, and laboratory tests; medicaments and medical appliances come from its own pharmacies. Preventive medical services include mother-and-child care, industrial medicine, and health education. Eyeglasses and dental treatment are provided at moderate charge. Kuppat Ḥolim ha-Kelalit provided medical services for new immigrants from the day of their arrival, with no qualifying period. During the period of mass immigration, newcomers ignorant of the elementary rules of health and hygiene were instructed in its clinics and mother-and-child centers. In January 1995 the affiliation of Kuppat Ḥolim ha-Kelalit to the Federation of Labor ended with the enactment of Israel's health insurance law, and Kuppat Ḥolim became an independent organization.

[Izhak Kanev / Shifra Shvarts (2nd ed.)]

KUPPAT ḤOLIM LE-OVEDIM LE'UMMIYYIM. Kuppat Ḥolim le-Ovedim Le'ummiyyim (Sick Fund for National Workers) was founded in 1933. Its services in 2000 encompassed about 10% of the Israeli population. Although it is linked to the National Labor Federation (*Histadrut ha-Ovedim ha-Le'ummit), members of the sick fund are not obliged to belong to the federation. Its main feature is the free choice of a doctor by the patient, in addition to the maintenance of dispensaries and arrangements for hospitalization for the insured in government and other hospitals.

KUPPAT ḤOLIM ME'UḤEDET (AMAMIT). Kuppat Ḥolim Me'uḥedet (Amamit) ("Popular Sick Fund") was founded in 1931 on the initiative of Hadassah, mainly for farmers in villages not affiliated to the labor movement. It serves about 11% of the Israeli population (2000). In the larger centers members are free to choose their doctor; in smaller places the fund employs doctors for the insured. It has arrangements for the hospitalization of its members in government and other public hospitals. In 1974, Kuppat Ḥolim Amamit merged with Kuppat Ḥolim Merkazit to become Kuppat Ḥolim Me'uḥedet.

KUPPAT ḤOLIM MACCABI. Kuppat Ḥolim Maccabi (Maccabi Sick Fund), the second largest health fund in Israel (2000). Maccabi was founded in 1941 and serves about 24% of the population. Most of its members live in urban areas, smaller towns, and rural localities. They are free to choose their doctors; hospitalization is arranged with government and other hospitals.

THE NATIONAL HEALTH INSURANCE LAW. In January 1995, the implementation of the National Health Law revolutionized Israel's health system. All Israelis can now affiliate with the health insurance funds of their choice with premiums charged in proportion to income. The premiums are collected and then distributed by the National Insurance Institute among the Israeli health insurance organizations according to the number of insurees and according to the special needs of particular population groups. The law established a range of services equal for all. People can supplement these services via the health insurance funds or private insurance companies

MOTHER-AND-CHILD HEALTH SERVICES. The objective of these services is to provide for prenatal, natal, and postnatal care for every mother and full preparation for the birth of every child; protection and promotion of health for every child from birth to adolescence; and the detection and rehabilitation of handicapped children. Health protection includes routine immunization. Every child is vaccinated against smallpox, and a triple vaccination against diphtheria (mortality from which has virtually vanished), tetanus, and whooping cough is automatically given to over 80% of children from age three months upward, as is immunization against measles. Following a serious polio epidemic that started in 1950, the Salk vaccine was administered to all children between six months and four years from 1956 and the Sabin vaccine has been in use since 1961. As a result, cases of the disease in Israel are very rare, though the public health problem of rehabilitating patients from previous years remains.

One of the characteristics of Israel's mother-and-child care services has been their flexibility, in response to the demands of a constantly developing society. The scope of the services also aims at promoting the healthy growth and development of the family as a unit, and, since the family is bound up with the neighborhood in which it lives, the centers have undertaken to serve the surrounding community. In addition to coordination between preventive and curative services, several family health centers assume full responsibility for promotive, preventive, and curative services for all members of the family. In two Arab villages (Ṭayyiba and Ṭīra) they also provide lying-in facilities. In 2000 a network of 800 mother-and-child care centers dotted the country (in contrast to 120 in 1948). Of these, 520 were run by the Ministry of Health and by Kuppat Ḥolim ha-Kelalit, the remainder being the responsibility of the Jerusalem and Tel Aviv municipalities. Three were still retained by the Hadassah Medical Organization in Jerusalem (including a family and community health center) as part of its teaching framework.

SCHOOL HEALTH SERVICES. Health services for children of school age, originally started by Hadassah in the early 1920s, are provided by the Ministry of Health for 66% of the pupils who benefit, and local authorities for 20%, while Kuppat Ḥolim looks after the remainder. The work is done by school health teams, consisting of a physician and a public health nurse, special attention being given to the requirements of handicapped children. The control of infectious diseases through immunization is continued in this older age group, with the addition of the BCG vaccination in the seventh grade. There is also considerable activity in the field of health education.

HOSPITALIZATION. Though Kuppat Ḥolim is responsible for 50% of the population, it provides only 30% of the country's acute hospital beds, which are available primarily for its own members, and it pays for the treatment of members in other hospitals. Government, Hadassah, municipal, private, and mission hospitals accept all fee-paying patients and take turns in admitting emergency cases immediately (on days set by the Ministry of Health), financial adjustments being made afterward. In 2000 there were 48 general hospitals in the country with over 14,000 beds (2.2 beds per 1,000 population). There were also over 272 chronic disease hospitals providing 18,200 beds (2.9 beds per 1,000 population), and 21 psychiatric hospitals with approximately 5,500 beds (0.9 beds per 1,000 population).

A reduction in the average period spent in the hospital has led to better utilization of beds. This has been due to the combination of up-to-date medical skills, the establishment of more special departments, and the development of laboratory facilities. Nevertheless, the availability of beds still falls far short of the country's requirements, particularly in relation to chronic patients. In order to remedy the situation, a master plan for the construction of hospitals was worked out by the Hospital Planning Unit of the Ministry of Health.

All Jewish births and 95% of non-Jewish births take place in hospitals. Jewish women in Israel have always preferred hospital to home confinements, but Arab women, as well as many of the new immigrants, were not accustomed to this. To lower child mortality, which was higher among women who chose to deliver their babies at home, and to induce mothers to avail themselves of the advantages of delivery under safe conditions, the National Insurance Law of 1953 stipulated that the maternity grant is payable only to mothers confined in the hospital or who arrived at the hospital within 24 hours after the delivery.

MEDICAL PERSONNEL. There were 26,000 licensed doctors in Israel at the end of 2000: one for every 370 persons (and the supply of specialists in Israel does not lag behind that of other progressive countries). This is the highest ratio in the world, but many of the doctors are in the higher age groups. Over two-thirds of Israel's doctors graduated abroad. It was therefore necessary to equalize the various levels of training gained in different countries by additional training for the immigrant physicians. In partnership with Kuppat Ḥolim, the Hebrew University and Hadassah Medical School established in 1962 the Institute for Postgraduate Training, which specializes in short-term refresher courses. A second medical school was opened at Tel Aviv University in 1965, a third in Haifa in 1969, and the last in 1973 at Ben-Gurion University of the Negev in Beersheba.

Most doctors are salaried full-time staff in hospitals and other institutions; few are in private practice. All are members of the Israel Medical Association, which has adapted Hebrew terminology to the needs of contemporary medicine, set up libraries and information services, and, through its Scientific Council, laid down qualifications for specialization. Since 1980, following the initiative of Kuppat Ḥolim ha-Kelalit and the Ben-Gurion University Medical School, the Israel Medical Association started the family medicine track in medical specialization. In 2000, there were already over 800 family physician specialists working in primary care in Israel.

In 2000 there were about 30,000 nurses in Israel, 70% of them registered nurses and 30% practical nurses. From the mid-1990s, Israel suffered a shortage of nurses in the health care system. The practical nursing route was established in order to cope with the nurse shortage and to offer new immigrants with a nursing background a chance to work in the health system. Practical nurses can become registered nurses by passing the Israel Ministry of Health licensing tests. There are 40 nursing schools in Israel, almost in every general hospital. The diploma of registered nurse is awarded after a three-year course, according to standards set by the Nursing Department of the Ministry of Health. By the year 2000 almost all nursing schools in Israel upgraded their studies to a university level with a B.A. in nursing – a four-year program. In 1968 a University School of Nursing affiliated to the Faculty for Advanced Studies in Medicine of Tel Aviv University was inaugurated, leading to a B.A. degree. Schools of occupational therapy, physiotherapy, and X-ray and laboratory techniques function in different parts of the country. The Hebrew University's course for the M.A. in Public Health provides training in administration. There is a dental school at the Ein Kerem Medical Center and also at Tel Aviv University.

In 1994, following the recommendations of the Netanyahu Committee for the health care system, Ben-Gurion University opened a bachelor and postgraduate program for health administration, both managed jointly by the Ben-Gurion University School of Management and the Faculty of Health Sciences. In 1998 Ben-Gurion University opened the first school for emergency medicine to fill the need for paramedics in the civilian and military sectors. The need was felt due to the increase in terrorist attacks in Israel from the mid-1990s. In 2000 Ben-Gurion University opened the second school of public health in Israel, which has about 50 graduates every year. In 2003 Haifa University established a new Faculty for Health and Society.

HOSPITAL EMERGENCY SERVICES. Israel's security situation demands a well-planned emergency system that can be speedily put into operation. The effectiveness of this advanced planning was put to the test during the Six-Day War (1967) when the main hospitals – Soroka University Medical Center in Beersheba, Sheba (Tel ha-Shomer) Medical Center, Rabin Medical Campus (Beilinson), and Hadassah Ein Karem Medical Center – were ready to receive the wounded immediately after hostilities broke out. Beds, operating and laboratory facilities, and equipment were available underground, and casualty teams worked around the clock. The use of helicopters to facilitate the speedy transport of the wounded to the hospitals and the remarkably high standards of preparedness and treatment saved many lives. During the succeeding years of almost continuous border warfare, the hospitals continued to maintain this degree of preparedness.

[Malka Hillel Shulewitz / Shifra Shvarts (2nd ed.)]

Medical Research

Medical research in Israel has a long-standing tradition dating back to before the establishment of the state. Its contribution is undoubtedly a significant factor in the high standards of medical care in the country. The areas in which Israel exhibits particular competence today include genetics, cancer research, immunology, autoimmune diseases, diabetes, neurology, cardiovascular conditions, gene therapy, bone marrow transplantation, and stem cell research.

The first steps towards establishing medical research institutions in Palestine were taken before World War I, with the creation in Jerusalem of the Nathan Straus Health Center and Dr. Beham's Pasteur Institute. The Institute of Microbiology (Parasitology), founded in 1924 at the Hebrew University, with its departments of biochemistry and bacteriology and hygiene, founded two years later, served as the basis for the first Medical Center on Mount Scopus. In 1927 I.J. Kligler opened the Malaria Research Station at Rosh Pinnah, which initiated research, control, and supervision of anti-malarial projects in all areas of Jewish settlement and in the adjacent Arab villages.

Research in general, including medical research, can be placed in three broad categories: basic, strategic, and developmental and evaluative. Each of these categories covers, in varying degrees, the full spectrum of health and medical research: namely biomedical, clinical, public health, health economics, health policy and health services, and each of these categories maintains its own balance between advancement of knowledge and application.

BASIC RESEARCH. This category of research is initiated by the researcher (curiosity-driven) and generates new knowledge on questions of scientific significance.

STRATEGIC RESEARCH. This category can be initiated by researchers, the health system, or the health industry. It generates new knowledge to answer specific health needs and problems.

DEVELOPMENTAL AND EVALUATIVE RESEARCH (APPLIED RESEARCH, INCLUDING CLINICAL TRIALS). This category is mainly initiated by industry, but can also be sponsored by research institutions and government. It evaluates products (vaccines, drugs, diagnostics, prostheses, or equipment), interventions (public or personal health services), and instruments of policy that improve existing options.

Support of research in Israel comes from several sources: the Israeli government, European Community (EC), National Institutes of Health (NIH), international and national nongovernment organizations (NGOs), international and national private foundations, charitable organizations, and private donations. The Israeli government supports research via different ministries and international agreements. The most important source of government support of basic research comes from the Israel Science Foundation (ISF), whose funds are budgeted by the Finance Ministry and channeled via the Budgeting and Planning Committee of the Council for Higher Education of the Ministry of Education. The Ministry of Science and Technology (MOST) supports both basic and strategic research and the Ministry of Commerce and Industry supports for the most part R&D by industry. Under bilateral agreements the Israeli government allocates matching research funds to the U.S.-Israel Binational Science Foundation (BSF) and the German-Israeli Foundation for Scientific Research and Development (GIF). These granting agencies support competitive grants in the different areas of scientific research that also include medical research. Medical research is also supported by organizations such as the Israel Cancer Society (ICA), the Israel Cancer Research Fund (ICRF), the Juvenile Diabetes Foundation (JDF), etc.

Most medical research in Israel is performed at its four medical schools: the Hebrew University (HU), Tel Aviv University (TAU), Ben-Gurion University (BGU), and the Technion, and their affiliated hospitals. Medical research and research in disease-linked life sciences are performed in the relevant faculties of the above universities and at Bar-Ilan University, which does not have a medical school, and the Weizmann Institute of Science. It is noteworthy that in two of the four medical schools more than 90% of the clinical researchers are from the respective hospitals. At BGU more than 90% of the clinical researchers are from the Soroka Medical Center and at HU more that 90% are affiliated with Hadassah University Hospital. For the most part, the number of investigators at a specific hospital is relative to the size of the hospital and the closeness of the affiliation with its medical school.

Several government ministries have chief scientists whose responsibility is to support and administer research and development grant programs in their respective fields.

The office of Chief Scientist established in the Ministry of Health in 1970 is a pivotal factor at the crossroads of research in biomedical science and the pursuit of disease-oriented clinical research and development. Its aims are (1) to promote, assist, and undertake basic, applied "disease-oriented" and clinical research in the health sciences; (2) to promote and support research in hospitals and universities; and (3) to encourage young physicians to do research.

Efforts are made to assist investigators working in peripheral hospitals situated far from the major centers of medical research in Israel and to assist young investigators taking their first steps in research.

[Bracha Rager and Benny Leshem (2nd ed.)]

Services for the Arab Population

When the Ministry of Health was established, a special division was set up to serve the Arab and Druze communities. In 1952, however, with their progressive integration into the structure of the state, the division was abolished. The ministry set up clinics and mother-and-child health centers in Arab areas. An Arab officer is attached to the Regional Services Administration of the ministry to act as a liaison between the head office and the field units. Many Arabs and Druze have joined Kuppat Ḥolim, which has set up clinics in many villages. Integrated preventive and curative services are available at six health centers, in addition to general clinics and mother-and-child centers, covering more than 80% of Israel's Arabs. Case-finding activities are conducted among the Bedouin tribes in the Negev to combat tuberculosis, trachoma, and ringworm. The incidence of these once-prevalent diseases has decreased considerably, thanks largely to a mobile unit that regularly visits Arab villages and Bedouin encampments examining children and others. This service facilitates the early diagnosis and treatment of these diseases where they still exist. Eighty-four percent of Arab women now have their babies in hospitals, and the supervision of the mother-and-child centers is highly valued. Until 1994 about 87% of the Arab population were insured in the public health sector in Israel, mainly in Kuppat Ḥolim ha-Kelalit. Since 1995 all Arab citizens in Israel are entitled to equal health services under the Health Insurance Law. The extension of health coverage to the entire Arab population led to expansion of primary health services within the Arab villages in the north of Israel and also in the south in the Bedouin community. The major part of the Arab population chose to stay with Kuppat Ḥolim ha-Kelalit and only few moved to Macccabi and the smaller Me'uhedet and Le'ummit health insurance funds.

[Malka Hillel Shulewitz / Shifra Shvarts (2nd ed.)]

IN THE ADMINISTERED TERRITORIES. Immediately after the Six-Day War, a civil administration to deal with health services was attached to the military government in the areas administered under the cease-fire agreements. It faced two major problems: first, the low standard of health among large sections of the population in comparison with that prevailing in Israel, as well as higher infant and maternal mortality rates and inadequate inoculation rates, particularly against such serious diseases as polio; and second, the exodus of medical and paramedical personnel, which continued in 1967–68. This movement ceased in 1969, however, and a reverse trickle started. The situation was further relieved by the participation of Israel personnel, and joint efforts led to an overall improvement. In addition, Israel's health services were opened to residents of the administered territories when they required specialized treatment (including hospitalization) unavailable in their own places of residence. Following the signing of the Oslo Accords in 1994, responsibility for health care was gradually transferred to the *Palestinian Authority.

[Malka Hillel Shulewitz]

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SOCIAL SECURITY AND WELFARE

SOCIAL POLICY

In the first three decades of statehood through the end of the 1970s Israel acquired the basic features of a modern welfare state. This meant that Israel succeeded in developing a broad network of social services that included comprehensive service systems in health, education, housing, social security, and the personal social care services. Combined with other social and economic policies the country was committed to maintaining and improving the standard of living of the population. All these policies brought about a far-reaching transformation of Israeli society.

Since the 1980s Israel's social policies have undergone a significant change. The change occurred in the nature of its welfare regime and also involved structural and political changes with reference to the government's role in ensuring the welfare of the population and maintaining welfare and social security services.

In terms of its welfare regime the major trend was to depart to a great extent from the European model with regard to welfare policy and social protection and move towards a more American model. The European model to which Israel adhered for many years is based on a high degree of social solidarity and mutual obligation among the different sectors of the population. It is also geared to prevent growing social inequality and the existence of wide social gaps. In contrast, the trend prevalent in Israel since the 1980s tended more towards the American model of a limited government role in providing social services and social protection to the entire population, leaving citizens more dependent on market forces and the uncertainty evolving from it.

The main trend that dominated Israeli social policy from the late 1980s was thus to reduce state involvement in the provision of welfare, to cut government spending on social welfare and social security, and to introduce changes in the existing social security and welfare programs that will have a long-term impact on the government's commitment to reducing social welfare spending.

This trend became more dominant in the years 2000–2004, when the government embraced a program of radical reform and restructuring of the welfare state. A combination of ideological, political, economic, and demographic factors played an important part in this policy shift and were mostly related to the changing patterns of the demographic balance of power in Israeli society. The main characteristic of the policies adopted was an extensive retrenchment in welfare and social security programs and a further reduction in collective responsibility for the well being of the population.

SOCIAL SECURITY

The core of the Israeli welfare state is its social security system, which includes a wide range of national insurance schemes and a range of non-contributory income maintenance programs. The entire system is maintained by the National Insurance Institute, an autonomous state agency operating under the supervision of the Minister of Welfare.

The national insurance schemes developed since the 1950s became the major instrument ensuring the social security of large portions of the population. They include old age and survivors insurance, maternity, unemployment, work injury, and general disability insurance, a national health insurance program, and some additional minor social insurance-based schemes. Demographic changes, such as the growth of the elderly population, the size of the children's population, and the composition of the immigrant groups, have been a critical factor in the growth of the system.

Old Age and Survivors Insurance

Old age and survivors insurance is the largest national insurance scheme. Nearly 40 percent of all national insurance benefits are paid out by this scheme. All the residents of Israel (with a few exceptions) are covered by this scheme and have to pay premiums until retirement. The age of absolute entitlement to an old age pension is 70 for men and 67 for women. Until the recent retrenchment measures the absolute entitlement age for women was 65 only. Men from the age of 67 to 70 and women from the age of 64 are entitled to a pension conditional on an income test when their incomes are below a defined threshold.

Latterly, until the reforms, the old age national insurance pensions were of a uniform rate (with some increments) and set at a fixed percentage of the national average wage (16% of the average wage for a single person and 24% for a couple). The pensions were automatically updated every year in line with changes in the average wage. The linking of the pensions to the average wage had a considerable equalizing effect in the sense that they ensured higher earning replacement rates for pensioners with low pre-retirement incomes compared to low income replacement rates for those with high pre-retirement incomes.

The reform adopted severed the linkage of pensions to the average wage and their automatic annual updating. In the future pensions will be updated in line with the price index only. The pensions will thus lose their dynamic feature and will be gradually eroded, leaving the pensioner lagging behind the rest of the population in sharing national prosperity as reflected in the rise in wages.

Children's Allowances

The second biggest program in Israel's social security system, accounting for about 20 percent of all benefit payments, are the children's allowances. Towards the end of the 1990s the program was fully universal in its coverage, i.e., it provided benefits for every child in Israel younger than 18. It consisted of one uniform scheme fully integrated into the direct tax system. In practice the program was built on a credit point system and played a dual role: It served as a tax credit for families with incomes exceeding the tax threshold and was the equivalent of a "negative income tax" for families whose income was below the tax threshold level. The allowances were the dominant and almost only factor taking into account family size in the direct tax system. They were linked to the consumer price index and raised accordingly in January of every year. The value of a credit point in 2000 was equal to 2.5 percent of the average wage.

There were numerous changes and upheavals in the children's allowance payments since the first scheme of large-family allowances was instituted in 1959. The major structural reform introduced in 2003 was its alteration from a system of benefits by which the number of credit points was awarded on an ascending scale which increased steeply from the third child on, to a system of a single flat-rate allowance paid for all children irrespective of the number of children in the family. Children born after July 1, 2003, are entitled only to the new flat-rate allowance. To ease the transformation, which involves substantial losses of income to large families, the change will be phased in gradually over a longer period of time and will be in full operation in 2009.

The chief policy issue involved in the structural change of the children's allowance program arose from the problem of large families in two particular population groups: the ultra-Orthodox Jewish sector and the Arab population. The high fertility rates among these two population groups were seen to have a major effect on the increasing cost of public support for these families. The argument was that the increased benefit rates to large families encouraged the high fertility rates among them. Moreover, by providing them with additional income the allowances supported their voluntary withdrawal from participation in the labor force. The restructuring of the program was thus explained in terms of these wider social and demographic issues and their possible negative effect on the national economy.

Unemployment Insurance

Unemployment insurance was established only after a prolonged debate in 1973. Despite the important task of the scheme in providing an alternative income to the involuntarily unemployed there was strong opposition to its introduction, which came, perhaps paradoxically, from the Israeli labor movement. With the growth of unemployment in the 1990s various amendments were introduced to the scheme to make it more difficult to receive unemployment benefits. The aim of these policies was to strengthen labor market discipline among the working population and to increase the flexibility of the job market. As a result there was a significant reduction of the scheme's capability to provide adequate protection for the unemployed.

Long-Term Care Program

The long-term care program started to operate in 1988. The program covers all residents included in the old age insurance program. The long-term care services are limited to the elderly population. They are provided to elderly persons who are dependent to a great extent or entirely on the help of others to perform essential daily tasks. Entitlement to long-term care under the program is conditional on dependency and income tests. The program has grown rapidly, both in the number of beneficiaries and in expenditure, since it began.

The package of services provided includes personal care at the home of the elderly person or in a day care center, housekeeping help, supply of absorbent materials, laundry services, and the installation of distress alarms. The services are provided by non-profit as well as commercial service organizations licensed for this purpose.

The non-contributory income maintenance programs include the safety-net income support scheme, benefits to the victims of hostile actions, and a range of other minor benefit programs.

Safety-Net Income Support

The safety-net income support scheme has been in operation since 1982. The scheme replaced the earlier system of assistance to the needy through the social welfare bureaus of the local authorities and transferred this responsibility to the national government. The program is by its very nature highly selective and caters to the neediest population groups. The granting of benefits is conditional on strict means and employment tests. Under these conditions the program was designed to guarantee everyone who meets the eligibility criteria a legally defined minimum level of income applied uniformly in every location in the country.

The program has grown greatly since its inception. Although the benefits provided were far less generous than in most European countries, the program nonetheless became, in the years 2002–3, the target of a strong political anti-welfare backlash. It was argued that its benefits were too generous and therefore creating serious disincentives to work. Eventually, in line with the government's retrenchment policies, welfare reform measures were introduced in 2003 that significantly reduced the level of benefits. Under the reform single persons and couples under the age of 25 are no longer entitled to income support. Women with young children aged two years and up are required to report for work as opposed to the previous age of seven and up. In addition, most rebates granted to income-support recipients, such as reduction of medical prescription costs or TV license payments, were canceled. About 70 percent of those receiving income support were affected by these changes.

The Personal Social Services

From the establishment of the state until 1977 the Ministry of Welfare was in charge of operating the personal social services. In 1977 a new Ministry of Social Affairs was established which amalgamated the former ministries of Labor and Welfare. The merger of the two ministries did not produce over the years the expected beneficial results and in 2003 the old Ministry of Welfare was recreated while the Labor part was ceded to the Ministry of Industry and Trade.

The personal social service system includes a wide range of care services that cater to the needs of weak population groups with difficulties in their personal and social functioning. These groups include the disabled; the physically, mentally, and emotionally handicapped; the elderly; young people in distress; battered women and neglected children at risk. This service system is maintained for the most part by the welfare bureaus of the local authorities and their care services are generally provided under the auspices of the social work profession and by professional social workers.

Although the foundations of the system were established as early as the 1930s, its legal base remains somewhat unsatisfactory. The Welfare Service Law of 1958, which defines its operating principles, is mostly outdated and has not kept up with the changes in the field. The main deficiencies are related to the lack of a binding definition of the rights of a needy person to receive services, there are no details as to the package of services that the authorities are required to provide, and there is no clear obligation of the central and local government to fund the services. In times when retrenchment was the dominant theme in the social policies of Israel, the personal social service system was particularly vulnerable and thus seriously hurt by cutbacks in resources for its maintenance.

Voluntary Agencies

The voluntary sector, i.e., private non-profit organizations, plays an important role in Israeli social welfare. The sector is composed of a great many agencies, some of them associated under national women's umbrella organizations like WIZO and Na'amat while others operate independently on the local community level. They provide a wide range of social care services catering to the needs of particularly vulnerable population groups and thus complement the welfare services provided by the state. Their activities are especially important in the field of child welfare, care of neglected and abused children, services to the growing elderly population, and to new immigrant groups, such as the recently arrived Ethiopians.

The role of the voluntary sector gains additional significance in times of government retrenchment in the field of welfare and in the event of cutbacks in social expenditure. The failure of the authorities to meet the increased demand for social services has forced the voluntary sector to shoulder more of the welfare burden. This has become especially evident in the growing number of food banks operated by the voluntary sector on the local community level and the operation of soup kitchens providing meals to the needy.

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[Abraham Doron (2nd ed.)]

CULTURAL LIFE

Introduction

The movement for the return to Zion which emerged as a force at the end of the 19th century was based on a variety of motivations, including the political – the demand for an independent homeland where the Jews could forge their own destiny without dependence on the goodwill of others; the religious – based on the traditional belief in God's promise of the Land of Israel to the people of Israel; and the sociological – which maintained that only in their own land could the Jews revert to a normal occupational structure. In addition, from the early days of the modern movement, stress was laid on the cultural aspect, the argument being that true Jewish creativity would emerge only when the Jew was resettled in his ancient homeland. The spokesman of Cultural Zionism was *Aḥad Ha-Am, and one of his classical statements on the subject was made at a conference of Russian Zionists held at Minsk in 1902. He stressed the need to establish a great academic institution in Ereẓ Israel, emphasized that the Hebrew language was essential in developing the new Jewish culture, and advocated "a concentration of genius and talent in the service of Jewish culture to restore the Jewish people to its rightful place in the comity of human culture." Aḥad Ha-Am spoke of "the spiritual center of our nation which is destined to arise in Palestine in response to the insistent urge of the national instinct," adding, "We dare not neglect to do what is necessary to make Palestine a permanent and freely developing center of our national culture, of our science and scholarship, our art and literature." He envisioned "the larger cultural enterprise on which we shall embark after the establishment of the center in Palestine, when the work of the returned wanderers will serve as the starting point for an advance into higher realms of achievement" (*Aḥad Ha-Am*, translated by Leon Simon (London, 1946), 97–100).

Until the 19th century, Jewish cultural creativity in the Diaspora had been expressed mainly within a religious framework. The bulk of the literature had been on religious subjects, art had been confined to ritual spheres, and musical expression was liturgical. There had been notable exceptions, in particular in periods of freer contacts with the non-Jewish world, but in general the universal aspects of Jewish cultural and artistic talents had been stunted or shunted into a narrow context. Natural development only became possible as a result of emancipation. This was spectacularly evident in the 19th century as Jews in Central and Western Europe moved into those expressions that had hitherto been denied them. Toward the end of the century, a similar, if proportionately more limited, trend became discernible also among eastern European Jewry. This new cultural revival was marked by a strong secular trend, and it was confined to the Ashkenazi sector – no parallel flowering was possible among Sephardi Jewry (except for the few in western lands) or in Oriental communities. It was the strong upsurge of intellectual and cultural creativity in European Jewry which Aḥad Ha-Am sought to attract and harness to the Jewish nationalistic expression within the Zionist movement. Although political Zionism was the dominant motivation in the various *aliyot*, the ideals of cultural Zionism became interwoven in the fabric of Zionist ideology. There were those whose prime reason for settling in Ereẓ Israel was the conscious desire to participate in a new Jewish creativity; but even those coming as the result of other ideals or impetuses subscribed to the cultural ideals.

The first generations of settlers consciously struggled with the interrelations of the different components which they felt would be required for an Israeli culture. On the one hand, it would have to be solidly based within Jewish traditions and the Hebrew language; on the other, it would have to relate to a universal context. In the early decades of settlement, and especially in the first flush of nationalist sentiment, the particularist tendencies were dominant. A marked continuity with the eastern European Jewish tradition was perpetuated in all forms of cultural expression. But in the course of time, more stress was laid on universalism and less on introspection. The first generation was firmly based on its European roots; the second generation was rooted in its experiences in Ereẓ Israel, especially those connected with *aliyah* and the kibbutz movement; the third generation, emerging around the time of the 1948 War of Independence, was dominated by the sabra with his newly found self-confidence; the fourth generation (or the second sabra generation, coming of age around the time of the Six-Day War) was universalistic and outward looking, seeing Israeli culture as one expression of contemporary world culture; the fifth generation is totally attuned to western popular culture and in effect not different from its counterpart in Europe and America.

Against this background, Israeli culture has assimilated a kaleidoscope of varied elements. Jewish traditions, religious and historical, and the Hebrew language constitute the firm foundations – sometimes only subconsciously – of the cultural patterns that have emerged. A colorful originality has been imparted by the diversity of the Jewish elements. Jews arriving from communities in all parts of the world have brought with them both cultural expressions that developed within their own framework and aspects of the majority culture which they had absorbed over the centuries. The intermingling of the Ashkenazi, Sephardi, and Oriental traditions has provided an immense opportunity. This has, moreover, been reflected by the physical location of this new creativity – in a Middle East setting at the meeting point of Europe, Asia, and Africa. The uniqueness of this situation and location prompted the consideration that this was a place where East meets West – to some extent geographically and to a large extent through the composition of population. As a consequence, considerable cultural and artistic activity has been devoted to an attempt to weld Oriental and occidental elements in an endeavor to achieve original concepts. Much of Israel's artistic expression has been characterized, therefore, by this east-west synthesis. However, one element that has as yet made little penetration is that of the Arab world. Especially since the establishment of the State of Israel, cultural developments in Arab countries have been largely sealed off from the Israelis, while achievements among Israel Arabs have been on a limited scale (see Arabic Literature, in Israel, State of: *Arab Population) and have had virtually no influence on the mainstream of Israel culture.

Since the beginning of the 20th century, Israel's culture has developed significantly. From small and sometimes artificial beginnings, achievements have been registered in most spheres, justifying the vision of Aḥad Ha-Am. This has been attested to by international recognition (e.g., the award of the Nobel Prize for literature to S.Y. *Agnon, international prizes for art and music, acclaim for Israel actors and actresses) as well as by the crystallization of distinctive expressions that are especially meaningful both for Israelis and for Jews in other countries.

Hebrew Language

The determination to revive Hebrew as a spoken language was intimately associated with the nationalist revival toward the end of the 19th century. The phenomenon was paralleled in other countries (e.g., Ireland), and the speaking of Hebrew became part of Zionist ideology. Although not spoken as an everyday tongue for some 17 centuries, Hebrew had remained a language of literature and of prayer, never forgotten and always cherished. The tradition of writing in Hebrew was maintained, even though the results were frequently clumsy and artificial. Already in the middle of the 19th century, Hebrew was being spoken in Jerusalem, where it provided a link between the Ashkenazi and Sephardi Jews who had no other language in common. As early as 1855, a meeting of Jewish notables, convened in Jerusalem to discuss the foundation of the first secular school (the Laemel School), held its deliberations in Hebrew.

The tendency, however, was sporadic and ill-defined until the arrival in Jerusalem of Eliezer *Ben-Yehuda in 1881. He had launched his single-minded campaign for the revival of Hebrew as a spoken language while he was still in Europe. In 1879 he had suggested the foundation of a Jewish State with Hebrew as its language and in 1880 published a withering attack on the prevalence of foreign languages and influences in Palestine. At that time the Laemmel School, under Austrian influence, included German in its curriculum, while *Mikveh Israel and other institutions founded by the *Alliance Israélite Universelle fostered knowledge of French and admiration for French culture.

Ben-Yehuda found support in Jerusalem, especially among Sephardi circles, and conducted a campaign for teaching in Hebrew. At first this was greeted for the most part with a reaction of scorn and disbelief. Even scholars who supported the general concept of a Hebrew revival, such as Aḥad Ha-Am and Yehudah Grasovski (*Goor), were not prepared to follow Ben-Yehuda to the extent of using Hebrew as the language for general instruction in the schools. But Ben-Yehuda was adamant, writing: "If we want our people to survive, if we want our children to remain Hebrews, we must train them in the Hebrew language… We must make our sons and daughters forget the corrupt foreign dialects which tear us to shreds." To prove his point, in 1883 Ben-Yehuda accepted a teaching position in a girls' school run by the Alliance in Jerusalem. Although he had to give it up after a few months, he succeeded in that time in introducing the *Ivrit be-Ivrit* ("Hebrew in Hebrew") teaching method. The possibilities of the method were realized by the pedagogical authorities. Apart from the ideological aspect, it had a practical side, in that there were not enough Sephardi pupils to fill the schools and there was a desire to attract Ashkenazi students as well. Ashkenazim, however, would not attend schools where the language of instruction was Ladino or Arabic. Hebrew provided a common tongue through which Jewish children from any origin could be instructed. Ben-Yehuda won over to his point of view a number of influential personalities, notably David *Yellin and Joseph Meyouḥas, and they rapidly succeeded in further spreading the use of Hebrew in schools. By 1888, all subjects were being taught in Hebrew at the school in Rishon le-Zion, which was also the site of the first Hebrew-speaking kindergarten (1898). A meeting of Jewish teachers in Jerusalem in 1892 passed a resolution advocating the exclusive use of Hebrew in schools. When the first high schools were opened – in Jaffa in 1906 and in Jerusalem in 1908 – their language of instruction was Hebrew.

Ben-Yehuda was not satisfied with the growth of Hebrew in the schools alone. He also wanted it to be the general language of conversation among adults. In 1883, together with Jehiel Michael *Pines, he organized a secret society called Teḥiyyat Israel ("The Revival of Israel") whose members swore to speak with one another solely in Hebrew "even in marketplaces and streets, without being ashamed." The following year, he founded the Safah Berurah ("Pure Language") society to disseminate the Hebrew language and its conversational usage. Ben-Yehuda was also disturbed by the fact that his various efforts were only reaching male members of the community. He wanted girls and women to learn Hebrew, so that it would be the language they would talk to their children. His advocacy led to the establishment in Safed of the first girls' Hebrew school in 1891.

The path of the Hebraists was far from smooth, and they met with determined opposition from various quarters. The Orthodox elements in Jerusalem were openly hostile and imposed a *ḥerem*. The officials of Baron Edmond de *Rothschild, who were the products of French culture, feared that the spread of Hebrew would endanger their own influence in the country and objected to changes in the language of instruction in French-speaking schools. Stalwarts of Yiddish and Ladino were apprehensive that the development of Hebrew would lead to the neglect of their languages (as eventually was the result). Moreover, there were objective reasons. The language still lacked the requisite elasticity for instruction. There were no textbooks or reading books in Hebrew. In order to establish recognized standards and bring order into the diversity that had been unleashed, Ben Yehuda organized the Va'ad ha-Lashon ("Language Committee") in Jerusalem (1890). Its task was to determine new usages. But after a year this committee, as well as the Safah Berurah society, went out of existence as a result of internal dissensions. In 1904 it was reorganized under the auspices of the *Teachers' Association. The Committee now consisted of leading philologists and teachers, and their mandate included decisions on the coinage of new terms, the determination of orthography, the preparation of specialized dictionaries, and the standardization of pronunciation. On the last point, the Committee decided that the Sephardi pronunciation should be standard, as this bore the closest resemblance to Hebrew speech in ancient times. School principals and teachers were informed of this decision in 1907.

Ben-Yehuda also started work on his monumental Hebrew dictionary, five volumes of which appeared in his lifetime (the entire 17-volume dictionary eventually extended over 8,000 pages). It covered all subjects comprehensively and was a basic reference work for the developing language. Further pioneer dictionaries in many specialized spheres were issued by the Va'ad ha-Lashon.

Recognition of Hebrew in Ereẓ Israel was not attained without a bitter struggle, known as the Language Conflict, to replace German by Hebrew in the schools of the *Hilfsverein der deutschen Juden and the newly established *Technion (see Israel, State of: *Education, 1880–1914). By the end of World War I, the Language Conflict had receded far into the distance, and the position of Hebrew throughout the country was unchallenged. Already in 1916–18, a census showed that 40% of the Palestinian Jews outside Jerusalem were Hebrew-speaking. The proportion among children was 54%, and in Tel Aviv and in the villages it was 77%.

The Palestine Mandate of 1922 gave Hebrew official recognition as one of the three languages of the country (alongside English and Arabic). It was henceforward used in the administration, on coins, stamps, and so on. Within the Jewish community the use of Hebrew was stressed as a patriotic activity. A youth organization, the Gedud Meginnei ha-Safah ("Language Protection Legion"), was founded in Tel Aviv in 1923 to combat the speaking of languages other than Hebrew (it remained in existence until the late 1930s). By 1948, 80% of the Jewish population spoke Hebrew, and for 54% of them it was their sole language of communication.

Hebrew became the official language of the State of Israel on its establishment in 1948. The mass immigration of the ensuing years posed difficult problems which were met by original approaches. Outstanding among these was the institution of the *ulpan, the intensive Hebrew courses for newcomers to the country which were introduced in various forms. The proportion of Hebrew speakers inevitably dropped somewhat (in 1954 only 53% of the adult population spoke Hebrew), but the figures rose steadily as the newcomers learned the language, and especially as all the children were Hebrew speakers. In 1953 the Ministry of Education established a Hanḥalat ha-Lashon ("Language Transmitting") department to work among new immigrants. Special techniques were devised for acquiring the language quickly, including a fundamental vocabulary of 1,000 words that served as the basis for special books, daily newspapers, and radio broadcasts.

In 1954, by act of the Knesset, the Va'ad ha-Lashon became the *Academy of the Hebrew Language, established to determine correct and grammatical Hebrew usages. The Academy works through various committees, each specializing in a particular field, and it has fixed tens of thousands of technical terms. The procedure for determining new words takes two to three years, during which time the various philological possibilities are carefully studied. Sometimes the Academy is overtaken by events, and by the time it has made its decision, the public is using another word which cannot be rooted out. But this is further evidence that Hebrew has become a living language used for everything from football to atomic physics.

Literature

Until the early part of the 20th century, only a few individuals of small significance were writing in Ereẓ Israel. The foundations of modern Israeli writing were laid by a group of literary pioneers from the Second Aliyah including S.Y. Agnon, Moshe *Smilansky, Joseph Ḥayyim *Brenner, David *Shimoni, and Jacob *Fichmann. Until World War I, Hebrew literature was centered in Eastern Europe. After the war and the Russian Revolution, many Hebrew writers found their way to Palestine, so that at the time Palestinian writing was essentially a continuation of the European tradition. In 1921, 70 writers from various parts of the country met in Tel Aviv and founded the Hebrew *Writers' Association, with the declared objective of working together to protect and promote Hebrew literature and spiritual interests. About this time the first literary periodicals made their appearance – *Ha-Adamah*, edited by Brenner, and *Ma'barot*, edited by Fichmann. The 1920s and 1930s witnessed the emergence of Palestine as the dominant center of Hebrew literary activity. In Palestine there was a Hebrew press, Hebrew publishers, and a Hebrew-reading public. Moreover, even when Hebrew writers had lived outside the country, the return to Zion had been one of their basic themes, and, now that they had the opportunity, many of them went to settle in Palestine. The great figures of the early part of the century – *Bialik, Aḥad Ha-Am, *Tchernichowsky – all spent their last years in Tel Aviv, and although this was not the period of their greatest creativity, they exerted a great influence on younger Hebrew writers.

The first generation of writers in the country was European-born and very much European-influenced. Although some of their writings related to the situation in Palestine, their main concern was still with the world they had left. Authors such as Y.D. *Berkowitz, Devorah *Baron, and Asher *Barash continued to write about Eastern Europe. The major writers of this school, S.Y. Agnon and Ḥayyim *Ḥazaz, were deeply rooted in their European background and served as links between the classical writers of the early decades of the Hebrew revival and the Hebrew writers in Israel during the following generations.

For the next generation of writers the center of focus was the Land of Israel, even when they were writing about other parts of the world. Their framework was the period of *aliyah* and, very often, life in the kibbutz. Their attitude to their new land (most of them were born elsewhere) was sometimes one of disappointment, but this generally led to a deeper understanding of the values of the new civilization in which they were participating. Among the outstanding names are Uri Zvi *Greenberg and Avraham *Shlonsky, who found in the Land of Israel the requisite antidote to the rootlessness of the Diaspora. The third generation of writers emerged around the time of the War of Independence (1948). Its key figures (e.g., S. *Yizhar, Moshe *Shamir) were all sabras or had been brought to the country at an early age. This was no longer a "desert generation," but young men for whom Israel was an established fact – to be criticized and fought for, like any other country. The eastern European symbols and even the renewed challenge of immigration played only secondary roles. Strong influences now came in from other literatures, especially western. A fringe group called the "Canaanites" even sought to deny the connection between Israelis and Jews elsewhere. The 1948 war was their great moment, and for a time they coasted on its backwash. But this was replaced by a feeling of emptiness and of searching for new values, leading to experiments in exploring other Jewish communities in Israel or the Jewish past. The subsequent generation – the second sabra generation (of the 1960s) – endeavored to place Israeli culture within a world context and stressed not so much the unique and particularistic aspects of Jewish life and Israel as the universal. This school of writers often identified with the "protest" literature of other countries. Of the writers who began publishing in the 1960s, Amos *Oz and A.B *Yehoshua have emerged as giants, fully engaged in political issues, in addition to producing their highly acclaimed works of fiction. The following generation, writers who were born in the 1960s and 1970s and made their debut in the 1980s and 1990s, examined the basic questions of Jewish-Israeli existence by exposing the collective tensions in individual characters and fates. Among the major concerns repeatedly treated are: the makings of Israeli identity and its relation to Jewish roots and Diaspora experience; the legitimacy and validity of the Zionist vision and the discrepancy between the initial Zionist project and its implementation; the recurrence of war and acts of terror and the inability to solve the over 100-year-old Arab/Palestinian-Israeli conflict in non-violent ways; the changes in the system of political, social and moral values and in the mentality of the Israelis; the long shadows of the Holocaust, the inner world of the survivors, as well as the duty and need to remember; problems of absorption, socio-ethnic difference and discrimination; and last but not least, gender issues, primarily the status of women in Jewish/Israeli life and culture and homoerotic proclivities. Grappling with these issues, writers turned to various genres and narrative modes such as the historical novel, the family saga, realistic allegories, expressionist and surrealist narratives or, more recently, to postmodernist narrative.

Apart from Hebrew writers, there is considerable creative productivity in Israel in other languages, notably in Yiddish. Before World War II, Warsaw, Moscow, and New York were the main centers of Yiddish activity. In Palestine there was still a certain hostility to the language, which, it was felt, constituted a challenge to the Hebrew revival, and little creativity was recorded. However, with World War II the whole picture changed. The European centers were liquidated by Hitler and Stalin and the New York center declined. Immigration brought many of the leading Yiddish writers to Israel and the internal attitude relaxed and became friendly, in view of the Holocaust in Europe, on the one hand, and the secure position attained by Hebrew, on the other. Yiddish writing in Israel can be marked by generations, similar to those in Hebrew literature. The first consisted of the old guard, such as David *Pinski and Sholem *Asch, who passed their last years in Israel. The second generation, led by Avraham *Sutzkever, started its career in eastern Europe but continued in Israel, writing about life in the new country. The third generation was centered on "Young Israel," a modernist group of poets and prose writers, most of whom are kibbutz members, whose work has been greatly influenced by the avant-garde schools of English and French writing.

Subjects on which Yiddish writing in Israel has been outstanding are the European Holocaust (the leading writer on this is K. *Zetnick), and life among new immigrants, both of which have been experienced by many of the Yiddish writers at first hand. Yiddish authors were organized in a Yiddish authors' association with more than 120 members (see *Yiddish Literature).

Libraries

The number of libraries in Israel has been estimated at 700, and the proportion of library books per capita is among the highest in the world. But these facts are misleading, as most of the libraries are professional, and there is a general lag in public libraries. However, municipal attention has been directed to this problem and the gaps are being filled.

The country's major library, both in size and in the scope of its activities, is the *Jewish National and University Library in Jerusalem. The nucleus of this collection was formed in 1892 when the city's B'nai B'rith lodge decided to start a library. In 1895 the Zionist and physician Joseph *Chasanowich decided to transfer his collection of 8,800 books from Bialystok to Jerusalem and donated them to this library. By 1899 there were 15,000 books in this collection and by 1910, 32,000 (of which 10,000 were in Hebrew). In 1920 the library passed into the possession of the World Zionist Organization, and with the opening of The Hebrew University on Mount Scopus in 1925, it was finally housed as the Jewish National and University Library. Between 1948 and 1967 it was cut off from Jewish Jerusalem, where a new library was established. In 1967 the number of books reached 1,500,000. By 2005 it housed around 5 million items.

The other institutes of higher learning have also built up significant libraries. Among other large ones are the central Tel Aviv library, Sha'arei Zion (130,000 volumes), the Schocken Library in Jerusalem (55,000 volumes) specializing in medieval Hebrew poetry and early printings, the Pevsner Library in Haifa (40,000 volumes), the library of Rabbi Yehudah Leib Maimon in Jerusalem (40,000 volumes), and the library of the Central Zionist Archives in the Jewish Agency, Jerusalem (35,000 volumes; see *Libraries).

Theater

The first theater production in Palestine was an amateur company's performance of Abraham *Goldfaden's *Shulamit* in Jaffa in 1894. Eleven years later a dramatic society was founded, also in Jaffa, in which teachers and writers as well as actors participated. Its initial productions were in Yiddish, but Karl *Gutzkow's *Uriel Acosta* was performed in Hebrew.

In 1907 Menahem *Gnessin founded a group called "Lovers of the Dramatic Art" in order to promote the Hebrew theater. They were motivated by the desire to foster theater for the sake of the drama, the language, and as an instrument of general culture. Performances were given in Jaffa and Jerusalem (the latter despite the opposition of religious circles) and were received with widespread interest and enthusiasm by the new Jewish settlement.

Dramatic activities were interrupted by World War I but soon after its conclusion were resumed. The first professional group, the Te'atron Ivri ("Hebrew Theater"), was founded in 1921 by David Davidov (d. 1976) (who had been an actor in eastern Europe before settling in Palestine). The group was a cooperative and every two weeks put on a new production, deriving its repertory from European and Yiddish classics. Despite a variety of difficulties, it continued to perform until 1927. Meanwhile, Menahem Gnessin had established a Hebrew company in Europe and, in 1925, brought this group (Te'atron Ereẓ Yisre'eli – "The Ereẓ Israel Theater") to Tel Aviv. About this time the first satirical theater company, Ha-Kumkum ("The Kettle"), began to perform successfully in Tel Aviv. Even more successful in this genre was Ha-Matate ("The Broom"), which opened in 1928 and continued to perform until 1954.

The *Ohel theater, which began to perform publicly in 1926, grew out of an actors' studio founded the previous year by Moshe *Halevy. Under the auspices of the Histadrut's cultural committee, it was originally a volunteer group whose objectives were the theatrical expression of the ideals of the Jewish workers' movement as well as the creation of an original Hebrew drama. Its repertoire was based on plays of specific Jewish and socialist interest. It ran into increasing financial difficulties, was disaffiliated by the Histadrut in 1958, and eventually disbanded in 1969.

In 1928 the *Habimah group opened in Palestine. This theater had been founded in Moscow in 1917 and had achieved an international reputation. The company had left Russia in 1926 and toured Europe and America until most of the actors decided to go to Tel Aviv (a small group remained in the U.S.). In 1932 they decided to make their permanent home in Palestine, with the declared objective of acting as a cultural bridge between the Jews of Palestine and the Jews of the Diaspora.

The intensive activities in the theater were accompanied by pioneer attempts at writing original Hebrew plays. These often went back to Jewish history for their content, but some of them dealt with the new life in Palestine. Not many of these were successful, and it took some time before the Hebrew drama developed out of its experimental period.

The third major company, the *Cameri Theater (Ha-Te'atron ha-Kameri), was founded in 1944 by a group of actors led by Joseph *Millo. Their aim was to establish a theater in the European tradition, which they felt was lacking in the country. They were critical of Habimah's stylized and dated performances, inspired by the methods taught by Stanislavsky and Vakhtangov some 30 years previously in Russia, and they were out of sympathy with the doctrinaire tendencies of the Ohel repertory. After early experiments with one-act plays and as a children's theater, the company commenced its career as a full-fledged theater in 1945. Its principles included the promotion of a contemporary international repertoire, together with the encouragement of promising Israeli talent. The Chamber Theater pioneered in presenting not only classics but also commercial successes from the Western capitals. Its breakaway from the eastern European influences that had hitherto dominated the Hebrew stage also had its influence on the other companies, and before long the Habimah theater revised its repertoire, adding popular "hits" and plays reflecting local life to its standard classic repertoire. In 1958, on the occasion of its 40th anniversary, Habimah was officially recognized as the Israel National Theater. Both the Habimah and Cameri companies appeared abroad on a number of occasions and received international acclaim.

Another company that later made its mark was the *Haifa Municipal Theater, established under the direction of Joseph Millo. Apart from the major companies, Israel's theatrical life was marked by a plethora of smaller groups. Although generally of limited existence, these have played a role both in developing younger talent and in bringing experimental and avant-garde plays to the Israel public. A trend starting in the early 1960s was the success of the big musical play. This was pioneered by producer Giora *Godik with his productions of *Gevirti ha-Navah* (*My Fair Lady*) and *Kannar al ha-Gag* (*Fiddler on the Roof*), as a result of which original Israel musicals have been successfully presented by Godik and by the major companies (notably adaptations of Yigal *Mossinsohn's *Casablan* and Sammy *Gronemann's *Shelomo ha-Melekh ve-Shalmai ha-Sandelar* ("King Solomon and the Cobbler").

Another popular form of entertainment was the small troupe, presenting songs and sketches. These were initially influenced by army ensembles (the Chizbatron during the 1948 war, the *Nahal group, and those of the various commands). Former members of these groups formed the Baẓal Yarok ("Green Onion") group and its many successor ensembles, composed mainly of the same popular performers in varying combinations. There were scores of amateur theatrical groups throughout the country, many of them on kibbutzim. In addition there were companies performing in several languages other than Hebrew, although generally not of a high standard. The Yiddish theater also proved a disappointment from the artistic aspect. Although up to seven groups have been active at one time, the concentration was on the cheaper manifestations of the Yiddish theater, dominated by operettas and melodramas. The groups were largely made up of newcomers to the country, and their appeal was directed to recent arrivals. No original Yiddish play of merit has appeared in Israel, and for outstanding theatrical experiences in the language Israelis had to rely – apart from the numerous shows put on by Shimon Dzigan – on visiting companies such as those of Ida *Kaminska and Joseph *Buloff.

The Hebrew drama has, however, shown considerable development since the War of Independence. This brought many of the young authors to playwriting and the successes of that time, such as Yigal Mossinsohn's *Be-Arvot ha-Negev* ("In the Steppes of the Negev") and Nathan *Shaḥam's *Hem Yaggi'u Maḥar* ("They'll Be Here Tomorrow"), although inferior as plays, stimulated native drama. Many original plays have been written since that time, generally deriving from contemporary Israel life or from Jewish history.

The turning point in the Hebrew drama's attitude to society was the euphoric mentality that overtook Israel after the sweeping victory in the Six-Day War (1967). This was followed by a period of collective self-reckoning, soul searching, and myth shattering in the wake of the humiliating surprise of the Yom-Kippur War (1973). Whereas Israeli drama before 1967 was basically positive toward the ideal of the "New Jew," post-1967 protest plays adopted an asocial, agnostic, and deconstructive position, in order to warn society against the dangers of a militarist power-cult and the moral deterioration inextricably connected with the occupation of Palestinian-inhabited areas and the subordination of human values to the imperative of territorial expansion. In fact, one may argue that from 1967 to Rabin's murder in 1995 the core of Hebrew drama was politically mobilized, rhetorically militant, and ideologically leftist.

Yehoshua Sobol presented *Ghetto* (1984), which depicted everyday life in the Vilna ghetto in World War II before the uprising there. This presented the *Judenrat* (Council of Jewish Elders) of the ghetto not as villains, but as sober men who were forced to face an impossible situation and to decide who has to die in order to save the lives of others. Understandably, the play was followed by a public discussion, and Sobol was praised by some, but vilified by others as a blasphemer, who was tarnishing the memory of those who perished in the Holocaust.

The next Sobol play touched an even more sensitive nerve. In *The Palestinian* (1985) he retold the Romeo and Juliet story in the Israeli context of an ultra-rightist activist, a follower of Meir Kahane, falling in love with a Palestinian girl.

Other Israeli theaters continued to present the public with a wide choice of repertoire, of classical, modern and commercial plays, but the repertoire of the Haifa Theater set the tone and helped characterize the Israeli theater as intensely political. Even classical plays presented in these years acquired a local, political meaning. *The Trojan Women* by Euripides was presented at the Habimah Theater in 1982 (directed by Holk Freitag) as if it were happening in a refugee camp somewhere in Lebanon. Moliére's *Tartuffe* was presented by the Haifa Theater (adapted by Sobol, directed by Besser, 1985) as an attack on the Jewish clerical establishment; Beckett's *Waiting for Godot* was presented at the Haifa Theater in Arabic (1984, translated by Anton Shamas, directed by Ilan Ronen) as happening on an abandoned building site, with Gogo and Didi as Palestinian construction workers speaking in Arabic, and Pozzo as their Israeli employer who addressed them in Hebrew.

Theater thus became a public forum for discussing political issues, and politicians who preferred to see it as an art-form and entertainment intensified their attacks. The culmination of these conflicting points of view came in 1988, when a new Sobol-Besser production was presented by the Haifa Theater within the framework of "Israeli Play Celebration" for Israel's 40th anniversary. *Jerusalem Syndrome* concerned a group of inmates of an insane asylum enacting the conflicts that preceded the destruction of the Temple, but the stage images reminded the public of scenes from the Intifada (the Palestinian uprising which erupted at the end of 1987). The play got a very mixed reception from the critics, and political activists demonstrated in front of the theater and interrupted the performances with shouts, whistles, and stink-bombs. Sobol and Besser, at that time the artistic directors of the Haifa Theater, resigned from their posts.

In the same month, January 1988, the Cameri Theater of Tel Aviv presented its very professional, impressive, and successful production of the musical *Les Misérables* with an all-star cast, most of them signed especially for this production, and not company actors. This production marked a shift of gears, and the theater in the following years became more of a place of entertainment than a public forum for discussion of ideas. Other theaters followed the Cameri's example: Habimah presented *Cabaret* and *Salah Shabati* (a musical written by Ephraim Kishon), both of which demanded a huge investment, pleased the audiences (not the critics), but created a huge deficit in the theater's budget.

The end of the 1980s and the beginning of the 1990s were difficult years for the Israeli theater. Artistic and managing directors changed posts, marketing wars intensified, deficits soared, and it seemed that the creativity of Israeli playwrights and directors waned. Some of them turned to writing personal stories, some turned to careers abroad. Others continued to portray actual events on stage, but those plays did not create a public debate; they became part of a cultural entertainment, using yesterday's newspaper as a basic material for drama. Plays like *Gorodish* (by Hillel Mittelpunkt, telling a story of a Six-Day War hero who became a symbol of the 1973 war disaster) or *Pollard* (by Motti Lerner, about the American Jew who spied for Israel and was convicted in the U.S.), both of them at the Cameri Theater, became huge commercial hits. But plays rarely – if ever – became a subject for journalistic coverage outside the arts pages.

Another interesting development in the Israeli theater has been its absorption of immigrants from the former U.S.S.R., both as actors and as audiences. Some actors learned Hebrew and found work within the existing companies. Others created a theater of their own, *Gesher* (meaning "bridge"), and started performing in Russian, counting on a Russian-speaking audience. However, they used simultaneous translation into Hebrew and impressed the Hebrew-speaking public (and the critics) by the commitment of their theatrical work. After their first production in Russian (*Rosenkrantz and Guildenstern are Dead* by Tom Stoppard, directed by Yevgeni Arie), they switched into Hebrew and presented *The Idiot* by Dostoyevsky in Hebrew, and continued to impress the audiences with their company spirit and sense of purpose, which has been absent to a certain measure in other Israeli theater companies.

The second substantial reversal in Israeli drama took place in the 1990s and characterizes plays written and performed at the beginning of the third millennium. The interconnected historical and theatrical developments (from the Oslo Peace Accord to Rabin's murder and the second Intifada) produce a complete renunciation of communal ideals, along with their formal objective correlatives.

The idealistic, committed, and selfless Hebrew plays of the early settlement period in Ereẓ Israel have thus reached the extreme opposite pole, as has indeed the entire Zionist ideology which generated them. However, both drama and theater are still engaged in the same quest for social identity.

[Michael Handelsaltz and Gad Kaynar (2nd ed.)]

Music

From the early 1900s the Yishuv in Palestine concerned itself with the organization of its musical life, by establishing schools and performing institutions whose aim was to preserve the rich tradition of European classical music and to create new Israeli classical and folk music, all in providing opportunities for the musicians to practice their art. Their model was essentially European and continued to be developed in the period of statehood. The performing bodies, especially orchestras, which have been central in this respect, required, to maintain themselves, the development of music education, research, and publishing outlets. All these needs were addressed in the period of statehood through official sponsorship and encouragement. Furthermore, the waves of immigration, especially the Fifth Aliyah of the 1930s and the later influx of immigrants from the U.S., Europe, and especially the former U.S.S.R., considerably affected the musical life of Israel and increased the number of performing bodies in the country.

ORCHESTRAS. As early as 1895, a community orchestra was founded in the settlement of Rishon le-Zion, which was a well-organized amateur wind band with a paid conductor. Other settlements followed the model, such as Petaḥ Tikvah and the Jewish community of Jaffa. Orchestral playing got under way seriously in 1927 with the foundation of the Palestine Symphony Orchestra under Fordhaus Ben-Zissi. There was intensive musical activity throughout the country and artists of international renown gave guest recitals. One of them was the violinist Bronislaw *Huberman, who became the guiding spirit in the establishment in 1936 of the Palestine Orchestra (later the *Israel Philharmonic Orchestra), initially composed of refugees from Nazi Germany. The orchestra gave its first concert in 1936 under the baton of Arturo Toscanini. It immediately became one of the pivots of musical life in the country and acquired an international reputation. The Israel Philharmonic Orchestra, with its leader Zubin *Mehta, continued to provide its subscribers with programs, and to make regular concert tours abroad and produce records which help spread its reputation throughout the world.

Another important development took place in 1936, the creation of the Palestine Broadcasting Service by the British mandate authorities (later Kol Israel and then Shiddurei Israel). The composer Karel *Salomon took charge of its musical programs, which included Western classical music, folk and art Jewish music, and special programs of Hebrew Oriental songs led by composer and *ʿud* player Ezra *Aharon. Seven musicians were at the service of the musical programs; in time they became the core for the Jerusalem Symphony Orchestra founded in 1950, which was expanded in 1976. Among its conductors and music directors were G. *Singer, H. Freudental, Lukas *Foss, Mendi *Rodan, G. *Bertini, David *Shalon, and Leon *Botstein. In 1948 the IDF army orchestra was built to play light classical music and occasional music at official events. At the same time the army established a youth orchestra (*Tizmoret ha-Gadna*), which played symphonic music.

The Haifa Symphony Orchestra was founded in 1949. It also has regular series throughout the year. In 2004 the new Haifa Symphony orchestra was established on the initiative of the mayor and enjoys the support of the municipality. It has now as director Noam *Sheriff. The orchestra provides regular annual series of concerts in Haifa and the environment. In 1970 the Kibbutz Chamber Orchestra was established, growing out of the Kibbutz Orchestra; its musical director, Noam Sheriff, was followed by conductors Shalom Ronli-Riklis in 1983–85, Lior Shambadal in 1986–92, and Doron Salomon from 1993. It continues to attract audiences in the kibbutzim as well as in the cities.

The influx of immigrant musicians in the 1970s and 1990s, especially from the former U.S.S.R., made the founding of new orchestras possible. The Beersheba Orchestra was founded in 1974 first under the direction of Avi Ostrovsky, and later with Mendi Rodan as the conductor and musical director; its name was changed to Israel Sinfonietta Beersheba. It continues to perform especially in the South of Israel.

In 1965 Gary Bertini established the Israel Chamber Ensemble and conducted it until 1976; it was taken over by Rudolf *Barshai in 1977 when he emigrated from Russia. Renamed "The Israel Chamber Orchestra," it was enlarged to a body of 45 musicians. Uri Segal became musical director (1982–83) after Barshai left Israel in 1981. Segal was followed by Yoav Talmi (1984–88), and Shlomo *Mintz was appointed its music advisor in 1988.

The Reḥovot Camerata Orchestra led by Avner Biron was founded in 1983 and in 1996 moved to Jerusalem. In 1988 conductor Shimon Cohen founded The Symphony Orchestra Rishon le-Zion, and in 1989 conductor-composer Noam Sheriff was appointed its music director. Since the 1989–90 season it has been the house orchestra of the New Israel Opera, which performs selected pieces from the international repertory at the Art Center in Tel Aviv.

The Ra'ananah Symphonette Orchestra, also consisting of new immigrant musicians, was founded in 1991.

INSTITUTIONS OF EDUCATION. The first music school, the Shulamit Conservatoire, was founded in Jaffa by the German-born singer Shulamit Ruppin in 1910 and maintained a pure German curriculum. The first director was the violinist and conductor Moshe Hopenko. The school stimulated lively interest, with an unexpectedly large enrollment (75 pupils in its first year). Other schools were founded in Jerusalem in 1918 and in Haifa in 1923. In the 1930s, with the Fifth Aliyah, nicknamed the German Aliyah, many prominent musicians came, among them the violinist Emil *Hauser (former member of the Budapest string quartet), who founded the Palestine Conservatoire in Jerusalem in 1933 with a faculty of more than 30 teachers. The comprehensive curriculum of the conservatoire comprised classes for most instruments, composition, history and theory, as well as Arabic *'ud* given by Ezra Aharon, and courses on non-western music given by Edith *Gerson Kiwi. The conservatory was the source of teachers to both Academies of Music in Jerusalem, 1945, and the Tel Aviv Academy of Music, 1946, the leading professional music schools until today. In 1945 the School for Music Educators was established by Leo *Kestenberg, which continues until today under the auspices of the Levinsky College of Teachers. In 1947 the New Jerusalem Conservatory was established which later was united with the Jerusalem music academy. In 1951, the Oranim School for Music Teachers opened and operated for about 40 years.

Next to the Jerusalem Academy of Music and the conservatory, a musical high school was established in 1961. The Tel Aviv musical high school Thelma *Yellin had already opened in 1959.

The Jerusalem Music Center was initiated by Isaac Stern, Pablo Casals, and Teddy Kollek, mayor of Jerusalem, was established in 1973 and opened officially in 1975. Its aim was to create a center of highest professional standards, where outstanding experts would provide master classes and promote Israeli performers and Israeli music.

The pioneering stage of ethnomusicological and historical music research in Israel entered a new phase with the opening of departments of musicology at the three main universities in Israel: the department at The Hebrew University was founded in 1965 by Alexander Ringer, that of Tel Aviv University in 1966 by Eric Werner, and that of Bar-Ilan was opened in 1970 under the guidance of Bathia Churgin.

OPERA. The vision of Israel as a western country can be very well seen through the founding of an opera house in Tel Aviv. In 1923 Mordechai *Golinkin arrived in Palestine and forthwith organized the first opera company, which lasted four years. The opera presented mostly mainstream works such as *La Traviata, Otello,* and *The Barber of Seville*. The performers were immigrants mostly from Russia. Due to lack of funds the opera collapsed in 1927. In 1941 the Folk Opera of Erez Israel was established as a cooperative and premiered one of the first native Hebrew operas in 1945: *Dan ha-Shomer* ("Dan the Guard") by Marc *Lavry. The Opera ceased to exist in 1946 due to financial and technical problems. A permanent opera was eventually established in 1947 as a result of the efforts of Edis *de Philippe. The opera was directed by her until her death in 1978. The New Israeli Opera was founded in 1985 in order to reestablish operatic activity after the Israel National Opera had closed down in 1982. Until 1990 performances were co-produced with the Israeli Chamber Orchestra. Since 1990 the Israel Symphony Orchestra Rishon Le-Zion has taken part in all its productions.

VOCAL ENSEMBLES. Choirs had been formed in many parts of the country and some still continue. Many children's choirs perform and children's choir competitions take place annually. In 1925 Menashe *Ravina arranged the first choir festival. In 1926 Moshe Bik established the Workers Choir in Haifa. The Rinat chamber choir, the Tel Aviv Philharmonic Choir, The Cameran vocal ensemble and other groups were well known and promoted original pieces as well as classical music.

DISSEMINATION AND PRESERVATION OF JEWISH MUSIC. In 1925 the pioneer of Jewish music in the country, Joel *Engel, organized concerts in Tel Aviv. In 1925, Hopenko, Golinkin, Abileah, and *Rosovski founded the Society for Hebrew Music, which provided monthly chamber concerts.

In 1928 the educator David *Schor founded the Institute for the Dissemination of Music, called the Nigun Society, which included members from the Jewish Folk Music Society. That same year David Schor, along with Shlomo Rosovsky and Menashe Ravina, established the music department of the National Library of The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, which is still the central library of music and holds the largest collection of Jewish and Israeli music in print and in sound. The National Sound Archives, which is now part of the music department of the National Library, was initiated in 1935 by the famous scholar Robert *Lachmann, who came to Jerusalem on the invitation of The Hebrew University and founded there an institute for Oriental music that made ethnographic recordings, especially of Arabic music. Lachmann's studies in Jerusalem during the last years of his life (1935–39) marked the beginning of modern ethnomusicology in Israel.

In 1938 Dr. Sali Levi established in Jerusalem the World Center for Jewish Music in Erez Yisrael to promote new compositions by Jewish composers, and he published a newsletter. The Center ceased to exist in 1940. Both Lachmann's and Levi's archives are at the Music Department of the National Library. Next to the Music Department of the National Library, Israel Adler established in 1964, the Jewish Music Research Center which promotes research and publications on Jewish music.

Publishing houses for Israeli music were established as early as 1949, namely Israel Music Publications under the direction of Peter Gradenwitz. It continued to publish mainly Israeli art music until 2000. The Israel Music Institute was established by the Committee for Culture and Arts to publish scores and later recordings of new Israeli art music. It has been the major publishing house for Israeli art music from1961.

In 1953 the Israeli Composer's League was established to protect the rights of Israeli composers and promote their music. In 1956 Moshe Gorali opened a music museum and library in Haifa. In 1960 he edited a music journal, *Tazlil*, for musical research, which was issued for 20 years.

The Renanot Institute for Religious Music was established in Jerusalem in 1957 to teach and promote traditional Jewish music. It produces books and records; it also organizes a yearly conference on Jewish music.

INTERNATIONAL FESTIVALS, COMPETITIONS, AND CONGRESSES. The biennial Zimriyyah Choir Festival, founded by A.Z. Propes in 1952, attracted a large number of choirs from many countries, which sing together with local groups all over the country in friendly collaboration. Originally conceived as an exclusively Jewish choir festival, it has long since become an ecumenical meeting, with non-Jewish choirs in the majority.

Propes was the initiator of another two events: the Harp Contest, founded in 1959, which was the first of its kind internationally and occupies an important place in the international harp community, and the Israel Festival, founded in 1961. The Israel Festival was discontinued in 1980 for budgetary reasons, but was renewed in 1982. New venues for its activities included local historical sites such as Jerusalem's Sultan's Pool, used for the first time for music performances in 1982, the Roman Amphitheater of Beth Shean, and the citadel of Jerusalem's Old City. It commemorated Stravinsky's centenary in 1982 by performing a number of his works for ballet.

Under the significant name of *Testimonium* (Testimony), a contemporary music festival was conceived and initiated by Recha Freier. The idea behind it was to reveal evidence about the various aspects of the history of the Jewish people and its significance. There have been six Testimonium festivals between 1968 and 1983, at which 35 works of famous international and Israeli contemporary composers were written for those festivals. These works represent a unique synthesis between the reopening of historic events and musical composition.

In 1974 Yaakov Bistritski established the Arthur Rubinstein Piano Competition, which takes place every four years and includes a new Israeli piece each time. Since 1978, a new festival has been added: the Liturgica, Vocal Music from Jerusalem, organized around Hanukkah and Christmas, availing itself of the many choirs coming for the season to Jerusalem (and Bethlehem), presenting programs of music with spiritual content of great interest.

In 1959 the Musical Youth Organization opened a branch of the World Musical Youth Organization, promoting meetings of young musicians from all over the world for the purpose of playing together. The Congress of the Jeunesses Musicales was held in Israel in 1973.

The First World Congress of Jewish Music was held in Jerusalem in 1978, with the participation of many scholars from Europe and the United States. In July 1980, the Festival of Contemporary Music was organized by the local section of the International Society for Contemporary Music, with some 65 works performed in Jerusalem, Tel Aviv, Beersheba, and Kibbutz Shefayim. In 1998 the first international chamber music festival, under the musical direction of Elena Bashkirova was held; the festival takes place every year for ten days, during which musicians from all over the world perform chamber music.

MUSIC BROADCASTING. The music department of the Broadcasting Authority played an important role in promoting local composers and soloists, as well as in the development of musical life in Jerusalem (see also *Music). It records its symphony's concerts as well as chamber music, which promote Israeli premieres and performers. The Broadcasting Authority also played a major role in promoting and performing Oriental music.

In 1948, the Israel Broadcasting Authority started an Oriental ensemble, led by Ezra *Aharon and comprising selected known Jewish artists in their countries of origin; they were joined later on by a few Israeli Arab artists. They performed and recorded Arabic and Jewish Oriental music and appeared in public concerts as well.

Finally, the 21st century is becoming the scene of a more pluralistic attitude to music to include Oriental, classical, and Israeli and popular song in concert, as well as in broadcasting and teaching.

[Ury Eppstein / Gila Flam (2nd ed.)]

Israeli Song

THE FIRST PERIOD – 1882–1904. Israeli song – the song of the people in the Land of Israel – started evolving some 135 years ago. It was first heard in the last decades of the 19th century, when Jewish poets in Europe took to writing songs in Hebrew expressing Zionist themes. There was Naftali Hertz *Imber, Menahem Dolitzki, Mane, and a number of artists who wrote children's songs in Hebrew such as A. Liboushitski and N. Pines. They used ḥasidic melodies, songs in Yiddish – including songs from the *Goldfaden plays – and Romanian, Polish, and Russian folksongs; they also took up themes from Jewish composers such as A.M. Bernstein, P. Minkowski, D. Novkovski, and A. Zonzar (whose song "*Ha-Shoshanah*," published in 1863, is considered one of the first Hebrew songs). Most of these songs reached Ereẓ Israel with the immigrants of the First Aliyah, who then made up new songs such as "*Ḥushu Ahim, Ḥushu*," the work song "*Ya Ḥalili Ya Amali*" and others. This was the beginning of the Hebrew song repertoire.

THE SECOND PERIOD – 1904–1923. This is the time of the Second and Third Aliyah. Because of the shortage of suitable musical material for schools and kindergartens, some music teachers simply composed the songs they needed. Among those teachers mention must be made of Hanina Kratshevski (1873–1926) and A.Z. *Idelson, who were the first composers in the Land of Israel, and the poets Levin Kipnis and Israel Dushman, who wrote the lyrics of "The Ma'pilim Song," "*Poh Ereẓ Ḥemdat Avot*," "*Ḥanukkiyah Ḥanukkiyah*," "*Ha-Ḥaluẓim be-Yad Ḥaruẓim*," "*Ḥad Gadya*," and others.

At the same time there were a number of popular songs whose influence is still being felt in the Hebrew repertoire today. Some of them were Hebrew adaptations of Oriental melodies such as "*Hakhnisini taḥat Kenafeiḥ*," "*Yad Anugah*," "*Bein Nahar Perat*," "*Ani Re'itiha*." These songs were generally characterized by the interval of second or augmented second, slow tempo, and a free rhythmical performance. Another group included songs based on ḥasidic melodies from eastern Europe with short lyrics taken from the biblical books or prayers such as "*El Yibaneh ha-Mikdash*," "*Ve-Taḥer Libenu*," "*El Yibneh ha-Galil*," "*Ẓibḥu Ẓedek*." It was mainly from these songs that members of the Second Aliyah took the musical themes for Hora and Rondo dancing.

During World War I the *yishuv* in Ereẓ Israel was cut off from all other Jewish centers. Consequently a chasm developed between the repertoire of songs from Ereẓ Israel and Hebrew songs in Europe, because of changes in Hebrew accentuation and in the repertoire itself. Henceforth there was to be a reversal in the process: Ereẓ Israel was no longer importing songs but exporting them to communities abroad.

THE THIRD PERIOD – 1924–1948/9. This period is considered the golden age of songs from Ereẓ Israel. In the late 1920s, composers such as Shalom *Postolski, Yedidia *Admon, Menashe *Rabina, Nahum *Nardi, Sara Levi *Tanai, Moshe Bik (1900–1979), and others started their work. Some of them, who are considered the fathers of Hebrew song, had no musical education at all, and indeed there were those who could not even read or write musical scores. In the beginning they took their lyrics from the works of Bialik and L. Kipnis, and then went on to new poets such as Avraham Broides, Itzhak Shenberg (Shenhar), Sh. Shalom, Emmanuel Ha-Russi, Avigdor Ha-Meiri, David Shimonowich (Shimoni), Anda Amir, Yehiel Heilperin, Raḥel, Lea Goldberg, Miriam Steklis, and others.

Work and the homeland were the main themes of the songs, but there were also songs about the Galilee and the valley, songs about building and creating, songs for the children and for festivals. The 1930s saw the arrivals of composers like Moshe *Wilensky, Daniel *Sambourski, Mark *Lavry, and others, who contributed greatly to the musical scene.

Many composers saw themselves as taking part in the creation of a reemerging Hebrew culture, and their songs as folk songs expressing that culture, even though folk songs are usually derived from anonymous sources. They believed that the Dorian melodic mode, the Yemenite-Oriental trills, and the use of syncopated rhythms in their various forms were the expression of the roots of the New Hebrew song. The themes of the songs served as an historical common link. It was during these years that country and shepherd songs were written, songs for ceremonies and festivals, as well as many of the children's songs. One can hear in some of them the impact of Middle Eastern influence, either through composers originating from that part of the world (Sara Levi Tanai, Nissan Cohen Nelamed, and others) or through the effect of the surroundings on other composers (Y. Admon, N. Vardi, D. Zahavi, A. Amiran, for instance). Attempts to create a "country culture" brought popularity to the composers, essentially in the kibbutz movement (D. Zahavi, M. Shalem, Y. Sharet, S. Postolski and others).

The onset of World War II and subsequent enlistment in British army units of youngsters brought a new trend of Hebrew "army songs" (M. Ze'ira, D. Sambourski, and others). Another theme appeared: the Holocaust of European Jewry and the destruction of Jewish culture. This theme was to become dominant in the next period and bring back to Hebrew song Jewish folk songs – "the songs of the shtetl" – with their melodies in minor tones and, in the wake of the new political orientation, a great number of Russian melodies.

These songs were disseminated orally and in writing. Most publishing houses of the time, which published the songs, were national ones, like that of the Keren Kayemet le-Israel, the educational system, and the Histadrut.

THE FOURTH PERIOD – 1948/9–1967. There was nothing at first to distinguish this from the previous period; however, there soon appeared a melange of varied themes and currents. On the one hand, songs of mourning and sorrow together with victory songs, on the other, a new genre – songs written under the influence of modern "salon" dances such as the tango and rumba, but also waltzes or songs from the pop charts of Europe and the United States. This led to a number of new styles which took shape in the 1950s, such as new versions of country and shepherd songs scanned by exclamation – "Ho, Ho," for instance – which dominated the Hebrew song festivals organized by Kol Israel in the years 1960–67. The melodies were in minor scales and modes, constructed fairly simply, generally with a guitar, accordion, and drum accompaniment. This style was popular among some of the composers of the first period to follow the establishment of the State of Israel: Emmanuel Zamir (1925–1962), Gil *Aldema, Dubi Zeltzer, Amti Neeman (1926–2005), Effi Netzer, Arieh Lebanon, and Yosef Hadar.

New audiences were emerging too: people who danced folk dances, but also new immigrants in camps or development towns. These songs were made possible by the support of the Music Division, the Information Department, the Histadrut, and local authorities.

At the same time the "salon" style, which was flourishing, was being strengthened by the diffusion of international hit parades on radios and records and in movies. This style was characterized by salon rhythms, which were then considered foreign or incompatible with the motives of Ereẓ Israel. The songs emphasized the individual, the "me" which was to flood Hebrew song in the next period.

The best-known composers of that style are Sando Ferro ("*Yafo*," "Josephina Swing"), Tuli Raviv ("*Sekharoret*," "*Al Na Tomar Li Shalom*"), Zvi Gold-Zahavi ("*Arẓenu ha-Ketantonet*"), Ari Tselner ("*Ha-Samba rak ha-Samba*"). Yafa *Yarkoni, Israel Itzhaki, Jetta Luka, and Lilith Nagar were some of the singers who sang these songs.

The year 1951 saw the first appearance of the *Naḥal band, the first of the army bands. Indeed, its success paved the way for the creation of other army bands that were to leave their mark on the Israeli musical scene – both in the style of songs and in their rendition – for more than 25 years. Alexander *Argov, Moshe *Wilensky, Dubi Zelzer, Naomi *Shemer, Arieh Levanon, Nurit *Hirsh, Matti *Caspi, Beni Nagri, Eldad Shrem are among the better-known composers of songs for the army bands.

In the second half of the 1960s there was a change in the accompaniment of the songs: synthesizers, drums, electric guitars, and bass guitars made their appearance. Among those responsible for this sound change in army bands was Yair Rosenblum (1944–1996). Other bands adopted the new style to create something both young and modern similar to what was then popular in the western world where rhythm was becoming more dominant. These changes were instrumental in the appearance of "rhythm bands" and rock bands. It began as an almost underground phenomenon in suburban areas – the Ramleh band and the bands in Misgad Street and in South Tel Aviv.

This was the golden age of the varied vocal ensembles and most specifically of the duos, trios, and quartets such as the Batsal Yarok band, the Tarnegolim, Mo'adon ha-Te'atron, Ha-Tayelet, Gesher ha-Yarkon and well-known duos Ilka and Aviva, Ran and Nama (Nehama *Hendel and Menahem Lezerovich), the Dudaim (Beni Amdurski and Israel Gurion), Ha-Parvarim, Ha-Ofarim, Hedva and David, and more. Great singers of the time were, among many others, Shoshana Damari, Shimshon Bar-Noi, Yosef Goland, Ya'akov Teiman, Israel Itzhaki, Yafa Yarkoni, Jo Amar, Tzadok Savir, Miriam Avigal, Hana Aharoni, Hadassah Sigalov, Aliza Gabai, Gila Edri, Shimon Israeli, Geula Gil, and Freddi Dura.

During the previous period, it was the composer who was responsible for the success of the songs, but now the singers were taking center stage. They were the ones who went looking for material and saw to its diffusion. Nearly all the bands that came into being during this period were using the material of composers who did not belong to the bands.

It was through the Ha-Ḥalonot ha-Gevohim band that rock made its entrance into Hebrew and Israeli songs. Shmulik Kraus, who was a member of the band, composed some of its melodies.

The themes of the songs of that period were taken from current events: the conquest of Eilat, the creation of the Lachish region, absorption of immigrants in the camps, the murder of travelers to Petra, Operation Magic Carpet (mass immigration of the Jews of Yemen), the creation of the new towns of Ashkelon and Dimonah, etc. Hebrew song was still looking for itself, moving from one musical style to another, between ethnic song from the various Jewish communities and song from Europe and the United States, as if it were trying to find its identity but all the time enriching itself toward the future.

THE FIFTH PERIOD – FROM 1967. The Six-Day War (1967) was to be a watershed for Hebrew song. It was followed by an outpouring of patriotic songs not unlike those of Ereẓ Israel. These songs mixed well with the wave of nostalgia that swept the country from the beginning of the 1960s. To this day, old (in new renderings) and new patriotic songs constitute a mainstream known as "Songs of Ereẓ Israel."

With the inauguration of television in Israel, a new dimension – quite unlike what had preceded it – was introduced into Israeli songs. The change was due to the influence of European and American culture, to the methods of diffusion, and to the greater visibility of composers and singers. The various festivals, concerts, and shows of singers and pop and rock bands throughout the world created new possibilities for the artists and performers of Hebrew song. Henceforth it would no longer be a question of "how you sound" but of "how you look."

Because it was now possible to reach hundreds of thousands of viewers and listeners, all parameters underwent change, including style, number of participants, choice of repertoire, and adaptation to the greatest possible number of viewers and listeners (ratings).

During this period, a number of composers were also performing. The dominance of the singer Arik *Einstein for some 35 years led composers such as Shalom *Hanoch, Miki Gavrielov, Yoni Richter, and Itzhak Klepter to unique creative directions. In the early 1970s a new band, Kaveret, appeared on the scene. Though it did not last long, Kaveret was to bring a new sound to Israeli songs. Among the participants in the band – who later kept on writing songs after it broke up, each in his own style – were Danny Sanderson, Ephraim Shamir, Alon Oleartchik, and Yoni Richter.

Shalom Hanoch, Tsvika Pik, Shmulik Kraus, Mati Caspi, Meir Ariel, Yehudit Ravitz, Hava *Alberstein, Dani Litani, Shlomo Gronich, Shlomo *Artzi, and others were representative of a group of composer/performers who either were solo performers or part of groups such as Lul, the Churchills, Ha-Keves ha-Shesh-Esre, etc.

Several specific styles developed after the Six-Day war. One of them was ḥasidic song, led by dancing rabbi Shlomo *Carlebach. The ḥasidic songs festivals held yearly after 1969 had a great influence. The main characteristics of the style are short lyrics taken from biblical and prayer books. Their melodies are mainly in minor scales, having middle to middle + range; they are made of simple and symmetrical structure, their tempo is fixed or uses accelerated movement, and their harmony is mainly based on the basic functions of the scale.

Ethnic influences on Israeli songs were prominent before the creation of the State, but they were centered on Yemenite song. After the Yom Kippur War (1973), but essentially after the political upset of 1977, there was heightened ethnic consciousness, and more weight was given to performers from Oriental communities. In less than two decades the Oriental/Mediterranean style became one of the dominant styles in Hebrew song, characterized by melismatic ornamentation, recurrence of the augmented second, microtonality, and melodic fioritures; they are accompanied by electric instruments (synthesizers), electric guitars and bass guitars, stringed instruments and Oriental instruments such as violin, *ʿud* (lute), *qanun* (zither) *darbuka* (goblet drum), as well as Greek instruments such as the *bouzouki*. Avihu *Medina, Moshe Ben Moshe, Boaz Sharabi, Shlomo *Bar, and Yona Roeh are among the leading composers of that style. Among the notable performers in this style are Nissim Seroussi, Zohar *Argov, Eli Louzoun, Haim Moshe, Zahava *Ben, Yoav Itzhak, Margalit Tzanani, Shimi Tavori, Sarit Hadad, Shlomi Shabat, Eyal Golan, and ensembles such as Ẓelilei ha-Kerem, Ẓelilei ha-'Ud, etc.

During the 1990s, some performers/composers set up bands to work with them: Yuval Banai and Machina, Arkadi Duchin and Natasha's Friends," Aviv Gefen and Toyut, Rami Kleinstein and Ha-Mo'eẓah, Shlomo Artzi and his band, Kobi Oz and Tippex, Zeev Nehama and Tamir Klisky with Ethnics and others.

Israeli songs and songs of Ereẓ Israel are performed in Jewish communities throughout the world and for the most part express the solidarity between the Jewish world and Israel. The beginning of television programs in the fifth period helped to introduce Hebrew song among other cultures. From time to time, Israeli performers made it to the top in international song festivals: in two successive years – 1962 and 1963 – songs by Moshe Wilensky "*Stav*" and "*Layla ve-Ashan*" sung by Rivka Raz took first place at the Polish song festival. Hedva and David took first prize in a song contest in Japan with "*Ani Ḥolem al Noemi*." Since 1973 Israel has participated regularly in the Eurovision song contest and has won three times. Ofra *Haza won world fame with her specially adapted Yemenite songs. It is possible that the large diffusion of these songs can be seen as an attempt to merge with the Middle Eastern native culture.

[Nathan Shahar (2nd ed.)]

Israeli Folk Dances

Israeli folk dances represent a special kind of communal and social dance, created by Israelis. Unlike traditional folk dances of most other cultures, which were created years ago in rural areas by anonymous farmers and shepherds, and transmitted from generation to generation, Israeli folk dances can be defined as "contemporary folklore" reflecting social and ideological phenomena.

At the beginning of the 20th century, their main function was to enrich and diversify the rather meager repertoire of social dances of the "Zionist pioneers," who would start and conclude all gatherings with the same "Hora" – a Romanian-influenced dance – and the "Rondo" – a communal series of walking and running and changing forms, including simple dance steps. As time passed there was an increasing eagerness to have original "Ereẓ Israeli" or Hebrew dance for the enhancement of their social and cultural life.

An important development in this respect took place in the 1920s and 1930s with the arrival in the country of the first skilled dancers and professional choreographers; mostly from Germany and Russia, some of them became members of kibbutzim.

Like the many national revival movements in the 19th and 20th centuries that made use of folk music and dance as means of strengthening national pride and identity, the Zionist political movement made a similar attempt, but without having a genuine source of traditional folklore. Being reluctant to rely only on traditional Jewish folklore, they were led to invent a new one compatible with the Zionist ideology, which sought "normality."

The sources from which Israeli dance was drawn were in this phase biblical or ḥasidic, and the traditional dances the immigrants brought with them from their countries of origin. Among the latter, the rich folklore of Yemenite Jews gained particular favor in the belief that they were the genuine heirs of biblical tradition. Another important source of inspiration was the dances of the Arabs and the Druze, and to some degree, the Circassians who live in Israel.

The first original Israeli dance, a solo dance with a shepherd's staff, was created and performed in Tel Aviv in 1924 by Baruch *Aggadati (1895–1976). The Ohel theater company later transformed this dance into a group dance for a performance. Gurit *Kadman, the "mother of Israeli folk dance," revised it and changed its name to "Hora Aggadati," which has continued to be known and danced as such until our day. Kadman created several folk dances and was a leading force in the formation of the "folk dance movement" in Israel. She believed that in order to be a "normal people" we had to create "Israeli folk dances," and that the people of Israel should become a "dancing nation." With regard to creating and spreading folk dances she was of the opinion that one can consider as folk dances those created by individuals, artists, and amateurs, and not according to the traditional processes qualifying the emergence of folk dancers of other nations.

During the 1930s professional dancers and choreographers began to create "pageants" for holiday festivals, trying to revive the old biblical way of celebrating the Jewish holidays as festivals of farmers and shepherds. Lea Bergstein, a member of kibbutz Beit Alfa, established the shepherd's festival, which she created in 1930 to the music of Matityahu Shelem. Later they both moved to kibbutz Ramat Yoḥanan, where they created the "*Omer*" and "*Seder*" (Passover) celebrations, "*Ḥag ha-Bikkurim*" (the festival of the fruits of the season), "*Ḥag ha-Asif*" (Sukkot). Rivka Sturman, a member of kibbutz Ein-Harod, introduced the communal dance *Ha-Goren* ("The Granary"). The steps and the formation of her dances still serve as a basis for many of the new Israeli folk dances.

Other leading dance creators were Yardena *Cohen; Sara Levi-Tanai, who in 1949 founded, along with her leading dancer Rachel Nadav, the Inbal dance theater; Shalom Hermon, who in 1946 created in Tel Aviv the first Hebrew communal folk dance event (*harkadah*) and in 1953 the first folk dance parade in Haifa on Israel's Independence Day. Another great contributor to staging the holiday's festivals was Shulamit Bat-Dori of kibbutz Mishmar ha-Emek. She was a leading director of mass pageants, among them the Daliyyah National Israeli Folk Dance Festivals initiated by Gurit Kadman and the members of Kibbutz Daliyyah.

In July 1944 the first festival took place, in which 14 folk dance groups, 200 dancers, and 3,500 spectators participated. The program included 22 folk dances, of which only eight were created in Ereẓ Israel; the others were folk dances brought to Israel by pioneers from various countries. In this festival Jewish Yemenite dances, the ḥasidic "Sherale," and "Debka dances," performed by Arab and Druze groups, were presented.

The festival was opened with a performance called *Davka* (in spite of), created by Gertrud *Kraus. The festival gave a fresh impetus to the folk dance movement in Israel and was followed by four additional festivals in the amphitheatre of Daliyyah: in 1947, 1951, 1958, and 1968.

The Daliyyah festival also marked the first stage in making Israeli folk dance an established movement through the sponsorship of the national authorities, including first and foremost the Histadrut (Labor Federation), which established a Folk Dance Section in 1952 that became involved in the organization of many dancing projects; then came the establishment of the Inter-Kibbutz Committee of Folk Dance and that of the Ethnic Dance Project in 1971 by the Histadrut and the Ministry of Education and Culture. In the 1980s the Ministry of Education and Culture introduced projects initiated by Shalom Hermon, such as the "dancing school" and "dancing kindergarten," which contributed to the dissemination of folk dances through the educational system.

It should be noted that the Daliyyah festival also gave rise to several regional and national folk dance festivals, as well as to dance groups that emphasized the "theatrical" and "show" elements of the folk dances. However, some of their staged dances became folk dances. The leading figures in this field were Zeev Havatzelet and Yonatan Karmon, who created the "Israeli style" of folk dance performances on stage. In 1988, an annual national Israeli dance festival was initiated in the city of Karmiel and directed for 12 years by the choreographer Yonatan Karmon. This festival, which presents folk and modern Israeli dances, attracts thousands of folk dancers every year, and 250,000 spectators.

There are about 120 performing folk dance groups, including Jewish ethnic and Arab *Debka* dance groups, which present on stage their traditional ethnic dances; many of them represent Israeli dances in international folklore festivals.

Israeli folk dances created by Israelis in Israel and abroad number today more than 4,000. According to a survey conducted by TeleSeker in 1994, there were in Israel about 100,000 people who dance regularly, at least once a week; 100,000 more people dance every 2–4 weeks; and about 200,000 dance from time to time.

It is noteworthy that the first creators of Israeli folk dances were influenced by the works of Rudolf von Laban (1879–1958) of Vienna, a choreographer and dance teacher who devised a theory of movement which still constitutes the basis of modern dance. He felt that the folk dance was disappearing because of the changes brought about by modernity, and that therefore a new way had to be found. The means that seemed to him central in this process of renewal was a "chorus of movements" which combined a speaking chorus group with the simplest dance movements that people could perform without prior technical knowledge.

In spite of the fact, that Israeli folk dances have many sources of inspiration, they have a style of their own. Israeli folk dances were the products of the emerging "Israeli culture" of the Sabras. They symbolized the ideas of collectivism and equality; all were equals in the circles of the dances and their sources, thus a real integration and interaction of cultures and dances was achieved in the dances. Today the folk dances are still popular, but they have lost some of their ideological basis and serve mainly as popular entertainment.

Many of the new dances are still based on the basic steps created in the 1940s and 1950s; but, in comparison to the "old" dances," the "new" underwent many changes due to the processes of urbanization, commercialization of folk dances, the impact of globalization, the development of multi- cultural societies, and the emergence of professional dance instructors who make a living from creating and teaching folk dances.

Some of the "new" dances, of the last 20 years, are beautiful and follow the style of the "old" dances. But many of them are just artificial combinations of steps. These changes reflect the decline of the sense of belonging to a collective expressed in the circle shifted to a feeling of isolation. Many of them lost their ideological basis and became fashionable forms of leisure-time activity, and their melodies are mainly those of "pop" songs. Nevertheless, when dancers are asked, "why do you dance?" they will tell you that it is because they "enjoy dancing"; but many of them would also say: "Because I feel that the dances represent beautiful Israel."

See also *Music; *Dance.

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[Dan Ronen (2nd ed.)]

Art

PAINTING. Except for a few minor manifestations, there was no expression in the field of graphic arts in the 19th century. The beginning of modern art in Ereẓ Israel can be traced back to the activities of Boris *Schatz, who in 1903 met Herzl and propounded his scheme for establishing a Jewish art center in Ereẓ Israel. The plan was developed and approved by the Seventh Zionist Congress in 1905, and the following year Schatz opened the *Bezalel School in Jerusalem. He was breaking completely new ground, apart from which he had to contend with a number of objective negative factors, including the small size of the Jewish population, the paucity of local support, and the forceful hostility of the extreme Orthodox elements.

Schatz had won the support of the Congress on the basis of his program "to establish suitable enterprises and thus provide the Jewish population of Palestine with new ways of sustenance and possibilities of existence." The first group of Bezalel artists and teachers (Schatz, *Lilien, Hirszenberg) felt an immediate need to evolve a national style. They felt that this could only be founded on Jewish tradition and must illustrate Jewish themes from history and folklore, as well as establish close connections with Ereẓ Israel (e.g., pictures of Bedouin). Their aim was to use European techniques to illustrate Jewish traditions, but with the emphasis not so much on the pictorial as on the decorative. Schatz developed painting and sculpture and also promoted handicrafts for both artistic and economic objectives. The early Bezalel group stubbornly opposed the influence of modern art, which they felt as a threat to the Jewish nature of their work. They set up a permanent exhibition of artists connected with their school and working within their tradition.

During World War I most of the teachers were exiled or fled, but they returned soon after the war when new elements began to come to the fore, composed both of recent arrivals and of a younger group of painters who had received their artistic education at Bezalel. These painters also envisioned a national art not based primarily on eastern European traditions. They were dazzled by the land itself, by its color, light, and inhabitants, and were captivated by Oriental and Muslim influences. The organizational milestone at this stage was the foundation of the Association of Jewish Artists (later, the Association of Painters and Sculptors in Israel) in 1920 in Jerusalem. This group held its first display in the citadel of the Tower of David in Jerusalem in 1923, and their annual exhibitions became major events in the cultural life of the country. From 1926 they began to exhibit in Tel Aviv. About 20 to 30 painters participated in the show each year, displaying 100 to 150 works. Among the leaders of this group were Israel *Paldi, Reuven *Rubin, Menahem *Shemi, and Nahum *Gutman, all deeply influenced by trends in other parts of the world, especially Paris, with expressionism as the dominant style. The group came to the understanding that national art cannot be created artificially but must develop organically from within.

A further stimulus to artistic life came with the opening of the Tel Aviv Museum in 1931. The development of the theater turned some of the artists to stage designing. An additional dovetailing with European trends resulted from the immigration of refugee artists from Nazi Germany after 1933. Many of these were mature artists who had made their mark in Europe and were well within the European tradition. Their own enchantment with the School of Paris was conveyed to the painters in Palestine, and Palestine art began to faithfully reflect European models, notably in expressionist, cubist, and other abstract styles. Under the impact of all these forces Israeli art took on more universal proportions. The outstanding expression was the establishment in 1948 of the New Horizons group to promote abstract art and free Israeli art from provincialism. The leaders of this group were Yoseph *Zaritzky and Marcel *Janco, the latter a founder of the Dada movement who had settled in Palestine in 1941.

By the 1950s the artists of Israel reflected all the European styles, and the work was extremely variegated. Apart from the variety in style, diversity also emerged from the multiplicity of ethnic backgrounds, some of the noted artists deriving from the Oriental communities. Intensive art life developed in the country, and important artists' centers were founded in *Safed and Ein *Hod. Some of the younger artists developed in the kibbutzim, where the tendency was to remain closer to their surroundings and be somewhat less abstract than was the general trend. However, one of the significant directions of the 1960s was toward a synthesis incorporating both the influence of western Europe and aspects of Jewish tradition, which had been so stressed by the pioneers of art in the country. The extent to which art is practiced is illustrated by the fact that by the mid-1960s the Association of Painters and Sculptors had more than 400 members (see also *Art).

CRAFTS. Considerable attention has been given to the development of handicrafts and home industries. The Bezalel School trained craftsmen even in its early days, looking to artistic traditions of the Orient as well as the Jewish past, and many of the objets d'art produced have been Jewish ritual objects. The fostering of handicrafts was particularly successful after the period of mass immigration, with each community contributing from its own artistic traditions. Both *WIZO and the government-sponsored Maskit organizations have developed and marketed home-industry products. These have incorporated Yemenite, Persian, North African, and European, as well as Bedouin and Druze styles. The crafts include, notably, ceramics, glass, woven fabrics, mosaics, clothing fashions, and wood compositions.

SCULPTURE. Boris Schatz, himself a sculptor, influenced the early development of the medium in the country. Conditions for sculptors were even less favorable than for painters, in view of the traditional Jewish religious objections. However, despite criticism, Schatz persevered with his own work and with training pupils. Even after World War I, sculpture developed only very slowly, despite the arrival of a number of sculptors in the country. The kibbutzim, in the absence of pressures exerted by religious elements in the towns, pioneered in the commissioning of sculptures. A certain development can be traced in the 1930s, when sculptors proceeded with the execution of work even in the absence of specific commissions. After World War II governmental and official institutions began ordering various types of sculpture. The monuments erected after the War of Independence gave an impetus to the art. Of the towns, Haifa was the most active in siting sculptures in public places.

The outstanding influence in the 1930s and 1940s was Ze'ev *Ben-Zvi. He taught at Bezalel, and his pupils (David *Palombo, Itzhak *Danziger) gained prominence in the 1960s. There is no defined school of sculpture in Israel, even less so than in the area of painting. Sculpture is marked by a variety of styles, influenced by the origin and outlook of the sculptor. Examples from antiquity and archaeology have been strong influences. Abstract sculpture was virtually unknown until the 1960s, but has become one of the popular forms of expression under the influence of the French school in general and expressionism in particular (e.g., the works of Yigal *Tumarkin). New techniques have been employed with the use of new materials, and a further development results from the combination of plastic arts for the adornment of public buildings (see also *Sculpture).

DEVELOPMENTS IN ART THROUGH THE 1970S. Art in Israel in recent years has been characterized by a diversity of trends. In addition to abstract and figurative painting, there is minimal, conceptual or environmental art, portrayal of ecological elements, photography, film and video as artistic media, as well as happenings and performances.

A major figure who has emerged in the abstract field is Moshe Kupferman (b. 1926), member of kibbutz Loḥamei ha-Getta'ot, who studied with painters of the New Horizons group, Streichman and Steimatsky. Spontaneity, expressiveness and chance characterize his art. The grid on his canvas is created simultaneously by means of markings and erasures. In his paintings one can observe several planes.

Geometric abstraction typifies the work of Alima (b. 1932) and the hard-edge compositions of Reuven Berman (b. 1929). The approach of Michael *Gross (1920–2004) approach can be described as abstract minimalism. His work was characterized by reduction and translation of reality into stains and lines. Sometimes he used materials as artistic means – a tree can be represented by a piece of wood attached to the canvas. Gross did not reduce and frame reality, but created abstract equivalents. He also designed sculpture such as the half arch in the Jerusalem neighborhood of Kiryat ha-Yovel, overlooking the Judean Mountains.

Important retrospective exhibitions of Arie *Aroch (1908–1974) were held at the Israel Museum and at the Tel Aviv Museum in 1977–78. These exhibitions emphasized his major influence on Israeli art. In the 1950s his abstract paintings began to reflect his interest, by representing experiences in a child's manner, as can be seen in the scribbles etched into the oil paint. His works include collages of objects which are remote from the present, although they are strikingly modern. The absence of polish gives his work a patina which otherwise is only created with time. One of the artists who was influenced by Aroch is Raffi Lavie (b. 1937) who in turn serves as a source of inspiration and influence to the younger generation. In his abstract paintings he applies, in addition to color and line, collage elements such as faded photographs, in which the patina may have some nostalgic associations. In other paintings he pastes new, shiny photographs on paper. His exhibitions have demonstrated that the *enfant terrible* has turned out to be almost a "classic" figure in the history of recent Israeli art, proving that his artistic values have drawn a relatively large audience. His substantial influence is a result of his teaching in the State Art Teachers' Training College, his encouragement of young artists, and his activities as an organizer in the art world. The group "Ten Plus" was founded by him together with Buky Schwartz, Benni Efrat, Uri Lipchitz, Pinchas Eshet, Siona Shimshi and others as an alternative to the dominating lyrical abstraction prevalent at the time. The group did not succeed in creating a consistent ideology. "Ten Plus" provided a focus for artistic fermentation and served as an organizational framework.

The geometric shapes of Menashe *Kadishman's minimal sculpture reflect the influence of his teacher, the English sculptor, Anthony *Caro. The resistance to gravity and reductive, simple, geometrical shapes are features in his work. Composition is based on the tension between weights, shapes and sizes, as in the yellow painted steel sculpture in the Israel Museum's Billy Rose Art Garden or in the sculpture in the plaza in front of the Mann Auditorium, Tel Aviv. Another aspect of his art is his involvement with nature and landscape as expressed by his varied attention to trees. In addition to painting real trees, he painted metal sheets which were attached to trees in Montevideo and in New York's Central Park (1969), In Jerusalem he created his *Laundry Forest* (1975) in the plaza in front of the Israel Museum. White canvas sheets were cut into shapes of trees and hung, through which visitors had to cross. It suggested the Israeli habit of hanging laundry in the street outside buildings. Thus Kadishman introduced urban landscape into nature.

Buky Schwartz (b. 1932) was also a student of Anthony Caro in London. Schwartz creates large-scale minimal sculpture. In 1969 he designed a memorial for Yad Vashem in Jerusalem.

The sculptor Yeḥi'el *Shemi (b. 1922), a member of kibbutz Kabri, created sculpture from scrap iron, violently torn and welded. Later, he made his sculpture from ready-made standard construction units. He designed some important public monuments such as the welded steel and cement memorial in Achziv (1967) facing the Mediterranean and the monument at Ben-Gurion Airport (1972). He did a sculptural system for the Jerusalem Theater (1970) consisting of three pieces: a relief over the entrance which was designed as an integral part of the wall, a sculpture in the lobby and another in the central plaza. These sculptures help to emphasize the general sculptural quality of the building.

Dani Karavan (b. 1930) designed an environmental sculpture for a memorial in Beersheba and for the *Venice Biennale* in 1976 which was dedicated to peace. A year later he won the Israel Prize and was invited to participate in *Documenta 6* in Kassel. For this exhibition he designed another environmental sculpture made of white cement. The sculpture's shapes invited visitors to climb the tall stairs and penetrate into the sculpture. Peace was again the theme in his large show at the Belvedere in Florence and, at the same time, in Prato's ancient Castello.

Whereas in *Documenta 5*, one of the most important exhibitions for contemporary art, only one Israeli artist was invited to participate, several Israelis were asked to exhibit their work in *Documenta 6*. Among them was Michael Gitlin (b. 1943), who marks space by means of standard wooden sheets painted black and cut by an axe. The breaking lines are not completely straight and reflect an expressive quality. Pinchas Cohen-Gan (b. 1942), whose earlier work focused on political issues, exhibited drawings. Beni Efrat's (b. 1935) contributions were performances and Michael Druks (b. 1940) showed video art. Earlier works by Druks include sculpture of discarded billboards, and a photo-collage of an electric power plant in Tel Aviv whose smokestack (which raised ecological concern in the general public before it was built) was turned to an angle of 45° like a cannon, with possible sexual connotations.

On the works of Joshua Neustein (b. 1940) the fold, the tear and the cut replace the lines and create the composition's structural interrelationships. In a conceptual work, "Jerusalem River" (1970), Neustein, with Georgette Battle and Jerry Marx, used a tape recorder with sounds of flowing water in the Jerusalem mountains in order to create a fantasy river by means of sound. A conceptual work by Neustein with political implications was the marking by dogs of their territorial area in the Golan Heights as a way of defining border lines.

Political involvement by artistic means interested Pinchas Cohen-Gan. In addition to his sensitive drawings, he expressed his political concern by constructing a temporary shelter in a refugee camp in Jericho (1974). A comment on the hostile environment of Israel is the work in which Cohen-Gan created living conditions for fish in the Dead Sea (1972–73) by means of plastic pipes filled with sweet water. In the *9^e biennale de Paris* for young artists (1975) he exhibited another political work, "Reconciliation with Asia."

Other artists with varied artistic interests are Micha Ullman (b. 1939), a conceptual artist who also produces video art. Yair Garbuz (b. 1945), who paints and creates assemblages, photographs, films as well as video; Yocheved Weinfeld, Moti Mizrahi and Gideon Gechtman produce interesting body art. The latter used male nudity as opposed to the more conventional use of female nudity. Gechtman artistically expressed personal problems of internal and external pain as a result of an open-heart operation he had undergone and documented on video tape and photographs. The work of the late Yitshak Danziger (1916–77) reflects a serious interest in ecological and landscape problems. Danziger created a relatively limited number of works of art, but most of these serve as milestones in the short history of Israeli art, from his first important works "Shbazia" (1938) and "Nimrod" (1939) inspired by Near-Eastern archaeology to an architectural interest in the Bedouin tent, as can be seen in the "Negev Sheep" (1956). For the Yarkon Park in Tel Aviv, he designed a white cement landscape sculpture which is planted into the ground and integrates with the topography and plants of the park. The ecological concern is expressed in the rehabilitation project for the Nesher quarry near the Haifa-Nazareth road (1971).

The public at large prefers paintings inspired by surrealism. The best representatives of fantastic art in the 1970s are Shmuel *Bak and Yossl *Bergner.

Art Museums and Galleries. The Israel Museum was inaugurated in 1965 and serves as the major center for artistic activities and exhibitions of well-established artists as well as young, unknown, artists. Numerous exhibitions of Israeli and international art are organized annually and are an important source of up-to-date information for artists and the general public. The museum also awards several prizes, among them the Sandberg Prize, a prize for young artists, and a prize for industrial design. The Tel Aviv Museum moved to its new building in 1971, and in 1977 a new director and staff were named. The guiding principles for selecting exhibitions are similar to those of the Israel Museum. One of the innovations is a strong emphasis on photography. Many galleries were opened in recent years, most of them completely commercial ventures. Only a few galleries are willing to take any risks in exhibiting works of art which cannot be sold. The public continues to prefer oil paintings on canvas to prints, but graphics are becoming increasingly popular. Several years after this art form was in demand in the West, printing studios were opened in conjunction with the Artists' Houses in Jerusalem and Tel Aviv as well as the Israel Museum.

Periodicals. Periodicals devoted to art are *Gazith*, founded 1933, edited by Gabriel *Talpir; *Qav*, Journal of Modern Art, 1965–1970, edited by Yona *Fischer and Rachel Shapiro (twelve issues were published); *Ẓiyyur u-Fisul* (Painting and Sculpture Quarterly), founded 1972, edited by Dan Tsalka; *Journal of Jewish Art*, founded 1973, edited by Bezalel *Narkiss, a journal devoted to Jewish art in Israel and abroad. The journal is published and edited in Israel for Spertus College of Judaica Press in Chicago. *Mussag*, founded 1975, edited by Adam Baruch, ceased publication after 13 issues, owing to lack of support.

Art History. The first department in art history to include the history of Jewish and Israeli art among the subjects taught was founded in 1964 by Prof. Moshe Barasch of The Hebrew University in Jerusalem. Since then, departments of art have opened at Tel Aviv University and the University of Haifa. They also include courses in these areas.

[Michael Levine]

DEVELOPMENTS IN ART THROUGH THE 1990S. Israeli art from the 1980s can be characterized by its increasing pluralism and by the expansion of its significant dialogue with major urban centers of international art. Although minimalism and conceptualism were clearly hallmarks of the 1970s, the art scene has grown more complex largely due to the increasing number of artists. One can, however, cautiously generalize art of the early 1980s as more emotional and expressionistic in character, while in the late 1980s and early 1990s, a more intellectual, understated, and intentional approach was discernible.

The undaunted art lover can see in Israel's museums, galleries, and beyond (in out- and indoor monuments, parks, or nature reserves, etc.) a dizzying number of exhibitions. The Gabriel Sherover Information Center for Israeli Art at the Israel Museum records approximately 2,000 per year. Older or established artists are often seen in solo retrospectives, and the younger generation is exposed in group or thematic shows.

Important internal art stimuli during the past decade have included biannual exhibitions for sculpture (since 1988), and photography (since 1986). There were four Tel Hai events for outdoor environmental sculpture (since 1980). There are also prizes awarded by the Tel Aviv Museum of Art, the Israel Museum, Jerusalem, the America–Israel Cultural Foundation, and the minister of education to encourage the young artist. The opening of the Museum of Israeli Art, Ramat Gan, in 1987 added another exhibition space for emerging talent. Smaller museums in Arad, Bat-Yam, Herẓliyyah, Petaḥ Tikvah, and Tefen also contribute to the dynamism.

Not all art in Israel is in the museums. In the field of sculpture, manmade efforts are united with nature's aesthetic in reserves or parks, such as the Desert Sculpture Park on the edge of the Ramon Crater (curated by Ezra Orion). A project that began in the early 1960s but was only realized in the mid-1980s, its object was to add contemporary sculpture along the rim of the cliff which was sculpted by nature itself into geometrical rock formations. Israeli sculptors who worked there in dolomite stone from 1986 to 1988 were Ezra Orion, Dalia Meiri, Noam Rabinovich, Itzu Rimmer, Hava Mahutan, Dov Heller, Sa'ul Salo, Berny Fink, and David Fein. Israel Hadany, whose work can be found in many sculpture gardens and urban spaces, also sculpted a stone monument for the Albert Promenade to counterbalance the natural beauty of Miẓpeh Rimon (1992).

In an effort to bring art to the streets of Tel Aviv, its municipality sponsored a project which brought 15 sculptures to the Tel Aviv-Jaffa area from 1989 to 1992. Participants in the project were Ilan Averbuch, Zadok Ben-David, Gideon Gechtman, Isaac Golombeck, Yaacov Dorchin, Yaacov Hefetz, Dina Kahana-Gueler, Motti Mizrachi, Lawrence McNabb, Sigal Primor, Gabi Klasmer, Zvika Kantor, Yuval Rimon, and Yehiel Shemi.

Dani Karavan's "White Square" environmental sculpture of stone, water, and landscaping was completed in 1988 in the Wolfson Park, Tel Aviv. A homage to the pioneers of the "White City" – Tel Aviv – it was one of four works chosen to represent Israel in the architectural biennale in Venice (1991). (The others were the Sherover Promenade in Jerusalem by Shlomo Aharonson, Zvi Hecker's spiral house in Ramat Gan, and Moshe Safdie's design of the extension of the Hebrew Union College in Jerusalem.)

The international Tel Ḥai Contemporary Art Meeting, a project of the Upper Galilee Regional Council, began in 1980 with the aim of promoting sculpture in nature, installations in interior spaces, and of creating an alternative space to the sociocultural concept of museums. It provided artists with a place of historical meaning and sentimental identity. Three additional Tel Ḥai events (1983, 1987, and 1990) attracted scores of local, and some international, participants.

In the final analysis, however, the museums carry the greatest weight concerning artistic quality. In the past decade homage was paid to solo figures considered to be singularly important and influential artists. Following are short descriptions regarding a limited number of them, chosen because they signify unique trends and/or are of seminal importance throughout the period under discussion.

Moshe Kupferman (b. 1926) was honored with an exhibition at the Israel Museum and Tel Aviv Museum of Art in 1984–85 (curator: Yona Fischer) which surveyed this prominent non-representational artist's work in paint and on paper from 1963 to 1984. Employing purposely limited color palette and formal vocabulary, Kupferman constructs his unique oeuvre by a process combining subtle layering, erasing and recombining color, and adding and subtracting planes and lines. The resulting abstract black-white-violet grid and scaffold compositions formed by decisive strokes of the brush are laden with emotion and expressionism relating to the artist's own outlook on life.

Abstraction in contemporary art has another strong protagonist in Lea Nikel (b. 1918) whose solo exhibition at the Israel Museum in 1985 (curator: Yigal Zalmona) was devoted to her thunderously bright, multicolored canvases. Nikel's paintings are afire with painterly instinct and values, which she has never deserted for any kind of propaganda content in her work.

Philosophical and poetic qualities can be found in the work of the minimalistic sculptor Micha Ullman (b. 1940), who was chosen to participate in the last two Documentas (8 and 9). Ullman's "Containers" were the subject of an exhibition at the Israel Museum (curator: Yigal Zalmona) in 1988. To his simple formal vocabulary of forms (often chairs and pits made of clay, mud, soil), Ullman added massive steel house-like elements ("Day," "Night," and "Havdalah") to express the nuances of concepts like borders, shelter/grave, reincarnation. In his latest work he dealt with negative and positive areas in red sand within a steel and glass vitrine, another variation on the theme of the relationship between the container and the contained.

The versatility of Menashe *Kadishman (b. 1932) spans three decades and three major areas: painting, sculpture, and prints. In the past decade he has dealt with humanistic and universal themes: the sacrifice of man, as portrayed by the Abraham–Isaac/lamb–God story (an example stands in the plaza before the Tel Aviv Museum of Art in corten steel); births: the subject of an exhibition of that title in the Israel Museum in 1990 (curator Yigal Zalmona); nature, focusing on trees – as cotton sheets in the 1970s, and later on in prints and in steel. Examples of the latter are the blue metal tree silhouettes before the Wolfson Towers and near the Knesset in Jerusalem.

Oswaldo Romberg (b. 1938) is an architect-artist-teacher concerned with the language of art. "Building Footprints," a mixed-media installation at the Israel Museum in 1991 (curator: Yigal Zalmona), was another step in his continuing research of prominent art historical paintings and monuments. By isolating their formal and/or color components, Romberg helps the viewer analyze the details of the powerful whole.

Yigal Tumarkin (b. 1933) has been on the map of Israeli art since the late 1950s as a painter, sculptor, and printmaker. A retrospective on his sculpture covered the decades 1957–1992 at the Tel Aviv Museum of Art (curator: Ellen Ginton). It surveyed his artistic growth from his earlier tortured and maimed Grunewaldesque bronze figures, his anti-war mixed media paintings to his most recent period with more abstract/less explicit metal sculptures.

As an artist and teacher at the Bezalel Academy of Art and Design, Jerusalem, Pinchas Cohen-Gan (b. 1942) has played an influential role on the younger generation of artists. Active in different media (painting, printmaking, photography), Cohen-Gan works with conceptual and socio-political content while he varies stylistically from expressionistic to minimalistic. The Tel Aviv Museum of Art (curator: Talia Rappaport) devoted a retrospective "Works on Paper 1969–1992" to him. A stick-like human figure, often running, and a big human head are recurring motifs in his work and hint at the trials of an Everyman in constant search of answers.

In the 1980s, there were a series of historical exhibitions which were critical attempts to understand the roots of earlier Israeli art. These exhibitions may have actually raised questions relating to national identity before they were asked in other fields. The conflict between localism and internationalism, between provincialism and urban centers, between group vs. individual values were relevant to the art arena, as well as reflecting the duality of Israeli society's values.

At the President's House, Jerusalem, an exhibition in 1983 titled "The Archetype of the Pioneer in Israeli Art" (curator Dr. Gideon Ofrat) traced the subject from the early 20th century until the 1980s in two- and three-dimensional works. Artists working in the 1980s and concerned with this vein of ideological expression included the late Abraham Ofek, Naftali Bezem, Yossl *Bergner, Yair Garbuz, Oded Lerer, Motti Mizrahi, and Menashe Kadishman.

Another manifestation of the historical/heroic approach was seen in the graphic work of David Tartakover, who often nostalgically bases his images on idealistic graphics of the Mandate Period. Tartakover also created a series of famous "Tel Avivians," paying homage to local heroes of the first Jewish city in 2,000 years. The name of the exhibition "Produce of Israel" (curator: Izzika Gaon) at the Israel Museum and Tel Aviv Museum of Art, 1983–84, was devoted to many positive aspects of Israeli cultural life.

A few years later, in 1987, "To Live with the Dream" at the Tel Aviv Museum of Art (curator: Batia Donner) presented an analysis of the idealism and the following disillusionments, using documentation from graphic, painting, and sculpture media from the Mandate to post-statehood decades. Stereotypes, cultural heroes, places, cultural symbols, borders, and territory were the sub-topics of the show. (In 1980 an important exhibition titled "Borders" [curator: Stephanie Rachum] also investigated how artists define this concept.)

After the Gulf War in 1991 an exhibition called "Real Time" at the Tel Aviv Museum of Art (curator: Batia Donner) reviewed the patriotic expressions, largely in the graphics medium, seen on billboards, in newspaper advertisements, posters, etc., during the war itself. Many of them used the blue-white motif of the flag as a rallying point. However, this type of expression was as short-lived as the war, and Israeli society quickly returned to normalcy and its ideological problems.

At the Israel Museum in 1991, 24 artists participated in "Routes of Wandering: Nomadism, Voyages and Transitions in Contemporary Israeli Art" (curator: Sarit Shapira). The show dealt with questions relating to the most contemporary version of the pioneer/place/land ideology. Art and philosophy seem to have gone full circle. Deterritorialization has replaced the concept of "place," with borders being burst both conceptually and actually. The show dealt with images relating to means of transportation in Israeli art; maps; and most importantly, the concepts represented by travel and moving around. Some examples of the work on exhibit were Moshe Gershuni's "There," Benni Efrat's 1989 sculpture, "Quests for Air Spring 2037," a bed-shaped cell with a suitcase in it; and Moshe Ninio's "Exit," blurred text on a photograph. The few human figures were generalized and transitory, like Pinchas Cohen-Gan's arrangement of a "Cardboard Box Figure," an image of an anywhere man fleeing.

As previously mentioned, the types of art available reflect the pluralistic approach dominant in Israel's museums and galleries. If one is looking for specific information or documentation of contemporary life, there are few painters working in a realistic style. Outstanding among them are Israel Hershberg, who paints fastidiously hyper-realistic still lifes and interiors; Pamela Levy, who bases her paintings on photographs of leisure time and situations (such as swimming) which she reworks into allegorical and tense situations; David Reeb, also inspired by televised or photographic images of actualia, such as soldiers in action, converts them into compelling paintings freezing significant and formerly fleeting images; and Ivan Schwebel depicts biblical stories by placing his characters in contemporary cityscapes, such as Jerusalem's Ben-Yehudah Street, to give the viewer a feeling that the ancient conflicts are still relevant to our own times.

There is a significant group of artists whose work reacts to the political climate from symbolic, emotional angles. An exhibition in New York's Jewish Museum (curator: Susan Goodman) titled "In the Shadow of Conflict: Israeli Art, 1980–1989" summarized a decade of work along this line with a wide variety of artistic reactions to war, the neither-nor situation, and the dream of peace. Artists included in the show were Arnon Ben-David, Pinchas Cohen-Gan, Yair Garbuz, Moshe Gershuni, Tsibi Geva, Michael Gitlin, Menashe Kadishman, Gabi Glasmer, Moshe Kupferman, Dudu Mezah, Motti Mizrachi, Avner Moriah, Moshe Muller, Joshua Neustein, David Reeb, Yigal Tumarkin, Micha Ullman, and the late Aviva Uri.

Although much is heard of orientalizing music, levantization in the visual arts is rare. The closest to it are the paintings of Tsibi Geva, with their Islamic-inspired style or content: allover patterns with overtones of meanings such as the 'kefiya' paintings or patterns of terrazzo floor tiles; or a series of works which combine names of Arabic words and towns written in Hebrew with illustrations ostensibly drawn by Arab children.

Since 1981 there have been a series of group exhibitions by Jewish and Palestinian artists whose aims were to promote both political and artistic peaceful co-existence by constructing bridges of understanding. Several exhibitions were held at the Artists House and at the "El-Quwaiti" theater in Jerusalem during this period. There were group exhibitions of Palestinian artists in 1988 and 1990 at the Artists House, Jerusalem. In 1992 the group of 12 Palestinian and Israeli Artists (curator: Ariella Azoulai) joined forces again in a show which coincided with the peace negotiations and renewed their commitment to the process. Participating were Moshe Gershuni, Tamar Getter, Pamela Levy, Assad Azi, Arnon Ben-David, David Reeb, Sliman Mansour, Nabil Anani, Taisin Barkat, Kamal Butalah, Khalil Rabel, and Taleb Dweik. Sliman Manzur and Israel Rabinovitz were invited by the Swedish Socialist Party in Stockholm for a joint exhibition, "Out of the Same Earth," which contained a work they created together.

On the international scene, and in Israel as well, compelling work has been based on the written word as the central image. An exhibition at the Janco-Dada Museum, Ein Hod, titled "Imagewriting" (curator: Sara Hakkerts, 1992) investigated how 24 Israeli artists use letters, words, and sentences in their work, and in this way illustrate their points of view about local events. There were very few political statements (with the exception of works by Yair Garbuz, Arnon Ben-David, and Tsibi Geva). Other participants included Nurit Isaac-Polachek, Shaul Bauman, Jenifer Bar-Lev, Eli Gur Arie, Tamar Getter, Michael Grubman, Moshe Gershuni, Elisha Dagan, Svetlana Dubrovsky, Alexander Rudakov, Nurit David, Rachel Heller, Boris Yuchvitz, Pinchas Cohen-Gan, Raffi Lavie, Chaim Maor, Bashir Makhoul, Michal Na-aman, Moshe Amar, and Michal Shamir.

Poetic texts written by Oded Yedaya in white or black ink on black and white photographs were the subject of an exhibition curated by Nissan Peretz at the Israel Museum in 1988. Yedaya's compositions combine figurative elements (images and words) with a strong abstract substructure.

In a solo exhibition at the Tel Aviv Museum of Art, 1992 (curator: Ellen Ginton), dreams were Jenifer Bar-Lev's subject. She interspersed original stream-of-consciousness poems in English with Hebrew biblical texts with a patchwork of painted shapes and/or other materials, like blue jeans or kitsch paintings.

Nurit David and Yocheved Weinfeld are two other artists whose multimedia creations intersperse textual elements with imagery. Zvi Goldstein is another multimedia artist whose texts are integral to his work. His verbal manifestos are of a didactic rather than a personal nature, and he combines them with objects that look as if they belong to a highly technologically advanced culture. These installations deal with the position and options of a third world country.

Recently there have been very personal, humoristic works which contain underlying, serious meanings created by a few mavericks in the art world. Philip Rantzer converts found objects into adult, kinetic toys which provide the museum viewers with a piquant black humor. In his exhibition "Sometimes I Get a Hankering for My Wife" at the Israel Museum in 1992 (curator: Yigal Zalmona), he created a house with his ready-mades and collectibles, running water, and delectable, sundry items such as a breadbox with a small video screen and songs by the Andrews Sisters.

Zvika Kantor uses banal, domestic objects but constructs them out of absurd kitschy materials. An example is his "Duet of Happiness" piano made not for music lovers but for those with a sweet tooth, as it is made only of sugar cubes and chocolate. Dudu Gerstein also makes light colorful and amusing sculpture cutouts, such as a flowering plant, by painting aluminum with duco paint. Elisha Dagan paints wood with industrial paint and makes three-dimensional word sculptures, such as "Oh Baby Wolffff" and "Motherrrr" which can be read by looking down at the generally waist-high structures.

Dr. Gideon Ofrat's choice for Israel's representative to the Biennale was Avital Geva, a conceptual anti-art establishment artist who has chosen not to be exhibited since the early 1970s, when he executed some bold conceptual projects (like the yellow line beginning on the road near his kibbutz, Ein Shemer, and ending at the Israel Museum). Geva has spent the past years experimenting with knowledge in the form of growing tomatoes and fish, and thus studying the artistic process.

Photography clearly influences a number of contemporary artists, who rework it in other media. However, it is also the chosen sole medium for certain artists. There were many exhibitions devoted to young and established photographers concentrating on this art form alone. Notable among them were exhibitions showing the work of Pesi Girsch, Bareket Ben Yaakov, Judy Orgel Lester, and nostalgic shows by the young Gabi Salzberger called "Rusted Pioneers" and homage to the late Alfred Bernheim, all curated by Nissan Peretz at the Israel Museum. At the Museum of Israeli Art in Ramat-Gan there was another homage to the late Alfonse Himmelreich, "Dance Photographs: Mood and Movement," curated by Vivienne Silver in 1987. Moshe Ninio's exhibition titled "Cycle of Days" in 1991 at the Israel Museum (curator: Yigal Zalmona) incorporated mixed media with photography. His blurred, enlarged photographic details printed on metal plates were clearly detached from their original contexts, and the sparse, iconic images resulting were intended to supply new meanings, above and beyond the former content.

Zvi Tolkovsky, a versatile painter and printmaker, organized a quasi-documentary exhibition in 1991 containing photographs and found objects which had been left at the deserted refugee camp of Nueima, at the Israel Museum (curator: Rika Gonen). Displayed like archeological remnants from a forgotten people, the show brought out the poignancy of this relatively recent "tel."

In 1992 Sigal Primor's "The Antarctic Challenge," (curator: Yigal Zalmona) at the Israel Museum moved from Alfred Hitchcock's *Psycho* to the South Pole, and the indefatigable sculptor Ezra Orion celebrated the space year by transmitting a laser beam column to infinity from Israel and international locations.

[Elaine Varady]

Critical post-modernist attitudes, which became quite dominant in Israeli art in the 1980s, express a growing tendency to give voice to the "Other" – artists raised in immigrant families, homosexuals and lesbians, or artists belonging to minority groups. The "Israeli experience," based on a collective, monolithic memory, had fallen apart. The paintings of Yair Garbuz (1945–), David Reeb (1952–), Tsibi Geva (1951–), and Avishai Eyal (1945–), or the photographs of Micha Kirshner (1947–), Michal Heyman (1954–), Shuka Glotman (1953–), and Adi Ness (1966–) are examples of a new critical and deconstructive examination of the Israeli experience, of local history and its visual representations, and of the manipulations of the collective-political memory. Various aspects of the post-modern condition gained in prominence in the course of the last two decades. These include an erasure of the borders separating illusion from reality (art based on the virtual worlds created in the cinema, for instance, as reflected in the paintings of Anat Ben Shaul; the sense of apocalyptic threat expressed in the works of Dorit Yacoby and Moshe Gershuni). The threat of loss of the family home or the national one is given form by the prominence of the "house" motif in the sculptures of Micha Ulman, Philip Renzer (1956–), Gideon Gechtman, and Buky Schwarz (1932–). For more than a decade now, there has been a growing emphasis on the Holocaust as one of the major constituents in defining the Israeli identity, especially on the part of artists such as Yocheved Weinfeld, Simcha Shirman (1947–), Haim Maor, and Uri Katzenshtein (1951–), who are second-generation survivors.

The particular problems of identity and the tensions surrounding the broad concept of the "Israeli experience" largely account for the development in the Israel of recent years of an art that is fully sensitive and attentive to what is happening both in the public sphere and in the private domain, and that has gained a prominent position in the global art scene, as evinced by the interest shown in exhibitions of Israeli art in various venues abroad.

[Haim Finkelstein and Haim Maor (2nd ed.)]

Architecture

Modern architecture in Ereẓ Israel, i.e., from the end of the 19th century, is basically European in style and outlook. This is expressed in the use of new building technology and in the functional approach to planning. The European-type building was first brought to Ereẓ Israel in the later part of the 19th century by settlers of European origin (Jews, and the German Templers) and by consular and missionary circles. They introduced the fashions of their country of origin, while local conditions and influences were scarcely reflected in their constructions. However, in the early 20th century, a first attempt at an individual style was made. This was expressed in the first Jewish housing projects in Jerusalem, in the villages under the auspices of Baron Edmond de Rothschild, and in other moshavot. In town buildings, too, there was the first groping for a style characterized by Muslim, Oriental, and even Assyrian elements (notable examples are the buildings of the Herzlia High School in Tel Aviv and the first Technion building in Haifa). After World War I a number of architects went to Palestine from western Europe and England. A strong influence was exerted by Richard *Kaufman, who stressed the horizontal structure; another group was influenced by expressionism; while the British school used local Arab designs, expressed largely in the buildings of the Mandatory government.

The 1920s saw the first functional buildings (for example, the Jewish Agency building, the Bet ha-Kerem High School, certain kibbutz dining rooms), while particular attention was paid to the designing of kibbutzim.

From 1933, a considerable number of architects went to Palestine from Central Europe, particularly from Germany and Austria. The first modern apartment buildings, built in a European style, date from this period. By this time, also, the Technion was producing many architects, and their common background contributed to a uniformity in style throughout the country. In the 1940s the tendency was toward greater simplicity in architecture, although further experiments were made in applying Oriental aspects.

The establishment of the State of Israel in 1948 enabled the undertaking of large-scale national and regional planning. Under the urgent pressure of mass immigration, however, sacrifices were made in quality, variety of design, and architectural values. Many of the buildings put up hastily were shoddy, and a depressing sameness characterized many of the *shikkunim* ("housing projects"). The Mandatory rule insisting on natural-stone construction in Jerusalem had to be disregarded. It was only when the pace of immigration slackened in the mid-1950s that it proved possible to concentrate again on improving quality and on aesthetic aspects. More attention was now paid to the finish, to externals, and to the development of surroundings of houses. Overall planning, which to some extent had remained on paper, was now implemented. The quick expansion of the towns led to pressure on space, and the high-rise building began to appear in Israel. Many impressive public buildings were erected in various parts of the country, and the style was generally international, rather than specifically Israeli. The reunification of Jerusalem in 1967 presented a new and significant challenge to Israel's architects (see also *Architecture).

Developments in the 1970s. The changes that have taken place in Israeli architecture from the Six-Day War on are a reflection of the changes that took place in Israeli society during the same period – changes in the political, social, economic and psychological spheres.

When a nation's development is stable and gradual, and architectural development parallels that process, architecture develops gradually and over a long period. When a society experiences crises (war, revolution or any traumatic event), they find expression in abrupt changes in architectural development.

Between the years 1948 and 1967, social development in Israel, the consolidation of social classes and social concepts, economic development, formation of life styles and values, all evolved in a gradual and consistent manner. The Six-Day War brought a social and cultural shock in its wake which led to a turning point in social development. As a direct result, architecture took on a new dimension.

The dominant influence on architecture in Israel had hitherto been that of western Europe and America. The way of thinking and concepts of form were adjusted to economic conditions, building techniques and the system of values that characterized Israeli society, and the specific needs of the time.

Generally speaking, one can define Israeli architecture during the years 1948–67 as being neutral, international and lacking any special or national quality relating to a particular locale. It was architecture based on the need to supply physical and economic needs and had very little to do with emotional or symbolic needs.

Before 1967 the need to supply housing on a massive scale predominated, and only relatively minor attention could be paid to the building of public and private services beyond this basic one. As Israel's economy expanded, however, more resources were diverted to such projects.

The Six-Day War broke the natural curve of development, A significant change took place in the psychology of Israeli society and in social and economic development. Economic development accelerated and a large amount of capital became available which immediately affected the building sector. In a short time the economic expansion reached increasingly wider social strata, which led to social changes and created a new social class with a higher income.

These developments created a greater demand for expanded services, both private and public.

In the 1960s changes took place in western culture regarding architectural ideas. These were years of reaction against the previous decade. The architectural ideology of "between the wars," which was applied to building in Europe and the United States during the 1950s, created a specific type of architecture which was the subject of harsh criticism during the 1960s.

This reaction took expression in the form of a search for a new, human scale. Man and his relationship to society became the cornerstone for all architectural theories in the 1960s. The relationship of man to his environment, environmental design as a part of social formation, the place of the individual within the larger context, and providing the individual with the possibility of maintaining his identity vis-à-vis himself and his surroundings became the basic principles of every significant concept in planning.

Social, anthropological and ecological research, which established links between planning and environmental behavior, became the intellectual basis in the search for new solutions in planning. The planner was confronted with the goals of providing the individual with privacy and the opportunity to create his own immediate surroundings, while at the same time providing involvement and strengthening the feeling of community and belonging. Some of the urban and architectural projects of the 1960s and 1970s are applications of the fusion of the social sciences with architecture.

Public participation in the area of physical planning also increased during this period. The Israeli public, which for years had been almost totally inactive in making or influencing planning decisions, became aroused as the first large-scale projects, bearing great impact on their surroundings, were initiated, The construction of the Dan Hotel in Haifa on the skyline of the Carmel range, the demolition of the old Herzlia High School, one of the first public buildings in Tel Aviv, and the erection of Binyenei ha-Ummah, the first large-scale structure built near the entrance to Jerusalem, were the first projects to gain attention. In fact, however, public involvement grew in keeping with the increasingly large scale of building projects. The public became aware of the influence of the physical environment on day-to-day living. In Israel, too, the 1960s were years of criticism after a lengthy period of building. An attempt was made to learn from the mistakes of the past and to find the causal relationship between planning and the various social problems, Israeli society of the 1960s, especially after the Six-Day War, demanded of the planner environmental and social quality, and visual significance in addition to quantitative and physical solutions to the problems at hand.

All these factors – economic and social, psychological and theoretical – were instrumental in creating the architecture of the past decade in Israel. It was designed to deal with a more massive building program, with new symbolic and psychological demands and with new architectural terminology and a new social and urban philosophy. Jerusalem's. historical and international status, its geographical position, the emotional response its evokes, and its resources were diverted to Jerusalem, and the city became the building center of the country. The primary goals in the planning of Jerusalem were to reunify the city, to increase its population substantially, and to convert it into the center of the country's spiritual and public life.

Jerusalem's historical and international status, its geographical position, the emotional response its evokes, and its uniqueness are factors of the first importance in the planning of the city and dictated the approach that architects would have to take in dealing with urban and planning problems.

Because of the need for haste and, at times, even a lack of understanding of the periodic element and the critical factors which determined the architecture of the past, the solutions provided in the new building were exclusively formalistic.

Elements borrowed from the past and the existing environment provided the answer to new and more complex problems with which it was difficult to deal. The use of stone, the arch, the dome, the wall, the roofed passage and the dense infrastructure were elements borrowed from the past, copied and offered as a solution in bridging the gap between the existing and the new, and the answer to the search for a national architecture and a link with the historical environment. The new neighborhoods that were established around the periphery of Jerusalem represent a good example of this – Ramat Eshkol (J. Perlstein); Neveh Ya'akov (Hertz); Gilo (A. Yaski); East Talpiot (D. Best); Ramot (Y. Dreksler, stage A; Y. and O. Ya'ar, stage B). These communities were built immediately after the Six-Day War and include all the problems that plagued the architects of Jerusalem. Each neighborhood was planned in its own unique way, but several elements are characteristic of them all: the use of stone and of visual elements taken from the surrounding environment, the separation of pedestrian and vehicular traffic, and the attempt to create a center especially designed for each particular neighborhood, which would provide the neighborhood with its own unique character and offer a meaningful focal point for its inhabitants.

The architects who designed these buildings contributed their own personal expression of form and spatial conception to the life-style suited to the area. Traditional roofed passageways, terraced housing, arches, domes, compactness, defined interior spaces were all utilized, while at the same time an attempt was made to employ the latest building techniques and modern housing standards.

Outstanding examples of such contributions are to be found in the buildings of Z. Hecker in Ramot, which sought to define new formal spaces, those of A. Sharon in Gilo, which provided a different rhythm to a neighborhood subunit by using open elements, the buildings of M. Lofenfeld and G. Gemerman in Gilo, which addressed themselves to the enclosed street and massive building on a hilltop overlooking Jerusalem, and, finally, those of R. Karmi in Gilo, which were meant to enhance interaction among the residents by establishing various grades of private and public space, and providing many public meeting places.

The confrontation between the old and the new also took place in the heart of Jerusalem – the Jewish Quarter of the Old City. The historical and emotional significance of the old Quarter is paramount; therefore, the desire to restore the existing structures and preserve the ancient character as much as possible affected the solutions open to the team of architects.

The neighborhood of Yemin Moshe (S. Mendel and G. Kertesz) was also restored with the primary aim of preserving, as much as possible, the character of that old quarter. The Hebrew University on Mount Scopus was the largest and most prestigious project in Jerusalem after the unification of the city. A team of architects consisting of R. Karmi, D. Reznik and S. Shaked was set up to design the campus. They strove to accommodate the massive bulk of the university to its location on Jerusalem's sensitive skyline without altering its natural beauty, while, at the same time, enabling the university to function properly and giving it the prominence it deserved.

The faculty buildings include: the Library (Rechter), the Humanities building (R. Karmi), the Social Science building (Eitan), the Student Center and Buber Institute (A. Yaski), the restoration of the Faculty of Law and the Administration building (Rabina), and the Education building (D. Reznik).

In the rest of the country the visual-historical impetus was smaller, the socio-economic transition determining the pace and nature of construction.

The projects increased in scale and were carried out by groups of architects who had to find a common language and to adjust not only to local features but also to each other.

Tel Aviv, which has maintained its place as the economic center of Israel, was transformed into a metropolis of high-rise buildings and suburban settlements.

In housing, a trend developed toward planning for defined social and ethnic groups: when the architect knew beforehand who the future inhabitants of the proposed neighborhood would be, he attempted to offer solutions in terms of the specific needs of the population by consulting its representatives in the various planning stages. In Ḥaẓor in the Galilee, Reznik sought to respond to the communities of the Gur Ḥasidim, as did S. Mendel and G. Kertesz in planning for the Bedouin of Santa-Katarina and Dahab, and Ya'ar in relocating housing in the slums of the Manshiya quarter in Tel Aviv.

The Ben-Gurion University of Beersheba was designed by a team which strove to coordinate the various elements in an overall framework. The planning and coordination was done by a team headed by A. Yaski. The library was designed by M. Nadler, the Humanities building by A. Niv and R. Reiffer, and the Science and Engineering building by A. Yaski.

The planning of Kikar Namir (Atarim) of Tel Aviv and the Marina on an urban scale (Rechter), the changes in Dizengoff Center, the high-rise office buildings, the IBM Center (A. Yaski), Asia House (M. Ben-Horin), and America House (Sharon), were all projects which helped change the face of the city.

Additional buildings worthy of mention are the Hilton Hotel, Jerusalem (Rechter); the Rothschild Cultural Center, Haifa (A. Mansefeld and D. Havkin); the Carmel Hospital, Haifa (Rechter); the Soldiers' Home, Afeka (A. Yaski); the Amal Technological High School, Tel Aviv (R. Karmi); the Safed Hospital (M. Zarḥi), the Municipal Library, Tel Aviv (M. Lofenfeld and G. Gemerman), the Rest and Recreational Home, Zikhron Ya'akov (Rechter), and the new Supreme Court building, Jerusalem (R. Carmi and A. Carmi Melamed).

[Elinor Barzacchi-Komissar]

Galleries and Museums

The country's major museums are comprised in the Israel Museum Association. Foremost among these is the Israel Museum, opened in Jerusalem in 1965. It incorporates the Bezalel Museum, founded by Schatz in 1906 in association with the Bezalel School, but from 1925 to 1965 an independent institution. Its collection includes paintings by Jewish and non-Jewish artists, Jewish ritual art, manuscripts, and a comprehensive art library. The Israel Museum also houses the archeological museum of the government's Department of Antiquities, the Shrine of the Book (which contains the *Dead Sea Scrolls and the *Bar Kokhba letters), and the Billy *Rose Sculpture Garden. In 1967 the Rockefeller Museum (formerly in the Jordanian-held section of Jerusalem) came under Israeli control and was placed under the administration of the Israel Museum. Other members of the Association are the Tel Aviv Museum (including the Helena Rubinstein Pavilion of Modern Art), the Haifa Museum of Modern Art, and the Mishkan le-Omanut (Home of Art) in kibbutz *En-Harod. Smaller archaeological museums include those at Jaffa, with antiquities of the Tel Aviv area; Haifa, which has several, including a sea museum devoted to the history of navigation in the Mediterranean and a prehistoric museum displaying finds from the Carmel region; Acre, where the museum is housed in a Crusader structure; and Beersheba, namely the Negev Museum, situated in a former mosque, as well as many kibbutz and rural museums and those on the sites of excavations (e.g., Megiddo, Hazor, and Tell al-Qasīla on the outskirts of Tel Aviv). Other collections are housed in the Haaretz Museum in Tel Aviv (which includes museums of glass and numismatics), the Museum of Japanese Art on Mount Carmel, the Museum of Ethnology in Haifa, the Glicenstein Museum of painting and sculpture in Safed, the Mané *Katz gallery in Haifa, and the Bat Yam Museum displaying Sholem *Asch's collection of Jewish ceremonial art. The artists' houses of Jerusalem, Tel Aviv, and Haifa provide permanent exhibitions by the artists of the three main cities, and there are many private galleries. In addition to permanent exhibitions, traveling exhibits (organized in particular by the Israel Museum) are widely circulated throughout the country, especially to schools.

Press

PRE-STATE. The modern era of the Hebrew press in Ereẓ Israel began in 1863. As early as 1841, Israel *Bak had established a Hebrew printing press in Jerusalem. Bak, however, belonged to the ḥasidic community, and the *Mitnaggedim* resented their dependence on his press for their printing activities. They therefore sent two members of their community – Joel Moses *Salomon and Michael Cohen – to study printing in Europe, and, on their return, they established a press. In order to keep the press occupied, they founded the newspaper *Ha-Levanon* in 1863. Shortly thereafter, Bak produced a rival paper, *Ḥavaẓelet*. The two Jerusalem newspapers became involved in a campaign of mutual recrimination and were closed down by the Ottoman authorities within a year. *Ha-Levanon was* revived as a newspaper in Paris in 1865, but Bak persisted in his efforts to reopen *Ḥavaẓẓelet* in Jerusalem and eventually succeeded, in 1870.

The Ereẓ Israel press from the very first aired vital problems of the Jewish community, such as agricultural policy, and thus developed political and topical journalism. There was a sharp battle in the Jerusalem press with regard to the charitable funds (**ḥalukkah*), touching on the basic administrative arrangements of the Jewish community. The conflicts between newspapers at times reached such intensity that they were banned.

A new era opened for the press when Eliezer *Ben-Yehuda arrived in Ereẓ Israel in 1881, where he worked on *Ḥavaẓelet*. In 1884 he left to form his own newspaper, *Ha-Ẓevi*, which revolutionized the Jerusalem press by introducing a secular tone and a modern journalistic style. The use of Hebrew as a spoken language was part of his Hebraist ideology: the revived national language would serve to unify all sections of the Jewish community. Ben-Yehuda conceived of the idea of a Hebrew dictionary, containing simple, precise language serving everyday needs. In any case, the existing language employed in the Jerusalem press failed to meet modern needs.

The first agricultural settlements were established in the early 1880s, creating a new Hebrew community different in essence from the "old" *yishuv* in Jerusalem and other towns. In his paper, Ben-Yehuda became the spokesman of this new *yishuv*, while *Ḥavaẓelet* retreated from its Haskalah tendencies and became the mouthpiece of the "old" *yishuv*. Ben-Yehuda's advocacy of the *Uganda Scheme served to alienate many of his supporters. At the turn of the century, his son, Ithamar *Ben-Avi, joined him on the staff of the paper, introducing further modernization, under the influence of the French press, with which he was closely acquainted. Weekly publication proving insufficient; they began publishing *Ha-Ẓevi* as the first daily newspaper of Ereẓ Israel.

The major changes in the country's life brought about by the Second Aliyah (1905–14) were not reflected in Ben-Yehuda's papers, and the newcomers, who advocated immigration to Ereẓ Israel and the development of Jewish manual labor, required a labor press. With meager financial resources they established their own papers, *Ha-Po'el ha-Ẓa'ir* (1908) and then *Ha-Aḥdut*, sponsored by the Poalei Zion Party (1910).

World War I put an end to all these papers, and a new period opened up for the Hebrew press after the war, under the influence of the new wave of immigration (the Third Aliyah), mainly from Eastern Europe.

In 1919, Hebrew writers and journalists, educated in the liberal journalistic tradition in Russia, established the daily **Haaretz* (initially *Ḥadashot ha-Areẓ*), as a continuation of a Hebrew paper initiated by the British military administration. *Haaretz* became a Zionist progressive paper "in the Odessa style," edited by the best of the Hebrew writers, with a minority of local contributors, among them Ben-Yehuda and his son. The local journalists, however, soon found that they had little in common with the "Russian" trend, and established their own paper, *Do'ar ha-Yom* (1919), edited by Ithamar Ben-Avi. In 1923 *Haaretz* moved to Tel Aviv, under the editorship of M. *Gluecksohn. With the transfer of *Haaretz* to Tel Aviv, this city gradually became the center of journalism. Later, in 1937, *Haaretz* was sold to Salman *Schocken, whose son Gershom then became editor.

In 1925 the labor movement decided to publish its own paper, *Davar*. The first editors were Berl *Katznelson, Zalman *Shazar, and Moshe *Beilinson. Published by the Histadrut, it reached many of its members and became the most widely circulated morning paper. The growth in the number of parties led to a parallel growth in the number of papers, as each party was interested in propagating its views through its own organ. Thus the Revisionist party took over *Do'ar ha-Yom* (1928–30); then it published its own newspapers, *Ha-Yarden* (1934–36), and *Ha-Mashkif* (1938–48).

The struggle against the British Mandatory authorities was characterized by frequent seizures or temporary closure of papers, particularly from the 1930s onward. Papers were often obliged to change their names and utilize unexploited licenses. This situation was at its worst in the 1940s, during the closing years of the British Mandate, when an illegal press made its appearance – consisting mainly of wall posters – which represented the underground movements.

A clear distinction began to emerge between the dailies and the weeklies. The latter no longer gave straight news, placing their emphasis on signed articles. A further consequence now was the clearer distinction between the writer and the journalist; hitherto the dividing line had been blurred, but now there emerged the journalist-reporter type, familiar in Western journalism.

Until 1929 all the daily papers apart from *Do'ar ha-Yom* were, of necessity, published at noon, for technical reasons: Reuter bulletins, for example, until then arrived by train from Egypt. The riots of 1929, the Nazi rise to power in 1933, as well as the murder of Arlosoroff in the same year, increased circulation and resulted in the establishment of afternoon papers, which appear at noon. *Haaretz, Ha-Boker,* and *Davar* began to publish afternoon papers, but all these were discontinued upon the appearance of a new type of afternoon paper. The first such paper, founded by Azriel *Carlebach, **Yedioth Aharonoth*, appeared in 1939. After a disagreement over personality and management differences with the publisher, Yehudah *Mozes, Carlebach left the paper in 1947 and founded **Maariv*.

The wave of immigration from Germany, which began in 1933, confronted the Hebrew press with the problem of a readership insufficiently acquainted with the Hebrew language. The result was a new type of paper written in easy Hebrew with vowels; the more difficult words were translated (first into German and later into other languages). Initially, these formed voweled supplements of the established press, but in 1940 the first independent voweled paper, *Hegeh*, was introduced. Many immigrant journalists from Germany took their first steps in Hebrew journalism in *Hegeh*. It ceased publication in 1946, but was renewed in 1951 as *Omer,* published, as its predecessor was, by *Davar*.

[Getzel Kressel and Geoffrey Wigoder]

IN THE STATE OF ISRAEL. The press in the State of Israel was characterized by a number of trends: first, the role of the party political press in political recruitment and its subsequent decline; second, the growth of the independent press, and competition among the popular papers; third, challenges faced by the independent press from radio, television, and the Internet; fourth, the decline of the foreign language press; fifth, greater independence from official pressures.

The first 20 years of the state were characterized by the continuation of a vibrant and lively party political press which owed its origins to the Jewish struggle for independence during the British mandate. The party press declined in the 1960s and 1970s, both as Israel began to enter a period of normalization after the economic and defense struggles which characterized the early years of statehood, and because the independent press offered readers a more diverse and comprehensive coverage. Key party newspapers included *Omer* (Histadrut, 1951–79) and *Lamerḥav* (Aḥdut ha-Avodah, 1954–71), which amalgamated with *Davar* but closed in 1994; *Ḥerut* (Ḥerut, 1948–65) and *Ha-Boker* (published by the General Zionists, 1935–65), which were replaced by *Ha-Yom* (1966–69) after Ḥerut allied itself with the Liberal Party to form *Gaḥal; *Ha-Dor* (Mapai, 1948–55); and *Al ha-Mishmar* (United Workers Party (Mapam), 1943–2005). The daily party press was replaced in some cases by periodical party literature.

The only daily party political press remaining comprised the **ḥaredi* religious press: *Ha-Modi'a*, the organ of Agudat Israel, which represented the ḥasidic wing of Ashkenazi *ḥaredim*, and *Yetad Ne'eman*, the organ of Degel ha-Torah, which represented the Lithuanian wing of Ashkenazi *ḥaredim*. These organs fulfilled extra-party functions providing readers – under the slogan of the "right not to know" – with a censored version of public information which excluded content offensive to *ḥaredi* sensibilities. The rigorous social-religious controls which characterized the Ashkenazi *ḥaredi* establishment failed to stop the growth in the 1990s of a commercial *ḥaredi* weekly press including *Erev Shabbat*, *Yom ha-Shishi, Mishpaḥah*, and *Ba-Kehillah*, which applied modern techniques of newsgathering and graphics to newspaper production. *She'arim* (1951–81), organ of the Poalei Agudat Israel closed. *Ha-Ẓofeh* was sold to commercial interests in 2005 but continued to reflect thinking in the National Religious Party. A short-lived attempt by Shas, the *ḥaredi* Sephardi party, to launch a daily, gave birth to *Yom Yom* as a weekly.

The independent press comprised *Yedioth Aharonoth, Maariv*, and *Haaretz*. Until the mid-1970s the mid-market, and politically right-of-center, *Maariv* was the most widely circulated daily in Israel. Its position was taken over by *Yedioth Aharonoth*, owned by the Mozes family, which under the banner of "the country's paper" tried to cater to all tastes from right to left, and which, while popular in layout with provocative headlines and human interest stories, also engaged in more serious reporting. *Maariv*, a cooperative controlled by its journalists, was hampered by a cumbersome decision-making process. After *Maariv* was briefly owned by the British media magnate Robert *Maxwell (1988–91), the paper was bought by Ya'akov *Nimrodi, whose son Ofer as the publisher downmarketed the paper in an unsuccessful attempt to compete with *Yedioth Aharonoth*. The rivalry between *Yedioth Aharonoth* and *Maariv* grew so intense that charges of wiretapping in the 1990s by one paper against the other resulted in Nimrodi's being placed on trial and imprisoned.

Haaretz's comprehensive coverage of political, economic, and social affairs and the arts inside Israel and foreign news turned it into the country's quality newspaper read by decision-makers and leaders in the political, economic, and artistic sectors. With the demise of the party political press, *Haaretz* enjoyed a singular role as Israel's elite newspaper. An attempt by *Haaretz*'s publishers to establish a popular newspaper, *Ḥadashot*, in 1984, in order to compete with *Yedioth Aharonoth* and *Maariv*, proved short-lived, and it ceased publication in 1993. The creation of a quality financial daily, **Globes* in 1983, was accompanied by an expansion of economic coverage by the other three newspapers. With the exception of *Globes*, which published in the evenings following the close of the stock market, *Yedioth Aharonoth* and *Maariv* had also become morning newspapers like *Haaretz*.

Forty-two percent of Israelis in 2005 surveyed by TGI Teleseker read *Yedioth Aharonoth* every day, 23% *Maariv,* and 7% *Haaretz*. Readership of the weekend Friday issues of *Yedioth Aharonoth* and *Maariv* was 25% higher than that of their dailies. In the face of the parallel growth in radio and television, newspapers carved themselves a new role of providing background and analysis of breaking news, for which the broadcast media did not have time. The Internet caused a decline of newspaper readership. Israelis used the Internet an average of 6.5 hours a week in 2005 according to TGI; 39% reported that the Internet was their first source of information. The three newspapers, and others, answered the Internet challenge by initiating their own on-line news operations. While *Haaretz*'s was based on the newspaper's existing newsgathering operation, *Yedioth Aharonoth*'s Y-Net and *Maariv*'s Walla had separate newsgathering operations.

A large number of foreign-language newspapers existed in the first decades of the state, fulfilling important informational and acculturating roles for the new immigrants in their new homeland. There were newspapers in English, German, Russian, Polish, Romanian, Yiddish, Spanish, French, Hungarian, and Bulgarian. Key newspapers included *Jedioth Hadashoth* (1936) and *Jedioth ha-Yom* (1936) in German; the **Jerusalem Post* (1932) in English; *L'Echo d'Israel* (1948), *L'Information d'Israel* (1957), and *Le Journal d'Israel* (1957) in French; *Uj Kelet* (1948) in Hungarian; *Israelskie Nowiny I Kurier* (1958) in Polish; *Letste Nayes* (1959) in Yiddish; *Izraelski Far* (1959) in Bulgarian; and *Viata Nostra* (1959) in Romanian. With the exception of a few, most had ceased publication or had become weekly or monthly publications by the end of the 1970s, as most readers turned to the Hebrew media, given the Hebrew media's greater resources and consequent wider coverage. The *aliyah* of hundreds of thousands of Russian Jews in the 1980s and 1990s created a Russian press, but these were more commercial in orientation than the earlier newspapers. Key Russian dailies included *Vesty* (1992; owned by *Yedioth Ahoronoth), Vremny* (1991), *Novosty Nedely* (1991), and *Nasha Strana* (1971).

Over the half century since independence, the Israeli Hebrew press became more critical of Israeli officialdom. In the early years, government leaders saw the Hebrew media as channels to generate support for governmental policy, such as through the Editors Committee system, a framework in which Israeli editors were briefed by senior ministers and officials on defense-related matters. But the military intelligence surprise preceding the 1973 war, the 1984 Shin Bet affair involving the No. 300 Tel Aviv–Ashkelon bus hijacking, and a series of Mossad operational failures produced a more critical approach by journalists toward the defense establishment. As Israel's regional and international status improved, and as the standard of living rose, Israelis became less fixed upon the singular goal of national development. Both exposure to the standards of other countries and societies, in particular the United States, and a greater role in public affairs by the Israeli Supreme Court, strengthened demands for official accountability. Yet, both the expansion of governmental public relations in Israel's official bureaucracy since the 1970s, characterized by the public relations work of spokesmen in government ministries and attached to ministers, and a plethora of specialist reporters covering "beats," defined in many cases according to government ministry, created a subtle framework for the transfer of official information into the public sphere.

Local newspapers expanded in the 1980s as *Yedioth Aharonoth, Haaretz,* and *Maariv* established newspapers in different cities and large towns in an attempt to tap local advertisers. *Yedioth Aharonoth* had a chain of 170 local newspapers. News coverage of local developments in the local press have improved public awareness of municipal matters and incrementally moved the public's focus and identity toward the peripheral, local areas, away from the geographical centers of Israeli power. By contrast to the growth in local media, the periodical press (some of which is also owned by *Yedioth Aharonoth, Maariv,* and *Haaretz*) comprising special interest publications – on travel, hobbies, cars, family, television, and food – showed, with the exception of women's magazines and youth magazines, much slower growth, despite rising consumer standards. News magazines, including *Ha-Olam ha-Zeh*, the satirical, sensationalist weekly, and the more sober *Koteret Rashit*, proved to be passing media phenomena as news consumers found their needs fulfilled by the daily press. The far-flung media interests of *Yedioth Aharonoth, Haaretz,* and *Maariv*, which extended also to television, raised questions regarding a danger to press freedom from media concentration.

While there have been Israeli Arab dailies sponsored by political parties, their growth was limited due both to their ideological orthodoxy and to government controls over content. A government and Histradut newspaper *Al-Yawm* (1948–68) was replaced by *Al-Anba*, which had a broader range of non-governmental views. Many Israeli Arabs are exposed to the Israeli Hebrew media. There were a number of Arab commercial magazine initiatives in the 1980s, often tied to a specific local community. Two dailies in East Jerusalem, *Al-Quds* and the defunct *Al-Fajr,* had a wide following among the Palestinian population. A Palestinian press flourished also in other areas, including Gaza and Ramallah, after the creation of the Palestinian Authority in 1993.

The opening of departments of journalism in universities and academic colleges since the 1980s contributed to raising the professional standards of journalists. More than half the country's journalists are women. A minuscule number of Israeli Arab journalists work in the Hebrew press.

Israel is also a major center for foreign news organizations. Three hundred and fifty foreign news organizations have either correspondents posted from abroad or are represented by local journalists, making it the tenth largest foreign press corps in the world, and the largest in the Middle East. Most foreign media come from Western Europe and North America. The media revolution inside the Arab world resulted in nearly 50 Arab news organizations having correspondents in Israel since the 1990s. The considerable foreign coverage that Israel receives, and the sympathy in western liberal opinion for the Palestinians as the underdog in the Arab-Israeli conflict, increased the importance for the Foreign Ministry and the Army Spokesman's Division to brief the foreign media about events and give them access to cover them.

[Yoel Cohen (2nd ed.)]

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Broadcasting

Local radio began to operate under the British Mandate (1922–48), which established the "Voice of Jerusalem." This official radio station came on the air for the first time on March 30, 1936, and served the Jewish and Arab populations as well as British administration officials. With the establishment of the State of Israel, the name of the radio station was changed to *Kol Israel* (Voice of Israel) and an army radio station, *Gallei Ẓahal* (IDF Radio), was also opened. For many years, these two stations constituted the country's entire broadcasting system – monolithic and government-controlled.

In 1965, the status of state radio underwent a major change. *Kol Yisrael*, by then broadcasting on two wavelengths, became an autonomous body, the Israel Broadcasting Authority. Three years later, when Israel Television was established, it also became part of the Authority.

In 1996 the government declared its intention to privatize public broadcasting as part of a general policy of privatization. Supporters of public radio argued that the stations should be kept free of commercial constraints, in order to guarantee freedom of speech in a democratic society. Subsequently, in the mid-1990s, 15 regional radio stations were added to the *Kol Israel* and *Gallei Ẓahal* national stations.

KOL ISRAEL. The network operates several stations, geared to various audiences. Reshet Alef (first station) broadcasts general, cultural, and children's programs. Reshet Bet (second station) focuses on news and current events. Reshet Gimmel (third station) offers light Israeli music, especially Hebrew songs. Kol ha-Musikah plays classical music, Kol ha-Derekh combines traffic reports and music, and Reka is aimed at new immigrants, broadcasting mainly in Russian and Amharic. Kol Zion la-Golah is beamed to Jewish communities abroad and *Kol Israel* in Arabic is broadcast for Israeli Arabs and listeners in Arab countries.

GALLEI ẒAHAL. *Gallei Ẓahal*, the army radio network set up in 1950, broadcasts on two stations and enjoys great popularity. The first station provides news and talk shows and the second (*Gal-Galaẓ*) offers music and traffic reports. Although funded by the army, it is popular among civilians.

REGIONAL RADIO. The licensed regional radio stations set up in the mid-1990s operate privately. Two of them are aimed at specific audiences: *Radio 2000* for the Arabs of northern Israel and *Kol Ḥai* in central Israel for Jewish religious listeners. Broadcasting Authority licenses are limited to a 4–6-year period. Revenue is from commercials.

UNLICENSED (PIRATE) STATIONS. An unusual phenomenon in Israel is the proliferation of radio stations operating without licenses. The first such station, the Voice of Peace, started broadcasting in 1973 on the model of similar stations in Europe, transmitting mainly from a ship anchored outside Israel's territorial waters. Today, many more such stations operate around the country. Although they are illegal, the authorities tend to be lenient. Some are amateur, others provide ethnic music or religious programs, and some are commercial, funded by advertisements.

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Television

Local television started fairly late in Israel – in 1968 – mainly out of economic and social considerations. Israel's first prime minister, David *Ben-Gurion, opposed its introduction despite the recommendations of a committee that he himself had set up in 1951. He was put off by the entertainment factor and was afraid that television would promote materialistic and individualistic pursuits among the country's youth. Levi *Eshkol, the minister of finance, thought that television should be kept out of Israel indefinitely because it would create pressures for higher living standards.

Orthodox Jewish circles also opposed television, fearing it would show women in immodest dress and broadcast unsuitable programs. Thus tens of thousands of ultra-Orthodox households do not have television sets. Religious circles also fought against television broadcasts on the Sabbath. In the early days of Israeli television, the Israel Broadcasting Authority (IBA) tended to accede to the demand for a Sabbath blackout. However, with the backing of the Supreme Court, and against the will of Prime Minister Golda *Meir, the IBA decided not to stop broadcasts on Friday evenings.

For many years Israeli viewers had only one channel, broadcasting a few hours for children (Educational TV) in the afternoon and a few hours for adults in evening in black and white. The year 1994 marked a revolution in Israeli television viewing. After more than a quarter of a century of living with its single channel, Israelis were now offered a choice of 40 channels in more than a dozen languages. To the state-owned Channel One were added, gradually, three networks: the commercial Channel Two, the commercial Channel Ten (both financed mainly by commercials) and cable TV, which captured a considerable portion of the national market.

CHANNEL TWO. Starting full operations in November 1993, the network awarded three companies franchises: Tel-Ad, Reshet, and Keshet, each getting two days a week of air time with the seventh day rotated among them. Channel Two has its own news division, shared by the licensees. Broadcasting 22–24 hours a day, it produces 40% of its programs locally, getting high ratings, and thus exerting a great influence on the Israeli entertainment scene.

CHANNEL TEN. On the air since January 2002 after the merger of the winners of the concession (Israel 10 and Eden Broadcasting), the network has been plagued by financial problems, with ratings and revenues not as high as expected. Programming is similar to that of Channel Two.

CABLE TV. The year 1994 also saw the completion of the country's cable TV infrastructure. By mid-1994, some 720,000 Israeli households were able to receive cable television and, in 2004, the average penetration rate was 60 percent. The two major cable companies were Hot and Yes, which started broadcasting in 2002.

The law governing cable TV divided the country into geographical areas, with one licensee per area and revenues provided by user fees. The cable networks offer dozens of channels, some Israeli (although broadcasting many foreign shows) and some foreign, picked up by satellite (including MTV, SKY NEWS, CNN, BBC, and ESPN, as well as channels from Arabic and European countries).

Among the local channels, many are aimed at specific population groups, including Israel Plus (the Russian channel), Tekhelet (national-religious), the Mediterranean channel (aimed at Sephardim), the science channel, and a planned Arabic channel.

EDUCATIONAL TELEVISION. In 1965, Israel became the first country in the world to have educational TV before regular TV. ETV provides not only educational programming but also enrichment programs and broadcasts on current events. It broadcasts on Channels One and Two, as well as on cable TV. Funding is provided by the Ministry of Education and Culture.

VIEWING CULTURE. A study of leisure culture in Israel conducted in the early l990s showed that Israelis spend about half of their free time in front of the TV. This is somewhat more than the average in Western countries. The preference of the Israel public, confirmed in every survey, is for news programs and news-based talk shows, with the three major networks always ready to interrupt regular broadcasting with breaking stories. Another penchant is the taste for South American melodramas.

Another important influence of television is its rapidly growing share of the advertising market, reshaping the industry.

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Film

Though small in scope (an average of 10–15 films a year since 1967 and even fewer before that), the Israeli film industry offers a wide range of styles and genres and has always had substantial audiences in Israel and abroad. In fact, in the 1960s the number of tickets bought in Israel annually was similar to the number in countries over twice its size. Although not artistically acclaimed until recent years, the Israeli film has faithfully mirrored the country's culture and politics.

Israeli cinema began even before the State of Israel was established. Though very few feature films were made before the 1950s, many informational shorts, documentaries, newsreels, and promotional films were produced and funded by various Zionist organizations (Jewish Agency, Jewish National Fund, etc.). These films were made primarily for distribution abroad. One example is *Eretz Yisrael Mitoreret* ("Eretz Israel Awakens"; Ben-Dov, 1923), which tells the story of a wealthy American Jewish cotton broker who decides to return to the land of his fathers after traveling in the country for a month, meeting famous figures from the *yishuv* and visiting various towns and kibbutzim.

The key figures in this early cinema were Baruch Agadati and Nathan Axelrod, both filming from a Zionist perspective emphasizing the building of the land. Both established film companies: Moledet, Carmel, and Geva, which made daily newsreels. Later (in 1958), the Carmel Studio was incorporated into the Herzliyyah Studio.

Key films in the early Zionist cinema are *Oded ha-Noded* ("Oded The Wanderer"; Chaim Halachmi, 1932), *Sabra* (Alexander Ford, 1933), *Land Of Promise* (Yehuda Lehman, 1935), *On The Ruins* (Nathan Axelrod, 1936), *Bet Avi* ("My Father's House"; Herbert Kline, 1947) – all emphasizing the land and nature, all dealing to a certain extent with Zionist pioneers, Jewish labor, and the liberal and humanistic sides of Zionism. One can see the influence of Soviet socialist cinema in the visual style and editing techniques.

During the 1950s the Heroic-Nationalist genre was constructed, following the patterns of the early Zionist cinema. Filming became more organized with the establishment of Israel, and now had both a propaganda aim vis-à-vis foreign audiences and a pedagogic aim for new immigrants, who found the medium easy to understand.

Key films are *Giva 24 Eina Onah* ("Hill 24 Doesn't Answer"; Thorwald Dikenson, 1955), *Ammud ha-Esh* ("Pillar of Fire"; Larry Frisch, 1959), *Hem Hayyu Asarah* ("They Were Ten"; Baruch Dienar, 1959), *Hu Halakh be-Saddot*; ("He Walked in the Fields"; Yosef Milou, 1967), and *Ha-Matarah Tiran* ("Target Tiran"; Rafi Nosbaum, 1968). In these films national issues are at the center of the plot, constituting an axis around which the exploits of the heroes revolve. The tools of the cinematic medium (photography, editing, music, etc.) are used to glorify the idea of building and struggling for the land. In very dynamic scenes we see people plowing, reaping, and dancing the pioneer *hora*, sometimes with the use of montage editing, which make them even more vivid.

But as the country changed, so did its films, with the materialism and individualism of the post Six-Day War period starting to make itself felt. First, popular romantic themes began to creep into the Heroic-Nationalist genre, as in *Kol Mamzer Melekh* ("Every Bastard a King"; Uri Zohar, 1967), and later the national film itself began to give way to two new genres: the Class Cinema and the Personal Cinema, which were dominant in the 1960s and 1970s.

The popular films of the late 1960s and 1970s dealt with ethnic problems between Sephardim and Ashkenazim. These productions, later called "burekas (knish) films," were either melodramas or comedies, all with a happy ending and often involving a "mixed" marriage. Even though received very poorly critically, these films were enthusiastically received by the public. Films like *Sallah Shabbati* (*Kishon, 1964) and *Kazablan* (Frisch, 1964) were huge successes, each with 1.2 million viewers. Films like *Charlie ve-Ḥetzi* ("Charlie and a Half"; Davidson, 1974) and *Ḥaggigah be-Snuker* ("Snookerfest"; Davidson, 1975) are considered cult films, shaping the culture and imbued with nostalgic echoes.

As opposed to the popular Class Cinema, influenced by popular radio and theater shows, Personal Cinema (also called the New Sensitivity) drew its inspiration from European Modernism and the French New Wave. This cinema was acclaimed by the critics but had very limited audiences. Films such as *Ḥor ba-Levenah* ("Hole in the Moon"; Zohar, 1964) and *Mikreh Ishah* ("The Case of a Woman"; Katmor, 1969) were highly sophisticated in plot and filmic expression but were box-office flops. An exception was *Sheloshah Yamim ve-Yeled* ("Three Days and a Child"; Zohar, 1967), Based on a short story by A.B. *Yehoshua, it starred Oded Kotler, who won the Cannes Film Festival award for best actor, and had a large audience.

In the late 1970s, three films foreshadowed the coming political cinema of the 1980s. *Ḥirbet Ḥizah* (Ram Levy, 1978), dealing with the roots of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, was the first of the "conflict films." *Masa Alunkot* ("Paratroopers"; Judd Ne'eman, 1977), the first anti-heroic war film, set the stage for a dozen more. *Rove Ḥulliyot* ("Wooden Gun"; Ilan Mosensohn, 1978) dealt, for the first time in Israeli cinema, with the shadow cast by the Holocaust on Israeli society and presaged a number of films on the subject.

The Israeli cinema of the 1980s was mostly political, offering a radical critique of Zionism. The loss of political power to the nationalist right-wing parties in 1977 prompted a new moral and political stance among the left-wing cultural elite.

The Israeli cinema reacted to the results of the 1977 elections with a new school of film. The films of the 1980s attacked the Zionist master-narrative that had dominated the cinema of the 1930–50 period. This trend had begun in 1978 with *Ḥirbet Ḥizah*, Ram Levy's television drama (based on a story by S. *Yizhar), and continued to develop in such films as *Ḥamsin* (Daniel Wachsman, 1982), *Me-Aḥorei ha-Soregim* ("Beyond the Walls"; Uri Barabash, 1984), *Ḥiyyukh ha-Gedi* ("Smile of the Lamb"; Shimon Dotan, 1986), *Avanti Popolo* (Rafi Bukai, 1986), and *Saddot Yerukim* ("Greenfields"; Yitzhak Yeshurun, 1989). Not only did these films represent the Arab-Israeli conflict as an uncompromising struggle between two national movements but in some cases judged the entire Zionist enterprise to be misguided.

Films in the 1990s took a different turn, less political, more escapist. Many of these can be termed "Sheinkin films," for the bohemianish street in Tel Aviv, and deal with the problems of young people in a big city searching for meaning. Major examples are *Shuru* (Gavison, 1991) and *Shirat ha-Sirenah* ("Siren's Song"; Fox, 1994), both focusing on the life of career people in their 30s looking to find their way in society. Another direction was seen in films that tried to come to terms with the past and the older generation. *Sheḥor* (Hasfari, 1994), *The New Land* (Ben Dor, 1994), and *Aya – Autobiographiyah Dimyonit* ("Aya – An Imaginary Autobiography": Bat-Adam, 1994) all focus on childhood experiences, the generation gap, and the identity crisis among people of different origins in a new country. Political themes can be traced in films like *Ha-Ḥayyim al pi Agfa* ("Life According to Agfa"; Dayan, 1992), which portrays a self-destructive society.

The most controversial film of this last period was *Jenin, Jenin* (Bakri, 2002), a 54-minute documentary purporting to present Israeli military operations in the West Bank town of Jenin during Operation Defensive Shield. Condemned as a distorted version of events, it was banned by the Israel Film Board, a decision subsequently overturned by the Supreme Court, reasoning that "lies do not justify a ban."

After 2000 one can discern a general period of growth in the Israeli film industry. Due in part to the country's new Cinema Law passed in 2000 and a budget increase for the Israeli Film Fund (from $2.5 million in 2000 to $7 million in 2003), about 12–14 new feature films are getting roughly two-thirds of their budgets funded. Foreign investments are on the rise and local box-office sales jumped from 140,000 in 2000 to 450,000 in 2002.

Although these years were not the most auspicious for Israel economically and politically, the industry has turned out some widely successful films since 2000, including *Yossi & Jagger* (Eytan Fox, 2002), *Kenafayim Shevurot* ("Broken Wings"; Nir Bergman, 2002), *Massa'ot James le-Eretz ha-Kodesh* ("James' Journey to Jerusalem"; Ra'naan Alexandrowicz, 2003), *Ha-Assonot shel Nina* ("Nina's Tragedies": Savi Gavison, 2003), and *Nissu'im Me'uḥarim* ("Late Marriage," 2001) by the Israeli-Georgian filmmaker Dover Kosashvil. Made before the most recent Intifada, these latest Israeli films focus on personal and not national politics, engaging themselves with politics in a metaphorical way – which may be the reason for the films' successes both at home and abroad.

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[Anat Biger (2nd ed.)]

For sports in Israel, see *Sports.

ARAB POPULATION

GENERAL SURVEY

Under the British Mandate, 1917–48

In 1917, at the time of the British conquest of Palestine during World War I, the country's Arabic-speaking population numbered less than 600,000 persons; in 1947 it was estimated at 1,200,000. This enormous increase, by more than double in 30 years, was accompanied by steady progress in health, education, and standard of living. These achievements were partly due to the more efficient administration introduced by the Mandatory government, which improved security, consolidated land tenure and lessened the power of local autocrats, paid more attention to the needs of the villagers, expanded health and educational services, fostered agriculture, and abolished conscription. In the main, however, Arab progress – far superior to that registered in the neighboring countries, where Britain and France had introduced similar administrations – was connected with the growth of the Jewish community and its efforts to develop the country. This is shown by the comparative vital statistics, percentage of school attendance, and number of doctors, nurses, teachers, and so forth. Tax revenue received from the Jews by the Mandatory government enabled it to improve its health and education services for the Arabs. The Jews introduced better transportation and more modern banking and production methods; they provided an expanding market for Arab agricultural produce, as well as a convenient labor outlet. Their public services, which were partially at the disposal of the Arabs, stimulated them and the government to create similar facilities for the Arab population. Thousands of Arab immigrants, mostly illegal, entered the country throughout the period.

IN THE COUNTRYSIDE. About 67% of Palestinian Arabs worked on the land, the majority living in about 900 villages. Their agricultural methods were primitive: much of the plowing was done with the wooden "nail," unchanged since ancient times: there was little systematic fertilization (natural manure was used for fuel, and chemical fertilizer was rare); no attempt was made to tap water for irrigation; modern methods of marketing, cooperative purchasing, and credit did not take root, while loan sharks held sway over thousands of families. Large stretches of land – according to various estimates 25–30% – were under collective village ownership (*mush'a*), and since they were periodically redistributed the farmers were not interested in improvements, land amelioration, etc. The ownership of land by the *waqf* (religious trusts) was also regarded as a hindrance to its rational utilization. Nevertheless, the Arab fellahin or peasants were progressing from a natural economy, working only for its own needs without technological and social development, to a more modern economy. Not only landowners, but thousands of fellahin undertook intensive fruit and vegetable growing, using fairly modern methods, as well as poultry and livestock raising. Not only were substantial sums of money pumped into the Arab village – at least part of which was invested in the improvement of economic, housing, and other conditions – but thousands of youths were attracted to the cities and the Jewish settlements, some of them returning to their villages equipped with new ideas and ways.

Although these developments led to the growing disintegration of the rural social structure, the old patriarchal framework still wielded great power. The patriarchal family or group of interrelated families (*ḥamūla*) was still the dominant social unit. It was not the individual who determined his relationship to society, to his neighbors and the government, to organizations and political parties, but the family or *ḥamūla*, the head of which still held absolute sway not only in business, marriage, and family affairs, but even over the lives of its members. Nomadic customs, such as blood feuds and collective family responsibility, survived. The killing of girls or married women by their brothers, husbands, or other relatives for deviation from accepted village morality was a common occurrence.

For the most part, the village *ḥamūla* was bound by a kind of alliance – sometimes through consanguinity or common origin – with others in neighboring villages. Thus, networks of clans arose, connected, in semi-feudal fashion, with urban families or with regional or urban notables. In exchange for protecting the interests of the villagers against rival families, the authorities, the police, and the courts and "arranging" their economic, financial, employment, and public affairs, the village notables and the leading urban families enjoyed the villagers' political loyalty. This was the basis of political life among the Palestinian Arabs. Although the political attitudes and party affiliations of the urban leaders frequently changed, their relationship with the village families remained almost fixed. Hence the "parties" formed in the cities, with the recurrent formation and disintegration of factions, were the concern of limited groups of urban intellectuals and politicians, and their influence on the village masses was negligible.

IN THE CITIES. Of the 30–35% of Palestinian Arabs who lived in the cities, 30–35% were engaged in manual labor, industry, and construction; 15–17% in haulage and transportation: 20–23% in business; 5–8% in the free professions; 5–7% in public services; 6–9% in domestic services and the like; and the rest in miscellaneous occupations. The traditional manufactures of the urban Arabs, including home industry (such as the production of soap, oils, flour, and textiles), were increasingly displaced by new local industries and cheap foreign products. However, side by side with the traditional manufactures, and in great measure deriving from them, a modern Arab industry was developing, especially in textiles and cigarette manufacture. At the end of the period, the number of urban Arabs in steady employment in industry, crafts, public works, construction, and international and Jewish projects was estimated at 25,000–30,000, in addition to a few thousand in home industries. Many were semi-rural transients who later returned to their villages.

A similar development took place in commerce, where, side by side with the traditional small concern, modern Arab wholesale commerce evolved, especially in food marketing. Arabs also played an important role in the import and export trade, as well as in banking. In addition to the international and British banks – which employed many Arab managers and senior officials – and the Jewish banks, there were two Arab ones: the Arab Bank (established 1930) and the Arab People's Bank (established 1940). Although the characteristic features of the urban economy in Arab countries – preference for commerce over industry and the investment of surplus capital in real estate – existed in Palestine, they gradually became less clear and prominent there, doubtless because of the Jewish example. The middle class, including an intellectual stratum, was also more developed among the Palestinians than in other Arab societies. There were three or four dailies (one founded in 1911) during the period, as well as several weeklies and other periodicals, and textbooks and essays were published in Arabic; there was no significant literary work, however. The bulk of their cultural nourishment came from Egypt and, second hand, via Lebanon. Likewise, the Palestinian Arabs scarcely evinced any artistic capacity in theater, music, etc.; here, too, Egypt was the main source of supply.

[Yaacov Shimoni]

DEMOGRAPHY AND VITAL STATISTICS. The first official census in 1922 counted some 752,000 inhabitants, of whom 83,790 were Jews. Of the 668,258 non-Jews, 78% – 589,177 – were Muslims; there were 71,464 Christian and 7,617 Druze and others. In March 1947 the non-Jewish population was given as 1,319,434: 1,157,423 Muslims, 146,162 Christians, and 15,849 others. (The figures for Arabs in 1947 were, apparently, inflated because of the institution of rationing in 1942 and the consequent reluctance to report deaths.) Most of the Christians were also Arabs, but their total included a substantial number of English, other Europeans, and Armenians as well (see Table: Muslim Population in Palestine).

Most of the Arab growth was a result of the extraordinary natural increase, due to the fall in the death rate and the rise in

Population of Palestine, 1922–47

Year	Muslims	Christians	Druze & Other	Jews	Total
1922	589,177	71,464	7,617	83,790	752,048
1931	759,700	88,907	10,101	174,606	1,033,314
1936	862,730	108,506	11,378	384,708	1,366,692
1942	995,292	127,184	13,121	484,408	1,620,005
1947	1,157,423	146,162	15,849	614,239	1,933,673

Muslim Population in Palestine

	Urban		Rural	
	No.	Index	No.	Index
Census 1922	139,074	100	451,816	100
Census 1931	188,075	136	571,637	126
Estimate 1936	229,000	165	619,000	137

fertility, while the birthrate remained stable. Natural increase rose from 23.3 per thousand in 1922–25 to 30.7 in 1941–44 (see Table: Muslim Births, Deaths and Natural Increase, Palestine). Fertility, as measured by the average number of children born to a Muslim mother, rose from 6.1 in 1927–29 to 8.1 in 1942–43. In Egypt, on the other hand, the death rate was 33.7 per thousand in 1924–26 and 30.3 in 1939–41, while the fertility rate in 1940 was 6.4. As the British Mandatory government's *Survey of Palestine* (1946) put it: "The Arabs of Palestine have, during the last two decades, been in an almost unique demographic position. This improvement is particularly noticeable in those sub-districts of the coastal plain which have been the main Jewish immigration areas" (p. 714).

Muslim Births, Deaths, and Natural Increase, Palestine

Years	Births	Deaths	Natural Increase
1922/25	50.2	26.9	23.3
1931/35	50.3	25.3	25.0
1941/44	50.1	19.4	30.7

Improvements in health conditions by the drainage of swamps, better sanitation, and modern medical methods were largely responsible for almost halving the infant mortality rate among Muslim children and raising the average life-span by more than ten years (see Table: Muslim Infant Mortality and Life Expectancy). In 1921 there were 304 government hospital beds in the country, 402 Jewish, and 782 Christian. By 1944 there were 1,377 beds in government and 1,410 in Jewish hospitals. The percentage of malaria patients dropped from 7.17 in 1922 to 0.7 in 1944. In Egypt, by comparison, there was no decline in infant mortality during the period; life expectancy for males rose from 31 to 34.2 between 1917–27 and 1927–37, while for females it actually fell from 36 to 31.5.

Part of the increase in Arab population, however, was due to migration. In the 20 years between 1922 and 1942, 20,015 Muslims, 15,645 Christians, and 336 others (excluding Jews) were officially registered as immigrants to Palestine. Since there was considerable unrecorded movement of laborers across the borders, especially from Syria, the actual number of immigrants was undoubtedly much larger; it has been estimated as high as 100,000.

Muslim Infant Mortality and Life Expectancy

Years	Child Mortality[1]	Life Expectancy	
	(per 1,000 births)	Male	Female
1926/30	412	37.1	37.9
1936/40	289	46.4	47.7
1941/44	251	49.4	50.4

[1] Deaths per 1,000 in the first five years of life.

EDUCATION. There was also a significant improvement in education. In July 1920 the 171 government schools in the country had 408 teachers and 10,662 pupils, almost half of whom were Arab. In July 1944, as a result of the British drive to improve the system, there were 64,790 Arab pupils in government schools (59,045 Muslims and 5,745 Christians), as well as 39,828 in private schools (17,815 Muslims and 22,013 Christians). To a large extent the increase was due to the construction of new schools in the villages. Education did not reach all the Arabs, however. According to the 1931 census, 85.6% of the Muslims, 76.7% of the Druze, and 42.3% of the Christians over seven years old were illiterate. In 1944 only 34% of the total school-age population was in school. The most deprived were the village girls. While 85% of the Muslim boys and 52% of the girls in the urban areas received some schooling, in the villages the percentages were only 65% for boys and 5% for girls.

The demarcation lines laid down in the armistice agreements with Egypt and Jordan split the Arabs of Western Palestine between three territorial units: the State of Israel; the central hill region of Judea and Samaria, annexed to Transjordan as the "West Bank" of the Jordan kingdom; and the Gaza Strip, under Egyptian occupation.

In the State of Israel, 1948–67

With the flight of thousands of Arabs immediately before and during the War of Independence (see Arab Refugees in *Israel, State of: Historical Survey), some 156,000 were left in Israel in November 1948, out of an estimated 750,000 who lived in the area at the end of 1947. The succeeding 18 years saw a sharp increase in their number: it doubled by the end of 1966, when there were some 312,500, and from 1951 to 1966 they accounted for about 11% of the population. Table: Non-Jewish Population, Israel, 1949–69 shows the Arab and Druze population at the end of each year, in thousands.

The major reason for this growth was the unusually high rate of natural increase, one of the highest in the world, which rose in Israel from 33.7 per thousand in 1950 to 42.8 in 1960 and 43.4 in 1966, falling to 40.8 in 1969. There was a drop in the death rate from 9.48 per thousand in 1950 to 7.5 in 1960 and 5.9 in 1969, and a high birthrate: 56 per 1,000 in 1950, 50.3 in

Non-Jewish Population, Israel, 1949–69 (in thousands)

Year	Muslims	Christians	Druzes & Other	Total	% of Population
1949	111.5	34.0	14.5	160.0	14.9
1950	116.1	36.0	15.0	167.1	12.9
1951	118.9	39.0	15.5	173.4	11.4
1952	122.8	40.4	16.1	179.3	11.0
1953	127.6	41.4	16.8	185.8	11.0
1954	131.8	42.0	18.0	191.8	11.2
1955	136.3	43.3	19.0	198.6	11.1
1956	141.4	43.7	19.8	204.9	11.0
1957	146.9	45.8	20.5	213.2	10.8
1958	152.8	47.3	21.4	221.5	10.9
1959	159.3	48.3	22.3	229.9	11.0
1960	166.3	49.6	23.3	239.1	11.1
1961	174.9	51.3	26.3	252.5	11.3
1962	183.0	52.6	27.3	262.9	11.3
1963	192.2	53.9	28.5	274.5	11.3
1964	202.3	55.5	28.6	284.6	11.3
1965	212.4	57.1	29.8	299.3	11.5
1966	223.0	58.5	31.0	312.5	11.8
1967[1]	286.6	70.6	33.1	392.7	14.1
1968	300.8	72.1	33.3	406.3	14.3
1969	317.0	73.0	34.0	424.0	14.5

[1] Including 55,000 Muslims and 12,000 Christians added as a result of the reunification of Jerusalem.

1960, and 46.7 in 1969. The average number of children born to an Arab woman in 1967 was 7.4, while the average Arab family in 1968 consisted of 6.8 persons.

As a result of this unusual rate of natural increase, the Arab population was very young. The median age, which was 17 years in 1955, dropped to 16.3 in 1961 and to 14.8 in 1967. In 1955, 45% of the Arab population was under 15 years old. By 1967 that age group accounted for more than half of the population (50.4%), and almost three-quarters of all the Arabs (74.3%) were younger than 30. Just over half the Israel Arabs are males: according to the 1955 census, 51.5% of the Muslims, 50% of the Christians, and 51.4% of the Druze were males, and this proportion continues to hold.

Other factors also helped to augment the number of Arabs in Israel. While emigration was negligible (less than 6,000 Arabs left Israel between 1949 and 1969), there was a substantial immigration, some 40,000 returning under the "reunion of families" scheme. Border adjustments under the 1949 Armistice Agreements also added some 30,000 Arabs in the "Little Triangle" area, a narrow strip from the Jezreel Valley to Kafr Qassem.

IN THE VILLAGES. The majority of Israel Arabs live in villages, as they have throughout the centuries, but the percentage of rural inhabitants steadily decreased: from about 78% of the Arab population at the end of 1949 to 57% – some 241,000 souls – in 1969. Most of the Arab villages are in the northern section of Israel (Northern and Haifa districts), where almost 80% of the rural Arab population lived in 1969, making up some 67% of its rural population. Of the 98 Arab villages, 40 held 2,000 or more inhabitants each, and 58 less than 2,000. More than a third (36%) of the Arabs lived in the large villages and 11% in the small ones; almost 9% were Bedouin.

While agriculture was still the main occupation, there was been a noticeable drop in the percentage of Arabs working on the land. In 1954 58% of Israel Arabs were engaged in agriculture; by 1964 this figure has decreased to 39% and in 1969 it was only 31.5%. On the other hand, the area cultivated by Arabs in Israel increased from 340,000 dunams (85,000 acres) in 1948/49 to 870,000 dunams (217,000 acres) in 1968/69. The land under irrigation went up from 8,000 dunams (2,000 acres) in 1948/49 to more than 40,000 dunams (10,000 acres) in 1968/69. Of the cultivated area, a little less than half (400,000 dunams) was cultivated by the Bedouin. Almost 90% of the area (apart from that cultivated by the Bedouin) is privately owned.

The government did much to aid the development of the Arab villages. An IL 85,000,000 five-year plan for the purpose was completed in 1967 and a second, to cost IL 115,000,000, was launched. The three main goals have been the intensification of cultivation, diversification of crops, and the extension of land area. The first aim was implemented through a program of increased irrigation, mechanization, fertilization, and disease control; the second through the introduction of industrial crops, such as cotton, ground nuts, and sugar beet; and the third by reclaiming unused land and protecting the soil from erosion and overuse. In addition, access and internal roads were built, loans and technical assistance provided, and electricity and piped water supplied. As a result of these efforts and of the general rise in the country's standard of living, life in the villages improved markedly. At the end of the British Mandate there were only five farm machines in the entire Arab sector; by 1968 there were more than 450 of all types. Before Israel was established hardly a single Arab village had either electricity or running water; by 1968 virtually every village was connected to the national electric grid and every home had running water.

These changes altered many of the traditional aspects of the Arab village. Almost half the members of the Arab labor force now worked outside their regular place of residence, as many of the villagers found employment in the cities, while continuing to live in their villages. Modernization and democratization weakened the hold of traditional institutions, such as the *ḥamūla*, or extended family, which depended upon its economic power, ownership of the land, and influence with the government to maintain control of the village. Now, with outside employment available, compulsory education, and the election of local councils, a leadership more responsive to the wishes of the villagers was created and strengthened.

IN THE CITIES. The major urban centers inhabited by the Israel Arabs include the six "mixed cities" of Acre, Haifa, Jerusalem, Lydda, Ramleh, and Tel Aviv-Jaffa, as well as the two wholly Arab towns of Nazareth and Shepharam. The percentage of Arabs living in cities and towns steadily increased since the end of the Mandate. In 1947 some 25% of all Palestinian Arabs were urban; by 1969 the figure had grown to 43%, totaling 181,700 persons. The population rise in the two wholly Arab towns between 1950 and 1969 is indicative of the general trend. Nazareth's population grew during the period by almost two-thirds: from 20,000 to 32,900, while Shepharam more than doubled its size, from 3,900 to 10,500. Of the total non-Jewish population in Israel in 1969, aged 14 and over, 42.3% belonged to the labor force. Of these 91.4% were employed – the largest percentages, next to agriculture, in construction and industry.

In 1959, the *Histadrut began to accept Israel Arabs individually as full members (prior to that date they were only admitted to its medical insurance fund and to the trade unions). As a result, the number of Arabs paying union dues increased from some 6,000 in 1955 to 50,000 in 1969 and accounted for about half the Arab working population. Membership in the Histadrut, together with labor legislation that prescribes equality between Arab and Jewish workers, improved the conditions of the Arab laborer. Efforts were made to reduce pockets of unorganized and unskilled Arab labor, which did not yet benefit from wage protection and other social benefits.

HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND CULTURE. The sharp decrease in the death rate among Israel Arabs is basically a result of improved health services (see Health Services in *Israel, State of: Health). While the general death rate fell from some 9.48 per thousand in 1948 to 5.9 in 1969, the infant death rate dropped from 48.8 per thousand in 1951 to 40.3.

The Compulsory Education Act of 1949, providing for free and compulsory education between the ages of 5 and 14, and the construction of a school in almost every Arab village completely changed the picture of education for Israel Arabs (see *Israel, State of: Education). In 1958, 57 Arabs were enrolled at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem; the figure had grown to 160 by 1964 and more than 200 in 1969/70. In the latter year, 32 Arab students were enrolled at Tel Aviv University, 45 at Bar-Ilan University, 42 at the Technion, and some 300 at Haifa University.

Regular publications in Arabic included two dailies, two weeklies, and about ten monthlies and quarterlies. Some of these periodicals were affiliated with political parties and some with religious groups, while others were independent. Books in Arabic were widely available, many of them published in Israel by public or private concerns. Some were written by Israel Arabs or translated from other languages, including Hebrew. Works by Arabs in other countries were also available. There was a large central library in Jaffa, with almost 100,000 volumes. Arabic theater performances were held, mainly by amateur companies. Arabic movies and musical performances attracted large audiences. Regular Arabic radio programs put out by the Israel Broadcasting Authority for 14 hours a day included readings from the Koran and church services, as well as news, literary features, music, and items of human interest. Nightly television programs were broadcast in Arabic.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT. The Ministry of the Interior strongly encouraged the formation of local councils in order to raise the level of Arab local government to that of the Jews, to serve as a link between the villages and the government, and to act as a vehicle for economic progress, as part of the program for rural development. In 1948 only three Arab localities under Israel rule were governed by local councils. The municipal council of Nazareth was established in 1935 and that of Shepharam in 1934, while the village council of Kafr Yasīf dates back to 1925. By 1969 there were two Arab municipalities, 45 villages with local councils, and another 23 within larger regional councils. These covered some 80% of Israel's Arabs. Participation in local elections, which was greater than that of either Jews or Arabs in national elections, bore witness to the close relationship between the council and the villagers. Generally the national parties only vied for council seats in the larger localities, such as Nazareth; in the smaller villages the candidates generally represented rival families, clans, or religious communities. The major part of the councils' budgets was raised by local taxes, calculated according to the area of land or number of rooms owned, but the government made substantial contributions, especially for development projects, like the installation of electricity and water lines, or the construction of roads and schools, to which it usually contributed about 50% of the total expenditure.

NATIONAL POLITICS. The Arab community played a full and active role in national politics. Except for the first Knesset election in 1949, the proportion of Arab voters was higher than that among the Jews. Table: Percentage of Electors Voting at National Elections shows the comparison. After the first Knesset, which had only three Arab members, there were at least seven and sometimes eight (Second, Third, and Fifth Knessets). Most of these – two in the First Knesset, five in the Second, Third, and Fourth, four in the Fifth and Sixth, and five in the Seventh – were members of lists associated with, or affiliated to, Mapai (since 1968 the Israel Labor Party) or its alliances with other parties. These lists, which had names like Cooperation and Fraternity or Progress and Development, were generally divided along religious, geographical, and family lines. While the percentage voting for Mapai (Labor) or its affiliated lists dropped from more than 60% in 1949 to 50% in 1965, it nevertheless remained greater than that of any other party and rose to 57% in 1969 for the Labor-Mapam alliance (Ma'arakh).

The Israel Communist Party tried to attract Arab votes by making an Arab nationalist appeal, and provided a legal way of opposing the regime. This was particularly true of Rakaḥ (New Communist List), the larger of the two factions into which the party split in 1965 – the smaller, Maki, being mainly Jewish. Rakaḥ succeeded, together with Mapam, in gaining control of the Nazareth municipal council for a short period, from December 1965 to March 1966 and thereafter remained a strong

Percentage of Electors Voting at National Elections, Jews and Arabs, Israel, 1949–69

Election Year	Arabs	Jews
1949	79.3	86.9
1951	85.5	75.1
1955	91.0	82.8
1959	88.9	81.6
1961	85.6	81.6
1965	87.8	83.0
1969	84.0	82.0

opposition. The strength of the Communists in the Knesset elections was irregular; winning 22% of the Arab vote in 1949 they dropped to 10% by 1959 but went up again to 22.6% in 1965, when they secured 38,800 votes (of which 38,000 went to Rakaḥ), as compared with the Labor affiliated lists' total of 48,000. In 1969 Rakaḥ obtained 34,000 votes to 67,000 for the Ma'arakh and its affiliated lists.

Mapam, the third of the national parties to appeal to the Arabs on a sustained basis, always included an Arab candidate in a prominent place on its list. Its strength gradually increased to 12.5% of the Arab vote in 1959 and fell slightly to 9.2% in 1965.

There were a number of attempts to organize wholly independent Arab parties – the first began immediately after the establishment of Israel – but all have proven unsuccessful. An extremist group, known as al-Ard, was declared illegal by the Supreme Court for opposing the existence of the State of Israel.

The two major national issues which agitated the Israeli Arabs in the first 20 years of statehood were military government and absentee property. Military government was established immediately after the 1948 war to control areas bordering on the Arab states and other sections of the country which the government considered strategically important. These areas included those in which most Israel Arabs lived, with the exception of the mixed cities. Movement was restricted within the areas and passes had to be obtained from the military government for travel to other parts of the country, whether on business, for work or study, or for short visits. Military government was gradually curtailed as security improved and opposition to it grew among Jews as well as Arabs. On Dec. 1, 1966 it was completely abolished. The problem of absentee property arose from the flight of the Arab refugees. In 1950 the government appointed a custodian to handle the property abandoned by those who left the country. Some of the land was used for the settlement of Jewish refugees and the establishment of new towns. However, many Arabs protested against inequities in defining an absentee owner and, in 1953, a Land Acquisition Law was passed. By 1965 the government had restored, exchanged, or paid compensation under this law to two-thirds of the claimants requesting redress.

[Julian J. Landau]

There were also other causes for dissatisfaction among Israel Arabs. Middle East tensions inevitably reacted on the situation within Israel and normal development was seriously hampered by the abnormality of the situation. The slowness of progress toward overall integration caused a certain disillusionment, especially among potentially intellectual circles, some of whom left the country in the hope of making their way successfully elsewhere. And while the Arab minority as a whole remained quiescent even at times of greatest strain, there was an inevitable undertone of identification with Arab national aspirations, which found expression in various ways. Attempts to induce Israel Arabs to cooperate in terrorist activities after 1967 proved far less successful than was at one time anticipated. But the cases that did occur (followed by punishment by the Israel authorities) had an adverse effect on the Jewish-Arab relationship.

Under Jordanian Rule, 1948–67

Under the United Nations partition resolution of Nov. 29, 1947, an Arab state was to be established, side by side with the Jewish state, in Western Palestine. Emir *Abdullah of Transjordan, however, joined the other Arab countries in opposition to partition; on Dec. 2, 1947, both houses of the Transjordanian parliament decided unanimously "to support Arab interests in Palestine," and the Arab Legion played a major part in the operations against Israel. Abdullah's army crossed the Jordan River on May 15, 1948, occupied the hill regions of Samaria and Judea, and set up a civil administration in the area. On May 18, the Legion reached Jerusalem and on the 27th occupied the Old City and part of its environs, but it did not go beyond the area allotted by the UN plan to the Arabs.

In September, Count *Bernadotte, the UN mediator, proposed the unification of the Arab part of western Palestine with Transjordan, but the proposal was rejected by the United Nations. On September 23, an "All-Palestine Government," loyal to Hajj Amīn al-*Husseini, the former mufti of Jerusalem, was set up in Gaza under Egyptian patronage and was soon recognized by all the Arab states, except Transjordan, against whom it was obviously directed. The Transjordanian authorities reacted by calling an assembly at Jericho, which, on October 1, passed a resolution calling for the annexation of "Arab Palestine." This decision was immediately denounced by the *Arab League, which warned Abdullah not to take any action that might lead to the liquidation of the independence of Palestine. On December 13, however, the Transjordanian parliament unanimously approved the Jericho resolution, and a week later the government of Transjordan appointed Sheikh Hassan al-Din Jarallah as mufti of Jerusalem in place of Husseini. In March 1949 a civil administration was set up in the area and in the following month the name of Abdullah's kingdom was changed to the Hashemite Kingdom of *Jordan. From March 1950, Jordanian government publications no longer used the name "Palestine," which was replaced by the term "West Bank" (i.e., the western part of the Jordan kingdom).

On Jan. 1, 1950, the former Transjordanian parliament was dissolved and new elections held on both banks, half the number of deputies – 20 (including three for the Christians) – being allotted to the West Bank. Despite the opposition of the Communists and the ex-mufti's followers, the elections were held on April 11, with a victory for Abdullah's supporters. On the 16th Abdullah appointed a new senate of 20, with eight Palestinian members, and on the 24th parliament confirmed the annexation of the territories west of the Jordan River, which were in the hands of the Legion. The Israel government spokesman described the annexation as "a unilateral step which is not binding on Israel," but Britain recognized the new status of the West Bank on April 27 and announced that the conditions of her alliance with Transjordan would apply to the annexed area. The Political Committee of the Arab League resolved that the annexation was a violation of its decisions, but did not accept an Egyptian proposal to expel the Jordan kingdom from the League. Jordan, which held the part of Jerusalem containing almost all the holy places, opposed the UN resolution on its internationalization.

Abdullah's new subjects were a constant source of trouble. The acquisition of some 900,000 Palestinians (half of them permanent inhabitants of the annexed areas and half refugees from those parts of western Palestine which became Israel) trebled the population of the kingdom and radically undermined its stability. The Palestinians had a much higher level of education, on the whole, than the population of Transjordan and looked down on its Bedouin tribesmen. Their professional men and skilled tradesmen could not find employment, nor their politicians satisfaction for their ambitions, in the primitive Jordanian economy and society. The refugees eked out a bare subsistence in the camps maintained by the UN Relief and Works Agency, and much of its inadequate allotments found their way into the pockets of corrupt local officials. The idle and discontented refugees were like tinder, readily inflamed in any emergency. Many of them blamed Abdullah for failing to prosecute the war against Israel with sufficient energy and denounced him as a tool in the hands of the British, anxious only to expand his kingdom. There were frequent demonstrations in the refugee camps, where Abdullah's secret police repeatedly discovered plots against the regime. Finally, the discontent, fed by the incitement of Egyptian agents and the ex-mufti's Higher Arab Committee, bore fruit; on July 20, 1951, Abdullah was assassinated on the steps of the Al-Aqṣā Mosque in Jerusalem by followers of Husseini.

Palestinians continued to play a prominent part in Jordanian politics during the reign of Abdullah's grandson *Hussein. Mūsā al-ʿAlamī, an opponent of the ex-mufti, headed the Jordanian branch of the all-Arab Baʿth party, but he lost most of his support in the wave of Nasserist enthusiasm that followed the Egyptian officers' revolution in 1952, since he was in favor of union with Iraq. When riots broke out in the refugee camps, with Egyptian encouragement, ʿAlamī's model farm near Jericho was sacked by the demonstrators. The West Bank was also a focus of conflict between Jordan and Israel because of acts of violence committed by Palestinian infiltrators and Israel reprisals, which reached their peak in the attacks on Qibya on Oct. 14, 1953, and Naḥḥālīn on April 29, 1954.

Palestinians also played a prominent part in the three days of continuous demonstrations that followed the arrival in Amman, in December 1955, of General Templer, the chief of the British Imperial General Staff, for the purpose of persuading Jordan to join the Baghdad Pact, and which were followed by the resignation of the government. At the elections in October 1956, it was Suleiman al-Nabulsi, of Nablus (Shechem) who led the pro-Nasser National Socialist Party to victory and, as prime minister of the post-election cabinet, brought Jordan into the Egyptian-Syrian-Saudi Arabian military pact and the joint Egyptian-Syrian command. The Palestinians also played a considerable role in the unrest that threatened to topple King Hussein's throne during the next few years.

With the increasing prosperity that followed the generous American subventions to Jordan, in addition to the aid it received from the United Kingdom, Saudi Arabia, and Kuwait, thousands of Palestinian refugees flocked from the camps into Amman and over 200,000 peasants and refugees from the neglected West Bank crossed the Jordan River. The refugees, as well as the Palestinian intellectuals, began to find places in the Jordanian economy. However, the Palestinians were constantly competing for power with the Transjordanians, who kept the reins firmly in their hands, thanks largely to their predominance in the Arab Legion. The determination of the Arab states to perpetuate the problem helped to keep the Palestinians conscious of their separate character, and the idea of a "Palestine entity" began to be mooted. In 1964 the Palestine Liberation Organization, headed by Ahmad Shukeiri, was set up, and the al-Fatḥ Organization was founded in 1965 to carry on the struggle for "the liberation of Palestine" (see Arab National Movement in *Israel, State of: Historical Survey).

In 1966 the population of the West Bank totaled 860,000, of whom some two-thirds lived in the countryside. About 90% were Muslims, most of them Sunnis. The majority of the 50,000 Christians lived in the Jerusalem district (including Bethlehem) and most of the rest in the Nablus district. According to the UNRWA rolls, which were never rigorously investigated, there were some 435,000 refugees, of whom about 140,000 lived in the camps (see *Israel, State of: Historical Survey (Arab Refugees)). They were regarded as citizens with equal rights, and a considerable proportion of them had their own sources of income in addition to the UNRWA allocations. It was estimated that about 120,000 refugees emigrated from Jordan – most of them from the West Bank – to Arab and other countries, and many of them sent money home to support their families and relations. One of the results of this emigration was a surplus of women in the area. The natural increase was very high, over 4%; the percentage of children below the age of 15 was, consequently, also high – 43%. Participation in the labor force was among the lowest in the world – some 22%. Of those employed, some 37% worked in agriculture, 14.6% in services, 11.6% in industry, and 10.4% in construction.

In the Gaza Strip, 1948–67

In the *Gaza Strip, which was left in Egyptian occupation under the terms of the 1949 Armistice Agreement with Israel, the resident population of 50–60,000 was swamped by the influx of refugees from other parts of the country, variously estimated at between 120,000 and 150,000, while Arab sources claim even higher figures. With a total of 180–200,000 inhabitants, the population density was over 1,400 per sq. mi., among the highest in the world. The refugees were concentrated in 12 camps and settlements, where they were maintained by UNRWA and the Quakers. Unlike Transjordan, Egypt obeyed the Arab League's ban on the annexation of portions of former Mandatory Palestine occupied by Arab states, thus absolving herself of the responsibility for supporting the Strip's inhabitants. The "Palestine Arab Government," established in September 1948 with its "temporary" center in Gaza, soon ceased to operate. The mayor of Gaza's repeated appeals to the Egyptian government to annex the Strip were rejected on the ground that "the independence of Palestine" must be protected.

Until the end of 1953 the Strip was administered as occupied territory. Local authorities continued to operate under Egyptian supervision in the two main towns, Gaza and *Khan Yunis, but the representatives of the rural population had no say in the running of their affairs. The Egyptians did nothing to develop the economy: they protected their own textile industry by withholding raw materials from the Gaza cotton mills, exhausted the Strip's foreign currency reserves, and rigidly enforced customs barriers between the area and Egypt. At the end of 1953 a law was passed to regulate the administration of the Strip. The executive power was in the hands of the governor, who was subordinate to the Egyptian minister of war, and an executive council consisting of heads of departments appointed by the ministry. There was a legislative council, also headed by the governor, consisting of members of the executive council, eight members of local authorities, and six representatives of the professions. The governor could veto any law passed by the legislative council, subject to appeal to the Egyptian minister of war, who also appointed the judges. In 1955 a new constitution was promulgated, providing for the election of the legislative council.

Despite her obligations under the Armistice Agreement, Egypt concentrated armed forces in the Strip, which also served as a major base for infiltrators into Israel and later for the fedayeen (terrorist "suicide squads") under Egyptian command. Israel's retaliatory operations against military targets in the Strip aroused the fury of the populace, particularly the refugees, who rioted against the Egyptian authorities and the UN observers, demanding a free hand to fight Israel. During the Sinai Campaign (1956), the Israel Defense Forces occupied the Strip. The Israel authorities took energetic measures to restore normal life, reconstituting the municipalities and local authorities. Israel withdrew from the Strip in March 1957, however, and the entry of a UN Emergency Force was immediately followed by the return of the Egyptians, severe punishment being meted out to local leaders who had collaborated with the Israelis.

The UN force was stationed mainly along the armistice demarcation line, and there was a considerable drop in the number of border incidents. Its presence helped to mitigate the economic difficulties of the population, but they were still forbidden to leave the area without the Egyptian military governor's permission. On the establishment of the United Arab Republic (1958), the Egyptians promulgated a new constitution for the Strip, providing for an executive council of ten, headed by the Egyptian governor, and a legislative council of 30, including eight Egyptians. At its first meeting, the council expressed a desire to join the UAR, but the Strip continued to be administered as a separate territory. In 1962 a new constitution was promulgated giving the refugees equal rights with the permanent inhabitants. Egypt continued to maintain a "Palestinian" military unit consisting of local inhabitants. As a result of the cease-fire agreement accepted by Egypt after the 1967 war, the Strip was again placed under Israel administration.

Most of the lands owned by the permanent inhabitants of the strip before the War of Independence were on the Israel side of the demarcation line; according to the Clapp Committee, which reported to the UN in September 1949, all the cultivable land in the Strip was already under plow. Hence, food and other goods had to be imported, while the purchasing power of the population was low, due to poverty and unemployment. The major export was citrus, but the economy of the Strip was based mostly on welfare income, mainly from the UN; contributions from relatives abroad; the budget of the Egyptian administration; and the outlays of the UN force – making a total estimated in 1960 at $21,000,000. In 1962 there were 53,000 pupils in primary schools, 14,000 in pre-secondary schools, and 8,800 in secondary and vocational schools. Separate schools for the children of the refugees were maintained by UNRWA. Due to the high rate of natural increase, especially among the refugees, the population grew rapidly and, since few could leave, so did the overcrowding in the area. The Egyptian estimate of the population of the Strip – 454,960 in 1966 – was found to be vastly exaggerated when the Israel authorities carried out a census in September 1967, but even the census total of 356,000 gave a population density of some 2,500 per sq. mi.

After the Six-Day War

As a result of the Six-Day War over a million more Arabs came under Israel rule. Jerusalem was reunified by the Ministry of the Interior's order of June 28, 1967 extending the municipal boundaries to include the eastern part of the city, the population of which were regarded as permanent residents of Israel. Judea and Samaria (the "West Bank"), the Gaza Strip, the Sinai Peninsula, and the Golan Heights were placed under military government.

JERUSALEM. The reunification of Jerusalem added some 67,000 Arabs – 55,000 Muslims and 12,000 Christians – to the Israel Arab community bringing the total up to 392,700, 14.1% of the population at the end of 1967 and 422,700 (14.6%) in 1969. The number of non-Jews in the Jerusalem district increased from 4,800 in 1966 to 76,600 at the end of 1969, i.e., from 1.5% to 18.1% of the Arab population. Out of 39,000 over the age of 14, 14,000 belonged to the civilian labor force. Of these, 13,000 – about 93% – were employed: some 4,600 in various services; 2,400 in commerce, banking, and insurance; 2,900 in industry; 1,300 in transport, storage, and communications; and 1,400 in construction and public works. The number of pupils in East Jerusalem schools increased from 11,894 in 1968/69 to 13,119 in 1969/70: 1,160 in kindergartens, 9,470 in elementary schools, 2,002 in preparatory schools, and 487 in high schools.

JUDEA AND SAMARIA (THE "WEST BANK"). The population totaled 595,000 in the census of September 1967 and 608,000 at the end of 1970. The annual birthrate was estimated at 43, the death rate at 19, and the natural increase at 24 per thousand. There was a great deal of population movement into and out of the West Bank after the 1967 war. Out of some 200,000 who left during or immediately after the war, 14,900 returned, on application, with the approval of the Israel government. In addition, up to the end of 1969, 8,130 were allowed in to rejoin their families. During the same period some 225,000 persons crossed into Jordan for employment or study, with permits allowing them to return; 31,000 came for visits from Jordan or other countries for periods of up to three months; and 42,000 (mainly students) came for summer visits. Of 307,200 residents aged 14 or over, 113,200 were part of the labor force in 1969 (including 87,000 out of the 147,000 males). Over 97% of the labor force was employed: 46% in agriculture; 28% in services, including transportation and commerce; 14% in industry and crafts; and 12% in construction. In 1969/70 a total of 177,400 pupils went to school in Judea and Samaria: some 132,000 to the 681 government schools, another 26,700 in UNRWA institutions, and 18,200 in 119 private schools.

IN THE STATE OF ISRAEL. The Israel government's budget for the region rose from IL 86,000,000 in 1968/69 to IL 94,000,000 for 1970/71. More than half the budget (about 51%) was devoted to social services, including health, education, welfare, and employment. Some 27% was used for economic purposes, such as agriculture and water, traffic, and communications, while the remaining 22% was for administrative, judicial, and police services. As a result of the government's policy of encouraging local authorities, 22 of the 23 municipalities functioning before the war continued to operate, as well as 31 rural councils.

Shortly after the conclusion of the war, trade between the area and Jordan was resumed, and the passage of goods between Israel, the Gaza Strip, and Judea and Samaria was authorized. In 1969, the area had an adverse trade balance of IL 123,400,000 with Israel and IL 17,800,000 with other countries, and a favorable balance of IL 39,900,000 with Jordan.

THE GAZA STRIP AND NORTHERN SINAI. The 1967 census counted 389,700 persons living in the Gaza Strip and northern Sinai. The population at the end of 1970 was 372,000. A natural increase in 1968–70 totaled about 29,000 (27.9 per thousand in 1970); some 47,000 persons must have left the Strip – many of them for the West Bank. About 162,000 persons lived in the town of Gaza, 153,000 in Khān Yunis, and 35,000 in El-Arish. The annual birthrate is estimated at 41, and the death rate at 16 per thousand. In 1968 and 1969 about 3,000 Arabs were permitted to return from Egypt to the Strip in exchange for Egyptian nationals who returned to Egypt. In 1968 some 45,000 traveled to Arab countries on business, or for work or study, but only 9,000 were able to do so in 1969, since the Jordan government closed the bridges in August 1969 to those without official Jordanian documents. Thirty-two percent of the 183,000 residents aged 14 or over were part of the labor force at the end of 1969, and 94.4% of these were employed. Fifty-six percent of those employed were wage earners; average daily wages rose from IL 3.9 in 1968 to IL 5.8 in 1969. About 5,000 went out to work in Israel.

In 1969 the area had an adverse trade balance of IL 27,700,000 with Israel and favorable balances of IL 4,400,000 with Jordan and IL 5,200,000 with other countries.

There were some 105,000 pupils in 191 schools in the area – 83 government institutions and 108 run by UNRWA – in the 1969/70 school year. More than half of the pupils – some 58,000 – attended UNRWA schools. The government budget for the area was IL 53,000,000 in 1969/70 and IL 867,500,000 in 1970/71. In the latter year, 39.9% of the budget was devoted to social services, 31.6% to economic purposes, and 28.5% for administrative expenses. Local income totaled IL 5,500,000 in Gaza, Khan Yunis, El-Arish, and Rafa. The government initiated numerous public works, such as road construction and maintenance.

GOLAN HEIGHTS AND SINAI DESERT. The Golan Heights in the north and the Sinai Desert in the south were, basically, deserted areas after the war. The Golan Heights were almost totally abandoned by the original population of about 90,000 Syrians. Some 6,500 Druzes remained in five villages, which continued to be run by their traditional leaders under the general supervision of the military governor. There were ten schools with 58 classes in the area. The Israel government budget for the Golan Heights was IL 6,000,000 in 1968/69 and IL 9,000,000 in 1969/70.

Southern Sinai was and remains a desert with little possibility of settlement. It is estimated that as many as 50,000 Bedouin roam through it, with some 400 local mukhtars and sheikhs to guide their affairs. The government's budget for the area was IL 1,000,000 in 1968/69 and double that figure in 1969/70.

See also *Israel, State of: Health and Welfare. For Druze, see *Israel, State of: Religious Life and Communities.

[Julian J. Landau]

Developments in the 1970s

ISRAEL. The Arab population of Israel continued to grow during the 1970s. Whereas on the eve of the Six-Day War there were approximately 312,000 Arabs and Druze in Israel, consisting of 223,000 Muslims, 58,500 Christians, and 31,000 Druze, towards the end of 1972, as a result of natural increase and the addition of 55,000 Muslims and 12,000 Christians through the reunification of Jerusalem, the number had grown to 470,000 – about 15% of the population. The Jerusalem Arabs are permanent residents of Israel and entitled, as such, to vote in municipal elections. They have not been compelled to accept Israeli citizenship, though they may receive it on application, but only a few score have opted to do so, the great majority having chosen to retain their Jordanian citizenship. In 1980 the number had grown to 639,000 – 498,300 Muslims, 89,900 Christians, and 50,700 Druze. The population is undergoing a process of urbanization, the higher proportion of city-dwellers rising to some 60%. This population is also considerably younger than its Jewish counterpart (average age 20.9 years, compared with 30.4 in the Jewish sector). About 50% of all Arabs in Israel are 14 years old or under, and this is an indication of the vast potential demographic changes that will develop if the Jewish population continues to stagnate at its present growth rate. The continued improvement of health services in Israel, and the mounting standard of living, make their impact on the life expectancy of the Arab population. In 1976 every Arab newborn had a life expectation of 63 (females, 71.5 years), compared to 64 in Lebanon, 56 in Syria and Jordan, 55 in Egypt, and 45 in Saudi Arabia. The impressive growth of the Arab community in Israel, from a poor peasant society whose leaders had deserted her in the early stages of the War of Independence (1948), into a predominantly urban and modern society, must be attributed, first of all, to the Arab educational system in Israel. Ninety-five percent of all school-age Arab children attend school at present, compared with 38% in the pre-1948 period. A total of 185,000 Arab students attend all levels of schooling, from kindergarten to university. The new generation of Israeli Arabs, who were born and raised under the Israeli system, has produced a new elite of several thousand university graduates and professionals. In the year 1976 alone there were 2,000 registered students in all Israeli universities. In 1948 only two Arab municipalities existed in Israel – Nazareth and Shefaram – and one local council. In the 1970s, in addition to those two municipalities, some 50 local councils were established, duly elected by their population. Despite the process of urbanization, however, the cultivated area in the Arab villages grew 2.6 fold since the establishment of Israel; in real estate terms, from 340,000 dunams in 1948 to 895,000 dunams in 1975, part of which was under irrigation and yielding high crops, thanks to the mechanization and modern agricultural techniques developed in Israel. While in 1950 more than half the Arab manpower was employed in agriculture, only 16% depended for their livelihood on farming in 1976, despite the tremendous increase of cultivated area and productivity. The balance of manpower turned to typically urban occupations, such as construction (24%), services (22%), industry (18%), and other branches of the economy (17%). By 1976 only half the manpower of the Arab settlements was employed locally, while the remainder sought and obtained work outside their localities.

The impact on the Arab village was tremendous: an unprecedented boom in construction, modern furnishing, home appliances, roads, electricity, running water, telephones, health and education services, and banks. By 1976 the Arab population achieved a higher rate of per family income than Jewish families originating from Asia and Africa, and only slightly lower than the overall Israeli average.

Its fundamental malaise, however, the insolubility of its problem as a minority with national ambitions of its own, which run counter to the national aspirations of the host Jewish majority, was not relieved, and was intensified by the agitation against the Peace Treaty with Egypt.

A new phase in the identity crisis of Israel Arabs was marked in April 1976 with the outbreak of what came to be known as the "Day of the Land." What was to be a protest by the Arabs in the Galilee against what they termed "expropriation of their land," grew into the Communist instigated political agitation, where the Arabs' legitimate desire to maintain control of their lands was overshadowed by the irredentist slogan "We shall liberate you, O Galilee!" This outburst, which resulted in loss of life and left an indelible residue in the hearts of Israeli Arabs, was accompanied by concurrent wide-scale demonstrations in the cities of Judea and Samaria, in support of their "oppressed brethren" in Israel proper. These combined disturbances were hailed throughout the Arab world as an "uprising of the Palestinian people" on both sides of Israel's pre-1967 borders, against "Israeli occupation."

This open ideological linkage between Israeli Arabs and the Arabs in the Administered Territories of Judea and Samaria was one of the most dramatic developments since 1976.

The "Day of the Land" brought into the explicit realm thenceforth implicit and latent unity of destiny that the two branches of the same people carried in their hearts. The acclaim it received from other Arabs added to it an aura of an all-Arab national struggle which in turn tended to reinforce the Palestinian and Israeli Arabs in the virulence of their anti-Israeli slogans. More and more Arab-Israeli youth, under the impact of the 1973 war and the prominence of the PLO, coupled with the awakening of the Palestinians in the Administered Territories, were now more inclined than before to throw in their lot with the population of the Territories, under the unifying umbrella of "Free democratic Palestine" in both its political and symbolic meanings.

These trends became manifest in the elections of 1976 in Judea and Samaria, and in the Israeli elections of 1977. In the former, a new and young local leadership rose, which swept aside the traditional patriarchal leadership, and announced in no uncertain terms its sympathy with, if not its formal affiliation to, the PLO. During the 1977 elections, extreme pro-PLO elements among the Arabs either gave their vote to the Rakaḥ party, or altogether boycotted the elections, as Rakaḥ seemed too moderate for them, and not nationalist enough to cope with the mood of the times. Thus, while in the previous elections (1973), some 80% of the Arab-Israeli population cast their votes, this time some 72% only went to the polls, the difference being attributed to the boycott by extremist elements. Rakaḥ gained more votes than in the previous elections, nearly enough to win them a fifth seat in the Knesset.

The "liberal policy" which was devised by the government, and implemented through the Office of the Prime Minister's Adviser for Arab Affairs, far from contributing to the integration of the Arabs in Israeli society, by, for example, an inculcation of Israeli values into the Arab-Israeli population, perpetuated the gap and alienation between them. The fact that the Arabs enjoyed civil rights, such as the right to vote and to higher education, but were exempt from national duties such as military service, created two societies in Israel: Jewish "insiders" and Arab "outsiders." If the acquisition of Israeli citizenship and of civil rights could be made contingent upon the fulfillment of one's national duties on the one hand, and if all channels of national promotion in the army and bureaucracy were open to the Arabs, on the other, only then would conditions be created for a genuine integration. One has to realize, however, that because of the ongoing Arab-Israeli conflict and the national sensitivities involved, the Arabs in Israel, who now felt more and more akin to the Palestinian Arabs in general, would not be made to embrace Israeli values in one stroke. The Arab students' demonstrations on Israeli campuses, and their flat refusal to nightwatch in university dormitories where they are admitted for lodging, were only a few manifestations of these sentiments.

ARABS IN THE ADMINISTERED TERRITORIES. The political turnabout, as expressed in the municipal elections of 1976, made the most dramatic imprint on the West Bank, and by extension on almost all the population of the Administered Territories. The elections of 1976, despite their lower turnout, still gave a strong indication of the transformation that came about in the Territories, under the umbrella of Israeli occupation. The new city councilors were younger, more educated, and more openly inclined to support the PLO than their predecessors. In the West Bank, the mayors enjoyed a higher prestige than ever before, not only because of the disappearance of the intermediary District Commissioners who used to separate them from the central government under Jordanian rule, but also due to their peculiar position as the sole elected representatives of the Arab population in the Administered Territories. Thus, although they were ostensibly leaders on the local level only, and assumed to refrain from national "high politics," they implicated themselves more and or less openly in political matters having nothing to do with such topics as roads, sewers, taxation, and water supply. They, in fact, played the role of intermediaries between the Israeli military governors and the people; they made no secret of their journeys to Jordan, and they took up public positions on matters of major political significance, although they were prohibited from organizing, initiating, or participating in regular political activity, via political parties.

It is true, however, that despite the more extreme anti-Israel stance adopted by the new municipal leadership, life exigencies made the modus vivendi between them and the Israeli authorities imperative. Thus, political utterances apart, the level of acts of terror decreased compared with 1976 and 1977, and the propensity for the continued normalization of daily life in the Administered Territories did not seem to have been adversely affected. Even the events of the Machpelah Cave in Hebron, on Yom Kippur of 1976, in which an Israeli Torah Scroll was torn by an Arab mob, was played down by the then mayor of Hebron, Kawasmeh, his noted anti-Israel positions not withstanding.

Another manifestation of the pragmatic approach of the new leadership of the West Bank was the fact that despite its avowed support of the Palestinian Revolution as the only representative of the Palestinian people, and the implication of their subservient role to the central institutions of the PLO, they continued, nevertheless, to pay homage to King Hussein and to raise funds in the Gulf States, thus exposing the relationship of the Arab population with the anti-revolutionary regimes in the Arab world.

A new element of uncertainty and expectation – if not hope – was injected into this situation upon the visit to Israel of President Sadat, in November 1977. If on the one hand suspicion, skepticism, and sometimes hostility were evinced by the Palestinian public vis-à-vis Sadat, whose dramatic move caused consternation in the Rejection Front in general, and in the Palestinian establishment in particular, on the other hand, new hopes seemed to glitter for other Palestinians who hurried to dispatch successive delegations to Cairo, both to voice their support for his bold initiative and to elicit a pledge that their cause would not be eroded in the process. These delegations represented various strata of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip populations, although the mayors, who are on record as the staunchest proponents of the PLO, obviously refrained from joining them.

Again, as in the case of the Arabs in Israel proper, no clear-cut policy was applied whereby rewards and punishments were meted out to the Arab population of the Territories in accordance with their conduct. Certainly, no one expected them to love or welcome their Israeli occupiers or even to accept their rule on an indefinite basis. But no one could expect Israel either to go out of her way in her policy of "liberalization," of technological development, agricultural advancement, expansion of health and other services, let alone universal suffrage.

A military government is obligated to maintain the laws and the level of services that had existed prior to the occupation, but is under no constraint to improve them at a tremendous cost, only to win ingratitude and hatred. Their universal application turns them into a matter of course, and only elicits more demands for more improvements and creates more expectation for more rights, political and otherwise, which when withheld can only provoke frustration and more enmity.

The best negative example of this is seen in the West Bank election of 1976 in which the base of voters was broadened, compared to Jordanian times, and free campaigning was allowed. But when the results of the vote became known, a great embarrassment, to say the least, befell the Israeli public. The choice was very simple: either one is "liberal," allows free elections, and is prepared to bear the consequences, or one bans the elections altogether as long as military rule obtains. If the elections are truly free, then the first implication is that the voting population wants to rid itself of the military government. To bear the consequences means, in this case, to respond to the sentiments and needs expressed in these elections, i.e., to grant to the population self-rule, by its elected representatives, on the basis of their political platform, and this, in principle, was the idea underlying the peace proposals of the Israeli government.

To sum up, the Arab population of Israel and the Arabs in the Administered Territories gradually drew closer to one another under the impact of rising Palestinian nationalism and the mounting Arab and Islamic self-confidence in the wake of the 1973 War. To contain this political-minded population, as a minority devoid of national rights, under Israeli rule, seemed to become a "mission impossible." The autonomy which was proposed at the Camp David negotiations remained unacceptable to the PLO and leaders of the West Bank Arabs.

[Raphael Israeli]

From the 1980s to the mid-1990s

ISRAEL. In the early 1990s the Arab population of Israel was close to 730,000 (compared to 150,000 when the state was established, and excluding the East Jerusalem Arabs who are not citizens of Israel, estimated in 1993 to number 170,000).

During the 1980s the social and political consciousness of the Israeli Arabs crystallized, having been deeply influenced by pivotal political events in the region: the Lebanon War (1982–83), the Intifada in the Administered Territories (1987 on), and the Gulf crisis and war (1990–91). Despite the high tension these events created in the relations between Jews and Arabs in general, the Israeli Arabs became more integrated and more involved in the life of the state. They were seriously opposed to the war against the PLO in Lebanon, expressed in various ways by solidarity with the Intifada in the Administered Territories, and demonstrated sympathy for Saddam Hussein, but all of this did not lead to deep rifts between them and the Israeli-Jewish establishment. In many ways the opposite is true. Israeli Arabs conducted their political struggle through legitimate channels while emphasizing their being Israeli citizens. Their fight took the form of opposition to government policy and stressing their separate national identity while desirous of striving for principles of equality within the Israeli democratic frameworks.

The nature of the Israeli Arabs' struggles is best exemplified by the Intifada which engulfed the entire area of Judea, Samaria, East Jerusalem, and the Gaza Region, but in which Israeli Arabs did not take part. The manifestations of civil disobedience in the Administered Territories did not appear at all among the Israeli Arabs. Although there were occasional instances of rock throwing or the waving of the Palestinian flag in Arab settlements in Israel, it can still be said that the Israeli Arabs did not participate in the Intifada.

The separate identity of Arab citizens of Israel (from that of the Administered Territories' Arabs) was given expression in the establishment of new public bodies and in the founding of political parties and social movements. In 1982, in the wake of the Lebanon War, a "Supreme Watch Committee" was set up which in the 1980s turned into a quasi-representative body for the entire Arab population of Israel. This grew out of the committee of Arab mayors and gradually took on high political and social standing. Its members were the heads of the Arab locales, Arab Knesset members from all parties, the Arab representatives in the Histadrut, and leaders of various political movements. The committee had no recognized legal standing and reached its decisions most often by general agreement, but it had great prestige and influence. It made the decisions to give assistance of a humanitarian nature to Administered Territory residents and to express identification with their struggle, took decisions on the behavior of the Arab populace on memorial days and on the annual Land Day, and also discussed the issues of readying the Arab public for elections to the Knesset, the Histadrut, and the city and village councils.

While in previous years the Israeli authorities did everything possible to prevent the establishment of separate Arab bodies for fear of the consolidation of Arab nationalism hostile to the state, from the early 1980s on the Israeli regime was tolerant on this issue. The members of the Israeli Arabs' Supreme Watch Committee acted in concert (not officially) with factors within the overall Israeli social and political system.

In contrast to the first decades of the state in which the Israeli Arabs were divided generally into supporters of the Communist party or supporters of Zionist parties, in the 1980s a different party-political structure took shape. The Communist party declined, with the decline of the Communist regimes. Its position was claimed by two movements of an Arab-National nature, namely, "The Progressive List for Peace" (initially a Jewish-Arab party) and the "Democratic List" (led by Abd al-Wahab Darousheh who left the Labor party). A more important change came with the rise of a new powerful factor – the Islamic Movement. This movement did not compete in Knesset elections; its strength was seen in the election campaigns for the local authorities. The Islamic Movement won, among others, the mayoralty of Umm al-Fahm as well as the chairmanship of other councils mainly in the central district bordering Samaria. In Galilee, with its high concentration of Christians, the Islamic Movement had only modest success. The movement rose against the background of the flourishing of similar movements throughout the Arab east. The ideological stances of the Islamic Movement in Israel were more moderate than those of its sister movements in the Administered Territories, the Hamas and the Islamic Jihad, which called for violent struggle against the state.

The 1980s were a time of significant development in the local rule in Israeli Arab villages. Seventeen new authorities (around one-quarter of all Arab authorities in the country) were established. In some places the locality's status was changed and large settlements were recognized as cities. Although the average socio-economic standing of the Arab public was still lower than that of the Jews, there was accelerated development of various public services.

ADMINISTERED TERRITORIES. At the start of the 1980s a gap, which became even wider, opened between the Israeli administration and the Palestinians' leaders and their institutions in Judea, Samaria, and the Gaza Region. Talks about instituting autonomy in the Administered Territories according to the Camp David Accords ceased when no real progress was made. Israel proposed personal autonomy, for the residents only, with no territorial ramifications, while the Egyptian proposals spoke of Palestinian administration which would in effect lead to total Israeli withdrawal from the territories. When Ariel Sharon was defense minister (in the second Likud government elected in 1981), there were many settlement campaigns.

The most prominent change in the Territories in 1981–84 was the emergence of village leagues. The Israeli administration which nurtured them saw these leagues as representing the silent majority of the inhabitants of the villages in Judea and Samaria who ostensibly opposed the preeminence of the PLO-supporting radical city dwellers. The government gave the heads of the leagues and their activists wide authority and budgets, and residents were directed to the leagues in order to obtain permits and recommendations for various petitions to the administration.

The village leagues attracted marginal members of the Palestinian population. Many people saw them as a collection of doubtful individuals collaborating with the Israeli regime. In order to protect the league people, the Israeli administration allowed their leaders to start militias which were given weapons for self-defense by the Israel Defense Forces (IDF). In March 1982 Jordan published an official report according to which membership in village leagues would be considered an act of treason punishable by death. This led to the collapse of the leagues, some of whose major activists had previously been considered traditionally loyal to the rule in Amman. After 1984 the Israel administration gradually ceased supporting the leagues. In the mid-1980s the leagues' activities were greatly reduced, and they are remembered as the only episode in which the Israeli administration tried to encourage a political group in the territories.

The Lebanon War that began in June 1982 with the aim of damaging the PLO organizational infrastructure succeeded in effecting the removal of its headquarters and offices from Lebanon.

The events in Lebanon led to closer relations between the PLO and Jordan as well as to an improvement in the relations between the Administered Territories' residents and the Jordanian government. In Amman the work of the Jordan-PLO committee became regularized, and large sums of money were poured into the territories. The Jordanian Parliament convened in Jan. 1984 for the first time in nine years, with representatives from the West Bank.

In the Administered Territories the Lebanon War gave rise to a gradual increase in disturbances and acts of terror against Israel. Elements in the Israel military tendered the explanation that the retreat from Lebanon under terrorist pressure and attrition had reinforced the feeling among young Arabs that it was possible to fight against Israel using those means. Immediately after two Jews were killed, an underground group of Jewish settlers attacked the Muslim college in Hebron, killing three Arab students and wounding several. The police and security services captured members of a "Jewish underground" who confessed to a number of acts against Arabs, including mayors of cities, and to planning to blow up the Dome of the Rock.

In early 1985 an agreement was signed by which the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine–The General Command, led by Aḥmad Jibril, released the few Israeli prisoners of war from the Lebanon War and Israel freed from Israeli prisons 1,150 prisoners convicted of membership in terrorist organizations and of carrying out terrorist acts. Most of the Arabs returned to their homes in the Administered Territories and within Israel and were not deported. The Palestinian public saw this as a great victory.

After the breakdown of an agreement between King Hussein and Arafat in Feb. 1986, the Jordanians increased efforts to acquire influence in the Administered Territories. The Jordan government published a five-year plan for the territories' development while at the same time announcing the closure of the PLO office in Amman.

On Dec. 9, 1987, the popular rebellion, the Intifada ("shaking off"), broke out in the Administered Territories. On that day an Israeli truck ran over four Arab workers from the Gaza Region as they returned from work in Israel. Three days earlier an Israeli merchant had been stabbed to death in Gaza, and a rumor ran among the Arab populace that the traffic accident was really an Israeli act of revenge. During the funerals wild disturbances broke out during which another three Gaza residents were killed.

Besides the broad economic, social, and political circumstances which led to the uprising, there were other contributory developments. During summer and fall 1987 the U.S. government did not succeed in promoting any ideas towards a settlement in the region. In November an Arab summit meeting took place in Amman which disappointed the Palestinians, since it refrained from discussing their issues. At the end of November a young Palestinian coming from Lebanon managed to infiltrate an Israeli army camp near Kiryat Shemonah by use of a glider. He shot and killed six Israeli soldiers before being killed. The Administered Territories populace was thrilled by the success of this suicide mission as well as by the deaths of Israeli soldiers and the escape from prison of a number of security prisoners connected to the Islamic extremists from Gaza.

The first weeks of the Intifada were characterized by spontaneous large-scale outbursts of demonstrations along with commercial and school strikes throughout the territories and in East Jerusalem. No organization or guiding hand was behind this. Handbills were printed daily, slogans were painted on walls, and calls were heard to fight against Israeli rule. Almost daily reports were received of Arabs injured in clashes with Israeli soldiers. World media showed increased interest. Even during the first month Israel security forces arrested hundreds of Arabs suspected of instigating strikes and demonstrations, and on Jan. 3, 1988, expulsion orders against nine Administered Territories activists were issued. The Israeli measures did not lead to any calming down of the situation and the foment in the Administered Territories reached new heights.

During February–March 1988 there were indications of the intent to turn the uprising into organized civil disobedience against Israeli rule. Handbills signed by a body called "The United Intifada Command" began to appear with instructions to the people. Representatives of the different PLO factions and activists from the Islamic movements took part in the Command. Announcements were broadcast on a number of PLO radio stations, and the youths who heard them printed transcripts, photocopied them, and distributed them in cities, villages, and refugee camps.

The civil disobedience which coalesced at the start of the Intifada was organized by activists sympathetic to the PLO with the aim of creating the widest breach possible between the Arab-Palestinian population and the institutions of the Israeli administration. Most of the Administered Territories' educational institutes, including the universities and colleges, were closed by military orders in the middle of the 1988 school year since they were hotbeds for demonstrations, and in effect the educational system was shut down. Heavy pressure was applied on other Arabs employed by the Israeli administration to leave their jobs. Particularly targeted were those who came into contact with the broad public. Workers of the Department of Motor Vehicles, those who check and test drivers and vehicles, were asked to quit. The same was true for workers in taxation departments, in civil courts, and offices in the Israeli administration civil service system. Those who did not quit received threats; stones and Molotov cocktails were thrown at their homes.

One of the areas of civil disobedience intended to lead to a break between the residents and the Israeli regime was the declaration of a boycott on all Israel-made goods. The tradesmen were requested to rid themselves of all products bought or made in Israel for which a local substitute could be found. In addition, the residents were asked to try to avoid turning to the Israeli authorities on any issue whatsoever, to shun the civil courts operating within the framework of the Israel Civil Administration, and to refrain as much as possible from working in Israel and from trading with Israelis.

Unified Intifada Command instructed the residents to institute an austerity regime. It was forbidden to hold weddings with many guests or have other parties. The purchase of luxury items, including new cars, was interdicted. The inhabitants were requested to avoid going out for recreation, to refrain from seeking entertainment, not to eat in restaurants and not to visit the seashore or vacation spots in Israel. In many places Arabs who had private gardens were made to uproot shrubs and flowers and tear out grass in order to make room to plant vegetables for home use to replace the Israel produce.

Storekeepers were ordered to keep their stores closed almost completely and to open them only as directed in the handbills. Gradually an arrangement took shape whereby it was permitted to open businesses for three hours in the morning and only on those days on which there was no general strike. In the afternoons and on the frequent strike days all public institutions, such as municipalities and public transportation, were shut down. Even owners of private cars were told not to drive on the roads.

All of these moves were prompted by "Popular Committees" formed in villages, refugee camps, and urban neighborhoods. Many of the committees were based on youth organization clubs found practically everywhere in the Administered Territories: the (PLO) "Shabiba" and other groups identified with the left-wing Palestinians organizations.

Popular education committees were set up to arrange for school-like frameworks in private houses in place of the closed schools. Hundreds of adjudication committees were set up to which the residents were to turn in place of the courts to settle disputes. The local committees tried to create the impression of creating the structure of an independent Palestinian regime. They set up roadblocks at entrances to villages which they declared "liberated territory."

The Intifada's political effects became more noticeable in summer 1988. At the end of May, U.S. Assistant Secretary of State Richard Murphy, responsible for dealing with the region's affairs, announced that the U.S. would consider opening a dialogue with the PLO on the condition that the organization accept UN resolutions 232 and 338 and condemn the use of terror. At the end of July, King Hussein announced that his country had no claims on the West Bank and was in effect breaking relations with the Administered Territories. Residents of Judea, Samaria, and East Jerusalem, most of whom were still Jordanian citizens, feared that this decision would prove detrimental to them but in actuality it did them relatively little harm. Pension payments to Jordanian civil servants in the territories continued as usual as did export (mainly agricultural produce) from the territories to the eastern side of the Jordan. Administered Territory residents could continue to use their Jordanian passports.

This break was a political victory for the Palestinian national leadership in the Administered Territories and for the PLO command in Tunis, for this was an unequivocal declaration that the PLO institutions were the only and sole representations for territory residents, with no challenge to this from Jordan.

The Jordanian statement and the continued Intifada paved the way for the dramatic decisions by the Palestinian National Council (PNC), meeting in Algiers. Intifada activists applied great pressure to the PLO leaders to transform the successes of civil disobedience into political achievements. On Nov. 15 the PNC declared the "establishment of an independent state" and its acceptance of UN resolution 242. The latter made it possible for Arafat to appear before the UN assembly meeting in Geneva in Dec. 1988. At a press meeting held there he declared that the meaning of the PNC decision was recognition of the State of Israel and demurring from acts of terror. Arafat's statement had been coordinated with the U.S. which announced that the U.S. was opening a dialogue with the PLO. This development was the zenith of the Intifada's political achievements.

In the Administered Territories the Palestinian declaration of independence was accepted enthusiastically and general support was given to the Palestinian leadership's new political line. On December 9, with the first anniversary of the Intifada, sources in the Administered Territories claimed that over the course of the year more than 300 Arabs had been killed and some 20,000 injured. Israel gave similar figures. The number of Arabs arrested or detained in Israeli prisons was close to 12,000.

During the Intifada's second year (1989) cracks and internal dissension began to show. One of the most salient was the phenomenon of intra-Arab murders of people suspected of collaborating with the Israeli rule. The ongoing Intifada pattern yielded great suffering for the Administered Territory residents. The suspension of the education system, lengthy strikes, and severe Israeli punitive measures all led to a lowering of the standard of living across the board. In some places there were residents who refused to comply with the demands of the United Command leaflets and who tried to oppose the young activists' directives.

While in 1988 some 20 suspected collaborators were murdered, in 1989 the victims numbered over 150. In 1990 and 1991, the number of Palestinians killed by security forces declined, while there was a steep increase in those killed by other Arabs as suspected collaborators. By the start of 1992 the number of Arabs killed during the Intifada was 2,000 – 600 of whom had been murdered as suspected collaborators.

The severe hardships suffered by the people led, as early as the second year of the Intifada, to calls for its cessation in return for the start of political negotiations. In early 1989 exploratory moves were made towards creating an Israeli political program which would bring calm to Judea, Samaria, and Gaza. A number of prominent Palestinians in the Administered Territories were informed of the details of the plan fashioned by Defense Minister Yiẓḥak Rabin. It included a proposal to hold general elections in the territories as an initial step towards designating a representation accepted by the Arab presidents. After a series of contacts and recommendations raised by representatives of the U.S. and Egyptian president Hosni Mubarak, sharp differences of opinion broke out within the Israeli government (regarding East Jerusalem residents' participation in the elections in the territories) leading eventually to the dissolution of the National Unity Government.

The atmosphere in the Administered Territories changed from the end of 1989 as the result of the upheavals taking place in Eastern Europe. For nearly 40 years the Communist bloc countries had served as strong political support for sizable parts of the Arab world, including the Palestinians, besides providing aid in the form of money, weapons, military training, and grants to students. As those countries began to collapse, a feeling of dismay and confusion arose among the Palestinians as the Eastern European countries established diplomatic relations with the State of Israel and a large wave of emigration of Jews from the Former Soviet Union was set into motion.

In 1990 calls were heard in the Administered Territories for a return to the "armed struggle" against Israel, that is, acts of terror and the use of firearms. On June 1 terrorist cells belonging to the pro-Iraqi organizations linked to the PLO tried to attack Israeli bathers on the southern shores of the country. In the wake of this (abortive) attempt, the American administration suspended its dialogue with the PLO whose leadership refused to oust from its ranks Abu al-Abbas, the head of the organization taking responsibility for this act.

The Intifada began to lose the public enthusiasm which had characterized its beginning. Mass demonstration ceased. Public opinion and the world media paid attention to happenings in Eastern Europe and largely stopped covering the Middle East. Gradually schooling was resumed on a regular basis, and in the large cities Intifada activists allowed the storekeepers to keep their stores open for longer hours. To a significant degree life returned to what it had been prior to the outbreak of the popular uprising.

On August 2, 1990, a dramatic change occurred with Iraq's conquest of Kuwait. The Palestinian population and its leadership took a stance in favor of Iraq and its ruler Saddam Hussein who, from the outset of the crisis, linked the solution of the problem he had created in the Gulf with a solution to the Palestinian problem. The Kingdom of Jordan with its large Palestinian population also joined the supporters of Iraq.

During the continuing tension in the Gulf, a serious incident occurred in the Old City of Jerusalem. On the broad plaza of the Temple Mount mosques there erupted a demonstration of Muslim worshipers who began to throw rocks on Jewish worshippers at the Western Wall. Israeli soldiers and policemen who broke into the plaza shot 18 Arabs to death and wounded dozens of others. The incident was prompted by rumors concerning the activity of a group of Israelis called the "Temple Mount Faithful" which had demanded over the years removing the control of the mosques to Israeli authorities.

The incident sparked new foment in the Administered Territories. Orthodox Muslim groups, which had organized themselves into the "Islamic Resistance Movement" (whose Arabic initials form "Hamas"), had been prominent. They even published a manifest claiming that all of the country's land was Muslim *hekdesh* (consecrated property) meaning that the very existence of the State of Israel contradicted Islamic teachings. Stabbing attacks on Israelis by Muslim extremists became evermore frequent. In most cases the Administered Territories attackers acted alone, unprompted by any organization and ready to die as a martyr. Attempting to thwart these strikes, Israeli security authorities limited the right of free passage of Administered Territories Arabs into pre-1967 Israel.

The number of Administered Territories inhabitants working in the Israeli economy dropped from 130,000 to 50,000 in the period following, with the average number in the early 1990s being about 80,000. The Israeli public became more fearful of employing Arabs from the Administered Territories as knifing attacks by young Administered Territories Arabs occurred from time to time.

The Administered Territories' economic situation was severely affected by the Gulf War events. Besides limitations on working in Israel, there was an almost complete halt of the transfer of money to the Administered Territories by relatives working in the Gulf oil-producing countries. After the war, there began mass expulsions of Palestinians who had worked in Kuwait. Some 20,000 who had Israeli Military Administration identity cards rejoined their families in the Administered Territories. The great need in Israel for construction workers to erect housing for new immigrants somewhat alleviated the Administered Territories economic distress.

Following the outcome of the Gulf War, political activity in the region aimed at convening a peace conference stepped up. The Palestinian stances in the new world order, after the Soviet Union's collapse and Iraq's defeat, became more flexible and allowed for a compromise with Israeli demands. With American mediation a Palestinian delegation was composed with members from the Administered Territories and quasi-official East Jerusalem advisers.

At the end of Oct. 1991 the Palestinian delegation from the Administered Territories, without PLO representatives, took part in the Madrid peace conference in which delegations and observers from most Arab countries participated. Additional meetings were held throughout 1992 in Washington, Moscow, and other world capitals. The discussions encountered many stumbling blocks. The main demand of the Administered Territories delegates was the cessation of the widespread settlement activity in the Administered Territories sponsored by the Israel government. Opposition to the peace process, rooted in Muslim extremist circles, also developed in the Administered Territories.

[Daniel Rubinstein]

Towards the end of 1995 the number of Israel Arabs was approaching one million. The figure is based on data from the Israel Central Bureau of Statistics which reports on the number of "non-Jews" living within the State of Israel. This figure includes the Arabs living in Jerusalem, numbering some 170,000, the great majority of whom are not citizens of Israel; and members of other communities: about 100,000 Druze; some 160,000 Arab Christians; and the small, non-Arab Christian population, such as the Armenians and the various church-affiliated individuals who reside permanently in Israel. According to the forecast of the Central Bureau of Statistics, the non-Jewish population of Israel was to reach 1.14 million by 2005 when it would constitute some 22% of the Israel population as compared to 18% in the mid-1990s.

Changes occurring among the Arab population of Israel in the first half of the 1990s derived from the political and socio-economic processes taking place in Israel during that period, the most important being the peace process with the PLO and the Arab states begun at the Madrid conference in the fall of 1991.

During the first half of the 1990s there were three types of elections, affording an insight into political and social trends among Israel Arabs: the elections for the 13th Knesset held in June 1992, the municipal elections of November 1993, and the Histadrut elections in May 1994.

The most important of these was the Knesset elections of 1992 which took place in the midst of peace talks started at the Madrid conference. This time the Israel Arab population which, for the most part, traditionally votes for the parties seen as part of the left-wing bloc, and only to a small extent for right-wing parties, played a key role in the political turnover in Israel. After 15 years of Likud rule, partially in conjunction with the Labor party, Labor, under the leadership of Yiẓḥak Rabin, acceded to power. This turnover was possible, among other reasons, because of the Arab votes which went to the left-wing parties (Labor and Meretz), but even more decisively to the fact that two parties, almost all of whose voters are Arabs, held the balance of power when it came to composing the coalition government. The two parties are the Democratic Front for Equality (Ḥadash), at the heart of which is the veteran Communist party, and the Arab Democratic Party (Mada), headed by the former Labor party member Abd al-Wahab Darousheh, which together gained five seats and formed an "obstructive bloc" in the Knesset barring the way to forming any government with the right-wing or religious parties. The Labor party won 44 seats in the Knesset elections, Meretz (made up of Mapam, Ratz, and Shinui) gained 12, Ḥadash, 3, and Mada, 2. This totaled 61 creating for the first time a situation whereby the votes of the Arabs would be the critical in the formation of a government, headed by either Labor or by Likud.

Through a series of parliamentary arrangements, a precedent was established in 1992 whereby there was partial coalition cooperation between the Labor party and Ḥadash and Mada. These Arab parties which in the past had been considered invalid for coalition membership, since they were considered to have a nationalist Arab orientation, became in the Thirteenth Knesset part of the bloc supporting the government. They were not co-opted to the government, but promised to support it, thus enabling Prime Minister Rabin to receive partial support from religious Knesset members (from the Shas party) and a faction which broke away from Zomet (called Ye'ud). Ḥadash and Mada actually had no choice but to support the Labor government led by Rabin, which achieved a certain equilibrium by cooperating with the "obstructive bloc." Although during the Thirteenth Knesset there were instances in which these factions threatened to bring the government down, as of summer 1995 the unity of this bloc was maintained, so that for the first time in Israel's history the Arab voters achieved a position of significant influence over Israeli policy.

The Arab population has always been occupied with two aspects: the national one closely linked to the Arab-Israel conflict and the struggle of Israeli Arabs for equal rights. Regarding the first, most scholars of the Israeli Arab population feel that the contribution of the Israeli Arabs and their Knesset representatives towards the change of the government's attitude toward the PLO is most important. The existence of the "obstructive bloc" made it easier for the government to implement the policy of the Oslo agreement: recognition of the PLO, the withdrawal from Gaza, and the continuation of negotiations with the Palestinian movement. At least in one instance – the attempt by the government to expropriate land in East Jerusalem in May 1995 – the Knesset members of Ḥadash and Mada succeeded in bringing about the cancellation of the expropriation after they proposed a no-confidence vote in the government. This victory was proof of their power and was considered by many as a milestone in the history of Israeli parliamentarism.

Examination of the second topic, the struggle for equality, also reveals important achievements for Israel Arabs during this period. Some of the gains derived from the coalition agreements ensured the existence of the "obstructive bloc." Surveys made in early 1995 showed that there had been an increase of 200% in the allotments granted to Arab municipalities in relation to the period during which the previous government was in power. A significant change occurred in the apportioning of resources to the Arab sector for various educational purposes, and progress was made towards the equality of Arab education with that of the Jewish system. More buildings and classrooms were added, equipment was purchased, and more jobs were allocated. Steps were taken towards equalizing the child allotments paid by National Insurance to those given Jewish families. According to previous legislation, from the 1970s, a family with at least one member defined as a "former army server" receives an addition to child allotments until the child reaches 18. Since the vast majority of Israel Arabs do not serve in the army, they were not eligible for this supplemental payment. In line with the Rabin government policy, it was decided that within three years this gap should be eliminated.

The 1995 surveys also indicated a growing momentum in the level of infrastructure development in the Arab sector, particularly in the paving of roads and in water and sewage systems. In addition, there has been significant advance in the integration of Arabs in government jobs and according to a special government decision Arabs will fill posts in various government offices. Another problem which the Rabin government dealt with was the granting of recognition to a series of Arab villages officially unrecognized and therefore ineligible for government services.

There is still a sizable gap between Arabs and Jews concerning the allotment of resources and government handling of issues in all the areas mentioned, but considerable progress was made towards equality during the first half of the 1990s. Not all of the achievements derive from the significance of the "obstructive bloc" in the Knesset. The decision to make the Arab municipality allotments equal to those of the Jews, for instance, was already taken by the Shamir government in 1991, and even during the Rabin administration the heads of Arab municipalities complained that little progress had been made on this issue. They held a lengthy strike (in July–August 1994) opposite the Prime Minister's Office in Jerusalem. The data also attest to the fact that the rate of economic development and investments in the Arab sector were very low in comparison to the average in Israel. The level of teaching and the pupils' achievements in the Arab schools fell far below the average. Many of the problems with the Bedouin villages in the Negev had not been solved.

The peace process and the security problems which developed after the Oslo agreement led to a series of changes among Israel Arabs. Following terrorist attacks, from 1990 on, the governments of Israel (beginning with that of Shamir and then Rabin's) instituted a policy of implementing a *seger* ("lockout") on residents of the Gaza Strip and Judea and Samaria. Gradually the periods of the "lockouts" grew until they were to a large extent permanent. As part of the security "lockout," residents of Gaza and the West Bank were prohibited from entering the area of Israel proper. Also, to a high degree, it was forbidden to transport produce and merchandise from these Administered Territories to Israel as defined by the Green Line (the pre-1967 borders of the State). This policy led, for the first time since 1967, to a certain break between the Israel Arabs and the Palestinians in the Administered Territories. Moreover, the Arabs of Gaza gained Palestinian autonomy with many of the trappings of sovereignty and the ostensible contrast between them and the Israel Arabs grew, at least regarding their political status.

The physical separation between the Israel Arabs and those in the Administered Territories was accompanied by the consciousness of the Israel Arabs in being separate and their consciousness of being a social unit more closely linked to the State of Israel and cut off from the Palestinian national experience. A number of studies published in Israel in 1994–95 indicated greater integration of the Israel Arabs within the state to the detriment of their attitude on the issue of Palestinian nationality. Despite the internal split among the Israel Arabs, there was almost total unity among them on the Declaration of Principles signed between Israel and the PLO. This support encompassed all of the Israel Arab organizations and parties and stood in contrast to the dissension and disagreements on the agreement with the Palestinians in Gaza and the West Bank. Some commentators deduced from that indications that the Israel Arabs do not consider themselves as directly involved in what takes place on the internal political level of the Palestinian public and its national movement. Representatives of the Israel Arabs often served as advisers and intercessors on problems and disagreements which arose in the Administered Territories, but always as observers from the side and not as those directly involved in the national or party problems in the Administered Territories.

Whereas the 1992 Knesset elections led to a revolution in the parliamentary status of the Israel Arabs, the municipal elections in November 1993 continued conservative trends. The most prominent was that Ḥadash with the veteran communists who had led the Israel Arabs for decades continued to be the leading movement among this population. Ḥadash candidates won in 12 of the municipal elections out of 56 in the Arab sector. The candidates of the Islamic Movement were chosen head of 5 councils. Candidates of the general lists (of the branches of the Jewish-Zionist parties in the Arab sector) won in 15 authorities (12 Labor, 2 Likud, and 1 Meretz). Candidates of the Progressive Movement (led by Muhammad Mi'ari) won in 3 local authorities and Mada candidates won in 6. The others elected elsewhere ran independently, with no link to any party or movement at all.

Within the system of municipal elections, in Israel in general and within the Arab sector in particular, there is great importance to local, family (clan), and personal considerations, and this tendency was reinforced with the institution of the system of direct election of local authority heads. Despite this, a general trend toward changes in the voting patterns could be discerned, and in this case it must be remembered that these elections were the only ones in which the Islamic Movement candidates took part. This movement became very much stronger among the Israel Arab population during the 1980s and achieved striking success in the previous local authority elections in 1989. In the years that followed there was a debate among movement activists as to whether to stand also for Knesset elections, but as the elections for the Thirteenth Knesset approached in 1992 the movement leaders decided not to present candidates. In May 1995 Islamic Movement activists met to discuss possible participation in the Knesset elections, with an eye on the coming 1996 elections. While the movement's leader, Sheikh Abdallah Nimer Darwish, supported the proposal to organize a party slate for the approaching elections, many opposed his proposal and to avoid a split within the movement it was decided not to make up an independent list from the movement. The group's leaders recommended, however, to the political bodies of Israel Arabs to join together in a combined list, and they allowed their supporters freedom of choice over whether to vote and whom to support.

The 1993 municipal elections showed that the dramatic momentum of growing support for the Islamic Movement had been halted. It did more or less maintain its strength, but apparently did not gain new supporters. The party that practically disappeared from the Israel Arab political map was the Progressive Movement for Peace which in previous years had threatened the dominance of Ḥadash (Rakaḥ) over the Arab population. As early as the 1992 Knesset elections, this party failed to pass the minimum percentage for gaining a seat, and in the municipal elections it failed completely. Not one of its candidates became head of a local authority in any Arab settlement and only a few of its people were elected to local councils.

The great success story of the local elections belonged to the candidates of the Arab Democratic Party (Mada), headed by Knesset member Abl al-Wahab Darousheh. In the previous municipal elections in 1989 Mada candidates won in two localities and in 1993, they took six.

The general picture coming into focus from these election results presented the halting of the Islamic Movement and the preservation of the power of the communists (Ḥadash) and the Jewish-Zionist parties. This again demonstrated the retention of the trend towards integration and involvement of Israel Arabs in the general political and social system in Israel. The increase in power of the extremely religious Muslims had threatened the way of life of many of the Israel Arabs who had adapted to a social life that included both men and women, the drinking of liquor at social parties, and other types of behavior forbidden by the extremist believers. Some scholars studying Israel society felt that this threat served as an important factor in the Communist party maintaining its strength (since most of its voters are Arabs), even at a time when most of these parties worldwide declined or disappeared.

The May 1994 elections of the Histadrut, the largest voluntary body in Israel, and their results provided additional proof of the integration of the Israel Arabs into the state, in the era of the peace process. Whereas in the previous Histadrut elections (November 1989) there was a faltering attempt to organize a joint list for all Israel Arabs, in 1994 the candidacy of the Israel-Arab sector was almost totally in conjunction with and involved with the all-Israel system. Some 220,000 Israel Arabs belong to the Histadrut, constituting about 15% of the membership. The percentage of Arabs voting was 55% (somewhat higher than the general average) and the important fact is that 78% of them voted for general (Jewish-Zionist) parties and only 22% for parties considered Arab. As among the Jewish population, so among the Arab, Ḥaim Ramon's list "Ḥayyim Ḥadashim" was strikingly victorious and won 26% of the Arab vote. Mada joined the Labor party in exchange for a promised 3% representation in Histadrut institutions, while Ḥadash, which set up a common list with the remnants of the Progressive List, upon hearing the election results immediately joined the coalition created by Ḥaim Ramon and his colleagues. In 1994, for the first time in Histadrut history, parties like Ḥadash and the Progressive List became part of the coalition guiding this important body. Many among the Arab population took this as a significant achievement for Arab Histadrut members.

[Daniel Rubinstein]

1995 to 2005

DEMOGRAPHY. *Population.* At the beginning of 2005 the Arab population of Israel numbered 1.337 million people (19% of the total population): 1.107 million Muslims (82% of the Arab population), 117,000 Christians (9%), and 113,000 Druze (9%).

The proportion of Muslims in the Arab population increased over the years from 70% at the end of the 1950s to 82% in 2005, the proportion of Christians decreased from 21% to 9%, and the proportion of Druze remained almost unchanged.

The internal breakdown of the Christian community in Israel is as follows: 37% Greek Catholic, 30% Greek Orthodox, 23% Latin Catholic, 5% Maronite, and 5% others.

According to a Central Bureau of Statistics forecast, in 2025 the Arab population is expected to number 2.32 million (33% of the total population), out of which Muslims will comprise 85%, Christians will comprise 7%, and Druze 8%.

Rate of Growth. In 2004, the annual rate of growth of the Arab population was 3.4%: 3.6% amongst Muslims, 1.9% amongst Christians, and 2.4% amongst Druze. This rate is one of the highest in the world, mainly because of the high rate of growth of the Bedouin population in the Negev (southern Israel) – about 5.5% per year. For comparison, the annual rate of growth of the Arabs in Syria and Jordan is 2.8% and in Egypt 2.1%.

Fertility. The total fertility rate among Druze has been declining since the 1960s. At the beginning of the 1960s the average number of births per Druze woman in Israel was 7.5. In 2003, however, the average number of births per Druze woman was only 2.9. This fertility rate is close to that of the Jewish and Christian populations (2.7 and 2.3, respectively), and lower than that of the Muslim population (an average of 4.5 births per woman).

As a result of high fertility rates, the Arab population is very young. Its median age is 19.7: 18.5 amongst Muslims, 22.7 amongst Druze, 27.9 amongst Christians. For comparison, the median age of the Jewish population is 30.3.

The relative proportion of Christians in the total Arab population of Israel has dropped drastically since the 1940s because of the decreasing fertility rate: from about 20% in 1949 to about 15% in 1972, and to less than 9% at the end of 2004.

In 2003, an Arab family totaled an average of 5.4 persons, almost two persons more than a Jewish family. The average number of persons in a Muslim family is 5.7, in a Druze family – 5.0, and in a Christian family – 3.9.

HEALTH. *Life Expectancy.* In 2003 life expectancy of Arab males was 74.6 years and that of Arab females 78.0 years, compared to 77.9 years for Jewish males and 81.8 years for Jewish females. Since the early 1980s, the life expectancy of the Arab population has increased by nearly four years.

Life expectancy of the Arab population in Israel is higher than in the neighboring Arab countries: Lebanon – 71.3 years for males and 74.4 years for females, Syria – 69.8 years for males and 72.1 years for females, Jordan – 68.9 years for males and 71.5 years for females, and Egypt – 65.3 years for males and 68.5 years for females.

Infant Mortality. In 2003 the infant mortality rate of the Arab population was 8.2 deaths per 1,000 live births (in 1980 it was 24.2 deaths per 1,000 live births). The decline in infant mortality resulted mainly from the improvements in environmental conditions, in the living standard, and in the level of education of the population. This rate was much lower than in the neighboring Arab countries, including the Palestinian Authority: 102 deaths per 1,000 live births in Iraq, 38 in Egypt, 27 in Lebanon, 26 in the Palestinian Authority, 22 in Jordan, and 18 in Syria. Nonetheless, the infant mortality rate of the Arab population in Israel was still twice as high as that of the Jewish population.

EDUCATION. In the past three decades the education level of the Arab population rose significantly. In 1970 half of this population had up to five years of schooling. In 2003, half of the Arab population had almost ten years of schooling.

The median number of years of schooling of the Arab population increased from 9 in 1990 to 11.1 in 2003. Among the Jewish population, the median increased from 11.9 to 12.6 during the same period. However, significant gaps between Jews and Arabs still exist. 26% of Arabs aged 25–34 studied more than 12 years, compared to 60% amongst Jews of the same age group.

In 2003 Arab students comprised 8.1% of all university students, 9.8% of the undergraduate students, 5.1% of the master's students, and 3.3% of the Ph.D. students.

The level of education of the Christian community is higher than that of the Muslim and Druze communities. 27% of the Christians have more than 12 years of schooling, with almost no difference between men and women, whereas among Muslims and Druze this rate is 14% (about 16% of the men and about 11% of the women).

As mentioned above, education statistics show wide disparities between Arab and Jewish students. The Arab school system is under-resourced: in 2004, only 7% of the Ministry of Education's budget was allocated to it, while the Arab population comprised 19% of the total population in Israel. The average number of Arab students per classroom is 32, compared to 27 for Jewish students. Disparities also affect funding for auxiliary education services and are reflected in achievements: the dropout rate among students aged 16–17 years is 40% for Arabs students and only 9% for Jewish students. The matriculation success rate of Arab students is 31.5%, compared to 45% amongst Jewish students.

GENERAL TRENDS. *Implications of the Peace Process.* The peace process of the 1990s exerted conflicting influences on the political orientation of the Arabs in Israel. The Palestinization process of the Arabs in Israel was weakened in terms of its external affinity. The recognition by Israel of the PLO and of the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people to self-determination and the establishment of the *Palestinian Authority represented the realization of the national platform of the Arabs in Israel as formulated during the 1970s and 1980s onward.

The Palestinian Authority maintained its link with the Arabs in Israel on various levels, such as the formation of a Liaison Office; hosting delegations of Israeli Arab political figures; visits by Palestinian public figures to Arab communities in Israel; and involvement in elections to the Knesset with the intention of influencing the Arab vote in Israel. However, the leadership of the PLO and the Palestinian Authority essentially maintained the traditional approach of excluding the Arab population of Israel from the peace talks and ignoring their cause.

Israeli Arab intellectuals and political elites reached the conclusion that the real solution to the Arab population's national aspirations was not necessarily found in the establishment of a future Palestinian state. This realization marked the start of a new process of directing the national resources of the Arab population inward, i.e., the localization of the national Palestinian struggle.

Israeli reality was not favorable to the Arabs. The ethnonational structure of the state, and the pronounced preference for the Jewish majority, prompted a policy of built-in discrimination and intentional exclusion vis-à-vis the Arab citizens. In the socioeconomic context, the gaps between Jews and Arabs widened. While Israeli governments from the start of the 1990s declared their commitment to deepening Jewish-Arab equality, in most cases this remained lip service only. In the political context, except for the Rabin-Peres tenure (1992–96), the Arab Knesset members and their parties were systematically sidelined not only by the governmental coalition members of the Right but also of the Left.

The Perceived Contradiction between the Idea of a Jewish and Democratic State. During the period under consideration, political discourse in Arab society focused, among other issues, on what was conceived, from an Arab point of view, as a built-in contradiction between the nature of Israel as a Jewish state and as a liberal democracy committed to the equality of all its citizens. Arab academicians and politicians across the entire political spectrum frequently questioned the viability of the model of "a Jewish and democratic state," pointing to its inherent weakness. The dilemma depicted acutely by them was how the Arab citizen could feel equal and identify with a state whose symbols, flag, and anthem were Jewish, and whose contents and identity were founded on an ethnic Jewish outlook and not on a collective Israeli outlook based on civil equality.

The discourse on the desirable nature of the State of Israel engendered various alternative models for a solution that would respond to and reflect the national needs of the Arab minority and to the built-in conflict between Israel's Jewish aspect and democracy.

Alternative Models. a) A state for all its citizens. The demand to annul Israel's Jewish-Zionist nature and replace it with a "state of all its citizens" model attained wide popularity, and was included in the platforms of most of the Arab parties from the 1990s. Nevertheless, this proposal remained a generalized slogan, without generating in-depth academic or political discussion. Conceivably, some of the politicians who supported it did not actually believe in the possibility of implementing it. Rather, it served them as a tactical means to stir the Jewish public and as a way of expressing the rising tide of rage over the gaps and over the disrespect and disregard of the government. Still, the demand to turn Israel into a "state of all its citizens" took hold among the public at large and was often voiced, albeit without any examination of the price involved in adopting it.

b) Autonomy. Notions of autonomy, endorsed by Arab academicians in the early 1990s, proposed granting the Arabs in Israel personal-cultural autonomy in the areas of education, communications, the use of Arabic, participation in drawing up development plans, the return of confiscated lands, and even the formation of a supreme political representative body by means of elections and territorial autonomy, which would include two regions – the Galilee and the "Triangle" area (in central Israel). These ideas failed initially to attract much support. Few continued to support the demand for territorial autonomy.

During the latter 1990s the demand for cultural autonomy gained popularity in political circles and among educators. Its advocates believed that it could relieve the fundamental problems of the Arab education system by bringing about a shift in the responsibility for Arab education, particularly regarding the question of contents and syllabi, traditionally supervised by the Jewish-controlled Ministry of Education, from Jewish to Arab officials.

c) National institutions. The deep rift in Jewish-Arab relations, caused by the bloody events of October 2000, in which 13 Arab citizens were killed in violent confrontations with the police (see below), as well as the ongoing government policy of neglect and especially the continuous sense of alienation, frustration, and bitterness, prompted some Arab politicians and intellectuals to reexamine the option of independent national institutions for the Arabs. However, public discourse on the institution-building process remained unfocused and has not undergone in-depth ideological exploration. Discussion has referred to "supreme and unified national institutions," "national and representative" institutions, and "constitutional" institutions.

Following the massive shunning of the polls by the Arab electorate in the February 2001 elections for prime minister demands mounted for alternative, non-Knesset representational channels, including a separate Arab parliament. The dogmatic faction of the Islamic movement, led by Sheikh Ra'id Salah, considered establishing an alternative social infrastructure which would be capable of relying on itself (see below). However, supporters of the notion of a separate parliament stressed that their intention was not detachment from the state, or separatism. From their point of view, the Arabs in Israel must set up national institutions for themselves since this was the only integrative way in which they could live in this state. The separatists' opponents, especially the Israeli Communist Party, rejected this line, saying that it served the radical Jewish Right and provided an excuse for the authorities to perpetuate discrimination and deprivation.

d) Bi-national state. Since the late 1990s, the option of a bi-national state has been mooted as an attainable alternative to the existing minority-majority relationship in the State of Israel. Some supporters of this idea restricted their model of a bi-national state to the borders of the Green Line. Accordingly, turning Israel into a bi-national state would involve a constitutional change granting both nations equal legislative status, canceling Israel's Jewish and Zionist character, and transforming Israel into a bilingual and multicultural state. Others suggested that a bi-national democratic state should include granting the Arabs in Israel the right to conduct their own cultural affairs and other matters distinctive to them independently.

e) National minority with collective rights. One of the major changes that the Arab population underwent in the 1990s expressed itself in the political and ideological parlor of the Arab elites. Thus the term "minorities" typically used by Israeli authorities to relate to the non-Jewish population began to be vigorously rejected as symbolizing Israel's intention of fostering internal disunity along the religious-ethnic division lines of the Muslim, Druze, Christian, Circassian, and Bedouin communities. Instead, a perception of the Arabs as a national collective with distinctive linguistic, cultural, and historic attributes has taken hold. The most widespread definition of this change focuses on the demand to recognize the Arab-Palestinian citizens of Israel as a national minority with collective rights. The practical evidence of this change is the demand not only for their due civil rights as individuals, but also for the associative or collective rights due them as a national minority.

Reopening the "1948 Files." a) Restoration of the memory of the Nakba. One of the most impressive aspects of the "return to 1948" phenomenon is the restoration of the collective historic memory of the *Nakba* – the perceived catastrophic loss of Palestine in the 1948 war. This changed reality was molded by three major factors: (1) the emergence of a new generation of Arabs who, unlike their predecessors, chose to highlight their national identity rather than water it down; (2) the implications of the Oslo process and the start of discussions about a permanent settlement, the refugee question, and the right of return; (3) the 50th anniversary celebrations of the State of Israel in 1998, which served as a powerful spur to the process.

Several central motifs recur in the narratives of Israeli Arabs vis-à-vis the significance of the *Nakba* on the emotional-national level. One is the perception of the *Nakba* memory not as a historic event that is over and done with, but rather a tragedy whose consequences continue to this day and whose victims are not only refugees in camps but also the Arab citizens in Israel. Another motif is the desire on the part of the Arabs in Israel for legitimization of the fact that 1948 marked not only a war of independence, sovereignty, and liberation for the Jews but also the terrible tragedy for the Arabs.

In practical terms, particularly following the 50th anniversary of the State of Israel, national-political activity focused on *Nakba* memorial ceremonies held on two dates – 5 Iyyar, the Hebrew date of Israel's Independence Day, and May 15, the date of the establishment of the state in the international calendar and the date assigned as *Nakba* Day. Ceremonies consisted mainly of pilgrimages to the sites of abandoned or destroyed villages, where their histories were recounted.

b) Revival of the displaced persons issue. Another significant manifestation of the trend toward opening the "1948 files" has been the revival, from the early 1990s, of the displaced persons (*al-muhajjarun*) issue, or "refugees in their own homeland" – those Palestinians who remained in Israeli territory during the 1948 war, or who returned after the war, but were unable to return to their original homes and villages, which had been abandoned or destroyed during the war.

The demand for the return of the displaced persons to their villages of origin was renewed following the start of the political process between Israel and the PLO in the early 1990s. The representatives of the displaced persons came to the conclusion that their salvation would not come from the PLO and that the struggle for the right of return would have a better chance if it were waged in Israel, as a sophisticated use of the Israeli judiciary system.

The "internal refugees" in Israel had begun to organize in the early 1990s with the establishment of a Countrywide Committee for the Protection of the Rights of the Displaced Persons in Israel. Activities included organized visits to the sites of the abandoned villages and the preservation of remaining sites and ruins at the villages, especially mosques, churches, and cemeteries.

c) Struggle for land. The acuteness of the land issue intensified during the 1990s, when government inaction and the inability of the Arab local councils to provide solutions to housing distress exacerbated the frustration and evoked rising protest against continuing expropriation of land and demolition of illegal buildings. The Arab sector opted for new initiatives, in an attempt to undermine and eliminate the 1948 land policies. Initiatives by Arab MKs provided one channel consisting of legislative action to annul such institutions as the Jewish National Fund Law.

The judiciary supplied another channel for these attempts with a Supreme Court decision that removed the ban on the purchase of land in Jewish areas by Arab citizens. Such a case was the Katzir-Qa'adan precedent: in March 2000 the Supreme Court ruled that the State must consider favorably the request by ʿAdel Qa'adan, a resident of Baqa al-Gharbiyya, to lease a plot of land and build a house in the Jewish settlement of Katzir. The Court stated that the State could not discriminate between Jews and non-Jewish citizens in the allocation of State land.

The Rising Power of the Islamic Movement. a) Activism in the local sphere. The Islamic Movement succeeded in changing the face of Arab village society. Mosque attendance increased steadily; the number of mosques in Israel grew from 60 in 1967, to 80 in 1988, 240 in 1993, and 363 in 2003.

As the socio-economic gaps between Jews and Arabs widened and the secular Arab political bodies failed to improve matters, the Arab community became increasingly eager for some external force to step in and remedy the imbalance. Following the basic ideological tenets of the Muslim Brotherhood, the Islamic Movement filled the void. It provided practical solutions for the deteriorating local conditions, being especially successful in mobilizing the Arab inhabitants for active, Islamic-oriented work in their communities. Muslim volunteers built internal roads in Arab villages, opened kindergartens, libraries, and clinics, and established drug-rehabilitation centers. Indeed, the Islamic Movement found solutions for many of the daily hardships that resulted from the authorities' failure to meet the Arab sector's needs.

This approach proved to be a prescription for success. In the 1998 municipal elections the Islamic Movement won representation in 13 localities, compared to 16 in 1993 and 14 in 1989. In the 2003 municipal elections the Islamic Movement won representation in only nine localities, but it still maintained its power, especially in Umm al-Fahm, where the Islamic Movement's candidate for mayor, Sheikh Hashim Abd al-Rahman, won 75% of the ballots, thus preserving the Movement's dominance in the city since 1989, and also in Nazareth, traditionally under the sway of Christian-Communist power, where the movement's candidate for mayor, Ahmad Zu'aby, won 48% of the ballots.

During the 1990s, The Al-Aqsa Association for the Preservation of the Waqf and the Islamic Holy Sites, established by the Islamic Movement in 1991, mounted a campaign to restore the *waqf* properties to their lawful owners in the Muslim community. In March 2001 the Islamic Movement established a Supreme Muslim Council, intended, inter alia, to serve as the elected Islamic body to which the *waqf* properties would be reinstated.

The success of the Islamic Movement was not only the result of the religious appeal. For many, it was a vote of confidence in a movement that successfully dedicated itself to the social, economic, and cultural advancement of the Arab sector.

b) The split within the Islamic Movement's ranks. The question of whether or not to participate in the Knesset elections aroused an internal controversy within the Islamic Movement's ranks. One of the most important developments prior to the 1996 elections was the Movement's reversal of its long-held position of staying out of Israeli parliamentary elections. In March 1996 the Movement's General Congress endorsed its participation in the Knesset elections within the framework of a unified Arab party headed by an Islamic Movement candidate.

The initiative to reverse the previous decision taken in 1995 came from the group of Islamic leaders associated with Sheikh Abdullah Nimr Darwish, founder of the Islamic Movement in Israel. The motivation for this effort was the desire to unite the fragmented Arab vote and prevent a situation in which, as a result of increased factionalism, Arab representation in the Knesset would be weakened or even eliminated.

This new decision caused an immediate crisis within the Movement. Two of the more radical leaders, Sheikh Kamal Khatib and Sheikh Ra'id Salah, mayor of Umm al-Fahm at the time, announced that they did not view themselves as bound by the Movement's resolution to participate in the Knesset elections, a move which eventually caused a split within the Movement's ranks into two factions: the first, headed by Sheikh Darwish, adopted a more pragmatic view toward integration into Israeli society, including participation in Knesset elections; the second, headed by Sheikh Ra'id Salah, maintained a more dogmatic view.

Representatives of the latter faction argued that the Islamic Movement cannot integrate into the Israeli system, since it is based on a set of Jewish-Israeli laws which stands in complete contradiction to the very essence of Islamic Law. Hence, this faction endorsed the idea of establishing independent institutions for the Arab population in Israel a step further. As part of its social world view, especially in light of the October 2000 events, the dogmatic faction considered establishing an alternative social infrastructure for a community which was capable of relying on itself (*al-Mujtama' al-'Issami*) by means of independent industrial, commercial, and financial institutions, and its own health, security, and education services. However, no significant practical steps were taken to implement these ideas.

In May 2003, some leaders of the dogmatic faction, including Sheikh Salah himself, were placed under arrest on charges of money laundering and the transfer of money to Islamic activists in the West Bank. The faction's press was temporarily closed for what was described as publication of inflammatory material. Eventually, some of the detainees were released in January 2005 and the rest, including Sheikh Salah, were released four months later.

POLITICAL EVENTS. *Elections to the Knesset – 1996, 1999, 2003.* The 1996, 1999, and 2003 election campaigns in the Arab sector were characterized by an electoral shift from the Zionist parties to the Arab parties, mainly because of disappointment with the Zionist parties. The total vote for the major Zionist and Jewish parties declined from 49.3% in 1992 to 32.3% in 1996, 17.3% in 1999, and 18.5% in 2003. The vote for Labor dropped from 20.3% in 1992 to 16.6% in 1996, 7.43% in 1999, and 7.7% in 2003. Meretz declined from 9.70% in 1992 to 10.5% in 1996, 5.02% in 1999, and 4.2% in 2003. The right wing Likud party and the religious Jewish parties dropped from 19.3% in 1992 to 5.2% in 1996, 4.84% in 1999, and 6.6% in 2003. In contrast, the total vote for Arab parties rose from 38.4% in 1992 to 62.4% in 1996, 68.64% in 1999, and 68.8% in 2003.

The strong shift toward the Arab parties reflected the response of the Arab population to the profound change in their platforms, which became more relevant to the Arab electorate than ever before, being less preoccupied with Palestinian issues and the peace process, as in the past, and displaying much more focus on communal issues directly pertaining to the collective rights of the Arab population as a national minority. These platforms became concentrated on the following issues:

1. The need to change Israel's Zionist character so as to transform Israel into a state of all its citizens, with full national rights and cultural autonomy for the Arab minority.
2. A demand to recognize the status of the Arabs in Israel as a national minority.
3. Taking legal measures to ensure equality.
4. Maintaining an aggressive national stance regarding issues of Arab lands.

A typical ritual which repeated itself prior to the election campaigns of 1996, 1999, and 2003 in the Arab sector was the strenuous effort to form a united Arab list which would represent all political forces competing for the Arab vote. Such a list, it was argued, would lead to larger and more effective Arab representation in the Knesset. Some Arab observers argued that the increased political pluralism was devastating in terms of the Arab community's ability to stand behind a clear and unified political message.

In all cases the outcome was the same: the various political parties held talks with each other but to no avail. The efforts to form a large unified list failed to materialize mainly because of personal rivalries, as well as ideological barriers.

Elections for Prime Minister – 2001. Following the announcement of special elections for prime minister in February 2001 a sharp internal debate took place in the Arab sector over the question of whether to participate or boycott the elections. The general atmosphere in the Arab sector was full of frustration and lack of confidence in the Israeli authorities. The boycott idea was broached as a protest against the actions of the Israeli security forces against the Arabs in Israel and those in the Palestinian territories during the October 2000 events (see below), as well as against the ongoing government policy of neglect toward the Arab sector. Another major consideration in favor of the boycott was the realization that the boycott would not affect the representation of Arab parties in the Knesset, since these were not parliamentary elections.

Eventually, the impact of the October 2000 events was decisive: an unprecedented majority of Arab citizens boycotted the prime minister elections, resulting in an 18% turnout of Arab voters – the lowest since the establishment of the state. Most of the voters came from the Druze communities, which traditionally affiliated themselves with the Israeli establishment and the security forces.

The Municipal Elections of 1998 and 2003. The municipal elections in the Arab sector held in November 1998 and October 2003 were characterized by a powerful resurgence of the traditional clan, the *hamula*, at the expense of the Zionist-affiliated party lists (Labor, Likud, Meretz, and the religious parties), which almost totally disappeared from the municipal scene. The influence of the more ideologically orientated Arab-dominated parties was also considerably diminished. The strengthening of the *hamula* framework at the expense of nationalist movements reflected a weakening of the affiliation of the Arab citizens of Israel to the Palestinian national cause and a trend toward deeper integration in Israeli society.

The election campaigns clearly illustrated that the basic loyalty of the Arab citizens was to the family or tribal circle, which provided security and stability socially, economically, and politically. Loyalty to the family took precedence over regional, religious, ethnic, and even political loyalties, systematically overshadowing party allegiance. Ultimately, the municipal elections of 1998 and 2003 illustrated the fragmentation of Arab society in Israel along clan, party, ethnic, and religious lines.

The Al-Aqsa Intifada and the October 2000 Events. Early in October 2000, violent demonstrations swept the Arab communities of the Galilee and the Triangle area as a spin-off of the Al-Aqsa Intifada in the territories, resulting in the death of 13 Arabs and one Jew. These events evoked profound shock in the Israeli public, marking a watershed in Jewish-Arab relations in Israel.

The outburst was the most violent act by the Arab population since the establishment of Israel, involving a level of force never before employed, including the destruction of public buildings, the protracted blocking of major highways, the employment of Molotov cocktails, and even the sporadic use of live ammunition against security forces. The harsh response of the police also marked a significant precedent. The police used tear gas and fired rubber bullets and live ammunition at the Arab demonstrators. As a result, in addition to the 13 Arabs and one Jew who were killed, hundreds of protesters and dozens of police officers were injured. Arab leaders accused the police of employing excessive force in dispersing the demonstrators, using live ammunition and shooting indiscriminately at close range.

Perceiving a threat in MK Ariel Sharon's visit to the Temple Mount on the eve of the Jewish New Year, September 28, 2000, the Arabs of Israel expressed solidarity with their brethren in the territories. Ostensibly many adopted the Islamic movement's call to protect the al-Aqsa mosque, claiming that Israel was trying to exert its authority over the third holiest site in Islam.

The swift response of the Arabs in Israel reflected their sense of identification with the Palestinian cause. Yet, the major cause for the outburst of violence was largely attributable to domestic factors. Signs of rising tension in the Arab sector were already evident during the first half of 2000. Spokespersons of the Arab population pointed out that most of the Arab local councils contended with paralyzing budgetary deficits, the Arab villages had become foci of unemployment, and the problem of the unrecognized villages, especially in the Negev, had worsened. The October 2000 riots reflected the disappointment of the Arabs in Israel with Prime Minister Barak personally and with his government's policies toward the Arab sector generally. While 95% of the Arab electorate had voted for Barak in the personal 1999 elections, many felt betrayed when he declined to invite Arab parties to join his coalition and did little to address the longstanding socio-economic needs of the Arab sector. The uprising represented the culmination of a process of growing alienation and discontent over unfulfilled expectations to attain equality, especially by the younger generation.

The State Commission of Inquiry for the October 2000 Events. Following sustained harsh criticism on the part of the Arab leadership over the killing of the 13 Arab citizens by the police, Prime Minister Barak announced the establishment of a state commission of inquiry to investigate the October 2000 riots, headed by Supreme Court Justice Theodor Orr, with a mandate to examine the behavior of the security forces, inciters, and organizers of the clashes. The decision was welcomed by the Arab leadership.

On September 1, 2003, the Orr Commission published its findings and recommendation. The commission's report identified the following as the root causes of the events:

a) *Government discrimination* – The commission noted that "government handling of the Arab sector has been primarily neglectful and discriminatory … Evidence of the distress included poverty, unemployment, a shortage of land, serious problems in the education system and substantially defective infrastructure."

b) *Police behavior* – The commission criticized the police for using lethal riot control methods and for its overall attitude toward the Arab minority. In the report, the commission's members noted: "The police must learn to realize that the Arab sector in Israel is not the enemy and must not be treated as such."

c) *Radicalization of the Arab sector* – The commission noted that another cause for the escalation which led to the outbreak of the riots was "the ideological-political radicalization of the Arab sector," which manifested itself in "expressions of identification with and even support of the Palestinian struggle against the state." The commission also blamed the Arab leadership, including some Arab MKs and heads of the Islamic Movement, for failing to "understand that the violent riots … and identification with armed activity against the state … constitute a threat against the state's Jewish citizens and substantially damaged the delicate fabric of Jewish-Arab relations in Israel."

[Arik Rudnitzky and Elie Rekhess (2nd ed.)]

POPULAR CULTURE

Backward political and economic conditions under Ottoman rule prevented the emergence of literary or artistic talent among the Arabs, particularly among the rural population. However, there was a widespread popular culture of song, dance, and other entertainment among the fellahin.

IN THE VILLAGES. In the cold and rainy season, when they could not go out to till the fields, as well as on festive occasions, such as circumcisions, betrothals, or weddings, the fellahin vied with each other in showing their skill in singing, dancing, and storytelling. Everyone was expected to know the traditional songs and dances. In the *maḍāfa*, the guest hall in the home of a village notable, the fellahin would assemble to discuss farming, politics, and the latest news, listen to popular legends, or welcome important guests. When a *maddāḥ* (panegyrist) visited the village, the entire population would assemble at the *maḍāfa* to listen to his tales and legends of heroes in poetry and prose rhyme, sometimes accompanied on the one-stringed *rubāba*. The best-known stories of this type were those of ʿAntara ibn Shaddād, the famous sixth-century poet. Popular legendary heroes were Sayf ibn Dhū Yazan, the heroic sixth-century king of South Arabia; Abu Zayd al-Hilālī, with his miraculous adventures; and the members of the heroic Banū Hilāl tribe. Today, most of this folklore has been publicized widely through the theater, television, and books, but it is still recounted by village storytellers.

Public poetry reading is a well-developed feature of rural Arab life, especially at public and family celebrations and the return of the pilgrims from Mecca, as well as on the occasion of deaths or disasters. Local village poets are employed to compose long poems for each special occasion. Those that are especially successful are absorbed into the general cultural life of the rural Arabs; others become part of local tradition. The fellahin poets deal with all aspects of private and public life: marriage, death, love, nature, work, pleasure and amusements, religious life, etc. Numerous types of Arab rural poetry, distinguished by tune and melody, are *mījana, dalʿūna, ʿatāba, ẓarīf al-ṭūl, al-saḥja*, to mention only a few. Popular public poets often perform in pairs. The Asad brothers of Deir al-Asad and the Rināwī brothers of Deir Ḥannā are the best-known contemporary performers.

The fellahin still preserve many customs that have existed in the Middle East for centuries and some of which are reflected in the Scriptures: for example, the pouring of water by the young on the hands of their elders; grinding of corn in hand mills; washing babies in salt water and anointing them with olive oil; and marriages between close relatives. They are fond of games, which may last for hours and generally attract numerous spectators, such as *sija*, which resembles chess; *maqala*, which entails the moving of stones on a special board and involves accurate calculations; and *al-fanājīn*, in which a large number of players try to guess the location of a ring hidden under one of several saucers.

THEATER. A few years after the establishment of the State of Israel, some attempts were made to put on stage shows in Arabic, but they came to naught. It was only in 1965 that Arab theater and dance companies, initiated by individuals and assisted by the *Histadrut Arab Section and the Beit Gefen Center, Haifa, were more or less permanently established. The Beit Gefen Drama School, established in 1963, is directed by Adīb Jahshān. In 1966 it produced Mahmud ʿAbbāsī's *Al-Fidāʾ* ("The Ransom") with great success under the direction of Abu Farīd. The only company that remained active for a considerable period was the independent Popular Theater, directed by Antuwān Ṣāliḥ of Nazareth, who studied direction in Paris. It presented Strindberg's *The Father* and *The Servant of Two Masters* by Goldini, featuring Yusuf Faraḥ and Adīb Jahshān, who graduated from the Ramat Gan Drama School and gained a considerable reputation. The appearance of actresses in Arab theater shows encountered numerous obstacles, as it was frowned on by Muslim tradition. For a considerable period the Arab theater suffered from lack of feminine participants, and the difficulty was only recently overcome. The best-known Arab actress in Israel was Alīs Abu Samra from Acre, a teacher at the ʿArrāba village who appeared for the Popular Theater and went on tour in the United States. In later years such actors as Muhammad *Bakri, Yusuf Abu Varda, and Makhram Khoury achieved prominence.

MUSIC AND DANCE. Ḥikmat Shāhīn, born in Tarshīḥa, directed the Beit Gefen Music and Dance company. Iskandar Shihāb, of Shepharam, organized a local nonprofessional company. Yusuf al-Khill (from a well-known Arab family of singers and composers) was the director of the Nazareth Roman Catholic Music and Dance company, which was one of the oldest. Suhayl Raḍwān was the director of the Histadrut Dance Company in Nazareth and of the Arab Music School in Haifa. A few dance companies were organized by the Histadrut and private groups in Arab, Druze, and Circassian centers, but do not perform regularly. Later, performances by mixed Arab-Jewish folk dance and music ensembles had popular success. A 1994 production of *Romeo and Juliet* by a troupe of Jewish and Arab actors from Jerusalem, performing in a mixture of Hebrew and Arabic, won national and international acclaim, touring widely abroad.

PAINTING. A few talented Arab painters have gained prominence in Israel recently. The paintings of ʿAbd Yūnis of ʿArʿara, a graduate of the Bezalel School of Arts, have been well received, and he has also done book illustrations. The young Druze painter Abdallah al-Qarā, born in Dāliyat al-Karmil, studied in Paris and exhibited with great success in Israel and the United States, where he resided.

[Mahmoud Abassi]

ARABIC LITERATURE

Throughout the period beginning with the second half of the 19th century and ending with the establishment of the State of Israel (1948) Palestine, a backwater in Arab cultural life, could occupy no significant position in the field of Arab literature, nor play a role comparable to that of Iraq, Egypt, Syria, and Lebanon. This situation changed after 1948, both in the State of Israel and in the area taken over by Jordan, when Arab poetry and prose, mostly with political overtones, emerged as a lively expression of cultural life. The initial development of Arab literature in Palestine was extremely slow and usually imitated literary trends dominant in the neighboring Arab states. Indeed, most Palestinian-born writers and poets flourished and gained fame outside Palestine.

UNDER OTTOMAN RULE: 1880–1918. Though Palestinian Arab literature, however rudimentary, was always nationalist, community differences were especially discernible in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Muslim writers, mainly influenced by classical Arab literature, tended to emphasize form at the expense of content; the Greek Orthodox were influenced by Russian literature and the Roman Catholics by French. But with the growing prominence of the Palestinian national movement after World War I, these differences gradually disappeared.

During the second half of the 19th century, emphasis was laid on form and linguistic ornamentation. Assonant prose and pseudoclassical poetry were dominant. The sole exception was the work of Muhammad Rūḥī al-Khālidī (1864–1913), Ottoman consul general in Bordeaux and a member of the Ottoman parliament. He was a distinguished literary critic whose field of research and writing was the influence of Arab literature on European literature. The new Ottoman constitution of the Young Turks in 1908, granting cultural freedom to all nationalities within the Ottoman Empire, was a turning point in the development of Arab literature in Palestine. Many newspapers and periodicals appeared, and literary activity was of considerable intensity. Among the foremost writers of the period were Khalīl al-Sakākīnī, Isʿāf al-Nashāshībī, Ḥannā al-ʿĪsā, Khalīl Baydas, and Abdallah Mukhliṣ.

UNDER THE BRITISH MANDATE: 1918–48. After the British conquest of Palestine, Muslim education, extremely rudimentary until then especially in comparison with Christian missionary education, progressed sufficiently to enable Palestinian writers to establish literary societies, regular literary publications, and publishing houses. Many Palestinian Arabs went abroad to acquire education at Arab or European universities. Growing Palestinian Arab nationalism found its expression in poetry directed against both the British and Zionism. Some 200 books in Arabic were published in Palestine during the Mandatory period. This was a marked advance in quantity, though quality still lagged behind Egypt, Syria, and other centers.

The best-known poet of the period was Iskandar al-Khūrī al-Baytjālī, a judge living in Haifa who published six volumes of poetry, some of which contain outspoken criticism of the modernization of Arab society. Wadī al-Bustānī (1886–1954), a Lebanese lawyer who also resided in Haifa, concentrated on the political and social events of the 1918–30 period in his anthology *Filasṭīniyāt* ("Palestine Verses," 1946). Other poets of stature were ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Karmī, Hasan ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn, the poetess Fadwā Ṭūqān, ʿAbd al Munʿim al-Rifāʿī, Burhān al-Dīn al-ʿAbbūshī, Ibrahim ʿAbd al-Fattāḥ, Ibrahim Tūqān, and Isḥāq Mūsā al-Husseini.

Ibrahim Ṭūqān and Isḥāq Mūsā al-Husseini, both members of prominent families, occupied important positions in their community. Ṭūqān (1905–1941), born in Nablus and educated at the American University of Beirut, wrote anti-Zionist and anti-British poems along with his colleague and friend Muhammad Hasan ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn. Unsparing in his attacks on Arab land speculators, Ṭūqān praised the Arab rioters and acclaimed organized warfare against Jews. He was considered by many to be the most outstanding Arab poet in Palestine. By contrast, Isḥāq Mūsā al-Husseini, a humanist, directed his efforts at social and moral reform: he demanded improvement in the status of Arab women and called for equality, brotherhood, justice, and mutual tolerance. His allegorical novel *Mudhak Rarāt Dajāja* ("Memoirs of a Hen," 1943), in which he implied that the Arabs should come to peaceful terms with the new Jewish community, drew bitter criticism from Arab nationalists. In short-story writing, Maḥmud Sayf al-Dīn al-Irānī and ʿArif al-ʿAzzūnī were prominent. Both were leftist writers who dealt critically with the political life of the Palestinian Arabs as in al-Irānī's short story "Germs," published in his book *Awwal al-Shawṭ* ("The Beginning of the Race," 1938).

There were two other significant groups. One, which aimed at disproving and counterattacking Zionist claims, included Yusuf Haykal, ʿĪsā al-Safarī, Wadī ʿal-Bustānī, and Saʿīd Basīsā, as well as ʿĀrif al-ʿĀrif, who wrote on tribes and cities in Palestine. The second group devoted itself to improving Arab educational standards by compiling good textbooks. Ahmad Ṣāliḥ al-Khālidī and Khalīl al-Sakākīnī were its most prominent members.

AFTER 1948. With the Arab defeat in 1948, most of the Arab intelligentsia fled the country. They continued their anti-Israel activity outside Israel's borders engendering a new current in Palestinian literature, *Adab al-ʿAwda* ("the Literature of Return"). Fadwā Ṭūqān and Harun Hāshim Rāshīd were considered the most prominent exponents of this school. The Arab population remaining in Israel after the 1948 war was, in the main, rural. Of the few Arab writers who stayed, most were Communists who, stunned by the Arab defeat, interrupted their literary activities. Two political and social factors, however, advanced and revived Arabic literature in Israel: the Communist Party, and the new Jewish immigration from Iraq (1950–51). Since the British Mandate, some Arab writers had had Communist affiliations, and in 1944 they established the official party organ *al-Ittiḥād* ("The Union") in Haifa.

The tide of Jewish immigration from Iraq included such writers and poets as Shalom Darwīsh, Salīm Shaʿshūʿ, Avraham Ovadya, Mikhael Murād, Shemuel Moreh, Sasson Somekh, David Ẓemaḥ, and S. al-Kātib (Shalom Katav). Eliyahu Agasi and Meir Ḥaddād also belonged to this category, although they had come to Israel much earlier. The best-known novelists of the group were Ibrahim Mūsā Ibrahim and G. Barshan. They published their work mainly in the weekly literary supplements of the daily *al-Yawm* ("The Day," 1948–68) and in the weekly *Ḥaqīqat al-Amr* ("The Truth," 1937–59). However, the role of the Iraqi Jewish writers and poets in the revival of Arabic literature in Israel was necessarily of short duration. Having integrated into Israel's Jewish society, they no longer aimed at pursuing Arabic literature, nor could the Arab literary elite in Israel accept Iraqi Jewish leadership, which they considered alien.

In due course, young Arab poets and writers educated in Israel schools assumed literary leadership. At first, during the early years of the state, their prose and poetry dwelt upon life, love, and nature, and their literary output was weak in form and content. Later, however, such political issues as peace between Israel and her neighbors and Jewish-Arab cooperation in Israel predominated, constituting the subject matter of the periodicals *al-Wasīṭ* ("The Mediator," 1951–53) and *al-Mujtamaʿ* ("Society," 1954–59), both edited by Mīshīl Haddād and Jamāl Qaʿwār.

In 1956 two topics gained prominence in Israel Arab literature: the political and social condition of the Israel Arabs and criticism of the Israel authorities. This literature was influenced by rapid changes in the cultural make-up of Israel Arabs, as the result of such factors as the institution of free, compulsory primary education, the rise in the Arab standard of living, freedom of speech and publication, and the activity of the *Histadrut and various, mainly Jewish, political parties among the Arab population. At first, most of the works of Arab writers in Israel were published from 1953 in the Communist monthly *al-Jadīd* ("Anew"). The situation gradually changed, however, as new journals began regular publication in the late 1950s and in the 1960s. These included *Mapam's *al-Fajr* ("Dawn"), the Histadrut's *al-Hadaf* ("The Aim"), *Anwār* ("Lights"), and *Mifgash-Liqāʾ* ("Encounter"), a bilingual literary magazine in Hebrew and Arabic. Arabic publishing houses inaugurated by Mapam and the Histadrut encouraged greater local activity in all literary genres. Some Arab writers even began writing in Hebrew.

Arab poets in Israel found themselves in the unique position of living in a liberal, democratic state with which, for national reasons, they were often unable to identify. Some of their poetry, which attained high standards, was dubbed by

Arab critics as *Adab al-Muqāwama* ("Resistance Literature"), because it dealt with the plight of the Palestinian refugees and expressed dissatisfaction with the status of the Arab population in Israel, as well as, sometimes, rebellion, vengeance, and hatred of Jews. Some, more moderate, Arab poets, like their Iraqi Jewish colleagues, e.g., Rāshid Hussein and Jamāl Qaʿwār, dwelt on the advantages of Jewish-Arab peace and cooperation. Stylistically, the poetry was simple and easy to comprehend, with intelligent use of colloquial Arabic, proverbs, and folk adages. Prominent works were Mahmud Darwish's *Nihāyat al-Layl* ("The End of the Night," 1967) and Samīḥ al Qāsim's *Dukhān al-Burkān* ("The Smoke of the Volcanoes," 1958), which revealed considerable progress in poetic quality. The poets Rāshid Husseini, Abu Ḥannā, Tawfiq Fayyāẓ, and Ḥannā Ibrahim, all of them nationalists or Communists, also developed a good rhythmic structure, giving expression to themes centered mostly on Arab nationalism. Among the few poets living in Judea and Samaria who continued regular writing and publishing after the *Six-Day War (1967), the foremost was the poetess Fadwā Ṭūqān of Nablus.

FICTION. The Israel Arab short story has failed to equal the attainments in poetry. Mainly influenced by European and Egyptian literary trends, it was realistic in theme and journalistic in style, dealing with the problems of the Arab minority in Israel, the attitudes of the Israel authorities and Jewish population toward the Arabs, the sufferings of the Palestinian refugees, and the Israel military government. Major writers were Najwā Qaʿwār, Faraj Salmān, and Tawfiq Muʿammar. At the same time, under the influence of modern, progressive Jewish society, a number of other writers, such as Qayṣar Karkabī, Ṭaha M. Ali, and Mustafa Murrār, published short stories criticizing outmoded Arab customs.

Attempts to produce an Arab drama of high standard in Israel have so far been unsuccessful, notwithstanding the efforts of Tawfiq Fayyāẓ and Najwā Qaʿwār. The novel, however, has made considerable progress. In 1958 Tawfiq Muʿammar published his first work, *Mudhakkarat Lājiʾ* ("Memoirs of a Refugee"), which deals with the Arab population in Israel after the flight from Haifa in 1948. The most successful novel was ʿAtā Allāh Mansur's *Wa-ʿĀdat Samīra* ("And Samira Came Back," 1962), a realistic, colorful story of a young couple whose marriage fails. Other noteworthy novels were Mahmud ʿAbbāsī's *Ḥubb bilā Ghad* ("Love without Morrow," 1962), Fahd Abu Khaḍra's *al-Layl wa-al-Ḥudūd* ("The Night and the Border," 1964), and M. ʿAbd al-Qādir Kanaʿna's works.

Writers who favor peace, brotherhood, and cooperation with the Jews seem to refrain from giving expression to their ideas as forcefully as the Communists and extreme nationalists, who increasingly cooperate with each other, especially as their numbers have been augmented since 1967 by writers from Judea and Samaria.

[Shmuel Moreh]

1967–1987. Between 1967 and 1987, and particularly after the Six-Day War (1967), the Palestinian-national factor became more pronounced in Israeli Arab literary works. During this period, poets Tawfiq Zayyad (1929–1994), Taha Muhammad Ali (1931–), Samih al-Qasim (1939–), and later Salim Jubran (1941–) and Siham Daud (1952–), whose writing became prominent, focused on themes such as the question of national identity, the renewed interaction with the Arab world and the Palestinian community, the outcome of the wars of 1967, 1973, and 1982, the first Intifada (see below), and the sense of discrimination among the Arab minority in Israel.

A rising sense of solidarity and literary cooperation developed during the 1970s and 1980s between Palestinian writers in Israel and their counterparts in the larger Palestinian and Arab world. Palestinian writers and critics began to publish in Arabic periodicals and newspapers in Israel, such as *al-Jadid*, *al-Mawakib*, and *al-Ittihad*. Conversely, Israeli-Arab writers, such as Samih al-Qasim, Emile *Habibi (1921–1996), Zaki Darwish (1941–), and Riyad Baydas (1960–) published in Palestinian journals such as *al-Karmil*, *Shu'un Filastiniyya*, *Filastin al-Thawra*, and *Balsam*. Thus, Israeli Arab writers won the legitimization they had long expected to obtain.

One literary issue remained unchanged since 1948: the relationship of Israeli Arabs to the land. The emphasis shifted from the role of land as a source of livelihood to land as a focus of national and emotional attachment, as was reflected in the works of Samih al-Qasim, Muhammad Naffa' (1939–), and Riyad Baydas. This trend was strongly reflected in the poetry published following the violent events of "Land Day" on March 30, 1976. In contrast to former years, the land issue has now acquired a new character and became an ethos and a symbol – a national, political, social, and even religious one.

The theme of refugees and infiltrators, which had been central for many Israeli-Arab writers in the 1950s and early 1960s, lost its popularity in the late 1960s, although it still served as the subject of a few short stories after the war of 1967. By the 1970s and 1980s only few writers, like Emile Habibi and Riyad Baydas, still addressed this issue but from a different point of view: the presentation was less ideological and more sentimental and nostalgic.

One of the most prominent phenomena which began to develop during the 1970s and 1980s was the writing of many Israeli Arab writers in Hebrew as well as Arabic. Writers such as Anton Shammas (1950–), Salman Masaliha (1953–), Na'im Arayidi (1948–), Muhammad Hamza Ghanayim (1953–), Siham Daud, Nida Khoury (1953–), and Farouq Mawasi (1941–) became very popular among the Hebrew reading audience. They also translated a significant amount of Arabic literature and fiction into Hebrew, thus contributing to bridge the gap between Jews and Arabs in Israel.

1987–2005. The themes which the literary works of Arab poets and writers dealt with after 1987 continued to range from the narrow circle of socio-economic discrimination against the Arab minority in Israel to the wider issue of the collapse of the Eastern bloc. However, the main topic that preoccupied the literary world of the Arabs in Israel was the Intifada (uprising) in the Gaza Strip and the West Bank and the political developments that followed suit.

After the outbreak of the first Intifada (lasting from 1987 to 1993), the declaration of independence by the PLO (1988), the signing of the agreements between Israel and the PLO (1993–95), and the peace treaty between Israel and Jordan (1994), a sense of euphoria was reflected in the writings of Israeli Arab scholars, who praised the Intifada and enthusiastically supported the Palestinians' aspirations for national independence.

Israeli Arab writers like Riyad Baydas and Samih al-Qasim published their works in a series of Palestinian anthologies called *Ibdaʿat al-Hajar* ("The Stone Creations"), which were brought out by the Association of Palestinian Writers in the Gaza Strip and the West Bank. Similarly, quite a few works written by Israeli Arabs had been published by *Filastin al-Thawra*, published in Cyprus under the auspices of the PLO. The extensive literary activity of Israeli Arabs during the Intifada also found expression in Arab magazines and periodicals in Israel, especially the journal *al-Jadid* and the literary supplement of the daily *al-Ittihad*.

However, a more melancholic trend was reflected in the works of Israeli Arab writers after Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin's assassination (1995), the rise of the right-wing Binyamin Netanyahu's government in Israel (1996), and especially after the October 2000 events in Galilee (see above). Israeli Arab works were filled with a sense of frustration and despair regarding the chances of realizing the Palestinian community's national aspirations.

The case of Emile Habibi demonstrated the unique and complicated status of the Arabs in Israel during this period. During the late 1960s and early 1970s Habibi became one of the most prominent Israeli Arab writers, who won legitimacy in the Palestinian community and the Arab world and was also praised for his writing skills, which were apparent in his famous novellas *The Optimist* (1984), *Akhtiya* (1986), and *Saraya, Daughter of the Bad Genie* (1991). However, the same Habibi was sharply criticized by many writers in the Arab world, who castigated him for accepting the Israel Prize for literature in 1992. This case demonstrated the ambivalent attitude of the Arab world toward the Arab literary world in Israel.

One trend which became more prominent during the 1990s was the writing of Israeli Arabs in Hebrew only, thus addressing Hebrew readers in general and not only Arabic readers in the Israeli public. One of the best-known Arab writers who represented this trend was Sayid Kashua (1975–), who published two novellas: *Dancing Arabs* (2002) and *Let it be Morning* (2004). These novellas were semi-autobiographical narratives about the struggle of Israeli Arabs in the light of the crisis of assimilation triggered by the October 2000 events.

[Arik Rudnitzky and Elie Rekhess (2nd ed.)]

Bedouin

TO 1970. The penetration of Bedouin into the Palestine area began in the pre-Islamic period, and continued intermittently until the late 19th century. The Bedouin occupied uninhabited arid regions such as the Negev; marshland such as the Ḥuleh Valley and the Ḥefer Plain; the sand dunes of the Coastal Plain; and the rocky hill country of Allonim-Shepharam. Prior to 1948 there were 80,000 Bedouin in the whole of Palestine, 60,000 of them in the Negev. In early 1970 their number in Israel was 36,800, of whom 26,300 were in the Negev.

Bedouin in the Negev. These Bedouin were only semi-nomadic because of the proximity to settled areas. The region over which they spread extended from the Gulf of Eilat in the south to the Hebron mountains in the east and the settlements of the coastal plain in the west. Their concentrations were large, composed of a number of tribes forming a clan, generally related by blood. They engaged in sheep-rearing and desert agriculture. Frequent years of drought led to long periods of wandering and to raids on permanent settlements.

Under Ottoman rule there was hardly any interference in the internal life of the Bedouin save in times of intertribal warfare. Tribal law courts were established by the Mandatory authorities in the early 1920s. The courts, which met every Tuesday in Beersheba, consisted of three sheikhs who acted as judges and were entitled to impose fines up to LP 200 (£200). Each of the parties in the dispute had the right to propose one judge, and the district commissioner appointed the third. After the establishment of the State of Israel, the tribal courts of law were reestablished in 1954. Nine tribal heads were appointed as judges, with the approval of the minister of the interior. Criminal cases were heard in the regular courts. From the late 1950s, the Bedouin increasingly used the regular courts even in cases involving tribal and family matters, and consequently the tribal courts were abolished in 1962.

Bedouin of Northern Israel. These Bedouin originally came from the Syrian and Transjordanian deserts. They were fragments of tribes which split for financial reasons or because of blood feuds, and they settled in uncultivated areas. Unlike the Bedouin of the Negev, their groupings are small, the area of their wanderings contained by rural settlements. The influence of their surroundings has been considerable: some have become cowherds, others small farmers or hired laborers.

Government Activities. Clinics and schools were opened by the Israel government in areas of Bedouin settlement. New economic opportunities were developed for the Bedouin, even among groups that were previously entirely nomadic. This contact with new settlements and enterprises wrought important changes in the Bedouin way of life. Many abandoned sheepherding and camel driving and took employment as building and agricultural laborers or in various services. As a result, the Bedouin gradually exchanged their tents for a more permanent habitation, often huts of tin or wood. The dependence of the individual upon the tribal sheikh also diminished. To encourage the process of permanent settlement, the government set up a number of villages for Bedouin in the north in the early 1960s, and planned three rural settlements in the

Negev. Some of the Negev Bedouin found their main source of livelihood in the Ramleh-Lydda area. Housing quarters built for them in Ramleh were occupied in the mid-1960s.

Bedouin of Judea and Samaria. According to the 1961 Jordanian census there were 14,947 Bedouin in the area west of the Jordan River. The Arab al-Turkumān tribe, which lives in the Dothan Valley, derives most of its income from land cultivation, also raising sheep and cattle. Of the clans living on the edge of the Judean Desert, the largest is the Taʿamra clan. Part of the clan has begun to settle permanently on a wide area of land. They earn their livelihood mainly from sheep rearing, some agriculture, and as hired laborers. The Jordanian government provided a regional school for them.

Bedouin of Sinai. The number of Bedouin in Sinai and the Gaza Strip was estimated at 60,000. The Suez-Wadi Akaba route was traditionally used by pilgrims to Mecca, and many tribes gathered in this area. With the opening of the Suez Canal (1869), however, the tribes moved northward, and El-Arish became the Bedouin center in northern Sinai. Bedouin in the Gaza Strip area herd flocks, practice desert cultivation, and engage in fishing along the coast. The Bedouin in the Sheikh Zuwayd area produce salt from a natural source there. In central Sinai the tribes are still nomadic, raising camels and goats as well as engaging in smuggling, and the law of the desert still prevails. During the 1960s many economic and social changes took place in southern Sinai. The expansion of the manganese mines and oil plants opened up employment opportunities for the Bedouin as hired laborers, and they began to settle in the region. The heads of tribes and others owned cars in which the laborers were taken to work and provisions brought into the desert from the outside. After the Six-Day War (1967), the Israel government employed these Bedouin in relief works.

[Joseph Ginat]

1970–2005. In 2004 the Bedouin population in Israel numbered approximately 220,000 inhabitants: 145,000 in the Negev in Southern Israel; 65,000 in Galilee in Northern Israel; and a small portion, some 10,000, in central Israel.

Since the establishment of the state of Israel, the Bedouin population has increased tenfold: the population in the Negev increased from 15,000 (1948) to 145,000 (2004), and the population in Galilee increased from 6,500 (1948) to 65,000 (2004). With an unparalleled 5.5% annual growth rate, this population doubles itself every 15 years. It is estimated that by the year 2020 the Bedouin population in the Negev will number approximately 300,000. The Bedouin population is also the youngest in Israeli society: About 55% of the Bedouin are younger than 14.

Land Disputes with the State. For most of Israel's history, the Bedouin in the Negev have been engaged in a dispute with the government over possession of land and housing rights. Between 700,000 to 1,000,000 dunams are under dispute. Land possession and ownership among the Bedouin were traditionally determined by internal custom, which did not involve any written deeds of sales or ownerships. Israel, which sought control over the area, did not accept the unwritten understandings between clans as constituting a legal right.

The government followed the following policy guidelines regarding the land issues:

1) Establishment of seven government-planned Bedouin townships since 1968 (see below).

2) Settlement of disputes by compensation and allocation of alternative land.

3) Demolition of illegal housing in encampments (see below, "Unrecognized Villages").

The Urbanization of the Bedouin in the Negev. In the late 1960s and early 1970s the Israeli government initiated a program to resettle the Bedouin population in the Negev in seven permanent townships: Tel Sheva (founded in 1968), Rahat (1972), Ar'ara ba-Negev (1982), Kseifa (1982), Segev Shalom (1984), Hura (1990), and Laqiya (1990). At the end of 2004, these townships had 93,300 residents: Rahat, which is considered the Bedouin "capital" in the Negev, had 37,400 residents; Tel Sheva – 12,500; Ar'ara ba-Negev – 11,700; Kseifa – 9,400; Hura – 8,800; Laqiya – 7,600; and Segev Shalom – 5,900.

These townships rank at the bottom of the government's socio-economic index of localities, making them the poorest in Israel. Some experts studying Bedouin society point out that the planning of the seven Bedouin localities was a failure due to insufficient land allocations, restrictive planning regulations, insufficient local government budgets, absence of government jobs offered for the inhabitants, inferior education and health level as compared to neighboring Jewish localities, and inadequate social and recreational services.

Moreover, in exchange for a plot in one of these townships, the Bedouin were required to settle their claims to expropriated lands. As a result, many of them were reluctant to abandon their traditional lands and therefore refused relocation to these townships.

Bedouin of Galilee. Most of the Galilee Bedouin live in 20 of their own permanent settlements: four of these settlements – Basmat Tab'un, Wadi Hamam, Bir al-Maksour, and Ibtin – were established by the government in the 1960s, and the rest were gradually recognized by the government during the 1970s, 1980s, and 1990s. Some 17,000 Bedouin live in mixed Arab localities (such as the cities of Shefaram and Abu Sinan, which have Muslim, Christian, Druze, and Bedouin communities), and only 3,000 Bedouin live in scattered and rural communities which are unrecognized by the government.

The Unrecognized Villages. The term "unrecognized villages" applies to those Arab communities in the Negev and Galilee that existed before the establishment of the State of Israel, but have never been incorporated into designated planning frameworks and thus remain "unrecognized" for planning and permit purposes.

This means that these villages, which range in size from 500 to 5,000 inhabitants, lack master plans for development, and without such plans, no building permits are granted for any type of construction. These villages lack recognized local governing bodies and receive limited or no government services such as schools, running water, electricity, and sewage and garbage collection. They also lack public services, such as an educational framework for preschool children, elementary and high schools, paved roads, public transportation, telephone connections, and community medical facilities. In the Negev, there are approximately 45 unrecognized villages, none of which are marked on government maps.

There are contradictory estimates regarding the exact Bedouin population of the unrecognized villages in the Negev. While the Ministry of Interior claims that some 55,000 residents live in the unrecognized villages, the Regional Council for the Unrecognized Bedouin Villages in the Negev (RCUV) maintains that these villages have somewhat over 75,000 residents.

The RCUV was established in 1988 as a Bedouin advocacy group, consisting of many local committees representing the Bedouin population in the Negev. Another group which was founded in 1988 is the Association of Forty, which represents the unrecognized villages in Galilee, as well as those in the Negev.

BEDOUIN OF CENTRAL ISRAEL. The Bedouin population in central Israel has emerged from two types of migration waves from the Negev. The first was *pasture migration*, which began in 1957 when the Negev was struck by a six-year drought. This migration led to the establishment of dozens of Bedouin settlements, spreading from Kiryat Gat in the south to Mount Carmel in the north.

The second kind was *labor migration*, especially by Bedouin families that lacked land and livestock and were looking for work. That migration process, which occurred in the period between 1954 and 1970, created Bedouin centers in the mixed Jewish-Arab cities of Ramleh and Lod and in some Arab localities in the Small Triangle area, such as Taybeh and Kafr Qassem.

[Arik Rudnitzky and Elie Rekhess (2nd ed.)]

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ISRAEL, family of rabbis, scholars, and emissaries in Jerusalem and Rhodes. MOSES (d. 1740) was an emissary of the Safed and Jerusalem communities from about 1680 to 1740. In 1710–13 he visited Tunisia, Algeria, and Morocco on behalf of Safed and during his travels wrote several responsa. His return trip in 1714 took him to Rhodes where he was elected rabbi. In 1727 the Jews of Constantinople asked Moses to go on a mission in their behalf, and he spent five years in Italy, Holland, and France. While in Italy, he discussed halakhic issues with Jewish scholars there, such as R. Isaac *Lampronti and R. Raphael *Meldola. On completion of his mission he returned to his rabbinical post at Rhodes and spent the last years of his life preparing his responsa for publication. (Part 1 appeared in 1734, part 2 in 1735, and part 3 posthumously in 1742, all in Constantinople under the title, *Masat Moshe*). In 1737 or 1738 Moses moved from Rhodes to Alexandria, Egypt, where he died. His exegetical writings were printed under the title of *Appei Moshe* (Leghorn, 1828). His son, ABRAHAM BEN MOSES (c. 1708–1785), served as rabbi in Canea, Crete, from 1743 to 1755. In 1751 he visited Western European countries, together with R. Mordecai Rubio, on behalf of Jerusalem. In Hamburg, he met R. Jonathan *Eybeschuetz and gave him a letter justifying his stand on the amulets issue. He was later appointed rabbi of Alexandria, where he served until 1766; from there he moved to Leghorn, where he lived for six years, after which he became rabbi of Ancona. Here, in 1775, he welcomed R. Ḥayyim Joseph David *Azulai. He left two sons, MOSES, who took his place as rabbi of Alexandria, and ḤAYYIM RAFAEL, who published his father's works: *Imrot Tehorot* (Leghorn, 1786), a book on *Even ha-Ezer*; and *Beit Avraham* (*ibid.*, 1786), on the *Ḥoshen Mishpat*, to which was appended *Ma'amar ha-Melekh*, on the principle of **Dina de-Malkhuta Dina*. ELIJAH BEN MOSES (c. 1710–1784), born in Jerusalem, grew up in Rhodes, returning to Jerusalem in 1744. In 1763 he went as an emissary to Western Europe, passing through Italy, France, and Holland. During the course of his mission he wrote many responsa. He returned to Rhodes, and in 1772 was appointed rabbi in Alexandria. Elijah was succeeded there by his son, JEDIDIAH SOLOMON who published his father's works: *Kol Eliyahu* (2 parts, Leghorn, 1792–1807), responsa; *Ara de-Yisrael* (*ibid.* 1806), religious laws, alphabetically arranged, printed with his *derashot, Shenei Eliyahu; Maḥaneh Yisrael* (*ibid.*, 1807); *Kisse Eliyahu* (Salonika, 1811), novellae on the *Shulḥan Arukh; Aderet Eliyahu* (Leghorn, 1828), on the *Sefer Miẓvot Gadol* of R. *Moses of Coucy; and *Ugat Eliyahu* (*ibid.*, 1830), responsa.

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[Avraham Yaari]

ISRAEL, EDWARD (1859–1884), U.S. astronomer and explorer. Israel was born in Kalamazoo, Michigan and studied astronomy at the University of Michigan before volunteering to serve in the Lady Franklin Bay Expedition to Arctic Greenland under the command of A.W. Greely (1882–1884). When relief ships failed to get through to the party in the summers of 1882 and 1883, it sought to return on foot in what became a nightmarish trial of cold, hunger, and reported cannibalism that was survived by only 6 out of 25 men. Israel died and was buried on the way, eulogized for his "unswerving integrity during these months of agony."

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ISRAEL, EDWARD LEOPOLD (1896–1941), U.S. Reform rabbi. Israel was born in Cincinnati, Ohio, and educated at Harvard University and the University of Cincinnati (B.A., 1917). He was ordained at Hebrew Union College in 1919 and was awarded an honorary LL.D. by Washington College (now University) in 1938. His first pulpit was at Temple B'rith Shalom in Springfield, Illinois (1919–20), followed by Congregation Adath B'nai Israel (Washington Avenue Temple) in Evansville, Indiana (1920–23). In 1923, he was appointed senior rabbi of Har Sinai in Baltimore, Maryland, where he remained for nearly 20 years, until his appointment as executive director of the *Union of American Hebrew Congregations – a position he was tragically unable to fill, owing to his untimely death.

Although a product of classical Reform Judaism, Israel was a leader of the Labor Zionist movement. He was not only an activist on behalf of Jewish settlement of Palestine but also a liberal who championed the rights of American workers. As chairman of the Social Action Committee of the *Central Conference of American Rabbis, he was an outspoken critic of "yellow dog" contracts in American business. He served on the national executive board of the American League for Peace and Democracy, until he resigned in 1936, charging that it (as well as the Advisory Youth Congress, which he quit in 1940) had fallen into Communist hands.

Alarmed by the rise of the Nazis to power, Israel joined with Rabbi Stephen S. *Wise in organizing a boycott of companies selling German imports. He led a demonstration at the Port of Baltimore when the German battleship *Emden* docked there in 1936. One of the first clergymen to deliver addresses and sermons on the radio, his remarks were frequently quoted by President Franklin D. Roosevelt. Popular with all elements of the Jewish community, Israel was elected president of the multi-denominational *Synagogue Council of America in 1940. Dedicated to the ideal of creating unity of Jewish consciousness, Israel died while holding that office. He is the author of *The Philosophy of Modern Mysticism* (1922).

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[Bezalel Gordon (2nd ed.)]

ISRAEL, JONATHAN (1946–), British historian. Professor of Dutch history and institutions at University College, London, Israel became one of the best-known contemporary historians of Jewish and world history during the mercantilist period (c. 1550–1750). His work centers on the Netherlands and its trading empire and on the role of the Jews in mercantilism. His best-known books include *European Jewry in the Age of Mercantilism, 1550–1750* (1989) and *The Dutch Republic: Its Rise, Greatness, and Fall, 1477–1806* (1996). From 1990 he was editor of the Littman Library of Jewish Civilization.

[William D. Rubinstein (2nd ed.)]

ISRAEL, KINGDOM OF, the northerly of the two kingdoms into which Solomon's kingdom was divided after the revolt led by Jeroboam against Rehoboam (c. 928 B.C.E.). It is also called the Northern Kingdom, the Kingdom of Samaria, and, in extra-biblical documents, the House of Omri, after the founder of one of its most important dynasties. The Kingdom of Israel was constituted by all the tribes, except Judah and Benjamin. Its capital was Shechem at first and then Samaria (c. 876 B.C.E.). It had two main sanctuaries, one at Shechem, the other at Dan. Although much more important than Judah, Israel did not enjoy the same stability. During the 206 years of its existence, it had ten dynasties, the most important of which were those of Jeroboam, Omri, and Jehu. Israel was almost constantly in a state of war with Damascus. In 722 the Assyrians took Samaria, deported its inhabitants, and put an end to the Kingdom of Israel. The Northern Kingdom is constantly criticized in the Book of Kings because of the sins of Jeroboam and the idolatry of Ahab. The prophets Elijah, Elisha, Hosea, and Amos exercised their ministries in the Kingdom of Israel. After the fall of Samaria, some of its literature was brought south and found its way into the Hebrew Bible.

In the Aggadah

The rabbis, despite their belief in the eternal integrity of the Davidic monarchy and their prayers for its restoration, were not markedly hostile to the ancient Kingdom of Israel that was formed by the secession of ten tribes from Davidic rule after the death of Solomon. Any Jew, regardless of his tribe of origin, was regarded as eligible for the kingship (*Midrash Tanna'im*, p. 104; Hor. 13a). Israelite kings are evaluated by the *aggadah* as individuals, their political role in the maintenance of a dual monarchy being virtually ignored; the only negative point made with some consistency is that the Israelite monarchy was a temporary phenomenon and, for example, did not anoint its kings as the Davidides did (Hor. 11b). In all this, the rabbis faithfully reflect the attitude of I Kings 11:29–39, which tells of Ahijah's prophetic promise to Jeroboam that the latter would rule over Israel as David had ruled over Judah, "but not for all days." A significant exception to this rabbinic posture may be the view of R. Akiva that the ten tribes have no share in the world to come (Tosef., Sanh. 13:12; cf. Sanh. 10:3), which may derive from a harsh attitude toward the secessionists; other interpretations of this teaching are, however, quite possible.

In their discussion of the founding of the Israelite monarchy and the concomitant shriveling of Davidic hegemony, the rabbis focus on the vices and merits of David, Solomon, and Jeroboam, rather than on the broader issues developed in the Bible. Rav declares that David's improper behavior toward Mephibosheth and his readiness to believe *lashon ha-ra* were to blame for the secession (Shab. 56a). *Seder Olam Rabbah* (ch. 15) states that a secession of 36 years was ordained to punish Solomon for his 36-year-long marriage to the daughter of Pharaoh, but that the dual monarchy was extended due to the unworthiness of Asa, king of Judah. Jeroboam is described as a disciple of the prophet Ahijah and a great scholar who merited kingship by virtue of the rebukes he delivered to Solomon over the various excesses connected with the latter's Egyptian marriage. Indeed, so great was Jeroboam's potential that God offered him special rank in paradise if he would abandon his idolatry. Subsequent to his enthronement, however, Jeroboam built two golden calves and directed the people to worship them (I Kings 12:28), becoming for the rabbis (Avot 5:18) the archetypal sinner who leads others into sin; Jeroboam is one of the three kings who is denied the life of the world to come (Sanh. 10:2).

Other kings of the Israelite monarchy are similarly evaluated with regard to their individual achievements: Omri is specially singled out by R. Johanan for having enriched the state through the addition of the city of Samaria, which served thereafter as capital (Sanh. 102b). His son, Ahab, is denied the life of the world to come; the rabbis describe both Ahab's wickedness and also Jezebel's responsibility in leading her weaker husband to sin; some claim he eventually repented of his sins. The military successes of this evil king are credited to the virtue of his people, which refused to inform upon the prophet Elijah when he dwelt in their midst. Just as the rabbis attribute the rise of the Northern Kingdom to the spiritual flaws of the Davidic dynasty, so do they discuss its fall in terms of spiritual failings: when the Assyrians removed the golden calves during the reign of Hosea, that king encouraged his people to renew the pilgrimages to Jerusalem, but to no avail – the Assyrian victory brought about the extinction of the northern state (*Seder Olam Rabbah*, ch. 22).

Rabbinic teachings on the history of the Kingdom of Israel are doubtless compounded of historical insight founded on their own philosophy of history, and exhortation and analysis reflecting contemporary issues and realities.

See also *Jeroboam: in the *aggadah*.

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[Gerald Y. Blidstein]

ISRAEL, RICHARD J. (1929–2000), U.S. rabbi. Israel received his undergraduate education at the University of Chicago and was ordained at Hebrew Union College in 1957, having spent a year of study at a yeshivah in Israel, long before study in Israel was a requirement for Reform ordination and long before Reform Judaism was that open to tradition. He then served as rabbi of the Bene Israel Congregation in Bombay, India. For most of his career Israel worked on college campuses as a *Hillel Foundation assistant director; at UCLA and as a director at Yale for 12 years (1959–71). In 1971 he came to Boston as executive director of the Hillel Council of Metropolitan Boston, a position he held for 14 years. He was the director of the Rabbinic Program for the College Campus of the Reconstructionist Rabbinical College. He was also president of the National Association of Hillel Directors and of the Yale Religious Ministry.

In the last years of his life he directed a bureau of Jewish education, the Judaica program of a group of Jewish community centers, and taught at the Jewish communal service program at Brandeis University. He wrote for the *Jewish Catalogue*. A man of diverse interests and talents, his work *The Kosher Pig and Other Curiosities of Modern Life* (1994) is a collection of essays on the challenges of living in the contemporary world as a fully committed Jew. He was also a marathon runner and a beekeeper for three decades, which provided the honey he needed for Rosh Hashanah.

His writing used humor to mask its seriousness. Israel's essays are often pragmatic and nonetheless profound. He offers hints on keeping a skullcap (*yarmulke*) in place on bald heads and writes on the problem of worshipping near people chanting to themselves at different speeds. "It is in the tension between privacy and community," he writes, "that Jewish prayer is located." Other books of his include *Jewish Identity Games: A How-To-Do-It Book* (1978); *The Jewish Mission to the Jews: The Context and Practice of Outreach* (1985); *The Promised land of Milk and Date and Jam: The Problems of Bee-ing in the Bible and Talmud* (1972).

[Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

ISRAEL, STEVE (1958–), U.S. congressman (D-NY). Born in Brooklyn and raised in Levitown, a Long Island community built on tract land after World War II, Israel attended a local community college and then went to Syracuse and George Washington University, where he received his B.A. (1982). He immediately went to work on Capitol Hill, working for Robert Matsui and later for Richard Otinger. Intrigued by a career in politics, he returned to New York and ran for the Town Council and then, in 1999, for the Congressional seat that Rick Lazio gave up to run against Hillary Clinton. He handily won what had previously been a Republican seat.

His rise to leadership within the Democratic Minority was steady. In his first term, he passed more new measures in the House than any other freshman Democrat, most proudly a bill to accelerate research and treatment of ovarian cancer. In his second term, Israel was quickly tapped for a leadership position as assistant whip. He was one of only two New York members of Congress to serve on the vitally important House Armed Services Committee, and also on the House Financial Services Committee, which oversees efforts to crack down on the international financing of terrorism. He was the founder and chair of the Democratic Study Group on National Security, co-chaired the bipartisan House Cancer Caucus, and co-chaired the bipartisan Long Island Sound Task Force. In his third term, Rep. Israel was appointed to chair the House Democratic Caucus Task Force on Defense and Military, a group of 15 members of Congress who will outreach to the defense community and advise the House Democratic Leadership on military policy.

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[Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

ISRAEL, WILFRID (1899–1943), Jewish communal figure. He was a member of a German merchant family prominent in Berlin from the mid-18th century. The family engaged in commerce and was active in Jewish affairs and in pioneering in employees' welfare. Their dry goods business, which became one of Berlin's largest department stores, was founded by NATHAN ISRAEL (1782–1852) in 1815 and was sold in accordance with German anti-Jewish regulations in 1939. Wilfrid Israel was active in the all-encompassing Jewish Zentralausschuss fuer Hilfe und Aufbau and Kinder- und Jugend-Aliyah, established following Hitler's rise to power as well as in the *Hilfsverein der Deutschen Juden. Under the political pressure he gave up his commercial enterprise and emigrated to England in 1939, where he became a board member of the *Jewish Colonization Association (ICA) and helped in 1941 create the Association of Jewish Refugees in Great Britain. He was deeply interested in Palestine, especially in the Ben Shemen Youth Village and kibbutz *Ha-Zore'a, established by German Jewish youth, and he made plans to emigrate there. In 1943 he volunteered for a mission to Spain and Portugal to rescue European refugees under Jewish Agency auspices. He died when the plane in which he was returning to England was shot down by the Luftwaffe. His art collection was bequeathed to kibbutz Ha-Zore'a, where it is displayed in the Wilfrid Israel House for Oriental Art and Studies.

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ISRAEL, YOM TOV BEN ELIJAH (**Sirizli**; d. 1890), rabbi and *posek*; born in *Jerusalem. His father was the rabbi of the Cairo community, and when he died in 1866, Yom Tov Israel took his place; before that he had held a high official position, as related by Jacob *Saphir in his description of Egypt in 1858. In 1884 Yom Tov Israel returned to Jerusalem and served in the rabbinate until his death. He was the author of *Minhagei Miẓrayim* (Jerusalem, 1873), on Jewish religious customs in Egypt, in the introduction to which he lists all the rabbis who had served in Egypt from the days of *Maimonides up to his own time. Some of his novellae on *halakhah* were published in the collection *Torah mi-Ẓiyyon*. He led the Jerusalem rabbis who in 1888 permitted plowing and sowing in the *shemittah* year (the Sabbatical Year); his decision on this issue was published in *Devar ha-Shemittah* (Jerusalem, 1888).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Frumkin-Rivlin, 3 (1929), 298; M.D. Gaon, *Yehudei ha-Mizraḥ be-Ereẓ Yisrael*, 2 (1937), 295–6; J.M. Landau, *Ha-Yehudim be-Miẓrayim* (1967), index.

ISRAEL ACADEMY OF SCIENCES AND HUMANITIES, institution whose main functions are to promote work in the sciences and humanities, to advise the government on activities in these fields, and to represent Israel in international bodies and conferences. The academy was founded under a 1961 law. Its seat is in Jerusalem. In 1959 the government appointed 15 leading Israeli scholars as the founding members. The subsequent membership may at no time number more than 25 representatives of the sciences and 25 for the humanities. Accepted applicants are co-opted for life by the existing members. Members who reach the age of 75 are not included in these numbers, although they continue as full members. The academy's president is appointed by the president of the state, on the academy's recommendation, for an initial, renewable, three-year term. Martin *Buber, the first president of the academy (1959–62), was succeeded by Aharon *Katzir-Katchalsky (1962–68) and Gershom *Scholem (from 1968). In 1981 Jacob Ziv was elected president.

Science research projects supported by the academy have included a study of the flora and fauna of the region, and the pre-historical excavations and a geological survey of the Lower Pleistocene of the Central Jordan Valley. In the humanities, the academy supported projects in Jewish history, literature, thought, and religion. In cooperation with the Jewish Theological Seminary of America, it prepared a Concordance to the Jerusalem Talmud, and, in cooperation with the French National Center for Scientific Research (CNRS) of Paris, a survey of Hebrew paleography. Other activities were aimed at strengthening basic research in Israel, including founding and administering the Israel Science Foundation, with an annual budget of $53 million; taking part in the establishment of a new National Research Council (NRC, 2003) and an active Forum for National Research and Development Infrastructure (TELEM); helping initiate the projected five-year, $300 million Israel Nanotechnology Program (INP); and facilitating the participation of Israeli scientists in cutting-edge research at international high-energy physics (CERN) and synchrotron radiation (ESRF) mega-facilities.

[Moshe Avidor]

WEBSITE: www.academy.ac.il.

ISRAEL BEN BENJAMIN OF BELZEC (17th century), rabbi and author. Israel was rabbi in Rubashov, Belzec (c. 1648), and Lublin (c. 1648–50) and was regarded as one of the foremost talmudists of his time. He was the author of *Yalkut Ḥadash* (*Yalkut Yisre'eli*), an alphabetically arranged collection of homilies taken from diverse kabbalistic, aggadic, and midrashic works (published anonymously, Lublin, 1648, and later with an appendix entitled *Shikhḥat Leket*, Wilmersdorf, 1673); and *Tiferet Yisrael*, a collection of sermons delivered between 1632 and 1654 (Ms. Bodleian), including a funeral oration delivered in 1648 for the victims of the *Chmielnicki massacres. According to Jehiel *Heilperin, Israel was also called Jacob, but he should not be confused with Jacob Israels of Temesvár, rabbi of Slutsk, who was a victim of the Chmielnicki massacres of 1648.

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[Joseph Elijah Heller]

ISRAEL BEN ELIEZER BA'AL SHEM TOV (known by the initials of "Ba'al Shem Tov" as **Besht**; c. 1700–1760), charismatic founder and first leader of *Ḥasidism in Eastern Europe. (See Chart: Ba'al Shem Tov Family). Through oral traditions handed down by his pupils (*Jacob Joseph of Polonnoye and others) as well as through the legendary tales about his life and behavior, he became Ḥasidism's first teacher and its exemplary saint. These tales, collected early in *Shivḥei ha-Besht* (Kapust and Berdichev, 1814–15; *In Praise of the Ba'al Shem Tov*, 1970) are also the main source for his biography. It is related that Israel was born in Okop, a small town in Podolia, to poor and elderly parents in hard times aggravated by wars in the region. Orphaned as a child, he later eked out a living first as an assistant (*behelfer*) in a *ḥeder* and later as a watchman at a synagogue. At Yazlovets, near Buchnach, where he was working as *behelfer*, he met and became friendly with young Meir b. Ẓevi Hirsch *Margolioth, later a famous talmudic scholar; Israel was considered by Meir both as colleague and teacher. According to tradition, in his 20s Israel went into hiding in the Carpathian Mountains in preparation for his future tasks. (He was accompanied by his second wife, Hannah, the first having died shortly after their marriage.) There he lived for several years, first as a digger of clay, which his wife sold in town; later he helped his wife in keeping an inn. In about 1730 he settled in Tluste. Israel had one son, Ẓevi, and a daughter, *Adel. His grandchildren were *Moses Ḥayyim Ephraim of Sudylkow and *Baruch of Medzibezh; *Naḥman of Bratslav was his great-grandson.

In the mid-1730s – ḥasidic tradition fixes it on his 36th birthday – Israel revealed himself as a healer and leader. The circles of Israel's followers and admirers widened rapidly. Many people were drawn by his magnetism and the widespread reports of his miracles, and several groups of Ḥasidim which had been formed earlier came under his influence and accepted his leadership and teaching to a greater or lesser degree (see *Ḥasidism; *Abraham Gershon of Kutow, Israel's brother-in-law; *Aryeh Leib of Polonnoye; *Naḥman of Kosov; and *Naḥman of Horodenka (Gorodenka)). Tradition hints that some of the members of these ḥasidic circles were at first repelled by Israel's activity as miracle healer, as a *ba'al shem*, although Israel himself was proud of this work, as demonstrated by his signature "Israel Ba'al Shem of Tlust"

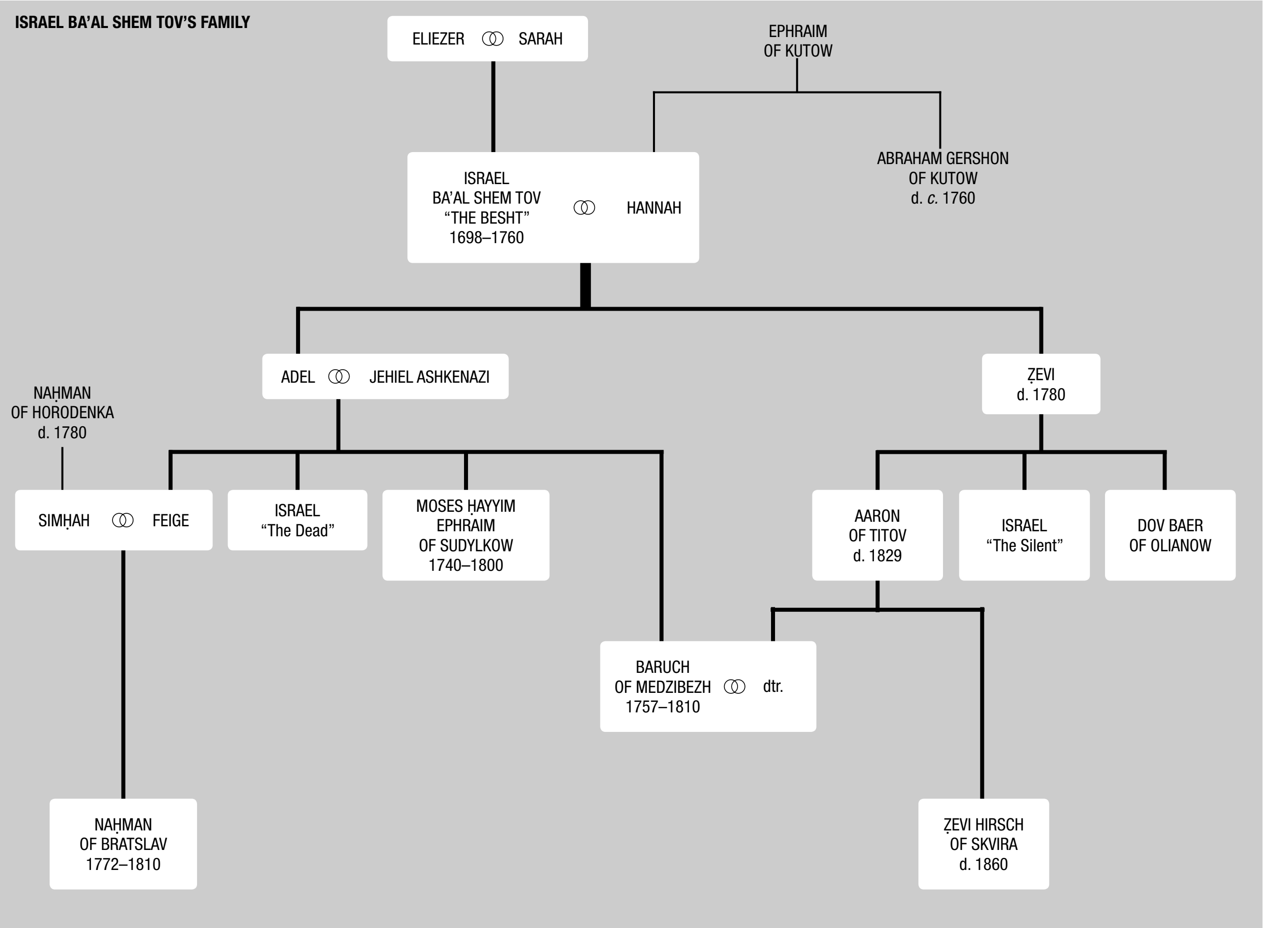
ISRAEL BA'AL SHEM TOV'S FAMILY
ELIEZER ⚭ SARAH
EPHRAIM OF KUTOW
ISRAEL BA'AL SHEM TOV "THE BESHT" 1698–1760
HANNAH
ABRAHAM GERSHON OF KUTOW d. c. 1760
ADEL ⚭ JEHIEL ASHKENAZI
ẒEVI d. 1780
NAḤMAN OF HORODENKA d. 1780
SIMḤAH ⚭ FEIGE
ISRAEL "The Dead"
MOSES ḤAYYIM EPHRAIM OF SUDYLKOW 1740–1800
AARON OF TITOV d. 1829
ISRAEL "The Silent"
DOV BAER OF OLIANOW
BARUCH OF MEDZIBEZH 1757–1810 ⚭ dtr.
NAḤMAN OF BRATSLAV 1772–1810
ẒEVI HIRSCH OF SKVIRA d. 1860

(Responsa *Mayim Ḥayyim* part one, 1858). However, contemporaries who did not belong to his circle regarded this activity favorably, as indicated by the designation of Israel as "the famous *ba'al shem tov*, may his light shine" (Meir Teomim in *Nofet Ẓufim Rav Peninim*, 1772).

For many years Israel planned to go to Ereẓ Israel. Once he had to return when he had already embarked and "he was very sad" (*Toledot Ya'akov Yosef*, Korets, 1780, p. 201). As late as 1751 – only nine years before his death – he wrote to his brother-in-law, "God knows that I do not despair of traveling to Ereẓ Israel; however, the time is not right" (*Ben Porat Yosef*, Korets, 1781).

Israel undertook journeys (*Shivḥei ha-Besht* tells a great deal about his travels and horses) to effect cures, expel demons and evil spirits (*leẓim*), and to win influence. In eulogistic folktales, the tradition of his pupils, and in writings hostile to him (see *David of Makow), the interdependence of his healing work and the charisma of his leadership are clearly apparent. Later ḥasidic tradition, however, tried to deprecate the importance of these healing and magical practices. In tales about him as well as through his teachings, Israel's great personal charm, remarkable magnetism, and ecstatic personality and behavior are revealed. Prayer was his main ecstatic and mystic approach to God, but intellectual study and learning took a secondary place. In specially exciting moments he reached a state of mystical exaltation – *aliyyat neshamah* – of which he gave realistic descriptions. Future events and past personalities, both good and evil, were shown to him in dreams. In traditional tales he is portrayed as engaged in conversation and in meeting with people, even women, individually or in small groups. He is never described as preaching in a synagogue. The traditional picture of Israel, always with his pipe in his hand or mouth, emphasizes the importance of his edifying secular tales. Israel's teachings do not indicate any talmudic scholarship, and his opponents criticized him for the lack of this and for his preoccupation with healing, writing amulets, and his conversation with simple men (see, e.g., David of Makow in PAAJR, 25 (1956), p. 147). Material from the *aggadah* and moralistic and kabbalistic works and traces of an acquaintance with the writings of Saadiah Gaon are evident in his teachings.

Ḥasidic legend made Israel one of the leaders in the disputation with Jacob *Frank in 1759, but his true attitude to this is expressed in the saying attributed to him after the apostasy of the Frankists: "The *Shekhinah* wails and says as long as a limb is attached to the body there is hope for its cure; but when it is severed, it cannot be restored; and every Jew is a limb of the *Shekhinah*" (*Shivḥei ha-Besht*).

Israel and his followers were conscious of his mission as a leader of his people. Many of his dreams and visions, much of what was revealed to him from on high, are related to the actual problems and sufferings of the Jews in his generation. Teaching the importance of charity, he himself gave much, and he helped in ransoming captives and prisoners, a pressing problem in his time. He taught that devotional joy was the proper attitude of the Jew in every moment of his life and in particular in prayer, exemplifying this through his own attitude to life and through his own mode of prayer. His admirers told especially about the light and fire that they imagined emanating from his person, and about his fiery way of reciting his prayers. Opposing too much fasting, he advised against preaching through harsh admonition. Even more than his teachings, his idealized personality became the inspiration for the life, leadership, and aspirations of the Ḥasidim up to the present day. It is typical of ḥasidic appreciation of the personality of its ideal figure that tales related by Jacob Joseph of Polonnoye state that Israel's particular teacher in heaven was *Ahijah the Shilonite, the prophet of the overthrow of a misguided establishment and of a new kingdom in Israel. Whether partly true or wholly legendary, the ḥasidic tale that in his youth Israel miraculously came by "compositions containing secrets and mysteries of the Torah, divine and practical Kabbalah" which had belonged to *Adam Ba'al Shem expresses the awareness that the theoretical roots of Israel's teachings lay in the *Kabbalah; the story also indicates the ḥasidic conviction that his appearance and influence were a mystery and a miracle.

[Haim Hillel Ben-Sasson]

Principal Teachings

R. Israel was aware of his special mission and his charismatic qualities. Despite this he feared failure and once told his grandson, Moses Ḥayyim Ephraim of Sudylkow, "Behold, I swear to you that there is one man in the world who hears Torah from God and the *Shekhinah*, and not from an angel or a seraph, and he does not believe that he will not be pushed aside by God as he can easily be plummetted into the deep abyss of evil" (*Degel Maḥaneh Efrayim*, p. 113). Although the teachings of the Ba'al Shem Tov derive to some extent from the Kabbalah and the frequently employed kabbalistic terminology, the original content of Besht Ḥasidism lies in its emphasis on personal existence and the salvation of the soul of the individual, which must precede the redemption of the world: "For before one prays for general redemption one must pray for the personal salvation of one's own soul" (*Toledot Ya'akov Yosef*). This emphasis on the personal replaced preoccupation with messianism and Israel forbade any attempt at magical activity designed to accelerate the eschatological era. His attitude is made clear in a letter to Abraham Gershon (dated 1751), in which he describes his dialogue with the Messiah during a spiritual ascent on Rosh Ha-Shanah, 1747: "I asked the Messiah, 'When will you come, master,' and he answered me, 'When your learning will be made known and revealed to the world and its source will spread and all can recite *yiḥudim* and experience spiritual ascent as you can…' and I was astonished and deeply grieved by this, and wondered when this would come to pass" (*Ben Porat Yosef*). Though expressing his deep messianic faith and strong messianic longings, this attitude is far from the mystical messianism which had proved so destructive shortly before (see Jacob *Frank; *Shabbetai Ẓevi).

At the core of Israel's teaching is the principle of **devekut* ("adhesion"), although for him the term had far greater emotional content than in its earlier kabbalistic usage. Averring that "faith is the adhesion of the soul to God" (*Toledot Ya'akov Yosef*, p. 23), he demanded that *devekut* exist in all daily acts and in social contacts. Man must worship God and cling to Him not only when practicing religious acts and holy deeds, but also in his daily affairs, in his business, and in social contacts, for when a "man is occupied with material needs, and his thought cleaves to God, he will be blessed" (*Ketonet Passim* (1866), 28a). His belief is linked with the Lurianic doctrine of the raising of the holy sparks (*niẓoẓot*), though he uses this concept with the limited meaning of the salvation of the individual soul alone. Because of his emphasis on the constant possibility of *devekut*, Israel did not advocate withdrawal from worldly life and aloofness from society. Indeed, he emphasized the element of joy in the worship of God and vigorously opposed fasts and asceticism. He warned Jacob Joseph of Polonnoye "lest he bring himself to the danger of many fasts, which contribute to melancholy and sadness" (*Shivḥei ha-Besht*). According to Israel, physical pleasure can give rise to spiritual pleasure, i.e., *devekut*. A physical act can be considered a religious act if the one performing it intends to worship God and the act is performed in a state of *devekut*, an assumption which demands *devekut* on the part of every Jew, not only the spiritual elite. For Israel as well as his disciples, *devekut* – especially during prayer – would often assume a definitely ecstatic character.

The study of Torah is also of prime importance in Israel's teachings, although he did not interpret the traditional ideal of "Torah for its own sake" in its generally accepted sense but understood "for its own sake" as "for the sake of the letter." "Thus I learned from my teacher in this matter" (*Toledot Ya'akov Yosef*, p. 151). Through contemplating the letters of the text which he studies, man opens the divine worlds before him. This belief is based on the assumption that the letters of the Torah evolved and descended from a heavenly source. Therefore one who studies properly, i.e., by contemplating the letters, restores the outward forms of the letters to their spiritual prototypes, their divine source. When the student links the letters of the Torah to their root he himself becomes joined to their higher forms and thus receives mystical revelations. "The desired intention in study for its own sake is for a man to attach himself in holiness and purity to the letters, both actively and potentially; they will make him wise and radiate much light and true eternal life – and he who manages to understand and become attached to holy letters can even tell the future from these letters" (M. Margoliouth, *Sod Yakhin u-Vo'az* (Ostraha, 1794), 6).

Prayer is one of the main stages for the worship of God. Through prayer, a man reaches *devekut* and contact with the divine worlds. As in the study of Torah, so too in prayer the way to *devekut* is through concentration on the mystical meaning of the letters: "According to what I learned from my master and teacher, the main occupation of Torah and prayer is that one should attach oneself to the spirituality of the light of the **Ein Sof* found in the letters of the Torah and prayer, which is called study for its own sake" (*Toledot Ya'akov Yosef*, p. 25). However prayer which directs man to the attainment of *devekut* is at times disturbed by undesirable (lit. "foreign") thoughts (*maḥashavot zarot*) and the one who prays must deal with them properly, so that they do not damage his spiritual efforts. Israel's particular way of dealing with "undesirable thoughts" came to be called "the wisdom of the Besht" and caused R. Naḥman of Horodenka to recognize his authority and join his group. Undesirable thoughts were derived from a heavenly source and were understood by Israel as the results of cosmic processes generally associated with the doctrine of the fallen holy sparks in Lurianic Kabbalah. The spark is hidden in the extraneous ("sinful") thought and aspires to rise and be redeemed. This thrust conveys the undesirable thought to the human heart. He who sublimates the extraneous thought helps the spark to return to its divine source. According to some, Israel's teaching contains hints that extraneous thoughts are the final stage in the process of *aẓilut* ("emanation"). They are conceived of mainly in a Neoplatonic form and identified with the *kelippot* ("shells," forces of evil) at the extremity of the emanation. Some undesirable thoughts must be sublimated and corrected; others must be repelled and removed. "If a man wishes to ask, 'how do you distinguish between a thought to be repelled and one to be sublimated?' he should contemplate if correction to the thought entered his mind together with the extraneous thought, and then he will seek to bring it close to him and to sublimate it, and if he cannot immediately correct this thought, then he must remove it" (*Ben Porat Yosef*, p. 39).

The *Ẓaddik*

Two assumptions are basic to Israel's doctrine of the **ẓaddik*: the recognition of the existence of superior individuals whose spiritual qualities are greater than those of other human beings and who are outstanding in their higher level of *devekut*; and the conception of the Jewish community at large and the mutual responsibility of all members of the nation, as "every Jew is a limb of the *Shekhinah*" (*Shivḥei ha-Besht*). In order to fulfill his destiny the *ẓaddik* must at the same time observe the *mitzvah* of *devekut* and maintain contact with the material world through the circle surrounding him, even those who are counted among the sinners. Spiritually alone with God, he is the center of his community. He influences society and is influenced by it: the sins of his contemporaries affect him and lower his stature; his sinful thoughts stimulate others to commit sins. The task of the *ẓaddik* is to teach the people to worship God by means of *devekut* and to cause sinners to repent. The *ẓaddik* descends spiritually to the sinner, associates with him, and by his own ascent raises him and restores him to goodness, aiding him in purifying himself of his blemishes. The process of descent is executed when a weakness occurs in the *devekut* of the *ẓaddik*, but even then *devekut* does not cease and the descent does not signify the *ẓaddik*'s complete severance from the divine source. Indeed, in order that he may rise from the depths and raise the sinner with him, the *ẓaddik* must preserve his *devekut* to God. "When the *ẓaddik* descends from his heights it is an expression of the quality of mercy, in order that he may associate with the masses and elevate them" (*Toledot Ya'akov Yosef*, portion *Va-Yiggash*). Clearly this idea of the descent of the *ẓaddik* recalls Shabbatean notions and some scholars view it as a ḥasidic transformation of the Shabbatean doctrine of the descent of the Messiah.

The *ẓaddik* also engages in the restitution and elevation of the soul of a sinner who has died. It is related that Israel performed special acts to restore the souls of deceased sinners: "There are *ẓaddikim* who raise the wicked from hell during prayer. Thus I have heard in the name of Israel Ba'al Shem Tov" (*Rav Yeivi*, Ostraha, 1808, p. 40). Israel even attempted to restore the soul of Shabbetai Ẓevi, saying that he "had a spark of holiness but was seized by *Samael" (*Shivḥei ha-Besht*), but he was compelled to abandon this attempt because he realized that what holds true for Shabbetai Ẓevi would also be true for Jesus. There is no proof, however, that Israel had Shabbatean tendencies, as some scholars hold. It is known that he severely criticized the book **Ḥemdat Yamim* (Izmir, 1731/32), whose anonymous author was a Shabbatean. On the other hand, it is clear that he had seen Shabbatean writings (although their Shabbatean nature was only revealed later and he was not aware of it). Israel's doctrine of the *ẓaddik* was intended to express a spiritual relationship only and contained none of the later elements of "practical ẓaddikism" (see *Ḥasidism), nor any mention of the later belief that the *ẓaddik* must be supported by his disciples.

Reactions

Israel's reputation spread far from the areas of Podolia and Volhynia where he was active, even to circles unconnected with his religious leadership. That his activity also aroused opposition is evident in *Shivḥei ha-Besht* and hinted at in some of his parables. R. Ḥayyim ha-Kohen Rappaport, the *av bet din* in Lvov, warned his relatives in Buchach not "to turn to the 'witch doctor' who calls himself Ba'al Shem." However, the veracity of the document of excommunication in Ostraha (Ostrog; *Shever Poshe'im Zot Torat ha-Kanna'ut*) is questionable and its relation to Israel Ba'al Shem Tov uncertain.

The Teaching and Legend of the Ba'al Shem Tov

Israel Ba'al Shem Tov did not leave any works either in his own hand or signed by him, nor are there any contemporary portraits of him. However, several letters bearing his name have been published: to Abraham Gershon of Kutow (*Ben Porat Yosef*), to Jacob Joseph of Polonnoye (*Shivḥei ha-*

Besht), to Moses of Kutow (*Buẓina de-Nehora*, 1880), to an anonymous individual (*Shivḥei ha-Besht*), and to R. Meir *av bet din* of Staro-Konstantinov (Responsa *Mayim Ḥayyim*). Various fabrications exist. In 1919 a package purporting to be documents from Israel and his disciples was found in Kherson, U.S.S.R. which had allegedly come from the government archives in Kiev where documents were preserved regarding the trial of Israel of *Ruzhin, charged by the government for instigating the murder of an informer. Apparently, however, all these documents are forgeries or copies of works that had been previously published.

Israel did not put his teachings into writing and even opposed the attempts of others to do so. Only 20 years after his death, his disciple, Jacob Joseph, presented in three of his own works – *Toledot Ya'akov Yosef*, and *Ẓafenat Pa'ne'aḥ* and *Korets*, 1782 – hundreds of sermons and homilies which he had learned from the Ba'al Shem Tov. At the end of *Toledot Ya'akov Yosef* there is a collection of Israel's sayings, and the author comments: "These are statements which I heard from my teacher and I only took down fragmentary notes because I was afraid both of writing everything and also of forgetting it." Other disciples and their disciples included in their works statements which they had heard from him or which had been cited in his name. Aaron b. Ẓevi Hirsch ha-Kohen of Opatow (Apta) claimed to have collected all the statements of Israel which had appeared up to that time in his *Keter Shem Tov* (Zolkiew, 1795), but most of his quotations are from the works of Jacob Joseph. The book *Ẓavva'at ha-Ribash* of Isaiah of Janow (1794) does not include the testament of the Ba'al Shem Tov, but only a selection of his statement, and according to *Shneur Zalman of Lyady, who had collected the statements, did not understand their meaning. Most scholars contend that the work mainly includes teachings of the school of Dov Baer, the *Maggid* of Mezhirech, but this needs further study. The most complete and best anthology of Israel's teachings is *Sefer Ba'al Shem Tov* (Lodz, 1938), edited and arranged by Simeon Menahem Mendel Wodnik.

The legends about the Ba'al Shem Tov have distorted his historical character. Formed even during his lifetime, the stories about his miracles became an integral part of the ḥasidic atmosphere and both increased the admiration for him and stimulated his opponents. Disciples who had come in contact with him and his family were among the first to assert his supernatural qualities. But people who were not among his close associates also at times told of his charismatic personality, even during his lifetime. Thus there developed a literature of *shevaḥim* (lit. "praises"). The first anthology of legends was *Shivḥei ha-Besht*, compiled by Dov Baer b. Samuel of Linits, the son-in-law of Alexander Shoḥat, who served for several years as Israel's scribe. The collection was copied many times and hence was full of errors. Only after the compiler's death was it printed as *Shivḥei ha-Besht* by the publisher Israel Jaffe, a disciple of *Menahem Mendel of Vitebsk and Shneur Zalman of Lyady. Jaffe proofread the anthology, removing distortions which in his opinion resulted from copying. He rewrote the first chapter on R. Israel's birth, youth, and revelation according to the tradition given by Shneur Zalman. Thus Jaffe must be viewed as the second author and editor of the anthology, and his edition, printed in Kopys (Kapust) in 1814, has been accepted as the basic one; all other editions are based on it, with only slight changes. In that year the second book was printed in Berdichev and the third in Laszczów. Similarly, two editions appeared in Yiddish (Ostraha (Ostrog) and Laszców) which differ greatly from the Hebrew edition. The reciprocal relationship between the Hebrew and Yiddish versions of *Shivḥei ha-Besht* has not yet been fully investigated. Later, *Shivḥei ha-Besht* appeared in many versions, in Hebrew, Yiddish, and Ladino. J.S. Bick records an unpublished translation in Polish in a letter to Mendel Lefin. But even Ḥasidim had reservations about the work, especially the strange and unreliable stories which aroused the criticism and scorn of the *Mitnaggedim* and *maskilim*, who used it as a weapon in their war against Ḥasidim. It contains some 230 stories, arranged in series united by common themes, heroes, and motifs. Despite its imaginary-legendary character, historical events are recalled along with undoubtedly reliable traditions. Many of the historical events recalled are confirmed in non-ḥasidic sources.

In the 19th century several collections of legends about the Ba'al Shem Tov, his colleagues, and disciples appeared (also in Yiddish), some of which repeated stories found in *Shivḥei ha-Besht* and some of which contained new tales. Only isolated ones are true. One of the propagators of imaginary legends about Israel and the leaders of early Ḥasidism was Michael Levi Frumkin, also known by the name *Rodkinson, a Chabad Ḥasid who became a *maskil*. However, what is related in *Kevuẓat Ya'akov* (1897) can be accepted as true. Isaac Eizik of *Komarno and the Shneersohn *ẓaddikim* should be included among the ḥasidic masters who cultivated the legends about Israel Ba'al Shem Tov and added new traditions. Many of the stories concerning the Ba'al Shem Tov were retold by Martin Buber (see, for example, his *Tales of the Ḥasidim*, 1 (1961^2), 35–86 and *Jewish Mysticism* (1931)).

[Avraham Rubinstein]

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(1970); A. Walden, *Shem ha-Gedolim he-Ḥadash* (1864); M. Bodek, *Sefer ha-Dorot mi-Talmidei ha-Besht* (1865); Ch. Shmeruk, in: *Zion*, 28 (1963); Y. Raphael, in: *Aresheth*, 2 (1960), 358–77; 3 (1961), 440–1; A. Rubinstein, in: *Tarbiz*, 35 (1965/66), 174–91; B. Landa, *Ha-Besht u-Venei Heikhalo* (1961); H. Zeitlin, *Rabbi Yisrael Ba'al Shem Tov* (1910); E. Steinman, *Rabbi Yisrael Ba'al Shem Tov* (1960); Dubnow, Ḥasidut, 41–75, 411–6; A.Z. Zweifel, *Shalom al Yisrael* (1868), 48–60; M. Unger, *R. Israel Baal Shem Tov* (1963); J.I. Schochet, *Rabbi Israel Baal Shem Tov* (1961); H. Rabinowicz, *The World of Ḥasidism* (1970), index; J.G. Weiss, in: JJS, 8 (1957), 199–213; H.H. Ben-Sasson (ed.), *Toledot Yisrael ba-Et ha-Ḥadashah*, 3 (1969), 55–57. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** D. Ben-Amos and J.R. Mintz (eds.), *In Praise of the Baal Shem Tov: The Earliest Collection of Legends about the Founder of Hasidism* (1996); M. Rosman, *The Founder of Hasidism: A Quest for the Historical Ba'al Shem Tov* (1996); I. Etkes, *The Besht, Magician, Mystic and Leader* (2004); Y. Buxbaum, *Light and Fire of the Baal Shem Tov* (2005); Z. Gries, *Conduct Literature (Regimen Vitae), Its History and Place in the Life of the Beshtian Hasidism* (Heb., 1989); H. Pedaya, "The Baal Shem Tov, Rabbi Jacob Joseph of Polonoye and the Great Maggid," in: *Daat*, 45 (2000), 25–73 (Heb.).

ISRAEL BEN JOEL (**Susslin**; 14th century), liturgical poet and talmudist. The *tosafot* of Israel, who lived in Erfurt, are quoted by Jacob b. Moses *Moellin (Maharil), Israel b. Pethahiah *Isserlein and others; a halakhic decision of his appears among the responsa of *Meir of Rothenburg (Budapest edition, no. 1021) and of Moses Mintz (no. 104). Israel also composed an elaborate elegy, which refers to contemporary religious persecutions, mentioning the names of 22 localities, six countries, and 13 rabbis who died as martyrs. His *tosafot* are extant in manuscript form (according to Zunz in Munich Ms. 358, although Steinschneider in his catalog does not list this work; apparently also in Bodleian Ms. Opp. 8).

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[Jefim (Hayyim) Schirmann]

ISRAEL BEN JONATHAN FROM LECZYCA (first half of 17th century), kabbalistic author. Israel lived in Leczyca and Shklov, where he acted as rabbi. Around 1650 he had to leave his country and became an exile in Italy. He had friendly contacts with Abraham Joseph Solomon b. Mordecai *Graziano in Modena. Israel published *Or Israel* (Amsterdam, 1657), kabbalistic homilies in the spirit of the *Zohar, in verse form, with ten chapters arranged according to the order of the Ten Commandments. A copy of this book with glosses in the handwriting of Abraham Graziano is in the library of the Academy of Sciences, Leningrad.

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[Joseph Elijah Heller]

ISRAEL BEN PEREZ OF POLOTSK (d. about 1785), ḥasidic rabbi, one of the leading disciples of *Dov Baer of Mezhirech. He excelled as a preacher, and as an emissary for his teacher together with Azriel of Polotsk, he won over many Jews to Ḥasidism. After the death of Dov Baer in 1772, Israel settled in Polotsk and with several of the Maggid's disciples helped *Menahem Mendel of Vitebsk to spread Ḥasidism in Belorussia. In the month of Adar 1777, as a result of the persecutions by the *Mitnaggedim in Lithuania and Belorussia, he went to Ereẓ Israel with Menahem Mendel and *Abraham b. Alexander Katz of Kalisk at the head of a group of 300 Ḥasidim. They reached Ereẓ Israel in Elul 1777 and settled in Safed. Because of their economic difficulties, Israel was sent abroad a year later to organize the collection of funds and to arrange for regular maintenance of Ḥasidim who settled in Ereẓ Israel, his qualities as a speaker and organizer making him suitable for this task. His first stop was Constantinople where he collected a considerable sum of money. From there he continued to his native Belorussia where he contacted *Shneur Zalman of Lyady and Issachar Baer of Lubavitch. With them he headed the Ḥasidim in Belorussia when the movement was banned for the second time by the *Mitnaggedim* in 1781. Israel was instrumental in introducing the custom of *ma'amadot* (collection of funds for regular maintenance of Ḥasidim who settled in Ereẓ Israel) among the Ḥasidim. He intended to return to Ereẓ Israel, but became ill and died in Fastov, Ukraine, where he was buried. His detailed letter written in Jassy in Iyyar 1778 to the trustees of the charitable funds in Vitebsk contains important information on ḥasidic settlement in Ereẓ Israel and the situation of the Jews there, and on his visit to and activities in Constantinople. Israel conceived the establishment of a permanent fund for Ḥasidim who settled in Ereẓ Israel. The few teachings attributed to him concern ways of repentance. He did not found a ḥasidic dynasty.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Dubnow, Ḥasidut, index; Yaari, Sheluḥei, 608–11; idem, *Iggerot Ereẓ Yisrael* (1943), 312–6; I. Halpern, *Ha-Aliyyot ha-Rishonot shel ha-Ḥasidim le-Ereẓ Yisrael* (1946), 20–37; Horodetzky, Ḥasidut, index; W.Z. Rabinowitsch, *Lithuanian Ḥasidism* (1970), index.

[Wolf Zeev Rabinowitsch]

ISRAEL BEN SAMUEL HA-KOHEN (11th century), *Gaon* of the Sura Academy from 1017 to approximately 1033 (succeeded R. *Dosa b. Saadiah). Israel was the son of R. *Samuel b. Hophni and the brother-in-law of R. *Hai Gaon. At the time that his father was *gaon* of the academy, Israel functioned as its secretary. He had close ties of friendship with R. *Abraham b. Nathan (Abraham b. Atta), the leader of the Kairouan community, and at the latter's request composed a book in Arabic, on the obligation of reciting the prayers; only a few fragments of this work have been preserved. Two letters by Israel were found in the Cairo *Genizah*. One is addressed to his own community and emphasized the need of following the Rabbanite tradition of biblical exegesis rather than that of the Karaites. A number of his rulings that have survived were published in B.M. Lewin's *Oẓar ha-Ge'onim* (1, 3, 5, 6; 1928–34) and in S. Assaf's *Teshuvot ha-Ge'onim* (1927). He was succeeded in the gaonate by R. Azariah ha-Kohen (d. before 1038), who was either his brother or his son.

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[Abraham David]

ISRAEL BEN SAMUEL OF SHKLOV (d. 1839), talmudic scholar of Lithuania and, later, in Ereẓ Israel, where he was leader of the "*Kolel ha-Perushim," the local community of the disciples of *Elijah b. Solomon Zalman, the Vilna Gaon. Israel was born and brought up in Shklov. Although he studied under the Vilna Gaon for only six months before the latter's death, he was nevertheless entrusted with the preparation of the Gaon's commentaries for publication. In 1809 he joined the third group of the Gaon's pupils, led by Ḥayyim b. Tobiah, that immigrated to Ereẓ Israel and settled in Safed, where there were already 40 families from the two previous groups. Within less than a year of his arrival he was sent by the Kolel ha-Perushim to Lithuania to organize permanent assistance for the immigrants. During the course of this mission, which proved extremely successful, he published the notes of the Vilna Gaon on the tractate *Shekalim* of the Jerusalem Talmud together with a commentary of his own under the title of *Taklin Ḥadtin* (Minsk, 1812). Though caught up in the Napoleonic wars which had meanwhile reached Russia, he succeeded in returning to Safed at the beginning of 1813. In the summer of that year, seeking to escape a plague which broke out in Safed, Israel and his family set out for Jerusalem. His wife died on the journey, his two sons, two of his daughters, and his son-in-law died in Jerusalem, and his father and mother at Safed and only he and his youngest daughter survived. In 1816, after having returned to Safed, Israel was chosen to succeed Menahem Mendel of Shklov, the leader of the Kolel ha-Perushim there, when the latter moved to Jerusalem. Israel served as head of the community, which now numbered 600, first in Safed and later in Jerusalem. He organized assistance from abroad, maintained amicable relations with the ḥasidic and Sephardi communities, represented his community before the authorities, and established good relations with the Arabs. Reports having reached Safed in 1830 of the existence of Jewish tribes in Yemen, he sent a special envoy there to search for remnants of the Ten Tribes. When Israel *Bak opened a Hebrew printing house in Safed in 1832, he entrusted him with the printing of his *Pe'at ha-Shulḥan*, on laws applying in Ereẓ Israel, which had been omitted from the Shulḥan Arukh. The work did not appear until 1836, its printing having been interrupted by an attack by the Arabs of Upper Galilee on the Jews of Safed. Israel organized help for those who had suffered from the attack, which lasted for 33 days and in the course of which much Jewish property was looted. On the first day of 1837 an earthquake killed more than 2,000 Jews in Safed. Israel was then in Jerusalem, and upon hearing of the disaster, he immediately sent help to Safed and letters to Jews abroad soliciting their aid for the stricken. Safed having been reduced to rubble, Israel for the last two years of his life lived, like most of the refugees from the earthquake, in Jerusalem. Louis *Loewe, who met him there, related that on the Sabbath Israel spoke only Hebrew. His health failing, Israel went in 1839 to Tiberias where he died. His grave and tombstone were discovered in Tiberias in 1964. Israel's diary has been partially preserved, as have numerous letters which he wrote to people abroad. They constitute important sources for the history of the Jewish settlement in Ereẓ Israel during the first half of the 19th century.

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[Avraham Yaari]

ISRAEL CHAMBER ORCHESTRA (formerly the **Israel Chamber Ensemble**). The Israel Chamber Orchestra was founded in 1965 by conductor Gary *Bertini, to offer a range of music which had not previously been available to the Israeli public, from Baroque to original contemporary works commissioned for Israeli composers. The repertoire includes solo recitals, works for chamber orchestra, and chorale concerts. Orchestra members include many recent immigrants, particularly from the U.S.S.R. and the United States.

Among the outstanding musical directors have been Rudolf Barshai and Luciano Berio. Uri Segal became musical director of the Israel Chamber Orchestra, following a successful career abroad. After winning first prize in the 1969 Mitropoulos Conducting Competition in New York, he conducted major orchestras in New York, England, and then throughout Europe, America, and in New Zealand. Subsequent directors were Yoav Talmi, Shlomo *Mintz, and Philippe Entremont, who served as principal conductor in 1995–98 and was afterwards appointed laureate conductor. Maestro Salvador Mas Conde served as musical director in 1998–2001, succeeded by Noam *Sheriff (2002–5) and Gil Shohat (from 2005), an Israeli composer known for his avant-gardism.

In 1978 the orchestra undertook a project of music education for youth, presenting the first series of special Youth and Family Concerts. Using "special events," commentary, audiovisual media, and actor-mime performances accompanying musical presentation, the programs aim to bring youth closer to music and musical understanding. The orchestra also performs in special locales or atmospheres suitable to the work being performed.

The Israel Chamber Orchestra presents its regular annual concert series performances in Israel and undertakes annual concert tours abroad, especially in Europe and America. Each concert program is recorded and filmed in cooperation with the Israel Broadcasting Authority.

The orchestra continues to expand and diversify, including "New Dimensions" concerts of contemporary music, guest soloists, and conductors, and also places a strong emphasis on opportunities for Israeli soloists and rising young artists.

Numerous well-known artists have performed with the orchestra, including Mstislav Rostropovich, Vladimir *Ashkenazy, Isaac *Stern, Itzhak *Perlman, Pinchas *Zuckerman, Shlomo *Mintz, Yefim *Bronfman, and Jean Pierre Rampal. Several internationally acclaimed choirs appeared with the Orchestra, such as the Netherlands Chamber Choir, Stuttgart Chamber Choir, Ensemble Vocal de Lausanne, Gulbenkian Choir, Brigham Young University Choir, Toelz Boys Choir, Prague Chamber Choir, and Vienna Sangerknaben.

The orchestra is supported by public and private funds, and a public council serves it in an advisory capacity.

WEBSITE: www.ico.co.il.

ISRAEL EXPLORATION SOCIETY (**IES**; Heb. Ha-Ḥevrah le-Ḥakirat Ereẓ Israel ve-Attikoteha), society founded in Jerusalem in 1914 on the initiative of I. *Ben-Zvi, Y. *Press, D. *Yellin, A.M. *Luncz, A. *Brawer, and others, on the model of the foreign societies engaged in the exploration of the Holy Land, its history and antiquities. Its original name, the Jewish Palestine Exploration Society, was changed in 1948 after the establishment of the State of Israel. The activities of the Society were interrupted by the outbreak of World War I and were resumed in 1920 with the assistance of A. Masie and N. *Slouschz, under the British Mandatory government. Its first excavations included Absalom's Tomb and a synagogue at Hammath-Tiberias, both by N. Slouschz, and in 1925–27 the Third Wall at Jerusalem was partly cleared by E.L. *Sukenik and L. *A.Mayer. In 1929 B. *Mazar (Maisler) became secretary of the Society and, under its auspices, excavated at Ramat Raḥel (1931) and began uncovering the necropolis of *Bet She'arim (1936). S. *Klein was president of the Society from 1932 until his death in 1940 when he was succeeded by L.A. Mayer (until 1959). From 1933 to 1966 the Society published a quarterly bulletin (BJPES, from 1948, BIES); its other publications were a series of proceedings (*Koveẓ*, 4 vols.) and a library of Palestinology (17 vols.). In 1943 the Society initiated a series of annual conventions. The chairmen of the Society since 1944 have been Y. Ben-Zvi, M. Schwabe, Z. Lif, Y. Yadin, and A. Biran, chairman in 1995. From 1960 B. Mazar was president. With the establishment of the State of Israel the activities of the Society expanded enormously, parallel with the growth of interest in archaeology. It continued the excavations at Beth She'arim and conducted other ones at Tell Qasile, Hazor, *Masada, the Judean Desert caves, En Gedi, *Arad, the Temple Mount, Jewish Quarter and City of David in Jerusalem, Herodion, Aphek, Lachish, Dor, Ẓippori, and other sites. It is presently co-sponsoring the renewed excavations at Tel Hazor. Besides the excavation reports of these and other sites, the Society publishes the Hebrew-English series *Eretz-Israel: Archaeological, Historical and Geographical Studies* (1951–), the Hebrew-language journal *Qadmoniot* (1968– ; since 1995, in cooperation with the Israel Antiquities Authority), the Hebrew-language *Studies in the Geography of Israel* (1960–), and the English-language quarterly *Israel Exploration Journal* (1951–). A major reference work jointly published by the Israel Exploration Society and Carta is the four-volume illustrated *New Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land* (1993), which has also appeared in a Hebrew version.

The Society's annual conferences are major events for Israeli archaeologists and the general public interested in the subject. During annual archaeological field trips, members of the Society have visited sites throughout Israel and many neighboring countries. In recent years it has organized and co-sponsored two international congresses devoted to biblical archaeology (1984 and 1990) proceedings of which have been published in two volumes entitled *Biblical Archaeology Today.* In addition to its own publications, the society co-publishes books with the Kibbutz Meuḥad, Mosad Bialik, Yad Ben-Zvi, Magnes Press, and other publishers. In 1989 the IES and its director, Joseph *Aviram, received the Israel Prize.

[Michael Avi-Yonah]

WEBSITE: www.hum.huji.ac.il/ies/.

ISRAEL (ben Samuel?) HA-DAYYAN HA-MA'ARAVI (d. before 1354), Karaite scholar living in *Cairo. Israel, with his pupil *Japheth b. David ibn Ṣaghīr, is reported to have overcome the last vestiges of opposition to the reform of the Karaite law of incest, begun by *Jeshua b. Judah and others in the 11th century, which abolished the catenary theory of forbidden marriages that threatened the physical survival of the Karaites as a group. He was unsuccessful, however, in his attempt to reform the burdensome Karaite law of uncleanness. Israel was a prolific writer in both Arabic and Hebrew. His works include *Shurūṭ al-Dhabāḥah* on slaughtering, abridged in Hebrew as *Hilkhot Sheḥitah* (Vienna, 1830); *Seder Inyan Ibbur* on the calendar (published in J.C. Wolf's *Bibliotheca Hebraea*, 4, 1733); both tracts are said to be parts of a comprehensive code of Karaite law titled *Sefer ha-Mitzvot*; and *Tartīb al-ʿAqāʾid al-Sittah* (ed. by E. Mainz, in: PAAJR, 22 (1953), 55–63) on the principles of faith, translated into Hebrew as *Sheshet ha-Emunot*. He also wrote liturgical poetry.

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[Leon Nemoy]

ISRAEL ḤARIF OF SATANOV (d. 1781), homilist and kabbalist. A famous rabbi of his time, known for his deep knowledge of both *halakhah* and Kabbalah, Israel was a member of the first group of Ḥasidim to follow *Israel b. Eliezer Ba'al Shem Tov, founder of the movement. Israel wrote many works, some of which were lost and others accidentally burned. Only one major work, *Tiferet Yisrael*, a collection of kabbalistic homilies delivered during the years 1747–80, appeared in print. The book was published in Lemberg in 1865 by his grandson, Rabbi Abraham Isaiah Yaffe, who added an introductory note. Another of Israel's writings found in Abraham Yaffe's possession was an interpretation of the Holy Name, a work often quoted in *Tiferet Yisrael.*

Israel was a traditional Lurianic kabbalist, whose concepts of the world, redemption, and ethics were derived from the teachings of that school. His work lays great emphasis on the expectation of the redemption and gives several calculations when the Messiah will come and the process of redemption will begin; the latest date given is 1788. However, this messianic interest did not bring Israel into alliance with the followers of Shabbetai Ẓevi and Jacob Frank, his book rather containing clear polemical expressions opposing the Shabbatean movement. It is probable that Israel was closely connected with Ba'al Shem Tov, but there is no proof that his theology was influenced by the teachings of the new Ḥasidism.

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[Joseph Dan]

ISRAELI (Chernomorski), BENZION (1887–1954), pioneer of the Second Aliyah. Born in Glukhov, Ukraine, Israeli settled in Ereẓ Israel in 1906, working in Petaḥ Tikvah and Reḥovot as an agricultural laborer and guard. He returned to Russia for a time and served in the army. Upon his return to Ereẓ Israel he worked on Kinneret Farm and in Sejerah and in Kefar Uriyyah in the Judean Hills. He was one of the founders of the kevuẓah *Kinneret. Together with his friend Noah Naftulski, he devoted himself to the cultivation of bananas in the Jordan Valley. He traveled eight times to Iraq, Persia, and Egypt and after considerable efforts and dangers brought back choice date scions; the date trees in Israel are to his credit. In 1919 he was a member of the central board of the Agricultural Worker's Organization of *Aḥdut ha-Avodah and was active in Ḥever ha-Kevuẓot in promoting the union of the kibbutz movement. In 1941, Israeli joined the Jewish Brigade, in spite of his age, and organized the volunteering for army service in Palestine. With his unit he went to North Africa and the Italian front, and at the end of the war was active in the rescue of the survivors of the Holocaust. He was the prime mover in the establishment of Oholo, an educational institution on the shores of Lake Kinneret. He was killed by a plane which crashed into a crowd during a ceremony to honor the memory of the Haganah paratroopers of World War II at kibbutz Ma'agan. His writings and speeches were edited by S. *Yavnieli (1956).

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[Abraham Aharoni]

ISRAELI, ISAAC BEN JOSEPH (first half of the 14th century), Spanish astronomer who worked in Toledo. Israeli is best known for his book *Yesod Olam* ("The Foundation of the World") written in 1310, which was considered the most important contribution to Hebrew literature in this field. It dealt with the geometrical problems of the earth in the Ptolemaic system of the universe as revised by al-Biṭsūjī, the seasons, etc., and included astronomical tables. The high esteem in which this book was held over several centuries led to an edition in 1777 being published in Berlin by Jacob Shklover, and a more complete edition, with a preface by David Cassel, was produced in Berlin (1846–48) by B. Goldberg and L. Rosenkranz. There are also commentaries on this work by Isaac *Alḥadib, Judah *Bassan, and Elijah *Mizraḥi. An abridged version in Arabic was written by the author's son, Joseph Israeli b. Isaac, a Hebrew translation of which (under the title *Kiẓẓur Yesod Olam*) still exists. Isaac Israeli is also the author of two other books, still extant in manuscripts, *Sha'ar ha-Shamayim* and *Sha'ar ha-Millu'im*.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Steinschneider, Arab Lit, 164; idem, *Die Mathematik bei den Juden* (1897), 39; Waxman, Literature, 2 (1960²), 320–1; G. Sarton, *Introduction to the History of Science*, 3 (1947–48), 691–2, includes bibliography; W.M. Feldman, *Rabbinical Mathematics and Astronomy* (1931), 111.

[Arthur Beer]

ISRAELI, ISAAC BEN SOLOMON (c. 855-c. 955), physician and philosopher. Born in *Egypt, Israeli emigrated at about the age of 50 to *Kairouan, capital of the *Maghreb, where ʿUbayd Allāh al-Mahdī, founder of the Fatimid dynasty, appointed him court physician. His renown among his fellow Jews is attested by the fact that *Saadiah Gaon, while still in Egypt, addressed numerous letters to him, consulting him on philosophical and scientific matters. He remained unmarried and is quoted as having referred to his books as more likely to keep his memory alive than children would.

Philosophical Writings

Of Israeli's philosophical writings, the *Kitāb al-Ḥudūd* (*Sefer ha-Gevulim*, "Book of Definitions") is the best known. It was popular among the Latin schoolmen, who knew it in two versions, a Latin translation of the Arabic original by Gerard of Cremona, and an anonymous abridged Latin text (both edited by J.T. Muckle in *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du moyen âge*, 12–13 (1937–38), 299ff.). Medieval Jewish writers, too, were familiar with the work. Moses *Ibn Ezra reproduces a few passages from it without naming the source in his *Kitāb al-Ḥadīqa* ("Book of the Garden"), as is most probably also the case with the 11th-century *Ghāyat al-Ḥakīm* ("Aim of the Wise"), known among the Latin schoolmen as *Picatrix*, by a Muslim author in Spain who seems to have used Israeli's work. Isaac ibn *Laṭīf, Abraham *Ibn Ḥasdai, and Isaac de Lattes also mention the book. *Maimonides, in his letter to Samuel ibn Tibbon, lists it among some Neoplatonic treatises described by him as of little merit, whereas Shem Tov ibn *Falaquera remarks: "The books of Isaac Israeli are most useful" (*Sefer ha-Mevakkesh*). The Arabic original of the work was translated into Hebrew twice. Nissim b. Solomon's version was first published by H. Hirschfeld (in: *Festschrift… Moritz Steinschneiders* (1896), Heb. sect. 131–41). Fragments of the second Hebrew version were discovered by A. Borosov and edited by A. Altmann (JSS, 2 (1957), 232–42). The book offers 56 definitions. It opens with an account (based on al-*Kindī) of *Aristotle's four types of inquiry (whether, what, which, why), and an elaboration of al-Kindī's definitions of philosophy. Israeli's dependence on al-Kindī was first noticed by S.M. Stern. There follow definitions of wisdom, intellect, soul, the celestial sphere, the vital spirit, and nature, which reflect the influence of a Neoplatonic pseudepigraphon (ascribed to Aristotle) that is traceable even more clearly in Israeli's other writings, and other definitions, most of them very brief. Israeli's *Kitāb al-Jawāhir* ("Book of Substances") has survived only in fragments of the original Arabic, discovered by A. Borisov and edited by S.M. Stern (JSS, 7 (1956), 13–29). The *Sefer ha-Ru'aḥ ve-ha-Nefesh* ("Treatise on Spirit and Soul"), which may have formed part of a larger work (possibly an exegetical treatise on "Let the waters bring forth abundantly," and is extant only in Hebrew, was published by M. Steinschneider (in *Ha-Karmel* (1871), 400–5). In both works Israeli develops his doctrine of emanation which is derived from the Neoplatonic source mentioned above. A clue to this source is found in another treatise attributed to Aristotle, the *Sha'ar ha-Yesodot le-Aristo* ("Chapter on the Elements by Aristotle"), preserved in a Hebrew Mantua manuscript, but which, following a suggestion by G. Scholem, A. Altmann has established to be a work by Israeli. It incorporates the previously mentioned pseudo-Aristotelian treatise, and refers to its source in the opening sentence ("Aristotle … said"). In his edition of the Mantua text (JSS, 7 (1956), 31–57), Altmann showed that Israeli's metaphysical doctrine throughout his writings is decisively influenced by this source, and he listed a number of parallel texts in other writings (partly already noticed by Scholem and J. Guttmann), which enhanced the significance of the discovery of that source. The relationship between Israeli's source on the one hand, and the parallel texts in Abraham ibn Ḥasdai's *Ben ha-Melekh ve-ha-Nazir* and in the long version of the *Theology of Aristotle* (discovered by Borisov) on the other, has been investigated by S.M. Stern (see A. Altmann and S.M. Stern, *Isaac Israeli, A Neoplatonic Philosopher of the Early Tenth Century* (1958), 95–105, 114–7, and Stern's article in: *Oriens*, 13–14 (1961), 58–120). The conclusion reached by Stern is that there existed a Neoplatonic treatise (termed by him "Ibn Ḥasdai's neoplatonist") which served as a source for the anonymous author of the long version of the *Theology of Aristotle*, Israeli, and Ibn Ḥasdai. A further treatise by Israeli, and the most extensive in scope, is his *Kitāb al-Ustuquṣṣāt* ("Book on the Elements"), of which there is a Latin version by Gerard of Cremona (printed in *Omnia Opera Ysaac*) and two Hebrew translations, one by Abraham ibn Ḥasdai (*Sefer Yesodot*, edited by S. Fried, 1900), and one contained in a Munich manuscript which may have been made by Moses ibn Tibbon. An excerpt from this work and the full texts of all the other treatises by Israeli hitherto mentioned were published in English translation with comments in Altmann-Stern's *Isaac Israeli*.

His Philosophy

The philosophical doctrine of Israeli describes the various stages of being as a series of emanations from the intellect (Plotinus' *Noûs*), while the intellect itself is constituted by the union of first matter and first form (the latter also called "wisdom"), which are "created" by the power and will of God. Israeli thus upholds the notion of *creatio ex nihilo* in the case of the first three hypostases, while adopting the Plotinian concept of emanation for the rest. Both the long version of the *Theology* and Ibn Ḥasdai use a similar phraseology, due no doubt to their common source. The interposition of first matter and first form between God and the intellect is likewise derived from the peculiar variant of Neoplatonic doctrine represented by Israeli's source, and is reflected also in the parallel texts. A somewhat similar interposition occurs in the pseudo-Empedoclean scheme known from the Hebrew fragments of the "Five Substances" (ed. by D. Kaufmann, in: *Studien ueber Salomon Ibn Gabirol*, 1899) where, however, spiritual matter alone intervenes between God and the intellect. From the intellect, three souls (rational, animal, and vegetative) and the celestial sphere (also called "nature") emanate. The process of emanation is, following Plotinus, sometimes described as a radiance, "like the light of the sun, which emanates from its essence and substantiality," but is also viewed as a casting of shadows by the light and as the coming-to-be of progressively denser substances out of these shadows. The celestial sphere is the last of the "simple substances" emanating from the intellect, and holds an intermediate position between the higher world and the sensible world. From the motion of the celestial sphere the four elements come into being, and from them, in turn, arise the composite substances of the sublunar bodies. Man's soul, caught in the embrace of the "shells" and "darkness" of the coarse sensible world, is destined to pursue an upward path leading to union with the supernal light of wisdom. Like al-Kindī and the *Ikhwān al-ṣafāʾ* (*Brethren of Sincerity), Israeli adopts Proclus' theory of the three stages of purification, illumination, and union. The bliss of the highest stage is, in Israeli's view, tantamount to the bliss of paradise. In this way he links traditional Jewish eschatology with Neoplatonic mysticism. He interprets the notion of hell in terms of the impure soul's inability to penetrate beyond the sphere; it is doomed to remain beneath the sphere and to be consumed by its fire. In his concept of prophecy (treated in his *Book on the Elements* and in the commentary to the *Sefer Yeẓirah* of his disciple, *Dunash ibn Tamīm, who reflects his master's view), Israeli distinguishes between three forms: that of a created voice (*kol*); of spirit (*ru'aḥ*), including vision (*ḥazon*); and of speech (*dibbur*), which designates union with the supernal light and represents the highest rank. The case of Moses is described in terms of this highest stage. The function of prophecy is, however, conceived also in terms of spiritual guidance of the multitude of men, for which reason the divine truths must be couched in imaginative, allegorical form. Israeli's influence on the Neoplatonic trend in medieval Jewish philosophy must not be underrated. He is the father of Jewish Neoplatonism, and his traces can be found in such philosophers as Solomon ibn *Gabirol and Joseph ibn *Ẓaddik. The Gerona school of Jewish mysticism is likewise indebted to him. The Mantua text of Israeli's *Book on the Elements* is quoted in *Azriel of Gerona's commentary on the Aggadot.

Medical Works

Israeli has been classed among the great physicians of the early

Middle Ages. From 875 to 904 he apparently was a successful eye doctor near Cairo. His medical works were translated (or adapted) by Constantine the African (1087) from the Arabic into Latin, and were thus introduced to Europe and included in the Salerno school. Innumerable manuscripts in Arabic, Latin, and Hebrew by various translators testify to their popularity. Among Israeli's medical and quasi-medical writings are books on urine, fevers, the pulse, drugs, and the above-mentioned "Treatise on Spirit and Soul" in a half-medical and half-philosophical treatise, probably part of a commentary on Genesis (all printed in *Omnia Opera Isaac*, 1515). A work entitled *Musar ha-Rofe'im* ("Medical Ethics") has also been attributed to Israeli, though his authorship has been doubted by some scholars.

[Alexander Altmann]

Harry A. Wolfson questioned Alexander Altmann's interpretation of Israeli's doctrine of creation in "The Meaning of *Ex Nihilo* in Isaac Israeli," in: JQR, 50 (1959), 1–12 (reprinted in Wolfson, *Studies in the History of Philosophy and Religion,* 1(1973), 222–33) and was answered by Altmann in "Creation and Emanation in Isaac Israeli: A Reappraisal," in: I. Twersky (ed.), *Studies in Medieval Jewish History and Literature* (1) (1979), 1–15. See also G. Vajda, in: P.B. Fenton, *Le Commentaire sur le Livre de la Création de Dunas ben Tamim de Kairouan (xe siècle)* (2002).

[Daniel J. Lasker (2nd ed.)]

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ISRAELI, ISRAEL (d. 1317), Spanish talmudist. Born in Toledo, Israeli lived there all his life. His family was among the leaders of its community and the names of many scholars in the family, as well as many scribes, are known. Israeli was the brother of Isaac *Israeli, author of *Yesod Olam* and according to him was a pupil of *Asher b. Jehiel (the Rosh) after the latter's arrival in Toledo. Israel was eminent both for his talmudic and secular knowledge. The best-known of his works is his commentary to *Avot* which was largely influenced by Maimonides' method and which in turn was the main basis of the commentary of his grandson, Isaac b. Solomon Israeli, on *Avot* (1965). Various quotations are found in the *Midrash Shemu'el* to *Avot* by Samuel b. Isaac of Uceda. In his commentary Israeli expresses his opinion that the prohibition against the study of "Greek wisdom" was never applied in practice, and that rabbis and teachers are not to be precluded from accepting a salary. This opinion is in direct contrast to the view of Maimonides on this subject. His commentary on the Bible was well known, and Joseph *Naḥmias frequently quoted from it in his various works. Israeli possessed wide general knowledge, as was common among Spanish Jews of the upper classes in his time, and it was he who translated for Asher b. Jehiel various halakhic passages from Arabic to Hebrew. As a result, Israeli became directly involved in one of the most renowned halakhic disputes in Jewish history, which touched upon the authoritative interpretation of the "*Takkanot* of Toledo" (see *Takkanot). These *takkanot*, one of which laid down the manner in which a husband inherited from his wife, differed completely from talmudic *halakhah*, and had been enacted by the leaders of the community a few generations before, and committed to writing in Arabic. When Asher arrived in Toledo, he found to his surprise that the *takkanah* had been extended in practice and interpreted by the Toledo *bet din* far beyond the implication of the original text. He objected strongly and insisted that the scope of the *takkanah* be limited to the minimum implied by its plain language, and beyond that it had to accord with talmudic law. Israeli took a contrary stand. He claimed that since the *takkanah* was written in literary Arabic and not in the vernacular, Asher b. Jehiel, who came from Germany, was not fluent in the language, and could not appreciate the exact meaning of the *takkanah*, nor could he rely upon the Hebrew translation. Israeli even went further and maintained that a *takkanah*, based originally upon reason and logic and not upon the religious halakhic tradition, must of necessity be interpreted in the widest and most rational manner, in the spirit in which it was written, and not in accordance with the traditional methods of interpretation used in *halakhah*. Israeli's claims are preserved, in incomplete form, in the responsa of Asher b. Jehiel (no. 55), and careful reconstruction of his arguments illustrates his broad horizons in Talmud, philosophy, and jurisprudence. It has been conjectured, without basis, that there were two scholars named Israel Israeli, both members of the same family, and that all the above details do not apply to the same individual.

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[Israel Moses Ta-Shma]

ISRAEL ISSERL BEN ISAAC SEGAL (end 17th–early 18th century), rabbi (probably in Poland) descended from the family of Moses b. Israel *Isserles. His work *Asefat Ḥakhamim* (Offenbach, 1722) – the printing of which he personally supervised – is a collection of sermons arranged according to the weekly portions of the Torah, with additional sermons for the major festivals. Most deal with ethical problems; some, however, also include halakhic material. After presenting a quotation from the Bible, followed by one from the Talmud or Midrash, Israel usually proceeds to raise problems – which are sometimes quoted from other sources – and to supply their solutions. He quotes not only many ethical works written in Eastern Europe at his time, but oral statements of his contemporaries, including his teacher, R. Abraham *Broda.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Steinschneider, Cat Bod, 1165, no. 5458; Ben-Jacob, Oẓar, 46, no. 490.

[Joseph Dan]

ISRAELI, SHAUL (1910–1995), Israeli rabbi. A rabbi and Torah scholar, Israeli was born in Slutzk. He came to Palestine during the Mandate period and studied at Mercaz Harav yeshivah. He was the first rabbi of Ha-Po'el ha-Mizrachi settlements, a founder of Yeshivot Bnei Akiva high schools, and a member of the Chief Rabbinate. He published *Ereẓ Hemdaḥ* on religious laws relating to the Land of Israel. In 1987 he founded the Ereẓ Hemdah Institute for the training of *dayyanim*. In 1992 he was awarded the Israel Prize in Jewish studies.

ISRAELIT, DER, leading Orthodox weekly in Germany, founded in 1860 by Marcus *Lehmann, in Mainz. The Hebrew periodical **Ha-Levanon* was published from 1872 to 1882 as the Hebrew edition of *Der Israelit*, and also appeared in Yiddish from 1873 to 1879. From 1883 to 1905 *Der Israelit* appeared twice weekly. It was published jointly with the *Jeschurun*, founded by S.R. *Hirsch, from 1889 to 1891. After Lehmann's death in 1890, successive editors were his son Oskar, his nephew and rabbinical successor Jonas *Bondi, Julius Lorsch, Jacob *Rosenheim, and S. Schachnowitz. Rosenheim, who reorganized the paper financially in 1906 when its offices were moved to Frankfurt, became its principal leader writer. Under Rosenheim *Der Israelit* achieved a high journalistic standard and was widely read not only in Germany but also in Austria, Hungary, and Western Europe. It carried a number of literary and educational supplements, and M. Lehmann's popular stories first appeared in installments in his paper. *Der Israelit* was the organ both of secessionist (Austritt) Orthodoxy in Germany and of *Agudat Israel. The paper's last issue appeared on Nov. 3, 1938.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: H. Schwab, *History of Orthodox Jewry in Germany* (1950), index; *Juedische Presse im 19. Jahrhundert…* (1967), 53f.; J. Rosenheim, *Zikhronot* (1955), 97ff.; J. Bondi, in: *Der Israelit* (Jan. 6, 1910).

ISRAELITE (Ar. **Isrāʾīliyyāt**, "Israelite" tales), name of a type of Muslim literature which deals with two different subjects: (1) stories from the Bible, legends, and other tales as they have been handed down in Jewish literature in the name of figures from the biblical world, scholars, and rabbis, and which are found in the Talmud and Midrashim. The objective of this material in the works of Arab historians, Koran exegetes, and the legends of the prophets is to explain Muhammad's words when their meaning is obscure or opposed to the Bible. The Isrāʾīliyyāt thus served as a channel for the absorption of many legends in the treasury of the historical tales of Islam. The traditionists were generally Jews who had converted to Islam or scholars of Jewish origin. The most famous of these were *Kaʿb al-Aḥbār and *Wahb ibn Munabbih. Beginning at an early date, this fact aroused suspicion and the opposition of the orthodox circles of Islam who sought at least to conceal the identity of the traditionists. (2) The second principal subject of Isrāʾīliyyāt is the lives and deeds of the mystics of Islam, the ancient men of piety who flourished during the period known as that of the *Banū Isrāʾīl* ("the people of Israel").

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[Haïm Z'ew Hirschberg]

ISRAELITISCHES FAMILIENBLATT, leading non-party Jewish weekly in pre-Hitler Germany, founded in 1898 in Hamburg by M. Lessmann, publisher, and M. Deutschlaender, editor. Among the weekly's editors in the 1930s were Julian Lehmann, Alfred Kupferberg (Nehushtan), and Ezriel *Carlebach. The circulation of 25,000 in 1935 increased to 30,000 in 1937. With its numerous supplements – illustrated, literary, and educational – and its full coverage of news from the Jewish world at large as well as every community in Germany, the *Familienblatt* wielded considerable political and educational influence and was a model of Jewish newspaper production. Originally it was the newspaper of the Hamburg Jewish community but in 1935 it was transferred to Berlin, where it became the official organ of the Reichsvertretung der deutschen Juden (Central Organization of German Jews; see *Reichsvereinigung). In the same year the Nazis prohibited the publication of the *Familienblatt* for three months. It permanently ceased publication after *Kristallnacht* in November 1938.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Edelheim-Muehsam, in: YLBI, 5 (1960), 308–29; EJ, S.V. *Juedische Presse im 19 Jahrhundert…* (1967), 43.

ISRAELITISCH-THEOLOGISCHE LEHRANSTALT, leading Jewish theological seminary in Vienna. The Israelitisch-Theologische Lehranstalt, founded in 1893, served first the Austro-Hungarian Empire and later its successor states. Although efforts to establish a training school for rabbis and teachers of the Jewish religion can be traced to the days of Emperor Joseph II (1786), the impetus to a regular theological seminary did not come until the Viennese community had become one of the largest in Europe, 120,000 in 1880. Then a dramatic controversy over the Talmud between an anti-Jewish Prague professor, August *Rohling, and a staunch defender of Jewish rights, Joseph Samuel *Bloch, demonstrated to Jewish philanthropists in Vienna the importance of Jewish cultural efforts against the rising tide of antisemitism. Led by Wilhelm von *Gutmann, several financiers, aided by a few major Jewish communities and a small government subsidy, helped establish the Lehranstalt. Among the benefactors were also such distinguished Jewish scholars as Adolf *Jellinek, Joshua Heschel *Schorr, and Abraham *Epstein.

From the outset the school could boast of a remarkable array of scholarly luminaries on its faculty and a select, if small, student body. Under the leadership of its long-term rector Adolf *Schwarz, its teachers, including David Heinrich *Mueller, Adolf *Buechler, Meir *Friedmann (Ish Shalom), Samuel *Krauss, and Victor *Aptowitzer, trained a total of 324 students, for the most part recruited from Galicia and other parts of the empire. World War I and the dissolution of the empire caused a major financial crisis, which was only partially alleviated by the efforts of the Viennese chief rabbi Hirsch Perez *Chajes, who succeeded in enlisting the aid of

U.S. philanthropists. The seminary survived under somewhat reduced circumstances until the annexation of Vienna by Hitler in 1938 and the ensuing destruction of all Jewish cultural institutions. Its precious library was confiscated and the collections are now widely scattered. Its alumni, however, continued to serve in high positions in the rabbinate and schools of higher learning in Europe and the U.S. as well as in Israel.

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[Salo W. Baron]

ISRAEL LABOR PARTY (Mifleget ha-Avodah ha-Yisra'elit), Israeli social-democratic party founded in January 1968 through a union between *Mapai, *Aḥdut ha-Avodah-Po'alei Zion (which had seceded from it in 1944), and *Rafi (which had seceded from it in 1965). Each of the three components of the new party maintained, at first, a considerable degree of internal cohesion, nominating representatives to the party's governing bodies in the agreed proportion of 57% for Mapai and 21.5% each for the other two.

The Israel Labor Party continued to advocate the traditional economic and social policies of the labor movement in Israel since the foundation of the State, which professed the ideals of egalitarianism and cooperation, a strong public sector in the economy, and substantial government involvement in economic affairs and welfare. Two strong pillars of the party continued to be the kibbutzim of *Ha-Kibbutz ha-Me'uḥad and *Iḥud ha-Kevuẓot ve-ha-Kibbutzim, and the *Histadrut. However, like its predecessors, it did not object to private initiative, and was supported by many industrialists.

By the 1990s its ideological positions on economic and social issues had shifted, to a large extent, from social-democracy to social-liberalism. As a party that from the very start attracted numerous former IDF career officers into its ranks, it was always very security minded, but on the issue of ways of dealing with the Arab-Israel conflict and the territories conquered in the course of the Six-Day War, until the signing of the Oslo Accords in 1993 the party was divided between doves and hawks; between those who believed in territorial compromise and those who sought functional solutions; and later on between those who favored establishing contacts with the PLO and those who believed Israel should try and reach a solution with the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan. On these issues the party gradually moved to the left, both because its more hawkish elements left it for more rightist parties and because of changing circumstances. Even though its platform for the 1992 elections to the Thirteenth Knesset stated that it objected to talks with the PLO, it accepted the reality of the Oslo Accords of September 1993 and the political process that followed, and finally came to support the establishment of a Palestinian state in the West Bank and Gaza Strip, as long as such a state was established by agreement with Israel and was willing to live in peace with it.

Until the early 1990s the party's leaders were elected by the Central Committee, and the Knesset list was put together by the party leadership. However after its Fourth Conference, held in 1986, the party started to undergo a process of democratization, and since its Fifth Conference, held in 1991, its leadership and list for Knesset elections have been elected by means of primaries in which all the registered members of the Party participate. The Labor Party's chairmen since its establishment have been Levi *Eshkol (1968–69), Golda *Meir (1969–74), Yitzhak *Rabin (1974–77), Shimon *Peres (1977–92), Rabin (1992–95), Peres (1995–97), Ehud *Barak (1997–2001), Binyamin *Ben-Eliezer (2001–2), Amram Mitzna (2002–3), Peres (2003–5), Amir *Peretz (2005–).

Since its establishment the Israel Labor Party has progressively lost strength. When the Labor Party was founded in 1968 it had 63 Knesset seats. In the elections to the Seventh to the Twelfth Knessets (1969–88) it ran in the framework of the Alignment with other parties and groups and received 56, 51, 32, 47, 44, and 39 seats, respectively. In the elections to the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Knessets (1992 and 1996) it ran independently, receiving 44 and 34 seats, respectively. In the Fifteenth Knesset (1999) it ran in a list called One Israel, with Gesher and Meimad, and received 26 seats, and in the elections to the Sixteenth Knesset (2003) it ran in a single list with Meimad and received 19 seats only.

The process of decline began in the aftermath of the Yom Kippur War, leading to Labor's first-ever electoral defeat in 1977. The original reasons for its weakened position were the feeling that it had been in power too long and had grown corrupt and the fact that the second generation of the Oriental community in Israel had turned against it. The process continued as Israeli society shifted to more right-wing and/or more liberal, and/or more religious positions, and with the economic collapse of the kibbutzim and the Histadrut. The direct elections for prime minister in 1996, 1999, and 2001, and the failure of a younger generation of leaders to take control of the Party, further weakened it.

The Labor Party led the governments in 1968–77, 1984–86, 1992–96, and 1999–2001. It also participated in governments led by the Likud in 1986–90 and 2001–2.

In 1969–94 all the secretaries general of the Histadrut were from the Labor Party – Yitzhak *Ben-Aharon (1969–73), Yeruḥam *Meshel (1973–84), Israel *Kessar (1984–92), and Ḥayyim Haberfeld (1992–94). In the Histadrut elections of 1994 Haim *Ramon ran against Haberfeld in an independent list and beat him. He handed over the leadership of the Histadrut to Amir *Peretz in 1995. The latter left the Israel Labor Party in 1999, returning in January 2005 and being elected party chairman in November. In the 2006 elections, Labor won 19 seats and joined Ehud *Olmert's coalition government.

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[Susan Hattis Rolef (2nd ed.)]

ISRAEL MEIR HA-KOHEN (**Kagan**; known as **Ḥafeẓ Ḥayyim**; 1838–1933), rabbi, ethical writer, and talmudist; one of the most saintly figures in modern Judaism. Of humble origin, he was taught until the age of ten by his parents and then went to Vilna where he continued his studies. He did not particularly distinguish himself as a student; nevertheless, he later towered above all his contemporaries in his qualities of religious leadership. While in a yeshivah in Vilna, the Ḥafeẓ Ḥayyim became seriously ill as a result of the very long hours he put in every day studying. This episode had a lifelong affect on him, for he became very sensitive to his students' health, always encouraging them to eat and sleep well. His surname Poupko is hardly known, nor is he referred to by his own name, but he became universally known as Ḥafeẓ Ḥayyim, after the title of his first work. His personality, his piety, his humility of conduct, his integrity of thought and action, together with his books, exercised a tremendous influence on religious leaders, and fascinated the masses, to whom he became the admired master and leader. Hundreds of sayings full of practical wisdom are attributed to him, and hundreds of stories both factual and legendary, all rich in morals, are reported about his life.

He refused to make the rabbinate his calling, and after his marriage in Radun he subsisted on a small grocery store which his wife managed and for which he did the bookkeeping. He also did his own "bookkeeping," maintaining a daily record of his own deeds to assure himself no wrong had been perpetrated by him nor any time wasted. He spent his time either learning Torah or disseminating its knowledge among others, particularly the more simple folk, whom he always encouraged in matters of learning, observance, and faith. The Ḥafeẓ Ḥayyim did not intend to establish a yeshivah. So many students, however, flocked to him that by 1869 his home had become known as "the Radun yeshivah" or as "the Ḥafeẓ Ḥayyim yeshivah." Forty-five years later, the yeshivah moved to a big building of its own and R. Naphtali Trup was appointed its head. For many years it was the Ḥafeẓ Ḥayyim's responsibility to provide for the students, a task in which he was later assisted by his three sons-in-law, leaving him more time for writing, publishing, and distributing his books.

When he was 35 he published anonymously in Vilna (1873) his first book, *Ḥafeẓ Ḥayyim*, devoted entirely to an exposition of the primary importance of the laws of slander, gossip, and tale bearing. Throughout his life, he laid great emphasis on the careful observance of these laws, so generally neglected in spite of the fact that their transgression involves the violation of numerous prohibitions. In 1879 he published another book on the same subject and a third in 1925. He even composed a special prayer to be recited every morning asking for protection from the sins of slander and gossip. According to a popular legend, whenever anyone would gossip in his presence, the Ḥafeẓ Ḥayyim would fall asleep so as not to listen. His best-known and most widely studied work is his six-volume *Mishnah Berurah* (1894–1907), a comprehensive commentary on Shulḥan Arukh, *Oraḥ Ḥayyim* which has been accepted as an indispensable reference book on practical everyday halakhic matters. One hundred years later it is still studied and referred to widely. In 1999, D. Eidenson published a comprehensive index to the *Mishnah Berurah*, titled *Yad Yisrael*.

As early as 1923, the Ḥafeẓ Ḥayyim expressed interest in immigrating to Israel. In 1925, he began to make concrete plans to leave Radun. Rabbi Moshe Blum came to his aid by finding financial assistance, while Rabbi Yosef Ḥayyim Sonnenfeld signed his visa request during Ḥol ha-Mo'ed of that year. In the end the Ḥafeẓ Ḥayyim did not depart, first because of the pressure applied by the leading yeshivah heads, especially Rabbi Hayyim Ozer Grodsensky, and second, because his wife's health prevented her from traveling. In a letter dated 3 Tevet 5686 (1926), the Ḥafeẓ Ḥayyim endeavored to discover the benefactor who anonymously provided the financial assistance so he could return the money.

The Ḥafeẓ Ḥayyim did not publish his books for academic purposes, but rather produced them wherever he saw a need to strengthen some aspect of Jewish life, sometimes intervening in person to reinforce his teaching. Among the 21 books which he published, mention should be made of *Ahavat Ḥesed* (1888) on various types of charity; *Maḥaneh Yisrael* (1881), a code of practical laws for Jewish soldiers (he also endeavored to ensure that when stationed near Jewish communities kosher food was provided for them as well as urging young men to marry early to avoid the draft); *Niddeḥei Yisrael* (1894) to encourage Jews who had emigrated to the West to maintain their religious loyalties; and a variety of books on the observance of the dietary laws, laws of family purity, and the obligation of Torah study; and *Likutei Halakhot* (1900–25), a comprehensive digest of the sacrificial laws found in the Mishnah of *Seder Kodashim*. Since he hoped for and believed in the imminent coming of the Messiah, he emphasized the study of the laws of sacrifices and worship in the Temple and other related subjects. Overall, the Ḥafeẓ Ḥayyim required a stringent halakhic approach to contemporary problems to better maintain and regulate the boundaries between halakhic Judaism and the surrounding secular Jewish society. In addition, the many books that he wrote were in direct response to the educational challenges of his day. He witnessed parents abandoning traditional *ḥeder* schools to send their children to secular schools, a move that would lead to better social and financial security. The Ḥafeẓ Ḥayyim was also very wary of the rise of Communism after World War I.

Throughout his life, the Ḥafeẓ Ḥayyim traveled extensively to muster support for many Jewish causes. He was one of the founders of the Agudat Israel and was one of its spiritual leaders. He was chosen to open the First World Convention of *Agudat Israel (1912). The Ḥafeẓ Ḥayyim's help enabled the many European yeshivot to survive the critical financial problems of the interwar period. Under his aegis, the Va'ad ha-Yeshivot (committee on behalf of yeshivot) was organized and it successfully raised the necessary funds for these schools. After his death, his name was perpetuated by many yeshivot and religious institutions throughout the world which were called Ḥafeẓ Ḥayyim.

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[Mordechai Hacohen / David Derovan (2nd ed.)]

ISRAEL MOSES BEN ARYEH LOEB (18th–19th century), talmudist and preacher. His father was a rabbi in Lissa, where Israel received his rabbinical training. At the age of 28, Israel was appointed rabbi in Prandzew, and later served in Zabludow and in Kornik. He carried on correspondence with prominent rabbis and talmudic scholars of his time, including Akiva *Eger, the latter giving his approbations to Israel's single published work, *Rishmei She'elah* (Warsaw, 1811). This work, consisting of his halakhic responsa, was published with an appendix containing some of his talmudic novellae on *Mo'ed Katan*, as well as several homiletical sermons taken from his two unpublished works, *Eshel ha-Sarim* and *Eshel ha-Rashim*.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: J.J. Eisenstadt and S. Wiener, *Da'at Kedoshim* (1898), 237; L. Lewin, *Geschichte der Juden in Lissa* (1904), 261f.

[Elias Katz]

ISRAEL MUSEUM. In 1964 the Bezalel National Art Museum was incorporated into the new Israel Museum. The Israel Museum, situated in the heart of modern Jerusalem, houses a collection of Jewish and world art, the archaeology of the Holy Land, and the Dead Sea Scrolls. The museum was founded to collect, preserve, study, and display the cultural and artistic treasures of the Jewish people throughout its long history as well as the art, ethnology, and archeology of the Land of Israel and its neighboring countries. It also aims at encouraging original Israeli art. The initial IL20,000,000 (about $5,730,000) complex of buildings was designed by the Israeli architects Alfred Mansfeld and Dora Gad and financed by gifts from Israel, the United States, and Europe. The first IL1,500,000 (about $428,570) came from the U.S. government through its Information Media Guaranty Program, and the Israeli government provided the 22-acre plot. In 1996 the exhibition area totaled 17,190 sq. m. (about 20,560 sq. yd.) with an additional 19,110 sq. m. (about 22,850 sq. yd.) for storage, laboratories, workshops, a library, and offices, including those of the Israeli Government Department of Antiquities. The museum has a vast ethnographical collection which contains material representing the art and ethnology of non-Western cultures in addition to Jewish civilization.

The following are the Museum's sections:

THE JUDAICA AND ETHNOGRAPHY SECTION. The Museum has the world's largest collection of Judaica, including two whole 18th-century synagogue interiors. It ethnography collection includes costumes, jewelry, and articles typical of Jewish ritual and daily life in Diaspora communities.

THE ARTS WING. Included in the Arts Wing is the Bezalel Museum of Fine Arts founded in 1906 by Boris *Schatz. It is made up of nine different art departments: European art, drawings and reprints, Israeli art, modern art, contemporary art, design and architecture, photography, Far East art, and the art of Africa, Oceania, and America. The collection also includes period rooms – French, English, and Venetian.

THE SAMUEL BRONFMAN BIBLICAL AND ARCHAEOLOGICAL MUSEUM. Representing periods from prehistoric times to the 15th century C.E., this collection – based on that of the Israel Department of Antiquities (started in 1948) – contains archeological artifacts ranging from an elephant tusk from about 200,000 B.C.E., Chalcolithic clay ossuaries from Azor, highly developed Canaanite pottery, and Hebrew inscriptions and other objects from the Israelite period to representative finds from the Persian, Hellenistic, and Second Temple periods as well as the Roman, Byzantine, and Arabic civilizations. There is a selection of synagogue and church mosaics and a numismatic collection.

THE BILLY ROSE ART GARDEN AND THE LIPCHITZ PAVILION.The Billy Rose Art Garden, designed by Isamu Noguchi, displays 19th- and 20th-century sculpture. Curved retaining walls, made of the rocks from the site, frame the exhibition space for the sculptures displayed in the open air.

The Jacques Lipchitz Pavilion has 140 bronze sketches donated to the Museum by Reuven Lipchitz, the sculptor's brother.

THE SHRINE OF THE BOOK. The Shrine of the Book, designed by the U.S. architects Frederick J. Kiesler and Armand P. Bartos, is the repository for Israel's Dead Sea Scrolls, the Bar Kokhba letters (for details see *Dead Sea Scrolls and *Bar Kokhba), and objects found in the Dead Sea Caves.

YOUTH ACTIVITIES. Within the Israel Museum itself is the Ruth Youth Wing, an active educational department. The wing's area consists of 3,500 sq. m., which is 10% of the entire museum area. It hosts around 300,000 visitors a year.

THE TICHO HOUSE. Formerly the home of Dr. Abraham and Anna *Ticho, located in the center of Jerusalem, the building is now put to multipurpose use exhibiting the works of Anna Ticho and serving as a location for cultural events and a restaurant.

THE PALEY ART CENTER. The Paley Art Center for Youth, located near the Rockefeller Museum, conducts programs for Jerusalem's Arab population and offers various activities in the Arab language.

ROCKEFELLER ARCHAEOLOGICAL MUSEUM. The Rockefeller Archaeological Museum is situated in East Jerusalem, and houses a collection of antiquities revealed by excavations held mainly between the years 1919 and 1948.

WEBSITE: www.imj.org.il.

[Avraham Biran / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)

ISRAEL OF BAMBERG (mid-13th century), tosafist. He studied under *Samuel b. Baruch, whom he succeeded as rabbi of Bamberg. His son was R. Jedidiah of Nuremberg. The *Mordekhai* of *Mordecai b. Hillel mentions Israel's *tosafot* to tractates *Shabbat* and *Avodah Zarah*, which though no longer extant, are quoted by a 15th-century Italian codifier (Ms. Adler 2717, folio 308). In his *Shitah Mekubbeẓet* to tractate *Bava Kama*, Bezalel *Ashkenazi frequently cites the *Tosefot Talmidei R. Yisrael* ("Tosafot of R. Israel's students"). In his *tosafot*, Israel relies primarily on his teacher, and, on one occasion, quotes Eleazar of Erfurt. Benjacob is of the opinion that these *tosafot* were based on *Alfasi and not, as is customary, on the Talmud. There is a difference of opinion as to whether the Israel ben Uri Shraga, whose *tosafot* are also mentioned in the *Mordekhai* to *Shabbat*, can be identified with Israel of Bamberg.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Benjacob, in: *Devarim Attikim*, 2 (1846), 10; Zunz, Gesch, 40; S. Kohn, in: MGWJ, 27 (1878), 82; A. Eckstein, *Geschichte der Juden im ehemaligen Fuerstbistum Bamberg* (1898), 144f.; Marmorstein, in: *Devir*, 2 (1923), 242, no. 67; Urbach, Tosafot, 443.

[Yedidya A. Dinari]

ISRAEL OF KREMS (fl. mid-14th century), talmudist. He studied together with Abraham *Klausner under Moses of Znaim (Moravia). There is no basis for Graetz's assertion that he is identical to Israel b. Isaac of Nuremberg whom the Elector Rupert appointed in 1407 as *hochmeister* of all the rabbis in Germany. Israel *Isserlein, his great-grandson, relates that his ancestor wrote "glosses to the Asheri." Most scholars therefore assume that Israel is the author of *Haggahot Asheri* printed as notes to Asher b. Jehiel's commentary on the Talmud (Vilna edition), although Steinschneider doubts this. *Haggahot Asheri* is for the most part compiled from the works of 13th- and early 14th-century rabbis who lived in Germany – among these works are Mordecai b. Hillel's *Mordekhai, Haggahot Maimoniyyot*, Isaac of Corbeil's *Sefer Mitzvot Katan*, and Alexander Suesslin Kohen's *Aguddah* – the author usually giving his sources. Some of the glosses are his own, and some refer to the text of the Talmud proper rather than to the commentary of Asher. These glosses are often the sole source for quotations from certain *rishonim*, including, for example, many of the halakhic decisions of *Hezekiah b. Jacob of Magdeburg, and statements of the tosafist, *Isaac of Dampierre.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Graetz, Gesch, 8 (1900^4), 102–4; Freimann, in: JJLG, 12 (1918), 304f.; S. Krauss, *Die Wiener Geserah vom Jahre 1421* (1920), 48, 81; Urbach, Tosafot, 208, 366, 442.

[Yedidya A. Dinari]

ISRAEL PHILHARMONIC ORCHESTRA, Israel's major orchestra. The Israel Philharmonic was founded by the violinist Bronislaw *Huberman in 1936 as the Palestine Orchestra, also called the Palestine Symphony Orchestra. Huberman envisaged a Jewish orchestra in Palestine as a rescue operation for musicians persecuted by the Nazis, as well as a contribution to cultural life in Palestine. Early in 1934 he began persuading influential people in Palestine and abroad to invest time and money in the venture. Assisted by conductors Issay Dobrowen and William Steinberg, he selected musicians for the orchestra, mainly from Germany, Poland, Holland, Austria, and Hungary. Some instrumentalists came from the United States, and a few were already resident in Palestine. Arturo Toscanini, the eminent Italian conductor, conducted the first concerts in December 1936, in the three main cities, thereby immediately establishing the international rank of the orchestra. For the Jewish community the influx of so many proficient musicians provided a tremendous cultural stimulus as well as a good symphony orchestra. Besides numerous chamber music concerts and recitals in cities and communal settlements, in farming villages and small towns, the opportunity to study all kinds of orchestral instruments now became available on a large scale (see *Music, in Ereẓ Israel). This led to the discovery and cultivation of talents hitherto dormant in the community. In 1948, after the foundation of the State, the orchestra changed its name to the Israel Philharmonic Orchestra. The musicians formed a cooperative, taking over management and financial responsibility. In subsequent years membership expanded to over a hundred players, of whom an increasing number were born and trained in Israel. From 5,000 subscribers in 1936 the number has grown to over 28,000, necessitating the performance of every program 4–5 times, despite the move to larger concert halls in Tel Aviv and Jerusalem. Together with regular visits to Beersheba, Ein Gev, and other outlying areas, as well as army camps, the number of concerts given each season is around 150 in Israel and another 40 abroad. The income of the orchestra is derived 65 percent from earned income, 20 percent through contributions and gifts, and 15 percent from government and municipal appropriations. Recordings were made for Columbia in 1954–55, and for Decca in 1957–62. In 1967, after the reunification of Jerusalem in the Six-Day War, Leonard *Bernstein conducted Mahler's Resurrection Symphony on Mt. Scopus. In 1969 Zubin *Mehta was appointed music director. Visits abroad included tours to Cairo and military establishments (1942), a tour to the United States (1951), Europe (1955), around the world (1960), Greece

(1959 and 1965), Cyprus (1960), Australia and New Zealand (1966), and a second visit to the United States (1967), and to prestigious European festivals (1971). Between the years 1977 and 1986 the orchestra conducted tours all over the world, including Europe, the U.S., Mexico and Japan. In 1981 Mehta's appointment was extended for life. During these years, the orchestra made recordings for Sony, EMI, Deutsche Grammophon, Teldec, and others. Between the years 1987 and 1996 the orchestra made its first visits to Poland, China, and India. In 1991 the orchestra played in Toledo, Spain, with Placido Domingo, and in 1992 it played in Amsterdam in the presence of the Queen of Holland. During the 1991 Gulf War 1991, Isaac *Stern performed with the orchestra with gas masks unforgettably strewn across the stage. In 1996 the orchestra celebrated Mehta's 60th birthday with a tour of the United States. After the mass exodus from the former Soviet Union many musicians from there joined the orchestra. Both local and foreign conductors, soloists, and composers are presented in the orchestra's programs, the scope of which is further broadened by fully staged operas and large choral works. Into the 21st century, the orchestra's face has changed as the older generation retires and new musicians, mainly from the Young Israel Philharmonic, are recruited. In addition, the orchestra initiates new programs aimed to attract new subscribers, especially young audiences.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: E. Thalheimer, *Five Years of the Palestine Orchestra* (1942); Israel Philharmonic Orchestra Association, *News* (1963–). **WEBSITE:** www.ipo.co.il.

[Yohanan Boehm / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

ISRAEL POLICY FORUM (IPF) was established in 1993 by a group of American Jewish leaders who were encouraged by recent developments in the Middle East peace process and discouraged that some of the American Jewish community's most established organizations did not seem to embrace them despite overwhelming evidence from polls that American Jews were supportive. Indeed, IPF's first public act was an advertisement on the op-ed page of *The New York Times* supporting what would soon be known as the "Oslo process."

In its first year, IPF focused primarily on education within the institutional Jewish community. When it became clear that those opposed to the peace efforts both from Israel and within the American Jewish community were going to Capitol Hill to lobby against the policies advanced by the government of Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin and U.S. President Bill Clinton, the organization expanded its activities to include advocacy on Capitol Hill.

IPF's activities took on new meaning after the assassination of Rabin and the subsequent election of Benjamin Netanyahu as prime minister. Until that time, American Jews who associated themselves with IPF could also say they were supporting the policies of the government of Israel. Although Netanyahu did follow through with some of the commitments made by his predecessors in the Oslo accords, he did so reluctantly and largely as a result of prodding from Clinton. IPF distinguished itself by mobilizing American Jewish support for Clinton's efforts through its education and advocacy activities. In a September 1997 opinion survey commissioned by IPF, 89% of American Jews agreed that "to be effective and credible to both sides, the U.S. must be even-handed when facilitating negotiations."

Significantly, IPF carved out its unique conceptual niche during the Clinton-Netanyahu years when it asserted that the role of the United States is to serve as both Israel's best friend and ally *and* as a credible mediator in the peace process. In a full page ad, which appeared in *The Washington Post* on the eve of the Israeli-Palestinian Summit at the Wye Plantation in October 1998, IPF proclaimed that "continuing, balanced U.S. diplomacy is needed to keep the peace process moving forward," an important shift from the more traditional view, as articulated in AIPAC's position that there should be "no daylight" between the U.S. and Israel.

When Ehud Barak became Israel's leader, IPF found itself once again more closely identified with Israeli government policies. Barak made a point of meeting with both IPF and the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations on his first official visit to U.S., sending a signal that he was looking for more reliable support from American Jewish organizations than Rabin was able to count on.

IPF was a leading catalyst of "pro-Israel, pro-peace" activities during the period leading up to the failed Camp David II summit. Clinton recognized the central role played by IPF when he unveiled his plan for resolving the Israeli-Palestinian conflict at an IPF gala only weeks before he left office.

The years after Camp David II were challenging to IPF but the organization carried out some important projects nevertheless, such as "Foundations for a Future Peace" by Mideast scholar Stephen P. Cohen. Among the principles it articulated was the prescient point: "Peace must not be perceived as the enemy of religion and traditional faith. If it is, what is now a national conflict will degenerate further into a religious conflict." During the same period, IPF sponsored a task force on U.S. diplomacy in the Mideast, which outlined a regional strategy that would simultaneously address the interrelated issues involving Iran, Iraq, Lebanon and the Israeli-Palestinian dispute.

IPF was the leading Jewish force supporting Ariel Sharon's disengagement plan in 2004 and 2005. After the disengagement, IPF launched a campaign to encourage assertive U.S. efforts to parlay Israel's bold move into a process that would lead to the establishment of a viable Palestinian state living in peace alongside the State of Israel.

[Jonathan Jacoby (2nd ed.)]

ISRAEL PRIZE. The Israel Prize, instituted in 1953, is awarded by the minister of education and culture on the recommendation of judges appointed for each subject for outstanding work in the following fields: Jewish Studies (and Rabbinical Literature), Humanities (and Hebrew Literature), Social Sciences (and Education, Law), Exact Sciences (Mathematics, Physics, Chemistry, and Technology), Science (including Agriculture and Medicine), and Arts and Culture (Painting, Sculpture, Theater, Music, Dance, Architecture, and Media). The prizes are presented at a State ceremony on the night of Independence Day.

In 1972 the government decided to award a special additional prize for outstanding contributions to the advancement and development of society and the State in the public, political, social, settlement, economic, and other spheres. The Israel Prize is considered the most prestigious prize awarded by the State of Israel.

Israel Prize Winners

SCIENCE (INCLUDING AGRICULTURE, MEDICINE)

1953 L. *Halpern (Med.)
1954 M. *Zohary
1954 F.S. *Bodenheimer (Agr.)
1955 I. *Reichert
1955 J. *Bentor
1955 A. *Vroman
1955 N. *Hochberg (Agr.)
1955 B. *Shapiro (Med.)
1955 S. *Hestrin-Lerner (Med.)
1956 M. *Aschner
1956 M. *Winik (Agr.)
1956 C.E. *Wertheimer (Med.)
1957 S. *Hurwitz (Agr.)
1957 S. *Adler (Med.)
1958 L. *Picard
1958 S.E. *Soskin (Agr.)
1958 B. *Zondek (Med.)
1959 E. *Katchalski
1959 M. *Sela
1959 H. *Oppenheimer (Agr.)
1960 I.C. *Michaelson
1961 A. *Katzir
1961 O. *Kedem
1961 J. Van Der *Hoeden (Agr.)
1962 Z. *Saliternik (Med.)
1963 A. *Fahn
1964 M. *Rachmilewitz (Med.)
1965 S. *Stoller (Agr.)
1966 M.R. *Bloch
1967 A.L. *Olitzki (Med.)
1968 E.D. *Bergmann
1968 H. *Oppenheimer (Agr.)
1968 C. *Sheba (Med.)
1969 S. *Lifson
1970 A. De *Vries (Med.)
1971 I. *Arnon (Agr.)
1972 L. *Sachs
1973 H. *Mendelssohn
1973 H. *Halperin (Agr.)
1973 R. *Stein (Med.)
1974 I. *Berenblum
1977 Y. *Efrat (Agr.)
1977 Z. *Avidov (Agr.)
1978 N. Saltz (Med.)
1979 Y.H. Lindner
1984 M. *Jammer
1984 A. *Bondi (Agr.)
1984 S. Rabicovitch (Agr.)
1985 H. *Neufeld (Med.)
1985 B. *Padeh (Med.)
1986 M *Evenari
1986 Y. *Demalach
1988 N. *Goldblum
1990 M. *Prywes
1990 M. *Wilchek
1990 A. *Levitzki
1992 D. *Erlik
1992 I. *Wahl
1994 A. *Hershko
1994 N. *Sharon
1994 E. Svirski (Agr.)
1996 Y. *Stein (Med.)
1996 I. *Chet (Agr.)
1998 Y. *Birk (Agr.)
1998 R. *Rachminov (Med.)
1999 M. *Ravel (Med.)
1999 Y. *Cohen (Agr.)
1999 H. *Sieder
2000 R. *Mechoulam
2001 M. *Eliakim (Med.)
2001 R. *Arnon (Med.)
2001 B. *Ramot (Med.)
2002 A.Ḥ. *Halevi (Agr.)
2002 A. *Yonat
2003 A. *Ciechanover (Med.)
2004 H. *Razin
2005 R. *Zaizov
2005 S. Feldman

ARTS, CULTURE, AND SPORT

1953 Z. *Ben-Zvi
1954 O. *Partos
1955 Z. *Schatz
1956 H. *Rovina
1957 P. *Ben-Haim
1957 D. *Karmi
1958 *Bezalel
1958 *Habimah
1958 Israel Philharmonic *Orchestra
1959 Y. *Zaritsky
1959 Y. *Bertonoff
1960 A. *Meskin
1961 M. *Avidom
1962 A. *Sharon
1963 M. *Ardon
1964 M. *Margalit

1965	M. *Seter
1966	A. *Mansfeld
1966	D. *Gad
1967	M. *Janco
1968	Y. *Danziger
1968	J. *Millo
1968	G. *Kraus
1968	B. *Idelson
1969	S. *Finkel
1970	J. *Tal
1971	A. *Aroch
1972	Y. *Rechter
1973	A. *Elhanani
1973	D. *Krook-Gilead
1973	S. *Levi-Tannai
1973	H. *Meron
1973	R. *Rubin
1974	Y. *Admon
1975	M. *Bernstein-Cohen
1976	M. *Kirschenbaum
1977	Y. *Fischer
1977	D. *Karavan
1977	E. *Cohen
1978	G. *Bertini
1979	O. *Porat
1979	R. Klatzkin
1980	P. *Litvinovsky
1980	Y. *Bergner
1980	A. *Ticho
1981	G. *Kadman
1982	A. *Yaski
1983	N. *Shemer
1983	M. *Wilensky
1983	H. *Hefer
1986	B. *Lishansky
1986	Y. *Shemi
1987	M. *Zohar
1987	L. *Konig
1987	M. *Khouri
1988	A. *Argov
1988	S. *Damari
1990	Y. *Streichman
1991	D. *Bertonoff
1991	Y. *Yadin
1994	H. *Avenary
1994	Y. *Orland
1995	L. *Nikel
1995	M. *Kadishman
1995	D. *Reznik
1996	N. *Aloni
1996	M. *Efrati
1996	A. *Navon
1997	B.Z. *Orgad
1997	A. *Erlich
1997	A. *Heido
1997	H. *Yavin
1997	D. *Rubinger
1998	D. *Ravikovitch
1998	L. *Yahalom
1998	D. *Zur
1998	D. *Rizinger
1998	H. *Levi-Agron
1998	Y. *Arnon
1998	Y. *Banai
1998	Y. *Yarkoni
1999	M. *Golan
1999	D. *Perlov
1999	Y. *Rosen
1999	E. *Roth-Shachamorov
2000	M. *Gross
2000	M. *Bar-Am
2001	B. *Hagai
2002	R. *Carmi
2002	D. *Tratkover
2002	D. *Yudkovsky
2003	Z. *Harifai
2004	Y. *Tomarkin
2004	G. *Almagor
2004	G. *Aldema
2004	Y. *Gaon
2005	A. Libek
2005	O. *Naharin
2005	I. Pinkas
2005	S. Tevet

JEWISH STUDIES (INCLUDING RABBINICAL LITERATURE)

1953	G. *Allon
1954	M.H.Z. *Segal
1955	E.E. *Urbach
1955	Y. *Heinemann
1956	N.H. *Tur-Sinai
1956	Y. *Yadin
1956	Y. *Abramsky (R.L.)
1957	J. *Schirmann
1957	R. *Margaliot (R.L.)
1958	J. *Klausner
1958	B. *Dinur
1958	Y. *Baer
1958	Y. *Kaufman
1958	G. *Scholem
1958	I. *Herzog (R.L.)
1958	J.Z. *Halevi (R.L.)
1958	J.L. *Maimon (R.L.)
1959	S.J. *Zevin (R.L.)
1960	A.C. *Schalit
1961	S. *Goren (R.L.)
1962	H. *Yalon
1963	M. *Kasher (R.L.)
1964	Z. Ben *Ḥayyim
1966	S. *Morag

1966	Y. *Arieli (R.L.)
1968	S. *Yeivin
1968	B. *Mazar
1968	D. *Sadan
1968	M.J. Epstein *Ha-Levi (R.L.)
1968	O. *Hadayah (R.L.)
1969	Y. *Kafaḥ
1970	O. *Yosef (R.L.)
1971	S. *Lieberman
1973	J. Even *Shmuel
1973	Makhon ha-Talmud ha-Yisra’eli ha-Shalem, project of Yad Harav Herzog
1974	S. *Abramson
1976	E.J. Waldenberg (R.L.)
1977	N. *Avigad
1977	M. *Stern
1977	R. *Mahler
1979	M. *Elon
1979	I. *Tishby
1980	J. *Katz
1980	D. *Flusser
1981	A. Sofer-Schreiber
1982	D. *Benveniste
1982	Z. *Vilnay
1982	R. *Amiran
1987	E.Z. *Melamed
1987	A. *Bein
1988	M. *Goshen-Gottstein
1988	A. *Steinsaltz
1990	M. *Weiss
1991	H. *Beinart
1991	N. *Feinbrun-Dothan
1992	S. *Israeli (R.L.)
1992	Y. *Kiel
1992	D. *Sperber
1993	M. *Bar-Asher
1994	M. *Greenberg
1994	M. Weinfeld
1994	C.Z. *Dimitrovsky
1994	E. *Schweid
1995	A. *Funkenstein
1996	Y. *Raẓaby
1996	Ḥ. *Shamruk
1997	Y. *Sussman
1997	J. *Dan
1997	S. *Talmon
1997	J. *Bacrach
1997	H.D. *Halevi
1998	Y. *Bauer
1998	M. *Gil
1999	M. *Idel
1999	M.Z. *Kaddari
1999	M. *Banet
1999	M. *Breuer
1999	A. *Steinberg
2000	M. *Haran
2000	A. *Goldberg
2000	Y. *Frankel
2000	G. *Sarfatti
2001	A. *Ravitzky
2002	S. *Safrai
2003	I.M. *Ta-Shma
2003	A. *Grossman
2004	S. *Yefet
2005	A. Dotan

HUMANITIES (INCLUDING HEBREW LITERATURE)

1953	Y. *Cahan (H.L.)
1953	H. *Hazaz (H.L.)
1954	S.H. *Bergman
1954	D. *Shimoni (H.L.)
1954	S.Y. *Agnon (H.L.)
1955	Z. *Shneour (H.L.)
1955	Y. *Lamdan (H.L.)
1956	G. *Shofman (H.L.)
1956	M. *Yalan-Stekelis (H.L.)
1957	Y. *Lewy
1957	J. *Fichmann (H.L.)
1957	U.Z. *Greenberg (H.L.)
1957	E. *Smoli (H.L.)
1958	M. *Buber
1958	S.Y. *Agnon (H.L.)
1958	Y.D. *Berkowitz (H.L.)
1958	Y. *Cahan (H.L.)
1959	L.A. *Mayer
1959	S. *Yizhar (Yizhar Smilansky)
1959	E. *Fleischer (Y. Goleh) (H.L.)
1961	E.Y. *Kutscher
1961	Y. *Burla (H.L.)
1963	N. *Rotenstreich
1963	E. *Steinman (H.L.)
1965	S. *Zemach (H.L.)
1965	S. *Dykman (H.L.)
1966	H. *Polotsky
1967	A. *Shlonsky (H.L.)
1968	S. *Sambursky
1968	S. *Pines
1968	A. *Hameiri (H.L.)
1969	J. *Prawer
1970	A. *Kovner (H.L.)
1970	L. *Goldberg (H.L.)
1972	D. *Ayalon
1972	Y. *Bat-Miriam (H.L.)
1973	S. *Shalom (H.L.)
1975	S. *Halkin (H.L.)
1976	E. *Mani
1976	G. *Baer
1977	S. *Avitzur
1978	A. *Amir
1978	A. *Even-Shoshan

1978	L. *Kipnis
1978	N. *Gutman
1978	H. Rosen
1981	M.Y. Kister
1982	A. *Gilboa (H.L.)
1982	Y. *Amichai (H.L.)
1982	D. *Ayalon
1983	S. *Friedlaender
1983	A. *Saltman
1984	Y. *Tchernowitz-Avidar (H.L.)
1985	J. *Blau
1985	A. *Sutzkever
1986	A. *Avrech
1986	S. *Rosenfeld
1988	H. *Gouri (H.L.)
1988	M. *Shamir (H.L.)
1989	S. *Werses (H.L.)
1989	I. *Yeivin
1990	N. *Spiegel (H.L.)
1990	Z. *Yavets
1990	M. Altbauer
1992	E. *Habibi
1992	A. *Yeshurun (H.L.)
1993	D. *Miron (H.L.)
1993	G. *Shaked (H.L.)
1993	G. Goldenberg
1993	Y. *Arieli
1993	H. Lazarus-Yafeh
1993	M. *Confino
1993	Y. Harkavy
1995	C. Epstein
1995	N. *Zach (H.L.)
1995	A.B. *Yehoshua (H.L.)
1996	S. *Sandbank
1996	M. *Barash
1996	M. *Piamenta
1996	M. *Sternberg
1998	A. *Oz (H.L.)
1998	E. *Manor (H.L.)
1998	T. *Dotan
1999	H. *Mirski (H.L.)
1999	M. *Yardeni
1999	S. *Moreh
1999	B. *Narkiss
2000	A. *Kahana-Carmon (H.L.)
2000	M. Vizeltir (H.L.)
2000	H. *Daleski
2000	A.H. *Fish
2000	S. *Shaked
2000	Y. *Yovel
2000	A. *Kasher
2001	Ẓ. *Avni
2001	Y. *Braun
2001	H. *Shmueli
2002	A. *Biran (Bergman)
2002	E. *Kishon (H.L.)
2003	Y. *Bar-Yosef (H.L.)
2003	Y. *Hendel (H.L.)
2003	A. *Megged (H.L.)
2003	A. *Amir (H.L.)
2003	S. *Shahar
2004	M. *Brinker (H.L.)
2004	D. *Noy (H.L.)
2004	Z. *Amishai-Maisels
2005	Y. *Orpaz-Averbuch (H.L.)
2005	B.A. Scharfstein
2005	O. Kapeliuk
2005	Y. *Landau
2005	S. Somech

SOCIAL SCIENCES (INCLUDING LAW, EDUCATION)

1953	M. *Dvorzetsky
1953	D. *Feitelson (Ed.)
1954	G. *Tedeschi (Law)
1954	A. *Biram (Ed.)
1956	J.L. *Talmon
1956	N. *Leibowitz (Ed.)
1957	R. *Katznelson (Shazar)
1957	P. *Dykan (Law)
1957	S. *Lehmann (Ed.)
1958	*Youth Aliyah (Ed.)
1960	S. *Rosenne (Law)
1960	A. *Arnon (Ed.)
1962	I. *Kanev
1962	J. *Bentwich (Ed.)
1964	M. *Silberg (Law)
1965	J. *Shuval
1965	*Israel Defense Forces (Ed.)
1965	C. *Frankenstein (Ed.)
1967	B. *Akzin (Law)
1967	A.E. *Simon (Ed.)
1968	D. *Horowitz
1968	S. *Agranat (Law)
1968	J. *Berman (Ed.)
1968	A.M. *Dushkin (Ed.)
1968	S. *Persitz (Ed.)
1970	D. *Patinkin
1971	Z. *Zeltner (Law)
1971	H. *Ormian (Ed.)
1973	S.N. *Eisenstadt
1973	P. *Rosen (Law)
1973	B. *Dinur (Ed.)
1975	A. *Barak
1975	Y. Sussman (Law)
1975	A. *Simon (Ed.)
1977	D. *Amiran
1978	E.L. Gutman
1979	B. *Ben-Yehudah (Ed.)
1979	I.R. Etzion (Ed.)
1980	H. *Cohn

1982	R. *Bachi
1986	S. *Katznelson and Ulpan Akiva
1986	G. Zak and Ha-Kefar ha-Yarok
1987	M. *Yaari
1989	E. *Katz
1989	Wingate Institute
1989	I. *Froman
1991	M. *Landau (Law)
1991	D. *Friedman (Law)
1991	E. *Helfman
1992	M. *Lissak
1992	D. *Navon
1992	R. *Feuerstein
1993	R. Levy
1993	Y. Partos ("Zev")
1994	Y. Oman
1994	M. Bruno
1995	Y. Amir
1995	R. Shapiro
1996	S. *Avineri
1997	Y. *Englard (Law)
1997	Y. *Zamir (Law)
1998	Y. Rosenfeld
1998	A. Levi (Ed.)
1998	E. Marks
1999	Y. *Ben-Arieh
1999	A. Shahar
2001	G. Salomon
2001	Y. *Rand (Ed.)
2001	R. *Ben-Israel (Law)
2001	Y. *Visman (Law)
2002	A. *Koriat
2002	M. *Brawer
2002	M. *Harel
2002	Y. *Frankel
2002	A. *Rubinstein
2002	N. *Rakover (Law)
2003	B. *Manheim
2003	Y. *Liebman
2003	M. *Amir
2003	S.G. *Shoham
2004	A. *Doron
2004	E. Samuel-Cohen
2005	M. Erez
2005	Y. Dror

EXACT SCIENCES

1953	J. *Levitsky
1953	S.A. *Amitsur
1954	F. *Ollendorff
1955	M. *Fekete
1956	A.A. *Fraenkel
1957	S. *Hestrin
1957	D. *Feingold
1957	G. *Avigad
1958	G. *Racah
1958	M. *Reiner
1960	F. *Sondheimer
1962	W. *Low (Z. Lev)
1965	I. *Talmi
1965	A. *de-Shalit
1968	E. *Goldberg
1969	Y. *Ne'eman
1972	D. *Ginsburg
1973	A. *Dvoretsky
1974	R. *Levine
1976	Y. *Rom
1980	C. *Pekeris
1981	Y. Lindenstrauss
1981	I. Piatzky-Shapira
1982	Y. *Yurtner
1987	O. *Harari
1989	H. *Harari
1989	Y. *Aharonov
1991	S. *Agmon
1991	D. *Froman
1993	H. *Furstenberg
1993	S. Alexander
1993	Y. Ziv
1995	M.O. *Rabin
1995	A. *Dostrovsky
1998	S. *Sela
1998	D. *Shechtman
2000	J. *Singer
2000	A. *Pnueli
2001	J. *Imri
2001	S. *Strickman
2002	I. *Willner
2003	A. *Libai
2003	Ẓ. *Ben-Abraham
2004	J. *Bernstein
2004	D. *Harel
2005	Y. Bakenstein

SPECIAL PRIZE.

1972	A. *Harzfeld
1973	S. *Avigur
1973	Pinkas Kehillot Project of *Yad Vashem
1974	S.H. *Bergman
1974	Y. *Alouf
1975	H. *Kagan
1975	G. *Meir
1976	R. *Guber
1976	Y. *Maimon
1976	S. *Holzberg
1976	E. Korin
1977	E. Levitt
1977	A. Yaacov
1977	A. Kalir
1978	R.Y. *Ben-Zvi

1978	M.Z. *Neriah
1979	T. Brody
1979	Y. Yekutieli
1980	Beit Yad Labanim, Petaḥ Tikva, with distinction to B. Oren
1980	Society for the Protection of Nature, with distinction to A. Zehavi, A. Alon, and Y. Sagi
1981	R. *Freier
1981	Kibbutz *Deganyah Alef
1982	C. *Gvati
1983	Z. *Warhaftig
1984	*NAḤAL (No'ar Ḥaluẓi Loḥem)
1984	Development Towns Project
1985	Israel Television Arabic
1986	Y. Sa'id
1986	A. *Hatokai
1988	A. *Eliav
1988	R. *Hecht
1988	T. *Kollek
1989	Y. *Hazan
1989	B. de *Rothschild
1989	*Israel Exploration Society
1990	Sheikh A. *Tarif
1990	R. *Weitz
1990	I. *Pollack
1991	Miriam *Ben-Porat
1991	Stef *Wertheimer
1991	Yeshivot Hesder
1994	"Yad Sarah"
1994	Noga Hareuveni and the staff of Ne'ot Kedummim
1995	Y. *Ben-Aharon
1995	A. *Sereni
1996	M. *Dubois
1996	M. *Shamgar
1997	U. Galili
1997	Y. *Tal
1997	A.E. *Feurer
1998	S. *Stern-Katan
1998	S. *Hillel
1998	H. Israeli
1999	R. Bergman
1999	Y. Vinberg
1999	B. *Kapah
2000	S. *Aloni
2000	A. *Carol
2000	*Ha-Gashash ha-Ḥiver
2001	A. *Eban
2001	M. *Ben-Porat
2001	Y. *Shamir
2002	E. *Hurvitz
2002	*Keren Kayemet le-Israel
2003	G. *Cohen
2003	M. *Amit
2003	*Yad Vashem
2004	Y.D. *Grossman
2004	L. *Van Leer
2004	M. Shnitzer
2005	I.M. Lahuh
2005	*Cameri Theater

ISRAËLS, JOZEF (1824–1911), Dutch painter. Israëls, who was born in Groningen, the son of a money changer, studied first at the Amsterdam Academy, then at the Académie des Beaux-Arts in Paris, where he copied the works of old masters at the Louvre and became acquainted with the School of Barbizon. After returning to Amsterdam in 1847, Israëls earned his living by painting portraits and historical subjects. Among these were scenes from Jewish life and history as well as from Dutch history. In 1855, when for health reasons he went to live at the fishing village of Zandvoort, he turned to the representation of fishermen and country people. His pictures of the Netherlands coast showed the influence of the Barbizon school, while his interiors are reminiscent of the Dutch paintings of the 17th century. His treatment of light is reminiscent of Rembrandt, and so are some of his subjects, particularly his *Saul and David* and *The Jewish Wedding*. In 1871 Israëls moved to The Hague, where he was joined by a number of other painters. This group became known as the "Haagse School" and produced fine, realistic landscapes in which shades of green and a grey sky played a great part. Israëls was thus one of the discoverers of the true Dutch landscape. But he also frequently reverted to Jewish subjects. One of his best-known works is *The Son of an Ancient People* (1889), which shows a forlorn shopkeeper in the Amsterdam ghetto and is filled with that compassion which distinguishes his best paintings. Israëls is considered one of the leading Dutch 19th-century painters.

His son ISAAC ISRAËLS (1865–1934) studied at the Academy in The Hague and then spent some time in Paris, Spain, and England. On his return home he painted mainly portraits and military subjects. However, after a stay in the mining regions of Belgium, he turned to the representation of working-class people. In 1886 he settled in Amsterdam and, in contrast to his father, became a painter of city life. When he moved to Paris in 1903 he saw the work of Toulouse-Lautrec, whose influence can be found in his coffeehouse and cabaret scenes. Handling his brush with great freedom and using strong colors, Isaac Israëls showed great vitality and succeeded in conveying much of the character of his time.

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[Edith Yapou-Hoffmann]

ISRAELSOHN, JACOB IZRAILEVICH (1856–1924), Russian Semitic scholar. Born in Mitau (Jelgava), Latvia, Israelsohn received a traditional Jewish education with secular training in German and Russian. He studied at St. Petersburg

(1876–83), specializing in Arabic, in particular Jewish-Arabic literature. However, he could not get an academic appointment because he was Jewish and had to earn his livelihood as a journalist (writing mainly for *Voskhod*), translator, encyclopedia contributor, secretary to the Jewish community of St. Petersburg, and philanthropy assistant to the Polyakov family in Moscow and later in Kiev. In 1922 he moved to Brussels. Israelsohn assisted D. Chwolson in translating his work from German to Russian, and during a sojourn in France, assisted Joseph *Derenbourg in his research into Judeo-Arabic material. Israelsohn played a very important, behind-the-scenes role in preparing the scholarly aspect of the defense in the *Beilis trial. It was he who induced the Russian Hebraists I. Troitski and P. *Kokowzoff to give evidence as experts. Possibly it was this activity that inclined him toward studying the history of the Jews in Eastern Europe. He was held in high esteem for his modesty, warmth, and kindness.

Israelsohn's publications include a Russian translation, with introduction, of Josephus' *Jewish War* and part of *Against Apion* (1895); an edition of Samuel b. Hophni's Arabic commentary on the end of Genesis (1886); of Yaḥya ibn Bal'am's commentary on Jeremiah (in *Festschrift… A. Harkavy* (1908), 273–308 (Heb. sect.)), cf. A. Marx, in: JQR, 1 (1910/11), 430; and a chapter on Nathan Neta Hannover's life and works in the YIVO publication *Gzeyres Takh* ("The 1648/49 Massacres," 1938).

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[Moshe Perlmann]

ISRU ḤAG (Heb. אִסְרוּ חַג), designation for the day following the three *pilgrim festivals. The name is derived from Psalms 118:27: "Bind the sacrifice (*isru ḥag*) with cords, even unto the horns of the altar," which the Talmud (Suk. 45b) interprets: "He who makes an addition (*issur*) to the festival (*ḥag*) is considered to have built an altar and sacrificed on it." Rashi comments that this is understood by some to refer to the day after a festival. In the Jerusalem Talmud the day is known as *bereih de-mo'ada* ("the son of the festival"; TJ, Av. Zar. 1:1, 39b). Liturgically, it has been the custom to treat *isru ḥag* as a sort of minor holiday; no supplicatory and penitential prayers are said, and fasting and funeral eulogies are prohibited.

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[Jacob Nacht]

ISSACHAR (Heb. יִשָּׂשכָר), the ninth son of Jacob and the fifth of Leah; eponymous ancestor of the tribe bearing this name. Issachar's birth was considered by Leah to be a sign of divine favor, after a long intermission in childbearing, in reward for having given her handmaid to Jacob (Gen. 30:18). For that reason she called him Issachar, apparently popularly interpreting the name to mean "man of reward." The invariable association with *Zebulun in the order of birth, in the blessings of Jacob and Moses, and in the tribal lists testifies to the proximity of the two tribes and to the close ties between them (Gen. 49:13–15; Deut. 33:18; cf. Num. 1:28–31; Josh. 19:10–23). The boundaries of the tribe may be reconstructed from the description of its neighbors – Naphtali to the north, Zebulun to the west, and Manasseh to the south – and from the list of cities within the territory (Josh. 17:11; 19:17–23; 21:28–29). It may be inferred that the border of Issachar stretched in the north from Mt. Tabor to the river Kishon in the west; in the east it lay along the length of the Jordan from Beth-Shemesh to the edge of Beth-Shean; in the south, it may have traversed the length of the mountains of Gilboa and the ridge of the mountains of Ephraim. The main part of the territory was in a plateau that sloped down to the Jordan Valley and the Valley of Jezreel. This topographical feature found rhetorical expression in the verse, "Issachar is a strong-boned ass, crouching between the saddlebags" (Gen. 49:14).

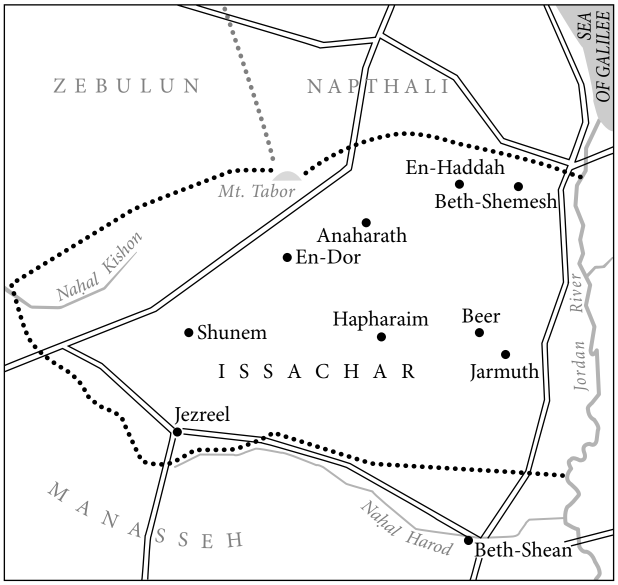

Territory of the tribe of Issachar. After Y. Aharoni in Lexicon Biblicum, *Dvir Co. Ltd, Tel Aviv.*

The territory of the tribe contained 16 cities including Jezreel, Shunem, and Beth-Shemesh. Several cities situated within the borders of Issachar, such as Beth-Shean, En-Dor, Taanach, and Megiddo actually constituted enclaves of the tribe of Manasseh (Josh. 17:11). Apparently, Issachar did not at first drive out the Canaanites since the Manassite cities within its borders remained Canaanite (Judg. 1:27ff.). The silence of the Bible in this regard may possibly hint at the subjection of Issachar by the Canaanites. A similar hint appears in the blessing of Jacob: "He bent his shoulder to the burden, and became a toiling serf" (Gen. 49:15).

In the war against Sisera, the tribe participated alongside Zebulun, and *Deborah the prophetess may herself have come from Issachar (cf. Judg. 5:15). The tribe also produced the judge Tola son of Puah (Judg. 10:1) and Baasha, king of Israel (I Kings 15:27). In the time of Hezekiah the men of Issachar were among those who went from Ephraim to observe the Passover in Jerusalem (II Chron. 30:18). The territory of Issachar was conquered by Assyria in 732 B.C.E., and annexed to the Assyrian province of Megiddo.

[Samuel Abramsky]

In the Aggadah

The *aggadah* highlights various features of the relationship between Issachar and Zebulun, in which Zebulun the merchant provided for his brother Issachar, thus enabling him to study Torah. The *Testament of Zebulun*, dating from the Second Temple period, praises Zebulun's support of the needy. Issachar is first mentioned as a great scholar and renowned judge by the *tanna* *Eliezer b. Hyrcanus (c. 100 C.E.), whose evaluation was based on I Chronicles 12:33: "And the children of Issachar, which were men that had understanding of the times, to know what Israel ought to do." A homily of an anonymous *tanna* also develops these notions: "'Rejoice Zebulun in thy going out' [Deut. 33:18] – Zebulun was an agent between his brother and other people; he would buy from his brother and sell to others; and buy from other people and sell to his brother; 'And Issachar in thy tents' – these are the *battei midrash* in which Torah matters are debated; 'And of the children of Issachar… their heads were 200' [I Chron. 12:33] – this tells us that the tribe of Issachar produced 200 heads of the Sanhedrin; 'And the princes of Issachar were with Deborah' [Judg. 5:15] – this teaches us that the great *bet midrash* of the future will be in the territory of the tribe of Issachar" (*Midrash Tanna'im*…, ed. D. Hoffmann (1909), 218, no. 18). This brings out the economic partnership of Issachar and Zebulun, the latter buying and selling on behalf of the former. From the last part of the homily it is clear that even before the Sanhedrin was established in Jerusalem there were *battei-midrash* in the territory of Issachar which were renowned for their greatness. It is reasonable to assume that this homily dates either from the period immediately before the Bar Kokhba War or from shortly after, when the Sanhedrin was forced to move from Jerusalem, in the territory of Judah, to Galilee, in the territory of Issachar (cf. Gen. R., ed. Ḥ. Albeck, 197, 1220ff.).

To the theme of the scholar being supported by the merchant, the *amoraim* added several points: "'For he saw a resting place that it was good' [Gen. 49:15] – this refers to the Torah; '… and he bowed his shoulders to bear the weight' [*ibid.*] – of the Torah; '… and he became a servant under taskwork' [*ibid.*] – these were the 200 heads of the Sanhedrin that the tribe of Issachar produced. How did Issachar attain all this? Through the efforts of Zebulun, who traded for him and thus sustained Issachar, who devoted himself to Torah study …" (Gen. R. 98:12). This motif was expanded by *Ḥiyya b. Abba in the third century C.E. When collecting funds for needy scholars (see TJ, Hor. 3:7, 48a; Meg. 3:1, 74a), R. Ḥiyya described the great rewards in store for those laymen who supported poor Torah scholars, using the example of Issachar and Zebulun to lay stress on the obligation.

[Moshe Beer]

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ISSACHAR, SIMḤAH (15th century), Hebrew poet who lived in the German Rhineland. Issachar was one of the few medieval German poets who wrote secular poetry. He was the first known German author of rhymed prose. A *maqāma* by him was published by A.M. Habermann (see bibliography), its subject being debates between opposites standing before the king on their importance. The debaters are the wise man with the fool, the wealthy man with the poor man, truth with falsehood, the good inclination with the evil, day with night. The sole manuscript contains only five debates, and at the end is marked: "I did not find any more in the copy." It appears, however, that there were additional debates, such as the sick man and his visitor, the dry with the wet, the old man with the youth, beauty with ugliness. As is usual in the *maqāma*, there are more than 20 short rhymed poems; the name Issachar appears in many of them as an acrostic.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Habermann, in: YMḤSI, 2 (1936), 91–116; Stock, in: KS, 14 (1937–38), 84–86.

ISSACHAR BAER BEN SOLOMON ZALMAN (Klazki; d. 1807), Lithuanian talmudist. The brother of *Elijah b. Solomon Zalman the "Gaon of Vilna," he was also known as Issachar Baer Ashers, in accordance with the custom then prevailing, since his father-in-law was Asher Ginsberg. Issachar Baer wrote a commentary to the Pentateuch entitled *Ẓuf Devash* (unpublished), which is primarily a literal commentary but also includes elucidations of talmudic passages and a commentary on the Shulḥan Arukh, *Yoreh De'ah*. He was also interested in secular learning and in a letter to the Amsterdam rabbi, Saul, dated 1775 (see Horowitz, in bibl.), he asked him to send him the *Nicomachean Ethics* of Aristotle, as well as some kabbalistic works.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: S.J. Fuenn, *Kiryah Ne'emanah* (1915), 205f.; I.T. Eisenstadt and S. Wiener, *Da'at Kedoshim* (1897–98), 208 (first pagin.); D. Maggid, *Toledot Mishpehot Ginzburg* (1899), 60, 69, 104, 226; Z. (H.) Horowitz, *Kitvei ha-Ge'onim* (1928), 5–8.

[Samuel Abba Horodezky]

ISSACHAR BAER BEN TANḤUM (1779–1855), Lithuanian rabbi, known popularly as "Berele Bunes," although his family name was Behagaon. Issachar Baer was born in Orla, Poland, but spent his life in Vilna. In 1817 he was appointed *moreh ẓedek* (scholar in residence) in that city, and delivered discourses on Talmud and *halakhah* in the *bet ha-midrash* founded in 1780 and named after Elijah of Vilna. He annotated the commentaries on Alfasi (published in the Vilna (Romm) edition of the Talmud under the title *Pe'ullat Sakhir*) as well as the Mishnah of the order *Zera'im* with the commentary of *Samson of Sens, and the *Sefer ha-Mitzvot* of Maimonides with the criticisms of *Naḥmanides. He is best known for his *Ma'aseh Rav*, a collection of the religious practices of Elijah of *Vilna (collected by his disciple Saadiah b. Nathan Nata), to which he wrote a commentary also titled *Pe'ullat Sakhir*. This book, first published in Vilna and Grodno in 1832 by his son Mordecai, gained great popularity and has frequently been republished. A note by Mordecai at the end of *Ma'aseh Rav* indicates that his father also had written novellae which had not been published. Issachar Baer frequently gave *haskamot to rabbinical works.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: H.N. Maggid (Steinschneider), *Ir Vilna*, 1 (1900), 41–48; S.J. Fuenn, *Kiryah Ne'emanah* (1915), 215, 277f.; J.L. Maimon (ed.), *Sefer ha-Gra*, 1 (1953), 341f.; B. Landau, *Ha-Ga'on he-Ḥasid mi-Vilna* (1965), 323ff., 328–30; idem, *Hashlamot ve-Tikkunim…* (1967), 384f.

[Abraham David]

ISSACHAR BERMAN BEN NAPHTALI HA-KOHEN (commonly known as **Berman Ashkenazi**; 16th century), commentator on the Midrash. He was born in Sczebrzeszyn, Poland, where he died. The statement in the *Kore ha-Dorot* that he died in Palestine and was buried in Hebron is incorrect. Issachar studied under Moses *Isserles. In 1584 he completed the final recension of his *Mattenot Kehunnah* on the *Midrash Rabbah*. In this commentary, the author made a great effort to correct the text "for the mistakes and errors of the copyists are very many" (introd.). He collated numerous manuscripts of the Midrash and the Jerusalem Talmud; "I ordered the printers not to repeat the previous mistakes in the new book" (commentary to Five Scrolls, first edition, Cracow, 1587–88) and endeavored to arrive at the plain meaning of the Midrash (Eccl. R., no. 12). He looked for persons proficient in foreign languages such as Latin and Arabic to explain foreign words and reveals a knowledge of medicine and astronomy. He was eager to "fit the commentary to the words of the Midrash so that the explanation should correspond to the intention of the saying" (introd.). As a result of its brevity and clarity the *Mattenot Kehunnah* achieved considerable popularity and is included in almost every edition of the Midrash. Issachar is also the author of *Mareh Kohen*, an index to the subjects and biblical quotations in the Zohar (Cracow, 1589; Amsterdam, 1673). The first part was translated into Latin by Christian Knorr von Rosenroth and published in part 2 of his *Cabbala Denudata* (Sulzbach, 1677).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: H. Albeck, *Mavo u-Mafteḥot le-Midrash Bereshit Rabbah*, 1 (1965^2), 134–6; Reifmann, *Ohel Yissachar* (1887), with annotations by N. Bruell.

[Ephraim Kupfer]

ISSACHAR DOV BAER BEN ARYEH LEIB OF ZLOCZOW (d. c. 1810), rabbi and ḥasidic *ẓaddik*, a grandson of Naphtali b. Isaac ha-Kohen of Frankfurt, author of *Semikhat Ḥakhamim* (Frankfurt, 1704). Rabbi in Zloczow, he was a noted rabbinical scholar who wrote novellae on the Torah and responsa, *Bat Eyni* (Dubno, 1798), in which he discussed halakhic questions with the great scholars of his generation, including Ḥayyim ha-Kohen *Rapoport of Lvov and Ẓevi Hirsch of Zamosc. Issachar was also one of the outstanding disciples of the ḥasidic leader *Dov Baer the *Maggid* of Mezhirech. His work *Mevasser Ẓedek*, first published with *Bat Eyni* and later separately (Lemberg, 1850), is written in the ḥasidic manner and contains the teachings of Ḥasidim such as *Levi Isaac of Berdichev, *Jehiel Michael of Zloczow, and others. Toward the end of his life Issachar settled in Ereẓ Israel and died in Safed. His son-in-law Abraham Ḥayyim of Zloczow succeeded him.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Frumkin-Rivlin, 3 (1929), 77–8; Y. Raphael, *Ha-Ḥasidut ve-Ereẓ Yisrael* (1940), 139–41.

[Zvi Meir Rabinowitz]

ISSAR JUDAH BEN NEHEMIAH OF BRISK (d. 1876), Lithuanian rabbi. He lived in Szydlowiec, Brest-Litovsk (Brisk), where he was head of the *bet din*, and Siedlce. He immigrated to Ereẓ Israel toward the end of his life and died there. He was the author of *Ezrat Yehudah* (1862), responsa and novellae; and *Neḥamat Yehudah* (1866), comprising two parts – *Igra de-Shemata*, essays on halakhic novellae, and *Igra de-Pirka*, pilpulistic homilies and novellae which aimed at resolving difficulties in Maimonides' code. Some of the responsa in *Ezrat Yehudah* deal with the problem of **agunot* that arose in consequence of the great fire which swept Brest-Litovsk in 1847. He was in correspondence with Joseph Saul *Nathanson (*Ezrat Yehudah*, 59a–b). In his introduction he mentions other works which have not been published.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: A.L. Feinstein, *Ir Tehillah* (1885), 34, 221; L. Ovchinskii, *Naḥalat Avot*, 1 (1894), 22 no. 107.

[Josef Horovitz]

ISSERLEIN, ISRAEL BEN PETHAHIAH (1390–1460), the foremost rabbi of Germany in the 15th century. Isserlein was also called, after the towns in which he resided, Israel Marburg and Israel Neustadt, but he was mainly known as "the author of *Terumat ha-Deshen*," his chief work. Isserlein, the great grandson of *Israel of Krems (author of *Haggahot Asheri*), was born in Regensburg. His father died when Israel was a youth, so he was educated in Wiener-Neustadt in the home of his mother's brother Aaron Plumel (Blumlein). In 1421 his uncle and mother were killed during the Vienna persecutions. After staying for some time in Italy, Isserlein established his residence in Marburg, Styria. In 1445 he returned to Wiener-Neustadt where he was appointed rabbi and *av bet din* of the city and neighborhood. Here Isserlein spent the rest of his life, and through him Wiener-Neustadt became a center of study, attracting a large number of students, many of whom later served as rabbis in various communities. Outstanding scholars and communities addressed their problems to him and accepted his decisions. The most important *posekim* valued his books and highly praised his personality. Moses *Mintz called him *Nesi ha-Nesi'im* ("chief of chiefs"; responsa, no. 12 Salonika, 1802 ed., 10b). Isserlein refused to accept a salary from his community. He opposed those rabbis who tried to dominate their congregants by threats of excommunication. Through his efforts and personal authority he prevented a controversy among the German communities of the Rhine district when Seligman of Bingen attempted to impose various *takkanot* on them enacted on his responsibility, and threatened excommunication of those who did not accept the *takkanot* (see Moses *Mintz).

Isserlein lived a life of piety and asceticism. To some extent he may be regarded as continuing the tradition of the Ḥasidei Ashkenaz of the 13th century. In any case the influence of the *Sefer Ḥasidim* (see *Judah ha-Ḥasid) is recognizable in many of his rulings. One of his intimate pupils, *Joseph b. Moses, noted down in *Leket Yosher* (ed. by A. Freimann, 1903–04) Isserlein's daily behavior as well as what the author heard from him in his discourses. Isserlein's most important work is his responsa *Terumat ha-Deshen*, so called because it contained 354 (the numerical equivalent of דשן) sections. Most of these problems were presented by the author himself in order to investigate, clarify, and give practical halakhic rulings on them. They provide an authentic picture of contemporary Jewish life. In this work Isserlein emerges as an erudite and profound scholar, endowed with a logical mind. He based his decisions on the Talmud and mainly on the works of the French and German scholars. Among Spanish scholars he mentions in particular Isaac *Alfasi and *Maimonides; others, such as *Naḥmanides, he mentions only rarely, and still others, such as Solomon b. Abraham *Adret, not at all. Isserlein sought to restore the study of Talmud and other ancient sources to their former importance, because of a growing tendency to rely mainly upon the *posekim*. He decided in accordance with the view of the earlier authorities rather than the later. He was not deterred by the authority of *Jacob b. Asher, author of the *Turim*, when the latter differed from the *geonim*. Generally speaking, Isserlein adopted a strict line where biblical prohibitions were concerned, but in many matters he inclined toward leniency, particularly in order to establish harmonious relations with the Christians. Of his responsa, which he gave on actual cases, 267 have been preserved and arranged by one of his pupils in a collection, *Pesakim u-Khetavim*, which was published together with *Terumat ha-Deshen* (Venice, 1519, and elsewhere). His other works include *Be'urim* ("expositions") to Rashi's biblical commentary (Venice, 1519, new edition, Jerusalem, 1996); *She'arim*, on the laws of **issur ve-hetter* (published in Jerusalem, 1978), which is mentioned in his *Pesakim u-Khetavim* and also in the *Torat Ḥattat* (Kracow, n.d.) and *Darkhei Moshe* of Moses *Isserles (extracts were published as glosses to the *Sha'arei Dura* (Venice ed., 1548) of Isaac of Dueren). Some *piyyutim* and prayers are also attributed to him. Some of Isserlein's responsa found their way into the collections of responsa by Jacob *Weil and of his pupil Israel *Bruna. Isserlein's works contain valuable material on the general history of the Jews of Germany in the 15th century and in particular on the organization of the communities and their spiritual life.

[Simha Katz]

Female Family Members

All of the known women of Isserlein's family combined serious religious educations with solid business acumen. Since the Isserlein family belonged to the Austrian Jewish social elite of prominent rabbis and bankers, it seems likely that their wives also came from important families. Unfortunately, we do not have any information about their descent. Isserlein's mother (her name is not transmitted) was a very pious woman who was said to have blessed the Creator every morning with the words, "Who has not made me a beast" (LY 1: 7). Following her example, Isserlein did not allow any other form of this blessing. She was murdered, probably at the stake, during the 1421 persecutions of Jews in Vienna, the *Wiener Gesera. Isserlein fasted on the Ninth of Nissan, the anniversary of her death (LY 1: 115). Isserlein made one of his only two documented loans with Roslein, wife and later widow of his paternal uncle, Venzlein of Herzogenburg: in 1415, a Viennese couple pawned their house to them for 66 pounds (Geyer-Sailer, p. 510, n. 1708). Roslein lent money by herself as well (Geyer-Sailer, p. 511, n. 1713).

Isserlein was married to SCHOENDLEIN; highly educated and pious, she must have been of prominent descent. We have no evidence that she herself lent money, but she was very wealthy. For the holidays, she purchased a precious silk *tallit* with ornaments for her husband out of her private property (LY 1: 12). She lived in her own room which she examined personally for *ḥametz* before Passover and her testimony was trusted (LY 1: 80). She and her husband had four sons: Pethahiah (called Kechel), Abraham, Shalom, and Aaron. Isserlein's only daughter, Muschkat, died as a child "in the days of his old age"; perhaps he had remarried after Schoendlein's death (LY 2: 97). Schoendlein managed the yeshivah household consisting of family members, servants, and a number of students who spent the Sabbath with their master. On behalf of her husband, she wrote a responsum in Yiddish to a woman with a *niddah* problem (LY 2:19).

Isserlein's daughter-in-law, REDEL, probably the wife of his son Pethahiah/Kechel, studied with an old married man named Yudel Sofer in the house of the rabbi (LY 2: 37). Redel made minor loans to the prostitutes of Wiener Neustadt, an undertaking that Isserlein did not consider immoral (LY 2:16). He blessed his daughters-in-law on Sabbath eves by putting his hands on their heads (LY 1: 57). In 1442, PLUMEL, daughter of Isserlein's uncle Rabbi Aaron Blumlein and widow of his relative Rabbi Murklein of Marburg, signed a business document with a Hebrew confirmation and her signature.

[Martha Keil (2nd ed.)]

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ISSERLES, MOSES BEN ISRAEL (1525 or 1530–1572), Polish rabbi and codifier, one of the great halakhic authorities. His full family name, Isserel-Lazarus was shortened to Isserles, but he is usually referred to as "the Rema" (acronym of Rabbi Moses Isserles). Isserles was born in Cracow. His father was very wealthy and a talmudic scholar. Isserles was a great-grandson of Jehiel *Luria, the first rabbi of Brisk (Brest-Litovsk). He studied first under his father and his uncle, Moses Heigerlich. His father sent him later to Lublin to the yeshivah of Shalom *Shachna where he studied until 1549, purportedly marrying Shachna's daughter. (Current scholarship has raised a doubt as to whether the Rema's first wife was indeed the daughter of Shalom Shachna.) She died in 1552 when only 20 years old, and in her memory her husband in 1553 built a synagogue, first called the Isserles synagogue and later the synagogue of the Rema, which still exists. Isserles' second wife was the sister of *Joseph ben Mordecai Gershon Ha-Kohen of Cracow, author of the responsa *She'erit Yosef.* Besides Talmud and the codes, Isserles also studied philosophy, astronomy, and history. While still young he was renowned as an outstanding scholar and in 1550 was a member of the Cracow *bet din*. That year his signature appeared on a ruling along with those of Moses Landau and Joseph Katz in connection with the ban against the sale of Maimonides' works issued by the rival of Meir *Katzenellenbogen. Isserles founded a yeshivah, supporting its students from his private means. He gained a worldwide reputation as an outstanding **posek* and all the great scholars of the time addressed their problems to him. Among those who corresponded with him on halakhic matters were Meir Katzenellenbogen and his son *Samuel Judah, Joseph *Caro, Israel son of Shalom Shachna, Solomon *Luria, and his own brother-in-law Joseph Katz. Among his pupils were David *Gans, the author of *Ẓemah David*, whom Isserles encouraged to study history, Mordecai b. Abraham *Jaffe, Abraham ha-Levi *Horowitz, father of Isaiah Horowitz, the author of *Shenei Luḥot ha-Berit*, *David b. Manasseh ha-Darshan of Cracow, *Menahem David of Tiktin, his cousin *Joshua Falk b. Alexander ha-Kohen, Aaron b. Abraham Solnik *Ashkenazi, and Ẓevi Hirsch Elzisher (of Alsace?). Isserles had three brothers, Isaac, Eliezer (son-in-law of Solomon Luria), and Joseph, and one sister, Miriam Bella the wife of Phinehas *Horowitz. He had a son Judah Leib, and two daughters. One, Dresel, became the wife of Simḥah Bunim Meisels, and the other, whose name is unknown, married Eliezer b. Simeon Ginsburg. His great granddaughter, the daughter of his grandson Simeon Wolf of Vilna, married *Shabbetai b. Meir ha-Kohen.

Isserles was of a humble and friendly disposition. This humility is particularly noticeable in his controversy with his older relative Solomon Luria. The dispute arose originally in connection with the question of the defective lung of an animal, but developed into discussions on philosophical topics, Kabbalah, and grammar. Through it was revealed Isserles' self-confidence, for he held to his opinion where he was convinced he was in the right, admitted to any error, and replied with courtesy and humility. Isserles was also a scribe and allegedly wrote a *Sefer Torah* in accordance with the rules contained in an old manuscript which Joseph Caro bought for him in Ereẓ Israel and sent to Cracow. (This last tradition has also been questioned. There is no factual basis for this assertion (see Penkower, *Textus,* 1981)). Isserles died in Cracow and was buried next to his synagogue. Until World War II thousands of Jews from every part of Poland made a pilgrimage to his grave every year on *Lag ba-Omer, the anniversary of his death.

Isserles' Works

His contemporaries considered Isserles to be the "Maimonides of Polish Jewry" and he can be compared with him in his universal outlook, in his attachment to both Talmud and secular knowledge, in his manner of study, in his methodical approach, in his decisiveness, in his character, and in his humility. His works were in the fields of *halakhah*, philosophy, Kabbalah, homiletics, and science. They include the following:

(1) *Darkhei Moshe*, to the *Beit Yosef* of Joseph Caro, notes and supplementary laws, mostly by Ashkenazi scholars, not given in the *Beit Yosef.* Isserles had begun to write a commentary to the *Turim* of *Jacob b. Asher, but while he was engaged in this task the *Beit Yosef* was published. He then wrote his *Darkhei Moshe ha-Arokh* to *Oraḥ Ḥayyim* (Fuerth, 1760) and *Yoreh De'ah* (Sulzbach, 1692). He later abridged it and it was published on all four parts of the *Tur* (Berlin, 1702–03) with the title of the *Darkhei Moshe ha-Kaẓar.* Isserles utilized the *Darkhei Moshe* as a basis for his glosses on the Shulḥan Arukh, the *Haggahot* or *Ha-Mappah*. It contains explanations, supplements, additions, and includes the views of the Ashkenazi scholars ignored by Caro. At times Isserles decided against the view of the Shulḥan Arukh, ruling in conformity with Asher b. Jehiel and his son Jacob, rather than with Isaac Alfasi and Maimonides as does Caro. By spreading his *Mappah* ("tablecloth"), so to speak, over the Shulḥan Arukh ("Prepared Table") – which had codified Sephardi practice – he in fact made that work acceptable to Ashkenazim as well as Sephardim. The *Mappah* was first published with the Shulḥan Arukh in the Cracow edition of 1569–71.

(2) *Torat ha-Ḥattat* (Cracow, 1569), laws of **issur ve-hetter* in accordance with the *Sha'arei Dura* of *Isaac b. Meir of Dueren. This work was criticized by *Ḥayyim b. Bezalel (see below), and Yom Tov Lipman *Heller wrote criticisms (**hassagot*) to it called *Torat ha-Asham*. Isserles was defended by Joseph Saul *Nathanson of Lemberg in his glosses *Torat Moshe*. Isserles himself abridged the book calling it *Torat Ḥattat ha-*

Kaẓar, and Eliezer b. Joshua Shevrashin wrote a commentary to it, *Dammesek Eli'ezer* (Wilmersdorf, 1718).

(3) The Responsa of the Rema (Cracow, 1640) consists of 132 responsa written between 1550 and 1571, 91 by Isserles and the rest by colleagues and pupils.

(4) Halakhic glosses, to *Bava Meẓia* (published in the Amsterdam Talmud 1644–48), to *Niddah* (Ms. Oppenheim), and to the *Mordekhai* of *Mordecai b. Hillel, in which he established the correct readings. These glosses were noted down during the course of teaching and are incorporated in the Romm edition of the *Mordekhai*. He wrote comments on the Rosh of *Asher b. Jehiel and on the *Issur ve-Hetter*, under the title *Yad Ramah* (Lemberg, 1866), and on the *Sheḥitah u-Vedikah* (Cracow, 1557) of Jacob *Weil. *Karnei Re'em*, his glosses to the supercommentary (Venice edition) of Elijah *Mizraḥi to the Pentateuch was published by Solomon Zalman Ḥayyim Halberstamm in the *Meged Yeraḥim* (Lemberg, 1856) of Joseph Kohen Zedek and later in an edition of the Pentateuch (Jerusalem, 1959) together with the commentary *Ha'amek Davar* of Naphtali Ẓevi Judah *Berlin.

(5) His philosophical and kabbalistic works include *Meḥir Yayin* (Cremona, 1559), a homiletical and philosophical commentary to the Book of Esther; *Torat ha-Olah* (Prague, 1570), a philosophic conception of Judaism. In his work he endeavors to give Jewish philosophy and thought a kabbalistic basis and to establish their inner identity, maintaining that they merely used different terminology. He also explains the meaning of sacrifices and the measurements of the Temple and their symbolism. *To'afot Re'em* contains glosses to Maimonides' *Guide of the Perplexed* and the commentaries to it of *Shem Tov ibn Shem Tov and Isaac Profiat *Duran (published by Sirkin in *Oẓar Ḥokhmah* 2–3, 1861–65). In *Darkhei Moshe*, Isserles also mentions his *Yesodei Sifrei ha-Kabbalah*. This work and his commentaries to the Zohar and to the *aggadot* of the Talmud have apparently been lost. He also engaged in the study of general sciences. His glosses on Chapter 18 of the fourth *ma'amar* ("discourse") of the *Yesod Olam* of Isaac *Israeli were published in the *Yuḥasin* (Cracow, 1580–81) of Abraham *Zacuto. He also wrote a commentary on *Mehallekh ha-Kokhavim* ("The Course of the Stars"), a translation by Ephraim Mizraḥi of the *Theorica Planetaram* of Georg Peuerbach.

His Opinions

In philosophy Isserles followed the teachings of Aristotle as he had learned them from the works of Maimonides. He also advanced reasons for the precepts and pointed out benefits accruing from their observance. He dealt with anthropomorphism, maintaining that the phrase "the hand of God" referred to an angel. He accepted the three principles of Judaism propounded by Joseph *Albo in his *Ikkarim*. Although he regarded philosophy and Kabbalah as identical, he preferred philosophy because of its logic. In his *halakhah*, at times, he based himself both on philosophy and on Kabbalah and statements in the Zohar, but where the Kabbalah conflicted with the *halakhah*, he did not accept it. He also endeavored to give a rational explanation of strange *aggadot*. In one of his responsa to Solomon Luria, he admitted that he did not possess an intensive knowledge of grammar, but he had a great love of the Hebrew language and permitted the reading of the secular books of *Immanuel of Rome, military chronicles, etc., on the Sabbath if they were written in Hebrew. His regard for Ereẓ Israel is reflected in a beautiful statement based on the talmudic saying (Kidd. 49b): "ten measures of wisdom descended to the world of which Ereẓ Israel took nine" – "It was for that land that the Torah was primarily given, its natural habitat is there where the very air makes one wise." In *halakhah*, Isserles strove to give to *minhag* (custom) the force of *halakhah* even where it had no halakhic source, and at times accepted a custom as binding even where it conflicted with the *halakhah*. There are also cases where he states that "the custom is a wrong one" or "if I had the power I would abrogate the custom. For it is based on an error and there is no reason to rely on it." The vast majority of the customs he followed were those which developed among Ashkenazi Jewry. Isserles was very frequently lenient "in cases of stress and where considerable financial loss is involved," a leniency seldom shown by previous *posekim*.

These two traits, his attitude to *minhag* and leniency in case of loss, as well as the codification itself in his glosses on the Shulḥan Arukh, gave rise to powerful opposition from great contemporary scholars, particularly from Ḥayyim b. Bezalel who had studied with him under Shalom Shachna.

In the introduction to his *Vikku'aḥ Mayim Ḥayyim*, Ḥayyim enumerates the reasons for his opposition: (1) Codification obliges the rabbi giving a decision to decide the *halakhah* according to the view of the majority; (2) Isserles adopts the lenient view of the *rishonim* against the stringent view adopted by *aḥaronim*; (3) he cites customs of Polish Jewry but pays no attention to those of Germany; (4) the codes cause neglect of the study of the primary sources in the Talmud and *rishonim*, and lead to ignorance; (5) the rabbis will not be listened to because people will rely on published books; (6) just as Isserles disagrees with the rulings and customs of Caro so it is permitted to disagree with him; (7) why should German Jewry abrogate its customs in favor of those of Poland? (8) he did not associate any other scholars in his rulings but decided on his own; (9) if leniency is permitted in cases of considerable loss it will be applied in cases of small loss also; (10) Isserles had been lenient where in accordance with strict law one should be stringent; and (11) once something was forbidden it acquired the force of a custom and could not be abrogated.

Even though Ḥayyim's *Vikku'aḥ Mayim Ḥayyim* was not actually published until long after his death and that of Isserles, their debate reflects a major shift within Ashkenazi Jewry. This period of time witnessed a shift of the center of European Jewry from Germany to Poland. The growing Polish communities were very different from the German ones. In Germany, the Jewish communities were relatively small while enjoying a great deal of autonomy within the larger

German cities and towns. This led to numerous, well-defined, local *minhagim* (customs). In Poland, the Jewish communities were larger, more amorphous, because of the constant influx of immigrants, and less autonomous. Thus, they did not develop individual town customs, but broader, district and country-wide *minhagim*. In abandoning the numerous, Ashkenazi local customs while adopting the Polish ones, Isserles was speaking to a much larger, growing audience. By spreading his *Mappah*, glosses and notes, over Caro's *Shulḥan Arukh*, he was actually binding together all of Ashkenazi (read: Polish) Jewry and enabling their continued halakhic observance. Despite the arguments of Ḥayyim and other contemporary scholars, the rulings and customs of Isserles were accepted as binding on Ashkenazi Jewry and continue to form the basis of Ashkenazi Halakhah to this day.

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[Shlomo Tal / David Derovan (2nd ed.)]

ISSERLIS, STEVEN (John; 1958–), English cellist. His grandfather was the Russian pianist and composer, Julius Isserlis (the family has also a connection to *Felix Mendelssohn). Isserlis received his training at the International Cello Centre in London (1969–76) and at Oberlin College, Ohio (1976–8). In 1977 he made his London debut and went on to perform as a soloist with the world's leading orchestras and conductors. Isserlis was also active as a recitalist and chamber music performer. As a performer and musician he combined outgoing flamboyance with inwardness and introspection and intellectual, brilliant, adventurous thought. His repertoire embraces traditional cello works; early music played on original instruments, contemporary music, and rarely heard works. He gave first performances of works by Robert Saxton, Elizabeth Maconchy, Howard Blake, and John Tavener, including *The Protecting Veil* (1989, London), of which his recording won a Gramophone Award. Among his recordings are the concertos by Elgar and Barber, Britten's Cello Symphony, and much chamber music. His awards include the Piatigorsky Artist Award (1992), the Royal Philharmonic Society's Instrumentalist of the Year (1993), CBE (1998), and the Stadt-Zwickau Robert Schumann Prize (2000). He writes the sleeve notes for most of his recordings as well as articles for leading newspapers and journals. Among his publications are "Prokofiev's Unfinished Concertino: A Twisted Tale," in: *Three-Oranges* (May 2002, 3:32–33) and his children's history of great composers, *Why Beethoven Threw the Stew* (2001). He also edited and arranged several works. Owing to a strong interest in musical education Isserlis was much in demand for teaching – he was artistic director of the IMS Prussia Cove and was regularly invited to teach at various prestigious academies in the U.S., Europe, and Australia.

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[Naama Ramot (2nd ed.)]

ISSERMAN, FERDINAND M. (1898–1972), U.S. Reform rabbi. Isserman was born in Antwerp, Belgium, and immigrated to the United States in 1906. He served in the United States Army during World War I, volunteering for the infantry despite his exemption as a theology student. He received his B.A. from the University of Cincinnati in 1919 and his ordination from Hebrew Union College in 1922. He subsequently earned his M.A. from the University of Pennsylvania (1924). Isserman's first pulpit was as assistant rabbi to Rev. Dr. Harry W. *Ettelson at Rodeph Shalom Congregation in Philadelphia (1922–25), following which he served as rabbi of Holy Blossom Temple in Toronto (1925–29). He made a big impact in that community, leading a campaign against corporal punishment in the city's public schools and organized the first goodwill dinner among Catholics, Protestants, and Jews in Canadian history as well as the first interdenominational Armistice Day service in Toronto. He was also a contributing editor to the *Canadian Jewish News*. In recognition of his work, an interfaith prize bearing his name was established at the University of Toronto.

In 1929, Isserman became rabbi of Temple Israel in St. Louis, Missouri, where he remained until his retirement in 1963. He brought his ecumenical and social activism with him, as well as a passion to fight racism, which he denounced during weekly broadcasts on a leading St. Louis radio station for nearly 30 years. He was chairman of the Inter-Racial Commission of the *Synagogue Council of America; chairman and organizer of the Social Justice Commission of St. Louis (1930–31); founder and vice chairman of the St. Louis Seminar of Jews and Christians (1929–35); vice president of the Missouri Welfare Board; a member of the national executive committee of the National Conference of Christians and Jews; and a member of the boards of the St. Louis Community Chest and the Urban League of St. Louis. As chairman of the Justice and Peace Commission of the *Central Conference of American Rabbis (1942–45), he organized and chaired both the Commission's American Institute on Judaism and a Just and Enduring Peace (1942) and the Institute on Judaism and Race Relations (1945). In 1950, he helped organize the CCAR's Institute on Reform Jewish Theology Today.

In 1933 and 1934, Isserman, as chairman of the American section of the World Union for Progressive Judaism, traveled on fact-finding missions to Europe and Germany, returning to warn Jews and Americans of the dangers of Nazism. He took a leave of absence from his congregation during World War II to serve in North Africa with the First Armored Division and American Red Cross Headquarters. He received citations for his volunteerism from the Treasury Department and the Red Cross.

Isserman was involved in scholarship in Missouri and the Reform movement as well. He served on the Board of Governors of Hebrew Union College (1930–38) and was a member of the board of the Bible College of the University of Missouri. As president of the University of Missouri's Jewish Student Foundation for more than a decade, he was instrumental in building a chapel for Jewish students there. In 1950, he was elected first president of the joint HUC-JIR Alumni Association. In 1967, he was honored with the Religious Heritage of America's Regional Clergyman of the Year Award.

In addition to being an editorial contributor to the St. Louis publication *Modern View* (1929–41), Isserman wrote five books: *Sentenced to Death: The Jews of Nazi Germany* (1933, rev. 1961); *Rebels and Saints: The Social Message of the Prophets of Israel* (1933); *This Is Judaism* (1944); *The Jewish Jesus and the Christian Christ* (1950); and *A Rabbi with the American Red Cross* (1958).

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[Bezalel Gordon (2nd ed.)]

ISSUR GIYYORA (i.e., Issur "the Proselyte"; beginning of the fourth century), prominent figure of the amoraic period in Babylonia. He was the father of the Babylonian *amora* R. Mari b. Issur, who inherited the considerable fortune left by his father, of which Rava was the executor (BB 149a). There are conflicting opinions as to the identity of Issur's wife Rachel. Some maintain that she was Rachel the daughter of the famous *amora* Samuel (see Rashi, Ber. 16a; BM 73b; Rashbam BB 149a). A significant remark made by Issur as to what non-Jews thought about the observance of Jewish law has been preserved in the following passage (Av. Zar. 70a): "Rava has said: Issur Giora once told me, 'When we were still gentiles we used to say that Jews do not observe the Sabbath, because if they did observe it how many purses would be found in the streets!'" i.e., a Jew would discard his purse on the onset of the Sabbath, and no other Jew would pick it up.

[Jacques K. Mikliszanski]

ISSUR VE-HETTER, a term designating the totality of halakhic rulings with regard to forbidden foods and related topics. From the second half of the 12th century, however, it came to be used for a specific literary genre dealing with this subject, and from that time books wholly devoted to this topic were produced in great numbers (the *Issur ve-Hetter* of Rashi is not to be included among them, since it belongs to a completely different category; see *Rashi).

The creation of this type of literature is connected with the spread of Jewish settlement in Germany. This gave rise to the development of different customs in various spheres of life, including to no small degree topics of *issur ve-hetter*. There is indeed no doubt that *issur ve-hetter* literature should be regarded as a branch of the more comprehensive literary genre known as *minhagim literature. Research into the *issur ve-hetter* literature is complicated. The authors of many of the books are anonymous or have been erroneously identified; in addition, many glosses and notes were added to the original text of works by copyists and other scholars who wanted to adapt them to the local prevailing custom; a large part of this literature is still in manuscript in different libraries, at times wrongly catalogued. Among the most important works of this subject are the *Sefer ha-She'arim* or *Sha'arei Dura*, called *"Issur ve-Hetter,"* by Isaac b. Meir of *Dueren (Cracow, 1534), which is seemingly the earliest work of this type; 36 *She'arim* on laws of *issur ve-hetter* by Israel *Isserlein, apart from his glosses on the *Sha'arei Dura*; the laws of *issur ve-hetter* at the end of the *Minhagei Maharil* (Sabionetta, 1556) which is an abridgment of the *Sha'arei Dura*, as is the *Torat Ḥattat* (Cracow n.d., c. 1570) of Moses *Isserles. The well-known *Issur ve-Hetter he-Arokh* (Ferrara, 1555), attributed in error to Jonah *Gerondi but apparently compiled by Jonah Ashkenazi, a pupil of Israel Isserlein, contains, besides laws on forbidden foods, laws connected with the duty of saving life.

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[Israel Moses Ta-Shma]

ISTANBUL, city in N.W. *Turkey, on both sides of the Bosphorus at its entrance on the Sea of Marmara (for history prior to 1453, see *Constantinople). Constantinople was taken from the Byzantine emperor in 1453 by the Ottoman sultan Mehmed II (1451–81) and became the new capital of his state, known from then on as Istanbul. The Arabs called it *Qusṭanṭīniyya*, and the Jews wrote the name Qustantina (or Qustandina), hence the name *Kushta* in Hebrew. During the Ottoman period three townlets in its vicinity became quarters of Istanbul: Galata, between the Golden Horn and the Bosphorus; Eyüp, at the northwest extremity of the Golden Horn; and Üsküdar (Scutari), on the eastern shore of the Bosphorus. The town occupied a central position on the routes between Asia and Europe and the maritime communications between the Black Sea and the Mediterranean Sea passed through it. It also served as an administrative and commercial center. After World War I the capital of Turkey was transferred to Ankara.

The 15th and 16th Centuries

Immediately after the conquest of the town on May 29, 1453, the armies of Mehmed, II, the Conqueror, perpetrated a massacre of its inhabitants which lasted for several days; they did not, however, according to one opinion, attack the Jewish community, and according to some Ottoman sources (fermans

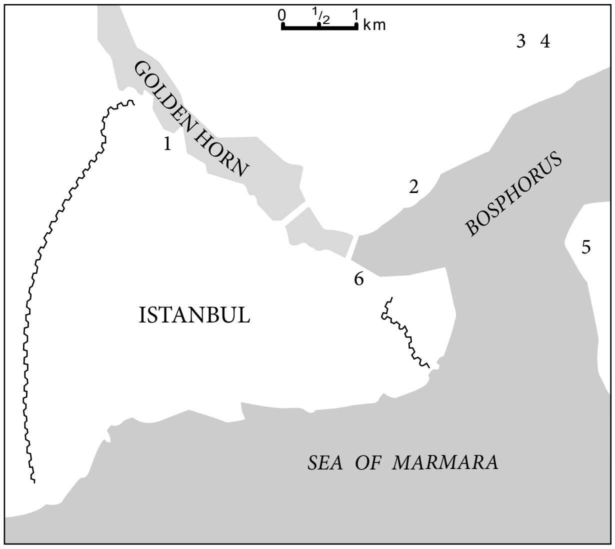

Figure 1. Jewish quarters in Istanbul in the 17th century. 1. Areas designated for Jewish settlement by Sultan Muhammad II in 1453. 2. The Jews' Bath is believed to have been in this neighborhood. 3. Area with a majority of Jewish inhabitants. Don Joseph Nasi's famous residence, Belvedere, was near this quarter. 4. Site of a well-known printing press in the late 16th century. 5. Near there was the Jewish cemetery which, according to the Armenian geographer, Inciciyan, owed its special sanctity to the fact that, lying on the Asiatic side of the Bosphorus, it was not separated by sea from the Holy Land. 6. Jews' Gate, one of the main Jewish quarters, in early Ottoman Istanbul. Some of the Jews transported from Salonika by Muhammad II are said to have been settled here. After U. Heyd, "The Jewish Communities of Istanbul," Oriens, *vol. 6, 1953.*

from the 16th and 17th centuries) the Jews assisted the Ottoman armies in their conquest of the town. Some sources say that the fate of the Jewish residents in the city was not different from that of their Greek neighbors, and Jews who did not run away in time were killed, their women and daughters were raped and their houses were plundered by the Ottoman soldiers. During the conquest the old synagogues of the community in the district of Balat were destroyed. Prior to the siege, the majority of the Jews resided in the area called now Galata, Kasim Pasha and Hasköy. In the census of 1455, which was incomplete, the names of Jews appeared as residents of two quarters: Fabya, near the church of San Fabyan, and Samona, near Karaköy. There was also a Jewish quarter near the church of San Benito, but only a few Jews lived there. The survey of 1472 does not mention even one Jewish household in Galata, and this remained the situation until the middle of the 16th century. In order to renovate the town, populate it, and convert it rapidly into a flourishing and prosperous capital, Mehmed II adopted a policy of transferring Muslim, Christian, and Jewish inhabitants, most of them merchants and craftsmen, from various regions of the empire – principally from Anatolia and the Balkans – to the new capital. All the transferred Jews were Romaniots (see *Romaniot) and were called by the Ottoman authorities "sürgün" (after the Turkish word for "those who were exiled") to distinguish them from the other Jews, principally from Spain, Portugal, Ashkenaz (Germany), and other European lands, who were named "kendi gelen," meaning "those who came of their own free will." The sürgüns also included the survivors and escapees of Jews from the city who resettled in it as sürgün. All the Jewish population of Asia Minor and many communities in Greece, Macedonia, and Bulgaria were deported to Istanbul over a period of 20 years. They paid taxes to the vakif of the Sultan Mehmed II and had a special status forbidding them to leave Istanbul without a license of the Ottoman authorities. There were sürgüns in the 16th century who left the city, and continued paying their taxes in Istanbul. They paid higher taxes than those paid by the kendi gelen directly to the central treasury. The sürgün settled in the vicinity of the commercial complex of Mahmud Pasha. The surveys made for the vakif of Mehmed II in 1535, 1540, and 1545 noted the existence of a congregation named Galata, but it is clear that this congregation must have been located not in Galata and was comprised of Jews whose origin was Galata. Most sürgüns settled in a trapezoid-shaped area formed by Eminönü, Sirkeci, Tahtakale, Mahmud Pasha, and Zeyrek. The 1495 register of the vakif of Mehmed II mentions many locations where Jews were living. In addition to the Edirne (Karaite) quarter near the harbor of Eminönü are Balik Pazari, Zindan Hani, Sari Demir, on the way to Unkapani, Tahtakale, the area near Edirne Kapi, Sirkeci, and locations in the other direction from Eminönü toward Sarayburnu. In 1569 a great fire broke out in the Jewish area, but according to the 1595–97 register of the vakif of Mehmed II, 60 percent of the Jews were still living in the trapezoid. The main settlement was the quarters of Balik Pazari and Babi Orya. There were a few sürgüns who settled in Balat near Egri Kapi, where the Jewish community had its most important cemetery. The congregations there were Okhrida, Yanbul, Kastoria, and Karaferiye. Only 20 percent of Istanbul's Jews resided in Balat at the end of the 16th century. Another place where Romaniots settled after the conquest was in the neighborhood of Samatia (Psamatia) near the Castle of Yediküle on the Marmara coast. The Jews also had an old cemetery in Kasim Pasha, and it is clear that Jews resided in Kasim Pasha and in Hasköy in the middle of the 15th century. Hasköy had been a center of *Karaite Jews at the beginning of the 16th century. Many Ashkenazi Jews settled in this area in the 15th, 16th and 17th centuries. In the middle of the 16th century Portugese Jews settled in Galata. In 1540, 47 Romaniot congregations based on their places of origin existed; each was conducted by an autonomous leadership and had separate institutions. The Ashkenazi, Sephardi and Italian Jews also built separate and autonomous congregations. A few Ottoman censuses make it possible to evaluate the demographic changes in the community of Istanbul in the 15th and 16th centuries. The census of 1477 shows 1,647 Jewish households in Istanbul, forming 11 percent of the total population; in 1489, the number had risen to 2,027 and by the turn of the 15th century we find 3,600 Jews in the city out of 100,000 inhabitants. An Ottoman register from 1535 lists 8,070 Jewish households in the capital. In the middle of that century the

Jewish population rose from some 18,000 persons to nearly 50,000. A *jizya* register of 1542 informs us about 1,490 Jewish householders. A slight growth from 2,645 Jewish *hane* (family) in 1529 to 2,807 *hane* in 1566 is recorded in another survey, and all together we find 1,647 Jewish households in the years 1520–1539 out of a total of 16,326 households. European travelers in Istanbul and Jewish sources give higher figures for the Jewish community of Istanbul.

On the eve of the Ottoman conquest and after it, the community was led by R. Moses b. Elijah *Capsali. The Jews of Istanbul constituted a religious-administrative unit which enjoyed an extensive internal autonomy. The first to represent the Jewish community of Istanbul was the Romaniot Rabbi Moses Capsali. In addition to its religious importance, this function was also of a political nature. Capsali concerned himself with the internal affairs of his community, served as the representative of the Istanbul Jewish congregations before the government, and collected the Jewish taxes. He was named "The leading rabbi" but had difficulty imposing his authority over the congregations of the newcomers, especially the Sephardim. He had disputes with some rabbis and secular leaders from Istanbul and other cities. After his death, around 1498–1500, R. Elijah *Mizraḥi was actually the rabbi bearing the title "the leader Rabbi" of the Romaniot congregations. During his tenure he had grown weak, and, as he states himself, he could not take care of the task because the problems of the congregations were numerous, so the secular affairs of the community were in the hands of a Spanish Jew, *Shealtiel (Salto) who had the office of **kahya*, collected taxes from the Jews and dealt with all their financial matters with the Ottoman authorities. After 20 years of service, Shealtiel was ousted from office by the community leaders on October 19, 1518, after many complaints of bribery and arbitrary taxes were lodged against him by Jews. The community banned him and his sons from holding the position of *kahya* or performing any other function involving contact with the Ottoman authorities. He was returned to office on April 29, 1520, by the leaders of the congregations and R. Elijah Mizrahi. After the death of Shealtiel no successor replaced him. After R. Elijah Mizrahi died in 1526, R. Elijah (son of R. Binyamin) ha-Levi was recognized by all the Romaniot communities, and after his death in 1534 or 1535 R. Abraham Yerushalmi inherited his office in the year 1555. Some of the Romaniot scholars who were forced to leave the city during the conquest later returned. Among them we note R. Mordecai Comitiano and R. Shalom ben Joseph Anavi. Among the Romaniot scholars settling in Istanbul after the conquest we note R. Efraim ben Gershon, R. Meshullam, R. Abbaye, R. Menachem Tamari, and R. Elijah ha-Stipyoni. A few Spanish scholars settled in the city before the expulsion, such as R. Hanokh Saporta of Catalonia and R. Gedaliah ibn Yahya (d. in Istanbul in 1488), the author of *Shalshelet ha-Kabbalah*.

Ashkenazi Jews had already settled in the town before the Ottoman conquest, but their greatest numbers arrived at a later date. Some from Hungary and Austria first arrived during the 15th century in reaction to the enthusiastic appeal which was included in a letter sent by R. Isaac Ẓarfati, an inhabitant of Adrianople (second half of the 15th century), to the Jews of Germany, Austria, and Hungary, in which he described the agreeable, peaceful, and happy life of the Jews of Ottoman Turkey. The proximity to Ereẓ Israel and messianic aspirations also drew many Jews into settling in Istanbul and other towns of the Ottoman Empire. Refugees from Bavaria, who had been expelled by King Ludwig IX, arrived during the late 1460s. The second wave arrived after the conquest of Hungarian territories during the reign of the sultan *Suleiman the Magnificent (1526). For many years the Ashkenazi community enjoyed an independent status. The Ashkenazim continued relations with their coreligionists in their countries of origin, and were slow to assimilate among the Sephardim. In time the differences disappeared. Spanish and Portuguese Jews arrived in the town as a result of the massive expulsions of 1492 and 1497. Among the refugees who came to the capital after 1492 were eminent Torah scholars, rabbis, *dayyanim*, *rashei yeshivot* and authors of significant books. Between 1492 and 1520 there settled in Istanbul R. Abraham Hayyun, R. David Ibn Yahya, R. Isaac ben Joseph Caro, R. Abraham Ibn Ya'ish, R. Judah Ibn Bulat, R. Solomon Taitazak and his famous son Joseph Taitazak, R. Isaac Dondon, R. Solomon Altabib, R. Moshe ben Shem Tov Ibn Habib, R. Solomon Almoli, and R. Jacob Tam ibn Yahya. Other active rabbis in Istanbul in the 16th century were R. Joseph ibn Lev, R. Samuel Ḥakham Halevi, R. Samuel Jaffe Ashkenazi, R. Elijah ben Hayyim, R. Gedaliah Ibn Hayyun. The Italian R. Joshua Soncino served as rabbi of a Spanish congregation.

Strong tensions also existed between the Romaniot scholars who came with the sürgün, and the spiritual leaders of the native Romaniot community over questions of *halakhah* and *minhagim.* Later, disputes occurred about hegemony between Romaniot and Sephardi leaders. The *Karaites in Istanbul were also involved in a dispute between the Romaniot and the Sephardi scholars over the attitude toward them. The Romaniots wanted to follow their tradition to teach the Karaites. At the beginning of the 16th century, the Sephardim were still struggling with the Romaniots over issues such as the right over a proportionate amount of the meat supplied to the Jewish community; they did not recognize the authority of the Romaniot leader rabbi. By the time of R. Elijah Mizrahi's death, the influence of the Sephardi *minhagim* had increased. The Sephardim in town agreed to accept the Romaniot custom considering the *erusin* as *kidushin*, and this decision was upheld in Istanbul for hundreds of years. In the years 1582–1603 the Romaniots were still a majority of the Jews in the city. The Jews of Istanbul established famous yeshivot which were headed by R. Elijah Mizrahi, R. Joseph ibn *Lev, R. Isaac *Caro, R. *Tam ibn Yaḥya, R. *Elijah b. Ḥayyim. The Spanish yeshivot in the city continued the teaching methods of the original Spanish yeshivah. R. Yosef Taitazak was brought from *Salonika to head a Spanish yeshivah supported by wealthy patrons, and in 1554/5 Gracia Mendes appointed the Spanish Salonikan Rabbi Joseph Ibn Lev to head the new yeshivah she founded.

THE ORGANIZATION OF THE KAHAL, AND ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL LIFE OF THE JEWISH COMMUNITY. The refugees founded various *congregations (*kahal-kehalim*) according to their country of origin, the region-province, or the town which they had abandoned. The refugees of Spain, Sicily, and Portugal who arrived in Istanbul founded the congregations called Gerush Sepharad, Cordova, Aragon, Messina, Sicily, and Portugal. These congregations jealously maintained their independence and individuality. Every *kahal* had its own synagogue, rabbi, teacher, *talmud torah, ḥevra kaddisha*, welfare institutions (*hekdeshim*), and various societies, such as *gemilut ḥasadim* ("benevolent society"), *bikkur ḥolim* ("visiting of the sick"), and societies for the support of the yeshivot of Tiberias; in most cases they also had a *bet din*. Moreover, secular affairs were handled by a group of functionaries called *maʿamad*. The members of the *maʿamad* were called *memunnim*, *berurim*, and *gabbaʾim, tovei hakahal,* or *nikhbadim*. A majority of these persons were important businessmen. They were elected in the presence of all the taxpayers of the *kahal* and administered the affairs of the *kahal* according to established agreements and *takkanot*. These leaders were responsible for the registration of the *kahal* members, and the imposition and collection of taxes, and their transfer to the Ottoman authorities. In every *kahal*, the *ḥakham* (Rabbi) was the spiritual leader of the congregation and headed its law court. Penalties, such as the *ḥerem* and *niddui* ("bans"), were imposed on those who challenged the opinion of the rabbi of the *kahal*. The *takkanot* and agreements on which they based their decisions concerned various matters, especially social and economic ones, such as the prohibition of leaving one *kahal* for another, tax assessments, the appointment of rabbis and Torah teachers and the conditions of their actiivity, the prohibition of wearing expensive apparel and jewels by women, *ḥazakot*. Sephardi congregations did not have a single rabbinical authority over all the rabbis. During the 16th century the new settlers from Europe, especially from Portugal and Italy, founded many new congregations. A significant congregation named "Seniora" was founded by Gracia Mendes in the middle of the 16th century for the *anusim* from Portugal settling in Istanbul. Following disputes in some congregations, there were individuals or groups who preferred to set up new congregations or to join others. The congregations enabled individuals to change their affiliations only before the tax assessment and payment. Great fires that ruined the southern shore of the Golden Horn in 1539 and 1554 caused many Jews to move to areas where they joined congregations whose customs differed from theirs. The 1569 fire in what became Yeni Cami brought many Jews to Hasköy and elsewhere before the famous mosque was built there. Other fires broke out in 1568, 1569, and 1588.

The numerous *kehalim* of the capital had their roof organization, which was known in responsa literature as *Ha-Vaʿad ha-Kolel shel ha-Kehillot*, to which every *kahal* sent its delegate. There were also other institutions in which all the *kehalim* were associated.

The 16th century was thus a flourishing period for the community, and Istanbul became one of the world's most important Jewish centers. Not long after the settlement of the sürgün, the Jews in Istanbul were excelling in traditional fields of big business, especially in commerce, crafts, medicine, and the manufacture of firearms. They were involved in a lucrative trade of cloth and spices, and Jews from Istanbul traveled to trade with centers such as Bursa, Salonika, Caffa, Kilia, and Akkerman, Egypt, Aleppo, Dubrovnik, Venice, and Ancona. In 1514 the Jewish guild of physicians in Istanbul had six members and the Muslim guilds had sixteen members. A considerable number of Jews were involved in tax farming and the farming of mints all over the empire in the second half of the 15th century. Until the end of the 16th century the richest congregations of Istanbul were the Romaniot. Jews of Istanbul were allowed to work in all aspects of economic activity except those performed by the Ottoman administrative-military system of government. Many Jews of Istanbul produced and sold food and wine. There were Jews compelled by the government to bring sheep from Anatolia and the Balkans to Istanbul, causing some of them to go bankrupt. Many Istanbul Jews were engaged in all the various occupations dealing with precious metals and stones. The farming of the minting house of Istanbul was often in Jewish hands in the second half of the 15th century and in the 16th century Many Istanbuli Jews were **sarrafs* (money changers). Other Jews focused on the production of luxury textiles such as silk and also traded in angora wool brought from Anatolia. Many other crafts and occupations were engaged in by Jews in Istanbul; they were, for example, tailors, carpenters, pharmacists, bakers, fishermen, tinsmiths, glassmakers, blacksmiths, painters, bookbinders, and also actors, dancers, and musicians. Many Jews owned shops in the markets of Istanbul. For international trade some of the Jewish merchants of Istanbul used the services of larger entrepreneurs, exporters and importers, and others sent their representatives to other cities. The Spanish Jews in Istanbul had close trading connections with Spanish communities in Italy, Europe, and the Levant. Many Jews in Istanbul became wealthy, and the economic elite in the Jewish community included many Romaniots and Sephardim.

Another significant phenomenon which contributed to the security of the Jewish community was the activism of the court Jews, especially physicians. It is worth noting Jacob (Hekim Yakub) who served as personal physician to Mehmed II until his own death in 1481, and received a tax exemption for himself and his descendants in the Ottoman Empire. Jacob was also a financial adviser to the sultan and his translator, and he seems to also have been a companion to the sultan on every military campaign. Moreover, he maintained close connections with Italian diplomats in Istanbul. Mehmed II appointed this qualified Jew as *defterdar*, the high official in charge of the treasury. Later he converted to Islam at an advanced age and was appointed vizier. Some of his sons remained Jewish and enjoyed the privilege exempting them from all taxes. Jacob's career ended in the early 1480s, and at the same time (c. 1481) the physician Efraim ben Nissim Ibn Sanchi arrived in Istanbul from Portugal. He became a court physician and his son

Abraham also fulfilled the same role in the court. During the 16th century the most significant physicians of the court were the members of the *Hamon family, Joseph and his son Moses of Granada (who served the sultans *Bayazid II, *Selim I, and *Suleiman I, the Magnificent) and the grandson and great grandson, Joseph and Isaac Hamon. There were also prominent Jewish capitalists and bankers who held central positions in the financial areas of the empire – treasury and lease of taxes – and positions of a political nature; their influence at court was beneficial to the Jewish communities of Istanbul and other towns. During the third quarter of the 16th century, the *Mendes family played an important role in the life of the city. This Marrano family from Portugal owned a bank in Lisbon with a branch in Antwerp. After the death of Francesco Mendes, the head of the bank, his widow Gracia (*Nasi) left Lisbon with her young daughter Reyna and her nephew João Micas for Antwerp and from there continued to Venice and Turkey. In Istanbul they openly returned to Judaism in 1553 and João Micas called himself Joseph *Nasi. A short while later, he married Reyna, the daughter of Gracia. There were now ample opportunities available to the Nasi family for financial and commercial activities in the town. Their affairs were not limited to giving credit but also included commercial negotiations with various European countries and competition with the Venetian merchants for the Levantine trade. The friendship of Joseph Nasi with the sultan Suleiman the Magnificent and his son Selim II won him an influence in state affairs which he exploited not only for his own benefit but also for the Jews in general. He made generous donations to the yeshivot of the capital, while at the same time the Mendes family established a large and renowned yeshivah, supporting its students and its head R. Joseph ibn Lev. This yeshivah was named Yeshivat ha-Gevirah after Dona Gracia Mendes, by means of whose financial contributions the novellae and the responsa of R. Joseph ibn Lev, which were debated in the yeshivah, were published. They also supported the Hebrew printing press in the capital (see below). Through its extensive influence Gracia Mendes obtained as a *multazima* (lessee) a concession from the sultan to rebuild the town of *Tiberias, which lay in ruins. Joseph Nasi supported this act, but he and Gracia Mendes did not manage to visit the town. The family assisted in its reconstruction and gave financial support to the yeshivah of Tiberias, which had been reestablished by the *ḥakhamim* of *Safed who had come down to the town. This yeshivah was later supported by Don Solomon ibn Ya'ish of Istanbul whose son Jacob settled there and was known as a pious scholar. During the 16th century a few Jewish women were active in the harems of the sultans by rendering various services. These women had the title **kiera*. The most famous *kieras* were Strongilah, Espiranza Malki, and Esther *Handali. In 1566 R. Moshe Almosnino prepared a list of court Jews in Istanbul who helped him to obtain the Writ of Freedom (*mu'afname*) from the sultan for the Jewish community of Salonika: Joseph Nasi, Judah Di Sigura, Abraham Salma, Meir Ibn Sanji, and Joseph Hamon. Generally those court Jews were very wealthy and attempted to help their brethren in Istanbul and other Ottoman Jewish communities by using their political connections, Sometimes they became involved in internal quarrels of other communities. Gracia Mendes and Joseph Nasi used their status in the Istanbul community and at court, after the burning of the *anusim* in Ancona in the year 1555, to ban the harbor of Ancona and transfer the Jewish Ottoman mercantile representatives to the city of Pesaro. From 1564 R. Shelomo Ashkenazi served as the personal physician of the sultan; he was sent by the sultan Selim II to arrange the peace treaty in 1573 between the Ottoman Empire and Venice. During the reign of the sultan Murad III (1574–95), however, the Jewish community was shaken by a decree ordering the killing of Jews, which resulted from the appearance of men and women in the streets in rich clothing and jewels. As a result of the intervention of the physician R. Solomon *Ashkenazi at court, the decree was mitigated, but Jews were forbidden to wear such apparel. Subsequently, the rabbis of Istanbul and the community leaders reached an agreement that "the women and the girls shall not go out in grandiose apparel, golden jewelry, and precious stones." Bula Ikshati Ashkenazi, the wife of Solomon Ashkenazi was also active as a physician at court at the turn of that century.

Don Solomon Ibn Ya'ish (1520–1603) also had very important political and economic status in Istanbul. He was an active diplomat of the Ottoman Empire after settling in Istanbul in 1580 and was also the farmer of the Istanbul customs. Until his death he served the sultans Murad III (1574–1595) and Mehmed III (1595–1603) and was deeply involved in Ottoman politics.

The 17th Century

The economic and cultural decline of the Jewish community of Istanbul began during the 17th century, together with a general decline of the Ottoman Empire. The great fires which devastated a number of quarters during the 17th century (1606, 1618, 1633) induced the Ottomans to transfer the Jews especially to Hasköy, causing changes in the structure of the *kehalim*. The ancient organization according to origin and synagogue fell into disuse and many Jews joined synagogues near their new residence even if they belonged to another *kahal*. This process was essentially responsible for the fusion of the Romaniots with the Sephardim. From this time onward each individual identified himself according to the quarter or neighborhood he lived in. In 1608, 24 Romaniot congregations existed in Istanbul including 1,152 households, one Karaite congregation with 70 households, 8 Spanish congregations with 539 households, 4 Italian congregations with 209 households, 2 Ashkenazi congregations with 77 households, one Hungarian congregation with 59 households, and two unidentified congregations including 89 households. The total Jewish population was 2,195 households. In the Hasköy cemetery in 1609–1623 the Romaniots were 30.7 percent of the identified stones, the Ashkenazim were 15.3 percent, and the Iberian Jews were 38.4 percent. In the period 1624–1700 the Romaniots were 27.1 percent of the identified stones, the Ashkenazim were 14.2 percent, and the Iberian Jews were 46.3 percent. According to the Ottoman census of 1603–1608, 55.6 percent of the Jews of Istanbul were Romaniots, 5.9 percent were Ashkenazim, and 38.5 percent were Iberian Jews. According to the Ottoman census of 1623, the Romaniots were 57 percent of the Jewish population, the Ashkenazim were 1.5 percent, and the Iberian Jews were 41.5 percent. In 1634, according to one source, there were in the city 2,555 Jewish tax-units. The last census of the century, in 1688, reflects the drastic change in the ethnic groups of the community, especially reflecting the decrease in Romaniot figures over time. There were 3,611 Jewish *jizya* payers, i.e., 18,000 individuals. In Balat there were 1,547 Jewish households; in Galata, 1,033; in Hasköy, 515; and in Orta Köy, 637 households. The Romaniots were only 27.8 percent of the Jewish population, the Ashkenazim were 4.1 percent, and the Iberian Jews were 68.1 percent. Maps describing the Jewish population in the city in the 17th century indicate major Jewish concentrations alongside both the Golden Horn and the Bosphorus. In Orta Köy the Jews were a majority of the local population, and according to the Turkish traveler Evliya Çelebi the same situation existed in Hasköy. In that century there were some wealthy Jews who lived in palaces.

During the 17th century many Sephardi Jews, former *anusim,* and many Italian Jews settled in Istanbul, which assisted the growth of the Sephardi and Italian congregations. In that century the Jewish population became much more integrated and homogenous in its culture, and the majority of its spiritual leaders were Sephardim. "*Va'ad Berurei Averot*," whose authority was to deal with offenders, was very active in Istanbul. Special appointees to deal with ritual questions (*issur ve-hetter*) functioned in Istanbul from the 17th century until the beginning of the 20th. The appointees issued regulations on many matters relating to *kashrut*, ritual matters, and personal morality. In the community *batei din* functioned in the various districts, and there also existed a supreme *beit din.* In that century every *kahal* had at least one *kahya*, and it is possible that at times there also served one *kahya* of the Romaniots and another of the Sephardim. At the beginning of the century the palace medical staff consisted of 41 Jewish physicians and 21 Muslim physicians. Following the economic decline in the number of Istanbul's Jewish residents, the number of Jewish physicians and advisers at the court fell. By mid-17th century the medical staff was reduced to fourteen Muslim physicians and four Jews only. Still, Jews served at the court of the sultan until the second half of the 18th century and even at the beginning of the 19th. Sultan Ibrahim I (1630–1648) sent a Jewish diplomat, Samuel Markus, to Madrid. The Italian Israel Conegliano (Conian; c. 1650–c. 1717) settled in Istanbul in 1675 and became the physician of Grand Vezir Kara Mustafa Pasha and was also consulted by Sultan Mehmed IV (1648–1687).

During the reign of Sultan Murad IV, in 1633, a blood libel against the Jews of Istanbul occurred, saying that they had murdered a Turkish child on the eve of Passover (see *Blood Libels). Following the massacres of 1648–49 in *Poland, the Cossacks, Tatars, and Ukrainians took many Jews into captivity and sold them in Istanbul. The Jews of Istanbul competed with one another in observing the precept of redeeming captives, thus saving thousands of Jews. The community of Istanbul sent a special emissary to Italy and Holland in order to raise funds for the redemption of captives. R. Nathan *Hannover, the author of *Yeven Meẓulah*, who was an eyewitness to the events in Podolia and Volhynia and escaped through Western Europe, writes:

> There was among them [the Jews] a *ḥazzan* and his name was R. Hirsch. When the Tatars came, he began to lament and to intone the El Male Raḥamim [prayer for the departed] in a loud voice over the deaths of our brothers of the House of Israel; all the assembled broke into a great weeping and they aroused the mercy of their captors who comforted them with kind words and said to them: "Be not concerned, you will not lack food nor drink. Tomorrow we shall bring you to your brothers in Constantinople and they will redeem you." In this fashion the Tatars dealt with our brothers of the House of Israel in Istanbul, who redeemed them together with the other captives from Poland – about 20,000 souls – and they spent much money on them.

In the 17th century the Jews of Istanbul lost many of their former professions and were gradually reduced to secondary positions, typically as agents or tax farmers. They suffered further disadvantages, such as growing economic competition with the European-backed Christians and incessant internal disputes. In 1666 *Shabbetai Ẓevi arrived in Istanbul, and the opinion of the Jews of the capital was divided: the majority feared that his appearance would be the cause for actions against Jews in general. Others were attracted by his messianic enthusiasm and went out to meet him in order to pay him homage. The opponents informed the grand vizier of this and he ordered Shabbetai Ẓevi's arrest. The imperial police seized and imprisoned him in Gelibolu. After Shabbetai Zevi's conversion the communal leadership sought to limit the damage within the Jewish communities as much as possible. They did it by calming the people and by attempting to prevent discussion on the subject. The leaders of the Istanbul community decided to neither attack nor prosecute the believers or former believers but rather to ignore them. There is practically no evidence of Shabbateans in Istanbul at the end of the 17th century and during the 18th. A *ḥerem* ("ban") was also issued there against Nehemiah Ḥayon in 1714.

In spite of the economic and political decline of the Jewish community of Istanbul during the 17th century, the community had a considerable elite which included old families such as Ibn Ya'ish, Hamon. Ankawa, Benveniste, Ibn Faraj, Ibn Valiasid, and Zonana. In the middle of the century a difficult dispute about the rabbinate of the Neve Shalom congregation broke out. The quarreling parties involved the Ottoman authorities in this discussion. In the community many scholars were active such as R. Joseph *Trani, R. Isaac ben R. Yom Tov Ibn Faraj, R. Kalev Ben Samuel, R. Aaron Hamon, R. Barukh Ben Hayyim, R. Solomon Caro, R. David Egozi, R. Yom Tob Barbinya, R. Jacob and R. Isaac Elnekave (Ankawa), R.

Yesha'ya Mitrani, R. Moses and R. Joshua Benvinste, R. Moses Shilton, R. Joseph Kazbi and R. David Falcon. R. Joseph Trani from Safed who settled in Istanbul in 1605 was appointed by the wealthy Ibn Ya'ish brothers, head of the Gerush congregation yeshivah. In 1620 he preferred to be appointed *rosh yeshivah* of the wealthy figure Jacob Elnekave, but he continued to visit the former yeshivah in the mornings. R. Joseph Trani was the spiritual leader of the community from 1607 until his death in 1639.

The 18th Century

During the 18th century several fires (in 1704, 1715, 1729, 1740, 1751, and 1756) devastated the Jewish quarters. The greatest of these was in 1740 after which the Jews were not allowed to rebuild their quarter. As a result most of the Jews moved to Ortaköy and Galata. Others settled in Üsküdar, Hasköy, and Piri Paşa. In 1740 the Grand Vizier issued new proclamations regarding the dress of the Christians and Jews, forbidding them to wear certain colors and furs. By then the Jewish community of Istanbul had become more homogenous and better organized. It developed institutions adjusted to the topography, administrative structures, and general character of the city. The local Jewish leaders in each quarter communicated with the quarter's authorities on local issues. In the 18th century the sultans continued to hire Jews as physicians and advisers. The physician Tubias (Toviyyah) Cohen (ca. 1652–1729), a native of Metz, settled in Istanbul and entered the service of Sultan Ahmed III (1703–30) until his retirement and settling in Jerusalem in 1714. Another Jew, Daniel de Fonseca (ca. 1668–ca. 1740), former Portugese *anus,* settled in Istanbul in 1702 and served as a physician and diplomat to the French Embassy, and in 1714 he became the physician of Ahmed III, serving until 1730. Other Jewish court physicians during the reigns of Mahmud I (1730–54) and Osman III (1754–57) were Isaac Çelebi, Joseph the Rofeh, David Halevi Ashkenazi, and Judah Handali. In the second half of the 17th century there was a sharp decline in the number of Jews at the court. According to the inheritance register of the chief rabbi of Galata which was written in 1770, there existed an active *millet yazicisi,* a post unknown before, possible referring to an official, probably a *kahya*, who registered transactions within the Jewish community.

In 1772, up to 300 of Istanbul's 1,500 Jews who could not pay the increased war taxes served instead in the military. Upon Napoleon's invasion of Egypt, Sultan Selim III demanded that the Jews furnish men for the navy, which they did. In 1807 the Jewish community fulfilled among the other citizens the government's order to strengthen the city's defenses. During the Greek war of independence, the Ottomans also drafted non-Christians, including some 500 Jews. In 1772 Mustafa III (1757–74) ground the Jewish community into bankruptcy when he levied great sums to finance a military campaign: 18,000 members of the Jewish community paid jointly 65,000 kuruş. The community's debts amounted to 325,000 kuruş. According to the 1772 budget, 15 percent of Istanbul's Jews were in the lower class of taxpayers, 15 percent in the higher, and the remainder in the middle category. Jews in Istanbul continued to serve as tax farmers, contractors and purveyors for the military, and there were also traders and bankers. In spite of the economic decline of the community in the second half of the century, local Jews still were in prominent positions. Jews in Istanbul were members in mixed guilds until the late 17th century. Much of this changed after the end of the 18th century, when communally-based guilds began to replace mixed ones. The francos who settled in Istanbul during the 18th century had many economic rights, were protected by foreign ambassadors, benefited from preferential taxation in trade, and enjoyed relative independence from the local Jewish community. By the end of the century the Istanbul Jewish community had lost much of its former traditional advantages and was sharply affected by the ongoing decline process in Ottoman society.

Istanbul was one of the most important centers for funds because of its geographic proximity to Ereẓ Israel, and since it was the capital of the central government of Ereẓ Israel, its *ḥakhamim* were spiritually close to those of the Holy Land throughout the Ottoman period. The funds destined for Ereẓ Israel from Eastern Europe also passed through the capital and it was there that the letters and recommendations of the emissaries and their missions were verified, in Istanbul as in many other communities. The "officials for Ereẓ Israel" (*pekidei Kushta*), were active from 1726 until the beginning of the 19th century and the Jewish settlement of Erez Israel was under their patronage. They collected various contributions for the Jews in Ereẓ Israel and transferred them through special emissaries. In 1727 the community of Istanbul imposed a payment of one para per week per person in favor of Jerusalem on all the communities of the Ottoman Empire and later on other Oriental countries and Italy. They also solved problems of the Jerusalem community with the Ottoman government, established many *takkanot,* and forced Jerusalem Jews to act according to the *takkanot*. Other committees of *pekidei Kushta* in Istanbul were economically responsible for *Hebron, Tiberias, and Safed. On some occasions there were also indirect taxes, for example, a tax imposed on the capital in 1763, which consisted of "half a lavan (the Ottoman coin akçe, whose common appellation was *lavan*, "white") on every metro (measure of volume) of wine and beer" in order to save Hebron from its debts. There were special societies, whose members contributed regularly to charities for Ereẓ Israel, the first having been founded during the last third of the 16th century for the benefit of the yeshivah of Tiberias. *Pekidei Kushta* organized the immigration and the Jewish pilgrimage to Erez Israel during the 18th centuries and also helped immigrants from East Europe who passed through Istanbul on their way to Ereẓ Israel. There were many active benevolent societies in the community during the Ottoman era. A noteworthy example is the "Benevolent Society of the Congregation of the Kaïkçis," founded in about 1715 by the Jewish boat owners whose task it was to ferry people from one side to the other on both the Golden

Horn and the Bosphorus. The objective of this union was not a professional one but to provide its members with assistance in times of need. They were later joined by workers from related professions: the *balikçis*, fishermen; the *mayvecis*, fruiterers, who often sailed on boats because of their occupation; and the *mayahaneçis*, wine merchants, the owners of taverns, who used boats in order to convey their goods from the town to the villages. Every member was required to contribute one perutah per week, i.e., an akçe or para, toward the society's fund. The *mayahaneçis* brought four metros (measure of volume in Ladino) free of charge in every boat for the fund. This money was used for supporting the members of the society in difficult times. In order to assure the proper function of the society, the *bet din* of Istanbul appointed two scholars as "supervisors of all the affairs of the society." It appears that the society continued to exist until shortly before World War I.

During the 18th and 19th centuries the study of the Torah decreased and the cultural standard reached such a low point that the majority could not even read the Bible. It was for this reason that books came to be published in Spanish and Ladino (see below, Hebrew Printing). The leading author of the Spanish literature period was R. Jacob *Culi, who was active in Istanbul during the middle of the 18th century and wrote *Me-Am Lo'ez*. *Ladino literature also began to develop at that time and many works were published in this language. Besides Rabbi Culi, R. Abraham b. Isaac Asa, who may be referred to as "the father of Ladino literature," is worthy of note. He translated religious works, the Bible, the *Shulḥan Arukh*, and works of history, ethics, and science into Ladino. In Istanbul during the 18th century the most distinguished intellectual families included the Kimḥi, *Rosanes, and Navon families. R. Ḥayyim Kimḥe and R. Binyamin Kazish headed yeshivot. Some members of the Rosanes family were rabbis, *dayyanim*, and authors, and R. Judah *Rosanes was an author and opponent of the notorious Shabbatean sect. In the 18th century scholarship and intellectual life were in decline. The number of yeshivot declined, but many rabbis were active and compiled significant books, especially responsa and sermons. The dominant *posekim* were R. Efraim Navon (1677–1735), R. Isaac Ben David (d. in 1755), R. Eliezer Yiẓhaki, R. Meir Yiẓhaki (d. in 1753/4); R. Raphael Isaac Yerushalmi (d. in 1782), R. Shabbetai Halevi, R. Samuel Halevi (d. in 1829/1830), R. Isaac Lahmi, R. David Matalon, R. Ḥayyim Moda'i (d. 1793), R. Abraham Meyuḥas (d. c. 1773), R. Judah Meyuḥas, R. Hayyim Jacob Meyuḥas, R. Binyamin Kazish, R. Ḥayyim Kimhe, R. Isaiah Solomon Kimhe, R. Abraham ben Joseph Rosanes (d. 1748), R. Aaron ben Samuel Rosanes (d. 1759), R. Judah ben Samuel Rosanes (d.1727), R. Isaac Rosanes (d. 1748), R. Eliezer ben Nissim Ibn Sanji (d. 1724), R. Ḥayyim Shelomo Sefami, R. Jacob Sasson (d. 1714), R. Moshe Hacohen (d. 1735), R. Elijah Palombo, R. Abraham Ben Avigdor, R. Ḥayyim de Toledo, R. Judah Navon (d. 1761), R. Abraham Anavi (d. 1813), R. Eliyahu Palombo, R. Moshe Frisco (d. 1807), R. Aharon Zonzin, R. Elijah ben Jacob Alfandari (1670–1717), R. Solomon Alfandari (d. 1774); R. Raphael Jacob Assa, R. Michael Ashkenazi, R. Reuven Mizrahi, R, Nissim Samuel Gabbai, R, Ḥayyim Jacob ben Emmanuel Hamon (d. 1788); R. Emmanuel Zonana, R. Yom Tov Elnekave (d. in Koskonjuk, 1786).

The 19th and Early 20th Centuries

In the 19th century there was a general atmosphere of tolerance between Jews and Turks, but relations with Christians were usually bad. On April 27, 1821, The Grand Vizier Benderli Ali Pasha ordered three Jews to take away the body of the executed Greek Patriarch. After they fulfilled the order, a riot led to the injury of an estimated 5,000 Jews. In 1826 several leading Jews in Istanbul who had economic connections with the Janissary corps were executed by an order of the Sultan Mahmud II. In the course of the 19th century the population of Istanbul's Jews remained stable at around 50,000–55,000. This statistic is based upon Ottoman censuses and other sources. In 1830 42,000 Jews lived in Istanbul; between 1881–1882 and 1906, the Jewish population of Istanbul grew by one-third. In the Istanbul census of 1830, almost a quarter of the Jews subject to the *jizya* were placed in the highest or good category, over half were classified as average, and only a fifth were labeled poor.

The Jewish population in 1885 numbered 44,361; in 1893/4, 46,440; in 1906/7, 47,779; and in 1911/12, 53,606 Jews. The Jewish residents lived in 1885 and in 1906/7 in ten districts: Bayezit, Fatih, Cerrah Pasha, Beshiktash and Bosporous to Rumeli Hisar, Yeniköy and Upper Bosporus; Beyoglu and Dolmabahçe, Dolmabahçe to the end of the Golden Horn, Kanlica and Upper Anatolian Bosporous, Üsküdar and Kadiköy. The majority of Jews lived in Fatih (10,133 persons in 1885 and 10,698 persons in 1906/7), Beshiktash (4,581 persons in 1885 and 4,591 persons in 1906/7), Beyoglu and Dolmabahçe (22,865 persons in 1895 and 24,658 persons in 1906/7), and Üsküdar (5,197 persons in 1885 and 4,097 persons in 1906/7). From the middle of the 19th century the Jewish population of Istanbul increased in absolute numbers. According to the 1882 census, there were about 26,000 Jews, and by 1885, the Jewish population had grown to 44,361 persons. In 1914 52,000 Jews were recorded in the city. From then on, the number has been steadily decreasing to about 49,500 in 1945 and about 36,900 in the 1955 census. After the attacks on the Jews of Thrace, thousands of Jews from Kirklareli, Galipolli, Tekirdag and other towns in Thrace fled to Istanbul and remained there. The main reason for the population drop from 1948 onwards is the mass immigration to Israel and other countries, which explains the number of 19,000 Jews in the city in 1988. In 1844 they constituted five percent of the total population. Between 1844 and 1945 their percentage went up and down alternately, stabilizing at 4.9 percent in 1945. In 1882 there was a relative increase to 7 percent of the city population, and in 1927 there was also a relative increase to 8.6 percent of the general population. In 1955 the percentage of Jews in the general population dropped to 2.4 percent, because of the large immigration to Israel in 1948–1952, reaching 0.3 percent in 1988, due to continual emigration and other demographic processes. In 1988 between 18,900 and 19,200 Jews lived in Istanbul. The above data indicate a decrease in fertility and aging as well as erosion in the size of the Istanbul Jewish community. In 1988 Istanbul South and old neighborhoods in the North and Asia sections were emptied of their Jews, while a massive expansion took place in the Jewish neighborhood of the new Istanbul North. Another accelerated trend, which is still continuing, is a return to the new suburbs of Istanbul/Asia, a place offering them better living conditions. Most of the Jews continue to work in Istanbul South and look for work in Istanbul North.

Fires broke out during the 19th century in 1872, 1874, 1883, 1890, 1891, 1894, and 1896. They destroyed c. 2,000 Jewish houses. Fires also broke out in various quarters in the years 1900; 1905, 1908, 1909, 1911, 1912, 1915, 1918, 1921, 1922, 1923, 1924, and 1941. In 1856 Ludwig Frankel pointed out that about half of the Jews were employed as artisans, i.e, makers of cloth, leather, metal products, etc. In 1885 a census showed 31.1 percent of Jewish males classified in commerce, trade, and industry. The vast majority of Jews were, however, unskilled workers, peddlers, or petty-retail traders.

During the first half of the 19th century powerful Jews from distinguished families were prominent. Isaiah Adjiman, Bekhor Isaac Carmona, and Ezekiel Gabbai were the allies of the Janissaries, for whom they acted as bankers and moneylenders, and some of them bore the title Ocak Bazergani. They also held positions of leadership in the community of Istanbul. Jewish physicians began to reappear at the sultan's court. In the late 1830s, the Jewish dentist Jacob Bivaz entered the palace and served there for 30 years. In 1844, Dr. Spitzer, a Moravian Jew, became a physician and adviser to sultan Abdul Mejid (1839–1861). Some Jewish physicians served at the court of Abdul Hamid II, including Elias Pasha Cohen, Isidore Pasha Greiwer, Leon Behar, David Hayun, and Sami Gunsberg. Influence was wielded by Abraham de *Camondo, the representative of a respected family of scholars and wealthy merchants. He was also influential in ruling circles and founded a modern school. Sultan Mahmud II (1808–39) conscripted a unit of 30 Jewish soldiers from Hasköy and 30 from Balat into the army which set out to suppress the revolt in Morea (the Peloponnesus). In 1835 the office of **ḥakham bashi* (chief rabbi) was instituted and R. Abraham ha-Levi was its first incumbent. The office of *ḥakham bashi* gained increased prestige and importance during the 19th century. It also became the focus of an intense power struggle within the Jewish community of Istanbul. During the reign of the sultan Abdul-Mejid I the authorities allowed the admission of Jews into the military school of medicine and the poll tax was abolished (1853). The era from 1839 to 1876 became known as the *tanẓīmāt* period (after the name of the sultan's progressive legislation). As a result of the publication of the *khaṭṭ-i humayun* ("sultanic decree," 1856), the secular leadership began to gain strength at the expense of the religious leadership in various communities, including that of the Jews. In 1840 Moses *Montefiore visited Istanbul. After the foundation of the modern school by Abraham de Camondo, a *Vaʿad Pekidim* (*Majlis jasmi*, "Committe of Functionaries") was founded; it was composed of wealthy men and intellectuals of progressive views, under the leadership of Camondo. In 1860 the three members of this body were Carmona, Hamon, and Adjiman. At that time the *ḥakham bashi* was R. Jacob Avigdor. Splits occurred between the progressive-intellectual circles and the conservative-religious Jews within the community. In the course of this conflict the French language was introduced into the school. Missionary schools were opened for Jewish children in Istanbul by the American Board Mission to the Jews, the Church of Scotland Mission, and the English Association for Promoting Christianity among Istanbul Jews, but only a few Jews converted to Christianity. In that century 40 synagogues functioned in the community. All the religious services of the Istanbul community were supplied by ten "*Hashgakhot*."

In the middle of the 19th century the francos in Istanbul such as Jacques de Castro, had come into close contact with European Jewry who were interested in spreading Western culture and education in the community. When Albert Cohn arrived in Istanbul in 1854 as the representative of Baron Rothschild and the Central Consistory, Camondo and other francos and some Ashkenazim were ready to open a modern school. The school was inaugurated in November 1854 and was supported by important Jewish philanthropists.

In 1856 a campaign against Camondo was led by R. Isaac Akrish and R. Solomon Kimḥi, who claimed that the new school encouraged children to convert to Christianity. Thereafter, a *ḥerem* was issued against Camondo, but Isaac Akrish was imprisoned upon the order of the *ḥakham bashi*. He was set free by Sultan Abdul-Aziz and settled in Hebron. The school operated during the years 1858–1889. In 1875 the Alliance Israélite Universelle founded a school in Istanbul. In 1878 Dr. Moshe Alatini founded a modern school for girls in Balat. Madame Fernandez headed a girls' school in Hasköy. Schools were established in Galata and Balat for Ashkenazi boys. In the beginning of the 20th century, 35 percent of the Jewish school-age population in the community attended Alliance schools. There were approximately 1,000 Jewish students who attended English protestant schools in Hasköy and in French Schools in other quarters of the city. Not many Jews joined the modern institutions established by the Ottoman government. Three days after the announcement of the 1856 decree, a blood libel case occurred at Balat, where a mob of Greeks, Armenians and Turks started attacking Jews. Another blood libel broke out in Istanbul in 1874. An order by the name of *ḥakham-khane niẓam namesi* ("Organizational Regulation of the Rabbinate") was issued (1864), which defined the administration of the town's *kehillot*, which was to consist of 12 notables and, among them, four senior rabbis. In 1865 a law was passed which defined the institutions of the community. It was to be headed by the *ḥakham bashi*, a secular council, and a religious council.

The first council included most of the Jewish officials of the government administration, while the second included rabbis. Both were elected for three years. In every quarter there was a local rabbi who headed the synagogue committee, as well as a *kahya* whose duty it was to report births, deaths, and the like to the authorities. There were also three *batei din* which dealt only with matrimonial matters. All other matters were brought before the secular tribunals of the state. The above-mentioned regulations remained in effect until the establishment of the republic, when they were allowed to lapse without being replaced. Groups of Jewish immigrants of Ashkenazi descent from Austria, Germany, Hungary, Poland, Romania, and Russia who arrived in Istanbul in the mid-19th century managed to survive as separate entities, alongside the Ottoman Sephardi community. This statute was recognized by the Ottoman authorities and also by the rabbinate, which signed tax agreements with them regarding burial and ritual slaughter. After 1856 a large number of Karaites from Crimea settled in Istanbul. In 1866, R. Shelomo Kimḥi published a pamphlet against the Karaites, in which he collected all the arguments which had been voiced against them over the generations. The Karaites addressed petitions to the chief rabbi, who ordered the destruction of all the copies which had been circulated. During the second half of the 19th century other disputes broke out in the community. In 1862, following an article in the Ladino journal *Journal Israelite* by its editor Yehezkel Gabbai, in which he attempted to show that not all freemasons were atheists, bans were issued against the newspaper and its editor. This dispute resulted in the resignation of the *ḥakham bashi* Ya'akov Avigdor in 1863. In 1862 the francos established in Şişli a separate Italian Jewish community with its own synagogue, cemetery, and administration. This act caused a deep split in the community of Istanbul. During the reign of Abdul-Hamid II (1876–1909), individual Jews of the town are mentioned as having received decorations and as having held senior positions in the administration. In 1880–1884 the leadership of the community was involved in a deep crisis. In this crisis Abraham Ajiman, David Carmona, the *ḥakham bashi* R. Moshe Ha-Levi, Abraham ben Zonana, Bechor Ashkenazi, and other leaders were involved. A new leadership of the community was established in 1883. The local Jewish press had considerable influence on leadership politics. Jewish religious life in Istanbul suffered a decline, especially from the second half of the 18th century until the beginning of the 20th. During the entire 19th century, up to the beginning of the 20th, 26 authors composed 40 books. These rabbis concentrated on halakhic creativity and attempted to meet the challenges of the problems of their generations and tried to offer the best possible halakhic solutions.

In 1906 a large number of refugees arrived from Russia as a result of the revolution of 1905. The Jewish population of Istanbul grew to 100,000 at the beginning of the 20th century. Shortly following the Young Turk Revolution (1908), Jews appear to have been active in government service in Istanbul. Among them were Emmanuel Shalem, Ezekiel Sasoon, Nissim Russo, Vitali Strumsa, and Samuel Israel. But Jews never became cabinet ministers as did Christians in Istanbul. During the 19th century the Jewish community of Istanbul rebuilt its synagogues. From the second half of the 19th century, newspapers and periodicals began to be published in Ladino. The first periodical appeared in 1853 under the name of *Or Yisrael* and was edited by Leo Ḥayyim de Castro. A soup kitchen and relief and charitable institutions were also established. At the beginning of the 20th century the community organization consisted of two separate councils: the religious council (*bet din*) and the secular council, the latter of which dealt with the administrative and financial affairs of synagogues, schools, hospitals, etc. There were cases of conversion to Islam performed in Istanbul in the 18th and 19th centuries, for example in 1771 the conversion of 14 rabbanites and several Karaites residing in Hasköy was reported to the government by the local kadi. In 1838 and 1839 the local kadi reported the conversion of two Jews. In the 19th century Galata served as a major Jewish residence area, and functioned as a political and cultural center for the entire Jewish community of the Capital. Many businessmen maintained their headquarters in this district. A sizeable number of Jews also moved to new neighborhoods north of Galata (around Şişli) and on the European bank of the Bosphorus (Ortaköy, Beshiktash, Arnavutköy) districts, which underwent a rapid development process at that time, while Balat and Hasköy remained poor. The Asiatic neighborhood of Kuzguncuk, known for the Western orientation of its residents, as well as Haydarpasha, played an important role in the modernization process and the penetration of Western culture into Jewish life. Many of the Jews adopted secularism. Nevertheless, throughout the 19th century there existed in Istanbul the yeshivot of R. Eliyahu Anav (in Balat), R. Joseph Alfandari, R. Joshua Zonzin, Uziel Yeshivah, and Kimhi Yeshivah (in Orta Köy) headed by R. Solomon Eliezer Alfandari. At the end of the century R. Shemarya Gabbai established a yeshivah for R. Refael Bitran in Daj Hamami. The responsa literature and the minutes registers of the *batei din* of the community from the 18th and 19th centuries contain dozens of names of Istanbul scholars in every generation. Almost 100 special *minhagim* of Istanbul Jews were written by the rabbis of the community throughout the Ottoman period.

[Abraham Haim and Yaacov Geller /
Leah Bornstein-Makovetsky (2nd ed.)]

Under the Republic of Turkey (from 1923)

The national and secular nature of the Turkish state, which was created by Kemal Ataturk, severely affected the position of the Jews in Istanbul. The laws giving religious autonomy to the Jewish community were allowed to lapse and the *millet* system was abolished. Matters such as personal status (e.g., marriage) were under civil jurisdiction. The community lost the right to levy its own taxes, causing communal institutions to depend for support on voluntary contributions. The measures of secularization affected not only the Jews but, in general, all non-Muslims. In accord with this policy, Turkish became the language of instruction in the schools instead of French (which was used in the *Alliance Israélite Universelle schools throughout the Middle East and North Africa);

the use of French was allowed to continue for a time in the upper grades. The government proscribed the affiliation of any local groups with foreign organizations. Jews, therefore, were prohibited from being represented on such international Jewish bodies as the World Zionist Organization, the World Jewish Congress, and others. In 1932 the schools in Turkey were secularized, in accordance with the character of the state, and religious instruction was prohibited. As other non-Muslim subjects, the Jews of Istanbul were most severely affected by the imposition of the capital levy (*varlik vergisi*) of 1942. In January 1943 the government confiscated the property of those who did not pay as ordered and sent them to labor camps. Some 1,500 Jews from Istanbul were sent to labor camps in Ashkale, and about 40 died there. On the other hand, dozens of Georgian, Kurdish, and German Jewish families which arrived in Istanbul between 1925 and 1950 functioned within the general community's central organizational framework.

Contemporary Period (from 1948)

In 1949 the Turkish National Assembly passed a law which granted the Jewish community autonomy in its internal affairs. This law had been proposed by the Jewish delegate in the house of representatives, Solomon Adato. Religious instruction, which until then had been restricted exclusively to the synagogues, was permitted in schools as part of the normal curriculum. A large number of Jews attended the government schools and continued their studies at the universities. The general educational standard of the Jews of Istanbul was improved as a result of the powerful influence of the Alliance Israélite Universelle. Jewish physicians, lawyers, and engineers of the community played an important role in the life of the country and Jews were also well represented in its commerce. They were rarely employed in the civil services. The number of Jews in Istanbul, estimated at 55,000 in 1948, dropped to 32,946 and 30,831 in the 1955 and 1965 censuses, respectively, as a result of the large-scale emigration to the State of Israel. In 1970 an estimated 30,000 Jews lived in Balat, Hasköy, Ortaköy, and other quarters. The wealthy lived in the Pera and Şişli neighborhoods. The *Haschgaha* in the above-mentioned and six other quarters elects a committee which constitutes the members of the city's general community council. This is comprised of 60 men, including a few members of the Ashkenazi congregation. The general council elects the president of the community and administrative and religious committees. Each congregation also has a rabbi. The council's income is derived from dues, synagogue contributions, and donations. By 1950 the general council numbered only 42 members, since for several years new members were not elected to replace those who had died or emigrated. In 1950, elections were held to fill the 18 vacancies. Samuel Abrevaya was elected president of the community, and held the post until his death in 1953. He was succeeded by Henri Soriano and, later, Israel Menaşe. Until 1953, Istanbul Jewry had no official chief rabbi recognized by the authorities. In that year R. Raphael Saban was chosen. In 1968, the following institutions were supervised by the community's general council: the Or Ḥayyim Hospital (built in 1885); an orphanage; the Ẓedakah u-Marpe charitable organization (founded in 1918), which was responsible for the education of underprivileged students; an old-age home (founded in 1899); a Maḥzikei Torah organization, which provided training one day a week for cantors and *mohalim*; and the Mishneh Torah association, which helped poor students. In 1968 the community also had three elementary schools and a high school. In 1966 the attendance figures at these schools were 950 pupils, most of them poor, since the wealthy Jews preferred to send their children to foreign schools. There were also Jewish youth organizations in Istanbul in 1968, such as Ne'emanei Zion, Amical, and others, some of which undertook a certain amount of Hebrew education. Most of the community members in the 1980s and 1990s worked in the following occupations: light industry, trade, engineering, medicine, law, clerical work, religious services, and various aspects of the technical trade. There are also rich businessmen, such as Jack Kimche, who had an industrial-cum-commercial firm in Istanbul. He simultaneously held a representative position as a member of the Turkish National Bureau of Commerce and Industry. The academic-teaching sphere is still modest among the local Jews.

Among the members of the community in the latter part of the 20th century and into the 21st there is a high level of solidarity. Many of them plan to emigrate and do not establish permanent relations with the majority population. They oppose mixed marriages and live in their own neighborhoods. They establish schools for their children, but the majority of the local Jews send their children to Turkish schools. The Jews of Istanbul under the Turkish republic preserve their religion and avoid involvement in local politics, except for issues that directly affect them as a group. The majority of Istanbul Jews are businessmen, but there are many poor Jews who receive a monthly income from the community. The Jews in the period 1948–1992 still preserved the characteristics of a middleman minority, with its economic and social aspects. The Muslim majority population, as in the previous centuries, still considers the local Jews a foreign minority and not ordinary Turkish citizens. In the riots of 1955 and 1963 against minorities that erupted in Istanbul because of economic conditions, Jews also sustained damage. In the 1960s and 1970s, hundreds of local Jews were caught by the Turkish authorities for smuggling their financial savings to Israel and other countries, and for other crimes: the exchange of money on the black market in Istanbul and Izmir, and the so-called exploitation of the country's resources. However, the reforms of the republican period were adopted voluntarily and readily by the community leadership, and the European day of rest was adopted by the vast majority of community members, to the dismay of their leaders. Adoption of the Swiss civil law permitted marriage between Jews and non-Jews. From the 1960s on, the process of intermarriage increased. In the early 21st century intermarriage was making serious inroads into the community fabric:

in 1990 – 25.8% percent; in 1991 – 39.4%; in 1992 – 42.1%; and in 1993 – 41.9 percent.

In the 1970s and 1980s the Jewish community of Istanbul was involved in certain aspects of Turkish foreign policy, and there were appeals to the community to act in the United States on behalf of its foreign and domestic affairs. The Turkish government also invited community representatives to accompany Turkish personalities on their visits to Israel. In 1992 the community celebration of the Quicentennial of Sephardi Jewry in Turkey was supported by the government. Later the community founded a Jewish school in Ulus, instead of the Jewish school in Galata.

Very few Jews function openly in their political parties in Istanbul, but many more of them provide support and advice behind the scenes.

At the end of the 1980s the secular Council (*Conseil Laïc*, Parliament) ran into problems when the entire work load had to be borne by about six persons. In 1988, a committee was established which proposed a new structure. The membership of the council was expanded from 27 to 41, and that of the Executive Committee to 17. Together they comprised the Senate which also comprised the members of the Vakifs and their leaders, the heads of the communities of Izmir, Ankara, Adana, Bursa, etc. – all in all about 150 members. This body, which is not recognized by the government, meets once every half-year to receive a report. The council elects its president as well as the president of the Executive Committee and the president of the Senate. Since the establishment in 1892 of B'nai B'rith in Turkey, its leaders and their descendants have been active in community life and have been the cultural and intellectual elite of the Istanbul community. In 1994, the organization numbered 335 persons. B'nai B'rith operates a recreational house for poor children in Istanbul and provides scholarships for students each year; other welfare institutions are old people's neighborhood burial societies that were united at the beginning of the 1970s into one *ḥevra kaddisha* serving the entire community; and Barin Yurt, a shelter for the poor, that was opened by the community in 1991.

The weekly *Shalom* is the Istanbul community's only written press. There are 16 synagogues in the city, three of them are open daily; 63% of the Jews attend the synagogue once or twice a year. About 600 students aged 6 to 18 attend Mahazikei Torah, an educational institution that supplements the synagogue. The Istanbul Rabbinate comprises five *dayyanim*, including the president of the Rabbinical Court and the *ḥaham bashi*, who heads this body.

For further information, see *Turkey.

[Hayyim J. Cohen / Leah Bornstein-Makovetsky (2nd ed.)]

Hebrew Printing

From the beginning of the 16th century to the end of the 18th, Istanbul was one of the centers of Hebrew printing. The Ottoman Empire and its capital served as a refuge for Jews fleeing from Spain and Portugal after the expulsions of 1492 and 1497, some of whom brought with them their skill in the new art of printing, as well as manuscripts of great rabbinic writers and Kabbalah writers of the past. Later, Marranos escaping the Inquisition played a similar part. In the Ottoman Empire Hebrew books could be printed and sold freely, without the hindrance of the Christian Church. Books were also printed in Spanish (in Hebrew characters), both original manuscripts and translations from Hebrew and other languages, for which there was a growing demand throughout the Spanish-Portuguese Diaspora.

THE 15TH AND 16TH CENTURIES. The first Hebrew printing press – which was the first printing press in any language in the Ottoman Empire, the first book in Turkish being printed in 1728 – was set up in Istanbul in 1493 by David and Samuel ibn *Naḥmias, exiles from Spain. Their first book was Jacob b. Asher's *Arba'ah Turim*. It was followed a year later by a volume of the Pentateuch with Rashi, *haftarot* with David Kimḥi's commentary, the Five Scrolls with the commentary of Abraham Ibn Ezra, and the Antiochus Scroll. The Naḥmias family were active until 1518. In this early period of Hebrew printing in Istanbul (1504–30) more than 100 books of remarkable range and quality were published, among them Midrashim, the *Aggadot ha-Talmud* (forerunner of Jacob *Ibn Ḥabib's *Ein Ya'akov*), geonic works, Alfasi, *Maimonides' Code – printed for the second time, but on the basis of another manuscript – and his *Sefer ha-Mitzvot* as well as his responsa and letters. Meanwhile, Gershom *Soncino and his son Eliezer had arrived in Istanbul from Italy, and their press published over 40 books between 1530 and 1547, including a Pentateuch with Targum Onkelos, Rashi, and *Saadiah's Arabic and Jacob b. Joseph *Tavus' Persian translations (1545–46), followed by another Pentateuch edition, also with Targum Onkelos and Rashi, and translations into Greek and Spanish, both in Hebrew characters with vowel signs (1547). Eliezer also printed a Hebrew translation, by the physician Jacob Algabe, of the Spanish romance *Amadís de Gaula*, the first secular work in Hebrew to be printed in Istanbul. A former employee of the Soncinos, Moses b. Eliezer Parnas, continued printing on their press after Eliezer's death in 1548, publishing at least five books by 1553. Others active in printing during the period were the *Halicz brothers, printers from Cracow who publicly returned to Judaism in Istanbul after having undergone baptism in Poland in 1537. Between 1551 and 1553 they printed a Hebrew Bible, Isaac of Dueren's halakhic compendium *Sha'arei Dura*, and a Hebrew version of Judith. More important were the activities of Solomon and Joseph, the sons of Isaac *Jabez from Spain, who arrived in Istanbul via Salonika and Adrianople. From 1559 until his death in 1593, Solomon, in partnership with his brother Joseph from 1570, printed such important items as the responsa of R. Elijah Mizraḥi (1559) and R. Joseph ibn Lev (1561) and, in particular, the larger part of the Talmud (1583–93). Eliezer b. Isaac (Ashkenazi) of Prague, a Hebrew printer from Lublin, went to Istanbul in 1575 with his equipment and printed geonic responsa and part of the *Maḥzor Romania*. After a dispute with his partner in this enterprise, David b. Elijah Kashti, the rest of the *Maḥzor* was printed by Kashti at the press of Joseph Jabez (1575–78). Under the patronage of Reyna, daughter of Doña Gracia and the widow of Joseph Nasi, Joseph b. Isaac of Ashkelon printed some 15 books, one of them in Ladino, of no great distinction, first at the palace of Belvedere at Ortaköy, 1592–94, and later at Kuru Çeşme, 1597–99. Manuscripts from Joseph Nasi's library were published by his interpreter, R. Isaac b. Samuel Onkeneira.

THE 17th CENTURY. A Marrano, Solomon b. David, revived the trade by printing Rashi's Pentateuch commentary in 1639. He was followed by his son Abraham and son-in-law Jacob b. Solomon Gabbai. They published mainly Sephardi authors, such as the responsa of Joseph b. Moses *Trani (1641). They also published a *Midrash Rabbah* in the same year, a vowelled Mishnah text with the commentary *Kav Naḥat* by Isaac Gabbai (1644–45), and other halakhic, homiletic, and kabbalistic literature.

THE 18th CENTURY. Hebrew printing during the 18th century in Istanbul was dominated by Jonah b. Jacob Ashkenazi, his sons, and his grandsons, who between 1710 and 1778 issued 188 works, employing at one time as many as 50 workers. Jonah designed and improved his type, and was among those who cast the first Turkish type in 1728. He traveled widely in search of worthwhile manuscripts. He printed such important works as the Zohar (Istanbul 1736–37); the first edition of the famous and influential book *Ḥemdat Yamim* (Smyrna, 1731–32; Istanbul, 1735–72); and a Bible with Ladino translation (in partnership with the Venetian Benjamin b. Moses Rushi). Altogether, his Ladino productions, originals or translations from the Hebrew, brought about a revival of Ladino literature and language.

THE 19th AND 20th CENTURIES. Using the remnants of the Ashkenazi press, Elijah Pardo produced six books between 1799 and 1808, among them Rashi's *Pardes* (1802) and the Zohar on Genesis (in installments, 1807–08). Isaac b. Abraham Castro, his sons and his grandsons printed with interruptions from 1808 to 1848, beginning with *Tikkunei Zohar*, rabbinical works, Ladino translations, and polemics against the Christian missions. The Castro press remained active until 1925. The Christian printer Arap Oglu Bogos, commissioned by Jews, printed at least 18 books in Hebrew and Ladino from 1822 to 1827. In the 20th century, with the gradual decline of the Hebrew presses, Ladino literature was eventually published by Christian missionaries; French and English literature in Ladino was published by Greek and Armenian printers. From 1860 to 1940 the Ladino newspaper press, as well as some Jewish printers and publishers, printed mainly Ladino literature.

[Abraham Haim / Yaacov Geller]

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°**ISTÓCZY, GYÖZÖ** (1842–1915), Hungarian lawyer and antisemitic politician. Forced to resign his position as judge because of an irregularity he had committed, he began to develop a persecution mania, claiming that "the Jews" had "framed" him; this seems to have been the origin of his pathological hatred of Jews. In 1872 he was elected to parliament, where, in 1875, he attacked Jewish emancipation on the grounds that it would encourage further Jewish immigration. In 1878 he suggested that the Jews should be transported to Palestine, where their statehood should be reestablished, declaring that "among their [Arab] fellow-Semites the Jews could beneficially employ their manifold talents, and at the same time assist the financial regeneration of the ramshackle Ottoman Empire." In 1880 Istóczy tried to found a German-type antisemitic union and incited college students to anti-Jewish demonstrations. In the same year he founded a monthly paper, *Tizenkét Röpirat* ("Twelve Pamphlets"), which contained the most primitive and virulent anti-Jewish propaganda. He modeled himself on the most notorious German Jew-haters, such as A. *Stoecker and A. *Rohling. He accused the Jews of enslaving the Christian Magyars through usury and the press, calling upon the Hungarians to defend themselves against these dangers. Istóczy and his friends were largely responsible for creating the atmosphere in which the ritual murder charge was brought against the Jews of *Tiszaeszlar in 1882. In 1883 Istóczy founded the Anti-Semite Party, which obtained 17 seats in parliament in 1884. *Tizenkét Röpirat* became the party's official mouthpiece and continued to appear until 1892, but the party itself existed until 1895. After its demise Istóczy retired from active political life and published Hungarian versions of several works of classical literature, such as Josephus' *Jewish War* (1900), *Contra Apionem* (1903), and, in the same year, *Tacitus' "Observations on the Characteristics of the Jews" (from his *Historiae*). Istóczy's translations are, on the whole, unscholarly and clearly show his political bias.

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[Jeno Zsoldos]

ISTOMIN, EUGENE (**George**; 1925–2003), U.S. pianist. Born in New York to parents of Russian-Jewish ancestry who were both professional singers, Istomin first studied with Kiriena Siloti and then at the Mannes College. At 12 he entered the Curtis Institute, where he studied with Rudolf *Serkin and Horszowski. At the age of 17, Istomin won the Leventritt and Philadelphia Orchestra Youth Awards, making sensational debuts with both the Philadelphia and New York Philharmonic Orchestras.

His first recording, which brought him considerable acclaim, was of Bach's D minor Concerto with the Busch Chamber Players.

Starting in 1950, Istomin became a regular participant at the Prades Festival organized by the famous cellist Pablo Casals. His rare combination of virtuosity, poetic insight, and aristocratic style won him international acclaim as a recitalist, orchestral soloist, and chamber musician. Embarking on major tours abroad from 1956, he performed with the world's leading orchestras and conductors. In 1961 he formed a trio with Isaac *Stern and Leonard *Rose with which he made dozens of recordings, including concertos, solo works, and the famous trio's extensive survey of the chamber music literature. Istomin was associated primarily with 19th-century and early-20th-century works. Eminent composers such as Henri Dutilleux and Ned Rorem wrote and dedicated works to him. He was a cultural ambassador under every president from Eisenhower to Reagan. In 1975 he married Marta Casals, the widow of Pablo Casals, and went on to settle in Washington. Later he served on the faculty of the Manhattan School of Music. In 2001, he was inducted into the French Legion of Honor.

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[Naama Ramot (2nd ed.)]

ISTRIA, peninsula in the N. Adriatic. The first Jewish settlement dates to the Middle Ages. In 1380 Jews opened a bank at Capodistria. Later Jews settled at Isola, Pirano, Rovigno, Pola, and Veglia. A number of Jews from Germany settled in Istria in the 1480s, mainly in the cities of Muggia, Pirano, and Parenzo. Under the protection of the republic of Venice, they were permitted to engage in trade and moneylending. The most important bank was probably established in Pirano in 1484. In 1502 the pseudo-messiah Asher *Lemlin appeared in Istria. Jews were expelled from Muggia in 1532. Jewish banks in Istria continued to function with interruptions until the middle of the 17th century, when they were replaced by the **monti di pietà* (church loan banks). By then most of the Jews had left the area, mainly for Trieste and other neighboring communities in Italy.

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[Daniel Carpi / Samuele Rocca (2nd ed.)]

ISTRUMSA, ḤAYYIM ABRAHAM (18th–19th century), rabbi in Greece, born in *Salonika. He served as rabbi and preacher in Komotini from 1793 to 1801, after which he went to Salonika, preaching mainly in the "Old Castile" and "Old Catalonia" synagogues. Afterward he served as rabbi in the Greek towns of Serres, Larissa, and Kastoria. In 1804 he officiated at the reconsecration of the newly renovated "Old Italian" synagogue in Salonika. Istrumsa was the author of *Yerekh Avraham* (Salonika, 1815), halakhic rulings and a dissertation on the writing of names in bills of divorce, including the halakhic rulings of his grandfather, Daniel; and *Ben Avraham* (*ibid.*, 1826), homilies, responsa, and novellae on the Torah and *Arba'ah Turim*.

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[Simon Marcus]

ITALIA, SHALOM (c. 1619–c. 1655), engraver, etcher, and draftsman. Probably born in Mantua, Shalom Italia lived in Amsterdam from at least 1641, and was active there for eight and possibly 15 years. Of the ten signed works by him, only two are dated – 1642 and 1649; five other works are ascribed to him. In his early works he signed in Hebrew: "by Shalom Italia" (איטאליאה) but later in Latin: "Salom Italia sculpsit." Most of his copper engravings and etchings were done for scrolls (*megillot*) of Esther, but he also engraved portraits, book illustrations, and a **ketubbah*. The decorations in his *megillot* are in the form of arcades framing the text, with Purim characters between the columns, and scenes from the *megillah* in cartouches at the bottom of the text columns. One of the first *megillot*, formerly in the Rothschild Collection in Frankfurt, was hand drawn, signed, and dated 1649. C. Roth has attributed another fine example, the etched *Howitt Megillah* of about 1647, to Shalom Italia (London Jewish Museum, 35). His best-known portrait, of Jacob Judah Leon *Templo, was not signed by him when it first appeared in 1641, but only in its later version, when it was attached in 1654 to his book on the cherubim. Another portrait, of *Manasseh Ben Israel, was signed and dated 1642.

Also attributed to him are the four crude illustrations to Manasseh Ben Israel's *Piedra Gloriosa* (1655). These unsigned engravings are based on works by *Rembrandt, and if they are by Shalom Italia then it must be assumed that he was still active in 1655. A single engraved *ketubbah* (Israel Museum) signed by him was used in Rotterdam in 1648, but was probably executed before 1641. In tracing the stylistic and technical development of Shalom Italia, M. Narkiss drew attention to the influence of the French artist Daniel Rabel (1578–1637) and the Dutch artist Hans Janssen (active in Amsterdam 1631–33).

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[Bezalel Narkiss]

ITALIAN LITERATURE

Influence of the Bible

As in other European cultures, the Bible became known to the Italian literary and cultural world through the Latin Vulgate, which was extensively studied in medieval times and, to a lesser extent, in the humanist period of the 15th–16th centuries. Fragmentary translations of the Bible into Italian, based on the Vulgate, were made in the 13th century. Translations in an entirely separate category were those made by Jews from Hebrew into *Judeo-Italian, written in Hebrew characters. These translations lacked literary or aesthetic value, and were used exclusively by Jews, although they may also have been known to gentiles during the 12th and 13th centuries. They are important for the study of the history of Italian dialects and the phonetics of the Italian language: among them are the translations of the Psalms, Song of Songs, Amos, Jonah, and Habakkuk. Two examples of translation into Italian from the Vulgate are the *Splanamento de li Proverbi di Salomone*, written by Gherardo Pateg (early 13th century), and the *Cantico delle creature*, a free adaptation of Psalm 148 by St. Francis of Assisi. Written in rhythmic prose, the latter constitutes the earliest document of authentic Italian poetry. The piecemeal translations were collected at the end of the 14th century under the title *Biblia volgare*; but the exact development from anonymous and fragmentary manuscripts to the *Biblia volgare* – containing the entire Old and New Testaments and a portion of the Apocrypha – has yet to be explored.

With the advent of Bible criticism, non-Jews, too, began to translate the Bible into Italian from the original tongues (see *Bible, Translations). The work of A. Brucioli and G. Marmochini is representative of Renaissance Bible translation, but the process was abruptly checked by the Counter-Reformation, which prohibited study of the Bible in the vernacular. A translation which continues to enjoy great popularity is that by the Protestant G. Diodati (1607). In a much delayed reaction, the Catholic Church decided more than 150 years later to distribute Archbishop Martini's version (1776–81), which was popular up to the late 19th century. During the Renaissance, Jews also set themselves to making Bible translations in a good literary style. The best-known Jewish translations were those by David min-ha-Tappuḥim (David de *Pomis; Ecclesiastes, Venice, 1571) and Ezechia da Rieti (Proverbs, Venice, 1617).

BIBLICAL THEMES. Italian literature's unique relationship to the Greco-Roman world long restricted the Bible's role in the experience and expression – aesthetic, philosophical, and moral – of Italian writers. Most authors and men of culture were educated along classical lines, which excluded a study of the Bible as literature. *Dante Alighieri, Italy's greatest poet, was a solitary exception. He had a rich and highly original relationship with the Bible, which was one of the two principal sources of his poetry, the other being Vergil's *Aeneid*. Through the Vulgate, Dante acquired a biblical style and infused his *Divine Comedy* with biblical expressions, images, and linguistic patterns. Dante placed the heroes of Israel – the patriarchs, the Hebrew kings, the prophets, Judith, and the Maccabees – in heaven, and made them symbolize and exemplify faith, valor, and humility. Dante believed that the Hebrew Bible was the primary evidence of Divine revelation, teaching faith in one God, and that the Old Testament's authority had not been diminished by the New Testament. During the 14th century, biblical influence can be detected in biographical works and in tales of a moral and didactic type, as well as in religious and mystical literature. This literature, which was only of marginal importance, was mainly inspired by the Psalms, Proverbs, and Ecclesiastes.

The earliest plays on biblical themes, all anonymous, were written in the 15th century, and are a direct continuation of the *sacra rappresentazione* of medieval religious drama. Works of this kind include *rappresentazioni* such as *Caino e Abele, Abramo e Agar, Abramo e Isaac, La regina Ester*, and *Nabuccodonosor*. The Florentine playwright Feo Belcari derived much of his inspiration from these plays. His drama, *La rappresentazione di Abramo e Isaac* (1449), is an attempt at a realistic recreation of the episode of the **Akedah*. After the era of humanism and the Renaissance, it was not until the beginning of the Baroque period, when the Aristotelian principles of unity of time and place in tragedy had been abandoned, that Italian writers returned to the Bible. Under the impact of the didactic and ethical demands of the Counter-Reformation, the Bible became a rich source of inspiration. Baroque writers tended to express their religious emotions in drama or music. Biblical figures and events provided suitable literary material. From the 17th century onward, this trend was particularly evident in Italian drama, which served as a model for the French dramatist, *Racine. Heroism and tragic faith now replaced the old epic and Greek tragedy. Torquato Tasso was the author of *Gerusalemme liberata* (1581), an epic poem dealing with the Crusaders who sacrificed their lives for a religious ideal. After *La reina Ester* by the Genoese poet Ansaldo Cebà (1615), the foremost Italian tragedian inspired by biblical themes was Frederico della Valle, who dramatized *Judith* (1628) and *Esther* (1628). Della Valle had many imitators and followers who combined in their works Baroque taste and the didactic aims of the Jesuits. The favorite biblical characters dramatized in Italy during the 17th and 18th centuries were Joash, king of Judah, David, Saul, Rachel, "mother of the Maccabees," and Judith. Another favorite character, John, appeared in *Giovanni di Giscala* by A. Varano (1754). Pietro Metastasio also treated biblical subjects in his melodramas *La morte di Abele* (1732) and *Gioas, Re di Giuda* (1735), which combine tender music with the conflict between good and evil, as understood by Baroque and Arcadian writers. A fundamental turning point in the conception of biblical tragedy may be seen in the *Saul* (1782) of Vittorio Alfieri, who also wrote the ponderous *Abele* (1796). With characteristic pre-Romantic taste, Alfieri invests Saul's battles and death with the defiant grandeur of an individual who tries to impose his will on friend and enemy alike, even when his own doom has been sealed by divine decree. In the 19th century, the Bible was a source of inspiration for some of the Italian Romantics. However, these writers sought in the Bible the new ideas of human freedom and the principles of absolute justice rather than epic greatness and heroism. Tragic episodes in the Bible were now associated with the historic tragedy of the Jewish people, sometimes punished and persecuted because of their sins, sometimes redeemed. The fate of biblical Israel was identified with that of the Italian nation, downtrodden and oppressed because of its reluctance to revolt and free itself. This trend is exemplified in *La terra dei morti*, a poem by Giuseppe Giusti, where Ezekiel's vision of the dry bones is satirically applied to the situation of 19th-century Italy. Even more than in tragedy, poetry, and prose, biblical influence was dominant in Italian opera, reaching a peak in Giuseppe Verdi's *Nabucco* (1842). Following the unification of Italy, the Bible – a source of inspiration for 700 years – ceased to influence Italian writers to any significant extent. The legacy of the Bible was at best seen in a biblical style of writing and in a richly evocative lyrical expression – prophetic pathos on the one hand, and an absence of rhetoric on the other. However, two novels, both centered on the biblical character of King David, deserve mention for the stature of their authors: *Il pianto del figlio di Lais* (1945) by Riccardo Bacchelli and *Davide: romanzo* (1976) by Carlo Coccioli (this latter based on a reading of the Bible in Hebrew).

The Image of the Jew

Jews and Judaism play a comparatively minor part in Italian literature. The relatively small number of Italian Jews throughout the ages and the classical ties of Italian literature and culture explain the limited role of Jews in Italian intellectual life, particularly during the golden age of Italian literature.

DANTE AND BOCCACCIO. Dante's only allusion to Jews is in his *Divine Comedy*, where he refers to Christianity's origin in the Jewish people. As for the "historical" Jews living after the triumph of Christianity, Dante praised them as exemplary people who, unlike the Christians of his time, remained loyal to their God. Only occasionally do Jews appear as central figures in the Italian prose and fiction of the later Middle Ages. Giovanni *Boccaccio portrayed them sympathetically in two famous stories, demonstrating his tolerant approach to the controversies between the three great religions and using his Jewish heroes to deride the moral corruption of the Catholic Church. Boccaccio's exotic Jew reveals the greatness of the human mind and plays a positive role in the writer's human comedy. The Jew also appears in the early 15th-century version of the *Wandering Jew tale. Here he is a wholly sympathetic character, contrasting markedly with the tragic, guilt-ridden figure of the later German tradition.

MEDIEVAL AND RENAISSANCE STEREOTYPES. A very different attitude is displayed by the 14th century Florentine Franco Sacchetti in his *Trecento novelle*. In the five stories introducing Jewish characters, all the religious prejudice of the medieval Church is brought into play. The Jew is a moneylender, merchant, or swindler whose sole aim is the corruption of the true Christian. It is therefore legitimate to injure and trick him and to rejoice at his humiliation. A similar approach characterizes Ser Giovanni Fiorentino's late 14th-century story of Giannetto in the collection *Il Pecorone*. The Jewish villain's greed and his hatred of Christians lead him to devise a cruel scheme to tear the flesh from a living body. This story was adapted by the English translator William Painter in his *Palace of Pleasure* (1566), a favorite source for many Elizabethan dramatists. According to some scholars, this was the original source of *Shakespeare's Shylock in *The Merchant of Venice*. There were also popular, stereotyped Jews in many anonymous Italian stories of the 15th century, most of which had a didactic and moralizing aim. However, a few of these stories present the Jew as a figure of integrity and pride, commanding respect rather than scorn. With the advent of humanism and the Renaissance, the standardized description of the Jew as merchant and usurer sank to the level of folk-literature. The Jew now figured only in satire and comedy, which gradually blended with the comic stereotype of Italian Renaissance writers. Such was the case with Pietro Aretino, who introduced Jewish secondhand dealers in his comedies *La cortigiana* (1526) and *Il Marescalco* (1533). A Jewish scoundrel, sorcerer, and fortune-teller appears in the comedy *Il negromante* (1520) by Ludovico Ariosto. The intention, however, is not to mock the Jew as a Jew, but to construct a broad satire on human folly victimized by shrewd impostors. In the development of the *commedia dell' arte*, the Jewish moneylender is one of the many comic characters of the Pulcinella and Harlequin type. The best known of these are the character of Manovello (Immanuel) the Jew, and the comic descriptions of ghetto Jews in *Amfiparnaso* (1597) and *Veglie di Siena* (1604) by the Modena composer Orazio Vecchi.

LATER PORTRAYALS. The last stage in the comic description of the Jew is marked by the many stereotypes of Roman ghetto Jews in the comic folk poems written in the 17th-century Roman dialect. G. Berneri's *Meo Patacca* (1695) is the most famous example of this genre. These poems, partly in the tradition of Italian folk theater and partly in that of refined comedy, contain many words borrowed from the Roman variant of Judeo-Italian. The last appearance of the Jew in Roman dialect poetry is the description of Jews and ghetto life in the 50 or more sonnets by the Roman poet Giuseppe Gioacchino Belli. But here, a worn and stereotyped theme is enlivened by penetrating social and anti-ecclesiastical criticism. In contrast to comedy, satire, and popular literature, the refined poetry and *belles lettres* of the Renaissance and Baroque periods lack Jewish themes. Despite the legendary exchange of sonnets between Petrarch and the Jewish poetess Giustina *Levi-Perotti, the Jew finds no place in the poetry, epic, tragedy, or prose of Ariosto, Matteo Boiardo, and Pulci, nor in Baroque and Arcadian poetry, idylls, and pastoral studies (*Favole pastorali*). The one writer to provide an exception to this rule was P.F. Frugoni, in whose *Il cane di Diogene* (1687) the reader finds a Jew who is a strange combination of ritual slaughterer, physician, and sorcerer. Frugoni was a writer far in advance of his time, and his descriptions of a strange and marvelous, but nevertheless believable, world match anything to be found in modern literature. The beginning of Romanticism and national awakening brought about in Italy by the French Revolution sparked a parallel literary revolution. Once modern Italian literature had liberated itself from the classical tradition, writers also began to show interest in the wretched condition of the Jew – bereft of rights, persecuted, the victim of blind prejudice. Some of the greatest Italian poets and authors of the 19th century, such as Vittorio Alfieri, Ugo Foscolo, Giacomo Leopardi, and A. Manzoni, expressed their sympathy for the Jews, took up their cause, and looked upon them as comrades in the struggle against Church despotism and for national liberation and social and economic improvement. The Jew now became a useful subject for polemics in the struggle for civil rights, individual liberty, and freedom of speech. This sympathetic attitude, however, did not give rise to any notable literary works. The real extent of the Jewish tragedy was beyond the comprehension of these writers, who dealt mainly with biblical episodes in which the leitmotifs were freedom and epic heroism. The Jew was never subjected to a searching and universal analysis. The few attempts by authors such as the 19th-century Ippolito Nievo, who wrote the tedious (and unpublished) historical novel *Emmanuel*, and the playwright Achille Torelli, who wrote the drama *L'Israelita* (1841), were unsuccessful. At the same time, the polemical press and the publications of Italy's national liberation movement – primarily through its chief philosopher, Giuseppe Mazzini – were inspired by such general ideas in Judaism as its concept of Divine Unity, its moral values, and its democratic social outlook.

THE 20TH CENTURY. In the 20th century neither Italian prose writers nor poets showed any particular interest in the Jews and their fate. This may be explained by the exiguity of the Jewish nucleus in Italy, the nonexistence of a "Jewish problem" from the unification of Italy until the Fascist persecution, and the scant knowledge of the Old Testament characteristic of Catholic countries. Works like those of Thomas *Mann, inspired by the story of Joseph, would be inconceivable in Italian literature. Only in recent years, in the wake of the tragedy of European Jewry and the birth of the State of Israel, have a few works on such themes appeared, especially documentaries and histories. Great poets of the early 20th century such as Carducci, Pascoli, and D'Annunzio (the last having a Jewish character in his *Più che l'amore*), and major prose writers like Verga and Fogazzaro, have at best shown only casual and marginal interest in Jewish problems. Nor has it been usual for Jewish writers to face Judaism as a separate issue. In some cases, the Jew was chosen as a subject for literary and poetic discussion. One notable exponent of this trend is Luigi Pirandello, whose story *Il presepe* depicts a Jew who marries a non-Jewish girl. *Un goj*, one of Pirandello's short stories, also concerns a Jew. On a lesser plane, Giovanni Papini often presents a biased or distorted picture of Jews and Judaism, as in *Storia di Cristo* (1921), *Gog* (1931), and *Lettere… del papa Celestino VI* (1947). For his part, Alfredo Panzini in his novel *Viaggio con la giovane ebrea* (1935) dwells on the issue of the patriotism of the Jews in their countries of birth in lengthy and somewhat ambiguous dissertations. In the interwar period two novels appeared which dealt with a specific Jewish theme: *Schemagn Israel* (1924), by Luigi di San Giusto, the tragic story of a Jewish family of Trieste during World War I; and *Ebrei* (1930), by Mario Puccini, the tale of a Jewish family in Ancona during the same period. Jewish themes are also used more or less directly in novels such as *La nave degli eroi* (1927) by Clarice Tartufari, *Kaddish* (1930) by Guido Milanesi, *Lilith* (1934) and *Il paradiso perduto* (1935) by Salvatore Gotta, as well as *Mamma* (1959; reprinted in 1961) by Virgilio Brocchi. The end of World War II saw the publication of R.M. Angelis' novel, *Panche gialle* (1945), which tells of the plight of German Jews in 1933. Among works which have drawn inspiration from the Bible are *Giuda* (1922) by F.V. Ratti; *Giobbe, uomo solo* (1955) by G.B. Angioletti; *Giuda* (1917) and *Rosa di Sion* (1918), by Enrico Pea, whose story *Lisetta* (1946) also contains Jewish characters; and two plays by Diego Fabbri, *Processo a Gesù* (1953), and *Inquisizione* (1950). Jews and episodes from Jewish life also appear in and *Il mulino del Po* (1938–40) by Riccardo Bacchelli. Among the works of Marino Moretti is the novella *Tre sorelle* (in the collection *Cinquanta Novelle*, 1962), a revision of *Le sorelle Nunes* (1948). Jewish characters and events connected with Jews are referred to, not always with sympathy or understanding, in various works by Curzio Malaparte (Kurt Erich Suckert) like the quasi-documentary novels *Kaputt* (1944) and *La pelle* (1949). Many works of a documentary character were published in the immediate postwar period. Jewish episodes and characters are also found in *Cortile a Cleopatra* (1931) and *Ballata Levantina* (1961) by Fausta Cialente, as well as in Giuseppe Borgese's novels *Rubé* (1921), *I vivi e i morti* (1923, 1951) and his drama *Lazzaro* (1925), and in A. Gatti's *Ilia ed Alberto* (1931).

The tragedy of the Holocaust again placed the Jews in the center of literary interest. One of the most important novels of postwar Italy is *La Storia* (1974; *History: a Novel*, 1977) by Elsa Morante (whose mother was Jewish, but who did not show any signs of Jewish identity). In this ambitious novel, which explicitly attempted to renew the epic-popular tradition, some of the heroes and minor characters are Jews, or half-Jews, of Rome in the years of World War II and the postwar period. Roman Jews are also present in *La parola ebreo* (1997) by Rosetta Loy, an anamnesis of the antisemitic period in Italy, centered on the indifference of so many Christians. The sociologist Sabino Acquaviva himself tried his hand at the historical novel, with *La ragazza del ghetto* (1996), on a difficult love relation between a Jewess and a Catholic nobleman in the Venice of the 16th century.

Jews and Judaism are equally inconspicuous in Italian poetry, where they obtain no more than a passing reference. In one of her poems, "L'Apparizione" (1918), Ada Negri commemorated the war hero Roberto Sarfatti, son of Mussolini's biographer Margherita Sarfatti, who fell in World War I; but the choice of the theme was anything but deliberate. In contrast, "Dora Markus," a long poem by Eugenio Montale presents a specific Jewish motif. Similarly, the Nobel Prize winner Salvatore Quasimodo touches on Jewish subjects in the poems: "Il mio paese è l'Italia," "Auschwitz," "Alle fronde dei salici," and "Alla nuova luna." Others of his poems are inspired by the Book of Psalms. In Rossana Ombres' verse collection *Le ciminiere di Casale* (1962), the last group titled "Per una nuova sinagoga" is of Jewish interest. A few poems about Jews and the State of Israel were written by Diego Valeri (1887–1975) in 1967 and reprinted in his book *Verità di uno* (1970). In *Poesie e prose* (n.d.) by Egidio Meneghetti various poems in the Venetian dialect, especially "Lager," and "Bortolo e l'ebreeta," are concerned with Jewish motifs. So are "Isacco & Co.," "Ci avevo un gatto e se' chiamava Ajò," and other farcical sonnets in the Roman dialect by Trilussa (Carlo Alberto Salustri) and before him, by the poets G. Belli, whose sonnets contain many Jewish references; and Gigi Zanazzo.

The Jewish Contribution

Jews have spoken and written in Italian since the language began to evolve, yet the Jewish contribution to Italian literature has been limited. In medieval and even in modern times, Jews wrote in their own Judeo-Italian dialect and produced a literature, occasionally of poetic and aesthetic value, unknown to Italian authors and poets. Only recently have scholars begun to study this body of writing. The first text to be recorded in Judeo-Italian, which belongs to the Roman-Jewish-Italian *koiné*, is an elegy, probably written at the end of 12th century or beginning of 13th. The first Jew who made a significant contribution to Italian poetry was *Immanuel b. Solomon of Rome (14th century) who, apart from his substantial writing in Hebrew, produced poetry in Italian according to aesthetic principles of the *dolce stil novo* school. He was a friend of two famous poets, Cino da Pistoia and Bosone da Gubbio, with whom he exchanged sonnets. "Bisbidis" and "Sirventese del maestro di tutte le arti," two humorous poems in which he boasts of his aptitude for all crafts, are well known. In the 15th century, the Hebrew poet and philosopher Moses of Rieti wrote a treatise on science and metaphysics in central Italian and Hebrew letters, *Filosofia naturale e fatti de Dio*, which contains visions and allegories of great literary value.

RENAISSANCE AND BAROQUE WRITERS. Judah *Abrabanel's *Dialoghi d'amore* (1535) was an important contribution to scholarly philosophic prose. Although its unpolished style led some writers to suppose that the original was not written in Italian, the *Dialoghi* is a classic of Italian philosophic literature and greatly influenced 16th-century writing on Platonic love. The work was early translated into Spanish and French and widely emulated. The writer Bembo and the great philosophers Giordano Bruno and Baruch *Spinoza used the *Dialoghi* as a source from which they developed their own theories and systems. Leone da Sommi *Portaleone, who wrote the first treatise on stage production, enjoyed an important role in the history of Renaissance theater. His principal work on the subject is the *Quattro dialoghi in materia di rappresentazione* ("Four Dialogues on the Art of Staging"). Sommi also wrote plays (*Le tre sorelle*, "The Three Sisters," 1993) and epics which were often staged at the court of the dukes of Mantua. Another important work testifying to the activity of Italian Jews in the Renaissance is the *Trattato dell'arte del ballo* (1463; *On the Practice of Art of Dancing*, 1995) by *Guglielmo da Pesaro. Jewish poets, however, devoted most of their work to expounding their Jewish faith in classical Italian in order to widen an understanding of Judaism among the gentiles. These poets even attained some popularity in the gentile world at the time. Johanan (Elhanan) Mordecai Judah Alatrini, perhaps the same as Angelo Alatini (d. before 1611), wrote original poems and sonnets of religious inspiration, collected under the title *L'Angelica Tromba* (1628), and also translated into Italian the *piyyut Barekhi Nafshi* by R. Baḥya b. Joseph. As Angelo Alatini, he wrote *I Trionfi* (1611), a pastoral fable in Arcadian style, with characters drawn from Latin mythology. Earlier, in the 16th century, Eliezer Mazliaḥ b. Avraham Cohen (Lazzaro da Viterbo, c. 1585) and Simone Massarani wrote devotional poetry, the latter publishing a rhymed translation of Judah Al-Ḥarizi's *Mishlei Ḥakhamim (Motti di diversi saggi tradotti da lingua hebraea in volgare*, Mantua 1592). The same Lazzaro da Viterbo (1585), Deborah Ascarelli (1601), Samuel b. Moses Castelnuovo (1609) translated poems and *piyyutim* from Hebrew, including a section of the poem *Mikdash Me'at* by *Moses of Rieti. Intended primarily for the Jewish public, the translations were sometimes written in Hebrew letters and in this case belong to Judeo-Italian rather than to Italian literature. At the end of the 16th century, but mainly in the 17th, scholarly works by Jewish authors were published in Venice. These treatises adhered to the style and conception of the Renaissance, as evidenced in *Discorso intorno all'umana miseria e sopra il modo di fuggirla* (Venice, 1572) by David (b. Isaac) de Pomis, and to early modern European thought, as the two treatises *Socrate, ovvero dell'umano sapere* (Venice, 1651) and *Discorso circa il stato degli hebrei* (Venice, 1638) by Simone (Simḥah) b. Isaac Luzzatto. The treatise by Leone Modena, *Historia de' riti hebraici* (Paris, 1637), a good example of the erudite literary style of the Italian Baroque, was widely published in Italy and abroad (in French, Dutch, Hebrew, and English translation). David de Pomis' Hebrew-Aramaic dictionary, *Ẓemaḥ David* (Venice, 1587), which contains Italian definitions, and Leone Modena's Hebrew-Italian dictionary, *Galut Yehudah* (Venice, 1612), constitute the first Italian works in Oriental studies. In the late Renaissance and during the 17th and 18th centuries, it became customary for Italian Jewish poets to share the style and the subjects of Baroque and Arcadian Italian poetry. Well versed in Italian culture, the principles of rhetoric, and the technique of verse composition, these Jewish writers were fluent in both Italian and Hebrew. Although they did not differ in style from their Italian contemporaries, the Jewish poets lacked their energy and talent but sometimes achieved excellent results. A long line of Jewish poets wrote sonnets, pastorals, occasional poems, canzonets, and madrigals. Poets were common among rabbis, intellectuals, and women, especially in the communities of northern Italy. In Rome, however, there were "poetic academies" and literary circles deeply influenced by Baroque and Arcadian Italian poetry. Judah b. Joseph *Moscato and Azariah De' *Rossi wrote elegies on the death of Princess Margaret of Savoy, and the Venetian poetess Sara Copia *Sullam composed original sonnets, her home becoming a center of cultural and poetic life in Venice. Leone Modena, the brothers Jacob and Emmanuel *Frances, and later Ephraim and Isaac *Luzzatto wrote many occasional poems in Italian. As the Baroque challenged poets to experiment in criticism and cunning poetic invention, it became a literary convention in the 17th century to write poems with double meanings, a technique in which Leone Modena excelled. He and his contemporary Baruch Luzzatto wrote plays; the former re-writing Solomon *Usque's drama *Esther*, (thus continuing a tradition of plays written for the occasion of Purim by Jewish Italian authors (for instance Mordehai Dato, mid-16th century, *La storia di Purim io ve racconto*, written in "ottava rima," i.e., in the poetic form made popular by Ariosto), and writing the pastoral epic *Rachele e Giacobbe*, which has been lost, Luzzatto composing the pastoral epic *L'amor possente* (1631). In honor of the rulers of their time, Deodato (Nethaneel) Segre (17th century) and Israel Benjamin Bassan (1701–1790) composed poems of praise. Segre wrote poems and a book praising the dukes of Savoy (1621), while Bassan composed a series of octaves in Italian and Hebrew in honor of Francis III, duke of Modena (1750), and a series of sonnets, *La Corona estense*, eulogizing the house of Este. Hezekiah Manoah Ḥayyim *Corcos (Tranquillo Vita Corcos) established an academy which taught the Arcadian poetic style. He trained his pupils to recite compositions in Italian on festive occasions, e.g., his *Discorso* (1710), in which he developed the story of Esther and Mordecai. Jacob Josef Saraval, Eliah Ḥayyim Morpurgo, and Benedetto Frizzi were among the outstanding figures of Italian Judaism who wrote Italian works of different kinds in a period when Hebrew was slowly replaced by Italian as the language of scholars. Actually, the European Enlightenment partially broke down the cultural synthesis characterizing the literary style and outlook of Italian Jews. By the end of the 18th century some Jewish poets and writers demonstrated their desire to take part in gentile culture and to be read by a larger public. This process reached its height in the 19th century, when specifically Jewish issues were absorbed in general human problems – the equality of peoples, freedom, and the process of national liberation. Italian Jews saw in this development an opportunity to improve their own inferior condition. It is noteworthy that important teachers of the Italian language and literature at the end of the century were Jewish: Isaac Azulai (alias Joseph Leontini, the son of the well-known H.J.D. *Azulai) was the private teacher of the princess of Prussia and wrote some Italian grammars in German; Filippo Sarchi, the son of Elia Morpurgo, had the chair of Italian in Vienna; the son of a convert to Protestantism, Giovanni (John) Florio (1553–1625) popularized Italian literature in England. But the apostate Lorenzo da Ponte (previously Emanuele *Conegliano), author of the three famous libretti for the Mozart operas *Le nozze di Figaro, Don Giovanni*, and *Cosi fan tutte*, is signally typical of the modern period. A brilliant adventurer who, like Casanova, exemplified the libertine, Da Ponte immigrated to the United States where he made the Italian language and literature popular.

Unlike these two figures, Salomone *Fiorentino and Samuel *Romanelli reveal in their poems and other writings a balance between loyalty to Judaism and active participation in Italian cultural life. Fiorentino wrote sonnets, elegies, and many epic poems (part of his collected poems first appeared in 1801) and won recognition for his style and adherence to the classical tradition, which he infused with new meaning. In many of his poems, Fiorentino was inspired by the Bible and displayed a profound religious feeling. He was the first to translate the Sephardi liturgy into literary Italian (Basle, 1802). Like Fiorentino, Romanelli wrote hymns and songs of praise (*Raccolta di inni e di lodi*, Mantua, 1807) and translated his own plays into Italian from the Hebrew original (*Maḥazeh Shadai* or *Illusione felice, ossia visione sentimentale*, and *Alot ha-Minḥah*, translation appeared with Hebrew original, Vienna, 1793). Romanelli translated Solomon ibn *Gabirol's *Keter Malkhut* into Italian, as well as prayers and *piyyutim*. Many of Romanelli's poems were lost or have remained in manuscript.

THE 19TH AND 20TH CENTURIES. During the 19th century Jewish writers and scholars increasingly participated in the struggle of the Italian Risorgimento. This participation necessarily brought about a dichotomy between the author's Jewish identity and the new ideals of the Risorgimento that laid claim to their entire personality. Graziadio Isaia *Ascoli, the greatest 19th-century Italian philologist and pupil of Isaac *Reggio and Samuel David *Luzzatto, was one of the prominent Jewish scholars of traditional Jewish background who were firmly established in Italian culture, but did not become alienated from Judaism. Others who also straddled two cultures, but who gradually lost their Jewish identity, were the Italian literary scholar, Alessandro (d') *Ancona, the philologists Salomone *Morpurgo and Adolfo *Mussafia, the critics Eugenio *Camerini and Tullo *Massarani, and Erminia Foà Fusinato (1834–1876), who was active as a poet, literary critic, and educator. These subordinated their Jewishness in order to identify completely with Italy's culture and liberalism at the time of her national unification. On the other hand, Graziadio David *Levi was opposed to the loss of Jewish identity, even though he had fought with Mazzini and was later an enthusiastic follower of Garibaldi. A versatile writer, Levi wrote plays, essays, poems, criticism, and hymns. He attempted a synthesis of Jewish and European culture by identifying the essence of Judaism with the principles of 19th-century European liberalism: faith in one God; belief in absolute political justice, entailing national liberation; belief in the unity of mankind expressed in social equality; and the fraternity of nations. Extraordinarily perceptive, Levi sensed the danger of German antisemitism, foreseeing its dire consequences, and also predicted the unification of Europe.

After Italian unification (1870), Jewish authors began writing novels, then an undeveloped genre in Italy. Enrico *Castelnuovo introduced an element of social concern in addition to the usual preoccupation with the romantic and decadent. In his novel *I Moncalvo* (1908), he depicts a Jewish family that has grown rich and, as some members of the family are absorbed into the upper class, the problems resulting from their abandonment of Jewish principles. Although not as prolific as Castelnuovo, Alberto *Cantoni was more original. In a series of short stories and in the novel *L'illustrissimo* (which appeared posthumously in 1906), he combined interesting stylistic experiments with a particular sense of humor which, besides the comic and ludicrous, expressed the absurdity of life and the validity of imagination. His themes and stylistic experiments presage the drama of Pirandello, who regarded Cantoni as his teacher. Jewish contributions to poetry were meager during the period of the Risorgimento and were devoted to spreading the ideals of the national liberation movement. Giuseppe *Revere wrote a subtle collection of poems and was also well known for his historical dramas *Lorenzino de' Medici* (1839) and *I piagnoni e gli arrabbiati*…

(1843). A distinguished representative of the bourgeois theater of the 1890s and early 20th century, Sabatino *Lopez wrote over 70 plays and long dominated Italian drama. Lopez, who had a talent for lucid expression, based his work on the "comic" in human life and remained faithful to the tradition of classical Italian drama derived from Goldoni's comedies. Aldo de *Benedetti, who composed a few sentimental comedies and became known between 1930 and 1938, can be regarded as an epigone of Lopez.

LITERATURE OF CONFLICT. Immediately before and after World War I, Jewish writers expressed a different attitude toward Judaism. Their former faith in Italy's liberation had been undermined at the time that Italian Jews first caught a glimpse of Jewish life abroad. But the depiction of Jewish life in novels remained in the sphere of folklore and impressionism, where old customs and the warmth of Jewish family life were affectionately described. This exotic treatment of Jewish life was aimed at arousing the interest of gentiles without making any ideological or even aesthetic claims. Characteristic of this genre are the novels *Dall' East End al… Cantico dei Cantici* (1910) by Guglielmo Lattes; *Israel, Rachele al fonte* (1923) by E.D. Colonna; *Shylock senza maschera* ("Shylock Unmasked," 1924) by Graziadio Foà; and *Yom ha-Kippurim* (1925) and *Beati misericordes* (1930) by the Zionist author Giuseppe *Morpurgo. In *Yom ha-Kippurim* Morpurgo depicts the crisis of a traditional Jew attracted to liberal western society and raises the issues of mixed marriage and assimilation. The poet Angiolo *Orvieto attempted a different approach to the problem by declaring himself to be simultaneously Italian and Jewish. In addition to his extensive activity as founder and editor of the best Italian literary organs of the early 20th century, he often expressed this dual loyalty. In *Il vento di Siòn* (1928), his main verse collection, Orvieto appears in the guise of a 16th-century Jewish poet who tries in vain to combine his love for Zion and the Jewish people with his love for the beauty of Italy and his native Florence.

After the rise of Fascism, Jewish themes were seldom or only superficially treated. The cultural elite of Italian Jewry was prevented from producing noteworthy prose or poetry because of the superficial principles of aesthetics dictated by the Italian ministry of propaganda and its own isolation from the great European and American literary movements. The few Jewish works published depicted only a stereotyped Jewish character. In the novels *Remo Maun, avvocato* (1930) by A. Grego and *Agenzia Abramo Lewis* (1933) by Alfredo Segre, the Jew is shown as a vacillating character living the homeless life of an adventurer. Whether in the Levant or New York, the Jew is seen as exotic, strange, and cosmopolitan, and his ability to adapt to any given situation is thought to make up for his lack of a firm socio-cultural basis. Certain aspects of the Jewish character described in these two novels reappear in Italian Jewish fiction published after World War II. The once-popular novels of Guido *da Verona and Annie Vivanti *Chartres derived from the decadent atmosphere of the early 20th century and the literary "eroticism" prevalent after World War I. Annie Vivanti's best work, *I Divoratori* (Eng., *The Devourers*, 1910), deals with the problem of the child prodigy whose parents sacrifice themselves for the child's sometimes illusory talents. Da Verona's novels are hedonistic and erotic. Following D'Annunzio and using a rhetorical and inflated style, Da Verona criticized bourgeois marital conventions without, however, basing his criticism on serious analysis of the causes of the collapse of moral values in that society. The erotic novel's decline into cheap pornography is seen in the works of *Pitigrilli (pseudonym of Dino Segre), a Fascist informer, who became a Christian.

In contrast to this marginal literature, a group of writers and poets living in and around Trieste made an important contribution to contemporary Italian literature, suggestive in many ways of the Jewish contribution to Central European and German literature early in the century and between the World Wars. This group also left its mark outside of Italy and was able to transcend the limits of literary fashion because of its pan-European taste and talent for combining diverse and contradictory cultural elements. Foremost among the group's writers was Italo *Svevo (pseudonym of Ettore Schmitz). In his novel *La coscienza di Zeno* (1923; *Confessions of Zeno*, 1930) Svevo analyzed contemporary man, his meaningless life and the incongruity between his limitless aspirations and the limited means for fulfilling them. His techniques include the use of reminiscence, monologue, and psychological introspection, closely resembling those of James Joyce. Joyce was in fact influenced by Svevo, whom he met during his stay in Trieste after 1903. Umberto *Saba, one of Italy's outstanding contemporary poets, expressed the meaninglessness of existence, which for that very reason is rich in deep poetic truth. In some of Saba's poems and short stories there are allusions to his origin and to his experiences as a boy growing up among the Jews of Trieste: in one of them, the main character is Samuel David *Luzzatto, a relative of his mother. Drawing the logical and radical conclusions from the theories of Schopenhauer and Nietzsche, the poet and philosopher Carlo *Michelstaedter anticipated the principal theses of existentialism in his *La persuasione e la rettorica* (1913), which appeared three years after his suicide. Michelstaedter's pessimistic theory, which enjoyed a new vogue after World War II, presents death as the only existential act in which man can attain truth and prove his freedom. The autobiographical novel *Il segreto* (1961) by Anònimo Triestino (pseudonym of Giorgio Voghera, 1908–1999), who was influenced by Svevo's style, centers on the mental problems of a Jewish adolescent whose inhibitions prevent him from revealing his love to a girl of his own age. The boy, intensely introverted, suffers in his relations with friends who are free from the mental anguish typical of a Jewish youth. Voghera is also the author of *Quaderno d'Israele* (1967), *Gli anni della psicanalisi* (1980), and *Carcere a Giaffa* (1985).

THE HOLOCAUST AND ITS AFTERMATH. A total change in the status and ideological stand of Italian Jewish authors took place during and after World War II. Contact with the ideological and aesthetic problems of world literature and the trauma of the Holocaust forced Jewish authors, as it did others, to break conventional frameworks. No longer could they be content with writing commercially oriented literature for the amusement of an old-fashioned reading public. The ideological fight against Fascism and the need actively to seek a total change in social values were now focal to the lives of those who in their youth were rejected and alienated from the literary world. Jewishness as a theme reappears, not as an ideological problem one must take a stand on or solve, but as a human experience lived through in childhood or during persecution and war. Three authors alienated from Judaism and Zionism were Giorgio *Bassani, Natalia *Ginzburg, and Primo *Levi, who combined Jewish family reminiscences and the problems of Jewish alienation in a gentile world with leftist political activity and aspirations. A distinction should be made between the partial Jewish concerns of these three writers and the works of Alberto *Moravia (pseudonym of A. Pincherle) and of Carlo *Levi, which are devoid of any reference to their Jewish origin and show no interest in Jews and Judaism. Moravia and Levi identified with the struggle against Fascism and with the revolutionary-leftist trend of European avant-garde literature before World War II. Moravia, reputedly the most popular contemporary Italian author (especially in English-speaking countries) regarded all manifestations of life as influenced by sensuality and sex. His characters, enveloped in an internal lie, clearly express modern man's alienation from his society and, in particular, his sense of estrangement in the relations between the sexes. The suffering caused by alienation is relieved only by the bitter truth of literary confession. Carlo Levi's *Cristo si è fermato a Eboli* (1945; *Christ Stopped at Eboli*, 1947) describes the horrifying desolation of the underdeveloped areas in southern Italy to which he was exiled by the Fascists. Unlike Moravia, Levi clings to the aesthetic theories of the Marxist left. In travel diaries written later, Levi preached social revolution and loyalty to the struggle of the proletariat against the existing regime. Bassani's principal work, *Il giardino dei Finzi-Contini* (1962; *The Garden of the Finzi-Contini*, 1965), is a lyrical description of Jewish life in an Italian provincial town before its destruction in World War II. Clinging to a noble and ancient tradition, his characters live on their reminiscences. They lack the strength to confront the cruel reality of persecution and are therefore doomed. Many of Bassani's novels and short stories have the Jewish society of his youth as background, but his identification with Judaism is only in the sphere of recollection. He has therefore rightly been called "Proust adapted to Jewish life." Like Bassani, Natalia Ginzburg also wrote about her Jewish home, after she had produced a number of novels influenced by Cesare Pavese. Ginzburg completely broke up the conventional structure of the novel. In her *Lessico Famigliare* (1963), she reconstructed her childhood and the atmosphere of her Jewish home by stressing the function of words and the special family language that united its members. Descriptions of childhood and the atmosphere of the Jewish Levant also inspired Fausta Cialente's novel *Ballata Levantina* (1961; *The Levantines*, 1962).

Primo Levi's work is of a different type. In *Se questo e un uomo* (1947; *If This is a Man*, 1959) and *La Tregua* (1963; *The Reawakening*, 1965) he relates his tragic experiences in a German extermination camp and the hardships of wandering across Russia and Central Europe on his return home. Levi's confrontation with Jewish life and Jewish solidarity is raised to a universal dimension, in which human emotion and understanding bridge the gap between people differing in culture and personality. In *I sommersi e I salvati* (1986; *The Drowned and the Saved*, 1988), more an essay than a novel, Levi goes back again to the Auschwitz experience, drawing pessimistic conclusions from an accurate and crude analysis: if these things happened once, they can happen again.

Centered on the years of the antisemitic persecutions are also *The Parnas, A Scene from the Holocaust* (1979) by the Italian-American psychiatrist Silvano Arieti, on the thrilling and tragic story of the lay leader of the Jewish community of Pisa; and *Per violino solo* by Aldo Zargani (1995; *For Solo Violin. A Jewish Childhood in Fascist Italy*, 2002), the vibrant memories of a "stolen childhood" told by a grandfather to his grandchild. *Storie dell'Ottavo distretto* (1986) is a collection of descriptions of Jewish characters of Budapest, the hometown of the authors, the brothers Giorgio and Nicola Pressburger. A sense of decay pervades all of these stories. The Jewish identity theme is important in *Il principio della piramide* (1989) by Roberto Vigevani (but published under the name Rude Masada), who wrote also *Diario, sogni e allucinazioni di Mansholt Levy* (1979), the sad and comic story of a young Jew from Chicago. Clara Sereni is the author of *Il gioco dei regni* (1993), on her extraordinary family to which belonged the Zionist leader Enzo *Sereni and the Communist leader Emilio Sereni, her father, both important intellectuals. Other novels dealing with the Jewish past are *I giorni del mondo* (1981) by Guido Artom, an account of the Jewry of Asti; *Gli occhi colore del tempo* (1995) by Sergio Astrologo, and *Tutti I giorni di tua vita* (1997) by Lia Levi. *Con le peggiori intenzioni* (2005) by Alessandro Piperno, a bestseller, breaks with the memorialistic gender based on the tragedy of the war, in that it describes a family of Roman Jewish merchants in the 1980s and 1990s, their excesses and their generosity.

Both before and after World War II, Jewish scholars again made important contributions to Italian literary criticism. A literary historian and a subtle critic, Attilio *Momigliano was sensitive to the most delicate nuances of poetry and brought deep psychological insight to his assessment of character motivation. Eugenio *Levi wrote essays on Italian drama and its history and contributed toward a greater understanding of European and American classics in Italy. He also wrote interesting essays on Zangwill, Svevo, and other Jewish writers. Giacomo *Debenedetti advocated a committed literature and breaking away from B. Croce's aesthetic patterns and academic theories. Alienated from Judaism, but persecuted as a Jew, Debenedetti left a moving document, *Sedici Ottobre* (1943), about the deportation of Roman Jews to concentration camps. In the academic world, outstanding literary scholars included Mario *Fubini, who specialized in the study of Italian literature of the 18th and 19th centuries; and Cesare Segre, who made an important contribution to the study of medieval Italian literature. Following the lead of G.L. Ascoli, the philologist Benvenuto *Terracini brought an original approach to the study of language problems. The new method he introduced into the investigation of Italian dialectology established Terracini as one of the greatest contemporary linguists.

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[Joseph Baruch Sermoneta / Giorgio Romano / Alessandro Guetta (2nd ed.)]

ITALIENER, BRUNO (1881–1956), rabbi, author, and historian of Jewish manuscript illumination. Italiener, who was born in Burgdorf, Hanover (Germany), studied at the Jewish Theological Seminary in Breslau and Erlangen University. He served from 1907 to 1928 as rabbi of the Israelitische Religionsgemeinde in Darmstadt. During World War I, he was a German Army chaplain. He was the chief rabbi of the Temple Congregation in Hamburg from 1928 until 1939, when he left Germany because of the Nazi persecution. He settled in London and was rabbi of the Bernhard Baron Center from 1939 to 1941, when he was appointed rabbi of the West London synagogue of British Jews. Italiener continued his communal work after his retirement in 1951 and also continued his scholarly activity, contributing to many learned journals. He was very active in the work of the Reform movement in England. Italiener's main scholarly contribution was his publication of a facsimile edition of the *Darmstaedter Pessach-Haggadah* (1927), which contained a monograph of the history of illuminated *Haggadot*. This work is an important source for the history of Jewish manuscript art. He also contributed many articles and essays on various phases of Jewish letters, including the "*Mussaf-Kedusha*" (in HUCA, 26 (1955), 413–24) and *Waffen im Abwehrkampf* (1920), which was influential in the formulation of programs for the combating of antisemitism.

[Ruth Ivor]

ITALY. Jews have lived in Italy without interruption from the days of the Maccabees until the present, through a period of 21 centuries. Although they were never subjected to general expulsion, there were frequently partial ones. They often enjoyed good relationships with the rulers and general population or were granted special privileges. They remained few in number, refrained from attracting attention, were intellectually alert, and continued faithful to their traditions. The record of Italian Jewry thus provides one of the most complex and fascinating chapters in the history of the Jewish Diaspora.

The Roman Pagan Era (second century B.C.E. to 313 C.E.)

Probably preceded by individual Jews who visited Italy as traders, a Jewish embassy was dispatched to *Rome in 161 B.C.E. by *Judah Maccabee to conclude a political treaty with the Roman senate. It was followed by others sent by his brother *Jonathan 15 years later, by *Simeon in 139, and by *Hyrcanus I in 133. In 139, either these emissaries or the other Jews living in Rome were apparently accused of conducting religious propaganda among the Roman population and expelled from the city. However, the decree soon became obsolete. Jewish prisoners taken by *Pompey during his invasion of Ereẓ Israel, 63–61 B.C.E., were brought to Italy, but most were probably freed after a short time. *Julius Caesar, who considered that the Jews represented a cohesive element in the Roman world, granted them certain exemptions to enable them to fulfill their religious duties. These exemptions were subsequently confirmed by most of the Roman emperors. Under *Augustus, the number of Jews in the capital increased. In 19 C.E., during the reign of *Tiberius, his minister Sejanus deported 4,000 Jewish youths to Sardinia to fight banditry, ostensibly to punish the Jews for having tried to defraud a woman of the Roman nobility. In fact, this was part of the policy to suppress the Oriental cults, and an edict was also issued ordering the Jews to leave Italy unless they abandoned their religious practices. Tiberius abrogated the measures after Sejanus' execution.

The growing friction between the Jews of Rome and the rising Christian sect led *Claudius to rid Rome of both elements (49–50), but this time also the decree was short-lived. The Jewish struggle in Judea against the Romans ended in 70 with wholesale destruction and massacre and mass deportations of Jewish prisoners, a large number of whom were brought to Italy. According to later sources, 1,500 arrived in Rome alone, and 5,000 in *Apulia. There too they attained freedom after a relatively short time, and many remained in Italy. The emperor *Vespasian prohibited the voluntary tribute of the *shekel that Jews in the Diaspora customarily sent to the Temple and changed it to a "Jewish tribute," the *Fiscus Judaicus, to be paid into the public treasury. Under *Domitian (81–96) the exaction of this tax was brutally enforced. It was mitigated by his successor *Nerva, but the tax was not abolished until two centuries later. The Jewish uprisings against Roman rule which broke out in Judea, Egypt, and Cyrenaica during the reigns of Trajan and Hadrian and culminated in the heroic but vain revolt of Simeon *Bar Kokhba (132–5) are not recorded to have affected the Jews in Italy. *Antoninus Pius (138–61), *Caracalla (211–7), Alexander *Severus (222–35), and probably other emperors displayed benevolence toward Jews. Jews were included in the edict issued by Caracalla in 212 that extended Roman citizenship to all freemen in the empire.

From the end of the second century until the beginning of the fourth, the Jewish settlements in the Diaspora, although proselytizing intensely, did not encounter opposition from the

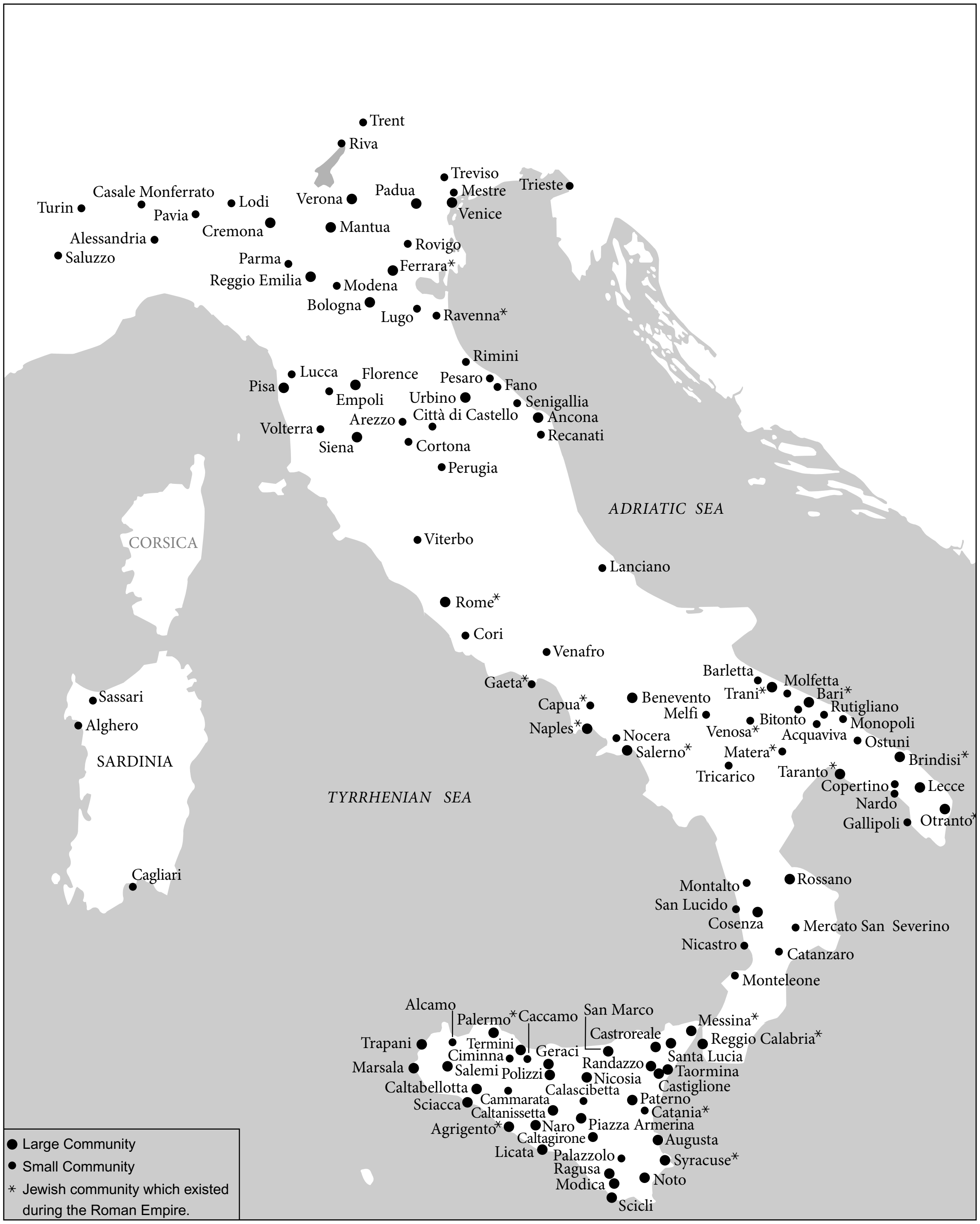
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Gaeta*
Trani*
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Capua*
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Sassari
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Brindisi*
SARDINIA
Tricarico
Taranto*
Copertino
Lecce
TYRRHENIAN SEA
Nardo
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Cagliari
Montalto
Rossano
San Lucido
Cosenza
Mercato San Severino
Nicastro
Catanzaro
Monteleone
Alcamo
Palermo*
Caccamo
San Marco
Messina*
Trapani
Termini
Castroreale
Reggio Calabria*
Ciminna
Geraci
Santa Lucia
Marsala
Salemi
Polizzi
Randazzo
Taormina
Nicosia
Caltabellotta
Calascibetta
Castiglione
Sciacca
Cammarata
Paterno
Caltanissetta
Catania*
Agrigento*
Naro
Piazza Armerina
Caltagirone
Augusta
Licata
Palazzolo
Syracuse*
Ragusa
Noto
Modica
Scicli
● Large Community
● Small Community
* Jewish community which existed during the Roman Empire.

Map 1. Major Jewish communities in Italy, 1450–1550. Based on A. Milano, Storia degli ebrei in Italia, *Turin, 1963.*

Romans, though Septimius *Severus in 204 prohibited conversion to Judaism. The Christian communities, however, which expanded rapidly and proved intransigent, were severely dealt with. The fact that the Jews in Italy were of petty bourgeois or even servile origin, and that they were not infrequently suspected of opposing Roman policy abroad, prevented individual Jews from attaining prominence in economic or social life. It has been estimated that there were 50,000 Jews in Italy during the first century of the empire, of whom over half were concentrated in or around Rome. In the capital, they engaged in humble occupations and lived in the proletarian sections. Cultural standards were not high, although there were painters, actors, and poets. The communities centered on the synagogues, of which 12 are known to have existed in Rome, although not contemporaneously. The ruins of one have been discovered in *Ostia. Their knowledge of Hebrew was rudimentary. The religious convictions and customs of the Jews aroused a certain interest among some sectors of the Roman population and sometimes attracted adherents. This picture emerges from the numerous inscriptions found in the Jewish *catacombs rather than from the evidence provided by the generally hostile Roman intellectuals. Outside Rome the position was substantially similar, as may be deduced from tombstone inscriptions. Initially, Jews settled in the ports: Ostia, Porto, Pozzuoli, Pompeii, *Taranto, and *Otranto. They subsequently spread inland, although it is impossible to state the relative numbers. In the first three centuries of the empire Jews were found in Campania: *Naples, *Capua, and *Salerno; in Basilicata, Apulia, and *Calabria: *Bari, Otranto, Taranto, *Venosa, and *Reggio; and in *Sicily: *Syracuse, *Catania, and *Agrigento. In northern Italy, the presence of Jews has been traced in Civitavecchia, *Ferrara, *Brescia, *Milan, Pola, and *Aquileia. Their occupations may be inferred but are attested only in a few cases. No significant evidence concerning Jewish scholarly and literary activities has been preserved. *Caecilius of Calacte, an orator and literary critic who wrote in Greek during the Augustan period, was highly esteemed, but none of his works is extant. *Josephus composed his major historical works at the imperial court in Rome. It is also known that there was a talmudic academy in Rome which attained distinction in the second century under the guidance of the *tanna* *Mattiah b. Ḥeresh.

Early Middle Ages (313–c. 1100)

The official acceptance by the Roman Empire of Christianity as a religion and its subsequent expansion marked for the Jews the transition from an era of tolerance to one of subjection. The Christians did not aim at the complete suppression of Judaism, with which they acknowledged affinity in certain common origins and religious convictions. They therefore desired the physical preservation of the Jews, but only in the role of spectral witnesses of ancient truths, with limited possibilities of existence. For this reason, from the fourth century onward the *Church Fathers increased their efforts to secure new laws that would restrain the Jews in their religious practices, limit their political rights, and curb them both socially and economically; at the same time, they exerted pressure on them individually to leave their religion. Constantine the Great prohibited conversion to Judaism and debarred Jews from owning Christian slaves. Constantius (337–61) extended the prohibition to the ownership of pagan slaves and prohibited marriages between Jews and Christian women, imposing the death penalty for such cases. Church dignitaries sallied forth to the public squares to preach against the Jews and incite the populace to destroy their places of worship. In 315 Sylvester, bishop of Rome, is said to have sponsored a public debate directed against the Jews; in 388 Philaster, bishop of Brescia, encouraged the populace of Rome to set fire to a synagogue, and *Ambrose, bishop of Milan, praised the population of Aquileia for doing the same, expressing his sorrow that the synagogue in Milan had not been similarly treated. The emperor *Theodosius II prohibited the construction of new synagogues, permitting only those in danger of collapse to be restored but not enlarged. In addition, he debarred Jews from practicing law or entering state employment. The legal codes that bear the names of Theodosius (438) and later of *Justinian (529–34) established a new status for the Jews as inferior citizens. They were obliged to carry out numerous special duties and were excluded from public offices and from several professions.

The disintegration of the western Roman Empire, the weak and remote influence of the eastern one, and the lack of forceful Church leaders, led to continuous changes in the situation of the Jews in Italy, if not always evidenced by the sources. Much depended also on which of the invaders succeeded in gaining the upper hand in the various parts of Italy. King Theodoric the Ostrogoth proved benevolently disposed toward the Jews and, between 507 and 519, intervened on their behalf against their opponents in Milan, *Genoa, Rome, and *Ravenna. The Jews actively sided with the Goths when Naples was besieged by the Byzantine general Belisarius in 536. As a result they were persecuted by the Byzantines when a few decades later they conquered Italy. Among the popes of this period, only *Gregory I (590–604) is significant for Jewish history. He afforded the Jews protection in Rome, Terracina, Naples, Palermo, Ravenna, and elsewhere against vexations at the hands of local bishops, insisting that although he desired the conversion of the Jews, he was opposed to attaining this by violence. The missionary fervor of the eastern emperors was felt in their Italian possessions, especially in the south. The Jews in *Oria, Bari, *Brindisi, Taranto, and Otranto suffered from discriminatory legislation and campaigns of forcible conversion under the emperors *Basil I in 873–4 and *Romanus I Lecapenus in 932–6. About the same period, the population in the south suffered from raids by roving Arab bands from North Africa. In Sicily, the Saracenic conquest (827–1061) brought more stability and proved beneficial to the Jews of the island. Toward the end of the 11th century, there were a few Jews living in northern Italy, mostly in *Verona, *Pavia, and *Lucca, a considerable nucleus in Rome, and numerous groups in the south of the country and in Sicily, totaling a significant number.

Although the course of the political events affecting the Jews in these seven centuries is almost completely unknown, the Venosa tombstone inscriptions, particularly from the fourth and fifth centuries, and the chronicle of *Ahimaaz of Oria, which relates events from the ninth century on, throw some light on the Jews in some centers in the south. The Jewish occupations are hardly mentioned, although it is known that there were Jewish artisans and merchants, and, especially in the south, dyers and silk weavers; Jews not only owned houses in the towns but also engaged in farming. Something more is now known about the state of Jewish culture, especially around the tenth century. Tombstone inscriptions were by now composed in Hebrew, and not in Latin or Greek as previously. There were talmudic academies in Rome and Lucca (connected with the *Kalonymus family) and in the south, in Venosa, Bari, Otranto, Oria, and later in *Siponto. A legend telling of four rabbis from Bari, who, after being taken prisoners at sea in 972, were set free and later established rabbinical schools in Mediterranean cities (see *Four Captives), would seem to show that Jewish scholarship in Apulia had gained a reputation beyond Italy. The scholars whose names are preserved may be taken to represent the schools or literary circles which had formed around them. Of special importance were the liturgical poet *Shephatiah b. Amittai of Oria (ninth century), the astronomer and physician Shabbetai *Donnolo (tenth century), and *Nathan b. Jehiel Anav of Rome (11th century), who composed the *Arukh*. The *Sefer *Josippon*, a Hebrew work based on Josephus' *Jewish War*, was probably written by an Italian Jew in the mid-tenth century.

Later Middle Ages (1100–1300)

Italy in the 13th century shows no change in the distribution of the Jewish population, which remained mainly concentrated in the south of the peninsula. Reports of a considerable Jewish settlement in *Venice are difficult to verify. There were a few dozen Jewish families resident in Pisa and Lucca, and isolated families elsewhere. Only in Rome were there as many as 200 families. The Jews were prosperous and led an active intellectual life. They lived on good terms with their Christian neighbors, including those of highest rank. It is of no great importance that a Roman Jewish family which had adopted Christianity, the *Pierleoni family, produced an antipope, *Anacletus II (1130–38), but it is highly significant that Jehiel *Anav, a nephew of Nathan b. Jehiel, supervised the finances of Pope *Alexander III (1159–81). However, the spirit predominating in the city of Rome must not be confused with that of the Church, which now renewed its efforts to assert its authority.

In this period the Jews of Italy were trapped between two conflicting attitudes manifested by the Church. One is expressed in the *bull first issued by Pope *Calixtus II (1119–24), beginning *Sicut Judaeis*, which afforded the Jews protection from assaults against their persons, property, or religious practices, and from conversionist pressures, which was confirmed repeatedly by succeeding popes. The other aspect, manifestly hostile, was enunciated by the Third *Lateran Council (1179) which forbade Jews to employ Christian servants, and by the Fourth Lateran Council (1215), convened by Pope *Innocent III, which made efforts to have the Jews placed in a position of perpetual serfdom, and meanwhile introduced the regulation compelling Jews to wear a distinguishing *badge on their garments. About 20 years later the Inquisition began to preoccupy itself with the Jews, who were submitted to the mercies of the *Dominican friars. The rabid campaign against the Talmud initiated in France in 1240 was in due course extended to Italy. The practice of compelling Jews to attend conversionist *sermons began in Lombardy in 1278. Jewish life was still centered, however, in southern Italy and in Sicily. According to *Benjamin of Tudela, in the late 12th century there were not fewer than 1,500 Jews in Palermo and about the same number all told in Apulia and the Campania. These reached the height of their prosperity under Frederick II (1212–50), who extended his personal protection to the Jews and secured them the monopoly of the silk weaving and dyeing industries and foreign commerce. He also supported them against the fiscal claims of the bishops, and took a personal interest in promoting Jewish culture. When in 1265 sovereignty of the area passed to the Angevin rulers, the Jews in the south came under the direct influence of the Holy See on which the new dynasty was largely dependent. Under Charles II a *blood libel was raised against the Jews of *Trani and developed into a violent crusade to convert all the Jews in the south, then numbering probably between 12,000 and 15,000. The campaign lasted until 1294; by then about half the Jewish population had been forced to abjure their faith, entire communities had been annihilated, and many of the synagogues, of which there were four in Trani alone, were converted into churches. Most of the Jews who did not submit fled, while others continued to observe their faith in secret.

Jewish intellectual activity in Italy during this period is represented by several scholars, who interested themselves in various fields without predominating in any. In general, their works on philosophy, ethics, philology, and Kabbalah reflect the influences of contemporary Spanish Jewish literature. There were noteworthy talmudic academies in Rome and southern Italy, in particular at Bari and Otranto. Prominent among the scholars in Rome toward the end of the 12th and during the 13th century, were Menahem b. Solomon b. Isaac, a biblical exegete who also probably arranged the liturgy according to the "Roman" or Italian rite; the philosopher and biblical scholar Zerahiah b. Shealtiel *Gracian; and several members of the Anav family (Benjamin and Zedekiah b. Abraham, Jehiel b. Jekuthiel, Benjamin b. Judah), who extended their activities to almost every field of Jewish learning. Outside Rome, there were the philosopher *Hillel b. Samuel of Verona, Isaac b. Melchizedek of Siponto, commentator on the Mishnah, and the halakhist *Isaiah b. Mali of *Trani (the Elder). Several of these at the same time practiced medicine, wrote liturgical poetry, and translated from Latin and Arabic into Hebrew or vice versa. Members of the ha-Meati family, following in the footsteps of the founder of the family Nathan b. Eliezer, distinguished themselves as translators, as also did Jacob *Anatoli of Naples, *Faraj b. Solomon of Agrigento, and *Ahitub b. Isaac of Palermo. In their task of spreading knowledge they received support from the Hohenstaufen and Angevin courts at Naples. *Judeo-Italian began to be spoken by the Jews of southern and central Italy in the early Middle Ages, then by all Italian Jewry, toward the 14th–16th centuries.

The Zenith (c. 1300–1500)

Toward the end of the 13th century and beginning of the 14th, the Jews in Italy embarked on a new sphere of economic activity as small-scale moneylenders (loan bankers). They were driven into this occupation partly because no regular form of financial assistance was available from other sources for small merchants or needy individuals, and partly because of the Church prohibition on lending money for interest by Christians. Many Jews on the other hand had large amounts of liquid capital, realized after they were obliged to leave the south at the end of the 13th century, or when they left Rome, which declined after the Holy See moved to Avignon in 1309. It was in fact from the south and Rome that a phalanx of Jews wishing to establish themselves as moneylenders made their appearance in several towns and districts in northern and central Italy. They were admitted into these localities and openly encouraged by the local rulers, although often received more hesitantly by the general population. At the same time numerous Jews from Germany, and some from France, crossed the Alps to escape persecution and established themselves in towns in the north of Italy, where they opened loan banks.

The 14th and 15th centuries were periods of expansion and consolidation for the Jewish loan bankers. Their activities resulted not in the accumulation of large fortunes in the hands of a few, but in small fortunes in the hands of many, which led to widely spread prosperity. It is difficult to estimate the number of localities in the peninsula in which Jews were living around the middle of the 15th century – possibly 300 or more. However, it is certain that the prosperity resulting from their moneylending activities was of more benefit to the Jews in Rome and in the north than those in the south. These activities brought them into contact with all sectors of the population, both poor and rich, the small shopkeeper and the lord of the town, the illiterate and the scholar. Hence many of these bankers tended to adopt the way of life of the gentile upper classes, or what has been termed the "Man of the Renaissance," with his taste for letters and art, and pleasure in affluent living.

Nevertheless, the Jews of Italy never became estranged from their Jewish intellectual and religious heritage. This was a period of unprecedented cultural activity, and the Jewish scholars, poets, physicians, and codifiers, who at the same time cultivated secular disciplines and languages, are significant more for their number than for individual excellence. Among the most important were the kabbalistic exegete Menahem b. Benjamin *Recanati, the talmudist and biblical exegete *Isaiah b. Elijah of Trani (the Younger), the poet *Immanuel b. Solomon of Rome, who composed in Italian as well as in Hebrew and also wrote biblical commentaries, his cousin, the philosopher and translator Judah b. Moses *Romano, *Kalonymus b. Kalonymus, of Provençal origin, author of the satires *Massekhet Purim* and *Even Boḥan*, and Shemariah b. Elijah of Crete, author of a philosophical commentary on the Bible. Outstanding from the end of the 14th century to the middle of the 15th are the poet and physician Moses b. Isaac *Rieti, author of *Mikdash Me'at*, a poetical work in Hebrew modeled on Dante's *Divine Comedy*, and Obadiah of *Bertinoro, author of the classical commentary on the Mishnah. A few decades later saw the activity of the philosophers Elijah *Delmedigo and Johanan Alemanno, both associated with the humanistic circle of *Pico della Mirandola, the halakhist Joseph *Colon, *Judah b. Jehiel, and David Messer *Leon, father and son, the former a philosopher and the latter a biblical scholar. Of Spanish origin were two of the most outstanding personalities and philosophers of their time, Don Isaac *Abrabanel and his son Judah (Leone Ebreo), author of the famous *Dialoghi d'amore*. In addition, there were the pioneers of Hebrew printing and other Jews who distinguished themselves in medicine, art, and drama.

However, these brilliant economic and cultural achievements did not exclude some darker interludes. Pope *Urban v (1362–70) confirmed the bull giving protection to the Jews, as also did *Boniface ix (1389–1404), who surrounded himself with Jewish physicians. The situation deteriorated after the final condemnation of the Talmud in Spain in 1415 and increasing anti-Jewish activities by the Franciscan friars. Delegates of the Jewish communities assembled in Bologna in 1416, and in Forlì in 1418, to combat these and other dangers. They succeeded in their representations to Pope *Martin v (1417–31), who issued two favorable bulls in 1419 and 1429, and endeavored to control the anti-Jewish preachings of the Franciscans, and especially the activities of their most aggressive representative, John of *Capistrano. However, in 1442, *Eugenius iv introduced harsh anti-Jewish measures which Jewish delegates meeting in Tivoli in 1442 and in Ravenna in 1443 tried unsuccessfully to oppose. In these circumstances, many Jews preferred to move to the territories of rulers who were better disposed, like the Gonzaga in Mantua and the Este in Ferrara. In the following decades the official Vatican attitude again moderated. On the other hand, the Franciscan preachers, often opposed by the civic authorities, violently attacked the Jews and especially Jewish money-lenders, demanding that they should be expelled and their activities replaced by Christian charitable loan banks (see *Monti di Pietà). In order to inflame the populace the friars spread all manner of slanders against Jews, of which the most distressing was the charge of ritual murder in 1475 at *Trent. Other incidents took place elsewhere and were followed by expulsions, generally of a temporary nature.

The Crisis (1492–1600)

Two factors undermined the existence of the Jews in Italy from the end of the 15th and throughout the 16th centuries: the attitude of the Spanish crown toward its Jewish subjects which extended to its Italian possessions, and the confusion caused by the Counter-Reformation struggle in Italy. When the edict of expulsion of the Jews from Spain was issued in March 1492 both Sicily and Sardinia were under Aragonese rule so that the measure was applied there also. Promulgated in May, it was at once implemented, and the process of expulsion was completed by January 1493. In Sicily, 6,300 Jewish-owned houses were confiscated, and a levy of 100,000 florins was imposed. It is calculated that almost 40,000 Jews in all left the country. In Sardinia, the numbers affected were far less. The majority of the exiles went to continental Italy, but a considerable number chose other lands: North Africa, Greece, Turkey, the Levant. The Jews of the two islands were not the only ones to seek shelter in the Kingdom of Naples under the protection of King Ferdinand. They were joined by about 9,000 Spanish Jews. Spanish Jews also received a generally benevolent welcome in other Italian states, and even in the Papal States under Pope *Alexander VI (1492–1503). However, in 1503 the Kingdom of Naples also passed under Spanish rule and in 1510 the expulsion of the Jews was ordered – probably some tens of thousands, though the exact number is difficult to ascertain. The decree was not carried out immediately and 200 wealthy families were formally permitted to remain. In 1515 the edict of expulsion was extended to the *New Christians – that is to Jews who had become converted to Catholicism more or less sincerely and their descendants. In 1515 and in 1520 the quota of tolerated wealthy families was increased, and then lowered again. In 1541 this agreement was definitively abrogated and the law excluding Jews remained in force in southern Italy for over three centuries.

Conditions in central and northern Italy were completely different. In Rome Popes Julius II, *Leo X, *Clement VII, and Paul III, although differing in character, were well-disposed toward the Jews under their jurisdiction. The same applied to the Medici in Florence, the Este in Ferrara, and the Gonzaga in Mantua, who encouraged the activities and talents of their Jewish subjects, both the older inhabitants and the new arrivals. In Venice the senate began to treat the Jews with a little more consideration, although in 1516 Jewish residence was confined to the *ghetto.

The reaction of the Roman Church to the rise of Protestantism reached a climax in the middle of the 16th century. In its efforts to preserve Catholics from all possibility of religious contamination, the Church acted with particular harshness against the Jews. The first blow fell in 1553, when Pope *Julius III ordered that all copies of the Talmud be confiscated and burned throughout Italy, on the charge that it blasphemed Christianity (see *Talmud, Burning of). The attack became more violent under *Paul IV (1555–59). His bull *Cum nimis absurdum* of July 14, 1555, obliged the Jews in the Papal States to lock themselves in the ghetto at night, prohibited them from engaging in any commercial activity except the sale of rags, required them to sell their houses, and submitted them to all the most harassing restrictions enacted during the preceding centuries. At *Ancona, on the pope's orders, 25 Portuguese Marranos found guilty of having returned to Judaism were sent to the stake. Under Pius IV (1559–65) the oppression abated, but rose to even worse excesses under Pius V (1566–72), who expelled the Jews from all of the Papal States, except Rome and Ancona. Some relief was afforded under Sixtus V (1585–90), who permitted Jews to resume their activities in the towns they had recently been forced to leave. However, all vacillation ended with *Clement VIII (1592–1605), who, in a bull of Feb. 25, 1593, reverted to the harsh measures of Paul IV and Pius V and ordered the Jews to leave the papal domains within three months, except Rome, Ancona, and Avignon. For over two centuries this restrictive papal legislation continued to apply to the Jews living in the papal territories, and was adopted with almost no exceptions by the other Italian states. In the meantime, 900 Jews were banished in 1597 from the duchy of Milan, then under Spanish rule.

Jewish cultural and spiritual life did not suffer because of these vicissitudes. Every town of standing had its yeshivah, that of Padua becoming important under Judah and Abraham *Minz and Meir *Katzenellenbogen. Scholars of this period include the philosopher and biblical exegete Obadiah *Sforno; the religious philosopher Jehiel Nissim of Pisa; the grammarians Abraham de *Balmes, Samuel *Archivolti, and Elijah (Baḥur) *Levita; the physician and lexicographer David de' *Pomis; the geographer Abraham *Farissol; the chroniclers Solomon *Ibn Verga, Gedaliah *Ibn Yaḥya, *Joseph ha-Kohen, and the antiquarian Abraham *Portaleone; the scholarly historian Azariah de' *Rossi, author of *Me'or Einayim*; the poet *Moses b. Joab; and the dramatist Judah (Leone) de' Sommi *Portaleone, who wrote in both Hebrew and Italian. In addition, many Jews individually contributed to art, drama, music, and the development of printing. Outstanding in the medical profession were the papal physicians Bonet de *Lattes, Samuel and Joseph *Sarfati, Vitale *Alatino, and Jacob *Mantino; also *Amatus Lusitanus, author of *Curationum Centuriae*, Elijah Montalto, and the *Portaleone family of Mantua, five generations of whom attended on the Gonzagas.

Persecutions (c. 1600–c. 1800)

This period is generally known as the Age of the Ghetto. It logically begins in 1555, when compulsory segregation was imposed by Paul IV, or even with the isolated instance when the Venice ghetto was established in 1516. However, it was at the end of the 16th century that the ghetto became an accepted institution in Italy, from Rome to the Alps. Every ghetto had its individual character. Some were overcrowded and unhealthy like that of Rome, the largest of all; others were more spacious and vivacious as in Venice (long the center of Hebrew printing), Ferrara, and Mantua; some had only a nominal existence, as in *Leghorn. All the ghettos – except that of Leghorn – were locked at night; the houses, even if owned by Christians, had fixed rents (*jus gazaga*; see *Ḥazakah*). Jews who went outside the ghetto were obliged to wear a distinguishing badge on their garments. They could not enter the professions except (with severe restrictions) that of medicine. To travel out of the town they required special permits. Almost everywhere they were compelled to attend conversionist sermons. The police gave adequate protection to the ghetto from concerted attacks, but only reluctantly in cases of individual molestation. There were approximately 30,000 Jews living in Italy in the 17th and 18th centuries, of whom between 4,000 and 7,000 lived in Rome, somewhat fewer in Leghorn, and the others distributed in almost 70 places. The position of the Rome community was the most critical. Conditions had steadily deteriorated through the restrictions on earning a livelihood and the high taxation imposed by the Holy See. From the middle of the 17th century some of the popes (*Innocent x, xi, and xii) attempted to mitigate their lot, but were unable to prevent the community from being declared bankrupt in 1698.

In the 18th century also other pontiffs (Clement xi, *Benedict xiv, *Clement xiv) were moved to sympathy by the desperate plight of Rome Jewry, but any measures they introduced were counteracted by hostile successors. In the first year of his pontificate, Pius vi (1775–99) published an "Edict Concerning the Jews," characterized by utter obscurantism. In the other towns of the Papal States with Jewish communities, Ancona and (from 1598) Ferrara, the pressure upon the Jews was less extreme. Elsewhere, in the 18th century, in small communities – e.g., in Piedmont – Jews who were considered useful to the economy received particular assistance. In Veneto the Jews helped to arrest the decline of the towns where they were living, particularly Venice. In Tuscany, the Jews of Leghorn, who were completely free to utilize their commercial ability, were so successful that the grand dukes of the House of Lorraine, in particular Leopold i (1765–90), began to treat their other Jewish subjects similarly and to improve their conditions. When the French armies entered Italy in 1796–98, the new revolutionary spirit momentarily triumphed: the walls of the ghetto were demolished and the Jews received equal rights. However, with the restoration of the old regimes in 1799, all the new-found liberties were abolished. Napoleon's campaign of 1800 again brought freedom to the Jews, but in 1815 the restoration resulted in a complete and almost general return of the old conditions.

Intellectual life within the ghetto was inevitably inferior to that of the preceding period. Learned Jews were obliged not only to renounce their contacts with the outside world, but also any participation in academic institutions and, hence, pursuit of secular studies. This resulted in a very different literary orientation. Among the authors of Jewish apologetics were Leone *Modena, Simone (Simḥah) *Luzzatto, and Isaac *Cardozo. Controversies arose between the supporters of Kabbalah, Mordecai *Dato, *Aaron Berechiah of Modena, Menahem Azariah of Fano, Moses *Zacuto, and Solomon Aviad Sar Shalom *Basilea, and its opponents, Azariah de' Rossi and Azariah *Figo. Benjamin b. Eliezer ha-Kohen *Vitale and Abraham *Rovigo tended toward Shabbateanism. Joseph *Ergas and *Malachi b. Jacob ha-Kohen were instrumental in transferring the center of kabbalistic theosophy to Leghorn. Besides the emergence of two poetesses in the Italian language, Deborah Ascarelli and Sarah Coppio *Sullam, poetry was represented by Jacob Daniel *Olmo, the brothers Jacob and Immanuel *Frances, and Isaiah and Israel Benjamin *Bassani, father and son. Important as a poet, dramatist, and ethical writer was Moses Ḥayyim *Luzzatto. Salomone *Fiorentino, who wrote poems in Italian toward the end of the ghetto period, was much admired. Talmudic studies attracted such illustrious scholars as Isaac *Lampronti, author of the stupendous compilation *Paḥad Yiẓḥak*; barely less distinguished were Moses Zacuto, Solomon *Finzi, Samuel *Aboab, and Samson *Morpurgo. The polygraph Ḥayyim Joseph David *Azulai also spent much time in Italy. Hence it would be wrong to state that the walls surrounding the ghetto and its high buildings resulted in intellectual darkness. In fact, the contrary is true. Through scrupulous observance of the *mitzvot* and self-imposed regulation, either to supply the communities with necessities or to avoid excesses in entertainment and dress, the ghetto became a hive of activity, necessarily confined but tremendously alive. Many had several synagogues, all well attended, some with fine architecture such as those of Venice, Padua, Pesaro, and the small Piedmontese communities. There was a constant supply of teachers to listen and instruct. Moral and religious observance was strict but not oppressive. A social-service network provided assistance to all those who lived within the ghetto, especially well organized at Venice and Rome. In consequence, when they withdrew at night into the ghetto, the Jews did not have the feeling of living in prison.

Freedom and Equality (1815–1938)

The record of the half century that passed between the reestablishment of many ghettos and their final abolition differed in the various regions. In Tuscany, after the restoration of the grand duchy in 1815, the Jews there were granted relative equality; only the army and public office remaining barred to them. In the duchy of Parma, the most stringent restriction was that prohibiting Jews from residing in the capital. In the Lombardo-Venetian kingdom under Austrian rule, where there were the important communities of Mantua, Venice, Verona, and Padua, and the growing community of Milan, conditions were not particularly irksome. In Naples, where Jews had begun to resettle, the only restriction was that they were not allowed to constitute an official community. Elsewhere, however, their situation was now again deeply humiliating, especially in contrast with the freedom they had tasted. In the duchy of Modena, all the old disabilities were restored. The same applied to the Kingdom of Sardinia, comprising Piedmont and Genoa, where the only relaxation was that the Jewish badge was not reimposed. In the Papal States intolerance increased, until in 1827 Pope *Leo xii even resuscitated the notorious anti-Jewish edict of 1775.

However, those Jews once more living in such sad conditions now no longer had to rely only on the assistance, mainly ineffectual, of their more fortunate brethren. The middle-class Italian population which was struggling to liberate the country from reactionary regimes, especially the *Carboneria* and the *Giovine Italia* movements, had among their aims the elimination of all anti-Jewish discrimination. Distinguished politicians and writers such as Vincenzo Gioberti, Niccolò Tommaseo, Ugo Foscolo, and Cesare Balbo fought for the same ideas. Some expressed these aims in writings which reached a wide public, for instance Carlo *Cattaneo in his *Ricerche economiche sulle interdizioni imposte dalla legge civile agli israeliti* (1837), on the economic restrictions imposed on the Jews, and Massimo d'*Azeglio, *Dell' emancipazione civile degli israeliti*, which appeared at the end of 1847. On their part, the Jews did not wait for their aspirations to freedom to be fulfilled through outside assistance and took an active share in the struggle. The Risorgimento movement, which started in Piedmont in 1820–21, became more daring in Modena in 1831 and culminated in the 1848–49 revolutions in Milan, Rome, and Venice – the last under the leadership of Daniele *Manin. The movement included in its ranks many Jewish volunteers from various parts of Italy. Before the uprising broke out in 1848, even the most reactionary governments hastened to grant the Jews some concessions. Pope *Pius IX (1846–78), having abolished compulsory Jewish attendance at conversionist sermons and other humiliating regulations, admitted Jews into the civic guard; in 1848 he ordered that the gates and walls of the ghettos be demolished in Rome and in other towns of the Papal States. In Piedmont, in June 1848, the House of Savoy introduced into the constitution of the kingdom a provision that established equal civil and political rights for all citizens, without religious distinction.

In some retrogressive centers popular insurrections later broke out, after which, in 1849, two Jews were members of the constitutional assembly of the newly-proclaimed Roman republic, and in Venice two others, Isaac Pesaro and Leone Pincherle, became ministers in the provisional republican government. When, at the end of 1849, some of the ousted rulers returned and attempted to reimpose the humiliating anti-Jewish measures, they succeeded in doing so only on paper because they no longer had the support of wide sectors of the public. The darkest reaction indeed still prevailed in the towns of the Papal States: Rome, Ancona, Ferrara, and Bologna. The Jews here were again confined to the ghettos, although the gates were not locked at night. Jewish students were excluded from the public schools, and Jews were barred from commercial partnerships with Christians. They were subjected to pressures to accept conversion; these culminated in the notorious kidnapping of the child Edgardo *Mortara in Bologna in 1858, and of Giuseppe Coen in Rome as late as 1864. Even in the Lombardo-Venetian kingdom, the Austrian government became hostile to the Jews, who were suspected of holding liberal ideas. Only Piedmont upheld the emancipation of 1848, and as it extended its jurisdiction over the new areas which in 1861 became the Kingdom of Italy, additional Jewish groups were admitted to complete equality. Between 1859 and 1861 Emilia, Romagna, Tuscany, Lombardy, the Marches, and the Kingdom of Naples were absorbed; in 1866 Veneto and in 1870 Rome were incorporated in the new Italian kingdom. Trieste, which remained outside the boundaries of the Kingdom of Italy until 1919, had a large Jewish community under Austrian rule, generally well-disposed toward Jews.

As soon as equality had been extended to the Jews, the fact was accepted by the Italian people, anxious to demonstrate that the previous segregation had been imposed by political and ideological considerations and did not reflect popular feelings. The Jews reciprocated with alacrity. The principle that religion should not be an obstacle, whether in law or in fact, and the total absence of ill feeling or prejudice between Christians and Jews led to two far-reaching consequences. First, Jews felt free to embrace any career – political, military, academic, professional, administrative, or commercial – and to attain the highest positions. Secondly, freedom to associate on equal terms with other citizens encouraged Jews to minimize existing differences – some even concealed their Jewish identity or rejected it. The Jewish population formed 0.15% of the total in 1861 and 0.13% in 1938: yet 11 Jews sat in the chamber of deputies in 1871, 15 in 1874, and nine in 1921; in the senate there were 11 in 1905, and 26 in 1923. In the universities the proportion of Jewish professors was 6.8% in 1919, and 8% in 1938. The proportion of Jews in the liberal professions and public administration was 6.4% in 1901 and 6.7% in 1928. Jews attained outstanding positions in several branches of national life, not only quantitatively but qualitatively. Among many examples were Luigi *Luzzatti, for almost 20 years minister of finance, who became prime minister in 1910; Giuseppe *Ottolenghi, minister of war in 1902–03; Leone *Wollemborg, minister of finance from 1901; after 1923 Ludovico *Mortara was for many years president of the Court of Appeals and, for a time, minister of justice.

In this period, the structure of the Jewish communities changed radically. In 1840 there existed about 70 organized communities, in 1938 only 23. In 1840 Italian Jewry numbered 37,000, in 1931 47,485 (including many newly-arrived immigrants). The distribution of the Jewish population also changed. Many small rural communities disappeared, while medium-sized urban ones suffered through migration to the larger centers. Before the establishment of united Italy, each community had its own administrative and social structure, the central organization imposed by Napoleon lasting for only a short while. A first step toward introducing some measure of coordination among the communities was established by the Rattazzi Law of July 1857. But it was only in 1911 that a "Union of Italian Jewish Communities" (Consorzio delle comunità israelitiche italiane) was set up on a voluntary basis. Finally the law of Oct. 30, 1930, established on an obligatory national basis the Unione delle comunità israelitiche italiane and defined its administrative competence and that of the individual communities. It also defined the prerogatives of the rabbis, including authorization to perform marriages, provided that the relevant articles of the Italian legal code were read. The law laid down that all those considered Jews by Jewish law automatically belonged to the community if they did not make a formal renunciation.

The upheavals which took place in Jewish life in Italy in the 19th century had important consequences on the nature of Jewish scholarship. Isaac Samuel *Reggio (1784–1855), a disciple of Moses *Mendelssohn and of N.H. *Wessely, propagated the view that it was necessary to diverge from rigid orthodoxy and give a wider place to secular studies. These ideas he wished to put into practice in the rabbinical college of Padua (later *Collegio Rabbinico Italiano) founded in 1829. However, when Lelio *della Torre and Samuel David *Luzzatto, one of the great pioneers of the scientific study of Judaism, directed the college, they followed the traditional path, and under their control it became one of the most highly esteemed rabbinical seminaries in Europe. Luzzatto was an outstanding scholar and an acute exponent of vast portions of the Jewish heritage, including the philosophy of religion, history, literature, ritual, and Hebrew linguistics. Luzzatto's death marked the end of the college in Padua; its functions were partly assumed by the rabbinical college of Leghorn, under the direction of Elia *Benamozegh. The Padua college itself, after brief vicissitudes, was transferred to Florence in 1899 under the dynamic Samuel Hirsch *Margulies; after his death in 1922 it relapsed into inactivity, to be resuscitated later in Rome. Among those trained in these institutions were Mordecai *Ghirondi, Marco *Mortara, David *Castelli, Umberto *Cassuto, Dante *Lattes, and Elia S. *Artom. These and other scholars were able to publish the results of their research and studies on general problems in the numerous Jewish periodicals that appeared in Italy from the second half of the 19th century.

[Attilio Milano]

Holocaust Period

From *Mussolini's accession to power in 1922 until late in 1937, the Fascist government did not formally interfere with the social and legal equality enjoyed by Italian Jewry. However, even in its early stages, the Fascist movement showed evidence of intolerance toward minority groups. Some of the party leaders, including Mussolini, made particular mention of the potential danger to national unity inherent in the "alien character" of the Jews, with their international, cosmopolitan contacts. When the Fascist movement came to power, the government gave priority to real or imaginary pragmatic considerations over ideological principles. The government wanted to make use of "international Jewry" in order to strengthen its policies as a whole, and increase its penetration into the Levant in particular. The Fascist government also sought to prevent the Zionist movement from being attached solely to British interests in the Middle East. However, many Fascist leaders feared the fancied political and economic strength of the Jews. The Abyssinian War of 1935, the worsening of relations between Italy and Britain, the attempts at a rapprochement with the Arab nationalists, and, above all, the strengthening of links with Nazi Germany in late 1936 reversed the political considerations which had been paramount until then. Italian Fascism then turned to militant antisemitism. In this, as in other matters, the Fascist government was forced to present a united front with its ally, Germany, and to foster the ideological program and the organizational and legislative network of Nazi racial antisemitism. The change of attitude was heralded by a section of the press which condemned "the Jewish and Zionist danger." Early in 1937, Pietro Orano published his book, *Gli Ebrei in Italia*, stressing the "alien" character of the Jews. The book sparked a vociferous anti-Jewish and anti-Zionist campaign in the Italian press; when the party newspaper, *Il Popolo d'Italia*, joined in, it was clear that the die had been cast. The *Manifesto della Razza* appeared in July 1938, ostensibly the work of a group of scientists but apparently edited by Mussolini himself. The Manifesto asserted the existence of a "pure Italian race of Aryan stock," into which the Jews had never integrated, and called for the implementation of a clear racial policy of a "northern Aryan character." In September, the first two laws against Jews were passed, one forbidding them to study or teach in any school or institution of higher learning, the other ordering the deportation of all Jewish aliens who had found refuge in Italy after 1919. A "department for demography and race" was established to coordinate the policy of racial discrimination in all branches of the government, and to conduct a census of Jews living in the country. On October 7, the Supreme Council of the Fascist Party determined the principles on which detailed anti-Jewish legislation was to be based. This legislation, passed on November 17, 1938, included prohibitions on marriage between Jews and Aryans and decreed severe civil and economic restrictions, such as interdictions against Jews serving in the army, working in the government, municipal service, or any other public institution, or employing Aryan servants, and the confiscation of Jewish property. The law defined a member of the "Jewish race" as a person with one Jewish parent but exempted Jews in special categories, such as recipients of military awards and those who were wounded in World War I. The restrictions gradually grew more severe as decrees or mere instructions from the party secretary were enacted and executed. Jews were forbidden to own radio sets, visit holiday resorts, enter public libraries, publish newspapers, or be partners in business firms with "Aryan" Italians.

The opening of the racial campaign severely affected the small Jewish community, not only from the economic point of view, but also ethically and organizationally. Many Jews, who from birth were accustomed to complete social equality and who regarded themselves as Italians in every sense, found it hard to understand the meaning of the discrimination and persecution to which they were now subjected. Some were unable to stand the test and tried to find a way out by conversion to Christianity. In 1938–39, 3,910 cases of apostasy were recorded, as against 101 in the previous two years. Over 5,000 others preferred to emigrate. The Jewish community in Italy, which according to the official census of 1931 numbered 47,485 persons, was reduced by 1939 to 35,156 persons, or 0.8% of the total population. Nevertheless, Jewish institutions managed to surmount the crisis, organized themselves for efficient action, gave help to the needy and refugees, and established Jewish elementary and high schools.

Italy's entry into World War II as Germany's ally (June 10, 1940) caused no drastic change in the status of most of the Jews. In the early months of the war, 43 concentration camps were set up in Italy for enemy aliens, and several thousand Jews of foreign nationality, as well as about 200 Italian Jews, were interned; however, conditions in the camps were, on the whole, bearable. In May 1942 the government decreed that all the Jewish internees would be mobilized into special work legions in place of military service. This order was only partially carried out, and the number of Jews actually mobilized

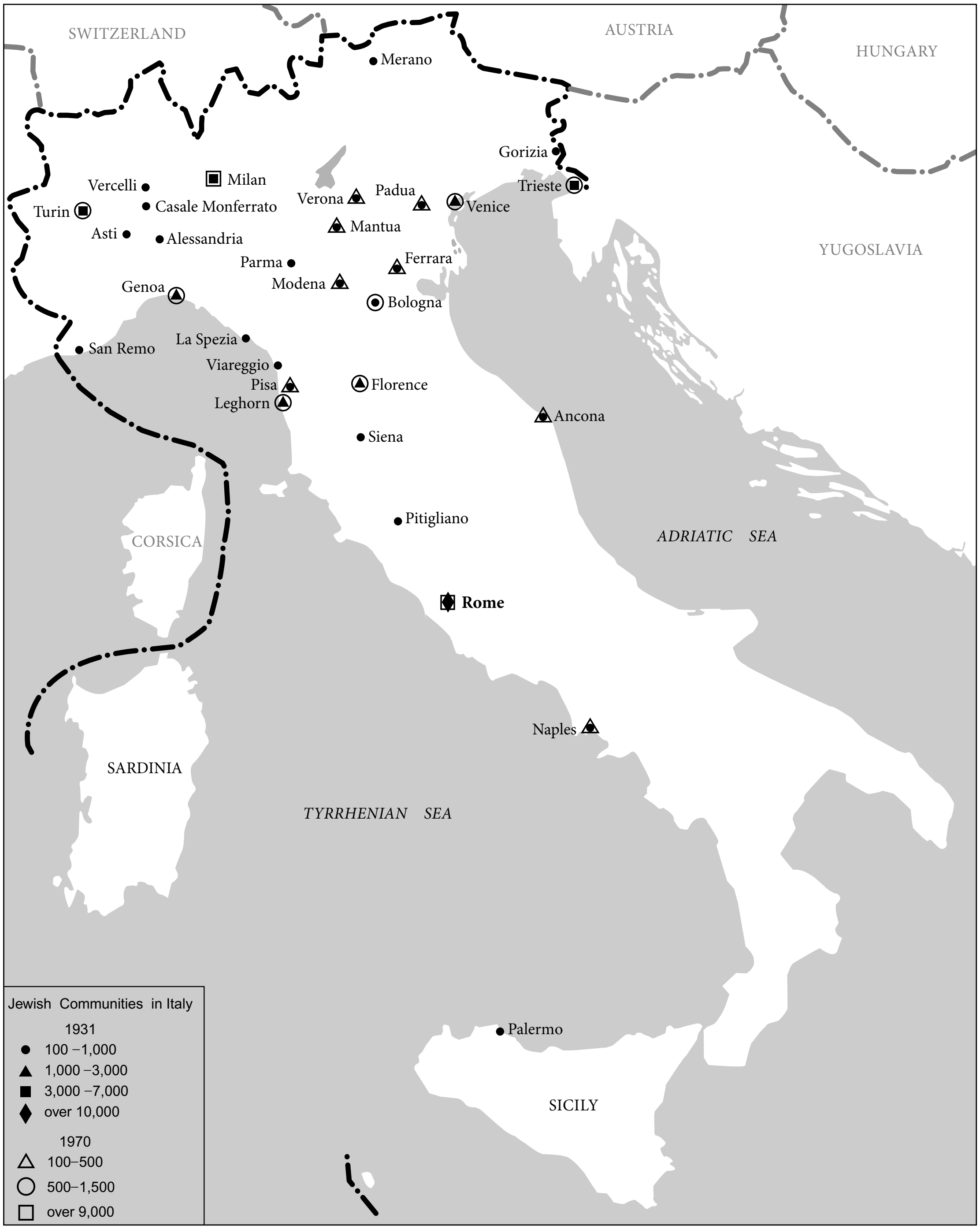
SWITZERLAND
AUSTRIA
HUNGARY
YUGOSLAVIA
Merano
Gorizia
Trieste
Milan
Vercelli
Casale Monferrato
Turin
Asti
Alessandria
Verona
Padua
Venice
Mantua
Ferrara
Parma
Modena
Bologna
Genoa
San Remo
La Spezia
Viareggio
Pisa
Leghorn
Florence
Siena
Ancona
Pitigliano
CORSICA
ADRIATIC SEA
Rome
Naples
SARDINIA
TYRRHENIAN SEA
Palermo
SICILY
Jewish Communities in Italy
1931
● 100 –1,000
▲ 1,000 –3,000
■ 3,000 –7,000
♦ over 10,000
1970
△ 100–500
○ 500–1,500
□ over 9,000

Map 2. Major Jewish communities in Italy, 1931 and 1970.

did not exceed 2,000 men. The fall of the Fascist regime on July 25 and Italy's surrender to Germany on Sept. 8, 1943, were turning points. The country was cut in two, with the south in the hands of the Allies, and central and northern Italy under German occupation.

The Italian Jewish community, which for historical reasons was concentrated in Rome and in the north, found itself in the German-occupied area, i.e., the Fascist protectorate called the Italian Socialist Republic, headed by Mussolini. Within an extremely short period of time, these Jews passed from a regime of civil and economic discrimination (September 1938–July 1943), through a brief period of liberty and equality (July 25–Sept. 8, 1943), to find themselves victims of the horrors of the "**Final Solution*," together with thousands of Jewish refugees from France and Yugoslavia who had escaped into Italy during the early years of the war.

At first, the authorities in the Italian Socialist Republic contented themselves with a declaration of principles which defined members of the "Jewish race" as aliens and, for the period of the war, as members of an enemy nation (Nov. 14, 1943). This was followed by an order issued by the Ministry of the Interior that all Jews, without exception, should be interned in special concentration camps and all Jewish property confiscated (Nov. 30, 1943). In the meantime the occupation authorities, through Theodor Dannecker, Eichmann's emissary from the *RSHA's IVB4 office, or through *SS and *Gestapo officers, completely took over the administration of the move to murder Italian Jewry. When the German occupation began, the first outbreaks of violence occurred against Jews in Merano (Sept. 16, 1943) and around Lake Maggiore (Sept. 22, 1943). With a detailed list of names and with the assistance of the Fascist armed forces, the Germans hunted out Jews in the principal towns. In Rome, the Germans surrounded the Jewish quarter and on a single day (October 16) arrested more than 1,000 persons, who were dispatched directly to *Auschwitz; immediately on arrival (October 22 or 23) most of them were murdered. Similar *Aktionen* were held in Trieste (October 9), Genoa (November 3), Florence (November 6), Milan (November 8), Venice (November 9), and Ferrara (November 14). Jews who were caught were at first imprisoned in local jails and later sent to special concentration camps set up in northern Italy, especially in *Fossoli and *Bolzano. When the camps were full, the inmates were sent on to extermination camps, mainly to Auschwitz. It is hard to estimate the exact number of Jews arrested in this early stage, but it may be as many as half the total number of Jews deported from Italy during the German occupation.

A second stage began toward the end of 1943, when Jewish life in Italy went underground and organized Jewish public worship became impossible in the country for the first time in 20 centuries. Numerous Jews managed to cross the border into Switzerland; others found their way through the front line, in spite of many obstacles, to southern Italy, or joined the groups of anti-Fascist partisans in the mountains. However, the great majority preferred to seek sanctuary among the Italian population, in the homes of "Aryan" acquaintances, among peasants and the working classes, and even in Catholic religious institutions. Manhunts were, however, regularly carried out by the German and Fascist police, with the concomitant danger of betrayal by Fascist or avaricious citizens, and the constant need to seek new shelter. However, at the hour of greatest danger, many discovered that the greater part of the Italian people was willing to help the persecuted for humanitarian reasons alone, despite the heavy penalties that they risked by their actions. Of the approximately 2,000 Jews who fought against the German and Fascist forces in the ranks of the partisans, more than 100 fell in battle and five won the highest medals for bravery. Others served in the Allied armies or intelligence services. The number of Jewish victims in Italy is estimated at about 7,750 out of a Jewish population of about 35,000 at the beginning of the German occupation.

[Daniel Carpi]

The arrest, manhunts, and deportations of entire Jewish populations that the Italians had witnessed in western Europe and Greece, the atrocities performed before their eyes in Croatia, and the rumors about events in eastern Europe convinced many Italian soldiers and diplomats that it was their human duty to assist the persecuted Jews regardless of their nationality. What was no less than a rescue operation was then mounted in the region controlled by the Italian army in Dalmatia and Croatia, where 5,000 Jews from the remainder of Yugoslavia had found asylum; in southern France, where more than 25,000 Jews had gathered, mostly refugees from northern France; and in Athens and other parts of Greece in the Italian zone, where there were some 13,000 Jews. Altogether some 40,000 Jewish refugees from various countries found a safe haven in the areas of Italian occupation. (In addition, a few thousand refugees had been permitted to enter Italy itself and gained asylum there.)

Despite repeated protests, in no case did the Italians surrender the Jews to the Germans, the Croatian Ustasha, or the Vichy police. They maintained this position in the face of intense pressure, coupled with demands for extradition made by the Germans at various diplomatic levels and even upon Mussolini himself. At least twice Mussolini succumbed to these pressures and gave orders to surrender the Jewish refugees in the Italian zone of Croatia, but the diplomats and high-ranking military officers around him joined forces to evade implementation of this criminal order. Among those who acquitted themselves honorably in this affair were Deputy Foreign Minister Giuseppe Bastianini and senior diplomats Luca Pietromanchi, Luigi Viau, and Roberto Ducci in Rome; diplomatic representatives Guelfo Zamboni, Giuseppe Castruccio, and Pellegrino Ghigi in Greece; the diplomats Vittorio Zoppi, Alberto Calisse, and Gustavo Orlandini in France; and Vittorio Castellani in Croatia. Among military personnel three generals, Giuseppe Pièche, Giuseppe Amico, and Mario Riatta, merit recognition. Other distinguished figures were Police Inspector Guido Lospinoso, who operated in southern France, where he was assisted by the Jewish banker Angelo Donati and the Capuchin friar Pierre-Marie *Benoît.

Unfortunately, some of the Jews who had found asylum in the Italian occupied zone were arrested by the Germans after September 8, 1943, and were killed in the Holocaust.

[Sergio Itzhak Minerbi (2nd ed.)]

Contemporary Period

Italian Jewry's losses resulting from Fascist persecutions can be estimated at about 40%: by deportations (7,749 dead out of 8,360 deportees, around 16% of the Jewish population in 1938), conversion to other religions (5,705 cases during the period 1938–43, around 12%), and emigration (approximately 6,000 persons, around 13%). Indirect consequences of the persecutions were a drastic decline in the birth and marriage rates, which further aggravated the already precarious demographic conditions of Italian Jewry. In the course of the persecutions, the small communities in particular, which were already declining in numbers, suffered severely. At the end of World War II, 29,117 Jews remained in Italy, and a further 26,300 refugees originating mainly from central and eastern Europe were added to this number. Italy was a main gathering place for the refugees en route to Palestine, and the great majority later reached Palestine, legally or illegally.

Meanwhile, the difficult work of reconstructing the communities was begun, with the help of Jewish international relief organizations. Politically, the Jewish minority in Italy lived under generally good conditions after World War II. The Italian Jews and their institutions enjoyed full rights guaranteed by the Constitution and by the respect of the greater part of the Italian people.

At the end of World War II, a certain number of refugees settled permanently in Italy. Subsequently, immigrants arrived, mainly from Egypt and other Middle Eastern countries and from North Africa, especially following the persecutions of Jews after the *Sinai Campaign in 1956. At the same time, immigration also took place from Hungary and other eastern European countries, although to a smaller extent. Schematically, the following three groups could be distinguished in Italian Jewry: the Jews of Rome, the great majority of whom were born there, who partly still lived in the old ghetto, endowed with a sturdy vitality that could be linked in part to the modest conditions of the community and in part to the survival of strong bonds with Jewish tradition; other Italian-born Jews, widely scattered geographically, with more tenuous links with Jewish culture but steadily growing ties with secular Italian culture, and hence more open to social contacts with non-Jews, mixed marriages, and increasingly rapid assimilation; and Jews born abroad, characterized by greater social cohesion, but inclined to adopt rapidly the habits and customs of the less vital groups of Italian Jewry. According to the results of a statistical inquiry carried out, on a national basis, under the auspices of The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 12,000 Jewish families were living in Italy in 1965, comprising about 32,000 Jews out of a total population of 52,000,000 (a density of 0.6 per thousand). The geographical distribution of the Jews was 42.2% in Rome; 7% in Milan; 21.8% in the six medium-sized communities of Turin, Florence, Trieste, Genoa, Venice, and Leghorn; and 8.3% in the 15 small communities of Naples, Bologna, Ancona, Mantua, Pisa, Padua, Modena, Ferrara, Verona, Alessandria, Vercelli, Parma, Merano, Gorizia, and Casale Monferrato. Isolated Jews were also spread over more than 200 minor centers.

A few demographic details from the above survey will suffice to indicate the state of decline of the Jews in Italy. The birth rate for the Jews was 11.4 per 1,000 as against 18.3 per 1,000 for the entire population; the fertility rate (children from birth to four years per 1,000 women of age 15–49) was 210 for the Jews as against 360 for the general population; the marriage rate was 4.6% as against 8.0%; the mortality rate in general was 16.1% as against 9.6%; the Jews were considerably older: the average age was 41 years as against 33 years for the total population; finally, the demographic balance of the Jewish population was negative, -4.7%, as against +8.7% for the general population. In contrast to the general population, the Jewish population was almost entirely urban and limited to the regions of the center and north. Its educational level was higher, with a large proportion of university graduates (14% as against 1.4%). The largest concentration in occupational distribution was to be found in the business and services sectors (80.7% of the Jews as against 30.3% of the general population), with a certain representation in industry (18.7% as against 40.6%) and an almost total absence from agriculture (0.6% as against 29.1%). The majority were self-employed, followed by those employed in commerce, in the free professions, and as executives and employees. In Rome, the number of hawkers was considerable.

The central organization of Italian Jewry was the Union of Italian Jewish Communities, which represented Jewish interests vis-à-vis the government. Under the successive presidencies of R. Cantoni, A. Zevi, R. Bonfiglioli, and S. Piperno Beer, the Union intervened on behalf of Italian Jews in the face of antisemitic incidents and acted on behalf of the heirs of the victims of the Holocaust in matters of reparations and compensation. The Union also had a special section for cultural activities, rabbinical activity, on the other hand, being under the supervision of the Italian Rabbinical Council. Each community was responsible for organizing all religious and welfare services and cultural activities, as well as administering its own property. Jewish education was carried out through a system of Jewish schools, recognized by the state, in which the syllabus of the state schools was followed with the addition of Jewish subjects. Such schools existed in seven communities in 1970; in 1965–66 the total number of their students amounted to 1,986. The greatest number of pupils, however, was to be found in the elementary schools; in the higher grades the number of Jewish students attending Jewish schools fell drastically in favor of state schools. Rabbinical training was given at the Collegio Rabbinico Italiano, in Rome, and the S.H. Margulies Rabbinical School in Turin. Finally, a few hundred Jewish students attended technical courses at *ORT.

Among Italian-Jewish publications were *La Rassegna Mensile d'Israel*, a Jewish cultural magazine; *Israel*, a Jewish weekly of moderate Zionist tendencies; its cultural monthly, *Shalom*; and *Ha-Tikvah*, the monthly organ of the Federation of Jewish Youth. In general, assimilation of young Jews, particularly those born in Italy, was very noticeable and was also evident from the data on mixed marriages. In Milan, during 1952–66, 46 out of 100 Jewish bridegrooms married non-Jewish brides, and 26 of the 100 Jewish brides married non-Jews. In 1955 was founded in Milan the institution CDEC (Center of Jewish Contemporary documentation) devoted to the promotion of didactic activities and research on contemporary Italian Judaism, Shoah and antisemitism for researchers, students, and schools. The Italian Zionist Federation encouraged *aliyah*, which, though small in numbers, was well qualified professionally. It also organized various cultural and educational activities concerning Israel, frequently in collaboration with *WIZO (ADEI) and other representatives of world Zionist organizations. Soon after World War II, due partly to the presence of the *Jewish Brigade, many young Italian Jews were imbued with Zionist enthusiasm which led to their participation in the Israel *War of Independence (1948) and in some cases to settlement in Israel. This, however, did not always have strong ideological roots, and as a result a considerable number returned to Italy. During that period also the major part of the population of the Apulian village of *San Nicandro was converted to Judaism under the leadership of D. Manduzio and subsequently settled in Israel.

Jews were more modestly represented in realms of culture and in public life than in the first few decades of the 20th century. It should be noted, however, that many representatives of the Jewish intelligentsia had either left Italy because of the racial laws or perished during the persecutions. Among the Jews who rose to distinction in Italy in the post-World War II period in the humanistic field were the writers C. *Levi, A. *Moravia (Pincherle), G. *Bassani, and P. *Levi; in the field of science, the mathematician G. Castelnuova, president of the Academia Dei Lincei, the physicist E. *Segre, Nobel Prize winner in 1959, and the physicist B. *Pontecorvo, who caused a storm when he defected to the Soviet Union after the war. General G. *Liuzzi was head of the General Staff of the armed forces in the years 1954–59. On the other hand, there was a more modest Jewish participation in Italy's political life as compared with the period before the rise of Fascism. In the legislatures of the Italian parliament there was a succession of Jewish representatives, on the average about ten out of 1,000 deputies and senators in the two houses. Of special note is a leader of the Communist party, Umberto *Terracini of Turin, who was president of the Constituent Assembly in 1947.

[Sergio DellaPergola]

DEMOGRAPHY. At the start of the 1980s there were some 41,000 Jews in Italy, of whom 36,000 were permanent residents, some 2,000 Israeli students, and some 3,000 Russian Jews, most of whom were in Rome awaiting emigration visas to other countries. Of the permanent Jewish population, 14,500 lived in Rome and 9,500 in Milan, while the communities of Turin, Florence, Trieste, Leghorn, Venice and Genoa accounted for 6,000, with the remaining 2,000 in 14 small communities. Two characteristic demographic traits of the community were aging and assimilation. The Jewish birthrate continued to be low while, for the first time, the rate of intermarriage reached a level of more than 40 percent in Rome, and was considerably higher in other towns.

In 1993, the number of Jews officially registered in Italian communities was 31,000, with an estimated additional 10–15,000 unaffiliated. Mixed marriages fell from 50% to 40% in ten years. During the 1980s a number of small communities died out. Rome Jewry was the most homogeneous, made up mostly of families – most of them store owners – who survived the war and a dynamic post-1967 Libyan Jewish community by now well-integrated, although they had their own synagogue. The Milan community was of international origin with groups of Syrian, Iranian, Lebanese Jews and others, each with their own synagogues. Lubavitch families had settled in various cities, attracting some of the youth. Friction arose initially because the Lubavitch rabbis accused the Italian rabbis of laxity in maintaining halakhic standards, challenging Italian Jewry's elastic traditions of accommodating all forms of religiosity under an umbrella definition of Orthodoxy. A *modus vivendi* was found, resulting in greater cooperation. No Conservative or Reform congregations existed in Italy because they are traditionally regarded as a threat to Jewish unity and a step toward assimilation.

POLITICAL EVENTS. Along with the general community, Jews also suffered from the continuing erosion in political stability and public order which characterized Italy during the 1970s, and at least three Jews were abducted and held for ransom. In November 1977 the liberal journalist, Carlo Casalegno, joint editor of *La Stampa* and a good friend of the Jewish community and of Israel, was killed in an ambush in Turin.

Some of the members of the Red Brigade and the NAP (Proletarian Action Group) received their military training in Palestinian terrorist camps in Lebanon.

Despite certain self-defense precautions taken by Jewish institutions, there was a general feeling of frustration and distrust in the Jewish community which stemmed from a ceaseless trickle of antisemitic events, often combining anti-Jewish and anti-Zionist elements and trends. These ranged from a variety of Nazi-Fascist or Marxist-Leninist graffiti to more committed documents by intellectuals and official bodies, to bombs thrown against synagogues (which, however, caused neither casualties nor any considerable damage).

Research on antisemitism in contemporary Italy, directed by Professor Alfonso Di Nola, suggested a possible connection between Italian proletarian, revolutionary and reactionary interests and Arabs terrorist groups. In fact, Arab organizations continued to make Italy one of their European strongholds and acted with increasing effrontery against Israeli interests and property, particularly air transport between the two countries.

The main cause of concern to Italian Jews was the consequences of the radicalization of the political struggle on the general scene. A dangerous political instability prevailed in 1974–75. In this connection it was difficult to disentangle wholly the implication of the Middle East crisis from purely local factors. The Italian mass media, headed by the government-controlled radio and television, adopted an open pro-Arab attitude during the Yom Kippur War. One incident received considerable publicity. A satirical article on Col. Qaddhafi, written by two non-Jews, appeared in *La Stampa*, of which Arrigo Levi – a former volunteer in the Israel War of Independence – had been appointed editor a few months earlier. The Libyan government issued a formal protest, demanding, *inter alia*, the dismissal of the editor and threatening a total boycott of all products of Fiat, which owned the newspaper. Although Levi was allowed to retain his post, the Italian government issued a "balanced statement" on the matter, showing understanding of the Arab position. This was later openly manifested when Italy voted in favor of the admission of the Palestine Liberation Organization as an observer at the UN General Assembly. The resurgent neo-fascism and the anti-Israel tide did not cause any actual direct damage to the Jewish community. Nevertheless, fears for the personal safety of Italian Jewish leaders reached a peak after the arrest in Jerusalem of Greek Catholic Archbishop Capucci. There was evidence of an anti-Jewish mood subtly penetrating into intellectual, cultural, and artistic circles. It could be observed in most Italian universities, including most departments of political science and history, where the Middle East conflict is usually taught, and as a result the academic objectivity and scientific standing of these institutions was slowly being compromised. On the other hand, there were a few positive highlights, such as the courageous stand taken by Chief Rabbi Elio Toaff in a few debates on radio and television, which were widely followed, and the support given Israel by a group of members of the Italian parliament, a delegation of which went on a mission to Israel in 1974. Vigorous and effective pro-Jewish stands were taken in the Jewish and non-Jewish press by such writers as Carlo Gasalegno, Aldo Garosci, Tullia Zevi, Marsimo Della Pergola, Alberto Nirenstein and the editorial board of the Roman Jewish monthly *Shalom* which had favorable repercussions in the country.

In November 1976 an official proposal was published to grant a conditional release to SS Lieut. Col. Herbert Kappler, who had directed the slaughter at the Fosse Ardeatin (near Rome), after 28 years of imprisonment. The reaction in the Jewish community was immediate; they hastened to the military hospital where Kappler was held. Larger demonstrations followed in anti-Fascist circles, and the proposal was eventually dropped. On Aug. 15, 1977, however, Kappler was suddenly abducted by his wife to the townlet of Soltau in West Germany. An immediate request of extradition, submitted by the Italian government, could not be complied with under German constitutional law. For a few weeks there was some tension between the Italian and German governments (the Germans had actually been exerting pressure to obtain Kappler's release), and only his death a few months later brought the case to an end. There were also some expressions of intellectual revisionism which attempted to minimize the extent of the Holocaust, or to find psychological or political Jewish responsibilities for it. Some of the most vociferous theories about "Jewish racism" were heard in 1976 on the occasion of a strike by a leftist union at the Sonzogno publishing house, to prevent publication of the Italian version of a report on the IDF rescue operation at *Entebbe. Nor was the Vatican's position more encouraging; in February 1976, the Vatican delegation at an Islamic-Christian conference held in Tripoli voted in favor of a document stating that Zionism is an aggressive, racist movement, foreign to Palestine and to the whole of the Orient.

During the 1980s the Middle East political situation continued to make itself felt. A Palestinian terrorist attack on the Rome synagogue on October 9, 1982, resulted in the death of a two-year-old boy; 40 Jews were wounded. In October 1985, the Italian cruiser *Achille Lauro* was hijacked and an invalid Jewish passenger, Leon Klinghoffer, shot and thrown overboard. On December 27, 1985, terrorists struck at the El Al counter of Rome's Airport, leaving many dead and wounded. In June 1986, the Italian government signed an agreement with the U.S. for cooperation against terrorism.

The Lebanese war in 1982 and the Intifada in 1987 set off media campaigns against Israel, often tinged with antisemitism. Newborn Italian "Progressive Judaism" movements proposing a two-state solution for Israelis and Palestinians began a constructive dialogue with the traditionally critical Italian Left. An Israeli-Palestinian meeting was held in 1989 by the Milan Center for Peace in the Middle East. Jewish and Italian groups joined Shalom Akhshav in a Jerusalem "Time for Peace" march in 1989.

During the Gulf War, the Italy–Israel Friendship Association staged a 1,000-person Solidarity for Israel demonstration outside Israel's Rome Embassy.

On May 25, 1992, Oscar Luigi Scalfaro was elected president of the Italian Republic only two months after having been nominated the first president of the newly formed Italy-Israel Parliamentary Friendship Association. On March 20, he had defended Israel as "a land for which we Europeans have still not been able to assure the basic requisites of security."

Two Italian Jews were elected to parliament: Bruno Zevi on the Radical ticket in 1987 and Enrico Modigliani, a Republican, in 1992. With Italian support, the European Economic Community lifted the freeze on scientific cooperation with Israel in 1991.

In 1991/2 economic instability and political scandals shook coalition alliance parties and strengthened the newly emerged Northern Lombard League favoring regional autonomy, a stop to immigration, and the expulsion of southern Italian migrants. Italy's extreme-right fringe became more audacious, permitting Fascist salutes and racist slogans. There were antisemitic outbursts in sports stadiums (rival teams being referred to as "Jews"), desecrations of Jewish cemeteries, and violence against foreign immigrants. In June 1992 an international revisionist congress was held in Rome, but Italian authorities blocked further meetings.

A massive *Kristallnacht* anniversary demonstration against antisemitism in Italy's major cities on November 9, 1992, concluded a week of chain reactions to a misleadingly alarmistic report on antisemitism in the weekly *Espresso*. Following the issue, 30 Jewish stores in Rome were plastered with yellow stars with the message "Zionists Out of Italy" and other graffiti proclaimed "Jews – Back to Africa." About 100 Jewish youths then stormed the headquarters of the Fascist "Movimento Politico Occidentale."

At the end of 1992 parliament was debating a bill updating and reinforcing existing laws against antisemitism, neo-Fascism and racism in all its forms.

A record total of Italian tourists, mostly pilgrims, went to Israel in 1992. El Al increased flights and extended coverage to Venice, Verona, and Bergamo. From 1992 all organized pilgrimages included visits to Yad Vashem. In February 1991, Milan's Cardinal Martini led 1,250 pilgrims, traveling in four planes from Milan and two from Rome. The Italian Touring Club published its first "Green Guide" to Israel in 1993.

LEGAL AFFAIRS. A subject of central importance because of its possible impact on communal life was the proposed revision of the Concordat between Italy and the Vatican, in force since 1929. The question of the special role of Catholic religious norms admitted by the Italian Constitution and ordinary law, had a general relevance on the nature of the Italian state, and antagonized both Catholic and secular political forces. The Jews, more particularly, pointed to four areas of inequality in comparison to the Catholic majority, and supported reform of existing legislation:

(a) The Concordat virtually makes Catholicism the official religion of the state, other cults being merely "accepted," and therefore, although formally unequal, are free to organize themselves according to their own principles.

(b) Catholicism has a privileged status in public education.

(c) Although Catholic religious marriages are exclusively regulated by Canon law, they are granted civil validity, while in the case of Jews, religious and civil marriages, though usually performed by the same official in the synagogue, lead to separate jurisdictions in case of controversy.

(d) The Vatican has exclusive property rights and jurisdiction over all catacombs, including Jewish ones. In fact, the Jewish catacombs are closed and inaccessible, and there were fears of their being damaged and despoiled. The Jews asked that these monuments, of the greatest historical and religious importance, be turned over to the Jewish community, which would set up an international committee to supervise maintenance and further research and excavations.

The chance that all these points would be accepted for reformulation was actually remote. Related to revision of the Concordat was a possible reform of the Law of Jewish Communities (1930), under which membership in Jewish communities in Italy is compulsory. Certain Jewish circles advocated a new communal structure, based on voluntary membership. This was opposed by persons fearing it would considerably reduce the financial support to communities, impairing the functioning of their services, particularly of Jewish schools which provide at least a few years of Jewish instruction to about 75 percent of Jewish children in Italy. The largest complex is in Rome with 1,200 children between the ages of 5 and 18.

COMMUNITY LIFE. The Union of Italian Jewish Communities held national congresses in 1982, 1986, and 1990. Tullia Zevi, a journalist from Rome, was elected as the UIJC's first woman president in 1982, a position she still held in 1992. The 1982 keynote address on the importance of historical memory was written by Primo Levi, the distinguished novelist and Auschwitz survivor. The Italian Jewish biologist, Rita Levi Montalcini, co-winner of the 1986 Nobel Prize for medicine, addressed that year's UIJC Congress, which was also attended by the president of the Italian Republic, Francesco Cossiga.

In 1984, the Italian Constitutional Court repealed a 1930 law requiring compulsory membership and taxation of Jews by local communities. This law was successfully contested by a Libyan Jewish immigrant. In 1987, a new *intesa* (agreement) between the UIJC and the Italian government was signed, becoming effective in March 1989 and containing allowances for Sabbath requirements, legalizing rabbinic marriages, and making rabbinic ordination equivalent to university degrees.

Similar *intese* were stipulated with other religious minorities in Italy, and in 1992 negotiations began between the government and the c. 100,000-strong community of Muslim immigrants.

Italy became a state of religious pluralism on February 18, 1984, when a revised Concordat between the Holy See and the Italian Republic abolished Catholicism's privilege of being the "state religion," for the first time in 16 centuries. In December 1992 the UIJC decided to call a special national congress on the possibility of financing the Jewish communities by opting for voluntary contributions from tax payers of "8 per 1000 lire" of their income taxes – a system already adopted by the Catholic Church, Protestants, Seventh Day Adventists, and Mormons.

CULTURE. A large number of new books dealing directly or indirectly with Jewish subjects were published from the 1970s on, showing continued interest in the subject by a wide public. The most interesting new initiative was the series of books of Jewish culture issued by Carucci. They mainly included reprints of scholarly essays by such authors as Elia Benamozegh, Martin Buber, Umberto Cassuto, Dante Lattes; satirical Jewish poetry by Crescenzo Del Monte; translations and exegeses of biblical texts; an d a new demographic, sociological and political analysis of Italian Jewry by Sergio Della Pergola.

Fausta Cialente was awarded the 1976 Strega Prize for her *Le Quattro Ragazze Wieselberger*, including autobiographical flashbacks on Jewish society in Trieste at the turn of the century and in Egypt in the 1940s. The 1977 Portico d'Ottavia Prize was awarded to Richard Rubenstein for the Italian translation of his essay "The Religious Imagination," a psychoanalytical analysis of Jewish sources. Given honorable mention on the same occasion were Gitta Sereny's *In Quelle Tenebre* (a vivid evocation of the Holocaust) and Paolo De Benedetti's *La Chiamata Di Samuele.* A new volume of the scholarly *Yearbook of Jewish Studies* was issued by the Collegio Rabinico Italiano, now a division of an expanding Instituto Superiore di Studi Ebraici which provided a framework for scientific study and research on Jewish subjects. In June 1977 a new cultural popular festival was inaugurated in the area of the old ghetto in Rome, attracting for one day many thousands of Jews and non-Jews to theater, music, sport, and cooking exhibitions. Alberto Vigevani was awarded the literary prize Portico d' Ottavia for a collection of tales, *Fine delle domeniche*, bringing his youthful reminiscences of a vanishing Jewish identity in the assimilated, bourgeois environment of a small Jewish community. Elsa Morante's *La storia*, including vivid flashbacks to the ghetto of Rome during the Nazi occupation, was very favorably reviewed by literary circles and had a great commercial success. Several books were published on the history of local Jewish communities, most noteworthy of which was *Gli ebrei a Perugia* by Ariel Toaff. In 1976 the publication began of the scientific-historical review *Italia – Studi e ricerche sulla cultura e sulla letteratura degli ebrei d'Italia.* An interesting new edition of the Passover Haggadah was issued by the Federation of Jewish Youth in Italy, in which the translation of the traditional text was complemented by modern Jewish prose and partisan songs. Cultural links between Italy and Israel were strengthened after a new cultural agreement between the two countries became fully operative.

In May 1981 a five-day international congress, "Italia Judaica," was held in Bari under the joint sponsorship of the Italian Ministry for the Protection of Cultural Patrimony and Environment and the State Archives; the papers presented covered various aspects of Jewish history and culture in Italy.

JEWISH HERITAGE. Major efforts were made to preserve Italy's vast and precious but rapidly deteriorating Jewish heritage. Private foundations and government sponsorship could only partially cover the enormous costs required for maintenance and restoration.

The National Jewish Bibliographic Center was established in Rome in 1984 and in 1990 a new wing was inaugurated. In 1986 a grant from the Olivetti group permitted work to begin on the collection and preservation of about 25,000 volumes of archival and bibliographical materials from extinct and small communities all over Italy. Other contributions included a donation by Nobel Prize winner Rita Levi-Montalcini. Israeli experts came to help in the framework of Italy-Israel cultural agreements, and Father Pierfrancesco Fumagalli, secretary of the Vatican's Commission for Religious Relations with Jews, himself a specialist in illuminated Hebrew manuscripts, contributed from his expertise. In April 1992 a three-year agreement was made with the musicological departments of the University of Cremona and The Hebrew University for collecting, recording, and transcribing liturgical and other music by Italian Jewish composers for a special section of the Library.

The Vatican transferred the custody of the Roman Jewish catacombs to the Italian state in 1985; but for lack of funds for guards and upkeep, the Villa Torlonia catacombs are not yet open to the public.

The Venice and Rome synagogues were refurbished and the restoration of ancient synagogues and cemeteries in small communities were under way. Excavations in Calabria unearthed a fourth-century synagogue.

In 1990, the Italian government announced plans for renovating the Roman ghetto.

The works of Josef B. Sermoneta and Roberto Bonfil, both professors at The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, best articulate the problem of interpretation of Jewish culture in the Italian Renaissance. Sermoneta ("Aspetti del pensiero moderno nell'ebraismo italiano tra Rinascimento e età barocca," *Italia Judaica*, II, 1986) argued that the familiarity with Italian literary and cultural trends did not entail assimilation: in short, participating in the cultural enterprises of the Renaissance went hand in hand with asserting Jewish uniqueness and spiritual superiority. Bonfil (*Gli ebrei in Italia nell'epoca del Rinascimento* 1991) urged Jewish historians to renounce harmonistic interpretation and to study Jewish history "on its own terms," that is by defining the social status of Jews in Renaissance Italy, and then reconstructing their unique Jewish experience. The studies of David Ruderman, Michele Luzzati and Kenneth R. Stow show many interesting aspects of Italian Jewish history.

Congresses. Among initiatives made possible by renewed Italy-Israel cultural and scientific agreements were five international "Italia Judaica" conferences including in Genoa, 1984, on "Italian Jewry in the Renaissance and Baroque Periods"; in Tel Aviv, 1986, on "Jews in Italy from Ghetto Times to the First Emancipation"; in Siena, 1989, on "The Jews in United Italy 1870–1945"; and in Palermo, 1992, on "Jews in Sicily up to the Expulsion in 1492."

Throughout 1992 Italy commemorated the 500th anniversary of the arrival in Italy of Jews expelled from Spain. A major international congress was held in Genoa. In Ancona, a monument was unveiled to the memory of a group of Marranos burned at the stake in 1556.

Exhibitions. In 1989 a "Gardens and Ghettos" exhibition on Italian Jewish art was shown in New York and Ferrara, and 1992 saw an important exhibition in Rome of all Judaica literature published in Italy from 1955 to 1990.

HOLOCAUST STUDIES. A special commemorative edition of Italy's 1939 racial laws was published in 1989 by Italian authorities in Rome. In Florence, Israeli architect David Cassuto was awarded a silver medal in honor of his father, Rabbi Nathan Cassuto, for moral courage in wartime Italy.

In 1986, RAI-TV produced a series of programs on Nicola Caracciolo's book on Italians and Jews in World War II; in 1987 Susan Zuccotti's *The Italians and the Holocaust* was translated into Italian; in 1991 Liliana Picciotto Fargion's *Libro della Memoria* containing the individual stories of every deportee from 1943 to 1945, published by the Milan Jewish Documentation Center (CDEC), was presented in a solemn public ceremony in Rome.

EDUCATION AGAINST ANTISEMITISM AND ANTI-ZIONISM. In 1992, CDEC, with government sponsorship, inaugurated a

"Videothéque of Jewish Memory," offering 700 selected videocassettes for free loans to individuals and groups. On November 10, 1992, the Italian Ministry of Education made an agreement with the Union of Italian Jewish Communities on the use in schools of audiovisual programs on Jewish history. A course on Israel for high school teachers was held in Bergamo, organized by the Federation of Italy-Israel Friendship Associations.

CATHOLIC-JEWISH RELATIONS. A special document on Ecumenism by the Diocese of Rome in 1983 called for the Church to insure that sermons did not contain "any form or vestige of antisemitism," and called for "a rediscovery of our Jewish roots."

After the revision in 1984 of the Concordat between Italy and the Holy See, Catholicism was no longer a "state religion," and attendance at Catholic religious courses in schools became voluntary.

In 1985 the Vatican's Commission for Religious Relations with Jews promulgated *Notes on the Correct Way to Present Jews and Judaism in Preaching and Catechesis*. These were discussed in the Vatican by a Jewish delegation which was received by Pope John Paul II to mark the 20th anniversary of the *Nostra Aetate* declaration.

On April 13, 1986, John Paul II visited Rome's main synagogue, the first such visit by a pope in history, and addressed Jews as "our cherished older brothers."

In October 1986 the pope invited leaders of the world's main religions to prayer at Assisi. Judaism was represented by ADL Representative Dr. Joseph Lichten and Rome's Chief Rabbi Elio Toaff, who led a study session in front of an ancient synagogue.

In 1987 the pope received Austrian President Kurt Waldheim in private audience, arousing worldwide Jewish protest.

The 1988 the Vatican Document *The Church and Racism* contained the statement "Anti-Zionism serves at times as a screen for antisemitism, feeding on it and leading to it."

On January 17, 1990, the Italian Episcopal Conference celebrated its first annual national day of dialogue with Judaism in parish churches throughout Italy – so far the only national Episcopal Conference to have taken this initiative.

That same year the cult of "Saint Domenichino" (an alleged Jewish ritual murder victim) in Massa Carrara was abolished by the Catholic Church, declared illegitimate, and without any historical foundation.

In November 1990 the Pope declared that "Antisemitism is a sin against God and man," endorsing a statement made by the International Catholic-Jewish Liaison Committee in Prague, in September 1990.

On July 29, 1992, a bilateral permanent working commission was established between "the Holy See and the State of Israel, in order to study and define together issues of reciprocal interest and in view of normalizing relations," according to a joint communiqué. This was described as a first step toward diplomatic recognition.

SOVIET TRANSMIGRANTS IN ITALY. The last groups of Soviet transmigrants left Italy in 1990 after 100,000 had passed through Rome, Ostia, and Ladispoli during the previous two decades. Changed U.S. immigration laws in 1989 and direct processing of visas for Israel in Moscow, ended the flux that had been coordinated by HIAS, the Joint Distribution Committee, the Jewish Agency, and Italian authorities, who had set up schools and social centers, with religious help from the Lubavitch movement.

COMMUNITY LIFE, HISTORICAL MEMORY AND NATIONAL POLITICS IN THE MID-1990S. Two factors permeated Jewish debate in Italy in this period: (1) a series of half-century anniversaries all over the country, commemorating the World War II events related to Italian and international Holocaust history, and (2) the political rise of the "post-fascist" Alleanza Nazionale (AN) party led by Gianfranco Fini.

Meetings, debates, conventions, congresses, ceremonies and colloquiums were held in every region of Italy, organized by local authorities, often in co-operation with Jewish communities, to remember, and also to research and record, the unpublished memories of victims, rescuers, bystanders and all the rest of the generation that lived through the war and are very rapidly disappearing. Scores of new books on Jewish and war history appeared.

In 1994, national elections scheduled for March 27 conflicted with the first day of Passover and were extended to 10 p.m. March 28, after heated protest, to permit Jews to vote. The national elections of March 1994 resulted in a new Conservative conglomerate led by media tycoon Silvio Berlusconi, with a strengthened AN party in its midst.

Fini's courting of the Jewish community, in an effort to facelift his party and whitewash the past, met with consistent refusal by the elected leaders of Italian Jewry, even after the AN passed a motion at its national party meeting in February 1995 condemning antisemitism and calling the Fascist racial laws "an inestimable disgrace."

The quadrennial national Congress of the Union of Italian Jewish Communities (UIJC) held in Rome July 3–5, 1994, passed some significant political and community policy motions.

They expressed "concern over Italy's being the first country in the European Union in which forces having roots in fascism … have become part of the governmental majority." They warned against "historical revisionism finding legitimization in a "gray area" equating the values of the struggle for liberation and Nazi-Fascism." They stressed Italian Jewry's commitment to the Constitution, individual freedoms, rights of minorities, pluralism, separation between Church and State, and demanded that international Jewish delegations visiting Italy confer with Italian Jewish leaders before scheduling meetings with Italian government officials.

As always, the UIJC Congress stressed its commitment to "the centrality of Israel" and "support for Israel's government."

Economic duress convinced representatives this time to accept the opportunity offered by the government to permit taxpayers to designate eight out of every 1,000 lire to the Jewish community (as many already do to the Catholic Church).

Equating rabbinical degrees from the Rome Rabbinical College with university degrees, and instituting a "laurea" in Jewish Studies at the College was proposed, and later achieved – although at the end of 1995, the latter is still considered an "experimental" degree.

A representative of the Lubavitch movement, which is present in nearly all Italian Jewish communities, was invited to join the Rabbinical Assembly.

Tullia Zevi was elected for her fourth term as president of the Union of Italian Jewish Communities.

At the end of 1995, Italian Jewry was faced with two other milestones in Jewish history: the murder of Yiẓḥak Rabin and the forthcoming trial of Nazi war criminal Erich Priebke, extradited in November from Argentina to Italy, co-responsible, as SS Col. Herbert Kappler's assistant, for the reprisal murder of 335 people, including 70 Jews, in the Ardeatine Caves in Rome in March, 1944.

GENERAL EVENTS. On January 12, 1993, the Ministry of Education introduced the study of contemporary history and the Holocaust into the school system, which previously ended with World War One.

On March 31, 1993, Tullia Zevi won the year's "Courage" prize for "commitment to tolerance and coexistence…." She was named "Knight of the Grand Cross of Merit of the Italian Republic" by the president of Italy, Oscar Luigi Scalfaro.

Nazi skinhead sections were closed down all over Italy as a result of new, stricter laws, but sporadic antisemitic and anti-Zionist incidents continued. On March 19, 1994, masked thugs broke into an exhibition on Israel in Brescia shouting "Zionist assassins," "Intifada," tearing down posters and leaving excrement on the floor.

A 750 lire stamp, issued September 25, 1993, designed by Eva Fischer, commemorated the wartime deportations. Other stamps designed by Ms. Fischer in 1995 commemorated the Montecassino battle and the Ardeatine Caves massacre.

The 50th annual anniversary of the *Jewish Brigade in Italy was celebrated in Piangipane Ravenna with services for those who fell; in Bari, a concert commemorated the landing of the Brigade.

Women increasingly occupy key positions in organized Italian Jewry. In addition to Tullia Zevi, President of the UIJC, women are presidents of five of Italy's 20 Jewish communities: Lia Tagliacozzo in Turin; Dora Bemporad in Florence; Celestina Ottolenghi in Ferrara; Bianca Finzi in Bologna; and Paola Bedarida in Leghorn.

In Spring 1995, Tullia Zevi suggested that European Community funds available to religious communities be used by the UIJC for Jewish monuments, libraries and youth activities, including international exchange.

Synagogues already restored and reopened after many years of neglect include: (a) the 1824 synagogue of Sabbioneta (province of Mantua) designed by Carlo Visioli, reopened 1993 after 10 years of work costing 100 million lire; (b) and the famous 400-year-old synagogue of Casale Monferrato and its 25-year-old museum; (c) the Pitigliano synagogue, which held its last Yom Kippur service in 1959, was festively re-opened to the recorded voice of the community's last cantor, Azeglio Servi; (d) the Pesaro synagogue, whose reconstruction by Italian Fine Arts authorities caused much controversy. The original light blue and gold-starred cupola of the Portuguese community was painted white; the ancient carved wood separation fence of the women's section was replaced instead of being restored; five inlaid wood rectangles in the entrance portals were replaced by six new ones. The 1437 cupola of the Cuneo synagogue, last restored in 1885, needs further reconstruction; 300 million lire more are needed above the 70 million spent (30 Jews have resettled in Cuneo and in 1995 the first bar mitzvah since the war was held.) The Synagogue of Alessandria was damaged by floods and needed repair. The 1875 Ivrea synagogue, falling apart, was handed over to the municipality in exchange for repairs not yet begun.

New Jewish museums opened in Bologna and Ferrara.

Projects under way include the restoration of the ancient Jewish quarter of Salemi, Sicily, made possible through a 50 billion lire grant by UNESCO. A research center, a kosher restaurant and 20 houses for scholars will be built.

Conventions and meetings on the many aspects of Jewish history in Italy took place in many towns, and the boom in Judaica publications continues. These include national, regional and municipal histories of Jewish life, Holocaust studies, and Jewish literature, including contemporary Israeli novelists in translation.

A major Italian Jewish convention, organized by Rabbi Shalom Bahbouth of the Department for Community Assistance (DAC), took place in Jesoli near Venice in 1994 on "Shalom and the Future of the Jewish People."

[Lisa Palmieri-Billig]

1995–2005. Among the main factors permeating Jewish life in Italy was the right-wing Alleanza Nazionale (AN), led by Gianfranco Fini, and the role of Silvio Berlusconi, chief of the Italian parliament since 2002, as well as the subject of the Holocaust, particularly since 2000 when the Italian parliament designated January 27 as Holocaust Remembrance Day, commemorating the liberation of Auschwitz. Efforts were made in the Italian Jewish communities to organize debates, conventions, congresses, ceremonies, and colloquiums, in order to promote the knowledge of Judaism and emphasize the importance of memory within non-Jewish society, though there have been complaints of a lack of activism in the promotion of internal culture, particularly in the small communities. The Lubavitch and Reform movements have been growing in many Italian cities. The Reform movement, called *Lev Cha-*

dash, was an absolute novelty in Italy. Founded in 2001 by a group of Italian Jews disagreeing with the Orthodox establishment in matters of conversion and mixed marriage, it had a great deal of success. In September 2004 Rabbi Barbara Aiello of the United States began her tenure at the Reform synagogue in Milan.

Even if less than in other countries, the risk of a new antisemitism nonetheless grew with a 2003 report showing a majority identifying Jews as the number one danger to world peace. A 2005 poll, under the rubric of "Italian Opinion on the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict and the Mideast Question," showed that a certain movement toward antisemitism, or at least a certain view of events, was emerging among Italians: 11% of those interviewed described themselves as either strongly or fairly strongly in agreement with the proposition that the Jewish Holocaust did actually happen but did not produce as many victims as is usually assumed. In particular, 34.1% of those interviewed described themselves as strongly or fairly strongly in agreement with another proposition, that is, that Jews secretly control economic and financial institutions as well as the media. In addition, 53.7% of Italians were very critical of the Israeli government's handling of the Palestinian question, while 77.8% were against the construction of the security fence that will separate Israelis and Palestinians. Another 35.9% of those interviewed agreed with the statement that the Sharon government was carrying out real genocide and treating the Palestinians the way that Nazis treated the Jews. Furthermore, even as Pope John Paul II and his successor Benedict XVI improved relations with the Jewish world, theological and political problems remained in relations between the Vatican and the Jewish communities concerning Israel.

In 1998 Amos Luzzatto, physician and scholar of Judaism, was elected president of the Union of Italian Jewish Communities. In 2002 Riccardo di Segni, a well-known radiologist and outstanding talmudist and historian, became the Italian chief rabbi, replacing Elio Toaff, who had held the office for 50 years. Riccardo di Segni is the author of numerous articles and books on Jewish culture and thought. He has lectured widely to university audiences, as well as in the community and synagogue. In 2005 Alfonso Arbib, a rabbi and educator of Tripoline origins, became chief rabbi of Milan, replacing Giuseppe Laras, who had held the office for more than 30 years. Among the outstanding scholars and active rabbis in Italy were Scialom Bahbout and Roberto Della Rocca. Scialom Bahbout, physician and researcher at the University La Sapienza of Rome, was the founder and director of Dac (Department for Assistance and Culture of UCEI). He also founded the Italian *bet midrash* Tifereth Yerushalaim in Jerusalem in 2003. Roberto Della Rocca is the director of the Department for Education and Culture (ex Dac) of UCEI, vice president of the Central Conference of Italian Rabbis, and professor of Judaism at the Pontificia Lateranense University in Rome.

Women continued to occupy key positions in organized Italian Jewry. In 2003 Sandra Crema Eckert became president of the Modena Jewish community.

The degree issued by the Collegio Rabbinico of Rome was made equal to the Italian Laurea. Jewish studies (history, philosophy, urban history) have been significantly upgraded in Rome, Venice, Bologna, Naples, Trieste, Pisa, and Milan. Italian-Israeli professors like Roberto Bonfil, Sergio DellaPergola, and Alfredo Mordechai Rabello of The Hebrew University, and Sergio Minerbi of Ben-Gurion University, maintained wide institutional relationships with the Italian academies and government. Also, the relationship between the Italian Jewish communities and the Italian Jews in Israel was quite close and allowed valuable cultural exchanges. In the field of Italian Jewish history, the studies of Michele Sarfatti and Liliana Picciotto Fargion shed new light on the extent of the Holocaust in Italy and Nazi-Fascist persecution. They belong to the CDEC, which continued to promote didactic activities and research on contemporary Italian Judaism, Shoah, and antisemitism for researcher, students, and schools.

Among the outstanding works with an Italian Jewish content was the film *La vita è bella* (*Life Is Beautiful*) in 1997 by Roberto Benigni, who won two Oscars for best foreign film and best actor. The film was considered a masterpiece. It also won the Oscar for original musical score. No other Italian film has received so much international recognition, having also won the First Prize at the 1998 Film Festival at Cannes. Because the protagonist, Guido, is well aware of what is happening but is determined to shield his son from the terrifying reality of the situation in the camps through the invention of an elaborate game, *Life Is Beautiful* came under attack in some circles for mocking the Holocaust.

In Milan, under the supervision of Maria Modena Mayer, professor of Hebrew literature at the Statale University, the Association of Friends of The Hebrew University of Jerusalem (AUG) and the Vigevani Foundation have organized many scientific congresses and colloquiums and given scholarships to Italian scholars and students to study in Israel. Furthermore, in 1996, the Center Judaica Goren-Goldstein was founded in Milan thanks to cooperation between the Cuker Goldstein Goren Foundation and the Statale University in Milan, devoted to teaching Jewish thought and culture. In addition to *La Rassegna Mensile d'Israel*, which continued its activity under the direction of Amos Luzzatto, other journals of Italian Jewish studies were published: *Italia – Studi e ricerche sulla cultura e sulla letteratura degli ebrei d'Italia* (since 1976), *Zakhor* (since 1997), and *Materia Giudaica* (since 1996). There were also well-organized websites: www.morasha.it, giving an overview of Italian Jewry and culture; www.torah.it, which offers the possibility of improving knowledge in Judaic matters; and www.informazionecorretta.com and www.israele.net focusing on information on Israel. The Jewish Giuntina publishing house of Florence produced new books on Jewish history and culture, and translations from the Hebrew, English, and Yiddish of classical Jewish works. The Jewish Belforte publishing house of Leghorn also published books of various kinds on Judaism. Furthermore, the Zamorani publishing house of Turin is devoted to the publication of historical texts. In 2002–3 Pavia University, under the direction of Professor Paola Vita Finzi and Eng. Vittorio Modena, conducted a research project – Israeli Financing Innovation Schemes for Europe (IFISE) – among many European, Italian, and Israeli universities and institutions to arrive at a methodology for the creation of seed and start-up capital sources for high-tech firms in Europe, following the Israeli success stories of Yozma and the Technological Incubators Programs and its application to Italian conditions.

[Robert Bonfil (2nd ed.)]

Relations with Israel

Although Italy was one of the Axis powers during World War II, this fact left no imprint on her relations with Israel. The active help given in Italy to the survivors of the Holocaust from all over Europe – in particular toward their migration to Palestine – and the fact that, even under the Fascist regime, Italy did not participate in the horrors perpetrated by her German ally but rather actually helped in the rescue work, served to place Israel-Italian relations on a regular footing from the outset. When the young State of Israel approached the question of her foreign ties, Italy was among the first countries in which an Israeli diplomatic mission was established. Israel established an embassy in Rome and a consulate-general in Milan (the Israeli ambassador also maintains contact with the *Vatican), and Italy's embassy was located in Tel Aviv. The development of essential ties, however, was quite slow, due mainly to Italy's postwar policy, the principal aims of which were settlements of territorial questions directly relating to her and a return to a position of equality in the family of nations. Over the years, increased contacts and a strengthening of ties was achieved, because of Italy's rising influence in the various European organizations in which Israel was actively interested; the rise in Italy's position as a Mediterranean country, and her anxiety in view of the Soviet Union's increasing penetration into the Mediterranean basin; the decline – from Israel's point of view – in France's influence after her change in policy on the eve of the *Six-Day War (1967); and the great diplomatic ability Italy displayed when an El Al plane was hijacked to Algeria in 1968 (the release of the plane, its crew, and passengers were secured through Italy's intervention), and when a TWA plane was hijacked to Damascus in 1969 and six Israelis were held prisoners after the release of the rest of the passengers.

Objective difficulties existed in some areas, such as that of commercial ties, since the economies of the two countries had a certain similarity in important fields of production (e.g., citrus), and it was therefore not easy to realize their mutual desire to increase trade between the two countries. Italy even placed obstacles in the way of Israel's affiliation with the Common Market because of citrus competition. Italy's active ties with Israel were linked to its general relationship with the Middle East, in which it had important interests. It did not develop a unilateral policy on the question of the Israel-Arab dispute, and its cautious diplomatic initiatives were aimed at advancement toward a negotiated peace.

[Yohanan Meroz]

The significant improvement in relations between Italy and Israel under the Berlusconi government and the historic visit of Gianfranco Fini to Jerusalem in 2003, when he repudiated the Nazi-Fascist Republic of Salò for the first time, are developments at the center of discussion within Jewish communities. In particular, Giulio Terzi di San'Agata, Italy's ambassador to Israel during 2001–3, worked to improve these relations between the two states with great success. Meanwhile, the majority of Italian leftists continued to support the Palestinian cause. In 2002 the liberal newspaper *Il Foglio* organized a demonstration in Rome in support of Israel, called Israel Day, with a large turnout of Italian citizens, politicians, and journalists.

[Robert Bonfil (2nd ed.)]

The dominant pattern of an excess of Israeli imports over exports to Italy continued. Thus exports from Italy to Israel rose from $13.6 million in 1960 to $314.9 million in 1980, whereas imports to Italy rose from $10.6 million in 1960 to $285.1 million in 1980. In 2004 exports to Italy stood at $810 million, while imports climbed to $1,566 million. A considerable expansion in the number of tourists from Italy to Israel, which rose steadily from 2,400 in 1960 to 37,000 in 1977 and 55,800 in 1980, indicated the growing interest for the Holy Land among Jews and non-Jews. In 2004, 42,000 Italians visited Israel.

Musical Tradition

The various strata of Italian Jewry and the diverse origins of the Jewish communities are reflected in the variety of their musical traditions. Six stylistic traditions can be distinguished:

(1) The Italian rite (also called *lo'azi, Italki* or *Italyani*) came to the communities of north central Italy in the late Middle Ages. In 1970 it was still in use in "Italian rite synagogues" of Turin, Padua, Mantua, Venice, Ferrara, Alessandria, Ancona and Siena. In Pitigliano, Reggio Emilia, and Florence it ceased some decades earlier. In Milan and Bologna it was adopted in the modern synagogues.

(2) Sephardi rites and chants which came from Spain, either directly or by way of North Africa, to the communities on the west coast, chiefly Leghorn. Their use eventually spread to Genoa, Naples, Pisa, and in the 19th century to Florence (where they replaced the Italian rite and its melodies).

(3) The Sephardi chant, originating partially from Marranos in Spain but mainly from the Balkan Peninsula and the Orient, and received by the communities on the Adriatic coast, chiefly Venice, and later Trieste, Ferrara, and Ancona. In the Venetian "colonies" of Spalato and Ragusa this tradition is extinct.

(4) The rite of three small communities in Piedmont: Asti, Fossano, and Moncalvo (extinct), which were settled by Jews from France in the 14th to 15th century, and called *APAM after their Hebrew initials.

(5) The Ashkenazi rite used by the communities of south-German origin formed in the 16th–17th century at Casale Mon-

ferrato, Padua, Verona, Venice, Gorizia. It is extinct in Rovigo, Vercelli, Modena, Sandaniele del Friuli, and other small centers.

(6) Rome, where until the beginning of the 20th century various congregations had "*Scole*" (synagogues) which, according to their origin, were called Sicilian, Castilian, Catalan, or Italian. In the 20th-century Great Synagogue, inaugurated in 1904, the different musical traditions fused into a single rite, in which the Italian element predominated, but in which the influences of Sephardi chant and ancient and modern Roman Christian liturgy could be discerned.

The most important element common to these different traditions is the Italian pronunciation of Hebrew. Because of the nasalization of the *ayin*, the loss of the *he*, the pronunciation of the *tav* without *dagesh* as *d*, and especially since all the vowels (including the *sheva na* at the beginning and frequently at the end of a word) are fully pronounced, a peculiar sonorousness of musical expression emerged which completely Italianized the tunes, including those of German and Spanish origin. Concomitantly, the chants of Germanic origin underwent a leveling of their pentatonic and characteristically wide intervals, and those of Oriental origin lost such exotic elements as the interval of the augmented second, the plaintive and excessively melismatic turns, and the coloratura passages. The majority of the chants and their style of performance are characterized in all Italian rites by an ecclesiastical solemnity or, at times, by operatic idioms. In the 18th–19th centuries, the singing was also influenced by the "learned" styles of Italian music or by popular songs.

In the synagogues built according to the "Italian plan," i.e., bipolar construction, the *tevah* or *bimah* is situated in an elevated niche, like a counterapse, in the western wall opposite the *aron*; the benches are therefore arranged in two rows along the northern and southern walls and the worshipers are thus able to see the face and gestures of the *ḥazzan*. The singing therefore developed responsorial forms with much public participation. Under the direction of the *ḥazzan*, who became a kind of conductor of this homophonous choir, there was participation even in the recital of the introductory formulae of the *Shema* and the psalms. In the 19th century, with the construction of modern synagogues where the *bimah* is closer to the *aron*, participation by the public was reduced; but following the example of the Reform synagogues in Vienna and Paris, an organized choir (male, sometimes mixed or female) was introduced for which new collections of liturgical chants were composed, even in such small Jewish communities as those in Vercelli, Asti, Trieste, Saluzzo, and Mantua. Those chants were composed mainly in 19th-century idiom, reminiscent of the operatic style of Verdi or Rossini, or based on patriotic songs of the Italian Risorgimento in which the Jews had enthusiastically taken part. This music required the use of an organ; however, after World War II, the organ was abolished in all Italian Jewish communities. It should be noted that the development of "cultured" 19th-century music had its precedents in many Italian cities in the art music composed for synagogue use by Jewish and some non-Jewish musicians during the ghetto period of the 17th and 18th centuries. In the 16th and 17th centuries, Jewish musicians and composers were greatly appreciated by, and enjoyed the favor of, the local rulers. Salomone de Rossi of Mantua, Leone de Modena of Venice, and the Christian Carlo Grossi of Modena are examples of this Jewish-Italian musical symbiosis.

The Italian rite in Rome and in the northern communities possesses its own tradition of biblical cantillation in the reading of the **parashah*, the **haftarah* (including a special "festive" intonation of the *haftarah*), and in the sung rendition of the psalms. This tradition is documented in the notations of *parashah* and *haftarah* tunes published by Giulio *Bartolocci (1693) and in the intonation of the psalms, noted first by E. Bottrigari (1599) and some years later by Jacob b. Isaac Finzi, *ḥazzan* of the Ashkenazi community of Casale Monferrato, according to the tradition of his teacher, R. Abraham Segre (preserved in the Hebrew manuscript, Jews College, London, Montefiore 479, fol. 147b).

In this tradition, only five or six of the main (disjunctive) accents are rendered by musical motives of their own, the subservient (conjunctive) accents being disregarded. The application of the motives does not coincide with the "Tiberian" accentuation system with which the biblical text is provided, implying the existence of an independent system based on an oral tradition. This independent system is related to the old Near Eastern practice of Ekphonesis, an early Byzantine term meaning public reading of the Scriptures. Since the Italian rite derives from the Palestinian which dates from an earlier period than the one in which the Tiberian system of the Masoretic accents became established, it may be proposed that this method of biblical cantillation is equally ancient.

The cantillation is limited to a strictly tetrachordal (four-tone) range, and tends to be syllabic, without melismas, the musical motifs being spread over entire words or groups of words. In the Sephardi and Ashkenazi synagogues of Italy, too, this syllabic rendition prevails in biblical cantillation and even more so in the melodies of the prayers. The medieval and Oriental taste for melismatics is preserved only in some archaic melodies of the APAM rite or in rites of more conservative and isolated centers such as Gorizia (Ashkenazi) and Leghorn (Sephardi). However, there too, cantorial improvisation in the Oriental style is excluded, the melodic formulas for each liturgical ceremony being fixed by tradition in the form of leitmotiv-like systems which are peculiar to each community. Italian rabbis often protested against the melismatic influences of Oriental or Ashkenazi *ḥazzanim* on the repertoire of a community, not only because they wished to keep the local musical traditions intact, but because melismas interrupted or distorted the rendering of the text according to the correct grammatical accentuation.

No liturgical or quasi-liturgical Judeo-Italian vernacular songs are found in the tradition, and perhaps none existed. There are, however, a few exceptions: songs in "Bagitto" (the Jewish Livornese dialect), in Judeo-Corfiote (in Trieste), and in Piedmontese-Jewish, all of which are translations of Hebrew Passover songs, Purim parodies, and the like. Moreover, in the middle of the 19th century, some poems written in Hebrew, with parallel Italian translation, were set to compositions and popular anthems of the Risorgimento to celebrate the emancipation of the Jews.

The hymns of the proselytes of San Nicandro, created between 1930 and 1950, form a separate and peculiar repertoire. The hymns are of biblical inspiration, but the language is the dialect of the Gargano-Puglia region and the melodies are adaptations of regional songs. Women perform the hymns in a kind of primitive polyphony.

The only systematic collection of traditional synagogal melodies for the annual liturgical cycle is Federico *Consolo's *Libro dei canti d'Israele* (1892), containing the Sephardi tradition of Leghorn. A collection of Ashkenazi melodies of Ferrara was made in 1925–35 on the initiative of A.Z. *Idelsohn, but most of the material has been lost. A collection from the present repertoire of the Roman synagogue has been published by A. Piatelli (see bibliography). An early and interesting musical transcription is the "Twelve Biblical Intonations" of the Ashkenazi and Sephardi Jews of Venice. Performed by the gentile composer Benedetto Marcello, they were used by him as a melodic basis for his psalm-paraphrases in the paraphrases, *Estro poetico-armonico* (Venice, 1724–27).

[Leo Levi]

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Sarfatti: *Le leggi antiebraiche spiegate agli italiani di oggi* (2002); S. Zuccotti, *The Italians and the Holocaust: Persecution, Rescue, and Survival* (1987); *Dalle leggi antiebraiche alla Shoah: Sette anni di storia italiana 1938–1945* (2004); D. Carpi, *Between Mussolini and Hitler: The Jews and the Italian Authorities in France and Tunisia* (1994).

ITELSON, GREGOR (1852–1926), philosopher. Itelson, who was born in Zhitomir, studied in St. Petersburg. He left Russia in 1884 and settled in Berlin. He was interested in the investigation of the philosophical foundations of the sciences and sought to reform the principles of logic. He had a direct influence on the representative philosophical and scientific thinkers of his time. In a particularly significant lecture delivered before the Second Philosophical Congress (Geneva, 1904), Itelson endeavored to liberate logic from its dependence on psychology and restore its lost autonomy by redefining it as "the science of objects in general, existent and nonexistent." This definition was directly opposed to the accepted view of logic as the science of thought. His conception was close to the views evolved at that time by Meinong, Husserl, and Couturat as a result of the influence of Bolzano. Itelson's theories drew him close to "the algebra of logic"; he also tried to find a logical basis for mathematics, which he defined as "the science of ordered objects." During the last years of his life Itelson taught at the Juedische Volkshochschule, Berlin. His extensive library was bequeathed to the Jewish National and University Library in Jerusalem.

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[Samuel Hugo Bergman]

ITHAMAR (Heb. אִיתָמָר; "father of Tamar"?), fourth and youngest son of *Aaron (Ex. 6:23; Num. 26:60; I Chron. 24:1). Another explanation is "Isle of Palms." Akkadian and Ugaritic √ʾ*mr* "see" could result in "He-is-Seen." At first Ithamar served as priest together with all three of his brothers (Ex. 28:1; Num. 3:2–3) while they were all alive, and after the death of *Nadab and *Abihu (Lev. 10:12; Num. 3:4; I Chron. 24:2) with *Eleazar, the other survivor and the designated successor to the high priesthood (Num. 20:28; cf. 25:13; et al.). During the wanderings in the wilderness Ithamar was assigned special duties as leader over all the Levites (Ex. 38:21) and as officer in charge of the *Gershonites (Num. 4:28) and Merarites (Num. 4:33; 7:8) in connection with the Tent of Meeting. The house of Eli apparently traced descent to Ithamar (cf. I Sam. 14:3; I Chron. 24:3; so Yal., Shofetim 68; Jos., Ant., 5:361.

[Nahum M. Sarna]

In the Aggadah

Ithamar was the third person in all Israel to be taught the Torah by Moses (i.e., after Aaron and Eleazar). He sat on Aaron's left while the rest of Israel received instruction (Er. 54b). Ithamar ultimately succeeded Eleazar as high priest (PdRK 37:134) and the office remained in his family for 42 years, until the death of the sons of Eli. God then promised that the post would return to the family of Eleazar through Zadok (a descendant of Phinehas; Yal., Shofetim, 68).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Westphal, in: ZAW, 26 (1906), 222–5; Meek, in: AJSLL, 45 (1929), 158–60, 165; Moehlenbrink, in: ZAW, 52 (1934), 214–5, 217–9, 225; Meisler (Mazar), in: *Leshonenu*, 15 (1947), 40. IN THE AGGADAH: Ginzberg, Legends, 3 (1925), 134, 144; Y. Ḥasida, *Ishei ha-Tanakh* (1964), 61. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** W. Propp, in: ABD, 3:579–81.

ITINERARIES OF EREẒ ISRAEL. Apart from the accounts of their experiences which were recorded by Jewish wayfarers to Ereẓ Israel, which constitute a good part of Jewish travel literature of the Middle Ages, from an early date pious pilgrims set down lists of the places in the country which those who followed them might wish to visit. When in the course of the Middle Ages, presumably under Christian and Muslim influence, significance began to be attached to the intercession of the departed righteous before the divine throne, these came to be considered of importance as places of efficacious prayer. In some cases (e.g., Rachel or the Patriarchs), the place or region of burial was indicated in the Bible; in others, the names of biblical heroes and saints were connected with ancient sepulchers (or in some cases probably to caves which might have served as sepulchers) in the neighborhood of the places with which their life activity was associated. Later on, as talmudic study strengthened its hold, a similar significance began to be attached to the sepulchers or reputed sepulchers of sages of the mishnaic or amoraic period.

Lists of the principal places of pilgrimage in this sense began to be compiled at a relatively early date. The account of Samuel b. Samson (1211) of his travels in the Holy Land is in effect no more than such a travel guide, although couched in the first person. In due course, these itineraries assumed an almost stereotyped form. The title generally given them was "*Iggeret Mesapperet Yiḥusei ha-Ẓaddikim*" ("Epistle Recounting the Ascription of the Righteous") or something similar – they were sometimes accompanied by the form of prayer to be recited over the graves in general or certain individual graves. After the invention of printing these were in due course published, probably for distribution by Emissaries for the Holy Land in the course of their missions – sometimes as broadside sheets. Such publications appeared under various titles such as *Iggeret Mesapperet Yaḥasuta de-Ẓaddikayya di-ve-Ara de-Yisrael* (Venice, 1590, 1599, 1626 (broadside), 1640; Mantua, 1676, appended to the *Ḥokhmat ha-Mishkan* by Joseph Shallit *Richietti, Verona, 1680; and in North Europe in Frankfurt without date, broadside). Under the title of *Yiḥus ha-Ẓaddikim* there is a similar but more ample work by Gershom Scaramella, embodying also prayers and readings at the sacred sites, published by Jacob of Gazzolo at Mantua in 1561 (repr. Venice, 1598). In the Renaissance period, illustrated editions of Christian itineraries to the Holy Land began to be published. Influenced perhaps by this, Italian Jews at this period produced illustrated copies of these itineraries, using as their basis, apparently, a text drawn up about 1537 by an anonymous writer, though the prototype may go back half a century earlier. Normally, a scroll form was used, possibly for display. Each brief paragraph, containing a listing in rough geographical order of places in Ereẓ Israel and of the graves of the righteous or holy sites situated in each, would be followed by a row of colored pictures representing the sites in question. Originally, they were probably drawn from reality, however approximately, but in due course, as a result of more and more recopying, they tended to lose their relation to fact. Thus, for the sake of symmetry, in the conventional representation of Gaza, what had originally been the cupola of a mosque in the center of the town became converted into the city gate! The series would sometimes be introduced by a wholly midrashic representation (bearing no relation whatsoever to actuality) of Jericho within a seven-fold maze. A few sites outside Ereẓ Israel closely connected with Jewish or biblical history (e.g., Cairo, Damascus) would also be included with their synagogues, etc. It is possible that these parchment scrolls were also prepared by emissaries of the Holy Land as gifts to munificent contributors. Illuminated itineraries of this type in scroll form, basically very similar, are in the libraries of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America (Mss. Adler 1641 and 2910) and of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem (Ms. Heb. 8° 1187); others are in private collections. Another, now untraceable, by Uri b. Simeon of Biella provided the crude cuts reproduced by Hottinger in his *Cippi Hebraici* (Heidelberg, 1659). But the usage was protracted long afterwards: a paper and vellum scroll of the sort of Yemenite origin of the late 19th century is in the Lenin State Library in Moscow (Ms. Ginzburg 579). A similar text converted into volume form and copied at Casale in northern Italy in 1598 in the collection of C. Roth was published by him in 1929 in facsimile under the misleading title *The Casale Pilgrim*.

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[Cecil Roth]

ITINERARIUM ANTONINI, Roman roadbook, dating mainly from the early third century C.E. It gives the distances between major cities of the Roman Empire. Though ascribed to the emperor *Antoninus Pius, it is hardly an official publication. It is assigned by some critics to a Christian named Aethicus Ister, but most probably is a composite work by several authors. The work is of value in establishing the sites and names of the following towns in Ereẓ Israel (alternative names in parentheses): Ptolemais (Acre), Sycamina (Haifa), Caesarea, Betar (Bethar), Diospolis (Lydda), Iamnia (Jabneh), Ascalona (Ashkelon), Gaza, Gadara, Scythopolis (Beth-Shean), Neapolis (Nablus), and Elia (Jerusalem).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: O. Cuntz (ed.), *Itineraria Romana*, 1 (1929); Pauly-Wissowa, 18 (1916), 2320–63.

[Louis Harry Feldman]

ITINERARIUM HIEROSOLYMITANUM OR ITINERARIUM BURDIGALENSE (Lat., "Jerusalem itinerary" or "Bordeaux itinerary"), a work, probably written by a Christian c. 333 C.E., describing a route for travel from Bordeaux to Jerusalem, and the return trip from Heraclea (in Thrace) through Rome, and ending in Milan. The author often points out sites of historical and religious significance, especially those in and near Jerusalem. Among the numerous places in Palestine mentioned are Ptolemais (Acre), Sicaminos (Haifa), Mt. Carmel, Caesarea, Isdradela (Yezreel), Scythopolis (Beth-Shean), Sechim (Nablus), Hiericho (Jericho), Bethleem (Bethlehem), Bethasora (Beth-Zur), Cebron (Hebron), Nicopolis (Amwas), and Lidda (Lydda). Though in many ways this *Itinerarium* is very similar to the *Itinerarium Antonini, the precise relationship between the two works is not clear.

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[Howard Jacobson]

ITTAI (Heb. אִתַי), name of two biblical figures. The etymology of the name is uncertain.

(1) The Gittite, i.e., the man of Gath, leader of a unit of six hundred Gittite mercenaries in David's service. He is specifically referred to as a "foreigner" in II Samuel 15:19, but swears fealty to David in words reminiscent of Ruth's pledge to Naomi. He and his unit joined David on his flight from Jerusalem on the outbreak of Absalom's rebellion (II Sam. 15: 18–23), and in the battle with the rebels he commanded one of the three divisions in which David's forces were grouped (II Sam. 18:2, 5).

(2) Also called Ithai (אִיתַי – I Chron. 11:31), son of Ribai of Gibeah, of the tribe of Benjamin and one of David's thirty "mighty men" (II Sam. 23:29; I Chron. 1:31).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Maisler (Mazar), in: BJPES, 13 (1947), 112; Yeivin, in: Y. Liver (ed.), *Historyah Ẓeva'it shel Ereẓ Yisrael*… (1964), 161–2. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** C. Ehrlich, in: ABD, 3, 583.

ITZIG, DANIEL (also called **Daniel Jaffe** or **Daniel Berlin**; 1723–1799), German banker, entrepreneur, and leader of the Berlin Jewish community. The son of a horse merchant, Itzig married into the wealthy Wulff family and began his career as purveyor of silver to the royal mint. This activity reached its peak during the Seven Years' War (1756–63) when *Frederick II gave Itzig and V.H. *Ephraim contracts for financing the war through the issuance of successive series of debased coinage. In 1761 Itzig received the rights of a Christian merchant. After the war he invested his money in manufacturing leather and iron goods, built himself a palace, and established a bank. Itzig was appointed chief representative of Prussian Jewry by Frederick II and in 1787 was head of the commission which prepared suggestions for the improvement of the status of Prussian Jewry. From Frederick William II, whose confidential financier he was, he received, on May 2, 1791, the coveted *Naturalisationspatent*, bestowing full citizenship on him and his entire family. He was the first Prussian Jew to be so honored. In 1797 he was appointed court banker and inspector of road construction. In 1798 *Frederick William III refused the Berlin Jewish community's 1795 request, in which Itzig was first signator, for improved conditions.

In 1761 Itzig envisaged a school for poor children where secular and religious subjects were to be taught. Such a school was set up in 1778 by his son Isaac Daniel. At the request of Moses *Mendelssohn and David *Friedlaender, Itzig's son-in-law, he prevented R. Hirschel *Levin from declaring a ban on N.H. *Wessely's *Divrei Shalom ve-Emet* (1782–85). As conversions to Christianity increased, Itzig stipulated in his

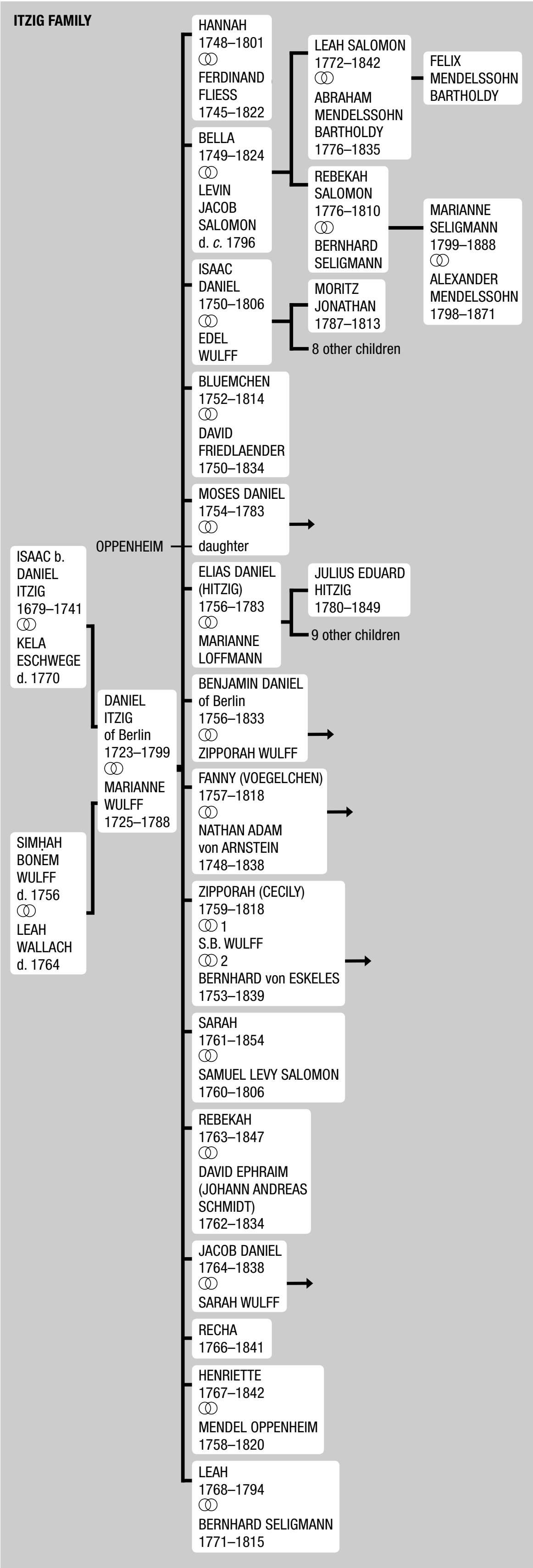
ITZIG FAMILY
ISAAC b. DANIEL ITZIG 1679–1741 ⚭ KELA ESCHWEGE d. 1770
SIMḤAH BONEM WULFF d. 1756 ⚭ LEAH WALLACH d. 1764
DANIEL ITZIG of Berlin 1723–1799 ⚭ MARIANNE WULFF 1725–1788
OPPENHEIM
HANNAH 1748–1801 ⚭ FERDINAND FLIESS 1745–1822
BELLA 1749–1824 ⚭ LEVIN JACOB SALOMON d. c. 1796
LEAH SALOMON 1772–1842 ⚭ ABRAHAM MENDELSSOHN BARTHOLDY 1776–1835
FELIX MENDELSSOHN BARTHOLDY
REBEKAH SALOMON 1776–1810 ⚭ BERNHARD SELIGMANN
MARIANNE SELIGMANN 1799–1888 ⚭ ALEXANDER MENDELSSOHN 1798–1871
ISAAC DANIEL 1750–1806 ⚭ EDEL WULFF
MORITZ JONATHAN 1787–1813
8 other children
BLUEMCHEN 1752–1814 ⚭ DAVID FRIEDLAENDER 1750–1834
MOSES DANIEL 1754–1783 ⚭ daughter
ELIAS DANIEL (HITZIG) 1756–1783 ⚭ MARIANNE LOFFMANN
JULIUS EDUARD HITZIG 1780–1849
9 other children
BENJAMIN DANIEL of Berlin 1756–1833 ⚭ ZIPPORAH WULFF
FANNY (VOEGELCHEN) 1757–1818 ⚭ NATHAN ADAM von ARNSTEIN 1748–1838
ZIPPORAH (CECILY) 1759–1818 ⚭1 S.B. WULFF ⚭2 BERNHARD von ESKELES 1753–1839
SARAH 1761–1854 ⚭ SAMUEL LEVY SALOMON 1760–1806
REBEKAH 1763–1847 ⚭ DAVID EPHRAIM (JOHANN ANDREAS SCHMIDT) 1762–1834
JACOB DANIEL 1764–1838 ⚭ SARAH WULFF
RECHA 1766–1841
HENRIETTE 1767–1842 ⚭ MENDEL OPPENHEIM 1758–1820
LEAH 1768–1794 ⚭ BERNHARD SELIGMANN 1771–1815

will that any of his descendants who were converted would be disinherited.

Of his five sons, ISAAC DANIEL (1750–1806) was the most talented. With David Friedländer he founded the *Juedische Freischule of Berlin, which he also directed. In 1796 he declared himself bankrupt after the French government defaulted on a payment for 10,000 horses. His son, MORITZ JONATHAN (1787–1813), caused a sensation by publicly thrashing the romantic poet Von Arnim, who had declined Moritz's challenge to a duel for deriding the admittance of Jews to upper classes of society, considering that a Jew was hardly a worthy opponent. Moritz died, a volunteer, at the battle of Lützen. ELIAS DANIEL (1756–1818), son of Daniel, changed his name to Hitzig, "Itzig" being the pejorative nickname applied to Jews. His son, JULIUS EDUARD (1780–1849), was a friend of the romantic authors A. von Chamisso, Z. Werner, and E.T.A. Hoffman, as well as the Berlin police director. The Bible scholar Ferdinand *Hitzig (1807–1875) was a descendant of this family. Of Daniel Itzig's ten daughters, one married David *Friedlaender, another Bernhard von *Eskeles, and a third daughter, Fanny von *Arnstein, presided over the most brilliant salon at the Congress of *Vienna. Virtually none of Daniel Itzig's descendants remained Jews.

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ITZIK, DALIA (née **Ballas**; 1952–), Israeli politician and teacher, Knesset member since the Thirteenth Knesset (1992). Itzik was born in Jerusalem to a non-religious family of Iraqi origin, but was sent to religious schools and attended the Evelyna de Rothschild girls' school. She started her university studies at Bar-Ilan University, but then moved to the Hebrew University of Jerusalem and received a B.A. in literature and history in 1980, and a teacher's diploma from the Efrata Teachers Seminary in Jerusalem. In 1999 she received a law degree from the Interdisciplinary Center in Herzliyyah.

She was one of the founders of the Katznelson School in the spirit of the values of the Labor Movement in Jerusalem, where she taught in 1973–89 and from 1984 to 1989 served as chairperson of the Teachers Association in Jerusalem. In those years she also served on the Administrative Committee of the Broadcasting Authority.

Itzik was elected to the Jerusalem Municipal Council as a representative of Teddy *Kollek's "One Jerusalem" list in 1989, serving as deputy mayor in charge of education. She was elected to the Labor Party list for the elections to the Thirteenth Knesset in the primaries in the Jerusalem region, and was elected to the Knesset. She served on the Knesset Finance Committee (1992–96) and on the Education and Culture Committee (1992–99), chairing the Committee in 1995–96. She was a member of the Committee on the Status of Women

(1996–99) and chairperson of the Special Committee for Research and Scientific Technological Development (1997–99). In the government formed by Ehud *Barak in 1999 Itzik was appointed minister of the environment, and in the National Unity Government formed by Ariel *Sharon in 2001 was appointed minister of industry and trade, until the Israel Labor Party left the government in November 2002. In the Sixteenth Knesset, elected in 2003, she served as chairperson of the Labor-Meimad parliamentary group. She participated in the negotiations leading to the formation of the National Unity Government under the leadership of Ariel Sharon, and in January 2005 was appointed minister of communications. In 2005 she joined Sharon's new Kadimah party and was reelected, becoming speaker of the Knesset in 2006.

[Susan Hattis Rolef (2nd ed.)]

IUDEX JUDAEORUM (Lat. for "judge of the Jews"; Ger. Judenrichter), gentile official in medieval Austria who adjudicated conflicts between Christians and Jews and appeals by Jews against decisions of the *bet din*. The office was established by Duke *Frederick II in the privileges (*Privilegium Fridericianum*) of 1244 (par. 15–18, 22, 27). The *iudex Judaeorum* was appointed by the dukes of Austria. Legal contracts between Jews and gentiles or those pertaining to the inheritance rights of Jews were confirmed by the seal of the *iudex*. The office was reconfirmed by Rudolf IV in 1361. During the 15th century some towns replaced the *iudex Judaeorum* by a court of law composed equally of Christians and Jews.

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IVANCICE (Czech **Ivančice**; Ger. **Eibenschitz**), town in S. Moravia, Czechoslovakia. According to unattested records Jews built a synagogue there in 956, but documentary evidence of the existence of Jewish settlement begins in 1490, when three Jews of Ivancice signed as guarantors to a financial transaction. In 1608 the community was exempted from paying guard duties but was expected to help to defend the town with the Christian population in emergencies. There were 27 Jewish-owned houses in 1672 and 67 in 1752. The community numbered 533 (living in 72 houses) in 1791, 797 in 1830, 619 in 1869, 400 in 1914, and 141 in 1930 (2.8% of the total population). There was an important yeshivah in Ivancice which had some noted rabbis, including Joseph Rakov (d. 1707), editor of a letter-writing handbook; Nathan Nata Selig of Cracow, the father of Jonathan *Eybeschuetz; Moses Karpeles (1814–28), friend of Moses *Sofer; and Beer Oppenheim (1829–59), one of the first rabbis to combine talmudic with secular scholarship. Ivancice was constituted as one of the **Politische Gemeinden*. In the 1920s it was under the guidance of R. Heinrich *Flesch of Dolni Kounice. After the *Sudetenland crisis (1938) a large refugee camp was opened in Ivancice, which existed until 1942. Under Nazi rule the community was constituted a district-community. In 1942 the Jews from Ivancice were deported to death camps. The synagogue appurtenances were transferred to the Jewish Central Museum in Prague. The synagogue building was demolished in 1950. A religious congregation existed for a short time after World War II. A number of Jewish families are named after the town of Ivancice, in variant spellings.

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[Isaac Ze'ev Kahane]

IVANJI, IVAN (1929–), Yugoslav author and translator. Born in Zrenjanin, Banat, Ivanji survived deportation to Buchenwald and after the war studied and worked in Belgrade. He wrote poems, such as the collection *Živeću uvek prolećem* ("I Will Always Live with Spring," 1950); novels, including *čoveka nisu ubili* ("The Man They Did Not Kill", 1954); short stories, especially for children; and plays for radio. Ivanji also translated German and Hungarian works, and was one of the editors of the annual *Jevrejski almanah*. Later works include *Guvernanta* ("Nurse," 2002), *Balerina* (2003), and *Stubovi culture* ("Pillars of Culture," 2003).

IVANOVO (Pol. **Janów Poleski**; in Jewish sources **Janovi al-Yad Pinsk**), town in Brest-Litovsk district, Belarus. The first Jews settled in Ivanovo during the 1620s. The Jews of Ivanovo were subordinated to the jurisdiction of the community of *Pinsk. Prior to the *Chmielnicki uprising (1648–49) the Jewish population already had community status. The Jews presumably earned their livelihoods from trade, leasing of estate lands, and production of alcoholic beverages. According to the 1765 census there were 422 Jews living in and near the town. At the beginning of the 19th century the Ḥasidim of the *Stolin and Lubieszow dynasties gained adherents among the Jews of Ivanovo, although the majority remained **Mitnaggedim*. In 1847 the 1,283 Jews of the town formed about 56% of its population. The wealthier ones then began to engage in the acquisition and sale of forest products. By 1897 the number of Jews in Ivanovo had increased to 1,875 (about 62% of the total population). In the second half of the 19th century, Jews were engaged in petty trade and crafts, mostly as tailors, shoemakers, carpenters, furriers, etc. Their rabbi was Joshua Aryeh Leib, author of *Miẓpeh Aryeh* and son of R. Samuel Avigdor of Karlin. At the beginning of the 20th century Jews established flour mills, a large lumber mill, an oil press, a tannery, and a small electric power station. Zionist societies were active from the beginning of the 20th century. The Hebrew educator and teacher Israel Judah (Jesse) Adler and the Hebrew poet Berl *Pomerantz lived in Ivanovo.

In the early 20th century there emerged a class of Jewish salaried workers employed in construction, carpentry, and the processing of hides, hogs' bristles, and furs. The 1921 census recorded 1,988 Jews (65% of the population) in the town. A great fire which broke out in 1929 destroyed 75 houses belonging to Jews; 120 Jewish families were left homeless. Damage to Jewish property amounted to the sum of 1,500,000 zlotys. In the early 1930s the Jewish quarter was completely renovated. Between the two World Wars a *Tarbut school operated in the town as well as a branch of the Bet Yosef yeshivah of Pinsk (except between 1929 and 1935). A highway running between Pinsk and Brest and passing through the town promoted the export of wood, grain, and cattle to central Poland and the West via Danzig.

Holocaust Period

After two years of Soviet rule, when all Jewish businesses were nationalized and Jewish institutions and organizations were closed, the Germans entered Ivanovo on June 25, 1941. On August 5 an SS cavalry unit murdered around 420 Jewish men. The chairman of the Judenrat, Alter Diwinski (former head of the community), successfully organized the supply of food and medicines to the community; he was later murdered by the Nazis because of his opposition to further "selections" from the Jewish population. A ghetto was established on Passover eve, 1942, where living conditions were extremely difficult – 60 persons to a small house. Outside the ghetto boundaries some 300 youths worked at a lumber mill and 50 others were employed in railroad maintenance. The ghetto was liquidated two days after the Day of Atonement, on September 24, 1942, when most of the Jews in Ivanovo were massacred. Those working at the lumber mill were murdered on September 25, 1942, and 62 artisans were killed in mid-October. A few dozen Jews, mainly young ones, succeeded in escaping to the forests, where they joined partisan units. About 100 Jews survived; all left for the West, most of them for Israel. No Jews were living in Ivanovo after World War II.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: M. Nadav (ed.), *Yanov al-yad Pinsk, Sefer Zikkaron* (1969); S. Dubnow (ed.), *Pinkas ha-Medinah* (1925); Z. Rabinowitz, *Ha-Ḥasidut ha-Lita'it* (1960), 10, 146; B. Wasiutyński, *Ludność żydowska w Polsce w XIX wieku* (1930), 83. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** PK.

[Arthur Cygielman / Shmuel Spector (2nd ed.)]

IVANYI-GRUNWALD, BELA (1867–1940), Hungarian painter. Born in Somogysom, Ivanyi-Grunwald began his career as a naturalist but after a visit to Rome in 1904 became an impressionist. He then turned to compositions with mystic figures accentuated by light and shade. For a while he lived among painters in Szolnok where he developed his own style of decorative compositions. It is generally recognized that his teaching influenced a generation of Hungarian painters.

IVGY, MOSHE (1953–), Israeli actor. With more than 44 films to his credit, Ivgy has taken on the late Shaike *Ophir's mantle as Israel's hardest-working actor. As the years went by, he distinguished himself not only as a popular actor but as a talented and versatile one. Born in Morocco as one of seven children, Ivgy moved to Israel as a child. Not accepted at any of Tel Aviv's established theater companies, he founded his own theatrical troupe, The Gypsy Theater, then moved on to film. His Eastern background and low-key persona made him a natural for the many North African characters who began to appear in Israeli films. Soon, Ivgy graduated from sidekick roles to leading-man status. In 2004, he starred in two of Israel's biggest popular and critical hits, Joseph Cedar's *Campfire*, in which he played a lonely Orthodox minivan driver, and Danny Verete's *Metallic Blues*, where he was a car salesman heading for Germany. He has flirted with an international career and appeared in David Mamet's *Spartan*, also in 2004. His films include *Shuroo* (1991); *Cup Final* (1991); *Lovesick on Nana Street* (1995); *Yom Yom* (1998); and *Life Is Life* (2003). He is the father of actress Dana Ivgy.

[Hannah Brown (2nd ed.)]

°IVO OF CHARTRES (c. 1040–1115), bishop of Chartres from 1091 until his death. He was proclaimed the patron of barristers because of his contribution to canon law, in particular the *Decretum* which he drew up in 1094. In it Ivo voices the change in the Christian attitude toward the Jews which occurred during the 11th century. The 13th book of the *Decretum* contains a series of texts in which the Jews are proclaimed unfit to testify in court, to fill any public office, and forbidden to appear in public during Easter or to supply medicaments to Christians. Among the prescriptions is one of major importance for the social standing of Jews vis-à-vis gentiles: that which declares them unqualified for military service. This had already appeared in Roman law (Theodosian Code, Novella 3), but Ivo preferred to attribute it to the Church Father *Jerome, to give the maximum theological weight to the social ostracizing of the Jews.

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[Bernhard Blumenkranz]

IVORY. The Bible usually designates an elephant's tusk as *shen* (Heb. שֵׁן, lit. "tooth"), a term indicating both raw and finished ivory (e.g., I Kings 10:18; Ezek. 27: 15; II Chron. 9:17). In connection with the importation of this item from distant places, the Bible (I Kings 10:22; II Chron. 9:21; cf. Ezek. 27:15) uses the term *shenhabbim* (Heb. שֶׁנְהַבִּים), from *shen* and *habbim*, plural of *hav*, possibly from Egyptian *ꜣbw*, "elephant." It is possible, therefore, that *shenhav* indicates only the raw material. Because it is as rare as it is beautiful, ivory is used in the Bible to personify human beauty. Thus, "your neck is like an ivory tower" (Song 7:5 [4]); or "his body is ivory work encrusted with sapphires" (*ibid.* 5:14). Since the use of ivory was limited to the very wealthy, the prophets use ivory as a symbol of great wealth (Amos 3:15). The raw materials were brought to Palestine by land or sea from such distant places as India, Upper Egypt, and, to a lesser degree, from Syria and Libya. Considered of great value – in a class with spices, gold, and precious stones – ivory was used for creating tiny art objects, and small but valuable utensils. Objects of ivory have been found in Palestine in a Chalcolithic cave in the Judean Desert (Wadi Ḥever), and small statuettes dating from the same period have been discovered in the northern Negev. Ivory was used to make pendants, small idols, elegant sheaths for swords, cosmetic vessels, and combs, examples of each having been found in excavations at Megiddo, Ḥazor, Samaria, and Tell al-Farica. Carved ivory was also used as a decorative finish for the walls of houses, especially the interior, and as adornments on furniture. Both uses enhanced the beauty of Ahab's palace at Samaria (I Kings 22:39). Thrones, beds, and other furniture might also be thus decorated (e.g., I Kings 10:18; Amos 6:4). Motifs for designs ranged from geometric patterns and shapes from nature – especially those of animals and plants – to mythology and great feats of heroism.

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[Ze'ev Yeivin]

IVY (Mishnaic) (Heb. קִיסוֹס, *kisos*, from the Gr. κισσός), *Hedera helix*, which grows wild in the forests of Israel. It is mentioned in the Mishnah as a plant occasionally grown in a vineyard (Kil. 5:8). Its dense branches are considered a screen (separation) against uncleanliness (Oho. 8:1). It is probable that it was customary to train various clinging plants, including ivy, upon the walls of permanent *sukkot*, with the result that the Mishnah lays it down that a *sukkah* over the roof of which ivy has been trailed is invalid (Suk. 1:4). This may be the source of Plutarch's statement that *sukkot* were made from the branches of vines and ivy, from which he concluded that the Jewish feast of Tabernacles was merely a feast of *Dionysius, to whom ivy was dedicated (*Quaestionum Convivialium*, cap. 4: problem 6, 671 D). However, Tacitus (*Historia* 5:5) had rejected the equation of the feast of Dionysius with Tabernacles, although he remarks that the Jewish priests used to be adorned with ivy wreaths. According to the Book of Maccabees (II Macc. 6:7; cf. III Macc. 2:29) Antiochus Epiphanes forced the Jews to wear ivy wreaths in honor of Dionysius on the feast of Bacchus.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Loew, Flora, 1 (1928), 219–21; H.N. and A.L. Moldenke, *Plants of the Bible* (1952), index. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** Feliks, Ha-Ẓome'aḥ, 142.

[Jehuda Feliks]

IVYE (in rabbinical literature, איווי; Pol. **Iwje**), small town in Grodno district, Belarus. Jews settled there in the first quarter of the 17th century. In 1720 there was already a well-established Jewish community in Ivye, which is often mentioned in the record of the Lithuanian Council with regard to taxation (see *Councils of the Lands). The Jews of the town and its immediate vicinity derived their livelihood from innkeeping, the distillation of brandy, the lease of estates, hawking, and the management of dairies. There were 804 Jews in Ivye in 1847. In 1891, following the outbreak of a fire in which some 100 Jewish houses were damaged, many left the town, and by 1897 only 573 remained (total population 3,653). In this period the Jews were engaged in wholesale trade in grain, flax, and other agricultural products as well as and petty trade, crafts, and some farming. In the mid-19th century, Rabbi Solomon David Grodzenski established a yeshivah in the town. A Ẓe'irei Zion circle was organized in 1917. In 1921, after the town was annexed by Poland, the Jewish population of Ivye numbered 2,076 (c. 76% of the population). It grew to around 3,000 by 1938. During the 1920s a Hebrew *Tarbut school, a national-religious Yavneh school, and a Jewish elementary school for girls were established. From summer 1933 until September 1939 the "Beit Yosef" yeshivah was active. Among the well-known personalities originating from the town were R. Moses Ivyer, a friend of the Gaon of Vilna; Ḥayyim Ozer *Grodzinski; Isaac b. Jacob Ashkenaz, the author of *Berit Olam* (1820); the family of Izhak *Ben-Zvi; R. Isaac Kosovsky, and Shakhne Epstein, who was editor of *Der Emes* in Moscow in the 1930s and in 1942–45 secretary general of the *Jewish Anti-Fascist Committee and editor of *Einikeit*.

[Arthur Cygielman / Shmuel Spector (2nd ed.)]

Holocaust Period

During the period of Soviet rule (1939–41), Jewish communal institutions were dissolved, activity by Zionist parties and youth movements was banned, and the Hebrew Tarbut School became a state school in Yiddish. With the outbreak of war between Germany and the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941, Jewish youths were mobilized into the Red Army; others attempted to reach the Soviet interior. On July 1, 1941, the city was captured by the Germans and one month later, on the Ninth of Av (August 2, 1941), approximately 225 members of the Jewish intelligentsia were murdered. In September 1941 the Jews were concentrated into a special quarter of the town. Jews from the surrounding towns were brought in and the population swelled to around 4,000. On May 8, 1942, the ghetto was surrounded by the German army and police and on May 12 an *Aktion* took place in which about 2,550 people (1,424 women, 500 men, and 626 children and infants) were murdered. Subsequently an underground organization arose, which began to acquire arms, and attempted to make contact with the partisans in the nearby forests. One group left the ghetto and reached the partisan camp of Tuvia Bielsky. At the end of 1942 and the beginning of 1943 the systematic murder continued. On Jan. 20, 1943, 1,100 Jews were transferred to Borisov (near Minsk) and perished there shortly after. In March a small group was sent to the Lida ghetto, in August 70 were transferred to a labor camp near Smolensk, and the last Jews were sent to the Sobibor and Majdanek death camps in September 1943. The city was declared "*Judenrein*." Jewish communal life was not renewed after the war. Most of the survivors left the U.S.S.R. for Poland and went from there to Israel or other countries.

[Aharon Weiss / Shmuel Spector (2nd ed.)]

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IYYAR (Heb. אִיָּר), the post-Exilic name of the second month of the Jewish year. Its pre-Exilic name is Ziv (I Kings 6:1), the shorter equivalent of the targumic Ziv Niẓanayya ("brightness of flowers"). Occurring in Assyrian inscriptions, in *Megillat Ta'anit, and later branches of rabbinic literature, but nowhere in the Bible, Iyyar is held to be etymologically connected with the Hebrew *or* ("light"). The zodiacal sign of this month is *Taurus*. In the present fixed Jewish calendar it invariably consists of 29 days. The first of Iyyar – bound by the same calendric rules as the first of *Tishri – never falls on Sunday, Wednesday, or Friday. In the 20th century Iyyar, in its earliest occurrence, extended from April 12th to May 10th, and, in its latest, from May 11th to June 8th. All of Iyyar falls within the period of the *Omer*, the first of Iyyar being the 16th day of the *Omer*. Historic dates in Iyyar comprise the following: (1) 1st of Iyyar, the anniversary of the first census by Moses in the wilderness (Num. 1:1); (2) 2nd of Iyyar, the commencement of the building of the Temple by Solomon (II Chron. 3:2); (3) 5th of Iyyar, Israel *Independence Day, the anniversary of the establishment of the State of Israel in 5708 (1948); (4) 7th of Iyyar, the *Hasmoneans' dedication of the walls of Jerusalem upon the repair of the breaches by the Greeks (Meg. Ta'an. 2); (5) 10th of Iyyar, the anniversary of the death of *Eli and his sons and the capture of the sacred ark by the Philistines, once observed as a fast (Meg. Ta'an. 13); (6) 14th of Iyyar, the Second (or "Little") *Passover (Num. 9:11), celebrated in Temple times by those unable to celebrate *Passover in Nisan, and still marked in the synagogue by the omission of the *Taḥanun prayer; (7) 18th of Iyyar, corresponding to *Lag ba-Omer, the 33rd day of the *Omer*; (8) 23rd of Iyyar, commemorating the Hasmoneans' expulsion of the Hellenists from Jerusalem's Acra (fortified area) in 141 B.C.E., their entrance with thanksgiving, hymns, and songs, and their ordaining that that day should be an annual occasion for rejoicing (I Macc. 13:51–52; Meg. Ta'an. 2); (9) 27th of Iyyar, formerly observed as the anniversary of another Hasmonean victory of an obscure nature (Meg. Ta'an. 2; but cf. JE, 7 (1904), 15; it cannot be identified with the events in I Macc. 13:41–42); (10) 28th of Iyyar, the anniversary of the death of the prophet *Samuel, once observed as a fast (Meg. Ta'an. 13; according to a manuscript variant, the date is the 27th of Iyyar, but not the 29th of Iyyar).

[Ephraim Jehudah Wiesenberg]

IZATES II, called Zotos in the Midrash (Gen. R. 46:10), king of *Adiabene (c. 35–60 C.E.). In his youth, Izates was sent by his father to the court of Abnerigos, king of Mesene, where he received his education. He married Samakhos (or Simakho), the king's daughter, and was appointed ruler of Ḥaran by his father through the efforts of his mother *Helena. Although Izates was the youngest son, he succeeded his father as king of Adiabene. While still in Mesene he became attracted to Judaism, like his mother, and on the occasion of a famine in Ereẓ Israel, they both gave considerable help to the hungry. He sent five of his sons to Jerusalem, "that they should acquire a thorough knowledge of our ancestral language and ethics" (Jos., Ant., 20:51f., 71). His conversion aroused opposition in Adiabene and his opponents, in a desire to depose him, called on Abias, king of Arabia, for assistance. After a temporary setback Izates succeeded in defeating his opponents and attacked Abias, who committed suicide rather than be taken captive.

In general Izates' foreign policy was prudent and was directed toward preserving the independence of his country. He avoided involvement in the wars between the two great powers of his day, the Roman Empire and Parthia, to whose overall authority he was subject. He pursued this policy when the Parthian king Vardanes demanded his participation in war against Rome. When he refused, Vardanes threatened him with war but was assassinated before he could implement his threat. Later the nobility of Adiabene requested Vologases I, king of the Parthians, to appoint a new king, and Vologases made preparations to invade the country. However, external events compelled him to change his plans.

On Izates' death, he left 48 sons and daughters, but bequeathed the throne to his brother, *Monobaz II. When Helena (who was then living in Jerusalem), learned of his death she hastened back to Adiabene but died there shortly after. Monobaz transferred the remains of his mother and brother to Jerusalem, burying them in the mausoleum built by Helena north of Jerusalem and called "the tombs of the kings" (or, by Jews, "the cave of Kalba Savu'a"). In the Roman war many of Izates' sons fought on the side of the Jews and were put in chains after their surrender.

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[Abraham Schalit]

IZBAN, SHMUEL (1905–1995), Yiddish novelist. Born in Gostynin, Poland, he grew up in Wloclawek, where he attended a Hebrew gymnasium. In 1921 he immigrated to Palestine with his parents. At his father's cafe, he met artists, actors, and writers, including Aḥad *Ha-Am, *Bialik, and *Rawnitzky and was stimulated to compose sketches and short stories in Hebrew for local periodicals and in Yiddish for American and Polish newspapers. Later, he contributed to several Yiddish publications printed in Palestine, which he also coedited. His first novel, *Masn* (1929), dealt with the Russian revolution of 1905, and his second, *Kver 1914–1918* (1936), with Poland during World War I. He published numerous short stories about the exotic mixture of populations and life styles in Palestine, collected in *Tsvishn Hundert Toyern* ("Within Hundred Gates," 1942), and *A Valfish in Yafo* ("A Whale in Jaffa," (1980). His stories about New York, where he settled in 1937, also have a special flavor. He aroused much attention with his reports collected in *Umlegale Yidn Shpaltn Yamen* ("Illegal Jews Split the Sea," 1948), and with his two-volume novel about Palestine in the 1920s, *Familye Karp* (1949). Izban's mastery of the historical novel is displayed in *Di Kenigin Izabel* ("Queen Jezebel," 1959) and *Yerikho* ("Jericho," 1966), which vividly recreate Israel's past. Several of Izban's stories and historical novels have been translated into Hebrew, Spanish, and English.

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[Sol Liptzin]

IZBICA LUBELSKA, town in Lublin province, Poland. In 1856 the Jewish population together with that of Tarnogora numbered 1,594 (62.8% of the total population). In Izbica proper the number of Jews was 3,019 (95%) in 1897 and 2,862 (92.7%) in 1921. At that time the Polish authorities opposed the establishment of a municipal council so as to prevent its being in Jewish hands. The town was known in the ḥasidic world through the *ẓaddik* Mordecai Joseph Leiner of Izbica, a disciple of Mendel of *Kotsk. Mordecai Joseph, founder of the ḥasidic dynasty of Izbica, was followed by his son Jacob, author of *Beit Ya'akov* and father of the *ẓaddik* Gershon Henikh *Leiner of Radzyn.

At the outbreak of World War II there were some 4,000 Jews in Izbica Lubelska. In December 1939 about 2,500 Jews from Lodz and Kolo were forced to settle there, and during March and April 1942 an additional 1,000, mostly from Czechoslovakia, were deported to the town. On March 24, 1942, about 2,200 Jews were deported from Izbica Lubelska to *Belzec death camp. By the end of that year the entire Jewish population of the town, including the deportees, had been exterminated in the Belzec and *Sobibor death camps or shot.

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[Stefan Krakowski]

IZBICA RADZYN, ḥasidic dynasty in Poland. R. MORDECAI JOSEPH LEINER OF IZBICA (1800–1854), the founder of the dynasty, was born in Tomaszow, Poland, to a rabbinic family of means. He was 19 when he sold all his possessions and traveled to Przysucha to become *Simḥah Bunim's disciple for nine years, until the latter passed away in 1827. After Simhah Bunim's death he moved back to Tomaszow and accepted his older friend, Menaḥem Mendel Morgenstern of *Kotsk, as his rebbe. Gradually he realized that he opposed Menaḥem Mendel's religious leadership. He started teaching his own original, independent ideas, until the schism became evident on Simḥat Torah in 1839, which he spent in Kotsk, after which he parted company with Menaḥem Mendel. He returned to Tomaszow, but because of the hostility of Menaḥem Mendel's followers he moved to Izbica, where he lived until his death in 1854. Unlike Menaḥem Mendel, he was in constant company with his followers, challenging them by upsetting religious conventions on the one hand and comforting them with his guidance on the other. Continuing Przysucha's strong emphasis on the study of Talmud, he lectured on the Talmud a few hours each weekday.

Among his eminent disciples were Judah Leib Eiger of Lublin and. *Ẓadok ha-Kohen of Lublin, both of whom became *rebbes* and central ḥasidic leaders in the second half of the 19th century.

Mordecai Joseph did not leave behind any writings. After his death his grandson GERSHON ḤANOKH HENIKH (1839–1891) collected testimonies of his homilies and published them under the name *Mei ha-Shiloaḥ* (1860). After publication, Gershon continued collecting testimonies and they were published by his brother Mordecai Joseph as *Mei ha-Shiloaḥ*, Part 2 (1922).

Mordecai Joseph generated much controversy, initially because of the schism between him and Menaḥem Mendel. Afterwards it was his novel and daring teachings that were under attack. Gershon Ḥanokh Henikh, being aware of this, writes in the introduction to *Mei ha-Shiloaḥ* (1860) that some of the ideas expressed in the book are going to be "difficult to hear." From the early 1960s, Mordecai Joseph attracted attention in academic circles as well as in religious movements seeking religious renewal. R. Shlomo *Carlebach was a key figure in this trend.

JACOB (1818–1878), his son, succeeded him and relocated the dynasty to Radzyn. His writings include *Beit Ya'akov* (1890–1937), homilies on the Torah, and *Sefer ha-Zemanim* (1903–73), homilies on the holidays. Jacob's son, Gershon Ḥanokh Henikh, succeeded his father to become the "Radzyner Rebbe." The latter's grandson, SAMUEL SOLOMON, was the *rebbe* of Radzyn during the Holocaust. He called upon his followers to flee to the forest and fight against the Nazis. Upon hearing this, the Nazis murdered him. He is the hero of Yitzhak *Katzenelson's poem "Dos Lied vegan Radziner" (1943).

Mordecai Joseph's Teachings

The principal innovation of Mordecai Joseph's thought is introduced in his homilies, where he endorses the sins of biblical heroes (the famous and most controversial example being Zimri). He states that they acted in accordance with "God's will" – a phrase that suggests an alternate way of life to the rational, halakhic route. The very idea that "God's will" is at variance with *halakhah* undermines the common traditional view.

This path, in harmony with "God's will," may be called voluntarism – the view that at the dawn of history, when God created the world, he determined its course according to his will. God's will is understood as the only free will in existence. Mordecai Joseph asserts that God's free will, as the very definition of free will, does not lend itself to formulation in general rules – the identifying feature of rationality. In contrast, *halakhah* is a system that follows general rules. In accordance with "God's will" different and even opposed actions can be justified when they are performed by different people or by the same person in different contexts, as long as they are consistent with God's will. "God's will" can manifest itself in infinite possibilities of human action.

"God's will" is described as a deterministic awareness in people who follow this path, understanding themselves as vehicles executing God's will. The belief that God's will determines the entire course of our lives is a way of thinking that calls for the humble overcoming our illusion of free will. Rare individuals who attain such a spiritual level live and act decisively (*tekufot*). At the same time, some homilies characterize the followers of "God's will" as people who bravely bring themselves to face uncertainty (*safek*). In doing so they put aside all halakhic conventions, all norms, trying to do God's will despite the uncertainty and danger of failure. In the hereafter the commonly shared illusion of human free will will give way to the true understanding of "God's will," which will be recognized by all.

In contrast to the path of "God's will," homilies that emphasize the important religious role of *halakhah* can be found as well. This makes it necessary to interpret the relationship between "Gods will" and the halakhic approach in Mordecai Joseph's' teachings. There are several ways to overcome this difficulty. One is to understand "God's will" as relevant only in the messianic era. Another reads "God's will" as relevant for the pre-messianic era as well, seeing the *halakhah* as a first necessary stage on the way to perfection – then only can "God's will" become a practical way of life. Yet another interpretation is to understand *halakhah* as worship of God out of fear, an inferior way to worship God. *Halakhah*, which is the veneer (*gavan*) of God's will, contrasts with worshiping God out of love, which enables one to find the depth (*omek*) of God's Will. It is also possible to understand "God's will" and *halakhah* as two systems that Mordecai Joseph approves of. He is aware that they are in conflict with each other, as he realizes that the nature of human religious experience is complex and incoherent.

As daring as Mordecai Joseph's ideas are, we should understand that he was the leader of an orthodox ḥasidic community which organized its praxis according to *halakhah*, just as he did.

It is generally agreed that his thought was strongly individualistic, a tendency typical of Przysucha Ḥasidism. Yet the social environment in which he was rooted was one of intense community life. Accordingly, his individualism should be seen not as a call for seclusion but rather as a quest for one's personal religious path while part of a meaningful community.

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[Y. Ben-Dor (2nd ed.)]

IZENBERG, JERRY (1930–), U.S. sportswriter. Izenberg, whose father was born on the Polish-Russian border in a village with no name called "the Jew village," grew up in Newark, N.J., where his father worked dyeing furs seven days a week. Izenberg attended college at Newark-Rutgers, where he was a sports reporter and later editor-in-chief of the *Observer*, the student newspaper. After graduating in 1952, Izenberg worked at the *Newark Star-Ledger* for a summer, and then enlisted and served in Japan and Korea for two years. After being discharged, Izenberg worked first at weekly newspapers in New Jersey, and then at the *Paterson News*, *the Newark Star-Ledger*, and the *New York Herald Tribune*. In August 1962, the *Newark Star-Ledger* offered Izenberg a job as a columnist, and he remained there ever since, writing 10,000 nationally syndicated columns in the ensuing four decades.

Izenberg was a weekly sports commentator on New York's Channel 5 in the 1970s, spent two years as host of the NBC Radio Network's *Sports at Large with Jerry Izenberg*, and taught journalism at both Rutgers University and the New School for Social Research. Izenberg was also producer, director, writer, and narrator for more than 30 television specials, winning an Emmy Award for writing and directing *A Man Named Lombardi*, and he is one of only five sportswriters who has attended every Super Bowl since its inception in 1967. He is a five-time winner of the N.J. Sportswriter of the Year Award, has been nominated for the Pulitzer Prize numerous times, and is a member of the N.J. Literary Hall of Fame, in which he is the only sportswriter; the National Sportscasters and Sportswriters Hall of Fame; the N.J. State Athletic Hall of Fame; the Rutgers University's Hall of Distinguished Alumni; and winner of the Red Smith Award from the Associated Press Sports Editors, which Izenberg considers his proudest accomplishment. Smith once called him "one of the best-informed conscientious writers in sports," and his politically active stance sometimes drew the wrath of readers, as when he defended Muhammad Ali's refusal to fight in Vietnam in the 1970s.

"We got well over a thousand letters, and only two agreed with me," Izenberg said. "One of the letters was written in crayon. But all the mail had a common thread: 'Dear Communist Jew Bastard,' or 'Dear Facist Jew Bastard.'"

Izenberg is the author of nine books, including *At Large, With Jerry Izenberg* (1968), *The Rivals* (1968), *How Many Miles To Camelot?: The All-American Sport Myth* (1972), *Great Latin Sports Figures: The Proud People* (1976), *The Greatest Game Ever Played* (1987), and *No Medals for Trying: A Week in the Life of a Pro Football Team* (1990).

[Elli Wohlgelernter (2nd ed.)]

IZIS (**Izrael Bidermanas**; 1911–1980), French photographer. Izis was born in Mariampol, Lithuania. In 1930 he went to Paris. During World War II, he was captured by the Nazis but escaped and joined the Resistance. There he taught himself to produce expressive human studies with small, fast cameras instead of his former sophisticated commercial photographs. In 1946 Izis had his first exhibition in Paris; a second one four years later brought him a contract with the French magazine *Paris Match*. His roving mission, which took him all over Europe and the Middle East, resulted in beautifully designed photographs that were lyrical, humane, and exciting. His book of this period, *Paris des Rêves* (1950), with text by 40 French poets, ran into many editions. His other collections include *Charmes de Londres* (1952), *Paradis terrestre* (1953) with text by Colette, and *Israël* (1955) with a preface by André Malraux. In 1963 *Chagall designed a frontispiece for *The Circus of Izis*, for which Jacques Prévert wrote the text, and in 1968 Izis published *The World of Marc Chagall*.

[Peter Pollack]

IZMAIL (Rom. **Ismail**), city in Bessarabia, Romania, today Ukraine. Jews are first mentioned in Izmail in 1769. The community developed after the Russian annexation of Bessarabia in 1812; Jewish immigrants received the same privileges as other new settlers in the city. In 1827 there were 549 Jews in Izmail and in 1847, 1,105. As the community grew, the "great synagogue" (1825) and a *bet midrash* (1826) were built. In the middle of the 19th century a government-run Jewish school was opened. After the region was incorporated into Romania in 1856, the Jews were oppressed by the Romanian authorities. Severe anti-Jewish riots occurred in 1872 when money and church vessels were stolen from the main church by a convert to Christianity, who when arrested accused several Jews, including one of the heads of the community and the rabbi, of sending him to desecrate the church. The riots aroused international opinion which resulted in the vigorous intervention of the representatives of the great powers in Romania. When the district of Izmail was ceded to Russia in 1878, many Jews were considered aliens and the authorities expelled them to Romania. The Romanians, however, returned them to Russia. They were not granted the status of Russian citizens until 1892. At that time, the Jews of Izmail suffered from the restrictions in force in Russia on Jewish residence in border areas. On October 23 1905, 50 Jews were killed in a pogrom and shops and houses were looted and destroyed. There were 2,781 Jews in Izmail (12.5% of the total population) in 1897 and 1,623 (6.5%) in 1930. The communal institutions then included a kindergarten and a *Tarbut elementary school. During Soviet rule (1940–41) many wealthy Jews were exiled to Bolgrad and Siberia. The community was destroyed when the Germans and Romanians entered Bessarabia in July 1941. Those exiled to Bolgrad were murdered there and those remaining in Izmail were taken by Romanian soldiers to Vadui Lui Traian and killed there. In 1970 the Jewish population of Izmail was estimated at 1,000 persons. Though many left in the 1990s, Jewish life began to revive under Rabbi Shneur Alperovich, with a synagogue, day school, and kindergarten in operation.

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[Eliyahu Feldman / Shmuel Spector (2nd ed.)]

IZMIR (**Smyrna**), provincial capital and principal harbor of W. Anatolia, *Turkey, on the coast of the Aegean Sea. There were Jews settled in Izmir at the beginning of the Christian era as attested by the New Testament (Rev. 1:11; 2:8). It is thought that many pagans became proselytes as a result of Jewish influence. Christianity was accepted by only a few Jews there. A few Greek inscriptions of the second and third centuries C.E. have been preserved. From one of them it appears that the community was authorized to impose punishments on any person who showed disrespect toward it, and that a woman named Rufina was then "Mother of the synagogue." One of the seals found in the proximity of the town has a fine representation of a *menorah* very similar to the one on the arch of Titus at Rome. During the Middle Ages the number of Jews decreased and they may have disappeared completely from the town. However, when the descendants of the Spanish exiles arrived in the 16th century, they found a small *Romaniot community.

The development of Izmir dates from the beginning of the 17th century, when it was a flourishing center of Mediterranean commerce. The Jewish community increased in numbers and became one of the most important of the Ottoman Empire. Jews from *Salonika, Constantinople, and neighboring towns also settled in Izmir. The new settlers established their own communities (*Eẓ Ḥayyim, Gerush, Portugal*, etc.) and appointed R. Joseph *Escapa of Salonica as their rabbi (before 1630). After some time R. Azariah Joshua Ashkenazi, also from Salonika, arrived in the town. A controversy broke out between Escapa and Ashkenazi, as a result of which the community split into two factions. However, after the death of the latter in 1648, Escapa was appointed rabbi over all the Jewish population, which was thus of diverse origins and had different customs. Escapa endeavored to unite the community. He issued important *takkanot* still in force in Izmir and the neighboring localities. He instituted tax laws and appointed councils for the spiritual and material administration of the community. As a result religious and social standards improved; one of the eminent rabbis of Salonika during that period, R. Samuel Isaac Modigliano, said of Izmir that it was "a holy and pure community, all of whose regulations are decreed with ability and justice, through the counsel of sages and wise men."

This period was the golden era of the Izmir community. Large yeshivot, schools, synagogues (i.e, the Portuguese synagogue in 1710, the Algazi synagogue – Kal de Ariva – in 1728, etc.) and a Hebrew printing press (1658) were founded. The local Jewish population included prosperous merchants, translators, agents of European merchants, banks and consulates, customs officials, usurers and eminent rabbis who ranked among the most distinguished of that generation – R. Aaron *Lapapa, R. Solomon *Algazi, and R. Ḥayyim *Benveniste, all of them during the 17th century. *Shabbetai Ẓevi was born in Izmir and began his activities there. His appearance shook the Jewish world, and the violent conflict which ensued in Izmir in its wake had an adverse influence on the community. The dispute subsequently subsided and the community returned to its former prosperity. Jews then held important economic positions and Jewish merchants maintained commercial relations with the Balkan countries, the Near East and Far East, Africa, and the large European cities. In addition to the six existing synagogues, another three were erected. Literature also flourished. Important and fundamental works in the fields of *halakhah* and ethics were written. These include the works of Ḥayyim Benveniste on the Shulḥan Arukh entitled *Keneset ha-Gedolah* ("Great Assembly"), and that of *Elijah ha-Kohen of Izmir, *Shevet Musar* ("Rod of Admonition").

The most renowned rabbis of the late 17th and early 18th centuries were Jacob b. Na'im, who headed a large yeshivah from which many disciples graduated; his disciple R. Abraham ibn Ezra, author of the important work *Battei Kenesiyyot* (Salonika, 1806); R. Joseph Ḥazzan, author of the well-known commentaries on *Ein Yosef* (Izmir, 1675); and R. Aaron *Alfandari, author of *Yad Aharon* (Izmir, 1735). Special mention should be made of R. Ḥayyim *Abulafia, who was chief rabbi of Izmir from 1720 to 1740 and was a distinguished and active scholar. In 1740 he emigrated, together with his disciples, to Tiberias.

The most prolific of the 19th century's rabbis was R. Ḥayyim Palacci (*Palache), who represented the old generation of strict old-fashioned rabbis. He wrote over 72 works in all the fields of scholarship (54 of his books were lost in the great fire of 1841).

Towards the end of the 18th century, many of Izmir's Jews were engaged in the manufacture of wool from goats' fleece. There was both an organization of workshop owners and a workers' organization. Two manufacturers (not among the biggest) employed 130 workmen (*Ḥikrei Lev* of R. Joseph Ḥazzan, Sh. Ar. YD, 2:37, Salonika, 1806). Over a period of some 180 years five great fires broke out (1743, 1772, 1841, 1881, 1922), in which large sections, mostly of the Jewish quarters of Izmir, were destroyed. There were also frequent epidemics, mostly between 1770 and 1892, and big earthquakes. The Greek population of the town frequently brought *blood libels against the Jews; there were six cases between 1864 and 1901. In the 19th century, there were 15,000–20,000 Jews in Izmir. At the end of the 19th century a general decline of Izmir Jewry set in. In 1905, an Ashkenazi community was founded in Izmir by Russian refugees. Its last rabbi was Meir Melammed. After the Turco-Greek War (1919–21), many Jews left the town for Greece or emigrated to France and the United States.

Social institutions that were established between the 16th and 18th centuries, such as Ḥevrat Bikkur Ḥolim, were still active in the 19th century, together with new modern institutions – pharmacies, hospitals, etc.

Modern Period

Beginning from the 19th century, Izmir – a commercial city situated on a major transportation route – became one of the most prominent financial and cultural centers in the world. This financial growth and the consequent cultural and spiritual recrudescence attracted many Jews to Izmir.

The westernization and modernization of the Ottoman Empire, stepped up from the end of 18th century, had a profound impact on Ottoman Jewry in general and on the Izmir community in particular. This outside influence was further strengthened by the settlement of the Francos (European Jewish merchants) from the 17th century in Izmir, and brought changes to the social and financial infrastructure of the Izmir community. Also strengthening the modernization processes in Izmir was the establishment of new *Alliance schools there starting in 1873 and accompanied by the invasion of Western cultural ideas. It was also Izmir where the first Jewish journal, *La Buena Esperansa* ("The Good Hope"), was published in 1843, testifying to the flourishing of Jewish journalism that went hand in hand with the accelerated cultural development of the city. The local Jewish theater performed original plays in Ladino and foreign plays in their original language. Groups of dancers appeared for the first time outside religious frameworks. These changes were accompanied by the partial adoption of European dress; by new living quarters, i.e., the move from the Jewish Quarter near the market (Çarşı) to new mixed neighborhoods in the western part of the city: Göstepe, Karataş, and Karantina; by the use of European languages (French and later Turkish) at the expense of Ladino; and by new professions made possible by an Alliance education.

These processes of modernization, westernization, and progress at the same time underscored the polarization that spread within Jewish society. The disintegration of traditional frameworks was also felt within the religious establishment. With the enforcement of the Tanzimat regulations and the legislation of the Chief Rabbinate Law in 1865, the prestige of the rabbis began to decline. The constitution weakened the rabbis and strengthened, in their stead, the rich community leaders. As Izmir was known for the strict religious attitude of its rabbis, spirited struggles, sometimes violent, took place among different groups in the community.

In the beginning of the 20th century there were over 20,000 Jews in Izmir. After World War I, many emigrated to South America. After the establishment of the State of Israel and between 1948 and 1950, about 10,000 immigrated to Israel as well, so that, in 1965, the chief rabbinate of the town reported that there were about 4,000 Jews there. In 1968 their number was estimated at around 3,000, and at the beginning of the 21st century at approximately 2,000, mostly concentrated in the Alsancak quarter. As a result of the large-scale emigration, the Jewish orphanage was closed. The only Jewish talmud torah was closed in 1999, probably as a consequence of changes in the educational system in Turkey (Tevhid-i Tedrisat). Wealthy Jews sent their children to the French St. Joseph School, which is located in the old Jewish school building, or to private schools such as the American College. If the family was not wealthy, its children were sent to public schools. Seven of the synagogues in the town remained in some use, usually on the High Holidays; two of them were in constant use: Shaar Shamayim situated in Alsancak and Beth Israel in Karataş. The most significant events in those two were the festivals. The community retained a hospital which was mainly used for deliveries, and a Moshav Zekenim Retirement Home (Assyl De Viar) in Karataş. The community also operated a Ḥevra Kaddisha, a youth club (called the Liga (League)), and the La Dame de Bonne volunteer organization. There was also a rabbinical court headed by R. Nissim Barmaimon.

There are three cemeteries in Izmir, only one in use: the Bornova Cemetery located in Bornova, was established in 1881 by Alexandre Sidi; the Gurt Çeşme, or Kan Çeşme, Cemetery, which was in use from 1885 to 1934, where the Izmir rabbis' tombstones are located at the entrance; and the New Cemetery, which was opened in the 1930s and is the only one still in use.

Most of the Jews who remained in Izmir are merchants, some of them exporters and industrialists, and the economic situation of the community is relatively good, since thousands of the poor left for Israel. There were no assaults on Jews, apart from attacks on Jewish shops during the demonstrations connected with the problem of Cyprus in September 1955.

[Haim J. Cohen / Efrat E. Aviv (2nd ed.)]

Hebrew Printing

Izmir was one of the three printing centers in the Ottoman Empire, following Constantinople and Salonika. The first Jewish printer in Izmir was Abraham b. Jedidiah Gabbay (1657–75). His first book was J. Escapa's *Rosh Yosef* (1657). Besides several Hebrew works, Gabbay also printed two in Spanish, in Latin characters: a second edition of *Mikveh Yisrael (Esperanza de Israel)* by Manasseh Ben Israel; and *Apologia por la noble nación de los Judíos, por Eduardo Nicholas*, translated from English into Spanish by R. Manasseh. In 1675 he printed 16 books; he left Izmir in 1683 and from that year all printing activity ceased for the next 50 years. Jonah b. Jacob of Zalocze established a new printing house in 1728 in partnership with Rabbi David Hazzan. It was closed in 1739. In 1754 a new printing house was established by Judah Hazzan and Jacob Valensi. The printing house of Osta Maragos, the Greek printer, was also active during this period. Printing activity ceased in Izmir after this period for nearly 60 years for unknown reasons

From the fourth decade of the 19th century on, several printing houses were active in Izmir. In 1838, the English printing house of Griffith was established, mainly to serve the Anglican Mission. Griffith also printed some journals in Ladino which appeared in Izmir.

In the 1850s another printing house was in operation, the one of Judah Samuel Ashkenazi's two sons. It ceased operation at some stage and Benzion Benjamin began printing in 1857 using the equipment of this printing house after its closure. In 1862 Roditi was given the opportunity to use a new printing house. By 1884 he had published no fewer than 71 books, among them many important religious works, such as **Me-Am Lo'ez*. The printing house of the De Seguras was founded in 1862 and existed until 1906. Abraham Pontremoli founded a new printing house which operated from 1876 to 1889. Pontremoli published some of Palacci's books.

In the last quarter of the 19th century, a few other printing houses were founded but operated for only a short while (i.e., Shevet Ahim, 1876, etc.). During the 20th century the most prominent printer was Ephraim Melamed, whose printing house operated between 1901 and 1924. Hebrew books continued to be issued in Izmir until the 1950s. These printers produced more than 400 books, ranging over the entire field of biblical, talmudic and rabbinic literature, besides a large amount of liturgy and *Kabbalah. Many of the authors were local scholars. From 1838, 117 books were printed entirely, or partially, in Ladino. These were at first religious works only, but toward the end of the 19th century stories, novels, poetry, etc., were also published. Additionally, from 1842, Jewish newspapers such as *La Buena Esperanza* (1842), *El Novelista* (1889–1922), and *El Messerret* (1897–1922) were printed in Ladino.

[Avraham Yaari / Efrat E. Aviv (2nd ed.)]

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IZMIT, port on the Sea of Marmara, in the Kocaeli Province, Turkey; in rabbinic literature its name appears as Isnimit, while its older Turkish name was Izniknid and its Greek name is Nicomedia. Its Jewish community has a long history and is first mentioned in various sources in the sixth century. The Karaite philosopher *Aaron b. Elijah (d. 1369), known as "Nicomedio," lived in Izmit. It is probable that the Karaites appeared in Nicomedia already before the 14th century, although no documentary or literary confirmation is as yet available. In the 16th century several families of Jewish refugees from Spain settled in Izmit, and in the middle of the 17th century there were about 60 Jewish families there. During the Ottoman period the Jews lived in a special quarter, known as *Yahudi Mahallesi*. The community had its rabbinical court, a synagogue and religious school, and two cemeteries. Some of the Jews engaged in petty trade, while others were artisans, working in silk, wool, cotton, glass, and pottery. In the 17th century emissaries from Ereẓ Israel visited the community and the local Jews turned with their halakhic questions to *Istanbul and *Salonica, especially to Rabbi Moses *Benveniste and Rabbi Ḥayyim Sabettai. There is some information about Jewish courts of law in 1622 and 1635. Rabbi Abraham Donozo served the community in 1635–70. According to censuses 199 Jews lived there in 1893, 428 in 1912, and 512 in 1911–12. The last rabbis of the community from 1911 were Abraham Habib, Daniel Tazartes, and Raphael Tazartes. In 1919, when the Greeks invaded western Anatolia, most of the Jews took refuge in Istanbul. The remaining Jews fled in 1921, when a great fire raged in the town, and Jewish settlement in Izmit came to an end.

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[Abraham Haim / Leah Bornstein-Makovetsky (2nd ed.)]

IZRAELITA, Polish Jewish weekly of assimilationist tendencies (1866–1908). During the 40 years it appeared, *Izraelita* promoted Polish culture within the Jewish community. The editor, Samuel Henryk *Peltin, continued the tradition of *Jutrzeńka*, edited by Daniel *Neufeld. The forerunner of both these journals was the short-lived *Izraelita Polski*, which appeared during the November Revolution (1830–31) under the editorship of Stanislaw Harnisch. The *Izraelita* opposed antisemites who rejected the services of the Jewish youth who had enthusiastically volunteered in the ranks of the revolution. The *Izraelita* had a varied readership. Since its editor was not an extreme assimilationist, he maintained contact with the Jewish intelligentsia of differing ideologies. Among those who contributed to the journal were Wilhelm *Feldman, historian of Polish literature; the lawyer Joseph Kirszrot; the author Leo Belmont; the lawyer A.J. Cohen; Adolf *Gruenbaum; the lawyer Nikodem Lekert; and Nahum *Sokolow. The journal carried news of Jews throughout the world, Jewish historical and literary articles, and reports on the Warsaw Jewish community, and performed an important function in opposing the antisemitic incitement of the journal *Rola* edited by Jan *Jeleński. It supported community philanthropy and attempted to strengthen Jewish commitment among the assimilationists in Poland. In this context, the paper aroused interest in research into the Jewish past in Poland, encouraging scholarship into folklore and history. The Polish press accused the *Izraelita* of encouraging separatism even to the extent of supporting an independent Jewish school system. Despite the strong trend to polonization, the journal never achieved a significant circulation. In 1872 it had 460 subscribers, 300 of them from Warsaw. By 1895, it had still not achieved a readership of one thousand. *Izraelita* opposed the Orthodox camp and Zionism, regarding emigration as an act of treachery toward the Polish homeland. During the short period of Nahum Sokolow's editorship after the death of Peltin (1896), the journal did, however, give some expression to national-Zionist ideas. In 1915, publication of the *Izraelita* was briefly resumed by Joseph Wasserzug, an extreme assimilationist who opposed the efforts of Georg *Brandes to defend the Jews against Polish antisemitism.

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[Moshe Landau]

IZRAELITA MAGYAR IRODALMI TÁRSULAT (**Imit**; "Jewish-Hungarian Literary Society," 1894–1950), literary society founded mainly at the urging of I. *Goldziher, S. Kohn, and I. *Loew, and its first president was Samuel *Kohn. According to the society's bylaws its main function was to publish an annual and a Hungarian translation of the Bible. The latter was published under the editorship of W. *Bacher, J. *Banoczi, and S. *Krauss (4 vols., 1898–1907). The annual, a publication of rich scholarly and literary merit, appeared in the years 1895–1918, 1929–43, and 1948. Its first editors were W. Bacher, F. *Mezey, and J. Banoczi. From 1929 S. *Szemere served as editor. In addition, the society published important monographs, such as, among others, M. Pollak, *A zsidók története Sopronban* ("History of the Jews in Sopron"); S. Buechler, *A zsidók története Budapesten…* ("History of the Jews in Budapest," 1901); *Monumenta Hungariae Judaica* (vols. 1–4, 1903–38).

The society arranged lecture series in Budapest and other cities. In 1909 the Jewish Museum of Budapest was established at the initiative of the society. In 1947 the society was reorganized, but in its new form it was short-lived.

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[Alexander Scheiber]

IZYASLAV (formerly **Zaslavl**), city in Khmelnitski district (former Kamenets-Podolski), Ukraine. The first information about the Jewish community there dates from the first half of the 16th century. Most of the Jews fled to neighboring cities during the *Chmielnicki massacres of 1648; approximately 200 who had remained behind were killed. After the massacres, the community was rebuilt. With the beginning of the *Haidamack movement in 1708 the community was destroyed and most of its members killed. In 1747 five Jews from a neighboring village were put to death in the city as a result of a *blood libel. The Jewish population was 2,807 in 1765 and 5,998 (47% of the total population) in 1897. Towards the end of Polish rule, Izyaslav was a center of *Ḥasidism. Due to the influence of Leib Bolekhovski (d. 1883), the rabbi, the community was culturally in advance of other settlements in the area. In 1897 Izyaslav had 6,000 Jews (almost 50% of the total population). After the Russian Revolution of 1917, the Zionist movement flourished in Izyaslav. Most of the city's Jewish children were enrolled in Hebrew kindergartens and schools. With the establishment of Soviet rule in 1920, Jewish community life in the city declined. By 1926, 3,820 Jews (one third of the population) remained there, dropping to 3,208 (28% of the total) in 1939. The Germans captured Izyaslav in July 1941 and murdered 1,000 Jews on August 24. A ghetto was set up and Jews from neighboring towns were brought there. In the course of 1942, some 5,000 Jews were murdered. A group of essential workers was put into a local labor camp and executed on January 20 1943. Izyaslav was the home of Nathan Nata *Hannover, author of *Yeven Meẓulah*. A Hebrew printing press was active there from 1807 to 1808 and five books, three of them liturgical, were issued.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: J. Kontorshchik, in: *Ha-Meliẓ*, 32 (1892), 195, 198; N.N. Hannover, *Yeven Meẓulah* (1923), 30–33; E. Ehrenburg, *Merder fun Felker* (1945), 77–79; I. Vogel, in: *Yalkut Vohlin*, 7 (1947), 6–9; A. Yaari, in: KS, 19 (1943), 277–9. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** PK.

[Yehuda Slutsky / Shmuel Spector (2nd ed.)]

A Corinthian capital, 4th–3rd century B.C.E., with the head of the god Dionysos, found at Bet She'an. *Photo: Hanan Isachar.*

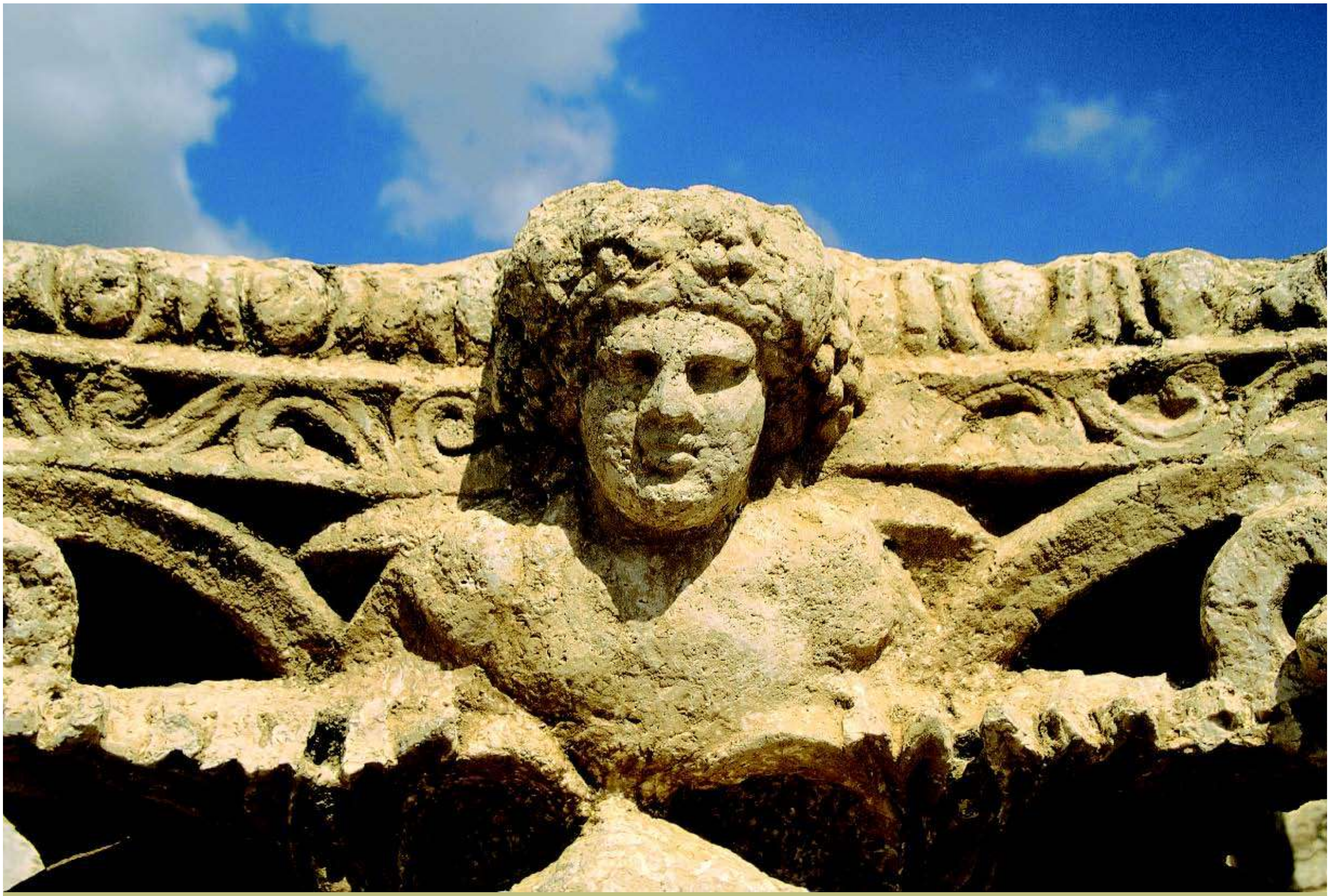

The Land of Israel offers a fascinating variety of archaeological findings that illuminate the attachment of the Jewish people to its ancient homeland from the birth of the nation in the biblical period through the period of the Second Temple and beyond. They are a part of the Israeli landscape as much as its flora and fauna.

ARCHAEOLOGY

(opposite page) TOP:
Wine press in the antique Nabatean Byzantine town of Shivta in the Negev, 2nd century; Shivta was declared a World Heritage Site by UNESCO in 2005.
Photo: Dinu Mendrea.

(opposite page) BOTTOM:
Mamshit, an antique Nabetean Byzantine town captured by the Romans in the 2nd century C.E., was declared a World Heritage by UNESCO in June 2005.
Photo: Dinu Mendrea.

RIGHT: **One of the twin lions decorating a gateway in the center of Jerusalem, made by Rabbi Simcha Shlomo Janiver-Diskin, a well-known figure in Jerusalem in the late 19th century.**
Photo: Shlomo (Yosh) Gafni, Jerusalem.

LEFT: **A capital found at the archaeological park in Ashkelon, one of the five principal cities of the Philistines in Canaan.** *Photo: Hanan Isachar.*

(opposite page) LEFT: **Finds of everyday objects from the Cave of Letters. Roman period, Naḥal Ḥever, 2nd century c.e.** *Collection, Israel Antiquities Authority. Photo © The Israel Museum, Jerusalem, by Moshe Caine.*

(opposite page) RIGHT: **Tel Hazor in the Upper Galilee: the Pillared Building, a public storehouse from the 8th century b.c.e.** *Photo: Hanan Isachar.*

Jerusalem—Tombs of Absalom, Zechariah, and the Hezir family, 1st century b.c.e.–1st century c.e., on the slopes of the Mount of Olives with the Jewish cemetery. *Photo: Dinu Mendrea.*

Corridor in the Cave of the Sarcophagi shows sarcophagus with lions, from Bet She'arim, late Roman period. *Photo: Dinu Mendrea.*

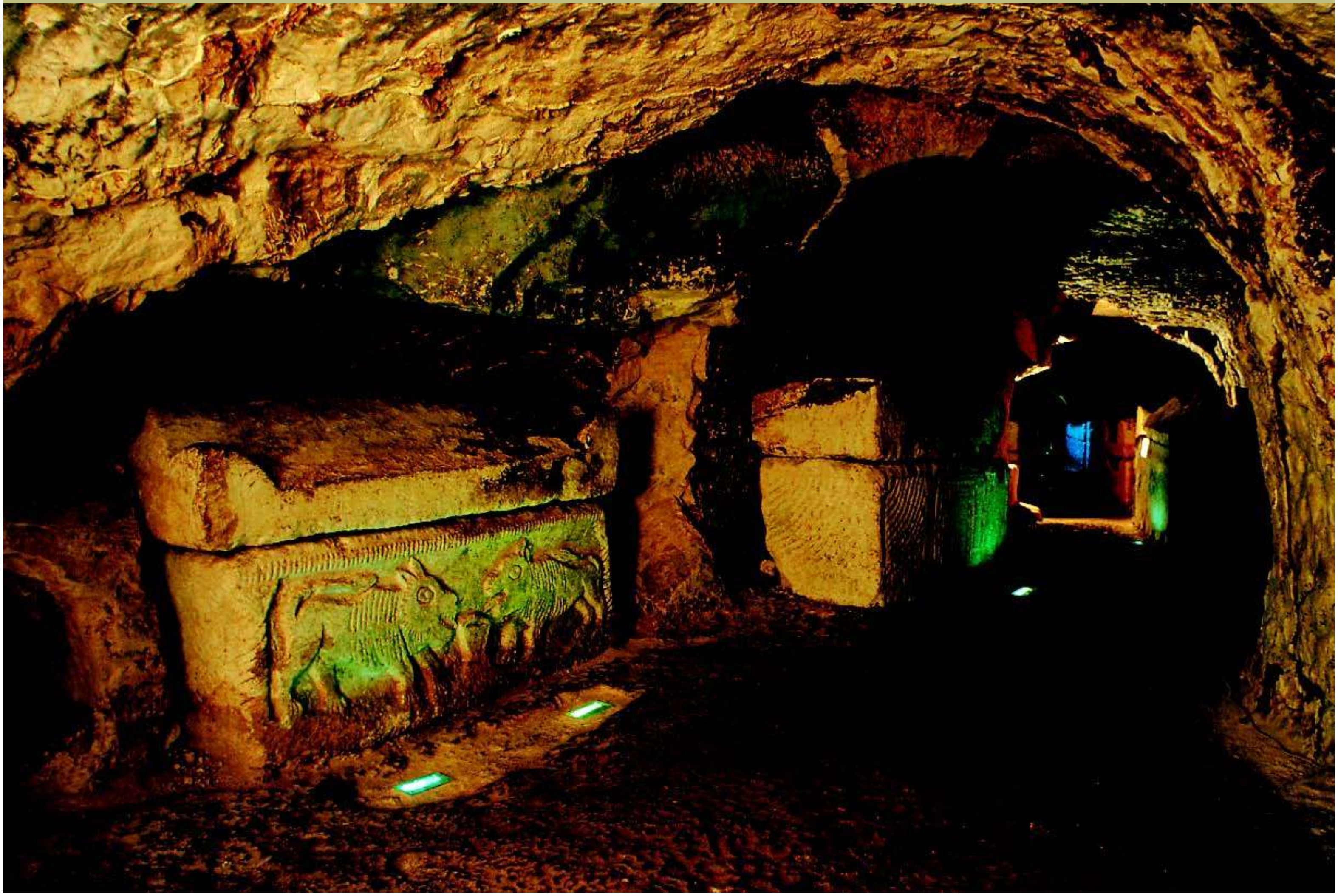

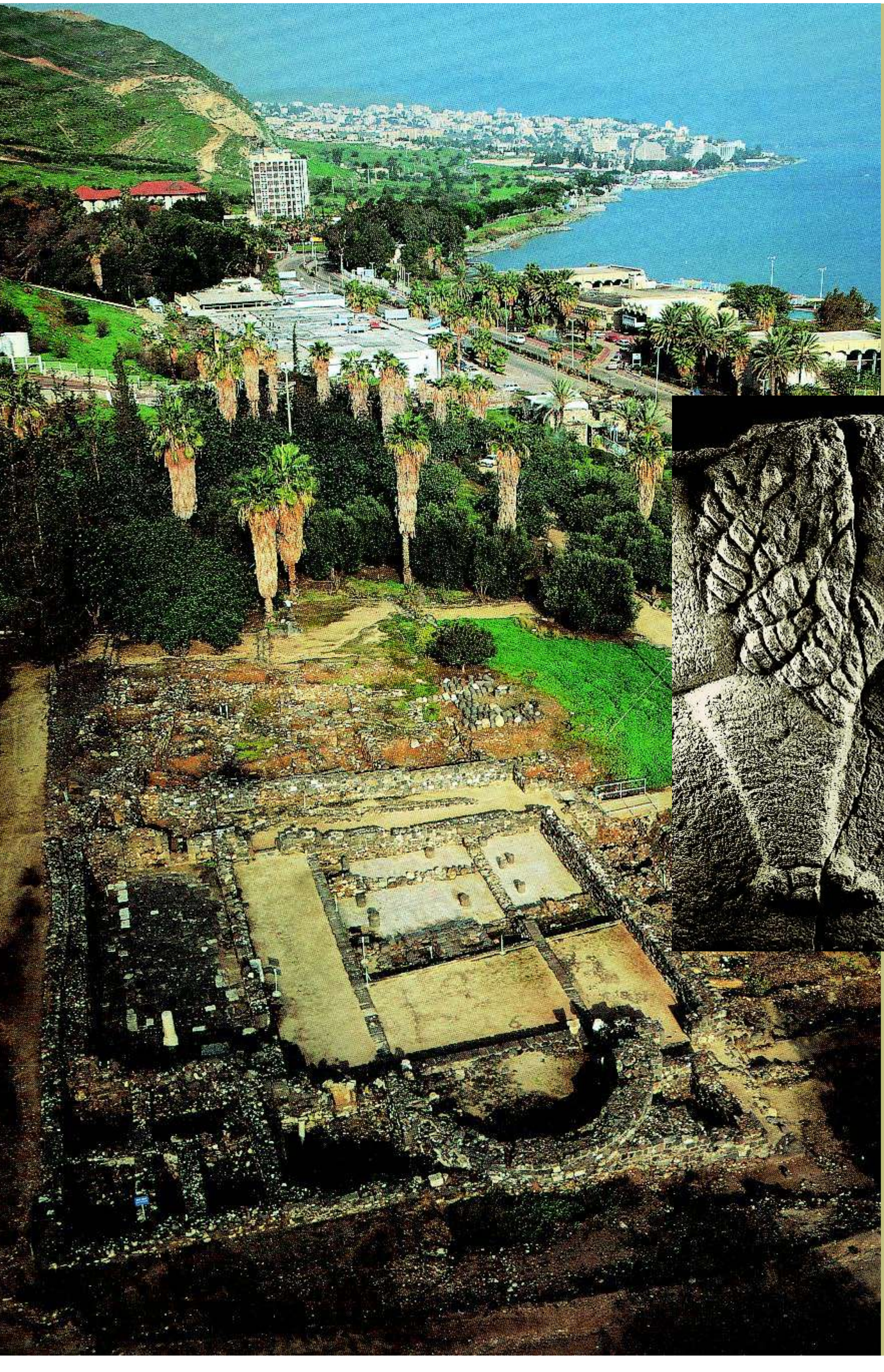

An overview of the old synagogue near the hot springs at Tiberias, 3rd century C.E. *Photo: Albatross Aerial Photography.*

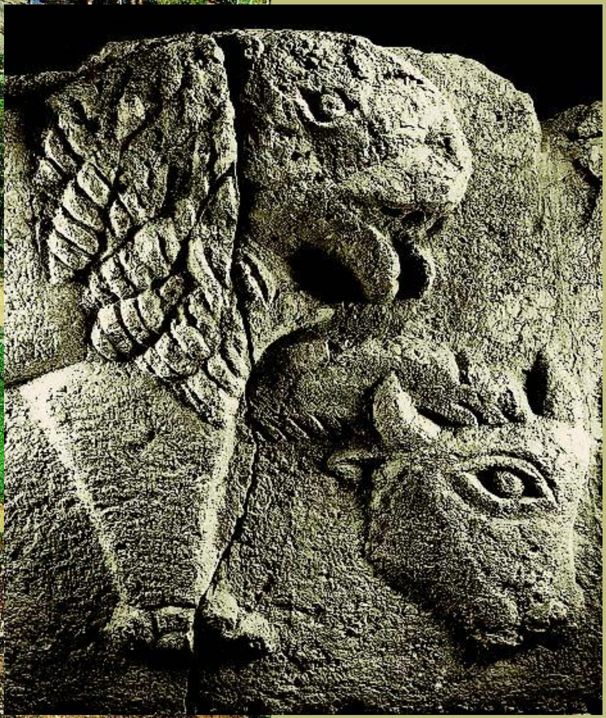

ABOVE: **Animal reliefs from the excavations at Tiberias, 3rd century C.E.** *Photo: David Harris.*

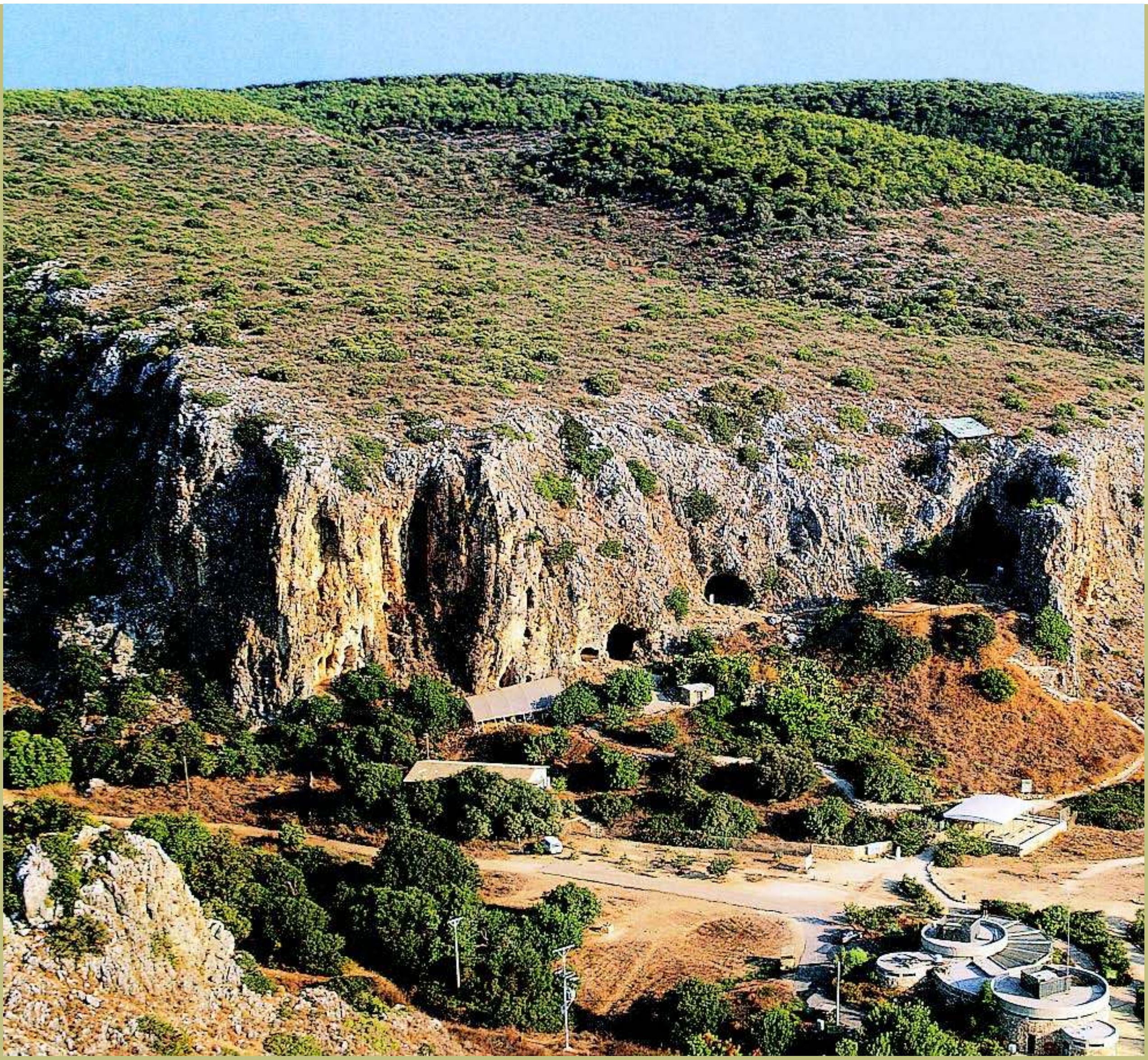

Aerial view of the Oven Cave, the Carmel Cave, and the River Cave in Mount Carmel *Photo: Albatross Aerial Photography.*

Bone-reaping hook with deer sculpted head, found in the prehistoric caves of Mount Carmel. Kebara Cave, 10th millennium B.C.E. *Collection, Israel Antiquities Authority. Photo © Israel Museum, by Nahum Slapak.*

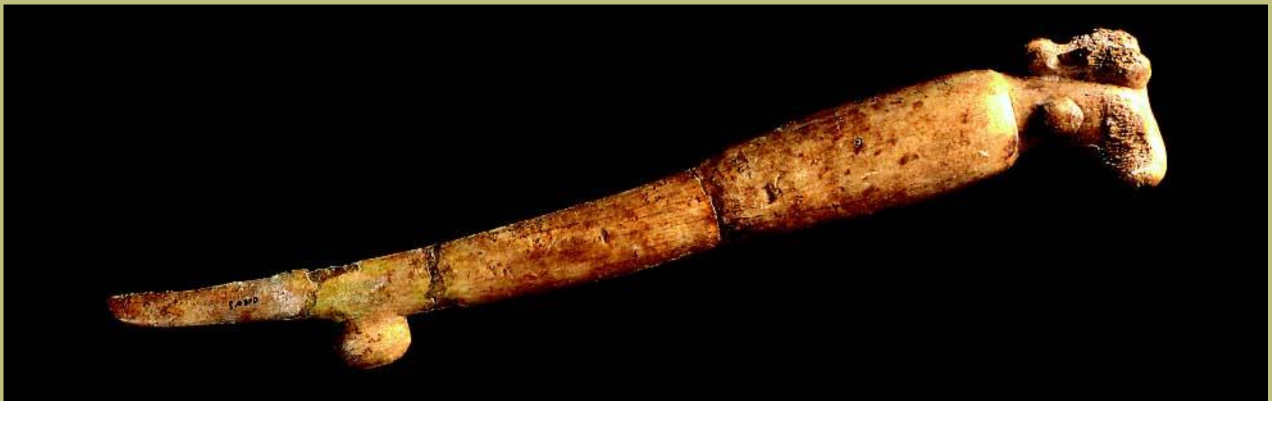

An aerial view of the Old City of Jerusalem.
Photo: Albatross Aerial Photography.

An aerial view of Ein Gedi showing the remains of the Byzantine-period synagogue (end of the 4th–7th century C.E.), which is proof that a large Jewish community existed there.
Photo: Albatross Aerial Photography.

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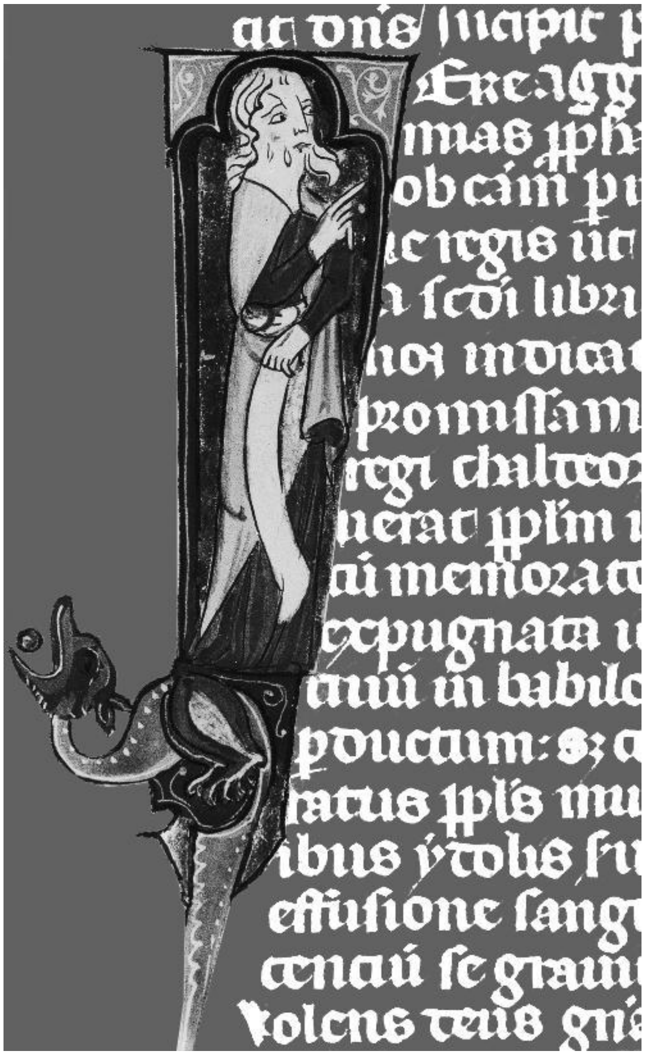
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Initial letter "J" of Jeremias*, at the beginning of a prologue to the Book of Haggai in a 13th-century Bible from France. Princeton University Library, Med. and Ren. Mss., Garrett no. 29, vol. II, fol. 151r.*

JA-JU

JAAZANIAH, JAAZANIAHU (**Jazaniah**, **Jazaniahu**, Heb. יְזַנְיָה, יְזַנְיָהוּ, יַאֲזַנְיָהוּ, יַאֲזַנְיָה; "YHWH hears"), name of four biblical persons in the last generation of the kingdom of Judah.

(1) Jaazaniah son of the Maacathite, officer of the troops that went to Mizpah, to *Gedaliah son of Ahikam after the Babylonian occupation of Judah (II Kings 25:23; Jer. 40:8). It is possible that he is Jezaniah son of Hoshaiah mentioned in Jeremiah 42:1. Others attribute to him the Hebrew seal inscribed "To Jaazaniah, servant of the king." On the seal is an engraving of a rooster, the only such seal ever found in Ereẓ Israel (reproduced Ahituv, 126; Hoffman, 720).

(2) Jaazaniah son of Jeremiah son of Habazziniah, a *Rechabite put to the test by the prophet Jeremiah (Jer. 35:3).

(3) Jaazaniah son of Shaphan, an elder of the house of Israel, is mentioned in Ezekiel's vision of incense to the idols (Ezek. 8:11).

(4) Jaazaniah son of Azzur was a "prince of the people" and one of the twenty-five elders of Judah who appeared in a vision to the prophet Ezekiel (Ezek. 11:1). In a Lachish ostracon there appears the name of "Jaazaniah son of Tob-Shallem" (Ahituv, 33). A certain Jaazaniahu son of Benaiyahu is found at Arad (Ahituv, 86). The name of Yedoniah, the head of the Jewish community at *Elephantine, is probably an Aramaization of the Hebrew Jaazaniah.

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[Yehoshua M. Grintz]

JABAL (Heb. יָבָל), first son of Lamech by Adah; culture-hero, "father" of tent dwellers who keep livestock (Gen. 4:20) in the seventh generation after Adam. He is descended from Cain and is brother to *Jubal. The name Jabal may possibly be derived from a Semitic word meaning "a ram," or a root "to bring."

BIBLIOGRAPHY: W.F. Albright, *Yahweh and the Gods of Canaan* (1968), 85 n. 119; EM, 3 (1958), 451f. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** N. Sarna, *Genesis* (1989), 37.

JABBOK (Heb. יַבֹּק), tributary of the Jordan from the east, the first river south of the Yarmuk. The Hebrew name is derived either from the root meaning "to empty itself" or from a sound imitating the noise of water flowing over pebbles. The Jabbok is the confluent of three wadis: Wadi Amman, which rises near the city of Amman, Wadi Suwayliḥ, and Wadi al-Dhulayl. It flows at first in an easterly direction until the junction of the first two wadis, where it turns to the north. At the source of ʿAyn al-Zarqāʾ, from which the Arabic name of the river, Nahr al-Zarqāʾ, was derived, it becomes a perennial river. After joining Wadi al-Dhulayl it turns west and then southwest, watering the fertile plain of Succoth near the Jordan. It falls from approximately 2,489 ft. (758 m.) near Amman to approximately 1,684 ft. (513 m.) at Wadi al-Dhulayl and to approximately 1,149 ft. (513 m.) below sea level at the Jordan, dropping approximately 3,611 ft. (1,100 m.) in all over a total length of 43¾ mi. (70 km.). The drainage area is 1,015 sq. mi. (2600 sq. km.) and the annual discharge is 16 billion gallons (60 million cu. m.).

By cutting the mountains of Gilead into two, creating the two regions of the territory of Gilead, the Jabbok forms a natural boundary which served as a political border throughout almost all historical periods. The first biblical reference to the river occurs in connection with Jacob, who forded it on his way to meet Esau, following his departure from Haran (Gen. 32:23). His struggle with the angel took place at Peniel on a ford of the Jabbok, a place which was considered consecrated by later generations. The river is described as the northern boundary of the kingdom of Sihon the Amorite in Numbers 21:24 and Joshua 12:2. These passages apparently refer only to the lower reaches of the river, for the upper reaches were within the border of the Ammonites and were excluded from the area of the Israelite conquest (Deut. 2:37). Reuben and Gad inherited the lands of Sihon and thus the Jabbok also served as their border with Ammon (Deut. 3:16). Border disputes continued and in the time of Jephthah, the Ammonite kings claimed that the Israelite tribes had infringed upon their border (Judg. 11:13, 22). In later times the river served as the boundary of the land of the Tobiads. Eusebius describes it as the boundary of the cities of Gerasa and Philadelphia (Onom. 102:19ff.). According to a milestone placed beyond the Roman bridge built over the river, the territory of Gerasa extended slightly south of the Jabbok. In Arab times it served as the boundary between the districts of al-Balqāʾ and ʿAjlūn.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: M.G. Ionides and T.S. Blake, *Report on the Water Resources of Trans-Jordan* (1939), passim; Maisler, Untersuchungen, 41–42; Abel, Geog, 1 (1933), 174–5, 485–6; Glueck, in: AASOR, 25–28 (1951), 250–1, 313–8; EM, 3 (1965), 455–8.

[Michael Avi-Yonah]

JABÈS, EDMOND (1908–1991), French poet. Born in Egypt, Jabès settled in Paris when the Egyptians expelled him after the 1956 Sinai Campaign. Revived awareness of his Jewish identity led to the *Le livre des questions* (1963), an esoteric work mingling surrealism and Kabbalah, aphorisms and poems in the romance of two concentration camp survivors. For Jabès, writing is an act of creation, and God an enigmatic "circle of luminous lettres." *Le livre des questions* became the first of a series of seven works which consist of persistent questioning, sometimes in the form of narratives or dialogues, sometimes in the form of apocryphal talmudic discussions between imaginary rabbis or kabbalistic letter games. The condition of the Jew is for Jabès identified with that of the poet: both the creative writer and the Jew can exist only in the state of exile. The term is of course taken in a spiritual sense and has no political meaning. The title of the first volume is also the title of the whole series; the others are *Le livre de Yukel* (1964), *Le retour au livre* (1965), *Yaël* (1967), *Elya* (1969), *Aely* (1972), and *El* (1973), which is the conclusion of a search for the unity of Judaism and literary creation, and at the same time a ceaseless questioning of the relevance of language. Jabès bemoans the loss of the Word (divine inspiration) and the wandering of the People of the Book.

Le livre des ressemblances (1976), *Le livre du partage* (1987), *Le livre de l'hospitalité* (1991), *Le livre du dialogue* (1994) continued the contruction a major poetic oeuvre. *Un étranger avec, sous le bras, un livre de petit format* (1989) seeks to characterize the stranger and to describe his role. The book is also a self-portrait.

[Anny Dayan Rosenman (2nd ed.)]

JABESH-GILEAD (Heb. יָבֵשׁ גִּלְעָד), Israelite city in Gilead in the period of the Judges and the monarchy. Its inhabitants appear to have had close ties with the tribe of Benjamin as is evidenced by two biblical traditions.

(1) The people of Jabesh-Gilead did not join the expedition of the Israelite tribes against Benjamin and in punishment their city was destroyed and their maidens seized and given to the Benjamites (Judg. 21).

(2) When Jabesh-Gilead was besieged by Nahash king of Ammon, it appealed for help to Saul the Benjamite who assembled the army of Israel at Bezek, reached Jabesh-Gilead after a day's march, and routed the Ammonites (I Sam. 11). Out of gratitude the men of Jabesh-Gilead went to Beth-Shean where the bodies of Saul and his sons had been hung on its wall after their defeat at Mount Gilboa, removed the bodies, and buried them under a tamarisk in their territory (I Sam. 31:11–13; I Chron. 10:11–12). For this deed of valor and mercy they were highly praised by David (II Sam. 2:4–6).

Some scholars suggest that Elijah's surname should be read "the Jabeshite" (*ha-Yaveshi*) instead of "the Tishbite" (*ha-*

Tishbi). The name Jabesh-Gilead has been preserved in the name of Wadi Yābis, a tributary of the Jordan 3½ mi. (6 km.) south of Pella (Peḥel). Eusebius locates it 6 (Roman) miles south of Pella on the road to Gerasa (Onom. 110:11ff.). Its accepted identification is with Tell al-Maqlūb; Glueck has proposed Tell Abu Kharaz as the site of Israelite Jabesh-Gilead and Tell al-Maqbara farther down the Wadi as the Roman-Byzantine city; these identifications, however, disregard Eusebius' statement.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Abel, Geog, 2 (1938), 352; Glueck, Explorations, 1 (1951), 213ff.; Noth, in: ZDPV, 69 (1953), 28ff.; EM, 3 (1965), 459–6; Press, Ereẓ, 2 (1948), 384–5.

[Michael Avi-Yonah]

JABEZ, 16th-century family of scholars and Hebrew printers of Spanish origin. SOLOMON (d. before 1593) and JOSEPH JABEZ set up a Hebrew press in Salonika in 1546. They were the sons of ISAAC JABEZ (d. before 1555) and grandsons of Joseph *Jabez, called "the preacher." In 1494 in Mantua, Joseph, the grandfather, wrote a homiletical work, *Ḥasdei ha-Shem*, which his son Isaac prepared for publication. An edition of Psalms with his commentary was published by his grandson Joseph in Salonika in 1571. From 1546 to 1551 Solomon and Joseph printed a number of Hebrew books there. After a short interval in Adrianople, where they printed two books (1554–55), Solomon went to Constantinople and Joseph returned to Salonika, where he was an active printer until about 1570.

A plan to print the Talmud, which had been burned and banned in Italy in 1553, was not fulfilled beyond a few tractates (1561–67). Meanwhile Solomon had begun printing in Constantinople in 1559, and his brother Joseph rejoined him there in 1570. Alone or together they printed about 40 important works, among them responsa by Elijah Mizraḥi (1559–61) and Joseph ibn Lev (3 parts, 1560?–73), the first editions of Saadiah's *Emunot ve-De'ot* (1562), and A. Zacuto's *Yuḥasin* (1566). The brothers then made a new effort to reissue the Talmud; the larger part of it appeared 1583–93. Solomon's son ISAAC JABEZ was the author of *Ḥasdei Avot* (Constantinople, 1583), a commentary on *Avot, Yafik Raẓon* (Belvedere, 1593), a commentary on *haftarot*, and *Torat Ḥesed* (Belvedere, after 1593), on Hagiographa; he was not a printer. The Jabez press in Constantinople was financed by patrons such as Solomon Abenaes. Ḥayyim *Halicz worked at the press in about 1568.

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JABEZ, JOSEPH BEN ḤAYYIM (d. 1507), Hebrew homilist and exegete. From the prefaces to some of his works, it seems that after the expulsion from Spain in 1492, Jabez traveled to Lisbon, to Sicily, and then to northern Italy, after a brief stay in Naples, arriving in 1493 or 1494 in Mantua, one of the largest and most cultured Italian-Jewish communities. There he remained and was honorably accepted as part of that community, apparently as its official preacher. Both in his travels and in Mantua, he preached about the meaning of the catastrophe that had befallen Spanish Jewry.

Among his published works, most of which were written after the expulsion, are four theological-homiletic compositions, which treat three main questions: *Ḥasdei ha-Shem* (Constantinople, 1533), on the Diaspora and messianic expectations; *Or ha-Ḥayyim* (appended to *Ma'amar ha-Aḥdut*, Ferrara, 1554; separately Shklov, 1796), on Jewish philosophy and its influence upon the fate of Spanish Jewry; and two short treatises (published with the first edition of *Or ha-Ḥayyim*), "*Ma'amar ha-Aḥdut*" (Ferrara, 1554) and "*Yesod ha-Emunah*" (appended to *Ma'amar ha-Aḥdut*), on the *ikkarim*, the "dogmas" of Judaism.

In asserting that philosophical rationalism was to blame for the choice by so many Spanish Jews of conversion rather than exile and suffering, he expressed the feeling of many of his contemporaries. Jabez – who hated philosophy – maintained that the philosophical intellectuals did not consider the observance of the commandments as the most important aspect of religious life, and therefore were not prepared to sacrifice themselves for that observance. He did not attack *Maimonides directly, but accused Maimonides' pupils and followers of distorting his views and thus of bringing the religious catastrophe upon Spanish Jewry.

Similarly, in his treatment of the question of the *ikkarim*, Jabez opposed all his predecessors who attempted to formulate a rational basis for the dogmas of Judaism, claiming that rational proof of a dogma leaves no room for religious belief. Accordingly, he did not include the existence and unity of God – which, he maintained, can be rationally proved – among the three main dogmas he proposed, namely, the creation of the world, divine providence, and the belief in redemption and the coming of the Messiah. Although polemics against many contemporaries comprise much of his writing, *Ḥasdei ha-Shem* contains elements of hope in its description of the exile as necessary for the expiation of the people's sins, and the great Jewish sufferings in his own day as indicative of the approaching redemption.

Besides these theological works, all printed in several later editions as well, Jabez' writings include a commentary on the tractate *Avot* (Constantinople, 1533), one on Psalms (Salonika, 1571), and many other works still in manuscript.

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[Joseph Dan]

JABIN (Heb. יָבִין; "discerning"), king of the Canaanite city of *Hazor. Jabin headed the Canaanite alliance and is mentioned in connection with two Israelite wars at the time of the settlement – in the battle at Merom, which is attributed to Joshua (Josh. 11), and the war of *Deborah (Judg. 4–5). The king of Hazor is named in the list of defeated Canaanite kings (Josh. 12:19). There is a reference to the victory over Sisera commander of the army of Hazor in Samuel's speech (I Sam. 12:9), but the king is not mentioned; and to both Sisera and Jabin in Psalms (83:10). The Bible also refers to Jabin as the king of Canaan in the introduction and conclusion to the prose account of *Deborah's war (Judg. 4:2, 23–24). He is mentioned as allied to *Heber the Kenite (4:17) but plays no part in the body of the story. The account of Joshua 11 notes that "Hazor beforetime was the head of all those kingdoms" (Josh. 11:10). These words may be a reference to an old tradition. Excavations reveal that Hazor was the largest and most important of the cities of Israel in the days of the Hyksos (in the 18th and 16th centuries B.C.E.) and the *el-Amarna period (14th century B.C.E.). Abdi-Tirshi, king of Hazor, is unique in referring to himself as "king of" (*šar*) Hazor in a letter to Pharaoh (El Amarna Letters, no. 227). The other local Canaanite dynasts never call themselves "king" in writing to Pharaoh. According to the Bible, Jabin was killed following the battle of Merom in Joshua's day, and Hazor was totally destroyed (Josh. 11:10–13). The mention of Jabin in Deborah's battle has always puzzled biblical scholars, and several theories have been proposed:

(a) Jabin was king of Hazor and defeated by Joshua. Remnants of his family relocated to Harosheth-Goiim and produced a descendant also named Jabin, whose general Sisera engaged the forces of Barak and Deborah (Radak to Judg. 4:2).

(b) Some modern scholars claim that Hazor was rebuilt and, with Radak, say that the second Jabin is another king, possibly a descendant of the first.

(c) *Sisera of Harosheth-Goiim was in fact the chief of the Canaanite kings in Deborah's war, and that it was a later tradition which described him as Jabin's general (this theory is supported by the fact that Jabin is not mentioned in Deborah's Song).

(d) The two wars took place in the same era and that Deborah's war actually preceded the war at Merom. Thus, in Deborah's war the Israelites first succeeded in overcoming the Canaanite chariots and subsequently "the hand of the children of Israel prevailed more and more against Jabin the king of Canaan, until they had destroyed Jabin the king of Canaan" (Judg. 4:24). This last engagement is the battle at the waters of Merom, which is in the Upper Galilee not far from Hazor, and eventually came to be attributed to Joshua, as were several other battles.

None of these explanations is satisfying. The account in Joshua appears to be secondary to those in Judges and supplies far less detail. Because Joshua 10 described the hero Joshua as the conqueror of the southern kings, the late writer of Joshua 11 followed his narrative style to compose an account of Joshua's conquest of the northern kings (Ahituv). He had before him Joshua 12:19 listing Hazor as a conquest of Joshua's, as well as the verses Judges 4:2, 23–24 that Jabin was "King of Canaan." As such, he was the natural choice to head the northern coalition. The detail that Hazor alone was burned (Jos. 11:13) provides an etiology of Hazor's ruins in the days of the author.

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[Yohanan Aharoni / S. David Sperling (2nd ed.)]

JABLONEC NAD NISOU (Ger. **Gablonz an der Neisse**), city in N. Bohemia, now in Czech Republic, center of the world-famous glass-jewelry industry. Jewish settlement in Jablonec, which began in 1847, was connected with the development of this industry. As the neighboring town of Smrzovka (Ger. Morchenstern), where most of the plants were situated, caused difficulties for the Jews, Jablonec became the industry's commercial center. A congregation (*Kultusverein) was founded in Jablonec in 1872, a cemetery opened in 1882, and a Moorish-style synagogue dedicated in 1892; in 1893 a community was legally established, with a substantial number of foreign citizens, representatives of foreign firms. The community statute of 1928 granted them equal voting rights. Between the world wars, the majority of the population supported German nationalistic aims; in the same period the municipality prohibited *sheḥitah* in the slaughterhouse. During the Sudeten crisis and the annexation of the area by Germany (Oct. 1938), most of the Jews left Jablonec, some reestablishing their firms in the U.S. and England. The few who remained were deported to concentration camps. On Nov. 10, 1938, the synagogue was demolished. After World War II a small congregation was reestablished, most of its members from Subcarpathian Ruthenia; in 1969 it was affiliated to *Liberec. The Jewish population in Jablonec numbered 214 in 1869, 430 in 1880, 517 in 1895, and 799 in 1930 (2% of the total population). The municipality turned the cemetery into building plots in 1969.

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[Meir Lamed]

JABLONNA, Polish military detention camp set up in the summer of 1920 during the Red Army counteroffensive on Warsaw. The facts that Jewish officers were serving in the Red Army and Jews were prominent in the Soviet leadership created an atmosphere of suspicion toward every Jew, particularly within the army, though civil authorities urged the Jews to make every sacrifice to save Poland. Young Jews, including former officers of the Austrian army, had joined up wishing to contribute their military experience to help in the defense. However, the military authorities, with the knowledge of the war minister K. Sosnkowski, gave instructions that all Jewish volunteers, and "in particular officers," be detained in a closed camp, which had been set up in a remote village north of Lodz, on the pretext that the detainees were not yet ready for active service, although the real reason was distrust and unwillingness to appoint Jewish officers in positions commensurate with their rank and experience. Three thousand Jewish soldiers and officers, among them many with a university education, were removed from their units and subjected to physical and mental hardship in the Jablonna camp. After protests were voiced through the Jewish press and by Jewish leaders, as well as by Polish intellectuals, the authorities yielded, and on the initiative of the Socialist vice premier, J. Daszyński, the notorious camp was liquidated in September.

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[Moshe Landau]

JABNEEL (Heb. יַבְנְאֵל, Yavne'el). (1) Town on the northern border of the tribe of Judah between Mount Baalah and the sea (Josh. 15:11). It is identical with the later *Jabneh-Iamnia, now Yavneh, between Jaffa and Ashdod.

(2) Town on the southern border of the tribe of Naphtali (Josh. 19:33). In the Talmud it is identified with Kefar Yamma (now Khirbat Yamma in the Jordan Valley; TJ, Meg. 1:1, 70a). The biblical town was situated at Tell al-Naʿm, a small but prominent mound 1 mi. (1½ km.) to the northeast near a spring. The remains on the tell include Bronze Age and Iron Age I pottery.

[Michael Avi-Yonah]

Modern Times

(3) Village (moshavah) in Israel with municipal council status, in the Jabneel Valley of eastern Lower Galilee, 6 mi. (10 km.) east of Kinneret. Jabneel was founded in 1901 by pioneers from Russia, with the aid of the Jewish Colonization Association, on land bought by Baron Edmond de Rothschild for agriculture based on grain farming. Lack of water retarded Jabneel's growth, until rich groundwater reserves were tapped in the 1940s. Farming was then intensified and diversified. After the War of Independence (1948), a *ma'barah* was set up nearby, many of whose inhabitants (originating mainly from Yemen and North Africa) were later absorbed into Jabneel itself. Three neighboring villages were united with Jabneel in the 1950s: the moshavah Bet Gan (founded in 1904) and the moshavim Mishmar ha-Sheloshah (1937) and Semadar (1953). The moshavah's area extends over 12 sq. mi. (32 sq. km.). In 1968 Jabneel had 1,520 inhabitants. Its farming included field crops and orchards, and it had a number of small enterprises, mainly in the food and farm service branches. In 2002 the population of Jabneel was 2,580. In recent years, Braslav ḥasidim began settling in the moshavah, reaching around 400 in number.

[Efraim Orni]

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JABNEH (**Yavneh**; Heb יַבְנֶה; Ar. **Yibnā** يَبْنَى), biblical city located on the coastal plain, S. of Jaffa. Jabneh first appears in the Bible as Jabneel, on the northern border of the tribe of Judah (Josh. 15:11). It is counted as one of the Philistine cities, together with Gath and Ashdod, whose walls were breached by Uzziah king of Judah (II Chron. 26:6). The site of the biblical city is located on the tell in the village of Jabneh, which contains Iron Age remains. Earlier remains can be found at various sites along the Sorek River (Wadi Rubin), especially at Tell al-Sultan, northwest of Jabneh. In the Middle Bronze Age, a settlement was also established on the seacoast at Jabneh-Yam, which later served as the harbor of inland Jabneh. This harbor formed a separate entity as the center of the district of Maḥoz, which is possibly mentioned as early as the time of Thutmose III in his list of conquered cities (no. 61) and in the *El-Amarna letters. The remains of the harbor city show evidence of settlement in the Early, Middle, and Late Bronze Ages down to the Byzantine period; it is surrounded by a rampart and a wall approximately ⅗ mile (1 km.) long.

In the Hellenistic period, Jabneh (called Iamnia or Jamnia; Gr. ᾿Ιάμνια) was included in the eparchy of Idumea, but was later transferred to Paralia. During that period the traders of Jabneh-Yam dedicated inscriptions at Delos to the gods Hauran and Heracles-Melkart. A Greek inscription found in 1986 suggests that a Sidonian colony settled there by the end of the Persian period. The city was used as a base by the foreign armies for repeated attacks on Judean territory (I Macc. 5:58). At the time of the Maccabean revolt, Jabneh had a Jewish community, which was threatened with extermination by the rest of the population. As a warning, Judah Maccabee attacked the harbor and burned the ships (II Macc. 12:8–9). Jonathan the Hasmonean fought one of the decisive battles of the Maccabean revolt in the region (I Macc. 10:69ff.); another battle was fought near the city under Simeon (I Macc. 15:40). According to Josephus, Simeon captured the city (Ant., 13:215), but since the Books of Maccabees do not mention such a conquest, it is preferable to attribute it to Hyrcanus. At the accession of Alexander Yannai, Jabneh was already a Hasmonean city (Jos., Ant., 13:324) and the entire population was Jewish. Pompey attempted to revive it as a gentile town in 63 B.C.E. (*ibid.*, 14:75; Wars, 1:157), leaving the actual work of reconstruction to his deputy Gabinius (Wars, 1:166); however, the new town was short-lived as an independent unit. It was probably given to Herod at the time of his accession. He willed it to his sister Salome (Ant., 17:321; Wars, 2:98); after her death it passed to the empress Livia, and then to her son Tiberius. It was the seat of an imperial procurator (Ant., 18:158). By then, the city was purely Jewish and was a toparchy of Judea (Wars, 3:55). In the first Jewish war, it was occupied by Vespasian; Titus passed through it on his way to Jerusalem. When R. Johanan b. Zakkai left besieged Jerusalem and arrived at the Roman camp, he asked the emperor to “give him Jabneh and its scholars” (Git. 56b).

After the fall of Jerusalem, the Sanhedrin was reconstituted at Jabneh, first under R. Johanan and then under the patriarch Rabban Gamaliel II (Tosef., Ber. 2:6). The Sanhedrin met in the upper story of a house or in a vineyard near a pigeon house. In some respects, the city was now regarded as the equal of Jerusalem: there the year was intercalated and the *shofar* blown, and pilgrims from Asia visited the city three times a year (Tosef., Ḥul. 3:10; RH 29b; Shab. 11a). Among the most important decisions made at Jabneh was the arranging of the definitive canon of the Bible. Between 70 and 132 C.E., Jabneh was “the great city, the city of scholars and rabbis”; most of the *tannaim* of this period taught there and Rabban Gamaliel was buried there. The city is described as being situated near a stream of water; its wheat market was well known and cattle and poultry were raised in the vicinity.

With the outbreak of the Bar Kokhba Revolt, Jabneh ceased to be the center of Jewish life in Ereẓ Israel and the Diaspora. After the war, unsuccessful attempts were made to transfer the Sanhedrin from Galilee back to Jabneh (RH 31a–b). A strong Jewish element remained in the city, but the Samaritans constituted the majority (Tosef., Dem. 1:13). A Samaritan inscription belonging to a synagogue was discovered there. By the fifth century, the city was predominantly Christian and the bishop took part in the church councils at Nicea (325 C.E.), Chalcedon (451 C.E.), and Jerusalem (518 and 536 C.E.). The Arabs conquered the city in 634 C.E. In Crusader times it was turned into a fortress called Ybellin, a fief of the noble family of Balian that served as a base for operations against Muslim Ashkelon.

[Michael Avi-Yonah]

In Rabbinic Literature

Even before the destruction of the Second Temple, the town was a center of Torah with a well-known *bet din*, consisting of 23 members, which tried capital cases (Sanh. 11:4; Sif. Deut. 154). During the Jewish War, even before the civil war in Jerusalem, the town made its peace with Vespasian (Jos., Wars, 4:130; cf. 4:663). *Johanan b. Zakkai quickly became the leader not only of the town itself, where he displaced the “sons of *Bathyra” (RH 29b), but also of a notable section of the Jewish population of Ereẓ Israel and even of the Diaspora. He turned Jabneh into the center of halakhic study as well as the new seat of the self-governing administration of the population in place of destroyed Jerusalem (see RH 4:1–2). Jabneh’s position was further consolidated with the rise of Rabban *Gamaliel II (called “of Jabneh”). The academy of Jabneh was called “the vineyard at Jabneh” (Tosef., Eduy. 1:1, Yev. 6:6; Ket. 4:6; Ber. 63b; et al.). Rabbinic literature mentions many incidents that happened in Jabneh and its scholars (“our rabbis of Jabneh” – Ber. 17a; “our rabbis in Jabneh” – Ket. 50a; “the scholars of Jabneh” – Kid. 49b; “scholars in Jabneh” – Nid. 15a; “elders in Jabneh” – Tosef., Kelim BB 5:6) are mentioned with praise: “They who went to Jabneh, to a place where disciples and scholars are numerous and love the Torah, their name became great in Torah” (ARN 14, 59). In Jabneh the new moon was proclaimed and the year intercalated, and there several important *takkanot* were made – among them formulations of the 18 blessings of the *Amidah* and the “blessing” against Christians and other heretics (see **Amidah*). At Jabneh the dispute between Bet Shammai and Bet Hillel was decided in favor of the latter (TJ, Ber. 1:7, 3b). The scholars of other academies and other localities also showed great interest in the learning at Jabneh (Tosef., Sot. 7:9, Yad. 2:16). Questions and questioners reached Jabneh from all parts of Ereẓ Israel and the Diaspora (Par. 7:6; Tosef., *ibid.* 7 (6):4, Ḥul 3:10, Mik. 4:6, Nid. 4:3, Kil. 1:3 and 4). The decisions and customs of Jabneh had their influence in the *halakhah* not only during the period of its hegemony (Tosef., Nid. 6:9), but also after its decay and even in the time of the Babylonian *amoraim* (Nid. 50b). The foundations for the editing of the *Mishnah were laid at Jabneh, and the main part of tractate **Eduyyot* was arranged there. It is referred to as the “treasure house of Jabneh” (Tosef., Dem. 1:13–14).

The outlook of the scholars of Jabneh is testified to by their saying: “I am a creature and my fellow is a creature. My work is in the town and his work is in the country. I rise early for my work and he rises early for his work. Just as he does not presume to do my work, so I do not presume to do his work. Will you say, I do much and he does little? We have learnt: Both he who does much and he who does little [do well], provided he directs his heart to heaven” (Ber. 17a). Because of the great work accomplished in Jabneh, which served as a center for the revival of the people and the *halakhah* after the destruction of the Temple, the name came to be used in the 19th century – not altogether accurately – for the idea of a spiritual center.

[Moshe David Herr]

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JABOTINSKY, VLADIMIR (**Ze’ev**; 1880–1940), Zionist activist, soldier, orator, writer and poet; founder of the *Jewish Legion during World War I. Jabotinsky greatly influenced a large section of the Jewish people and as head of the *Betar movement was the undisputed source of inspiration to masses of Jewish youth, particularly in Eastern Europe. His accomplished oratory – in Russian, Hebrew, Yiddish, English, French, Italian, and German – characterized by compelling logic and magnetic imagery, drew large audiences around the world and was often the climactic experience of Zionist congresses. Born in Odessa into a middle-class Jewish family, Jabotinsky was educated in Russian schools. Before his bar mitzvah he took Hebrew lessons from Y *Rawnitzki, but according to his autobiography, he had "no inner contact with Judaism," and never "breathed the atmosphere of Jewish cultural tradition" during his youth. In 1898 Jabotinsky went to Berne and Rome, where he studied law and served as foreign correspondent of two Odessa dailies (often under the pen name "Altalena"). Under the influence of his professors in Rome, he became a disciple of the economic doctrine of socialism, though he rejected Marxism as a mechanistic philosophy that disregarded the individual. Later on, especially after the Bolshevik Revolution, he radically revised his attitude toward socialism as an economic conception as well. Throughout – individualism was a dominant feature of his thinking.

Jabotinsky returned to Odessa and in 1901 joined the editorial staff of *Odesskiya Novosti*, his brilliant daily feuilletons becoming widely popular. In the spring of 1903, when the danger of a pogrom in Odessa seemed imminent, he joined the initiators of a Jewish self-defense group. He then traveled the length and breadth of Russia urging self-defense on the Jewish communities. After the pogrom in Kishinev in the same year, he immersed himself in Zionist activities. As a delegate to the Sixth *Zionist Congress, he was fascinated by *Herzl's personality, but he nonetheless voted against Herzl on the *Uganda project. He became the foremost Zionist lecturer and journalist in Russia in the period before 1914. As a member of the editorial board of the Zionist journal **Raszvet*, he played a leading role in the evolution of Zionist ideology in Russia and was an architect of the *Helsingfors Program of "synthetic" Zionism (1906), which advocated both settlement in Ereẓ Israel and political and educational activities in the Diaspora. Jabotinsky also crusaded in Russia against antisemitism, Jewish assimilation, and the quasi-nationalism of the *Bund.

In 1909, after the revolution of the Young Turks, the World Zionist Organization appointed Jabotinsky editor of four publications in Constantinople (in French, Hebrew, and Ladino) and entrusted him with political work in Ottoman circles until a disagreement with David *Wolffsohn, the president of the World Zionist Organization, on questions of tactics led to his resignation. His stay in Turkey gave him a deep insight into the weaknesses of the regime.

At the outbreak of World War I, Jabotinsky was sent to Western Europe as a roving correspondent by the Moscow liberal daily *Russkiya Vedomosti.* In Turkey's declaration of war on the Allied Powers, he foresaw at once her defeat and the inevitable dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire. It was essential, he decided, that the Zionist movement should abandon its neutral stand in order to achieve its aims in Palestine at the end of the war. While in Alexandria, where thousands of Jewish deportees from Ereẓ Israel were concentrated, Jabotinsky, joined by Joseph *Trumpeldor, advanced the idea among them of raising a *Jewish Legion to join the Allies in liberating Ereẓ Israel from Ottoman rule. The British military authorities in Egypt, however, rejected the idea, explaining that Britain did not intend opening a front in Palestine at all. But the approach to the British bore unexpected fruit: the Zion Mule Corps, which took part in the Gallipoli campaign. It was led by Col. John Henry Patterson and his deputy was Trumpeldor. Jabotinsky, however, went to Rome, Paris, and London to plead before the Allied statesmen the case for a full-fledged Jewish Legion to fight in Palestine, but met with opposition on all sides. The official Zionist leadership, which insisted on remaining neutral in the war, also condemned Jabotinsky's "legionist" propaganda and actually forced him to leave the Zionist Organization. The only public figures who cooperated with him were Pinhas *Rutenberg, Meir *Grossman, and Joseph *Cowan, while Chaim *Weizmann gave him discreet support. By 1916 Jabotinsky's lonely but energetic campaign had won him substantial support in Britain, but it was only after the death in June 1916 of War Minister Kitchener, who had determinedly opposed any "eastern front," that the winds began to favor his efforts. In 1917 the British government consented to the formation of Jewish units. The first to be established was the "38th Battalion of Royal Fusiliers" under Patterson's command in England, which was joined in 1918 by the 39th (American) and 40th (Palestinian) Battalions. These were later consolidated into the "First Judean Regiment" with the *menorah* as its insignia. At the time, the British considered this an adequate solution to the problem of Jewish immigrants in East London, who were Russian nationals who could not be drafted into the British Army and refused to return to antisemitic Russia and serve in the Czar's army. Jabotinsky himself joined the 38th Battalion as a lieutenant and was decorated for heading the first company to cross the Jordan. His book *The Story of the Jewish Legion* (1945), first published in Russian (1928), is a monument to this chapter in Jewish history.

After the war, Jabotinsky insisted on the need to maintain the Jewish Legion in Palestine as a guarantee against the outbreak of Arab hostility, which was encouraged by the anti-Zionist policy of the British military administration. In spite of Patterson's efforts and Jabotinsky's unrelenting demands, Weizmann and the other official Zionist leaders ultimately accommodated themselves to the British policy, and the demobilization of the Jewish Legion took place without strong Jewish opposition. Anticipating anti-Jewish violence by Arab extremists, in the spring of 1920 Jabotinsky organized the *Haganah in Jerusalem, openly leading it to confront the incited Arab masses during the Passover riots of that year. He was immediately arrested by the British authorities, together with other members of the Haganah, and sentenced by a military court to 15 years hard labor. 19 of his young comrades were sentenced to three years each. A storm of indignation broke out in Palestine, England, and America among Jews and gentiles, and the sentences were radically reduced. In July 1920 Sir Herbert *Samuel, the newly appointed first High Commissioner for Palestine, granted amnesty to all those – Jews and Arabs alike – imprisoned in connection with the Jerusalem riots. Jabotinsky left Acre prison acclaimed a hero by all sections of the *yishuv*, including the Labor parties. Jabotinsky went to London in September 1920 and succeeded in having the whole case quashed, the sentences expunged, and a stinging rebuke handed to the Palestine judiciary by the Army's Advocate General. While in London he was urged by Weizmann to join the Board of Directors of the newly established *Keren Hayesod and, afterwards, the Zionist Executive. Together with Weizmann, he constructed a program that included demands for the restoration of the Jewish Legion and for consultation between the British government and the Zionist Organization on the appointment of the High Commissioner for Palestine. At the Twelfth Zionist Congress (1921), Jabotinsky defended the incumbent leadership against the attacks of the opposition (consisting mainly of the *Brandeis group) and was reelected to the Zionist Executive. He was a member of the first Keren Hayesod delegation to the U.S. Though he opposed Churchill's 1922 White Paper on Palestine which gave a restricted definition of the phrase "a Jewish National Home in Palestine," he did not then resign, and so formally shared with Weizmann the responsibility for the Executive's acquiescence in it.

During the 12th Zionist Congress, Jabotinsky, who was always a sympathizer of the Ukrainian national movement, met Maxim Slavinsky, the representative of *Petlyura's Ukrainian government-in-exile, which was at the time preparing to march into the Bolshevik-held Ukraine. They concluded an agreement providing for a Jewish gendarmerie to follow in the rear of Petlyura's army and protect the Jewish population against pogroms. At this juncture the Ukrainians gave up the struggle, so the project came to naught.

In the second half of 1922, Jabotinsky became increasingly critical of Herbert Samuel's rule in Palestine and of what he considered to be Zionist accommodation with Great Britain's disregard of her obligations. His urging to make public Britain's breaches of her undertaking was rejected by Weizmann. In January 1923 the combination of his acute differences with Weizmann and his other colleagues led to his resignation from the Executive and his decision to leave the Zionist Organization. For a while thereafter his sole contributions to Zionist political life were articles in the Russian weekly *Razsvet*. Later in 1923, during a lecture tour to the Baltic States, however, he met a lively response from Jewish youth and decided to form a new activist movement to revise Zionist policies. In his lectures he demanded a return to Herzl's concept of the Jewish State, the restoration of the Jewish Legion, and a widespread political offensive for the achievement of a radical change in British policy, which should have as its avowed aim facilitating a Jewish majority in Palestine – including Transjordan – by means of rapid mass immigration. Transjordan had originally been included by Britain in the projected National Home.

In 1925 a convention of his followers in Paris proclaimed the formation of the World Union of Zionist *Revisionists in which Vladimir Tiomkin was elected president. He lived in Paris and made it the headquarters of his movement until 1936, except for a brief period from 1928 through 1929 during which he lived in Jerusalem as director of the Judaea Insurance Company and editor of the daily *Do'ar ha-Yom*. In 1930, when he was on a lecture tour in South Africa, the British administration, impressed by his growing influence on the Jewish youth, prevented his return to Palestine by canceling his return visa. He resumed residence in Paris, but was constantly on the move throughout Europe, actively collaborating in dozens of publications in many languages and drawing attention to the shortcomings of Zionist political policies and economic methods in Palestine – all of which widened the chasm between him and the Zionist leadership. His relations with the Labor movement in Palestine and in the Zionist movement grew increasingly strained as they charged him with "enmity to labor," militarism, and even "fascism." The establishment of the "enlarged" *Jewish Agency in 1929, with half of the seats allocated to unelected non-Zionist "notables," and the refusal of the Seventeenth Zionist Congress (1931) to accept his proposal to define the aim of Zionism as "the establishment of the Jewish State," induced Jabotinsky to press more and more for the secession of his movement from the Zionist Organization and the formation of an independent instrument of Zionist policy and economic activity.

After Hitler's rise to power in 1933, Jabotinsky espoused the total boycott of Nazi Germany by the Jewish people and opposed the Jewish Agency's **Haavara* agreement with the Berlin regime. In the same year, he vigorously defended the two young Revisionists in Palestine, Avraham Stavski and Zevi Rosenblatt, who were accused of assassinating the labor leader Chaim *Arlosoroff. In 1934, through the mediation of Pinhas Rutenberg, Jabotinsky and David *Ben-Gurion concluded a series of agreements intended to ease internal Zionist conflicts, to regularize the relationship between the *Histadrut and the Revisionist workers, and to lead eventually to political understanding and cooperation between Labor Zionism and Revisionism. The scheme fell through, however, when the draft agreement on labor relations was rejected by the majority in a Histadrut plebiscite (1935), dominated by the far Left Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir. These events increasingly alienated Jabotinsky from the Zionist Organization. In 1935, when the Zionist General Council introduced a "discipline clause" prohibiting further "independent political activities" by the Zionist parties, a Congress in Vienna, representing 713,000 voters, mostly from Eastern Europe, founded the New Zionist Organization (NZO), with Jabotinsky as president (*nasi*) and headquarters in London. Jabotinsky's 1937 testimony before the Royal Commission on Palestine was a dramatic "*J'accuse*" against British policy and a stirring description of the "frozen stampede" of Jewish masses in Central and Eastern Europe. He simultaneously inaugurated his "policy of alliances" with European governments interested in solving the problem of their Jewish minorities through emigration. His scheme provided for an internationally sponsored ten-year plan for the "evacuation" of 1,500,000 East European Jews to Palestine. This policy was violently opposed by most sections of the Jewish public, who feared that it might be interpreted as Jewish recognition of the antisemitic contention that Jews are essentially aliens in the countries of their residence, and they refused to believe in his repeated warnings of the coming catastrophe. But Jabotinsky achieved a measure of understanding for his scheme in Polish government circles, who were prepared to exert pressure on Great Britain and defend the policy in the League of Nations. Intent on breaking the prohibitive British regulations on immigration to Palestine, Jabotinsky, starting in 1932, launched a campaign, and an organization named *Af-Al-Pi* ("in-spite-of") for "illegal" immigration, which, between 1936 and 1942, became a major activity of his movement. Jabotinsky's attitude toward Jewish defense in Palestine also underwent a transformation that paralleled his disenchantment with British rule. In the 1920s he still advanced the idea of a legion of official Jewish units serving as part of the British garrison of Palestine to prevent Arab opposition from deteriorating into anti-Jewish violence. By the end of the 1920s the hope of a resuscitation of the Legion had faded and the Zionist leadership had presided over the development of the Haganah. After the Arab riots of 1929, dissatisfaction with the political leadership of the Haganah led to a split and the creation of the Haganah "B" – which was subsequently renamed "Ha-Irgun ha-Ẓeva'i ha-Leummi" (the National Military Organization). Its members saw Jabotinsky as their inspirer and natural leader. After the Arab riots broke out in 1936, he accepted his position as the head of the Irgun, but due to his enforced absence from the country he could influence IẒL's activities only in very general terms. Differences of opinion between Jabotinsky and the IẒL leadership were ironed out in 1939 at a clandestine conference in Paris, at which David *Raziel, the commander of IẒL, unreservedly accepted Jabotinsky's authority. But opposition to Jabotinsky and his policies inside IẒL resulted in the organization's second split immediately after his death (1940), when Avraham *Stern formed his own group, *Loḥamei Ḥerut Yisrael* (Fighters for the Freedom of Israel). With the outbreak of World War II, Jabotinsky demanded the creation of a Jewish army to fight the Nazis alongside the Allied armies, and a united Jewish representation at the future peace conference. In his book *The Jewish War Front*, published in London in 1940, he formulated what he believed should be the attitude of the Jewish people to the war and its probable aftermath. His proposal for a Jewish army was rejected by British Prime Minister Chamberlain. Jabotinsky did not abandon the idea, and in February 1940 he sailed for the U.S. to enlist Jewish and non-Jewish support for a Jewish army. At the same time he urged the U.S. to join in the war against the Nazis. His stirring addresses gave rise to considerable enthusiasm, and he enlisted the support of British Ambassador Lord Lothian, who saw the value, at this critical stage of the war, of Jabotinsky's vigorous pro-British message. But on August 4, 1940, during a visit to the Betar summer camp near New York City, he died suddenly of a heart attack. In his will, written in the late 1930s, Jabotinsky said: "My remains will be transferred [to Ereẓ Israel] only on the instructions of a Jewish Government." Twenty-four years after his death, his remains, together with those of his wife, Johanna, were taken to Israel by a government decision and buried in a State funeral on Mount Herzl.

The Hebraist, Writer, and Poet

Jabotinsky took the idea of the renaissance of Hebrew as the living language of the Jewish people very seriously. Intensive study quickly made him an outstanding Hebraist. In 1910 he translated *The Raven* by Edgar Allen Poe into Hebrew and delivered his first Hebrew address in public. Before World War I he toured the Jewish communities of Russia lecturing on "The Language of Our Culture" and advocating the establishment of Hebrew day schools with Hebrew as the language of instruction in all subjects. This idea met with opposition not only in assimilationist and Yiddishist circles, but also among some Zionists, who considered it utopian. Jabotinsky's contribution to Hebrew language and literature was manifold. His translation of ten cantos of Dante's *Inferno* is a masterpiece. In 1924 he published *Targumim*, a collection of translations of French, English, and Italian poetry based on Sephardi prosody. He was the first Hebrew poet to write in Sephardi prosody. The literary "Establishment" whose poetry was conceived in Ashkenazi pronunciation finally accepted the change. Jabotinsky moreover is credited with influencing the whole gamut of modern Hebrew poetry. He collaborated with S. Perlman to edit the first Hebrew geographical atlas (1925). *Ha-Mivta ha-Ivri*, an essay on the phonetics of Hebrew, appeared in Tel Aviv in 1930. An advocate of writing modern Hebrew in Latin characters, Jabotinsky prepared a textbook of "latinized" Hebrew (*Taryag Millim*), which was published in South Africa in 1949 and in Israel in 1950. He also wrote several patriotic songs that became an inspiration for Zionist youth, particularly of the Betar movement. "*Shir Asirei Akko*" ("The Song of the Prisoners of Acre"), "*Minni Dan*," "*Kullah Shelli*," "*Shir Betar*," and "*Semol ha-Yarden*." His fragmentary autobiography *Sippur Yamai* ("The Story of My Life") is written in elegant Hebrew prose. But his main contributions to belles lettres were in Russian. Two verse plays, "*Krov*" ("Blood") and "*Ladno*" ("All Right"), were staged in 1901 and 1902 in the Odessa Municipal Theater; "*Bednaya Sharlotta*" ("Poor Charlotte": a poem about Charlotte Corday) and a masterly Russian translation of Bialik's "*Massa Nemirov*" appeared in 1904; a satirical play on Jewish life in Russia "*Chuzhbina*" ("On Foreign Soil"), written in 1908, was suppressed by Czarist censorship and published in Berlin only in 1922. Bialik's "*Songs and Poems*" in Jabotinsky's Russian translation (1910) was a best-seller (seven printings within two years), becoming a classic in its own right and making a deep impression not only on Jewish youth but on Russian intellectual circles as well. A collection of his short stories, translated from Russian into English (*A Pocket Edition of Several Stories Mostly Reactionary*) appeared in Paris in 1925.

Jabotinsky's major literary achievement, the biblical novel *Samson the Nazarite*, written and first published in Russian (1926) and later translated into Hebrew, English, and German, reflects much of his philosophy of Jewish history and life in general. Chaim Nachman Bialik described it as the only Jewish "national myth." In 1930, on his 50th birthday, his friends published a limited edition of three volumes of his poems, short stories, and essays in Russian. The novel "*Pyatero*" ("The Five"), which appeared in Russian in 1936, is a largely autobiographical picture of assimilating Jewish circles in Odessa. From the late 1920s until his death, he published articles in Yiddish almost weekly in the Warsaw Jewish press (first in *Haynt* and later in *Der Moment*) and in the New York *Jewish Morning Journal*. For years this was his only stable source of income and the chief vehicle for the propagation of his thoughts. Jabotinsky was an unusually gifted linguist, amassing a knowledge of some 20 languages. He had an intense interest in languages and a precious ability to grasp their spirit. A comprehensive, annotated collection of his writings, including speeches and letters, was published in 18 volumes in Hebrew (Tel Aviv, 1947–59) by his son Eri.

In the 1990s the Israeli Bureau of Statistics revealed that Jabotinsky was, after Herzl, the most frequently used name given to streets in Israel. The moshav Nahalat Jabotinsky, which merged with Binyaminah, and the *Ḥerut headquarters in Tel Aviv – Meẓudat Ze'ev – were named after him. The Jabotinsky Institute, located there, contains his personal archives, a comprehensive collection of manuscripts and letters as well as a museum of photographs and personal effects. His only son Eri (1910–1969), engineer and mathematician, was born in Odessa and educated mainly in Paris. In the middle and late 1930s he headed the Betar movement in Palestine and was an initiator of its aeronautic section, being himself a trained glider pilot. He was also active in the organization of "illegal" immigration from Europe on a mass scale. He was arrested several times by the British authorities and learned of his father's death while imprisoned in a detention camp. During World War II he was in the U.S. where he became a member of the Hebrew National Liberation Committee headed by Peter Bergson (Hillel Kook). The newly founded *Ḥerut party in Israel included him in its faction in the First Knesset. In 1952 Eri Jabotinsky joined the faculty of the Technion where he became, in 1967, professor of mathematics. He published mathematical studies in scientific journals in Israel and abroad and contributed also to the Revisionist and general Israel press.

[Joseph B. Schechtman]

The first volume of a digest of, and index to, the letters of Jabotinsky between the years 1904 and 1924 was published in 1972, but the project was not continued. However, the Jabotinsky Institute in Tel Aviv, together with the Zionist Library, undertook the task of publishing in Hebrew all his letters written in their various languages. Under the editorship of Professor Daniel Carpi seven volumes were published through 2005 covering the period up to 1931.

The centenary of Jabotinsky's birth was celebrated in Israel and elsewhere. A new 100-shekel banknote, the largest denomination to that date in the new currency, bearing his portrait, was issued at the time. In 2000, commemorating his 120th birthday and 60th *Yahrzeit*, symposia and lectures were organized in all of Israel's universities and by many public organizations. In a special session of the Knesset, spokesmen from all sides of the House paid tribute to his memory.

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JACA, city in Aragon, N.E. Spain. Jews were living in the citadel of Jaca from an early date. The community of Jaca is the oldest in Aragon. In the *fuero* (municipal charter), granted in 1062 shortly after the recapture of the city from the Muslims, they were obliged to grind their flour in the mill of the local ruler. The position of the community during the 13th century is shown by the taxes it paid, which amounted to 2,000 sólidos in 1271. For the collection of the annual tax, the community adopted the system of declaration. The poor and the invalids were exempted from paying taxes, after the example of the Barbastro community. The community of Jaca was annihilated during the *Pastoureaux massacres in 1320. Its recovery was slow and in 1350 it paid only 180 sólidos in Jaca coin to a special levy. A document from 1377 gives a list of all Jewish taxpayers in Jaca. On the basis of the list it is possible to trace the family relations of some of the local Jews. The list contains 115 Jews, usually heads of families. Compared to similar lists available, the community of Jaca seems to have been a large one. In Majorca, in 1391 there were 111 Jewish heads of family, in Barcelona 195 in 1383, in Valencia 93 in 1363. The total Jewish population in Jaca was about 450. The social division of the community is noteworthy: 10 belonged to the upper class, 24 to the middle class, and 81 to the lower class. Members of the upper class who constituted less than 9% of the taxpayers paid 70% of the total tax. The division is based totally on the amount of tax paid and had nothing to do with the family background. In 1382 Infanta Violante, the wife of Infante John, asked for the appointment of David Abembron to the position of *corredor* (financial agent) in the town. In 1383 she ordered the bailiff to uphold the laws of inheritance customary among the Jews. During the persecutions of 1391, the greater part of the Jewish quarter was burnt down and the Jews were left destitute. The impoverished condition continued until the expulsion of the Jews from Spain in 1492. On August 6, after the decree of expulsion had been issued, Infante Henry ordered the Catalonian officials to transfer to him the property of the Jews expelled from Jaca. The Jews lived in the area near the fortress, known as el Castellar. The Jewish quarter was in the streets known today as Cambras and Ferrenal, where the *Sinagoga Mayor* was. The location of another synagogue is unknown.

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[Haim Beinart /Yom Tov Assis (2nd ed.)]

JACHIN AND BOAZ (Heb. יָכִין, בֹּעַז), two pillars which were set up in front of the Sanctuary in Solomon's Temple in Jerusalem (I Kings 7:15–22, 41–42; II Kings 25:13, 17; Jer. 52:17, 20ff.; II Chron. 3:15–17; 4:12–13). The form and nature of these pillars are uncertain, and many proposals have been advanced by scholars.

Description

There is a detailed description of the pillars in II Kings 7:15–22, 41–42 and II Chronicles 3:15–17; 4:12–13. The pillars were composed of two major parts: the stem, 18 cubits (c. 30 ft.) in height, five cubits (c. 8 ft.) in circumference, and one cubit in diameter; and the capital of the pillar, five cubits in height. The size of the capital was apparently altered in one of the renovations of the Temple, undertaken after the time of Solomon. Thus, in II Kings 25 the height is given as only three cubits. During the renovation all the pillars were apparently recast, which probably explains the contradiction between the description of the construction of the pillars in Kings and that in Jeremiah. According to the former, the pillars and their capitals were cast from solid copper (I Kings 7:16, 46), while according to the latter, they were hollow (Jer. 52:21).

It is more difficult to discover the nature of the capitals, as the description of their construction is filled with unclear technical terms which do not appear elsewhere (cf. Kings 7:17–20, 41–42; Jer. 52:22–23). Without going into detail, it can be said that the capitals were decorated with three varieties of ornamentation – *shushan* ("lilywork"), *sevakhah* ("meshwork") and *rimmonim* ("pomegranates"), crowned by an additional architectural design called *gullah* (גֻּלָּה). The last item is usually interpreted as a round bowl (on the basis of the parallel Akk. *gullatu* and the description of the Temple lamp in Zech. 4:2–3). The meaning of the other three terms is doubtful, and scholars usually resort to archaeological parallels for reconstructing them.

Rabbinic scholars and medieval Jewish exegetes held that the capital here is a double one (cf. I Kings 7:20). Indeed, double capitals are known from clay molds of cultic structures from Palestine and Cyprus dating to the period under consideration, i.e., the Iron Age. In these molds, as in the biblical descriptions, there is a capital of lily leaves, in the center of which is a semispherical bowl. Even more similar examples are found in ivory inlays from Palestine and Mesopotamia dating from the eighth to the sixth centuries B.C.E., which contain an additional element of a series of elongated mauve objects shaped like pomegranates hanging below a capital decorated with lilywork. Some later scholars identified this capital with the square proto-Aeolian capitals (Yadin) characteristic of the architecture of the time of Solomon, which have been discovered in various locations in Palestine (in the royal palaces in Samaria, in the fortress of Ahab in Hazor, in the governor's house in Megiddo, Ramat Rahel, Gezer, etc.). Others attempted to reconstruct the appearance of the capitals by comparison with incense stands discovered in Megiddo, Taanach, and Gezer (Smith and, following him, Albright). The closest example is that from Megiddo, which like the biblical model contains three architectural designs – a bowl, rosette work (buds of flowers and lotuses), and pomegranates. In light of recent archaeological findings it has been suggested that *sevakhah* (I Kings 7:17) should be explained as apertures in the bowl, like those found in incense stands (cf. II Kings 1:2, where *sevakhah* refers to the "window bars"). This interpretation, however, is far from the literal meaning, and what is described here is a woven net which surrounded the capitals.

Function and Significance

According to the Masoretic Version (I Kings 7:21 and II Chronicles 3:17), it appears that the pillars stood in front of the Sanctuary, inside the entrance hall. Their size, however, gives rise to doubts concerning their structural function. Thus, few scholars maintain that the pillars fulfilled any function in supporting the roof of the portico (as in temples of the Canaanite and Israelite period in Arad, Megiddo, and Tell Teinat). Most scholars tend to the opinion that these were two freestanding pillars, one on each side of the entrance, like those found in the archaeological artistic tradition of the Ancient East and in references in classical literature (Yeivin, Mazar, Albright, Smith, Roth, Watzinger, Berns, Galling, Gressmann, etc.). Thus, in the three molds from the Iron Age mentioned above, the common element is the freestanding pillars in front of the entrance. A similar phenomenon was found in three temples from the eighth century in Khorsabad in Assyria. Graphic representations of pillars standing outside the structure of a temple have been found on coins from the first century C.E. in Cyprus, Sardis, Pergamum, and Sidon. Finally, there are literary references to this type of pillar in descriptions of the temples of Herakles (Herodotus, 2:44), of the Tyrian Baal (Menader, quoted in Jos., Ant. 8:145), and of the Syrian goddess Atratah (Lucian, *De Syria Dea*, 16–27); one or two such pillars were constructed in honor of Herakles in the Tyrian settlement of Gadez (modern Cadiz) in Spain (Strabo, 3:170).

Even those scholars who agreed that these pillars played no structural role in the Temple were divided in their opinions regarding their function. One suggestion was that they had a mythological significance, as "trees of life," or cosmic pillars; or perhaps they fulfilled a ritual function as cressets or incense lamps, like those found in a drawing of a tomb in Mareshah (Smith, Albright). Another possibility is that they had only symbolic significance, symbolizing the dwelling place of God in the Temple, like the monuments found in the temple in

Shechem and the temple of Mekal in Beth-Shean (Yeivin); or perhaps they were imitations of Egyptian obelisks (Hollis).

Names

The Septuagint in one passage (I Kings 7:21 [7]) reads the Masoretic Boaz as Baaz (also Boas), and in another (II Chron. 3:17), as an adverbial phrase, Ισχύς (*be-oz*, "with strength"). The Vulgate reads it as Booz. Opinion was divided regarding the names as well. Those who maintained (Sayce, Cook, Cheyne) that what was described here is an imitation of a foreign custom maintained that the Hebrew names were a translation of the names of Babylonian or Phoenician gods. In contrast, some scholars maintained that these were predicates of the God of Israel (Klousterman). Some scholars held that these names were derived from a longer text (Sellin, Gressman). Especially well known is the suggestion by Scott that these are the first words of a literary work, similar to the biblical dynastic prophecies and royal hymns, which was engraved on the pillars. More acceptable is the opinion that the names Jachin and Boaz are proper names, like those found in other places in the Bible, representing the names of the builders or contributors (Gesenius, Ewald); or perhaps they were actually names of members of the royal household, as S. Yeivin maintains (cf. Num. 26:12; Ruth 2:1; I Chron. 24:17). Thus the pillars play a double role: they emphasize, on the one hand, the personal relationship between the Temple and the royal family and, on the other, the presence of God within the Temple.

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[Nili Shupak]

JACKAL (Heb. שׁוּעָל, *Shu'al*; AV, JPS "fox"). The jackal, *Canis aureus*, is the most prevalent beast of prey in Ereẓ Israel. Being omnivorous, it is encountered most commonly near inhabited areas, where it feeds on fruit, vegetables, offal, and carrion, whence the phrase "to become a portion for jackals" (Ps. 63:11). It also preys on small animals. The howl of packs of jackals used to pierce the night air near settlements in Israel. The damage they caused to vineyards and vegetables and the danger of their infecting dogs with rabies resulted in efforts to exterminate them by means of poisoned bait. The biblical name for a jackal is a complex problem. Given that Akkadian *zību* means jackal, it is possible that Hebrew *ze'ev* has the same sense. Most of the passages that speak of *shu'al* apparently refer to the jackal and only some of them to the *fox, which usually lives in isolated places far from human habitation. Given the oft-cited classical parallel in Ovid (Fast, 4:679ff.) that Romans sent out foxes with torches burning in their tails at the festival of Ceres, the 300 animals that Samson caught (Judg. 15:4) were probably foxes. The jackal is a cowardly nocturnal animal that usually shuns humans, being only dangerous to human beings when rabid. Hence the reference to "the bite of the *shu'al*," which is attended with grave peril (Avot 2:10). It is very closely related to the dog and sometimes the two mate. The Mishnah states that they are heterogeneous (Kil. 1:6), i.e., that it is forbidden to interbreed them. In modern Hebrew the jackal is called *tan*, but this word, mentioned several times in the Bible, refers there to an animal that inhabits deserts and ruins (Isa. 13:22; Micah 1:8); associated always with nocturnal birds, it designates a species of *owl.

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[Jehdua Feliks]

JACKSON, BERNARD S. (1944–), British historian of Jewish law. Born in Liverpool, Bernard Jackson became professor of modern Jewish studies at Manchester University. He was trained as a barrister and legal historian and wrote or edited more than 20 books on the law, especially traditional Jewish law. Among his works are *Theft in Early Jewish Law* (1972), *Essays in Jewish Law and Comparative Legal History* (1975), and (as editor) *Modern Research in Jewish Law* (1980). From 1978 to 1997 he was editor of the *Jewish Law Annual.*

[William D. Rubinstein (2nd ed.)]

JACKSON, HARRY (**Jacobson**; 1836–1885), British actor and stage manager, born in London. Jackson spent his early years in Australia, acted there and in New Zealand, and went to San Francisco in 1856. In his later years he worked in England, where he appeared in variety and melodramas, and became known as a comedian in Jewish stock character roles. During the late 1870s he was the leading comedian at Drury Lane and later became stage manager there.

JACKSON, SOLOMON HENRY (d. 1847), first Jewish printer in New York City. His printing shop had both English and Hebrew type fonts, and he was thus able to print material in both languages, which he did for the various congregations of the city. His most important works were *The Form of Daily Prayers, According to the Custom of the Spanish and Portuguese Jews* (1826), a translation of the Sephardi prayer book into English, and his editorship and publication of *The Jew* (1823–25), a monthly, the first Jewish periodical in the United States. In 1827 he was active in the Ḥevrat Ḥinnukh Ne'arim, a society to promote Jewish education, and in 1837 he led a movement to settle Jews on the land.

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[Hyman B. Grinstein]

JACKSONVILLE, city in northeast Florida, general population in 2005 about 800,000; Jewish population, about 13,000. Since the founding of Jacksonville in 1822, Jews have played a prominent role in the development of Florida's largest city (in land area). Jews came to Jacksonville as merchants before the Civil War and suffered the same fate as others at the hands of Union troops. Jews have served their city by defending it, holding public offices, building the economy, and contributing to the cultural arts, education and philanthropies. From the period following the Civil War until the mid-1930s, Jacksonville was the center of Florida Jewish life. Attracted by the business opportunities offered by the port, Jews migrated here via the St. Johns River and the railroad. Tourism, a lumber industry, and military bases acted as magnets to draw new residents.

The head of Florida's longest continuing documented Jewish family is Philip Dzialynski, who arrived from Prussia by 1850. He sent for his father and eight brothers and sisters. In 1857 George Dzialynski was the first known Jewish boy born in Florida, son of Philip and his wife, Ida. In that same brutal year of 1857 for Jacksonville, a yellow fever epidemic killed six members of the Dzialynski family. A Hebrew cemetery, the first in the state of Florida, was established that year. In 1867 Jacob and Morris Cohen came from Ireland and established the Cohen Bros. Department Store, the most prominent in town for more than 100 years, and Austrian-born Herman, Max, and Leopold Furchgott opened Furchgott's. The Hebrew Benevolent Society was formed in 1874 and B'nai B'rith in 1877. By 1880 there were 130 Jews, well integrated into the life of the city. The earliest known public figure is Civil War veteran Morris Dzialynski, who was the first president of Congregation Ahavath Chesed at the same time he served as mayor (1882); he was also a judge. Ahavath Chesed was the second congregation in Florida. Rabbi Israel L. Kaplan was the religious leader from 1916 to 1946 and was succeeded by Sidney Lefkowitz (through 1973), who had conducted the first Jewish service on German soil following the years of Nazi persecution.

In 1901 40 Orthodox families established B'nai Israel. Reverend Benjamin Safer was hired as the community's first *shoḥet*. Many Jews who immigrated to the U.S. in the late 19th century from Pushalotes, Lithuania, settled in Jacksonville. In 1901 a devastating fire swept through 146 blocks of Jacksonville and architect Roy Benjamin figured prominently in the rebuilding of the city. Benjamin also designed many theaters throughout Florida. This fire destroyed Ahavath Chesed. Less than a year later it was the first house of worship to be rebuilt. The congregation formed a Boy Scout Troop in 1915 and continues without interruption as the second oldest troop in Jacksonville. Henrietta Szold came to start Hadassah in 1914. The YMHA formed in 1917. Families from surrounding small communities moved to Jacksonville where they could maintain Jewish traditions and participate in Jewish life. With increasing river traffic and World War I shipyard demands, the population grew.

Benjamin Setzer came from Pushalotes in 1918 and opened his first Setzer's grocery store, which later became Food Fair. By 1961, Benjamin had started another chain, Pic N Save super drug stores. Louis Mendelson moved to Jacksonville from Live Oak and founded, in 1912, Mendelson Printing. With Morris Gelehrter, in 1924, he started *The Florida Jewish News,* which became *The Southern Jewish Weekly* in 1938, with Isadore Moscovitz as the editor for more than fifty years. Julius Hirschberg, with brother-in-law, Jacob R. Cohen, conducted the first statewide Palestine campaign just prior to World War I that raised $10,000. Morton left a generous art collection to the Cummer Museum. In 1926 B'nai Israel began to introduce Conservative Judaism practices and the Jacksonville Jewish Center was founded.

In the 1940s there were 3,095 Jews, and a Naval Air Station was built in Jacksonville, which brought tens of thousands of new faces to the city. Many of them were Jewish, married Jacksonville Jews and started families and businesses. William Katz graduated from the U.S. Air Force Officer Training School as a lieutenant in 1942. He received many medals for World War II service, after which he immigrated to Israel and later became chief pilot for El Al Airlines. Admiral Ellis Zacharias was born in Jacksonville in 1890. Following his graduation from the U.S. Naval Academy, he became chief of Naval Intelligence in World War II and assisted in breaking the Japanese code, which led to the eventual defeat of the Japanese navy.

More Jewish institutions were organized to strengthen Jewish identity and meet increasing needs: Jewish Cultural League, Jewish Community Council, Esquire Club, Council of Jewish Women, Beauclerc Country Club (1953–1984), and River Garden Hebrew Home for the Aged (1945), which is one of the outstanding institutions of its kind in the country. In 1988, the $8 million Jewish Community Alliance (JCA) opened on land that was formerly the Beauclerc Country Club.

Immigrant Morris Wolfson came in 1914, started a scrap business, and left a legacy of philanthropy to many institutions of health, education, and religion in the city through his children. In 1978 Florida had its first Triple Crown (Kentucky Derby, Preakness, Belmont Stakes) horse race winner, Affirmed, owned by Morris' son Louis E. and Patrice Wolfson. Samuel "Bud" Shorstein served Governor Bob Graham as chief of staff. When Graham was elected Florida's U.S. senator in 1987, Bud accompanied him to Washington, again as his chief of staff. Ray Ehrlich became chief justice of the Florida Supreme Court in 1988. In 1994 the National Football League awarded its 30th franchise to Jacksonville. The Jaguars, co-owned by Lawrence Dubow, began play in 1995, and Jacksonville hosted Super Bowl XXXIX in 2005.

In addition to the Jewish Federation, Jacksonville Jews also have a newspaper, seven congregations, a day school through 8th grade, a joint community Hebrew High evening program, and a full array of organizations that support a robust Jewish life. New growth is moving toward the beach areas.

[Marcia Jo Zerivitz (2nd ed.)]

JACOB (Heb. יַעֲקֹב, יַעֲקוֹב), younger twin son of *Isaac and *Rebekah, third of the *Patriarchs of the people of Israel. His father was 60 years old at the time of Jacob's birth, which occurred after 20 years of childless marriage (Gen. 25:20, 26). During a difficult pregnancy, his mother consulted an oracle and was informed by the Lord that she would deliver twins, each of whom was destined to become the founder of a great nation, and that the older would be subordinate to the younger (25:22–23). This oracle plays a vital role in the biography of Jacob, for it serves to remove completely from the realm of nature and to elevate to the level of divine will the issue of his destiny as the heir to the covenant with *Abraham and Isaac. It thus disengages the fact of Jacob's election from the morality of his subsequent actions.

The Birthright

Nothing at all is recorded of Jacob's childhood, except that he emerged from the womb grasping the heel (*akev, ʾaqev*), a play on the name Ya'akov (Yaʿaqov), of his brother *Esau (25:26). It is said that he was "a mild man who stayed in camp" (25:27), and that he was the favorite of his mother, his father showing preference for his brother (25:28). The first incident reported is Jacob's exploitation of his brother's hunger to purchase the birthright from him in exchange for lentil stew (25:29–34); the second relates to the deception he practiced upon his father to obtain his final blessing (ch. 27). At the instigation of his mother, he took advantage of his father's blindness to masquerade successfully as Esau and so to mislead Isaac into believing that he was actually blessing his older son (27:1–29). For this he earned Esau's murderous enmity (27:41), and Rebekah decided that for his safety he must flee at once to the home of her brother Laban in Haran. Another biblical tradition gives as Jacob's motivation to leave for Haran Rebekah's insistence to Isaac that their son must find a wife within the family and not among the native Hittite women (27:42–46; 28:1–4).

In connection with these two incidents, it should be noted that the disregard of primogeniture and the transference of the birthright from one son to another is proscribed in pentateuchal legislation (Deut. 21:15–17). Inasmuch as biblical law prohibits existing practices, we should not be surprised to find evidence of such practice. A document from the second millennium B.C.E. from the town of *Nuzi reads:

> Concerning my son Zirteshup, I at first annulled his relationship, but now I have restored him to sonship. He is the elder son and shall receive a double portion (E.A. Speiser, in AASOR, 10 (1930), 39).

Another document records the purchase of the birthright by a younger brother for the price of three sheep (CH Gordon, in BA, 3 (1940), 5), while a tablet from Alalakh actually deals with the prenatal conferral of the birthright (I. Mendelsohn, in BASOR, 156 (1959), p. 38–40).

His Flight

Jacob's precipitate flight from Beer-Sheba found him at sunset at a place in which he dreamed that God had appeared to him. He saw angels going up and down a stairway which spanned heaven and earth. He then heard the Lord reiterate the promises of land and numerous progeny that He had made to Abraham and Isaac. His offspring would be a source of blessing to the whole earth; he would enjoy divine protection wherever he would be, and would return one day to the land from which he was fleeing (Gen. 28:10–15). Jacob awoke from his sleep, startled to discover the presence of God in that place, which he thereupon dedicated as a sacred site, renaming it *Beth-El. He vowed to turn it into a "house of God" on his safe return and to dedicate a tithe of all his possessions (28:16–22).

His Marriages

Jacob continued his journey to Haran. A chance meeting at a well brought him face to face with his cousin *Rachel. Her father, his uncle *Laban, welcomed him into his home (29:1–15). A month later, he arranged to work for Laban for seven years as the bride-price for Rachel (29:16–20). When, however, the day of the marriage arrived, he discovered that, under the cover of darkness, Laban had substituted his older, less attractive, daughter *Leah for Rachel. Jacob was forced to agree to serve another seven years, after which period he married Rachel (29:21–30). Each of the brides received a maidservant from her father as a wedding gift, Leah's being named *Zilpah, and Rachel's, *Bilhah (29:24, 29). This practice, incidentally, is well attested in the Nuzi archives.

In relating these events at length, it may be supposed that the Scripture's intent was to indicate that the trickery practiced by Laban was the retributive counterpart, measure for measure, of the deception Jacob had perpetrated upon his father. At the same time, the unintended marriage to Leah is clearly to be understood as the determination of divine providence, for from this union issued the two great spiritual and temporal institutions of biblical Israel, the priesthood from Levi and the Davidic monarchy from Judah, both sons of Leah.

The Tribes

All in all, the 20 years that Jacob spent in the service of Laban (31:38, 41) really constituted the formative period in the development of the people of Israel, for all but one of the fathers of the twelve tribes were born during this period. The unloved Leah was blessed with four sons in succession, Reuben, Simeon, Levi, and Judah (29:31–35), whereas Rachel remained barren. Like *Sarah before her, she resorted to concubinage (see *Patriarchs) and gave to her husband her maid Bilhah, who bore Dan and Naphtali (30:1–8). Leah, who had had no children for some time, followed her sister's example, and Zilpah became Jacob's concubine, giving birth to Gad and Asher (30:9–13). Leah, herself, was delivered of Issachar, Zebulun, and a daughter, Dinah (30:14–21). Finally, after so many years of barrenness, Rachel gave birth to a son who was named Joseph (30:22–24).

The information concerning the ascription of the tribal fathers to the various wives and concubines is of considerable interest and doubtlessly reflects a very ancient layer of tribal history and interrelationships. First, all the Hebrew tribes must have originated in eastern Syria except for Benjamin, who apparently joined Joseph and the other tribes after the migration to Canaan. Secondly, the six Leah tribes must at one time have constituted a distinct fraternity, while the handmaid tribes must have had subordinate status. The primogeniture of Reuben (as later of *Manasseh) must represent an early, but lost, supremacy in the tribal confederation.

Jacob and Laban

After the birth of Joseph, Jacob decided that the time had come to return home. He struck a bargain with Laban to enable him to build up his own resources for the purpose, but, by means of a stratagem that involved the influencing of the pigmentation of the flocks through visual stimulus (see *Biology) he managed to outwit his father-in-law, and he became the prosperous owner of large, sturdy flocks, camels and asses, as well as maidservants and manservants (30:25–43).

At this point, Jacob aroused the outspoken jealousy of Laban's sons and perceived the changed attitude of Laban toward himself (31:1–2). When a divine revelation ordered him to return to Canaan (31:3; cf. 31:13), he put his case before his wives who gave their consent, stating that their father had no longer any claim to them, since he had sold them and had been paid for them in full (31:4–16). Jacob thereupon assembled his family and his possessions and, taking advantage of Laban's absence on a sheep-shearing mission, stole away. Rachel, without her husband's knowledge, used the opportunity to appropriate her father's household idols (31:17–21).

Three days later, Laban learned of the flight and set off in hot pursuit, catching up with Jacob in the hill country of Gilead. At night in a dream God warned Laban not to harm Jacob. A heated exchange took place, and Laban conducted a fruitless search for his household gods. A treaty of mutual respect was enacted, which included a provision preventing Jacob from taking any more wives. A stone mound was erected to commemorate the occasion and to mark the boundary line separating the two parties (31:22–54).

The grievance of Rachel and Leah about their own positions (Gen. 31:14–16) fits in well with what is known of the inferior position of foreign slaves in the ancient Near East. The reference to the bride-price and its fate clearly accuses Laban either of improvident disposition or embezzlement of the monetary equivalent of Jacob's years of service, rendered in lieu of the payments usually settled by the groom on the bride. The significance of the possession of the household gods (Gen. 31:19, 30–35) is unclear (see *Genesis), but the fact that a Nuzi adoption contract makes specific provision for their consignment shows that it was an issue of great importance. Finally, the restrictive marriage clause imposed upon Jacob (31:50) finds its parallels in both adoption and marriage documents.

The Return

Jacob now continued his journey homeward, encountering angels at Mahanaim (32:2–3 (1–2)). It is possible that this incident was once part of a fuller story now so truncated as to defy reconstruction. It does serve, however, to round out the cycle of events that began with the flight from Canaan, which also involved the appearance of angels (cf. 28:12).

Uncertain of the reception he would get from Esau, Jacob then made extensive preparations to mollify his brother as well as to prepare for the worst (32:4–24 (3–23)). After fording the Jabbok at Penuel, and sending his family and belongings ahead, he found himself wrestling with a mysterious stranger, a divine being, who, desperate to get away before dawn, changed Jacob's name to *Israel, but also left him with a dislocated thigh (32:25–33 (24–32)). The confrontation with Esau turned out to be cordial (33:1–16), and if Esau had any plans of luring Jacob to Seir, where he might have kept him in a somewhat inferior ("younger brother") status after all, Jacob foiled his plans by brilliant diplomatic evasion. Thus Jacob, instead of trekking southward to Seir was able to proceed southwestward to Succoth, not far from the Jordan. There he built a house and made stalls for his cattle. His next stop was well inside Canaan, at Shechem, where he purchased a plot of land and set up an altar (33:17–20).

The Rape of Dinah

Here at Shechem the rape of Jacob's daughter, *Dinah, by Shechem son of Hamor, the governor, took place. Strongly drawn to the maiden, the young man wished to enter into marriage with her. Jacob's sons, who conducted the negotiations, made the circumcision of all the male population a precondition of agreement. Shechem's fighting manhood being thereby temporarily incapacitated, Simeon and Levi avenged the outrage perpetrated on their sister by butchering the population and plundering the town; and when Jacob rebuked them for jeopardizing his relations with his neighbors, they defended their conduct on grounds of honor (Gen. 34).

This story, the only one in the Bible dealing with Dinah, contains several remarkable features: Jacob plays an unwontedly passive role; Simeon and Levi are depicted as fierce warriors acting in concert, thus reflecting a situation totally at variance with other accounts of tribal history, in which Simeon was the military partner of Judah and settled next to it in the south of Canaan, while Levi took no part in the wars of conquest, possessed no tribal territory, and no particular association with Simeon. Some scholars argue that the narrative of chapter 34 conceals a very ancient attempt on the part of some of the tribes to effect a forcible settlement in the Shechem area. At the other extreme it has been argued that the story is a late polemic directed against intermarriage or the Samaritans.

Beth-El

The next events recorded are connected with Beth-El, the site associated with a fateful moment in Jacob's life (cf. 28:10–22). At divine command, the patriarch and his retinue, after purging themselves of idolatrous emblems, made their way to the town. He built an altar there and received God's blessing renaming him Israel and promising numerous progeny, even royal descendants, as well as future possession of the land. Jacob dedicated the site of the revelation and named it Beth-El in place of Luz (35:1–15). He moved on in the direction of Ephrath, and on the way his beloved Rachel died while giving birth to Benjamin. Jacob set up a pillar over her grave (35:16–20). It is not clear whether the succeeding brief notice of Reuben's incest with Rachel's maid Bilhah, his father's concubine (35:22), is connected with this or not. It is most likely part of an originally larger account explaining the lost preeminence of the tribe of Reuben (cf. 49:3–4; Deut. 33:6; I Chron. 5:1). Jacob finally arrived at Hebron to meet his father once again. He participated with Esau in Isaac's burial here (Gen. 35:27–29), being then 120 years of age (25:26; 35:28).

Jacob and Joseph

The subsequent biography of Jacob is wholly interwoven with the life of *Joseph, his favorite son (37:3–4). He seems to have taken seriously the latter's boyish dreams of greatness even as he berated him for them (37:10–11), and his grief at Joseph's disappearance was inconsolable (37:33–35). In view of the tendency of Abraham (12:20) and Isaac (26:1) to move to Egypt in time of famine, it is of interest that Jacob chose instead to send his sons with the exception of Benjamin, to buy food there (42:1–4). The Egyptian official with whom they had to deal was, unbeknown to them, no other than Joseph, who insisted that if they came again they must bring their remaining brother with them. Very reluctantly, Jacob, under the pressure of famine and the importuning of his sons, had to agree (43:1–15).

When Joseph finally revealed his true identity and sent for his father, a divine revelation at Beer-Sheba granted the patriarch permission to migrate to Egypt and also promised to make him there into a great nation which would eventually return to the land (chapter 45; 46:1–4). Jacob thereupon traveled to Egypt with his entire family and possessions (46:5–27) and had a tearful reunion with Joseph (46:29). In an audience with Pharaoh he gave his age at this time as 130 and described his years as having been "few and hard" (47:7–10). He settled in the region of Goshen (47:6), or Rameses (47:11), where he stayed for 17 years (47:28).

As Jacob's end approached, he made Joseph swear to bury him in the ancestral vault in Canaan (47:29–31; 49:29–33). He then blessed Joseph's two sons, *Manasseh and *Ephraim, and transferred the birthright from the older to the younger (48:1–20). In his closing words to Joseph he again predicted the ultimate return to Canaan, and he bestowed on him a parting gift mysteriously described as having been "wrested from the Amorites by my sword and bow" (48:21–22), a reference to some event in the life of the patriarch not otherwise recorded.

Jacob then blessed each of his sons individually, after which he died at the age of 147 (ch. 49). He was embalmed, given a state funeral, and buried by his sons in the cave of Machpelah (50:1–13).

The Other Biblical Traditions

Surprisingly, little about Jacob is recorded outside the Genesis traditions. In the rest of the Bible he is chiefly mentioned in combination with the other two Patriarchs, particularly in reference to the covenant (e.g., Ex. 2:24; 32:13; Lev. 26:42; Deut. 29:12; II Kings 13:23). The descent to Egypt is recorded in Joshua (24:4) and Psalms (105:23). The divine love of Jacob and the rejection of Esau is stressed by Malachi (1:2–3), while Ezekiel singles out the connection between the Patriarch and the land, and refers to Jacob as God's servant (28:25; 37:25; cf. Isa. 41:8; 44:1).

The sole instance of a possible variant tradition independent of Genesis comes from *Hosea, who deprecates Jacob's attempt to supplant Esau in the womb, who places the struggle with the angel at Beth-El, before his servitude to Laban instead of at Penuel on the way home, and who has the angel weep and implore Jacob (12:4–5). He also refers to Jacob's flight and servitude (12:13). It is more likely, however, that Hosea is reinterpreting the Genesis traditions for his own didactic purposes. Similarly, it is doubtful that any independent traditions are behind such divine epithets as "the God of Jacob" (e.g., II Sam. 23:1; Isa. 2:3), "the Holy One of Jacob" (Isa. 29:23), "the King of Jacob" (Isa. 41:21), "the Mighty One of Jacob" (e.g., Gen. 49:24; Isa. 49:26), "the El of Jacob" (Ps. 146:5).

The Name

The biblical sources suggest two etymologies for the name. Genesis 25:26 treats it as a denominative verb derived from עָקֵב (*ʿaqev*; "a heel"); Genesis 27:36 involves a root עקב (*ʿqb*; "to overreach," "to supplant"; cf. Jer. 9:3; Hos. 12:4). Both clearly imply wordplays. The name, however, seems to have been widespread in the second millennium B.C.E., and it appears in one form or another in Akkadian, Old South Arabic, and Aramaic texts. A theophoric form, *Yaʿqub-ʿal*, is transcribed as *Yʿqbhr*, the name of a Hyksos prince, in a 17th-century Egyptian source, and as *Yʿqbʿr* in a 15th-century geographic list of Thutmose III. It is most likely that the Hebrew is a shortened theophoric name, perhaps meaning, originally, "may God protect."

[Nahum M. Sarna]

In the Aggadah

Since Jacob was renamed Israel (Gen. 32:28) and was destined to be the ancestor of the twelve tribes, his eventful life inevitably became, in the *aggadah*, symbolic of the later history and tribulations of the Jewish people. Likewise, Jacob's principal antagonists: Esau (Edom; cf. Gen. 25:30; 36:1), Laban "the Aramean" (Gen. 31:20), and even the angel who wrestled with Jacob (Gen. 32:24ff.), became the prototypes of the Roman (later Christian) world. The role played by Herod the Edomite "slave" (BB 3b–4a) and his family in subjecting Judea to the Roman yoke, and the close similarity of "Aramean" and "Roman" (ארמי (Aram. רֹמַאי – ארמאי) although it is also equated with רַמַּאי, a "cheat"; Gen. R. 70:19), facilitated this identification, which must be regarded as basic for the proper evaluation of the Midrash and *aggadah* on the subject.

The biblical account, which treats Esau and Laban with a certain degree of understanding, is subjected to a thorough reinterpretation, with a view to discrediting the enemies of Israel, while glorifying Jacob – regarded as virtually identical with the Jewish people. The struggle between Israel and Rome was foreshadowed before Jacob and Esau were born. Even in their mother's womb they were locked in mortal combat, and evinced different desires. Whenever Rebekah passed a synagogue or house of study, Jacob tried to break forth, but when she passed near a pagan house of worship, Esau was struggling to get out (Gen. R. 63:6; cf. Gen. 25:22). The religious contrast between Jew and gentile was thus clearly depicted as a permanent chasm between two irreconcilable civilizations. A similar contrast between Jacob and Esau was also noticeable at their birth, the former being clean, smooth, extraordinarily handsome, and born circumcised; while the latter was hairy and bearded, blood-red in color, and with all his teeth fully developed (Gen. R. 63:7–8; Targ. Ps.-Jon. on Gen. 25:25; ARN1 2:12; Tanh. Noah 5; Tanḥ. B, Gen. 32; Mid. Ps. 9:7). All this was meant to portray the contrast between the spiritual beauty of Israel and the ugliness of the pagan world – its wars and bloodshed, Rome's perennial occupation. Esau's "ruddy" color (Gen. 25:25) was indeed expressly interpreted as signifying that he (i.e., Rome) was "altogether a shedder of blood" (Gen. R. 63:8). While both brothers attended school up to the age of 13 (or, according to one version, 15) – Esau, too, thus being given the chance of studying the Torah – they parted completely once they had reached their religious majority. Jacob studied at the schools of Shem and Eber, and spent all his life in the pursuit of learning; while Esau became a dissipated idolator (Gen. R. 63:10; Yoma 28b; Tanḥ. B, Gen. 125). Here, too, the future conduct of good Jews and typical Romans was adumbrated.

Despite their explanation of how Isaac was deceived in Esau (Gen. R. 63:10), the rabbis felt that Isaac as well as Abraham who had fathered unworthy sons could not be considered equal in importance to Jacob (Pes. 56a; Gen. R. 68:11; Song. R. 3:6, no. 2) who was regarded as a model of virtue and righteousness (cf. e.g., Mak. 24a), and to whom even the mystery of the messianic redemption had been revealed (Mid. Ps. 31:7). He was, accordingly, the greatest of the patriarchs (Gen. R. 76:1), and even Abraham had been created and preserved from the fire of Nimrod's furnace only for the sake of Jacob who was destined to descend from him (*ibid.*, 63:2; Lev. R. 36:4; Sanh. 19b). Even after his death, Jacob – but not the other patriarchs – was concerned with Israel's fate, suffering with them when they were in trouble, and rejoicing with them when they were redeemed (Mid. Ps. 14:7; PR 41:5). Israel's successes in this world were entirely due to Jacob's merit (Song R. 3:6, no. 2). Hyperbolically, it was said that the entire universe had been created only for the sake of Jacob (Lev. R. 36:4) – here, as so often, a symbol of the entire people of Israel. God Himself had honored Jacob (Israel) by elevating him to a position little lower than that of the angels (Mid. Ps. 8:7), and engraving his image on the divine throne (Gen. R. 82:2).

For all that, the rabbis could not ignore the biblical account of Jacob's career, which was bound to raise moral problems. For example, his employment of devious methods to gain the birthright and the blessing of Isaac were open to criticism (cf. Hos. 12:3–4). Rabbinic apologetics, accordingly, endeavored to clear Jacob's good name, while blackening that of Esau. Accordingly, Esau had threatened to kill his mother if he was not permitted to be born first, and it was to save Rebekah that Jacob had agreed to Esau's primogeniture (Mid. Hag. to Gen. 25:22; cf. PR, 12:4). Although this is reported or hinted at only in late Midrashim, it may be an allusion to the notorious case of matricide committed by Nero, who contrived the murder of his mother Agrippina (Suetonius, Nero 34:5; Tacitus, Annals 14:1–13; Jos., Ant., 20:153; Wars, 2:250).

Jacob's desire to have the birthright was not influenced by any selfish motives, but by his wish to be privileged to offer the sacrifices, at that time the prerogative of the firstborn (Gen. R. 63:13; Num. R. 4:8). Even so, it was only because of Esau's manifest unsuitability for a spiritual office that Jacob was willing to sacrifice his life for the spiritual privileges of the birthright (*ibid.*). Hence, God Himself had assisted him to obtain blessings (Gen. R. 65:17–19; Tanh. B, Gen. 134f.). Moreover, when Jacob went in to his father, "the Garden of Eden entered with him"; but when Esau came in, "Gehenna went in with him" (Gen. R. 65:22; 67:1–3; Tanḥ. B, Gen. 141).

Isaac, too, had hesitated about conferring the blessing upon Esau, and had actually suspended the decision as to who was to be the recipient (Gen. R. 65:13). Even when he said, "Your brother came in with guile and took your blessing" (Gen. 27:35), what he really meant was that Jacob had come in with "wisdom" and "received" (i.e., was duly granted) what was due to him (Targ. Onk., and Targ. Yer., codex Neofiti I, ad loc.; Gen. R. 67:4; Tanh. B, Gen. 143). Any doubts Isaac may have had were dispelled when he learned that Esau had sold his birthright to Jacob (Gen. R. 67:2). Isaac thereupon confirmed Jacob's blessing (Gen. R. 67:12; Tanḥ. B, Gen. 143; cf. Gen. 28:1). According to another view, however, Isaac had actually sought to curse Jacob, but had been restrained by God (Gen. R. 67:1–3). Isaac had also made it clear that Jacob's supremacy was conditional on his merits (Gen. R. 67:7), and he was, therefore, sharply criticized in the Midrash (*ibid.*).

Only occasionally is Jacob criticized in rabbinic literature. Thus, Esau's "exceedingly great and bitter cry" (Gen. 27:34) had been punished in the days of Mordecai who likewise wailed "with a great and bitter cry" (Esth. 4:1; Gen. R. 67:4). Again, when Jacob rebuked Leah for aiding and abetting Laban's act of deception (cf. Gen. 29:23), she retorted, "Did not your father call you 'Esau,' and you answered him?!" (Gen. R. 70:19). Jacob is also criticized for having hidden his daughter Dinah from Esau's eyes at the time of his meeting with his brother on his return to Canaan. Jacob's fear that "this wicked man" might want to marry her is dismissed as unjustified prejudice; for he should have given her to his brother for a wife (Gen. R. 76:9). The purpose of this Midrash was apparently to encourage older brothers to give their daughters to younger brothers in marriage, thus retaining the family's property undiminished and its purity of blood unsullied.

Jacob's meeting with Esau after his return from Aram is embellished with numerous rabbinic comments, the burden of which is that Esau retained his undying hatred, so that Jacob had good reason to be afraid of him. The messengers sent by Jacob to Esau (Gen. 32:3) were in reality angels, and their huge numbers terrified Esau (Gen. R. 74:17; 75:10). Esau's reconciliation with Jacob (Gen. 33:4) was unreal. On the contrary, Esau had tried to bite his brother whose neck, however, had become like marble (Gen. R. 78:9). According to another view, however, Esau kissed Jacob "with all his heart," being temporarily compassionate (*ibid.*) Jacob's appeasement of Esau by repeatedly addressing him as "my lord" is condemned in the Midrash as humiliating to Jacob's dignity (Gen. R. 75:2, 11). The purpose of this homily was no doubt to discourage excessive cringing before the Romans.

Laban, described as "the master of deceivers" (Gen. R. 75:5), is treated in rabbinic literature with even greater disdain than Esau. He is the personification of greed, and even when he kissed and embraced Jacob (Gen. 29:13), he did so only to find out if he had any gems hidden on his body or in his mouth (Gen. R. 70:13). Jacob was well aware that Laban was a swindler (cf. *ibid.*; Meg. 13b), and took the utmost precautions in stipulating conditions with him, but all to no avail (Gen. R. 70:17). Jacob's charge that Laban had changed his wages ten times (Gen. 31:7, 41) was homiletically multiplied by the rabbis to no less than 100 deceptions (Gen. R. 74:3). Yet, despite Jacob's anger with Laban (Gen. 31:36), it never came to blows and violence, and Jacob did his best to appease Laban (Gen. R. 74:10).

An apologetic tendency is also evident in the midrashic interpretation of Jacob's relations with *Rachel. Although kissing a strange girl was considered indecent, Jacob's kissing of Rachel (Gen. 29:11) was excused as having been a permissible act, since she was his kinswoman (Gen. R. 70:12). In fact, so far from being lascivious, Jacob had never experienced nocturnal discharge (Gen. R. 79:1) and was in fact not subject to the evil impulse (BB 17a). Jacob's demand that Rachel be given to him, "so that I may cohabit with her" (Gen. 29:21), though superficially shameful "even the most dissolute does not use such language" – was nevertheless defended on the ground that Jacob's real purpose was the laudable desire to beget the 12 tribal ancestors (Gen. R. 70:18; Mid. Ag. ad loc.). Only mild criticism is leveled at Jacob for his angry outburst against Rachel when she was begging him for children (Gen. 30:1ff.): "Is that the way to answer a woman in distress?" (Gen. R. 71:7). Some slight disapproval is also voiced in the Midrash against Jacob's dislike of Leah (Gen. 29:31), who was therefore deliberately blessed with a large progeny, "so that she might be more beloved than Rachel" (Tanḥ. B, Gen. 153; Ag. Ber. 48 (49):2). A serious flaw was also seen in Jacob's marriage to two sisters (Pes. 119b); for although the Torah had not yet been promulgated, the rabbis considered the patriarchs as having had to observe the entire Law.

Jacob's favorite treatment of Joseph is condemned as a perfect example of what a father must not do – prefer one son to the others – an act which, as in Joseph's case, could lead to disastrous consequences (Shab. 10b; Meg. 16b; Gen. R. 84:8). Jacob's prolonged absence from home – during which he failed to honor his parents – was a serious offense for which he was punished by Joseph's disappearance for an equally long period (Meg. 16bff.). Conceivably, this criticism was directed primarily against young people who left their parents in Palestine and went abroad, especially to Syria and Babylonia, in search of better economic opportunities. Jacob's example was thus meant to discourage this exodus, which assumed alarming proportions during the second and third centuries C.E. More serious in the rabbinic view was Jacob's failure to intercede with God against the Egyptian enslavement of his descendants, and, worse still, his ready agreement that they should be wiped out because of their sins (Shab. 89b; cf Isa. 63:16). Finally, before his death, Jacob had sought to reveal the time of the coming of the Messiah to his sons, but at this point the Divine Presence departed from him (Pes. 56a; Gen. R. 98:2) – no doubt because Jacob's intention was considered unlawful.

For the most part, however, Jacob is depicted as a great and holy man who, among other things, introduced the daily evening prayer (Ber. 26b), and even caused the Egyptian famine to cease as soon as he arrived in Egypt (Tos., Sot. 10:9). Jacob was among those who had tasted of the Garden of Eden in their lifetime and were not subject to the power of the angel of death (BB 17a), but had died through "the kiss of death" (Rashi ad loc.). Indeed, according to one view, Jacob had never died at all (Ta'an. 5b) – evidently an allusion to the immortality of Israel.

[Moses Aberbach]

In Islam

At first, it was not clear to *Muhammad whether Yaʿqūb (Isrāʾīl) was the son of Isḥāq or his brother; he therefore adopted an ambiguous expression, "and we gave her (Sarah) the glad tidings of Isḥāq, and of Yaʿqūb after Isḥāq" (Sura 11:74). Only after his sojourn in Medina did it become evident to him that Jacob's "fathers" were Abraham, Ishmael, and Isaac and that he was the father of the Tribes (Sura 2:126–7, 130, 134). Like his ancestors, Jacob also ranks among the prophets (Sura 19:50). Of the children of Isaac, one was upright (Jacob) and the second (Esau) brought misfortune upon himself (Sura 37:113). Jacob is mentioned particularly in connection with the story of *Joseph (Sura 12). Before his death, Jacob cautioned his sons to remain faithful to "the law of Ibrahim" (Sura 2:126). On one occasion, Muhammad mentions the second name of Jacob: Isrāʾīl (Sura 3:87), when he points out that he forbade himself a certain food – probably an allusion to the sciatic nerve (Gen. 32:33). In the other places (in the *Koran) the name of Israel appears as that of the tribe, i.e., *Banū Isrāʾīl* ("the people of Israel"; e.g., Sura 2:38; 5:74; et al.). In a fragment from the Cairo **Genizah* which is attributed to al-Samawʾal, Israel is referred to as "the firstborn of the first" (cf. Ex. 4:22). According to the Arab commentators the origin of the name Isrāʾīl is derived from the fact that he fled from Esau at night.

[Haïm Z'ew Hirschberg]

In the Arts

The life and career of the patriarch Jacob provide the basis for many literary works and treatments by artists and musicians.

The episodes most favored range from Jacob's impersonation of Esau and vision at Beth-El (Gen. 27) to his final journey to Egypt at the invitation of Joseph and Pharaoh (Gen. 45–50). In literature, one of the earliest versions of the story occurs in the 12th-century *Ordo de Ysaac et Rebecca et Filiis Eorum*, an allegorical drama in which Esau represents the "pharisaical Jews" and Jacob the "faithful Christians." Another work of the Middle Ages was the 13th-century English poem *Iacob and Iosep*. Interest in the subject revived in the 16th century, particularly in England and Germany, where it inspired numerous stage productions. These include the anonymous verse play *Ein lieblich und nuetzbarlich Spil von dem Patriarchen Jacob und seinen zwelff Soenen* (Magdeburg, c. 1534); the Meistersinger Hans Sachs's *Comedia: Jacob mit seinem bruder Esaw* (1550); *Jacob und seine zwoelf Soehne* (1566), a Styrian church drama by Thomas Brunner; *A newe mery… Comedie or Enterlude… treating upon the Historie of Jacob and Esau* (London, 1568); and the *Comedie von dem Patriarchen Jakob, Joseph und seinen Bruedern* (1592) by Adam Zacharias Puschmann, an associate of Hans Sachs. A work sharply contrasting with the medieval *Ordo de Ysaac* was *The Historie of Jacob and Esau* (London, 1568; written 1557–58), a lively comedy attributed to Nicholas Udall. Here Jacob was reconfirmed as the righteous Hebrew (i.e., the true Protestant), while Esau was represented as the graceless pagan (i.e., the Catholic Antichrist). Three 17th-century treatments of the theme were the German dramatist Christian Weise's *Jacobs doppelte Heyrath* (1683); the anonymous *Comedia famosa dos successos de Iahacob e Esau* (Delft, 699), a Spanish verse play; and the Sephardi writer Isaac Cohen de *Lara's Spanish ballad, "La Fuga de Jaacob de Barsheva," which appeared with his Purim play *Aman y Mordochay* (Leiden, 1699). In the 18th century, the only writer of note to deal with the subject was the Swiss-German poet and dramatist Johann Jacob Bodmer (1698–1783) in two epics, *Jacob und Joseph* (1751) and *Jacob und Rachel* (1752).

The first modern Jewish writer who turned to the theme was the Hebrew poet Feivel Schiffer (c. 1810–1866), whose *Shirei Tiferet* (1840) retold the Bible story down to Jacob's entry into Egypt. In the late 19th century, the German Protestant playwright Wilhelm Schaefer wrote the drama *Jakob und Esau* (1896). There has been a significant revival of interest in the subject during the 20th century. The eminent German poet and playwright Gerhart Hauptmann turned to the story of Jacob in his fragmentary drama *Das Hirtenlied* (1921), as did Waldemar Jollos in his verse play *Esau und Jakob* (1919). In the first part of his unfinished David trilogy, *Jaakobs Traum; ein Vorspiel* (1918; *Jacob's Dream*, 1947), Richard *Beer-Hofmann made a dramatic attempt to justify Israel's universal mission; the play was staged in New York, and in Ereẓ Israel by Habimah in a Hebrew version. Some later works on the theme were *Jacob* (1925), a novel by the French writer Bernard *Lecache, and *Die Geschichten Jaakobs* (1933), the first part of Thomas *Mann's tetralogy *Joseph und seine Brueder* (1933–42). During World War II, Jacob Knoller published in the U.S. his four-part German drama *Verheissung, Schuld und Suehne* (1941); the U.S. writer Irving *Fineman his novel *Jacob* (1941); and the Portuguese poet José Régio his modern mystery play *Jacob e o Anjo* (1941). Laurence Housman's *Jacob's Ladder*, one of his *Old Testament Plays* (1950), sought to denigrate the Hebrew patriarch. Other postwar works include *Saint Jacob* (1954; Eng. *Jacob*, 1957), a novel by the French author Jean Cabriès; *Een ladder tegen de maan* (1957), a drama by the Dutch writer W. Barnard (Guillaume van der Graft); and *Ya'akov u-Vanav* (1958), a Hebrew novel by Ben-Zion Firer.

The life of the patriarch Jacob, packed with picturesque incident, has provided an equally rich storehouse of material for artists, who have mainly illustrated the episodes of Jacob's ladder (Gen. 28:10–22) and of Jacob and the angel (Gen. 32:24–32). There are several cycles of such episodes, the earliest being the fourth-century mosaic cycle at Santa Maria Maggiore, Rome. Scenes from the life of Jacob also figure in 12th-century mosaics at Palermo and Monreale in Sicily; and in manuscripts, including the sixth-century Vienna Genesis and the 14th-century *Sarajevo Haggadah*. The Renaissance painter Jacopo Bassano (1515–92) painted a pastoral landscape of Jacob and Esau (Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum). The birth of the twins (Gen. 25:24) was illustrated in 14th-century manuscripts such as the *Queen Mary Psalter* and the *Sarajevo Haggadah*, where, in an adjacent scene, Esau is shown hunting (Gen. 25:27). Their birth was also depicted by the Florentine painter Benozzo Gozzoli (1420–1497) in a fresco at the Campo Santo, Pisa. Esau selling his birthright to Jacob (Gen. 25:31–34) is illustrated in the *Vienna Genesis*, but was not popular in the Middle Ages. From the 17th century onward, there are paintings of the subject by the Spanish artist Murillo (1618–82; Harrach Gallery, Vienna), the Dutch master Hendrik Terbrugger (1587–1629; British Museum), and two ink drawings by *Rembrandt. Isaac blessing Jacob (Gen. 27:27) was also a comparatively rare subject in the Middle Ages, and commoner in the 17th century. However, it is found in fourth-century mosaics at Santa Maria Maggiore, in 13th-century frescoes at Assisi, and in medieval manuscripts, including the 12th-century *Hortus Deliciarum* and the 14th-century *Queen Mary Psalter* and *Sarajevo Haggadah*. The 17th-century Spanish painters Murillo (Hermitage, Leningrad) and Jusepe de Ribera (1588–1652; Prado) were among artists who treated the subject. Raphael (1483–1520) included a study of Isaac's half-hearted blessing of Esau (Gen. 27:39–40) in his frescoes for the Loggia in the Vatican, and there is a painting of the same subject by Rembrandt (Earl Brownlow, Grantham), which has also been thought to represent Isaac blessing Jacob.

Jacob's dream of the ladder was a favorite subject and has often been treated as a pendant to Jacob and the angel or to Moses and the burning bush. The subject first appears in the third-century frescoes of the synagogue at *Dura Europos in Mesopotamia. It is found in Byzantine and western medieval Christian manuscripts, including the *Hortus Deliciarum*, the 13th-century *St. Louis Psalter*, and the *Sarajevo Haggadah*, and also in sculpture and in the mosaics at Palermo and Monreale. In the painting by Raphael in the Loggia in the Vatican, Jacob is shown asleep at the foot of a monumental staircase which, in the grand manner of the Renaissance, replaced the simple ladder of earlier representations. There are paintings of the subject by the Spanish baroque masters Ribera (Prado) and Murillo (Hermitage) and by Rembrandt (Dresden Gallery). The English poet-painter William *Blake depicted the angels ascending and descending on a corkscrew staircase. A modern treatment is that by Marc *Chagall. In the *St. Louis Psalter* and the 15th-century *Breviary of the Duke of Bedford* (Bibliothèque Nationale) there are illuminations of Jacob anointing the stone on which he slept (Gen. 28:18).

Jacob's sojourn with his uncle Laban is illustrated by Ribera in a painting of Jacob tending Laban's flocks. His dealings with his two wives have a special significance in medieval Christian iconography, where Leah and Rachel were associated with Martha and Mary, representing the active and the contemplative life. Claude Lorrain (1600–82) painted idyllic landscapes with Jacob and Rachel (Hermitage, Leningrad) and with Jacob and Laban (Dulwich Gallery). The scene in which Jacob, on leaving Laban, divides the flocks with him (Gen. 30:32ff.) is recorded in the fourth-century mosaics at Santa Maria Maggiore, Rome, and in the sixth-century *Vienna Genesis*. Jacob's appropriation of Laban's household idols, which were taken and hidden by Rachel (Gen. 31:17ff.), appeared in Raphael's frescoes in the Vatican Loggia and was also a popular subject in the 17th century. It was treated by Murillo (Duke of Westminster collection), the Dutch genre painter Jan Steen (1626–79), and by Rembrandt's teacher, Pieter Lastman (1583–1633).

Another favorite subject was Jacob's struggle with the angel which, in the Middle Ages, received a bewildering variety of symbolic interpretations. One of the commonest was that it represented each man's fight against the forces of evil. In early Christian art it is God Himself who is shown struggling with Jacob. The theme appears in the *Vienna Genesis*, in an eighth-century fresco in Santa Maria Antica, Rome, and in an 11th-century fresco in the cathedral of Hagia Sophia, Kiev. It is found in medieval sculpture and in manuscripts such as the *St. Louis Psalter.* In the Stanza d'Eliodoro in the Vatican there is a painting of the subject by Raphael and Baldassore Peruzzi. Rembrandt produced a remarkable painting of Jacob and the angel (Berlin Museum) and Claude Lorrain made it the occasion for a poetic night landscape (Hermitage, Leningrad). The French romantic artist Eugène Delacroix (1798–1863) depicted the struggle in a fresco in the church of Saint Sulpice, Paris, and intended it to represent the artist struggling with Nature in order to wrest her secrets. In the 20th century, the sculptor Sir Jacob *Epstein showed Jacob and the angel locked in a passionate embrace, the subject being also treated by Chagall (Louvre). The reconciliation of Jacob and Esau (Gen. 33:4ff.) was illustrated in a swirling baroque composition by Rubens (Alte Pinakothek, Munich), and there is a painting by Jacopo Bassano of Jacob's return to Canaan (Doges' Palace, Venice).

In music, a "dialogo" (quasi-oratorio), *Il vecchio Isaac*, by G. Fr. Anerio (publ. 1619), treats the story of Jacob, Esau, and the birthright. The number and importance of works on the subjects of Jacob's Dream, Jacob and Rachel, and Jacob's lament over Joseph is, however, much greater. Some 16th-century motets set the text of the vision, such as *Vidit Jacob scalam* by Crecquillon (publ. 1556) or *O quam metuendus est locus iste* by Gallus (publ. 1603). One notable curiosity was the oratorio *La Vision de Jacob* which Marcel Dupré wrote in 1900 at the age of 14. For the Moscow performances of Richard Beer-Hofmann's *Jaakob's Traum* by the *Habimah Theater, music was written by M. *Milner; and the play was turned into an opera by the Israel composer Bernard Bergel. An orchestral work, *Jacob's Dream*, was written by Karol *Rathaus (1941); and in 1949 Darius *Milhaud composed a dance suite for five instruments, *Les Rêves de Jacob* (op. 294), for the Jacob's Pillow dance festival held in the Massachusetts village of that name. Arnold *Schoenberg's oratorio *Die Jakobsleiter*, with text by the composer, was begun in 1913 and remained unfinished. This is the first work in which the system of melodic manipulation, which he was to formalize soon afterwards as the "12-tone system," can be discerned. The text is a complex of philosophical ideas generated by, rather than reproducing, the vision of the ladder and Jacob's struggle with the angel (see D. Newlin, in *Yuval*, 1 (1968), 204–20). The première of the work took place in Vienna in 1961.

The story of Jacob and Rachel is treated in a motet, *Da Jakob Labans Tochter nahm*, by Joachim à Burck (1599); a "Singspiel" (comic opera), *Von Jacob doppelter Heyrath*, by Johann Philipp Krieger (1649–1725); and a duodrama, *Jakob und Rachel*, by J.E. Fuss (1800). It is also found, somewhat unexpectedly, in two Spanish polyphonic songs of the 17th century (*Siete años de pastor*, no. 18, and *Si por Rachel*, no. 62, in *Romances y letras a tres vozes*, ed. by M. Querol Gavald, 1956). For the *Ohel Theater production of *Jacob and Rachel*, the music was written by Solomon *Rosowsky, and later reworked into an orchestral suite by Julius Chajes. Jacob's word to the angel in the struggle at the Jabbok is the title-text of Bach's Cantata no. 157, *Ich lasse dich nicht, du segnest mich denn* (but with "*Mein Jesu*" added). A motet on the same text, for double choir, was written by Johann Christoph Bach (1642–1703) and formerly attributed to Johann Sebastian Bach. It was published in English in the 19th century as *I Wrestle and Pray.* Jacob's mourning over Joseph was set as a motet by many of the chief composers of the 16th century. The works begin with *Videns Jacob vestimenta Joseph* (Ger., *Da Jakob nun das Kleid ansah*) or *Lamentabatur Jacob*, and the list of composers includes Clemens non Papa, Cristobal Morales, Jacob Regnart, and Cosmas Alder (for a "Joseph play" performed at Basle). The message to Jacob that Joseph is alive appears in Orlando di Lasso's *Dixit Joseph undecim fratribus*. Other works on the theme include J.H. Rolle's oratorio *Jacobs Ankunft in Aegypten* (1746); *Jacobs Heyrath* and *Jacobs Tod und Begraebnis*, nos. 3 and 6 of Johann Kuhnau's *Biblische Sonaten* for keyboard instrument (1700); and the setting of Jacob's blessing of Judah (Gen. 49:10–42) in Heinrich Schuetz's *Geistliche Chormusik* (1648).

In Jewish folksong, Jacob appears symbolically in the many settings of *Al Tira Avdi Ya'akov* ("Fear Not, My Servant Jacob"), often with textual additions in Yiddish, such as *Amar Adonai le-Ya'akov – yo, foterl, yo* (Idelsohn, Melodien, 9 (1932), no. 485). Mordekhai *Ze'ira was the composer of the well-known Israel *horah* tune *Al Tira Avdi Ya'akov*, to a poem by Emanuel Harussi.

[Bathja Bayer]

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JACOB (end of third–beginning of fourth century C.E.), Babylonian-born *amora*. Jacob was a pupil of *Judah b. Ezekiel, head of the academy of Pumbedita (Av. Zar. 28b, et al.). He transmitted teachings in the name of Ḥisda (Ber. 29b, et al.). He migrated to Ereẓ Israel where he studied under R. Johanan (Er. 80a; Suk. 12a, et al.). Jacob is frequently referred to as "a certain one of the rabbis" (see Er. 80a and Av. Zar. 28b). He was an associate of Jeremiah (Av. Zar. 13b), discussed problems with Jeremiah b. Taḥlifa and frequently explained obscure *halakhot* to him (BB 60b, et al.). It is related that the day Jacob died stars were seen at midday (MK 25b; but see Dik. Sof. ad loc.). Because there were several *amoraim* of the same name, at times it is difficult to decide to which one statements in the name of Jacob refer.

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[Yitzhak Dov Gilat]

JACOB, BENNO (1862–1945), rabbi and Bible scholar. He studied at the rabbinical seminary and university of his native Breslau. From 1891 to 1906 he served as a rabbi in Goettingen and from 1906 to 1929 in Dortmund. In 1929 he retired from the rabbinate, settled in Hamburg, and devoted himself entirely to exegetical work. From 1939 he lived in England. His principal field of activity in biblical research was the Pentateuch. Although he was not a fundamentalist, his conclusions, as a result of his study of the text rather than on religious grounds, were a complete denial of modern Bible criticism – both textual criticism and Higher Criticism with its documentary hypothesis. He regarded the traditional text more reliable than the ancient translations. He considered the arbitrary textual emendations of Higher Criticism to be unscientific because their only purpose was to validate the latter's own assumptions. Moreover, he accused the school of Higher Criticism of antisemitic trends and of prejudices against Judaism. His opinions were propounded in *Der Pentateuch, exegetischkritische Forschungen* (1905) and *Quellenscheidung und Exegese im Pentateuch* (1916). He clarified biblical ideas and expressions which had not been properly understood in *Im Namen Gottes* (1903) and *Auge um Auge, eine Untersuchung zum Alten und Neuen Testament* (1929). He also developed a theory concerning the internal rhythm of the Bible, which is expressed by the repetition of key words in set numbers in the narratives of the Torah and its laws, in *Die Abzaehlungen in den Gesetzen der Buecher Leviticus und Numeri* (1909). His major exegetical work is *Das erste Buch der Torah: Genesis, uebersetzt und erklaert* (1934). While Jacob did not accept the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch nor the dogma of literal inspiration, he found in its composition so much literary unity and spiritual harmony that all search for its "sources" appeared to him an exercise in futile hypothesis. His comprehensive commentaries on Exodus and a section of Leviticus are extant in manuscript. (An excerpt from the commentary on Exodus was published in *Judaism*, 13 (1964), 3–18.) His struggle against antisemitism began during his university years; in 1886 he founded the first Jewish students' society – Viadrana – which introduced fencing duels as a method of defending the honor of Judaism when it was degraded by antisemitic students. He was active as an orator and author in the fight waged by German Jews against antisemitism mainly in the years after World War I. He opposed Zionism not only because of his belief in a Jewish-German synthesis, but also because he saw in Zionism a complete secularization of Judaism and a basis for Jewish atheism.

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[Jacob Rothschild]

JACOB, BERTHOLD (pen name of **Berthold Salomon**, 1898–1944), German-Jewish publicist between the world wars. Jacob, born in Berlin, was a volunteer in World War I. He returned a radical pacifist, and from then on unabatedly struggled against German militarism and secret rearmament. His involvement in various *causes célèbres* of the Weimar Republic led to his being summoned as a witness in various cases on a number of occasions. Together with Paul Maria Dreyfuss and Martin Sander he published *Zeit-Notizen*. An article of his in the pacifist weekly *Weltbuehne*, led to the demission of Hans von Seeckt, commander in chief of the German army. In 1932 Jacob left Germany and ran an "Independent Press Service." In 1935 he was abducted by a Nazi agent during a visit in Switzerland, but was released after six months on the intervention of the Swiss government. In 1939 he was interned by the French authorities but escaped in 1941 to Lisbon, where he was again abducted. Jacob died in 1944 in a Nazi prison. His main works are *Weltbuerger Ossietzky* (1937) and *Warum schweigt die Welt?* (1936).

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[Yehuda Reshef]

JACOB, BLESSING OF, a collection of poetic sayings epitomizing the traits and fortunes of the Israelite tribes, written in the guise of deathbed pronouncements by Jacob to his 12 sons (Gen. 49). "Blessing" is a misnomer since three of the tribes are in effect cursed, and others are treated with jest or satire. The sayings are cast in pseudo-prophetic form as though the patriarch foresees the destinies of his sons. In fact, most of the separate sayings appear to describe past or present tribal fortunes. The events alluded to in the sayings are highly refracted by the terse and elusive language. The Reuben saying (49:4) refers to the elder son's incest with his father's concubine (35:22), but what the event signifies in tribal terms is unknown. The Simeon-Levi saying (49:5–7) recalls the murderous attack on the Shechemites (Gen. 34), but that event is not easily connected to the wider tribal histories. The ascendancy of Judah (49:8–12) corresponds with the sudden emergence of that tribe just before the united monarchy and its political hegemony under David is almost certainly referred to in the obscure "Shiloh" passage (49:10). It is possible that the Septuagint reading of II Samuel 20:18–19 shows the Dan of verses 16–18 to be already relocated in its northern home (cf. Judg. 17–18). The animal imagery of the sayings is varied and colorful. Judah is a rapacious lion (Gen. 49:9), Issachar a lazy or stoic ass (v. 14), Dan a cunning serpent (v. 17), Naphtali a lovely hind (v. 21), and Benjamin a ravenous wolf (v. 27). Joseph, as a fruitful bough (*porat*; v. 23), breaks the series of zoological metaphors. Many interpreters prefer to read "wild ass" (*pere*) or "bull" (*parah*). The metaphors are used to focus upon some single striking feature in the tribal manner of self-defense or conquest (Judah, Dan, Benjamin), or to describe the bounteous natural setting (Naphtali, Joseph), or to explain an abject socioeconomic position (Issachar). Three of the sayings employ puns on tribal names. Dan "shall judge" (*yadin*, v. 16), Gad "shall raid" (*yagud*, v. 19), and Issachar ("man of wages" or "hired laborer") is said to have "bowed his shoulders to bear, and become a slave at forced labor" (v. 15). These literary features give the impression of being popular visualizations of tribal traits and experiences. The picturesque folkloristic motives of the sayings sharply circumscribe their direct historical value.

Critics have found it impossible to view the sayings within any single clearly delimited historical horizon. The preeminence of Reuben and the secular status of Levi suggest an early period before the rise of the monarchy. The ascendancy of Judah speaks for the late 11th century B.C.E. and verse ten strongly suggests the rule of David. The language is archaic and often obscure; it reflects ancient liturgical formulations with pronounced Canaanite influence in poetic forms, idioms, and concepts. The fullest understanding of Genesis 49 requires comparison with the similar Deuteronomy 33 and the related tribal sayings and blessings of Judges 5 and Numbers 23–24, as well as with the Ugaritic mythological texts and the Egyptian Story of Sinuhe (in: Pritchard, Texts, 18–22; COS I, 77–82). The broad milieu of the sayings is the struggle of the separate tribes to hold their own in the land against enemies and to adapt to the economies peculiar to the regions of settlement. Many realistic details of military and political combat show through the poetic embellishments. Judah has prevailed over nations and receives the homage of all the tribes (Gen. 49:8). Joseph has successfully turned back an attack or repeated attacks by archers, probably from the Canaanite cities of the plains (vs. 23–26). Dan and Gad have fought guerrilla-style actions as they harass their enemies' "heels" (vs. 17, 19). Benjamin feeds on the spoils of war (v. 27; profiting by another tribe's victory?). Distinctive features of tribal economics are noted. Judah is famed for its viticulture (vs. 11–12). Asher produces choice foods and delicacies fit for kings (v. 20). Naphtali's land is highly productive (v. 21; does "hind" refer to wild game, domesticated animals, or general agricultural bounty?). Zebulun controls shipping north of Mt. Carmel or supplies the crews for Canaanite-Phoenician ships (v. 13). Joseph dwells in the richest region in the land, full of "blessings of heaven… of the deep … of the breasts and of the womb" (v. 25). All the tribes act with commendable self-assertiveness, except that Issachar is chided for exchanging freedom for the security of a life of serfdom (v. 14; or is it being half-praised for its resourcefulness in making the most of a bad situation?). All in all, the sayings of Genesis 49 seem to have arisen separately and to have been collected secondarily in the present literary context. Their lively speech argues for oral recitation. But the purpose is uncertain. Only verses 25–26 contain a blessing proper which probably was recited at an agricultural festival. Most of the sayings have the character of scornful or admiring popular or mutual assessments of the tribes. The Judah saying has in part (v. 10) the character of a dynastic pronouncement.

Prior to the literary collection of the sayings, they probably had a cultic connection in the gathering of the tribal league to worship YHWH. This is suggested by the explicitly liturgical introduction and conclusion supplied to the similar collection of sayings in Deuteronomy 33:2–5, 26–29. It is further hinted at in the "my" of Genesis 49:6 and the "I" of 49:18 where a cultic spokesman is presupposed (in contrast to the "my" of 49:3–4 and the "I" of 49:7 which refer to the deity). Several of the sayings presuppose a feeling of belonging together among the tribes at an apparently preliterary stage (49:7b, 8, 16, 26). That the content and temper of the sayings are often secular, jocular, and satirical does not speak against an intertribal cultic context but shows rather the robustness and earthiness of early Yahwism. Whether precisely those sayings were ever cultically recited together at one time is unknown, since the literary editor may have artificially combined them from more than one source. It has been argued that at least two literary stages of collection were involved, corresponding to the early and late strands of the source J. The earliest literary version of the sayings may have concentrated on explaining why the elder sons of Jacob were not the prominent tribes in the collector's time. An estimate of the relative age of the tribal sayings in the several extant collections suggests that on the average those of Judges 5 are earliest, followed by Genesis 49, Deuteronomy 33, and Numbers 23–24 in that order.

[Norman K. Gottwald]

In the Aggadah

After his sons had assembled around his bed, Jacob warned them against dissension, since union is a precondition for Israel's redemption. Jacob wanted to reveal the exact time of the advent of the Messiah to his sons, but at that moment the *Shekhinah* ("Divine Presence") departed from him and his knowledge of this great mystery vanished (Gen. R. 98:2). Jacob thereupon became apprehensive lest one of his children was unfit and this was the cause of the departure of the *Shekhinah*. His sons, sensing his fears, exclaimed, "Hear O Israel, the Lord our God the Lord is One: Just as there is only One in thy heart, so in our heart is there only One." Jacob immediately responded: "Blessed be the name of His glorious kingdom for ever and ever" (Pes. 56a).

When Jacob rebuked his eldest, Reuben, he told him that he should have had the double heritage of his primogeniture, the priestly dignity and the royal power. However, because of his sin, the birthright was conferred upon Joseph, kingship upon Judah, and the priesthood upon Levi (Gen. R. 98:4). Simeon and Levi were next reprimanded. God fulfilled Jacob's malediction that they be dispersed in Israel by causing the Levites to be on the move requesting tithes, and the Simeonites to be wandering mendicants (Gen. R. 99:7). After he had rebuked his first three sons, the remaining ones attempted to slip away since they feared that they too would be reproached. Jacob pacified them by approaching Judah with commendatory statements, and describing the noteworthy features of the Messiah who will descend from the House of Judah (Tanḥ. Va-Yeḥi, 10).

Zebulun was blessed before his elder brother, Issachar, because Zebulun enabled Issachar to devote himself to Torah study by providing him with sustenance (Gen. R. 99:9). The fruits in Issachar's territory grew to extraordinary size due to the merits of this tribe's devotion to Torah (Gen. R. 98:12). When blessing Dan, Jacob also envisioned his descendant, Samson, and thought him to be the Messiah. However, when Jacob saw him dead, he exclaimed, "He too is dead! Then 'I wait for thy salvation, O God'" (Gen. 49:18; Gen. R. 98:14). Jacob then declared that the redemption will not be achieved by Samson the Danite, but by Elijah the Gadite, who will appear at the end of days (Gen. R. 99:11). Asher's blessing was the beauty of his women, who would be sought in marriage by kings and high priests (Gen. R. 99:12; Tanh. Va-Yeḥi, 13). In Naphtali's land all fruits would ripen quickly, and they would be given as presents to kings to gain royal favor for the givers (Gen. R. 99:12). Joseph's blessing exceeded those of all his brethren. He was particularly praised for resisting the constant attempts of the daughters of princes to entice him, and for trusting in God when slandered before Pharaoh by the magicians and wise men of Egypt (Gen. R. 8:18; Targ. Yer. to Gen. 49:22–26).

The blessing bestowed upon Benjamin contains the prophecy that this tribe would provide Israel with both its first and last biblical rulers, Saul and Esther. Likewise, Benjamin's heritage in the Holy Land contains two extremes: Jericho ripens its fruits earlier than any other region in Ereẓ Israel while Beth-El ripens them latest. Jacob also referred to the Temple service in Benjamin's blessing because the sanctuary was to be situated in Benjamin's territory (Gen. R. 99:3).

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JACOB, FRANÇOIS (1920–), French molecular biologist and Nobel laureate. Jacob was born in Nancy, attended the Lycée Carnot, and started his medical studies in Paris. With the German invasion of France in 1940 he joined the Free French Forces in exile and fought in North Africa and Normandy. He was seriously wounded and the damage to his hands destroyed his ambition to become a surgeon. He received the Croix de Guerre and the Croix de la Libération and was made a Compagnon de la Libération, one of France's highest honors. After the war he completed his medical studies (1947) and gained his D.Sc. from the Sorbonne (1954). In 1950 he joined the Pasteur Institute as assistant to Andre *Lwoff. He was appointed laboratory director (1956), head of the Department of Cell Genetics (1960), and professor of cell genetics at the College de France (1964). Jacob's research explored the relationship between bacteriophages (phage) and the bacteria these infect as a model for establishing the fundamental principles of genetic control of protein synthesis. He collaborated with many of the founding fathers of molecular biology, including Elie Wollman, Max Delbruck, Jacques Monod, and Sydney *Brenner. This work defined the operon as the control unit consisting of one or more genes encoding the messenger RNA, which dictates protein synthesis. The operon is controlled by regulatory feedback loops incorporating repressor genes which are in turn controlled by operator genes. The operon can collaborate with other operons on the chromosome and is influenced by signals coming from the cytoplasm or the environment. Thus the potential for cell function and division is determined by the nucleotide sequence in DNA which is responsive to a network of controlling signals. This framework and the supporting experimental principles have formed the basis for subsequent scientific work on gene action and regulation. He received the Nobel Prize in physiology or medicine (1965) jointly with Andre Lwoff and Jacques Monod. His many honors include the Charles Leopold Mayer Prize of the Académie des Sciences (1962) and foreign membership of the U.S. Academy of Sciences. Jacob is also a distinguished writer on the philosophy and culture of science whose highly regarded books include *The Logic of Life* (1970) and *Of Flies, Mice and Men* (1980). His cultural contributions were recognized by the award of the Lewis Thomas Prize (1994). He married the pianist Lise Bloch in 1947.

[Michael Denman (2nd ed.)]

JACOB, HEINRICH EDUARD (1889–1967), German playwright, journalist, and biographer. Born in Berlin, he became the *Berliner Tageblatt's* Vienna correspondent. Jacob spent almost 18 months in the concentration camps of Dachau and Buchenwald before escaping to the U.S. in 1940. A versatile author, writing in an expressive and colorful style, Jacob published more than 30 books, including poetry, plays, and novels. His best-known dramas are *Beaumarchais und Sonnenfels* (1919), in which a Jew is the central character, and *Der Tulpenfrevel* (1920).

While in exile in New York, Jacob achieved distinction for his biographies of Johann Strauss (1937), Haydn (1950), and Felix Mendelssohn (1959). He also published a history of coffee, *Sage und Siegeszug des Kaffees* (1934), and *Six Thousand Years of Bread* (1944). Jacob returned to Europe in 1953 and settled in Hamburg.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *New York Times* (Nov. 10, 1967).

JACOB, JACK FREDERICK RAPHAEL (1923–), Indian army officer. Born in Calcutta to a family of Baghdad origin, Jacob was commissioned in the Indian army in 1942 while India was part of the British Empire and served in the Middle East during World War II. He rose rapidly after India gained its independence in 1948, commanding a field regiment in 1956–57 and an artillery brigade in 1964–65. After serving as commander of the School of Artillery from 1965 to 1966 he was given command of an infantry division (1967–69). At the outbreak of the war against Pakistan in 1971, which resulted in the creation of Bangladesh, he was chief of staff, Eastern Command, with the rank of major-general. For the prominent part which he played in the campaign he was awarded the Param Vishisht Seva medal.

JACOB, MAX (1876–1944), French poet and novelist. Born in Quimper, Brittany, Jacob was the son of a tailor and descended from German Jews who immigrated to France in 1816. After an unhappy childhood, he made the first of three suicide attempts at the age of 17. For several years, he worked in a variety of occupations, including carpentry, as a lawyer's clerk, commerce, and even astrology. A gifted linguist and draftsman, Jacob eventually became an art critic in Paris, where he joined the circle of Apollinaire, Picasso, and André Salmon, centered in the Left Bank cabaret *Le Lapin agile*. At this time he evolved his basic aesthetic principles: the establishment of a "new harmony" to free men from everything which prevented them from seeing the true colors of reality (cf. his children's tales *Le Roi Kaboul et le Marmiton Gauvin* and *Le Géant du soleil*, 1904). Taking up arms against convention and prejudice, Jacob made irony his favorite device, thus providing himself with "distance" from the object and with the "patience and submission" indispensable to creativity. In 1909 he had his first vision of Jesus and wrote the *mystère* entitled *Saint Matorel* (1911) and *La Côte*, poems which later appeared in Breton. A melancholy anti-romantic, Jacob became known for his mordant humor and "surrealistic" speech: lake became suburb, valley changed to movie theater, Ibsen became Rimbaud, and Byron, Freud. The poet's yearning for love and his suffering and disillusionment combined with a second vision led to his conversion to Catholicism in 1915. The spiritual comfort which this brought him inspired a series of works characterized by a mingling of sarcasm and lyricism: *Les Oeuvres burlesques et mystiques du frère Matorel…* (1912); *Le Cornet à dés* (1917); *Le Phanérogame* (1918), a novel; *La Défense de Tartuffe*, subtitled *Extase, remords, visions, prières, poèmes et méditations d'un Juif converti* (1919); and *Le Laboratoire central* (1921). After 1921, Jacob retired to the monastery of Saint-Benoît-sur-Loire, where he wrote *Le Cabinet noir* (1922), a novel, *Le Terrain Bouchaballe* (1923), the mystical *Visions infernales* (1924), and *L'Homme de chair et l'homme reflet* (1925). During the years 1928–36, he achieved some standing as a painter in Paris, then retired once more to Saint-Beno-ît, where he wrote a book of prose poems, *Ballades* (1938). After the Nazi occupation in 1940, Jacob was arrested by the Gestapo and died in the Drancy concentration camp. Some books of verse and two volumes of correspondence appeared posthumously after World War II.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: A. Billy, *Max Jacob* (Fr., 1946); J. Rousselot, *Max Jacob au sérieux* (1958); M. Raymond, *De Baudelaire au Surréalisme* (1933), 253–62; J. Mesnil, in: E.J. Finbert (ed.), *Aspects du Génie d' Israël* (1950), 300–6; C. Lehrmann, *L'Elément juif dans la littérature française*, 2 (1961), 142–3.

[Max Bilen]

JACOB, NAOMI ELLINGTON (**Naomi Ellington Gray**; 1889–1964), novelist of half-Jewish parentage whose varied career is reflected in a vast output of novels. She also wrote such autobiographical books as *Me – In War-Time* (1940). In her most ambitious work, *The Gollantz Saga* (1952), she portrayed the progressive assimilation of a Jewish family. Born in Ripon, Yorkshire, and originally a schoolteacher in Middlesbrough, she lost her job for wearing trousers; thereafter, she always wore men's clothes. In 1930 she moved to Italy, where she lived for the rest of her life.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: ODNB; P. Bailey, *Three Queer Lives: An Alternative Biography of Fred Barnes, Naomi Jacob, and Arthur Marshall* (2002); E. Hamer, *Britannia's Glory: A History of Twentieth Century Lesbians* (1996).

[William D. Rubinstein (2nd ed.)]

JACOB, TESTAMENT OF, apocryphal work based on Genesis 49. Reference to an apocryphal book of Jacob is perhaps to be found in the Apostolical Constitutions 6:16 which speaks of "apocryphal books of… the three patriarchs." A testament of Jacob is to be found together with the testaments of Abraham and Isaac in Arabic, Ethiopic, and Coptic. This work is a patchwork of biblical verses, based substantially on Genesis 47:29–49:1. It was doubtless composed as a supplement to the extant testaments of Abraham and Isaac, both of which, and especially the former, contain important original material. This apocryphal work appears in a Paris Greek manuscript of the 12th century as a separate work under the title "Testament of Jacob." In Jerusalem, there is an Armenian manuscript 939, in which Gen. 47:27–50:26 precedes the Testaments of the 12 patriarchs, and under the same title as the preceding. The Testament was a common literary form in the period of the Second Temple, and doubtless the fact that Jacob is the one patriarch to whom the Bible assigns a last testament played a role in this development.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: M.R. James, *Testament of Abraham* (1892), 6, 131–61; idem, *The Lost Apocrypha of the Old Testament* (1920), 18f.; G.H. Box, *Testament of Abraham* (1927), 55–89; Stone, in: *Revue des Etudes Arméniennes*, N.S., 5 (1968), 261–70.

[Michael E. Stone]

JACOB, WALTER (1930–), U.S. Reform rabbi and university administrator. Jacob was born in Augsburg, Germany, and immigrated to the United States in 1940. He received his B.A. from Drury College (Springfield, Mo., 1950) and ordination and an M.H.L. from Hebrew Union College in 1955. He earned his D.H.L. in 1961 from HUC-JIR, which granted him an honorary D.D. in 1980. Immediately following ordination, Jacob was named assistant rabbi at Rodef Shalom Congregation in Pittsburgh, Penn., under Rabbi Solomon *Freehof, serving as well as a chaplain in the U.S. Air Force during the years 1955–57. In 1966, Jacob succeeded Freehof as senior rabbi, becoming emeritus in 1997. He was also adjunct professor at the Pittsburgh Theological Seminary (1968–74).

Jacob took an active role in helping to re-establish Reform Judaism in Germany, where he served as president of the Abraham Geiger College, the first rabbinic seminary in Central Europe since the Holocaust. Splitting his time between Berlin and Pittsburgh, he also served as president of the Solomon B. Freehof Institute for Progressive Halakhah, an international forum for Jewish law, and of the Associated American Jewish Museums, which organizes free art exhibits for synagogues and Jewish centers. Previously, Jacob served the Reform movement in the United States in several high-profile roles, including president of the *Central Conference of American Rabbis (CCAR) (1991–93). His interest and expertise in Jewish law led him to serve as chairman of the Responsa Committee of the CCAR and chairman of the International Responsa Committee of the *World Union for Progressive Judaism (WUPJ). As president of the Religious Education Association of the United States, he wrote on interfaith issues. Jacob was also an overseer of HUC-JIR, a member of the Rabbinic Cabinet of the WUPJ and chairman of the Publications Committee of Hebrew Union College Press. As CCAR president, Jacob sought to integrate a broader reinterpretation of *halakah*, in accordance with Reform theology, into the deliberations and decisions of the Reform movement.

He was made a Knight Commander of the Federal Republic of Germany in 1999 and received the Commander of the Equestrian Order of St. Gregory the Great from Pope John Paul II in 2004.

In addition to compiling several volumes of responsa on a wide variety of issues, Jacob edited, wrote, or co-authored a number of books, including *Christianity Through Jewish Eyes*, (1974); *The Healing Past: Pharmaceuticals in the Biblical World* (with Irene Jacob), (1993); and *Not By Birth Alone: Conversion to Judaism* (1997).

[Bezalel Gordon (2nd ed.)]

JACOB BEN AARON OF KARLIN (d. 1844), Lithuanian rabbi and author. Jacob b. Aaron, a grandson of *Baruch b. Jacob of Shklov, was a pupil of *Ḥayyim of Volozhin. He was first rabbi of Gorodok and later of Karlin, where he served for 30 years, until his death. Jacob was the author of the responsa *Mishkenot Ya'akov* (Vilna, 1810), many of them with Ephraim Zalman Margulies of Brod, on all sections of the Shulḥan Arukh; *Kehillat Ya'akov* (1847), novellae on a number of tractates of the orders *Zera'im* and *Mo'ed*. His halakhic works were highly esteemed by yeshivah students, by whom they were much used. Jacob's brother ISAAC, after devoting himself to business, succeeded him in the rabbinate of Karlin. Isaac, who also achieved an outstanding rabbinical reputation, was the author of *Keren Orah* (2 parts, 1852–57), on a number of tractates of the Talmud. Both brothers were noted for their struggle against the kidnapping of children for impressment into the Russian army.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Fuenn, Keneset, 574; S. Chones, *Toledot ha-Posekim* (1910), 563f.

[Itzhak Alfassi]

JACOB BEN ABRAHAM SOLOMON (late 16th and early 17th century), Bohemian rabbi and preacher. Jacob was probably born in Poland but was active mainly in Prague. He was an acknowledged authority on the Talmud and was called *Shinena* ("the sharpminded") by his contemporaries. He wrote: (1) *Ma'aneh Lashon*, a collection of prayers and petitions mainly for mourners (first published anonymously in Prague, c. 1615; 2nd ed. Cracow, 1668; 3rd ed. Prague, 1678). A shortened form of the work accompanied by a Judeo-German translation appeared in Frankfurt in 1688. The complete text with additions, together with full translations into Judeo-German and German by Eliezer Lieberman b. Judah Loeb, appeared in Amsterdam in 1677 and was frequently reprinted (cf. Friedberg, in bibl.); (2) *Derush Na'eh*, consisting of homiletical sermons on a number of the weekly portions, as well as halakhic novellae to *Mo'ed Katan* (Prague, 1603). In addition, his decisions on questions on the laws of mourning were quoted by Moses Jekuthiel b. Avigdor Kaufmann Kohen in his *Ḥukkei Da'at*, printed as an addendum to *Yismaḥ Yisrael* (Berlin, 1699–1700) by Israel Samuel b. Solomon Rofe. Wolf and Zunz identify Jacob with the Prague *dayyan* Jacob b. Abraham who died there in 1562, while Steinschneider identifies him with Jacob b. Abraham, publisher of *Pirkei Eliyahu* (Prague, 1600). The latter appears to be more probable, as *Ma'aneh Lashon* is hardly likely to have been published anonymously around 1610 if its author had already died in 1562. Jacob's authorship of this work is acknowledged in the *Leḥem ha-Panim* (cf. Zunz, in bibl.).

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[Elias Katz]

JACOB BEN AḤA (end of the third and beginning of the fourth century C.E.), Palestinian *amora*. Jacob was mainly a halakhist, and his halakhic dicta are frequently mentioned in both Talmuds, but he is also known as an aggadist (Tanḥ. B., Ex. 51; PR, supplement, p. 202a; et al.). He studied under R. *Johanan (TJ, Shevu. 1:3, 33a) and frequently transmits sayings in his name (TJ, Ber. 7:2, 11b; et al.). He also frequently transmits sayings in the names of the scholars of preceding generations, such as R. *Hezekiah, the school of *Yannai, *Simeon b. Jehoẓadak (Shab. 1:1, 2d). He is mentioned as being in Sepphoris together with Hezekiah, a younger contemporary *amora* (TJ, Ber. 3:1, 6a). He was active in communal affairs, and many queries were addressed to him by leading contemporary *amoraim* (TJ, Shab. 6:2, 8a; et al.).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Frankel, Mevo, 104b–105a; Hyman, Toledot, s.v.; Ḥ. Albeck, *Mavo la-Talmudim* (1969), 249–50.

[Shmuel Safrai]

JACOB BEN ASHER (1270?–1340), halakhic authority. Jacob was the son of *Asher b. Jehiel (the Rosh), under whom he studied. In 1303 he accompanied his father from Germany to Toledo, where he lived in great poverty, shunning rabbinical office and devoting all his time to study. In his learning, he avoided verbosity and casuistry. Typical of his style is his first halakhic work, *Sefer ha-Remazim*, in which he gave the halakhic rulings deduced from his father's work, *Ha-Asheri* (under the title *Kiẓẓur Piskei ha-Rosh*, Constantinople, 1515).

Jacob's enduring fame rests upon his major work, the *Arba'ah Turim*, as a result of which he is commonly referred to as "the Ba'al ha-Turim." Perceiving that "reasoning had become faulty, controversy had increased, opinions had multiplied, so that there is no halakhic ruling which is free from differences of opinion," he decided to compile a work to embrace all *halakhot* and customs incumbent upon the individual and the community. The work is divided into four sections (*Turim*, "rows"; first complete edition, Piove di Sacco, 1475): Part I, *Oraḥ Ḥayyim*, contains 697 chapters and deals with blessings, prayers, the Sabbath, festivals, and fasts; Part II, *Yoreh De'ah*, 403 chapters commencing with *Issur ve-Hetter*, the laws of Kashrut, such as *sheḥitah* and *terefot,* and ending with usury, idolatry, and mourning; Part III, *Even ha-Ezer*, 178 chapters on laws affecting women, particularly marriage, divorce, *ḥaliẓah*, and *ketubbah*; Part IV, *Ḥoshen Mishpat*, 427 chapters on civil law and personal relations. The arrangement of the book, its simple style, and its wealth of content, made it a basic work in Hebrew law. It opened a new era in the realm of halakhic codification (see *Codification of Law; *Shulḥan Arukh). The style and target population of each section of the *Tur* are not the same. *Ḥoshen Mishpat* and *Even ha-Ezer* are meant more for *dayyanim* (judges) than for community rabbis or laymen. *Yoreh De'ah* was meant for community rabbis, while *Oraḥ Ḥayyim* is a guidebook for both rabbis and laymen. Jacob invariably quotes the text of the Talmud and its commentaries as well as the opinions of authorities who preceded him, and then lays down the *halakhah*, mainly following *Maimonides and his own father. The *Tur* also served to apprise Spanish Jewry with the opinions of the French and German rabbinate. On questions of faith and belief, however, he does not hesitate expressly to oppose Maimonides. He was aware of the views of the Ḥasidei Ashkenaz, whose influence is discernible particularly in the *Oraḥ Ḥayyim*. The excellence of the work soon led to its dissemination throughout the Diaspora. Its authority has been recognized and accepted by all Jewish scholars throughout the generations, many of whom (including Joseph *Caro, Moses *Isserles, Isaac *Aboab, Jacob ibn *Ḥabib, Joel *Sirkes, and Ḥayyim *Benveniste) wrote commentaries on it, and made précis of it. When Caro wrote his major work, the *Beit Yosef* (published with the *Turim* ed. of Wilmersdorf, 1720–27), he decided to "base it upon the *Turim*… because it contains most of the views of the *posekim*." In writing the *Tur*, Jacob broke with the German traditions of his father. The German rabbis did not compose comprehensive halakhic codes because they did not attach universal authority to their legal responsa, viewing them as answers to individuals, and because of the numerous *minhagim* (customs) associated with each and every German Jewish community, which were often contradictory. After moving to Spain, Jacob discovered that the communities there were less learned and more centralized. These factors made the writing of a comprehensive code both necessary and easier to accomplish. Jacob prepared himself for the writing of the *Tur* by first editing his father's responsa, thus giving them universal authority, and by creating a halakhic summary of his father's talmudic commentary, *Kiẓẓur Piskei ha-Rosh*.

Jacob also wrote a comprehensive commentary on the Pentateuch (Zolkiew, 1806), containing the best expositions of the *peshat* ("literal meaning") by earlier Bible commentators, such as *Saadiah Gaon, *Rashi, Abraham *Ibn Ezra, David *Kimḥi, and others, in particular abstracting "the straightforward explanations" from the commentary of *Naḥmanides and disregarding the kabbalistic ones, since "my soul has not entered its secret" (cf. Gen. 49:6). When Jacob added his own opinions it was usually to explain the reason for a Torah law or *mitzvah*. To the beginning of each section, he added "as a little appetizer, **gematriot* and explanations of the *masorah, in order to attract the mind." Ironically, it was just these "appetizers" that were published (under the title *Perush ha-Torah le-R. Ya'akov Ba'al ha-Turim* (Constantinople, 1500 and 1514)) some three centuries before the main part of the work, and it was this portion only which was widely known for many generations. The modern edition titled, *Perush ha-Tur ha-Arokh al ha-Torah*, was published in Jerusalem in 1981.

Jacob neither served in any rabbinical post nor received any remuneration from the community but was involved in communal activities. He appended his signature to a sentence of death upon an informer (Judah b. Asher, Responsa *Zikhron Yehudah* (1846), no. 75). His ethical will to his children (first published Pressburg, 1885) reflects his high spiritual and cultural level. A late tradition, mentioned by Ḥ.J.D. *Azulai, relates that Jacob set out for Ereẓ Israel but died on the journey.

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[Ephraim Kupfer / David Derovan (2nd ed.)]

JACOB BEN BENJAMIN ZE'EV (also **Zak**; 17th century), talmudist, father of Ẓevi Hirsch *Ashkenazi (the "Ḥakham Ẓevi"). By his first marriage he was a son-in-law of Ephraim b. Jacob ha-Kohen, and by a second, of Naphtali *Kohen. He studied under Jacob of Lublin. He taught in Vilna, but he fled at the time of the Cossack uprising of 1655. He was missing for a long time and was presumed dead, but finally he reached Trebitsch (Trebic), Moravia. He was appointed rabbi of Ungarisch-Brod (Uhersky Brod) and later succeeded his father-in-law, Ephraim b. Jacob, in Budapest, where he headed a yeshivah. His pupils included David *Oppenheim. According to an opinion which has, however, been disputed, Jacob was for a time an adherent of Shabbetai Ẓevi. When Budapest was taken by storm by the Austrians in 1686, Jacob and his wife were taken by the Brandenburg army to Berlin as prisoners of war and were ransomed there. After a short stay in Altona, where his son was rabbi, he moved to Ereẓ Israel and died in Jerusalem at the age of 73.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: J. Emden, *Megillat Sefer*, ed. by D. Kahana (1897), 3–7; J. Schwarz, *Tevu'ot ha-Areẓ*, ed. by A.M. Luncz (1900), 459f.; H.A. Wagenaar, *Toledot Ya'veẓ* (1868), 1; Fuenn, Keneset, 547; idem, *Kiryah Ne'emanah* (1915^2), 91f.; S. Büchler, *A zsidók története Budapesten* (1901), 148, 155, 177; D. Kaufmann, *Die Erstuermung Ofens* (1895), 17, 26f., 53ff.; J.J.(L.) Greenwald (Grunwald), *Toledot Ḥakhmei Yisrael* (1924), 3, 5, 9, 22; Frumkin-Rivlin, 2 (1928), 78–82, 152; D. Kahana, *Toledot ha-Mekubbalim ha-Shabbeta'im ve-ha-Ḥasidim*, 1 (1913), 90.

[Samuel Abba Horodezky]

JACOB BEN DUNASH BEN AKIVA (tenth century), liturgical poet. Some support for the assumption that Jacob came from North Africa can be found in the name Dunash, which is borrowed from the Berbers. A few of his *piyyutim*, discovered in the Cairo *Genizah*, have been published by various scholars. These are: a *yoẓer* for Passover, based on the Song of Songs; two *piyyutim* for the Day of Atonement, one of which was incorporated into a *kerovah* of Eleazar *Kallir for the *Musaf* of that day and is structured entirely on an analogy between the "celestial King" (God) and the "earthly king" (man); and a *piyyut* for Ḥanukkah.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: I. Davidson, in: *Festschrift Armand Kaminka* (1937), 7–14 (Heb. pt.); M. Zulai, in: *Ginzei Kaufmann*, 1 (1949), 39f.; J. Schirmann, *Shirim Ḥadashim min ha-Genizah* (1965), 42–45.

JACOB BEN ELEAZAR (12th–13th centuries), poet, grammarian, and philosopher. It has been conjectured that Jacob, who lived in Toledo, was a member of the distinguished Abenalazar family of Toledo. His Arabic work, *al-Kitāb-Kāmil* ("The Complete Book") on Hebrew grammar, called in Hebrew *Sefer ha-Shalem*, is known only from citations by a number of grammarians, e.g., David *Kimḥi in his *Mikhlol*. More important, however, is his literary contribution. At the request of the cultured philanthropist, Benveniste b. Ḥiyya Aldian, he translated and adapted in Hebrew an Arabic version of the well-known ancient Indian story, *Kalila and Dimna, in rhymed verse. A remnant of this translation was published by J. Derenbourg (see bibl.). Jacob also wrote *Sefer Pardes Rimmonei ha-Ḥokhmah va-Arugat Bosem ha-Mezimah* (Margoliouth, Cat, no. 1100/1), a philosophical work of 23 chapters in rhymed verse and prose (chapters 13–23 published by Davidson; see bibl.); and *Gan Te'udot*, on ethical and philosophical topics (Margoliouth, Cat, no. 1100/2). The most important and most interesting of his books is *Sefer ha-Meshalim* (written apparently in 1233), which comprises ten *maqāmāt* on various topics. Four of them (5, 6, 7, 9), love stories, unusual both in content and form, were published by J. Schirmann (see bibl.). This book reflects considerable Islamic and Christian influence. In addition, two *piyyutim* by him are also known.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Davidson, Oẓar, 4 (1933), 413; idem, in: HḤY, 10 (1926), 94–105; Steinschneider, Uebersetzungen, 872–83; idem, in: ZDMG, 27 (1873), 553–60, 564f.; J. Derenbourg, *Deux versions hébraïques du livre de Kalîlâh et Dimnah* (1881), 311–88; Schirmann, Sefarad, 2 (19602), 207–37, 690; idem, in: YMḤSI, 5 (1939), 209–66; idem, in: *Etudes d'Orientalisme dédiées à la mémoire de Lévi-Provençal*, 1 (1962), 285–97.

[Abraham David]

JACOB BEN EPHRAIM NAPHTALI HIRSCH OF LUBLIN (d. 1644 or 1645), Polish rabbi. Jacob was rabbi of Brest-Litovsk (Brisk) from 1630 to 1635 and subsequently of Lublin, two of the most important Jewish communities in Poland. In

Lublin, together with his son *Joshua Hoeschel who succeeded him as rabbi there, he headed a large yeshivah and was considered the greatest teacher of Talmud study of his generation in Poland. His pupils included Ḥayyim Heika ha-Levi, rabbi of Hrubieszow, and Samuel *Koidanover. He was a member of the *Council of Four Lands. Several of Jacob's responsa have been published in the works of his contemporaries and in those of later scholars. His novellae to the Talmud and the Shulḥan Arukh have remained in manuscript. The greatest rabbis of his generation, Yom Tov Lipmann *Heller and Joel *Sirkes, quote him in their works.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: I.T. Eisenstadt and S. Wiener, *Da'at Kedoshim* (1897–98), 88f. (first pagination); S.B. Nissenbaum, *Le-Korot ha-Yehudim be-Lublin* (1899), 38f.; Fuenn, Keneset, 535; A.L. Feinstein, *Ir Tehillah* (1886), 25f., 133f., 173 etc.; Halpern, Pinkas, 67, 491f.

[Itzhak Alfassi]

JACOB BEN ḤAYYIM BEN ISAAC IBN ADONIJAH (c. 1470–c. 1538), kabbalist, talmudist, and masoretic scholar. Born in Tunis, which he left on account of persecutions early in the 16th century, Jacob went to Rome and Florence and eventually settled in Venice (c. 1520), where he worked as a proofreader and editor at the Hebrew press of Daniel *Bomberg. He converted to Christianity sometime after 1527, as had Felix Pratensis, his predecessor at the press. In the 1520s he edited books in the fields of Kabbalah, Talmud, Bible, and liturgy. He is best remembered as the editor of the second edition of the famous Rabbinic Bible *Shaar YHWH he-Ḥadash* (sic, not as often quoted: *hqdš*), "The New Gate of the Lord," based on Sephardi manuscripts. The title, taken from Jeremiah 26:10 alluded to the fact that this edition was a replacement (1524–25) for the earlier edition (1517) that had been produced by Pratensis after his conversion to Christianity, a fact that did not sit well with prospective Jewish buyers. Ben Ḥayyim provided a detailed introduction, and edited the apparatus of the masorah. These marginal notes led to Ben Ḥayyim's Bible becoming the standard "masoretic" text for centuries. The medieval rabbinic commentators chosen by Ben Ḥayyim to accompany the biblical text became "canonical" in all later editions. (In the 19th century the rabbinic Bibles based on the edition of Ben Ḥayyim acquired the name *Mikra'ot Gedolot*, "large scriptures.") The introduction was translated into Latin by Claudius Capellus (*De Mari Rabbinico Infido*, 2 (1667), ch. 4) and into English by C.D. *Ginsburg (1865). Jacob stressed the reliability of talmudic tradition and criticized Bible commentators and grammarians such as David *Kimḥi, Profiat *Duran, and Isaac *Abrabanel for not giving sufficient attention to the masorah. His work in this field was acclaimed – with reservations – by Elijah *Levita and Azariah dei *Rossi. Jacob appended extracts of the masoretic work *Darkhei ha-Nikkud ve-ha-Neginah*, ascribed to Moses ha-Nakdan, to the *Masorah Gedolah* in the Rabbinic Bible. He also wrote a dissertation on the Targum, which is prefixed to the Pentateuch editions of 1527 and 1543–44. As proofreader and reviser for Bomberg, Jacob was responsible for the *editio princeps* of many works including the Jerusalem Talmud (1523), and Maimonides' *Mishneh Torah* (1524), which he revised together with David Pizzighettone. More recently his work as a reviser has come under criticism, as his readings were not always based on manuscript evidence; his knowledge of *halakhah* and of Aramaic, particularly of the dialect used in the Palestinian Talmud, was limited, as is evident also from his dissertation on the Targum.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Jacob ben Chajim ibn Adonijah, *Introduction to the Rabbinic Bible* (1968), prolegomenon by N.H. Snaith; C.D. Ginsburg, *Introduction to the Massoretico-Critical Edition of the Hebrew Bible* (1897), 956–74; J.N. Epstein, in: *Tarbiz*, 5 (1934), 257–72; 6 (1935), 38–55; S. Lieberman, *ibid.*, 20 (1950), 107–17; idem, in: *Sefer ha-Yovel… Ḥ. Albeck* (1963), 283–305; P. Kahle, *Cairo Geniza* (1959), 124ff; J. Penkower, in: DBI, 1:558–59; idem, in: A. Berlin and M. Brettler (eds.),*The Jewish Study Bible* (2004), 2082–83.

[S. David Sperling (2nd ed.)]

JACOB BEN ḤAYYIM TALMID (d. after 1594), leader of Egyptian Jewry. Jacob was appointed to his position by the Ottoman authorities during the second half of the 16th century. Before him, this position was held by Tajir. Jacob was a member of the renowned Talmid family which had settled in Constantinople after the Spanish Expulsion. Joseph *Sambari refers to him by the title of **nagid*. It does not, however, appear that this title was intended as the equivalent of *Ra'īs al-Yahūd*, the official title of the *nagid* during the *Mamluk period, but rather as a title of honor which was given to him by the Jewish community of Egypt. After his appointment to this position (apparently after 1560), he did not show the respect due to the most prominent of Egypt's rabbis, R. Bezalel *Ashkenazi, who, feeling insulted, issued a **ḥerem* against him. This dispute was brought before the Ottoman governor of Egypt, who ordered the banishment of Jacob and the nullification of his title of *nagid*, probably in 1584–87. From then onward, the chiefs of the community in Egypt, who were sent by the authorities in Constantinople, were referred to as *chelebi* ("gentleman [of fashion]," in Turkish). In the days of Ibrāhīm Pasha (1583–84), Jacob, together with R. Eleazar Iskandari, took the initiative for the reopening of the synagogue of the **Musta'rabim* in Cairo, which had been closed in 1545.

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[Abraham David]

JACOB BEN IDI (end of the third century C.E.), Palestinian *amora*. Jacob transmitted sayings of the *amoraim* of the first generation, such as Joshua b. Levi (TJ, Kil 6:1, 30b), R. Ḥanina (TJ, Ber. 6:1, 10b), and others, but chiefly in the name of R. *Johanan, who was his main teacher. In Johanan's old age, when he was vexed that his other disciples neglected him and did not transmit his halakhic sayings, Jacob appeased him (TJ, Ber. 2:1, 46; Yev. 96b). According to the Jerusalem

Talmud (Pe'ah, 8:9, 21b), he and Isaac b. Naḥman were lay leaders of the community, apparently Tiberias. Toward the end of his life, however, he lived in Tyre or its vicinity. Jacob was regarded as one of the great scholars of his generation, and while *Zeira was still in Babylonia, he requested scholars traveling between Ereẓ Israel and Babylonia to take a circuitous route by way of Tyre in order to obtain Jacob's views on various problems (Ḥul. 98a; Er. 80a; BM 43b). R. Naḥman made a similar request to Ḥama b. Ada, "an emissary of Zion." However, when he arrived there Jacob was no longer alive (Beẓah 25b).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Frankel, Mevo, 105a; Hyman, Toledot, 776–8; Ḥ. Albeck, *Mavo la-Talmudim* (1969), 250–2.

[Shmuel Safrai]

JACOB BEN JACOB HA-KOHEN (mid-13th century), Spanish kabbalist. Jacob was born in Soria and lived for some time in Segovia. He wandered among the Jewish communities in Spain and Provence, looking for remnants of earlier kabbalistic writings and traditions preserved by individual kabbalists. He made a prolonged stay in Provence with his younger brother *Isaac b. Jacob ha-Kohen and died in Béziers (c. 1270–80). Jacob adopted pietist ways and was strongly influenced by the mysticism of the *Ḥasidei Ashkenaz, accepting their methods in the application of numerology. He was also in contact with the last members of the kabbalist circle of the *Sefer ha-Iyyun* ("Book of Speculations"). Jacob claims to have been granted many revelations in the form of visions. These, he explains, were all associated with the function of *Metatron as the first creation and with details of the mysteries relating to this figure and its connection with the secrets of the Torah and *mitzvot*. Jacob draws a distinction between his revelation-inspired and other writings; to the latter belongs his collection of commentaries inspired by *Eleazar of Worms and material on Gnostic traditions. Jacob's principal pupil was *Moses b. Solomon b. Simeon of Burgos. Jacob was one of the main pillars of the renascent Gnostic trend in kabbalah (*ha-ma'amikim*). Neither he nor his brother was an ordained rabbi.

Jacob's works are (1) a commentary on the forms of the letters of the alphabet written in Provence around 1270 (*Madda'ei ha-Yahadut*, 2 (1927), 201–12); (2) a commentary on *Sefer *Yeẓirah* now lost, though the first part may have been preserved in a Florence manuscript (Plut. II, Ms. 53, pp. 33–42). Abraham *Abulafia studied it and praised it as "kabbalistic"; (3) a commentary on *Merkevet Yeḥezkel* (Ezekiel's vision of the throne-chariot), incorporated anonymously in a number of manuscripts (e.g., Florence II, 412), parts of which were published by G. Scholem in *Kitvei Yad be-Kabbalah bi-Yrushalayim* (1930), 208–13. Jacob's authorship is attested by his pupil Moses of Burgos who cites a number of passages in his master's name. The commentary blends Spanish kabbalism and pietist traditions and is partly based on Eleazar of Worms' *Sodei Rezaya*; (4) *Sefer ha-Orah* ("Book of Illumination"), a large collection of all the secrets revealed to Jacob through his visions, including speculative passages – such as the "*Perush Yedi'at ha-Bore*" ("Explanation of the Knowledge of the Creator"), explanations of the Divine Names and the alphabets in *Sefer Yeẓirah*, an explanation of certain *mitzvot* (*ẓiẓit, tefillin*, blowing the *shofar*, the red heifer) linking these precepts with the mysteries relating to Metatron, explanations of certain prayers and cosmological exegesis (*Sod ha-Levanah*, "Secret of the Moon"). The lengthy preface to *Sefer ha-Orah* is preserved in a Milan manuscript (Ambrosiana 62), which (together with Vat. 428, Vienna 258, and Schocken, Kab. 14) incorporates a large portion of this material. Three of these mysteries appearing in a Paris manuscript have been published in *Madda'ei ha-Yahadut* (2 (1927), 240–3). Collections of the traditions dealing with the powers of the *aẓilut* (*emanation) and their names and with *demonology are to be found in the writings of Jacob's brother and of his pupil Moses.

Jacob's visionary mysteries are most obscure since he veils the meaning of his words, using numerical (*gematriot*) and other combinations (*ẓerufim*). Their Kabbalah is entirely different from the theory of the *Sefirot* customarily followed by Jacob's contemporaries. The vision-inspired passages show that, long before Abraham *Abulafia, individual kabbalists had independently initiated a theosophical kabbalistic doctrine, in addition to providing a link with the Ḥasidei Ashkenaz, the kabbalists of Provence, and the exponents of later forms of "prophetic Kabbalah." *Sefer ha-Orah* was still known in the 14th century (by the name of *Sha'arei Orah*) to *Isaac b. Samuel of Acre whose *Sefer Oẓar ha-Ḥayyim* (Ms. Guenzburg 775) names *Naḥmanides, Jacob ha-Kohen, Joseph Gikatilla of Segovia, and the author of the *Zohar as the four leading kabbalists in Spain. Joseph Gikatilla in his *Ginnat Egoz* incorporates mysteries from *Sefer ha-Orah* without mentioning their source.

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[Gershom Scholem]

JACOB BEN JUDAH (13th century), Hebrew-French poet. Jacob came from Lorraine and lived, at least temporarily, in *Troyes, where he was an eyewitness of the auto-da-fé of April 24, 1288. He wrote two lamentations on the death of Isaac Châtelain and the other 12 martyrs burned as the result of a blood libel (Vatican Ms. 327). One, *Yuẓẓa al Besari Sak va-Efer*, is composed in Hebrew (published by Bernfeld, see bibl.); the other is a free rendering of the Hebrew poem in Old French describing the *bele kedushah*, the "beautiful martyrdom" and aspiring for a wider audience. Since this gives the pronunciation of 13th-century French words in Hebrew transliteration, it has been repeatedly published with commentary and translation. Both poems have 17 strophes of four verses, but the differences are many and, in some cases, significant. Solomon Simḥah the Scribe and Meir ben Eliav also wrote laments on the same event. According to S. Einbinder, Jacob drew on sacred and secular motifs to create martyrological vignettes that bear the stamp of romance hagiographical conventions;

actually, he wrote under the constraints of two different sets of conventions. The Hebrew text contains a mosaic of biblical quotations and typologies that have particular connotations for a Jewish audience; the French text shares many traits with the hagiographical romance of the time.

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[Jefim (Hayyim) Schirmann / Angel Sáenz-Badillos (2nd ed.)]

JACOB BEN JUDAH OF LONDON (13th century), English rabbinical scholar. Either he or, more probably, his father, Judah b. R. Jacob he-Arukh (perhaps corresponding to Le Long in secular records), was *ḥazzan* of the London community. Jacob of London was the author of *Eẓ Ḥayyim* (c. 1286), a comprehensive handbook to Jewish religious law and ritual, the most ambitious work now extant by a medieval English Jew. The author's object was to supplement the *Sefer Mitzvot Gadol* of *Moses of Coucy by including such practical guiding rules as were absent from the book. To a great extent the *Eẓ Ḥayyim* follows Maimonides' *Code*, and is of some importance for establishing the correct text of that work in many passages. The author cites conditions in France, where he had presumably studied, and speaks also of Spanish usages. He quotes several Anglo-Jewish writers, including Joseph of Lincoln, Moses of London and his father Yom Tov, Berechiah of Lincoln, Elijah Menahem of London, and Isaac b. Perez of Northampton, and his work sometimes throws light on Anglo-Jewish conditions in the Middle Ages. Excerpts from the work were published by D. Kaufmann and H. Adler. The full text was edited by Israel Brodie (3 vols., 1962–67).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: H. Adler, in: *Festschrift… M. Steinschneider* (1896), 241 f. (Eng., Ger. section), 186–208 (Heb. section); Kaufmann, in: JQR, 4 (1891/92), 20–63, 550–61; 5 (1892/93), 353–74; 6 (1893/94), 754–6; Marmorstein, *ibid.*, 19 (1928/29), 32–36; C. Roth, *Intellectual Activities of Medieval English Jewry* (1948), 39–43.

[Cecil Roth]

JACOB BEN KORSHAI (second century), *tanna*. References in the Mishnah to "Jacob," without a patronymic, are to be identified with Jacob b. Korshai (or Kodshai) as is shown by the same Mishnah being attributed to "Jacob" in *Avot* 4:16 and to Jacob b. Korshai in *Leviticus Rabbah* 3:1. He is mentioned in disputes with pupils of Akiva, but was a disciple of Meir, and transmits *halakhot* in his name only (Tosef., Ma'as. Sh. 2:10; Yev. 102a etc.). Apart from the statements in his name in *Avot*, Jacob is mentioned only once more by name in the Mishnah (in a Ms. of Neg. 14:10), although several well-known and fundamental laws in the Mishnah are in accordance with his opinion (BK, 9:1; cf. TJ, *ibid.*, 6d; Ohol. 12:8; Tosef., *ibid.*, 13:10). He is frequently mentioned, however, in the Tosefta and in other *beraitot* in the two Talmuds. According to the Jerusalem Talmud, Judah ha-Nasi was his outstanding disciple (TJ, Shab. 10:5, 12c; TJ, Pes. 10:1, 37b), and it is assumed that the material from Meir's Mishnah, which Judah incorporated in his Mishnah, was transmitted by Jacob, since Judah apparently did not study directly under Meir (Er. 13b).

Among his few aggadic statements are "This world is like a vestibule to the world to come – prepare yourself in the vestibule in order to enter the reception room" (Avot 4:16) and "One hour of repentance and good deeds in this world is better than all of the next world, but better is one hour of tranquility in the next world than all of this world" (Avot 4:17). According to the *aggadah* of the Babylonian Talmud, Jacob was the "*tanna*" (i.e., the teacher of *mishnayot*) in the school of R. Simeon b. Gamaliel, and once, when Jacob learned that on the following day Meir and Nathan were planning to depose Simeon from the office of *nasi* by putting questions to him on the tractate *Ukẓin* with which Simeon was not fully familiar, he proceeded immediately to teach the tractate (Hor. 13b) (but see: Goodblatt). Jacob is famous for the view that "there is no reward in this world for fulfilling *mitzvot*," interpreting the mention of tangible reward for the fulfillment of the commandments in Deuteronomy 5:16 and 22:7 as referring to the world to come (Tosef., Ḥul. 10:16). As a result of his position in this matter, the *aggadot* of both the Jerusalem Talmud (Ḥag. 77b) and the Babylonian Talmud (Ḥul. 142a; Kid. 39b) connect him indirectly with the figure of *Elisha b. Avuyah, who according to some legends became disillusioned as a result of the apparent lack of reward and punishment in this world, and so lost his faith in the Torah. In a late twist on this *aggadah* Rav Joseph even names Jacob as Elisha's grandson ("his daughter's son"), but there is no evidence, and it almost certainly reflects no more than the Babylonian Talmud's general inclination to posit family ties between characters in its aggadic narratives.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Bacher, Tann, s.v.; Hyman, Toledot, s.v.; J.N. Epstein, *Mevo'ot le-Safrut ha-Tanna'im* (1957), 191–3. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** D. Goodblatt, in: *Zion*, 49 (1984), 349–74 (Hebrew).

[Shmuel Safrai / Stephen G. Wald (2nd ed.)]

JACOB BEN MORDECAI OF SCHWERIN (also known as **Jacob of Fulda**; 17th century), German author. Jacob lived in Fulda which he was compelled to leave, probably during the temporary expulsion of Jews from that town in 1671, and settled in Schwerin. He was the author of *Tikkun Shalosh Mishmarot* (Frankfurt, 1691), prayers for the three vigils, chiefly from the Zohar. It was translated into Yiddish the following year, with an introduction by the author's wife, Laza (Frankfurt on the Oder, 1692). He also wrote *Shoshannat Ya'akov* (Amsterdam, 1706) on palmistry, physiognomy, and astrology, which claimed to be based on the works of seven scholars, including Aristotle who, according to Jacob, had been converted to Judaism.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Steinschneider, Cat Bod, 462 nos. 3044, 3045, 1239 no. 5579.

[Joseph Elijah Heller]

JACOB BEN MOSES OF BAGNOLS (second half of 14th century), Provençal theologian and halakhist. Jacob, who was the grandson of David b. Samuel *Kokhavi and a student of Sen Boniac Nasi, lived in several towns of Provence, primarily in Salon and Carpentras, where he probably held the positions of judge and schoolmaster. He was the author of an untitled halakhic and philosophical work, written between 1357 and 1361, of which, apparently, there is only one manuscript extant (British Museum, Ms. Or. 2705). This work may be divided into three sections, each of which bears its own title: (1) "*Pesakim*," rules concerning that which is permitted and prohibited (*issur ve-hetter*); (2) "*Ezrat Nashim*," rules concerning marriage, *ḥaliẓah, and divorce; (3) "*Sod ha-Hashgaḥah*," which deals with several philosophical and religious problems, and pays special attention to prayers and their order. This section of the work was composed in 1357. Though more of a moralist than a philosopher, he refers to *Averroes, *Levi b. Gershom, and certain philosophical doctrines drawn from contemporary authors, some of whom have not been identified. The presence in the work of several passages in which Jacob reproaches his contemporaries for abandoning the study of Talmud for that of philosophy would seem to indicate that he had a rather negative attitude to philosophy.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: A. Neubauer, in: REJ, 9 (1884), 51–58.

[Colette Sirat]

JACOB BEN NAPHTALI (17th century), Hebrew author. Born in Gnesen (Poland), Jacob was secretary (*sofer*) of the Jewish community of that city, which he left after the persecution of 1648. In 1652 he published in Amsterdam a collection of poems under the title *Naḥalat Ya'akov Meliẓot* which, besides some of his own poems (among them an elegy on the martyrs of Nemirov), contains dirges by some of his contemporaries. In 1654, Jacob was sent to Rome as an emissary to Pope Innocent X in connection with a blood libel in Poland, and was highly recommended to the Italian communities by Moses *Zacuto.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Steinschneider, Cat Bod, 1242, no. 5592; F. Delitzsch, *Zur Geschichte der juedischen Poesie* (1836), 84; Zunz, Lit Poesie, 435; Kaufmann, in: MGWJ, 38 (1894), 89–96; A. Heppner and J. Herzberg, *Aus Vergangenheit und Gegenwart… Posener Landen*, 1 (1909), 407.

[Jefim (Hayyim) Schirmann]

JACOB BEN NETHANEL BEN (AL-) FAYYŪMĪ (12th century), **nagid* of Yemenite Jewry, when ʿAbd al-Nabī ibn al-Mahdī, the ruler of *Yemen, decreed a forced renunciation of Judaism in about 1160. Many Jews converted to Islam and the Messiah's coming was widely awaited. R. Jacob turned for counsel to *Maimonides, who replied in the form of a letter known as *Iggeret Teiman* ("Epistle to Yemen," c. 1172) in which he sought to strengthen the faith of the Jews of the country.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Neubauer, Chronicles, 1 (1887), 122; M. Maimonides, *Iggeret Teiman*, ed. by A.S. Halkin (1952), v–ix (introd.); A.Z. Aescoly, *Ha-Tenu'ot ha-Meshiḥiyyot be-Yisrael* (1956), 178–81; **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPH:** J. Kafih (ed.), *Iggerot Rabenu Moshe Ben Maimon* (1972), 9–10.

[Abraham David]

JACOB BEN NISSIM IBN SHAHIN (d. 1106/07), scholar of *Kairouan. Jacob was head of the *bet ha-midrash* in Kairouan. He is referred to under a variety of titles such as *ha-rav *alluf, rosh kallah, ha-rosh* ("chief rabbi"), etc. He had close ties with the Babylonian academies of *Sura and *Pumbedita and acted as their representative for the countries of North Africa, both with regard to the monies collected for yeshivot and transmitted through him, and in correspondence on halakhic matters. Questions from different communities in Africa were addressed to Jacob who forwarded them to the Babylonian academies, received the replies, and passed them on to the inquirers. The many responsa he received from the *geonim* of Babylon, and the praise which they bestowed on him (Mann, Texts, 1 (1931), 108) testify to his importance and status. The long historical responsum known as "The Letter of Sherira Gaon" was sent to him in 987 C.E. by *Sherira b. Ḥanina Gaon in response to Jacob's question on behalf of "the holy community of Kairouan" as to "How was the Mishnah written down?" (He sent him another responsum quoted in the *Arukh* (s.v. Abbaye) on the subject of the names of the scholars of the Talmud, which is regarded by some as part of the same responsum.) Some scholars have attributed the commentary to the weekly biblical portion of *Va-Yeẓe* mentioned in an ancient list of books (Mann, *ibid.*, 644 n. 3) to Jacob. Similarly, a commentary to the *Sefer Yeẓirah* was thought to be his; it has been proved, however, that the basis of that commentary is by Isaac b. Solomon *Israeli, and that it was apparently written by *Dunash ibn Tamim of Kairouan. His son was Rav Nissim *Gaon, who continued his father's activities and functions.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: S.D. Luzzatto, *Iggerot Shadal*, 7 (1891), 1031f.; Poznański, in: *Festschrift… A. Harkavy* (1908), Heb. pt., 204–7; idem, in: *Ha-Kedem*, 2 (1908–09), 103–5; B.M. Lewin (ed.), *Iggeret Rav Sherira Ga'on* (1921), introd. 36b; Mann, Texts, 1 (1931), 74 n. 25, 112–3, 124; V. Aptowitzer, in: *Sinai*, 12 (1943), 110 n. 14; Nissim b. Jacob, *Ḥibbur Yafeh me-ha-Yeshu'ah*, ed. by H.Z. Hirschberg (1954), introd. 23–26; Hirschberg, Afrikah, 1 (1965), 237–45 and index s.v.; Abramson, Merkazim, 42–44, 57, 77, 92, 101–3; idem, *Rav Nissim Ga'on* (1965), introd. 17–20.

[Shlomoh Zalman Havlin]

JACOB BEN REUBEN (12th century), Karaite biblical exegete, probably a native of Constantinople. He traveled to a number of countries to spread Karaism and at the same time tried to collect commentaries, mainly in Arabic, written by his Karaite predecessors. His biblical commentary *Sefer ha-Osher* is essentially a collection of excerpts from earlier Karaite authors, hence the frequent glosses in Greek and Arabic; some of these writings are otherwise unknown. His knowledge of the *Khazars and Slavs, whom he mentions, probably derives from the writings of his predecessors. Jacob mainly avails himself of the tenth-century Karaite exegete Japheth b. Ali, simply reproducing passages from his Arabic commentary. The polemics against *Saadiah Gaon and Muslim scholars are also taken from the writings of the Karaite *Salmon (Solomon) b. Jeroham. Of the works by Rabbanite authors, Jacob used those of Jonah ibn *Janāḥ and *Dunash ibn Labrat. Only his commentary on the Later Prophets (excepting Isaiah) and Hagiographa (excepting Psalms) titled *Mivḥar Yesharim* has appeared in print (Eupatoria, 1836) together with *Sefer ha-Mivḥar* by *Aaron b. Joseph (the Elder).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: S. Poznański, *Karaite Literary Opponents of Saadiah Gaon* (1908), 66–68; Mann, Texts, 2 (1935), 1275, 1415; Z. Ankori, *Karaites in Byzantium* (1959), index; M. Steinschneider, *Catalog… Leiden* (1958), 106–7, 391–2; S. Pinsker, *Likkutei Kadmoniyyot* (1860), 2nd pag., 80–86; A. Harkavy, *Zikkaron la-Rishonim…*, pt. 1 book 8 (1903), 152–5.

[Isaak Dov Ber Markon]

JACOB BEN SAMSON (early 12th century), a pupil of *Rashi, whose customs he reported. Jacob was apparently one of the teachers of Jacob *Tam. According to the tosafists, Jacob was the author of a work entitled *Seder Olam*, a chronology of the *tannaim* and *amoraim* similar to that found in the anonymous commentary to *Pirkei Avot*, in the *Maḥzor *Vitry*. Until recently Jacob was regarded as the author of this commentary, but it has now been established that it is not his, though it contains extracts from his commentary on *Avot*, as well as a number of verses with the acrostic of his name.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: A. Berliner, in: S. Hurwitz (ed.), *Maḥzor Vitry* (1923^2), 184–7; Abraham b. Azriel, *Arugat ha-Bosem*, ed. by E.E. Urbach, 4 (1963), 79–80; Ta-Shma, in: KS, 42 (1966/67), 507–8.

[Israel Moses Ta-Shma]

JACOB BEN SIMEON (second half of 11th century), Karaite translator in Byzantine Greece. Jacob, who was a pupil of *Jeshua b. Judah, translated his teacher's classical Arabic treatise on the Karaite law of incest into Hebrew under the title *Sefer ha-Yashar*. His very poor Hebrew, heavily salted with Arabic and Greek constructions and loanwords, is almost unintelligible at times. Nevertheless, he and other Byzantine Karaite translators helped to make the classical Karaite literature accessible to the later European Karaites who knew no Arabic.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Mann, Texts, 2 (1935), index; Z. Ankori, *Karaites in Byzantium* (1959), 188f., 199 n.446; L. Nemoy, *Karaite Anthology* (1952), 124.

[Leon Nemoy]

JACOB BEN SOSAS, one of the four commanders of the Idumean forces during the Jewish War (66–70/73 C.E.) who played a prominent role in the internecine struggle in Jerusalem. The other Idumean commanders were Jacob's brother John, Simeon b. Cathlas, and Phinehas b. Clusoth. Jacob may have been a member of one of the Jewish families living in Idumea, the "Jews of the south" (Klausner). He opened up Idumea to Simeon Bar Giora when sent by his countrymen to reconnoiter the strength of the latter's forces, so that Simeon was able to march into the country without bloodshed. In the defense of Jerusalem Jacob was one of the ten chiefs of the 5,000 Idumean warriors who joined forces with Simeon Bar Giora. He distinguished himself in various battles during the siege of Jerusalem. When the Idumean defenders of Jerusalem deliberated surrender after the fall of the Temple, Jacob, together with the other Idumean chiefs, was arrested by Simeon Bar Giora. Nothing else is known about him.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Jos., Wars, 4:235, 521ff.; 5:249; 6:92, 148, 380; Klausner, Bayit Sheni, 5 (1951^2), 212, 231, 239.

[Edna Elazary]

JACOB BEN YAKAR (d. 1064), German rabbi. Jacob was the principal teacher of *Rashi, who refers to him as "ha-Zaken," and also of Solomon b. Samson. Another of his pupils was the "*gaon*" quoted in the *Shitah Mekubbeẓet* to *Bava Kamma*, from chapter 7 onward. From Worms, where he was one of the earliest scholars, Jacob went to study in the yeshivah of *Gershom b. Judah in Mainz, and apparently headed the yeshivah for some time together with *Eliezer b. Isaac of Worms after Gershom's death. Later he returned to Worms, but toward the end of his life he again dwelt in Mainz, and it is there that his tombstone was found. Some regard him as the head of the Worms yeshivah and the initiator there of a method of study that differed from that of the yeshivah of Mainz, but the matter is not sufficiently clear. Jacob was Rashi's teacher in both Talmud and Scripture, and Rashi says that he learned most of his Torah from him. However, he refers to him by name only on rare occasions, where the matter was not absolutely clear to him; otherwise he quotes him without mentioning his name. Rashi refers to him as "my teacher in Scripture," excluding thereby his other teacher, *Isaac b. Judah. Joseph too quotes the comments of Jacob on Scripture. Jacob's teachings – particularly his rulings and "deeds" – are cited by Rashi and in the various books of the "School of Rashi." It is of interest that no written responsa by Jacob are extant. The *Sefer Ḥasidim* (ed. by J. Wistinetzki (1924^2), 245 no. 991) relates of him that, because of great humility, he was wont "to sweep before the Holy Ark with his beard" and Rashi too emphasizes the humility of his teacher (*Maḥzor Vitry*, ed. by S. Hurwitz (1923^2), 358 no. 321).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Epstein, in: *Tarbiz*, 4 (1932/33), 11–34, 153–92; V. Aptowitzer, *Mavo le-Sefer Ravyah* (1938), 356–7; Lipschutz, in: *Sefer Rashi*, ed. by J.L. Maimon (1956), 203–4; I. Elfenbein, *Teshuvot Rashi* (1943), 403, index; Agus, in: Roth, Dark Ages, 2 (1966), 214–9.

[Israel Moses Ta-Shma]

JACOB BEN ẒEMAḤ BEN NISSIM (d. 1847), one of the wealthiest men of his time in the East. Born in Baghdad, he moved in about 1775 to India where he succeeded in amassing great wealth. Returning to Baghdad in 1831, he spent large sums on charitable purposes in various countries. Many of the Jewish religious institutions established in Baghdad in the first half of the 19th century were financed by his contributions. After his death his heirs struggled bitterly among themselves over the distribution of his estate. In 1855 a synagogue, *Midrash Ya'akov Ẓemaḥ*, was constructed in his memory in Baghdad.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: A. Ben-Jacob, *Yehudei Bavel* (1965), 140–1; D.S. Sassoon, *History of the Jews in Baghdad* (1949), 137.

JACOB DAVID BEN ISRAEL ISSAR (1808–1863), talmudist and kabbalist. Jacob was a pupil of the ḥasidic rabbi Judah Leib of Leszno and served as a rabbi in Kozienice and later in Wyszogrod. He was the author of glosses and novellae to the *Sifra*, published with the text, together with a commentary from manuscripts in Jacob's possession of Samson of Sens, under the title *Haggahot Maharid* (1866). Many of Jacob's other novellae remained unpublished.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: A. Walden, *Shem ha-Gedolim he-Ḥadash*, 1 (1864), 34a no. 208; S. Jewnin, *Naḥalat Olamim* (1882), 44, 109.

[Samuel Abba Horodezky]

JACOB HA-KATAN (i.e., "Jacob the Small"; 13th century), Hebrew translator, better known as "The Anonymous" or "The Anonymous of the 13th Century." This is due to the fact that until recently the name of this Hebrew translator of many Arabic and Latin medical works was unknown. However, the author of *Sefer ha-Yosher* (1270), a pupil of R. Nathan of Montpellier, mentions in his book a number of medical works. Among them is the *Antidotarium Nicolai* which had been translated by his brother Jacob. Furthermore, he describes Jacob as famous for his works. In the preface to the *Antidotarium*, the translator introduces himself as "Rabbi Jacob ha-Katan." The same introduction appears in the preface to the translation of Averroes' *On Diarrhea* and there he also records that he – at the suggestion of *Naḥmanides – translated other works of Averroes. It can, therefore, be assumed that Jacob ha-Katan translated other works without explicitly mentioning them by name.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Muntner, in: *Tarbiz*, 18 (1947), 194–9; Steinschneider, Uebersetzungen, 1069–70; Benjacob, Oẓar, 220.

[Suessmann Muntner]

JACOB HA-KOHEN BAR MORDECAI, *gaon* of Sura, 797–811. A student of *Yehudai Gaon and *Ḥanina Kahana b. Huna, Jacob was held in high esteem. He is credited by some with the authorship of *Seder Tanna'im* (ed. by Z. Kahana, 1935), one of the most important works on the history and methodology of mishnaic and talmudic literature, and the first of its kind. In his decisions Jacob tended to be as lenient as possible in the interpretation of the law. One of his most important decisions concerned the talmudic rule that, whenever R. *Judah ha-Nasi's opinion is cited in opposition to only one of the sages, Judah's opinion prevails. Jacob, however, decided – in accordance with another talmudic formula – that if Judah's opponent was his father and teacher Rabban *Simeon b. Gamaliel, the latter's opinion is accepted. His responsa are written in Hebrew interspersed with Aramaic. His son Moses (Mesharsheya) was also *gaon* of Sura.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Z.W. Wolfensohn (ed.), *Ḥemdah Genuzah* (1863), 3a no. 15; Abraham b. Isaac of Narbonne, *Sefer ha-Eshkol*, ed. by Z.B. Auerbach, 1 (1868), 91; Halevy, Dorot, 3 (1923), 241; J. Mueller, *Mafte'aḥ li-Teshuvot ha-Ge'onim* (1891), 73f.; S. Assaf, *Tekufat ha-Ge'onim ve-Sifrutah* (1955), 147f.; L. Ginzberg, *Geonica*, 2 (1909), 86.

[Meir Havazelet]

JACOBI, ABRAHAM (1830–1919), pediatrician, founder of American pediatrics. He was born in Hartum, Germany, to parents of limited means. He registered as a student of Semitic languages, but later studied medicine, graduating from Bonn University. While he was studying, the 1848 Revolution broke out in Germany, and Jacobi became a revolutionary leader. He was imprisoned but escaped in 1853 to the United States. A year later, in New York, he invented a laryngoscope, but failed to obtain a patent for his invention (before Manuel Garcia's invention in 1855).

Jacobi was appointed to lecture on children's illnesses in 1857, and in 1860 the first chair in pediatrics in New York was founded for him; he lectured for almost 25 years. His activities included the organization of the children's ward at the Mount Sinai Hospital in New York. Jacobi was one of the first to insist on the boiling of milk, and one of the first to practice intubation of the throat instead of performing a tracheotomy. In 1859 he and E. Noeggerath wrote a textbook for midwives and on children's and women's diseases.

Jacobi wrote on a large number of pediatric problems: the throat (1859), diet for children (1872), diphtheria (1876), intestinal illness (1887), the thymus gland (1889), and infant and child care (1896–1902). Jacobi also contributed three monographs to Gerhard's *Handbuch*, manual on hygiene in childbirth (1876), diphtheria (1877), and dysentery (1877). He also published important works on the history of pediatrics. His writings were published in eight volumes under the title *Collectanea Jacobi* (1898; *Dr. Jacobi's Works*, 1909).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Garrison, in: *Science*, 50 (1919), 102–4; A. Levinson, *Pioneers of Pediatrics* (1943), 102–5.

[Joshua O. Leibowitz]

JACOBI, ERWIN REUBEN (1909–1978), musicologist and harpsichord player. Jacobi was born in Strasbourg and graduated as an engineer in 1933. In 1934 he immigrated to Ereẓ Israel where he worked in agriculture and land settlement, and later in industry. In the 1950s he turned his attention to music, studying cembalo under Frank *Pelleg (1951–52) and music theory under Paul *Ben-Haim (1952–53). In 1953 he proceeded to the United States, where he studied under Wanda *Landowska and Paul Hindemith, under whom he studied at Yale University (1952–53) and Zurich (1953–57), receiving his doctorate from him in 1957. In 1953 he moved to Zurich where he was appointed lecturer in musicology. He served as visiting professor at the School of Music of the Iowa University (1970–71) and Indiana University (1971–72). Jacobi's research centers on the theory and practice of music in the 17th and 18th centuries. He produced a complete edition of Rameau's theoretical works (*Die Entwicklung der Musiktheorie in England nach der Zeit von Jean-Phillipe Rameau*, 1971). A longtime friend of Albert Schweitzer, he has also published many articles on him. His works include "Introduction" to *J.F. Agricola: Anleitung zur Singkunst (1757) zusammen mit dem italienischen Original von Pier Francesco Tosi* (1966); *Albert Schweitzer und die Musik* (1975); *Albert Schweitzer und Richard Wagner: eine Dokumentation, Schriften der Schweizerischen Richard-Wagner-Gesellschaft*, iii (1977). His editions include *J.B. de Boismortier: Quatres suites de pièces de clavecin. op. 59, Alte Musik für verschiedene Instrumente,* (1960, 1971); *Jean Philippe Rameau: Pièces de clavecin* (1961, 1972) and *Pièces de clavecin en concerts* (1961, 1970).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Grove online; MGG.

[Israela Stein (2nd ed.)]

JACOBI, FREDERICK (1891–1952), U.S. composer. Born in San Francisco, Jacobi studied with Rubin *Goldmark, Rafael Joseffy, Paul Juon, and Ernest *Bloch. From 1913 to 1917 he was assistant conductor at the Metropolitan Opera in New York and later taught at the Juilliard School of Music. Jacobi first attracted attention as a composer with a quartet on American Indian themes (1923). Many of his later works were on Jewish subjects or for synagogue use. *Sabbath Evening Service* (1930–31); *Six Pieces for Organ*, for use in the synagogue (1933); arrangements of Palestinian folk songs (1939–40); *Hymn* to words of Saadiah Gaon, for male choir; *Two Pieces in Sabbath Mood*, for orchestra (1946); *Ashrei ha-Ish* – arrangements of the song by Mordechai *Zeira – for mixed chorus and string orchestra (1949); and *Three Preludes*, for organ (1949).

JACOBI, GEORG (1840–1906), violinist and conductor. Born in Berlin, Jacobi worked as a violinist and conductor in Paris. In 1871 he was appointed leader of the orchestra at the Alhambra Theatre, London, where he remained for 26 years. During this period he composed or arranged the music for over 100 ballets, among them *Yolande* (1877), *The Golden Wreath*, and *Beauty and the Beast* (1898).

JACOBI, HANOCH (**Heinrich**; 1909–1990), Israeli composer, conductor, and string player. Born in Germany, he studied the viola and composition with Paul Hindemith at the Berlin Hochschule für Musik (1927–30). From 1930 to 1933 he played in the Grosses Orchester des Südwestdeutsche Rundfunk. In 1934 he emigrated to Ereẓ Israel and settled in Jerusalem where he joined the Jerusalem String Quartet (1934–9) and the Palestine Music Conservatory (1934–47), later the Jerusalem Academy of music, of which he became the director (1954–1958). In 1959, he moved to Tel Aviv, where he joined the Israel Philharmonic Orchestra as a violist until 1974. After leading the Herzliyah String Quartet, he founded his own quartet. Jacobi was a conservative composer although the influence of his new homeland may be felt in his works. Among his popular compositions which were considered Israeli cultural symbols are the cantata *Od Yavo Yom* ("The Day Will Come," 1944), the Suite for Strings (1946); *Kinnor Hayah le-David* ("King David's Lyre") in honor of the birth of the state of Israel (1948); and *Judean Hill Dance: Hora Variations* (1952). During his later years, he wrote pedagogical compositions for string instruments based on Jewish tunes from Mediterranean and Middle Eastern countries. He also wrote three symphonies (1944, 1955, 1960) and other orchestral works such as *Partita concertanta* (1971), *Mutatio I* (1975), *Variations* (1976), and *Mutatio II* (1977).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Grove Music Online.

[Yohanan Boehm and Uri (Erich) Toeplitz /
Israela Stein and Gila Flam (2nd ed.)]

JACOBI, KARL GUSTAV JACOB (1804–1851), German mathematician, brother of Moritz Hermann *Jacobi. Born in Potsdam, he was a child prodigy. He studied philosophy, philology, and mathematics at the University of Berlin, and in 1825 became a lecturer in mathematics. He and his brother converted to Christianity in order to remove any possible bar to government posts. His career was also helped by the famous mathematician Friedrich Gauss. A brilliant teacher, Jacobi was invited to Koenigsberg, where he became a professor at the age of 23. Overwork, together with financial difficulties caused by his father's death, brought him to a state of near collapse requiring a long convalescence. Jacobi met Sir William Rowan Hamilton, the great Irish mathematician, and, as a result of this meeting, he continued Hamilton's work in the field of dynamics. After a short and unhappy involvement in politics which cost him his royal grant, he returned to his original work. On the recommendation of Baron Alexander von Humboldt, the German naturalist, the grant was again awarded him. By 1849 Jacobi was the leading mathematician in Europe after Gauss. He died in Berlin of smallpox. Jacobi's works on differential equations and the calculus of variations serve as the mathematical basis for modern physics. His collected works, *Gesammelte Werke*, were published by the University of Berlin in eight volumes (1881–91).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: L. Koenigsberger, *Karl Gustav Jacob Jacobi* (Ger., 1904); E.T. Bell, *Men of Mathematics* (1937), index.

[Grete Leibowitz]

JACOBI, LOTTE (**Johanna Alexandra**; 1896–1990), U.S. photographer. Born in Thorn, West Prussia (now Torun, Poland), to a fourth-generation photographer family, Jacobi captured the heady spirit of the Weimar Republic, particularly the intellectual and artistic elite who lived in Berlin or passed through it, before she fled the Nazis in 1935. She began her photographic career at 14, documenting the world around her with a homemade pinhole camera. Her family had the most famous portrait-photography business in Germany, Atelier Jacobi, with studios in Thorn, Poznan, and Berlin. She was in her early thirties when she finished her studies and joined her parents and sister in Berlin, where the family had moved. She was equipped for the job not only by talent but by temperament. An emancipated woman with a leftist political slant, she had an inquiring approach and a knack for bringing subjects to her lens. Her aim was to capture each sitter's individuality. "In making portraits, I refuse to photograph myself," she said. "My style is the style of the people I photograph."

One of her famous subjects was Peter *Lorre. She was allowed only one image, and it turned out to be a classic, with Lorre shot as close up as possible. She captured his villainous look, but softened the angle by shooting from above. Her interest in modern dance led her to make photos of dancers in action, aided by her own quickness and new camera technology. Her photographs of an unknown Lotte Lenya holding a cigarette, the actor Emil Jannings casually peeling an apple, and the dancer Claire Bauroff captured the essence of Berlin theater life. In 1932 her leftist sympathies led her to do a series of Ernst Thalmann, the Communist candidate that year against Hitler. Then, a long trip to the Soviet Union resulted in rare and interesting shots of street scenes in Moscow and the republics of Tajikistan and Uzbekistan. But when she returned to Germany, the Nazis questioned her about her trip, her political sympathies, and her Jewish background. She finally left Germany after her father's death.

In New York, she opened a studio with her sister Ruth but struggled to find work. An important American contact was Albert *Einstein, whom she and her family had photographed in Germany. He agreed to work with her when, in 1938, *Life* magazine commissioned a photo essay on the scientist. She made several informal photographs at Einstein's home in Princeton, n.j., in conversations with his students, but *Life* felt they were too casual and decided not to publish them. However, in 1942, the magazine *U.S. Camera*, at the instigation of Edward Steichen, published a photo of a dreamy Einstein, in a rumpled leather jacket, hair askew, that became one of the most famous images of him. In the 1940s Jacobi explored the technique of photogenics, expressive abstract images made by drawing with a flashlight on photographic paper. The process had been extensively explored in the early 20th century by Man *Ray and Laszlo Moholy-Nagy.

In 1940, in New York, she married her second husband (she and her first husband had divorced), Erich Reiss, a German avant-garde publisher who was rescued from a Nazi death camp. He died in 1951. In New Hampshire, living with his son's family, she continued her interest in the forms of nature, taking pictures of snow, water, and other phenomena in the countryside. She remained active as a portrait photographer, developing a new set of subjects and friends, including the poets Robert Frost and May Sarton, the ecological activists Helen and Scott Nearing, and a fellow photographer, Paul Caponigro. She opened a gallery in Deering and served as a mentor to younger artists for 30 years. Among her other notable portraits – all in black and white – were those of the dramatist Kurt *Weill, Eleanor Roosovelt, Marc *Chagall, and the musician Pablo Casals. She bequeathed a collection of 47,000 negatives to the University of New Hampshire. Her earlier work was lost to the Nazis.

[Stewart Kampel (2nd ed.)]

JACOBI, MORITZ (Moses) HERMANN (1801–1874), German physicist and architect. Born in Potsdam, he – like his brother the mathematician Karl Gustav Jacob *Jacobi – was converted to Christianity. Jacobi practiced architecture at Koenigsberg until appointed professor of architecture at the Russian University in Dorpat, Estonia. In 1837 he was invited to St. Petersburg, where he became a member of the Russian Academy of Sciences, later state advisor, and was ennobled. In 1838 Jacobi, who was particularly interested in electricity, invented the galvano-plastic process of electrotyping. In 1839 he managed to produce molds faced with graphite which could conduct electricity. He also studied the practical use of electromagnetism for driving machinery (electrically driven boat), and experimented with the electric arc.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: E.T. Bell, *Men of Mathematics* (1937), 327–39.

[Grete Leibowitz]

JACOB ISAAC BEN SHALOM (d. 1675 or 1676), rabbi and author. Jacob served as a rabbi in Schrimm and in Lissa, Poland, where he died. Esteemed as a talmudic scholar, his opinion was frequently sought on halakhic matters. He gave his *haskamah to the *Magen Avraham* by Abraham Abele *Gombiner, his contemporary and relative. His collection of halakhic decisions, *Beit Levi*, with the subtitle *Shelom Bayit*, was never printed independently, but extracts from it were printed in *Magen Avraham* and in Jekuthiel Kaufman's *Ḥukkei Da'at*, printed as an addendum to *Yismaḥ Yisrael* by Israel Samuel b. Solomon Rofe.

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[Elias Katz]

JACOB ISAAC HA-ḤOZEH MI-LUBLIN (1745–1815), ḥasidic *ẓaddik* known by the epithet "Ha-Ḥozeh mi-Lublin" ("the Seer of Lublin"). Jacob Isaac was born in Lukow, the son of Abraham Eliezer ha-Levi, the rabbi of Jozefow, a descendent of Isaiah ben Abraham ha-Levi *Horowitz (Ha-Shelah). Jacob Isaac was one of the major founders of the ḥasidic movement in Poland and Galicia at the end of the 18th century and the beginning of the 19th. He was a pupil of Samuel-Shmelke *Horowitz of Nikolsburg, and *Dov Baer the Maggid of Mezhirech, as well as *Levi Isaac of Berdichev. His principal mentor, however, was *Elimelech of Lyzhansk, (1717–1786), who formulated in his court and disseminated in other communities the doctrine of the *ẓaddik* as occupying the center of ḥasidic identity. This doctrine was further circulated posthumously through his book *No'am Elimelekh* (Lemberg 1788). Jacob Isaac left his teacher and began to lead his own ḥasidic group in Elimelech's lifetime, causing much tension, anguish, and crisis in his master's court. At first active in Lancut and later in Rozwadow, during the 1790s he moved to Chekhov, a suburb of Lublin, and finally to Lublin itself. Jacob Isaac, a renowned *ẓaddik*, who was mainly responsible for making Congress Poland and Galicia into great ḥasidic centers, appears in his autobiographical writings as someone with a unique perception of himself as both a mystic and a prophet, who believed that he received divine revelations for the sake of the Jewish community. His books were written as a mixture of diaries and collections of teachings in the last two decades of the 18th century, and were published posthumously under the titles *Zot Zikaron* (1851) and *Zikaron Zot* (1869). He represented himself in his books and was represented by his contemporaries in their tales to be a miracle worker, a seer, and a prophet, beliefs responsible for the wide attraction of his court. His works reveal dialectical concepts which reflect a reappraisal of the significance of the traditional order ("awe") and the quality of the mystical religious undertaking ("love"). Significantly these concepts related to the tension between the commitment to traditional obligations and expansion of these limits through innovative mystical thought, mystical rapture, and new forms of contemplation on the meaning of religious praxis. These dialectical concepts expressed the dual meaning of the veneration of the *ẓaddik*, which included both the transcendence of existential borders ("love") and the preservation of the traditional order ("awe"). The Seer developed a new orientation of complete responsibility toward the corporeal and spiritual needs of his followers and formulated a clear distinction between the nature of divine worship insofar as it applied to the *ẓaddik* and his followers. The former was expected "to work with love," meaning to be a courageous religious innovator inspired by divine rapture, preconditioned by a high degree of self-abnegation. The *ẓaddik*, as he saw it, was someone who completely annihilates his personality and will in order to receive direct divine revelation for the benefit of his ḥasidim. Jacob Isaac engendered changes in the religious and social life of his followers as a result of these new divine revelations. These changes were much welcomed and needed because of the harsh socio-economical circumstances in Galicia and the urgent needs of the community. His followers, the ḥasidim, on the other hand, were expected by him to adhere to the normative tradition while attaching themselves to the *ẓaddik*, who took complete responsibility for all their spiritual and corporeal needs. Jacob Isaac left no direct dynastic line; however, the majority of Polish and Galician *ẓaddikim* who headed the ḥasidic movement during the first half of the 19th century were numbered among his disciples. He attracted followers from all social strata. Isaac Meir b. Israel Alter, founder of the Gur dynasty, regarded him as "everyone's rabbi" (*Me'ir Einei ha-Golah* (1928), 18).

Many of his distinguished disciples testified to his insight, his ability to discern whether a person "acted purely and honestly or conversely, God forbid," as well as to his power of predicting events. It was also reported that he could reveal the genealogy of a person's soul and discern its *tikkun* ("restitution") in each stage of reincarnation; the epithet "*ḥozeh*" ("seer") was therefore applied to him, although posthumously.

Following Elimelech of Lizhansk, Jacob Isaac emphasized the centrality of the *ẓaddik* in the life of the ḥasidic community and the "practical" work of the *ẓaddik*, stressing his duty to care for the "progeny, life, and livelihood" of his "children," the ḥasidic congregation. Believing that material abundance preceded spiritual wealth, Jacob Isaac held that in order to help a person repent it was first necessary to help the person satisfy his material needs. The *ẓaddik* ought "to extend great abundance and a comfortable living so that the people will be free to worship God." He is reported as saying that "when the body enjoys plentitude the soul too enjoys spiritual richness" (*Or la-Shamayim*, 1850, *Parashat Va-Yishlaḥ*, 15a). He particularly stressed the conduct between man and his fellow, considering social feeling to be of special significance in the secret order of the world. He perceived humility as a metaphysical element, obliging primarily the *ẓaddik* and preconditioning his mystical exaltation. He further stressed the virtue of the "love of Israel," which was one of the cherished principles of early Hasidism.

Toward the end of his life Jacob Isaac suffered a serious crisis over his conduct as a ḥasidic leader, which originated in the split in the Lublin ḥasidic center between those who emphasized the aspiration toward spiritual perfection and constant *devekut* to God and those who stressed the *ẓaddik's* need to care for the multitude of the Ḥasidim. The atmosphere of "practical" ẓaddikism, focused on the mundane needs of his followers as cultivated by Jacob Isaac, did not suit those who regarded the ḥasidic *ẓaddik* as a guide to divine worship and not as a miracle worker and social activist. Although he sensed the disappointment of his best pupils, Jacob Isaac did not change his method, believing that his exceptional spiritual capacities should be exploited first and foremost for the benefits of his followers, the ḥasidim. According to some authorities this was the background for his controversy with his most outstanding disciple, Jacob Isaac of *Przysucha, who was dissatisfied with the "practical" character of Lublin Ḥasidism. The rabbi of Przysucha attracted many disciples who regarded Ḥasidism as a spiritual-religious movement centered on pietistic measures, as well as intellectual and spiritual endeavors, while marginalizing social responsibility, aided by means of magical activity, for the improvement of material living conditions. It should be noted that academic studies concerning the socio-economic conditions of the Jews in Galicia in the last two decades of the 18th century and the first two decades of the 19th century, i.e., the period of activity of the Seer of Lublin, demonstrate the tragic urgency of the economic situation (see A. Brawer, *Galicia ve-Yehudeiha*) and explains his social and mystical position. The controversy on the hasidic mode of leadership divided Polish Ḥasidism for many years and through it the ḥasidic trend of *Przysucha-*Kotsk and Izbica evolved. While the followers of Przysucha and Kotsk resented the social, mystical total responsibility of the Seer, the Izbica ḥasidim adopted his position with enthusiasm.

Mordecai Leiner of Izbica (1800–1854) followed the teachings and practices of the Seer of Lublin and continued the mystical criticism of traditional conventions in relation to spiritual leaders, and embraced the social innovations inspired by mystical revelation. Jacob Isaac was frequently attacked by the *Mitnaggedim* both in Lublin and elsewhere, being the object of criticism of those writers of the late 18th and early 19th century among the *maskilim* and *mitnaggedim* who opposed "practical" ẓaddikism – and its consequences for the leadership in Lublin. He was also severely criticized by the rabbi of Lublin, Azriel Horowitz.

Jacob Isaac's autobiographical works, *Zot Zikaron* and *Zikaron Zot*, offer a sound historical foundation for the many stories concerning his communal work and exceptional position. Ḥasidic tradition also relates that he regarded Napoleon's march on Russia (1812), which evoked strong messianic dreams in various parts of Poland and Galicia, as the beginning of the messianic wars between *Gog and Magog and planned to join forces with other *ẓaddikim* in order to hasten redemption. However, no historical foundation is available for this contention since the Seer's writings precede the Napoleonic wars by two decades. Martin Buber wrote his novel *Gog u-Magog* on this period in the Seer's life, which, as previously noted, has no autobiographical documentation but rather left only a collection of legendary tales.

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[Avraham Rubinstein / Rachel Elior (2nd ed.)]

JACOB JOSEPH BEN ẒEVI HA-KOHEN KATZ OF POLONNOYE (D.C. 1782), rabbi and preacher; the first theoretician of Ḥasidism. Jacob Joseph, whose birthplace is unknown, became rabbi of Shargorod, the second largest community of Podolia. In 1741 he came under the influence of *Israel b. Eliezer Ba'al Shem Tov (the BeShT). A controversy with his community ensued, as a result of which he was expelled from Shargorod in about 1748. He left for Raszkow, a very small community, where he remained until 1752. In 1750/51, he hoped to go to Ereẓ Israel, but this project did not materialize. From Raszkow, he went to *Nemirov, where he remained until 1770 and openly propagated Ḥasidism. On the death of Aryeh Leib, the preacher of Polonnoye, Jacob Joseph was appointed to this position, which he held for the remainder of his life. Jacob Joseph did not succeed the Ba'al Shem Tov in the leadership of the ḥasidic movement, and this left him embittered. His son, Abraham Samson, who settled in Tiberias and Safed, was childless. He published his father's writings. His relative by marriage was Ḥayyim b. Menahem Zanzer, head of the kabbalists of the *klaus* of Brody.

Jacob Joseph's first and main work was *Toledot Ya'akov Yosef* (Korets, 1780), containing homiletics of the author, as well as the "words which I heard from my teacher," namely, the Ba'al Shem Tov. It is the first work to express the basic teachings of Ḥasidism, both in a positive formulation as well as in the bitter criticism it contains of the traditional Jewish leadership and its scale of values. The work played an important role as one of the factors which aroused opposition to Ḥasidism. Copies of it were apparently burned in Brody. Jacob Joseph's other works are *Ben Porat Yosef* (Korets, 1781), homilies mainly on Genesis; at the end, the letter sent by the Ba'al Shem Tov to his brother-in-law in 1750/51 was published for the first time; *Ẓafenat Pa'ne'aḥ* (Korets, 1782), a commentary on Exodus; and *Ketonet Passim* (Lemberg, 1866), a commentary on Leviticus and Numbers. Because of the long delay in the publication of this last work and other reasons, S. Dubnow considered it to be a forgery, but it is now regarded as authentic (see J.G. Weiss, in JJS, 9 (1958), 81–83). From various allusions, it has been assumed that Jacob Joseph also left a large work in manuscript destined to be a commentary on Deuteronomy. Jacob Joseph's homilies are traditional in structure. Their contents reveal him as leader of a community, as well as a penetrating and incisive theoretician and social critic. He viewed the preacher as the physician of the soul which he helps to cure by means of the ethical principles which he teaches. The preacher should pay due attention to the general form of the sermon, its content and method of delivery, and adapt it to the standard of his audience.

Jacob Joseph taught that the presence of God is manifest everywhere and in each and every human thought; even "when man is engaged in prayer and an alien and evil thought enters his mind, it has come to man so that he may improve and uplift it. If he does not believe in this, then his acceptance of the rule of the Kingdom of Heaven is incomplete because, Heaven forfend, he then restricts His presence" (*Ben Porat Yosef*). He proposes that man should resolve the ever-present tension created by matter which draws him to evil and by spiritual form which calls him to good through combining the joy of matter with that of form, thus achieving the perfect joy. Evil inclination will then be subdued of itself, becoming the tool of good. The ultimate purpose of man is "Thou shalt adhere to Him." This adhesion is only possible through joy, while fasting and self-affliction bring sorrow, and sorrow is the root of all evils. Prayers should be recited with a purified and concentrated mind and with joy. It is within the power of the *ẓaddik* to change an evil decree to a favorable end through his prayer, also on behalf of those who are associated with him.

The same relationship within man also exists within society. There is the "multitude" and the "scholar." The man of merit and form is the *ẓaddik*, while the "multitude" is matter. The *ẓaddik* is likened to the head or the eyes of the body, and the multitude to the feet. The congregation is thus conceived as a living organism, the *ẓaddik* being its life and soul in his generation. This organismic premise precludes the concept that only a few are elect. It follows that the interrelationship in this corporate body causes any failure on the part of even the lowest member – whether in matter or in spirit – to be reflected far more damagingly in the state of "the head" – the *ẓaddik*. None of the members can adhere truly to God, so long as only one, even if an ignoramus, is not conscious of his need to be uplifted through the head (the *ẓaddik*). Hence it is the duty of the *ẓaddik* to exert his influence over him. Moreover, for the sake of this unification with the multitude, and so as to be able to uplift it, a *ẓaddik* may sometimes have to descend from his own level and to sin for the good of his task. This concept of the "descent of the *ẓaddik*" holds an important place in Jacob Joseph's teachings. The Jew of the multitude is incapable "of studying the Torah, and as this is through no neglect of his own, God will not punish him" if he adheres to the *ẓaddik*. He is enjoined to believe in the *ẓaddik* with absolute faith, without any afterthoughts or doubts as to the *ẓaddik's* way of life, because all his actions are performed for the sake of Heaven.

The "man of matter" must also support the *ẓaddik* financially to enable him to fulfill his duty successfully and devote himself to God through Torah study and prayer. Jacob Joseph taught the importance of the communal Sabbath "third meal" for the ḥasidic congregation, saying that he who does not participate in it with his brethren "makes his Sabbath profane" (*Toledot Ya'akov Yosef*, beginning of the section on Noah). Jacob Joseph's hostility to the ordinary type of rabbi is expressed in his denunciation of them as "Jewish demons, the equivalent of the Satan and the evil inclination itself, the whole of their Torah studies being for their personal aggrandizement."

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[Moshe Hallamish]

JACOB JOSEPH OF OSTROG (**Yeivi**; 1738–1791), pietist preacher (*maggid*). He was the son of a *maggid* and succeeded his father in 1766, after the latter's death. Jacob Joseph's son testified that he highly esteemed the teachings of the disciples of *Israel b. Eliezer Ba'al Shem Tov, the founder of modern Ḥasidism. Jacob, who lived in poverty and privation, had a deep sense of social morality. His sermons reflected the social upheaval troubling the Jews of Eastern Europe in the 18th century. Jacob Joseph attacked perversions of justice, informing, and bribery, and took to task community leaders and rabbis who gained their appointments through their relations with the authorities instead of through Torah learning. He taught that the poor are closest to God and worthy of attaining the mystic knowledge of the Torah, but the rich are distant from Him. There exists a kind of social-spiritual division in the world in which the learned profess the unity of God above and ensure the provision of abundance below, although personally gaining only a scanty livelihood; in contrast, the ignorant collect the abundance that pours down from Heaven. Despite this distinction, Jacob insisted on the principle of internal Jewish unity, since all the Jewish people are linked with each other. The *ẓaddik*'s devotion to the Almighty draws all his brethren after him to holiness.

His books are *Mora Mikdash* (Korets, 1782), on order in synagogue; *Ein Mishpat* (Korets, 1782), on the prohibition on buying rabbinical office or arbitrary appointment; and *Rav Yeivi* (Slavuta, 1792), homilies.

[Avraham Rubinstein]

JACOB KOPPEL BEN AARON SASSLOWER (second half of 17th century), authority on the masoretic text and cantillation, and author of a work on the *masorah. Jacob Koppel came from Zaslavl near Ostrog (Volhynia). He was the author of *Naḥalat Ya'akov* (1686), containing the masorah for the reading of the Ten Commandments in accordance with intonation and grammar, as well as various studies on the masorah and Hebrew grammar based upon the *Si'aḥ Yiẓḥak* of Isaac b. Samuel ha-Levi of Posen and the *Iggeret ha-Te'amim* of Aaron Abraham b. Baruch. Jekuthiel Lazi b. Nahum Ashkenazi compiled an abridgment titled the *Kiẓẓur Naḥalat Ya'akov* (1718) with the addition of the *kunteres Or Torah* by Menahem *Lonzano for the benefit of "those living in the countryside and in villages, who have never seen or known" the original work.

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[Josef Horovitz]

JACOB KOPPEL BEN MOSES OF MEZHIRECH (d. c. 1740), Polish kabbalist. Jacob was influenced by the Shabbatean movement in Poland, and he himself influenced Ḥasidism. His main published works are: *Sha'arei Gan Eden* (Korets, 1803), a major kabbalistic treatise, dealing with all facets of kabbalistic theosophy, following the school of Isaac *Luria; and *Ha-Kol Kol Ya'akov* (Slaviuta, 1804), a formulation of the Lurianic *kavvanot* (the mystical intentions and meditations during prayer). This work served as a basis for later ḥasidic prayer books. Besides these he apparently wrote *Naḥalot Ya'akov*, an extensive commentary on the *Zohar, which has been lost. Jacob denounces the followers of *Shabbetai Ẓevi and messianic speculation in general in a few scattered remarks. However, it has been proved that he was the brother and pupil of a known Shabbatean, Ḥayyim of Ostraha (Ostrog), who influenced his writings.

A close study of the kabbalistic doctrine of Jacob proves conclusively that his works included at least one part of a "credo" of *Nathan of Gaza, the prophet of Shabbetai Ẓevi, that substantial parts of his theosophical discussions were influenced by Nathan's basic doctrines, and that his works contain many ideas and expressions similar to those of Jonathan *Eybeschuetz, another secret Shabbatean in Eastern Europe.

The Shabbatean elements in Jacob's theology are revealed in three fields. First, his theosophic doctrine, which describes the processes that led toward the creation within the Godhead itself, does not follow the orthodox Lurianic myth but uses a whole group of terms and processes introduced into the Kabbalah by Nathan of Gaza. While creating his Shabbatean theology, the latter utilized elements in the teachings of Luria's alleged pupil Israel *Sarug. Secondly, in his descriptions of development within the realm of the *Sefirot* (the divine emanations), Jacob uses a series of extremely radical sexual symbols found only in Shabbatean writings, mainly in those of Eybeschuetz. Finally, some scattered hints (which were fully developed in at least one of his works) allude to a heretical, antinomian concept of the Torah and the *mitzvot*, following the Shabbatean distinction between the laws governing the world before the coming of the messiah, Shabbetai Ẓevi, and the new laws following his appearance.

Jacob and his writings were highly praised by the early Ḥasidim, who published his works and used them extensively. A reliable ḥasidic tradition even quotes some words of praise attributed to *Israel b. Eliezer Ba'al Shem Tov. Thus Jacob's Shabbatean writings form one of the links between late East European Shabbateanism and early Ḥasidism.

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[Joseph Dan]

JACOB NAZIR (**Jacob ben Saul of Lunel**; second half of 12th century), scholar and kabbalist in Lunel, S. France. The brother of Asher b. Saul, author of *Sefer ha-Minhagot*, Jacob was a colleague of *Abraham b. David (RABaD). Solomon Schechter (JQR 5, 1893, pp. 22–23), on the basis of statements in letters of Samuel David *Luzzatto (*Iggerot Shadal* (1882), 669), established his identity, in opposition to Zunz, who had thought him identical with Jacob b. Meshullam of Lunel. Jacob Nazir belonged to a group of hermits in Provence who carried on the mystic tradition, devoting themselves wholly to a life of contemplation. Kabbalistic tradition attributes to Jacob and Abraham b. David revelations of the prophet Elijah. Through visions and meditations they arrived at innovations in kabbalistic thought. Some of their interpretations, in which they disagreed on the details of the mystical *kavvanot* ("meditations") in certain prayers (i.e., to which *Sefirah* or quality of God should a man direct his thought in prayer?), have survived in several manuscripts (Ms. JTS New York 838 48a; British Museum 755 85b; Oxford 1646). The works that have survived contain kabbalistic terminology developed from Sefer ha-*Bahir, the *Heikhalot* literature, and a mixture of different traditions. However, there is no proof that Jacob constructed a complete and ordered system.

Jacob Nazir was the first to use the term *Malkhut* ("kingdom") to designate the last revelation of the *Sefirot*, and as a synonym for the concepts of *Kavod* ("glory") and *Shekhinah* ("Divine Presence"). According to G. Scholem this usage was derived from ibn *Tibbon's Hebrew translation of the *Kuzari*, composed in Lunel during that period (1167). One of the first kabbalists to serve as a direct link between Provence and the East, Jacob made a pilgrimage to Palestine, apparently after Saladin's capture of Jerusalem (1187). His circle transmitted traditions which he learned from R. Nehorai of Jerusalem (R. Ezra's commentary on the *aggadot*, Ms. Vatican 185; see Scholem, *Kitvei Yad be-Kabbalah* (1930), 202). Later legend of the Spanish kabbalists (c. 1300) linked his visit to the Middle East with *Maimonides' imaginary turning to Kabbalah in his old age. There is no trace of mysticism in Jacob's supplements to Rashi's commentary on Job (Ms. Oxford 295) written in 1163 or 1183. A. Jellinek's assumption that Jacob was the author of *Massekhet Aẓilut* is unfounded (*Toledot ha-Filosofyah be-Yisrael* (1921), 167).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: G. Scholem, in: *Tarbiz*, 6 (1935), 339–41; idem, *Reshit ha-Kabbalah* (1948), 70–98; idem, *Ursprung und Anfaenge der Kabbala* (1962), 201–6.

JACOB (**Jakób**) **OF BELZYCE** (16th century), scholar and physician in Poland. He took part in religious *disputations, mainly with the radical wing of Polish anti-trinitarians. Jacob's views, and even his very existence and activity, are known through the work of Marcin Czechowic: *Odpis Jakóba Żyda z Bełżyc na Dyalogi Marcina Czechowica: na ktory zas odpowiada Jakobowi Żydowi tenze Marcin Czechowic* ("The Reply of the Jew Jacob of Belzyce to the Dialogues of Marcin Czechowic: With the Reply of the Said Czechowic to the Jew Jacob") completed at Lublin on Dec. 16, 1581. This sums up – though with a Christian anti-trinitarian bias – the work that Jacob published against the Christian "dialogues" of Czechowic. In the dedication to Andrzej Lasota, Czechowic states that "you are well acquainted with this Jew with whom this dispute is being held." Czechowic also mentions that "about seven years ago" they had disputed on the nature of Jesus Christ (*ibid.*, 51) – hence about 1574 Jacob and Czechowic were already in contact. Elsewhere Czechowic mentions that "I talked to you not only through brother Marcin the tailor, but also through a Jew of Lublin, and I also informed you directly" (*ibid.*, 58). It is clear, therefore, that Jacob and his polemical work actually existed and are not a figment of Czechowic's imagination, as some scholars have thought.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: L. Szczucki, *Marcin Czechowic* (1964), index and 274–5, note 122, includes bibliography; J. Rosenthal, *Marcin Czechowic and Jacob of Belzyce; Arian-Jewish Encounters in 16th Century Poland* (1966; repr. from PAAJR, 34 (1966), 77–98).

[Haim Hillel Ben-Sasson]

JACOB OF CORBEIL (d. 1192), tosafist, pupil of Jacob b. Meir *Tam. He and his brother Judah, who were among the earliest scholars of Corbeil, are frequently mentioned in the *tosafot*. He composed *tosafot* to tractate *Pesaḥim*, and his name is mentioned in the printed *tosafot* as well as in the *Tosafot Yeshanim* to a number of other tractates. He met a martyr's death in 1192, apparently in his native town. The epithet *kadosh* ("holy"), added to his name in consequence of his martyrdom, has caused him to be confused with *Jacob of Marvège. Both Jacob of Corbeil and his brother are known to have had some connection with Kabbalah, but the only definite information on this topic is to the effect that Judah belonged to one of the circles of the *Ḥasidei Ashkenaz.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Urbach, Tosafot, 129–30.

[Israel Moses Ta-Shma]

JACOB OF KEFAR SAKHNAYYA, Judeo-Christian disciple of *Jesus. It is related that Jacob once met *Eliezer b. Hyrcanus, to whom he reported that Jesus interpreted the verse "For of the hire of a harlot hath she gathered them and unto the hire of a harlot they shall return" (Micah 1:7), to mean that since the money originated in a place of filth, it could be applied to a place of filth; therefrom that, if the hire of a harlot had been consecrated, it could be applied to the erection of a privy for the high priest (Tosef., Ḥul. 2:24; Av. Zar. 17a; Eccles. R. 1:8, no. 3), despite the prohibition of Deuteronomy 23:19. There is no mention of such a view in Christian sources, but it is characteristic of the attitude of Jesus to fallen women (cf. Luke 7:36–50). In the family of Jesus and among his disciples there were several named Jacob, but it is not clear whether Jacob of Kefar Sakhnayya can be identified with any one of those mentioned in early Christian literature; in any case he is probably not to be identified with Jacob the brother of Jesus (as Klausner suggests). It is also unclear whether the same man is referred to in the following story (Tosef., Ḥul. 2:22–23; Av. Zar. 27b; TJ, Shab. 14:4, 14d; TJ, Av. Zar. 2:2, 40d): "It once happened that Eleazar b. Dama was bitten by a snake and Jacob of Kefar Sama (in TB, Sekhanya) came to cure him in the name of Jesus b. Pantirah, but R. Ishmael did not permit him to do so."

BIBLIOGRAPHY: J. Klausner, *Jesus of Nazareth, His Life, Times, and Teaching* (1929), 38ff., 286; Rokeah, in: *Tarbiz*, 39 (1969/70), 9–15; R.T. Herford, *Christianity in Talmud and Midrash* (1903), 137ff.; H.J. Schonfield, *History of Jewish Christianity* (1936), 73–79.

[Moshe David Herr]

JACOB OF MARVÈGE (late 12th–13th century), tosafist from Marvège, south central France. He is given the epithets *ḥasid* ("pious"), *kadosh* ("saintly"), and *mekubbal* ("the kabbalist"). He was the author of the remarkable work, *She'elot u-Teshuvot min ha-Shamayim* ("Responsa from Heaven"). He would seek answers from heaven about *halakhah*, and about what decision was to be accepted practice where the authorities differed "by means of seclusion, prayer, and uttering divine names and his questions were replied to in a dream" (Responsa Radbaz pt. 3, no. 532). In one responsum he writes: "O Supreme King, great, mighty, and revered God… command the holy angels charged with replying to questions in a dream to give a true and correct reply to the question I ask before Thy throne of Glory" (see Bibliography: Margaliot, 52). The date, 1203, of responsum 69, serves as a basis for determining his period. The replies received were cited as halakhic rulings by the great deciders who came after him. His work was first published in David ibn Zimra's responsa (pt. 5, Leghorn 1818 and subsequently in various editions; the 1895 edition has the commentary *Keset ha-Sofer* by Aaron Marcus). The first edition by R. Margaliot was published in 1926, a second edition in 1929, and a third edition, containing 89 responsa with an enlarged introduction and a corrected text from the collation of different manuscripts, in 1957.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Guedemann, Gesch Erz, 1 (1880), 81; Gross, Gal Jud, 364–5; Marx, in: PAAJR, 4 (1933), 153; Urbach, Tosafot, 129, 202; R. Margaliot (ed.), *She'elot u-Teshuvot min ha-Shamayim* (1957^3), 20–24; KS, 33 (1957/58), 277.

[Yehoshua Horowitz]

JACOB OF ORLEANS (d. 1189), tosafist; pupil of Jacob *Tam in Orleans. Like his fellow-student, *Yom Tov b. Isaac of Joigny, Jacob settled in England, and like him, met a martyr's death. While in England, where moneylending was the Jews' main source of livelihood, he drew up a formula for loans, whereby the prohibition against *usury could be circumvented (*Haggahot Mordekhai* to BM, 454–5). This formula gave rise to considerable perplexity in later generations. According to Meir of Rothenburg, the practice of employing a non-Jew to heat houses on the Sabbath in winter was introduced in France on Jacob's authority (Responsa, Prague (1608), 92). Jacob composed *tosafot* on a number of tractates and his name frequently occurs in the printed *tosafot*. His influence is particularly noticeable in the *tosafot* to tractates *Pesaḥim, Zevaḥim*, and *Menaḥot*. His commentary on the Pentateuch is extant in manuscript, and extracts from it are to be found in various collections of commentaries by tosafists on the Pentateuch.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Urbach, Tosafot, 122–4.

[Israel Moses Ta-Shma]

JACOB OF PONT-SAINTE-MAXENCE (14th century), one of the leaders of French Jewry. Jacob apparently came from Pont-Sainte-Maxence, a town in the Oise department, northern France, but his name is the only indication that a Jewish community existed there. Along with *Manessier of Vesoul, he controlled the affairs of the Jews in the north, perhaps from the time of their return to France in 1359. After Jacob had quarreled with Manessier and denounced him to the authorities, Manessier was compelled to pay a heavy fine both to Jacob and to the king.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: I. Loeb, in: *Jubelschrift… H. Graetz*, 1 (1887), 54ff.; R. Anchel, *Les Juifs de France* (1946), 115ff.

[Bernhard Blumenkranz]

JACOB OF VIENNA (end of 14th–beginning of 15th century), Austrian rabbi. Known also as Jekel of Eiger, he studied under

R. Moshel of Znaim, Moravia, and was rabbi at Eiger, Krems, and Vienna. Jacob *Moellin consulted him, and Israel *Isserlein held him in high esteem. No responsa of his are extant, although almost all the great contemporary rabbis quote him. In *halakhah* he adopted an independent view, did not hesitate to disagree with his teacher and sometimes even with statements contained in *Alexander Susslin ha-Kohen's *Ha-Aguddah*. He also judged cases of mayhem (*dinei ḥabbalot*), on one occasion imposing the highest fine known in Ashkenazi Jewry for such cases. He became renowned as editor of communal decrees (Breslau, in: ZGJD, 5 (1892), 115–25). Several of his pupils are known, among them Zalman Katz, author of *Ha-Yeri'ah*. Grossberg has published from a manuscript a commentary on the Pentateuch by a Jacob of Vienna who may be identical with this Jacob of Vienna (see bibliography).

The commentary shows the influence of the German pietists and cites many other exegetes.

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[Yedidya A. Dinari]

JACOBOWSKI, LUDWIG (1868–1900), German poet and author. Born in Strelno, Posen, Jacobowski spent most of his short life in Berlin. He edited the newspaper *Die Gesellschaft* and wrote several volumes of poetry including *Funken* (1891), *Satan lachte* (1898), *Aus bewegten Stunden* (1899), *Ausklang* (1901), and *Leuchtende Tage* (1901). His novel *Werther, der Jude* (1892), which expressed his inner turmoil, provoked more interest than his verse. In a second novel, *Loki, Roman eines Gottes* (1899), the eponymous figure of the lonely dark god rejected by the blond Teutonic deities symbolized the isolation of the Jew in Germanic culture. Jacobowski was also an essayist and author of a comedy, *Diyab der Narr* (1895). A significant Jewish figure in the last decade of 19th-century German literature, he conducted an interesting correspondence with many of the leading writers of his time, including Karl *Kraus, Alfred *Kerr, and Jacob *Wassermann. He was an active defender of Jewish rights in the *Verein zur Abwehr des Anti-semitismus* and entered into a controversy with Hermann *Ahlwardt, whose anti-Jewish "racial" work *Der Verzweiflungskampf der arischen Voelker mit dem Judentum* provoked Jacobowski's spirited reply, *Offene Antwort eines Juden* (1891). He also published *Der Juden Anteil in Verbrechen* (1892) and *Der christliche Staat und seine Zukunft* (1894). The works of Jacobowski reflect both his attempt to find a synthesis between Judaism and German culture and his own personal tragedy. His collected works (*Gesammelte Werke in einem Band,* ed. Alexander Mueller) appeared in one volume in 2000.

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JACOBS, ALETTA HENRIËTTE (1854–1929), Dutch suffragette and physician. Jacobs is primarily known for her advocacy of women's suffrage in the Netherlands. She was the daughter of Abraham Jacobs and Anna de Jongh. In 1892 she married Carel Victor Gerritsen, a businessman. Their only child died at a very young age. At the age of 16, Jacobs had corresponded with Minister J.R. Thorbecke and obtained his permission to be admitted to the University of Groningen, where she started studying medicine as the first Dutch female student in 1871. In 1879 she obtained her degree with a dissertation titled *On the Localization of Physiological and Pathological Phenomena in the Cerebrum*. Jacobs had her own medical practice and she was also involved in a number of social initiatives. She criticized the shocking housing conditions of the poor working class in the press and emphasized the difficult circumstances in which poor, illiterate, working-class women had to live. Her fight for equal rights for women led to her taking an active part in the women's movement. In 1889 she joined the recently founded Vrije Vrouwen Vereeniging (Free Women's Association), which started the separate Vereeniging voor Vrouwenkiesrecht (Association for Women's Suffrage) in 1894.

In 1903, Aletta Jacobs took over the leadership of the latter association and in this position decided to devote herself to the task of revising the Dutch constitution in order to give women the right to vote and to be elected. Thanks to the foundation of the Bond voor Vrouwenkiesrecht (League for Women's Suffrage) in 1907, this demand was brought to the international forefront. The Netherlands was neutral in World War I and therefore The Hague was chosen to hold an international women's congress on May 3, 1915. Women's rights were on the agenda as well as a potential contribution to peace. Jacobs' ardent struggle bore fruit only in September 1919, when Queen Wilhelmina finally signed the Jacobs Act, which gave Dutch women the full right to vote.

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[Monika Saelemaekers (2nd ed.)]

JACOBS, ARTHUR (David; 1922–1996), British music critic, author, translator, editor, and lexicographer. Born in Manchester, Jacobs received his education there and at Oxford. He was music critic of the London *Daily Express* (1947–52) and of the *Jewish Chronicle* (from 1963), as well as associate editor of the London monthly *Opera* (1961–71). He was appointed professor at the Royal Academy of Music, London, in 1964 and from 1979 to 1984 he was head of the music department at Huddersfield Polytechnic; he also taught in British Columbia (1968), Philadelphia (1970, 1971), Canada, and Australia. His many publications include *Gilbert and Sullivan* (1951), *A New Dictionary of Music* (1958, 1972 also Spanish and Swedish editions), *Choral Music* (editor, 1963), *The Pan Book of Opera/The Opera Guide* (with Stanley Sadie, 1964, 1969), *The Penguin Dictionary of Musical Performers* (1990), and *A Short History of Western Music* (1972). He translated more than 20 opera librettos from several languages, including works by Haendel, Rossini, Berlioz, Tchaikovsky, Strauss, and Berg (the complete *Lulu*), and wrote the original libretto for Nicholas Maw's *One-Man Show* (1964). Jacobs also contributed to many musical journals.

ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY: Grove online; N. Slonimsky, *Baker's Biographical Dictionary of Musicians.*

[Max Loppert / Israela Stein (2nd ed.)

JACOBS, BERNARD B. (1916–1996), U.S. theater executive. Born in Manhattan, Jacobs graduated from New York University and Columbia University Law School. After serving in the Army in the South Pacific in World War II, Jacobs practiced law with his brother, dealing mainly with jewelry companies. It was his brother's friend, Gerald Schoenfeld, who brought him into the theater in 1958 to help him at the mighty Shubert theatrical organization, where he was chief lawyer. After J.J. Shubert died in 1963, his will turned over the bulk of his estate, including the theaters, to the Shubert Foundation, then a little-known arm of the theater company. During a bitter power struggle among irreconcilable directors, Jacobs and Schoenfeld moved to the top of the integrated organization in 1972. Although they had little theater background, the two lawyers began investing money in plays and acting as producers. By 1974 Jacobs felt that the Shubert empire was back on track with the hits *Equus, Pippin, Grease*, and *Sherlock Holmes*. The next year, *A Chorus Line* put the operation on solid footing. The two men were universally credited with taking a faltering theater concern and transforming it into a modern and financially potent enterprise. As theater owners and producers, they had more to say than anyone else about what shows opened on Broadway. They also determined what shows closed in their theaters, and when. At the end of the 20th century, "the Shuberts," as the two lawyers became known, owned and operated 16 Broadway theaters in addition to theaters in Philadelphia, Washington, Boston, and Los Angeles and other real estate property.

For years Jacobs and Schoenfeld were embroiled in suits after the state attorney general said that, as executors of the J.J. Shubert estate, they had made "grossly excessive" claims. The charges were later withdrawn. The pair also benefited from a tax ruling in 1979 that gave the Shubert Foundation an exemption to federal tax laws. This allowed Jacobs and Schoenfeld to continue as heads of both the foundation and the theater organization, the most important in the Broadway theater. By the end of the 20th century, the foundation had a value of more than $150 million and provided support to nonprofit theaters and to dance companies. Jacobs was also credited with introducing computerized methods of ticket sales, linking his box offices to computerized outlets in other cities.

In 2005, Broadway theaters owned by the Shuberts were renamed for Jacobs and Schoenfeld.

[Stewart Kampel (2nd ed.)]

JACOBS, FRANCES WISEBART (1843–1892), known as Denver's "Mother of Charities." Frances Wisebart Jacobs was born in Harrodsburg, Kentucky, on March 23, 1843. Her parents, Leon, a tailor, and Rosetta Wisebart, emigrated from Bavaria and later moved to Cincinnati, where Frances and her six siblings attended public schools. In 1859, Frances's brother Benjamin Wisebart and his friend Abraham Jacobs journeyed to the west, settling in what was soon to become Denver. Abraham Jacobs returned to Cincinnati in 1863 to marry Frances Wisebart. He and his new bride, now Frances Jacobs, made their first home in the mining town of Central City, near Denver, where Abraham operated a general store. The family relocated to Denver in 1870, where Frances was to have a profound influence on the development of benevolent charity work within both the Jewish and larger community, while Abraham became a prominent merchant and active in local politics. In 1872, Frances Wisebart Jacobs helped organize, and soon served as president of, the Hebrew Ladies' Benevolent Society, and in 1874 she helped found the nonsectarian Denver Ladies' Relief Society, primarily to aid Denver's ill and impoverished, and served as the organization's first vice president. By 1885, largely through her efforts, the first free kindergarten was opened in Denver. Frances Jacobs was also one of the three primary founders of what would become the early United Way of America, which originated in Denver in 1887 as the Community Chest.

During the last years of her life, Jacobs had been particularly attuned to the plight of tuberculosis victims, who frequently came to Denver in search of better health, without funds or medical assistance once they arrived. By the 1880s, Denver had earned the nickname of the "World's Sanitorium," and hundreds of consumptives began to pour into Colorado. The Jewish community was the first to step forward with aid, and Jacobs served as the impetus behind the founding of National Jewish Hospital for Consumptives. At the dedication of the hospital in 1899, some years after Jacobs' death from pneumonia in 1892 at the age of forty-nine, Denver's mayor observed that "out of her efforts has grown an institution national in scope and dedicated to the humane and charitable work in which during her lifetime she so earnestly engaged." In 1900, when 16 portraits of pioneers were selected to be placed in the windows of the dome of the Colorado state capitol building, Jacobs was chosen as one of the small elite group and the only woman.

Jacobs' unswerving commitment to the sick and indigent, and her amazing ability to work with men and women from a variety of ethnic and religious groups, earned her the epitaph of Denver's "Mother of Charities." Although she had no formal training, she was the prototype of the early social worker, frequently making personal visits to those who were ill and poor, freely dispensing advice, medication, and funds. The funeral of Frances Wisebart Jacobs was attended by nearly 2,000 people and served as a testimony to her impact on the development of philanthropy in early Denver.

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[Jeanne Abrams (2nd ed.)]

JACOBS, GEORGE (1834–1894), rabbi. Born in Kingston, Jamaica, Jacobs came to the United States at the age of 20 and settled in Richmond, Virginia, where he studied for the rabbinate. He was ordained in 1857 and in 1869 he succeeded Isaac Lesser as rabbi of Congregation Beth Emet in Philadelphia. He was one of the founders of the Young Men's Hebrew Association (YMHA) in Philadelphia and of the Jewish Publication Society. He was a frequent contributor to the Jewish press. He revised the English version of the Szold-Jastrow Siddur. He is the author of *Catechism for Elementary Instruction in the Hebrew Faith* (1894).

[Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

JACOBS, HIRSCH (1904–1970), U.S. horseracing trainer and breeder who saddled more thoroughbred winners – 3,596 – than any other trainer in history; member of National Racing Museum and Hall of Fame. One of ten children born to an immigrant tailor in Manhattan, Jacobs began raising and racing pigeons at age eight after the family moved to Brooklyn, and by 12 could identify 100 pigeons by sight. At age 22 he bought his first thoroughbred, called Reveillon. Two years later Jacobs formed a partnership with Isadore Bieber, who served as financier and owner of horses while Jacobs did the training. Jacobs was an unusually keen observer with a phenomenal memory, especially for the ailments of other men's horses. His specialty was claiming inexpensive horses and developing them into big winners, the most famous being Stymie, which Jacobs claimed on June 2, 1943, for $1,500 and turned into one of the all-time great thoroughbreds: in 128 races Stymie won 35, was second 32 times, and third 26 times, earning $918,485, a record at the time. Stymie was also named handicap horse of the year in 1945 and was inducted into the Racing Hall of Fame in 1975.

Jacobs led all trainers in winners every year from 1933 through 1944 except 1940, when he finished second. With some of the money earned by Stymie, Bieber and Jacobs set up their own breeding farm, Stymie Manor. As a trainer, Jacobs' horses led in earnings in 1946, 1960, and 1965, and Stymie Manor led all breeders in winnings from 1964 through 1967. After suffering a stroke in 1966, Jacobs became less active and his son, John, took over much of the responsibility for training Stymie Manor's best horses. Jacobs' wife, Ethel, brothers Eugene and Sidney, son John, and daughter and son-in-law Patrice and Louis Wolfson were also long-time trainers, owners, and breeders. Jacobs' 3,596 winners earned $15,340,534, and among his best horses were Hail to Reason, the two-year-old champion in 1960; Regal Gleam, champion two-year-old filly in 1966; Straight Deal, the champion handicap mare in 1967; and Affectionately, champion sprinter in 1965. Jacobs trained six horses that raced in the Kentucky Derby, though none finished higher than third place. Pimlico Race Track in Baltimore memorialized him in 1975 with the Hirsch Jacobs Stakes. Jacobs was elected to the National Racing Hall of Fame as a trainer in 1958.

[Elli Wohlgelernter (2nd ed.)]

JACOBS, IRWIN M. (1933–), U.S. computer and communications entrepreneur. Born in New Bedford, Mass., Jacobs received an engineering degree from Cornell University and master's and doctorate degrees in electrical engineering from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. He began his career teaching at MIT and was on the staff of the Research Laboratory of Electronics there. While at MIT, Jacobs, together with Prof. J. Wozencraft, wrote *Principles of Communication Engineering,* developing a vision of ubiquitous communications worldwide made possible by digital wireless communications. This led to the founding of his first company, Linkabit, a wellspring for most of the telecommunications industry in San Diego, Calif. Jacobs guided the growth of Linkabit from a handful of employees in 1969 to over 1,700 by 1985. Linkabit merged with M/A-Com in 1980. During most of that time, Jacobs was chairman, president, and chief executive officer of Linkabit, and executive vice president and a director of M/A. While there, Jacobs led the team that developed the first microprocessor-based, spread-spectrum satellite communication modem for military anti-jam airborne applications. He also guided the development and manufacture of the first successful video scrambling system (Videocypher), currently operating to descramble premium television transmission to millions of satellite dishes.

In 1985 Jacobs became a founder and then chairman and chief executive of Qualcomm, which develops, manufactures, licenses, delivers, and operates digital wireless communication products and services based on code-division multiple access technology (CDMA). As a pioneer in wireless communications, Qualcomm develops and supplies integrated circuits and system software for wireless voice and data communications. Its standard is used by major carriers like Sprint and Verizon Wireless. Consumers may know it best for its Eudora e-mail software. The CDMA standard was adopted as one of two digital standards for the next generation of cellular telephones in North America. In 2005 it had 7,600 employees worldwide and had revenues topping $5 billion, making Jacobs one of the wealthiest men in the United States. In 1994, Jacobs was awarded the National Medal of Technology, the highest award bestowed by the president of the United States for achievement in the commercialization of technology or the development of human resources that foster technology commercialization. Jacobs's philanthropies were diverse, with gifts to schools and museums. He and his wife gave an endowment gift to the University of California, San Diego, for an engineering college which was named the Irwin and Joan Jacobs School of Engineering. In 1992 Jacobs and his wife gave the financially troubled San Diego Symphony a $100 million endowment, then the largest ever awarded to a symphony orchestra in the United States. They have been generous to the Jewish Community Center and other Jewish charities in San Diego, but like many philanthropists, they have given their megagifts to general, not specifically Jewish causes.

In 2005, PAUL E. JACOBS (1962–) succeeded his father as chief executive of Qualcomm. Jacobs had started in his father's first company, Linkabit, in 1985 and worked at different engineering jobs at Qualcomm during his college years at the University of California, Berkeley, from which he earned a doctorate. Paul Jacobs, who formally joined the company in 1990, was president of Qualcomm's Internet and wireless group, one of the company's most important divisions. In his early years at the company, he worked on the engineering for the antenna of Qualcomm's OmniTracs system, which is used to track the routes of freight trucks. He worked on the speech compression algorithm for CDMA, and holds a patent for part of the technology, one of more than 25 Qualcomm patents that he helped develop. Paul's brother Jeff is the leader of Qualcomm's global development division.

[Stewart Kampel (2nd ed.)]

JACOBS, JAMES LESLIE (**Jimmy**, **Jim**; 1930–1988), U.S. handball champion, considered along with Vic *Hershkowitz as the greatest handball players in history; boxing manager and film historian, member of United States Handball Association Hall of Fame, World Boxing Hall of Fame, and International Boxing Hall of Fame. Jacobs was born in St. Louis, but when he was five his family moved to Los Angeles, where as a teenager he excelled as a shortstop in baseball, halfback in football, and forward at basketball, but primarily in handball. He was a remarkable all-around athlete who once ran a 9.8 100-yard dash, and was offered a tryout for the U.S. Olympic basketball team. After serving with the U.S. army in Korea – he was awarded the Purple Heart in 1951 – Jacobs developed his handball skills and became ambidextrous. As a four-wall handball player, Jacobs was the best ever, winning every match he played between 1955 and 1969. He won the Three-Wall Men's Singles three times (1959, 1960, 1961), the Four-Wall Men's Singles six times (1955, 1956, 1957, 1960, 1964, 1965, and the Men's Doubles five times (1960, 1962, 1965, 1967, 1968). Jacobs was the first to coin the "sword and the shield" theory, relying on his left hand as a shield and his right hand as his sword, and is credited as the first handball player to use the ceiling shot as a defensive weapon. He also won three AAU national titles, four YMCA national titles, and countless regional championships. He was inducted into the United States Handball Association Hall of Fame in 1972.

Jacobs was also a boxing enthusiast, and while traveling around the world to give handball exhibitions for the armed services, he began to collect films of old boxing matches not available in the United States. Jacobs became one of the world's top boxing historians. In 1961, he merged his collection with that of Bill Cayton to form the largest collection in the world, and the two worked to restore and preserve old boxing films dating to the 1890s. Their corporation, The Big Fights, Inc., produced over 1,000 boxing features, and three of their productions – *Legendary Champions*, *The Heavyweight Champions*, and *Jack Johnson* – were nominated for Academy Awards. Jacobs himself directed the 1970 documentary *AKA Cassius Clay*.

Jacobs – a nephew of boxing promoter Mike *Jacobs, who managed Joe Louis – also managed fighters together with Cayton, including three world champions: Wilfred Benitez, Edwin Rosario, and Mike Tyson. The Boxing Writers' Association of America awarded Jacobs the Al Buck Award for Manager of the Year in 1986, and he was inducted into the International Boxing Hall of Fame in 1993.

Jacobs also loved comic books from when he was a child, and his collection of 500,000 issues was said to be the largest in the world. He died at 58 after a nine-year battle with chronic lymphocytic leukemia.

[Elli Wohlgelernter (2nd ed.)]

JACOBS, JOE (**Yosef**, "**Yussel the Muscle**"; 1896–1940), U.S. boxing manager. Jacobs, the son of a tailor, was born on New York's Lower East Side to Hungarian immigrants. He was the quintessential boxing manager of the 1920s and 1930s, a cigar-chomping, fedora-wearing, streetwise, brash, combative, argumentative, and fast-talking schmoozer who "knew nothing about boxing, but he knew how to negotiate and get his man the best deal possible," in the words of his most famous fighter, Max Schmeling. Jacobs became Schmeling's manager in 1928, when the German began fighting in the United States. In Schmeling's fight for the vacant heavyweight championship on June 12, 1930, at Yankee Stadium, he was knocked down in the fourth round by a low blow from Jack Sharkey. Jacobs jumped into the ring and continued to scream "foul" until the bewildered referee disqualified Sharkey. It was the only time the heavyweight championship was decided on a foul. When the two boxers met in a rematch for the title on June 21, 1932, Sharkey won a controversial 15-round decision, leading Jacobs to utter to a national radio audience what became a classic sports quote and an entry in *Bartlett's Familiar Quotations*: "We wuz robbed!" Another *Bartlett's* quote from Jacobs that became part of the American idiom occurred when he attended the 1935 World Series in Detroit on a very cold and windy day. "I should of stood in bed," he remarked.

On March 10, 1935, Jacobs accompanied Schmeling to a fight in Hamburg, Germany, against Steve Hamas. After Schmeling knocked out Hamas, he and 25,000 fans spontaneously stood and sang the Nazi anthem with arms raised in the Sieg Heil. Jacobs – as naive about politics as he was shrewd about ring matters, and unsure what to do, according to Schmeling – then raised his right hand, with its omnipresent cigar, and joined the salute, smiling and winking at Schmeling. It bothered the Nazi brass that this Jew with cigar in hand was giving the Nazi salute, but it caused greater outrage in the United States, especially in the Jewish community, when photographs of the scene were published. "Up in the Bronx the good burghers agreed that the little man with the big cigar was no credit to their creed," wrote a *New York Daily News* reporter. Schmeling, nicknamed "The Black Uhlan of the Rhine" by Jacobs, was being touted by Germany as the paradigm of Aryan supremacy, and was under repeated pressure from the highest levels of the Nazi party to fire his Jewish manager, but he refused. Jacobs subsequently arranged for Schmeling to fight Joe Louis, whom he beat in their first fight on June 19, 1936, but he lost the rematch on June 22, 1938, in perhaps the most famous boxing bout in history.

Five months later, on November 10, 1938, *Kristallnacht*, Schmeling hid two Jewish teenage brothers, Henri and Werner Lewin, for two days in his suite at the Excelsior Hotel in Berlin, informing the front desk that he was ill and that no one be allowed to visit him. When the anti-Jewish rioting abated, the teenage brothers were transferred to another location in Berlin until they could leave Germany.

Jacobs also managed featherweight champion Andre Routis, light heavyweight champion Mike McTigue, and heavyweight contender "Two Ton" Tony Galento.

[Elli Wohlgelernter (2nd ed.)]

JACOBS, JOSEPH (1854–1916), Jewish historian, folklorist, and scholar. He was born in Sydney, Australia, studied in England, and, after graduating in history in Cambridge, went to complete his studies in Berlin where he worked under Steinschneider. On his return to England he became an author and journalist. He was an extremely prolific writer and worker. In the general sphere, he had a reputation as a folklorist and student of comparative literature, publishing large numbers of books and articles on these subjects; and he was for some years editor of the periodical *Folk-Lore*. Even as his specialized interest in folklore made him a researcher into Jewish ethnology, his interest in statistics led him to another branch of anthropology, namely the study of the "racial" characteristics of Jews. Still another anthropological interest is evident in his application of the method of comparative institutional archaeology to the Bible in his *Studies in Biblical Archaeology* (1894). But his Jewish enthusiasms were uppermost. With Lucien *Wolf he organized the Anglo-Jewish Historical Exhibition of 1887 and edited its monumental catalog and bibliography. He took the lead in organizing British public opinion at the time of the Russian Jewish pogroms in 1882 and was editor of the periodical *Darkest Russia*. He founded and edited (1896–99) the *Jewish Year Book*. His writings on medieval Anglo-Jewish history, culminating in his *Jews of Angevin England* (1893), set the study of that subject on a new basis. In 1888 he went to Spain to inquire into the Jewish historical material there, the result being his *An Enquiry into the Sources of the History of the Jews in Spain* (1894). In 1900, he was called to the U.S. as one of the editors of the *Jewish Encyclopaedia*. He not only edited, and largely wrote, the articles in the departments of anthropology and Anglo-Jewish history, but also gave direction to the whole work and wrote many articles on diverse subjects (e.g., bibliography) in emergency. At the same time, he lectured at the Jewish Theological Seminary of America, edited the *American Jewish Year Book* and the *American Hebrew*, etc. A work on *Jewish Contributions to Civilisation* was issued posthumously. He wrote a novel on the life of Jesus, *As Others Saw Him* (1895). His output was vast and generally well written, and on a very high level. It is sometimes, however, marred by carelessness and haste – a result of economic conditions – and (especially in his early work) by the inadequacy of his Hebrew knowledge.

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[Cecil Roth]

JACOBS, LAZARUS (c. 1709–1796), English glass manufacturer, producing the fine Bristol glass now much sought after. He was born in Frankfurt, Germany, and became head of the *Bristol Jewish community. Jacobs was responsible for the construction of the new synagogue in 1786. He was succeeded in his business by his son ISAAC JACOBS (1757 or 1758–1835) whose work, unlike that of his father, is signed, and is, therefore, more readily identifiable. He was appointed glass manufacturer to George III but ultimately met with business misfortunes. In 1809, Isaac was made a freeman of Bristol.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Rubens, in: JHSET, 14 (1935–39), 106; C. Roth, *Rise of Provincial Jewry* (1950), 41. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** ODNB; Z. Josephs, "Jewish Glass-Makers," in: JHSET 25 (1973–75).

[Cecil Roth]

JACOBS, LOUIS (1920–2006), English rabbi and theological writer. Born in Manchester, Jacobs received his training at the yeshivot of Manchester and Gateshead and at London University. After teaching for some time at the Golders Green Beth Hamidrash, London, he served as a rabbi of the Central Synagogue, Manchester, and at the fashionable New West End Synagogue, London, from 1954 to 1959. From 1959 to 1962 Jacobs was tutor at Jews' College, London, but he resigned when, at the retirement of I. *Epstein, Chief Rabbi I. *Brodie, as president of the college, vetoed his appointment as principal on account of his heterodox views. This led to a violent controversy within British Jewry, with the *Jewish Chronicle as Jacobs' main protagonist. Jacobs' followers created for him the post of director of a specially founded Society for the Study of Jewish Theology, for which he lectured in London and provincial centers. When in 1963 the post of minister at the New West End Synagogue became vacant, Jacobs was elected to his former post; Brodie again blocked the appointment. Thereupon, a number of the synagogue's members seceded from the *United Synagogue and founded the New London Synagogue with Jacobs as rabbi (1964); services continued to be conducted along Orthodox lines.

The controversy had its origin in Jacobs' published work, beginning with *We Have Reason to Believe* (1957, 1962^2); *Jewish Values* (1960); *Principles of the Jewish Faith* (1964), an analytical study of Maimonides' Creed; and *Faith* (1968). In these the author accepted some of the methods and results of biblical Higher Criticism, denied the literal inspiration of the Pentateuch, and asserted a human element in the composition of the Bible. Jacobs also devoted several studies to Kabbalah and Ḥasidism: he translated into English Moses *Cordovero's *Palmtree of Deborah* from Hebrew (1960), adding introduction and notes; and Dov Ber Schneersohn's (of Lubavitch) *Tract on Ecstasy* (1963), with introduction and notes; he also wrote *Seeker of Unity; the Life and Works of Aaron of Starosselje* (1966). Among his other published works are *Studies in Talmudic Logic and Methodology* (1961), *Jewish Prayer* (1962^3), *A Guide to Yom Kippur* (1957, 1960^2), and *A Guide to Rosh Ha-Shanah* (1959, 1962^2).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: S. Temkin, in: *Conservative Judaism* (Fall, 1963), 18–34; I. Maybaum, in: *Judaism*, 13 (1964), 471–7; A. Sherman, in: *Commentary*, 38 no. 10 (1964), 60–64.

JACOBS, MICHAEL STRAUSS ("**Uncle Mike**"; 1880–1953), U.S. boxing promoter, member of the International Boxing Hall of Fame and World Boxing Hall of Fame. Strauss was one of 10 children born in New York's Greenwich Village to immigrants Isaac and Rachel (Strauss). His family was poor, forcing Jacobs to work as a boy selling newspapers and candy on Coney Island excursion boats. After noticing that ticket purchases for the boats were often confusing to prospective passengers, Jacobs began scalping boat tickets, bought concession rights on all the ferries docked at the Battery, and eventually ran his own ferryboats. Jacobs then became the premier ticket scalper in New York, buying and selling theater, opera, or sports events tickets, and began sponsoring events himself, including charity balls, bike races, and circuses. Jacobs opened a legitimate ticket agency across from the Metropolitan Opera House, becoming the "standout ticket agent of New York," and also invested his money in several other successful enterprises, including real estate development, Enrico Caruso's concert tour, and a series of lectures by British suffragette Emily Pankhurst.

Jacobs began his career in boxing promotion in 1921 by working with Hall of Famer Tex Rickard, raising $100,000 in cash in just eight hours to help Rickard promote the Jack Dempsey-Georges Carpentier heavyweight championship bout. The result was the first $1 million gate in boxing history. Jacobs also helped Rickard in financing the building of the Old Madison Square Garden in 1925. But four years after Rickard's death in 1929, Jacobs formed the Twentieth Century Sporting Club with three reporters, including Damon Runyan, to compete with the Garden for the biggest boxing promotions. From 1935 until 1949, Jacobs was arguably the most powerful man in boxing, controlling practically every world title bout between Featherweights and Heavyweights, and the stretch on Manhattan's 49th Street between Broadway and Eighth Avenue was known as "Jacobs Beach." "Nobody else ever exerted such absolute dictatorship as his over any sport," wrote columnist Red Smith.

Jacobs' main attraction was heavyweight Joe Louis, whom Jacobs promoted at a time when Madison Square Garden was reticent about staging fights with blacks. Jacobs persuaded heavyweight champion Jim Braddock to break a contract with the Garden in order to fight Louis in Chicago, and Louis won. When Louis fought Max Schmeling in 1936 and 1938, some Jewish groups opposed giving Schmeling a platform, and several of them applied pressure on Jacobs to cancel the fights. Jacobs offered to donate 10 per cent of the gate to groups helping Jewish refugees. A story in the *American Hebrew* in 1946 praised Jacobs for giving Joe Louis the opportunity to strike "a terrific blow to the theory of race supremacy."

Jacobs solidified his position as a top promoter when he staged the Carnival of Champions on September 23, 1937, at the Polo Grounds in New York, featuring four world championship bouts in one night. Madison Square Garden subsequently leased the arena and the outdoor Madison Square Garden Bowl to the Twentieth Century Sporting Club. Jacobs' relationship with the Garden changed from tenant-landlord to a partnership, with Jacobs staging 320 shows there from 1937 to 1949. In 1944 he obtained the first commercial sponsorship of a television fight, featuring the Featherweight title bout between Willie Pep and Chalky Wright. Jacobs, who promoted 61 championship fights including three million-dollar bouts during his career, suffered a cerebral hemorrhage in 1946, and finally sold his empire to Madison Square Garden in 1949.

Jacobs was elected to the World Boxing Hall of Fame in 1982, and the International Boxing Hall of Fame in 1990. He was the subject of a biography by Daniel M Daniel, *The Mike Jacobs Story* (1950).

[Elli Wohlgelernter (2nd ed.)]

JACOBS, ROSE GELL (1888–1975), U.S. teacher and activist. A founding member of the Hadassah Organization in 1912, Jacobs rose through the ranks to become a prominent Zionist speaker, organizer, and national leader. She was born in New York City in 1888, educated at Columbia University, and taught in local public schools (1908–14). After marrying Edward Jacobs, an Atlanta attorney, she left teaching and became more active in Jewish affairs. She founded several Hadassah chapters in the American south and edited Hadassah's newsletter from 1920 to 1925. Jacobs held several senior posts in Hadassah and served two terms as Hadassah's national president (1930–32 and 1934–37).

With the rise of the Nazis, Jacobs pushed Hadassah to help European Jewry. It was on Jacobs' advice – and with her signature on the Jewish Agency contract in 1935 – that Hadassah officially adopted the Youth Aliyah program to rescue Jewish youth from Nazi Europe. In 1936, at great personal risk, Jacobs visited Germany to investigate the situation of the Jewish community and firm up Hadassah's role in Youth Aliyah. Over the following years, with vital support from Hadassah, Youth Aliyah rescued many thousands of youngsters from war-torn Europe.

In 1940, ignoring the dangers of wartime travel, Jacobs went to Palestine to set up the Hadassah Emergency Committee as an on-site administrative body for Hadassah's health and social welfare programs there.

Jacobs was an initiator of the building program of the Rothschild-Hadassah-University Hospital and Medical School on Mount Scopus. She also served on the executive of the Jewish Agency for Palestine from 1937 to 1946; chaired Hadassah's Committee for the Study of Arab-Jewish Relations from 1941 to 1943; and served on the board of governors of The Hebrew University. After the war, Jacobs worked with the ESCO Foundation to promote industrial development in Palestine (later Israel).

Jacobs died on August 14, 1975, in New York City.

[Erica Simmons (2nd ed.)]

JACOBS, SAMUEL WILLIAM (**Wolf**; 1871–1938), Canadian lawyer, politician, and Jewish community leader. Jacobs was born in Lancaster, Ontario. His family was among early East European Jewish immigrants to Canada. Educated at McGill and Laval Universities, Jacobs was called to the Quebec Bar in 1906. An expert on Canada's legal code and railway law, he was the author of *The Railway Law of Canada* (1909), co-editor, with Léon Garneau, of the *Quebec Code of Civil Procedure* (1903), and treasurer of the Montreal Bar Association, 1916–17.

Jacobs was also deeply committed to the Jewish community. In 1897, in response to the growing antisemitism in the wake of the *Dreyfus affair, Jacobs founded the *Jewish Times* with Lyon Cohen. The first continuing Canadian Jewish publication, the English-language weekly represented Montreal's middle-class Anglo-Jewish community for the next 17 years. In 1913, Jacobs and fellow lawyer Louis Fitch represented Quebec's Jewish community in the high-profile Plamondon libel case in which the accused leveled accusations of *blood libel and other outrageously calumnious accusations against Jews. Jacobs was also active in many Montreal Jewish associations serving as president of the Baron de Hirsch Institute of Montreal in 1912–14 and as life governor of Mount Sinai Sanatorium, the Young Men's Hebrew Association, and the Hebrew Free Loan Association.

Jacobs entered Liberal electoral politics in 1917 and was elected member of Parliament for the heavily Jewish riding of Montreal-Cartier, a seat he held through six consecutive elections. When first elected in 1917, he was only the second Jewish member of Parliament and the first to hold a seat in the Commons for an extended period. Jacobs was outspoken with respect to issues of importance to the Jewish community. He was particularly vocal in battling against discrimination and for Jewish immigration in an interwar period of increasingly restrictive immigration policies. While a member of Parliament he was also one of the founders of the Jewish Immigrant Aid Society (JIAS) in 1920 and served as president of the Canadian Jewish Congress from 1934 until his death in 1938.

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[Judith E. Szapor (2nd ed.)]

JACOBS, SIMEON (1832–1883), South African lawyer. Jacobs emigrated from England to South Africa in 1860 and became attorney general of British Kaffraria in the Eastern Cape Province. He was successively solicitor general and attorney general for the Eastern Districts and a judge of the Eastern Districts Supreme Court. In 1874 he was elected to the legislative assembly of Cape Colony. In 1872, as acting attorney-general, he was responsible for enacting a bill which abolished state aid to the Anglican Church.

JACOBS, SOLOMON (1777–1827), U.S. civic leader. Jacobs, who was born in Heidelberg, Pa., went to Richmond, Virginia, before 1800. He served as city recorder (1814) and acting mayor (1815), the highest public offices held by any Jew in Richmond's history. Jacobs was elected three times grand master of the Grand Lodge of Masonry in Virginia. He was a president of Beth Shalome Congregation.

[Saul Viener]

JACOBS, SOLOMON (1861–1920), rabbi. Jacobs was born in Sheffield, England. He studied at the People's College in his native town and then at Aria College in Portsmouth. He was ordained there in 1883 and received his rabbinical degree in 1886. While studying for his rabbinical degree, he served as master of the Manchester Jews School and as the minister of the congregation at Newcastle-on-Tyne. In 1886, on the recommendation of the chief rabbi, Jacobs was named minister of the United Congregation in Kingston, Jamaica. He remained there for 15 years. In addition to ministering to his congregation and supporting Jewish charities, Jacobs was also committed to non-sectarian philanthropic activities, and served as the director of the Kingston City Dispensary.

Jacobs continued to demonstrate his dual commitment to both the Jewish community and the general community when in 1901 he became minister of Holy Blossom congregation, the oldest Jewish congregation in Toronto. At Holy Blossom, Jacobs sought to maintain the traditions of Anglo-Orthodoxy even as congregational pressures mounted for Holy Blossom to join the Reform movement. In the end, Jacobs was able to steer a middle course, and it was only after his passing in 1920 that Holy Blossom formally embraced Reform.

As a native English speaker at a time when Yiddish-speaking Jews were flocking to Canada, Jacobs was often called upon to represent the Jewish community in the larger civic society. Jacobs was often a vocal protector of Jewish interests, as when he was a member of a 1906 delegation that tried to secure exemptions for Jews from the Sunday business-closing provisions of the Lord's Day Act or in his fight against missionary activities (especially the Presbyterians) targeting Jews in Toronto's immigrant neighborhood. Jacobs often wrote to the newspaper to challenge a prejudiced remark about Jews or to attack institutional anti-Jewish prejudices at universities and social clubs. A truly public-spirited individual, Jacobs served as vice president of the Associated Charities of Toronto and in 1911 was appointed a member of Toronto's first charity commission, overseeing the operation of charity organizations in the city.

Jacobs was very much an Anglophile and appreciated Great Britain's acceptance of the Jews. On numerous occasions he defended Great Britain and its Empire, and led his congregation in celebration when a monarch reached an important milestone or in expressing grief at times of loss. He was also a member of a small but important group of Anglo-Jewish Orthodox ministers which included Abraham *de Sola of Montreal and his son Meldola, and Herbert Samuel of Winnipeg, who together ministered to the early Canadian Jewish establishment. Their influence in both the Jewish and non-Jewish communities extended well beyond their small numbers.

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[Richard Menkis (2nd ed.)]

JACOB SAMSON OF SHEPETOVKA (d. 1801), rabbi and ḥasidic leader. A celebrated talmudist, he served as rabbi of Shepetovka, Slavuta, and Bar. He was a disciple of *Dov Baer of Mezhirech and Phinehas Shapiro of *Korets. His reputation for scholarship advanced the cause of Ḥasidism among rabbis and scholars. Semilegendary stories attest the impression he left on the greatest rabbis of his generation. He helped to spread Ḥasidism by selling the books of his teacher *Jacob Joseph of Polonnoye. In later years he apparently became a follower of *Baruch b. Jehiel of Medzibezh. He went to Ereẓ Israel (1799?), settling in Tiberias where he died. Some of his halakhic works are referred to in books by contemporaries. A booklet entitled *Divrei No'am* (also other names), describing a (probably legendary) dialogue between him and R. Ezekiel *Landau of Prague, was popular among Ḥasidim.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Horodetzky, Ḥasidut, index; Dubnow, Ḥasidut, index.

[Adin Steinsaltz]

JACOBSEN, ARNE EMIL (1902–1971), Danish architect. Jacobsen was born and educated in Copenhagen. When he was a student, neoclassicism dominated Danish architecture, but Jacobsen's meetings with Le Corbusier and Mies van der Rohe at exhibitions in Paris and Germany had an enormous effect on his work. His first houses, inspired by Le Corbusier, caused a sensation, and in 1936 he designed and built a series of housing units with staggered perspectives giving all the apartments a good view and a share of sun and light. This established him as Denmark's leading architect. After World War II the Søholme housing scheme established him internationally. He refused to specialize, and designed a wide variety of buildings, including town halls, a stadium, office blocks, and private houses. In 1959, he began to build St. Catherine's College, Oxford. During the same period he completed the famous SAS block in Copenhagen for Scandinavian Air System (1960), using glass curtain walls. In this building and in others Jacobsen designed also the furnishings and appurtenances. From 1956 he was professor of architecture at the Copenhagen Academy of Arts. His works are generally unspectacular and human in scale, and are characterized by refinement in siting, proportion, and detail, and by a sensitive use of materials.

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[Julius Margolinsky]

JACOBSOHN, SIEGFRIED (1881–1926), German critic and left-wing editor. Jacobsohn began his career as the drama critic of various Berlin dailies. In 1905 he founded the theater weekly *Schaubuehne*, and until 1919 published the theater annual, *Das Jahr der Buehne*. Later he altered the direction of his periodical to give it a political character and changed its name to *Weltbuehne* in 1918. During the Weimar Republic the *Weltbuehne* reflected the outlook of independent-minded left-wing intellectuals (called by the Nazis "juedischer Kulturbolschewismus") and was vigorously attacked by the Nazis and the Communists. The periodical was, however, widely read by the German-speaking Jewish intelligentsia throughout Europe. Jacobsohn wrote two books on the Berlin theater, *Das Theater der Reichshauptstadt* (1904), which dealt with the period from 1870, and a sequel, *Max Reinhardt* (1910, 1921^5). Though not a Zionist, Jacobsohn fought assimilation and Jewish "camouflage", and attacked Jewish journalists who worked for right-wing, antisemitic papers. The last lines he published were an attack on the *Verband nationaldeutscher Juden. His closest collaborator was Kurt *Tucholsky, the letters to whom were published in 1989, 1997^2 (*Briefe an Kurt Tucholsky 1915–1926: "Der beste Brotherr dem schlechtesten Mitarbeiter,"* ed. Richard von Soldenhoff). His collected critical essays on theatre *(Jahre der Buehne,* ed. Walter Karsch and Gerhard Koehler) appeared in 1965. From 2001 the *Jacobsohn-Journal* appeared in cooperation with the *Tucholsky-Blaetter.*

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ny's Left-Wing Intellectuals (1968), index. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** V. Otto, "Der Kampf gegen Wagner ist in Wahrheit ein Kulturkampf". Die Wagner-Rezeption in der Wochenschrift '*Die Schaubühne*' / '*Die Weltbühne*' (1905–1933)," in: *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft*, 56 (1999), no. 1, 9–28; S. Oswalt, *Siegfried Jacobsohn. Ein Leben fuer die Weltbuehne. Eine Berliner Biographie* (2000); A. Weigel, "Penthesileen. Siegfried Jacobsohn, "Die Schaubühne" und die Kleist-Ehrung 1911 in Berlin," in: *Beiträge zur Kleistforschung*, 17 (2003), 164–175.

JACOBSON, ANNA (1888–1972), U.S. professor of German literature. Born in Lueneberg, Germany, Jacobson received her doctorate in German literature from the University of Bonn in 1918. Two years after immigrating to the United States in 1922, she became an instructor of German at Hunter College. She was promoted to assistant professor in 1927, associate professor in 1934, and achieved the rank of full professor in 1950. When Hunter wanted to eliminate the German department during World War II, Jacobson, who served as its acting chair from 1941–42, successfully defended the importance of continuing to teach German literature and culture at American universities; she chaired this department from 1947 until her retirement in 1956.

Anna Jacobson published books and articles in both German and English on Hermann Hesse, Franz *Werfel, Heinrich *Heine, and Richard Wagner, as well as Charles Kingsley and Walt Whitman. She became best known for her work on Thomas *Mann. Actively involved in the Modern Language Association, she served as president of Hunter College's chapter of the American Association of University Professors (1936–38) and of the New York City chapter of the American Association of Teachers of German (1949–51). Jacobson helped organize fundraising events to aid refugees from Germany, and, after 1940, she became active in the National Conference of Christians and Jews. Upon her retirement from Hunter College, Jacobson lived in Switzerland.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Paula E. Hyman and D. Dash Moore (eds.), *Jewish Women in America*, I (1997), 686–87.

[Harriet Pass Freidenreich (2nd ed.)]

JACOBSON, DAN (1929–), South African novelist. Jacobson was born in Kimberley. After graduating from the University of Witwatersrand, he went to London, where he taught in a Jewish school. He returned to South Africa, for a short time joining the family business in Kimberley, but finally settled in England in 1954 and held a chair at University College, London. Jacobson's writing first appeared in 1953 in the American Jewish monthly, *Commentary*, and he became a frequent contributor to many leading British and American periodicals. His fiction and much of his other writing is preoccupied by two major issues: the moral implications of apartheid in South Africa, and the problem of Jewish identity in the modern world. His first two novels, *The Trap* (1955) and *A Dance in the Sun* (1956), deal with the explosive aspects of apartheid, describing dispassionately the kind of incidents which characterize day-to-day relationships between whites and blacks in the rural areas of the Republic. Both novels are dramatic and symbolic in design. *The Price of Diamonds* (1957), set in a fictional version of Kimberley, deals with the illicit diamond trade in South Africa and its impact on the life of a middle-aged Jewish wholesaler. Although it presents a brilliantly comic study in frustration, like its predecessors it is very much a moral fable. Two later works in this genre are *The Evidence of Love* (1960), the story of an interracial love affair set against a background of hatred and false liberalism, and his autobiographical novel, *The Beginners* (1966). Many of Jacobson's polished short stories also deal with Jewish or South African themes. They include the collections *A Long Way from London* (1958), *The Zulu and the Zeide* (1959), which was also the basis for a musical play, and *Beggar My Neighbor* (1964). His novel *The Rape of Tamar* (1970) was based on the biblical story of *Amnon and Tamar. Jacobson's *Evidence of Love* was published in a Russian translation, a unique achievement for an Anglo-Jewish writer. In 1973 there appeared *Inklings*, a collection of short stories, and the *Wonder-Worker*, followed in 1977 by *The Confessions of Josef Baisz* and in 1991 by *Hidden in the Heart*.

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[Michael Wade]

JACOBSON, EDWARD (Eddie; 1891–1955), U.S. businessman and longtime friend of President Harry S. Truman. Jacobson, together with Truman, operated a canteen at Fort Sill, Oklahoma, during World War I and in 1919 they opened a haberdashery in Kansas City, Missouri. While their business was initially successful, during the panic of 1921–22 the enterprise collapsed. After Truman became president, Jacobson, aware of the international plight of Jews, discussed with him the refugee and Palestine partition issues (1947). In March 1948, at a critical moment in the period preceding the establishment of the State of Israel, he persuaded the reluctant president to see Chaim *Weizmann, portraying the Zionist leader as his hero and comparing him with Truman's idol, Andrew Jackson. At Jacobson's death, Truman eulogized him for his trustworthiness, warmly recollecting their intimate association.

Jacobson's memoirs of his association with Truman were published in the *American Jewish Archives* (vol. 20 (1968), 3–15).

[Milton Plesur]

JACOBSON, HOWARD (1942–), English novelist and broadcaster. Born in Manchester, Jacobson was educated at Cambridge University, where he was strongly influenced by F.R. Leavis, the English literary critic. He then lectured in English literature at Sydney University, Australia, and, on his return to England, supervised students at Cambridge University. After a variety of jobs in publishing, teaching, and retailing, he was appointed a Lecturer in English at Wolverhampton Polytechnic. This experience was to provide the material for his first novel, *Coming from Behind*, published in 1983. Jacobson, with Wilbur Sanders, also jointly published a critical study entitled *Shakespeare's Magnanimity* (1978).

Jacobson is widely regarded as one of the most original and brilliant comic voices to have emerged in post-war England. *Coming From Behind*, a campus novel, was widely reviewed in England and quickly established Jacobson as a comic writer. According to Jacobson, the novel was meant to be "the last word in academic novels," but, instead, he found himself "writing about gentileness; about what a foreign place England is to a Jew."

Peeping Tom (1984), Jacobson's second and far more substantial novel, examines the consequences of being a culturally dispossessed Jew in a "foreign" country. In this novel, Jacobson's Jewish persona is contrasted with "peeping" Thomas Hardy and the English literary rural tradition. Jacobson, with a considerable ironic punch, then goes on to transform his persona into Hardy's reincarnation. Hardy, that is, provides the "negative" Jew with his identity.

Jacobson's distances himself from what he calls the "super-Anglicization" of many Anglo-Jewish writers in the 1980s who, with a welcome self-assurance, examine and take risks with their Jewish identity in a literary context. Jacobson, for this reason, has been compared to American-Jewish comic writers Woody Allen and Philip Roth. He has also expanded his comic talent in a series of radio broadcasts.

Jacobson's descriptions of the Anglo-Jewish community in *Roots, Schmoots* (1993) were severely criticized by some for their relentless hostility to Orthodox Judaism. Jacobson was awarded the *Jewish Quarterly* / Wingate Prize for fiction in 2001, while his semi-autobiographical novel *The Mighty Walzer* (1999) won the Bollingen Prize for the best comic novel of the year.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *The Jewish Quarterly*, 32 (1985), 117; *Times Literary Supplement*, (May 3, 1985).

[Bryan Cheyette]

JACOBSON, ISRAEL (1768–1828), German financier and pioneer of Reform Judaism. Born in Halberstadt, Jacobson received an Orthodox education and was destined for the rabbinate. Influenced by *Mendelssohn's writings, he was early attracted to the *Haskalah movement. He did not, however, acquire a methodical secular education and thus lacked fluency in the German language. In 1786 he married Mink, the daughter of Hertz Samson, court-agent of the duchy of Brunswick. With the death of his father-in-law in 1795, he succeeded to the latter's position and titles as *Kammeragent und Landrabbiner des Weserdistrikts*. Influenced by Moses *Mendelssohn and the enlightenment Jacobson saw the best prospects for attaining Jewish emancipation in emphasizing vocational training in the secular education of Jewish children. In 1801, at his own expense, he opened in the small town of Seesen an educational institution for the children of the poor, which became known as the Religions- und Industrieschule (today Jacobson-Gymnasium). By 1805 Christian citizens of Seesen were requesting that their children be admitted to the institution. In 1804 Jacobson was granted citizenship of Brunswick. Due to his influence, the degrading *Leibzoll* (the body tax imposed on Jews) was abolished in Brunswick (1803) and in Baden (1806). He was honored with the title *Mecklenburg-Schweriner Geheimer Finanzrat* in 1806. Hesse-Darmstadt and Baden also granted him titles, and in 1807 he was awarded a Ph.D., *honoris causa*, from the University of Helmstedt. Yet in Brunswick, where he lived, Jacobson still suffered from the intrigues of the officials. His son Meir was not accepted in Brunswick's merchants' guild and his school received little attention from the authorities.

Jacobson saw *Napoleon as the emancipator of the Jews. On the occasion of the *Assembly of Jewish Notables in Paris on May 30, 1806, he addressed an enthusiastic letter to Napoleon. During the same year he published a book entitled *Les premiers pas de la nation juive vers le bonheur sous les auspices du grand monarque Napoléon*, suggesting that the emperor should organize a supreme Jewish council, which would be headed by a patriarch and whose seat would be in Paris. It is possible that Napoleon's idea of the *Sanhedrin stemmed from Jacobson's suggestion. In August 1807 Brunswick became a part of the kingdom of Westphalia, which was ruled by Napoleon's brother, Jerome. After borrowing large sums from Jacobson, Jerome was obliged to sell him state property; he thereby acquired a number of estates. On Jan. 27, 1808, to honor the emancipation of the Jews of Westphalia, Jacobson ordered a commemorative medal from the Berlin artist Abramson. The reverse side of the medal featured two angels symbolizing Judaism and Christianity united in the kingdom of Westphalia. Jacobson was instrumental in convening, in Kassel on Feb. 8, 1808, a gathering of Jewish notables, similar to the one held in Paris, to introduce reform – religious, moral, and civic – among the Jews. The majority of Westphalia's Jews, who were Orthodox, regarded Jacobson's project with suspicion. On Dec. 19, 1808, the Koeniglich Westphaelisches Konsistorium der Israeliten held its first meeting under the leadership of Jacobson rather than that of a rabbi as was the case in France. The consistory discussed questions of religion, education, culture, and the personal status of Jews. Jacobson erected the first synagogues in which services were held according to this program of religious reform. The Consistorialschule was opened in Kassel in 1809 and included a synagogue where portions of prayers were sung in German, sermons were delivered in German, and confirmation ceremonies were performed. On July 17, 1810, the "Temple" in the school of Seesen was inaugurated with a ceremony which included the ringing of a bell and the singing of hymns in German with organ accompaniment. Jacobson conducted the festivities, dressed in the robes of a Protestant clergyman.

After the fall of Napoleon and the fragmentation of the kingdom of Westphalia, Jacobson moved to Berlin, where he continued to work for religious reform. On the occasion of his son's bar mitzvah, on Shavuot 1815, he opened a Reform synagogue in his house. For lack of space the synagogue was removed to the house of the banker Jacob Hertz Beer, where

L. *Zunz and E. *Kley preached. After some eight months the government prohibited the holding of prayers in private houses. On Rosh Ha-Shanah 1817, prayers were again held in a Reform synagogue, but its existence was finally forbidden in 1823, through the influence of the leaders of the Orthodox community. During his last years, Jacobson was broken in health and spirit, and even though he continued his philanthropic activities, he ended his life an embittered and disappointed man. The majority of his ten children, the offspring of two marriages, were baptized.

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[Jacob Rothschild]

JACOBSON, KURT (1904–1991), Portuguese biochemist. Jacobson was born in Berlin, where he received his Ph.D. at the Kaiser Wilhelm Institut under the direction of Carl Neuberg. Jacobson went to Portugal in 1929, where he was allowed to stay because of Nazi persecution in Germany and his scientific contributions. He established the country's first biochemical research unit in the Instituto Rocha Cabral in Lisbon before joining the University of Lisbon (1934), where he became professor of organic chemistry (1955) and later vice rector. His research concerned enzymology. He was president of the Centro Israelita de Portugal.

[Michael Denman (2nd ed.)]

JACOBSON, LUDVIG LEVIN (1783–1843), Danish physician, anatomist, and naturalist. He began his career as an assistant at the Academy of Surgery in Copenhagen and was a lecturer in chemistry at the Veterinary College. He began his studies in comparative anatomy and in 1809 published his discovery in mammals of an organ in the nasal cavity that is largely responsible for the sense of smell. This was known as "Jacobson's organ." Three other anatomical discoveries are associated with his name. He invented an instrument for the crushing of calculi in the bladder, "Jacobson's lithoclast," which was of great importance to surgery. For this invention, the French Academy awarded him a Prix Monthyon. Jacobson was an outstanding scientist and an excellent physician. He had been offered the post of professor of anatomy in the University of Copenhagen on condition that he convert to Christianity. However, he refused to convert. In 1816 Jacobson was appointed professor *honoris causa* by King Frederik VI of Denmark. He also refused to participate in the Scandinavian Naturalists' Congress in Christiania in 1822 because Jews were not admitted into Norway at this time.

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[Julius Margolinsky]

JACOBSON, NATHAN (1916–), Australian lawyer and communal leader. Born in Kiev, he grew up in Warsaw and went to Australia in 1936. He was active in various aspects of communal and Zionist leadership, especially in promoting economic and political support for Israel. He was president of the Victorian Jewish Board of Deputies (1956–60), president of the Zionist Federation of Australia and New Zealand (1968–70), president of the United Israel Appeal of Australia (1966–69) and president of the Executive Council of Australian Jewry (1970–72 and 1974–76). He was also president of the Federation of Jewish Communities of Southeast Asia and the Far East. He was a founder of the Australian Wool Industries, Ltd., which operates a wool-processing plant in Ashdod.

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JACOBSON, PAUL HENRICH (1859–1923), German organic chemist. Jacobson was born in Koenigsberg and became professor of chemistry at Heidelberg University in 1889. His considerable contribution to scientific literature dealt mainly with azocompounds. With Victor *Meyer, he wrote *Lehrbuch der organischen Chemie* (2 vols., 1893–1902), the standard textbook of its day. In 1897 he became the general secretary of the German Chemical Society and editor of its journal, *Berichte der Deutschen chemischen Gesellschaft*, considered at the time the major chemical periodical in the world. In 1911 Jacobson transferred to the society's collective literature department, and edited the third edition of Beilstein's *Handbuch der organischen Chemie*, with 5 volumes of supplements, and the first eight volumes of the fourth edition. This encyclopedia of all known chemical compounds is in continuous use in research organizations all over the world. He also edited the further editions of Richter's *Lexikon der Kohlenstoffverbindungen* and the journal *Chemisches Centralblatt*.

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[Samuel Aaron Miller]

JACOBSON, SYDNEY, BARON (1908–1988), British editor and editorial director. Jacobson, born in South Africa, started his career as a reporter for the London *Daily Sketch* in 1928. He held various editorial positions on the paper and joined the Daily Mirror Group in 1951. The following year he became political editor of *The Daily Mirror*, the mass-circulation tabloid closely allied to the Labour Party. Ten years later, when the *Mirror* bought Odhams Press, he was appointed editor of *The Daily Herald*, the organ of the Labour Party, and in 1964 he became editor of *The Sun*, which succeeded the *Herald*. He was made editorial director in 1965 and in 1968 was named chairman of Odhams Newspapers. In June 1975 he was awarded a life peerage by the Labour government. Jacobson was a member of the British Press Council from 1968 to 1975.

[Stewart Kampel]

JACOBSON, VICTOR (**Avigdor**; 1869–1935), Zionist leader and diplomat. Born in Simferopol, Crimea, Jacobson joined *Ḥibbat Zion in his early youth and later became a member of the Russisch-Juedischer Wissenschaftlicher Verein (Berlin) and in 1897 of the newly founded Zionist organization. From 1899 he was a member of the Zionist General Council. In 1903 Jacobson strongly opposed the *Uganda Scheme and was one of the organizers of the *Kharkov Conference in opposition to *Herzl. In 1906 he became head of the Beirut office of the Anglo-Palestine Company and in 1908 of its branch in Constantinople, which was registered there as the Anglo-Levantine Banking Company. He simultaneously became the unofficial diplomatic representative of the Zionist organization in Turkey. In 1913 Jacobson was elected a member of the Zionist Executive and moved to Berlin. In this capacity, he headed during World War I the Copenhagen office of the Zionist organization, from which he maintained contact with all the branches of the movement. He issued the "Copenhagen Manifesto" (Oct. 28, 1918), which outlined postwar Jewish demands with regard to Palestine and equal rights and cultural autonomy in the Diaspora. Jacobson moved to the new seat of the Zionist headquarters in London in 1918. At the 12th Zionist Congress (1921) he and Arthur *Ruppin headed a small group that demanded close Arab-Jewish cooperation and laid the ideological foundations for *Berit Shalom (which was founded in Jerusalem in 1926). Jacobson resigned from the Executive at the Congress, and from 1925 until his death he represented the Zionist organization and the *Jewish Agency in Paris and at the the League of Nations in Geneva. He was the first Zionist "career diplomat." From 1933 he again was a member of the Zionist Executive.

During his activities in Turkey (1908–13), Jacobson acquired for the Zionist Movement the French daily *Courrier d'Orient*, which was renamed *Jeune Turc* and edited by Vladimir *Jabotinsky. In 1927 he founded and coedited (with Albert *Cohen) *La Revue Juive* in Paris. In 1928 the Comité des Amis du Sionisme, which Jacobson had formed, began publication of *La Palestine Nouvelle*.

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[Oskar K. Rabinowicz]

JACOBSTHAL, GUSTAV (1845–1912), German musicologist. Born in Pyritz, Pomerania, Jacobsthal studied music and history at the University of Berlin (1863–70) and wrote a Ph.D. thesis on mensural notation in the 12th and 13th century. Jacobsthal was a professor of musicology at the University of Strasbourg from 1875 to 1905, the only person to hold such a post at a German university at the time. He was a pioneer in the application of historical and philological research in the study of early medieval music. Among his famous disciples were F. Genrich and P. Wagner. His writings are mainly on the music of the Middle Ages, comprising his books *Die Mensuralnotenschrift des 12. und 13. Jahrhunderts* (1871, rep. 1973) and *Die chromatische Alteration im liturgischen Gesange der abendlaendischen Kirche* (1897, rep. 1970).

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[Amnon Shiloah (2nd ed.)]

JACOBUS APELLA VICEDOMINUS (late 11th–mid-12th century), a baptized Jew of Prague who was chief administrator of Duke Vratislav of Bohemia (1110–40). His story was first told by the Bohemian chronicler Cosmas of Prague, but the historical basis of it is hard to determine. Apparently baptized in 1096, he made a dramatic return to Judaism in 1124, defiling an altar which had been erected in a synagogue and throwing Christian relics into a sink. Prague Jewry saved him from the death penalty by paying a high ransom.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Steinherz, in: JGGJČ, 2 (1930), 17–47.

JACOBY, JOHANN (1805–1877), Prussian politician. Born in Koenigsberg (East Prussia), Jacoby studied medicine but devoted his life to politics. As a young man, he represented the interests of his fellow Jews, publishing in 1833 a memorandum in defense of Jewish emancipation. He advocated religious reform and participated in a commission charged with revising the order of worship. Gradually his interests became concentrated on general Prussian and German matters and, without denying his Judaism, Jacoby took up the struggle for a liberal and democratic Germany. In 1848 he was elected to the Prussian Landtag, taking an active stand against the reactionary attitude of *Frederick William IV. As a member of a deputation to the king, Jacoby is alleged to have remarked that it was the former's "misfortune" that he "would not hear the truth!" In 1849 he was elected, together with six other Jews, to the German Nationalversammelung in Frankfurt. Forced into the background during the years of reaction that followed, he came to the fore again in the 1860s, with the advent of a new liberal era. In 1863 he entered the Prussian House of Representatives, linking himself with the left wing of the Progressive Party and, after a split in the party, with the Social Democratic camp. Unlike most Jewish politicians, he remained in opposition even after Germany's success in the war against France, and combated the military state and its annexationist policy. Jacoby was one of the ideologists of German democracy; his writings and speeches were published in 1872–77 and 1889.

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[Reuven Michael]

JACOBY, OSWALD (1902–1984), U.S. bridge champion. Born in New York, Jacoby served in the U.S. Army in World War I and later worked as an actuary. He rapidly established himself as one of the leading U.S. bridge players and belonged to a group called "The Four Aces," which developed a new system of bidding at bridge that attracted considerable attention.

During World War II Jacoby was an officer in the U.S. Navy. During the Korean War, he was a naval commander and helped to prepare the ground for the Panmunjom armistice talks of 1951.

In 1950, he became the daily bridge columnist for Newspaper Enterprise Association. His column, which was exceptionally popular, was published in several hundred newspapers. He established a record on April 22, 1982, when his 10,000th article was printed.

Jacoby won recognition as the United States' leading bridge player and was awarded the McKenny trophy for the Bridge Player of the Year in 1959, 1961, and 1962. He pioneered many bidding concepts, such as Forcing 2 No Trump; Jacoby Transfer Bids; and Weak Jump Overcalls. An expert in backgammon as well, Jacoby captured the World Championship of Backgammon in 1973. In 1965 he was elected to the Bridge Hall of Fame, and in 1983 he was selected as Bridge Personality of the Year by the International Bridge Press Association.

Jacoby wrote many books on cards and other games, including *Oswald Jacoby on Poker* (1940, 1947^2); *How to Figure the Odds* (1947); *Complete Canasta* (1950); *What's New in Bridge* (1954); *How to Win at Gin Rummy* (1959); *The Backgammon Book* (1979); *Penny Ante and Up* (1979); and *Jacoby on Card Games* (with J. Jacoby, 1989).

[Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

JADASSOHN, JOSEF (1863–1936), German dermatologist. Jadassohn, who was born at Liegnitz, studied at Breslau and was professor and director of the dermatological clinic at the University of Berne, Switzerland, from 1896. From 1917 until his retirement in 1931 he was professor of dermatology at the University of Breslau and became famous for his work on skin and venereal diseases. Jadassohn devoted much of his time to research. Maculopapular erythematosa, a scaling skin affection, is known as "Jadassohn's disease" because he first identified it and his name is also associated with the Jadassohn-Bloch skin test for allergic conditions. He described the patch test and nevus sebaceus (1895). His publications include *Krankheiten der Haut und die venerischen Krankheiten* written in collaboration with Albert Neisser (1900–01) and *Allgemeine Aetologie, Pathologie, Diagnose und Therapie der Gonorrhoe* (1910). He edited *Handbuch der Haut-und Geschlechtskrankheiten* (1927–32) and coedited the *Archiv fuer Dermatologie und Syphilis*.

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[Suessmann Muntner]

JADASSOHN, SALOMON (1831–1902), composer, music theorist, and conductor. Born in Breslau, Jadassohn studied in Leipzig and then under Liszt in Weimar (1849–52). He came back to Leipzig, where he studied privately with Moritz Hauptmann and later developed and worked as a multifaceted musician. In the 1860s he conducted several groups, among them the Leipzig synagogue choir. Later he focused on composition and theory. He composed numerous works in the general style of Brahms, especially for piano, but also orchestral, vocal, and chamber music. Jadassohn is chiefly remembered as a theorist. He wrote textbooks for all major subjects of music theory, combined in the comprehensive project *Musikalische Kompositionslehre* (1883–89), including *Harmonielehre* (1883, 1903), *English Manual of Harmony* (1912), *Kontrapunkt* (1884), *Kanon und Fuge* (1884), and *Die Formen in den Werken der Tonkunst* (1889). Jadassohn's vertical theoretical orientation, his inclination to discover many modulations in chromatic passages, and the lack of almost any examples make his books difficult for the modern reader. His students include Busoni, Chadwick, Delius, and Grieg.

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[Yossi Goldenberg (2nd ed.)]

JADDUA, high priest in the Second Temple period. Jaddua was a great-grandson of *Eliashib and commenced to minister in the priesthood c. 400 B.C.E. According to Nehemiah 12:11, his father's name was Jonathan, but many are of the opinion that the reading there should be *Johanan, as in Nehemiah 12:22. Josephus (Ant. 11:317–47) tells of a high priest called Jaddua who was a contemporary of Alexander the Great. When Alexander reached Syria, he sent envoys to the high priest requesting him to transfer his allegiance to him, but he refused because of his oath of loyalty to *Darius. This enraged Alexander, who marched against Jerusalem with his army. Jaddua prayed to God and in the night had a dream which gave him courage. He went out to welcome Alexander, clothed in his priestly garments, together with his fellow priests and all the people of Jerusalem, clad in white. When Alexander saw the high priest, he prostrated himself before him, explaining that he was bowing to the God to whom this priest ministered; that the priest had appeared to him in a dream and encouraged him to venture forth against the Persians, and assured him of victory. He subsequently acceded to Jaddua's requests on behalf of the Jews. According to Josephus, Jaddua died a short time after the death of Alexander and transmitted his office to his son Onias. Josephus also states that Manasseh, the son-in-law of Sanballat and the first priest of the Samaritan temple on Mt. Gerizim, was the brother of Jaddua. It is difficult to reconcile Josephus' statement that Jaddua lived in the time of Alexander with the account in Nehemiah, and it appears that the story is a mere legend attached to the name of Jaddua. In the Talmud a similar story is ascribed to Simeon the Just (Meg. Ta'an. 339–40; Yoma 69a).

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[Uriel Rappaport]

JADĪD AL-ISLĀM, a term meaning "new Muslims," applied mainly in *Persia to Jews who were converted by force to *Islam but who, in many cases, adhered secretly to their former religion (see *Anusim). The term is associated especially with the crypto-Jewish community of *Meshed under the Kajar dynasty from 1839 onward but also with the victims of forced mass conversions in Persia in the 17th and 18th centuries, under *Abbas I and *Abbas II, and in Bukhara. Many Jadīd al-Islām fled to *Afghanistan, others settled in Ereẓ Israel in 1929–30. About 70 converted to the Bahai faith in the town of Torbat, but after a short while 67 of them returned to Judaism. A few members of the Hakimi family converted to Islam and deserted the community of Jadīd al-Islām. At the end of the 19th century the Jadīd al-Islām in Meshed lived as Jews, almost openly, and under the rule of Riza Shah (1925–41) they felt more protected, but still maintained the status of Muslims and were recognized as Jadīd al-Islām. In 1936 about 550 Jadīd al-Islām families lived in Meshed with 12 synagogues (in private buildings) and four schools. In 1954 *Oẓar ha-Torah* set up in Meshed a Jewish school for the Jadīd al-Islām. These Jews suffered from the mobs in 1946. The Sephardi chief rabbi, Ben-Zion Meir Hai *Ouziel, decided that the Jadīd al-Islām did not have any problem of *mamzerut*. The Jadīd al-Islām had many special *minhagim* in certain areas of life, especially child marriage. They had their own songs and their dead were buried in a cemetery bought by the Jadīd al-Islām. From the end of the 19th century until the 1940s most members of this community returned to Judaism. In 1973 only three Jewish families lived in Meshed and in 1995, 12 families.

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[Walter Joseph Fischel / Leah Bornstein-Makovetsky (2nd ed.)]

JADLOWKER, HERMANN (1878–1953), tenor. Born in Riga, Jadlowker began his operatic career in Cologne in 1889. Invited to Berlin in 1901, he sang at the Berlin State Opera for five years and in 1910 made his U.S. debut at the Metropolitan Opera, New York. Among his important roles were the Prince in the world premiere of Engelbert Humperdinck's *Koenigskinder* (1910), and Florindo in Ermanno Wolf-Ferrari's *Le Donne curiose* in its first U.S. performance in 1912. He returned to Berlin in 1913, was cantor in Riga from 1929 to 1938, and then settled in Tel Aviv as a voice teacher.

JAECKLIN, JUD (**Judah b. Judah**; 14th century), Ulm moneylender. Jaecklin was first mentioned in 1375 when the city of Ulm (Germany) borrowed 2,500 gulden from him. On Sept. 5, 1376, he was put under an imperial ban by *Charles IV, at the request of a feudal enemy of Ulm, for nonpayment of a debt of 4,000 gulden. When the city refused to hand him over, Charles set siege to it; however, he was forced to withdraw and to repeal the ban a year later. As revenge Charles released Duke Henry of Werdenberg, whose lands had suffered most during the siege, from his debts to Jaecklin. In 1379 Jaecklin's residence permit for Ulm was not renewed. He removed to *Constance and in 1380 requested the aid of the municipality in retrieving his property from Ulm. In 1393 Ulm complained that Jaecklin had settled in *Noerdlingen without permission and without relinquishing his citizenship, and that he was libeling the city of Ulm there. As Ulm had previously confiscated his property, it considered that it had a right to collect the debts due to him.

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JAEL (Heb. יָעֵל), wife of Heber the Kenite. Jael slew *Sisera in the war of *Deborah and *Barak against the Canaanites (Judg. 4–5). His army routed by Israel, Sisera fled on foot to Jael's tent, where he was offered hospitality and security, only to be slain by her while he slept (4:17–22; the details of the deed differ somewhat in Judges 5: 24–27, and permit an interpretation first voiced in rabbinic literature (below) that Jael seduced Sisera). Deborah's prophecy to Barak that the Lord would "sell Sisera into the hand of a woman" (4:9) was thus fulfilled. Jael's deed received high praise from Deborah (5:24–27). The story has political significance as well as drama. Jael's husband, "Heber the Kenite" (4:11, 17), is described as a descendant of Jethro the father-in-law of Moses. His clan had apparently been allied to *Jabin, Israel's enemy (*ibid.*), and the slaying of Sisera indicated a switch of loyalties back to Israel. It should be noted that an earlier reference to Jael in the Song of Deborah (5:6) does not seem to be to the same person. The name Jael ("wild goat") appears in Ugaritic texts as that of a man.

[Nahum M. Sarna / S. David Sperling (2nd ed.)]

In the Aggadah

Jael's action in killing Sisera teaches that a transgression performed with good intent is more meritorious than a commandment performed with no intent (Hor. 10b). But for her action, the children of the matriarchs would have been destroyed (Gen. R. 48:15). She slew Sisera with a hammer and tent pin, rather than a spear or sword, in accordance with the biblical commandment (Deut. 22:5) prohibiting the use of weapons by women (Targ. Yer., Judges 5:26). She was a descendant of Jethro, but whereas he received a redeemer (Moses) who was fleeing from the enemy (Pharaoh), Jael received an enemy (Sisera) who was fleeing from the redeemer (Barak), and killed him (Ex. R. 4:2). She was so attractive, that even her voice roused desire (Meg. 15a). Although Sisera had seven sexual relations with her on the day he fled from battle, she derived no gratification from these acts (Yev. 103a; Naz. 23b). She gave Sisera to drink of the milk of her breasts (Nid. 55b). Deborah blessed Jael and she was considered even greater than Sarah, Rebekah, Rachel, and Leah (Naz. 23b).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: EM, 3 (1958, includes bibliography), s.v.; Ginzberg, Legends, 4 (1913), 37–38, 6 (1928), 198; I. Ḥasida, *Ishei ha-Tanakh* (1964), 200–1. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** B. Halpern, in: HTR, 76 (1983), 379–401: M. Brettler, *Judges* (2001), 61–79 (extensive history of research on Judges 4–5).

JAÉN, city in Andalusia, southern Spain. A Jewish community existed there in the Muslim period. The Ibn Shaprut family originated in Jaén, whence Isaac b. Ezra, the father of *Hisdai ibn Shaprut, moved to Córdoba. The Jews in this period engaged in all branches of commerce, and especially in tanning. In the 11th century Jews from Jaén even emigrated to Ereẓ Israel. After the murder of *Joseph ha-Nagid, the son of *Samuel ha-Nagid, when a rebellion broke out in Jaén, the Jews had to pay a heavy indemnity. At the end of the 11th century the community was headed by R. Isaac who corresponded with Isaac *Alfasi. The community was brought to an end during the *Almohad persecution.

In 1246 Jaén was conquered by Ferdinand III of Castile. It was not until 1290 that the Jews of Jaén were required to send a representative to the king to negotiate on the amount of annual tax for which the community was liable. The community became important by the middle of the 14th century when it consisted of about 300 families. The Jews in Jaén pursued the same occupations as the rest of Andalusian Jewry, cultivating vineyards and engaging in crafts and commerce. As customary in that period, many had business partnerships with Christians. The community suffered during the civil war between Pedro the Cruel and Henry of Trastamara in the 1360s. Pedro, who called the Muslims of Granada to his aid, permitted them to take the Jews of Jaén captive and sell them into slavery. The community then numbered 300 families.

No details are known about the fate of the Jews in Jaén during the persecutions of 1391, but the number of Jews who left the faith increased. In the second half of the 15th century the number of Jews in Jaén declined greatly. Throughout the area within the Kingdom of Jaén there was no *aljama* or organized community left. While the number of Jews declined, that of the Conversos rose. In 1473 riots against the *Conversos in Jaén broke out. The riots show the cruel and totalitarian policy pursued by the local authorities and the desire of the people to deprive the Conversos of their wealth. Ten years later an edict of expulsion was issued against the Jews in Jaén as in all the other Andalusian communities. In that year the Inquisition established a tribunal at Jaén, which was the third to be established in the Iberian peninsula, after Seville and Córdoba. This was surely due to the large number of Conversos who resided in Andalusia. Sources found in local archives offer ample information on the Conversos, many of whom were crypto-Jews. These sources compensate for the loss of the files of the tribunal of Jaén. We now have the many names of Conversos or crypto-Jews who were tried and condemned by the Inquisition. Apparently the tribunal did not continue to sit in Jaén but returned there in 1509 and was reconstituted as a district court. In 1526 it was amalgamated with the tribunal in Córdoba. The autos-da-fé took place in Santa María square, in front of the Cathedral.

The Conversos continued to live in what used to be the Jewish quarter, renamed Santa Cruz. The synagogue was in the street called Santa Cruz.

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[Haim Beinart / Yom Tov Assis (2nd ed.)]

JAFFA (**Joppa**; **יָפוֹ**), ancient port city in the central sector of the Ereẓ Israel coast. The meaning of the name Jaffa (Yaffo) is "lovely" or "pretty." The ancient city was built on a hill jutting out slightly from the coastline on the west and overlooking the open sea. At the foot of the rise on the western side extends the port, which was protected by a chain of rocks jutting out above the water; on the northern side there is a small bay that is protected from the southwest winds but open to the stormy winds from the north. Storms were probably overcome by using the mouth of the Yarkon River ("Me-Jarkon," Josh. 19:46) at a distance of 3.7 mi. (6 km.) from the northern corner, where boats took shelter in the winter. *Jonah the prophet, unwilling to fulfill his mission to Nineveh, boarded a ship at Jaffa bound for Tarshish (Jonah 1:3). Some scholars assume that the expression "the Jaffa sea," mentioned in the Bible in connection with the transport of the cedars of Lebanon to the Temple (II Chron. 2:15; Ezra 3: 7) and in Josephus in connection with the defense line built by Alexander *Yannai "from the mountainside above Antipatris to the coast at Jaffa sea" (Wars 1:99), is a reference to the jetties of the Yarkon at Tell Kadadi and Tell Qasīle. Archaeological excavations were conducted at the Jaffa tell from 1955 by Y. Kaplan on behalf of the Tel Aviv-Jaffa Antiquities Museum.

Early History

The oldest remains found are pieces of wall of sun-dried clay bricks in the eastern part of the ancient Jaffa fortress and dated from the 16th century B.C.E. Remains were also found from the 15th to the 13th centuries B.C.E., which was the period of

Egyptian rule in Jaffa. The name Jaffa is mentioned among the Canaanite cities that were conquered by Thutmosis III in 1469 B.C.E. a folktale that came into being about 200 years afterward describes the conquest of Jaffa by Thutmosis' military chief by cunning, rather than by war, through introducing soldiers into the fort in baskets. In the *El-Amarna letters, Jaffa is mentioned as an Egyptian district in which the king's stores were located. In the Anastasi Papyrus I, from the time of Ramses II (13th century B.C.E.), the Egyptian fort is described as being located on the side of the Canaanite city and containing workshops and arms stores. Excavations uncovered three stones of the fortress gate from the 13th century with inscriptions of the five titles of Ramses II.

The remains of the fortress gate (fourth level in the excavations) belong to the period of Israelite settlement, in the second half of the 13th century, and near the threshold a bronze bar that supported the corner of the left gate was uncovered. There are no written documents from this period; the description of the border of the tribe of Dan, which ran "over against Jaffa" (Josh. 19:46) is now dated by most scholars to the Davidic period. The appearance of the Sea Peoples at the beginning of the 12th century B.C.E. left its mark in the signs of destruction at the fourth level of settlement and in the few Philistine remains. However, there is basis for the supposition that the connection between the Greek legend of Perseus and Andromeda and the rocks off Jaffa is rooted in this period. It appears that Jaffa remained outside the boundary of Israelite settlement. Excavations have uncovered a part of the fortifications from the ninth century comprising a glacis covered with slabs of stone, beneath which were alternate strata of pressed earth and sun-dried clay bricks whose general width in some place reached four to five meters.

In the last third of the eighth century B.C.E., the period of the Assyrian invasions of Ereẓ Israel, Jaffa became, from what can be seen, part of the "province of Ashdod." At the end of the eighth century it was under the protection of Ashkelon, according to Sennacherib, king of Assyria, who conquered it together with Bene-Berak and Bet Dagon on his way to fight Hezekiah, king of Judah, and his Egyptian allies. In the fifth century B.C.E. the coastal cities were held by Tyre and Sidon with the support of the Persian rulers. Jaffa was under the control of Sidon according to the description of the coastal cities of Syria and Ereẓ Israel of Pseudo-Scylax (fourth century B.C.E.) and the inscription of Eshmunezer, king of Sidon, which relates that the "lord of kings" (the king of Persia) gave Sidon two cities on the Ereẓ Israel coast – Jaffa and Dor – as a sign of his gratitude. A Sidonian stone dedicatory inscription was discovered in 1892 in Jaffa and mentions the establishment of a Sidonian temple in the city. To these should be added the discovery of a part of the wall of the Sidonian fortress uncovered in excavations in Jaffa in 1955.The Hellenistic Period

After the Macedonian conquest and the death of Alexander the Great, Jaffa passed from one military commander to another until finally, in about 301 B.C.E., it fell, together with the rest of the country, to the Ptolemaic governors of Egypt. Jaffa quickly became a Greek city and its name changed to Ioppe (᾿Ιόππη), which is a Greek-sounding name. From the period of the Ptolemaic dynasty, which lasted a few hundred years, it is known that coins were minted in Jaffa during the reign of Ptolemy II and III bearing the name Ioppe. Another source of information on Jaffa in this period is the *Zeno Papyri (mid-third century B.C.E.). In the excavations of Jaffa in 1961, a cave of tombs built of hewn-out stones and part of a dedicatory inscription in Greek that mentions the name of Ptolemy Philopater (the IV), from the end of the third century B.C.E., were found. At the beginning of the second century B.C.E. Ereẓ Israel, and Jaffa together with it, was conquered by Antiochus III of the Seleucid dynasty.

The Roman Period

In the time of the Hasmonean revolt, Judah Maccabee attacked the city and burned the harbor in retaliation against its foreign inhabitants for drowning about 200 Jaffa Jews (II Macc. 12:3–7). Afterward, his brother Jonathan conquered the city, and following his death, Simon finally annexed it to the Jewish state, after its military governor, Jonathan b. Absalom, drove the foreigners out of the city: "And he turned aside to Joppa, and took possession of it for he had heard that they were minded to deliver the stronghold unto the men of Demetrius; and he placed a garrison there to keep it" (I Macc. 12:34). During the reign of Jonathan the Hasmonean, the Syrians again made repeated attempts to regain the income from Jaffa, but with the aid and political support of the Roman senate the city remained in Jewish hands (Jos., Ant.,13:261). Excavations have uncovered a portion of the fortress wall from the Hasmonean period that was built on the remains of an older fortress, which belongs to the end of the third century, or the beginning of the second century.

With Pompey's conquest of Ereẓ Israel (66 B.C.E.), Jaffa was separated from the Jewish state and became, as did the other coastal cities, a free city in the district given over to the authority of the Syrian commissioner. Only in 47 did Julius Caesar return the city to Judea (Jos., Ant., 14:202, 205). In 38 Herod captured Jaffa on his way to Jerusalem to establish his reign there. Afterward he built the harbor of Caesarea, which was a strong competitor to Jaffa. During the reign of Antony in the east, Jaffa, together with the other coastal cities, was given to Cleopatra, the queen of Egypt; only in the year 30 was it returned to Herod by Augustus Caesar. A part of a house that was uncovered in the excavations belongs to the Augustan period. The structure included an entrance yard, a water hole, and a wall that was part of a room with an entrance. Jaffa is mentioned in the Christian chronicles in the context of the stories of Tabitha (Dorcas) and Simon the tanner. The New Testament contains the story of the miracle of Tabitha, who was resurrected by Peter (Acts 9:36–42). While in Jaffa, Peter stayed in the house of Simon the tanner and on his roof dreamed the dream that has been interpreted to allow Christians to eat the flesh of unclean animals. It was also there that he heard the voice calling him to convert pagans, as well as Jews, to Christianity (Acts 10:9ff.). With the outbreak of war with the Romans, Cestius Gallus destroyed Jaffa, but the city was quickly rebuilt by the Jews. They stationed a fleet of ships in the sea that attacked the ships passing on the maritime route from Egypt to Syria. Prior to his arrival in Jerusalem, *Vespasian sent foot soldiers and cavalry to Jaffa, under cover of darkness, and they surprised the defenders of the city. The startled inhabitants quickly fled the city to take shelter in the boats, but, to add to the tragedy, a stormy wind broke early in the morning and dashed the boats and those in them against the rocks of the shore. The survivors were massacred by the Romans, who were waiting on the shore (Jos., Wars, 3:414–431). Vespasian then destroyed the city and built a fort on its ruins that contained a guard from the Tenth Legion. In the excavations, a piece of a tile was discovered with the seal of the Tenth Roman Legion on it.

Jaffa was rebuilt, it appears, still during the reign of Vespasian, who turned it into an autonomous city by the name of Flavia Ioppe. This is known from the coins that were minted during the reign of Heliogabalus (218–222), on which this name is mentioned. Three identical inscriptions engraved on a stone uncovered during the excavations tell of the Jewish community in Jaffa during the period between the destruction of the Second Temple and the Bar Kokhba revolt. The inscriptions contain the name "Yehudah," who was the inspector of weights and measures in the Jaffa market during the reign of Trajan. Another discovery is the floor of a cellar that belongs to the period of Trajan; above it were found many clay jars and bronze and silver coins. The Mishnah and Talmud, as well as tombstones discovered in the cemetery of Jaffa Jews in Abu-Kabir, are sources of information on Jewish Jaffa during the second to fourth centuries C.E. Among the scholars of Jaffa mentioned in the Talmud are R. Ada (Meg. 16b; Ta'an. 16b), R. Naḥman (Lev. R. 6:5), R. Yudan (Lev. R. 20:10), and others. From the tombstones it is possible to learn of the occupations and origins of the dead. It becomes clear that the Jews of Jaffa during this period lived in neighborhoods according to their country of origin. Jews from Alexandria, Cyrenaica, Cappadocia, and other places are mentioned on the stones. Among the professions were trades in cloth, perfumes, rags, fishing, etc. Jerome, who visited Jaffa in 382, expressed his surprise at the sight of "the harbor of fleeing Jonah"; he also tells that he saw the rock on which Andromeda was bound.

From this period until the Arab conquest (see below), the information about Jaffa becomes more scarce. Cyril the Holy, from Alexandria, who wrote during the first half of the fifth century, described Jaffa as an important commercial center and a port of exit for all travelers from Judea to the countries of the Mediterranean. During this period, it seems that after its Christian population grew, Jaffa became the seat of the episcopate, and thus the name of the bishop of Jaffa, Phidus, is mentioned in the list of the church council that was convened in 431 in Ephesus. The name of another bishop, Elias, who participated in the council that convened in Jerusalem in 536, is also mentioned.

Arab Period (636–1099)

In 636 Jaffa fell to the Muslims. While Ramleh flourished as the capital of the Palestine region, the importance of the port of Jaffa increased; it took over trade from Caesarea. Jaffa served as a storage center for merchant shipping and as the port of entry for Christian and Jewish pilgrims. Ahmad ibn Ṭūlūn, the ruler of Egypt and Palestine, fortified Jaffa in 878. However, its security and trade were endangered from time to time by riots and anarchy. In 1050 Ibn Baṭlān, an Arab geographer, wrote of the town "[Jaffa is] a town of starvation. There is not even a teacher for small children in it." In the early tenth century R. Joseph, the father of Saadiah Gaon, died there. A Hebrew letter dated 1071, which was found in the Cairo *Genizah*, reports the confiscation of merchandise in the port of Jaffa. A bill of divorce (*get*) written in Jaffa in 1077 proves that it had a rabbinical court at the period.

Crusader Period (1099–1268)

Jaffa was conquered by the Crusaders in the summer of 1099, prior to their conquest of Jerusalem. Genoese ships, which anchored in Jaffa harbor, brought supplies to the besiegers of Jerusalem. Jaffa also served as a base and starting point for the Crusader conquest of other coastal towns as far north as Beirut. In 1102 twenty pilgrim ships carrying Crusaders sank in the harbor during a storm. Thus "to go to Jaffa" in German acquired the connotation of "to go to Hell." In the 12th century during the first four Crusades, Jaffa was the main gateway to Jerusalem. It was the capital of the feudal kingdom of Jerusalem, which from 1157 on included Ashkelon and its surroundings. The county of Jaffa had the right to mint its own coinage. The inhabitants were a mixture of European and Oriental Christians, who mingled within a French-speaking "Palestinian nation." In 1170 Benjamin of Tudela reported that he found only one Jew in the town. In 1196 the Ayyubid ruler al-Malik al-Adil, the brother of Saladin, conquered Jaffa and destroyed it.

In the 13th century – during the latter half of the Crusades period – Jaffa failed to retain the importance it had in the preceding period; trade and shipping moved to Acre. Nonetheless, its strategic importance remained, as is evident from the fact that both Frederick II, the Holy Roman Emperor, who led the Sixth Crusade (1228), and King Louis IX of France, who led the Seventh Crusade (1248), fortified the town. During this second period the Crusaders acted with tolerance toward the Jews. The small Jewish community in Jaffa was comprised of craftsmen, potters, and glaziers (many of whom went to Europe). Their influence is noticeable in the contemporary pottery of southern France. Jaffa passed into the hands of the Khuwarizm conquerors in 1244 and to the Mongols in 1260; in 1268 it was finally conquered by the Mamluk sultan Baybars, who razed it to the ground and massacred its population.

Mamluk Period (1268–1517)

At the beginning of the *Mamluk period Jaffa was rebuilt and its port resumed operations, but in the mid-14th century, when European crusaders renewed their plans and attempts at conquest, the Mamluks destroyed the port of Jaffa and the ports of other coastal towns in order to prevent invasion by Christian warships. Jaffa was abandoned, except for occasional visits by merchant ships and pilgrims. The guards who watched over the ruins of the town would light beacons in order to warn Ramleh of the approach of a ship, but until permission to disembark was given by the authorities in Ramleh, *Gaza, or even *Cairo, pilgrims had to wait for many days on board ship, and afterward in the dark and stinking cellars of the ruins, humiliated by blows and extortion. Many died on board ship, in Jaffa, and on the way to Jerusalem. For Jews immigration via Jaffa was even more dangerous, especially in the 15th century, as a result of the decrees issued by the pope and the Venetian Republic against carrying Jews to the Holy Land. Only when the decree was revoked in 1488 did Jews openly arrive in Ereẓ Israel via Jaffa.

The Ottoman Period (1517–1831)

From the beginning of the 16th century until the mid-17th century, there was no change in the status of Jaffa. In the mid-17th century the Turks added a tower to the two existing towers, and increased the watch over the town. In 1641 the Franciscan friars, who looked after Catholic pilgrims, set up a small monastery with a church. Inhabitants and merchants of Ramleh began to gather in the town. At first, tents and booths were set up in Jaffa, but only at the end of the century were houses built there. The import and export trade gradually increased. In the early 18th century Jaffa was the manufacturing and export center of the "Jaffa soap" industry, and apparently, the first oranges in Palestine were grown in Jaffa. A quay was added to the port for the disembarkation of passengers, and hostelries and houses for trading agents and European consuls were built. Individual Jews were attracted to the town.

In 1769 Jaffa was destroyed by Uthman Pasha, the governor of *Damascus, because its inhabitants refused to be compelled into providing money for quelling the revolt of Zahir al-Amr the governor of Acre. In 1775 the town was besieged by Muhammad Bey Abu Dhahab of Egypt, who at first had assisted Zahir al-Amr but later fought for the sultan; he massacred many of Jaffa's inhabitants, among them Jews. Abu Dhahab built a monument to his victory from decapitated heads, for which the site of the monument received the name Tell al-Ruus ("hill of the heads"). In 1799 Napoleon besieged the town and conquered it in a storm.

[Joseph Braslavi (Braslavski)]

Modern Period

Jaffa suffered severely under the siege, but after it had been conquered by Napoleon's army, it recovered relatively quickly and was rebuilt by the local governor, Muhammad Abu Nabut. On his initiative, the well-planned markets of the town, as well as its central mosque (near the present-day Clocktower Square) and the water fountain on the road leading to Jerusalem (which bears his name), were built. The city wall, with its towers, and the inner citadel on top of Jaffa Hill by the sea were renewed. Hewn stones were shipped by sea from ruined ancient cities on the coast, mainly from Caesarea, for these structures.

In November 1831 Jaffa was occupied by the army of Ibrahim Pasha, stepson of the Turkish governor of Egypt, Muḥammad ʿAlī, who rebelled against the central Turkish government. During Ibrahim Pasha's eight-year rule, Jaffa progressed due to the better security situation, the improvement in the status of non-Muslim residents, and the removal of obstacles in the way of pilgrims reaching the town's port on their way to Jerusalem. Immigrants from Egypt established agricultural settlements in the vicinity, where 50 years later citrus groves were planted and were later integrated in the boundaries of either Jaffa or Tel Aviv.

After the country returned to Ottoman rule, Jaffa's growth continued slowly. Experiments in growing mulberry trees near the town to develop the silk industry were unsuccessful, but the port of Jaffa began to be visited by steamships and, beginning in the 1850s, was included in the regular shipping lines of companies from Marseilles, Trieste, and, later, Odessa. With the opening of the Suez Canal, it also came into the scope of oceangoing vessels. In about 1865 the pace of the town's and port's progress quickened: the city was connected to the telegraph network; the harbor jetty and other port installations were improved; and a lighthouse was built. The harbor entrance between the shore reefs was broadened, and a second gate was opened in the city wall. In the 1880s, these walls were entirely razed and new quarters were erected beyond Jaffa Hill. The construction of the road to Jerusalem and the wealth which came to the city with Jewish immigration and settlement; the expansion of Jerusalem; and the planting of citrus groves in the vicinity all enlivened the city's maritime commerce and contributed to its progress. Another factor was the railroad from Jaffa to Jerusalem, built in 1892, which served pilgrims and tourists. Whereas irrigated orchards could hardly be expanded before, because animal-driven well pumps could not reach deeper groundwater reserves, this became possible from 1898 onward, when small kerosene pumps were introduced. Changes took place in Jaffa's sea trade in the 50 years preceding World War I. Exports of grains and olive oil nearly ceased, but more sesame and sesame oil, watermelons, and particularly citrus fruit and soap were exported. Imports began to exceed exports in volume, as new products – petrol, building wood, cement, paints, caustic soda (as a raw material for soap production), European flour and machines – arrived. In 1885 (the first year for which reliable figures are available) goods valued at £132,579 were exported through Jaffa port, and imports amounted to £287,740. In 1913 exports came to £745,413, and imports to £1,312,695: citrus fruit (with 1,400,000 cases worth £297,000) and soap (6,250 tons worth £200,000) came first.

In 1852 a small group of Americans founded in Jaffa a small colony they called "Mount Hope," which lasted until 1858. Another unsuccessful attempt at agricultural settlement was a "model farm," which A. Isaacs, a Jewish convert to Christianity, sought to establish with the intention to do missionary work. A second attempt by Americans to settle near the city in 1866 was equally unsuccessful. In their stead came members of the German Templer community, who took over the Americans' huts, later built their own quarter (Jaffa's "German Quarter"), and became an important factor in the city's progress. They also established the agricultural colony Sarona (today the Tel Aviv "Kiryah" of government buildings) and another small urban quarter named Valhalla. All these colonies were abandoned when German males were detained by the British authorities at the beginning of World War II.

Arabs, both from Palestine and the neighboring countries, particularly Egypt, settled in Jaffa throughout the 19th and beginning of the 20th century, causing the city's population to grow from 2,500 (at most) in the early 19th century to 5,000 in the 1850s and to nearly 40,000 (with suburbs such as Tel Aviv included) in 1914. World War I brought numerous difficulties, as the port was closed, the railway to Lydda was dismantled, the town was kept under a blackout, and military objects underwent shelling. Economic life was paralyzed, and citizens were mobilized for the Turkish army. These events were followed by hunger, and a considerable part of the inhabitants abandoned the city. On Nov. 16, 1917, Jaffa was occupied by the British and for one month found itself in the front line, until the Allied armies crossed the Yarkon River and advanced north.

Under the British Mandate, Jaffa recovered, expanded, and developed. Excluding Tel Aviv, its population numbered 32,524 in 1922, 55,346 in 1931, and nearly 100,000 in the beginning of 1948. In the latter year, 70,000 were non-Jews, making Jaffa the largest Arab city in the country. Many workers were Arab immigrants coming from near and far who settled in villages of the vicinity, particularly in Salameh. Modern industry became an important foundation of Jaffa's economy, with many enterprises established by Jews and by the German Wagner, while traditional branches (olive-oil presses, soap factories) declined. Another important economic asset was the port, where modern installations, e.g., a boat anchorage protected by a breakwater dam, extended quays, and an area for wharfs and services were added in 1934–35. In 1935 608,000 tons of goods passed through Jaffa port. They amounted to LP 10,000,000, of which LP 2,300,000 were export goods. The construction of Haifa port at that time did not reduce the trade of Jaffa port, where export of citrus fruit was of great importance. The Arab riots that spread from Jaffa on April 19, 1936, and the general strike proclaimed by the Arab Higher Committee, however, paralyzed the port. When Tel Aviv's port was opened soon afterward, the port of Jaffa no longer maintained its former standing; it was closed for security reasons during World War II and could hardly recover in the years 1946–47.

The riots that broke out immediately after the UN decision to partition Palestine (Nov. 29, 1947) and soon developed into full-scale war brought large units of "volunteers" from other Arab countries to Jaffa. They established themselves as the rulers of the city and caused much suffering to its inhabitants. In the first stages of the war, the British authorities protected the city and prevented Jewish forces from occupying parts of it. On May 13, 1948, the city fell to Jewish forces, and most of its inhabitants abandoned it by sea. Large numbers of Jewish immigrants were housed in considerable parts of Jaffa, and on Oct. 4, 1949, the government of Israel decided to amalgamate Tel Aviv with Jaffa, which one year later were given the name Tel Aviv-Jaffa. For its subsequent history, see *Tel Aviv.

JEWS IN JAFFA. After North African Jews had settled in the town, the Jewish community slowly grew to number about 400 members in 1856. The Jerusalem sages gave Rabbi Judah Levy from Dubrovnik (Ragusa) the task of receiving Jewish pilgrims in Jaffa port and of aiding them on their way to Jerusalem. First beginnings in agriculture were the citrus grove of Moses Montefiore and the agricultural school of Mikveh Israel, which entertained close ties with the Jaffa community. The size of the community increased considerably with these enterprises and during the period of the First and Second Aliyah Jaffa became the center of the "new *yishuv*." Together with the opening of industrial enterprises came the creation of the organizational framework of the community, which comprised both Ashkenazim and Sephardim. Health and cultural institutions were established: e.g., the Sha'arei Zion Hospital, schools of the Alliance Israélite Universelle, and of Hovevei Zion and the Herzlia Secondary School. In 1908 the Palestine office of the Zionist organization was opened in Jaffa under Arthur Ruppin. The wholly Jewish quarters that came into being, like Neveh Zedek, Neveh Shalom, etc., later became part of Tel Aviv. In 1905 there were 4,765 Jews in Jaffa, and in 1914 their number was estimated at 15,000. After World War I more Jewish suburbs were established within its municipal boundaries, with approximately 30,000 inhabitants in 1947. These quarters theoretically belonged to Jaffa and paid taxes to its municipality, but received all services (health, education, security) from Tel Aviv, where most of their breadwinners found employment. The inner parts of Jaffa, however, were gradually deserted by Jews, following the riots of 1921, 1929, and 1936–39, and were entirely abandoned at the end of 1947. Only after the State of Israel was founded did Jewish immigrants again settle in Jaffa.

[Shlomo Aronson]

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JAFFA, German brothers who were early New Mexico settlers. HENRY N. JAFFA (1846–1901) went to the U.S. as a young man and moved out West after the Civil War, establishing stores in southern Colorado. In 1879 he opened a business in Las Vegas, New Mexico, which he extended to Albuquerque in 1882. When Albuquerque was incorporated in 1885, Jaffa became its first mayor. He organized New Mexico's first synagogue (1897) and participated in civic and fraternal affairs. NATHAN JAFFA (1863–1945) went to the U.S. from Germany in 1878, settling in Trinidad, Colorado. After brief periods in Las Vegas and Albuquerque, New Mexico (1899), Jaffa became cashier of the Bank of Roswell, NM, where he also led congregational life. From 1907 until New Mexico became a state in 1912 he was its territorial secretary by presidential appointment. Later, he served for 15 years as regent of the University of New Mexico, two years as mayor of Santa Fe, and four years as chief state tax commissioner. He became city clerk of Las Vegas, N.M. (1938) and was an active Mason.

[Edward L. Greenstein]

JAFFE, family of Hebrew printers in *Lublin in the 16th and 17th centuries. In 1557 KALONYMUS BEN MORDECAI JAFFE (d. c. 1603) was associated with *Eliezer b. Isaac and other printers in the production of a Pentateuch with *haftarot* and the Five Scrolls. Kalonymus was a second cousin of Mordecai *Jaffe, author of the *Levushim*, and married Hannah, the granddaughter of Ḥayyim *Schwartz, a well-known wandering printer. In 1559 she and her cousin Ḥayyim b. Isaac Schwarz obtained a printing privilege from Sigismund II, king of Poland. Kalonymus published two *maḥzor* editions, one in the German rite (1563), the other in the Polish (1568), and a Talmud edition (1559–77). When Eliezer b. Isaac and his son left Lublin for Constantinople in 1574, Kalonymus bought most of his type – Prague style borders and other decorations – and from then until his death he continued printing a great number and variety of works, apart from proceeding with the Talmud edition. He was soon assisted by his sons JOSEPH, ẒEVI HIRSCH, and ḤAYYIM. In 1578 he obtained a new privilege from King Stephen Bathory; in 1590 he acquired new type borders and decorations. When the plague broke out in Lublin in 1592, the family and staff took refuge in nearby Bistrowitz, where they printed a Passover *Haggadah* in 1593. Kalonymus' son Ẓevi Hirsch took up the family trade in 1604. He too issued a Talmud edition (1611–39), Samuel Edels' novellae (1617–36), and a number of other important rabbinic and nonrabbinic works. A great fire, the Chmielnicki persecutions (1648–49), and the Swedish War (1656) led to the suspension of printing activities, but in 1665 another Jaffe, SOLOMON ZALMAN (KALMANKES) of Turobin, a nephew of Kalonymus and husband of his daughter Sarah, who herself took an active part in the work, took over and continued printing, certainly until 1700, and possibly after that year. Solomon Zalman was in partnership with a certain Jacob b. Abraham and, after the latter's death, with his son Ẓevi.

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JAFFE, ABRAHAM B. (1924–), Hebrew literary critic and editor. Born in Beltsy, Bessarabia, he settled in Ereẓ Israel in 1940 and from 1948 lived in Tel Aviv. His articles and literary studies appeared in the Hebrew press and in periodicals from 1943. Jaffe's major work is *Avraham Shlonsky ha-Meshorer u-Zemanno* (1966), a study of the life and work of the poet Abraham *Shlonsky. He also edited *Yalkut Eshel* (1967), an anthology of Shlonsky's literary essays. His other critical writings include *Shirah u-Meẓi'ut* ("Poetry and Reality", 1951); *Charlie Chaplin* (1953, 1955); *Du-Si'aḥ Ẓarefati* ("French Dialogue," 1958), a work on modern French literature; *Sifrut ve-Ommanut* (1965), together with A. Ḥashavyah; and *Hemingway ve-"Ha-Zaken ve-ha-Yam"* ("Hemingway and 'The Old Man and the Sea,'" 1966). He edited *Al Admat Besarabyah*, vol. 2 (1962), a collection of essays on Bessarabian Jewry, and a collection of essays on S. *Ẓemaḥ (1966). From 1951, he was editor of the weekly literary supplement of the newspaper *Al ha-Mishmar*. He was also one of the editors of *Ommanut ha-Bamah be-Yisrael* ("Theater Arts in Israel," 1965). Among his other works are a memoir of Lea *Goldberg (*Pegishot im L. Goldberg*, 1984), a literary portait of the poet Shlomo Tani (1994), essays on the modern story (*Makbilot ba-Sippur ha-Moderni*, 1973), and a book on literature and art in the early years of the city Tel Aviv (1980).

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[Getzel Kressel]

JAFFE, BEZALEL (1868–1925), Zionist leader in Russia and in Ereẓ Israel. The brother of Leib *Jaffe, he was a key figure in the Zionist movement in the area of his native Grodno. He was a member of *Benei Moshe, established a modernized *ḥeder* in his home town, and was one of the organizers of the "Grodno Courses" for the training of Hebrew teachers (1907). Jaffe took part in the first Zionist Congresses, was active in the organization of the Zionist movement in Lithuania, and in the publication of Zionist literature in Hebrew, Yiddish, and Russian. In 1909 he went to Ereẓ Israel and, upon the resignation of Meir *Dizengoff, was appointed director of the Geulah company for land purchase. Under his directorship (1910–25), this company was instrumental in extending the area of Tel Aviv and turning it into a city. He was one of the founders of Tel Aviv and a member of the town's first governing committee. Jaffe was also a member of the Va'ad Le'ummi during its early days

(1920–25). In 1912 Jaffe introduced the first modern irrigation into Petaḥ Tikvah, utilizing the waters of the Yarkon river. He was one of the few who fought to safeguard achievements of the *yishuv* during its harassment by the Turkish authorities in World War I. After 1918 he was among the organizers of the *yishuv*'s Provisional Committee and also served as president of the Jaffa-Tel Aviv Jewish community.

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[Yehuda Slutsky]

JAFFE, ELI (1953–), Israeli conductor. Jaffe was born in Jerusalem and graduated from The Hebrew University and the Rubin Academy of Music, majoring in conducting, theory, and percussion. In 1977 he proceeded to the Royal Academy of Music in London, where he was awarded the Ernest Reed Prize for conducting in 1978. He conducted all of Israel's major orchestras as well as the London Royal Philharmonic, the Liege Philharmonic, the Baltimore Symphony, and the Prague Symphony Orchestra, which endowed him with the title, "Honorary Guest Conductor." He is artistic director of the Jerusalem School for Cantorial Art and of the Jerusalem Great Synagogue Choir, with which he has made numerous world tours. Jaffe published an encyclopedic instructional set for the entire annual cycle of Hebrew liturgy. He is also an accomplished composer. His first symphony was performed by the Israel Philharmonic, and his wind quintet was premiered by the orchestra's wind ensemble.

Jaffe conducts wearing a *kippah* (skullcap) and with his ritual fringes (*tzitzit*) protruding. His strict observance does not permit him to participate in competitions held on the Jewish Sabbath, and he does not conduct works with Christian liturgical connotations.

[Uri Toepliz and Yohanan Boehm / Yulia Kreinin (2nd ed.)]

JAFFE, ISRAEL BEN AARON (c. 1640–after 1703), kabbalist. Born in Uman (Ukraine), he fled at the age of eight to Glussk (Belorussia) on the outbreak of the *Chmielnicki persecutions (1648). He studied with *Isaac b. Abraham at Posen (*Tiferet Yisrael*, Frankfurt on the Oder (1774), 40b) and afterward continued his studies together with his friends Aryeh Loeb Epstein and Jacob Ḥayyat (*ibid.*, 35a). Later he became rabbi at Shklov (Belorussia). Jaffe, who claimed to see heavenly visions, among which were revelations of the prophet Elijah, felt himself called upon to work for the messianic redemption. He appeared in numerous communities, in order to gain adherents for his kabbalistic theories and to scourge misdeeds. For the printing of his writings he went to Frankfurt on the Oder, where his work *Or Yisrael* (1702) was published (pt. 1: interpretations of the *Zohar; pt. 2: kabbalistic commentaries on *Oraḥ Ḥayyim*; in 1702 with approbations by numerous contemporary authorities). The work roused angry feelings in rabbinic circles, since the author was suspected of Shabbatean leanings because of the repeated use of the word *ẓevi* (interpreted as referring to *Shabbetai Ẓevi) in his work. In his apology, Jaffe attributes the incriminating passages to an alien insertion; by this he contradicts the testimony of his son Aaron, who had corrected the whole work. His grandson had this apology printed at the beginning of his excerpt from his grandfather's work *Tiferet Yisrael*, in order to clear him of the accusation of Shabbateanism. Although the rabbinic authorities had, in their approval to this work, confirmed the groundlessness of these accusations against Jaffe, the suspicion was nevertheless upheld by Jacob *Emden (cf. *Torat ha-Kena'ot* (Lemberg, 1870), 145, first printed Amsterdam, 1752, and *Shevirat Luḥot ha-Aven* (Zolkiew, 1756), 53b). On the other hand, *David of Makow, who was close to the circle of *Elijah Gaon of Vilna, took Jaffe's part in his anti-ḥasidic pamphlet *Zemir Ariẓim*.

The following works of Jaffe remain unpublished: *Beit Yisrael*, additions to the Talmud; commentary on the *haftarot* and the Five Scrolls; *Yefeh Einayim; Milḥamot Adonai*; and *Tiferet Yisrael*. Excerpts from the last three works were published by his grandson and namesake (who had the appellation *Zuta* to differentiate him from his grandfather) under the title *Tiferet Yisrael* (Frankfurt on the Oder, 1774); together with them are printed *Kishut Tov* by Moses b. Menahem and an excerpt from the works of Israel Zuta himself.

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[Samuel Abba Horodezky]

JAFFE, LEIB (1876–1948), Russian Zionist leader, writer, and poet. Born in Grodno, a grandson of R. Mordecai-Gimpel *Jaffe, he participated in the First Zionist Congress and in those following it and was one of the foremost Zionist propagandists in speeches, discussions, articles, and poems in both Russian and Yiddish. Jaffe was a member of the *Democratic Fraction of the Zionist movement and among the opponents of the *Uganda Scheme. At the *Helsingfors Conference, 1906, he was elected to the Zionist central committee in Russia. For a time he edited the Zionist periodicals in Russia, *Dos Yidishe Folk* and *Haolam*, in which he published articles on current and Zionist affairs. At the Eighth Zionist Congress (1907), Jaffe was elected to the Zionist General Council and he directed the regional Zionist committee for the five provinces of Lithuania. During World War I he was active on behalf of the Jewish Society for the Help of War Refugees (YEKOPO).

In 1915 Jaffe was called to Moscow to edit the monthly of the Zionist Organization, *Yevreyskaya Zhizn*. During the brief period of the February Revolution in Russia, he was at the center of Zionist propagandist and administrative work. With the consolidation of the Soviet regime, Jaffe returned to Lithuania, where he was elected president of the Zionist Organization and edited its newspaper, *Letste Nayes* (later *Di Yidishe Tsaytung*). In 1920 he went to Ereẓ Israel, where he was elected to the Va'ad ha-Ẓirim (Zionist Commission). He was an editor of the newspaper *Haaretz* (1920–21) and editor in chief 1921–22. In 1923 Jaffe joined the *Keren Hayesod and in

1926, together with A. *Hantke, became its co-director. Until his death he traveled widely in all countries of the Diaspora on public relations missions and established contacts with intellectual circles. He was killed on March 11, 1948, when a mine planted by an Arab terrorist exploded in the courtyard of the *Jewish Agency compound.

Jaffe's literary work was devoted to the renascence of the Jewish people and to the love of Ereẓ Israel. He published three collections of Jewish-Zionist literature in Russian and also two Russian anthologies of Hebrew poetry (together with the poet V. *Khodasevich, and with a foreword by M. *Gershenson), and a selection of world poetry on Jewish-national subjects. His own poetry found its best expression in Russian. In 1892 his first poem appeared in the Russian Jewish *Voskhod*. His first collection of poems, *Gryadushchee* ("The Future") appeared in Grodno in 1902 and also contains translations of Hebrew poetry. His second collection *Ogni na vysotakh* ("Fires on the Heights," 1936), appeared in Riga. Jaffe also wrote poems in Yiddish (collected in *Heymats Klangen*, 1925) and in Hebrew. A selection of his articles appeared in *Tekufot* (1948). His son Benjamin (d. 1986) edited *Ketavim, Iggerot ve-Yomanim* (1964), and *Bi-Sheliḥut Am* (1968; letters and documents 1892–1948). Jaffe edited *Sefer ha-Congress* (the book of the First Zionist Congress, 1923).

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[Yehuda Slutsky and Melech Ravitch]

JAFFE, LEONARD (1926–), U.S. space program engineer. Born in Cleveland, Ohio, Jaffe served in the U.S. Navy (1944–46). He joined what later became the National Aeronautics and Space Administration as research engineer (1948), was the chief of the Data Systems Branch (1955), chief of communications satellites (1959), and director of the communication and navigation satellite programs of the Office of Space Science and Applications Satellites from 1963. When Jaffe was Deputy Associate Administrator for Space Applications, his office was responsible for all NASA Space Applications Satellite Projects.

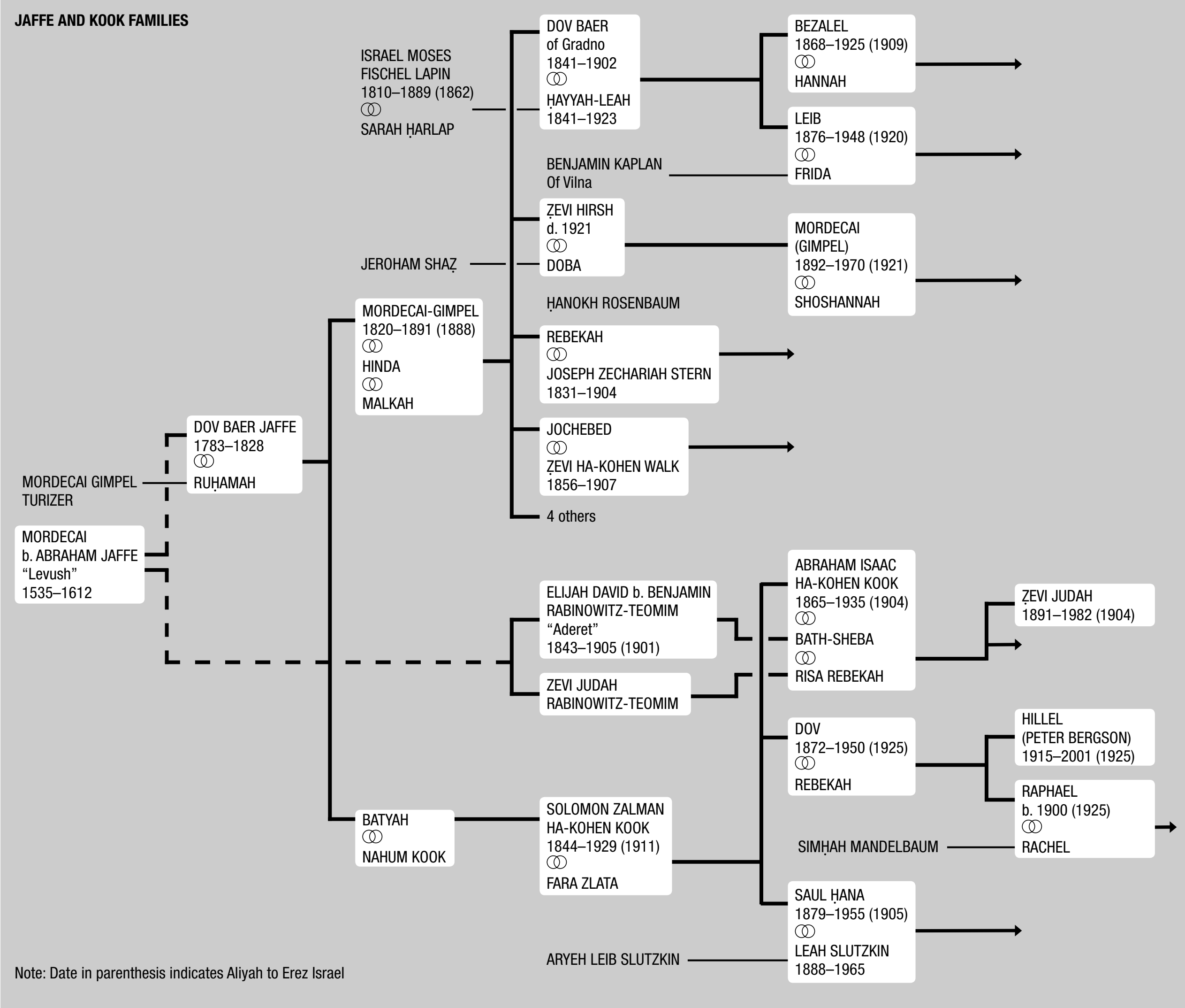
JAFFE AND KOOK FAMILIES
DOV BAER of Gradno 1841–1902 ḤAYYAH-LEAH 1841–1923
ISRAEL MOSES FISCHEL LAPIN 1810–1889 (1862) SARAH ḤARLAP
BEZALEL 1868–1925 (1909) HANNAH
LEIB 1876–1948 (1920) FRIDA
BENJAMIN KAPLAN Of Vilna
ẒEVI HIRSH d. 1921 DOBA
JEROHAM SHAẒ
MORDECAI (GIMPEL) 1892–1970 (1921) SHOSHANNAH
ḤANOKH ROSENBAUM
MORDECAI-GIMPEL 1820–1891 (1888) HINDA MALKAH
REBEKAH JOSEPH ZECHARIAH STERN 1831–1904
JOCHEBED ẒEVI HA-KOHEN WALK 1856–1907
4 others
DOV BAER JAFFE 1783–1828 RUḤAMAH
MORDECAI GIMPEL TURIZER
MORDECAI b. ABRAHAM JAFFE "Levush" 1535–1612
ELIJAH DAVID b. BENJAMIN RABINOWITZ-TEOMIM "Aderet" 1843–1905 (1901)
ZEVI JUDAH RABINOWITZ-TEOMIM
ABRAHAM ISAAC HA-KOHEN KOOK 1865–1935 (1904) BATH-SHEBA RISA REBEKAH
ẒEVI JUDAH 1891–1982 (1904)
DOV 1872–1950 (1925) REBEKAH
HILLEL (PETER BERGSON) 1915–2001 (1925)
RAPHAEL b. 1900 (1925) RACHEL
SIMḤAH MANDELBAUM
BATYAH NAHUM KOOK
SOLOMON ZALMAN HA-KOHEN KOOK 1844–1929 (1911) FARA ZLATA
SAUL ḤANA 1879–1955 (1905) LEAH SLUTZKIN 1888–1965
ARYEH LEIB SLUTZKIN
Note: Date in parenthesis indicates Aliyah to Erez Israel

In 1979 he headed the technical team of the President's Commission on the Accident at Three Mile Island. In 1981 he joined the Computer Sciences Corp. as vice president for product management and quality assurance and later became president of their Systems Division. From 1994 to 2001 he was president and chief operating officer of the Earth Sciences Corp. He was president of the International Astronautics Federation in 1975 and 1976 and a fellow of the Institute of Electrical and Electronic Engineers (IEEE), the American Institute of Aeronautics and Astronautics (AIAA), the American Astronautical Society (AAS), and the Society of Space Professionals International (SSPI). He received numerous awards from these organizations as well as from the U.S. government.

[Bracha Rager (2nd ed.)]

JAFFE, MAURICE ABRAHAM (1917–1985), Israeli communal worker. Jaffe was born in Manchester and studied at the local yeshivah and at Manchester University, where he graduated in law (LL.B.) with honors in Public International Law. After serving as rabbi of the North Manchester Synagogue, he served as chaplain in the British army during World War II, serving inter alia as Jewish chaplain to the Allied Land Forces in Southeast Asia (1944) and senior Jewish chaplain to the British Forces in Europe (1946).

Jaffe immigrated to Israel in 1948 where he was appointed director of overseas relations of the World Mizrachi in 1949.

In 1952 he was appointed honorary executive director of the Hechal Shlomo Building Committee and became at present its executive chairman. Jaffe was chairman of the Building Committee of the Jerusalem Great Synagogue. In July 1977 he became a member of the Board of Governors of the World Jewish Congress and of the Executive of the World Zionist Organization. He received his Ph.D. from the Midwestern University, Indianapolis in 1969.

JAFFE, MEIR OF ULM (15th century), German scribe and bookbinder. Little is known about his life except that his father was probably Israel b. Meir of Heidelberg, the scribe of the Darmstadt **Haggadah*. Meir Jaffe wrote the Cincinnati *Haggadah* toward the end of the 15th century. He was also a skilled bookbinder, as a decree of the Nuremberg Council in 1468 invited "*Meyerlein, Juden von Ulm*" to come to Nuremberg to bind a Pentateuch. Signed in Hebrew "Meir Jaffe, the designer," this hand-tooled binding is in the Bavarian State Library (Cod. Hebr. 212). No other works can be ascribed to him with certainty. The itinerant scribe and bookbinder Israel son of "Mohar" of Brandenburg, who was involved in the Trent Ritual Murder trial of 1475, may have been Meir Jaffe's son.

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[Joseph Gutmann]

JAFFE, MORDECAI BEN ABRAHAM (c. 1535–1612), talmudist, kabbalist, and communal leader. Born in Prague, Jaffe was sent as a boy to Poland to study under Solomon *Luria and Moses *Isserles. There he devoted himself also to the study of astronomy and philosophy (apparently at the instance of Isserles). At the same time he studied Kabbalah under Mattathias b. Solomon Delacrut. After a few years he returned to Prague, where in 1553 he was appointed head of the yeshivah. Very soon he discovered that the students were not interested in mere understanding of the Talmud but preferred "*pilpul*" and "were turning the word of the living God into false, corrupt, and evil words" (Preface to his *Levush Malkhut*). Jaffe chose therefore "to minimize the time spent with these students" and applied himself to writing constructive books.

At that time Joseph *Caro's *Beit Yosef* appeared "and it was a cause for rejoicing by all who pursue the study of Torah," but Jaffe found it overly long and so began to write his *Levush Malkhut*. In this he presented the laws in abbreviated form, taking as a basis the principle followed in the *Beit Yosef* of reliance on the three "pillars of authority" (*Alfasi, *Maimonides, and *Asher b. Jehiel). While he was engaged in this work, the Jews were expelled from Bohemia in 1561. Jaffe left Prague for Italy, settling in Venice, where he resumed his writing. The appearance of Caro's Shulhan Arukh, a digest of his *Beit Yosef*, led Jaffe to consider whether he should continue writing his own work. On reflection, he concluded that there was room for it since it would contain "those laws observed by the Ashkenazi Jews of Bohemia." But word reached him that Moses Isserles "had been spurred in the same direction," and consequently he put aside his work. "Alone in a strange land without any of the friends or pupils I had in my homeland," he decided to set down in writing interpretations that he had acquired in his youth of the *Guide of the Perplexed* and the "Treatise on the Laws of the Jewish Calendar" by Maimonides and the kabbalistic Bible commentary of Menahem *Recanati.

After a stay of over ten years, Jaffe left Italy for Poland – at that time the center of Jewish learning in the Diaspora. There he was appointed *av bet din* and head of the yeshivah of Grodno in Lithuania. Later he was appointed to a similar position in Lublin, and subsequently moved to Kremeniec. In Poland, Jaffe was very active in the Council of the Four Lands, being one of the chief signatories of some of its most important *takkanot*. It seems that his many activities were motivated by his high sense of responsibility. In 1592 he returned to his birthplace, Prague, and became *av bet din* in succession to *Judah Loew b. Bezalel (the Maharal) when the latter was appointed to Posen. In 1599 Jaffe switched posts with Loew, who returned to Prague. Jaffe then remained in Posen until his death.

When the critical and supplementary notes of Isserles to the Shulḥan Arukh (called *Mappah*) appeared in Cracow in 1578, Jaffe felt that Isserles had been too brief as had Caro in the Shulḥan Arukh, and decided to resume his original work, "that will be midway between the two extremes: the lengthy *Beit Yosef* of Caro on the one hand, and on the other Caro's Shulḥan Arukh together with the *Mappah* of Isserles, which is too brief." In all, Jaffe worked on this book almost 50 years. It contains ten "attires" (*levushim*). The first five are devoted to the laws expounded in the *Beit Yosef*; the sixth, *Ha-Orah* is an elucidation of Rashi's biblical commentary; the seventh, *Simḥah ve-Sason*, contains sermons for holidays and weddings; the eighth, *Pinnat Yikrat*, is a commentary on the *Guide of the Perplexed*; the ninth, *Eder Yakar*, is a commentary on the laws of the Jewish calendar according to Maimonides and an additional commentary on Abraham b. Ḥiyya's geographical-astronomical *Ẓurat ha-Areẓ*; the last, *Even Yikrat*, is on Menahem Recanati's commentary on the Pentateuch. The last three "attires" Jaffe also termed collectively "rabbinic robes," considering that these should be learned by "every student in that order – philosophy, astronomy, and Kabbalah." Coming from a leader of 16th-century Polish and Lithuanian Jewry, these words attest to the influence of the Renaissance on Jewish scholars of that time. Jaffe regarded Kabbalah as the "crowning jewel of spirituality"; he also introduced it into the halakhic parts of the "attires" (e.g., *Levush Ḥur.*, 651:11). He was at pains, however, to point out that such confirmation of the *halakhah* from Kabbalah was not authoritative (*ibid.*, 668:1).

The *Levushim* were published between 1590 and 1604 at various presses in Lublin, Prague, and Cracow. On their appearance, they drew criticism from almost every rabbinic authority. On the other hand, Elijah Shapiro, the author of *Eliyahu Zuta* (the commentary on the first *Levush*, Prague, end of 17th century, Preface), speaks of it in the most glowing terms and testifies to its widespread acceptance.

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[Ephraim Kupfer]

JAFFE, MORDECAI-GIMPEL (1820–1891), rabbi, member of the *Ḥibbat Zion movement. Born in Utyana, Kovno district, Jaffe studied at the Volozhin yeshivah and became well known for his religious scholarship and his Hebrew and general education, the latter acquired by his own efforts. When Moses *Montefiore visited Russia in 1846, Jaffe headed a delegation to present him with a memorandum on the economic situation of the Jews of Derechin, where Jaffe served as rabbi. In the memorandum he proposed that Montefiore try to influence the Russian government to agree to the following suggestions: allotting land to Jews for farming, permitting Jews to acquire land and to settle in towns outside the *Pale of Settlement, rescinding the expulsion order to Jews settled in villages among Christian peasants, restoring the right of Jews to settle their disputes in Jewish courts, etc.

In 1855, Jaffe was appointed rabbi in the small town of Ruzhany in the Grodno district, and he remained at his post there for over 30 years. He opposed any ideas of religious reform, such as those of Moses Leib *Lilienblum. Jaffe supported the activities of the Ḥevrat Yishuv Ereẓ Israel (Central Committee for Jewish Colonization in Palestine), founded by Ẓevi Hirsch *Kalischer, and established a society of this kind in his community. He also joined the Ḥibbat Zion movement upon its establishment. When Baron Edmond de *Rothschild, urged by Samuel *Mohilewer, agreed to found an agricultural settlement in Ereẓ Israel with farmers from Russia, Jaffe aided in the *aliyah* of Jewish farmers from a village near Ruzhany.

At the end of 1888, he went to Ereẓ Israel, and after a few months in Jerusalem settled in *Yehud, near Petaḥ Tikvah, where he headed a yeshivah with eight students. During the *shemittah* controvery (1889), Jaffe demanded strict compliance with the laws of the Torah. Of his numerous writings, only his comments to the Midrash on Psalms appeared in his lifetime (1865). After his death, his son published some of his works, including the book *Zikhronot Mordekhai* (1923), in which his letters, memoranda, precepts to his sons, and his will were incorporated.

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[Israel Klausner]

JAFFE, SIR OTTO (1846–1929), Irish industrialist and communal leader. Born in Hamburg, Germany, Otto Jaffe was a descendant of Mordecai b. Abraham *Jaffe. He was taken as a child to Belfast, where his father, Daniel Joseph Jaffe (1809–1871), founder of the Belfast Jewish community, established a linen business of considerable size. Otto Jaffe extended the firm, making it one of the chief industrial concerns in Northern Ireland and the largest linen exporter to the continent of Europe. In 1899 and 1904 he was lord mayor of Belfast and in 1901 was high sheriff of the city. He received a knighthood in 1900.

As president of the Belfast Hebrew congregation, Jaffe was instrumental in uniting the Russian immigrants and the German founder families into one community. He built a second synagogue for Belfast in 1904. Like his father before him, Jaffe made numerous benefactions to non-Jewish causes, notably to Belfast's Queen's University, and an elementary school was named after him. However, during World War I he was the object of considerable hostility because of his German origin, and he and his family left Ireland for England in 1916, never to return. His son, ARTHUR JAFFE (1880–1954), was an authority on international law and honorary secretary of the Grotius Society.

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[Alexander Carlebach]

JAFFE, RONA (1932–2005), U.S. author. Born in Brooklyn and educated at Radcliffe College, Jaffe was 26 when her best-selling first novel, *The Best of Everything*, shocked many readers with its sharp-edged portrayal of "girls brought up to fulfill the image of what boys wanted" and the "rat race" to get married. Jaffe was working as an associate editor at Fawcett Publishing in the 1950s when she chronicled the lives and tortured loves of five young working women in the typing pool at a large New York publishing house. Published in 1958 and made into a movie the following year starring Joan Crawford, Hope Lange, and Suzy Parker, the book and movie were popular successes. Notorious in its time for its candor about sex, the novel was widely regarded as a cultural marker, providing a template for a gossipy genre of confessional fiction about women.

The themes in the book, Jaffe said 50 years after its publication, continued to be relevant to women: trying to balance professional success and personal happiness; pursuing an often futile search for Mr. Right; making mistakes without looking back, and finding solace in friendships with other women. Jaffe wrote the tale of ambition and lust in five months and five days, basing it loosely on her experiences as a striving 25-year-old Brooklyn innocent bent on making her way in the New York publishing world. The title became a catch phrase. The book, though dated in the details, was reissued in 2005 at a time when the television series *Sex and the City* showed women in a different light, although some critics felt that the characters, who had a compulsion to have it all, had much in common.

Jaffe, who never married or had children, wrote 16 more novels and countless magazine articles about single working women. In 1995, she began the Rona Jaffe Foundation, which gave cash grants to young women writers. The awards were the only national literary prizes that supported female writers exclusively.

[Stewart Kampel (2nd ed.)]

JAFFE, SAM (1891–1984), U.S. actor. Jaffe, born in New York, was originally a math teacher in the Bronx, New York. He began acting with the Washington Square players in 1915 and later played Jewish roles on Broadway in *The God of Vengeance* (1922), *The Main Line* (1924), *Izzy* (1925), *The Jazz Singer* (1925–28), and *The Gentle People* for the Group Theater (1939). Some of his other Broadway performances included *Mrs. Warren's Profession* (1918), *Grand Hotel* (1930), *The Eternal Road* (1937), *A Doll's House* (1937), *Café Crown* (1942), and *Mademoiselle Colombe* (1954).

He made his debut in Hollywood in the 1934 film *The Scarlet Empress*. Some of his other film work included *Lost Horizon* (1937), *Gunga Din* (1939), *Gentleman's Agreement* (1947), *The Accused* (1949), *The Asphalt Jungle* (1950), *I Can Get It for You Wholesale* (1951), *The Day the Earth Stood Still* (1951), *Ben-Hur* (1959), *The Tell-Tale Heart* (1971), *Nothing Lasts Forever* (1984), and *On the Line* (1984).

Jaffe became widely known in the 1960s for his role as Dr. Zorba in the U.S. television series *Ben Casey* (1961–65). In fact, due perhaps to his unruly hair that made him look somewhat like Albert Einstein, Jaffe was often cast in the role of a doctor or professor on television and in the movies. Some of his TV work included appearances on such shows as *The Defenders* (1962), *Tarzan* (1967), *Nanny and the Professor* (1970), *Enemies* (TV movie, 1971), *Alias Smith and Jones* (1972), *QB VII* (miniseries, 1974), *Medical Story* (1975), and *Gideon's Trumpet* (TV movie, 1980).

In 1951, Jaffe was nominated for an Academy Award for Best Supporting Actor in *The Asphalt Jungle*, and in 1962 he was up for an Emmy for his performance in *Ben Casey*.

[Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

JAFFE, SAMUEL BEN ISAAC ASHKENAZI (d. late 16th century), commentator on the Midrash. Jaffe was rabbi of the Ashkenazi community of Constantinople. He studied under Joseph Leib. When Samuel reached an advanced age, his son Joseph was appointed to succeed him. Jaffe's fame rests upon his comprehensive commentary to the whole of *Midrash Rabbah*, which reveals an extensive knowledge of the relevant literature.

His works are (1) *Yefeh Mareh* (Constantinople, 1587; Venice 1590), expositions of the *aggadot* of the Jerusalem Talmud. In the preface Jaffe explains that it was his aim to interpret the *aggadot* of the Jerusalem Talmud "because they are very similar to the *aggadot* of the *Midrash Rabbah* in style and in language"; (2) *Yefeh To'ar*, commentary to the *Midrash Rabbah*: Genesis (Venice, 1597–1606); Exodus (Venice, 1597); Leviticus (Constantinople, 1648; Wilmersdorf, 1714, with a preface by his grandson); (3) *Yefeh Einayim*, pt. 1 (Venice, 1631), homiletical discourses on the weekly portions of the law; (4) *Yefeh Anaf* (Frankfurt on the Oder, 1696), a commentary on *Ruth Rabbah, Esther Rabbah*, and *Lamentations Rabbah*: (5) *Yefeh Kol* (Smyrna, 1739), a commentary on the *Song of Songs Rabbah*; (6) *Tikkun Soferim* (Leghorn, 1789), glosses on the formulas of documents of Moses *Almosnino. His responsa, *Beit Din Yafeh*, are still in manuscript.

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[Yehoshua Horowitz]

JAFFEE, IRVING W. (1906–1981), U.S. speed skater, winner of two official and one unofficial Olympic gold medals, and member of the United States Skating Hall of Fame and Speedskating Hall of Fame. Jaffee was born in New York City, the middle of three children, to an immigrant family that came to the U.S. from Russia in 1896. Jaffee's father sold cotton goods from a pushcart, and Jaffee helped the modest family income by working as a newspaper delivery boy. He grew up in the Crotona Park section of the Bronx, the same neighborhood that spawned Hank *Greenberg, five years his junior, and Al *Schacht. Jaffee first became interested in speed skating at 14, cleaning the ice at the Gay Blades skating rink in midtown Manhattan because he could not afford the seventy-five cents admission. He entered the weekly speed races there and lost 22 in a row, as well as the Silver Skates competition in 1924 and

1925. Finally, in 1926 Jaffee won the Silver Skates two-mile senior championships, and the next year at Lake Placid he broke the world record for the five-mile event. He was at first denied certification for the Olympic competition in 1928, which he attributed to antisemitism. Jaffee placed fourth in the 5,000 m, the best finish ever recorded by an American at the distance. The following day, after placing seventh in the 1,500 m, Jaffee also entered the 10,000 m, beating Bernt Evensen, Norway's defending world champion. But after half a dozen races, the weather became warm melting the ice, and the remaining races were cancelled. The Norwegian referee ruled the competition no contest, a decision without precedent. His gold medal is not listed officially, but Jaffee is generally credited with winning it.

Four years later Jaffee was out of shape after taking off nine months to care for his gravely ill mother, but he qualified for the team on his final attempt. Some of his American teammates at Lake Placid made his life miserable, taunting him with antisemitic remarks, stealing his mattress and spilling water on it. When he tried to sleep at night, they shined a light in his eyes. Two days before the 5,000 m competition, a teammate goaded Jaffee into a fistfight, at the suggestion of Bill Taylor, the manager, who apparently thought he was going to take a beating. "But I had spent a lot of time around Lou Stillman's gym as a kid," Jaffee recalled, "and after two minutes I drew blood. Taylor stopped the fight immediately."

To make sure he got at least one solid night's sleep, Irving slept at the home of a friend the night before his first race. With the Winter Olympics being broadcast over radio for the first time, the U.S. audience heard Jaffee win the gold in the 5,000 m (9:40.8) and 10,000 m (19:13.6), the first American to sweep both events in one Olympics.

After a parade down Broadway, Jaffee retired from competitive skating, though he did break by five minutes a 30-year-old world record for a 25-mile marathon skate (1:26:01) on January 27, 1934, while working as the winter sports director at Grossinger's Resort in the Catskill Mountains. He also has helped train no fewer than 10 U.S. Olympic competitors.

Jaffee was elected to the U.S. Skating Hall of Fame in 1940, and the Speedskating Hall of Fame in 1967.

[Elli Wohlgelernter (2nd ed.)]

JAFFE-MARGOLIOT, ISRAEL DAVID (c. 1802–1864), Hungarian rabbi. Born in Vagszered-Sered Nadvahom, Jaffe-Margoliot was a descendant of both Mordecai Jaffe, the author of *Levush*, and Judah Loew b. Bezalel (the Maharal) of Prague. His immediate ancestors, leading members of the community in Vienna, were wealthy and on several occasions advanced loans to the royal house. For many years he studied under Moses Sofer, and several of the latter's responsa are addressed to him. After his teacher's death, Jaffe-Margoliot corresponded on *halakhah* with S.B. *Sofer, author of the responsa work *Ketav Sofer*, as well as with Moses Schick and Judah Assad. While still young, he was appointed *dayyan* of the community of Senice-Szenc in Slovakia, and in 1832, rabbi and *av bet din* of the Bazin-Pezinok community in the Bratislava (Pressburg) district. He took a prominent part in the opposition to the Reform movement which was beginning to spread at the time. At the disposal of those demanding Reform were several newspapers (*Ben-Chananja* of L. Loew, *Ha-Karmel* of Meiser) in which they propagated their views, while the Orthodox element was able to do so only from the synagogue pulpits. Jaffe's work *Meḥolat ha-Maḥanayim* (1859) was the first attempt to explain the standpoint of the observant Jews in writing. It is written in an easy, clear style and made a great impression on the moderates in the Reform camp. The author argues that innovations like moving the reading desk from the center of the synagogue to the front of the ark, the prohibition of wearing the *kittel during the High Festival services, and introduction of the organ do not justify a schism in Judaism. Nevertheless, it was as a result of these arguments that he unwittingly originated the idea of the schism of Hungarian Jewry which took place a few years later. His other works, *Yappe'aḥ la-Kez̤* (2 vols. 1862–88) and *Har Tavor* (1861), are also on the subject of moving the reading desk. His first work, *Ḥazon la-Mo'ed* (1843), in which he discusses the *Hilkhot Kiddush ha-Ḥodesh* of Maimonides' *Mishneh Torah*, reveals his knowledge of astronomy and mathematics.

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[Samuel Weingarten-Hakohen]

JAGEL, ABRAHAM (16th century), ethical writer. He was the author of *Gei Ḥizzayon*, a narrative and ethical work written in 1587, the first part of which was printed in Alexandria in 1880. Copies of *Gei Ḥizzayon*, either in manuscript or in printed form, are very rare; the complete work exists in manuscript form in the British Museum. The author has been identified with Abraham b. Ḥananiah *Jagel, but according to the data available this is not conclusive; from a passage at the beginning of *Gei Ḥizzayon*, it seems that his father's name was Jacob and not Ḥananiah. Should this interpretation be correct, then this Abraham Jagel is not the same as the one who wrote *Lekaḥ Tov*. The form and structure of *Gei Ḥizzayon* was influenced by the tradition started by Dante and followed by a number of Italian Hebrew writers. The author describes a visit to the heavenly regions guided by the spirit of his dead father. The main theme of the work is ethical: Jagel uses various literary forms to try to guide his reader toward the right moral way of life. His philosophy, deeply influenced by Renaissance concepts including a belief in astrology and predestination, at the same time posits the premise that man's actions can be motivated by ethical and religious choice, and are not only determined by fate.

Besides its direct ethical teaching, the work is a composite of three distinct literary forms:

(1) It is an autobiography in the form of narration to his father in which he tells him of his life after the latter's death. Told in prison, where he was incarcerated because of financial troubles, Jagel describes the place in detail. *Gei Ḥizzayon* is the first autobiography in Hebrew literature of an ordinary man who relates his troubles without attaching any historical, literary, or religious importance to the events in his life. The story is told sporadically and in short spurts during the first half of the work.

(2) The author uses the novella form to relate the lives of the dead for moralistic purposes. During their sojourn in the heavenly regions, Jagel and his father meet many spirits, both good and evil, who tell them the story of their lives. These prose narratives clearly belong to the Italian novella genre of the time which Jagel adapted in the form of moralistic Jewish fables. He thus introduced some of the earliest Renaissance novellae into Hebrew literature.

(3) The vision as aesthetic vehicle forms an important part of the second half of the work. Jagel, not a kabbalist in the full sense of the word, was nevertheless familiar with kabbalistic ideas. The visions described are influenced by kabbalistic concepts, though the aesthetic aspect of the vision is stressed more than the kabbalistic theological element. The influence of Dante and his followers is most pronounced in this literary aspect of *Gei Ḥizzayon*.

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[Joseph Dan]

JAGEL, ABRAHAM BEN ḤANANIAH DEI GALICCHI (16th–17th cent.), Italian philosopher and author. He lived in Ferrara, Venice, and Sassuolo, and apparently served as private tutor to wealthy Jewish families. He was well versed in secular studies and Christian literature. Of special importance was his work *Lekaḥ Tov* (first published in Venice, 1595), which subsequently appeared in many editions and translations: Latin (London, 1679, Leipzig, 1687, Frankfurt on the Oder, 1691, Helmstedt, 1704); Yiddish (first published in Amsterdam, 1675, a freer translation in Vilna, 1884); and German (Leipzig, 1694, Brunswick, 1759). Written in the form of a dialogue between a rabbi and his disciple, and originally intended for young people, *Lekaḥ Tov* is a book of religious guidance whose main subject is ways for attaining happiness in the hereafter. Jagel sets forth faith, hope, and love (charity) as the principal foundations of religious life: faith and hope are viewed by him (as in Christianity) as "a gift given by God to our souls"; love encompasses both love of God and love of man. Jagel discusses sin and repentance and enumerates seven "principal classes of sin" and, in contrast, seven major virtues. In its form and content, this work was influenced by the Christian catechisms of Jagel's time, and especially by the writings of the Jesuit scholar, Canisius. In his listing of principles of faith, Jagel followed *Maimonides, on whose works he leaned heavily. His views on the love of man are reported in detail by his contemporary Isaiah Horowitz (1565, *Sha'ar ha-Otiyyot*, s.v. *Beri'ot*). Jagel also composed a kind of scientific encyclopedia, in four parts, entitled *Beit Ya'ar Levanon*, a few chapters of which have been published, but most of which is extant only in manuscript. Jagel's other writings deal with religious philosophy, astrology, religious tradition and law, and interpretations of astronomical works. Some modern scholars have identified Jagel with the apostate Camillo Jagel who, in 1611, was appointed by the heads of the Inquisition as book censor. This identification has been proved false since Abraham Jagel's writings, even after 1617, attest to his continuing adherence to Judaism.

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JAGLOM, HENRY (1941–), U.S. director-actor. Born in London, England, Jaglom grew up in New York City. After graduating from the University of Pennsylvania in 1961, he studied acting, writing, and directing at the Actors' Studio and performed in off-Broadway theater. Jaglom moved to Hollywood in the late 1960s and made appearances on such television shows as *Gidget* and *The Flying Nun*. In 1967, he went to Israel to film a documentary on the Six-Day War, which never achieved wide release in the United States. Back in Hollywood, Jaglom secured his first feature-film role as a drug addict in *Psych-Out* (1968). Jaglom's work on his Six-Day War documentary earned him a spot as an editor for the Dennis Hopper film *Easy Rider* (1968), which then led to his directing *A Safe Place* (1971), a U.S. box-office disappointment that did well in Europe. In 1974, Jaglom was instrumental in bringing to the screen the Vietnam War documentary *Hearts and Minds,* which won an Oscar. With the money Jaglom earned from *Safe Place*, he was able to finance his next film, *Tracks* (1976), a tale of an Army sergeant haunted by Vietnam. In 1977, Jaglom married Patrice Townsend. Jaglom gradually began to adopt a cinema verité approach to filmmaking in which the actors under his direction were encouraged to improvise, and he increasingly drew from his own life for inspiration to make films. Following his divorce from Townsend in 1982, Jaglom directed *Always* (1985), which focused on the last days of their marriage. In *Someone to Love* (1987), the director interviews 60 friends to talk about why they are alone; the film features the final on-screen appearance of Orson Welles. Among later films, *Eating* (1991) explores women's issues with food; *Babyfever* (1994) looks at women and the biological clock; and *Going Shopping* (2005) examines women's consumerist urges.

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[Adam Wills (2nd ed.)]

JAGLOM (née **Horesh), RAYA** (1919–), Zionist women's leader. Raya Jaglom was born in Bessarabia and in 1939 immigrated to Ereẓ Israel, where she studied at The Hebrew University. After her marriage in the following year to Joseph Jaglom, an industrialist, she was joined by her parents and grandmother. She first became active in *WIZO in 1941, and apart from a period of 18 months in 1947–48 when she served in the *Haganah, she has devoted the whole of her activity to this organization, visiting almost every country in the world on its behalf, including the U.S.S.R. at the invitation of the Soviet Women's Committee in Moscow. In February 1971 she headed the WIZO delegation to the World Conference on Soviet Jewry held in Brussels. She was elected chairman of the World WIZO Executive in 1963 and president in 1970, and represented WIZO on the Executive of the *Jewish Agency from 1964. She served as WIZO president for 26 years, and subsequently as honorary president. During her presidency, WIZO lent its support to the weaker groups in society, such as children and the elderly. She and her husband established a fund for students at the Hebrew and Tel Aviv universities, a club for Israel Philharmonic musicians, and a synagogue at WIZO headquarters in Tel Aviv. In addition, Raya Jaglom held many other public offices, including membership on the Board of Governors of both the Hebrew and Tel Aviv universities, membership in the Executive of the Zionist Organization, and membership on the Board of Governors of the Jewish Agency. She was also a member of the international council of the *Israel Museum and the international board of Tel Aviv Museum.

JAHAZ, JAHAZA (Heb. יַהַץ, יַהְצָה), city in Moab where Sihon the Amorite was decisively defeated by the Israelites (Num. 21:23; Deut. 2:32ff.; Judg. 11:20). Jahaz was included in the territory of the tribe of Reuben and was a levitical city of the family of Merar (Josh. 13:18; I Chron. 6:63). After being lost to Moab for a time, it was seized by Omri and later apparently by Ahab who fortified it. Mesha king of Moab recaptured the city and annexed it to Dibon (Mesha Stele, 18, 19, 20). From this time Jahaz remained a Moabite city and is mentioned as such in the Bible (Isa. 15:4; Jer. 48:34). It has been proposed to identify it with Khirbat Islandar (by Abel) or with several other sites in the vicinity of the Wadi al-Wāla, southeast of Heshbon.

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[Michael Avi-Yonah]

JAHODA, MARIE (1907–2001), British social psychologist and activist. Jahoda was born in Vienna to Karl and Betty (Probst) Jahoda. Although the family could trace its Jewish roots to the 18th century, her parents, who were active social democrats, had assimilated into Austrian society and considered themselves to be without religious affiliation. Jahoda was briefly to married Paul Lazarsfeld, a young instructor at the Psychological Institute at the University of Vienna where she did her Ph.D. (they were divorced in 1934). Their only child, Lotte Lazarsfeld Bailyn, born in 1930, became a professor of management at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. Jahoda's first book, *Die Arbeitslosen von Marienthal* (*Marienthal: The Sociography of an Unemployed Community*, 1971), written with Hans Zeisel and Lazarsfeld, was published in German in 1933 without attribution, because the publishers feared that the authors' Jewish names would attract unwanted attention. Nevertheless, most of the copies of the first edition were burned. This book is considered a classic empirical study of the psychological consequences of prolonged unemployment in a town that had been a synonym for industrial development. Jahoda, who had been a leader in the Austrian socialist youth movement since her teens, served a prison term for her political opinions in 1936–37; she was released only through the intervention of the international community on condition that she leave the country.

In 1937, Jahoda emigrated to England, where she held a variety of positions and conducted research on unemployed miners, voluntary societies, and the transition from school to work. She also became a leading member of the Austrian Socialists in Great Britain and ran the secret radio station Radio *Rotes Wien*. Near the end of World War II, Jahoda came to the United States. She worked at Columbia University with the American Jewish Committee on efforts to reduce prejudice through persuasive communications and later became a professor of social psychology at New York University and a member of its Research Center for Human Relations, a group devoted to action research. During this period, she was the senior author of a widely used book, *Research Methods in Social Relations,* published in 1951 with the sponsorship of the Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues (SPSSI).

Throughout her life, Jahoda remained deeply committed to the use of empirical research for bettering the human condition. During her relatively brief career in the United States, she was deeply involved in the two major issues that dominated the political climate of those years, the civil rights movement and McCarthyism. She investigated the psychological effects of the suppression of political opinion by loyalty oaths, blacklisting in the entertainment industry, and the impact of security measures on the climate of thought of civil servants. Jahoda was a board member of the American Civil Liberties Union and was elected the first woman president of SPSSI in 1951; a woman was not elected again until 1971.

In 1958, Jahoda returned to Great Britain to marry Austen Albu, a Labour Member of Parliament, and became a professor of psychology at Brunel University. In 1965, she moved to Sussex University as a professor of social psychology. In the years after her 1972 retirement, she wrote two books, co-edited three others, and published 23 articles and book chapters. Her last and most prized work, *Louise Labé: Vierundzwanzig Sonette in drei Sprachen* (1997), consisted of her translations into English of the sonnets of Louise Labé, a 16th century French proto-feminist poet.

Jahoda's many honors included the Award for Distinguished Contributions to the Public Interest from the American Psychological Association in 1979 and the Kurt Lewin Memorial Award from the SPSSI. Jahoda also received awards from the British Psychological Society and the Commander of the British Empire medal, personally bestowed by Queen Elizabeth II. An academic chair in her name was established in Germany.

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[Rhoda K. Unger (2nd ed.)]

JAIR (Heb. יָאִיר; "who gives light").

(1) Family and head of an ancestral house in the tribe of Manasseh (Num. 32:41). According to I Chronicles (2:21–22), Jair was the son of Segub of the tribe of Judah – Segub being a son of Hezron who married a daughter of Machir – but was associated with his mother's tribe and inherited with the sons of Manasseh. According to the Chronicler's account the settlements called Havvoth-Jair resulted from peaceful expansion. According to the Pentateuch's account, however, it was after the defeat of Og, king of Bashan, and the conquest of most of the Transjordanian territory, that the family of Jair took the towns (*ḥavvot*) of the Amorites in Argob as far as the "border of the Geshurites and the Maacathites" (Deut. 3: 14), i.e., in the region north of the Yarmuk. The *ḥavvot* were a fertile strip of "fortified cities, with high walls, gates, and bars" (Deut. 3:4–5; I Kings 4:13), up to 60 in all (*ibid.*). Some have connected Hebrew *ḥavva* with Ugaritic and Arabic words for "stockade, circle of tents or houses." According to I Chronicles 2:22, the number of the cities of Jair was 23 and the rest belonged to the other sons of Manasseh (*ibid.*, 23). Some of these cities are mentioned in the *el-Amarna letters (no. 256) and among the cities taken by Thutmose III. Archaeological investigation has revealed that this region was inhabited continuously throughout the Bronze Age. In King Solomon's time this region was a part of the sixth vice-regal division (I Kings 4:13). These *Havvoth-Jair may not have been the same as the ones mentioned in Judges 10:4, which were merely small towns and not fortified cities (see below).

(2) Jair of Gilead judged Israel in the generation preceding Jephthah (Judg. 10:3–5) for 22 years. The text hyperbolizes his greatness and wealth (cf. Judg. 12:9–14), stating that he had "thirty sons that rode on thirty ass colts, and they had thirty cities…" There would seem to be some connection between these 30 cities in the land of Gilead and those in the Bashan (possibly it is to these that the text refers in I Kings 4:13). Jair was buried in Qamon, which is probably Qamm, 4 km. (c. 3 mi.) north of Tayyiba in northern Galilee.

[Yehoshua M. Grintz / S. David Sperling (2nd ed.)]

Jair Son of Manasseh in the Aggadah

Jair was born during the lifetime of Jacob and did not die until the children of Israel entered their land (BB 121b). Other sources are more specific and state that Jair was killed during the first, abortive attack on *Ai. He was in fact the only victim, the "36 men" referred to in Joshua 7:5 being a way of referring to Jair, who was "equal to the majority of the Sanhedrin [of 71]" (Lev. R. 11:7). Abraham had been told by God that all his descendants, with the single exception of Jair, would fall in the battle for the city. As a result of his prayer that this tragedy be averted (Gen. R. 39:16), the decree was reversed and Jair alone fell in the battle (Alphabet of Ben Sira, 49).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Press, Ereẓ, 1 (1951), 36, s.v. *Argov*; 2 (1948), 255, s.v. *Ḥavvot Ya'ir*; Pritchard, Texts, 486; Bergman, in: JPOS, 16 (1936), 235–7. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** S. Japhet, *I & II Chronicles* (1993), 80–81; J. Tigay, *JPS Torah Commentary Deuteronomy* (1996), 36; M. Cogan, *I Kings* (AB; 2000), 209; B. Levine, *Numbers 21–36* (AB; 2000), 497–98.

JAKAB, DEZSÖ (1864–1932) and **KOMOR, MARCELL** (1868–1944), Hungarian architects, designers of synagogues, nursing homes, public buildings, and private villas. Their major projects, situated outside Hungary's present borders, include the synagogue of Subotica (Szabadka), Yugoslavia, the municipality building of Tirgu Mures (Marosvásárhely), Romania, and a concert hall in Bratislava, Czechoslavakia. In partnership they built the Erkel theater in Budapest according to the plans of G. Markus (1872–1912), another Jewish architect of the Secessionist era. Komor was a victim of the Holocaust.

[Eva Kondor]

JAKOBOVITS, LORD IMMANUEL (1921–1999), rabbi. Jakobovits was born in Koenigsberg, the son of Julius Jakobovits, rabbi of the local Orthodox congregation and later *dayyan* in Berlin and London. He studied for the rabbinate at Jews' College and at the Etẓ Hayyim Yeshivah, London. After serving as minister to a number of London synagogues, in 1949 he became chief rabbi of Dublin and the Jewish communities in the Irish Republic. Jakobovits was rabbi of the Fifth Avenue Synagogue, New York, from 1958 until 1966, when he was appointed chief rabbi of the United Hebrew Congregations of the British Commonwealth, serving until his retirement in 1991. Jakobovits was appointed honorary director of the Center for Jewish Medical Ethics at Ben-Gurion University, Israel, in 1977, and a fellow of University College, London, in 1984. Knighted in 1981, Jakobovits became a peer in 1988.

His *Jewish Medical Ethics*, published in 1959 with a fourth edition in 1977, is regarded as a standard work in the field. His other publications include *Jewish Law Faces Modern Problems* (1965), *Journal of a Rabbi* (1966), *The Timely and the Timeless* (1977), and *If Only My People…Zionism in My Life* (1984). In 1991 he was awarded the Templeton Prize for Progress in Religion.

[Rohan Saxena]

JAKOBOVITS, TOBIAS (1887–1944), Prague librarian and scholar. Born of a rabbinical family in Lackenbach (Burgenland) and pupil of the yeshivot of Deutschkreuz, Szombathely, and Bratislava, he came to Prague after World War I as a teacher of religion at secondary schools and the *talmud torah*.

There he attended the German university. He reorganized the community's library, publishing a pamphlet on its history in Czech and German (*Entstehungsgeschichte der Bibliothek der israelitischen Kultusgemeinde in Prag*, 1927). Devoting himself to research on the history of the Jews in Bohemia, he published the greater number of his articles in the yearbook of the society for the history of Czechoslovakian Jewry (JGGJČ) and in *Věstnik*, the periodical of the Prague community. During the occupation of Bohemia (1939), he and Joseph Polak headed the scholarly staff of the Jewish museum, which was taken over by the Nazis in 1942 (see *Museums, Jewish). He organized a book exhibition in 1942 and wrote the major part of the museum guide. On Oct. 28, 1944, along with the rest of the museum staff, he was deported to his death in *Auschwitz.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: G. Kisch, in: HJ, 11 (1949), 112–4 (bibl.); H. Volávkov, *The Story of the Jewish Museum in Prague* (1968), passim; O. Muneles, *Bibliographical Survey of Jewish Prague* (1952), index.

[Meir Lamed]

JAKOBSON, MAX (1923–), Finnish journalist and diplomat. Born in Viborg, Jakobson worked in the Finnish News Agency and later in the Finnish department of the BBC. He was also the correspondent for *Helsingin Sanomat* and *Uusi Suomi*. He was press attaché at the Finnish embassy in Washington (1953–59) and chief of the press department of the Finnish Foreign Ministry (1962–65). In 1965 he was made permanent representative of Finland at the United Nations. He remained in the Foreign Ministry until 1974, also serving as Finland's ambassador to Sweden. He wrote *Finland in the New Europe* (1998).

JAKOBSON, ROMAN (1896–1982), philologist and literary historian. Born in Moscow, Jakobson studied and did research at Moscow University before settling in Czechoslovakia in 1921. In 1926 he was co-founder of the Cercle Linguistique de Prague, which pioneered major advances in modern linguistics. He was among the first to perceive that speech sounds are not atomic entities but complexes of a small number of universal phonetic properties ("distinctive features"). Jakobson left Czechoslovakia in 1939 and two years later reached the U.S., where he held professorships at the Ecole Libre des Hautes Etudes, NYC (1942–46), Columbia University (1946–49), Harvard (1949–67), and Massachusetts Institute of Technology (from 1960). In the 1940s Jakobson's central interest was the 12th-century Russian epic, *Slovo o polku Igoreve* ("Tale of the Host of Igor"), whose authenticity had been questioned. In a series of brilliant philological studies he fully established the medieval origin of the poem. The Igor studies renewed Jakobson's long-standing interest in the language, culture, and history of the Slavs in the Middle Ages, and the culture and language of the Jews living among the Slavs (Rus. and Eng. with commentary, in *Annuaire de l'Institut de Philologie et d'Histoire Orientale et Slave*, 8, 1948).

In general linguistics and in Slavic studies there are few areas to which Jakobson did not make fundamental contributions. Outside these disciplines, he contributed to developments in anthropology, art history, literary criticism, philosophy, and communication science. His publications include *Kindersprache, Aphasie und allgemeine Lautgesetze* (1941), *Russian Epic Studies* (with E.J. Simmons, 1949), *Fundamentals of Language* (1956), and *Selected Writings* (2 vols., 1962–66).

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[Morris Halle]

JAKUBOWSKI, JACKIE (1951–). Born in Szczecin, Poland, Jakubowski arrived in Sweden as a political refugee in 1970. A journalist with special interest in cultural affairs, he is editor of Sweden's national Jewish magazine, *Judisk Krönika* – one of the foremost publications of its kind in Sweden. In 1986, he published his first book, *Jewish Identity in Sweden: From Mosaic Citizen to Zionist Jew*. This was followed in 1992 by *Judiska prövningar och omprövningar …* ("Jewish Problems and Considerations …") and in 2000 by *Ljudet av alef …* ("The Sound of Aleph …"). He has also coauthored works with such notable writers as Joanna Bankier and Per Ahlmark

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Megilla-Förlaget: *Svensk-judisk litteratur 1775–1994* (1995).

[Ilya Meyer (2nd ed.)]

JAMA, SAMUEL IBN (12th century), scholar of Gabès, North Africa. Samuel was the son of the *dayyan*, Jacob. Samuel himself used the Hebrew equivalent of the Arabic Jama, calling himself "Aguz" ("the store"). Jama is the author of two noteworthy works. The first is a supplement to the *Arukh*, the talmudic lexicon of *Nathan b. Jehiel. It was the first of its kind and was written about 50 years after the appearance of the original work. In it Jama supplemented the *Arukh* with words, some of which he took from the lexicon of the geonic period. He added them, together with a preface, to the copy of the *Arukh* which he himself had copied. They were first published by S. Buber in the Graetz *Jubelschrift* (1887). Jama's other book was *Hilkhot Sheḥitah* written in Arabic, which is quoted several times by *Isaac b. Abba Mari in his *Sefer ha-Ittur*. Jama appears to have lived for a time in Narbonne and in his books frequently quotes the scholars of Provence. He also frequently quotes from geonic literature, including material not known from any other source. He wrote a book on grammar that has been preserved in manuscript. Abraham *Ibn Ezra exchanged laudatory poems with him.

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[Israel Moses Ta-Shma]

JAMAICA, an island in the Caribbean, an independent state. Christopher Columbus (Colon) visited Jamaica on his second voyage (1494) but landed there on his fourth (1503) and took it in the name of the Spanish crown. He was nominated governor of the lands he had discovered. His son, Don Diego Colon, inherited his father's titles and was nominated viceroy and admiral of the lands his father found. Upon his death (1525) Carlos V bestowed the title Marquis of St. Iago de la Vega (a Jamaican city today called Spanish Town) to his son Don Louis Colon. The title was inherited by his sister Isabella Colon who was married to a Portuguese nobleman of the house of Braganza. Under her son, Portugallo Colon, crypto-Jews from Portugal were permitted to settle in Jamaica (1530). Under their tenure the Colon-Braganza family impeded the installation of the tribunal of the Inquisition in Jamaica.

Upon the occupation of Jamaica by the English general Veneable and Admiral William Penn (1654), they were welcomed by the "Portugals."

The "Portugals" were of Jewish origin and slowly began returning to Judaism. In the new capital founded by the English, Port Royal, the Jews were joined by their brethren from Amsterdam, Bordeaux, and Bayonne. In 1662 Jews came to Jamaica from Brazil, in 1663 from England, and in 1664 from British Guiana. Their numbers were strengthened in 1673 by Jews arriving from Surinam with the English evacuees forced out by the Dutch occupation.

Jews met with immediate success in the sugar cane and cocoa plantations they founded, and in Port Royal they developed an impressive commercial center, owing to their proficiency in the Spanish language, trading with Spanish America. They formed a community and allegedly built a synagogue. Josiau Hisquiam Pardo, from a prominent family of Salonikan *haham*s, arrived from Curaçao and was hired as chief *haham*.

From the mid-17th century until the earthquake of June 7, 1692, most Jews lived in Port Royal, and though no historian mentions a synagogue there in that period, one may well have existed and been destroyed. Bryan Edwards, in his *History Civil and Commercial, of the British Colonies on the West Indies* (3 vols., London, 1793–1801), wrote, "The Jews enjoyed almost every privilege possessed by the Christian whites except…," and here he enumerated the civil disabilities still in force against them. He continued, "They have the liberty of purchasing and holding lands as freely as other people and they are likewise allowed the public exercise of their religion; and I have not heard that Jamaica has any reason to repent of her liberality towards them."

The violent earthquake of June 1692 was followed by a tidal wave that completely destroyed the city of Port Royal, and Spanish Town then became the capital. The Jews moved to it as well as to newly built Kingston, to Montego Bay, and to spots all over the island. A Spanish-Portuguese congregation was founded in Spanish Town in 1692 and the synagogue Neve Shalom was established in 1704.

One of the most important *hahams* was Jeoshua Hisquiau de Cordova who served there from 1753 to 1797. A German-English synagogue, Mikveh Israel, existed from 1796 to 1860. Of 876 white inhabitants at the end of the seventeenth century, 350 were Jewish. In 1900 Neve Shalom was abandoned.

As more Jews settled in Kingston, communities formed. In 1744 the luxurious synagogue Sha'ar ha-Shomaim was erected and in 1787 the English-German congregation founded Shaare Yosher synagogue. The two buildings were destroyed by fire in 1882. The synagogues that replaced them were toppled in the great earthquake of 1907. In 1912 The United Congregation of Israelites rebuilt Shaare Shalom, which is in service to this day. One of the main conditions for the unification of all communities in Jamaica is that "the Sephardi ritual is to be maintained except for taking out the Scrolls of the Law which will be Ashkenazi." Some of the Torah Scrolls are more than 300 years old, the synagogue's floor is covered with sand, and the hymn "Bendigamos" is sung in Spanish on Sukkot. The service is partially Conservative, partially Reform and parts are sung in English. There are 23 Jewish cemeteries dispersed all over the island.

The local government levied special taxes on the Jews. These taxes were repealed by order of King George II in 1739. The Jewish question became highly controversial in Jamaica. Citing the British Parliament's Act of 1740, the Jews demanded full political enfranchisement. The community, however, was not unanimous in the matter, and all applications for votes on the part of the Jews were refused without exception. They did, however, received full civil rights on July 13, 1831, owing to the persistent efforts of the leader Moses Delgado. As a result, in 1849 eight of the 47 members of the House of Assembly were Jewish and the House adjourned on Yom Kippur; in 1866 their number reached 13.

The number of Jews in Jamaica between 1700 and 1978 were as follows: 1700–400 Jews, out of a total of 7,000 whites; 1881–2535 out of 14,432; 1957–1,600 out of 13,000; 1978–350. In 2004 there were about 280 Jews in Jamaica.

The following are among the most prominent figures in the history of Jamaican Jewry: Daniel Lopez Laguna (1635–1730) who, after being arrested and tortured by the Inquisition, managed to escape to Jamaica where he translated the Psalms into Spanish in poetic form; Isaac Mendes Belisario (b. 1790), a brilliant artist who painted the customs of the black slave population, their culture, and folklore; the de Cordova family: grandsons of Haham de Cordova – Jacob and Joshua – founded the newspapers *The Daily Gleaner,* considered the best overseas English newspaper, and *The Texas Herald* and founded Waco, Texas; Jorge Ricardo Isaac (1837–1895), born in Colombia to a Jamaican Jewish father, wrote the novel *Maria*, Columbia's national novel, considered a masterpiece in all Latin America.

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[Benjamin Schlesinger / Mordechai Arbell (2nd ed.)]

JAMAL SULAYMĀN (d. 1666), a distinguished kabbalist scholar of the Jewish community of San'a in the 1660s, but not part of its formal leadership. Nothing is known about him except his central role in the *Shabbetean movement. Against the standpoint of the rabbinical court in San'a, he believed in *Shabbetai Ẓevi as the Messiah, and that he himself was assigned by Heaven to materialize the messianic vision. On the first day of Passover 1666, just after the night during which Shabbetai Ẓevi was supposed to be revealed as the Messiah, he went with his entourage of zealots to the Muslim governor of San'a and determinedly demanded from the latter to transfer to him the control of the city. The Muslim response was very harsh and, after the command of Imam Ismāʿīl (1644–1776) arrived, he was beheaded in the city market. The imam regarded the agitation among the Jews as a violation of the protection agreement (*dhimma*) of the Jews by the Muslim government and canceled all regulations protecting the Jews, which eventually entailed the expulsion to Mawzaʿ. The Jews called that year "the year of the Headgear Edict" (*shenat ha-atarot*), prohibiting the Jews from continuing to wear their fancy head coverings. According to folklore, Jamal was offered life by conversion to Islam, but he rejected the idea. His martyrdom was kept alive in the memory of Yemenite Jews and is the subject of *Leket*, an idyll by David *Shimoni.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Y. Tobi, *Iyyunim bi-Megillat Teiman* (1986), idem, *The Jews of Yemen* (1999).

[Yosef Tobi (2nd ed.)]

JÁMBOR, FERENC-IOSEF (1899–1964), Hungarian journalist and editor. Jámbor was born in Transylvania and studied medicine at the universities of Budapest and Cluj. After serving in World War I, he settled in Cluj and turned to journalism. In 1923 he joined the staff of the Zionist daily **Uj Kelet* and was its editor from 1927 until it was closed by the Hungarian Fascist government in 1940. He was a leading member of the Hungarian Journalists' Association of Transylvania and was one of the most important Jewish publicists in Hungary between the two World Wars. Jámbor was a leader of Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir in Transylvania and from 1940 to 1941 was vice chairman of the Zionist Federation of Hungary. In 1941 he immigrated to Ereẓ Israel and joined the editorial staff of *Al ha-Mishmar*. In 1955 he was a member of the Tel Aviv municipality, representing Mapam.

Jámbor's library was transferred to kibbutz Evron near Nahariyyah after his death and housed in the cultural center named after him.

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[Yehouda Marton]

JAMES, DAVID (**Belasco**; 1839–1893), British actor, born in Birmingham. James excelled in burlesque roles, such as Mercury in F.C. Burnand's extravaganza, *Ixion*, in 1863, Royalty, London. He went into management at the Vaudeville in 1870 and became famous as Perkyn Middlewick in H.J. Byron's comedy *Our Boys* which, opening in 1875, had a record run of 1,362 performances. It was revived for him in 1884, 1890, and 1892. He left much of his large fortune to Jewish charities.

ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY: ODNB online.

JAMES, HARRY (1916–1983), trumpet player and band leader. Born in Albany, Georgia, James trained with his father, a circus band leader, and had his own orchestra at the age of 20. After two years with Benny *Goodman's band, he started his own group, concentrating on the brass section and featuring his brilliant trumpet solos. Outstanding among his popular swing arrangements and compositions in the 1940s were *Carnival of Venice, Chiribiribin, Flight of the Bumble-Bee, Two o'Clock Jump*, and *Trumpet Rhapsody*. He married the film star Betty Grable.

JAMES, SIDNEY (1913–1976), British actor. Born Sidney Joel Cohen in Johannesburg, the son of Jewish music hall entertainers, Sid James moved to London in 1946 and first acted on the London stage as a rough-hewn character in comedy roles. Subsequently, he appeared in more than 60 film productions. Among them were *The Small Back Room* (1949), *The Lavender Hill Mob* (1951), *A King in New York* (1957), *The Story of Esther Costello* (1957), and the *Carry On* series. James appeared in no fewer than 18 *Carry On* films, making him one of the most familiar character actors in the British cinema. He was also a popular figure in many radio and television programs, particularly with Tony Hancock.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: ODNB online; C. Goodwin, *Sid James: A Biography* (1995); R. Ross, *The Complete Sid James* (2000).

[William D. Rubinstein (2nd ed.)]

JAMMER, MAX (1915–), Israeli physicist. He was born in Berlin where his elementary education at the Jewish community school and secondary education gave him a grounding in classics of lasting value in his career. He studied philosophy, mathematics, and physics in Vienna (1933–35) before immigrating to Palestine where he gained a Ph.D. in molecular spectroscopy from the Hebrew University of Jerusalem (1942) preparatory to specializing in the philosophy of science. After World War II service in the British Army, he was a member of Haganah's intelligence unit during the War of Independence and was wounded during the battle for Jerusalem. He became a post-doctoral fellow and then lecturer at Harvard University (1951–57) and professor at the University of Oklahoma. He returned to Israel to establish and build a highly successful physics department specializing in solid state physics at the newly founded Bar-Ilan University in Ramat Gan. He became rector (1962) and president of the university (1967–68). Jammer's research has concerned the history and philosophy of science in the classical world, the Middle Ages and the modern era. He is especially interested in the history and philosophy of quantum mechanics. In retirement he continued his studies of the conceptual foundations of quantum mechanics, the true nature of mass (inertia), and an analysis of Einstein's philosophy of religion. His many honors include the Prize of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences (1961), the Israel Prize for the history of science (1984), and election as president of the Association for the Advancement of Science in Israel. He served as a member of many key advisory committees to the Israel government on science and higher education. He was a visiting professor at leading universities in the U.S. and New Zealand. His research and thinking are recorded in a series of very successful books, published by major universities, and translated into many languages. These include *The History of Science* (1950) and *Concepts of Space – the History of Theories of Space in Physics* (1954) which greatly interested Einstein and for which he wrote a preface. He wrote *Concepts of Force – a Study in the Foundations of Dynamics* (1957), *Concepts of Mass in Classical and Modern Physics* (1961) and *The Conceptual Development of Quantum Mechanics* (1966), the first systematic and historical account of this crucially important subject. *The Philosophy of Quantum Physics* (1968) describes the foundations of modern physics and *Concepts of Mass in Contemporary Physics and Philosophy* (2000) extends his earlier analysis of this subject. *Einstein and Religion – Physics and Theology* (2000) was named the outstanding book of the year in the field of theology and the natural sciences by the influential Center for Theology and the Natural Sciences in Berkeley, California.

[Michael Denman (2nd ed.)]

JAMMER, MOSHE (1915–), Israeli physicist. Born in Berlin, Jammer settled in Palestine in 1935. In the 1950s he began producing a series of studies on the philosophy of physics, published by the Harvard and Princeton university presses and subsequently translated into Russian, Chinese, Japanese, and Greek, among other languages. Among his other well-known books are *Development of Quantum Mechanics* and *Concept of Space* (with a foreword by Einstein). In 1959 he joined the staff of Bar-Ilan University as professor of science and head of the department of physics. In 1962 he was appointed rector of the university and acting president 1967–68. In 1984 he was awarded the Israel Prize for the history of science.

JAMPEL, SIGMUND (1874–1934), rabbi and Bible scholar. Jampel, who was born in Galicia, studied Semitics at Heidelberg University and subsequently became rabbi at Schwedt, Brandenburg in 1910. He was among the first Jewish Bible scholars who recognized the value of archaeological and epigraphical finds for establishing the antiquity of the historical accounts of the Bible and the questioning of Wellhausen's hypotheses. His work (most of which was first published in MGWJ but was also intended for the general reader) includes *Die Wiederherstellung Israels unter den Achaemeniden* (1904), dealing with the epigraphic material relative to Ezra-Nehemiah; *Das Buch Esther auf seine Geschichtlichkeit kritisch untersucht* (1907), which takes into account the archaeological excavations of Susa which authenticated the description of the royal palace in the Book of Esther; *Vorgeschichte des israelitischen Volkes und seiner Religion; mit Beruecksichtigung der neuesten inschriftlichen Ergebnisse* (1913, 1928^2), a study of the importance of the western Semitic onomastic material, particularly from Mesopotamia in the Hammurapi period, for the understanding of the religion of the patriarchs; and *Die Hagada aus Aegypten* (1911, 1922^2), in which he used Egyptian documents for the reconstruction of Israelite religious and social conditions in the Exodus period. He also wrote *Die neusten Papyrusfunde in Elephantine* (1911), and a number of studies on new developments in biblical research such as the two-volume *Vom Kriegsschauplatze der israelitischen Religionswissenschaft* (1909–12).

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[Yehoshua M. Grintz]

JANCO, MARCEL (1895–1984), painter. Janco was born in Bucharest, Romania. In 1910–14 he exhibited at the salons in Bucharest and moved among modernist artists and poets. In 1916, while studying architecture, he was among the founders of Dada in Zurich. There he participated in the famous evenings at Café Voltaire where he was in charge of the stage and costume design. In the 1920s he was much involved in the Dada movement. He had ties with the Paris branch, participating there in an international exhibition of abstract art, and was one of the founders of the art and literature journal *Contimporanul*. In 1940, following the rise of fascism in Romania, he immigrated with his family to Ereẓ Israel. In Israel, Janco participated in many important exhibitions including those of New Horizons and the Venice Biennale. In 1953 he established the Ein Hod Artists Village and founded the Department for Art Teachers at the Oranim College. In 1967 he was awarded the Israel Prize. In 1983 he was involved in the establishment of the Janco-Dada Museum in Ein Hod.

The art style of Janco moved between the figurative and the abstract. In Israel he had many subjects: soldiers and battle situations, transit camps and immigrant types, Arabs, landscapes, and the Holocaust.

The wounded soldier virtually became the symbol of his work (*Wounded Soldier*, 1949, Israel Museum, Jerusalem). These soldiers had complex meanings. In some of the paintings they looked as if crucified, or praying, or like the figures of Picasso's *Guernica*.

Janco dealt with the theme of immigration from every possible angle. He described the crowded ships, the refugees stealing into the country sheltered by the darkness of night, particular immigrant groups like the Yemenites, tents and figures in the transit camps. In all of these paintings the expressive style seemed to be a reflection of his own experience.

Janco's arrival in Israel after many years on the world stage represented a significant contribution to Israeli art. Within weeks of his arrival, a group of gifted Israeli painters gathered around him, seeing an opportunity through him of effecting a desired change in Israel's artistic life. Janco's activism helped fulfill their expectations.

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[Ronit Steinberg (2nd ed.)]

JANKÉLÉVITCH, VLADIMIR (1903–1985), French philosopher. Born at Bourges, Jankélévitch taught at Prague, Toulouse, and Lille until he was dismissed by the Vichy government in 1940. In 1945 he became professor at Lille, and later at the Sorbonne. His first important work, *Henri Bergson* (1931), showed his sympathy for this philosopher. Jankélévitch's own views, influenced by Bergson, appeared in his dissertation, *L'Odyssée de la conscience dans la dernière philosophie de Schelling* (1933) and *La mauvaise conscience* (1966^{2}). His concern was with overcoming consciousness directed to the unchangeable past. Retrospective considerations halt life's course. Irony (*L'Ironie ou la bonne conscience*, 1950^{2}) does not resolve the situation. Time alone leads man on. The *Traité des vertus* (1949) and *Philosophie première* (1954) explore the metaphysics of time and the creative virtues of the instant. Other works are *La Mort* (1966) and *Le Pardon* (1967). As a musicologist, he wrote on Debussy, Fauré, and Ravel.

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[Richard H. Popkin]

JANNER, BARNETT, LORD (1892–1982), British politician and communal leader. Janner was born in Lithuania and moved with his family to Barry, South Wales, when he was six months old. He was educated at Cardiff University, became a solicitor, and was a Liberal member of Parliament for Whitechapel (1931–1935), and then a Labour member for Leicester (1945–1970). He was president of the Zionist Federation of Great Britain and Ireland (1950) and president of the Board of Deputies of British Jews (1955–1964). Janner was known in Parliament as the spokesman on Zionist matters and formed a pro-Zionist parliamentary group of which he was the secretary.

Janner was knighted in 1965 and in 1970, when he retired from the House of Commons, he was made a life peer. His son GREVILLE EWAN JANNER (1928–) became Labour member of Parliament for Leicester after his father's retirement, serving as an M.P. from 1970 to 1997. A barrister, Greville Janner also held a wide variety of communal leadership positions and was president of the Board of Deputies of British Jews from 1979 to 1985. Like his father, he was given a life peerage upon his retirement from the House of Commons, as Baron Janner of Braunstone.

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[Getzel Kressel / William D. Rubinstein (2nd ed.)]

JANNES AND JAMBRES, two legendary Egyptian sorcerers whose names appear in various sources as the adversaries of *Moses. Jewish tradition seems to identify them with the sorcerers mentioned in Exodus 7:11ff. (cf. Targ. Jon., *ibid.*). They are also mentioned as the sons of Balaam (Targ. Jon., Num. 22:22; Yal., Ex. 168, 176) and as having played a part in the incident of the *golden calf after joining the mixed multitude that accompanied Israel in the exodus from Egypt (Tanḥ., Ki Tissa, 19). The sources of the legends surrounding the activities of Jannes and Jambres go back at least to the time of the Second Temple. They are mentioned in the "Damascus Document" (Zadokite Fragments, line 17ff.) as "Jannes and his brother" and in the New Testament (II Tim. 3:8). Mention is also made by the Church Fathers of an apocryphal book dealing with Jannes and Jambres.

The names also appear in pagan Greek and Roman literature. Both Pliny (*Natural History*, 30:11) and Apuleius (*Apologia*, 90) mention the name of Jannes only, the former including him in a list of Jewish sorcerers the first of whom is Moses, while the latter names him immediately after Moses in a list of famous magicians. Both Jannes and Jambres, however, are mentioned and discussed in detail by Numenius, the neo-Pythagorean philosopher (quoted in Eusebius, *Praeparatio Evangelica*, 9:8; cf. Origines, *Contra Celsum*, 4:51). They are described as Egyptian priests who excelled in wizardry at the period of the "expulsion" of the Jews from Egypt and as having been considered by the Egyptians capable of rescuing their country from the disasters brought upon it by Musaeus (Moses). Jannes (Iannis), with slight variations, is the most common form in which the name appears in Greek sources, as well as in the Palestinian Targum and in the main midrashic references. The Babylonian Talmud, however, gives the name as Yoḥana (cf. Yal., Ex. 235 – Yoḥane). There appears therefore to be justification for retaining the reading Johannes as it appears in the best-preserved manuscript of Apuleius.

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[Menahem Stern]

JANOAH, JANAH (Heb. יָנוֹחַ).

(1) City on the northern border of Ephraim. It is mentioned in the Bible after Taanath-Shiloh near Shechem and before Ataroth and Naarah in the Jordan Valley (Josh. 16:6–7). According to Eusebius it was situated 12 miles east of Neapolis (Eusebius, Onom. 108:20–21). It is identified with Khirbat al-Yānūn, near the village of the same name, 7½ mi. (12 km.) southeast of Shechem.

(2) City in Galilee mentioned in the Bible together with Ijon, Abel-Beth-Maacah and Kedesh among the cities conquered by the Assyrian king Tiglath-Pileser III in 733/2 B.C.E. (II Kings 15:29). Its location and identification are disputed: Vincent and Albright have proposed Tell al-Naʿam in the Huleh Valley and Kaplan has suggested Khirbat Nīḥā southwest of Kefar Giladi; others identify Janoah with the village of Yānūḥ 6 mi. (10 km.) east of Tyre; Klein and Aharoni prefer Yanoah

in Upper Galilee 2 mi. (3 km.) south of Maona-Tarshīḥā, on the supposition that part of the conquering Assyrian army advanced directly to Acre.

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[Michael Avi-Yonah]

JANOVSKY, SAUL JOSEPH (1864–1939), Yiddish journalist, editor, and activist. Born in Pinsk, Janovsky early became interested in the *Haskalah. After arriving in New York in 1885 he became active in the labor movement. In London in 1890, he edited a radical Yiddish weekly, *Der Arbeter Fraynd,* before returning to New York (1895). When he joined the anarchist movement, he switched from writing Russian to Yiddish, helping to found the *Pionere der Frayhayt* ("Pioneers of Freedom"), and edited anarchist Yiddish periodicals – the weekly *Di Fraye Arbeter Shtime* (1899–1919), the daily *Di Ovnt Tsaytung* (1906), and the monthly *Di Fraye Gezelshaft* (1910–11); he edited the monthly *Gerekhtigkayt*, organ of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union (1919–26) and also contributed to *Tsukunft* and *Forverts*. He wrote under many pseudonyms, including Y.Z., Anonymous, Bas-Kol, and Yoysef Ben Gershon. Janovsky wrote about political events and trade union problems, reviewed books and plays, and translated works by Tolstoy and others. His reviews and editorial correspondence were sharp but understanding, demonstrating a flair for recognizing talent; many Yiddish writers were discovered and first published by him.

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[Elias Schulman / Marc Miller (2nd ed.)]

JANOWITZ, HENRY D. (1915–), U.S. gastroenterologist and a pioneer in establishing this field. He was chief of the gastrointestinal clinic at the Mount Sinai Hospital and Medical School, New York (1956–61) and professor of clinical medicine from 1967. He was assistant clinical professor of medicine at Columbia University College of Physicians and Surgeons (1960–67). He was emeritus professor of medicine at Mount Sinai Medical Center whose gastroenterology department was named in his honor. His research publications mainly concern the pathology and management of inflammatory bowel diseases. Janowitz was president of the American Gastroenterological Association and played a major role in founding the Crohn's and Colitis Foundation of America. He was a distinguished teacher with a great interest in lay education and author of the popular book *Good Food for Bad Stomachs* (1997). He was an authority on medical allusions in Shakespeare.

[Michael Denman (2nd ed.)]

JANOWITZ, MORRIS (1919–1988), U.S. sociologist. Born in Paterson, New Jersey, Janowitz worked for the U.S. government in various capacities and taught at the universities of Chicago and Michigan. He was especially interested in studies of prejudice, public opinion, and the military establishment. He published *Dynamics of Prejudice* (with Bruno Bettelheim, 1950); *The Community Press in an Urban Setting* (1952); *Reader in Public Opinion and Communication* (with Bernard R. Berelson, 1953²); *Comparative Study of Juvenile Correctional Institutions* (1961); *Community Political Systems* (1961); and *Social Change and Prejudice* (with Bruno Bettelheim, 1964). The prejudice studies have a bearing on the understanding of antisemitism as part of a general pattern of prejudicial attitudes. Janowitz's reputation, however, rests chiefly with his pioneering works in the analysis of the organizational structure of the military establishment. His major publications in this field are *Sociology and the Military Establishment* (1959); *The Military in the Political Development of New Nations* (1964); and especially *The Professional Soldier* (1960), in which he describes the professional life, organizational setting, and leadership of the American armed forces as it developed in the 20th century. He attempts to show how technological changes have brought about changes in the military, and that the role of the military leader must change accordingly. He concludes that devices, once designed to wage war, must now be used to ensure and maintain peace.

Later books by Janowitz include *Community Press in an Urban Setting* (1967), *Institution Building in Urban Education* (1969), *Political Conflict* (1970), *On Military Intervention* (1971), *Military Institutions and Coercion in the Developing Nations* (1977), *The Last Half-Century: Societal Change and Politics in America* (1978), *Military Conflict* (1978), *Social Control of the Welfare State* (1980), and *The Reconstruction of Patriotism* (1983).

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[Werner J. Cahnman / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

JANOW LUBELSKI (Pol. **Janów Lubelski**; Rus. **Yanov Lyubelski**), town in E. Poland. In the 16th century Jacob b. Isaac Ashkenazi, author of the *Tsenah u-Re'enah* (c. 1590), lived in Janow Lubelski. A traveler reported in 1678 that the Jews there owned especially well-built houses. In 1770 Jewish bakers and butchers were prohibited from selling bread or meat to non-Jews, and in general from trading outside the Jewish lane. There were 390 Jewish families in 1765, 1,520 persons (45.3% of the total population) in 1857, 1,447 (45.5%) in 1897, and 2,881 (44.8%) in 1921 with 13,407 (10.2%) in the whole district.

[Raphael Mahler]

Holocaust Period

In March 1941 a few hundred Jews from Vienna were deported to Janow Lubelski. A labor camp housing 1,000 Jews was set up there. In August 1942 the Jewish population was sent to the nearby towns of Zaklikow and Krasnik and were afterward deported to the death camp in Belzec.

[Stefan Krakowski]

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Regesty i nadpisi*, 2 (1910); R. Mahler, in: *Yunger Historiker*, 2 (1929); K. Sochaniewicz, in: *Pamiętnik Lubelski* (1930); T. Brustin-Bernstein, in: *Bleter far Geshikhte*, 3 no. 1–2 (1950), 51–78. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** J. Skarbek, "Zydzi wojewodztwa lubelskiego podcyas powstania listopadowego," in: BŻIH, 1 (1975), 93.

JANOWSKI, DAVID MARKELOVICH (1868–1927), French chess master. Born in Volkovysk, Russian Poland, Janowski settled in Paris in 1886. He attacked brilliantly but frequently failed to employ required defensive strategy. He defeated Winawer, Schowalter, and Marshall, and drew a match with Schlechter. Janowski lost twice (1901, 1910) to Emanuel *Lasker in world championship matches. For several years he was chess editor of *Le Monde Illustré*.

JANOWSKI, MAX (1912–1991), cantor, composer, conductor. A native of Berlin, Janowski was born into a musical family. His mother, Miriam, was an opera singer and his father, Chayim, led choirs and trained cantors. He studied at the Schwarenka Conservatory in Berlin. In 1933 he won a piano contest that led to his appointment in Tokyo as head of the Piano Department of the Mosashino Academy of Music – and his escape from Nazi Germany. He remained in Japan for four years before immigrating to the United States in 1937. He became the musical director of KAM Isaiah Israel Congregation in Chicago in 1938. It was to remain his home for his entire career, except for a four-year sojourn in Navy intelligence from 1942 to 1946.

As a composer he is most famous for *Avinu Malkeinu* and *Sim Shalom*. They are among the 500 compositions, which include choir and orchestra pieces, cantatas, and oratorios, that he published during his prolific career. His works are popular and moving for both the congregation and the audience. He founded Friends of Jewish Music, which was responsible for the publication of his work.

Though well-rooted in a Reform Congregation, Janowski was honored by Hebrew Union College's School of Sacred Music, the Cantor's Assembly of the Conservative Movement, and the United Synagogue of America, now called the United Synagogue of Conservative Judaism.

[Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

JANOWSKY, OSCAR ISAIAH (1900–1993), U.S. historian. Born in Poland, he was brought to the U.S. in 1910. He was appointed professor of history at New York City College in 1948. Janowsky's principal scholarly interests were recent European history and Jewish studies. He taught courses and seminars in European national minorities and imperialism, as well as in Jewish history. Among his major works are *The Jews and Minority Rights (1898–1919)* (1933); *International Aspects of German Racial Policies* (with M. Fagan, 1937); *People at Bay* (1938); and *Nationalities and National Minorities* (1945), an elucidation of "national federalism." He also wrote the following important books on U.S. Jewry: *The American Jew: a Composite Portrait* (1942); *The American Jew: A Reappraisal* (1964); *The Education of American Jewish Teachers* (1967); and on Israel, *Foundations of Israel* (1959).

An adviser to J.G. *McDonald (1935), League of Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, he helped to prepare the documentation of McDonald's *Letter of Resignation* (London, 1936). As director of the Jewish Welfare Board Survey (1946–47), he produced the *JWS Report* (1948) known also as the "Janowsky Report," which affected the orientation of Jewish community centers. As chairman of the Commission for the Study of Jewish Education in the U.S. (1952–57) he organized and, with U.Z. Engelman, directed the study (1952–55).

Janowsky's public service was extensive. He was a member of the Board of Governors of The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, and chairman of the American Friends of The Hebrew University's Academic Council (1940s–1964); and he organized and chaired the American Student Program for Study at The Hebrew University (1954–66). He was on the editorial board of the *Menorah Journal; Middle Eastern Affairs*; and *Jewish Social Studies*. He was editor of the section on Jews in historiography in the *Encyclopaedia Judaica*. In 1975 Janowsky was awarded the Lee Max Friedman Award by the American Jewish Historical Society for distinguished service in the field of American Jewish history.

[Howard L. Adelson]

JANUARIUS, a legendary Roman general. According to a story cited by R. Johanan (TJ, Av. Zar. 1:2, 39c), "The kingdoms of Egypt and Rome were at war and they proclaimed: 'How long shall we destroy one another in this war? Let us agree that the kingdom which commands its general "fall upon your sword" and he obeys – that kingdom shall rule.' The Egyptians' [general] refused, but among the Romans there was an old man by the name of Januarius [ינובריס] who had 12 sons. They said to him: 'Obey us and we will make your sons dukes, prefects, and generals.' He obeyed, and therefore they [the Romans] call it [the new year] *Calendae Ianuariae* [קלנדס ינובריס]. From the following day they mourn the 'black day' [מילני אימרא, μέλαιυα ἡμέρα]." The legend thus explains why the first month is called January and also gives the alleged origins of the Roman *calendae*, and "black day" (*dies ater*) on the second of January. The story has its roots in the early Roman military practice of *devotio*, when a general would seek to sacrifice his life on the battlefield, with the understanding that the gods are thereby obliged to preserve the army. The source before Johanan claims that Janus, the king turned deity, performed this rite of *devotio*; a later Christian source (*De divisionibus temporum*, 15) describes a similar act of sacrifice attributed to Janus, and it appears that there are a number of versions to this legend.

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[Isaiah Gafni]

JAPAN, Asian state. In early medieval times Jews from Europe and the Middle East may have been involved in trade with Japan through their connection with the silk route. Later, during Japan's so-called "Christian Century" (1542–1639), some Jews participated in the limited trade initiated by the Portuguese and the Dutch. But it was not until after 1853, when Commodore Perry of the United States Navy arrived in Japan and initiated the process which was to reopen Japan to outside influences, that Jews started to settle in the country. Alexander Marks, who arrived in Yokohama in 1861, was the first Jewish resident of modern Japan. Shortly thereafter he was joined by Raphael Schoyer, an American businessman, who served as president of the municipal council of the foreign settlement from 1865 to about 1867. He was also the publisher of the *Japan Express*, one of the first foreign-language newspapers to appear in Japan. By the end of the 1860s, the city had 50 Jewish families from Poland, the United States, and England. During the next few decades Jewish communities established themselves in Nagasaki, where they were primarily involved in the import-export trade, and subsequently in Kobe and Tokyo. The community in Nagasaki may well have decided to settle here because this city, in addition to being a flourishing entrepôt, was long used by the Russian Far Eastern fleet as a base for rest and recreation. Little is known about this community, which subsequently declined, but evidence that it maintained its own cemetery has been uncovered in the post-World War II era. Nagasaki's place as a center of Jewish life in Japan was gradually taken by the rising port of *Kobe.

Jewish emigration to Japan mounted during the decade before the close of World War I. The Russian Revolution of 1905 and particularly the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917 compelled many Russian Jews to flee from Russia. Many made their way to *Manchuria and *China, while others continued on to Japan, where they were assisted by their coreligionists. Volunteer organizations, notably HIAS, played a major role in evacuating these refugees to Japan. Though some settled down permanently in *Tokyo, Yokohama, and Kobe, many others sooner or later found haven in the United States and Latin America.

For some years after World War I the Jewish community in Japan did not number more than several thousand. Despite the concentration of Jews in a few cities, they did not overly impinge upon the consciousness of the Japanese people, who for the most part remained unaware of the Jews as a distinct people and as the upholders of a distinct faith. (Even most educated Japanese long believed that the Jews were a Christian sect!) One of the first public encounters between Japan and a Jew came about during the Russo-Japanese War when the American financier *Jacob Schiff arranged a loan for Japan which in part enabled them to win the war. The role played by Schiff was well known in Japan and unprecedentedly he was invited to the Imperial Palace for lunch. A link had been established between Jews, money and power. During the 1920s signs of antisemitism began to emerge. Its purveyors were mainly soldiers who had taken part in Japan's Siberian Expedition (1918–22) and who had been infected by the tales of hatred peddled by antisemitic White Russians. These were the people who introduced the infamous Protocols of the Learned *Elders of Zion into Japan; in the following 35 years additional editions continued to be published. Still, Japanese antisemitism was not widespread. Largely "intellectual" in character and in part reflecting the growing fear of Bolshevism, with which Jews were identified, it caused Jewish residents of Japan neither embarrassment nor inconvenience. When Japan embarked upon a program of military expansion in Manchuria in 1931, the fortunes of thousands of Jews were directly and indirectly affected. Though for a while the Jewish communities in Manchuria, especially in *Harbin, were subjected to no special discriminatory actions, in time many of the erstwhile refugees from Russia, finding Japanese rule unpalatable, decided to emigrate elsewhere. Many transferred their homes and business to *Tientsin, *Shanghai, and *Hong Kong, while a few settled down in Japan. At the same time the development of closer relations with Nazi Germany resulted in a tremendous expansion of antisemitic literature in Japan. After 1937 many more antisemitic works were translated into Japanese from the German and additional works were written de novo in Japanese. But, by and large, the Japanese government and people remained indifferent to this inflammatory literature which circulated in limited circles. The most dramatic consequence of Japan's pre-war fascination with Jews and understanding of antisemitism was the so-called Fugu Plan which was a Japanese scheme elaborated by Japan's so-called Jewish experts to provide a national home for the Jewish people, in Manchuria, in exchange for the help of international and particularly American Jewry in the establishment of the Japanese Empire – the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere. The need for such a haven had become apparent to the Japanese. A stream of Jewish refugees from Nazism poured into the Far East during the early years of World War II. Many of them, coming by sea, found temporary homes in the International Settlement at Shanghai. Others, coming overland through Siberia from Eastern Europe, stayed a while in Japan. Perhaps the best known contingent of such refugees were the members of the *Mir yeshivah in Lithuania who arrived in Japan in 1941. Though they were not permitted to remain, the Japanese government did not press them to leave until arrangements had been made for their transit to Shanghai. When shortly thereafter the International Settlement was occupied by Japanese forces, about 50,000 Jews came under Japanese military rule. Many of the refugees were placed in an internment camp for the duration of the war. Strict as this military administration was, it was a far cry from the Nazi-occupied areas of Europe.

After World War II

During the American occupation of Japan (1945–52) the number of Jews in the islands reached its highest figure, some officials of General MacArthur's regime and many GIs being Jewish. When many of these servicemen returned home after the termination of the occupation and the Korean War (1950–53), the number of Jews in Japan dwindled. Organized Jewish life in Japan during these years revolved mainly about the activities sponsored by the Jewish chaplains of the American armed forces. By 1970 the size of the Jewish community in Japan had stabilized at about 1,000, most of whom lived in Tokyo and Yokohama. Some of these local Jews had found homes for themselves in the cities of Japan before World War II; many others, however, were migrants from the United States and Europe who had settled in the islands in the postwar era. Engaging in the export-import trade, operating businesses, holding professional positions, and serving as consultants, most seemed prepared to live out their lives in Japan.

A keen general interest in Jews and Judaism began to be evident in Japan after World War II. At the time there was a growing proselytizing trend in Israel and the United States which led to "outreach" activity being initiated in Japan. Since the 1920s Jacques *Faitlovitch, the "Father" of the *Beta Israel of Ethiopia, had been interested in the possibilities presented for Jewish missionary endeavor in Japan. In 1954 Faitlovitch set off for Japan in order to set up a Jewish "outreach" center. Behind this move lurked the sense that the Japanese were thinking of converting to Judaism *en masse*. This came to nothing but speculation remained rife. The principal converts were Japanese women who married American-Jewish servicemen; ultimately many of them moved to the United States with their husbands. Among the few male converts to Judaism the best known was Setsuzo *Kotsuji, descended from a family of Shinto priests, whose quest for a faith had led him through Protestant Christianity to Judaism. With his conversion, consummated in Jerusalem in 1959, he took the name Abraham. The postwar disenchantment of the Japanese people with their traditional faiths had spurred a new interest in other religions and philosophies, including Judaism. The study of Jewish history and culture, which later drew the attention of Prince Mikasa of the imperial family, increased as never before. The Japanese Association of Jewish Studies, scholarly in orientation, undertook the publication of the journal *Yudaya-Isuraeru Kenkyu* (Studies on Jewish Life and Culture). A prime mover in the promotion of knowledge about Jewish matters was Masayuki Kobayashi, professor of history at Waseda University (Tokyo) and long a champion of Jewish studies in Japan.

The majority of Jews in Japan in the 1970s consisted of those who had come on contracts of 2 to 5 years, while the permanent Jewish population was less than 200. The Tokyo community maintained a synagogue and religious school, a Judaica and general library, a restaurant, a *mikveh*, and a *ḥevra kaddisha*. It also maintained a rich cultural, social, and recreational program. It was a member of the Federation of Jewish Communities of Southeast Asia and the Far East and had received an award from the Japanese Government for creating "mutual understanding and goodwill between the Japanese and Jewish peoples." The Jewish community served as the home of the Japan-Israel Women's Welfare Organization (JIWWO), the Japan-Israel Friendship Association (JIFA), and the Society for Old Testament Studies. The annual JIWWO Ḥanukkah bazaar, held at the community center and considered to be one of the most prestigious occasions in the Tokyo social calendar, was always attended by a member of the Japanese Imperial household. The only other active Jewish community in Japan was that of *Kobe (which consists of some 30 families), mostly of Sephardi origin. Its Ohel Shlomo synagogue was completed in 1969. The site of the synagogue built by the now defunct *Nagasaki Jewish community, confiscated as alien property during World War I and destroyed after World War II, was rediscovered, and some of the synagogue's furnishings were presented to the Tokyo synagogue in 1973. Jews and Jewish studies began to attract great interest after the publication of *Nihonjin to Yudayajin* ("The Japanese and the Jews"), which became a bestseller in Japan. Rabbi Marvin Tokayer, who was appointed rabbi of the Tokyo Jewish community in 1968, retired in 1976. In 1980 Rabbi Jonathan Maltzman became rabbi of the community. Rabbi Tokayer published three books in Japanese, including an introduction to the Talmud, a Jewish view of the Torah, and a study of Jewish humor. Books by Japanese scholars on Jewish history, mysticism, and Yiddish studies also appeared. One such scholar prepared a doctoral thesis on the Chabad Ḥasidim, and increasing interest was shown in the writings of Prof. R. Sugita, who published more than eight books on Jewish history. The Sophia Church, known as the "Christian Friends of Israel," continued to pray daily for the peace and welfare of the Jewish people. This sect built a "Beit Shalom" in both Kyoto and Tokyo where any Jew may stay and feel at home. The founder and leader of this sect is the Rev. T. Otsuke. The *Makuya sect, led by Prof. I. Teshima, believes in the possibility that the Japanese are one of the *Ten Lost Tribes. They continued to support and visit Israel. In April 1980 a statue of Anne Frank was unveiled in the compound of a church in Nichinomiya.

In 1992 approximately 1,000 Jews resided in Japan, most of them in the greater Tokyo area. The permanent Jewish population, however, was less than 200, the level at which it remained into the 21st century. About 60% came from the U.S., 25% from Israel, and the rest from all over the Jewish world. Within the community there were only a handful of Japanese converts. Most Jews residing in Japan are expatriates representing major businesses, banks, and financial institutions. There are also journalists and students. The Jewish Community Center of Japan, located in Tokyo, houses the city's only synagogue, a religious school, a Judaica and general library, a *mikveh*, *ḥevra kaddisha*, social area, and administrative offices. Religious services are held every Sabbath and on holidays. Kosher food products are imported from abroad and other religious needs and requirements are met. There are also youth programs, adult education courses, and cultural and social activities. The community is a member of the World Jewish Congress, the Asia Pacific Jewish Association, and the B'nai B'rith, and also contributes to the United Israel Appeal. The only other organized Jewish community is located in Kobe, which consists of about 35 Jewish families in Kobe itself and about 35 families in other parts of the Kansai region (Kyoto and Osaka). Jews in the American military stationed in Japan are usually serviced by two Jewish chaplains. One is stationed in Yokosuka Naval Base outside Tokyo and the other in Okinawa. There are about 100–200 Jews stationed in Japan. The Jewish Community Center continues to serve as the home for the Japan-Israel Women's Welfare Organization (JIWWO) and the Japan-Israel Friendship Association (JIFA). Especially since 1986, numerous books about Jews and Judaism have been published in Japan. Several of them have been antisemitic but have not led to any significant acts of antisemitism. The Japanese government's response has been vague and noncommittal. Jewish subjects are taught from time to time in Japanese universities. There is a Jewish Studies Section of the Institute of Social Sciences at the prestigious Waseda University. It was founded in 1976, has 16 academic members, and meets several times a year. The journal published by the Japan Society for Jewish Studies noted above, *Studies on Jewish Life and Culture*, has published several issues since 1961.

Relations with Israel

Relations between Israel and Japan have been consistently friendly. At the beginning of 1952, the governments of Japan and Israel opened negotiations on the establishment of diplomatic relations, and as the year progressed the exchange of legations was announced and the Israel legation, headed by a government minister, opened in Tokyo in December. In 1955 the Japanese minister in Ankara presented his credentials as a nonresident minister to Israel, and later the Japanese legation was headed by a resident minister. In 1963 the legations were raised to the level of embassies. In 1970 an agreement on mutual aid and the formulation of legal documents was signed.

In 1961 a delegation of Japanese anthropologists and geographers dug on the slopes of Mt. Carmel near Haifa. At the University of Tokyo, a number of Japanese students have studied biblical Hebrew and the archaeology of the Land of Israel; others have studied Hebrew in approximately a dozen other university-level institutions. Since 1965 Japanese studies have been part of the regular program of the Hebrew University, Jerusalem, and Tel Aviv University. Under the program of annual educational grants, a number of Japanese research students have studied Bible, Jewish musicology, and Jewish history in Israel and a number of Israeli students have studied in Japan. A Japanese art pavilion was opened in Haifa. The Kibbutz Society, founded in 1963 by Tezuka Nobuyoshi, numbers about 30,000 members and publishes the Kibbutz Monthly in Japanese. The moral and social values of the kibbutz serve as a source of inspiration for the members of the society, and every year three groups of Japanese youngsters (with 50–70 in each group) have spent time on kibbutzim in Israel (about 550 people participated in these visits in 1965–70). The society has even established a kibbutz in Akan, Eastern Hokkaido. The Japan-Israel Women's Welfare Society, which has a parallel organization in Israel, finances the sending of students to Israel, among other activities.

The main relationship between Japan and Israel is a commercial one. Traditionally Japan has exported steel, automobiles, processing machinery and home electronics while Israel exported diamonds, phosphates, citrus, and fashion goods. Even before the Yom Kippur War a number of leading Japanese firms boycotted Israel, but immense Arab pressure and a threat to cut off the supply of oil to Japan (which obtains over 40% of its supply from the Arab states) forced Japan in November 1973 to depart from her previous neutrality and adopt a definite pro-Arab stand. For some years Israel was one of the very few nations in the world to run a trade surplus with Japan, primarily because of booming diamond imports by the Japanese. In 1987 an economic mission from Israel, led by representatives of the Israeli Manufacturers Association, visited Japan. A return delegation of businessmen from Japan, led by representatives of the Federation of Economic Organizations of Japan (Keidanren), followed to Israel. In 1988, a conference on the Japanese economy was held in Israel and an Israeli Economy Seminar was held in Tokyo. Throughout the 1990s there were some tentative movements toward increasing trade relations with Israel by small- and medium-sized Japanese firms, but most major Japanese companies continued to adhere to the Arab economic boycott of Israel. In 1992, however, the Japanese Foreign Ministry advised Japanese companies to cease cooperating with the boycott and Japan called on Arab countries to stop the boycott. Following this declaration bilateral trade continued to grow. Since the late 1990s Japan has played an active role in such areas as the environment, economic development, and water resource management.

[Hyman Kublin, Michael J. Schudrich, Shaul Tuval, and Marvin Tokayer / Tudor Parfitt (2nd ed.)]

The Japanese government also began to take a more active political role in the Middle East, consistent with a more engaged and wide-ranging foreign policy. Japan has strongly supported the post-Oslo "peace process" and has sought to use its influence to move the process forward. In 2005 Japan pledged $100 million to the Palestinian Authority, with Prime Minister Koizumi Junichiro announcing the gift in May during a visit to Japan by PA leader Mahmoud Abbas. Japan has become one of the PA's most important sources of support, committing $860 million since the signing of the Oslo Accords in 1993. Japan also extended an invitation to Israel's prime minister Ariel Sharon to visit Japan during 2005.

Moves towards closer relations between Israel and Japan can be traced to high-level ministerial visits during the 1980s. Israel's then foreign minister, Yitzhak Shamir, visited Japan in September 1985, with the first visit by a Japanese foreign minister occurring two years later. The first visit to Japan by an Israeli head of state was made by President Chaim Herzog in February 1989 on the occasion of the funeral of Emperor Hirohito. During the post-Oslo period, Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin visited Japan in December 1994 and Japan's Prime Minister Tomiichi Murayama traveled to Israel in September 1995. Prime Minister Binyamin Netanyahu made a visit to Japan in August 1997. There have also been visits from Israeli cabinet ministers and from other officials, including the then mayor of Jerusalem, Ehud Olmert, who visited the country in 1999.

Although knowledge in Japan about Jews and Judaism remains slight, links to the experience of the Jewish people have been strengthened through exposure to the Shoah, with the Diary of Anne Frank a part of the school curriculum and with films about the topic, such as *Life is Beautiful*, being shown on television and in cinemas. Affinities between Japan and the Jewish people have also been strengthened by the increased attention being given to the Japanese diplomat *Sugihara, who used his position in 1940 as Japan's vice consul in Lithuania to issue travel documents to Jews and thus saved many thousands of lives. The year 2000 marked the 100th anniversary of Sugihara's birth, at which time a plaque was unveiled at Japan's Ministry of Foreign Affairs at a ceremony hosted by the minister of foreign affairs in the presence of Sugihara's widow. A Sugihara Fellowship was established under the Japan Foundation for the purpose of supporting young Israeli researchers in Japanese studies. Sugihara's heroism and humanity have been further highlighted in Japan with the issue of a stamp in his honor and through his being given official recognition as one of the country's greatest figures of the 20th century.

In 1985 Sugihara became the first Japanese person to be honored by Yad Vashem as one of the *Righteous Among the Nations. Sugihara's birthplace, Yaotsu, a town in Gifu prefecture, has established memorials to him, including a museum whose exhibits and displays, including a video of his life, recreate for Japanese his courage and humanitarianism. Israel's Bar-Ilan University opened a Sugihara Center in 1994. In 2000-01 a centennial celebration in his honor, called Visas for Life, was held, with exhibits honoring Sugihara's contribution being displayed in Japan and internationally. An emissary from Israel has been based in Yaotsu to assist with the museum's educational program.

[Stephen Levine (2nd ed.)]

Jewish Discourse in Japan and the Common Origin Theory

Among the foreigners to be found in Japan in the 1870s was Norman McLeod, a Scot who started his career in the herring industry before he ended up in Japan as a missionary. In the preface to his *Epitome of the Ancient History of Japan*, which was first published in 1875, he noted that he had arrived in Japan in 1867 – the last year of the Tokugawa regime – and that he had intended to write a multi-volume work on Japan which among other things would furnish the reader with "a more detailed account of the origins of the Japanese with a description of their Jewish belongings." His "researches in Japan have satisfied him," a local newspaper reported in 1875, "that the people of this country are of Jewish family…." His notion that the Japanese people were descendants of the "Ten Lost Tribes of Israel" was set forth in several books; this contention has been repeated regularly until the present day. McLeod's ideas reached a wide international audience, including a Jewish one, and no doubt had an impact on Japanese thinking. Within a couple of decades of their publication they formed part of a half-serious discourse which circulated throughout the Western Jewish press and elsewhere.

In Japan the ideas of McLeod fell on fertile ground perhaps because of some uncertainty as to where the Japanese originated and where they belonged in the world. No doubt the multitude of theories generated in Japan linking the Jews and Japan – the so-called common origin theories – were at least in part products of the western Christian tradition of speculation on the fate of the Ten Lost Tribes of Israel. However, alongside the speculation of early western visitors, and particularly McLeod, the local reading of the Christian Bible also played an important if perhaps secondary role in the spread of the fantasy of Israelite origin. In Japan one of the first Japanese to propose a common ancestry for the Jews and the Japanese was Saeki Yoshiro (1871–1965) who published his theory as an appendix to an academic work on Nestorian Christianity in 1908. Saeki was a serious scholar of Christianity in China. He arrived at the belief that the Hata clan – a continental group which is supposed to have arrived in Japan in the fifth century and which was to be found to the west of Kyoto in a village called Uzumasa – was Jewish. He adduced in favor of this proposition a range of philological arguments: "*Uzu*," he reasoned, is a corrupt form of "*Ishu*" or Jesus and "*masa*" was the Hebrew form of Messiah. There are many other "proofs" of a similar sort. Notwithstanding the less than compelling nature of this evidence the "Uzumasa" connection was not only the linchpin of Saeki's argument but has become the basis of a great deal of subsequent common origin theorizing. In 1929 Oyabe Zen'ichiro (1867–1941), a Yale-educated Christian minister who had worked as a missionary in Hawaii, published his *Origin of Japan and the Japanese People* where he continued the arguments of Saeki. He elaborated on the contention that the Japanese emperors too were of Israelite descent. He observed: "It is well-known to Biblical scholars in the West and the world over that approximately three hundred years before the enthronement of the Emperor Jimmu (in 660 B.C.E.), two tribes of the Hebrews – Gad the most valiant and Menasseh, who were descended from the eldest son of the patriarch – fled eastward carrying the Hebrews' sacred treasures and to this day their whereabouts remain unknown. A close study of the ancient Hebrews as they are described in the Jewish scriptures reveals an extraordinary number of similarities between our two peoples. The Japanese and the Hebrews are virtually identical. These exact correspondences convince me that we are in fact one race." Underlying Oyabe's thesis was his belief that Christianity and Shinto were much the same thing and that for Shinto better to serve the Japanese nation it would do well to adapt more explicitly Christian features, including the idea of a direct line of descent from Jewish thought. Another common origin theorist was Kawamorita Eiji (1891–1960). Kawamorita, a Presbyterian minister, spent most of his life in the United States and produced a large two-volume work in Japanese – *Study of Japanese Hebrew Songs* – which argued that in Japanese folk songs were to be found traces of a Hebrew which had otherwise disappeared from Japan some thirteen hundred years before. This work continues to sustain Japanese Lost Tribes enthusiasts. Kawamorita's central idea was that Japan is a holy nation, that God is the source of all holiness and that therefore Japan's holiness must originate from God. Consequently Japan's divine emperor could only have descended from Israel – the chosen people of God. Kawamorita was led to the belief that "our Emperor is the undisputed successor to the eternal throne of the Great King David of Israel and that without the Emperor System Japan will lose its reason to exist." Israelite theories have had a striking impact on Japanese society and no doubt have contributed to the egregious Jewish discourse in Japan. The general perspective on Jews is generally more or less antisemitic but rather vague. An example is the definition of the word "Jew" in Sanseido's *New Crown English-Japanese Dictionary* (revised edition, 1964): "Jew (dzu) n. Jew: Jews covet money – consequently there are many Jewish millionaires. The word can be used in lieu of the following: 'avaricious,' 'miser,' and 'rich.'" Jewish conspiracy theories based largely on Western antisemitic ideas are rife and books peddling such ideas have achieved massive sales. Most Japanese bookstores have a "Jewish corner" where titles such as *The Jewish Plot to Control the World, The Secret of Jewish Power that Moves the World,* and so on are displayed. This interest in Jews has been present in Japan for years. In 1970 *Nihonjin to Yudayajin* ("The Japanese and the Jews") won one of Japan's most coveted literary prizes and sold well over a million copies (by 1987 it had sold three million copies), and sales of a similar order have since been achieved by *If You Understand Judea You Understand Japan, The Jewish Way of Blowing a Millionaire's Bugle, If You Understand the Jews You Understand the World: 1990 Scenario for the Final Economic War, Miracles of the Torah which Controls the World*, and others besides. The mass media frequently carry sensational stories along the same lines. A more general Japanese interest in things Jewish or Israeli is quite apparent. From the amazing popularity of *The Diary of Anne Frank* to the unprecedented commercial success of the musical *Fiddler on the Roof* a Jewish seam appears to run through Japanese society. The fascination with Israel and Jews seems endless.

In contemporary Japan perhaps the most striking legacy of the strange ideas of McLeod is to be found in the Makuya and Beit Shalom sects. Although both of them are essentially Christian sects accepting the divinity of Christ, their "Jewishness" is very visible. The Makuya are intensely nationalistic and, in some ways, are looking to the redemption of the Japanese nation, which will be modeled upon the redemption of Israel. Makuya was founded at about the same time as the State of Israel. The founder of Makuya, Avraham Ikuro Teshima (1910–1973), is said to have met and to have been influenced by Martin *Buber on a number of occasions. Over the years thousands of Makuya and Beit Shalom disciples have gone to Israel where many of them have learned Hebrew. The importance of a good knowledge of Hebrew for the Makuya can be judged by the fact that they have brought out a beautifully produced Japanese-Hebrew dictionary. Whenever the Makuya get together they sing secular and religious Hebrew songs, many of them the songs of modern Israel. They adopt Hebrew names, observe the Sabbath, and keep a form of *kashrut*: they light candles on Friday evening, break *hallah,* and read from the Jewish prayer book. Their view of the world is informed by a profound admiration for Israel and the Jewish people. Their love for Israel often finds practical expression: a Makuya volunteer was wounded in the 1967 Six-Day War and in the wake of the Israeli victory a Makuya "pilgrimage" marched through Jerusalem carrying a banner proclaiming "Congratulations on the Greater Jerusalem." To some extent their admiration for Jews derives from the Christian part of their ideology. But, in addition, it springs from the national nature of Judaism – the idea that Judaism is the religion of the Jewish people – and from Zionism.

[Tudor Parfitt (2nd ed.)]

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[Haggai ben-Shammai (2nd ed.)]

JAPHET, ISRAEL MEYER (1818–1892), German composer and teacher. Born in Kassel, Japhet taught at Gudensberg before being appointed choir leader and teacher of the Orthodox congregation in Frankfurt in 1853, where he remained until his death. He published *Metek Sefatayim; Hebraeische Sprachlehre* (1926^3), a Hebrew grammar in two volumes; a book on the accents of the Bible entitled *Moreh ha-Kore; Die Accente der Heiligen Schrift* (1896), with the notation of the accents according to the German-Jewish tradition; and a Passover *Haggadah* (1884) with translation and commentary in German and including four traditional tunes set for two and four voices. Japhet's most influential work was *Schire Jeschurun* ("Songs of Yeshurun," 1922^4), a collection of 101 synagogue melodies for cantor and choir in three volumes: the first for the evening and the second for the morning services of Sabbath and festivals; the last for various occasions, such as Simhat Torah and the Sabbath. Their style shows a melodious simplicity and uncomplicated classical harmony which conforms to the general tendencies of the German synagogue of his time.

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[Joshua Leib Ne'eman]

JAPHETH (Heb. יֶפֶת), son of Noah, brother of *Shem and *Ham. In all the lists of Noah's sons, Japheth invariably appears in the third place (Gen. 5:32; 6:10; 7:13; 9:18; 10:1; I Chron. 1:4). However, on one occasion Ham is called the "youngest son" of Noah (Gen. 9:24). If this is not to be explained as the result of a corruption in the text, it must reflect a variant tradition, unless some principle other than chronological governs the order of the listings. Japheth was married before the *flood (7:13), which he survived, together with his family, inside the ark. When his intoxicated father lay naked in the tent, Japheth, together with Shem, displayed great modesty and delicacy in covering him up (9:23). For this act he was blessed by Noah as follows: "May God enlarge Japheth, and let him dwell in the tents of Shem; And let Canaan be a slave to them" (9:27). The full meaning of this passage is obscure, and it has been variously interpreted as referring to either a Philistine-Israelite alliance against Canaanites (perhaps in Davidic times) or the future participation of the Japhethites – perhaps the Greeks – in the religion of Israel. In the Table of Nations (see The Seventy *Nations) Japheth is assigned seven sons and seven grandsons (Gen. 10:2–4; I Chron. 1:5–7). He is thus portrayed as the eponymous ancestor of various ethnic groups living to the west and north of Israel in the Aegean and Anatolian areas, largely composed of Indo-European stock. The origin of the name Japheth is unclear. The blessing referred to above implies a folk etymology grounded in a Hebrew root meaning "to enlarge," "make spacious." It has variously been connected with the Greek Titan, Ιαπετός (cf. Javan = Ionia, Gen. 10:2), and with *Kafti*, the Egyptian name for the Eteo-Creteans.

[Nahum M. Sarna]

In the Aggadah

Although Japheth was the eldest of the three sons of Noah, he was the least endowed with wisdom, and for this reason his name is recorded last (e.g., Gen. 6:10; Sanh. 69b). In the act of covering Noah's nakedness (Gen. 9:23) the initiative was taken by Shem and Japheth merely helped him. Shem's reward was therefore greater than Japheth's in that the Temple built by his descendant (Solomon) was more holy than that built by Japheth's (Cyrus; PR 35, 160a). Nevertheless, on account of the respect he had thus shown to his father, Japheth was rewarded with a *pallium* (a cloak befitting that dignity of his Greek descendants), and by the fact that Gog, his descendant, would have the privilege of being buried in Ereẓ Israel (cf. Ez. 39:11) and would therefore enjoy the messianic era (Gen. R. 36:6). The verse "God enlarge Japheth" (Gen. 9:26ff.) is interpreted to mean that the culture ("beauty") of Japheth, particularly the Greek language, would "dwell in the tents of Shem" (Meg. 9b). In the Midrash (Gen. R. 36.8) this is made to refer particularly to the Septuagint, and the same passage also interprets it to mean that Cyrus, a descendant of Japheth, would build the Second Temple. It also taught that God blessed Japheth by making his descendants entirely white, and by giving them the desert and its fields for an inheritance (PdRE 23).

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JAPHETH (in Ar. **Al-Hasan**) **AL-BARQAMANI** (early 15th century), Karaite author, presumably living in Egypt. His only known work is the *Sefer Teshuvah*, an Arabic polemical tract against the *Rabbanites, in which he nevertheless mentioned *Maimonides with respect.

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[Leon Nemoy]

JAPHETH BEN DAVID IBN ṢAGHĪR (14th century), Karaite scholar and physician in Cairo. Japheth was a pupil of Israel ha-Ma'aravi, and followed his example in rejecting the use of objective analogy (*hekkesh*) in the rules applying to matrimony and incest. He was the author of *Sefer ha-Mitzvot*, of which parts 5 to 9 have been preserved in manuscript. In it Japheth quotes many earlier Karaite scholars, including *Daniel b. Moses al-Qūmisī, as well as works of some Rabbanite authors.

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[Isaak Dov Ber Markon]

JAPHETH BEN ELI HA-LEVI (**Yefet ben Eli**; **Abū ʿAlī al-Ḥasan ibn ʿAlī al-Lāwī al-Baṣrī**; second half of tenth century), Karaite scholar in Jerusalem. Details of his life are not known. He was the only Karaite who wrote biblical commentaries in Arabic, accompanied by an Arabic translation (considered very literal by some modern scholars) of the Scriptures, on the entire biblical corpus (to date Lamentations is the only biblical book on which no trace of Japheth's commentary has been identified). His commentaries are unparalleled in size and diversity of the aspects discussed in relation to the biblical text: language, *halakhah*, history, theology and much polemics against Rabbinic Judaism and also against other religions, notably Islam and Christianity. Messianic aspects of the biblical text are adduced in certain contexts, sometimes extensively. Historical facts and circumstances are mentioned or alluded to occasionally.

Japheth relied mainly on earlier Karaite authorities, whom he quotes mostly anonymously. He sometimes utilized rabbinic sources and works of Rabbanite scholars. The latter are often quoted for polemical reasons. *Saadiah Gaon is often quoted verbatim. He mastered a very wide array of sources, from which he selected in a rather sophisticated manner. Opposing interpretations are sometimes discussed at length (and ultimately rejected) when he thinks that they deserve it. His commentaries are thus a treasure house of old interpretations that often are not found in any other source.

In principle Japheth is committed to the literal meaning of the text, which nevertheless always has to be judged by reason. The result can be defined as rationalistic exegesis. Although ostensibly attacking the Muʿtazila (see *Kalam), his exegetical terminology and theological concepts are typically Muʿtazilite. Accordingly he allows for metaphorical interpretation when required by ideological-exegetical considerations (e.g. unity and integrity of the biblical corpus) or theological ones. Some scholars recently suggested that he also took into account literary considerations, and that historic-philological considerations were paramount for him, but this needs further research. While strictly conservative, Japheth's opposition to the pursuit of secular studies was somewhat milder than that of his contemporaries. His commentaries won immediate recognition among contemporary Karaite scholars and were widely used by subsequent generations of Karaite scholars. Because of their large size, some commentaries were abridged, mainly by Egyptian Karaites. Parts of his commentaries were later translated into Hebrew and thus became available to Karaites in Byzantium who had no knowledge of Arabic. The original Arabic text apparently reached Spain, which may explain the fact that interpretations of his are referred to by Abraham *Ibn Ezra.

He also wrote *Sefer ha-Mitzvot* (Book of Precepts), parts of which survived in manuscript.

Japheth's commentaries survived in many hundreds of MSS. The text seems to have developed over time in various ways and measures. Yet, only a relatively small part of Japheth's gigantic oeuvre (comprising dozens of volumes) has been published to date (mostly from the Prophets and the Writings). In recent times, however, there is an ever-increasing interest in Japheth's works, which is clearly reflected in the amount of publications (see bibl.).

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[Haggai Ben-Shammai (2nd ed.)]

JAPHIA (Heb. יָפִיעַ), city in the territory of the tribe of Zebulun between Dobrath and Gath-Hepher (Josh. 19:12). Japhia is identified with Yafa, 2 mi. (3 km.) southwest of Nazareth. It appears as Iapu in the Tell el-Amarna letters. According to Josephus, who fortified it, it was the largest village in Galilee (Life, 230; Wars, 2:573). During the siege of Jotapata Japhia was attacked, captured, and sacked by the Romans (Wars, 3:289 ff.). It remained a Jewish town however; in 1921 a synagogue lintel was found there, and in 1950 part of a synagogue paved with mosaics was excavated near the Greek Orthodox church. Its ruins include a basilical hall, 46^{a}49 ft. (14^{a}15 m.), with two rows of five columns each. The east-west orientation of the hall is unusual. The pavement contains the representation of an eagle standing on a vase whose body is shaped like a human head, tigers and dolphins, and a circle of 12 figures, of which two have been preserved. Sukenik regarded the figures as symbols of the tribes, reading the extant fragmentary inscription רים [Eph]raim; Goodenough identified them with the Zodiac, reading ריס [A]ries.

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[Michael Avi-Yonah]

JARBLUM, MARC (1887–1972), Zionist leader. Born in Warsaw, Jarblum was one of the founders of Po'alei Zion in Poland and also engaged in underground activity, for which he was repeatedly jailed. He moved to Paris in 1907 and completed his law studies there. From the time of his arrival in Paris he gradually became one of the most prominent public figures in the Po'alei Zion movement, the Zionist movement, and in French Jewry. He was especially active in the period between the two world wars. Jarblum was responsible for winning over Léon *Blum and the leaders of the Second (Socialist) International – *Jaurès, Vandervelde, and others – to the Zionist cause. For years he filled public positions – as the representative of Socialist Zionism at the Second International, as representative of the *Jewish Agency in Paris, president of the Zionist Federation and chairman of the Federation of Jewish Organizations in France, as head of the Socialist Zionist movement and editor of its organs, etc. During World War II, Jarblum lived in the unoccupied zone of France and was engaged in underground activities there and, from 1943, in Switzerland. He returned to France after the war and continued his public activities. Jarblum played a special role in securing the French vote for the UN resolution on the partition of Palestine (November 1947). Jarblum lived in Tel Aviv from 1955 and worked in the political department of the *Histadrut there. He published numerous pamphlets on current affairs in Yiddish and in French. Among his works are *The Socialist International and Zionism* (1933, with introd. by E. Vandervelde); *Le Destin de la Palestine juive de la Déclaration Balfour 1917 au Livre Blanc 1939* (1939); *Ils habiteront en sécurité* (1947); and *La Lutte des Juifs contre les Nazis* (1945).

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[Getzel Kressel]

JARÈ, Italian family. The name is a modern transcription of the Hebrew יר"א, either implying יְרֵא ("God-fearing"), or deriving from the initials of the phrase יְהִי רְצוּי אֶחָיו ("May he be desired of his brethren"). The transcription Jarè is known only from the 19th century. Obadiah of *Bertinoro was apparently a member of the family. Others included: PETHAHIAH of Spoleto, later of Recanati (16th century), a student of Arabic, who, with his son the physician MOSES, was one of the sources of Azariah de'Rossi's knowledge of the Samaritan alphabet. BERECHIAH REUBEN (d. 1598), of Perugia and later Verona, became rabbi in Mantua, with which city the family was henceforth mainly associated. His son MORDECAI was rabbi in Mantua and edited the collection of liturgical poems *Ayyelet ha-Shaḥar* (Mantua, 1612), which also contained two of his own poems. Mordecai wrote an approbation for *Kenaf Renanim* by Joseph Jedidiah *Carmi (Venice, 1626). ISAAC was a printer in Mantua at the beginning of the 18th century. GIUSEPPE DI GRAZIADIO (1840–1915), one of the last pupils of Samuel David *Luzzatto at the rabbinical institute in Padua, was rabbi in Mantua and from 1880 in Ferrara. He published a number of studies on Italian Jewish history.

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[Ariel Toaff]

JARMUTH (Heb. יַרְמוּת).

(1) Canaanite royal city mentioned in a 14th-century B.C.E. Akkadian letter found at Tell al-Ḥasī as Ia-ra-mu-ti. At the time of Joshua's conquest, Piram king of Jarmuth joined the coalition led by Adoni-Zedek king of Jerusalem against Gibeon; he was defeated at Aijalon along with the others and was killed at Makkedah (Josh. 10:3, 5, 23). The king of Jarmuth is also included in the list of defeated Canaanite kings (Josh. 12:11). Jarmuth became part of Judah and at the time of the Judahite monarchy it was included in the northern Shephelah district together with Adullam, Socoh, and Azekah (as preserved in Josh. 15:35). It was resettled by Judahites in the time of Nehemiah (Neh. 11:29). Eusebius locates it ten miles from Eleutheropolis, on the way to Jerusalem (Onom. 106:24–25). It has been identified with Khirbat al-Yarmūk (Eusebius calls it Iermochus), a large and prominent mound east of Kafr Zakariyya where surveys have revealed a large city surrounded by a massive stone wall from the Early Bronze Age and a smaller but higher mound containing pottery ranging from the Late Bronze to Byzantine periods.

(2) The Jarmuth listed as a Levitical city of Issachar in Joshua 21:29 should be read Ramoth (I Chron. 6:58) or Remeth (Josh. 19:21).

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[Michael Avi-Yonah]

JAROSLAW (Pol. **Jarosław**), town in Rzeszow province, S.E. Poland, on the San River. Jaroslaw's development was based on the great fairs held in the 16th and 17th centuries three times yearly. The main one took place toward the fall, and Jewish traders took a prominent part. In business such as the sale of oxen, for which Jaroslaw was a market center, Jews were the main dealers. The fairs were the origin of Jaroslaw's importance in the history of Polish Jewry. They were also, to a certain extent, the origin of the unique organizational character of its Jewish intercommunal institutions. Jewish communal leaders undertook to supervise the security of Jewish merchants visiting Jaroslaw. Jewish judges for the fair (*dayyanei ha-yarid*) were appointed as was customary among Christians; and a special procedure for them was introduced. A toll was levied on each trader or wagon to defray the expenses entailed. The *Council of the Lands of Poland frequently convened at the fall fair. A temporary congregation was formed by the Jewish visitors attending the fair. One scholar described the arrangements: "It happened that we were in the city of Jaroslaw at the fair of 1608, where it was a regular custom, as at every fair, that a place was set aside as a synagogue to pray there every day. And also on the Sabbath the scholars and heads of yeshivot and leaders of the lands and many people gathered to read in the Torah as is customary in the communities. And since the town is near the congregation of Przemysl … they convey from there the Torah scroll belonging to the congregation of Przemysl" (Responsa of R. Meir of Lublin, no. 84). Few Jews were able to settle permanently in Jaroslaw after the middle of the 15th century because of the opposition of the burghers, but a settlement gradually developed during the 17th century, while the fair diminished in importance. The first local synagogue was established in the 1640s, and a synagogue of the (Four) Lands is mentioned as existing therein those years; in the synagogue of the (Four) Lands the Council's decrees of excommunication and announcements were made public. The cemetery was established in 1699. A *blood libel in 1737 led to the suicide of one of the victims subjected to torture; others were cruelly put to death. In 1738 there were approximately 100 Jewish families living in Jaroslaw. In 1813 the Jewish population numbered 2,355 (out of a total of 9,007), and in 1921, 6,577 (out of 19,973). A number of the rabbis of Jaroslaw won recognition for their learning.

[Israel Halperin]

Holocaust Period

The city was captured by the Germans on Sept. 10, 1939. Their first anti-Jewish act was to set the synagogue aflame. On Sept. 12, 1939, the Germans imposed a fine. To insure the execution of this order, some communal workers were arrested, including the prewar head of the community Mendel Reich, whose fate remains unknown. On Sept. 28, 1939, the Germans ordered the population to assemble in the Sokol sports field. Some 7,000 persons assembled and were deported across the San River to Soviet-occupied territory. At the time of deportation, the Jews had to hand over all items of value and all their belongings were stolen. On the Soviet side, their fate was that of other Jewish refugees from western Poland. They suffered from lack of proper housing conditions, difficulties in finding work, and administrative restrictions. In the summer of 1940 many were exiled into the Soviet interior. Several hundred of those exiled to Russia survived, while those in east Poland were killed by the Germans during the German-Soviet War, in the years 1941–44. The community was not reconstituted after World War II.

[Aharon Weiss]

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JASIEŃSKI (Zyskind), BRUNO (1901–1939), Polish poet, novelist, and playwright. Jasieński was born in Klimentów. Together with another prominent futurist writer, Anatol *Stern, he published a celebrated pamphlet, *Nuż w bżuchu* ("A Knife in the Belly," 1921), and a collection of verse, *Ziemia na lewo* ("Land on the Left," 1924). Two volumes of his own poetry were *But w butonierce* ("The Boot in the Buttonhole," 1921) and *Pieśń o głodże* ("Song of Hunger," 1922). After emigrating to Paris in 1925, Jasieński published *Słowo o Jakubie Szeli* ("A Word about Jacob Szela," 1926), a poem in which he tried to rehabilitate the leader of an anti-feudal peasant uprising in West Galicia in 1848. Jasieński's famous novel *Palę Paryż* ("I Burn Paris," 1928), first printed in the French Communist daily *L'Humanité*, was a fantasy of the destruction of the citadel of capitalism by the international proletariat. The French government promptly expelled the author. From 1929 until his death Jasieński lived in the U.S.S.R., where he helped to organize the Union of Soviet Writers and contributed to Polish and Russian periodicals. His play *Bal manekinów* ("The Dummies' Ball," 1931) appeared in both Polish and Russian, and he also wrote short stories in Russian, and the novel *Chelovek menyayet kozhu* (1934; *Man Changes his Skin*, 1935), of which the Polish, *Człowiek zmienia skóre*, was published in 1935–37 (2 vols.). This novel dealt with the conflicts arising from Socialist reconstruction in Tadzhikistan. In 1937 Jasieński was arrested. He was sentenced to five years' imprisonment, but died later on the way to his place of exile near Vladivostok. He was officially rehabilitated by the Communists in 1956. A collected edition of his poems, edited by Anatol Stern, appeared in 1960.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, 11 (1964–65), 27–30 (incl. bibl.).

[Stanislaw Wygodzki]

JASINOWSKI, ISRAEL ISIDORE (1842–1917), Russian Zionist leader. Born in Kosov, Russia, he received a religious education and in 1874 completed his law studies at the University of Kazan, where he was awarded the degree of advocate for his thesis on "Sources of Jurisprudence in Holy Scripture and in its Oral Tradition." He then became a renowned lawyer in Warsaw, where he headed the *Ḥibbat Zion movement soon after its establishment. He was among the organizers of the *Kattowitz Conference (1884) and was elected to the Central Committee of Ḥibbat Zion. Together with Leo *Levanda and P. Loewenson, Jasinowski drafted the regulations of the "Odessa Committe" of Ḥovevei Zion, called officially the Society for Supporting Jewish Agriculturists and Artisans in Syria and Palestine, and participated in the founding meeting of the society (1890). Jasinowski joined the Zionist movement at its inception and participated in its first seven congresses. He represented the Warsaw "constituency" and his office served as the center of Zionist activities in Russian Poland. He was among those who supported the *Uganda Scheme, and, after the Seventh Zionist Congress, he joined the Jewish Territorial Organization (see *Territorialism). He was a member of its International Council and participated as its representative at the Brussels Conference on questions of Jewish migration (1906). In his last years Jasinowski became alienated from the Jewish national movement and came closer to assimilationist circles.

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[Yehuda Slutsky]

JASLO, town in S.E. Poland. A Jewish settlement existed there before 1463. In 1589 the town obtained the privilege *de non tolerandis Judaeis*, i.e., the right to exclude Jews, and in 1619 Jewish settlement and commerce in Jaslo were again prohibited. However, several Jewish families were living in Jaslo by 1765. In 1795, after the partition of Poland, Jaslo passed to Austria under which there were no restrictions on Jewish settlement. In 1805 six families were settled in Jaslo as farmers, and the Jewish community began to increase, in particular between 1848 and 1853. The Jewish population numbered 433 in 1880 (13.1% of the total), 934 in 1890 (20.6%), 1,524 in 1900 (23.2%), 2,262 in 1910 (22.3%), and 2,445 in 1921 (23.5%). The majority were Hasidim. Children generally received a traditional Jewish education. A number attended the local secondary school, where there were 30 Jewish pupils out of 556 in 1914. During the period between the two world wars the Jewish population was mainly occupied in light industry and crafts. In 1921, 96 Jews owned industrial enterprises employing 678 persons, of whom 76 were owners, 49 members of the family, 83 Jewish, and 470 non-Jewish workers. The only sizable enterprises owned by Jews were five chemical works, employing 35 Jewish and 420 non-Jewish workers; large or medium-sized workshops included 29 food processing, 28 clothing, eight timber, seven metallurgical, six building, three machinery, three leather, three textile, two printing, and two disinfecting.

[Nathan Michael Gelber]

Holocaust Period

In the summer of 1941, a ghetto was established in Jaslo. Refugees increased the population to around 2,300. In July and August 1942 around 650 Jews were executed in the surrounding forests. The ghetto was liquidated on August 19–20 and its inmates, with a few exceptions, were deported to Belzec and there murdered. A small number of Jews were transferred to the forced labor camp in Szebnia, which was liquidated in 1943. No Jews settled in Jaslo after World War II.

[Stefan Krakowski]

BIBLIOGRAPHY: E. Podhorizer-Sandel, in: BŻIH, 30 (1959), 87–109.

JASNY, NAUM (1883–1967), economist. Born in Kharkov, Ukraine, Jasny obtained a doctorate in law in St. Petersburg (Leningrad). Jasny practiced law for a short time, and then became director of a flour mill in Kharkov, an experience which aroused his interest in economics. After the Russian Revolution he worked on designing food policies for the Soviet government, for which he later undertook economic research in Germany. While there he joined the Business Cycle Research Institute and in 1933, with the coming of Hitler, he moved to the United States where he was appointed senior economist with the Department of Agriculture. From 1939 he was with the Food Research Institute of Stanford University where he prepared forecasts of food availability in allied and enemy countries. After World War II, he worked with the Stanford Soviet Economic Group. Jasny's main interests were agricultural statistics and economics. His estimates of grain harvests in the U.S.S.R. served for many years as the basis for the investigations into the Soviet military potential. Among Jasny's major works are *The Socialized Agriculture of the U.S.S.R.* (1949); *The Wheats of Classical Antiquity* (1944); *Soviet Industrialization 1928–52* (1961); *Soviet Planning* (1964), edited by J.T. Degras and A. Nove; and *Khrushchev's Crop Policy* (1965). His memoirs were being prepared for publication at the time of his death.

[Joachim O. Ronall]

JASON (second century B.C.E.), high priest. Jason, who adopted this Greek form of his Hebrew name Joshua, was the son of the high priest Simeon II and a brother of *Onias III. According to Josephus he was also the brother of *Menelaus, but it is almost certain, in the light of II Maccabees, that this is inaccurate. The events that occurred at the end of the high priesthood of Onias III undermined his standing in the Seleucid court. Jason exploited the ascent of Antiochus IV to the throne (176 B.C.E.) and his need of money to have his brother deposed and to obtain the high priesthood for himself (175), against the promise of large sums of money. Antiochus also granted him authority to establish in Jerusalem a Hellenist polis whose citizens were selected and registered by Jason himself. Armed with this authority, he established within Jerusalem a city-state called Antiochia, whose citizens he chose from the Hellenized aristocracy of Jerusalem, and erected a gymnasium in the capital. His actions led to a strengthening of Hellenistic culture in the city and to a weakening of the traditional way of life and of religious worship (II Macc. 4:7–15). This policy of Jason and his supporters was the chief cause of the Hasmonean revolt which broke out afterward, and which finally freed Judea from the rule of the Seleucids and gave birth to the Hasmonean dynasty. Jason sent envoys and gifts to Tyre in honor of the festivities to the Tyrean god Heracles. He also welcomed Antiochus when he visited Jerusalem in 174 B.C.E. However, three years later he was dismissed from the high priesthood by the king, and Menelaus, who offered Antiochus a larger sum of money for the office, was appointed in his stead. A few years later, in 168 B.C.E., when a false rumor spread that Antiochus was dead, he attempted to return and seize power in Jerusalem. He was unsuccessful, however, and was compelled to leave the city after instituting a slaughter of the inhabitants. For a while he was imprisoned by the Arabian king, Aretas. His last years were spent wandering from place to place, and he was not buried in the family sepulcher.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: II Macc. 4:7–29; 5:5–10; Jos., Ant., 12:238ff.; Schuerer, Hist, 24–26; A. Tcherikover, *Hellenistic Civilization and the Jews* (1959), index; S.K. Eddy, *The King Is Dead* (1961), 206–11.

[Uriel Rappaport]

JASON OF CYRENE (c. middle of second century B.C.E.), Jewish historian who wrote a work in five books on the Maccabean revolt. The work is not extant and is known only from II Maccabees, which claims to be an epitome of it (II Macc. 2:23). It opened with events in the days of Onias III and may have concluded with Judah Maccabee's victory over Nicanor or continued to a later period. From the literary character of the work, Jason was presumably a hellenized though pious Jew, who was anxious to propagate moral values and to glorify his people and God. It is difficult to assume that he was a Pharisee, and his identification with Jason, Judah Maccabee's emissary to Rome (I Macc. 8:17), is doubtful.

For further details about the work and its relation to II Maccabees, as well as for bibliography, see *Maccabees, Books of.

[Uriel Rappaport]

JASSINOWSKY, PINCHAS (1886–1954), *ḥazzan* and composer. Born at Romanovka, near Kiev, Ukraine, Jassinowsky joined the choir of Pinchas *Minkowski in Kherson, as a boy. While he was studying music in St. Petersburg, he was assistant choirmaster in a synagogue there. In 1917 he emigrated to the United States. He had a smooth and plaintive tenor voice, and his singing in synagogues and at concerts made him a celebrity. He composed a considerable body of music, including *Ve-Hayah be-Aḥarit ha-Yamim* (Isa. 2:1–4) dedicated to the new Hebrew University of Jerusalem (1926), *Aseret ha-Dibberot* ("The Ten Commandments"), *Shirat ha-Be'er* ("The Song of the Well"), *Ba-Yom ha-Hu* (Isa. 26:1–4), and music for Yiddish poems folk songs, children's songs, and songs of the High Holidays.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Sendrey, Music, indexes; Jewish Ministers Cantors' Association of America, *Di Geshikhte fun Khazones* (1924), 140; idem, *Khazones* (1937), 227–9 (Yid. and Eng.); N. Stolnitz, *Negine in Yidishen Lebn* (1957), 125–9.

[Joshua Leib Ne'eman]

JASSY (Rom. **Iasi**), city in N.E. Romania, capital of the former principality of Moldavia from 1565. The community of Jassy was the oldest in Moldavia. Jews first settled there in the second half of the 15th century because of its position on the commercial route between Poland and Bessarabia and to the Danube port of Galati (Galatz). Their number increased when Polish Jews took refuge there during the *Chmielnicki massacres (1648/49). In 1650 and 1652 many Jews in Jassy were murdered by Cossacks. There were new disturbances in 1726 when the populace, incensed by a *blood libel, sacked the houses of the Jews in Jassy and desecrated a number of synagogues. The Jewish guild of Jassy obtained an order from the sultan to liberate the Jews who had been arrested in the blood libel case. In 1742 Prince Constantin Mavrocordat, wishing to attract Jews from Poland, exempted those who settled in the town from taxes.

At the end of the 18th century the Jews were concentrated in their own quarter. Several branches of commerce (cereals, livestock, wool, honey, cheese) were exclusively handled by Jews. By the middle of the 19th century they had taken the place of the Turks and Greeks as bankers and money changers. Many Jews were also occupied as goldsmiths, tailors, hatters, furriers, and shoemakers. A number of these crafts had their own unions, some possessing their own synagogues. When the Christian tradesmen and artisans tried to limit the activity of their Jewish counterparts, a decision was issued by the prince in favor of the Jews (1817). In 1831 Jewish merchants and artisans formed 43% of the total number of these occupations, and by 1860 their proportion had increased to 78%. The Jewish population numbered 4,396 families in 1820, 31,015 persons (47% of the total) in 1859, 39,441 (50.8%) in 1899, and 35,000 in 1910.

Persecutions

In 1835 and again in 1839 Prince Michael Sturdza initiated actions against the Jews, which were stopped only after the Jewish bankers had canceled his debts. In 1867 Jews having no legal documents of residence were declared vagrants and expelled from the country. Diplomatic representatives of England and Austria presented their protests to the Romanian government; Emperor Napoleon III of France also intervened. However the persecution intensified during the last two decades of the 19th century, in particular after the Congress of *Berlin. Despite the recommendations of the Congress of Berlin, which threatened not to recognize Romania's independence, the Romanian political class refused to grant citizenship to the Jews.

Headquarters of the Antisemitic Movement

Toward the end of the 19th century Jassy became the center of antisemitism in Romania. In 1882 and 1884 two economic congresses were held there with the aim of promoting a boycott on Jewish commerce and industry. Through the activities of a "commercial club" during this period, 196 Jewish shops were closed down in 1892, and many Jewish tradesmen were expelled from the town. A number of Jews committed suicide in consequence. The University of Jassy became the center of antisemitism in Romania, with A.C. *Cuza, who taught at the university, as its main proponent.

Internal Organization

From 1622 to 1832 the affairs of the Jewish community of Jassy were administered by the "guild of the Jews," headed by the *ḥakham bashi*, who was the chief rabbi of Moldavia and Walachia, and three *parnasim*. From the taxes on kosher meat which it levied, the synagogues, *talmud torah* institutions, shelter for transients (*hekdesh*), and cemetery were maintained. After the guild was dissolved in 1834, associations were formed according to countries of origin (Russia, Austria, Prussia).

The first modern school for boys was founded in 1852 but remained open for only five years because of opposition from Orthodox circles. In 1858 the government began to press for the closing of the traditional Jewish schools and their replacement by modern schools in an assimilationist spirit. Some steps were taken in this direction from 1860 but the schools were unable to withstand the Orthodox opposition. Modern Jewish schools were again founded in 1893, after Jewish pupils had been expelled from public schools. There were 5,000 pupils (boys and girls) attending the community schools in 1910.

In 1834 the administrators of the hospital, which was founded in 1772, took over the management of the community affairs, receiving the principal income from the tax on kosher meat. The orphanage and an old age home were founded in 1890. In 1915 the Dr. L. Gelehrter Hospital for children was founded. The Caritas Humanitas association with a membership of 2,000 was active up to the eve of World War II, providing medical assistance and aid for widows.

Zionist Movement

There had been pre-Zionist groups at Jassy even before the *Ḥibbat Zion. In 1866 the Doreshei Zion association was founded, with the aim of creating a Hebrew library. From 1878 to 1898 the Ohalei Shem association propagated the Hebrew language and Jewish culture. The Yishuv Ereẓ Israel movement also had an important center in Jassy, headed by Karpel *Lippe, who had initiated the two above-mentioned associations. The poet Naphtali Herz *Imber, author of *Ha-Tikvah*, lived in Jassy at the end of the 1870s. Inspired by the ideas of Theodor Herzl, the Jewish community of Jassy founded nine Zionist organizations, which were amalgamated in 1919.

Spiritual and Cultural Activities

Jassy had long been the spiritual center for Jews living in both Romanian principalities (Moldavia and Walachia) through the influence of important rabbis who officiated there. The first of note, Solomon b. Aroyo, a kabbalist and physician to the prince of Moldavia, lived in Jassy at the end of the 16th and beginning of the 17th centuries. Nathan Nata *Hannover and Pethahiah b. David Lida served there in the 17th century. In the 18th century Ḥasidism began to spread to Jassy and brought a number of ḥasidic leaders there, including *Abraham Joshua Heschel of Apta, who lived in Jassy at the beginning of the 19th century. In the second half of the 19th century Jassy became a center of talmudic learning with scholars like Joseph Landau of Litin and Aaron Moses b. Jacob *Taubes. Among eminent ḥasidic scholars there the most important was Isaiah Schorr. In 1897 J.I. *Niemirover began his rabbinical activity and remained in Jassy until 1911.

Hebrew books were published in Jassy from 1842 onward, among them Eliezer b. Reuben Kahana's commentary on the Five Scrolls, *Si'aḥ Sefunim*; two editions (one with Yiddish translation) of Nathan Hannover's *Sha'arei Ẓiyyon* (1843); and the *Likkutei Amarim* of Shneour Zalman (of Lubavich; publ. 1843). Hebrew printing continued into the 1880s. Some Hebrew and Yiddish periodicals were also published in Jassy. A Yiddish biweekly *Korot ha-Ittim* was published from 1855 to 1871. For a year in 1872 the first Jewish all-Romanian newspaper *Vocea apărătorului* ("Voice of the Defender") was published. The weekly *Rasaritul* ("The East") was published from 1899 to 1901 by the Zionists, who also issued two annuals. In 1914 four numbers of a literary review, *Likht* ("Light"), were published in Yiddish, with the collaboration of Jacob *Groper, Abraham L. *Zissu, Motty Rabinovici, and Jacob *Botoshansky. The illustrations were the work of the painter Reuven *Rubin.

Jassy was the cradle of the Yiddish theater. In 1876 Abraham *Goldfaden first presented his operettas in Jassy. J. *Latteiner also had his own theater company, for which he wrote 75 plays. N. Horowitz from Galicia produced his operettas with a historical setting there.

Between the Two World Wars

In 1919 the community was reorganized. In the same year elections were held for the first communal administration. The community was recognized as a public body by the Ministry of Religions in 1927. In 1939 there existed in Jassy 112 synagogues, one kindergarten, three elementary schools for boys and four for girls, four religious schools (*talmud torah*), one yeshivah, one secondary school, one general hospital, one children's hospital, two sanatoriums for invalids, an orphanage, and an old age home. A Zionist weekly *Tribuna Evreeasca* was published in Romanian at Jassy between the two world wars.

In this period also Jassy, and especially the university, continued to be the center of antisemitic activities. Under the leadership of A.C. Cuza, the "National and Christian Defense League" (LANC) was founded in 1923. The head of the youth organization, Corneliu Zelea Codreanu, founded the "Archangel Michael League" in 1927, which is also known as "All for the Fatherland" and the more familiar "Iron Guard," an extremist antisemitic organization. The continual troubles caused by the antisemitic organizations and economic persecution by the authorities led to progressive pauperization among the Jewish masses in Jassy. In consequence the Jewish population diminished from 43,500 in 1921 to 35,465 (34.4%) in 1930.

Holocaust Period and After

On Nov. 6, 1940, the Antonescu government had seized power. The persecution of the Jewish population began immediately, accompanied by arbitrary arrests, torture, extortion, confiscation of places of business, and attempts to stage trials on such charges as Communism. However, the Jewish community leaders soon managed to reach an agreement with the leaders of the Iron Guard, who promised to stop the persecution in exchange for the sum of six million lei to be paid in installments. Consequently, until the Iron Guard were forced out of the government (January 1941), there were few further antisemitic incidents in the city. The final installment of the "subsidy" was paid during the Bucharest pogrom, which occurred when the Iron Guard rebelled against Antonescu's government, and, as a result, the Jews of Jassy remained unharmed.

In the summer of 1941, on the eve of the outbreak of war against the Soviet Union, many German army units moved to Jassy. Before the first military operation in the area (on June 29, 1941) and the opening of the large-scale offensive on the southern front (July 2, 1941), antisemitic tension grew, as the result of rumors that Jews were signaling to the Russian planes bombarding the town, and had even dared to shoot at soldiers. On the eve of June 28, German and Romanian patrols, accompanied by local residents, murdered many Jews and rounded up thousands more in the courtyard of the police station, where they were shot the next day. Immediately afterward, 4,332 Jews were dispatched to internment camps, 2,205 of them suffocating en route from the terrible overcrowding in the death cars. The exact number then killed at Jassy is unknown; wartime Romanian secret police documents mention the number of 13,266 victims including 40 women and 180 children.

In 1969 there were about 2,000 Jewish families in Jassy, and 11 synagogues. Courses in Hebrew and Jewish history with about 80 participants were held. The population diminished steadily to a few hundred by the turn of the century owing to immigration to Israel and elsewhere. Those who remained were cared for through government and Jewish funds.

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[Theodor Lavi]

JASTROW, family of scholars originating in Prussian Poland, later in the U.S. MARCUS MORDECAI JASTROW (1829–1903) was a Polish-born rabbi and lexicographer and a leader of the historical school in the United States. Jastrow was born in Rogasen, Poznania. He was ordained by Rabbis Feilchenfeld of Rogasen and Wolf Landau of Dresden. He also studied at Berlin University and took his doctorate at Halle with a thesis on the philosophy of Abraham ibn Ezra (1855). With the aid of Heinrich *Graetz he was appointed preacher of the progressive German congregation in Warsaw. There he was caught up (with other Warsaw rabbis) in the Polish insurrectionary movement of 1861–63, preaching and writing for the revolutionary cause; he was imprisoned by the Russians for three months and, being a Prussian subject, expelled from Poland. For two years he was rabbi at Worms. In this period he published *Vier Jahrhunderte aus der Geschichte der Juden* (1865), covering the period from the Babylonian Exile to the Maccabees.

In 1866 he emigrated to the United States as rabbi to Rodeph Shalom, a congregation in Philadelphia largely composed of German immigrants; he served this congregation until his retirement in 1892. His work with the congregation encountered many difficulties. He strove to hold his synagogue within the confines of tradition but he was not able to stem the tide to Reform. He introduced some reforms, such as the use of an organ and Benjamin *Szold's prayer book *Avodat Israel* (Ger., 1863), which he helped to revise and which he translated into English as *A Prayer Book for the Services of the Year…* (1885). However, in polemics in the *Hebrew Leader* and the *Jewish Times* he opposed the movement for radical Reform as expressed by I.M. *Wise, D. *Einhorn, and Samuel *Hirsch. He did not favor formation of the *Union of American Hebrew Congregations or of *Hebrew Union College. In these polemics he emerged as one of the leaders of the historical school, which developed into *Conservative Judaism.

Jastrow taught Jewish philosophy, history, and Bible at Maimonides College from 1867 until it closed in 1875. He took a prominent part in the work of the *Jewish Publication Society, served from 1895 to 1903 as editor-in-chief of its projected Bible translation, and did the translation of Job. He also edited the Talmud section of the *Jewish Encyclopedia. Jastrow was a member of the executive of the *Alliance Israélite Universelle and of *Mekiẓei Nirdamim, and served as a vice president of the American Zionist Federation.

A severe illness in 1876 forced Jastrow to restrict his communal activities, and during a prolonged convalescence he began work on his major contribution to modern Jewish scholarship, the monumental *Dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmud Babli and Yerushalmi and the Midrashic Literature* (2 vols., 1886–1903; reprs. 1926, 1943, 1950; and as *Hebrew-Aramaic-English Dictionary…*, 2 vols., 1969). Using Jacob *Levy's dictionaries and S. Kraus' *Griechische und Lateinische Lehnwoerter*, Jastrow produced an eminently serviceable dictionary for the student of rabbinics, particularly the English-speaking student. In comprehensiveness and in attention to comparative linguistics, the dictionary was a definite advance on its predecessors. Though talmudic lexicography has progressed considerably since the dictionary first appeared, Jastrow's work has retained its value as a tool for all who study rabbinic literature.

One of Marcus' sons, MORRIS JASTROW (1861–1922), was a distinguished Orientalist. He was born in Poland and was brought to the United States as a child. He took his doctorate at Leipzig in 1884 with a dissertation on Judah *Ḥayyuj (*Abu Zakarijja Jahjâ… und seine zwei grammatischen Schriften…*, 1885; *Weak and Geminative Verbs by Abu Zakariyya… Ḥayyuj*, 1897). Returning to Philadelphia, he assisted his father for a short time at Rodeph Shalom. In 1892 he began teaching Semitics at the University of Pennsylvania; he also served as librarian (from 1898) and as research professor of Assyriology there. For a time he acted as editor of the Bible department of the *Jewish Encyclopedia*, was on the board of the *International Encyclopedia*, and contributed to Hasting's *Dictionary of the Bible*, the *Encyclopedia Biblica*, and many other learned publications. His anti-Zionist attitude is evident in *Zionism and the Future of Palestine: Fallacies and Dangers of Political Zionism* (1919).

Jastrow's most important work was probably *Religion of Babylonia and Assyria* (1898; rev. ed. *Aspects of Religious Beliefs and Practice in Babylonia and Assyria*, 1969). His other works on the religious and cultural history of Assyria and Babylonia include *Fragment of the Babylonian Dibbarra Epic* (1891; now known as the II Tablet of the Era-epic); *Bildermappe… zur Religion Babyloniens und Assyriens…* (1912); an atlas of illustrations for the *Religion of Babylonia and Assyria; An Old Babylonian Version of the Gilgamesh Epic* (with A.T. Clay, 1923).

Of more immediate Jewish interest are his *Study of Religion* (1901); *Hebrew and Babylonian Tradition* (1914); *Gentle Cynic* (1919), on Ecclesiastes; *Book of Job* (1920); and *Song of Songs* (1921).

Marcus' younger son, JOSEPH JASTROW (1863–1944), was a noted psychologist. Jastrow was educated at Pennsylvania and Johns Hopkins universities. He taught psychology at Wisconsin (1888–1927), Columbia (1910), and the New School for Social Research (1927–33). In 1900 he served as president of the American Psychological Association. He made a considerable contribution to the psychology of perception and of abnormality and he popularized Freudian thought in such works as *Fact and Fable in Psychology* (1900); *Subconscious* (1906, repr. 1970); *Keeping Mentally Fit* (1928), a title Jastrow also used for a syndicated newspaper column (1928–32) and a radio series (1935–38); *The House that Freud Built* (1932; *Freud, His Dream and Sex Theories*, 1941); *Error and Eccentricity in Human Belief* (1935); *Betrayal of Intelligence* (1938); and *Story of Human Error* (ed., 1936).

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[Jacob Rothschild / Jack Reimer]

JASTRUN (Agatstein), MIECZYSLAW (1903–1983), Polish poet, essayist, and translator. Born in Korolówka, Jastrun was one of the Skamander literary group. Philosophical reflection dominated such pre-World War II collections as *Spotkanie w czasie* ("Meeting in Time," 1929), *Inna młodość* ("Another Youth," 1933), and *Strumień i milczenie* ("Stream and Silence," 1937). During the years 1945–49, he was coeditor of the literary weekly *Kuźnica*. From the end of World War II his verse reflected the period of the Holocaust, notably in *Godzina strzeżona* ("The Guarded Hour," 1944), *Rzecz ludzka* ("Human Matter," 1946), *Sezon w Alpach* ("Season in the Alps," 1948), *Rok urodzaju* ("The Fertile Year," 1950), and *Barwy ziemi* ("Colors of Earth," 1951). Jastrun also wrote three biographical novels on great Polish poets: *Mickiewicz* (1949, 1967^{11}; Eng. tr. 1955; Heb. tr. 1956); *Spotkanie z Salomeą* ("Meeting with Salomea," 1951), on the poet Juliusz Slowacki; and *Poeta i dworzanin* ("The Poet and the Courtier," 1954), on the poet Jan Kochanowski. His volumes of essays include: *Dzienniki i wspomnienia* ("Diaries and Memoirs," 1955); *Wizerunki: Szkice literackie* ("Images: Literary Essays," 1956), on Polish and foreign writers; and *Mit śródziemnomorski* ("Mediterranean Myth," 1962). Selections of his verse were published in 1966 and 1968. Jastrun also edited *Poezja Młodej Polski* ("The Poetry of Young Poland," 1967), *Wolnosć Wyboru* "Freedom of Choice," essays, 1969) and *Godła pamięci* ("Memorials," poetry, 1969). Among Jastrun's outstanding translations are those from the works of Lorca, Pushkin, and Rilke. An independently minded Communist, Jastrun was one of the authors of the *Manifest trzydziestu czterech* ("Manifesto of the 34," 1964) against the cultural policy of the Polish Communist Party and government.

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[Stanislaw Wygodzki]

JÁSZI, OSZKÁR (1875–1957), Hungarian political scientist. Born in Nagykároly (now Romania), Jászi was converted to Christianity as a child. He was editor of the radical periodical *Huszadik Század* ("Twentieth Century") from 1906 to 1919.

Jászi was particularly concerned with the problem of national minorities. In his book, *A nemzeti államok kialakulása és a nemzetiségi kérdés* ("The Evolution of the Nation States and the Nationality Problem," 1912), he argued that these minorities should be granted full cultural and social autonomy. But later he believed that the question of Russian Jewry could be resolved by the creation of a Jewish state in Palestine. He advocated that the Jews of Hungary should assimilate. In 1912 he became an assistant professor of political science at the University of Kolozsvár. In 1918, following the outbreak of revolution, he was made minister of national minorities. He recognized the right of the Jews to national self-determination and also attempted to negotiate a permanent settlement with the national minorities within the Hungarian Republic. When the Hungarian Soviet regime came to power in 1919, Jászi left Hungary for Vienna and then Munich. He published a history of the revolution in Hungary, *Magyar kálvaria – magyar föltámadás* (1920; *Revolution and Counter Revolution in Hungary*, 1924). In the following year he immigrated to the United States where he lectured at Oberon College, Ohio, and became professor of political science there in 1941. Jászi was the author of numerous works on politics and political science including *A történelmi materializmus állambölcselete* ("History of Historical Materialism," 1904), *Műyészet és erkölcs* ("Arts and Ethics," 1904), and *The Dissolution of the Habsburg Monarchy* (1929).

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[Baruch Yaron]

JÁTIVA (Xátiva), city in Valencia, E. Spain. Its community was probably second in size in the kingdom after that of the city of Valencia itself. After Játiva was captured from the Moors by James I in 1244, the quarter where Jews had lived under Muslim rule was restored to them, and the king's interpreter, Baḥye Alfaquim, received estates in the city and its vicinity. In the 13th century there were about 200 Jews living in Játiva. In 1268 James I forbade the practice of stoning the Jews on Good Friday. In 1274, a new charter exempted the community from taxes for five years in order to encourage Jewish settlement in the city. The community was governed by a council of seven members who had criminal jurisdiction. In 1283 the town council prohibited the Jews from wearing bright clothes and jewelry. A center for study of the Hebrew and Arabic languages was established in Játiva by the Dominican Order in 1291: a Jew named Yom Tov, who taught here, was exempted from taxes. In 1363 Pedro IV imposed a tax of 10,000 sólidos on the community as their contribution toward the war against Castile. John I forbade the municipal officials to prevent the Jews from setting up workshops and they were authorized to do so in any section of the town. R. Ḥayyim b. Bibas, a disciple of *Asher b. Jehiel and correspondent of *Isaac b. Sheshet (cf. resp. no. 297), was rabbi in Játiva. During the persecutions of 1391, some Jews in Játiva died as martyrs, whilst others became converted to Christianity. The Jewish settlement was renewed during the 15th century and was the only community that existed in the Kingdom of Valencia after 1391 that continued until the expulsion of the Jews from Spain in 1492. In 1482, the kabbalist Joseph *Alcastiel was living in Játiva. Other scholars who resided there were Jacob Elihahu, Amram Efrati, and Yehoshua Satabi. The paper mill at Játiva, the oldest in Christian Europe, is believed to have been a Jewish enterprise. The pioneer Spanish Hebrew printer, Solomon Zalmati (one of whose relatives was involved with the Inquisition), was a native of Játiva.

In 1941 a Hebrew inscription was discovered in the hermitage of las Santas which suggests that it was the site of the synagogue. The Jewish quarter was not far from there, in the Santas street and adjacent small streets.

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[Haim Beinart]

JATTIR, JETHIRA (Heb. יַתִּיר), Judean city situated in the southernmost hill district and mentioned together with Shamir and Socoh (Josh. 15:48). It was a levitical city of the Kohathite family (Josh. 21:14; I Chron. 6:42). Jattir was one of the cities in southern Judah to which David distributed part of the spoils taken from the Amalekites (I Sam. 30:27). Eusebius identifies it with Lether, a large village 20 Roman miles from Eleutheropolis (Bet Guvrin), inhabited only by Christians (Onom. 108:1ff.). The site of Jattir is now called Khirbat ʿAttīr; its extensive ruins date from the Roman and Byzantine periods. The *Madaba map shows Jattir in the wrong place, confusing it with Ether.

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[Michael Avi-Yonah]

JAUNIJELGAVA (Ger. **Friedrichstadt**), city in Zemgale (Courland) district, Latvia., S.E. of Riga. In the period of czarist rule it was a district capital in *Courland. Jewish artisans from the villages started to settle in Jaunijelgava under Russian rule at the beginning of the 19th century. In 1850 the Jewish community numbered 1,483, increasing to 4,128 (70% of the total population) in 1881, and 3,256 (62.5%) in 1897. Apart from petty trade and artisanship, some wealthy Jews dealt in the export of wood, hides, and bristles. During World War I, the Jews in Jaunijelgava were expelled in July 1915 into the Russian interior, but before that three prominent members of the community were arrested as hostages, to be executed if cases of treason were discovered among the Jews. The city was subsequently destroyed in the fighting between the Russian and German armies. The community did not recover after the war, and only 680 returned by 1925. The Jewish population had decreased to 561 (26% of the total population) by 1933. Despite the decline Jews dominated the town's trade, owning most of the business resources. A Yiddish school existed, and the local rabbi functioned also as deputy mayor of the town. After the Soviets took over in 1940, they nationalized businesses and liquidated Jewish public life. Germans occupied the town in the end of June 1941. The Latvian "Self-Defense" forces began killing Jews. They assembled them in the synagogue. In the beginning of August a group of young Jews was taken out to dig ditches and then was shot there. On August 7, 1941, all the Jews – 167 families – were taken there and murdered. After the war some Holocaust survivors reached the town, took care of the cemetery and the mass grave, and erected a monument to the Holocaust victims. Later they dispersed, most of them leaving for Israel. At the beginning of the 21st century no Jews lived in Jaunijelgava.

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[Yehuda Slutsky / Shmuel Spector (2nd ed.)]

°JAURÈS, JEAN LÉON (1859–1914), French Socialist politician. The *Dreyfus case brought him to the forefront of the political scene. At first Jaurès sided with the Socialists, who regarded the affair as a phase in the inner struggle of the ruling class. Later, however, brushing aside political expediency, he declared himself willing to "walk the darkened road which leads to justice." In association with Georges Clemenceau and Emile *Zola, Jaurès headed a national campaign for the rehabilitation of Dreyfus. He was shot in Paris by a fanatic on the eve of World War I (July 31, 1914). Jaurès had considerable influence on Léon *Blum, who regarded himself as his disciple, and on leaders of the Zionist labor movement, in particular Berl *Katzenelson.

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JAVAL, French family (the origin of the name is unknown). The founder, JACQUES JAVAL (1786–1858) of Mulhouse, a banker in Paris, established one of the first printed-textile mills in Saint-Denis in 1819. He was president of the Paris *Consistoire from 1824 to 1829. His son LEOPOLD (1804–1872) participated in the July Revolution of 1830 and then joined the army, taking part in the Algerian campaign and becoming a cavalry officer. After returning to civilian life, he organized the railway network of Alsace, but he was especially interested in agricultural development. In 1857 he was elected deputy for Yonne. In the Chamber of Deputies and later at the National

Assembly, he supported a program of political and economic liberalism. From 1852 to 1871, he was the Haut-Rhin delegate to the Central Consistory. His elder son EMILE (1839–1907) was a renowned oculist and member of the Academy of Medicine. He invented an apparatus for diagnosing astigmatism and a method of teaching reading. Director of the ophthalmological laboratory of the Sorbonne from 1878 to 1900, he published a number of books and encyclopedia articles in his field. From 1885 to 1889, he too was elected deputy for Yonne. His brother ERNEST (1843–1897), an engineer, was prefect of Creuse and, from 1885, director of the National Institute for the Deaf and Dumb. Emile's elder son JEAN (1871–1915) was also elected to the Chamber of Deputies. Jean's widow, LILY JEAN-JAVAL (née Léon-Lévy; 1882–1958), wrote a number of novels; two of them, *Noémi* (1925) and *L'Inquiète* (1927), deal with Jewish subjects, and the first part of her travelogue, *Sous le charme du Portugal* (1931), is concerned with the "search for the Marranos." Emile's second son ADOLPHE (1873–1944) was a medical scholar mainly concerned with diseases of the blood, on which he published a number of works.

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[Moshe Catane]

JAVAN (Heb. יָוָן), fourth of the seven sons of Japheth, son of Noah and father of Elishah, Tarshish, Kittim, and Dodanim (or Rodanim; Gen. 10:2, 4; 1 Chron. 1:5, 7). The name Javan reflects the Greek heroic name Ion, the legendary ancestor of the Ionians, a section of the Greek people. They are mentioned only once in Homer but became important later after colonizing the central part of the west coast of Asia Minor to which they gave their name, Ionia (Ἰωνία). The rise to power of the Ionians in the mid-eighth century has implications for dating the Genesis passages. Assyrian sources of the eighth century B.C.E. call the area Jawan and Jaman. Egyptian, and Persian sources also mention the Ionians.

Through the Near East Javan came to refer to all Greece. The biblical sources mention Javanites as merchants in trade with the Phoenicians of Tyre (Ezek. 27:13, cf. 19) and as slave traders who bought Judean captives from Phoenicians and Philistines (Joel 4:6). The Javanites are also mentioned among the far-off nations who are destined to witness God's glorious deeds (Isa. 66:19). Other biblical texts seem to reflect the tensions and hopes of the Hellenistic period in which Judah and Ephraim are to take revenge on the Javanites (Zech 9:13). The Book of Daniel, which certainly refers to this period, contains an odious reference to the king of Javan (Dan. 8:23) and alludes to the power struggles of the period of the Greco-Macedonian Empire (10:20, 11:2). Javan has continued to be the Hebrew for *Greece.

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[Michael Fishbane / S. David Sperling (2nd ed.)]

JAVETZ, BARZILLAI BEN BARUCH (d. 1760), Turkish rabbi and talmudist. Barzillai served as the *av bet din* in Smyrna, where he gave rabbinic discourses in the Maḥazikei Torah Synagogue, taught in his private yeshivah, and preached in the Talmud Torah synagogue. He influenced the wealthy Joshua *Soncino to build a synagogue in his name in Smyrna and delivered a eulogy on the rabbis of Smyrna who lost their lives in the fire of 1730. Barzillai published *Leshon Limmudim* (Smyrna, 1755), on the *Turim* and *Leshon Arumim* (*ibid.*, 1749), containing homilies, annotations on Elijah Mizraḥi's supercommentary to *Rashi, comments on Maimonides, and homilies by his father.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Fuenn, Keneset, 202; Michael, Or, 297–8, no. 643; M.D. Gaon, *Yehudei ha-Mizraḥ be-Ereẓ Yisrael*, 2 (1937), 726; Rosanes, Togarmah, 5 (1938), 63–64.

[Simon Marcus]

JAVID (Cavid) BEY, MEHMED (1875–1926), Ottoman economist and statesman. Born in *Salonica to a *Doenmeh family, he worked for the Agriculture Bank and Education Ministry after graduating from the Imperial Civil Servants School (Mülkiye) in *Istanbul in 1896, only returning to Salonica in 1902 to head the Fevziye School. There he became active in the Young Turk movement. After the 1908 Revolution, he was elected to the Ottoman parliament, where he served from 1908 to 1918. An excellent orator and able economist, he served as finance minister in five cabinets, where he was instrumental in reordering the empire's finances, securing vital foreign loans, and restoring investor confidence. The combination of his personality, ethno-religious origins, and politics made him the target of numerous accusations of corruption, espionage, even murder. His Francophile and pacifist tendencies led him to resign his post in 1914 in protest against the secret Ottoman-German alliance, although he remained a financial adviser, reassuming the ministerial post in 1917. After the war he went into hiding in Istanbul, fleeing to Switzerland after his offer to join the Nationalist Forces in Anatolia was rejected. There he lived for several years, marrying Aliye, an Ottoman princess, and returning to Istanbul in 1922. He was a member of the Ottoman delegation at Lausanne in 1921, but fell out with Ismet Inönü. After Turkey's independence, he briefly flirted with politics, but largely retired from public life. Arrested in 1926 in the wake of an attempt on Mustafa *Kemal's life, he was convicted of sedition by a military tribunal and executed, although his real offense appears to have been posing a political challenge to Mustafa Kemal. During his lifetime, he published several authoritative textbooks on economics (4 vols., 1899–1901) and statistics (1909). Along with Rıza Tevfik and Ahmet Şuayip, he wrote for and edited the influential social sciences journal *Ulum-i İktisadiye ve İçtimâiye Mecmuası* (1908–11). His voluminous memoirs, serialized in the daily *Tanin* (1943–46), are an important primary source for this period.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Türk Ansiklopedisi* 10:37–39; Gövsa, *Türk Meşhurları*, 78.

[Paul Bessemer (2nd ed.)]

JAVITS, JACOB KOPPEL (1904–1986), U.S. lawyer and politician. Javits was born in New York City to poor, immigrant parents. After attending Columbia University and New York University Law School, Javits formed a law partnership with his brother (1927) and for the next several years practiced as a trial lawyer, gaining fame for his work in the 1933 bankruptcy case of Kreuger and Toll. In 1932 he joined the Ivy Republican Club – the beginning of what was to be a long association for him with both politics and the Republican Party. During World War II he served with the U.S. Army in Europe and the Pacific, rising to the rank of lieutenant colonel.

Upon his return to civilian life in 1946, Javits ran for a seat in the House of Representatives from the 21st Congressional District in Manhattan and won. He remained in the House, where he became a member of the Foreign Affairs Committee, until 1954, when he was elected attorney general of New York State. In 1956 he won election to the U.S. Senate and was reelected in 1962. He was elected to the Senate again in 1968 by a margin of over a million votes. An abortive attempt to gain the 1968 Republican vice presidential nomination, however – the first time a Jew ever openly aspired to such office – never materialized. He served in the Senate until 1980, when he lost his seat and returned to his law practice. At the same time, he also served as an adjunct professor of public affairs at the School of International Affairs at Columbia University.

As a politician, Javits' strength lay in his special appeal for liberal and Jewish voters, whose sympathies in New York were more often with the Democrats, but who regarded his voting record as one of the best in Congress. He consistently supported greater public aid to education, health, urban housing, the arts, and small business, and backed civil rights and fair-labor legislation, foreign aid, tariff liberalization, and curtailment of nuclear testing.

As a senior member of the Senate, Javits served on the powerful Foreign Relations Committee from 1969. A particularly warm friend of Israel, he repeatedly argued on the Senate floor that purely American interests should dictate that the U.S. support Israel as unequivocally as the U.S.S.R. supported the Arab states. He was active in a number of Jewish organizations, including the Zionist Organization of America, B'nai B'rith, the American Jewish Committee, the Federation of Jewish Philanthropies, and the America-Israel Cultural Foundation.

He wrote *American Policy in the Near East* (1953), *Discrimination – U.S.A.* (1960), *Order of Battle: A Republican's Call to Reason* (1964), *The Defense Sector and the American Economy* (with C. Hitch and A. Burns, 1968), *Who Makes War: The President vs. Congress* (with D. Kellermann, 1973), and *Javits: The Autobiography of a Public Man* (with R. Steinberg, 1981).

Named in his honor, the Jacob K. Javits Convention Center is located in Manhattan. Built in the 1980s, it is a large exhibition venue, covering five city blocks, that hosts a variety of major trade shows and conventions.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Viorst, in: *Esquire* (April 1966); *Time* (June 24, 1966), 25–29; Weaver, in: *New York Times Magazine* (April 4, 1965), 35ff.

[Harvard Sitkoff / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

JAWITZ, ZE'EV (1847–1924), writer and historian. Jawitz was born in Kolno to a wealthy family distinguished in lineage, scholarship, and piety. After an unsuccessful attempt at business, he devoted all his time to writing and scholarship. He contributed to Smolenskin's *Ha-Shaḥar* (in no. 11 (1882), 41–48).

Jawitz won public recognition with his article "*Migdal ha-me'ah*" ("Tower of the century," in S.P. Rabinowitz (ed.), *Keneset Yisrael*, 1 (1887); repr. in his *Toledot Yisrael*, 13 (1937), 189–250), a survey of Jewish history from the death of Mendelssohn in 1786 to the death of Montefiore in 1886. The work's originality lay in the author's command of sources in Hebrew and other languages; in the inner integrity of his approach, which was a mixture of Eastern European Judaism, the romanticism of Ḥibbat Zion, and the Judaism of Frankfurt Orthodoxy (often characterized by the phrase *Torah im derekh ereẓ*, in the sense of "Torah and secular learning"); and in his writing style, a combination of biblical and scholarly Hebrew.

Settling in Ereẓ Israel in 1888, Jawitz taught in Zikhron Ya'akov. His writings were widely published in Ereẓ Israel in such periodicals as *Haaretz, Peri ha-Areẓ* (1892), and *Ge'on ha-Areẓ* (2 vols., 1893–94). He also wrote several textbooks, including *Tal Yaldut* (1891), *Ha-Moriyyah* (1894), *Divrei ha-Yamim le-Am Benei-Yisrael* (1894), *Divrei Yemei ha-Ammim* (1893–94), and books in which he attempted to relate legends in biblical style, as in *Siḥot minni Kedem* (1887, 1927^2). His popular work *Neginot minni Kedem* (1892) appeared in several editions. In Ereẓ Israel, Jawitz was active on the Va'ad ha-Lashon, the committee responsible for developing Hebrew as a modern language. He and his brother-in-law, J.M. *Pines, contributed to the development of modern Hebrew by introducing linguistic elements from the literature of the Mishnah, Talmud, and Midrash, e.g., *tarbut* ("culture") and *kevish* ("road"). Jawitz left Palestine in 1894, moving to Vilna, to Germany, and later to London. For a short while he was active in the foundation of *Mizrachi in Russia and edited the monthly journal *Ha-Mizraḥ* (1903–04). Simultaneously, Jawitz continued his major work, *Toledot Yisrael…* (14 vols., 1895–1940; the first part appeared in Warsaw, and the last five parts were published by B.M. Lewin in Tel Aviv, 1932–40). The first six parts (comprising the first section) deal with the Jews in their land, from the Patriarchal Age to the end of the period of R. Judah ha-Nasi; the next eight parts deal with the Jews among the nations of the world, from the period of the *amoraim* to Ḥibbat Zion. Although Jawitz was not a modern historian, his contribution to Jewish historiography is distinctive and valuable in that he infused his historical account with commitment to Orthodoxy and love for Ereẓ Israel.

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in: S.K. Mirsky (ed.), *Ishim u-Demuyyot be-Ḥokhmat Yisrael…* (1959), 155–73; Waxman, Literature, 4 (1960), 153–4, 454, 727–35.

[Benzion Dinur (Dinaburg)]

JAY, ALLAN LOUIS NEVILLE (1931–), British fencer, 1960 Olympic Silver medalist in Individual and Team Epée. Born in London, Jay attended Oxford, where he was British epée champion in 1952. He was junior sabre champion in 1953 and was named captain of the school's fencing team in 1954. In 1959, he became world foil champion, and came in second in epée, the last person to obtain two medals in the same year. Jay was also British epée champion in 1959 and 1960. He competed in the Olympics in 1952, 1956, 1960, and 1964, winning the silver medal in Team and Individual Epée in 1960. Jay was British foil champion in 1963. He also won six gold medals in foil and epée events at the 1950 and 1953 Maccabiah Games. In addition, he won the gold medal at the 1966 Commonwealth Games in the individual and team foil events.

[Elli Wohlgelernter (2nd ed.)]

JAZER (Heb. יַעְזֵר), Amorite city E. of the Jordan. After the defeat of Sihon, king of the Amorites, Moses sent spies to explore Jazer and the Israelites later captured it (Num. 21:32). The Septuagint refers to Jazer on the border of Ammon (Num. 21:24). It belonged to the territory of the tribe of Gad (Num. 32:35; Josh. 13:25) within which it was a levitical city of the family of Merari (Josh., 21:39; I Chron. 6:66). Under David a governor from among the Hebronites was installed at Jazer (I Chron. 26:31); the city's status as an administrative center is confirmed by its enumeration between Aroer and Gilead in David's census (II Sam. 24:5). In later times it fell into the possession of the Moabites (Isa. 16:8–9; Jer. 48:32). Judah Maccabee captured the city during his campaigns east of the Jordan (I Macc. 5:8). Eusebius located Jazer eight or ten Roman miles west of Philadelphia (Rabbath-Ammon; Onom. 12:3; 104:13–14). It is usually identified with Khirbat al-Ṣār, 6 mi. (10 km.) west of Amman; G.M. Landes has suggested Khirbat al-Sīra, 1¼ mi. (2 km.) northeast of Amman.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Landes, in: BASOR, 144 (1956), 30ff.; Schmidt, in: ZDPV, 77 (1961), 46ff.; EM, S.V.

[Michael Avi-Yonah]

JAZIRAT IBN ʿUMAR, town located N. of *Mosul in northern *Iraq. During the reign of the *Abbāsid Caliphs and the Crusades, Jazīrat ibn ʿUmar was an important town which maintained close commercial ties with *Armenia. From the earliest times, a large Jewish population existed in this region which was known as "Kardu." *Benjamin of Tudela, in the second half of the 12th century, stated that there were 4,000 Jews residing there. He added that the town was located near the Ararat Mountains, where Noah's ark rested, and that ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb made a mosque out of the ark.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: J. Obermeyer, *Die Landschaft Babylonien* (1929), index; A. Ben-Jacob, *Kehillot Yehudei Kurdistan* (1961), 22, 24–25, 30.

[Eliyahu Ashtor]

JEALOUSY. Appearing some 80 times in the Bible, the root *kna* (*qn*ʾ; קנא) in its various derivatives is, in the standard translations of the Bible, most often related to the notion of "jealousy" (or "zeal"). More generally, it connotes any kind of emotional agitation resulting from a perceived threat to one's honor or sense of moral rectitude. Hence, it can be used in connection with God as well as with humans (Deut. 29:19; II Kings 19:31). It can be characterized as a grave human weakness (Prov. 14:30; Job 5:2) and also as a deep motivation for selfless acts of courage and devotion (Num. 11:29; 25:11; I Kings 19:10, 14).

Envious rivalry among men, the Bible records, is as old as the human race. Cain was distressed because the Lord paid more heed to his brother Abel's offering than to his own (Gen. 4:4), and Joseph's brothers were similarly distressed when Jacob, their father, favored Joseph (Gen. 37:4). Envy, too, was apparently behind Miriam and Aaron's speaking ill of Moses (Num. 12), as it was the motive of Korah's rebellion against Moses and Aaron (Num. 16). Interestingly enough, neither verbal forms of *qn*ʾ nor its cognates are used in connection with any of these incidents, indicating that envy is not coterminous with "jealousy." Accordingly, F. Kuechler suggested that *qn*ʾ primarily refers to the dark envy and suspicion arising from an erotic love relationship. In support of this view, he points to verses in the poetic books of the Bible (Prov. 6:34; 27:4; Song 8:6) and to the "ritual in cases of jealousy" described in the Book of Numbers (5:11–31). The latter is an ancient trial with some elements of the ordeal to test a wife suspected by her husband of an adulterous union (see *Ordeal of Jealousy). On the basis of these passages, Kuechler contends that the notion of God's *kinah* (*qin*ʾ*ah*) is also derived from *Hosea's erotic metaphors. The relationship between God and Israel, then, is like that of a lover and his beloved. He is jealous of her affections and demands her exclusive loyalty. It is noteworthy though that the root *qn*ʾ is not attested in Hosea. That divine "jealousy" is not restricted to Yahweh is shown by an Akkadian (Standard Babylonian dialect) text referring to the goddess Sarpanitum with the cognate verb *qenû*.

There is no reason to posit a late date for the epithet *el kanna* (*qanna*ʾ; *kanno, qanno*ʾ) which appears in early sources (Ex. 20:5; 34:14; Josh. 24:19). In fact, it seems to reflect one of the most characteristic features of the early Israelite conception of God whose presence never leaves man in repose, and who always supervenes either in moments of distress to save humans, or when humans behave as if there were no such presence. Just as the individual is jealous of his honor, so does God defend His against all who would ignore it. Since, moreover, it cannot be dissociated from His holiness, God's jealousy is manifested in a dual manner: loving concern for those who revere Him and consuming wrath toward those who set themselves against Him. It is possible for individuals, too, to be overcome by *qin*ʾ*ah* in or on God's behalf, in their single-minded devotion to His covenant (Num. 25:11–13; I Kings 19:10, 14; II Kings 10:16; Ps. 119:139).

[David L. Lieber / S. David Sperling (2nd ed.)]

In Talmudic Literature

In the talmudic literature the word *kinah* is found in both the senses in which it occurs in the Bible, as jealousy and as zeal for God. Many passages speak against jealousy, such as "whoever stirs up jealousy and strife in his home is regarded by the Bible as stirring up jealousy and strife in Israel as a whole" (ARN^{1} 28:85). Moses preferred to die a hundred deaths rather than to give way once to the feeling of jealousy (Deut. R. 9:9). Rabba b. Maḥasyah states in Rav's name: "A man should never single out one son among his other sons, for on account of the extra weight of two *sela'im* of silk which Jacob gave to Joseph and not to his other sons, his brothers became jealous of him, resulting in our forefathers' descent into Egypt" (Shab. 10b). R. Eleazar ha-Kappar said, "Jealousy… drives a man out of the world" (Avot 4:28), and those who do not envy are promised that their flesh will not become dust until before the resurrection (Shab. 152b). Jealousy is all-embracing, with one exception: "A person can feel jealousy and envy for everyone, except for his son and his disciple" (San. 105b). However, envy can have its positive side since it leads to emulation: "the envy of *soferim* [scholars] leads to the increase of wisdom" (BB 21a). In the same vein it is stated, "Were it not for jealousy no one would marrry or build a house" (Mid. Ps. 37:1), and had not Rachel envied the good deeds of her sister, she would not have borne children (Gen. R. 71:6). Zeal for God is highly praised: "Were it not for Abraham's zeal [*kinah*] for God, He would not have become the Possessor [*koneh*] of Heaven and Earth" (Mid. Ps. 37:1, based on Gen. 14:22). Phinehas and Elijah are singled out as exemplifying this zeal in the Bible, and Elijah is even regarded as the incarnation of Phinehas (PdRE 29, 47). According to one opinion Phinehas became priest as a reward for his zeal in slaying *Zimri (Zev. 101b). The Maccabees are later used as symbols of religious zeal: "The Holy One clothed Himself with seven garments. One was for the Greeks, as it says [Isa. 59:17],… and He was clad in zeal [*kinah*] as a cloak" – referring to the Hasmoneans (Mid. Ps. 93:1). Mattathias on his deathbed urged his sons to emulate the zeal of Phinehas and Elijah, calling Phinehas "our father" (I Macc. 2:54, 58), and Phinehas is thus regarded as the spiritual ancestor of the *Zealots (*kanna'im*). Nevertheless, Elijah is criticized for his excessive zeal, and the revelation to him at Horeb (I Kings 19:10–14) is interpreted as a censure of him for accusing instead of defending Israel (Song R. 1:6, 1). Jonah is criticized for being more zealous for the honor of Israel than for that of God (see TJ, Sanh. 11:7, 30b), but Jeremiah was praised for achieving a fine balance between the two (ARN^{2} 47, 129, Mekh. to 12:1).

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JEBENHAUSEN, village in Wuerttemberg, Germany. In 1777 nine Jewish families received a charter to settle and build a separate colony near the farming village. There was no restriction to the number of Jewish families, and the community, which enjoyed far-reaching autonomy, grew from 31 members in 1778 to 233 in 1804. Most families were notoriously poor at that time, seeking a livelihood from peddling. By the mid-19th century many had established themselves as merchants and factory owners, developing a flourishing textile and corset industry. There were 550 Jews living in Jebenhausen in 1845, 534 in 1854, 392 in 1862, and 151 in 1869. Between 1798 and 1870, more than 300 members of the community immigrated to America, mostly for lack of civil rights and economic prospects. After the revolution of 1848, when the larger cities in Wuerttemberg no longer refused Jews the right of residence, many left the village to settle in near-by Goeppingen, *Esslingen, or *Stuttgart. Jebenhausen was the seat of a rabbinate from 1778 to 1874, when it was transferred to Goeppingen. Only nine Jews lived in the village in 1899. The synagogue, built in 1804, was closed in 1899 and sold for demolition, and the community was formally dissolved. The members of the only remaining Jewish family were deported to *Theresienstadt in 1942 but survived. A Jewish museum was opened in Jebenhausen in 1992.

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[Stephan Rohrbacher (2nd ed.)]

JEBUS, JEBUSITE (Heb. יְבוּס, יְבוּסִי), one of the peoples of Canaan. The Jebusites are mentioned in the Bible in four different connections:

(1) In the "table of nations" (Gen. 10:15–19; cf. 1 Chron. 1:13–14) the Jebusite appears after Sidon and Heth as the third son of *Canaan. There may be an allusion to kinship or connection between Jebus and Heth in the Book of Ezekiel (16:3): "… Jerusalem … the Amorite was your father, and your mother a *Hittite." Some (unclear) ethnic reality is reflected by this combination.

(2) The Jebusites are mentioned in the lists of the peoples of Canaan driven out by the Israelites, lists appearing in the Bible more than a score of times (e.g., Gen. 15:21; Ex. 3:8, 17) and naming from six to ten nations. Invariably the Jebusites appear at the end of each list, and in most instances immediately after the *Hivites. The Jebusites' proximity to the Hivites may be due to the fact that both groups were thought to be related to the *Hurrians. That the Jebusites are always placed last may indicate that they were the last people to appear in Canaan and, since they were only found in Jerusalem, that they may have been the smallest in number of all the ethnic groups.

(3) The Jebusites are specially mentioned as the inhabitants of *Jerusalem, e.g., "the Jebusites, the inhabitants of Jerusalem" (Josh. 15:63), "and the Jebusite – the same is Jerusalem"

(18:28). Judges 19:11, however, refers to the Jebusites without mentioning Jerusalem: "When they were by Jebus" and "this city of the Jebusites." Although the name Jebus is widely attested in biblical stories set during part of the era of settlement, it is not attested in the documents of the *el-Amarna period (first half of 14th century B.C.E.), while Jerusalem is. It is possible that the Jebusites settled in Jerusalem in the 14th and 13th centuries B.C.E., not long before the settlement of the tribes of Israel in Canaan.

(4) The Israelite capture of Jerusalem and its conversion into the capital of David's kingdom at the beginning of his reign put an end to the autonomy of the Jebusites. The capture of the city as related in II Samuel 5:6–10 is surprisingly poor with regard to details. Such as are provided, "the lame and the blind" (5:6, 8 (bis)); and the *ẓinnor* (5:8) are unclear. The parallel in I Chronicles 11:4–9 seems to be an attempt to make sense of the difficult passages in Samuel. According to Chronicles, *Joab entered Jerusalem of the Jebusites, according to one opinion, by way of the water system – if "gutter" is the sense of *ẓinnor*, which some identify with "Warren's shaft" – that leads from the pool of Siloam. But the *ẓinnor* is absent from the Chronicler's account, and Joab is absent from the Samuel account. Clearly all Jebusite inhabitants were not destroyed because David bought a threshing floor from Araunah the Jebusite in order to build an altar (II Sam. 24: 18–24), and also because David may have integrated Jebusite craftsmen and officials into his service.

The origin of the Jebusites is obscure and there are many opinions on the subject. Some scholars, on the basis of the names of the kings connected with Jerusalem, see the origin of the Jebusites in the Hurrians. The first recorded king of Jerusalem dates from the el-Amarna era and bears the name Abdi ḥeb/pa(t), "servant of ḥeb/pa(t)," a name compounded from West Semitic *ʿabdu*, "servant," "slave," and the Hurrian mother goddess ḥeb/pa(t). The second extant name, *Araunah (II Sam. 24:18–24; I Chron. 21:18–25), the Jebusite, is taken by some as a corruption of the Hurrian word for a king (*ewri*, "lord"). Another view is that the Jebusites are related to the Semitic peoples because the Jebusites are mentioned among the peoples of Canaan, and the clearly Semitic *Adoni-Zedek, king of Jerusalem, headed the Amorite alliance against Joshua (Josh. 10). Others claim that the Jebusites are Amorites because their name is similar to the name Iâbu-sum, mentioned in sources dating from the beginning of the second millennium B.C.E. and found on the northwest border of Babylonia. Research has yet to determine clearly the origin of the Jebusites and the date of their settlement in Jerusalem.

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[Abraham Lebanon / S. David Sperling (2nd ed.)]

JEDAIAH (Heb. יְדַעְיָה; "YHWH has noted," or "YHWH has favored"), the name of two priestly ancestral houses mentioned in the list of heads of ancestral houses during the term of office of Joiakim the high priest. One is in the 17th place on the list (Neh. 12: 19) and the other in the last place (*ibid.* 21). The former is mentioned after the house of Joiarib (Jehoiarib), and it is possible that he is the one associated with Joiarib in other texts (I Chron. 9:10; 24:7); in Nehemiah 12:6 Jedaiah is listed as Joiarib's son. The other house of Jedaiah presumably includes (1) the sons of Jedaiah of the house of Jeshua, who total 973 (Ezra 2:36; Neh. 7:39), and head the list of four ancestral houses of priests that returned with Zerubbabel; and (2) Jedaiah who is last on the list of 23 heads of priestly houses that returned with Zerubbabel (Neh. 12:7); this list is, in fact, merely one of ancestral houses. However, the relationship between these two lists of priestly houses that returned with Zerubbabel is unclear.

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[Samuel Ephraim Loewenstamm]

JEDAIAH BEN ABRAHAM BEDERSI (**Ha-Penini**; probably born in the 1280s and died about 1340), poet and philosopher. Possibly a native of Béziers, Jedaiah is known to have spent time in Perpignan and Montpellier. Little is known of his personal history. He may have been a physician. Jedaiah's intellectual interests were literary and philosophic, although the two spheres were not clearly separated. In his youth, he composed a poetic prayer of 1,000 words titled "*Bakkashat ha-Memim*," every word of which begins with the letter *mem* (in *Olelot ha-Boḥen*, 1808). He is also credited with a similar composition, every word of which begins with *alef*, but many believe that this latter poem was written by Jedaiah's father. In popular style he composed *Ohev Nashim* ("In Defense of Women," ed. by A. Neubauer in *Jubelschrift… L. Zunz* (1884), pt. 1, 138–40; pt. 2, 1–19). His best-known literary work is *Sefer Beḥinat Olam* ("The Book of the Examination of the World"), a lyrical, ethical monograph on the theme of the futility and vanity of this world, and the inestimably greater benefits of intellectual and religious pursuits. *Beḥinat Olam*, written in florid prose and rich in imagery, combines philosophic doctrine and religious fervor with a good measure of asceticism and pessimism.

Published originally in Mantua between 1476 and 1480, the work has been reprinted numerous times. It has been translated into English (*Beḥinat Olam or An Investigation of… Organization of the World*, London, 1806), Latin, French, German, Polish, and Yiddish, and numerous commentaries have been written on it. Jedaiah also wrote *Sefer ha-Pardes* (Constantinople, 1516; reprinted by J. Luzzatto, in *Oẓar ha-Sifrut*, 3 (1889–90), 1–18), which consists of reflections on isolation from the world, divine worship, the behavior of judges, grammar, and astronomy. The last chapters deal with rhetoric and poetry. Jedaiah was the author of commentaries on various Midrashim (Paris, Bibliotheque Nationale, Ms. 738; De Rossi, 222), as well as a commentary on *Pirkei Avot* (Escorial, Ms. G. IV, 3). He may also have written a supercommentary on *Ibn Ezra's commentary on Genesis (see Steinschneider, Cat Bod., 1283).

Jedaiah wrote a number of works which are more strictly scientific and philosophical. He was the author of explanatory notes on Avicenna's *Canon* (Bodleian Library, Ms. Mich. Add. 14, and Mich. 135), and on Averroes' commentary on Aristotle's *Physics* (Steinschneider, Uebersetzungen, 109; HB, 12 (1872) 37). A number of Jedaiah's philosophical works are found in manuscript 984 of the Hebrew manuscript collection of the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris (see S. Munk, in *Archives Israélites* (1847), 67–72): *Ha-De'ot ba-Sekhel ha-Ḥomri* ("Theories Concerning the Material Intellect"), an epitome of Aristotle's *De Anima; Ketav ha-Da'at* ("Treatise on the Intellect"), a paraphrase of *Sefer ha-Sekhel ve-ha-Muskalot*, the Hebrew translation of al *Fārābī's *Kitāb al-'Aql wa al-Ma'aqulat* ("Treatise on the Intellect"); *Ma'amar be-Hafkhei ha-Mahalakh* ("Treatise on Opposite Motions"), in which Jedaiah criticizes the views of another scholar, whose name he never mentions, concerning *Averroes' commentary on Aristotle's *De Caelo* Bk. 1, ch. 4; and *Ketav ha-Hitaẓẓemut* ("Book of Confutation"), a refutation of the scholar's reply to Jedaiah's *Ma'amar be-Hafkhei ha-Mahalakh*. It has recently been suggested that this scholar is Levi ben Gershom (see R. Glasner, *A Fourteenth-Century Scientific-Philosophical Controversy*). This same manuscript contains a treatise titled *Ma'amar ha-Dan ba-Ẓurot ha-Peratiyyot o Ishiyyot* ("A Treatise Upon Personal or Individual Forms"), which deals with the problem of whether individuals of the same species differing in accidents also differ in their essential forms. In this latter treatise there is reference made to another essay by Jedaiah, *Midbar Kedemot*, which is a commentary on the 25 propositions with which Maimonides opens the second part of the *Guide of the Perplexed*. This treatise is no longer extant.

It has recently been suggested that Jedaiah was influenced by Christian scholasticism (see S. Pines, *Scholasticism After Thomas Aquinas and the Teachings of Ḥasdai Crescas and His Predecessors* (1967), 1–5, 52–89). Jedaiah's contention in *Ma'amar ha-Dan ba-Ẓurot ha-Peratiyyot o Ishiyyot* that individuals of the same species differ in their essential forms reflects the position of Duns Scotus and his disciples on the question of personal forms. Even his arguments are similar to those employed by the Scotists (see also John *Duns Scotus). In *Ma'amar be-Hafkhei ha-Mahalakh* and *Ketav ha-Hitaẓẓemut*, Jedaiah maintains that the mathematical concepts of number, of one, of the discrete, and the continuous, have no existence outside the soul or the intellect. This theory resembles that of the Nominalists, i.e., William of Ockham, his predecessors and disciples, more than the views of any Jewish or Arabic thinkers. While chronologically it is impossible that Jedaiah was influenced by William of Ockham himself, it appears likely that he was influenced by some of his predecessors. As yet, however, no conclusive evidence has been advanced to demonstrate this influence.

Jedaiah is also known for his *Iggeret ha-Hitnaẓẓelut* ("The Apologia," in *She'elot u-Teshuvot… Rabbenu Shelomo ben Adret* (Venice, 1545), 67a–75b; printed separately, Lemberg, 1809; reprinted Warsaw, 1882). In this epistle, addressed to Solomon b. Abraham *Adret, after the latter's pronouncement of the ban on philosophic study in Barcelona in 1305, Jedaiah attempted to exonerate the Jewish communities of Provence of the charges of heresy and disrespect to the Torah which had been leveled against them by Adret, as well as to argue the benefits of religious belief which result from the study of philosophy. Greek philosophy, Jedaiah points out, provided the scientific basis for belief in God's unity and incorporeality, and in man's free will. Adret's major accusation against the Jews of Provence was that they denied the historicity of the Torah by interpreting it entirely as an allegory. Jedaiah argued that in their allegorical interpretations these scholars were merely following the teachings of Maimonides. If they were guilty of anything it was of making these interpretations known to the masses.

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[Abraham Solomon Halkin / Ruth Glasner (2nd ed.)]

JEDIDIAH (Amadio) BEN MOSES OF RECANATI (or **Rimini**; 16th century), scholar and translator. Jedidiah worked as a private tutor in various Italian towns. In 1566 he made a copy (and not a translation, as Neubauer assumes) of *Sefer Piskei Halakhot* by Moses ibn Danon (Bodleian Library, Ms. Bodl. Or. 620). The other parts of this manuscript may also be Jedidiah's work (see also Bodleian Library, Ms. Mich. 259). He translated Ibn *Tibbon's Hebrew translation of *Maimonides' *Guide of the Perplexed* into Italian, under the title "Erudizione de' confusi" (Parma, De Rossi, cod. Ital. 5, Richler 1259; Berlin, Or. 4°, 487), dedicated to Immanuel (Menahem Azarijah) mi-Fano. Both manuscripts, written between 1581 and 1583, are in Hebrew script; in the introduction, Jedidiah clarifies that he intended to help the Jewish students to understand difficult works and expressions. Excerpts from this translation were published by A. Guetta (see Bibl.). Jedidiah also translated the Book of Judith from the Latin into Hebrew, adding to it a Hebrew poem in which he summarizes the contents (Schoenblum, *Catalogue de 135 manuscrits hébreux de la collection Schoenblum* (1885), 10; Ms. acquired by Kaufmann but not contained in Weiss's list). Other works by Jedidiah are: *Ketavim u-Meliẓot*, a collection of letters (Bodleian Library, Ms. Opp. Add. 8°, 38); *Turgeman*, a Hebrew-Italian glossary of the Bible (Bodleian Library, Ms. Reg. 15, dating from 1597; it is not known whether Ms. 642 of the Guenzburg collection contains the same glossary, or an Italian Bible translation); and an abridgment of Elijah Mizrahi's commentary on Rashi (Parma, De Rossi 288, Richler 669). An Oxford manuscript (Bodleian Library, Ms. Mich. Add. 67) contains a halakhic opinion by Jedidiah, and an opinion rendered by him is quoted by Shabbetai Be'er in *Be'er Esek* (Venice, 1674). A number of mathematical remarks found in the Schoenblum manuscript, mentioned above, bear Jedidiah's signature and the date 1573.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: G. Sacerdote, in: *Rendiconti della Reale Accademia dei Lincei* (1892), 308–25; D. Kaufmann, in: JQR, 11 (1898/99), 662–70; idem, in: *Archiv für Geschichte der Philosophie*, 11 (1897–98), 365–68; Kaufmann, Schriften, 2 (1910), 181–3; Steinschneider, Cat Bod, 1719, 1735; idem, *Die Handschriften-Verzeichnisse der Koeniglichen Bibliothek zu Berlin*, 1 (1878), 33; idem, in: MGWJ, 43 (1899), 33–34; Steinschneider, Uebersetzungen, 922; Neubauer, Cat, 173, 530, 749, 850; U. Cassuto, *Ha-Yehudim be-Firenze bi-Tekufat ha-Renaissance* (1967), 182. A. Guetta, in: P.C. Ioly Zorattini (ed.), *Percorsi di storia ebraica* (2005), 281–303.

[Umberto (Moses David) Cassuto / Alessandro Guetta (2nd ed.)]

JEDRZEJOW (Pol. **Jędrzejów**; Rus. **Andreyev**), town in Kielce province, S. central Poland. Jewish settlement there was prohibited until 1862, when Jewish families from the surrounding townlets and villages arrived in Jedrzejow. With the impetus given to the town's economy by the opening of the railroad station in 1884, the Jewish population rapidly increased. It numbered approximately 2,050 (45% of the total population) in 1897. The majority engaged in small-scale trading and the traditional crafts, and some were occupied in the grain and timber trade. Jews with capital established timber and flour mills and mechanical workshops. The community was organized during the 1880s. The first rabbi to hold office in Jedrzejow was Moses Mincberg. At the close of the 19th century, *Alexandrow Hasidism (Danziger dynasty) had the widest influence in the community. A Zionist committee was established in 1902, and the local *Po'alei Zion, organized in 1906. During the first weeks of Polish rule after the end of World War I there was a wave of anti-Jewish riots in the vicinity of Jedrzejow. According to the census of 1921, there were approximately 4,600 Jews living in Jedrzejow (about 40% of the total population). Between the two world wars all the Zionist organizations were active in the town, and several groups of youth immigrated to Erez Israel. During the 1930s, with the mounting antisemitism, the struggle of the Jews to retain their economic positions in Jedrzejow became increasingly severe. In 1936 five Jews were murdered in the village of Stawy, near Jedrzejow.

The Hebrew novelist Israel *Zarchi was born in Jedrzejow.

[Arthur Cygielman]

Holocaust Period

The German army entered on Sept. 4, 1939. In the spring of 1940 an "open" ghetto was established. In January 1941 about 600 Jews in the vicinity were concentrated in Jedrzejow. During the summer of 1942 another 2,000 Jews were transferred to the town from other towns nearby, increasing the Jewish population to about 6,000. The entire Jewish population was deported in an *Aktion* on Sept. 16, 1942, to *Treblinka death camp and only 200 men remained in a camp established inside the former ghetto. In February 1943 all 200 were deported or shot, and Jedrzejow was proclaimed "*Judenrein*." A number of Jews had succeeded in escaping from the ghetto before the *Aktion* took place but only a few survived in hiding; most of them were murdered by Polish gangs. After the war the Jewish community in Jedrzejow was not renewed. Organizations of former Jedrzejow residents exist in Israel, the U.S.A., Canada, and Argentina.

[Stefan Krakowski]

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JEDUTHUN (יְדוּתוּן, יְדִיתוּן), head of a family of singers, whom David singled out from among the levites (I Chron. 25:1). His song was considered the expression of prophetic inspiration: "Jeduthun with the harp, who prophesied in giving thanks and praising the Lord" (I Chron. 25:3; cf. 6:41). He was also known as "the king's seer" (II Chron. 35:15). I Chronicles 16:42 points out that part of the family was "at the gate" of the Temple and refers to the fact that levites acted both as singers and gatekeepers. The name Ethan replaces that of Jeduthun in I Chronicles 15:17; according to one view, Jeduthun and Ethan were one person. Japhet (442–43) attributes the change of name to the homiletic purposes of the Chronicler. The link and relation between Jeduthun and the term *Jeduthun* in Psalms 39:1; 62:1; 77:1 is obscure.

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[Samuel Ephraim Loewenstamm]

°JEFFERSON, THOMAS (1743–1826), third president of the United States. The foremost advocate of religious freedom among the American founding fathers, Jefferson derived his political philosophy from the doctrine of natural law, viewing every man as endowed by nature with the same inalienable rights. As early as 1776 he sought the repeal of Virginia's law on disabilities for Dissenters and Jews. It was not until 1786, however, after having served as governor of the state, that he succeeded in passing his Bill for Establishing Religious Freedom, which served as a precedent for the freedom of religion clause passed by the Federal Constitutional Convention in 1787. A deist by conviction and strong advocate of the separation of church and state, Jefferson wrote to Jacob *De La Motta in 1820 that he was "happy in the restoration of the Jews to their social rights." In 1826, after having founded the University of Virginia, he wrote to Isaac *Harby to denounce the university for tending to exclude Jews by requiring "a course in theological reading which their consciences do not permit them to pursue."

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[Aaron Lichtenstein]

JEHIEL BEN JOSEPH OF PARIS (d.c. 1265), French talmudist and tosafist. Jehiel studied at the yeshivah of *Judah b. Isaac (Sir Leon), together with Isaac b. Moses of Vienna, and succeeded Judah b. Isaac upon his death. He was renowned both for his scholarship and his upright character, and was held in esteem by Jews and non-Jews alike. Jehiel was the leading Jewish protagonist in the famous *Disputation of Paris held at the court of Louis IX, arising from charges of the apostate, Nicholas Donin, that the Talmud reviled Christianity and contained references which were in conflict with the Bible. (The account of the disputation has been preserved in "*Vikku'aḥ Rabbenu Yeḥiel mi-Paris*" (Thorn, 1873. The text with a Latin translation is included in the *Tela Ignea Satanae* of C.R. *Wagenseil (1681)). As an outcome of the disputation, copies of the Talmud were publicly burned in Paris in 1242. Jehiel continued to head the Paris academy, where students were apparently taught from memory. In about 1260 he emigrated with a large number of his disciples to Ereẓ Israel, settled in Acre, then under the rule of the Crusaders, and opened a yeshivah, which became known as the "*midrash ha-gadol*" of Paris. It was Jehiel's intention, according to *Estori ha-Parḥi, to offer in Jerusalem such sacrifices as were halakhically permissible after the destruction of the Temple (*Kaftor va-Feraḥ*, ed. A.M. Luncz (1899), 81–82). The only extant responsa of Jehiel are the few which appear in the works of his contemporaries. It is known that he compiled *tosafot* to various tractates, and there is also reference to his "*Sefer Dinim*," an adaptation of which exists in manuscript. JOSEPH, Jehiel's son, was imprisoned for some time, apparently in connection with the banning of the Talmud; he emigrated with his father to Palestine. Jehiel died in Acre.

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[Israel Moses Ta-Shma]

JEHIEL MEIR (Lifschits) OF GOSTYNIN (1816–1888), rabbi and ḥasidic *ẓaddik*, known as the "Good Jew of Gostynin." Jehiel Meir was a pupil of Menahem Mendel of *Kotsk and Jacob Aryeh Gutterman of *Radzymin. After unsuccessfully engaging in trade, on the advice of Menahem Mendel of Kotsk in 1878 he became rabbi of Gostynin. His reputation for goodness and holiness was such that even in his youth he was called "one of the 36 *ẓaddikim*." The hypercritical Kotsk Ḥasidim honored him for his unsophisticated simplicity. His modest way of life gained him the love of the simple folk. He took no rewards (*pidyonot*) and gave his own money to charity. Jehiel Meir devoted much of his teaching to the Psalms and advised repeating them as the most potent form of prayer, becoming known as the "Psalm Jew" (Yid. *Der Tilim Yid*). After the death of Jacob Aryeh of Radzymin he became ḥasidic leader in Gostynin. His teachings were collected in *Merom ha-Rim* (1892) and *Mei ha-Yam* (n.d.). His son ISRAEL MOSES succeeded him in Proskurov. The personality of Jehiel Meir and his way of life left a deep impression. Shalom *Asch's historical novel *Salvation* is based upon his life.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: J.H. Goldshlag, *Merom ha-Rim* (1892, repr. 1965); A.I. Bromberg, *Mi-Gedolei ha-Ḥasidut*, 11 (1956).

[Zvi Meir Rabinowitz]

JEHIEL MICHAEL ("Michel") BEN ABRAHAM MEIR OF CIFER (d. 1844), Polish and Hungarian rabbi. After serving as rabbi in some communities of Poland, where he was born, Jehiel was appointed to Cifer near Bratislava. He was the author of *Ḥayyei Olam* (Vienna, 1830) on talmudic topics and the Shulḥan Arukh, *Yoreh De'ah*, and *Derekh Ḥayyim* (Pressburg, 1837) on the laws of Passover in the *Tur Oraḥ Ḥayyim*. The latter is in two parts – *Derekh ha-Kaẓar*, containing novellae from the responsa of the earlier authorities, and *Derekh ha-Arokh*, in which he ingeniously attempted to solve the difficulties raised by *David b. Samuel ha-Levi in his *Turei Zahav* and the *Magen Avraham* of Abraham Gombiner on the Shulḥan Arukh and *Maimonides' *Mishneh Torah*. Jehiel Michael was accused of plagiarizing the *Magen ha-Elef* of Aryeh Leib Zunz (published in the *Sar ha-Elef* (Warsaw, 1817) of Jonathan *Eybeschuetz) in his *Derekh Ḥayyim*, but his defenders point to his original contributions. In the introduction to the *Ḥayyei Olam*, he mentions two other works that have not been published.

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[Yehoshua Horowitz]

JEHIEL MICHAEL ("Michel") BEN ELIEZER (d. 1648), rabbi and kabbalist, who lived in Nemirov (the Ukraine). Jehiel's cousin Isaac praised his talmudic and kabbalistic knowledge as well as his mastery of secular sciences (introduction to *Shivrei Luḥot*). Jehiel at first regarded the *Chmielnicki persecutions as a presage of the coming messianic era. As the Cossacks came nearer to his community he exhorted its members to stay firm in their faith. During the massacre at Nemirov he and his mother were dragged to the Jewish cemetery and murdered there on the 22nd (according to others the 20th) of Sivan (1648). Jehiel's martyrdom is mentioned in the elegies composed by *Shabbetai b. Meir ha-Kohen and Yom

Tov Lipmann *Heller in memory of the 1648 persecutions. Jehiel was the author of a work on the *Al-Tikrei* interpretations of the Talmud. A large part of the manuscript has been lost; the remaining fragment was published by his nephew as *Shivrei Luḥot* (Lublin, 1680). Part of his commentary on the Pentateuch and *Al-Tikrei* interpretations were republished together with the commentary *Amarot Tehorot* by Ḥayyim Selig Goldschlag (Warsaw, 1911). Jehiel is also mentioned in *Korban Shabbat* (Dyhrenfuerth, 1691, 10b–11a) by Bezalel b. Solomon of Kobrin.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: J. Gurland, *Le-Korot ha-Gezerot al-Yisrael*, 2 (1888), 13–14; 5 (1650), 30–31; 7 (1892), 32; Graetz, Gesch, 10 (18963), 64; Fuenn, Keneset, 526; S. Bernfeld, *Sefer ha-Dema'ot*, 3 (1926), 117, 169 f., 177, 204.

[Samuel Abba Horodezky]

JEHIEL MICHAEL (**"Michel"**) **BEN JUDAH LEIB HE-ḤASID** (1680–1728), rabbi, known as R. Michel Ḥasid. Jehiel Michael served as rabbi of Zlotow and other Polish communities before being invited to become head of the Berlin yeshivah, and in 1714, with the approval of King Frederick William I, he was appointed to succeed his brother-in-law, Aaron b. Isaac Benjamin Wolf, as rabbi of Berlin. When Aaron died in 1721, Jehiel was also appointed to the rabbinate of Frankfurt on the Oder and its district, which had been separated from that of Berlin during Aaron's lifetime. In 1718 Frederick William I was present at the consecration of the new synagogue in Berlin and Jehiel recited a special prayer in his honor. Jehiel was attracted to Kabbalah and copied kabbalistic manuscripts. At first he favored Nehemiah *Ḥayon, one of the adherents of Shabbetai Ẓevi, but when he became aware of Ḥayon's chicanery, he became one of the strenuous opponents of Shabbateanism. At a conference of rabbis in Frankfurt on the Oder in 1726 over which he presided, he placed the Shabbateans and their suspect literature, which had made its appearance from 1666 onward, under a ban. Jehiel refrained from giving esoteric interpretations of the *aggadot* for "fear of heresy."

He wrote novellae to the tractates *Megillah* (printed in the Talmud, ed. Berlin, 1714) and *Rosh Ha-Shanah* (in the Amsterdam Talmud, 1726); glosses in the *Kol Yehudah* (Amsterdam, 1729) of Judah of Glogau and in the *Asefat Ḥakhamim* (Offenbach, 1722) of Israel Isserl; and *Yofi Mikhal*, notes and comments to Samuel Jaffe's commentary, *Yefeh Mareh* (Constantinople, 1587), on the *aggadot* of the Jerusalem Talmud (Berlin, 1725–26). These commentaries were also published in *Aggadot Yerushalmi*, part one (1863). These supplements by Jehiel to Jaffe's work were merely an extract from a larger work on that subject, but when he saw that Jaffe's commentary was very popular, he published that in full and abridged his own work.

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[Yehoshua Horowitz]

JEHIEL MICHAEL (**"Michel"**) **OF ZLOCZOW** (c. 1731–1786), one of the early propagators of Ḥasidism in Galicia. He was born in Brody, the son of Isaac of Drogobych. It is related that on Jehiel's first visit to the Ba'al Shem Tov, the latter commanded that Jehiel be honored. After the death of the Ba'al Shem, Jehiel was one of the few disciples who accepted the leadership of *Dov Baer, the *maggid* of Mezhirech. He served as preacher in Brody where he was among the members of the celebrated *kloiz* (*klaus*). Later he became preacher in Zloczow, and toward the end of his life settled in Yampol, Podolia.

Jehiel was highly esteemed among the Ḥasidim and miraculous tales are related of his saintliness and asceticism, but he was strongly opposed by the *Mitnaggedim*. His distinctive spirituality is recalled by one of his disciples, who states that "it little mattered whether he had before him a *Gemara* or a kabbalistic text, for Jehiel saw in them only the means of serving God" (*Likkutei Yekarim*, 1872, 31b). In accordance with ḥasidic views, he considered the principle of **devekut* ("devotion" to God) to be of major importance and remarked that the way to attain this state was through the negation of reality (i.e., ecstasy). There are two roads to *devekut*. The positive way is to stand in fear and shame before the greatness of the Creator and hence through prayer, study, and good deeds to find the state of true love. Diligence in these practices will eventually lead to *devekut*. The negative way is through a denial of all physical desire. Jehiel Michael constantly preached on the need to uproot evil characteristics and destroy physical lusts. He knew that this way to *devekut* was difficult, for God had created man different from His own essence and therefore man could not maintain a constant state of *devekut*. Since the danger of his sinking into his physical nature was anticipated, God had imbued him with the will to achieve union with his source (i.e., God). Man's task is to conquer the material world and to view it not as the purpose of life but as a means of discovering that divinity which is reflected in the material and enlivens it. In this teaching, Jehiel Michael follows Dov Baer of Mezhirech, but he saw that this way was the most perilous for the ordinary man. He did not believe that constant *devekut* was possible for every man while he was engaged in physical activity, therefore he advised that physical acts be preceded by meditation on the Divine Creator.

When preaching he would begin his sermons: "I do not only command and admonish you but myself as well…" (*Or ha-Meir*, on *Ẓav*). The true preacher, Jehiel believed, was the man who felt that he was merely a mouthpiece of the *Shekhinah* ("Divine Presence") and not a man who spoke in his own voice. His disciple attests that he "spoke at length and explained his statements several times" (*Likkutei Yekarim*, 28b). Jehiel Michael did not leave any writings of his own. Selections from his sermons were published in the anthology *Likkutei Yekarim*, as the sermons of "the Maggid Meisharim" of Yampol. Tradition attributes many sayings to him and stories about his wondrous deeds appear in various collections. Jehiel Michael was the founder of a dynasty of *ẓaddikim* which spread throughout Galicia and the Ukraine. He had five sons:

Joseph of Yampol, Mordecai of Kremenets (teacher of *Meir of Przemyslany and father-in-law of Aaron II of *Karlin), Isaac of Radzivilov (author of *Or Yiẓḥak*, 1961), Moses of Vladimir-Volnyski, and Ze'ev Wolf of Zbarazh.

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[Moshe Hallamish]

JEHOAHAZ (Heb. יְהוֹאָחָז, יוֹאָחָז; "YHWH has grasped"), son of *Jehu, king of Israel c. 814–800 B.C.E. According to II Kings 13:1, Jehoahaz reigned for 17 years, while according to the synchronism made between his reign and that of Joash king of Judah, it is evident that he only reigned 14 years. It might therefore be assumed that Jehoahaz reigned together with his father Jehu during his last three years. (Another possibility is a shift in the dating system (see *Chronology). Although the writer of II Kings 13:2 classifies him as a sinner in the mold of Jeroboam son of Nebat, he observes (13:4) that Jehoahaz implored YHWH, who brought (an unnamed) savior to deliver Israel in response to the prayer of the king. This is the only story in Kings of a northern king imploring YHWH. Nonetheless, it gains credibility because something quite similar is said of Zakkur of Hamath who successfully cried out to his god Baalhamayn during a siege (Cogan and Tadmor, 143–44). He reigned during a time of decline and degradation in the kingdom of Israel. By the end of Jehu's reign, *Hazael king of Aram had occupied Transjordan, and in 813 B.C.E. (the last year of Jehu's reign and the first of Jehoahaz to reign alone) Hazael launched a military campaign which brought him as far south as Aphek on the border of Philistia (according to the addition in the Lucian version of the LXX to II Kings 13:23). At that time, or a short while later, it seems that Jehoahaz became a vassal of Aram – during the reigns of Hazael and his son *Ben-Hadad III, who exercised sovereignty over the whole of Syria and Palestine. The latter extended and imposed the authority of Aram up to the borders of Egypt. The Arameans left Jehoahaz with only "fifty horsemen, and ten chariots, and ten thousand footmen, for the king of Aram had destroyed them and made them like the dust at threshing" (II Kings 13:7). The prophecy of Amos 1:3, 13, concerning the cruelty of the Arameans and the Ammonites in the land of Gilead, probably refers to this period (cf. II Kings 8:12). The decline of Israel in the period is also evident from the series of prophetic stories concerning Elisha (II Kings 5–7), which describe the subordination of the "king of Israel" to the "king of Aram." There is no doubt that the unnamed "king of Israel" was Jehoahaz (and not Jehoram son of Ahab) and that "Ben-Hadad" (6:24) was not Ben-Hadad II (the contemporary of Ahab and Jehoram), but Ben-Hadad III, son of Hazael.

According to the prophetic story, Ben-Hadad besieged Samaria, and it was only saved after "the Lord had made the army of Aram hear the sound of chariots, and of horses, the sound of a great army, so that they said to one another, 'Behold, the king of Israel has hired against us the kings of the Hittites and the kings of Egypt to come against us.' So they fled away in the twilight and forsook their tents, their horses…" (II Kings 7:6–7); i.e., the deliverance is in this instance explained by the fear of the Arameans of an attack from the north (the kings of the Hittites, led by Hamath) or from the south (the Egyptian Pharaohs). However, the deliverance of Israel is due to the campaigns of Assyria into northern Syria of Adad-Nirari III. These campaigns began in 805 B.C.E. and continued until 802 B.C.E., their principal objective being the weakening of the Aramean supremacy in northern (the region of Arpad) and central Syria. The permanent liberation of Israel from the Aramean oppressor only came with the defeat of Ben-Hadad III by Adad-Nirari, in 796 B.C.E. during the second campaign of Adad-Nirari III into southern Syria (against Menṣuate), i.e., at the beginning of the reign of *Jehoash son of Jehoahaz. It is likely that the writer of II Kings 13:5 preferred not to name an Assyrian king as the deliverer of Israel and purposely left him anonymous. B. Mazar attributes the Samarian Ostraca to Jehoahaz' reign; he sees in them the evidence of an expansion of the kingdom of Jehoahaz, from the time when he began to liberate himself from the yoke of Aram. (For other opinions on the date of the Samarian Ostraca, see: *Samaria.)

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[Hayim Tadmor / S. David Sperling (2nd ed.)]

JEHOAHAZ (Heb. יְהוֹאָחָז, יוֹאָחָז; "YHWH has grasped"), son of *Josiah and Hamutal daughter of Jeremiah of Libnah (II Kings 23:31), king of Judah (609 B.C.E.). At first his name was Shallum (Jer. 22:11) but it was later changed to Jehoahaz, apparently when he was made king. The new name with the theophoric element referring to YHWH may be a reflection of the reforming spirit of Josiah. In the genealogical list of the descendants of David in I Chronicles 3:15, Shallum is entered as the fourth son of Josiah, whereas the first born was Johanan. It seems probable therefore that despite the Septuagint, which reads Jehoahaz instead of Johanan in I Chronicles 3:15, Jehoahaz was not the first born and that the *Am ha-Areẓ* ("People of the land") deliberately gave him precedence (II Chron. 36:1). Jehoahaz was made king, at the age of 23, in the summer of 609 B.C.E., after Josiah his father had been killed in the battle against Pharaoh *Necoh at Megiddo. It has been suggested that he was the nominee of the circles which favored the alliance with the ascending Neo-Babylonian Kingdom – bitter enemies of Assyria – who were hostile to Egypt's attempt to save Assyria from total destruction. Three months later, when Necoh returned from fighting the Babylonians and their allies – the Medes (from the district of Haran) – he deposed Jehoahaz and put his elder brother Eliakim, i.e., *Jehoiakim, in his place (II Kings 23:33–34; II Chron. 36:3–4). Accordingly, Jehoahaz reigned from about Tammuz to Tishri of that year (609 B.C.E.). Possibly the notice that "he did evil in the eyes of YHWH" (II King 23:2) is inspired by the needs of theodicy to account for the shortness of his reign. It would seem that the tradition of II Kings 23:33, which says that Jehoahaz was deposed at Riblah in the land of Hamath, is to be preferred to that of II Chronicles 36:3, according to which he was deposed in Jerusalem. It is probable that Jehoahaz came before Necoh at Riblah, where his temporary headquarters were, in order to humble himself, but that Necoh did not accept his submission. He imposed a monetary fine of "a hundred talents of silver and a talent of gold" upon Judah (II Kings 23:33). This fine was paid by Jehoiakim, who collected it from the *Am ha-Areẓ* (*ibid.* 23:33–35). The tragic fate of Jehoahaz son of Josiah, who was exiled to Egypt and died there, served as the subject of an elegy by Jeremiah (Jer. 22: 10–12) and later by Ezekiel (Ezek. 19:4). An (unprovenanced) seal with the image of a rooster, dated paleographically to the late seventh or early sixth century B.C.E., reads: *lyhwʾḥz bn hmlk*, "belonging to Jehoahaz son of the king."

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Bright, Hist, 303; Tadmor, in: JNES, 15 (1956), 226–30; Vogt, in: VT, Supplement, 4 (1957), 92–97; S. Yeivin, in: *Tarbiz*, 14 (1941), 264–5; Malamat, in: IEJ, 18 (1968), 137–44. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** N. Avigad, *Eretz Israel*, 9 (1969), 9; B. Cogan and H. Tadmor, *II Kings* (AB; 1988), 303–4; S. Ahituv, *Handbook of Ancient Hebrew Inscriptions* (1992), 118.

[Hayim Tadmor]

JEHOASH (Heb. יְהוֹאָשׁ, יוֹאָשׁ; "The Lord has given"), son of Jehoahaz, king of Israel (reigned 801–785 B.C.E.). Jehoash shared the throne with his father for two years or more. When the resumption of King Adad-Nirari III of Assyria's military campaigns in Syria toward the end of the eighth century B.C.E. weakened the power of *Aram, Jehoash determined to free Israel from Aramean control. The decisive stimulus for the liberation of Israel's territories to the east of the Jordan came in 796 with Adad-Nirari's campaign against Manṣuate in the Lebanon valley (*Massyas* according to Strabo 16:2, 18); at that time, the king of Assyria also attacked Damascus, defeated the Aramean armies, and exacted a heavy tribute from Ben-Hadad III, the king of Aram. The subsequent wars of Aphek (Alphikh, east of Lake Kinneret) appear to have completely broken the strength of Aram. Elisha's prophecy to Jehoash (made just before the prophet's death; II Kings 13:14–19) that the king would defeat Aram at Aphek should be interpreted against this background. It appears that Jehoash then recognized the sovereignty of Assyria, his natural ally in the war against Aram, a conjecture substantiated by an Assyrian inscription from Tel-el-Rimah in which Jehoash (written Ia'asu) of Samaria is mentioned among those paying tribute to Adad-Nirari (Cogan and Tadmor, 335). The countries subdued by the above campaign are also listed in Adad-Nirari's inscription from Calah (Nimrud). They were: Tyre, Sidon, "the land of Omri" (i.e., Israel), Edom, and Philistia (A.K. Grayson, RIMA 3, 212–13).

The relationship between Jehoash and *Amaziah, king of Judah, is not clear. Israel and Judah may have formed an alliance with the aim of conquering Edom – similar to the alliance between Jehoshaphat and Ahab – but then, for some unknown reason, the two kings quarreled. According to a late story in II Chronicles 25:6, before Amaziah went to war against Edom he hired 100,000 soldiers from Israel; but II Kings 14:8–10 relates that after the conquest of Edom, Amaziah challenged Jehoash: "Then Amaziah sent messengers to Jehoash… to say, come let us meet together." In the battle between the armies of Judah and Israel near Beth-Shemesh, Amaziah was defeated and taken prisoner. Jehoash entered Jerusalem, looted the palace and Temple treasuries, and broke down the city wall for a distance of 400 cubits "from the gate of Ephraim unto the corner gate" as a symbol of its surrender (II Kings 14:13). Shortly after his victory Jehoash died, in the 15th year of Amaziah's reign (785 B.C.E.). From the chronological data concerning the reign of his son *Jeroboam, it appears that father and son reigned jointly during Jehoash's last years.

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[Hayim Tadmor]

JEHOIACHIN (Heb. יְהוֹיָכִין; "YHWH will establish"; also: Joiachin, Jeconiah, Jechoniah, Coniah; in Babylonian Akkadian documents Ia-ʾ-kin), king of Judah. He ascended the throne at the height of the rebellion against Babylon, when he was 18 years old (II Kings 24:8; the version in II Chron. 36:9, which states that he was only eight at the time is difficult), and reigned for three months (II Chron. 36:9 adds another ten days). In the winter of 597 B.C.E. Nebuchadnezzar exiled him, along with his mother, family, officers, slaves, and 10,000 captives – including craftsmen and smiths – to Babylon (II Kings 24:12ff.), setting up Zedekiah in his place. It seems that Jehoiachin's mother Nehushta, daughter of Elnathan, was very influential in the palace, for she is mentioned in the Bible several times (II Kings 24:12, 15; Jer. 22:26; 29:2). The Babylonian chronicle published by D.J. Wiseman (see bibliography) describes the capture of Jerusalem and the exile of Jehoiachin in the seventh year of Nebuchadnezzar's reign, relating that the Judean king surrendered with a large part of his army shortly after Nebuchadnezzar attacked Jerusalem. Jehoiachin's surrender saved the land from destruction, but many of the people of Judah disapproved of his action; the resulting disputes between the party favoring peace and that counseling rebellion were specifically revealed in the antagonism which arose between Jeremiah and Hananiah son of Azur of Gibeon in the fourth year of Zedekiah's reign (Jer. 28). Excavations into various Judahite tells (Beth-Shemesh, Tel Bet-Mirsim, Ramat Raḥel) have disclosed the imprint of a seal reading "to Eliakim, the servant of Jochin," which Klein suggested refers to the servant of Jehoiachin, i.e., the man in charge of the property of Jehoiachin. W.F. Albright and other scholars held that these impressions belong to the reign of Zedekiah and indicate that Jehoiachin still held many estates in Judah after his exile and enjoyed the status of a king in Judah. However, subsequent study (Garfinkel) shows that the Jochin/Jochan seal impressions are from the eighth century, much earlier than previously thought, and are thus irrelevant to the biography of King Jehoiachin. Food-rationing lists belonging to the 10th to 35th years of Nebuchadnezzar's reign, found in one of the underground storerooms of his palace in Babylon, mention Jehoiachin's name four times; one such list is from 592 B.C.E. (the 13th year of Nebuchadnezzar's reign and sixth year of Jehoiachin's exile). In these lists the latter is called "king of Judah," and several documents mention distribution of food to the five sons of the king of Judah (ANET, 205; cf. I Chron. 3:17), which was given to "Hananiah." From the large quantity of oil distributed to Jehoiachin it would appear that he and his family were living together. The title given him in these documents indicates that he was considered a captive ruler, perhaps a hostage, or perhaps one who had surrendered freely and enjoyed the patronage of his captors. His family retained leadership of the Babylonian exiles (Ezek. 1:2), and his descendants were at the head of those who returned to Zion. According to the biblical account, Jehoiachin's status improved after Nebuchadnezzar's death (562 B.C.E.). His successor, Evil-Merodach, honored Jehoiachin, king of Judah (in the 37th year of his exile, on the 27th day of the 12th month), gave him new clothing and an honored seat at his own table (II Kings 25:27–30; Jer. 52:31–34). It is uncertain if the pardoning of Jehoiachin was connected with a general change in the attitude of the king of Babylon toward the exiled Jews.

[Jacob Liver]

In the Aggadah

Nebuchadnezzar's sudden attack on Jehoiachin was the result of the advice of his countrymen who warned him, "Do not rear a gentle cub of a vicious dog; much less a vicious cub of a vicious dog." Nebuchadnezzar thereupon went to Daphne (Antiocha), where he asked a deputation of the Sanhedrin to hand over Jehoiachin, in return for which he would not destroy the Temple. When Jehoiachin was informed of the request, he ascended to the roof of the Temple, and, extending the keys of the sanctuary toward heaven, exclaimed: "Lord of the Universe, since we have hitherto not proved worthy custodians for Thee, from now on these keys are Thine." A fiery hand appeared and snatched the keys (or, according to other opinions, they remained suspended between heaven and earth). Jehoiachin was then taken captive (the gate by which he left the city was thereafter called the Gate of Jeconiah; Mid. 6:2), and placed in solitary confinement. Fearing, however, that since the king was childless, the House of David would thus cease, the Sanhedrin succeeded in obtaining permission for his wife to live with him. Jehoiachin kept the laws of marital purity during this time, and as a reward was forgiven his sins (Jer. 3:22; Lev. R. 19:6). Even the decree that none of his descendants would ascend the throne (Jer. 22:30) was repealed when Zerubbabel was appointed leader of the returned exiles (cf. Sanh. 37b–38a). The exile of Zedekiah while Jehoiachin was still alive was a merciful act, since Jehoiachin could thus teach Zedekiah Torah (Git. 88a). Jehoiachin's life is illustrative of the maxim: "During prosperity a man must never forget the possibility of misfortune; nor in despair lose hope of prosperity's return." Within two days of Evil-Merodach's accession to the throne, Jehoiachin was released and accorded the highest honors (SOR. 28).

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JEHOIADA (Heb. יְהוֹיָדָע; "YHWH has known," "YHWH has directed"), chief priest in the Temple in Jerusalem during the reigns of *Athaliah and *Joash of Judah. According to II Chron. 22:11, Jehoiada was married to Jehosheba (called Jehoshabath in Chronicles), the daughter of King *Jehoram and the sister of Jehoram's son *Ahaziah (II Kings 11:2; II Chron. 22:11). Jehoiada had the most important role in the return of the throne to the house of David and the introduction of new administrative procedures in the Temple in Jerusalem. After Athaliah assumed the throne and killed all the royal family (II Kings 11:1; II Chron. 22:10), it was feared that the entire house of David would be exterminated. Jehosheba succeeded in saving the year-old Joash, the youngest son of Ahaziah. She hid him and his nurse for six years in a chamber of the Temple (II Kings 11:2–3; II Chron. 22:11–12), an undertaking to which Jehoiada, as "high priest" (II Chron. 24: 6 calls him *ha-rosh*) was able to give much assistance.

As a result of the increased opposition to Athaliah and the Tyrian cult, which she had introduced in Jerusalem, Jehoiada led the resistance to the queen; the first account of a priest's involvement in the affairs of state in Judah (II Kings 11:4–12; II Chron. 23:1–11). According to Kings, the major forces against Athaliah were the priesthood and the *am ha-areẓ ("the People of the Land"), whose exact composition is debated, and the leaders of the Temple and palace guards, "the Carites and the guards" (the Carites, being foreigners, are omitted from the account of the Chronicler because he excludes foreigners from the temple). According to Chronicles, the entire people was involved in the revolt. The insurrection against Athaliah was preceded by the coronation ceremony of Joash in the temple. The young king was given the royal *nezer*, "diadem," and the *edut*. Gersonides takes this last to refer to the Torah; others to some covenant document or to an engraved amulet comparable to the priestly diadem of Ex. 23:36. He was also anointed (II Kings 11:17–20; II Chron. 23:16–21). After the ceremony Athaliah was killed outside the Temple (II Kings 11:13–16; II Chron. 23:12–15). Jehoiada then made a covenant between "YHWH, the king, and the people," and afterward, apparently between the people and the king (II Kings 11:17; II Chron. 23:16). Thus, the kingship of the Davidic dynasty was legally restored. It may be noted that an inscription carved in stone found in South Arabia, which served as a kind of constitution for the state of Qatabân, contains a similar covenant between God, the people, and the king (Pritchard, Texts, 511). The covenant of Jehoiada obligated the people to become "a people of YHWH"; i.e., to eliminate the Baal cult. Jehoiada remained the adviser teacher of the young king, but it seems that his influence was not limited to the religious sphere alone (II Chron. 24:3).

Jehoiada's other functions were mainly related to the Temple. He instituted special directions concerning the sanctification of the altar and the purification of the Temple (*ibid.* 23:18–19), which were still in effect in the generation before the destruction of the Temple (Jer. 29:26). With the cooperation of the adolescent king, Jehoiada arranged for repairs of the Temple which had been neglected during the turmoil of the previous regime. After the priests refused to set aside money from that which was brought to the Temple for repairs, as they were supposed to have done (according to the version of the story in II Chronicles 24, the priests refused to collect money in provincial cities), Jehoiada and the king agreed to designate a special box or chest (called *shofar* in the Second Temple period) in which "all the money brought to the house of the Lord" would be put (except for the purchase of guilt and sin offerings, which was kept by the priesthood). Jehoiada and the king then paid for the repairs from the money thus collected. According to Chronicles, Jehoiada lived 130 years, but this figure must be an exaggeration, especially since he died while Joash was still king. That he was much respected is attested by his burial in the city of David together with the kings (II Chron. 24:16). According to II Chronicles 24:17–22, of his sons, *Zechariah, was killed after his father's death because he rebuked Joash in harsh terms.

[Yehoshua M. Grintz / S. David Sperling (2nd ed.)]

In the Aggadah

Jehoiada's piety was such that the verse "Jehoiada was the leader of the Aaronites" (I Chron. 12:28) is explained to the effect that "Had Aaron lived in the same generation, Jehoiada would have been superior to him" (Eccl. R. 1:4, no. 4). Jehoiada and his wife, Jehosheba, preserved the young Joash by hiding him in the upper chambers of the Temple during the summer, and in the cellars during the winter (Mid. Ps. 18:23).

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JEHOIAKIM (Heb. יְהוֹיָקִם, יְהוֹיָקִים; "YHWH raises up"), king of Judah (609–598 B.C.E.). Pharaoh Neco made Jehoiakim king of Judah after he captured *Jehoahaz, Jehoiakim's younger brother, who was the choice of the *am ha-areẓ and who reigned for only three months. Jehoiakim, who was 25 when he ascended the throne (according to I Chron. 3:15 he was the second son of Josiah), was most likely selected because of his known support of a pro-Egyptian policy. Jehoiakim's original name Eliakim was changed by the Pharaoh in order to indicate the Judahite king's subservience to Egypt (II Kings 23:34; II Chron. 36:4). Egypt also imposed a heavy tax on Judah – 100 talents of silver and a talent of gold – which Jehoiakim exacted by levying a tax upon all people of the land (II Kings 23:33, 35).

During the first three years of Jehoiakim's reign Judah was a vassal of Egypt, which controlled Syria and Palestine and clashed with the Babylonian forces in the area of the Euphrates River (according to the *Babylonian Chronicle*). In 605 B.C.E. Babylon defeated Egypt at *Carchemish (II Kings 24:7; Jer. 46:2) and Babylon seized Syria and Palestine. The Babylonian army reached the borders of Judah and apparently took prisoners of war from Judah (Jos., Apion, 1:19). The following year, in the month of Kislev, *Nebuchadnezzar captured Ashkelon and exiled its king. Simultaneously, in the ninth month of the fifth year of Jehoiakim's reign, a fast day of the Lord was proclaimed in Jerusalem (Jer. 36:9). Jeremiah warned the people that the king of Babylon would destroy the land, and indeed after the fall of Ashkelon, Judah, too, came under the Babylonian yoke. According to the Bible, Jehoiakim was a vassal of Babylon for three years before he rebelled (II Kings 24:1). Although the *Babylonian Chronicle* cites neither the subjugation nor the rebellion of Judah, it does mention the campaign against Syria and Palestine, and a brief expedition against nomadic groups in the sixth year of Nebuchadnezzar's reign. Thus, although Nebuchadnezzar sent troops from Moab, Ammon, and Aram (or, according to the Peshitta, Edom; II Kings 24:2) against the border regions of Judah (cf. Jer. 35:11), Judah was able to continue its rebellion during this period. Only in the seventh year of the reign of Nebuchadnezzar (the 11th of Jehoiakim or perhaps, after his death, during the brief reign of his son Jehoiachin) did the siege of Jerusalem begin. It ended on the second day of Adar, on March 15/16, 597 B.C.E., with the surrender and exile of the new king, Jehoiachin.

The internal political and economic conditions in Judah during this period were undermined both by large-scale military movements along its border and by the incursions of robber bands from the neighboring countries. The persecutions of the prophets, whose influence had increased during the days of Josiah, also sharpened internal conflicts. The book of Jeremiah contrasts Jehoiakim with his pious forbear Hezekiah by telling how Hezekiah reacted piously to Micah's prophecy of doom. In contrast, Jehoiakim persecuted and killed the prophet Uriah the son of Shemaiah, and would have done the same to Jeremiah (Jer. 26). Similarly, Jeremiah 36 contrasts Jehoiakim's lack of contrition upon hearing Jeremiah's scroll with that of the pious *Josiah, who had torn his garments upon hearing the words of the scroll of Torah (cf. II Kings 22:11–14 with Jer. 36:23–24). According to the Book of Kings, Jehoiakim shed much innocent blood in Jerusalem (II Kings 24:4; cf. Jer. 22:17).

II Chronicles 36:6ff. relates that Nebuchadnezzar bound Jehoiakim in fetters in order to carry him to Babylon. A year later he also brought Jehoiachin to Babylon. This version not only contradicts the account given in Kings but also does not appear in the *Babylonian Chronicle*. Thus, the question remains if the Chronicles' account reflects an oral tradition that did not take into account that the king who surrendered and was exiled was not the same one who had rebelled. In II Kings 24:6 it is related that he "slept with his fathers," indicating that, at least according to this source, he died a peaceful death. Two oracles relating to Jehoiakim's death are found in Jeremiah (22:18–19; 36:30).

[Jacob Liver / S. David Sperling (2nd ed.)]

In the Aggadah

Jehoiakim is portrayed as the very incarnation of wickedness and defiant flouting of God. When he ascended the throne he said: "My predecessors did not know how to anger God." He claimed that his generation, which was in possession of the "gold of Parvaim," did not even need God to provide them with light. He therefore proceeded to flout God's word publicly by engraving the name of an idol (or according to others the name of God Himself) on his person and by the deliberate wearing of *sha'atnez*, by epistasis, and by incestuous relationships with his mother, daughter-in-law, and his father's wife. He violated women, murdered their husbands, and confiscated their wealth (Lev. R. 19:6; Sanh. 103a). He cut out from the Book of Lamentations all references to God and threw them into the fire (MK 26a). He had a dishonorable death and was even denied honorable burial. When he refused to accede to the Sanhedrin's request to surrender in order to save the Temple, he was seized and let down over the city wall to Nebuchadnezzar, according to one opinion, dying while descending. Nebuchadnezzar then either took him around the cities of Judah in a public triumph, placed him inside the carcass of an ass (cf. Jer. 22:19), or threw him piecemeal to the dogs (Lev. R., loc. cit.). His disgrace, however, did not end there. The grandfather of R. Perida found a skull at the gates of Jerusalem and recognized it as that of Jehoiakim, because the earth refused to cover it when he tried to bury it, and because it carried the inscription "This and yet another." He took it home and placed it in a cupboard. His wife found it, and thinking it to be the skull of her husband's first wife, she threw it into the fire; thus was fulfilled "this" (desecration of his body at death) and "yet another" (Sanh. 82a). Jehoiakim is still undergoing punishment for his sins. Although the Babylonian Talmud does not include him among those who have no place in the world to come (cf. Sanh. 103b), the Palestinian Talmud cites him as an example of one who has forfeited his place in heaven by publicly transgressing the law.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Bright, Hist., 303ff.; Malamat, in: BIES, 20 (1956), 179–87; Noth, in: ZDPV, 74 (1958), 133–57; O. Eissfeldt, *The Old Testament, an Introduction* (1965), 296–7, n. 60 (extensive bibl.); EM, s.v. (includes bibliography). IN THE AGGADAH: Ginzberg, Legends, 4 (1947), 284–5; 6 (1946), 379–80; I. Ḥasida, *Ishei ha-Tanakh* (1964), 168–9. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** M. Cogan and H. Tadmor, *II Kings* (AB; 1988), 304–8; S. Japhet, *I & II Chronicles* (1993), 1064–67; J. Berridge, in: ABD, 5:664–66.

JEHOIARIB (Heb. יְהוֹיָרִיב; "YHWH champions the cause," or "YHWH replaces"), the first of the 24 priestly divisions that served at the First Temple (I Chron. 24:7). They are not mentioned among the four major priestly families, who returned from exile and were divided into 24 divisions (as described in Ta'anit 27a–28b) for the purpose of serving at the Second Temple, the families Jedaiah, Immer, Pashhur, and Harim (Ezra 2:36–39; Neh. 7:39–42). In the Book of Nehemiah (12:1–7) 22 or 23 such divisions, including Jehoiarib, are listed (see *Jedaiah). But neither the Jehoiarib nor the Jedaiah-Jeshua houses are mentioned among the families who signed the covenant (*amanah*). Japhet (429–30) suggests that Jehoiarib is an alternative of Joiarib, who is named as the father of Jedaiah the priest in Nehemiah 11:10. The Hasmoneans descended from the Jehoiarib family, which lived at first in Jerusalem and later, possibly during the persecution of Antiochus Epiphanes, moved to Modi'in (I Macc. 2:1). A later descendant of the family was the historian *Josephus.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: EM, s.v. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** S. Japhet, *I & II Chronicles* (1993).

[Yehoshua M. Grintz / S. David Sperling (2nd ed.)]

JEHORAM (Heb. יוֹרָם, יְהוֹרָם), the son of *Jehoshaphat, king of Judah (851–843 B.C.E.). Jehoram's wife was the Omrid princess *Athaliah. During his reign a close alliance existed between the kingdoms of Judah and Israel, ruled by his brother-in-law (or his wife's nephew) Jehoram the son of Ahab if, as may be inferred from II Chronicles 21:3, Jehoshaphat reigned jointly with Jehoram (II Chron. 21:4), – this may reflect a clash among the sons of Jehoshaphat over the succession (see: *Chronology).

At the beginning of Jehoram's reign, Edom, which had been subservient to Judah, rebelled, and Jehoram sought to subdue the rebellion. However, his war against Edom (II Kings 8:20–22) was unsuccessful, and the latter remained independent until the reign of *Amaziah. Following this military reverse, Judah, according to II Chronicles 21:16–17, was ravaged by the Philistines and others. The historicity of this account is questionable, but undoubtedly the Philistines did beset

Judah, for the statement in II Kings 8:22, "… then did Libnah revolt at the same time," can only mean that it was wrested from Judah by the Philistines. II Chronicles also says that Jehoram suffered an incurable illness, which Elijah had predicted (21:12–15, 18–19), and states that Jehoram was not buried in the tombs of the kings (*ibid.*, 21:19–20), and that the people "made no burning for him" on his death. However, II Kings 8:24 explicitly states that he was buried with his ancestors in the city of David, and it would seem that Chronicles, which dwells at length on Jehoram's wickedness and failures, drew on a folk legend about Elijah that exaggerated Jehoram's sins and represented him as one of the most evil kings of Judah because of his association with the house of Ahab. Nevertheless, it may well be that the temple of Baal mentioned in II Kings 11:18 was built (at Athaliah's instance) during the reign of Jehoram. If Israel was one of the 12 western countries (headed by Adad-Idri, i.e., Ben-Hadad, king of Damascus) which allied themselves against Shalmaneser III of Assyria in the years 849–845 B.C.E., the hypothesis (of B. Mazar) that the king of Judah also participated may be accepted. In any event, there is no doubt that in Jehoram's brief reign Judah declined rapidly from its period of glory during his father's reign. Edom's independence deprived Judah of control of the important commercial routes to Arabia and thus affected its economy negatively. The relations between the two kingdoms at this time were such that the political and economic crises that plagued Israel could not but spread to Judah (see also: *Jehoram the son of Ahab).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Maisler (Mazar), in: *Tarbiz*, 19 (1947/48), 123–4; Yeivin, in: JNES, 7 (1941), 31; J.A. Montgomery, *The Book of Kings* (ICC, 1951), 394–8; Thiele, in: VT, 4 (1954), 186; Ginsberg, in: *Fourth World Congress of Jewish Studies*, 1 (1967), 91; EM, 3 (1965), 539–41, incl. bibl. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** W. Thiele, in: ABD, 3:949–53.

[Hayim Tadmor]

JEHORAM (Heb. יְהוֹרָם, יוֹרָם; "YHWH is exalted"), the son of *Ahab, king of Israel from 850/1–842 B.C.E. or possibly from 853–842 B.C.E. According to II Kings 3:1, Jehoram reigned in the 18th year of the reign of *Jehoshaphat, king of Judah. However, according to II Kings 1:17 (in a prophetic story), Jehoram became king during the second year of the reign of *Jehoram the son of Jehoshaphat. The contradiction between these two synchronisms is eliminated by the assumption that Jehoram son of Jehoshaphat was co-regent with his father at the end of the latter's reign, or that the beginning of Jehoram's reign is calculated according to Jehoshaphat's years as sole ruler. Those who accept the first supposition hold that Jehoram ruled for only nine or ten years, not twelve, as recorded in II Kings 3:1. The first event related about Jehoram (II Kings 3:4–24), which should date from the beginning of his reign, is his war against King *Mesha of Moab. Aided by allies, he attempted to subdue Mesha after the latter had freed himself from Israel (II Kings 1:1) and had even raided areas of Israel north of Arnon. In this war, described in the story of the prophet *Elisha (ch. 3), the allies attacked Mesha from the south, perhaps because he had in the meantime succeeded in fortifying his northern cities. The army of Jehoram and his allies reached Kir of Moab and surrounded Mesha, but they did not succeed in conquering the city. Apparently, the Moabites, excited by the sacrifice offered by their king, defeated the army of the allies (II Kings 3:27), freeing themselves permanently from Israelite rule. It is difficult to determine the exact relations between Jehoram and *Aram. It is possible that as long as *Ben-Hadad II was alive, the alliance between Israel and Aram, known from the last years of *Ahab, remained valid. According to Assyrian annals, a coalition of the twelve kings of Hatti and the seacoast fought against Shalmaneser III in 849, 848, and 845 B.C.E. However, the records that mention these wars do not give the exact names of the allies, except for Adad-Idri (Ben-Hadad II) of Damascus and Irḥuleni of Hamath. It is a fair assumption that it was the same coalition as that of those who fought against Assyria in Qarqar in 853, mentioned in a more detailed record. King Ahab was one of the major participants in that battle. If this assumption is correct, barely two years passed during Jehoram's reign without war. With the death of Ben-Hadad in 843 and the reign of *Hazael, who founded a new dynasty, the political balance was upset. The Syrian alliance of the twelve kings was broken and Jehoram exploited this opportunity to attack Aram; he attempted to capture Ramoth-Gilead, the source of dissension between Israel and Aram – for he who held this area dominated the north of Gilead and the Bashan. Jehoram himself was wounded in battle and returned to Jezreel (9:16). While he was recovering, *Jehu, his commander in chief, rebelled against him and killed him (9:23–24).

In contrast to the struggle between the prophets and Jezebel during Ahab's reign, Jehoram permitted Elisha and the other prophets to act freely. Possibly under the influence of the prophets, Jehoram removed the pillar of the Tyrian Baal, which his father Ahab had erected (3:2), thus de-emphasizing the foreign cult of his mother Jezebel and allaying the dissatisfaction of the people. The numerous unsuccessful wars of Jehoram and the severe famine in the country at that time (4:38) formed the background to Jehu's rebellion, in which he killed Jehoram and destroyed the *Omride dynasty. Several scholars believe that Jehoram of Israel is mentioned in the Aramaic inscription attributed to Hazael that was found at Tel Dan.

[Hayim Tadmor]

In the Aggadah

Jehoshaphat's question, "Is there not here a prophet of the Lord?" (II Kings 3:11) was an allusion to Jehoram's doubt on this point (Num. R. 21:6). Nevertheless God gave victory to Jehoram in his war against Moab, because of his observance of the Sabbath (Mekh. SbY. p. 162). He was killed "between his arms" and "at his heart" (II Kings 9:24) in order to teach that he had sinned by hardening his heart and stretching out his hand to take interest from Obadiah (Ex. R. 31:4).

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A.H. Van Zyl, *The Moabites* (1960), 136ff., 180. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** M. Cogan and H. Tadmor, *II Kings* (AB; 1988), 98–100; W. Schniedewind, in: BASOR, 302 (1996), 75–90.

JEHOSEPH (Joseph) HA-NAGID (1035–1066), vizier of Granada, son of *Samuel ha-Nagid. In his youth he already displayed superior talents. His distinguished father supervised his education, and was particularly concerned that his son have a perfect knowledge of the Arabic language and literature. While still a little boy, Jehoseph copied and edited his father's poems. His father arranged his marriage to the daughter of his friend, the famous Rabbi Nissim from Kairouan, who came to Granada with his daughter for the wedding. His father thought that a wife from a deeply religious family would have strengthened his son religiously. Jehoseph was in his 21st year when his father died and, despite his youth, was appointed by Bādīs, king of Granada, as chief vizier of the kingdom. He did not disappoint the king's hopes. Because of his great talents he succeeded in fulfilling his assignments, of which the most important were the efficient collection of the taxes and the running of an orderly administration. Even his contemporary Muslim writers, who exhibit an attitude of hatred toward him, admit to this. He was also successful in conducting the foreign policy of the Berber kingdom of Granada in its struggle with the Arab kingdom of Seville. He established connections with other Muslim countries, also hostile to the Arab king of Seville, and gave them active support. At the same time he did not neglect his occupation with Torah, but gave instruction and composed Hebrew poems. In 1044 (according to his own testimony) he began collecting and arranging his father's poems. Fragments of Jehoseph's poems were published by A.M. Habermann (see bibl.). As in the case of his father, Jehoseph's poems record and reflect events from his stormy life. Jehoseph was arrogant and not liked. While his father's wisdom and the respect shown him sufficed to silence the dissatisfaction of the Arabic-speaking Andalusian population with the Berbers and their Jewish viziers, Jehoseph was openly censured. He surrounded himself with wealthy Jews, agents, and officers of the king, to their great benefit. He tried unsuccessfully to avert the consequences, but had the misfortune to become entangled in a harem intrigue. In 1064 the crown prince Bologuin died after having participated in a feast in the home of Jehoseph, who was then accused of poisoning him. Meanwhile, the struggle between the kings of Granada and Seville became more acute; the Berber Bādīs, fearing plots by his Arab subjects, planned to slaughter them, but Jehoseph warned the Arabs. This step harmed his relations with the king himself. Abu Isḥāq al-Ilbīrī a disgruntled and fanatic Muslim theologian, composed a provocative poem against Jehoseph, in which he protested about his great wealth and the enrichment of the other Jews. There were also Muslims who accused Jehoseph of killing Bādīs secretly, since the latter avoided making any public appearance. As a consequence of this provocation he was murdered, and a bloody slaughter befell the Jews of Granada.

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[Eliyahu Ashtor]

JEHOSHAPHAT (Heb. יְהוֹשָׁפָט), king of Judah, son of *Asa and Azubah, daughter of Shilhi (I Kings 22:42; II Chron. 20:31). Jehoshaphat ruled Judah for 25 years, during the second third of the ninth century B.C.E. He was a contemporary of Ahab, Ahaziah, and Jehoram, kings of Israel. A vigorous personality emerges from the biblical accounts (I Kings 22; II Kings 3; II Chron. 17:1–21:3), a vigor manifested both in foreign policy and in the internal administration of the state.

Foreign Policy

Jehoshaphat's political system was characterized by his close alliance with the kingdom of Israel, a departure from the policy of his predecessors who were not reconciled to the division of the kingdom which had been united under David and Solomon. The turning point in Jehoshaphat's relations with Israel is I Kings 22:45: "Jehoshaphat also made peace with the king of Israel." This alliance between Judah and Israel was expressed in the former's participation on the side of *Ahab in the battle against Aram which took place at Ramoth-Gilead (I Kings 22; II Chron. 18). Jehoshaphat also took part in the military operation of *Jehoram, king of Israel, against Moab (II Kings 3:4–27). The alliance was reinforced by the marriage of Athaliah, in view of her formal title "Athaliah daughter of King *Omri of Israel" (II Kings 8:26), a sister or a daughter of Ahab, to Jehoshaphat's son Jehoram (this marriage took place in Jehoshaphat's lifetime). Another aspect of the alliance was the joint venture of Jehoshaphat and Ahaziah king of Israel "in building ships to go to Tarshish, and they built the ships in Ezion-Geber" (II Chron. 20:36; cf. I Kings 22:49–50). Jehoshaphat's reconciliation with the kings of Israel stemmed from his recognition that the balance of power had shifted in Israel's favor. The kingdom of Israel, under the rule of the house of Omri, achieved great stability and became an important political, military, and economic power in the area. Jehoshaphat understood that peace with the kingdom of Israel could bring political and economic benefit to his kingdom, whereas war with Israel would be disastrous for Judah. In addition, military and political cooperation between Judah and Israel was vital in view of the strengthened position of the eastern Transjordanian states, which threatened the borders of both Israel and Judah. Moab rebelled against Israel (II Kings 1:1; 3:4–5), and Edom was waiting for an opportune time to rebel against Judah. The account in II Chronicles 20:10, 22 of an invasion of Judah by "the men of Ammon and Moab and Mount Seir" is historically improbable. Israel and Judah joined forces against Aram (I Kings 22; II Chron. 18) and against Moab (II Kings 3:4–27). Later, in an effort to repel an Assyrian invasion, Israel and Aram joined forces in the battle of Qarqar, but whether Jehoshaphat took part with his ally in this campaign is impossible to establish from the inscription of Shalmaneser III, king of Assyria, which recounts the battle.

The alliance between Israel and Judah also had economic aspects. Clearly, while Judah dominated Edom (I Kings 22:48; II Kings 3:9–27), Jehoshaphat could exploit the copper mines in the Arabah and renew maritime trade in the Red Sea utilizing the port of Ezion-Geber. In establishing a commercial fleet he needed the aid of the Phoenicians, who were expert shipbuilders and sailors. Since Tyre was allied with Israel (see *Ahab), Judah became a third partner with Tyre and Israel. The Bible indicates that the joint enterprise to establish a fleet and maritime trade was unsuccessful and that Jehoshaphat disliked Ahaziah's interference. Perhaps Ahaziah was unable to force his will on Jehoshaphat. In any event, the triple alliance of Judah-Israel-Tyre brought about great commercial and economic vitality because the three states were contiguous and extended from the Mediterranean Sea in the southwest to the desert and the Red Sea in the southeast. Jehoshaphat's domination over Edom and Ezion-Geber gave Judah the land trade routes which connected Edom and the Red Sea with the Philistine port towns. These routes were traveled by caravans which carried valuable commodities (perfumes and spices) from Arabia to the countries of eastern Asia. The tribute which the Philistines and the Arab tribes brought to Jehoshaphat (II Chron. 17:11) can be understood only against this background of power and prosperity.

Internal Affairs

The Book of Chronicles provides an idealized description of the organization of the kingdom of Judah in the days of Jehoshaphat. He reorganized the army; II Chronicles 17:13–18 lists five senior unit commanders and the size of their units. The large numbers given indicate that the figures reflect both the standing army and the reserves which could be conscripted during crisis. The regular army, equipped with chariots, was garrisoned in the fortified cities and fortresses scattered throughout Judah, including the Judean Desert and the Negev (II Chron. 17:2, 12, 19).

Some scholars believe that Jehoshaphat's administrative reorganization of the kingdom of Judah in "Ephraim" – meaning Benjamin as part of the "hill country of Ephraim" (see II Sam. 20:1, 21) – conquered by Asa (II Chron. 17:2), is reflected in the list of towns allotted to Judah in Joshua 15. A unique measure taken by Jehoshaphat in the third year of his rule is described in II Chronicles 17:7–9. The king is said to have sent a delegation of ministers, levites, and priests to visit the towns of Judah and to teach the people the "book of the law of the Lord." Those who credit the chronicler's account in detail assume "the book of the law of the Lord" in question was the Book of *Deuteronomy, not in its final form, which was established only at the time of Josiah, but in a very early stage of its formulation. This assumption is based mainly on the great similarity between Deuteronomy 16:18–20; 17:8–13, which describes the appointment of judges in rural towns and the establishment of a high court in "the place which the Lord your God will choose" (Deut. 17:8), and the description in II Chronicles 19:5–11, which tells of the appointment of judges in all the fortified cities of Judah and the establishment of a high court in Jerusalem. Amariah, the chief priest, who was in charge of "all matters of the Lord," i.e., religious law, and Zebadiah son of Ishmael, who was in charge of "all the king's matters," i.e., secular-royal law (II Chron. 19:11), were members of the high court. Establishing teaching delegations in the towns and judges in all the fortified cities and Jerusalem indicates a tendency toward the consolidation of all authoritative institutions in Judah. Jehoshaphat's religious-legal reform is regarded as an attempt to institute a single legal system in order to centralize the ruling power. The entire account may be a midrash based on the name Jehoshaphat, "YHWH Judges."

Jehoshaphat's alliance with Phoenicia and Israel did not adversely affect Judah's religious-ritualistic practices. Although Jehoshaphat did not abolish the popular practice of sacrifice (to the Lord) at local cult places, he did abolish all rituals of which the Deuteronomist disapproved (see I Kings 22:44–47). He apparently perpetuated all that his father Asa had accomplished, and the Phoenician cult established by Ahab in Samaria under the influence of Jezebel only attained some importance in Jerusalem during the reign of Athaliah, after the death of Jehoshaphat (II Kings 11:18).

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[Jacob Liver / Bustenay Oded]

JEHOSHAPHAT, VALLEY OF (Heb. עֵמֶק יְהוֹשָׁפָט), place mentioned in Joel 4:2, 12 where in the fullness of time God will gather all the nations to judge them. According to II Chronicles 20:26, the army of King Jehoshaphat assembled, after the defeat of his enemies, in the valley of Beracah ("Blessing") somewhere near Tekoa. Popular legend identified the Valley of Jehoshaphat with the middle section of the Kidron Valley, Jerusalem, and called the tomb-cave behind "Absalom's Tomb" the "Tomb of Jehoshaphat"; as such it is already referred to by the Bordeaux pilgrim (333 C.E.). On the Day of Judgment, according to Arab tradition, a sword will be suspended between the Temple Mount and the Mount of Olives; the righteous will pass safely along the blade but the wicked will fall into the fire of Gehenna below. In Jewish tradition the place where "God will judge" (*Yeho-Shafat*) the nations has no geographical definition (Mid. Ps. to 8:10).

[Michael Avi-Yonah]

JÉHOUDA, JOSUÉ (1892–1966), Swiss author and journalist. Born in Russia, Jéhouda settled in Switzerland, where he founded the *Revue juive de Genève*. He saw Israel's rebirth as an event of universal significance and viewed with alarm divisions between Orthodox and secular Jews, and between Israel and the Diaspora. His works include three novels, *Le royaume de Justice* (1933), *De père en fils* (1927), and *Miriam* (1928); and volumes of essays such as *La vocation d'Israël* (1947) and *Sionisme et messianisme* (1954).

JEHU (Heb. יֵהוּא), son of Hanani; a prophet during the time of Baasha, king of Israel (c. 906–883 B.C.E.), and Jehoshaphat, king of Judah (c. 867–846 B.C.E.; I Kings 16:1, 7, 12; II Chron. 19:2; 20:34). Jehu's father may have been the seer Hanani who is reported to have rebuked King Asa of Judah and been incarcerated by him (II Chron. 16:7–10; but perhaps it should read "[Jehu son of] Hanani"). Jehu foretold the destruction of the house of Baasha (I Kings 16:1ff.) and censured Jehoshaphat for joining King Ahab of Israel in the attack on Ramoth Gilead (II Chron. 19:2–3). In accordance with his theory that the Books of Samuel and Kings were written successively by the prophets who witnessed the events (cf. e.g., I Chron. 29:29; II Chron. 9:29), the Chronicler attributes to Jehu son of Hanani the portion of the Book of Kings which deals with the age of King Jehoshaphat of Judah (II Chron. 20:34).'

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Noth, *Personennamen*, 143; O. Eissfeldt, *The Old Testament, an Introduction* (1965), 533. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** M. Cogan, I *Kings* (AB; 2000), 401ff.

JEHU (Heb. יֵהוּא), son of Jehoshaphat son of Nimshi (II Kings 9–10); reigned over the Israelite kingdom at Samaria for 28 years (c. 842–814 B.C.E.). During *Ahab's reign Jehu already held a position which brought him into close contact with court circles (II Kings 9:25). During the reign of *Jehoram son of Ahab, Jehu served as commander of the garrison posted at Ramoth-Gilead, in North Transjordan. From Ramoth-Gilead he set out for Samaria and seized the throne. He established a line of kings, who ruled over Israel for nearly 100 years (II Kings 10:30; 15:12).

Internal Affairs

Most of the biblical sources on Jehu's reign concern his struggle for the throne. Jehu's way to the throne was paved with bloodshed, in the course of which the entire house of *Omri was exterminated. He killed Jehoram, king of Israel, at Jezreel, and he also put to death King *Ahaziah of Judah and his brothers (see also II Chron. 22:8–9). Then he proceeded to massacre the entire house of Ahab, including Jezebel and all members of the elite court circle that had been close to the king (II Kings 10:11). Perhaps he regarded both Judahite princes and Israelite courtiers as potential claimants to the throne as heirs to the House of Omri. The slaughter was, however, remembered with horror a long time after Jehu's death, according to the received text and traditional dating of Hosea 1:4 (but see *Hosea). Jehu was anointed king at Ramoth-Gilead by an emissary of the prophet Elisha (II Kings 9:1–10), who stood at the head of the prophetic movement that opposed the House of Omri (see *Ahab), and strove both to avenge the blood of those prophets and God-fearing men who had been persecuted and killed by Jezebel (9:7–10), and to stop the Baal worship in Israel. Accordingly, Jehu, upon ascending the throne, acted with great zeal to destroy the Tyrian cult. He executed all the Baal prophets in the temple of Baal, destroyed the temple itself with all its pillars, and according to II Kings 10:28, "Thus Jehu exterminated Baal [worship] from Israel." Jehu also had the support of the army, which was in need of a leader who might be more successful than Jehoram in the prolonged struggle for Ramoth-Gilead and the overthrow of Aramean supremacy. Along with the army and the prophetic movement, the poorer classes of the people also supported Jehu's coup; they had suffered great hardship as a result of the economic policy of the kings of the house of Omri, which had produced a large economic rift in the structure of the Israelite society. Among the poor there were those who warned against wanton luxury and stood for modest living. One such individual was Jehonadab, the son of Rechab (II Kings 10:15; see *Rechabites), who joined Jehu and helped exterminate Ahab's descendants (10:17) and eliminate the cult of the Tyrian Baal (10:22–27). Though he put an end to the cult of the Tyrian Baal that had been introduced by Ahab, Jehu did not abolish the golden calves which had been set up long before Ahab by Jeroboam son of Nebat at Dan and Beth-El, and for which there is no reason to suppose that it had been disapproved of by Elijah or Elisha. Indeed, the calves, whatever their significance, were not a foreign import. Besides, like Jeroboam son of Nebat, Jehu may have thought it politic to maintain the places of worship in Dan and Beth-El, since they served to deter the people from going up to Jerusalem (cf. I Kings 12:26), and frustrated the ambition of the kings of Judah, descendants of David's line in Jerusalem, to unite the two kingdoms once again under the throne of David.

Foreign Affairs

Jehu's coup greatly influenced the relations between the Israelite kingdom and her neighbors. The annihilation of the house of Omri, the killing of Jezebel, the murder of Ahaziah king of Judah, and the ban on the Tyrian influences all helped to loosen the ties binding the triple alliance between Tyre, Israel, and Judah and cast a shadow over Israel's relations with the other two, Judah and Tyre. Israel's resulting political isolation encouraged Aram of Damascus to increase the pressure on her northeastern border. On ascending the throne, Jehu immediately found himself surrounded by hostile states and sought to ensure his own position by expressing his loyalty to the king of Assyria. This is the background to what is related in the annals of Shalmaneser III concerning the tribute paid him by "Jehu son of Omri" (*la-u-a mār Ḫum-ri-i*) in 841 B.C.E. (COGAN AND TADMOR, 334–35). In that same year Shalmaneser III set out on a campaign against *Hazael king of Aram-Damascus, placed Damascus under siege, and thence proceeded southward with his armies to Hauran, sowing destruction among Hazael's cities. It becomes apparent from the inscription that the regions of Hauran and Bashan, as far as the Yarmuk, were under the rule of Damascus. Later in the campaign, at a place called Baal-Rosh (Mt. Carmel or some other mountain on the Phoenician coast), he collected tribute from Jehu and from the king of Tyre. In another inscription known as the Black Obelisk, a relief has been found on which "Jehu son of Omri," or his messenger, kneels before the king of Assyria while his retinue pays tribute to him. Assyria's campaigns against Hazael between 841–838 B.C.E. were invaluable to Jehu inasmuch as they prevented the Arameans from exploiting the internal confusion which beset Samaria immediately after his coup. But shortly afterward the Arameans recovered, and Hazael succeeded in penetrating deep into Israelite territory and in conquering all of Israelite Transjordan as far as the Arnon (II Kings 10:32–33). In a second campaign, which seems to have taken place in 815 (or 814) B.C.E., Hazael penetrated deep into Israelite territory west of the Jordan, even reaching as far as Gath in the northern Shephelah where he collected tribute from *Joash king of Judah (II Kings 12:18). The period of Jehu and his son Jehoahaz is considered to have been the time of the strongest military pressure from the Arameans upon Israel.

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[Bustanay Oded]

JEITELES (**Jeitteles**, **Geidels**), prominent family first appearing in Prague. The first known Jeiteles was MOSES BEN SIMON, on record as a house owner in 1615. His son LOEB (d. 1666) was *gabbai* of the *ḥevra kaddisha* for 30 years and also of the Altschul Synagogue. BERL (Issachar Baer; d. 1685), leader of the Prague community from 1666 until his death, was imprisoned in 1664, when the community elders refused to hand over to the authorities those Jews who had attacked the witnesses against the Prague chief rabbi Simon Spira-Wedeles. He was jailed again in 1667, on a charge of instigating the shooting of the renegade informer Wenzel Wimbersky but was released in the same year. AARON BEN BAER JEITELES (d. 1777) was known as a talmudic scholar and kabbalist. His allegorical commentary on the Pentateuch, *Zera Aharon*, was published in 1797. MOSES WOLF (d. 1848), secretary of the *ḥevra kaddisha* for many years, was apparently Aaron's son. He published a compendium for the *ḥevra kaddisha* (1828) based on the *Ma'avar Yabbok* of *Aaron Berechiah b. Moses, which included a history of Prague Jewry and in which he made use of Marcus Fischer's (see Moses Fischer) allegedly medieval *Ramshak Chronicle*. He was the first to recognize the importance of gravestone inscriptions for historical research, and his notes served his son-in-law Koppelmann *Lieben in his *Gal Ed*. SIMON JEITELES was Jewish "*Vorzensor*" for the Jesuit censor, Haselbauer, in the second half of the 18th century, and ISRAEL JEITELES owned a Hebrew printing press in the 1770s.

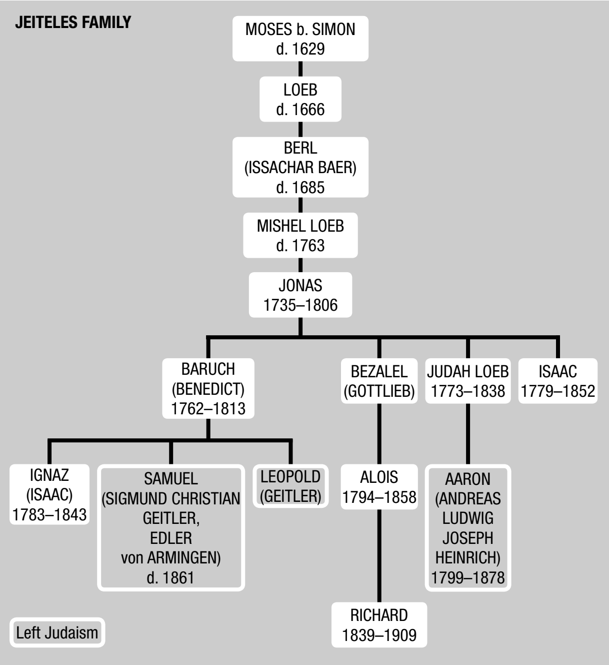

The main branch of the family were descendants of the apothecary MISHEL LOEB (d. 1763), who played a central role in spreading the Enlightenment in Prague and investing it with a characteristically Jewish national consciousness. Mishel's son JONAS (1735–1806) originally prepared for a rabbinical career in Abraham Moses Zerah *Eidlitz' yeshivah. However, he went on to study medicine at the universities of Leipzig and Halle, graduating in 1755. Settling in Prague, he later became chief physician of the Jewish community hospital (1763) and supervisor of the Jewish surgeons' board (1777), declining the offer of the post of physician to the Polish king, Stanislas II Augustus. He published articles on medical subjects and parts of his book, *Observata Quaedam Medica* (1783), were translated in early 19th-century medical textbooks. His main medical achievement, however, which was largely instrumental in earning him the name of the father of the Prague Enlightenment, was his propagation of Edward Jenner's smallpox vaccination in the face of Christian and Jewish prejudice: he inoculated his own daughter and more than 1,500 persons. In 1784 after an audience with *Joseph II, he was permitted to treat patients "without consideration of their religion." A master of ancient and modern languages, Jonas was a friend of Ezekiel *Landau. Jonas' eldest son, BARUCH (Benedict; 1762–1813), a scholar and Hebrew writer, strove for a synthesis of modern and traditional scholarship. In his youth he ran away from home to Berlin, but later returned and was reconciled with his teacher, Ezekiel Landau. He contributed poems to *Ha-Me'assef* (the journal of the **Me'assefim*) dealing with the lonely and difficult position of the enlightened intellectual in traditional society. When he eulogized Landau in his *Emek* *ha-Bakha* (1793) in a wholly Orthodox and traditional manner, the radical editor of *Ha-Me'assef* attacked him. A booklet, *Sefer ha-Orev*, published allegedly in Salonika in 1795 under the pen name Phinehas Hananiah Argosi de Silva, which attacks the disrespectful attitude of the Berlin radicals to rabbinical scholars, is generally considered to be Baruch's refutation of their attacks. So, too, the pamphlet, "A Discussion between the Years 5560 and 5561" (1800 and 1801) a polemic against the Frankists in Prague, is generally attributed to him. He published four editions of Moses Mendelssohn's commentary on Maimonides' *Millot ha-Higgayon*, three of them in German translation in Hebrew type, and *Ta'am ha-Melekh* (1801), glosses to Isaac Nuñez Belmonte's novellae on Maimonides' *Sha'ar ha-Melekh*. A sermon supporting his father's vaccination campaign was published in 1805. A man of independent means, Baruch founded a yeshivah in his house and encouraged rising Hebrew authors. In 1813 he induced leaders of the Prague community to open a hospital for wounded soldiers "of all nationalities" in the Jewish quarter. He himself died of hospital fever while caring for them.

His son IGNAZ (Isaac; 1783–1843) studied law at Prague University before moving to Vienna (1810) and establishing himself there as a merchant. A prolific writer, he contributed to general and Jewish periodicals, his articles on Jewish history in **Sulamith* being of particular interest. Along with his father, he supported his grandfather's efforts toward vaccination in a pamphlet (*Die Kuhpockenimpfung*, 1804) and published *Biographie des Dr. Jonas Jeiteles* (1806). His main literary achievement was *Aesthetisches Lexikon* (2 vols., 1835–38). Ignaz was eventually estranged from Judaism. One of Baruch's other sons, SAMUEL (d. 1861), who was baptized in 1828 as Sigmund Christian Geitler, Edler von Armingen, became an outstanding industrialist and philanthropist. Baruch's youngest son, LEOPOLD, was also baptized and adopted the name Geitler (1833). JUDAH LOEB (1773–1838), another of Jonas' sons, a Hebrew writer, contributed to the *Ha-Me'assef* and to the annuals *Bikkurei ha-Ittim* and *Kerem Ḥemed*, publishing poems and biblical and halakhic articles. He was also the author of an Aramaic grammar *Mevo ha-Lashon ha-Aramit* (1813) and a collection of poems *Benei ha-Ne'urim* (1821). One of the four chairmen of the Prague community, Judah supervised its German-language school. Unlike both the radical *maskilim* and the Orthodox, he favored a school in which secular and Jewish religious education would be united. It was mainly Judah who developed the peculiar blend of Hapsburg patriotism and awareness of the Jews as one of the nations in the empire which was characteristic of the Prague Haskalah. It found its outstanding expression in his opposition to Mordecai Manuel *Noah's program for his city of refuge, Ararat (*Bikkurei ha-Ittim*, 7 (1826/27), 45–49), claiming that nobody would answer Noah's call because "they are all now living under the rule of benign and merciful kings who deal mercifully and benevolently with us, as with all the other nations who live together with us in harmony and friendship." In 1835 he published a Hebrew and Aramaic translation of the Austrian anthem (*shir tehillah me-ammei ha-araẓot*). Judah was the first to use the expression *"Haskalah" for the Enlightenment movement. For Anton von *Schmidt's fourth edition of the Bible he translated and edited several volumes. In 1830 he settled in Vienna and edited the last two volumes of *Bikkurei ha-Ittim* (nos. 11 and 12) in 1831, making it of greater interest to Jewish scholarship.

Judah's son AARON (1799–1878) was baptized in 1828 and as Andreas Ludwig Joseph Heinrich Jeiteles became professor of anatomy at Vienna University and from 1836 at Olmuetz (Olomouc). He was active in politics and in 1848 was a member of the German National Assembly in Frankfurt on the moderate left. A prolific writer on medical subjects, he published in 1832 a call to physicians to pay more attention to psychology. Under the pen name of Justus Frey he also wrote poetry, some of which was set to music by Ludwig van Beethoven. His collected poems, *Gesammelte Dichtungen*, were published in 1899. In one of his later poems he warned Jewish youth not to become renegades. Two of his sons attained some importance, one as a German philologist and the other as a geographer.

Another of Jonas' sons, ISAAC (1779–1852), also became a physician, taking over Jonas' practice and becoming head physician of the Prague Jewish hospital. He published several medical papers: of importance are those dealing with the Bohemian mineral springs. Another of Jonas' four sons, BEZALEL (Gottlieb), moved to Bruenn (Brno) where he owned a Hebrew printing press. His son, ALOIS (1794–1858), studied medicine and philosophy in Prague and Vienna, and settled as a physician in 1821 in his native Bruenn. In Vienna he was a member of the circle of Beethoven and Franz Grillparzer. In 1819 he published jointly with Ignaz (see above) a short-lived Jewish periodical, *Siona*. His cycle of poems, *An die ferne Geliebte*, was set to music by Beethoven (1816). He translated Italian and Spanish dramas into German and his parody, "*Der Schicksalsstrumpf*" (1819), achieved success. His son RICHARD (1839–1909) was a railway expert. ISAAC JEITELES (1814–1857), a popular novelist in his day, published around 100 novels under the name of Julius Seydlitz. He was baptized a few days before his death.

The Jeiteles family continued to reside in Prague through the years. Its outstanding member was BERTHOLD (Issachar Baer; 1875–1958) who had originally studied chemistry. Strictly Orthodox, he preferred to open a glove factory so that he could observe the Sabbath. The publication of his works on talmudic subjects was prevented by the Nazi rise to power (1933). After the German occupation of Prague (1939) he was deported to *Theresienstadt, where he was able to continue his studies. He was put on a transport to *Auschwitz but was returned to Theresienstadt because there had been ten too many on the transport; officially, however, he was considered dead. In 1945 he returned to Prague and found all his hidden manuscripts intact. In 1948 he moved to New York. After his death, an Institute for Publishing the Talmudic Encyclopaedia of Dr. Berthold Jeiteles was established in Manchester (England) and the first book of *Konkordanẓyah Talmudit* (1951/52) on Rav was published. Still unpublished are 45 volumes on all personalities of both Talmuds, Tosefta, and Midrash and their opinions, as well as 18 volumes of *Ẓiyyunim*, an alphabetically arranged glossary of talmudic terms and names.

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[Henry Wasserman and Meir Lamed]

JEKABPILS (Ger. **Jakobstadt**), town in Zemgale (Courland) district, Latvia. The Jews who were present in the town despite a ban against them were expelled in 1739, and allowed to resettle there after the Russian takeover in 1795. A community was organized in 1810, and in the 1830s a yeshivah was founded by R. Joseph Ashkenazi, a disciple of Ḥayyim of *Volozhin. There were 2,567 Jews living in the town in 1835. Jews traded in grain, wood, and flax, owned two match factories, and also were artisans. Seven families (60 persons) from Jekabpils settled in agricultural colonies in Kherson province, southern Russia, in 1840. Simeon Zarḥi, rabbi of Jekabpils from 1832 to 1856, and author of *Naḥalat Shimon* (1897), settled in Ereẓ Israel. The community declined at the end of the 19th century after many of its members had emigrated to America. It numbered 2,087 (36% of the population) in 1897. Jews were expelled by the Russian army to the interior of the country in July 1915, and Jekabpils suffered severely during World War I; many Jewish houses were destroyed. Only some of the Jews returned after the war, and by 1925 they numbered 806 (14% of the total) persons. In 1935 there were 793 Jews. Between the wars they dominated town trade, owning 106 establishments out of 178 (1935). There existed a Jewish school, and Zionist youth movements were very active. Soviet rule 1940–1941 brought the liquidation of private trade and Jewish public life. On June 29, 1941, the Germans entered Jekabpils and began the persecution and forced labor of the Jews. The Jews were concentrated in synagogues, and in September 1941 they were marched outside town into a forest and murdered beside prepared ditches. About ten families returned by the end of the 1950s; they moved the Holocaust victims to the Jewish cemetery and put up a monument with a *Magen David* and a Yiddish and Russian inscription. A few years later the authorities erased the Jewish symbol and inscription. Most of the survivors left for the West and Israel. The number of Jews living in Jekabpils in 1970 was estimated at about 30.

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[Yehuda Slutsky / Shmuel Spector (2nd ed.)]

JEKELES, widespread family of businessmen known from the end of the 16th century in *Cracow-Kazimierz. Its name is derived from the sobriquet of its founder JACOB (= Jekele) BOGATY ("the rich"), son of Moses Eberłs. Jekele, a merchant and banker during the second half of the 16th and early 17th centuries, is first mentioned in 1573 in connection with a loan of 5,000 zlotys to King Sigismund II Augustus. He took part in drawing up the *takkanot* of Cracow (1595). Sebastian *Miczynski assessed his property at between 50,000 and 80,000 zlotys. His son, ISAAC BEN JACOB (Jakubovich; Reb Eisik Reb Jekeles; d. 1653), was one of the most prominent Jewish bankers and merchants of Poland in his day. He was related by marriage to the *Nachmanovich family, and owned houses and building sites in Kazimierz and shops in Cracow. He successfully represented the Jewish community of Cracow in a lawsuit in 1608 against the municipality. From then until 1647 (with the exception of 1638), he appears to have been the leading *parnas* of the community. Between 1638 and 1644, despite opposition from the Church, he erected a magnificent synagogue in Renaissance style on one of his building plots at his own expense which still exists, known as "Reb Eisik Reb Jekeles Shul."

The second son, MOSES BEN JACOB (Jakubovich; Jekeles; d. c. 1650), was a wealthy merchant active in the community leadership. He was one of the signatories of the agreement between the community and the municipal council on Jewish commerce in Cracow in 1608–09. He built an old-age home at his own expense.

MOSES BEN ISAAC JEKELES (D. 1691), a banker and pawnbroker, succeeded his father as *parnas* of the community in 1647 for several decades. At the time of the Chmielnicki massacres (1648–49), and during and after the Swedish invasion, he represented the Jews of Cracow in negotiations with Stefan *Czarniecki, the king of Sweden Charles Gustav, the military commanders Wirtz, Wittenberg, and Georg Rákóczy, and King John II Casimir, from whom he attempted to obtain abrogation of decrees adverse to the community.

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[Arthur Cygielman]

JEKUTHIEL BEN JUDAH HA-KOHEN (first half of the 13th century), Hebrew grammarian. He was known as **YAHBI** (Heb. יהב״י; the acronym of his Hebrew name, **Y**ekuthiel **H**a-Kohen **B**en **J**udah), by which he referred to himself. Elijah *Levita refers to him as the "Punctuator of Prague," giving rise to the supposition that he lived in Prague; from his warnings against certain exactly described pronunciations of consonants in the reading of the Torah which he expressly addressed to his pupils, it would seem, however, that he lived in the Rhineland and not in "Canaan" (Prague). These instructions are an important source of information on the pronunciation of Hebrew in his time, in Germany, Bohemia, and France. His citations of the opinions of different grammarians, the last of which is Abraham *Ibn Ezra, led to the hypothesis that he lived in about the first half of the 13th century. Little else is known about his life.

Ein ha-Kore, of which a critical edition of the first part, *The Grammar*, has been published by Rivka Yarkoni (1985), is probably his only work. According to Yarkoni, it is divided into two parts: (a) a grammatical study which also includes the above-mentioned instructions; and (b) notes on the vocalization and cantillation of the Pentateuch, the *haftarot*, and the Books of Lamentations and Esther.

The first part of *Ein ha-Kore* cannot be compared to the earlier works of grammarians of the Spanish school which attempted to present the reader with a methodical study of grammatical forms; its purpose was a practical one – to give instructions to those reading the Torah. He starts with the question: "When is a word *mille'eil* [penultimate accent; the stress being on the syllable before the last], and when *millera* [ultima accent; the stress being on the last syllable]?" This leads him to further questions on rhythm: the rule governing the *meteg*, called *gaya* in earlier literature (secondary accent; see *Masorah); and the rule of the *makkaf* (hyphen). Through his analysis of the *meteg* system, Jekuthiel became the first Hebrew grammarian in Europe to formulate the concepts of the open and closed syllables in Hebrew. He also discovered the law of the "heavy" *meteg*. His *meteg* system was published in *Mishpetei ha-Te'amim* (1801), by Wolf *Heidenheim. S. *Baer's German rendition (1869) is an attempt at a more scientific treatment of Jekuthiel's system (see bibliography). As a result of Baer's misunderstanding his *meteg* system was attributed to Aaron *Ben-Asher in works on Hebrew grammar published in other languages. W. Heidenheim also published the notes of *Ein ha-Kore* in the *Me'or Einayim* edition of the Pentateuch (1818–21) and in his edition of the Book of Esther, *Seder Yemei ha-Purim* (1822). Gumpertz published "*Sha'ar ha-Metigot*" (which is the chapter on the *meteg*), with an introduction and notes in *Leshonenu* (see bibl.).

The Orientalist P. *Kahle rejected Baer's editions of the books of the Bible which had been vocalized according to the "so-called Ben Asher system," in reality the system of Jekuthiel.

A new light was shed on Yahbi's *meteg*-rules by Aharon Dotan in his research and annotations to the newly-published authentic texts. At the end of his chapter on the *meteg*-rules, Yahbi writes expressly that, in his hundreds of examples, he decided on the use of the *meteg* neither in accordance with Ben Asher, nor with Ben Naphtali, but only on the basis of model Bible codices of Sephardi origin (of which six were in his possession), as far as their writing was in conformity with his "inspired" rules. On the basis of this statement by Jekuthiel himself all attempts to identify his punctuation with other systems are, of course, void. These rules are contained in Yahbi's statement that the majority of *metagim* were placed in words accentuated by disjunctive accents (called *melekh*), whereas no *meteg* was used in words accentuated by a conjunctive accent (*mesharet*).

The earliest Hebrew grammarians of the Tiberian school gave instructions on the use of the diacritical marks over complete words and word-blocks, and also of the *gaya* (over one syllable), adding that the *gaya* does not belong to the family of the genuine *te'amim* (cantillation accents). Only Dotan's study made it possible to fully understand the uniqueness of Jekuthiel's system. The fact that in the oldest fragments of Bibles with complete Tiberian punctuation the scarcity of (written) *gayot* is striking corresponds to the cautiousness of the Masoretic grammarians. On the other hand, the synagogal practice of the cantillating recitation – i.e., according to the *te'amim* – provokes the *gaya*, which is but the counterstress to the accented syllable of a word or word-block. Theoretically, Jekuthiel attributed this provocative power only to disjunctive accents (*melekh*), not to the conjunctive (*mesharet*). The fact that he introduced the *gaya* also into a minority of words with conjunctive accents was due, in Dotan's opinion, to his respect for the authoritative scribes from earlier generations.

A Palestinian punctuator of Ben Asher's time could not elaborate a comprehensive system because of the traditions in reading Hebrew, which was then a spoken language – and a spoken language cannot implement speech and reading according to abstract rules. Jekuthiel did not have any past connection with spoken Hebrew and, therefore, had the right to accentuate words according to the rhythmic laws which he had discovered, even when he did not find any model patterns to this accentuation. He therefore decided for himself "to follow the general rule and the opinion which was in conflict," that is to say, not only to punctuate according to the authority of Ben Asher, but also according to the opinion of an opponent such as Ben Naphtali, when the latter's opinions were in accordance with his rules. Thus he punctuated בְּֽיִצְחָק, לְֽיִשְׂרָאֵל according to the punctuation rules of Ben Asher and not לִֽישְׂרָאֵל, בִּֽיצְחָק on the basis of the spoken language as Ben Naphtali. He also punctuated הַֽמַּעשה מִֽיַּעקב according to his own rules, while Ben Asher and Ben Naphtali canceled the second *meteg*, because they knew from their experience of the spoken language that it is impossible to accentuate two neighboring syllables in the flow of speech.

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[Yehiel G. Gumpertz]

°**JELENSKI, JAN** (1845–1909), editor of an antisemitic Polish weekly. He was the principal opponent of Jewish assimilation to Polish society which developed in the spirit of positivism of the 1860s, mainly aiming to erode the equal rights conferred on Jews by the Wielopolski legislation. In 1870 Jelenski published a rabidly anti-Jewish pamphlet entitled *Żydzi, Niemcy i my* ("Jews, Germans and Us").

After the pogroms in *Warsaw in 1881, the climate became more propitious for propagating his ideas. In 1883 he founded a weekly, entitled *Rola*, which for 26 years continued to spread virulent anti-Jewish propaganda. Jelenski inveighed against the dangers of Jewish domination of economic and cultural life. He received support from clerical circles because of his shafts directed against Jewish assimilationist intellectuals. These, he alleged, were introducing degeneracy into the national body, and, inimical to Catholic tradition in Poland, were spreading dangerous progressive ideas. He was assisted in producing *Rola* by his friend, the notorious antisemitic author Theodor Jeske Choinski (1854–1920).

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[Moshe Landau]

JELGAVA (Ger. **Mitau**; Rus. (until 1917) **Mitava**), city in Zemgale district (Courland), Latvia; formerly capital of *Courland. Jews lived in Jelgava from the late 17th century, but their residence was endangered with expulsion orders (that were circumvented), and Jewish trade continued to expand. In 1710 they acquired land for a cemetery. A *ḥevra kaddisha* was founded there in 1729 and a *bikkur ḥolim* society in 1770. From 1778 to 1828 the community was led by the wealthy Kalman and Samson Borkum, whose endeavors enabled the first synagogue in the city to be erected in 1784. In 1799, under Russian rule, the local Jews made up 70% of all Courland Jews. There were 642 Jewish males in the town in 1797 and altogether 5,453 Jews (21% of the total population) in 1860. Half of them traded in horses and farm products, and a third were engaged in crafts. The first historian of Courland Jewry, Reuven Joseph *Wunderbar, was active there during this period. The departure of 115 families (863 persons) from Jelgava for agricultural settlement in southern Russia in 1840, and a severe cholera epidemic in the town in 1848, brought about a decline in the community. Many also were attracted to the developing cities of *Riga and Libava (*Liepaja). The world crisis in the grain markets and the direct linkage of the agricultural areas, as well as competition from Latvians, created a decline in the economic position of the Jelgava Jews and caused about 800 families to ask for relief. According to the census of 1897, there were 5,879 Jews (16.8% of the total population). Rabbis of the community included Samuel Teomim-Ashkenazi (18th century), and Ẓevi Hirsch Nurock and his son Mordechai *Nurock (20th century). In 1910 there existed three synagogues, a *talmud torah*, a Jewish state school for boys, and three Jewish private schools. In May 1915 the Jews of Jelgava, along with the rest of the Jews in Courland, were expelled to the interior of Russia. Some returned after World War I, to find most of the houses burned down and to suffer a pogrom organized by local Germans. The community did not regain its former strength. It numbered 2,039 (6% of the population) in 1935. Levi *Ovchinski, historian of Latvian Jewry, was rabbi of Jelgava until the Holocaust. Jews maintained dominance in trade and owned, among other establishments, a large flax-processing factory. The community maintained welfare services, such as a hospital, an orphanage, and an old age home. It had a *talmud torah*, a Jewish public school, a Hebrew high school, and four synagogues. Zionist parties and youth movements were quite active. Under Soviet rule in 1940–1941 the economy was nationalized, and Jewish institutions and parties were closed. The Germans entered Jelgava on August 29, 1941. Many Jews fled with the retreating Red Army. In the first week of occupation five *Aktionen* were carried out by *Einsatzkommando* 2 and Latvian police, and many hundreds of Jews were murdered, some burned alive in the synagogues. In the beginning of September 1941 a few hundred mental patients from the town and from Liepaja were killed. In fall the town was declared by the Germans to be "free of Jews" (*judenfrei*). There were some 20 Jews living there in 1970.

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[Yehuda Slutsky / Shmuel Spector (2nd ed.)]

JELINEK, ELFRIEDE (1946–), Austrian novelist and playwright. Jelinek grew up in Vienna in a working-class family. Although her father was of Czech-Jewish origin, Jelinek attended a Catholic kindergarten and then a convent school. During this time she studied organ and piano at the Vienna Conservatory and later theater and art at the University of Vienna. Jelinek started writing and publishing in the late 1960s with her first collection of poems, *Lisas Schatten* (1967). Her first works were influenced by the so-called *Wiener Gruppe* (Vienna Group) – a group that had been established by H.C. Artmann – and by Jelinek's political commitment to the *Grazer Gruppe* (Graz group). Her earliest works criticize capitalism and the consumer society. Her first novels *wir sind lockvoegel, baby!* (1970) and *Michael: Ein Jugendbuch fuer die Infantilgesellschaft* (1972) demonstrated this combination of avant-garde art and political engagement. These texts are dominated by experimental language: montage, grotesque images, simulation of nursery rhyme and imitation of pop songs. Both novels anticipate Jelinek's style of writing in her future texts. In her essay *Die endlose Schuldigkeit* (1970) Jelinek delineated the innocence and ignorance of society about cultural myths and images. Deconstructing existing myths became Jelinek's main issue in writing. In the 1980s she addressed the patriarchal society with biting criticism and aimed at deconstructing the myths of love, marriage, and family. *Die Liebhaberinnen* (1975; *Women as Lovers*, 1994) was considered Jelinek's first feminist piece of literature and applauded by the critics. Especially *Die Klavierspielerin* (1983; *The Piano Teacher,* 1988), which contains autobiographical elements, is the story of a female protagonist making her stand against her extremely protective mother. The novel became a bestseller and served as basis for a movie.

In 1989 Jelinek wrote her second bestselling novel *Lust* (Eng. 1993). As was typical in this phase of her writing, Jelinek depicts marriage as legalized prostitution and portrays the town and its inhabitants as greedy and corrupt. The protagonists in this novel are incapable of liberation because they are driven by socioeconomic forces. Their consumer ideology leads to the degradation of human beings to the status of objects.

Jelinek also wrote for the theater. Her first plays *Was geschah, nachdem Nora ihren Mann verlassen hatte; oder Stuetzen der Gesellschaft* (1978) and *Clara S. musikalische Tragoedie* (1984) show the futile attempt of her female protagonists to determine their lives independently. At the same time Jelinek wrote *Burgtheater: Posse mit Gesang* (1984), in which she used a language that illustrates and unmasks fascist ideas in daily life. Subsequent works also remained focused on the theme of lingering fascism in today's society. Her plays *Wolken Heim* (1990) and *Totenauberg* (1991), as well as the novel *Die Kinder der Toten* (1995), are thematically linked with fascism and its philosophical nationalistic roots. Especially the last-mentioned novel is a grotesque picture of zombies living their lives between suppression of history and oblivion of death.

In the 1980s her works were widely and ambivalently reviewed. Whereas some critics praised her aesthetic language, Jelinek always had to face harsh criticism in her home country of Austria. Here critics attacked Jelinek personally and limited their criticism to the explicit sexuality and abusiveness of her texts. Especially with the play *Burgtheater: Posse mit Gesang* Jelinek had to deal with personal assaults. This play is evocative of the Austrian participation in the Holocaust and the Third Reich. Jelinek was henceforth labeled a hater of Austria. Nonetheless Jelinek earned much praise from the international public and received among many others awards the Heinrich Böll Prize in 1986 and, in 1998, the prestigious Georg Büchner Prize. With this positive reception Jelinek's work was also praised in Austria. In the Burgtheater she celebrated the premiere of her play *Ein Sportstueck* (1998) which received standing ovations. Sport here is portrayed as another form of war, a mass phenomenon charged with violence. Various voices weave a texture of human behavior and contemporary social structures.

In the 1990s Jelinek's writing became more and more political. Jelinek had been a member of the Austrian Communist Party and had already criticized capitalism in her early works. Her later work concentrates mostly on the historical past of Austria and unmasks the myth of Austrian innocence during the Third Reich. Her political activism included sharp criticism of the election of Kurt Waldheim with his Nazi past, and later she protested against Joerg Haider and his right-wing party FPÖ. Haider's farewell speech, made when he stepped down from the national leadership of his nationalistic party, was transposed into the play *Das Lebewohl* (2000). The monologue can be read as a statement of a seducer yearning for power ad infinitum.

Jelinek's subsequent works were short dramas consisting of dense monologues. *Der Tod und das Maedchen I–V* (2003) depicts in five plays the death of the maiden in a male-dominated world. One of these plays, *Jackie,* was made into a radio play and received the highest recognition with the Blind War Veterans' Radio Theatre Prize.

Jelinek received the Nobel Prize for literature in 2004. In its official announcement the committee cites the "musical flow of voices and counter-voices" in her work, that "with extraordinary linguistic zeal reveals the absurdity of society's clichés and their subjugating power." Jelinek did not attend the official ceremony, as she did not feel capable of dealing with such an imposing public.

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[Ann-Kristin Koch (2nd ed.)]

JELLIN, ARYEH LOEB BEN SHALOM SHAKHNA (1820–1886), Polish talmudist and halakhist. Born in Yasinovka, Jellin became rabbi of Bielsk. He was the author of *Yefeh Einayim*, on the Talmud, whose major feature is that it lists sources, parallel passages, and variant readings in the midrashic literature and in the *aggadah* of the Talmud. He maintains that as a result new light is thrown upon the subject, many obscurities becoming clear. He also draws attention to differences between the Babylonian and Jerusalem Talmuds, both in language and in the method of approach in the discussion on the explanation of the Mishnah or *baraita*. The *Yefeh Einayim* was included in the Vilna (Romm) edition of the Talmud. Jellin's fame spread as an outstanding halakhic authority, particularly on the laws of *terefot. He was the author of *Miẓpeh Aryeh*, short notes on the talmudic digest of Isaac *Alfasi, and of *Kol Aryeh*, sermons appended to it, published in Johannisburg, Prussia (n.d.). The *Penei Aryeh*, a comprehensive commentary on the Palestinian Talmud, aimed at justifying the accepted text without variant readings, has not been published.

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[Abram Juda Goldrat]

JELLINEK, ADOLF (**Aaron**; 1820/21–1893), Vienna preacher and scholar. He was born in a village near Uhersky Brod (Ungarisch Brod), Moravia, into a family which he believed to be of *Hussite origin. After attending the yeshivah of Menahem *Katz (Wannfried) in Prostejov (Prossnitz), in 1838 he moved to Prague where he was influenced by Solomon Judah *Rapoport, Michael Jehiel *Sachs, and Wolfgang *Wessely. Moving to Leipzig in 1842, he studied philosophy and Semitics at the university there, assisted Julius *Fuerst in editing the *Orient*, and in 1845 was appointed preacher in the new synagogue which was established under the guidance of Zacharias *Frankel. Although he opposed the radical views of his brother, Herman *Jellinek, he enthusiastically hailed the freedom resulting from the 1848 revolution. Together with Christian clergymen he then founded the Kirchlicher Verein fuer alle Religionsbekenntnisse, an association open to all religious denominations, and would have represented it at the Frankfurt German National Assembly (1848) but for the intervention of the Saxonian minister of religious affairs. He was also on the board of an association (Verein zur Wahrung der deutschen Interessen an den oestlichen Grenzen) formed to support Germans in the Slav countries. In 1857 he was appointed preacher at the new Leopoldstadt synagogue in Vienna, remaining there until he went to the Seitenstetten synagogue in 1865.

In 1862 Jellinek founded the Beit ha-Midrash Academy where public lectures were delivered by himself, Isaac Hirsch *Weiss, and Meir *Friedmann. A scholarly periodical, also called *Beit ha-Midrash*, was published under its auspices. His eldest son, GEORGE J. JELLINEK (1851–1911), a professor of public law at Basle and Heidelberg, was baptized after Jellinek's death.

Jellinek was considered the greatest preacher of his day and some 200 of his sermons were published, some were translated into Hebrew and into other languages. Their most striking characteristic was that, while related to actual problems of the day, they made brilliant and original use of *aggadah* and Midrash. Personally lenient in matters of ritual, he advocated a moderately liberal line, striving for unity in the community. Thus although he wanted to install an organ in the synagogue "to attract the indifferent," he took I.N. *Mannheimer's advice and abandoned the idea. He also opposed the omission from the prayer book of references to Zion and prayers for the restoration of sacrifices. Due to the conciliatory attitude of both Jellinek and the leader of the Orthodox group, Solomon Benjamin *Spitzer, a split in the community was avoided. Jellinek was an unsuccessful candidate for the Diet of Lower Austria in 1861. In a eulogy (1867) delivered after the execution of Emperor Maximilian of Mexico, in which he alluded to the execution of his own brother, he suggested the abolition of capital punishment for political offenses and advocated a reform of court procedures. He expressed his views on political matters regularly in the **Neuzeit*, which he edited from 1882. Jellinek was Baron Maurice de *Hirsch's trustee for his philanthropic activities in Galicia. With the rise of modern antisemitism, he turned his energies to apologetics, which he wanted to include as a subject in his Beit ha-Midrash, and he persuaded Joseph Samuel *Bloch to write his *Israel und die Voelker.* He was hostile to the emerging Jewish nationalist movement, and when Leo *Pinsker approached him he refused to back his ideas. Like many Reform rabbis of his day, he did not view Jews as a nation. They were meant to be dedicated to their European fatherland while pursuing the fulfillment of Judaism's religious goals. Thus, "Zion" became a symbol for the ultimate redemption of all mankind.

Jellinek also produced a large number of scholarly works in numerous fields. He had taken an early interest in the study of Kabbalah (one of the very few who did in that golden age of modern Jewish scholarship) and translated A. Franck's *La Cabbale* into German (1844). Jellinek's original contributions in this field were *Moses b. Schemtob de Leon und sein Verhaeltnis zum Sohar* (1851); *Auswahl kabbalistischer Mystik* (1853); *Beitraege zur Geschichte der Kabbala* (1852); *Thomas von Aquino in der juedischen Literatur* (1853); and *Philosophie und Kabbala* (1854). He also edited Abraham Abulafia's *Sefer ha-Ot* (1887), in which he showed that *Moses b. Shem Tov de Leon and not Abulafia wrote the Zohar. In his Leipzig period Jellinek also edited Menahem de Lonzano's *Ma'arikh* (1853), a dictionary of foreign words in Talmud, Midrash, and Zohar; wrote "*Sefat Ḥakhamim*" (1846–47) on talmudic idioms (in L. Benjacob, *Devarim Attikim*); and edited, with an introduction and commentary, Baḥya b. Joseph ibn Paquda's *Ḥovot ha-Levavot* (1846). In Vienna Jellinek's main scholarly effort was directed toward the publication of 99 smaller, largely unknown Midrashim (*Beit ha-Midrash*, 6 vols., 1853–78, 1938), many of which were of prime importance for the study of early Kabbalah, such as the *Heikhalot Rabbati, Nistarot R. Shimon bar Yoḥai*, etc. In a number of smaller publications (1877–84), Jellinek dealt with a variety of historical, philosophical, talmudic, and bibliographical subjects such as the persecutions during the First Crusade, the disputation of Barcelona in 1263, the Talmud commentators, those of Maimonides' *Mishneh Torah*, and others. Other publications of this period include: Simeon b. Ẓemaḥ Duran's commentary on *Avot* (1855); Judah Messer Leon's *Nofet Ẓufim* (1863); Solomon Alami's *Iggeret Musar* (1872); *Worms-Wien* (1880); and *Der juedische Stamm in nichtjuedischen Sprichwoertern* (3 vols., 1882–86).

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[Gershom Scholem and Meir Lamed]

JELLINEK, HERMANN (1822–1848), writer, journalist, and revolutionary; younger brother of Adolf *Jellinek. While living in Prostejov (Prossnitz) and Prague, he studied independently and was taught languages by his brother. He studied in Prague and Leipzig. Jellinek first attracted attention through his lecture opposing the philosophy of Leibniz, delivered at Leipzig University on the occasion of Leibniz's 200th anniversary. Although Jellinek received a doctorate, he was expelled from Leipzig for his political activity. In reaction, he published *Das Denunciation System des saechsischen Liberalismus und das kritisch-nihilistische System Hermann Jellineks* (1847). Moving to Berlin, where he was in close contact with Bruno *Bauer, he pursued his radical revolutionary course, thereby alienating his brother Adolf. A third brother, R. Haraszti-Jellinek, owned the trolley car company of Budapest, Hungary. Expelled from Berlin for political reasons, Jellinek went to Vienna in March 1848. As a means of supporting himself, Jellinek turned to journalism, writing fiercely radical articles against the Hapsburg regime in the *Allgemeine Oesterreichische Zeitung* and later in *Der Radikale*. With the failure of the 1848 Revolution in Vienna, and with the declaration of martial law, his friends advised him to escape, but he remained and was arrested. Field Marshal Windischgraetz blamed the press for the events of the revolution and accused Jellinek and his friend A. Becher. A military tribunal sentenced both to death by hanging, but only Jellinek was executed on November 23. Adolf *Fischhof has suggested that Jellinek was selected for execution because he was a Jew and Becher, a Protestant. Jellinek's works include *Uriel Acostas Leben und Lehre* (1847) and *Die Taeuschung der aufgeklaerten Juden und ihre Faehigkeit zur Emancipation* (1847). In the latter he mocks the aspirations of Jews who attempt to attain equal rights by presenting Judaism as an enlightened religion which suits the demands of the age of Enlightenment.

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[Jacob Rothschild]

JELLINEK, KARL (1882–1955), German physical chemist; born in Vienna. In 1908, Jellinek joined the Technische Hochschule at Danzig; he was appointed professor of physical chemistry and director of the Institute in 1922. In 1937 the Nazis forced him out and he spent the rest of his life in London. His field of research included nitric oxide, ammonia synthesis, electrochemistry, the Nernst heat theorem, and the vapor pressure of salts. He wrote many books, including *Verstaendliche Elemente der Wellenmechanik* (2 vols., 1950–51).

JEMNICE (Ger. **Jamnitz**), town in S.W. Moravia, Czech Republic. The Jewish community in Jemnice is mentioned first in connection with its sufferings during the *Armleder massacres (1336). It is assumed that the community was one of the oldest of Moravia. A gravestone from 1362 has been preserved and in 1369 the sale of real estate by a Jew was recorded. In 1530 Jews are mentioned as house owners and throughout the 16th and 17th centuries transactions in real estate between Jews and gentiles are frequently documented. A synagogue, built in 1648, burned down in 1752. There were nine Jewish tailors in Jemnice in 1755. When the community could not meet its tax obligations in 1775, the local lord renounced his share. In 1812 a German-language elementary school was founded, which existed as a governmental school until 1918. In a fire in 1832 all 28 houses of the Jewish quarter were burned to the ground. Riots occurred in 1866 when the Jews were accused of actively supporting the Prussians.

There were 24 families living in 11 houses in 1666. In 1754 the number of permitted families was increased from 30 to 45 (see *Familiants Law) and the community increased to 263 persons (nearly 20% of the total population) in 1781, and 325 persons in 1830. Then began a steady decline, from 305 in 1857 to 200 in 1869, 102 in 1910, 84 in 1921, and 52 in 1930 (1.5% of the total). In 1942 the community was deported to the Nazi extermination camps. The synagogue ritual objects were transferred to the Central Jewish Museum in Prague.

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[Meir Lamed]

JENER, ABRAHAM NAPHTALI HIRSCH BEN MORDECAI (1805–1876), rabbi and author. Jener was appointed *dayyan* at Cracow in 1831 and in 1856, after the death of Alexander Landau, the head of the *bet din*. The extreme Orthodox element refused to elect him chief rabbi of Cracow on account of his moderation and his tolerant attitude toward the followers of the *Haskalah movement, between whom and the Orthodox he was the mediator also during the chief rabbinate of Simeon *Sofer. His approbations appear in many books, and his responsa and halakhic decisions in the works of contemporary rabbis. Several of his responsa and letters were published in Ẓevi Hirsch *Chajes' *Minḥat Kena'ot* and in Jacob Eichhorn's *Adat Ya'akov*. The most distinguished of his pupils was Solomon Zalman Ḥayyim *Halberstam. Jener wrote *Birkat Avraham*, responsa (1870), and *Ẓeluta de-Avraham*, halakhic novellae, responsa, and homilies (1868).

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[Itzhak Alfassi]

JENIN (Ar. **Janīn**), Arab town in Samaria, situated in the southern corner of the Jezreel Valley, near the junction of roads running to *Haifa, Afulah, Nazareth, and Nablus. At the end of the 19th century, Jenin's population was below 1,000, but by 1943 had increased to 3,900. In the 1967 census conducted by Israel, the town proper had 8,346 inhabitants; 4,480 more lived in a refugee camp within the municipal confines. Only 90 were Christians, all the rest Muslims. Jenin's economy is based mainly on agriculture which utilizes the abundance of springwater and the fertile soil of the vicinity. Before 1948, and again from 1967, the town's position at an important crossroads contributed to its development. It also made it an important base for the Turko-German forces in World War I, until the British Army captured Jenin in September 1918. In the 1936–39 Arab riots, Jenin lay at the apex of the aggressive Arab "triangle" (whose other two corners were Tul-Karm and Nablus) from which attacks against Jewish villages in the Jezreel Valley were launched. In the Israel *War of Independence, the Arab Liberation Army under Fawzī al-Qāwuqjī set out from Jenin to attack Mishmar ha-Emek in an effort to break through to Haifa, but was driven back. On June 2, 1948, Jewish units attacked from the north and took most of the town, but had to evacuate it again when overwhelming Iraqi forces arrived to relieve the Arab positions in the hills around. In the *Six-Day War (1967), Jenin constituted a forward Jordanian position. It fell after Israel columns entered the Dotan Valley to its rear and overcame a Jordanian counterattack (June 6, 1967). Jenin was transferred to the jurisdiction of the *Palestinian Authority following the 1995 Taba Agreement. During the so-called al-Aqsa Intifada (see *Israel, State of, under Historical Survey), Jenin was a hotbed of terrorist activity and often targeted by Israeli forces, most notably in Operation Defensive Shield in the spring of 2002. The controversial film *Jenin, Jenin* purported to document Israeli atrocities and was banned by the Israel Film Board for its distortions, a decision later overturned by Israel's Supreme Court. In 1997 the population of Jenin numbered 26,650 inhabitants, among them 50% refugees. Jenin is sometimes identified with biblical *En-Gannim.

[Efraim Orni]

°**JENKINSON, SIR (Charles) HILARY** (1882–1961), British archivist and scholar. He began his association with the Public Records Office in 1906 and became deputy keeper (director) in 1947. He built up the profession of archivist in Britain. Throughout his life he retained an early interest in medieval Anglo-Jewish history, stimulated by his discovery in the Record Office of some Jewish receipt rolls and tallies. This led, among other publications, to his editing the third volume of the Plea Rolls of the Jewish Exchequer, *Calendar of the Plea Rolls of the Exchequer of the Jews Preserved in the Records Office; Edward I 1275–1277* (1929). He modified his original view that the medieval Exchequer of the Jews was purely judicial. As president of the Jewish Historical Society of England (1953–55), he initiated the resumption of publication of medieval Anglo-Jewish records and the formation of the Anglo-Jewish Archives. Jenkinson was knighted in 1949.

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[Vivian David Lipman]

JEPHTHAH (Heb. יִפְתָּח), judge of Israel for six years and victor over the Ammonites (Judg. 11:1–12:7). According to Judges, Jephthah was the son of a harlot, and his father's name is given as Gilead. Jephthah is described as a Gileadite warrior. After the legitimate sons of his father had driven him from home, he went to live in the land of Tob, where he became the leader of a band of adventurers. The elders of Gilead recalled him to repel an Ammonite invasion (see below), and Jephthah agreed on condition that he be appointed chief of the land after the victory (11:1–11). Jephthah then proceeded to negotiate with the Ammonites, seeking in vain to convince them that Israel possessed a right to its territory and that attempts to dislodge Israel from it would be futile (11:12–28). In the course of the negotiations Jephthah acknowledged that Chemosh had given land to the Ammonites. The unexpectedly brief account of the decisive defeat of the enemy highlights Jephthah's vow to sacrifice to YHWH whatever would come out of his house to meet him on his victorious return. To Jephthah's immense grief, it was his only daughter who came first to greet him, and he felt obliged to fulfill his solemn vow. The daughter resigned herself to her fate and begged only that it be postponed for two months so that she might mourn with her companions on the mountains. At the end of this period she met her tragic fate. This serves as an etiology for the observance by Israelite women of an annual four-day mourning period (11:29–40). Jephthah's victory over the Ammonites led to a war with the Ephraimites, who resented not having been included in the call to arms. Forty-two thousand of them, caricatured as stupid in not preparing (*yakin*) to pronounce *shibbolet* correctly when their lives depended on it, are said to have been slaughtered as they attempted to cross the fords of the Jordan (12:1–6). The account exhibits clear evidence of a conflation of parallel traditional material, though the discussion among critics has not been significantly advanced since the commentaries of Moore and, especially, Burney. The latter isolated a "Moabite" narrative (10:17; 11:12–28, 30, 31, 33b, 34–40) now assimilated, albeit imperfectly, to the normative tradition in 11:1–11, 29, 32b–33a, and 12:1–6. Pivotal to any such analysis is the fact that Jephthah's messengers to the Ammonite king (11:12–28) argue Israel's case with examples from Moabite history and go so far as to suggest that Chemosh is the Ammonites' god (not Milcom or Molech as to be expected from I Kings 11:5, 7). The Ammonite invasion was prompted by a territorial dispute having its roots in the Israelite conquest of Canaan, when Israel conquered some Amorite territory in Transjordan. The Ammonites in Jephthah's time claimed that this territory had originally belonged to them and were demanding its return from Israel. The Pentateuch's account of the Mosaic conquest of the Amorite territory says nothing explicit about any of it having previously belonged to the Ammonites. In the story of the conquest of the Amorite kingdom of Sihon and the Amorite city-state of Jazer, it is mentioned that Sihon expanded his territory at the expense of the Moabites. At first apparently confined to a limited territory around Heshbon, Sihon took from the Moabites everything down to the River Arnon. In this connection a snatch of an ancient battle or taunt song celebrating Sihon's discomfiture of Moab is cited (Num. 21:23–32). The account adds that the city-state of Jazer (so read, with LXX, for "Az" in Num. 21:24) marked the border of the Ammonites and that the Israelites dispossessed its Amorite population (21:32). This, and perhaps a strip of the former kingdom of Sihon, may indeed have been formerly Ammonite territory. It is possible that only such territory was claimed by Jephthah's Ammonite contemporaries, despite Judges 11:13. The name Jephthah is apparently a shortened form of Yftaḥ-Yah or Yftaḥ-El ("God opens/may open," i.e., the womb). Jephthah appears as a place-name in Joshua 15:43, and in its fuller form in Joshua 19:14, 27.

[Harold Louis Ginsberg and Nahum M. Sarna]

In the Aggadah

Jephthah, in common with Gideon and Samson, was one of the least worthy judges of Israel. From the mention of his name together with that of Samuel in one verse (I Sam. 12:11) the rabbis deduce that "Jephthah in his generation is like Samuel in his generation, to teach that even an unworthy person, when appointed to a position of importance has to be regarded as one of the greatest" (RH 25b). He is condemned as one of the three (Ta'an. 4a) or four (Gen. R. 603) to take imprudent vows, but he was the only one who regretted his imprudence. His sinful act of immolating his daughter was due both to his ignorance and his false pride. He was unaware that he could have paid ransom to the Temple treasury in lieu of his vow, and that the high priest Phinehas could have absolved him from it. However, each refused to lower his dignity by visiting the other. Jephthah's punishment for this action was that his body was dismembered limb by limb (Gen. R. 60:3).

In the Arts

The moving and pathetic account of Jephthah and his votive sacrifice appealed to Christian writers, artists, and musicians from medieval times onward. Two of the earliest literary works based on the theme, though not written in English, were by British authors: *Jephthes si-Ve votum* (performed c. 1542), a neo-Latin drama by the Scots Protestant George Buchanan, and Ἰεφθάε (1544?; Eng. *Jephthah*, 1928), a Greek academic play by the English Catholic exile John Christopherson. The latter is a study of retributive justice with contemporary religious and political undertones and echoes of other scriptural episodes, such as the *Akedah* and the Crucifixion. At least as old is the English ballad "Jephthah Judge of Israel" quoted by Shakespeare (*Hamlet* II, ii), which Thomas Percy later included in his *Reliques of Ancient English Poetry* (1765). Among other works of the 16th century which dealt with the subject were the German *Meistersinger*, Hans Sachs's *Der Jephta und seine Tochter* (1555), and *Jephté* (1567), a French drama based largely on Buchanan's, by Florent Chrétien, a prose parody attacking the Catholic League and other enemies of Henry of Navarre. During the 17th century, the English writers Thomas Dekker and Anthony Munday staged a *Jephthah* (1602) which has not survived; the Dutch playwright Joost van den Vondel wrote the verse tragedy *Jephta* (1659); and the subject also appeared in the English *Stonyhurst Pageants*, and in *Cumplir a Dios la Palabra o la Hija de Jefte* (included in Diamante's *Comedias*, Madrid, 1670–74) by the Spanish dramatist Juan Bautista Diamante. The number of literary (largely dramatic) works about Jephthah multiplied during the 19th century, particularly in England, where they clearly appealed to Victorian sentimentality. Those in English included Lord *Byron's poem "Jephthah's Daughter" (in *Hebrew Melodies*, 1815), and William Alexander's dramatic poem *Ella, or the Prince of Gilead's Vow* (1847). Among the treatments in other languages were Karl Ludwig Kannegieser's German tragedy *Mirza, die Tochter Jephtas* (1818) and "La fille de Jephté" (in *Poèmes antiques et modernes*, 1826) by the French Romantic Alfred de Vigny; Ludwig *Robert's drama *Die Tochter Jephthas* (1813) was the first German stage production by a Jew; other works by Jewish writers included Moses Samuel Neumann's Hebrew play *Bat Yiftaḥ* (Vienna, 1805) and Leibush Lewinsohn's Hebrew novel *Neder Yiftaḥ* (1870). Modern treatments by Jewish authors include *Yiftakhs Tokhter* (1914; *Jephthah's Daughter*, 1915), a Yiddish play by Sholem *Asch; Ernst *Lissauer's drama *Das Weib des Jephta* (1928); Saul Saphire's Yiddish novel *Yiftakh un Zayn Tokhter* (1937); *Far a Nayer Velt* (1939–40), a Yiddish drama by the U.S. writer David *Ignatoff; and Lion *Feuchtwanger's last novel, *Jefta und seine Tochter* (1957; Eng. 1958).

In art, the two main subjects treated are Jephthah's meeting with his daughter on his return from battle and his sacrifice of his daughter. These, together with his battle against the Ammonites, are illustrated in the 13th-century French *St. Louis Psalter* (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris). In a 15th-century German manuscript in the Munich State Library there is a charming miniature of Jephthah coming home in armor and greeted by his daughter, who is playing on a string instrument. Jephthah's homecoming is also the subject of paintings by Lucas van Leyden (1494–1533; private collection) and Pierre Mignard (1610–1695; Hermitage, Leningrad). Jephthah's sacrifice of his daughter is illustrated in the 14th-century English *Queen Mary Psalter* (British Museum), as well as in the *St. Louis Psalter*. The subject was again painted by Lucas van Leyden. It was popular in France in the 17th century, and was treated by Pierre Mignard (Hermitage, Leningrad), Charles Lebrun (Uffizi, Florence), and Antoine Coypel (Laon Museum). There is a painting by the French 19th-century artist Edgar Degas in Smith College, Massachusetts, U.S. Enrico *Glicenstein executed a sculpture of Jephthah's daughter. The story of Jephthah was much used for tapestries, the chief example being the series made in Tournai by Pasquier Grenier (c. 1470) for Philip the Good, duke of Burgundy.

The story also attracted the attention of oratorio composers during the formative period of the genre at the beginning of the 17th century. Some time before 1649, Giacomo Carissimi wrote his *Jephte*, which has retained a place in the musical repertory. The works which followed include G.B. Vitali's *Il Gefte overo Il zelo impudente* (1672; libretto only extant); A. Draghi's *Jefte* (1690); A. Lotti's *Il voto crudele* (*Jefta*)(1712); and *Il Sacrifizio di Jephta* by L. Vinci (1690–1730; date of composition unknown). Michel de Monteclair's "*tragédie lyrique*" *Jephté*, to a libretto by the abbé S.J. Pellegrim, was the first opera on a biblical subject licensed for stage performance in France. It had its première at the Académie Royale de Musique in 1732 and was restaged in 1733 and 1734, but it was immediately afterward forbidden by Cardinal de Noailles. The subject, with a text by Thomas Morell after an Italian prototype, was destined to inspire Handel's last work. The annotations in his manuscript score, begun on Jan. 12, 1751, and the faltering notational image, bear witness to Handel's progressing blindness. The score was finished on Aug. 30, 1751, after a slight improvement had partially restored his sight, and the first performance took place in the Covent Garden Theater, London, on Feb. 26, 1752. A reworking by Ferdinand *Hiller has remained in manuscript. Until the end of the 18th century various other settings of the subject, all oratorios, were also written. Giacomo *Meyerbeer's oratorio *Jephtas Geluebde*, written in 1812 when he was 21, has remained in manuscript. During the 19th century, the operatic potential of the story could be realized, since religious restrictions were no longer a deterrent, and the gruesome ending with a human sacrifice attracted, rather than repelled, the Romantics. Two operas were even written and performed in Spain: *Jephté* (1845) by Luis Cepeda and *La Hija de Jefté* (1876) by Ruperto Chapí. Two Jephthah cantatas figure in the list of works which won their composers the Prix de Rome of the Paris Conservatory; one by Samuel *David (1858) and another by Alexandre-Samuel Rousseau (1878). Byron's *Jephthah's Daughter* was first set to music by Isaac *Nathan and subsequently, among others, by Karl Loewe (1826, in a German translation) and Robert Schumann (in his *Drei Gesaenge*, opus 95; written 1849). Among works of the 20th century are Lucien Haudebert's *La fille de Jephté* (1929; for orchestra); Lazare *Saminsky's *The Daughter of Jephthah*, "a cantata pantomime" for solo, choir, orchestra, and dancers (publ. 1937); and Ernst *Toch's "rhapsodic poem" for orchestra, *Jephta* (1963). A.Z. *Idelsohn's *Yiftaḥ*, written in Jerusalem and published in 1922, was the first opera composed in Palestine. Idelsohn wrote the (Hebrew) text himself; the music is a singular combination of the various Jewish traditions – both Western and Eastern – which he had by then collected for his ethnomusicological studies. Modern Israel works on the subject include Mordekhai *Seter's orchestral work *Jephthah's Daughter* (publ. 1965) and several settings in the form of a pageant, created for the kibbutzim of the Gilboa region. Two dances by Amittai Ne'eman, one slow and one debkah-like and fast, both called *Bat Yiftaḥ*, and danced in succession, are in the Israel folkdance repertory.

[Bathja Bayer]

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JERAHMEEL BEN SOLOMON (c. 1150), chronicler, lived in Italy. He wrote *Megillat Yeraḥme'el* (or *Meliẓat Yeraḥme'el* or *Sefer ha-Yeraḥme'eli*), a compilation of writings on history and other subjects such as grammar, music, astronomy, liturgy and more. His anthology contained also the book of *Josippon*, translation of the Aramaic chapters in the book of Daniel, and a few historical Midrashim, and it is based on both Jewish and non-Jewish sources, including selections from Strabo, Nicholas of Damascus and Philo, as well as from a few historical Midrashim and apocryphal works. It contains numerous apocalyptic legends about biblical heroes taken from unknown sources, parallel to legends in the Midrashim, in *Sefer ha-Yashar*, in Josippon, and in Christian apocalyptical works. Portions of the work were incorporated by Eleazar b. Asher ha-Levi (c. 1325) in his book *Sefer ha-Zikhronot* (Ms. Oxford). Several excerpts were published by Neubauer (JQR, 11 (1899), 364ff.). M. Gaster translated the *Megillah* into English (*The Chronicle of Jerahmeel*, 1899) and added a detailed introduction; he titled it *The Chronicles of Jerahmeel on the Hebrew Bible Historiale*. The literary works of Jerahmeel consist mostly of poems, mathematical riddles, and questions in meteorology, as well as *piyyutim*, especially *Kedushot* (Ms. Paris 646) which describe the world of creation and the holiness of the angels. Numerous rhymes and stormy rhythms are used in these *piyyutim* to imitate the sound of the enthusiasm and tumult of the angels.

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[Yonah David]

JEREMIAH (Heb. יִרְמְיָה, יִרְמְיָהוּ) second of the major prophets whose book is the second in the Latter Prophets section of the Bible.

This entry is arranged according to the following outline:

IN THE BIBLE
- **The Life and Message of Jeremiah**
  - BEGINNINGS OF PROPHECY
  - AFTER THE DEATH OF JOSIAH
  - THE DESTRUCTION OF THE TEMPLE AND EXILE
- **The Composition of the Book**
- **Oracles Against Foreign Nations**
- **"The Book of Consolation"**
- **The "Biography" of Jeremiah**
- **Baruch's Scroll with Additions**
- **Oracles Concerning the House of David and the Prophets**

IN THE AGGADAH
IN ISLAM
IN THE ARTS

IN THE BIBLE

The Book of Jeremiah is the largest among the Latter Prophets and comprises the oracles of the prophet Jeremiah from the 13th year of the reign of Josiah until after the destruction of Judah by the Babylonians. It also contains biographical and autobiographical narrative concerning the prophet and his activities, as well as historical records of the destruction of Jerusalem and of subsequent events which took place in Judah and Egypt. In the prevalent masoretic editions it is placed after the Book of Isaiah. According to an old order suggested by *Bava Batra* 14b–15a, it was placed at the beginning of the Latter Prophets, before Ezekiel and Isaiah. This arrangement was followed by many Ashkenazi manuscripts. In the Septuagint it usually appears third, after the Minor Prophets and Isaiah and before Ezekiel (see *Bible, Canon). (See Table, Book of Jeremiah contents.)

BOOK OF JEREMIAH – CONTENTS

1:1–6:30	**Baruch's scroll**
1:1–19	The call of Jeremiah.
2:1–4:4	Indictment of the nation's sin.
4:5–6:30	The coming disaster "from the north."
7:1–10:25	**First editorial addition to Baruch's scroll**
7:1–8:3	Temple sermons and appended sayings.
8:4–9:21	An incorrigible people and their tragic ruin.
9:22–10:16	Miscellaneous sayings.
10:17–25	An incorrigible people and their tragic ruin.
11:1–20:18	**Second editorial addition to Baruch's scroll**
11:1–17	Preaching on the broken covenant.
11:18–12:6	Jeremiah's persecution by his relatives and fellow townsmen.
12:7–17	God expresses His sorrow for the dereliction of His people.
13:1–27	Parabolic vision of the linen waistcloth and attached sayings.
14:1–15:4	The time of drought and national emergency.
15:5–16:21	Oracles and confessions in poetry and prose.
17:1–27	Miscellany.
18:1–23	Jeremiah at the potter's house and attached sayings.
19:1–20:18	Prophetic symbolism and the persecutions; further confessions.
21:1–24:10	**Oracles concerning the House of David and the prophets.**
25:1–38	**Oracles against foreign nations**
26:1–29:32	**The biography of Jeremiah**
26:1–24	The "Temple sermon"; Jeremiah narrowly escapes death.
27:1–28:17	Events of 594 B.C.E.; the incident of the ox-yoke.
29:1–32	594 B.C.E.: Jeremiah and the exile in Babylon.
30:1–31:40	**The "Book of Consolation."**
32:1–44:30	**The biography of Jeremiah.**
32:1–33:26	Restoration of Judah and Jerusalem.
34:1–7	Words of Jeremiah as the Babylonian blockade tightens.
34:8–22	Incidents during lifting of siege.
35:1–19	Jeremiah and the Rechabites.
36:1–32	Incident of the scroll.
37:1–10	Incident during lifting of siege.
37:11–38:28	Jeremiah in prison.
39:1–40:6	Jeremiah's release from prison.
40:7–43:7	Assassination of Gedaliah and the flight to Egypt.
43:8–44:30	Jeremiah in Egypt.
45:1–5	**Baruch**
46:1–51:64	**Oracles against foreign nations**
52:1–34	**The fall of Jerusalem**

The Life and Message of Jeremiah

Despite the greater knowledge of Jeremiah's life than of any other prophet's, no biography of him can be written, for the available facts are too meager. Important background information is found in Scripture in II Kings, II Chronicles, Zephanaiah, Nahum, Habakkuk, and Obadiah. Other important sources on Jeremiah's times are the Hebrew letters from Lachish, primary documents from Egypt and Mesopotamia, and the histories of Herodotus and Josephus. It is noteworthy that II Kings, which describes events contemporary with Jeremiah in great detail, does not mention the prophet. Inasmuch as there is no direct attestation of the prophet outside the book that bears his name, scholars differ widely in their estimations of the prophet's historicity. At one extreme Holladay believes that allowing for small exceptions, the narratives and poetic sections in Jeremiah are contemporary with the prophet. They were written by Jeremiah or Baruch, and one may outline the details of Jeremiah's personality and his life by drawing on these sources. At the other extreme Carroll believes that Jeremiah is merely a literary character and there is no way of knowing whether what is narrated of him is anchored at all in historical reality. Hoffman (27–9) demonstrates the flaws of both extremes and offers his own middle-of-the-road approach, which will be, in essentials, followed here. Later generations esteemed Jeremiah greatly. According to the Chronicler (II Chr. 35:25) Jeremiah composed a lament over Josiah. His prophecies about the duration of the exile are cited in II Chronicles 36:15–21 by the author of the ninth chapter of Daniel, and probably underlie Haggai 1:2. Later writers interpolated their own compositions into his prophecies. The apocryphal Epistle of Jeremy (see *Jeremiah, Epistle of), a polemic against idolatry allegedly written by Jeremiah to the exiles in Babylonia is styled after Jeremiah 29. According to the second chapter of II Maccabees, Jeremiah secreted the ark, the tabernacle, and the altar of incense. In the New Testament, Jeremiah 31:14 (15) is quoted directly in Matthew 2:17, and his vision of the New Covenant/Testament (Jer. 31:31–34; cf. Jer. 32:38–40) is quoted in Hebrews 8:8–12 and 10:16–17. Jewish tradition identifies Jeremiah as the author of his book, of Kings, and of Lamentations (this last probably on the basis of II Chronicles 35:25).

It is known that Jeremiah's birthplace was *Anathoth (Jer. 1:1; 11:21, 23; 29:27; 32:7–9), a Benjaminite village some 4 mi. (c. 7 km.) northeast of Jerusalem. Among its inhabitants were men of priestly lineage, as shown by the reference in Jeremiah 1:1 to "the priests in Anathoth," and the appearance of Anathoth in an old list of levitical towns (Josh. 21:18). Jeremiah himself was of a priestly family of means and could spend 17 shekels on a symbolic action (cf. Jer. 32:9). He could afford to hire Baruch, son of Neriah, as a personal secretary. Jeremiah's father was a certain Hilkiah (Jer. 1:1), not to be confused with the contemporary high priest bearing the same name (II Kings 22:4ff.). It is generally assumed that Jeremiah's family was descended from David's priest *Abiathar, whom Solomon later banished to Anathoth (I Kings 2:26–27). There is much to recommend this opinion, since it is unlikely that so small a village could contain several unrelated priestly families. Jeremiah is never called a priest. He must have been born around 645 B.C.E., since he began his prophetic career in the 13th year of Josiah's reign (Jer. 1:2; 25:3), i.e., in 627 B.C.E., when he was still a very young man (1:6). He received a name whose antecedents go back to the early second millennium and, apparently quite common in biblical times, meaning "May the Lord lift up" (Heb. *yerim-yahu*), as reflected in the Greek transcription *Ieremias* as compared with the Hebrew יִרְמְיָהוּ or יִרְמְיָה. Nothing is known of Jeremiah's childhood and youth, except that he did not marry (16:1–4), which he attributed to a divine command. According to chapter 16 the divine command was due to the fact that in the coming disaster parents and their children would all perish. Jeremiah lived to see the dramatic events from the dissolution of the Assyrian Empire to the fall of the Judahite kingdom in 587 B.C.E., when the Neo-Babylonian Empire, after an interval of Judahite national independence and a few years of Egyptian supremacy, put an end to the kingdom of Judah. Jeremiah was deeply concerned with the march of events in his time, and every act of that tragic drama is reflected in his book. His words and deeds can often therefore be related to known events to a degree unparalleled by other prophets. Jeremiah's deeply personal poems, the so-called "confessions," express his reactions toward his fate and reveal his temptations and his wrestling with God. The divine compulsion was laid upon him, overruling his objections (Jer. 20:7), and Jeremiah exercised his ministry unremittingly as long as he lived.

BEGINNINGS OF PROPHECY. (See Table: Book of Jeremiah.) He began to preach in 627 with the chastening conviction that his country was under judgment. Even if Josiah's efforts for a cultic reform were already in motion, the evil legacy of Manasseh's reign in Judah and of the Assyrian occupation in the Northern provinces still encumbered the land. As a member of a monolatrous or monotheistic minority, Jeremiah could not tolerate the worship of other gods alongside of Yahweh. He thundered against it, and warned of its dire consequences, as did *Zephaniah, who was also active at the time. His precise attitude toward the reform, which reached its climax in 622 (cf. II Kings 22–23), five years after he had begun his ministry, is disputed. The most plausible supposition is that Jeremiah, though taking no direct part in its implementation, was in favor of its essential aim of reviving the ancient Mosaic covenant in which he had presumably been nurtured. Some of his oracles addressed to the Northern Kingdom even seem to indicate that he was favorable to the centralization of the cult in Jerusalem (cf. Jer. 3:14–15; 31:10–14; though some doubt these to be genuinely from Jeremiah), while others indicate a critical stance (Jer. 7:4). Jeremiah belonged by sympathy as well as by descent to the Northern Kingdom. Many of his first oracles are concerned with, and even addressed to, the remaining Israelites at Samaria. Accordingly, he is saturated with the thought and teaching of *Hosea, the finest representative of northern Israelite prophetism. The resemblance between the two prophets appears not only in the use of language and figures: it extends itself to fundamental ideas on God and His relation to Israel. Hosea seems to have been the first prophet to describe the relation of Yahweh to Israel metaphorically in terms of ancient Israelite marriage, whereby a man might be polygynous, while a woman was required to limit herself to one husband. Thus Yahweh might have two wives, Israel and Judah (cf. Ezek. 23), but neither of these could have another husband, i.e., serve another god. Using Hosea's marital image (Jer. 2:2b–3; 3:1–5, 19–25; 4:1–2), Jeremiah urges submission to the Yahweh on His own terms, expressed in the covenantal law. The Covenant required Israel to acknowledge no other god than Yahweh. Its leading principle was that Israel owed everything to the divine love which had brought it into being and without which it could not continue. The only worthy response to this free grace was a love involving submission and loyalty.

However, Israel was unfaithful to its God. Instead of repaying Him with due love, the people betrayed Him as an unfaithful wife betrays her husband for a lover (Jer. 3:20). Jeremiah therefore bids them to worship the Lord with repentance.

AFTER THE DEATH OF JOSIAH. It is a widely held view that Jeremiah was silent for a long time after the reform had been completed. The point is difficult to settle, since there is no evidence save Jeremiah's undated sayings and since almost nothing is known of Judah's internal affairs during Josiah's later years. In any case, his famous "Temple sermon" (7:2–15) is precisely dated (26:1) in Jehoiakim's accession year, i.e., the autumn of 609 or the winter of 609/8. From this address, uttered a few months after Josiah's death at Megiddo, it is clear that Jeremiah was disappointed by the results which followed the Josianic reform. Judah, by this reform, made the Temple with its sacrifices and its ritual essential to a correct relation to God. To maintain the true religion and the people's access to God, the people must only come to the one sanctuary and worship through a legitimate priesthood. Jeremiah violently rejected that vision because it not only neglected the moral principles of the Covenant, but facilitated trust in the notion that the temple cult absolved all sins, even worship of Baal (Jer. 7: 9–11; cf. Lev. 16: 30–34). This developed into a religious controversy in which the parties were sharply divided, their differences concerning the question of what does or does not constitute the essential element of the religion. The "Temple sermon" was intended to be a solemn indictment, an appeal to the national conscience. By taking this public action Jeremiah ran counter both to popular belief and official doctrine; he boldly challenged the policy of the nation's leaders, and in particular of the priests. He was also in strong antagonism with several of his fellow prophets, although he was not alone in his attitude of opposition. Another prophet, Uriah of Kiriath-Jearim, also appeared at the time, prophesying in the same terms as Jeremiah (Jer. 26:20–24). Efforts were made to silence Jeremiah and, indeed, his "Temple sermon" nearly cost him his life (Jer. 26). Authorities forbade his entrance to the Temple (36:5), and even inhabitants of his own village of Anathoth resolved to kill him if he persisted (11:18–23); members of his own family were implicated in this plot (12:6). Jeremiah's life thus entered an extremely difficult phase at the end of 609, although this did not last until his death. Nevertheless, Jeremiah continued his denunciations, without sparing the king (21:11–22:9). His message increasingly became one of stern warning of impending disaster. It was natural that he should insist that his word was the ancient word which formed the basis of Judah's religion, and that acceptance of it was essential to a correct relationship to God and, consequently, to the salvation of the nation from the impending calamity.

THE DESTRUCTION OF THE TEMPLE AND EXILE. When the Babylonian danger appeared on the horizon after the battle of Carchemish in 605 B.C.E., the prophet realized that his early prophecy of the awful "Foe from the North" (Jer. 1:13–16) was being fulfilled in the person of Nebuchadnezzar and his army; God's appointed agent of the judgment that would shortly fall upon the unrepentant people of Judah. He saw the task of announcing the imminent arrival of that danger as a leading feature of his mission to his nation and to the surrounding world. He then made a last effort to bring his country to its senses. As the priests had forbidden him to enter the Temple, he dictated to his friend and secretary *Baruch a selection of his preachings, and directed him to read the scroll in the Temple (Jer. 36). A favorable opportunity presented itself in 604 (36:9). Some high officials heard Baruch and brought the fact to the king's attention, as it also had a political bearing, the vision of the "Foe from the North" running like a red thread through the whole of Jeremiah's message. (In the ancient Near Eastern world administrators were responsible for reporting prophecies to the king. See *Mari.) Jehoiakim demanded to hear the scroll, but then snatched it from the reader's hands and threw it into the fire. He sent three men including his son to seize Jeremiah and Baruch, "but the Lord hid them" (Jer. 36:26–27). Jeremiah subsequently dictated the scroll again, with additions (36:32). The surrender of Jerusalem to the Babylonians in 597, and the deportation of King Jehoiachin and of the leading citizens seemed to confirm Jeremiah's warnings. The prophet told of the sad fate of the young king, a victim of his father's folly (Jer. 22:24–30; Cf. II Kings 23:36–24:16). At the same time, he saw in the exile of the national leaders the expression of the divine verdict. The messages he sent to the exiles reveal not only that fundamental conviction, but also his belief that the God worshiped in the Temple of Jerusalem was too great to be localized. The exiles were able to reach Him even in their new condition, far away from the soil of Israel and Judah (29:7). As well, Jeremiah told them to disregard the optimistic promises of their prophets (29:8–9). Such interventions of course brought Jeremiah into collision with the prophets who had been saying just the opposite (23:9–40; 28; 29:24–32), and with the contemporary national leaders who were making sacrifice at one shrine essential to the Judahite religion, thus tending dangerously to localize God and His grace in the sanctuary "which He chose out of all the tribes to set His name there." The contrary conviction of Jeremiah does not mean, however, that the prophet attached no specific content to the national religion. He admitted a particular relationship between Israel and God: Israel was set apart for Him as His property, His bride. This idea is already expressed in the early utterances of Jeremiah, addressed to the Northern Kingdom. Jeremiah believed that God had revealed Himself to Israel and chosen it to be His servant. Therefore he affirmed to the men of his generation the unique character of the God in whom he and they alike believed, together with the resultant uniqueness of His demands and the consequent reality of His guidance, which was not at the mercy of outward conditions or circumstances (18:3–10). The worship of the God of Israel thus could not disappear, even if His shrine and the sacrificial system disappeared, for it needed no more than prayer and obedience to His word. According to Jeremiah, everything else was an accessory. It is understandable, therefore, that after the Babylonians had destroyed the Temple and carried away the sacred vessels, Jeremiah was vindicated as the true prophet and the defender of the right religion. Jeremiah himself did not need to see these events to understand that resistance to Babylon was resistance to the Divine Will. He regarded the Babylonian army as an instrument in the Divine hands for carrying out a well-merited punishment on the guilty nation and its leaders. This conviction had arisen after the Babylonian victory at Carchemish in 605 B.C.E., but it became still stronger after the deportation of 597 B.C.E. From these historical events Jeremiah fully recognized that the power of Babylonia was irresistible and that the petty kingdom of Judah could not hope to oppose it. He concluded, therefore, that submission to Nebuchadnezzar was the will of God, who so punished the unfaithfulness of His people. The king of Babylon was the divine servant (27:6) whom the Lord was to employ for His purposes. When various vassals of Nebuchadnezzar in the West began to toy with the idea of rebellion and sent ambassadors to Jerusalem to discuss plans with King Zedekiah, Jeremiah flatly opposed such talk, appearing before the conspirators with an ox yoke on his neck and exhorting them to wear the yoke of Nebuchadnezzar (ch. 27). In the autumn of 589, when the Babylonians moved to attack Jerusalem, and later during the blockade of the city, Zedekiah sent more than once to Jeremiah asking for a word from the Lord. Yet Jeremiah gave the king no encouragement. On the contrary, he assured him that God Himself was fighting for the Babylonians (27:8). No wonder, therefore, that to Judah's leaders Jeremiah was an enemy. He was arrested, probably in the summer of 588, and remained in custody as long as the city held out. The biographical chapters 37–38 provide a circumstantial account of Jeremiah's fortunes during these tragic months. After the fall of Jerusalem in 587 B.C.E., the Babylonians allowed Jeremiah to remain with the new governor *Gedaliah at Mizpah. When Gedaliah was murdered after only a few weeks of governorship (41:1–2), his followers, fearing Babylonian reprisals, fled to Egypt, taking the prophet with them against his will (Jer. 40–43). Jeremiah was reluctant to leave the country, since he attributed the value of a sign or symbol of hope perhaps to his presence in the land. He was indeed convinced that God's purpose could not be exhausted in punishment. After 70 years of a human lifespan (Ps. 90:10; Isa. 23:15), nearly the entire sinful generation would be dead, and God, he believed, would then contract a new covenant with the new people (29:10–11; cf. 31:31–34). The refugees who had taken Jeremiah with them found asylum at Tahpanhes (Daphne), the present-day Tell Defneh, just within the Egyptian border, east of the Delta. There the last words recorded from Jeremiah were uttered (43:8–13; 44). After this, no more is heard of him. Presumably, he did not survive for long and died in his sixties. According to a later tradition recorded by Tertullian (*Adversus Gnosticos*, ch. 8, in *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 2, col. 137) and Jerome (*Adversus Jovinianum*, 2:37, *ibid.*, 23, col. 335), he was stoned. Pseudo-Epiphanius (*De vitis Prophetarium*, in *Patrologia Graeca*, vol. 43, col. 400) and Isidorus Hispalensis (*De Ortu et Obitu Patrorum*, ch. 38, in *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 83, col. 142) even affirm that this happened in Tahpanhes. The unreliability of this tradition is evident from a passage of Jerome's commentary on Isaiah, where he records another tradition according to which Jeremiah died in Egypt of a natural death.

The Composition of the Book

The Book of Jeremiah exists in two versions, one in the masoretic text, and another in the Septuagint. The latter does not place the prophecies against foreign nations at the end of the book, but after Jeremiah 23:13a. Moreover, they are not arranged there in the same order as in the masoretic text. The Septuagint version is much shorter: about one-eighth of the masoretic text is missing, mostly single verses or parts of verses, but also entire sections such as 33:14–26; 39:4–13; 51:44b–49a; and 52:27b–30. In some cases the omissions may have been made intentionally, as, for instance, where the translators omitted doublets in their second occurrence or shortened a difficult text. Other lacunae may be explained by textual criticism, as in cases of homoioteleuton, when the scribe's eye leaped over material between two sentences with similar endings (Jer. 39:4–13; 51:44b–49a). However, most of the omissions imply the existence of a shorter form of the Hebrew text. This is now clear from discoveries made at Qumran, where manuscript fragments representing both the longer and the shorter form of the text have been found (see Dead Sea *Scrolls). Thus the masoretic text and the Greek translation are based on different versions of the Hebrew text of Jeremiah. In the last pre-Christian centuries there were at least two versions of the book of Jeremiah in circulation. Both versions seem to have a relatively long history of scribal transmission behind them. However, since the Septuagint does not reveal a tendency to abbreviate plain passages, while the masoretic text seems to be an expanded one, the Hebrew archetype of the Septuagint has been considered as representing a more nearly original form to the text, superior to the late masoretic text. Some changes, however, were made in the Septuagint in the same direction as in the accepted Hebrew text. The different arrangement of some parts of the Book of Jeremiah in the masoretic text and in the Septuagint, as well as the existence of doublets, show that the book is a collection of shorter "books" plus miscellaneous material. Such "books" are explicitly mentioned in chapter 36, which gives a valuable account of Jeremiah's dictation of many of his oracles to his scribe Baruch, as well as in 25:13a; 30:2; 45:1; and 51:60. Tradition attributes the authorship of all of them to the prophet Jeremiah, but it is clear that not all the material can be derived from him. This is manifest in the case of chapter 52, which could only have been composed after 561 B.C.E. In other sections of the book, too, everything cannot come from the prophet himself (see tables in Hoffman, 62–66). This is certainly true for the narratives which use the third person in speaking of Jeremiah. In his commentary (1901), B. Duhm laid down the principle that only poetic passages can genuinely be attributed to the prophet. He held that the book consists of three types of material: Jeremiah's own words, almost exclusively poetry in *kinah* meter, comprising 280 masoretic verses; Baruch's life of Jeremiah, 220 verses; and later additions, 850 verses, which have much in common either with Deutero- and Trito- *Isaiah, or with the Deuteronomistic parts of the Former Prophets. A monograph published by S. Mowinckel in 1914 distinguished four principal sources in the Book of Jeremiah, designated as *A*, *B*, *C*, and *D*. *A* was Baruch's scroll, dictated by Jeremiah, with additions made by someone living in Egypt between 580 and 480 B.C.E. This collection is now contained within chapters 1–24, and is the most authentic part of the book. *B* was a biography of Jeremiah, based upon oral tradition written down by someone in Egypt in the same period as *A*; it is contained within chapters 19:1–20:6 and 26–45. *C* is the Deuteronomic source, composed in the fourth century B.C.E. and consisting mainly of 3:6–13; 7:1–8:3; 11:1–5, 9–14; 18:1–12; 21:1–10; 22:1–5; 25:1–11a; 29:1–23; 32:1–2, 6–16, 24–44; 34:1–22; 35:1–19; 39:15–18; 44:1–14; and ch. 45. *D* is the famous "Book of Comfort" or "Book of Consolation" in 30:1–31:40, dating from post-Exilic times. From the same period dates the complex of oracles concerning foreign nations (chs. 46–51), with some genuine Jeremianic elements. This collection was only later joined to Jeremiah 1–45. Mowinckel upholds the main lines of this view in his treatment of Jeremiah in the Norwegian translation issued in 1944, and, briefly, in *Prophecy and Tradition* (1946, pp. 61–65, 105–6). However, instead of sources he speaks of "traditionary circles," obviously sharing the opinion of H. Birkeland, who in 1938 introduced the views of H.S. Nyberg into criticism of the prophets and stressed the influence of the oral tradition, even when a written tradition was already in existence. According to Birkeland, the poetic sections of Jeremiah were written down earlier than the prose sermons composed in the style of Deuteronomic preaching; he thus admitted the possibility a Jeremianic nucleus in those sermons. In contrast, R.H. Pfeiffer (*Introduction to the Old Testament* (1941), 504–5) considers that Baruch combined words dictated or written by the prophet himself with his own biography of Jeremiah, revising and rewriting many of his master's sayings in his own Deuteronomistic style. Without admitting that Baruch was the author of the Deuteronomic sections (C), Mowinckel also shared this view, inasmuch as he considered Baruch to be responsible for the combination of the elements *A* and *B*. He held that around 580 B.C.E., Baruch concluded that large editorial unit with the words the prophet had addressed to him personally; this conclusion is found in Jeremiah 45, which therefore does not belong to C. Also according to Mowinckel, *C* was later incorporated into the "Book of Baruch" (*A* and *B*), probably when the Deuteronomistic tradition of Jeremiah was already fixed in writing. In regard to this tradition the opinion is widely held that these prose discourses represent the work of exilic authors who reconstructed the teachings of Jeremiah in terms of Deuteronomic theology, which provided an explanation of Judah's tragedy in 587 B.C.E. A stylistic approach of those "Deuteronomistic" speeches, attempted mainly by J. Bright and W.L. Holladay, led to their conclusion that the style of *C* is characteristic of the rhetorical prose of the late seventh and early sixth century in Judah, and that many of its typical phrases are a reshaping in prose of expressions which either are original to the genuine poetry of Jeremiah or, though not specifically Jeremianic, were employed by the prophet in his poetic oracles in an original fashion. These conclusions, if correct, suggest that the nucleus and basic content of C were authentically Jeremianic. It has also appeared in recent years that the principal literary types *A, B*, and C do not by themselves furnish an effective key for the study of the composition of Jeremiah. The latter is indeed not arranged according to the style of its various parts. C. Rietzschel therefore presented a new thesis regarding its composition (1966). He accepts the basic principles of classification of the literary material on the grounds of form and style, as developed mainly by S. Mowinckel, but denies that this can provide a sufficient indication of the way in which the book was composed. In particular, he holds that it cannot be assumed that poetic and prose material was handed down separately, although he links the *C* material with the homiletical speeches in Deuteronomistic parts of the Former Prophets. He proposes to reconstruct the process of the book's composition by an agglomeration of tradition complexes. He distinguishes in the Book of Jeremiah four main tradition blocks: (1) oracles of doom against Judah and Jerusalem (Jer. 1–24); (2) oracles of doom against foreign nations (Jer. 25; 46–51); (3) oracles of salvation for Israel and Judah (Jer. 26–35); and (4) cycle of narratives about the prophet (Jer. 36–44). He divides the first block into six complexes, namely Jeremiah 1–6, 7–10, 11–13, 14–17, 18–20, and 21–24, four of which are introduced by a Deuteronomic speech beginning with the words "the word that came to Jeremiah from the Lord" (Jer. 7:1; 11:1; 18:1; 21:1). The oracle to Baruch in Jeremiah 45 originally stood just after 20:18, so that 21–24 is an appendix to the first tradition block. Rietzschel concludes that Baruch's scroll is to be found in 1–6, and that 7–20 represents the "other words added," which are referred to in 36:32. The approach of Rietzschel has earned its place alongside earlier attempts to solve the problems of the composition of the Book of Jeremiah. The recent Hebrew commentary of Y. Hoffman argues that a stylistic study shows that most of the poetic material comes from a single source. As such, claims that the same individual could not have written both laments and hymns and prophecies of destruction and restoration is purely arbitrary. Indeed, the similarities between the poetic rebukes and the oracles to the nations show that most of the oracles to the nations can be attributed to Jeremiah, although their present form shows substantial additions. As far as the prose contents are concerned, the biographical material on the prophet and the sermons are stylistically close enough to originate in a single stream of tradition, though not in the work of a single author. With most scholars, Hoffman identifies characteristic Deuteronomic language in these sections, but argues that they often employ terminology that diverges from that of the Deuteronomic school; an indication that these sections originated in circles of disciples of Jeremiah who were influenced by the Deuteronomists but distinct from them. Hoffman identifies five stages in the book's composition: (1) the prophecies of Jeremiah before 604; (2) the prophecies both of rebuke and hope between 604 and 586; (3) post-586 psalms, narratives, and sermons with a Jeremianic core but mostly the work of transmitters of tradition who made use of the language of the Deuteronomists; (4) a second set of later additions; (5) the latest additions, which are found in the masoretic Jeremiah, but missing from the Hebrew text utilized by the Greek translators.

Whatever conclusions one reaches about the history of composition, it is plain that there were in existence oral and written sources previous to the actual blocks of material within the Book of Jeremiah. The following exposition deals first with the oracles against foreign nations (25; 46–51) and the so-called "Book of Consolation" (30–31). Then the narratives, both in the biographical and autobiographical styles, are examined. Finally Baruch's scroll (1–6) with its additions (7–20), and the oracles concerning the House of David and the prophets (21–24) are reviewed.

Oracles Against Foreign Nations

The introduction to this passage block is to be sought in 25:1–13a. This is more apparent in the Septuagint, which inserts the whole of chapters 46–51 between verses 13a and 13b, but in a different order (49:34–39; 46; 50–51; 47; 49:7–22; 49:1–6; 49:28–33; 49:23–27; 48). Jeremiah 25:13b–38 is the conclusion of that "book." It corresponds to chapters 25–32 of the Septuagint and forms a collection of prophecies concerning foreign nations, grouped together as the similar prophecies in the Books of Isaiah (Isa. 13–23) and Ezekiel (Ezek. 25–32). The Jeremianic nucleus of that block included at least chapters 46–47, which seem to date from the years 605–604; the oracle on Kedar (49:28–33), probably to be connected with the Babylonian campaign against the Arabs in the winter of 599–598; and the oracle on Elam (49:34–39), which goes back to the year 596/5, when an Elamite king, on the eve of engaging in battle against Nebuchadnezzar on the bank of the Tigris, decided to return to his land. The authentically Jeremianic collection was later expanded by the addition of the complex of oracles against Moab (48), Ammon (49:1–6), and Edom (49:7–22), the three Transjordanian kingdoms which had been entirely taken over by Arab tribes toward the end of the sixth century B.C.E. The oracles may reflect an early phase of these events, unless they allude to a campaign of Nebuchadnezzar against Moab and Ammon, dated by Josephus (Ant., 10:180–181) in the fifth year after the fall of Jerusalem, i.e., in 582 B.C.E. The prophecies concerning Moab and Edom contain numerous prose comments and enlargements, and much of their material is to be found in a substantially identical form elsewhere in the Bible, above all in Isaiah 15–16 and Obadiah 1–10. It must be assumed, therefore, that Jeremiah 48:1–49:22 consists basically of anonymous passages, commented and expanded, probably with references to historical events in 582 or later in the sixth century. Another anonymous passage, concerning Damascus and dating probably from the eighth century, was subsequently added to this collection (49:23–27). The book was most likely finished at the beginning of the fifth century. Some glosses were later added to the archetype of the masoretic text. The disposition of the material in the Septuagint reflects, on the other hand, a secondary rearrangement of the oracles. Elam, probably identified with Persia, is mentioned first; then follow the two other empires, Egypt and Babylonia. After this, the small neighboring countries are mentioned: first Philistia and Edom in southern Palestine, then Ammon, Kedar, and Damascus in the east. The long oracle against Moab closes the series.

"The Book of Consolation"

The introduction to this section appears in Jeremiah 30:1–3. It consists of the whole of chapters 30–31, which contain Jeremiah's prophecies addressed to the Northern Kingdom during Josiah's reign. These two chapters consist of a collection of originally separated passages, mostly poetic. Because they develop the theme of Israel's comfort and restoration, some scholars dated them from the Exilic period and argued that relatively few of these passages can be genuinely attributed to Jeremiah. However, they overlooked the reference to the oppressed people as "Ephraim" (31:5[6], 8[9], 17[18], 19[20]), and the mention of Samaria in 31:4[5]. The names Israel and Jacob must therefore be understood as denoting the tribes of the former kingdom of Samaria, whose territories had been liberated by Josiah and united again to Judah (cf. II Kings 23:15–20; II Chron. 34:6–7). Stylistic similarities to Deutero-Isaiah in Jeremiah 30:10 or 31:6–8 can be explained on the supposition that both prophets made use of the same conventional forms of priestly oracles. The prose passages in 30:8–9 and 31:22–33, 38–40 were probably added to the collection, but at least 31:30–33 may contain a nucleus of Jeremianic words originally addressed to the Northern Kingdom. The entire "Book of Consolation" (30–31) stands as a separate block of material in the midst of a series of chapters, mostly biographical in character (Jer. 26–29; 32–44). It was inserted after 29:32, which quotes the Lord's word alluding to "the good things that I am going to do for you." Thus the place was well suited for the insertion of the "Book of Consolation."

The "Biography" of Jeremiah

Chapters 26–29 and 32–44 are mostly biographical in character. The actual sequence of narratives reflects not only a secondary redistribution of the various episodes, but also points to a series of editors who successively handled materials from different sources. For instance, chapters 27–29 are sometimes considered as belonging to one source. The reason for deriving them from a common author is that they call the Babylonian king Nebuchadnezzar, departing from the correct spelling Nebuchadrezzar of the rest of the Book of Jeremiah, and that they speak of "Jeremiah the prophet." Yet it is noteworthy that chapters 27 and 28 differ in one cardinal point. Chapter 27 introduces Jeremiah in the first person. Chapter 28 begins in verse 1 with the first person, and then suddenly and unaccountably breaks off to speak of "Jeremiah the prophet" (verses 5 ff.). This points to a combination of the chapters by a redactor, who imperfectly joined the first and third person narratives. The slight change involved in the spelling of Nebuchadnezzar's name throughout may be due to him. The problem of the composition of the "biographical" chapters is thus rather complicated. The heterogeneous complex of chapters 27–35 has been inserted in the continuous narrative of Jeremiah 26; 36:1–37:10; 38; 39:3, with, as a conclusion, the oracle to Ebed-Melech in 39:15–18. The latter's content and position at the end of the book can be compared with those of the oracles to Baruch in Jeremiah 45, which originally ended the block of Jeremiah 1–20. This whole narrative covers the period from 609 to the liberation of Jeremiah by the Babylonians in July 587, and might have been written at the request of Ebed-Melech by Baruch, known to have been an intimate of Jeremiah from 605 (36:4, 5) until after 587 (32:12, 43:3, 6). In any case, Baruch is the most likely candidate for the authorship of these sections, which seem to come from an eyewitness. The end of 39:14 suggests that this literary unit was completed between the fall of Jerusalem and the murder of Gedaliah, i.e., in 587.

Another, shorter report of Jeremiah's imprisonment and liberation in 37:11–21; 39:11; and 40:2a, 4–6, states that Jeremiah was chained in the court of the guard (37:21). This brief account must also have been composed prior to the assassination of Gedaliah. A third narrative in 39:1–2, 4–10; 40:7–41:18; and 43:5–6b, 7a concerns Jerusalem's capture and Gedaliah's murder, in which Jeremiah played no role. This composition, too, can safely be dated in the year 587. It was used somewhat later as an historical framework by another author, who intended to expand the narrative of 37:11–21; 39:11; and 40:2a, 4–6 by telling the end of Jeremiah's career in Egypt. He composed at least all the sections of chapters 42–43, where the expression "Jeremiah the prophet" appears (42:2, 4; 43:6). The largest part of 42:1–4, 7–9a, 19; 43:2–4, and the additions in 40:2b–3 and 43:6, 7 are to be ascribed to him. This editorial unit thus included in Jeremiah 37:11–21; 39:12, 4–11; 40:2–41:18; 42:1–4, 7–9a, 19; 43:2–7a. The remaining parts of chapters 42–43 seem to reflect the same hand as chapter 44. Since the author already knew that Hophra, the king of Egypt (usually called Apries), had been given over to his enemies (44:30) and since it is known that he was overthrown and killed by Amasis in about 568 B.C.E., it can safely be concluded that this part of Jeremiah's biography was completed, probably in Egypt, a short time after this event. This is confirmed by the allusion made in 42:8–13 to the invasion of Egypt by Nebuchadnezzar in the year 568/7 (cf. Pritchard, Texts, 308). The author of that section could therefore be a somewhat younger contemporary of Jeremiah. It is uncertain whether he is also responsible for the assemblage of a larger part of the biographical chapters, and the consequent insertion of transitional verses, such as 39:13 or 40:1. These verses reveal a misunderstanding of the historical situation, since from 39:14 and 40:4 it is known that Jeremiah was not chained in order to be deported to Babylon. Several biographical passages in the tradition block inserted in Jeremiah 27–35 were originally redacted as first person narratives. To this group belong the incident of the ox yoke (27:2–22), Jeremiah's purchase of land (32:6–44), and the example of the Rechabites (35:2–19). These episodes have as common features not only the autobiographical style but also a typical content consisting of a symbolic action, explained by the prophet. Similar narratives in autobiographical style are found in other parts of the book: the wine jars (13:12–14), the potter at his work (18:2–12), the breaking of the bottle (19:1–2, 10–11a, 12a). These three passages seem to constitute an editorial unit on the common theme of pottery. The last two episodes are even connected by the catchword *yoẓer* ("potter"). They were inserted by a redactor in their actual place, probably as comments to 16:18 and 18:23. The exhortation on the observance of the Sabbath in 17:19–27 is most likely a still later insertion. All narratives of that type may have belonged to a single collection written or dictated by Jeremiah himself and reused later, with some additions, by the editors of the complexes of 11–20 and 27–35. The acted parables referred to above can be compared with the symbolic visions, also composed in autobiographical style: the almond rod (1:11–12), the bubbling pot (1:13–16), the linen waistcloth (13:1–11), the two baskets of figs (24:1–10), and the cup of wine (25:15, 17, 27–28).

Baruch's Scroll with Additions

From chapter 36 it is known that Jeremiah's utterances were first committed to writing in the fourth year of Jehoiakim's reign, i.e., in 605, when the prophet dictated them to his friend Baruch. After the scroll had been destroyed by the king, Jeremiah was directed to rewrite its contents in a second scroll, in which Baruch "wrote … under Jeremiah's dictation everything that was in the book that Jehoiakim, king of Judah, had thrown into the fire. And, in addition to this, many further words of the same sort were added" (36:32). The conclusion of that scroll is to be found in Jeremiah 45, as shown by C. Rietzschel; "these sayings" in verse 1 refer directly to the content of the scroll. As verse 3 echoes 20:18, the catchword being *yagon* ("sorrow"), and since verse 4 alludes to Jeremiah 1:10, it can be concluded that Jeremiah 1–20 roughly corresponds to the final form of Baruch's scroll. It can be safely assumed, following C. Rietzschel, that chapters 1–6 represent the original scroll rewritten by Baruch under the prophet's dictation, while chapters 7–20 contain the successive additions to it. The scroll is introduced by the description of the prophet's call (ch. 1), which follows the usual pattern of the "call" narratives, as established by N. Habel. The literary form for the call of a divine representative was taken over from the practice reflected in Genesis 24:34–38, according to which messengers entrusted with a special mission presented their "credentials" in a specific order and manner. In so doing they not only explained the reason for their coming, but also repeated their master's commission ceremony, in which the precise words of the command were preserved, their own objections registered, and the assurance of the protective angel's presence given. In addition to this, the agent of the overlord could adduce any further evidence, such as an omen or sign, which would give added weight to his claim. By utilizing this ancient pattern, later authors and prophets emphasized the primary function of the individual who was called. The genre concerns the commissioning of messengers to God's service. Therefore, in employing its form, a prophet announces publicly that God commissioned him as His spokesman and representative. The "call" narrative of Jeremiah 1 thus provides the authentication of Jeremiah's right to speak in God's name. Since it does so in a form appropriate for public affirmation of the divine origin of his message, it was almost certainly the introduction to the scroll which Jeremiah dictated to Baruch in 605, and which he intended to be read publicly before the people in the Temple area. The "Foe from the North" constitutes a feature in which Jeremiah 4:5–6:30 advances beyond Jeremiah 2:1–4:4, so that it is reasonable to assume that 4:5–6:30 contains mostly oracles composed in 605, while 2:1–4:4 belongs to an earlier date. The Babylonian invader is mentioned, or alluded to, in 4:6–7, 13, 15–17, 21, 29; 5:6, 15–17; 6:1–6, 12, 22–25. He approached from the North to inflict on the people the judgment announced in the previous part of the scroll. The general theme of 2:1–4:4 is the nation's sin. Chapter 2 is a series of passages dealing with a single theme, the bulk of which comes from an early period of Jeremiah's ministry and was first addressed to the Northern Kingdom, but was most likely given its present form by the prophet himself in connection with the scroll of 605. The poetic material in chapters 3:1–5, 19–25; 4:1–2 forms a continuous unit which is a sample of Jeremiah's preaching prior to 622, certainly before he was launched on the stormy currents of the political and religious life of Jerusalem. This is supported by the extent to which these oracles are saturated with the fundamental ideas of Hosea. These similarities to Hosea, characteristic of the young Jeremiah, are striking not only in the dominant theme of the adulterous wife, but even in particular expressions. The poem was initially an appeal to conversion directed to the Northern Kingdom, but the piece actually concludes with a formally separate oracle of solemn warning addressed to the people of Judah and Jerusalem (Jer. 4:3–4). It prepares the theme of the "Foe from the North," developed in the following chapters, and most likely dates to the year 605. The material in 3:6–18 has a somewhat more complicated history. This section begins with a prose monologue addressed to Jeremiah by the Lord (verses 6–12a), in which the two adulterous, i.e., apostate, sisters – Israel and Judah – are compared to each other, to the immense disadvantage of the latter. The allusion in verse 8 to verses 1–5 shows that this monologue was composed in relation to the poem of 3:1–5, 19–25; 4:1–2, in order to emphasize that Judah's sin was bigger than that of Israel's. The passage probably goes back to the reign of Josiah, as verse 6 explicitly states, but dates after 622, as verse 10 brands Josiah's reform as a failure. The monologue leads to a short lyric in which the prophet summons the Northern Kingdom to return to the Lord, to worship Him on Mount Zion, and to accept the guidance of his new rulers (verses 12b–15). These verses most likely allude to Josiah's reform and to his expansionist activity in the territory of the defunct northern state; they probably date before 622. Verses 16–18, on the other hand, seem in their present form to presuppose the exile of Judah, and were in all likelihood written, or rewritten, after 587. Chapters 4:5–6:30 constitute a long editorial unit composed from a series of originally separate passages, all of which deal with the terrible disaster from the north that is about to overtake the nation (4:6; 6:1, 22; cf. 1:13–15; 10:22; 13:20; 25:9; 46:6, 24; 47:2). The entire section thus develops the theme sounded in 4:3–4. The poems are so graphic and vivid that it may be assumed, as noted above, that most of them were composed during the actual approach of Nebuchadnezzar's army in 605/4. Chapters 7–10 constitute the first editorial addition to Baruch's original scroll. The material is rather miscellaneous in character, but is dominated by two major themes: the stubborn sinfulness of the people, and the tragic fate that is about to overtake them. The section opens with the famous "Temple sermon" (7:2–15), delivered in Jehoiakim's accession year, i.e., in the autumn of 609 or in the winter of 609/8. The text is in prose and preserves the gist of what he said. Also in prose are 7:16–20, 21–28, 29–34 and 8:1–3, which, in the main, may reflect Jeremiah's preaching during Jehoiakim's reign (609–598 B.C.E.). The complexes of poems in 8:4–17 and 9:1–8 probably date to the same period. Between these passages is Jeremiah's lament over a national disaster (8:18–23), which can either refer to the defeat at Megiddo in 609 or the raids prior to the Babylonian attack in 598/7 (cf. II Kings 24:2). An oracle (Jer. 9:9–10, 16–21; 10:17–22) with dirges over the ruin of Jerusalem (9:18, 20–21; 10:19–20) follows; it was perhaps uttered on the eve of the siege and deportation of 598/7. Probably non-Jeremianic passages were later inserted, namely in 9:11–15 and 9:22–10:16. This first addition to Baruch's scroll (chapters 7–10) ends with a prayer for mercy (10:23–25). The second added complex is perhaps to be found in chapters 11–20. This unit consists basically of a series of prose passages in autobiographical style and of several series of poems. The complex begins with Jeremiah's preaching on the Covenant (11:1–17), for which he was persecuted by his own relatives and fellow townsmen (11:18–12:6). This piece is followed by a poem (12:7–13), in which God expresses His sorrow for the dereliction of His people, perhaps caused by the raids just prior to the Babylonian invasion of 598/7 (cf. II Kings 24:2). A brief prose passage seems to be a comment on that poem (Jer. 12:14–17). Chapter 13 begins with the parabolic vision of the linen waistcloth, followed by an oracle explaining its meaning (13:1–11). Connected with this, probably because it too involves a parable, is a brief passage inspired by a popular witticism concerning wine jars (13:12–14). Several short poems, apparently composed not long before the first deportation in 597, continue that section in 13:15–27; 14:5–9. One of them, addressed to Jehoiachin and the queen mother (13:18–19), was clearly uttered just prior to Jerusalem's surrender in that year. This series of poems is interrupted by a national psalm of lamentation in time of drought (14:2–9, 19–22), which is divided in two by an oracle of doom (Jer. 14:10; cf. Hos. 8:13; 9:9) and by a prose commentary in autobiographical style (Jer. 14:11–16), that ends in 15:1–4. While the psalm may be an authentic liturgical text, the prose passage of 14:11–16; 15:1–4 may be Jeremiah's genuine utterances. After one of Jeremiah's "confessions" (15:10–11, 15–18) and a "private oracle" addressed to him (15:19–21) there is another passage in autobiographical style (16:1–13), in which Jeremiah relates how he had been forbidden to marry, or even to participate in the normal joys and sorrows of his people. Attached to this composition are eight brief heterogeneous passages (16:14–15, 16–18, 19–21; 17:1–4, 5–8, 9–10, 11, 12–13) and another "confession" (17:14–18). None of these pieces can be dated, but several may confidently be ascribed to him. A Jeremianic nucleus can also be found in the prose discourse of 17:19–27, which urges the keeping of the Sabbath and is redacted in autobiographical style. There follows the autobiographical narrative of Jeremiah's visit to the potter's house (18:1–12). Since the disaster announced by the prophet is described as still avoidable (18:11), the incident is probably not later than the first years of Jehoiakim's reign. Four poetic pieces are attached to this narrative: an oracle (18:13–17) and three more "confessions" (18:18–23; 20:7–13, 14–18), separated by the complex episode of the broken bottle (19:1–2, 10–11a, 12a) and of Jeremiah's arrest by Pashhur son of Immer (19:2, 3–9, 11b, 12b–15; 20:1–6). It is noteworthy that the so-called "confessions" are redacted in the style of the psalms of lamentation. It is doubtful whether they were ever publicly proclaimed by Jeremiah. The last "confession" is immediately followed by the conclusion of chapter 45.

Oracles Concerning the House of David and the Prophets Chapters 21–24 constitute a complex of two series of oracles, one concerning the royal house (21:11–23:8) and the other the cultic prophets (23:9–40). The actual unit is introduced by two prose passages (21:1–7, 8–10), whose Jeremianic nucleus goes back to the year 589/8. Its actual form, however, dates to after the fall of Jerusalem in 587. The reason for the choice of this passage as an introduction to the oracles concerning the royal house is given by the fact that it contains an oracle of doom directed to the king Zedekiah. Chapter 24, which closes the "book," is also a prose passage from Zedekiah's time, with another oracle of doom concerning that king (verses 8–10). This pattern of inclusion shows that chapters 21–24 constitute an editorial unit. The superscriptions in 21:11 and 23:9 prove that this unit groups two older passage complexes. The first one is an important collection of prophecies containing Jeremiah's judgments on the successive rulers in his day who occupied the throne of David. The opening passage of the section (21:11–22:9), almost equally divided between poetry and prose, sets forth the principle that the Davidic monarchy is under obligation to God to establish justice in the kingdom. The sayings regarding Jehoahaz-Shallum (22:10–12) and Jehoiakim (22:13–19) follow in chronological order, and after a poem lamenting the fate of Jerusalem (22:20–23) there are two oracles concerning the young king Jehoiachin (22:24–27, 28–30). The original conclusion of the section is to be found in 23:1–2. It is followed by three brief oracles, of which the first (23:3–4) and the third (23:7–8) are in prose and presuppose the Exile. The second oracle (23:5–6) is an extract from 33:14–16, originally a solemn announcement of the enthronement of Zedekiah, here called Yozedek, according to the Septuagint. The second collection deals mainly with cultic prophets (23:9–40). The poem in verses 9–12, which consists of a soliloquy of Jeremiah, concerns them only insofar as they, like the priests, share in the general corruption (verse 11). However, the two poems in verses 13–15 and 16–22, and the piece in verses 23–32, basically in prose, deal directly with the prophets who lull the people with fallacious promises. The final passage (verses 33–40), also in prose, mentions the prophets only in passing. Since the tension between Jeremiah and the cultic prophets reached its pitch in the days of Zedekiah, most of these passages probably date to that king's reign.

[Edward Lipinski / S. David Sperling (2nd ed.)]

IN THE AGGADAH

Jeremiah was descended from Joshua and Rahab (Meg. 14b). He was born circumcised (ARN[1] 2, 12), and already showed signs of his future calling when as a newborn infant he spoke in the voice of a youth and rebuked his mother for her unfaithfulness. He explained to his astonished mother that he was really rebuking the inhabitants of Zion and Jerusalem (PR 26:129). He was related to the prophetess *Huldah. She preached to the women while Zephaniah, another contemporary prophet, was active in the synagogue and Jeremiah preached to the men in the street (PR 26:129). When the pious King *Josiah restored the worship of God, Jeremiah brought back the ten exiled tribes (Ar. 33a). Although Josiah later warred with Egypt against the prophet's advice, Jeremiah knew that the king acted out of error since he was misinformed about the piety of his generation. The fourth chapter of *Lamentations, traditionally ascribed to Jeremiah, begins with a dirge for Josiah (Lam. R. 1:18, no. 53; 4:1, no. 1). The prophet suffered under Jehoiakim and even more during the reign of Zedekiah when both the populace and the monarch opposed him. The people mocked his rebukes claiming that as a descendant of the proselyte Rahab he had no right to reprimand them (PdRK 115), and maliciously accused him of illicit relations (BK 16b). His purpose in leaving Jerusalem for Anathoth was so that he could partake of his priestly portion. The watchman who arrested him on that occasion was a grandson of the false prophet *Hananiah b. Azur. In prison, his jailer, a friend of Hananiah b. Azur called Jonathan, constantly mocked him (PR 26:130).

Jeremiah was commanded by God to go to Anathoth because his merits were so great that God could not destroy Jerusalem as long as Jeremiah was in the city. In the prophet's absence the city was conquered and the Temple set on fire. When, on his return, Jeremiah saw smoke rising from the Temple, he rejoiced, thinking that the Jews had repented and that the smoke was that of the sacrifice which they were offering. He wept bitterly when he realized his error, grieving that he had left Jerusalem to be destroyed. Jeremiah accompanied the captives as far as the Euphrates, and only then returned to comfort those who had been left behind (Jer. 40:6; PR 26:131). On the way back, he tenderly gathered together limbs of the bodies of massacred Jews, lamenting that his warnings had not been heeded by the unfortunate victims (Lam. R., Proem 34). As he approached the ruins of Jerusalem, he had a vision of a woman, clad in black, sitting on top of a mountain, weeping and exclaiming, "Who will comfort me?" After explaining that she was mother Zion, Jeremiah comforted her with the promise that God would rebuild and restore Zion (PR 26:131–132). Jeremiah remained in Egypt until Nebuchadnezzar conquered that country. He was then taken to Babylon where he rejoined his exiled brethren (SOR 26).

[Aaron Rothkoff]

IN ISLAM

Jeremiah (Ar. Irmiyā; also Armiyā and Ūrmiyā) is not mentioned in the *Koran. Some of the commentators on the Koran, however, attribute to Jeremiah, son of Hilkiah the priest, the words of *Muhammad concerning the man who passed by a city in ruins and wondered how Allah would rebuild it. Allah then put this man to death and resuscitated him one hundred years later. To the man's astonishment, it became apparent to him that he had been dead for one hundred years, but that the food and drink which were with him were nevertheless unspoiled, while the bones of his ass had been covered with skin and veins and it had been revived. He was then convinced that Allah was omnipotent (Sura 2:261). The legendary tale of *Ḥoni ha-Meʿaggel (TB, Ta'an. 23a) has been interpreted by Wahb ibn Munabbih, the celebrated traditionalist, who feels that Ḥoni was Jeremiah. Some scholars identify Jeremiah with al-Khaḍir, but other commentators believe that he was ʿUzayr (Ezra). The town which Jeremiah passed by was *Jerusalem (Beit al-Maqdis (i.e., Beit ha-Mikdash), known as Aelia Capitolina in the Byzantine period); he was comforted that it would be rebuilt.

[Haïm Z'ew Hirschberg]

IN THE ARTS

Apart from an early appearance in the medieval *Ordo Prophetarum*, where he is made to foretell the coming of the Messiah, Jeremiah was a rare figure in literary works until the 19th century. Even then, the Hungarian Protestant writer and patriot Ferenc Kölcsey was inspired more by the Book of Jeremiah than by the prophet, basing his *Hymnus* (1823), which later became the Hungarian national anthem, on the text of Jeremiah 32:21–29. The first modern author to turn to Jeremiah was Ludwig *Philippson, who wrote the tragedies *Jojachin* (1858) and *Die Entthronten* (1868), in the latter of which Gedaliah makes a rare literary appearance. Jeremiah was later also the subject of *Il profeta o La passione di un popolo* (1866–84), an Italian allegorical drama by Graziadio David *Levi. The theme has attracted much more attention in the 20th century, with works headed by Stefan *Zweig's remarkable pacifist drama *Jeremias* (1917; Eng., 1922), first staged in Zurich during World War I. Another *Jeremias*, a play by the Danish writer Knud Gjørup, appeared in 1916. These were followed by Wacław Niezabitowski's Polish tragedy *Jeremiasz* (1926), Ajzyk Ruskolękier's Yiddish drama *Yirmiyohu Hanovi* (1936), and Joseph *Kastein's biographical *Jeremias; der Bericht vom Schicksal einer Idee* (1937). The subject also attracted another leading German Jewish writer, Franz *Werfel, whose novel *Hoeret die Stimme* (1937; *Hearken unto the Voice*, 1938) was republished years later as *Jeremias* (1956). During World War II the Czech writer Jiří *Orten published a collection of poems under the title *Jeremiášův pláč* ("Jeremiah's Lament," 1941).

In premedieval Christian art, Jeremiah was regarded as a prophet of the Passion, and was thus sometimes shown holding a cross. The biblical episode in which he is cast into a pit on account of his demoralizing prophecies (Jer. 38) led to his being sometimes given the symbol of the manticore – a legendary animal living in the depths of the earth which was depicted in the bestiaries. Jeremiah is represented in ninth-century manuscripts, including the *Kosmas Indikopleustes* (Vatican Library), and in early medieval frescoes, mosaics, and sculpture. Various episodes of his life are illustrated. There is a 12th-century illumination of the calling of Jeremiah (Jer. 1:9) in the Winchester Bible (Winchester Cathedral).

Thirteenth-century sculptures of the prophet are found in the cathedrals of Amiens and Chartres. At Chartres he is shown holding a circular disc enclosing a cross. A more naturalistic representation is the sculpture by Claus Sluter (Chartreuse de Champmol, Dijon), made at the beginning of the 15th century, where the nose was originally surmounted by a pair of spectacles in gilded leather. Some outstanding works of the Renaissance were a striking sculpture by Donatello (1386–1466; Campanile, Florence); a round painting by Perugino (Nantes Museum), as well as one of *Isaiah; and Michelangelo's brooding, seated figure surmounted by nude youths (Sistine Chapel, Rome). *Rembrandt painted a picture of Jeremiah mourning over Jerusalem (painting formerly in the Stroganov collection, St. Petersburg). The same subject was treated by the German academician Eduard *Bendemann in a crowded composition (National Gallery, Berlin), while another German painter, Lesser *Ury, showed Jeremiah brooding under the night sky. There is also a sculpture of Jeremiah by Enrico *Glicenstein.

The original stage music for Stefan Zweig's *Jeremias* was written by Arno *Nadel. For the Ohel Theater's performance of the play in Palestine, the music was composed by Yedidiah *Admon. Oratorios on the theme include G.M. Schiassi's *Geremia in Egitto* (1727) and Ernst Hess's *Jeremia* (1953). Verses and sections have been set for choir, such as Heinrich Isaac's *Oratio Hieremiae* (1538), and Samuel Scheidt's *Ist nicht Ephraim mein teurer Sohn*. The lament *Quis dabit oculis meis* (Jer. 8:23), which is included in the Good Friday liturgy, also occurs in settings by many composers of the 16th century. In the Jewish musical tradition, *Ha-Ben Yakir Li Efrayim* has become a showpiece of the "artistic" *ḥazzanut* of Eastern Europe; it also appears as the text of several folk songs and ḥasidic *niggunim*. For Rachel's lament (the "voice heard in Ramah …"), see *Rachel, In the Arts. Among modern works is Leonard *Bernstein's *Jeremiah Symphony* (1944).

See also: *Lamentations, In the Arts; *Zedekiah, In the Arts.

[Bathja Bayer]

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JEREMIAH, EPISTLE OF (known in the English version as the Epistle of Jeremy), an apocryphal work, written in the form of a copy of a letter by the prophet Jeremiah "unto them which were to be led captive into Babylon by the king of the Babylonians." It was apparently composed on the basis of Jeremiah 29:1ff. (for a similar but seemingly independent tradition, cf. II Macc. 2:2, and Targ. Jon., Jer. 10:11). The work consists of a vehement polemic against idolatry, the futility of which is scorned and derided (verses 8–72). The author follows no coherent line of thought. His discourse is characterized by abrupt transitions from one idea to another, repetitions, and especially by warnings to the exiles against idolatry. Each section describing heathen gods and their worship concludes with variations on the refrain: "they are no gods: therefore fear them not," or "how should a man then think or say that they are gods?" In depicting the heathen deities the author often uses expressions which echo those in the Bible (cf. Jer. 10:9; Isa. 44:9–19; 46:1–2; Ps. 115:4–8; 135: 15–18). The author was apparently an eyewitness to certain aspects of Babylonian idolatry (see verse 31, which tells of the priests having their clothes rent, their heads and beards shaven and nothing on their heads: the ancient Sumerian priests officiated naked and shaven; see also verse 43, which apparently describes temple harlots in Babylonia). Undoubtedly he was a Babylonian Jew who wrote under the name of Jeremiah. His period may be fixed by verse 3, which probably hints at his own time, and which prophesies the return of the exiles after seven generations, that is, approximately 200 years. Reckoning from the destruction of the First Temple in 586 B.C.E. this would refer to the beginning of the fourth century B.C.E., i.e., the days of Artaxerxes II Mnemon (405–359). Scholars formerly maintained that the Epistle was written in Greek, the language in which it has been preserved, but a number of factors indicate that the original language was Hebrew, as has been conclusively shown by Ball (e.g., in verse 17, "a vessel that a man uses" (*kelei adam*) is a mistranslation of "an earthen vessel" (*kelei adamah*)). In the Vulgate the Epistle is appended to Baruch as chapter 6. A passage from the Epistle of Jeremiah (verse 5) was used by the Marranos as a theological justification of Marranism.

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[Abraham Schalit]

JEREMIAH BEN ABBA (first half of the fourth century C.E.), Babylonian *amora*; usually referred to without his patronymic. Jeremiah, who was born in Babylonia, immigrated to Ereẓ Israel at the outset of his career. No discussions are extant between him and the Babylonian sages, and only in isolated instances does he quote the earliest ones. There is no reference to his emigration to Ereẓ Israel as there is to that of Babylonian sages such as Ze'eira, Abba, and others, who emigrated when they were already well-known scholars. When Abbaye and Rava, two leading Babylonian *amoraim* who were contemporaries of Jeremiah, discussed the relative worth of the sages of Babylonia and Ereẓ Israel, the former said: "One of them [in Ereẓ Israel] is worth two of us [in Babylonia]," to which Rava replied: "But when one of us immigrates there [to Ereẓ Israel], he is worth two of them. There is, for example, Jeremiah who, when he was here, did not comprehend what the sages were saying, but since immigrating there he refers to us as 'the stupid Babylonians'" (Ket. 75a). And indeed Jeremiah occupied a notable place in Ereẓ Israel, having apparently been for some time, after the death of Ammi and Assi, the head of the *bet midrash* at Tiberias. In Ereẓ Israel he studied under his Babylonian countrymen Ḥiyya b. Abba (Meg. 4a, et al.) and Ze'eira (MK 4a, et al.), as well as under Abbahu at Caesarea (TJ, Git. 9:10, 50d; et al.). With all his great devotion to study, prayer and spiritual tension in the worship of God were conspicuous factors in his outlook. Thus, when he was sitting in study before Ze'eira and the time for prayer arrived, he pressed the latter to interrupt the lesson in order to recite his prayers (Shab. 10a). When on one occasion he greatly prolonged the word "*eḥad*" in the Shema, Ze'eira checked him (Ber. 13b; TJ, Ber. 2:1, 4a.). Against the *baraita* which holds that one must not bow down "too much" in prayer, he said: "Provided one shall not do merely as a lizard does that moves its head, but pray in such a way that he fulfills (Ps. 35: 10) 'all my bones shall say: Lord, who is like unto Thee'" (TJ, Ber. 1:8, 3d). With this teaching of his there is apparently to be connected his dictum: "Great is the fear of God, for two books written by Solomon [Proverbs and Ecclesiastes] conclude with a reference to the fear of God" (Eccles. R. 3:14).

Conspicuous in his mode of study is the effort to arrive at a precise and definitive elucidation of the *halakhah*. At times, the halakhic problems that he posed are merely academic, without any application to practical life. Some of his questions and subtleties raise a smile, and most of the problems propounded by him are left unsolved in the Talmud (Shab. 38b; Suk. 33a, et al.). On the Mishnah (BB 2:6) which states that if a young pigeon is found within 50 cubits of the cote, it belongs to the owner of the cote, but if found beyond 50 cubits, it belongs to the finder, Jeremiah asked: "If its one foot is within and its other foot beyond 50 cubits, what is the *halakhah*?" For this question he was temporarily excluded from the *bet midrash* (BB 23b). (For a profound study of this characteristic of Jeremiah, see M. Silberg, in *Sinai*, 56 (1965), 13–19.)

Jeremiah came to occupy a distinguished position in both the spheres of academic and of communal service in Ereẓ Israel. He had halakhic discussions with most contemporary sages, and nearly all the leading *amoraim* of the following generation quote his statements. The Babylonian Talmud several times mentions his harsh comments on the learning of the Babylonian scholars and the Babylonian Talmud. "He hath made me to dwell in dark places…" (Lam. 3:6) – refers, according to Jeremiah, to the Babylonian Talmud (Sanh. 24a), but this did not prevent his statements from being frequently cited in it. To a question asked of him by the sages he modestly answered: "I am not worthy of having this question addressed to me, but your disciple inclines to the opinion…" (BB 165; cf. Dik. Sof., ad loc.). Avin and Dimi, who regularly went from Ereẓ Israel to Babylonia and there transmitted the teachings of Johanan and the other leading Ereẓ Israel *amoraim* of the preceding generation, included Jeremiah's statements (Pes. 60b; and see Tem. 14a, et al.). Tradition has it that anonymous opinions introduced by "They in the west say," quoted in the Babylonian Talmud, refer to Jeremiah (Sanh. 17b).

The vast majority of his statements are in the realm of *halakhah*, but a considerable number of his aggadic comments interpreting biblical passages and of his homilies have been preserved. He was the author of proems to homiletical expositions (Lev. R. 13: 1; 29: 5, et al.). Several practical decisions required in the "hall of study" (*Sidra Rabba*) were given by him (TJ, Shab. 3:7, 16c; 19:1, 16d, et al.). Like leading sages in all generations, he too traveled around to minister to and guide the inhabitants of various places, visiting the Dead Sea in the company of Ravin (Shab. 108b) and Golan on a mission for Ammi (TJ, Meg. 3:1, 73d). When the authorities imposed a heavy tax on Tiberias, he demanded, contrary to the prevailing *halakhah* exempting sages from taxation, that Jacob b. Bun, a sage, contribute his share. On the *halakhah* that one is not to pray immediately after a conversation or after being occupied in inanities, he taught: "Whoever engages in communal affairs is as one who engages in the study of the Torah" (TJ, Ber. 5:1, 8d). His fervent belief in the advent of the Messiah can be inferred from his last testament: "Clothe me in a white garment, put stockings and shoes on my feet and a staff in my hand, and lay me on my side. When the Messiah comes, I shall be ready" (TJ, Kil. 9:4, 32b).

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[Shmuel Safrai]

JEREMIAH BEN ISAAC (d. 1805), Hungarian rabbi. Jeremiah studied under Meir b. Isaac *Eisenstadt. He was rabbi of Mattersdorf (Burgenland) from 1770, and of Abaújszánto (Hungary), from about 1797. He lived for some time in Aszód (Hungary) but is not known to have held office there. He took a prominent part in 1798 in the dispute over whether the sturgeon, from which caviar is obtained, is permitted according to the dietary laws, a dispute which in its time engaged the rabbinic world. He declared it to belong to the "unclean" fish, in opposition to the view of Aaron *Chorin, his disciple, who declared it permitted. His *Moda'ah Rabbah*, supplements and comments on the *Moda'ah ve-Ones* of Ḥayyim Shabbetai, was published together with his son Joab's *Moda'ah Zuta* (*Moda'ah ve-Ones*, Zolkiew, 1795?, Lemberg, 1798).

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[Nathaniel Katzburg]

°**JEREMIAS, ALFRED** (1864–1935), German Bible critic. He became deacon in 1890 and pastor in 1891 at the Luther-Kirche, Leipzig. From 1905 he taught at the University of Leipzig. A student of Franz Delitzsch, a Biblicist, and his son Friedrich, an Assyriologist, Jeremias was a staunch member of the Pan-Babylonian school, which maintained that the interrelationships between the cultural areas of the ancient Near East, dominated by the Babylonian civilization, decisively influenced Israel's religious development. Jeremias was the first to translate the Gilgamesh epic into German. His *Das Alte Testament im Lichte des alten Orients* (1904, 19163; Eng. tr. and enlargement from the 2nd ed. as *The Old Testament in Light of the Ancient East* (2 vols., 1911, 1916^3)) posited that the Hebrews' highly advanced cultural expression was derived from the Babylonians at the beginning of biblical history. In his *Monotheistische Strömungen innerhalb der babylonischen Religion* (1904) he argued for the existence of monotheistic faith among the Babylonians as early as the third millennium B.C.E. He wrote important works on the Sumerian-Babylonian pantheon, including his important *Handbuch der altorientalischen Geisteskultur* (1913, 1929^2), but his comparative studies on biblical parallels are often whimsical and lacking in evidence. He is the author of *Izdubar Nimrod, eine altbabylonische Heldensage* (1891); *Im Kampfe um Babel und Bibel* (1903); *Die Panbabylonisten* (1907); *Das Alter der babylonischen Astronomie* (1909); *Allgemeine Religionsgeschichte* (1918, 1924^2); *Die ausserbiblische Erlösererwartung* (1927).

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[Zev Garber]

JEREZ DE LA FRONTERA, city in Andalusia, southwest Spain. No information is available on Jews under Muslim rule. Under Christian domination, it had an important Jewish community. Jerez was captured from the Muslims by Alphonso X of Castile in 1255. His register of the apportionment of property *(repartimiento)* there shows that in 1266 Jews owned 90 buildings given to them by the king. Among those who received properties, there were Jewish inhabitants of Toledo and other towns in northern Castile who had already received similar grants in *Seville. They included Todros *Abulafia, his son Joseph, and Judah b. Moses ha-Kohen. Several of the beneficiaries are described as *ballestero* ("archer," "guard," "constable"). The Jewish quarter was situated near the Calle de San Cristóbal and ran parallel to the city wall. There were two synagogues, almshouses, and a house for the rabbi. The principal occupations of the Jews were commerce and viticulture, as well as the crafts customarily pursued by Jews. In 1290, the community paid an annual tax of 5,000 gold coins, a small sum in proportion to its means. The Jews of Jerez were exempted from various customs duties and enjoyed additional privileges, which were confirmed by Ferdinand IV and Alfonso XI (1332).

The community of Jerez, which then numbered 90 families, was attacked during the persecutions of 1391. Those who survived as Jews sold part of their cemetery to the Dominican monastery. The names of 49 Jews who abandoned Judaism (see *Conversos) during that period are known. The community was, however, to regain its strength. In 1438 it paid an annual tax of 10,700 maravedis in old coin. About 1460, an accusation was brought against the Jews by the monks that they had interred a Converso within the cemetery precincts. Solomon *Ibn Verga gives a description of his relative Judah ibn *Verga, one of the last Jewish tax collectors, who saved the Jews of the town by enlisting the help of the duke of Medina Sidonia. The community still paid 1,500 maravedis in 1474 and 1482. In 1481, the Inquisition in Seville sent emissaries to confiscate the property of Conversos who had fled the town. Information that the Jews were to be expelled from Andalusia reached Jerez as early as January 1483. The *corregidor* and council requested a postponement since they considered that the decree would bring about the economic ruin of the town. The Jews began to sell their property, but the municipal authorities prohibited people from buying it. The expulsion was postponed for six months. In 1484, some Jews are still mentioned as inhabitants of the town, but by 1485 the community had ceased to exist.

Several *autos-da-fé, each lasting some days, were held in Jerez in 1491 and 1492. Some *sanbenitos* ("penitential garments") of repentant Conversos were still hanging in the parochial church of San Dionisio in the 18th century. After the Edict of Expulsion of 1492 Jews passed through Jerez on their way to exile in North Africa. In 1494, after an outbreak of plague, Christians were ordered to refuse shelter or admittance to their homes to any stranger in the town who had formerly been a Jew.

Nowadays, there is still a street called "Judería." It is near the city wall and next to where "Puerta de Sevilla" had been. The *judería* included more streets, including San Cristóbal and Alvar López.

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[Haim Beinart]

JERICHO (Heb. יְרִיחוֹ), said to be one of the oldest fortified cities in the ancient Near East. It is identified with Tell al-Sulṭā, near the ʿAyn al-Sulṭān spring (Spring of Elisha), about 1 mi. (1½ km.) N.W. of modern Jericho (Ar. Arīḥā) and 4½ mi. (7 km.) W. of the Jordan on the road leading to Jerusalem. The tel, covering an area of about 8½ acres (34 dunams) is 65 ft. (20 m.) high and 820 ft. (250 m.) below sea level. Its warm climate and abundant waters made Jericho an oasis attracting settlers from prehistoric times. In 1868 Charles Warren excavated at the site but had a negative opinion of its archaeological potential. The first systematic examination of Jericho was conducted by E. Sellin and C. Watzinger in 1901–09. Extensive excavations were subsequently carried out by J. Garstang in 1930–36 and K. Kenyon in 1952–61. Jericho was first settled sometime during the eighth millennium B.C.E. and the material remains are of the Natufian culture. One structure has been identified as a possible cult place. The dwellings were probably huts or tents of semi-nomads. Two Neolithic subperiods are distinguished at Jericho; their main difference is the absence of pottery in the first and its appearance in the second. The pre-pottery Neolithic period (seventh millennium) is characterized by irrigation farming and the development of major communal activities represented by the building of features said to be fortifications – though whether these actually served as fortifications has recently been contested by Bar-Yosef – and curvilinear houses built of plano-convex bricks (flat with curved tops). The "fortifications" of the town consist of a stone wall, 6½ ft. (2 m.) thick, to which a stone tower was attached, 30 ft. (9 m.) high and 28 ft. (8½ m.) in diameter with an inner staircase leading to the top of the wall. For this phase radiocarbon (^{14}C) tests of organic material established a date of 6850±210 B.C.E., i.e., between 7060 and 6640 B.C.E. Following the destruction of this town, a new one was built on its ruins and also enclosed by a stone wall erected on new foundations. Rectangular-shaped houses, of elongated mud-bricks, contained plastered floors colored red or yellow and burnished to a high polish. On several were found impressions of rush mats once spread on them. Several structures from this level may have served as public buildings or perhaps temples. Eleven building phases and 22 superimposed plastered floors were distinguished in this city. Throughout its long history, the settlers had no knowledge of the art of manufacturing pottery, but they possessed a highly developed standard of sculpture making. An outstanding example of their artistic skill is a flat head modeled from clay with shells inset for eyes in a unique style. Beneath the floor of one of the houses were discovered plastered human skulls with features molded into realistic human portraits. These skulls were probably connected with some cultic practice, perhaps ancestor worship. Finds such as flint sickle blades, querns, mortars and pestles, and various types of grain indicate that the occupants of this city were agriculturists. Radiocarcarbon (^{14}C) tests from various levels gave dates of 6520±200 (6720–6320) and 5820±160 (5980 – 5660 B.C.E.). In the fifth millennium, newcomers seem to have arrived at Jericho. No building remains date to this time but they brought with them a new culture – the art of manufacturing pottery. The vessels of this Neolithic period pottery are handmade and coarse, but some are finer and decorated with a red, well-burnished zigzag design. The latest pottery from this period, decorated with incised herringbone patterns, parallels the Yarmukian culture of northern Ereẓ Israel. Judging from the many changes in the fortifications and the appearance of the remains, the Early Bronze Age (third millennium) was one of great upheaval for Jericho, and it was the scene of frequent wars and earthquakes. The walls were destroyed, repaired and rebuilt 17 times during this time. The thick walls, of unbaked bricks, built almost exactly over the Neolithic ones, had a semicircular tower. Round structures, whose purpose is unknown, were found, as well as a large rectangular tower, rectangular-shaped houses and tombs. Jericho flourished in this period and was destroyed by nomadic tribes which penetrated into Canaan in the Middle Bronze Age I (2100–1900 B.C.E.). The city was not rebuilt and the remains from this time are mainly a great number of tombs with weapons and pottery. In the Middle Bronze Age II (19th–17th centuries B.C.E.) the city again became prosperous, and it was defended by an imposing system of fortifications consisting of a huge glacis of beaten earth on the slopes of the tell and supported at its foot by a massive stone retaining wall 20 ft. (6 m.) high. Many tombs were found outside the city with rich offerings in alabaster and bronze, scarabs and jewelry, as well as wooden objects and reed mats and baskets which are rarely preserved in Israel. The city was probably destroyed by the Egyptians; from the period of the latter's rule of Canaan (15th–13th centuries) little remained at Jericho, but it is clear that the city was inhabited to a certain degree in the 13th century. This was the city that was said to have been encountered by the Israelites when they entered the Promised Land and whose conquest was essential for their advance into the interior of the country. Joshua sent two spies to investigate the city which the Bible describes as walled (Josh. 2:1). It was not captured in battle but by divine command: the Israelites were to encircle the city once a day for six days and seven times on the seventh day and then to the blare of trumpets, and at the sound of a great shout the wall of the city fell and it was burnt. The city and all that was in it were consecrated to the Lord and only Rahab, the harlot, who had hidden the messengers, and her household were saved (Josh. 6). However, in the excavations at Jericho, no fortification was found which could be attributed to the Canaanite city captured by Joshua (see the debate between Bienkowski and Wood for different opinions). To resolve this discrepancy, some scholars suggest that the mud-brick wall was washed away by rain and erosion during the long period that it stood in ruins. Others maintain that the Canaanite city did not possess its own wall but reused the wall of the earlier city, and still others consider the biblical tradition to be an etiological story invented to explain the destruction of the earlier city. At all events, the archaeological evidence does not help establish an exact date for the Israelite conquest of Jericho. The Bible contains many references to Jericho in the Israelite period (12th–6th centuries). The city was included in the territory of Benjamin (Josh. 18:21) and, after Joshua's conquest of the city and his curse against anyone rebuilding it (Josh. 6:26), it apparently remained uninhabited as no remains from the 12th century were found. The Bible records the capture of "the city of palm-trees" by Eglon, king of Moab (Judg. 3:13). Evidence was found of a small settlement dating to the end of the period of the Judges and the beginning of the monarchy. A large public building of four rooms which was probably a royal storehouse is attributed to the tenth century B.C.E., i.e., the time of David. On their return from the Ammonite king, David's messengers remained at Jericho until their beards grew again (II Sam. 10:5). The city was rebuilt by Hiel, the Bethelite, in the days of Ahab, and for this act he was revenged by the fulfillment of Joshua's curse (I Kings 16:34). Some building remains from this time were found. The prophets Elijah and Elisha lived there (II Kings 2:4, 18–22) and the Judahite prisoners captured by the Israelites in the time of Pekah were returned to the "city of palm-trees" (II Chron. 28:15). The city expanded considerably at the end of the Israelite period (seventh, sixth centuries) but it remained unfortified and unimportant up to its destruction by the Babylonians in 587 B.C.E. The city was resettled by 345 Babylonian exiles (Neh. 7:36) and they participated in rebuilding the wall of Jerusalem (3:2). A small settlement existed there in the post-Exilic period. Jar handles inscribed "Yehud," the Aramaic name of the province of Judea under Persian rule, indicate that Jericho was included in the Judean state. On one handle, after the name "Yehud" appears "Urio"; he was apparently the official in charge of the fiscal affairs of the state. Gabinius made it the seat of one of his councils (*synhedria*) when he reorganized Judea into five districts. Archaeological remains of the Hellenistic and Roman town of Jericho have not yet been identified, but Hasmonean and Herodian palaces have been uncovered further west at Tulūʾl Abu al-ʿAlāyiq where Wadi al-Qilt enters the Jordan Valley. Remains of imposing structures constructed by Herod were found during excavations conducted at the site by E. Netzer between 1973 and 1983. Jericho possessed vast groves of dates and persimmons. Jericho itself was destroyed during the Jewish War (66–70 C.E.) and military installations were again built there at the time of Hadrian. Jericho continued to be occupied at the time of the Bordeaux pilgrim (333 C.E.). In the Byzantine period Jericho moved about 1 m. (1½ km.) east to its present location. Near the city were remains of a seventh-century basilical-shaped synagogue. It was oriented toward Jerusalem and had a mosaic pavement decorated with a *menorah*, the inscription "peace on Israel," and a memorial inscription in Aramaic.

Jericho is mentioned in the *Onomasticon* of Eusebius (fourth century) and was depicted as a flourishing city on the Madaba Map (sixth century) where the well, which supplied the ancient city with water, is shown as a church and called the "Spring of Elisha" (τὸ τ[οῦ] ἁγι[οῦ] ʾΕλισαίου). This according to tradition was the site of the story of Elisha in the Bible (II Kings 2:19–22) who was called upon to deal with the purification of the contaminated spring by casting a vessel with salt into the waters. According to Josephus, Elisha "went out to this spring and cast into the stream an earthen ware full of salt, and then, raising his righteous right hand to heaven and pouring propitious libations upon the ground, he besought the earth to mollify the stream and to open sweeter channels…" (Wars, 4:460–65). The spring is known today as Ayn al-Sulṭān. It seems that by the seventh century Jericho was again in ruins but Jewish refugees from the tribe of Banu *Nadir fled there from before Muhammad. A new synagogue arose on the site of the Byzantine one and the Masoretes mention a "Jericho Codex" existing there. With the Islamic conquest, a palace was built in 724 C.E. at Khirbat Mafjar nearby ("Hisham's Palace"). Excavations in 1935 by R.W. Hamilton brought to light beautiful mosaics and carvings there. By 891 Jericho was the district capital of the Ghauer (cleft of the lower Jordan; Yaʿkūbī, 113) and by the early Middle Ages was important for the production of indigo and sugarcane (Yākūt, 3:823, 913). It was captured by the Crusaders in 1099 and used by Raymond IV, count of Toulouse, as an encampment when his rival Godfrey de Bouillon gained Jerusalem. Queen Melisande endowed the whole of Jericho and its surrounding lands to her newly established convent of St. Lazarus (at Bethany) in 1147 and fortified Jericho with a tower. It was recaptured by Saladin without a struggle in 1187. The present Jericho is on the site of the Crusader town. Close by is the site of ancient *Dok, on the summit of which is the Byzantine Monastery of the Temptation (Qarantal) where Jesus was said to have fasted for forty days and nights (cf. Math. 4:1–5; hence its medieval name, Mons Quarantana). The Knights Templar built a fortress on the summit, called Castellum Dok, and the monastery was granted the tithes of Jericho city and the rights of the sugar mills in 1136. At the foot of the hill are the remains of three Crusader sugar mills (one nearly intact) which were referred to as early as 1116. They were driven by water systems originally built by Herod and repaired by the Crusaders. Nearby a Crusader building for boiling the sugar is in a good state of preservation. The town itself was practically uninhabited from then until the 19th century.

[Nachman Avigad / Shimon Gibson (2nd ed.)]

Modern Jericho

In the last two centuries, Jericho's population figures greatly fluctuated. In 1840 the troops of the Egyptian Governor Ibrahim Pasha razed the town before leaving the country. Jericho was again destroyed in a conflagration (1871). In 1918 Allenby secured the eastern front of the allies by the capture of Jericho from the Turks. From the beginning of the 20th century, the town expanded and in the 1940s had about 3,000 inhabitants. Included in Jordanian territory after the Israel *War of Independence (1948) the town suddenly grew when camps of Arab refugees from Israel were set up there and in the vicinity. The occupation of Jericho and the nearby Jordan banks and bridges on June 7, 1967, by Israel troops practically concluded the *Six-Day War fighting on the West Bank. Along with tropical, irrigated oasis-type farming (with date palms and pomegranates prominent, to which bananas, citrus, fodder crops, and certain tropical species, were later added), winter tourism and recreation developed, particularly from the 1950s, as an additional source of income. While shortly before the Six-Day War the Jordanian authorities estimated the population of Jericho and its surroundings at a total of 80,000, the 1967 Israel census indicated 6,837 persons in the town proper, of whom over 90% were Muslims, and less than 10% (539) Christians; within the municipal confines, 1,619 lived in a refugee camp. The surrounding area contained 2,000 inhabitants. Most refugee camps were abandoned during the fighting of June 1967 and their inhabitants crossed the Jordan River. By the end of 1967, the number of inhabitants had further decreased. In 1994 it became the first West Bank town to be handed over to the *Palestinian Authority by Israel in the framework of the Declaration of Principles (see *Israel, State of, under Historical Survey), and subsequently served as a detention area for the Palestinian prisoners released to the Authority by Israel. In 1997 the population of Jericho included 14,674 residents, among them 43.6% refugees.

Two and a half mi. (4 km.) east of Jericho a 2,000-acre farm school for refugee boys and orphans was established in 1951 and directed by the Palestinian Arab leader Mūsā al-ʿAlami. Its maintenance was aided by the Ford Foundation and other international bodies. The school utilized a method, developed before 1948 by the kibbutz *Bet ha-Aravah, of reducing the high salt content of the soil by flushing it with sweet water.

[Efraim Orni / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

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JEROBOAM (Heb. יָרָבְעָם), first king of post-Solomonic Israel; son of Nebat and Zeruah, from the town of Zeredah in Ephraim (I Kings 11:26). Jeroboam reigned for 22 years (14:20), approximately from 928 to 907 B.C.E. Two explanations have been offered for the meaning of his name: "[That God] will increase the number of the people"; and "he who fights the battles of the people," a name appropriate to the fact that he led the rebellion against Rehoboam. Jeroboam, a "mighty man of valor," whom King Solomon placed in charge of the corvée of Ephraim and Manasseh to fortify Jerusalem, "lifted up his hand against the king" (I Kings 11:26–28). *Ahijah the Shilonite supported Jeroboam's rebellion and promised him rule over ten tribes, as well as over people who favored political dissociation from the House of David. Details of Jeroboam's rebellion are not reported in the Books of Kings, but it appears that it took place in the second half of Solomon's reign. The Septuagint states that Jeroboam succeeded in conscripting 300 chariots and had his stronghold in the town of Zeredah (or Zererah). The rebellion failed and Jeroboam was forced to flee to Egypt, where he was sheltered by Pharaoh *Shishak (an account which also appears in I Kings 11:40 of the MT). According to the Septuagint, Shishak also gave his sister-in-law to Jeroboam in marriage and it was this union which produced a son, Abijah.

When Solomon died, Jeroboam returned from Egypt, and according to some sources he even participated in a popular meeting at Shechem and conducted, together with the elders of Israel, the negotiations with Rehoboam about the reduction of taxes (but cf. I Kings 12:20). When Rehoboam turned down their request, the leaders of the people – excluding those of Judah and Benjamin – proclaimed their political independence from the House of David, and appointed Jeroboam as their king. Immediately on ascending the throne, Jeroboam embarked on a series of moves aimed not only at countering the attempts by the king of Judah to reconquer the central and northern tribal territories but also at widening the breach between the two kingdoms. There is no record of Jeroboam's activities in the administrative and military organization of his new kingdom. It is known only that he first fortified Shechem, apparently his capital, but for unknown reasons he left Shechem and built Penuel in eastern Transjordan (I Kings 12:25), and later he possibly went to Tirzah (14:17; cf. 15:21). Jeroboam's activities in matters of ritual are described negatively in I Kings 12:25–33. He made two golden calves, placing one at Dan in the north and the other at Beth-El in the south. Calf worship was not something completely new in the ritual of Israel, but rather a reintroduction of an earlier ritualistic tradition. Dan and Beth-El were cultic holy places before the establishment of the kingdom. The *golden calf, which either served as a pedestal on which YHWH stood, or actually represented YHWH, was opposed by the writer of Exodus 32. That author composed the story of the golden calf in the wilderness (cf. I Kings 12:28 with Ex. 32:4) as a polemic against Jeroboam's cultic restoration by claiming that its origins were in ancient rebellion against YHWH (Aberbach and Smolar 1967; Sperling). It must further be observed that Ahijah, who supported the rebellion, was a prophet of YHWH. Perhaps the Shiloh tradition had no problem with the use of calves in the worship of YHWH.

In the fifth year of Jeroboam's reign, Shishak, the king of Egypt, invaded Israel. The biblical versions of Shishak's campaign (I Kings 14:25–28; II Chron. 12:2–12) recount mainly what occurred in the kingdom of Judah, but the wall engravings of the Temple of Karnak in Egypt list towns conquered by Shishak and indicate that Jeroboam's Israel suffered most in this war. Shishak invaded the southern territory of the kingdom of Israel by way of Gezer and Gibeon, penetrated the fruitful valley of Succoth, from there he turned to the Beth-Shean and Jezreel valleys, and then returned to Egypt by way of the coastal plain. Possibly Shishak intended to demonstrate Egypt's might and to reinstate its authority over Israel, but the adventure resulted not in Egyptian domination over the kingdoms in Palestine but merely in plunder. Archaeologists have discovered that many towns in the kingdom of Israel, such as Gezer, Beth-Shean, Taanach, and Megiddo, were destroyed during this campaign. *Abijah's success in conquering Jeroboam's territories in the southern part of the mountains of Ephraim (II Chron. 13:3–19) must be understood not only against the background of Jeroboam's weakness as a result of Shishak's campaign, but also in light of the increasing pressure upon Israel at Aram-Damascus in the northeast and by the Philistines in the southwest. Perhaps even by Jeroboam's time the eastern Transjordanian states had succeeded in regaining their independence by exploiting both the internal conflict between Israel and Judah and the external pressure of the Arameans and Philistines on the kingdom of Israel.

[Bustanay Oded / S. David Sperling (2nd ed.)]

In the Aggadah

Jeroboam was rewarded with royal dignity for rebuking Solomon, who closed the breaches in the walls of Jerusalem (which David had made to allow all Israel to make pilgrimages to Jerusalem on festivals.). Solomon had done this so that he could exact a toll for the benefit of Pharaoh's daughter (Sanh. 101b). When Jeroboam himself was confronted with the temptations of power (Lev. R. 12:5), his pride and his craving for predominance unbalanced him. Realizing that continued pilgrimage to Jerusalem would place Rehoboam, king of Judah, foremost in the minds of the people, he, who had once fought for free pilgrimage to Jerusalem, now erected an "iron curtain" between the people and the Temple (TJ, Av. Zar. 1:1, 39a; Sanh. 101b.). Assisted by evil men, he succeeded in setting up the golden calves in Dan and Beth-El, making use of his good reputation to obtain extra privileges from the Sanhedrin and full authority for all his actions, including idol worship. Jeroboam and his lackeys conducted a powerful propaganda campaign filled with distortions and historical misrepresentations, exalting the tolerance and forgiveness, the goodness and lovingkindness implicit in the religion of the calves, as opposed to the restrictions and severity of the Law of Moses (TJ, Av. Zar. and Sanh., loc. cit.). This propaganda did not deceive most of the people, however, so that when Jeroboam took his calves to all the tribes, none would accept them except that of Dan which had worshiped Micah's graven image in tribal times (Num. R. 2:10). No one would be appointed priest in the new shrines and Jeroboam was compelled to choose his priests from the dregs of the population (TJ, Av. Zar. loc. cit.). Since the decree prohibiting pilgrimages to Jerusalem was ignored by the people, Jeroboam posted guards on the borders and ordered all transgressors to be put to death (Tosef., Ta'an. 4:7; Sanh. 102a). Even these measures failed to put a stop to the pilgrimages and the king's son himself publicly disobeyed the order (MK 28b).

See also *Israel, Kingdom of (In the Aggadah).

[Elimelech Epstein Halevy]

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JEROBOAM II, son of *Joash, king of Israel (789–748 B.C.E.; see *Chronology). He was the greatest ruler of the dynasty of Jehu. It seems that his father associated him in the kingship in the last two years of his reign and that these years are included in the 41 regnal years ascribed to Jeroboam. During those two years, his father probably entrusted him with the command of the Israelite armies in their wars against *Aram-Damascus. Aram-Damascus's decline in power after the campaigns of kings Adad-Nirari III and Shalmaneser IV, the kings of Assyria, into northern and central Syria enabled Joash and his son Jeroboam not only to capture for Israel those territories which had been conquered from her near the end of the reign of Jehu and during the reign of Jehoahaz, but also to gain supremacy over non-Israelite territories which had probably come under the rule of Aram close to the time of Solomon's death. The biblical tradition relates about his war against Aram-Damascus that Jeroboam "restored the border of Israel from Lebo-Hamath unto the sea of the Arabah [i.e., the Dead Sea] in accordance with the word of the YHWH, the god of Israel … YHWH … delivered [Israel] through Jeroboam the son of Joash" (II Kings 14:25–27). Jeroboam's expansion as far as Hamath in central Syria would have required Assyrian acquiescence (Cogan and Tadmor, 163.) His victories reestablished the territorial limits attributed to *Solomon. (It is not impossible that Jeroboam's victories inspired the exaggerated claims made for Solomon). These expansionist wars probably took place in the early and middle years of Jeroboam's reign (Cogan and Tadmor, 164).

According to one opinion, the relations between Jeroboam and his other neighbors were not orderly. There is no evidence that the strained relations with Tyre, following Jehu's liquidation of the revolt of the Omri dynasty, which was allied to the kings of Tyre by marriage, ever improved. Moreover, there was no economic incentive for the renewal of relations between Tyre and Israel (see *Ahab, *Jehoshaphat, *Solomon). In addition, the relations between Israel and Judah had been complicated ever since Joash's victory over King *Amaziah of Judah on the battlefield and the destruction of a section of Jerusalem's fortifications after his victory. In the meantime Judah had gained in strength during the reign of *Uzziah, especially during the period of *Jotham's regency. It also seems that Judah conquered Rabbath Ammon and even gained control over the southern part of the King's Highway in Transjordan by which commerce was led from southern Arabia to Syria and Mesopotamia. *Pekah son of Remaliah, who was a Gileadite and governor of Transjordan under Jeroboam, had gained control of Transjordan as early as in the reign of Jeroboam. This division of Israel was desired by Aram and Judah, and they probably incited Pekah in this direction. According to other opinions, there were peaceful relations between Israel and Judah – hence the prosperity of Judah and the beginning of its political and military importance. Some argue that extensive cooperation between the two kingdoms can also be proved from the combined census carried out on the territory east of the Jordan (I Chron. 5:17). But while not chronologically impossible, the Chronicles passage is historically dubious (Japhet, 137–38). It would seem that the signs of prosperity increased with the influence over these widespread territories. The king distributed the lands among his loyal friends and favorites, and this probably spawned a wealthy class of landowners in Transjordan and other places against whom the prophet *Amos protested. According to the testimony of Amaziah the priest in Amos 7:11 (cf. Amos 7:9), the prophet prophesied (inaccurately, it turns out) that Jeroboam would die by the sword. The Book of Amos gives us an insight into the social and economic conditions during the reign of Jeroboam.

From the limited information given in the Bible, it seems that Jeroboam II was a gifted commander and an able organizer who succeeded in elevating the kingdom of Israel to a last climax before its fall. In the tradition of the Judahite redactors of the northern sources preserved in the Bible, Jeroboam is adjudged a king who "departed not from all the sins that Jeroboam, the son of Nebat, made Israel to sin" (II Kings 14:24). However, his loyalty to YHWH can be deduced not only from the name of his son Zechariah (Heb. "Remembered by YHWH") but also from the prophecies of "the prophet Jonah son of Amittai of Gath-Hepher" (*ibid.*, 14:25), who encouraged Jeroboam in his wars and prophesied his victory. It is unfortunate that these prophecies are not preserved. A stamp seal depicting a lion and reading *lšmʿ ʿbd yrbʿm*, "Property of Shema, servant of Jeroboam," was found at Megiddo (Cogan and Tadmor, pl. 12a).

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JEROHAM BEN MESHULLAM (c. 1290–1350), Spanish talmudist. Born in Provence, he was a victim of the expulsion of the Jews from France in 1306, and wandered in various countries until he arrived in Toledo, Spain, where, living in utter poverty, he continued his studies under *Asher b. Jehiel (the *Rosh*), and Abraham b. Moses Ismail, a pupil of Solomon b. Abraham *Adret. In his first known work, the *Sefer Mesharim*, on civil law, Jeroham arranged the relevant laws according to their subjects, noted their sources and origins in the Talmud, and collected the decisions of many scholars. He was meticulous in arranging his work in such a way that "any man, whether a great scholar or a minor student, might easily find any law that he wished." Jeroham states, "After my friends saw its usefulness, they pressed me to compose a similar work relating to the positive and negative commandments, and I yielded to their entreaties." He then composed his second book, *Toledot Adam ve-Ḥavvah*, which he arranged according to the cycle of human life, from birth to death. The section on Adam runs from birth until marriage; the section on Eve from marriage until death. Jeroham quotes the opinions of leading scholars of France, Spain, and Provence, and transmits the customs of various communities and countries. Jeroham's works enjoyed only brief popularity, being superseded by the *Arba'ah Turim*, the superior work of his friend and contemporary, *Jacob b. Asher. Jeroham's two works were printed for the first time in Constantinople in 1516, and thereafter there was a certain revival of interest in them. The foremost legal authorities of the 16th century, Joseph *Caro, Samuel de *Medina, and others, quoted him extensively. The few editions of the book are all based upon the *editio princeps* which was printed from a very corrupt manuscript, and therefore was not much used by students. Very few commentaries were composed to it; for those that were, legend had it that either the commentator died prematurely or the commentary was lost. The *Maggid (heavenly mentor) who spoke to Joseph Caro called him Jeroham Temiri ("Jeroham the Secret"). The work entitled *Issur ve-Hetter*, published in 1882 by Jacob Abukara, was erroneously ascribed to Jeroham.

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[Israel Moses Ta-Shma]

°**JEROME** (**Eusebius Sophronius Hieronymus**; 342–420), Latin Church Father, born to Christian parents in Stridon, Dalmatia, and sent by them to study in Rome. In Gaul, where he lived a life of pleasure after completing his studies, he was overcome by thoughts of repentance; he decided to pursue an ascetic life and joined a group of ascetics in Aquileia. In 374 he decided to go to Jerusalem, but on his way he became ill in Antioch and stayed there. For three years (375–378) he lived the life of a hermit in the desert of Chalcis. There he met an apostate Jew and with his help began to learn Hebrew. He then returned to Antioch where he was ordained priest. He proceeded from there to Constantinople where he met Gregory of Nazianzus (c. 325–389) and heard his discourses on the exegesis of the Bible. From 382 to 385 he lived in Rome and served as secretary to Pope Damasus I.

During his stay in Constantinople he was engaged in translating the *Chronicon* of *Eusebius into Latin, as well as supplementing it and lengthening it to cover the period from the 20th year of Constantine to the death of Valens in 378. The adaptation is frequently slipshod and inexact. His translation of this work, which included dates of events from Abraham onward, served as the basis for all the chronography of the Middle Ages in the West and also had a direct or indirect influence upon medieval Hebrew authors. In 386 he settled in *Bethlehem, where he directed a monastery and devoted his time to study. He obtained money to found the monastery from one of his female followers in Rome, Paula, who traveled with several friends to Bethlehem, where she founded three nunneries. In Bethlehem Jerome continued his study of the Hebrew language, which he had previously studied in Syria. He had several Jewish teachers: one came from Lydda, and the second, named Bar-Ḥanina, came from Tiberias. Out of fear of the Jews, the latter was sometimes compelled, according to Jerome, to visit him at night, and at times he even sent another Jew, named Nicodemus, to take his place. At that time the Jews derided gentiles who could not pronounce the pharyngeals properly. Jerome, however, attained such a degree of proficiency in his pronunciation of Hebrew that the transcriptions of Hebrew words in his writings are important for knowledge of Hebrew pronunciation at that time.

The study of Hebrew prepared Jerome for his important work – a Latin translation of the Bible from the original (see *Bible, Latin Translations). This translation, together with his translation of the New Testament from Greek to Latin, was accepted as the official version of the Scriptures in the Catholic Church, and is known as the Vulgate from its Latin name, Vulgata. He translated the Book of Psalms three times. The first time, he translated it from the Greek, and this translation was taken into the Catholic liturgy. His second translation was included in the conventional version of the Vulgate, based on the work of Origen (c. 182–251), who had collated the Septuagint with the Hebrew version. Finally, when he translated the Bible from Hebrew, he once more translated the Book of Psalms, a translation which did not gain admission either into the official Christian text of the Scriptures or into Christian worship. Jerome also made various translations of the Books of Judith and Tobit from an Aramaic version that has since disappeared and of the additions in the Greek translation of Daniel. He did not regard as canonical works the Books of Ben Sira and Baruch, the Epistle of Jeremy, the first two Books of the Maccabees, the third and fourth Books of Ezra, and the additions to the Book of Esther in the Septuagint. The Latin translations of these works in present-day editions of the Vulgate are not from his pen.

The translation of the Bible met with complaints from conservative circles of the Catholic Church. His opponents labeled him a falsifier and a profaner of God, claiming that through his translations he had abrogated the sacred traditions of the Church and followed the Jews: among other things, they invoked the story that the Septuagint had been translated in a miraculous manner. Jerome, however, rejected the story as legend. Despite the opposition which the new translation aroused in the ancient period (an opposition also supported by Augustine), on the one hand, and the unfavorable criticism directed against it by many humanists and participants in the Reformation, on the other, the Council of Trent (16th century) declared the Vulgate to be an authentic version. This today means only that the Vulgate is authentic from the judicial, but not from the critical point of view. In addition to translating the Bible, Jerome composed commentaries on it. His commentaries were the basis of medieval Christian biblical exegesis, and even Jewish exegetes occasionally quote him. The commentaries contain much exegetic material that Jerome received from his Jewish teachers, including several Midrashim that have been lost. He makes use of both the plain meaning and homiletical exegesis in his commentaries. In his commentary to the Book of Daniel (c. 407) he rejects the claim of Porphyry (347–420) that it is not prophetic but reflects the historical situation that existed at the time of the decrees of *Antiochus. The first of Jerome's Hebrew studies appears in *Quaestiones hebraicae in Genesin* in which he collates Christian exegesis with the Hebrew text. His *Liber interpretationis nominum hebraicorum* is apparently based upon the *Onomasticon* of Origen, which has since disappeared. This dictionary of personal names occurring in the Bible and the New Testament is arranged in the order of the Holy Scriptures, and in each book the names are cited in alphabetical order. The translations of the names, however, are not always correct.

During his visits to Palestine in about 373 and in the winter of 385 and after he settled there permanently in 386, Jerome familiarized himself with the country and also learned much about it from his Jewish teachers. His major work on the topography of Palestine is *De situ et nominibus locorum hebraicorum* (c. 390), an adapted Latin translation of the Onomasticon of Eusebius. The translation supplements the source with much material that appeared in the fifth century, mainly in connection with the erection of churches in numerous holy places, such as Beth-El and Shiloh. Jerome also corrected what he viewed as inaccurate, e.g., the location of Bet Annava. Topographical material also appears in his various letters, especially in letter no. 108, a eulogy on the death of his friend Paula. In it, Jerome describes her travels in Palestine and takes advantage of the opportunity to mention many biblical sites, describing their condition at the time. The letter that he wrote after the death of Eustochium, the daughter of Paula, serves as a supplement to this description. In his comprehensive commentaries on the books of the Bible, Jerome cites many Jewish traditions concerning the location of sites mentioned in the Bible. Some of his views are erroneous, however (such as his explanation of the word *appadno* (אַפַּדְנוֹ), in Dan. 11:45, which he thought was a place-name).

Jerome was regularly in contact with Jews, but his attitude toward them and the law of Israel was the one that was prevalent among the members of the Church in his generation. He had a completely negative attitude toward the observances of both the early Christians and the Jews who converted to Christianity. This attitude was in contrast to that of Augustine, who was more tolerant in this matter, since in the eyes of Christians, the Torah preceded Christianity. The correspondence between Augustine and Jerome testifies that Augustine, as a theologian, was incapable of understanding the importance of Jerome's translations. On the other hand, Jerome was apparently incapable of original thought in the sphere of theology. One letter attributed to him (no. 19) that deals with circumcision and another (no. 149) that discusses the Jewish festivals were not compiled by him. One of Jerome's works that had a great influence on medieval Christian literature was *De viris illustribus*, which was compiled in Bethlehem in 392. Suetonius had published a book of the same name in about 113, dealing with the great Latin writers. Jerome's work dealt with 135 Christian literary personalities: he commences with Peter and ends with his own literary activity. He also discusses Philo, Josephus, and Justus of Tiberias, who were writers with both sectarian and Jewish backgrounds. The book contains errors and inaccuracies, but important information has also been preserved in it.

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[David Flusser]

JERUSALEM

The entry is arranged according to the following outline:

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Name

Protohistory

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David and First Temple Period
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HISTORY

Name

The first mention of the city of Jerusalem is in the Egyptian Execration Texts of the 19th–18th centuries B.C.E. The name is spelled wš mm and was probably pronounced "rushalimum." In the Tell el-Amarna letters of the 14th century B.C.E., it is written *Urusalim*, and in Assyrian *Ursalimmu* (Sennacherib inscription). In the Bible it is usually spelled *yrushlm* and sometimes *yrushlym* (pronounced "Yerushalayim"). The city of Salem (Gen. 14:18; Ps. 76:3) is evidently Jerusalem. The Greek *Hierosolyma* reflects the "holiness" (*hieros*, "holy") of the city. It seems that the original name was *Irusalem*, and the meaning of the two words composing it is "to found" ("*yarah*") and the name of the West Semitic god Shulmanu, or Shalim. The god may have been considered the patron of the city, which had contained a sanctuary in his honor. The popular later midrashic explanation of the name Jerusalem as "foundation of peace (*shalom*)" is associated with the poetic appellations given to the city.

The name *Jebus is that of the Jebusite people living in Jerusalem at the time of the conquest of Canaan by the Israelites, and the city was so designated until its occupation by King *David. The name Zion, whose meaning is not known, at first signified a part of the Jebusite city, probably the king's fortress – the "Stronghold of Zion" (II Sam. 5:7; I Chron. 11:5). King David called this part "David's City" ("*Ir David*"), which at first indicated the fortress (II Sam. 5:9; I Chron. 11:7). With the passage of time, both names became synonyms for the entire city. Jerusalem has many names of admiration and reverence given by the Prophets and later Hebrew poets: "The City," "God's City," the "Holy City," the "City of Justice," the "Faithful City," the "City of Peace," the "Beautiful City," etc.

Following the suppression of the Bar Kokhba revolt in 135 C.E., a new town was founded and it was renamed Aelia Capitolina after the family of Hadrian (Publius Aelius Hadrianus) and the patron gods of the city – the Capitoline triad of Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva. With the Muslim conquest in 638 C.E. the city continued to be known by its Roman-Byzantine name "Aelia," but later, from the Fatimid period onwards, the city was referred to as Bayt al-Maqdis (the "holy house," or the "temple"), and from the 10th century as al-Quds (the "holy").

[Samuel Abramsky / Shimon Gibson (2nd ed.)]

Protohistory

The earliest evidence of the existence of man in the area of Jerusalem is from the prehistoric periods. Scatters of Upper Acheulean flint implements of Lower Palaeolithic age have been found in the area of Baqa' and the Rephaim Valley (mainly handaxes and flakes) to the southwest of the city, and in Sheikh Jarrah and on Mount Scopus to the north of the city. Epi-Palaeolithic implements have also been identified in the area of the "City of David." Neolithic sites are also known from the vicinity of Jerusalem, notably at Abu Ghosh and Motza to the west. Chalcolithic pottery was discovered during excavations in the area of the "City of David" attesting to the importance of its spring of water from very early times. Chalcolithic sites are known in the vicinity of Jerusalem (e.g., Khirbet es-Sauma'a which was investigated by Nasralleh in 1936), as well as in the Judean Desert to the east and close to Bethlehem to the south, but the first proper excavation of a Chalcolithic site was made at Sataf, west of Jerusalem, in 1989.

The Bronze Age

Jerusalem emerged into the full light of history together with many other ancient cities of Canaan in the Early Bronze Age. It was one in a series of towns settled on the north-south watershed road in the central highland region. Its natural advantages were restricted; its territory probably extended over only a limited area of land. The small Early Bronze Age II settlement (a hamlet or village) was situated on the lower southwestern hill of Jerusalem, close to the spring of Gihon. Excavations have brought to light fragmentary rectangular houses and pottery. Jerusalem is mentioned as a Canaanite city-state in the Execration Texts of the 20th–19th centuries B.C.E. In the earlier group of these texts, two kings, spelled *Yqrʿm* and *Šsʿn*, are mentioned; one more ruler appears in the later group, but his name (*Ba*…) is largely illegible. More information about this period, the age of the Patriarchs, is obtained from the Bible. In Genesis 14:18, *Melchizedek, king of Salem [= Jerusalem], appears as priest of the "Most High" – in Hebrew *El Elyon*, a well-known Canaanite deity. Early Jerusalem, in common with many other cities in the Orient, was regarded as the property of a god whose vice regent on earth was its priest-king. This theocratic dynasty, the members of which bore an individual name combined with *ẓedek*, reappears in the time of Joshua, when *Adoni-Zedek was king of Jerusalem (Josh. 10: 1).

More information about Jerusalem in the Late Bronze Age is available in the El-Amarna letters of the 14th century B.C.E. Its ruler at the time was *ARAD Ḥeb/pa*; the latter (*Ḥeb/pa*) is the name of a Horite goddess and the ruler's name was pronounced either *Abdi Ḥeb/pa* or *Puti Ḫip/ba*. In one of his letters to Pharaoh, the king complains bitterly of the Egyptian garrison of Kaši (Cushite?) soldiers in the city and of the growing dangers from the *Ḥabiru (Hebrew?) invaders, with whom he and other kings loyal to Pharaoh were struggling. In the book of Joshua (10:1ff.), the king of Jerusalem was the head of the coalition of Amorite kings which fought against Joshua at Gibeon. He was defeated and killed, but his city was not conquered; although the tribe of Judah seems to have taken it temporarily (Judg. 1:8), they could not hold it. The division of Canaan into tribal lots assigned Jerusalem to Benjamin (Josh. 15:8; 18: 16) but it remained a Jebusite (not an Amorite) city until the time of David (Judg. 19:11–12), thus cutting the Israelite territory in two and separating the central tribes from the southern ones.

The topography and appearance of the Early and Late Bronze Age cities have still not been clarified, even though archaeological research has been going on in and around Jerusalem for more than a century. Scholars agree that the earliest city was situated on the eastern slope of the southeastern hill. The only spring in this area, the Gihon, was obviously the deciding factor in the location of the early city. New excavations have brought to light important fortifications from the Middle Bronze II on the eastern slope and around the Gihon Spring, including walls and towers. It appears that the hewing of tunnels to channel water had already been undertaken at this early stage. The narrow ridge in the southern part of the hill must have given Canaanite Jerusalem a good defensive position; the only weak spot was the narrow northern saddle, and it was here that the city wall was probably made strongest. In addition to walls, foundations, and water-supply installations, a series of tomb-caves, dated by their finds (mainly pottery) to the period from the Early Bronze to the Middle Bronze Age, have also been found. To the north of the city the presence of a fragment of an Egyptian stele and a libation slab may attest to the presence of Egyptians in the vicinity of Jerusalem. The appearance and size of the Late Bronze Age settlement (town or hamlet) has been much debated amongst scholars, and very few finds have been attributed to this pre-Davidic stage. One important discovery in the area of the "City of David" was that of architectural terracing (in Area G).

David and First Temple Period

CONQUEST BY DAVID. The story of David's conquest of Jerusalem is told in II Samuel 5:6ff. and I Chronicles 11:4ff. Having unified the tribes under his rule, David wanted to eliminate the foreign enclave of Jebusites that divided his own tribe of Judah from the rest of Israel. At the same time, he hoped that by taking Jerusalem – which was practically outside the various tribal areas – he would create a national capital and thus avoid inter-tribal jealousies. The capture itself was effected with surprising ease through a stratagem involving only "the king and his men," i.e., the standing forces and not the general levy of the Israelites; therefore, no one could dispute the royal possession of the conquered city. Opinions differ about both the recorded story of the Jebusites' parading their blind and lame on the walls and the stratagem that led to the conquest. It seems that the parade of the deformed may have been a magic rite, intended to arouse fear in the enemy. On the other hand, the new excavations show that a water system with tunnels was already in existence since the Middle Bronze Age, so it is not unlikely that it may have been the *ẓinnor*, or "gutter" (II Sam. 5:8), by which Joab and his men were able to scale and take the Jebusite settlement by surprise, penetrating behind its wall. David did not exterminate the vanquished locals; on the contrary, they seem to have been assigned certain administrative functions. *Araunah, who sold David the threshing floor outside the north wall of Jerusalem, where the Temple was to stand, may have been the last king of Jebusite Jerusalem (II Sam. 24:18–25). Having captured the city and defended it successfully against the Philistine assaults, David could establish it as "David's city" and the capital of the United Monarchy. By transferring the Ark of God there from its temporary abode at Kiriath-Jearim, he transformed Jerusalem from a Canaanite hamlet into a town sacred to God, the religious, as well as the political, center of Israel, the successor to Shiloh. It was due to this act that Jerusalem became the chief city of the Land of Israel (a position which neither its geographical nor its economic advantages seemed to warrant) and was frequently so throughout the ages.

According to the Bible, David's building work in Jerusalem was mainly of a utilitarian nature. He fortified the town and rebuilt the Jebusite citadel called "Zion." He may also have prepared for the extension of the city northwards by widening the saddle to the north by a massive "filling" (Millo) operation. The position of the Citadel is disputed: it may have stood at the northern and most threatened end of the City of David – some scholars believe that the stepped-stone structure uncovered in this area was connected to this citadel – or at its safest, southern end. David also built a house for his "mighty men" (his guards), probably with an armory adjoining, and prepared a dynastic tomb within the city according to royal custom (all other inhabitants were buried outside the walls). It has been claimed that rock-hewn chambers discovered on the eastern ridge in 1914 by R. Weill may have had something to do with this tomb. David inherited from the Canaanite rulers the "king's vale," a tract of fertile land close to the junction of the Kidron and Ben Hinnom Valleys, which was irrigated from the surplus water of the Gihon Spring.

UNDER SOLOMON. Under Solomon the economic advantages of Jerusalem as the center of the Israelite empire became evident. Caravans from the Euphrates to Egypt could be directed through the royal capital, while for the Phoenician trade with Elath, the Red Sea, and Ophir a passage through Jerusalem was actually the shortest route possible. Additional factors in the rapid development of the city were the establishment of the royal stores, fed by contributions from the 12 districts into which Israel was divided, as well as of the headquarters of the royal merchants. Moreover, the presence of a chariot force, foreign guards, and a sumptuous court, including a harem, also contributed to its growth. The cosmopolitan character of the city at that period was emphasized by the construction, on a hill outside the city, of sanctuaries to foreign gods, which was later accounted as one of Solomon's sins.

The construction of the First *Temple and the adjoining royal palace by Solomon gave Jerusalem a unique character, a combination of a holy city with a royal city. The Temple (erected on the summit of the eastern hill just north of the royal palace), although small in dimensions, was famous for its costly materials and technical perfection. It was included in the circuit of the city walls by an extension northward, which brought Jerusalem on the eastern hill to another saddle. It is possible that at that time the saddle was already fortified by towers, later known as the Tower of Hammeah and the Tower of Hananel (Neh. 12:39). The royal palace, the largest building in the city, occupied the entire span between the two valleys, north of David's city. Besides the throne room and the *House of the Forest of Lebanon (guard and chariotry quarters), it had an inner court of women; attached to it was the special palace on the Millo, which housed the princess of Egypt, politically Solomon's most important spouse. No archaeological remains have survived that could be interpreted as representing the First Temple or royal palace from the time of Solomon.

UNDER THE KINGS OF JUDAH. When the United Monarchy split in about 930 B.C.E., after Solomon's death, Jerusalem remained the seat of the Davidic dynasty and the capital of the smaller Kingdom of Judah. This territorial decline was accompanied by a corresponding one in economic life. *Shishak (Sheshonq), king of Egypt, did not take Jerusalem during his invasion of Judah (c. 925 B.C.E.), but the ransom paid to avoid capture further impoverished the city. Jerusalem derived one advantage from the split between Israel and Judah: many priests and levites, expelled from the Northern Kingdom by Jeroboam, returned to Judah and Jerusalem and "strengthened the Kingdom of Judah" (II Chron. 11:13–17). The situation remained unchanged until the reign of *Omri, king of Israel (ninth century B.C.E.), when peace was made with the Northern Kingdom and the trade routes opened. Foreign influence followed in the wake of the alliance with Israel; in the days of Queen Athaliah, Jerusalem was the center of a revived Baalism. The coup d'état carried out by the high priest Jehoiada (II Kings 11) put an end to such backslidings. In the reign of *Amaziah (798–785 B.C.E.), Jerusalem was captured by King *Jehoash of Israel, who broke down 400 cubits of its northern wall. *Uzziah, who remained true to the alliance with Israel, repaired the breach and strengthened the walls: "And he made in Jerusalem engines, invented by skillful men, to be on the towers and upon the corners wherewith to shoot arrows and great stones" (II Chron. 26:15). It was in the time of Uzziah that the voice of the prophet *Isaiah was heard in the city, making it the center not only of Temple worship but also of moral and social regeneration (Isa. 1:1).

Uzziah's successor, *Ahaz, attempted to curry favor with Assyria by building an altar in the Assyrian fashion and encouraging Babylonian astral cults in Jerusalem. His son *Hezekiah, counseled by Isaiah, prevailed against Assyrian influences. During his reign the Temple was purified and repaired (a prior repair was made under Joash). In anticipation of an Assyrian assault, Hezekiah reinforced the walls of Jerusalem and included in the city part of the Western Hill, the *Mishneh* (II Kings 22:14), or "second" Jerusalem, which was already settled in his time. Remains of fortifications have been uncovered on the Western Hill of Jerusalem, and some of these may represent the "other wall" built by Hezekiah (II Chron. 32:5). He also cut the famous tunnel under David's city, through which the waters of the Gihon flowed to the Pool of Solomon. The Assyrian army under *Sennacherib did indeed besiege Jerusalem in 701 B.C.E., but some kind of disaster in the Assyrian camp forced Sennacherib to agree to a treaty with Hezekiah, which left Jerusalem safe. Hezekiah was the last king buried in the Davidic tomb, in its upper passage. His son *Manasseh built, according to II Kings, altars to the "host of Heaven" and the Baalim (21: 3–5, 7). The Chronicler adds the story of Manasseh's captivity and repentance, after which he removed all the pagan altars and idols he had set up and "restored the altar of the Lord" (II Chron. 33:15–16). He was then able to add to the walls of Jerusalem and to strengthen them in many directions (II Chron. 33:14). Of the brief reign of Amon, who followed Manasseh, nothing of note for the history of Jerusalem was recorded.

Under King *Josiah, Jerusalem returned to its historical religious function. After the fall of both the Northern Kingdom of Israel and Assyria, it again became the spiritual focus of the entire remnant of the nation. After Josiah's death in the battle of Megiddo (609 B.C.E.), his weak successors vacillated between Egypt and Babylon. After the brief reign of Jehoahaz, Jehoiakim came to the throne as a tool of Egypt; compelled to submit to the Babylonians, he soon rebelled but did not live to see the subsequent events leading to the surrender of Jerusalem. As early as 597 B.C.E., when *Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, approached Jerusalem, King *Jehoiachin, together with his queen, ministers, and servants, came out and surrendered; Nebuchadnezzar crowned *Zedekiah king, who was the last king of Judah. Ten years later the Babylonian army laid siege to the city and captured it after several months. The Babylonian captain Nebuzaradan exiled most of the inhabitants:

"And he burnt the house of the Lord, and the king's house, and all the houses of Jerusalem, and every great man's house burnt he with fire" (II Kings 25:9). This disaster, of which the prophets Jeremiah and Ezekiel had given ample warning, left Jerusalem desolate for over 50 years.

[Michael Avi-Yonah / Shimon Gibson (2nd ed.)]

Second Temple Period

RETURN TO ZION. The destruction of Jerusalem by the Babylonians (587/586 B.C.E.) decimated its population, and it remained desolate for five decades. Its ruins represented the decline of Judah. Nevertheless, the Jewish people remained firm in their faith in Jerusalem, which was identified with their common history and their hope for national redemption. Psalms 137:5–6, uttered in Babylonian exile, "If I forget thee, O Jerusalem, Let my right hand forget her cunning…," is a moving expression of this hope.

In 536 B.C.E., after the fall of Babylon, Cyrus, king of Persia, who became the overlord of Judah, issued his famous declaration, which allowed those desiring to return to Zion to do so and to rebuild the Temple (see *Exile, Babylonian). The resettlement of the city and the rebuilding of the Temple were effected very gradually, as the surrounding nations were hostile to this activity. Only under Darius I in 515 B.C.E. did *Zerubbabel, the governor, and Joshua, son of the high priest Jehozadak, succeed in completing the Second Temple. The city remained almost empty, however; its walls were breached and its gates were burned down. In 445 B.C.E. *Nehemiah, son of Hacaliah, an important official at the court of King *Artaxerxes, moved by reports of the miserable conditions in the Holy City, decided to leave the court and go to Jerusalem. He was appointed governor of Judah and was mainly responsible for the rebuilding of the city. He organized the inhabitants of Judah and took security precautions necessitated by the bitter opposition of its neighbors, especially the Samaritans. First he repaired the wall, following its restricted course in the period of the monarchy around David's City: "They that builded the wall and they that bore burdens laded themselves, every one with one of his hands wrought in the work, and with the other held his weapon" (Neh. 4:11). He then took steps to populate the city by commanding the nobles and one tenth of the rural population of Judah to settle there. He decreed an annual tax of a third of a shekel for the maintenance of the Temple. He suppressed the Tyrian trading market set up outside the city on the Sabbath, erected a strong fortress (the *birah*) north of the Temple, posted guards on the gates, and provided for the security of the city.

It was *Ezra the Scribe who was responsible for the restoration of the authority of the Mosaic Law and for making Jerusalem the undisputed religious center of Judaism. The rest of the Persian period is wrapped in obscurity. The many jar-handle inscriptions reading "Jerusalem" or "the city" show that it was an important administrative and fiscal center.

HELLENISTIC PERIOD. Jerusalem submitted peacefully, with the rest of Judah, to Alexander the Great (332 B.C.E.), who confirmed the privileges of the city. The visit of the king as reported by Josephus, however, seems legendary. After the death of Alexander (323 B.C.E.), the city suffered as a result of a series of wars for succession. *Ptolemy I, king of Egypt, seized it and deported a part of its population (according to a Greek historian, the conquest was made possible because the Jews would not go out to fight on the Sabbath). With the stabilization of Ptolemaic rule (301 B.C.E.), however, the relationship between Judah and Egypt improved, and a period of prosperity ensued. Judah had broad autonomy in domestic affairs and Jerusalem continued to be its administrative center. At the head of the administration were the high priests, descendants of Joshua, son of Jehozadak, and the Council of Elders, which bore the Greek name of *Gerousia*. The high priest was not only the religious head of Jerusalem and Judah but also its political and administrative leader. The *Gerousia*, despite its Greek name, was a direct continuation of the Council of Elders of the Persian times. It was composed not only of Jerusalemites, but also of heads of clans from provincial towns. The Temple was the center of the religious and social life of Jerusalem. Due to its presence, many priests (kohanim) lived there and formed a very important social class. A new class, that of the scribes (interpreters of the law), began to develop. In addition to the priestly families and the scribes, a number of noble families came into prominence. Among them was the House of Tobiah, which had extensive land holdings in Transjordan and grew rich from tax farming. These aristocratic families developed close ties with the royal court and the gentile noble families in the empire and thus came under the sway of the Hellenistic way of life.

The Seleucid conquest in 198 B.C.E. was welcomed by the Jews. They helped besiege the Egyptian garrison in the Citadel and were consequently compensated by Antiochus III. A new charter was granted confirming the right of the Jews to live by the "laws of their fathers." The population was exempted from taxes for three years, and the priests and scribes were exempted in perpetuity. In addition, the king forbade the bringing of unclean animals and even the skins thereof into the city. On the surface the situation in Jerusalem seemed to remain as it had been under the Ptolemies as far as its administration, the character of its institutions, and social conditions were concerned. In reality, however, the Hellenization of the upper strata of the society was intensified. The priests and the secular leaders came closer in their thinking and way of life to the corresponding classes among the non-Jews, and the Hellenistic influence seeped down to the lower classes. The leaders of the pro-Hellenistic movement who wanted radical changes were the houses of Tobiah and Bilgah. The traditionalists were headed by the high priest, Onias III, but even in his family there was a rift: his brother, *Jason, leaned towards the Hellenizers. The struggle became more and more polarized due to the general political situation and the financial crisis that resulted from the defeat of the Seleucid empire by Rome. The king strove to regain his power by aggrandizement of the cities in accordance with the Hellenistic tradition of the polis.

The official in charge of the Temple, Simeon of the house of Bilgah, made an effort to limit the powers of the high priest *Onias in the administration of the Temple, as well as in the economic life of the city. When his attempt failed, he turned to the Syrian governor and asked for his intervention. He pointed out that sums of money far beyond that required for ritual sacrifices were known to be in the Temple, and should, by right, be given over to the king's government. Thereupon, the king sent Heliodorus, his chief minister, to investigate. Onias opposed this move vigorously, pointing out that the monies did not belong to the Temple but were sums deposited there for safekeeping, and Heliodorus failed in his mission. Although there is no reason to believe that the king intended to harm the Temple or to intervene in religious affairs, the episode left a sediment of mistrust toward his government. Simeon continued in his attempts. There were riots in the streets of Jerusalem and Onias was compelled to ask the help of the government to maintain order.

In 175 B.C.E., with the ascent to the throne of *Antiochus IV Epiphanes, significant changes began to take place. His reign was marked by most energetic steps to Hellenize the empire. Antiochus indicated interest in the affairs of Jerusalem, and Jason seized the opportunity to convince the king to put him in the place of his brother, Onias III, as the high priest. Jason promised the king a considerable increase in taxes, as well as a large tribute, in return for his permission to make changes in the governing of the city. The two major reforms made by Jason, with the full support of the king, were the building of a gymnasium in Jerusalem and the change of the Jewish city into a Hellenistic polis (one of the many in the empire) to be known as Antioch.

The establishment under the Temple fortress of the gymnasium changed the whole spiritual and social atmosphere. It began to rival the Temple as the social center, especially among the young priests and laymen. This was a grievous blow to the traditionalists, particularly as, according to Greek tradition, the gymnasium was under the patronage of the gods Hermes and Hercules. The author of II Maccabees describes with great bitterness how, on a given signal, the priests left the Temple in order to view the games. The conversion of Jerusalem into a polis required a new census, which gave Jason and his supporters the opportunity to make changes in the register of citizens. Jason did not do away with the existing system of administration, and the traditional *Gerousia* continued to function together with the high priest. As the head of Jerusalem and Judah, he followed the line of the house of Tobiah, endeavoring to integrate the city into the general cultural and social life of the empire. Delegates from Antioch-Jerusalem were sent to Tyre to represent the city at the games in honor of Hercules.

Jason did not remain high priest for long; it seems that the king did not consider him sufficiently loyal. *Menelaus, an ardent Hellenizer of the house of Bilgah, was appointed in his place. He purchased his position for a high price, and a new chapter began in the relations between the Seleucid empire and Judah. The high priest, who had heretofore represented the interests of the Jews in the king's court, was now made an official of the administration. Menelaus was unable to fulfill his financial obligations to the king and was called to appear before him. His brother Lysimachus was left in charge and immediately availed himself of the opportunity to rob the Temple's treasury. Consequently, a revolt broke out against the rule of Menelaus in which Lysimachus was killed. The three members of the *Gerousia* who were sent to complain to the king against Menelaus were put to death, and the latter continued to enjoy the support of Antiochus.

Upon the return of the king from his first war in Egypt in 169 B.C.E., he visited the city and took away with him the golden altar, the candelabra, and other gold and silver objects found in the Temple. In the following year, when the king was again at war in Egypt, the rumor spread that Antiochus had died. At this point, the deposed Jason, at the head of a force of 1,000 men, broke into the city and gained control of all but the fortress in which Menelaus and his supporters and the permanent garrison defended themselves. On his way back from Egypt, the king seized Jerusalem, constructed a fortress, the *Acra, in a dominant position opposite the Temple, and stationed a garrison there. In 167 B.C.E. Antiochus issued decrees against the Jewish religion that were carried out with special severity in Jerusalem. The Temple was desecrated; its treasures were confiscated. Antiochus converted it into a shrine dedicated to the god Dionysus and ordered the erection of a huge temple of his favorite god, Zeus Olympius. Opponents of Antiochus' policy fled the city, while a Seleucid garrison and the Hellenizers remained in Jerusalem. All around, the countryside rebelled.

HASMONEAN PERIOD. The revolt led by *Judah Maccabee aimed at the purification of Jerusalem and the attainment of autonomy. The city was out of reach of the Jewish insurgents; however, they set up a successful blockade around the city and were able to beat back four successive attempts to relieve the Seleucid garrison. After the fourth victory of Judah in battle near Beth-Zur, they were able to reoccupy the Temple Mount, cleanse the Temple of pagan objects, rebuild the altar, and resume the sacrifices in December 164 B.C.E. Since that time Jews have observed the Feast of Dedication, or *Ḥanukkah, in memory of this occasion. After the death of Antiochus IV, his successor granted the Jews religious freedom and appointed a new high priest, Eliakim (Alkimos). The Temple walls were breached with the help of traitors, and Judah was forced to leave Jerusalem. After the death of Judah in battle (160 B.C.E.), his brothers, Jonathan and Simeon, had to operate from outside Jerusalem.

Due to the continuous conflicts and intrigues in the Seleucid empire, it became possible for the Hasmoneans to return to Jerusalem several years later. In 152 B.C.E. Jonathan was made high priest and governor of the Jews. He was allowed to reoccupy the city, with the exception of the Acra, which continued to be held by the king's garrison, and all his attempts to gain control of it failed. He therefore built a wall to cut the Acra off from the city and strengthened the wall of Jerusalem. Simeon, Jonathan's brother and successor, finally expelled the garrison and eradicated the Acra of its pagan cults. A triumphal entry into the fallen fortress was made on the 23rd of Iyyar 141 B.C.E., the date which henceforward was celebrated as the day of the final deliverance of Jerusalem. It would appear that the construction of the ("first") wall around the Western Hill was initiated by Jonathan and continued by Simeon, and that this was done for ideological reasons to renew the visible ruins of fortifications that had originally surrounded the larger city in the time of Hezekiah and to celebrate the banishment of the Seleucid Greeks.

Early in the reign of John *Hyrcanus, Jerusalem was placed by Antiochus Sidetes VII under a heavy siege, which ended in a treaty under which the city wall was breached. Evidence of this battle was unearthed during the Citadel excavations near the Jaffa Gate, consisting of scatters of ballista balls and arrowheads. For the next six decades (until 63 B.C.E.) no enemy approached the city. Jerusalem became the capital city of the Hasmonean kingdom, which included large parts of western Palestine as well as areas of Transjordan. It was the center of ever-growing political, economic, and religious activity. The Temple became the ritual and religious center of a large number of people in the Land of Israel who had not previously come under the influence of Judaism. Jews in the Diaspora, converts to Judaism, and sympathizers with Judaism contributed to the wealth of the city by paying half a *shekel, and making other contributions. The sages of Jerusalem became renowned throughout Jewry, and their influence was felt wherever Jews resided. Trades and crafts developed in the city.

The "Letter of *Aristeas" contains a description of Hasmonean Jerusalem, with its triple wall, its markets, replete with all kinds of wares, its supply of drinking water, and so forth. It was a large and prosperous city. The Hasmonean palace was built on the Western Hill, dwellings were constructed in all parts of the city, and a new rectangular esplanade was built for the Temple. Segments of the "first" wall built during Hasmonean times have been uncovered in the Jewish Quarter, the Citadel, along the western Old City wall, and around traditional Mount Zion. Hasmonean pottery, coins, and arrowheads have also been recovered during excavations. To the end of this period belong some of the splendid monuments in the Kidron Valley, such as the Tomb of the Sons of Hezir (erroneously called the Tomb of St. James), the so-called Tomb of Zechariah, and the Tomb of Jason (in the Rehavia neighborhood), which contains one of the earliest drawings of a *menorah* and a picture of a sea fight (this Jason was apparently a retired sea captain).

No external enemy menaced Jerusalem, but it was the scene of violent civil strife in the days of Alexander *Yannai (Jannaeus). His widow, *Salome Alexandra, succeeded in restoring peace to the city, but after her death conflict broke out anew. *Hyrcanus II besieged his brother *Aristobulus II in the Temple with the aid of the Nabateans, but was forced to retreat. In the end this fratricidal war profited only the Romans. In 64 B.C.E., when Pompey decided in favor of Hyrcanus, the partisans of Aristobulus shut themselves up in the Temple and defied the decision of the Roman general. Pompey was forced to undertake a siege, since the Temple was now defended by a deep rock-cut fosse on the north. In 63 B.C.E., the Temple wall was breached and the Romans broke into the Temple itself. Pompey entered the Holy of Holies, but did not touch the Temple treasuries. He left the government to Hyrcanus and his adviser *Antipater the Idumean, the father of *Herod. In 40 B.C.E. Jerusalem was seized by the Parthians, who had invaded Judea as allies of Mattathias Antigonus. Three years later (37 B.C.E.), after a prolonged siege, Herod's troops and those of his Roman allies breached the walls of Jerusalem and penetrated the city. There followed great slaughter and looting, until Herod was forced to intervene in order to save the city.

HERODIAN PERIOD. King Herod, who reigned over Judea for 33 years (37–4 B.C.E.), completely transformed the external aspect of Jerusalem. His aim was to make his hold on the city secure, knowing full well how much he was hated by its population; to satisfy his liking for ostentation and splendor; and to placate the populace by providing work. His successful financial ventures and high taxation provided the means. Herod transferred the seat of civil power from the old Hasmonean palace to a new site in the northwestern corner of the city, within the "first" wall. His palace was protected on the north by three towers: Phasael, Hippicus, and Mariamne; the base of one of these towers (probably Hippicus, though the matter is still debated), was inserted into the Hasmonean "first" wall, and this is clear from excavations inside the Citadel. The location of the other two towers is uncertain, although Josephus says that they too were built on the line of the "old" wall. Behind the three towers, to the south, extended Herod's palace, built on a podium, and protected to the west by a wall with towers through which one entered via a gate (the "gate of the Essenes"). Apparently the palace adjoined on one side the Agora or upper market. Within the wall were extensive gardens and the place which was divided into two separate blocks of buildings, called Caesareum and Agrippeum in honor of Augustus and his general Vipsanius Agrippa, respectively. The palace gardens were most likely supplied with water derived from the Mamila Pool (see Water Supply, below). A large sewer, referred to by Josephus as "Bethso," extended out of the base of the palace to the west and into the Hinnom Valley.

Herod's other projects in Jerusalem were on the eastern side of the city. He transformed the old Baris fortress into a more cohesive fortified tower-like structure dominating the Temple area, and called it Antonia, in honor of the triumvir Mark Antony. In the Temple area itself, the esplanade was enlarged, especially on its southern side, and it was given the trapezoid shape which is still preserved. The Temple Mount was surrounded by a wall built of large stone ashlars of which the *Western ("Wailing") Wall is but a section. Beneath the Temple Mount were numerous water cisterns, passages, and conduits. The Temple Mount was surrounded by a portico with columns 50 ft. (15 m.) high. The entire southern side was taken up by a two-story triple hall, the "royal basilica." Herod also entirely rebuilt the Temple itself, doubling its height and richly adorning its exterior. Various gates led into the Temple Mount.

Extant remains of Herod's building activities in Jerusalem include towers in the Citadel; fortification walls around Mount Zion; the Bethso sewage tunnel; the podium of his palace on the Western Hill with a gate to the west; the Temple Mount walls; a flight of steps built on arches (Robinson's Arch) descending from the Temple esplanade at the southwestern corner to a paved street running from north to south; the passageways of the Double and Triple gates in the southern Temple Mount walls; the rock-cut portions of Antonia with its adjacent pool, the Struthion; and the Siloam and Bethesda Pools to the south and north of the Temple Mount, respectively. Besides these, the monument of Herod's family (mentioned by Josephus) has been identified with a round structure to the north of the city. The so-called Tomb of Absalom in the Kidron Valley is also assigned to his reign; it gives an idea of the rich eclectic ornamentation of Herodian architecture current at that time.

UNDER THE ROMAN PROCURATORS. After Herod's death and the banishment of his son *Archelaus, Judea was made a province of the Roman Empire (6 C.E.). Jerusalem was ruled by Roman procurators who resided in Caesarea and thus ceased to be the capital of Judea. The procurators, however, would come to Jerusalem from time to time with their troops, especially during the three pilgrim festivals, when it was crowded with pilgrims from all over the country and from abroad. The governors would stay in Herod's old palace, which was used as a praetorium. In deference to Jewish religious sensitivity, the troops came to Jerusalem without their standards, which bore idolatrous images. The city government was in the hands of the high priest and the Sanhedrin, which fulfilled the functions of the *Gerousia* in the Hellenistic period, i.e., the municipal council. The last Jewish ruler over Jerusalem was Herod Agrippa (41–44), who began to build a new wall on the north side of the city (the "third" wall) but was stopped by order of the Romans. Under the procurators who succeeded him, sporadic riots broke out in the city, usually resulting in clashes with the Roman troops. One of the procurators, *Pontius Pilate (26–36), under whose rule the execution of *Jesus of Nazareth took place, constructed the first aqueduct which brought water to Jerusalem from the vicinity of Hebron. The small Christian community remained in Jerusalem until 66, when it retired to Pella.

Jerusalem's significance was more than that of the administrative center of a diminished Judea; it was the capital of the Jewish nation. The Temple, the Sanhedrin, and the great houses of study of the Pharisees turned it into a symbol for Jews everywhere. As Philo expressed it in his *Legatio ad Gaium*, Jerusalem was the metropolis not only of Judea, but of many lands because of its colonies. It was renowned even among non-Jews: the elder Pliny wrote that Jerusalem was the most famous among the great cities of the East. A legendary halo surrounded the city. It was the focal point of Jewish unity and attracted Jewish pilgrims and converts (e.g., Queen *Helene of Adiabene). Because of the Temple, the main priestly families resided there, as did many important aristocratic families that wished to be close to the center of affairs. Even scions of the House of Herod lived there from time to time, though their kingdoms were some distance away. Jerusalem was the center of spiritual activity. The heads of *Bet Hillel – Rabban *Gamaliel I and Rabban *Simeon son of Gamaliel – resided in Jerusalem. Houses of learning in the city attracted students from all over the country and from abroad. The city's status helped it to become an important economic center. Its area increased to one square mile and its population grew quite considerably.

One of the phenomena of Jerusalem during this period was the presence of many Jews from numerous countries, from Media and Elam in the east to Italy in the west, many of whom settled in the city. These immigrants preserved their different ways of life for long periods and congregated in distinct communities according to their lands of origin. Especially noticeable was the difference between Jews who spoke Hebrew and Aramaic and the Hellenized Jews who came from Egypt (especially from Alexandria), Cyrenaica, and Asia Minor, the latter groups having special synagogues of their own. In the last years before the destruction, social tension grew to such an extent that it affected the order and security of the city. In addition to the general enmity toward Roman rule, there were conflicts among the Jews themselves,, notably friction among different groups in the priestly oligarchy and tension brought about by the activities of the extremist fighters for freedom from the Romans (the Sicarii), who used violence and were not averse to killing their opponents. There was also an increase in the activities of visionaries and prophets who spread messianic expectations among the people and the pilgrims.

JERUSALEM AT THE END OF THE SECOND TEMPLE PERIOD. The traveler's first glimpse of Jerusalem would have been from Mount Scopus (Har ha-*Ẓofim). Crossing the Kidron Valley, he traversed the "Tombs of the Kings" (of *Helena of Adiabene), and reached the "third" wall, which stretched from the direction of the Kidron Valley to the Psephinus Tower in the northwest. Entrance to the wall was from an area of gardens and vegetable fields through the Women's Gate. Behind it was the then sparsely populated New City or Bezetha. Approaching the "second" wall, which enclosed the area known as the "Mahtesh," the commercial quarter in the upper Tyropoeon Valley, one would see (beyond this wall) the wood and sheep markets, the Pool of Bethesda (or Sheep Pool), and the Pool of the Towers (today called the Pool of Hezekiah). The Pool of Bethesda was used as a place of purification by the many

Jews who attended the festivities in the Temple. The "second" wall, which ran in a broken line from the vicinity of Herod's Palace in the Upper City to the Antonia fortress, protected the city proper. Outside it were the tombs of Alexander and John Hyrcanus; within it were the various bazaars of the city. From this residential and commercial area one could proceed through the Water Gate or the Garden Gate into the Upper City. The latter, which was the aristocratic quarter, was extensively built up and covered the whole of the Western Hill of Jerusalem. Within it stood the palaces of the high priests and of the Hasmoneans. At its northwestern extremity rose the three towers protecting Herod's palace, respectively about 135, 120, and 70 ft. high. A bridge (the remnants of which are now called Wilson's Arch in honor of the 19th-century explorer of Jerusalem) joined the Upper City to the Temple Mount.

The Upper City was protected on the east by a rocky scarp facing the Tyropoeon Valley. This valley was a popular quarter with closely set houses and was called the Lower City; it extended to the southeastern hill (the so-called Ophel), which was originally the City of David. At its southern extremity was the large, rectangular, stepped Pool of Siloam (called by Josephus the "Pool of Solomon"), which was fed with fresh water derived from the spring of Gihon. Like the Bethesda Pool, the Siloam Pool was also used for the purification of travelers who reached Jerusalem for the Jewish holidays. Stairs descended from the Upper to the Lower City and also rose from the latter to the Temple area (via Robinson's Arch).

The esplanade of the sanctuary was protected by a high, massive wall, built of typical Herodian masonry with double margins. It was surrounded by open colonnaded porticoes, of which the southern one, the "royal basilica," was the most splendid. The Temple itself stood within yet another enclosure with steps; it was very high (about 150 feet) and glittered with gold and white marble "like a snow-covered mountain." The tower of Antonia (with a height reaching about 180 feet) overlooked the esplanade from the northwest. Outside the walls, and especially to the east and the south and the west, along the Kidron and Hinnom valleys, stretched the necropolis. Among the great and imposing tombs erected in the first century C.E. were the Tombs of the Judges or of the Sanhedrin in the Upper Kidron Valley and the so-called Tomb of Absalom and Tomb of Jehoshaphat in the central Kidron Valley.

As a fortified city, Jerusalem was rendered all the stronger by its topographical position. Situated on the southern slope of a ridge issuing from the watershed line, it was protected on the west, south, and east by the Hinnom and Kidron valleys, while on the north it had three strongly reinforced walls.

The Siege of Titus. In the autumn of 66 the misrule of the procurators finally provoked the outbreak of a revolt, which soon became a full-scale war. The Roman governor of Syria, Cestius Gallus, advanced with his army to the gates of the Temple in an attempt to quell the uprising, but retreated after a disastrous defeat. For over three years, Jerusalem was free; the silver shekels (see *Coins and Currency) bearing the legend "Jerusalem the Holy" commemorate this period. However, internecine strife among the insurgents wasted the resources of the city, and only when the enemy approached in the spring of 70 did they join forces.

The Temple and the Lower City were defended by *John of Giscala, the Upper City by Simeon b. Giora. The attack was led by Titus, the son and heir of the emperor Vespasian, with an army of four legions at his disposal.

After reconnaissance and the establishment of camps in two places around the city, the Romans attacked the "third" wall near Herod's palace, hoping to penetrate the Upper City and thus end the siege in one stroke. They failed in their plan and had to content themselves with the breaching of the "third" wall and the occupation of Bezetha. Moving his camp to a place called the "Assyrian Camp" (now the Russian Compound), Titus attacked the "second" wall and scaled it after some bitter fighting in the narrow, winding bazaars. Now the siege began in earnest; attempts were made to attack by the usual methods (siege mounds with movable towers equipped with battering rams). But the besieged defenders fought with great determination, setting fire to the Roman machines of war and undermining the siege mounds reared against the Towers' Pool and the Antonia. Titus thereupon ordered the construction of a siege wall to blockade the city tightly in an attempt to weaken the population through hunger (the quantity of water in the cisterns was apparently sufficient to carry the city through the summer). After this process the attack was renewed. At the beginning of Av (August) the wall of the Antonia was finally stormed, and after a few days the Temple was set aflame (9th of Av). The Romans then spread over the Lower City and the Tyropoeon Valley, but they had to renew their siege operations against the Upper City, which only fell a month later. Most of the people in the city had either been killed or had perished from hunger; the survivors were sold into slavery or executed. The city was destroyed, except for the three towers of Herod and a portion of the western wall, which were spared to protect the camp of the Tenth Legion situated in the area of the old palace of Herod.

[Michael Avi-Yonah / Menahem Stern / Shimon Gibson (2nd ed.)]

The Roman Period

Although Jerusalem remained in ruins for 61 years, part of the inhabitants (including some members of the Christian community that left for Pella during the siege) returned and settled around the legionary camp on the Western Hill. An inscription of an officer of the Tenth Legion, Fatalis, records that he lived there with his freedwoman Ionice, and there were many others like him. Numerous rooftiles stamped with the names and symbols of the Tenth Legion have been found. Later sources state that the returning Jews had as many as seven synagogues in that area. In 130 C.E. Emperor Hadrian visited Jerusalem and decided to establish a Roman colony on the ruins of the Jewish city. The governor, Tineius Rufus, performed the ceremony of plowing along the line of the projected walls in the name of the emperor and founder.

This ceremony is represented on coins of the colony, which received the name of *Aelia Capitolina in honor of the family name of the emperor and the Capitoline triad (Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva). There is no evidence, however, that the city was captured by Bar Kokhba during the second revolt against the Romans, and Aelia Capitolina was physically only properly founded in 135 C.E. Hadrian decreed that no circumcised person should be allowed into Jerusalem and its territory under pain of death; even the Christian community was forced to change its bishop of Jewish origin for a gentile.

Aelia Capitolina was apparently built in the northern and central parts of the Old City of today, with the Roman camp of the Tenth Legion to the southwest, and with an additional quarter situated in the former Lower City, around the foot of the southwestern part of the Temple Mount. Many of the streets in the northern part of the city were originally established at this time. A forum existed at the junction of the *decumanus* (running from the Jaffa Gate area to the east) and *cardo* streets (the latter running from the Damascus Gate area to the south), with various buildings and a temple or shrine to Venus in the area of the present-day Church of the Holy Sepulcher. The other forum was situated to the northwest of the city, immediately north of the Temple Mount, with a triumphal arch (now known as the Ecce Homo arch), a shrine dedicated to Serapis and other cults, and purification pools. The location of the Capitoline Temple is debated, with some placing it in the western forum and others believing it was built on top of the ruined Antonia Fortress, overlooking the northwest forum. The Temple area (called the Quadra or "Square") was left outside the colony plan; various pagan statues were placed upon it with an equestrian statue of Hadrian in front. A large monumental inscription in Latin mentioning a "gate" has been found in the southern Temple area. Other known monuments of Aelia were a tetrapylon (four-arched gate), public baths, and steps leading to the nympheum (public fountain) outside the city, with twelve arches (the Dodekapylon), near the Pool of Siloam. The city was divided into seven wards, which for centuries bore the names of the first headmen, or amphodarchs. It did not have the rights of an Italian colony (*jus italicum*) and thus had to pay taxes on its lands. City coins were issued from the time of Hadrian to that of Valerianus (260) but are especially plentiful from the times of Antoninus Pius, Marcus Aurelius, Eleagabalus, and Trajan Decius. The 206 coin types evidence the gods worshiped in Aelia: Serapis, Tyche, the Dioscuri, Roma, Ares, Nemesis, and others are found in addition to the Capitoline triad. The worship of Serapis is confirmed by a dedicatory inscription; that of the goddess Hygieia is connected with the healing baths near the Bethesda pool.

Aelia was a quiet provincial city. The great events were imperial visits, such as that of Septimius Severus in 201, which was commemorated by an inscription discovered near the Western Wall. On this occasion the colony received the honorary title "Commodiana." Toward the end of the third century the Legio x Fretensis (still in Aelia at about 250) was transferred to Elath and replaced by a troop of Moors. In the second and third centuries, the Christian community in Jerusalem developed peacefully; one of its bishops, Narcissus, died a centenarian, after sharing the office with Alexander from Cappadocia. The latter established a famous library at Aelia. In his time Christian pilgrimages to the city began. The Jews also profited from a de facto relaxation of the prohibition against visiting Jerusalem as pilgrims.

Byzantine Jerusalem

The status of Aelia was completely revolutionized when the Christian emperor Constantine became master of Palestine in 324. At the Council of Nicaea, Macarius, the bishop of Aelia, reported to the emperor on the state of the Christian holy sites and persuaded the emperor's mother, *Helena, to visit Jerusalem (325). During her visit, the shrine or temple of Venus was destroyed and beneath it emerged a tomb identified as the Tomb of Jesus. According to slightly later Christian tradition the "True Cross" was also found at this time in a cave nearby. Constantine decided to erect a basilical martyrium at *Golgotha to mark the finding of the Tomb of Jesus. The church consisted of a forecourt leading to a basilica, a baptisterium, another court which may have contained part of the rock of Golgotha, and the Tomb of Jesus itself, which had been cut down to a cube, and which was then covered by a small building (edicule) surmounted by a dome supported on columns with silver capitals. The church was built by the architects Zenobius and Eusthatius of Constantinople, and was dedicated in 335. Another church, the Eleona, was built on the slopes of the Mount of Olives. The city then assumed a predominantly Christian character; the prohibition against the entrance of Jews into the city was renewed, with the exception of the 9th of Av, when they were allowed to lament the destruction of the Temple.

The growing importance of Jerusalem as a Christian center was temporarily interrupted by the emperor Julian the "apostate"), who reverted back to old pagan practices and favored Judaism. In 363 he ordered the reconstruction of the Temple and entrusted the task to his friend Alypius. Work went on until May 27, when an earthquake caused conflagration in the building stores. As the emperor had just started on his Persian Campaign, those responsible for the work suspended it. The death of Julian in Persia and the enthronement of the Christian emperor Jovian put an end to this project. During that time the bishop of Jerusalem was the eminent preacher Cyril, who was often exiled but always succeeded in returning (350–86). In his time Christian pilgrims of all countries, from Britain and Gaul in the west to Ethiopia, India, and Persia on the south and east, could be seen in the city.

Cyril's outstanding successor was John (396–417). During his episcopate numerous aristocratic families, led by St. *Jerome, fled from Rome to Jerusalem (385–419). Among them were noble and rich women, such as Melania and Poemenia, who erected churches and monasteries (Church of Ascension, 378, Church of Gethsemane, 390). The first hermits established themselves in the vicinity of Jerusalem at that time. The city also served as a place of refuge for fallen grandees, such as the family of the minister Rufinus. In 428 the energetic Juvenal became bishop of Jerusalem. In 438 the empress Eudocia visited Jerusalem for the first time; due to her intervention, Jews were again allowed to live in the city. After her separation from her husband, Theodosius II, she settled permanently in the Holy City (444–60), spending lavishly on churches (including the basilica of St. Stephen north of the city). She also had a new city wall constructed around Mount Zion (parts of this wall were excavated in 1895–97). Both Eudocia and Juvenal became involved in the Monophysite controversy. By successful maneuvering, the bishop succeeded in obtaining the status of patriarch and authority over the churches of Palestine and Arabia in 451. He was opposed by the Monophysite monks, however, and had to be reinstated in his see by the Byzantine army.

During the reign of *Justinian (527–65), a Samaritan revolt (529) devastated the vicinity of Jerusalem. The churches outside the town were destroyed and had to be rebuilt, and the emperor added a magnificent basilica, the "Nea" (new one), within the city in the area of the present-day Jewish Quarter. Parts of this magnificent building have been uncovered by archaeologists. The overall features of the Byzantine city at the time of Justinian are well represented in the Madaba mosaic map. Inside the north gate (Damascus Gate) was a semicircular paved plaza with a column at its center, still commemorated in the Arabic name of this gate, Bāb al-ʿAmūd. Two colonnaded streets issued from the plaza leading south. The western one passed the Church of the Holy Sepulcher and continued to the Zion Gate by way of a tetrapylon, passing the church of St. Sophia and extending as far as the Nea. On the other side of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher, the forum, the palace of the patriarchs, and the towers and monasteries near Jaffa Gate were visible. The other road (which had an offshoot to the east gate) passed a public bath and ended at another inner gate. The Western Wall was visible east of this street. The Temple area was apparently a wasteland, with one east gate (the Golden Gate) and the Church of St. James at its southeastern corner. In the southern part of the city was the Church of Mount Zion, with its Diakonikon (deacon's church) and the baths at the Siloam Pool. The Probatica pool (Sheep Pool) and large basilical church existed in the northeastern corner of the city. At the time of Justinian, two Church councils were held in Jerusalem (536 and 553), mainly in connection with the Origenist disputes. The patriarch Eustachius, like his predecessor Juvenal, had to be installed by the army.

In the course of the last Byzantine-Persian war, the Persian army of Chosroes II approached Jerusalem in 614 and besieged it with the help of its Jewish allies. The city wall was breached, many inhabitants were slain, and the patriarch Zacharias and relics of the "True Cross" were taken into exile. The Persians handed the city over to the Jews, who ruled it under a leader known only by his symbolic name, Nehemiah. The Persian conquest led to the destruction of most of the churches in Jerusalem. After some time, however, the Persians handed the city back to the Christians, who began to rebuild their holy sites under Modestus. The victories of the emperor *Heraclius led to a return of the Byzantines; on March 21, 629, he made a triumphal entry into Jerusalem, bringing back the "True Cross" relic, and the Jews were again banished from there. When the Muslim forces invaded Palestine, Jerusalem was besieged from 637 onward. As there seemed to be little hope of rescue following the decisive battle of Yarmuk (636), the patriarch Sophronius, successor to Modestus, surrendered the city to the Muslim caliph *Omar in March/April 638.

[Michael Avi-Yonah / Shimon Gibson (2nd ed.)]

Arab Period

From the time Jerusalem was conquered by the Muslims Arabs (638), it remained a provincial town and never became the seat of rich princes who had chroniclers at their court. Consequently, Arabic historiography on Jerusalem consists of only one work, *al-Uns al Jalīl fī Taʾrīkh al-Quds wa al-Khalīl* ("The honorable company on the history of Jerusalem and Hebron"), which was written by Mujīr al-Dīn al-ʿUlaymī at the end of the 15th century. The modern historian must therefore combine accounts gathered from manifold sources.

After the Arabs had invaded Ereẓ Israel in 634 (see *Israel, Land of), four years elapsed until they took Jerusalem. In those years the city, somehow isolated from its hinterland, suffered greatly, as is demonstrated by the sermons delivered by the patriarch Sophronius. The accounts of the conquest of Jerusalem differ considerably; according to the most probable version, the caliph *Omar, then at the headquarters at al-Jābiya in the Hauran, sent ʿAmr ibn al-ʿAs, a subaltern officer, to occupy the town. Some historians relate that the town surrendered under certain conditions, among which was the continued non-admission of Jews, who had not been allowed to live there under Byzantine rule. Goitein showed that this condition was probably imposed by the Umayyad Caliph Omar [the second] Ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAziz (reigned 717–720), not by "the right guided" caliph Omar b. al-Khattab. The inhabitants probably submitted under the usual conditions – that their persons, churches, and buildings would be safe as long as they paid the poll tax (*jizya*).

Omar's visit to Jerusalem shortly after the surrender has been the subject of divergent and clearly tendentious accounts. The Christian Arabic historian Eutychius, who wrote in Egypt at the beginning of the tenth century, says that Omar refused to pray in the Church of the Holy Sepulcher, whereupon Sophronius showed him the site of the Holy Rock identified with the talmudic Even ha-Shetiyyah, the site of the Temple Holy of Holies, on which the world was believed to be founded. Muslim writers, on the other hand, relate how the Christians attempted to deceive the caliph, when he asked about the site of the Rock, by bringing him to the Church of the Holy Sepulcher and to Mount Zion instead. Other sources relate that the Jewish convert *Kaʿb al-Aḥbār proposed to Omar that the Muslims should build their mosque in the north of the Rock, so they will turn towards the Rock when they turn towards the *qibla* (direction of prayer) in Mecca, but that his proposal was turned down by the caliph. It is clear from the nature of the tales that the account transmitted by Eutychius was meant to safeguard the Church of the Holy Sepulcher, whereas the story about Kaʿb's failure discloses an anti-Jewish tendency. Apparently the attempt in this instance was to show that Omar refused to turn when praying to the Holy of Holies (see *Holy Places) of the Jews and to the Kaʿba at the same time. From these tales it may be assumed that Omar ordered the Temple area to be cleaned and a place for Muslim worship established there. Herbert Busse, who devoted more than three decades to research different aspects of Jerusalem in Islam, thinks that the real conqueror of the holy city is ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ, one of the generals of caliph Omar. The rise of the city's place in Islam at the end of the seventh century caused the attribution of its conquest to a prominent person like caliph Omar instead of ʿAmr.

Various accounts confirm that Omar had Jews in his retinue who were his advisers, and that he entrusted them with keeping the area in good order. Although Omar did not accept Kaʿbs suggestion, quite rightly seeing in it a Judaizing tendency, Jewish traditions and beliefs influenced early Islam's attitude toward the holiness of the Temple Mount and its surroundings. These influences can therefore be seen as explaining why Omar did not pay attention to Sophronius' misleading information. Jewish tradition can also be recognized as the major factor in the ascription to Jerusalem of all events connected in Islam with the last judgment (see *Eschatology). In turn Muslim descriptions influenced later Jewish Midrashim (e.g., *The Book of Zerubbabel, Pirkei Mashi'aḥ, Revelations of R. Simeon bar Yoḥai*), which show an intimate knowledge of the area of the Temple Mount, the Gates of the Ḥaram (the walled area of the Muslim sanctuaries), the *Mount of Olives (see below), Mount Zion, and their surroundings. All these descriptions show that Jews lived in Jerusalem in the early Arab period. The prevailing opinion, which is based on Christian sources, that the Jews were not allowed to live in the Holy City or its surroundings during the whole Byzantine period is not confirmed by any non-Christian source. One suspects that these reports are biased in order to glorify the victory of the Church, as there is extant literary and archaeological evidence that there was a synagogue on the so-called Mt. Zion where the Cenaculum now stands. There are also extant *piyyutim* from the same time. In any event there is no doubt that during the Persian conquest (614–28) Jews lived in Jerusalem. It seems that even after the recapture of the city by Heraclius many of them remained in its vicinity. This may have caused Sophronius' request that no Jews be allowed to stay in Jerusalem. H. Busse says in this context: "The History of the Ḥaram cannot be properly understood without taking into account the Jewish activities in Jerusalem."

A document (in Judeo-Arabic) found in the Cairo **Genizah* reveals that the Jews asked Omar for permission for 200 families to settle in the town. As the patriarch opposed the action strongly, Omar fixed the number of the Jewish settlers at 70 families. The Jews were assigned the quarter southwest of the Temple area, where they lived from that time (Assaf, BJPES VII, p. 22ff.). As various texts show, they could also pray in the neighborhood of the Temple area. A late source, R. *Abraham b. Ḥiyya (12th century), mentions that they had even been allowed to build a synagogue and a *midrash* (college) on that area (Dinaburg, Zion III, 1929, p. 54ff.).

Although many Arabs came to live in Jerusalem, the great majority of the inhabitants was still Christian. The information culled from *Genizah* fragments and other Rabbanite and Karaite sources concerning the earliest Jewish inhabitants of Jerusalem during the *Umayyad period is insufficient for even a general description of historical events and the daily life of the Jewish community during Umayyad rule and the first hundred years of the *Abbasid dynasty. Even the date of such a major event as the transfer to Jerusalem of the talmudic academy from its seat in Tiberias during the late Byzantine and earliest Muslim periods is unknown.

UMAYYAD RULE. The Umayyad caliphs, who resided in *Damascus and in other towns and townlets of *Syria and Ereẓ Israel, showed a keen interest in Jerusalem, the holy city which was so near to their residence. Muʿāwiya, the founder of the dynasty, was proclaimed caliph in Jerusalem (660). He was the first who made great efforts in order to emphasize the status of Jerusalem as a holy place in Islam, collecting Jewish and Christian traditions glorifying the city and its vicinity and giving them an Islamic seal. It seems that he proceeded so as to repel the attacks of the Medinan leaders for leaving the holy cities of Hijaz, Mecca, and Medina. He probably erected the first primitive building on the place where the mosque known as al-Aqṣā (the further mosque, i.e., the furthest place reached by *Muhammad on his Night Journey) was built. The Frankish bishop Arculf, who visited Jerusalem in 670, describes this mosque as a rather ugly building whose walls consisted of simple planks, but which was able to hold 3,000 men. Above the Holy Rock the great Umayyad caliph ʿAbd al-Malik built a splendid cupola, Qubbat al-Ṣakhra (the Dome of the Rock). Its construction was finished in 72 A.H. (691), as can be seen from the inscription on it. Some Muslims believe that Muhammad placed his feet on the Rock on his Night Journey and therefore consider it holy. Both medieval Arabic writers and modern scholars, foremost I. *Goldziher, have expressed the view that ʿAbd al-Malik's purpose was to divert the pilgrimage from Mecca, where the counter-caliph *Abdallah ibn al-Zubayr resided. S.D. *Goitein has convincingly shown that the Umayyad caliph's intention was to build a magnificent Muslim house of worship in Jerusalem which would surpass the numerous churches there. A well-informed Arabic geographer explicitly said that the Dome of the Rock should be seen as a counterpart to the Church of the Holy Sepulcher (Goitein, JAOS 70, p. 104ff.). A. Elad convincingly has determined that both Goldziher and Goitein were right: the first stressed the political motives, the second, the religious side. A number of scholars saw the construction of the Dome of the Rock as a sign of ʿAbd al-Malik's desire to rebuild the Jewish Temple. The interest of the Umayyads in Jerusalem was also evinced in the many structures which they built in the vicinity of the Temple Mount. These have been uncovered by the excavations of B. Mazar and M. Ben-Dov.

A fact characteristic both of the tolerance of the Umayyads and of the role the Jews then played in Jerusalem is that ʿAbd al-Malik appointed some Jewish families as guardians and servants of the Ḥaram and decreed that they should be exempt from the poll tax (J. Raby and J. Johns (eds.), *Bayt al-Maqdis: ʿAbd al-Malik's Jerusalem* (1992)). ʿAbd al-Malik also had a government palace built in Jerusalem and the town's walls repaired. Sulaymān, one of his sons and successors, planned to make Jerusalem his residence but changed his mind and resided in Ramleh, which he had founded. From that time, Ramleh was the capital of southern Ereẓ Israel, and Jerusalem, which began to decline in importance, was neither the seat of a provincial administration nor the residence of a strong garrison which could provide work for craftsmen. The trade routes did not reach it, and the only product which could be exported from the surrounding area was olive oil. The last years of Umayyad rule were unhappy ones for the town for other reasons as well: after a revolt against the last Umayyad caliph, Marwān II, he had the town walls razed, and shortly thereafter an earthquake wrought havoc on the Dome of the Rock.

ABBASID RULE. The reign of the Abbasid caliphs, who came to power in 750, brought a long period of slow but progressive decay to Jerusalem. Ereẓ Israel was no longer at the center of the Muslim empire, and the caliphs residing in *Baghdad did not show much interest in the town. The first Abbasids continued to visit Jerusalem – al-Manṣūr in 758 and 771 and al-Mahdī in 780. Al-Mansur refused to allocate funds in order to finance the reparations. He ordered the removal of golden ornaments from al-Aqsa doors in order to coin them to pay the expenses. Al-Ma'mūn (813–33) never came to Jerusalem, although he spent some time in Syria and *Egypt, but he allotted certain sums for repairing the buildings in the Temple area. The later Abbasids showed no interest at all in the holy town. During the reign of al-Muʿtaṣim (833–42) a great disaster befell the city, when the peasants all over Ereẓ Israel rose under the leadership of a certain Abu Ḥarb, besieged Jerusalem, and sacked all its quarters, mosques, and churches; again many inhabitants fled. On the other hand, it seems that during this period the non-Muslims still enjoyed tolerance, especially the Christians, on behalf of whom Charlemagne successfully intervened with the caliph.

A new period in the history of Jerusalem began in 878, when it was annexed, with the rest of Ereẓ Israel, to the Egyptian kingdom of Aḥmad ibn Ṭūlūn. From that date the town remained under the dominion of the rulers of *Cairo, with interruptions during the Crusades (see below), until the Ottoman conquest (1516). After the downfall of the Ṭūlūnids in 905, governors appointed by the Abbasids again took over; in 941 Ereẓ Israel fell to an Egyptian dynasty, the Ikhshidids. Jerusalem itself was rarely mentioned in the chronicles of this period, because it did not play a role in the political life of the Near East. Arabic historians did not mention the town, aside from relating that the rulers of Cairo were brought to Jerusalem after their death to be buried there, a new custom which became current in this period. Christian authors, on the other hand, dwelled on the harassment and persecution of their coreligionists by the Muslims: it seems that fanaticism grew greatly in the course of the tenth century. The hatred between the various religious communities increased, as is borne out by a letter of complaint against the Jews which was sent in 932 by the Christians of Jerusalem to the Holy Roman emperor Henry I. In 938 and once more in 966 the Muslims attacked the Christians and sacked and burnt the Church of the Holy Sepulcher and other churches. On the latter occasion, when the Muslims were joined by the Jews, the patriarch was murdered and his corpse burnt.

According to *Genizah* sources, living conditions, for the most part, were difficult for Jews in Jerusalem. Aside from the tension and strife between Muslims, Christians, and Jews, the burden of various taxes and duties imposed upon the poor Jewish inhabitants was very heavy. A North African Jew describes the economic situation of the population in a letter (mid-11th century) as follows: "Meat is scarce and their cotton garments are worn out." *Solomon b. Judah served for a time as *ḥazzan* of the community, which persuaded him to accept its offer because he was a man capable of being satisfied with a small livelihood: "I accepted it and spent my time sometimes for better and sometimes for worse until this day;… but the Jerusalemites did not give me anything worth a *perutah*, because they do not have anything" (Mann, Texts, 1 (1935), 318). The majority of the community had to draw its livelihood from gifts sent from the Diaspora or offered during the pilgrimages to Jerusalem. The Karaite *Daniel b. Moses al-Qūmisī (see below) proposed a practical scheme to maintain a strong Karaite community in Jerusalem: each town (in the Diaspora) should delegate five people to dwell in the Holy City and should provide for their maintenance. Clearly, some inhabitants were also busy as merchants and in trades and handicrafts, and it seems that copying of manuscripts for the Diaspora was one of the main sources of income.

Religious Life. As mentioned, the exact date when the talmudic academy was moved from Tiberias to Jerusalem is not known. It seems that arrangements were made for the academy's head and most of its important members to divide their time between Ramleh, the Arab seat of government, and Jerusalem. A part of the western slopes of the Mount of Olives served as the main gathering place for Jewish pilgrims, and the celebrations on the festivals were held there. Among the *Genizah* fragments at Cambridge, J. Braslavi found a guide to Jerusalem written in Arabic by a contemporary Jew. The extant portion gives Hebrew and Arabic topographical names, describes sites, Jewish, Christian, and Muslim alike, and supplies a religious-historical background by references to the Bible and the Talmud. As the Jewish prayers inside the town, in the neighborhood of the Temple area, and at the Gates were gradually restricted, a place on the Mount of Olives was bought by the community for that purpose. On Hoshana Rabba, the seventh day of Sukkot, the gathering on the Mount of Olives was especially large, as the head of the academy, his deputy, or special messenger was accustomed to pronounce the fixing of the festival calendar for the following year and also to interdict the *Karaite adversaries (see below). That interdiction sometimes caused incidents and even brawls between the two parts of the community. The Karaites used their influence to get the authorities to intervene on their behalf and to make the head of the academy responsible for peaceful celebrations. Many pilgrims were accustomed to offer large sums of money for the maintenance of the academy and the payment of the many onerous taxes and duties imposed on the poor Jerusalem community.

The Karaites probably began to settle in Jerusalem during the second third of the ninth century. The report, related by a later Karaite source, that *Anan, the founder of this sect, emigrated with many followers to Jerusalem deserves no credence. *Genizah* sources confirm the information given by the Karaite *Salmon b. Jeroham (first half of the tenth century) that in the preceding century the Karaites began to build up a center in Jerusalem. They occupied a special quarter which was known as "the quarter of the Easterns," since most of its inhabitants were from *Iraq and *Persia. They called themselves *Avelei Zion ("the mourners for Zion"), as well as Shoshannim (lilies). The Karaite missionary propaganda and especially the appeals of Daniel al-Qūmisī succeeded in moving many of his fellow Karaites to spend their life in the Holy City. Sahl b. Maẓli'aḥ (a younger contemporary and colleague of Salmon) gives interesting information about life in Jerusalem. Rabbanite disciples followed many of the doctrines of Karaism, and an important Karaite center began to develop in Jerusalem.

This missionary propaganda inevitably caused friction between the two parts of the Jewish population, and it has been assumed that Karaite activities influenced the old Rabbanite community to strengthen its position in Jerusalem. The Rabbanites also moved their academy (or a part of it) to Jerusalem in an effort to diminish the power of the Karaite *nasi* ("prince," descendant of David's stock) and the head of the Karaite academy in Jerusalem (*rosh yeshivat* Ge'on Ya'akov). *Aaron Ben Meir (first half of the tenth century), the famous opponent of Saadiah Gaon and head of the Rabbanite academy, describes the clashes between the two opposite parties and mentions that one of his ancestors was killed on the Temple Mount area by the Karaites and an attempt was made to kill others. By personal intervention at the caliph's court in Baghdad and with the help of influential coreligionists in Iraq, he was successful in his endeavor to diminish the power of the Karaites, who for thirty years presided over the Jewish community in Jerusalem and represented it before the Muslim authorities. Nevertheless, even after Ben Meir's successful intervention, the spiritual power of the Karaites in Jerusalem did not decline, and they could muster an array of authors, scholars, and religious leaders like Salmon b. Jeroham, Sahl b. Maẓli'aḥ, Japheth b. Ali, Ibn Zuta, Joseph ibn Nūḥ, Ali b. Suleiman, and many others. They did important research into the Hebrew language and wrote commentaries on the Bible and the precepts, which influenced all the Karaite communities in the Diaspora. During the leadership of *Solomon b. Judah, and especially his successor Daniel b. Azariah (1051–62), both of whom resided in Jerusalem and Ramleh alternately, the relations between the Rabbanites and Karaites improved. Indeed, the general situation in Ereẓ Israel was so bad that there was no place for internal strife.

General Description. The descriptions of the Arabic geographers and other writers make it possible to conceive of what Jerusalem was like in that period. It appears that the town – called at first by the Roman name Aelia, later Bayt al-Maqdis (the "holy house," or the "temple"), and from the tenth century al-Quds (the "holy") – was larger in the first four centuries of Muslim rule than at a later time. In addition to the strong town walls, which had eight gates, it also had a moat on some sides, especially to the north and south. The Persian traveler Nasir-i-Khusrau, who visited the city in 1047, says that it had high, well-built, and clean bazaars and that all the streets were paved with stone slabs. Most Arabic authors dwell on the descriptions of the Aqṣā mosque and the Dome of the Rock. Besides these buildings and the Citadel, there was the so-called mosque of Omar, built within the southern precincts of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher in 936. The town was still predominantly non-Muslim and had a great number of splendid churches. The Jews had two quarters, one southwest of the Temple area and one west of it, near the gate of the "cave" (perhaps Warren's Gate). A letter written in the late 11th century mentions Ḥārat al-Yahūd (the Jewish Quarter) near a church (Gottheil-Worrell, Fragments p. 120 l. 30). At the end of the tenth century the Christians apparently were still the strongest element in the town. The Arabic geographer al-Maqdisī (end of the tenth century), who was a Jerusalemite, complained that there were no Muslim theologians in the town and that nobody was interested in Islamic sciences, whereas the Christians and the Jews were numerous. He also said that it was difficult to make a living. In addition, he emphasized that there were always many strangers in the city, most of whom were surely pilgrims – Christians, Jews, and Muslims – but others also came to live in it permanently, such as members of dissident Islamic sects or adepts of Muslim mysticism. The Karrāmiyya, a Muslim sect from Persia, was strongly represented, as were various currents of Sufism. Some of the founders and leaders of the Sufis came to Jerusalem, among them Bāyazīd al-Bisṭāmī, Ibrāhīm ibn Adham, Bishr al-Ḥāfī, and in the 11th century al-*Ghazālī. The information about the political situation of the Jews in Jerusalem in the tenth century is varied. According to Salmon b. Jeroham the Muslims and the Christians persecuted the Jews and tried to diminish their rights. Al-Maqdisī's assertion seems to be an exaggeration, at least in relation to the Jews.

FATIMID RULE. The *Fatimid conquest, following that of Egypt in 969, at first brought some relief to the Jewish population but ushered in a period of troubles. Whereas Egypt under the first Fatimids enjoyed security and economic prosperity, Ereẓ Israel suffered greatly from the wars between the Fatimids and their enemies, first the Qarmatians, who were accused of intending to change the *qibla* (Muslim direction of prayer) from Mecca to Jerusalem, and later the Banū Jarrāḥ, chieftains of the great Bedouin tribe of Ṭayy' who for 70 years tried to overthrow Fatimid rule. The coastal towns of Ereẓ Israel probably took a commensurate part in the revival of international trade in the eastern Mediterranean, but Jerusalem remained far from the trade routes. The plight of the Christians and the Jews in Jerusalem in the 11th century was especially precarious. The deranged Fatimid caliph al-Ḥākim persecuted the non-Muslims and in 1009 had the churches destroyed, among them the Church of the Holy Sepulcher. The latter was rebuilt, but once more was destroyed by an earthquake in 1034 and remained in ruins until the Byzantine emperor paid for its restoration in 1048. Only the Church of the Resurrection was rebuilt, however, and the basilica of Constantine was never restored.

The town apparently changed a great deal in those days. The decline of the old settled population – Jews, Christians, and Muslims – was only one of the changes. In 1033 the town walls were repaired, but the area within them was diminished, the entire area of Mount Zion remaining outside the walls. The decline of Ramleh in the middle of the 11th century and the increase of Christian pilgrims from European countries gave sorely afflicted Jerusalem another chance, but then, in the last third of the century it became a bone of contention between various political powers. In 1071 Jerusalem was taken by the Seljuk general Atsiz and annexed to the great empire of the sultans of Iraq and Persia. Five years later the inhabitants revolted against Atsiz, who had left to fight a war against the Fatimids, and when he returned and took the town once more, it was severely punished. Some years afterward the Seljuks appointed the Turkoman officer Urtuq prince of Jerusalem. In 1091 Urtuq left the town to his sons Suqmān and Īlghāzī, whose rule lasted no more than five years. In 1098 Jerusalem fell for a second time to the Fatimids, who held it against an attempt of the Seljuk prince Riḍwān. In 1099 Jerusalem was conquered by the crusaders.

[Eliyahu Ashtor and Haïm Z'ew Hirschberg / Shimon Gibson (2nd ed.)]

Crusader Period

The European Christian crusaders besieged Jerusalem from June 6 to July 15, 1099. When several attempts to seize the city by direct attack failed, they constructed siege towers and concentrated their forces on two weak spots: the first between the Damascus Gate and the tower in the eastern section of the northern wall and the second in the area of Mount Zion. The attack began on the night of Thursday, July 14, and was concluded the next morning. The troops of Flanders and northern France, led by Godfrey de Bouillon, scaled the walls in the northeastern sector, which was defended by both Muslims and Jews, the latter fighting to protect their own quarter nearby. At the same time, the Provençal force, led by Raymond of St. Gilles, surmounted the wall adjoining Mount Zion, while the Normans from Sicily, headed by Tancred, entered the northwest corner of the city in the vicinity of the tower (subsequently called the Tancred Tower).

The population, Muslims and Jews alike, was massacred. Many Jews perished in the synagogues that were set on fire by the conquerors; others were taken prisoner and sold into slavery in Europe, where the Jewish communities later redeemed them. Some Jewish prisoners were taken to Ashkelon (still in Muslim hands) along with the Egyptian commander of the city's fortress, who had surrendered; they were ransomed by the Jewish communities of Egypt and brought there. As a result of the massacre, the city was largely depopulated and the first period of crusader rule was a period of insecurity and economic difficulties. During the second decade of their rule, in order to repopulate the city, the crusaders transferred Christian Arab tribes from Transjordan and settled them in the former Jewish quarter, between the Damascus and Lions' Gates. In order to encourage people to settle there, the duty on food was reduced. As a matter of course, Jerusalem became the capital of the crusaders' kingdom, which was called the Kingdom of Jerusalem (*Regnum Hierusalem*), or Jerusalemite Kingdom (*Regnum Hierosolymitanorum*), or even Kingdom of David (*Regnum David*). Jerusalem was chosen to be the capital despite economic, administrative, and security problems due to its location in the crusaders' southernmost territories.

Jerusalem developed and flourished in the middle of the 12th century because of the concentration of all the government and church bodies there. The king's court, his administration, and the centers of the ecclesiastical institutions, as well as of the various monastic and military orders, were located there, providing a livelihood for a considerable number of permanent inhabitants. The most important factor in the development of Jerusalem at that period, however, was the stream of pilgrims from all countries of Christian Europe (there are records of pilgrims coming from as far as Russia, Scandinavia, and Portugal). Tens of thousands of pilgrims visited Jerusalem every year. These *pilgrimages were not only an important source of income but also added to the city's population, since a number of pilgrims remained there. Owing to its geographical position, however, it remained a consumer city, as in earlier and later periods.

THE CITY AND ITS INSTITUTIONS. Jerusalem during the crusader period was located within the walls of the previous Arab city. The basic pattern of the city remained the same, although there seems to have been an increase in the number of inhabitants. A period of construction began, the likes of which had not been seen since the time of Herod. Many of the buildings that had remained intact were used for their former purposes. First and foremost was the citadel by the western gate (Jaffa Gate), which the crusaders called Turris David (David's Tower). It housed the king's garrison, the food warehouses for the army and probably for the entire city, and the customs administration for imports, which were directed through this gate. Adjoining the citadel was the king's palace, on the site of Herod's palace and the administrative center during the Roman Byzantine periods.

At first the king and his court had their residence in the al-Aqṣā Mosque and vicinity, but when this area was given to the Templars, the king moved to the vicinity of the citadel, which was traditionally associated with the rule over the city. Just as the citadel and the palace signified the secular power, the Holy Sepulcher and its environs signified the rule of the Church and its religious ritual. Near the Holy Sepulcher, rebuilt by the crusaders and reopened in 1140, stood the palace of the patriarch of Jerusalem, and opposite its southern entrance were the monasteries of the Benedictines and the area of the Order of St. John, the Hospitalers (now the New Market). The Templars were situated in the al-Aqṣā Mosque, which the crusaders called the Temple of Solomon (*Templum Solomonis*) and which is known in Jewish tradition as *Midrash Shelomo* (Solomon's House of Study). The German-speaking order of knights, a branch of the Hospitalers, was located near the Temple Mount (in what is now the Jewish quarter); the Order of St. Lazarus, the Leper Knights, was outside the city wall, near the present New Gate.

The establishment of the crusaders' rule invigorated Christian religious life. Throughout the 12th century many Christian traditions associated with Jerusalem and its vicinity were established, particularly those pertaining to the life of Jesus. Thus the tradition of Via Dolorosa was defined. The crystallization of these traditions stimulated an unusual amount of building in the city. Many Muslim shrines were turned into churches; for example, the Dome of the Rock ("Mosque of Omar") was called the Lord's Temple (*Templum Domini*) by the crusaders. New churches were also built, among them the new Church of the Holy Sepulcher, the most important architectural endeavor of the crusaders in Jerusalem, which was dedicated in 1149, 50 years after the conquest. The crusaders concentrated a number of churches under one roof. Some were built in the Byzantine period, including the Anastasis (Church of the Resurrection), which is the traditional site of the tomb of Jesus, the Martyrion, and the chapel of Queen Helena (Church of the Holy Cross). The ancient buildings did not blend well with the new structure, and there was a lack of symmetry among the component parts: a Byzantine church in the west, a Romanesque church in the middle. The southern gates (there was only a small gate in the west) are the best examples of crusader art in architecture and sculpture of that period. Among the outstanding churches built were the Church of St. Anne, in fine Romanesque style; the renovated "Tomb of Mary" church in the Valley of Jehoshaphat; and the churches of Mount Zion.

POPULATION OF THE CITY. Most of the inhabitants of 12th century Jerusalem were of European origin, except for the Eastern Christians – the Syrians (Suriani), the Jacobites, and the Copts, who lived in the northeastern corner of the city near the church of Santa Maria Magdalena. The Armenians, who had special relations with the crusaders, having two independent Christian monarchies in the northeast Middle East, were settled in the southwestern part of Jerusalem, around the Church of St. James. There were also Georgians from Caucasia (Georgiani), whose center was the Monastery of the Cross outside the walls of the city. The majority of the population was of French descent. French was the main language (official documents were written in Latin in the 12th century and in French in the 13th). The others congregated in ethnic or linguistic communities, such as the German knights mentioned above; the Spaniards, who settled near the Damascus Gate; the Provençals, near the Zion Gate; and the Hungarians near the New Gate. These communities had their own churches and later often hostels for pilgrims from their countries of origin. Muslims and Jews were not permitted to reside in the city; however, the Muslims came into the city for business purposes and some Jews settled near the Citadel. *Benjamin of Tudela tells of a few Jewish dyers whom he met while visiting Jerusalem.

THE FALL OF CRUSADER JERUSALEM. After the battle of Hattin (July 1187) the army of *Saladin besieged Jerusalem. The patriarch of Jerusalem and the secular commanders soon agreed to surrender, on condition that they would be allowed to ransom themselves from captivity and take their possessions with them. The city surrendered in November 1187 and remained in Muslim hands until 1229. All Christians, except for the Easterners, were forbidden to reside in Jerusalem. The Easterners were allowed to take care of the Holy Sepulcher and some of the other churches. Most of the churches were either restored as Muslim shrines and mosques, like the Dome of the Rock and the al-Aqṣā Mosque, or converted into Muslim charitable or religious institutions. The Church of St. Anne became a madrasa (religious college). The Jewish community was renewed as a result of the initiative of Saladin. Jews came into the city from other towns in the country, for example, Ashkelon, which was destroyed on Saladin's orders. Prominent among these was a group of Yemenites. Others came as immigrants from the Maghreb (North Africa) and Europe. A particularly important group of immigrants were those rabbis who came from France and England (1209–11). In 1218 *Al-Harizi reported that Saladin invited the Jews to settle in Jerusalem (*Tahkemoni*, Kaminke (ed.), 214–5, 353). It seems that the Jews lived in separate communities according to their country or town of origin.

In the third decade of the 13th century, Jerusalem suffered from a systematic destruction of its fortifications by the Muslims, as in other cities which seemed likely to serve as strong points for a renewed effort of settlement by the crusaders. The attempts by the Third Crusade to capture Jerusalem failed, even though the army got very close to the city. The walls of

Jerusalem were destroyed by the Arabs in 1219. Thus Jerusalem had no wall for more than 300 years, until the Ottoman sultan Suleiman the Magnificent rebuilt it in 1537–41. What the Christians did not achieve by military action, however, they succeeded in obtaining by diplomatic negotiations. According to an agreement between al-Malik Al-Kāmil, the ruler of Egypt, and Frederick II, Holy Roman Emperor and the king of Germany, a corridor to Jaffa through Ramleh was agreed upon, and Jerusalem was divided between Christians and Muslims (Tell ʿAjjūl 1229). The Muslims received the area of the Temple Mount and freedom of worship therein; the Christians received the rest of the city, and Frederick had himself crowned King of Jerusalem in the Church of the Holy Sepulcher. During this second period of occupancy (1229–44), the crusaders tried to resettle the city, but the results were in no way comparable with their achievements during the 12th century, either in population or in economic life. In 1240 the rulers of Egypt, who were competing with Damascus for ascendancy in the area, asked for help from the hordes of the Khwarizm Turks, who attacked Jerusalem in 1244, sacked the city, massacred the Christians, and devastated the Church of the Holy Sepulcher. Only a few Christian inhabitants of the city succeeded in escaping to Jaffa. *Naḥmanides mentions in his letter (written 1267) that he found only two Jewish dyers in Jerusalem, because during the Tartar (= Khwarizim) conquest some Jews had been killed but others escaped from the city. It seems that these found shelter in Nablus, because Naḥmanides remarks that the Torah scroll which they took with them was brought back to Jerusalem, when he succeeded in establishing a synagogue (Yaari, *Iggerot*, p. 85). The city suffered greatly and did not recover until the overthrow of the Ayyubids in Egypt by the Mamluks in 1250. Jerusalem became part of the Mamluk kingdom and remained so for over 260 years.

[*Encyclopaedia Hebraica*]

Mamluk Period

After the death of al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb, the sultan of Egypt, in 1249, Jerusalem was incorporated into the kingdom of al-Malik al-Nāṣir Yūsuf, ruler of *Aleppo and Damascus. While this Syrian *Ayyubid was waging war with the *Mamluks – who had taken over in Egypt – the *Mongols invaded the Near East and penetrated into Ereẓ Israel at the beginning of 1260. The inhabitants of Jerusalem fled panic-stricken when the Mongol hordes swept over the country sacking the townlets and villages. When the Mamluks succeeded in September 1260 in defeating the Mongols at ʿAyn Jālūt (ʿEin-Ḥarod), Jerusalem, with all Ereẓ Israel, was annexed to their kingdom and remained under their rule until the Ottomans conquered Syria and Egypt in 1516/17. The situation of Jerusalem in the years after the retreat of the Mongols was very depressed. *Naḥmanides reported in 1267 that only a part of the inhabitants had returned to the city and there were no more than 2,000 living there, among them 300 Christians. He persuaded some Jews who had found shelter in the villages to return and reconstitute the Jewish community.

The Mamluks did not care to fortify Jerusalem and repopulate it. Under their long rule Jerusalem became a town of theologians whose life focused on the mosques and madrasas (Muslim theological colleges). Until the last quarter of the 14th century it belonged to the province of Damascus and was administered by a low-ranking Mamluk appointed by the *nāʾib* (deputy of the Sultan) of Damascus. In 1376 al-Malik al-Ashraf Shaʿbān made Jerusalem a separate province and henceforth its head was appointed by the sultan himself. The new administrative entity was a small one, comprising the Judean hill country with Hebron, although at times Ramleh and Nablus (Shechem) were annexed to it. The promotion of its head to a higher rank, however, did not signify a great change in its status. The post was often sold to the highest bidder, who later did his best to extort from the townspeople what he had paid. The complaints of the inhabitants sometimes brought about the dismissal of the *nāʾib*, but for the most part they had to submit to his tyranny. Another very important post in the administration of Jerusalem was that of the "superintendent of the two Holy Places" (*nāẓir al-ḥaramayn*), who was in charge of the sanctuaries of Jerusalem and *Hebron. He administered the endowments and supervised the activities of the staff. Sometimes this post was also held by the deputy of the sultan himself. It seems that the administration was not very efficient, even in the field in which the Mamluks were really interested, i.e., security. Letters of Italian Jews who settled in Jerusalem during the 15th century (see below) contain reports about the lack of security in the town's surroundings, where Bedouin were roaming.

In this period Jerusalem produced soap, manufactured from the olive oil which was supplied by the villages of central Ereẓ Israel, but the Mamluk authorities encroached upon this industrial activity, e.g., by the establishment of monopolies and the forced purchase of large quantities of the raw material at high prices. The Arabic historian Mujīr al-Dīn (d. 1521) dwelled on the catastrophic consequences of these measures, and one reads in the reports of Jews who settled in the town in the 15th century about the great difficulty of making a living. Even the frequent visits by groups of pilgrims could not change the economic situation. The pilgrims only made short visits and did their utmost to escape the extortions of the authorities as soon as possible. Consequently, Jerusalem remained a very poor town. The population did not increase considerably and Western pilgrims reported that many houses were empty or had fallen into ruin. At the end of the 15th century Jerusalem probably had no more than 10,000 inhabitants. The Dominican Felix Fabri, who was in Jerusalem in 1483, says that there were 1,000 Christians. The Jewish community numbered 100–150 families.

Whereas the Mamluks did nothing for the development of Jerusalem's economy, they continued the policy and trends of the Muslims since the Crusades in underlining the religious importance of Jerusalem for Islam. Religious propaganda had found expression in the building of madrasas and *zawiyas* (convents – Ar. *zāwiya*, pl. *zawāyā*) for Sufis and the production of guidebooks for visits to the Holy Places, especially in Jerusalem and in Hebron. The Mamluk rulers generously endowed religious establishments, such as mosques and colleges. These activities corresponded well with the efforts they made to appear as the champions of orthodox Islam. The sultan Baybars had the Dome of the Rock repaired in 1261 and in 1263 he founded a hospice for pilgrims not far from the western gate of the town. Qalāʾūn (1279–90) repaired the roof of the al-Aqṣā mosque and founded another hospice. The sultans Katbughā (1294–96) and al-Malik al-Nāṣir Muhammad (d. 1341) restored the wall of the Ḥaram, and the latter also repaired the gilding of the roofs of the al-Aqṣā Mosque and the Dome of the Rock. Barsbāy (1422–38) made endowments for the upkeep of al-Aqṣā, and Jaqmaq (1438–53) repaired the roof of the Dome of the Rock once more. Tengiz, viceroy of Syria under the reign of al-Malik al-Nāṣir Muhammad, built a great madrasa in Jerusalem. Other colleges were founded in the 14th century by the emirs Ṭushtumur and Arghūn and in 1482 by the sultan Qāʾitbāy. The Mamluks also spent large sums on the restoration of the water conduits which supplied the town (or more correctly the Ḥaram), among them Tengiz in 1338 and the sultans Khushqadam and Qāʾitbāy in the second half of the century. Princes from Persia and Turkey also founded madrasas and hospices for pilgrims in Jerusalem in that period. Thus, these numerous endowments resulted in the building of a great number of religious buildings, which became the striking feature of Jerusalem. (The travelogues of Western pilgrims and other sources give one a clear picture of Jerusalem in the later Middle Ages.)

Contradictory statements as to the existence of town walls point to the fact that Jerusalem was only partly enclosed by walls. Apparently the walls were not completely razed in 1219 and parts were rebuilt in 1229. The walled-in area probably included Mount Zion in the 14th century, whereas in 15th-century descriptions it appears as being outside of the walls, thus indicating changes in the area of the city. On the other hand, there were no suburbs outside the walls. Mujīr al-Dīn mentions some small groups of houses west and northwest of the town; north and east of it there were some *zawiyas* and churches. On the southern outskirts there were also *zawiyas* and a group of houses named after the sheikh Abu Thawr, who participated in the siege of Jerusalem in 1187. The ancient Byzantine town plan had disappeared, although "David Street" (Ṭarīq Dāʾud) – the street connecting Jaffa Gate and Bāb al-Silsila, the main entrance of the Ḥaram – remained the main artery of the town. The area north and west of the al-Aqṣā Mosque was occupied by many colleges and convents of Sufi mysitcs: Mujīr al-Dīn mentions 44 madrasas and about 20 *zawiyas*. The palace of the *nāʾib* was also located northwest of the Ḥaram. The area which the Christians held in the town was reduced, and Saladin had established a convent of Sufis in the former palace of the patriarch, north of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher. The church of the Hospitalers had become a Muslim hospital, a part of the hospital itself was also handed over to Sufis, and south of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher a mosque was built. Since the number of the madrasas had increased so markedly, Jerusalem became a center of Islamic studies in the later Middle Ages. The most important schools were al-Ṣalāḥiyya al-Tengiziyya, al-Muʿaẓẓamiyya, and al-ʿUthmāniyya, but other madrasas had students from other towns in Ereẓ Israel, and even from other countries. The theologians who taught at the madrasas were the most distinguished group in the town's population. Among them there were families which for a number of generations had held certain prominent posts in the clerical hierarchy, such as the Ibn Jamāʿa, Ibn Ghānim, al-Qarqashandī, and al-Dayrī. Some of the teachers at the madrasas of Jerusalem were well known in the Muslim world, e.g., Ibn al-Ḥāʾim (d. 1412) and Kamāl al-Dīn ibn Abī Sharīf (d. 1500), both of whom were prolific writers in various branches of Islamic theology.

In view of the fact that the Muslim theologians played so great a role in the town, one can easily understand that persecutions of the non-Muslims were frequent. The atmosphere was charged with fanaticism, and the interventions of Christian princes who tried to protect their coreligionists were not always successful. For the most part, the outbreaks of Muslim fanaticism were directed against the Latin Friars (Franciscans) who had established a monastery on Mount Zion in 1334. Several times the Friars were imprisoned and sent to Damascus or Cairo. The possession of some sites on Mount Zion, which were coveted by Christians and Muslims, and sometimes even by Jews, became a point of contention. Time and again the chapel above the grave of David's supposed tomb passed from the Christians to the Muslims and vice versa. When the Christians built a church on Mount Zion in 1452 on the site where Mary is believed to have lived for a long time, it was immediately pulled down by Muslim fanatics. At times the Muslims penetrated into the Church of the Holy Sepulcher and other churches, devastated them, and destroyed some parts completely. In 1489 the Franciscans obtained permission once again to build a church on the site where Mary had lived, but in 1490 it was pulled down.

The role of the Jews in Jerusalem was very modest. Until the end of the 15th century their number was apparently quite small. In about the middle of the 14th century there was a yeshivah in the town whose head was a rabbi named Isaac ha-Levi Asir ha-Tikvah. At the beginning of the 15th century immigration of Jews from European countries began, but the attempt of German Jews to acquire the room above the supposed tomb of David almost brought it to a halt. The Christians applied to the pope, who asked the Italian merchant republics to stop taking Jews on board their ships sailing for Ereẓ Israel; this happened in 1428. The Mamluk government also harassed the Jews, and in about 1440 it imposed a heavy tax on them to be paid yearly. Most Jews were craftsmen or petty merchants who could not afford to pay the tax and many left the town. Details on the economic situation of the Jews are given in a letter of R. Elijah of Ferrara, who settled in Jerusalem in 1438 and became rabbi of the community. R. Isaac b. Meir Latif (c. 1470) states that there were 150 Jewish families in town, whereas *Meshullam of Volterra, who visited Jerusalem in 1481, spoke of about 250, but this was probably an exaggerated figure. Even in that period the Jews suffered greatly from heavy taxation and Muslim intolerance. In 1474 the Muslims destroyed an old synagogue, but the sultan intervened and after a long lawsuit had it returned and rebuilt. R. Obadiah of *Bertinoro, who went to Jerusalem in 1488 and became the spiritual head of the community, complained about its poverty and oppression, which caused Nathan *Sholal to move from Jerusalem to Cairo, where he became **nagid* (leader) of Egyptian Jewry. Obadiah found no more than 70 Jewish families and many widows in Jerusalem, but shortly afterward a change took place. On the one hand, the government abolished the heavy tax and the Italian republics once more allowed Jews to travel on their ships to Ereẓ Israel, and on the other hand, the immigration of the Spanish exiles began. A pupil of R. Obadiah related in a letter written in 1495 that about 200 Jewish families were living in Jerusalem.

In the beginning of the 16th century there were scholars in Jerusalem who took part in the controversy which arose over the fixing of the dates of the sabbatical (*shemittah*) years. Scholars in Safed also took part in the dispute, not missing the opportunity to underline their reverence for the Jerusalemites (see *Israel, Land of, History). R. Isaac *Sholal, who was the *nagid* of Jewry in Mamluk lands and resided in Cairo, moved to Jerusalem at the end of Mamluk rule and published ordinances (*takkanot*) for the welfare and good order of the community; they are quoted in R. Moses *Basola's travel book.

[Eliyahu Ashtor / Haïm Z'ew Hirschberg]

Under Ottoman Rule (1517–1917)

SULEIMAN THE MAGNIFICENT AND HIS WORK. The present-day wall around the Old City of Jerusalem was the work of the sultan Suleiman I (1520–66), who was called al- Qānūnī ("the Lawgiver"), and in the West, the Magnificent. According to contemporary evidence, most of the wall was in ruins at the end of the Mamluk period and Suleiman, known for his widespread activities in the building of numerous mosques and public buildings in the empire, ordered that Jerusalem be surrounded by a wall in order to protect its inhabitants against marauding Bedouins. Some believe that the activities of Charles V in *Tunisia aimed against the Ottomans prompted the rebuilding of Jerusalem's wall, as a defensive measure.

The following statement was made by an anonymous contemporary "Jewish" inhabitant of Jerusalem or Hebron: "Jerusalem the Holy City has been destroyed through our sins. Nothing is left of the old structure except for a little of the foundation of the walls. Now, in 1537, they have begun to build the walls around the city by order of the king, Sultan Suleiman. They have also put a great fountain in the Temple…" (*Ha-Me'ammer*, 3, p. 211). The building of the wall made a great impression on the Jewish world, and Joseph ha-Kohen recorded it in his chronicle: "In that year 1540 [an insignificant error], God aroused the spirit of Suleiman king of Greece (= Rumelia) and Persia and he set out to build the walls of Jerusalem the holy city in the land of Judah. And he sent officials who built its walls and set up its gates as in former times and its towers as in bygone days. And his fame spread throughout the land for he wrought a great deed. And they did also extend the tunnel into the town lest the people thirst for water. May God remember him favorably" (*Sefer Divrei ha-Yamim le-Malkhei Ẓarefat u-Malkhei Beit Ottoman*, Sabionetta, 1554, 261b–262a). As is stated in the former source, the wall was rebuilt on top of its former remains, some of which dated to Second Temple times. In certain places the planner-engineer deviated from the ancient pattern, e.g., by leaving part of present-day Mount Zion outside the wall. According to tradition he was executed for this.

The construction of the wall lasted from 1537 to 1541, as is recounted in the 11 original inscriptions inserted in various parts of the wall, especially near the gates. Thus, for instance, the inscription near the Jaffa Gate (Bāb al-Khalīl, the Gate of Hebron) contains the date 945 A.H. (1538–39). The southern wall contains the Zion Gate (Bāb al-Nabī Da'ud, i.e., Gate of the "Prophet" David, since it is near "David's Tomb," which is on Mount Zion). Next is the Dung Gate (Bāb al-Maghāriba, or Moor Gate, because of its proximity to the quarter of the Maghreb Muslims). On a tablet nearby is the date 947 A.H. (1540–41). Further east along the southern wall are three gates which are closed off, dating to pre-Ottoman times: the Double Gate, the Triple Gate, and the Single Gate. Northward along the eastern wall is the Mercy Gate (which the Muslims call by the same name, Bāb al-Raḥma, or al-Dahriyya, i.e., Eternal, and the Christians call the Golden Gate). There are several legendary reasons for its being closed. Inside the area of the Temple Mount this gate has been divided into two since the early Middle Ages, one being called the Gate of Repentance (Bāb al-Tawba). In the east is the Lions' Gate (Bāb Sittna Maryam, the Gate of our Lady Mary, because of its proximity to the traditional birthplace of Mary, Jesus' mother; the Christians call it St. Stephen's Gate). On the northern side is Herod's (or the Flower) Gate (Bāb al-Zahra, a corruption of Sāhira since it leads to the plain of Sāhira (Sura 79:14) on which, as the Muslims believe, all creatures will congregate on the day of the resurrection of the dead (see *Eschatology)). The most magnificent of the gates is the Damascus Gate (Bāb al-ʿAmūd, Gate of the Pillar or Column). The seventh gate is the New Gate in the wall near the Christian Quarter (opposite the Hospice of Notre Dame), which was opened at the time of the sultan Abdul Hamid II (1876–1908) and for this reason was first called the Sultan's Gate; it was to facilitate the connection between the Christian Quarter and New Jerusalem.

Suleiman also introduced changes in the buildings on the Temple Mount. He ordered that the mosaics covering the walls of the Dome of the Rock be removed and replaced by beautiful marble tablets and facings, which adorned the building until the 1950s and were in part replaced during the repairs conducted by the Jordanian government. During Suleiman's reign four *sabīls* (public fountains) were set up in the city and one outside it near the Sultan's Pool, in order to provide water for passersby. The most beautiful of these is opposite the Chain Gate (Bāb al-Silsila) in the wall surrounding the Temple Mount. The two Jewish sources mentioned above emphasize the special attention devoted to one of the age-old problems of Jerusalem, the city's water supply, especially for the Temple Mount area. The conduits bringing water from the vicinity of Solomon's Pools (near Bethlehem) were repaired and widened by order of Suleiman and his wife Roxelana, and in 1536 the Sultan's Pool was constructed on the foundations of an ancient pool. Its water was collected by means of the dam in the Hinnom Valley (on what is the present-day road to Mt. Zion) and on it is also the fifth *sabīl*.

In order to maintain the madrasas (Muslim theological colleges) and shelters for the Sufis (*zāwiya, khanqa, tekke*) which were established in former times, many properties (*waqf*) such as lands, shops, and flour mills were dedicated, bringing a flow of money to Muslim Jerusalem. Roxelana also established a khan (inn), and especially an *ʿimāret* (a soup kitchen providing free meals for students of the madrasas, dervishes, and other poor Muslims). These institutions were supported by taxes levied on numerous villages throughout the country. Repairs, which were ordered by the sultan, were made on the fortress near David's Tower (Turk. *Qishla*, winter barracks for the soldiers). A Turkish aga encamped at this fortress together with an escort of a troop of janissaries.

THE DECLINE OF JERUSALEM. After this period of construction, however, the development of Jerusalem was halted. The authorities did nothing to preserve the show pieces of Muslim architecture and prevent their destruction through the agency of time and of man. Administratively, Jerusalem was the seat of the governor of the district, or *sanjak* (Ar. *liwāʾ*; Turk. *sanjaq*, both meaning "standard"). However, the *mīr liwāʾ* or *sanjaq bey* (i.e., the governor) was usually of a lower status than the other local regional rulers (Safed, Nablus, Gaza), since the central authorities regarded Jerusalem as no more than a town bordering on the land of the Bedouin (*Arabistan*). Jerusalem's governor was subordinate to the general governor (Turkish *wali*) of the province (*eyālet*), usually that of Damascus, but sometimes to the *wali* of Sidon (and Acre), and had no direct contact with the central authorities in Constantinople. In 1756/1169 A.H., however, Jerusalem was raised for a short time to the status of an independent provincial unit (*eyālet*), ruled by a governor (*mutaṣarrif*) bearing the standard of two *tughs* ("horsetails") – though only in the second half of the 19th century did it become an independent *mutaṣarriflik* ruled by a "two-tail" pasha – directly subordinate to the Sublime Porte in Constantinople (see below). In the city of Jerusalem the immediate control of all municipal matters was in the hands of the *qadi*. He was also the authority over all non-Muslims.

The Ottomans introduced no changes in the composition of the Muslim population of Jerusalem. During their 400-year reign only a few Turks settled in the country. The Turkish language did not take the place of Arabic, although a number of Turkish words were incorporated into the spoken Arabic. This absence of a permanently settled Turkish class facilitated the establishment of a kind of local nobility in Jerusalem, composed of the distinguished Arab families which derived their power and influence from farming taxes and duties (*iltizām*) and from their control of hereditary religious functions and, at the end of the Ottoman period, exercised administrative functions. These were the *aʿyān* (the notables, "eyes" of the community), the *effendi* (masters), e.g., the families of Khatīb, Dajjānī, Anṣārī, Khālidī, ʿAlamī, and later Nashāshībī and Ḥusaynī. Several of Jerusalem's Christian families were also well-known: Salāmeh, Tannūs, ʿAṭallah, and Katan.

One reason for the Ottoman rulers' disparaging attitude toward Jerusalem may have been its insignificance from a strategic and political point of view when there was no longer a danger of renewed Crusades. At the Ottoman conquest of Ereẓ Israel (1516) even the exact date of Jerusalem's capture was not noted. Because of its insignificance the rebels and invaders did not attempt to conquer it. The same situation existed at the time of Ẓāhir al-Omar, who in 1773 controlled the whole country except for Jerusalem. Similarly, Napoleon did not consider it necessary to conquer Jerusalem and was satisfied with the towns of the coastal strip and the plain. Another reason was the city's economic insignificance. According to the Ottoman records of land registration from the 16th century, the inhabitants of the district of Jerusalem were far fewer in number than those of Gaza, Nablus, and Safed. Accordingly, the income of Jerusalem's governor was smaller than that of the other governors. Apart from soap and Christian religious objects, almost nothing was manufactured in Jerusalem which could be exported to other districts or abroad. Nor did local trade play an important role in the city, since industry and craft did not develop in Jerusalem, which had no fertile rural areas surrounding it. Jewish, Muslim, and Christian sources were therefore justified in repeatedly emphasizing that most of the city's inhabitants were extremely impoverished. During the Ottoman Empire's period of abundance, the sultans regarded it as a duty to exempt the city's inhabitants from various taxes and even sent yearly contributions for distribution among the poor.

JEWISH JERUSALEM. Even before the Ottoman conquest there were many indications that Jewish Jerusalem was awakening from its lethargy. At the beginning of the 16th century it attracted the kabbalists who were awaiting the imminent redemption, such as Abraham b. Eliezer ha-Levi. Isaac Sholal, the *nagid* of Egypt, also settled in the city. After the conquest, and especially in light of the sympathetic attitude of Sultan Suleiman, which aroused such a positive response on the part of the Jews, it appears as if there existed, in effect, those political and social conditions which could enable Jerusalem to reassert its function as the spiritual and religious center of Judaism. David *Reuveni, a man of imagination and political courage, approached the Jews of Jerusalem. *Levi b. Ḥabib, who settled in the city and was one of the greatest scholars of his time, attacked Jacob *Berab for wanting to reestablish ordination (*semikhah*) in Safed and succeeded in foiling that plan. *David ibn Abi Zimra and, later, Bezalel *Ashkenazi taught in Jerusalem. However, the overwhelming poverty of the scholars and all the Jewish inhabitants placed the city at a disadvantage, and Safed, which attracted in the 16th century the greatest scholars and most of the immigrants, superseded Jerusalem for a time in importance as a center.

However, the communities of Egypt and Syria (especially Damascus) aided the Jerusalem community, as is attested by Moses *Trani (De Trani): "All the holy communities which send contributions to Jerusalem know that, in addition to what is distributed among the scholars and the poor, they are also used for all the fines and penalties levied on the community, for the inhabitants of Jerusalem can pay only the *kharā j* (poll tax)… and the remaining burdens… have to be met from outside contributions; for if they did not do thus, no one would want to settle in the city" (Responsa, vol. 3, no. 228). The situation of the scholars and yeshivot was especially difficult, and there are recurring and repeated complaints about this in the literature of the period.

Apparently the local rulers hindered the consolidation of the city's Jewish population. According to official censuses in 1525, 1533–39, and 1553, the number of Jews in the town ranged between approximately 1,000 and 1,500. They lived in three quarters, Sharaf, al-Maslakh ("Slaughterhouse"), and Rīsha, which are coextensive with the present-day Jewish Quarter. David ibn Abi Zimra conveys in his responsa the interesting information that the Jewish Quarter is called the "City of Zion" by the Jews and Ṣahyūn by the Arabs. He explains that in the laws pertaining to the holiness of Jerusalem a distinction is to be made between that part to which these laws pertain, called by the Arabs *Quds* (= Jerusalem), and the other part ("Zion"), which is considered outside of Jerusalem. In 1586 the authorities deprived the community of the synagogue named after Naḥmanides (restored only after the Six-Day War).

After Safed's decline at the end of the 16th century Jerusalem was built up. Bezalel Ashkenazi, who had come from Egypt, played a major role in this rebuilding. He was not content merely to act as *dayyan* but also lent his help in the organization of material assistance and even went on a mission to organize aid and save the synagogue which had been confiscated. He died in the early 1590s, however – shortly after his immigration – and was unable to carry out his activities. His initiative persisted after his death and Jewish Jerusalem continued to recover. The stream of immigrants from Turkey, North Africa, Italy, and Western Europe soon turned to Jerusalem. One of the most distinguished and famous among them was R. Isaiah *Horowitz (immigrated in 1622), author of *Shenei Luḥot ha-Berit*, whose influence was of great spiritual importance for the community. He found a population in Jerusalem composed of Sephardim, Ashkenazim, and Italians (who were considered one community), Maghrebis, and Mustaʿribs (Moriscos). There was also a small Karaite community. Shortly after his arrival the community suffered severely from the persecution of the governor Muhammad ibn Farrukh (1625), which is described in the pamphlet *Ḥorvot Yerushalayim* (published anonymously in Venice, 1636). This governor, however, was removed from his post a short while later and the community recovered.

In general, the situation improved in Jerusalem, but the tax burden and other impositions were not eased. There are various extant sources from this period, including several interesting travel descriptions (see *Travels) – among them that of R. Moses Poryat of Prague (1650) – which make it possible to achieve a faithful reconstruction of the situation. There are also descriptions from the end of the 17th century which render an exact description of the situation in Jerusalem. There were then about 300 Jewish families, with nearly 1,200 persons. This number exceeded the quota established by the Ottoman authorities for the Jews in the city, and they therefore had to be bribed so that they would not expel the "extra" ones. The extortion of monies resulting from the increased numbers of Jews caused some of the people within the community to seek to limit the number of new settlers and make them go elsewhere.

The only possibility for the economic consolidation of the community was to send emissaries abroad to seek aid. Among the Jerusalem emissaries was *Shabbetai Ẓevi, who only arrived in the city in 1662 but made such a strong personal impression that shortly thereafter he was entrusted with the task of collecting contributions in Egypt. He did, in fact, succeed in raising considerable sums but he used them for disseminating propaganda for his movement. The sages of Jerusalem, who were not convinced by his messianic claims, excommunicated him and compelled him to leave Jerusalem. This, however, led to conflict and some of the Jerusalem emissaries who went abroad engaged in Shabbatean propaganda, caused friction within the Jerusalem community, and even undermined it economically and caused its breakdown, since they hindered an effective organization of aid to the community. Spiritually, in contrast, Jerusalem flourished during the 17th century. The city inherited Safed's place in the study of the Kabbalah. R. Jacob *Ẓemaḥ settled there in the late 1630s and edited the writings of R. Ḥayyim Vital with the help of the latter's son Samuel. He himself wrote a series of books and commentaries explaining the teachings of R. Isaac Luria and Vital. Other mystics also settled in the city and, from then on, Jerusalem became the center of the kabbalists.

An important contribution to the development of the city's spiritual life was made by Jacob *Ḥagiz, who came from the Maghreb (Fez) by way of Italy, as did most of the North African immigrants of that time. With the financial assistance of an Italian family of philanthropists he established the *bet midrash* Beit Ya'akov (1658), in which leading contemporary scholars taught talented disciples. These scholars included: R. Moses *Galante, R. Samuel *Garmison, R. Solomon *Algazi, and the important *posek* R. *Hezekiah da Silva, author of *Peri Hadash*.

At the end of the 17th century the Jewish community numbered approximately 1,000 persons. According to the record of poll taxes, there were around 180 payers of the *kharāj*. A quarter of them were scholars and rabbis; the remainder were craftsmen and small businessmen. Neither group belonged to the wealthy classes who paid the highest tax (*aʿlā*), only a quarter paid the intermediate (*awsaṭ*), and the great majority the lower tax (*adnā*).

Although the Shabbatean movement failed and seemed to abate at the end of the 17th century, the ferment it had aroused did not cease. A group, 500 strong, headed by Judah b. Samuel he-Ḥasid and Ḥayyim *Malakh, which contained extreme and moderate Shabbatean trends, came to Jerusalem from Poland in 1700 and settled in the courtyard which was later the site of the Ḥurvah synagogue. Before their arrival the population was around 1,200, about a sixth of whom were Ashkenazim. The group broke up quickly, however, since their behavior led to quarrels within the community, until the veteran inhabitants had to turn to Poland and Western Europe and request assistance in their battle against the newcomers. In addition, the burden of debts owed by the Ashkenazim to the Muslims became so heavy that they no longer could bear them or maneuver with the creditors. Due to disruptions on the roads in Europe, financial help did not arrive from there. On Nov. 8, 1720, the Arabs broke into the Ashkenazi synagogue and burned the Scrolls of the Law. They also seized the plot and held it until the migration of *Perushim* to Jerusalem approximately 100 years later (1816). For some time no Ashkenazi Jew could show himself in the streets of Jerusalem unless he disguised himself in Eastern dress. One of the first Ashkenazim who decided to return to Jerusalem was R. *Abraham Gershon of Kutow, brother-in-law of the Baal Shem Tov (c. 1750).

During that period of depression, the community of Constantinople had to take the Jews of Jerusalem under its wing. A "council of officials" was established in the capital of the Ottoman Empire which undertook the responsibility for clearing up the community's debts and arranging its financial affairs. The officials from Constantinople also instituted ordinances and special arrangements in order to prevent a recurrence of those events which had brought about the community's economic downfall. A special *parnas* was sent from Constantinople to supervise public affairs. Knowledge about the economic improvements resulting from these efforts became widespread and numerous immigrants again began to settle in Jerusalem, especially scholars. A special impression was made by the immigration of R. Ḥayyim b. Moses *Attar of Salé, who went with disciples from Italy and established a prominent yeshivah (1742) in a building which is still standing. According to the rule "competition among scholars increases wisdom," more yeshivot were established in Jerusalem and the sounds of study echoed in its alleys. Wealthy Jews from all parts of the Diaspora contributed to the establishment and maintenance of these yeshivot. This activity also led to the increase in written works, especially of responsa, which were published in Constantinople, Izmir, Salonika, and the towns of Italy.

At the end of the 18th century, however, there was another decline in Jerusalem's Jewish population. According to a possibly somewhat exaggerated estimate, approximately 10,000 Jews lived there in the middle of the century, but as a result of the insecurity in the southern part of the country, the decline in influence of the central authority in Constantinople, and also epidemics and natural disasters, the population at the end of the century was estimated at half that number or even less.

CHRISTIAN JERUSALEM. According to the Ottoman *defters* (lists of taxpayers) in Jerusalem, the number of Christian households increased from 119 to 303 between 1525 and 1533; if monks, clergymen, and bachelors are added, the increase was from 600 to 1,800 persons. In the villages surrounding Jerusalem – Bethlehem, Beit Jālla, Beit Ṣāḥūr – there were also Christian families. Most of them were permanent resident Syrian Christians, but all spoke Arabic. They were called "*Christiani dela centura*," i.e., the girdled Christians, referring to the *zunnār* which was their special mark of difference from the Muslims. In the course of time the sign was forgotten but the name remained. In their way of life the Christians were not different from the Muslims; their women covered their faces in the streets like the Muslim women and would not go among men. Several travelers point out that drunkenness and prostitution were widespread among the Christians: in particular, the last night of the Easter celebrations, when permission was granted to all the Christian inhabitants to congregate in the Church of the Holy Sepulcher, was believed to have been occasion for wanton immorality.

The Muslims despised the Christians and in official documents sometimes called them "infidels." They were usually subject to all the restrictions applying to the "People of the Book" in relation to the erection and maintenance of churches and other religious institutions. The authorities delayed permission for repairs, and when any attempt was made to introduce something which had not existed previously, they were forced to remove the addition. In the words of R. *Gedaliah of Siemiatycze (beginning of the 18th century): "The idol-worshipers are also in exile here – like the Jews" (Yaari, *Massaʾot*, 341). According to him (loc. cit.) their number in Jerusalem was great and exceeded the number of the Ishmaelites (Turks and Arabs). They were not allowed to marry without obtaining permission from the governor, for which they had to pay the *rusūm* tax, and the appointment of their religious leaders had to be approved by the governor or the qadi of Jerusalem.

From a religious point of view the "*Christiani dela centura*" were not a single entity but were divided into the various Eastern sects and churches, the Latins, i.e., the Catholics, being a negligible minority. Christian visitors usually counted seven to nine religious communities with an established claim to the Church of the Holy Sepulcher: Franciscans, i.e., Latin Friars of the order of St. Francis, called the "Little Brothers";

Greeks, the Orthodox Melchites, members of the Byzantine Church; Georgians; Armenians; Abyssinians, also called "Indish"; Jacobites; Syrians; Nestorians; and Copts. Each community held a certain part of the Church, to which, as well as to various honorific ceremonial functions, it claimed a prescriptive right. There were frequent conflicts among the clergy, therefore, over real or imagined encroachments, and the Muslim authorities often had to mediate and decide between the combatants (during the Ottoman period, the British Mandate; later, the keys of the Holy Sepulcher were in the hands of a Jerusalem Muslim family). The Franciscan Friars, "Custodia Terrae Sanctae," were responsible for the Christian pilgrims who came to worship at the *holy places. They would transfer to the authorities the taxes levied on the pilgrims at the gates of the city near the Church of the Holy Sepulcher, which the Muslims deprecatingly called *al-Qumāma* ("a heap of rubbish") instead of *al-Qiyāma* ("the Church of the Resurrection"). Probably only a few of the pilgrims knew that the tax collected from them was for the Muslims in the city. Conflicts periodically broke out among the Franciscans and clergymen of the other communities.

ATTITUDE OF THE EUROPEAN POWERS. No less surprising than the coolness of the Ottoman authorities toward Jerusalem (see Decline of Jerusalem, above) was the attitude of the countries of Christian Europe – first and foremost among them France, the first European power to enter into a *capitulations agreement with the Ottoman Empire. Francis I, king of France and "the most Christian of Christians," saw himself as the defender of the Christian holy places and in 1528 complained about the confiscation of the church in Jerusalem, which was made into a mosque by the Muslims. This probably referred to the Cenaculum, the Church of the Last Supper on Mount Zion. The sultan made no response to the complaint but promised that the other places in the vicinity of the mosque would remain under Christian control and would not be harmed by the Muslims.

In 1535 a capitulations agreement was reached between Francis and Suleiman the Magnificent. It contained a clause, which stated explicitly that the pope could join the agreement and enjoy all its benefits. From that time on the Christian states, especially the pope, began to appeal to the French kings to protect the interests of the Christians and Christianity in Palestine. The capitulations were intended to regulate the activities of France in key places in Palestine, especially in Jerusalem. It was reasonable to expect that a permanent French representative in Jerusalem would also be responsible for the maintenance of Christian and pilgrim holy places. However, it was only about 100 years after the first capitulation agreement and about 80 after the appointment of a French consul in Tripoli, Syria (1544), that the first French consul in Jerusalem was appointed.

The following are excerpts from the writings of the Frenchman E. Roger, who visited Palestine in 1631, as he recorded in *La Terre Sainte* (1664; 461–4):

> The third consulate is that of Jerusalem which our king, the most Christian of Christians, St. Louis [the 13th, 1610–43], blessed be his memory, established in 1621 for the protection of our monks that by means of its influence they might establish and consolidate themselves in those places and overcome the insults and injustices inflicted on them by that barbaric people.

After describing the consul's duties toward the merchants, he continued:

> The fourth and fifth clauses [of the capitulations] deal only with the holy places and the monks inhabiting them, the pilgrims who also come to visit them, and other Christian passersby who are under the protection of that consul. They need him on every occasion in order to receive assistance and support in all their dealings with the Turks; he uses his influence to convince the Turks to maintain the capitulations and to practice according to the agreements. Nevertheless, the Turks do not refrain from perpetrating their tyrannical deeds both on the monks and the Catholic Christians who are not monks. These deeds would have been a thousandfold more difficult to bear were they not curtailed by that French consul whom the king has appointed for this purpose. A constant cause for praising and blessing our king is that in all the towns in which there is a consul or vice-consul a chapel is permitted in which he usually maintains two or three of our monks from the Jerusalem community, who celebrate a holy mass daily for our king in the presence of the consul and the merchants, both those living in the towns and those at anchorage or from the ports… The reason that the attitude of the Turkish authorities to the monks and the Christian Catholics in Jerusalem is worse than in any other part of the sultan's kingdom is that there is no consul there. For the Turks, seeing that M. Jean Lempereur, whom the king sent as consul, prevents their carrying out their usual tyrannies toward the monks, made false accusations against him to the pasha in Damascus and he was taken there by a troop of Turks. However, he proved his innocence and went to Constantinople. The pashas and qadis, who have since been in Jerusalem, do everything in their power to prevent his return, since he would hinder them from filling their pockets as they do in the absence of a consul. They daily invent new means, under the pretext of administrative action, of gradually destroying us. And when we have just escaped from one matter, they raise up another, a worse one in its stead. They do this not only during our lifetime but also after our death. For it is forbidden to bring a monk or a Catholic Christian for burial unless the guardian priest has first obtained the permission of the qadi who demands 12 dinars for it, although the contents of the permit, which I wish to include here in order to show the contempt in which they hold us, reads as follows: "I Abu Suleiman, qadi of Jerusalem, permit the guardian of the Franjis to bury the cursed monk, so-and-so…"

The attempts to appoint a consul to succeed Lempereur were futile, but in 1699 a French consul was again appointed in Jerusalem. However, he fled to Bethlehem several months later because of the pasha's oppression. Another consul, the third in line, went to Jerusalem in 1713, but he too was only able to hold out for a short while. From then until 1843 no French consul was appointed in Jerusalem; the consul in Sidon would come during Easter to the Holy Sepulcher in order to maintain the splendor of the Latin ceremonies.

The most important topic which interested the European public – or at least those broad sections of the public having no direct connection with commercial dealings – in connection with the Holy Land was without doubt the assurance of the rights of the Christian faith and the protection of its holy places, especially in Jerusalem, and of its faithful who came to worship at these places. Nevertheless, no other country besides France attempted to establish a consulate or at least a consular agency in Jerusalem. All their efforts were directed toward the maintenance of representatives in the commercial centers. The Franciscan order retained the function of looking after West European pilgrims, without regard for differences in religious ritual, i.e., including Protestants, Calvinists, etc. The problem of Orthodox pilgrims coming from outside the borders of the Ottoman Empire arose only during the 19th century; until that time pilgrims from Russia were not a significant component of the general stream. The faithful of the other Eastern Churches were subjects of the Ottoman sultan.

One characteristic feature in the lives of the Christian communities of Palestine should be pointed out: their spiritual rulers and religious institutions were outside the borders of Palestine. The Latin Church had an historical and dogmatic justification for this attitude, since Rome was its cradle and focus, but this was not the case with the Eastern Churches in general and the Orthodox Church in particular. Nevertheless, the Orthodox patriarch of Jerusalem, whose church claimed priority in Christianity and thus greater rights to the Church of the Holy Sepulcher, the Church of the Nativity (in Bethlehem), and other holy places, had his seat in Constantinople. Moreover, no church concerned itself with the establishment in Palestine of an institution of higher learning and education for its priests and monks. All the Christian travelers and tourists in Palestine reported the ignorance of all the lower clergy, both those included in the monastic orders and the "secular," i.e., those outside the orders who were scattered among the smaller communities and villages. The few clergymen on a higher level sent from Rome, Athos (the important center of Greek clergy), or Constantinople were involved in controversies over prestige, real or imagined, and in intercommunal conflicts and had no time free for study or teaching.

THE CHANGE IN THE 19TH CENTURY. Beginning with the end of the 18th century there was an increase in the interest of the European powers, primarily France and England, in the Middle East, especially from an economic point of view (see *Israel). The Christian powers began to display great interest in the Christian holy places, to be concerned for their protection and welfare, and to support their traditional administrators: the Eastern and Western Christian Churches, the Orthodox and Latin orders, and the new monasteries which had sprung up. This necessitated the prolongation of the capitulations agreements and the effective protection of European citizens and stateless persons under the protection of the foreign consuls, and even the sultan's non-Muslim subjects. It is clear, however, that the international powers, which now made an appearance in Jerusalem – France, Russia, England, Austria, and Prussia – did not regard religious matters as the major and principal motive for their activities. The true intentions of the European powers became manifest when they intervened in 1840 to put an end to Muhammad Ali's revolt against Ottoman rule (see *Israel, History, Ottoman Period).

In 1835 Ibrahim Pasha, who ruled Ereẓ Israel and Syria on behalf of his father Muhammad Ali, gave the Jewish community of Jerusalem permission to "repair" its four ancient synagogues, which were in a state of disrepair, after all previous requests to the Ottoman authorities had been rejected. They now began some basic projects which were tantamount to reconstruction. It was necessary to break down weak parts of the foundations, to replace the wooden ceiling in one of the synagogues, which had been covered with mats, by a stone dome, etc. There was a danger, when these demolition works were begun, that the permission could be cancelled under pressure from Muslim circles – since this actually was new construction, which was not permitted by Muslim religious law. Furthermore, there were not sufficient funds to complete the "repairs" quickly so that they could be pointed to as a fait accompli. A special emissary was sent in order to collect contributions for these urgent needs to the "towns of the inner west" (i.e., Morocco). Nevertheless, the community incurred numerous debts. A.M. *Luncz states in *Jerusalem* (1894; p. 211 n. 3), "The community's debts increased as a result of the repairs and expansion of the R. Johanan b. Zakkai and Istambuli synagogues undertaken by the sages and rabbis of the community during the rule of Ibrahim Pasha. The former had been very small and they expanded and improved it. The latter had been covered with mats for a long time and only then did they cover it with a stone ceiling."

In the emissary's letter to Morocco five synagogues were mentioned which were suffering the ravages of time and were in need of repair, including the synagogue of R. Judah he-Ḥasid, which had become a *ḥurvah* (ruin) since the "Shiknāz," i.e., immigrants from Eastern Europe, had been forbidden to settle in Jerusalem. Great efforts were made to have this harsh decree by the Ottoman rulers abolished. In 1836 Muhammad Ali published a firman which laid down the conditions for a legal arrangement for the resumption of immigration to Jerusalem from Eastern Europe. The firman was decreed with the active support of the European powers which aimed at increasing their influence among the Jewish population of East European immigrants. The few *Perushim*, the disciples of R. Elijah the Gaon of Vilna, who were tolerated in Jerusalem, immediately seized the opportunity and started to clean out the "Ḥurvah" and erect a synagogue, called Menaḥem Ẓiyyon, which was dedicated several days after the earthquake in Safed (24th of Tevet, 1837). During the tribulations which befell Safed several times in the fourth decade, many people began to leave the town and move to Jerusalem where conditions for settlement had improved; Jerusalem became the center of the *Perushim*, who influenced the Ashkenazi community.

ESTABLISHMENT OF CONSULATES IN JERUSALEM AND INCREASED CHRISTIAN ACTIVITY. As the policy of supporting the Ottoman Empire against the rule of Muhammad Ali and his son Ibrahim Pasha came to be adopted by most of the European states, they began to pay attention to strengthening their position in the country. Thus, already in 1838 Britain made overtures toward opening a consulate in Jerusalem, the first in the city after the abolition of the French consulate more than 100 years previously. It was headed by a vice consul (1838) and later (1841) a consul (initially W.T. Young). Even before this the British consul general (whose headquarters was in Beirut) was represented in Safed and Acre by a consular agent, Moses Abraham Finzi, member of a distinguished Italian Jewish family, who was officially appointed to his position in May 1837. Since the Anglicans did not yet have their own churches in Jerusalem and no English Christians lived there, it was the British vice consul's declared function to protect the Jews – as was the function of the agent in Safed. Thus it was stated explicitly in the instructions of the Foreign Secretary Palmerston to Young on Jan. 31, 1839: "Viscount Palmerston has instructed me to signify that part of your function as British vice consul in Jerusalem will be to offer protection to the Jews in general…" He also had to take care of pilgrims and tourists from England.

Russia opened its own consulate in Jaffa in 1812 in order to assist Orthodox pilgrims who were beginning to come from Russia. It is learned from the reports made by Young during his first year in office that there was a Jewish agent in Jerusalem who represented the Russian consul and whose duty it was to take care of 40 Russian-Jewish immigrant families in Jerusalem. He maintained that the Russian consul removed one agent and appointed another in his stead, who was an Austrian subject, not a Russian.

Young also obtained possession of a letter from C.M. Basily to R. Isaiah *Bardaki. Basily had been appointed a short while previously (1839) as Russian consul for Syria and Palestine. His permanent seat was in Beirut, but in the course of time he moved to Jerusalem. Basily found it necessary to explain that Bardaki's appointment as consul of Russia had been made by his predecessor, Graf Alexander Medem. The style of the letter reflects an energetic man who already at the beginning of his career in the Middle East could control the situation. He was appointed consul general in 1844 and held important functions in guiding his country's policies in the Middle East. He had a broad range of knowledge and wrote an important work on contemporary events in Palestine and Syria.

Isaiah Bardaki, son-in-law of *Israel b. Samuel of Shklov, author of *Pe'at ha-Shulḥan*, played an important role in Jewish Jerusalem. After two or three years he became the consul of Russia and Austria and bravely combated missionary activities. Of special significance was his widespread activity in the internal matters of the *kolel* of the *Perushim*. Young expressed the fear that Isaiah Bardaki would attempt to represent all the European Jews. As a reaction to this report, he was immediately instructed by the Foreign Office in London to appoint a *wakīl* (officer-in-charge) for the English Jews in the same way that the Russian agent had been appointed. Young offered this position to David Herschell, son of Solomon *Herschell, Ashkenazi chief rabbi of England, but he refused to accept the post, as he wanted to keep out of the controversies among his brethren in Jerusalem. Another reason for his refusals, it appears, was the suspicion that the British intended to use him for purposes of intelligence.

Perhaps Herschell was also apprised of the intentions of religious circles in England to initiate missionary activities in Palestine; in fact, in 1840 an agreement was signed between Queen Victoria and Frederick William, king of Prussia, establishing an Anglican episcopacy in Jerusalem which would also supervise missionary activity in Palestine. The bishop would always be a member of the Anglican church and would be appointed alternately by the archbishop of Canterbury and the king of Prussia, while both countries would cover the costs. The first bishop who arrived in Jerusalem in 1841 was the apostate Michael Solomon *Alexander. Four years later permission was received from Istanbul for the establishment of a Protestant church in Jerusalem. Alexander immediately began his missionary activities, which were not in fact viewed with favor in the British Foreign Service since they raised many difficulties. James *Finn (1845–62), the British consul in Jerusalem who succeeded Young, was also accused of missionary intentions and was finally compelled to leave his post.

Cyril II, the Greek Orthodox patriarch for Jerusalem from 1845 to 1872, was a distinguished and, in many ways, a progressive person. He moved his abode from Istanbul, which had been used by his predecessors as the center for their activities, to Jerusalem, the official seat of the patriarchate. In 1849 he established a printing press near the Holy Sepulcher for his community's needs.

In 1843 France reopened its consulate in Jerusalem after a lapse of 130 years. This did not please the Franciscans, and they were especially disturbed by the fact that Pope Pius IX established a Latin patriarchate in Jerusalem (1847), one of whose functions was to check the increasing influence of the Orthodox and the Protestants. The Protestant clergy – Anglican, Prussian, and American – did in fact develop widespread missionary activities among the local population. Since activity among the Muslims was prohibited by the law of the land and could arouse the anger of the authorities, the missions conducted their activities among the Eastern Christian and Jewish communities. This led to the establishment of Protestant communities among the Christian Arabs of Palestine and Syria. A few Jews also converted for financial gain. There were also cases of Christians who converted to Judaism, well-known among them being the U.S. consul, Warder *Cresson, and David Classen, owners of an estate near Jaffa.

APPOINTMENT OF HAKHAM BASHI FOR JERUSALEM. In view of the rivalry for the support of the "alien" Jews of Palestine, the sultan was finally compelled to do something for his

Jewish subjects, particularly in Palestine. The firman of the beginning of Ramadan 1256 A.H. (end of October 1840), achieved by Montefiore, Crémieux, and Munk – after the blood libels in Damascus and Rhodes – for the protection of the Jews, was considered a kind of bill of rights for them, since it stated explicitly that the rights granted to all the subjects of the sultan in the Khaṭṭi sherif decree of Ghane (1839 – see *Turkey) applied to the Jews as well. The Jews of Jerusalem particularly relied on the firman in defending themselves before Muhammad Pasha, the governor of the pashalik, against the blood libel, which was propagated at the beginning of March 1847 by the Greeks in Jerusalem, with the support of their patriarch.

One direct result of the changes in the status of Jerusalem was the appointment of a *ḥakham bashi* (chief rabbi) of Palestine, whose seat was in Jerusalem. In his *Jerusalem* (1892), Luncz points out the reasons for this appointment: "In the year 1840 [!] the government saw fit to elevate the holy city Jerusalem to the status of a district town and to place in it a pasha who in the course of his duties would govern its inhabitants and the inhabitants of the towns surrounding it, and by means of this elevation in its political status the Jews gained the right to appoint a chief rabbi authorized by the government as a *ḥakham bashi*… The leaders and elders of the community then realized that for the welfare and peace of their community, which had begun to spread and increase, it was necessary that the rabbi heading it should be authorized by the exalted government, so that he might be capable of standing in the breach and legally defending the rights of his community. And through the efforts of the minister Abraham di *Camondo of blessed memory, who knew the aforementioned rabbi [Abraham Hayyim Gagin] and esteemed him greatly, this aim was realized, and shortly after his appointment he received the statement (firman) of the king confirming him for the position, and he was the first *ḥakham bashi* of Palestine" (p. 210).

The imperial authorization of appointment (*berāt humāyūn*, at the beginning and in the body of the document), which was issued in Istanbul in 1841, was of vital significance for the Jewish community of Jerusalem and Palestine. Of special significance were the rights indirectly guaranteed the community, since they indicated a legal breakthrough in the restrictions concerning the synagogues and *battei midrash*. In all versions of the *berāts* it was established that the reading of the law – i.e., reading from the *Sefer Torah* – in the house of the *ḥakham* or in other Jewish houses was in accordance with the Jewish religion, and that it was permitted to hang up curtains over the arks of the law and lamps, i.e., to set up permanent places of worship. In these *berāts* there is a certain shrewdness which permits the Covenant of *Omar – which prohibits the establishment of new synagogues and *battei midrash* – to be overlooked, and permission is given to hold public worship everywhere without running the risk of disturbances and oppression. The synagogues and their properties are protected – they may not be harmed or seized in collection of debts, which formerly occurred frequently. Each *berāt* delineated the rights and obligations of the *ḥakham bashi* and the community, and it was renewed with each new appointment to the position by the imperial authorities.

CAPITULATIONS IN THE 19TH CENTURY. The European states probably did not rely on the written promise of the *Khaṭṭi humāyūn* (i.e., the order whose beginning was written by the sultan's own hand), which was given (1856) to the sultan's subjects but not their own, and they took care to safeguard the physical and property rights of those under their protection, as well as caring for the holy places. Britain and France also sought to ease restrictions on economic expansion, to gain a liberal law that would enable their subjects to buy land, etc. Opposing them, the sultan maintained that he could not both recognize the special status of alien subjects on the basis of the capitulations and grant them complete equality with his own. If Britain and France wished to obtain economic rights for their subjects, they would have to give up their protection according to the capitulations.

Jerusalem, however, did not remain only an attraction for pilgrims. The scope of the activity of the foreign consuls widened because of the intrigues between them and the agencies and institutions for special functions, which were connected with them. Jerusalem became the residence of the various delegations, religious and secular, which were devoted to a wide range of activities in education, missionary work, medicine, and charity. The Jews were the first of the city's inhabitants to foresee this development, which involved a transformation in the status and importance of Jerusalem. The founders of the Naḥalat Shivah quarter, who left the Old City, were the pioneers and builders not only of the new Jewish Jerusalem, but of Greater Jerusalem with all its communities and nationalities.

[Haïm Z'ew Hirschberg]

THE DEVELOPMENT OF JERUSALEM, 1840–1917. Muhammad Ali's successful uprising against the central authorities in Istanbul, which had only been terminated under pressure from the European powers, had demonstrated the weakness of Ottoman rule. The growing interference of foreign powers in Ottoman affairs was particularly perceptible in Jerusalem, which was no longer off the beaten track. Improved communications with Europe, as the result of the use of steamships on regular sea routes, facilitated an increased flow of visitors and pilgrims. The Ottomans tried to improve their administration and the relative security that ensued encouraged an increase in immigration, which brought about a revolution in the composition of the population of Jerusalem within less than 40 years.

The opening of the British consulate in Jerusalem was followed within a few years by the inauguration of Russian, Prussian, Austria-Hungarian, Sardinian, Spanish, and United States consulates. In 1848 the first "bank" was opened by the *Valero family. In the absence of Ottoman postal services, the Austrians opened a post office in the same year, followed by

France, Prussia, and Italy. The press of the (Latin) Custodianship of the Holy Land was opened in 1847, followed in 1848 by the Armenian press and five years later by that of the Greek Orthodox patriarchate. The status of the Holy Places determined in an Ottoman decree of 1757 was confirmed in 1852 (the "Status quo"; see *Holy Places).

These were preceded, however, by the Hebrew press of Israel *Bak, which had been transferred from Safed after the 1837 earthquake and, in about 1841, published the first book printed in Jerusalem, Ḥ.J.D. *Azulai's *Avodat ha-Kodesh*. Apart from religious works, polemical tracts, and, later, newspapers were also printed by this press. Despite the fact that in the unanimous opinion of the visitors the Jews were the most abject and lowly of the population, changes were introduced in their lives as well. In order to free them from dependence on the missionaries, Montefiore established a clinic in Jerusalem in the early 1840s, to which he sent medications periodically and which functioned for 20 years. He also subsidized the services of a physician, Dr. Frankel, who came in 1843. The number of Jerusalem's inhabitants in 1845 has been estimated at 15,000, including 6,000 Jews.

The Crimean War, which was partly caused by struggle for control over the Holy Places, again demonstrated the weakness of the Ottoman empire vis-à-vis the European powers, whose representatives in Jerusalem became increasingly more influential – even defeated Russia increased its influence in the city. The great prestige of France was attested by the fact that in 1856 the sultan Abdul-Mejid gave the Ṣallāḥiyya building (the ancient church of St. Anne) as a gift to Napoleon III. It was renovated by its new owners and became the most impressive remnant of Crusader architecture in Palestine. Bells were installed for the first time in the Monastery of the Cross in the same year and in 1867 in the Holy Sepulcher; church bells became an integral part of the sounds of the city. In 1858–59 the Austrian hospice (now the Government Hospital on Via Dolorosa) and the hospice of the German Johanniter Order were built. Crowds gathered to gaze at the two-wheeled vehicles – surplus from the Crimean War – used in the building, for they were the first vehicles seen in the city. The filth in the city was still so great, however, that a "cleanliness society" was established under the auspices of the pasha, but to no avail. As late as the 1860s tourists were complaining about animal carcasses lying in the city's gates and streets. These carcasses, often of animals which had died during the frequent droughts, were devoured by the stray dogs depicted in many pictures of the period.

The 18-bed Rothschild Hospital was opened in 1854 and a small "rival" institution, which later became the Bikkur Ḥolim Hospital, was opened at about the same time by the *Perushim*. In 1856 a school named after the Austrian Jewish nobleman *Laemel was opened due to the efforts of L.A. *Frankl; it was the first modern school for boys in Jerusalem.

In the summer of 1859, through the initiative of the Ashkenazi community and with the aid of the "Hod" (= Holland Deutschland) *kolel*, a plot of land was bought near Mt. Zion, and by 1861 the first of the "*battei maḥaseh*" (shelter houses) were built on it. Sir Moses Montefiore, who again visited Jerusalem in 1855 and 1857, contributed more than any other single man of his generation to changing the city's face in general. In 1855 he used funds from the legacy of the American philanthropist Judah Touro to acquire a plot of land west of the walls, despite many legal difficulties, to house Jews who were living in the dark cellars of the Old City. On the plot which he had bought, he also built a windmill, which became one of the landmarks of the city and was its first "industrial" structure. Building this quarter raised difficulties, since it was supposedly too close to the Citadel, and Montefiore was only permitted to continue building after the Russians had begun building outside the city. Montefiore got the authorities to move the municipal slaughterhouse (*maslakh*) from the end of the street of the Jews, near the Zion Gate – where it had been since the Mamluk period – outside the walls. He also planned a railroad from Jaffa, the paving of interurban roads, and even afforestation, but without any practical outcome. The city's population in 1856 was estimated at 18,000.

The year 1860 marked the beginning of the growth of the "new" city and the relative decline of the Old City. Jerusalem began to emerge from behind the walls and construction started on an impressive series of buildings (inns, a cathedral, and hospitals) in the present-day Russian Compound. The buildings were erected in the Maydan area, which until then had served as a parade ground for the Turkish army and an encampment for tourists. At the same time, the building of Mishkenot Sha'ananim, the first Jewish quarter outside the walls, was completed by Montefiore (the Yemin Moshe quarter was added to it in 1894). At the same time, further northwest, the German Protestant priest Ludwig Schneller built the Syrian orphanage for orphans from the massacres of Christians in Syria. This institution expanded and became the pride of the German residents of Palestine. It burnt down in 1910 but was rebuilt. More Jewish quarters were founded: Maḥaneh Yisrael, built by Oriental Jews in 1868, and Naḥalat Shivah (1869) on the main road to Jaffa. The establishment of these quarters resulted several years later in the opening of the city gates (which had been closed at night and during the Muslim midday prayers on Fridays) 24 hours a day, and this greatly contributed to the security outside the city. Communication between the new quarters and the Old City was by paths through stony fields, which soon became roads and some of them (starting with Jaffa Road) even paved streets, although in 1917 there were still no tarred streets in the city. In the 1870s cabs and carts began to make their appearance in the streets of new Jerusalem, and on his last visit in 1875 Montefiore drove from Jaffa in a carriage. False rumors regarding a visit by the sultan in 1864 resulted in practical attempts to level the alleys of the Old City. The water supply was very poor, despite several attempts by the administration and the waqf (in 1812, in the 1850s, and 1860s) to repair the ancient conduit from ʿAyn ʿArrūb and Solomon's Pools; the stone pipes were regularly sabotaged by the fellahin.

During the frequent drought years, water was brought by animals and carriers in filthy animal-skin bags from En Rogel (Biʾr Ayyūb) and the Gihon Spring (Umm al-Daraj), through the Dung Gate and sold at high prices. However, the water supply mainly depended on the cisterns near the houses in which rainwater collected; in the 1860s there were almost a thousand of them. This water was only fit for drinking as long as it was not contaminated by sewage water (there was no sewage system), and the pollution of the drinking water brought about a severe plague in 1864, which claimed hundreds of victims and led to the city being placed in quarantine for four months. Sir Moses Montefiore came again in 1866 to help the inhabitants, Jews and non-Jews, and contributed money for improving the water supply. By 1863 two newspapers, *Ha-Levanon*, published by the *Perushim*, who set up a new press for the purpose, and *Ḥavaẓẓelet*, published by Israel Bak and the Ḥasidim, appeared in the city, competing against each other until they were closed down by the authorities. *Ḥavaẓẓelet* reappeared in 1870, followed by numerous short-lived journals. In 1868 a Jew opened the first modern bakery – a small but notable improvement in a city where many of the inhabitants had to bake their own bread. By 1865 the city was linked to the Coastal Plain by the Turkish telegraph, which contributed to security, trade, and convenience. In 1866 negotiations began for the paving of a "carriage route" to Jaffa, which was completed in 1868; it had to be repaired in preparation for a visit by the Austrian emperor Franz Josef, who was returning from the opening ceremony of the Suez Canal. Another visitor of that year was the heir to the Prussian throne (later Emperor Frederick III), who received the eastern Muristan area as a gift from the sultan in order to build a church. In the 1850s and 1860s Jerusalem attracted noted archaeologists and students of the Bible and the Ancient East, including C. Warren, W.R. Wilson, C. Schick, M. de Vog̣, F. de Saulcy, and other well-known scholars (see below: Archaeology).

In 1867 the German hospital was built for lepers, who until that time used to dwell near the city wall at the end of the street of the Jews. In 1868 the Germans built on a prominent site outside the city (now King George Avenue) the Talita Kumi school for Arab girls; there was already a school for Jewish girls. In the same year the magnificent building in the Latin patriarchate was built within the walls northwest of the Jaffa Gate. The French Soeurs de Sion convent was built on the Via Dolorosa. The Jewish community too was not inactive. In 1864 the first Jewish school for girls, named after Evelina de *Rothschild, opened despite the vociferous protests of the religious zealots. In the same year the magnificent Beit Ya'akov Ashkenazi synagogue was completed in the courtyard of the Ḥurvah of R. Judah he-Ḥasid. It had taken seven years to build, and shortly after its dedication, construction began on the Tiferet Yisrael (Nisan Bak) synagogue, which was completed in 1872.

In the 1860s the Jewish population in the holy city steadily grew, because of increased immigration and the reduced death rate. In the middle years of the decade the Jews became a majority in the city for the first time in 1800 years. The British consul reported in 1865 that there were approximately 18,000 residents in the city (as in 1856), of whom 8–9,000 were Jews. From that time the Jewish community continually gained in strength.

The development of Jerusalem continued in the 1870s, as testified by the establishment of a "municipal council" (*majlis baladiyya*) in 1877. The German Quarter was founded by the *Templers in 1873 and a road was built to reach it, which also served the Mishkenot Sha'ananim quarter and the eye hospital built by the Order of St. John in 1876. From this road developed the paved road to Bethlehem and Hebron. There were already two hotels in the city: one near the Damascus Gate and the other in the Christian quarter near the Pool of Hezekiah. However, the pilgrims preferred the inns of their communities and wealthy tourists still set up encampments outside the walls.

Near the road to Bethlehem the Arab Abu Tor (Ṭūr) quarter began to develop, apparently in the 1870s. Unlike the Jewish quarters, which were built as uniform blocks, usually as closed courtyards (for security reasons), the Arab and Christian quarters grew organically and slowly. Among them was Katamon which gradually grew near Saint Simon, the summer residence of the Greek patriarch. In north Jerusalem there were also signs of settlement, and Arab houses were built in Karm al-Sheikh (near the present-day Rockefeller Museum), west of it (near the present-day Herod's Gate, or Bāb al-Zahra), and to the north in Wadi Joz (Jawz). Due to this expansion, Herod's Gate was opened in 1875. Near the Damascus Gate, apparently at that time the Musrarah quarter was built. A first scientific demographic survey at that time counted 20,500 inhabitants in Jerusalem, including 10,500 Jews.

In 1871 the mosque of the Mughrabis was built in the Old City. In the Via Dolorosa the rebuilding of the church of St. John was completed (1874), followed two years later by the monastery of the White Fathers (Pères Blancs). In the course of the work many archaeological remains were discovered. Other excavations resulted in the discovery of Bethesda. Outside the city French Jewish apostates built the Ratisbonne monastery (1874). The city's expansion toward the northwest and the north was entirely due to the activities of the Jews. The Me'ah She'arim quarter was established in 1874; Even Yisrael in 1875; and shortly thereafter (1877) the Beit Ya'akov quarter, which was later assimilated into the neighboring Maḥaneh Yehudah (1887). In 1876 the traditional tomb of *Simeon the Just near the road to Nablus was bought, one of the few holy sites to come into the possession of the Jews. The Tombs of the Kings located nearby were acquired in 1878 by French Jews, who transferred them to the French government several years later (1885). The Ḥabad synagogue (Keneset Eliyahu) was dedicated in 1879.

In the 1880s Jerusalem gradually began to acquire the character of a "Western" city. Road links were established with Nablus to the north and Jericho to the east. A regular carriage service was established with Jaffa (the carriages usually left in the afternoon and, after spending the night at Sha'ar ha-Gai (Bab al-Wād), arrived in Jaffa at noontime the following day). The first modern shops were opened, as well as banking agencies. To cater to the increase in tourism, workshops were opened for woodwork, mother-of-pearl, and embroidery. Jerusalem's cosmopolitan character was recognized by the Turks, and from 1887 it became the capital of an independent sanjak, ruled by a governor holding the title of *mutaṣarrif,* who was directly responsible to Constantinople. He was advised by a *majlis idāra* (district council), as distinct from the *majlis baladiyya* headed by the mayor. Latin Orthodox, Armenians, Protestants, and Jews participated in both bodies. The Turkish garrison consisted of an entire battalion.

In 1881 the American Colony was built north of the Old City and many Swedes settled in it. On the way from the Damascus Gate to the American Quarter the British general Charles Gordon claimed to identify, in 1883, the tomb of Jesus. The place, which was named the "Garden Tomb," was bought by Protestants in 1895.

Considerable construction was carried on by the foreign powers, especially the French. In 1880 they built the convent of the Soeurs du Sainte Rosaire on Mamilla (now Agron) Street, in 1884 the convent of St. Claire (in the southern part of the city), in 1886 the monastery St. Vincent de Paul (on Mamilla Street), in 1888 the convent of the Soeurs de Reparatrice (near the New Gate), and in 1889 the St. Louis hospital. In 1881, with the aid of the French, the Armenian Catholics built the church of Our Lady of the Spasm in the Via Dolorosa. In 1886 the Germans built (on present-day Hillel Street) the Catholic Hospice and Schmidt College. In 1887 they dedicated the Leper Hospital (in Talbiyyeh). In the same year they separated themselves from their Anglican partners (since 1841) and established a separate Lutheran community, headed by an independent clergyman who built his house on the present-day Shivtei Yisrael Street. In 1888 the Russian royal court built the church of Gethsemane, with five onion-shaped towers, on the slopes of the Mt. of Olives.

In 1883 the Ohel Moshe and Mazkeret Moshe quarters (in present-day Agrippas Street) were built. At about that time the Battei Ungarn (Hungarian Houses) were constructed opposite Me'ah She'arim. In 1884 the Diskin orphanage was established. In the 1880s (apparently in 1889) Yemenite Jews settled in the village of Silwān (Kefar ha-Shilo'aḥ) – an unusual area in the history of Jewish settlement in Jerusalem (the place was abandoned by Jews in the disturbances of 1936–39). In 1887 the Maḥaneh Yehudah quarter was established with its large market, and two years later the Sha'arei Ẓedek quarter (Abu Baẓal) was built west of it. The number of Jerusalem's residents at the end of the decade was 43,000, including 28,000 Jews, 7,000 Muslims, 2,000 Latins (Catholics), 150 Greek Catholics, 50 Armenian Catholics, 4,000 Greek Orthodox, 510 Armenians, 100 Copts, 75 Abyssinians, 15 Syrians (Jacobites and Malkites), and 300 Protestants.

From the early 1890s and for many years thereafter, the French hostel of Notre-Dame de France was prominent northwest of the Old City. Its construction, claimed to be on the biblical Garev hill, began in 1887. Two other French institutions were established north of the Damascus Gate after 1892: the school of the "Frères" and the Church of St. Etienne of the well-known biblical institute (École Biblique; established 1890). The same year was marked by another important event, the completion of the railroad from Jaffa to Jerusalem, also a French enterprise. The French company bought the construction rights that had previously been granted by the sultan to a Jerusalem resident, Joseph *Navon. The width of the rails was one meter and its equipment was bought from surpluses of the Panama Canal company, which had gone bankrupt. The scheduled travel time (seldom attained) on the train, which left once a day, was two and one-half hours from Jerusalem to Jaffa and three hours from Jaffa to Jerusalem. The company had to struggle against numerous financial difficulties in the absence of extensive freight traffic.

In the fall of 1898 Jerusalem was placed in a turmoil by the impending visit of the German kaiser William II and his wife. In order to enable the visitors to enter the Old City by vehicle, the Turks filled up the moat of the Citadel and made a gap in the wall near the Jaffa Gate. The emperor's purpose was to dedicate the Erloeser Kirche (Redeemer Church) in the Muristan (on lands given to his father in 1869). The Turks gave the visitor another gift: a plot of land on Mt. Zion on which the Dormition Abbey was built. While in Jerusalem, the emperor granted an interview to Theodor *Herzl.

In the meantime the building of Jewish quarters continued: in the north the Simeon ha-Ẓaddik quarter (1891), the Bukharan quarter (also called Reḥovot; 1892), and Bet Yisrael (1894).

At the turn of the 20th century the population was estimated at 45,600, including 28,200 Jews (15,200 Ashkenazim), 8,760 Christians, and 8,600 Muslims. Evidently the number of inhabitants did not increase greatly, perhaps because of the difficulties raised for Jewish immigration. Despite this, the city continued to develop in every direction except (for geographical reasons) eastward, though the crest of the Mt. of Olives began to be covered with buildings, mainly churches and religious institutions, and a few private homes such as in the al-Ṭūr village. In 1900 the city comprised about 60 separate Jewish quarters, the spaces between which gradually became filled by new buildings and quarters. Paths became roads and later streets. Jaffa Road, near the city wall, acquired a distinctly urban character. Most of the changes in the city from now on occurred outside the Old City walls. Ha-Nevi'im (Prophets) Street became a main artery. Along it were the English Hospital, the German Hospital, the French St. Joseph monastery, the Rothschild Hospital, and the Italian Hospital (built in a medieval Florentine style). North of it the Ethiopians built their church. The German Catholic Hospice of St. Paul was completed opposite the Damascus Gate. On the road northward the Anglican Church of St. George was built. Within the walls, the Muristan market was completed (1905). Near the southern wall the Dormition Abbey was built in 1906.

The round building was constructed on the model of German castles. The Augusta Victoria convalescent home and hostel on Mt. Scopus was dedicated in grand style in 1910. In 1900 the American School of Oriental Research was established in Jerusalem.

Before the outbreak of World War I the Jewish quarters of Zikhron Moshe (1905), Sha'arei Ḥesed, Aḥavah, Even Yehoshu'a, Battei Varsha (Warsaw Houses), and Ruḥamah (all c. 1908) were built and Givat Sha'ul began to grow in the extreme west (1910). In 1906 Boris *Schatz established the *Bezalel Art School. The number of inhabitants in 1912 was estimated at more than 70,000, including 10,000 Muslims, 25,000 Christians (half of them Greek Orthodox), and 45,000 Jews. The number of Jews had increased by some 17,000 in the course of a dozen years, most of them settling in the New City, to which the center of gravity shifted. The area of the city reached about 5 sq. mi. (13 sq. km.) and the map of Jerusalem in 1914 already foreshadowed the development of the city (at least the western part) during the subsequent 50–60 years.

There are no authoritative statistics about the city's population at the beginning of World War I, but it was estimated at 80,000, including temporary residents. The development of the city came to a halt after Turkey's entry into the war at the end of 1914, and the only large building to be completed was, apparently, Zion Hall, presenting movie shows and theatrical performances from 1916.

The consuls of the Entente countries left Jerusalem during World War I, the U.S. and Spanish consuls remaining as neutral representatives to observe the action of the Turks. Epidemics, famine, arrests, and expulsions wreaked havoc among the inhabitants, whose number at the end of the war was estimated at only 55,000. Toward the end of 1917, as the British approached, the Turks had to abandon the city, and it was surrendered to the British. On Dec. 11, 1917, General *Allenby, commander in chief of the British forces, entered it, accompanied by French and Italian representatives.

[Walter Pinhas Pick]

SOCIO-INTELLECTUAL DEVELOPMENTS IN THE 19TH CENTURY. Although the Ashkenazi population of Jerusalem ceased to exist as a distinct community in 1721, the Ashkenazim continued to appear in the city either as residents or as tourists. In 1812 an epidemic broke out in Safed and some of its Jews, including the leaders of the community, R. *Israel of Shklov and R. *Menahem Mendel of Shklov, fled to Jerusalem. The latter decided to settle permanently in the Holy City and revive its Ashkenazi community. In 1816 he established his home in the city, and around him was formed a small nucleus of about a dozen disciples of Elijah of Vilna, who quickly set up a center for learning and prayer in the yeshivah of Ḥayyim b. Moshe Attar, which was placed at their disposal by the Sephardi community. The latter, which was well established, took the handful of Ashkenazim under its protection since officially its leaders served as the legitimate representatives of the Jews vis-à-vis the ruling authorities. The Ashkenazim were still persecuted by the Muslim residents, who regarded them as the inheritors of the debts from 100 years previously. Even now the Ashkenazim were compelled to don Sephardi dress so that their origin would not be recognized. Contemporary evidence shows that the Ashkenazim, and their head Menahem Mendel, prayed in the Sephardi synagogue and even had to use a Sephardi to complete their own *minyan*. This situation continued until the 1830s, when the numerous calamities suffered by Safed – epidemics, robberies, and above all the earthquake of 1837 – forced its Jews to flee to Jerusalem, and the spiritual leadership and the major center of the Ashkenazi community in Ereẓ Israel was transferred from Galilee to the Holy City.

From this period on the social, spiritual, and economic life of the Jerusalem Jewish community began to be more firmly based. The dominant figure of the Ashkenazi community of the 1860s was R. Isaiah Bardaki (see above). On the other hand the rabbi of the Sephardi community secured official recognition from the authorities in 1840, in the form of the title *ḥakham bashi* (see above). The situation of the Ashkenazi community was also eased. Its efforts and diligence bore fruit, and Muhammad Ali announced that the debts of its ancestors to the Arab creditors were void. The homogeneity of the first settlers was thus destroyed and a meaningful pluralism began. While the first nucleus was composed mainly of *Perushim*, disciples of the Vilna Gaon, the immigration to Palestine now brought additional elements, such as the members of "Hod" (Holland-Deutschland) and "Ohavei Zion" (lovers of Zion), some of whom adhered to the spirit of European culture. This immigration brought scholars, entrepreneurs, and educators such as R. Yehosef *Schwarz, Eliezer Bergman, and Isaac Prag. From 1840 the ḥasidic community began to consolidate itself in the city. Its leaders were Israel *Bak and his son Nisan, who were opposed to the leadership of the *Perushim*. This pluralism led to the emergence of separate social groups, which originated from a particular district or town and maintained independent **kolelim* that competed for independent **ḥalukkah*.

With the increasing strength of the Ashkenazim, there was growing friction between them and the Sephardim. Apart from linguistic, historical, cultural, and halakhic differences between the communities, economic and political bases of contention were added, and a fierce struggle for positions of strength within the community developed. With the aid of the foreign consuls who were interested in strengthening the position of the Ashkenazim and had them under their protection, and with the assistance of European Jewry, the Ashkenazim were released from Sephardi suzerainty. The custom of transferring heirless legacies to the treasury of the Sephardi community was abolished; the Ashkenazim set up a separate cemetery and even established independent *sheḥitah*; and they reached regular agreements with the Sephardim regarding arrangements for collecting *ḥalukkah* funds. Thus the Sephardi community lost a considerable income, although they incurred many debts as representatives of the Jewish community vis-à-vis the authorities, being responsible for handing over various taxes and other unofficial expenditures connected with the right of passage to the Western Wall, maintenance of Rachel's Tomb, etc.

However, in day-to-day life social and cultural relationships were formed between the various communities. It cannot be said that there were breakthroughs in the communal boundaries, but personal contact made its impact. This was especially the case among the younger generation, to whom the world of the East was not as strange and foreign as it was to their fathers, and some of them even tried to mingle. In the course of time mixed marriages between Ashkenazim and Sephardim began to occur. There were also reciprocal influences in language, customs, and folklore. Ashkenazim would pray in Sephardi synagogues and even wore Oriental clothing when there was no longer any need for this. Though these manifestations were not very common, they were significant in light of the deep differences between the communities.

It would be incorrect to assume, however, that the Sephardi community was entirely homogeneous. There were bitter struggles within it against attempts to break off and create separate communities. Especially well known is the struggle of the Mughrebis. Among the other communities the Georgians, and later the Bukharans, should be mentioned. In general, the power of the *ḥakham bashi* was decisive, and the authorities granted legal validity to his judgments. The *bet din* was composed of nine *ḥakhamim*. Even judgments of corporal punishment are known to have been handed down. The Ashkenazim had a separate *bet din*, which is first mentioned after the arrival of R. Samuel *Salant in Jerusalem in 1841. From that time and for many decades onward he led the community, R. Meir *Auerbach serving together with him as *av bet din* and rabbi of the community.

One of the major problems concerning the population of Jerusalem was that of education. The children and youth received their education at the *ḥeder* and the *talmud torah*, which were modeled on Eastern European institutions, or in the *kuttāb* (Ar. boys' schools), the Oriental counterpart. The older members of the community studied regularly in the *battei midrash* of their *kolelim*. The purpose of those who came to settle in the holy city was "to worship God on His holy mountain," to be free of all material concerns, and to devote themselves to purely spiritual matters. However, with the increase in the number of Jews and the growth of a young generation which had been born in Jerusalem, it was difficult for large numbers to maintain this ideal. A number of institutions and individuals – mainly outside the *yishuv* – took up the question of productivization. Efforts were made to teach young people handicrafts and even a modicum of general secular knowledge. For this purpose Montefiore, Frankl, the *Alliance Israélite Universelle, and others tried to establish boys' and girls' schools in Jerusalem, but their attempts were received with violent hostility and fierce opposition. Those who opposed these plans feared that their religious aims would be frustrated, basing their opposition on the experiences of the Haskalah in Europe.

The old *yishuv*, however, did not stagnate. With the increase in immigration and the maturing of the second generation of settlers, a new type of leader arose, public workers, scholars, and publicists such as Yosef *Rivlin, Israel Dov *Frumkin, and Abraham Moses Luncz, who were more responsive to contemporary problems. A local press was established, including *Ḥavaẓẓelet, Ha-Levanon, Yehudah vi-Yrushalayim*, and *Sha'arei Ẓiyyon*, which was considered the organ of the Sephardi community. The establishment of new neighborhoods outside the walls prepared the ground for new initiatives. Attention was given to the solution of economic problems. Mutual aid programs, which were highly developed among Jerusalem's inhabitants in the form of dozens of charitable institutions, began in certain instances to assume a character other than that of mere material assistance. Attempts were made to engage in social and cultural activities. A typical example was the Tiferet Yerushalayim company founded by ḥasidim.

The Jewish population of Jerusalem toward the end of the 19th century could be divided into three principal groups: one promoting extreme adherence to the old way of life without changing anything; the second, the moderates, practical people, tradesmen, and the like, who were devoted to religious tradition but willing to absorb new ideas; and the third, a more limited group of *maskilim* who had been educated in Palestine or abroad or new settlers such as Eliezer *Ben-Yehuda, who advocated revolutionary ideas.

[Joshua Kaniel (Mershine)]

Under British Rule (1917–1948)

In the second week of December 1917, the Turkish troops and officials began to evacuate the city. On December 9, the mayor, a member of the Husseini family, walked with a white flag to the hill overlooking Liftā (Mei-Neftoah) to surrender it to the British, but found only two privates who were looking for water. The surrender of the city was formally effected only on December 11, after a last battle with the retreating Turks near Sheikh Jarrāḥ, when General Allenby, commander in chief of the Egyptian Expeditionary Force, made his official entry. He entered the Old City on foot through the Jaffa Gate, and his proclamation, which made no mention of the *Balfour Declaration, was read from the steps of the Citadel in English, French, Italian, Arabic, and Hebrew.

In the conditions of war, especially with the normal wheat supplies from Transjordan and overseas cut off, Jerusalem was plagued by starvation, which the British military authorities tried to ameliorate by food rationing. The first military governor of Jerusalem was Ronald Storrs, until then Oriental secretary to the British residency in Cairo. No sanitary arrangements whatsoever existed in the Old City and hardly any in the newer quarters outside the walls. A British architect was brought in to report on the condition of the buildings in the Temple area, which the Turks and Muslim authorities had allowed to fall into neglect. On July 1, 1920, the military administration, officially called the Occupied Enemy Territory Administration, was replaced by a civil administration under a *high commissioner who resided in Jerusalem. The first to hold office was Sir Herbert *Samuel, whose term lasted until 1925.

Jerusalem was a conglomerate of districts and neighborhoods, each with its own character. The Old City, within the walls, contained the holy places – the Temple area with the Dome of the Rock and al-Aqṣā Mosque, the Church of the Holy Sepulcher and the Via Dolorosa, and the Western Wall. To the west new quarters had developed in the later Ottoman period along Jaffa Road to Maḥaneh Yehudah, spreading north to religious quarters around Me'ah She'arim and south to the railway station and the German (*Templer) Colony. To the east were various Christian establishments and the site of the Hebrew University on Mount Scopus; and, dotted around, various newer quarters – some Jewish, some Christian, some Muslim, and some mixed, such as Bak'a, the Greek Colony, and the Armenian Colony. The city was slowly recovering from the setback caused by World War I. The 1922 census showed a population of only 62,578, of whom 33,971 were Jews, 14,699 were Christians, 13,413 Muslims, and 495 others. The Jewish population of Jerusalem, estimated in 1910 at about 45,000 (over one-half of the Jews in Ereẓ Israel), had been reduced by the end of the war, through expulsions, disease, and maladministration, to 26,600.

The civil government soon set up administrative institutions in Jerusalem, including a Supreme Court (composed of a British chief justice, one other British judge, and four Palestinian judges). Storrs founded the Pro-Jerusalem Society (later dissolved) for the preservation and embellishment of the city and a school of music (later presented to the Jewish community). In 1922 a British-French arbitration tribunal fixed the sum payable by the Palestine government for the Jaffa-Jerusalem Railway, owned by a French concessionary, at 565,000 Egyptian pounds. In the same year houses and buildings that had been taken over by the government were restored to their previous owners. The Hebrew University on Mt. Scopus was formally opened by Lord Balfour in 1925. In 1928 the concession for the supply of electricity (within a radius of 12 mi. (20 km.) of the city) was taken over by the Jerusalem Electric and Public Services Corporation Ltd. (with British and Jewish capital).

One of the first acts of the British administration was to appoint a new municipal council consisting of two Moslems, one of whom acted as mayor, two Christians, and two Jews, one of whom, Yiẓḥak Eliachar, was deputy mayor. In 1924 a new council, with three members from each community, was appointed. In 1924 the municipal council was elected for the first time – with four members from each community. In 1934, under the Municipal Councils Ordinance of that year, the city was divided into twelve constituencies, each electing one councillor. Six of the constituencies were Arab and six Jewish, although 75% of the taxpayers were Jews. The government always appointed a Muslim as mayor, despite the Jewish majority, on grounds of precedent, with one Christian Arab and one Jewish deputy. There was also a community council, *Va'ad ha-Kehillah*, representing both Ashkenazim and Sephardim, to look after specifically Jewish affairs, especially in the religious sphere. It was first elected in 1918 on the initiative of the Zionist Organization's Palestine Office. From 1932 it was elected under regulations issued by *Keneset Israel, the representative body of the *yishuv*.

The progress of the country, due partly to the ordered administration and mainly to Jewish immigration and development, was shared by Jerusalem. This was reflected in the 1931 census figures, which showed a population of 90,503, including 51,222 Jews, 19,894 Muslims, 19,335 Christians, and 52 others. The economy of Jerusalem, however, remained based on the city's being an administrative, religious, political, and educational center, industry continuing only on a small scale. Jerusalem was the seat of the Zionist Executive (later the Executive of the Jewish Agency), the Keren Hayesod and the Jewish National Fund, the Va'ad Le'ummi (national council of the *yishuv*), the Chief Rabbinate, the Muslim Supreme Council (established in 1921), and the Higher Arab Committee (1936). The residence of the high commissioner for Palestine (which included Transjordan) was in the Augusta Victoria hospital building on Mt. Scopus until it was severely damaged by the 1927 earthquake. The Russian Compound in the center of the city became an important administrative area, its buildings being taken over for police headquarters, the central prison, the law courts, and the government hospital.

Water supply to Jerusalem was a constant problem during this period. It was dependent mainly on the storage of rainwater runoff from the rooftops into cisterns dug out in the foundation rock. This system led to serious shortages in years of drought, and there were years when water had to be brought up from the coast by train (as in 1928). Matters were improved somewhat in 1918, when the army repaired the pipeline from Solomon's Pools, a short distance outside the city, to a reservoir in what is now the Romemah quarter. In 1920 this line was extended, and pumping machinery was installed at Solomon's Pools to increase the supply. Water was added from the ʿAyn Fāra springs in 1928, from the ʿAyn Fawwār springs in 1931, and from the more distant Wadi Qilt (on the way to Jericho) in 1935. It was only in that year, however, that Jerusalem's perennial dependence on the vagaries of rainfall was finally solved by the construction of a pipeline from Ra's al-ʿAyn on the Coastal Plain, replacing the old supply from five different sources and halving the cost of water.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE CITY. As the Jewish population increased – with a fillip due to the move from the Old City, as a result of the 1929 and 1936–39 attacks on them – new suburbs were built, some adjoining existing built-up areas and others less continuous (depending on where land could be bought). In the course of the years they formed one conurbation, including Romemah (1921); Talpiyyot (1922); Beit ha-Kerem

(1923); Mekor Ḥayyim, Mekor Barukh, Reḥavyah, Kiryat Moshe, Naḥalat Aḥim (1924); Bayit va-Gan, Maḥanayim, Sanhedriyyah (1925); Kiryat Shemu'el (1928); Ge'ullah and Kerem Avraham (1929); and Arnonah and Tel Arzah (1931). The character of these quarters was determined by the groups by or for whom they were established. Some were inhabited by Orthodox Jews, who could thus maintain undisturbed their religious practices and the quiet of the Sabbath. Others were established by professional groups or teachers, such as Beit ha-Kerem. Small workshops were concentrated in the commercial center (the center of the town) facing the Old City walls. Reḥavyah was designed for white-collar workers and people in the professions. By and large the character of each section was maintained, though, as they grew into one another, the social divisions were blurred. At the same time, the outward appearance of Jerusalem gradually changed in response to economic pressures, the increasing population, and the rising land value. Sir Ronald Storrs insisted on all buildings, private as well as public, being built of or faced with Jerusalem stone, which gives the city so much of its character. In the 1930s and 1940s, some relaxation was permitted, owing to the high cost of stone, so that in Reḥavyah, for example, some houses were built in concrete. Further afield, several kilometers from the center of Jerusalem, were Atarot (1920), Neveh Ya'akov (1924), and Ramat Raḥel (1925/26). At Atarot (Qalandiya) a small airport was built. The kibbutz of Ramat Raḥel, between Jerusalem and Bethlehem, was of special interest in its being the first attempt at combining agriculture with urban services (fruit growing with a laundry and bakery for the Jerusalem population). It also provided workmen for the city and ultimately became an extension of Talpiyyot and Arnonah.

Jerusalem was transformed from the neglected, poverty-stricken provincial town of Turkish times to a capital city. Among the public buildings erected in the years of British administration are the Pontifical (Jesuit) Biblical Institute (1927); the nearby French Consulate; the Catholic Church of All the Nations at the Garden of Gethsemane (1924); St. Andrew's Church (Scottish; 1927); the Nathan Straus Health Center (1928); the Jewish National and University Library on Mt. Scopus (1930); the Government House, later the headquarters of the UN Truce Supervision Organization, municipal offices, St. Peter in Gallicantu Church (1931); the Jewish Agency Compound (1932), the YMCA, with Jerusalem's first swimming pool (1933), the King David Hotel, the first of international standard in the city (1930); the Central Post Office; the Hadassah Hospital on Mt. Scopus; and the Rockefeller Archaeological Museum facing the northeast corner of the Old City wall (1938). Between 1938 and 1942 the al-Aqṣā Mosque on the Temple Mount was embellished with pillars of carrara marble, a gift from Mussolini. The earthquake in 1927 did considerable damage to the Augusta Victoria hospital on Mt. Scopus and to the Basilica of the Holy Sepulcher.

In 1936 the Palestine Broadcasting Service began operations, with offices and buildings in the city and the transmitting station in Ramallah. The Hebrew daily newspaper *Haaretz* appeared at first in Jerusalem but later moved to Tel Aviv. An older, established Jerusalem daily, *Do'ar ha-Yom*, had already closed down. On the other hand, the *Palestine Post* (later the *Jerusalem Post*), founded in 1931, remained in Jerusalem.

ARAB-JEWISH CLASHES. The development of the city was accompanied by disturbances that developed into violence against the Jews and the National Home provisions of the Mandate. The first outbreak occurred during Passover 1920. Despite the presence of a considerable number of British troops in the country, heavy attacks accompanied by looting were directed against Jews in Jerusalem. Before order was restored, five Jews had been killed and 211 wounded, including several women and children; four Arabs were killed and 21 wounded. The Arab mobs had been incited by rumors that the Jews intended to take hold of the Muslim holy places. The 1921 riots in Jaffa and some of the Jewish settlements did not reach Jerusalem, but the creation of the Supreme Muslim Council by government order in that year and the election of Hajj Amin al Husseini as its president promised trouble. He had earlier been appointed mufti of Jerusalem, over more moderate candidates, by the high commissioner in the vain hope that the responsibility and experience of office would moderate his violent anti-Zionist and anti-Jewish feeling. He controlled the Muslim religious endowments, the waqf, and enjoyed the right to appoint and dismiss judges and other officers of the Shariʿa courts and the patronage that went with these powers, though the salaries of the Shari'ʿa judges were paid by the government. A more moderate Arab group, the National Defense Party, controlled by the influential Nashashibi family, was also formed in Jerusalem.

Signs of trouble, however, were not wanting. In 1925 a general strike of Arabs, which extended to Jerusalem, was organized in sympathy with the Arab revolt in Syria against French rule; again in 1926 there was a strike in protest against the official visit to Jerusalem of the French high commissioner in Syria, de Jouvenel. Quiet, nevertheless, was maintained until 1928. On Sept. 23, 1928, on the eve of the Day of Atonement, Jews introduced a screen to divide the men from the women during the service held at the Western Wall, but, to preserve the "status quo," the police forcibly removed it during the following day's services. In the name of the Supreme Muslim Council, the mufti declared that "the Jews' aim is to take possession of the Mosque of al-Aqṣā gradually." A General Muslim Conference met, presided over by the mufti. In the next few months building operations were carried out near the city wall, which the Jews saw as intentional interference with their praying. The heightened tension, with demonstration and counter-demonstration at the wall, burst into flame on August 23, 1929. Attacks by Arabs on Jews throughout the country, including Jerusalem (though more seriously in Hebron and Safed), lasted until August 29, when they were put down with the aid of troops rushed in from Egypt after 133 Jews and 116 Arabs had been killed and 339 Jews and 323 Arabs wounded in Palestine (most of the Arabs by troops or police). Jewish merchants abandoned the Old City and established the new commercial center outside the walls. After a British Commission of Inquiry, chaired by Sir Walter Shaw, reported on the political background of the outburst, an international commission followed (in 1930), but no agreement regarding the Western Wall could be reached. At the end of 1931 a Muslim Conference, attended by 145 delegates from all over the Muslim world, met in Jerusalem. Its public proceedings were not political and did not lead, as had been feared, to disturbances, but they further strengthened the mufti's position.

Tension remained high. On Oct. 13, 1933, the Arabs declared a general strike. A demonstration was staged at the government offices in Jerusalem, though prohibited by the government, and was dispersed by troops. Trouble spread to other parts of the country, and on October 28 and 29 there was renewed rioting in Jerusalem, but with one profound change: whereas the 1920–1921, and 1929 riots had been directed only against the Jews, they were now aimed against the government as well.

In 1936 troubles broke out again in Jerusalem, as well as in other parts of the country. A Supreme Arab Committee (later known as the Arab Higher Committee) was established, with the mufti as president. It resolved on a general strike and the nonpayment of taxes until Jewish immigration was stopped. Arab shops were closed in Jerusalem, as elsewhere, with those Arabs who refused to join being intimidated. The strike and more active disturbances continued until the arrival in Jerusalem of the Royal Commission, with Lord Peel as chairman, on Nov. 11, 1936. An atmosphere of tension nonetheless remained. At this time the population of Jerusalem was 125,000, of whom 76,000 were Jews.

In its report the Royal Commission recommended the partition of Palestine into two separate states – Arab and Jewish – with a new Mandate covering Jerusalem and Bethlehem (over an enclave "extending from a point north of Jerusalem to a point south of Bethlehem") with access to the sea "provided by a corridor extending to the north of the main road and to the south of the railway, including the towns of Lydda and Ramleh, and terminating at Jaffa." The policy of the Balfour Declaration was not to apply to this enclave, and "the only 'official language' should be that of the Mandatory Administration." Its revenues were to be provided by customs, duties, and direct taxation, and any deficit was to be made good by the British Parliament. Arabs and Jews in Jerusalem could opt for citizenship in the Arab or the Jewish state.

The Arab campaign of sabotage, intimidation, and murder, increasingly directed against moderately inclined Arabs, continued throughout 1937, with occasional Jewish reprisals. Jewish buses were bombed, and the potash convoy from the Dead Sea to Jerusalem was attacked. For several days in October, a curfew was imposed in the municipal area of Jerusalem. There were also attacks on Jewish transport on the main road connecting Jerusalem with the coast. Jewish reprisals culminated in November in large-scale attacks on Arabs and an Arab bus in Jerusalem by the *Irgun Ẓeva'i Le'ummi (IẒL). To ensure the safety of worshipers at the Western Wall, a new road was opened through the Old City, avoiding the mainly non-Jewish quarters. Following an assassination attempt on the British inspector-general of the Palestine police force and the murder by Arab extremists of Jews and moderate Arabs, the Arab Higher Committee was declared unlawful and Hajj Amin al-Husseini was deprived of his office as president of the Supreme Muslim Council and his membership on the waqf committee. He fled to Lebanon; the Arab mayor of Jerusalem was deported to the Seychelles Islands together with other members of the Arab High Committee; and Daniel *Auster, the Jewish deputy mayor, was appointed by the government to act as mayor – the first Jew to head the Jerusalem municipality. (In the following year a new Muslim mayor was appointed.)

Conditions worsened in 1938 with an intensified campaign of murder, intimidation, and sabotage. The Arab gang warfare now gradually developed on organized and, to some extent, coordinated lines, with still only isolated Jewish reprisals. Constant attacks were made on Jewish traffic to Jerusalem from the coast and armed robberies multiplied in the surrounding Arab villages by marauding parties seeking food, money, and lodging. Uncooperative Arabs and members of the Nashashibi family and party were murdered, the party having withdrawn from the Arab Higher Committee. In October, as the Government Report for 1938 states, "the Old City, which had become the rallying point of bandits and from which acts of violence, murder and intimidation were being organized and perpetuated with impunity, was fully reoccupied by troops" in an "operation of considerable magnitude." In the same year the British government sent out the Palestine Partition Commission (known, after its chairman, as the Woodhead Commission). It produced three plans, all providing for the Jerusalem area to remain under Mandate and outside the proposed Arab and Jewish states. Jewish proposals for the inclusion of "parts of Jerusalem" (reference being to the parts of the new town outside the Old City) were rejected, and in the end none of the proposals was adopted.

WORLD WAR II AND AFTER. After the outbreak of World War II, Jerusalem became a military headquarters. The German inhabitants of the quarter known as the German Colony were interned or expelled, and their houses were taken over by civilian and military personnel, while other public buildings in the city belonging to German institutions were taken over by the government or army. Before Britain's entry into World War II, its new anti-Zionist policy, announced in the White Paper of May 1939, which severely restricted Jewish immigration and land purchase (see *White Papers), led to mass protests and to violent actions by the dissident Jewish IẒL which, in May 1939, set fire to the Department of Migration. These actions of violence continued until the outbreak of the war. In 1944 difficulties developed over the Jerusalem mayoralty, when the mayor (a Muslim) died, and the Jewish deputy mayor, who was appointed in his place, claimed full mayoralty, the population in the municipal area being estimated at 32,039 Muslims (21%), 27,849 Christians, and 92,143 Jews (61%). In the absence of agreement, the government finally appointed a Municipal Commission, all of whose members were British officials.

After 1944, when IẒL and *Loḥamei Ḥerut Israel (Leḥi) renewed their anti-government violence, Jerusalem was particularly involved. Many government buildings were blown up, culminating in July 1946 in an explosion that destroyed a wing of the King David Hotel housing government and military departments, with heavy loss of life.

In November 1947, when the United Nations decided on the partition of Palestine into a Jewish and an Arab state, it also called for the internationalization of Jerusalem as a "corpus separatum." The Jewish authorities reluctantly accepted this, as well as other parts of the UN decision, but the Arabs rejected it. The Trusteeship Council of the UN appointed representatives of Australia, China, France, Mexico, the United States, and Britain to work out plans for the administration of the area, but the UN General Assembly failed to reach a decision. In the meantime, the city, nominally still under British rule, was lapsing into anarchy. The Old City, including its Jewish population, was cut off from the new, while the areas outside the walls were divided between the Jews and the Arabs in warring camps. The British forces enclosed themselves against attacks by IẒL and Leḥi in barbed wire areas in the New City cleared of Jewish inhabitants (these areas were known by the Jews as "Bevingrad," after the unpopular British foreign secretary). Jewish Jerusalem was put under virtual siege by Arab attacks on supply convoys on the one road from the coast, while the British troops did little or nothing to prevent the assaults. To cope with the emergency, the Jewish Agency and the Va'ad Le'ummi established the Committee of the National Institutions for Matters Pertaining to Jerusalem (shortened to the Jerusalem Emergency Committee), headed by Dov *Joseph. In April the six Jewish members of the municipal council issued a proclamation to the Jewish citizens announcing that they had assumed the functions of a municipality for the area under Jewish control.

Arab Jerusalem did not suffer similarly as it was open to the Arab-populated parts of the country to the north, south, and east. Part of the Jewish Agency building in the center of the city was blown up by Arabs, with loss of lives, and the offices of the *Palestine Post* and a large residential and shopping block in Ben Yehudah St. were blown up, the last two almost certainly by anti-Jewish terrorists in the British Police. The nearby Jewish settlements of Atarot and Neveh Ya'akov to the north of Jerusalem, surrounded by an Arab population, were abandoned. Deir Yāsīn, an Arab village near the western outskirts of Jerusalem, from which attacks were launched on the adjoining Jewish areas, was attacked by IẒL and Leḥi, with 254 of its inhabitants reported killed. A few days later a Jewish convoy taking staff to the Hadassah Hospital on Mt. Scopus was attacked and destroyed, with 78 doctors, nurses, and others killed. This occurred only some 200 yards from the British military post that was responsible for safety on the road. The water pipeline from the coastal plain at Ra's al-ʿAyn was cut. This presented the most serious threat to the Jews of Jerusalem, while it did not affect the Arabs, since a very large proportion of the Jews lived in houses built after construction of the pipeline and therefore lacked cisterns to catch the winter rains. Fortunately, a farsighted water engineer had earlier advised the Jewish authorities to make a survey of all Jewish-inhabited houses with cisterns and fill and seal them. When the pipeline was cut this supply, rationed and distributed by water trucks throughout the siege – even under continuous Arab shelling – saved Jewish Jerusalem.

Mt. Scopus with the Hebrew University and Hadassah Hospital and the adjoining Arab village, ʿIsawiyya, became a Jewish-held enclave cut off from the New City, as did the Jewish quarter of the Old City and areas to the south. Contact with these areas was occasionally possible only by troop-protected convoys. The streets dividing the Jewish and Arab areas became front lines, barbed-wired positions, with posts on the Jewish side manned by members of the Haganah, IẒL, and Leḥi. Control of the Arab side passed to armed Arab groups and then to the Transjordan army, the British-officered Arab Legion, which had not been withdrawn in spite of British promises. At midnight May 14/15, 1948, when the last of the British forces and government withdrew from Jerusalem, thus ending the mandatory rule that had lasted since 1917, the Jews took control of the government buildings in the center of the town, including the general post office, the police headquarters and the broadcasting studios.

The Arab siege, however, continued for another two months, until it was broken by the construction of an alternate route through the hills from the coast (popularly called the "Burma Road") and the laying of a new water pipeline. The whole of western Jerusalem and the Mt. Scopus enclave were in Jewish hands, but Arab guns shelled the Jewish areas, killing 170 civilians and injuring a thousand. Food and water were still strictly rationed and the population was without electricity and fuel. To keep the bakeries going, oil was removed from all houses possessing central heating systems. As the Jews were cut off from the ancient cemetery on the Mt. of Olives, a temporary Jewish burial place was prepared near the Valley of the Cross, where a tiny landing strip was also set up for the occasional Piper Cub planes that flew Jewish leaders in and out.

When the Arab countries invaded Palestine, Egyptian and Iraqi troops approached the outskirts of Jerusalem, joining the Transjordanianian Arab Legion units. Ramat Raḥel changed hands several times in fierce fighting before the Arab forces were finally repelled. Meanwhile the Arab Legion closed in on the Jewish quarter of the Old City. On May 19, 1948, the Palmah breached the wall at the Zion Gate but had to withdraw. After intense fighting, with Jews and Arabs confronting one another at a distance of only a few yards and Jewish supplies of food and ammunition almost exhausted, the Jewish quarter of the Old City surrendered on May 27. Some 1,300 elderly men, women, and children, and wounded men were evacuated to the New City and others were taken prisoner. A general cease-fire for the Jerusalem area was proclaimed on June 11, 1948, leaving East Jerusalem, including the Old City, to the Arabs in Transjordanian hands and West Jerusalem in Israel hands. Jerusalem being still under siege, the Israeli Provisional Government remained for the time being in Tel Aviv.

[Semah Cecil Hyman]

The Divided City (1948–1967)

For some time the position of Jerusalem remained uncertain. The city was divided in two by a cease-fire line running roughly north-south tangentially to the western wall of the Old City, the relations between the two sides being regulated by agreement between the local commanders of the Arab Legion and the Israel Defense Forces. A resolution dealing with the temporary administration of the city had been adopted by a special subcommittee of the UN General Assembly but was not carried by the assembly itself. Egyptian troops still threatened the city from their positions in the Bethlehem area. Despite the establishment of the IDF as the new state's only armed force, IẒL and Leḥi units continued to exist in Jerusalem. On July 7 a special agreement for the demilitarization of the Scopus area was concluded between Israel and Transjordan.

During the ten days of fighting that followed the expiry of the first truce on July 7, 1948, the Israel forces broke the Egyptian lines and took Ein Karem (Ein Kerem) on the western outskirts of the city. On the night of July 16/17 the IDF nearly broke into the Old City from Mount Zion, while IẒL and Leḥi forces breached the New Gate, but they were forced to withdraw a few hours before the second truce went into effect.

Count *Bernadotte, the UN mediator, had proposed on June 27 from his headquarters in Rhodes that Jerusalem be handed over to Transjordan. The Provisional Government of Israel had categorically rejected the proposal. On July 26, two days after his arrival in the country, he proposed the demilitarization of the city, but this was also unacceptable to Israel, as it would have left the Jewish population defenseless. On August 1, to regularize the position, the Provisional Government declared Jerusalem to be under martial law and appointed Dov Joseph as military governor. Bernadotte set up the UN Truce Supervision Organization, with its seat in the former Government House. The assassination of Bernadotte on Sept. 17 impelled the government to order the disbandment of the IẒL and Leḥi units, putting all armed forces in Jerusalem under IDF command. In operation Yo'av (Oct. 15–22) the Egyptian forces in the south were isolated and withdrew, being replaced by the Arab Legion. On Dec. 13, 1948, the Transjordanian parliament confirmed the annexation of the Arab-controlled areas of Palestine and a week later the Transjordanian government appointed a new mufti of Jerusalem.

The population of the Israel-held area of Jerusalem took part in the elections to the Constituent Assembly (later called the First *Knesset) in January 1949, and at the beginning of February the provisional government announced that Jerusalem was no longer to be considered occupied territory. The Knesset held its first sessions (Feb. 14–17) in the hall at Jewish Agency headquarters, where the members took the oath, Chaim *Weizmann was elected president of the state, and the Transition Law (the "Minor Constitution") was adopted. According to article 8 of the armistice agreement with Jordan (April 3, 1949), a joint committee was to be set up to make arrangements for, inter alia, the renewal of the operations of The Hebrew University and the Hadassah Hospital on Mount Scopus and free access to the Jewish holy places in the Old City, the ancient Jewish cemetery on the Mount of Olives, and the institutions on Jordanian-held Mount Scopus. However, although these matters had been agreed upon in principle by both sides, the article remained a dead letter, as Jordan refused to cooperate.

When the Jerusalem issue was again discussed by the UN General Assembly in November 1949, the Israel government opposed the idea of internationalization but offered to sign an agreement with the United Nations guaranteeing the security of all holy places under its jurisdiction. On Dec. 10, however, the Assembly approved a resolution calling for international control over the whole city of Jerusalem and its environs and charged the Trusteeship Council to draft a statute for an international regime for the city. The Israel government reacted vigorously. On Dec. 13 it announced in the Knesset its decision to speed up the transfer of its offices to Jerusalem, proposed that the Knesset go back there, and proclaimed that Jerusalem was and would remain Israel's eternal capital. On Dec. 26 the Knesset resumed its sittings in the capital, meeting in a modest building (the Froumine building) in the center of town that had been erected for use by a bank. Both Jordan and Israel continued to oppose internationalization and the proposal was ultimately, in effect, dropped.

For a period of 19 years, Jerusalem was a divided city. In early 1948 its population was estimated at 165,000: 100,000 Jews, 40,000 Muslims, and 25,000 Christians. The city's area was about 10 sq. mi. (28 sq. km.). The battles waged in and around Jerusalem for three-quarters of a year; the UN decision to internationalize the city, the transfer of the Arab center of gravity to Amman, and the establishment of the de facto seat of the government and the legislature in Tel Aviv were the causes of a precipitous decline in population on both sides of the front. The population of the Israel side (West Jerusalem) was estimated at only about 69,000 (including 931 Christians and 28 Muslims) in 1949, and that of the Jordanian side at about 46,000 as late as 1956.

EAST JERUSALEM. In May 1948, East Jerusalem was occupied by the Arab Legion. Its first act was the destruction of the Jewish Quarter, including almost all the synagogues (Ḥurvah, Nisan Bak, etc.) and Jewish institutions (*Battei Maḥaseh*, Yeshivat Porat Yosef, etc.). The ancient cemetery on the slope of the Mount of Olives was desecrated. Jerusalem was proclaimed the "second capital" of the Hashemite Kingdom of

Jordan; it also became a district capital. East Jerusalem was entirely cut off from an approach to the Mediterranean coast, and the conversion of the former British military airfield of Qalandiya into a civil airport for the town alleviated its isolation only slightly.

East Jerusalem now turned to the east bank of the Jordan, through which all its relations with the world at large were conducted. In the 1960s a direct road to Amman, via Abdullah Bridge, was added to the old Jericho-Salt road. Traffic to the north via the Sheikh Jarrāḥ quarter was dominated by Israel forces. This situation was slightly improved by the construction of a new road that connected the Mt. Scopus area to the vicinity of the Rockefeller Museum through the upper Kidron Valley, thus diverting the daily traffic from the border region. In 1948 East Jerusalem had been completely cut off from the Bethlehem-Hebron region and a very steep and tortuous road was built through Abu-Dīs, the lower Kidron Valley, and Beit-Sāḥūr. It was only after a few years that an improved, though also steep and tortuous road, was constructed from Jerusalem to Bethlehem, via Raʾs-Maqābir and Ṣūr-Bāhir. It was 10 mi. (17 km.) long, in comparison with the old 3 mi.- (5 km.-) long road through Talpiyyot, which was dominated by Israel.

The Jordanian-held part of Jerusalem had no electricity for several years until a new power station was built in Shaʾfāt to replace the original one near the German Colony, which was in Israeli hands. Water supply remained very poor after the line from Raʾs al-ʿAyn (Rosh ha-Ayin) was cut off, but a limited quantity was supplied by springs in the northeast of the city, and a narrow water pipe was later laid from Solomon's Pools. The economy of East Jerusalem was based almost entirely on tourism, pilgrimages, and religious and research institutions. The only large factory was the cigarette works at al-ʿAzariyya. The Jordanian government was located in Amman, and Arab Jerusalem did not wield much political influence. Due to geographical conditions (the barrier of the Kidron Valley and its extensions), the city hardly developed to the south and only a little toward the east (Silwān, Raʾs-al-ʿAmūd, al-Azariyya, Abu-Dīs) and on the slopes of the Mount of Olives. On the other hand, there was much construction on the northern side, and the area between the Old City's northern wall and Wadi Joz (Jawz) became partly a shopping district (Saladin Street, Jericho Road, and their extensions) and largely a crowded residential district. The residential area of East Jerusalem, the greater part of which was not within the boundaries of the city itself, extended over a length of 7 mi. (15 km.) through Shaʿfāt, Beit Ḥanūn, and Qalandiya, almost reaching the outskirts of al-Bīra. The number of inhabitants, however, never surpassed 65,000, of whom about 25,000 lived within the walls of the Old City.

The relatively small number of luxury buildings erected in the eastern part of the city under the Jordanian administration included several large hotels, the largest of which – the Intercontinental – was built at the southern extremity of the Mount of Olives. In 1963, the "eastern" YMCA was erected on the Nablus Road. Government House was situated on Saladin Street; the St. John Hospital for eye diseases and, next to it, the French Hospital and the British consulate-general were erected in Sheikh Jarrāḥ. The Dominus Flevit Church was built on the slope of the Mount of Olives (1953). Arab refugees were rarely seen in the city itself, except for the area of the improvised buildings in the destroyed Jewish Quarter and the remains of the German Compound. Their camps were situated in the south near Bethlehem (Dahīsha) and in the north (Kafr ʿAqab) and northeast (ʿAnatā). Because of the Israel enclave on Mt. Scopus, which dominated all principal roads to the town, and the proximity of the frontier to all the important parts of the city, a sense of uneasiness hovered over East Jerusalem throughout the period. The presence of the Jordanian army was felt everywhere and there were occasional clashes between sections of the local population and the Arab Legion soldiers. The outstanding events in the city during the period included the assassination of King Abdullah (1951), the fire in the Church of the Holy Sepulcher (1953), and the visit of Pope Paul VI (1964).

WEST JERUSALEM. The cessation of hostilities and the conclusion of the armistice agreement with Jordan left the Israel sector of Jerusalem situated at the eastern extremity of a "corridor" that was almost devoid of Jewish settlements. To the north, east, and south, hostile Arab territory surrounded the city. At first the city's population was diminishing and its political future was obscure. The Jewish city began to recover quickly, however, when it was proclaimed as the seat of the Knesset and the capital of the State of Israel at the end of 1949. Water supply was resumed, at first through an emergency pipe and later through pipelines of considerable capacity, whose sources were in the corridor and the coastal plain, and an immense water reservoir was built in the southwest of the city. The electricity network was connected to the national grid. On May 1, 1949, the first train since the war arrived in the city, after Israel had gained control of the entire railway track as a result of territorial arrangements with Jordan. A landing strip for light planes was constructed in the western part of the town.

The direct highway to Tel Aviv through Arab-held Latrun remained closed, but traffic to Jerusalem was renewed along the "Road of Valor," which was constructed from Ramleh through Naḥshon to the Hartuv junction, south of the War of Independence "Burma Road." Additional approach roads were constructed from Ẓorah through Ramat Raziʾel to Ein Kerem and Castel (Meʾoz Zion). Another road ascended through the Elah Valley to Ẓur-Hadassah and Ein Kerem, while an emergency track was laid out along the railway line from Hartuv to the Bar-Giora junction. Hadassah's hospital and other services were housed in rented premises in the center of the city, as its buildings remained isolated in the Israel enclave on Mt. Scopus and could only be reached every fortnight by a convoy under the protection of the UN. Later on, a new Hadassah Medical Center was built on a slope overlooking Ein Kerem. In addition to the hospital, the center grew to include a medical school, a training school for nurses, a school of dentistry, and a large range of clinics. The Hebrew University and its library, which had also been compelled to leave their buildings on Mt. Scopus, resumed their activities in the city, with provisional headquarters in the Italian Terra Sancta school. In the early 1950s the construction of a new campus on Givat Ram, a hill between Reḥavyah and Beit ha-Kerem, was initiated. Campus buildings included a stadium, a synagogue, a planetarium, and the new National Library, inaugurated in 1961. On the western outskirts of the city, the Convention Center, Binyanei ha-Ummah ("National Buildings"), used for concerts, dramatic performances, exhibitions, and congresses, was built. In 1951, the 23rd Zionist Congress, the first to be held in Israel, took place there.

Immediately after the cessation of hostilities, the only border-crossing point between Israel and Jordan was opened to the United Nations in Jerusalem off the historic road leading from Damascus Gate to Nabī Samwīl (and the Coastal Plain). In time the "Mandelbaum Gate" (named after the Jewish owner of the destroyed building that had stood on the spot) became the official crossing point for tourists, with passport-control and customs offices. A second but unofficial crossing point existed for several years in the demilitarized zone around the former Government House, which had become the UN headquarters, in Ra's Maqābi.

In the late 1950s a start was made on the construction of the new government center, Ha-Kiryah, opposite the new university campus, housing the Prime Minister's Office and ministries of Finance, the Interior, and later, Labor. A compound of one-story buildings was put up for the Foreign Ministry south of Romemah. On a hill to the southeast of and above Ha-Kiryah, the large Knesset building, which was built with the contributions of the Rothschild family, was completed in 1966. To the south of the Knesset are situated the Shrine of the Book and the Israel Museum (completed 1966–67). This ensemble of impressive buildings, which links the center of the city to the western districts (Kiryat Moshe, Bet ha-Kerem, and their extensions) added to the beauty of Jerusalem and visibly symbolized its position as the capital of Israel.

Although the UN General Assembly resolution of 1949 calling for the internationalization of Jerusalem was a dead letter, it was still on the record, and most countries, including the major powers, refused to recognize Jerusalem as Israel's capital, setting up their embassies and legations in Tel Aviv or its environs. President Weizmann continued to reside in Reḥovot, but after his death in 1952, diplomats went up to Jerusalem to present their credentials to his successor, President Ben-Zvi, and visit the Foreign Ministry and the Prime Minister's Office. Gradually, too, the boycott weakened and a number of embassies moved to or were established in the capital. In 1970, out of 46 foreign missions in Israel, 22 were in Jerusalem – those of two European countries: the Netherlands and Greece; 10 African: Central African Republic, Congo Brazzaville, Congo Kinshasa, Dahomey, Gabon, Ivory Coast, Liberia, Malagasy, Niger, and Upper Volta; and 10 Latin-American: Bolivia, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Guatemala, Panama, Venezuela, and Uruguay. In addition, 11 other countries maintained consulates or consulates-general in the city.

Besides numerous office buildings, the large Histadrut headquarters, and Heikhal Shlomo, the center of the Chief Rabbinate, were erected in the center of town. A branch of the Hebrew Union College was built near the King David Hotel, overlooking the Old City walls, and the buildings of the Academy of Sciences and Humanities were built, overlooking the south of the city from Talbiyah hill. Next to it sites of the presidential residence and the Jerusalem theater were chosen, both in advanced stages of construction at the beginning of 1971. To the southwest, the town is dominated by Mt. Herzl, renamed when Herzl's remains were reentered there in 1949. Since then, the summit of this hill has become a national cemetery where V. *Jabotinsky, J. *Sprinzak, L. *Eshkol, and others were buried. On the northern slope of Mt. Herzl is a military cemetery, and toward the west is Yad Vashem, a memorial to the victims of the Holocaust, including a research center. On the western side, the bow-shaped Jerusalem Forest encloses the town.

Many religious institutions have been established in Jerusalem since 1948. These include the Porat Yosef yeshivah, which was forced out of the Old City; the yeshivot of Belz, Netiv Meir, and Merom Zion; Yad ha-Rav Maimon and its religious college; etc. In the religious quarters an abundance of synagogues were built. New religious concentrations, resembling a second-generation Me'ah She'arim and its surroundings, were formed in the north of the city (Kiryat Mattersdorf) and in the west, at the entrance to Givat Sha'ul.

Extensive housing projects for new immigrants were erected along the armistice line in northern Jerusalem and in the northwest (Shemu'el ha-Navi St., Romemah Illit), as well as in Musrara (Morashah). The main development of the city, however, took place in the south and southwest. The southern districts, Abu-Ṭūr (Givat Ḥananyah), Bak'a (Ge'ulim), the German Colony (Refa'im), and Katamon (Gonen), which were inhabited by Christians and Arabs until 1948, became completely Jewish, while among them and next to them large new housing projects were erected (Talpiyyot, Bak'a, Katamonim, the Rassco Quarter, Givat Mordekhai, etc.). On a height overlooking the city from the southwest, Bayit va-Gan expanded, and to the south of it Kiryat ha-Yovel, Kiryat Menahem, and Ir Gannim were established and filled with a population of tens of thousands. The former Arab villages of Māliḥa (Manaḥat), Deir Yāsīn (Kefar Sha'ul), and Liftā (Mei Nefto'aḥ) were expanded and repopulated; Ein Kerem was incorporated into Jerusalem, as was part of Beit Ṣāfāfā. On Mt. Zion, the Ministry of Religious Affairs established a new religious center around the reputed tomb of David, containing the Holocaust Vault and the Temple Observation Point, as a substitute for the lost Old City. To make up for the loss of the Mount of Olives, new cemeteries were consecrated in Sanhedriyyah and on Har ha-Menuḥot.

In order to diversify the sources of livelihood in the capital, considerable efforts were made by the Israel government to develop industry. Several small and medium-sized factories for electrical and metal products, pencils, pharmaceutics, etc. were opened and a large flour mill and silo were built. Publishing houses and printing shops became important contributors to the economy. Industrial estates were built in Romemah, Mekor Barukh, Givat Sha'ul, and Talpiyyot by the Jerusalem Economic Corporation, in which about 90% of the shares were held by the government and the rest by various public bodies. Considerable impetus was also given to the tourism industry, and several large hotels were built (Kings, President, Holyland, Diplomat, etc.). After the solution of the water problem, several swimming pools were built. The University Stadium, a large sports field in the German colony, and indoor facilities in the Histadrut building, provided opportunities for sports. Beit ha-Am (where the Eichmann Trial was held in 1961) contained a hall for lectures and theatrical performances and a large municipal library. More public parks and gardens were laid out and a Biblical Zoo was opened.

A number of factors contributed to give Jerusalem a distinctive character among Israel's cities: the larger proportion of families going back several generations, newcomers from Asia and North Africa, students and university personnel, and government and other public officials among its population; the dignified public buildings and picturesque, old-established neighborhoods; the almost universal use of stone or stone facing (except in some outlying districts) in both residential and public construction; and its position as the home of the foremost university and the seat of the President, the Knesset, and the government. It was an important center for exhibitions and conventions – national, world Jewish (notably the Zionist Congresses), and international, which, even if they transacted most of their business in Tel Aviv, usually held at least their ceremonial opening sessions in the capital.

The general tone of public and cultural activity was quiet and restrained: there were no sidewalk cafes and little night life. The city was visited from time to time by the Philharmonic Orchestra and the Tel Aviv-based theater companies, which performed at Binyanei ha-Ummah, Bet ha-Am, the Histadrut's Mitchell Hall, or the distinctive Khan Theater, which had once been an Arab inn. Indigenous musical activities were provided mainly by the Broadcasting Services Orchestra and the Rubin Academy of Music. Art exhibitions were held at the Israel Museum, the Jerusalem Artists' House (which took over the premises of the *Bezalel Museum), and private galleries.

Jerusalem also became an economic and administrative center for the villages in the "Jerusalem Corridor," which connected Jerusalem with the rest of Israel (Bet Zayit, Mevasseret Yerushalayim, Me'oz Zion, Orah, Amminadav, Even Sappir, Bar Giora, Nes Harim, Mevo Betar, Ramat Razi'el, etc.), and the city was no longer threatened by isolation in a period of emergency. According to the census of 1961, its population was 166,300, including, it is estimated, several hundred Muslims and over 1,000 Christians. In 1967, the number of inhabitants was estimated at about 185,000.

SECURITY. As the border between Israel and Jordan ran through the middle of Jerusalem, there was constant vigilance on both sides. The Old City walls were hidden from view by high barriers across Jaffa Road and other streets, but from time to time Arab Legion sentries on the ramparts sniped at people in the streets of West Jerusalem and exchanges of fire developed. In April 1953, for example, the shooting went on for over 24 hours. In July 1954 it lasted for three days before a cease-fire was arranged through the UN observers. Occasionally, too, Arab infiltrators killed civilians in outlying areas. In September 1956 members of an archaeological convention examining antiquities near Ramat Raḥel were fired at from a Jordanian army post and four people were killed. There was a spate of incidents in June and July 1962, four Israelis being killed and five wounded. On the whole, however, the Jordanian authorities were not interested in making trouble and efforts were sometimes made, by informal contacts between local commanders on both sides, to reduce tension.

A constant focus of friction was the demilitarized zone on Mount Scopus. Every now and then the Jordanians would hold up the fortnightly convoy carrying replacements for the Israel police garrison that looked after the University and Hadassah buildings on the Mount, and there was tension between the garrison and the inhabitants of the Arab village of Issawiya in the Israeli part of the demilitarized zone. In January 1958 Francis Urrutia, representing the UN Secretary-General, made an unsuccessful attempt to get agreement on the implementation of Article 8 of the Israel-Jordan Armistice Agreement (see above). In May 1958, after Jordanian soldiers had opened fire on Israel patrols on the Mount, a UN officer, Col. George Flint, and four Israeli policemen were killed by Jordanian fire. This time Ralph Bunche, assistant to UN Secretary-General Dag Hammarskjöld, and then Hammarskjöld himself, visited Jerusalem and Amman in efforts to solve the problem, but without success.

MUNICIPAL AFFAIRS. After the departure of the British, an enlarged municipal committee was formed, consisting of the six Jewish councillors and representatives of the Va'ad ha-Kehillah and the Jewish quarters. In January 1949 the Ministry of the Interior nominated Daniel Auster as the head of a municipal council of similar composition and Reuven Shreibman (Shari) as deputy. In November 1950 the first municipal elections took place on the party list proportional representation system. The results reflected the fragmentation of the population on social, religious, and communal, as well as political and ideological, lines. The largest party in the new council, Mapai (Israel Labor Party), won only 25% of the votes and was closely followed by the United Religious Front (16%), General Zionists (16%), and Ḥerut (11%). The Progressives won 8% and a number of district and communal lists had 18% between them. Shlomo Zalman *Shragai (Mizrachi) was elected mayor, with the support of a coalition consisting mainly of his own party, the General Zionists, and Ḥerut. (For an account of the parties, see *Israel, State of: Political Life and Parties.) The city had difficult administrative, financial, and social problems with which to contend. The staff had been accustomed to the Oriental atmosphere of the Muslim mayoralty, and the organization of finance and services was primitive. The citizens had not been in the habit of regularly paying rates, especially in the extensive slum areas. Orthodox districts, like Me'ah She'arim, were to a large extent a law unto themselves. The new mayor was hampered in dealing with these problems by dissension inside the coalition and obstruction by the opposition. In August 1953 an inquiry commission appointed by the Ministry of the Interior produced an unfavorable report. Shragai resigned, being succeeded by Yiẓḥak Kariv, of his own party. The difficulties persisted, however; in April 1955 the Ministry dissolved the municipal council and appointed a committee of officials to run the municipality until the elections. In 1955 the head of the Mapai list, Gershon *Agron, was elected mayor with the support of Agudat Israel, the Progressives, and Aḥdut ha-Avodah. When Agudat Israel withdrew from the coalition, he retained his position with the aid of a defecting member of the National Religious Party. Agron died a few days before the 1959 elections and was succeeded by Mordekhai Ish-Shalom, who held the post until 1965. In that year Teddy *Kollek, running a personal campaign on the *Rafi ticket, won 20% of the votes and formed a coalition with Gaḥal (Ḥerut-Liberal bloc) and the religious parties. During the emergency preceding the Six-Day War in 1967, the opposition was invited to share in responsibility and an all-party administration was formed. After the 1969 elections, in which Kollek headed the united Labor-Mapam Alignment list, he was reelected at the head of an all-party coalition.

The Six-Day War and After

For Jerusalem, the *Six-Day War was only a three-day war, from Monday morning (June 5, 1967) to Wednesday afternoon. The battles began with the Jordanian seizure of UN headquarters and their attempt to break through from there to the south of the city, to the accompaniment of indiscriminate shelling of the Jewish areas. The breakthrough was halted in time, and in a counterattack the Israel forces retook the UN headquarters, barred the Jerusalem-Bethlehem road, and occupied the village of Ṣur-Bāhir. At a later stage there were hard-fought battles for the occupation of the Arab Abu-Tūr quarter. The most difficult struggle, however, took place in northern Jerusalem, where Israel forces broke through to the Police School and Ammunition Hill slightly to the north of it. There was another breakthrough into Sheikh Jarrāḥ and the American Colony, and on Tuesday all of East Jerusalem north of the walls of the Old City (Bāb al-Sāhira (Zahra), Wadi Joz) was seized. Contact was also made with the Israel enclave on Mount Scopus. On Wednesday, June 1967, Israel forces broke through the Lions' Gate and took the Old City. United Jerusalem again became the capital of the nation. In the battles for the city and its surroundings about 180 Israel soldiers lost their lives, in addition to the civilians who were hit by shells, etc. As on many occasions in its history, the city was again attacked from the west and the north, although the final breakthrough came from the east.

The damage caused by the three days of fighting, which was not severe, was repaired, mines were cleared away, military positions and protective walls were destroyed, barbed-wire fences were removed, the roads between the two parts of the town were joined, and all the gates of the Old City were once more opened. The two parts of the city were officially reunited on June 28, 1967, and inhabitants from either side could visit the other for the first time in almost 20 years. East Jerusalem was connected to the Israel water supply network and the water shortage was overcome. The electricity network, however, was not united to that of Israel and continued to be operated by a Jordanian company.

The holy places of Christendom came under Israel rule. The university buildings on Mount Scopus were restored, and studies were resumed in them from the fall of 1969. A bungalow quarter was erected to accommodate students. To the west of this area, on Givat ha-Mivtar, a residential neighborhood was built, and the large Ramot Eskhol Quarter was erected between it and the Sanhedria Quarter, encompassing northern Jerusalem. A start was made on the reconstruction of the Jewish Quarter of the Old City.

One of the most important consequences of the unification of Jerusalem was the resumption of archaeological research within the Old City (in the Citadel, the Upper City, and near the western and southern walls of the Temple Mount), which, in addition to the scientific results, brought about a change in the landscape of the city. The ancient Jewish cemetery, which covers the slopes of the Mount of Olives, was restored. Efforts were made by the government of Israel and Israel public institutions to transfer their offices to Jerusalem, particularly the eastern section. Police headquarters were moved from Tel Aviv to a previously uncompleted Jordanian government building in Sheikh Jarrāḥ. Jerusalem is now distinguished by the duplication of many of its institutions, one of the last signs of the division of the town for 19 years. There are two Hadassah hospitals, two large museums, two YMCA buildings, two university campuses, many double consulates, and even two central bus stations.

Following the Six-Day War, united Jerusalem became the central attraction for tourists and many new immigrants. Thousands of Jewish students from the Diaspora, particularly from the United States, Canada, and Western Europe, enrolled at The Hebrew University, and many remained. Tourism to Jerusalem reached the peak figures of about 400,000 visitors a year (in 1968, 970,000 "nights" were registered at the hotels in the city). New immigrant centers, i.e., hostels for individuals and families were established in Katamon Tet (1968) and Mevasseret Zion on a hill west of Jerusalem (1970). The mayor of Jerusalem, Teddy Kollek, and the government encouraged the settlement of new immigrants in Jerusalem, and Israeli architects drew up a master plan for the Jerusalem of the future (in the 21st century). It did not apply, however, to the ancient parts of the city, including the Old City and a belt surrounding its walls and Mt. Scopus, the Mount of Olives, etc., which have been preserved in their traditional form.

[Walter Pinhas Pick]

REUNIFICATION: PROGRESS AND PROBLEMS. With its reunification on June 28, 1967, Jerusalem restored its traditional character as a multi-national and multi-ethnic city. The population totaled about 265,000: 199,000 Jews and 66,000 Arabs. The non-Jewish population was composed of two religious sectors: the larger Muslim community of 54,000 (83%) and the various Christian factions numbering 11,000 (including 4,000 members of the Greek Orthodox Church, 3,600 of the Latin Church, and 1,200 Greek Catholics). The Jewish community thus comprised three-quarters of the population. The fact that it was the decisive majority was not novel, as a Jewish majority had existed in the city since the last third of the 19th century.

The municipal unification of Jerusalem brought into the city's boundaries areas that had been under Jordanian municipal jurisdiction before the Six-Day War (mainly within the boundaries defined during the Mandate period), as well as a broad area that had been organized under village councils or had not enjoyed municipal status. Consequently, population groups that had never been urban were included in the city's area and in the jurisdiction of the municipality and Israel government authority. The resulting population was mostly heterogeneous, from slum dwellers and semi-nomadic Bedouin to members of the upper middle class, who had moved beyond the limits of the Jordanian city and set up magnificent suburbs to the north. The Arab population was concentrated in these areas. About 33% of it (23,000) lived inside the Old City walls; about 38% (25,000) in the northern suburbs, most of them modern; and about 26% (17,000) in the southern parts, including the villages of Silwān, Abu Ṭūr, and Ṣur Bāhir.

The rate of natural increase among the Arab population, which is slightly less than double that of the Jewish, could increase the proportion of Arabs in the city from a quarter to a third within 20 years. The Israel government, realizing the potential difficulties of this situation, expended great efforts to provide more accommodation for Jews in the city and to eradicate distinctions between the western and eastern parts. In 1967–69 there were only a handful of Jews living east of the former dividing line, but from the end of 1969, when the construction of new quarters began to be completed (e.g., Ramat Eshkol), the settlement of Jews in the eastern part of the city accelerated. In 1970 the government decided to add impetus to the establishment of Jewish quarters in the southern, northern, and northwestern parts of the Old City. As a result of these efforts, the number of Jews moving to Jerusalem reached 5,000 per year, twice as much as in the years immediately before the Six-Day War. In this way the numerical balance between Jews and non-Jews was maintained in the unified city.

During the period of the city's division, the existence of two municipalities governed by states with such differing policies, rates of development, and character resulted in the development of two different cities. So different were their economic systems and social structures that it was sometimes difficult to believe that they were both parts of the same city. West Jerusalem quickly recovered from the damage it had suffered during the War of Independence, but from 1948 to 1967 its population decreased in proportion to that of the rest of the country; whereas in 1948 it had 9.6% of the total population of the State of Israel, at the end of 1960 this ratio had decreased to 7.7%. The economy of West Jerusalem was based mainly on a constellation of public services (government, university, Jewish Agency, and Hadassah) that employed about 30% of its labor force; about 17% was employed in industry, and 14% in business and banking. Tourism, in which Jerusalem had a relative advantage, did not play a central role. Only 13% of the hotels in Israel were located there, while 32% were in Tel Aviv. One of the major obstacles to the development of the city's economy was the fact that West Jerusalem had almost no economic hinterland, while in Haifa and Tel Aviv a great part of the economic activity extended to nearby townships and settlements, and their scope of influence extended far beyond their municipal boundaries. The scope of Jerusalem's influence on the narrow underpopulated corridor that connects it with the coast was necessarily very limited.

In contrast to West Jerusalem, East Jerusalem under Jordanian rule retained its position as the largest city of the West Bank and it continued to serve as the center of a very broad economic and demographic hinterland. The city was the center of most of the financial institutions of the West Bank, as well as 85% of the tourist companies, and it also had the greatest concentration of the wholesale trade, the independent professions, and the trade in durable goods. Production per employee in East Jerusalem was 50% higher than the average in the West Bank as whole, and the average income per person was also proportionally higher. Nevertheless, the economy of East Jerusalem was based mainly on one activity: tourism. The influence of every decrease in the number of tourists would extend to the various branches of the economy and result in crisis. On the contrary, their policies of economic incentives and government aid were aimed basically at the capital, Amman, and the East Bank, as opposed to the West Bank, including Jerusalem. East Jerusalemites who wished to establish economic enterprises in their city had either to abandon their projects or implement them in Amman. Amman also received a distinct preference with regard to financial and cultural institutions. This policy led to a slowdown in the economic development of East Jerusalem and in acceleration in the development of the capital of the kingdom across the Jordan River which was implemented mainly by entrepreneurs from the West Bank, primarily from Jerusalem.

Although the economic status of East Jerusalem was more stable than that of the western half of the city, a comparison of the two reveals a formidable gap in favor of the Jewish sector of the city. On the eve of the Six-Day War, the average yearly income per person in West Jerusalem was fourfold that of the eastern part. In West Jerusalem the income per person was estimated in 1965 as IL3,400 while in the eastern part it was only IL 900. East Jerusalem contributed only 6–7% of the buying power of the unified city, in contrast to its 25% of the population. Under such circumstances it was extremely difficult to effect the economic integration of the two parts of the city and annul the effects of the war in a relatively short time. The Six-Day War resulted in a number of economic difficulties in East Jerusalem: the temporary cessation of tourism, on which the city's economy had been based; the loss of the Jordanian authorities and army as a source of economic demand; disruptions in trade between the various parts of the West Bank; the closing of the banks; the lack of liquidity; and the absence of economic stability. These brought about a serious economic crisis, which found immediate expression in mass unemployment. Four months after the war, unemployment in the eastern part covered one-third of the labor force, in contrast to 7–8% on the eve of the war. Especially affected were the building trades, transportation, and hotels. Services, such as restaurants, cafés, bakeries, and garages, which were also affected, recovered quickly due to rising demands from Israel tourists.

Within a few months, the process of economic disintegration ceased, and speedy action on the part of the authorities brought about a distinct improvement in the economic situation. The process of rehabilitation was accelerated by the huge public investments made in the city following the war, especially in construction. At the end of 1969 employment returned to its prewar level. About half of the businesses in East Jerusalem were better off than they had been on the eve of the war. The most outstanding improvement was in the situation of salaried workers. More than 5,000 workers and employees out of a labor force of about 18,000 were employed in West Jerusalem, earning salaries that were 150% higher than those they had received on the eve of the war. The recovery process had some negative manifestations, however. Price levels increased by 40–50%. About half of the businesses in East Jerusalem, especially those which could not compete with similar business in the western part of the city, were affected to varying degrees of severity.

The integration of the economic systems, and especially the implementation of the principles of a modern welfare state, brought about far-reaching changes in Arab society in East Jerusalem. The distribution of income and property became more equalized. Israel wages were paid to thousands of Arab workers, and a slow increase in the wages of Arabs employed in the Arab sector brought a general improvement in the standard of living. National Insurance, especially birth benefits and benefits to families with many children, aided in the improvement of the status of women. Nevertheless, the damage to the relative economic position of the upper middle class brought complaints of "discrimination" and "Jewish control" of certain branches, especially the import of durable goods and tourism. Because of the atmosphere of long-range political insecurity that continued to exist among the Arabs of East Jerusalem, no plan for capital investments was implemented. The closing of Arab banks continued to influence the lack of liquidity and the scarcity of sources of credit. In view of developments in 1968–70, a warning had been voiced that the integration of East Jerusalem's Arabs into the city's united economy might lead to their concentration in low-income employment requiring manual labor and might have undesirable social and inter-ethnic results.

Another unsolved problem was that of the employment of white-collar workers. With the unification of the city, many Jordanian government officials, travel agents, lawyers, etc. became unemployed. Only the Arab employees of the Jerusalem municipality and a small number of government employees (formerly Jordanian) were integrated into the institutions of the unified municipality and Israel government offices. Out of 500 people who worked in all levels of the Jordanian government on the eve of the war, only about 150 were absorbed, some of them in the military government. This problem was more of a political nature than an economic one. Some of the white-collar workers could not find employment in their professions for economic reasons; lawyers were not employed because they boycotted Israel courts. Most of them, however, especially civil servants on intermediate or senior levels, were unemployed because the functions they had fulfilled were transferred, with the change in authorities, to Israel government offices. The degree of integration of white-collar workers in the economic and administrative system became an important indicator for the reconciliation of Jerusalem's population to the new situation created by the unification of the city.

The unification of Jerusalem opened a new chapter in the complex relations between the Jewish majority and the Arab minority in the State of Israel. For the first time in its history, Israel had to absorb a developed Arab urban unit with advanced social stratification, considerable economic power, a high level of education, and a tradition of participation in the highest levels of government. Jerusalem, after its unification, became the greatest concentration of urban Arab population in the country. The percentage of high school graduates in East Jerusalem rose steadily under Jordanian rule, and in 1967, 38% of the males had completed high school and 9% had had higher education. The educational level of the Arab residents of the city was higher than that of the inhabitants of Judea and Samaria and even higher than the average of all the non-Jews in Israel, among whom the urban population was a small minority.

In contrast to the Arabs in Israel, who initially lacked an educated, stable urban class, the inhabitants of East Jerusalem lived for 20 years under independent Arab rule, during which it was the center of authority for the entire West Bank. The leadership of East Jerusalem was the major exponent of Arab-Palestinian nationalism and was integrated into the Jordanian establishment. Periodic disagreements with Amman aside, it was one of the outstanding elite groups in the Hashemite kingdom. When the city was unified, there were a considerable number of former ministers, ambassadors, members of parliament and Senate, and senior officials in East Jerusalem, in addition to an efficient and capable municipal administration. In its attitude to Israel the East Jerusalem population was one of the most extreme elements in Jordan. The Palestine Liberation Organization (see *Israel, State of: Arab Population – Arab National Movement) had great influence there, and many members of extremist parties, both right and left wing, resided in the city. As was customary in the Jordanian educational system, pupils were educated toward extreme pan-Arabism and revanche; even excerpts from the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion* were found among the teaching materials. The chauvinistic extremism stemmed, inter alia, from the fact that about 11,000 inhabitants of the city were formally refugees, i.e., the head of the family was born in an area that had been included in the State of Israel in 1948.

The Jewish population was agreeable in some respects and not agreeable in others to the improvement of relations with the Arab minority. The large number of Oriental Jews and their Israel-born children – more than 50% of the Jewish population of the city – was significant in this matter, as this group was familiar with the Arabic language and the Arab way of life and culture and could theoretically serve as a bridge between the two segments of the population. However, the immigrants from Muslim countries who had come to Israel after the War of Independence (about a quarter of the total Jewish population) were, paradoxically, a potential cause of tension. Partly because they had suffered oppression and persecution in their countries of origin, they were sometimes influenced by latent urges to revenge in their attitude to the Arab population of East Jerusalem. Other sections of the Jewish population, mainly native Israelis and immigrants from Europe and English-speaking countries, lacked familiarity with Arabs and their way of life and often misunderstood them – either regarding them in an unrealistic romantic way or suspecting them as a hostile, alien element.

The two populations, which suddenly found themselves living in one city, bore the acute psychological influences of the Six-Day War, apart from the past legacy of the Jewish-Arab conflict. The Jewish population felt a sharp sense of release from the burden of fear that existed during the prewar period and euphoria over the unification of the city and the liberation of the Western Wall and the other holy places. The Arab population was astonished by the swift conquest of their city and suffered from a deep sense of shame after their decisive defeat. On the other hand, the factor that caused the greatest surprise among the Arab population was the humane and fair treatment accorded to them by the soldiers of the Israel Defense Forces. Influenced by Arab propaganda describing Jews as murderers of women and children, the Arabs awaited the worst. Fear gave way to astonishment and feelings of gratitude.

There was an initial atmosphere of goodwill and good-neighborliness that found dramatic expression on the "day of reunification" (June 28, 1967). When the barriers were removed and free movement between the two parts of the city was allowed, the Jewish and Arab masses mingled without incident. The atmosphere of peace and harmony in the city appeared unreal to those who witnessed it. Indeed, it lasted only a few short weeks, during which these feelings slowly abated. The two sides began to adjust themselves to the new reality. Repeated incidents and the loss of lives recreated the tension within the Jewish population. The Arab population found itself subject to a rule that, although tolerant and understanding, was nonetheless foreign, with which they could not and did not wish to identify, and to whose continued existence they could not reconcile themselves. The Israel authorities quickly learned the complex problems of the Arab sector and also found ways to solve them effectively. Nevertheless, several points of friction were created by a lack of understanding and knowledge of the mentality of the Arab population. This lack of understanding stemmed mainly from an approach to the population of East Jerusalem similar to that employed to the Arab population of the State of Israel before the war, disregarding the differences between the two communities. Likewise, attempts were made immediately to put into effect the procedures of Israel administration, without allowing the inhabitants of East Jerusalem sufficient time to adapt to the ways and means unfamiliar to them.

In the course of time, the inhabitants of East Jerusalem became accustomed to these procedures, and at the same time the Israel authorities became familiar with the feelings of the inhabitants on certain matters. This mutual adaptation erased most of the points of friction, the major one being the problem of taxes. The East Jerusalemites, accustomed to the Jordanian fiscal system, which levied low taxes and in return rendered a low level of services, did not, at first, understand the principles of the Israel welfare state, demanding high taxation and providing a high level of services. Taxes connected with war and security caused additional complaints, since the inhabitants of East Jerusalem regarded their payment as "treason against the Jordanian kingdom," which was in a state of war with Israel.

In terms of their civil status, the inhabitants of East Jerusalem were Israel residents with Jordanian citizenship. (They could apply for Israel citizenship, but practically none of them did so.) This status allowed them to vote for and be elected to the Jerusalem municipality but not to the Knesset. As Jordanian citizens, they could cross the cease-fire line and visit in Jordan, while they also had the right to move freely throughout Israel, like other residents. Despite the distinct improvement in many areas of relations with the authorities and the adjustment of the inhabitants of East Jerusalem to the way of life that developed in the unified city, relations were clouded by the fact that the population of East Jerusalem avoided all political cooperation that could be interpreted as voluntary acknowledgement of the unification of Jerusalem. Members of the Arab municipal council, who were invited to join the unified city council, refused to do so; lawyers refused to appear in Israeli courts; companies refused to be registered as Israeli companies; and the Shariʿa courts refused to become part of the Muslim judicial system of Israel, despite a far-reaching compromise suggested by Israel. Nevertheless, the boundaries between political cooperation, which was regarded as "treason," and the minimal reconciliation necessary for coexistence were very elastic. Thus, for example, the mass voting by inhabitants of East Jerusalem in the municipal elections of October 1969 was not viewed as collaboration.

Political tension remained mostly latent, but it broke out a number of times and was expressed mainly in business strikes and demonstrations. Feelings of political frustration and tension were also nourished by a number of actions taken by the Israel authorities to insure the Jewish character of the city and enforce Israeli control of the eastern part. In broad areas of the eastern part Jewish dwellings began to be erected. The acts of Arab terrorists aggravated the inter-ethnic tension. After one act of terror, which claimed a number of civilian casualties in West Jerusalem (the "Night of the Grenades," August 18, 1968) young Jews attacked Arab civilians and damage was inflicted on Arab shops. Strong and unequivocal measures on the part of the Israeli government and its major leaders put an end to the hooliganism, and later acts of Arab terror (such as the explosions which in 1968–69 killed and wounded many people in a marketplace, a supermarket, the students' cafeteria in The Hebrew University, etc.) did not elicit revenge on innocent Arabs. Nevertheless, the security forces increased their supervision over the Arab residents. Membership in terrorist cells and possession of arms caches were punished, inter alia, by the destruction of several houses and the confiscation of others. All these measures resulted in alternately rising and falling tension. A major event influencing the atmosphere between the communities was the short-lived shock of the fire in the al-Aqṣā Mosque on August 21, 1969, which quickly abated when the culprit proved to be an insane Christian tourist from Australia, although the incident was blown up to major international proportions by all the Arab States.

In Jewish public opinion there were two different approaches to dealing with the Arab population. All Jews were ready to grant the Arabs full citizenship rights as individuals, but some would deny them the right of national political expression or separate representation, whereas others held that the Arabs should not only be granted individual rights but should be recognized as a national minority with legitimate aspirations of their own, entitling them to separate representation. This argument never came to a head, as the Arabs themselves refused to cooperate in any attempt at an interim arrangement and were not ready to accept any suggestion of separate representation or any kind of political organization.

By 1970 distinct progress had been made in the process of integrating the Arabs of East Jerusalem into the life of the city, and inter-ethnic relations developed and improved, despite negative forces that operated throughout the period. Nevertheless, there were still basic political differences of approach between the Jewish majority and the Arab minority with regard to the future of the city. The integration of the communities and nationalities in Jerusalem was progressively implemented, mainly in the economic sphere and in areas necessary for municipal survival. There was little social contact between the two groups, but the fact that thousands of Arab workers were employed in West Jerusalem led to significant contacts and new understanding. The deepening of reciprocal harmonious relations, however, ultimately depended upon the general solution to the Israel-Arab conflict.

[Meron Benvenisti]

The decade following 1967 was marked by the most intensive development in Jerusalem since King Herod 2,000 years before. The city tripled in size by the incorporation of East Jerusalem, under Jordanian rule from 1948 to 1967, and within seven years had the largest population of any city in Israel. Almost a third of the area of East Jerusalem – the bulk of it, rocky, non-arable hills – was expropriated for the construction of nine housing developments on clear strategic lines. Four of them – Gilo, East Talpiot, Neveh Ya'akov, and Ramot, each larger than most development towns – were cast in a wide arc around the outermost edge of the city. Five others – Ramot Eshkol, French Hill, Ma'alot Dafna, Sanhedria ha-Murḥevet, and Givat ha-Mivtar – were built across the battlefields of the Six-Day War to establish a link with Mount Scopus.

Eleven thousand apartments were built across the former border and by 1977 there were close to 40,000 Jews living in these new development areas, constituting some 15% of the city's Jewish population.

The government had succeeded in creating a physical ring around Jerusalem that would make it impossible to divide the city again. It was less successful, however, in the other major objective – reinforcing the Jewish presence demographically. The September 1967 census recorded 197,000 Jews and 71,000 non-Jews (including 3–5,000 non-Arabs, such as Armenians and other non-Arab Christians). However, in spite of the influx of immigrants and the transfer of some government offices from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem the percentage of Jews declined from 73.4 to 72.5. Ten years after the Six-Day War, Jerusalem's population had increased by more than a third, numbering 370,000, of whom 268,500 were Jews and 102,000 non-Jews, and by 1981 it was 412,000, with 295,000 Jews and 117,000 non-Jews. While the average Jewish annual increase was 3.3% – considerably higher than the national average – the non-Jewish rate was 3.8%; the Arab figure due to a higher birthrate, a substantial decrease in the mortality rate, and a halt in emigration from East Jerusalem which had prevailed throughout the Jordanian regime.

The economic boom even attracted immigration from across the Jordan River under the family reunion scheme. In addition, thousands of West Bank Arabs took up residence illegally in East Jerusalem, whose numbers are not included in the official population figures.

JEWISH-ARAB RELATIONS. The relations which developed between Arab and Jewish people in Jerusalem during the decade were shifting and ambiguous. They added up, however, to coexistence – a less satisfactory condition, perhaps, than friendship, but still infinitely superior to easily imaginable alternatives. Tranquility was achieved by a policy of liberality towards the Arabs, including open bridges and de facto control of the Temple Mount by Muslim authorities.

The West Jerusalem economy and the Arab work force grew to depend on each other. Arabs from East Jerusalem and the West Bank constituted about 15% of the 110,000-strong labor force in the Jewish economic sector, mainly in construction. More Arabs worked in the Jewish sector of Jerusalem than in the Arab sector and drew 60% higher wages than they had formerly received.

Nine thousand Arabs from East Jerusalem, including wives of 2,000 workers, joined the Histadrut, Israel's labor confederation, which assured them the same pay and benefits as Jewish workers. Arab and Jewish workers sat together on labor committees in West Jerusalem factories, and in some places Arabs were chairmen, and they participated together in social and cultural activities.

The David Yellin Teachers' College in Beit Hakerem, which had been training Jewish teachers since 1914, began accepting East Jerusalem girls in 1974. The first group of 25 graduated two years later, after completing a special course taught in Arabic. Every summer thousands of youths from both sides of the city participated in the municipality's Youth Capital day camp and periodic sports contests were held between Arab and Jewish youth clubs.

There was Arab-Jewish integration on the underworld margin of both societies. Here, Arabic-speaking Jews and East Jerusalem Arabs, sharing a common subculture, "trusted" each other enough to commit armed robberies together. The police quickly broke up these gangs, but fringe society contacts continued. West Jerusalem streetgang workers noted that their Jewish charges and their Arab counterparts were at ease in one another's company. The police were likewise integrated, engaging in joint patrols, but most of the police on the streets of East Jerusalem were local Arabs.

Nevertheless, East Jerusalem Arabs were still not reconciled to Israeli rule. The Arabs felt that Israel was altering the Arab character of East Jerusalem and endangering the Arab way of life by exposing it to an alien culture. Israeli authorities though aware that the allegiance of Jerusalem's Arabs could not be bought by higher salaries or improved services, nevertheless provided them.

The thousands of substantial houses – villas by Israeli standards – built on the hills of East Jerusalem attested to the unprecedented prosperity achieved by Jerusalem's Arabs, particularly laborers, since they came under Israeli rule. Before 1967, 41% of East Jerusalem homes had no running water and 60% had no electricity, whereas by the end of the 1970s only those living in isolated rural areas were without running water and virtually every house had electricity. The abundance of water supplied to the Old City after 1967 proved too much for the old Turkish sewer-drainage pipes which burst under the pressure, causing the inundation of building foundations and the collapse of several structures. In a massive operation expected to last decades, the municipality began gutting the alleys of the Old City in order to build a modern infrastructure. Among the utility lines being laid underground was cable television, to permit the removal of the antennas, cluttering the Old City skyline. The approaches to Damascus Gate, both from inside and outside the city walls, were completely remodeled.

The Arab Sector. Where no park or playground existed in Jerusalem under Jordanian rule, there were six a decade later. Where no kindergartens existed, there were 50. Where no lending library for adults existed, there were four, plus a mobile library serving outlying villages. Where only 73 families received welfare payments under the Jordanians, 900 families were receiving them in 1977 and 4,500 families received pension payments from Israel's National Insurance. In addition, 9,000 East Jerusalem families with three or more children received the same monthly National Insurance payments for each child as did Israeli families. These benefits were given in spite of the fact that the East Jerusalemites chose to remain Jordanian citizens and that Israel had no vested interest in promoting the Arab birth rate. A special government fund also provided more than 4,000 mortgage and business loans to East Jerusalemites whose own banks closed in 1967.

More was done to promote Arab culture in East Jerusalem after the city's unification than had ever been done under Jordanian rule. This included subsidizing their first professional theater group, expanding community centers, arranging for schoolchildren to attend an Arab play and an Arab musical performance every year, and even providing a Jewish dance teacher to launch an Arab dance troupe when no Arab teacher could be found.

Unlike the Arabs living in Israel since 1948, East Jerusalem Arabs did not sever ties with the Arab world. Besides being free to cross the Jordan River bridges in either direction, they could maintain their Jordanian citizenship while remaining official residents of Israel and citizens of an Israeli city with full voting rights in municipal elections. East Jerusalem students were originally required to study a curriculum similar to that of Israeli Arabs, but they were later granted the right to study a Jordanian curriculum (plus six hours of Hebrew and civics) and even to take examinations certified by the Jordanian Ministry of Education, so that they could proceed to universities in the Arab world.

According to Israeli experts, an increasing number of Arabs preferred an open city. This would have meant Arabs and Jews exercising sovereignty over their respective areas, with free passage from one side to the other. Although this might have seemed an ideal solution to many, Mayor Teddy Kollek strongly opposed it, warning that it would allow terrorists to turn Jerusalem into a Belfast overnight.

BUILDINGS. The texture of the city was altered physically, socially, and culturally through the 1970s. High-rise buildings, some of them exceeding 20 stories, punctured the Jerusalem skyline for the first time. Architect Moshe *Safdie pointed out that these high-rises had been approved while the city was still divided. "They could only have been conceived when you weren't thinking about what the skyline would look like from the other side."

Sixty km. of roads and 182 km. of sewage lines were built. The government channeled more than twice as much money into Jerusalem in the first five years after reunification than it had during the previous 12. In addition to the new housing developments, enormous resources were invested in the reconstruction of the Jewish Quarter of the Old City and the Hadassah Hospital and Hebrew University facilities on Mount Scopus.

Little was done, however, to strengthen the outmoded city center, groaning under the weight of the additional population it now had to serve. The plan for a Ben Yehuda street mall remained stalled, except for a small, block-long strip. The number of private offices doubled during the decade, and the government increased its floor space by a third but, with little new construction to accommodate them, the offices spilled over into Reḥaviah and other residential neighborhoods. The population in neighborhoods near the center declined substantially, while the western garden suburbs of the 1930s – Beit Hakerem and Bayit Vegan – increased their population by two-thirds in the five years after the Six-Day War. A plan for the massive redevelopment of the Mamilla district outside Jaffa Gate, which called for razing of the entire district and its replacement with modern commercial, residential, and hotel structures as well as a large underground parking lot at the entrance to the Old City, was approved in principle, but implementation was held up by shortage of funds and concern over its ambitious nature.

A proposal to build a 25,000-seat sports stadium at Shuafat in northern Jerusalem likewise encountered strong opposition, particularly from religious residents in the approaches to the stadium, who objected on account of the traffic and noise and the consequent desecration of the Sabbath. Nevertheless, earthwork began in 1979 but was subsequently halted. Sha'arei Zedek Hospital, one of the city's oldest, built a large new facility at the edge of Bayit Vegan to replace its antiquated building on Jaffa Road. The original Hadassah Hospital on Mount Scopus was restored at great expense by the Hadassah Organization to serve as a regional hospital for Jews and Arabs in northern Jerusalem.

In spite of a few blots on the landscape created by inadvisable building, the city grew more beautiful during the 10 years. The ugly antisniper walls and the ruins of no-man's land were removed. Some of the best views in Jerusalem were opened up by the demolition of the ruined buildings outside the city wall between the Jaffa and New Gates, and by renewed access to Government House Ridge and Mount Scopus.

RESTORATION. Sensitive to the city's physical heritage, the authorities attempted to restore many of its old buildings and quarters rather than subject them to urban renewal. The most notable instance was the Jewish Quarter of the Old City, where painstaking restoration was undertaken. An attempt was made to save all old buildings still structurally sound, while new construction was kept in scale. Archaeologists were given priority over the builders, even though this often meant expensive delays while excavations were carried out. Building plans were often changed to incorporate ancient remains in basement museums or leave them exposed.

There were also extensive restoration efforts outside the Old City walls. The old Turkish khan, or inn, opposite the railway station was converted into a handsome theater, while the Yemin Moshe Quarter was converted from a slum to a luxury neighborhood, The century-old structure known as Mishkenot Sha'ananim, the first building to be built outside the ancient walls, was reconstructed as a guest house for visiting artists, scholars, and writers. Preservation plans were also drawn up for neighborhoods with special character like the German Colony and Sheikh Jarrah.

PARKS AND OPEN SPACES. An elaborate open-space system was developed, including a 600-acre national park around the Old City. Apart from the creation of the new ring of housing developments, this open-space system could be the distinguishing mark made on the city during the decade. One of its most interesting sections was an Archaeological Garden incorporating ancient remains uncovered along the southern and western fringes of the Old City.

The municipality's gardening department itself almost transformed the city by creating a green matrix that softened the stony character of the desert-fringed city, On the eve of the Six-Day War, there were 23 parks in the city covering 25 acres. Ten years later there were 170 parks covering 425 acres. The six children's playgrounds that existed then grew to 78, and three "vest-pocket" parks became 150. Traffic islands were now lush with flowers. Around the fringes of the city the Jewish National Fund planted some 700 acres of forest.

A score of sculptures were installed in public places, including the last monumental work of Alexander Calder, a 12-meter high stabile installed in Holland Square at Mount Herzl.

HOUSING. Slum areas such as the Katamons were upgraded by adding rooms to cramped apartments and planting numerous gardens in the area. Housing conditions in the city improved considerably during the decade. The 30,000 apartments built or started in the Jewish sector in the ten years were almost half as many as existed in 1967 and were generally larger and better built. Four-room apartments, which constituted only 8% of the total built in 1961, constituted 40% of the units built in 1970. High-rise living, unknown in Jerusalem before 1967, became commonplace. To answer the greater demand for privacy, hundreds of terrace apartments with separate entrances were built.

In spite of vigorous efforts to expand Jerusalem's modest industrial base (non-smokestack industries) to offer a greater variety of employment opportunities, the percentage of the Jewish population employed in industry declined from 14.5 to 11.4, while employment in public services rose from 43% to 49%, The government, with 14,000 employees, remained the largest employer.

An area for heavy industry was opened in 1976 at Mishor Adumim on the Jericho Road, 15 km east of Jerusalem. The united city saw new commercial patterns developing. Tourists flooding the city preferred to sleep in West Jerusalem, where the number of hotel rooms tripled, and to shop in East Jerusalem, where the number of souvenir shops tripled. The number of bars and nightclubs increased from 12 to 28 by 1975, while the number of small kiosks selling candy and newspapers declined from 153 to 144. There was only a modest increase in personal services since 1967 – the number of doctors increased by 25% and barbers by 7% – but the number of engineers, insurance agents, and building contractors increased by 150%.

JEWISH SECTOR UNDER THE MAYORALTY OF TEDDY KOLLEK. Strenuous efforts were made to close the gap, at least the visible one, between underprivileged Jews – mostly from Arab countries – and the relatively privileged.

Nearly 1,000 indigent families were provided with apartments in the new outlying neighborhoods, Thousands of others were given subsidies to rent apartments in town or to improve their own apartments. Where physically possible, extra rooms were added onto existing apartments to enable residents to remain in the neighborhoods where they had established roots.

The municipality invested heavily in upgrading the neighborhoods into which immigrants had hastily settled during the 1950s and early 1960s. It was from these neighborhoods that the so-called Black Panthers, disaffected youths demanding a better way of life, had emerged after the Six-Day War. Parks were built to provide outdoor play areas for children of large families confined in small apartments. Schools were built, sometimes at the rate of 350 classrooms a year, roads were paved, and street lights installed.

Flowers and trees planted by the municipality and regularly uprooted overnight by local youths were, at last allowed to take root as alienation gave way to a feeling of pride in the neighborhood.

The network of youth clubs and 10 community centers, created during the decade, contributed much to social stability. Disadvantaged youths, whose older brothers had drifted into antisocial and even criminal activity, found outlet for their energies and interests in these facilities.

Neighborhood schools were eliminated in an effort to reduce social tensions through integration between children from middle-and lower-class neighborhoods. Most of the city's schools ultimately contained students from such neighborhoods at a ratio of roughly 60–40. Some educators maintained that mixing does not constitute true integration, which requires intensive efforts with disadvantaged children and their parents to close the educational gap. They have acknowledged, however, that it reduces social tension.

The most difficult social problem towards the end of the decade lay not in the slums, but in the newly built neighborhoods. Entire blocks of houses were filled with slum evacuees or with new immigrants from Georgia and Bukhara, whose cultural assimilation presented difficulties. This concentration created cores of social problems from the very start. The authorities finally came to the conclusion that it was best to disperse the slum evacuees and the immigrant families – one or two to a building – so as to promote their assimilation. In order to overcome the negative image acquired by the Neveh Ya'akov neighborhood because of settlement difficulties, the Housing Ministry offered mortgage terms so attractive that it managed to sell the apartments to young Israeli couples and other socially strong elements. Neveh Ya'akov became the first of the new neighborhoods to be filled.

A violent dispute between ultra-Orthodox and secular Jews broke out at the end of 1978 when a new road was opened to the neighborhood of Ramot. Ultra-Orthodox elements, maintaining that the road violated the sanctity of the Sabbath in religious neighborhoods it skirted, demonstrated alongside the road virtually every Sabbath and frequently threw stones at cars. Despite availability of an alternate route, the dispute has continued.

CULTURAL ACHIEVEMENTS. One of the most notable changes in the city during the past decade was in the cultural climate. The Jerusalem Symphony Orchestra, which drew about 200 persons to its weekly concerts in 1970, filled the 900-seat Jerusalem Theater almost every week seven years later. Good plays brought to Jerusalem by Tel Aviv theater groups in 1970 would perform only three or four times and then to half-empty halls. By 1977, a hit show could fill as many as 16 houses. The Jerusalem Theater's subscriptions quadrupled in four years. Two lively pocket theaters opened in the city, and the renovated khan became an active center for theater and chamber music.

Part of the reason for the new climate was a changing population. The percentage of adult Jews in Jerusalem with at least one year's post-secondary education rose from 18.7 in 1961 to 25.2 in 1972. (In East Jerusalem it rose from 5.2 to 5.5% between 1967 and 1972.) Of the 72,000 increase in the Jewish population in the decade, 20,000 were new immigrants, mostly from the Soviet Union and Western countries, with a tradition of concert and theater going.

The other major factor was Mayor Kollek, who was the prime mover in creating much of the city's cultural infrastructure – the Israel Museum, the Jerusalem Theater, and the Khan. He also initiated the Mishkenot Sha'ananim guest house. His administration began building a cultural audience for the future by arranging that every schoolchild in Jerusalem attend at least one theatrical and one musical performance a year. Violinist Isaac Stern was the initiator of the Jerusalem Music Center, just behind Mishkenot, richly endowed with videotape facilities, where some of the world's greatest musicians meet with Israeli music teachers and students in order to permit them to partake directly of the musical idiom beyond Israel's borders.

The cultural life of the city was augmented by several important new facilities. These included a museum of Islamic art dedicated to the late Hebrew University scholar L.A. Mayer and a museum portraying past life in the Jewish Quarter. A new youth wing for Arab and Jewish youth was opened by the Israel Museum in East Jerusalem to accommodate spillover from the youth wing in its main building.

Freedom of Religion. Never in history had there been such religious freedom in Jerusalem as prevailed after the reunification of the city. The Muslims were unrestricted in their religious practice and the Supreme Muslim Council had de facto control of the Temple Mount. Access by non-Muslims was permitted to general visitors through the Moghrabi Gate, except during Muslim hours for prayer. For Christians, unification meant easy access between holy places on both sides of the city and the lifting of land purchase restrictions imposed by Jordan on their side of the city.

The world still did not recognize Israeli rule over the Old City and East Jerusalem. Visiting national leaders had their national flags removed from their cars when they crossed the line which formerly divided Jerusalem in two. At Independence Day receptions, the diplomatic corps still imbibed its soft drinks just outside the walls of the Old City rather than joining the main party inside the Citadel, because that would have implied their recognition of Israeli sovereignty over the Old City. The adoption of the Jerusalem Law in 1980, officially declaring the whole of Jerusalem as Israeli territory and under Israeli rule, was condemned by the United Nations Security Council – the United States abstaining – and all the countries which had embassies in Jerusalem moved them to Tel Aviv.

The Perfection of Beauty. In spite of all the changes which had taken place in Jerusalem during the 1970s, the essential character of the city remained unchanged, Its beauty remained in the stone facing on all buildings, which gave a unifying texture to all parts of the city – in the picturesque alleys and courtyards of the older neighborhoods, in the quiet and lushly planted streets of middle-class neighborhoods, and in the sculpted hills surrounding the city.

The anniversary of the reunification of the city, the 28th day of Iyyar, was proclaimed as Yom Yerushalayim, Jerusalem Day, and was celebrated with increasing enthusiasm from year to year.

In the following decade, despite the optimistic spirit of the post-Six-Day War period, Jerusalem continued to be a city of tensions, primarily between Arabs and Jews. The initial post-1967 goal of an integrated population foundered, largely as a result of a long series of attacks (often stabbing) carried out by Arabs, sometimes evoking reprisals by Jews. In 1990, in an incident on the Temple Mount, 21 Arabs were killed and over 100 injured by Israeli forces. Tensions were also exacerbated, especially during the Shamir regime, when Jews moved into Muslim neighborhoods, including the Muslim Quarter of the Old City and the village of Silwan. In many respects the city was divided almost as much as before 1967, with little social intercourse between Jews and Arabs.

The Palestinian *intifada* brought many instances of stone-throwing by Arabs at Jewish buses and cars in East Jerusalem. There was a prolonged protest shutdown of Arab stores and a sharp fall-off in the number of Jews visiting the Arab parts of the city, including the formerly crowded marketplaces of the Old City. The Palestinians reiterated that in some form Jerusalem, or part of it, must be included in any Palestinian entity. The issue was not faced squarely in the first rounds of the peace process, but Israel refused to have Jerusalemites included in the Palestinian delegation.

The population of Jerusalem at the end of 1992 was 558,000, of whom 401,000 were Jews and 157,000 Arabs (whose percentage in the total population had risen from 25 to 28 since 1967). The growth in the Jewish population was largely due to the Russian immigration, and the new suburbs of Gilo, Neveh Ya'akov, Har Nof, Pisgat Ze'ev, and Ramot mushroomed. There was also, however, an outflow of the Jewish population as many were attracted by the favorable terms offered by settlements in the West Bank within easy commuting distance of Jerusalem.

The ultra-Orthodox (*ḥaredi*) population continued to thrive and hundreds of new yeshivot and synagogues have been built in the city since 1967. There were frequent tensions with the ultra-Orthodox, who often held demonstrations to protest Sabbath desecrations and alleged desecrations of graves by archeologists or construction workers. Their projections in the population grew constantly due to immigration and a very high fertility rate, and they ultimately constituted over 20% of the Jewish population. Jerusalem's Sabbath character took a surprising turn in the late 1980s when for the first time pubs, discotheques, and some cinemas began to open on Friday nights. In the past, ultra-Orthodox protests had managed to snuff out attempts to open entertainment facilities on Sabbath eve and young Jerusalemites who sought such outlets had to travel to Tel Aviv. In time, the Friday night life in Jerusalem became so lively that it even occasionally drew Tel Aviv youth.

A quarter-century after its unification in the 1967 Six-Day War, Jerusalem continued its dynamic transformation into a modern urban center. With the completion of most of the new housing developments launched in the wake of the 1967 war, efforts focused on providing facilities to serve the vastly increased population. In the south of the city, a 15,000-seat soccer stadium was opened in 1991, providing Jerusalem with its first major sports facility. At the insistence of its foreign donor, it was named Teddy stadium, honoring Mayor Teddy Kollek. Nearby, a 100,000-square-meter enclosed shopping mall, said to be the largest in the Middle East, was opened in 1993. Opposite Jaffa Gate, development of the new Mamilla quarter as a commercial-residential link between the Old City and West Jerusalem finally began with the construction of luxury housing, more than a decade after the previous inhabitants of the area had been evacuated. An ambitious new City Hall complex was dedicated alongside the building that had filled that role for half a century.

A major new road, Road Number One, was built to bring traffic from north Jerusalem to the city center, passing near Damascus Gate. The road's three kilometer alignment followed the line that had served as no-man's-land between Israeli and Jordanian Jerusalem before the Six-Day War. A new museum complex began to take shape alongside the Israel Museum with the dedication of the Bible Lands Museum and a science museum. The Israel Supreme Court moved in 1992 from its old quarters in the center of the city to a striking new building in the Government Center. The biblical zoo also shifted to more elaborate new quarters in the south of the city. A major expansion of the Binyanei ha-Ummah Convention Center was launched to help meet the growing demand of international congresses seeking to hold their meetings in Jerusalem. In northern Jerusalem, the last and largest of the massive post-Six-Day War housing developments, Pisgat Ze'ev, with 12,000 units, was nearing completion.

On the Temple Mount in the Old City, the gold-colored annodized aluminum dome covering the Islamic shrine, the Dome of the Rock, was replaced by a dome gilded with real gold.

Teddy Kollek, first elected mayor in 1965, served in that capacity until replaced in the 1993 elections by Ehud *Olmert.

[Abraham Rabinovich]

Since the mid-1990s the city of Jerusalem has undergone many changes – demographic, economic, social, physical, and geopolitical. The main changes took place as a result of the deterioration in relations between Israel and the Palestinian Authority. The city has been affected by relentless terrorist attacks, as a result of which there has been serious economic decline; the lack of trust between Jews and Arabs living in the city has increased; the Jewish population in its part of the city has severed its link with the Arab population; and the jewel in the crown of the fight against Palestinian terrorism has been the erection of a security fence around Jerusalem, which has had considerable economic and social consequences and implications for the city's residents, Arabs and Jews. However, despite the serious security situation, there has been no let-up in the development of new neighborhoods in the city, the upgrading of infrastructure, and the addition of many new roads.

AREA AND POPULATION. Since 1993 the municipal area of Jerusalem has not changed from around 50 sq. mi. (125 sq. km.). In this respect, Jerusalem is the largest of Israel's cities (Tel Aviv covers 20 sq. mi. (50 sq. km.) and Haifa 23 sq. mi. (60 sq km). In terms of population, too, Jerusalem is Israel's largest city. As estimated by Israel's Central Bureau of Statistics, at the end of September 2005 Jerusalem had some 716,000 residents, by comparison with 591,400 living in the city in 1995. In other words, the city's population has grown by 21% in one decade.

Jerusalem's population is made up of three main groups – the Jewish secular and traditional population, the Jewish ultra-Orthodox population, and the Arab population. The following table shows the changes that have taken place in the city over the past decade in the ratio between the two main groups.

Table 1: The population of Jerusalem by population groups 1995–2004

Year	Total	%	Jews	%	Non-Jews	%
1995	591,400	100	417,000	70.5	174,400	29.5
2004	706,400	100	469,300	66.4	237,100	33.6

Source: *Jerusalem Statistical Yearbook*, Israel Research Institute, Jerusalem 1997. For 2004 data, Israel Research Institute, Jerusalem, 2005.

A comparison of the population data of the past decade shows a continuation of the trend of decline in the relative share of the Jewish population of Jerusalem in comparison with the Arab population, from 70% in 1995 to 66% at the end of 2004. If these demographic processes continue and there is no change in the municipal boundaries of Jerusalem, by 2020 the Arab population will be 42% of the total population of the city.

The distribution of the city's population in 2004 shows that slightly more than 400,000 residents live in what is usually called East Jerusalem, that is, the area annexed to the city in 1967 when Jerusalem was reunited. Of these, around 45% (some 180,000) are Jews living in Jewish neighborhoods built since 1967. These neighborhoods include Ramat Eshkol, Givat Shapira, Givat Hamivtar, Neveh Ya'acov, Gilo, Ramot Alon, East Talpiot, Pisgat Ze'ev, the Jewish Quarter, Har Ḥomah, Ramat Shelomo, and others. In other words, almost half of all the residents living in "East Jerusalem" in 2004 were Jews.

Since 1967, when the city was reunited, the population has increased by 160%. The Jewish population has increased by 135%, while the Arab population has increased by 233%. The rapid increase of the Arab population is a result of the natural reproduction rate of this group, on the one hand, and negative migration on the part of the Jewish population, on the other. The Jewish population of the city has increased by an average of 1.1% a year, whereas the Arab population has increased by an average 3.6% a year.

Since 1995, some 163,600 people have left the city and 97,100 have moved in. Over the past decade, therefore, the city has lost 66,500 residents, or an average of approximately 6,000 people a year. Around half of those leaving moved to metropolitan Jerusalem – to the towns and communities around the city (Mevasseret Zion, Ẓur Hadassah, and Ma'aleh Adumim), but the other half moved farther away to other parts of the country. Surveys have shown that most of those who left are young people with a higher education. In recent years, the young ultra-Orthodox population is also leaving the city for Jerusalem's satellite towns such as Betar Ilit and Beit Shemesh, or the more remote communities of Kiryat Sefer and Modi'in Ilit.

CHANGES IN THE CITY'S ECONOMY. Jerusalem is the poorest of Israel's large cities. The reasons for this situation are connected to the makeup of its population, part of which does not play an active role in the work force and in the city's economy. The rate of participation in the work force in Jerusalem is low by comparison with the other large cities. In 2004 it stood at only 45%, compared with 61% in Tel Aviv and 55% in Israel as a whole. The low rate of participation in the work force is due to the social-cultural structure of the city's population. Ultra-Orthodox men, for the most part, prefer to study in yeshivah and not go out to work, and Arab women also do not play a significant part in the civil workforce. If we add to this the size of the Arab and ultra-Orthodox families in the city, and the large number of dependents per wage earner, the inevitable result is a large number of families below the poverty line.

Further evidence of the economic weakness of the city is the low per-capita income in Jerusalem by comparison with other parts of the country. In 2001, per capita income in the city was only NIS 1,961, compared with NIS 4,458 in Tel Aviv or NIS 3,485 in Haifa. Both the average monthly income and the average wage for salaried and self-employed families in the city are low by comparison with Tel Aviv, Haifa, and the country as a whole. A combination of the population characteristics and the city's employment structure contribute to the low average income in Jerusalem. The low rate of participation in the work force characteristic of the Arab population and the Jewish ultra-Orthodox population has a considerable effect on the average wage of the city's residents. In addition, the city is the national capital and the center of government, with many government offices and other national institutions in which salaries are average, by comparison with a relatively small number of people employed in the higher-paying professions such as finance, insurance, and the high-tech industries. Almost 50% of employed people in Jerusalem work in public service (public administration, education, health and welfare services, etc.), by comparison with 28% in Tel Aviv. In 2004 only 14% of all employed people in Jerusalem worked in business and financial services, as compared with 31% in Tel Aviv. The percentage of those employed in industry is also low in the city, 7% as against 10% in Tel Aviv and 17% in Israel as a whole. The relatively low level of salaries in the city affects the scope and scale of consumption by the residents, and the commercial life of the city.

In addition to the fundamental factors accompanying the economy of the city for many years, over the past decade Jerusalem has been forced to contend with serious terrorist attacks, more than any other place in the country, as Palestinian terrorism saw the city as a central target for its activities. Around 60% of all terrorist activity in the second Intifada took place in Jerusalem, exacting the heavy cost of more than 500 dead and thousands wounded. The main branches of the city's economy that were affected were commerce and tourism. Jerusalem is a tourist city of the first order. Not a tourist comes to Israel without spending a few days in Jerusalem. As a result of the terrorist attacks, tourism was seriously affected. There was a drastic reduction in the number of overnight stays in hotels in the city, from 3.4 million nights in 2000 to 1.2 million in 2002. Overnight stays by tourists from overseas dropped even more sharply, from 2.9 million in 2000 to 639,000 in 2002. Tourism, which, as mentioned, is one of the most important economic branches in the city, recovered to a certain degree in the course of 2005, with the number of overnight hotel stays in the city increasing to 1.9 million. The drop in the tourist branch hit the entire network of tourist services, including tour guides, restaurants, jewelry and souvenir shops and many other services. Many businesses closed, and others faced bankruptcy. According to the data of the municipal Chamber of Commerce, more than 1,400 businesses closed during the worst years. Hardest hit were the merchants of East Jerusalem and the Old City. Tourist traffic, especially domestic Israeli tourism, stopped coming to East Jerusalem. Even at the beginning of 2006, commerce in the city had not completely recovered, despite the fact that the relative calm of 2005 brought more and more tourists and Israelis back to Jerusalem.

An analysis of the municipal *arnona* tax data since 1995 shows that despite the bad years, there has been an increase in the number of offices and businesses in the city. In 1995 Jerusalem had 15,445 businesses and offices paying rates to the municipality, and by 2004 these had been joined by more than 3,100 new businesses. There has also been an increase in the number of factories and workshops (more than 700) during the past decade.

One of the industries that has succeeded in establishing a foothold in the city is the biotechnology industry, basing itself on Jerusalem's unique advantage: its proximity to academic institutions, research bodies, and leading medical centers. In 2005 there were some 60 biotechnology companies in the city, employing 1,500 people. Jerusalem is home to almost 25% of Israel's biotechnology industry. The city hosts important factories in this field, such as Teva, AVX, and others. Jerusalem also has the largest concentration of technology incubators, intended to support high-tech ventures. In the past decade one such incubator (the Van Leer Jerusalem Technology Incubator) accompanied the establishment of more than 50 successful start-up companies. Another incubator (JVP) dealt with more than 30 projects in the past decade, from which a number of successful companies developed.

The city has a number of successful industrial areas, including Har Ḥotzvim, which has around a quarter of a million square meters of knowledge-intensive industries such as Intel, Teva, Sigma, Phasecom, AVX, NDS, and others. Over the past decade the area has developed considerably, and houses companies such as Amdocs, Mango, Foxcom, and others.

Another technology park was established in the course of the last decade in the Malkhah neighborhood (Malkhah Technological Park), on an area of around 60,000 square meters, employing 1,400 people. Other technological parks are located at the Givat Ram campus of the university and in Pisgat Ze’ev.

In addition to the high-tech industry, which is very important to Jerusalem, the city also has other areas of employment that have developed considerably in the past decade, such as the Givat Shaul industrial zone, with a built-up area today of 350,000 square meters. Other parts of the city that have developed are the industrial zones of Talpiot and Atarot. The latter has suffered severely in the past five years as a result of its location on the northern border of Jerusalem, and many factories have abandoned it and moved out of the city.

DEVELOPMENT OF THE EDUCATION SYSTEM. The education system in Jerusalem is the largest and most complex municipal system in Israel. There are three main frameworks in the city’s education system: state education, ultra-Orthodox education, and Arab education. Each of these frameworks contains secondary streams. State education includes the state and the state-religious streams; ultra-Orthodox education is divided between independent education and the *talmud torah* schools; and Arab education includes the municipal system, a private system, a church system, and the Muslim Waqf system.

The main change that has taken place in recent years is the constant increase in the number of students in the ultra-Orthodox and Arab sectors, and the gradual decrease in numbers in the state and state-religious education system. The table below shows the changes:

Table 2: Students in Jerusalem’s education systems 1995 to 2005

Education system	1994/1995	2004/2005
State and state religious education	72,308 (50.1)	62,339 (33.2)
Ultra-Orthodox education	51,250 (35.5)	83,223 (44.4)
Arab education*	20,748 (14.4)	42,063 (22.4)
Total / percentage	144, 306 (100)	187,625 (100)

* Not including students in private, church, and Waqf education, representing at all times half the total number of Arab students in the city.

The great decrease over the past decade in the state and state-religious education sector, from 50% of all students in the city to only 33%, can clearly be seen. The ultra-Orthodox sector has increased by 9%, and the Arab sector by 8%.

Higher education. University education in Jerusalem has also undergone changes in the past decade. The number of students at the Hebrew University continues to decline as a percentage of all students in the country. In 1995, 20,300 students studied for all levels at the Hebrew University, at the time representing 21% of all students in Israel. In the 2003 academic year, 120,555 students studied at universities around the country, and 21,598 of these studied in Jerusalem, representing 18% of all university students in Israel.

Technological education in Jerusalem received a boost with the opening of the College of Technology. Technological education in Jerusalem includes a number of other colleges such as Hadassah College, the Lev Institute of Technology, and other institutions.

CHANGES IN HOUSING. In 1995 the Jerusalem Municipality collected residential rates from 149,400 apartments. At the end of 2004, it collected residential rates from 180,500 apartments, 144,300 of them (80%) in the Jewish sector and 36,200 (20%) in the Arab sector. Since 1995 some 31,000 apartments have been added in the city. 19,000 of these are in the Jewish sector (61%) and 12,000 in the Arab sector (39%).

New neighborhoods have been added, which has considerably increased the area used for housing. In the south of the city, between Bethlehem and Kibbutz Ramat Raḥel, the Har Ḥomah neighborhood was under construction, housing 2,000 families and slated to have a total of 6,500 housing units. Between Beit Hakerem and Bayit Vegan the new neighborhood of Ramat Beit Hakerem has been built, with 2,200 housing units. Another new neighborhood in the south of Jerusalem was being built on the land of Kibbutz Ramat Raḥel. Another was under construction on the site of the former Allenby Camp, on the road to Bethlehem and Hebron. At the southwestern edge of Jerusalem two new neighborhoods have been established: Manaḥat, close to the stadium named after Teddy Kollek, Jerusalem’s legendary mayor, and Givat Masu’ah, near Moshav Orah on the fringes of Jerusalem’s municipal boundaries. These two neighborhoods have around 4,200 housing units. To the north of Jerusalem (on the Shu’afat ridge) a religious ultra-Orthodox neighborhood called Ramat Shelomo was being built with 1,800 housing units. In the northeastern part of the city the Pisgat Ze’ev neighborhood, the largest of the Jewish neighborhoods built after the unification of the city in June 1967, continued to be developed. The main construction since 1995 was in the eastern and southern parts of the neighborhood, including a large commercial center at its heart. The neighborhood has also expanded northwards, joining up with Neveh Ya’acov, the northernmost Jewish neighborhood in the city.

Residential construction has naturally not passed over the older neighborhoods in the heart of Jerusalem. Many houses have been built on vacant lots in older neighborhoods such as Mekor Ḥayyim and Talpiot, additional stories have been added to existing buildings in the center of town, and in historic neighborhoods such as Rehavia, Talbieh, the German Colony, Baka, Beit Hakerem, and the ultra-Orthodox neighborhoods of Geula, Kerem Avraham, Reḥovot ha-Bukharim, Tel Arza, and Mekor Barukh, which have gradually become areas occupied by ultra-Orthodox Jewish residents.

Large-scale construction has also taken place in the Arab sector of Jerusalem, as shown by the statistics above. The form of construction in the Arab sector is different from that in the Jewish sector; there is almost no construction by public companies, most of it being private, family construction. The main concentrations of building have been in the northern Arab neighborhoods of Beit Hanina and Shu'afat, but also in the neighborhoods encircling the Old City, such as Ras el-Amud, Wadi Kadum, and A-Sheikh. In the residential areas of the Bedouin in the southeast of the city (Sawahara al-Arabia) there has also been considerable construction, as well as in A-Tur, Abu Tor, and the southern villages of Zur Baher, Umm Tuba, and Beit Safafa. The main change in the form of Arab construction in the past decade has been one of scale; from single and two-story houses to multistory buildings. In addition to Arab construction within the Jerusalem municipal area, many houses have also been constructed outside the municipal boundaries, mainly in the area of A-Ram, north of Neveh Ya'acov, where, in practice, a new town has grown up. Between Ma'aleh Adumim and Jerusalem the town of A-Zayim, established by residents of A-Tur, has also expanded considerably and considerable construction has taken place in recent years.

It can therefore be seen that the competition between the two people, Israelis and Palestinians, over Jerusalem continues unabated and each side tries to create facts on the ground to the best of its ability, capturing land by means of residential construction. This is based on the assumption that it is the spatial distribution of buildings that will determine the future borders of the state.

THE CONSTRUCTION OF INSTITUTIONS. In addition to new residential neighborhoods and increasing the density of older neighborhoods, over the past decade there has been considerable construction of public, government, and administrative institutions in the city. The Safra Municipal Complex was completed and serves all the city's residents; the Supreme Court was inaugurated at Givat Ram; and new government offices were added to the Government Campus: the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Ministry of Tourism, the Ministry of Trade and Industry, the Ministry of Labor, and the Israel Land Administration. The Knesset and the Israel Convention Center both have new wings. The old Sha'arei Zedek Hospital in Jaffa Road has been renovated and taken over by the management of the Israel Broadcasting Authority, and not far off, at the Western entrance to the city, a new central bus station has been built. On Mt. Herzl the Yad Vashem Museum has been built and the Herzl Museum has been renovated. Beit Shmuel in the former Mamilla neighborhood has been enlarged, and near the Yemin Moshe neighborhood the Begin Center has been constructed. New buildings have also been constructed on the Mt. Scopus University campus: the Yitzhak Rabin Jewish Sciences building, the sports center, and student hostels. Kiryat Moriah in Talpiot has been expanded, and, on the borders of the German Colony, the Hartmann Education Center has been constructed.

A number of new hotels were built during the period, completing the city's accommodation network. Three of these were built along the "seam line" of Route 1, close to the former Mandelbaum Gate; two in Herzl Blvd.; and one in King David St. as part of the Mamilla renovation. Many religious institutions and yeshivot were built, the largest being the Belz Yeshivah in Romema. The two large promenades built along the Armon Hanatziv ridge (Hass and Sherover) have been joined by the Goldman Promenade, continuing eastward to Armon Hanatziv and the new neighborhood of Nofei Zion. The Biblical zoo has also been expanded and has a new sculpture garden.

INFRASTRUCTURES AND ROADS. The past decade has seen considerable expansion of roads and infrastructures in the city. In terms of the water supply, the fourth pipeline from the coastal plain has been completed, and a big reservoir underneath the sports field of Ziv School in Beit Hakerem has been built. The effluent treatment system has been completed and a waste water purification plant has been built for the entire western and southern drainage basin in Naḥal Sorek. The supply of electricity to the city has been considerably increased, and the power substation in Emek Refaim has been renovated.

The new roads have really revolutionized the city. First and foremost, the main north–south traffic artery, Begin Blvd., was completed and a new access road to the city was developed, joining up with the Ma'aleh Beit Horon–Modi'in road (Route 443). The tunnels road southward to the Eẓyon bloc has been completed, as well as a new east–west road linking Hebron Road to the neighborhood of East Talpiot. The past decade has been characterized by the construction of new road tunnels. Five new tunnels have been constructed: the tunnels on Route 60 to the Eẓyon bloc; the Mt. Scopus tunnel toward Ma'aleh Adumim, creating a new entrance to Jerusalem from the east; the tunnel at the foot of the Old City walls under Ha-Ẓanḥanim Road, linking the Jaffa Gate to Route 1; and the Begin Blvd. tunnel under the entrance to the city. Another new road making use of bridges joins Pisgat Ze'ev and Neveh Ya'acov to the French Hill junction, encompassing the historic Ramallah Road. Another road under construction in 2006 in Emek ha-Arazim is Route 9, creating an additional entrance to the city from the west and linking the Motza junction with the Ramot junction and Begin Blvd. at the foot of Har Ḥotzvim.

In preparation for the construction of a light railway in Jerusalem, new public transport lanes have been laid along Jaffa Road, Hebron Road, Keren Hayesod St., and Herzl Blvd. Near Mt. Herzl, work started on the big parking lot which is part of the planned mass transport system.

CULTURE, ART AND ENTERTAINMENT. Jerusalem is a city with many cultural and art institutes. The city has more than 30 museums, hundreds of galleries, and other cultural institutions. Over the past decade the appearance and content of Morasha's Museum on the Seam, also known as Turgeman Post, has changed; the Underground Prisoners Museum in the Russian Compound has been renovated; and a new wing has been added to the Bernard Bloomfield Science Museum. The Menachem Begin Heritage Center, housing exhibitions and lecture halls, has been built in the area overlooking the Old City and Mt. Zion. A number of theaters have also been established in the city in the past decade, including the Laboratory Theater in the old train station, the Noah's Ark Theater, the Cylinder Theater, the Comma Theater, and the Yellow Submarine. The Ma'aleh Association for Television and Cinema Studies has also been established. A number of new bands and ensembles have been formed, including Musica Aeterna, the Ankor Choir, Arabesque, A-Capella, and others.

New entertainment districts have developed in the city, in the neighborhood of the old railway station in Emek Refaim, along with many bars and restaurants in the area of Shlomzion Hamalka St., Naḥalat Shiva, and Monbaz St. in the center of town.

POLITICAL, MUNICIPAL AND GEOPOLITICAL CHANGES. Since Teddy Kollek lost the mayoral elections in 1993 there has been a gradual revolution in Jerusalem in terms of municipal politics. The ultra-Orthodox public had a decisive weight in the upset in the 1993 election, and the weight of the ultra-Orthodox voter in the city has been gradually increasing. This may be set against the low turnout by the city's Arab population, which has never been above a few percent. In the 1998 election the Shas movement increased its hold considerably and the high rate of voting among the city's ultra-Orthodox population made United Torah Judaism the largest faction in the municipality. In January 2003 the city's mayor, Ehud Olmert, decided to take up Prime Minister Ariel Sharon's offer and join the government. As a result, elections in the city were brought forward and the candidate of the religious United Torah Judaism party, Uri *Lupoliansky, was elected with a majority of 52%. For the first time in the electoral history of Jerusalem, the religious parties achieved a majority in the City Council. In many respects this was an internal political revolution affecting the city's image, since despite the democratic elections, a situation had arisen in which representatives of one-third of the Jewish population of the city held the reins of municipal government, a situation that was not viewed with satisfaction by the secular majority, whose voter turnout at the municipal elections was lower than its numerical weight in the city.

The changes in the national geopolitical sphere are taking place against the background of an increased awakening of Palestinian nationalism, the failure of the Oslo accords, and the loss of trust between the two population groups, Jewish and Arab, in the city. The events of the first and second Intifada years and increasing Palestinian terrorism created serious tension between Jews and Arabs in Israel in general and in Jerusalem in particular. The two populations have taken a mutual step back from each other, and an ethnically polarized system has emerged in Jerusalem. The Arabs have withdrawn into their neighborhoods, and so have the Jews. Visits by Jews to the Old City and by Arabs to the Israeli city center in West Jerusalem have ceased. The security incidents and the curtailment of Palestinian movement in and around the city have deepened the economic gap between the two population groups, and exacerbated the state of public services in the eastern part of the city.

The terrorist attacks led the government of Israel, under pressure of Israeli public opinion, to take the dramatic decision to erect a physical barrier between the Palestinian and Israeli populations. Implementation of this decision in the Jerusalem area has led to a far-reaching change in the city's status, its economy, the welfare of its Arab residents, and its appearance.

THE SECURITY FENCE. Construction of the security envelope around the city is perhaps the most dramatic change to have taken place in Jerusalem since its reunification in June 1967. The route of the fence around Jerusalem was drawn up largely on the basis of security considerations, and this is also its purpose. However, it creates a new and difficult situation for a large part of the Arab population. The longer-term influence of the fence will affect the entire city, including its Jewish population. The security fence has been under construction in the Jerusalem area since 2003 and was due to be completed in 2006. In all other parts of the country, along Israel's border, the fence separates the Palestinian population from the Israeli population. In Jerusalem the situation is different. In practice, the fence separates Palestinians who are resident in the city and hold Israeli identity cards from other Palestinians resident in the West Bank and other Arab residents of Jerusalem who have moved out to live in suburbs outside the city. The fence is being erected, for the most part, along the municipal boundary and includes 230,000 Arab residents within the city. In certain areas it also deviates from the path of the municipal boundary and excludes a number of Arab Jerusalem neighborhoods. As a result of the fact that the fence cuts neighborhoods off from the city, tens of thousands of Arabs holding Israeli identity cards remain outside the fence. These people need to come into Jerusalem every morning for studies, work, medical services, to visit relatives, for prayers etc. As residents of the city, they are entitled to do so by law. Thousands of others, who also carry Israeli identity cards, have moved, over the years, to suburbs outside the city and today they find themselves outside the fence. The immediate demographic result of the situation that has arisen has been the migration of thousands of families back into the city. Their return to Jerusalem has created a serious housing problem, an increase in the cost of real estate in East Jerusalem, and a considerable worsening of residential density. All these do not enhance the socio-economic situation in Jerusalem. Furthermore, the extra Palestinian population upsets the delicate demographic balance between Jews and Arabs in Jerusalem. The economic situation of many of the city's Arabs and the residents of the surrounding villages is very poor, due to the loss of work places, the loss of consumers, and difficulties of access. The health service and education system in East Jerusalem have also been adversely affected, and many people have been cut off from their relatives.

It is still difficult to assess the full impact of the fence on the social and economic status of Jerusalem and on future relations between Arabs and Jews in the city. It is even harder to anticipate the reactions and behavior of the city's Arab residents. A large number of them have been caused personal hardship and a considerable degree of frustration and anger. In such a situation this frustration and suffering is likely to be channeled by extremists toward hostile actions.

Many questions remained unanswered, such as: What will be the future status of the security fence when peace talks with the Palestinians are renewed? To what degree will the fence affect reciprocal relations between Jerusalem and its hinterland? Does the fence not return the city to its position as a border town, similar to its situation between 1949 and 1967? Other questions relate to the future civil status of Arab residents holding Israeli identity cards who have been excluded by the fence; to the efficient functioning of passages through the fence; and to the effect that the fence will have on tourism and pilgrimage between Jerusalem and Bethlehem.

THE JERUSALEM METROPOLITAN AREA. In the past decade the Jerusalem metropolitan area, spreading from Hebron in the south to the Shilo Valley in the north and from Jericho in the east to Beit Shemesh in the west has undergone considerable change. Until the end of the 1990s, greater Jerusalem functioned as a single economic unit with economic, social, and cultural ties between the main city – Jerusalem – and the Palestinian and Israeli communities around it. Gradually, as a result of the security incidents and the government of Israel's response to them, the communities of the Palestinian area are cutting themselves off from Jerusalem. The city continues to maintain economic and cultural ties with the Israeli communities in the area, both those within the Jerusalem district to the west and the Israeli communities in Judea and Samaria; Betar Ilit, Efrat, and the Eẓyon bloc to the south of Jerusalem; Ma'aleh Adumim, Kefar Adumim, Adam, and other small communities to the east; Pesagot, Beit El, Ofra, Mikhmash, Givat Ze'ev, new Givon and Bet Horon to the north and northwest of the city.

In 1990, the entire metropolitan population (not including the city of Jerusalem) numbered 600,000 residents. Only around 17% of them (100,000) were Jews. 48% of the Jewish residents lived in the Jerusalem district within the Green Line, and 52% in the communities of Judea and Samaria. Fifteen years later, at the end of 2004, the population of this same area was estimated at 1,597,000 residents. The Jewish population was 22,000, 45% of them living in the communities of Judea and Samaria and 55% in the Jerusalem district within the Green Line. The Jewish population in the metropolitan area increased during this period by 115%, as against an increase of 27% in the Jewish population within Jerusalem. The population of the Jewish communities of Judea and Samaria increased by 90%, whereas within the Green Line the population grew at a higher rate of 145% during the same period.

The large Jewish communities in metropolitan Jerusalem today are Beit Shemesh (65,000), Ma'aleh Adumim (30,000), Betar Ilit (27,000), Mevaseret Zion (22,000), and Givat Ze'ev (11,000).

The Arab population of the same area numbered some 500,000 residents in 1990 and 1,132,000 residents in 2004, an increase of 126%. The relative weight of the Jewish population in the metropolitan area within Judea and Samaria increased slightly and stood at the end of 2004 at 20% as against 17% 15 years ago.

Metropolitan Jerusalem only partially operates as a single functional area. The majority of the metropolitan area is populated by Palestinians, who are cut off in practice from Jerusalem, a situation that will be exacerbated when the security fence around the city is completed. This fact damages the economy and the centrality of Jerusalem as a metropolitan city for all the residents of the region. It serves as a metropolitan city for only 20% of the region's population – the Jewish population.

[Israel Kimhi (2nd ed.)]

GEOGRAPHY AND ARCHAEOLOGY

Geography

Jerusalem is located on the ridge of the Judean Mountains between the mountains of Beth-El in the north and of Hebron in the south. To the west of the city are slopes of the Judean Mountains, and to the east lies the Judean desert, which descends to the Dead Sea. The geographical position of Jerusalem is linked to the morphological structure of the Judean Mountains, which appear as one solid mass unbreached by valleys, although vales and ravines are found on their western and eastern descents. This unbroken length of mountains turns the city into a fortress dominating a considerable area. Its position at the crossroads leading from north to south and from west to east enhances its importance: only by ascending to its plateau is it possible to cross the mountain. The road through the length of the mountains follows the plateau, and any deviation to east or west meets with steep ravines on one side and deep canyons on the other. This road, connecting Hebron, Bethlehem, Jerusalem, Ramallah, and Nablus (Shechem), is of the utmost consequence, and Jerusalem is located on its axis, at the very point where it crosses the road from the coast to the Jordan Valley. Jerusalem is about 9 to 10 mi. (15 to 17 km.) from the western boundary of the Judean Mountains and only about a mile (2 km.) from their eastern boundary.

THE CLIMATE. Jerusalem's climate is Mediterranean, with a rainy, temperate winter and a hot, completely dry summer; there is a high percentage of solar radiation throughout the year, especially in the summer.

The annual rainfall in Jerusalem is about 20 in. (500 mm.). The rainy season continues from September to May, and approximately 30% of the annual rain falls by December, with 40% in February and March. There are about 47 rainy days annually on the average. On most of these days there is about 0.2 in. (5 mm.) of rainfall; 1.2 in. (30 mm.) of daily rainfall occurs about five or six times during a season; and once or twice there is as much as 2 in. (50 mm.). Particularly heavy rainfalls were recorded between Nov. 5 and Nov. 9, 1938, amounting to 8 in. (200 mm.) or 30% of the precipitation of that year. In the period from Dec. 13 to Dec. 23, 1951, over 14 in. (358 mm.) fell (57% of the annual rainfall). In the 100 years during which records of rainfall were kept (1840–1950), there were two years with less than 12 in. (300 mm.) of rainfall in the entire wet season, six years with less than 16 in. (400 mm.), and three years with more than 40 in. (1000 mm.). Snow in Jerusalem is infrequent. When it does fall, it occurs mainly in January and February and can last about four or five days.

The average annual temperature in Jerusalem is 66° F (19° C). The average temperature in August, the hottest month, is 75° F (24° C) and in the coldest month, January, is 50° F (10° C). The average daily temperature from December to February is usually under 52° F (11° C). From the middle of February until the beginning of April, the temperature rises to an average of about 59° F (15° C). At the end of April it rises to about 68° F (20° C) and remains at that level until the end of July. In August it reaches 77° F (25° C), and from then until the end of October the daily average is about 68° F (20° C). The minimum temperature in the month of January goes down to 41° F (5° C). The maximum temperature during the *sharav* (heat wave) reaches 95° F (35° C). The regular wind in Jerusalem is a western one, but occasionally it is northwesterly or southwesterly. Winds do not originate in Jerusalem and its vicinity. Jerusalem is subject to heat waves during the months of May and June, as well as September and October. These periods are characterized by intensive heat and low humidity and usually last a few days. The humidity drops 30–40% below the average and the heat increases by about 27° F (15° C). The average daily humidity in Jerusalem is about 62%. The humidity drops until noon and rises toward evening. The amount of dew in Jerusalem reaches 0.8–1 in. (20–25 mm.) as an average during the 100 to 150 annual nights of dew.

FLORA. In Jerusalem, remnants of ancient trees are to be found, including the Jerusalem pine (*Pinus halepensis*, the tallest forest tree in Israel), the gall oak (*Quercus infectoria*), the common oak (*Quercus calliprinos*), the Tabor oak (*Quercus ithaburensis*), the Palestine terebinth (*Pistacia palaestina*), the mastic terebinth (*Pistacia tenticus*), the arbutus, and the wild olive. Traces of ancient vegetation were found in Tel Arzah, on Mount Scopus, on the French Hill, in the Valley of the Cross, the German Colony, Ein Kerem, Bet ha-Kerem, Talpiyyot, and Agron Street.

BOUNDARIES. The only boundary of Jerusalem that remained unchanged after the Six-Day War (1967) was its western boundary. It descends southwest from Har Ḥoẓevim to the village of Mei-Nefto'aḥ (Liftā) and west to Har ha-Menuḥot and from there to Kefar Sha'ul, Bet Zayit, Ein Kerem, the Hadassah medical center, Kefar Shalma, and Ir Gannim. The new boundaries of the city were extended north, east, and south. North of Mount Ḥoẓevim, the boundary includes the villages of Shaʿfāṭ, New Beit Ḥanīnā, and Qalandiya to the airport at Atarot, and then returns eastward to the Jerusalem-Ramallah highway, encompassing within the boundaries of the city the hilly area between Jerusalem and Atarot. The eastern boundary includes the natural mountainous framework of Jerusalem: Mount Scopus, the Mount of Olives, the village of Al-Tūr, the Old City, and the village of Silwān. The new boundary on the south includes the villages of Ṣūr Bāhir and Beit Ṣafāfā and continues the length of the Valley of Rephaim to the juncture with the western border. Greater Jerusalem within these borders has an area of 26,250 acres (105,000 dunams) and forms one organic unit.

TOPOGRAPHY. The watershed of the region passes through the city in a north-south direction via Mount Scopus, the Sanhedriyyah Quarter, Romemah, Maḥaneh Yehudah, Terra Sancta, the YMCA, Givat Ḥananyah, the Mandatory Government House (later the headquarters of the UN observers), Talpiyyot, and Ramat Raḥel. There are some mountain ridges branching off the watershed to the east and west. On the low eastern ridge, which descends to the river bed of Kidron, the ancient city was built. A western ridge divides the Christian and Armenian quarters of the Old City and ends on Mount Zion. It was here that the Upper City was built. A number of ridges penetrate to the west and south of Jerusalem: the ridge of Beit Yisrael, the ridge on which the Mandatory Government House stands, the ridge of Ha-Kiryah (Israel government center), the Kiryat ha-Yovel ridge, the Gonen ridge, and the ridge of Ir Gannim. The ridges and the branches of the mountains form valleys that greatly influence the structure of the city. These are divided into two groups: those facing Naḥal Kidron in the east, and those facing Naḥal Sorek in the west. Naḥal Ben Hinnom, which demarcates the southwestern boundary of historical Jerusalem, flows into Naḥal Kidron. Another tributary of the Kidron is Naḥal Egozim, which divides the Bet Yisrael Quarter from Mount Scopus. Naḥal Sorek borders Jerusalem on the north and the west. In the south the Valley of Refa'im is a tributary of Naḥal Sorek.

The topography of Jerusalem forms five main natural basins. The eastern basin includes the Old City and the drainage basin of Kidron and Ben Hinnom. The northern basin includes the Romemah, Tel Arzah, and Sanhedriyyah quarters. The southern basin includes the German and Greek colonies, Ge'ulim, Talbieh, Mekor Ḥayyim, Bet ha-Kerem, Bayit va-Gan, Kiryat ha-Yovel, Ein Kerem, and Ir Gannim. The central basin includes the government center (Ha-Kiryah), The Hebrew University, and the Israel Museum. As most of the ridges and the valleys extend in a north to south direction, only a few extending from east to west, the city has developed lengthwise. Mount Scopus is 2,700 ft. (827 m.) and the Mount of

Olives is 2,640 ft. (805 m.) high, whereas the Old City is some 200–260 ft. (60–80 m.) lower. Mount Herzl and Bayit va-Gan are 2,340 ft. (835 m.) high, whereas nearby Ein Kerem is only 2,230–2,300 ft. (650–700 m.) high.

[Elisha Efrat]

THE OLD CITY. The present-day walls of the Old City, built from 1536 under the Turkish sultan Suleiman the Magnificent, enclose a smaller area than that of the Second Temple period. The location of its seven gates (Herod's, Damascus, and New Gates in the north, Jaffa Gate in the west, Zion and Dung Gates in the south, and St. Stephen's (Lions') Gate in the east) is thought to be identical to that of the gates of antiquity.

Inside the walls of the Old City, where all the inhabitants lived until the middle of the 19th century, four quarters are distinguished: in the northwest corner, the Christian Quarter, grouped around the Church of the Holy Sepulcher; in the southwest, the Armenian Quarter; in the center and northeast, the Muslim Quarter; and, in the south, the Jewish Quarter. From St. Stephen's Gate westward to the Holy Sepulcher runs the Via Dolorosa, which passes through the Muslim Quarter and is flanked by several churches, monasteries, and Christian charitable institutions. The artificially flattened ground on Mt. Moriah, where the Jewish Temple stood, later became the site of two of the holiest shrines of Islam: the Dome of the Rock (Omar Mosque) and the Aqṣā Mosque. The Temple Area is surrounded by the colossal Herodian enclosure wall, preserved in the east, south, and west; a larger section of the Western ("Wailing") Wall, the most venerated site in Jewish tradition, was bared to view after 1967, and archaeological excavations around the southern edges of the Temple Mount have added to the knowledge of the city's structure in the Second Temple period and later. Between the Western Wall and the Armenian Quarter lies the Jewish Quarter, which had to surrender in the 1948 fighting. Under Jordanian rule, this quarter deteriorated, and all its synagogues were systematically destroyed. Following the Six-Day War (1967) reconstruction was started there.

THE NEW CITY. As a result of the gradual population rise, space between the walls of the Old City became ever more crowded, particularly in the narrow Jewish Quarter. Jews were therefore the first to found new quarters outside the walls; in 1858 Mishkenot Sha'ananim was built west of the Old City, soon followed by Yemin Moshe and by Naḥalat Shivah in the northwest. At about the same time, churches began to establish hostels and other institutions outside the walls for the benefit of the growing flow of Christian pilgrims: the buildings of the Russian Compound are notable among these.

The New City spread mainly toward the northwest along the road leading to the port of Jaffa. From this direction most goods were brought, and pilgrims, both Jewish and Christian, arrived from overseas and enlivened trade in the city. In the first Jewish quarters the houses were crowded together, primarily for security reasons; the Yemin Moshe quarter was even surrounded by a wall and its gates closed every evening. Those first quarters which the inhabitants built exclusively with their own means (e.g., Naḥalat Shivah) were shabby in appearance and lacked uniformity in style and layout. Others, where construction was partly or wholly financed by philanthropists (like Yemin Moshe, which was aided by Sir Moses Montefiore and bears his name), were better planned, generally with rows of houses of one or two stories. The Me'ah She'arim quarter took on particular importance. Founded in 1874 by pious Jews from the Old City, it has remained a stronghold of Jewish Orthodoxy.

At the end of the 19th century, the first garden suburbs made their appearance; those of non-Jews (e.g., German Colony and Greek Colony, Katamon, etc.) preceded modern Jewish quarters (Reḥavyah, Beit ha-Kerem, Talpiyyot, etc.). In all these, attempts were made to lend beauty to the individual house and surrounding garden and to plan streets, water, sewage and electricity networks along rational lines, while details were kept within the framework of the urban outline scheme.

The British Mandatory authorities aimed to preserve Jerusalem's beauty and historical treasures. All outer house walls had to be built of the fine local stone, which is both durable and in harmony with the landscape. Rules limiting the height of structures and floor space percentage covering the ground were issued, and care was taken to retain open spaces and preserve the skyline, particularly of sites of natural beauty and historical interest. An effort was made to fit the main roads to traffic densities, and a ring road was planned to connect the outer suburbs with each other. On the other hand, the authorities rejected industrialization as not befitting Jerusalem's character, and they did not encourage a rapid population growth.

CITY PLANNING (1948–1967). In the first years of the State of Israel, the most pressing tasks were repair of the damage caused in the War of Independence, absorption of new immigrants, and preparation of a new outline scheme fitting in with the border which then divided the city between Israel and Jordan; at a later stage came zoning into residential, commercial, administrative, cultural, and industrial units.

With The Hebrew University campus, the Knesset, and the Israel Museum as pivotal points, a large center of legislative, administrative, cultural, and commercial institutions was laid out. The whole area was well integrated in the general plan of the capital. Care was taken to preserve and restore sites of archaeological and historical interest, to maintain open spaces, and to develop green belts.

Jerusalem's hilly topography was taken into account: the ridges and upper slopes, which are well drained in winter and cool and agreeable in summer, were reserved for building, while valleys were earmarked for parks, gardens, and fruit orchards.

The de facto borders that surrounded Israel left the west as the only direction for Jerusalem's expansion. It was therefore decided to let the outline scheme hinge on the Binyenei ha-Ummah (Convention Center) at Romemah, the dominant height of the Jerusalem urban area which lies astride the main western entrance of the city. Accordingly, the existing commercial center was planned to expand northwestward to Romemah. The buildings of the Government ministries (Ha-Kiryah) and the new Knesset edifice, surrounded by lawns and gardens, adjoin this area to the south. Still further south lie the impressive campus of the university and the National Library, the Israel Museum, and related institutions. This whole complex is thus situated between older quarters in the east and the expansion belt of residential suburbs (Kiryat Moshe, Bet ha-Kerem, Bayit va-Gan, Kiryat ha-Yovel, etc.) in the west and southwest. The Hadassah Medical Center is the extreme point of westward expansion.

Contrary to the British view, industry is now regarded as an element indispensable to Jerusalem's economy. Owing to the city's geographical position, light industries are easiest to develop here. In addition to the enlarged existing industrial area at Tel Arza in the northwest, a second, at Givat Sha'ul in the west, was developed.

Owing to economic and security considerations, the planning authorities regarded the road system linking the capital to the rest of the State as particularly important. After the War of Independence, a single highway to Tel Aviv in the northwest was open; the railway line became usable again after border corrections in the Israel-Jordan armistice of 1949. Since then, additional roads, which converge on the city from the west and southwest, were constructed.

As elsewhere in the country, the large new suburbs in the west and southwest (Katamon, Kiryat ha-Yovel, etc.) were laid out as self-contained neighborhood units. Prior to 1967, they had to absorb many newcomers settling in Jerusalem and to aid in thinning out the overpopulated older quarters further east, some of which had been earmarked for replanning and reconstruction. In an outer circle around these suburbs spread a green belt of parks, forests, and playgrounds. Landscaping and planting of parks and lawns accentuated sites of historical interest all over the city. Although the law prescribing the facing of buildings with natural stone was relaxed in part of the city to prevent unnecessary rises in the cost of popular housing, it was retained for all representative sections of the city.

Growth And Planning After Reunification (1967). Immediately after the Six-Day War, all military installations, fences, and shell-proof concrete walls which had separated the two parts of the city were removed, and the connecting streets and roads paved and opened. Next, unseemly structures obstructing the view of the Old City wall were torn down, the wall itself and its gates painstakingly repaired, and the first gardens of a planned green peripheral belt planted in front of it. Inside the Old City, hovels were demolished close to the Western Wall. Two additional rows of its ashlars, hidden in the rubble, were uncovered and a wide square in front cleared, paved, and rendered suitable for prayer. The reconstruction of the Jewish Quarter and its historic synagogues was started and institutions of religious study moved in, their pupils forming the nucleus of the Old City's renewed Jewish community. South of the Temple Mount, archaeological excavations were started early in 1968. The slight damage caused to Christian churches and institutions during the fighting was speedily repaired and church building and renovation work (e.g., on the Holy Sepulcher), which had been in progress prior to June 1967, were resumed. Jerusalem's boundaries were redrawn, giving the capital a municipal area exceeding 100 sq. km., the largest in the country (see Boundaries, above).

One of the main problems of the Jerusalem master plan lay in reconciling the desire for a continuous built-up area with the necessity to preserve and enhance numerous historical sites, sacred to three world religions, such as the entire Old City, the Kidron and Ben Hinnom Gorges, the "City of David" to the south, Mount Scopus and the Mount of Olives, and many more. Both inside and outside the Old City walls, gardens were laid out or were planned, while other areas to the east and south were earmarked as public open spaces or sites for preservation and reconstruction.

Another difficult task, which after June 1967 assumed great urgency, lay in securing efficient traffic arteries leading through and around Jerusalem. The existent main thoroughfares had become totally inadequate, particularly Jaffa Road, which carried the bulk of both urban and interurban traffic. A network of new broad roads was blueprinted in order to provide alternative approach routes from all directions, enabling vehicular traffic to cross the municipal area to destinations beyond it (e.g., from Bethlehem directly to Ramallah) without clogging Jerusalem's main arteries. Adequate parking facilities had also to be provided throughout the city. The numerous protected historical sites and edifices and, primarily, Jerusalem's hilly terrain rendered this program highly expensive, as entire complexes of nonessential buildings would have to be demolished. In addition, earth-moving work, on a very large scale, would have to be carried out and long road tunnels excavated in the ridges.

In order to arrive at an acceptable joint solution to the traffic, social, and economic problems, planners preferred not to concentrate industry, commerce, administration, tourism, etc., each in a separate area, but rather to distribute them evenly throughout the city, thus shortening the distances between residential quarters and sites of employment and more evenly spreading traffic flow during rush hours. As more and more Government ministries and other central offices moved to the capital, an increasing need was felt to depart from the original plan of concentrating all government buildings in Ha-Kiryah but to distribute them over other sections, including East Jerusalem.

The Hebrew University saw the return of its original campus atop Mount Scopus, where, beginning with the Harry S. Truman Research Center, an intensive restoration and building program was launched in 1968, comprising lecture halls and dormitories for thousands of students. Other institutes of learning, e.g., yeshivot, Christian theological seminaries, etc., were constructed in various parts of the city.

In view of the growing need for tourist accommodation and services in Jerusalem, large sums of public and private capital were invested in hotel building, and suitable sites were earmarked for these purposes throughout the city, with an area in the south, on a ridge northwest of the former Government House, planned as the principal hotel center. The capital attracted increasing numbers of industrial enterprises, particularly in the electronics and other science-centered industries, for which new areas were set aside in the south, north, and northeast.

New housing developments called for the largest share of both space and investments. While the southwest (Kiryat ha-Yovel, etc.) continued to serve as the sector of intensive apartment building, and vacant lots elsewhere were increasingly being used for new constructions, a concentrated effort was being directed toward the favorable terrain in the north, beyond the former armistice line. New residential quarters, under construction since 1968, promised to provide accommodation for tens of thousands of citizens, both Jews and non-Jews, and to link western Jerusalem with Mount Scopus in the east and Shaʿfāṭ in the north.

[Efraim Orni]

Archaeological Research

Ever since the 19th century, when Jerusalem first became the focus of antiquarians and explorers, the complexity of studying so many superimposed ancient periods under the city, combined with the fact that so many of its important sites are inconveniently situated beneath buildings that are the focus of the three principal religions (Judaism, Christianity, and Islam), have made methodical archaeological research there a particularly difficult and challenging task. Investigation and recording of the visible ancient remains of ancient Jerusalem took place during the 19th century by many explorers: E. Robinson C. Mauss, E. Pierotti, T. Tobler, C.J.M. de-Vogüé, among others. Their work is invaluable because subsequent building activities in the city have destroyed or covered up many of the ancient remains that they recorded. Since the first proper mapping of Jerusalem in 1864 by C. Wilson during the Ordnance Survey of Jerusalem, the city has been almost continuously studied by explorers and archaeologists, with much work being undertaken in the area of the Haram al-Sharif (Temple Mount), the Southeastern Hill (the "City of David"), and the Western Hill (traditional "Mount Zion"). Important work was undertaken by C. Warren (from 1867), especially around the Temple Mount, on behalf of the British Palestine Exploration Fund. During the latter part of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century much work was done on the ancient topography of the city and its monuments by C.R. Conder, C. Schick, H. Vincent, and others. Important excavations were conducted by F.J. Bliss and A.C. Dickie (1894–97) on the Western Hill, by R. Weill (1913–14, 1923–24), by R.A.S. Macalister and J.G. Duncan (1923–25), by G.M. FitzGerald and J.W. Crowfoot (1927–28) on the Southeastern Hill, and by K.M. *Kenyon (1961–68) in various parts of the city.

During the 1970s and early 1980s large-scale excavations were conducted in Jerusalem by B. Mazar (1968–78) at the southern and southwestern foot of the Temple Mount, by N. Avigad (1969–83) in the Jewish Quarter, and by Y. Shiloh (1978–85) in the "City of David."

Excavations were also conducted in various areas on Mount Zion by M. Broshi (1971–78) and further remains have been uncovered in the area of the Citadel near the Jaffa Gate by H. Geva, G. Solar, and R. Sivan and others. Excavations have also been conducted by D. Bahat in the tunnels along the western Temple Mount wall.

New excavations have been undertaken in various parts of the city during the 1980s and 1990s, particularly by V. Tzaferis, S. Wulff, D. Amit, and others in the area of the Third Wall to the north of the Old City; by R. Reich, A. Meir, and others in the Mamila area to the west of Jaffa Gate; by R. Reich and E. Shukrun in the area of the Gihon Spring, along the east slope of the City of David, and in the area of the Pool of Siloam; by R. Reich and Y. Bilig in the area of Robinson's Arch; by G. Avni and Y. Baruch in the area close to Herod's Gate; and by G. Avni and J. Seligman in the Church of the Holy Sepulcher. Much work has also been conducted in the surroundings of Jerusalem with many small excavations conducted by the Israel Antiquities Authority.

BIBLICAL PERIOD. *The City and Its Fortifications.* Charles *Warren (1867–70) was the first to try to ascertain the line of the ancient fortification wall of the biblical city by the excavation of a number of pits and tunnels, especially to the southeast of the Temple Mount, with the discovery of what he identified as the wall of Ophel. Warren's work focused subsequent archaeological attention on the significance of the Southeast Hill, now known as the "City of David," as the place where the oldest parts of Jerusalem might indeed be unearthed.

Clermont-Ganneau and H. Guthe (1881) found additional wall segments that extended the line of the "Ophel wall" along the eastern slope of the City of David. At the southern end of the City of David, next to the Siloam Pool, F.J. Bliss and A.C. Dickie (1894–97) discovered a massive barrier wall that served to dam the southern end of the Tyropoeon Valley. They also discovered the continuation of this fortification wall on the slopes of the Western Hill above the Hinnom Valley. They identified in this fortification line two phases of construction and attributed the earliest phase to the time of the First Temple. Modern research cannot sustain this general attribution, with the latest phase now dated to the Byzantine period and the earliest to the Second Temple period, but it is still possible that small wall segments incorporated into the earlier phase of that wall do indeed date back to the Iron Age. M. Parker's expedition (1909–11) concentrated on digging in the area of the Gihon Spring and on the slope above it, where an additional segment of a fortification wall was discovered. (The results of Parker's expedition were eventually published by L.H. Vincent.) The southern end of the City of David was investigated by the Weill expeditions (1913–14, 1923–24), which revealed an additional build-up of fortifications.

R.A.S. Macalister and J.G. Duncan (1923–25) excavated a considerable area in the north of the City of David in the area above the Gihon Spring. They discovered segments of fortification walls, towers, and revetments whose earlier use they attributed to the biblical city. Inside the line of fortifications they uncovered a number of strata, the lowest of which they attributed to the Canaanite and Israelite cities. The J.W. Crowfoot and G.M. Fitzgerald expedition (1927–28) dug close to the area mentioned above. The results of their excavation, however, showed that most of the remnants discovered there could not be dated earlier than the Roman and Byzantine periods. They also investigated a gate (the "Gate of the Valley"), above the Tyropoeon Valley on the west side of the city (the width of the wall is approximately 28 ft. (8.5 m.), which is probably Hellenistic in date.

Various scholars subsequently published research based on these archaeological finds, namely K. Galling, G. *Dalman, J. Simons, L.H. Vincent, M. *Avi-Yonah, N. *Avigad, B. *Mazar, and others.

A difference of opinion immediately arose among these scholars regarding the topography and size of biblical Jerusalem, from the time of David and Solomon and to the destruction of the First Temple.

The excavations that were conducted by (later Dame) Kathleen Kenyon, between 1961 and 1967, opened a new page in the history of archaeological research of the city. Kenyon excavated at many locations on the Southeastern Hill, with a few areas on the Western Hill and inside the Old City (notably in the Armenian Garden). The fact that Kenyon's excavation areas were generally limited in size was eventually seen to be detrimental to the veracity of some of the important conclusions she published. However, in Kenyon's "great cut A," which was made on the slope between the line of the upper wall discovered by Macalister and Duncan in 1925 and the Gihon Spring below, the key to understanding the topography and the boundaries of the city in its earlier periods first became clear. The system of fortifications discovered by Macalister and Duncan was found to have been built on the remnants of walls and structures dating back to the beginning of the Iron Age. Hence, the line of fortifications uncovered by Macalister and Duncan had to date from the Second Temple period or later. Lower down the slope in Kenyon's "cut A," which was deepened in some places to bedrock, some 82 ft. (25 m.) above the Gihon Spring, a thick fortification wall was found built of large fieldstones which could be dated to the Middle Bronze Age. Kenyon showed that these fortifications survived until the eighth century B.C.E. and that during the reign of Hezekiah a new wall, whose width was approximately 18 ft. (5.5 m.), was built at the same place.

On the basis of a few trial excavations areas conducted on the eastern slope of the Western Hill, which did not bring to light remains from the Iron Age, Kenyon was confirmed in her opinion that there was no continuation of the Israelite city west of the Tyropoeon Valley. Her view regarding the restricted size of the Iron Age city was later contested and proven to be wrong as a result of Avigad's discovery of a fortification wall in the Jewish Quarter (see below), but Kenyon adamantly continued to insist that this enlarged city did not include the southern part of the Western Hill. Kenyon found that the narrowness of the city area on the Southeastern Hill was overcome by the construction of a series of graduated terraces filled in with stones and supported by stone walls that rose from the base of the city – the eastern wall – upslope. According to Kenyon, this system was used in Jerusalem from the 14th century B.C.E. and throughout the Iron Age period. It was identified with the "Millo," mentioned in I Kings 9:15. Kenyon demonstrated that the Canaanite city existed solely on the Southeastern Hill, and that its area approximated 15 acres (60 dunams). Ceramic evidence was adduced from the 10th century B.C.E. for the extension of the city northwards to the area of the modern-day Temple Mount. Some have speculated that this may have been where Solomon's administrative and palace buildings were situated. The total area of the Solomonic town was thought to have been approximately 120 dunams. Remnants of ashlar buildings, and the discovery of a proto-Aeolic capital by Kenyon, provided hints about splendid buildings that existed there in First Temple period Jerusalem, perhaps similar to those in Samaria and Megiddo.

While Kenyon produced important archaeological evidence concerning the early development of Jerusalem in the area of the Southeastern Hill, her results and interpretations in regard to the area of the Western Hill and in the Old City have largely been superseded by excavations carried out there by Avigad and others since 1967 (see below). Kenyon was of the opinion that there was no Iron Age settlement on the Western Hill. However, already during the excavations in the area of the Citadel by C.N. Jones (1934–40) Iron Age pottery was found, and this was confirmed during the later excavations by R. Amiran and A. Eitan (1968–69) at the same spot, with the discovery of floors and pottery. Although Iron Age pottery and walls were found by Kenyon's colleague A.D. Tushingham in the area of the Armenian Garden, these were interpreted as representing remains of activities that took place outside the city.

During N. Avigad's excavations (1969–83) in the Jewish Quarter of the Old City, fragmentary houses were found dating from the Iron Age, in addition to pottery, stamped handles, and figurines. His main find was that of a length of city wall (about 8 meters thick) running in a northeast-southwest direction across the Western Hill. Additional segments of Iron Age fortifications were discovered during subsequent excavations, all of which confirmed that the Iron Age city was very large and incorporated a large part of the Western Hill, contrary to Kenyon and others.

Archaeological excavations conducted by B. Mazar (1968–78) to the south of the Temple Mount brought to light additional remains which could be dated to the Iron Age, and some of these remains were later examined in greater detail by E. Mazar, who suggested identifying part of them as a gateway complex leading down to the Gihon Spring. Excavations by Y. Shiloh (1978–85) in the area of the City of David brought to light further remains from the Iron Age and clarified some of Kenyon's original work in regard to the terrace/stepped stone-structure (in Area G), the fortification line, and the water system associated with the Gihon Spring. Very clear signs of the Babylonian conquest of the year 586/587 B.C.E. are known from Shiloh's excavations and, together with evidence uncovered by Avigad on the Western Hill, they serve to confirm the destruction of Jerusalem at the end of the First Temple period. Later excavations by R. Reich and E. Shukrun have revealed that the first fortifications in and around the Gihon Spring were from the Middle Bronze Age, and that the Iron Age fortification system on the east slope of the City of David may very well have included a lower fortification wall close to the bottom of the slope.

Necropolises. The tombs discovered by Parker (1909–11) on the slope above the Gihon were dated by Vincent to the beginning of the Early Bronze Age. Kenyon discovered a series of tombs from the Middle Bronze Age on the Mount of Olives, in the same area where Warren had also found early tombs in the 1860s. Tombs that were rich in finds from the Middle Bronze and Late Bronze Ages were found near the Dominus Flevit Church and excavated by S. Saller (1954). Tombs with many important objects from the Late Bronze Age were also found in the Naḥalat Aḥim neighborhood (Amiran, 1961) and in the area of the UN headquarters. A series of rock-hewn tombs of the First Temple period are known east of the City of David in the area of the Silwan village, and these were studied in some detail in modern times by D. Ussishkin. Some of these tombs in Silwan were already investigated by explorers in the 19th century, notably by F. de Saulcy in 1865, who investigated the monolithic "Tomb of the Daughter of Pharaoh," and C. Clermont-Ganneau, who examined a number of tombs – among them one with the inscription " []yahu who is over the house." At the southern end of the City of David, Weill (1913–14) found monumental rock-cut chambers that he identified as the tombs of the House of David, but this identification still requires proper verification. Rock-cut tombs from the Iron Age were also investigated by Israeli scholars from the 1970s, notably by G. Barkay, A. Mazar, and others, in and around the city, notably to the north of the Old City (in the area of St. Etienne), in the Hinnom Valley, and elsewhere.

SECOND TEMPLE PERIOD. *The City and Its Fortifications.* Remains from the period of the Second Temple, and particularly from the time of King Herod (37–4 B.C.E.), served as a starting point for archaeological investigations from the 19th century. Terms and names connected with this period were obtained from the descriptions of the city as presented in the writings of the Jewish historian *Josephus. In 1867–70, C. Warren was engaged in an investigation of the Herodian enclosure walls of the Temple Mount, following on from the Ordnance Survey mapping of the Temple Mount made by C. Wilson in 1864 (published in 1865). Warren's descriptions and precise sketches of the topography of Jerusalem, particularly of the structure of Temple Mount walls, are still used by scholars. Many of the underground passages and gates of the Temple Mount studied by Wilson and Warren are now largely inaccessible to scholars. Among the structures they investigated were "Robinson's Arch" and "Wilson's Arch." Warren also uncovered a part of the foundation of the first arch of "Robinson's Arch" (later revealed in its entirety by Mazar in the 1970s) and was the first to suggest that it might have served as the base for a flight of steps leading to the valley below – a view he later abandoned but which was confirmed during Mazar's excavations. Warren also examined the vaulted areas on the southwest side of the Temple Mount, popularly known as "Solomon's Stables." He also correctly identified the site of the Antonia fortress, adjoining the northwest corner of the Temple Mount. The area was subsequently investigated by Clermont-Ganneau (1871) and Vincent and Marie-Aline de Sion (1955), but the walls and pavements which they thought belonged to the Herodian Antonia turned out to be of later Roman date (i.e., the remains shown in the convent of the Soeurs de Sion). C.N. Johns (1934–40) uncovered important remains of the northwestern corner of the "first" wall fortification system in the courtyard of the Citadel near the Jaffa Gate, dating from Hasmonean and Herodian times. This fortification line was associated with the large tower (identified as Phasael or Hippicus) which is commonly called David's Tower. (It has a preserved height of 66 ft. or 20 m.) Remnants of the "first" wall have been uncovered to the south of the Citadel, around Mt. Zion, along the edges of the Valley of Hinnom and as far as the City of David and the Kidron Valley. Fragments of this fortification line were studied by C. Schick and H. Maudsley (1871–75) in the area of the "Bishop Gobat School" on the southwest slope of traditional Mount Zion. Later, F.J. Bliss and A.C. Dickie (1895–98) uncovered substantial parts of this fortification wall around Mount Zion and as far as the Kidron Valley; Bliss and Dickie uncovered a two-phased fortification system, of which the earlier dated to the Second Temple period and the later to the Byzantine period. New evidence regarding the "first" wall was brought to light as a result of N. Avigad's excavations along the northern stretch, uncovering part of a gate (the Gennath Gate?), and M. Broshi's excavations along the western stretch, between the Citadel and the south-west angle of the Old City of today, bringing to light Hasmonean and Herodian fortifications and a gate (the Essene Gate?) that led into the city.

The line of the "second" wall has been reconstructed by scholars largely on the basis of written sources, rather than on archaeological findings. The opinions of many scholars regarding the wherabouts of this wall were heavily influenced by the study of the location of Golgotha and the Tomb of Jesus, which were supposed to have been situated outside the city walls. Established facts, however, are few. The line of the wall began at the "first" wall near the Citadel, passing to the south of the area of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher, and eventually reaching the Antonia Fortress. Conrad Schick originally found a collapsed fortification line on a rocky scarp to the southwest of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher – partly confirmed by Kenyon who dug near the Muristan Bazaar – and a fosse that may have been associated with the "second" wall, thus placing the area of Golgotha and the Tomb of Jesus outside the city. Some scholars have dated the construction of the "second" wall to the Hasmonean period, though others have attributed it to the time of the establishment of the Bezetha Quarter at the time of Herod the Great.

The course of the "third" wall, the construction of which took place at the time of Agrippa I (40–44 C.E.), has been disputed by scholars. Vincent, Simons, Kenyon, and Henessy fixed the course parallel to the line of the Ottoman wall in the northern part of the Old City of today. The opinion of E.L. *Sukenik and Mayer (1925–27), however, seemed better founded when they identifed the "third" wall with the line of the wall they uncovered – seen already by Pococke in the late 18th century and by Robinson in 1838/1852 – along a distance of approximately 1,600 ft. (500 m.) extending from the Italian Hospital to the Albright Institute of Archaeological Research. The line of wall includes towers facing north.

Excavations of this line in the 1970s by E. Netzer and S. Ben-Arieh confirmed the date of this wall and supported its identifications as the "third" wall. The wall was built carelessly and is far simpler than the other Second Temple fortification walls known in Jerusalem. The general consensus of opinion has been that this wall was first begun at the time of Agrippa I and was only completed at the time of the outbreak of the revolt in 66 C.E. in order to protect the "New City" from the Roman legions.

Significant information regarding the layout and appearance of the city during the late first century B.C.E. to 70 C.E. emerged from the excavations conducted by Mazar in the area of the southern edges of the Temple Mount, by Avigad in the Jewish Quarter excavations, and by Broshi on Mount Zion. Houses found there were first established in Hasmonean times (early first century C.E.) and were later replaced by new structures – many palatial in appearance – at the time of Herod the Great and in the first century C.E. The Herodian buildings that have been unearthed had cellars and ritual baths (*mikva'ot*) in their basements, with sumptuous rooms, many of which were adorned with wall paintings or with stucco decorations. Many artifacts from the Second Temple were uncovered: pottery, stone vessels, coins, and others.

A seven-branched **menorah* – one of the oldest known examples – engraved into a plaster wall – was found in one of the houses overlooking the Temple Mount to the east. One inscription indicated that the house belonged to the priestly Bar Kathros family. The houses were violently destroyed in 70 C.E. with the capture of the city by the Romans.

The layout of the area around the southwestern corner of the Temple Mount has become clear as a result of the extensive excavations by B. Mazar and more recently by more limited work by R. Reich and Y. Bilig. Alongside the southern wall of the Temple Mount a wide street, paved with stone slabs, leading to Hulda's Gates, was discovered. A large flight of steps extended up to this gate. Nearby were ritual purification pools (*mikva'ot*). The base of "Robinson's Arch" was uncovered, which in all likelihood supported a flight of steps descending from a gate in the Temple Mount to the Lower City.

In the Second Temple period, based on the present state of archaeological research, Jerusalem expanded in the Hasmonean period (late second century B.C.E.) from the area of the small Hellenistic town on the Southeast Hill to the Western Hill, and it subsequently incorporated a very large area indeed. From the time of Herod the Great (37–4 B.C.E.) the city was substantially modified with major building operations at the sites of the Temple and palace in the Upper City, with work on improving the city fortifications as well. New fortification walls (the "second" and "third" walls) were subsequently added, and the Jerusalem that was destroyed by Titus and the Roman legions was a very large city indeed, extending over some 450 acres (1,800 dunams).

Necropolises. The cemeteries of Jerusalem during the Second Temple period extended like a belt around the city from present-day Sanhedriyyah in the northwest, through Givat ha-Mivtar, Mt. Scopus, the Mt. of Olives, and the hill of the UN headquarters, to Talpiyyot and Ramat Raḥel in the south. Almost one thousand tombs have been investigated and a catalogue of their locations and finds has been prepared by A. Kloner and B. Zissu. The internal plan of the tombs is simple, as was the custom then. On the sides of the central chambers are tunnel-like burial recesses (Heb. *kokhim*), occasionally within arched recesses (arcosolia). The dead were laid out on the benches of the central chambers or within the *kokhim*, and once the bodies had decomposed the bones were gathered into limestone ossuaries. A shrouded body of a leper (who suffered from Hansen's Disease) was discovered in a tomb in the lower Hinnom Valley. Some of the larger tombs have carved exteriors or monuments (e.g., the so-called Tomb of Absalom in the Kidron Valley) or sometimes carved interiors (e.g., a few tombs in the Akeldama area). As early as 1863 de Saulcy cleaned out the Tombs of the Kings and discovered there the decorated sarcophagi that may possibly have belonged to the family of Queen Helena of Adiabene. Clermont-Ganneau completed the excavation of those tombs. He also partially cleaned the tomb known as Absalom's Tomb (1891). In 1891 Schick published the discovery of the so-called Tomb of the Family of Herod, found near the site on which the King David Hotel was subsequently built. In 1924 N. Slouschz cleared Absalom's Tomb. From 1926 to 1940 E.L. Sukenik studied approximately 40 Jewish funerary complexes in the city (such as the tomb of the Nicanor family discovered on Mt. Scopus). Avigad investigated the various burial sites of Jerusalem, especially in the Kidron Valley (1945–47). Jason's Tomb from the Hasmonean period was excavated in Reḥavyah by L. Raḥmani (1954), who also investigated the burial sites of Sanhedriyyah (1961). In 1968 V. Tsaferis excavated several tombs at Givat ha-

Mivtar, northeast of the city. One of them contained 35 burials, including one of a young man called Yoḥanan, who had died by crucifixion. Hundreds of limestone ossuaries and simple graves were investigated on the western slope of the Mt. of Olives, near the Church of Dominus Flevit by P.B. Bagatti and J.T. Milik (1953–55). The major findings in this cemetery are from the Herodian period; however, it was used from the Hasmonean period to the Byzantine period. The subject of tombs in the vicinity of Jerusalem was investigated by A. Kloner in 1980. Numerous tombs continued to be excavated during the 1980s to 1990s, with fewer excavated since the year 2000 due to the Israeli government's agreement with the Ultra-Orthodox Jewish community in Jerusalem to disallow the excavation of human bones.

THE LATE ROMAN PERIOD. Following the destruction of the Second Temple in 70 C.E. and the suppression of the Bar Kokhba revolt (135 C.E.), a Roman city was built in its stead named Aelia Capitolina in the second century C.E. The camp of the Tenth Roman Legion (Fretensis) was situated in the area of the Citadel and Armenian Garden and is represented by the discovery of numerous rooftiles bearing the mark of the legion and with symbols of a galley and wild boar. The size and the position of the camp have been debated, and new suggestions have unsuccessfully attempted to place the camp at other locations. Kilns and other remains of the Tenth Legion have been found in the area of Givat Ram and Binyanei Ha'uma to the west of the city. Aelia was largely built up with temples, buildings, and with a western forum, and with streets and triumphal arches on the north side of the present Old City. The north gate of Aelia Capitolina was found beneath the Damascus Gate, and an inscription referring to the Roman name of the city was found chiseled upon the gate. At the beginning of the Via Dolorosa is a Roman triumphal arch, now called Ecce Homo, in the area of the Bethesda Pool which had a temple of Serapis. Clermont-Ganneau investigated the area of the Via Dolorosa in 1873–74, discovering a large pagan Roman vase with stamped decorations of gods and altars. Excavations by Kenyon (1961–67) and others in the Muristan area and around the Church of the Holy Sepulcher have shown that the area was included within the boundaries of the Roman city and that the area had been substantially filled in with the construction of numerous substructures for the superimposed buildings and temples that were built in this area (the western forum). Close to the southwest corner of the Temple Mount, Mazar uncovered a kiln, latrines, and other structures dating from this period. An inscription inscribed on stone and dating to the days of Septimius Severus (beginning of the third century C.E.) was also found. Another Latin inscription came to light in the southern area of the Temple Mount, which referred to a monumental gate that existed somewhere in the area. The southern aqueduct was duplicated in Roman times by a high-level line from Ein Etam.

THE BYZANTINE PERIOD. The city flourished during this period and it became the focal point for Christian pilgrimages. The main building changes occurred in the areas that were strongly associated with Christian tradition (for example the area of Golgotha and the Tomb of Jesus). At these places, churches, monasteries, and hospices were built. The city again spread across the Eastern and Western Hills and to the south of the Temple Mount. The excavations of Macalister and Duncan, Crowfoot and Fitzgerald, Weill, Hamilton, Kenyon, and more recently by Mazar, Shiloh, Reich, and Shukrun have brought to light remnants of streets, dwellings, and public buildings covering the south of the city. Traditional Mount Zion was also encircled by a wall. Remnants of this wall had been discovered by Warren near the Ophel (later partly excavated by Mazar), above the Hinnom Valley by Bliss and Dickie, and along the western side by Broshi. The construction of this wall is usually dated to the middle of the fifth century C.E. and is connected with the building activities of Empress Eudocia in Jerusalem. Avigad's excavations in the Jewish Quarter (1970) revealed substantial portions of the Nea Church, built by Justinian in the mid-sixth century C.E. The Church of the Holy Sepulcher has a long history of investigations spanning the work of mapping by Wilson and Schick in the 19th century, the architectural appreciation by M. Harvey in the 1930s, and the archaeological work by V. Corbo and C. Couasnon from the 1960s to the 1980s (see the summary of all the discoveries by Gibson and Taylor). The original church was founded in 325 C.E., following the destruction of pagan buildings in the area and the discovery of the Tomb of Jesus, which was undertaken by Bishop Macarius at the behest of Constantine the Great. The main portal to the basilical martyrium, contrary to the accepted form, was in the east, with the apse facing the Tomb of Jesus, which was surrounded by a circular structure (the rotunda). Excavations conducted by White Fathers (1864–67) to the northeast of the city, brought to light various remains, including remnants of a large church built above the Pool of Bethesda. Nearby were found remnants of a second Byzantine church that had been incorporated into the crusader church of St. Anne. Bliss and Dickie (1894–97) dug above the Siloam Pool and uncovered the remains of a church which they dated to the time of Eudocia. J. Germer-Durand, who dug in the eastern slope of Mt. Zion at the end of the 19th century, revealed dwellings and a church. P.G. Orfali (1909, 1919–20) excavated the remains of the Gethsemane Church in the Kidron Valley. Vincent (1959) and Corbo (1959) discovered the remains of the Church of the Ascension on the top of the Mt. of Olives. Avi-Yonah (1949) discovered remains of a church and a monastery in the area of Givat Ram. Bagatti and Milik (1953–55) uncovered a cemetery of the Byzantine period in Dominus Flevit on the Mt. of Olives. New excavations in different parts of the city during the 1980s and 1990s revealed many more architectural and artifactual remains from the Byzantine period.

The Byzantine city was destroyed at the time of the Persian conquest in 614, but there is no evidence that the Muslim conquest in 638 was destructive. Numerous structures were erected in the area of the southwest corner of the Temple

Mount at the time of the Umayyads at the beginning of the eighth century. On one of the stones in the Herodian Wall of the Temple Mount an inscription was engraved by a Jewish pilgrim (though the date of this inscription is disputed) who arrived in the city during early Islamic times. The text of the inscription was taken from Isaiah 66:14: "And when you see this your heart shall rejoice and your bones shall flourish like young grass."

[Michael Avi-Yonah / Shimon Gibson (2nd ed.)]

Water Supply

FIRST AND SECOND TEMPLE PERIODS. The location of Canaanite Jerusalem on the eastern ridge near the Kidron riverbed was related to the discovery of the only water source in the entire area on the eastern slope of the ridge. This was the Gihon Spring, which supplied 7,000–40,000 cu. ft. (200–1,100 cu. m.) daily during periods of 30–40 minutes, with interruptions of four to ten hours (according to the season). As early as the Middle Bronze Age, the inhabitants of Jerusalem dug a tunnel to assure the water supply in the event of a siege. At first they attempted to sink a shaft straight down to the water level, but did not succeed because of the hardness of the rock. They then dug an angular tunnel with stairs; at its end was a shaft ("Warren's shaft") 43 ft. (13 m.) high, which descended to the level of the spring and through which water could be drawn without the enemy's knowledge. It is possible that this system was the "gutter" (*ẓinnor*) mentioned in the account of the conquest of Jerusalem by David and his warriors (II Sam. 5:8). In addition to the tunnel, near the spring were several open canals extending southward that carried the excess spring water to the fields and gardens along the Kidron riverbed. At the end of the eighth century B.C.E., Hezekiah, king of Judah, initiated the excavation of a new 1,765 ft. (535 m.) tunnel which extended from a level of 2,086 ft. (636 m.) to 2,080 ft. (634 m.), passing in the form of two arches under the hill of the City of David. This tunnel conducted the waters of the Gihon to the Siloam (Shiloah) Pool in the valley between the two hills. The well-known *Siloam inscription recounts the excavation of the tunnel and the "day of the tunnel" in which "the stone cutters made their way toward one another ax-blow by ax-blow." The excavation of this tunnel was a considerable engineering feat, and since then the waters of the Gihon have flowed to the Siloam Pool. The pool was initially covered and hidden from enemies, as discovered in excavations.

In earliest times the inhabitants of Jerusalem had already increased the meager supply of the Gihon Spring by digging cisterns and pools. Of the two types of reservoirs, the cisterns were more difficult to make, but they were better for preserving water against evaporation. After the discovery of waterproof lime mortar, the number of cisterns in the ancient city grew equal to (if not greater than) the number of houses. Interestingly, very few cisterns have been found from the time of the First Temple. Most of those that are known date from Second Temple times. The most famous is a double cistern known as Struthion (Gr. *strouthos* – "ostrich"), located under the court of the Antonia Fortress southwest of the Temple; its maximum dimensions were 160 ft. (49m.) in length, 23 ft. (7 m.) in width, and 56 ft. (17 m.) in depth. A great number of cisterns were dug in the area of the Temple Mount (45 according to the last count), the largest among them being the Bahr el-Kabir (Ar. for the "Sea"), whose capacity was 140,000 cu. ft. (12,000 cu. m.). There were two other cisterns of 94,000 cu. ft. (8,000 cu. m.) and 60,000 cu. ft. (5,000 cu. m.) capacity.

The major pools in the area of Jerusalem are the Siloam Pool at the southern end of the central valley; the Serpents Pool (probably north of the city); the Pool of Towers (Hezekiah's Pool) north of the Fortress; and Mamilla Pool (first mentioned in the Byzantine period), located between the Jaffa Gate and the watershed line. Three of the ancient pools are not open today: the Ḥammām al-Shifāʾ Pool in the upper central valley, which may be the biblical "Upper Pool"; the Pool of Israel, which served as a ditch for the northern boundary of the Temple Mount; and the Sheep Pool, also north of the Temple Mount at some distance from it. The latter is mentioned in the New Testament (John 5:2–4), where it is called Bethesda (Beit Ḥisda), and apparently also in the Copper Scroll from the Dead Sea caves. It is a double pool and has two levels. The New Testament states that healing powers were attributed to it, and excavations of the site have revealed that a health rite took place there during the Roman period. The lower of the two pools was probably used for washing sheep, which were then sold for sacrifices at the nearby Temple.

At the end of the Second Temple period, it was clear that the growing city could not be supplied from the waters collected in the cisterns and pools, especially during mass gatherings of the three pilgrimage festivals. Pontius Pilate therefore decided to build an aqueduct from the springs of the ʿArrūb River near Hebron. It was an open canal which passed through four tunnels near Bethlehem. In order to preserve the gradient of the water level, which assured a steady flow from the springs to the Temple Mount, the aqueduct wound along the 2,574 ft. (766 m.) contour line so that, although the direct distance from the ʿArrūb River to Jerusalem is no more than 13 mi. (21 km.), the aqueduct was 42 mi. (68 km.) long. On its way southward, it also collected the water of Ein Etam (Solomon's Pools), south of Bethlehem. During the rule of Septimius Severus, a second aqueduct on a higher level was added, extending from Solomon's Pools to Jerusalem. The latter crossed the valley near Rachel's Tomb via a line of pipes operated by syphon pressure, which in many cases split the stone links.

FROM THE ROMAN PERIOD. From the Roman period to the end of the Ottoman period, Jerusalem's water supply was based mainly on rainwater collected in the city's cisterns and pools. The original Spring of Gihon had long been blocked; its location was unknown, and its waters flowed through Hezekiah's tunnel to the Siloam Pool. According to Christian tradition, these waters were used by Jesus to heal the blind man (John 9:7), and the site thus became sacred to Christians. As early as the fourth century C.E., the pilgrim of Bordeaux mentions a pool surrounded by colonnades used for bathing for healing purposes. The empress Eudocia built a church and a hospital above the pool. In the early Muslim period as well, the waters of the Siloam were regarded as having special powers, but in the course of generations the pool was neglected, and the tunnel of Hezekiah became partially blocked. The waters of the Gihon, which had ceased to flow through the tunnel, broke out to the Kidron River. Thus the Gihon Spring was rediscovered in the 14th century, and its name reappeared for the first time in a Jewish source from the 16th century. With the rediscovery of the Gihon, the site of the spring was consecrated. Christians established it as the spot where Mary had washed Jesus' swaddling clothes and therefore called it the "Virgin's Fountain." The waters of the Gihon Spring today flow again through Hezekiah's tunnel to the new Siloam Pool built in the 19th century.

During the Ottoman period the waters of the Gihon were drawn and sold in the streets of Jerusalem, but in the 19th century they became polluted from sewage water reaching the spring, and eventually they were used only for watering the flower beds of Kefar ha-Shilo'aḥ (Silwān). The Rogel Spring served Jerusalem throughout the generations as a secondary source of water. During the Ottoman period its waters, like those of the Gihon, were drawn and sold in Jerusalem, but it too primarily became a source of the water for Kefar ha-Shilo'aḥ.

A number of changes occurred in later times in the system of public pools known from the Roman period. With the concentration of Jerusalem on the western hill, the pools at the lower part of the central valley were neglected. The ancient Siloam Pool was apparently reconstructed during the Byzantine period, but was later neglected, filled with silt, and called by the Arabs the Birkat al-Ḥamrāʾ (Pool of the Red Earth). The pool of Ḥammām al-Shifāʾ, near Bāb al-Silsila (the Chain Gate) of the Temple Mount, was known from medieval times but was later blocked to enable the collection of subterranean waters, which were drawn from the pool via a shaft. The pool of Beit Ḥisda (Bethesda) continued to be in use in the Byzantine period and was called the Probatike pool but was later blocked. Likewise, the Struthion pool fell into disuse.

Crusader sources mention three pools in Jerusalem: Lacus Legerii, northwest of the Damascus Gate, outside the city walls (today, Arḍ al-Birka); Lacus Germani, the ancient Snake Pool rebuilt by Germanus in 1176 (today known as Birkat al-Sultan in the Hinnom Valley); and Lacus Balneorum, the "Pool of Baths" (the ancient Pool of Towers) called Birkat Ḥammām al-Biṭrīq and Hezekiah's Pool by Christian travelers. This pool is joined by an aqueduct to the Mamilla Pool, which is at the head of the Hinnom Valley. The Mamilla Pool itself continues to be mentioned in the Umayyad period. The three latter pools were reconstructed and renovated during the Mamluk and Ottoman periods. The Arabic name Birkat al-Sultan was given because of the expansion and renovation carried out on it by Sultan Suleiman the Magnificent in 1537. Other pools in Jerusalem, the dates of whose construction are not clear, are St. Mary's pool near the eastern wall of Jerusalem and the al-Hajj pool north of the city wall, opposite the present-day location of the Rockefeller Museum. Plastered cisterns in the courtyards of houses served as a major source of water throughout all the periods. In mid-19th century, 950 cisterns were counted in the Old City, while at the end of the Ottoman period the cisterns of the entire city, including the suburbs outside the walls, numbered 6,600, with a total capacity of over 17,000,000 cu. ft. (500,000 cu. m.). In 1919 the British determined that the total capacity of the cisterns and pools of Jerusalem, including those on the Temple Mount, was approximately 53,000,000 cu. ft. (1,500,000 cu. m.).

The local sources, however, were not sufficient to meet the needs of the city, and throughout most of the periods water continued to be conducted to Jerusalem from the area of the ʿArrūb springs and Solomon's Pools. The use of the aqueduct during the Byzantine period is known from a Greek inscription that prohibits the cultivation of land at a distance of 15 cubits from the aqueduct. The reference is apparently to the aqueduct on the lower level, which was built at the time of the Second Temple and continued to be used during this period. It is reasonable to assume that this aqueduct was also in use during the Muslim and Crusader periods, and it is known that it was rebuilt during the Mamluk period, when the third pool was also built at Solomon's Pools, south of Bethlehem. Waters collected there were conducted to Jerusalem via the aqueduct. At the beginning of the Ottoman period, the lower aqueduct continued to function, and Suleiman the Magnificent even built a number of *sabīls* (public fountains) that received their waters from the aqueduct. At the beginning of the 18th century, however, a clay pipe was built into the aqueduct, and its operation entailed difficult engineering problems. The pipe was blocked and often went out of use. Various attempts to improve the aqueduct in the 19th century were unsuccessful, but at the beginning of the 20th century the clay pipe was rebuilt as far as Bethlehem, and from it a narrow iron pipe conducted a limited amount of water – about 180 cu. m. daily – to Jerusalem.

The problem of water supply was very grave at the end of the Ottoman period, to the extent that Jerusalem's inhabitants were compelled to buy water brought by train or on the backs of animals from a considerable distance. With the British conquest (1917) the need for an immediate solution to the water problem arose. The cisterns in the city were purified, and the first water project built by the British army was based on the water sources in ʿAyn ʿArrūb. The old well there was renovated, a pump was built, and an iron pipeline 15 mi. (24 km.) long was laid down to the reservoir in the Romema quarter. In 1921 Solomon's Pools were renovated, as was an ancient water project in Wadi al-Biyār which lies south of pools for collecting rainwater. Waters from this wadi and from the area of al-Khaḍr, as well as spring water in the vicinity, were collected in Solomon's Pools and pumped from there to the iron pipelines from ʿAyn ʿArrūb. In 1924 the water was conveyed from ʿAyn

Fāra in the bed of Wadi Qilt, north of Jerusalem. This project considerably increased the amount of water supplied to Jerusalem. At the same time, around 1,400 cubic meters were supplied daily from the outside, but there was still considerable use of private cisterns. With the fast growth of West Jerusalem, the water problem again became grave and the need arose for an additional abundant source of water. In 1934 the pipeline from the abundant springs at Rosh ha-Ayin (Ra's al-ʿAyn) near the coast was built, finally solving the problem of the water supply for the city until 1948. During the Israel War of Independence (1948), West Jerusalem suffered from lack of water because several pumping stations of the Rosh ha-Ayin pipeline were captured and damaged by Arab forces. Later the government of Israel built a new pipeline from the same source which supplied West Jerusalem with water. The reunified city, after the Six-Day War (1967), was supplied from the western as well as the southern and northern sources which served East Jerusalem during the Jordanian rule.

[Michael Avi-Yonah and Amihay Mazar]

Cartography

Since the beginning of mapmaking, the geographical position of Jerusalem was shown on most of the manuscript maps of the world, such as the maps at the cathedral of Herford and of the Ebstorf monastery. It appeared on the "Tabula Peutingeriana" and on all the maps of the Near East and the Holy Land. The cartographical symbols employed on these maps are of the conventional semi-pictorial design and therefore do not provide any information on particular features of the city.

PICTORIAL MAPS. The earliest topographical description of Jerusalem is the bird's-eye view of the "Holy City of Jerusalem," the central piece of a map of the Holy Land preserved on the mosaic floor of a ruined basilica at *Madaba, in Transjordan. The mosaic, dated between 560 and 565 C.E., depicts an oval-shaped city surrounded by walls, with six gates and 21 towers. It shows the "Cardo maxima," the colonnaded main thoroughfare, together with four smaller streets and 36 other features of the city – such as public squares and buildings, churches, and monasteries – and contains the oldest presentation of the Western Wall. This "map" shows Jerusalem as viewed from the west, whereas during the following centuries the city was predominantly portrayed from the east, since the view from the Mount of Olives encompassed the most important sections of the medieval town (i.e., all the parts of the Temple Mount and most of the stations of the Via Dolorosa). Typical examples of this mode of presentation are: the large map engraved by Erhard Reuwich, a Mainz woodcutter and printer, after drawings made by him on the spot in 1483; the woodcut made by Jacob Clauser for Sebastian Muenster's cosmography (published 1544 in Basle); and the copper engraving reproducing a drawing made in 1682 by Cornelis de Bruin. These productions were often copied by the many artists who were unable to paint pictures based on personal observation.

HISTORICAL MAPS. Another approach is represented in the work of the biblical scholars who, for religious reasons, intended to clarify the state of the city during different periods of biblical history, concentrating mostly on New Testament times. These mapmakers were often unfamiliar with the topography of the city and derived their knowledge from the literary sources at their disposal, i.e., the Bible, the works of Josephus and classical Greek and Latin writers, and certain passages of the Talmud. Best known among these maps are the works of the Dutch astronomer Pieter Laiksteen (dated 1544 and republished in 1573 by Benito Arias-Montano), Christian van Adrichem (Cologne, 1584), and the Rev. Thomas Fuller (London, 1650). Other maps, mostly engraved by Dutch craftsmen, appeared in many editions of the Bible and became very popular as an aid to understanding the text.

COMPARATIVE MAPS. Laiksteen opened a new chapter of cartographic development with his twin set of town maps, the first attempt to present a comparative topography of New Testament Jerusalem and the walls and buildings in the city of his own time by graphic means. The prime motive for the creation of such maps was the desire to defend the authenticity of the holy places. The correctness of their location was piously accepted by countless generations of pilgrims, but with the spread of the Reformation in 16th-century Europe, an ever growing number of pilgrims – mostly from Britain and Germany – disputed the ecclesiastical tradition promulgated by the Franciscan friars in their capacity as the officially appointed "Custodians of the Holy Land." In view of the fact that Empress Helena's Church of the Holy Sepulcher was not outside the present walls of the city, as suggested by the Gospels and Jewish tradition, an endless discussion arose, culminating in 1883 with Charles C. Gordon's identification of Jeremiah's Grotto with Mount Calvary. In order to decide this dispute, the actual course of the city walls during Roman times had to be ascertained, as the position of the Third Wall would automatically establish the location of the "True Calvary." The first map designed to solve this problem was made by the Franciscan friar Antonio degli Angelis, who lived in Jerusalem and Bethlehem from 1569 to 1577. Friar Antonio constructed a town plan based on fairly exact observations and/or actual measurements and the delineation of the course of the Third Wall. This map, published in 1578 by a monastery in Rome, was lost and is known only from a 1584 bibliographical note by Christian van Adrichem. The map was later republished and appeared in 1609 as a plate in Bernardino Amico's *Plans of the Sacred Edifices of the Holy Land*. This engraving was the work of Antonio Tempesta, but the artwork for a further edition, published in 1620, was entrusted to Jacques Callot. These two important artists added many "improvements" and embellishments, while Natale Bonifaci made a modest engraving for Johann Zuallart's travelogue (Rome, 1587). Bonifaci's version has often been copied, mainly for pilgrims interested in pictures suitable as illustrations for their reports, and has been reproduced in many 17th-century travel books of the Holy Land.

SURVEY MAPS. In 1818 an Austrian physician, Franz Wilhelm Sieber, traveled through the Near East, spending 42 days in Jerusalem. He decided to produce an exact map based on reliable measurements, because he was aware of the "mistakes and curious differences existing between all the plans published up to now" and was interested in furthering the "very important study of biblical history." He walked in and around the city and, in the disguise of a botanist or as a doctor dispensing medical advice to the population, acquainted himself with the terrain and determined the geographical position of the places he chose as points of observation. He took "approximately two hundred geometrically correct bearings, ascertained the course of the Kidron Valley, the circumference of the walls, and the position of the Temple and the mosques." His many excursions helped him fill in many smaller details, corrections and additions. His nicely engraved map appeared as an appendix to the report on his travels (Prague and Leipzig, 1823; Prague, 1826).

Until that time the Muslims placed formidable difficulties in the way of an accurate survey. In 1818 Sieber had to camouflage his work of mapmaking as Cornelis de Bruin, the Dutch landscape painter was obliged to do in 1682. During the 19th century, however, the change of political climate in the Near East provided foreign scholars with much more liberty to execute their research. The decisive point in the development of Jerusalem cartography was reached after the bombardment of Acre, when the presence of the British fleet afforded the Corps of Royal Engineers the opportunity to conduct surveys in the country. One party was dispatched to Jerusalem and, in 1841, worked openly for six weeks in and around the city without encountering any opposition. The official completion of the survey was marked by the officer in charge, Col. R.A. Alderson, personally taking the measurements of the Citadel. This was the first time that Jerusalem was mapped for nonreligious (i.e., military) considerations. Another survey, made by the Royal Engineers in 1864–65, was also conducted for purely secular reasons: it was sponsored by a benefactress eager to improve Jerusalem's water supply. This work, the Ordnance Survey, became the basis for all reliable maps of the city. Besides these British efforts, other nations (France, Germany, Italy, Netherlands, and the United States) have contributed to the mapping of the city and the topographic recording of its surrounding. These maps, while rarely offering new intelligence about fundamental facts, often serve as documentary evidence on the progress of settlement, the construction of new buildings, etc. The same information can be derived from the maps accompanying various guide books. All these maps were made by foreigners acting without any assistance from the Turkish government. No official survey of the territory was made until the British Mandatory administration established its own survey department, which prepared and printed many useful maps. After 1948 its work was taken over by the Survey of Israel, which enlarged the scope of publications considerably.

[Herrmann M.Z. Meyer]

IN JUDAISM

In the Bible

In the Pentateuch, Jerusalem is mentioned only once, incidentally, by the name of Salem (Gen. 14:18), in connection with *Melchizedek. The injunctions to worship God "in the site that He will choose" (e.g., Deut. 12:4) do not specifically refer to Jerusalem. The obscure verse "On the mount of the Lord there is vision" (*yera'eh*; Gen. 22:14), referring to the mountain in the "land of Moriah" on which Isaac was nearly sacrificed (Gen. 22), may signify an identification of the mountain with the site of the Temple; however, definite evidence for the designation of the Temple Mount by the name "Mt. Moriah" is found only in a source from the Second Temple period (II Chron. 3:1).

The uniqueness of Jerusalem as the royal city and the center of the worship of the Lord dates from the period of David (II Sam. 6–7; 24:18–25; I Chron. 21:18–22:1). During the First Temple period, when the Temple Mount was referred to as "Mt. Zion," the name "Zion" also occasionally embraced the whole of Jerusalem (cf. e.g., I Kings 8:1; Isa. 1:27). The promise of an eternal dynasty (II Sam. 7), delivered by Nathan to David in conjunction with the question of the erection of a Temple in Jerusalem, also implied eternity for Jerusalem as the royal city and the city of the Temple, although its name is not explicitly mentioned. The conception of the eternity of Jerusalem in the Bible is related to the monarchy of the House of David and must be understood as part and parcel of it.

During the reign of Solomon, the unique status of Jerusalem as the royal city was established by the erection of the Temple, which invested the monarchy, as well as the site, with an aura of holiness. In the prayer of Solomon (I Kings 8), in which the Temple is considered a house of worship, "the city" ("which Thou hast chosen") is linked with the "house." The Temple is perceived as the eternal seat of the Lord ("a place for Thee to dwell in forever"), and there is no doubt that this conception of a double eternity – that of the dynasty of David and that of the symbolic residence of the Lord – imparted sanctity to the whole city.

In Psalm 78:68 the choice of Mt. Zion symbolizes the choice of Judah after the abandonment of Ephraim and Shiloh, and the Temple on Mt. Zion is conceived as a continuation of the Tabernacle of Shiloh. In Psalm 132, which describes the bringing of the ark to the city of David, Zion is conceived not only as a city chosen by the Lord for the monarchy but also as the place and seat of the Lord – His resting place and His abode; in other verses, it is explicitly stated that the Lord has attached, or will attach, His name to Jerusalem (e.g., II Kings 21:4). Psalm 122 is a hymn of admiration and love for Jerusalem (cf. Ps. 87). Royal justice ("there thrones for judgment were set, the thrones of the House of David"; Ps. 122: 5) is particularly emphasized as the virtue of Jerusalem – possibly in the wake of the reforms of Jehoshaphat (II Chron. 17:4–11).

It is perhaps in contrast to this that Jeremiah foresees (3:17) that in the days to come "Jerusalem shall be called the throne of the Lord" – the symbol of divine righteousness and justice (cf. Ps. 89:15), a quality that is attributed to the throne of David. In the prophecy of Jeremiah (33:16), the ideal Jerusalem is also called "The Lord is our righteousness," with reference to the justice and mercy which will be dispensed in days to come by the king, upon whom this title is also conferred (23:5–6; 33:15). The expression "habitation of righteousness and holy hill" (Jer. 31:22 (23)) is also to be explained as referring to Jerusalem, even though it is seemingly applied to "the land of Judah and its cities" in general. Isaiah's "city of righteousness" (Isa. 1:26; cf. 1:21, 27) – an epithet for Jerusalem – is to be understood not as a poetic expression but as a reference to its mission to dispense justice and righteousness and to be the seat of the judges. It is not impossible that in all these appellations, there is also an echo of the name Zedek which was borne by the pre-Israelite kings of Jerusalem – Melchizedek and Adoni-Zedek (Josh. 10:1) – and which was possibly derived from an ancient name of the town.

The greatness and the splendor of Jerusalem are described in the Bible in hyperbolic poetic imagery: in Psalms – "beautiful in elevation, the joy of all the earth" (48:3 (2)), "the perfection of beauty" (50:2), and so on; in Lamentations, expressing yearning for the past – "full of people… great among the nations, princess among the cities" (1:1), "the perfection of beauty, the joy of all the earth" (2:15). In the Song of Songs (6:4), the beloved is compared to Jerusalem (and to Tirzah), the symbol of beauty and loveliness. In the "Song of Ascents" (Ps. 122, 125, and 132), the pilgrims praise Jerusalem in hyperbole; in Psalm 137, "Zion" and "Jerusalem" are symbols of the whole country, and their destruction ("the day of Jerusalem") is a symbol of the Exile.

In the Prophets and in Lamentations, the name and the concept of Jerusalem are frequently employed to represent the whole of Judah; Jerusalem embodies the conduct and the deeds of Judah and is occasionally identified with Judah, as well as with the whole of Israel, for good or ill. Sometimes, however, the parallel between "Jerusalem" or "Zion," on the one hand, and "Judah," the "cities of Judah," or "Israel," on the other, emphasizes – in praise or in disparagement – not that which is common to them but the central, independent status and the special features of the elected city. The "daughter of Jerusalem" and the "daughter of Zion" also signify both the city and the kingdom, either as an expression of affection or as a designation of the sinful city and nation. Prophetic literature reflects different trends in the historical-religious conception of Jerusalem, according to the conditions and circumstances in which the prophet waged his struggle against idolatry, and in support of the belief in the Lord. In opposition to the heathen notion that the power of the Lord of Israel over Jerusalem is not different from that of the gods of Damascus, Arpad, Hamath, and others over their respective cities, Isaiah, during the reigns of Ahaz and Hezekiah, emphasized the idea of the uniqueness of Jerusalem: as the city of the Lord of Israel, the true God, its status and fate differ from that of all other cities whose gods are no more than idols (10; 29; 30; 31; 33; 37; 38); even the mighty Assyrian conqueror shall not vanquish Jerusalem, which is assured of divine protection for the sake of the honor of His name and the name of David, His servant. It appears that, as a result of the miraculous salvation of Jerusalem from the hands of Sennacherib, in accordance with the prophecy of Isaiah, the sense of the uniqueness and the might of the city became implanted within the nation; those Psalms that stress Jerusalem's title "city of God" and God's intervention as its protector (e.g., 46; 48; 76; 87) apparently belong to this period.

Isaiah's conception was, however, given to distortion, and it turned into a belief in a quasi-magic immunity which the city, and the "Temple of the Lord" which was in it, bestowed upon its inhabitants. Jeremiah rose against this new idolatrous conception; he rejected – seemingly in contrast to Isaiah – any distinctiveness attributed to Jerusalem. He maintained that the divine protection of the city was contingent upon the people's following the ways of God; if they forsook God, Jerusalem would be abandoned to the historic fate of all the other cities which fell before the Babylonian conqueror and were destroyed (7; 17; 19; 21; 25; 27; 34, et al.). The gap between the mission of Jerusalem – to be "the faithful city… full of justice" (Isa. 1:21) – and its actual state as "… rebellious and defiled, the oppressing city" (Zeph. 3:1) preoccupies all the prophets, who react to this discrepancy in pain or in anger. For Ezekiel, this gap between the vision and the reality becomes the cornerstone of his prophecy concerning Jerusalem before its destruction. All the faults and the sins of Israel, from the time they left Egypt until the days of the prophets, are attributed to Jerusalem, which is described as having surpassed Samaria and Sodom in its corruption and wickedness. In a cruel itemization, Ezekiel enumerates the "abominations of Jerusalem" (16; 22; 23 etc.); he is the only one of the prophets from whose words it is inferred that the anticipated destruction is to be regarded as an irreversible decree.

All the prophets share the expectation of an exalted future for Jerusalem – a loftiness which includes both physical splendor and a sublime religious-spiritual significance; this anticipation refers at times to the near future and at times to the end of days. Jeremiah's vision of the rebuilt Jerusalem (30:18–19; 31:37–39) is a realistic one, and it includes a detailed demarcation of its enlarged area, the whole of which will be "sacred to the Lord." Zechariah (8:3–5) also anticipates that Jerusalem will be called "the faithful city, and the mountain of the Lord of Hosts, the holy mountain"; its streets will be filled with "old men and old women" and "boys and girls" will play there. Ezekiel raises the Holy City of the days to come above actual and historic reality; it is only indirectly implied that he is referring to Jerusalem – whose name is not mentioned at all and whose site is not indicated: "a city on the south… up on a very high mountain" (Ezek. 40:2). Its description (45:1–8; 48:8–22, 30–35) does not evoke the image of an ordinary city or even of a royal city or capital but that of a background for the Temple, a city entirely sanctified to God, the abode of the Divine Presence, whose name will be "the Lord is there." The image of Jerusalem at the close of the Book of Zechariah (14:16–21) is similar, but – unlike in Ezekiel – the sanctity of the city of the Temple is of a universal nature, which will be recognized by all the nations. The description of "the mountain of the House of the Lord" and "the House of the God of Jacob" as the place from which learning, justice, and peace will emanate to all the nations (Isa. 2:2–4; Micah 4:1–3) identifies the mountain and the house with Zion and Jerusalem. The chapters of consolation in the Book of Isaiah (40–66) contain an abundance of expression of fervent love for Zion and Jerusalem, on the one hand, and descriptions of its future greatness and splendor in a hyperbolic poetic style, on the other. When the universal character of the center of divine worship is emphasized (56:7; 66:18–21, et al.), there is no clear distinction between the Temple and the city. In the prophetic descriptions of the visionary Jerusalem and its history, there are numerous miraculous eschatological elements (Isa. 24:23; 27:13; 54: 11–12; Ezek. 47:1–12; Joel 4:2, 12–21; Zech. 12, 14).

[Samuel Abramsky and Jacob Liver]

In Halakhah

Because of its special holiness, Jerusalem is treated in the *halakhah* differently from other cities. "Jerusalem was not divided among the tribes" (i.e., there could be no permanent ownership of it), and thus even outside the field of the sacrifices and Temple services, there are several laws which do not apply to the city. In other walled cities a house which was not redeemed by the seller within one year of the sale remained in the permanent possession of the purchaser and did not revert to the seller in the Jubilee year; this law did not apply to Jerusalem (BK 82b; and see Ar. 9:6 and 32b; Z.M. Pineles, *Darkah shel Torah* (1861), p. 165). In Jerusalem it was also forbidden to rent houses to pilgrims; they were to be given lodgings gratis, and, according to Eleazar b. Simeon, it was even forbidden to rent beds (Tosef. Ma'as. Sh. 1:12; see S. Lieberman *Tosefta ki-Feshutah*, 2 (1955), 722ff.). Indeed, it was customary for the residents to vacate their homes (ARN[1] 35, 104, cf. Tosef. Suk. 2:3) for which service they received the skins of the sacrificial animals (Tosef. Ma'as. Sh. 1:13). These special laws clarify the Mishnah: "No one ever said 'The place is too confined for me to lodge in Jerusalem'" (Avot. 5:5; Yoma 21a).

The laws of the **eglah arufah* ("broken-necked heifer"), the *ir ha-niddaḥat* ("town to be destroyed for idolatry"), and "plagues in buildings" did not apply to Jerusalem (BK 82b; cf. Tosef. Neg. 6:1). The first law requires the elders of the city nearest to a murder victim to decapitate a heifer in a ceremony whose purpose is twofold: to disclaim responsibility for the crime and to expiate the defilement of their land incurred by the blood spilt (Zev. 70b). But this law does not apply to Jerusalem because its citizens do not own the city's land, and they do not belong to one tribe. A city which had gone over completely to idolatry had to be totally destroyed because the sins of the people were conceived of as being visited in their property, as was also the understanding of the phenomenon of "leprosy in buildings." Thus these laws did not apply to Jerusalem, which could not be punished for the sins of its inhabitants.

A whole series of *halakhot* were intended to remove from Jerusalem anything which would increase ritual impurity. Therefore no trash heaps were allowed which could produce insects, nor was it permissible to raise chickens which peck at trash heaps (BK 82b; but see Eduy. 6:1). Places of burial were allowed only outside the walls of Jerusalem; in addition no existing graves were maintained in Jerusalem "except for the graves of the House of David and the grave of Huldah the prophetess which have been there from the times of the early prophets" (Tosef. Neg. 6:2). When there was a funeral procession (Sem. 10), the remains of the deceased were not taken through the city (Tosef. Neg. loc. cit., and see S. Lieberman, *Tosefet Rishonim*, 3 (1939) 190). In particular, the prohibition against leaving a corpse in Jerusalem overnight was strictly enforced, except for the honor of the deceased (BK 82b; Sifra, Be-Ḥukkotai, 6:1).

During the pilgrim festivals the laws of impurity were relaxed in Jerusalem; food and drink of the *am ha-areẓ* were then considered ritually clean, and an *am ha-areẓ* was believed if he said that he had not touched an earthen vessel, for during the festivals everyone was considered a *ḥaver* (Ḥag. 26a; Yad, Metamei Mishkav u-Moshav 11:9). It seems, however, that at the end of the Second Temple period the opposition to excessive restrictions also increased: "On one occasion they found (human) bones in the wood chamber, and they desired to declare Jerusalem unclean. Whereupon R. Joshua rose to his feet and exclaimed: Is it not a shame and a disgrace that we declare the city of our fathers unclean!" (Zev. 113a; Tosef. Eduy. 3:3).

A regulation intended to enlarge the building area within Jerusalem can be seen in the *halakhah* which says of Jerusalem that "It may neither be planted nor sown nor plowed… and trees are not put in it, except for the rose garden which existed from the time of the early prophets" (Tosef. Neg. 6:2; BK 82b). The rose garden – like the graves of the House of David and Huldah the prophetess – is a remnant of a period when these *halakhot* were not in force. Possibly the same reason explains both, namely, the desire to prevent the reduction of available land for expanded housing facilities necessary to accommodate a growing population in the city and lodging places for pilgrims. According to the *halakhah* the area of the city itself may be enlarged only under special conditions: "Additions are not made to the city [of Jerusalem], or to the Temple compartments except by king, prophet, *Urim and Thummim [Oracle], a Sanhedrin of 71, two [loaves of] thanksgiving, and song; and the *bet din* walking in procession, the two loaves of thanksgiving [being borne], after them, and all Israel following behind them." (Shevu. 14a; and see Sanh. 1:5). During the Second Temple period there was no Urim and Thummim. Abba Saul relates that the area of Jerusalem was enlarged only twice

(Tosef. Sanh. 3:4; TJ, Sanh. 1:5, 19b, TB, Shevu. 16a). It is perhaps possible to explain the *halakhah* that a foreign resident is not allowed to live in Jerusalem in terms of demographic policy (Tosef. Neg., 6:2). Even if security is posited as the reason for this law, it is not, however, necessary to date it to the period of the war with Rome.

That Jerusalem, as a meeting place for pilgrims, was also a place of business, is likewise reflected in the *halakhah*. The rabbis decreed that in Jerusalem the hour must be recorded on legal documents insofar as many documents were written by one person on the same day for people who did not know each other. Thus it was important to know whose document was written first (Ket. 10:4). A location known as "*even ha-to'an*" ("depository stone," BM 28b; see Yad, Gezelah va-Avedah 13:1) was especially set aside in Jerusalem for announcing and claiming lost articles.

Jerusalem was also noted for its customs, some of which were related to its special nature as a city of pilgrims. R. Simeon b. Gamaliel said: "There was a great custom in Jerusalem: A cloth was spread over the doorway. As long as the cloth was spread the guests could enter; when the cloth was removed from the doorway the guests were not permitted to enter." According to R. Samuel b. Meir (Rashbam), this refers apparently to uninvited guests who happened to be in the city for the festival and "who knew that they could eat there and they would go there to eat" (BB 93b; see Tosef. Ber. 4:9; S. Lieberman, *Tosefta ki-Feshutah*, 1 (1955) 62f.). It is related of the dignitaries of Jerusalem themselves that "not one of them would go to a meal until he was invited, and not one of them goes to a meal until he knows who dines with him" (Lam. R. 4:4, Sanh. 23a). The different types of food were illustrated on the tablecloth "because of the fastidious people, so that none of them should eat something harmful" (Lam. R., loc. cit).

People of integrity in Jerusalem would not sign documents unless they knew who the joint signatories were. They did not sit in judgment unless they knew who sat with them (Sanh. 23a; see *ibid.*, 30a). When the Torah Scroll was removed from the ark or returned to it they would walk behind it in respect (Sof. 14:14). There was a custom in Jerusalem to educate the boys and girls to fast on fast days. When a boy was over 12 years old "they used to bring him before every priest and elder in order to bless him, to strengthen him, and to pray for him" (*ibid.*, 18:5).

R. Eleazar b. Zadok testified that in Jerusalem there were groups of people who volunteered to carry out specifically those commandments between man and his neighbor. Some attended engagement festivities, others marriage feasts, others festivities surrounding the birth of a child or circumcisions, while still others gathered bones (of the dead). "Some went to the house of celebration, others to the house of the mourner" (Tosef. Meg. 4:15). The laws concerning the festivals were prominently and elaborately observed in Jerusalem. Wherever they went on Sukkot, the people of Jerusalem did not leave their *lulavim* behind (Tosef. Suk. 2:10, Suk. 41b). They used to bind the *lulav* with chains of gold (Suk. 3:8). There was no courtyard in Jerusalem which was not lit up by the light of the water-drawing festival (*ibid.* 5:3).

Even after its destruction, Jerusalem retained its holiness, and special *halakhot* continued to be observed. The second tithe is not separated in Jerusalem since it is now forbidden to redeem it (Yad., Ma'aser Sheni 2: 1–4). When praying, one is obligated to face Jerusalem, and if he "stands in Jerusalem he should turn his heart toward the Temple" (Ber. 30a). Entrance to the Temple Mount itself is forbidden because of ritual impurity; one who comes to pray may approach only as far as the Temple Mount. The obligation of making pilgrimage to Jerusalem remained in force, but in addition one is obliged to mourn the destruction of the city. Besides the fasts and the established days of mourning, and especially the Ninth of Av, one is forbidden to eat meat or drink wine on any day in which he sees Jerusalem in its destruction (Tosef. Ned. 1:4). One who does see Jerusalem in its destruction says: "Zion has become a wilderness, Jerusalem a desolation" (Isa. 64:9) and rends his garment. One who rends his garment for Jerusalem should not rend it further for the other cities of Judah (MK 26a). One should really mourn the destruction of Jerusalem every day and in every place; it is, however, impossible to mourn too much. "The sages have therefore ordained thus. A man may whitewash his house, but he should leave a small area unfinished in remembrance of Jerusalem. A man may prepare a full-course meal, but he should leave out an item of the menu in remembrance of Jerusalem. A woman may put on all her ornaments except one or two, in remembrance of Jerusalem" (Tosef. Sot. 15: 12–14; BB 60b).

[*Encyclopaedia Hebraica*]

In the Aggadah

The many aggadic statements about Jerusalem may be divided into three classes: those dealing with the Jerusalem of historical reality from its capture by David until the destruction of the Second Temple, statements and homilies about the Jerusalem that preceded and followed this historical city, and those dealing with the "ideal" Jerusalem of the Messianic age.

THE HISTORIC CITY. Lavish are the praises of Jerusalem in the *aggadah*, which invest it with all desirable qualities and virtues. There is no beauty like that of Jerusalem (ARN[1] 28, 85). Of the ten measures of beauty that came down to the world, Jerusalem took nine (Kid. 49b). A man who has not seen Jerusalem in its splendor has never seen a beautiful city in his life (Suk. 51 b). Even Jerusalem's lack of delicious fruit and hot springs was turned into grounds for praise: "R. Isaac said: Why are there no fruits of Ginnosar in Jerusalem? So that the festival pilgrims should not say: 'Had we merely made the pilgrimage to eat the fruits of Ginnosar in Jerusalem, it would have sufficed for us,' with the result that the pilgrimage would not have been made for its own sake. Similarly R. Dostai b. Yannai said: Why are the hot springs of Tiberias not in Jerusalem? So that the festival pilgrims should not say: 'Had we merely made the pilgrimage to bathe in the hot springs of Tiberias, it would have sufficed for us,' with the result that the pilgrimage would not have been made for its own sake" (Pes. 8b; and see Sif. Num. 89).

Extravagant accounts were given of the size of Jerusalem, and the numbers of its inhabitants were magnified in order to glorify it (Lam. R. 1: 1 no.2). According to R. Hoshaiah, there were 480 synagogues in Jerusalem, each including a school for the study of the Bible and another for the study of the Mishnah (TJ, Meg. 3: 1, 73d), and in addition there were 394 *battei din* (Ket. 105a). Jerusalem was known by 70 names, all expressions of affection and esteem (Ag. Song 1:1, line 125 ff.), as well as by the Name of the Holy One blessed be He (BB 75b). Among the ten miracles wrought in Jerusalem are: "No person was stricken in Jerusalem, no person ever stumbled in Jerusalem, no fire ever broke out in Jerusalem, no building ever collapsed in Jerusalem" (ARN[1] 35, 103).

The people of Jerusalem were renowned for their wisdom: "R. Yose said: Wherever a Jerusalemite went, they would spread out for him a soft seat and place him on it in order to hear his wisdom"; the Midrash tells a number of stories about Athenians who came to Jerusalem and were impressed by the wisdom of the people and about Jerusalemites who went to Athens and surprised its inhabitants by their wisdom (Lam. R. 1:1 nos. 4–14). The people of Jerusalem were of distinguished birth and those of other places sought to marry them. "A provincial who married a woman from Jerusalem gave her her weight in gold, and a Jerusalemite who married a woman from the province was given his weight in gold" (Lam. R. 1–2, no. 2). The Jerusalemites were distinguished for their beauty (BM 84a: "R. Johanan said, I am the only one remaining of Jerusalem's men of outstanding beauty"). There are many references to the pleasant customs of "the nobility of Jerusalem and of the gentle-minded in Jerusalem" (Lam. R., *loc. cit*). The inhabitants of Jerusalem were granted atonement for their sins daily (PdRK, ed. Buber, 55b).

These statements reflect the views of the sages about Jerusalem and its people during the period of the Second Temple, and in their light they considered the reason for its destruction. Some sages declared: "We find that the First Temple was destroyed because they were guilty of practicing idolatry and incest, and of shedding blood, which applied to the Second Temple too" – and this despite all the qualities for which the Jerusalemites were praised. On the other hand, Johanan b. Torta maintained "… but in the Second Temple period we know that they studied the Torah, were strictly observant of the *mitzvot* and of the tithes, and every kind of good manners was found among them, but they loved money and hated one another without cause" (TJ, Yoma 1:1, 38c; TB, Yoma 9b). As an illustration of causeless hatred there is the story of *Kamẓa and Bar Kamẓa given by R. Johanan as the cause of the destruction of Jerusalem (Git. 55b), which was also blamed explicitly on a deterioration in relations between men (BM 30b: "Jerusalem was only destroyed… because they based their judgments [strictly] on the letter of the law and did not go beyond its requirements."). This line was followed by other *amoraim* (Shab. 119b: "Jerusalem was destroyed only because the small and the great were made equal…, because they did not rebuke one another…, because scholars were despised in it…"), while others laid the blame at the door of man's transgressions toward God ("because the Sabbath was desecrated in it… because the reading of the *Shema* morning and evening was neglected"; *ibid.*). Although here proofs are deduced from biblical verses, the reference is to the destruction of Jerusalem in general and not specifically to that of the First Temple.

THE EXTRA-HISTORICAL CITY. The history of Jerusalem begins with an *aggadah* on the creation. "At the beginning of the creation of the world the Holy One blessed be He made as it were a tabernacle in Jerusalem in which He prayed: May My children do My will that I shall not destroy My house and My sanctuary" (Mid. Ps. to 76:3). Eliezer b. Jacob held that Adam offered a sacrifice "on the great altar in Jerusalem" (Gen. R. 34:9). According to one view Adam was created from a pure and holy place, the site of the Temple (PdRE 12; Gen. R. 14:8; TJ, Naz. 7:2, 56b: "he was created from the site of his atonement"), while another maintained that all the world was created from Zion (Yoma 54b).

In an extension of the vision of Isaiah (2:2) "that the mountain of the Lord's house shall be established as the top of the mountains, and shall be exalted above the hills," Jerusalem is pictured by a Diaspora Jew of the second century B.C.E. as "situated in the center of the land of Judah on a high and exalted mountain" (*Letter of Aristeas*, 83). In a *baraita*, the view of the Temple as the highest place is connected with the verse (Deut. 17:8): "Then shalt thou arise, and get thee up unto the place which the Lord thy God shall choose," which shows that the Temple is higher than the rest of Ereẓ Israel, and Ereẓ Israel than all other countries (Kid. 69a). Associated with this description of the Temple and Jerusalem is the idea that the place is also the center of the world and the *tabbur ha-areẓ* ("the navel of the earth"), a well-known Greek concept. Philo also described Jerusalem "as situated in the center of the world" (*Legatio ad Gaium*, 294), and Josephus states that Judea "stretches from the River Jordan to Jaffa. The city of Jerusalem lies at its very center, and for this reason it has sometimes, not inaptly, been called the 'navel' of the country" (Wars, 3:51–52). This idea is also found in the Midrash: "As the navel is set in the middle of a person, so is Ereẓ Israel the navel of the world, as it is said: 'That dwell in the navel of the earth' [Ezek. 38: 12]. Ereẓ Israel is located in the center of the world, Jerusalem in the center of Ereẓ Israel, the Temple in the center of Jerusalem, the *heikhal* in the center of the Temple, the ark in the center of the *heikhal*, and in front of the *heikhal* is the even *shetiyyah* ['foundation stone'] from which the world was started" (Tanḥ. B., Lev. 78; and see Sanh. 37a; Song R. 7:5 no. 3). The antiquity of this *aggadah* is attested by a parallel in the Second Book of Enoch (23:45; Cahana's edition) in which the metaphor "the navel of the earth" is connected with the site of Adam's creation ("And that Melchizedek will be priest and king in the place of Araunah saying, In the navel of the earth where Adam was created…"). These *aggadot* and others like them make Jerusalem the place where the decisive events in man's history, as recounted in the book of Genesis, occurred (see Gen. R. 22:7; PdRE 23, 31). The identification of Mount *Moriah, on which Solomon built "the house of the Lord" (II Chron. 3:1), with "one of the mountains" in the land of Moriah, on which Abraham bound Isaac on the altar, predates the special holiness of Jerusalem and its choice as the site of the Temple to before David's capture of the city, and connects this with the promise given to the patriarch Abraham. To the name by which it is first mentioned, Salem ("peace" or "perfection," Gen. 14: 18) was added *yirah* ("reverence," in Gen. 22: 14) after the *Akedah*, both combining to form the name Jerusalem (Gen. R. 56:10).

The designation, "daughter of Zion," which is often used in the Bible to refer to the people of Israel, presumes the metaphor of Jerusalem as the mother, and this is also found in the apocryphal and apocalyptic literature (IV Ezra 10:7; I Bar. 4:9; II Bar. 3:1), as well as in Midrashim (PR 26:131b; Yal. Mak. on Ps. 147:2, no. 4 in the name of the Tanh.). The term "mother" had a special significance for Hellenistic Jewry: in referring to Jerusalem as the "metropolis," they expressed the idea that the Diaspora communities were settlements founded on the initiative of the mother city, Jerusalem (Philo, *In Flaccum*, 45–46; *Legatio ad Gaium*, 281). But in the *aggadah* the term metropolis had a different connotation. Of Jerusalem, the "navel" of the earth and the light of the world (Gen. R. 59: 5), R. Johanan said that "it is destined to become the metropolis of all countries" (Ex. R. 23:10), and in the future all nations would be "daughters of Jerusalem" (Tanḥ. B. Deut. 4).

THE IDEAL JERUSALEM. The statements of the sages on the Jerusalem of the future are for the most part connected with and based on prophetic visions on this subject. Through close scrutiny of every detail of these visions and by accepting every metaphor and parable as factual, they wove fanciful and extravagant legends. Some, however, not content with inferences from biblical passages, added their own ideas. It is an aggadic tradition, said Samuel b. Nahmani, that "Jerusalem will not be rebuilt until the exiles are gathered in, and if anyone tells you that the exiles have gathered together but Jerusalem is not rebuilt, do not believe it" (Tanḥ. No'aḥ 11). In time to come God will rebuild Jerusalem and never destroy it (*ibid.*), and it will be rebuilt with fire (TJ, Ber. 4:3, 8a). In the future, said R. Johanan, the Holy One, blessed be He, will raise Jerusalem by three *parasangs* (BB 75b); "Jerusalem will be extended on all sides and the exiles will come and rest under it," and it will reach the gates of Damascus (Song R. 7:5 no. 3). Simeon b. Lakish said, "The Holy One, blessed be He, will in days to come add to Jerusalem more than a thousand gardens and a thousand towers" (BB 75b; Mid. Ps. to 48:13; and see Kohut, Arukh, 4 (1926), 24). In the future the Holy One, blessed be He, will bring forth living waters from Jerusalem and with them heal everyone who is sick (Ex. R. 15:21). The borders of Jerusalem in time to come will be full of precious stones and pearls, and Israel will come and take their jewels from them (PdRK 137a). The Holy One, blessed be He, will build Jerusalem of sapphire stone "and these stones will shine like the sun, and the nations will come and look upon the glory of Israel" (Ex. R. 15:21). Simeon b. Gamaliel declared that "all nations and all kingdoms will in time to come gather together in the midst of Jerusalem" (ARN^1 35, 106).

Jerusalem of the future is connected with the heavenly Jerusalem. The widespread concept of the heavenly Temple, which owes its origin to Isaiah's vision (Isa. 6), is the source of the aggadic idea of a heavenly Jerusalem (*Yerushalayim shel Ma'lah*). In an homiletical interpretation of the verse: "The Holy One is in the midst of thee, and I will not enter into the city" (Hos. 11:9), R. Johanan said, "The Holy One, blessed be He, declared, 'I shall not enter the heavenly Jerusalem until I can enter the earthly Jerusalem.' Is there, then, a heavenly Jerusalem? Yes, for it is written [Ps. 122:3]: 'Jerusalem, that art builded as a city that is compact together'" (Ta'an. 5a). Another homiletical interpretation stating that the heavenly Jerusalem is located directly opposite the earthly Jerusalem is derived from the verse (Isa. 49:16): "Behold, I have graven thee upon the palms of My hands; thy walls are continually before Me" (Tanḥ., Pekudei, 1), and this Jerusalem is in the heaven known as *zevul* (Ḥag. 12b). While the heavenly Temple was fully prepared before the world was created (Tanḥ. B., Num. p. 34), the heavenly Jerusalem "was fashioned out of great love for the earthly Jerusalem" (Tanḥ., Pekudei, 1). This distinction is unknown in apocalyptic literature. In the Syriac Apocalypse of Baruch (4:3) God says that the heavenly Jerusalem is "prepared beforehand here from the time when I took counsel to make paradise."

While apocalyptic literature (IV Ezra 10) and Paul (Gal. 4:26) stress the contrast between the heavenly and the earthly Jerusalem, the *aggadah* emphasizes their affinity. Thus, in time to come, it is stated in apocalyptic literature (I Enoch 90:28–29; IV Ezra 7:26, 10:54), the heavenly Temple and the heavenly Jerusalem will descend and be established in the place of the earthly Temple and earthly Jerusalem. "For in a place where the city of the Most High was about to be revealed no building work of man could endure." This view – adopted by the Christians, who repudiated the belief in a restoration of the earthly Jerusalem – was rejected by the *aggadah*, which states that the earthly Jerusalem will extend and rise upward until it reaches the throne of Divine Majesty (PdRK 143b; and see Tanh., Ẓav, 12; PR 41: 173a). It is only in later apocalyptic literature written in Muslim countries in the Geonic period that the idea reappears of the heavenly Jerusalem coming down to earth wholly built and entire (*Nistarot de-Rabbi Shimon bar Yoḥai* in *Beit ha-Midrash*, 3 (1938), 74f., 80; *Sefer Eliyahu, ibid.*, 67; see also Gen. Rabbati, ed. by Ḥ. Albeck, 131).

[*Encyclopaedia Hebraica*]

In the Liturgy

STATUTORY PRAYER. In the liturgy the Jew gave full expression to the vow taken "by the rivers of Babylon" – "If I forget thee, O Jerusalem, let my right hand forget her cunning" (Ps.

137: 5). The mention of Jerusalem was obligatory in all the statutory prayers, and it is largely used (together with Zion) as a synonym for Ereẓ Israel as a whole (in point of fact, references to Ereẓ Israel are rare). The most important of the many references is the 14th blessing of the daily **Amidah*, which is entirely devoted to Jerusalem. It begins, "And to Jerusalem thy city return in mercy… rebuild it soon in our days" and concludes, "Blessed art thou, O Lord, who buildest Jerusalem." On the Ninth of Av a moving prayer of comfort to "the mourners of Zion and the mourners of Jerusalem" and for the rebuilding of the city (called *Naḥem* after its opening word) is added to this blessing in the *Amidah* of *Minḥah*, and the concluding blessing is changed to "who comfortest Zion and rebuildest Jerusalem." The first of the last three blessings (common to all the *Amidot*), an invocation for the restoration of the sacrificial system, concludes with the words "and may our eyes behold thy return in mercy to Zion. Blessed art thou, O Lord, who restorest thy Divine Presence unto Zion." The same combination of prayer for Jerusalem with the hope for the restoration of the Divine Service in the Temple is the theme of the fourth blessing of the *Musaf* on the New Moon and festivals (the Sabbath *Musaf* refers to the return to "our land"), while the **Ya'aleh ve-Yavo* prayer includes one for "the remembrance of Jerusalem thy holy city." The third benediction of the Grace after *Meals, largely devoted to Jerusalem, includes a prayer for Jerusalem, Zion, the restoration of the Davidic dynasty, and the rebuilding of the Temple. It concludes with the same benediction as the 14th blessing of the *Amidah*, with, however, the addition of the word meaning "in thy mercy."

The *Lekhah Dodi* hymn is an impressive example of the longing for Jerusalem as it found its expression in the liturgy. Designed as a hymn of welcome to "Princess Sabbath," no less than 6 of its 9 stanzas are devoted, explicitly or implicitly, to the yearning for Jerusalem.

IN PIYYUT. The theme of Jerusalem figures prominently in **piyyut*, but its implications and frame of reference are greatly extended. Whereas in the statutory prayers the theme is confined to the actual Jerusalem, in the *piyyut* Jerusalem is also the embodiment of an idea: it is a symbol of Israel's glorious past and her hopes for the future, an image of the heavenly Jerusalem whose gates directly correspond to those of the temporal Jerusalem. The various biblical names for Jerusalem are found in the *piyyut*, as well as new names suggested by the context in which Jerusalem appears in the Bible. There are hundreds of relevant *piyyutim* and many were adopted in the *maḥzorim, kinot*, and *seliḥot* of the various rites. If Jerusalem was the "chiefest joy" of Israel when it dwelt in its own land, after the Exile, the deprivation from it became the "chiefest mourning." It is thus the theme of *piyyutim* on occasions of joy, such as weddings; of sadness, as in the *kinot* of the Ninth of Av; and of solemnity, such as the *seliḥot*. One of the earliest of such *piyyutim* for marriages is the *silluk* of Eleazar *Kallir, *Ahavat Ne'urim me-Olam* (M. Zulai, in: *Sinai*, 32 (1942/43), 52–54), which contains the following stanza:

שִׂמְחוּ אֶת יְרוּשָׁלַם בְּשִׂמְחָה
וְגִילוּ בָהּ בְּהַצָּלָה וּרְוָחָה
כִּי לָעַד לֹא יַזְנִיחֶנָּה
וְלֹא לְעוֹלָם לָנֶצַח יַאֲנִיחֶנָּה

Gladden Jerusalem with gladness
And rejoice in her with deliverance and well-being,
For He shall not neglect her forever,
Nor shall He eternally abandon her to sighing.

The theme (of joy) is common to all such *piyyutim* in honor of the bridegroom. One of the best constructed *piyyutim* on Jerusalem is included in the *seliḥot* for the third day of the Ten Days of Penitence according to the Lithuanian custom. It is a 22-stanza abecedarius, beginning with the verse:

יְרוּשָׁלַיִם אֶת ה׳ הַלְלִי דָּגוּל מֵרְבָבוֹת

Jerusalem, praise the Lord, distinguished among myriads

Each strophe starts with the word Jerusalem, followed by the alphabetical acrostic word, and concludes with a biblical quotation in which the last word is Jerusalem. The *piyyutim* of **Ne'ilah* for the Day of Atonement include both the stanza from the *Avadnu me-Ereẓ Ḥemdah* of R. *Gershom b. Judah of Mainz (Davidson, Oẓar, 1 (1924), no. 86):

הָעִיר הַקּוֹדֶשׁ וְהַמְּחוֹזוֹת
הָיוּ לְחֶרְפָּה וּלְבִיזוֹת
וְכָל מַחֲמַדֶּיהָ טְבוּעוֹת וּגְנוּזוֹת

The Holy City and its environs
Have been shamed and disgraced
And all her glories engulfed and plunged into oblivion.

and the acrostic poem of *Amittai b. Shephatiah of the tenth century in Italy (*ibid*, no. 2275) beginning:

אֶזְכְּרָה אֱלֹהִים וְאֶהֱמָיָה
בִּרְאוֹתִי כָּל עִיר עַל תִּלָּהּ בְּנוּיָה
וְעִיר הָאֱלֹהִים מוּשְׁפֶּלֶת עַד שְׁאוֹל תַּחְתִּיָּה

I remember, O God, and lament
When I see every city built on its foundation
And the City of God degraded to the nethermost pit.

Almost every *paytan*, whether of Ereẓ Israel (e.g., Yannai, Kallir, *Yose b. Yose) or of the Diaspora (e.g., *Saadiah b. Joseph Gaon, Abraham *Ibn Ezra, Joseph b. Abraham *Gikatilla) composed a *piyyut* on this theme. Each expressed his praise and longing for Jerusalem. Kallir calls it "the city of strength"; Saadiah sees "the streets of the city full of rejoicing"; Ibn Ezra sings of the "beloved Zion"; a *paytan* called Isaac refers to it as "Jerusalem the Crown of Glory"; Abraham b. Menahem as "the joyous city"; while for Israel b. Moses *Najara, in his well-known Aramaic table hymn, *Yah Ribbon*, it is "the best of all cities."

In his love songs which express passionate yearning for Jerusalem, *Judah Halevi excels over all others and earned the title "the Singer of Zion." His famous *Ẓiyyon Ha-Lo Tishali*, included in the *kinot* for the Ninth of Av, gave the lead to the *kinot* which are called "Zionides" because they commence with the word Zion. In the Ashkenazi *kinot* alone there are seven such *piyyutim*, but Davidson lists some 60 (3 (1930), nos. 277–322). Jerusalem to Judah Halevi is "beautiful of elevation, the joy of the world, the capital of the great king" (*ibid.*, 2 (1929), no. 3354; all references below are to Davidson). It is "the site of the throne of the Messiah" and "the footstool of God" (*ibid.*, no. 998); the "city of the universal God" (*ibid.*, no. 3860). Ezekiel's mention of the two sisters "Oholah the elder, and Oholibah her sister" – personifications of Samaria and Jerusalem (23:4) – became a fruitful theme for the *paytanim*, often in the form of a dialogue between them (cf. Kallir, *ibid.*, 1 (1924), no. 1721 and 2 (1929), no. 789). The *piyyut* on this theme by Solomon ibn *Gabirol, *Shomeron Kol Titten* (3 (1930), no. 686) is included in the *kinot* of the eve of the Ninth of Av in the Ashkenazi rite. Jerusalem and Samaria engage in a dialogue; the former maintains that the destruction of the Temple is the cruelest possible blow; Samaria retorts that at least the descendants of Judea still exist, while hers are lost. Oholibah answers that the repeated persecutions and exiles have been worse than death. The *piyyut* ends with the prayer, "Renew our days of old, as thou didst say, 'The Lord will rebuild Jerusalem.'"

Another recurring motif is the contrast between "my departure from Egypt" (from bondage to freedom) and "my departure from Jerusalem" (from freedom to bondage). There are *piyyutim* with this refrain by, among others, David b. Samuel ha-Levi (1 (1924), no. 5634), *Ephraim b. Jacob (*ibid.*, no. 2487), and David b. Aleksandri (*ibid.*, no. 2298), and an example can be seen in the *Esh Tukad be-Kirbi* included in the *kinot* of the Ninth of Av in the Ashkenazi rite.

The poems and *piyyutim* on Jerusalem, although individual compositions, express the longings and love of the whole Jewish people. Their inclusion in the various rites clearly testifies that throughout the ages Jerusalem continued to be at the very center of the Jews' emotions and cultural heritage.

After the establishment of the State of Israel, and especially after the 1967 Six-Day War, there was a growing feeling that the *piyyutim* on Jerusalem which emphasize its utter destruction and desolation should no longer be recited. Similarly a revised version of the *Naḥem* prayer, based on variants, particularly the Palestinian version which begins *Raḥem*, composed by E.E. Urbach, is recited in some synagogues.

[Abraham Meir Habermann]

In Kabbalah

According to *Baḥya b. Asher, the dual ending of the Hebrew word for Jerusalem (*Yerushalayim*) indicates that there is a heavenly Jerusalem corresponding to the earthly Jerusalem (see Aggadah: above). It contains a "holy palace and the prince of the Presence is the high priest" (commentary on *Sefer ha-Komah*). Following the *aggadah*, the Holy Land is the center of the world and in its center is Jerusalem, whose focal point is the Holy of Holies. All the good in the world flows from heaven to Jerusalem, and all are nourished from there (Zohar, 2:157a; Joseph Gikatila, *Sha'arei Orah*, ch. 1; *Emunah u-Vittaḥon*; Naḥmanides, commentary on Gen. 14: 18, 28; 17, etc.). Jerusalem therefore symbolizes the lowest *Sefirah, Malkhut* ("kingdom"), which mainly rules over the world. The mystical drama behind the history of Jerusalem is expressed in various essays: Ḥayyim *Vital, for example, interpreted the war between Tyre and Jerusalem as a battle between impurity and holiness. Jerusalem is surrounded by mountains so that the forces of the *sitra aḥra* ("the left side," the demonic powers) cannot penetrate it (*Sefer ha-*Temunah*), and the angels of the *Shekhinah* are the guardians of the walls (Zohar, 2:89b, 240b). According to Naḥmanides and Baḥya, Jerusalem is therefore especially suitable for prophecy and its inhabitants have a "superior advantage," for "no curtain separates it [Jerusalem] from God" (*Reshit Ḥokhmah*) and He wishes to be worshiped there. The prayers of all Israel rise to heaven via Jerusalem, which is the gateway to the heavens (Isaiah *Horowitz, *Shenei Luḥot ha-Berit*). The walls of Jerusalem will eventually approach the Throne of Glory (Zohar, 3:56a) and then there will be complete harmony in the realm of the *Sefirot*.

As the messianic belief did not occupy a special position in Spanish Kabbalah, Jerusalem did not attain a particular status beyond the customary mystical-symbolic homiletic interpretations. After the expulsion from Spain (1492), there is evidence of a preference for Safed over Jerusalem (*Ḥesed le-Avraham* (Vilna, 1877), 25b). For a change in a later period see *Emek ha-Melekh* (Amsterdam, 1648, 116c). The Messiah will first reveal himself in Galilee and then will go up to Jerusalem. Jerusalem also appears in the following apocalyptic works: *Sefer Eliyahu, Pirkei Mashi'aḥ, Nistarot de-Rabbi Shimon bar Yoḥai* (Jellinek, *Beit ha-Midrash*, 3), and *Ma'aseh Dani'el* (*ibid.*, 5).

Until the 16th century, only a few kabbalists lived in Jerusalem. They included *Jacob Nazir of Lunel, Naḥmanides, Judah *Albotini, *Abraham b. Eliezer ha-Levi, Joseph ibn Ṣayyaḥ, Ḥayyim Vital, and scholars who bore such pseudonyms as R. Nahorai, R. Ḥanuniah, Maẓli'aḥ b. Pelatiyah, and others. However, from the 17th century on, many kabbalists were attracted to Jerusalem, including entire groups, like those around Jacob *Ẓemaḥ, Meir *Poppers, and Gedaliah Ḥayon. Shabbateans especially, such as *Rovigo, *Judah he-Ḥasid, Ḥayyim *Malakh, and others tended to look toward Jerusalem. Even the author of **Ḥemdat Yamim* wrote as if he lived in Jerusalem. Of special note is the *bet midrash*, Bet El, founded by Shalom *Sharabi, which served as a center of Kabbalah in the East for 150 years. Its students excelled in asceticism and in prayer according to Lurianic meditations (*kavvanot*).

[Moshe Hallamish]

In Modern Hebrew Literature

HASKALAH. The historical perspective with which most of the *Haskalah literature invested Jerusalem gave the city a sense of reality if not immediacy. The *maskil*, though he wanted to assimilate into European culture, also tried to preserve his historical identity; he thus not only recalled his ancient past but vivified it. The yearning for the past glory of Israel was, however, a nostalgia for the almost irretrievable. Thus one of the major trends in the Haskalah, not unlike European literature in this respect, was a harking back to a "Golden Age." This, however, was not born out of a desire to return to the Land of Israel, which was only to grow strong much later in the wake of disappointment with the Enlightenment.

Haskalah literature not only celebrated the glory of ancient Jerusalem but also lamented the Jerusalem laid waste, the bondage, and the Exile. Two of the earliest Hebrew Haskalah writers, Ephraim and Isaac *Luzzatto, celebrated the glories of Israel's past; their panegyrics were interwoven with a strain of infinite longing to be echoed later by Micah Joseph *Lebensohn (Mikhal). Jerusalem also figured prominently in the rational allegorical strain in Haskalah writings, e.g., *Emet ve-Emunah* ("Truth and Faith"; in *Kol Kitvei Adam u-Mikhal*, 3 (1895)) by A.B. *Lebensohn, where the city is the seat of wisdom. Against the symbolic landscape of Jerusalem, Micah Joseph Lebensohn wrote a number of semi-epical poems: *Shelomo ve-Kohelet, Moshe al-Har Avarim*, and *Yehudah Halevi*. In *Moshe al-Har Avarim* Moses stands on Mount Avarim and "his eye is turned toward Jerusalem." Judah Halevi is depicted as journeying to the Land of Israel, where he meets with desolation and ruin. Standing before the gates of Jerusalem the medieval poet falls into a trance and sees the host of the dead of Zion pass before his eyes. The modern poet thereby gives a kaleidoscopic view of the woeful legions of the Jews who died for Jerusalem and Zion.

Ahavat Ẓiyyon ("Love of Zion," 1853) is a colorful pageant of the ancient past. Sensitively imitating the speech of biblical Hebrew, the author captured the rhythm of life of the ancient Hebrews. Divested of any mythical analogies, symbols, or nostalgia, his graphic rendering of life in Judah, where Jews were free in their own homeland, stirred the hearts of a ghetto generation. While Jerusalem in the novel is the backdrop of the action, it is also the symbol of the Haskalah, a harmonious reconciliation between beauty and morality. Mapu also mourned the ruin of Jerusalem, which is the leitmotif of *Ayit Ẓavu'a* ("The Painted Vulture," 1857), a savage attack on Jewish obscurantism, whose butt is Lithuanian Jewry. Jerusalem, seen through the eyes of one of the characters who sits on Mount Zion contemplating its desolation, is described with an immediacy seldom found among Haskalah writers.

Judah Leib *Gordon, a later Haskalah writer, expressed his love of Zion more directly than other maskilim and in this sense is as much a writer of the renascence period as of the Haskalah. Though he never joined Ḥibbat Zion and had misgivings about the return of the Jews to their ancient homeland, 20 years before the movement's inception Gordon wrote *Al Har Ẓiyyon she-Shamam* (1862; in *Kitvei Yehudah Leib Gordon* (1953)) urging the people to rebuild Zion. Among his poems on Jerusalem are *Ahavat David u-Mikhal* ("The Love of David and Michal") and *Bein Shinnei Arayot* ("Between the Teeth of the Lions"), an epic poem on the war between Judea and Rome. The theme of the latter, a people fighting for its liberty against overwhelming odds, is exemplified through the tragic story of a Jewish warrior who fought at the gates of Jerusalem, only to be taken captive to Rome and pitted against a lion in the arena. The poet's anguish over a nation whose ancient glory is no more suffuses the poem.

RENASCENCE PERIOD (1880–1947). In late Haskalah literature there is no clear distinction between belles lettres and writings of a social and publicistic nature. This division was effected in the renascence period when issues vital to the Jewish community were in literary writing either subsumed to the aesthetic element or were so well integrated that their militancy was muted. The great poets of the time, such as Ḥ.N. Bialik and S. Tchernichowsky, excluded the Zionist issue from most of their works. Thus the Zionist poets of the renascence movement are not the literary giants of modern Hebrew literature but minor bards such as M.M. *Dolitzki, who wrote reams of poetry on Jerusalem, most of which is sentimental and trite. A minor poet, N.H. *Imber, is remembered by virtue of his poem "**Ha-Tikvah*" (about 1876).

Jerusalem features prominently in the historical dramas of the period, some of which were a continuation of the allegorical-biblical literature of the Haskalah. In J.L. *Landau's *Aḥarit Yerushalayim* ("The Last Days of Jerusalem," 1886) the protagonists expound ideas about freedom and the glory of Israel.

Major writers of the later renascence period (1920–47) returned to the theme of Jerusalem. Although some used it merely as an image, symbol, or backdrop for the development of their plot, they invested the city with a flesh and blood reality. J.Ḥ. *Brenner wrote a number of works against the background of Jerusalem, such as *Shekhol ve-Khishalon* ("Bereavement and Failure," 1920), in which he decries the Jerusalem of the *kolel* and *ḥalukkah*, and *Mi-Kan u-mi-Kan* ("From Here and There," 1911). Some of Yaakov *Cahan's historical plays, *David Melekh Yisrael* (1921), the King Solomon trilogy, and others, are set in biblical Jerusalem. In *Aggadot Elohim* ("Legends of God," 1945), a saga of the Jewish people from the time of creation to the resurrection, Cahan strikingly describes the desolation of Jerusalem which at the same time he sees as a symbol of redemption. He also edited the anthology *Yerushalayim be-Shir ve-Ḥazon*.

Dramatists of the caliber of Mattityahu *Shoham also made Jerusalem the pervading motif of some of their works. The theme of *Ẓor vi-Yrushalayim* (1933) is a culture conflict expressed through the characters: Jezebel, Elijah, and Elisha. Jezebel is associated with Zor (Tyre), the center of Phoenician culture, the seat of idolatry identified with the flesh. Elisha, at first attracted to Jezebel, dissociates himself from her. Jerusalem symbolizes the ideal society, the rule of the spirit. Elisha's self-denial and resistance to the temptations of Jezebel is in contrast to an earlier tragic emphasis in Shoham where the Jewish protagonist is overpowered. While it is a play of high dramatic quality, it is not theatrical. The characters never become flesh and blood but remain symbolic or allegorical figures. *Ha-Ḥomah* ("The Wall," 1938), a drama by Aharon Ashman, is set in the time of Ezra and Nehemiah. Jerusalem merely serves as a background for the dramatic action. Nathan (Bistritski) *Agmon's *Be-Leil Zeh* (1934), renamed *Leil Yerushalayim* ("Jerusalem Night," 1953), an impressionistic play in which the dialogue is fragmentary and the characters symbolic, dramatizes the crisis in modern Jewish history as manifested in the conflict between the conservative Jew who acquiesces in exile and the demand for redemption. While Jerusalem is the physical setting in many of these works, the city also functions as a symbolic landscape which forms the warp and woof of the play.

During this period of national revival much drama, prose, and poetry was written in which the theme of the return to Zion did not focus on Jerusalem, but rather on pioneering and the pioneer. Although the naturalistic and realistic schools did not take up Jerusalem as a motif, there were exceptions, among them Yehoshua *Bar-Yosef's *Be-Simta'ot Yerushalayim* ("In Jerusalem Alleys," 1941), a dramatization of the tragic disintegration of a family. A conflict of generations and values, whose tragic "dissolution" is in madness, unfolds against the background of the timelessness of Jerusalem.

Yehuda *Karni in his Palestine period infused the individualistic motifs of his earlier poetry with a nationalistic theme in which Jerusalem is the eternal symbol of the Jewish people and the embodiment of its destiny. He thus deviated from the realistic trend prevalent in Palestine wherein Jerusalem was a backdrop to contemporary social problems. In his book of poems, *Shirei Yerushalayim* ("Songs of Jerusalem," 1944), the hopeless stagnation and decay of 20th-century Jerusalem against the canvas of its historical continuity is portrayed as ephemeral and transient.

A lyrical and personal note runs through Ya'akov *Fichmann's poems on Jerusalem, whose wistful mood expresses an undefined longing. The poet, like a prowler, stealthily surprises the city in its most intimate moments. Onto these he projects his own moods. In the sonnet "Jerusalem," Fichmann captures Jerusalem in a moment in which all of time is gathered and in which "Dead splendor rests on furrows of new life."

Jerusalem is central to a number of Shmuel Yosef *Agnon's works, especially to his major novels: *Ore'aḥ Natah Lalun* (1940; *A Guest for the Night*, 1968), *Temol Shilshom* ("The Days Before," 1946), and *Shirah* (1971), each of which treats the Jerusalem motif differently. The action in *Ore'aḥ Natah Lalun* is set in a small Galician town to which a traveler from Jerusalem, drawn by childhood nostalgia, has come to spend the night. The two main symbols in the work, the town's *bet ha-midrash* and Jerusalem, interact on a level beyond the immediate realistic scene. They are also interwoven into the surrealistic images, often producing a sense of eeriness and unreality. On every level of the story Jerusalem functions both as a real place in time and space and as a symbol. The surrealistic atmosphere of the town and the town itself have reality by virtue of the fact that Jerusalem in *Ore'aḥ Natah Lalun* has real existence. In *Temol Shilshom* Jerusalem also functions on several different levels; most of the action takes place in the city during the period of the Second *Aliyah. *Shirah* is set in the Jerusalem of the 1930s and describes, often satirically, the life of German-Jewish and other intellectuals at The Hebrew University. Other works of Agnon in which Jerusalem is either the setting or the theme or functions as a symbol are: "*Tehillah*," *Sefer ha-Ma'asim* ("The Book of Deeds"), "*Ha-Mikhtav*" ("The Letter"), "*Iddo ve-Inam*," "*Ad Olam*" ("Forevermore"), and *Sefer ha-Medinah* ("The Book of the State"). The particular Yemenite milieu of Jerusalem has been dealt with by Ḥ. *Hazaz.

ISRAEL PERIOD. Uri Zvi *Greenberg's Jerusalem poetry belongs as much to the Mandatory period as to the period of statehood. The prophetic thunder and woeful liturgical laments are a consistent theme in his poetry. The poet, however, not only exhorts – he also dreams; and in *Mi-Sifrei Tur Malka* ("From the Books of Tur Malka") he sees the *Shekhinah* which has returned to Jerusalem and the celestial Jerusalem which comes down to the earthly city. In *Kelev Bayit* ("House Dog," 1928) Greenberg sees at the gates of Jerusalem a "miraculous horse" waiting for its rider. "Jerusalem the Dismembered," a dirge from the greater work *Yerushalayim shel Mattah*, bemoans the shame and desecration of the holy city. Despite its despair and sense of infinite loss and infinite horror, his Holocaust poetry is characterized by a leap of faith rather than a loss of faith in God. Out of the ashes he sees salvation and imagines the host of the martyred dead gathered in Jerusalem.

The theme of Jerusalem recurs less frequently in the literature of the 1950s which is concerned with the more immediate problems of the decade. At most it is a realistic landscape. Amos Elon's *Yerushalayim Lo Nafelah* ("Jerusalem Did Not Fall," 1948) is about the siege of Jerusalem in 1948 written by an eyewitness. Yet in the late 1950s a change occurred and the canvas of the dramatist as well as of the poet and prose writer extended.

Among the younger poets Yehuda *Amichai is probably the most representative. He used the Jerusalem motif in different time settings, contexts, and even mythical landscapes. The city seems to have a strong hold on him, a hold which he wants to break but cannot. In "*Ha-Kerav ba-Givah*" ("Battle for the Hill") he says he is going to fight that battle and then "I shall never return to Jerusalem" – but he does in "Jerusalem 1967." The "sea" of Jerusalem, a symbol found already in very early Hebrew poetry, is a recurring image in "Battle for the Hill" – "the sea of Jerusalem is the most terrible sea of all." Amichai's tendency to fuse historical and mythical landscapes with the present can perhaps best be seen in "If I forget thee Jerusalem" where he uses ancient themes to create new myths. His novel *Lo mi-Kan ve-Lo me-Akhshav* ("Not of This Time, Not of This Place," 1963) contains vivid descriptions of Jerusalem.

A.B. Yehoshua's Jerusalem in "*Sheloshah Yamim ve-Yeled*" ("Three Days and a Child"; in *Tishah Sippurim*, 1970) is an impressionistic yet realistic portrait of the city marked by a note of hostility which endows it with a personality as well as a landscape. The play *Laylah be-Mai* ("A Night in May," 1969) dramatizes the effect of the tension of May 1967 on a Jerusalem family; Jerusalem, however, is only incidental to the play. Another writer who has made Jerusalem the setting of many of his works is David Shaḥar: *Moto shel ha-Elohim ha-Katan* ("Death of the Little God," 1970), *Al ha-Ḥalomot* ("On Dreams," 1955), *Heikhal ha-Kelim ha-Shevurim* (1962), and *Maggid ha-Atidot* ("Fortune-teller," 1966), each of the four collections of short stories. Several authors have written historical novels in which Jerusalem is a central feature, such as Moshe Shamir's *Melekh Basar va-Dam* (1954; *King of Flesh and Blood*, 1958) and Aaron A. Kabak's *Ba-Mishol ha-Ẓar* (1937; *The Narrow Path*, 1968).

Other authors who have written on Jerusalem or used it as a setting include: Dov Kimḥi, *Emesh* ("Last Night," 1927) and *Beit Ḥefeẓ* (1951), novels; *Ezra Ha-Menaḥem, bein ha-Ḥomot* ("Between the Walls," 1941); Y.D. Kamson, *Yerushalayim* (1950); Aaron Reuveni, *Ad Yerushalayim* (1954) and *Leylot Yerushalayim* (1957); Efraim and Menahem Talmi, *Sefer Yerushalayim* (1956), a miscellany; H. Brandwein, *Ba-Ḥaẓerot Yerushalayim* (1958); Pinḥas *Sadeh, *Ha-Ḥayyim ke-Mashal* (1968²; "Life as a Parable") and *Al Maẓẓavo shel ha-Adam* ("On the Condition of Man," 1967), novels. *Mikha'el Shelli* ("My Michael," 1968), a novel by Amos Oz, is set in the Jerusalem of the period following the establishment of the State of Israel. Yiẓḥak Navon's play *Bustan Sefaradi* (1970), a dramatization of the author's childhood reminiscences, vividly portrays the Sephardi community in Jerusalem 40 years earlier. Yoram *Kaniuk tells the story of an Israeli soldier who is severely wounded during the War of Independence in his novel *Ḥimmo Melekh Yerushalayim* (*Himmo King of Jerusalem*, 1965), setting it in an old monastery transformed temporarily into a hospital. For Shulamith *Hareven, in her much-acclaimed novel *Ir Yamim Rabim* (*City of Many Days*, 1972), pre-State Jerusalem is a poetic and conceptual space in which people with different religious and cultural convictions try to shape life together. In her novel *Korot Ḥava Gottlieb* ("The Adventures of Hava Gottlieb," 1968), Miriam Schwarz sheds light on the tempestuous fate of a young woman from the Orthodox neighborhood of Me'ah She'arim who hopes to escape the fetters of strict religious life. Haim *Be'er tells of a childhood among deeply religious Jerusalemites in his novels *Noẓẓot* (1979) and *Ḥavalim* (1998). Indeed, the dichotomy between a rigid religious life and the yearning for an emancipated, liberal way of living becomes an important theme in Hebrew novels written in the 1990s, many of which portray the hermetic world of religious people in Jerusalem (e.g., in novels by Yehudit Rotem, Mira Magen, Yisrael Segal).

Jerusalem is the setting of quite a number of contemporary novels, although Tel Aviv has become a popular backdrop for many novels (e.g., by Yaakov *Shabtai, Yoram Kaniuk, Etgar Keret), and Haifa has come to play an increasingly greater role in current Hebrew literature (e.g., in prose works by Abraham B. Yehoshua, Yehudit Katzir, Zeruya Lahav). Ariella Deem wrote *Yerushalayim mesaḥeket Maḥbo'im* (1977), Reuven Bar-Yosef *Ẓohorayim bi-Yerushalaim* ("Noon in Jerusalem," 1978), and Efrat Roman-Asher tells, in *Irushalem* (2003), the story of the first baby born in the city after the Six-Day War, combining autobiographical elements with mystical undertones. Daniel Dothan tells the story of artists and dreamers in Jerusalem during the first half of the 20th century: Based upon historical and literary documents, his novel *Al Meshulash Hafukh bein Kan la-Yare'aḥ* (1993) brings together the German-Jewish poetess Else Lasker-Schüler, the sculptor Avraham Melnikov, the Hebrew poet Uri Zvi Greenberg, and others. Jerusalem is the city in which the German immigrant Bernhart tries to reorganize his life after the death of his wife, Paula, in Yoel Hoffmann's *Bernhart* (1989). The fact that Descartes' book was lost when the couple moved from the German colony to Strauss Street is no mere accident: it suggests the loss of "European" logic in a place in which the newcomers feel disoriented and forlorn. For dramatist Yehoshua *Sobol, in his controversial play *Sindrom Yerushalayim* (*The Jerusalem Syndrome*, 1987), Jerusalem becomes the quintessence of erroneous political decisions, a paradigm of Zionist ideology gone astray. More recently, Jerusalem is the backdrop for Zeruya Shalev's international bestseller *Ḥayei Ahavah* (*Love Life*, 1997). Amos Oz tells of a childhood in Jerusalem, of intellectuals and artists such as Agnon, Joseph Klausner, and Zelda, in his autobiographical novel *Sippur'al Ahavah ve-Ḥoshekh* (2002). Jerusalem as the arena of brutal terror attacks and, at the same time, a place of reconciliation and redemption, not least so in the Christian sense, is the setting for Abraham B. Yehoshua's modern Passion, his recent novel *Sheliḥuto shel ha-Memuneh al Meshabei Enosh* ("The Mission of the Human Resource Man," 2004).

[Avie Goldberg / Anat Feinberg (2nd ed.)]

IN OTHER RELIGIONS

In Christianity

Christian concern with Jerusalem involves the ancient concept of the city as a shrine of preeminent holiness, marking the physical and spiritual center of the cosmos, the spot at which history began and at which it will reach its apocalyptic consummation. The idea of an *umbilicus mundi*, a scale model, as it were, of the universe itself, at which a nation or tribe would gather periodically to renew its corporate life by the observance of the now familiar year-rites, was known to many ancient peoples, and the nations converted to Christianity had no difficulty accepting the supreme eschatological significance of Jerusalem and its Temple. The city's unique status, however, raised certain questions that have never ceased to puzzle and divide Christian theologians, namely: Just how literally are Jerusalem's claims and promises to be taken? How can the prized continuity (back to Adam) of the city's long history be maintained if Christianity is a completely new, spiritualized, beginning? How can Jerusalem be the Holy City par excellence without also being the headquarters of the Church? How can the city's prestige be exploited in the interests of a particular church or nation? These issues have all come to the fore in each of the main periods of Christian preoccupation with Jerusalem, namely: the "Golden Age" of the second and third centuries, the Imperial age from Constantine to Justinian, the Carolingian revival, the Crusades, the period of intrigues and grand designs, the time of patronage by the great powers, and the rise of Israel.

IN THE SECOND AND THIRD CENTURIES. The question of literalism was paramount in the second and third centuries; the early Christians had been Jews of the apocalyptic-chiliastic persuasion with lively visions of a literal New Jerusalem, while an educated and growing minority (also among the Jews) favored a more spiritual interpretation of the biblical promises and accused the old-school Christians of superstition and "Judaizing." The banning of Jews from the city by Hadrian gave an advantage to the gentile party, and the "Doctors of the Church" made the Hellenized or "spiritualized" image of Jerusalem the official one (e.g., St. Jerome). Still, the millennialist teachings survived beneath the surface, occasionally bursting out in sectarian enthusiasm or becoming general in times of crisis, while the "Doctors" themselves repeatedly succumbed to the enticements of a real and earthly Holy City. Hence the ambiguities of literalism versus allegory might have been minimized, were it not that the continued presence and preachings of the Jews forced the Christians in self-defense to appeal to the doctrine of a purely spiritual Jerusalem.

From Origen's time, churchmen of all sects have been one in insisting that the New Jerusalem is for Christians only, since the Jewish city can never rise again. In the absence of scriptural support for this claim, various stock arguments are used, namely, Josephus' description of the destruction of 70 C.E. with its atmosphere of gloom and finality (BJ IV, V, 3), the argument of silence in that the New Testament says nothing about a restitution of the city after Vespasian, the ominously lengthening period of time since the expulsion of the Jews, various tortured allegorical and numerological demonstrations, and the appeal to history with the ringing rhetorical challenge: "Where is your city now…?"

A favorite argument (akin to a Jewish teaching about the Diaspora) was that Jerusalem had to be destroyed so that Jews and Christians alike might be scattered throughout the world as witnesses to the fulfillment of prophecy in the new religion. Against these were arguments that never ceased to annoy: Why did the city and Temple continue to flourish for 42 years after the final pronunciation of doom, and why during that time did the Christians show every mark of reverence and respect for both? Why did Jesus weep for the destruction if it was in every sense necessary and desirable? Why do the Doctors insist that the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans was a great crime, and yet hail it as a blessed event, saluting its perpetrators as the builders of the New Jerusalem, even though they were the chief persecutors of the Christians? If expulsion from Jerusalem is proof of divine rejection of the Jews, does the principle not also hold good for their Christian successors? How can the antichrist sit in the Temple unless the city and Temple are built again by the Jews? The standard argument, that only a total and final dissolution would be fit punishment for the supreme crime of deicide, was frustrated by the time schedule, which suggested to many that the city was destroyed to avenge the death not of Jesus but of James the Just.

But if Jerusalem was to be permanently obliterated, the Christians could only inherit it in a spiritual sense. The Church was the New Jerusalem in which all prophecy was fulfilled, the Millennium attained, and all things became new. This raised a serious question of continuity, however: Has God chosen another people? Can one preserve the meaning of the eschatological drama while changing all the characters? Can a people (the Christians) be gathered that was never scattered? And what of the Heavenly Jerusalem? The approved school solution with its inevitable rhetorical antithesis was to depict the Heavenly and the Earthly Jerusalems as opposites in all things, the one spiritual, the other carnal. Yet none of the fathers is able to rid himself of "corporeal" complications in the picture, and the two Jerusalems remain hopelessly confused, for in the end the two are actually to meet and fuse into one. Palestine was the scene of busy theological controversy on these and related mysteries when the "Golden Age" of Christian Jerusalem came to an end with the persecutions of 250.

THE IMPERIAL AGE. After the storm had passed, Constantine the Great at Rome, Nicaea, Constantinople, and elsewhere celebrated his victories over the temporal and spiritual enemies of mankind with brilliant festivals and imposing monuments. But his greatest victory trophy was "the New Jerusalem," a sacral complex of buildings presenting the old hierocentric concepts in the Imperial pagan form, with the Holy Sepulcher as the center and chief shrine of the world. Jerusalem was treated as the legitimate spoils of Christian-Roman victory over the Jews, whose entire heritage – including the Temple – accordingly passed intact into the hands of the Christians. Henceforth, there remained no objections to giving Jerusalem its full measure of honor. Continuity back to Adam was established with suspicious ease by the rapid and miraculous discovery of every relic and artifact mentioned in the Bible, and a flood of pilgrims came to rehearse, Bible in hand (the earliest pilgrims, Silvia (383) and the Bordeaux Pilgrim (333), are markedly partial to Old Testament remains), the events of each holy place and undertake weary walks and vigils in a cult strangely preoccupied with caves and rites of the dead. The patriarch Macarius, who may have contrived the convenient discoveries of holy objects with an eye to restoring Jerusalem to its former preeminence, promoted a building boom that reached a peak of great activity in the sixth and seventh centuries.

Financed at first by Imperial bounty, the building program was later supported by wealthy individuals, and especially by a line of illustrious matrons whose concern for the holy city goes back to Queen *Helena of Adiabene and whose number includes *Helena, the mother of Constantine; his mother-in-law, Eutropia; Eudocia, the wife of Theodosius II; Verina, the wife of Leo II; Sophia, the mother of St. Sabas; Paula; and Flavia, Domitilla, and Melania, rich Roman ladies and friends of St. Jerome. By the end of the fourth century, Jerusalem had more than 300 religious foundations sustained by generous infusions of outside capital, until the economic decline of the fifth century forced the government to take the initiative, culminating in Justinian's ambitious but fruitless building program. The period was one of specious brilliance in which, as J. Hubert notes, everything had to be *splendens, rutilans, nitens, micans, radians, coruscans* – i.e., brilliantly surfaced, while the actual remains of the buildings show slipshod and superficial workmanship.

Spared the barbarian depredations suffered by most of the world in the fifth and sixth centuries, Jerusalem was an island of security and easy money, where the population of all ranks was free to indulge in those factional feuds that were the blight of the Late Empire. Points of doctrine furnished stimulation and pretext for violent contests involving ambitious churchmen and their congregations, hordes of desert monks, government and military officials and their forces local and national, the ever-meddling great ladies, members of the Imperial family and their followings, and the riotous and ubiquitous factions of the games in confused and shifting combinations. The Jews of Alexandria became associated with one of these factions, which in that notoriously fickle city found itself opposed to the faction of the Emperor Phocas, who ordered his general, Bonossus, to suppress the corresponding faction in Jerusalem by converting all Jews by force. While pitched battles raged in the streets, a Persian army appeared at the gates, sent by Chosroes, the pro-Christian monarch seeking vengeance on the treacherous Phocas for the murder of his friend Mauritius. The Jews regarded this as a timely deliverance by a nation that had succored them before and sided with the Persians – an act not of treachery (as Christian writers would have it) but of war, since Phocas had already called for their extermination as a people. The Christian world was stunned when Chosroes took the cross from Jerusalem in 614 and elated when the victorious Heraclius brought it back in 628. Under the vehement urging of the monk Modestus, whom he had made patriarch and who aspired to rebuild Jerusalem as a new Macarius, Heraclius, against his better judgment, took savage reprisals on the Jews. But within ten years the city fell to Omar, who allowed the pilgrimages to continue, while making Jerusalem a great Muslim shrine by the revival of the Temple complex, which the Christians, after long and studied neglect, also now claimed as their own.

Though Christians, originally as Jews and later on church business, had always made pilgrimages to Jerusalem, the great surge of popular interest beginning in the fourth century alarmed some churchmen, who denounced the pilgrimage as wasteful of time and means, dangerous to life and morals, and a disruptive influence in the Church. Along with monasticism, with which it was closely associated, the pilgrimage to Jerusalem was an attempt to get back to the first order of the Church and retrieve the lost world of visions, martyrs, prophets, and miracles, and this implied dissatisfaction with the present order. The writings of the Church Fathers furnish abundant evidence for the basic motivation of the pilgrims, which was the desire to reassure oneself of the truth of Christianity by seeing and touching the very things the Bible told of, and experiencing contact with the other world by some overt demonstration of supernatural power (healing was the most popular). Only at Jerusalem could one receive this historical and miraculous reassurance in its fullness; only there did one have a right to expect a miracle.

The earliest holy place visited was not, as might have been supposed, the Holy Sepulcher, but the footprint of Jesus on the Mount of Olives, the spot where he was last seen by men as he passed to heaven and would first be seen on his return (Cabrol and Leclercq, Dic. 7, 231). Contact was the basic idea – contact with the biblical past and with heaven itself, of which Jerusalem was believed to be a physical fragment. Tangible pieces of the Holy City, carried to distant parts of the world, gave rise to other holy centers, which in turn sent out their tangible relics like sparks from a central fire. The Christian world was soon covered by a net of holy shrines, built in imitation of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher or the Temple and often designated by the names of Jerusalem, the Temple or the Sepulcher. Each became a pilgrimage center in its own right, and there was a graded system of holiness measured on a scale of distance in time from Jesus and in space from Jerusalem, which remained "as far above all the other cities in the world in renown and holiness as the sun is above the stars."

THE CAROLINGIAN REVIVAL. In 800, after being fought over for two centuries by Muslim dynasties, Jerusalem was placed under the protection of Charlemagne, who was doing Hārūn al-Rashīd the service of annoying his Umayyad enemies in Spain. Although Rome had come under his protection five years earlier in the same way – by the presentation of holy keys and a banner from the bishop – it was the prestige of ruling Jerusalem that warranted the change in Charlemagne's title from king to emperor. Like Constantine, Charlemagne stimulated a revival of large-scale pilgrimage to Jerusalem and a tradition of royal generosity, endowing a church, school, monastery, and library. The Jerusalem hospitals for pilgrims were a tradition going back to pre-Christian times. From Darius to Augustus and the Emperors of the West, great rulers had courted the favor of heaven by pious donations to the holy city, and this tradition of royal bounty was continued through the Middle Ages, when kings imposed Jerusalem-taxes on their subjects and monks from Jerusalem made regular fund-raising trips to Europe.

During the years of the "quasi-protectorate of the Western Emperors" over Jerusalem and the revived Byzantine control (made possible by Muslim disunity), a steadily mounting stream of pilgrims even from the remotest regions of northwestern and Slavic Europe came to bathe in the Jordan, pray at the Holy Sepulcher, and endow pious foundations. Stimulated by the end-of-the-world excitement of the year 1000, this stream "multiplied tenfold" in the 11th century, culminating in great mass pilgrimages of thousands led by eminent lords and churchmen. When the Seljuks, having defeated the Byzantine army in 1071 and occupied Jerusalem in 1075, became oppressive in their fees and controls of the holy places, Christian leadership felt obliged to "take up again the part of Charlemagne," and the armed pilgrimage led by Robert le Frison (1085–90) was hailed enthusiastically throughout Europe and viewed by pope and Byzantine emperor alike as advance reconnaissance for a crusade.

THE CRUSADES. The Crusades were the expression of a popular religious revival in which Jerusalem, restored to its full apocalyptic status (the Crusading literature has a strongly Old Testament flavor), offered a welcome door of escape to all classes from economic and social conditions that had become intolerable in Europe. The Crusades have also been described as the complete feudalization of Christianity by an ancient chivalric tradition, with Jesus as a liege lord whose injuries must be avenged and whose stronghold must be liberated. The language of the Crusading literature bears this out, as does its conscious affinity with older epic literature (reflected later in Tasso), the significant exchange of embassies, and the close resemblance of Asiatic to European arms and accoutrements, suggesting an older common "Epic Milieu" and the nature of the Crusades as a *Voelkerwanderung*.

From the fourth century the Western Church had accepted, with the Roman victory cult, the concept of world polarity, dividing the human race into the blessed (Jerusalem, Church, *ager pacatus*) and the damned (Babylon, unbelievers, *ager hosticus*), reflected in the **jihad* concept of the Muslim countercrusade. Such a concept assumed papal leadership of all crusades, giving rise to baffling questions of imperial, papal, and royal prerogative. These came to a head in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, whose assizes, though the most perfect expression of a model feudal society, remained but an ideal, "a lawyers' paradise," where royalty, exploiting the city's propinquity to heaven, dramatized its own claims to divine authority with pageantry of unsurpassed splendor. This motif was developed by the military religious orders of the Hospitalers (founded by the Amalfi merchants in 1048 and open only to the nobility) and the Templars, each claiming a monopoly of the unique traditional power and glory of Jerusalem and the Temple and, hence, displaying an independence of action that in the end was its undoing.

INTRIGUES AND GRAND DESIGNS. The Crusades challenged the infidel to a formal trial-of-arms at Jerusalem to prove which side was chosen of God. The great scandal of the Crusades is accordingly not the cynical self-interest, betrayal, and compromise with the enemy that blights them from the beginning, but simply their clear-cut and humiliating failure, which dealt a mortal blow to medieval ideas of feudal and ecclesiastical dominion. With the loss of all the East, "Operation Jerusalem" adopted a new strategy of indirection, approaching its goal variously and deviously by wars against European heretics, preaching missions (through which the Franciscans held a permanent Roman bridgehead in Jerusalem), and local crusades against Jews and Muslims as steps in grand designs of global strategy. The grandiose plans of Charles VIII, Alfonso of Castile, João II, Albuquerque, and Don Sebastian all had as their ultimate objective the liberation of the Holy Sepulcher, as indeed did all of Columbus' projects (S. Madariaga, *Christopher Columbus*). A marked kabbalistic influence has been detected in these plans, and indeed the ever-living hopes of the Jews, fired by new prophecies and new messiahs, were not without effect in Catholic and Protestant circles, as appears in the career of the humanist Guillaume *Postel, who, acclaimed at the court of France for his philological researches in Jerusalem, urged the transfer of the papacy to that city and finally declared himself to be the *Shekhinah*.

Christians in the post-Crusader period continued their dream of Jerusalem, but those who did manage to obtain a foothold there were largely engaged in unseemly squabbles over minute rights in the Holy Places. The great reformers, while mildly condemning pilgrimages, placed strong emphasis on the purely spiritual nature of the New Jerusalem and the utter impossibility of the Jews ever returning to build an earthly city. This was necessary to counteract the tendency to apocalyptic excitement and renewed deference to the Jews attendant upon the Reformation's intensive preoccupation with the Bible, as various groups of enthusiasts took to building their own local New Jerusalems or preparing to migrate to Palestine for the task. Such groups flourished down through the 19th century. Protestant pilgrims to Jerusalem from the 16th to the 20th centuries have consistently condemned the "mummery" of the older pilgrimages, while indulging in their own brand of ecstatic dramatizations. Whereas the Catholic practice has been to identify archaeological remains as the very objects mentioned in the Bible, the Protestants have been no less zealous in detecting proof for the Scriptures in every type of object observed in the Holy Land. Chateaubriand's much publicized visit to Jerusalem in 1806 combined religious, literary, and intellectual interest and established a romantic appeal of the Holy Land that lasted through the century.

When Jerusalem was thrown open to the West in the 1830s by Muhammad Ali, European and American missionaries hastened to the spot with ambitious projects of converting the Jews, with an eye to the fulfillment of prophecy in the ultimate restoration of the Holy City. Even the ill-starred Anglo-Lutheran bishopric of 1841 had that in view, and Newman's denunciation of the plan as a base concession to the Jews and Protestants indicated the stand of the Roman Catholic Church, which in 1847 appointed a resident patriarch for Jerusalem. In the mounting rivalry of missions and foundations that followed, France used her offices as protector of Roman Catholics and holy places in the East (under Capitulations of Francis I, 1535, renewed in 1740) to advance her interests in the Orient, e.g., in the Damascus blood libel of 1840. When Louis Napoleon was obliged by his Catholic constituents to reactivate French claims to holy places that France had long neglected and the Russians long cherished, "the foolish affair of the Holy

Places" (as he called it) led to the Crimean War and its portentous chain of consequences.

PATRONAGE BY THE POWERS. In the second half of the 19th century, the major powers and churches were stimulated by mutual rivalry to seek commanding positions in Jerusalem through the founding of eleemosynary institutions over which they retained control. Beyond the hard facts of geography and economics, the religious significance of the city continued to exert steady pressure on the policies of all Great Powers, as when the German kaiser gratified his Catholic subjects with the gift of the "Dormition," proclaimed Protestant unity by the dedication of the great Jerusalem Church, and sought personal fulfillment in a state pilgrimage to Jerusalem and the patronage of Zionism (thwarted by his advisers). The taking of Jerusalem by Allenby in 1917 was hailed through the Christian world as the fulfillment of prophecy and deplored by the Muslims as a typical Crusade against their holy city. World War II was followed by increasing interest in Jerusalem as a center of ecumenical Christianity, though old religious and national rivalries of long standing and great variety continued to flourish. The 20th-century pilgrimages acquired a touristic air in keeping with the times, interest in Jerusalem having a more sophisticated and intellectual tone. Even the old and vexing problem of the priority of Jerusalem, "mother of Churches," over other Christian bishoprics has been approached in a spirit of mutual concession and with respect for the autonomy of the various bishoprics of Jerusalem. This liberalized attitude may be a response to what is regarded in some Christian circles as the Jewish challenge to the basic Christian thesis that only Christians can possess a New Jerusalem. While the Great Powers for over a century cautiously sought to exploit the energies of Zionism and its sympathizers, it has been openly conceded that the Jews might indeed rebuild their city – though only as potential Christians. Though some Christians are even willing to waive that proviso, the fundamental thesis is so firmly rooted that the progress of Israel is commonly viewed not as a refutation of it but as a baffling and disturbing paradox.

A NEW IMAGE OF ISRAEL. With the Israel military victories of 1948, 1956, and 1967, the Christian world was confronted by a new image of a heroic Israel. The picture was agreeable or disturbing to Christians depending on which of two main positions one chose to take, and the years of tension following the Six-Day War of June 1967 were marked by an increasing tendency among Christians everywhere to choose sides. On the one hand, the tradition of the Church Fathers and Reformers, emphasized anew by Arnold Toynbee, looked upon a Jewish Jerusalem as a hopeless anachronism and deplored any inclination to identify ancient with modern Israel. This attitude rested on the theory, developed by generations of theologians, that only Christians could be rightful heirs to the true Covenant and the Holy City. Roman Catholics continued to hold the position, propounded by Pope Pius X to Herzl in 1904, that the return of the Jews to Jerusalem was a demonstration of messianic expectations which that church considered discredited and outmoded. Those suspicious of the progress of Israel naturally chose to minimize the moral and world-historical significance of Jerusalem and to treat the problems of modern Israel as purely political. On the other hand were Bible-oriented Christians of all denominations in whom the successes of the Israelis inspired to a greater or lesser extent renewed hope and interest in the literal fulfillment of biblical prophecy. To such persons, in varying degrees, the Jewish military achievements appeared as steps toward the fulfillment of the eschatological promise to Abraham (Gen. 15:18). As interest in Jerusalem shifted from the antiquarian appeal of the 1950s to heightened eschatological allure, something of the old Christian vision of Jerusalem seemed to stir the Christian conscience.

[Hugh Nibley]

In Muslim Thought

According to orthodox Islam there are three temples in the world to which special holiness is attached: the Kaʿba in Mecca, the Mosque of Muhammad in Medina, and the Temple Mount in Jerusalem, in order of their holiness to Muslims. While researchers of past generations viewed the traditions favoring Jerusalem as originating in the period of the Umayyad caliphs who lived in Syria and had to fight against the rebels who ruled Mecca and Medina, modern researchers deny this and maintain that the adoration of Jerusalem is found in early Islam. According to Ezekiel 5:5 and 38:12, the Temple Mount and especially the **even shetiyyah* – the rock on which the Ark stood – is the hub of the universe. Muslim scientists even found corroboration for this view in their calculations that the Temple Mount is located in the center of the fourth climatic zone, the central region north of the Equator in which man can develop civilized life.

The adoration of Jerusalem in Islam, however, is primarily based on the first verse of *Sura* 17 of the Koran, which describes Muhammad's Night Journey (*isrāʾ*). Tradition states that when the "Servant" (Muhammad) was sleeping near the Kaʿba, the angel Gabriel brought him to a winged creature (*Burāq*) and they went out to the "Outer Mosque" (al-Masjid al-Aqṣā). From there they rose to heaven (*miʿrāj*). On their way through the heavens they met good and evil powers; on reaching their destination they saw Abraham, Moses, and Jesus. The "Servant" prayed among the prophets as a leader, i.e., he was recognized as the foremost among them. There are differences of opinion regarding the nature of the journey and its purpose. Some view it as a description of a dream, but the official opinion of Muslim theologians is that Muhammad made this journey while awake and actually traversed the ground. Some hold that the "furthest Mosque" is in the seventh heaven, paralleling the Kaʿba (like *Yerushalayim shel maʿlah* = Celestial Jerusalem), but the accepted opinion, at least from the second century of the *hijra*, is that this is the Temple Mount in Jerusalem (not the mosque which was built later and called *al-Masjid al-Aqṣā*). This story was probably told to Muhammad by Jews, since he was familiar with the midrashic works popular in his time, e.g., *The Book of Jubi-*

lees, The Book of Enoch, and *Toledot Moshe* (extant in an Arabic version), which describe Moses' journey to heaven and his visits to paradise and hell. This story and its usual interpretation greatly elevated the holiness of Jerusalem in Islam. In addition to the Temple Mount, other places in Jerusalem were also regarded as holy, e.g., the tomb of Mary where the first Umayyad caliph Muʿawiya is known to have prayed at the time of his coronation in 661.

Upon his arrival to Medina in 622, Muhammad recited the prayers facing towards Jerusalem, in order to convince the Jews of that city to adopt the new religion. He continued with this *qibla* (direction of prayer) for 16 or 18 months (Rajab or Shaʿbān of 2 A.H., i.e., January or February 624). However, failing in his attempts to attract the Jews, he changed the direction to Mecca (see Sura 2:136 ff.; Tabari, *Jāmiʿ al-bayān ʿan taʾwīl āy al-Qurʾān*, III, 138 sūra 3:142).

It is noteworthy that in the Koran there is no explicit mention of Jerusalem, not by any of the names by which it was known before Islam or immediately after the appearance of the new religion. Exegesis of the Koran, which was just beginning towards the end of the first century of the *hijra*, began to ascribe to Jerusalem names and bynames which appear in the Koran. Among the rest, they mentioned *al-Masjid al-Aqsa,* the furthest mosque or the extreme one. It appears that Muhammad's Nocturnal Journey, which became one of the most important elements determining the holiness of Jerusalem for Muslims, took shape and was linked to Jerusalem no earlier than when construction began on the al-Aqṣā Mosque near the Dome of the Rock. When caliph ʿAbd al-Malik built the Dome, the identification of Jerusalem or the Temple Mount with the site of the Nocturnal Journey was neither known nor accepted, for if this were not so, the caliph would undoubtedly have utilized it to add to the holiness of the magnificent structure and the area around it. This should have found expression in the many inscriptions carved on the walls of the building. The single reference to the verse of the Nocturnal Journey is found in later additions dating from the Ottoman period.

For most Muslims the status of Jerusalem was fixed for generations: Its mosque is the third most important in Islam. However, it is not a holy site in the Muslim sense of holiness (*ḥurma*) but rather in the general sense (*qudusiyya*), for every mosque is considered a holy place. In later days, the difference between these two concepts became clouded as Muslims used the more specific (*ḥurma-ḥaram*) for Jerusalem, even though this contrasts with Islamic law, which gives the title *ḥaram* only to Mecca and Medina (I. Hasson, in J. Prawer and H. Ben-Shammai (eds.), *The History of Jerusalem, the early Muslim period* (1996), 349–85; Ibn Taymiyya, *Qāʿida fī ziyārat Bayt al-Maqdis,* in his *al-Rasāʾil al-kubra*).

Despite this change, Jerusalem retained its special holiness among the Muslims, and Muslim tradition added numerous layers to it. There are also *hadiths* (sayings attributed to Muhammad which are the basic oral law of Islam) regarding the great value of prayer said in Jerusalem. Muslim tradition relates, among other things, that the Holy Rock (*al-ṣakhra*, i.e., *even ha-shetiyyah*) is located exactly beneath Allah's throne and above a cave which is the "well of spirits," where all the souls of the dead congregate twice weekly. Due to the rock's holiness, the angels visited it 2,000 times before the creation of the first man and Noah's ark came to rest on it. It is part of paradise and all the sweet waters on earth emanate from it. These stories, mostly taken from rabbinic *aggadah*, reached the Muslims mainly from Jews converted to Islam, as indicated by the names of the narrators recorded in the tradition itself.

Muslim legend closely connects Jerusalem with the day of judgment. According to the Muslim faith, at the end of days (see *Eschatology), the angel of death, Isrāfīl, will blow the ram's horn three times while standing on the rock, which will be done after the Kaʿba comes to visit the Temple Mount. Arabic works such as *Kitāb Aḥwāl al-Qiyāma* ("Book of the Phases of Resurrection") contain detailed descriptions of the day of judgment which will then commence. All the dead will congregate on the Mount of Olives, and the angel Gabriel will move paradise to the right of Allah's Throne and hell to its left. All mankind will cross a long bridge suspended from the Mount of Olives to the Temple Mount, which will be narrower than a hair, sharper than a sword, and darker than night. Along the bridge there will be seven arches and at each arch man will be asked to account for his actions. The faithful who are found innocent will receive from Āsiya, Pharaoh's wife, and Miriam, the sister of Moses, sweet water from the rivers of paradise in the shade of a palm tree which will also be beneath the rock. Most of these stories came from midrashic literature, such as *Pirkei Moshe*, and some of them from Christian works (see "Last Judgment," in *The Encyclopaedia of the Qurʾān*; O. Liven-Kafri, in *Cathedra* 86 (1998), 23–56).

In the third *hijri* century/ninth C.E., there appeared collections of Traditions called *Faḍāʾil Bayt al-Maqdis* (the Praises of Jerusalem). The most important are *Faḍāʾil al-Bayt al-Muqaddas* of al-Wāsiṭī, *Faḍāʾil Bayt al-Maqdis wa-l-Khalil wa- Faḍāʾil al-Sham* of Abū al-Maʿālī al-Musharraf ibn al-Murajjā, and *Itḥāf al-akhiṣṣā bi-faḍāʾil al-masjid al-aqṣā* of MuÎammad ibn Shams al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī al-Minhājī.

Jerusalem also has a special place in Muslim mysticism. There is a Muslim tradition that Jerusalem is the pit of the ascetics and servants of God and that 40 righteous men live in it, thanks to whose virtues the rains fall, plagues are averted, and the world in general exists. These righteous men are called *abdāl* ("those who are replaced"), because when one dies another replaces him. Actually this tradition is apparently not an early one but reflects the importance attributed to Jerusalem by the mystics from the beginnings of the mystical trend in Islam and the growing emphasis on its sanctity from generation to generation. Even the first Muslim mystics held that living in Jerusalem or elsewhere in Ereẓ Israel purifies the soul and that eating its fruits is permitted and legal (*ḥalāl*). For this reason many of them came to Jerusalem to be close to its holiness. Apparently the adoration of Jerusalem on the part of the Muslim mystics was mainly influenced by the example of Christian asceticism, which flourished in Ereẓ Israel, and especially in the vicinity of Jerusalem, during the centuries preceding its conquest by the Muslims.

Affection for Jerusalem and its sanctuaries grew as a result of its temporary loss during the Crusades. Indeed, the reaction to the wars with the Crusaders in the 12th and 13th centuries was an important factor in the development of Arabic literature and travelogues (see *Travelers, Christian and Muslim) on Jerusalem, Hebron (al-Khalīl), and Palestine as a whole and their importance for Islam. Descriptions of the Muslim holy *places have been preserved from that time on. Some are of great historical importance, being the principal stimulus for Muslim pilgrimages to the holy places in Jerusalem.

[Eliyahu Ashtor / Isaac Hasson (2nd ed.)]

IN THE ARTS

In Literature

An immensely rich and varied treasury of literature, art, and music has been devoted to Jerusalem by both Jews and non-Jews from early medieval times onward. Many of these treatments deal with specific events, such as the return from the Babylonian captivity and the Roman siege and destruction of Jerusalem (see *Titus in the Arts). During the Middle Ages, Jewish *paytanim* composed hundreds of poems on the subject (see above; Liturgy) and parallel Christian devotional works include "Jerusalem the Golden" (from *De contemptu mundi*) by Bernard of Cluny and several other hymns of the same title. Pre-fabricated stage settings of medieval English mystery and miracle plays often represented the Holy City, and innumerable "descriptions" were written by Crusader chroniclers, Arab historians, and travelers of various periods (see *Itineraries of Ereẓ Israel; *Pilgrimages, Christian and Muslim). The major Renaissance treatment of the subject was the Italian poet Torquato Tasso's epic *Gerusalemme liberata* (1581; translated 1594 and again by Edward Fairfax as *Godfrey of Bulloigne*, 1600), an account of the Crusaders' siege and capture of Jerusalem combining the traditions of classical and medieval romance writing. Following the Reformation, many Protestant writers evoked the image of the Holy City in verse and prose, but few works were specifically devoted to the theme.

Probably as a result of the social, political, and religious ferment of the 19th century, particularly in Britain, the "New Jerusalem" became the symbol of man's yearning for a better life and a nobler form of society. This tendency had a remarkable development in the works of the English poet William *Blake (e.g., in *Jerusalem, The Emanation of the Giant Albion*, 1804), whose "Jerusalem," a poem prefacing *Milton* (1804) which was later to become a British Labour Party anthem, ends:

> I will not cease from mental fight,
> Nor shall my sword sleep in my hand,
> Till we have built Jerusalem,
> In England's green and pleasant land.

This type of idealization also characterizes John Mason Neale's "Jerusalem the Golden," one of the best-known hymns of the Victorian era. In 19th-century works ranging in tone from pious devotion to cynicism and humor, the modern city of Jerusalem was described by writers such as the Catholic Chateaubriand and the Protestant Pierre Loti in France, the Austrian Ludwig August *Frankl, and the U.S. authors Mark Twain and Herman Melville.

From the beginning of the 20th century, there was an even more pronounced literary interest in Jerusalem's present and future, especially as a result of Zionist settlement and the development of the city's new Jewish section. An outstanding Scandinavian work on the theme was Selma Lagerlöf's two-volume *Jerusalem* (1901–02; Eng. 1915), a novel about Swedish settlers in Palestine. Her fellow-countryman, Sven Anders Hedin (who was of partly Jewish descent), described his tour of the Holy Land from Damascus to Sinai in *Jerusalem* (c. 1916; *To Jerusalem*, 1917), a travel book markedly pro-German and anti-British in tone. Hedin, who was later sympathetic to the Nazis, here made many references to Jewish biblical and later history, treating Zionism in an objective manner and illustrating his text with many of his own sketches of Jewish types. A similar approach was adopted by the English Catholic G.K. Chesterton (*The New Jerusalem*, 1920) and by the French writers Jean and Jérôme Tharaud (*L'an prochain à Jérusalem!*, 1924). In most travel literature dealing with Ereẓ Israel the main stress has been on Jerusalem.

Much popular English and U.S. fiction dealt with the city and its daily life and development during the period of the British Mandate and, later, during Jerusalem's political division between Israel and Jordan (1948–67). Two books of this kind were John Brophy's novel *Julian's Way* (1949) and Muriel Spark's *The Mandelbaum Gate* (1966). However, most of the important 20th-century treatments have been the work of Jewish authors. Mainly poems, novels, and short stories, these range from evocations of bygone days in the Old City to the reunification of Jerusalem after the Six-Day War. A rare Slavonic handling of the subject was *Pesni za Erusalim* ("Songs for Jerusalem," 1924) by the Bulgarian Jewish poet Oram ben Ner (Saul Mezan, 1893–1944). Personal reflections are contained in *Das Hebraeerland* (1937), a prose work by the German poet and refugee Else *Lasker-Schueler. The Jewish people's historic return to the Western Wall forms the climax of Elie *Wiesel's novel, *Le mendiant de Jérusalem* (1968; *A Beggar in Jerusalem*, 1970). A modern collection of literature about the city is Dennis Silk's *Retrievements: A Jerusalem Anthology* (1968), and Philip Roth places the protagonist of *Operation Shylock* (1993) in Jerusalem.

In Art

Representations of Jerusalem in plastic arts combine features of the real city and signs of its symbolic meanings in the main monotheistic religions, or are purely imaginary and symbolic.

Depictions of the *Temple's implements are the earliest surviving images relating to Jerusalem. The seven-branched *menorah* was engraved on stone in the tomb of Jason (second century B.C.E.). The *menorah*, together with the showbread table, was minted on a coin of Mattathias Antigonus (ruled 40–37 B.C.E.). The Temple's menorah, table, and an altar were scratched on the plaster of a dwelling house from the Herodian period (37–4 B.C.E.). These pictures conveyed the Jewish attitude to Jerusalem as the terrestrial abode of God's Sanctuary and the foremost place of divine worship. After the destruction of the Second Temple in 70 C.E., the Temple's façade and implements of the worship and rituals became symbols of the messianic reestablishment of the Temple that would be followed by restoration of the Jewish political sovereignty in Jerusalem and Israel. An early example of this is the façade of the Temple, rendered as a classical tetrastyle, a schematic drawing of the *Ark of the Covenant in the midst of it, the *lulav* and *etrog*, and inscription "Jerusalem" on *Bar Kokhba's silver tetradrachm (133 C.E.). The *lulav* and *etrog* near the inscription "second year for freedom of Israel" on the reverse of this coin reinforce the liturgical and messianic allusions of the Temple's image: these species are used on Sukkot – the feast that marked the consecration of Solomon's Temple (I Kings 8), was celebrated by pilgrimage to the Temple (Deut. 16:16), and is the time when, at the end of days, all the peoples will assembly in Jerusalem (Zech. 14:16ff.). Creators of ancient and early medieval Jewish paintings, mosaics, and reliefs conventionally featured the Temple as a columned façade, portal, or aedicula (see *Temple: in Art), whereas the cityscape of Jerusalem did not occupy their mind.

A symbol of the whole city of Jerusalem was found in ancient Jewish jewelry: after the "war of Quietus" (early second century) some rabbis forbade brides to wear the crowns called "Jerusalem of gold" or "a city of gold," for it was a "Greek," i.e., enemy, custom (Sot. 49a–b; TJ Sot. 9:24, 3; Shab. 59a; cf. Ned. 50a). These descriptions are reminiscent of "mural crowns" designed like the walls and towers of a city and sometimes made of gold. Such a mural crown was an attribute of the goddess Tyche, whose images were widespread in the Hellenized Middle East. Purportedly, it was an act of remembrance of the destruction of Jerusalem by "putting it *al rosh simḥati*" literally "on the head of joy" (Ps. 137:6) that inspired the association of a golden mural crown on the head of a Jewish bride with an eschatological "Jerusalem of gold."

Similar symbolic modes were implemented in early images of Jerusalem in Early Christian art. An ordinary, generalized architectural setting, comprising roofed colonnades or a row of arched and crenellated city-gates behind the figures of Christ and his disciples in fourth-century Roman sarcophagi, stood for eternal, heavenly Jerusalem (e.g., sarcophagus from 380–390 in S. Ambrogio, Milan). An aedicula appeared as a *pars-pro-toto* representation of the Temple in Jerusalem in the floor mosaics from the fifth or the sixth century in Byzantine churches on Mount Nebo in Jordan and in the Latin Ashburnham Pentateuch (seventh century, Paris, BN, Lat. nouv. acq. 2334, fol. 2).

The establishment of the Sepulchrum Domini church ("Holy Sepulcher," 326–327) by Constantine the Great, along with the proliferation of churches up to the mid-sixth century, created a new Christian topography of Jerusalem. The rotunda of the Holy Sepulcher was often depicted on pilgrim's *ampullae* (vessels for consecrated liquid) that reached Christian communities in the West and East, and its round plan served as a model for many Italian churches of the second half of the fourth century. In the background of the mosaic of the Church of St. Pudenziana in Rome (384–389, 401–417), a picture of the real Constantinian complex of the Holy Sepulcher appears above the wall with 12 gates of celestial Jerusalem (two of them were later erased). This number reinforces the relation of the picture to the eschatological Jerusalem described in Revelation 21:12.

Christian religious and ideological concepts of Jerusalem were imposed on the real topography of the city. The pictorial map of Jerusalem (560–565) on the floor mosaic in the Church in Madaba (Jordan) depicts the Holy Sepulcher in the midst of the *cardo maximus* in the very center of the city, though the real church is found northwest of that point. The dominating position of the Holy Sepulcher represents the vision of mundane Jerusalem as the place of Christ's resurrection and a preview of the ideal, heavenly Jerusalem.

Since at least the ninth century, the apocalyptic vision of heavenly Jerusalem in Revelation 21:10–22:5 related patristic exegesis, and the teaching on the *Civitate Dei* by *Augustine of Hippo (354–430) inspired conventional depictions of Jerusalem in ecclesiastic art and manuscripts. The Apocalypse of Trier (North France, first quarter of the ninth century; Trier, Stadtsbibliothek, cod. 31, fols. 69–71), the earliest-known illuminated manuscript of the Book of Revelation, gives a combination of a frontal view of the fortified city wall from outside and a bird's-eye view of objects inside, with the inner side of the wall behind them. The painting creates an image of a stronghold with 12 towers (Rev. 21:12–13) enclosing in its midst churches or a lamb, a symbol of Christ, who substitutes for the Temple in the apocalyptic Jerusalem (Rev. 21:22), and the Tree of Life. Many medieval manuscripts of the Apocalypse and the commentary on it by Beatus of Liébana (d. 798) represent a geometrical scheme of heavenly Jerusalem consisting of a section of the city wall with three gates on each side of a square containing Christ and/or the lamb as an illustration of the city with the gates for the 12 *tribes of Israel (Rev. 21:12). Jerusalem in the middle of nations with its gates facing the four winds, a counterpart of the Temple in Ezekiel's vision (40:1–43:12), marks the center of the world and the prevalence of Christ's power in the cosmos. The Apocalypse of Valenciennes (Liège (?), first quarter of the ninth century; Valenciennes, Bibl. Municipale, ms. 99 fol. 38) exemplifies the circular images of heavenly Jerusalem with triple gates on the four cardinal points of the perimeter. In Romanesque cathedrals (e.g., in Aachen and Hildesheim), the monumental lamps made as a gilt hoop looking like a city wall with 12 or 24 towered gates represented heavenly Jerusalem as a luminous circular city hovering above the worshippers.

Although deviating from the definition of Jerusalem as "*civitas in quadro posita*" in Revelation 21:16, these images emphasize the idea of the city as the *umbilicus mundi* ("the navel of the world"), the concept adopted from classical thought (Philo, *Legation ad Gaium*, 294). Like the round Holy Sepulcher, a circular Jerusalem symbolized Christ's resurrection and the new life of the world. Crusader pictorial maps (e.g., Brussels, Bibl. Royale, ms. 9823–9824, fol. 157) involve frontal depictions of Christian landmarks of the mundane Jerusalem into the abstract circular scheme and stress the cruciform of the *cardo* and *decumanus* in order to give the real topography a christologic meaning. A medallion enclosing a picture of Jerusalem is the center of the map of the world, shaped as a trefoil, a symbol of the Trinity, in Heinrich Buenting's *Itinerarium Sacrae Scripturae* (Wittenberg 1587).

The symbolic approach to real Jerusalem had an effect on the Christian comprehension of the Muslim *Qubbat as-Sakhrah* (Dome of the Rock) built on the spot of the Temple in Jerusalem in 691–692. The Crusaders, who in 1141 dedicated this octagonal domed structure as the *Templum Domini* (God's Temple) church, imparted it with associations with the Temple. The *Templum Domini* and the *Sepulchrum Domini*, similarly rendered as domed towers rising behind a fortified city gate, stand for Jerusalem in the lead seal of John of Brienne, a ruler of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem (1210–1225). The juxtaposition of the two edifices restates the idea that Christianity stems from both the Old and New Testaments. Ecclesiastic vessels, mainly monstrances and chalice-like ciboria containing the sacrament; reliquaries; and censers, designed as a round or equilateral domed structure, usually symbolized the *Templum Domini*, Solomon's Temple, and Jerusalem. The Dome of the Rock dominates in landscapes of biblical and real Jerusalem in European art. Erhard Reeuwich's illustration to Bernhard von Breydenbach's *Peregrination in terram sanctam* (Mainz, 1486) transforms the pilgrims' impressions of Jerusalem into a bird's-eye view of buildings around the disproportionately great Dome of the Rock. In a view of the biblical Jerusalem in Hartmann Schedel's *Liber Chronicarum* (Nuremberg, 1494), three rings of city walls enclose a great structure resembling the Dome that is explicitly labeled as the *Templum Salomonis*. Italian Renaissance painters and architects accepted the octagonal Dome in the center of Jerusalem, in the light of Vitruvius's theory locating the ideal centrally planned temple in the midst of an ideal centrally planned city. Idealized Renaissance copies of the Dome of the Rock appear in church architecture (Donato Bramante, the *Tempietto* at San Pietro in Montorio, 1502–1511, Rome) and represent the Temple in Jerusalem in paintings by Pietro Perugino (1450–1523), Raphael (1483–1520), and Vittore Carpaccio (1472–1526).

European scenery in Christian pictures of Jerusalem also stems from the Christian perception of the sacred history as ever contemporary. In Jean Fouquet's illustrations to *Jewish Antiquities* by *Josephus Flavius (1470–1475; Paris, Bibl. Nat., Ms. Fr. 247), the Temple in Jerusalem looks like a Gothic cathedral in a French city. Following the same achronical concept, the Jerusalem cityscape is painted as typically Italian in Duccio's *Entry into Jerusalem* (Maestà, verso, 1308–1311; Siena, Museo dell'Opera del Duomo), Netherlandish in Hieronymus Bosch's "*Ecce Homo*" (ca. 1485; Frankfurt am Main, Städtisches Kunstinstitut), and German in the *Stories of the Passion* by an anonymous painter from Westfalen (ca. 1480; Torun, St. Jacob Church).

The view of celestial Jerusalem as the model for the proper arrangement of Christian sacral and secular life was reflected in architecture. In religious building complexes of the Catholic West, cloisters (enclosed courtyards for religious retirement) composed of a rectangular, often square-shaped garth and surrounding arcaded passages, were paralleled to the apocalyptical square Jerusalem. In a medieval city, the same symbolism was given to the city square enclosed by arcades (e.g., the central place in Monpazier, South France, founded in 1284). Cities built on a concentric plan were related to Jerusalem as well: the verse from Isa. 51:9 inscribed above the map of concentrically planned Moscow on the title page of the printed Russian Bible from 1663 represents that city as a revived Jerusalem.

Christian architects transposed the real Jerusalem by creating local counterparts for the Golgotha, Way of the Cross ("*via Dolorosa*"), Temple Mount, Mount of Olives, Mount Zion, Jerusalem churches, etc. Within the church, cloister, or nearby, a series of sculptures, pictures, or mere inscriptions marked the "stations" of Christ on the "*via Dolorosa*" in Jerusalem. A group of connected chapels, dated to the fifth century, in the Bolognese monastery of San Stefano, also known as "*Hierusalem*," represented important Christian sanctuaries of Jerusalem. The urban or landscape copies, commonly called New Jerusalem, Calvary, or a *sacro monte*, were intended to be faithful replicas of the holy places. In practice, some of them, e.g., Kalwaria Zebzydowska (1602) in Poland, retained the mutual location and distances between original monuments in the Holy Land. The other, for instance, the *Scala Coeli* convent (ca. 1405) in Cordoba, the *sacri monti* in Varallo Sesia (1486), San Vivaldo (1499) in Italy, and the whole old city of Suzdal in Russia, established a more schematic and partial resemblance to pilgrim's topography of Jerusalem.

Paintings in Hebrew illuminated manuscripts and early printed books focus on the future Jerusalem. The *Mount of Olives, depicted as an olive tree on a hill, is the only landmark of Jerusalem beyond the Temple Mount that appears among the Temple's implements in paintings from Hebrew Bibles of the 13th to 15th centuries. The citation from Zechariah 14:4 framing the full-page painting of the Mount of Olives in the 14th-century Hebrew Bible from Saragossa (Paris, Bibl. Nat., Ms. Hebr. 31, fol. 4v) determines the symbolism of this place as the stage of God's advent in the messianic future. The vision of the city of Jerusalem is a subject of illuminated manuscripts and books of the Passover **Haggadah*. The picture of Jews lifting their hands in adoration to the Messiah waiting at the gate of heavenly Jerusalem illustrates the culminating passage: "Next year in Jerusalem" in the Birds' Head *Haggadah* of ca. 1300 from Southern Germany (Jerusalem, Israel Museum, Ms. 180/57, fol. 47r). The hovering Jerusalem is drawn as a Gothic city-gate with a section of an arcaded wall. The Messiah who rides on a donkey, preceded by Elijah the prophet, towards Jerusalem relates to the verse “Pour out Thy wrath upon the heathen.” In these pictures Jerusalem looks like a fortified city with a tall tower (the Hamburg Miscellany, ca. 1427–1428, Germany; Hamburg, Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. Hebr. 37, fol. 35v), a fortified wall with an open gate (Haggadah, 1470–1480, Italy; Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibl., Cod. Hebr. 200, fol. 24v), or a domed tower in the printed Mantua *Haggadah* (1560). A hand holding a sword above a city that is tightly embraced by a fortified wall, illustrating I Chronicles 21:16, shows divine protection over Jerusalem in the Cretan Haggadah Candia, 1583 (Paris. Bibl. Nat., 1388, fol. 11r).

Notwithstanding the fact that a polygonal domed building is at odds with the biblical and rabbinical accounts of the Temple, Jews adopted the Dome of the Rock as an image of the sanctuary in Jerusalem (Frankfurt *Mishneh Torah*, 15th century, North Italy; New York, private coll., fol. 1r). Since the mid-16th century, printers of Hebrew books in Venice and Prague used the Dome evidently labeled *Bet ha-Mikdash* (“the Temple”) as their sign, and a century later, the brothers Ashkenazi used a naïve version of this building in the midst of three city walls in their books printed in Constantinople. The inscription: “The glory of this latter house shall be greater than of the former …” (Hag. 2:9) accompanying the Dome in the “printers’ marks” asserts that this is a vision of the messianic Temple in the future Jerusalem, and not a picture of the historic past. In a similar way, the messianic Jerusalem has taken the Renaissance form of an octalateral city centering on the octagonal domed Temple in the Venice *Haggadah* of 1609. An image of a domed structure near lesser buildings, sometimes within a polygonal city wall, was used as a sign for remembrance of Jerusalem on 17th-century Italian Torah Ark curtains and as an eschatological symbol and a sign for the “chief joy” for Jerusalem (Ps. 137:6) at the top of the *ketubbot,* whose design followed the complex decorative program that was developed in Venice in the 1660s.

Matthaeus Merian the Elder’s engraving of the biblical Jerusalem in the *Icones Biblicae* (Amsterdam, 1659) exemplifies a direct influence of Christian art on Jewish images of Jerusalem. In the 1695 Venice *Haggadah* and its numerous manuscript and printed remakes, Merian’s splendid Temple of Solomon in the midst of cloister-like walled courtyards, surrounded by the city buildings and lighted up by the shining sun, was reworked for a vision of the messianic Jerusalem. Jewish artisan Eliezer Sussmann, of Brody in the Ukraine, copied later folk replicas of this picture from *Haggadot* and Grace After Meals manuscripts (also containing the plea for rebuilding of Jerusalem) into his rich wall paintings in South German synagogues in 1732–42. In these and other synagogue murals produced by East European Jewish painters of the 18th and 19th centuries, Jerusalem is represented as a conglomeration of domed and roofed buildings of different lengths, gradually increasing towards the highest domed tower or roofed palace, all rendered in the local architectural styles. In some synagogues Jerusalem as a symbol of the redemption is juxtaposed against a view of a city symbolizing the Exile: Worms in the ceiling painting (1740) by Ḥayyim ben Isaac Segal in the synagogue in Mogilev in Belorus, or Babylon in the picture of the “Rivers of Babylon” (Ps. 137) in synagogues of Predbórz (mid-18th century) and Grojec (first half of the 19th century) in Poland. In the synagogue in Kamenka-Bugskaya in the Ukraine, the picture of a burning city with wild beasts approaching its walls remind the worshippers of the fall of Jerusalem. The sorrow and remembrance for Jerusalem were expressed in a more abstract way in a Hebrew acronym שעל זל: שחור על לבן זכר לחרבן), “black on white, a remembrance of the Destruction [of Jerusalem]”) that was painted in black paint on a white background, and in some cases located beneath a picture of Jerusalem.

Jewish pilgrims’ topography of Jerusalem was cast into a pictorial form in the mid-16th century, following the spread of illustrated Hebrew descriptions of the holy places and the graves of the righteous itineraries of the Holy Land such as the *Yiḥus ha-Avot* (“Genealogy of the Patriarchs”). The local scribes traditionally alternated textual descriptions with schematic drawings of landmarks of Jerusalem but gave no general view or plan of the city. The development of this imagery in the Land of Israel led to the 18th- and 19th-century schematic “maps” depicting the holy places as almost decorative rows of flattened geometric, ornamental, or simplified architectural images, whereas the Italian and German copies of the *Yiḥus ha-Avot* rendered these patterns as classical buildings. Jewish scribes in 18th-century Italy amalgamated the landmarks from the pictorial itineraries, a cityscape of houses and towers, and a geometric plan of the ideal city into the view of the holy places in Jerusalem. Thus in the view of Jerusalem that occupies most of his scheme of holy places in the Land of Israel (first half of the 18th century; Cambridge University Library), Samuel ben Yishai of Senigallia marked the different Jewish communities in the Jewish Old City, the Tower of David within the city walls, and the so-called Tombs of Absalom and Zechariah in the Valley of Kidron. The Hebrew inscriptions identify the Dome of the Rock and the *al-Aqsa* Mosque depicted on the opposite sides of the Temple Mount as the Temple and Solomon’s *bet midrash* (“house of study”), respectively. Between them, a group of cypresses rises above the western section of the wall supporting the Temple Mount. The Wailing (Western) Wall was thought to coincide with the place which, according to midrashic sources (Ex. R. 2:2; Num. R. 11:2, etc.), the Divine Presence never left, and which was the closest spot to the Holy of Holies accessible to the Jews where they mourned the destruction of the Temple. The cypresses which are seen from afar on the Temple Mount were supposedly identified with the cedars “planted in the house of the Lord” (Ps. 92:131; cf. I Kings 50:20ff.) evoking the messianic restoration of the Temple. This new composition became the most frequent pictorial sign of Jerusalem on a vast range of Jewish ritual and household objects that were sent from the Land of Israel to Jews elsewhere and on the copies of these objects made in the Diaspora. In contrast to the undying messianic hope in Jewish folk art, professional European artists of Jewish origin who converted to Christianity (e.g., Eduard Bendemann in his *Jeremiah on the Ruins of Jerusalem*, ca. 1834–1835) expressed in images of Jerusalem their despair and lack of belief in the redemption of the Jews.

In Muslim art, Jerusalem is generally symbolized by the *Qubbat as-Sakhrah* or the *Ḥaram al-Sharīf* (the Temple Mount). Admittedly, some scholars hypothetically interpret the polygonal walled city which is presented on a tray to Muhammad in a painting from a *Mi'rāj Nāmeh* manuscript (Tarbiz, ca. 1360–1370; Istanbul, Topkapi Sarayi, H. 2154, fol. 107r) as the city of Jerusalem, discerning the Dome of the Rock and *al-Aqsa* mosque among its buildings. Concurrently with the early illustrated Jewish itineraries of the Holy Land, schematic maps of the Temple Mount, like maps of Mecca and Medina, appeared in manuscript scroll guides for Muslim pilgrims (e.g., the guide from 1544–1545; Istanbul, Topkapi Sarayi, H. 1812). The site is commonly depicted as a rectangle containing the *Qubbat as-Sakhrah*, in some pictures with the rock shown inside, in the lower center; the *al-Aqsa* above; minarets; other Muslim sacred places; and also cypresses, palm trees, and mountains – all seen in profile or from above. Such maps were also depicted on the *gibla* wall in Ottoman mosques (e.g., the painting from ca. 1660–63 in the Haznedar Mosque at Sivrihisar near Ankara).

Napoleon's Egyptian campaign (1798–99) and increasing political interests of France, England, and Germany in the Holy Land prompted modern European painters to discover the real Jerusalem. With the benefit of realistic drawings from nature, Luigi Mayer (1755–1803), Henry Warren (1794–1879), David Roberts (1796–1864), and William Henry Bartlett (1809–1854) looked at Jerusalem through the traditional concept of the sacred city, giving in their pictures a distant view of the Dome of the Rock on the Temple Mount under the high sky. In due course, many artists became attracted by a closer illusionistic view of the holy places, ancient monuments, and archaeological sites as if conveying a look of an eyewitness (cf. works by Carl Friedrich Werner, 1808–1894; William Simpson, 1823–1899; Vasily Vereshchagin, 1842–1904; John Fulleylove, 1845–1908; Gustav Bauernfeind, 1848–1904; Stanley Inchbold, 1856–1921). One such subject relating to the Jewish aspect of Jerusalem was the Jews praying at the Western Wall shown at a sharp angle from the narrow court near it.

Similarly, presentations of the prayer at the Western Wall and a visionary city became subjects of pictures of Jerusalem by modern Jewish artists. Inspired by the Zionist ideas, Ephraim *Lilien in Berlin depicted Jerusalem as a promised city seen from afar, against the shining sun that stretches its rays towards a Jew suffering in the Exile (an illustration to Morris Rosenfeld's "*Der Juedische Mai*," *Lieder des Ghetto*, 1902). But even when the Israeli artists Reuven *Rubin (1893–1974) and Nahum *Gutman (1898–1980) observed the actual cityscape, they postulated a distance from the Temple Mount. From the 1920s, artists focused their attention on the Jewish quarters of Jerusalem, often showing them looking like a downtrodden provincial *shtetl* (e.g., Jacob *Steinhardt, 1887–1968, and Hayim Gliksberg, 1904–1970) or alleys of a European city (e.g., Ludwig *Blum, 1891–1974). The authentic sense of crude hills, poor vegetation, and rocky houses of Jerusalem feature works by Anna *Ticho (1894–1980) and Leopold *Krakauer (1890–1954). Contemporary Israeli artists take the imagery of Jerusalem in the direction of political and ideological controversies. As examples, restating the idea of the Jewish national home, Jan Rauchwerger (1942–) paints the Israeli flag streaming in fresh air over landscapes of the Judean hills near Jerusalem; David Reeb's (1952–) views of the holy places in Jerusalem supplied with a barcode evoke irony or protest against commercialism of faith and ideals; and Menashe Kadishman's (1932–) paintings of the Wailing Wall, whose stones are touched by multicolored patches of paint, question the very respect for national values.

Since 1967, the political and ideological competition over Jerusalem provoked the revival of the image of *Qubbat as-Sakhrah* in the art and visual propaganda of artists of Arab origin as a symbol of the claim for the whole of Jerusalem and Palestine. Nabil Anani (1943–), Sliman Mansour (1947–), Taleb Dweik (1952–), and others adopted the images of the ideal circular city and ethereal Jerusalem centering on the Dome of the Rock in the context of longing and struggle for the lost land. The real Jerusalem is referred to symbolically and conceptually as a place of humiliation: for instance, Kna'an Ahmed's sculpture *New Walls of Jerusalem* (ca. 2004) alludes to administrative barriers between the Eastern and Western parts of the city.

[Ilia Rodov (2nd ed.)]

In Music

In music, as in literature, there is a vast and varied body of material inspired by the theme of Jerusalem. Theoretically, the "songs of Jerusalem" include the innumerable settings of the countless biblical verses, prayers, hymns, and poems in which Jerusalem or Zion are mentioned – in art and folk music and in Jewish and Christian culture. Such a list would also have to include the Passion compositions (since their scene is Jerusalem) and works about the Crusades (including the many compositions based on Tasso's *Jerusalem Delivered*). Until the end of the 19th century, many oratorios, operas, choral works, art songs, and symphonic works dealt with the two destructions of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar and Titus (the correlation with historical events is difficult to establish in most cases). However, several English and U.S. composers have turned to the "Heavenly City" subject, stimulated by the enormous success of Ewing's hymn, "Jerusalem the Golden" (see below), and also perhaps by the medieval revival. Among notable works are Ralph Vaughan Williams' oratorio, *Sancta Civitas* (1892), based on the Apocalypse, and Horatio W. Parker's *Hora novissima* (1892), based on the Latin prototype of the hymn. Works by modern Jewish composers include Lazare *Saminsky's *City of Solomon and Christ* (1932), for mixed chorus and orchestra, and Darius *Milhaud's *Les* *deux Cités* (1937), a cantata for augmented children's chorus with text by Paul Claudel (comprising "Babylone," "Élégie," and "Jérusalem").

Israel works written before 1967 dealt with certain aspects of Jerusalem, but after the Six-Day War, there was an intense preoccupation with the subject, both spontaneously and by commission. Recha *Freier organized the *Testimonium Jerusalem*, which commissioned composers in Israel and overseas to write works on the history of Jerusalem, which were played at special performances in Jerusalem. Other works composed between 1967 and 1970 include *Jerusalem Eternal*, a cantata by Haim *Alexander; *Tyre and Jerusalem*, a ballet (based on the play by Mattityahu *Shoham) by Ben-Zion *Orgad; and *Jerusalem*, a symphony for mixed chorus, brass, and strings by Mordechai *Seter.

Among the few Protestant chorales which apostrophize Jerusalem directly, the most famous is Melchior Franck's *Jerusalem, du hochgebaute Stadt* (first published 1663), of which there have been many English translations (e.g., *Jerusalem, thou city built on high*). The vision of the Apocalypse appears in a number of Latin hymns paraphrased again and again in the 19th century (J. Julian, *A Dictionary of Hymnology* (1892), S.V. *Coelestis O Jerusalem, Coelestis urbs Jerusalem, Urbs beata Jerusalem*). Outstanding among these is Alexander Ewing's music to John Mason Neale's text, "Jerusalem the Golden," which "conquered the world" after its publication in *Hymns Ancient and Modern* (1861). It draws from the section of Bernard of Cluny's *De contemptu mundi (Hora novissima)* beginning *Urbs Sion aurea/patria lactea/cive decora* (see Julian, op. cit., s.v. Neale) and the melody is in typical 19th-century hymn style; but the beautiful opening phrase c/dcfe/d-c goes back to the German Protestant chorale setting of *Nun ruhen alle Waelder.*

IN JEWISH FOLK SONG TRADITION. The following are some of the best-known Jewish folk songs on Jerusalem:

(a) Sephardi: "*De frutas sabrosas*" (M. Athias, *Romancero Sephardi* (1961^{2}, nos. 132, 133); "*Ir me quiero, madre, a Jerusalem*" (*ibid.*, no. 131), the latter often sung by families when saying farewell to a relative bound on a journey to the Holy Land.

(b) Kurdistan Jews: "*Ha-Shem vi-Yrushalayim*," for Shabbat *Naḥamu*; Aramaic, in the form of a dialogue between God and Jerusalem (Y.Y. Rivlin, *Shirat Yehudei ha-Targum*, 1959).

(c) Eastern Ashkenazi: "*In der Shtot Yerusholayim*" and *Zingt-zhe alle Yidelach* (Idelsohn, Melodien, 9 (1932), nos. 219, 225); "*Yerusholayim slavny gorod,*" with Russian words (*ibid.*, no. 438; the prototype for the later Hebrew "*Yerushalayim Ir ha-Kodesh,*" see below).

(d) Yemenite: "*Kiryah Yefehfiyyah,*" poem by Shalom *Shabbazi. The melody, already notated by A.Z. Idelsohn in his *Sefer ha-Shirim* (1911), became a Hebrew folk song and was made famous in the interpretation of Berachah *Ẓefirah.

Most of the Jerusalem songs in the Diaspora are lyrical and yearning in their texts and melodies, though some of the Eastern Ashkenazi tunes are more vigorous. Not all the Hebrew songs which mention Jerusalem are "Jerusalem songs." Even in "*Ha-Tikvah,*" the city symbolizes the whole of Ereẓ Israel – the refrain ends, in the old version: *lashuv le-ereẓ avoteinu/Ir bah David ḥanah* ("to return to the land of our fathers/ the city where David abode") and in the new version: *lihyot am ḥofshi be-arẓenu/ereẓ Ẓiyyon vi-Yrushalayim* ("to be a free people in our land/the land of Zion and Jerusalem").

Of the songs directly connected with the city, the following are the most important:

(1) J. *Engel and A. *Hameiri, *Hoi, hoi, hoi, Na'alayim*, the climax of which is: *Ḥalutz, beneh, beneh Yerushalayim* ("O pioneer, build Jerusalem!"); poem written by Hameiri in 1922 when the *Gedud ha-Avodah was working on the road to Jerusalem; setting by Engel for the *Ohel choir (1926).

(2) Adapted tune of *Yerushalayim slavny gorod* (see above); Emanuel ha-Russi *Yerushalayim Ir ha-Kodesh* (1925).

(3) M. Rapoport and A. Hameiri, "*Me-al pisgat Har ha-Ẓofim*" ("From the Summit of Mount Scopus," 1930), melody based on an Eastern Ashkenazi prototype. Rapoport later wrote another setting, but this not as popular as the first.

(4) S. Ferszko and *Ḥ. Gouri, "*Bab-el-Wad*" (1949), mourning the Jewish fighters who died during Israel's War of Independence at the "Gate of the Valley" (*Sha'ar ha-Gai*, Arabic Bab el-Wad; where the road to Jerusalem enters the mountains).

(5) E. *Amiran and R. Saporta, "*Mi va-rekhev, mi va-regel*" ("Some come by car and on foot")… *Na'aleh-na li-Yrushalayim* (1950); children's song for Independence Day, which was still in popular use for the Three-Day March to Jerusalem.

(6) Y. Ne'eman's setting of Judah Halevi, "*Yefeh Nof Mesos Tevel*" an Orientalizing melody, written for the Israel Song Festival.

(7) N. *Shemer (words and music), "*Yerushalayim shel Zahav,*" written for the 1967 Israel Song Festival, which achieved wide popularity partly because it appeared on the eve of the Six-Day War. Other Jerusalem songs written during and after the Six-Day War did not achieve the same impact.

Some Israel "Bible-verse" songs may also be considered "Jerusalem songs," e.g., *Amiran's "*Al Ḥomotayikh Yerushalayim*" (Isa. 62:6), written during the 1948 siege, "*Ki mi-Ẓiyyon Teẓe Torah*" (Isa. 2:3; c. 1942), and "*Halleluyah Kumu ve-Na'aleh Ẓiyyon*" and "*Uru Aḥim ve-Na'aleh Har Ẓiyyon*" based on Psalms (1933–36; for the Offering of the First Fruits); Y. Zarai's "*Va-Yiven Uzziyyahu*" (II Chron. 26:9; c. 1956); N.C. Melamed's "*Ve-Teḥezenah Einenu*" (c. 1950); M. *Ze'ira's "*Ashrei ha-Ish Yissa et Alumav/ Be-Ma'aleh Harei Ẓiyyon*" (c. 1942) and "*Lekhu ve-Nivneh et Ḥomot Yerushalayim*" (Neh. 2:17/ 4:15); and M. *Wilensky's "*Uri Ẓiyyon, hoi Uri, Livshi Uzzekh*" (Isa. 52:1–2).

See also *Josephus in the Arts; *Lamentations in the Arts; *Temple in the Arts; *Titus in the Arts; *Zerubabel in the Arts.

[Bathja Bayer]

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JERUSALEM, KARL WILHELM (1747–1772), German philosopher. Jerusalem was the son of a well-known court preacher in Brunswick, Germany, who was probably of Dutch Jewish origin. Jerusalem studied law at Leipzig and Goettingen, and became a functionary of the legation at Wetzlar. He knew *Goethe and was a friend of G.E. *Lessing. Unhappy about his life and about a love affair, Jerusalem shot himself. Goethe was shocked by Jerusalem's suicide and immortalized him in *Die Leiden des jungen Werthers* (1774) and for a while Jerusalem's grave became a place of pilgrimage. Lessing, concerned about Goethe's picture of Jerusalem, published Jerusalem's writings under the title *Philosophische Aufsaetze* (1776; ed. by P. Beer, 1900) to show Jerusalem's intellectual side. Jerusalem was a minor Enlightenment thinker. His brief writings deal with the origins of language, the nature and origin of general and abstract concepts, freedom, Mendelssohn's views, and the nature of experience. Jerusalem was a determinist, and Lessing's preface to the *Aufsaetze* is one of the important statements of his own determinism. Jerusalem's *Aufsaetze und Briefe* were published in 1925 by H. Schneider.

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[Richard H. Popkin]

JERUSALEM, LEGAL ASPECTS.

Introduction

At least in three respects Jerusalem differs from most other places: the city is holy to adherents of three religions, it is the subject of conflicting national claims by two peoples, and its population is heterogeneous to a considerable degree. These characteristics require some elaboration.

In the city one finds Holy Places of Christianity, since according to Christian tradition Jesus lived and was active in various locations in Jerusalem. Under the Islamic tradition, the al-Aksa Mosque and the Dome of the Rock as well as the Temple Mount on which they are situated are Holy Places, due to Muhammad's nocturnal visit, and for the Jewish people the whole city is holy, in particular the Temple Mount, because of the divine presence (the *Shekhinah*).

It has been argued that some of the events which are associated by the various religions with Jerusalem could not, from a historical point of view, have actually occurred. However, religious faith deserves respect and historical accuracy is not relevant. Religious belief in the sanctity of certain sites in Jerusalem has been exploited by various individuals, states, and institutions in order to achieve political goals.

As for the national aspect, according to Israeli law united Jerusalem is the capital of the State of Israel, but the Palestinians also have claims on the city, at least on the eastern part thereof, and seek to make it their capital.

Turning to the heterogeneous nature of the population, it is sufficient to stroll through the streets of the city to realize that it indeed consists of a mosaic of many and various communities. Thus, for example, adherents of some 40 different religions or ethnic communities live in Jerusalem.

These features may explain why there are so many different opinions concerning the legal status of the city, and why it is such a thorny problem in the peace process.

Opinions on the Legal Status of Jerusalem

Many statesmen as well as experts in international law have expressed their opinion on the status of Jerusalem.[1] In the framework of this article only the most representative ones can be reviewed, and the opinions will be stated without analyzing the controversies they have engendered. As the western parts of the city have not undergone a considerable change since 1949, opinions on their status can be analyzed without a temporal division. However, the eastern sectors changed hands in 1967, and therefore it may be useful to divide the discussion accordingly.

With regard to west Jerusalem, there are four basic opinions. According to the first, mainly developed by Sir Elihu Lauterpacht, Israel lawfully acquired sovereignty in 1948. When Britain left the area, a vacuum of sovereignty ensued. This vacuum could validly be filled only by a lawful action. Since Israel acquired control of west Jerusalem in 1948 by a lawful act of self-defense, she was entitled to fill that vacuum and thus became the lawful sovereign.[2]

Prince Hassan bin Talal of Jordan has expressed the opinion that sovereignty over Jerusalem is suspended until a comprehensive settlement is agreed upon.[3]

According to Henry Cattan, the Palestinian Arab people has had and still has "legal sovereignty" over the whole of Palestine including Jerusalem since the mandatory period.[4]

Others maintain that the status of Jerusalem is subject to the UN General Assembly resolution of 1947 which recommended the establishment of a *corpus separatum* under a special international regime and administered by the United Nations.[5]

Most foreign states have not adopted a clear-cut stand on the status of west Jerusalem.[6] Although there are differences among various states, one can discern certain similarities with regard to the basic questions. Apparently foreign states were not prepared to recognize the legality of Jordanian or Israeli rule over the respective zones of the city under their control. Thus, for example, the foreign consuls stationed in the city refused and still refuse (in 2005) to apply to Jordan (in the past) or Israel (as the case may be) for the granting of *exequatur*, i.e., permission to carry out their functions in the city. The refusal to recognize Israeli rule over the western sector was apparent, for example, in the 1952 case of the *Heirs of Shababo v. Roger Heilen, the Consulate General of Belgium and the Consul General of Belgium in Jerusalem*: the driver of the Belgian Consulate had been involved in a fatal road accident that caused the death of Mr. Shababo. The family members of the deceased sued the driver, the Consulate and the Consul General, and claimed damages. The incident was the subject of several judgments of the Jerusalem District Court.[7] Of particular interest for the present discussion is the first deliberation, where the driver and his principals denied the jurisdiction of the Israeli courts over the accident since it had taken place in Jerusalem. That argument was dismissed by the court.

It seems, however, that despite this non-recognition of Israeli sovereignty, most states have nevertheless accepted the *de facto* applicability of Israeli law,[8] and none has so far demanded that the laws of occupation including the 1949 Fourth Geneva Convention Relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War be applied to west Jerusalem.[9]

East Jerusalem during the period 1949–67 was under Jordanian rule. According to Sir Elihu Lauterpacht, during that time the area was under a vacuum of sovereignty: Britain had abandoned sovereignty, but Jordan could not fill this gap because it had occupied east Jerusalem by an illegal act of aggression.[10]

Under Henry Cattan's theory – similar to the parallel one concerning west Jerusalem – the Palestinian Arab people has had and still has title to "legal sovereignty" over the whole of Palestine, including east and west Jerusalem.[11]

A third opinion, represented by Yoram Dinstein, recognized Jordanian sovereignty over east Jerusalem, derived from the exercise of the right of self-determination by the inhabitants, i.e., the resolution adopted by the notables in Jericho in 1949, requesting the annexation of the West Bank to Jordan.[12]

Lastly, with regard to east Jerusalem, like the western parts, certain writers claim that the *corpus separatum* solution is still valid.[13]

How were these opinions influenced by the changes that occurred in 1967? According to Sir Elihu Lauterpacht, the vacuum of sovereignty existed until Israel occupied east Jerusalem by a lawful act of self-defense and thus was entitled to fill the gap.[14] A similar conclusion was reached by other writers who based Israel's sovereignty on the idea that Israel has the strongest relative title to the area in the absence of a lawful "sovereign reversioner" due to Jordan's lack of a valid claim to sovereignty.[15]

The opinion held by Henry Cattan under which the Palestinian Arab people has "legal sovereignty" over the whole of Palestine irrespective of the factual situation, did not have to change as a result of the Six-Day War.[16]

Yoram Dinstein who recognized Jordanian sovereignty in east Jerusalem expressed the opinion that this sovereignty survived the 1967 war, but that Israel is a lawful occupant of those areas since she occupied them in a war of self-defense.[17]

The *corpus separatum* theory was not affected by the war.[18]

As to the practical attitude of the international community: as mentioned, neither before nor after 1967 did the foreign consuls request an *exequatur* from Jordan or from Israel, which means that neither the sovereignty of the one nor of the other was recognized. Moreover, since 1967 the UN organs, including the Security Council, have repeatedly stated that east Jerusalem is occupied territory subject to the Fourth 1949 Geneva Convention.[19]

The attitude of the United States has been expressed inter alia in a letter sent by President Carter to Egypt and Israel in the context of the 1978 Camp David accords.[20] The president wrote that the position of the U.S. remained as stated by Ambassador Goldberg at the UN General Assembly in 1967 and subsequently by Ambassador Yost in the Security Council in 1969. There is, however, a difference between the speeches of the two ambassadors. While they both stressed that the actions of Israel in the city were merely provisional and that the problem of Jerusalem's future should be settled by negotiations, Ambassador Yost added that east Jerusalem was occupied territory to which the Fourth 1949 Geneva Convention Relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War applied.[21] This attitude, however, did not prevent the U.S. administration from requesting Israel to extradite to the U.S. a person who lived in the eastern sector of the city.[22] However, in 1995 the U.S. Congress passed a bill that calls for the recognition of united Jerusalem as the capital of Israel. The bill also required that the U.S. Embassy be moved from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem by 1999. As of 2006 this move has not yet taken place, due to a provision in the bill that authorizes the president to postpone its implementation if the security of the United States requires it.

As to the European Community, it adopted in 1980 a declaration (the Venice Declaration) on the Middle East which included a paragraph on Jerusalem:

> The Nine recognize the special importance of the role played by the question of Jerusalem for all the parties concerned. The Nine stress that they will not accept any unilateral initiative designed to change the status of Jerusalem and that any agreement on the city's status should guarantee freedom of access for everyone to the Holy Places.[23]

In 1993, the ambassador of Germany in Israel sent a diplomatic note to Israel in the name of the European Union. According to the communication he "reaffirmed" the position of the EU, stating that the status of Jerusalem is still the corpus separatum one.

The International Court of Justice, in its Advisory Opinion on the "Legal Consequences of the Construction of a Wall in the Occupied Palestine Territory" (2004), spoke of East Jerusalem as occupied Palestinian territory.

Two internationally relevant developments concerning Jerusalem occurred in the 1980s. In 1981 the Old City and its walls were registered by Jordan in the World Heritage List established under the 1972 UNESCO Convention for the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage, and in 1982 it was included in the list of sites in danger.

The second event to be mentioned is the declaration of King Hussein of Jordan in 1988 that Jordan was detaching itself from the West Bank.

Thus far, we have reviewed the opinions on the legal status of Jerusalem under international law. But what is its status under Israeli law? Jerusalem was not mentioned in the Declaration of the Establishment of the State of May 14, 1948.[24]

The application of Israeli law to the western sector of Jerusalem was ensured by a proclamation made by the minister of defense in 1948,[25] and by the Area of Jurisdiction and Powers Ordinance of 1948.[26] That ordinance provided that the law in force in the State of Israel should also apply to any part of Palestine which the minister of defense would designate by proclamation to be under occupation of the Israel Defense Forces.

At the end of 1949, following the renewed debate on Jerusalem in the UN General Assembly, Israel's Prime Minister David Ben-Gurion announced in the Knesset (Israel's parliament) that Jerusalem was an inseparable part of the State of Israel and its eternal capital[27]; this position was approved by the Knesset.[28]

After the Six-Day War (1967), various measures were taken in order to include areas east of Jerusalem in Israel's jurisdiction: the Knesset passed the Law and Administration Ordinance (Amendment No. 11) Law of 1967,[29] authorizing the Government to apply the law, jurisdiction and administration of Israel to any area which was formerly part of Mandatory Palestine. Likewise the Municipalities Ordinance was amended so as to allow for the extension of the bounds of a municipality where a decision has been made as to the application of Israel's jurisdiction to a certain area, as referred to above.[30] And indeed, the Government issued an appropriate order as a result of which Israeli law was made to apply to the eastern sector of Jerusalem,[31] which was also included within the jurisdiction of the Jerusalem municipality.

In several respects Israeli law granted east Jerusalemites certain facilities, by laying down special arrangements for them, as embodied in the Legal and Administrative Matters (Regulation) Law [Consolidated Version] of 1970.[32] This law dealt, for example, with the registration of companies and with the citizenship of policemen. The most conspicuous examples of the differences between the law as applied to Israel on the one hand and to east Jerusalem on the other hand not mentioned in that law, are the system of education, and rules on foreign currency: in the eastern neighborhoods the Jordanian and later the Palestinian school curriculum has been taught, and the Jordanian dinar is used in parallel with the Israeli shekel.

As to the status of Palestinian inhabitants of East Jerusalem, they have been recognized as permanent residents of Israel, holding an Israeli identity card and having Israeli social rights, i.e., social security and medical insurance. They may also vote in municipal elections.

Israel has not imposed its citizenship on the East Jerusalemites, but they may of course apply for naturalization. So far not many have applied for Israeli citizenship.

Israel has increased the municipal boundaries of Jerusalem, and they were fixed as extending from Atarot in the north almost to Rachel's Tomb in the south, and from Ein Kerem in the west to the eastern slopes of Mount Scopus. (A further extension to the west, i.e., into Israel proper, was effected in 1993.)

The application of Israeli law to East Jerusalem was met with fierce criticism from various UN bodies.[33]

The question arose at the time as to whether these acts constituted annexation of the eastern parts of Jerusalem. The then minister of foreign affairs, Abba Eban, informed the UN Secretary General in writing in July 1967[34] that they did not constitute annexation, but administrative and municipal integration. On the other hand, from the point of view of Israeli law, it was held in a number of decisions of the Supreme Court that the eastern sectors of Jerusalem had become a part of the State of Israel.

One of the earlier cases on this question is *Ruidi and Maches v. Military Court of Hebron.*[35] This case involved an antiquities dealer from Hebron who transferred antiquities from Hebron to East Jerusalem, without first obtaining an export license as required by the Jordanian antiquities law which applies on the West Bank. The dealer pleaded in his defense that at the critical time East Jerusalem was not foreign territory in relation to the West Bank, so that he could not be charged with exporting without a license. However, the Supreme Court did not accept this argument since it considered that the eastern sectors of Jerusalem had already become part of Israel.

In 1980 the Knesset adopted a new law concerning Jerusalem – the Basic Law: Jerusalem Capital of Israel.[36] This law states that "Jerusalem, complete and united, is the capital of Israel," that it is "the seat of the President of the State, the Knesset, the Government, and the Supreme Court," that the Holy Places shall be protected, and that the Government has to provide for the development and prosperity of Jerusalem. Its adoption aroused resentment in the international community and was considered by the Security Council to be "a violation of international law."[37] The Council called upon member States with embassies situated in Jerusalem to withdraw them from the city, and, indeed, the embassies, 13 in number, left the city following the resolution. In 1982 the Embassy of Costa Rica returned to West Jerusalem, and was followed by that of El Salvador. In 2000 Basic Law: Jerusalem Capital of Israel was amended. Two new provisions were added. The transfer of any powers, whether permanently or provisionally, concerning Jerusalem in its 1967 boundaries requires the consent of the majority of the Knesset (namely 61 votes). This provision relates to any powers vested by Israeli law in the government or in the municipality of Jerusalem.

Perhaps the most comprehensive discussion of the status of Jerusalem under Israel law as well as under Jewish law is included in Justice M. Elon's judgment in the case of *The Temple Mount Faithful Association et al. v. The Attorney General et al.*, decided in 1993.[38] In this case the petitioners requested the High Court of Justice to order the Attorney-General and various other Israeli authorities to prosecute the Muslim Waqf for having undertaken on the Temple Mount certain works without the necessary permit. The High Court decided not to interfere in the discretion of the relevant authorities. In reaching its conclusion, the Court emphasized that the Temple Mount is part of the territory of the State of Israel and that the sovereignty of the State extends over unified Jerusalem in general and over the Temple Mount in particular. Hence all the laws of Israel, including the laws which guarantee freedom of worship at, the right of access to, and the protection of the Holy Places against desecration apply also to the Temple Mount. However, in several cases the Supreme Court has not applied the law to its full extent in matters relating to the Temple Mount.

The attitude of the Palestinians was expressed inter alia in 1988 and 2002. When the Palestine Liberation Organization proclaimed in 1988 the establishment of a Palestinian state, it asserted that Jerusalem was its capital. In 2002 the Palestinian Legislative Council adopted the Law of the Capital, which stipulated that Jerusalem was the capital of the Palestinian State, the main seat of its three branches of government. The State of Palestine is the sovereign of Jerusalem and of its holy places. Any statutes or agreement that diminishes the rights of the Palestinian State in Jerusalem is invalid. This statute can be changed only with the consent of two-thirds of the members of the Legislative Council.

Jerusalem and the Peace Process

One could argue over the question as to when the present peace process began. For practical purposes, the adoption of Security Council Resolution 242 of November 1967 can be chosen as the starting point, since this text is referred to in many of the agreements which have so far been reached. Resolution 242 does not include any express reference to Jerusalem. This Resolution, adopted in the wake of the Six-Day War, laid down the basic principles upon which peace should be founded.[39] Similarly, Security Council Resolution 338 adopted after the 1973 October War does not deal with Jerusalem. Neither do the Camp David accords of 1978[40] include provisions on Jerusalem, but the parties expressed their differing opinions on the subject in accompanying letters: Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin stated that in accordance with legislation of 1967, "Jerusalem is one city, indivisible, the Capital of the State of Israel," whereas Egypt's President, Anwar el-Sadat, stated that "Arab Jerusalem is an integral part of the West Bank," and "should be under Arab sovereignty." At the same time he determined that "essential functions in the City should be undivided," and that "a joint municipal council composed of an equal number of Arab and Israeli members can supervise the carrying out of those functions." He added that "in this way, the city shall be undivided."[41]

There was no reference to Jerusalem in the Peace Treaty concluded in 1979 by Egypt and Israel.[42]

In October 1991 the Madrid Conference for Peace in the Middle East was convened by the United States and the Soviet Union.[43] After the Conference, bilateral negotiations took place. The question of Jerusalem was especially relevant to the negotiations between Israel and the Palestinians who attended the Conference as part of a joint Jordanian-Palestinian delegation.

According to the invitation from the U.S. and the Soviet Union, the negotiations with the Palestinians were to deal at the first stage with the establishment of interim self-government arrangements in the West Bank and Gaza for a period of five years, while in the third year after the setting up of that regime, negotiations on the permanent status of these areas would start. Although the text of the invitation to the Conference does not refer to Jerusalem, the city played an important role in the negotiations that preceded the Conference and in the letters of assurances from the United States to the Palestinians.

The U.S. promised that the composition of the delegation would not affect the claims of the Palestinians to Jerusalem. It expressed the view that the city should never again be divided, and that its final status should be determined by negotiations. The U.S. also stated that it did not recognize the annexation of east Jerusalem by Israel nor the extension of the municipal boundaries. It was the view of the U.S. that "Palestinians of east Jerusalem should be able to participate by voting in the elections for an interim self-governing authority," and that the Palestinians have the right "to bring any issue, including east Jerusalem, to the table." The U.S. did not specify whether Jerusalem could be brought "to the table" of the negotiations on the interim arrangements, or of the later permanent status negotiations.[44] The letters of assurances were issued by the United States in order to prod the parties to participate in the Conference.

While the post-Madrid bilateral meetings took place between Israel and a Palestinian delegation which, upon Israel's demand, formally did not include representatives of the PLO, the latter and Israel conducted secret negotiations in Oslo with the good offices of Norway's Minister of Foreign Affairs. As a result, three letters were exchanged and a Declaration of Principles was initialed in Oslo and signed in Washington, D.C., on September 13, 1993.[45] This text was a turning point in the attitude of the two parties on the question of Jerusalem: it was agreed that Jerusalem would not be included in the interim self-government arrangements to be agreed upon – a concession by the Palestinians, and, on the other hand, Israel conceded that Jerusalem would be one of the subjects to be dealt with in the framework of the negotiations on the "permanent status" to start in 1996.[46] In addition, it was agreed that "Palestinians of Jerusalem who live there will have the right to participate in the election process" for the Interim Self-Government Authority for the West Bank and Gaza.[47] The parties disagreed on the question whether the Palestinians of Jerusalem have only the active right to vote, or also the right to be elected.

Israel's insistence on denying the right to be elected stemmed from the fear that the granting of such a right would be incompatible with Israeli sovereignty over the entire city. In addition, there was disagreement on the question, where the Jerusalemites should vote.

These matters were solved, at least partly, in the Israeli-Palestinian Interim Agreement on the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, of September 28, 1995.[48] As to the passive right to be elected, it was agreed that only a Jerusalemite who has an additional address in the West Bank or Gaza may be elected, and he is to represent the other area, namely, not the city of Jerusalem (Article III (1)(b) of Annex II to the Interim Agreement). With regard to the physical location where Jerusalemites were actually to vote, it was agreed that most of the residents of Jerusalem would cast their vote in the Palestinian Jerusalem constituency beyond the municipal boundaries of the city. This solution was possible since the Jerusalem constituency according to the Palestinians is much larger than the city. In fact, on election day (January 20, 1996) most of the residents voted in Abu Dees – an Arab village just beyond the confines of the city. Only a small number of Palestinians – about 4,500 persons – were permitted to vote in post offices within the boundaries of the municipality proper (Article VI (2)(a) of Annex II). Voting at the post offices was procedurally somewhat different from voting at a regular polling station, to emphasize that Jerusalem is not part of the areas under the jurisdiction of the Palestinian Council.

About a month after the signing of the Declaration of Principles, in October 1993, Israeli Foreign Minister Shimon Peres sent a letter concerning Palestinian institutions in East Jerusalem to the foreign minister of Norway, Johan Jurgen Holst.[49] The letter was kept secret for some time, and its discovery aroused much criticism in Israel. According to this letter, "all the Palestinian institutions of East Jerusalem, including the economic, social, educational, cultural, and the holy Christian and Moslem places, are performing an essential task for the Palestinian population …" and "will be preserved…." The meaning of this text and its effect raise difficult questions of interpretation.[50]

Once the ice was broken between Israel and the Palestinians, the road was open for progress in the negotiations between Israel and Jordan. First a "Common Agenda" was agreed upon (September 14, 1993), then a joint declaration was adopted (July 25, 1994) and on October 26, 1994, a Peace Treaty was concluded.[51] This Treaty includes, inter alia, a promise by Israel "to respect the present special role of Jordan in Muslim Holy Shrines in Jerusalem," and, "when negotiations on the permanent status will take place, Israel will give high priority to the Jordanian historic role in these shrines."[52]

According to some press reports, in 1996 Jordan promised to transfer the custody of the Holy Places to the Palestinians once the latter acquire control of the city in the framework of the permanent status to be negotiated later.[53] However, the status of the Muslim Holy Shrines in Jerusalem is of interest and concern not only to Jordan, the Palestinians, and Israeli Muslims.

In the wake of the improved relations with the Palestinians and with Jordan, several other countries have established or re-established diplomatic relations with Israel. Of particular interest in this regard is the normalization of relations between Israel and the Holy See, foreseen by the Fundamental Agreement of December 30, 1993.[54] This document does not deal expressly with Jerusalem, but some of its provisions are relevant to the city, e.g., the commitment to favor Christian pilgrimages to the Holy Land, and the right of the Catholic Church to establish schools and to carry out its charitable functions. The parties affirmed their "continuing commitment to maintain and respect the 'status quo' in the Christian Holy Places to which it applies …" – a reference to the *status quo* established in the 18th and 19th centuries by the Ottoman Empire in order to regulate the rights of various competing Christian churches at certain Holy Places in Jerusalem and in Bethlehem.[55]

The negotiations on the permanent status started in May 1996, but were suspended after a few hours. They were resumed in 1999 and led to the July 2000 Camp David Summit. These intensive negotiations failed, to a large extent because of disagreement over the future of Jerusalem, in particular over the Old City and the Temple Mount. Some of the Palestinian leaders, including Arafat, even claimed that there had never been a Jewish Temple on the Temple Mount. Neither did the January 2001 meeting in Taba lead to a breakthrough.

Since then, several proposals have been drafted concerning the search for a resolution to the Israel-Palestinian dispute including Jerusalem (e.g., President Clinton, 2000; Ayalon-Nusseibeh, 2002; the Arab States Peace Initiative, 2002; Beilin-Abd Rabbo Geneva Initiative, 2003), but so far (2006) none has been adopted by the parties. On the other hand, the 2003 Road Map, sponsored by the U.S., Russia, the UN, and the EU (the Quartet), has been accepted by the parties. According to this text, the conflict should be resolved in stages. With regard to Jerusalem, it states that in the third stage, the parties should negotiate and reach an agreement that includes a resolution of the status of Jerusalem that takes into account the political and religious concerns of both sides, and protects the religious interests of Jews, Christians, and Muslims worldwide

Conclusion

The status of West and East Jerusalem has been the subject of very differing opinions of various writers. So far foreign states have not recognized any sovereignty over Jerusalem, but have acquiesced in Israeli *de facto* control over western Jerusalem, while claiming that East Jerusalem is occupied territory. For the Israeli authorities, the whole of Jerusalem is part of the State of Israel.

In some of the agreements so far reached there are timid references to Jerusalem and the Holy Places: in the 1993 Declaration of Principles it was agreed that Jerusalem (without definition of its contours) would not be discussed in the negotiations on the interim self-government arrangements (a concession by the PLO), but that it would be included in the negotiations on the permanent status (a concession by Israel). The Declaration of Principles also foresees the participation of East Jerusalemites in the elections for the self-government authority.

In the 1994 Israel-Jordan Treaty of Peace Israel promised to respect Jordan's present role in Muslim Holy Shrines in Jerusalem, and also undertook to give high priority to Jordan's historic role at those shrines when negotiating on the "permanent status."

The difficulties concerning these early provisions were but a foretaste of the diplomatic battle over Jerusalem in the negotiations on the permanent status. Disagreement has encompassed many thorny questions, e.g., matters related to sovereignty; jurisdiction and powers, in particular in the sphere of security, transportation and access roads, town planning; Holy Places (foremost those that are holy to two or more denominations) such as the Temple Mount; and municipal matters. There is hardly any subject which could not lead to conflict, but where there is a will there is a way and if both parties are sincerely looking for a compromise, it may be hoped that they will find one.

Notes

1. For a concise overview of the various opinions, see Moshe Hirsch in Ruth Lapidoth and Moshe Hirsch, *Jerusalem – Political and Legal Aspects* (The Jerusalem Institute for Israel Studies, 1994), 11–15 (in Hebrew), and in Moshe Hirsch, Debra Housen-Couriel, and Ruth Lapidoth, *Whither Jerusalem? Proposals and Positions Concerning the Future of Jerusalem* (The Hague, Kluwer Law International, in Collaboration with The Jerusalem Institute for Israel Studies, 1995), 15–24.
   In the present article only opinions on the *lex lata* are reproduced. For a summary of the various proposals *de lege ferenda*; see M. Hirsch, D. Housen-Couriel, and R. Lapidoth, *op. cit.*, 25–125 and Naomi Chazan, *Negotiating the Non-Negotiable: Jerusalem in the Framework of an Israeli-Palestinian Settlement* (International Security Studies Program, American Academy of Arts and Sciences, Cambridge, MA, Occasional Paper No. 7, March 1991). Gershon Baskin, *Jerusalem of Peace – Sovereignty and Territory in Jerusalem's Future* (Jerusalem, Israel/Palestine Center for Research and Information, 1994); Dore Gold, *Jerusalem – Final Status Issues: Israel-Palestinians*, Study No. 7 (Tel Aviv, The Jaffee Center for Strategic Studies, Tel Aviv University, 1995): proposal prepared by the Arab Studies Society in 1995 (a summary in Hebrew was published in the Jerusalem weekly *Kol Ha-Ir* of October 20, 1995; President Clinton's proposals of 2000, the Arab States proposal of 2003, Sari Nusseibeh-Ami Ayalon principles of 2002, and the Yossi Beilin-Yassir Abd Rabbo Geneva Initiative of 2003
2. See e.g., Elihu Lauterpacht, *Jerusalem and the Holy Places* (London, The Anglo-Israel Association, 1968, reprinted 1980); Julius Stone, *Israel and Palestine – Assault on the Law of Nations* (Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1981), 116–118; Stephen Schwebel, "What Weight to Conquest?" *American Journal of International Law*, 64 (1970), p. 344. For a similar but not quite identical opinion, see M.I. Gruhin, "Jerusalem: Legal and Political Dimensions in a Search for Peace," *Case Western Journal of International Law*, 12 (1980), p. 169.
3. HRH Crown Prince Hassan bin Talal, *A Study on Jerusalem* (London, Longman, 1979), 24–27. See also G.I.A.D. Draper, "The Status of Jerusalem as a Question of International Law," in: Hans Koechler (ed.), "The Legal Aspects of the Palestine Problem with Special Regard to the Question of Jerusalem," *Studies in International Relations*, 4 (Wien, Braumueller, 1981), 154–163.
4. Henry Cattan, *Jerusalem* (New York, St. Martin's Press, 1981), 104 and 107; idem, *Palestine and International Law*, 2nd ed. (London,

Longman, 1976), 112–121; idem, *The Palestine Question* (London, Longman, 1988), 324–326.

5. *The Status of Jerusalem* (New York, United Nations, 1979), prepared for the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People; Sally V. Mallison and W. Thomas Mallison, "The Jerusalem Problem in Public International Law: Juridical Status and a Start Towards Solution," in Hans Koechler, ed., supra note 3, 98–119, at p.107; Antonio Cassese, "Legal Considerations on the International Status of Jerusalem," *ibid.*, 144–153, 149 and 151. For the text of the Resolution, see Official Records of the second session of the UN General Assembly, Supplement No. 11, Volumes I–IV. It has been reproduced inter alia in Ruth Lapidoth and Moshe Hirsch (eds.), *The Arab-Israel Conflict and its Resolution: Selected Documents* (Dordrecht, Martinus Nijhoff, 1992), 33–54 (henceforth: *The Arab-Israel Conflict – Documents*).
6. For a comprehensive analysis of the attitude of the United States, see Shlomo Slonim, "The United States and the Status of Jerusalem, 1947–1984," *Israel Law Review*, 19 (1985), p. 179.
7. Civil Case Jerusalem 208/52, Pesaquim Mehoziyyim, 8 (1952/1953), p. 455; Pesaquim Mehoziyyim, 16 (1958), p. 20; Execution Case Jerusalem 157/53, Pesaquim Mehoziyyim, 9 (1953/1954), p. 502. For an English overview of the various decisions, see *International Law Reports*, 20, 1953 (1as7), 391–405.
8. See, e.g., Statement by the Minister of State of the United Kingdom in the House of Commons, April 27, 1950, reproduced in Ruth Lapidoth and Moshe Hirsch (eds.), *The Jerusalem Question and its Resolution: Selected Documents* (Dordrecht, Martinus Nijhoff, in cooperation with The Jerusalem Institute for Israel Studies, 1994), 147–148 (henceforth: *Jerusalem – Selected Documents*); letters by Janet G. Mullins, United States Assistant Secretary of State for Legislative Affairs, to Lee H. Hamilton, Chairman of the Subcommittee on Europe and the Middle East, U.S. House of Representatives, of 29 June and 6 September 1989, reproduced *ibid.*, 447–449.
9. See, e.g., *ibid.*, p.449.
10. For references, see supra note 2.
11. For references, see supra note 4. For somewhat similar opinions, see Michael Van Dusen, "Jerusalem, the Occupied Territories and the Refugees," in Majid Khadduri (ed.), *Major Middle Eastern Problems in International Law* (Washington DC, American Enterprise Institute, 1978), p. 51; John Quigley, "Old Jerusalem: Whose to Govern," *Denver Journal of International Law and Policy*, 20 (1991), 145, 164–166.
12. Yoram Dinstein, "Autonomy," in Y. Dinstein (ed.), *Models of Autonomy* (New Brunswick, Transaction Books, 1981), 291–303, p. 300. On the Jericho meeting, see *Jerusalem – Selected Documents*, 145–148. It is not known whether Dinstein has changed his opinion on the question of sovereignty due to Jordan's disengagement from the West Bank in 1988. For the text of this statement concerning disengagement, see *International Legal Materials*, 27 (1988), p. 1637, reproduced in *The Arab-Israel Conflict – Documents*, p. 339.
13. For references, see supra note 5.
14. For references, see supra note 2.
15. Yehuda Z. Blum, *The Juridical Status of Jerusalem* (Jerusalem, The Leonard Davis Institute for International Relations, 1974); idem, "The Missing Reversioner: Reflections on the Status of Judea and Samaria," *Israel Law Review*, 3 (1968), 279–301.
16. For references, see supra note 4.
17. For references, see supra note 12.
18. Supra, note 5.
19. E.g., Security Council Resolution 465, of March 1, 1980, SCOR, 35th Year, 1980, Resolutions, p. 5, UN Doc. S/INF/36; Security Council resolution 478, of August 20, 1980, SCOR, 35th Year, 1980, Resolutions, p. 14, both reproduced in *Jerusalem – Selected Documents*, 311 and 351.
20. *Jerusalem – Selected Documents*, p. 300.
21. For the Statement made by Ambassador Goldberg, see GAOR, 5th Emergency Special Sess. (Plenary Meetings), 1554th meeting, July 14, 1967, 9–11. For Ambassador Yost's Statement, see SCOR, 24th year, 1969, 148th meeting, July 1, 1969. 11–12; both are reproduced in *Jerusalem – Selected Documents*, 174–177 and 236–238.
22. Attorney General v. Yoel Davis, Pesaquim Mehoziyyim, 3 (1988/1989) (3), 336–342. For a summary in English, see *Jerusalem – Selected Documents*, 535–539.
23. Bulletin of the European Communities, 6 – 1980, p. 10, reproduced in *Jerusalem – Selected Documents*, 314–315.
24. *Laws of the State of Israel, Authorized Translation* (henceforth: LSI), vol. 1, 5708 – 1948, p. 3, reproduced in *The Arab-Israel Conflict – Documents*, p. 61.
25. English translation published in *Jerusalem – Selected Documents*, 27–29.
26. LSI, 5708 – 1948, p. 64.
27. English translation in Meron Medzini (ed.), *Israel's Foreign Relations: Selected Documents 1947–1974* (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Jerusalem, 1976), 223–226, reproduced in *Jerusalem –Selected Documents*, 81–84.
28. *Ibid.*
29. LSI, vol. 21, 5727 – 1966/67, p. 75, reproduced in: *Jerusalem – Selected Documents*, p. 167.
30. LSI, *ibid.*, p. 75; *The Arab-Israel Conflict – Documents*, p. 130.
31. Law and Administration (No. 1) Order, of 28 June 1967, Collection of Subsidiary Legislation (*Kovets Ha-Takanot*), 5727 (1966/67), p. 2690. Another important law that was adopted in 1967 and which is relevant to Jerusalem is the Protection of the Holy Places Law, 5727 – 1967, LSI, Vol. 21, 5727 – 1966/67, p. 76, reproduced in: *The Arab-Israel Conflict – Documents*, p. 132.
32. LSI, Vol. 24, 5730 – 1969/70, 144–152, reproduced in *Jerusalem – Selected Documents*, 242–251.
33. See e.g., General Assembly Resolution 2253 (ES-V), of July 4, 1967, GAOR, 5th Emergency Special Session, 1967, Resolutions, Su 1 (A/6978), p. 4, reproduced in *Jerusalem – Selected Documents*, p. 170.
34. Letter of July 10, 1967, GAOR, 5th Emergency Special Sess., 1967, p. 1 (A/6753–S/8052), reproduced in *Jerusalem – Selected Documents*, 171–173.
35. 24 (2) Piske Din (1970), p. 419. For a summary in English, see *Jerusalem – Selected Documents*, 502–506.
36. LSI, Vol. 34, 5740 – 1979/80, p. 209, reproduced in *Jerusalem – Selected Documents*, p. 322.
37. Security Council resolution 478, of August 20, 1980, SCOR, 35th year, 1980, Resolutions, p. 14, reproduced in *Jerusalem – Selected Documents*, p. 351.
38. 47 (5) Piske-Din (1993), 221–288.
39. SCOR, 22nd year, Resolutions and Decisions, 8–9, reproduced in *The Arab-Israel Conflict – Documents*, p. 134. This resolution has been the subject of differing interpretations by the parties, and of a great number of scholarly articles. Among the more recent ones are: Adnan Abu Odeh, Nabil Elaraby, Meir Rosenne, Dennis Ross, Eugene Rostow, Vernon Turner, *UN Security Council Resolution 242: The Building Block of Peacemaking* (The Washington Institute for Near East Policy, 1993); Ruth Lapidoth, "Security Coun-

cil Resolution 242 at Twenty Five," *Israel Law Review*, 26 (1992), 295–318.
40. United Nations Treaty Series, vol. 1138, 39–56, reproduced in *The Arab-Israel Conflict – Documents*, 195–201.
41. *Jerusalem – Selected Documents*, 299–300.
42. United Nations Treaty Series, Vol. 1138, No. 17855, 72–163, reproduced in *The Arab-Israel Conflict – Documents*, 218–242.
43. Text of the letter of invitation reproduced in *The Arab-Israel Conflict – Documents*, 384–386.
44. Letter of October 18, 1991, reproduced in *The Jerusalem Post*, October 31, 1991.
45. UN Doc. A/48/486 – S/26560 (Annex), of October 11, 1993; *International Legal Materials*, 32 (1993), 1525–1544. On the Declaration of Principles, see Joel Singer, "The Declaration of Principles on Interim Self-Government Arrangements," *Justice*, no. 1, February 1994, 4–21; Eyal Benvenisti, "The Israel-Palestinian Declaration of Principles: A Framework for Future Settlement," *European Journal of International Law*, 4 (1993), 542–554; Antonio Cassese, "The Israel-PLO Agreement and Self-Determination," *ibid.*, 5564 – 571; Raja Shihadeh, "Can the Declaration of Principles Bring About a 'Just and Lasting Peace'?," *ibid.*, 555–563.
46. Articles IV and V (3), and Agreed Minutes.
47. Annex I, para 1.
48. Published by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Jerusalem.
49. Reproduced in the *Jerusalem Post*, June 7, 1994.
50. For an analysis of these questions, see Ruth Lapidoth, "Jerusalem and the Peace Process," *Israel Law Review*, 28 (1994), 402–434, 428–430.
51. International Legal Materials (1995), p. 43.
52. Article 9 of the Treaty of Peace.
53. *Ha'aretz*, November 6, 1994, p. A–4; *Ha'aretz*, November 13, 1994, p. A–10.
54. *International Legal Materials*, 33 (1994), p. 153.
55. On the *status quo*, see Shmuel Berkovitz, "The Legal Status of the Holy Places in Israel," Thesis submitted for the degree of Ph.D. to the Hebrew University, March 1978, 35–45; L.G.A. Cust, *The Status Quo in the Holy Places* (1929, reproduced in 1980 by Ariel Publishing House, Jerusalem).

[Ruth Lapidoth (2nd ed.)]

JERUSALEM, WILHELM (1854–1923), Austrian philosopher and psychologist. Jerusalem, who was born in Drenic, Bohemia, was a schoolteacher for several years after completing his university studies in philology. During this time he became interested in the psychology of speech and the education of blind deaf-mutes, and in 1890 wrote a book on the American blind deaf-mute, Laura Bridgman. In 1891 he began lecturing in philosophy at the University of Vienna, and in 1903 in pedagogics, but it was not until 1920 that he received a professorship in these two subjects. Between 1894 and 1902 he also taught at the Juedisch-Theologische Lehranstalt in Vienna. Jerusalem's general philosophical view was empirical, employing the genetic method, and biological and social ways of interpreting the mind. He was influenced by H. Spencer, E. Mach, and W. James, whose *Pragmatism* he translated into German. Jerusalem opposed neo-Kantianism and E. *Husserl's pure logic as merely intellectual and unrelated to life. He saw no need for a conflict between religion and philosophy, as long as the fundamental principles of science are utilized to erect structures of faith, interpreting the spiritual nature of man and developing a world view that can "inspire human life with incentive, purpose and direction." He wrote on the sociological in *Der Krieg im Lichte de Gesellschaftslehre* (1915) and *Moralische Richtlinien nach dem Kriege* (1918). Among Jerusalem's major works were *Einleitung in die Philosophie* (1899; *Introduction to Philosophy,* 1910), *Gedanken und Denker* (1905), *Der Krittische Idealismus und die reine Logik* (1905), and *Einfuehrung in die Soziologie* (1926).

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[Richard H. Popkin]

JERUSALEM INSTITUTE FOR ISRAEL STUDIES (JIIS), an Israeli policy research center, established in 1978 as an independent, non-profit organization. Its mission is to provide policy makers and the public with accurate, relevant data, in-depth background materials, and up-to-date analyses of critical trends and strategic options on subjects of national importance. JIIS research and analysis is designed to consider key issues facing Israel, to place them on the agenda of public debate, and to promote long-term planning and public involvement in the civic process. Materials are prepared by leading scholars as well as experienced practitioners in relevant fields. JIIS has particular expertise in issues related to the capital city of Jerusalem, the management of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, and the status of the environment in Israel. Its work in these areas is organized in four study areas: The Center for Jerusalem – The Teddy Kollek Center, The Center for Joint Israeli-Palestinian Studies, The Environmental Policy Center, and the Center for Industrial Technological Policy. JIIS background papers and perspectives on the future of Jerusalem were central to the 1999–2000 peace negotiations led by Prime Minister Ehud Barak.

The institute was founded by Teddy Kollek, mayor of Jerusalem from 1965 to 1993, and chaired successively by scholars David Amiran (1978–1985), Amiram Gonen (1985–1989), and Abraham Friedman (1989–2002). Since 2002, it has been chaired by Yaacov Bar Siman Tov. From 1981, JIIS worked in close partnership with the Charles H. Revson Foundation in New York, which supports its initiatives and major projects. JIIS published approximately 20 books and reports a year; presented about 60 annual conferences and seminars; held press conferences to promote public awareness of key issues; and posted its data and selected policy research on its web site. Publications include *The Statistical Yearbook of Jerusalem* (edited by Maya Choshen), *Jerusalem and the Peace Process* (a series edited by Ruth Lapidoth and colleagues), *The Jerusalem Lexicon* (edited by Amnon Ramon), *Jerusalem's Architecture* (a series by David Kroyanker), and *The War Over the Holy Places* (by Shmuel Berkowitz).

[Ora Ahimeir (2nd ed.)]

JERUSALEM POST (until 1950 *The Palestine Post*), independent English-language daily newspaper published in Jerusalem. It was founded in December 1932 (after having purchased and incorporated the *Palestine Bulletin*, which had appeared since 1925) by Gershon Agronsky (*Agron), with the assistance of Ted R. *Lurie, who became editor when Agron was elected major of Jerusalem in 1955. The paper covers local news of both Jewish and Arab interest as well as world affairs, with special attention to developments in the Middle East. During the British Mandate, the *Post's* defense of Jewish interests and criticism of the Mandatory government, such as over the White Paper and its consequences, led to frequent disagreements with the British administration, especially the political censorship resulting from this policy. In February 1948, its offices and press were blown up by a bomb planted in a British-Arab conspiracy, as a reprisal against Jewish terrorism. Lurie died in 1974. In 1975 Ari Rath and Erwin Frenkel were appointed joint editors. The *Post* gave general support to the Labor movement, and, after 1948, to the government of Israel, while criticizing them on points of detail, particularly on economic and social policy. Following the election of the *Likud in 1977, the paper criticized or supported government policy on an issue-by-issue basis. The paper was owned by the *Histadrut. Unable to cover the paper's expenses, it sold the paper to the Canadian newspaper chain Hollinger. With the appointment by Hollinger of Yehudah Levy as the local publisher, the paper took a right-wing turn. Twenty-eight journalists initiated a labor dispute and were subsequently fired; Rath retired, and Frenkel resigned. The period since 1990 was characterized by organizational and financial instability, including seven editors-in-chief and a rapid turnover of editorial and printing personnel. On the issue of defense, the paper moved editorially in the post-1990 years between a centrist position under David Macovsky (1999–2000) and David Horowitz (2004–) as editors, and a right-wing position under David *Bar-Illan (1990–96) and Brett Stephens (2002–4). A neo-liberal capitalist outlook on economic and financial affairs replaced the socialist outlook of earlier years. Organizational and financial instability intensified after Tom Rose was appointed publisher in 1998. Despite its financial success, the newspaper's commercial printing press was closed down. By 2005 the *Jerusalem Post*'s circulation had dropped to 12,000 daily and 28,000 on weekends, a decline from a high of 33,000 and 50,000, respectively, in 1967. Its readers comprised mostly immigrants from Anglo-Saxon countries, foreign diplomats, foreign correspondents, and to a limited extent the Palestinian population. The *Post*'s monopoly as Israel's English-language daily was challenged with the appearance in 1997 of an English daily edition of *Haaretz*. In 2004 the paper was bought by an Israeli company, the Mirka'ei Tikshoret group, and the Canadian media group CanWest Global Communications.

In 1959 the paper founded an international weekly edition, based entirely upon copy from the local daily edition; though highly remunerative, its circulation fell from 70,000 in its early years to 28,000. Circulation of a weekly French-language version of the paper begun in 1991 – and sold in France, Canada, and Israel – remained low at 4,000 copies weekly. In 1995 the newspaper launched a successful Internet edition, www.jpost.com, drawing upon the daily newspaper's reporting. In 2004, the site had 14 million page views per month, one million general users monthly, and 385,000 registered users, according to the newspaper, and its yearly profits from advertising were over $1 million.

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[Yoel Cohen (2nd ed.)]

JERUSALEM PUBLISHING HOUSE, THE, Israeli publisher. Founded in 1966 by Shlomo S. (Yosh) Gafni, the company has as its aim the publication of books in foreign languages on Jewish and general subjects. Over the years the publishing house has specialized in producing encyclopedias. The first editor in chief of The Jerusalem Publishing House was Geoffrey *Wigoder. Its bestselling title, *The Illustrated Dictionary and Concordance of the Bible,* sold over one million copies. Other works dealing with the Bible include *Almanac of the Bible*, *The Glory of the Old Testament, The Glory of the New Testament, Archaeological Encyclopedia of the Holy Land,* and *The History of Israel and the Holy Land.*

The prize-winning *Encyclopedia of Judaism,* published in a second edition in 2002 as *The New Encyclopedia of Judaism* and in a youth edition as *The Student's Encyclopedia of Judaism* (2004), is a standard reference work in several languages. The *Political Encyclopedia of the Middle East* is an objective survey of the conflicts in the region. Series of richly illustrated encyclopedias covering the most important cultural events in Western civilization are *Peoples of the World* with an edition for young adults (10 vols.), *Encyclopedia of the Classical World, Renaissance, Medieval Civilization, Encyclopedia of International Boundaries*, etc.

From the late 1990s The Jerusalem Publishing House has co-published with *Yad Vashem encyclopedias on the subject of the Holocaust for general and educational purposes. These include such seminal works as *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life Before and During the Holocaust* (3 vols.) and the ongoing *Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations* (6 vols. through 2005).

The biggest project of The Jerusalem Publishing House is the publication of the 21-volume second edition of the *Encyclopaedia Judaica* in cooperation with the *Keter Publishing House in Jerusalem and Thomson Gale (Macmillan) in the U.S. Fred Skolnik, editor-in-chief of The Jerusalem Publishing House, is also editor-in-chief of the *Encyclopaedia*, while Michael *Berenbaum of the U.S. is executive editor.

Founder Gafni remains president of the company and Rachel E. Gilon is the general manager.

JERUSALEM REPORT, international Jewish magazine published in Jerusalem. Founded in 1990 and appearing first as a weekly and later fortnightly, the news magazine covers political, social, economic, and cultural developments and trends in Israel, the Jewish world, and the Middle East. Its founding editor, Hirsh Goodman, formerly the *Jerusalem Post*'s military correspondent, conceived of the magazine as providing a mutual mirror for Diaspora Jews and Israelis to learn about one another. In 1998 David Horovitz became editor and in 2004 Sharon Ashley. The focus of its coverage is Israel. It drew together a circle of skilled journalists including Leslie Susser, Ehud Ya'ari, Stuart Schoffman, Netty Gross, Isabel Kirshner, and Zeev Chafetz. Its coverage of the Arab world is eclectic, and not limited to Arab developments relating to Israel. It maintains correspondents in Arab capitals as well as in different centers of the Jewish world. While its Jewish world coverage improved over the years, it mainly describes developments within individual Jewish communities rather than dealing with trends in the Jewish world at large. It has a large following in the Jewish world, with many Jewish communal and other decision makers among its readers, but has made less impact inside Israel. Its circulation is 50,000, four-fifths of which is in North America. The magazine sells 3,000 copies inside Israel and the remainder mostly in Britain and other English-speaking countries. Funded initially by five Jewish philanthropists, the magazine was sold in 1998 to the Hollinger newspaper chain, which included the *Jerusalem Post*. It was subsequently acquired by CanWest Global Communications and Mirka'ei Tikshoret in 2004. Apart from a brief period, it has been unprofitable. In 2004 it won the American Joint Distribution Committee's Boris Smolar award for coverage of the Jewish World. *The Report*'s staff published a biography of Yitzhak Rabin, *Shalom, Friend* (1996).

[Yoel Cohen (2nd ed.)]

JERUSALIMSKI, MOSES NAḤUM BEN BENJAMIN (1855–1914), rabbi and author. Jerusalimski served as rabbi of Kamenka in 1880, of Ostroleka in 1901, and in 1902 was appointed rabbi of Kielce. While still a young man, he corresponded with S.Z.H. *Halberstam of Sandec and J.S. *Nathanson of Lemberg. Although he never openly joined the Zionist movement, he was among the first Polish rabbis to support the Ḥovevei Zion. He also occupied himself with ramified communal activitiy and participated in the St. Petersburg conference of rabbis of 1909. He was the author of *Minchat Moshe* (1882) responsa, published together with *Hukkei ha-Shem* on the writing of names in bills of divorce; *Be'er Moshe* (1901), responsa and eulogies; *Leshad ha-Shemen* (1881), on Maimonides' *Mishneh Torah; Birkat Moshe* (1886), responsa, novellae, and the laws of *sheḥitah. Extracts from his diary during World War I were published in the *Sefer Kilz* [*Kielce*] (1957, pp. 273–93).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: B. Eisenstadt, *Dor, Rabbanav ve-Soferav*, 1 (1895), 32; S.N. Gottlieb, *Ohelei Shem* (1912), 180f.

[Itzhak Alfassi]

JESCHURUN, name of several Hebrew and German or German-Hebrew periodicals. The best known were:

(1) An Orthodox monthly published in German by Samson Raphael *Hirsch at Frankfurt (16 vols., 1854–70), and later issued as a weekly by his son Isaac Hirsch at Hanover (1883–88). Hirsch's famous polemics against Z. *Frankel and H. *Graetz first appeared in this *Jeschurun*.

(2) A less polemical and more scholarly periodical of moderate Conservative tendencies published by Joseph I. Kobak. This appeared with interruptions between 1856 and 1878 (nine volumes) at Lemberg, Breslau, Fuerth, and Bamberg. The first volume was in Hebrew only, the remainder in Hebrew and German. The contributors included L. *Dukes, S.D. *Luzzatto, S.J. *Rapoport, J. *Reifmann, M. *Steinschneider, and D. *Cassel.

(3) An Orthodox German-language monthly published by J. *Wohlgemuth during the years 1914–30 (17 volumes). It represented the ideology of the Berlin Rabbinical Seminary and published scholarly contributions written mainly by its teachers and pupils. Volumes 7–13 also contained a Hebrew section.

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JESHUA (Heb. יְהוֹשֻׁעַ, יֵשׁוּעַ), high priest, son of Jehozadak (Jozadak; Ezra 3:2; 10:18) and a grandson of Seraiah the last high priest in the First Temple (I Chron. 5:40). Together with *Zerubbabel, Jeshua organized the return to Zion (Ezra 2:2; Neh. 7:7) and was active in the rebuilding of the Temple and the state. He headed the priestly family of Jedaiah which returned to Judah, and it was thereafter known by his name (Ezra 2:36; 10:18). He and Zerubbabel established the order of sacrifices and planned the reconstruction of the Temple. They rejected the offer of the Samaritans to help in the labor, and when, after an interval of years, at the beginning of the reign of Darius I, *Haggai and *Zechariah aroused the people to renewed labor, they again headed the project. Jeshua's importance in this "condominium," or "diarchy," is a change from the pre-exilic situation in which the priesthood was subservient to royalty, and is approved by the contemporary prophets. Haggai almost always joins Jeshua's name to that of Zerubbabel (1:1, 14; 2:2, 4), and he is the central figure in Zechariah's earlier visions (Zech. 3–6). These visions, most of which, despite various interpretations, are obscure, in the main defy interpretation; Jeshua and his men are considered "men who are a token" (Zech. 3:8). In one vision, Satan stands at Jeshua's right, and the angel of the Lord rebukes him: "May the Lord who chose Jerusalem rebuke you! Why, this is a brand plucked out of the fire." (Jeshua's grandfather Seraiah was killed by Nebuchadnezzar and his children barely escaped; Zech. 3:2) The angel then commands those in attendance to dress Jeshua in robes and to place a pure miter on his head, symbolic of cleansing from sin – evidently the "iniquity of the land" (Zech. 3:9) – in line with the concept of the righteous being prosecuted for the sins of the generation. (The Talmud (Sanh. 93a) says this refers to the sin of intermarriage – Ezra 10:18 – but this was in a later generation.) Jeshua and Zerubbabel are called "the two sons of pure oil (*yiẓhar*) who wait upon the Lord of all the land" (Zech. 4:14). In Zechariah the prophet takes silver and gold brought by the exiles and has it made into crowns, one of them for Jeshua (Zech. 6:9ff.). These crowns were later kept in the Temple (Mid. 3:5). The form Jeshua, as opposed to the earlier Joshua, underlies the Greek that produced English "Jesus."

ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY: T. Eshkenazi, in: ABD, 3:769–71; T. Eshkanazi, in: R. Albertz and B. Becking (eds.), *Yahwism after the Exile* (2002), 1–17. (See also Bibliography in *Haggai.)

[Menahem Stern]

JESHUA BEN JOSEPH HA-LEVI (15th century), talmudist. Following the persecutions of Jews in *Algiers in 1467, he fled from his native town Tlemcen and went to Castile, settling in Toledo, where he was supported by Don Vidal b. Lavi. At the latter's insistent request he wrote his talmudic methodology, *Halikhot Olam* (printed c. 1490). The work is divided into five sections dealing with the composition of the Mishnah and the *Gemara*, the methodology of the *Gemara*, and the manner in which the *halakhah* is determined. As the basis of his work, Jeshua made use of *Sefer Keritot* by *Samson b. Isaac of Chinon. The work appeared in several editions and served as the basis for Joseph *Caro's *Kelalei ha-Gemara*, which contains notes and supplements to the *Halikhot Olam* and for Solomon *Algazi's *Yavin Shemu'ah*. Both commentaries were published together with *Halikhot Olam* (Venice edition, 1639). David b. Raphael *Meldola's pamphlets *Limmud ha-Talmidim* and *Hanhagat ha-Talmidim* (appended to the Amsterdam edition, 1754) are also based on Jeshua's work. A Latin translation by D.C. l'Empereur was appended to the Leiden 1634 and Hanau 1714 editions; the latter contained notes by H.J. *Bashuysen. Jeshua also compiled *shitot* on the Talmud. It has been shown that he was the author of a *shitah* on *Bava Kamma* which is frequently mentioned in the *Shitah Mekubbeẓet*, although Bezalel *Ashkenazi was not aware of the identity of its author.

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[Yehoshua Horowitz]

JESHUA BEN JUDAH (sometimes erroneously called **Joshua ben Judah**; his Arabic name was **Abū al-Faraj Furqān ibn Asad**; second half of the 11th century), Karaite scholar who lived in Jerusalem. A worthy pupil of his distinguished teacher Yūsuf al-*Baṣīr (Joseph ha-Ro'eh), he was regarded by the Karaites as one of the outstanding savants of his century, although in later times his philosophical and exegetical works tended to be neglected. Jeshua's greatest contribution, however, was his decisive opposition to the so-called catenary theory (in Hebrew *rikkuv*, literally "compounding") of incest, which had the support of the majority of earlier Karaite jurists, from *Anan downward, which severely limited the circle of women whom a Karaite man could lawfully marry. Jeshua was not the first to oppose this theory – his teacher Yūsuf al-Baṣīr is said also to have been an opponent of it, as was an earlier authority, *David b. Boaz (second half of the tenth century). However, Jeshua's tract on the law of incest dealt with it incisively and in great detail, and since it was subsequently translated from its original Arabic into Hebrew (*Sefer ha-Yashar* (1908); extracts in Leon Nemoy's *Karaite Anthology* (1952), 127–32; cf. Steinschneider, Arab Lit, 91–94), it remained accessible to later Karaite scholars who knew no Arabic and thus retained its influence upon them. In order to loosen the ever tightening noose fastened by the catenary theory upon the physical survival of the Karaite group, Jeshua established the following principles:

(1) The biblical dictum that man and wife become "one flesh" (Gen. 2:24) does not mean that all close relatives of the wife automatically become equally close to the husband, but merely refers to the couple's mutual affection and intimacy;

(2) The biblical identification of the wife's "nakedness" with the husband's "nakedness" similarly has nothing to do with incest, but merely refers to the husband's duty to guard his wife's chastity, the violation of which is as much an injury to him as to her;

(3) The biblical use of terms like "sister" or "aunt" with reference to distant or adopted relatives is merely figurative;

(4) The forbidden degrees of relationship are those listed in Scripture, their blood relatives, and those derived from them by analogy used only once – piling analogy upon analogy (as was done by the adherents of the catenary theory) is both unlawful and absurd, since it has no definable limit. Jeshua's definition of incest became the rule in later codes of Karaite law, down to and including Elijah *Bashyazi's authoritative code.

Although Karaite limitations on permissible marriages remain more stringent than the Rabbanite ones, Jeshua is responsible for one of the very few radical reforms ever introduced in Karaite jurisprudence. Jeshua's other works comprise an Arabic translation of the Pentateuch with a longer and shorter philosophical commentary, and comments on Genesis and on the Decalogue, extant mostly in fragments. A short Hebrew tract on the law of incest (*Iggeret ha-Teshuvah* or *Teshuvat ha-Ikkar*, Eupatoria, 1834) was printed under his name, but his authorship of it seems uncertain. Two philosophical tracts are also ascribed to him. Like his teacher, Jeshua follows in the footsteps of the Muʿtazilite (see *Kalam) school of Arab philosophers. He agrees with al-Baṣīr that certain knowledge of the creation of the world and the existence of God cannot be derived from the Bible alone but must come originally from rational speculation. Like al-Baṣīr he regards as the cornerstone of his religious philosophy the proof that the world was created in time. He also maintains that the Creator is not a "cause," i.e., an impersonal entity which by necessity produces other things from itself, but an "agent," i.e., one acting with will and choice. Jeshua offers several proofs for God's incorporeality. He likewise agrees with al-Baṣīr in regarding the nature of good and evil as absolute, not relative, and as binding upon God as well. God can do evil as well as good, but prefers to do good. Besides, all evildoing is the result of some need, but God has no needs, being self-sufficient; hence He does not do evil. God's purpose in creating the world cannot have been selfish, since God is without need, and must therefore have been the well-being of His creatures. Among Jeshua's pupils were the Byzantine scholars *Tobiah b. Moses and *Jacob b. Simeon, both translators of important Karaite works from the Arabic into Hebrew, and Ibn *al-Tarās, a Karaite who engaged in vigorous missionary activity among Rabbanites in his native Spain.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: M. Schreiner, *Studien ueber Jeschua ben Jehuda* (1900); S. Poznański, *The Karaite Literary Opponents of Saadiah Gaon* (1908), 48–53, 103; Husik, Philosophy, 55–58; Guttmann, Philosophies, 78–81.

[Leon Nemoy]

JESHURUN (Heb. יְשֻׁרוּן), poetic name of Israel, which occurs four times in the Bible (Deut. 32:15; 33:5, 26; Isa. 44:2; cf. Ecclus. 37:29, Heb. version). Its form and meaning are not clear. The Septuagint takes it as an adjective meaning "beloved," as does the Vulgate, in Deuteronomy 32:15. Elsewhere, however, the Vulgate translated it as *rectissimus*, "the most righteous." Aquila, Theodotion, and Symmachus render it as *euthús*, "straight, direct," suggesting the root ישר, "straight, righteous."

Many early and modern scholars follow this etymology. According to W. Bacher, the name Jeshurun is formed on the pattern of Zebulun and is intended to express the uprightness of Israel, in contrast to the appellation Jacob, which hints at his deceitfulness. The analogy to Zebulun has been abandoned, because the appearance of Jeshurun in Deuteronomy 32–33 means that it cannot be considered as a late artificial form of Israel.

The theophorus element *išar* is common in Akkadian names, and occurs also with *s* in Amorite names (*isar*). Jeshurun can then be compared to names such as *I-šar-be-li, I-šar-li-im, I-ša-rum*, and *Ya-sa-rum* (cf. Gadd, and Huffmon in bibl.).

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JESI, SAMUEL (1788–1853), Italian copper engraver and lithographer. Born at Corregio, he was trained to engrave copies of paintings, much in demand as a means of reproduction. Jesi specialized in translating the works of the Renaissance painters into the black and white medium of the copper engraving and achieved high recognition for his prints. In 1821 Jesi received the prize of the Milan Academy for his engraving *Abraham Dismissing Hagar* after Guercino. In 1842 Jesi became a correspondent of the French Academy. The Academies of Florence, Genoa, and St. Petersburg made him an honorary member. He died in Florence.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: A. Balletti, *Gli Ebrei e gli Estensi* (1930), 249–50.

[Elisheva Cohen]

JESSE (Heb. יִשַׁי, יִשָׁי), father of King *David. According to the Book of Ruth (4:17–22), Jesse was the grandson of Boaz and Ruth and was listed among the descendants of Pereẓ, son of Judah, who lived in Beth-Lehem. When *Samuel anointed David, he invited Jesse and his sons to a feast in their honor, which was a natural thing to do, in order to avoid arousing Saul's suspicions (I Sam. 16:1–5). It is possible that it is his social position that is indicated in the Hebrew text of I Samuel 17:12, which says of Jesse that he "was an old man… who entered among men (of standing)" (Heb. *ba-anashim*). The word "men" in this context has been compared with its semantic parallel, Akkadian *awēlu*, which in Mesopotamian society refers to men of the upper stratum, namely the elders and chiefs of the community. The stories concerning David mention Jesse's flocks, but his standing and his descent from Boaz suggest that he was also a landowner. It must be noted that both the Greek Septuagint and the Syriac Peshitta (see *Bible: Translations) presuppose a Hebrew: *ba ba-shanim*, "entered into years," i.e. "old."

[Samuel Ephraim Loewenstamm / S. David Sperling (2nd ed.)]

In the Aggadah

Jesse merited to be the ancestor of the royal house by virtue of his own good deeds. He expounded Torah to a multitude of 60 myriads (Yev. 76b). His father-in-law Ithra, an Ishmaelite, converted to Judaism and gave Jesse his daughter in marriage, when he heard him recite Isaiah 45:22 "Look unto Me and be saved, all the ends of the earth" (TJ, Yev. 8:3, 9b). After the birth of his sixth son, Jesse separated from his wife for three years but on one occasion attempted to seduce one of his female slaves. His wife, however, disguised herself as the slave girl (on the latter's advice), and it was thus that David was conceived (Yal. Mak. to Ps. 118:28). It was Jesse who encouraged David to slay Goliath and thus protect King Saul, seeing in it a continuation of the protection which Judah (David's ancestor) had afforded to Benjamin (Saul's ancestor) in Egypt (Tanḥ. B., Gen. 104). David's cruelty toward the Moabites (II Sam. 8:2) is justified by the fact that it was they who had treacherously killed Jesse after David had entrusted him to their care while he fled from Saul (cf. I Sam. 22:3; Num. R. 14:1). It is also stated, however, that Jesse was one of the four persons who were untainted by sin and died merely because death was decreed upon all mankind, as a result of the serpent's seduction of Eve. It is for this reason that Abigail, who was really Jesse's daughter, is referred to by Scripture (II Sam. 17:25) as "the daughter of Nahash" ("serpent"; BB 17a). Jesse is one of the eight "messianic princes among men" referred to in Micah 5:4 (Suk. 52b).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: IN THE AGGADAH: Ginzberg, Legends, 4 (1954), 81, 86; 6 (1959), 245, 249–53; I. Ḥasida, *Ishei ha-Tanakh* (1964), 239–40. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** S. Bar-Efrat, *1 Samuel* (1996), 225.

JESSE BEN HEZEKIAH (13th century), "exilarch of all the Diasporas of Israel" in *Damascus. Jesse is known for his participation in the controversy over the writings of *Maimonides, which broke out during the 1290s as a result of the activities of Solomon Petit, the leader of the kabbalists in *Acre. He signed the ban against the opponents of Maimonides in 1286. He was possibly a descendant of Josiah (Hassan), the brother of the exilarch *David ben Zakkai, a contemporary of Saadiah Gaon.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: S. Poznański, *Babylonische Geonim im nachgaonaeischen Zeitalter* (1914), 123f.; Mann, in: *Sefer Zikkaron… S.A. Poznański* (1927), 29; Ashtor, Toledot, 1 (1944), 132, 260f.

[Eliyahu Ashtor]

JESSEL, SIR GEORGE (1824–1883), English jurist, one of the country's great lawmaking judges. Born in London, the son of a diamond merchant, Jessel was called to the bar in 1847, and became a Queen's Counsel in 1865. He entered Parliament as Liberal member for Dover in 1868 and was appointed solicitor general in 1871, being the first Jew to hold ministerial office in England. In 1873 he became master of the rolls. Jessel's tenure of the office was marked by a succession of judgments which became notable precedents, and his contribution to the evolution of law and the development of the principles of equity was considerable. His judgments were short and clear and were hardly ever reversed on appeal. Jessel was the organizer of the Court of Chancery in its modern form. A member of the council of Jews' College from its inception in 1855 until 1863, Jessel helped to draft its original constitution. He was also vice president of the Anglo-Jewish Association. After Jessel's death, a baronetcy was conferred on his son SIR CHARLES JAMES JESSEL (1860–1928) in recognition of his father's services. The second son, HERBERT MERTON JESSEL (1866–1950), was active in Conservative politics and was raised to the peerage as Lord Jessel in 1924. FREDERICK HENRY JESSEL (1859–1934), nephew of Sir George Jessel, compiled the standard English bibliography on playing cards (1905) and left his comprehensive collection on the subject to the Bodleian Library, Oxford. RICHARD FREDERICK JESSEL (1902–1988), a great-nephew of Sir George Jessel, was among the British naval heroes of World War II. Frederick's son Toby Jessel (1934–) was a Conservative member of Parliament from 1970 to 1997. The connection of the family with the Jewish community became very slight.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: I. Finestein, in: JHSET, 18 (1958), 243–83; C. Roth, Mag Bibl, 132; Lehmann, Nova Bibl, 101, 109; P.H. Emden, *Jews of Britain* (1943), index. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** ODNB online; Jolles, *Distinguished British Jews*, index.

[Israel Finestein]

JESSEL, GEORGE ALBERT (1898–1981), U.S. entertainer. Born in New York, Jessel began his career as a boy singer in vaudeville, and at the age of ten was teamed with Eddie *Cantor. He went to London as a comedian in 1914, appeared at the Victoria Palace theater and, returning to New York in 1919, acted in revue. He developed a one-man act, and then turned to more serious work. He had his greatest success in 1925 on Broadway in *The Jazz Singer*, a play by Samson Raphaelson based on a short story "The Day of Atonement." Jessel played the role more than a thousand times. He participated in the writing of several plays in which he appeared, such as *The War Song* (1928) and *High Kickers* (1942). Some of his other Broadway performances included *Helen of Troy, New York* (1923); *Joseph* (1930); *Sweet and Low* (1930); and *Show Time* (1942).

Jessel was New York's official toastmaster from 1925 and appeared at banquets, army entertainments, and was particularly active at fundraising events for Jewish charities and on behalf of Israel. Because of his frequent role as master of ceremonies at so many entertainment and political gatherings, he was nicknamed "Toastmaster General of the United States."

Having starred in several silent films for Warner Brothers during the 1920s, Jessel was offered the lead in their history-making first talkie, *The Jazz Singer*. Jessel and the studio could not agree on Jessel's salary, and the role ultimately went to Al Jolson. Jessel often lamented that it was the biggest professional mistake he ever made. In addition to producing more than a dozen movies (*When My Baby Smiles at Me*, *Dancing in the Dark*, *Bloodhounds of Broadway*, *Tonight We Sing*) between 1945 and 1953, Jessel appeared in such films as *Private Izzy Murphy* (1926), *Ginsberg the Great* (1927), *Sailor Izzy Murphy* (1927), *George Washington Cohen* (1928), *Lucky Boy* (1929), *Love, Live, and Laugh* (1929), *It Might Be Worse* (1931), and had small roles in *The Busy Body* (1967), *Valley of the Dolls* (1967), *and Reds* (1981).

In 1970 Jessel received the Jean Hersholt Humanitarian Award at the Academy Awards.

No stranger to television audiences, Jessel appeared on many variety shows, as well as hosting a few of his own, namely *Four-Star Revue* (1952–53), *The Comeback Show* (1953), and *The George Jessel Show* (1953–54).

Jessel wrote several books, including an autobiography *So Help Me* (1944); a sequel, *This Way, Miss*; (1955); an instructive *You Too Can Make a Speech* (1956); a toastmaster's handbook, *Jessel, Anyone*? (1960); a book of poems, *Elegy in Manhattan* (1961); a whimsical *Halo over Hollywood* (1963); another autobiographical work, *The World I Lived In* (with J. Austin, 1975); and *The Toastmaster General's Favorite Jokes: Openings and Closings for Speechmakers* (1978).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: B. Treadwell, *Fifty Years of American Comedy* (1951), 109–12; L. Wilde, *Great Comedians Talk About Comedy* (1968), 281–303.

[Barth Healey / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

JESSELSON, LUDWIG (1910–1993), U.S. businessman and philanthropist. Jesselson was born in Neckarbischoffsheim, Germany, where he began a career in business at a young age. In 1934 he left Germany, and after three years in Holland he arrived in New York (1937), joining the firm of Philipp Brothers, which specializes in oil, metal, and chemicals, eventually becoming president and chairman. Jesselson collected Judaica and Hebraica and was highly active in Jewish life, concentrating on Orthodox and educational institutions. He was a trustee of Yeshiva University, was a founder of the Albert Einstein College of Medicine, and was a director of the American Committee for the Weizmann Institute. In 1973 he and his wife, Erica, founded the Yeshiva University Museum. In Israel he was a member of the boards of Bar-Ilan University, the Haifa Technion, and the Shaare Zedek Hospital. He was also involved with the Jewish National Library of The Hebrew University and the Israel Museum and Bezalel School of Art.

To encourage originality and excellence in Judaica design, Jesselson and his wife established the Jesselson Prize for Contemporary Judaica Design, awarded by the Israel Museum to an outstanding Judaica artist. They also purchased the Steiglitz Collection. The largest private collection of high-quality Judaica, it constitutes almost the entire Judaica section of the Israel Museum in Jerusalem.

The Ludwig and Erica Jesselson Institute for Advanced Torah Studies at Bar-Ilan University is dedicated to advancing a synthesis of Torah and academic study. Made up of the Institute for Men and the Midrasha for Women, it provides students the opportunity to engage in traditional talmudic and Judaic studies, combined with full university degree programs.

[Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

°**JESSEY (Jacie), HENRY** (1601–1663), English philo-Semite and Baptist divine. Jessey was inclined to literal observance of biblical precepts (including the seventh-day Sabbath, i.e., on Saturday). He corresponded with *Manasseh Ben Israel in Amsterdam about the Lost Ten Tribes and dedicated to him his *Glory of Jehudah and Israel* (London, 1653). Jessey was among those who participated in 1655 in the Whitehall Conference (see *England), and later published an account of its proceedings. He subsequently collected £300 from English Christians to send to R. Nathan *Spira in Amsterdam for distressed Jews in Jerusalem, whose suffering he described in the anonymous *An Information, Concerning the Present State of the Jewish Nation in Europe and Judea* (London, 1658).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: C. Roth, *Life of Menasseh Ben Israel* (1934), index; N. Sokolow, *History of Zionism*, 2 (1919), 212–5; Roth, Mag Bibl, index; JHSEM, 2 (1935), 99–104. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** ODNB online; E.G. van der Wall, "A Philo-Semitic Millenarian on the Reconciliation of Jews and Christians," in: D.S. Katz and J.I. Israel (eds.), *Sceptics, Millenarians, and Jews* (1990).

[Cecil Roth]

JESSNER, LEOPOLD (1878–1945), German theatrical director and manager. Starting as an actor, Jessner was director at the Thalia Theater in Hamburg (1904–15). He later directed the Neues Schauspielhaus in his birthplace Koenigsberg (1915–19). From 1919 to 1930 he was director and manager (*Intendant*) of the Staatstheater Berlin. In this period he was the most influential theatrical director in the German-speaking world. His theatrical style, often called "expressionist," came to the fore in the plays of classical authors such as Schiller (*Wilhelm Tell, Wallenstein*) and Shakespeare (*Richard III*, *Othello*, *Hamlet*), and also modern writers such as Wedekind (*Marquis von Keith*). His aim was to develop the central ideas of each play with a point of view focused on actual political and social developments. His leading actor was Fritz *Kortner. As a Social Democrat and a professing Jew (he was an executive member of the *Central-Verein), he was a target of political and antisemitic attacks from the beginning of his work in Berlin. As a result he was forced to resign as early as 1930. Before settling in Los Angeles, he served as a guest director of Habimah in Ereẓ Israel (1936–37).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: L. Jessner, *Schriften* (1979); M. Heilmann, *Leopold Jessner –Intendant der Republik* (2005).

[Jens Malte Fischer (2nd ed.)]

JESUITS (or **Society of Jesus**), Roman Catholic religious order established in 1534. Its founder, the Spaniard Ignatius of Loyola, in his youth had been on pilgrimage to Jerusalem and was mainly responsible for the establishment of the House of *Catechumens, a home for converted Jews, in Rome in 1543. However, the object of the new order was not propaganda among the Jews but counter-propaganda in the Christian world to confront the growing danger from Protestantism. A problem with which the order had to deal from its earliest days was whether persons of Jewish origin should be admitted – in particular *Conversos or *New Christians in Spain, where the order was soon strongly entrenched. In the face of considerable opposition from his colleagues, Loyola himself insisted on disregarding the racial principle. Giovanni Battista *Eliano (Solomon Romano), the converted grandson of Elijah *Levita, became a member of the order as early as 1552. Loyola's secretary Juan Alfonso de Polanco and his principal coadjutor, Diego (Jaime) Lainez notoriously belonged to New Christian stock; the latter was elected in 1558 as Loyola's successor, serving as general of the order from 1558 to 1565. The more narrow view nevertheless gathered weight. In 1573, Polanco was not elected as general mainly because of his New Christian origin. In 1593, all descendants of Jews and Moors were debarred from membership of the order, and in 1608 this provision was confirmed in less explicit terms by the sixth general congregation. In its zeal for the propagation of the Catholic faith the Jesuits not infrequently spearheaded the onslaught on the Jews and Judaism, as was the case especially in *Poland in the 18th century. On the other hand, the attempt to curb the excesses of the Portuguese Inquisition in the second half of the 17th century was led by the Jesuit scholar Antonio Vieira, who was strenuously supported by his order. Jesuits, such as Augustine, Cardinal *Bea, have played an important role in the evolution of the post-World War II Catholic attitude to the Jews.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Baron, Social^2, 14 (1970), 9–17, 306–9, 306 n. 12, 308 n. 16.

JESURUN (**Jessurun**, **Yeshurun**), descendants of a Marrano family who fled the Spanish Inquisition and settled mainly in Amsterdam and Hamburg. The Hamburg branch is best known for Isaac b. Abraham Ḥayyim *Jesurun (d. 1655), rabbi of Hamburg's Portuguese community. He was succeeded by ISAAC JESURUN, formerly of Venice, who was installed as *ḥakham* in the fall of 1656. During the same period JOSEPH JESURUN (d. 1660) headed Hamburg's Talmud Torah congregation. Joseph was the brother of ISAAC JESURUN of Ragusa (see *Dubrovnik), who was sentenced in the *blood libel of 1622 and freed when several of the judges who had condemned him died suddenly. SARAH (b. c. 1602), daughter of Amsterdam's renowned Reuel *Jesurun, married Moses Gideon Abudiente of Lisbon and lived in Hamburg. The name DAVID JESURUN appears on a list of Judaizers residing in Hamburg, which a spy for the Lisbon Inquisition drew up in 1644.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Roth, Marranos, 313; idem, in: ZGJD, 2 (1930), 228–36; H. Kellenbenz, *Sephardim an der unteren Elbe* (1958), index s.v. *Jessurun.*

[Aaron Lichtenstein]

JESURUN (**Jessurun**), **ISAAC BEN ABRAHAM ḤAYYIM** (d. 1655), *ḥakham* of the Portuguese community of Hamburg, Germany. His *Panim Ḥadashot* (Venice, 1651) deals with halakhic rulings following Joseph *Caro, and provides a detailed guide to *halakhot* in the Mishnah and the Talmud, and the rulings of the *posekim*. His *Livro da Providência Divina* ("Book on Divine Providence") appeared in Amsterdam in 1663. He published or edited *Sefer ha-Zikhronot* attributed to Samuel Aboab (Steinschneider, Cat Bod, 1128).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Kayserling, Bibl., 53; H. Kellenbenz, *Sephardim an der unteren Elbe* (1958), index.

JESURUN, REUEL (formerly **Paulo de Pina**; c. 1575–1634), Portuguese Marrano. Born in Lisbon of a *New Christian family, Paulo set out for Rome in 1599, intending to join a Christian order there. En route he called on the Marrano physician Elijah Montalto, a friend of his family residing at Leghorn, Italy. After Montalto had persuaded him to return to Judaism, Paulo went back to Lisbon, embarking for Brazil in 1601 in the company of the confirmed Judaizer Diego Gomez (Abraham Cohen) *Lobato. Moving to *Amsterdam in 1604, he openly espoused Judaism, taking the biblical name Reuel Jesurun. Devoting himself to the Beth Jacob congregation, he served as administrator of the Talmud Torah rabbinical school during 1616. A man of considerable literary talent, he composed *Diálogo dos montes* (published in 1767), a dramatic poem in praise of Judaism which was first read in the Beth Jacob synagogue on Shavuot 5384 (1624). The poem was translated from Portuguese to English by Philip Polack and appeared in *The American Sephardi*, vol. 4, nos. 1–2 (Autumn, 1970), 48–88. The Beth Jacob archive contains Jesurun's initial account of Amsterdam's historic Jewish cemetery, which he helped to establish. There he interred his benefactor Elijah Montalto, who had died in 1616 in France and been embalmed by his royal patrons. Jesurun himself died in Altona.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Roth, Marranos, 313–6; J. Meijer, in: ESN, s.v. *Parnassim*; W.C. Pieterse, *Livro de Bet Haim do Kahal Kados de Bet Yahacob* (1970).

JESUS (d. 30 C.E.), whom Christianity sees as its founder and object of faith, was a Jew who lived toward the end of the Second Commonwealth period. The martyrdom of his brother James is narrated by Josephus (Ant. 20:200–3), but the passage in the same work (18:63–64) speaking about the life and death of Jesus was either rewritten by a Christian or represents a Christian interpolation. The first Roman authors to mention Jesus are Tacitus and Suetonius. The historicity of Jesus is proved by the very nature of the records in the New Testament, especially the four Gospels: Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John. The Gospels are records about the life of Jesus. John's Gospel is more a treatise reflecting the theology of its author than a biography of Jesus, but Matthew, Mark, and Luke present a reasonably faithful picture of Jesus as a Jew of his time. The picture of Jesus contained in them is not so much of a redeemer of mankind as of a Jewish miracle maker and preacher. The Jesus portrayed in these three Gospels is, therefore, the historical Jesus.

The Gospels

The precise date of the composition of the Gospels is not known, but all four were written before 100 C.E. and it is certain that Matthew, Mark, and Luke are interdependent. Scholars call these three the Synoptic Gospels because they can be written in parallel columns, such form being called synopsis. It is generally accepted that the main substance of the Synoptic Gospels comes from two sources: an old account of the life of Jesus which is reproduced by Mark, and a collection of Jesus' sayings used in conjuction with the old account by Matthew and Luke. Most scholars today identify the old account that lies behind Mark with the known Gospel of Mark, but a serious analysis, based especially upon the supposed Hebrew original, shows that Mark had entirely rewritten the material. It may be assumed, therefore, that the old account, and not the revision, was known to both Luke and Matthew. According to R. Lindsey (see bibliography), Matthew and Luke, besides drawing upon the sayings, also drew directly upon the old account; the editor of Mark used Luke for his version, and Matthew, besides using the old account, often drew also upon Mark. Lindsey's conclusions are also supported by other arguments.

Both of the chief sources of the Synoptic Gospels, the old account, and the collection of Jesus' sayings, were produced in the primitive Christian congregation in Jerusalem, and were translated into Greek from Aramaic or Hebrew. They contained the picture of Jesus as seen by the disciples who knew him. The present Gospels are redactions of these two sources, which were often changed as a result of ecclesiastical tendentiousness. This becomes especially clear in the description of

Jesus' trial and crucifixion in which all Gospel writers to some degree exaggerate Jewish "guilt" and minimize Pilate's involvement. As the tension between the *Church and the Synagogue grew, Christians were not interested in stressing the fact that the founder of their faith was executed by a Roman magistrate. But even in the case of Jesus' trial, as in other instances, advance toward historical reality can be made by comparing the sources according to principles of literary criticism and in conjunction with the study of the Judaism of the time.

The Name, Birth, and Death Date of Jesus

Jesus is the common Greek form of the Hebrew name Joshua. Jesus' father, Joseph, his mother, Mary (in Heb. Miriam), and his brothers, James (in Heb., Jacob), Joses (Joseph), Judah, and Simon (Mark. 6:3) likewise bore very popular Hebrew names. Jesus also had sisters, but their number and names are unknown. Jesus Christ means "Jesus the Messiah" and according to Jewish belief, the Messiah was to be a descendant of David. Both Matthew (1:2–16) and Luke (3:23–38) provide a genealogy leading back to David, but the two genealogies agree only from Abraham down to David. Thus, it is evident that both genealogies were constructed to show Jesus' Davidic descent, because the early Christian community believed that he was the Messiah. Matthew and Luke set Jesus' birth in *Bethlehem, the city of David's birth. This motif is made comprehensible if it is assumed that many believed the Messiah would also be born in Bethlehem, an assumption clearly seen in John 7:41–42, which, telling of some who denied that Jesus is the Messiah, says: "Is the Christ (Messiah) to come from Galilee? Has not the Scripture said that the Christ is descended from David, and comes from Bethlehem, the village where David was?" John therefore knew neither that Jesus had been born in Bethlehem nor that he was descended from David. The home of Jesus and his family was *Nazareth in Galilee and it is possible that he was born there.

The story of Jesus' birth from the Virgin Mary and the Holy Spirit without an earthly father exists in the two independent literary versions of Matthew and Luke. It is not to be found in Mark or John, who both begin their Gospel with Jesus' baptism by *John the Baptist. Jesus' virgin birth is not presupposed in other parts of the *New Testament. Apart from Matthew and Luke, the first to mention the virgin birth is Ignatius of Antiochia (d. 107). According to Luke's data, Jesus was baptized by John the Baptist either in 27/28 or 28/29 C.E., when he was about the age of 30. On the evidence in the first three Gospels, the period between his baptism and crucifixion comprised no more than one year; although according to John it ran to two or even three years. It seems that on the point of the duration of Jesus' public ministry the Synoptic Gospels are to be trusted. Most probably, then, Jesus was baptized in 28/29 and died in the year 30 C.E.

Jesus' Family and Circle

Jesus's father, Joseph, was a carpenter in Nazareth and it is almost certain that he died before Jesus was baptized. All the Gospels state that there was a tension between Jesus and his family, although after Jesus' death his family overcame their disbelief and took an honorable place in the young Jewish-Christian community. Jesus' brother, James, became the head of the Christian congregation in Jerusalem and when he was murdered by a Sadducean high priest (62 C.E.) for the faith in his brother, he was succeeded by Simon, a cousin of Jesus. Grandsons of Jesus' brother, Judah, lived until the reign of Trajan and were leaders of Christian churches apparently in Galilee.

John the Baptist, who baptized Jesus in the river Jordan, was an important religious Jewish personality; he is recorded in Josephus (Ant. 18:116–9) as well as the New Testament. From Josephus it is seen that John's baptismal theology was identical with that of the *Essenes. According to the Gospels, in the moment of Jesus' baptism, the Holy Spirit descended upon him and a voice from heaven proclaimed his election. When he left John the Baptist, Jesus did not return to Nazareth, but preached in the area northwest of the Sea of Galilee. Later, after his unsuccessful visit to his native Nazareth, he returned again to the district around *Capernaum, performed miraculous healings, and proclaimed the Kingdom of Heaven. From his closest disciples he appointed 12 *apostles to be, at the Last Judgment, judges of the 12 tribes of Israel. After the death of Jesus the 12 apostles provided the leadership for the Jerusalem Church.

The Arrest of Jesus

Meanwhile, Herod Antipas, who had beheaded John the Baptist, also wanted to kill Jesus, whom he saw as the heir of the Baptist, but Jesus wanted to die in Jerusalem, which was reputed for "killing the prophets" (Luke 13:34). With Passover drawing near, Jesus decided to make a pilgrimage to the Temple at Jerusalem. There he openly predicted the future destruction of the Temple and the overthrow of the Temple hierarchy. According to the sources, he even tried to drive out the traders from the precincts of the Temple, saying, "It is written, 'My house shall be called a house of prayer,' but you have made it a den of robbers" (Luke 19:45–6). These actions precipitated the catastrophe. The Sadducean priesthood, despised by everyone, found its one support in the Temple, and Jesus not only attacked them but even publicly predicted the destruction of their Temple. The first three Gospels indicate that Jesus' last supper was the paschal meal. When night had fallen he reclined at the table with the 12 apostles and said: "With all my heart I have longed to eat this paschal lamb with you before I die, for I tell you: I will never eat it again until I eat it anew in the Kingdom of God." He took a cup of wine, recited the benediction over it and said: "take it and share it among you; for I tell you, I will not again drink of the fruit of the vine until I drink it new in the Kingdom of God." He took bread, recited the blessing over it and said: "This is my body" (cf. Luke 22:15–19). Thus Jesus' Passover meal under the shadow of death became the origin of the Christian sacrament of the Eucharist.

After the festive meal, Jesus left the city together with his disciples and went to the nearby Mount of Olives, to the garden of Gethsemane. There, although he had foreseen the danger of his death, he prayed for his life (Luke 22:39–46). One of the 12 apostles, Judas Iscariot, had already betrayed him from unknown motives. Judas had gone to the high priests and told them he would deliver Jesus to them and they had promised to give him money (Mark 14:10–11). The Temple guard, accompanied by Judas Iscariot, arrested Jesus and took him to the high priest.

The "Trial" and Crucifixion

The Gospels in their present form contain descriptions of the so-called "trial" of Jesus rewritten in a way making them improbable from the historical point of view. Nevertheless, a literary analysis of the sources is capable of revealing a closer approximation of the reality. In the first three Gospels, the Pharisees are not mentioned in connection with the trial, and in John, only once (18:3). Luke (22:66) and Matthew (26:59) explicitly mention the Sanhedrin once, and Mark mentions it twice (14:55; 15:1). In the whole of Luke – not just in his description of the Passion – there is no mention of the Sanhedrin's verdict against Jesus, and John records nothing about an assembly of the Sanhedrin before which Jesus appeared. Thus it seems very probable that no session of the Sanhedrin took place in the house of the high priest where Jesus was in custody and that the "chief priests and elders and scribes" who assembled there were members of the Temple committee (see also Luke 20:1): the elders were apparently the elders of the Temple and the scribes were the Temple secretaries. The deliverance of Jesus into the hands of the Romans was, it seems, the work of the Sadducean "high priests," who are often mentioned alone in the story. A man suspected of being a messianic pretender could be delivered to the Romans without a verdict of the Jewish high court. In addition, the high priests were interested in getting rid of Jesus, who had spoken against them and had predicted the destruction of the Temple. The Roman governor *Pontius Pilate ultimately had Jesus executed in the Roman way, by crucifixion. All the Gospels indicate that on the third day after the crucifixion Jesus' tomb was found empty. According to Mark an angel announced that Jesus had risen, and the other Gospels state that Jesus appeared before his believers after his death.

Jesus and the Jewish Background

The tension between the Church and the Synagogue often caused the Gospels, by means of new interpretations and later emendations, to evoke the impression that there was a necessary rift between Jesus and the Jewish way of life under the law. The first three Gospels, however, portray Jesus as a Jew who was faithful to the current practice of the law. On the matter of washing hands (Mark 7:5) and plucking ears of corn on the Sabbath (Mark 2:23ff.), it was the disciples, not the master, who were less strict in their observance of the law. According to the Synoptic Gospels, Jesus did not heal by physical means on the Sabbath but only by words, healing through speech having always been permitted on the Sabbath, even when the illness was not dangerous. The Gospels provide sufficient evidence to the effect that Jesus did not oppose any prescription of the Written or Oral Mosaic Law, and that he even performed Jewish religious commandments. On all of the foregoing points the less historical John differs from the first three Gospels.

The wording of the Gospels exaggerates the clashes between Jesus and the *Pharisees. This becomes evident after an analysis of Jesus' sayings which are a more faithful preservation than are the tendentious descriptions of the situation in which the sayings were uttered. Jesus' major polemical sayings against the Pharisees describe them as hypocrites, an accusation occurring not only in the Essene Dead Sea Scrolls and, indirectly, in a saying of the Sadducean king, Alexander Yannai, but also in rabbinic literature, which is an expression of true Pharisaism. In general, Jesus' polemical sayings against the Pharisees were far meeker than the Essene attacks and not sharper than similar utterances in the talmudic sources. Jesus was sufficiently Pharisaic in general outlook to consider the Pharisees as true heirs and successors of Moses. Although Jesus would probably not have defined himself as a Pharisee, his beliefs, especially his moral beliefs, are similar to the Pharisaic school of Hillel which stresses the love of God and neighbor. Jesus, however, pushed this precept much further than did the Jews of his time and taught that a man must love even his enemies. Others preached mutual love and blessing one's persecutors, but the command to love one's enemies is uniquely characteristic of Jesus and he is in fact the only one to utter this commandment in the whole of the New Testament.

The liberal Pharisaic school of Hillel was not unhappy to see gentiles become Jews. In contrast, the school of Shammai made conversion as difficult as possible because it had grave reservations about proselytism, most of which Jesus shared (Matt. 23:15). As a rule he even did not heal non-Jews. It should be noted that none of the rabbinical documents says that one should not heal a non-Jew.

In beliefs and way of life, Jesus was closer to the Pharisees than to the *Essenes. He accepted, however, a part of the Essene social outlook. Although Jesus was not a social revolutionary, the social implications of his message are stronger than that of the rabbis. Like the Essenes, Jesus also regarded all possessions as a threat to true piety and held poverty, humility, purity of heart, and simplicity to be the essential religious virtues. Jesus, as did the Essenes, had an awareness of and affection for the social outcast and the oppressed. The Essene author of the *Thanksgiving Scroll (18:14–15) promises salvation to the humble, to the oppressed in spirit, and to those who mourn, while Jesus in the first three beatitudes of the Sermon on the Mount promises the Kingdom of Heaven to "the poor in spirit" to "those who mourn," and to "the meek" (Matt. 5:3–5). Moreover, Jesus' rule "Do not resist one who is evil" (Matt. 5:39) has clear parallels in the Essene Dead Sea Scrolls.

Jesus as the Messiah

The early Christian Church believed Jesus to be the expected *Messiah of Israel, and he is described as such in the New Testament; but whether Jesus thought himself to be the Messiah is by no means clear. Throughout the New Testament there are indications that Jesus had seen himself as a prophet. The Ebionites and Nazarenes, *Jewish Christian sects, both ranked Jesus among the prophets and stressed his prophetic role. Jesus himself apparently never used the word "Messiah," and always spoke of the "*Son of Man" in the third person, as though he himself were not identical with that person. The "Son of Man" originally appears in the Book of Daniel (7:9–14) as the manlike judge of the Last Days. Jesus based his account of the "Son of Man" on the original biblical description of a superhuman, heavenly sublimity, who, seated upon the throne of God, will judge the whole human race. In Jewish literature of the Second Commonwealth, the "Son of Man" is frequently identified with the Messiah and it is probable that Jesus used the phrase in this way too. In his own lifetime, it is certain that Jesus became accepted by many as the Messiah. The substance of many sayings make it obvious that Jesus did not always refer to the coming "Son of Man" in the third person simply to conceal his identity, but because Jesus actually did not believe himself to be the Messiah. Yet other apparently authentic sayings of Jesus can be understood only if it is assumed that Jesus thought himself to be the "Son of Man." Thus Jesus' understanding of himself as the Messiah was probably inconsistent, or at first he was waiting for the Messiah, but at the end, he held the conviction that he himself was the Messiah.

In the faith of the Church, Jesus, the Jewish prophet from Galilee, became the object of a drama which could bring salvation to pious spectators. This drama developed from two roots: Jesus' conception of himself as being uniquely near to his Heavenly Father, his message about the coming of the "Son of Man," and other Jewish mythical and messianic doctrines; the other root was Jesus' tragic death, interpreted in terms of Jewish concepts about the expiatory power of martyrdom. If, as Christians believe, the martyr was at the same time the Messiah, then his death has a cosmic importance. Through the teachings of Jesus, as well as through other channels, the Jewish moral message entered Christianity. Thus the historical Jesus has served as a bridge between Judaism and Christianity, as well as one of the causes for their separation.

[David Flusser]

In Talmud and Midrash

Statements in rabbinic literature that explicitly mention Jesus by name or that allude to him and to his actions are few. Nothing has been transmitted in the names of the rabbis from the early half of the first century. Even those statements dating from the second century are to be regarded as reflecting the knowledge and views of Jews of that time about Christians and Jesus, which derived in part from contemporary Christian sources. They were partly a reaction to the image of Jesus as it had crystallized in the Christian tradition. Apparently, the beginnings of Christianity attracted no greater attention than did the many other sects that sprang up toward the close of the Temple period, and it is certain that the incidents connected with its founder were not at the center of events of the time, as the Gospels would lead one to believe.

Beginning with the Basle edition of the Talmud (1578–80), those passages in which Jesus was mentioned, as well as other statements alluding to Christianity, were deleted from most editions of the Babylonian Talmud by the Christian censors or even by internal Jewish censorship. These deletions were later collected in special compilations and in manuscripts (cf. R.N.N. Rabbinowicz, *Ma'amar al Hadpasat ha-Talmud* (1952), 28n.26). From the stories about Jesus in the Babylonian Talmud, it is evident that he was regarded as a rabbinical student who had strayed into evil ways: "May we produce no son or pupil who disgraces himself like Jesus the Nazarene" (Ber. 17b; Sanh. 103a; cf. Dik. Sof. ad loc.). The rabbis were not certain of his time or his activities. Thus he is described as a pupil of *Joshua b. Peraḥyah (Sanh. 107b; see Dik. Sof. ad loc.).

In the Middle Ages, *Jehiel of Paris claimed that there was no connection between Jesus, the pupil of Joshua b. Peraḥyah and Jesus the Nazarene (*Vikku'aḥ*, ed. by R. Margaliot (1928), 16f.). In one *baraita* Jesus appears as a sorcerer and enticer who led people astray. "They hanged Jesus on the eve of Passover. Forty days earlier a proclamation was issued that he was to be stoned for practicing sorcery and for enticing and leading Israel astray." "Let anyone who can speak in his favor come forward." "Nothing in his favor was discovered and they hanged him on the eve of Passover." The date given for the hanging, the 14th of Nisan, agrees with the date given in John 19:14. (In the Gospels the date given is the first day of the festival which is the 15th day of Nisan.) In conformity with the *halakhah* (Sanh. 7:4) he was sentenced to stoning, the penalty for enticing, leading astray, or practicing sorcery. After the stoning he was hanged, since all who are put to death by stoning are subsequently hanged, according to R. Eliezer who often transmits ancient *halakhah* (Sanh. 6:4). Jesus was crucified, i.e., hanged alive, "as is done by the non-Jewish government" (Sif. Deut. 221). In the talmudic account, however, his death conforms with the death penalty of the *bet din* as prescribed by the *halakhah* (see *Crucifixion).

Later conditions are reflected in the story of *Onkelos the proselyte who raised Titus, Balaam, and Jesus from the dead to ask their advice whether he should become a proselyte. Whereas Balaam said, "Thou shalt not seek their peace nor their prosperity all their days forever" (Deut. 23:7), Jesus answered, "Seek their peace, seek not their evil, whoever hurts them is as if hurting the pupil of his eye." The Talmud itself emphasizes the difference between Jesus and Balaam by adding, "Come and see the difference between infidel Israelites and the idol-worshiping gentile prophets" (Git. 57a, in uncensored editions). The purpose of the story is to show that

Jesus warned against persecuting Jews and forbade their oppression. It can only be understood in the context of an era in which such a warning was already important, namely the fourth century.

These are all the stories about Jesus in the Talmud. Whenever his name is mentioned elsewhere, it is in connection with his disciples. It speaks about "Jesus the Nazarene having had five disciples, Matthew, Nakai, Nazar, Boneh, and Thodah," all of whom were put to death. For each of them a verse is cited in which his name is mentioned and his execution hinted at (Sanh. 43a; Dik. Sof. ad loc.; Yal. Mak. to Isa. 11:1). Only two of them, Matthew and Tadi (Thaddaeus) can be identified with certainty as the apostles. Besides these there is mention of Jacob of Kefar Sama who came in the name of Jesus b. Pantira to cure *Eleazar b. Dama of a snake bite but was prevented by Ishmael (Tosef., Ḥul. 2:22; TJ, Shab. 14:4, 14d; TJ, Av. Zar. 2:2, 40d). Since this Jacob was a contemporary of Ishmael, he could not be a disciple of Jesus but at the most a disciple of his disciple. It is also very doubtful whether he can be identified with Jacob of Kefar Sakhnayya of whom Eliezer told Akiva that he had transmitted to him a sectarian teaching in the name of Jesus (Tosef., Ḥul. 2:24; Av. Zar. 17a; Eccles. R. 1:8, no. 3). This Jacob, too, merely transmitted a teaching he had heard in the name of Jesus and one cannot assume that he knew him. He certainly cannot be identified with Jacob, the brother of Jesus.

In both accounts the father of Jesus is called Pantira. Epiphanius reports that Pantira was another name of Jacob, the father of Joseph, father of Jesus (*Adversus Haereses* 3:78, 7). It is possible that this statement should be regarded as an answer to the assertion of the Jews which is also mentioned by Origen. He mentions that Celsus heard from a Jew that Miriam had been divorced by her husband who suspected her of adultery, and that Jesus was born as the result of her secret affair with a Roman soldier, Panthera (Πανθηρα; *Contra Celsum* 1:28, 32). In the Tosefta there is no suggestion of anything disparaging in the name Pantira, but it is found in the statement of a third-century Babylonian *amora*, a young contemporary of Celsus, where it is connected with the name *Ben Stada. Ben Stada is mentioned in the Tosefta (Shab. 11:15) and in the Babylonian Talmud (Sanh. 67a; Dik. Sof. ad loc.). The reading is "And thus they did to Ben Stada in Lydda and hanged him on the eve of Passover." This reading has been taken to refer to Jesus, but there is no basis in tannaitic literature for this indentification. When Eliezer referred to Jesus he called him by name.

Since the time of Geiger (JZWL, 6 (1868), 31–37) various scholars have tried to view the name Balaam, occurring in many *aggadot*, as a pseudonym for Jesus. They find their proof in the passage: "A certain sectarian said to Ḥanina 'Have you heard how old Balaam was?' He replied 'It is not actually stated, but since it is written "Bloody and deceitful men shall not live out half their days" [Ps. 55:24] he must have been 33 or 34'. He rejoined 'You have spoken correctly; I personally have seen Balaam's Chronicle, in which it is stated, "Balaam the lame was 33 years of age when Phinehas the robber killed him" [Sanh. 106b].'" On the basis that Jesus lived about 33 years and is called a sectarian, it was maintained that Balaam's Chronicle is none other than the Gospels and "Phinehas the robber" Pontius Pilate. However, it is impossible to imagine that a Christian would ask a Jew how old Jesus was, and call the Gospel Balaam's Chronicle or that Pontius Pilate, who is not mentioned even once in the whole of rabbinic literature, should be referred to as Phinehas the robber. The sectarian referred to was merely a member of a Gnostic sect who was testing whether Ḥanina could answer a question which is not answered in the Torah. Balaam's Chronicle was an apocryphal book on Balaam. These books often adopted an unfavorable attitude to the patriarchs and the prophets and it was possible that Phinehas of the Bible was called in them Phinehas the robber. Efforts to find allusions to Jesus and his disciples in the Mishnah (Sanh. 10:2; Avot 5:19) have no basis at all in the sources. Nor can one justify the conjecture that the word "Such a one" (Heb. *peloni*) used by Ben Azzai (Yev. 4:13) refers to Jesus. The *tannaim* did not ascribe an illegitimate birth to Jesus and had they done so they had no reason to conceal it, any more than the *amoraim* later did. Similarly one cannot say that the pupils of Eliezer had Jesus in mind when they asked their master the cryptic questions, "Has such a one a portion in the world to come? Has a bastard a portion in the world to come?" (Yoma 86b).

Polemics directed against the Christian dogmas that Jesus was the Messiah, the son of God, and God, are found in homilies and sayings of *amoraim* in the third and fourth centuries. Some of these homilies are merely a reply to the Christological interpretations of the *Church Fathers, who sought to find proof and supports for their teachings in the Scriptures. The words of Ḥiyya b. Abba, "If the son of the harlot says to you there are two gods, say to him 'I am He of the Red Sea; I am He of Sinai'" (PR 21:100), are directed against Christian dualism (the doctrine of the Trinity not yet having been accepted in the third century). The expression "son of a harlot" has a dual meaning, referring to Jesus in person, and to his heretical teaching, i.e., "son of heresy." Simeon b. Lakish, a contemporary of Origen, explained the verse "Alas who shall live after God hath appointed him" (Num. 24:23) to mean "Woe for him who resurrects himself with the title god" (Sanh. 106a). *Abbahu, who lived in Caesarea and had many disputes with heretics, explained Balaam's words, "God is not a man that He should lie; Neither the son of man that He should repent" (Num. 23:19) in a way that left no doubt about whom it was directed against, "If a man says to you, I am god, he lies; [if he says] I am the son of man, he shall regret it; [if he says] I shall rise to heaven, he says but he shall not fulfill it" (TJ, Ta'an. 2:1, 65b; Sanh. 106a; Dik. Sof. ad loc.). In this interpretation, Abbahu represents Balaam as rebuking and warning the gentiles not to be ensnared by the new religion, in the same way as his fellow citizen, the Church Father Origen, puts Christological teachings into Balaam's mouth (see his commentary on Num. 15:4). These teachings are also contradicted by Balaam in a homily to Eleazar ha-Kappar (Yal. Num., ed. Salonika, 765, from where it was published in Jellinek's *Beit ha-Midrash*, 5 (1967^3), 208). Most of it, however, is by a fourth-century preacher who had already witnessed the spread of Christianity in Caesarea.

A polemic of the amoraic era is also found in the story of Rabban Gamaliel and his sister *Imma Shalom (Shab. 116aff.), but it cannot be regarded as authentic. It contains no quotation from any early version of "the words of Jesus," but parodies the words of Matthew. The *tanna* and his wife ridicule their neighbor, the "philosopher" – who is simply a Christian teacher – criticizing the contradictions in the teaching of Jesus, which on the one hand appears as a different law, while on the other Jesus himself says, "I have come neither to diminish the law of Moses, nor to add to it" (cf. Matt. 5:17, "think not that I am come to destroy but to fulfill"). As an example of "another Torah," a quotation is brought from the *Avon Gilyon* ("sinful margin," a disparaging name for *Evangelion*, Gospel in Greek): "Son and daughter inherit alike." No such statement occurs in the Gospels. It is possible that the statement of the philosopher that a daughter does not inherit was intended to cast doubt on the messianic status of Jesus, whose claim to be the Messiah was dependent on his Davidic descent. If he was of virgin birth, that descent could only have been on his mother's side.

[*Encyclopaedia Hebraica*]

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JETHRO (Heb. יֶתֶר, יִתְרוֹ), Midianite priest and father-in-law of *Moses. Jethro had seven daughters who served as his shepherdesses. When Moses fled from Egypt he came to the well in Midian where he witnessed local shepherds mistreating the girls. He saved them and watered their flocks for them. In return, Jethro welcomed Moses into his home and gave him one of his daughters, *Zipporah, as a wife. He also appointed Moses as shepherd of his flocks (Ex. 2:16–21; 3:1). Jethro is next mentioned after the incident of the burning bush when Moses, having decided to return to Egypt, asked and received his father-in-law's permission to do so (4:18).

After the Exodus from Egypt, when the Israelites had arrived in the vicinity of Sinai, Jethro brought Zipporah, whom Moses had divorced, along with her two sons to Moses. Although no mention is made of Moses' reconciliation with his wife, we learn that Jethro received a most honorable welcome. He expressed his delight at the deliverance of Israel, blessed YHWH and praised Him as "greater than all gods," and brought sacrifices to Him, afterward partaking of a meal with Aaron and all the elders of Israel (18:1–12). The following day, Jethro advised Moses on the reorganization of the judicial system and returned to his own land (18:13–23, 27). The narratives about Jethro have raised many problems. He is given this name in Exodus 3:1; 4:18; 18:1–2, 5–6, 12. However, he is called Reuel in Exodus 2:18 and in Numbers 10:29 as well, while Judges 4:11 refers to Hobab as the father-in-law of Moses. In the former passage, Moses asked Hobab to act as a guide for the Israelites through the wilderness. His final reply is not given there, but from Judges 4:11 it would seem that he allowed himself to be persuaded. Another difficulty lies in the fact that the Pentateuch describes Moses' father-in-law as a Midianite, whereas he is elsewhere termed a Kenite (Judg. 1:16; 4:11).

Varying solutions have been suggested to account for the conflicting data (for traditional account see below). Some modern scholars assign Hobab to the J source and Jethro to the E document. "Reuel their father" in Exodus 2:18 would then either be a misunderstanding of Numbers 10:29 or refer to the grandfather of the shepherdesses. Others take Jethro and Reuel to be one and the same person and regard Hobab as the son, a solution that requires the emendation of Judges 4:11. In the opinion of W.F. Albright, the Jethro-Reuel-Hobab traditions are quite homogeneous. The roles of Jethro and Hobab are so different as to preclude identity. The former is an old man who already had seven grown daughters when Moses arrived in Midian and who gave Moses in the wilderness the kind of advice that could only be the product of mature wisdom. Hobab is a young, vigorous man who could withstand the rigors of acting as a guide in the wilderness wanderings. He is, therefore, not the father-in-law, but the son-in-law of Moses, and *ḥoten* in Numbers 10:29 and Judges 4:11 should be read *ḥatan*. Reuel is the name of the clan to which both Jethro and Hobab belonged (cf. Gen. 36:10, 13; I Chron. 1:35, 37), and Exodus 2:18 should read, "they returned to Jethro, son of Reuel (i.e., the Reuelite), their father." Finally, the epithet "Kenite" is not in contradiction to Midianite, since it is an occupational, not an ethnic, term meaning a "metalworker, smith," as in Aramaic and Arabic (cf. Gen. 4:22). But the solution appears contrived, and it is probably wisest to assume a conflation of different traditions.

Beginning with the hint that Jethro was a priest, some scholars have credited the Midianites with introducing the god YHWH to the Hebrews, a theory known as the Midianite or Kenite hypothesis (see van der Toorn). These scholars note Jethro's blessing of YHWH in Exodus 18:10 and his provision of sacrifices and his participation in the cultic meal "before God" (Ex. 18:12). While this is intriguing, the exact role of Jethro in the development of Israelite religion cannot be determined, in the absence of any data about the nature of the religion of Midian. The attribution of the organization of the judicial system in Israel to the advice of a Midianite priest is itself, however, eloquent testimony to the antiquity and reliability of the Exodus tradition. Significantly, the account in Deuteronomy 1:9–17 completely obscures the role of Jethro.

In like manner, 11:11–12, 16–18, 24–30 omits mention of Jethro in the judicial reform, attributing it to YHWH's response to a complaint by Moses. The name Jethro itself (shortened to Jether in Exodus 4:18) may be abbreviated from a theophoric form. The basic element, which probably means "excellence" or "abundance" (cf. Gen. 49:3), appears as a component of many west Semitic names. Cf. Akkadian Atra-ḫasīs, "Exceeding-Wise," the name of an Old Babylonian flood hero of the Noah type.

[Nahum M. Sarna / S. David Sperling (2nd ed.)]

In the Aggadah

Jethro was one of Pharaoh's counselors. According to one account, he – together with Amalek – "gave the evil counsel" (to throw the male Israelite children into the river) to Pharaoh, but later repented (Ex. R. 27:6). According to another tradition, his fellow counselors were Balaam and Job. Balaam advocated the destruction of the children, Job remained silent, and Jethro fled to Midian (Sanh. 106a). He became a genuine convert to Judaism. His title as the "priest of Midian" (Ex. 18:1) means either that he was its pagan priest or its prince (Mekh., Yitro, 1). The sages had an ambivalent attitude toward Jethro. Some regarded him as an arch-idolator, and as such he was able to testify to the supremacy of God, nonetheless still holding that the idols possessed some divine powers (Yal., Ex. 269; cf. Ex. 18:11). Jethro early realized the worthlessness of idol worship and repented even before Moses fled to Midian. Jethro's neighbors excommunicated him for renouncing their idolatrous beliefs, and it was because of this ban that his daughters had to tend the sheep (Ex. R. 1:32). A competing tradition claims that Jethro was still so steeped in idolatry at this time that he only permitted Zipporah to marry Moses on condition that their first son be raised to worship idols (Mekh., Yitro, 1).

Jethro's reaction to the miracles performed by God for Israel is likewise interpreted in two contrasting fashions. "And Jethro rejoiced" (וַיִּחַדְּ יִתְרוֹ, *va-yiḥadd Yitro*; Ex. 18:9) either means that he now accepted monotheism (*Yiḥed shemo shel ha-Kadosh Barukh Hu*; Tanh. B., Ex. 71) or that his skin developed gooseflesh (*na'asah kol besaro ḥidudin ḥidudin*) in sympathy for the tribulations of the Egyptians (Sanh. 94a). Jethro was the first to utter a benediction to God for the wonders performed for the Israelites. It was a reproach to Moses and the 600,000 Israelites that they did not bless the Lord until Jethro came and did so (*ibid.*). When Jethro arrived at the camp of Israel, he wrote a letter and with an arrow shot it into the camp (Tanḥ. B., Ex. 73). Moses immediately went out to meet his father-in-law, accompanied by Aaron, Nadab, Abihu, and the 70 elders of Israel. It is even stated that the *Shekhinah* also greeted Jethro (Mekh., Yitro, 1). Moses finally sent Jethro away (Ex. 18:27), since he did not want a stranger present at the revelation on Mount Sinai (Tanḥ. B., Ex. 75). According to another tradition, Jethro left to spread the knowledge of the true God among his brethren in Midian (Tanḥ. B., Ex. 73).

Jethro had seven different names which reflect his virtues. He was called Jether (Ex. 4:18) because he was responsible for the "addition" of a passage to the Pentateuch; Jethro (Ex. 3:1), because he "overflowed" with good deeds; Hobab (Num. 10:29), the "beloved" son of God; Reuel (Ex. 2:18), the "friend of God"; Heber (Judg. 4:11), the "associate" of God; Putiel (Ex. 6:25), because he had renounced idolatry (*niftar*; another interpretation, however, is that "he fattened calves" (*pittem*) for idolatrous sacrifice: BB 109b); and Keni (Judg. 1:16) in that he was "zealous" for God and "acquired" the Torah (Mekh. Yitro, 1).

[Aaron Rothkoff]

In Islam

The commentators of the Koran identify Shuʿayb with the father-in-law of Moses (Jethro), whom Muhammad mentions as living in Midian (Sura 28:21–27). In another sura (26:176–89) it is related that Shuʿayb was sent as a prophet and that he rebuked the inhabitants of al-Ayka ("the people of the thicket"), while in other suras he rebuked his fellow Midianites (7:83–91; 11:85–98). Their attitude toward him was a negative one, just as that of other tribes toward the prophets who were sent to them (Sura 11:93). The legends of the prophets relate many more details about the sojourn of Moses in the house of his father-in-law, his marriage with Zipporah, etc.

The Druze, the most extreme of the Ismāʿīliyya sects, hold Shuʿayb in the highest esteem. He is one of the early incarnations of the *ḥudūd*, the emanations from the light of the Creator (*al-bāriʾ*). These incarnations, the Imāms, were the leaders of their respective generations. Shuʿayb was considered one of these incarnations during the days of Moses. His traditional grave at Kefar Ḥittin (near Tiberias) is the site of the Druze pilgrimage (*ziyāra*) between April 23 and 25.

[Haïm Z'ew Hirschberg]

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JEVICKO (Czech **Jevičko**; Ger. **Gewitsch**), town in W. Moravia, Czech Republic. It is thought that the Jewish community was founded in the 14th century, but the first documentary mention dates from 1566. In 1657 there were 16 Jewish households in the town. A prayer room was opened in 1620, but a synagogue was not built until 1784. A fire in 1869, which destroyed the main part of the Jewish quarter, made many Jews leave the town. The Jevicko community was one of the political communities (see *politische Gemeinden). Between 1798 and 1848 there were 138 permitted families in Jevicko (see *Familiants Laws). The Jewish population fluctuated from 776 persons in 1830 to 989 in 1848, 462 in 1869, and 286 in 1890. On the territory of the political community there were 184 Jews and 33 Christians living in 1880 and 93 Jews and 75 Christians in 1900. In 1930 there were 86 Jews in Jevicko (3.1% of the total population). The community was deported to Nazi extermination camps in 1942 and the synagogue equipment sent to the Central Jewish Museum in Prague. The building is used by the Hussite church and the Czech Brethern Protestant church.

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[Meir Lamed]

JEW (Heb. יְהוּדִי, *Yehudi*).

Semantics

The word "Jew" passed into the English language from the Greek (*Ioudaios*) by way of the Latin (*Judaeus*), and is found in early English (from about the year 1000) in a variety of forms: *Iudea, Gyu, Giu, Iuu, Iuw, Iew* which developed into "Jew." The word "Jew," therefore, is ultimately traced to the Hebrew *Yehudi*, a term which originally applied to members of the tribe of Judah, the fourth son of the patriarch, Jacob. The term was also utilized for those who dwelt in the area of the tribe of Judah and thus later, during the seven years that David reigned in Hebron, his territory was called the Kingdom of Judah (II Sam. 5:5). Later still, with the split of the kingdom during the reign of Rehoboam, the Northern Kingdom was called Israel and the Southern was called Judah, although it also encompassed the territory of the tribe of Benjamin (I Kings 12:16–21). From that time on the term "*Yehudi*" applied to all residents of the Southern Kingdom, irrespective of their tribal status. After the destruction of Israel only Judah remained, and the term "*Yehudi*," or "Jew," then lost its specific connection with the Southern Kingdom. This is strikingly illustrated in Esther 2:5, 5:13, where Mordecai, although belonging to the tribe of Benjamin, is called a *Yehudi*. This term was also utilized at that time for the Jewish religion since it is related that, after Haman's downfall, many from among the people of the land converted to Judaism (*mityahadim*, Esth. 8:17). The term "Jew" connoted by this time a religious, political, and national entity, without differentiation between these categories. "Jew," however, was mainly used outside the Land of Israel by Jews and non-Jews and in languages other than Hebrew. Thus Nehemiah, who was an official at the Persian court, refers to "Jews" in his personal "diary," and the Book of Esther (see above) was almost certainly written by someone close to court circles. From the Persian and Aramaic, the word passed into Greek and from there into Latin. However, while the name "Jew" became common usage outside the Land of Israel, the Hebrew-speaking Jews within the land were particular to call themselves "Israel" (*Yisrael*: "Israelites"). It seems that this was a deliberate reaction parallel to the general intensification of ancient religious and literary values and aimed at strengthening the identification with the nation's early history. Thus Ezra, as opposed to Nehemiah, uses the name Israel throughout, and even in the Aramaic letter given to him by the Persian king. From that period on the name "Israel" is used in all Hebrew literature: in the Hebrew books of the Apocrypha (Judith, Tobit, I Maccabees, etc.); in the Judean Desert Scrolls; in the Mishnah and the Hebrew parts of the Talmud; and on the coins of the 70 C.E. revolt and of that of Bar Kokhba ("the redemption of Israel"; "the freedom of Israel"). Exceptions such as "Prince of the Jews" on the copper column erected on Mt. Zion in honor of Simeon the Maccabee (I Macc. 14:47, also 37 and 40) and "Group of the Jews" on the coins of his son, Johanan, are to be explained by the political designation, Judea, by which the gentile world knew the limited territory of the Jewish State. When, indeed, that territory was enlarged, the name "Land of Israel" came once more into use. This difference in usage is strikingly illustrated in the Gospels: the Jews are recorded as having referred (mockingly) to Jesus as "king of Israel," whereas the Roman, Pilate, and his soldiers refer to him – both verbally and in writing – as "king of the Jews" (Mark 15:32, 2, 9, 18, 26). For Christians, the word "*Judaeus*" was early conflated with the name of the villain of the gospel story, Judas Iscariot, who was considered the typical Jew. Judas was linked with the devil (Luke 22:3), and the result was an evil triangle of devil-Jew-Judas. This relationship helped to establish the pejorative meaning of the word "Jew" in popular usage. The noun could mean "extortionate usurer, driver of hard bargains," while the verb was defined as "to cheat by sharp business practices, to overreach." Many attempts to root out these derogatory meanings by having the dictionary definitions revised have been made in the United States, England, and Europe; they have, however, met with little success, since the problem is not one of ill-will on the part of the lexicographers, but rather of semantics and popular usage. In order to avoid the unwelcome associations and connotations of the word, Jews began in the 19th century to call themselves "Hebrews" and "Israelites" (e.g., Alliance Israélite *Universelle, founded 1860). Nevertheless, these new names quickly took on the same pejorative associations as "Jew," as scores of 19th century novels testify. Recently, there has been a gradual change in the usage of the word. The brutal murder of a great part of the Jewish people during the *Holocaust has limited subsequent degrading usage of the term. Since the conclusion of the war, antisemitism is under legal scrutiny in many countries, and this covers the use of "Jew" in the pejorative sense, along with "Yid," "Sheeny," "Ikey" and the like.

[Yehoshua M. Grintz]

Halakhic Definition

Both a child born of Jewish parents and a convert to Judaism are considered Jews, possessing both the sanctity of the Jewish people (Ex. 19:6) and the obligation to observe the commandments. The status of children from intermarriage is designated by the Mishnah and Talmud as following that of the mother (Kid. 3:12; Yad, Issurei Bi'ah 15:3–4). "Thy son by an Israelite woman is called thy son, but thy son by a heathen woman is not called thy son" (Kid. 68b). A child born of a non-Jewish mother must therefore undergo ritual conversion, even though his father is Jewish (see *Proselytes). This halakhic definition was accepted for centuries. However, in modern times and particularly since the establishment of the State of Israel, the definition has been more and more questioned. The act of conversion is of course a religious act, and thus any candidate for conversion is required to subscribe to the principles of Judaism (or dogma; see Articles of *Faith) and to practice all the *mitzvot, something which the majority of born Jews do not do. Thus it is felt in wide circles that identification with the Jewish people and its fate should constitute sufficient grounds for being considered a Jew, particularly since during the Holocaust tens – even hundreds – of thousands of Jews, who were not halakhically so considered, perished because the Nazis had considered them Jews. This problem has been especially grave in the State of Israel where the children of mixed marriages (in which the wife is not Jewish), who speak Hebrew, are educated in the spirit of Jewish history, subscribe to Israeli nationalism and serve in the army to defend it, feel discriminated against in that they are not considered Jews and are not registered as Jews in the identity cards which they are, by law, required to carry at all times. In fact, what they are campaigning for is a secular definition of Jew (see *Judaism) which is, understandably, vigorously opposed by the Rabbinate of Israel and the religious political parties. In 1958 a cabinet crisis came about over the problem of the registration of *le'om* in the identity card. This word means "nationality" or "nationhood" but its exact definition is a matter of debate. The secular Israeli political parties contended that an affirmation of national identification with the Jewish people should suffice for such registration, whereas the religious parties demanded that the halakhic guidelines be retained. David Ben-Gurion, then prime minister, elicited responsa to this question from rabbinical leaders and Jewish scholars in Israel and throughout the Diaspora; the overwhelming majority of the respondents indicated that the State of Israel should follow the *halakhah* in this issue, and the final directives issued to the registering officers required that there must be a bona fide conversion before the applicant could be registered as Jewish. The situation reached a kind of climax in 1968 when a lieutenant commander in the Israel navy, Benjamin Shalit, requested that his two children born of a non-Jewish mother be registered on their identity cards as Jews. When the Ministry of the Interior refused to accede to this request, Shalit petitioned the Supreme Court to order the ministry to show cause why they should not so register the children. The Supreme Court, sitting for the first time in its history in a complement of nine judges, suspended the hearing in order to make a recommendation to the government to change the law requiring the entry *le'om* and thus solve the problem. The government refused to accept the recommendation and subsequently the court decided (on Jan. 23, 1970; case no. HC 58/68) by a majority of five to four that the registrar had no right to question a statement made in good faith by the applicant but was duty bound to register what he was told. Each of the judges wrote his own opinion and some stated that, to their mind, the term *le'om* admitted a secular definition. It was pointed out that the decision was only with regard to registration and had no implications as far as personal status was concerned, which would continue to be governed by the courts in whose jurisdiction it lay. Thus for matters of marriage and divorce, which are in the jurisdiction of the rabbinical courts, the Shalit children would be considered non-Jews. The decision raised a strong public protest and the law was subsequently changed to accept only those born of Jewish mothers or converted. However, it was not specified that the conversions have to be by Orthodox rabbis and thus non-Orthodox conversions performed outside the State of Israel would be admitted as sufficient for registration as a Jew. It was also legislated at that time that non-Jewish spouses or children and grandchildren of Jews arriving in Israel with their Jewish spouse or parent would be granted all the privileges of the Law of Return, including the right to automatic Israel citizenship. In a previous decision the Supreme Court decided in the case of Oswald Rufeisen, a born Jew who converted to Catholicism and joined the Carmelite order (for a full treatment of that case see *Apostasy) that, although in the opinion of the court the appellant might be a Jew halakhically, for the purpose of the Law of Return he could not be so considered. Throughout the ages the rabbinical authorities have been concerned with the problem of a person who is technically a Jew but subscribes to another religion. When a Jew merely does not subscribe to Judaism, the problem is of a lesser degree since such a person can be considered a "relapsed" Jew to whom all the laws apply. However, when that person has no connection whatsoever with Judaism and indeed considers himself to be a member of another religion, the problem is most severe. In the Middle Ages the question arose as to whether a Jew is allowed to lend money to such a person on interest or borrow from him on interest (see *Usury), something which is forbidden between two Jews. In the discussion of this problem there were opinions that it is permitted since such a person cannot be considered a Jew at all (*Shibbolei ha-Leket*, Ha-Segullah ed., ch. 46). However, the majority of the decisors have always felt that such a person must halakhically be considered a Jew.

With regard to conversion, the strict law has been that converts should be accepted only when they come out of altruistic reasons, i.e., because they have realized the superiority of the Jewish religion. However, when they wish to convert in order to marry a Jew or for some other reason, they should not be accepted in the first instance; but if they were accepted and have undergone the full ceremony of conversion, they are, post facto, considered to be valid converts. The full ceremony of conversion as pointed out above involves the acceptance of the *mitzvot*, and the general opinion has been that without such acceptance and performance the conversion is invalid even post facto. Since the majority of conversions are not for altruistic reasons, this matter has been very problematic. Moses Feinstein in his *Iggerot Moshe* (YD (1959), no. 160) has suggested that such conversions might be valid since the lack of knowledge of the *mitzvot* does not invalidate a conversion; what would invalidate it is the nonacceptance or lack of observance of the *mitzvot* which are known to the convert. Rather ingeniously he has pointed out that, although the religious court performing the conversion told the convert the more important of the *mitzvot*, and although the convert at least verbally accepts what he or she is told, in fact the convert knows that the overwhelming majority of Jews do not observe these *mitzvot* and believes that the court's standards of observance are in fact unrealistic and not absolutely essential; for otherwise why do the Jews themselves not adhere to these standards. Thus Feinstein sees the lack of observance as a sort of lack of knowledge and, post facto, tends to accept such converts. This, of course, is quite a revolutionary step in that it is accepting – albeit post facto – the standards of Judaism as practiced in preference to the standards of Judaism as codified. It must be pointed out, however, that Feinstein's position is not one which is accepted by the majority of rabbinical authorities. With the immigration from Eastern European countries, the problem of mixed marriages has become a most serious one in the State of Israel, and efforts are being made to facilitate the speedy conversion of the non-Jewish partner and children in order to avoid problems of personal status later on. It can be said that the rabbinical courts are being more permissive in this matter than hitherto, perhaps because of the enormous social and human pressures being brought to bear and the fact that the converts will grow up in a Jewish milieu.

[Raphael Posner]

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"JEW BILL" CONTROVERSY, ENGLAND, term used to refer to the agitation which arose in England in 1753 after the passage of the Jewish Naturalisation Act. Foreign-born persons desiring naturalization as British subjects had, as part of the process, to receive the sacrament at Anglican Holy Communion. Jews wishing to be naturalized, mainly wealthy Sephardi merchants in London, could be exempted from this requirement, although in so doing they would be granted only what was termed "endenization" rather than full citizenship, which carried with it fewer rights. In 1753 the Whig government, which was close to the Jewish commercial community, passed a bill through Parliament allowing Jews to be naturalized without participating in an Anglican service. It had no other effect on the status of British Jews and had no effect on any other group. This Act easily passed through both Houses of Parliament in May 1753. Immediately, however, great antisemitic agitation blew up which forced the government to repeal the Act in December 1753. Propaganda appeared accusing the Jews of ritual murder, of planning to turn St. Paul's Cathedral into a synagogue, and of wanting to force all British males to be circumcised, together with large numbers of broadsides and ballads aimed at the Jews. Although no violence against Jews or Jewish property occurred, several prominent Jews were hissed by crowds when they appeared in public.

The "Jew Bill" agitation had no real precedent and, significantly, no continuation, and no subsequent antisemitic agitation of any kind can be seen in Britain for many decades. It has been linked by historians with popular demagoguery by the Tory opposition just before a general election, as well as with economic fears by poorly paid Anglican clergymen, but remains a genuine puzzle to those historians who have examined it. It seems clear, however, that traditional Christian antisemitic stereotypes had little lasting resonance in Britain by the mid-18th century.

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[William D. Rubinstein (2nd ed.)]

JEWESS OF TOLEDO, the central figure in a legendary love affair of King Alfonso VIII of Castile (1155–1214), which has furnished material for innumerable plays, poems, and novels in Spanish and other languages. The essential story is that Alfonso falls in love with Fermosa (Span. *hermosa*), a beautiful Jewish girl of Toledo, and as a result of his infatuation is accused of neglecting his royal duties. To remove this "nefarious" influence, Alfonso's nobles (in some versions, urged on by the queen) conspire together and murder the unfortunate Jewess. The story must be considered legendary, since the earliest references to it (in reworkings of Alfonso X's *Crónica general* and of the *Castigos é documentos para bien vivir* attributed to Sancho IV) are several generations removed from Alphonso VIII.

The earliest purely literary work dealing with the theme is a ballad by Lorenzo de Sepúlveda (1551). Lope de Vega, whose treatment of the Jews was almost invariably hostile, first mentions the Jewess in his long poem *Jerusalén Conquistada* (Madrid, 1609). He later developed the theme in his play *Las paces de los reyes y judía de Toledo* (1617; ed. by J.A. Castañeda, 1962 Madrid). This work is loosely constructed and the characters are shallow. Though a woman of lax morals, Raquel, as the Jewess is now called, sincerely loves the king and, in her dying words, confesses her belief in Christianity – undoubtedly an attempt by the author to gain more sympathy for her. The nobles who kill her are presented as vicious murderers. The next dramatic treatments are Antonio Mira de Amescua's *La desdichada Raquel* (1635; published Amsterdam, 1726); and *La Judía de Toledo* (Madrid, 1667), a reworking of Amescua's play by Juan Bautista Diamante. In the former, Raquel is presented as an ambitious woman and the character Rubén, her mentor, is a scheming rabbi. Diamante, on the other hand, makes Raquel almost a second Esther and he also presents her father in a favorable light. Other treatments in the 17th century were poems by Paravicino and Luis de Ulloa.

The verse tragedy *La Raquel* (1778, published 1814), by Vicente García de la Huerta (1734–1787) was the only really successful and popular theatrical work of 18th-century Spanish neoclassicism. Raquel is here a more complex character, astute and proud, but in love with the king. The villain is Rubén; perfidious and cowardly, he kills Raquel in an attempt to save his own life. Various works in the 19th century indicate that the theme was still popular, but the treatment betrays a decadence in artistic technique.

From Spain the legend passed to other countries. A French version was Jacques Cazotte's short story *Rachel ou la belle juive* (in *Oeuvres badines et moules*, 1776–88), which radically modified the traditional elements of the story. The tale was more popular in Germany. The earliest German version was the three-act drama, *Rahel, die schoene Juedin* (1789), by Johann Christian Brandes (1735–1799) who imitated Huerta's work. Gottlieb Konrad Pfeffel treated the theme poetically in *Alphons und Rahel* (1799). The most famous version of the legend in German is that by the Austrian playwright Franz Grillparzer, *Die Juedin von Toledo* (1873). Here Raquel is impetuous and flighty and her father unscrupulously seeks advancement through his daughter's beauty. The main character is the king, and the real interest of the play lies in his inner conflict between love and duty – always the dramatic situation in Grillparzer's works – but the most sympathetic and noble character is Raquel's sister, Esther. That the theme has retained vitality is clear from its reappearance in Lion *Feuchtwanger's historical novel *Spanische Ballade* (1955; *Raquel, the Jewess of Toledo*, 1956). This is the most sympathetic treatment of Raquel and the Jews. She is portrayed as a devoted and loving woman and her father is presented as a man of heroism and integrity. The Spanish composer Tómas Bretón used Grillparzer's drama as the basis for his opera *Raquel*, first performed in Madrid in 1900.

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[Kenneth R. Scholberg]

JEWISH AGENCY (Heb. הַסּוֹכְנוּת הַיְּהוּדִית לְאֶרֶץ יִשְׂרָאֵל, *Ha-Sokhenut ha-Yehudit le-Ereẓ Israel*), international, nongovernment body, centered in Jerusalem, which is the executive and representative of the *World Zionist Organization, whose aims are to assist and encourage Jews throughout the world to help in the development and settlement of Ereẓ Israel. The term "Jewish Agency" first appeared in Article Four of the League of Nations Mandate for Palestine, which stipulated that "an appropriate Jewish agency shall be recognized as a public body for the purpose of advising and cooperating with the administration of Palestine in such economic, social, and other matters as may affect the establishment of the Jewish National Home and the interests of the Jewish population in Palestine." The article went on to recognize the Zionist Organization as such an agency "so long as its organization and constitution are in the opinion of the Mandatory appropriate." Indeed the two were coterminous from the time that the Mandate was ratified by the League Council in July 1922 until the enlarged Jewish Agency came into being in August 1929. From that date until the establishment of the State of Israel, this body played the principal role in the relations between the National Home and world Jewry on the one hand and the Mandatory and other powers on the other. In May 1948 the Jewish Agency relinquished many of its functions to the newly created government of Israel, but continued to be responsible for immigration, land settlement, youth work, and other activities financed by voluntary Jewish contributions from abroad.

Early History

Even before the Mandate became effective, discussions had begun in a joint committee of the Zionist Organization and the *Board of Deputies of British Jews with a view to broadening the base of the Jewish Agency by forming a new body representing both Zionists and non-Zionists. It had become clear that the Zionist Organization alone could not command the resources required for building the National Home. As a symbol of Jewish nationalism, it was unacceptable to the non-Zionists whose support was being sought. The appeals to them by the Foundation Fund, established in 1921 as its fund-raising organization, had proved ineffectual. There was also the hope that a more representative body would have greater authority in its dealings with the British government and the Palestine administration, neither of which had sought the advice and cooperation of the Zionist Organization to any large extent.

In 1923, Chaim *Weizmann, the president of the Zionist Organization, was authorized by its general council to set up such a representative body. Weizmann found in Louis *Marshall, long-time president of the *American Jewish Committee, a willing counterpart, but it took six years of intermittent negotiation before the new body came into being. While both the principals strove single-mindedly toward their goal, others were not easily convinced that the two parties could work together. The Zionists resented the tendency of the other side to see in the National Home merely a philanthropic enterprise. The non-Zionists were skeptical of the Zionists' capacity to subordinate their organization and its nationalist aims to a new body more representative of world Jewish opinion. Marshall had pointedly announced the American Jewish Committee's intention to "cooperate for certain specific purposes which do not include the establishment of an independent Jewish state or commonwealth." At one time, the negotiations nearly foundered over the American *Joint Distribution Committee's sponsorship of the project for the resettlement in the Crimea of Russian Jews displaced by the Revolution. The project was bitterly opposed by the Zionists, both for ideological reasons and because it threatened to divert funds from Palestine.

After this controversy died down, much of the residual anti-Agency feeling in Zionist ranks was overcome by economic necessity: the National Home was sorely in need of greater financial support. The 15th Zionist Congress meeting in 1927 set up a Joint Survey Commission, under Sir Alfred Mond (later Lord *Melchett), to formulate a concrete program for cooperation. After a survey in Palestine, its report was submitted in October 1928. The 16th Congress, meeting in Zurich in August 1929, endorsed the proposals by a vote of 230 to 30. There followed the constituent meeting of the council of the enlarged Jewish Agency: a body described by Marshall as "coextensive with the Jewish people everywhere." Among the non-Zionist delegates (40% of whom were Americans) were such figures as Albert *Einstein, Sholem *Asch, Leon *Blum, Sir Herbert (later the first Viscount) *Samuel, and Lord Melchett.

The Agency's constitution provided for parity between Zionists and non-Zionists on its three governing bodies: the 224-member council, the administrative committee, and the executive. The president of the World Zionist Organization was to serve as president of the Jewish Agency unless three-quarters of the council voted otherwise. Officers elected at the first council meeting were Chaim Weizmann, president, Louis Marshall, chairman of the executive, Lord Melchett, associate chairman, Baron Edmond de *Rothschild, honorary chairman, and Felix *Warburg, chairman of the administrative committee.

Subsequent Developments

Notwithstanding its founders' hopes, the Jewish Agency never succeeded in functioning independently of the World Zionist Organization. The parity principle proved unrealistic. Non-Zionists in the Diaspora, without organizational backing (the American Jewish Committee was determined to stay out of the Agency structure even though its officers filled the most important posts), had difficulty in recruiting their quota for council meetings. The "non-Zionists" in Palestine were really Zionist in all but formal affiliation. The Zionists later sought to have the parity provision abolished, and this led to some ill feeling. The deaths of Louis Marshall and Lord Melchett shortly after the founding meeting removed much of the motive power behind the Jewish Agency idea in their respective communities, and the worldwide depression impeded the raising of additional money for Palestine.

At the same time, Arab apprehensions were aroused by the apparent reinforcement of Zionist power, and the 1929 riots in Palestine accelerated the Mandatory disinclination to foster the Jewish National Home. Following the inquiry by the Shaw Commission into the causes of the 1929 disturbances, the British government, through its secretary of state for the colonies, Lord Passfield, issued a *White Paper which called for severe limitations on Jewish immigration and settlement in Palestine. Pressure by the Jewish Agency, including the resignations of Weizmann and Warburg, led Prime Minister Ramsay MacDonald to provide assurances which virtually nullified the White Paper.

Functions

The Jewish Agency maintained an executive in Jerusalem and another in London (a New York branch superseded the latter when the center of diplomatic and Jewish activity shifted to the U.S. after World War II). The Jerusalem executive organized the movement and absorption of immigrants, fostered settlement on the land, took part in the development of the Jewish economy, and promoted educational and social services in cooperation with the *Va'ad Le'ummi (National Council of the Jews of Palestine). The Agency's political department in Jerusalem negotiated with the Palestine administration, while the London executive maintained contact with the colonial and foreign offices. The Agency was represented at the sessions of the Permanent Mandates Commission of the League of Nations when Palestine was being discussed. Together with the Va'ad Le'ummi, the Agency supervised the *Haganah, the clandestine Jewish defense force.

The major political effort of the Jewish Agency was concentrated on inducing the Palestine administration to interpret liberally the "economic absorptive capacity" by which Jewish immigration was regulated. With the rise of Hitler, its exertions resulted in the legal immigration of 62,000 persons in a single year, 1935. Under the **Haavara* ("transfer") agreement with the German government, some $25 million in German Jewish assets were transferred to Palestine. During the same period, the Agency assumed responsibility for the *Youth Aliyah program designed to bring children to Palestine from Nazi Germany.

These developments kept the Jewish Agency structure together for nearly a decade in spite of internal stresses. But the arrangement barely withstood the strains generated by the recommendations of the Peel Commission (sent in 1936 to investigate the causes of the disturbances) to partition Palestine into Jewish and Arab states. While the 20th Zionist Congress, meeting in Lausanne in August 1937, endorsed the principle of partition by a narrow margin, the non-Zionist section of the Jewish Agency council, which subsequently convened in the same city, strongly opposed it. But the partition proposal was carried by the Zionists instructed to vote en bloc, and Felix Warburg, who had succeeded Marshall as the senior American member of the executive, died while negotiating a compromise.

The Arabs also opposed partition, and Britain reversed its position in the wake of still another committee of inquiry (the Woodhead Commission). Following the failure of a round-table conference called by the British government as a last attempt to reconcile Jewish and Arab views, the MacDonald White Paper was issued in May 1939. This temporarily restored unity of action in the Agency. The American non-Zionists now submitted a plan to Weizmann for its reorganization, but the crisis leading to World War II prevented the convening of its council in Europe, and no further joint meetings were held.

World War II and the Struggle for the State

With the adoption by the Zionists in May 1942 of the *Biltmore Program calling for a Jewish commonwealth in Palestine, effective non-Zionist participation in the Jewish Agency came to an end, and it once more became identified with the World Zionist Organization. As such it fought the White Paper restrictions on land purchase and immigration, mainly by organizing "illegal" immigration of survivors from Europe in the face of determined British opposition, throughout the war and until the eve of statehood. At the same time, the Agency took the lead in mobilizing the resources of the *yishuv* on behalf of the Allied war effort. David *Ben-Gurion, chairman of the executive from 1935, called on the *yishuv* "to fight the White Paper as though there were no war and to fight the war as though there were no White Paper."

The defeat of the Axis and the disclosure of the Nazi Holocaust in Europe brought the Agency to the forefront of the struggle for statehood. Its defiance of the British authorities led to the arrest of members of the executive, along with other leading figures in the *yishuv*, on June 29, 1946. On the diplomatic front, the arena shifted from Palestine (where the executive stated the Jewish case first to the Anglo-American Commission of Inquiry of 1946 and later to the United Nations Special Committee on Palestine) to London, and to New York where Moshe *Sharett and Rabbi Abba Hillel *Silver were the chief Jewish Agency spokesmen in the deliberations leading to the UN General Assembly's partition resolution of November 29, 1947. In the interim period until the declaration of independence, the Agency and the Va'ad Le'ummi set up a National Council of 37 and a National Administration of 13, which, on the declaration of independence, became the State of Israel's provisional legislature and government. With the creation of the state, the Jewish Agency transferred its political functions to the provisional government and leading members of the Jerusalem executive, led by Ben-Gurion and Sharett, moved over to the Cabinet.

The Jewish Agency after 1948

The Zionist General Council decided in August 1948 that the Agency should continue to deal with immigration to Israel, absorption of immigrants, land settlement, and the channeling of world Jewry's support to the state. This decision was approved by the Zionist Congress in Jerusalem in 1951, which adopted the "Jerusalem Program" and was incorporated in the World Zionist Organization-Jewish Agency (Status) Law adopted by the Knesset on November 24, 1952. (The law considered the World Zionist Organization and the Jewish Agency to be identical.) On July 26, 1954 a formal covenant was signed between the Israel government and the World Zionist Organization-Jewish Agency, recognizing the latter as the representative of world Jewry in relation to the functions cited above. These were carried out through the following departments: immigration, absorption, agricultural settlement, Youth Aliyah, economic, organization, information, external relations, youth and He-Ḥalutz, education and culture in the Diaspora, and later Torah education and culture in the Diaspora. The members of the executive, elected by the Zionist Congress along party lines, headed the departments.

The first five of these departments played key roles in the settlement of the immigrants. The immigration department operated a network of facilities in Europe and elsewhere for processing the migrants at points of origin and in transit. It arranged for medical examinations and other formalities and supplied transport, at times chartering ships and aircraft. The department of absorption received the newcomer on arrival, provided initial grants of cash and household goods, sent him to a camp, village or town, and allotted him housing accommodation. It also provided Hebrew instruction in its **ulpanim*, offered vocational training courses and, with the economic department, made loans to artisans and small businessmen. It provided health insurance and welfare services during the first few months in the country, operated hostels for professionals, and planned the rehabilitation of hard-core social cases. For some years, the Agency shared with the government the cost of housing construction in immigrant areas.

The Youth Aliyah program, originally conceived to care for orphaned or unaccompanied youngsters from Nazi-dominated Europe and elsewhere, adapted itself to the new conditions by also providing for children of immigrant families unable to give them a decent home and education. Where previously the great majority of the children had come from Europe, in later years about 80% of the 12,000 youngsters under Youth Aliyah care at any one time were of non-European origin. As in the past, most were placed in kibbutzim or in children's villages where they divided their time between schooling and agricultural training. Foster care and occupational training in trades other than agriculture were also provided.

In 1949, the Department for Education and Culture in the Diaspora was established to help replace the loss of centers of Jewish learning destroyed in the Holocaust. At its Ḥayyim Greenberg Teachers' Seminary in Jerusalem, Diaspora Jewish youth, mainly from Latin America, were trained as Hebrew teachers, while Israelis were sent abroad to supplement local personnel in schools, camps, and youth organizations. This activity was stepped up considerably after the events of 1967 called for development of greater Jewish consciousness as well as Hebrew study in the Diaspora. Furthermore, advice and literature were sent to Hebrew-teaching schools, and seminars were organized in Israel for high-school age students of Hebrew.

A parallel Department of Torah Education and Culture in the Diaspora was established in 1951 which promoted similar activities along Orthodox lines, and also provided for the training of *shoḥatim, mohalim*, and *ḥazzanim* from the Diaspora. Its principal educational center in Israel is the Rabbi Gold Teachers Seminary in Jerusalem. Israeli teachers were trained for work abroad at Bar-Ilan University. The department also sent emissaries and textbooks abroad.

The Youth and He-Ḥalutz Department was established in 1940 and in 1946 the Institute for Youth Instructors from Abroad was founded in Jerusalem. Many kibbutzim cooperated in its schemes in providing work and instruction as part of the course. Between 1946 and 1967 more than 3,500 instructors studied there. The department was thoroughly reorganized in 1968 to meet the influx of youth from the West after the Six-Day War. Four sections were established for the training of youth in North America, Latin America, Europe, and "English-speaking" countries by means of emissaries. As part of this project the Arad and Emissaries Institutes were established in Israel. A students' division was also added to the department to cope with the 1967 volunteers who remained in Israel to study at the institutes of higher learning. The department developed a wide range of summer programs in Israel for youngsters from abroad.

Foremost in annual budget and personnel was the Department of Agricultural Settlement, with a staff of some 1,500 at the peak period and expenditure of as much as $50 million in a single year. It established 480 new villages after 1948, comprising some 32,000 farm units, furnishing them with equipment, livestock, and irrigation installations, as well as expert instruction. Their aggregate production in the late 1960s constituted 70% of the country's total agricultural output.

During the first years of the state, the Agency performed the tasks connected with mass immigration creditably, at times brilliantly. It succeeded in accommodating the record number of 239,000 immigrants who came in 1949, so that none remained without a roof over his head for a single night. In 1950, some 169,000 newcomers arrived and 174,000 in 1951. Among the earlier waves were the inmates of the European DP camps and those forcibly detained in Cyprus, Yemenite Jews ferried to Israel in "Operation Magic Carpet," and hundreds of thousands from Eastern Europe and North Africa. In 1951, Iraqi Jews were evacuated in "Operation Ezra and Nehemiah." Nearly the whole of Bulgarian Jewry, more than half the Jews of Yugoslavia, as well as 40,000 from Turkey and 18,000 from Iran, went to Israel during those first three years. The Agency accommodated the mass influx first by utilizing abandoned Arab housing, then setting up tented camps in various parts of the country, later superseded by *ma'barot* ("transit camps") consisting of one-room shacks. While the tent dwellers were wholly supported by the Jewish Agency, the *ma'barot* were located near towns where the newcomers eventually found jobs and could thus dispense with direct Jewish Agency support. In 1951, the 123 *ma'barot* had a population of 227,000.

By the time the World Zionist Organization-Jewish Agency Status Law was enacted, however, immigration had dwindled, and the Jewish Agency's future was being widely questioned. The expectation that the World Zionist Organization would become the principal link between Israel and the Diaspora proved unrealistic. Non-Zionist groups maintained their primacy there, especially in the United States. Israel, moreover, was also anxious for immigration from the free lands of the West, and the Agency did not succeed in creating such a movement on an appreciable scale. Prime Minister David Ben-Gurion took the Zionist movement to task on these and other counts, and his sallies damaged its prestige. Differences of opinion over foreign policy with the Jewish Agency chairman and World Zionist Organization president, Nahum *Goldmann, widened the rift between Israel's political leaders and the Zionist movement. However, the Agency successfully coped with the resumption of immigration from Eastern Europe and North Africa in 1955–57 and 1961–64. It evolved the ship-to-settlement plan bringing immigrants directly to permanent homes in villages or development towns. The rural settlement area of Lachish, with its cluster of villages built around an urban industrial and administrative center, won renown as a model of integrated planning.

The election of Moshe *Sharett to the chairmanship of the Jewish Agency Executive in 1960 marked the beginning of an effort to instill new vigor into the Jewish Agency by broadening its base. Both he and Goldmann, who continued as president, wished to see non-Zionists co-opted to the executive and to break the exclusive hold of the Zionist parties. In 1960, a new constitution was adopted which opened membership to territorial or interterritorial Zionist organizations, as well as to national and international Jewish bodies accepting the Jerusalem Program. Although associated groups from seven countries were represented at the 25th Congress in 1960, the constitutional reform had little practical effect. The 26th Congress in 1965 went further by resolving to co-opt several prominent non-Zionists as members of the executive without portfolio. Thus the executive reverted toward its former composition, but without the underpinning of non-Zionist representation in the constituent bodies. The question of non-Zionist participation meanwhile had come up on another level. In 1960, an American body was created to supervise disbursement in Israel of funds raised by the *United Jewish Appeal, in compliance with U.S. government regulations on tax-deductible gifts to charitable organizations. The new body was named the Jewish Agency for Israel, Inc. (changed to United Israel Appeal, Inc. in 1966). Its board of directors was composed in equal parts of organized Zionists, non-Zionists, and persons drawn from both camps who were active in fundraising. The Jerusalem executive of the Agency was appointed by this body as its official agent for implementing the programs for which American funds were allocated. To monitor these expenditures, it maintained an office in Israel.

Department in U.S.

The Jerusalem Executive, in turn, was represented in America by a body known as The Jewish Agency – American Section, Inc., which consisted of those members of the Executive who resided in the United States. These included Zionist leaders elected to the Executive along party lines as well as nonparty members co-opted in accordance with the decision of the 26th Zionist Congress. Unlike their colleagues in Jerusalem, the American members of the Executive did not head Agency departments, but some of them were responsible for the activities of certain departments in the Western Hemisphere. As an agent of the Jewish Agency, Jerusalem, The Jewish Agency – American Section, Inc. was required to register with the U.S. Department of Justice under the Foreign Agents Registration Act of 1938.

Finances

The following is a summary of income of the Jewish Agency for the period from Oct. 1, 1948 to Mar. 31, 1963: Gift funds, $653.6 million (54.1%), German Reparations, $173.1 million (14.3%), income from assets, + sundries, $53.9 million (4.5%), allocations from public bodies, $32.1 million (2.7%), Israel Government participation $169.6 million (14.0%) and earmarked contributions, $124.9 million (10.4%).

Of the gift funds, about 80% came from the United States. Assets on March 31, 1963 (registered in the name of *Keren Hayesod) were put at $307 million, liabilities at $201 million. The Agency's income from donations by world Jewry increased dramatically after the Six-Day War, enabling it to finance costs of welfare and other services on behalf of immigrants, hitherto borne by the Israel government.

New Directions

In the second half of the 1960s, proposals were heard from within the movement to separate the Jewish Agency once more from the World Zionist Organization structure. The reason this time was not related to non-Zionist participation. The proponents of separation felt that the mixture of practical tasks with ideology was detrimental to both; that by leaving the concrete tasks of immigration resettlement to the Agency the Zionist Organization could concentrate on winning the Diaspora to its ideology. However, the 27th Congress (June 1968) did not adopt these proposals. Instead, it approved reforms proposed by Louis *Pincus (who had become chairman upon Moshe Sharett's death in 1965), which consolidated the various departments in the interests of efficiency and reduced the membership of the executive. Nahum Goldmann was not reelected as WZO president, and the office remained vacant. The Congress also adopted a new, more outspokenly Zionist, Jerusalem Program, and decided to set up a nonparty *aliyah* movement.

While the 27th Congress was in session, the Israel government announced the creation of a new Ministry of Immigrant Absorption thus assuming direct responsibility in this sphere. The Jewish Agency's department of immigration and absorption continued to register and bring over the immigrants, look after *ulpanim* and reception centers, and care for needy newcomers. A joint government-Jewish Agency authority was charged with delineating the respective areas of competence, and the modus vivendi agreed upon provided for continued Jewish Agency responsibility primarily for immigration abroad, with the ministry dealing with most areas of absorption in Israel itself. The government, however, stopped short of a complete takeover in this area with the knowledge that the financial contributions of world Jewry, and of American Jews in particular, must be disbursed by nongovernmental bodies in order to be entitled to exemption from income taxes. At the same time, a renewed effort was made to give the Jewish Agency fresh vigor and legitimacy by broadening its base and by giving, in the words of its chairman, Louis Pincus, "world Jewry, which raises the funds for Israel, a direct say in the way the funds are spent." Under a plan approved by the Zionist General Council in July 1969, the structure and functions of the Jewish Agency and World Zionist Organization were to be separated in much the same manner as provided for by the 1929 agreement to set up the enlarged Jewish Agency: the Jewish Agency was to deal with "practical" work in Israel and the World Zionist Organization with Zionist, educational, and organizational tasks in the Diaspora. Like its predecessor, the reconstituted Jewish Agency was to consist of three parts – an assembly, a board of governors, and an executive – and once again 50% of the members of the assembly were to be designated by the World Zionist Organization. A vexing problem that had plagued the original Jewish Agency, namely the designation of non-Zionist members, was to be obviated by having the second 50% of the membership designated by the principal fund-raising organizations functioning in the Diaspora on behalf of Israel. This plan was finalized in 1970 and thus after 40 years of activity, the Jewish Agency in effect reverted, in its organizational form, to the ideas that first created it.

[Ernest Stock]

Into the 1990s and Beyond

Since the mid-1980s, the Jewish Agency (JA) and World Zionist Organization (WZO) have sought ways to redefine many of their traditional programs and modes of operation as well as to effect a new division between them. This process emerged in response to changes in Israel-Diaspora relations, but it was also shaped by ongoing tensions and differences in the relative strength of the constituent groups of these bodies. As a result, major transformations occurred.

Far-reaching programmatic and operational modifications have been made in an effort to streamline bureaucracy and bring about cost efficiency. In 1988 alone, 559 budgeted personnel positions were terminated in the JA. By 1990, one third of all JA employees had been made redundant. Traditional Agency departments: Aliyah, Youth Aliyah, Rural Settlement, and Project Renewal were restructured. Another three departments, Torah Education & Culture, General Education & Culture, and Youth & He-Ḥalutz, formerly solely in the domain of the WZO, have come under the budgetary and programmatic aegis of a newly created JA/WZO Authority for Jewish Zionist Education. Initially it was envisaged that the budget of the Authority would be about $50 million a year approximating the aggregate of the separate departments, but the 1993 budget allocated only $33.9 million.

In 1993, the departments of Rural Settlement and Renewal & Development were merged into a combined Department for Rural and Urban Development. This culminated a process which began at the June 1991 Assembly. The new department was mandated to operate on a time and resource limited project base.

Budgetary constraints also forced a gradual reduction in the total number of youngsters in the care of the Youth Aliyah Department from 19,000 in the fiscal year 1986/87 to 14,000 in 1992/93. This cutback was made despite the massive inflow of immigrants and the deteriorating economic state of broad sections of Israeli society. Here, as in the case of rural settlement and urban renewal, the economies of scale followed on studies conducted by consultants appointed by the JA Board of Governors.

Several catalysts together generated the changes. Among these were an extended world business slump, demands that funds raised in the Diaspora be used domestically, and the unforeseen enormous costs of financing *aliyah* from the former Soviet Union and Ethiopia. The personalities of the leaders of the WZO and the JA, and the divergent political, public, and business cultures from which they hailed also contributed to the shifts. Overriding all these components was the difficult structural and philosophic interface between two systems – the political WZO and the philanthropic/communal JA.

Almost all the leadership elites of the JA reside overseas and are appointed to their positions, whereas the majority of WZO officials live in Israel and are elected through political parties.

Jewish communal life in the Diaspora revolves around the maintenance of educational systems, welfare institutions, synagogues and other functions, all of which require funding; this calls for a highly complex fundraising capacity. Lacking the means to levy taxes, the compelling issue facing those structures is the mobilization of funds. Since fundraising is not a democratic activity, cost efficiency is arguably at the top of campaign considerations. The role of major contributors is thus perpetuated, which in turn coalesces into an oligarchy.

In the WZO, leadership is by demonstrated electability. While Zionists are critical of what they term dominance by people of wealth, community leaders in the Diaspora are equally critical about what they term the exaggerated politicizing of Israeli-Zionist leadership and the attendant political coloration of policy.

In 1971, the Reconstituted Jewish Agency was composed of representatives of institutional Jewish life in the Diaspora, e.g., the communal federation system and the fund-raising community, who joined the existing structure – which had been made up exclusively of Zionists – in a fifty-fifty partnership. Subsequently, the creation of JA governing bodies – an Executive, a Board of Governors, and an Assembly – separated the JA from the WZO's governing bodies – an Executive, the Zionist General Council, and Zionist Congress. (By statute, however, certain positions, particularly those of the chairman and the treasurer of the Executive, remained common to both.) The result was that the JA became an autonomous organization in which the leadership of Diaspora communities initially acquired equal responsibility, and later supremacy in determining policy and budget.

Until February 1988, the Jewish Agency Executive, like that of the WZO, worked both ideologically and operationally as a collective. This meant that the chairman functioned as the "first among equals," with decisions taken as a group. In response to the demand by Diaspora members of the Board of Governors, particularly the Americans, to institute a corporate managerial style, each head of department within the JA tacitly agreed in 1992 that the chairman of the Executive may operate, when necessary, with decision-making authority. In addition, prior to February 1988, the director-general of the JA merely had a coordinating role. Subsequently, all department directors-general, and the secretary-general of the JA, are professionally responsible to the director-general.

Certain checks-and-balances were incorporated into the JA system. Fifty percent of the representatives in the 398-member Assembly of the JA (convened annually) are elected for a four-year term by the Zionist General Council. The remaining members are appointed by the United Jewish Appeal (30%) for a one-year term, while Keren ha-Yesod (20%) appoints representatives for a four-year period. The chairman of the WZO Executive also serves as chairman of the Assembly which determines basic policy and goals, reviews and acts upon budgets, determines priorities and directions of future budgets, adopts resolutions and elects the Board of Governors. The 75-member Board of Governors, which meets in between Assemblies to determine policy, manage, supervise, control, and direct operations and activities, is composed according to the same key as the JA Assembly.

The challenges met during the 1980s and 1990s by the JA have been its greatest since the early days of the State of Israel. The twin chapters of immigration from the former Soviet Union and from Ethiopia appear to have had an exhilarating effect on Jews around the world, effecting a great increase in fundraising and wrenching it out of the doldrums of eroding incomes. In the first years of the 21st century it was operating in nearly 80 countries through over 450 emissaries with a budget of around $400 million. Avraham *Burg served as chairman of the Executive from 1995 to 1999, succeeded by Sallai Meridor (1999) and Zeev Bielski (2005).

[Amnon Hadary]

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JEWISH AGRICULTURAL (and Industrial Aid) SOCIETY, organization chartered in New York in 1900 to provide East European immigrants with training "as free farmers on their own soil…" A subsidiary of the *Baron de Hirsch Fund, the society emphasized self-supporting agricultural activities, with rural industry to supplement farm incomes. Its *Industrial Removal Office, autonomous after 1907, relocated thousands of immigrant workers from the cities. Among the society's continued functions was the extension of loans on generous terms to farm cooperatives as well as individuals. It offered placement services and advice to potential agriculturists. A Yiddish and English-language monthly, *The Jewish Farmer*, was a vital channel of communication. While its extension specialists fostered agrarian innovations, the Bureau of Educational Activities stimulated cultural life, especially in the established rural communities of southern New Jersey and Connecticut. The society's officers included Eugene S. Benjamin, Cyrus L. Sulzberger, Jacob G. Lipman, Henry Morgenthau, Jr., and Lewis L. Strauss. An early shift from group colonization to assisting individual enterprise became the basis of most of the society's operations. Its diversified programs for self-help, whether in New Jersey, New York, New England, or California, were extended to thousands of displaced persons in the post-World War II era.

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[Joseph Brandes]

JEWISH AND ISLAMIC LAW, A COMPARATIVE REVIEW.

The Relationship between Jewish and Islamic Law

Comparative studies in the field of Jewish and Islamic Law began more than 150 years ago with the publication of Abraham Geiger's *Was hat Mohammed aus dem Judenthum aufgenommen* (1833, rev. 1902). That study, and those that followed, concentrated primarily on the attempt to pinpoint cases in which Jewish law influenced Islamic law in the latter's early stages, against the background of the close physical and geographical proximity of Jews, Arabs, and Muslims – sometimes as actual neighbors – around the time of Islam's birth and later, creating what scholars have called "a state of symbiosis." Scholars were also mindful of the overall similarity of the two legal systems, both being casuistic, formal, personal, relevant to all areas of human behavior, developed mainly by the efforts of legal scholars rather than by judicial precedent; both do not distinguish between state and religion, since both give religious law precedence over the state; both distinguish between areas associated with religious ritual (*issur ve-hetter* in Judaism, *ʿibādāt*) and those relating to private law (*dinei mamonot*, *muʿāmalāt*), between matters concerning man and God (*bein adam la-makom*, *ḥaqq Allāh*) and matters concerning interpersonal relations (*bein adam la-ḥavero*, *ḥaqq ādamī*). In both systems, a system of punishment evolved alongside that prescribed by the Bible (rabbinically ordained flogging) or by the Qur'ān (Koran; *ta'zīr* punishments based on the late principle of *siyāsa shar'iyya* – administrative justice within the limits of the *Shari'a*).

Despite the similarities in the main characteristics of the two legal systems, the differences are clearly visible. Thus, although both were developed by legal scholars, the Muslim magistrate, the *qāḍī*, generally appointed by the ruler, is not necessarily well versed in the law but must consult with legal scholars, his main task being the administration of the law in practice; neither can his judgment be appealed in a higher court. In Jewish law, however, the court generally comprises several judges (3, 23, or 71) who must be learned in the law; litigants often having the option of appealing to a higher court.

Quite naturally, early comparative studies of Jewish and Islamic law focused mainly on the influence of Jewish law in ritual matters (*ʿibādāt*), such as prayer, fasting, charity, ritual fitness of foods, etc., and less on other areas of law. In time, particularly in recent years, attention has also focused on the influence of Islamic law on Jewish law. Any discussion of the relationship between the two systems must therefore concern itself with two phases: (1) the early history of Islam, characterized mainly by Jewish influence on Islamic law; and (2) greater influence of Islamic on Jewish law as Islam consolidated its political power and evolved its own legal principles, from the 8th to the 12th centuries. Muslim influence, however, never actually reached the proportions of "legal transplants," but was rather limited, primarily affecting a few topics of legal theory, private law (*muʿāmalāt*), and, to a certain degree, genres of legal literature.

The comparative study of Jewish and Islamic law is meaningful not only in areas of mutual influence, but also as regards differences and parallels owing to social and economic factors (representing the human age in their background), to the possible influence on both of a third legal system, or to early traditions in the environment in which each evolved (the so-called "juristic *koiné*"). A major object of study is thus the characterization of each system and its particular trends of development. In the following discussion, the specific characteristics of each system and the relationship between the two systems in both phases will be reviewed, as well as parallels that were not necessarily the result of mutual influence.

FIRST PHASE. The earliest evidence in the first phase is of local Jewish customs that influenced the Arabs in pre-Islamic times, as attested by various Arab traditions, such as ablution before prayer: "For we have Jewish neighbors and they are accustomed to wash their lower parts of excreta, and we washed as they did" (Kister, "On the Jews of Arabia," p. 231). These traditions persisted after the birth of Islam: "'We washed with water during the *jāhiliyya* and did not abandon [the practice] when Islam appeared,' he [Muḥammad] said, 'do not abandon it'" (Kister, *ibid*.). Such influence finds expression in the Qur'ān, which in several cases notes that it is sometimes guided by earlier books or laws (as in IV, 31; V, 52; etc.). Some *sūra*s in the Qur'ān clearly echo biblical or mishnaic texts. For example, V, 45 reads: "And therein [= in the Torah] We prescribed for them: 'A life for a life, an eye for an eye, a nose for a nose, an ear for an ear, a tooth for a tooth, and for wounds retaliation'; but whosoever forgoes it as a freewill offering, that shall be for him an expiation." This is a close parallel of the biblical verses Ex. 21, 23–24 and Deut. 19, 21. Another example (*ibid*., 32) is: "Therefore We prescribed for the Children of Israel that whoso slays a soul not to retaliate for a soul slain, nor for corruption done in the land, shall be as if he had slain mankind altogether; and whoso gives life to a soul, shall be as if he had given life to mankind altogether," echoing the well-known mishnaic adage "Whosoever destroys a single soul of Israel, Scripture imputes [guilt] to him as though he had destroyed a complete world; and whosoever preserves a single soul of Israel, Scripture ascribes [merit] to him as though he had preserved a complete world" (San. 4, 5). The verse prescribing the beginning of the fast of Ramadan (II, 187), "Eat and drink, until the white thread shows clearly to you from the black thread at the dawn…," recalls the definition of the earliest time for reciting the *Shema'* in the Mishnah (Berakhot 1.2): "From what time may one recite the *Shema'* in the morning? From the time that one can distinguish between blue and white. R. Eliezer says: Between blue and green." There is also evidence in the Qur'ān, albeit not explicit, for a link between the Muslim fast of Ramadan and the Jewish Day of Atonement: "O believers, prescribed for you is the Fast, even as it was prescribed for those that were before you" (II, 183). Muslim tradition refers to an indirect link between the Muslim Friday (LXII, 9) and the Jewish Sabbath; it was this link that inspired the people of Medina to request Friday as a day of prayer, when they complained: "The Jews have a day on which, once in seven days, they gather together, and the Christians similarly. Let us establish a day in which we will congregate, speak of Allah, pray, and thank Him" (Kister, *ibid*., p. 245). It has been argued that some of the Ten Commandments are represented in the Qur'ān, though in Muslim guise. The list of marriages that are prohibited because of a blood relationship (IV, 22) is largely parallel to the list in Lev. 18: 6–20. Some scholars believe that the prohibition of usury in the Qur'ān (II, 287–288; IV, 33) was also influenced by the Jewish prohibition (Lev. 25:36; Deut. 23:20–21).

It is evident from these examples that the early Muslims were acquainted with Jewish sources not only by observation of their Jewish neighbors, but also, and perhaps primarily, thanks to Jews who had converted to Islam and brought their Jewish traditions with them. This was at first an oral process, with such converts presumably reading the Torah and translating it; the earliest documented Arabic translations of the Torah, however, date to a later period. An early collection of Muslim *ḥadīth*s (al-Bukhari's *Ṣaḥīḥ*) reports that the Jews used to read the Torah in Hebrew and translate or interpret it for Muslims in their own language. Another tradition relates that Muḥammad permitted his followers to read the Torah and tell stories of the Children of Israel from Jewish sources, provided that they did not obey its commandments (Kister, *Ḥaddīthū*, p. 234). According to one tradition, Muḥammad actually judged Jews who had been accused of adultery, sentencing them to be stoned after he had consulted the Torah itself to determine their punishment; Muslim tradition has it that as a result a verse prescribing stoning, not originally in the Qur'ān, was revealed (J. Burton, *The Sources of Islamic Law*, 1990, pp. 129–132).

Because of the eclectic nature of the Qur'ān, some Qur'ānic verses, among other things (see below), actually contradict biblical or talmudic law. One example is the prohibition on marriage with one's niece (IV, 22), which talmudic law permits and in fact considers a meritorious act (Tosefta, Kid. 1. 5; Yev. 62b). Similarly, divorce as prescribed in the Qur'ān deviates in two respects from biblical law. First, divorce is effected, according to the Bible, by means of a document handed to the woman (Deut. 24:1–4), whereas a Muslim may divorce his wife by a unilateral announcement; second, the Qur'ān permits a divorced woman who has remarried to return to her first husband (II, 230), while biblical law forbids such a marriage (Deut. *ibid*.). There are also differences in inheritance laws: The Qur'ān allows female relatives to bequeath property or inherit it (II, 7–12), whereas biblical law gives preferential treatment to men in the context of inheritance (Num. 36:1–4). In addition, there are differences pertaining to marriage, dowry, and procedure.

Besides the aforesaid eclectic nature of the Qur'ān, some of the differences between Jewish and Islamic law may also be attributed to the early Muslims' contact with sectarian Jews, who rejected rabbinic *halakhah*, such as the prohibition of marriage with one's niece. Other differences stem from the particular social and economic structure of Jewish society, which was largely agricultural, as against Muslim society, which was primarily mercantile. These differences might explain the nature of Jewish inheritance law, which tended to preserve the integrity of large properties, whereas Islamic law permitted the distribution of small shares to several heirs.

Similarly, Jewish law, characteristically for an agricultural society, impeded the transfer of property by requiring an act of acquisition, whereas the largely mercantile Muslim society was content with oral agreements, which imposed fewer restrictions on commercial life. Some of the differences may be attributed to Muḥammad's tendency to distance himself from the more rigorous aspects of Jewish law, as implied in the Qur'ān (II, 286): "Our Lord, do Thou not burden us beyond what we have the strength to bear." This tendency was implicit in a later interpretive principle of Islamic law known as *rikhṣa* (permission, alleviation), as against Jewish law, which, as Goitein pointed out in a well-known article, is referred to as *azīma* (stern, rigid).

Muslim jurists differed as to the status of provisions of Jewish law incorporated in the Qur'ān and in the *Sunna*. In one view, pre-Islamic law was an integral part of the Islamic system unless explicitly abrogated. This was the case with respect to various laws derived from Qur'ānic verses that had originated in the Bible, such as the verse concerning suretyship (XII, 71–78), of which the Ḥanafi jurist Sarakhsī (d. 1099) wrote: "The law that preceded us is our law as long as it has not been abrogated." Muslim jurists also applied the principle in the areas of dowry and hiring. Other Muslim scholars, however, preferring to distance themselves from Jewish influence, entirely rejected the possibility of Islamic law assimilating laws from the Jewish system.

SECOND PHASE. The second phase, comprising the period of the *geonim* (8th to 11th centuries), was marked by a change in the patterns of influence, in that it was primarily Islamic law that began to influence the practice of Jewish law in the Jewish communities of the East; the latter, as a minority group, were influenced by legal practice as determined by the ruling majority, in several areas: legal theory, rules of inference, linguistic terminology, and literary creation. Patterns of Muslim legal literature also influenced the writings of leading Jewish legal authorities. Muslim influence was not without its effect on the lower echelons of Jewish society, which sometimes adopted customs from the environment that reflected Islamic law.

Several factors combined to influence patterns of influence in the second phase. First, the *geonim* were familiar with Islam and its law, which often provided the background to their own rulings. For example, one geonic responsum, discussing the question of whether a convert forfeits inheritance rights, writes: "…these Muslims… for in the religion of Ishmael they do not permit a convert to inherit the property of his father." R. Saadiah Gaon is familiar with the legal terms relating to Muslim deeds: "I would like to know, concerning a scribe among the Muslims who knows ten formulations from the books of deeds by heart, what would his position be among them? Would he thereby become a sage, or a legal scholar, or a jurist, or a judge?" (all terms taken from Islamic law). In connection with the administration of oaths, R. Hai Gaon rules "that the oath sworn by the Ishmaelites, saying, 'There is no God but Allah,' is a major oath." Elsewhere, he notes: "Thus we see that in this city in which we now live, that is, Baghdad, the non-Jewish courts admit evidence only from competent witnesses, adult and rich, of whom there has been no breath of theft, falsehood or vanity, who are specified in their religion and called *al-mu'addilīn*." Islamic law is sometimes reflected in the formulation of questions, as in the case when Rav Natronai of Sura was asked: "In our locality it is customary that if a person frees his slave and that slave dies without sons, then his master inherits him" – as in Islamic law, where a master can inherit from a slave. On the other hand, one also finds negative reactions to Islamic law. Thus, R. Yehudai Gaon expresses disapproval of the practice of handing down a legal opinion to one of the litigants: "It is forbidden to discuss the law with him or tell him anything about the law. For that is the practice of the courts of the Cutheans [= non-Jews], that one requests a legal opinion in advance." And Rav Hai criticizes the Muslim version of the lunar calendar, whose festivals do not occur in the same season every year: "…[the Muslims' festivals] move around [from season to season], for their months are the months of the [lunar] year and they have no intercalation."

Another factor that figured in the flow of influence was the frequency of Jewish contact with Muslims and with the Muslim authorities, fear of which inspired the *geonim* to adopt a generally moderate attitude to Muslim religion, Islamic law, Muslim rulers, and their subjects. The *geonim* applied the principle of *dina de-malkhuta dina* ("the law of the state [lit.: kingdom] is law"), on the assumption that Muslim rule was a result of divine providence. Jewish legal authorities therefore acquiesced in the laws promulgated by the Muslim authorities, recognizing deeds issued or approved by Muslim courts, although explicit mention of *dina de-malkhuta* is fairly rare; their attitude to the Muslim authorities was generally positive: "These Muslims are most solicitous for us and most protective toward us." This may be an appreciation of their judicial autonomy under Muslim rule. However, they also complain of "a cruel and harsh government," implying apprehension of the ruling authorities and the need to make allowance for the imposition of Islamic law in certain areas, as in their ruling that it is permissible administer an oath to a non-Jewish partner, contrary to talmudic law (Sanh. 63b). Because of the prohibition of usury in Islamic law, Rav Hai prohibits loans at interest to Muslims, although the biblical injunction against usury does not apply to non-Jews: "It is not permitted to charge a non-Jew interest save in the case of non-Jews for whom this is proper; that is, who themselves lend and borrow at interest. But as for these Ishmaelites, who forbid this in their religion, it is forbidden to lend them at interest – even learned scholars, for that would involve desecration of God's name." Significantly, they do not consider Muslim wine as "libated wine," not categorizing Muslims as idolaters. There are many other cases of similar import.

A third factor influencing the absorption of Muslim usages was the lenience of Islamic law in certain areas, in regard to both substance and procedure, compared to the corresponding provisions of Jewish law – especially since Muslim courts possessed powers of coercion. Accordingly, there was a growing tendency among Jews to turn to Muslim courts, furthering an appreciation among Jews of the Muslim court system and its regulations. There is ample evidence, for example, of women in the category known as "rebellious wife" (*ishah moredet*) appealing to Muslim courts in order to circumvent Jewish law, which would not readily grant them a divorce; in such cases the *geonim* felt it necessary to deviate from talmudic law, in order to keep such women in the frame of Jewish courts.

A fourth factor furthering Muslim influence was the occasional encouragement of Jews to have recourse to Muslim courts, in the hope that such Jews might be persuaded to convert to Islam. This was done in two mutually complementary ways. First was the ruling in most areas of civil law, sometimes also in connection with personal status, such as marriage money, that there should be no difference in the treatment of Muslims and members of the "protected peoples" (*dhimmi*), including Jews; second, most Muslim jurists ruled that Islamic law would apply even in cases in which only one litigant had appealed to the court.

The above factors explain several innovatory halakhic rulings of the geonic period, as well as the assimilation of various Muslim legal norms in the legal literature, sometimes through the instrument of custom, at other times almost secretively, without any special indication. Customs taken over by the *geonim* from Muslim practice without change may be called "borrowed" customs, whereas others, constituting only a response to Muslim norms but not necessarily imitating them, may be termed "responsive" customs. Some adopted customs were intended to prevent recourse to Muslim courts, reflecting the fear of the *geonim* that the more lenient Islamic law might encourage conversion to Islam. Thus, the *geonim* created a *takkanah* (enactment) that a "rebellious wife" could obtain a divorce immediately, rather than wait the extensive time required by rabbinic law, without forfeiting the statutory value of her *ketubbah* (marriage contract). Recognition was accorded to the institution of "estimated" *mahr* (marriage money), according to which a woman who had lost her *ketubbah* was entitled to a sum of money as befitted a woman of her position, based on criteria taken from Islamic law. In connection with bankruptcy, they established various procedures at variance with talmudic law: they instituted a new oath of destitution, "I have no means," as practiced in Islamic law (*yamīn al-adam*); pronounced a ban on recalcitrant debtors as a substitute for the Muslim measure of imprisonment for debt; made arrangements for the needs of a debtor's wife and children when his property was taken over, as was customary in Islamic law but contrary to the ruling of the Talmud. Similarly, we find instances of the *geonim* permitting husbands to give their adult daughters in marriage without the daughters' explicit agreement, as permitted by some schools of Islamic law but contrary to talmudic law; this was done by creating a legal construct that brought the practice in line with the latter. Many examples of Muslim influence may be found in the realm of commercial law, one of the most prominent being the *suftaja* (bill of exchange; *diokni* in talmudic phraseology), in relation to which one geonic responsum states: "Our laws, strictly speaking, do not permit the sending of *suftaja*, since our Sages said, 'It is forbidden to send money by *diokni*' [TB BK 104b].... However, since we have seen that people use it, we have begun to sanction it, so that transactions among people should not be voided. So we have agreed to sanction it in accordance with the traders' law, no more and no less."

An example of a "responsive custom" is the institution of the "anonymous ban" (*ḥerem setam*), which was devised as a substitute for the administration of oaths to litigants during a judicial procedure, when an actual oath was not sanctioned by talmudic law. The *geonim* thus created a parallel to the Muslim system of oaths, according to which, in cases of doubt, a litigant could be required to take an oath even in the course of a judicial procedure, not only at its end.

A striking feature of geonic assimilation of Islamic practices is the frequent use of accepted custom to that end; in fact, that was preferred over the talmudic principle of *dina de-malkhuta*, of which (as already mentioned) they made very little use, perhaps out of reluctance to admit the influence of an external source. They used custom, a well-proved legal source of Jewish law, as a kind of signpost indicating what might be an ad hoc measure, a step in the development of Jewish law according to the needs of time and place. Many such customs associated with the constraints of time and place disappeared later, when the constraints were no longer relevant, and were replaced by a return to talmudic law.

However, as stated previously, Islamic law also made its way into geonic *halakhah* by channels other than custom; only careful examination of Muslim legal literature can reveal the Muslim source, which is not obvious at first sight. Such examination will reveal the Muslim background prominent in monographs written by the *geonim* on practical legal topics, such as the laws of abutters' rights or the laws of suretyship (which receive only sparse treatment in the Talmud), as well as on family law and matters of personal status.

Thus, there are clear-cut parallels between the "Book of Abutters' Rights" (*Kitāb al-shuf'a*) by Rav Ḥofni b. Samuel (d. 1013) and Muslim works, not only in structure, but also in relation to specific laws that the author seems to have borrowed from Islamic law. A few examples, among many, will suffice: conferral of abutters' rights to land acquired by barter; the right of rescission (*khiyār*); the existence of abutters' rights in voidable sales; division of a property among abutters on the basis of their number rather than their proprietary rights in the abutting property; establishment of a hierarchy among parties with proprietary rights to the property itself (*nafs al-mubay'*), parties with various non-proprietary rights pertaining to the property (such as right of way; *ḥuqūq al-mubay'*), and abutters proper (i.e., owners of adjoining properties; *jār al-mulāṣaq*); abutters' rights in the sale of a well or spring in another's property; real-estate transactions that do not confer abutters' rights, such as leasing, bailment, borrowing, or endowment. Moreover, the procedure in pleas concerning abutters' rights largely emulates that customary in Muslim courts. It is especially worthy of note that, even where R. Samuel b. Ḥofni adheres to talmudic law, his formulation is in the style of Muslim legal texts.

Similar links may be observed in R. Samuel b. Ḥofni's treatise on suretyship and hiring (*Kitāb al-ḍamān wa'l-kafāla*), many of whose provisions, in addition to the structure of the work and its division into chapters, are taken from the parallel Muslim literature or from the prevalent practice of the *milieu*. Thus, he devotes separate chapters to various types of suretyship. One chapter deals with suretyship for the obligee's person where the surety's only commitment is to bring the debtor to court. Another chapter deals with a surety who is also committed to defraying the debt in case he fails to present the obligee. There are chapters on the case of a surety who defrayed the debt before he himself or the obligee was sued by the principal, and on suretyship for an unknown sum. Sometimes, Muslim usage in matters of suretyship is cited in a geonic responsum rather than in a special treatise, as in a responsum by R. Sherira Gaon on suretyship. Another work parallel to Islamic law in several aspects is R. Samuel b. Ḥofni's treatise on divorce. Rav Hai's great work *Mishpetei Shevu'ot* is marked in part by echoes of Islamic law, such as making arrangement for the assets of a bankrupt debtor, as well as the oath of destitution, already mentioned previously.

At this point it should be noted that some of the parallels cited above may well reflect the influence of a third legal system from which both Jewish and Islamic law borrowed, or from an earlier legal tradition (juristic *koiné*). This may indeed be the case in such areas as abutters' rights and suretyship; alternatively, Islamic law may have been merely the channel through which they reached Jewish law. Some of the parallels and similarities may be explained on the basis of S.D. Goitein's theory of feedback or "full circle," according to which an idea was adopted by Islam, transformed and reshaped, and subsequently, in a new guise, "came round full circle" and impacted Jewish law. Examples of this process are the Muslim *mahr* (marriage money, dowry) and suretyship for person, both already found in biblical law (in the latter case, some Muslim jurists admit this origin). Both institutions experienced further development in Islamic law, finally returning in a new figuration to influence Jewish law.

Links with Islamic law may also be identified in the area of legal theory (*uṣūl al-fiqh*), especially in the writings of R. Saadiah Gaon and R. Samuel b. Ḥofni. As shown by M. Zucker and later scholars, Muslim writings are the source not only of the metaphorical terminology of "roots" and "branches" (*uṣūl, furū'*) in relation to legal analogy (*qiyās*), but also of some of the basic conceptions of *qiyās* and its practical application, especially as formulated in the writings of Saadya and Samuel b. Ḥofni, who were apparently influenced mainly by *Mu'tazila* scholars. Such is the case, e.g., in regard to the question of whether analogy produces certain knowledge or only plausibility, or even in regard to the actual use of analogy as a source of law. The first signs of the use of consensus as a source of law in geonic works, including its definition and relationship to tradition, attest to the influence of the Muslim concept of *ijmā'*. The same is true of the use of interpretive tools taken over from commentaries on the Qur'ān, such as the terms *maḥkamāt* (univocal expressions) and *mutashābāhāt* (equivocal expressions), which were employed by both *geonim* and Muslims, among other resources, to explain contradictory verses in the Bible.

The primary genre of legal literature used by the *geonim* at this time, the halakhic monograph, dates back to R. Saadya Gaon, continuing in the later period of R. Samuel b. Ḥofni and Rav Hai. These authors' formularies (manuals of deeds, *shurūṭ, wathā'iq*) and dozens of other works, which later provided the basis for Maimonides' great work of codification, were written along the lines of the Muslim model.

After the geonic period, one finds less frequent instances of the influence of Muslim sources or of responsa written against the background of Islamic law or religious practice. An underpinning of Islamic law may be detected only rarely in the works of R. Joseph ibn Migash or R. Isaac Alfasi, both of whom, used concepts borrowed from the Muslim world, such as substance and accident (*jawhar*, *'arḍ*), in connection with obligations concerning tangibles and intangibles. At times, Alfasi also employs Islamic legal terms, such as *naẓar*, *dalīl*, and *istidlāl*, in his talmudic discourse. Maimonides, however, betrays Islamic influence more frequently in his wording, in legal formulas, in methods of interpretation (*tāwīl*, *ẓāhir*, and *bāṭin*), and in actual laws and legal institutions; but it is not always possible to determine whether he was influenced directly by Muslim sources and practice or, indirectly, by geonic rulings and terminology, themselves reflecting the influence of Islamic law. Particularly prominent in Maimonides' code are certain provisions in the area of public law, in his "Laws concerning Kings," which reflect Muslim thought and parallel elements of Islamic law. This is especially apparent where he rules, for example, that a Jewish king is not bound by normative penal law and procedure – recalling the Muslim institution of *al-naẓar fi'l-mazālim* ("investigation of complaints concerning injustice"). In regard to the supervision of public morals, Maimonides' treatment recalls the Muslim institution of *muḥtasib*. In family law and personal status he employs norms and practices borrowed from Islamic society and law: restrictions on women's freedom of movement, the husband's right to beat a wife who ignores her wifely duties, and so on. In private law (suretyship and abutters' rights) he lists a series of laws which, both in general and in particular, may well have been taken over from the Muslim legal literature. In legal theory he applies some aspects of analogy (*qiyās*) according to the Muslim model, makes frequent use of consensus (*ijmā'*) both in his code and in the *Guide of the Perplexed*, and divides human behavior into five "legal qualifications" (*aḥkām al-khamsa*), a common pattern in Muslim legal literature. The very structure of his code *Mishneh Torah* resembles in some respects the style of the parallel Muslim literature (*fiqh*). Maimonides' usage in the area of legal theory and positive law shows at times the influence both of the Shi'a Isma'ili sect and of the Sunni Shafi'i school. These schools were particularly active in Egypt, which was also the locale of Maimonides' halakhic activity, and they most probably contributed to the consolidation of his legal theory. As is well known, Maimonides followed several *geonim* in ruling that Muslims were not to be considered as idolaters, and this ruling may have influenced his attitude to some of their practices and customs.

Where Islamic law contradicts Jewish law, however, Maimonides will often use rhetorical or polemical tools to reject it. Thus, he rules against imprisoning a debtor who pleads destitution or even against administrating an oath to such a debtor; he stresses the halakhic requirement that divorce be effected by a written document, pointing out the danger of oral divorce as in Islam; he upholds the need for the public nature of the marriage ceremony; and in the area of commerce, he rules that a sale cannot be effected by oral means alone as in Islamic usage.

An acquaintance with Islamic law is also evident in the writings of Maimonides' son Abraham b. Maimon, and its influence may sometimes be detected. In one responsum (*Resp. R. Abraham ben ha-Rambam*, Jerusalem 1938, #97), he writes that the laws of abutters' rights are also practiced "by people other than our coreligionists," clearly referring to the Muslims. In another (*ibid*., #66), he employs the phrase "the gate of investigation and analogy is not closed," echoing a dispute among Muslim scholars as to whether the "gates of *ijtihād*" were closed; and in his *Sefer ha-Maspik le-'Ovedei ha-Shem* he discusses the relationship between written law, analogy, and custom in terms that recall the Muslim approach: "Custom is not the main thing that should govern our conduct, but written material or analogy, or both together." Abraham b. Maimon is also known to have been influenced by Islam in synagogue procedures, such as ablution, prostration, and seating arrangements, among others.

Later Spanish-rabbinical authorities, such as R. Asher b. Jehiel, R. Solomon b. Adret, R. Simeon b. Ẓemaḥ Duran, and R. Solomon b. Simeon Duran, show only isolated instances of the influence of Islamic law. Such instances may be found in the area of marriage law, such as R. Simeon b. Ẓemaḥ Duran's discussion of polygamy, where he recommends the egalitarian treatment of polygamous wives, or the connection made by R. Simeon b. Ẓemaḥ, R. Isaac bar Sheshet, and R. Solomon b. Simeon Duran between the Jewish *ketubbah* and the Islamic *mahr* (*ṣadāq*). Islamic influence is also felt in the treatment by several authorities of the arrangement for payment of *ketubbah* money where a woman has lost her *ketubbah*. Further reference to Islamic law in these sources revolves around the question of the desirable Jewish attitude to Islamic religious customs and to the usage of the Muslim environment, such as the obligation of a witness to take an oath as to the truth of his testimony, cutting the hair, eating flesh of animals slaughtered according to Muslim custom or in the direction of Mecca, taking off one's shoes upon entering the synagogue, hanging a mat with an illustration of the *Ka'ba* in the synagogue, and other subjects (R. Asher b. Jehiel and others).

Sources of the Law in Jewish and Islamic Tradition

The *Sharī'a* recognizes four sources: The Qur'ān, *Sunna*, *ijma'* (consensus), and *qiyās* (legal analogy). The first two, Qur'ān and *Sunna*, are written sources (*naṣṣ*), whereas the last two, *ijmā'* and *qiyās*, are unwritten methodological legal sources. Islamic law does not recognize laws of equity or any equivalent of the halakhic principle of *lifnim mi-shurat ha-din* ("beyond the strict letter of the law"). The principle of *istiḥsān* (public welfare), which seemingly allows for deviation from legal analogy where necessary for the public good, is not generally perceived as a rule of equity; it has been described by some authorities as a kind of hidden analogy, the basic idea being that the *ratio* of a legal rule from which inferences are to be made as to a new rule is not immediately obvious. By contrast, Jewish law recognizes a broad spectrum of legal sources, including midrashic exposition, enactment (*takkanah*), custom, reason (*sevara*), and precedent. In addition, there are valid rules of equity, such as the aforementioned *lifnim mi-shurat ha-din* or the rule based on the biblical verse "Do what is right and good" (Deut. 6:18).

Underlying the differences between the sources recognized in each system are their conflicting attitudes to the law in general. Common to the four Muslim sources, as emerges from the legal literature, is the tendency to leave the law and its sources in the province of divine revelation, and to restrict as far as possible – if not absolutely to avoid – human involvement in the development of law and the establishment of legal norms. Thus, the verses of the Qur'ān are not readily interpreted in any sense other than the literal; any law in the *Sunna* must be supported by a *ḥadīth* consisting of the *matn*, the body of the tradition, and the *isnād*, a chain of transmitters traced back to Muḥammad or his companions and thereby endowed with an indelible prophetic stamp of approval. Consensus (*ijmā'*) is intended mainly to approve (a posteriori) norms upon which Muslims have agreed, such agreement attesting to their truth and divine origin; consensual norms are therefore almost inviolable, although consensus by itself cannot be used to establish future legal norms. The task of analogy (*qiyās*) is the expansion of existing law from a written source, but never the creation of new legal norms. Other principles accepted by Islamic law as tools to effect legal changes, such as the aforementioned *istiḥsān* (the principle of public welfare) and *ijtihād*, "effort," i.e., the use of individual reasoning or exegesis to decide the law, caused no significant change in the theological perception of law as based invariably on a divine source. We have already pointed out that *istiḥsān* was not seen as a channel of equity but as a kind of hidden analogy. In effect, therefore, Islamic law always remained "in heaven," the sole task of the jurist being to reveal it, with no freedom to exercise discretion in laying down the law.

In Jewish law, by contrast, the recognized sources grant halakhists extensive authority to develop legal creativity, on the basis of the biblical verse "It is not in heaven" [Deut. 30:12], as established in a celebrated dispute between R. Eliezer b. Hyrcanus and the Sages concerning the ritual purity of the "oven of Akhnai" (BM 59b). The difference between Jewish and Islamic law, in consequence of their different theological perceptions of the sources of law and the authority of legal scholars had implications in many areas of the law, determining the specific character of each. Islamic law, lacking suitable tools of jurisprudence, remained basically static, whereas Jewish law, by virtue of its sources of law, was more dynamic and enabled halakhists to cope more easily with changing realities.

These differences can be demonstrated in areas where the original legal nucleus of both systems was the same or similar, but because of the different nature of their legal sources, Islamic law remained relatively static, whereas Jewish law was capable of adapting itself to new conditions. Thus, for example, there was at first no basic difference between the Muslim *mahr* and the Jewish *ketubbah* (in the sense of a statutory payment). The biblical *mohar* (bride-price), originally a matter of oral agreement as to the payment made to the bride's family at the time of the marriage, as was customary in Islamic law, gradually evolved into the written document known as the *ketubbah*. Rabbinic sources attribute this development to R. Simeon b. Shetaḥ, who "ordained that all the property of a husband is pledged for the *ketubbah* of his wife" (Ket. 82b); consequently, the payment, instead of being made before marriage, became a debt payable to the wife at a later date in the event of her being divorced or widowed. This revolutionary development created a major gap between the two systems, which might otherwise have remained very similar in this respect.

There are other aspects of divorce laws in which Jewish and Islamic law were at first largely in agreement, but later drew apart owing to the dynamic and adaptive nature of Jewish law. Thus, in Jewish law as represented by the Mishnah (Yev. 14:1), later also accepted by the *geonim* in Iraq, "While a woman may be divorced of her own free will or against her will, a man can give divorce only of his own free will." Even more extreme was the attitude of R. Akiva, who taught that a husband may divorce his wife virtually at will, "even if he finds another woman more beautiful than she is" (Mishnah, Gitt. 9:10). The divorce procedure, too, is a private affair, with no involvement of the religious court. These aspects also exist in Islamic law as practiced (except for the halakhic requirement that the writ of divorce be handed to the woman, for which there is no parallel in Islamic law, and the biblical prohibition of remarrying one's divorced wife if she herself had remarried in the meantime). Jewish law, however, as practiced by Ashkenazic Jews, was radically altered by an enactment, attributed to R. Gershom Me'or ha-Golah (Germany, 11th century), forbidding a husband to divorce his wife against her will. Another gap was thus formed between (Ashkenazic) Jewish law and Islamic law.

Another example of this pattern is the question of the lineage of a child of a mixed marriage, which in the Bible, according to critical consensus, was based on patrilineal descent, whether in marriages between Jews or between a Jew and a non-Jew. This principle was later superseded by that of matrilineal descent, based on a midrashic exposition of Scripture, in response to changing realities. The Mishnah reports the final stage in a process of halakhic change that had presumably begun beforehand, which ultimately became the halakhic norm: "Whatever [woman] cannot be betrothed to that particular person or with others, the issue follows her status; this is the case with the issue of a bondmaid or a gentile woman" (Kid. 3:12). Islamic law, however, maintained the principle of patrilineal descent (probably because Islamic law permits a Muslim man to marry a non-Muslim woman).

At times, the change in Jewish law can be attributed to changed values in the rabbinic world, such as the midrashic redefinition of the term *na'arah* (unmarried girl), previously understood as designating status (as in the Bible): the Midrash redefines the term as denoting a young girl between certain age limits, so that a woman beyond those limits was considered independent. By contrast, in some schools of Islamic law, the cognate term continued to designate status, the girl remaining under her father's authority irrespective of her age. Similarly, the rabbinic interpretation of the scriptural verse "an eye for an eye" as referring not to physical retribution but to monetary compensation, has no parallel in Islamic law, which has retained the literal meaning of the phrase.

Both Islamic and Jewish law recognized the legitimacy of disagreement and legal pluralism, epitomized in the latter by the talmudic saying, "Both [conflicting opinions] represent the words of the living God." In Islamic law, however, this principle received prominent normative significance, in the sense that it granted equal status to different legal schools. This situation made adjustment to changing realities possible by transferring the focus of legal development from the text to the personality at the head of a particular school. A diversity of opinions was thus generated, making for a more flexible machinery of legal decision and somewhat compensating for the lack of dynamic sources of the law. Jewish law, however, from the start, adopted a rigid system of decision rules, unparalleled in Islamic law, meant to guide the halakhic decisor in dealing with differences of opinion. This somewhat limited the Halakhist's freedom to deviate from the halakhic text.

Legal Literature in Jewish and Islamic Law

The legal bases of the two systems, stemming as they did from diverse theological differences, affected their respective genres of literary creativity, as well as the nature and function of those genres. A basic similarity between the Bible and the Qur'ān is that both laid the normative groundwork for their respective legal systems, transforming in part earlier practices. In both, the legal material occupies only part of the text, which also includes a good measure of narrative. The Muslims evolved a special literary genre for the legal material of the Qur'ān, known as *Aḥkām al-Qur'ān*, "Laws of the Qur'ān," reminiscent of the contemporary Jewish genre of *Sefer ha-Mitzvot*.

Yet, the differences between the two systems outweigh the similarities. Primary is the difference in their mode of revelation. The theophany at Sinai was the sole source of the Torah, whereas the Qur'ān, according to Muslim tradition, was "brought down" from heaven, chapter by chapter, over 20 years. This gave rise to contradictions between different sections, leading to a criterion of "early" and "late" – later verses that repealed earlier ones – and as a result generated a genre specific to Islamic law to resolve such contradictions (*Kitāb al-nāsikh wa'l-mansūkh*). In Jewish law, however, the ruling principle was that no differentiation could be made between "early" and "late" material, and there was no need of such a genre. Instead, what emerged was recognition of an Oral Law accompanying the Written Law.

A special feature of Jewish legal tradition was the development, especially in the late Second Temple period and for some time afterwards, of literary genres designed to "prove" the Oral Law as being embodied in the Written. These "proofs" formed the basis for the compilations known collectively as "Halakhic Midrash," as edited in the rival schools of R. Akiva and R. Ishmael. Both schools evolved a system of hermeneutical rules for the presentation of the Oral Law as embodied in Scripture. Tradition makes Hillel the Elder the expounder of seven such rules, expanded later by R. Ishmael to 13. Among the more familiar of these rules are *kal va-ḥomer* (argument a forteriori), *gezerah shavah* (comparison of similar expressions), *binyan av* (inference from a particular case), *davar ha-lamed me-inyano* (argument from context). Two general rules of scriptural interpretation, outside the realm of hermeneutics, are the principles: "The Torah speaks in human language" and "The Torah speaks of the present [situation]" (both enunciated by the school of R. Ishmael). These rules, instrumental in the confirmation of Oral Law, are unparalleled in the Muslim legal literature.

The two systems differ in other branches of legal creativity, some deriving from theological reasons, others from the particular practical needs of each system. Exceptions are certain literary genres in which Jewish literary creation emulated its Muslim counterpart, in view of similar needs – such as the appearance of halakhic monographs on a variety of topics. Sometimes, despite a superficial similarity of literary function, the structure of the work is quite different. Thus, while both systems in time committed their oral traditions to writing – though both had originally forbidden such a procedure – there are still fundamental, theologically based, differences in the methods of transmission, the level of authenticity of a tradition, and its sources. In Jewish law, the main sources of the Oral Law are the Mishnah, the Tosefta, and the Halakhic Midrashim. The transmission tradition that establishes the validity of the Oral Law was enunciated at the beginning of Tractate *Avot* of the Mishnah: "Moses received the Torah at Sinai and transmitted it to Joshua, and Joshua transmitted it to the Elders, and the Elders to the Prophets, and the Prophets transmitted it to the men of the Great Synagogue…" Thus, the Oral Law (tradition) is firmly rooted in a divine source and is the basis of the authority of the editor of the Mishnah, R. Judah ha-Nasi. Muslim oral law, the *Sunna*, however, consisted of diverse collections of traditions, all endowed with canonical status; these were also based on chains of transmitters, but there the similarity ends: The *isnād* (chain of transmitters) is personal rather than institutional, extending from the last authority in the chain to the first, who is closest in time to Muḥammad or his companions; each law needs its own *isnād* as proof of its truth and authenticity. While rabbinic literature sometimes presents a similar concept of a chain of transmission, it is generally shorter and not necessarily based on names (such as the Mishnah, *Eduyot* 8:7; see Cook, "Opponents of the Writing of Tradition," pp. 510–11), though at times a chain of tradition combines both personalities and institutions (as in the Mishnah, *Pe'ah* 2:6). Some scholars believe that such chains were the model for the Muslim concept, which in turn had its influence on Jewish chains of tradition in later literature, in a kind of feedback effect; in the Mishnah and the Talmud, however, they were not a precondition for the validity of a law or a criterion of its authenticity. Because of this feature of Islamic law, there was a phenomenon of artificial chains as well as attempts to attribute late laws to the prophet himself. A similar phenomenon of attribution to prestigious authorities may also be found in geonic literature.

Around the same time as the consolidation and redaction of *Sunna* collections in Islamic law – a process that took more than 200 years, from the 9th to the mid-11th century – the genre of halakhic responsa evolved in Jewish law, to meet the needs of Jewish communities throughout the East. This genre made an inestimable contribution to the development of Jewish law and is unparalleled in contemporary Islamic law.

The different contemporary developments – emergence of the *Sunna* in Islam and of responsa literature in Judaism – reflect the different legal and historical needs of the two systems. Islam focused on the consolidation of a legal tradition and its attribution to Muḥammad, through the existence of independent legal centers in the Muslim world, which obviated the need to appeal to a single center. Jewish law, in contrast, was based on the already consolidated Oral Law; thus the leading legal center of authority in Iraq strove to decide questions of law generally, throughout the Jewish Diaspora, and with the institution of the responsum maintained its central position in the world of Jewish law. The responsa literature also served as a kind of corpus of legal precedents, again a phenomenon with no parallel in contemporary Muslim legal literature.

A further literary genre characteristic of Islamic law, but with no counterpart in Jewish law was that concerned with the "roots" of Islamic law, *Uṣūl al-fiqh*, that is, defining the legal sources of Islamic law, its theoretical bases, and rules for the derivation of rules from the "roots." This genre was necessary because of the confrontation between the supporters of tradition (*ahl al-ḥadīth*) and the supporters of legal theory (*ahl* *al-ra'y*). The quite intense tension between these two groups required tools to define legal theory and the limits and rules of legal methodology. These tensions hardly existed in the rabbinical world of *halakhah*, where a separate branch of legal theory was not necessary. Such topics were nevertheless taken up on the periphery of legal writing, as in the works of R. Saadia Gaon and R. Samuel b. Ḥofni on scriptural exegesis, or in specialized works such as those written by Karaites in the same period; these works, however, did not constitute an independent halakhic genre.

Yet another specifically Islamic creation was the literature of legal devices or evasions (*ḥiyal*). Certain topics elaborated in Islamic legal theory resulted in significant discrepancies between what was taught in the law schools and the reality of practice, such as the prohibition of usury. The *ḥiyal* literature tried to bridge this gap between theory and practice by way of various legal devices or fictions (such as the "double sale" of property in order to circumvent the prohibition of usury). While Jewish law also makes use of legal fictions (in the geonic period – perhaps owing to Muslim literature), this never reached proportions that dictated the composition of specialized works on the subject, especially since the legal substrate available to Jewish law, as described above, obviated the need for such works.

The literature of "disagreements" (*ikhtilāf*), which concerned itself with disagreements between Muslim jurists over a broad spectrum of subjects, is not characteristic specifically of Islamic law. Indeed, a similar genre existed in pre-Islamic Jewish law – the literature of *ḥillukim*. Again, however, the difference was significant: the Muslim genre had to cope with the existence of multiple legal opinions so as to ensure the equal status of the different legal schools; no such need existed in contemporary Jewish law. The Muslim formularies (*shurūṭ*) also aimed to harmonize the rulings of the different legal schools.

The one field in which the *geonim* clearly took Muslim literature as a model was the writing of halakhic monographs, frequently on the very same topics. We thus have works on the duties of judges and formularies, among dozens of works on a variety of subjects. In this area the *fuqahā'* (religious lawyers of Islam) and the *geonim* had a similar goal: to help their contemporaries conduct themselves in accordance with the law and to inculcate a common vocabulary (*lingua franca*) of terms and concepts. The *geonim* made use of such works, written in Arabic, and their legal terminology, which they used as a contemporary frame of legal composition. The flourishing legal literature of the geonic period was made possible thanks to the Muslim authorities, who granted their non-Muslim "protected" subjects, the *dhimmī*s, including the Jews, legal autonomy, spurring the growth of a ramified legal literature in a contemporary legal form.

There was nevertheless a significant difference in the writing of legal monographs in both systems: The Muslims would write comprehensive works on the totality of legal topics, whereas the *geonim* as a rule devoted a separate work to each topic. Later, however, it was these specialized works that provided the basis for the great comprehensive work of codification, in particular, for Maimonides' *Mishneh Torah*. Such codificatory activity was made possible by the existence of the rules of decision of Jewish law, which provided the backbone for these literary efforts. In Islamic law, however, with its pluralistic nature and the absence of an agreed system of rules of decision, the codificatory nature of the Muslim legal monographs was less obvious. The phenomenon of codification, which was unique to Jewish legal creativity under Islam (including R. Jacob b. Asher and his *Arba'ah Turim*, R. Joseph Caro and his *Shulḥan 'Arukh*), created a gap between the Spanish and Middle-Eastern works of *halakhah* and contemporary writing in Franco-Germany, where there was no such codificatory activity. This, then, is yet another example of the way Islamic law influenced the development of Jewish law in Eastern countries, sometimes leading to a veritable division between the Spanish and Middle-Eastern variety of Jewish law and that current in Franco-Germany (Ashkenaz), a division sometimes evident even in the actual content of specific laws.

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[Gideon Libson (2nd ed.)]

JEWISH BOOK COUNCIL, THE, the literary arm of the organized Jewish community. The Council was established in 1946 in North America and became an international organization in 2005 with the establishment of the Jewish Book Council in Israel. The renaissance of Jewish books in the English-speaking world served as catalyst to expand its boundaries. The world-wide mission is to promote the reading, writing and publishing of quality English language books of Jewish interest.

Among its most prominent activities to advance these goals are sponsorship of the National Jewish Book Awards, now in its 55th year, and sponsorship of Jewish Book Month, which runs annually 30 days before Ḥanukkah.

Among its publications are *Jewish Book Annual* and *Jewish Book World: the Publishers Weekly of the Jewish World.* It also features Jewish Book NETWORK, a membership organization to promote Jewish book fairs in North America and Israel, and participates in major conferences, including the Jerusalem Book Fair, to promote Jewish books. The Council sponsors combined author programs between Israeli and American writers, and it serves as a resource for information on Jewish literature.

[Carolyn Hessel (2nd ed.)]

JEWISH BRIGADE GROUP, the only military unit to serve in World War II in the British army – and in fact in all the Allied forces – as an independent, national Jewish military formation. It was made up mainly of Jews from Palestine. The brigade had its own emblem, a gold Magen David on a background of blue-white-blue stripes and bearing the inscription "חי"ל [the initials of the Hebrew name חֲטִיבָה יְהוּדִית לוֹחֶמֶת – Jewish Fighting Brigade] – Jewish Brigade Group." It saw service in Egypt, on the north Italian front, and in northwest Europe, in the years 1944–46.

The establishment of the brigade was the final result of prolonged efforts by the *yishuv* and the Zionist movement to achieve recognized participation and representation of the Jewish people in the war against the Nazis, to lift the mantle of anonymity from the war effort made by the *yishuv* with its tens of thousands of volunteers, and to reinforce the *yishuv*'s political standing and promote the aims of Zionism. The British authorities, opposed as they were to these aims, were reluctant to have Jews serving in fully fighting units and confined them to auxiliary corps, while the infantry was largely employed on guard duties in Palestine. These obstacles were overcome only after a sustained and unrelenting campaign, headed by Chaim *Weizmann in London and by Moshe Shertok (*Sharett), head of the *Jewish Agency Political Department, in Jerusalem.

In 1940 the Jews of Palestine were permitted to enlist in Jewish companies attached to the East Kent Regiment (the "Buffs"), and 15 such companies came into being. In 1942–43 these companies were formed into three infantry battalions of a newly established "Palestine Regiment"; the battalions, whose men had previously served only in Palestine, were moved to Cyrenaica and Egypt, but there, too, as in Palestine, they did not receive their full equipment and continued to be engaged primarily in guard duties. The Jewish soldiers stepped up their demands for participation in the fighting and for the right to display the Jewish flag. It was not until September 1944, however, that the British government agreed to the establishment of a "reinforced brigade" which would be fully trained and then join the troops at the front. The brigade was composed of the three infantry battalions of the "Palestine Regiment," a field artillery regiment, and various other service and auxiliary units, largely made up of the Palestine Jewish units – particularly of the Royal Army Service Corps, which had seen service in North Africa. Brigadier Ernest Frank *Benjamin, a Canadian-born Jew serving in the Royal Engineers, was appointed brigade commander; the battalion commanders were British, while the company commanders were mostly Jewish. Some refugees and "illegal" immigrants also joined the brigade, and some Jews serving in British units were transferred to it. The total strength of the brigade was approximately 5,000.

After a period of training in Egypt, the brigade was moved to Italy, where it joined the Eighth Army and continued its training until the end of February 1945. It then took up positions on the Alfonsini sector of the front, where it soon engaged in the fighting, initiating two attacks (March 19–20, 1945), and took prisoners. Moving to another sector of the front, on the Senio River, the brigade found itself facing a German parachute division. In the course of further operations, the three battalions crossed the Senio on April 9, establishing a bridgehead which they broadened the following day. The brigade's casualties consisted of 30 killed and 70 wounded; 21 of its men were awarded military distinctions and 78 were mentioned in despatches.

In May 1945 the brigade was moved to northeast Italy, and it was there that it met for the first time with survivors of the Holocaust. Rescue committees were established in the brigade units to care for the Jewish refugees, while maintaining secret contact with the Jewish authorities' Merkaz la-Golah ("Diaspora Center"; see *Beriḥah). The brigade thus became a major factor in the care of the Jewish survivors of the ghettos and concentration camps. Without neglecting their military duties, the Jewish soldiers extended systematic aid to the refugees, provided them with clothes and educational facilities for their children, guided them across the frontiers, and smuggled them into Palestine. These activities continued when the brigade was moved to Holland and Belgium in July 1945. Some members of the brigade were attached to the tracing service of the occupation authorities and in their search for surviving Jews got as far as Poland and Czechoslovakia.

In the summer of 1946, in the wake of the increasing tension between Britain and the *yishuv*, the authorities decided on the disbandment of the brigade; most of its men were returned to Palestine and discharged there. Apart from its contribution to the war effort against Nazi Germany, the brigade fulfilled two historic functions: it was a decisive factor in strengthening the staying power of the Jewish survivors and refugees in Europe, and the experience it gained in military organization and in battle subsequently became one of the foundations of the Israel Defense Forces. Many of the officers of the Israel army, among them two chiefs of staff, M. Makleff and Ḥ. Laskov, had seen previous service in the Jewish Brigade.

See also *Israel, State of: Historical Survey (1880–1948); Israel, State of: Defense (Ottoman and Mandatory Period); *Zionism: Zionist Policy.

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JEWISH CAMPING, the collective term for the various forms in which the organized Jewish community and private Jewish entrepreneurs in North America have adapted the classic American summer *organized camping* format to meet the needs or desires of Jewish parents and/or the objectives of leaders of Jewish organizations and movements. A publication of the American Camping Association defines *organized camping* as "a sustained experience which provides a creative, recreational, and educational opportunity in group living in the out-of-doors. It utilizes trained leadership and the resources of natural surroundings to contribute to each camper's mental, physical, social, and spiritual growth." Jewish camping differs from Jewish youth movement activity (e.g., the Israeli *tenuot no'ar* or North American Jewish youth organizations) in that it refers to a program of varied activities which are focused at a permanent campsite which may be leased, though usually is owned by a sponsoring organization or in the cases of for-profit camps, by the camp's owner(s).

A census of the Jewish camp world, done by Amy Sales, Leonard Saxe, and their staff at Brandeis University, in the year 2000, counted 191 "mainstream" residential Jewish Camps in the United States, each summer serving approximately 83,000 Jewish children and teenagers, and also involving 18,000 Jewish adults who serve on their staffs. Many of the latter are college students working as bunk counselors who are also regarded by the camp administration, in most of the camps, as targets of the educational program. This is especially true in the camps under denominational or organizational auspices

Camps were included in the census of Jewish camps done by Sales and Saxe if they met the following three conditions: "(1) The camp has Jewish owners or is sponsored by a Jewish organization; (2) at least half of the campers are Jewish; and (3) the camp identifies itself as a Jewish camp." They suggest the usefulness of categorizing these 191 Jewish camps by their sponsorship and identify seven types of Jewish camps, which they divide into three major categories:

Community	
Jewish federation/Jewish community center	35
Agency/organization	32
Movement	
Zionist	15
Denominational	18
Private	
Non-Orthodox for-profit	64
Foundation/independent nonprofit	15
Orthodox for-profit	12
Total	191

The extent to which Jewishness is reflected in the programs of these camps varies greatly. It can be charted along a continuum ranging from camps which simply meet the above three basic identification criteria but offer virtually no Jewish content programming, to camps in which the Jewishness is the primary factor controlling much or most of the content of the camp program.

The earliest Jewish-sponsored camps were camps that were sponsored by settlement houses, as then existed on Manhattan's Lower East Side, with the purpose of taking the children of poor families out of the teeming city for a healthful fresh air experience in the country around the end of the 19th century. In 1893 the Jewish Working Girls Vacation Society of New York City opened Camp Lehman (eventually renamed Camp Isabella Friedman). This camp invigorated over the course of the years by the addition of a center for environmental education and a program for seniors was still operating in 2005. Another such camp, now known as Surprise Lake Camp, in Cold Spring, New York, was founded in 1901. In the 20th century as the *Settlement House movement declined, the Jewish "Y" movement and Jewish Center movement grew, camping was seen as an intrinsic part of the program of these institutions, and many of the Centers built and established camping programs. In 2004, the Jewish Community Center Association reports that its affiliates sponsor 35 resident camps and some 200 day camps (see below). Under the sponsorship of UJA-Federation of Greater New York, Surprise Lake Camp serves as the official camping program for five JCC's throughout New York City, and five more in the surrounding suburban counties. Other Y's and JCC's have operated their own resident camps.

Directed as they often were by social workers, many of whom lacked significant Jewish backgrounds, the programmatic emphasis in the "Y" and JCC camps was laid upon recreational programming and especially upon the democratic values of group living emphasized in American schools of social work. The specifically Jewish aspect of the programs of these camps, if such existed, consisted of a brief religious service for the camp community on Friday evening or Saturday morning. In the last half of the 20th century, however, as Jewish community centers were pressed to intensify the Judaic content of their programs, so too, the summer camps affiliated with the centers intensified the Jewish content of their programs, including the importation of counseling staff from Israel, and observing the laws of *kashrut* in their kitchens.

In the 1920s and 1930s a recognition began to arise that the summer camp might play a significant role in Jewish education and the socialization of the Jewish child into Judaism. Samson Benderly, the first director of New York's Bureau of

Jewish Education, was the first to recognize the unique opportunity that the summer camp offered for teaching modern Hebrew and other traditional Jewish values, through immersing children in a Hebrew and Judaic environment. In 1927 he opened Camp Achvah, the first Hebrew-speaking camp in Arverne, on New York City's Rockaway peninsula. In 1932, he sought to expand the program and purchased a campsite in a rural setting in upstate Godeffroy, New York. The expanded program retained the intensive Judaic program but was not Hebrew speaking, as had been the program at the Arverne site.

A.P. Schoolman, the director of the Central Jewish Institute, a *talmud torah* on Manhattan's upper East Side, saw the potential for creating a camp, conducted in English, which, along with its recreational program, would offer all kinds of activities with a Jewish content to them. Originally created in 1919 to complement the program of the CJI Hebrew school, the camp, located in Port Jervis, NY, grew to become the most significant non-Hebrew Jewish cultural camp. In later years, Schoolman's Camp Cejwin grew to accommodate some thousand children each summer. As an indication of its stature, each summer it hosted the noted scholar, Rabbi Mordecai Kaplan, the founder of Reconstructionist Judaism. Schoolman was long regarded as the "dean" of Jewish camping in North America.

Surprisingly, the years of World War II (1941–45) proved to be a very fertile period for the foundation of camps that were intensively Jewish. Jonathan Sarna refers to the 1940s as the "crucial decade in Jewish camping." This occurred despite the difficulties which wartime and the postwar period presented as regards to obtaining staff, obtaining building materials, purchasing foodstuffs, providing transportation, etc. The year 1941 in which the United States entered the war saw the birth year of Camp Massad, the most significant of the Hebrew camps. It was founded by a group of distinguished Jewish educators in New York City at the initiative of Hanoar Haivri – the Hebrew culture organization for Jewish youth, under the leadership of Shlomo Shulsinger who remained its director until he departed for Israel in 1977. That first summer, Massad opened as a day camp in the Far Rockaway section of New York City (not far from where Benderly had opened his first camp). The next summer, 1942, the camp operated at a leased campsite within an established Orthodox camp in the Catskill resort area. The following summer, 1943, the camp opened at its own site that it had purchased in Tannersville Pennsylvania, in the Pocono Mountains. Alumni of the Massad Camps speak glowingly of the Massad experience and point to the many distinguished Massad alumni. Shulsinger demanded that Hebrew alone be spoken at all times in the camp and gave awards to campers who achieved this goal.

Significantly, the Massad camps (at the zenith of their popularity there were three of them) and Camp Cejwin faded away toward the end of the 20th century, as the denominational camps (see below) flourished and grew in number. A number of reasons have been suggested for this development. Probably most crucial was the factor that these camps, as they developed and flourished over time, became independent of any organizational or institutional base. The denominational camps could depend upon the support of nationwide movements made up of many hundreds of synagogues. In addition Massad and Cejwin were the products of charismatic individuals (Shulsinger and Schoolman) who remained as long time camp directors. When they retired from the scene without leaving behind equally talented successors, the camps floundered and then withered away. In the case of Massad, there was also the growing weakness of the centrist Orthodox community which had for decades provided the bulk of the camper populations, especially from the students of the Ramaz and Flatbush Yeshivot – the first in Manhattan and the second in Brooklyn. The availability of a trip to Israel as a summer option for students as well as the acquisition of summer homes by parents offered other options for a summer away from the hot city.

In 1943 steps were taken by Louis Hurwich, president of the Boston Hebrew College, to found a Hebrew-speaking camp, Camp Yavneh, which would carry on in the summer its work of preparing students in the college to be teachers for Jewish schools. It was also at this time that the College of Jewish Studies in Chicago undertook the founding of Camps Sharon and Avodah in Buchanan, Michigan – Sharon, a Hebrew teachers training camp, and Avodah, a farm camp for Chicago teenagers who volunteered to attend camp in order to replace farm hands who had been called up to military service. In 1944, the Cleveland College of Jewish Studies opened a children's camp, Camp Galil. Of these camps sponsored by the Hebrew Colleges, only Camp Yavneh survived into the 21st century.

Most notable in the immediate postwar period, because of their long-range impact, were the founding of the Conservative Ramah camping movement and the Reform UAHC (later URJ) Camp-Institutes movement. Both began with single camps serving the Chicago and broader Midwest area: the first Ramah Camp in Conover, Wisconsin (1947) and the first UAHC Camp-Institute in Oconomowoc, Wisconsin (1950). Attached as they were to well organized national synagogue movements, the Conservative movement's United Synagogue (now known as the United Synagogue of Conservative Judaism) and the Reform movement (now known as the Union for Reform Judaism), within a decade, camps were established throughout North America to serve the various geographical concentrations of North American Jews affiliated with the movements. The initiative and long-time supervision of the Conservative camps was vested in the Teachers' Institute of the Jewish Theological Seminary, the institution that trained Conservative rabbis and educators. Supervision of the Reform camps was vested in the Camping and Youth Department of the UAHC. While there are individual notable Orthodox educational camps, such as Camp Morasha in Lake Como, Pennsylvania, and the camps of the Bnei Akiva religious Zionist youth movement, the divisions within American Orthodoxy seem to have precluded the establishment of a national Orthodox camping movement, along the lines of the Ramah or URJ camps.

In the year 2004, there are 7 Ramah resident camps (in California, Ontario Canada, Georgia, Massachusetts, New York, Pennsylvania, and Wisconsin) serving 6,500 children and youth each summer. There are 13 URJ Camp-Institutes (in New York, Massachusetts (2), Ontario Canada, Pennsylvania, Georgia, California (2), Wisconsin, Indiana, Mississippi and Texas) serving a total of 10,000 children and youth each summer. An additional camp is under construction in the state of Washington. In addition there are 4 Reform camps sponsored by individual temples.

The programs of these two denominational camping networks lay emphasis on classes, religious services and observances, and a creative mix of activities planned in the spirit of the philosophy of the sponsoring movement. At the same time the camps offer programs rich in the classic recreational areas: sports, aquatics, arts and crafts, drama, dance, music, nature and camping. In the Ramah Camps, from the start, Hebrew was the official language; in the UAHC Camps, there are Hebrew-speaking units in each camp. There is no doubt that both these denominations attracted their future leadership from the summer camping experience.

While on the surface, Jewish camps which offer intensive educational programs appear to be recreational enterprises, resembling as they do their non-Jewish counterparts which in the summer provide children and youth with an enjoyable alternative to the school-burdened fall, winter and spring, they have turned out to be much more than that. The founders of the Reform and Conservative camping movements early on proclaimed the goal of offering an intensive educational program to supplement the classes offered in synagogue and temple religious schools. Moreover they had declared the goal of making their camps "hothouses" for the production of layman and professionals who would assume roles of knowledgeable leaders in the movements. An examination of the backgrounds of rabbis, cantors, educational directors, and teachers affiliated with these movements documents the achievement of this later goal. Further, in many ways, the educational programs offered in the camps served as a testing ground and a stimulus for educational activity within their movements, beyond the summer, among them: (1) the use of informal education techniques as an educational tool; (2) as a means of strengthening year-round youth movements; (3) as an opportunity to explore new curricular areas (notable work was done in the camps on teaching about the contemporary State of Israel, the Holocaust, and Soviet Jewry, all later replicated in the year-round schools); (4) as a location for offering innovative types of Jewish education for adolescents with developmental disabilities; (5) providing college students with training in educational techniques; and (6) encouraging the study of Judaica at the college and graduate level.

The camps played a unique and fruitful role in educating Jewish youth about the role of Israel in Jewish life through injecting Israeli and Zionist themes throughout all aspects of the camp programs, by cooperating with the Jewish Agency in bringing Israeli counselors and specialists to serve on the camp staffs, and by integrating summer trips to Israel for the oldest campers into the range of camp experiences offered under the camp's sponsorship.

While Jewish camping is largely an American phenomena, Jewish camps on the American model are to be found in other countries. A few camps representing each of the major categories have been established in Canada: i.e., Reform, Conservative, Hebrew, Zionist, community center, and private for-profit. Notable are the Jewish institutional camps in South America and in Eastern Europe. When the Seminario Rabinico Latinamericano was established by the American Conservative movement in Buenos Aires, a Ramah camp was also established. As rabbis were ordained by the Seminario, and took pulpits in other South American countries, they took the idea of the Jewish educational camp with them, and established camps in those locales. When the Masorti movement (the Israeli Conservative movement) sought a means to provide Jewish educational programs for the culturally and religiously deprived Jews of Eastern Europe, the American-born rabbis who were leaders of Masorti embraced the idea of establishing camps on the Ramah model which they established for short periods on leased premises in various Eastern European countries.

The Ronald S. Lauder Foundation has made notable use of camping as a tool of Jewish education in Eastern Europe to help realize its commitment to rebuilding Jewish life in that part of Europe where the destruction of the Holocaust was followed by the oppression of Communist rule. Especially notable is the large permanent campsite it has established at Szarvas, Hungary, operated in partnership with the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee, which each summer offers intensive Jewish camping experiences to more than 1,000 youths from more than 20 countries. The Szarvas campers dance, swim, sing, and canoe, and they also attend daily prayer and learn what it means to observe Passover, Purim, and Ḥanukkah, which the staff recreates with them. The language of the camp is English, which also attracts campers anxious to become part of the global elite,

Ever since the 1950s, there has been much praise (especially in non-Orthodox circles) for the efficacy of the Jewish educational camps in socializing and educating young Jews into Jewish life. Based on Sherif's research, Sales and Saxe identify the factors which make the summer camp such an effective medium for Jewish socialization of children and youth, as follows: "camp is an intense, enclosed setting," "camp activities are absorbing," camps "provide a framework for profound social learning," camp "provides the luxury of extended time with participants," "camp offers continuous interaction among campers and between campers and staff," and "[c]amp emphasizes learning through doing."

While there is a positive attitude toward camping in the Orthodox community, it seems to be mainly embraced as a summer recreational setting for the child. Because of the intensive socializing role of the Jewish home and the synagogue, and the intensive program of Jewish studies which most Orthodox children pursue in the day school, parents feel less need to utilize the summer for the intensive education, such as do parents of children enrolled in the Conservative and Reform camps. Among the Orthodox only the Chabad, who utilize camping to teach Judaism to children from non-religious families, emphasize the educational potential of camping.

Two other types of camps which have played a significant role in the history of Jewish camping are the Yiddishist camps and the Zionist camps. The first Zionist camps, intended for the youth affiliated with the various Zionist youth movements, were built in the 1930s. Today, with the exception of the Young Judea camps, sponsored by the Hadassah Women's Zionist Organization, the others are sponsored by the American affiliates of Israeli political parties. These camps are essentially the summer "homes" of the year-round Zionist youth movements. Isaacman reports that in 1945 there were 30 Zionist-sponsored camps in North America, while in 2000 Sales and Saxe report the existence of 15 such camps. The major groupings of Zionist camps are the Bnei Akiva camps, the Habonim-Dror camps, and the Young Judea camps. The decline in the number of such camps mirrors the decline in youth affiliated with the Zionist youth organizations.

As for the Yiddish camps, Isaacman writes, in 1970, "There are five camps in our study that bear the identification of "Yiddish" camps… these camps are misnamed, since the Yiddish language does not play a significant role in all of the camps but one." This statement describes the character of these camps 35 years later. The designation of the camps as Yiddish pretty much reflects the goals of the organizations that sponsor these camps and not the camp programs. The 2005 website of Camp Kinder Ring, sponsored by the Workman's Circle states, "Many years ago all campers and counselors at Camp Kinder Ring spoke Yiddish … American Jews have not kept up with the language of our grandparents … we still have an appreciation for our *mamaloshn*… and we share this with our campers through the many Yiddish songs we sing."

There are also a significant number of Jewish day camps (some 200 under the sponsorship of Jewish Community Centers) in North America, which meet during the summer months, on Monday through Friday, usually from 9:00 A.M. through 4:00 P.M. These day camps replicate in their programs many of the types of activities offered by the overnight camps. Day campers live at home and are bussed to the campsite each morning. As a rule, a center that sponsors a resident camp will sponsor one or more day camps. The Conservative and Reform movements each sponsor a small number of day camps that serve as feeders to the overnight camps.

There have been a number of attempts to bring together the Jewish camping community over the years. Most often the effort was made to bring together the directors of the Jewish camps for annual meetings. Unfortunately, these efforts were poorly funded and rarely achieved more than holding an annual conference and publishing its proceedings. In 1998, Robert and Elisa Bildner, parents of camp-aged children who were pleased with what the Ramah camping experience had done for them and their children, made a contribution of one million dollars as seed money to establish The Foundation for Jewish Camping, headquartered in New York City. "The Foundation advocates for Jewish camping, encourages growth of the camp system, helps camps recruit staff, makes grants to promote programmatic excellence, champions the growth of camp scholarships, and offers information resources to parents, camps and the Jewish community." The Foundation has been successful in eliciting additional funding for its programs from groups such as the Avi Chai Foundation.

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[Burton I. Cohen (2nd ed.)]

JEWISH-CHRISTIAN RELATIONS. Christian-Jewish contacts have progressed significantly at the initiative of the major international Church organizations and of national and regional church bodies. Of special importance are the contacts with the main Church organizations: the Roman Catholic Church and the World Council of Churches, the latter being a federation embracing the majority of non-Catholic Churches, but representing mainly the interests and views of the Protestant Churches. Direct contacts with the Orthodox Churches, outside the framework of the WCC, are at a very initial stage. The political situation prevailing in countries with orthodox populations evidently does not encourage interreligious dialogue.

Contacts with the Roman Catholic Church

Since the historic declaration *Nostra Aetate* on the relationship of the Church to the non-Christian religions (No. 4), issued by the Second Vatican Council on Oct. 28, 1965 (for text see *Church Councils), the implementation of the Vatican Council's decision was entrusted to the Secretariat for promoting Christian unity, headed by Cardinal Johannes Willebrands, and a special office within the Secretariat maintained contact with representatives of Judaism until October 1974. The aims of this office are: combating antisemitism and racial prejudices, the solution of the problems of human rights, and in general the desire to start an interreligious dialogue.

On Oct. 23, 1974, Pope Paul VI established a special commission with the aim of advancing and stimulating religious relations between Christians and Jews. The commission, having the status of an independent organism, is linked with the Secretariat for promoting Christian unity and is headed by Cardinal Willebrands. On Jan. 31, 1976, Pope Paul named eight consultants to the commission.

It is noteworthy that whereas the commission dealing with contacts with Judaism is linked with the Secretariat for Christian unity, a similar commission concerned with relations with Islam is linked with the Secretariat for non-Christian religions. The special relationship of Christianity with Judaism is thus also emphasized administratively. At a preliminary Catholic-Jewish consultation held in Rome in December 1970, it was recommended that an annual meeting of an international Catholic-Jewish Liaison Committee be held for the purpose of fostering mutual understanding between the two faiths and encouraging exchange of information and cooperation in areas of common concern and responsibility.

The first meeting took place in Paris in December 1971. Its five Catholic members, consisting of clergymen specializing in Jewish contacts, were appointed by Cardinal Willebrands, with the approval of Pope Paul VI. The six Jewish members represented the International Jewish Committee on Interreligious Consultations (IJCIC), comprising leading figures from the following Jewish organizations: the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, the World Jewish Congress, the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, the Synagogue Council of America, the American Jewish Committee and the Jewish Council for Interreligious Consultations in Israel.

The second meeting was held in Marseilles in December 1972, at which preliminary papers on "Religious Community, People and Land in Jewish and Christian Traditions" were discussed. Information and views on subjects of common interest were also exchanged. The third annual meeting was held in Antwerp in December 1973, at which two papers on "People, Nation and Land" were submitted by Jewish and Catholic experts. The Committee also decided to initiate research on the moral and spiritual basis of human rights and religious liberty, according to the religious traditions of the two faiths.

The fourth meeting was held in Rome in January 1974, a month after the publication of the *Guidelines* by the Commission of the Catholic Church on Religious Relations with the Jews. The *Guidelines* and suggestions for implementing the Second Vatican Council declaration *Nostra Aetate* is a most important document. It was signed by Cardinal Willebrands, president of the commission, and by its newly appointed secretary Pierre Marie de Contenson O.P., and was issued with the aim of guiding Catholics in their attitude to Jews. It was expressly directed to the bishops and to the commissions or secretariats episcopally appointed for that purpose. The introduction to the document recalls the principal decision of Vatican Council II, condemning antisemitism and all forms of discrimination and imposing the obligation of reciprocal understanding and esteem. It advocates a better knowledge on the part of Christians of the essence of Jewish religious tradition and self-identification. The text contains a series of concrete suggestions. One section calls for fraternal dialogue and for the establishment of in-depth doctrinal research and recommends joint prayer meetings.

Mention is made of the links between Christian and Jewish liturgy and the caution needed in dealing with biblical commentaries, and with liturgical explanations and translations. The section dealing with teaching and education clarifies the nexus between the two Testaments. The question of the trial and death of Jesus is touched upon and stress laid on the note of expectation which characterizes both Judaism and Christianity. Specialists are invited to engage in serious research, and the establishment of university chairs of Hebrew studies is encouraged as well as collaboration with Jewish scholars. The final section deals with the possibilities of shared social action in the quest for social justice and peace. The *Guidelines* conclude with an allusion to the ecumenical aspect of relations with Judaism, the initiatives on the part of local Churches, and the essential lines of the work of the new commission set up by the Holy See.

The International Jewish Committee for Interreligious Consultation (IJCIC) welcomed the *Guidelines* at the annual meeting held in January 1974. Reservations were, however, made concerning the lack of reference to the central role of the Land of Israel in Jewish religious thought and what in its view were the concealed conversionist aims of the document and certain of its proposed interreligious activities.

In January 1975 the members of the Liaison Committee had an audience with Pope Paul VI who mentioned the difficulties and the confrontations that had marked contacts between Christians and Jews over the past two millennia. He expressed the hope that the dialogue, carried out in mutual respect, would help both sides to become better acquainted with one another.

The fifth meeting of the Liaison Committee took place in Jerusalem in March 1976 and it was regarded of special significance that for the first time the meeting was held in the capital of Israel. The main subject of this consultation was a joint assessment of major developments in Catholic-Jewish relations since the publication of the *Nostra Aetate*.

At the sixth annual meeting held in Venice in March 1977, the main item on the agenda was a study paper on "Mission and Witness of the Church." The paper, delivered by Professor Tommaso Federici, claimed that the Catholic Church clearly rejects every form of proselytism affecting the Jews, including any sort of witness and preaching which constitutes physical, moral, psychological or cultural constraint on the Jews, whether individuals or communities, which might destroy or even simply reduce their personal judgment, free will and full autonomy of decision. Rabbi Siegman, a member of the IJCIC, observed that the paper was a Catholic document dealing with theological issues, and as such its unqualified condemnation of proselytism among the Jews represented a notable advance in the Catholic Church which is bound to make for a deeper understanding between the two faiths. At this meeting the Catholic chairman introduced the newly appointed secretary, Reverend Jorge Mejia, who succeeded Father Contenson, who passed away in July 1976.

The seventh annual meeting was held in Madrid in April 1978. The opening session was held in the historic El Transito Church, formerly a *synagogue, which was returned to the Jewish community a few years earlier. The main topic of the meeting was "The image of Judaism in Christian education and the image of Christianity in Jewish education." Both sides noted significant progress in Catholic teaching on Judaism and Jewish teaching on Christianity. Information was exchanged on the recent Israeli law on conversion, the human rights situation in different countries, the resurgence of antisemitism, the Catholic-Muslim dialogue and contacts between Muslims and Jews. The discussions took place in an atmosphere of frankness and cordiality and were seen by both delegations as an important contribution to better mutual understanding. The members of the two delegations were, however, aware that there did not exist a perfect parallelism between the stand of the two sides because Judaism, unlike Christianity, links religion with peoplehood and land.

The eighth annual meeting took place in Regensurg (Bavaria) in October 1979. The significance of the meeting's being held in Germany was underlined in a telegram from Chancellor Helmut Schmidt. The two main subjects discussed at the encounter were: Religious Freedom, and Education for Dialogue in a Pluralistic Society.

Political Aspects of the Christian-Jewish Relationship

The influence of the political factor is particularly evident in the case of the Roman Catholic Church, since it is both a worldwide religion and a sovereign state. Although no formal diplomatic relations exist between the Vatican and the State of Israel, contacts have steadily improved during the past few years. Foreign ministers and high ranking Israeli officials met Pope Paul VI, his two predecessors, and dignitaries of the Vatican Secretariat. Highly significant was the audience granted by Pope Paul VI in January 1973 to Golda Meir, then Israel's prime minister. According to a joint statement released after the meeting, the Pontiff referred both to the sufferings of the Jewish people and to his humanitarian concern for the plight of the Arab refugees, He also expressed his concern regarding a solution to the problem of the status of the holy places and the maintenance of Jerusalem's universal character. The same solicitude for the Holy City was expressed by the pope during the audience granted in January 1977 to the late Foreign Minister Moshe Dayan. The late Pontiff showed his concern on a number of occasions in his speeches and meetings for the events taking place in the Holy Land and never discarded his proposal for the internationalization of Jerusalem, although he did not exclude other possibilities.

There is ample evidence of progress in the relationship between the State of Israel and the Holy See. Israeli official delegations were invited to the opening and closing sessions of the Vatican Council. Israeli official representatives were likewise invited to the funerals of deceased popes and to coronation ceremonies of the newly elected popes. Friendly messages were exchanged between presidents of Israel and Pope Paul VI, as well as his successors Pope John Paul I and Pope John Paul II. Since his election in October 1978, Pope John Paul II has granted private audiences to several Israeli representatives, among them the director general of the Foreign Ministry Yoseph Cjechanover and Ambassador Moshe Alon.

Political considerations have also influenced the attitude of the WCC toward Judaism and the people in Israel. The Arab Christian Churches, which are members of the WCC, have made their negative influence increasingly felt on the decisions of the prestigious Council, and in August 1980 the Council adopted a strong anti-Israel resolution at its conference held in Geneva, which *inter alia* urged member churches to "exert pressure on Israel through their respective governments to withhold any action on Jerusalem, the future of which should be included in negotiations on self-determination involving Israel and the Palestinian people." The WCC's Committee on the Church and the Jewish People stands, however, firmly for a relationship toward Judaism, uninfluenced by hostile political influence.

Contacts with the World Council of Churches

The relations of the WCC with Judaism have progressed in recent years and have become firmly established. It has its seat in Geneva and is an umbrella organization, the membership of which in the early 1970s was composed of 250 Churches from more than 80 countries, among them the majority of the Protestant Churches, the Anglican Church, the autocephalous Orthodox Churches, and Monophysite Churches.

The progress found its organizational expression in the inclusion of Judaism in the work of the sub-unit for Dialogue with People of Living Faith and Ideologies (Committee on the Church and the Jewish People), whereas previously the Committee functioned as a commission of the Division on Mission and Evangelism. This change in the administrative structure was carried out in conformity with the recommendations at the meeting in Addis Ababa of January 1971.The first joint meeting, opened by Dr. Eugene Blake, secretary general of the WCC, was held in June 1968. A further consultation was held in Locarno in October 1970.

A meeting cosponsored by the WCC and the IJCIC was held in Geneva in December 1972, the Jewish delegation consisting of representatives of the same bodies which met with the Catholic delegation. The principal theme of the meeting was "The Quest for World Community: Jewish and Christian Perspectives." Christian and Jewish scholars presented a series of papers, essaying to clarify common as well as divergent concepts and approaches to the organization of the world community as a "community of the communities." It likewise provided an opportunity for an exchange of views of the following subjects: the problem of violence; racism in South Africa; human rights in the Soviet Union; the Middle East conflict; the Bible and social justice; and Christian-Jewish cooperation in relation to international organizations for the advancement of human rights. At the initiative of the WCC a consultation was held at Cartigny, near Geneva, in January 1974, which was attended by some 30 Christians from various theological traditions and from different countries. The main topics were the Middle East conflict and the impact of the Bible on the present situation in the Holy Land.

A multilateral dialogue, sponsored by the WCC's Department for Dialogue with People of Living Faiths and Ideologies, took place at Colombo, Sri Lanka, Ceylon, in April 1974, and was attended by 50 participants from 22 countries and 5 living traditions: Hindu, Buddhist, Jewish, Christian, and Muslim. They discussed their resources and responsibilities toward the world community.

A meeting of representatives of the WCC and of the IJCIC was held in London in January 1975 to discuss the concept of power in Jewish and Christian tradition, its application to the contemporary social order and its bearing on joint search for world community.

On Apr. 1, 1975, Dr. Franz von Hammerstein succeeded Rev. Johan M. Snoek as secretary of the Council's agency for Consultation of the Church and the Jewish People (CCJP). Both were well acquainted with Jewish aspirations and needs, having resided in Israel for many years.

The next meeting between representatives of the WCC and the IJCIC was held in Jerusalem in February 1976 and opened with a report on the WCC Nairobi conference and a discussion on its resolution on the Middle East and the status of Jerusalem. In a preliminary debate on "Relations between Churches and the Jewish People in the Wider Context of the Human Community," regret was expressed that the WCC had not paralleled the Vatican in issuing guidelines on Christian-Jewish relations. It was, however, plain that publication of such a document would have to be ratified by a plenary session of the Council and such an attempt might be doomed to failure, in view of the composite structure of the Council.

A planning meeting held in Geneva in October 1976 was followed by a Christian-Jewish Consultation in Zurich in February 1977, under the auspices of WCC and the IJCIC. A number of papers were submitted on the "Jewish and Christian Traditions concerning Nature, Science and Technology."

At a meeting held in Jerusalem in June 1977, representatives of the CCJP began work on a draft of the WCC's guidelines for the Christian-Jewish dialogue. The IJCIC was invited to submit comments on the draft, and did so at a Liaison and Planning Committee (LPC) meeting in Geneva in February 1979. An Ad Hoc Committee of the CCJP gave further attention to the draft in March 1980.

In September 1979 Rev. Allan R. Brockway succeeded Dr. Franz von Hammerstein as secretary of the council's agency for the CCJP.

A meeting on "Science and Faith" took place in July 1979 at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT).

A conference, cosponsored by the IJCIC and the WCC, was held in Toronto, Canada, in August 1980, the theme being "Religion and the Crisis of Modernity."

Contacts with Representatives of the Orthodox Churches

In March 1977, under the aegis of the Lucerne University's Department of Theology, an unprecedented academic dialogue was conducted between Jewish leaders and the representatives of the Greek Orthodox Church. This initial meeting was followed by a much larger forum held in Bucharest, Romania, in October 1979, with representatives of the IJCIC meeting with Orthodox theologians from Bulgaria, Cyprus, France, Greece, Romania, Switzerland, and the United States. Following the presentation of papers, the discussions centered on the interpretation of scripture in tradition,

Contacts with National Churches

In February 1979, a two-day meeting took place in Berlin between representatives of the IJCIC and the European Lutheran Commission on the Church and the Jewish People. A decision was taken to appoint a committee of two members from each organization to ensure the maintenance of contact between them.

A meeting between the IJCIC and Consultants of the Anglican Church on Interfaith Consultations was held at Amport House, Andover, Hants in November 1980. The theme discussed was "Law and Religion in Contemporary Society."

Societies for Christian-Jewish Cooperation

In addition to the important Church bodies referred to, there exist in various European and American countries local organizations interested in fostering good relations between Christians and Jews and in combating antisemitism. Most of these societies were established during the Nazi period or immediately afterwards, in consequence of the shock produced by the terrible consequences of antisemitism. Both Catholic and Protestant Church leaders were active in such organizations. Among these societies are the Council of Christians and Jews in Great Britain, which publishes the quarterly *Common Ground*, and the National Conference of Christians and Jews in the U.S.A. of which Bernard J. Lasker was elected cochairman in March 1978. The other two cochairmen were William F. May representing the Protestant Church and Nicholas V. Petrov, the Eastern Orthodox. This body is 50 years old and has many branches with a considerable budget at its disposal. In 1947 these two societies convened an Emergency Conference at Seelisberg in Switzerland, and the "Ten Points" adopted then have served in the period under review as an important guide for the Protestant Churches in their attitude to Judaism.

Other important societies are the German Council for Jewish-Christian Cooperation, which has branches in many towns in Germany and publishes the bi-monthly *Emunah* ("Faith"); the Jewish-Christian Brotherhood in France which publishes the quarterly *Sens*; the Christian-Jewish Cooperation in Switzerland which publishes the magazine *Christlich-jüdisches Forum*; the Action against Antisemitism in Austria; the Christian-Jewish Fraternity of Brazil, which publishes *Encontro*; the Council of Christians and Jews in Canada; and the Swedish Association for Cooperation among Jews and Christians.

Recently the national societies interested in fostering Christian-Jewish friendship held joint consultations, in order to extend their activities and influence, in view of the recrudescence of antisemitism in many parts of the world. As a result, there was established the International Council of Christians and Jews (ICCJ), a federation of the various national brotherhoods with an annual rotating chairman. Meetings of the ICCJ have taken place in Vienna (1973); in Basel (1974); in Cologne (1974); in Hamburg (1975); in Jerusalem (1976); in Southampton (1977); in Luxembourg (1977); in Vienna (1978); in New York (1979); and in Sigtuna, Sweden (1980). An ICCJ International Youth Conference was held in Jerusalem in August 1980.

Declaration by National Churches and Other Ecclesiastical Organizations

Most important on the national level was the Declaration of the French Episcopal Committee, headed by Mgr. Elchinger, Bishop of Strasbourg. The Declaration, issued on the eve of Passover 1973, referred to the Jewish document adopted by the Vatican Council, and emphasized that the new approach to Judaism should be considered a beginning rather than an end. Of momentous weight were the references of the Declaration to the ingathering of the Jewish people in the Land of the Bible and the statement that the conscience of mankind cannot deny the Jewish people, which has undergone so many vicissitudes in the course of its history, the right and the means for its own political existence among the nations.

Of special importance also was the manifesto "Christians and Jews," issued by the German Evangelical Church in 1975. It emphasized the Jewish origins of the Christian Church, and examined Christian-Jewish relationships from a theological perspective. The manifesto also recognized that full realization of Jewish life has been bound up with the Land of Israel in all ages, and therefore the present State of Israel, albeit a political entity, must also be understood in the historical context of the Chosen People.

Consultations were held by the Lutheran World Federation, the American Lutheran Church, the Baptist Convention, the General Conference of the United Methodists, the Reformed Church of Holland, and the European Mennonites. In an address given in July 1977 to the Jewish Board of Deputies, the Archbishop of Canterbury said that love, not power, should rule the world and stressed his strong opposition to any sort of racial discrimination.

The Interconfessional Dialogue in Israel

The interconfessional dialogue in Israel has been fostered on the initiative of selected groups of Jewish and Christian scholars. Prominent in the interconfessional exchange is the "Rainbow Group," composed of Christian theologians and Jewish scholars, mainly professors of Bible and of comparative religion. The members of the group meet periodically to examine, compare, and evaluate their respective religious traditions and tenets.

Another interconfessional group is the Interfaith Committee, the aims of which are practical rather than scholarly. The committee has taken upon itself to guarantee that proper respect be shown to all creeds represented in the Holy Land. The Christian Fraternity of Theological Research, besides deepening ecumenical relations among Christian denominations, regards its task as the study of the attitude of those denominations toward Judaism. Active in the field of interconfessional dialogue are also the American Jewish Committee's office in Jerusalem, the Ecumenical Institute in Tantur near Jerusalem, the Ecumenical Discussion Center for Students in Jerusalem, and the Interreligious Group in Tel Aviv.

Whereas an interconfessional dialogue conducted between equals is considered positively by the majority of the Jews in Israel, all forms of Christian proselytizing activity among the Jews is deeply resented, and the main Christian Churches, aware of this, generally abstain from missionary activity, In practice, such activity is carried out mainly by some small Protestant sects, with little success. The mission problem, which from time to time agitates public opinion in Israel, became more acute with the appearance on the Israeli scene of the "Jews for Jesus Movement." Jewish religious quarters, which had always advocated antimissionary legislation, took the opportunity given by a change in the political constellation to pass in the Knesset a Penal Code Amendment which outlaws the use of bribery for religious conversion. The Amendment (enticement to change religion), enacted in December 1977, aroused concern in Christian and interfaith circles in Israel and abroad.

[Saul Paul Colbi]

Later Developments

Throughout the years since World War II, and under the impact of the revelation of the facts of the Holocaust and the establishment of the State of Israel, Christians individually and collectively have felt themselves impelled to reassess their relationships with Jews and Judaism, and at the very least to repudiate traditional antisemitism and the "teaching of contempt." This movement has been expressed in Church documents, in theological writings, and in dialogue with Jews. By 1985 the main lines had been drawn, and the last years of the 1980s were essentially a period of consolidation, and of educational initiatives to ensure that the guidelines of Churches would be absorbed into teaching and preaching. At the same time, however, a number of "sticking points" in the dialogue emerged clearly, and a series of incidents created tensions.

The Church of Rome

High level dialogue between the Roman Catholic Church and the Jewish people is undertaken by the International Catholic-Jewish Liaison Committee (ILC). On the Catholic side, this consists of representatives of the Holy See's Commission on Religious Relations with the Jews, an office within the secretariat for Promoting Christian Unity. On the Jewish side, the representative body is the International Jewish Committee on Interreligious Consultations (IJCIC), composed of the World Jewish Congress, the Synagogue Council of America, the American Jewish Committee, B'nai B'rith International-Anti-Defamation League, and the Israel Jewish Council for Interreligious Relations.

The 1985 meeting of the ILC took place on October 28–30 in Rome, and was a major commemoration and reassessment of the publication 20 years previously of *Nostra Aetate* no. 4, part of the "Declaration on the Relationship of the Church to non-Christian Religions," the Second Vatican Council document which paved the way for the subsequent development of Catholic attitudes to Jews and Judaism. The progress which had taken place in the intervening years was evaluated, a program for the future outlined, and the importance attached by the Church to the proceedings emphasized by an audience with Pope John Paul II. An added touch to all of the foregoing activity was the recognition, by a special lecture, of the 850th anniversary of the death of Maimonides.

The most substantial discussions at the Rome meeting, however, were in connection with the newly prepared Vatican document, "Notes on the correct way to present the Jews and Judaism in preaching and catechesis in the Roman Catholic Church." This "internal" Church document, intended to develop the teaching of *Nostra Aetate* and to help integrate it into the everyday life of the Church, met with a mixed response from the Jewish delegation. On the positive side, the State of Israel was for the first time mentioned in a Vatican document, Jewish suffering in the Holocaust recognized, the "ongoing spiritual vitality of Judaism" to modern times appreciated, and guidance given on how to interpret New Testament texts without deriving antisemitism from them. On the other hand, Jews were upset that they had not been fully consulted in preparing the document, felt that treatment of the Holocaust failed to acknowledge any Christian guilt, were dissatisfied with the lack of a positive theological evaluation of Israel, and detected inconsistencies in the theological sections, including remnants of typology and "replacement theology."

On Sunday April 13, 1986, Pope John Paul II made a historic visit across the Tiber to the Synagogue in Rome, where he was welcomed by Chief Rabbi Elio Toaff. The president of the Jewish community, Professor Giacomo Saban, reminded the pope of the illustrious history of the Roman Jewish community, extending back to pre-Christian times. Generally, the visit was welcomed by Catholic and Jewish leaders as a signal of the pope's personal commitment to carrying forward the initiative of *Nostra Aetate*; indeed, the pope lost no opportunity to address Jewish communities in the numerous cities he visited around the world, frequently welcomed visiting Jewish dignitaries at the Vatican, and used these occasions repeatedly to denounce antisemitism and to recognize Jewish sufferings in the "Shoah," as he consistently called the Holocaust.

It was at about this time that the *Auschwitz Convent controversy erupted (the Cracow Church's approval for the project had been given on September 30, 1984, without attracting attention), and plans for a major Consultation of the ILC on the subject of the Holocaust were postponed indefinitely. Relations were further exacerbated when the World Jewish Congress, in the form of a letter from its president, Edgar Bronfman, dated December 4, 1986, while declaring that its commitment to improving relations with the Catholic Church had never been stronger, launched a "global campaign" to force the Holy See to "recognize" Israel. Although the steering committee of the ILC continued to meet, no full Consultation took place until that in Prague in September 1990. One of the effects of this postponement was delay in producing a comprehensive Vatican statement on the Holocaust. Archbishop Edward (later Cardinal) Cassidy, who led the Catholic delegation at Prague in his capacity as president of the Commission on Religious Relations with the Jews in succession to Cardinal Willebrands, declared in his opening remarks "that antisemitism has found a place in Christian thought and practice calls for an act of *Teshuvah* (repentance) and of reconciliation on our part as we gather here in this city which is a testimony to our failure to be authentic witnesses to our faith at times in the past." The statement issued from the Prague meeting cited these words and was the first document with Vatican authority to acknowledge, if somewhat obliquely, Catholic guilt in relation to the Holocaust. The statement also stressed the educational task in Jewish-Christian relations, and the opportunities for common social work and spiritual witness. The statement was endorsed by John Paul II when he received the ILC on the occasion of the 25th anniversary of *Nostra Aetate* in December 1990.

Relations moved further ahead as a result of a Conference of the ILC in Baltimore in 1992 when the Vatican participants proposed the establishment of joint Catholic-Jewish delegations to appear before international bodies on matters of mutual concern. They also undertook to extend to other countries the initiative of the Italian bishops who had declared that one day a year in their dioceses would be devoted to the study of Judaism and the Jewish people. In the summer of 1992, the Vatican announced the opening of discussions with Israel for the normalization of relations between the two countries toward the establishment of diplomatic ties, which was finally achieved at the end of 1993. (See *Vatican for further developments.)

The World Council of Churches and Protestant Churches

The World Council of Churches (WCC), while unrelenting in its opposition to antisemitism, has progressed only slowly in dialogue in the period under review. This is thought to be partly because of political pressure from the Middle East Council of Churches, and partly because of the reluctance of some member Churches to abandon an actively evangelical approach toward non-Christians including Jews. Moreover, whereas the Catholic Church has several times stated that relations with Jews and Judaism are at the center of Christian concern, the World Council tends to place the matter lower on its scale of priorities. The World Council is an amorphous federation rather than a hierarchical structure like the Roman Church; it cannot determine standards from the top down, but must work on the basis of consensus.

Some progress was made at the "Consultation on the Church and the Jewish People" in Arnoldshain, West Germany, February 10–14, 1986, but the most significant advance was the document formulated at the November 1988 meeting at Sigtuna, Sweden, of the WCC's Committee on the Church and the Jewish People. This document recognizes the lack of consensus among its members on mission and on the significance of the Land of Israel, but claimed wide agreement for the following:

1. The covenant of God with the Jewish people remains valid.
2. Antisemitism and all forms of the teaching of contempt for Judaism are to be repudiated.
3. The living tradition of Judaism is a gift of God.
4. Coercive proselytism directed toward Jews is incompatible with Christian faith.
5. Jews and Christians bear a common responsibility as witnesses to God's righteousness and peace in the world.

In addition, it agreed nine affirmations, which recognized Israel's call, acknowledged the spiritual treasures shared by Jews and Christians, made clear that Jews should not be blamed for Jesus' passion, and expressed sorrow at the Christian share of responsibility for Jewish suffering, culminating in the Holocaust.

Like the Vatican, the WCC engages in dialogue at the highest level with IJCIC. One of their most notable joint ventures was an African Christian-Jewish Consultation which took place in Nairobi, Kenya, from November 10–13, 1986; the emphasis here was on the shared concern of Jews and African Christians with tradition and its relationship with Scripture. As was aptly remarked, "Scripture is not a European creation."

Since the WCC can work only by consensus, the statements of its individual constituent Churches are of significance.

The Anglican Communion held its own Consultation with IJCIC at Shallowford House, Stafford (England), in 1986, focusing on two issues of common concern to Jews and Anglicans, AIDS and inner city deprivation, though few who were present would deny that the high point of that Consultation was Dr. Gerhart Riegner's spontaneous and moving narration of the events of 1942 when, from his Geneva office, he had battled against immense resistance to inform the unbelieving world of the implementation of the "Final Solution."

This Consultation undoubtedly fed into the 1988 Lambeth Conference, the 10-yearly gathering of Anglican Bishops from around the world. For the first time in their history they devoted attention to Christian-Jewish relations, and produced and unanimously commended a document "Jews, Christians and Muslims: the Way of Dialogue." This, from assimilating the relationship with Judaism to that with all monotheists, clearly spelled out its special nature and obligations, Christian guilt for the "teaching of contempt" which provided the soil in which Nazism could thrive, and the nature of Judaism as a living religion not to be confused with a literal reading of the Old Testament.

The Lutheran Churches in Germany and elsewhere were among the first and most copious in the production of documents. The Lutheran European Commission "Church and the Jewish People," in its May 8, 1990, "Statement on the Encounter between Lutheran Christians and Jews" (Driebergen, Netherlands), recognizes that a prerequisite to a new, more tolerant relationship with the Jewish faith is "a partial renunciation of the requirement for evangelization of Jews, as well as the call for a self-critical analysis of the Lutherans' own theology."

Excellent statements and guidelines have emanated from other church groups within the WCC, such as Methodists and Presbyterians – and even from those outside the WCC, such as the Unification Church.

Special mention should be made of the June 12, 1990, "Statement by the Synod of the Reformed Church in Hungary on its Relations with the Jews," perhaps the first document of this nature to emanate from a non-Catholic Church in Central Europe since the imposition of communism, yet able to confess repentance in the words of a 1946 statement of its Reformed Free Council: "Under the responsibility resting upon us because of sins committed against the Jews, however late, we now ask the Hungarian Jews before God to forgive us."

The International Council of Christians and Jews and National CCJ's

Much of the dialogue at "grassroots" level is undertaken through local branches of the national Councils of Christians and Jews (CCJ's). The national councils are members of the International Council of Christians and Jews (ICCJ). With the admission in 1990 of CCJ's in Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and New Zealand, there are now 23 national groups.

Members of the national CCJ's are able to meet at the ICCJ's International Colloquium, held each year in a different country. In the period under consideration they have met in Dublin (1985), Salamanca (1986), Fribourg (1978), Montreal (1988), Lille (1989), and Prague (1990). The Salamanca meeting was notable for its strong Muslim participation, and some element of this has been maintained. At the Prague meeting, delegates from Central and East European countries outlined their local situations and problems. Each colloquium is combined with a women's symposium and a young leadership conference, though in 1990 the young leadership conference took place separately, in Israel.

ICCJ had sponsored other major meetings and initiatives, including "Identity and Commitment in the Religious Encounter," Jerusalem, December 1986. It had a first conference in Eastern Europe with its 1985 meeting in Budapest (see below). This was followed, in September 1987, with a second "Seminar of Jews and Christians from the East and the West" in Buckow, then East Germany – an occasion remarkable for the presence of 12 Israeli scholars. Together with the Konrad Adenauer Stiftung it held a Symposium of Jews, Christians and Muslims from May 29–June 2, 1988, in Sankt Augustin, near Bonn, where there was much discussion of the stereotypes which hinder mutual understanding.

The largest popular gathering in Christian-Jewish relations is the National Workshop of the NCCJ in the United States. Such workshops attract well in excess of a thousand participants.

Opening up the East

THE DIALOGUE. Long before the demise of communism in Central Europe in 1989, contact had been established with the Churches and with the small remaining Jewish communities and the foundations laid for a positive development in Jewish-Christian relations. At that time the Churches themselves were struggling to exist in the face of a hostile regime. This gave them a sense of solidarity with the Jewish minority, but as against this was the lack of familiarity with Western developments in Christian theology, lack of knowledge of Judaism, and lack of local Jews with knowledge of their own faith.

In November 1985 the International Council of Christians and Jews, together with the Interchurch Peace Council in Hungary, sponsored a four-day conference on "Jewish-Christian Dialogue and its Contribution to Peace." Hungary has not only a substantial Jewish community but also several native Jewish scholars. Mention has already been made of the September 1987 "Seminar of Jews and Christians from the East and the West" which took place in East Germany.

In Poland there had been, through much of the communist era, a fascination with Jewish culture, as manifested for instance in the continuation of the Yiddish theater, but only in the 1980s did a serious attempt at critical reassessment of the past commence. The pope, in his 1979 visit to Auschwitz, had perhaps initiated the process by referring there to "the great sufferings of the Jewish people." A highly significant series of articles appeared in the Catholic journals *ZNAK* and *Tygodnik Powszechny*, commencing in 1983; Jan Blonski's challenging 1987 article "The Poor Poles Look at the Ghetto" deserves special mention. In May 1986 the Polish Bishops' Conference set up a sub-commission (later upgraded to a full commission) to examine, in a Polish context, relationships with Jews and Judaism, and under its chairman, Bishop Henrik Muszynski of Wloclawek, this group has led the Polish church to take seriously the new attitudes to Jews and Judaism emanating from Rome, and in 1990 published a book of recent Catholic documentation on Judaism and the Jews. Since the beginning of the decade there have been large international scholarly gatherings on the history and culture of Polish Jews; the Jagellonian University at Cracow has a special department for these subjects. International conferences on Jewish-Christian relations have also taken place, including one arranged by the Bishops' Commission together with the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith (Tyniec, 1987), and another at Cracow in November 1989, at which the Catholic sponsors were the KIK (Catholic Intellectuals' Club) of Cracow, which has all along taken a leading part in these matters. Educational work has proceeded apace; 22 Polish seminary professors spent seven weeks in Chicago in 1989 studying together with rabbis and other Jewish scholars, and in April 1990 a British scholar, Rabbi Norman Solomon, lectured at the Academy of Catholic Theology in Warsaw.

THE CHURCHES AND THE RESURGENCE OF ANTISEMITISM. On the downside of the 1989 Central European rejection of communism has been a resurgence of antisemitism, coinciding with similar phenomena in Western Europe. It is difficult to know how much of this arises from Church influence, and how much from nationalist sentiment, but it has been interesting to observe the reactions of the Churches which, far from encouraging such attitudes, have been strongly condemnatory. In his letter of August 8, 1990, Dr. Emilio Castro, the general secretary of the World Council of Churches, reaffirmed the council's 1948 pronouncement that "antisemitism is a sin against God and man," reminded Christians of their special responsibility for antisemitism, and called upon them not to fail in resolute action against it. Responses from the Vatican and from the Lutheran World Federation were equally strong, and have been followed by declarations from numerous church bodies and leaders worldwide. The real interest focused on the Orthodox Churches which, though members of the World Council, have not previously evinced much interest in dialogue. They are dominant in many of the countries in which incidents have occurred; it was therefore reassuring that Archbishop Kirill, of the Russian Orthodox Church, unambiguously condemned, with the authority of January 30–31, 1990, meeting of his episcopal synod, "any teaching of hatred, violence or national exclusivity," though it remains to be seen to what extent this condemnation will influence the behavior of Russian Christians.

The problem is that although the Churches do indeed condemn antisemitism, they will continue to foster it unintentionally unless they can achieve the reinterpretation of basic Christian teachings in the light of the new theology, thus abandoning "replacement theology" and the "teaching of contempt." One should not underestimate the magnitude of such a task especially in countries where clergy training is minimal and old habits of thought persistent.

Latin America and the Theology of Liberation

Whereas for Europeans and North Americans the Holocaust casts its shadow over contemporary theology, the burning issue in South American and much third-world theology has been liberation from the centuries of bondage and oppression, even genocide, imposed by European Christian colonists, and from the grinding poverty and deprivation suffered by the masses still today. The biblical Exodus is the great paradigm for the theology of liberation, though too few liberation theologians have perceived its relevance to the story of the modern Jewish liberation from the bondage of European oppression and Nazism to the freedom of independent statehood in Israel. Still, the return through Exodus to the "Jewish Old Testament," and the emphasis of the new theology on "praxis" rather than theory, have combined with some influx of the new Catholic outlook on Jews and Judaism to enable serious Jewish-Christian dialogue to get under way.

The first Pan-American Conference on Catholic-Jewish Relations, jointly arranged by the American Jewish committee and the National Conference of Brazilian Bishops, São Paulo, Brazil, took place on November 3–5, 1985. The most recent major gathering was the November 1990 25th anniversary commemoration of *Nostra Aetate*, attended by Archbishop Cassidy, who agreed to transmit back to Rome a number of resolutions of the Brazilian National Commission on Catholic-Jewish Religious Dialogue, including a protest against the proposed canonization of Queen Isabella, and a denunciation of anti-Zionism as a current form of antisemitism.

Obstacles and Irritants

Incidents apart, there are two themes which constantly give rise to friction within the dialogue.

The first of these is the Christian commitment to evangelization. While the Roman Catholic Church and many other major Churches no longer target Jews, only a few Christians, whether because of the Holocaust or for more fundamental theological reasons, would demand the positive exclusion of Jews from evangelization. All nowadays reject coercive or deceitful evangelization, though definitions differ. However, a recent feature of Christian life has been the rise of small, independent evangelical sects who are beyond the control of the major Churches; some such groups do target Jews. Moreover, the 1990s were declared a "decade of evangelism," and a fine balance would have to be struck between mission and dialogue. The 1980s saw a strong growth of Jewish anti-missionary groups, and it is difficult for mainstream Jews and Christians engaged in serious dialogue to remain indifferent to the snapping at their heels on both sides. The second major topic of friction is Israel, and this has both a political and a theological dimension. On the political level, both Jews and many Catholics found it hard during the period under review to accept the failure of the Holy See to establish normal diplomatic relations with the State of Israel. Of course, only the Roman church had this problem, as other churches do not claim to be sovereign territories. What is often overlooked is the extent to which documents from the non-Roman Churches affirm the existence of Israel. For instance, the World Council of Churches, in the Statement on the Middle East it adopted at its Sixth Assembly in Vancouver in 1983 and upheld subsequently, unambiguously affirmed "the right of all states, including Israel and Arab states, to live in peace with secure and recognized boundaries," reflecting the terminology of United Nations Security Council Resolution 242. The Lambeth Conference Resolutions of 1988 were similarly forthright, though few churches have gone as far as the Hungarian Reformed Church which declared, in the document cited above, "We express our joy over the fact that our country established diplomatic relations with Israel."

Theological views differ. Conservative Evangelicals are often the strongest supporters of Israel, because they see the state as the fulfillment of prophecy, heralding the second coming of Jesus – and the conversion of any remaining Jews! The Roman Catholic Church made clear in the 1985 Notes that, while it understands the Jewish religious attachment to the Land, the Church itself related to the State of Israel solely on the basis of international law; Church spokesmen strongly denied that there was any theological impediment to full diplomatic relations. Others steer a middle course, seeing the restoration of the Jews to Israel as a significant divine act, but without commitment to literal interpretation of prophecy.

There are several irritants which one hopes will prove temporary rather than permanent sources of friction within the dialogue. The Auschwitz convent has been one of them, and the beatifications of Edith Stein and Maximilian Kolbe another. Requests for the beatification of Queen Isabella in 1992 have been formulated in certain Spanish Catholic circles. Several actions of the pope – his reception of Yasser Arafat and of Kurt Waldheim, some unfortunate Easter sermons – have been irksome. In the non-Catholic world Passion Plays, such as that at Oberammergau (greatly improved in 1990), have strained the Jewish-Christian relationship.

Conclusion

The 1980s saw a proliferation of writing in Jewish-Christian relations. Scholarly and deeply sensitive works appeared by Protestant scholars such as Hans-Joachim Krauss, Roy Eckardt, and Paul van Buren, and Catholics such as Franz Mussner, John Pawlikowski, and Eberhard Bethge. Churches of many denominations and in many countries produced statements and guidelines. Serious consideration has been given to the reinterpretation of fundamental Christian beliefs in the light of the new understanding of Jews and Judaism.

The Jewish-Christian dialogue reached a stage of maturity. It is not without problems and is not yet firmly rooted in either of the religious communities involved. The main task, however, remains that of education, of ensuring that the new insights of the Churches and their theologians actually become part of normal Christian teaching and preaching, not only in the better educated West, but amongst Christians in all lands.

For Vatican II and subsequent developments, see *Church, Catholic; *Church Councils.

Bibliographical Information

Christian-Jewish Relations, a quarterly published by the Institute of Jewish Affairs, London, in conjunction with the World Jewish Congress, published not only academic articles on the important themes, but the major documents and reports on events, including those in Israel. It ceased to appear in 1993. *lmmanuel*, published by the Ecumenical Research Fraternity in Jerusalem, carries high-caliber theological and historical articles, many of them translations of Hebrew articles. Other journals carrying documentary and original material are the SIDIC newsletter published in Rome by the Sisters of Sion and *El Olivo*, published in Madrid by the Centro de Estudios Judeo-Cristianos.

The last years of the 1980s saw a proliferation of books summing up the dialogue so far. In 1988 the International Catholic-Jewish Liaison Committee published its account of "Fifteen Years of Catholic-Jewish Dialogue 1970–1985" through the official Vatican publishers. In the same year the World Council of Churches published its documents and those of member churches, with an illuminating commentary by Allan Brockway and others, and an authoritative Jewish account of the dialogue, *Jewish-Christian Relations since the Second World War* by Geoffrey Wigoder, also appeared in 1988. David Novak's *Jewish-Christian Dialogue: A Jewish Justification* was published in 1989. One of the most sensitive and balanced Christian accounts is Marcus Braybrooke's *Time to Meet: Towards a Deeper Relationship between Jews and Christians* (1990).

Of the documentary collections the most comprehensive (though there are lacunae) is Rolf Rendtorff and Hans Hermann Henrix's *Die Kirchen und das Judentum: Dokumente von 1945–1985*. For English readers, the two volumes of *Stepping Stones* edited by Helga Croner (1977 and 1985) are the most useful.

[Normon Solomon]

JEWISH CHRONICLE, English newspaper and the oldest Jewish periodical in existence. It first appeared on Nov. 12. 1841 under the editorship of D. *Meldola and M. *Angel and was issued subsequently as a weekly, until publication was suspended in May 1842. Publication was resumed in October 1844 as a fortnightly, with Joseph Mitchell as its editor, but in 1847 it became a weekly newspaper again and has remained so ever since. Mitchell was editor of the *Jewish Chronicle* until 1854, when he was succeeded by M.H. Bresslau. In the following year A. *Benisch became proprietor and editor and edited the newspaper until his death in 1878, save for the years 1869 to 1875 when Michael *Henry was editor. Benisch bequeathed the *Chronicle* to the *Anglo-Jewish Association who sold it to Asher I. *Myers, its new editor, Sydney M. *Samuel, and Israel David. Later it passed into the control of a limited company, where it has since remained. The *Jewish Chronicle* rapidly established itself as the leading journal of Anglo-Jewry. Its efficient news service and near monopoly of personal advertising of family events made its position unchallengeable, and it swallowed its principal competitors, the *Hebrew Observer* and the *Jewish World*. The *Chronicle* also prided itself on being a quality newspaper. Under the editorship of Asher Myers, lavish literary and historic articles appeared and for many years Israel *Abrahams edited a literary page. A supplement in modern Hebrew first came out in 1906 and a monthly literary supplement was brought out during the interwar years. Shortly before the outbreak of World War II, the *Jewish Chronicle* underwent considerable changes in format. After the war the newspaper steadily grew in size and by 1960 boasted a circulation of over 60,000 – more than three times the pre-war figure. At the same time the scope of the newspaper was considerably broadened. Events in Israel occupied increasingly more space, and the *Jewish Chronicle* also expanded its service of provincial, sports, and financial news and provided separate columns for women, children, teenagers, and students, thereby making it of interest to a wide cross section of Anglo-Jewry. It also ran an international Jewish news and feature service. From its inception, the *Jewish Chronicle* reflected Anglo-Jewry's desire for political and social equality in Britain and set out to arouse public opinion to the plight of Jews in Russia and later Romania. From 1891 to 1892 a monthly supplement called "Darkest Russia" was published, which gave detailed reports of the persecution of Russian Jews. The *Chronicle* was one of the first journals to inform the world of Nazi atrocities during World War II and later reported on outbreaks of antisemitism in the Soviet Union, Eastern Europe, and South America. Its viewpoint on domestic issues generally reflected that of the Anglo-Jewish establishment and upheld the authority of the chief rabbi and the Beth-Din. For many years the *Chronicle* was hostile to the Reform and Liberal movements, particularly during the editorship of Leopold *Greenberg, but the trend away from Orthodoxy in Anglo-Jewry led to a change in the newspaper's policy, and more space was given to developments in Progressive Judaism. At the same time the *Chronicle* became increasingly critical of the Orthodox position on halakhic issues, which it regarded as too rigid. When Rabbi Louis *Jacobs was passed over for the position as principal of Jews' College and later prevented from acting as minister of the New West Synagogue, the *Jewish Chronicle* – under the editorship of William Frankel – championed his cause against the authority of the chief rabbi, Beth-Din, and United Synagogue. The *Jewish Chronicle* consistently devoted considerable space to Israel and Zionism, and one of its first editors, Abraham Benisch, published news from Jerusalem, Tiberias, Safed, and Hebron. However, under the ownership of Asher Myers and Israel Davis, the paper was hostile to Zionism in line with the official line of the religious and lay leaders of the community. Nevertheless, on Jan. 17, 1896, the *Chronicle* published Herzl's first article "A Solution to the Jewish Problem," which appeared a month before *Der Judenstaat*, and with its editorial, "A Dream of a Jewish State" opened the readers' columns to a discussion of Herzl's plan. At the end of 1906 Israel David offered the *Jewish Chronicle* to Leopold J. Greenberg who, together with David *Wolffsohn, Joseph *Cowen, Jacobus H. *Kahn, and Leopold *Kessler, bought the shares. Greenberg became its editor in January 1907. He made the paper strongly Zionist. In 1917 the British government postponed publication of the Balfour Declaration for a week in order to allow the *Chronicle* to print the news at the same time as the rest of the press. The

Chronicle supported the formation of the Jewish Legion under Vladimir *Jabotinsky and, after the Palestine Mandate was allotted to Great Britain, the *Jewish Chronicle* remained firmly Zionist until Greenberg's death in 1931. In that year, Leopold Kessler became chairman of the board of directors, and the paper resumed a lukewarm Zionist line. In 1946 Ivan Greenberg was removed from editorship because of his support for Revisionism and John *Shaftesley was appointed in his place. In 1958 William Frankel became editor. David F. *Kessler, the son of Leopold Kessler, became the chairman and managing director of the Jewish Chronicle Ltd. Kessler remained editor until 1977, when he was succeeded by Geoffrey Paul (b. 1929), from 1977–90, and then by Edward J. Temko (b. 1952), from 1991. After the creation of the State of Israel it consistently maintained a sympathetic, though not always uncritical, attitude to the Jewish state, and is internationally known for its wide and intelligent range of opinion.

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[Cecil Roth and Josef Fraenkel]

JEWISH COLONIAL TRUST, the first Zionist bank. The Jewish Colonial Trust (Juedische Colonial Bank) Ltd. was incorporated in London on March 20, 1899, in accordance with the decisions of the First and Second Zionist Congresses. Theodor *Herzl had been the leading proponent of this decision, as from the beginning he had foreseen the need for a powerful financial instrument for the political and economic realization of Zionism. In *Der Judenstaat* he had proposed the establishment of the "Jewish Company" for the orderly liquidation and transfer of the immigrants' capital; in his *Diaries* Herzl repeatedly spoke of the need for a strong financial instrument able to offer aid to Turkey in return for the granting of the desired "charter." Herzl's vision was of an organization like the East India Company, which had achieved a para-governmental status. The various aims of the institution are reflected in the Trust's Objectives, as set out in its statutes:

> To promote, develop, work and carry on industries, undertakings and colonization schemes… migration from or immigration into any country or countries… and in particular of persons of the Jewish race into Palestine, Syria and other countries in the East… To carry on the business of banking so far as… considered expedient incidentally to any other business of the company… To *acquire from any state* or other authority in any part of the world any *concessions, grants, decrees, rights and privileges whatsoever*… to seek and obtain openings for the employment of capital in Palestine, Syria and in any part of the world, and, with a view thereto, to prospect, examine, explore, test and develop any mining, landed, agricultural and other properties, and to dispatch and employ expeditions, agents and others.

The political-economic character of the Trust made it necessary to vest control over it, by way of Founder Shares, in the bodies of the Zionist Organization. The Trust's authorized capital was £2,000,000 in shares of £1 each, but it took three years (until 1902) before the statutory minimum of £250,000 that permitted it to commence operations was paid up. In that year in London the Trust incorporated the Anglo-Palestine Company, now Bank Leumi le-Israel BM, as its subsidiary for operations in Ereẓ Israel. Banking, considered an incidental business in the Trust's Objectives, became its main activity. Although the JCT planned to open branches and agencies in various Jewish centers, such as New York and Odessa, only one branch, in Whitechapel, was actually opened in 1905. The various Balkan wars slowed down the development of business in its early years, and the Trust suffered considerable losses in Russia during World War I. With the advent of the British Mandate, the Trust invested in new ventures in Palestine, such as the General Mortgage Bank, the Workers' Bank (Bank ha-Po'alim), the Palestine Electric Corporation etc., and became deeply involved in some Jewish banking ventures in Eastern Europe, such as the Lodz Deposit Bank and the Jewish Central Bank, Kovno. In consequence of the economic depression, most of these latter assets, exceeding £550,000, became frozen or doubtful. Thus a reorganization of the Trust became necessary in 1933, and as of Jan. 1, 1934, the Trust handed over its banking business and investments in Palestine to the Anglo-Palestine Bank (formerly Anglo-Palestine Company). Profits on a share issue of the latter enabled the Trust to recover its share capital of £395,000 and £95,000 of its reserves. Since then the Trust has been solely the holding company for Anglo-Palestine Bank (Bank Leumi) shares.

In 1955 the Trust was converted into an Israel company under its original Hebrew name of Oẓar Hityashevut ha-Yehudim. Its share capital in 1969 was increased from IL. 7,000,000 to IL. 10,000,000 by issue of bonus shares, and a 12% dividend was declared for 1968. The Trust holds 23.5% of Bank Leumi's outstanding share capital, but 88.3% of the (controlling) ordinary shares (as of March 31, 1969).

[Kurt Grunwald]

JEWISH COLONIZATION ASSOCIATION (ICA), philanthropic association to assist Jews in depressed economic circumstances or countries of persecution to emigrate and settle elsewhere in productive employment, founded by Baron Maurice de *Hirsch in 1891. It was incorporated in London as a joint-stock company whose other shareholders were Baron Edmond de *Rothschild, J. *Goldsmid, Sir Ernest Joseph *Cassel, F.D. *Mocatta, Benjamin S. Cohen, S.H. Goldschmidt, and Salomon *Reinach. In 1893 de Hirsch's shares were distributed between the *Anglo-Jewish Association, and the Jewish communities of Brussels, Berlin, and Frankfurt. The basic endowment was later increased to £8,000,000. The association's offices were located in Paris until transferred to London in 1949. De Hirsch was president until his death in 1896. He was succeeded by Salomon Goldsmid (1896), Narcisse *Leven (1896–1919), Franz *Philippson (1919–29), Lionel Leonard *Cohen (1929–34), Sir Osmond d'Avigdor *Goldsmid (1934–40), Leonard Montefiore (1940–47), and Sir Henry Joseph d'Avigdor *Goldsmid (1947–). De Hirsch's immediate plan envisaged a mass emigration of the Jews from countries in Europe, where they were persecuted, to *Argentina, though circumstances forced ICA to give priority to the various needs of Jews in Europe.

EMIGRATION

Emigration was the cornerstone of ICA's activity throughout its history. From 1904 to 1914 ICA established 507 emigration committees in Russia, and a central office in St. Petersburg, with the approval of the Russian government. In New York the Hirsch Fund established a trade school in 1891 in order to prepare new immigrants for the task of earning a living. The large-scale immigration into America in the early 20th century led ICA and the Jewish Agricultural and Industrial Aid Society jointly to establish the Removal Committee. This organization linked immigrants in America with their relatives remaining in Europe. Information bureaus sprang up all over Europe, and by 1912 the Removal Committee had helped over 70,000 immigrants. In 1922 this organization was dissolved. After World War I many countries closed their doors to immigration, and new conditions demanded a new machinery. ICA's initiative led to the creation of immigration societies in Canada, Argentina, and Brazil. In 1921 ICA called a conference in Brussels and in 1922 in Paris for the establishment of a united emigration association. The conferences failed, but in 1925 the United Evacuation Committee was formed by ICA jointly with Emigdirekt and the *American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (JDC). In 1927 *Hias (Hebrew Sheltering and Immigrant Aid Society), ICA, and Emigdirekt founded a new association, *Hicem, which had established 57 committees in 21 countries by 1937. In 1928 ICA formed an emigration bureau in Moscow to supervise emigration from Russia, and at the instigation of ICA all the private organizations dealing with emigrants jointly set up a committee for their protection, with its seat in Geneva. From 1933 to 1939 ICA spent £800,000 on the emigration of Jews from Germany.

AID AND SETTLEMENT

Eastern Europe

AGRICULTURE. In 1898 ICA began a detailed investigation into the position of the Jews in Russia and published the results in 1904 in the *Recueil des matériaux sur la situation économique des israélites de Russie*. In the different areas of Jewish settlement there, ICA officials worked to improve local farming methods, introduce new crops, and establish cooperatives, with the result that output rose considerably. During World War I the agricultural population in Russia was reduced by one-quarter. By 1930, due to ICA's efforts, 43 of the former colonies had been reestablished and supported a population of over 30,000. In the late 1920s ICA also successfully established a few thousand families on 50 new colonies founded on land provided by the government in south Ukraine.

In Poland ICA founded and supported eight agricultural cooperatives, and by 1930 had purchased some 2,500 hectares of land for the enlargement of existing small holdings. In Romania, ICA repaired the wartime damage and in 1930 established a new colony in southern Bessarabia.

EDUCATION. By 1914 ICA had established or supported some 40 technical and agricultural schools in Russia, ran adult education courses, and subsidized Jewish primary education. After the war ICA restored the majority of these schools to their prewar position, supporting them until they could exist independently. In Romania, ICA was subsidizing approximately 46 schools by 1914. In Galicia a number of technical and agricultural schools were founded, the most well-known being the agricultural school in Slobodka-Lesna, established on land acquired by ICA in 1900. The school flourished until it was damaged and closed during World War I. In postwar Poland ICA also reorganized the school system and introduced institutions for adult education in the centers of Jewish population.

COOPERATIVE LOAN AND SAVINGS BANKS. ICA established a network of cooperative loan and savings banks in Russia for farmers and artisans. From 1905 the Russian government allowed their unrestricted development and they spread rapidly, flourishing until World War I. By 1914, 680 such funds with over 450,000 members, and covering a sum of 40,000,000 roubles, had been organized and financed by ICA, a pioneer in this field. ICA resumed this work in 1922, in conjunction with the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee, creating in 1924 the American Joint Reconstruction Foundation (AJRF). Its main aim was to continue the prewar work by supporting existing credit funds and creating new ones. In 1924 there were 322 such institutions in the 12 countries where the foundation worked. By 1930 the AJRF was supporting 760 loan banks with 325,000 members and a capital of 3,555,000 dollars. The association also established commercial banks for middle-class clients from 1930, supported workers' cooperatives, and rebuilt housing destroyed during the war. World War II ended all this activity, and in 1951 the AJRF was liquidated.

Argentina

In 1889 ICA aided Jewish immigrants in Argentina who purchased approximately 100,000 hectares of land in Santa Fé. They established the colony of Moisésville, and created a number of new settlements in the provinces of Santa Fé, Entre Ríos, La Pampa, and Buenos Aires, mainly before World War I. The colonists were given equipment, instruction, and credit, and a network of schools was established. By 1930, the peak of ICA settlement in Argentina, over 20,000 colonists farmed approximately 500,000 hectares of land, nearly half of which was owned by settlers who became independent. Progress was hampered by insufficient land for extensive cultivation and the unfavorable location of many of the colonies. The settlers attacked a system which permitted the repayment of debts and independence only over a long period of time; cooperatives also led a struggle against the ICA bureaucracy. During the 1930s several hundred families from Germany were settled on the land, but town life attracted many, and by 1966 only 8,000 Jews remained in the ICA colonies, the population there being largely non-Jewish. Nearly all of the settlers by then owned their land and ICA's role in Argentina was rapidly diminishing.

Brazil

In 1904 ICA acquired land in the Rio Grande do Sul area, and a small colony was established for settlers from Bessarabia. The colony did not prosper and in 1928 was virtually liquidated. A further colony of 93,000 hectares was established in 1909 in Quatro Irmãos, but disintegration began before World War I. ICA tried to revive the colony by resettlement, but political troubles combined with mismanagement led to its liquidation in 1965. One further attempt at Brazilian settlement failed in the 1930s when ICA selected families in Germany for settlement on 2,000 hectares purchased in the State of Rio de Janeiro. From 1953 the Brazilian government followed a more liberal immigration policy, but potential settlers were lacking. By 1960 large areas of land held by ICA had been liquidated. Meanwhile ICA had established educational institutions and credit facilities in the main centers of Jewish settlement and from 1954 onward continued to support the latter in conjunction with the American Joint Distribution Committee.

United States

In 1891 Baron de Hirsch established the Baron de Hirsch *Fund with the aim of aiding Jewish immigrants to the United States and promoting the establishment of rural centers there. The fund founded the agricultural school of Woodbine in New Jersey and several others, and became the main organ used by ICA for its own work in the U.S. In 1900 the two organizations jointly established the Jewish Agricultural and Industrial Aid Society (later the *Jewish Agricultural Society), which acquired land in New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Connecticut in order to settle Jewish immigrants on the land. By World War I, 78 farms had been established. The main work of ICA in the United States was not, however, this small-scale colonization but the provision of credit facilities for the immigrants. By 1930, ICA had distributed over 10,000 loans. Work in the educational field was less successful, and Woodbine was closed down during the interwar years. By the outbreak of World War II ICA's activities in the United States had virtually ceased.

Canada

In 1892 ICA established the colony Hirsch in the province of *Saskatchewan in *Canada, where some Jewish families had already settled in the 1880s, and aided individual immigrants arriving from Russia in the early 20th century. Until 1903 the Jewish Agricultural Society of New York managed ICA's colonization work in Canada and several new colonies were established in *Manitoba and Saskatchewan. In 1909 their supervision passed to a Canadian committee formed for this purpose. By 1910 ICA had founded or aided five main colonies with a population of 777 on an area of 49,914 acres, and a few smaller centers. The Canadian government refused to sell larger expanses of land, blocking the way to a more extensive settlement. The economic position after World War I led to the disintegration of the smaller centers. ICA tried to expand the more successful colonies, establishing 40 farms for new immigrants by 1930. After World War II, ICA settled a number of people from displaced persons' camps in the fertile Niagara peninsula and south Ontario, and by 1960 approximately 120 families were farming under the auspices of ICA.

Ereẓ Israel

From 1896 ICA provided financial aid for independent colonists in Gederah, Ḥaderah, Nes Ẓiyyonah, and Mishmar ha-Yarden. In 1899 Baron Edmond de Rothschild transferred to ICA the colonies under his care, and those he himself had founded, providing 15,000,000 francs to finance their further development. He presided over an administrative body, the Palestine Commission, formed in Paris. In the Rothschild colonies ICA introduced new forms of cultivation and other reforms. ICA also continued its previous independent work and purchased land in Lower Galilee in order to found new settlements, Jabneel (Yemma), Bet Gan, Mesḥa (Kefar Tavor), Sejerah (Ilaniyyah), and others. Despite progress, ICA's work was continuously attacked by Zionist opponents who accused it of inept management, wasted funds, and diverse aims. During World War I Rothschild realized that impending political changes necessitated the formation of a stronger organization and established the Palestine Jewish Colonization Association (*PICA) in 1923. This returned the colonies to a direct Rothschild administration. ICA resumed work in Palestine after the 1929 riots, establishing Emica jointly with the Emergency Fund. Plans for draining the Ḥuleh swamps were stopped by the outbreak of war, but Emica reconstructed Be'er Toviyyah and founded other settlements: Kefar Warburg, and later Nir Banim, Sedeh Moshe, Kefar Maimon, and Lachish. In 1955 Emica became "ICA in Israel," as Israel became the main field of activity. Jointly with the Jewish Agency, ICA participated in the development of Upper Galilee and in a project to assist some 30 immigrant settlements. In addition to credit facilities for agriculture, ICA provides extensive grants for educational institutions in Israel, among them Mikveh Israel, ORT, and the agricultural faculty of the Hebrew University.

Cyprus and Turkey

In 1897, at the request of the British government, ICA transferred 33 Russian refugee families from England to Cyprus, establishing three small colonies there. This venture failed and after a few years the settlers re-emigrated. In 1891 ICA bought land near Smyrna in Turkey, and established an agricultural training center, Or Yehudah, on an area totaling 3,000 hectares by 1902. Owing to numerous difficulties the center was closed in 1926. A group of Romanian Jews in Anatolia were assisted by ICA in the early 20th century, and a small-scale Russian immigration led ICA to establish an immigration bureau in Constantinople in 1910. ICA also bought land in Anatolia and Thrace, and founded Mesillah Ḥadashah and two other agricultural settlements for several hundred families. During

World War I the settlers were forced to leave, and in 1928 the colonies were practically liquidated, only the immigration bureau remaining to assist migrants in transit for Ereẓ Israel.

WORLD WAR II AND AFTER

ICA found new fields of work as older ones dwindled in importance, Israel becoming the major concern. ICA also began to help North African Jewry, developing credit facilities in Tunisia and Morocco, in conjunction with the JDC, and founding an agricultural training center in Morocco. In 1952 ICA and the Alliance Israélite Universelle jointly founded the Société Agricole pour les Israélites Marocains. From 1965 ICA cooperated with the United Hias Service, contributing substantially to the "Special Rescue Program" for the transportation of emigrants from Eastern Europe and North Africa to Australia, Canada, and France. There ICA organizes mortgage facilities, and in Kenya provides loans for agriculture. Miscellaneous Jewish institutions in Britain, France, Belgium, Israel, Argentina, and Brazil receive financial assistance as in the past, special attention being paid to education and culture.

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[Ann Ussishkin]

JEWISH COMMUNAL SERVICE ASSOCIATION OF NORTH AMERICA, THE (JCSA). The JCSA was founded in 1899 as the Conference of Jewish Charities. JCSA links together highly skilled and knowledgeable professional Jewish leadership in pursuit of the shared goals of advancing the Jewish community and enhancing professional development. JCSA assists local, regional, national and international efforts to enhance professional knowledge, research, education, and networking through:

(a) promoting and sustaining professional standards for the field;

(b) supporting and connecting the independent activities of local groups of Jewish communal professionals in Atlanta, Baltimore, Boston, Chicago, Cleveland, Los Angeles, Miami, New Orleans, New York, New Jersey, Philadelphia, and St. Louis;

(c) supporting and connecting the independent activities of affiliated professional associations such as the Association of Jewish Aging Services, the Association of Jewish Center Professionals, the Association of Jewish Community Organization Professionals, the International Association of Jewish Vocational Services, the Jewish Social Services Professionals, the North American Association of Synagogue Executives, and the World Council of Jewish Communal Service;

(d) providing special courses and seminars designed to advance the careers of professionals and to enhance their ability to serve the Jewish community, including an annual program meeting;

(e) advocating for family friendly work policies and gender equity through such sponsored activities as JCSA Networking Parents;

(f) promoting the recruitment and retention of personnel through Networking Express, the JCSA Graduate Students Network, and the Young Professional of the Year Award;

(g) offering group retirement, insurance policies, and other personnel benefits through the JCSA Benefits Program;

(h) Publishing the *Journal of Jewish Communal Service*, a quarterly review of professional trends and developments, and a monthly e-newsletter.

JCSA's website address is www.jcsana.org and inquiries can be sent to info@jcsana.org.

[Brenda Gevertz (2nd ed.)]

JEWISH COUNCIL ON PUBLIC AFFAIRS (JCPA; formerly, **The National Jewish Community Relations Advisory Council**). The JCPA was formally established as the National Community Relations Advisory Council (NCRAC) in 1944 by the Council of Jewish Federations, with the object of formulating policy and coordinating the work of national and local Jewish agencies in the field of community relations in the United States. NCRAC was designed to be the public affairs branch of the organized Jewish community; its name has been changed twice. The first time, in 1968, just after the June 1967 War, the word Jewish was added to make it the National Jewish Community Relations Advisory Council and emphasize a fact that had previously not been manifest – that this was a Jewish organization – and a second time, in 1997, it was changed to the Jewish Council for Public Affairs to more accurately reflect its mission.

Before 1944, as organized antisemitic activity became a serious problem in the United States, there was much overlapping and competition among the Jewish organizations seeking to combat it. The Jewish Welfare Funds, beset with claims for support, exercised pressure for the coordination of activities, and the result was the establishment of the Council. It was composed initially of four national organizations and 14 local community relations councils. The purpose was to enable member agencies to exchange views and to work together voluntarily, while each member retained full autonomy.

While the Council secured a measure of coordination, competitive activity and jurisdictional conflicts remained, and in 1950, at the insistence of the larger welfare funds, the Council instituted a study of Jewish community relations work. The result was the R.M. MacIver Report, under which the authority and responsibilities of the Council would have been enlarged considerably and separate spheres of activity allotted to its member agencies. The Council generally favored these proposals, but the result was the withdrawal from membership of its two most active constituents, the American Jewish

Committee and the B'nai B'rith (1952). The latter returned to membership in 1965 and the Committee in the following year on terms which emphasized the autonomy of the member organizations. In 1968 the membership of the Council consisted of nine national organizations and 81 state or local community relations councils.

The Jewish Council for Public Affairs (JCPA) serves as the representative voice of the organized American Jewish community in addressing the mandate of the Jewish community relations field. The mandate is expressed in two, interrelated goals: (1) to safeguard the rights of Jews in the U.S., in Israel, and around the world; and, in order to accomplish that, (2) to protect, preserve, and promote a just American society, one that is democratic and pluralistic.

These goals are pursued in a non-partisan manner informed by Jewish values. The Council's dual goals link the safety and security of Jewish interests with the protection of American democratic traditions and social justice at home. The Jewish community, it believes, has a direct stake – along with an ethical imperative– in assuring that America remains a country wedded to the Bill of Rights and committed to the rule of law, whose institutions continue to function as a public trust.

The JCPA reflects a unique and inclusive partnership of national member agencies, local community relations councils and committees, and the federations of which they are a component part or affiliated agency. It convenes the "common table" around which member agencies, through an open, representative, inclusive and consensus-driven process, meet to identify issues, articulate positions, and develop strategies, programs, and approaches designed to advance the public affairs, goals and objectives of the organized Jewish community.

The work of the JCPA, especially in matters relating to democratic pluralism and social justice, reflects the organizations emphasis on the Jewish value of *tikkun olam*, the repair of the world. It expresses the conviction of the organized Jewish community that it must be active in the effort to build a just society. The JCPA has the responsibility to enhance the capacity of member agencies to effectively pursue the public affairs agenda. This responsibility requires the JCPA to provide coordination, support, and guidance for public affairs initiatives undertaken by national and local member agencies, to advocate on behalf of the public affairs policies of the organized Jewish community, and to respond to those member-identified needs which strengthen their individual and collaborative capacity to advance the communal public affairs agenda.

Among the national organizations that constitute JCPA are each of the major Jewish defense agencies, ADL, *American Jewish Committee and *American Jewish Congress (aside from the *Simon Wiesenthal Center), the major religious denominations, *Hadassah, and the *Jewish Labor Committee, the *Jewish War Veterans, *National Council of Jewish Women as well as 122 local equal and independent partner agencies. The JCPA serves as a catalyst that heightens community awareness, encourages civic and social involvement, and deliberates key issues of importance to the Jewish community.

[Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

JEWISH CULTURAL RECONSTRUCTION, INC. (JCR), organization established in 1947 to deal with the collection and redistribution of heirless Jewish cultural property in the American Zone of Germany, centered in Offenbach and later in Wiesbaden. Its headquarters were in New York and its logistical and financial support came from the Jewish Restitution Successor Organization (JRSO). Its leadership was comprised of some of the foremost Jewish intellectuals of the day: Salo *Baron was its executive director; Joshua *Starr and later Hannah *Arendt served as executive secretaries. Gershom *Scholem, Shlomo Shunami, Bernard Heller, Mordechai *Narkiss, and E.G. Lowenthal were among those working in conjunction with JCR in Europe. Under the American Restitution Law (no. 59), JCR functioned as a trustee for those Jewish cultural items whose owners or heirs could not be located. By the end of its operations in 1951–52, JCR had redistributed hundreds of thousands of books and thousands of Torah scrolls and other ritual objects to major libraries and museums, including the Library of Congress and Bezalel in Jerusalem, as well as to institutions of higher learning such as the Jewish Theological Seminary in New York. A total of 85% of the cultural property was sent to Israel and the United States; 8% was allocated to Western European countries (with half going to Britain) and the remaining 7% was distributed to South Africa, Argentina, Brazil, Australia, Canada, and West Germany. Although it had no international standing, the organization encouraged the establishment of similar bodies in the British and French Zones of Occupation.

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[Dana Herman (2nd ed.)]

JEWISH DAILY FORWARD (Yid. **Forverts**), U.S. Yiddish newspaper. Established in New York in 1897 as a more moderate offshoot of the militantly left-wing *Abendblatt* the *Forward* was in its heyday the wealthiest and most widely read Yiddish newspaper in the United States, with 11 local and regional editions reaching as far west as Chicago. Under the editorship of Abraham *Cahan, who ruled the paper for nearly half a century, from 1903 to 1951, for much of the time with the assistance of general manager Baruch Charney *Vladeck, the *Forward* combined conscientious journalism with a partisan commitment to democratic socialism and the Jewish labor movement. It published stories and serialized novels by such authors as Sholem *Asch, Jonah *Rosenfeld, Zalman *Shneour, Abraham *Reisin, Israel Joshua *Singer and his brother Isaac *Bashevis Singer, gave lessons in English and other subjects for old and new immigrants, and counseled and consoled several generations of readers with its famous advice column, the *Bintel Brif* ("Bundle of Letters"). Its *Forward* building, completed in 1908, was from the first a landmark on New York's Lower East Side, where it housed the headquarters of the United Hebrew Trades, the Workmen's Circle, the Jewish Socialist Federation, and other organizations, and served as a center for the Jewish labor movement in the United States. The paper's peak circulation of nearly 200,000 was reached during World War I, when the intervention of Louis *Marshall barely saved it from being shut down by the U.S. government for its pro-German sympathies; thereafter its readership declined steadily, like that of the rest of the Yiddish press, though increased advertising revenues in the 1920s and 1930s cushioned it financially and even enabled it to launch its own Yiddish radio station, WEVD. At the time of Cahan's death in 1951 the *Forward*'s circulation had fallen to 80,000, while in 1970 it was officially put at 44,000. In 1983, it was forced to become a weekly. Editors after Cahan were Hillel *Rogoff (1951–62), Lazar Fogelman (1962–68), Morris Crystal (1968–70), Simon Weber (1970–87), and Mordechai Strigler (1988–98).

From 1990, it published the weekly *Forward* in English as well as the Yiddish *Forverts*. The English *Forward* was edited by Seth Lipsky, who was replaced in July 2000 by J.J. Goldberg. In 1995–2005 the Forward Association also published the Russian *Forverts*. In 1998, the Yiddish prose-writer Boris Sandler (born in 1950 in Soviet Moldova), was appointed as editor of the Yiddish *Forverts*.

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[Hillel Halkin / Gennady Estraikh (2nd ed.)]

JEWISH DAY (Yid. *Der Yidishe Tog*), U.S. Yiddish daily. Founded in 1914 by a group of New York City intellectuals and businessmen led by Judah *Magnes and Morris Weinberg, *The Day* aspired from the first to be a nonpartisan, liberal newspaper of high literary and journalistic standards that would enable it to live up to the slogan on its masthead, "The newspaper of the Yiddish intelligentsia." Under the editorship of William Edlin, it assembled a gifted staff that included critic Samuel *Niger; playwright David *Pinski; poet and essayist Aaron *Glanz; and reporters Joel Slonim, Peretz *Hirshbein, and Abraham *Coralnik. Its regular contributors included such outstanding figures as the novelist Joseph *Opatoshu and the poet *Yehoash. *The Day* reached a peak circulation of 81,000 in 1916. Thereafter, in common with the rest of the Yiddish press, and despite its absorption of Louis Miller's *Die Warheit* in 1919, its circulation declined. Throughout the 1930s, the paper was ridden by feuding between a politically conservative faction led by editor Samuel *Margoshes and a left-wing element headed by the Yiddish journalist and author B.Z. *Goldberg. The conflict contributed to a bitter six-month strike in 1941 that almost led to the *Day*'s extinction. However, the paper survived to merge with the **Jewish Morning Journal* in 1953. In 1970 the circulation of the combined *Day-Morning Journal* was estimated at 50,000. In 1971 the paper ceased publication.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: J. Chaikin, *Yidishe Bleter in Amerike* (1946), index; J. Teller, *Strangers and Natives* (1968), 32–36.

[Hillel Halkin]

JEWISH EDUCATION SERVICE OF NORTH AMERICA (JESNA). The Jewish Education Service of North America (JESNA) formally came into being on July 1, 1981 as the successor agency to the *American Association for Jewish Education (AAJE) founded in 1939.

In 1978, AAJE and the *Council of Jewish Federations (CJF) jointly appointed a "Committee to Consider Future Directions of the AAJE" which affirmed the need for a continental instrument for Jewish educational planning and services for the federation system. An Implementation Committee supervised the restructuring of the agency into JESNA and put in place a new governance in accordance with the recommendation of the Study Committee.

JESNA's goal is to make engaging, inspiring, high quality Jewish education available to every Jew in North America. Operating as a national resource, a community partner, a catalyst and a consultant, an innovator and a guarantor of quality, JESNA helps to recruit and prepare new generations of talented, committed Jewish educators; create and identify models of excellence in educational practice; and assist communities and front-line institutions in improving their programs and performance.

JESNA partners with local Jewish communities and with a dynamic and a growing group of individuals, organizations, institutions, and foundations to create consistent excellence in Jewish education. In addition, JESNA works closely with the central agencies for Jewish education that operate in more than 60 communities, and the Jewish federations in more than 150 communities, throughout North America.

JESNA has become a leading force promoting consistent excellence in Jewish education through a combination of high-quality community services and innovative initiatives that address Jewish education's foremost challenges. JESNA is responsive to the evolving needs of the community, which in the early 21st century focused on three overarching areas of activity:

a) People: Recruiting talented educators and creating the conditions that will enable them to thrive;

b) Best Practice: Identifying and disseminating models of excellence in educational practice; and

c) Innovative Solutions: Developing creative new approaches to expand the impact of Jewish education.

JESNA works to significantly improve Jewish educator recruitment and retention and to mobilize a coalition of communal leaders – both lay and professional – who will make this vision a reality. Teaching in Jewish schools was often a secondary career for those teaching elsewhere and in need of earning additional funds, or a way station for Israelis en route to Americanization. With the expanding day school movement in the United States there was a great need for initiatives to achieve three primary goals: attracting talented people into the field of Jewish education; creating a culture of support for Jewish educators within Jewish institutions; and developing meaningful career paths to allow people to grow and advance as Jewish educators throughout their lives. JERRI, the Jewish Educator Recruitment and Retention Initiative, was created to harness ideas, expertise, and resources from throughout the community to re-create Jewish education as an honored, joyous and sacred profession. JERRI is convening a broad consortium of partners to experiment with ideas and to implement programs that will catalyze the changes needed to imprint this vision onto reality.

JESNA works to identify and disseminate models of excellence in educational practice by providing expertise, resources, research and evaluation, and training. JESNA's Mandell L. Berman Jewish Heritage Center for Research and Evaluation in Jewish Education is uniquely placed to develop this combination of expertise, information, and communication that has the potential to effect major change in the Jewish world. With years of hands-on experience evaluating Jewish education programs, curricula, and innovative ventures, the Center has a talented and experienced staff, an extensive body of research, and strong relationships within the Jewish education community.

The Center's métier is evaluation, and in the world of Jewish education, it has a twofold effect. On the local level, evaluation enhances Jewish education programs, materials, and initiatives by assessing their impact and advising changes that improve quality and effectiveness. More globally, each evaluation contributes to a broader understanding of what works and what does not throughout Jewish education. Using findings from the nearly 80 evaluations of Jewish education programs and studies of Jewish education issues that it has completed since 1992, the Berman Center possesses the beginnings of a database of best practices and solid research that can be disseminated throughout the Jewish world.

The Berman Center seeks to increase and improve the utilization of evaluation to improve the quality of Jewish educational programs in North America; to raise the prominence and support the field of Jewish educational research; and to achieve a greater understanding of factors leading to Jewish identity, educational change, and improvement.

In addition to working to improve existing programs, JESNA develops creative new approaches to expand the impact of Jewish education. JESNA's Lippman Kanfer Institute is an action-oriented think tank for innovation in Jewish learning and engagement, focusing on designing and infusing the educational system with new ideas and approaches that enable Jewish education to respond effectively to a rapidly changing world.

JESNA uses its three-pronged strategy to strengthen and improve key educational domains such as congregational education (through its Center for Excellence in Congregational Education) and youth (through its Youth Initiatives Program).

JESNA works closely with central agencies for Jewish education and federations in more than 150 communities throughout North America.

[Donald J. Sylvan (2nd ed.)]

JEWISH HISTORICAL INSTITUTE, WARSAW, institution devoted to the study of Polish Jewish history. The Central Jewish Commitee in Poland (CKZ) came alive in summer 1944 simultaneously with the liberation of Poland by the Soviet and Polish armies. The CKZ established a Jewish Historical Commission in August 1944 and, from December 28, a Central Jewish Historical Commission (CJHK) in Lublin headed by the historian Philip Friedman. The CJHK moved to Lodz (1945) and Warsaw and established branches in 25 places, including Cracow, Katowice, Wroclaw, Bialystok, Tarnow, and Lublin. Its main task was to preserve a record of the gruesome events of the Holocaust by research, documentation, collection of evidence, and publications..The CJHK provided a framework for researchers, publishing methodical instructions for collecting materials and organizing proper archives, and libraries.They also established contacts with Jewish organizations abroad and with the Polish Academy of Sciences (PAN = Polska Akademia Nauk). The CJHK issued its first bulletin, *Yedies,* in November 1949 (in Yiddish, quarterly publication, *Biuletyn Żydowskiego Instytutu Historycznego* (1950–) in Polish (with summaries in English), and an annual in Yiddish, *Bleter far Geshikhte* (1948–). These activities were financed mainly by a grant from the Polish Academy of Sciences (PAN), and by the *American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee. In 1968 the official antisemitic campaign in Poland induced almost all the workers of the Institute to emigrate, and the publication of the quarterly was impaired. Among the major works inspired by the Institute were collections of documents on the German occupation of Poland, including various reports from the ghettos and concerning underground activities in the ghettos and camps (1946); *i Geshikhte fun Yidn in Poyln* ("History of the Jews in Poland," 1951), by Bernard (Berl) *Mark, of which only one volume (until the 17th century) appeared in print (Yiddish); and *Hitlerowska Polityka Zaglady Żydów* ("Hitler's Policies of Extermination of the Jews," 1961) by A. Eisenbach. The number of other publications runs into several scores, dealing mainly with the Holocaust period.

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[Shlomo Netzer (2nd ed.)]

JEWISH HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF ENGLAND, English learned society. First projected in 1859, a serious attempt at its foundation was made in 1885–86 by Lucien Wolf and Alfred Newman. After the Anglo-Jewish Historical Exhibition of 1887, the plan was again brought forward, but the scheme became an actuality only in 1893, Lucien Wolf serving as first president. In recent times the Society held about ten meetings a year, at which a paper was presented by an expert speaker, and established branches in Birmingham, Manchester, Essex, and other places which also held periodic meetings. Through 2004, it published 39 volumes of its *Transactions* (renamed *Jewish Historical Studies* in 2000) and other miscellaneous material, especially on medieval Anglo-Jewry. It is probably the oldest existing Jewish historical society in the world and in the early years of the 21st century had about 800 members. Among its many distinguished presidents were Cecil *Roth, Albert M. *Hyamson, and Sir Isaiah *Berlin.

[Cecil Roth / William D. Rubinstein (2nd ed.)]

JEWISH IDENTITY. Through the ages Jewish identity has been determined by two forces: the consensus of thinking or feeling within the existing Jewish community in each age and the force of outside, often anti-Jewish, pressure, which continued to define and to treat as Jewish even such groups which had in their own consciousness and that of the Jews already severed all ties with Jewry. The most enduring definition of Jewish identity has been that of the *halakhah*, but it was not the first definition and it was not the only one, at least in some minority opinions, even during the many centuries when it was the dominant view. Among gentiles, hatred of Jews has generally dominated from age to age among those forces which have fashioned far more inclusive definitions of Jewish identity than Jews themselves would accept.

Biblical Period

In the biblical period Jewish identity meant belonging to the Jewish community as a religio-national entity. The "stranger" (*ger*) would become naturalized into this community by choosing to live its life. At the very beginning of Jewish history, in the Exodus from Egypt, a substantial number of strangers chose to accompany the Jews into the desert (Ex. 12:48; Lev. 24:10). During the conquest of Canaan, remnants of the earlier inhabitants of the land of Canaan remained resident among the Jews (I Kings 9:20–21) and from time to time, some refugees from nearby peoples also came into the Land of Israel (Isa. 16:4; 24:14–15). These strangers were not treated as slaves and it was regarded as a religious obligation, oft repeated, to treat them fairly (Lev. 19:33:34; Mal. 3:5). However, they were not given land among the tribes of Israel, even though Ezekiel commanded even this (47:22). Marriage with *gerim* was expressly permitted, with the exception of those who descended from Ammonites and Moabites, and for three generations, those who descended from Edomites and Egyptians (Deut. 23:4–9). In ritual matters the obligations and the privileges of such resident aliens were not markedly different from those of native Jews, especially if such strangers had undergone circumcision (see Ex. 12:48 and Lev. 17:8–14). There are some counterthemes in the Bible suggesting that the stranger remained not quite fully accepted religiously (in Deut. 14:21 he is the one who is permitted to eat *nevelah*, i.e., the flesh of a permitted animal which is, for one reason or another, not *kasher*). Nonetheless the situation in the Bible is such that a worthy such as *Naaman takes back with him to his own land soil from the land of the God of Israel and proclaims his reverence for that deity, without becoming a Jew (II Kings 5:17). It is the alien who chooses to live permanently within the Jewish polity (*ger toshav*) who is in the course of time assimilated into and accepted within Jewry.

The first important change in these attitudes occurred after the Babylonian Exile. The handful of Jews who returned under Zerubbabel and Ezra in the 6th and 5th centuries B.C.E. were now an embattled minority, even in the very heart of their own settlement, in Jerusalem and the land nearby. They found that those Jews who had remained during the period of the Exile had intermarried with the tribes whom the Assyrians had brought to dwell in the land. Formal religious conversion had not yet been devised, and even had it been thought of then, as there is some contemporary evidence that it was (Neh. 10:29), mass conversion could not have solved the national problem of the feared dissolution of the returning Jews into some syncretism containing elements of their own faith and culture along with foreign elements (such as the practices of the Samaritans nearby). In this situation Ezra chose the uncompromising path of ordering all of those who wanted to remain faithful as Jews to put away their foreign wives (Ezra 9–10). A minority community, which remained, even after the rebuilding of the Temple, semi-autonomous but not nationally sovereign, could not return to the biblical practice of accepting any who chose to live within it. A community becoming a theocracy had now to conceive of its identity as primarily religious and to accept within itself only those who underwent formal acts of religious assent.

Such religious assent was not yet halakhic, in large measure, of course, because the rabbinic *halakhah* itself was yet in the process of being created. The *Samaritans, who were being separated from the main body of Jewry in the centuries that followed immediately after their quarrel with Ezra, were indeed defined by the *halakhah* as very nearly Jews, for they were regarded in rabbinic law as trustworthy with respect to all the commandments which they were known to keep (Kid. 76a). What divided them from Jews was that they refused to accept the centrality of the Temple in Jerusalem and thus chose a separate communal destiny, and the rabbis held that they could be received as Jews only after they renounced Mount Gerizim (Kuthim, end.). In later ages the Samaritans themselves were quite eclectic in their sense of identity. They chose to be regarded as Jews in those periods when such definition brought them practical advantage. In the course of time the leniency of the *halakhah* toward the Samaritans evaporated; they were regarded as the classic example of what happens to some Jews who intermarry, adopt syncretistic religious practices, and live as a separate community, but this process of divergence, despite Ezra's anathemas, took generations.

Hellenistic and Early Christian Periods

The encounter of Jews with the Hellenistic world began with the presumption that the first few individuals who were acceptably learned in Greek language and ways could be regarded as both Jews and Greeks. There is a story, probably apocryphal, told by Clearchus, the disciple of Aristotle, that his master met a pious Jew whom, after conversation, he called "a Greek man both in language and in spirit." This openness soon became problematic. Hellenistic culture necessitated involvement of all those who wished to be part of it in activities which required formal worship of the pagan gods. There was much Jewish syncretism with the prevailing culture, as is proved by the fact that the Maccabeans revolted, in the first instance, against the Hellenistic party within Judea itself. Nonetheless, most Jews were not "good citizens" in their widespread Diaspora or in their own land, when it was dominated by the foreigners. They were exempt from military service, because it interfered with the observance of the Sabbath and the festivals, and they did not take part in the liturgies, the physical service that all citizens gave in working on such tasks as road repair, and the contributions for the upkeep of the gymnasia. There continued to be Jews who wanted to be accepted as Hellenes, but even they were soon rejected. In Alexandria in 41 C.E. the local Greek community fought bitterly against the desire of some Jews to be admitted to the local gymnasium, the usual first step in attaining complete Greek citizenship. In this quarrel the Alexandrian Greeks were upheld by the Emperor Claudius, who made it clear in the text of his decree that he regarded the Jews as a separate and unique entity within his realms. By that time the attitude of the Hellenistic world had crystallized with substantial clarity: anyone who still belonged to Jewry, by any kind of religious affiliation, such as contributing to the support of the Temple in Jerusalem, even if he were culturally Hellenized, remained a Jew in the eyes of the pagan world; only complete conversion to Hellenistic paganism, the step taken by a figure such as Tiberius Alexander, the nephew of Philo, the outstanding figure of Hellenistic Jewry, could make an end of Jewish identity, as perceived by the gentiles. It was almost as completely agreed, as a number of haters of Jews had been saying for two centuries before the embittered battles between Greeks and Jews in Alexandria in the middle of the first century, that the peculiar practices and religion of the Jews represented an attack on the rest of society (see *Antisemitism).

The issues between Jews and Greeks had been sharpened by the Maccabean revolt. Greek writers had known as early as Herodotus that Jews were somewhat strange but there was no major venom in these encounters until the Maccabeans raised the standard not merely of national independence but of the need to purify the national religion. Hellenistic paganism could not be accepted on any terms for the sake of civil peace; it was idolatry which had to be destroyed. In the century before the Maccabean revolt there had appeared Jewish writers in Greek who claimed that all Greek and Egyptian wisdom had descended from Jewish biblical teachers. The inevitable angry answer was that Jews had been inferior disciples of the Egyptians. *Manetho, a Hellenized Egyptian priest who wrote, in the third pre-Christian century, the first serious attack on Jews, accused them of having been at the time of the Exodus from Egypt a group of lepers who were thrown out for the sake of the health of the country, and such attacks became frequent in the next century. In such an atmosphere sharp choices had to be made. There is some evidence that the Hellenistic party in Palestine totally left the Jewish community after the Maccabean victory. There is more convincing evidence that, at least for the next couple of centuries, Greek-speaking Jewry in the Diaspora had a very low rate of *apostasy, regardless of changing and often lessening factors of inner Jewish cohesion. Here the causative factor of Jewish cohesion was primarily external, the pressure of their enemies on Jews whose religion was becoming more and more syncretistic and ever more condemned by the rabbis.

The attitude within Jewry itself toward Jewish identity was being changed and new formulations arose because of the remarkable success that Jews were having in a variety of areas in converting others. The Hasmoneans forced Idumeans and a number of other border communities to convert to Judaism, and it is not entirely clear whether this conversion was conducted with more formality than those of the ancient biblical *gerim*, who were merely added to the life and fate of the Jewish polity. In the Diaspora there was an increasing number, perhaps millions by the first century, of *sebomenoi* (*metuentes, yereim* – God fearers), gentiles who had not gone the whole route toward conversion. There were some gentiles both in the Diaspora and in Ereẓ Israel who did just that, among them even some of the great figures of Pharisaic history, such as the ancestors of Shemaiah and *Avtalyon among the early leaders and the translator of the Bible into Aramaic, *Onkelos. Most half-judaized gentiles remained in that estate, and were regarded not as Jews but as sympathizers, for Jewish identity had assumed, in the minds of most Jews, halakhic definitions, certainly by Hasmonean times. The gentile world, contemplating these *sebomenoi*, continued to regard them, even after many of them turned Christian, as people who harbored strange, unworthy private opinions, not far different in quality from the many others who had taken up Oriental mystery religions. This did not confer upon these believers any new legal status, such as exemption on the grounds of belief from civic duties. Late Hellenistic paganism regarded the *sebomenoi* not as Jews or as half-Jews but as suspiciously aberrant pagans.

The forces both of Jewish acceptance and of definition by gentiles were more nearly univocal in the case of nascent *Christianity. The earliest Pauline Christians, those gentile converts to the new religion who had not first become Jews according to the Law, were not regarded by anyone as Jews. The Jewish Christians, especially the circle in Jerusalem and the Holy Land in the first century, were much more of a problem. Whatever may have been the exact beliefs of these Ebionites, their exclusion from the Jewish community did not occur primarily for halakhic reasons. By their own choice these Jewish Christians left Jerusalem and emigrated to Pella at the beginning of the war of 66–70, and they thus separated themselves from the national destiny of the Jews. Despite the fact that the Pharisaic leadership of that time was opposed to the war, this action by the Christians set the seal upon tensions which had originated in dislike of the beliefs of the new sect. Within a generation, by the end of the first century, the rabbis included a new prayer in the *Amidah*, "And for the *minim* let there be no hope" (cf. **Birkat ha-Minim*). By that time the Roman Imperial authorities were recognizing Christianity officially as a new religion, because the emperor Nerva (96–98) exempted the Christians from the *fiscus judaicus*.

The Jewish Christian group remained nonetheless for some years in an intermediate position, but this stance ended during the Bar Kokhba revolt (132–5) and its immediate aftermath. Those who did not participate in that glorious tragedy could no longer lay any claim on being Jewish. Official Christianity was by then largely gentile and it was systematically excluding all traces of the preeminence of Jews in the new religion. The animosity between the two groups was quite pronounced by the middle of the second century, and in the next century, when Christianity was declared an illegal religion, Judaism retained its status as a *religio licita*. Even in a religious convulsion of the most profound kind it was not ultimately theological formulation or even halakhic norms which were decisive for the separating definitions of Jewish and Christian identity. Matters of belief might have remained a family quarrel within Jewry. What ultimately separated the two communities was the choice of the Christians to live out a separate historic destiny – and the agreement of the Romans to permit them this choice.

Middle Ages to the 19th Century

The *Karaite heresy through its various permutations from its origin 12 centuries ago was, for the most part, regarded as part of the Jewish community even though, paradoxically, the weight of halakhic opinion was that their legal practices, especially in relation to the marriage law, had excluded them from Jewry. Marriages between Karaites and Rabbanites continued well into the Middle Ages and did not cease entirely until the 15th and 16th centuries. Karaites were petitioned along with Rabbanites in Egypt, in the 11th century, and no doubt earlier and later, to help ransom captives from both communities; Karaite elders were at that time prominent in Fostat in the affairs of the largely Rabbanite community. All of this existed immediately after Saadiah's leadership in both Palestine and Egypt, with all of his anathemas against the Karaites, the practice of pronouncing an excommunication each year on the Mt. of Olives by the Rabbanites against the Karaites, and the bitter Karaite continuing counter-polemics. Under Islam, the Karaites refused to accept the authority of the *geonim* and the Exilarchs, who were Rabbanites. Nonetheless both groups continued to await the same national and messianic redemption; they shared the same destiny as Jews and they regarded each other as such and were so regarded by the gentile majority. All over the world, both Moslem and Christian, wherever both Rabbanites and Karaites were represented, they were treated throughout the centuries as belonging to the same community. The only exception occurred after 1795 in Czarist Russia when the legal discriminations against Jews were lifted entirely from Karaites, in the ensuing half-century, with the result that Karaites and Jews no longer regarded themselves as members of the same community.

The most complicated example of interweaving of internal and external forces was that of Marranism (see **Anusim*; *Marranos). On occasion both Islam and Christianity forced Jews to apostasize, in such places as Yemen and North Africa, in the early centuries of Islam, and from late antiquity throughout the Middle Ages in the Iberian Peninsula, in the case of Christianity. The historic destinies of these various Marrano groups were not always the same. Under Islam forced apostates were usually allowed to return to Judaism within one generation. Those who chose not to do so usually rapidly assimilated. Under Christianity the situation was different. The majority which had forced the conversions looked upon the newcomers with suspicion for many generations. This "antisemitism" always lasted longer than any intensity of Jewish feeling or affirmation among the Marranos themselves, for, especially wherever there was some opportunity to escape, those who chose to remain Marranos had, in one or two generations, little Jewish loyalty and even less secret Jewish practice than they were suspected of harboring. Remaining Jewish loyalties were revoked into new vigor in Spain of the 16th century not so much by memories of the past as by persecution by the Inquisition. The attacks continued in the 17th and 18th centuries in the name of the doctrine of **limpieza de sangre* ("purity of blood"), under which *New Christians of even partial Jewish ancestry were barred from the highest offices of state and Church; there was therefore new reason for people who had ceased to be Jewish except by accident of birth to reinvent a kind of Judaism which was really their Christian upbringing, with the subtraction of its specifically Christian elements. For such figures, e.g., Uriel da *Costa, their return to a Jewish community which was actually living normative Judaism, such as the one in Amsterdam in the 17th century, was a difficult and sometimes tragic journey into a strange and constricting world.

The Jewish community to which the escaping Marranos were returning was in theory defining its attitude toward them in terms of the *halakhah*. The basic view in all versions, both Franco-German and Spanish, of the legal tradition was that a Marrano, or any other kind of forced convert, remained a Jew and was to be welcomed back as such upon his return; indeed, in law, he was regarded as a Jew in a state of grave transgression. This definition was completely unproblematic so long as it was confronted either by forced apostates who threw off their apostasy at the earliest possible moment or by apostates by choice who never looked back over their shoulder at what the Jewish community might be saying about their halakhic identity. It ran into difficulties when confronted by all the ambiguities and indefiniteness of Marranism, where the apostasy as such was not always forced but rather, as in Spain in 1492, largely the choice of many of the wealthy not to leave their property and to accept Christianity in the hope that some change might soon happen. Opportunities occurred in many situations, especially in Christian Spain in the 15th and 16th centuries, to escape, but the choice was most often not taken. Nonetheless some family ties remained, and were remembered, with Jews elsewhere; some inner cohesion, if only of evaporating sentiment, was still felt; and those who did escape, often the children or grandchildren of marriages that were questionable from the Jewish point of view, laid claim to Jewish identity and to full acceptance. The rabbinic authorities who dealt with this question were divided, the most liberal, Ẓemaḥ Duran, maintaining that even if the Marranos were to be regarded as true apostates they must nonetheless be accepted as Jews on purely halakhic grounds. On the other hand, Jacob Berab, who had himself fled from Spain, took a much harder line against those who had remained and ruled that the Marranos were gentiles in every respect except for the laws of marriage and divorce.

In actual fact these halakhic definitions were not ultimately determinant of the attitude of the Jewish community toward Marranos. The overwhelming evidence is that wherever they turned up, from the 15th to the 16th centuries, be it Venice, or Bordeaux, or Hamburg, and declared themselves to be Jews, the males were soon circumcised, the marriages were resolemnized, and no barriers were put in the way of their joining the existing Jewish communities. No serious questions were asked about the validity of the marriages of their Marrano ancestors. To be sure, there was halakhic warrant for this attitude, because in talmudic law in the absence of any evidence to the contrary a Jew is believed in any declaration that he makes about his personal status, and certainly about whether he is a Jew. It is also true that these returning Marranos formally accepted upon themselves all of the commandments of rabbinic Judaism. Nonetheless the determining act was their willingness to become part of the Jewish community, and all the halakhic doubts of rabbinic authorities remained theoretical in the face of acts of return.

A more curious case was that of the *Doenmeh, those followers of the false messiah Shabbetai Ẓevi who emulated their master and converted to Islam in 1686 or 1687. Their separation from the main body of Jewry was not complete for centuries. Even the rabbis spoke of them as "Jewish sinners" and not as "people uprooted and separated from Israel, who have no part in it." Halakhic considerations were here operative, for it had long been held, at least since Maimonides, that conversion to Islam was not a denial of the unity of God or a form of idolatry. Nonetheless these were not forced converts and, what is more, they held messianic ideas which had been declared heretical in the most violent terms. On the other hand, the Doenmeh were never trusted by the Muslim majority and, at least in the early years during the persecution by the Pasha Hassan (1722), they were made to suffer as Jews. Until the middle of the 19th century, the Doenmeh studied Talmud with Jewish scholars and they discontinued this in 1859, along with making some other of their Jewish practices even more secret, only under investigation by Muslim authorities. The identity of the Doenmeh was still sufficiently separate, and separated, in the social sense for it to have been noted that young men of this origin were particularly prominent in the Young Turk Revolution of 1908. It is even still rumored that Kemal Ataturk belonged to the Doenmeh. The Doenmeh experience paralleled that of the Christian Marranos. After conversion something of their Jewish identity was maintained in secret by choice; persecution made the content of this identity ever harder to preserve, but it kept alive a pained sense of alienness for many generations.

The Modern Era

At the dawn of the modern era the definition of Jewish identity was no problem almost everywhere in the world. The trickle of Marranos coming out of the Iberian Peninsula ceased almost completely by 1800 and the Inquisition came to its effective end soon thereafter. On the European stage a Jew was someone defined by *halakhah*, that is one who was born of a Jewish mother (or who converted to Judaism) and who in actual practice regarded himself and was regarded as belonging to the Jewish community. This had legal relevance, for the Jew was structurally part of systems of law, both his own and of the governing powers, which depended on his identity's being clear cut. The only way that he could change was by conversion to another religion, which in actual practice in Europe meant some form of Christianity. Halakhically even this may not yet have excluded him from Jewry, but it did everywhere admit him to legal rights and status within the majority. So long as this was the action of a relative few, followed in due course by intermarriage with people not of Jewish stock (see *Mixed Marriage), some social discrimination might remain, but conversion effectively ended Jewish identity in most cases. Indeed in the aftermath of the Jacob *Frank episode in the 1770s his followers who converted to the Catholic faith quickly intermarried with Polish nobility, and the Jewish origins of their descendants were not widely remembered.

With the era of the *emancipation the whole question of Jewish identity appears in new forms. The structure of law which enshrined a precise definition of who was a Jew came to an end wherever any version of the modern secular state was created. Before the law religion became a matter of indifference and the choice to uphold one's own became purely voluntaristic. The law protected the right to private opinion and free association for worship, provided the specific practices of a religion were not flagrantly in conflict with public order as conceived by the state. This formulation had Christianity in mind, for it defined religion as containing dogma about God and the world to come and as acting in specific forms of worship. These premises were accepted by the founders of *Reform Judaism both in Germany and in the United States, who constructed a modern definition of Jewish identity as that of individuals who belonged to the Jewish religious faith, now conceived as containing primarily ethical content and personal edification. This non-national definition of Judaism and Jewry was shared in many senses by the *neo-Orthodoxy that arose in Western and Central Europe under the leadership of Samson Raphael *Hirsch. Here too, the general culture was accepted and patriotic identification was made with the state. What was different was that neo-Orthodoxy identified the content of Jewish religion with every aspect of the inherited law, meticulously observed as divine commandment, but whatever was national in Judaism was relegated to far-off, apocalyptic days and thus made largely irrelevant. Both of these versions of Jewish identity could not utterly deny the obvious, that they were addressing themselves to the biological descendants of Jews, and that, regardless of their self-definitions, they were inevitably involved with all sorts of Jews, both in their own countries and all over the world. Many of those who thus began with definitions of Judaism, but wanted no identification with the Jewish people, moved into a general ethical humanism and entirely out of Jewry.

To be sure, in a number of European states the institutions of the Jewish religion were in some sense still "established" even after the emancipation, and in some jurisdictions, such as Hapsburg Austria and its successor republic and in Prussia, a Jew could cease paying some fractional tax to the Jewish community only by declaring himself "without religion." It was, of course, an open secret that such people were, in the overwhelming majority, Jews, and some social discrimination was directed against them. Nonetheless at the height of 19th-century liberalism in Europe and America, it was possible for some Jews to "pass" without doing anything more than simply ceasing to function in any Jewish association of any kind. On the other hand, it was possible for Jews to feel a strong sense of Jewish identity on the basis of minimal or no association, even after every vestige of religious faith and practice had evaporated. Increasingly there arose the institutions of the voluntaristic Jewish *community of the modern era, which accepted this situation. These bodies regarded it as their task to serve any who claimed to be Jews, especially at moments of danger or when such people needed social services. Indeed, these very voluntaristic associations to alleviate suffering became increasingly the overarching Jewish community organization. This modern pattern had been forecast, when the delegates of the Portuguese Jews returned in February 1790 from Paris to Bordeaux with the news that their community had been granted equality. It was decided that very day to make an end of the historic "Spanish-Portuguese Jewish nation" and to reorganize the community as a welfare committee.

However, the majority community did not easily accept these various new forms of Jewish identity, especially as ever greater numbers of Jews moved in the direction of appearing to be, and even feeling that they were, undifferentiated westerners, and so the marginal Jew appeared, marginal both to his own earlier identity and to the one that he was trying to acquire. Such figures had appeared at the very dawn of the era of the emancipation, in Isaac de Pinto, the Franco-Dutch Sephardi who debated with Voltaire, and David Friedlaender, the disciple of Mendelssohn. Men such as these, and their equivalents (e.g., Heine, Bernard Berenson) were to occur in every generation of the modern era, especially wherever the Jews were a minority fighting for equality. Some were ambivalent about their Jewishness and spent their lives in emotional torment, but most believed that Jews would achieve equality only by total assimilation to the way of life and outlook of the majority. An element of such a vision was an assumption of responsibility on the part of Jews for helping to create the kind of society which would live up to its most spacious new vision of equality for mankind. Inevitably the moral commandments of this doctrine moved Jews to turn away from specific concerns for their own community to the concerns of the general community, and the battle for Jewish rights itself could, and often was, identified with the struggle for the rights of all oppressed individuals and minorities. Since men do not easily jump out of their skins, this basic position was often identified as messianic, arising out of Jewish prophetic teaching and carrying it to the ultimate conclusion of the dissolution of Jewish specificity as the climactic act in the historic drama of Jewish existence.

The appearance of Jews in the revolutionary movements of the modern age was, in terms of Jewish identity, motivated by considerations comparable to those given just above which inspired their immediate Jewish predecessors in modernity, who did battle for the rights of Jews in the liberal era. Here there was already an awareness that bourgeois society was not living up to the promises of the middle-class revolutions and that from the perspective of all the oppressed, and certainly from that of the Jews, the only hope for real human equality was to uproot the past and to begin all over again in some new dispensation in which all men were equally cofounders. The more apocalyptic was the vision of a heaven on this earth, the more, either explicitly or in subterranean ways, did the allegiance of Jews to revolutionary movements represent both a conscious denial of specifically Jewish identity and an expression of certain aspects of that very identity. Here the battle against antisemitism and reechoes of Jewish prophetic messianism fused to create the post-Jewish revolutionary. So prominent have Jews been in modern movements of social reform, political revolution, new literary and art forms, and new modes of human self-understanding, that their enemies generally identified the hated and upsetting newness of things and thoughts with Jews. In many western countries during the last century the literary and intellectual community was heavily penetrated by Jews; and such subcultures as a whole, although Jews were often under attack within them, became identified as "Jewish," even though the

Jews within these circles did not, except sometimes in crisis, function as Jews.

If inner Jewish commitment had become functional and diverse in the modern era, so had the outside world in which Jews were attempting to live. Before the middle of the 19th century the vision of the Enlightenment, an all-human society to which all regenerated men would belong, had been joined, both as ideal and as political doctrine in Europe, by nationalism. The question was therefore raised again whether Jews could ever participate in a national culture and society with historic roots in a distant past in which they did not share. More important, antisemitism was not in the process of coming to an end, not even among the most modern and revolutionary groups. On the contrary, to the older religious and economic rationales for hatred of Jews among some of the makers of modernity, such as Voltaire in the 18th century and some of the founders of socialism (Proudhon and Fourier) in the 19th, new anti-Jewish arguments were added about the ineradicable cultural alienness of even the most assimilated Jews. The racial theorists who followed after Gobineau defined Jews as a biologically alien race. Even non-socialists who were not anti-Jewish, such as Werner Sombart and Max Weber, elaborated on the essay (*Zur Judenfrage*) of the young Karl Marx, agreeing that the Jews had a very special, middleman and capitalist, role in the economy from the very beginning of their existence and that they were, if not by their very nature at least by long historical experience, removed from primary production and agriculture and thus unassimilable into all the healthy pursuits of a normal economy. From a variety of perspectives the Jew who wanted to become part of the contemporary world was thus faced with ever more complicated dilemmas. He could choose to remake himself even more thoroughly than he had imagined and get rid of every trace of his supposed past nature. He would nonetheless remain confronted by some, such as the German historian Treitschke, who would continue to insist that the most dejudaized of Jews had not yet become German. A future therefore had to be fashioned by the modern Jew in another direction: the creation of some realm of his own within which he could enter the contemporary world free of the intellectual and physical pressure of his enemies. This was all the more necessary for the westernizing Jewish intelligentsia that arose in the modern era, precisely because they were themselves part of all the secular and secularizing movements and states of mind to which their relationship was increasingly ambiguous.

All of this, especially as antisemitism became ever more virulent in the last third of the 19th century, led away from both reformed religious definitions of Jewish identity, or various modes of acculturation, to national definitions of what the contemporary Jew was or could become.

Its essential affirmation was that the Jews are a people, an organically developing historic community among many such communities which together make up human society. The Zionist version of this definition is not the only one, and it indeed arose somewhat later than most of the others. From this perspective the Jewish people is unlike most others in the extent of its dispersion, its persistence for many centuries without a land of its own, and a number of other differences from the prevailing norms of modern national identity. Despite the fact that this was a people which harbored a particular religion, belonging to this people, from the beginning and certainly in the modern, secular era, was defined as a national sentiment rather than a matter of religious assent. Just as it was possible in the modern age of doubt to cease being Anglican and remain English, so it was possible to cease believing in Judaism and remain Jewish. At least in theory, such secularization solved the problem of Jewish identity and continuity in the modern age, but those who accepted these new premises remained confronted by two questions: why should an individual prefer one secular culture over another, unless his own is always demonstrably higher? In what sense can a secular culture lay moral onus on those who abandon it? Questions such as these led such theoreticians of Diaspora nationalism as Simon *Dubnow to opt for Jewish communal organization, an international Jewish parliament, and national institutions of culture and education to maintain the national ethos. Others, such as the Yiddishist movement which arose at the beginning of the 20th century, laid the accent on Yiddish as the spoken and living language of the vast majority of world Jewry, at least before 1939, and aimed at preserving a secular national culture in that language.

Even before the Nazi Holocaust, the Zionist criticism of Diaspora nationalism was its unrealism. It was argued that national identity would be abandoned by Jews in the Diaspora, at the very least because of economic and social demands made upon the individual Jew by his quest for personal economic success. Some sentiment might remain, but inner Jewish content would inevitably evaporate in any post-ghetto society, even in one such as Poland between the two world wars, where bitter discrimination continued to exist in many areas. Zionism held that a continuing secular Jewish identity was, as a matter of social fact, possible only where Jews had achieved territorial concentration. Moreover, to be historically valid, a nation had to be involved in its own land, the soil of its ancestors, not in some new arrangements in new places, and the people had to revive its capacity to speak its own classic language, Hebrew. This was not only valid historic identity, but also the preservation in the secular, modern context of the best resonances of the religio-national past.

In contemporary Israel, therefore, the question of Jewish identity revolves around the interpenetration between the older, religious and halakhic definitions of who is a Jew and the both more contemporary, and far older communal-national emphases. Very small elements within the whole of Israel would go so far as to declare themselves to be Jewish Canaanites; however, many are in sympathy with the idea that the strictest of religious tests cannot be applied to those non-Jews by birth who have chosen to identify themselves in Israel with its Jewry. On the other hand, in circles far wider than those of the officially Orthodox, there is continuing and even increasing concern about returning to a sense of tradition which is beyond the purely secular. Indeed, one of the recurring problems studied by Israel sociologists is whether its population, and especially its younger population of Jews, regard themselves as primarily Israelis or primarily Jews. By all of the usually established criteria, from religious observance to involvement in the destiny of world Jewry, the Orthodox and most of the non-Sabras of all persuasions rank as "Jews." The non-Orthodox Sabras consider themselves "Israelis" on all counts except that they feel strongly about their connection to the Jews of all the world and their involvement in this international destiny.

In recent years the question of what is contemporary Jewish identity has been a matter of considerable political and social concern for the State of Israel. Under its Law of Return all Jews have a right to automatic admission and immediate citizenship in Israel. For this purpose non-Jewish spouses and the often halakhically non-Jewish children (of gentile mothers) have been allowed to accompany the Jewish member of the family who emigrated to the land of his ancestors. Many of the problems which have thus arisen have been solved individually by ritual conversion, but the question of definition was inevitably tested further by a Jew by birth who had become Christian (the Brother Daniel Case before the Supreme Court of Israel in 1966, see *Apostasy), and by intermarried nonbelievers who refused to allow their children to undergo ritual conversion (the Shalit Case of 1970). The Supreme Court of Israel decided against Brother Daniel, despite his valid halakhic claims to Jewish status, on the ground that he had chosen to remove himself by conversion from the history and destiny of the Jewish community. In the Shalit case, the court ruled that the technically non-Jewish children of this intermarried couple should be registered as Jews because they were growing up within the Jewish community of Israel as indissolubly bound to its destiny. Such registration, however, would have no bearing in matters of marriage and divorce. This emerging consensus was inevitably involved with concern about what such new, legal definitions of what is a Jew would do to the unity of world Jewry, where, in theory, the halakhic definition prevailed. Considerations such as these were important in the overturn by the Israeli Knesset of the Supreme Court's decision in the Shalit case, by reaffirming the halakhic definition. Years earlier, in 1958, after a governmental decision that anyone who declared himself to be Jewish would be registered as such, the then prime minister, David Ben-Gurion, wrote to a wide variety of Jewish religious, intellectual, and legal figures both in Israel and in the Diaspora. The answers that he received ranged from reaffirmation of the *halakhah* to acceptance of inner emotional choice and labeling by the outside world as valid forms of Jewish identity.

The social situation of world Jewry outside Israel more nearly approximates the second rather than the first definition. In the major center of the Jewish Diaspora, the United States, the rate of intermarriage is now generally held to be at least one in two. It is estimated that many thousands of conversions to Judaism are taking place every year, the largest number under Reform auspices, and thus not halakhically satisfactory. There are even a number of Jewish clergy in the U.S. who are officiating at intermarriages even without conversion. All of these non-Jews are coming into some relationship with the Jewish community, and even the many who live entirely outside it are affected in some degree, even in those cases where their spouses are substantially dejudaized. Among those born and raised as Jews, the whole corpus of contemporary American Jewish sociology has had as its major subject in this generation repeated study of such questions as the rapid evaporation of Jewish ritual observance and intensive Jewish learning, the negligible rate of regular synagogue attendance, and the erosion of opposition to associating or marrying outside the Jewish group. On the other hand, these same studies have proved a very high rate of almost exclusive association of Jews each with the other even among those younger Jews who affirm little or nothing of the content of the Jewish tradition and an ongoing sense of at least passive involvement in what happens to Jews all over the world. To be sure, there are small, though notable, circles of younger Jewish intellectuals in all of the extreme revolutionary groups, and Jews also figure prominently among those who are dropping out of society in the name of highly personalist, often mystic, fulfillment. Even among these, some Jewish consciousness is still present, and it certainly does exist among the vast majority of their less radical contemporaries. This emerging, or eroding, Jewish identity is historic, in a very muted way, and situational.

The fate of Jewish identity in Eastern Europe, particularly after World War I, evolved under far different circumstances. The fundamental fact underlying this development is the unchanging concept, shared there by Jews and non-Jews alike, that the Jews are a historic, ethnic unit, i.e., a people, a "nationality" or even a "nation," into which a person is born and to which he belongs, whether he lives up to it in his linguistic, cultural, and religious habits or not. Out of this concept emerged for some periods and under favorable political circumstances, certain forms of official Jewish autonomy, mainly in educational and cultural facilities (as, e.g., in Poland, the Baltic states, and also in the Soviet Union in its first decades, where even an unsuccessful experiment of Jewish territorial autonomy in *Birobidzhan was made). Ultimately, however, particularly from the 1950s, Jewish identity in the Soviet Union became trapped into an unprecedented cruel paradox. The obligatory registration of each individual born of Jewish parents as being of Jewish nationality, even when he is a declared atheist or even a convert, remained in force, though all traces of the Jewish historical heritage and of Jewish educational or cultural facilities were eradicated, thus transforming the Jewish population into a kind of a "ghost nation." In other East European countries, the registration of the Jewish nationality was optional, and not obligatory; but eventually this formality did not lead to the obliteration of Jewish identity through the assimilation of a sizable number of Jews into the majority nation, but rather to mass emigration, to Israel or to other countries, since the formal option did not change the traditional concept of the Jew, sometimes even people of partly Jewish descent, as being ethnically different and "alien." This fact was often exploited in antisemitic campaigns for political purposes, as, e.g., in Poland in 1968–70. In the U.S.S.R. the paradox of the obligatory registration of the Jewish nationality, though devoid of any historical or cultural content, caused a growing manifestation of Jewish identity and even identification with the independent Jewish nation in Israel, mainly among the younger generation, including spontaneous efforts of small groups to study Hebrew and Jewish history and to congregate en masse in and around the synagogues in the great cities. The tension engendered by it transformed the solution of the problem of Jewish identity in the Soviet Union gradually into an international moral issue of major magnitude (see *Antisemitism, in the Soviet Bloc, *Assimilation, in the Soviet Union, *Russia).

In the last third of the 20th century there were many Jews, especially that worldwide, intensely Jewish, religiously traditionalist minority, for whom the question of Jewish identity was decided by the *halakhah*. The overarching institutions of world Jewry, while paying respect to this view, determine their policy by broader and more amorphous considerations of history and situation. So, when the last remaining, completely dejudaized, almost entirely intermarried communists of Jewish parentage in Poland were purged in 1968, the Israeli government provided them with the necessary exit passports, even though few were going to Israel; the world Jewish social service budget took care of the overwhelming majority who opted to go to other countries. Those who suffer as Jews, regardless of their own perception of that suffering, and those whose Jewish consciousness might one day be rekindled, remain part of world Jewish concern. In the broadest sense, significant elements of world Jewry in the modern era have defined, and are defining, Jewish identity as a community of history and destiny of those who still feel their involvement in this community or about whom others feel strongly that these people belong to Jewry.

[Arthur Hertzberg]

In the last third of the 20st century significant developments occurred in the three largest centers of Jewish life – the Soviet Union, the United States, and Israel. In the Soviet Union, the upsurge of Jewish feeling triggered by Israel's Six-Day War created steady pressure for immigration to Israel and the accompanying phenomenon of the *"refusenik," denied an exit visa by the Soviet authorities, as well as open celebration of Jewish holidays in the streets of Russian cities. With the collapse of the Communist system the mass emigration of Soviet Jewry commenced, most arriving in Israel, where it may be said that for most a process of "Israelification" set in which, though it involves sets of identities tied to the everydayness of life in a modern Western society, also bears the powerful imprint of the country's Jewish identity. In the former Soviet Union itself, Jewish communal life has also revived, centered on synagogues, community centers, and an extensive Jewish educational system, often under the auspices of Chabad rabbis but also with the support of the Jewish Agency and other international organizations. In the United States all the disturbing demographic trends noticeable since World War II continued, but here too Jewish identity was fortified among identifying Jews, partly as a result of the emotions generated by the Six-Day War and partly as part of the general upsurge of ethnic pride in the United States in which blacks and Alex Haley's *Roots* played a pioneering role. However, the precise nature of this Jewish identity, which seeks to affirm Diaspora life as a legitimate variety of Jewish experience, no less valid than a Jewish experience centered in a Jewish state, remains problematic, if only for demographic reasons. In the last analysis, the Jewishness of this identity does not prevent Jews from drifting away from Judaism, even if Judaism is perceived as no more than a cultural identity or intellectualized under the rubric of a Diaspora multiculturalism that seeks "to create a community of communities and a culture of cultures," as the editors of *Insider/Outsider* put it.

In Israel, Jewishness permeates everyday life. How one defines oneself – as a Jew, Israeli, human being, or professional person – does not alter the context of this daily life, which is life in a Jewish state whose symbols, ceremonies, aspirations, and commonality are rooted in palpable Jewish experience. In Israel one may be Jewish in spite of oneself. This is its saving grace, and the meaning of the Jewish state. It cements the Jewish identity and, like the strictest Orthodoxy, ensures its survival.

[Fred Skolnik (2nd ed.)]

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JEWISH IMMIGRANT AID SERVICES OF CANADA (**JIAS**), one of the oldest chartered nonprofit settlement organizations in Canada. For over 80 years JIAS has been the voice of the Canadian Jewish community on issues of integration and resettlement in Canada and has helped in the settlement of hundreds of thousands of Jewish immigrants to Canada. The agency continues to champion the cause of new immigrants and refugees by positively influencing Canadian immigration laws, policies, and practices, and by ensuring that they are humane in nature and responsive to the needs of new arrivals to Canada. JIAS also assists individuals to navigate the Canadian immigration process and works for the integration of Jewish immigrants into local communities across Canada.

JIAS was founded in the wake of World War I. In 1919, the Canadian Jewish Congress (CJC) was formed. At its plenary, the delegates, moved by the plight of Jewish refugees in Europe, called upon the government of Canada to maintain an open door policy and reject restrictionist pressure to exclude a "whole race or nation." But CJC was weak, and its leaders, including Lyon *Cohen and Sam *Jacobs, realized that a separate organization was needed to deal with issues of immigration. The Jewish Immigrant Aid Society was established in 1920, and incorporated in 1922. JIAS opened an office in Montreal and was soon lobbying government on immigration issues and assisting individual Jews in dealing with immigration authorities. As a community agency, JIAS also became the center for the sponsorship and transportation of immigrants, challenging the fixers, agents, and lawyers who sought to profit from the immigration process.

JIAS was arguably the most active Jewish communal organization in the 1920s. In its early years JIAS was active in assisting Russian refugees trapped in Romania and immigrants detained at Canadian ports of arrival. While the agency suffered under the weight of serious financial strains and an increasingly restrictionist Canadian immigration policy, it succeeded in intervening with the government to allow the arrival of several thousand Jewish refugees and the release of most of the detainees. While its financial situation remained difficult, JIAS soon earned the respect of the government and the Jewish community for its efforts on behalf of Jewish immigration.

With the Nazi seizure of power in Germany, the situation for European Jewry became more precarious. CJC was revitalized and, in partnership with JIAS, turned to the challenge of dealing with the policies of a government determined to restrict immigration and that of Jews in particular. Jewish delegations met with government immigration authorities, but their lobbying efforts were rebuffed. Only after World War II and a reopening of immigration was JIAS able to turn its efforts to the rescue, resettlement, and rehabilitation of Jews. Notably, in the aftermath of the Holocaust, JIAS, together with the Jewish Labour Committee and the Canadian Jewish Congress, successfully lobbied the government to allow the entry of orphans and workers. In all, some 35,000 Holocaust survivors and their children settled in Canada between 1947 and 1957. Servicing so large and sudden an inflow of immigrants strained JIAS resources and led to a duplication of services by other Jewish agencies. In 1947 Joseph *Kage was appointed executive national vice president and, with Canada now a major immigrant-receiving country, Kage was instrumental in restructuring JIAS so as to assist in the immigration and integration of Holocaust survivors and other Jewish immigrants.

In 1956 JIAS was in the lead helping with the resettlement of Hungarian Jews fleeing the failed Hungarian Revolution, and the wave of Jewish immigrants arriving in Canada from North Africa. In 1968, a purge of "Zionist elements" in Poland led to the emigration of most of the Jewish community. JIAS helped in the resettlement of some in Canada. JIAS' largest postwar challenge was assisting in the transport and integration of Soviet Jewry. Beginning in the 1970s, their migration to Canada grew until it reached some 30,000 arrivals. JIAS has helped not only with their resettlement but with their integration into Jewish life. Since the 1980s, JIAS has helped in the resettlement of Jews from Syria, the former Yugoslavia, and Argentina.

By the beginning of the 21st century there was an organizational restructuring of JIAS, so that there are three separate Jewish immigrant service provider agencies. Jewish Immigrant Aid Services of Canada, funded by UIA, with its head office located in Toronto assists Jewish newcomers to immigrate and settle in Canada. It also provides information and support to Jewish Family Service agencies serving new immigrants across the country. JIAS Toronto, located in Toronto, is a charitable organization (under the laws of Canada) funded jointly by the Jewish community and federal and provincial governments. Serving more than half of all Jewish immigrants arriving in Canada, JIAS Toronto assists newcomers to become part of the Toronto community. Similarly JIAS Montreal, located in Montreal, is also a charitable organization (under the laws of Quebec), funded jointly by the Jewish community and government to assist new immigrants to become part of the Montreal/Quebec society.

[Frank Bialystok (2nd ed.)]

JEWISH LABOR COMMITTEE, a Jewish communal agency linking the organized Jewish community and the Labor movement. Representatives from a number of trade unions and other organizations traditionally identified with the Jewish labor movement assembled at a conference in New York City in 1934 and launched the Jewish Labor Committee, charging it with the following tasks: (1) support of Jewish labor institutions in European countries; (2) assistance to the anti-Hitler underground movement; (3) aid to the victims of Nazism; (4) cooperation with American organized labor in fighting anti-democratic forces; (5) combating antisemitism and other evil effects of Fascism and Nazism upon American life.

During the first five years of its existence, the Jewish Labor Committee concentrated mainly on supporting anti-Nazi labor forces in Europe and sending relief to Jewish labor institutions there, especially those maintained by the *Jewish Labor Bund and the "left" Labor Zionist movement (the "right" Labor Zionists organized their own relief and rehabilitation committee), and encouraging and strengthening U.S. and Canadian opposition to the Nazis, in the labor and democratic left, as well as in the community-at-large. At the same time it organized mass anti-Nazi demonstrations; in 1936, with the American Jewish Congress, through the Joint

Boycott Council, it conducted a boycott on German goods and services.

After the outbreak of World War II, the emphasis shifted to efforts to save Jewish cultural and political figures, as well as Jewish and non-Jewish labor and socialist leaders facing certain death at the hands of the Nazis. With powerful help from the American Federation of Labor, the Committee succeeded in bringing over a thousand such individuals to the United States, or to temporary shelter elsewhere.

Beginning in the late 1930s, the Committee became increasingly concerned with Jewish defense work and community relations in the United States. It was one of the four founders of the short-lived General Jewish Council and helped organize the National Community Relations Advisory Council [re-named the National Jewish Community Relations Advisory Council in 1968 and Jewish Council for Public Affairs in the 1997], of which it is still an active member. Unlike other community relations agencies, the JLC has its sphere of action clearly delineated: it strives to represent Jewish interests in the American labor movement, and labor interests in the Jewish community. Working with the American Federation of Labor–Congress of Industrial Organization since the federation's formation in 1956, the JLC works with and has the support of a wide range of unions and their associated organizations, locally as well as nationally. Comprising diverse organizations and a variety of ideological groups, the Committee has been guided in its work by pragmatic policies rather than by a clear Jewish philosophy. While Bundist influence was significant in the organization, particularly in the early period, the organization has had a positive position on the State of Israel since 1948.

The JLC is a member of the Conference of Presidents of Major Jewish Organizations, the Memorial Foundation for Jewish Culture, as well as the Conference on Jewish Material Claims Against Germany and the National Conference on Soviet Jewry. The JLC holds both national conventions of delegates and committee meetings of its executive committee and national board. In 2005, the organization, with headquarters in New York, had staffed field offices in Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Detroit and Los Angeles, and lay-led groups in Washington, D.C.; Cleveland, Ohio; Phoenix, Arizona; and Seattle, Washington. Its funding comes from independent campaigns, contributions from trade unions, allocations from welfare funds, and grants from foundations. Originally a body of organizations and unions, the Committee has also had individual members since the mid-1960s.

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[Charles Bezalel Sherman / Arieh Lebowitz (2nd ed.)]

JEWISH LANGUAGES.

History

The linguistic history of the Jews accurately mirrors their dispersion over the world. The prehistory of the Hebrews took place in the Aramaic sphere, and the impact of that tongue on the first "Jewish" language, Hebrew, was so strong that it has been called a fusion of Canaanite and Aramaic. The lifespan of Hebrew covers roughly the period of the political independence of those speaking it. It does not, however, coincide with the era in which they inhabited Ereẓ Israel because, some centuries before the Christian era, Hebrew had started giving way to Aramaic, which had been spreading over wide areas of western Asia, including Palestine. Different branches developed which had their parallels in Judeo-Aramaic (i.e., the Jewish forms of Aramaic). Both language groups survived until the seventh century C.E. Two branches, however, are still alive – in far developed forms – the larger one in a few small communities in Kurdistan, Christian as well as Jewish. The language of the Jews there is known as Jabali.

Long before the end of the Second Temple period the Greek Koinē had been adopted by the Jews of the Hellenistic world – in the Balkans, Cyprus, southern Italy (Graecia Magna), the Black Sea region, and Egypt. The other great language of European classical antiquity, Latin, played a certain role in Jewish linguistic history. However, Blondheim's theory according to which the Judeo-Romance languages sprang from a common Judeo-Latin stock proved to be farfetched. The Jewish communities of Late Antiquity were Greek-speaking even after they settled in Rome and in the western provinces of the Empire. The crystallization of a specifically Jewish counterpart of the various Romance vulgars goes back to a far later period. Moreover not every scholar of Jewish languages would add the determiner "Judeo-" to the Romance languages spoken by Medieval Jews in the Romance country. The Old French used by Rashi in 11th-century France and the Old Spanish used by Iberian Jews before the expulsion do not seem to have differed from the languages of the Christian surroundings. Indeed, the use of Hebrew letters in order to commit the Romance vernaculars to writ does not constitute a sufficient criterion to consider a Jewish variety of Romance vulgar (*la'az*) a full-fledged Judeo-Language.

To the east of the Romance territory, Germanic has given rise to only one Jewish language: *Yiddish. This originated among Romance-speaking Jews who either immigrated to a German-speaking region or else inhabited a Romance area that had been taken over by a Germanic tribe. Nothing is known about the Jews in Germany between Roman times and the Carolingian period, so that Jewish history there effectively begins in the ninth century C.E. It is thought that *Yiddish did not evolve as a separate language before the 13th century, that is, at the stage of Middle German. The process of koineization that led to the crystallization of Proto-Yiddish is bound up with the beginning of the emigration of the German Jews eastwards, following the growing hostility of the Gentile surroundings. The components of this koiné are not always easy to identify. Several theories compete. The first one sees Rhineland as the cradle of Yiddish. The second one associates the nucleus of Yiddish with Central dialects like Thuringian or East-Franconian. Besides, some features from such Southern dialects as Bavarian are recognizable in the koiné on which Yiddish is based.

A small element of Romance origin still survives in present-day Yiddish. But the most important external influence exerted upon Yiddish was that of the Slavic languages. When Yiddish- or Proto-Yiddish- speaking Jews still lived in Germany, they may have been in contact with Czech. Later on, after their migration to Eastern Central and Eastern Europe, Polish played a crucial role in the process of Slavization of Yiddish. Before WW II, Yiddish-speaking Jews comprised three-quarters of the entire Jewish people.

In the seventh century C.E. an important language change took place in the Orient. When the Arabs conquered much of western Asia, their new religion, Islam, was adopted by the inhabitants of wide areas in that region, and, with it, the Arabic language and alphabet. The Jews, too, adopted Arabic, although they did not abandon their religion and their alphabet. Their tongue, Judeo-Arabic, was like Arabic spoken over far too wide an area to remain uniform. Its most divergent branches are the Maghrebi ones of northwestern Africa, parallels to the local dialects of the Muslims (see *Judeo-Arabic/Judeo-Berber).

However, not all the areas that embraced Islam adopted Arabic. The most important exception was Persia, although here the Arabic alphabet was taken over, many Persian scholars and poets writing in Arabic and the Persian language itself being strongly influenced by that tongue. Thus, in the Iranian lands the Jews developed a Jewish variety of Farsi usually called *Judeo-Persian; in Central Asia, the Jews of Uzbekistan developed a Jewish variety of Tadjik; in Daghestan, the Dagh Churfut ("Mountain Jews") speak *Judeo-Tatic, an archaic variety of Farsi enriched with Hebrew words. In the southern Caucasus, in Georgia, we come across a non-Semitic, non-Indo-European Jewish language, Judeo-Georgian, which hardly differs from the Georgian spoken by the non-Jewish surrounding. To the west, there arose another language of neither Semitic nor Indo-European stock: Crimchak, spoken by the Crimean Jews and belonging to the Turkic language family (see *Krimchaks).

The languages of the Karaites form a group of their own; Karay in Lithuania and Poland; and Chaltay in the Crimea. Both of the latter go back to a common origin (in the Turkic family), but diverged widely.

The inroads of secularization in the 19th and 20th centuries have affected all the Jewish languages. Since statistics are not available, we do not know to what extent the number of speakers in each group has decreased.

Causes

New languages have perpetually come into being in the course of history. The causes are common to all linguistic development: migration, involving separation from the original language territory; divergence, through the growth of different political centers; and intermingling of populations, through conquest or pacific interpenetration. Of these causes only one has played a role in Jewish linguistic history – migration, i.e., the dispersion of the Jews over Asia and Europe during the centuries around the beginning of the Christian era. However, once the dispersion had, in the main, been completed, migration only rarely accounted for linguistic evolution, as in the development of East Yiddish and Judeo-Spanish. Language is a function of group life. The Jewish group is a creation of the Jewish religion, and that this is true of the past is beyond doubt. Hence the Jewish languages are creations of the group-forming factor of religion. This basic cause is reflected in features common to all of them: (1) they contain an element of Hebrew and Aramaic; (2) they are written in the Hebrew alphabet; and (3) the origin of their respective spelling systems is talmudic orthography.

Name

The correct designation for the various linguistic structures of the Jews is Jewish languages. All other names make no sense in modern linguistic scholarship; the terms "dialects," "jargons," "mixed languages," "corrupted languages," "Creolized languages," "Judeo-…," etc. are to be rejected for the following reasons. Jewish languages are not jargons, because a jargon is the restricted vocabulary used by those engaged in a particular occupation, but does not form the general vehicle of communication among its members. The Jewish languages are not more mixed than many other tongues, ranging from English and German to Persian and Turkish. They are not corruptions, because they obviously fulfill their function. The individuals within the Jewish groups in question communicate with each other through the medium of the particular language. When a linguistic structure fulfills this function, it is not "corrupted." There is much less justification for calling these Jewish tongues "Creolized" languages than there would be for classifying French or Spanish as "Creolized Latin."

The Hebrew and Aramaic Elements

In the Jewish languages, Hebrew and Aramaic elements form part of an uninterrupted development in speech and writing: they represent the present linguistic stage of a continuous process, previous stages of which crystallized into the languages of the Bible, Mishnah, *Gemara*, Midrash, liturgy, etc. In other words, they are connected with the sphere of religion, Judaism. This does not mean that the words in question are exclusively religious terms. Only a small minority can be so described. Moreover, these elements are to be found not only in the vocabularies of the Jewish languages, but also in their morphology and syntax, which cannot have any connection with religion.

Script

The Hebrew script is not included as part of the Hebrew and Aramaic elements, because language and script are independent of each other. Thus the script constitutes evidence of its own for the religious basis of the Jewish languages. It is a fact that the alphabet in which a language is written is, broadly speaking, decided by the religion of those speaking it. Maltese, for example, materially an Arabic language, is written in Latin characters because the Maltese are a Christian people belonging to the Western (Roman Catholic) Church. The same is true of the Croats, who, therefore, use the Latin alphabet for Croatian; while Serbian, for all practical purposes the exact same language, is written in the Cyrillic characters employed by the Eastern (Orthodox) Churches of Europe (apart from the Greek). The Arabic alphabet is used by the most heterogeneous languages and language-families (Persian, Urdu, Kurdish, Ottoman Turkish, Chagatay, Indonesian, Malay, Swahili, Malayalam, Haussa, Nubian, Fula, etc.), because those speaking them are Muslims. Cases where the religious factor has not been the historical cause for the use of a script appear to be very rare.

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[Solomon Asher Birnbaum / Cyril Aslanov (2nd ed.)]

JEWISH LEGION, military formation of Jewish volunteers in World War I who fought in the British army for the liberation of Ereẓ Israel from Turkish rule. When Turkey entered the war on the side of the Central Powers (Oct. 30, 1914), two different concepts of the Jewish role in the world conflict emerged among Zionists. In November David *Ben-Gurion and Yiẓḥak *Ben-Zvi submitted to the Turkish commander in Jerusalem a proposal to raise a Jewish Legion attached to the Turkish army. The project was approved by the Turkish military council in Jerusalem, and the first 40 Jewish volunteers began their training. Authorization, however, was soon canceled by Jamal Pasha, the supreme commander of the Turkish army in Palestine and Syria, who instigated severe persecutions of Zionists. Many were imprisoned; others, among them Ben-Zvi and Ben-Gurion, were deported. Of the 18,000 Jewish deportees and refugees, some 12,000 landed in Alexandria, Egypt.

The Zion Mule Corps

Vladimir Jabotinsky advanced a diametrically opposite concept. In December 1914, while a roving correspondent of a Moscow daily, he arrived in Alexandria and expounded to the Palestine deportees the idea of raising a Jewish Legion to fight with the Allies in order to liberate Palestine from the Turks. Joseph *Trumpeldor, one of the deportees, fully embraced Jabotinsky's idea. It was also endorsed by the majority of the Palestine Refugees' Committee. On March 22, 1915, about half of the 200 people present signed a seven-line resolution in Hebrew "to form a Jewish Legion and propose to England its utilization in Palestine." Within a few days about 500 enlisted, and training started immediately. Nonetheless, General Maxwell, commander of the British force in Egypt, told a delegation of the volunteers that an offensive on the Palestine front was doubtful and that regulations prohibited the admission of foreign nationals into the British army. He suggested that the volunteers serve as a detachment for mule transport on some other sector of the Turkish front. His proposal was rejected by most members of the Legion Committee, including Jabotinsky, but Trumpeldor's position was that any anti-Turkish front would "lead to Zion."

Together with Lieutenant Colonel John Henry *Patterson, delegated by the British military authorities, Trumpeldor succeeded in forming the 650-strong Zion Mule Corps; 562 of its members were sent to the Gallipoli front under Patterson, with Trumpeldor as second in command. The Zion Mule Corps' services were highly appreciated by General Ian Hamilton, commander of the Gallipoli Expeditionary Force, who wrote to Jabotinsky on Nov. 17, 1915: "The men have done extremely well, working their mules calmly under heavy shell and rifle fire, and thus showing a more difficult type of bravery than the men in the front line who had the excitement of combat to keep them going." The unit, however, posed severe disciplinary problems, and punishments such as public flogging had to be meted out. In addition, the differences between the idealists and those who had joined only in order to escape from the misery of the refugee camps resulted in clashes between Trumpeldor, the "Russian", and the Sephardi Jews. It was Patterson's goodwill and patience, coupled with Trumpeldor's devotion, that held the unit together throughout the Gallipoli campaign. Six legionnaires were killed, 25 were wounded, three received military honors, and one was decorated with a Distinguished Conduct Medal. The Corps was disbanded after the withdrawal of the ill-fated Gallipoli expedition early in 1916.

The Royal Fusiliers

Pursuing his project of a Jewish Legion for the Palestine front, throughout 1915–16 Jabotinsky had been trying unsuccessfully to win understanding and support in Rome (together with Pinḥas *Rutenberg), Paris, and London. In London he was ignored by the War Office and met with active disapproval on the part of Jewish assimilationist circles, as well as most of the Zionist leadership; an exception was Chaim *Weizmann, who promised assistance. Among the few active supporters were also Meir *Grossman, Jacob *Landau, Joseph *Cowen, and Montagu *Eder. In 1915–17 Grossman was publishing a Yiddish biweekly, *Di Tribune*, in Copenhagen and promoted the Legion idea. Zionists in Russia, which Jabotinsky visited in 1915, were almost unanimous in their condemnation of the idea. Appeals to the Jewish youth in London's East End were frustrated by apathy, which frequently erupted into open hostility, fanned by anarchist and communist émigrés. Public meetings, at which Jabotinsky, Trumpeldor, and Grossman tried to plead the Legion cause, were the scene of obstruction and abuse. Only about 300 signatures of men of military age were collected under the declaration: "Should the Government create a Jewish Regiment to be utilized exclusively for Home Defense or for operation on the Palestine front – I undertake to join such a Regiment."

At the end of 1916, when 120 former Zion Mule Corps soldiers, who again volunteered into the British army, had arrived in London, the tide began to turn. Assigned as a unit to the 20th London Battalion, they formed the nucleus of the Legion. Jabotinsky enlisted as a private in this battalion and, together with Trumpeldor, submitted to the British government a petition proposing the formation of a Jewish Legion for Palestine. Public opinion in Britain had been roused against the Russian Jews as "foreigners" who were earning their bread in the country and contributing nothing toward its defense. It was in this atmosphere that the British government decided to enlist the "foreigners." This decision, coupled with the revolution in Russia, weakened opposition to the Legion idea among Whitechapel's Jews. In July 1917, Patterson was ordered by the War Office to commence the organization of the Jewish regiment, and Jabotinsky was put in charge of recruitment. On August 23, when the British cabinet was already preparing the Balfour *Declaration, the formation of a Jewish regiment was officially announced in the London *Gazette*. Initially, assurances were given that the unit would be unequivocally Jewish in character and would be provided with Jewish emblems. The efforts of anti-Zionist Jews, however, succeeded in frustrating these achievements, and the unit was designated as the "38th Battalion of the Royal Fusiliers." It was promised that when it had proved its mettle in action, it would be granted both a Jewish name and Jewish insignia. About 50% of the battalion were British-born or naturalized; the remainder included members of the former Zion Mule Corps, a large number of Russian Jews, and a curious mélange from several Allied and neutral countries. On Feb. 2, 1918, the battalion marched through the City of London with fixed bayonets, a special privilege granted by the Lord Mayor, and on the following day it embarked for Egypt, where it continued training. Late in April it was joined by the 39th Battalion of Royal Fusiliers, over 50% of which was American volunteers, commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Eliezer *Margolin.

Transferred to Palestine in June 1918, the 38th Battalion was assigned front positions some 20 miles north of Jerusalem on the hills facing a Turkish encampment. There, Patterson later related, it "at once assumed a vigorous offensive policy" that "thoroughly scared the Turks, so much so that they never once attempted to come anywhere near our front." Afterward, the battalion spent seven weeks in the tropical Jordan Valley, where malaria took a heavy toll of the unit. Of 800 men, no more than 150, and only half of its 30 officers, remained in active service at the end of this ordeal. Over 20 were killed, wounded, or captured; the rest were stricken with malaria, of whom more than 30 died. On September 19, the 38th Battalion and two companies of Margolin's 39th Battalion were assigned the task of capturing both sides of the Umm Shart ford across the Jordan River and advancing east beyond the Jordan. After the first attempt to gain the ford failed, Jabotinsky's company "was ordered to make the second attempt … and achieve the purpose at all costs." The operation was successful. Margolin's two companies of American volunteers crossed the Jordan and marched to al Ṣalt, where Margolin was appointed commander of the town. General Chaytor, commander of Allenby's right wing, told the Legionnaires: "By forcing the Jordan fords you helped in no small measure to win the great victory gained at Damascus."

The Palestinian Volunteers

Early in 1918 a strong movement for the formation of a Palestinian Jewish Legion developed among the 18,000–20,000 Jews in the part of the country (Jerusalem, Tel Aviv, Jaffa, the settlements in Judea) by then occupied by the British army. The British forces were received as deliverers, and the call for volunteers, first made by General Hill, the British commander of the Jaffa-Tel Aviv area, received a response among the workers, the students of the Hebrew High School in Tel Aviv, and a few farmers, led by Moshe Smilansky. At a conference held in Jaffa on Feb. 15–16, 1918, the volunteers drafted their aims and chose a committee, and a mass meeting in Reḥovot, attended by about 1,000 volunteers, was addressed by Jabotinsky. These volunteers encountered great difficulties in their desire to enlist, as there was much hesitation on the part of the British, and some influential circles in the *yishuv* also opposed the idea. In 1920 the British foreign office related that the initiative had come from "the Jewish population itself, rather than from any desire or even encouragement from the British authorities." A petition with several hundred signatures was submitted to the military authorities in January 1918 but the authorization for recruitment was not given before May. According to the Foreign Office, "practically the whole available Jewish youth, whatever their national status," had enlisted. The Jaffa area supplied 457 recruits (10% of its Jewish population) and Jerusalem supplied 350. Within the first few weeks, more than 1,000 men volunteered. Most of them were Ottoman subjects and, if captured by the Turks, would have been hanged. With the advancement of Allenby's army, more volunteers were coming forward from the areas in the north; permission to join was given to 92 Turkish Jews who were prisoners of war in Egypt. In August a recruiting office was opened in Cairo and attracted some 200 volunteers. Many Palestinian recruits were highly educated, with a thorough knowledge of the country; they spoke Arabic fluently, and were expert shots and horsemen. They were formed into the 40th Battalion of Royal Fusiliers, under the command of Colonel M.F. Scott, and were sent for training to the Tell al Kabīr camp in Egypt, where they were kept for an unduly long time, so that they missed the decisive offensive in September 1918.

The American Volunteers

In America, enlisting for the Jewish Legion started practically in 1917, after the publication of the Balfour Declaration. Most of the volunteers were aliens or holders of first naturalization papers and thus not eligible for the U.S. draft; some American-born citizens below the draft age of 21 deliberately misstated their age to join the Legion, and those eligible for the U.S. draft received transfers to the Legion-in-formation without difficulty. One of the prime movers of the idea was the Po'alei Zion Party led by Ben-Gurion and Ben-Zvi. The Zionist Organization of America, which had been opposed to the Legion project, now decided – largely due to Justice *Brandeis' influence – that "the Jewish Legion is one of the most important factors in the realization of the aims of political Zionism." In February 1918 the first group of 150 volunteers left New York for military training in Windsor, Canada; further contingents were leaving the United States at regular intervals of three weeks, and a total of 2,700 were ultimately accepted. Among them were some 200 Palestinian exiles in America, and 150 more were drawn from the local pioneer groups; Ben-Gurion and Ben-Zvi themselves enlisted on April 26, 1918. When a train carrying a group of volunteers passed through Bangor, Maine, it was flagged down to enable a crowd lining the tracks to see and embrace the Legionnares. The volunteers wore the *Magen David* on their khaki uniforms and had their own blue-white banner with the inscription, "If I forget thee, O Jerusalem." In August 1918 they sailed with the Canadians for further training, first to Camp Eggbuckland in Plymouth, England, and then to the Tell-al-Kabīr camp in Egypt, where they joined the 39th Battalion. There was considerable dissatisfaction among them with the protracted training period, which lasted so long that the American volunteers did not see action in Palestine, for they arrived when the war had already ended.

After the War

When the armistice with Turkey was signed on October 31, the entire territory of Palestine was liberated from the Turks. The battered remnant of Patterson's 38th Battalion (predominantly "English" with an admixture of "Americans") took over the "line of communication" duty. It was soon joined by Margolin's 39th Battalion (mostly American volunteers). Early in December 1918, the 40th Battalion (Palestinians only), which was deliberately kept in reserve in Egypt – allegedly for further training – also succeeded in being transferred to Palestine. By the beginning of 1919, the three battalions numbered over 5,000 men, about one-sixth of the entire British army of occupation, one-quarter of the infantry, and almost one-half of the white infantry regiments. While a large portion of the British contingent was transferred to Syria and southern Anatolia and another was sent to Egypt in the spring of 1919, the Legion's strength had increased threefold from 1918, when only 1,500 were able to actually take part in the military operations. The major component constituted the volunteers from the United States (34%), followed by the Palestinians (30%), volunteers from England (28%), Canada (6%), Argentina (1%), and Turkish war prisoners (1%). After the victorious end of the Palestine campaign, the name "Royal Fusiliers" was changed, as promised, to "Judean Regiment"; its insignia became a *menorah* with the Hebrew word "*kadimah*" (before that, all officers and men at the front wore a *Magen David* on their sleeves: one battalion red, the second blue, and the third violet). The actual strength of the Legion could have been more than twice as large. Applications for enlistment came from several countries; 1,500 volunteered in Salonika; in Italy, 2,000 Transylvanian prisoners of war applied to be enlisted; the "Mountain Jews" from Dagestan in the Caucausus sent emissaries offering all their youth. The number of those who had actually enlisted – in addition to the 5,000 in active service – by Armistice Day (Nov. 11, 1918) was 5,600 (mostly Americans, with a sprinkling from Canada); however, it was not considered worthwhile to send them to the Palestine front. They were demobilized directly from the original Legion base at Plymouth, where they had gone through their training under the command of Colonel J.S. Miller, a Jew.

At an early stage, there was a definite plan to convert the Legion into a full-fledged brigade, comprising four battalions. Sir Nevil Macready, adjutant general of the British War Office, told Patterson that his aim was the formation of a complete Jewish Brigade. Allenby opposed such a project at the outset but later wrote to Patterson that he would "form a provisional Brigade of the Jewish battalions until a complete Jewish Brigade can be formed." This plan was never fulfilled. "Instead," relates Patterson, "we were pushed around from brigade to brigade and from division to division; in the space of three months we found ourselves attached to not less than 12 different formations of the British Army." British military authorities openly discriminated against the Legion. Jerusalem was placed out of bounds for Jewish soldiers. They were often so molested by the military police that, according to Patterson, the only way they could enjoy a peaceful walk outside the camp limits was by removing their distinctive badges. There were cases of disobedience and mutiny among the frustrated Legionnaires. 55 Canadian and U.S. volunteers in the 38th Battalion were sentenced by court martial to various terms of penal servitude, ranging from seven years downward (they were amnestied four months later), and 44 Legionnaires of the 39th Battalion received sentences of two to seven years (for most of them the term was reduced to one year; actually, they served six months).

The Demobilization

As long as the Legion remained in full strength, occupying strategically crucial positions, there was peace and order in the country. The situation began to deteriorate with the progressive whittling down of the Judeans. The anti-Zionist military administration was eager to promote their demobilization at the earliest possible date. When the formation of a standing army of occupation was announced, several hundred overseas (predominantly American) volunteers offered their services, but British headquarters sabotaged their reenlistment. Jabotinsky, who was urging the volunteers to stay on and who had himself registered for further service, was forcibly demobilized in August 1919. Largely as a result of this official attitude, an ever-growing eagerness to be discharged and repatriated emerged among the American volunteers. Appeals to hold on in order to safeguard the security of the Palestine Jewish community were of little avail: very few believed that there was any real danger of Arab violence. A marked tendency toward speedy repatriation also developed among the Legionnaires from England. There were among them both volunteers and conscripts; the latter were predominantly tailors from the London East End, and only a few of them held Zionist convictions. The "tailors," however, remained in Palestine longer than any other group of overseas Jewish soldiers and were among the last to be discharged. The urge for demobilization that developed among the Palestinian volunteers was largely motivated by eagerness to resume work or to join a kevuẓah. Yet several hundred of them clung to the belief that the upbuilding of Ereẓ Israel required protection, and they fought strenuously against demobilization. When their period of engagement ended, they contrived to have it extended for three months and then for another three months. Nonetheless, the whittling down of the Legion proceeded. In the second part of 1919, only two of the three battalions were still in existence, then one (the Palestinian unit), and then only part of that. In the spring of 1920 a mere 300 to 400 men remained.

During the Riots of 1920–21

In 1920, when the first anti-Jewish riots broke out in Jerusalem, the remnants of the Jewish Legion were confined to barracks. Two companies of a self-defense corps (Haganah), organized by Jabotinsky and trained by demobilized Legionnaires, marched to the Jaffa and Damascus Gates of the Old City of Jerusalem, but found them closed and guarded by British troops. Jabotinsky and 19 others, mostly former Legionnaires, were subsequently arrested and sentenced to penal servitude by a British military tribunal (they were later amnestied). Sir Herbert *Samuel, the first high commissioner of Palestine, created a mixed Arab-Jewish militia, based on voluntary enlistment. The last 400 Palestinian Legionnaires joined this formation, and Margolin was appointed commander of its Jewish half. On May 1, 1921, when anti-Jewish riots broke out in Jaffa, leaving behind 13 massacred Jews, Margolin entered the town with his men fully armed, without asking permission from the military authorities. Accused of breach of discipline, he was forced to resign.

In 1921 the Executive of the World Zionist Organization requested of the British government that the 38th–40th Royal Fusiliers ("Judeans"), as established in 1917–18, should "continue to form part of the British Forces in Palestine"; recruiting of Jewish volunteers should be reinstituted until their number reached at least one-half of the proposed total strength (7,700) of the British garrison in Palestine. This demand was subsequently endorsed by the Zionist General Council and by the 12th Zionist Congress at Carlsbad (August 1921). The initial program of the *Revisionist movement, voted upon at its first world conference (April 1925), included as its central plank the demand that the Jewish regiment be "restored as an integral part of the British garrison in Palestine." At the 14th Zionist Congress (Vienna, August 1925), however, Weizmann reversed his previous stand and declared that under the existing circumstances the demand for a Jewish Legion was "not only useless but even harmful." Faced with the decision of the Mandatory administration to set up an Arab military unit for service in western Palestine and a Circassian one to serve on the borders of Transjordan, in October 1926 the *Va'ad Le'ummi urged the administration to establish a purely Jewish military unit within the Transjordan Frontier Force. The demand remained unheeded, though individual Jews were accepted for service in it. The Palestine government promised to facilitate the settlement of demobilized Legionnaires on government land, but the promise was not honored, as areas offered by the government were not suitable for agricultural settlement. In 1932, 60 former Judeans from the United States, Canada, and Argentina founded a moshav ovdim, *Aviḥayil, north of Netanyah. Continuing the tradition of the Legion, 65 men, out of its population of 345, volunteered for military service during World War II. In 1961 a cultural center (Legion's House) and Museum of the Legion was inaugurated there.

[Joseph B. Schechtman]

History

A definitive history of the Jewish Legion was published in Hebrew by Yigal Elam, under the title *Ha-Gedudim ha-Ivri'im be-Milḥemet ha-Olam ha-Rishonah* (1973).

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JEWISH MESSENGER, THE, New York weekly. Issued first in 1857 as a semimonthly produced by the pupils of the school conducted by the Rev. S.M. *Isaacs, *The Jewish Messenger* soon became a weekly, edited by Isaacs till his death in 1878. It took a traditionalist, anti-Reform position in religious matters and identified itself closely with the Board of Delegates of American Israelites. Before and during the Civil War it was strongly Abolitionist in viewpoint. On the death of S.M. Isaacs, the paper was taken over by his son Myer S. *Isaacs. Under his direction, its outlook became more favorable to Reform Judaism. *The Jewish Messenger* was absorbed by the *American Hebrew* in 1903.

JEWISH MORNING JOURNAL (Yid. **Der Morgen Zhornal**), U.S. Yiddish daily. Founded in 1901 by the politically conservative and religiously Orthodox publisher Jacob Saphirstein, and edited by Peter Wiernik, the *Morning Journal* was for years New York City's only morning Yiddish paper. This resulted in it doing a highly profitable business in want ads. It was also unique in its support of the Republican Party. In 1916 it reached its peak circulation of 111,000. The same year Jacob *Fishman was appointed editor, and under his direction (1916–38) the paper took on a more liberal, intellectual tone. Among some of the prominent writers on Fishman's staff were the critics Bernard *Gorin and A. *Mukdoni, the poet Jacob *Glatstein, city editor Jacob *Magidov, and Gedaliah *Bublick, formerly editor of the *Yidishes Tagblat*. In common with the rest of the Yiddish press, the *Morning Journal's* readership declined steadily after World War I. In 1928 it absorbed the *Yidishes Tagblat* and in 1953 it merged with the *Jewish Day. In 1970 the circulation of *The Day-Morning Journal* was put at 50,000. It ceased publication in 1971.

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[Hillel Halkin]

JEWISH MUSEUM. The Jewish Museum in New York City is widely admired for its exhibitions and educational programs that inspire people of all backgrounds; it is the preeminent United States institution of its kind exploring 4,000 years of art and Jewish culture.

The Jewish Museum was established on January 20, 1904, when Judge Mayer Sulzberger donated 26 objects to The Jewish Theological Seminary of America as the core of a museum collection. The museum was the first institution of its kind in the United States and one of the very few in the world when it was established. The incorporation of several major collections – the H. Ephraim and Mordecai Benguiat Collection of objects from Smyrna, Turkey in 1924; the Danzig (then Germany and now Gdansk, Poland) Jewish Community Collection in 1939; the Benjamin and Rose Mintz Collection from Warsaw, Poland, in 1947; and ceremonial objects, looted by the Nazis and recovered by the United States Military Government in Germany, presented to the museum by the Jewish Cultural Reconstruction in 1952 – transformed the original holdings into a significant museum collection. A collection of numismatics was established through gifts of Samuel J. Friedenberg and his son, Daniel, for over 50 years beginning in 1948. Dr. Harry G. Friedman was a major donor, from 1941 until his death in 1965, who purchased for the museum over several thousand works in all media from Europe, North Africa, and the Middle East.

The collection was installed in the new Jacob H. Schiff Library of The Jewish Theological Seminary as The Museum of Jewish Ceremonial Objects in 1931. In 1944, Frieda Schiff Warburg gave the seminary her family residence at 1109 Fifth Avenue and 92nd Street to house the Museum. The Jewish Museum opened at its current location in the former Warburg mansion in 1947.

This led to a new emphasis on temporary exhibitions of objects of various media. A fine arts collection was developed that encompassed not only paintings and sculpture, but also prints, photographs, and drawings. In 1956, the Tobe Pascher Workshop was established for the creation of Jewish ceremonial art in a modern style. In the late 1960s, The Jewish Museum began collecting and exhibiting archaeological artifacts from Israel and the ancient Jewish Diaspora. There was an added impetus in the 1980s to collect the works of Israeli artists and contemporary art by American artists, spurred by research related to several exhibitions. Established in 1981, the National Jewish Archive of Broadcasting has since become the largest and most comprehensive body of television and radio programs on 20th-century Jewish culture in the United States. In the late 1990s, collecting contemporary ceremonial art and photography received greater emphasis.

The museum reopened in dramatically expanded and renovated quarters at the Fifth Avenue mansion in 1993. In 2005 The Jewish Museum maintained an important collection of 25,000 objects – paintings, sculpture, works on paper, photographs, archeological artifacts, ceremonial objects, decorative arts, and broadcast media.

Culture and Continuity: The Jewish Journey, originally mounted in 1993 and reinstalled in two stages in 2000 and 2003, explores the dynamic interaction between continuity and change within Jewish culture and history that was important for Jewish survival over 4,000 years. Highlights include paintings by such artists as Max *Weber, Moritz Daniel *Oppenheim, Isidor *Kaufmann, Morris *Louis, Ken Aptekar, and Deborah Kass; prints by Ben *Shahn and El *Lissitzky; and sculptures by Chana *Orloff and Hannah Wilke. Displays of Torah ornaments and Hanukkah lamps allow the viewer to compare artistic styles from different parts of the world. Leonard Baskin's 1977 sculpture, *The Altar* (based on the biblical story of the sacrifice of Isaac), considered the artist's greatest carving, is on view as is George *Segal's 1982 work, *The Holocaust*. Featured television excerpts range from David Ben-Gurion declaring the independence of the State of Israel in 1948 to Abraham Joshua Heschel and Martin Luther King, Jr. in Alabama in 1965 to Adam *Sandler singing part of *The Hanukkah Song*.

The Jewish Museum has been host to some groundbreaking temporary exhibitions. Among them were *Artists of the New York School: Second Generation* (1957), featuring works by 23 emerging artists, including Helen *Frankenthaler, Jasper Johns, Robert Rauschenberg, and George Segal; *Primary Structures* (1966), the landmark exhibition that defined the Minimalist movement; *Lower East Side: Portal to American Life* (1966); *Masada: Struggle for Freedom* (1967); *Software* (1970), a pioneering exhibition about information technology and interactive art; *The Precious Legacy: Judaic Treasures from the Czechoslovak State Collections* (1984) which brought to the United States treasures from the State Jewish Museum in Prague, the bulk of which had been confiscated from the Jews of Bohemia and Moravia by the Nazis for a proposed museum to an extinct race; *Gardens and Ghettos: The Art of Jewish Life in Italy* (1986); *The Dreyfus Affair: Art, Truth and Justice* (1987), an acclaimed exhibition integrating the visual arts and social history; *Too Jewish? Challenging Traditional Identities*

(1996), which explored how ethnic consciousness had a profound effect on many Jewish artists; *Marc Chagall: 1907–1917* (1996); *An Expressionist in Paris: The Paintings of Chaim Soutine* (1998); *New York: Capital of Photography* (2002); *Schoenberg, Kandinsky, and the Blue Rider* (2003); *Modigliani: Beyond the Myth* (2004); *The Power of Conversation: Jewish Women and Their Salons* (2005); and *Sarah Bernhardt: The Art of High Drama* (2005).

[Jewish Museum Staff (2nd ed.)]

JEWISH NATIONAL FUND (Heb. קֶרֶן קַיֶּמֶת לְיִשְׂרָאֵל – (קק״ל), **Keren Kayemeth Leisrael**), the land purchase and development fund of the Zionist Organization. It was founded on December 29, 1901 at the Fifth Zionist Congress at Basle, which resolved: "The JNF shall be the eternal possession of the Jewish people. Its funds shall not be used except for the purchase of lands in Palestine and Syria." The Hebrew name comes from the talmudic dictum about good deeds "the fruits of which a man enjoys in this world, while the capital abides (*ha-keren kayyemet*) for him in the world to come" (Pe'ah 1:1). A land fund was first suggested by Judah *Alkalai in 1847. It was proposed by Hermann *Schapira at the *Katowice Conference in 1884 and again at the First Zionist Congress in 1897. Schapira based his idea of public ownership of land on the biblical injunction "The land shall not be sold forever for the land is Mine," and on the institution of the Jubilee Year, which stipulates that all holdings which have changed hands revert to their original owners in the 50th year (Lev. 25:10, 23–24).

JNF leasehold contracts run for 49 years and can be prolonged by the lessee or his heirs as long as they serve the purpose specified; holdings may neither be united with other domains nor divided among several heirs; the lessee needs the lessor's consent if he wishes to use his holding for a purpose other than that stipulated in the contract; on rural tracts, the lessee must cultivate his own soil; ground rents are to be kept as low as possible, whether the land serves farming, industry, housing, or other purposes.

Early Activities

Between 1902 and 1907, the JNF had its administration in Vienna, where Johann *Kremenezki created a worldwide organization for fund raising by means of JNF stamps, the Blue Box, a small tin collection box, and the Golden Book for honoring a person by donating a large contribution in his name which is inscribed in the book, which soon became popular Zionist symbols. In 1907 the head office was transferred to Cologne, with Max *Bodenheimer as chairman of the board of directors, and the JNF was incorporated in London as an "association limited by guarantee." The first tract of land acquired was that of Kefar Ḥittim in Lower Galilee (1904), followed in 1908 by Ben Shemen and Ḥuldah in Judea, and Kinneret-Deganyah near Lake Kinneret. The JNF made its first experiments in tree planting in 1908 with the Herzl Forest, financed by its Olive Tree Fund. It aided urban development by long-term loans to the founders of Tel Aviv and by acquiring the building of the *Bezalel Art School in Jerusalem, land for the Herzlia High School in Tel Aviv, and the *Technion in Haifa. It also financed the activities of the Palestine Office of the Zionist Organization. In 1914, with the outbreak of World War I, the head office was transferred to The Hague in neutral Holland under Nehemia de *Lieme. In July 1920, the London Conference of the Zionist Organization, which established an additional fund, the *Keren Hayesod, declared the JNF to be "the instrument of the urban and rural land policy of the Jewish people," devoted exclusively to land acquisition and improvement.

Under the Mandate

The first large settlement area was acquired in 1921 in the Jezreel Valley ("The Emek"), increasing JNF land property from 4,000 to almost 15,000 acres (16,000 to 59,000 dunams) after a violent debate with Zionist leaders who preferred the acquisition of urban holdings. In 1922, the head office was transferred to Jerusalem, and Menahem *Ussishkin became its president. During the later 1920s, it acquired the Emek Ḥefer, creating a continuous chain of Jewish settlement in the coastal plain, with the Plain of Zebulun as hinterland to Haifa port. The Arab riots of 1936–39, and the Peel Commission's partition plan (1937–38) lent increased political importance to JNF land acquisition. Jewish holdings and "*stockade and watchtower" settlements were rapidly extended to new regions (Beth-Shean and Ḥuleh valleys, Manasseh Hills, Western Galilee, southern Coastal Plain). During World War II, the JNF sought intricate legal expedients to overcome the severe restrictions imposed in February 1940 by the land regulations issued under the British White Paper, and stepped up land acquisition even further. Opening up the northern Negev for Jewish settlement and strengthening positions in Galilee, it brought its possessions in 1947 to 234,000 acres (936,000 dunams), more than half the total Jewish holdings in Palestine. After Ussishkin's death in 1941, a committee of three – Berl *Katzenelson, Rabbi Meir *Bar-Ilan (Berlin), and Abraham *Granott – headed the JNF board of directors. In 1945, Granott took over as chairman and on his death in 1960 was succeeded by Jacob *Tsur.

In Independent Israel

With the founding of the State of Israel, the emphasis of JNF activity shifted from land purchase to land improvement and development as well as afforestation, headed by Joseph *Weitz from the early 1920s. Besides swamp drainage (Jezreel Valley, Ḥefer and Zebulun plains, etc.), much was done for hill reclamation through stone clearing and terracing, principally along the 1949 armistice borders, opening new areas for settlement. In the Negev contour-line plowing, planting of shelter belts around fields, and leveling of eroded terrain have won new areas for farming. The JNF's most important swamp draining enterprise was that of the Ḥuleh Valley (1952–58). By 1967 the JNF had reclaimed a total of 120,000 acres (480,000 dunams) and another 125,000 acres (500,000 dunams) approximately through swamp draining, together totaling about a quarter of the 1.05 million acres of cultivated land inside Israel's 1966 borders. Up to 1947, the JNF planted 5,280,000 forest trees on approximately 5,000 acres. Annual planting equaled or exceeded these figures since 1948, bringing the total in 1967 to more than 90,000,000 trees and 100,000 acres, in addition to thousands of acres of degenerated natural brush rehabilitated by adequate care. The JNF serves tourism by installing camping and picnic grounds in its forests, and participates in landscaping national parks and nature reserves. As part of its reclamation and afforestation programs, it has paved over c. 1200 miles (2,000 kilometers) of roads, particularly in border areas. It also constructs storage dams to make storm-flood water available for irrigation. The JNF has aided immigrant absorption by setting up "work villages" and providing work for newcomers, especially during periods of unemployment. Since the mid-1950s, the JNF has embarked on comprehensive regional development projects (the Adullam, Adoraim, Yatir regions in southern Judea, the Modi'in region in northern Judea, the Iron Hills and Mount Gilboa in Samaria, the Chorazim region north of Lake Kinneret, and, from 1963, Central Galilee bordering on Lebanon). In the 1960s, the JNF started building *Naḥal outpost villages in reclaimed border areas.

In July, 1960, the Knesset passed a fundamental law on Israel land holdings, followed by the Israel Land Administration Law. An agreement between the JNF and the government, signed on August 1, 1960, set up an Israel Land Authority for the administration of all government and JNF holdings, with a council of seven government and six JNF representatives, and a Land Development Authority functioning in the JNF framework, with seven JNF and six government representatives on its council. The latter is responsible for land development and afforestation of all public land. In 1967, JNF land holdings totaled more than 637,000 acres (2,549,000 dunams), including 332,500 acres (1,330,000 dunams) which the JNF acquired from the state after 1948. In 1967, the government approved a concession to the JNF for the development of state domain land totaling 125,000 acres (500,000 dunams).

The JNF derives its budget largely from contributions from world Jewry, which in the 1960s averaged IL24,000,000 per year; the balance of the IL56,000,000 budget comes from leasehold fees and other sources. It operates in approximately 40 countries. It engages in Zionist education in schools and youth movements both in Israel and abroad; a JNF teachers' council is active in Israel, as well as in a number of Diaspora countries. The JNF is headed by a board of directors consisting of 26 members elected by the Zionist General Council and up to three governors nominated by the Zionist Executive.

After the Six-Day War the JNF reclaimed 11,000 acres of land and helped establish new settlements in both the Rafiah area and the Aravah. In afforestation work, JNF trees reached the 100 million mark. During the 1980s a quarter of the JNF's trees were planted in the Negev, bringing its afforested area up to 45,000 acres. The JNF built dams and reservoirs to combat Israel's chronic water shortage, and in the 1990s started to rehabilitate the Hula Valley in order to prevent the flow of pollutants to the Sea of Galilee and restore the fertility of agricultural lands. It also provided the infrastructure for housing the massive waves of immigrants during the decade.

In the hundred years since it was founded, the JNF has planted more than 240 million trees, built more than 180 dams and reservoirs, developed more than 250,000 acres of land, and created more than 1,000 parks throughout Israel. It ensured that Israel was the only nation in the world to end the 20th century with more trees than it had at the beginning.

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[Jacob Tsur]

JEWISH PUBLICATION SOCIETY, THE (JPS), a nonprofit, non-denominational association established to disseminate works of Jewish content in English, founded on June 3, 1888, as a membership organization and publisher. Two earlier attempts to establish an "American Jewish Publication Society" failed: the first founded by Isaac *Leeser in Philadelphia in 1845 and discontinued in 1851; the second founded by a New York group and lasting from 1873 to 1875. The third such body, The Jewish Publication Society of America, succeeded and has been in continuous operation since 1888. The organizational meeting was called in Philadelphia, then still considered the cultural capital of the United States, by Rabbi Joseph *Krauskopf and Dr. Solomon *Solis-Cohen. In the 1990s, the Society dropped "of America" from its name, and broadened its original mission statement to encompass secular as well as religious works, for non-Jewish as well as Jewish readers throughout the world.

The Society functions through a board of trustees, whose membership reflects geographic, professional, and religious diversity. The first president was Morris Newburger; his successors have included leaders in business, law, education, and medicine. The editorial committee, consisting of scholars and learned laypeople and originally known as the publication committee, advises the professional staff and board of trustees on acquisitions. Committee chairs have included Mayer *Sulzberger, Cyrus *Adler, Jacob R. *Marcus, Gerson D. Cohen, Yosef Yerushalmi, and Chaim Potok. From 1919 to 1950 the Society also operated a Hebrew-English press, established through the gifts of Jacob H. *Schiff.

The Society's first book was Lady Kate Magnus's *Outline of Jewish History* (1890). In 1891 it began publication of Graetz's six volume *History of the Jews* (1891–98). Among the many authors on the Society's list are Solomon Schechter, Louis Ginzberg (*Legends of the Jews*, 7 vols., 1909–38), S.M. Dubnow, Leo Baeck, Cecil Roth, Jacob R. Marcus, Louis Finkelstein, S.W. Baron, Martin Buber, Mordecai Kaplan, S.Y. Agnon, Joseph Soloveitchik, Yehudah Amichai, and Avivah Zornberg.

JPS has published works covering every aspect of Jewish life. During its first few decades when it was the only North American publisher of Jewish books in English, the Society's list spanned the full spectrum of Jewish literature: history, Bible, rabbinics, textual commentary, biography and memoir, belles-lettres, politics and social science, folklore, intellectual history, contemporary thought, and children's books. After other presses – organizational, commercial, academic, and Jewish – began publishing Judaica in English beginning in the 1920s and expanding after World War II, the Society began to focus its publishing program. In recent times, it has moved away from scholarly monographs, belles-lettres, and overly commercial books, concentrating on Bible and commentary, classic texts in translation, reference and resources for adult Jewish learners and lay readers, and children's books for middle readers.

The Society has also published a number of series: the Schiff Classics (9 titles, 16 volumes); histories of Jewish communities (8 volumes); critical Bible commentaries (9 volumes, ongoing); and a series of biographies for young people. *The American Jewish Yearbook* (AJYB) was initiated by JPS in 1899, and was later published jointly by the Society and the American Jewish Committee from 1908 to 1995, after which AJC continued as sole publisher. Occasionally the Society publishes works jointly with other institutions and publishers. The annual number of volumes has varied between two and eighteen; in recent years, its annual list has averaged twelve new publications per year.

Among the Society's major undertakings have been two translations of the Hebrew Bible in English. The first translation, adapted from the Protestant Revised Standard Version in light of Jewish interpretive tradition, appeared in 1917 as *The Holy Scriptures;* a Hebrew–English edition appeared in 1955. That same year the Society began a second translation, this time based on the Hebrew Masoretic text rather than on earlier English translations, with the twin goals of incorporating the latest scientific research in philology, Comparative Semitics, and archaeology; and of making the Bible more comprehensible to modern readers. First appearing in three separate volumes – *Torah* (1962), *Prophets* (1978), and *Writings* (1982), the final one-volume *JPS TANAKH* was published in 1985. A Hebrew-English edition was published in 1999.

The Society's first editor was Henrietta *Szold, although she was never accorded the formal title. From 1892 to 1916, she served as secretary of the publication committee, and also performed the functions of editor, proofreader, sometime translator, and production manager. Later editors have included Isaac *Husik (1924–39); Solomon *Grayzel (1939–66); Chaim Potok (1966–74); and Ellen Frankel from 1981.

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JEWISH QUARTER. The existence of separate Jewish streets or quarters (Lat. Platea Judaeorum; Sp. Judería; Fr. Juiverie; It. Giudecca; Eng. Jewry; Ger. Judengasse, Pol. Ulica Żydowska) originated in the voluntary preference of the Jewish community to live in a way that would enable it to keep to its laws and customs and defend itself from hostile attacks if need be. The nature and character of Jewish life, entailing observance of the precepts, the necessity of maintaining a quorum for prayers, a cemetery, and *mikveh*, the need for providing mutual assistance as a persecuted and degraded minority as well as insecurity from attack by strangers and enemies – all combined to make Jews concentrate in a particular street or neighborhood in all the countries of Europe. At times, non-Jews also lived in the Jewish district, while Jews also lived outside it. These quarters were generally closed off by a wall and gates. Occasionally, they were even in the center of the city or in its main street. According to Benjamin of *Tudela, the Jews of *Constantinople had their separate quarter at the end of the 12th century. In several Spanish cities, such as *Toledo, *Seville, and *Saragossa, the Jewish quarter constituted a separate townlet, surrounded by a wall and even fortified. The right to live in a separate quarter surrounded by a wall was granted to the Jews of *Speyer in 1084 by the bishop, at the express request of the Jews themselves; similar privileges permitting fortified "Jewish quarters" were granted to Jews in Christian Spain during the Reconquest. This changed as the status of the Jews deteriorated and the image of the Jew was even more viciously blackened.

Establishment of the Ghetto

From the beginning of the 16th century, the name given in Italy to the Jewish quarter, which was separated and closed off by law from the other parts of the town by a wall and gates, was "*ghetto." From then on, the word ghetto has also been used to designate Jewish quarters which were officially set aside in other countries. Figuratively and erroneously, this name has also been regularly applied to quarters, neighborhoods, and areas throughout the Diaspora, which became places of residence for numerous Jews.

The root of the word ghetto has been sought in Hebrew (*get* – "bill of divorcement"), in Yiddish, Latin, Greek, and Gothic. There is, however, no doubt that the origin is *geto nuovo* ("the new foundry"), the site of the first separate Jewish quarter in *Venice from 1516. The Jews of Italy occasionally referred to the ghetto in their dialect as *get*, but the usual appellation was "courtyard." In the towns of southern France under papal rule where ghettos were established after the Italian model, they were named *carrière* in French and *mesillah* ("road") in Hebrew.

The idea of the ghetto in its restricted sense resulted from the tendency implanted in Christianity from the fourth to fifth centuries to isolate the Jews and humiliate them. It first appears in the West in the proceedings of the Church *councils of the Middle Ages, especially at the third Lateran council (1179), where Jews and Christians were prohibited from living together. Initially, this prohibition was enforced in a few places, as in London from 1276. From the beginning of the 15th century it was included – in conjunction with the prohibition on moneylending against interest and the order concerning the Jewish *badge – in the anti-Jewish program of the Christian religious orders, especially in Italy; it was thus applied, for example, in Bologna from 1417 and in Turin from 1425. However, the ghetto did not appear as a permanent institution until its introduction in Venice in 1516. Then Jews who sought refuge in the city, from which they had been banned over a lengthy period, were admitted on condition that they live in the *geto nuovo* quarter, an isolated island among the canals of Venice which could easily be completely cut off from its surroundings by a wall, gates, and drawbridges. In 1541, the *geto vecchio* ("the old foundry") quarter was added for the integration of Jews from Oriental countries, and the whole area was from then on known as the "ghetto."

In 1555, Pope Paul *IV in his bull *Cum nimis absurdum* ordered that the anti-Jewish program of the monks should be applied in Rome and the Papal States (see also Bulls, *papal). On July 26, 1555, which fell on the Ninth of Av, the Jews of Rome were compelled to move to the new quarter on the left bank of the Tiber River; the area was immediately surrounded by a wall to isolate it from the city. After a short while, this innovation was also introduced in the other towns of the Papal States, and from 1562 the new institution became known, even officially, by the name of the Jewish quarter of Venice – "ghetto."

Pressure was also exerted on the other rulers of the Italian states to introduce the ghetto (in Tuscany in 1570–71; in Padua in 1601–03; in Verona in 1599; in the duchy of Mantua in 1612; etc.) so that the ghetto institution was finally established throughout Italy, with the exception of *Leghorn.

The ghetto introduced by Christians was accompanied by imposition of the badge, compulsory attendance of Jews at conversionary sermons, restriction of the professions they were authorized to practice, and other humiliations. Generally, the authorities did not allow extension of the ghetto boundaries, even when the population had increased; the ghettos were therefore crowded and unsanitary. For the same reason, additional stories were continually built onto the existing houses and the buildings were in constant danger of collapse; misfortunes occasionally occurred, and when fires broke out, severe damage was caused to the ghettos.

According to papal decree, when a ghetto was established it was to have one gate only. In fact, however, it usually had two or three gates. These were guarded by Christian gatekeepers, whose salaries the Jews were compelled to pay; they were closed at night and on all important Christian festivals, including the Easter period, from the Thursday until the Sunday of Holy Week. At night and during Christian festivals, no Jew was permitted to leave the ghetto. In several smaller localities, all the houses in the ghetto were connected to each other by passages and doors to facilitate movement in times of emergency. Non-Jewish landlords were not permitted to raise the rents, and the rights of Jewish tenants were protected by *ḥazakah* ("established claim"), an ancient institution recognized by Italian law (under the name *jus gazaga*). Although Jews were not allowed to acquire the houses in which they lived, the right of *ḥazakah* could be sold, purchased, or bequeathed, as though it were an actual property right. The ghetto, as all Jewish quarters in all periods, was an almost autonomous town and the institutions of the Jewish community operated within its boundaries; at times, the communal life of the ghetto was better organized than that of the Christian town in which it was situated. There were even Jews who did not ignore the positive aspects of the ghetto. In Verona and Mantua it was customary to commemorate the anniversary of its establishment by a special prayer in the synagogue.

Toward the close of the 18th century, the severity of the ghetto regime was somewhat alleviated in several of the Italian states. In 1796 the armies of the French Republic tore down the ghetto walls of all the Italian towns. However, the ghettos were reestablished after the fall of Napoleon in 1815, but not with the same measure of stringency. The ghetto walls were only rebuilt in Rome, Modena, and a few other towns. With the consolidation of the liberal regime in Italy during the 19th century, the ghetto was again abolished, although there were still some occasional periods of reaction here and there. The gates of the Rome ghetto were destroyed in 1848; the right of residence of the Jews was, however, officially restricted to a special quarter until the fall of the papal regime in 1870. Outside Italy, the ghetto – in the original sense of the Italian term – was only enforced in the provinces under papal rule in southern France, in several German towns, and in a few places in eastern Europe. In detail, there were always considerable differences between them.

For Holocaust period, see *Ghetto.

[Cecil Roth]

In Muslim Countries

Well before the advent of *Islam the preference of religious and ethnic groups to live together in their own streets was commonly known in the Orient. These streets finally became distinct quarters. The quarters in which the majority of the population was Jewish were usually given the name of *ḥārat al-yahūd*, which literally translated from the Arabic means "Jewish Quarter," or simply *al-ḥāra*, as in *Tunisia, *Algeria, and *Tripolitania. In *Persia they were known as *maḥallat al-Yahūd*, in the Balkans as *maḥalla*, while in *Yemen they were named *qāʿat al-Yahūd*; the term *masbata* (namely, the place where those who observe the Sabbath live) was also employed. The Jews themselves sometimes called their quarters *shekhunat ha-Yehudim*, the Hebrew equivalent of the various above-mentioned names. Barring a few exceptions, the Jewish quarters of Muslim countries had nothing in common with the ghettos of Christian countries. These quarters were not surrounded by a wall and did not have a gate which was closed at night, on the Sabbath, or on the Festivals. When such a wall existed, it was often because the whole town was divided into several separate quarters which were partitioned off from each other by a wall which contained one or two gates; the gates were closed from dusk to dawn for security reasons or upon the order of the police. In the *Ottoman Empire the Jews were not compelled to live separately from the other inhabitants. The sole exception to this practice was in Yemen. Even when there were Jewish quarters, some Jewish families lived alone or in groups in the other quarters, dispersed among the Muslims. As early as the Middle Ages many Jews of *Baghdad lived in houses situated beyond the two quarters of the town where most of them had their dwellings. During the 12th century most of the Jews of *Fez lived in the north of the city, in a quarter which had been given to them when the town was founded at the beginning of the ninth century. There were, however, many others who lived in the center of the town, well inside the Muslim quarter. Those whose houses were directly adjacent to the Great Mosque were dispossessed when it was decided to enlarge the structure. They were indemnified for their losses and left the site. During the era of its splendor, *Kairouan had a Jewish quarter, but it appears to have been a common occurrence for Jews to live outside this quarter. In Muslim *Spain the Jews often lived among the other inhabitants. The fortified Jewish quarters did not become the general rule until the country was reconquered by the Christian Spaniards. During that period, however, there were also Muslims who lived in quarters with a Jewish majority. Muslims were never forbidden to live in the Jewish quarters. Any difficulties, rather, arose from rabbinic laws which disapproved of the sale or rental of dwellings in the Jewish street to a gentile and granted priority rights over these dwellings to any Jew from the neighborhood. On the other hand, private houses belonging to Jews and Christians were to be found in all the quarters of the town. For this reason the Muslim religious authorities would not allow these houses to be higher than the neighboring mosque or the houses of the "believers."

In Muslim countries, the Covenant of *Omar did not stipulate the physical separation of the Jews from the "faithful" (the Muslims), neither in towns nor in villages. On the contrary, in order to propagate their religion, the early Muslim theologians recommended that the "unbelievers" (Jews and Christians) be encouraged to live in all the quarters of the large towns. They said that they would thus become acquainted with the religion of the Prophet Muhammad by observing the lives of its believers at every moment. There were only a few Muslim jurists of the later periods who advised that non-Muslims be confined to separate quarters. Until the beginning of the 15th century, however, the orthodox Muslim rulers or their representatives had never officially prescribed the establishment of special quarters for the members of other religions. It was only in *Egypt, and then only for a short while at the beginning of the 11th century, that the Fatimid caliph al-Ḥākim, who had suddenly become insane, confined all the Jews of *Cairo to the Bāb-Zuwayla quarter. In the eastern part of the Muslim world, in the countries dominated by the Shiʿites (non-orthodox Muslims), the Jew were compelled to live in special quarters which resembled the European ghettos. In Persia, as in *Afghanistan and the surrounding regions, the Jewish quarter was not only isolated behind a high wall but its inhabitants were also not authorized to own any shops beyond it. The Jews of Persia remained in their ghettos until recently, even though there was no law which forced them to do so.

In *Morocco the term mellah, which designates the Jewish quarter, was originally the name of the site to the south of Fez-Jaīd on which the first special quarter for Jews in Morocco was actually established (probably in 1438). This mellah was and has since remained a special quarter surrounded by a wall and distinctly separated from the surrounding quarters. The segregation of all the Jews of Fez into its area was ordered. It was thus a ghetto, the first and, for a long time, the only one in Morocco. It was not until 1557 that a second ghetto was established in the country, in *Marrakesh. Approximately 125 years later a third mellah was created in *Meknès, and in 1808 four new ghettos were simultaneously erected in the principal ports of Morocco, in *Tetuán, *Salé, *Rabat, and *Mogador. The sharif granted the Jews of these towns one year in which they could sell their houses in the different quarters and build new ones in the mellah. The only exception made was for some 20 eminent families of Mogador, who continued to occupy their luxurious houses in the same residential quarter as that of the Muslim and Christian notables. In 1808 the Jews of Tetuán were compelled to move into a mellah because the sultan wished to erect a mosque in a street which was inhabited by them. At the same time, the sultan exploited the proximity of the Jewish houses to the mosque of Salé as a pretext to order the Jews of this town to live in a special quarter. The Jews of Morocco considered the creation of each mellah as a catastrophe; they therefore hastily abandoned it as soon as they had the means or the possibility. From the beginning of the 20th century, only the poor Jews continued to live in the mellahs. The name mellah was at first given, after Fez, to the few ghettos mentioned above and then to a few other quarters in other towns which were inhabited by the Jewish masses. The mellah of *Casablanca, for example, did not have the characteristics of a ghetto. The decline of Muslim power generally resulted in the impoverishment of the Jewish communities, whose quarters reflected this situation. These quarters were often overpopulated. These ghettos, however, always contained a few well-kept streets with very large and beautiful houses, the properties of wealthy citizens, as was the case in Fez and Marrakesh.

In 1728 and 1731 the Ottoman authorities ordered the Jews of *Istanbul (Constantinople) to leave the quarters where they lived, under the pretext that their presence in these quarters profaned the sanctity of the neighboring mosques; but the Jews were not enclosed in a ghetto, they merely went to live in other quarters. In 1679 the Jews of Yemen were expelled from the towns in which they had lived until then, and they were only authorized to establish themselves outside these cities, in special quarters. In the Islamic countries the two holy cities Mecca and *Medina, as also the whole of the *Hejaz, are prohibited to non-Muslims. Between the 13th and 15th centuries, for example, such Maghreb towns as Bougie, Gafsa, and Tebessa were, with intermissions, forbidden to non-Muslims. From the ninth century until the present the town of Moulay Idris, in Morocco, could not be visited by the "unbelievers." Kairouan, once a great Jewish center, remained out of bounds to non-Muslims from the 13th century until the end of the 19th century. On the other hand, some towns were exclusively, or in their majority, inhabited by Jews. This was the case with Lucena in Muslim Spain, Aghmat-Ailan (near Marrakesh) in Morocco, and Tamentit in the Algerian Sahara until 1492. Many other examples exist.

[David Corcos]

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JEWISH QUARTERLY REVIEW (JQR), learned journal published first in London and subsequently in Philadelphia. The *Jewish Quarterly Review* was established in 1889 by I. Abrahams and C.G. Montefiore, who acted as editors. The detailed editorial work was undertaken by Abrahams; Montefiore bore the expenses. Modeled on the scholarly journals published in Europe, the JQR attracted articles from the great savants of the day, and much original scholarship (e.g., Schechter's *genizah* discoveries) first appeared in its pages. But the JQR differed by giving space to more ephemeral topics, as well as including theological controversies. At the beginning of volume 20, the editors announced their intention to discontinue the "quarterly," stating that their hope that it "might be the medium for a living theology" had been disappointed, and that Abrahams was finding his editorial duties too onerous.

Cyrus *Adler, president of the newly established Dropsie College in Philadelphia, offered to take over the JQR, and a new series, published by Dropsie College and edited by Cyrus Adler and Solomon *Schechter, began in July 1910. At the outset of their regime, the editors observed that "the fact that the *Review* has passed from the hands of private individuals into those of a learned institution with a strict academic character… will necessitate the exclusion of all matter not falling within the province of Jewish history, literature, philology and archaeology…." Volumes 1–6 of the new series were edited by Adler and Schechter and volumes 7–30 by Adler alone. A.A. Neuman and Solomon *Zeitlin edited volumes 31–57, while Zeitlin was sole editor from volume 58 onward. After the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls, a considerable proportion of the space of the JQR was devoted to Zeitlin's views as to their authenticity.

The *Jewish Quarterly Review* is now published at the University of Pennsylvania for its Center for Advanced Judaic Studies. Considered to be the oldest English-language journal in the field of Jewish studies, the JQR strives to preserve the attention to textual detail that has always been characteristic of the journal, while attempting to reach a wider and more diverse audience.

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[Sefton D. Temkin]

JEWISH SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY (or ŻPS, the initials of the party's name in Polish), party existing in Galicia from 1905 to 1920, the equivalent there of the *Bund. In the early 1890s attempts were made in Galicia to establish a Jewish workers' party to be federatively joined to Polish and Ukrainian workers' parties. The reorganization of the Austrian Social Democratic Party on a federative basis in 1897, as well as the stress on the Polish character of the Social Democratic Party of Galicia (from 1897 the Polish Social Democratic Party of Galicia and of Cieszyn (Teschen) Silesia, the PPSD), gave rise to a movement among Jews for an autonomous Jewish workers' organization within the PPSD. The party leadership, and particularly its Jewish assimilationist members like H. *Diamand and Emil Haecker, opposed this project. However, the chauvinist Polish note of this opposition, the practical needs of organization and propaganda among Jewish workers, and the example of the Bund in Russia (which refused to extend direct help) led to the establishment of an initiating committee in Lvov in 1902, and of an organizing committee (August 1904) for the establishment of an independent Jewish Social Democratic Party. In October 1904 the PPSD convention, 40% of whose delegates were Jewish, rejected the idea. Subsequently, in a manifesto issued on May 1, 1905, the establishment of a Jewish Social Democratic Party (JSDP) was announced. The manifesto rejected the discriminatory Polonization tendency and pointed out that Jews, like the other nationalities, needed their own workers' organization. The leaders of the party included H. Grossman, its principal theoretician (after World War I an economist and communist in Germany), K. *Einaeugler, R. Birnbaum, L. Landau, S. Blum, A. Mosler, L. Feiner, H. Schreiber, and J. *Bross, and later also J. Kissman. Membership in the party was collective through the trade unions, while intellectuals joined individually. There were 2,500 organized workers in the party in 1905, 3,500 in 1908, and 4,200 in 1910. The PPSD opposed the JSDP as "separationist" and "Zionist," although the JSDP contended against the *Po'alei Zion. All the same, in 1906 the PPSD had to establish its own Jewish section. The leaders of the Austrian Social Democrats also denigrated the JSDP. Nathan *Birnbaum supported the party in Jewish circles. The second JSDP convention, held in Lemberg in May 1906, put forward the claim for "national-cultural autonomy," rejecting the slogan of "national curiae" in the electoral system. The establishment of the party and its national program prompted O. *Bauer to formulate his assimilationist conception in his *Die Nationalitaetenfrage und die Sozialdemokratie* ("The Problem of Nationalities and Social Democracy," 1907). The fourth party convention in Lemberg, October 1910, demanded the establishment of state schools providing instruction in Yiddish, as well as recognition of Yiddish as a spoken language in the population census. It was supported in this matter by the Po'alei Zion. The Jewish section of the PPSD subsequently altered its policy and approved the principle of recognition of the Jewish nation (1907). In May 1911 an amalgamation agreement was signed between the JSDP and the section, represented by N. Korkes, M. Zeterbaum, D. Salamander, and R. Buber. In view of the elections to the Austrian parliament, the PPSD agreed to amalgamation, but carried through omission of the article regarding national autonomy from the platform of the united party. The capitulation of the JSDP on this point aroused strong opposition from within. The demand was raised again only in 1917. Meanwhile the struggle of the PPSD for hegemony provoked new dissensions and a rift (1913). The Jewish Social Democrats in Bukovina, headed by J. Pistiner, joined the JSDP. At the end of World War I the party cooperated with other Jewish parties in the "national councils." In 1920 the JSDP joined the Polish Bund.

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[Moshe Mishkinsky]

JEWISH SOCIALIST VERBAND, U.S. organization devoted to the promotion of democratic socialism and the strengthening of Jewish group life on the basis of modern Yiddish culture. The Jewish Socialist Verband [JSV] was founded in 1921 by a minority group of Yiddish-speaking activists who split off from the leftist Jewish Socialist Federation (itself founded in 1912), when the latter voted in a hotly contested decision to sever its relationship with the Socialist Party, and a majority of the JSF embraced Communism (in 1922 it was absorbed into what became the Communist Party USA).

Small numerically, and led by such individuals as *Jewish Daily Forward* editor Abraham Cahan and the Workmen's Circle's Nathan Chanin, it had a close identification with the Jewish leaders of the needle-trade unions, the Workmen's Circle, and the *Forward*. The JSV struggled to spread the gospel of social democracy and trade unionism, and combat Communist influence in the Jewish community.

The support it received from the *Forward* and the Workmen's Circle enhanced its status in the Jewish community and enabled it to play a role in the field of Yiddish culture. The JSV published *Der Wecker*, beginning in September 1922 and continuing until the 1980s, and operated Farlag Wecker, a publishing house.

While the JSV's approach to Jewish problems reflected the Bundist training and orientation of its leaders, as with much of the mainstream of the American Jewish labor movement, it gradually veered away from Bundist anti-Zionism; at a national convention in November 1967, for instance, it formally adopted a pro-Israel declaration.

The JSV was among the organizers of the Jewish Labor Committee and the World Congress for Jewish Culture. In the early 1970s, as part of a reorganization of socialist parties and non-party organizations in the United States, the JSV combined with a small group, the Union of Democratic Socialists, forming the JSV-UDS, which went on to merge with the Socialist Party of America in 1972. With the Socialist Party's disintegration a year later, the JSV began a relationship with the fervently anti-Communist Social Democrats, USA.

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[Charles Bezalel Sherman / Arieh Lebowitz (2nd ed.)]

JEWISH SOCIALIST WORKERS' PARTY (also known as **Sejmists**, or **J.S.** = Jewish Socialists; Rus. abbrev., **SERP** = Sotsialisticheskaya Yevreyskaya Rabochaya Partiya), party based on a synthesis of national and socialist ideas, founded at a conference in Kiev in April 1906. Its leaders were M. *Silberfarb, *Ben-Adir, M. *Ratner, N. *Shtib, J. Novakovski, I. *Yefroykin, Z.H. *Kalmanovich, M. Levkovski, V. Fabrikant, and B. Friedland. The party published an organ in Yiddish, *Folksshtime* (1907), a collection, *Shtime* (2 vols., 1908), and a social-political organ in Russian, *Serp* ("Sickle," 1907–08). The party evolved from differences within the *Po'alei Zion movement and was the successor of the *Vozrozhdeniye group. In general matters the Jewish Socialist Workers' Party regarded itself as part of the international socialist movement, but claimed that the manifold national pressures from all sides confronted the Jewish proletariat and the Jewish people in general first and foremost with the national question. According to the party platform, autonomy was an essential principle for the multinational states. Hence the party demanded the assurance of a special legal status for the Jews as a national group to be embodied in an extraterritorial "national personal autonomy" (*Autonomism). The theoretical foundation for this claim also rested on the vital continuity of the historic trend in Jewry to preserve its specific forms of existence and creativity in all spheres of life.

The Sejmists derived their ideological inspiration from C. *Zhitlovsky, who had already advocated socialist autonomism in the 1890s. They were also influenced by S. *Dubnow and trends in Austrian Social Democracy. The party claimed that the basis for Jewish autonomy should be the Jewish community, and its supreme institution, to be endowed with binding authority, a Jewish national Sejm (parliament). The Sejm would represent the collective affairs of the whole of Jewry. Its functions, whose details would be defined by a Jewish constituent assembly, would include cultural and educational matters, medical and health concerns, mutual aid, assistance in work, agricultural training, statistics, organization of emigration, and the settlement of emigrants in a "free, unsettled territory." The acquisition of autonomy was a prerequisite for a Jewish territorial center to be established "anywhere" which would have an impact on all aspects of Jewish life in the Diaspora. But the realization of the project was put off to "some time" in the distant future.

Unlike the *Zionist Socialist Workers' Party (SS) and the Po'alei Zion, the Jewish Socialist Workers' Party did not adhere to Marxism. On the agrarian question the party identified with the Social Revolutionaries who were also more inclined than the Social Democrats to support federalist and autonomist solutions to the national question. The Jewish Socialist Workers' Party was represented at the congresses of the Socialist International as a subsection of the Social Revolutionaries. In conjunction with the Social Revolutionaries, the Sejmists convened a conference of national socialist parties in Russia to discuss the national question in 1907.

The main stronghold of the Jewish Socialist Workers' Party was in the Ukraine, with some adherents in Lithuania and none at all in Poland. It took part in the revolutionary events of 1905–06: in the series of strikes and in the "self-defense" organized by socialist parties against pogroms. In Yekaterinoslav (*Dnepropetrovsk) the Sejmists established a Jewish Council of workers' delegates. They upheld the principle of inter-party solidarity within united trade unions. The party boycotted the elections for the First *Duma, while for the second it nominated candidates in six districts (Zhitlovsky was the candidate for Vitebsk). In other places it supported the Social Revolutionaries in preference to the Social Democrats, and the *Bund in preference to the Zionist Socialist Workers' Party.

During the reaction that followed the 1905 Revolution the party became limited mainly to intelligentsia circles. Some of its active members went over to the Folkists (Folkspartei) while the SERP group, headed by Zhitlovsky, was also active in the United States. In 1909 it united with Po'alei Zion and the Socialist-Territorialists. The Jewish Socialist Workers' Party cooperated with the world organization of Po'alei Zion and the Zionist Socialists toward the establishment of a Jewish section in the Socialist International. After the 1917 Revolution the Jewish Socialists united with the Zionist Socialists and established the *United Jewish Socialist Workers' Party.

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[Moshe Mishkinsky]

JEWISH SOCIETY FOR HISTORY AND ETHNOGRAPHY (Russ., **Yevreyskoye Istoriko-Etnograficheskoye Obshchestvo**), Jewish scholarly society in Russia. The society was established at the end of 1908 in St. Petersburg as a continuation of the Jewish Historical Ethnographical Committee of the *Society for the Promotion of Culture Among the Jews of Russia, which had been founded in 1892 on the initiative of Simon *Dubnow. The officers elected to the first committee of the new society were S. Dubnow, M. *Vinaver, and M. *Kulisher. It had a total membership of 774 in 1915. The society held lectures on Jewish history, especially Jewish history in Russia and Poland, and established archives, a museum, and a library. It assisted S. *An-Ski on a project to conduct ethnographic research in towns of the Pale of Settlement and awarded prizes for Jewish historical research.

Publication of documents relating to the history of the Jews in Russia, *Regesty i Nadpisi* (vols. 2–3, 1910–14), was continued by the society. Its major undertaking was the publication of a historical quarterly *Yevreyskaya Starina* ("Jewish Antiquities"), of which ten volumes (1909–18) were edited by Dubnow, and the last three (1924–30) by a collective editorship. The journal published studies, memoirs, and documents. After the 1917 Revolution the society published two volumes of documents on the origins of the pogroms of 1881 and 1903 in Russia. In the early years of the Soviet regime the activities of the society were permitted, although reduced. After Dubnow left Russia in 1922, a small group faithfully continued the work, which was sharply criticized by Jewish Communists of the *Yevsektsiya. At the end of 1929 the society dissolved. The last volume of *Yevreyskaya Starina* was edited by I. *Zinberg and published after the society's dissolution. Its museum and archives became the property of Soviet-Jewish institutions, including the Jewish Cultural Institute in Kiev.

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[Yehuda Slutsky]

JEWISH STATE PARTY, Zionist political party formed by dissidents from the *Revisionist movement after the final split between Vladimir *Jabotinsky and most of his colleagues in the leadership of the world movement (at its session in Katowice, April 1933). The new party comprised a number of veteran leaders, including Meir *Grossman, the Hebrew poet Yaakov *Cahan, Richard *Lichtheim, Selig *Soskin, Robert *Stricker, and Jonah Machover, Herzl Rosenblum, and Baruch Weinstein, but only a fraction of the rank and file Revisionists and even less of the membership of the *Betar youth movement, who remained faithful to Jabotinsky. The point over which the members of the Jewish State Party (or the "Grossmanites," as they were popularly called) departed from Jabotinsky and the Revisionist majority was the attitude to the World Zionist Organization (WZO). Whereas Jabotinsky refused to recognize it as the only body representing the Zionist movement, wanted to act independently of it in the international field, and eventually secede from it, Grossman and his colleagues and followers unreservedly recognized the sovereignty and binding political discipline of the WZO. The group first appeared on the Zionist scene immediately after the 1933 split, when it contested the elections to the 18th Zionist Congress in 13 countries and received 11,821 votes, gaining three mandates. During the 18th Zionist Congress, a conference of dissident Revisionists from Austria, England, France, Latvia, Lithuania, Palestine, Poland, Romania, and South Africa officially formed the Jewish State Party. It was recognized by the WZO as a *Sonderverband* (see *Zionism: Zionist Organization, Organizational Structure) and granted representation on the Board of Directors of the *Jewish National Fund and the *Keren Hayesed. In the elections to the 19th Zionist Congress in 1935, the party received 24,322 votes in 16 countries, gaining nine mandates.

In 1937 the party convoked its first regular conference in Paris. Its rejection of the proposal of the British Royal Commission to partition Palestine led to Lichtheim and Soskin's resignation. In the elections to the Zionist Congress, it received 6,705 votes, gaining only six mandates. In the pre-World War II period, the party numbered some 8,000 registered members, mostly in Poland, Lithuania, and Austria. Following the split in the Revisionist movement in 1933, a group of dissidents from Betar formed a youth movement of the Jewish State Party called Berit ha-Kanna'im (Zealots' Union), with affiliates in Austria, Czechoslovakia, Germany, Palestine, and Poland. The first conference of the organization convoked in Lucerne in 1935 elected a high command (*mifkadah elyonah*) consisting of R. Feldschuh Ben-Shem, N. Netaneli-Rothman, and F. Richter; Y. Cahan was elected its leader (*av Berit ha-Kanna'im*). In 1930 Weinstein was elected to the *Asefat ha-Nivḥarim* on the Revisionist slate; after he left the Revisionist fraction in April 1933, he was recognized representative of the Jewish State Party. At the outbreak of World War II the party's activities were paralyzed, and in 1946 it officially ceased to exist by merging with the Union of Zionist Revisionists, which had meanwhile rejoined the WZO under the name United Zionist Revisionists. Many of its leaders and members, however, including M. Grossman, later joined the *General Zionists. The publications of the party were: *Unzer Velt*, a weekly (Yid., Warsaw, 1936–39); *Die Neue Welt*, a weekly (Ger., Vienna, 1927–48), superseded by *Neue Welt und Judenstaat* (Ger., Vienna, 1948–52); and *Ha-Mattarah* (Heb., Tel Aviv, 1933).

[Yehuda Benari]

JEWISH STUDIES. Jewish studies, or often Judaic studies, refers here to the academic teaching of aspects of Jewish religion, history, philosophy, and culture, and associated languages and literatures, at the undergraduate and graduate level in institutions of higher education. Jewish studies scholarship and teaching is non-doctrinal, non-parochial, and non-denominational. At its best, it represents a mode of intellectual exploration that is open to all interested students regardless of their religious or ethnic backgrounds. Jewish studies include scholars and students who make use of a broad range of disciplinary methodologies from the full range of academic fields in the humanities and social studies. What defines this diverse and interdisciplinary area of inquiry is the object of its study – Jewish experience in its widest sense – rather than any specific analytical approach.

Jewish Studies in American Universities

The significant expansion of Jewish studies in American universities is a recent phenomenon. Nevertheless there are antecedents to this development which should be noted. In the 17th and 18th centuries, the Hebrew language was included in the curriculum of several of the earliest colleges to be established on the North American continent. The subject was taught as part of a theologically oriented curriculum designed to assist potential Christian clergymen in understanding their Christian heritage. The disappearance of the last vestiges of Hebrew from the curriculum in the early decades of the 19th century was the result of changing vogues in Protestant theology and in the dynamics of Christian denominationalism in the United States and was totally unrelated to any concern for Jews or Judaism.

More relevant was the growth of modern Jewish scholarship (as distinguished from traditional Jewish study of sacred texts) which emerged with the development of the *Wissenschaft des Judentums movement in Central Europe in the 1820s and thereafter. The researches of the Wissenschaft scholars created a body of knowledge, a literature and a method of research which made it possible to conceive of a Jewish cultural tradition which was the ongoing expression of a people and which was subject to the same methods of academically disciplined study as that of other peoples. While most early Jewish scholars viewed this tradition as essentially religious, it was nonetheless studied in its literary, philosophical and historical as well as its theological aspects.

This development of Jewish critical scholarship led to the hope that the study of Judaic culture would find a place in the developing world of the secular university. As early as 1838, Abraham *Geiger proposed the establishment of a "Jewish theological faculty" in a German university. For a variety of reasons, social and political as well as academic, this proposal and subsequent suggestions which were broached never came to fruition. Jewish scholarship remained a solitary and unremunerative occupation pursued by dedicated individuals. When such scholarship succeeded in finding a place in an academic setting, it was consigned to the modern theological seminaries which emerged in Central Europe in the last third of the 19th century. Some scholars, like Moritz *Steinschneider, denigrated the development of such seminaries as a "new ghetto of Jewish learning" which could not transcend "scholarly immaturity." However, nothing came of Steinschneider's hope that European governments could somehow be induced to "establish professorships," and the seminaries remained the only academic institutions in which at least some aspects of modern Jewish scholarship found a place.

In America the openness and diversity of the society and the participation of the Jews in the general culture generated more ambitious aspirations. The desirability of creating a faculty of Jewish studies was broached as early as 1818. Since higher education in 19th century America was almost exclusively sponsored by various religious denominations, Mordecai Manuel *Noah proposed that American Jewry emulate other sects and establish its own college in which Jewish studies would constitute a central element of the curriculum. The proposal was never implemented, not for lack of opportunity, but rather for lack of interest and intellectual resources on the part of the numerically small American Jewish community of that time.

In the 1840s and 50s suggestions for Jewish-sponsored colleges were revived by Isaac *Leeser and Isaac Mayer *Wise, both immigrants from Central Europe. A number of abortive efforts to organize such colleges were undertaken and in 1855 Wise actually announced the establishment of an institution known as Zion College in Cincinnati. This and subsequent efforts failed, again because of lack of support from the growing American Jewish community which was fragmented and was more concerned with integrating itself into the general culture than in fostering its own intellectual distinctiveness. When, in 1875, Wise finally succeeded in forming an academic institution, it was, like its European counterparts, a rabbinic seminary and not, as originally intended, a general college in which a Judaic faculty was a part of a larger academic enterprise. The original concept survived only in the name of the Reform movement rabbinical seminary which Wise called *Hebrew Union College.

Toward the end of the 19th century, chairs in "Semitics" were established in a handful of American universities: Columbia, Johns Hopkins, the University of Pennsylvania, and the University of Chicago. These positions reflected the contemporary interest in "scientific" biblical studies as well as the attainment of financial prominence by some Jews and of modest scholarly credentials by others. The chairs were initially held by Jews whose teaching was primarily related to Semitic philology rather than to the broader aspects of Jewish culture. There is little evidence of academic concern with the total Jewish experience, especially with the content of Jewish culture and history in the centuries following the separation of Christianity from its Jewish source.

In 1896 William Rosenau, a Baltimore Reform rabbi who taught "Semitics" at Johns Hopkins, wrote an article extolling the desirability of "Semitic studies in American Universities." None of the benefits which he mentioned related to Jewish literature or Judaism. It is therefore a matter of judgment whether or not the inception of Jewish studies in American universities can properly be dated from the establishment of these academic posts. At best, the number of positions remained small and the treatment of the totality of the Jewish tradition as an area of study of intrinsic worth without regard to its relationship to the predominant culture was negligible.

In the following decades, the development of Jewish scholarship in the United States was primarily centered in the theological seminaries and in institutions which were under Jewish sponsorship and were devoted solely to Jewish studies, such as Dropsie College in Philadelphia and a handful of communal Hebrew teachers colleges. The rise of Hitler and the destruction of Jewish institutions in Central and Eastern Europe led to an influx of distinguished Jewish scholars to the United States. These men assumed leading positions in Jewish institutions of higher learning and greatly enhanced the cultural resources of American Jewry. Despite their credentials, few found places in secular universities.

Prior to 1940 a few chairs of Judaica had been established in major universities, almost always due to the philanthropy of local Jewish communities. Some of these were occupied by outstanding scholars, most notably Salo W. *Baron in the department of history at Columbia and Harry A. *Wolfson in the department of Near Eastern languages at Harvard. In the late 1930s modest programs in the teaching of modern Hebrew had been established in universities in New York City, primarily as a result of the introduction of Hebrew language instruction into the curriculum of New York City public high schools and the need to certify teachers for positions. However, as late as 1945, no more than 12 full-time positions in Jewish studies existed in ten American universities. When, in 1943, Ismar Elbogen surveyed "American Jewish Scholarship," his review dealt with the work of individual scholars and made no mention of Judaic studies in universities. These circumstances led Alfred Jospe to conclude that "it was only after the end of World War II that we find a growing awareness and recognition that Jews and Judaism are legitimate subjects of academic study and inquiry."

Since that time the development of Judaic studies in American universities has been striking. By 1966, when Arnold Band of the University of California at Los Angeles completed his survey of "Jewish Studies in American Colleges and Universities" (AJYB, 1966), the number of institutions offering one or more aspects of Jewish studies had grown sevenfold. Band listed 61 full-time positions in the area of Jewish studies and estimated that approximately 40 accredited colleges and universities offered "fairly adequate training in undergraduate Judaic studies" and at least 25 others offered a "variety of courses, but no undergraduate major."

In addition, by 1966, the number of universities offering graduate programs had grown from six to more than 20. Important new concentrations of Judaic teaching and scholarships had emerged in such disparate institutions as Brandeis University – a Jewish sponsored non-sectarian private university – and the state-sponsored University of California in both its Los Angeles and Berkeley branches. The Jewish cultural heritage was on the agenda of the American academic enterprise.

Band's survey also revealed the growing maturity of American Jewry in providing its own intellectual leadership. Over one half of the faculty members engaged in the Jewish programs were either born in the United States or arrived as children. Even more significant, over 80% had received their graduate training in American universities. In almost every case, a period of study at a university in Israel provided essential supplementation; frequently the early doctoral graduates in Judaica relied heavily on training outside the university framework, especially in seminaries and yeshivot. Whatever the obstacles and lacunae, it was clear that, by 1966, the dependence of American Jewry on scholars imported from abroad was waning. A generation of American-born and trained scholars and teachers was emerging; resources of American universities to provide Judaic training were growing.

This development cannot be described as a "movement" since it was neither anticipated nor actively fostered by the organized Jewish community or by any other group. Indeed, there are indications that American Jewry was hardly aware of the growth taking place in its midst. In *The American Jew: A Reappraisal* (1964), edited by Oscar Janowsky, only one brief paragraph in 568 pages is devoted to Jewish studies in universities. The initial expansion was generated by changing circumstances within both the Jewish and the academic communities and not by deliberate design.

Since 1966 proliferation of Jewish studies throughout the North American continent has accelerated and shows no signs of abating, despite the general retrenchment currently taking place in American universities. Growth has continued not only in the number of institutions offering courses, but in the number and variety of subjects taught and in the size of Judaic faculties within universities, in the quality of the programs and in the number of students enrolled and majoring on both the undergraduate and graduate levels. Important new concentrations have developed in such state universities as Ohio State and the State University of New York, in prestigious private institutions such as Brown University, and in a number of Canadian universities. More recently, the major rabbinical seminaries have placed new emphasis on Ph.D. programs designed to train scholars to teach in secular universities.

The growth of the field was rapid. A 1973 survey by the Institute for Jewish Policy Analysis estimated that "over 350 institutions now offer one or more courses in Judaica" and observed that "Jewish studies programs have opened new teaching and research opportunities to Jewish scholars, increased the prestige and influence of professors in these areas, and encouraged graduate students to enter this field of study." By 2005, over 70 institutions had Jewish studies degree-granting programs of one kind or another.

The establishment the *Association for Jewish Studies (AJS) in 1969 to provide for regular communication among scholars teaching in the field was another indication of the growth of Jewish studies in the last third of the 20th century. By 2005, this organization had over 1,500 members, most of whom were faculty teaching some area of Jewish studies in an institution of higher education. 20% of the membership consisted of graduate students, representing the future of Jewish studies in North America. In recent decades, several regional organizations, including the Midwestern Jewish Studies Association and the Western Jewish Studies Association have also been formed. These groups hold annual meetings. The Women's Caucus of the AJS, which was founded in 1986, meets in the context of the AJS annual conference.

Many factors contributed to the development of Jewish studies in North America. Perhaps the most basic was the recognition which emerged only after the creation of the State of Israel: that the Jewish people was a living and developing nation whose rich past was related to a vital present and whose historic and continuing experience was worthy of study. In addition, the dynamic development of Jewish culture within Israel society and of Jewish scholarship within Israel universities, provided a focal point for serious study, a body of literature, and a cadre of distinguished teachers who provided a significant impetus for the awakening of both the Jewish and the university worlds to the dimensions of Jewish culture and history and the quality of serious Jewish scholarship. Since American universities in the post-World War II period were broadening their areas of study to accommodate a variety of cultures and experiences outside the framework of the classical humanistic curriculum, Jewish studies were readily accepted and frequently encouraged in departments of religion, of modern and ancient Near Eastern studies, of history, and of comparative literature. In a few instances – most notably Brandeis University, Rutgers, and the University of Wisconsin – separate departments of Jewish studies were established. In a variety of settings, the American university was open to the entry of the diverse elements of Jewish studies.

At the same time, the growing self-consciousness and self-confidence of American Jewry in recent decades created a demand for Jewish studies and a desire to take advantage of the opportunities for learning. American Jewry's awareness of itself was nourished by the reaction to the Holocaust and the rise of the State of Israel. The trauma of the Six Day War in 1967 and the Yom Kippur War of 1973 provided added incentives for study of the Jewish past and present, which frequently accompanied a desire for renewal of identity and identification. The unprecedented number of Jewish "baby boomers" who descended on college campuses beginning in the mid-1960s obviously played a role as well, as did the growing number of Jews in the professoriate at this time.

Perhaps the final factor which contributed to the rapid growth of Jewish studies in the 1960s and 1970s was the assertiveness of other ethnic groups on the American campus, including African-Americans and Latinos, in advocating for academic courses that explored and analyzed their particular historical and cultural experiences. Another parallel was the growing interest in women's and gender studies. Large numbers of Jewish students and faculty rediscovered the richness of their own tradition. They requested, and occasionally even demanded, that universities provide them with the same opportunity to study this tradition with the high level of critical examination and seriousness of purpose as were applied to all other academic pursuits. For the first time in American Jewish history large numbers of mature Jewish students outside of the yeshivot and theological seminaries had the opportunity to devote themselves to serious Jewish study.

The actual framework for such studies varied from institution to institution. In a few instances Jewish studies were taught in a separate department (as at Brandeis). More often they were concentrated in departments of history (as at Columbia), religion (as at Brown), Near Eastern Languages (as at Harvard), Comparative Literature (as at UCLA), Oriental Studies (as at University of Pennsylvania), or Philosophy (as at Washington University). Increasingly, interdepartmental concentrations in Jewish studies were organized, with various faculty members holding appointments in departments according to their scholarly disciplines (as in Ohio State University). In recent years, the free-standing Jewish or Judaic studies program that awards undergraduate degrees in Jewish/Judaic studies, and offers courses taught by faculty with appointments in regular academic departments, has become more common. Often donor endowments support the hiring of a faculty director and the operations of the program itself. This variety of organizational and structural approaches in the teaching of Jewish studies, depending on individual circumstance in any given institution, has remained a constant into the 21st century.

A significant number of Jewish studies programs requires Hebrew language and literature study for undergraduate majors and for graduate students. In some cases students must study Classical Hebrew language and texts; in others Modern Hebrew is required. The result has been a proliferation of Hebrew language study across North American institutions of higher education to a degree that would certainly not have occurred without the linkage of Hebrew to Jewish Studies. Several Jewish studies programs also offer instruction in Yiddish language and literature.

Prior to the 1970s most scholars and teachers of Jewish studies in North America were men, many of whom had moved into the academic world after completing rabbinic training. A noteworthy change in Jewish studies in North America in the decades between 1975 and 2005 is the number of women who have entered the field and climbed the academic ladder from graduate students to professors in every area of Jewish studies scholarship. Women have also assumed leadership roles in Jewish studies professional organizations, including the Association for Jewish Studies. This phenomenon reflects a larger sea change in the academic world in general as a result of the feminist movement of the last third of the 20th century and the changes it has wrought in expanding women's personal and professional opportunities. Concurrently, Jewish Studies teaching and scholarship has become more aware of gender as an intellectual category of analysis and of the necessity to consider the constructions and consequences of gender in explicating the Jewish experience. While some Jewish studies courses integrate female experience into a general curriculum, other courses have been created that focus entirely on women in specific historical eras, bodies of literature, or from particular disciplinary perspectives.

The teaching of Jewish subject matter in secular universities cannot be considered as "Jewish education" in the sense of religious education. As Alfred Jospe commented, "the purpose of Jewish studies in the university is the study of Judaism and the Jewish people and not the Judaization of young Jews, the stimulation of their Jewish commitment, or the strengthening of their Jewish identification." At the same time, Jewish studies programs have provided significant new "Jewish presences" on college campuses, as well as new resources for the entire university community that offer familiarity with Jewish culture and history and a new respect for the quality of Jewish creativity in the past and in the present.

[Leon A. Jick / Judith R. Baskin (2nd ed.)]

JEWISH STUDIES IN NORTH AMERICAN HIGHER EDUCATION: THE VANTAGE POINT FROM 2006. From the 1970s, Jewish/Judaic studies continued to thrive and expand in a variety of North American institutions of higher learning, in significant part though the philanthropy of individual donors. The growth of personal wealth in this era, together with increasing communal concern about strengthening of Jewish identity at a formative period in young people's lives, have led to a proliferation of endowed faculty positions, programs, and Jewish/Judaic studies centers, both at public and private research universities offering graduate degrees and at institutions with a primary focus on undergraduate education. Information from Jewish population surveys which shows that as many as 40% of Jewish students in North America take at least one course in Jewish Studies during their undergraduate careers has added further impetus to such initiatives. Although, definitive data as to the number of such positions, programs, and departments were not available in 2006, an unofficial directory of directors and chairs of Jewish studies entities of one kind or another listed over 70 individuals. Although not all positions in Jewish Studies in North America are dependent on this kind of outside funding, the investment of philanthropic resources to fund Jewish Studies has been a wonderful boon for colleges and universities and for the field itself. However, such dependence on donor generosity has also raised challenging issues of academic objectivity versus parochial communal agendas; questions of undue dependence on donors' particular interests and propensities; and concern over the increasing amounts of faculty time and effort devoted to fundraising activities. Moreover, additional donor-driven funding for lecture series, visiting scholars, student scholarships, etc., has often placed Jewish studies programs in a privileged position in relation to other older and larger academic departments as well as to newer, struggling academic entities. In the best circumstances, Jewish studies directors have found ways to create intellectual and interdisciplinary partnerships with less well-endowed academic departments and programs in endeavors of mutual interest.

While many donors to Jewish studies programs at colleges and universities with significant Jewish student bodies have expressed particularistic concerns about educating Jewish students as a way to strengthen Jewish identity formation, others have chosen to endow Jewish Studies positions and programs at institutions, both public and private, that do not have a critical mass of Jewish students, including colleges and universities in parts of North America with small Jewish populations and at institutions linked to the Roman Catholic Church and various Protestant denominations. These donors, some of whom were also interested in supporting local institutions, argued that Jewish studies should be integrated into the academic curriculum of all institutions of higher education; they hoped, as well, that exposing diverse groups of students to academic study of aspects of the Jewish experience would increase understanding and tolerance in the larger North American society.

Changing demographics in the early 21st century make clear that the absolute numbers of Jews in the larger population, including student populations, is in steady decline. The future of Jewish Studies in North American universities will depend on the field's appeal to a larger constituency. Most Jewish Studies programs design their curriculum and courses to appeal to the broadest possible student audiences, in part by ensuring that their courses fulfill university "general education" and "diversity" requirements. Already in 2006, more and more students who take courses and choose undergraduate majors and graduate training in Jewish Studies are non-Jews who come to the field out of intellectual curiosity, not out of interest in their own religious or ethnic heritage. Similarly, increasing numbers of scholars and faculty members who work in Jewish Studies are not themselves Jews. This phenomenon is indicative of the increasing integration of Jewish Studies as the field has moved beyond being an academic venture "about Jews, by Jews, and for Jews." While this "normalization" of Jewish studies within the university is desirable from a scholarly point of view, it also points to potential future conflict between academic Jewish studies programs and the concerns of the Jewish communities and donors who have thus far been absolutely essential to the presence and success of Jewish Studies at many North American institutions. Communal funding of positions in Israel studies is one area which has proved particularly contentious when scholars who are supported by endowment funds voice views that do not accord with some local opinions about Israeli history, society, and politics.

Jewish studies programs and departments in North America have consistently encouraged their students, undergraduate and graduate, to study in Israel. Many programs have also welcomed academic colleagues from Israel into their midst as speakers and visiting scholars. These ties have been strengthened for many by participation in the World Union of Jewish Studies (centered at The Hebrew University), which holds conferences every four years in Jerusalem. Recent decades have also seen the growth of Jewish studies organizations in Western Europe and in Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union. Among these are the European Association for Jewish Studies (EAJS), founded in 1981, with offices in Oxford, UK, which encourages and supports the teaching of Jewish studies at the university level in Europe and furthers an understanding of the importance of Jewish culture and civilization and of the impact it has had on European cultures over many centuries. In Russia, SEFER, housed at the Moscow Center for University Teaching of Jewish Civilization, is an umbrella organization for university Jewish Studies in the CIS (Commonwealth of Independent States) and the Baltic States. It seems likely that, in the future, Jewish studies professionals from North America will play a growing role in an increasingly vibrant and active international community of students and scholars.

[Judith R. Baskin (2nd ed.)]

In the U.S.S.R., 1950–1990

In the year 1950 Jewish studies in the Soviet Union reached a low point. Research under independent Jewish auspices had ended by fiat in 1930. Jewish departments at Soviet academic institutions, which published their studies in Yiddish – the official Jewish language – had been in decline even before World War II; the Office for the Study of Soviet Jewish Literature, Language, and Folklore at the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences was the only such body which still existed after the war, but it was closed early in 1949 as part of the secret Stalin purge of Jewish culture. Its head, the Yiddish linguist Elijah Spivak, perished in prison in 1950. It has been surmised that the closing at the time of the Chair of Assyriology-Hebrew Studies at Leningrad University was politically motivated. The low esteem in which the Jews and their culture were then held by the Soviet establishment can be seen in the short and prejudiced entry "Evrei" ("Jews") in the second edition of the *Bol'shaia sovetskaia entsiklopediia* ("Large Soviet Encyclopedia"), which went to press in 1952.

After Stalin's death in 1953 there were slow but perceptible changes. Translations from the Yiddish began to appear, followed in 1959 by the resumption of Yiddish publishing and from 1961 by the appearance of the still existing Yiddish journal *Sovetish Heymland*. But these concessions did not include a revival of the scholarship under academic auspices which had been a part of Soviet minority policy between the wars. For a considerable time the only outlet was the traditional one of Jewish studies under the broader aegis of Near Eastern studies. These themselves were then being reorganized, with the "Institut vostokovedeniia" (Institute of Oriental Studies) temporarily renamed "Institut narodov Azii" (Institute of the Peoples of Asia). The Institute of Oriental Studies, being attached to the Soviet Academy of Sciences, was in Moscow but maintained a Leningrad (St. Petersburg) branch, at which Semitics were more actively cultivated. At the same time Leningrad University remained the instructional center for this branch of learning, continuing a tradition dating back to czarist times.

Around 1951 the "Russian Palestine Society," moribund since 1930, was revived as an affiliate of the Soviet Academy of Sciences. In czarist days this organization, known then as the "Pravoslavic Palestine Society," had been more missionary than scholarly. Its reappearance, and the revival in 1954 of its publication *Palestinskii sbornik* ("Palestine collection"), raised eyebrows and was seen by some as directed against the new State of Israel. It seems more likely that it was part of the wave of Russian patriotism then encouraged by Stalin and was intended to point out the continuing Russian interest in the Near East and its emerging states – while for political reasons avoiding all mention of the State of Israel and indeed the modern Jewish settlement in Palestine. However, this taboo was not extended to ancient Israel or medieval Jewry, so that, beginning with volume 2 (1956), Jewish studies have a modest place in *Palestinskii sbornik* alongside a plethora of articles on Arabic studies, Persian studies, Egyptology, and related fields. Circumspection demanded that studies on biblical and talmudic themes avoid the words "Bible" and "Talmud" in the title of the article; thus, in an article comparing the Samaritan Pentateuch with biblical citations in the Jerusalem Talmud, the latter is called a "Palestinian oral tradition" (v. 15, 1966). The author, Isaac Vinnikov (1897–1973), a veteran Arabist, Aramist, and talmudist, had been the last incumbent of the Chair of Assyriology-Hebrew Studies at Leningrad University, and contributed regularly to *Palestinskii sbornik* until his death. His major contribution was a dictionary of Aramaic inscriptions extending over a number of issues. Vinnikov called on the Judaic scholars of the world to produce dictionaries and concordances of talmudic and targumic literature which would take into account recent research; and as a sample published his material on the letter g (v. 5, 1960).

Another talmudist who wrote in this period but did his most important work earlier was Judah Solodukho (1877–1963), whose studies of the social history of "Iraq" in the first centuries of the Christian era were actually studies of the Babylonian Talmud.

A contributor to *Palestinskii sbornik* was Joel Weinberg, or Veinberg in his Russian-language articles. Weinberg, born in 1922 in what was then independent Latvia, was a professor of ancient history at the University of Daugavpils (Dvinsk), and his interests included the biblical period. In the 1960s he published two books in Latvian on the Bible and its setting. Like many other scholars in this era of more open communication, he wrote frequently for academic journals in the West. Contributors to *Palestinskii sbornik* also included the Hebrew linguist Anatolii Gazov-Ginzberg, the Qumran (Dead Sea community) scholar Klavdiia Starkova, and the versatile Semitist Elijah Shifman. Gazov-Ginzberg (b. 1929) changed his name to Amnon Ginzay and was a translator and editor in Israel. Starkova (b. 1915) had a book on the Qumran scrolls accepted in the journal's monograph series (v. 24, 1973). She was also one of Russia's few experts on medieval Hebrew literature and had written on the poetry of Judah Halevi. Among the many writings of Shifman (1930–1990), a specialist on Phoenician civilization, was *Vetkhii Zavet i ego mira* ("The Old Testament and its World," 1987) – published at a time when the Bible had again become a legitimate part of world literature for the Soviet reader.

Palestinskii sbornik, which over the years had become more hospitable to Jewish studies, began to include reviews of recent Judaica in its book review section in the 1970s. In the 1980s, however, the journal became more overtly political and published articles on the Palestine problem which depicted Israel as the main obstacle to peace in the area.

The Soviet reorganization of Semitic and Near Eastern studies at the beginning of the 1950s left the journal *Vestnik drevnei istorii* ("Bulletin of Ancient History") untouched. Among its regular contributors was Joseph *Amusin (1910–1984), a Bible scholar whom Soviet writers and intellectuals used to consult on the subject. Amusin became the Soviet Union's leading expert on the Dead Sea scrolls after these were discovered and wrote both popular and scholarly books on the topic, including shortly before his death, *Kumranskaia obshchina* ("The Qumran Community," 1983). In 1971 a translation of the scrolls into Russian under his editorship produced its first volume.

In general, however, book-length studies on Judaic topics in the period covered by this survey were few. Some relatively early examples are: Nikita Meshcherskii's edition of the Slavonic Josephus (1958): and Mikhail Artamonov, *Istoriia khazar* ("The History of the Khazars," 1962). The latter book, by a non-specialist, was considered antisemitic by the Israeli historian Shemuel Ettinger, since Artamonov not only rejected the idea of a Khazar heritage in Russian history – an idea generally accepted – but even considered the conversion of the Khazar royal court to Judaism as a negative factor in and of itself (see Ettinger's review in *Kiryat Sefer*, v. 39, pp. 501–504).

Starkova and Meshcherskii (b. 1906, an expert on translations of old Hebrew classics into Slavic) belonged to the small group of Russians with an interest in classical Hebrew. So did Igor Diakonov (b. 1915), the elder of Soviet Near Eastern studies, whose works on the languages of the ancient East include Hebrew and who has translated biblical poetry into Russian. In this connection we also take note of an outstanding Russian Semitist from an earlier generation, Pavel Kokovtsov (1861–1942), who taught Meshcherskii, Vinnikov, and many others in the interwar period; in Hebraic studies ("gebraistika" in Russian) he is best known for his edition of the correspondence between the Spanish Jewish courtier Hasdai ibn Shaprut and the king of the Khazars (*Evereisko-khazarskaia perepiska v X veke*, 1932).

In the "First Conference on Semitic Languages" held in Tbilisi (Tiflis), Georgia, in 1964, Hebrew had a prominent place, and even modern Hebrew entered the discussions. The editor of the conference proceedings – published in 1965 as volume 2 of *Semitskie iazyki* ("Semitic Languages") – noted in the introduction that "Hebraistics were one of the most important and oldest areas of Semitology," and singled out the then new Hebrew-Russian dictionary (*Ivrit-russkii slovar'*) by Feliks (Faitl) Shapiro (1876–1961), edited by Benzion Grande (1891–1974) and published in 1963. The Iranist Michael Zand (b. 1927), subsequently a professor at The Hebrew University, dealt with Yiddish as a substratum of Hebrew, and the Semitist Meir Zislin (b. 1916) wrote on some medieval Hebrew grammars. The participants also included the leading Georgian Aramaist Konstantin Tsereteli (b. 1921), who helped make the University of Tbilisi a center of Semitic studies alongside the better known institutions in Leningrad and Moscow.

As usual the atmosphere in Georgia was freer than the one found in the north, and Hebrew was not neglected in the work being carried on in Tbilisi. In 1975, Tbilisi University published a Karaite Hebrew grammar, *Ma'or Ayin*, edited by Zislin, while under the patronage of the Georgian Academy of Sciences Nisan Babalikashvili edited a collection of local Hebrew inscriptions, largely from tombstones: *Evreiskie nadpisi v Gruzii, XVIII–XIX vv.* ("Hebrew Inscriptions in Georgia, 18th to 19th Centuries," 1971). Babalikashvili (1938–1986), the son of the rabbi of Tbilisi, unfortunately died at a young age. So did the talented young Georgian Jewish Hebraist Boris (Dov) Gaponov (1934–1972), whose translation of the Georgian national epic, Shota Rostaveli's "The Man in the Panther's Skin," was published in Israel with the collaboration of the Georgian Academy of Sciences (Oteh or ha-namer, 1969). Gaponov's first-rate translation, which made a strong impression, became the subject of a dissertation submitted in 1985 to the University of Tbilisi by a young Hebraist Manana Gotsiridze. Earlier, in 1982, Yurii Kornienko had defended his dissertation at the same university on the morphology of word formation and word change in contemporary Hebrew.

At the 1964 conference we see the use of the word "Ivrit" in Russian to designate Hebrew in place of the earlier "drevneevreiskii iazyk" ("Old Jewish language"). By the time the third edition of the Large Soviet Encyclopedia appeared in the 1970s, "Ivrit" had become the standard term for the language; the entry "Ivrit" was written by the Soviet Semitist-Hamitist Aaron Dolgoposkii (b. 1930), subsequently teaching at the University of Haifa. In this connection we note that the abovementioned Hebrew-Russian dictionary, the life work of the educational specialist Feliks Shapiro, was scheduled for publication in the 1950s but was withdrawn – whereupon the author turned to the highest party circles in an attempt to prove the work's importance for Soviet Semitology (see the Russian commemorative volume *Feliks L'vovich Shapiro*, edited in Israel by his daughter Leah Prestin, 1983). The dictionary, which finally appeared after its author's death, served Soviet academic institutions as well as the young Jews studying their ancestral tongue more or less surreptitiously.

However, the official language of Soviet Jewry remained Yiddish, and the veteran Yiddish grammarian Emanuel Falkovich (1898?–1982?), who also wrote the entry "Yiddish" for the above-mentioned encyclopedia, contributed a chapter on the language to the linguistic collection *Iazyki narodov SSSR*, v. 1 ("Languages of the People of the U.S.S.R.," 1966). Dolgopolskii and Falkovich together produced the article on Hebrew scripts ("Evreiskoe pis'mo") for the encyclopedia. Falkovich also took an active part in the efforts of the journal *Sovetish Heymland* to teach Yiddish to Soviet Jews, although his silence on the future prospects of the language in the 1966 article makes it seem likely that he was pessimistic on the subject.

This brings us to Jewish studies in Yiddish. As noted, the Soviet authorities did not revive the interwar institutional structure to which we owe a number of studies in Yiddish on Jewish history, demography, Yiddish linguistics, Yiddish literary research, and bibliography. The older generation of scholars who had carried on this work was passing on in any case, and the absence of Yiddish schools made the problem of succession insoluble. In addition, the rapid linguistic assimilation of Soviet Jewry made the audience for what was left of Yiddish-language scholarship very small.

Yet even now some work was done. A number of scholars who had been associated with the Jewish subdivisions of the Ukrainian Academy during the 1928–1949 period were released from prisons and camps in the mid-1950s. Among them was the outstanding music folklorist Moses Beregovskii (1892–1961), who was, exceptionally, able to put together a book, posthumously published as *Evreiskii narodnye pesni* ("Yiddish Folk Songs," 1962). Many of Beregovskii's writings are now available in Mark Slobin's English edition (*Old Jewish Folk Music*, 1982).

The main outlet for Yiddish-language studies was naturally the standard-bearing monthly *Sovetish Heymland*. Because of its nature as a literary journal it tended to restrict research to the history of Yiddish literature and related topics. Among the more important literary scholars was Hersh Remenik (1905–1981). Two surviving Soviet Jewish historians, Hillel Aleksandrov (1891?–1972) and Asher Margolis (1891–1976) – the former after 20 years of imprisonment for "Trotskyism" – contributed occasional articles on the borderline of history and literature. Oldtime linguists writing in the journal included Reuben Lerner (1902?–1972), Khaim Loytsker (1898–1970), Moses Maydanski (1900?–1973), and Moses Shapiro (d. 1974). Shapiro, together with the Stalin victim Elijah Spivak (mentioned above), had been working for many years on a Russian-Yiddish dictionary, which finally appeared long after their deaths (*Russko-evreiskii* (*idish*) *slovar'*, 1984).

Two other veteran scholars, the historian Israel Sosis (1878–1967?) and the demographer Jacob Kantor (1886–1964) found no outlet in Russia during this period and published occasionally in the Warsaw Yiddish newspaper *Folksshtime*, where Kantor took on the then taboo topic of Jewish participation in the Red Army. Kantor also published his last demographic study, in which he analyzed Jewish data from the 1959 census, in the Warsaw Jewish historical journal *Bleter far geshikhte* (v. 15, 1962/63, translated and annotated by the present writer in *Studies… in Honor of I. Edward Kiev*, 1971). Sosis' unpublished "History of the Jews in Russia" was said to be in the possession of *Sovetish Heymland*.

As time went on *Sovetish Heymland* became more hospitable to studies not connected with Yiddish literature. Especially noteworthy among these are the articles by Leyb Vilsker (1919–1988), for a number of years head of the Jewish Department of the Leningrad Public Library. Vilsker was *inter alia* an expert on the Samaritan language and literature, and published *Samaritianskii iazyk* ("The Samaritan Language") in 1974. His most important contributions to the Yiddish monthly were previously unpublished Hebrew texts, such as poems of the famous medieval poet Judah Halevi (*Sovetish Heymland*, 1982, no. 2). Vilsker and his wife, Gita Gluskina (b. 1922) – a Hebraist in her own right – also contributed to *Palestinskii sbornik*. Gluskina, daughter of the Leningrad rabbi Mendel Gluskin, worked on medieval Hebrew texts and is best known for her edition of the mathematical treatise *Meyasher Akov* ("Straightening the Crooked," 1983) by Abner of Burgos. Later she moved to Jerusalem.

In the period we are dealing with, the absence of formal Jewish institutions other than synagogues did not stop young Jews from searching for their roots, and this became especially marked after the Six-Day War in 1967. The growing Soviet phenomenon of "samizdat" (private, unauthorized publishing) had a Jewish counterpart, where attempts were made to provide anthologies of Jewish literature in Russian. In 1976 the physicist Benjamin Fain (b. 1930), who later emigrated to Israel, decided to conduct a sociological survey of Jewish self-identification under "samizdat" conditions. About 1,500 Soviet Jews served as his sample, and the results are now available in English in an Israeli publication (*Jewishness in the Soviet Union*, 1984). Fain also organized a cultural symposium in Moscow at the end of 1976, to which the police put a quick end.

In the 1980s growing interest in Russian Jewish history made itself felt both inside and outside "samizdat" circles. In one of the major publications of Jewish "samizdat," *Leningradskii evreiskii al'manakh* ("Leningrad Jewish almanac," 1982–1989) Michael Beizer (b. 1950) published articles on the Jews of St. Petersburg, as the old capital used to be called. These resulted in 1986 in the "samizdat" book *Evrei v Peterburge* (published in 1990 in English translation as *The Jews of St. Petersburg* after Beizer emigrated to Israel). In the 1980s the official *Sovetish Heymland* became more receptive to articles on Jewish historical topics; the editors made a concerted effort in 1986 to print young writers and rejuvenate the journal, even if it meant translating from Russian writers who knew no Yiddish. One such, and probably the most talented of the younger historians, was Mark Kupovetskii (b. 1955), who was engaged in what in the Soviet Union was called "ethnography." Kupovetskii published in *Sovetish Heymland* short but up-to-date demographic studies on the Jews of Moscow, the Ukraine, and the Baltic republics; a longer version of his article on the Jews of Moscow appeared in *Etnodispersnye gruppy v gorodakh evropeiskoi chasti SSSR*, 1987. Kupovetskii's colleague and fellow Muscovite, Igor Krupnik (b. 1951), contributed a survey of recent accomplishments in Jewish studies to the journal (1986, no. 11 – for an annotated English translation see the bibliography). The author emphasized the youth of many scholars, and the fact that they had no "firm academic tradition" to rely upon and had to prepare themselves through their own efforts. Krupnik devotes much attention to the work being done in Georgia; in the Russian Republic he notes among others the Moscow linguist Aleksandra Eikhenvald (b. 1957), who herself published an article on the formation of modern Hebrew in *Sovetish Heymland* (1986, no. 7 – strongly criticized by Vilsker in issue no. 11 of that year). A Leningrad scholar and bibliographer mentioned by Krupnik was Simon Yakerson (b. 1956), who also contributed to the journal on occasion. Yakerson made a name for himself by his descriptive catalogues of Hebrew incunabula found in Leningrad and Moscow libraries; these catalogues appeared in 1985 and 1988 after Soviet bibliography had neglected Hebraica for almost 50 years.

In 1987, and even more in 1988, the effects of "perestroika" made themselves felt in the field of Jewish culture and scholarship. The very conservative Yiddish monthly now turned course and began to explore a long taboo topic: the fate of Jewish writers and cultural activities in the "black years" of 1948–1952. For the first time survivors of Stalin camps published memoirs of those days in *Sovetish Heymland*. "Samizdat" now became private rather than underground publishing, but tolerance did not mean support, and the contrast between official and unofficial publications remained striking. Scholarship played a relatively minor part in the plethora of Jewish cultural associations which sprang up in the Soviet Union, but efforts were made, often imitating earlier models. In Moscow a Jewish Historical Society now existed; it was instrumental in convening there an unprecedented international conference on Jewish studies (December, 1989) and planned to publish the proceedings. In Leningrad there was a "Jewish People's University" in apparent imitation of the one which existed in the early Soviet regime. This institution organized expeditions to places of Jewish interest and tried to document the Jewish past in Russia while there was still time. The chairman of the Historical Society was Valerii Engel, while the People's University was led by Elijah Dvorkin – both men in their thirties.

Yet it must be said that the massive emigration of Jews from the country, which assumed the proportions of flight, worked against the cultural and scholarly revival. Thus, the continued existence of Moscow's *Evreiskii istoricheskii al'manakh* ("Jewish Historical Almanac," 1987–1988), a "samizdat" publication, became questionable because both of its editors, Aleksandr Razgon (b. 1949) and Vladimir (Velvl) Chernin (b. 1958), left for Israel. Chernin, a Yiddish poet and folklorist, also wrote for official publications and tried to bridge the gap between the two spheres.

On the more hopeful side we see that modern Jewish topics, spurned for such a long time by Soviet academic editors and university administrators, were now acceptable for articles and dissertations. This was particularly true in the field of ethnography, for example, a joint article by Kupovetskii and Krupnik on the Kurdish Jews of the U.S.S.R. appeared in *Sovetskaia etnografiia* (1988, no. 2) after being reportedly rejected some years previously. Michael Chlenov (b. 1940), who had emerged as the leader of the Vaad (Board of Deputies) of the organized Jewish communities, was himself an ethnographer. Much help was given to younger scholars by the veteran Leningrad ethnographer Natalia Yukhneva, who, although not Jewish, supported Jewish ethnographic work and was actively engaged in the battle against Soviet antisemitism. Yukhneva and others mentioned here were able to visit Israel and were in contact with Israeli academic institutions.

With the breakup of the Soviet Union, Jewish Studies at the institutional level, like Jewish communal life in general, has burgeoned, largely through the Federation of Jewish Communities of the Former Soviet Union, which operates five Jewish universities, and various foreign Jewish organizations and agencies.

[Avraham Greenbaum]

Jewish Studies in France

The academic field of Jewish studies was founded in France at the end of the 19th century with the creation of the *Société des études juives, which then began to publish – and still does – a learned periodical, **Revue des Etudes Juives*, and directed the publication of the classic works of Henrich *Gross (*Gallia Judaica*, 1897) and Theodore *Reinach.

During the 20th century the pioneering works of Bernhard *Blumenkranz on medieval Jewish History, Léon *Poliakov on antisemitism, and Georges *Vajda, Charles *Touati, and Haim *Zafrani on Jewish mysticism were the most notable achievements in the field of Jewish studies in post-World War II France and provided the basis for further development. With their guidance, a process began which allowed Jewish history and Jewish studies eventually to acquire a more respected place in the French academic world, illustrated by the enrollment of researchers on Jewish themes at the National Center for Scientific Research (CNRS) and the running of programs on Jewish themes – like the New Gallia Judaica, headed by Danièle Iancu-Agou in 2005 – and their introduction into the curriculum of the universities. Despite the upheaval of World War II and the discontinuity of organized Jewish life, some scholars managed to preserve the spirit of the past and to transmit the skills of Jewish scholarship to the younger generation. But the goals changed and new horizons were sought by the new researchers.

Reflecting the revival of Jewish cultural life in France, the field of Jewish Studies grew constantly in France during the second part of the 20th century and, more specifically, in its last decades. The traditional chairs at the Ecole Pratique des hautes études (EPHE) were challenged by the development of many courses and research centers located in universities, at the École des hautes études en sciences sociales (EHESS), and also in community institutions. With courses on Jewish civilization (history, philosophy, Jewish thought, and Jewish languages, the last mainly at Paris VIII and the Institut des Langues orientales INALCO, etc.,), Jewish Studies grew out of almost nothing to become an active area of learning in almost all the main French universities (Aix-en-Provence, Lille, Lyon, Montpellier, Strasbourg, Toulouse, etc). This evolution toward recognition of the particularity of Jewish existence during the past centuries is linked to a cultural phenomenon that brought forth on the one hand a general trend toward a quest for singular roots, and on the other hand a renewed dialogue between religions in the aftermath of World War II. It also owes much to the transformations that occurred within French Jewry: the transformation of attitudes and outlooks in the aftermath of the Six-Day War of 1967 between Israel and its Arab neighbors, and last, to the mass immigration of North African Jews to France. Simultaneously there was a significant expansion in the treatment of Jewish subjects in the press, and from the late 1980s new Jewish periodicals providing information and articles on traditional, modern, or contemporary Jewish issues (*Traces*, *Pardes*, *Cahiers du Judaïsme, La Revue d'histoire de la Shoah*, *Le Monde juif*) or scholarly research. In 1989 the *Alliance Israélite Universelle opened a renewed library which is now the largest Jewish library in Europe, and recently, the three major Jewish libraries (Medem, Séminaire rabbinique, and AIU) joined hands to create a common network. It also has created a College of Jewish Studies focusing its activities on the in-depth study of Jewish thought in its various manifestations, headed by Shmuel *Trigano. Deserving of mention is also the significant push given to the renewal of studies on World War II by the Institut d'histoire du temps présent (IHTP), which also administers a library, founded in 1980 and directed (1994–2005) by Henry Rousso, where a new generation of researchers is at work. The *Centre de la documentation juive contemporaine (CDJC) was initially founded in 1943 by Isaac *Schneersohn to gather all the documents related to the fate of the French Jews during the war, to bear witness, and to prosecute war criminals. In the early 1950s the tomb of the unknown Jewish martyr was dedicated at the CDJC, and it became the central memorial and symbol of Jewish memory and serves as the venue for Holocaust commemorations. In January 2005 the CDJC opened a new site under the auspices of the Memorial of the Shoah, which offers to the public a large research library and an active publication program. The CDJC organizes permanent and traveling exhibitions, conducts wide-ranging educational programs, and provides pedagogic courses for teachers and children. Community organizations, like Centre Rachi, and recently the Institut Elie Wiesel, also began to supply courses and diplomas to promote these studies and give students the opportunity to learn something about Judaism during their studies. A new generation of scholars born or educated in France has emerged who devote themselves to particular areas of Jewish scholarship. Generally speaking, they range from the translation and interpretation of the traditional texts of Jewish thought to the study of contemporary Jewish issues. Their work falls into a number of broad areas. The first is concerned with the Jewish world as seen from within: Jewish Thought and Philosophy, Sciences, Jewish History. A second area is Textual and Classical Studies and Archaeology. A third deals with the relations of Jews with Israel and France as well as to the Holocaust. One can also distinguish between scholars born before and after World War II. The former were obviously more involved in classical and textual studies, while the latter tended to scrutinize the past to better understand the present. This change signals the passage from learned and scholarly academic work to the much more public sphere of the media. The tendency to secularize traditional teaching and endow it with the flavor of the sciences, inherited from the *Wissenschaft des Judentums, is also less and less felt, since there is an increasing demand for purely religious studies outside rabbinical and consistory circles. It is thus difficult to determine the direction of future Jewish studies.

Among the many active Jewish scholars, we shall only mention those who have published extensively. In the field of Jewish Thought and Philosophy, Charles *Mopsik (1956–2003) was one of the outstanding figures. He worked mainly on the editing and publication of original Kabbalah manuscripts in French, which were subsequently translated into other languages, such as Hebrew, Italian, Spanish, Russian, and English: *Les grands textes de la cabale: les rites qui font Dieu* (1993); *Cabale et cabalistes* (1997); *R. Moses de Leon's Sefer Shekel ha-Kodesh*, (Heb., 1996), *Sex of the Soul: the Vicissitudes of Sexual Difference in Kabbalah* (2005).

Paul B. Fenton (1951–), a disciple of the late Georges Vajda, was the head of Jewish Studies at Paris IV (Sorbonne). He focused on Judeo-Arabic philosophy and thought: *The Treatise of the Pool of Obadyah Ben Abraham Ben Moses Maimonides* (1981); *Philosophie et exégèse dans le Jardin de la métaphore de Moïse Ibn Ezra, philosophe et poète andalou du XIII siècle* (1997); *Joseph b. Abraham Ibn Waqar: Principles of the Qabbalah* (2004); he also edited Georges Vajda's *Le commentaire sur le "Livre de la création de Dunas ben Tamim de Kairouan (Xe siecle)* (2002). He succeeded emeritus Roland Goestchel (1930–), who worked mainly on Kabbalah and medieval philosophy: *La Kabbale* (1985); *Isaac Abarbanel: conseiller des princes et philosophe* (1996).

Dominique Bourel (1951–), a researcher at the CNRS, was the director of the Centre de la recherche française à Jérusalem (CRFJ) between 1994 and 2004. Working on German Jewish philosophers, he published *Moses Mendelssohn, la naissance du judaïsme moderne* (2004) and edited many books, such *Max Nordau: critique de la dégénérescence, médiateur franco-allemand, père fondateur du sionisme* (1996), with Delphine Bechtel (1958–), an associate professor at Paris IV, who focused on German Jewish literature and published *La renaissance culturelle juive en Europe centrale et orientale, 1897–1930* (2002). Bourel translated Martin *Buber's letters in *Lettres choisies de Martin Buber, 1899–1965* (2004) with Florence Heymann (1948–), a researcher at the CFRJ who wrote *Le crépuscule des lieux, identités juives de Czernowitz* (2003) and had previously published *L'historiographie israélienne aujourd'hui* (1998) with Michel Abitbol.

Shmuel Trigano, born in Algeria (1948–), a sociologist and philosopher, is a professor at Paris X. A prolific writer, he published, among many other books, *Le récit de la disparue: essai sur l'identité juive* (1977); the five-volume *La Société juive à travers l'histoire* (1992); and *Les frontières d'Auschwitz: les ravages du devoir de mémoire* (2005).

On the history of science and philosophy, Gad Freudenthal (1944–), also from the CNRS, published *Science in the Medieval Hebrew and Arabic Traditions* (2005). He edited *Studies on Gersonides: A Fourteenth-Century Jewish Philosopher-Scientist* (1992); and with Samuel Kottek and P.B. Fenton, published *Mélanges d'histoire de la médecine hébraïque* (2003).

In the field of Jewish history, Gérard *Nahon (1931–), emeritus professor at the EPHE, wrote both on medieval France and Sephardi history. He headed the Nouvelle Gallia Judaica from 1981 to 1992, directed the *Revue des Études Juives* (1972–96), and was president of the Société des Études juives. Among his books are *Inscriptions hébraïques et juives de France médiévale* (1986); *Menasseh Ben Israël, The Hope of Israel,* published with Henry Mechoulan (1987; Fr. 1979); *Métropoles et périphéries séfarades d'Occident* (1994); *Juifs et judaïsme à Bordeaux* (2003).

Gilbert Dahan (1943–) a researcher at the CNRS and professor at the EPHE, continued and deepened the work of Blumenkranz on medieval France: *Les intellectuels chrétiens et les juifs au Moyen Age*, (1990); *The Christian Polemic against the Jews in the Middle Ages* (1998, Fr. 1991), and edited *Les Juifs au regard de l'histoire: mélanges en l'honneur de Bernhard Blumenkranz* (1985).

Danièle Iancu-Agou (1945–), a researcher at the CNRS in Montpellier, also published on France: *Les Juifs en Provence (1475–1501), De l'insertion à l'expulsion* (1981); *Les juifs du Midi: une histoire millénaire* (1995); *Juifs et néophytes en Provence: l'exemple d'Aix à travers le destin de Régine Abram de Draguignan* (2000).

Simon Schwarzfuchs (1927–), professor emeritus at Bar-Ilan University, who settled in Israel, published among other works *Napoleon, the Jews and the Sanhedrin* (1979); *A Concise History of the Rabbinate* (1993); and *A History of the Jews in Medieval France* (2001).

On other themes, Jean Baumgarten (1950–) a researcher at the CNRS, participated in the creation and publication of the main Jewish French periodicals and engaged in the study of Yiddish literature: *Introduction to Old Yiddish Literature*, (2005; Fr. 1993); *Récits hagiographiques juifs* (2001); *La Naissance du Hassidisme. Mystique, rituel et société* (2006).

Sylvie Anne Goldberg (1953–), at the EHESS, works on the cultural history of traditional Judaism. She published *Crossing the Jabbok, Illness and Death in Ashkenazi Judaism in Sixteenth through Nineteenth Century Prague* (1996; Fr. 1989) and two volumes on the Jewish uses of time: *La Clepsydre. Essai sur la pluralité des temps dans le Judaïsme* (2000); *La Clepsydre II, Temps de Jérusalem, temps de Babylone* (2004).

Maurice Kriegel (1949–) headed the Centre d'études juives at the EHESS and was editor of a series on Judaism. He published *Les Juifs à la fin du Moyen âge, dans l'Europe méditerranéenne* (1979).

Daniel Tollet (1945–), at the Paris IV Sorbonne, focused on the history of the Jews in Poland, and edited a series on Jewish Studies. He published *Histoire des juifs en Pologne: du XVIe siecle à nos jours* (1992); *Accuser pour convertir: du bon usage de l'accusation de crime rituel dans la Pologne catholique* (2000); and *Marchands et hommes d'affaires juifs dans la Pologne des Was*a (1588–1668) (2001).

In the field of textual studies, Judith Olszowy-Schlanger (1967–), born in Poland and trained in England, was a professor of codicology and paleography at the EPHE. She published *Karaite Marriage Documents from the Cairo Geniza. Legal Tradition and Community Life in Mediaeval Egypt and Palestine* (1998); *Les manuscrits hébreux dans l'Angleterre médievale: étude historique et paléographique* (2003); and with Geoffrey Khan and María Ángeles Gallego, *Abu al-Faraj Harun ibn al-Faraj, The Karaite Tradition of Hebrew Grammatical Thought in its Classical Form, a Critical Edition and Translation* (2003). She succeeded professor emeritus Colette Sirat (1934–), who moved to Israel after pioneering the field in France. Sirat published, among other books, *Les papyrus en caractères Hébraïques trouvés en Égypte* (1985); *Hebrew Manuscripts of the Middle Ages* (2002; Fr. 1994); and *A History of Jewish Philosophy in the Middle Ages*, 1993 (French 1983).

Classical studies are represented by Mireille Hadas-Lebel (1940–), former professor at INALCO, now at Paris IV Sorbonne. She published several books on Hebrew language and later focused on Jewish Greek and Latin authors: *Philon d'Alexandrie: un penseur en diaspora* (2003); *Flavius Josephus: Eyewitness to Rome's First-Century Conquest of Judea* (1993; Fr. 1989); and *Jerusalem against Rome* (2005; Fr. 1990).

Archaeology and Qumran studies are also well represented by André *Caquot (1923–2004), who taught at the Collège de France: *Ugarit-Forschungen, 35* (2003–4): *Festschrift André Caquot*, edited by Manfried Dietrich and Oswald Loretz. Caquot published with René Labat *Les Religions du Proche-Orient asiatique: textes babyloniens, ougaritiques, hittites* (1970) and, with Maurice Sznycer, *Ugaritic Religion* (1980; Fr. 1974).

André Lemaire, (1942–), archaeologist and a professor at the EPHE, whose works deals with Aramean and Hebrew epigraphy, published *Les écoles et la formation de la Bible dans l'ancien Israël* (1981) and *Naissance du monothéisme: point de vue d'un historien* (2003)

Joseph Mélèze-Modrzejewski (1930–), born in Poland, was a professor at Paris I and a scholar in Greek and Egyptian papyri, focusing his research on ancient legal history: *The Jews of Egypt: from Rameses II to Emperor Hadrian* (1995; Fr. 1991); *Droit impérial et traditions locales dans l'Égypte romaine* (1990).

On contemporary France, Pierre Birnbaum (1940–), professor of political science and sociology at the University of Paris I (Sorbonne), director of *Les cahiers du judaïsme*, opened a new vista on the relationship between Jews and the French Republic. He is the author of numerous books, several of which have been translated into English: *Anti-Semitism in France: a Political History from Leon Blum to the Present* (1992; Fr. 1988); *The Jews of the Republic: A Political History of State Jews in France from Gambetta to Vichy* (1996; Fr. 1992); and *The Anti-Semitic Moment: A Tour of France in 1898* (2003; Fr. 1998).

On the history of World War II France, Anne Grynberg (1951–), who was active in the AIU and editor of *Les cahiers du judaisme*, wrote *Les camps de la honte: les internés juifs des camps français, 1939–1944* (1991). And, although living in Israel, Renée Poznanski (1948–) contributed as well with her *Jews in France during World War II* (2001; Fr. 1994).

The field of Holocaust studies developed relatively late in France, initiated with a literary approach by Rachel *Ertel (1939–), professor at Paris VII, who wrote *Le shtetl, la bourgade juive de Pologne* (1982); *Dans la langue de personne* (1993); and *Brasier de mots* (2003).

Annette *Wieviorka (1948–), a researcher at the CNRS, began with the problematics of remembrance, publishing with Itzhok Niborski (b. 1947 in Buenos Aires and a scholar in Yiddish) *Les Livres du souvenir*: *mémoriaux juifs de Pologne* (1983). Later she wrote *Déportation et génocide, Entre la mémoire et l'oubli* (1992), *The Era of the Witness* (2006; Fr. 1998), and *Auschwitz, 60 ans après*, (2005).

On Israel, Alain Dieckhoff (1958–) published *Les espaces d'Israël: essai sur la stratégie territoriale israélienne* (1987) and *The Invention of a Nation: Zionist Thought and the Making of Modern Israel* (2003; Fr. 1993).

Esther Benbassa (1950–) and Jean-Christophe Attias (1958–), professors at the EPHE; both moved from history to more polemical essays on Jewishness and the State of Israel, writing together: *Israel, the Impossible Land* (2003; Fr. 1998) and *Jews and Their Future: A Conversation on Judaism and Jewish Identities* (2004; Fr. 2001). Previously Benbassa had published, among other books, *The Jews of the Balkans: The Judeo-Spanish community, 15th to 20th centuries*, with Aron Rodrigue (1995; Fr. 1993); and *The Jews of France. A History from Antiquity to the Present* (1999; Fr. 1997). Attias published works on Karaism: *Abraham Aboulafia, L'Épître des sept voies* (1985); *Le Commentaire biblique. Mordekhai Komtino ou l'herméneutique du dialogue* (1991); and *Isaac Abravanel, la mémoire et l'espérance* (1992).

[Sylvie Anne Goldberg (2nd ed.)]

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tives on Jewish Studies (1994); Z. Garber (ed.), *Academic Approaches to Teaching Jewish Studies* (2000); P. Ritterband and H.S. Wechsler, *Jewish Learning in American Universities: The First Century* (1994).

JEWISH SUCCESSOR ORGANIZATIONS in Germany, organizations for tracing and recovering heirless Jewish property of those Jews who were victims of the Nazis.

Jewish Restitution Successor Organization (JRSO)

The Americans were foremost in setting up a framework, and the first Jewish body for claims in the American Zone, the Jewish Restitution Successor Organization (JRSO), was established in 1948 with offices in Nuremberg. In 1950 a similar body, the Jewish Trust Corporation (JTC), was established in the former British Zone (northwest Germany) with the approval of the British government. Later a separate branch was established in the French Zone. A joint office was created by them for the three sectors of West Berlin.

Where the former Jewish property owner within the American Zone had died without an heir, or where no claim was made, the JRSO was empowered to file claims and apply the proceeds to the relief of needy refugees anywhere in the world. The JRSO also claimed restitution of Jewish communal property. The proceeds served primarily the religious and cultural needs of the surviving communities in West Germany and were then handed over to the general refugee funds. Where an individual claimant subsequently appeared too late to lodge his own claim application, the JRSO, as well as the JTC, adopted an equity procedure for settlement up until Dec. 31, 1958. The American organization recovered by the end of 1967 nearly 200,000,000 DM ($50,000,000) in addition to the immovable property restored to the communities, and the operation was not yet completed. The amount recovered includes the value of property in West Berlin. The overwhelming part of the fund was obtained by a global settlement made with the authorities of the German Laender and of West Berlin, in the areas in which the property was situated or had been confiscated. The authorities were asked to pay a lump sum and, in return, were subrogated to the remainder of the unsettled claims of the organization against German individuals who had acquired the immovable property. The authorities could then make their settlement with the German owner.

[Norman Bentwich]

Jewish Trust Corporation (JTC).

The primary task of the JTC was to locate within an 18-month time limit property that remained unclaimed after June 30, 1950, the deadline established by the Restitution Law for the British Zone for claims by the original owners or their heirs. The declaration of former Jewish property by those who had acquired it under the Nazi regime proved unreliable and incomplete, so that 70% of JTC's claims for landed property resulted from its own search activities. Not a single item of former communal and organizational property remained undiscovered, and in only a very few cases did former individual property come belatedly to the notice of the JTC. The JTC enforced proceedings before restitution courts for the recovery *in natura* of property claimed by it, or arrived at cash settlements with those who had acquired it under the Nazi regime. Certain claims (those resulting from mass confiscatory measures of the Third Reich) were settled in bulk with the Federal German Republic and other claims (damage to former Jewish communal organizational property) with the Laender, or with Hamburg and Berlin. By the end of 1967, the JTC had recovered a total of 169,500,000 DM (approx. $42,375,000). The Corporation by that time almost reached the end of its operations, but it was expected that about four million DM (approx. U.S. $1,100,000) might still accrue to its funds. The major recipients of JTC funds were the Jewish Agency for Israel, for Youth Aliyah work; the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee for *Malben work; the Central British Fund for assistance to Nazi victims in the U.K.; the Leo Baeck Charitable Trust, for assistance to Nazi victims in various countries; equity claimants; Jewish communities in Germany and their organizations; organizations for the building of synagogues and maintenance of yeshivot in Israel; and the *Hebrew University of Jerusalem.

Branche française de la Jewish Trust Corporation for Germany

In the French Zone of occupation the right to heirless and unclaimed Jewish property was originally vested by the French authorities in the Laender governments, and the proceeds were used for general indemnification purposes. In September 1951 the rights of the Laender were abrogated. In March 1952 the French Haut Commissaire for Germany appointed a specially created department of JTC, the so-called Branche Française, as the Jewish successor organization for the French Zone. The branch was fully autonomous. It had its seat in Paris and was directed by its own Conseil d'Administration. The operational office was in Mainz. The claiming period accorded to the branch ended on April 30, 1953, and the branch was limited to claims on such property as had not already been adjudicated with the Laender governments. The total amount recovered by the end of 1967 was 27,550,000 DM (approx. $6,888,000).

After the 1960s the role of the Jewish Successor Organizations diminished. All activities ended in the 1970s.

[Charles I. Kapralik]

JEWISH TEACHERS' SEMINARY AND PEOPLE'S UNIVERSITY, the only Yiddish teachers' training college and school for advanced Yiddish studies in North America. It was founded in 1918 under the auspices of the Labor Zionist movement by Joel *Entin and Judah *Even Shemuel (Kaufman), who headed it during its formative years and provided opportunities for adult education in both secular and Jewish studies on the model of the European "Folks-Universitet." In 1935 it was incorporated by an act of legislature of the State of New York with the right to grant degrees. A Jewish Music Division was inaugurated in 1964 and in 1965 it merged with the *Herzliah Hebrew Teachers' Institute. It acquired new premises in 1970 and had a library of 40,000 volumes, in Yiddish and Hebrew.

The Seminary provided teachers for all the groups in the Yiddish school movement, except for the Communists. Its program emphasized "the historic and religious values and institutions, the cultural heritage of Yiddish and Hebrew … the national renaissance in the Land of Israel, the ideas of the Jewish labor movement, and the American democratic way of life." Its graduate program offers study and research in Yiddish Language and Literature, Hebrew Language and Literature, and Jewish Social Studies (the last embracing Education, History, Philosophy, and Sociology). The institute was governed by an independent board of trustees which includes representatives of the Labor Zionist Movement, the Workmen's Circle, and the Zionist Organization of America. The Seminary published a scholarly Yiddish-English quarterly *Kultur un Leben* in the 1940s.

With American Jewish education evolving along religious denominational lines in the post-World War II period, and with the Yiddish secular movement failing to rally behind its own institute of higher learning, the Seminary could not keep pace with developments in the Jewish community. A similar situation in the Hebraist Herzliah Hebrew Teachers' Institute was the cause of their merger. In spite of the centrality of Yiddish in the Seminary as against the formerly exclusive emphasis upon Hebrew in the Herzliah curriculum, the common ideological commitment to modern Jewish education within a national-cultural frame of reference allowed for parallel continuation of each program in accordance with differing linguistic commitments. The merger of the two hitherto weakened institutions prolonged the life of both for a time but was ultimately unsuccessful, and the school closed.

[Gershon Winer]

JEWISH TELEGRAPHIC AGENCY (JTA), bureau for the gathering and distribution of Jewish news. Established by Jacob *Landau in the Hague in 1914 as the Jewish Correspondence Bureau, the Jewish Telegraphic Agency was reestablished in London by Landau in collaboration with Meir *Grossman in 1919. In 1922 its headquarters was moved to New York. Under a 1950 reorganization, Landau divested himself of his stock and control passed nominally to an independent board of directors although the operating deficit on operations was being met by the *Jewish Agency. From 1960 the stock was vested in the American Jewish News Foundation. The debts due to the Jewish Agency were canceled, and the JTA became eligible to receive subventions from Jewish Welfare Funds which were essential to its survival, since less than one-third of its income came from subscriptions to its publications and the sale of its services to the press. Apart from its wire services, the JTA has published the *Jewish Daily Bulletin* from 1924. In 1962 it began a weekly bulletin, *Community News*. Boris Smolar was editor-in-chief from 1924 to 1968. Subsequently it continued to operate as a global news agency covering Jewish affairs around the world with correspondents in more than 30 cities.

WEBSITE: jta.org.

JEWISH THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY (JTS). JTS is the primary educational and religious center of *Conservative Judaism and a leading institution for the academic study of Judaism. With its main campus in New York City, JTS is currently comprised of a rabbinical school, a cantorial school, a graduate school of Jewish Studies, a graduate school of Jewish Education, an undergraduate school, a supplemental religious high school, and several research institutes. It houses a world-class Judaica library on campus; its museum, now called the *Jewish Museum, occupies another Manhattan site.

Inception and Early History

JTS arose from the debate within the ranks of 19th century American Jewish leaders concerning the scope of religious reform. Its founders, a diverse group of religious centrists, with both traditionalist and modernist leanings, nonetheless shared the consensus that Reform was breaking too radically with Jewish norms. Responding to the highly-publicized banquet celebrating the ordination of the first class of rabbinical students at the Reform *Hebrew Union College, featuring a variety of non-kosher foods, and to the promulgation of the Reform movement's 1885 Pittsburgh Platform, dismissing biblical and rabbinic rituals regulating diet and dress as anachronisms, moderate rabbis and scholars, principally Sabato *Morais, Henry Pereira *Mendes, Alexander *Kohut, and Cyrus *Adler, organized support for the establishment of a new and more traditional rabbinical seminary. At the same time, the new academy was intended to reflect the 19th century Historical School's conception of Judaism as a developing religion. By January 1887, the Jewish Theological Seminary Association opened in New York City, with the mandate to preserve "the knowledge and practice of historical Judaism." The new school modeled its curriculum after the *Juedisch-Theologisches Seminar, Breslau, stressing biblical, historical and philosophical subjects in addition to the traditional Ashkenazi focus on rabbinics. As a self-consciously American institution, the Seminary Association sought to acculturate its largely immigrant student body to life in their new country. Despite initiatives in Jewish educational outreach and community organizing, however, Seminary Association leaders were not successful in creating a congregational base to sustain their school. Without significant congregational support, the school struggled financially during its first fifteen years and was at the point of closing in 1902. In this first phase of its existence, the Seminary Association graduated 14 rabbis and three *hazzanim*, including Joseph H. *Hertz, who became chief rabbi of the British Empire, and Mordecai M. *Kaplan, theologian, long-time faculty member at the Jewish Theological Seminary, and founder of *Reconstructionist Judaism.

Reorganization and Growth

While revered as the first president of the Seminary, Morais, occupied with his congregational duties, had never been able to attend to the school on a full-time basis. As early as 1890, lay leaders of the Seminary began circulating the idea of approaching Solomon *Schechter, and months before Morais' death in 1897 members of the Seminary Association board offered Schechter the presidency of their school. Fluent in traditional Jewish disciplines of study and loyal to norms of ritual behavior, and yet also a leading critical-academic Rabbinics scholar and a gifted popularizer of Jewish scholarship for an English-speaking audience, Schechter exemplified the kind of religious leader the Seminary backers hoped their school would train. As Adler and the financial supporters of the Seminary Association, Louis *Marshall, Jacob *Schiff, and Judge Mayer *Sulzberger, concluded that the school needed reorganization, they invited Schechter to become the president of the faculty of the new entity, The Jewish Theological Seminary of America (JTS), completing the transition in March 1902.

Schechter saw Judaica scholarship as an instrument for strengthening Jewish life, and thus embraced the vision that JTS would provide leadership for American Jewry by training religiously observant and intellectually open-minded rabbis. To accomplish that goal, he focused on raising the level of scholarship practiced and taught within the school. Schechter engaged a faculty of young, promising academicians, including the literary scholar Israel *Davidson, the biblical scholar Israel *Friedlander, the talmudist Louis *Ginzberg, and the historian Alexander *Marx. Schechter and Marx oversaw the creation of what would ultimately become the largest Judaica library in America. Schechter transformed rabbinical training into a graduate-level course of study.

As regards undergraduate students, a 1908 New York City police report about Jewish criminality spurred Schechter to overcome earlier ambivalence on the part of the Seminary board and to extend the mission of JTS to include training teachers. This was meant to create an additional channel for providing beneficial spiritual influences to the "downtown" immigrant population. In 1909, he appointed Mordecai Kaplan as principal of the Teacher's Institute. Over time, Kaplan broadened the scope of that school's activities to include general academic undergraduate courses, and in 1931, he became the dean of the Seminary College of Jewish Studies. Under Kaplan's direction, the Teacher's Institute/Seminary College imbued JTS students with the values of cultural Zionism, Hebraism, and consciousness of Jewish community – in short, with a Kaplanian interpretation of Judaism as a religious civilization.

Schechter did not envision that JTS would become the fountainhead of a new denomination, Conservative Judaism, but rather that it would offer an Americanized and enlightened traditionalist alternative to Reform. After Schechter's death in 1915, his successor at JTS, Cyrus Adler (temporary president, 1915–24; president, 1924–40), maintained the school's ideological posture and social program, resisting calls to formulate partisan ideological platforms. Rather, he focused on the Seminary's institutional growth. During his tenure, JTS graduated 236 rabbis and 364 teachers. Working with the *Rabbinical Assembly, the successor organization to the JTS Rabbinical School alumni association, Adler began the process of professionalizing the placement of graduates in pulpits. Drawing on his experience as an administrator at the Smithsonian Institute and *Dropsie College, Adler systematized the Seminary's administrative procedures and, in 1925, amassed the core collection of its Jewish Museum. He presided over the construction of the Seminary's new campus at its current location in Manhattan. He labored to stabilize its financial condition and guided it through the difficulties of the Great Depression, while nonetheless adding to its library and hiring additional faculty members, including the Bible scholars H.L.*Ginsberg and Robert *Gordis.

The most consequential of those additions to the faculty was the hiring of Louis *Finkelstein in 1925 as a lecturer in theology. With an eye to an orderly succession, Adler promoted him steadily. By the time of Adler's final illness (1939–40), Finkelstein was the school's actual administrator and, in May 1940, became its president.

The tenure of Louis Finkelstein (1940–72), a JTS alumnus himself, represents a coming of age of the institution. By these decades, JTS was growing rapidly, and to staff its expanded programs, Finkelstein recruited administrators from the ranks of the Seminary's own graduates, notably Max *Arzt, Moshe *Davis, Simon *Greenberg, and Bernard *Mandelbaum. As part of the restructuring of administrative responsibilities, Finkelstein became chancellor, rather than president, in 1951.

While maintaining the largely traditionalist religious outlook of Schechter and Adler, Finkelstein dramatically revised the role of the Seminary. In the post-war and post-Holocaust era, JTS was to be the leader of the effort to save American Jewry from assimilation and to inculcate in society at large the values of toleration, democracy, and respect for Judaism. Among the many programs he fostered, in support of the goal of having JTS influence American Jewry and the broader American society, Finkelstein created ecumenical institutes, notably the Institute for Religious and Social Studies, and expanded JTS educational outreach to include radio and television programming. The post-war Jewish reckoning, in which JTS would help remedy the huge void in Jewish knowledge caused by the Holocaust, also figured in the reasoning behind the Seminary's opening a Cantorial School in 1952.

The expansion of the role to be played by JTS included cooperative work with the neighboring Columbia University. In 1953, the two schools opened a dual degree program for undergraduates.

Moreover, JTS moved into pre-undergraduate education. In 1945, JTS sponsored a youth leadership program, the Leaders' Training Fellowship, and three years later, it embraced the recently-opened Ramah educational summer camps. In a similar vein, in 1951, JTS opened the Prozdor, an honors-level Hebrew High School, and the Melton Research Center for Jewish Education in 1960. The Leader's Training

Fellowship initiative waned by the 1970s, but the others have flourished.

Finkelstein also presided over the geographical expansion of JTS, opening a West Coast affiliate, the *University of Judaism, in 1947, and a Seminary Center in Israel in 1962. All these activities succeeded in raising the profile of JTS dramatically.

There were tensions at JTS in the Finkelstein era. The revolutionary turbulence of the 1960s, which rocked many college campuses, also impacted on JTS. Students lobbied for greater recognition from their teachers and administrators in the conduct of seminary life and learning, and also sought to synthesize their political views with their Jewish studies. They rallied around the theologian Abraham Joshua *Heschel, who broke ranks with the apolitical profile of JTS by marching in the Civil Rights movement, working in the Soviet Jewry movement, and most controversial of all, voicing opposition to the Vietnam War.

Tension also mounted in the relationship between JTS and the Conservative Movement. In matters of religious practice, the school was frequently more traditional than the denomination as a whole, as in the maintenance of separate seating, rather than mixed seating, in the JTS synagogue. The faculty appointment of the talmudist Saul *Lieberman in 1940, and his designation as rector of JTS in 1958, decisively reconfirmed the traditionalist atmosphere at JTS for the duration of the Finkelstein administration. Finkelstein's critics, notably the leading Conservative rabbi Solomon *Goldman, criticized JTS for refusing to position itself unambiguously as a denominational school and building up the institutions of the denomination. In fact, Finkelstein's focus on affecting all of American or even world Jewry was at cross-purposes with the agenda of denominational service.

The price of engagement of a broader public affected JTS as well as the development of the Conservative Jewish denomination. During the Finkelstein era, JTS successfully sought to train a group of rabbi-scholars who were to occupy academic chairs in the expanding field of Judaic Studies. Several of the most eminent of these JTS alumni were honored at the 100th anniversary of JTS, including Robert L. Chazan, Naomi Wiener Cohen, Seymour Feldman, Jonathan Goldstein, David Weiss *Halivni, Arthur *Hertzberg, Arthur Hyman, Baruch Levine, Samuel Morell, and Jacob *Neusner. While these scholars have enriched their Judaic Studies disciplines, most of them did not work in the schools or synagogues of the Conservative Movement. Moreover, by serving other schools of higher education, they advanced a decentralization of Jewish learning that denied JTS the exclusivity that it once enjoyed.

Recent History

During the tenure of Finkelstein's successor, Gerson D. *Cohen (1972–86), the tensions between school and denomination came to a head, precipitated by the debate over the ordination of women as Conservative rabbis. The influence of the feminist movement of the 1960s and 1970s had led to the ordination of women in the Reform and Reconstructionist seminaries, and a growing number of Conservative rabbis and laity called for JTS to admit qualified women to its Rabbinical School. Although initially opposed to that change, in the course of a movement-wide study process, Cohen became an ardent proponent of women's ordination. To his traditionalist critics, he insisted that women's ordination was fully within the parameters of Conservative Judaism. As custodian of his institution, Cohen also argued that JTS risked forfeiting its leadership position within the denomination if it failed to ordain women rabbis, seeing that the Rabbinical Assembly was moving closer to admitting women candidates ordained elsewhere. In 1983, four years after the JTS faculty rejected his first attempt to revise school policy, Cohen succeeded in gaining approval for the proposed reform. In the aftermath of that decision, with some movement traditionalists abandoning the Conservative denomination, the renowned talmudist, Weiss Halivni, resigned from the JTS faculty. Weiss Halivni, whom Cohen had not appointed rector to succeed Lieberman, became the leading scholar at the rabbinical seminary of the break-away group, the Union for Traditional Judaism.

The evolution of JTS policy on women's ordination reveals that, by the end of Cohen's tenure, the school having decisively embraced its identity as a Conservative Jewish institution, it thereby abandoned its earlier hopes to provide a non-denominational unifier for traditional and moderate American Jews. Consistent with this development, JTS opened its Ratner Archives for the Study of Conservative Judaism in 1985. Cohen likewise aligned JTS more vigorously with the development of Conservative (Masorti) Judaism in Israel. Cohen involved JTS in several educational initiatives in Israel, requiring all JTS rabbinical students to live and study for a period at the school's expanded Jerusalem campus, Neve Schechter, creating Midreshet Yerushalayim, a Conservative yeshivah program there, and, in 1984, opening a Masorti rabbinical school in Israel, the Beit ha-Midrash le-Limudei ha-Yahadut.

Cohen implemented changes in JTS governance and presided over a process of curricular revision. He established a faculty senate, unifying the faculty of the Seminary's several schools and organizing them by academic departments, and revamped the rabbinic training program to take cognizance of the diminished level of Jewish knowledge and practice among entering students, as compared to students of earlier days. He consolidated the undergraduate programs of JTS, merging the Seminary College of Jewish Studies with the Teacher's Institute. This further curtailed the Teacher's Institute's autonomy, which had begun to wane with Kaplan's retirement in 1945.

Extending Finkelstein's program of reaching audiences beyond JTS, Cohen focused on influencing the study of Judaism on the secular college campus. In 1974, Cohen replaced the underperforming JTS graduate program, the Institute for Advanced Studies in the Humanities, with a non-sectarian graduate school encompassing all non-theological graduate training. Under Cohen's aegis, the JTS graduate school became the largest institution of its kind in the Diaspora, training many of the scholars filling Judaic Studies chairs in North American universities in the late 20th century.

The desire to remain in close contact with other institutions of high learning influenced the 1973 JTS decision to remain in its Morningside Heights, Manhattan, location, despite rising crime in that neighborhood. Having decided not to relocate, JTS intensified its collaborative work with the neighboring Columbia University and Union Theological Seminary. Cohen also presided over a major enhancement of the Seminary's physical campus, building a new library to replace the structure damaged in the Seminary's disastrous library fire of 1966, and dedicating the new library in 1983. The library has grown to over 340,000 volumes and houses the most complete collection of Judaica in the Western Hemisphere. Thirty years after the fire, JTS refurbished its historic library tower, part of the continuing expansion of its physical plant. These building projects have strained the school financially but enhanced its capabilities.

When Cohen resigned in 1986, for health reasons, the JTS board appointed as his successor its provost, Ismar *Schorsch (to retire in 2006). During his tenure, JTS has built upon the developments of Cohen's era, opening a graduate school of Jewish education in 1996 and strengthening the Seminary's Israel campus. It has also embarked on new initiatives: In 1991, JTS, YIVO and the Russian State University for the Humanities opened Project Judaica, a Jewish studies training program in Moscow aimed at fostering the revival of Jewish life and learning in Russia.

As JTS chancellor, Schorsch emerged as an outspoken advocate for Conservative Judaism, publishing a monograph outlining its fundamental tenets, speaking out against discrimination faced by Masorti Jews in Israel, and opening the Schechter Institute of Jewish Studies in Jerusalem. He also brought JTS into closer relationship with the Conservative movement's network of Solomon Schechter Hebrew Day Schools. Schorsch disseminated a Conservative perspective to a wide readership, addressing the public directly in his weekly Torah commentary. On certain contemporary issues affecting JTS, however, notably the debate over the acceptance of avowed homosexuals as rabbinical candidates, Schorsch's traditionalist position was challenged within the denomination. Moreover, as the leading spokesman for his denomination, Schorsch was also criticized for the declining percentage of American Jews who self-identity as Conservative.

The American Jewish community having decentralized, JTS is no longer the sole Conservative Jewish center of higher learning and rabbinic training. In 1996, the University of Judaism opened its own Ziegler School of Rabbinic Studies. A harsh reaction by the mother institution led to a formal separation of the two institutions. Nonetheless, JTS remains the most influential Conservative higher-educational institution in the world.

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[Michael Panitz (2nd ed.)]

JEWISH WAR VETERANS OF THE U.S.A. (JWV), active war veterans organization in the United States. From the beginning of Jewish life in America, there has been a strong tradition of military service; dating back to 1654, when Jewish settlers in New Amsterdam demanded the right to help stand guard at the stockade. The JWV has more than 300 branches in all parts of the country. Organized on March 15, 1896, in New York City by Jewish veterans of the American Civil War, it was first known as the Hebrew Union Veterans Organization. In 1917 it amalgamated with the Hebrew Veterans of the War with Spain, and in 1918 changed it name to Hebrew Veterans of the Wars of the Republic. In 1923 the word "Jewish" was substituted for "Hebrew." The present name was adopted in 1929. In 1954 the national headquarters moved from New York City to Washington, D.C. In its headquarters building the JWV maintains a National Shrine to the Jewish War Dead, consisting of a chapel, museum, library, record rooms, and a Hall of Heroes. The JWV maintains veterans service offices in 14 of the largest American cities. The JWV and its women's auxiliary carry on an active program on behalf of the war wounded and those who are patients in Veterans Administration hospitals. The group also participates in and organizes several Jewish as well as patriotic programs across the country. During the past 100 years JWV has stood for a strong national defense and for just recognition and compensation for veterans. JWV supports the rights of veterans in promoting American democratic principles, in defending universal Jewish causes, and in vigorously opposing bigotry, antisemitism, and terrorism – in the U.S. and abroad. The Jewish War Veterans cooperates with other veteran groups and is a visible reminder of American Jewish patriotism and of the fact that Jews have served in the armed forces and paid the ultimate price for that service.

[David Max Eichhorn / Ben Paul (2nd ed.)]

JEWISH WOMAN, THE, a quarterly journal that began as the in-house newsletter of the *National Council of Jewish Women (NCJW) in 1921. By the time it ceased publication in 1931, *The Jewish Woman* had reached out to a wide audience of American Jewish women through its articles and its advocacy of social issues and programs. To a great extent, the forward-looking agenda of NCJW during a crucial period of growth and redefinition in the 1920s can be gleaned by reading its journal.

Founding editor Estelle Sternberger of Cincinnati was a leading force behind *The Jewish Woman*'s two-pronged approach to its mission (and, by proxy, to NCJW's mission). The publication's first stated goal was to inform the public about issues and projects of importance to NCJW. Its second, and loftier, aim was to provide a platform for "the ideals and aspirations of Jewish womanhood in every field of endeavor." Subjects addressed in editorials and articles included the rise of antisemitism in America, anti-immigration legislation in Congress (which the magazine vehemently criticized), and the separation of church and state in public education.

Articles in *The Jewish Woman*, including those written by NCJW officers, sometimes demonstrated ambivalence with regard to the social role of NCJW members. In particular, a careful balance was maintained with regard to the organization's relationship to Jewish women who were recent immigrants to America. Pride in such developments as the opening of a Jewish School of Social Work, which the magazine's writers felt would offer opportunities for positive growth to immigrant women, was tempered by an oft-voiced concern that outsiders might perceive the Jewish community in America to be mostly foreign-born "aliens." This occasional discomfort reflected debates raging in the U.S. Congress and the public square over the increasingly restrictive quotas placed on immigration in 1921 and 1924. Journal articles that lauded pacifism, meanwhile, were indicative of a popular antiwar sentiment following U.S. involvement in World War I.

In its later years, *The Jewish Woman* embodied something of a paradox: while increasing coverage of general issues in order to appeal to women outside NCJW, the magazine showed signs of losing its audience even within its sponsoring organization. The number of articles in each issue was pared down, and attempts to institute a subscription price failed. After its October 1931 issue, the journal ceased publication. In succeeding decades, NCJW's mission and activities were represented by other magazines; first, the *Council Woman* in the 1940s and 1950s, and then the *Council Journal.*

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[Lauren B. Strauss (2nd ed.)]

JEWISH WORLD, English Jewish weekly newspaper published in London from 1873 to 1934. It was founded by George Lewis Lyon, a financial journalist (1828–1904), and its first editor was Myer Davis (1830–1912). Among other editors were S.L. *Bensusan, Jacob de *Haas, John Raphael, Lucien *Wolf, Stanley Fay, M.J. Landa, and David Spiro. For a time it published a Yiddish supplement, edited by Jacob *Hodess. In its time the *Jewish World* filled a position of some importance in Anglo-Jewish life, publishing articles by various Zionist leaders, as well as by non-Jewish precursors of Zionism such as Henry Wentworth Monk, and Holman Hunt, the painter. It was taken over in 1913 by the **Jewish *Chronicle*, with which it was merged in 1934.

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[Josef Fraenkel]

JEWNIN, ABRAHAM JONAH (1813–1848), Russian talmudist, born in Parichi, province of Minsk. Abraham settled in Grodno, where he remained until his death. Despite his premature death he achieved renown as an outstanding scholar. He wrote novellae on the *Sefer ha-Mitzvot* of Maimonides under the title *Makhshevet Moshe*, part of which appears in the Vilna 1866 edition of the *Sefer ha-Mitzvot*, and other parts in the Warsaw 1882 edition of the *Mishneh Torah*. Abraham had three sons: NATHAN, author of *Nitei Or* (1900), novellae on the Talmud, and *Binyan Yerushalayim* on the Passover *Haggadah* (1914); SAMUEL, author of *Divrei Ḥefeẓ* on the Torah (1873); and BEZALEL, who became renowned in America as a preacher.

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JEWS' COLLEGE, rabbinical seminary in London. Jews' College was founded in 1855 by the Ashkenazi chief rabbi, Nathan Marcus *Adler (but with support from the Sephardi community). It had two objectives: to train English-speaking ministers and laymen in Jewish and secular subjects; and to educate boys in a Jewish secondary school. The secondary school was closed in 1879, as middle-class pupils increasingly entered secular schools, but the college continued to train ministers, readers, and teachers for the English-speaking world. From 1883 onward its pupils normally graduated at London University. The first principal, Louis Loewe (who resigned in 1858), was succeeded by Barnett Abrahams. Continental standards of scholarship were upheld by Michael *Friedlaender (1865–1907) and especially Adolph *Buechler (1907–39). He was succeeded by Isidore *Epstein (1945–61), a former student, who developed the college's activities, including a teachers training faculty, a cantors' institute, and extension lectures. On his retirement a controversy arose over the refusal of Chief Rabbi Israel *Brodie, the college president, to confirm the appointment of its tutor, Louis *Jacobs, as principal. Eventually, H.J. *Zimmels was appointed principal. Subsequent principals were Nahum Rabinovitch (1971–83), Jonathan Sacks (1984–90), Irving Jacobs (1990–93), and Daniel Sinclair (1994–). Among those who lectured at the college were such distinguished scholars as Israel Abrahams, S.A. Hirsch, H. Hirschfeld, A. Marmorstein, Samuel Daiches, and C. Roth.

Despite the distinction attained by staff and graduates, attendance at Jews' College was never high. Between 1883 and 1967, 91 qualified as ministers with a university degree, and between 1896 and 1967, 65 obtained the rabbinical diploma (47 from the course instituted by I. Epstein and conducted by K. Kahana). Twenty-two rabbis graduated between 1971 and 1995 (15 of them since 1989). The college has not always found it easy to be both a committed seminary for Orthodox ministers and a college in the liberal academic tradition. Since 1989, the college has seen a resurgence of interest never experienced before in Anglo-Jewry. The College is an Associate Institution of the University of London. The 1995 student population of the college was 140. The college offers B.A. (Honours) degrees in Jewish Studies and an M.A. in Hebrew and Jewish Studies. Both degrees are accredited by the University of London. The college offers facilities leading to M.Phil. and Ph.D. degrees of the University of London in areas within the research interest of its staff.

In addition to the rabbinate, many of those who graduate with a university degree enter into the burgeoning educational field or serve the Social Services in Great Britain and lately also in Israel.

The college publishes a biannual magazine, *Le'ela*, which contains both scholarly articles and review of books of Judaic interest. The series of *Jews' College Publications* comprises a number of important contributions to Jewish scholarship. In 1995 the library, founded in 1860, contained 80,000 printed books, 30,000 pamphlets, and 700 manuscripts (including the Montefiore collection).

[Vivian David Lipman]

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JEWS' TEMPORARY SHELTER, charitable institution in London. In 1885 Simon Cohen, a baker, opened a refuge for East European immigrants who had been arriving in England in large numbers since 1881. It was maintained by Cohen himself and by other immigrants; the Jewish communal authorities, opposing it as encouraging immigration, succeeded in having it closed as unsanitary. Following protests, a new Poor Jews' Temporary Shelter was opened in October of the same year by communal leaders, including Samuel *Montagu and Herman Landau, O.B.E. (1849–1921), an immigrant teacher who became a prosperous stockbroker and communal leader in Jewish religious and charitable work. The Shelter, located in Leman Street, in the East End of London, arranged for immigrants to be met at the docks and provided accommodation for a maximum period of 14 days.

After some difficulties, the Shelter established a modus vivendi with the London Jewish Board of Guardians, the main charitable body of the community, which was anxious not to encourage immigrants, although it later realized that conditions in Eastern Europe made immigration inevitable. It was largely due to the Board's influence that the Shelter prohibited a long stay and did not give cash doles to immigrants. Finally, in 1900, the problem of immigrants from Romania (the *fussgayer* movement) led to a formal agreement between the two bodies. Until 1914, between 1,000 and 4,000 immigrants and transmigrants a year stayed there.

After the main Russo-Polish immigration ended with the outbreak of World War I in 1914, the Shelter continued to receive immigrants from other countries, although separate arrangements were made for some 9,000 Belgian refugees. During the war the Shelter moved temporarily to Poland Street, in the West Central district of London, but later returned to East London, first to Leman Street and then, in 1930, to Mansell Street.

It was estimated that from 1885 to 1937 the Shelter had been responsible for meeting 1,180,000 immigrants at the docks and that 126,000 had stayed at the Shelter. During the 20th century, the Shelter was associated especially with the brothers Otto M. (1875–1952) and Ernst Schiff (1881–1931). Born in Frankfurt on the Main into the famous Schiff banking family, they settled in London and became members of the Stock Exchange. They were active communal leaders, especially in religious, charitable, and educational work. Ernst Schiff became president of the London Jewish Religious Education Board and warden of the Great Synagogue. Coming under the influence of Herman Landau, the two brothers were active on behalf of refugees, first the Belgian immigrants in World War I and then Jewish refugees in general. Otto Schiff was president of the Shelter in 1922–48, then life president. Both were honored for this work, Ernst Schiff being appointed M.B.E., and Otto Schiff first O.B.E. for his work for Belgian refugees and C.B.E. for his services to German refugees.

After World War II, the Shelter continued to help immigrants, especially refugees from Hungary and from the Middle East (Aden, Egypt, and other countries), India, and Pakistan. In 1973, it moved from East London to Willesden, an area in North-West London with a considerable Jewish population.

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[Vivian David Lipman]

JEZEBEL (Heb. אִיזֶבֶל, perhaps from זבל, "the exalted one" with the prefix [*i*;] meaning "Where is the Exalted One / Prince?" (cf. Ichabod, "Where is the Divine Presence?). Another possibility is "The Prince Lives," by assimilation from *ʾš zbl > yzbl > ʾyzbl* and the addition of prothetic *aleph*; see Cogan, 420). "Prince" should be connected to an attested epithet of Baal. Jezebel's father's name, Ethbaal, would indicate devotion to Baal going back at least two generations, and presage her own Baalistic enthusiasm. Jezebel was the daughter of Ethbaal king of the Sidonians, wife of *Ahab king of Israel, and mother of *Ahaziah and *Jehoram (Joram), sons and successors of Ahab (note their Yahwistic names). Jezebel was born about the end of the first decade of the ninth century and was killed in the insurrection of Jehu in 841 B.C.E. Her marriage to Ahab, arranged evidently by Ahab himself (I Kings 16:31), sealed a mutually advantageous alliance between Israel and the Tyrian Empire. She instituted the worship of the Tyrian Baal in Israel, and for her sake Ahab built a temple to Baal in Samaria that not only served the court of the queen and the Tyrian merchants, artists, and craftsmen, but deeply influenced the aristocracy of Israel. In the stories about *Elijah, Jezebel is the prototype of the enemies of the god of Israel and his prophets. She is depicted as a zealot for the deities of her homeland, who slaughtered the prophets of YHWH (I Kings 18:4) and supported the prophets of Baal and Asherah (I Kings 18:19). Jezebel is a vigorous character with a strong will. She is also literate (I Kings 21:8). The addition in the Septuagint (to I Kings 19:2), "As you are Elijah, and I am Jezebel," emphasized her position as the true enemy of the prophet. When Naboth defied Ahab by refusing to sell his vineyard, Jezebel instigated a judicial murder (I Kings 21) of Naboth, a deed regarded with great reprobation in Israel. The story depicts Ahab as a weakling dominated by his wife. It must be observed that the account of the misappropriation of Naboth's vineyard in I Kings 21 differs from II Kings 9, and, significantly, omits a reference to judicial murder. After Jehu's murder of her son Jehoram, Jezebel adorned herself as a queen, perhaps as a gesture of defiance to Jehu, and Jehu ordered her thrown out of the window. Still he saw to it that she was buried, because she was "a king's daughter" (II Kings 9:34). Jehu's baiting of Joram by referring to Jezebel's harlotries and sorceries (II Kings 9:22) may be the rhetoric of hostility: "Your mother is a whore and a witch." It is noteworthy that rivalries at the court of the Hittite kings Murshili II (mid-14th century B.C.E.) led to similar accusations against the queen mother (Cogan and Tadmor, 110).

In 1964 Avigad published a seal from the ninth or eighth century B.C.E., which reads *yzbl*, but it is doubtful whether one can identify this name with the name of the queen.

[H. Jacob Katzenstein / S. David Sperling (2nd ed.)]

In the Aggadah

Jezebel was the instigator of the sins of her husband, Ahab (TJ, Sanh. 10:2, 28b). When R. Levi expounded the verse "But there was none like unto Ahab, which did sell himself to work of wickedness in the sight of the Lord, whom Jezebel his wife stirred up" (I Kings 22:25), Ahab appeared to him in a dream and reproved him for dwelling overmuch on the first part of the verse. He thereupon spent two months demonstrating that Jezebel was the instigator of the sins of her husband (TJ, Sanh. 10:2, 28b). Every day she used to weigh out golden shekels for idol worship (Sanh. 102b). She also placed portraits of harlots in Ahab's chariot in order to excite him, and it was these which were smeared with his blood (cf. I Kings 22:38) when he was killed (Sanh. 39b). However, she was not without virtue. Whenever a funeral passed her residence, she would join in the mourning by clapping her hands, say words of praise for the deceased, and follow the cortege for ten steps. As a reward her palms, skull, and feet were not consumed by the dogs when the prophecy of Elijah was fulfilled (PdRE 17).

In Christianity

In the New Testament (Rev. 2:20–23) the church at Thyatira is admonished "because you allow that woman Jezebel who calls herself a prophetess to teach and seduce my servants to commit sexual immorality and eat things sacrificed to idols." While Jezebel was probably an epithet rather than the woman's name, this passage based on the accounts in the Hebrew Bible served to immortalize the name Jezebel as a byword for an utterly wicked woman.

[S. David Sperling (2nd ed.)]

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JEZREEL (Heb. יִזְרְעֶאל), city in ancient Israel. The city of Jezreel (in Heb. *Yizre'el*, "May God give seed") was founded by Israelites of the tribe of Issachar south of Shunem (abandoned in the El-Amarna period, cf. Josh. 19:18). With the decline of Beth-Shean in the Iron Age, Jezreel became the head of a district in Saul's kingdom (II Sam. 2:9). It served as the base for Saul and his army before the disastrous battle with the Philistines at Mt. Gilboa; they camped by the spring in Jezreel (I Sam. 29:1). Under Solomon it was excluded from the main Jezreel Valley district and was evidently assigned to the tenth district of Issachar, administered by Jehoshaphat, the son of Paruah (I Kings 4:12, 17). Omri chose it to be the winter capital of the Israelite kingdom and all the kings of his dynasty, down to Joram, resided there. The royal palace at Jezreel was provided with a tower from which the whole vicinity could be surveyed (II Kings 9:17). The palace bordered on the vineyard of Naboth, whose property passed to Ahab through fraud and a perversion of justice (I Kings 21); according to the biblical tradition the dynasty of Ahab was exterminated at Jezreel in retribution for this deed – Jezebel was thrown to the dogs from the palace window and Joram was killed there along with his courtiers (II Kings 10:11). According to the Bible, Jezreel at that time contained a wall and a gate and was administered by a council of elders and nobles (*ibid.*, 10:1, 8). After the downfall of the Omri dynasty, Jezreel declined. It appears in Judith in connection with its plain, as Esdraelon (1:8). Eusebius speaks of it as a village between Scythopolis and Legio (Onom. 108; 13ff.); the Bordeaux pilgrim (333 C.E.) calls it Stradela (19:20). The Crusaders called it "le Petit Gerin" to distinguish it from "le Grand Gerin" (Jenin) and built a church there. The ancient remains of the city are located at the site of the kibbutz with the same name (Zarlīn in Ar.; see *Yizre'el), 1½ mi. (7 km.) south of Afulah; they include Iron Age and Roman pottery.

Excavations at the tel were conducted by Tel Aviv University and the British School of Archaeology between 1990 and 1995 by D. Ussishkin and J. Woodhead. Although Early Bronze Age and Iron Age I pottery was found at the site, the first archaeological finds of significance date from the ninth century B.C.E. It appears to have served as a royal center of some importance during the Omride Dynasty (882–42 B.C.E.) and a large rectangular enclosure (332 × 184 m.) was uncovered, surrounded by a casemate wall with projecting towers at the corners and with an outer rock-cut moat. The site was briefly in use during the eighth century B.C.E. and strata from the Persian, Hellenistic, Roman, Byzantine, and Early Islamic periods were also uncovered.

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[Michael Avi-Yonah / Shimon Gibson (2nd ed.)]

JEZREEL, VALLEY OF (also known as the "Plain of Esdraelon"; (Heb. עֵמֶק יִזְרְעֶאל), *Emek Yizre'el*, named after the city of *Jezreel), the largest of the inland valleys of Israel, after the Jordan Valley. It consists of the alluvial plain of the Kishon River, forming a rough equilateral triangle with its base at the Carmel range and its continuation and its apex at Mount Tabor. Each side is about 20 mi. (33 km.) long and the total area about 96.5 sq. mi. (250 sq. km.). Whether the valley of the Naḥal Ḥarod (the Ḥarod Valley), its southeastern extension in the direction of the Beth-Shean Valley, should be included in the Jezreel Valley is disputed. The first mention of the "Valley of Jezreel" occurs in Joshua 17:16 where it appears together with the region of Beth-Shean as an area dominated by the iron chariots of the Canaanites and therefore outside the control of the tribe of Manasseh of the House of Joseph (cf. also Josh. 17:11–12; Judg. 1:27). When Manasseh became stronger, however, it put the cities in the Valley of Jezreel to tribute and Issachar was able to establish a foothold at the city of Jezreel itself. As a result of the battle Deborah and Sisera fought in the Kishon Valley, the northern slopes of the valley became Israelite. In their thrust westward the Midianites passed into the valley and camped in its eastern part near Gibeath-Moreh (Jebel al-Daḥī), while Gideon camped opposite them at En-Harod (Judg. 7:1). Gideon's victory secured the valley from the east. The Philistines advanced against Saul through the valley where they had bases at Shunem and Beth-Shean and tried to split his kingdom in two; however, even after Saul's defeat the district of Jezreel remained in Israelite hands (II Sam. 2:9). David eliminated the foreign enclaves in the valley and secured it for Israel. The establishment at Jezreel of the winter capital of the kingdom of Israel strengthened its hold on the region, especially as the kings were interested in creating a royal estate in its fertile lands – an activity of which the dispossession of Naboth was but one instance. Subsequently the main part of the valley remained a royal estate of whatever power dominated the country. When Tiglath-Pileser III reduced Israel to the mountains of Ephraim, he made Megiddo the capital of an Assyrian province. After the fall of Assyria, Josiah, king of Judah, who expanded his kingdom northward, tried to bar the passage of the valley to Pharaoh Necoh at Megiddo, but lost the battle as well as his life (609 B.C.E.).

The status of the valley is not clear under Babylonian and Persian rule. In Hellenistic times it was administered from the royal fortress of Itabyrion (Tabor). In I Maccabees 12:49 and in the writings of Josephus it is called "the great plain." Its position between Galilee and Samaria is not clearly defined: Galilee ended at Exaloth (I'ksol) at the foot of Mount Tabor and Samaria began at Ginae (Jenin; Jos., Wars, 3:39, 48). The villages in the plain were the property of the Hasmonean dynasty; they were taken from the Jews by Pompey but restored to Hyrcanus II by Julius Caesar (Ant., 14:207), and the valley later belonged to the Herodian dynasty. Queen Berenice had her grain stored at Besara (Bet She'arim) on the northern side of the plain. With the extinction of the Herodian dynasty the plain passed to the emperor. When the Legio VI Ferrata was posted near Megiddo at Caparcotnei (whence the place was called Legio, in Arabic Lajjūn), it was given the Jezreel Valley which was thus known in late Roman and Byzantine sources as Campus Maximus Legionis. It formed the territory of the city known as Legio-Maximianupolis in later times. The northern slopes of the valley belonged to Sepphoris from which they were separated in the fifth century and formed into the territory of Naim, which included the Plain of Exaloth (Bikat Iksalo of the Midrash; Gen. R. 98:17). In the Middle Ages the valley of Jezreel was known as the Campus Fabae ("Plain of the Bean") after the castle called La Fève. In Mamluk times it was called Merj Bani Amir after the Bedouin tribe who had occupied it. After the Crusader period the valley developed into a marshy plain, abandoned to the nomads; the swamps bred malaria which made settlement impossible. In 1799 a battle between the French army under Napoleon and the Turks was fought at Afulah. In 1918 the swift passage of Australian cavalry across the plain decided Allenby's victory. Soon after the establishment of the British Mandate, large tracts of the valley were acquired by the *Jewish National Fund (following the founding of a pioneer settlement at Merḥavyah in 1911). In the 1920s the valley was drained and settled, making it the showpiece of Zionist pioneering and progressive regional development. In 1948, after the establishment of the State of Israel, an additional 19 rural settlements were founded as well as two urban settlements – Migdal ha-Emek and Nazareth. The present-day Jezreel Valley maintains its rural character, while the major urban settlement is Afulah, also known as the "Jezreel valley capital." Kibbutz Yifat houses the Museum of the Beginning of Settlement, exhibiting items and photos of the pioneer settlement in Israel. In 2003 the Jezreel Valley numbered 412,600 inhabitants.

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[Michael Avi-Yonah / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

JHABVALA, RUTH PRAWER (1927–), novelist and screenwriter. Ruth Prawer Jhabvala was born in Cologne and emigrated with her family to England in 1939. There she married an Indian architect, C.S.H. Jhabvala, and moved to Delhi, where she made her home.

Her experience as a refugee is a dark, albeit not a dominant, theme in her work. In the best of her stories of India there appears, invariably, the misplaced European, a tragic wanderer of middle age and older, a person of no means and no occupation, without a place in his adopted society, living on sufferance. The story, "A Birthday in London," depicts a gathering of German-Jewish refugees in London, long after the war, where they recall the first bitterness of their exile.

The dominant theme of Mrs. Jhabvala's work, however, is that of caste and class in India. She is a satirist, and the object of her satire is the particular element in Indian society which she knows well, that of the progressive-minded, the upper-mobile, and the culture-hungry. The world of her novels and short stories is peopled with prim Indian civil servants and their faintly dissatisfied young wives, with dreamers and faded beauties of waspish temper. To these are added the forlorn Europeans, who yearn to discover the true India, to merge with it, but who forever remain inveterately European.

Her first novel *To Whom She Will* (1955) was followed by *The Nature of Passion* (1956), *Esmond In India* (1958), *The Householder* (1960), *Get Ready For Battle* (1962), and *A Backward Place* (1965). *Travelers* (1973; published in England under the title *A New Dominion*, 1972) was acclaimed for its wit, its deft parody, and its assault on the spiritual humbug of the *gurus* and their devotees, both Indian and European. Her novel *Heat and Dust* (1975) won the 1975 Booker Prize for fiction.

Jhabvala has also published three collections of short stories, *Like Birds, Like Fishes* (1964), *A Stronger Climate* (1968), and *An Experience of India* (1971), and wrote the script of three films, *Shakespeare-Wallah* (1965), *The Guru* (1959), and *Bombay Talkie* (1971).

Jhabvala achieved worldwide fame in the 1980s through her collaboration with the film production-direction team of Ishmael Merchant and James Ivory, for whom she scripted several highly successful films, including adaptations of E.M. Forster's novels *A Room with a View* (1986) and *Howards End* (1992). Both earned Jhabvala Academy Awards for best screenplay, while the 1993 Merchant-Ivory Production *The Remains of the Day* was nominated for the same honor. More recent screenplays include *Surviving Picasso* (1996), *The Golden Bowl* (2000), and *Le Divorce* (2003).

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[Dorothy Rabinowitz and Rohan Saxena]

JIHĀD, "struggle or striving, but often understood both within Muslim tradition and beyond it as warfare against infidels" (*Enc. of the Qur'ān*, s.v. *Jihād*); in other words, the Holy War. During the period of *Muhammad's stay in *Medina some of his revelations deal with the problem of the *jihād*, the holy war to be waged against Allah's enemies and the infidels (e.g., Sura 2:186–90, 212–15, 245, 247). Those who fight according to Allah's way may hope for His mercy. Muhammad promises that everyone who is killed while fighting in Allah's way will win the highest reward (Sura 4:76). Such a man is a *shahīd*, a martyr.

According to Muslim religious law, the caliph is obliged to lead the *jihād* against the inhabitants of those countries which did not adopt *Islam. These countries are called *dār al-ḥarb* ("war territory"), while the countries under Islamic rule are referred to as *dār al-Islām* ("territory of Islam") – Jews and Christians could live there only as **dhimmī* ("protected people") and have to pay a poll tax (*jizya*), thereby recognizing the superiority of Islam. In practice, this bipartite division of the world was only able to last a short time during the first hundred years of Arab-Muslim expansion. For the later period the Muslim constitutional-religious law was obliged to create a third category, the *dār al-ṣulḥ* or *dār al-ʿahd* ("territory of treaty") of non-Muslim countries not subject to Muslim sovereignty but connected with the *dār al-Islām* by temporary treaties; this sometimes involved the payment of a token tribute. The main cause for the creation of this compromise category was that many non-Muslim governments were considered too strong, or too far away from the center of Muslim power, to be overthrown by force. In the modern Muslim national movements and states there does not seem to be a place for the idea of a holy war against infidels. Nevertheless, it still plays a very important role among the masses. They can easily be incited by the fanaticism of leaders, preaching in the name of the *Koran and Muhammad, to initiate riots against unbelievers inside the country and at least plan a war against infidels outside the Muslim state.

The last proclamation of a *jihād* occurred during World War I when the Turkish sultan proclaimed it against his enemies, the Entente powers. This proclamation, however, proved a failure, particularly in view of the pro-British Arab revolt which started in the holy cities of *Hejaz, and also because the Sultan himself was allied with Germany, a Christian power. When some Muslim authorities later tried to proclaim their struggle against Israel as a *jihād*, they were equally unsuccessful mainly because of the Arab nationalist character of the anti-Israel campaign, which included many non-Muslims. This was the case also in many inter-Muslim wars in the second half of the 20th century, when the leaders of both sides declared the *jihād* (*Yemen-*Egypt, *Iraq-*Iran, *Algeria, and al-Qāʿida-*Saudi Arabia); but after the establishment of a Communist regime in *Afghanistan and the Soviet invasion, the declaration of *jihād* attracted Muslims from different countries who fought there for years. Some of them formed groups of warriors who were ready to take part in the wars of different Muslim minorities or states (Bosnia-Herzegovina, Chechnya and Iraq), seeing them as *jihād*. Those *jihadists* claimed that "Muslims who interpret their faith differently are infidels and therefore legitimate targets of *jihād*. Today, *jihād* is the world's foremost source of terrorism, inspiring a worldwide campaign of violence by self-proclaimed jihadist groups" (D. Pipes, *N.Y. Post*, December 31, 2002).

The idea of the *jihād* has certain analogies to *milḥemet ḥovah* ("the prescribed [by the Torah] war") as it is discussed in the Talmud (Sot. 44b; TJ, Sot. 8:10, 23a) and in some aspects of *kiddush ha-Shem* (the sanctification of God's name).

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[Haïm Z'ew Hirschberg / Isaac Hasson (2nd ed.)]

JIHLAVA (Ger. **Iglau**), city in W. Moravia, Czech Republic. Jews are first mentioned in Jihlava in 1249. In 1345 *Charles IV induced the municipality to invite Jews to settle there and promised to grant them an exceptional status. After a fire in 1353 the Jews, like the rest of the citizens, were released from paying taxes. City records covering the years from 1359 to 1420 note 2,700 financial transactions between Jews and gentiles. In 1426 *Albert V expelled the Jews because of their alleged support of the *Hussites. They settled in nearby Puklice (Puklitz), Pulice (Pullitz), Pyrnice (Pirnitz), and *Trest (Triesch). The synagogue was converted into a church in 1511. Between 1708 and 1782, Jews were admitted to the town for business purposes on payment of a special tax. In 1837, 17 Jews lived in Jihlava legally, but more were present illegally. After 1848 a community grew rapidly, opening a prayer room in 1856, a synagogue in 1863, and a cemetery in 1869. Jews were instrumental in developing industry. The community numbered 1,179 persons in 1869, 1,180 in 1921, and in 1930, 1,025 (3.3% of the total population), 327 of whom declared themselves as Jewish by nationality as well as religion. After the Sudeten crisis (1938) many Jews sought refuge in Jihlava. On Nov. 10, 1938, the synagogue was burned down, and Jewish shops were demolished on April 28, 1939. In 1940 the remaining Jews were compelled to move to the villages where Jews had lived previously. They were deported to the Nazi extermination camps in 1942. The synagogue equipment was sent to the Central Jewish Museum in Prague (see *Museums, Jewish). The congregation was revived briefly after the liberation in 1945. The cemetery is still in use. Jihlava was the birthplace of the composer Gustav *Mahler, and of Theodor Herzl's collaborator, Siegmund *Werner. The parents of Gustav Mahler and his two siblings are buried there.

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[Oskar K. Rabinowicz]

JINDRICHUV HRADEC (Czech **Jindřichův Hradec**; Ger. **Neuhaus**), town in S. Bohemia, Czech Republic. In 1294 the local lord asked permission to settle eight Jews in the town and receive royal prerogatives over them. The Jews built a small hut outside the city walls in 1315 to shelter those who arrived after dark or those visiting the town. A settlement of Jews is noted in 1389. At the request of the burghers, in the 15th century the number of Jewish families in Jindrichuv was reduced to four and its economic activities were restricted. Among the permitted occupations was that of glazier. Of the six families (31 persons) recorded in 1682, one was expelled as exceeding the limit; at that time the Jews mainly traded in textiles. Jews expelled from Prague settled in Jindrichuv in 1745. The synagogue and Jewish houses were burned down in a fire in 1801. The cemetery, consecrated around 1400, was extended in 1576. Samuel Judah b. David *Kauder served as rabbi in the town from 1822 to 1834.

Severe anti-Jewish excesses occurred in Jindrichuv in 1859, when the Jews were suspected of opposing the Hapsburgs, and again during World War I, when they were accused of being pro-Hapsburg. Jewish shops were plundered in 1919. The pro-Czech Jewish movement (*Cechů židů), led by Eduard (Leda) *Lederer, was very active in Jindrichuv. In 1905 it had the Jewish German-language school in the town closed down. There were 791 Jews in the district in 1869 and 617 in 1880; the community had 339 members in 1902 and 234 (2.5% of the total population) in 1930, eight of them of declared Jewish nationality.

The remainder of the community who had not left by 1942 was deported to the Nazi death camps. The community was not reestablished after World War II. The synagogue equipment was sent to the Central Jewish Museum in Prague. The synagogue was used from 1952 by the Hussite church. The cemetery was also used after World War II.

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[Meir Lamed]

°JIRKU, ANTON (1885–1972), German Bible scholar. Born in Birnbaum, Moravia, Jirku was a pupil of Ernst *Sellin and the Assyriologist Friedrich *Delitzsch. From 1914 he taught at Kiel University and then held professorships at Breslau (1922), Greifswald (1934), and Bonn (1935–45). The basic trend in his work, prolific and often forced in its scholarly presentation (see his collected works *Von Jerusalem nach Ugarit*, 1966), is the attempt to understand biblical phenomena by comparing them with their ancient Oriental environment. His early works are mainly concerned with the popular religion of ancient Israel, in particular with its miraculous and magical elements (*Die Daemonen und ihre Abwehr im Alten Testament*, 1912; *Mantik in Altisrael*, 1913; *Materialien zur Volksreligion Israels*, 1914). He collected ancient Near Eastern parallels to the separate books of the Bible in his *Altorientalischer Kommentar zum Alten Testament* (1923). Numerous single studies led up to his *Geschichte des Volkes Israel* (1931), and *Geschichte Palästina-Syriens im orientalischen Altertum* (1963). The point of departure in his later works was mainly Ugaritic texts, a selection of which he translated (*Kanaanäische Mythen und Epen aus Ras Schamra-Ugarit*, 1962). Jirku was generally conservative with regard to the Bible's historicity, accepting the biblical account of the invasion of Canaan and the attribution of the Decalogue to Moses.

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[Rudolf Smend / S. David Sperling (2nd ed.)]

JITTA, DANIEL JOSEPHUS (1854–1925), Dutch expert in private international law. Jitta believed in an international world order and he considered the creation of something like the United States of Europe a possibility. He also believed in world peace, even after World War I. People had to understand that they were not only citizens of nations, but also members of the human race, citizens of the world. He was not naive, he used to say, because he would not live to see the day.

Born in Amsterdam, Jitta was the third generation of a family which originated in Bamberg in Germany. His father was a jeweler in the family business, which was the official purveyor of jewelry to the Dutch queens Sophie and Emma, the French princess Mathilde, and the Duke of Saxen Coburg-Gotha. Aged three Jitta moved to the Belgian capital of Brussels because of his mother's health problems. Being a very bright boy he finished the Royal Athenee when he was only 16 and went to university to read law. After graduation four years later he returned to the Netherlands, where his Belgian diploma turned out to be invalid. He went back to university in Leyden, graduated in 1880, and became a lawyer.

He began to publish on international private law. One of his earliest publications, *La Méthode du Droit International Privé* (1890), is still considered one of his most important and influential works. In 1894 he succeeded T.M.C. Asser as professor of commercial and private international law at Amsterdam University. Nine years later he succeeded Asser again, this time as member of the Netherlands Council of State.

Jitta also had a political career. From 1884 to 1894 he was a member of the Amsterdam city council for the liberals of Burgerpligt, like his father-in-law, banker and philanthropist A.C. Wertheim, and his uncle Simon Josephus Jitta (1818–1897), director of the Amsterdamsche Kanaalmaatschappij, which built the North Sea Channel.

As a student Jitta was a passionate rower and later he was one of the driving forces behind gymnastics and public swimming pools in the Netherlands. He was also a firm believer in hygiene, probably influenced by his younger brother Nicolaas (1858–1940), an eye doctor who later became chairman of the League of Nation's International Office for Public Hygiene and belonged to the Hygiënisten (Hygienists), a group of medical doctors who used statistics to stimulate more care for public health. For hygienic reasons Jitta and his younger brother, unlike their parents and elder brother and sister, wished to be cremated after their death. Although no longer a religious Jew, Jitta was still affiliated with Jewish institutions. He was a member of the board of the Jewish orphanage and mental home in Amsterdam.

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[Theo Toebosch (2nd ed.)]

JIZFĀN, JUDAH BEN JOSEPH (d. 1837), Yemenite author of scholarly books on biblical themes and scribe. Jizfān was known for two works (both still extant in manuscript): *Minḥat Yehudah*, a voluminous collection of commentaries on the Pentateuch based on some 300 printed works and manuscripts, and quoting a large number of sources; and *Panim Ḥadashot*, containing original comments on the Pentateuch by the author. Jizfān also composed threnodies on several events that took place in his lifetime, such as the drought of 1808 and the pillaging of the Jewish quarter of *San'a on Passover night in 1818. Both he and his sons Joseph and Solomon were known as gifted scribes of *Tājs* ("Torah scrolls"), prayer books and collections of Yemenite songs. Jizfān edited Yemenite songs and wrote an introduction to the poems of R. Shalem *Shabazi; this introduction, as well as his writings on biblical subjects, indicate that Jizfān was a kabbalist.

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[Yehuda Ratzaby]

JOAB (Heb. יוֹאָב; "YHWH is father"), David's commander in chief; son of Zeruiah, one of David's sisters (I Chron. 2:16). Although Joab's kinship with David no doubt helped him to attain the high post of Israelite commander in chief, his bravery on the battlefield, his powers of leadership in war, and his loyalty to David all proved him fully worthy of occupying a position of eminence in the apparatus of state government established by David. Joab first appears in David's service in the armed encounter at the pool of Gibeon between the servants of David and the followers of *Abner son of Ner. At that time Joab was already the leader of David's armed force and was empowered to muster all the men of Judah for war (II Sam. 2:28). However, from the mention of Joab's brothers, Asahel and Abishai, in the list of David's captains (which is most probably from the early days of David's reign in Hebron), it would appear that Joab occupied a leading position in David's band of warriors even before David was proclaimed king in Hebron. In the stories about the period of David's reign in Hebron, Joab appears as the leader of David's force; but in the account of the capture of Jerusalem given in I Chronicles 11:6, one finds: "And David said, 'Whoever shall smite the Jebusites first shall be chief and commander.' And Joab the son of Zeruiah went up first, so he became chief." According to this verse, Joab was appointed commander in chief only after the capture of Jerusalem, i.e., at the end of David's reign in Hebron.

Joab's successes in the wars against the supporters of Ish-Bosheth, son of the slain Saul, and the heroism that he displayed in the conquest of Jerusalem, confirmed David's confidence in his fitness to be the commander of the whole Israelite army, both in peace and in war. David demonstrated his trust in Joab in the wars in which the latter commanded the army in the field, while David himself remained in Jerusalem. When Hanun son of Nahash, the Ammonite, deliberately provoked David, the Israelite king sent Joab to wage war against the Ammonites and their allies (II Sam. 10; I Chron. 19). In this battle Joab showed his military resourcefulness and his ability to inspire his soldiers with enthusiasm and confidence (II Sam. 10:9–12). He also played a leading role in the defeat of the Edomites (II Sam. 8:13–14; I Kings 11:16; Ps. 60:2).

Despite his personal desire for honor and power, Joab displayed extraordinary loyalty to David, never attempting to diminish the respect due to his royal master. When Joab was about to reduce the besieged city of Rabbath-Ammon, he did not hurry to claim the credit of the victory for himself, but called on David to come and complete the conquest, "lest I take the city, and it be called by my name" (II Sam. 12:28). As the king's confidant and right-hand man, Joab performed various important functions in the consolidation of David's kingdom (II Sam. 24; I Chron. 11:8) and took the lead in the suppression of the revolts which threatened it from within, such as the revolts of Sheba son of Bichri (II Sam. 20:7–23) and that of Absalom (II Sam. 15–18). Joab's handling of the affair of Absalom shows his deep understanding of his royal master's nature. Knowing the king's yearning for his son, he found a way to make the king decide to bring Absalom back to Jerusalem (II Sam. 14:1–23). At the same time, Joab's concern for his own position and for the stability of David's kingdom led to his acting, in many matters, on his own initiative. Thus, he murdered Abner, after the latter had made a covenant with David and promised to bring the supporters of the house of Saul over to him. Joab's ostensible reason for killing Abner was that he was a spy (II Sam. 3:25); but, at the same time, the murder enabled Joab to take revenge for Abner's slaying of his brother, Asahel (II Sam. 2:23; 3:26–27), and also to remove from his path an obvious rival for the post of commander in chief.

Although David cursed Joab for the murder, he was too well aware of the power wielded by the sons of Zeruiah to dare to dismiss him (II Sam. 3:39). Again, Joab ordered Absalom to be killed, even though the king had urgently commanded that his son's life be spared. In this case Joab's decision was probably wise, if unsentimental. Similarly, Joab displayed political acumen by rebuking David for mourning his son, urging him instead to express gratitude to his supporters who had enabled him to defeat Absalom (II Sam. 19:6–8). Some acts performed by Joab aroused the king's anger against his commander in chief and eventually led to his tiring of him. When David promised to appoint Amasa in Joab's place (II Sam. 19:14) as the price of his leading Judah to welcome him back from his flight to Transjordan, Joab took the first opportunity to murder Amasa (*ibid.*, 20:9–11). Though expressing his disgust at Joab's murders (I Kings 2:5), David never penalized Joab even when his reign was well established. Toward the end of David's life, Joab tried to maintain his position of power in the royal court by taking an active part in the intrigues that developed in connection with the succession to the throne, giving his support to Adonijah (I Kings 1:7). In so doing, Joab sealed his own fate, since by supporting Adonijah he was outmaneuvered by the pro-Solomon party, which moved quickly to eliminate him. According to I Kings 2:5–6, David ordered Solomon to take vengeance on Joab for the murders he had committed, and "not let his head go down to Sheol (the netherworld) in peace." When Joab realized that his life was in danger, he fled to the Tent of the Lord and seized hold of the horns of the altar. Nevertheless, Solomon ordered Benaiah son of Jehoiada to strike Joab down, justifying the action on the grounds that he was determined to carry out his father's dying injunction to remove "from me and from my father's house the guilt for the blood which Joab shed without cause" (I Kings 2:31).

[Bustanay Oded / S. David Sperling (2nd ed.)]

In the Aggadah

When David fought against the Jebusites, the inhabitants of Jerusalem, Joab the son of Zeruiah was the first to go up on the wall. David bent down the top of a young cypress growing near the wall, and Joab, climbing onto David's head, grasped the tree which, when released, enabled him to jump onto the wall (Mid. Ps. to 18:24, a story reminiscent of Sinis, "the pine bender," see Apollodorus, *Bibliotheca*, 3:9, 2). Although Joab was loyal to David throughout his life, the latter before his death commanded that he be brought to trial for having killed Abner and Amasa (I Kings 2:5). Joab was acquitted for the murder of Abner since he had thereby avenged the blood of his brother Asahel whom Abner had killed, but his defense that he was justified in killing Amasa, since he had been guilty of treason in delaying to fulfill David's command (II Sam. 20:4), was not accepted. Joab was himself accused of treason by Solomon (Sanh. 49a).

[Elimelech Epstein Halevy]

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JOAB BEN JEREMIAH (d. 1810), Hungarian rabbi. Joab's father went to Hungary from Oswiecim (Auschwitz), Poland, and was *av bet din* and head of a yeshivah in Mattersdorf, one of the "seven Hungarian communities," and later in Santov (Abaujszanto). Through the efforts of Aaron Chorin, a former pupil of his father's yeshivah who then lived in Nemetkeresztur-Deutschkreutz, Joab was appointed rabbi of that community; he was subsequently appointed rabbi of Hunsdorf (Huncovce-Hunfalu) and, on the death of his father in

1806, was appointed his successor in Santov. He was one of the outstanding talmudists of his time and was eulogized as a great scholar and saint by Moses Sofer. Well-known is his work *Moda'ah Zuta*, a commentary on the work *Moda'ah ve-Ones*, which he published together with his father. His other works are *Sha'arei Binah*, on the *Sha'arei Shevu'ot* of Isaac ben Reuben *al-Bargeloni; *Ḥen Tov ve-Zeved Tov* (Zolkiew, 1806), on chapter 17 of the Shulḥan Arukh *Even ha-Ezer*; and *Imrei No'am*.

[Samuel Weingarten-Hakohen]

JOAB THE GREEK (**Ha-Yevani**; c. 1400), liturgical poet. His Arabic surname Shuau (Heb. שעאע) and the fact that his poems are known only from manuscripts and the printed texts of the Aleppo rite, indicate that he must have lived in the Near East, apparently in Aleppo. In a religious poem Joab expressly mentions the Jewish community of this city. The surname ha-Yevani may indicate that he was born in Greece or was the son of Greek parents. In the acrostics of his 12 poems he always introduces his Arabic surname. It is possible that he may be identical with the אבן שעאע, a fragment of whose Arabic translation of Samuel ha-Nagid's *Ben Kohelet* is extant.

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[Jefim (Hayyim) Schirmann]

JOACHIM, JOSEPH (1831–1907), violinist. Born in Kittsee (Kopczeny), Joachim moved with his family to Budapest where his musical education began at the age of five. He gave his first concert at seven and at nine he was taken to Vienna to study with Hellmesberger and Boehm. At 12 he went on to Leipzig, where his studies were supervised and fostered by Felix *Mendelssohn, Ferdinand *David, and Moritz Hauptmann. From 1849 to 1854 he was concertmaster of Liszt's orchestra at Weimar, and from 1854 to 1864, concertmaster and conductor of the Royal Hanoverian Orchestra. He finally settled in Berlin in 1866 as director of the newly founded Hochschule fuer Musik. There he also founded the Joachim Quartet which became the leading quartet in Europe. His pedagogical talent attracted a great number of pupils, among whom were Leopold *Auer, Jenő Hubay, and Tivadar *Nachez.

Joachim's concert activity in Europe and England continued steadily throughout his career. Although he eschewed the character and role of a "traveling virtuoso," he became, at an early age, the most notable violinist of his generation (and its most distinguished teacher): an artist in whom technique, taste, intellect, and emotion were combined to a rare degree. His interpretation of the Beethoven Violin Concerto, for example, was considered definitive. He also re-edited Mendelssohn's Violin Concerto in conformity with the original manuscript; revived the works of Tartini; and established in the repertoire Bach's works for solo violin in their original form, without the accompaniments added by 19th-century "improvers." Joachim's friendships with the great composers and performers of his time are an important factor in the history of music in the 19th century, especially his association with Mendelssohn, Liszt, Robert Schumann, Clara Schumann, and Brahms. Joachim introduced the young Brahms to Liszt, and arranged the fateful meeting between Schumann and Brahms in 1853. Of his own compositions, which include works for violin and orchestra, violin and piano, and songs, only the Violin Concerto op. 11 ("Hungarian") survived. His cadenzas for the Beethoven and Brahms concertos, however, are still performed. He also wrote a violin method with A. Moser. Although Joachim had converted to Protestantism in 1855, his decision to resign from the Hanoverian service was finally brought about in 1864, when the violinist J.M. Gruen was refused tenure as a Jew (a principle which had not been observed in Joachim's case). Joachim tendered his resignation on the grounds that he "would never be able to surmount the purely personal feeling of having been enabled through my earlier conversion… to enjoy worldly advantages in the Royal Hanoverian Orchestra while the members of my race occupy a humiliating position there." His *Hebraeische Melodien* for viola and piano, op. 9 (1854), were inspired mainly by Schumann's enthusiasm for Byron's poems. Although Wagner thought that Joachim's break from the Liszt-Wagner circle in 1857 was due to the republication at that time of *Das Judentum in der Musik* in Wagner's name (it had first been published anonymously in 1850), the break was undoubtedly caused by musical considerations.

Hundreds of works were dedicated to Joachim, including the Schumann, Brahms, Dvorak and Bruch (nos. 1 and 3) violin concertos, Liszt's *Hungarian Rhapsody* no. 12, and Schumann's Fourth Symphony (second version, 1853).

Joachim's grandnieces, the sisters Adila Fachiri (d'Aranyi, 1888–1962) and Jelly E. d'Aranyi (1895–1966), were well-known violinists.

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[Bathja Bayer]

JOACHIMSEN, PHILIP J. (1817–1890), U.S. jurist and communal worker. Joachimsen, who was born in Breslau, Germany, was taken to New York in 1827. He was admitted to the bar in 1840, and held several municipal attorneyships. Joachimsen was made brevet brigadier general for his service in the Civil War as organizer and commander of the 59th New York regiment. He served as judge of the Marine Court of New York from 1870 to 1876. Joachimsen was a leading figure in New York Jewry. He was president of the Hebrew Benevolent Society (1855), first president of the Hebrew Orphan Asylum (1859), and organizer of the Hebrew Sheltering Guardian Society for Children in New York (1879).

[Edward L. Greenstein]

JOASH (Heb. יְהוֹאָשׁ, יוֹאָשׁ; "YHWH has given"), son of Ahaziah, king of Judah (835–798 B.C.E.). Joash ascended the throne in the seventh year of the reign of Jehu, king of Israel (II Kings 12:2), and ruled until the second year of the reign of Joash (Jehoash) of Israel (*ibid.*, 14:1). According to II Kings 11, he was the youngest of the sons of *Ahaziah. After the death of Ahaziah, the king's mother *Athaliah had all his sons murdered; but the infant Joash was saved by Jehosheba, sister of Ahaziah and wife of *Jehoiada, the high priest (II Chron. 22:11). Joash was hidden in the Temple for six years; in the seventh year Jehoiada plotted against Athaliah, then regent, to have him crowned. He was supported in this carefully planned plot by the captains, the messengers, and the citizens. Athaliah was killed, and Joash was appointed in the Temple in a festive ceremony. (The first mention of the decisive role of the citizens (*am ha-areẓ) in the choice of the kings appears in this connection.)

The ceremony seems to have been in the nature of a renewal of the dynasty (cf. the display of King David's armament emblems and spear, II Kings 11:10; II Chron. 23:9). Accordingly, it was augmented by a joint covenant between the king and the people, in which the royal privileges and responsibilities were reestablished, and by a covenant between God, the king, and the people against the worship of Baal, which marked the beginning of religious reform in Judah. The city was cleansed of the Tyrian cult, which had taken root during Jehoram's reign and flourished during Athaliah's reign, and Mattan, the priest of Baal, was killed. It is not known if the "high places" in Judah were destroyed, but it is clear that the Temple in Jerusalem and the priesthood headed by Jehoiada gained in importance and achieved decisive influence in national affairs for the first time in the history of Judah. Later, the Temple was repaired (II Kings 12:7–17; II Chron. 24:4–14 is a later version with variations in details); the work was completed in the 23rd year of Joash's reign. (The role of the king in building and maintaining temples figures prominently in ancient royal inscriptions from Egypt and Mesopotamia.) In that same year Hazael, king of Aram, attacked Israel, reached Aphek in the Sharon Plain and *Gath, and prepared to attack Jerusalem. Joash was forced to yield to Hazael; and according to II Kings 12:19, he gave him all the gold that was found in the treasuries of the Temple and the palace, and all the votive gifts that the preceding kings had dedicated to the Temple. After this surrender, Judah entered a period of political decline. The Philistines attacked the western boundaries of Judah, and Edom attacked it from the south. (Evidently, the prophecy of Amos 1:6 refers to these events.) After the death of Jehoiada during the last years of Joash's reign, the king came into conflict with the priests. As a climax to this quarrel, according to the late narrative in II Chronicles 24, Joash commanded that Zechariah, the son of Jehoiada, be stoned in the Temple courtyard. II Chronicles 24:23–24 also relates that one year later the Arameans attacked and despoiled Judah "and destroyed all the princes of the people from among the people, and sent all the spoil of them unto the king of Damascus." However, the credibility of this story is very doubtful. Joash died a violent death in a conspiracy, the circumstances of which are unknown and which seems to have gained considerable support. His murderers – Jozakar (var. Jozabad), the son of Shimeath and Jehozabad, the son of Shomer (II Kings 12:21–22 [but cf. II Chronicles 24:26]) – were apparently high state officials (i.e., royal "servants"). It is of significance that they were not punished immediately. Only when *Amaziah, son of Joash, felt that he was firm on his throne did he put to death the murderers of his father. Years later, however, he too was killed in a court conspiracy (II Kings 14:19). According to II Kings 12:1 Joash reigned 40 years. But, to judge from other chronological evidence in II Kings, his reign could not have exceeded 37 or 38 years. It is still debated whether Athaliah's 6 (or 7) year usurpation of the Davidic dynasty was retroactively included by Joash in his regnal years (i.e., Joash's first regnal year was regarded in his official reckoning as his seventh). However, the synchronisms between the contemporary kings of Israel and Judah make it clear that the editor of the chronological framework of the Book of Kings regarded Athaliah's regency as an independent reign, not counting it within Joash's "40" years. Na'aman argued that the account of the temple repairs (II Kings 12) was probably based on a royal inscription. An unprovenanced tablet purporting to be the very inscription hypothesized by Na'aman, and widely publicized in the media in 2003, was shown to be a forgery (Cross).

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[Hayim Tadmor /S. David Sperling (2nd ed.)]

JOB, BOOK OF (named for its hero (Heb. אִיּוֹב), ancient South Arabian and Thamudic *y'b*; Old Babylonian *Ayyābum*, Tell el-Amarna tablet, no. 256, line 6, *A-ia-ab*; either from *y'b*, "to bear ill-will" or compounded of *ay* "where?" and *'ab*"[divine] father"), one of the Hagiographa, Hebrew *Ketuvim*, which constitute the third division of the Hebrew Canon.

Position within the Hagiographa

In most printed Hebrew Bibles the first three books of *Ketuvim* are Psalms, Proverbs, Job; in BH^3 and BH^5 however (which are based on the Leningrad manuscript of 1008 C.E.), they are Psalms, Job, Proverbs. The latter sequence is the one prescribed by the famous *baraita* in *Bava Batra* 14b. As in the case of the Prophets (*Nevi'im*), the *baraita* requires that the nonhistorical books constitute a solid block arranged according to descending numbers of **sedarim*. Proverbs contains the same number of *sedarim* (eight) as Job; the deciding factor in its being placed after it, however, was not that it contains fewer verses but that it shares with the book which has the next highest number of *sedarim* (four) in the group, namely Ecclesiastes, the attribution to Solomonic authorship in its superscription. The proof is the sequence of the remaining two books in the group: although the Song of Songs has fewer verses than Lamentations, the circumstance that it has the same number of *sedarim* (neither book being divided into *sedarim*) left the arranger free to place it first, so that it might stand next to its Solomonic fellow Ecclesiastes. So, too, Ezekiel has fewer verses than Isaiah (1,273 as against 1,291), but the *baraita* gives it the precedence because it has more *sedarim* (29 as against 26). The *baraita*, however, separates the historical book Ruth from the body of historical Hagiographa that follow the non-historical block and places it before this block – in order that David-authored Psalms may be preceded by the Davidic genealogy at the end of Ruth. The foregoing is a refinement of L. Blau, in: JE, 3 (1902), 143–4 (following H.L. Strack).

CRITICAL ANALYSIS

The Framework and the Poem: Job the Patient and Job the Impatient

It is customary to speak of Job as a wisdom book. But it is so much more sophisticated, not only in its message but also in its technique, than Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, or even the extra-canonical book of *Ben Sira, that it is really in a class by itself. To begin with, it exhibits the striking feature of consisting of a narrative prose framework – the Prologue, chapters 1–2, and the Epilogue, 42:7–17 – and a poetic disputation, 3:1–42:6. The Prologue is easy to follow, and the transition from it to the Poem is natural. The Epilogue, taken by itself, is also fairly easy to follow, except that 42:11–17 seems to come much too late (see below). Puzzling, however, is the logic of such an Epilogue, especially verses 7–10 thereof, to such a Poem.

THE STORY OF THE PROLOGUE. (Chapter 1). Job was an inhabitant of the land of *Uz. This location places Job within the territory of Edom (see Lam. 4:21), the nation to which Job's three friends also belong (see below). Moreover, it clearly places the mortal protagonists, with the possible exception of Elihu, in the land whose wisdom was proverbial (see Jer. 49:7; Obad. 1:8).

His wealth, consisting (like that of the Patriarchs in Genesis) primarily of livestock and slaves, exceeded that of any other man among the *Kedemites. He also had seven sons and three daughters. After the children's (annual?) week of feasting, he used to offer burnt offerings for all of them to make expiation for any irreverent thought they might have admitted into their hearts when their consciences were dulled by wine. The *Satan (accusing angel), however, argued with the Lord that piety coupled with such wealth could not be termed disinterested. Let the Lord try depriving Job of it, and he would surely denounce the Lord to his face. So Job in a series of calamities lost all his property, and his sons and daughters, all in one day. Job learned of these disasters from four successive messengers. On hearing the message of the last one, he performed the usual acts of mourning (1:20), but never a disparaging word about God crossed his lips. On the contrary, he declared: "Naked I came out of my mother's womb,/ And naked again I will depart.// The Lord has taken what the Lord gave:/ The name of the Lord be blessed."// The resourceful Satan now argued that after all the true test of disinterested piety was bodily suffering. With God's permission, he struck Job with a terrible inflammation of the skin from head to foot, and Job sat in the dust scratching himself with a sherd. But still Job did not "sin with his lips." On the contrary, to his wife's suggestion that he denounce the God who had requited his loyalty so shabbily, he retorted indignantly, "You talk like a base woman! Can we both accept the good from God and not accept the bad?" Job had three friends in three different parts of the Kedemite world: Eliphaz the Temanite, Bildad the Shuhite, and Zophar the Naamathite. These, on learning of Job's misfortunes, met, and journeyed together to the home of Job in order to condole with him and comfort him. This is stated explicitly, and their reaction to the spectacle of his misery (2:12–13) leaves no doubt about the sincerity of their friendship.

THE EPILOGUE. Not everybody can be a Job, and if the foregoing were followed by an account of how, moved as was Job's wife by their grief for him but equipped with more education and eloquence, the friends declared that the God who requited Job's loyalty so shabbily was unworthy of it and delivered themselves of some critical reflections on God's conduct of the world – and how Job again demonstrated his unique steadfastness, and not only by not heeding these suggestions but by replying to them forcefully – nobody would be surprised. Indeed, some scholars have suggested that the first three verses of the Epilogue presuppose just such an exchange between Eliphaz and his two companions, on the one hand, and Job, on the other. However, it is primarily on the Prologue and the Epilogue that the traditional picture of Job as a patient sufferer (in English, the King James Version of Epistle of James 5:11 has made "the patience of Job" a household word) is based, for in the Poem, Job is for the most part a critic of Providence. In fact some moderns deny that 42:7–10 does presuppose a conventionally saintly Job and claim that it wishes to teach that God approves just of honest critics like the Job of chapters 3ff. and is mildly contemptuous of apologists like the friends of chapters 4ff. Proponents of this view argue (1) that if the Lord rebuked the friends for speaking as Job's wife had spoken, he might be expected to rebuke Job's wife too, and (2) that 13:7–10 actually predicts that God is going to rebuke the friends for "speaking falsely for God." These arguments are easily disposed of. With regard to the former, the Bible does not place women wholly on a par with men. The limited influence of Job's wife as a woman – and one not even distinguished enough for her name to be recorded – made her expression of objectionable views a less serious matter than that of the friends. Besides, she was not fully a person in her own right, but largely an extension of her husband. Thus in 31:9–10 Job thinks that if he were guilty of adultery it would be a fitting punishment for him if another man enjoyed his wife; how she might feel about it does not concern him; much worse are Deuteronomy 28:30a; Amos 7:17a; etc. To the second argument, all that Job says in 13:3ff. is that God will rebuke his friends if they butt in with their stupid apologetics while he is addressing his indictment to God, for then they would be speaking falsehood directly to – not for – God. Since therefore, the friends do hold their peace until Job has finished his arraignment of God, 42:7–10 is not a fulfillment of 13:10. The author of the bulk of 3:1–42:6 was indeed of the opinion that the facts of life are as Job presents them rather than as Eliphaz and his friends do; but their honest error (it is not the monstrous one that is commonly imputed to them; see below 3 (A) (i)) is a less serious offense in his estimation than Job's presumptuous demand of an explanation from God. He represents God as rebuking Job, not his friends, 38: 1–42:6, and Job as humbly and contritely admitting his fault – twice, 40:3–5 and 42: 1–2, 3a*b*–b, 5–6 (42:3a*a* and 4 are out of place). It simply cannot be denied that "the prose framework" presupposes between Prologue and Epilogue a very different disputation from chapters 3–26; 29–31; 38:1–42:6. Fortunately, a large fragment of this very different disputation has been preserved. H. Fine has demonstrated that chapters 27–28 are a reply by Job as known from chapters 1–2 – we shall call him "Job the Patient" – to people whom he addresses in the masculine plural and accuses of having urged him to "stop being a sucker" who "does not sin with his lips" and, as the Lord has noted approvingly after the first trial (2:3) and Job's wife uncomprehendingly after the second (2:9), "still holds fast to his integrity" instead of denouncing God. That this is the case with most of 27:2–6 had already been seen, though Fine was unaware of it, 30 years before by F. Buhl, and one can only marvel that Buhl had failed to see that the following is the only natural and honest interpretation of all of 27:2–6: "(2) Witness God who denies me redress,/ Shaddai who has made me wretched!// (3) So long as my breath is in me,/ The life-breath from God in my nostrils,// (4) My lips shall never speak godlessness,/ My tongue never utter impiety. // (5) Far be it from me to declare you right!/ I will not give up my integrity until I die.// (6b) Never in my life has even my heart blasphemed./(6a) I have held fast to my righteousness and I will not let go of it."// (Notes: *On 5b.* In an attempt to harmonize this line with chapters 3–26, most writers interpret it to mean, "I will never give up my assertion of my integrity." But such a forced meaning could at most be justified if the friends in 3–26 disputed Job's claim to be a good man or if Job himself in those chapters claimed to be without sin; neither is the case, as will be demonstrated further on. *On 6a.* Since, therefore, 5b can only mean what it says, *we-loʾ aʾrpeha* must be given its natural future meaning – in 6a, idiom sanctions the imperfect before *mi-yamai*, as can be seen from I Sam. 25:28.)

There can be no doubt but that just as the rebuke of the traditional saint Job to his friends who had fallen into error is many times longer and more detailed than his rebuke to his wife for the rash suggestion she made under stress, so the friends had expressed their view in a many times longer and more elaborate speech than Job's wife. For the unmistakable implication of 27:7ff. is that the friends had argued that very often just the wicked fare best on earth – exactly as the unconventional Job (Job the Impatient (JIP) does in chapter 21. And conventional Job opposes this view in 27:7ff. with no less warmth than the unconventional Job's conventional opponents do in 15:20ff., 18:5ff, or 20:4ff. As for chapter 28, N.H. Tur-Sinai's rearrangement appears correct, as does his interpretation in the main. Its theme is: Wisdom is God's, and He has taught man that it is wise to be godly. The concluding and climactic sentence, "Behold, wisdom is to revere my Lord (perhaps to be emended to *ʾElohim*, "God," cf. 1:1, 8; 2:3), understanding is to shun evil," is unmistakably intended to recall the description of Job the Patient in 1:1, 8; 2:3, and to imply that the smartest thing a man can do is emulate Job the Patient. For chapters 27–28 constitute a single speech by this very Job the Patient, and it is to this that 42: 7–8 refers when it says, twice, that "my servant Job" (cf. 1:8; 2:3) "spoke properly" about YHWH. Only the speech in which Eliphaz and his companions "did not speak properly" about God has not been preserved, though it is unmistakably presupposed by chapter 27. The original book of Job the Patient (JP), then, was made up as follows: (i) 1:1–2:8, Job's disinterested piety. Put to much crueler tests than the one by which Abraham (Gen. 22) proved that he was a true *yereʾ ʾElohim* (Gen. 22:12) or god-fearing, i.e., pious, man, Job proved that he was a *yareʾ ʾElohim ḥinnam* (cf. Job 1:9), i.e., was unconditionally god-fearing or pious. (ii) 2:9–10. Job defends, against his wife, the view that men must remain devoted to God under all circumstances. (iii) 2:11–13. Arrival of Job's three friends. (iv) Now missing: the urging of the friends that Job repudiate the God who has so shamefully failed him. (v) Chapters 27–28. Job's emphatic refusal (27:2–6), citing the unwisdom of wickedness (27:7ff.) and the wisdom of godliness (chapter 28). (vi) A second missing passage, in which God assured Job that he would reward his steadfastness (cf. Gen. 22:16). It is far more likely that 42:7a is an integral part of JP and refers to such a revelation of approval and promise than that it was written by an editor or – even less likely – by the author of the book of Job the Impatient (JIP) for the purpose of connecting 38:1–42:6 with 42:7bff. For in the former God intimates to Job in no uncertain terms that he has spoken improperly about Him, and Job contritely admits it, twice: 40:3–4 and 42:2, 3a*b*–b, 5–6 (verses 3a*a* and 4 are variants of 38:2–3). (vii) 42:7b–17. God's rebuke to the friends for their aberration and reward to Job for his constancy.

[Harold Louis Ginsberg]

Against the Buhl-Fine-Ginsberg theory of two books of Job – JP and JIP – Gordis (1978, p. 578) argues that "the existence of one book of Job is a *datum*, while the theory of two books of Job is a *hypothesis.* Thus the burden of proof rests upon the proponent of the new theory. Its power to persuade depends upon the degree to which it is free from difficulties of its own." In fact, Gordis (1978, pp. 287–311) endeavors to work around the canonical Book of Job's bracketing chapters 27–28 with the expression "Job again took up his discourse, saying" in 27:1 and 29:1. The demonstration by Buhl, Fine, and Ginsberg that chapters 27–28 can and should be read as a document distinct from chapters 3–26 and 29:1–42:6 accounts for the bracketing of these chapters in the canonical Book of Job. Moreover, the Buhl-Fine-Ginsberg theory accounts for chapter 28 as a long and involved rhetorical question posed by Job, "As for wisdom where may it be found?" (28:12) culminating in Job's answer to his impious friends, "To humankind He [God] said, 'Behold: piety [lit., fearing of God] is wisdom, and ethical behavior [lit., shunning of evil] is discernment'" (28:28). The latter assertion is reminiscent of the description of Job in 1:1, 8 and 2:3 as indeed "fearing God and shunning evil." Gordis's, albeit more conventional (in terms of the trends in 19th- and 20th-century biblical studies) theory, no less than the Buhl-Fine-Ginsberg theory, also ignores the datum of a single book of Job. Indeed, Gordis treats chapter 28 as a separate composition, which he calls "The Hymn to Wisdom," and which he describes as "clearly an independent lyrical poem." In fact, it is not a "Hymn to Wisdom," but a declaration that the fear of God is the true wisdom. Moreover, again ignoring the bracketing of chapters 27–28 as a unitary entity within the canonical Book of Job, Gordis (with a majority of modern commentators) assigns 27:13–23 to Zophar while he combines 27:1–8 with 26:1–4 to create an enigmatic reply of Job to Bildad. In reconstructing Bildad's speech in this manner, Gordis (and even Tur-Sinai 1967, p. 378) ignore one of Gordis's monumental contributions to the understanding of the Book of Job (Gordis 1965, p. 187): Job always addresses his friends in the plural so that when as in chapter 12:7–8 "the use of the singular verb and suffixes 'ask thou,' 'will teach thee,' 'to thee,' 'speak thou'" indicates "a restatement by Job of the Friends' admonition to him." Gruber (*Jewish Study Bible*, 2003) solves this problem by going beyond Tur-Sinai's and Ginsberg's reassigning 25:2–6 to Job and assigning 26:2–14 to Bildad. All that is required is to understand that the headings of the two chapters were mistakenly reversed in antiquity.

[Mayer I. Gruber (2nd ed.)]

Job the Impatient (JIP)

CHAPTERS 3–26; (B) 29:1–42:6. All this has been grafted onto the foregoing. Its two constituent blocks may be titled:

(a) Job and the Three Friends; (b) Job, the Intruder Elihu, and God and Job.

JOB AND THE THREE FRIENDS, CHAPTERS 3–26. If one thing is obvious, it is that here, far from being a conventional saint, Job strongly criticizes providence while the friends defend it. In chapter 3, Job terminates the seven days' leaden silence of himself and his visitors (2:13) with a bitter outcry against the unreasonableness of allowing men to be born who were fated, like himself, to have such a life that they can only wish for death. Thereupon, in the order in which they have been introduced, each of the friends tries to reason with him but is rebutted (chapters 4–14). The cycle is repeated (chapters 15–21). A third cycle is begun, but at least in the book as it has come down to us it remains incomplete. There is a complete speech by Eliphaz (22) and there is a complete reply by Job (23–24), but after that there is only a fragmentary speech which is attributed (with questionable propriety) to Bildad (25) and a fragmentary speech by Job (26).

The First Cycle (chapters 4–14). Job's friends try hard to comfort him. Things are bound to end up well for Job, says Eliphaz, since he is a good man and only the wicked end badly (4:6–7). Since no human being is impeccable, a good man sometimes incurs chastisement, which redounds to his own benefit, 5:17ff. Segal rightly argues that Job 5:17, "Nay, happy is the man whom God reproves! – Do not reject Shaddai's discipline," can only be a modification of Proverbs 3:11, "My son, do not reject the Lord's discipline; Do not spurn his reproof," since it destroys the parallelism of the latter and does it by substituting in the first hemistich for the negative imperative of Proverbs 3:11 the "happy is the man" construction of Proverbs 3:13. Thus Eliphaz utilizes the very passage in classical wisdom literature which is incompatible with a view that Job's misfortunes prove that he is a moral degenerate. That the classical doctrine of retribution requires such a conclusion and that the friends draw it (then why don't they curse him and walk away in disgust?) is itself a dogma of current Job exegesis. To be sure, Eliphaz is of the opinion that it is dangerous for Job to disregard the teachings of wisdom, for a man may ruin his own and his children's future not only by wickedness but also by folly: 5:1–5; 4:21; 5:6–7 (see Ginsberg, 1969, 95–96). But if Job will do what wisdom prescribes for cases like his – namely, turn to God in humble repentance and, where possible, make restitution for the wrongs he had done – it is absolutely certain that his latter estate will be even more enviable than his former one (5:8–27). Like Eliphaz, Bildad and Zophar conclude their perorations with this assurance, and they add to it at the very end: Such are your prospects, Job, the diametrical opposite of those of the wicked (8:20–22; 11:16–20). In the case of Zophar (chapter 11), this exuberant conclusion might seem to be at variance with 11:5–6. But if it were, the former would prove that Zophar did not mean the latter seriously, not the other way around. In fact, the latter passage is nothing more scathing than an assertion that Job's impression that the sum total of his guilt is too insignificant to warrant even benevolent chastisement, and merely illustrates the truism that human memories cannot compare in retentiveness with God's memory. Job, however, has no patience with his friends' well meaning defense of God and advice to himself. In his first and second replies, he maintains that it is unreasonable of God to be so harsh with a human being like Job – whose years are so short; who, whatever his sins, represents no threat to God (chapter 7); and who, after all, is God's handiwork, for which He might be expected to have some positive sentiments (chapter 10). As for the friends, Job accuses them of lack of feeling. In his third reply, finally, Job contemptuously dismisses his friends' competence to judge his case and rudely asks them to shut up while he formally arraigns God. And whereas in chapter 7 Job merely complained to God (see 7:11) and in 9:33–35a; 10:1a*b* he merely indulged in the fancy of how he would indict God if he could plead with Him on equal terms, he now takes his life in his hands (13:13–14) and does challenge God to justify his spiteful treatment of him. What sort of sadism (13:25) he demands, is this, requiring purity of that which is impure by its very nature (14:4), showing not the slightest magnanimity in view of man's helplessness (13:25) and his pitifully short span of life (14:5–12), but jealously guarding Job's guilt (14:21) as a usurer might guard the proofs of his debtors' indebtedness? Contrary to the prevailing belief, 13:7–10 does not mean that God will under all circumstances take the friends to task for painting a false picture of a just world order, but only if they do so while Job is formally indicting God; since, therefore, Eliphaz and his two companions hold their peace until Job has finished indicting God, our passage does not anticipate 42:7–8. But Job has both questioned their sincerity (for the first cycle, this must be admitted) and made hash of their wisdom.

The Second Cycle (chapters 15–21). Between that and his daring arraignment of God, no wonder that in the second cycle (chapters 15–21) the tone of the three sages is notably chillier than in the first. Of course they do not, any more than in the first cycle, declare that Job is a scoundrel, for that would be contrary to their innermost convictions. Eliphaz, in fact, again (as in 4:6) alludes to Job's proverbial piety (15:4: Or would you, of all people, offend against piety/ And eavesdrop on God's deliberations?) Nor do they deny that Job may still have a glorious future, because that too would be contrary to their belief. Instead, Eliphaz repeats his original warning of the evil consequences of forsaking the teachings of the wise (15:19: To them alone (i.e., to the sages – not the ancients – of verse 18) has earth been given;/ No outsiders have shared it with them.), and all three of the friends subtly indicate their pique by dwelling only on the negative aspect of the law of retribution – the unenviable fate of the wicked – leaving its complementary aspect, the happy fate of the just, only to be inferred. And Job? With consummate art the author makes him soften his tone toward the three others just in face of their hardened tone toward him. By beginning his response to Eliphaz' admonition with (16:2) "I have heard such talk countless times./You are all illusory comforters,"// he admits that at any rate their intention is to comfort him, and he immediately adds that he realizes that they are not aware that their consolations are illusory: "If (16:4) you were in my place,/ I would be talking just as you are// I would speak to you words of condolence/ And shake my head in commiseration.// (5) With my mouth I would brace you,/ Sympathy from my lips would give you strength (for *yḥsk*, which arose through contamination by verse 6, read *yḥzqkm* after 4:3)."// To be supplied mentally at this point is: "As Eliphaz remarked at the beginning of the discussion, that is exactly what I used to do formerly (4:3–4)." Eliphaz, however, had added an expression of his surprise that Job should be helpless (verb *l'y*) now to render to himself the same service that he used to render to others in misfortune. In obvious allusion to this, Job continues: "(16:7) Alas, now God's enmity has made me helpless,/ His hostility (8) has overpowered me./ / He has arisen against me as an accuser;/ It is his vexing (read כעשו, cf. 10:17) that testifies against me." // Job then enlarges in sundry figures of speech on God's persecution of him, and then repeats:(16:19)/ "Truly, now my opponent is in heaven,/my adversary is on high."// In his second speech (chapter 19), Job tearfully begs his friends not to address him harshly but rather (19:21), "Oh, pity, pity me, at least you, my friends, / For I have been struck by the hand of God." // And in his last speech in this cycle (chapter 21), Job takes up the theme on which they have all harped in order to comfort him, of villains always getting their deserts. Significantly enough, he begins with "Just listen to my statement,/ And see what becomes of your comfortings"// (21:2) and ends with "So alas, you comfort me with futilities,/ Your arguments remain illusory" (21:34, reading *ʿml* as in 16:2.) // What he says in between is naturally that the facts are the opposite of what they claim (21:7–16). Actually, he demands, how often does calamity overtake the wicked (21:17–18)? And Job refuses to be comforted by the assurance that if retribution fails to overtake the reprobate it will yet overtake his children: what does the scoundrel care about what happens to his household after his death (21:19–21)? After verse 22, which is not clear, the same thought is repeated to the end of the chapter. All this is said not in anger but in sorrow, and Job's listeners would be the hyenas that the prevailing exegesis makes them out to be if they did not respond accordingly. But they do.

The Third Cycle (chapter 22). The third cycle is a torso, and only one friend's speech, that of Eliphaz, has been preserved; but it is enough. Like all of the friends' speeches in the first cycle, so the one preserved in the third (chapter 22) concludes with an assurance that as soon as Job makes his peace with God, God will restore him to greater bliss than ever, because (22:30) "God (read *El*, apparently) saves the blameless;/For your innocence you shall be saved." // As in the case of the first speech of Zophar (chapter 11, paragraph i above), the concluding reassurance seems to be at odds with the opening. But as in that case, in the first place, the conclusion is, by definition, the speaker's final word and, in the second place, the opening does not mean what it seems to mean at a superficial glance. Job 22:4 means, "Does he fear you that he should arraign you, enter into a lawsuit with you?"; 22:5–7, 9–11 "are a tongue-in-cheek parody of the sort of bill of particulars of his offenses that Job has been demanding of God (12:18ff.); Eliphaz does not wish to imply that Job is such a monster"; and 22:12 means, "You surely cannot expect God to deign to take the trouble to oblige you with such a bill of particulars." Job's reply (chapters 23–24) to Eliphaz is much in the spirit of his replies in the second cycle, except that he says nothing about the friends. For he expresses perplexity rather than bitterness about his own fate and the world order generally, and he expresses the wish rather than a demand to be able to talk it over with God (chapter 23). Chapters 25 and 26 are but fragments – probably the former (despite its superscription) as well as the latter from a speech or speeches of Job – and nothing more has been preserved of the third round of speeches. That a large block of material from "Job the Patient," namely chapters 27–28, should be preserved just where a large block of "Job the Impatient" is missing are two facts which it seems must somehow be connected, but just how cannot be considered here.

[Harold Louis Ginsberg]

Concerning the reassignment of 25:2–6 to Job (so already Tur-Sinai and Ginsberg) and the reassignment of 26:2–14 to Bildad see above at the end of the discussion of Ginsberg's theory of two books of Job, JP and JIP. For the reasons for assigning 25:2–6 to Job see below concerning the place of the dream vision in the ideology of Job.

As for the common perception that the third cycle has undergone significant damage, this perception is fostered by the notion that one is meant to reconstruct the speeches of Bildad and Zophar from 27. Once, however, one recognizes (a) that 27–28 represent an alternative response of Job to a different set of challenges than those posed in JIP; and (b) that by reversing 25:1 and 26:1 one has rediscovered the missing speeches of Job and Bildad, it is plausible to accept the contention of Mayan Ganim (12th century) and S.R. Driver that Zophar had simply said everything he had to say in the first and second cycles, and that little if anything was lost from the third cycle.

[Mayer I. Gruber (2nd ed.)]

JOB; ELIHU THE INTRUDER; GOD AND JOB. CHAPTERS 29:1–42:6. *Job (chapters 29–30).* In his classic study of the Book of Job in the 1971 EJ Ginsberg writes: "No longer arguing with his visitors, Job first laments his appalling change of fortune (29–30). He was once fabulously prosperous (expressed figuratively in 29:6) and influential: even the oldest and most honored and revered deferred to him, for he was friend, champion, and benefactor of the poor, the weak and the unfortunate. And he was confident that he would live long in undiminished vigor and power (29:18–20). Now, alas, he is despised and abused even by the children of outcasts (30:1–15). His grief is so intense that he suffers physically; he feels that God is implacably pursuing him and that his days are numbered (30:16 ff., 25–26 belong in chapter 31, e.g., after 31:20). Then in chapter 31, Job utters an elaborate declaration of innocence: he has lived up to the highest ethical standards, and has not even strayed from the path of strict monotheism (31:26–28). (31:37–40 are properly the conclusion of verse 8, and verse 1 a preface to verses 9 ff.) The conclusion is: (31:35–37) This is my case; I desire nothing so much as a statement of God's case." By stating, "His grief is so intense that he suffers physically," Ginsberg reflects the conventional view in modern biblical scholarship, which ignores the presentation in chapters 1–2 of the circumstances that brought Job to curse the day on which he was born (2:1), and which brought his three friends – Eliphaz, Bildad, and Zophar – to visit him. In fact, 2:7b records that, with God's permission, the Adversary "afflicted Job with a foul pox from head to toe" while 2:12 records that – apparently because of the debilitating effect of the aforementioned dermatological affliction – when the friends saw Job in the distance on their way to his home, "they could not recognize him." Job himself refers to his diseased condition in the so-called dialogue or symposium (chapters 3–26). For example, in 19:17, Job declares, "My breath is offensive to my wife// my stench to my own children" (so Pope), and in 19:20 he declares, "My bones stick to my skin and flesh// I escape with the skin of my teeth" (NJV), and in 19:21 he pleads with his three friends, "Pity me, Pity me, you [who are supposed to be] my friends, for a plague [Hebrew idiom known also from Ugaritic and Akkadian; the literal meaning is 'a divine hand'] has struck me." So it is not that overreacting, as it were, to the death of Job's seven sons and three daughters that made Job sick and possibly in need of psychological counseling. Rather, it is the fact, as often happens, Job's debilitating illness struck him precisely when he was in mourning over the sudden and untimely death of his sons and daughters. Job's friends, as it is reported in 2:11, set out "to comfort him and console him." The Hebrew *lanud* commonly translated "to comfort" (see again in 42:11) is a gesture-derived expression referring originally to shaking one's head in sympathy for a sick or bereft individual (see also Jer. 15:5; 18:16; and see the extensive discussion in Gruber, *Aspects*, pp. 406–7). Indeed, the prologue relates that when Job's three friends saw his debilitated physical condition, they expressed complete empathy by crying and by throwing dust upon their heads and sitting on the ground with Job for seven days and seven nights without saying a word to Job. However, when Job himself finally speaks up at the end of those seven days and seven nights and says, "I wish I were dead, or, better yet, that I had never been born, or at least that I might have died at birth," his highly educated and well-meaning friends do not simply respond with, "We hear you; tell us more about how you feel" (see Gitay; and see Gruber 1998). Instead, similar to what takes place nowadays during many a hospital visit and in many a house of mourning, Job's three friends get carried away with themselves, and suggest again and again that people who suffer death, bereavement, and disease have it coming to them (Eliphaz in 4:7–8: "Think now, what innocent man ever perished? Where have the upright been destroyed? As I have seen, those who plow evil and so mischief reap them" (so NJV); Bildad in 8:4: "If your sons sinned against Him, He dispatched them for their transgression"). Zophar even suggests that the reason that Job declares, "I have been innocent" (Zophar quoting Job in 11:4; precisely what the reader is supposed to remember from the prologue, chapters 1–2) is that Job is the victim of a divinely bestowed loss of memory: "God made you forget your sin" (Zophar to Job in 11:6c; translation following Tur-Sinai 1967).

Indeed, the Book of Job is a complex and profound literary work that may not be reduced to a single message.

However, a major theme of both the prose and the poetry of the Book of Job, from beginning to end, is the failure of Job's friends to provide him with moral support. Instead they argue with Job and blame him for his suffering. As the dialogue in the Book of Job indicates, the well-intentioned comforters insult the mourner. They tell him that he talks too much (8:2; 11:2–3; 15:2–3; 18:2). Job takes note and quotes their having said this in 16:3 where the 2d person singular pronominal suffixes prove that it is Job rather than the friends, who are being addressed (see below on the use of 2d person singular and plural as keys for when Job and the friends, respectively, are addressed). Job, in contrast, continually has to remind his friends that they are supposed to console/condole rather than insult him (6:14–30; 13:4–12; 16–2, 4; 19:1–5: "How long will you [plural, clearly addressing the three friends] grieve my spirit and crush me with words? Ten times you have humiliated me, And are not ashamed to abuse me. If indeed I have sinned, My error remains with me. But, in fact, you are overbearing toward me, reproaching me with my disgrace" (cf. NJV). In 21:2 Job has the daring to say, "Listen well to what I say, and let that [i.e., just being quiet long enough to give a fair hearing to what I have to say] be your consolation" (so Rashi!).

Unfortunately, many of the modern commentators seldom remind the reader that both Job (chapter 13) and God (chapter 42) tell us that persons who insult the mourner or the victim of illness must be called to account and must seek expiation for their sin (see Gruber 2003). In contrast, the talmudic rabbis (MK 28b) and the halakhic codes (e.g., Sh. Ar., *Yoreh De'ah* 376:1) took to heart Job's repeated suggestion that the best his friends might have done would have been to maintain their silence. They derive from the initial silence of Job's friends in 2:13 the profound lesson that would-be comforters should not say a word to the mourner unless and until she/he indicates verbally or nonverbally a willingness to listen. In fact, in the Shulḥan Arukh, *Yoreh De'ah*, the *halakhah* provides two concise and profound manuals of pastoral care. One of these manuals is called "Laws of Visiting the Sick" (chapter 335), and the other is called "Behavior of Comforters" (chapter 376). Perhaps, the Book of Job is underutilized in the literature of pastoral care because the Book of Job itself was damaged in the early Middle Ages after Yannai had already utilized the original Book of Job in which the dream vision was properly assigned to Job and not to Eliphaz, in whose mouth the dream vision seems to justify blaming the victim (in fact, the latter interpretation is embodied in Maimonides, *Guide for the Perplexed*. Book 3, chapter 25).

[Mayer I. Gruber (2nd ed.)]

Elihu (chapters 32–37). This is a famous enigma. If not for 32:1–5, one would have had the distinct impression that Job's three visitors were no longer with him when he spoke chapters 29–31, especially as God himself answers Job, chapters 38ff. – hardly after letting a mortal speak first. Now we suddenly learn that not only they but still a fourth visitor, who has not been mentioned before, is still present: Elihu. As a younger man, he has waited while they conversed with Job (read *ḥikkah be-dabberam 'et 'Iyyov*), but when they fail to respond to Job's last utterance he feels that the duty of justifying God has devolved upon him. Y. Kaufmann has well summarized Elihu's pronouncement. Elihu's purpose is to refute Job's denial of providence. He seeks to do so by citing alternately examples from what occurs occasionally and from what occurs constantly or regularly, three of each. First (32:6–22) he explains to the three friends why he is intruding: his elders have failed to refute Job, which goes to show that wisdom is a matter not of age but of genius; therefore his urge to say what they ought to have is irrepressible. Here his conceit makes his bombast somewhat amusing, after that the latter is merely irritating. Then (33:1–13) he turns to Job, "You claim you could prove you are in the right but a tyrannical God refuses to talk to you. Well, I am no god; if you do not win against me, it is because your case is without merit." *Example no. 1 from the occasional*, 33:14–33. God does so communicate with men, and in more ways than one. You cannot deny that he sometimes warns a man to mend his ways by means of a dream or an illness; the man "gets the message," acts accordingly and his life is spared. *Example no. 1 from the permanent*. This time the preface is addressed to the wise (34:1–12): Job, by asserting that God has wronged him, has associated himself with rogues and villains. *The proof itself* (34:13–14): Every living creature exists only by God's kindness; if he withdrew the breath of life from it, it would perish forthwith. *Example no. 2 from the occasional*, 34:16–37. Potentates are often overthrown suddenly. By whom but by God? For what but for misrule, oppression, and injustice? *Example no. 2 from the permanent*, chapter 35. God has distinguished man from the beasts by endowing him with a conscience. Surely, he to whom we owe our sense of right and wrong does not do wrong. *Example no. 3 from the occasional*, 36:2–21. It is a variant of no. 1. Besides illness other forms of suffering may serve as a warning from God, and a man may determine his own fate by heeding or ignoring it. *Example no. 3 from the permanent*. 36:22–37:24 is not a mere introduction to the third example, which is itself chapter 28 (so Kaufmann). Chapter 28 quite rightly follows directly on chapter 27, and the character of chapters 27–28 has already been elucidated under 2 (b). 36:22–37:24 itself is Elihu's example no. 3 from the permanent: the rain by means of which God supplies the food needs of nations (36:27–31) and (chapter 37) the majesty and terrors of thunder and tempest, of snow and rain and cold, by which God may either benefit or castigate (37:12–13), as also the wonders of the firm dome of heaven, which God can utterly darken with clouds and then clear up again (37:15–22). Wise people cannot but revere such a God. But 38:22–35 says the same thing as Elihu's example no. 3 from the permanent, and says it lucidly and succinctly instead of turgidly and longwindedly. The effort to understand the Elihu speeches is often great, all out of proportion to the profundity of the thought; and since the gem chapter 28, as has been said, is no part of them and so cannot be regarded as redeeming these shortcomings, Kaufmann's view that the Elihu chapters are, and were from the start, integral to what we have called "Job the Impatient" is untenable. More plausible is R. Gordis's view that the author added them in his old age, since the styles of good writers have been known to deteriorate in old age (but to such an extent?). But the more widely held view of Pope that they are by a later hand is at least equally plausible.

[Harold Louis Ginsberg]

Greenstein, in "Job's Initial Speech," in *Studies in Honor of Menahem Cohen*, ed. S. Vargon et al. (2005), pp. 256–58, demonstrates that Elihu's reference to the description of a dream in 33:15 supports the Tur-Sinai-Ginsberg thesis that assigns 4:12–21 to Job rather than Eliphaz (see above and below).

[Mayer I. Gruber (2nd ed.)].

God and Job (chapters 38:1–42:6). Twice God answers Job "out of the storm," 38:1 and 40:6. The original opening formula of the second reply has been superseded by a verse (40:7) from the opening of the first (38:3), but it has been preserved, telescoped into Job's second acknowledgment of defeat, as 42:3a*a*, 4. Since, however, God's first attack has already elicited from Job the abject surrender: "(40:4) Behold, I am worthless – / What can I say in reply? // I put my hand to my mouth. (5) I spoke once – I shall not a second time;/twice, but I shall not again," // the need for a second attack is not obvious, and many claim that the second one is also inferior from an artistic point of view and is a later interpolation. Neither speech can be said to offer a direct answer to Job's questions about the reasons for his own suffering and about the general lack of any discoverable relationship between men's characters and their fortunes. The first, the more sparkling and pointed of God's two replies, may be summarized and paraphrased as follows: You did not even exist when the world was created, you haven't even seen more than a fraction of it, and the idea of your running it is grotesque. Pity the world if it had to depend on you to make the sun rise and set, the gazelle drop her young at the proper season and the young scramble to their legs and grow up all without any help, etc.! In the context of the book, this can only mean that for such an insignificant being as man to ask the Lord of the Universe for an explanation is "to darken/obscure counsel ignorantly with words" (38:2; 42:3a*a*); and whatever those words may mean exactly, the implication is that one must serve God not only in spite of all adversity but without even the expectation of an explanation.

[Harold Louis Ginsberg]

Israel Knohl, *The Divine Symphony* (2003), p. 116, asks what it is about God's description of the wonders of Creation in chapters 38–41 that prompts Job to declare: "I had heard You with my ears, but now I see You with my eyes. Therefore, I recant and relent, being [that I am] only dirt and dust" (42:5). The answer to Knohl's question is to be found through careful attention to what Job asks of God throughout the cycle of speeches in chapters 3–26. Indeed, Job and his friends have been arguing as to whether or not the friends know how to provide comfort. Likewise, Job and his friends have been arguing as to whether or not Job, the paradigmatic sufferer, has it coming to him. On both of these counts, Job, in chapter 42:7 is vindicated while the friends are asked to seek forgiveness and to ask that Job intervene on their behalf with God. There is, however, a third issue that appears in Job's speeches in chapters 3–26 when he addresses God in the second person singular. He asks that God acknowledge that Job has asked to have a dialogue with him (13:18–28; 23). In so doing, it is Job who brings up the subject of the personified sea (Hebrew and Ugaritic *yam*; 7:12), who is also called *Leviathan. The latter entity is commonly understood to be a mythological monster. This monster, in turn, is commonly understood to be a personification (in Israel's Canaanite heritage best known from the epic poetry of *Ugarit) of the yearly struggle for dominion over the cosmos between the deified storm and rain (*Baal) the pair Sea/River [e.g., Ps. 114:3, 5], and the deified summer drought. Concerning the interpretation of references to the Sea personified as Leviathan or Serpent (Heb. *tannin*; see in Job 7:12) or Rahab or the Elusive Serpent (Job 26:13) or the Twisting Serpent (Isa. 27:1) as reflections of the aforementioned seasonal pattern, see T.H. Gaster, *Thespis* (1961), especially pp. 141–48. Two of the most prominent Jewish interpreters of Job in the 20th century – M. Buttenwieser (*Job*, 1925) and Gordis – argued, on the other hand, that Leviathan in the Book of Job is simply the crocodile. For the demonstration that Heb. *tannin* refers to the crocodile only in Ezekiel 29:3 and 32:2 see C. Cohen in *Studies in Honor of H.M.Y. Gevaryahu*, vol. 2 (1991), pp. 75–81.

In fact, the seasonal pattern posited by Gaster is not a feature of life in the southern Levant. Moreover, the treatment of references to a battle between either the God of Israel or the Canaanite Baal as mythology (from Greek *mythos* meaning "lie") suggests that the idea that there was at some time in the remote past a battle between God and the personified Sea, which seriously challenged God's omnipotence is a kind of collective false memory. In fact, the record of destructive tidal waves generated by earthquakes far out at sea, which killed thousands and even hundreds of thousands of people, seems to belong more to collective repressed memory than to collective false memory because it is virtually unmentioned in history books. When just such a tidal wave – now commonly known by the Japanese term tsu-nami – killed more than 100,000 people in Southeast Asia in December 2004, suddenly the newspapers recovered from humankind's repressed memory the distinct possibility that such a tidal wave had put an end to the Minoan Civilization in 1628 B.C.E. and the fact that, inter alia, such a tidal wave had destroyed the city of *Acre in 1303 C.E.

Now it is precisely this natural force – the sea or tidal wave described as a monster or serpent – that Job mentions in 7:12 when he asks God, "Am I the sea or the Dragon [*tannin*] that You have set a watch over me?" Bildad (in Gruber's reassignment of 26:2–14) brings up this monstrous entity again in 26:12–13: "By His power He stilled the sea; By His skill He struck down Rahab. By His wind the heavens were calmed;

His hand pierced the Elusive Serpent." And so, Job has every reason to be satisfied that in finally acceding to his oft-repeated request that God only show that He is listening to Job's entreaties. God responds and indeed refers to the monstrous Leviathan, the personification of the forces from beneath the depths of the sea that wreak havoc. And here God does not engage in theodicy, confirming Eliphaz's, Bildad's, and Zophar's contention that people suffer because they have it coming to them. On the contrary, he intimates that in his own home suffering from his undeserved illness and his undeserved bereavement Job should have been the center of a universe in miniature and should have merited the empathy of Eliphaz, Bildad, and Zophar. However, in the larger world out there God has endowed with a measure of free choice not only humans but also other entities including the tsu-nami, a.k.a., the Leviathan. In this grand scheme of things, Job's debilitating case of what appears to be a not uncommon, life-threatening form of psoriasis assumes vastly less cosmic significance. In the end, however, God as portrayed in the Book of Job does, as it were, take out time from dealing with the monstrous tsu-nami to address Job directly and not, as many a modern mortal potentate might be wont to do, by way of some minor official. In so doing, God suggests that at least for the readers of Job – humans, who have not yet harnessed the forces of destruction from beneath the sea – the abiding challenge is to learn how to speak and, better still, how to keep silence in the face of our friends and neighbors, who have a right to cry out in their physical and emotional pain. Indeed, all people can learn to simply nod their head in empathy (Heb. *lanud*). After all, even God listens and even answers with empathy, even if only in chapter 38 of one of the Bible's longest books.

In Job 40:9–14, in God's second speech out of the whirlwind, which conventional biblical scholarship (see Ginsberg above) has found wanting, God challenges Job, "Have you an arm like God's? Can you thunder with a voice like His? … See every proud man and humble him, And bring them down where they stand. Bury them all in the earth; Hide their faces in obscurity. Then even I would praise you for the triumph your right hand won you." Harold S. Kushner, *When Bad Things Happen to Good People* (1981), argues that the profound message of this passage is that although God would like us to have all the happiness we deserve, He cannot or will not save innocent victims from cruelty or chaos. A century before Kushner, Benjamin Szold (*Job* 1886; in Hebrew) warned against expecting to find in God's speeches from out of the whirlwind in Job 38–41 an answer to the question as to *why* bad things happen to good people. After all, argued Szold, the book was not written by God; it was written by a theologian. At the end of the day, therefore, the best that this theologian can offer us is not a theodicy but an anthropodicy. And this, no less than the beautiful Hebrew poetry of the Book of Job, is one of the abiding messages of this great book of Scripture (see below).

C. Newsom (*Job* 2003, pp.234–58) points out, "Almost every commentator notes that the divine speeches refuse to engage Job's arguments on his terms." This fact prompts Newsom to compose a brilliant essay, which almost rivals Job 38–41 in its literary artistry and intellectual sophistication. Nevertheless, it appears that "almost every commentator" has failed to heed not only Szold's sound advice that the Book of Job cannot be expected to supply an answer to the question as to why bad things happen to good people but also to heed the simple fact that while Jeremiah may have asked, "why do the wicked prosper," Job, strange to relate, does not ask, "Why do the innocent suffer bereavement and disease?" Consequently, the author of the divine speeches cannot and should not be faulted for not providing an answer to the question Job does not ask. All the more, no holistic reading of the Book of Job, can fault the divine speeches for not repeating the answer given to Job's own particular suffering in chapters 1–2. There it is related that Job was, like the proverbial albino mouse in the proverbial laboratory maze, the subject of a highly successful experiment. In this experiment, Job did not curse God. A highly sophisticated theory as to how each and every individual is duly rewarded in good measure for virtuous behavior and duly punished for misbehavior is set forth, in fact, in Moses' Naḥmanides, *The Gate of Reward,* which includes a short commentary on the Book of Job. Indeed, Naḥmanides may have been inspired to work out a veritable higher mathematics of reward and punishment precisely because neither JP or JIP offers an adequate explanation of the brilliant question, which Job does not actually ask in the canonical Book of Job. This question is, "Just how are people rewarded for their virtue and punished for their misdeeds?" After all, much human experience often seems aptly described by Job 9:22: "It is all one; therefore I say, 'He [God] destroys the blameless and the guilty'"; and Job 21:30: "For the evil man is spared on the day of calamity, on the day when wrath is led forth."

What does Job actually ask, and what precisely does God reply? In fact, the Book of Job contains altogether 16 questions introduced by the interrogative particles *lammah* (9), *maddu'a* (6), *and mah* (1). None of these 16 questions is, "Why do good people suffer?" On the other hand, Job does ask three times in chapter 3 (v. 11, 12, 30) and once more in 10:20, "Why was I born?" This rhetorical question seems to mean simply, "I wish I had not been born." In 18:3 it is Bildad who asks Job why he thinks that Bildad and his two friends are foolish while in 19:22; 21:4; 27:12 Job addresses "why" questions to his three friends. In 33:13 it is Elihu who asks Job why he can possibly call God to account for not replying to people when, in fact, God does respond to people in dreams. Elihu supports his argument by quoting almost verbatim from Job's account of a dreadful dream (Elihu in 33:15ff. referring back to 4:13, on which see above).

In 7:20 Job asks, "Why [*lammah*] do you make *me* your target?" The holistic reading of the canonical Book of Job does not require an answer for this, which was provided in chapters 1–2. This answer, that Job was being tested and did not deserve to suffer, is confirmed in 42:7: "You [Eliphaz and your two friends] did not speak right about me as did my servant Job." In 7:21 Job asks, "Why [*mah*] do you not forgive my transgression and forgive my iniquity?" The latter question is certainly not about why bad things happen to good people. Indeed, in 9:29; 21:7, and 24:1 Job does echo Jeremiah in asking, "Why do the wicked prosper?" Asking the question is itself a challenge to the contention of Eliphaz (4:7), Bildad (8:12–22), and Zophar (20) that the wicked are punished and the just rewarded.

This search for the "why" question, which, scholars often contend, the divine speeches ought to answer, leaves us with only two more candidates: 30:2 and 13:24. The first of these, 30:2, "What can I gain from the strength of their hands, from men whose vigor is spent?" is most assuredly not addressed to God. It is, as Gordis (1978, p. 330) explains, a virtual quotation, explaining why Job did not employ as shepherds the fathers of the young men, who now scorn him. This leaves us with only 13:24 where Job asks God, "Why do you hide your face?" And this is precisely the question, which the divine speeches answer most directly in 38:1 and again in 40:1: "the LORD answered Job from out of the whirlwind." In fact, God even responds directly to Job's challenge in 9:19, 13:8, 31:35 that God please grant him a day in court to bring a veritable lawsuit against God. This response is stated in 40:2 in the form of a rhetorical question: "Will the reprover contend with Shaddai// Will He [God] provide an answer to one who seeks to reprove God?" (cf. Tur-Sinai 1967, p. 554) God's question seems to mean, "Job, you summoned God into the courtroom. Are you certain that you want to go through with this lawsuit?" What could be a more appropriate response to Job's having asked for a day in court? Moreover 42:5, in which Job says, in response to the last of the God speeches, "I have heard about you with my ears, but now I see you with my eyes," Job acknowledges that God has indeed granted Job's wish, expressed in 19:25–27 (in NJV): "But I know that my Vindicator lives; In the end He will testify on earth – This, after my skin will have been peeled off. But I would behold God while still in my flesh, I myself, not another, would behold Him; would see with my own eyes."

So – in the end – the circle is closed. God meets Job in court, and He confirms to Job's friends and to all readers of the Book of Job (42:7) that indeed bad things do happen to good people and that victims should not be insulted by would-be comforters – quite a profound lesson in anthropodicy, albeit it not the theodicy we might have expected from a theophany. For such a theodicy one must look instead to Maimonides' and Naḥmanides' demonstrations that bad things do not really happen to impeccable people or to the promise in the Book of Daniel (12) that in the long run those who sleep in the dust – the good and the bad (cf. Job 3:13) – will all receive their appropriate eternal rewards. In the interim, the abiding message of God to Job's would-be comforters is enshrined in *halakhah*. And that is no small achievement of the book's author and of the faith community that preserved and cherished the Book of Job.

[Mayer I. Gruber (2nd ed.)]

The Origin and the Literary Evolution and Character of the Book of Job

Ezekiel 14:12–20 reveals an acquaintance on the part of a writer of the early sixth century B.C.E. with a tradition about a saint of old by the name of Job who was presumably identical with the hero of the canonical book of that name. Of the two saints whom Ezekiel names together with Job, namely, Noah and Daniel, the former is the well known hero of the Flood. For Daniel, he is apparently the one who is also known from Ugaritic literature, see *Daniel. Details about Job are known only from the Book of Job. It is held that in this book a later composition, "Job the Impatient" (JIP), has been grafted onto an older one, "Job the Patient" (JP), and it stands to reason that the latter is closer to the original tradition about Job than the former. But JP itself consists of more than one stratum. Observations made by writers like W.L. Batten, A. Alt, and H.A. Fine point to the following stratification: (a) JPa, 1:1–5, 13–22; 42:11–17. These 22 verses constitute a simple but complete story, which knows nothing about any role of Satan; for (1) in 1:13, "his sons" refers back to the "Job" in verse 5b, not to "the Satan" in verse 12b; (2) the text does not say that the calamities of 1:13–19 were caused by the Satan (contrast 2:7), and in 42:11 we read that the friends comforted Job "for all the misfortune that God had inflicted upon him"; and finally (3) the blessing of God in 42:12–13 presupposes the previous loss of his property and his children in 1:13–19 but not the inflicting of an unbearable dermatitis in 2:7–8, 13. (b) JPb, 1:6–12; chapter 2; chapters 27–28; 42:7–10 plus some lost sections on which see the last part of section 2. The author of JPb was a writer of high quality. Finding in JPa that Job lived in the Kedemite region of Uz (see above, Sec. 2a) he furnished him with friends from three other Kedemite tribes or localities. He obviously created Eliphaz the Temanite out of two of the names in Genesis 36:11, and it is probable that he spun Zophar the Naamathite out of two other names in the same verse. Some texts of the Septuagint actually have Zophar there for Zepho, and the writer either had an aberrant reading *nʿmt* for *gʿtm* or was bold enough to modify *gʿtm* to *nʿmt* for his purpose. How he arrived at the name Bildad is uncertain (perhaps he thus modified Bedad, Gen. 36:35), but the gentilic Shuhite was obviously suggested to him by the last name in Genesis 25:2. Remembering that his characters are non-Israelite (and probably pre-Mosaic) he has them employ the divine names El, Eloah, and Shaddai, but never YHWH. He is the author of the lovely poem which is chapter 28. By introducing the Satan, an angel with the permanent office of accuser, he reveals that he dates from the Persian period, since the earliest datable passage in which he occurs with this role is Zechariah 3:1ff. JPa may possibly be of late pre-Exilic authorship, though one has the feeling that it too is post-Exilic. The real genius of the Book of Job is, of course, the author of JIP (whether or not it originally included the Elihu chapters and the second God-Job exchange, see end of 3). He not only changed Job from a conventional saint to a negator of retribution and providence, but he built up a structure of consummate literary art. To the limiting of their speech to pre-Yahwistic divine names, he adds a Kedemite linguistic coloring. Kedem, the cradle of the Kedemite stock, is primarily the Middle Euphrates region (those Kedemites who lived farther south were believed to be descendents of Abraham and Lot, both of whom migrated from the original Kedem). Now, Kedem in this sense stands in synonymous parallelism with Aram in Numbers 23:7, and a famous native of this region is styled Laban the Aramean and represented as speaking Aramaic, Genesis 31:24, 47. It is therefore for the sake of local color that this writer, whose knowledge of Hebrew (and of Hebrew Scriptures) was excellent, not only makes his characters keep using the noun *millin* ("words," infrequent in Hebrew) and interlard their speech with such hair-raising Aramaisms as *sahed* (the classical parallel synonym of *ʿed* "witness" is *yafeaḥ*, and he surely knew it) and *geled* ("skin"), and such forms as *minhem* ("from them," Heb. *mehem*). The subtle devices by which he makes the friends express their pique in the second round by dwelling only on the punishment of the wicked, or Job employ against his opponents telling allusions to words previously spoken by one of them, have already been pointed out. A serious hindrance to the modern reader's appreciation of his art are, apart from minor corruptions, the many displacements of lines. Both are particularly liable to occur in lyrical texts, where the logic of the story and of prose syntax, which are such an effective check on corruption in prose narrative, are totally wanting. Torczyner (Tur-Sinai) observed that a principal reason why the characters often seem to be speaking pointlessly or even arguing against themselves is that in the received text 4:12–19 stands in a speech of Eliphaz. The critics never tire of deprecating the complacency of Eliphaz and his friends. Yet here he cites a terrifying nightmare in which he was told that God accounts no man righteous because He is an impossible tyrant even with the angels. On the other hand it is Job who has just said: I wish I were dead because there I would have calm and rest and I would not have trouble. As it is (3:26) I have no calm, no tranquility, and no rest, and trouble has come upon me (3:25) For I had a dread and it has come true, just what I feared has come to pass. It is in 4:13–16, 12, 17–20 that Job goes on to tell what that premonition of disaster was: a dream in which an angel informed him obliquely that he was living in a fool's paradise if he imagined that his righteousness was a guarantee against ruin: God, who found fault with his angels, certainly did not recognize any such category as righteous men. This, so far from being the view of Eliphaz, is so repugnant to him that in chapter 15, in verses 14–16 of which he cites it as Job's view, he berates him for it mercilessly. On the other hand, it is Job who says in 6:10 end, "I have not withheld the words of a holy being," and who throughout the discussion keeps complaining that God is unreasonable. This insight of Torczyner's (Tur-Sinai's) makes many other things in the disputation fall into place. Grafted onto JPb, JIP must be younger than JPb. In effect, Segal has shown that it abounds in parallels to other books of the Bible, and that in all but a small fraction of cases Job is either demonstrably or probably dependent on those other books. The clear case of Proverbs 3:11–13 > Job 5:17 has already been cited (in 3, a, i), but since the age of Proverbs 1–9 is controversial this observation is of little help in arriving at a terminus post quem for JIP. A decisive case, however, is Isaiah 44:24b > Job 9:8. Not only has the former perfect parallelism and the later none, in the former *levaddi*, "I alone," is just the point: God made everything, no one else had any part in the creation of either the sky or the earth. In the latter, on the other hand, the only reason why the author added *levaddo*, "all alone," after *noṭeh shamayim* was that he found *levaddi* after *noṭeh shamayim* in the former, which served him as model. (It follows that the parallelism is also due to borrowing on the part of Job in the case of Isa. 41:20 > Job 12:9; Isa. 50:9 > Job 13:28; Isa. 59:4 > Job 15:35; et al.). On these grounds Segal dates Job (i.e., JIP) after Deutero-Isaiah, that is, after the third quarter of the sixth century B.C.E. (That JIP, in borrowing the phrase in question, assigned to the word *noṭeh* a different meaning from the one it has in its original context is an observation for which see Ginsberg, 1968.)

[Harold Louis Ginsberg]

The Name Eliphaz

As the name of the leader of the three wise men who enter the house of the bereft and infirm Job, and, despite their initial good intentions, insult him and blame his dead children for their own untimely death, the name *Eliphaz is most appropriate. According to Genesis 36:10 Eliphaz was the first born son of Esau. Esau, according to Gen. 25:30 and 36:1, is the progenitor of Edom, the nation depicted as Israel's arch-enemy in Malachi 1:2–4. Moreover, Eliphaz, the son of Esau is identified as the father of Amalek in Genesis 36:10. Amalek, of course, is the enemy of Israel, who is described in Deuteronomy 25:18 as follows: "undeterred by fear of God [the foremost quality of Job in 1–2; and the essence of true wisdom in Job 28:28], he surprised you on the march, when you were famished and weary, and cut down all the stragglers in your rear." Other than to ascend a ladder and hold up a sign as to who is the hero and who is the villain in Job 3–26, the author of the canonical Book of Job, could not have done more than naming that villain Eliphaz to suggest that the anti-hero of the Book of Job is the wise person who comes to a house of mourning and insults both the mourner(s) and the mourned by saying that they had it coming to them. This author has done his/her very best by suggesting that as Isaac is the link between Abraham and Jacob so is Eliphaz the link between Esau and Amalek. Yet, most of the standard commentaries attach no special meaning to the deliberate choice of the name Eliphaz for one who, like his son Amalek, hits the book's real hero when he is down. Acutely aware of the not so subtle message of calling Job's protagonist by the name of the son of Esau and the father of Amalek, a number of midrashim quoted in Ginzberg's *Legends*, 1, p. 422 suggest that when Job reminded Eliphaz that he was, after all, the son of Esau, Eliphaz replied, "I have nothing to do with him; 'a child shall not bear the iniquity of one's parent'" (Ezek. 18:20). Another midrash quoted in Ginzberg's

Legends, 5, 322 accounts for Amalek's reprehensible behavior not as something he might have learned from his parents but as the kind of behavior that results when a great prophet neglects the education of her/his children because of excessive involvement in the public domain! Obviously, both of these midrashim seek to tone down the biblical author's message that people who insult the bereaved and the infirm belong to the enemies of Israel.

Why Kedemites?

Gruber 1998 noted that the characterization of Job as "greater than all the Kedemites" (1:3) ought to remind one of King Solomon, whose "wisdom was greater than the wisdom of all the Kedemites …" (1 Kings. 5:10). Here again as in the choice of the name Eliphaz (son of Esau and father of Amalek) for the anti-hero the author of the canonical Book of Job already intimates that the true wisdom is not with Eliphaz and his friends but with Job as Job will argue in 12–14 and as God will concur in 42:7 where again God, not fortuitously, addresses specifically Eliphaz and says, "you and your two friends" (i.e., Bildad and Zophar). And yet, perhaps part of the greatness of the artistry of the Book of Job is that despite all the not so subtle hints scattered all over the book, readers must rediscover who spoke rightly and who did not. Ultimately, the difficulty lies not in the difficult vocabulary that requires years of study of ancient languages but in the unpleasant realization that if bad things really do happen to good people on a regular basis (as is suggested in the talmudic dictum in Bava Batra 15a, which sees Job not as a one-time historical personage but as a paradigm (Heb. *mashal*) of all innocent victims), then it could happen to anyone of the innocent readers of the Book of Job. Just as some persons go into what psychologists call denial when they receive a death sentence from a cardiologist or oncologist, so do many readers and commentators on the Book of Job go into denial when they face up to the fact that the Book of Job says a great deal about the fact that bad things happen to good people and as little as possible about why this happens.

The Dream Vision in the Book of Job and Beyond

In the 1960s Tur-Sinai and Ginsberg were alone in construing the teaching revealed in the dream vision (chapter 4:12–19; and referred to again by Job in 6:10 ("I have not withheld the words of a holy being"; see Ginsberg 1967, p. 99) and in 9:1 ("Indeed, I know that it is so: 'how can a human be vindicated before God'?") and clearly mocked by Eliphaz in 5:1, 8 ("Just call – see if anyone answers you! To whom of the 'holy' beings can you turn? I [Eliphaz], on the other hand, resort to God, to God do I address my plea"; Ginsberg 1967, p. 99) and again in 15:11–19:

> Do these comfortings [by Eliphaz, Bildad, and Zophar] fail to satisfy you
> Because you know some word that reached you by stealth?
> What sinful haughtiness!
> What monstrous pride!
> To blow your wind at these men
> And to belch forth such words:
> "How can a mortal be judged righteous
> a human born of a woman accounted just?
> If he [God] disapproves of his sacred abode [the sky]
> If the very skies [whose purity is described in Exod. 24:10]
> are not pure in His sight,
> How much less a thing loathed and detested,
> a human, who drinks godlessness like water!"
> Listen [says Eliphaz to Job], and let me [Eliphaz] tell you [Job],
> relate what I have seen …
> (translation from Ginsberg 1967, pp. 100–2 with modifications for the sake of greater clarity)

On the basis of the clear evidence that Job saw in the dream vision a vindication of his own position that his suffering is not the cause of some heinous sin since, as is revealed in the vision, even the sky and the stars and moon therein would not pass muster if summoned to account before the divine Judge, Tur-Sinai and Ginsberg assign also chapter 25, vv. 2–6 to Job:

> Dominion and dread are His;
> He imposes peace in his heights [Heb. *oseh shalom bi-meromav*; the source of the first
> clause of the final line of the Kaddish!; see below]
> Can His troops be numbered?
> On whom does His light not shine?
> How can a human be in the right before God?
> How can one born of a woman be cleared of guilt?
> Even the moon is not bright,
> And the stars are not pure in His sight.

By the end of the 20th century numerous other scholars adopted and elaborated upon the Tur-Sinai-Ginsberg thesis with respect to the place of the dream vision in the Book of Job. These scholars include G.V. Smith, in: VT, 40 (1990); Margaret B. Crook, *The Cruel God* (1959); J.C.L. Gibson, in: *Scottish Journal of Theology,* 28 (1975), Y. Gitay, in: JNWSL, 25 (1999), and especially E.L. Greenstein in numerous publications including the commentary on Job in the Hebrew Commentary Series *Mikra LeYisrael* (2006). Gruber (1998; 2003) demonstrated that, in fact, the treatment of the dream vision as a defense of the individual who must give an account of himself before the divine Judge rather than an attack by Eliphaz upon Job's claim of integrity is reflected in a series of Jewish liturgical poems associated with the penitential season that precedes the Jewish New Year (Rosh Ha-Shanah) and culminates in the Day of Atonement. Moreover, he suggested that rather than attributing to the sixth century C.E. liturgical poet *Yannai a radical rearrangement of the Book of Job, anticipating Tur-Sinai, Ginsberg, and Greenstein, one can assume the following: at least the earliest of the synagogal poets who elaborated upon the dream vision as a defense of humankind standing before the divine tribunal on Rosh Ha-Shanah and the Day of Atonement read Job in its original form before the unfortunate series of displacements in the current Hebrew text, which the aforementioned modern scholars recognized. Gruber was able to buttress this claim by pointing to various biblical texts recovered from *Qumran in which the order of verses, pericopes, and even chapters differs radically from the standard Hebrew text of Hebrew Scripture. For additional data as to how blocks of text were displaced in the copying of ancient manuscripts, see Greenstein 2005, pp. 260–62.

Holistic Interpretation of the Book of Job: Beyond Ginsberg and Gordis

One of the most important trends in late 20th century and early 21st century biblical scholarship is holistic interpretation. Holistic medicine, which developed during the same era, utilizes the data and techniques developed in treating specific maladies of specific organs and tissues to treat the entire person far more effectively than either the new techniques alone or the old-fashioned family physician. By the same token, holistic biblical interpretation seeks to utilize the data garnered by classic 19th and 20th century atomistic exegesis in order to fully understand not only individual units but also entire books as they appear in the ancient Hebrew and Greek versions of the Jewish Bible. Two of the important exponents of holistic interpretation, who have contributed immensely to improved understanding of the Book of Job, are E.L. Greenstein and Carol Newsom.

Following up on Gordis's argument that the canonical Book of Job is a datum while its division into previous compositions is only a theory, holistic interpretation tends to see 42:7b–17 not only as the fitting rebuke of Job's friends for having urged him to curse God and the fitting laudation of Job for having rebuked his friends in 27–28 but as the equally fitting conclusion to the canonical Book of Job, which has privileged the infinitely more profound work which Ginsberg calls JIP. In 42:7b–8 it is stated, "And the LORD said to Eliphaz the Temanite, 'I am angry at you and your two friends because you did not speak rightly about me as did my devotee Job. Now take for yourselves seven bulls and seven rams and go to my devotee Job and offer a burnt offering for yourselves. And let Job, my devotee, pray for you; for him will I accept and not treat you badly, since you have not spoken rightly about me as did my devotee Job.'"

Significantly, in this passage God employs the expression "show deference" (literally, "lift up someone else's face") for precisely the generally forbidden activity (see e.g., Lev. 19:15) of which Job, himself accused Eliphaz and his friends in 13:6–10:

> Will you tell lies on behalf of God
> speak falsehoods on his behalf?
> Will you show bias in his favor,
> play the advocate for God?
> Will it be pleasant when he takes you to task?
> Can you mock him as you mock mortals?
> And accuse you he surely will
> If you show partiality in the dispute.
> (Translation adapted from Ginsberg 1967, p. 98.)

Thus it turns out that Job in the very heart of his debate with Eliphaz, Bildad, and Zophar has accused these friends of showing partiality in a dispute in order to justify God in the face of Job's undeserved suffering. What the reader of the canonical book is meant to know from chapters 1–2 is that, in fact, Job is totally innocent. He is the subject of an experiment. Job does not know this, nor do the friends. Job proves that God was correct and "the Adversary" mistaken. Contrary to the dire prediction of "the Adversary" in 1:10 and 2:5, Job does not curse God. He insists again and again that (a) he has done nothing to deserve the untimely tragic death of his seven sons and three daughters; (b) his three friends who have come to visit a bereft and infirm individual have misbehaved by blaming the victim rather than sitting silently and nodding their heads; and (c) all he wants from God is that God should dialogue with him and acknowledge him.

Consequently, when God rebukes the friends in 42:7–8, he confirms the correctness of what Job has insisted throughout his speeches in chapters 3–26; 29–31. Moreover, when God does address Job in 38–41 he has acceded to Job's simple request uttered in 9:32–35: "For God is not a man, like me, whom I could answer when we came to trial together. If only there were an arbiter between us, who would lay his hand upon us both, who would remove God's rod from me so that my dread of Him would not terrify me. Then I would speak, and not fear Him, for He is far from just to me." And, in fact, at the end of the book, God does address Job (see below concerning the God speeches). Moreover, by God's saying that Job has spoken rightly and the friends not, God has vindicated Job both in his complaint that his friends do not know how to comfort a bereft and infirm individual and in his conviction that his suffering is totally undeserved.

[Mayer I. Gruber (2nd ed.)]

The Message and Meaning of Job

The problem of the final meaning and message of the book, no less than that of its provenance and composition, has elicited over the centuries a wide variety of responses. To some sages of the Talmud and Midrash, Job is to be regarded as one of the few truly God-fearing men of the Bible (Mid. Lekaḥ Tov to Gen. 47:12), the most pious gentile that ever lived (Deut. R. 2:4), exceeding even Abraham in this regard (BB 14b). To others, he was a blasphemer (*ibid.*). According to R. Joshua b. Hananiah (second century), Job served God out of love, the highest possible motivation; according to R. Johanan b. Zakkai (first century), it was only fear that prompted Job to serve God (Sotah 5:5). Maimonides (*Guide*, 3:22–23) attributes Job's defiant questioning of God's justice to his defective knowledge of God; defective, since it was based on the mere acceptance of authority. However, when Job attained a true, philosophical knowledge of God (after the theophany from the whirlwind), he realized that it alone constitutes true happiness. No misfortune, however grave, can trouble a man once he is in possession of a truly philosophical knowledge of God gained through revelation. The latter instructs him that God's knowledge, rule of the world, and providence are in no wise to be compared to man's conception of these matters. "If a man knows this, every misfortune will be borne lightly by him."

Modern commentators are sharply divided as to what the author of Job meant to teach his readers. The problem arises from the fact that in the speeches of God from the whirlwind (Job 38–42), God majestically ignores the issue as Job has posed it. Instead of giving an explanation of Job's sufferings, God confronts Job with a series of seemingly irrelevant, ironic questions intended to convince him of the paltriness of human knowledge and power. The rhetorical questions, encompassing the unfathomable wonders of creation, the immensity of its expanse, and the marvels of nature, in whose presence man's understanding and power are as nought, seem to imply that it is presumptuous of man to question God's justice. This reading appears to be borne out by God's challenge: "Wilt thou even make void My judgment? Wilt thou condemn me that mayest be justified?" (40:8). Even more, Job acknowledges (40:4) that he is "of small account" and that in view of God's unanswerable questions, he will "proceed no further" (*ibid.*) with his questioning of God's justice. Indeed, Job is mildly rebuked by God for speaking out of ignorance and of "darkening counsel" (38:2). Yet, the friends are even more sharply rebuffed by God, since by their words they have enkindled his wrath: "For ye have not spoken of me the thing that is right, as My servant Job hath" (42:7). Taken at face value, the implication is that Job's repeated assertion of the lack of a visible correlation between his life of rectitude and the dreadful fate visited upon him disproves the friends' contention that suffering is proof of sin. If one were to employ the argument from silence, then the absence of any charge of guilt against Job in God's reply would constitute divine vindication of both Job's innocence and his argument. In sum, the book would teach (Terrien): (1) that the old doctrine of a causal connection between suffering and moral evil is untenable; (2) that the splendors of creation and their marvelous sustainment (38:39, 40), phenomena beyond the capacities of man, are proof of the justice of God; and (3) that the question of man's actual lot as contrasted with his rightful deserts is one on which God prefers to maintain silence. Moreover, in the face of an awareness of the divine power, as expressed in God's series of questions to Job (38:4–39; 40:9–32), Job's question becomes irrelevant. Conceivably, the thought is implied that if man could match God's power and wisdom, only then could he grasp the workings of God's providence. Job admits the total impossibility of such a feat (42:3) and concludes by abhorring his words and repenting, "Seeing I am but dust and ashes" (42:6).

The enigmatic character and dubious relevance of God's reply to Job have suggested an interpretation that, in the first instance, denies that the book was written as an attempt to solve the mystery of the suffering of the innocent. Neither the colloquy nor the theophany penetrate to the reason for Job's suffering. That reason, however, emerges quite clearly from the prologue and epilogue. Job's suffering is merely a divine test of his piety. In addition to controverting the conventional view that suffering is punishment for sin, the book proposes not an answer but an experience. The message of Job is neither theological nor philosophical. It is profoundly religious. Its origin is to be sought in the biblical concept of the consequence of sin as isolation from God (Gen. 4:14). In his agony, Job feels not only isolated from God but that God has become his implacable enemy (7:20; 9:16–18; 13:21, 25; 16:9, 12:19:6–9; 30:20) and has hidden his face from him (13:24). He insists that death would be preferable to his life of unmitigated woe (3:17) and that never to have seen the light of day would have been an even more desirable fate (3:11, 12), since in either case he would have been beyond God's hostile power. No isolation from God could be more total than this. God's reply from the whirlwind is tantamount to the assurance that suffering need not spell isolation from God. The divine revelation is itself an act of grace, so much so that in its presence, Job does not ask to be delivered from his suffering. Even more, he admits that whereas heretofore he "had heard of Thee by the hearing of the ear; But now mine eye seeth Thee" (42:5). God's presence is more than enough to sustain him. "It may be good to understand the cause (of suffering); but it is better to be sustained to endure" (H.H. Rowley). Unknowingly, then, Job in his suffering was vindicating God's trust in him and thus honoring God.

Georg Fohrer's interpretation is a nuance of the foregoing. The essential question the book sets out to answer is: what is the conduct proper to suffering man? The final reply of Job (40:2, 3; 42:5) is the answer to the question, conceptualized by Fohrer in the following: "In his unreserved devotion to God and in his personal fellowship with him, Job bears and endures his fate.… This is the true understanding and appropriate attitude for man towards suffering; the humble and reverential silence sustained by repose in God." Marcus sees Job as the "first existentialist." Basing himself on 40:7–14, he sums up the book's message: "Just as God exerts his heroic will to subdue the demonic elements of the universe and to sustain his creation by bringing light to the stars, rain to the sea and land, and food to all living creatures, so man must exert his will to subdue evil and overcome frustration." Thus, the book is "an exhortation to emulate God's unconquerable will." Freehof, after reviewing the various theories of the reason for suffering as put forth in the book (Prologue: suffering is a divine test; the Friends: suffering is divine punishment for sin acknowledged or unacknowledged; Job: a denial of the latter; Elihu: suffering is a divine warning and is educative), interprets the denouement as bearing a twofold meaning: (1) If God's mysterious power and wisdom fill the universe, it should not be unendurable to accept one more expression of it, human innocent suffering; (2) the very divine power manifest in creation should by implication serve man as a mandate to extend human control over nature as a means of conquering much human suffering. Gordis regards the book as aiming at two central conclusions. Since the world contains so much that is not intended for man's use and that is beyond his sway, neither the universe nor its Creator can be judged from the limited human perspective. There is implied acknowledgment on the part of God that much in the world order is imperfect. But, then, could Job, if he were to mount God's throne, do much better; could he humble the arrogant and crush the evildoers? Again, the order and harmony that pervade the natural world though faintly grasped by man is, by analogy, evidence of order and meaning in the moral sphere, though the latter, too, is often incomprehensible to man. Though the book offers no justification for suffering from the human viewpoint, it does demonstrate that "it is possible for men to bear the shafts of evil that threaten their existence if they cultivate a sense of reverence for the mystery and miracle of life … and strive to discern intimations of meaning in its beauty."

[Theodore Friedman]

Spiegel shows that the prose tale of Job "revolves around the question, "Is there such a thing as unselfish virtue." The prose tale of Job provides an affirmative answer to this question. In addition, Spiegel shows that the poem of Job "boldly assails the dogma of retribution as both untrue and unfair." Consequently, anticipating by more than half a century the post-modern holistic interpretations, Spiegel reads 42:7, "for you [Eliphaz, Bildad, and Zophar] have not spoken the truth about me as did my servant Job," as both the conclusion of the prose tale and as the conclusion of the poem [Ginsberg's JIP]. This, Spiegel explains, means that Job 42:7 constitutes "the disavowal [by God] of the doctrine of individual retribution."

[Mayer I. Gruber (2nd ed.)]

The most radical interpretation is that offered by Tsevat. According to him the book maintains that there is no principle of divine retribution in the world. "The assertion of punishment of the wicked and reward of the righteous is without foundation.… Justice is not woven into the stuff of the universe nor is God occupied with its administration." Justice is simply a human ideal. "He who speaks to man in the Book of Job is neither a just god nor an unjust god but God." Hence, Job's denial of the notion that his suffering is evidence of his sin is closer to the final truth as enunciated in God's reply from the whirlwind than the conventional doctrine put forth by the friends.

This summary of diverse current interpretations underlines the problematic character of the book no less that its endless fascination for those who ponder the "impossible problem of reconciling infinite benevolence and justice with infinite power in the creator of such a world as this" (J.S. Mill). In the words of the sages (Avot 4:15), "It is beyond our power to understand why the wicked are at ease, or why the righteous suffer."

[Theodore Friedman]

The Book of Job as Anthropodicy Rather than Theodicy

In 1710 Baron Gottfried Wilhelm von Leibniz (1646–1716) published his book, *Théodicée*, "the vindication of the divine attributes, especially justice and holiness with respect to the existence of evil." The English form of the French term *théodicée*, i.e., "theodicy," is first attested in 1797. The term invented by Leibniz is based upon the Greek noun *theos*, "God," 'and the Greek infinitive *dikein*, "to justify." Consequently, the term theodicy is a close semantic equivalent of the Hebrew term *ẓidduk ha-din*, "justification of the [divine] decree," which is the name of the central liturgical poem recited at the Jewish funeral service since Late Antiquity. Numerous common interpretations of the Book of Job see this book as a treatise on theodicy. Notable exceptions are the interpretations of Spiegel, Tsevat, and Kushner (see above). The Book of Job and the God who speaks to Job from the whirlwind and ultimately defends Job and castigates his friends cannot or will not justify God with respect to Job's suffering from the undeserved, untimely death of his sons and daughters. Nor does this book or the God who is represented as speaking through this book justify Job's being afflicted with a severely debilitating disease. Consequently, neither the book as a whole nor the God speeches can be construed as a treatise or treatises on theodicy. In fact, the canonical Book of Job three times skirts the entire issue of theodicy. The first time that the Book of Job skirts the issue of theodicy is by telling the readers in chapters 1–2 that, in fact, Job's suffering is totally undeserved; it is simply an experiment designed to vindicate God's trust in Job's virtue despite the charges leveled against Job by "The Adversary." The second time that the issue of theodicy is skirted is in the God speeches. Tsevat and Kushner have simply made explicit to large audiences of biblical scholars and laypersons respectively the rather unpleasant ideas, which the author of Job left to the imagination of those learned enough to plumb the depths of the author's high register Hebrew poetry. The third time that the canonical Book of Job skirts the issue of theodicy is in 42:13, "He also had seven sons and three daughters." The latter verse does not assert, God forbid, that there were born to Job seven sons and three daughters as stated in 1:2. To have said that would imply that while in the course of God's performing an experiment on an unwitting human victim God had the original children killed. Thereafter, as it were, God simply replaced them with new children. This would not be justification of God but condemnation of God. Instead, as Gordis often explained orally in his classes (but not in his published commentary), in the fairy-tale like epilogue of the book, Job's original children were restored to him just as in the Ugaritic Epic of Danel (paired with Job and Noah in Ezekiel 14:14, 20; cf. Gordis 1965, p. 68), the son Aqhat is brought back to life as a reward for the virtue of his parents and in response to his sister Pughat's eloquent and heartfelt prayers.

The Book of Job does not justify God in the face of human suffering, be it the suffering of a person who is being experimented upon as is described in chapters 1–2 or in the face of tidal waves (tsu-nami or Leviathan) that kill as many people as did the Americans at Hiroshima in 1945. Consequently, the Book of Job is not a work of theodicy. Most of the Book of Job, however, is devoted to Job's defending himself in the face of the charge reiterated again and again by his friends that people (such as Job and his children) suffer because they have it coming to them. Since, the book portrays God as vindicating Job's claim to innocence and condemning his friends for suggesting that he had it coming to him, the book may best be described not as theodicy but anthropodicy. If theodicy is the justification of God, then *anthropodicy* (from Greek *anthropos*, "human," and Greek *dikein*, "to justify") is the justification of suffering humans in the face of people, who add insult to injury by blaming the victim, including the bereaved and the infirm. James Moore, *Post-Shoah Dialogues* (2004, p. 232) previously used this same term to mean "evil [committed] by man." The essay on pastoral care by Rabbi Myriam Klotz (see Bibliography) is a rare example of the utilization of the Book of Job in a handbook on pastoral care. To be more precise, the Book of Job is not about the vocation of rabbis and other clergy that includes visiting the sick and the bereaved. In fact, most of the Book of Job deals with the question of how *not* to behave when attempting to carry out the two most ubiquitous *mitzvot*, i.e., holy obligations, which the Jewish religion regards as incumbent upon all people – regardless of their vocation – with respect to the sick and the bereaved among us. It would seem to be very simple: one needs no *shofar*, no *lulav* and no *maẓẓah*, not even a prayerbook. One needs only to know when to keep one's mouth shut. This was a lesson, which some of the greatest of the sages of antiquity – Eliphaz, Bildad, and Zophar – learned only after God Almighty emerged from the whirlwind to rebuke them for the untoward consequences of their very, very good intentions.

In Halakhah and Liturgy

Mishnah, *Bava Meẓia* 4:10 asserts that just as there is defrauding (and some translate overreaching; the Hebrew term is *hona'ah* or *ona'ah*) in commerce so is there defrauding in speech. Tosefta, *Bava Meẓia* 3:25, followed by Babylonian Talmud, *Bava Meẓia* 58b, explains that defrauding in speech is exemplified by a person who in response to someone else's suffering, becoming sick, and/or having the misfortune of having his children predecease her/him says to that person as did Job's friends, "Is not your piety your confidence, Your integrity your hope? Think now, what innocent person ever perished," quoting Eliphaz to Job in 4:6–7. The *halakhah* thus canonizes the view of Job and of God as portrayed in 42:7 that such despicable verbal behavior is an offense against the Torah.

As noted above, the initial silence of the friends of Job recorded in 2:13 until Job himself had spoken in 3:1–16 is cited as the inspiration for the rule set forth in TB, *Mo'ed Katan* 28b and canonized in Shulḥan Arukh, *Yoreh De'ah* 376:1 that would-be comforters not address the mourner until the mourner indicates either verbally or nonverbally that she/he would like to be addressed.

Shulḥan Arukh, *Oraḥ Ḥayyim* 492 canonizes a medieval practice of observing three successive fasts on the first Monday-Thursday-Monday following the New Moon of Marheshvan in order to atone for any minor sin committed during the jolly festival of Sukkot (Tabernacles) and a similar three successive fasts on the first Monday-Thursday-Monday following the New Moon of Iyyar to atone for any minor sin committed during the jolly festival of Passover. The two series of three fasts are called *behab* (בה"ב) following the Hebrew numerals designating Monday-Thursday-Monday. The inspiration for these fasts of atonement is Job's offering sacrifice at the end of each of his children's series of parties, for "perhaps my children have sinned and blasphemed God in their thoughts" (1:5); see J.D. Eisenstein, *Digest of Laws and Customs* (Heb., 1917), pp. 35–36.

The daily service in the synagogue begins with the benediction, Praised are You, O Lord, our God, king of the world, who gave the rooster the discernment to distinguish between day and night. According to TB, *Berakhot* 60b this benediction is to be recited upon hearing the sound of the rooster at dawn. This benediction is based upon Job 38:36 where God addresses to Job the rhetorical question, "Who gave wisdom to the ibis//or who gave discernment to the rooster?" (See extensive discussion in Gordis 1978, pp. 452–453.)

Just as the daily service in the synagogue begins with a quotation from the Book of Job so does virtually every service conclude with the Mourner's Kaddish, whose last line quotes Job 25:2b, "He establishes peace in the heavens." The very same utterance, with which the Mourner's Kaddish invokes Job 25, namely, "May He who establishes peace in the heavens establish peace among us and upon all Israel, and say, 'Amen,'" is recited silently by individuals at the conclusion of the *Amidah, and it is recited also at the close of the *Grace After Meals.

[Mayer I. Gruber (2nd ed.)]

In the Aggadah

The rabbis were fascinated and troubled by Job, as is evident in the large number of *aggadot* about him. A primary concern is when Job lived. Opinions expressed in Bava Batra 14b–16b include the time of Abraham, the time of the tribes (when he married Jacob's daughter Dinah), the time of the Exodus, the period of the Judges, and the return of the exiles from Babylon. He is said to have been contemporaneous with both the Queen of Sheba and Ahasuerus. Some said Job never existed and his story is an allegory. The most widespread rabbinic view is that Job lived in the time of Moses and served as an advisor to Pharaoh (see below).

A closely linked question is whether Job was a Jew or a gentile. Some say that he was "a righteous proselyte" and "one of the seven gentile prophets," others that "he was an Israelite" and that *halakhah* can even be deduced from him. Most rabbinic opinion presents Job as a righteous gentile and sages praise his positive qualities, including modesty and hospitality. Nevertheless, this admirable non-Jew falls short in comparisons to Abraham (ARN^2, 7; BB 16a). Abraham is said to have served God out of love while Job served God only out of fear of losing his reward (TJ, Ber. 14b), although others disagree (Mish. Sot. 5:5 and TJ, Sot. 20c). Resolution is achieved in Sotah 31a, where a tradition attributed to R. Meir equates "fearing God" with "loving God" for both Abraham and Job.

Job's sufferings are explained variously. According to TB, Sotah 11a, Job joined Balaam and Jethro in advising Pharaoh on how to deal with the enslaved children of Israel. Balaam, who advised slaying male children, was himself slain. Job, who remained silent, was sentenced to suffering. Jethro, who fled, became a proselyte to Judaism (similarly TB, Sanh.106a; Exod. R. 27:3). Job is also accused of questioning divine justice in his heart, even before his actual afflictions began (TB, BB 16a–b).

Rabbinic ambivalence towards Job is based not only on the difficulties of the book of Job, itself, but on the predominant identification of Job as a gentile. Job's complaints during his suffering are frequently compared unfavorably to the endurance of the patriarchs, kings, and prophets of Israel who faced far greater trials (Deut. R. 2:4; Pes. R. 47). Some sages explain Job's restoration with the claim that "the Holy One doubled his reward in this world in order to banish him from the world to come" (TB, BB 15b). Conversely, *Pesikta Rabbati* links Job's punishments and redemption with the chastisements and ultimate consolation of the Jewish people (26:7, 29/30).

There may be an element of anti-Christian polemic in rabbinic efforts to denigrate Job, or in contrast, to claim him as a Jew. Such approaches, already in tannaitic sources, may be responding to Christian portrayals of Job as a patient sufferer and to Job's inclusion in Christian constructions of a pre-existent community of gentile priests outside the nation of Israel. Evidence of disputes over Job's identity appears in one of the letters of the Church Father *Jerome, where he identifies Job as descended from Esau and not Levi, "although the Hebrews declare the contrary" (Lt. 73).

[Judith R. Baskin (2nd ed.)]

In Islam

Ayyūb (Job) is briefly mentioned in several suras as the servant of Allah who underwent hardship (4:161; 21:83–84; 38:40–43); Allah therefore restored all of the fortune which he had lost. Post-Koranic literature greatly enlarges on the descriptions taken from the Bible and the Midrashim. As in Jewish literature, there are various opinions as to Ayyūb's origin and the period during which he lived. Some believe that he was a *Rūmī*, that is, an Edomite, and that he lived during the days of Lot, Abraham, Jacob, or Ephraim son of Joseph. His wife was Leah(!), the daughter (!) of Jacob (Gen. R. 57:4, Dinah, the daughter of Jacob was the wife of Job). Ayyūb died at the age of 93. His son Bishr succeeded him as prophet and was known as Dhū al-Kifl. It is interesting that many of the legends about Ayyūb are connected with the immediate environs of Jerusalem, Transjordan, and Hauran, and the vicinity of Damascus.

[Haïm Z'ew Hirschberg]

In the Arts

IN LITERATURE. The sorely tried Job, canonized by the medieval Church, has inspired far more literary, artistic, and musical work by Christians than by Jews. Two of the earliest treatments in literature were the *Mystère de Job* (part of the famous *Mistère du Viel Testament*, 1478?) and *L'Hystore Job*, a French verse adaptation of the *Compendium in Job* by Pierre de Blois. The Book of Job contains all the stuff of drama – man's struggle to understand the reason for injustice in the world – which should have made it a natural choice for Protestant writers of the 16th and 17th centuries. However, Job's very perfection and his daring and blasphemous questioning of God led to widespread neglect of the theme. Among the very few works on the subject to appear in the 16th century were the *Meistersinger* Hans Sachs's play *Der Hiob* (1547); Ralph (Robert) Radcliffe's biblical drama *Job's Afflictions* (c. 1550); and Robert Greene's *The Historie of Job* (1594). *Job*, a drama of the same period, is one of the few surviving literary works in Romansch (Rhaeto-Romance) and was published in 1896. Rather more interest was shown in the theme during the 17th century. In Spain, the Marrano playwright Felipe *Godínez published *La gran Comedia de los trabajos de Job* (1638) and Pedro Calderón de la Barca devoted one of his *autos sacramentales* to the subject.

The subject acquired more significance in literature from the early 19th century onward. Works based directly on the theme include *Az ember tragédiája* ("The Tragedy of Man," 1862) by the Hungarian writer Imre Madách; *Hiob* (1866), a drama by Johann Adolf Philipp Zapf; *Giobbe* (1872), a five-act Italian tragedy by Marco Wahltuch; and a dramatic poem (1898) by the Romanian author G. Gârbea. One outcome of the controversy roused by the biblical criticism of Ernest *Renan was a curious work by the French Socialist philosopher Pierre-Henri Leroux – *Job, drame en cinq actes… par le Prophète Isaie, retrouvé, rétabli dans son intégrité, et traduit littéralement sur le texte hébreu …* (1886). During the first decade of the 20th century there were some interesting treatments in German: *Geschichte des Heimkehrenden (Das Buch Joram*; 1905), a pastiche by Rudolf Borchardt; *Sphinx und Strohmann* (1907) reissued as *Hiob* (1917), a drama by the painter and author Oskar Kokoschka; and *Der Blumenhiob* (1909), a novel by Hans Kyser. In Germany, works on the theme included Fritz Weege's modern miracle play, *Das Spiel Hiob* (1926) and Bartholomaeus Ponholzer's religious drama, *Job, der fromme Idealist* (1927). Three other modern interpretations were the Swedish writer Karin Maria Boye's unfinished cantata, *De sju dödssynderna* ("The Seven Deadly Sins," 1941), on the theodicy issue; H. de Bruin's Dutch epic, *Job* (1944); and Giovanni Battista Angioletti's Italian dialogue drama, *Giobbe, uomo solo* (1955). Two of the most original and interesting modern treatments were those by the U.S. writers Robert Frost and Archibald MacLeish. Frost's *A Masque of Reason* (1945), a poetic drama in the guise of an apocryphal chapter of the Book of Job, humanized the story without robbing it of essential dignity. MacLeish's *J.B.* (1958), a verse play that won the Pulitzer Prize, made the hero a prosperous businessman whose life is shattered by a series of disasters. Reversing the arguments in the Bible, MacLeish has J.B.'s plausible comforters (a clergyman, a scientist, and a Marxist) exonerate him, while he insists on condemning himself. Among the very few Jewish writers who turned to the subject were the Austrian novelist Joseph *Roth, author of *Hiob* (1930; *Job: The Story of a Simple Man*, 1931); the Egyptian Karaite Murād *Faraj, whose *Ayyūb* (1950) was a prose version in rhymed Arabic; the Yiddish writer H.

*Leivick, who published the dramatic poem *In di Teg fun Iyov* (c. 1953); and the French author Henri *Hertz, whose short story "Ceux de Job" (in *Tragedies des temps volages*, 1955) describes the grandeur and despair of the Jewish experience.

IN ART. In art, Job has been a popular subject since early Christian times. In the Middle Ages he was regarded as the type of the suffering Jesus, the persecuted Church, or of the Christian soul's endurance. He was portrayed sitting covered with boils, half-naked on a "dungheap," as the Septuagint picturesquely mistranslated "ashes" (Job 2:8). Sometimes Job sat on a tortoise, the symbol of patience. He was afflicted by Satan with sore boils (Job 2:7), reproached by his wife (Job 2:9–10), and visited by Three Friends (Job 2:11). All these events are represented in illustrations of Job's ordeal. The reproaches of his wife were expanded in medieval pious literature and miracle plays, with the result that she came to be depicted as a shrew; and Job's Three Friends were sometimes shown mocking him by playing musical instruments (see below). Cycles of paintings or sculpture illustrating the trials of Job include 13th-century carvings from Chartres and Rheims and *The Story of Job* (1480–83), a 15th-century painting by the Master of the Legend of St. Barbara (Cologne Museum). The subject was treated in an altarpiece by Rubens for the Church of St. Nicholas, Brussels, and in a series of watercolors and engravings by the English poet and painter William *Blake which include *Job Laughed to Scorn* (Job 30). The destruction of Job's children (Job 1:18–19) is shown in a crowded painting by Bernart van Orley (c. 1491–1542; Brussels Museum). Figures of the suffering Job, alone or accompanied by his wife and friends, or afflicted by the Devil, are found in early Christian frescoes from the Roman catacombs and from the graveyard of St. Peter and St. Marcellino; and on Roman sarcophagi. From the ninth century onward, other figures appear in Byzantine and European manuscripts, including the 12th-century Admont Bible (Vienna State Library) and the *Hortus Deliciarum*. At Chartres, there is a 13th-century carving of the ulcerated Job sitting on his dungheap and watched by his family. A demon places his right hand on Job's bald head and his left hand under his foot, in accordance with the biblical description: "So Satan went forth from the presence of the Lord, and smote Job with sore boils from the sole of his foot even unto his crown" (Job 2:7). There is also a 13th-century bas-relief at Notre Dame, Paris. From the 15th century onward there are impressive German woodcarvings and an illumination by Jean Fouquet to the *Hours* of Etienne Chevalier (Musée Condé, Chantilly). During the Renaissance, the subject was mainly popular in northern Europe. It was represented in the wings of the Jabach altarpiece by Duerer (Staedel Institute, Frankfurt, and Cologne Museum), in which Job's wife is shown dousing her husband with a pail of water. It also appears in the work of Dutch and Flemish painters, in carved choirstalls at Amiens, and in French *Books of Hours*. In the 17th century, the subject was treated by the Spanish masters Murillo and Ribera (both paintings are in the Parma Pinacotheca); by Georges de La Tour in a characteristic night scene also thought to represent St. Peter released from prison by an angel; and by *Rembrandt in a pen and ink drawing. Modern representations of Job include those by Max *Liebermann and Yehuda Epstein.

IN MUSIC. Among the saintly patrons of music and the professional musician, "Saint Job" appeared – suddenly, but prominently – during the 14th–18th centuries in France, Germany, and England, and especially in Holland and Belgium. The tradition is thought to derive from an interpretation of Job's complaint: "Therefore is my harp (*kinnor*) turned to mourning, and my pipe (*uggav*) into the voice of them that weep" (Job 30:31); another possible source lies in the Job mystery plays, which were themselves largely based on the apocryphal *Testament of Job*. All these traditions are reflected in the many paintings and illustrations which show Job being consoled (and sometimes also mocked – cf. Job 30: 1, 7, 9, 14) by musicians, mostly wind-instrument players. Where the musicians were three in number, a conflation with the motif of the Three Friends is sometimes noticeable (for a survey of the subject see: V. Denis, in MGG, 6 (1957), 458–60). Motet collections of the first half of the 16th century include a number of settings from the Book of Job (by C. de Sermisy, P. de La Rue, L. Senfl, L. Morales, T. Crecquillon, and J. Clemens non Papa), mainly of the sadder verses, a symptom of the early Baroque period's emphasis on demonstrative repentance scenes. These treatments culminate in Orlando di Lasso's two extended settings: *Sacrae lectiones novem ex propheta Hiob* (1565, repr. 10 times by 1587), for four voices; and *Lectiones sacrae ex libris Hiob excerptae musicis numeris* (1582), also for four voices. The first setting is extremely pathetic, the second more restrained. Further settings of the period were those by Jacobus Gallus (Handl) and Joachim à Burck (1610).

From about the turn of the century, Protestant composers increasingly favored the half-verse "I know that my Redeemer liveth" (Job 19:25), of which there are two settings by Heinrich Schuetz. The rise of the oratorio form had meanwhile produced several works on the subject (by G. Carissimi and P. d'Albergatti). The authenticity of Bach's Cantata no. 160, *Ich weiss dass mein Erloeser lebt*, has sometimes been doubted. The most famous setting of this text is the contralto aria, *I know that my Redeemer liveth*, in G.F. Handel's *Messiah* (1742); its opening is engraved on the scroll held by Roubillac's statue of Handel on the composer's grave in Westminster Abbey. There were a few oratorios on the theme in the 19th century. Frederick Shepherd Converse's *Job* (performed in Worcester, 1907; and Hamburg, 1908) was one of the first works by a U.S. composer to be presented in Europe. There has been a marked predilection for the subject in the 20th century, probably because of its philosophical connotations. Ralph Vaughan Williams' *Job; a masque for dancing* (1927–30), based on a libretto by Sir Geoffrey Keynes and Gwen Raverat, was composed for the Ballet Rambert and here the decor and the dancers' movements follow Blake's illustrations. Vaughan Williams later adapted a suite for orchestra and "The Voice out of the Whirlwind," for choir and organ, from this work. For Nicolas Nabokov's oratorio *Job* (1932), Jacques *Maritain adapted the text from the Bible. Other modern works include György Kósa's *Hiob* (cantata, 1933); Hugo Chaim *Adler's *Hiob* (oratorio, 1933); Lehman Engel's *Four Excerpts from "Job"* (for voice and piano, 1932); and Luigi Dallapiccola's *Giobbe* (oratorio – also for scenic performance – 1949).

[Bathja Bayer]

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JOB, TESTAMENT OF (Gr. Διαθήκη τοῦ Ιωβ), Greek pseudepigraphon purporting to reveal the secrets and last wishes of *Job. In its present form the Testament of Job is closely linked with the Greco-Jewish historian *Aristeas, who flourished about 100 B.C.E., and with the Greek version of Job. It is likely, however, that a Hebrew or Aramaic model was known to the author(s) of the Testament of Job. This explains the Palestinian background of certain terms as well as the kinship with such works as the Testaments of the Twelve *Patriarchs and *Jubilees.

The author(s) of the Testament of Job aimed to present a Job who would conform to the stringent ideals of the pietistic sects more than the canonical figure. Omitting the lengthy discourses, they are a richer narrative than found in Scripture. By making Job the narrator and by introducing hymns and a chorus, the work frequently resembles a Greek tragedy. The integrity of the work, however, has been compromised by later additions. The double self-identifications, first as Job and afterward as Jobab (Gen. 36:33), and the allusions to missing sections suggest that parts of the book are abridgments of a larger pseudepigraphon. The view that a Christian retouched this book is to be rejected since no Christian would have invented a Jesus-like Job. More likely is the link of the original version of the Testament of Job with the Qumran sect, and the present Greek text with the *Therapeutae of Alexandria. The Palestinian version was probably the source of the talmudic traditions about Job.

Despite the unsatisfactory state of the text, the Testament of Job tells a moving story. Jobab (Job) the son of Esau, the king of Edom, reveals his secrets to his seven sons and three daughters by his second wife Dinah, Jacob's daughter. It is God who instigates the antagonism between Job and Satan. An archangel tells Job that the Lord wishes him to destroy the popular shrine where the people worshiped Satan's image. Job is forewarned that Satan will avenge the wrong done to him, but he is also promised that, if he endures Satan's trials, his final exaltation is assured. Job now assumes an even higher role than that ascribed to Abraham. He becomes a protagonist in God's struggle against evil. Describing his own remarkable deeds of charity and hospitality, Job relates how Satan disguised himself as a beggar to gain entrance into his home. Failing in his purpose, Satan succeeds in persuading the king of Persia to besiege Job's city. Job's fellow citizens pillage his palace, killing his ten children by his first wife, Sitis. Again with God's permission, Satan, appearing in the form of a whirlwind, smites Job with a plague, ulcers, and worms (cf. Genesis Apocryphon, 20:16ff.). The hero's patience is exemplified by his putting back on his body every single worm that crawled off. Suffering from hunger, Sitis (etymologically related perhaps to Satan or *sotah*, "unfaithful wife") unknowingly barters her hair to Satan for three loaves of bread, whereupon she addresses Job: "The feebleness of my heart has crushed my bones, rise then and take these loaves of bread and enjoy them, and speak some word against the Lord and die" (Job 2:9). Job realizes that it is Satan who is speaking through Sitis' mouth. After selling herself into slavery, Sitis reappears momentarily as Jobab's royal friends come to visit him. She begs them to dig up her ten sons from the ruins, but Job refuses permission, saying that they are now in the presence of God. When Sitis dies in her master's stable, Satan speaks through Elihu, who unjustifiably upbraids Job for his overbearing pride and boasting. The evil Elihu is thereupon damned in a long hymn led by Eliphaz. In the last part of the book (which may be an addition by another hand), the angels come to take Job's soul. He divides his possessions among his sons, but to his daughters he offers miraculous belts which would enable them to bless the approaching angels. Although it was quoted in James 5:11, Pope Gelasius I (492–496) removed the Testament of Job from the apocrypha, as a result of which it was lost, and recovered only in the 19th century. Its novel characterization of the antagonists, its lively use of dialogue, and deep understanding of human feeling make the Testament of Job a classic among the perennial attempts to reinterpret the meaning of the most tragic of biblical figures.

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[Ben Zion Wacholder]

JOCHEBED (Heb. יוֹכֶבֶד), wife of Amram and mother of Moses, Aaron, and Miriam (Num. 26:59). Exodus 2, which describes the birth of Moses, does not name her, or, for that matter, the father or sister of Moses. She is described as the daughter of Levi, born to him in Egypt (Num. 26:59; cf. Ex. 2:1), and thus was Amram's paternal aunt (Ex. 6:20). Marriage with an aunt violates the law of Leviticus 18: 12. This is in keeping with biblical traditions that trace the birth or ancestry of important figures to sexual relations generally prohibited: Abraham and Sarah, his half-sister (Lev. 18:9); Judah and Tamar, his daughter-in-law (Lev. 15:15); Jacob and the two sisters Rachel and Leah (Lev. 18:18); and the marriage of the Moabite Ruth to Boaz (Deut. 23:4). The meaning of the name is problematic. No personal name formed with the component *yo* (Heb. יוֹ) is otherwise attested before the time of Moses.

[Nahum M. Sarna / S. David Sperling (2nd ed.)]

In the Aggadah

Jochebed was so called because her face was like the *ziv hakavod* ("splendor of glory"; Mid. Hag. Gen. 23:1). She was born during the journey of the children of Israel to Egypt (Gen. R. 94:9). She was therefore 130 when she gave birth to Moses. Despite this she is called the "daughter" of Levi (Ex. 2:1) because her youth returned to her, her skin becoming smooth and the wrinkles of age disappearing (Gen. R. 94:9). She gave birth to Moses after she had remarried her husband who had divorced her because of the decree that all male children be killed. Her second marriage was as happy as her first; Amram placed her in a palanquin and Aaron and Miriam danced before her (Sot. 12b). Due to her righteousness, the birth of Moses was a painless one, indicating that she had been excluded from the decree against the descendants of Eve (cf. Gen. 3:16; Sot. 12b).

Jochebed is identified with *Shiphrah (Ex. 1:15), because the Israelites were fruitful – *she-peru* – in her days (Sot. 11b), and with Jehudijah the Jewess (1 Chron. 4:18), because she brought Jews into the world (Lev. R. 1:13). The "houses" given to the two Hebrew midwives (Ex. 1:21) means that she was destined to become the ancestress of the priestly family (Ex. R.

1:17). She survived all her children and was permitted to enter Ereẓ Israel with Joshua when she was 250 (SOR 9).

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JOCHELSON, VLADIMIR (**Waldemar**; 1855–1937), Russian anthropologist. Born and educated in the Rabbinical Institute in Vilna, together with Zundelevich and Liberman he organized there in 1872 a group to study revolutionary literature. In 1879 Jochelson became involved in the revolutionary movement of "Narodnia Volia," working in the underground laboratory which prepared dynamite and false passports. In 1880 he immigrated to Switzerland, where he headed the movement's printing shop in Geneva. In 1885 he tried to cross the border back to Russia, but he was arrested and sentenced to three years imprisonment and then ten years of exile in Siberia. Here Jochelson became interested in the study of the native peoples of the region and in scientific ethnography, as did his fellow prisoners Vladimir *Bogoraz and Lev *Sternberg with whom he was to be associated in a lifetime of work in this discipline. Their articles on the nomadic tribes in the area began to attract attention. By special permission Jochelson and Bogoraz were attached to the Yakut expedition organized by the Russian Geographic Society (1894–97) and studied the ethnology of the northern districts of the Yakut provinces of Verkhoyansky and Kolyma. After the Bolshevik revolution Jochelson became professor of ethnology at the University of Leningrad.

Jochelson participated in the Jesup North Pacific expedition under the auspices of the American Museum of Natural History and engaged in an investigation of the Koryak of the Sea of Okhotsk and Yukaghir of the Kolyma district. Jochelson prepared studies on the Yukaghir, the natives of the Kolymsk and Virkhoian regions, which were published in *Izvestia* on his return to St. Petersburg. Subsequently he participated in expeditions to Kamtchatka and later to other sites in East Asia and Alaska. Later he left Russia and spent his last years in the United States working for the American Museum of Natural History, endeavoring to complete his work on the Yukaghir ethnology. His stance in ethnology, like that of his associate Bogoraz, was that of a positivist and naturalist.

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[Ephraim Fischoff / Shmuel Spector (2nd ed.)]

JOCHSBERGER, TZIPORA (1920–), composer, musicologist, and educator; founder of the Israel Musical Heritage Project. Born in Leuterhausen, Germany, Jochsberger entered the Palestine Academy of Music, now the Rubin Academy for Music and Dance, in 1939, where she studied piano and trained as a music teacher. She later earned an M.A. (1959) and Ph.D. (1972) in Jewish music from the Jewish Theological Seminary. Her many books include *Bekol Zimra: A Collection of Jewish Choral Music* (1966) and *A Harvest of Jewish Song* (1980). Jochsberger hosted and produced three 13-part television series, *Music of the Jewish People* (1976); *Experiences in Jewish Music* (1977); and *A Kaleidoscope of Jewish Music* (1978). She was also executive producer of an 11-part documentary video series, *A People and Its Music* (from 1991), devoted to the musical traditions of a variety of Jewish communities. Her published musical compositions include *Four Hebrew Madrigals* and *A Call to Remember: Sacred Songs of the High Holidays*.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: M.B. Edelman. "Jochsberger, Tzipora," in: P.E. Hyman and D.D. Moore (eds.), *Jewish Women in America*, vol. 1 (1997), 701–2.

[Judith R. Baskin (2nd ed.)]

JOEL (Heb. יוֹאֵל; "YHWH is God"), the second book in the *Minor Prophets. The superscription of the book names the prophet Joel son of Pethuel as the author. No indication of the author's life, time, or place of residence is given, and the name of the prophet is not mentioned again either within the book itself or anywhere else in the Bible.

The four chapters of the book fall into two distinct parts:

(1) Chapters 1 and 2 give a vivid, graphic description of a plague of locusts of unprecedented severity which strikes the land like a marauding enemy, leaving in its wake ravished fields and vineyards, depriving the people of food and the sanctuary of its grain and wine offerings. Though most of the work is couched in literary images, the locusts are described realistically – even to their various forms, apparently stages in their development: there is the cutting insect (*gazam*), the swarming one (*ʾarbeh*), the hopping one (*yelek*, *yeleq*), and the destroying one (*ḥasil*) (1:4). The prophet exhorts the priests, the elders, and all the people to seek the Lord's mercy through repentance, fasting, and prayer. He promises that the Lord will have pity on His people, bringing an end to the plague, rains in their season, new blossoming and abundant harvests, and a time of fruitfulness and peace.

(2) Chapters 3 and 4 consist of a prophecy of the end of days, "of the great and awesome *Day of the Lord." Then the spirit of the Lord, the gift of prophecy and vision, will be poured out on all flesh, and awesome signs will be seen in the heavens and on earth. Only those "who call on the name of the Lord," the remnant of Israel who had remained true to Zion and Jerusalem, will escape total destruction. The Lord will gather all the nations into the valley of Jehoshaphat and deliver judgment on those who drove the people of Israel into exile, scattering them among the nations, on those who divided the land of the Lord among themselves; the land of the inhabitants of Tyre and Sidon and the regions of Philistia are singled out as those who sold the people of Judah and Jerusalem to the Greeks. The nations will be destroyed on the day of judgment; God will restore His exiled people, fructify His land, and avenge the blood spilled by Egypt and Edom.

Early and later commentators alike disagree on the connection between the two parts of the book, which, though remote from one another in content, are close in vocabulary and imagery – notably in the use of the phrase "the day of the Lord" (1: 15; 2:11 and 3:4; 4:14) and in the description of changes in the order of nature (2:2, 10 and 3:4; 4:15, 16). Among earlier scholars, Rothstein, Duhm, and Hölscher maintain that only chapters 1 and 2 can be attributed to the early Joel, while chapters 3 and 4 are the work of a post-exilic seer, and they include in this later composition even those verses from the first two chapters which deal with "the day of the Lord." Another opinion (held by Y. Kaufmann among others) holds that the entire book is an eschatological unity and the plague of locusts is a symbol heralding the day of judgment of the Lord, a view already found in the Aramaic Targum Jonathan. A third group of scholars (J. Wellhausen and K. Marti) believes that Joel composed the book after an actual plague of locusts, which he saw as a first sign of the approach of the end of days. It would therefore seem that "the day of the Lord" was not used with the same meaning in the first part of the book as in the second: in the first part it is simply a general name for the day of upheaval, while in the second it is the day when the nations shall be punished, the herald for Israel of the time to come (U. Cassuto). To come to some conclusion in this argument it is necessary to take account of the similarity of the imagery in both sections, which would appear to be convincing evidence of the unity of the book. There is no reason categorically to assume that a prophet who could give a realistic description of a plague of locusts could not on another occasion prophesy in a different spirit concerning the day of judgment and the end of days. More recently, Woolf analyzed Joel from a form-critical perspective and concluded that it is the work of a single author, with some later additions. On the basis of historical allusions, Cogan suggests a date in late 6th–early 5th century. The destruction and exile are fresh in memory (4:2); the temple is standing and there is no mention of royalty, only the priesthood. Cogan also demonstrates the familiarity of Joel with earlier biblical literature, as well as his artful use of the work of his predecessors (Cogan, 6–8), an indication of relative lateness.

The role of Greeks as buyers of slaves from the Sidonians and Philistines points in the same direction. The date of the Book of Joel still cannot be determined with certainty, and scholars differ by centuries in their estimations. Nonetheless, it is probably safe to accept Cogan's dating of the bulk of the book and to view Joel 4:4–8 as a fourth century interpolation.

In the Arts

The prophecies of Joel inspired some medieval artists and Renaissance composers, though scarcely any works of importance in literature. Joel announced an invasion of locusts, described as a people with lions' teeth (Joel 1: 1–6), which stripped the land of vegetation; later, however, there would be a period of abundance. His attributes in art are therefore a lion, a swarm of locusts, and a cornucopia. In another passage (Joel 2:1–12), he announced the day of the Lord and was therefore sometimes shown blowing a trumpet of judgment. The passage in which the prophet said that God would pour out His Spirit upon all flesh (Joel 3:1–2) caused him to figure in representations of the Pentecost. A mosaic in St. Mark's, Venice, and a fresco by Pinturiccio (1434–1513) in the Vatican show Joel holding 12 scrolls, representing the gospel preached by the 12 apostles in 12 languages, as a manifestation of the outpouring of the Spirit. The prophet was chiefly represented during the Middle Ages. He appears in medieval manuscripts, including the 12th-century *Hortus Deliciarum* (Strasbourg University Library), the Admont Bible (Vienna State Library), and the 14th-century French Bible of Robert de Bylling, illustrated by Jean Pucelle (Bibliothèque Nationale). Other representations include a statuette from the 12th-century Shrine of the Three Magi (Cologne Cathedral) and 13th-century carvings and stained glass. In the 16th century, Joel is represented by Michelangelo on the Sistine Chapel ceiling. He is shown seated, reading a scroll. In music there are several late 16th- and early 17th-century settings of *Canite tuba in Syon* (Joel 2:1). These catered for the predilection for festive compositions allowing "trumpet fanfare" imitations by the choir, and include motets by Regnart (printed 1568); and by Palestrina and Ingegneri (both printed in the collection *Corollarium Cantionum Sacrarum*, Nuremberg, 1590).

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[*Encyclopaedia Hebraica* / S. David Sperling (2nd ed.)]

JOEL, SIR ASHER (1912–2004), Australian businessman and politician. Born in Sydney, Sir Asher Joel became a journalist and then a public relations consultant. He organized New South Wales's ceremonials for the coronation of King George VI in 1937 and, after the World War II (in which he was decorated) many public events in Sydney, including the opening of the Sydney Opera House in 1973. Joel served as an Independent and, later, a Country party member of the New South Wales Legislative Council from 1957 to 1978. He was knighted in 1974. Joel served on a wide variety of Jewish and pro-Israeli bodies in Sydney.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: W.D. Rubinstein, Australia II, 307.

[William D. Rubinstein (2nd ed.)]

JOEL, BILLY (1949–), U.S. singer and songwriter. Born in the Bronx, New York, Joel grew up in Levittown and went to high school in nearby Hicksville. The son of a Holocaust survivor who came to New York by way of Cuba, Joel first climbed the music charts with his self-confessed autobiographical sketch "Piano Man" (1976). This was followed by a series of eclectic hit singles such as "Just the Way You Are" (1977), "She's Always a Woman to Me" (1978), "It's Still Rock and Roll to Me" (1979), and "Allentown" (1981). Other popular songs of Joel's include "Honesty," "The Longest Time," "New York State of Mind," "Tell Her About It," "Uptown Girl," and "We Didn't Start the Fire." His albums were so successful, that by 1994 he was the only artist to have four albums at the septupleplatinum (7 million units) mark.

A musical based on Joel's music, called *Movin' Out*, debuted in Chicago in 2002 and then moved to Broadway. In 2003 it received 10 Tony nominations. Joel, who wrote the music, the lyrics, and did the orchestration, won a Tony for Best Orchestrations. Joel has won five Grammy Awards for his music, as well as receiving the Grammy Legend Award in 1990.

Joel went to Cuba in 1979 for a historic three-day musical event, Havana Jam, at the Karl Marx Theater in the Cuban capital. Then, in the summer of 1987, he made a significant cultural breakthrough by performing in Moscow and Leningrad, becoming the first American pop star to bring a fully staged rock production to the Soviet Union.

Joel has performed in many benefit concerts in support of a variety of causes, such as AIDS, the rainforest, earthquake relief, and the environment. In 1985 he headlined a benefit concert for the Long Island-based organization Charity Begins at Home; that year he also participated in the star-studded "We Are the World" recording; in 2001 he performed at the benefit Concert for New York City after 9/11. In 2002 he was named Music Cares' Person of the Year.

Among his other awards and accolades, Joel was inducted in the Songwriters Hall of Fame 1992. In 1994 he was awarded the Billboard Century Music Award. In 1997 he received ASCAP's Founder's Award for lifetime achievement. He was inducted into the Rock and Roll Hall of Fame in 1999 and, in the same year, received the Award of Merit from the American Music Awards. In 2000 he was presented with the Smithsonian Institution's James Smithson Bicentennial Medal. In 2001, the Songwriter's Hall of Fame bestowed on him its highest honor, the Johnny Mercer Award.

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[Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

JOEL, DAVID HEYMANN (1815–1882), rabbi and scholar. Born in Inowroclaw (Poznan province), Joel studied under his father, a rabbi, and under R. Akiva *Eger. In 1836 he went to Berlin to continue his studies and took courses at the university. In 1842 he was ordained as a rabbi and in 1843 was appointed rabbi in Swarzedz (Poznan region). There he wrote his major work: *Midrash ha-Zohar: Die Religionsphilosophie des Sohar und ihr Verhaeltnis zur allgemeinen juedischen Theologie* (Leipzig, 1849). This book was one of the first Jewish studies which made a serious, scholarly approach to Kabbalah. Joel criticizes the work of A. Frank on Kabbalah and attempts to prove that there is no essential difference between Kabbalah as formulated in the Zohar and the Jewish theology current in the Middle Ages, the differences amounting only to the choice of daring metaphors in Kabbalah. Joel denies the decisive influence of Persian religion, Platonism or neoplatonism, Christianity, or Gnosis on the Kabbalah, which he regards as an original Jewish creation. From 1859 to 1879 Joel served as rabbi in Krostoszy, and from 1880 until his death was teacher of Talmud and rabbinic literature in the Jewish Theological Seminary of Breslau. There he wrote his valuable work, *Der Aberglaube und die Stellung des Judentums zu demselben*, of which only two parts were published (Breslau, 1881–83).

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[Gershom Scholem]

JOEL, KARL (1864–1934), philosopher. His father R. Herman Joel, had been a pupil of Schelling and apparently had a great influence on his son's attitude toward philosophy. He was born in Hirschberg, studied in Leipzig, and spent some time in Berlin (1887–92), where he became a friend of Georg *Simmel. In 1897 he was appointed to the University of Basle, where he taught until his death. Joel called his philosophical system "New Idealism." He defended the completeness of philosophy against the attempts to divide it up into "specialized" branches and compartments, and he emphasized the necessity of a comprehensive outlook. He opposed methodological positivism and metaphysical naturalism and sought to ridicule those who claimed "objectivity" in the study of reality, that is, spiritual activity deprived of all subjective and emotional ingredients. His main works include *Nietzsche und die Romantik* (1905), *Der Ursprung der Naturphilosophie aus dem Geiste der Mystik* (1906), *Seele und Welt* (1912), and *Die philosophische Krisis der Gegenwart* (1914). An autobiographical sketch appeared in *Die deutsche Philosophie der Gegenwart in Selbstdarstellungen*, 1 (1921), 71–90. He was a nephew of Manuel *Joel.

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[Aaron Gruenhut]

JOEL, MANUEL (1826–1890), rabbi and scholar. Joel, who was born in Birnbaum, Poznan province, was the son of the local rabbi. He studied classics and philosophy at Berlin and obtained a doctorate at Halle. In Berlin he came under the influence of Leopold *Zunz and M. *Sachs. Joining the staff of the *Juedisch-Theologisches Seminar in Breslau on its foundation in 1854, he taught classical languages, religious philosophy, and homiletics there. In 1864 he was appointed rabbi of the Breslau community, succeeding A. *Geiger. At the *rabbinical assemblies of Kassel (1868) and Leipzig (1869), he defended moderation in Reform against Geiger's radicalism and stressed the need for preserving the Jewish character of synagogue worship and respect for the historical past. He also expressed these views in a number of publications, particularly in his prayer book (1872) and his sermons (1867, 1893–98), which were highly influential.

Joel's scholarly importance lies mainly in the field of religious philosophy. He wrote on Ibn Gabirol, Maimonides, Crescas, and Levi b. Gershom, investigating their Greek and Arabic sources, and their influence, in turn, on Christian scholasticism and Spinoza. These essays were collected in his two-volume *Beitraege zur Geschichte der Philosophie* (1876). His two-volume *Blicke in die Religionsgeschichte…* (1880–83) was an important and influential contribution to comparative religion. Joel presented (apart from his sermons) his own religious philosophy, based on Kant and also on Schleiermacher's religion of emotion, in his *Religionsphilosophische Zeitfragen* (1876) and in a posthumously published article "Mosaismus und Heidentum" (in JJGL, 7 (1904), 35ff.), as a belief in revelation as the "thinking of the heart."

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[*Encyclopaedia Judaica* (Germany)]

JOEL, OTTO J. (1856–1916), Italian banker of German origin. Joel was born in Danzig, East Prussia, the son of a lottery collector. As a young man he was sent to Italy for his health, stayed there, and became a successful banker and completely revamped the financial and industrial Italian life. Together with Federico Weil (1854–1919), and with the cooperation of German banks, he formed the Banca Commerciale Italiana in 1894. In 1908 he became its central manager, and eventually its managing director. Despite the fact that he had become an Italian citizen several years before World War I, Joel had to resign from active work at the bank in 1915 on account of his German descent, and a year later, although he remained a vice president, was forced to withdraw from the board of directors. Otto Joel's son, ALESSANDRO (1891–?), joined the Banca Commerciale Italiana in 1920. He became manager of the London branch, but severed his connections with the bank in 1932.

[Joachim O. Ronall]

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JOEL, RAPHAEL (1762–1827), the first Jewish advocate in the Hapsburg Empire. Born in Volyne, western Bohemia, Joel availed himself of the rights granted by the patents of toleration of the emperor *Joseph II and studied law at Prague University. When in 1790 he was about to be awarded a doctorate, Prague advocates petitioned the emperor Leopold II, claiming that there was no precedent at any university for such an award to a Jew. They contended that a rescript of 1731 prevented Jews from representing Christians, and that notwithstanding the patents of toleration Jews were still considered doubtful witnesses at law and should certainly not deal with canon law. The archbishop, as chancellor of the university, supported the advocates' opposition, but the academic authorities were adamant, and the emperor Leopold II decided that Jews could become doctors of civil though not of canon law, and could represent both Jews and Christians. Joel was awarded his doctorate. In 1798, however, he was baptized in Vienna, adopted the name Carl after divorcing his wife, a daughter of the physician Abraham *Kisch, who refused to follow him. In 1817 he was ennobled as "von Joelson." His offspring became high-ranking army officers.

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JOEL, RICHARD M. (1950–), U.S. lawyer, educator, administrator, and president of Yeshiva University. Born in New York City in 1950, Joel grew up in a modern Orthodox family in Yonkers, New York, the only child of Avery and Annette Joel. His father had immigrated to Cape Town, South Africa, from Vilna, Lithuania prior to moving to the U.S. Raised in a musical home steeped in Jewish tradition and values, Joel spent a formative year with his parents in South Africa during the 1950s. His father tragically passed away in 1964 a few months after the Bar Mitzvah of his only child.

Joel graduated from Yeshiva University High School (1968), New York University (1972), and New York University Law School (1975). He spent three years as an assistant district attorney in the Bronx, prosecuting violent criminal behavior during some of the borough's most challenging years. Joel joined the Yeshiva University (YU) administration full-time beginning in 1978, first as director of Alumni Affairs and then as associate dean and professor of law at Benjamin N. Cardozo School of Law. In 1988, Joel interviewed for the top post in *Hillel, the oldest and largest organization in the Jewish world serving college and university students, and received an offer to head the organization, a position traditionally held by experienced Hillel professionals and rabbis.

Joel dramatically transformed Hillel during his 14-year tenure. Articulating a vision of a revitalized Hillel able "to provoke" a Jewish renaissance in America, Joel jettisoned the synagogue on campus model to promote a vision of campus communities supporting a wide range of Jewish organizations and interest groups. He set aside rabbinic ordination as the *sine qua non* of Hillel employment by expanding and diversifying the ranks of Hillel professionals. He encouraged Hillels to eliminate student membership and dues and championed open-architecture participation over more traditional affiliation models. He inspired Hillels to become less building-centered, even as more and newer buildings opened each year, to connect with Jewish students in multiple campus and community settings. He attracted major financial support from key Jewish philanthropists and foundations, including Edgar Bronfman, Michael Steinhardt, and Lynn Schusterman. He engineered Hillel's independence from B'nai B'rith and deepened the partnership with a Jewish Federation system alarmed by the implications of the 1990 National Jewish Population Survey (NJPS). He increased Hillel's global presence by adding affiliates in the former Soviet Union and Latin America.

Following the announced retirement of Yeshiva University President Rabbi Norman Lamm, the YU Board of Trustees, unable to find a suitable rabbinic candidate to replace Lamm, became deeply interested in Joel.

Inaugurated as the fourth president of Yeshiva University in 2003, Joel would break new ground – though not without some initial opposition – in becoming the first non-rabbinic-scholar to head Yeshiva University in its 117-year-history.

[Jay L. Rubin (2nd ed.)]

JOEL, SOLOMON BARNATO (1865–1931), South African mining magnate and financier. He was one of three brothers, sons of a Whitechapel shopkeeper and nephews of Barney *Barnato. They succeeded to Barnato's financial empire after his suicide in 1897. Joel (who was known as "Solly Joel") and his two brothers had joined their uncle on the Kimberley diamond fields in South Africa and were the earliest to reach the Rand after the discovery of gold. Joel faced his biggest challenge when the gold market was shaken by the aftermath of the Jameson Raid in 1896, when he was arrested but freed. This was followed by his uncle's suicide and the death of his brother Woolf, who was shot and killed in his Johannesburg office. Joel succeeded Barnato as a director of De Beers and chairman of the Johannesburg Consolidated Investment Company and other companies. Despite criticism, he successfully followed a policy of restricting diamond output to keep pace with demand and became one of the richest men of his time.

Solly Joel, who had a different suit for each day of the year, came to typify the new generation of millionaires produced by South Africa at the turn of the century, who were well known in London as well. He was a sportsman and a lavish host, a patron of the theater, and owned yachts, racing stables, and the Maiden Erleigh stud farm. In 1915 his horse won the Derby and the St. Leger and in 1921 he headed the list of winning owners. The career of his brother ISAAC BARNATO "JACK" JOEL (1862–1940) resembled, in part, that of Solly, whom he succeeded as chairman of the Johannesburg Consolidated Investment Company. He was also prominent on the English turf, won the Derby twice (1911, 1921) and three times headed the list of winning owners (1908, 1913, and 1914). Jack Joel left a fortune of £3,684,000 at his death.

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[Lewis Sowden]

JOEL BEN ISAAC HA-LEVI (1115?–1200), one of the eminent talmudic scholars of Mainz. Little is known about his life. He was related on his maternal side to some of the most distinguished families of the generation, including that of *Samuel b. Natronai (his cousin, or uncle, later his brother-in-law) and *Eliezer b. Nathan (his father-in-law). He himself founded a family of talmudic scholars, beginning with his son *Eliezer, and leading to *Mordecai b. Hillel, five generations later. He acquired the foundation of his learning at Regensburg and is known to have spent some time in Wuerzburg, and also lived for a period in Cologne; but his place of residence was Bonn and he is referred to in literary sources as R. Joel of Bonn (*Sefer ha-Terumah*, 130 et al.). His teachers in Regensburg were *Isaac b. Mordecai, *Ephraim b. Isaac, and Moses b. Joel. With Ephraim b. Isaac he had a sharp exchange of views concerning the eating of abdominal fat, a custom which he permitted contrary to the opinion of Ephraim. Although as head of a yeshivah he had many pupils, only *Ephraim of Bonn is known, apart from his son Eliezer. Quotations from his works have survived in the *Sefer ha-Ravyah* of his son Eliezer and in the works of many contemporary scholars with whom he carried on a correspondence, particularly in the *Raban* of Eliezer b. Nathan, and a little in the *Yiḥusei Tanna'im va-Amora'im* of *Judah b. Kalonymus; from there it is known that Joel was the author of talmudic novellae and decisions of *tosafot* to many tractates, and of numerous responsa. Several of his liturgical hymns, reflecting the horrors of the Second Crusade, are also known. He was held in great esteem by all his contemporary German and French scholars, and Isaac b. Samuel, the most distinguished French scholar of his time, refers to him with great admiration (*Ravyah*, 933). Joel's gentle nature is evidenced in the above-mentioned exchange of letters between himself and R. Ephraim, and in his decision on the proselyte of Wuerzburg (*Ravyah* 2,253–6), whom Joel not only befriended but even permitted to conduct prayers, contrary to the opinion of other scholars.

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[Israel Moses Ta-Shma]

JOEL BEN MOSES GAD (17th century), Polish talmudist. Joel was the author of *Meginnei Zahav*, in which he defended the *Turei Zahav*, the commentary on the Shulḥan Arukh by his grandfather, *David b. Samuel ha-Levi, against the strictures of *Shabbetai b. Meir ha-Kohen in his *Nekuddot ha-Kesef*. Joel was supported by leading talmudists, who praised his work and, at an "assembly at the Fair at Gremnitz" in 1683, resolved that the views of the author of the *Turei Zahav* were not to be rejected on account of Shabbetai's criticism. However, fortune frowned upon the *Meginnei Zahav*. Most of the manuscript was lost. In 1720 part of it was published by the author's grandson, but it was defective and badly printed (Prague, 1720). Primarily for this reason, Joel's views were not quoted and discussed by later commentators on the Shulḥan

Arukh. However, it was largely the favorable opinion engendered by his work which caused the author of *Turei Zahav* to be accepted without demur as a halakhist of the first rank. Joel also wrote novellae to a number of talmudic tractates (Altona, 1736). JOEL B. MOSES GAD, his grandson, prepared for publication the manuscript of the *Turei Zahav* to *Evenha-Ezer*, but died before seeing it through the press. It was published by his son Gad (Zolkiew, 1754).

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[Abram Juda Goldrat]

JOEL BEN SIMEON (called **Feibush Ashkenazi**), scribe and illuminator active in Germany and Italy in the second half of the 15th century. Of German origin, probably from Cologne or Bonn, he established a workshop in northern Italy. In his signed manuscripts he referred to himself as a *sofer* ("scribe"), *lavlar* ("scrivener"), and a *ẓayyar* ("painter"). Probably he himself was not the copyist and illuminator of all the manuscripts signed by him, but he was head of an atelier which moved from town to town, with several craftsmen in his service. In style and iconography his workshop combined Ashkenazi and Italian art.

Of the 11 surviving manuscripts signed by him, only six are dated; several others are attributed to him on stylistic grounds, both in script and illumination.

Dated Manuscripts

1. The *Parma Siddur* of 1449. Parma, Biblioteca Palatina, Ms. 3144 (De'Rossi) 1274, signed by the "scribe Joel ben Simeon, called Feibush of Bonn." Decorated. 2. *Maḥzor Cremona* of 1452. Formerly Turin, Royal Library Ms. 63; destroyed by fire. Signed by "Joel ben Simeon… Feibush of Bonn." 3. *The Second New York Haggadah* of 1454. N.Y., Jewish Theological Seminary, Mic. 8279. Signed by the "scrivener Joel ben Simeon, called Feibush Ashkenazi of Cologne on the Rhine who wrote, punctuated and painted it." Illustrated. 4. *The Lady's Maḥzor* of 1469. London, British Museum, Add. Ms. 26957. Signed by the "scrivener Joel ben Simeon." Illustrated. 5. *Washington Haggadah* of 1478. Library of Congress. Signed by "the humblest of scribes Joel ben Simeon." Illustrated. 6. *Commentary on the Psalms*. Modena, 1485. Parma, Biblioteca Palatina, Ms. 2841. Signed by "the scrivener Joel ben Simeon Ashkenazi, for Manuel ben Isaac of Modena." Not illuminated.

UNDATED MANUSCRIPTS. 7. *The First Nuremberg Haggadah*, Jerusalem, Schocken Library (formerly Nuremberg, National Museum, Ms. 2170b). Signed by "the scribe Joel ben Simeon." Illustrated. The manuscript was incorrectly dated to 1492 by Mueller, to 1410 by Fooner, to 1400 by Landsberger, and to after 1454 by Italiener (the last by interpreting the name Proyna mentioned in the manuscript, as Bruenn, from where the Jews were expelled in 1454.) It should be noticed that Joel was already in Cremona by 1452 and elsewhere in Italy by 1449. 8. *The British Museum Haggadah*. Add. Ms. 14762. Signed "Feibush called Joel, [who] painted it." Illustrated. 9. *The First New York Haggadah*. New York, Jewish Theological Seminary, MS. 75048. Signed by the "scribe Joel ben Simeon." Illustrated. 10. *Implements of the Temple*, six leaves. *Ibid.*, Ms. 0822. Signed by "Joel the painter called Feibush." Illustrated. 11. *The Dyson-Perrins Haggadah*. Cologne and Geneva, Martin Bodmer Collection (formerly: Malvern, Dyson-Perrins Collection Ms. 124). Signed by the "scribe Joel ben Simeon called Feibush Ashkenazi of Cologne on the Rhine." Illustrated.

Attributed Manuscripts

12. *Haggadah*. Parma, Biblioteca Palatina, Ms. 2998 (Ms. De'Rossi 111). Illustrated. 13. *Haggadah*. Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, Cod. Or. 4°, I. Illustrated. 14. *The Murphy Haggadah*: Yale Univ., Heb. Ms. +143. Illustrated.

Most of the manuscripts signed by Joel ben Simeon are illustrated, but some are merely decorated. The illuminations are primarily initial-word panels and marginal text illustrations, typically Ashkenazi. The only full-page illuminations are the six leaves of Temple Implements which may have been used as models in his workshop.

Most of Joel's illuminations consist of colored-pen drawings in Florentine style. The best example is the expressively drawn *Washington Haggadah* of 1478, which has more illustrations than any of his other signed *Haggadot*. Two undated and signed *Haggadot* are problematic because of their German stylistic elements. The *First Nuremberg Haggadah*, now in the Schocken Library, Jerusalem, must be one of the earliest manuscripts which Joel executed in Italy; the style of the illumination, painted in sepia, is still essentially German, though at times quite Italianized. It is related in style to the *First New York Haggadah*. The *British Museum Haggadah* was painted by at least three different artists, two definitely German and one Italian, though in his colophon Joel claims to be the one painter. As the *Parma Maḥzor* of 1449 was decorated in Italian style, the *British Museum Haggadah, The First New York Haggadah*, and the *First Nuremberg Haggadah*, may have belonged to a transition period around 1450.

See also Hebrew *Illuminated Manuscripts; Illuminated **Haggadot;* and Illuminated **Maḥzorim.*

BIBLIOGRAPHY: L.A. Mayer, *Bibliography of Jewish Art* (1967), nos. 265, 723, 1147, 1431, 1433, 1435, 1662–63, 1760, 1792, 2074, 2193, 2981; *Monumenta Judaica*, 1 (1963), nos. D68–70; M. Geisberg, *Der Meister E.S. und Israel von Meckenem* (1924); G. Tamieni, in: *La Bibliofilia*, 70 (1968), 38–137; A. and W. Cahn, in: *Yale University Library Gazette*, 41 (1967), no. 4; B. Narkiss, *Hebrew Illuminated Manuscripts* (1969), 39, 114, 124, 140, 171–2; J. Gutmann, in: *Studies in Bibliography and Booklore*, 9, no. 2–3 (1970), 76–95.

[Bezalel Narkiss]

JOEZER, SON OF BOETHUS, high priest (23–5 B.C.E.), appointed shortly before *Herod's death, as successor to *Mattathias b. Theophilus. The latter had been deposed for his part in tearing down the golden eagle which Herod had ordered to be placed over the Temple gate. He was a brother of Mariamne, Herod's wife, and of Eleazar, who also served as high priest. Joezer played an important role in pacifying the people when they resisted the attempts of *Quirinius, governor of Syria, to conduct a census in Judea, after the deposition of Archelaus in 6 C.E. Though Joezer ensured the cooperation of the people, Quirinius nevertheless deposed him soon after.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Jos., Ant., 17:164; 18:3, 26; Schuerer, Gesch, 1 (1901^4), 468, 541f.; 2 (1907^4), 270.

[Lea Roth]

JOFFE, ABRAHAM FEODOROVICH (1880–1960), Russian physicist. Joffe was born in Romny, Ukraine. Between 1907 and 1913, he conducted intensive research on the quantum theory of light. In 1913 he was appointed professor extraordinary of physics at the Polytechnic Institute, an appointment only open to baptized Jews. In 1915, the Institute made him a full professor, and he received the prize of the Academy of Sciences. After the Bolshevik revolution, he and M. Nemnov founded the Roentgenological and Radiological Institute, out of which was born the Physical-Technical Institute of the Soviet Academy of Sciences. In 1919, Joffe opened and became dean of a Physical-Mechanics department. In 1921, while visiting Berlin, he met Einstein, who was sympathetic to Zionism. In their discussion, Joffe favored assimilation as the solution to the Jewish problem.

In 1932, Joffe initiated the opening of an Institute for Metal Physics in the Urals, and founded an Agrophysics Institute in Leningrad. In 1933, he helped to found a Physical-Technical Institute at Dnepropetrovsk, with a large laboratory for technical radiological examinations. Joffe edited several scientific journals and in 1958 founded the journal of the physics of solids.

Joffe's main scientific work belongs to three fields: the mechanical properties of crystals; the electrical properties of dielectric crystals; and semiconductors. His most important works are *Fizika poluprovodnikov* (1957^2; *The Physics of Semi-Conductors*, 1960), which was translated into many languages, and *Osnovnye predstavleniya sovremennoy fiziki* ("Basic Concepts of Modern Physics," 1949). Joffe received many honors including election to the presidium of the Academy of Sciences of the Soviet Union. In 1942 he joined the Communist Party.

[Isaac Kalugai]

JOFFE, ADOLPH ABRAMOVICH (1883–1927), Russian revolutionary and diplomat. Born in Simferopol to a very rich merchant, he studied medicine at the universities of Berlin and Vienna. Joffe joined the Mensheviks in 1903, lived abroad, and was a member of the committee of the RSDRP (Russian Social Democratic Workars Party.) In 1908, after meeting *Trotsky, by whom he was greatly impressed, he became coeditor and contributor to the Bolshevik periodical *Pravda* in Vienna. He organized the smuggling of *Pravda* into Russia and was arrested while trying to get into Russia, and imprisoned by the Czarist authorities in 1912. Joffe was released by the Kerensky government following the February revolution of 1917 and in July of that year joined the Bolsheviks, and was elected a member of the Central Committee of the party. After the October revolution, he led the Soviet delegation to the peace talks with Germany at Brest-Litovsk, but as he was in favor of continuing the war he was replaced by Trotsky, but remained there as adviser. He was made ambassador to Germany in the following year. In 1920 he headed the Russian delegation at the peace talks with Poland and the Baltic republics, and subsequently was Soviet ambassador to Peking (Beijing) (1922–23), Vienna (1923–24), and Tokyo (1924–25). In the years 1925–27 he was one of the leaders of the left (Trotskyist) opposition. As a supporter of Trotsky, Joffe was not favored by *Stalin when the latter came to power, and he was relegated to professor at the Oriental Institute at Moscow. After Trotsky's expulsion from the Communist Party, Joffe committed suicide. A letter he left for Trotsky giving the reason for his suicide was considered an important document in the history of the Soviet Union.

His wife, MARIA JOFFE, was a member of the Bolshevik party from 1917 and worked as a journalist and editor in the Soviet press. In a meeting in 1929 she protested against the expulsion of Trotsky and the attacks on him in the press. She was arrested in the same year and spent 28 years in camps and exile. From 1975 she lived in Israel, where she published her memoirs (1977).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: L. Trotsky, *My Life* (1930), passim; *The Last Words of Adolf Joffe, a Letter to Leon Trotsky*, tr. by Max Eastman (1950).

[Shmuel Spector (2nd ed.)]

JOFFE, ELIEZER LIPA (1882–1944), Ereẓ Israel pioneer; father of the idea of the moshav *ovedim. Joffe was born in Yanovka (Ivanovka), Bessarabia, and in 1902 published a call to young Jews to settle in Ereẓ Israel (in the Hebrew daily, *Ha-Meliẓ*). He went to the United States in 1904 to study advanced agricultural techniques in preparation for his own settlement in Ereẓ Israel. In 1905 Joffe founded the Ha-Ikkar ha-Ẓa'ir ("Young Farmer") association for *aliyah* to Ereẓ Israel in Woodbine, New Jersey, whose members were students at the agricultural school there. He also published *Ha-Ikkar ha-Ẓa'ir*, which advocated agricultural training and preparation for life in Ereẓ Israel. At the same time, he founded *He-Ḥalutz in New York City. In 1910 he settled in Ereẓ Israel, establishing an experimental farm at *Ein Gannim near Petaḥ Tikvah. He settled in Galilee in 1911 and in 1913 organized American pioneers in the Ha-Ikkar ha-Ẓa'ir group for the autonomous cultivation of the *Kinneret farm. Joffe expounded his idea of the moshav ovedim in a brochure, *Yissud Moshevei Ovedim* ("Establishment of Agricultural Smallholder's Cooperatives," 1918) and in 1921 was one of the founders of *Nahalal, the first moshav ovedim, based on the principles he had formulated. In 1928 he became a founder of Tenuvah (the largest marketing cooperative in Israel), serving as its director until 1936.

A leader of the Ha-Po'el ha-Ẓa'ir party, Joffe served as its representative at Zionist Congresses. He published books on agricultural subjects and was the first editor of *Ha-Sadeh* ("The Field"), a monthly agricultural magazine. His works, *Kitvei Eliezer Joffe*, were published in six volumes, together with a biography, in 1956.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: B. Ḥabas (ed.), *Sefer ha-Aliyyah ha-Sheniyyah* (1947), index; J. Burtniker, *Bibliografiyah shel E.L. Joffe* (1950); M. Smilansky, *Mishpaḥat ha-Adamah*, 4 (1953), 35–46; B. Katznelson, *Be-Ḥevlei Adam* (1950), 140–52.

[Yosef Shapiro]

JOFFE, HILLEL (1864–1936), Ereẓ Israel pioneer, doctor, and specialist in malaria. Born in Bristovka, Ukraine, he was educated at a Russian high school in Berdyansk. Under the influence of his brother-in-law, the writer M. Ben-Ami, he became an adherent of Ḥibbat Zion. Upon completing his medical studies in Geneva in 1891 Joffe went to Ereẓ Israel and served as doctor of the Jewish community in Tiberias. Two years later he accepted the invitation of Baron Rothschild's officials to practice in Zikhron Ya'akov. He treated malaria victims in Ḥaderah and Athlit and, on his advice, a forest of eucalyptus trees was planted in the Ḥaderah swamps. From 1895 to 1905 he served as chairman of the Ḥovevei Zion executive committee. In 1898 Joffe accompanied Herzl on his tour of the settlements in Judea, and, in 1903, was a member of the Zionist commission which examined possibilities for Jewish settlement in *El-Arish. In 1907 he returned to Zikhron Ya'akov to establish a hospital and medical center for Galilee and Samaria, also organizing an anti-malarial service there. Joffe devoted particular attention to the health problems of the Jewish workers in the settlements and wrote many papers on preventive medicine. In 1919 he moved to Haifa where he practiced medicine and remained active in public life until his death. His reminiscences, letters and diaries appeared as a book, *Dor Ma'pilim* ("Generation of First Pioneers," 1939). The moshav Bet-Hillel and a hospital in Ḥaderah are named for him.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: J. Yaari-Poleskin, *Ḥolemim ve-Loḥamim* (1950), 141–5; M. Smilansky, *Mishpaḥat ha-Adamah*, 2 (1954^2), 166–72; Tidhar, 3 (1958^2), 1141–4; B. Ḥabas (ed.), *Sefer ha-Aliyyah ha-Sheniyyah* (1947), index.

[Yehuda Slutsky]

JOFFE, JUDAH ACHILLES (1873–1966), Yiddish philologist. Born in Bakhmut (southern Russia), Joffe excelled from earliest youth in his linguistic abilities. As a musicologist and expert on Slavic languages, he was a contributor to such publications as *New International Encyclopedia* (1902), *International Yearbook* (1900, 1901, 1902), and *Nelson's Looseleaf Encyclopedia* (1910). His main interest, however, was Yiddish philology, for the purpose of which he built up a large library which included many rare early Yiddish texts. Prominent among his achievements is the critical edition (1949) of the **Bove-Bukh* ("Bove Book," 1541) by Elijah Baḥur *Levita, which was intended to be the first in a three-volume series of that noted scholar's Yiddish literary works. Also noteworthy are Joffe's studies of the Slavic component in Yiddish (in: *Pinkes*, 1 (1927/28), 235–56, 296–312), of Yiddish in America (in: *YIVO Bleter,* 10 (1936), 127–45), of Yiddish deluxe editions since 1534 (in: *YIVO Bleter,* 16 (1940), 45–58), as well as various etymological issues. Joffe translated and edited books from several languages including Yiddish, English, and French. He assisted editorially with the *Psychiatric Dictionary* (1940) by L.H. Hensie and J. Shatzky (1940), and the *Groyser Verterbukh fun der Yidisher Shprakh* ("Great Dictionary of the Yiddish Language," 1961–), the first volume of which he edited jointly with Yudel *Mark. Joffe was a pioneer of Yiddish orthographic reform and a man with controversial linguistic ideas. For his 85th birthday, *YIVO published the Yiddish *Yuda A. Yofe-bukh,* edited by Yudel Mark (1958, includes bibl.).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: LNYL, 4 (1961), 204–8.

[Mordkhe Schaechter]

JOFFEN, ABRAHAM (1887–1970), *rosh yeshivah* and leading exponent of the Novogrudok school of *Musar, Joffen was born near Pinsk and studied under Rabbis Zalman Sender Shapiro in Krinki and Joseph Horowitz in Novogrudok (whose daughter he married in 1913). He became an ardent follower of Horowitz's dynamic approach to *musar.* Joffen was appointed *rosh yeshivah* in the Novogrudok yeshivah and assisted his father-in-law in administering the branches of this school. Upon the latter's death (1920) Joffen succeeded him as head of the movement. In 1921 he and ten of his students were imprisoned by the Communists on suspicion of disloyalty to the new regime. After their release, they escaped to Poland, where Joffen reorganized the central Novogrudok yeshivah in Bialystok. In 1929 he visited Ereẓ Israel, where he aided in the organization of the "Novogrudok Bet Joseph" yeshivah in Tel Aviv. After the outbreak of World War II, Joffen emigrated to the United States, where he reestablished the central Novohrodok (= Novogrudok) yeshivah in Brooklyn. In 1964 he settled in Jerusalem where he continued to guide the various Novogrudok yeshivot. Joffen's reputation as a leading talmudic scholar gained acceptance for his school in the Lithuanian yeshivah world and nullified the criticism previously leveled against the Novogrudok yeshivot that they stressed the study of *musar* instead of Talmud. Joffen's talmudic lectures on *Ḥullin* and *Bava Meẓia* were published under the title *Derekh Eitan* (1958), and his *musar* discourses under the title *Sefer ha-Musar ve-ha-Da'at* (1957).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: S.K. Mirsky (ed.), *Mosedot Torah be-Eiropah* (1956), 247–90; D. Katz, *Tenu'at ha-Musar*, 4 (1963), index.

JOGICHES, LEON (**Jan Tyszka**; 1867–1919), socialist leader in Poland and Germany. Born in Vilna, Jogiches in 1885 became a member of the revolutionary party Narodnaya Volya. He was a leading member of the Vilna group and was connected with its terrorist organization. He was later arrested by the Czarist authorities. On his release he emigrated to Switzerland and from 1890 to 1893 worked with Plekhanov's Marxist group Osvobozhdeniye Truda ("Emancipation of Labor"). Jogiches was a founder and leader of the Social Democratic Party of Poland and Lithuania and considerably influenced Rosa *Luxemburg, with whom he was in close personal contact. He edited the party organ *Sprawa Robotnicza*

("The Workers' Cause") with Rosa Luxemburg and others and later edited four other periodicals: *Czerwony Sztandar* ("Red Banner"); *Przegląd Socjaldemokratyczny* ("Social-Democratic Review"); *Trybuna Ludowa* ("People's Tribune") and *Trybuna*. Jogiches returned to Poland on the outbreak of the Russian revolution in 1905 and organized the Warsaw workers' strikes of December 1905. He was arrested in 1906 and sentenced to eight years hard labor. In 1907, however, he escaped to Germany where he became active in the Polish, Russian, and German Socialist movements. During World War I, Jogiches was a leading figure in the left-wing groups Internationale and Spartacus until his arrest in 1918. After the revolution in Germany (Nov. 1918) he joined Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht in forming the German Communist Party (KPD), but early in 1919 was rearrested and murdered in prison.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: J. Krasny, *J. Tyszka, zarys życia i dziaxalności* (Moscow, 1925); *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, 11 (1964–65), 260–2 (incl. bibl.).

[Abraham Wein]

JOHANAN (Heb. יוֹחָנָן; "YHWH has been gracious"), the son of Kareah, the principal military officer in the entourage of *Gedaliah the son of Ahikam at Mizpah. After Gedaliah's assassination he led Jeremiah and other Jews down to Egypt (Jer. 40:8, 13–16; 41:11–16; 42:1,8:43: 2–5).

JOHANAN BEN BEROKA (beginning of the second century C.E.), *tanna*. Johanan's halakhic opinions are cited ten times in the Mishnah and as often in the Tosefta. He was an associate of *Eleazar Ḥisma. Although he considered himself a pupil of *Joshua b. Hananiah, whom he visited in his home in Peki'in (Tosef., Sot. 7:9), he came chiefly under the influence of *Johanan b. Nuri, whom he also visited in his home in Bet She'arim (Tosef., Ter. 7:14), and whose customs he followed (Tosef., RH ed. by Lieberman 316–7).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Hyman, Toledot, s.v.

[Zvi Kaplan]

JOHANAN BEN GUDGADA (first–early second centuries C.E.), *tanna*. According to the Tosefta Johanan served in the Temple, where it was his duty to see to the closing of the Temple gates (Tosef. Shek. 2:14). It was his custom to eat food "in the ritual purity required for sacred food" throughout his life (Ḥag. 2:7). He testified with regard to a number of *halakhot* (Git. 5:5). His children were deaf-mutes (Tosef. Ter. 1:1), and according to the Talmud his daughter's sons, who were dumb but not deaf, studied in the academy of Judah ha-Nasi. Judah prayed for them and they were healed, and it was found that they had complete knowledge of the whole Torah (Ḥag. 3a). It is striking that one of his testimonies (Git. 5:5) concerned a deaf-mute given in marriage by her father, to the effect that she could be divorced by a bill of divorce.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Hyman, Toledot, s.v.

[Zvi Kaplan / Stephen G. Wald (2nd ed.)]

JOHANAN BEN HA-ḤORANIT (also ha-Huranit, ha-Horoni, or ha-Hurni; mid-first century B.C.E.), *tanna*. A contemporary of *Shammai and *Hillel, he was probably named after his place of origin, the *Hauran region south of Damascus. He is only mentioned once in the Mishnah (Suk. 2:7) as having been visited in his *sukkah* by the elders of the academies of Shammai and of Hillel, who found him observing the *sukkah* ritual according to the rules of Hillel, though he is generally regarded as a disciple of Shammai (Tosef. Suk. 2:3). This is also reflected in the story that he refused once, during a famine, to eat moist olives until he was assured that, according to the rules of Hillel, they were ritually clean (*ibid.*). His most famous disciple was the *tanna* *Eliezer b. Zadok (*ibid.*).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Hyman, Toledot, 674.

JOHANAN BEN JEHOIADA, (fifth century B.C.E.), high priest. Opinions differ as to the name of Johanan's father. In a number of places he is called Eliashib (Ezra 10:6; Neh. 12:23), whereas Josephus refers to him as "the son of Joiada and grandson of Eliashib" (cf. also Neh. 12:22 and 5:11; reading Johanan instead of Jonathan). In the opinion of A. Schalit Johanan was a nephew of *Manasseh. Johanan served as high priest after the reforms of Ezra and Nehemiah and is mentioned in one of the *Elephantine papyri of 408 B.C.E. According to this papyrus (Cowley, Aramaic 108–19, no. 30), he opposed the construction by the Jews of the Elephantine Temple and did not reply to a letter which they addressed to him on the subject. Johanan murdered his brother Jeshua in the course of a dispute with him in the Temple area. In consequence of this crime, the Jews were punished by Bagoas (*Bagohi), the Persian governor. These events are better understood in light of the fact that Johanan was a supporter of Ezra and Nehemiah (Jos., Ant. 11:297–301), whereas the connections between Jeshua and Bagoas, and between the latter and the Samaritans, suggest that Jeshua favored closer relations with the Samaritans.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Schalit, in: *Sefer Yoḥanan Levi* (1949), 252–72; Klausner, Bayit Sheni, 1 (1951^2), 226–303; 2 (1951^2), 11–12, 19–20; E. Meyer, *Der Papyrusfund von Elephantine* (1912), 70ff; Schuerer, Gesch, 3 (1909^4), 7, 26–27.

[Uriel Rappaport]

JOHANAN BEN JOSHUA HA-KOHEN (c. ninth or tenth century), liturgical poet. *Zunz assumed, with reservations, that Johanan, one of the principal representatives of the older *piyyut*, lived in the period after Eleazar *Kallir, and was of Greek extraction. The discovery of Johanan's poems among the *Genizah* fragments in Cairo, and the new light on synagogal poetry that has been acquired over the past century indicate that Johanan lived in Palestine, and that although it is difficult to determine his dates he may have lived before the Muslim conquest. Johanan composed three lengthy *piyyutim*: (1) a *kerovah* for Shavuot (found in a number of manuscripts of the Greek ritual); (2) a *kerovah* for *Musaf* of the Day of Atonement (printed in two different versions in the *Maḥzor*

Romania (see *Romaniot and Roman rituals); (3) an *Avodah* for the day of Atonement (which figures in the Roman ritual). Other *piyyutim* by Johanan are found in manuscript form, notably in the *Genizah* texts.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Dukes, Poesie, 49, 143; Zunz, Poesie, 81, 108; Zunz, Ritus, 81f.; Zunz, Lit Poesie, 98–100; Landshuth, Ammudei, 82f.; I. Elbogen, *Studien zur Geschichte des Juedischen Gottesdienstes* (1907), 84f.; Davidson, Oẓar, 4 (1933), 398; M. Zulay, in: YMḤSI, 2 (1936), 324–5, 347, 358; 5 (1939), 155–7. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** E. Fleischer, *Hebrew Liturgcal Poetry in the Middle Ages* (1975), 118 (Heb.).

[Jefim (Hayyim) Schirmann]

JOHANAN BEN NAPPAḤA (c. 180–c. 279), one of the most prominent Palestinian *amoraim* of the second generation whose teachings comprise a major portion of the Jerusalem Talmud (TJ), and a significant portion of the Babylonian Talmud as well. The fact that R. Johanan's name is more frequently mentioned in the Jerusalem Talmud than that of any other *amora* led Maimonides to ascribe to him the compilation of this Talmud (Intro. to Yad), though R. Johanan certainly could not himself have served as the final redactor of the Jerusalem Talmud as we possess it today (see Jerusalem *Talmud). His cognomen "bar Nappaḥa," which is found in this Aramaic form throughout the Babylonian Talmud (see Rashi, Sanh. 96a) is usually understood to mean "the son of a smith" (cf. the parallel Hebrew form "*ben ha-nappaḥ*" found in TJ, RH 2:7, 58a, Sanh. 1:2, 18c), and it has even been understood as a reference to R. Johanan's extraordinary physical beauty (Rashi ad. loc., presumably interpreting *bar nappaḥa* to mean "capable of inflaming [one's desires]"; cf. TB, BM 84a, Ber. 20a, 5b). It is nevertheless quite likely that it originally refers to his home town, the village of "*nappaḥ*" (Epstein, *Introduction*, 238). He is generally cited as "R. Johanan," sometimes by his cognomen only (e.g., Mak. 5b), but never by both together.

Like many of the *tannaim* and like many other prominent *amoraim*, R. Johanan's life quickly became the subject of numerous *aggadot*, which developed and changed as the stories were told and retold, each time in accordance with the literary and theological aims of the different storytellers. As a result it is difficult to give a precise account even of those few events from R. Johanan's life which are actually related in talmudic sources, since they are often reported in various ways in different versions of the same story. Similarly, R. Johanan's own halakhic and aggadic teachings were subjected to intense scrutiny, not only by his immediate disciples, but also by virtually all subsequent scholars. This process of study and analysis gave rise to varying and often conflicting interpretations of his words. These differing interpretations in turn were formulated as independent and sometimes contradictory statements, and then disseminated under R. Johanan's name (see, for example, Wald, *Pesaḥim III*, 59–65). This problem is further compounded by the fact that in the eyes of the Babylonian Talmud virtually any authoritative tradition deriving from the Land of Israel may come to be ascribed to R. Johanan, whether he was the original author of the statement or not. For example, the halakhic statement ascribed to R. Johanan in TB, Shabbat 73b top, is virtually identical to the anonymous tannaitic statement found in Tosefta Shab. 8:3 (see Wald, *Shabbat VII*, sugya 11). Similarly, the famous aggadic statement ascribed to R. Johanan in TB, Git. 56a, "The humility of R. Zekharia b. Avkulas destroyed our Temple, burned our Holy of Holies, and exiled us from our land," is in fact a slightly expanded version of the statement of the *tanna* R. Yose found in Tosefta Shab. 16:7 (see *Five Sugyot*, 106–111). After describing in outline the life and career of R. Johanan as it is reflected in talmudic sources, we will examine a few of the problems involved in the critical evaluation of these traditions, using one halakhic tradition and one aggadic tradition as examples.

Apparently born at Sepphoris, Johanan was said to be descended from the tribe of Joseph (Ber. 20a). According to the Babylonian Talmud, his father died before his birth and his mother in childbirth (Kid. 31b), and according to the Jerusalem Talmud R. Johanan was raised by his grandfather (TJ, Ma'as. 1:2, 48d). One tradition relates that R. Johanan inherited fields and vineyards from his parents, all of which he sold to support himself during his student years, claiming that he was disposing of objects created in six days to acquire the Torah, which was given in 40 days (Song R. 8:7). While this source represents him as having chosen poverty voluntarily, another mentions his poverty without any such qualification (Ta'anit 21a). These representations of R. Yohanan as a struggling scholar are consistent with his view – quoted by R. Abbahu – that a *talmid hakham* is one who neglects his business for study (TJ, Moed Katan 3:7, 83b). According to the Babylonian Talmud, R. Johanan's family life was marred by tragedy, and during his lifetime he buried ten of his sons. He is said to have retained a "bone" (according to the commentaries "a tooth") of the last of his sons, showing it to people in mourning to induce in them a spirit of resignation such as he himself had found in his successive bereavements (Ber. 5b; Arukh ad. loc.). In a parallel version of this *aggadah* (Song R. 2), however, there is no mention either of this tragedy or of this particular practice, and in another source reference is made to the marriage of a daughter who survived (Kid. 71b).

The Babylonian Talmud states that in his youth he studied with *Judah ha-Nasi for a short time, although R. Johanan apparently could not then comprehend his master's teachings (Ḥul. 137b). Nevertheless, according to this *aggadah*, Judah recognized Johanan's talents and predicted that he would be a leading teacher in Israel (Pes. 3b; cf. Yoma 82b). His primary teachers were R. *Yannai (BB 154b; TJ, Ket. 9:5, 33b), and *Oshaiah Rabbah (Eruv. 53a; TJ, Ter. 10:3, 47a). From Ḥanina b. Hama, he apparently received homiletic traditions on almost all the biblical books, as we are told that Ḥanina once noticed unusually large crowds hurrying by to hear R. Johanan's lectures on the *aggadah*; whereupon Ḥanina thanked God for permitting him to see his life's work bearing such blessed fruit (TJ, Hor. 3:7, 48b). Johanan also is described as having mastered the mystical traditions of the *Merkabah* (Ḥag. 13a), the science of intercalating months (TJ, RH 2:6, 58a, b), and medicine (Shab. 109b; 110b).

R. Johanan began teaching in his native city, Sepphoris, in the yeshivah of R. Bana'ah, and his classes became very popular. Later, R. Johanan opened his own academy in Tiberias (TJ, Beẓah 1:1, 60a) which soon attracted the most gifted students of his generation, among whom were Abbahu, Ammi, Assi II, Eleazar b. Pedat, Ḥiyya b. Abba, Yose b. Ḥaninah, and Simeon b. Abba. His disciples spread his teachings, and R. Johanan also visited other localities, deciding questions of law there (Ket. 7a; Yev. 64b). His fame spread afar, and in certain circles in the Diaspora the impact of his teaching was felt almost as strongly as in his native land (Z.M. Dor).

According to a tradition in the Babylonian Talmud, R. Johanan recognized no authority outside Ereẓ Israel except for *Rav, with whom he corresponded, addressing him as "our master in Babylon." After Rav's death, R. Johanan addressed his colleague, Samuel, as "our colleague in Babylon." However, after Samuel had sent him his calendar calculations and responsa concerning *terefah*, R. Johanan reportedly exclaimed that Samuel was also his master. He therefore resolved to visit Samuel, but to spare him from the hardships of the long journey to Babylon, "God caused him incorrectly to believe that Samuel had in the meantime died" (Ḥul. 95b).

R. Johanan is represented not only as authoritative among other rabbis (cf. TJ, Ber. 8:1, 12a), but also outside of rabbinic circles. A litigant in Antioch is said to have agreed in advance of adjudication to abide by whatever R. Johanan decided (TJ, Sanh. 3:2, 21a), while another source stresses his popularity as a preacher (TJ, Hor. 3:7, 48b; TJ, BM 2:11, 8d). R. Johanan is also described as giving orders to the Kifra synagogue (TJ, RH 4:4, 59c) and to midwives (TJ, Shab 9:3, 12a), descriptions which presuppose some degree of receptivity on the part of the persons and communities in question.

R. Johanan is also represented as a man of affairs. He is described as having enjoyed the regard of the archon of Sepphoris (TJ, Ber. 5:1, 9a), and he is also represented as having regard for the honor of the patriarchate (e.g., Gen R. 97:48, Theodor-Albeck, p. 1245). R. Johanan reportedly felt that there should only be one leader in a generation (Sanhedrin 8a) – presumably the patriarch – whom he is also represented as urging to dress in a manner more appropriate to his office (TJ, Sanh. 2:5, 20c). On one occasion when the patriarchal house was late in informing R. Johanan and Resh Lakish of the proclamation of a public fast, R. Johanan insisted that they nevertheless had to observe it, since – presumably as the patriarch's subjects – they were legally presumed to have accepted the fast when it was proclaimed (Ta'an. 24a). R. Johanan also reportedly made a journey to perform a service on behalf of the patriarch (TJ, Av. Zar. 2:4, 41b). Descriptions of R. Johanan's willingness to submit to the authority of the patriarch may be connected to the accounts of how he was able to mediate between the patriarch and Resh Lakish (TJ, Sanh. 2:1, 19d–20a; TJ, Hor. 3:2, 47a), and how he had the stature to intervene in a conflict involving two of the most prominent families in Sepphoris (TJ, Shab. 12:3, 13c). R. Johanan also reportedly used his connections with the patriarchate in order to begin integrating rabbinic scholars into the patriarchal bureaucracy, as well as into positions of communal leadership. R. Johanan's students continued his policy of appointing scholars for such posts. This expansion of R. Johanan's influence into the political realm may account at least in part for his influence over Palestinian rabbinism overall. The Talmud also ascribes to R. Johanan's an almost unbounded respect for the previous generations of scholars, quoting him as saying that "the hearts of the ancients were like the larger outer door to the Temple [*ulam*], but that of the later generations is like the smaller inner door [*heikhal*], while ours is like the eye of a fine needle" (Er. 53a), and that "the fingernail of the earlier generations is better than the whole body of the later generations" (Yoma 9b).

In addition to his numerous halakhic and aggadic statements (*memrot*), which touch on virtually every aspect of talmudic law and lore, the Babylonian Talmud also ascribes to R. Johanan a number of general rules which were accepted as authoritative in determining the *halakhah*. (e.g., Sanh. 31a, Er. 46b). One notable example of this sort of statement is the widely quoted (cf. the list in the margin of Shab. 46a) principle that "the *halakhah* is in accordance with an anonymous Mishnah." Nevertheless, it is difficult to accept the accuracy of this tradition on face value. In every case where this statement is quoted in the Babylonian Talmud, it is contradicted by another explicit statement of R. Johanan in which he decides the *halakhah* in opposition to the view of an anonymous Mishnah. In many cases the Talmud manages to "resolve" these contradictions, but some of these resolutions require textual emendations (Shab. 147b, 157b), some involve explicitly forced interpretations (Shab. 46a, 112b), and some remain unresolved (Yev. 16b, Nid. 56b).

The source of this problematic tradition can be traced to a passage in the Jerusalem Talmud, (Yev. 4:11, 6b; cf. TB, Yev. 42b–43a, and TJ, Ta'an. 2:14, 66a; Meg. 1:4, 70d), where R. Johanan decided the *halakhah* in favor of the position of R. Jose, and in opposition to an anonymous halakhic position, both of which are brought in Mishnah Yev. 4:11. The Jerusalem Talmud explains that R. Johanan did not consider an anonymous halakhah binding unless it represented the position of the majority of scholars, whereas in this case the anonymous *halakhah* was only the opinion of R. Meir. Further on the Jerusalem Talmud indeed quotes a tradition in the name of R. Eleazar, according to which the *halakhah* always follows the anonymous position of the Mishnah, even when it is only the view of an individual *tanna*. It is clear, however, that this is not the view of R. Johanan himself, but rather only of his disciple R. Eleazar.

Why then was this tradition ascribed to R. Johanan in the Babylonian Talmud? The answer to this question can be found in another statement by R. Johanan in the Jerusalem Talmud there (TJ, Yev. 4:11, 6b): "R. Johanan said: Any place where [Rabbi] taught an anonymous Mishnah, that [anonymous Mishnah] is [presumed to represent] the majority position, until one receives explicit information from one's teacher [to the contrary]." Assuming that the *halakhah* is generally in accordance with the majority opinion, one could summarize R. Johanan's rather convoluted statement in the following way: "The *halakhah* is in accordance with an anonymous Mishnah" – but only if one recalls that R. Johanan's statement is not a universal and binding legal rule, but rather a generalization, which may serve as a legal presumption, so long as it has not been contradicted by other evidence. When this simplified, but still correct, version of this tradition was transmitted to Babylonia, however, these qualifications were blurred or lost altogether, and it was interpreted as a universal and binding legal rule: "the *halakhah* is [always] in accordance with an anonymous Mishnah" – as if R. Johanan himself agreed with the position of his disciple R. Eleazar! As a result of the conflation of these two traditions, a contradiction arose between this tradition (as understood by the Babylonian Talmud) and more than 20 other explicit rulings ascribed in the Babylonian Talmud to R. Johanan, in which he decided the *halakhah* in opposition to the position of an anonymous Mishnah.

Similar problems arise when one tries to trace the origin and to verify the authenticity of aggadic traditions relating to R. Johanan. Talmudic storytellers frequently elaborated and reformulated historical traditions, transferred stories from one narrative to another, and even from one historical figure to another. For example, the Talmud In TB, BM 84a provides a detailed account of the manner in which R. Johanan first met his life-long study partner, R. *Simeon b. Lakish (Resh Lakish), and of the tragic events surrounding their deaths. We are told there that R. Johanan was once bathing in the Jordan, when Resh Lakish, who at that time was a highway robber by profession, passed by. Resh Lakish was so impressed with R. Johanan's beauty that he "jumped over the Jordan" to get a better look. R. Johanan was so impressed by Resh Lakish's physical strength that he said to him: "Your strength should be devoted to the study of Torah." Resh Lakish replied: "Your beauty should be devoted to women." Johanan responded: "If you come back with me [to study Torah], I will give you my sister [in marriage], who is even more beautiful than I am." As soon as Resh Lakish agreed to return and study Torah, he lost all his physical strength, and was unable to jump back across the Jordan in order to bring his things. The story then breaks off and picks up some years later, with R. Johanan and Resh Lakish engaged in a dispute over the halakhic status of various weapons – "The sword, the dagger," etc. – in which Resh Lakish disagreed with R. Johanan's view as to when such weapons are considered finished and ready for use. R. Johanan quipped that Resh Lakish's apparent expertise in this matter would seem to be due to his former occupation as a highway robber. Resh Lakish was taken aback by this insensitive reference to his former life of crime, became despondent and eventually died. R. Johanan, in turn, also became increasingly despondent, not so much because he had caused the death of his lifelong friend, but rather because he was unable to learn Torah effectively without the assistance of an aggressive study partner like Resh Lakish, who was always both willing and able to challenge him on every point. R. Johanan's mental state eventually deteriorated into insanity, whereupon R. Johanan's colleagues prayed for him that he might find peace – and so he died.

This story is fascinating in many respects, but it is also highly suspect as a report of events that supposedly occurred in the lives of these two scholars. The opening scenario is remarkably similar to another story found in Song R. 2, in which a member of Rabban Gamaliel's household, who is described as possessing superhuman strength, becomes enfeebled as soon as he begins to learn Torah. Even R. Johanan's comment to Resh Lakish in the Babylonian Talmud is remarkably similar to Rabban Gamaliel's words there: "You have all this great strength (*ḥela*), and you do not learn Torah (*oraita*)?" (Song R.) = "Your strength (*ḥelakh*), should be devoted to the study of Torah (*l-oraita*)." Also, the story of R. Johanan's pathetic inability to study Torah in the absence of Resh Lakish is the subject of another, very different, *aggadah* found in Yerushalmi Sanh. 2, 19d and Hor. 3, 47a (see Friedman, Rav Kahana, 265–67). Moreover, the entire halakhic discussion between R. Johanan and Resh Lakish in this story seems artificial and somewhat improbable (cf. Tosefot BM 84b bottom). Finally, the striking description of R. Johanan's insanity and resulting death are not reflected in any parallel description of R. Johanan's death (cf. MK 25b; TJ, Kil. 9:3, 32b, Ket. 12:3, 35a; Gen. R. 100:2, Theodor-Albeck 1285).

The lives of great figures such as R. Johanan inevitably become enmeshed in a web of legend, as their teachings are subjected to reinterpretation and reformulation. It is often difficult, if not impossible, to disentangle the more original elements of these traditions from later accretions and elaborations. Notwithstanding these difficulties, these traditions bear clear witness to the enormity of the achievement and legacy which R. Johanan left to posterity.

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[Stephen G. Wald and Alyssia Gray (2nd ed.)]

JOHANAN BEN NURI (first half of the second century), *tanna*. Johanan lived in Bet She'arim (Tosef., Ter. 7:14; *ibid.*, Suk. 2:2) and was also in Ginnegar and Sepphoris. His teacher was apparently *Eliezer b. Hyrcanus, since he transmits several sayings in his name and engaged in discussions in his presence (Tosef., Kelim, BK 6:3; et al.). During the war of Lucius *Quietus (115–17 C.E.), Johanan was in Sepphoris in the company of outstanding scholars (Tosef., Kelim, BB 2:2). He had great influence in molding the laws and customs of the Jews of Galilee, who followed his rulings, in contrast to Judea where they followed *Akiva (TJ, RH 4:6). Despite the fact that *Joshua b. Hananiah praised him for his great knowledge and as one who "was able to estimate the number of drops of water in the sea," he was extremely poor and "went out with the last of the gleaners to bring home his living for the whole year" (TJ, Pe'ah 8:1). Even after Rabban *Gamaliel appointed him a member of the Sanhedrin, he continued to behave with simplicity: "It happened that Rabban Gamaliel promoted Johanan b. Nuri and Eleazer b. Ḥisma, and the disciples did not recognize them. In the evening they took their place among the disciples… [Rabban Gamaliel] entered and found them sitting among the pupils. He said to them: 'You have already shown publicly that you deserve no position of authority. In the past you were your own masters, henceforth you are servants subject to the community'" (Sif. Deut. 16; and cf. Hor. 10a). He is frequently mentioned in the Mishnah, chiefly in discussions with Akiva with whom he was intimate. Johanan b. Nuri said: "I call heaven and earth as witnesses that on more than five occasions Akiva was criticized because of me before Gamaliel in Jabneh, because I complained about him and Gamaliel rebuked him, but despite that I know that his affection for me grew" (Sif. Deut. 1). He is frequently mentioned as conveying the teaching of the scholars of Jabneh to the older scholars of Galilee (Tosef., BB 2:10; *ibid.*, Oho. 5:8; et al.). His *halakhot* are frequently mentioned in the Mishnah and *baraita* and he was called "a basket of *halakhot*" (ARN^1 18–68). Johanan b. Beroka is referred to as one of his pupils (Tosef. Ter. 7:14), and Yose transmitted *halakhot* in his name (Ket. 1:10; et al.). He was still alive after the *Bar Kokhba war and the fall of Bethar (Yev. 14:2–15:1), and Judah ha-Nasi still went to visit him in Bet She'arim (Tosef. Suk. 2:2; see Lieberman, *Tosefta ki-Feshutah*, 4, 850/51).

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[Shmuel Safrai]

JOHANAN BEN TORTA (first half of the second century), *tanna*, a contemporary of *Akiva. Only one statement by him is known, in which he gives the reasons for the destruction of the Temple. "Why was Shiloh destroyed? Because of the contempt in which the sacred objects there were held. Why was the first Temple destroyed? Because of three evil things which prevailed then – idolatry, immorality, and bloodshed. But in the period of the Second Temple we know that they labored in Torah and were careful to give tithes; why then were they exiled? Because they loved wealth and hated one another. This is to teach thee that hatred of one's fellow men is considered by God as grave as idolatry, immorality, and bloodshed" (Tosef. Men. 13:22, cf. Yoma 9a, b). Johanan b. Torta vigorously opposed Akiva's acceptance of Bar Kokhba as the Messiah, saying to him, "Akiva! Grass shall grow from your jaws before the son of David appears" (TJ, Ta'an. 4:8, 68d). According to a late *aggadah*, Johanan was a proselyte who became converted when he saw that the cow he bought from a Jew refused to work on the Sabbath (PR, Parah, 56b–57a). This, however, would appear to be merely a homiletical interpretation based on his name (*torta*, "cow") which, in fact, refers to his birthplace.

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[Shmuel Safrai]

JOHANAN BEN ZAKKAI (first century C.E.), *tanna*, considered in talmudic tradition the leading sage at the end of the Second Temple period and the years immediately following the destruction of the Temple. Johanan b. Zakkai's personality and work are depicted in a blend of fact and legend, neither of which gives information concerning his family or place of origin. Compared to Moses and *Hillel before and to *Akiva after him, Johanan is said to have lived 120 years, divided into three periods: "For 40 years he was in business, 40 years he studied, and 40 years he taught" (Sif. Deut. 357; RH 31b; Sanh. 41a). In the chain of the tradition of the Oral Law it is mentioned in general terms that he received the tradition from Hillel and *Shammai (Avot 2:8). Other statements, however, refer to him only as the pupil of Hillel, although these too contain no direct evidence of any discussions between them. According to a talmudic *aggadah* (TJ, Ned. 5:6, 39b, TB, Suk. 28a, BB 134a; ARN^1 14, ARN^b 28), Johanan was the least among Hillel's many pupils, 80 according to some traditions, 160 according to others. Nevertheless, Hillel (according to TJ and ARN^2) singled Johanan out on his deathbed, calling him "father of wisdom and father of the generations," and according to another tradition (TB; cf. ARN^1) "it was said of him that he did not leave unstudied the Bible and Mishnah, Talmud, *halakhah*, and *aggadah*, exegetical details of the Torah and of the Scribes, inferences *a minori ad majus* and analogies, calendrical computations and *gematriot*, the speech of the ministering angels, of spirits, and of palm-trees, fullers' parables and fox fables, and any matter great and small, 'great' meaning: *ma'aseh merkavah* (mystical speculation); 'small' meaning: the discussions of Abbaye and Rava."

Very little is known of Johanan's activity as scholar or teacher in Jerusalem before the destruction. One talmudic *aggadah* states that for 40 years before the destruction of the Second Temple the doors of the *heikhal* (front part of the Temple building) were locked at night and in the early morning were found open. Johanan b. Zakkai said to it: "*Heikhal*, why do you agitate us? We know that you will eventually be destroyed, as it is said [Zech. 11:1]: 'Open thy doors, O Lebanon, that the fire may devour thy cedars'" (TJ, Yoma, 6:3, 43c; TB, Yoma 39b; and see Jos., Wars, 6:293). Another tradition (see Mid. Tan. on Deut. 26:13), tells of his relations with Rabban *Simeon b. Gamaliel, indicating that he occupied a special place among the sages and filled a role – either with or without any particular title – alongside the *nasi*.

Johanan and the Temple

According to tradition Johanan expounded and taught "in the shadow of the Temple" (TJ, Av. Zar. 3:13, 43b; Pes. 26a), and it may be there that he came into contact with "the sons of high priests" mentioned in Ket. 13:2. On the other hand Johanan's dispute there with Dosa ben Hyrcanus over the words of "the sons of high priests" may reflect a later stage in the development of this *halakhah* which occurred after the destruction. Tannaitic sources report a number of explicit disputes between Johanan and the Sadducees. In one, Johanan clashed openly with one of them and was able to give practical expression to the Pharisaic view (Tosef., Par. 3:8; and see Mish., Par. 3:7). The Mishnah also records a controversy between Johanan and the Sadducees on whether the Holy Scriptures "render the hands unclean" (Yad. 4:6). The other accounts of his disputes with them (BB 115b; and see Men. 65a; Meg. Ta'an. 338) are legendary in character. These accounts were apparently composed when the Sadducees had ceased to exist. By his active opposition to them Johanan undoubtedly sought to curtail their influence in the Temple and in its service. He was also opposed to the special privileges which the priests had arrogated to themselves, such as exempting themselves from paying the half shekel. Johanan declared against them: "Any priest who does not pay the shekel is guilty of a sin …" (Shek. 1:4; and see Maimonides' Mishnah commentary, ad loc.). It was however clear to him that the sages were powerless to impose their views fully on the priests (Eduy. 8:3, 7). Nevertheless he may have succeeded in increasing the number of Pharisaic priests who accepted his decisions (see Tosef., Oho. 16:8; Tosef., Par. 10:2) and in influencing their ways and the order of the Temple service.

No information is extant of the regulations issued by Johanan before the destruction of the Temple. The Mishnah (Sot. 9:9) does indeed declare that he discontinued the ceremony of the ordeal of the bitter water which the woman suspected of adultery had to drink, but the passage "Rabban Johanan b. Zakkai discontinued it" was apparently not part of the original Mishnah, he having merely testified to its discontinuance on account of prevailing circumstances, as stated in the Tosefta (Sot. 14:1–2): "R. Johanan b. Zakkai said: With the increase in the number of murderers an end was put to the ceremony of breaking the heifer's neck [Deut. 21:1ff.], for the ceremony of breaking the heifer's neck applies only to a doubtful case, whereas now they murder openly. With the increase in the number of adulterers, an end was put to the ceremony of the bitter water, for the ceremony of the bitter water applies only to a doubtful case, whereas now there have already increased those who are openly guilty of it."

As a Teacher

Johanan's chief activity was directed to spreading the knowledge of the Torah (RH 18a; Yev. 105a); but while regarding its study as the aim of man's life, he warned that this did not justify claiming any credit for oneself: "If you have learnt much Torah, do not ascribe any merit to yourself, since it was for this that you were created" (Avot 2:8). Five of his pupils are mentioned by name: Eliezer b. Hyrcanus, Joshua b. Hananiah, Yose ha-Kohen, Simeon b. Nethanel, and Eleazar b. Arakh (*ibid.*), but frequently reference is made to his pupils without mentioning their names. He used the dialogue as his method of instruction. He asked questions of his pupils, probed their answers, and praised the correct reply (Avot 2:9). The earliest tannaitic sources describe him as teaching *halakhah* and *aggadah*, ethics and the reasons for the commandments, and mysticism as well – *ma'aseh bereshit* and *ma'aseh merkavah* (see below). His tendency to base *halakhot* on biblical texts is evidenced by his fear that "another generation is destined to pronounce clean a loaf that is unclean in the third degree on the ground that no text in the Torah declares it to be unclean" (Sot. 5:2). A *baraita* (Tosef., BK 7:3ff.) enumerates five things which R. Johanan b. Zakkai interpreted "as a kind of *ḥomer*," an expression that has not been satisfactorily explained. This *baraita* contains allegorical interpretations and homilies based on analogy, on an inference from a similarity of biblical phrases, and on a conclusion *a minori ad majus*. Their common feature is that they give reasons for biblical statements: "Why, of all the organs of his body, was it specifically the ear of the Hebrew servant who, although able to go free after six years' service yet chose to continue serving his master, which was pierced? [Ex. 21:2–6]. Because the ear was the organ that heard at Mt. Sinai 'for unto Me the children of Israel are servants' [Lev. 25:55] but this one elected to serve a human master. Therefore, declares the Bible, let his ear be perforated … The Bible says [Deut. 27:5]: 'And there shalt thou build … an altar of stones; thou shalt lift up no iron tool upon them.' For fashioning the stones of the altar, which symbolizes atonement, iron is not to be used, since from it the sword, symbolizing calamity, is manufactured. If this applies to the altar which makes atonement between Israel and their Father in heaven, by a conclusion *a minori ad majus*, students of the Torah, who are the atonement of the world, should not be touched by any one of all the harmful agents" (Tosef., BK loc. cit.).

Johanan's method of minutely studying a biblical passage, inquiring into its motivation, and finding the grounds for some detail which he then converts into a universal idea transcending the specific context of the passage, is evident also in his other expositions not designated "as a kind of *ḥomer*." On the verse (Ex. 21:37: "he shall pay five oxen for an ox, and four sheep for a sheep," he said: "Come and see to what extent God shows consideration for the dignity of human beings. For an ox, which walks with its legs, the thief pays fivefold; for a sheep, since he carries it, he pays only fourfold" (Tosef., BK 7:10; Mekh., ed. Horowitz-Rabin, *Nezikin*, 12). In later sources mention is made of questions addressed to Johanan in the presence of his pupils by a Roman general who in the main posed problems raised by contradictory biblical passages (see Bek. 5a; TJ, Sanh. 1:7, 19 c–d; Num. R. 4:9). At times Johanan gave him an evasive answer, which failed to satisfy his pupils.

On one occasion when "he saw his disciples looking at one another, he said to them, 'You are doubtless surprised that I should have dismissed him with a vague reply …'" (Ḥul. 27b, and see Tos., ad loc.). On another occasion his pupils said to him: "Him you have dismissed with a vague reply, but to us what answer do you give?" (TJ, Sanh. 1:3, 19b). According to another tradition, a certain non-Jew once asked Johanan about the ceremony of the red heifer which "seems like sorcery." In this story, too, it is said that Johanan's answer to the general failed to satisfy his pupils "who, when he left, said, 'Our master, him you have dismissed with a trivial reply. What answer do you give us?' He said to them, 'By your life, a corpse does not defile nor does water make levitically clean, but it is the decree of the Holy One Blessed Be He who declared, I have issued an ordinance and enacted a decree, and you are not permitted to question My decree'" (PdRK 71; Tanh., Ḥukkat, 8).

Johanan is the first sage explicitly mentioned in tannaitic sources as having engaged in mysticism – standing at the head of a chain, as it were, of sages who engaged in the subject, given by Yose b. Judah of the latter half of the second century C.E. (Tosef., Ḥag. 2:2). Recent studies, however, have raised questions about the historical foundations of these traditions. They may have originated in an attempt of later *tannaim* to use the figure of Eleazar b. Arakh (otherwise largely ignored in tannaitic sources) as a prototype for the "sage who is able to achieve understanding though his own abilities" (Ḥag. 2:1), but nevertheless remains in need of the approval and supervision of his master in order successfully to engage in mystical speculation (Goshen-Gottstein; Wald). Similarly, the traditions concerning the "chain of mystical tradition" may have arisen out of a need to explain Akiva's unique success in the mystical ascent to the *pardes* (Tosef. Ḥag. 2:3–4), leading the Tosefta to connect Akiva through R. Joshua to an officially sanctioned rabbinic mystical tradition (Rabban Johanan b. Zakkai), to which the other three – all of whom were harmed in one way or another during the mystical ascent – were not privy. All the same, these traditions concerning Johanan's close connection with the origins of tannaitic mysticism are firmly rooted in the earliest sources, and they are progressively expanded and elaborated in later talmudic sources (Neusner, *Development of a Legend*, 247–52; Wald). Closely connected to these traditions are two statements ascribed to Johanan, the one describing the entrance to Gehinnom (Suk. 32b) and the other the size of the world (Ḥag. 13a; and see Pes. 94 a–b). Only very few of *halakhot* (Kelim 2:2, 17:16) report Johanan's own wording. Remnants of his teaching have apparently been preserved in tractate *Sotah*, too, particularly in chapters 8 and 9, in which there are many references to *tannaim* of the end of the Second Temple period.

Aggadot of the Destruction

Nothing is clearly known concerning Johanan's attitude to the events that took place in Jerusalem during the tempestuous years preceding the destruction of the Second Temple. There is certainly no reason to believe that he belonged to the party of the Zealots. Statements ascribed to him concerning the establishment of peace "between nation and nation, between government and government, between family and family" (Mekh., Ba-Ḥodesh, 11) were certainly intended to promote peace for everyone, even for a heathen in the street (Ber. 17a), this being borne out by his admonition: "Do not be precipitate in tearing down the high places of the non-Jews, that you shall not rebuild them with your hands, that you shall not tear down those of bricks and they will tell you to make them of stones, those of stones and they will tell you to make them of wood" (Mid. Tan. on Deut. 12:2). Johanan may have expected a peaceful issue of the conflict and the preservation of Jerusalem. According to amoraic and post-amoraic tradition, he even worked to this end, and only after becoming convinced that all hope was lost decided to leave the city. This aggadah has been preserved in four versions (ARN^1 4, 22–24, ARN^2, 19; Lam. R. 1:5, no. 31; Git. 56a–b), in which there are not a few substantial differences and variants. Various editorial interpolations reflecting the spirit of the narrator's outlook can be discerned in the different versions of this story, such as Johanan's prophecy to Vespasian that the latter was destined to become emperor, ascribed by Josephus to himself (Wars, 3:399 ff.), as well as the motif emphasizing Johanan's wisdom in the eyes of the non-Jews. All these sources agree that he succeeded in outwitting the extremists, left the besieged city, and arrived at Vespasian's camp, probably in 68 C.E. Scholars have offered radically differing evaluations of the historical reliability of these traditions. Based on an analysis of extra-talmudic evidence, G. Alon rejected much of these traditions, while favoring certain elements – Johanan's requests to the emperor – found only in Lam. R., largely because they fit well with his historical reconstruction. Others hold that the most probable tradition concerning his requests to the emperor is that preserved in the Babylonian Talmud, according to which he asked only that the sages of the generation be saved – Jabneh with its sages, the dynasty of Rabban Gamaliel, and R. Zadok – requests that were personal and circumscribed in character. Another, totally different approach to these traditions was begun with Neusner's groundbreaking synoptic studies in his *Development of a Legend* (228–34), in which he argued that the version in Lam. R. is literarily dependent on the version in the Babylonian Talmud, thus negating its value as an independent source of reliable historical information. In general, Neusner's literary and synoptic approach has led to a general reevaluation of the use of talmudic *aggadah* in the writing of history, with the emphasis moving away from the reconstruction of actual concrete events – which are rarely the concern of the later amoraic and post-amoraic *aggadah* – toward the analysis of the development of talmudic legends themselves and the changing perspectives and agendas of the different later talmudic storytellers. While a recent study has tried to show that the differing versions found in ARN manuscripts preserve a number of relatively early fragmentary traditions (Kister), this in no way affects the evaluation of the historical reliability of these works as a whole.

According to the legend, the destruction of the Temple, which he foresaw, stunned Johanan no less than his contemporaries, and his immediate reaction was one of profound grief: "Rabban Johanan sat and watched in the direction of the wall of Jerusalem to learn what was happening there, even as Eli sat upon his seat by the wayside watching [I Sam. 4:13]. When R. Johanan b. Zakkai saw that the Temple was destroyed and the *heikhal* burnt, he stood and rent his garments, took off his *tefillin*, and sat weeping, as did his pupils with him" (ARN^2 7, 21). The cessation of the Temple service, one of the three things on which the world is based (Avot 1:2), led to a movement of excessive abstinence (Tosef., Sot. 15:11) and to a despair of the possibility of atoning for sins. Johanan took it upon himself to give guidance to the bewildered: "Once when R. Johanan b. Zakkai was leaving Jerusalem, R. Joshua was walking behind him and saw the Temple in ruins. R. Joshua said, 'Woe is us that this has been destroyed, the place where atonement was made for the sins of Israel.' 'No, my son, do you not know that we have a means of making atonement that is like it? And what is it? It is deeds of love, as it is said [Hos. 6:6]: "For I desire kindness, and not sacrifice"'" (ARN^1 4, 21).

According to the aggadah, Johanan ascribed the destruction of the Temple to Israel's failure to perform the will of God; but the aggadists were also witness to the consequences of the Jewish people having been delivered "into the hands of a low people" (Ket. 66b). This led to differing attitudes toward the charitable acts of the non-Jews. Thus, according to one tradition, Johanan said: "Just as the sin and guilt offerings make atonement for Israel, so charity and kindness make atonement for the nations of the world" (BB 10b; see Dik. Sof., ad loc.). But, according to another post-talmudic tradition, Johanan praised his pupil Eleazar b. Arakh's exposition of the verse (Prov. 14:34): "Righteousness exalteth a nation, but the kindness of the peoples is sin," saying to his pupils, "I approve the words of Eleazar b. Arakh rather than yours, for he assigns charity and kindness to Israel and sins to the nations of the world" (PdRK 21). According to this view, after the destruction of the Temple the atonement of sins was denied not to Israel but to those who had destroyed it.

Johanan at Jabneh

According to these traditions, Johanan was not content merely with such expressions of consolation, but took concrete steps toward the renewal of the nation's religious and national leadership by raising the prestige of the *bet din* at Jabneh. The tannaitic traditions preserve a number of decrees established by Johanan, concerning the blowing of the *shofar* on Shabbat, the "day of waving," the taking of the *lulav* outside of the Temple, the acceptance of testimony concerning the new moon (Neusner, *Development of a Legend*, 206–9). These decrees all reflect the need to bring accepted *halakhah* in line with the changed circumstances after the destruction of the Temple. However, only one of these decrees is linked explicitly to Jabneh, and then only according to one version of the tradition (RH 4:1). Johanan is mentioned once in the context of a halakhic debate at Jabneh, but he is not explicitly described as playing any official role (Shek. 1:4). On the other hand, the Mishnah (Shab. 16:7; 22:3) quotes two decisions which Johanan gave in Arav in Lower Galilee, and according to the *amora* Ulla, he lived there for 18 years, during which time these were the only two incidents which came before him – hence the statement ascribed to him complaining of the hatred of the Torah in Galilee (TJ, Shab. 16:7, 15d). Johanan's name is connected in a tannaitic source (Tosef, Ma'as. 2:1) to another location – the village Beror Ḥayil – and a later talmudic tradition (TB, Sanh. 32b) even describes Johanan as having had a "yeshivah" there. All this stands in sharp contrast to Rabban Gamaliel, who is regularly described as playing an official leading role in the *bet din* at Jabneh (RH 2:8–9; Kelim 5:4; Tosef. Demai 2:6; Tosef. RH 2:11; Tosef. Sanh. 8:1).

These facts have fueled a sharp scholarly debate over the question whether Johanan ever occupied the position of *nasi*, and if so, whether he was universally recognized or exercised full authority (see Frankel, Brüell, Halevy, Alon, Safrai). A moderate view of events might suggest that Johanan helped to prepare the groundwork for the eventual reestablishment of the office of *nasi*, under Rabban Gamaliel, who was accorded the recognition due to him as the legitimate heir of that office. The date of Johanan's death is unknown, but the esteem of the generations for his image and work was expressed in the mishnaic statement (Sot. 9:15) that "when R. Johanan b. Zakkai died, the luster of wisdom ceased."

The *aggadah* of the Bavli provides this moving account of his death: "When he fell ill, his disciples went to visit him. When R. Johanan b. Zakkai saw them, he began to weep. His disciples said to him: 'Light of Israel, pillar of the right hand, mighty hammer! Why do you weep?' He replied: 'If I were being taken today before a human king who is here today and tomorrow in the grave, whose anger – if he is angry with me – does not last forever, who if he imprisons me does not imprison me forever, and who if he puts me to death does not put me to everlasting death, and whom I can persuade with words and bribe with money, even so I would weep. Now that I am being taken before the supreme King of Kings, who lives and endures for ever and ever, whose anger is an everlasting anger, who if He imprisons me imprisons me forever, who if He puts me to death puts me to death forever, and whom I cannot persuade with words or bribe with money – nay more, when there are two ways before me, one leading to Paradise and the other to Gehinnom, and I do not know by which I shall be taken, shall I not weep?'" It is possible that the reference to appearing before an earthly king may be connected with his appearance before Vespasian. At the moment of his death, he said to his disciples: "Remove the vessels so that they shall not become unclean, and prepare a throne for Hezekiah the king of Judah who is coming to accompany me into the next world" (Ber. 28b).

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[*Encyclopaedia Hebraica* / Stephen G. Wald (2nd ed.)]

JOHANAN HA-SANDELAR (first half of the second century C.E.), *tanna*, one of the last pupils of *Akiva (Ber. 22a; Gen. R. 61:3). Johanan's surname may mean "the sandalmaker," though it has been suggested that his surname reflects his place of origin ("of Alexandria") and not his profession (TJ, Ḥag. 3:1). Johanan is mentioned a number of times in the Mishnah and in the Tosefta, mainly discussing *halakhah* with the pupils of Akiva or transmitting it in his name. He is also mentioned in a tannaitic story, together with Eleazar b. Shammua, which relates that they "were on the way to Nisibis to Judah b. Bathyra to learn Torah from him, but when they reached Sidon and remembered the land of Israel, they raised their eyes, their tears flowed down, and they rent their garments … and said: dwelling in Ereẓ Israel is equal to all the precepts of the Torah, and so returned to their own place" (Sif. Deut. 80). The *aggadah* tells that when Akiva was imprisoned after the Bar Kokhba War for teaching Torah, the sages sent Johanan to him to obtain an answer to a problem arising from the harsh realities of those days – as to whether **ḥaliẓah* is valid if not executed before the *bet din*. Johanan pretended to be a peddler and by this ruse was able to bring the answer from the prison that it was valid (TJ, Yev. 12:5). Similarly, Johanan is enumerated among the scholars who convened in the valley of Bet Rimmon in order to revive the study of Torah and communal life after the persecutions had abated (TJ, Ḥag. 3:1). His favorite maxim was: "Every assembly which is for the sake of Heaven will in the end be established, and every assembly which is not for the sake of Heaven will not in the end be established" (Avot 4:11).

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[Shmuel Safrai / Stephen G. Wald (2nd ed.)]

JOHANAN THE HASMONEAN (d. 161 B.C.E.), son of *Mattathias the Hasmonean and brother of Judah Maccabee, Jonathan, Simeon, and Eleazar. If their names in I Maccabees 2:2–5 are given in the order of their ages, he was the oldest son of Mattathias. His cognomen was "Gaddi" (alternate form "Gaddis" or "Gaddim"), the exact meaning of which is uncertain. The name Gaddi occurs in the Bible (Num. 13:11); some connect it with *gad*, "fortune," and others with "grain" (or "produce"). Johanan did not play an important role in the Hasmonean wars. He appears only in the difficult period following the death of Judah (160 B.C.E.), when he and his brothers were pursued by *Bacchides. He is referred to as "a leader of the multitude" (I Macc. 9:35), an office whose meaning is unknown. He was sent by his brother Jonathan to the Nabateans to deposit a large quantity of baggage with them. On the way he was attacked by the sons of Ambri (in Jos., Ant. 13:11 *Amaraios*) who dwelt in Madeba on the eastern bank of the Jordan but whose identity is not clear. They plundered the goods and killed Johanan and his men (I Macc. 9:36ff.; Jos., *ibid.*, 11ff.). Subsequently, Jonathan and Simeon made a surprise attack on the sons of Ambri while they were celebrating a wedding and avenged the blood of their brother by a mass slaughter (I Macc. 9:37–42.).

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[Uriel Rappaport]

JOHANNESBURG, largest city in the Republic of *South Africa; center of the world's most important gold producing industry. The city was founded in 1886, when gold was discovered on the Witwatersrand. The first Jewish inhabitants came mainly from Britain and Central Europe, but they were soon followed by immigrants from Eastern Europe, chiefly Lithuania, who later formed the bulk of the city's Jewish population. Some leading Jews – most of them not recent East European immigrants – were prominent among the "Uitlanders" whose demands for greater rights precipitated the South African War of 1899–1902. In 1896 there were 6,253 Jews in the city, more than half of them from Eastern Europe. By 1899 the Jewish population had risen to between 10,000 and 12,000. After the South African War ended the number increased rapidly, making the Johannesburg Jewish community the largest in South Africa, with half the country's total Jewish population. In 2001 Jews numbered approximately 48,000, about 66 percent of all Jews in South Africa. The vast majority live in the northern and northeastern suburbs.

Jews have been prominent in Johannesburg life from its earliest days. They were among the leaders of the gold mining industry and helped build up the city as South Africa's commercial, industrial, and financial center. Prominent among the Jewish "Randlords" were the colorful Barney *Barnato, Solly *Joel, and Samuel *Marks. From the earliest days of local government Jews were members of the municipal councils and Johannesburg had a long line of Jewish mayors, first of whom was Harry Graumann (1910). Jewish contributions to all aspects of cultural life have been considerable. Between the World Wars there was an active Yiddish theater with Sarah Sylvia as the leading actress. Four weekly Jewish newspapers (one in Yiddish, others in English) were published in Johannesburg and three monthly journals – one in English and the others in Yiddish and Hebrew. Jews are well represented in the teaching staff and student body of the Witwatersrand University and in the professions.

Communal Life

The first congregation in Johannesburg (the Witwatersrand Old Hebrew Congregation) was formed in 1887 and the first synagogue built in 1888. In 1892 the Johannesburg Hebrew Congregation built the Park Synagogue, which was opened by President Paul Kruger and served the community until the Great (Wolmarans Street) Synagogue was built. J.H. *Hertz was rabbi of the Old Hebrew Congregation (1898–1912); J.L. *Landau became rabbi of the Johannesburg Hebrew Congregation in 1903 and chief rabbi of the United Hebrew Congregation in 1915. He was succeeded from 1945 to 1961 by L.I. *Rabinowitz and by B.M. *Casper in 1963. C.K. *Harris became chief rabbi of the whole of South Africa in 1988, a position he held until the end of 2004 when he was replaced by W. Goldstein. After its foundation in 1892, the Johannesburg Orthodox Hebrew Congregation, whose members were primarily Eastern European immigrants, opened a synagogue the following year and moved to new premises (Beth Hamedrash Hagodal) in 1931. The first minister was Moshal Friedman and later incumbents were Isaac Kossowsky (1877–1951), who came to South Africa in 1933, and his son Michel (1908–1964). The growth of Johannesburg's suburban areas led to the establishment of many new congregations and synagogues. They numbered 55 in 1969, including three Reform temples, whose chief ministers have included rabbis Moses Cyrus Weiler (d. 2000) and Arthur Saul Super (d. 1979) and one Masorti congregation. There are 33 Orthodox synagogues, three Reform temples, and one Independent temple, affiliated to the Conservative movement. There has been a large growth in the *ba'al teshuvah* movement (returnees to Judaism), and 27 small *shtieblach* (synagogues) function in and around Johannesburg. The Lubavitch movement has made inroads into the community since its establishment in 1972. Ohr Somayach, Aish HaTorah, and Bnei Akiva also run highly successful programs. Bnei Akiva inaugurated a synagogue at its headquarters.

Johannesburg has a number of educational institutions set up or supervised by the South African Board of Jewish Education: a seminary for training teachers; three King David primary and two high schools (with a total enrollment in 2001 of 3,300). There are 18 Hebrew nursery schools. More intensive religious Jewish education is provided for approximately 2,000 pupils by Yeshiva College, the Torah Academy of the Lubavitch Foundation, the Bais Yaakov Girls' School, the Sha'arei Torah Primary School, Yeshivas Toras Emes, Yeshiva Maharsha, the Johannesburg Cheder and Hirsch Lyons. Yeshiva College, the largest of these schools, began as a part-time yeshivah in 1951 and became a full-time day school in 1958. The Menorah School (later called the Laila Bronner School) for girls was added in 1969. In 2004, Yeshiva College had a total of 850 students from nursery age to matriculation.

The United Hebrew Schools of Johannesburg provides Jewish education for pupils attending the government schools. Two religion schools are maintained by the S.A. United for Progressive Judaism in Johannesburg. There is a department of Hebrew with a full-time chair at the University of the Witwatersrand.

The Johannesburg Jewish Helping and Burial Society (Chevra Kaddisha) is the most important welfare institution in Johannesburg. Founded in 1887, in 2004 it incorporated a number of other important welfare institutions under its umbrella, amongst them the Jewish Women's Benevolent Society, Jewish Community Services, the Arcadia Jewish Orphanage, and the two Jewish aged homes – Sandringham Gardens and Our Parents Home. Other important welfare institutions include the free-loan societies the Witwatersrand Hebrew Benevolent Association (founded 1893) and the more recent Rambam Trust, the Selwyn Segal Home for Jewish Handicapped (1959), Yad Aharon, Hatzollah (medical rescue), Kadimah Occupational Centre, B'nai B'rith, and Nechama (bereavement counselling).

Zionism took early root in Johannesburg. The South African Zionist Federation was formed there in 1898, and the Zionist Center built in 1958 became an important cultural center until it was eventually sold in 1999. The headquarters of all Jewish national and many semi-national institutions are situated in Johannesburg. In addition to the three major organizations – the South African Jewish Board of Deputies (SAJBD), the South African Zionist Federation (SAZF), and the South African Board of Jewish Education – a large number of other institutions have their head offices in the city. In 2000, the SAJBD, SAZF, Union of Jewish Women, Israel United Appeal-United Communal Fund and a number of smaller organizations moved into single, shared premises, known as Beyachad. A range of welfare institutions, including the Chevra Kadisha and the South African Union of Jewish Students are affiliated to the SAJBD. The Jewish community is not to be measured merely in terms of its numerical strength. The intensity of Jewish life and identity and its strong Zionist devotion is to many a model for community organization.

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[Louis Hotz and Gustav Saron / David Saks (2nd ed.)]

°JOHN, kings of Portugal.

JOHN II (1455–1495), king of Portugal from 1481; one of the most distinguished Portuguese kings, he succeeded his father Alfonso V and became a most capable, but tyrannical ruler. He harshly repressed the feudal nobility, strengthened the monarchy, and promoted his country to greatness. John captured Tangier from the Moors, and the Portuguese exploration of Africa was extended during his reign. Two years after John succeeded to the throne, Don Isaac *Abrabanel had to flee Portugal because of his relations with the duke of Braganza, who was executed by John with several other members of the nobility in 1483. After the expulsion of the Jews from Spain in 1492, John authorized many refugees to settle temporarily in Portugal, mainly out of financial considerations. About 120,000 Jews then moved from Spain to Portugal, among them 600 wealthy families whom the king allowed to settle in his realm against payment of 100 ducats per head. Among the newcomers there was also Abraham *Zacuto who was appointed physician and astronomer to the king. John further allowed numerous refugees to stay in Portugal for eight months on payment of eight gold cruzados each; those who remained after that period were to be considered slaves. This proviso was effectively implemented in 1493, when he ordered those exiles from Spain who had stayed on in Portugal to be sold as slaves. Their children were removed and many of them sent to the Santo Tomé islands off the African coast, where they died because of the harsh conditions.

JOHN III (1502–1557), king of Portugal from 1521; son of Emanuel I, grandson of Ferdinand and Isabella, the Spanish monarchs, and brother-in-law of Emperor Charles V. In 1525 David *Reuveni arrived in Portugal and succeeded in rousing the king's interest in his fantastic projects. That year John asked the pope for permission to establish the Inquisition in Portugal, but this was delayed through negotiations by the *Marranos and their supporters with the pope. However, in 1531 the king appointed the monk, Diego da Silva, head of the Inquisition in Portugal without waiting for papal authorization, which was given in 1536. In that year a tribunal of the Inquisition began activities in *Évora against the Marranos there. In 1547, after numerous Marranos had fled from Portugal, John revived the law enacted in 1499 prohibiting the Marranos from leaving the country.

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°**JOHN II** (**"The Good"**; 1319–1364), king of France from 1350. His son *Charles V, who assumed the regency while John was in captivity in England, authorized the return of the Jews to France in 1359; it was largely due to their financial contributions that John's ransom could be paid to the English. This was probably the kernel of truth on which Gionnino Guccio of Siena, an impostor who claimed to be John I of France, based the story related in his memoirs, that he had received considerable sums from a Venetian Jew, Daniel, in return for promising to grant the Jews freedom of residence in France, once he was restored to the throne. Although John II confirmed his son's decree concerning the return of the Jews, he renewed the obligation to wear the Jewish *badge in 1363. A draft ordinance, which apparently was never promulgated, ordered the strict isolation of the Jews, prohibited theological disputations with Christians and possession of any books except the Bible, and, finally, ordered that circumcision should be delayed until children were able to answer questions concerning their faith.

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[Bernhard Blumenkranz]

°**JOHN XXII** (**Jacques Duèse**; b. c. 1245), pope at Avignon, 1316–34. Pragmatically adapting his attitude to suit the current situation, John XXII could be called neither benevolent nor severe in his dealings with the Jews. He wished to encourage the conversion of the Jews and advised employing a convert with a perfect knowledge of Hebrew and Aramaic to teach these languages to Christians (1319); he also allowed converts to keep their possessions (1320). In 1320 he intervened on at least five occasions to protect the Jews from the *Pastoureaux. However, in this same year, he once more determined to seize the Talmud and other Jewish books and considered expelling the Jews from Church lands. Although the expulsion order was revoked on the payment of large sums by a delegation of Jews from Rome, John XXII nevertheless proceeded to burn the Talmud in 1322, at the same time instituting local expulsion orders. He confirmed the jurisdiction of the Inquisition over converts who, suspected of Judaizing practices, had found refuge in monasteries (1317; 1322); only when Church revenue from the Jews was endangered, as in Apulia in 1328, did John take back from the Inquisition, for a temporary period, the jurisdiction over the Jews.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Milano, Italia, 148; P. Browe, *Judenmission im Mittelalter* (1942), 208, 259; S. Grayzel, in: HUCA, 23 (1950/51), 37–80.

[Bernhard Blumenkranz]

°**JOHN XXIII** (1881–1963), pope 1958–63. Born Angelo Giuseppe Roncalli, he convened the Second Vatican Council (1962–65) and raised the papacy to new popularity with his warm, friendly style after the severe formality of his predecessor, *Pius XII. He served as a parish priest and seminary professor from 1904 to 1925 in Bergamo, Italy, and was appointed archbishop and papal nuncio to Bulgaria and later apostolic delegate to Turkey by Pope Pius XI (1922–39). While serving as nuncio in Istanbul, Turkey, during World War II, Roncalli distributed quasi-official-looking documents and other papers for Jewish refugees seeking to enter Palestine, sending thousands of such documents also to the papal nuncio in Budapest, Angelo Ratti, who was working closely with Raoul *Wallenberg and other neutral diplomats to save tens of thousands of Jewish lives. Roncalli intervened personally with the Queen of Bulgaria, a Catholic, eliciting her help in convincing her husband to protect the Jews of that country.

In 1944, he received the key post of France. When he saw a newsreel of the liberation of the death camp at Bergen-Belson, he is reported to have said: "*This* is the mystical body of Christ!" (a reference to Pope Pius XII's encyclical on the nature of the Church). Roncalli was made primate of Venice and a cardinal in 1953. When Pius XII died in 1958 after a long pontificate that began in 1939, the College of Cardinals looked for a candidate with a fresh touch and appeal, but who would not make any radical changes. Roncalli, popular with both the Italian and French cardinals (then the two largest groups) and 77 years old, seemed to fit the bill. In Venice, he was strict with his priests with regard to personal morality. He appeared decisive in making decisions quickly, relying on his faith in the Holy Spirit to guide him. Closer to the earth and the working community than his aristocratic predecessor, John did not see the world simply divided into simple good and evil (free world and communist), but was willing to work across the lines of division of the times, politically and theologically, startling many with his *apertismo* (policy of openness). He granted some 120 private audiences to Jewish individuals and groups, including representatives of the government of Israel, who were accorded the dignities of a state visit.

In an early act of his papacy, in March 1959, John XXIII suppressed the term "perfidious" from the Good Friday prayer, turning it into a "prayer for the Jews," though it was not until after the Council that it ceased to be a prayer for their conversion. That same year, he ordered an end to an annual pilgrimage to the shrine in *Deggendorf, Bavaria, where thousands of pilgrims came annually to "celebrate" the massacre in 1338 of the town's Jewish community. Also in 1959, he deleted from the Mass a petition made during the consecration referring to "the blood called upon (the Jews) of old," and from the rite of baptism the formula in which the baptized were to "abhor Jewish unbelief and reject the Hebrew error."

Finally in 1959, inspired, he said, by the Holy Spirit, John called for a world-wide synod of bishops, or Ecumenical Council. The Council he called was to be distinctive. It was not to condemn errors but to "open the windows" of the Church to the world and to other religions, an "*aggiornamento*" (updating) of the whole life of the Church. John's encyclicals, *Mater et Magistra* (1961) and *Pacem in Terris* (1963), established the spirit of the Council, just as Pope Pius XII's *Divino Afflante Spiritu* and *Mystici Corporis* (both in 1943) established its theological foundations by mandating the use of modern biblical scholarship in the former and offering a vision of the Church not as a hierarchy but a spiritual community.

In 1960, receiving a delegation of American Jewish leaders, he was presented with a Torah scroll to express gratitude for the Jewish lives he had saved during the Holocaust, and replied: "We are all sons of the same heavenly Father. Among us there must ever be the brightness of love and its practice." He concluded: "I am Joseph, your brother" (Genesis 45:4). In using his baptismal name, the pope was not only quoting the biblical self-revelation of Joseph to his brothers in Egypt, he was also making an unprecedented gesture of filial warmth toward all Jews, who he considered deserved their full dignity as descendants of the Patriarchs of the Bible. It was a statement pregnant with theological implications.

In October of 1960, John XXIII received French scholar Jules *Isaac, whose personal family losses during the Holocaust had caused him to study the origins of antisemitism in Christianity's ancient "teaching of contempt" against Judaism. He responded positively, placing the issue on the Council's agenda, and assigning Cardinal Augustine *Bea, S.J., a German biblical scholar and the pope's own confessor. Indeed, the first formal request by Catholics that the Council consider directly the bond between the Church and the Jewish People came on April 24, 1960, when the Pontifical Biblical Institute of Rome presented its formal *petitio.* It argued on the basis of the Pauline epistles and the Council of Trent that it was part of "the deposit of faith" that the Jews could not be seen as "rejected" by God or collectively guilty of the death of Jesus, despite the "erroneous interpretation of certain New Testament citations" over the centuries. After many adventures and the Pope's death, the statement, *Nostra Aetate*, was overwhelmingly approved by the Council Fathers on October 28, 1965. In just 15 Latin sentences, the document rejected the charge of Jewish guilt for the death of Jesus, established a new, positive understanding of the Jewish People in covenant with God, and called on the Church to engage Jews in a "dialogue of mutual esteem."

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[Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

JOHN THE BAPTIST, the forerunner (*prodromus*) of Christ. There are two main sources of data regarding the life of John: the Gospels, the earliest of which were in circulation during the latter part of the first century, and Josephus' *Jewish Antiquities*, written following the fall of Jerusalem in 70 C.E. In addition there are apocryphal texts, such as the *Protevangelium of James*, from the mid-second century. If one accepts the infancy narrative in Luke 1:5–80 as based on factual biographical information, then John was born to parents (Zacharias and Elizabeth) from a priestly background. The OT allusions underline John the Baptist's role as ushering in the NT and his birth to the elderly Zechariah and his barren wife Elizabeth (a parallel to Abraham and Sarah) served to indicate the divine origin of his conception. His relation to Jesus is emphasized even before they were born: when Elizabeth heard Mary's greeting, her baby leaped in her womb (Luke 1:41). Even John's name (meaning "God shows grace") was given to him by the angel Gabriel. John's mother and Mary, mother of Jesus, are assumed to be cousins, but the Greek word in Luke 1:36 is not very specific and indicates only that they were kinswomen. The house of Zacharias was situated in a "city of Judah" in the hilly country, presumably at *Bet Cherem west of Jerusalem, identified at En Kerem. The apocryphal *Protevangelium of James* has Elizabeth fleeing with her baby from Herod's soldiers and hiding in a cave in the hilly country. Luke 1:80 suggests that the child John grew up in "wilderness places" before he came of age. It is unlikely that the child John would have been able to survive for very long in the inhospitable Judean Desert all by himself. Hence, there is nothing to support an oft-quoted theory that John was brought up by the *Essenes. Indeed, the Greek word *eremos* means a desolate or lonely region, i.e., a place that could be frequented by an occasional shepherd. Hence, there is no need to seek a childhood for John in a barren desert. John may have been brought up as a shepherd boy and as such would by necessity have spent spells of time by himself away from his parent's home (or from the house of the extended family if his parents had died). John wore an outer garment (an *adderet*) made of camel's skin and a leather girdle (Matthew 3:4; Mark 1:6), echoing the appearance of the Prophet Elijah (II Kings 1:8). There is no evidence that John was a Nazarite (cf. Num 6:1–4) or that he led an ascetic life. The reference to John not eating bread or wine probably indicates that John preferred to eat foods that had not been processed by human hands and would not therefore be susceptible to impurity. For this same reason John was said to have eaten locusts and honey (Matt. 3:4), both of which were regarded by his fellow Jews as pure items of food.

In terms of chronology, it would appear that John was born before the death of *Herod the Great (i.e., in 4 B.C.E. at the latest) and that he was called on his mission to the Jordan River in the 15th year of Tiberius Caesar (Luke 3:1–2), which would have been in 28 or 26 C.E. if one counts from the time of Tiberius' co-regency. It would appear therefore that we know nothing whatsoever about the events in John's life between the ages of 12, the time of his "shewing unto Israel" (Luke 1:80), and until he was about 30 and began his baptisms at the Jordan River. John evidently was attracted to the Jordan River because of its associations with the Prophet Elijah and his message was "repent, for the kingdom of heaven is at hand" (Matt. 3:2).

John baptized his followers to signify the drowning of their old life and their emergence from the water into a new life. Significantly, John is mentioned particularly as baptizing in the Jordan River, through which the 12 tribes of Israel passed into the promised land. John, like *Jesus later, immediately ran into conflict with the *Pharisees and *Sadducees for whom he had sharp words (Matt. 3:7–12). The Gospel of John relates that they asked him who he was; when John answered that he was neither the Christ nor the prophet Elijah, they queried his baptizing activities. John replied that he was baptizing in water only ("unto repentance," Matt. 3:11), but that he was to be followed by one who would baptize with the Holy Spirit and fire (that is, eternal punishment, cf. Matt. 3:11–12; John 1:19–28). According to the Gospels when John saw Jesus, he proclaimed him "the Lamb of God who takes away the sin of the world" and testified that he saw the Spirit descending as a dove out of heaven and abiding in him (at Jesus' baptism) going so far as to declare that "this is the Son of God" (John 1:29–34).

Jesus himself appraised his forerunner in Matthew 11:7–15: John was much more than a prophet, surpassing his predecessors in greatness and comparable to Elijah. Nevertheless, John's generation did not accept him, alleging instead that he was demon-possessed (Matt. 11:17–18), as was later said of Jesus himself. John was beheaded at Machaerus by the tetrarch Herod Antipas, who imprisoned him in revenge for John's condemnation of his incestuous marriage to his brother's wife, Herodias (Luke 3:19–20). Herodias' daughter danced for Herod, who rewarded her by offering her whatever she wished. On the advice of her mother, she requested the head of John the Baptist on a platter. Herod, who enjoyed listening to John (Mark 6:20), was grieved at being required to execute him; but having given his oath before witnesses, he commanded that it be done (Matt. 14:1–13; Mark 6:14–29). Luke 9:7–9 relates that when Herod later heard that Jesus was being identified with the resurrected John, he became curious about the subject of the rumor.

Recent archaeological work is shedding new light on John's early baptism activities in the "wilderness places" (Luke 1:80) and prior to his mission at the Jordan River. A cave was uncovered in 2000 at Suba/Tzova close to his traditional hometown at En Kerem (see *Bet Cherem) that was used in the early first century C.E. for ritual immersions in water, remarkably resembling John's baptism procedures at the Jordan River as described in the Gospels. The cave at Suba brought to light cultic installations and a foot-anointing stone. The cave was used later in the Byzantine period as a memorial cave and drawings of John the Baptist and symbols of his relic head and arms were found inscribed on the walls.

New archaeological work on the banks of the lower Jordan River has revealed churches of the Byzantine period, as well as sparse remains from the Roman period, associated with the traditional baptism spot.

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(1968, reprinted in 2000); S. Gibson, *The Cave of John the Baptist* (2004).

[Shimon Gibson (2nd ed.)]

°**JOHN CHRYSOSTOM** (354–407), most distinguished *Church Father of the East and one of the most virulently anti-Jewish preachers. Born in Antioch, the son of pagan parents, he was baptized in 373 and ordained a priest in 384. His eight sermons (homilies) against the Jews were delivered during his first two years of preaching activity in Antioch (386–387). They were written down verbatim by his audience and subsequently circulated. Thus their great anti-Jewish influence was felt beyond the period in which they were written. Chrysostom attacks not only the teachings of Judaism, but more especially the way of life and the views of contemporary Jews (incidentally, thereby giving valuable information on the life of Antioch Jewry in the fourth century and on the influence they exerted on their non-Jewish environment), accusing them of missionary activity, which dangerously competed with that of the Christians. The defeated and dispersed Jews, he ironically adds, were becoming the teachers of the whole world. He criticized those Christians in Antioch who cooperated with Jews in religious matters, kept the Sabbath, the "great fast," and other Jewish festivals; they even submitted to circumcision and participated in pilgrimages to Jewish holy places. Chrysostom claimed that on the Sabbaths and festivals the Jewish synagogue was full of Christians, especially Christian women, who loved the solemnity of the Jewish liturgy, enjoyed listening to the *shofar* on Rosh Ha-Shanah, and applauded famous preachers (according to contemporary custom). Chrysostom attempted to defame the synagogue, which he compared to a pagan temple and which he represented to his audience as the source of all vices and heresies. In this connection he reported that actors appeared in the synagogues on Jewish festivals. His claim that among the Jews the priesthood may be purchased and sold for money is specified by his biographer, Palladius, who writes that "the patriarch – as well as the head of the synagogue – is changed every year so as to replenish the cash-boxes." In other respects as well, Chrysostom, the pioneer of ascetic monkish life, criticized the Jews for their avarice and viciousness. He also testified to the Jewish influence on the judiciary of Antioch by reporting that Christians often took refuge in Jewish law courts and, when on oath, often used the Jewish oath formula. Even his sermons on the Maccabees were not in praise of the Jews, but in order to emphasize the difference between Jews and Christians, and it is not a mere coincidence that the destruction of the synagogue of Callinicon (also in Syria, cf. *Ambrose of Milan) took place immediately after a series of anti-Jewish sermons on the occasion of a procession in honor of the Maccabees in 388.

After a short period of activity in Constantinople, Chrysostom fell victim to court intrigues and was deposed by Emperor Arcadius. He then admitted that Jews, heretics, and pagans felt sorry for him, but Christians closed their hearts. Whether this "confession" was only a rhetoric paradox, or whether there were really Jews in Constantinople who behaved to him in a friendly manner, is hard to determine. Nor is it possible to decide if his downfall was not engineered by some influential Jews at Arcadius' court.

Like the writings of other Church Fathers, Chrysostom's books contain various exegetical commentaries that concur with talmudic *aggadah*.

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[Yohanan (Hans) Lewy]

JOHN (Johannan) THE ESSENE (d. 66 C.E.), patriot and leader, described by Josephus as a man of outstanding courage and sagacity. Already recognized for his ability at the beginning of the revolt against the Romans, he was placed in command of the province of Thamna by the revolutionary government. Shortly afterward, in association with Niger of Perea, the deputy governor of Idumea, and Silas the Babylonian, a trained soldier formerly in the service of King Agrippa (both of whom had distinguished themselves in the victory over *Cestius), he was put in charge of the disastrous expedition against Ashkelon.

He and Silas were killed in the first attack. It is doubtful if "the Essene" implies that he belonged to that body. It may mean "a man of Esse," i.e., Gerasa in Transjordan.

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[Cecil Roth]

JOHN OF CAPUA (**Johannes de Capua**; 13th century), Italian translator who lived in Rome during the pontificate of Bonifacius VIII (1294–1303). Probably born in Capua before 1250, John of Capua, an apostate, is known for his translation of *Kalila and Dimna* from Hebrew into Latin. John translated this famous collection of tales, working on the basis of a previous Hebrew version done from Arabic in the 12th century by a Jew named Joel. He worked on this Latin translation between 1263 and 1278 and dedicated it to Cardinal Matteo Orsini. The work was thereafter widely known under its Latin name, *Directorium humanae vitae, alias parabolae antiquorum sapientium* ("The Guide of Human Life, or Proverbs of the Ancient Sages"). The influence of the *Directorium* on the writers and collectors of fables with an ethical-didactic purpose was immense, and eminent writers and novelists dealt with this work until the 17th century. The *Directorium* was first published between 1484 and 1493; a critical edition was established by F. Geissler only in 1960. John of Capua also translated – always from the Hebrew translations of the Arabic – treatises dealing with medicine, including the *al-Taysīr* ("The Facilitation"), a treaty on pathology and therapeutics by Abu Marwan ibn Zuhr (1090–1162); several medical texts by Maimonides: "On

Hygiene" (*De regimine sanitatis*) dedicated to Bonifacius VIII, "On the Causes of Accidents" (*De causis accidentium*), *De haemorroidibus*, on the initiative of one of the papal physicians and possibly also *De coitu.*

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[Joseph Baruch Sermoneta / Alessandro Guetta (2nd ed.)]

JOHN OF GISCALA (Johanan ben Levi), a leader of the revolt against Rome (66–70 C.E.). John was a native of *Giscala (Gush Ḥalav) in Galilee. Little is known of him before the war. When the inhabitants of Tyre, Gadara, and others sacked and burned his native town, he rebuilt it and took revenge on the invaders. His realization that the Romans had stood by and even encouraged the invaders to attack Jews made him alter his former attitude of loyalty toward the Romans, and he began to prepare Galilee for the coming struggle. In the spring of 66, *Josephus arrived as commander of Galilee and was soon involved with John in a conflict which developed into a lasting and bitter struggle. Josephus' account is prejudiced by his personal animosity toward John, but he nevertheless gives credit to John's efforts in preparing for the struggle. John suggested to Josephus that funds be provided from the sale of grain belonging to the Romans, and from olive oil sold to Jews in Syria. He presumably needed these funds for defense, although Josephus accuses him of desiring to use them for personal purposes. Open conflict erupted between them at Tiberias when John learned that Josephus intended to restore the property plundered from the steward of King Agrippa, who was considered a Roman sympathizer. John's supporters included many Galileans; fugitives from Tyre; men of Gabara, including their leader, Simon; Justus of Tiberias and his father Pistus; and the archon of Tiberias, *Joshua (Jesus) son of Sapphas. John dispatched a delegation to Jerusalem, demanding that Josephus be dismissed from his position for failing to fulfill his tasks loyally. This request was acceded to, according to Josephus, as a result of John's bribery and exploitation of his friendship with *Simeon b. Gamaliel. Emissaries were sent to dismiss Josephus from his command and advise the citizens of Galilee to support John. Josephus ignored all this and went so far as to threaten John's supporters. Josephus claims that he succeeded in weaning most of John's followers away from him. John's efforts to organize Galilee for war were unsuccessful and, with the exception of his native city, the whole province fell to the Romans. In the winter of 67, when Titus was at the gates of Giscala and offered terms of surrender, John seized on the intervening Sabbath as a pretext for delaying negotiations and escaped to Jerusalem.

John in Jerusalem

John encouraged the insurgents in Jerusalem to continue the war against Rome. At first he cooperated with *Anan b. Anan and members of the government. Relations between the Zealots and the government, however, steadily deteriorated and reached a crisis when *Phinehas (Phanni) b. Samuel, the high priest, was selected by lot. In the ensuing struggle the priestly circles aroused the people against the Zealots; John tried to serve as mediator. Josephus accused him of betraying the trust placed in him, but it seems that John became convinced that it was impossible to bridge the gulf between the two camps and went over to the side of the Zealots. He may possibly have been influenced by rumors that the moderate elements were thinking of surrendering the city to the Romans. On his advice, the Zealots, who had fortified themselves in the Temple, made common cause with the Idumeans and together overcame the moderates. The government of Jerusalem was thus concentrated in John's hands, causing division for a time among the Zealots, as those in Jerusalem disapproved of the supremacy of the Galilean, and one of their leaders, *Eleazar b. Simeon, actually opposed John for a time. John gradually prevailed and the Jerusalem Zealots joined his camp. Josephus portrays the period of John's rule in Jerusalem in the most somber terms, depicting complete anarchy and lack of regard for human life. Even if it is conceded that the Zealots avenged themselves on their opponents with scant regard for judicial procedure, John's positive efforts to fortify the city and properly equip it against the coming siege cannot be overlooked. His opponents, however, would not reconcile themselves to his victory and invited *Simeon Bar Giora to the city to head the opposing forces. Incessant internecine strife between the two leaders was checked in part, but not entirely, only when Titus appeared at the gates of the city. As the siege intensified, John did not hesitate to melt down the vessels of the Temple to provide weapons and used the Temple's supplies set aside for ritual purposes to ease the famine. With the city's capture, John was among the prisoners taken to Rome and included in Titus' triumphal victory procession. Simeon Bar Giora was apparently regarded by the Romans as the Jewish commander in chief and was executed, while John was sentenced to life imprisonment.

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[Lea Roth]

°**JOHN PAUL II** (1920–2005), pope from 1978 to 2005. Born Karol Wojtyla in Wadowice, Poland, he was a student in the University of Cracow when the Germans invaded Poland, effectively closing the university. Under the occupation he worked in a stone quarry, continuing his involvement with theatrical and literary circles that engaged in anti-Nazi resistance, and possibly helping Jews escape, while studying in an "underground" seminary. He established early and lasting friendships with Jews. Ordained a priest in 1946, Wojtla was sent to Rome, where he earned a doctorate of theology, with a thesis on St. John of the Cross. He then took a doctorate in philosophy at the Jagellonian University, with a dissertation on Max Scheler. He published numerous theological and philosophical articles and books of poetry, the latter often under the name "Jawien."

Consecrated auxiliary bishop of Cracow in 1958, he participated in the Second Vatican Council, where he was credited with the compromise that led to the document "The Church in the Modern World" (*Gaudium et Spes*). He became archbishop of Cracow in 1964 and cardinal in 1967.

As pope, he continued the theological renewal begun by the Council, although his approaches were not without controversy, and wrote numerous encyclicals on Christ, human dignity, and various social issues. His support for the Polish labor movement, Solidarity, and other such groups in Eastern Europe, even while maintaining a diplomatic *Ostpolitik*, is credited as one of the factors leading to the collapse of Soviet hegemony. He traveled more widely throughout the world than any of his predecessors, invariably meeting with Christian, Jewish, and other leaders of major world religions, many of whom he brought together in prayer in late 1986 in Assisi, Italy. In 1981 he survived an assassin's bullet. He worked assiduously for the cause of world peace.

John Paul was the first pope to visit a death camp, *Auschwitz, in 1979. The Communist monument there, as at *Babi Yar, intentionally obscured the Jewish and Polish specificities of the camp, making it a memorial to humanity in general. Stones in different languages were set up representing the countries from which the victims came. The pope stopped and prayed at only two: first the Hebrew inscription, and then the Polish, subtly rebuking the memorial's ideology.

In 1986 the pope again made history by being the first since St. Peter to visit and pray in a synagogue, the Great Synagogue of Rome. He had condemned antisemitism as "sinful" earlier that year in Austria. At the synagogue, he affirmed the validity of Jewish faith and God's covenant with the Jews: "The Jewish religion is not extrinsic to us, but in a certain way intrinsic to our own religion. With Judaism, therefore, we have a relationship, which we do not have with any other religion. You are our dearly beloved brothers and, in a certain way, it can be said that you are our elder brothers." Though some Jews thought this referred to Jacob usurping the divine promise from his elder brother, Esau, the reference was most likely to the parable of the prodigal son, in which the father reassures the elder son: "My son, you are here with me always; everything I have is yours" (Luke 15:31).

In 1987 the pope met with the Jewish leadership of both Poland, which had the world's largest Jewish community before World War II, and the United States. In Warsaw, he called Jewish witness to the *Shoah* a prophetic "warning voice for all humanity." In the U.S. that same year, the pope called for the integration of Holocaust education on every level of Catholic education and for the world to recognize the right of the Jews "to a homeland," an important point in view of the infamous United Nations resolution attacking Zionism as "racism."

When the newly reunited Germany sent its first ambassador to the Vatican in 1990, the pope for the first time spoke of "the heavy burden of guilt for the murder of the Jewish people" that for Christians "must be an enduring call to repentance." In December 1993 the Vatican and Israel entered into a "Fundamental Agreement," exchanging ambassadors the next summer. In 1994, too, the pope presided over a Shoah Day concert within the Vatican itself, yet another "first."

Controversies, many of them centered on Holocaust issues, also marked John Paul's long pontificate. The longest-running, the Auschwitz Convent controversy, began in early 1986 and was not resolved until 1993 when the pope personally sent a letter to the Carmelite nuns to move to the new property a short distance away which had been built for them. They left, however, the large cross that had been in their garden, which came to be surrounded by numerous smaller crosses erected by some Polish Catholics. These were removed by the government on the eve of the pope's eighth trip to Poland in 1999, though the large cross remains.

In summer 1987, only weeks before the Pope was to meet with representatives of the U.S. Jewish community, the world's largest, a papal audience was arranged for the president of Austria, Kurt Waldheim, who had just been revealed to have been a member of the Nazi Party during World War II, creating a crisis that was resolved only by a meeting of Jewish leaders with the Pope at Castel Gandalfo ten days before the scheduled Miami meeting.

Controversies have also revolved around candidates for sainthood, such as Edith Stein (a Roman Catholic nun who was a Jewish convert to Catholicism and died in Auschwitz because she was defined by the Nazis as a Jew), *Pius XI (who raised in his household as a Catholic a Jewish boy forcibly taken from his parents on the word of a family maid that she had baptized him), Catherine Emmerich (a 19th century nun whose reputed visions of Jesus' death typified and intensified anti-Jewish elements found in passion plays in the period), Queen Isabella (see *Ferdinand and Isabella) of Spain (who ordered the expulsion of the Jews in 1492 and institutionalized the Inquisition), and *Pius XII (who served as pope during World War II).

In February of 2000, the pope led a Liturgy of Repentance in which he articulated the Church's repentance for the sins against Jews by Catholics over the centuries. Later that month the pope went to Israel. His predecessor, *Paul VI, had very briefly come to Jerusalem in 1964, entering Jerusalem without acknowledging the borders of the State of Israel, but this was the first extensive visit by a pope to the Jewish state. As was his custom, the pope kissed the soil of the land. The pope visited *Yad Vashem, Israel's memorial to the victims of the Holocaust, meeting there with a group of survivors. Finally, he went to the Western Wall, the last remnant of the Jerusalem Temple. There, he placed a prayer of petition to the God of Israel.

> God of our fathers,
> you chose Abraham and his descendants
> to bring Your name to the nations:
> we are deeply saddened
> by the behavior of those
> who in the course of history

have caused these children of Yours to suffer
and asking Your forgiveness
we wish to commit ourselves
to genuine brotherhood
with the people of the Covenant

John Paul died on April 2, 2005. He was succeeded by Pope Benedict XVI.

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[Eugene J. Fisher (2nd ed.)]

°**JOHNSON, LYNDON BAINES** (1908–1973), 36th president of the United States. As Democratic floor leader, he opposed President Eisenhower's plan for sanctions against Israel after the 1956 Arab-Israel war.

As president, Johnson was extremely effective in pushing through Congress significant and far-reaching liberal measures which were strongly welcomed by Jews and other American minority groups to whom they were of obvious benefit. These "Great Society" programs sought to remove poverty, discrimination, and ignorance, and included important welfare, civil rights, tax reduction, education, and employment legislation. As a result, the customary strong affinity of American Jews for the Democratic Party, especially its liberal wing, continued under the Johnson administration. In the Middle East Johnson proved a friend to Israel. In addition to providing political and economic support, he was instrumental in creating a joint U.S.-Israeli study program for a large water desalinization project to meet Israel's pressing need for more fresh water. In 1966 he met with President Shazar of Israel who was on an unofficial visit to the U.S. At the time of the 1967 Six-Day War, he worked closely with the Soviet Union to prevent a major power confrontation, while at the same time firmly upholding Israel's basic rights. Subsequently he withstood various pressures and continued to uphold Israel's right to have "secure and agreed frontiers" as a precondition to her evacuating territories occupied as a result of the Six-Day War. In 1968 he received the Israel premier Levi *Eshkol. Later that year Johnson announced that he had acceded to Eshkol's request to supply Israel with Phantom jet planes. One of Johnson's close associates was the Texas businessman J. *Novy.

[Stanley L. Falk]

JOIGNY (Heb. **יואני**), town in the Yonne department, central France. The present Rue des Juifs is a reminder of the medieval Jewish community, known only through the scholars who originated there. Most important of these were the tosafists and exegetes Menahem b. Perez of Joigny (12th century) and *Yom Tov b. Isaac of Joigny (martyred at *York in 1190), a tosafist named Joseph, and an exegete, Samson.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Gross, Gal Jud, 250–3; Urbach, Tosafot, index s.v. the various tosafists.

[Bernhard Blumenkranz]

JOKNEAM (Heb. **יָקְנְעָם**), royal Canaanite city near Mount Carmel. Jokneam appears in the list of Canaanite kings defeated by Joshua (Josh. 12:22) and is already mentioned in the list of conquests of Thutmosis III in about 1469 B.C.E. (no. 113: ʿn qnʿm, "the spring of [Jo]kneam"). It was a levitical city of the Merari family (Josh. 21:34) in the territory of the tribe of Zebulun, whose boundaries reached as far as the "brook that is before Jokneam" (Josh. 19:11). Some scholars maintain that Solomon's fifth district extended "as far as beyond" Jokneam, but the city Jokneam is in fact mentioned in this connection (I Kings 4:12; cf. I Chron. 6:53). It was apparently destroyed by the Assyrian Tiglath-Pileser III in 733/2 B.C.E. and does not appear in later sources. Eusebius called it Kammona, a village six Roman miles north of Legio (Lajjun – the mishnaic Kefar Otnay). It was called Caimont in Crusader times, when it was a fief of the royal domain with its own court of burgesses. Jokneam is identified with Tell Qamūn (today Tel Jokneam near the village of the same name), a prominent mound of 23½ dunams which contains pottery from the Canaanite and Israelite periods.

[Michael Avi-Yonah]

Contemporary Period

Modern Jokneam is a semi-urban community and moshav on the southwestern rim of the Jezreel Valley. Jokneam was founded as a village in 1935 by settlers from various countries, Holland, Yemen, and Eastern Europe. After World War II, demobilized soldiers joined the first settlers. Jokneam then adopted the form of a *kefar shittufi*, similar to a moshav, and later became affiliated with Ha-Mo'aẓah ha-Ḥakla'it. The inhabitants mainly engaged in farming intensive field, fruit (including melon), and garden crops, as well as raising livestock. In 1968 the moshav had 440 inhabitants and at the end of 2002 it numbered 1,020 residents. In the first years of statehood, new immigrants received temporary, and later permanent housing at Jokneam. The local labor force, which in the initial years had to rely mainly on public works, was eventually absorbed in metal and other industries. In 1967 the semi-urban settlement was separated from the moshav and in 1968 given municipal council status, at which time it had 3,640 inhabitants. By the end of 2002 the population had grown to 16,700. The municipality's jurisdiction includes 3 sq. mi. (8 sq. km.).

[Efraim Orni / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Abel, Geog, 2 (1938), 365–6; Albright, in: JBL, 58 (1939), 184; EM, s.v.

JOKTAN (Heb. **יָקְטָן**), younger son of Eber and brother of Peleg in the line of *Shem (Gen. 10:25; I Chron. 1:19). He fathered 13 sons or nations (Gen. 10:26–29; I Chron. 1:20–23), the names of most of which can be identified with Arabian tribes or place-names. Indeed, their settlements are said to have extended from Mesha which is in the north of Arabia to Sephar, the hill country to the east (Gen. 10:30). The origin of the name is uncertain.

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JOLLES, JACOB ẒEVI BEN NAPHTALI (c. 1778–1825), Galician talmudic scholar and kabbalist. Born in Przemysl, he served as rabbi in Glogow and Dinow. He leaned toward Ḥasidism, and was among the disciples of Jacob Isaac ha-Ḥozeh of Lublin. His most famous work was *Melo ha-Ro'im* (Zolkiew, 1838), an encyclopedic work on the rules and principles of rabbinic law which made a great impression and was reprinted several times. His other published works are *Ḥinnukh Beit Yehudah*, a homiletic work in philosophic style (Warsaw, 1869); *Kehillat Ya'akov*, an encyclopedic treatment of kabbalistic topics (Lemberg, 1870); *Emet le-Ya'akov*, a homiletic work in ḥasidic style (Lemberg, 1884); *Beit Va'ad le-Ḥakhamim*, a directory of talmudic sages (Cracow, 1884); *Parashat Derakhim Zuta*, homiletic discourses (Cracow, 1885); *Zikhron Ya'akov vi-Yhudah* also consisting of homiletic discourses (Munkacz, 1928); and *Yashresh Ya'akov*, on Kabbalah (New York, 1945). His notes and novellae on the Talmud are printed in the Vilna edition. Jolles composed many other books (27 are referred to in his foreword to *Melo ha-Ro'im*), but most of them have disappeared.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: A. Walden, *Shem ha-Gedolim he-Ḥadash*, 1 (1864), s.v.; Fuenn, Keneset, s.v.

[Aryeh-Leib Kalish]

JOLLES, ZECHARIAH ISAIAH (1816–1852), talmudic scholar and *maskil*. Jolles was born in Lemberg. He corresponded with the great contemporary rabbis including Akiva *Eger and Z.H. *Chajes on halakhic topics, and with *maskilim* (such as Ḥ.Z. *Slonimski, I.H. Jost, and others) on Jewish scholarship. He was critical of "talmudists without secular scholarship" and of scholars "who had forgotten Torah." In his youth he published two pamphlets: *Dover Meisharim* (Lemberg, 1831) in which he established that the *Haggahot ha-Shas* attributed to Mordecai *Jaffe was not by him; and *Et Ledabber* (*ibid.*, 1834), a kind of letter of moral advice to a younger rabbi in the spirit of moderate *Haskalah. Jolles welcomed the plans of Uvarov, the Russian minister of education, to establish Jewish schools and was one of Max *Lilienthal's supporters when the latter came to Minsk in 1842. After his death in Minsk, his son Sussman Jolles published his writings: *Zekher Yeshayahu* (2 vols., 1882), novellae on Maimonides' *Mishneh Torah* and responsa; *Sefer ha-Torah ve-ha-Ḥokhmah* (1913), containing his other writings including letters and poems. These writings are interesting, as they reveal the intermediate position of one who lived during the transition between the traditional rabbinic outlook and Haskalah.

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JOLLES, ZVI ENRICO (1902–1971), organic chemist. Born in Lemberg, Jolles was a pioneer in Ereẓ Israel in 1920 and worked on the land until 1924. He immigrated to Italy and studied at the University of Florence, where he subsequently became associate professor of applied chemistry and was consultant to the Italian Directorate of Naval Armaments (1931–34). In 1938, when the Fascists applied racial laws in Italy, he was dismissed from all appointments. He found refuge in London, joining the biochemical department of the Lister Institute. In 1940 Jolles joined the dyestuffs division of Imperial Chemical Industries in Manchester, where he pioneered novel dyestuffs applications, in particular fiber-reactive dyes. In 1955 he was appointed research director of two commercial firms, where he established a successful range of flame-retardants and other additives for polymers. On retiring he became adviser to the national Council for Research and Development of Israel. He contributed numerous papers, mainly in the field of nitrogen compounds. He was the author of more than 30 patents in fields of applied chemistry. He edited and contributed to *Bromine and its Compounds* (1966).

[Samuel Aaron Miller]

JOLOWICZ, HERBERT FELIX (1890–1954), British legal scholar. Probably Britain's foremost scholar of Roman law, Jolowicz was born in London and educated at St. Pauls School, Cambridge University, and in Germany. After service in World War I, Jolowicz became a barrister and, in turn, reader in Roman Law at University College, London, and then, from 1948, Regius Professor of Civil Law at Oxford. Because of England's common law system, Roman law had been relatively neglected by scholars. Jolowicz established an international reputation with such works as his *Historical Introduction to the Study of Roman Law* (1932) and his posthumously published *Roman Foundations of Modern Law.* He was noted for the excellence of his classroom teaching.

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[William D. Rubinstein (2nd ed.)]

JOLSON, AL (**Asa Yoelson**; 1886–1950), U.S. singer, vaudeville and film star. Born in Srednik, Lithuania, the son of a cantor, Jolson worked for some years in circuses, minstrel shows, and vaudeville houses in the U.S. In 1911 he was an instant success in his first Broadway appearance, *La Belle Paree*. Then came a long succession of starring roles in musicals, including *Vera Violetta* (1911); *The Whirl of Society* (1912); *The Honeymoon Express* (1913); *Sinbad* (1918), which had a two-year run; *Bombo* (1921), at Jolson's 59th Street Theater (named in his honor by the Shuberts); *Big Boy* (1925); *Ziegfeld Follies* (1927); and *Wonder Bar* (1931). Known in show business as "the world's greatest entertainer," Jolson had a dynamic personality. He received unparalleled rave reviews; and his adoring fans would explode with enthusiasm when he came on stage, often holding up the progress of the show with their unbridled cheers and applause.

In 1927 Jolson made screen history in *The Jazz Singer*, the first full-length talking film made in America. This was followed by *The Singing Fool*. Jolson's hearty, exuberant style was particularly well suited to early "talkie" technique. His other films, mainly musicals, included *Say It with Songs* (1929), *Mammy* (1930), *Big Boy* (1930), *Hallelujah I'm a Bum* (1933), *Wonder Bar* (1934), *Go into Your Dance* (1935), *The Singing Kid* (1936), *Rose of Washington Square* (1939), and *Swanee River* (1939).

Some of the songs that Jolson is credited to have co-written are "California, Here I Come," "Me and My Shadow," and "Sonny Boy."

The film *The Jolson Story* (1946) was based on his career and starred Larry Parks in the title role, using Jolson's dubbed voice. It was such a success that a second film followed three years later, entitled *Jolson Sings Again* (1949). To date, it is the only biography sequel in film history.

In 1948, Jolson was voted Most Popular Male Vocalist by a *Variety* poll, superseding such top singing stars of the time as Frank Sinatra, Bing Crosby, and Perry Como.

Jolson died shortly after returning from Korea, where he had gone to entertain the UN troops. He was awarded the Medal of Merit posthumously. His will divided more than $4,000,000 equally among Jewish, Protestant, and Catholic charities and established scholarships for undergraduates.

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[Jo Ranson / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

JONA, GIOVANNI BATTISTA (1588–1668), apostate scholar. Jona was born Judah Jona at Safed in Galilee and for that reason was known also as Galileo. After a life of wandering, apparently as a teacher and, according to his own account, as a rabbi, in Italy, Holland, and Germany, he, his wife, and children converted to Christianity in Warsaw in 1625. The kings of Poland and Sweden were among their godparents. Contrary to normal practice, he retained his previous Jewish surname. After further wanderings he arrived in Rome in 1638, where he became a reader in Hebrew at the College of *Propaganda Fide*. Among his publications are Hebrew translations of the Christian catechism, *Limmud ha-Meshiḥim* (Rome, 1658), and of the New Testament (1668), which he dedicated to Pope Clement IX. Extant in manuscript are a dictionary of talmudic idioms and a work on Targum variants which was completed by Guilio Morosini.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: P.S. Medici, *Catalogo de' Neofiti Illustri* (Florence, 1701), 24ff.; Vogelstein-Rieger, 2 (1896), 256f.

JONAH (mid-fourth century C.E.), Palestinian *amora*. Jonah and his associate Yose (Yosi) were the heads of the "Beit Va'ad" (the Sanhedrin) in Tiberias. The Jerusalem Talmud is replete with the halakhic discussions of these two scholars; there is not a single tractate in which they are not mentioned. However, whereas Jonah is frequently referred to in the order *Zera'im* and progressively less and less in the succeeding orders until in *Nashim* and *Nezikin* he is hardly talked of at all, his associate Yose, who outlived him (TJ, Ma'as. Sh. 4:9, 55b), is consistently mentioned throughout. Jonah, a pupil of Johanan's pupils, such as Ilai and Ze'ira, established original principles for the study of the Talmud and the understanding of the Mishnah. For instance, he established that the minimum quantities given by the Talmud, such as an olive's bulk or that of an egg, are of rabbinic and not biblical origin (TJ, Pe'ah 1:1, 15a); that when the Mishnah introduces a law with the comprehensive word "all" or "these," it does not imply that the laws referred to are of permanent validity (TJ, Yev. 2:5, 12d), and that many incidents related in the Bible and the Mishnah are given not in order to establish the *halakhah* for future generations, but mainly to provide information about how they were practiced in earlier generations (TJ, Shev. 1:7, 33a). In many cases he rejects the formula of the Mishnah and the order of its statements, preferring that of the Tosefta. He emends the Mishnah in various ways and asserts that it should be taught accordingly, in contrast to Yose who endeavors to justify the text of the accepted Mishnah (TJ, RH 2:1, 57d; Pes. 1:2, 27c). One of his novel interpretations is in the story told of him that he gave his *tithes to Aḥa b. Ulla, not because he was a priest but because he was occupied with study (TJ, Ma'as. Sh. 5:5, 56b). Many of the *amoraim* of the succeeding generation, including some of the "scholars of the south," were his pupils.

Jonah is also mentioned several times in the Babylonian Talmud, and in one place is referred to as one of "the resolute men of Palestine" who are "more saintly than the pious of Babylon" (Ta'an. 23b). Jonah, like Yose, was not only the head of the Sanhedrin, preaching in public and teaching *halakhah*, but was also politically active. During their time, the rebellion of Gallus broke out (351) and some of their halakhic rulings are connected with this event. While the Roman armies were stationed in the country they both permitted the Jews of Galilee to bake bread for the army of Ursicinus on the Sabbath because, in demanding this, "the aim [of the soldiers] was not to apostatize, but merely the desire for fresh bread" (TJ, Shev. 4:2, 35a). They forbade the inhabitants of Sennabris, whose *Sefer Torah* had been burnt by Ursicinus, to use a defective scroll. The Talmud adds that they gave this ruling not because it was the *halakhah*, but so that the people of the locality should purchase another scroll (TJ, Meg. 3:1, 74a). Another tradition tells of their journey to Antioch, their meeting with Ursicinus, and the great honor he showed them (TJ, Ber. 5:1, 9a). It is possible that this visit was not during the revolt but during Ursicinus' second journey to Syria in 361 for the Parthian war (but see Lieberman, in JQR, 36 (1946), 341 n. 89). Very little of Jonah's *aggadah* has been preserved, but accounts of many of his pious deeds have been transmitted, particularly his deeds of charity. When a person of good family became impoverished he said to him: "My son, I have heard that you have been left a legacy, take this money; you can repay it when you receive the legacy." When he had taken it he would say: "Let it be a gift"

(TJ, Pe'ah 8:9, 21b). He was succeeded by his son Mani *II as head of the council of the Tiberias community.

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[Shmuel Safrai]

JONAH, BOOK OF (Heb. יוֹנָה), the fifth in the collection of the 12 short prophetic books (*Minor Prophets). Unlike the other books of this collection the Book of Jonah contains a prophecy of only five words (3:4); the rest of the book is a story about Jonah son of Amittai. The book was added to the prophetic books, probably because a prophet of this name was known from the time of Jeroboam II (II Kings 14:25.) and because the book deals with the problem of a man whose task it was to bring the word of God to Nineveh.

Outline of Contents

Jonah son of Amittai is ordered by YHWH to go to Nineveh and proclaim judgment upon its people for their wickedness. Jonah refuses to fulfill the mission and tries to escape. At Jaffa he boards a ship bound for Tarshish, a direction precisely opposite to Nineveh. YHWH brings on a great storm. The sailors try to avert the danger by praying to their gods and jettisoning the cargo. Jonah, who has gone to sleep, is awakened by the captain who asks him to pray to his God, in the hope that He may prove responsive. The sailors then decide to find out by casting lots on whose account the misfortune has come upon them. The lot falls on Jonah, and they try to find out what wrong he has done. Jonah discloses that he is fleeing from a mission of his god, YHWH, and that the only way they can make the storm abate is by heaving him overboard. The sailors first try to row back to land, but this proves futile, so they throw Jonah overboard and pray to the Lord not to hold them guilty for his murder, since it was He who has left them no other way of saving themselves. The storm subsides at once and the sailors, who now fear YHWH, offer sacrifices and make vows (Jonah 1). Jonah himself is swallowed by a great fish, from inside of which he prays to YHWH, and after three days and nights in the fish's belly he is spewed out on dry land (Jonah 2).

Jonah is called by YHWH a second time to bring His message to Nineveh. This time Jonah does go to Nineveh, a huge city. He proclaims that in 40 days Nineveh will be overthrown. The people of Nineveh believe God, proclaim a fast, and put on sackcloth. The king of Nineveh too takes part in the acts of repentance and orders all the inhabitants to pray to God and to repent of their evil ways: "God may turn and relent" (3:9). As a result of Nineveh's repentance, God renounces the punishment He had planned to bring upon it (Jonah 3). Jonah is greatly displeased by this mercy and complains of it to YHWH: he had tried to escape his mission in the final place for fear that YHWH would be moved to renounce His punishment out of mercy. In his vexation Jonah asks YHWH to take his life. At this time Jonah is outside Nineveh sitting in the shade of a booth waiting to see what will happen to the city. The Lord causes a ricinus plant (see *castor oil plant) to grow unexpectedly over Jonah to provide shade over his head, to his great relief. On the following day, however, the Lord provides a worm, which attacks the plant causing it to wither. When the sun rises, the Lord causes a sultry east wind to beat down on Jonah's head. Jonah becomes faint and asks for death. Then the Lord says: "You cared about the plant, which you did not work for and which you did not grow, which appeared overnight and perished overnight. And should I not care about Nineveh, that great city, in which there are more than a hundred and twenty thousand persons who do not yet know their right hand from their left, and many beasts as well?" (4:10–11).

The Unity of the Book

The Book of Jonah raises exegetical problems, such as the question why the king had to order the people (and the cattle too!) to wear sackcloth and to fast, after they had already done so on their own initiative (3:5–8), or why Jonah needed the ricinus plant while he sat in the shade of the booth (4:5–6). Some scholars have tried to solve these problems by the application of the source-theory. However, some 20th century scholars argued for the unitary authorship of the book while allowing for the possibility of later additions. Some scholars regard verse 4:5, which seems out of place, as one of these additions. Others place this verse after 3:4. The Psalm of Jonah (2:3–10) is regarded by many scholars as an interpolation, particularly because it is neither an expression of penitence nor a plea for deliverance, but is a thanksgiving psalm. The conditions referred to in the psalm also have nothing to do with the distress experienced in a fish's belly. The psalm could, therefore, have been added to the book later. However, it has been shown that the psalm is probably an integral part of the book. Some of the main expressions in the psalm relate directly to the language used in the previous chapter (cf. 1:2, 6 with 2:3; 1:16 with 2:10) and apparently came to determine the choice of psalms by narrative authors at an early date; cf. the choice of "Hannah's psalm" solely on account of I Sam. 2:5b (Y. Kaufmann). Besides, the removal of the psalm from the book would unbalance the symmetry of the two major parts (G.H. Cohen, G.M. Landes). It may therefore be assumed that the psalm – though perhaps borrowed or compiled from another source – was always part of the book.

Special attention should be given to the changes in the use of God's names. YHWH ("the Lord") is His name as the God of the "Hebrew" (1:9) Jonah. In connection with the non-Israelite people of Nineveh He is *Elohim*, "God." The sin for which Nineveh is judged is not idolatry but lawlessness (3:8). Jonah objects to God's habit of renouncing a punishment which was merited and has already been decreed, but God's purpose in sending prophets to announce His punishments is precisely to make them unnecessary. For He has precisely the "sentimental" attachment which Job 10:3a, 8ff. accuses Him of lacking; and besides there are always the innocent children and dumb beasts (Jonah 4:10–11).

The Motifs of the Book

The main motifs of the book are similar to those found in the literature of other cultures. Many stories tell about a person's being swallowed by a great fish and rescued thereafter (Heracles the Hesione, Perseus and Andromeda, etc.). However, only in the Book of Jonah is the man in the fish rescued not by force (fire from inside or sword from outside) but by prayer, his salvation thus resulting from the combined action of God and humans. It should also be noted that in the Jonah story the fish and the man remain unharmed. Thus the story of Jonah – despite its similarities to other stories – has a unique biblical character. Basically, the same situation of the Book of Jonah is found in the story of Daniel's rescue from the lion-pit and the salvation of the three boys from the fiery furnace (Dan. 3 and 6). In all these stories the motif of swallowing becomes a symbol for the act of faith between God and humanity.

The common factor in all parts of the story is the acceptance of God's commands. Jonah tries to escape God's will but he learns that this cannot be accomplished. Even the sea and the great fish, which according to myth are great independent powers in the universe (cf. Isa. 51:9–10; Ps. 74:13–15; 89:10–11; Job 26:12), have to obey the orders of God. The sea becomes stormy and calm according to the wish of God (1:3, 15); the fish swallows and spews out according to God's order (2:1, 11); the castor-oil plant, the worm, and the east wind are all obedient servants of God (4:6–8).

The Teaching of the Book

The purpose of the book has been explained in various ways. According to many scholars the book is to be understood in its historical context. The best-known opinion connects the book with the times of Ezra and Nehemiah and assumes that it is the expression of universalistic opposition to the particularistic ideas of that time. This has been challenged by the observation that a book which uses Nineveh as the symbol of the repenting city and which does not mention the name Israel even once has such an historic tendency.

The book has also been regarded as an essay dealing with the profession of the prophet. The prophet cannot escape his mission and he should not regard it as weakness or failure if his prophecy is not fulfilled. However, since the book does not speak explicitly about prophets and prophecy (the word is not mentioned even once) and since Jonah's argumentation contains no aspects of his personal life, this explanation seems improbable too. In addition, the whole point of classical biblical prophecy is to bring sinners to repent so that they may avoid destruction. In that case any successful prophet of rebuke would fail the test of prophecy (e.g., Ezek. 3:18).

The Book of Jonah has to be understood as a lesson in divine governance, forgiveness and mercy. Jonah tries to escape his mission, explaining to God that he had fled because he knows that God often relents after having decreed punishment (Jonah 4:2; cf. Joel 4:13). Indeed, God renounces his punishment after the repentance of the city out of mercy for the inhabitants.

As pointed out by Simon, underlying Jonah's complaint is the notion that divine forgiveness should not wipe out all penalty (cf. Jonah 4:2 with Exod. 34:6–7), the threat of penalty serving as a deterrent. But whereas human rulers require deterrence in order to maintain the social order, God does not require it. As the story shows, God has the power to intervene at anytime. He sends the storm (1:4); "appoints" the fish to swallow Jonah (2:1); commands the fish to spew him out (2:11); "appoints" the plant (4:6); and the worm that makes it wither (4:7). The book begins and ends with the word of God, an assertion of God's absolute power over all creation, the sea and the dry land (1:9). The greatest theological challenge facing the author was the identity of the god in whose name Jonah's prophecy (3:4) was delivered. To use the specifically Israelite name Yahweh as the source of Jonah's words would have implied conversion of the Ninevites. In contrast, to have had the Ninevites turning to their native gods, Asshur and Ishtar for example, would have been a theological enormity for a Hebrew writer. Accordingly, the neutral *elohim* (3:5) was employed.

The Date of Origin

Opinions vary greatly concerning the date of the book's composition. Some date it as early as the eighth century B.C.E. and accept it as a story told about Jonah the prophet who lived in the time of Jeroboam II similar to stories about Elijah and Elisha (cf. II Kings 8:4). Others date it as late as the third century B.C.E. As the book is mentioned by Ben Sira (49:10) it cannot have been written later than his time.

The main points for fixing the date are the following:

(1) The language: Some words seem to be late like the relative pronoun *she* and the Aramaisms *mallaḥ* (1:5); *yitʿashet* (1:6); *taʿam* (3:7); and *ribbo* (4:11). However, *she* is attested very early in northern Israel (Jud. 5:7; 6:17) and, for geographical reasons, Aramaisms may likewise have penetrated there at an early date. The presence of many Aramaisms however, suggests a relatively late date.

(2) Reference to Nineveh: It is said about Nineveh that it "was an enormously large city" (3:3) and it seems therefore that the book was written after the destruction of this famous city (612 B.C.E.). In contrast, it has been pointed out that the past tense can also be used to describe a continuous existing situation (cf. Jer. 1:18). This, however, does not account for the unhistorical title "king of Nineveh" and the legendary size of the city.

(3) The identity of the prophet: The question of the date of the book is related to the time of the prophet, who, apparently, was a historical figure (II Kings 14:25). However, if the prophet's name was chosen only to give a later book more authority, the prophet's identity cannot be helpful in fixing the date of the book's composition, especially since it is possible that the story is connected with a historical prophet, but the book itself was written much later.

(4) Parallels to other books: The Book of Jonah contains parallels to the stories about Elijah (cf. Jonah 4:3 with I Kings

19:4); to the prophecies of Jeremiah (cf. Jonah 3:8–10 with Jer. 18:7–8); and particularly to the Book of Joel (cf. Jonah 3:9 with Joel 2:14; Jonah 4:2 with Joel 2:13). It is, however, impossible to prove if and in which way these sources influenced the Book of Jonah or were influenced by it.

It is quite probable that the book recounts an early story, since the people of Nineveh are worshiping idols, but the prophet only speaks, as in early times, against their moral sins. The lack of any national aspect has also been cited in favor of an early date of the story, which was perhaps first told orally and written down only at a later date.

The Book of Jonah aroused special interest throughout the ages not only because of its dramatic content and literary devices but also because of its important role in the religious world. The book of Jonah is read in the synagogue at the Day of Atonement afternoon service (Meg. 31a).

[Gabriel H. Cohn / S. David Sperling (2nd ed.)]

In the Aggadah

When sent to prophesy against Nineveh, Jonah suppressed his prophecy, although liable to suffer death at the hands of Heaven for doing so (Sanh. 11:5), and did not go, preferring rather to honor the son (the people of Israel) than the Father (the Almighty). For were he to go to Nineveh, Jonah argued, its people would immediately repent, with the result that the Almighty would have mercy on them and hold Israel blameworthy, declaring that, unlike the gentiles, they became stubborn whenever He sent His prophets to them (cf. Matt. 12:41). Jonah tried to flee abroad to a gentile country "where the Divine Presence neither dwells nor appears." First the sailors plunged him in the sea up to his knees and then up to his neck, each time the sea became calm but grew stormy again when they lifted him back on deck. Thereupon they hurled Jonah into the sea, which immediately stopped its raging (Mekh., Bo, Introduction: Tanh., Lev., 8; PdRE 10).

[Elimelech Epstein Halevy]

In Christianity

Jonah is regarded in Christianity as the proof of the capacity of the gentiles for salvation and the design of God to make them partake of it. This is the "sign of Jonas" referred to in Luke 11: 29–30. In the same passage he is referred to, as are many of the prophets, as a forerunner of Jesus. "The men of Nineveh … repented at the preaching of Jonas; and behold, one greater than Jonas is here" (*ibid.*, v. 32). Similarly the three days and three nights which he spent in the whale's belly are seen as a prefiguration of the three days and three nights he would be "in the heart of the earth" (Matt. 12:40).

In Islam

Yūnus (Jonah) the prophet, "the man of the fish," was one of the most prominent descendants of Abraham. He was one of the apostles of Allah, even though he fled from his mission because he thought that Allah did not control him (Sura 6:86; 22:87). Sura 10 of the *Koran is named after him. In Sura 37:139–49, *Muhammad relates how Jonah hid in a ship loaded with freight. His fate, however, designated him for destruction. Had he not praised Allah, he would have remained in the belly of the fish until the day of the resurrection of the dead. The myriads who were warned by Jonah believed in Allah and continued to enjoy His mercies for a time (Sura 10:96–98). Umayya ibn Abi al-Ṣalt (Schulthess, 32:21) knew that Jonah had stayed only a few days in the belly of the fish. The story of Jonah was a favorite subject in Islamic legend; several motifs worthy of adaptation are found in it: the repentance of the inhabitants of Nineveh on the day of ʿ*āshūra*ʾ: the sojourn of Jonah in the belly of the fish; his prayer, etc.

[Haïm Z'ew Hirschberg]

In the Arts

The allegorical nature of the Book of Jonah and the colorful episodes which it contains have inspired writers, artists and musicians throughout the ages. One of the earliest literary works based on Jonah was *Patience*, an anonymous English adaptation in verse probably dating from the mid-14th century. The theme of the punishment awaiting the "sinful city" was exploited by English puritanical writers of the 16th and 17th centuries. Thus, *A Looking Glasse for London and England* (London, 1594), a play by Robert Greene and Thomas Lodge, weaves the story of Jonah into a dramatic account of the kingdom of Israel after the overthrow of Jeroboam. In their comparison of Nineveh with vice-ridden London, the playwrights mingled Elizabethan satire with biblical and moralistic elements in the spirit of the Reformation. The subject also inspired *A Feaste for Wormes* (1620), a paraphrase of Jonah by the English royalist writer Francis Quarles, in whose *Divine Poems* (1630) the story later reappeared. Two other works of the 17th century were the anonymous English tragicomedy *Nineveh's Repentance* (c. 1656) and *Jonas* by the German Protestant poet Martin Opitz. The subject fell into comparative neglect until the second half of the 19th century, when the *Historie of Jonah*, a dramatic poem, appeared in Zachary Boyd's *Four Poems from "Zion's Flowers"* (1855). This was followed by John Ritchie's dramatic poem *The Prophet Jonah* (1860), John T. Beer's play *The Prophet of Nineveh* (1877), and *Profeta-lomb* ("The Prophet Bough," 1877), a work by the Hungarian writer János Arany.

There was a revival of interest in the theme among writers of the 20th century. A.P. Herbert's *The Book of Jonah (As almost any modern Irishman would have written it)* (1921) was a novel, comic dramatization of the biblical story written in a broad Irish brogue. Behind the superficial frivolity of the Scots playwright James Bridie's *Jonah and the Whale* (1932; revised as *Jonah 3* in *Plays for Plain People*, 1944) lies a more serious and sympathetic approach to the central issue. This contrasts with Laurence Housman's playlet *The Burden of Nineveh* (in *Old Testament Plays*, 1950), an attempt to debunk the Bible. Two other works in English were *A Masque of Mercy* (1947), a play in blank verse by the U.S. poet Robert Frost presenting the theme of man's relationship with God in Christian terms; and the English novelist and critic Aldous Huxley's poem "Jonah" (in *The Cherry Tree*, 1959). *Der Mann in Fisch* (1963) was a novel about Jonah by the German religious writer Stefan Andres. Perhaps because of its nautical interest, the subject has also inspired works by several Scandinavian authors, notably Haakon B. Mahrt's Norwegian novel *Jonas* (1935), Harald Tandrup's Danish novel *Profeten Jonas privat* (1937; *Jonah and the Voice*, 1937), and Olov Hartman's modern Swedish miracle play *Profet och timmerman* (1954). Works about Jonah by 20th-century Jewish writers include the U.S. novelist Robert *Nathan's *Jonah; or the Withering Vine* (1925; published in Britain as *Son of Amittai*, 1925); M.C. Lichtenstein's Yiddish novel *Yonah ben Amittai* (1929); a Hebrew play of the same title by Meir Foner (1930); and *It Should Happen to a Dog* (1956), a one-act play by Wolf *Mankowitz utilizing the humor and idiom of London's Jewish East End.

In art, there are no less than 57 examples in catacombs in Rome and on numerous sarcophagi, from the second to the first centuries, some of which may possibly be Jewish. The four scenes are: the storm, the swallowing and spewing forth by the whale, and Jonah chiding God. In specifically Christian typology, the story has three parts, the parallelism between Jonah and the whale and the visit to Limbo by Jesus being paramount. The Jewish tradition appears fully in the four-part Jonah sarcophagus of the British Museum. The Jonah cycle may well be older than its Christological interpretation, and the sarcophagus would thus afford an indication of a lost Jewish pictorial prototype.

[Helen Rosenau]

Individual representations of Jonah are rare. The two major examples are the figure by Michelangelo in the Sistine Chapel, Rome, and the marble statue designed by Raphael and executed by his pupil Lorenzetto di Ludovico Lotto(?) in the church of Santa Maria del Popolo, Rome. The prophet, who is generally represented as bald, is here shown as a nude youth with curly hair. The story of Jonah and the fish as a prefiguration of the Entombment and Resurrection and the resurrection of the individual soul and the hope of life hereafter accounts for its extraordinary popularity in the funerary art of the early Christians. An interesting fourth-century ivory relief of the subject is found on the Lipsanoteca in the Museo Civico Cristiano at Brescia.

Jonah was also a popular subject in Byzantine manuscripts of the 6th–11th centuries, including the sixth-century Rabula Codex, the Topography of Kosmas Indikopleustès (Vatican), the ninth-century Homilies of Gregory of Nazianz, and the 11th-century Khlyudov Psalter (Moscow). In these, new episodes are illustrated, such as the "calling" of Jonah (Jonah 1:2), his embarkation at Joppa (Jonah 1:3), and his preaching before the king of Nineveh (Jonah 3:4ff.). The theme was less popular in the Middle Ages, but survived as one of the types of the Resurrection. Some notable medieval examples are the early 13th-century sculpture at Bamburg showing the bald Jonah engaged in animated conversation with the prophet Hosea; and the delightful illuminations in the 12th-century *Hortus Deliciarum* (University Library, Strasbourg) and Admont Bible (National Library, Vienna). In both manuscripts, Jonah is shown emerging from a fish, in the latter case with a rhetorical gesture, as if about to make a speech. Illuminations of Jonah were also included in medieval Hebrew Manuscripts, such as the Spanish Cervera Bible (1300; Lisbon National Library) and the Kennicott Bible (1476; Bodleian Library, Oxford). In an early 15-century German *maḥzor* (Academy of Sciences, Budapest), there is a casual, but vivid, sketch of a bald and mustachioed Jonah sitting under the gourd (Jonah 4:6).

After the Middle Ages, the subject was comparatively rare. Rubens included a painting of Jonah thrown into the sea as the predella of a triptych of the miraculous draught of fishes ordered by the Malines Fishmongers Corporation in 1618; and there is a stormy landscape of the same subject by Gaspard Poussin at Windsor Castle, England. In Italy, Salvator Rosa painted a picture of Jonah preaching to the Ninevites. The Israel wood-engraver Jacob *Steinhardt illustrated the Book of Jonah in 1953.

Musical compositions on the Jonah theme are less abundant. One of the early masters of the oratorio, Giacomo Carissimi (1605–1674), wrote an oratorio, *Jona* (of which a 19th-century revision by Ferdinand *Hiller has remained in manuscript); two notable oratorios dating from 1689 are G.B. Bassani's *Giona*, which has an opening instrumental "Sea Symphony," and the *Giona* of G.B. Vitali. In the 18th century P. Anfossi (1727–1797) composed *Ninive conversa* and, in the 19th century, the subject was represented, like most biblical stories, in the English festival-oratorio production. Some increase in musical interest has been noticeable in the 20th century, with Hugo Chaim *Adler's cantata *Jonah* (1943) and oratorios by Lennox Berkeley (*Jonah*, 1935), Mario *Castelnuovo-Tedesco (*Jonah*, 1951), and Vladimir *Voegel (*Jonah ging doch nach Ninive*, for speaker, baritone solo, speaking-choir, mixed choir, and orchestra, 1958).

[Bathja Bayer]

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JONAH, MOSES (16th century), kabbalist and one of the most important disciples of Isaac *Luria. Ḥayyim *Vital places him in the second group of Luria's pupils (*Sha'ar ha-Gilgulim*) and states that this is his first transmigration as a human being, and therefore he is a great jester and his conduct is not seemly (*Sefer ha-Gilgulim*, "The Book of Transmigrations," 1875, 66). These remarks attest to some personal tension between the two kabbalists, which is also borne out by the story quoted in Menahem *Lonzano's book, *Omer Man*, on Luria's last words before his death. According to this story, Jonah asked Luria if Vital understood his doctrine and Luria answered "A little." Jonah headed a yeshivah in Safed for a time and also spent some time in Egypt and Constantinople. His signature occasionally appears (c. 1590) on letters sent from Safed to Worms. His fragmentary notes on Luria's Kabbalah (of 1586) are in an autograph in the Schocken collection. However, several years earlier, apparently in the 1570s, he had written a systematic treatise on his teacher's Kabbalah. In 1582 he himself copied this book, called *Kanfei Yonah* in the complete manuscripts, and dedicated it to one of the rich men of Constantinople. The bulk of this copy is preserved in Sassoon Ms. 993. This work is clear and well arranged and is superior in several respects to Vital's different editions of *Eẓ Ḥayyim*. Menahem Azariah da *Fano compiled extracts from this book in five parts, 1–4 (1785) and 5 (1899); manuscripts of the original book also circulated widely (Ms. Ben Zvi Institute, 2218). Jonah taught Jacob Schweinfurt, who brought some of his kabbalistic traditions to Germany in 1613. A summary of Jonah's major work in 13 chapters was printed under the title *Sha'ar ha-Kelalim* at the beginning of the published editions of *Eẓ Ḥayyim*. It is said in many manuscripts that this summary was written by three kabbalists: Moses *Najara, Jonah, and Joseph *Arzin.

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[Gershom Scholem]

JONAH BEN ABRAHAM GERONDI (c. 1200–1263), Spanish rabbi, author, and moralist. In his youth Gerondi studied in the French yeshivot under Moses b. Shneur and his brother *Samuel of Evreux, and later under *Solomon b. Abraham of Montpellier. When in 1232 the latter began his campaign against Maimonides' philosophical works, Jonah followed his teacher and became one of his most devoted assistants in the conflict, which ended, according to tradition, in the burning of these books by the Inquisition. A few years later, in 1240, in the same square in which Maimonides' books had been burnt, tractates of the Talmud were burnt and Jonah saw this as divine retribution. Tradition has it that he repented, proclaiming in the synagogues: "I undertake to prostrate myself at Maimonides' grave and to confess that I spoke and sinned against his books" (letter of Hillel of Verona). Consequently, Jonah devoted himself to the study of Maimonides' works. Legend tells that Jonah tried to travel to Ereẓ Israel to ask forgiveness at Maimonides' grave, but was delayed in Toledo, where he later died violently. Modern scholars disagree as to the veracity of this account. Everyone is in agreement that Jonah reversed his opinion of Maimonides in the latter part of his life. Gerondi was in contact with *Isaac the Blind, son of *Abraham b. David of Posquières, concerning Kabbalah. Naḥmanides was his cousin and in-law. Jonah returned from France to his birthplace, Gerona, and began to preach publicly his *torat ha-musar* (doctrine of ethics and morality) – a subject which was near to his heart all his life. Later he left Gerona and settled in Barcelona, where pupils from Spain and elsewhere flocked to him. These included some of the outstanding rabbis of the next generation, such as Solomon b. Abraham *Adret and *Hillel b. Samuel of Verona. Years later, he left for Ereẓ Israel, but on passing through Toledo, the Spanish community approached him and importuned him to stay in the city for a year or two. He consented to remain and established a large yeshivah there, and there he died.

Jonah was famous not only as a scholar, but as "father of the virtues" of piety, humility, and ascetism. He acquired enduring fame through his ethical books. In these books he protested forcefully against the many Spanish Jews who disregarded the *mitzvot* and against widespread sexual immorality. He proclaimed a "ban on concubines" and reacted sharply to the failure of society to keep the *mitzvot* governing the relations of man and his neighbor. Among the "ten gravest sins of the generation" which he specified, were: "disregarding the poor, slander, senseless hatred, confusion of the heart, and causing others to fear." Jonah condemned the actions of despots and tyrants, warning the large estate owners among the Jews of Spain against using force to evict small landowners from their plots. Not content with warnings, Jonah called for action and suggested that instead of strong community leaders who strike fear into the hearts of the public, "in every town volunteers should be ready to take action whenever a Jewish man or woman is in trouble" (*ibid.*). According to Jonah, communal activities should be incumbent on every Jew and not confined to communal leaders (*ibid.*). Even prayer in time of public or private sorrow and even the formulation of prayers are not matters for the pious or sages alone; it is the duty of every man to pray "every day, in accordance with his ability, on behalf of all the sick among the Holy People … and for the release of all prisoners…."

Jonah was doubtless familiar with the teachings of the *Ḥasidei Ashkenaz, but his ethical doctrine differed fundamentally from theirs. It was not based upon mystical speculation but on the *halakhah* and the popular *aggadah*. His ethical works were widely read. His repeated emphasis on the practice of social justice and social ethics undoubtedly contributed to their popularity throughout the Jewish world and to the influence they exercised upon the socio-religious thinking of later generations.

Jonah's works include: (1) Commentary on Proverbs (1910); (2) Commentary on *Avot* (Berlin-Altona, 1848, and compared to Mss., 1966); (3) novellae to tractate *Bava Batra: "Aliyyot de-Rabbenu Yonah"* up to page 77b (1966), and to *Sanhedrin* (in: *Sam Ḥayyim*, Leghorn, 1803); (4) Commentary on Alfasi to *Berakhot*, and printed with it, the commentary was compiled by his pupils; (5) Laws of examining the knife and lungs during *sheḥitah* (at the end of the *Teshuvot ha-Ge'onim*, 1871); (6) *Iggeret Teshuvah* (Constantinople, 1548); (7) *Sefer ha-Yirah* (Fano, c. 1505; Salonika, 1529; Yiddish translation Freiburg, 1583); (8) *Sha'arei Teshuvah* (Fano, 1505; Constantinople, 1511); a chapter out of this work, by name *"Sha'arei ha-Avodah,"* which was known as lost, was printed in 1967 from an unknown manuscript but there are still grave doubts whether it is really his; (9) Novellae of Rabbenu Jonah's pupils on tractate *Avodah Zarah* (1955); (10) Sermon and explanation on the Torah, *Sefer Derashot u-Perushei Rabbenu Yonah Gerondi le-Hamishah Humshei Torah*, were published from manuscript in 1980; (11) Novellae on the laws of the Passover *Seder* were published from manuscript in 2001.

In addition to these works, there is reference in medieval rabbinic works to his novellae on *Pesaḥim, Megillat Setarim*, laws of Ḥanukkah, and sermons.

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[Ephraim Kupfer / David Derovan (2nd ed.)]

JONAS, EMILE (1827–1905), French composer, conductor, and cantor. He studied at the Paris Conservatoire where he received a second prize for harmony (1847). Jonas was professor of solfège at the Paris Conservatoire from 1847 until 1866. He composed several light operas in the style of *Offenbach and enjoyed success abroad as well as in France. He was music director at the Portuguese synagogue in Paris, for which he wrote two collections of songs, *Shirot Yisrael* (1854) and *Shirei Yisrael* (1886).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: NG^2; MGG^2.

[Amnon Shiloah (2nd ed.)]

JONAS, HANS (1903–1993), philosopher. Jonas studied with Martin Heidegger and Rudolf Bultmann in Marburg. Adhering to Zionist convictions since his youth, he left Nazi Germany in 1933 for Jerusalem, where he was a lecturer at the Hebrew University before World War II. During the war he served in the British Army (in the *Jewish Brigade Group) in the Middle East, taught in Palestine, and was a lieutenant in the Israeli Army 1948–49. In 1949 he went to McGill University in Montreal, in 1950 to Carleton College, Ottawa, and from 1951 was professor of philosophy at the New School for Social Research in New York.

Jonas' original work was on philosophy and religion in late antiquity and early Christianity, writing on *Augustin und das paulinische Freiheitsproblem* (1930), and *Gnosis und spaetantiker Geist* (2 vols., 1934–54; partial Eng. tr., *The Gnostic Religion*, 1958). His revolutionary study on Gnosticism initiated the movement to understand religions by demythologizing them and revealing their existential meaning. The Nazi's abandonment of all that is human as well as the confrontation with Heidegger's affinity to Nazism inspired Jonas to set forth a counterphilosophy to modern nihilism. He wrote on phenomenology and existentialism (*Zwischen Nichts und Ewigkeit*, 1963) and on philosophical biology (*The Phenomenon of Life*, 1966), offering an anti-dualistic understanding of organic life that interprets human existence as part of a nature that is meaningful in itself. In his *The Imperative of Responsibility* (1984), Jonas explored the ethical consequences of his speculative ontology for a world dominated by the dangers inherent in science and technology, especially genetic engineering, suggesting strategies of human self-limitation and respect for the integrity of life. In his essay *The Concept of God after Auschwitz* (1987), Jonas radically transformed the question of theodicy into the question of the justification of man and rejected the notion of God's power in history; stimulated by ideas of Lurianic Kabbalah, he employed a speculative myth to unfold a process of theogony and cosmology in which God, in the course of evolution, withdraws completely back into Himself, relinquishes His omnipotence, and makes the world subject to human responsibility.

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[Richard H. Popkin / Christian Wiese (2nd ed.)]

JONAS, JOSEPH (1792–1869), English-born jeweler who was Ohio's earliest permanent Jewish settler. Jonas arrived at Cincinnati in 1817 and in 1824 became president of the newly founded Bene Israel Congregation, the first in Ohio. He and his brother Abraham both married daughters of Gershom Mendes Seixas. Some years after Rachel Seixas' death, Jonas married Martha Oppenheim. Jonas wrote "The Jews of Ohio" for Isaac Leeser's *Occident* in 1842. He was a leading freemason and politician and helped organize Cincinnati's Democratic Party. While serving in the Ohio legislature in 1860–61, he advocated compromise with the South. Jonas moved to Alabama in 1867. His brother ABRAHAM (1801–1864) arrived in Cincinnati several years after Joseph. He then moved to Kentucky where he was several times elected to the state legislature, and was also prominent in the Masonic lodge. He later moved to Illinois, where he was active in the Republican party as a supporter and friend of Abraham Lincoln. Abraham's son, BENJAMIN FRANKLIN (1834–1911), moved to New Orleans where he was active in the Democratic party, served in the Louisiana state legislature, and was elected U.S. senator (1879–85).

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[Stanley F. Chyet]

JONAS, NATHAN S. (1868–1943), U.S. banker and philanthropist. Jonas was born in Montgomery, Alabama, and was raised in Brooklyn, N.Y. Starting work at the age of 13 as an errand boy, Jonas became a traveling salesman and then went into the insurance business. In 1905 he was made president of a new bank, which later became the Manufacturers Trust Company, and led it until 1931, when its total resources were $327 million, with 45 unit offices. Active in civic and philanthropic affairs, Jonas was a founder and president of the Brooklyn Jewish Hospital, organizer and first president of the Brooklyn Federation of Jewish Charities, and a member of the New York City Board of Education during 1902–09. He wrote an autobiography, *Through the Years* (1940).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *New York Times* (Oct. 18, 1943), 15.

[Morton Rosenstock]

JONAS, REGINA (1902–1944), German rabbi and Holocaust victim. Born in Berlin in 1902, Regina Jonas completed her secondary education, receiving a license to teach in girls' schools in 1924. Shortly afterwards, she began studying at the Berlin rabbinical seminary, the *Hochschule fuer die Wisenschaft des Judentums (College of Jewish Studies). Ordinarily the Hochschule awarded female students a diploma certifying them as Academic Teachers of Religion. Jonas, however, desired rabbinic ordination. In 1930, she completed her thesis, "Can a Woman Hold Rabbinical Office?" in which she argued that Jewish law permitted female ordination. Although the distinguished scholar Professor Eduard Baneth accepted her thesis, he died before he could administer the oral exam in Jewish law required of all rabbinical candidates. Whether or not Baneth would have ordained her is not known. His successor believed Jewish law forbade women's ordination, and would not ordain Jonas. Instead she received a special transcript noting that she was becoming a skilled preacher.

In the years immediately following her graduation from the Hochschule, Jonas indeed found opportunities to preach. In 1935 Rabbi Max *Dienemann, one of the leaders of German Liberal Judaism, examined her and privately ordained her. She thus became the first woman rabbi, and from then until her death, many knew her as Fräulein Rabbiner Jonas. In 1937 the Jewish community of Berlin hired her to teach and also to provide rabbinical spiritual care for the elderly and the ill. As Nazism intensified its anti-Jewish persecution, Jonas was an active community presence, serving congregations whose rabbis had emigrated or been arrested. In late 1942, she was deported to Theresienstadt. Her work there included meeting new arrivals at the train station, trying to alleviate their horror as they confronted this terrible ghetto. She also lectured on biblical, talmudic, and religious themes for the ghetto's cultural programs. From there, Fräulein Rabbiner Jonas made her final journey. Sharing the fate of her people, the first woman rabbi was murdered in Auschwitz.

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[Pamela S. Nadell (2nd ed.)]

JONATHAN (Heb. יוֹנָתָן, יְהוֹנָתָן; "YHWH has given"), name of several biblical characters.

(1) Son of Gershom, son of Moses (Judg. 18:30; MT, "Manasseh" written with suspended *nun*, apparently a scribal insertion in deference to Moses). He is apparently to be identified with the levite from Beth-Lehem in Judah who was taken into the service of Micah the Ephraimite as "father and priest" (Judg. 17:10) in the sanctuary which Micah had founded. Not long after he had taken up residence there, 600 Danites, on their way northward to find a more suitable homestead, induced Jonathan to leave Micah and to assume the more honorable position of priest to the tribe of Dan (Judg. 17–18). The family of Jonathan served as priests to the tribe of Dan until the captivity (Judg. 18:30).

(2) Son of *Saul.

(3) Uncle of David, a counselor, wise man, and scribe (I Chron. 27:32).

(4) Son of Shimea (or Shimei), David's brother. He slew a Philistine giant who taunted Israel at Gath (II Sam. 21:20–21; I Chron. 20:6–7).

(5) One of David's "valiant men" known as the "Thirty" (II Sam. 23:32–33; I Chron. 11:34).

(6) Son of Uzziah. He was in charge of the royal treasuries of David in the cities, villages, and towers outside the capital (I Chron. 27:25).

(7) Son of Abiathar, descendant of Eli, a priest in the time of David. During his flight from Absalom, David was joined by Jonathan who was, however, sent with *Zadok, *Abiathar, and *Ahimaaz, to spy on Absalom. Jonathan and Ahimaaz were appointed runners for the purpose of transmitting information from Jerusalem to the fleeing David (II Sam. 15:36). The two men hid at En Rogel, where a lad eventually discovered and betrayed them. Fleeing from Absalom's forces, both runners arrived at Baḥurim, where they were saved by a woman

who hid them in a well. Before morning, however, the runners reached David, bringing the information which permitted the king and his people to cross the Jordan in time to avoid a premature clash with Absalom's army (II Sam. 17:15–22). During Solomon's struggle for the throne (I Kings 1) Jonathan had, like his father Abiathar the priest, supported Adonijah as king. It was Jonathan who came to Adonijah at the stone of Zoheleth to inform him that Solomon had been anointed king (I Kings 1:9, 42–48). After Solomon's accession to the throne, nothing more is said about Jonathan who, together with his father, probably fell into disgrace and was sent to Anathoth (I Kings 2:26–27).

(8) A levite during the reign of Jehoshaphat (II Chron. 17:8).

(9) The scribe whose house was converted into a prison in which Jeremiah was confined on an alleged charge of desertion during the siege of Jerusalem (Jer. 37:15, 20; 38:26).

(10) Son of Kareah, an officer who joined Gedaliah at Mizpah, and the brother of Johanan (Jer. 40:8). The name Jonathan is omitted in some Hebrew manuscripts, in the Greek, and in the parallel passage in II Kings 25:23, and may have resulted from a dittography of Johanan.

(11) A son of Jerahmeel (I Chron. 2:32–33).

(12) A priest from the family of Shemaiah in the days of Joiakim the high priest (Neh. 12:18).

(13) Father of Ebed, who was head of the family of Adin. He joined Ezra in his journey to Jerusalem (Ezra 8:6).

(14) Son of Asahel, who, it seems, opposed Ezra in the matter of the foreign marriages (Ezra 10:15).

(15) Father of the priest Zechariah, who took part in the dedication of the walls of Jerusalem during the days of Nehemiah (Neh. 12:35).

(16) Son of Joiada, one of the high priests of the post-Exilic period (Neh. 12:11). However, Jonathan here appears to be a corruption of Johanan, by which name he is known in Ezra 10:6 and Nehemiah 12:22–23.

[Shlomo Balter]

JONATHAN (Heb. יְהוֹנָתָן, יוֹנָתָן), eldest son of *Saul, the first king of Israel (I Sam. 14:1). At the beginning of Saul's reign, during the revolt against the Philistines, Jonathan already was the commander of a part of the army (I Sam. chs. 13–14). He was a constant friend and companion of *David and assisted him when David was forced to escape Saul's wrath (I Sam., chs. 18, 19, 20, 23). Jonathan died together with his father and two of his brothers in the battle with the Philistines at Mount Gilboa (ch. 31). Their corpses were despoiled by the Philistines and exposed on the wall of Beth-Shean (I Sam. 31:12). David lamented their death in a moving elegy (II Sam. 1:17–27).

In the stories of the Book of Samuel the character of Jonathan is idealized, with no contrasting bad qualities. He is portrayed as the intrepid and heroic son of the king, a loyal comrade to the end. In the biblical account he stands in sharp contrast to Saul, whom God had rejected as king, and who was obsessed by an evil spirit. In the portrayal of Jonathan pure literary motifs are employed: the heroic son of the king leads an assault on the enemy with only his armor-bearer; he unwittingly transgresses the king's adjuration and faces all the danger resulting from such an action (ch. 14), and he becomes a faithful friend of the very man who is destined to deprive his father's house of its royal inheritance. In the story as a whole, there is a marked tendency to show Jonathan on the one hand as the war hero who played a decisive role in the struggle for freedom from the Philistine yoke, and on the other hand as David's faithful friend who recognized fully that even though he was himself heir to the throne, David would succeed Saul as king. (Jonathan's recognition of David's ultimate rule is displayed with some subtlety. Jonathan takes off his robe and gives it to David, along with his armor, sword, bow, and belt (I Sam. 18:3). Jonathan expresses the hope, "May YHWH be with David as he was with my father" (I Sam. 20:13)). Apparently these two elements became intertwined from the very outset in the book of Samuel, and in David's lament over Saul and Jonathan the two themes are combined (II Sam. 1:17–27). Both themes are based on reality, and there is no reason to doubt the tradition of the pact of friendship between David and Jonathan, even though these events occur in the context of stories designed to justify David's right to the kingdom. Indeed, Morgenstern raised the possibility that in early Israel the son-in-law of the king might have had a greater presumptive right to the throne than his son, and so a pact between Jonathan and David would have been appropriate. Even after Jonathan's death, David was careful to honor this pact and dealt very kindly with Jonathan's son *Mephibosheth (II Sam. 9:1ff.). In the list of Saul's descendants, which is included in the genealogical lists of families of the tribe of Benjamin in I Chronicles 8:33ff., ten generations are mentioned after Jonathan through Merib-Baal (that is Mephibosheth). It would seem that the object of this list is to illustrate the maintenance of the pact between the house of David and the house of Jonathan.

[Jacob Liver / S. David Sperling (2nd ed.)]

In the Aggadah

The Midrash applies the verse "For love is strong as death" to the love that Jonathan bore for David (Song R. 8:6, 4). Because of that great love, he risked his life for him (Ar. 16b), when he said to his father, "Wherefore should he (David) be put to death? What hath he done?" (I Sam. 20:32). His humility is revealed in his statement to David "Thou shalt be king over Israel and I shall be next to thee" (I Sam. 23:17). But the opinion is also expressed that he said this only because he saw that the people were flocking to David (BM 85a), and that "even the women behind the beams of the olive press knew that David was destined to be king" (TJ, Pes. 6:1, 33a). Jonathan, however, committed an inadvertent transgression which was regarded as reprehensible as though it had been deliberate, in that he failed to provide David with food when he advised him to flee (I Sam. 20:42), "for had Jonathan given David two loaves of bread for his travels, the priests of Nob would not have been massacred, nor would Saul and his three sons have been killed" (Sanh. 103b–104a). The love of David and Jonathan did not depend upon any material cause, and it is taken as the prototype of disinterested love which never passes away (Avot 5:16). This distinction between two types of love is also made by Greek scholars (Aristotle, *Magna Moralia*, 1209b; *Nichomachean Ethics*, 1156a).

[Elimelech Epstein Halevy]

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JONATHAN, second-century *tanna*. Although his patronymic is never given when he is mentioned, as he most frequently is, with his colleague *Josiah, he is identical with the Jonathan b. Joseph and Nathan b. Joseph mentioned elsewhere in rabbinical literature. Like his colleague, he was a disciple of R. Ishmael b. Elisha and followed his system of hermeneutics, the main feature of which is the interpretation of scriptural verses according to the rules laid down by him in order to establish the *halakhah*, in oppositon to the system of R. Akiva (see *Midreshei Halakhah), and his exegesis is largely confined to this. His statements therefore appear mostly in the halakhic Midrashim which emanate from the school of R. Ishmael, the *Mekhilta of R. Ishmael* and the *Sifre* to Numbers (but see also TB Yoma 57–58 and TB Sotah 74–75). Apart from one Mishnah in his name in Avot 4:9, "Whosoever observes the Torah in poverty shall be vouchsafed to observe it in affluence, and he who neglects its observance in affluence will live to neglect it because of poverty" (Chap. 4), like his colleague, he is not mentioned in the Mishnah, and it has been assumed that this was due to the fact that Rabbi Judah ha-Nasi, the compiler of the Mishnah, based himself on the Mishnah of R. Meir.

After the death of his master he seems to have adopted part of the system of R. Akiva (see TJ Ma'as 51b).

Jonathan is the author of the rule that the saving of human life transcends the Sabbath (TB Yoma 85b). After the Hadrianic persecution, like his colleague, he decided to leave Ereẓ Israel. Whereas, however, Josiah emigrated to Nisibis in Babylonia, Jonathan relented. Together with Mattiah ben Ḥeresh, Ḥananiah, the nephew of R. Joshua, and R. Judah b. Hai, he set out, but when they reached the frontiers of Israel, their love for the Land of Israel prompted them to relinquish their plan and they returned (Sifre, Deut. 80).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Bacher, Tann 2, 351; Frankel, Mishnah, 146; Hyman, Toledot, 697–700.

JONATHAN BEN ABRAHAM ISAAC (**Abelman**; 1854–1903), rabbi and talmudist. Born in the Kovno province, Jonathan went at the age of 15 to study under R. Israel *Lipkin in Vilna, where he later married the daughter of Abba Levinsohn, his teacher's brother-in-law. In 1877 he accepted the position of rabbi in the small town of Choroszcz, where he stayed until 1883. That year he was appointed a member of the *bet din* in Bialystok and became its *av bet din* when Samuel *Mohilever was chief rabbi of the community. Jonathan held the position until his death. His works include *Torat Yehonatan* (1889), dealing with the question of *shemittah*, which became particularly relevant as a result of the newly established agricultural settlements in Ereẓ Israel. He also wrote *Zikhron Yehonatan*, published after his death by his son (1905), consisting of novellae on parts of the Shulḥan Arukh. Some of his responsa are included in David Kempner's *Le-Matteh Yehudah* (1892).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: B. Eisenstadt, *Dor Rabbanav ve-Soferav*, 1 (1895), 7.

JONATHAN BEN AMRAM (late second and early third century), sage of the transitional period between the **tannaim* and the **amoraim* and a pupil of *Judah ha-Nasi. He is rarely mentioned in the Talmud (some two or three times). The Talmud relates that once, during a period of famine, when Judah ha-Nasi opened a house of food to scholars only, he failed to recognize Jonathan, who, too humble to proclaim himself a scholar, asked to be fed "as a dog is fed." When Judah later learned Jonathan's true identity, he decided to distribute food to everyone, without distinction (BB 8a). The few *halakhot* quoted by him (Ḥag. 20a; Av. Zar. 36b) center around details of the laws of levitical cleanness, and he was apparently one of those who observed, even for ordinary meals, all the prescriptions attaching to the eating of *terumah* (the Priestly Portion), which had to be eaten in a state of ritual cleanness.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Hyman, Toledot, 703.

[Israel Moses Ta-Shma]

JONATHAN BEN ANAN, high priest in 36–37 C.E. Jonathan was appointed high priest by Vitellius, governor of *Syria, succeeding Joseph *Caiaphas (Jos., Ant., 18:95). After a year he vacated the office in favor of his brother, Theophilus (*ibid.*, 123). When Agrippa I wished to reappoint him, he declined, and another brother, Matthias, was appointed (*ibid.*, 19:313–6). Jonathan was apparently greatly respected and occupied an important place in the community even after his removal from the high priesthood, as is evidenced by the events during the final days of the governorship of Cumanus (52 C.E.). When disturbances broke out following the murder of a Galilean pilgrim by the Samaritans, Jonathan b. Anan complained to Quadratus, governor of Syria, pointing to Cumanus as the chief culprit. Quadratus, after severely punishing those responsible for the disturbance, sent the former high priests, Jonathan and Hananiah, as well as the latter's son, Anan, and a number of Jerusalem notables to Rome for trial before the emperor Claudius. The decision was in favor of the Jews, and at the request of Jonathan, Cumanus was dismissed and exiled (Jos., Wars, 2:232–47; Ant., 20:162). Felix, appointed to succeed Cumanus, hated the former high priest, who rebuked him for the cruelty of his rule. Felix suborned a certain Doras, a native of Jerusalem, to hire assassins who mingled with the crowd ascending to the Temple and murdered Jonathan. This, according to Josephus, was the precedent for many other murders by *Sicarii (Jos., Ant., 20:162–6; Wars, 2:256).

[Abraham Schalit]

JONATHAN BEN DAVID HA-KOHEN OF LUNEL (c. 1135–after 1210), talmudic scholar of Provence, the leading rabbi of Lunel after the death of *Meshullam b. Jacob. He was a pupil of Moses b. Joseph Merwan in Narbonne and possibly of Meir ibn Migash – the son of Joseph ibn *Migash – in Spain, a fellow student of Zerahiah ha-Levi *Gerondi, and a pupil-colleague of *Abraham b. David of Posquières.

Jonathan was in the vanguard of the defenders of Maimonides in the controversy stirred up against him by Meir *Abulafia. In his reply (signed, however, by *Aaron b. Meshullam of Lunel) to Meir's letter to the sages of Provence, Jonathan strenuously countered Meir's accusation, at the same time highly praising Maimonides and his work. Jonathan's correspondence with Maimonides, which in the course of time created strong bonds of mutual affection and admiration, originated from a copy of Maimonides' *Letter to Yemen*, which found its way into his hands. Greatly impressed by its contents and the writer's wide vision, he sent him a letter full of praise, containing questions on the authenticity of astrology and the possibility of guarding against its prognostications. In his reply, delayed for several years, Maimonides referred Jonathan to his *Yad ha-Ḥazakah*, enclosing a copy with his reply. There followed a halakhic correspondence in which Jonathan submitted to Maimonides questions and strictures on the work by himself and the other scholars of Lunel. Maimonides was thus made aware of the vast talmudic knowledge of the Lunel scholars, and his replies were phrased in terms of great esteem. The whole exchange, permeated with a spirit of humility and reverence, is among the finest in the literature of Hebrew correspondence. In the course of it, Jonathan also requested Maimonides to send him his *Guide of the Perplexed*, which he thereafter submitted to Samuel ibn *Tibbon for translation into Hebrew. Jonathan was among the leaders of the "300 French and English rabbis" who emigrated in 1210 to Ereẓ Israel, and there he died.

Jonathan wrote commentaries on the Mishnah, Talmud, and Alfasi, embracing most of the Talmud. Much of his work, hitherto in manuscript, has recently been published. It includes commentaries on the tractates *Megillah, Mo'ed Katan* (1956), *Berakhot* (1957), *Shabbat, Pesaḥim, Beẓah, Ḥagigah, Ketubbot, Bava Kamma* (critical edition ed. S. Friedman, 1969), *Bava Meẓia, Sanhedrin, Makkot, Avodah Zarah*, and on *Halakhot Ketannot* and laws of ritual uncleanness (in *El ha-Mekorot* – Pardes ed. of the Talmud, 1959–63); *Eruvin* (standard editions of Alfasi); *Rosh Ha-Shanah, Yoma, Ta'anit Sukkah* (in *Ginzei Rishonim*, 1962–63); *Horayot* (in *Ḥiẓẓei Menasheh*, 1901); *Ḥullin* (in *Avodat ha-Leviyyim*, 1871). It is possible that he also wrote a treatise resolving David of Posquières' strictures on Maimonides (A. Neubauer, *Sefer ha-Ḥakhamim*, 2 (1891), 232, etc.). Numerous quotations from his teachings are to be found in the statements of other *rishonim*.

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[Israel Moses Ta-Shma]

JONATHAN BEN ELEAZAR (beginning of the third century C.E.), *amora*. He is the R. Jonathan mentioned in the Talmud and Midrash without patronymic. Jonathan was of Babylonian origin but went to Ereẓ Israel in his youth and *Johanan Nappaḥa referred to him as "our Babylonian colleague" (Git. 78b). He was a pupil of Simeon b. Yose b. Lakunya in whose name he frequently transmits dicta. He was the teacher of *Samuel b. Naḥman and one of the associates of *Ḥanina b. Ḥama. Jonathan lived in Sepphoris and was called *Sar ha-Birah* ("the prince of the city") – a designation whose exact connotation is unknown. He belonged to the intimate circle of the **nasi* and together with Johanan went to the "south" (Lydda) on his mission, apparently, of "peacemaking" (TJ, Ber. 9:1, 12d; the reading there is not clear). He once paid a visit to Jerusalem to see the ruins of the Temple (TJ, Ma'as. Sh. 3:3) and to Tiberias to bathe in the hot springs (TJ, Er. 6:4, 23c). Several scholars, including Johanan, transmit statements in Jonathan's name.

Jonathan is hardly referred to in the *halakhah*. On the other hand he is regarded as one of the great aggadists. His well-known defense of such biblical personalities as Reuben, the sons of Eli, the sons of Samuel, David, Solomon, and others (despite the explicit reference in the Bible to their transgressions) begins with the words: "Whoever maintains that so-and-so sinned is in error!" (Shab. 55b–56a). He also engaged to a considerable extent in polemics with heretics. He comments, for instance, on Genesis 1:26, "let us make man in our image": "When writing the Torah, Moses wrote down the acts of creation of each day. When he came to this verse, 'let us make man in our image after our likeness,' he said to God, 'Sovereign of the universe! Why dost Thou provide an opening for heretics? [since the plural form of the verse suggest dualism].' Replied [the Almighty] 'whoever wishes to err, let him err. From this man that I have created, great and small men shall spring. If the great man should say, "why do I need to request permission from one of less importance than I," they will answer him: Learn from thy Creator who created all that is above and below, yet when He came to create man, He took counsel with the ministering angels'" (Gen. R. 8:8).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Bacher, Pal Amor; Z.W. Rabinowitz, *Sha'arei Torat Ereẓ Yisrael* (1961), 436f.; Ḥ. Albeck, *Mavo la-Talmudim* (1969), 167f.

[Israel Moses Ta-Shma]

JONATHAN BEN JACOB (17th century), Hungarian rabbi. Jonathan was born in Ofen, Hungary, where, according to the testimony of David Oppenheim, he was one of the leaders of the community. When Ofen was captured from the Turks by the Austrian emperor Leopold I in 1686, Jonathan was taken captive and was ransomed by the Jews of Nikolsburg. He dwelt for a time in the home of Simḥah Ephraim b. Gershon ha-Kohen *Freudemann in Belgrade and transmitted various customs in his name. Jonathan became known through his *Keset Yehonatan* (Dyrhenfurth, 1697), a collection of the laws of prayer and moral sayings garnered from the *Sefer Ḥasidim* and the *Shenei Luḥot ha-Berit* of Isaiah Horowitz. He also compiled the *Neu Maaseh Buch* (*ibid.*, 1697), a collection of stories in Yiddish.

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[Yehoshua Horowitz]

JONATHAN BEN JOSEPH OF RUZHANY (late 17th–early 18th century), talmudist and astronomer. Jonathan was born in Ruzhany (Grodno province) and in his youth acquired an extensive knowledge of mathematics and astronomy in addition to that of Talmud. When a plague broke out in his native town in 1710, he vowed that, should he be spared, he would spread the knowledge of astronomy among Jews. In fulfillment of this vow, he proceeded to Germany, although already blind, and finally settled in Frankfurt. There he wrote *Yeshu'ah be-Yisrael*, a commentary on *Kiddush ha-Ḥodesh* (the laws concerning the blessing of the New Moon) of Maimonides' *Mishneh Torah* (Frankfurt, 1720). He also wrote a commentary on *Abraham b. Ḥiyya's astronomical work *Ẓurat ha-Areẓ*, and glosses to the translation of Sacroboscos' *Sphaera Mundi* (entitled *Mareh ha-Ofannim* or *Asferah ha-Gadol* by its translator Solomon b. Abraham Avigdor) and to another Hebrew translation of the same work, entitled *Sefer ha-Galgal*. These three works were published by Jonathan with his own commentaries, and others by Perez Nasi, Mordecai b. Abraham *Jaffe, Mattathias b. Solomon *Delacrut, and Shemariah Manoah Hahndel (Offenbach, 1720). In 1725 Jonathan made the acquaintance of the Christian bibliographer and Hebraist, Johann Christoph *Wolf, in Hamburg.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Fuenn, Keneset, 428f.; Steinschneider, Uebersetzungen, 644, 646.

[Moshe Nahum Zobel]

JONATHAN BEN UZZIEL (first century B.C.E.–first century C.E.), translator of the Prophets into Aramaic (see *Bible: Translations) Jonathan is mentioned as the outstanding pupil of *Hillel (BB 134a; Suk. 28a). All that is recorded of him, however, is that he translated the prophetical books into Aramaic "from the mouth of Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi" (an anachronistic statement meant to claim unbroken continuity between the latest prophets and the Aramaic translation), and that the translation evoked a storm of criticism, "rocking Ereẓ Israel over an area of 400 parasangs by 400 parasangs." The same account continues that a Heavenly Voice came forth, demanding to know who it was that had revealed divine mysteries to humans, and Jonathan replied that he had done so, not for the sake of personal honor "… but in order that disputes should not multiply in Israel" (Meg. 3a). It would appear that the translation was midrashic, and it is possible that it contained eschatological elements. In the same passage it is stated that Jonathan was desirous of translating the Hagiographa also, but a Heavenly Voice deterred him, saying "Enough." It has been suggested that the Targum to Job, which Gamaliel the Elder ordered to be hidden away (Shab. 115a), was the work of Jonathan, and that the ensuing furor deterred him from continuing with his self-appointed task. The extent to which the existing Aramaic translation of the Prophets is derived from the Targum attributed by the Talmud to Jonathan is difficult to say. Yet, it is clear that there is no connection between Jonathan and the Aramaic translation of the Pentateuch at first called *Targum Ereẓ Yisrael* and later *Targum Yerushalmi*. It was erroneously attributed from the 14th century to Jonathan, because the initials ת״י were taken to refer to Targum Jonathan instead of *Targum Yerushalmi* (Palestinian Targum).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Bacher, Tann; Zunz-Albeck, Derashot, 35–41; Hyman, Toledot, s.v. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** B. Chilton, in: DBI, 1:531–34.

[Yehoshua M. Grintz / S. David Sperling (2nd ed.)]

JONATHAN THE HASMONEAN (also called **Apphus**; d. 143 B.C.E.), head of the Jewish state (160–143); youngest son of *Mattathias. Jonathan fought, together with his brother Judah Maccabee, in the first battles at the beginning of the Hasmonean revolt and took over the command after the latter's death. In the disastrous encounter at Elasa (160 B.C.E.) Jonathan assumed the command and took refuge with his followers in the wilderness of Tekoa. Here he was ineffectually attacked by *Bacchides, the Syrian commander, and succeeded in inflicting serious losses on the enemy. Bacchides thereupon returned to Judea. After the death of the high priest *Alcimus, Bacchides went back to Syria, but was persuaded by the Hellenists to return in the hope of attacking Jonathan by surprise. When the plan failed, Bacchides turned against those who had urged his return, while Jonathan seized the opportunity to proffer a peace pact. This was agreed upon and Jonathan returned the prisoners in his hands. From about 158–157 Jonathan resided at Michmash as the *de facto* leader of the Jewish people, without any official status. In the civil war between *Alexander Balas and *Demetrius I for the Syrian throne Jonathan supported the latter, and after receiving various concessions removed his headquarters to Jerusalem (153). The hostages in the *Acra citadel were released and, to the dismay of the Hellenists, Jonathan was permitted to recruit an army. His first act was to fortify Jerusalem. Alexander Balas, equally anxious to secure Jonathan's support, offered him even more attractive terms than Demetrius, including appointment as high priest. Jonathan accepted, and took up his duties as high priest on the festival of Tabernacles in 153. He remained loyal to his patron despite further extravagant offers from Demetrius. After Demetrius was killed in battle (150), Balas invited Jonathan to the celebration of his marriage to Cleopatra, daughter of Ptolemy Philometor. Jonathan was royally received and was appointed *strategus* and *meridarch*, thus acquiring both military and civil authority. During the ensuing struggle against Demetrius II for the Syrian throne, Jonathan remained loyal to Balas, who rewarded Jonathan with the city of Ekron and its environs for his defeat of the army of Appolonius in a campaign along the coast. After the death of both Balas and Ptolemy Philometor, Demetrius II emerged victorious from the struggle. When Jonathan sought to extend his authority in Judea by besieging the Acra citadel, the irate monarch summoned him to an audience at Acre. Although he did not raise the siege, Jonathan went laden with presents, and an agreement was reached whereby the Samaritan districts of Lydda, Aphaerema (Ephraim), and Ramathaim were added to Judea, the whole of which was exempted from taxes. Jonathan's status as high priest and leader was confirmed. In matters of domestic policy he took care not to appear as the sole ruler, and the "elders of the nation" are always mentioned as supplementing his authority. The internal struggle in Syria flared up again when *Tryphon sought to wrest the crown from Demetrius II. Jonathan at first gave his support to Demetrius, sending an army to help suppress the rebellion against him in Antioch, but he went over to Tryphon's camp when Demetrius reneged on his agreement to hand over the Acra citadel to him. Uneasy over his ally's strength, Tryphon persuaded him to disband most of his army, promising to award him Acre and other cities. When Jonathan arrived at Acre, Tryphon ordered him seized and his companions put to death. In addition, he took two of Jonathan's sons hostage and extorted large sums of money. In frustration at the failure of his assault upon Jerusalem, Tryphon put Jonathan to death. The fate of his sons is unknown. Jonathan was succeeded by his last surviving brother *Simeon. Josephus (*Life*, 4) claimed descent from a daughter of Jonathan. Notwithstanding his tragic end, Jonathan may be regarded as the true founder of the Hasmonean state.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: I Macc. 9:31–12:53; Jos., Ant., 13:1–212; V. Tcherikover, *Hellenistic Civilisation and the Jews* (1959), 231–4, 236–53; S. Zeitlin, *The Rise and Fall of the Judean State* (1962), index.

[Lea Roth]

JONATHAN SON OF ABSALOM, one of the army commanders of *Simeon the Hasmonean. Jonathan was sent to Jaffa in 135 B.C.E. by Simeon, who feared that the local population might surrender to *Tryphon. Jonathan succeeded in holding the city after having driven out the gentile population. Some identify him with Mattathias b. Absalom, but it seems more likely that Jonathan and Mattathias were brothers who belonged to the Hasmonean family.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Jos., Ant., 13:202; I Macc. 13:11; Klausner, Bayit Sheni, 3 (1950^2), 65.

[Edna Elazary]

JONAVA (Rus. **Janovo**), town in Lithuania, northeast of Kovno. Jews were invited to settle there when the town was founded in 1775. They numbered 813 in 1847. Jonava developed through its position at the junction of the routes to the Baltic Sea (Viliya River, the Romny–Libava railroad) and on the St Petersburg–Warsaw road. The surrounding forests supplied timber for the local industry (carpentry, furniture, matches) and for export. There were 3,975 Jews living in Jonava (80% of the total population) in 1897. The town was destroyed by fire in 1905 but was quickly rebuilt. In the spring of 1915 the Jews in Jonava were expelled to the Russian interior, and only part of them returned. The community numbered 1,800 in 1921 and 3,000 (60% of the total population) on the eve of the Holocaust. The Germans occupied the town on June 22, 1941. On June 29, 2,108 Jews were executed in the woods outside the town.

Jonava was the birthplace of the poet Morris *Vinchevski and the scholar Israel *Davidson.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Yahadut Lita*, 3 (1967), 319–20; Z.A. Brown and D. Levin, *Toledoteha shel Maḥteret* (1962), index.

[Yehuda Slutsky]

JONG, ERICA (1942–), U.S. novelist and poet. Born Erica Mann in New York, where she was educated and began to write poetry, she lived in Heidelberg, Germany, from 1966 to 1969, where her husband (from whom she was later divorced) was serving in the U.S. Army. Her experiences there were featured in the autobiographical novel *Fear of Flying* (1973). In Germany she continued to write poetry which began to evolve a feminist outlook. In 1971, she published her first collection of poetry, *Fruits and Vegetables*, much of which explored the position of women as artists. Her second volume of poetry, *Half-Lives* (1973), continued to explore feminist and psychological issues.

The publication of *Fear of Flying* established her popularity as a novelist. The novel, which describes the search for self-identity and analyses the upbringing, neuroses, and sexuality of its heroine, Isadora Wing, mirrored much of Jong's own intellectual background and Jewish upbringing. It includes a chapter describing her life in Germany and its effect on her Jewish consciousness. The novel's sexual frankness sparked much controversy.

In 1977, she published her second novel, *How to Save Your Own Life*, a sequel to *Fear of Flying*, which explored Isadora Wing's experiences with fame, divorce, and new relationships. This was followed in 1980 by *Fanny: Being the True History of the Adventures of Fanny Hackabout-Jones*, a contemporary "18th-century novel" describing the adventures of a female Tom Jones.

Jong has also published volumes of poetry, *Loveroot* (1975) and *At the Edge of the Body* (1979). Numerous novels and books of poetry followed. In 1994 Jong published her autobiography, *Fear of Fifty*, followed in 2006 by *Seducing the Demon* on the writing life. In 1982 she was awarded title of Mother of the Year, while she served as president of the Authors Guild of the United States between 1991 and 1993. In 1998 she published a collection of essays. *What Do Women Want?* She is regarded as one of the most significant authors to have been produced by the feminist movement.

ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY: C. Templin (ed.), *Conversations with Erica Jong* (2002).

[Susan Strul / Rohan Saxena (2nd ed.)]

JONG, LOUIS (Loe) DE (1914–2005), Dutch historian. Born in Amsterdam into a secular socialist family, De Jong studied history in Amsterdam and started his career in 1938 as foreign editor of the anti-Nazi weekly *De Groene Amsterdammer*. Upon the German invasion in May 1940 De Jong and his wife managed to flee the European mainland, leaving behind his parents, sister, and twin brother – none of whom survived the war. De Jong spent the war years in London, working for Radio Oranje, the voice of the Dutch government-in-exile. He also wrote four volumes on the events in the occupied Netherlands.

In September 1945 De Jong was appointed head of the Netherlands State Institute for War Documentation, which had been founded in Amsterdam immediately after the liberation. In 1953 he earned his doctorate with a study of the German fifth column. In 1955 he was commissioned by the government to write the history of the Netherlands in World War II. Between 1969 and 1991 *Het Koninkrijk der Nederlanden in de Tweede Wereldoorlog* ("The Kingdom of the Netherlands in World War II") was published in 14 volumes.

Aside from his position as head of the RIOD, De Jong also gained recognition and respect in television appearances. He worked as a commentator on international current affairs and from 1960 to 1965 presented a series on the Netherlands during World War II.

He always remained an assimilated, secular Jew. During the Six-Day War (1967), however, he identified with the Israeli cause. De Jong became more and more a conscious Dutch Jew rather than a Dutchman of Jewish descent.

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[Conny Kristel (2nd ed.)]

JORDAN (Heb. (הַ)יַּרְדֵּן), river flowing from the Anti-Lebanon mountains south through Lake Kinneret and emptying into the Dead Sea. The name Jordan is first attested in the 13th-century B.C.E. Papyrus Anastasi 1 (13:1). In the Septuagint the Hebrew form Yarden is transliterated Yordanes or Yordanos. Some scholars argue that the name is derived from an Indo-European root such as the Persian *yar* ("year") and *dan* ("river"), i.e., a river that flows the year round; others note similarly named rivers in Crete, Greece, and Asia Minor. The majority view, however, is that the name Jordan is connected with the Semitic root *yarod* ("to descend") or the Arabic *warad* ("to come to the water to drink"). The alternative Arabic name of the Jordan – Nahr al-Sharīʿa ("the water trough") – sometimes

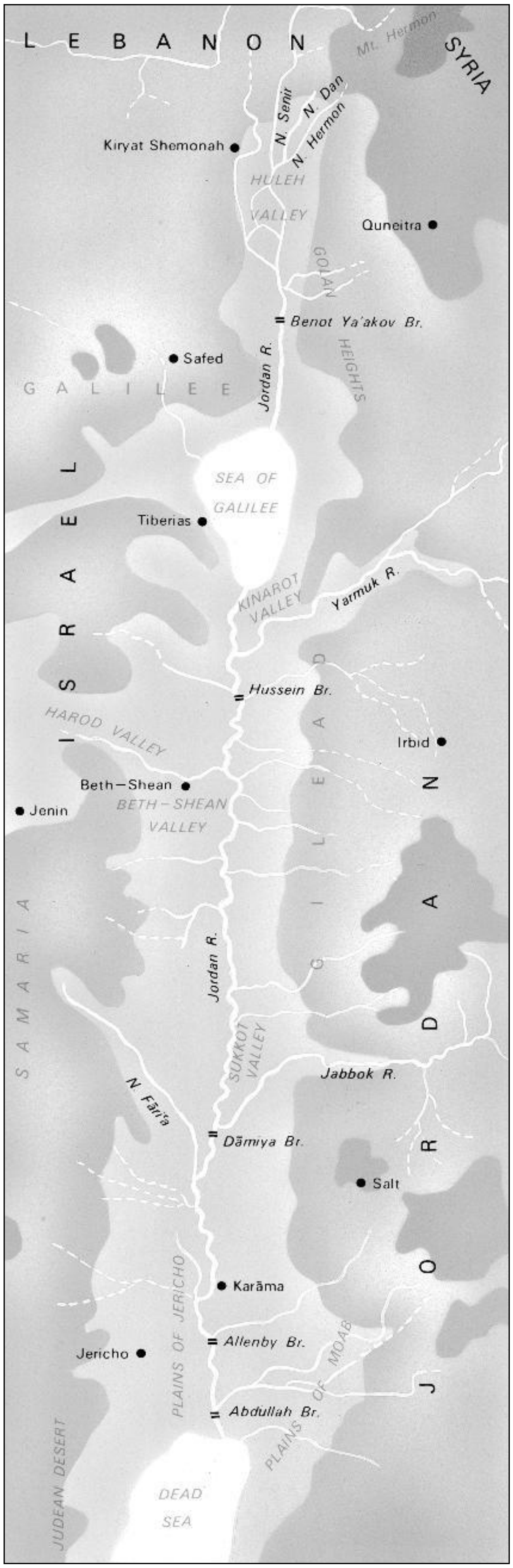
LEBANON
Mt. Hermon
SYRIA
N. Senir
N. Dan
N. Hermon
Kiryat Shemonah
HULEH VALLEY
Quneitra
GOLAN HEIGHTS
Benot Ya'akov Br.
Safed
Jordan R.
GALILEE
SEA OF GALILEE
ISRAEL
Tiberias
KINAROT VALLEY
Yarmuk R.
Hussein Br.
HAROD VALLEY
GILEAD
Irbid
Beth–Shean
BETH–SHEAN VALLEY
Jenin
JORDAN
SAMARIA
Jordan R.
SUKKOT VALLEY
Jabbok R.
N. Fār'a
Dāmiya Br.
Salt
Karāma
PLAINS OF JERICHO
Jericho
Allenby Br.
PLAINS OF MOAB
Abdullah Br.
JUDEAN DESERT
DEAD SEA

The Jordan River and Valley.

used with the addition *al-kabīr* ("the great") – has the same meaning. The talmudic interpretation (Bek. 55a) of the name Jordan as a combination of *ye'or* ("river"; actually an Egyptian word) and *Dan*, i.e., the "river that descends from Dan" was generally accepted in the Byzantine period and the Middle Ages but it is no longer regarded as valid. The Jordan has its source in three headstreams whose waters are drawn mainly from the precipitation on top of Mount *Hermon and also from scores of springs. Near Sedeh Neḥemyah in the *Ḥuleh Valley they unite into a single watercourse to form the river Jordan. The three streams are Naḥal Senir, issuing from the foot of the Hermon or its western side opposite the Lebanese village Ḥaṣbiyyā and hence called Nahr al-Ḥaṣbānī in Arabic; Naḥal Hermon emerging from the Paneas cave in the village of *Banias, and thus called Nahr al-Bāniyās in Arabic; and Naḥal Dan (Ar. al-Liddhān) rising at the foot of the ancient Tell Dan (Ar. Tell al-Qāḍī), near kibbutz Dan. The Senir is the longest of the sources. From its start until it empties into the *Dead Sea, the Jordan covers a distance of c. 127 mi. (205 km.) and its meanderings between the Sea of Galilee and the Dead Sea increase its length to c. 186 mi. (300 km.). The Senir in its upper course is an intermittent stream (called Wadi al-Taym) which covers a distance of c. 15½ mi. (25 km.) before reaching the Ḥaṣbiyyā spring. During heavy rainstorms it receives much surface runoff. The Senir discharges an annual average of c. 152 million cu. m. of water into the Jordan of which about 37% is runoff; its seasonal and annual variations are considerable. Naḥal Hermon (Banias) provides c. 123 million cu. m. of which 12.5% is runoff and Naḥal Dan discharges c. 240 million cu. m., almost all from springs and with little fluctuation.

The drainage area of the Jordan is 6,380 sq. mi. (16,335 sq. km.), 5,312 sq. mi. (13,600 sq. km.) south of Lake *Kinneret (the Sea of Galilee) – 4,531 sq. mi. (11,600 sq. km.) to the east, and 781 sq. mi. (2,000 sq. km.) to the west. The water network of the Jordan is asymmetrical; the watershed between the Jordan and the Mediterranean streams is close to the Jordan while the watershed of the desert streams east of it is farther away. Since the drainage of the Ḥuleh Valley, the water flows through two canals, one to the west c. 12 mi. (19.5 km.) long, and one to the east c. 10 mi. (16 km.) long, with a lateral canal connecting them. In the area of the drained Ḥuleh Lake the tributaries unite into a single stream and flow through the old riverbed which has been deepened to provide an exit for the waters of the lake and the marshes. In descending the 10 mi. (16 km.) between the drained area and Lake Kinneret, the Jordan falls from approximately 197 ft. (60 m.) above sea level to 695 ft. (212 m.) below it. The point of sea level is reached about 7.5 mi. (12 km.) north of Lake Kinneret. Before emptying in Lake Kinneret, the Jordan creates a small delta. Between its entrance and outlet from Lake Kinneret (c. 13 mi.; 21 km.), much of the water of the Jordan is carried off by evaporation but it is replenished from streams and springs, both above and below the water level. Some contain salts, especially chlorides, and the water is much more suitable for irrigation before reaching Lake Kinneret than after leaving it. For political reasons the pumps for the National Water Carrier had to be installed, in the 1960s prior to the Six-Day War, at Lake Kinneret and not in the Ḥuleh Valley. The amount of water flowing out of Lake Kinneret is now regulated, according to the requirements of irrigation, by sluice gates installed at Deganyah Alef. Before that, a maximum of 915.2 million cu. m. was recorded for the year 1929 and a minimum of 466 million cu. m. the previous year. A monthly maximum of 227 million cu. m. was once registered for March and a minimum of 29 million cu. m. for August. The *Yarmuk, the Jordan's largest tributary, empties into it 5 mi. (8.5 km.) south of Lake Kinneret. It carries an average of c. 450 million cu. m. a year, mostly runoff water. Its annual maximum was 893 million cu. m. in 1929 and its minimum, 268.5 million cu. m. the previous year. Exploiting the floodwaters of the Yarmuk is possible only by diverting the river to Lake Kinneret or by constructing a high dam of 558 ft. (170 m.) or more in its gorge. The Jordan discharges c. 875 million cu. m. into the Dead Sea a year; its yearly fluctuations are great and are caused mainly by the Yarmuk: in 1933, 287 million cu. m. and in 1935, 1,313 million cu. m. On its way to the Dead Sea the Jordan loses a great quantity of water through evaporation – up to 1,900 m. a year near the Dead Sea – and through seepage. Only some 18% of the rainfall in its drainage area reaches the Dead Sea through the Jordan's channel. Between Lake Kinneret and the Dead Sea the Jordan constitutes a geologically recent river. In the Upper Pliocene period, Lake Kinneret possessed an outlet to the Mediterranean when the Jordan together with the Yarmuk apparently flowed to the Harod Valley and the Kishon River. In the Middle Pleistocene, Lake Kinneret and the Dead Sea formed a single saline lake which deposited thick strata of Lisan marl. At the end of the Middle Pleistocene the two lakes separated and a channel was created through which the water flowed from the upper to the lower lake. As the two lakes shrank in size, the channel became longer and deeper. The bed of the ancient lake is the *kikkar* of the Jordan on both sides, called Ghawr in Arabic. Within the *kikkar* (central part of the Jordan Valley) is a broad plain 1–2 mi. (2–3 km.) wide through which runs the narrow channel of the Jordan. Only when the river floods do its waters inundate the broad plain, called *ge'on ha-Yarden* (Ar. *al-Zawr*). Because of the great heat and humidity in the *ge'on ha-Yarden* a dense vegetation covers both banks of the river. The Jordan weaves its course through the soft marl strata which are 164 ft. (50 m.) thick in the northern part of the *kikkar* and up to 492 ft. (150 m.) thick in the south. Because of the great quantity of eroded material which the Jordan carries and deposits in its channel, forming sandbars, and because the high steep banks of the plain occasionally collapse, fall into its bed, and dam it, the path of the Jordan leaves its channel. Sometimes in its meanderings it cuts through a serpentine loop shortening the course and many oxbows thus remain which are clearly seen in air-photos. In flood times the water also reaches these abandoned channels. South of the *Jabbok's outlet into the Jordan (25 mi. (38 km.) north of the Dead Sea) are the remains of a bridge above an abandoned channel. The outlet of the Jordan into the Dead Sea is a delta of 5.8 sq. mi. (15 sq. km.). The river splits into two arms, a western one and a shorter eastern one, c. 4,100 ft. (1,250 m.) apart. From the coarse sediment the western arm forms a shoal strip c. 5,900 ft. (1,800 m.) long. West of this strip extends a lagoon, 11,480 ft. (3,500 m.) long and c. 1,640 ft. (500 m.) wide, a tongue c. 330–660 ft. (100–200 m.) wide separates the lagoon from the open waters of the Dead Sea which in the winter of 1954 dropped to a low of c. 1,300 ft. (398 m.) below the level of the Mediterranean. At present the Jordan falls c. 3,018 ft. (920 m.) from the springs of the Senir to the Dead Sea. The delta below the surface of the Dead Sea is small even when compared with several small streams in the Judean Desert because of the sharp declivity of its bottom. The light muddy waters of the Jordan spread like a fan with a radius of several miles over the heavy waters of the Dead Sea. The influence of the Jordan on the upper level of the Dead Sea is evident for c. 31 mi. (50 km.) to the south. The Jordan is not navigable; only with great difficulty can small flat boats sail between Lake Kinneret and the Dead Sea and they must be towed over the sandbars.

History

In the Bible the Jordan is associated in particular with *Jericho and is frequently mentioned with that city in whose vicinity the Israelites crossed the Jordan (Num. 22:1, et al.). Other biblical terms connected specifically with the Jordan are the *kikkar* (usually translated "plain of the Jordan," Gen. 13:10, et al.) which refers to the cultivable middle section of the three terraces composing the Jordan Valley. (It was this part of the valley whose fertility attracted Lot recalling "the garden of the Lord, like the land of Egypt.") The upper lands of the Jordan Valley are called *gelilot ha-Yarden* (the "region about the Jordan"; Josh. 22:10). The lowest terrace, bordering on the river itself and densely wooded, is called *ge'on ha-Yarden* ("thickets of the Jordan"; Jer. 49:19); there the "sons of the prophets" went to cut wood (II Kings 6:4); it was the haunt of dangerous beasts, even lions (Jer. 49:19, et al.) and is cited as the opposite of lands where man is safe.

In biblical times the Jordan was crossed by means of its fords; Jacob passed over it with a staff on his way from Beth-El to Haran (Gen. 32:10[11]) and in returning recrossed it into Canaan near Succoth. The most famous passage of the Jordan was that of the Israelites opposite Jericho, as related in Joshua 3. As it was very difficult to ford the river at that place and in that season the sudden cessation of the Jordan's flow was regarded as miraculous. Such occasions, however, have actually been recorded several times in history: in 1267 the Jordan ceased flowing for eight hours; in 1546, for two whole days; and in 1927 for 21½ hours. In all three cases the cessation was the result of earthquakes which caused the high banks to collapse blocking the river bed and stopping its flow. The crossing of the Jordan is recorded as one of the great miracles of the Lord (Ps. 114:3 ff.) and was remembered as such in later times. The river thus acquired a sacred character; its waters were expected to heal Naaman (II Kings 5:10–14). Other miraculous crossings were made by Elijah before he was taken up to heaven near the Jordan and by Elisha, both accomplished with Elijah's mantle. As a serious obstacle to movement the Jordan played an important part in Israel's military history. The occupation of the fords was generally intended to complete the discomfiture of a retreating army or to prevent an attack. Thus the fords were taken by Ehud after the assassination of Eglon king of Moab (Judg. 3:28) and by Gideon to deny passage to the Midianites and the Ephraimites (*ibid.* 7:24; 12:5–6). The Jordan was crossed mostly on foot or on animals but David and his army may have used a ferryboat (II Sam. 19:19). In prebiblical times the Jordan was not only a military obstacle but also a political boundary. With the decline of settlement east of the river in the Middle Bronze Age, the limits of the Egyptian province of Canaan – as recorded in the biblical description of the boundaries of the Promised Land (Num. 34) – extended along the Jordan from the Sea of Chinnereth to the Dead Sea (*ibid.* 34:12). After the establishment of the kingdoms east of the Jordan, the river formed the boundary of the kingdoms of Sihon the Amorite and of Og king of Bashan. Their territories were allotted to the tribes of Reuben, Gad, half of the tribe of Manasseh. Thus from an interstate boundary, the Jordan became a tribal one. Its function as the eastern border of Canaan, however, was well remembered and it was the eastern tribes who were anxious not to lose contact with their western brethren (Josh. 22). Throughout Israelite history its people held lands on both sides of the river, although its main territory was west of it. In later times it was usually the weaker party which retired east of the Jordan – as did Abner with Ish-Bosheth the son of Saul after the defeat at Mount Gilboa (II Sam. 2:8) and David after the initial success of Absalom's rebellion (*ibid.*, 17:22). In post-biblical times the Jordan formed the eastern boundary of the Persian and Hellenistic province of Judea, although the land of the Tobiads east of the Jordan was also Jewish territory. The Hasmoneans freely crossed the river to fight on both banks; Jonathan made one such passage against the army of Bacchides who tried to use the Jordan as a tactical barrier (I Macc. 9:43). Alexander Yannai retired beyond the Jordan from the army of Ptolemy, king of Cyprus, but throughout the Hasmonean period, its kingdom extended on both sides of the river. Even under Roman domination the Jewish district of the Perea ("the land beyond" [the Jordan]) remained part of Judea. In the Hellenistic and Herodian periods the digging of irrigation channels in the Jordan Valley led to its economic development and it became one of the most fertile areas of Ereẓ Israel. In March 68 C.E. during the Jewish War, the Jews retreating from Bethennabris across the Jordan fords were surprised by a sudden rise of the river's level; they were partly drowned and partly destroyed by the enemy (Jos., Wars, 4:432–436). Jewish villages continued to exist on both banks of the lower Jordan up to the Byzantine period. In the Talmud the Jordan is mentioned as one of the four rivers of the Holy Land (TJ, Kil. 9:5, 32d; BB 74b) and the word is regarded as derived from *Yored Dan* (Bek. 55a). According to the same source, the Jordan issues from a cave at Paneas, traverses the seas of Samkho (Ḥuleh), Tiberias, and Sodom (Dead Sea), and falls into the Mediterranean (!). It is called the Jordan only from Bet Yeraḥ and below (the standard version has "Bet Jericho"). In Roman and Byzantine times the Jordan did not form a boundary; the provinces of Palaestina prima and secunda both overlapped it. The first three attempts to bridge the river were apparently made then: one at the Ford of Jacob's Daughters (Gesher Benot Ya'akov) and two below the Sea of Galilee at Sinnabra-Bet Yeraḥ and Gesher Naharayim (Jisr al-Mujāmiʿ). Two ferries are marked on the Jordan on the Madaba Map, one at Aenon below Beth-Shean, and the other near Archelais (Khirbat ʿAwja al-Taḥtā). The waters of the Jordan became sacred in Christian eyes because on its banks John the Baptist performed baptisms and there too Jesus was baptized. The exact location of his baptism is in doubt: the usual assumption, based on Matthew 3 and Mark 1:5ff., is near Jericho, but another tradition, based on John 3:23, places it at Aenon near Salim in the vicinity of Beth-Shean.

After the Arab conquest the Jordan continued to separate the province of Filasṭīn (formerly Palaestina prima) from Palaestina secunda, now called al-Urdunn ("the Jordan") after the river itself. In Crusader times a series of bridges were built or repaired across the river which then did not form a boundary; one at the Ford of Jacob's Daughters (end of the 13th century); one known as the Bridge of Sinnabra (12th century), one at Naharayim (before 1300) and one at Dāmiya, built by Baybars in 1266/67. During the construction of the last, the waters of the Jordan stopped flowing on December 7/8 because of a landslide. During the Mamluk and Turkish periods the Jordan Valley was first included in the *mamlaka* ("province") of Damascus, and later in the sanjak of Nablus. It was only in 1921 with the setting up of the Emirate of Transjordan that most of the Jordan again became a political frontier, remaining so through the Mandate period up to 1948. In the War of Independence the Arab Legion of Transjordan occupied the mountains of Nablus and Hebron west of the river. Syrian attempts to cross the Jordan at Deganiyah were foiled; the Syrian bridgehead at Mishmar ha-Yarden was evacuated after the armistice in 1949. From 1948 to 1967 the upper course of the Jordan was inside the territory of Israel and the lower course in the Kingdom of Jordan. In 1953 Israel started work south of the Ḥuleh Lake, in the demilitarized zone at the Syrian border, on its project to channel part of the Jordan waters to the Negev. This project evolved into an international issue debated at the UN Security Council. In 1955 Israel accepted the so-called Johnston plan, initiated by the United States government, for the utilization of the Jordan and Yarmuk waters by dividing them among Israel, Syria, Lebanon, and the Kingdom of Jordan, but the Arab League rejected the plan. Israel then decided to implement its part of the Johnston plan by diverting water from Lake Kinneret to the Negev through the construction of the National Water Carrier. In 1964 the Arab States tried to frustrate Israel's plans by diverting the headwaters of the River Jordan into Arab territories, but in 1965 Israel took military action against Syrian preliminary works at the headwaters, and Israel's water carrier to the Negev was completed without further interference.

After the Six-Day War of 1967 the Jordan from Gesher southward to the Dead Sea formed the ceasefire line between Israel and Jordan; communications between the two banks were kept open by the Israel Defense Forces. The Senir (Ḥaṣbiyyā) source of the Jordan was in Lebanese territory and the Hermon (Bāniyās) and Dan sources were held by Israel.

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[Abraham J. Brawer and Michael Avi-Yonah]

JORDAN, CHARLES HAROLD (1908–1967), U.S. social worker. Jordan was born in Philadelphia and educated in Germany. He joined the *American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (JDC) in 1941 as a social worker in Cuba. After service in the U.S. Navy during World War II, Jordan became JDC director in Shanghai, responsible for the care and emigration of Jewish refugees. After serving as head of the JDC Emigration Department in Paris from 1948, Jordan became JDC assistant director general, and in 1955 director general in Europe. In these capacities Jordan was a key figure in the mass migration of Jews to Israel from Europe and the consequent closing of the displaced person camps in Europe. He sponsored the development of *Malben in Israel for immigrant social care, and the work of the JDC in North Africa. In 1965 he became executive vice chairman of the JDC. As chairman of the Governing Board of the International Council of Voluntary Agencies from 1962, Jordan gained recognition as an international expert in his field. In 1967 he became chairman of the American Council of Voluntary Agencies for Foreign Service, and interested himself especially in world refugee problems. On August 16, 1967, he was mysteriously murdered in Prague.

[Yehuda Bauer]

New light has since been thrown on Jordan's death. His body was found floating in the Vltava River in Prague, and the Czechoslovak government issued a terse statement that he had committed suicide.

According to Josef Frolik, who for 17 years worked for Czechoslovak intelligence and later defected to the United States, Jordan was suspected by the Arabs of being an Israeli spy and was kidnapped after leaving his hotel to buy cigarettes. He was brought to the Egyptian embassy for interrogation, during which he was killed by three Palestinians. Early the next morning his body was carried out to a car by four men and thrown into the river. The Czech authorities were aware of the facts but decided not to inform the American embassy of the fate of Jordan. Three days after the body was found the First Secretary at the Egyptian embassy at Prague left the country at the government's request, and the three Palestinians left a week later.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *New York Times* (Feb. 3, 1974).

JORDAN, HASHEMITE KINGDOM OF (Ar. **al-mamlaka al-Urdunniyya al-Hashimiyya**), an independent state in W. Asia, bordering on Israel and the West Bank of the Jordan River in the west, *Saudi Arabia in the south and southeast, *Iraq in the east, and *Syria in the north. Transjordania, the territory east of the Jordan River – including the biblical *Bashan and *Gilead – was an important center of Israelite and Jewish life in biblical times and until well after the destruction of the Second Temple. Under Byzantine rule the Jewish population declined rapidly, and after the Muslim conquest there were only occasional cases of Jews living there, though "the Land of Gilead" played no small part in Zionist dreaming and planning.

Transjordania was included in the area of the British *Mandate for Palestine, but in 1921 *Abdullah, a son of the sharif Hussein of Mecca, who had moved into the territory with a band of Arab guerrillas, was recognized by Winston *Churchill, then British colonial secretary, as emir of Transjordan, and the emirate was later excluded from the applicability of the articles in the Palestine Mandate relating to the Jewish National Home. At the time it had a population of some 200,000, mostly Bedouin. In 1946 Abdullah was crowned king of Transjordan, and its independence was recognized by the British.

In the Arab-Israel war of 1948 and its aftermath, the Jordanian Arab Legion occupied East Jerusalem and the Arab-inhabited areas of Judea and Samaria on the west bank of the river, which were finally unified with the east bank under the name of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan in April 1950. Israel and most Arab states defined this step as a unilateral act of annexation, though it was recognized by Britain. The influx of Palestinians enormously swelled Jordan's population, which in 1965 totaled some 2,000,000, of whom about 900,000 lived on the West Bank.

In the *Six-Day War of 1967 Israel occupied Judea and Samaria, leaving Jordan in control of the area of the old emirate, apart from adjustments (in 1965) of the frontier with Saudi Arabia. The area of Jordan thereafter was about 34,500 sq. mi. (about 86,000 sq. km.) and its population was estimated at 1,500,000, including a net influx of some 250,000 persons from the West Bank after the 1967 War. *Amman, the capital, has grown within fifty years from an inconsiderable village into a sprawling city of over 400,000 inhabitants. At the turn of the 21st century Jordan's population exceeded five million, over 40% of which lived in the greater Amman-Zarqa area.

Geography

The country is divided into three main zones, all running north-south: the Jordan river depression, the hill country, and the arid plateau sloping east toward the Euphrates and the Persian Gulf. The first two zones are cut laterally by steep-walled valleys opening into the Jordan depression, the Dead Sea and the Aravah, making north-south communication difficult except by detours through the desert in the east. Only the second zone is suited by nature to settlement on a considerable scale, possessing a bracing climate, good soil, and relatively abundant winter rain; here a settled, grain-growing population provided the country with its main sources of livelihood until the revolutionary changes from the late 1940s on. The east-west historical and administrative differentiation of these zones is parallel to the geographical division. From the Syrian border (the *Yarmuk River) to the biblical Yabok River (Wadi Zarka): the Ajlun area (biblical *Gilead); from the Yabuk to the *Arnon River (Wadi Mujib): the Amman and Balqa area (biblical *Ammon); from the Arnon to *Zered River (Wadi Hasa): the Karak area (biblical Moab) and from there to the Red Sea: the Ma'an area (biblical *Edom). The population speaks Arabic, except for the elder generation of some 15,000 Circassians, who cling to their Caucasian tongue. Sunni *Islam is the prevailing religion. Christians, mostly Greek Orthodox, number 5–10%. There are probably less than 50,000 true nomads or Bedouin, though a far greater number are still tribally organized.

Economy

The economy of Jordan has always rested on heavy subsidies from abroad. These were provided in the main by Britain till 1957, then by the United States, and after the Six-Day War by the oil-rich Arab states of Saudi Arabia, *Kuwait, and *Libya. Another important item in the balance of payments is money transfers from Jordanians abroad. Jordan's international trade has always been unbalanced, exports paying in 1966 for only about one-eighth of imports; the picture has grown even darker since, and the tourist trade suffered disastrously after 1967. Main exports are phosphates, Dead Sea minerals, and agricultural produce. Akaba, Jordan's only port, is distant from the center and suffered from the closure of the Suez Canal. The outlet via *Beirut was hampered by the chronic political tension with Syria. The outsized army provided the livelihood of an important sector of the population. In the early 1980s the Jordanian economy showed an impressive recovery, but from the second half of the 1980s it again plummeted, owing to the termination of the Iran-Iraq war (from which Jordan had benefited considerably), the *intifada,* and the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait. In the early 2000s Jordan's economy suffered mainly from an unemployment rate of over 20% and from an external debt of over $7 billion. King Abdallah II has invested most of his time and energy in economic affairs.

Governance

Jordan's constitution (1952, with later amendments) describes the country's government as "a hereditary monarchy, parliamentary in form." There are two houses: the Senate, appointed by the king, and the Chamber of Deputies, elected on the basis of general (in practice male) franchise. The Council of Ministers is responsible to the Chamber of Deputies. In reality, however, the king has always exerted much greater influence than the constitution would suggest. Their unpopularity with a majority of their subjects – especially Palestinians – compelled Abdullah first, and later his grandson *Hussein, to set aside "the will of the people" to a considerable extent. Their rule was maintained, despite internal disaffection and calls from *Cairo, *Damascus, and *Baghdad for Hussein's destruction as a "tool of imperialism," by favors proffered and withheld, press supervision, and directed elections, while coercion – from martial law and the suspension of parliament to the wholesale imprisonment and exile of malcontents – played a prominent part. The army, recruited as far as possible from the East Bank and preferably from Bedouin, was considered the main prop of the regime, its senior officers being handpicked for their loyalty. Shortly before the 1967 war, a new press law forced all newspapers to close down, and carefully circumscribed the conditions under which new ones might appear.

Although the Six-Day War improved Hussein's relations with the Arab world, his position within his own country soon started to deteriorate. Numerous organizations for "the liberation of Palestine" succeeded in constituting themselves as "kingdoms in themselves," first in and near the Jordan Valley, and then in mounting measure in the interior. Various agreements to coexist failed, mainly because the Palestinian leaders would not, or could not, coerce their followers. By the summer of 1970 the sovereignty of the state had become nonexistent. In the first half of September, when an attempt on Hussein's life by one of the Palestinian organizations (The Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine) was followed by a virtual siege laid on Hussein's residence, the king realized the inevitability of armed confrontation. A week's warfare, mainly in and about Amman, went in favor of the army. By July 1971 the Palestinian organizations had been by and large liquidated in Jordan and subsequently moved mostly to *Lebanon.

Jordan sat out the 1973 war with Israel. After Anwar *Sadat's visit to Jerusalem in 1977, Jordan–PLO relations improved.

King Hussein's historic decision to give up Jordan's claim to the West Bank of the Jordan River in 1988 and food riots in southern Jordan in 1989 paved the way for a democratization process in Jordan's political life. General elections (the first since 1967) were held in 1989. A new Chamber of Deputies was democratically elected by the inhabitants of the East Bank only. Political parties were formed and political freedoms were restored. The democratic process was somewhat slowed down in the late 1990s, out of fear that more political reforms (as demanded by the opposition, whose backbone was the Islamic movement) might challenge the authority of the monarch.

In 1994 Hussein became the second Arab head of state, after Sadat of Egypt, to sign a peace treaty with Israel. During the *Rabin years relations between the two countries were warm, but cooled off somewhat with the Likud in power under Binyamin *Netanyahu and with the second intifada.

When King Abdullah II came to the throne in 1999 after the demise of his father, King Hussein, the democratization process had almost completely stopped, as the cross-purposes of democracy and survival of the regime seemed unbridgeable. From 2003 there have been more than a few indications that Abdullah had decided to return to the democratization path.

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[Uriel Dann / Joseph Nevo (2nd ed.)]

JORTNER, JOSHUA (1933–), Israeli physical chemist. He was born in Tarnow, Poland and gained his Ph.D. from the Hebrew University of Jerusalem (1960). He joined the staff of the university's department of physical chemistry (1961–65) before moving to the department of chemistry at Tel Aviv University (1964) where he became professor (1966), head of the school of chemistry (1966–72) and deputy rector (1966–69), acting rector, and vice president of Tel Aviv University (1970–72). He was research associate and then visiting professor at the University of Chicago (1962–71) among many visiting distinctions. His initial research concerned energy dynamics and transfer in materials and between molecules. Later he studied order and oscillations in molecules and nanosystems including femtosecond chemistry which concerns very fast chemical reactions and biological processes such as protein folding and conformational changes. His later research concerned the fragmentation on molecular structure induced by ions and had fundamentally important implications for understanding stability in physical and biological systems and perturbing influences such as radiation effects. He continued to work actively in this field. Jortner had a major and continuing influence on the development of science and technology and on scientific education in Tel Aviv University, Israel, and the wider world. He consistently emphasized the importance of inter-disciplinary research. He served on the National Council for Higher Education and the National Council for Research and Development; he was scientific adviser to three Israeli prime ministers. He was also president of the International Union of Pure and Applied Chemistry which represents sixty member states (1998–99). His many honors include the Weizmann prize (1973), the Rothschild Prize (1976), the Israel Prize in chemistry (1982) the Wolf Prize in chemistry (1982), and the RS Mulliken Medal (1998). He was a foreign associate of the U.S. Academy of Sciences and was elected to the Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities of which he was vice president (1980–86) and president (1986–95).

[Michael Denman (2nd ed.)]

JOSCE OF YORK (d. 1190), English financier and martyr. He was a leading agent of *Aaron of Lincoln and one of the

Jewish representatives at the coronation of Richard I (1189), but escaped when the mob attacked the Jews. He survived the first attack on *York Jewry in March 1190 and led those who took refuge in the castle keep. When the keep was attacked, he died in the act of mass self-destruction, reputedly at the hand of R. *Yom Tov of Joigny. He is admiringly described as a patron of learning in the elegy on the York martyrs by *Joseph b. Asher of Chartres.

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[Vivian David Lipman]

JOSELEWICZ, BEREK (**Berek, son of Yosel**; c. 1770–1809), colonel of the Polish armed forces, participant in the *Kosciuszko rising and the Napoleonic Wars. Born in Kretinga, Lithuania, he later became court factor to Bishop Massalski of Vilna. In the course of his assignments abroad on behalf of the bishop, he visited Paris on the eve of the revolution and there came into contact with revolutionary ideas. Later Berek and his wife Rebekah settled in Praga, a suburb of Warsaw. The vociferous debate on the status of the Jews then in progress in the Sejm (1788–92) and the movement toward Jewish *emancipation led some Jews to identify with the Polish struggle against the partition of Poland-Lithuania. At first their number was small, but when the insurrection led by Thaddeus Kosciuszko broke out in 1794, numerous groups of Jews joined in the uprising. During the siege of Warsaw, Jewish inhabitants fought alongside the Polish population of the capital against the Russian army. Berek appealed to the Jewish population to join the struggle and fight "like lions and leopards." On September 17, the official *Gazeta Rządowa* announced that two Jews, Berek Joselewicz and Jozef Aronowicz, had requested permission to create a separate Jewish light-cavalry regiment. Warmly praising this initiative, Kosciuszko granted the request, and a regiment of 500 Jews was organized, some of them volunteers.

After the defeat of the insurrection, Berek fled to Austria and later reached France, where he established contact with Polish emigrés. Joining the French army, he served in the cavalry of Napoleon's Polish Legion. In 1801 his unit crossed the Alps. He was promoted to the rank of captain of a dragoon regiment in the French army and was awarded the cross of the Légion d'Honneur. After the establishment of the grand duchy of Warsaw (1807), his detachment was incorporated into the regular Polish army; becoming a squadron leader, he received the order *Virtuti Militari*. Berek's military career was greatly hampered by the antisemitism prevailing in army circles, but he was respected by the Polish liberals of his day and was admitted to the aristocratic Masonic lodge Bracia Polscy Zjednoczeni ("United Polish Brethren"). During the Austrian campaign in 1809, he commanded two squadrons of Prince Jozef Poniatowski's army. After fierce resistance against the numerically superior Austrian forces, Berek was killed at Kock in May 1809. He became a hero and was often cited in apologetics in support of assimilation in Poland.

His son Joseph *Berkowicz was also an army officer.

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[Nathan Michael Gelber]

JOSEPH (Heb. יוֹסֵף ,יְהוֹסֵף), son of *Jacob and Rachel. He was born in Paddan-Aram after his mother had been barren for seven years (Gen. 29:20, 30; 30:22–24, 25; 31:41). Nothing is related of his childhood.

Joseph and His Brothers

At the age of 17 Joseph tended his father's sheep in the land of Canaan. He became completely alienated from his brothers because he used to report their misdeeds to their father, because Jacob showed obvious favoritism toward him even to the extent of presenting him with a ceremonial robe, and because of a series of dreams in which he, Joseph, was the object of his brothers' adoration (37:1–11). On one occasion Jacob sent Joseph to visit his brothers and to report back on their welfare. The road led from Hebron to Shechem and on to Dothan, a route which corresponds to the ancient north-south road west of the Jordan which traversed the central hill country along the entire length of the Palestinian watershed. Each of the cities mentioned was an important site, whose mention would have resonated with the ancient audiences. When the brothers saw Joseph from a distance their hatred and hostility welled up into a desire to murder him. The present story combines different traditions about which brother attempted to save Joseph. According to Genesis 37:22, Reuben suggested it would be better to throw him into a nearby pit. He secretly hoped, thereby, to save Joseph's life and to take him back home. When Joseph approached, the brothers stripped him of his robe and cast him into the pit.

While they were partaking of a meal, and in Reuben's absence, a caravan of traders from Gilead bearing gum, balm, and laudanum passed by on its way to Egypt (cf. Jer. 8:22; 46:11). These items played an important role in the life and economy of ancient Egypt, and such a caravan would have come from Gilead by way of the *Beth-Shean Valley and would indeed have passed through Dothan in order to join the road leading to Egypt. At this point a different tradition surfaces, according to which Judah suggested selling Joseph to the traders who bought him for 20 pieces of silver (Gen. 37:25–6). The conflation of the two traditions is most obvious in Gen. 37:29–30, describing Reuben's discovery that Joseph was gone. At this point the story proceeds to describe how the brothers sought to deceive their father about Joseph's fate. They dipped the robe in the blood of a slaughtered kid and brought it to Jacob for identification. The patriarch recognized it, convinced that his son had been torn to pieces by a savage beast. He mourned for Joseph many days and his grief was inconsolable (Gen. 37:12–35).

Joseph in Potiphar's House

Meanwhile, Joseph was sold in Egypt to Potiphar, a courtier and chief steward of Pharaoh (37:36; 39:1). The sale into slavery in this manner accords with what is known from 18th-century B.C.E. and later slave inventories which well document the commercial traffic in human misery between Canaan and Egypt. Another authentic background note is the name and title of Joseph's master. "Potiphar" (*ibid.*) is generally regarded as an abbreviated form of "Poti-Phera," the name of Joseph's father-in-law (41:45), which appears in Egyptian sources as *Pa-di-pa-reʿ*, "He whom Re (the sun-god) had given." The first two syllables are quite common in Egyptian personal names. The title "chief steward," literally "chief cook," corresponds to the title *wdpw*, "cuisinier," which came to designate those who served as superintendents and judicial functionaries in pharaonic court, although it has parallels in Neo-Assyrian usage as well.

In his new situation, Joseph soon earned the confidence of his master, who promoted him to be his personal attendant and overseer of his estate (39:2–6), a function conforming to that frequently encountered in Egyptian texts as *merper*, or comptroller. Joseph's favorable turn of fortune did not last long, for after a while Potiphar's wife – unnamed in the text – attempted to seduce him. Notwithstanding her repeated blandishments, he resisted the temptation. In revenge, she slandered him before her husband, who had Joseph thrown into the prison where prisoners of the king were confined (39:7–20).

This episode in Joseph's life has aroused special interest on account of the presence of the same motif in an Egyptian narrative known as the "Tale of Two Brothers," which has been preserved in late sources, but which is undoubtedly more ancient. It tells of an unsuccessful attempt to seduce a bachelor brother-in-law, whose honor is then impugned by the temptress. The story provides local coloration for the biblical account, and if it were a popular piece of Egyptian fiction it could well have influenced the artistic form in which the biblical narrative has been presented; its moral climate is far different in that Joseph stresses the sin against God involved in the proposed act of treachery and adultery (39:9).

The focus of attention in the Genesis narrative is the nobility of Joseph's character and the salvation that came through suffering, placing the incident in the concatenation of events that led eventually to the migration of the Israelites to Egypt, their enslavement and redemption. It was precisely as a result of Joseph's innocent suffering that he was enabled to rise to power.

Joseph in Prison

During his incarceration, Joseph won the trust of the chief jailer who placed him in charge of his fellow prisoners. Among these were the chief *cupbearer, a title with Assyrian parallels, and the chief baker to Pharaoh (39:21–40:4). One night the two experienced disturbing dreams. That of the cupbearer was favorably interpreted by Joseph to mean that in three days' time a royal amnesty would restore him to his former position. The baker's anxiety, however, was not relieved; impalement awaited him.

Joseph then took the opportunity to beg the cupbearer to use his regained influence in order to get him freed from his undeserved imprisonment. The predictions were indeed fulfilled, but the cupbearer soon forgot Joseph (40:5–23). In this connection it must be remembered that the office of chief cupbearer carried with it far more than the name implies.

Pharaoh's Dreams

Some two years later, the fateful role played by dreams in Joseph's life manifested itself again. The inability of Pharaoh's magicians and sages to interpret his dreams reminded the chief cupbearer of his own experience in prison. Joseph was brought to the palace and Pharaoh related his dreams, which the Hebrew slave proceeded to explain as portending seven years of great abundance in Egypt to be followed by a similar period of famine. Joseph then offered some unsolicited advice on how to deal with the situation. He proposed the appointment of a supreme commissioner of supplies to be aided by overseers, and the organization of a reserve bank of food during the years of plenty (41:1–36).

It should be noted that on none of the occasions in which Joseph is involved with dreams does God figure explicitly. Nevertheless, it is naturally assumed that He is the ultimate source of the message being conveyed. Since throughout the ancient Near East, including Israel, dreams were recognized as a means of divine communication (cf. 20:3; 28:12–15; 31:11–13, 24), it is not surprising that they were productive of anxiety, heightened in this instance by their duplication. The science of dream interpretation was especially well developed in Egypt and in the rest of the ancient Near East. Neither Joseph nor his brothers needed the services of an interpreter and Joseph himself was careful to disclaim any innate ability, simply ascribing all to God (40:8; 41:16).

Further local background in the narrative of Pharaoh's dreams is provided by both the imagery and vocabulary employed. It is not an accident that the king saw cows rather than sheep, for the latter played a very minor role in the Egyptian economy while cows were abundant and important. Moreover, the motif of seven cows is attested in the literature. At the same time, the Hebrew terms used for the Nile (*yeʾor*, 41:17) and for the reedgrass (*ʾaḥu*, 41:18) are borrowed from Egyptian. As for the predicted seven year cycles, this, too, is a very common motif in ancient Near Eastern sources. A special Egyptian twist is given to the famine cycle through a text dealing with the reign of the Third Dynasty king Djoser (c. 28th century B.C.E.), which reports on a severe famine attributed to the failure of the Nile to rise for seven years.

Joseph's Elevation

Joseph's advice to Pharaoh struck a responsive chord. The king was impressed by the man's mature wisdom, at once adopted his suggestions, and appointed him, then aged 30 (41:46), to be in charge of their practical application (41:37–40).

The possibility of the rise of a foreigner to high station in the Egyptian court and administration is well substantiated. A Semite named Yanḥamu was Egyptian commissioner for Canaan and Syria in the time of Akhenaten (14th century B.C.E.), and a certain Ben-Ozen from northern Canaan rose to the position of marshal at the court of Merneptah (13th century B.C.E.). This same king's brother married the daughter of a Syrian sea captain named Ben-Anath, and in the following century one of the judges in the trial of the murderers of Ramses III bore the Semitic name Mahar-Baal.

The biblical account of the elevation and office of Joseph is unusually rich in detail. The multiplicity of titles and functions bestowed on Joseph reflects a well-known feature of the great Egyptian bureaucracy about which much is now known.

On the biblical account, Joseph assuredly penetrated the highest echelons of the Egyptian nobility and government. He reported directly to the king (41:40), a prerogative shared by several officials. He supervised the king's personal estates (45:8), a function that usually carried with it the titles "Great Steward of the Lord of the Two Lands" and "The Great Chief in the Palace." Pharaoh further put him in charge of all the land of Egypt (41:41), an office that corresponds to the title "Chief of the Entire Land." As the token of authority Pharaoh handed Joseph his signet ring (41:42). This recalls the title "Royal Seal Bearer" accorded selected high officials. In placing the gold chain about Joseph's neck (*ibid.*), the king was simply following another typically Egyptian form of investiture and conferring one of his highest distinctions. When Joseph described himself as "father to Pharaoh" (45:8) he was citing a known Egyptian title "God's [i.e., the king's] Father." Finally, as the one responsible for the storage and distribution of food as well as for the collection of tax payments on produce (41:48–49; 47:24), Joseph undoubtedly performed the functions of the high office known as "Overseer of the Granaries of Upper and Lower Egypt."

In addition to his generous distribution of honors and titles, Pharaoh had Joseph ride in the chariot of his second-in-command, while men cried before him "*Abrech!" (41:43), a word of uncertain meaning. He also gave him an Egyptian name, Zaphenath-Paneah (41:45), which means "the god speaks; he lives." This, indeed, is in conformity with the known practice of Asiatics in Egyptian service acquiring local names. The king also married his new administrator to Asenath, daughter of the high priest of On, or Heliopolis (41:45, 50). The lady's name is also explicable as good Egyptian and means "she belongs to (the goddess) Neith."

Joseph set to work in pursuance of his duties. He traveled the length and breadth of the land, organizing the establishment of store cities into which the good surpluses were garnered during the years of abundance (41:46–49). During this period he became the father of two sons, *Manasseh and *Ephraim, both of whose names signify a desire to forget the past (41:50–52).

The Reconciliation

With the onset of the cycle of famine years, Joseph saw his boyhood dreams fulfilled as his unsuspecting ten older brothers, who had arrived in Egypt to buy food, bowed low before him (42:1–6). He recognized them, but suppressed the fact, spoke harshly to them, interrogated them, accused them of spying, confined them in the guardhouse for three days, then sent them home with food, but not before he had detained Simeon, insisted on their bringing Benjamin, and had their purchase money put into the brothers' sacks of grain (42:7–26).

Under the pressure of severe famine and the importuning of his sons, Jacob agreed to let Benjamin go. Once again the brothers presented themselves before Joseph who invited them for a meal and freed Simeon. They presented Joseph with gifts, offered to repay the cost of the original purchases, and exchanged greetings. When Joseph saw Benjamin he was overcome with emotion and had to rush from the room to weep. All the brothers later dined together (Gen. 43).

Joseph once again instructed the house steward to restore the purchase money in each bag of grain and also to put his personal silver divining goblet into Benjamin's. The men left early next morning and had not gone far from the city when Joseph sent his steward after them to accuse them of the theft of his goblet. The surprised brothers protested their innocence and offered to become slaves if it be found in their possession. The steward, however, insisted that only the culprit would be enslaved, but when a search disclosed the goblet in Benjamin's sack the disconsolate brothers all started back for the city where Joseph was waiting for them. They prostrated themselves before him and resigned themselves to a fate of slavery, but Joseph, too, stressed that Benjamin alone would suffer (44:1–17).

Judah then made an impassioned plea reciting Joseph's insistence on seeing Benjamin, Jacob's reluctance to let him go, and the fatal impact upon their father that a misfortune to Benjamin would have. He offered to take upon himself his brother's punishment (44:18–34). Now Joseph could contain himself no longer. He ordered everyone else out of the room and, sobbing with emotion, revealed to his dumbfounded brothers his true identity, even as he tenderly and generously propounded the notion that his original kidnapping had proved to be an act of Providence to ensure the family's survival in the harsh years of famine. He bade them hurry back to Canaan to bring their father and families to him. He then embraced Benjamin and his other brothers (45:1–15). The news of what had occurred reached Pharaoh who sent orders supporting Joseph's invitation to his family and placed baggage wagons at their disposal, while Joseph sent expensive gifts (45:16–24).

The Migration to Egypt

The brothers returned to Canaan to tell their father the startling news. His initial incredulity soon gave way to acceptance and a strong desire to see his long-lost son (45:25–28). The patriarch set out for Beer-Sheba where he received divine reassurance and then moved toward Goshen as Joseph set out to greet him. The two met in a tearful embrace (46:29–30), after a separation of 22 years (cf. 37:2; 41:46, 53; 45:11).

Joseph arranged an audience with Pharaoh for his brothers and the king granted their request to settle in the Goshen region and even offered to appoint some of them as the superintendents of his cattle (47:1–6). Joseph then introduced his father to Pharaoh (47:7–10). The family settled in the choicest part of Egypt and Joseph sustained them throughout the next five years of famine (47:11–12).

The migration of Joseph's family from Canaan to Egypt in this fashion was not an extraordinary phenomenon in itself. This is verified by a papyrus bearing a report of an official on the eastern frontier to his superior relating how he had granted Edomite shepherd tribes permission to make use of the Nile Delta pasturage "to keep them and their flocks alive." It is clear that the official had the power to make ad hoc decisions of this type without having to refer to higher authority.

What is remarkable about the Israelite experience is that a routine family visit (45:28) has been transformed in the narrative into an event of national significance (46:3–4) transcending by far its immediate import. The Exodus from Egypt and the return to the land of Canaan henceforth became the major biblical motif.

Joseph's Agrarian Measures

The rest of the Joseph story is mainly taken up with various administrative measures wholly unrelated to the fortunes of the Israelites. Joseph secured for the crown the silver and livestock that the people possessed, as payment for rations supplied. Next, he nationalized the farmlands except for those held by the priests. He reduced the population to the status of bondmen and imposed a land tax of one-fifth of the produce of the soil (47:13–26).

As a matter of fact, the state of affairs here described as having been instituted by Joseph actually corresponds to the situation of state slavery that prevailed in Egypt following the expulsion of the Hyksos toward the end of the 16th century B.C.E. It must have come about over a long period of time which covered the life-spans of several pharaohs. The biblical narrative is probably intended to emphasize the great indebtedness of the crown to Joseph and hence the base ingratitude of the later pharaohs, "who did not know Joseph" (Ex. 1:8).

Joseph's Last Days

Jacob lived with his son in Egypt for 17 years. When he felt his end nearing, he extracted a pledge from Joseph to bury him in the ancestral vault in Canaan (Gen. 47:28–31; cf. 49:29–32). Joseph brought his two sons to be blessed by their grandfather and he witnessed their adoption by Jacob as well as the transference of the birthright from the elder, Manasseh, to the younger, Ephraim (48:1–20).

Joseph was present at his father's death (50:1; cf. 46:4). He had him embalmed and fulfilled his father's wishes, returning to Egypt after the burial (50:1–14). At this point, the brothers apparently feared that Joseph would take revenge for their cruel treatment of him in his youth. He, however, dispelled their fears by citing once again his personal theological interpretation of the kidnapping (50:15–21; cf. 45:5–8).

Joseph lived another 54 years after his father's death to see great-grandchildren by both his sons. He died at 110 – considered an ideal age, incidentally, among the Egyptians. In his last words he reiterated his faith in the ultimate fulfillment of the divine promises to the Patriarchs and he made his brothers swear that when the time came they would transfer his remains to the Promised Land. He was embalmed and placed in a coffin in Egypt (50:22–26), a tradition linking Joseph with the mummies for which Egypt was famed.

The Nature of the Narrative

Of all the Genesis narratives, those about Joseph are the longest and most detailed. They are not a collection of isolated and fragmentary incidents, but a continuous biography, novelistic in complexion, the artistic creation of a consummate storyteller even though it may have utilized variant traditions (cf. the interchange of Ishmaelites and Midianites in Gen. 37:25, 27, 28, 36). The account contains an unprecedented wealth of background material, especially relating to the mores of a non-Israelite people. From this point of view it provides greater opportunity for archaeological illumination than do the earlier Genesis stories. The Joseph stories preserve traditions of the Northern kingdom, which viewed Joseph as its eponymous ancestor.

Most striking and, in fact, unique, is the secularistic complexion of the narrative. Although there are no miraculous elements; no divine revelations experienced by Joseph, no associations with altars or cultic sites, the discourse is permeated with the consciousness of God at work, and if there is no direct intervention by Him in human affairs, no doubt is left that the unfolding of events is the directed act of Providence (Gen. 45:4–8; 50: 19–20).

Joseph in the Rest of the Bible

Outside of Genesis, the personality of Joseph receives scant attention. The Pentateuch indirectly refers to his services to the Egyptians (Ex. 1:8) and records only the fulfillment by Moses of Joseph's last wish (Gen. 50:25; Ex. 13:19). The Book of Joshua (24:32) completes this story by reporting the burial of his mortal remains in Shechem (cf. Gen. 33:19). A brief reference to the sale of Joseph into slavery is to be found in Psalm 105:17 which, in context, appears to be dependent on Genesis 45:5–8; 50:20. Another Psalms passage (81:6) may also relate to Joseph's experience in Egypt, but the exact meaning of the text is unclear and the name may be a generic term for all Israel, as in Psalms 80:2. In such cases a Northern Israelite origin for the composition may be supposed.

All other references to "Joseph" are either to the twin tribes Ephraim and Manasseh (Gen. 49:22, 26; Deut. 27:12; 33:13; Ezek. 47:13; 48:32; et al.), or to the Northern Israelite Kingdom in general (Ezek. 37:16, 19; Amos 5:15; 6:6; Ps. 78:67), otherwise referred to as the "House of Joseph" (Amos 5:6;

Obad. 18; Zech. 10:6; cf. Judg. 1:22, 23, 35; II Sam. 19:21; I Kings 11:28).

The Name

The name Joseph is explained in Genesis 30:24 as meaning "May the Lord add another son for me." As a verbal form it is probably abbreviated from a fuller name containing a divine element (cf. Josiphiah, Ezra 8:10). The name once appears in the expanded form Jehoseph (Ps. 81:6), which is frequent in post-biblical inscriptions.

[Nahum M. Sarna]

In the Aggadah

The extraordinary career of Joseph as related in Genesis provided a vast amount of material for the aggadists who utilized the biblical story to emphasize various social, religious, and political ideas. Joseph's steadfastness in the face of temptation, his filial love for his father, his loyalty to his family, and his conduct in high office became favorite object lessons in rabbinic homiletics. To some extent Joseph's adventures in Egypt were symbolic of Israel's fate among the nations and of the frequent change of fortune characterizing Jewish history. Joseph's life was accordingly compared to that of Jacob (Israel) whom he resembled in many respects (Gen. R. 84:6, et al.). Joseph's brothers were secondary to him, for his merits and learning exceeded theirs (84:5). Unlike his brothers who refused even to greet him, he would go out of his way to salute them even after he had risen to power, and he generally behaved with due modesty despite his high position. This was cited as an example to officeholders inclined to assume an attitude of arrogance (Tanḥ. B., Gen. 180; Ex. R. 1:7).

Despite Joseph's merits, both he and his doting father are taken to task for various faults which the rabbis were anxious to discourage among their disciples. Jacob is criticized for favoring Joseph over his other sons – an educationally unsound attitude (Shab. 10b) – and for his original failure to recognize the significance of Joseph's dreams (Gen. R. 84:11). Joseph's troubles were attributed to such acts as "painting his eyes, curling his hair, and walking with a mincing step" (84:7; cf. 87:3). He had also wrongly charged his brothers with serious offenses for which he was appropriately punished (87:3, et al.). Significantly, similar faults among the "disciples of the wise," including excessive pride in personal appearance, mutual slander, and lack of respect for each other are castigated in rabbinic literature (RH 26b; Yev. 62b; TJ, Pe'ah 1:1, 15d–16a). Joseph was highly praised for honoring his father and obeying him even at the risk of his life (Mekh., 2, Proem; Gen. R. 84:13). When his brothers saw him at Dothan, they intended to kill him by setting dogs at him (84:14) – a punishment deserved by slanderers (Pes. 118a), but also a midrashic device to exonerate the tribal ancestors from legal culpability, since indirect murder of this type was not punishable by law (Sanh. 9:1). Joseph's righteousness is frequently stressed by the rabbis. As a result of it he emerged unharmed from the pit into which he had been cast, although it was full of snakes and scorpions (Shab. 22a; Gen. R. 84:16). The Ishmaelites who carried him to Egypt had with them sacks filled with spices instead of their usual merchandise which had an offensive odor (Tosef., Ber. 4:4; Gen. R. 84:17, et al.).

Potiphar's wife, who tried to seduce Joseph, is depicted in the *aggadah* as the prototype of the immoral pagan woman. The story of the wiles she used to win Joseph's heart was imaginatively expanded to serve as a perfect text for sermons on sexual morality. Her depravity is emphasized with a view to warning Jewish youths against the temptations of the flesh. Not only did she use the most indecent language (cf. Gen. 39:7) – in sharp contrast to Ruth in a comparable situation (cf. Ruth 3:9) – but she plotted to murder her husband so as to be free to marry Joseph (Gen. R. 87:4–5; Ruth R. 6:1). All her seductive efforts and threats were of no avail. She even became sick and wasted away on account of her unfulfilled love; but her pleading and weeping proved equally unsuccessful (Yoma 35b; ARN^1 16, 63; Gen. R. 87:5–6). Nevertheless some rabbis believed that Joseph had in fact been on the point of yielding to temptation, and only the timely appearance of his father's and/or mother's image had cooled his passion and prevented him from sinning (Sot. 36b; TJ, Hor. 2:5, 46d; Gen. R. 87:7; 98; 20).

The rabbis also criticized Joseph's request to the butler to intercede with Pharaoh on his behalf (Gen. 40:14). He should not have put his trust in man, and for this reason had to stay in prison another two years (Gen. R. 89:2; Tanh. B. Gen. 189). The butler, represented as the archetype of the ungrateful and vicious pagan, not only "forgot" Joseph, but also did his best to discredit him in his report to Pharaoh (Gen. R. 89:7). The angel Gabriel, however, taught Joseph the traditional 70 languages, so that he could qualify to be ruler of Egypt (Sot. 36b). His elevation to power was the reward for his virtuous life (Gen. R. 90:3, et al.). Joseph's marriage to Asenath, daughter of Poti-Phera, priest of On (Gen. 41:45), is legitimized by late Midrashim which represent Asenath as Dinah's daughter (and hence Joseph's niece) later adopted by Potiphar, who is identified with Poti-Phera (PdRE 38; Targ. Jon., Gen. 41:45 and 46:20). The possibility of Asenath's conversion from paganism is implicitly rejected. Earlier Midrashim, however, which depict Asenath as the natural daughter of Potiphar and his wife and represent Joseph as refusing to sell grain to Egyptians who would not be circumcised (Gen. R. 85:2; 90:6; 91:5), reflect the view of those who favored active proselytizing.

In contrast to the biblical account that Joseph had forgotten his "father's house" (Gen. 41:51), the rabbis maintained that he was in mourning, wearing sackcloth and fasting, and refrained from drinking wine during all the years he was separated from his family (Gen. R. 85:1; 92:5; 93:7; 98:20; Shab. 139a). The Midrash also softens the harsh treatment accorded by Joseph to his brothers, and points out that he had behaved like a brother to them when they were in his power, while they had not treated him like a brother when he was in their power (Gen. R. 91:7; et al.). Simeon, who had cast Joseph into the pit (84:16; 91:6), was only ostensibly chained by Joseph; but as soon as the other brothers had left, "he gave him to eat and drink, and bathed and anointed him" (91:8). According to one view, however, Joseph died before his brothers because he had assumed superior airs toward them (Ber. 55a; Sot. 13b.). The confrontation between Joseph and his brothers is depicted in the Midrash as a clash between warriors endowed with superhuman strength. Judah especially, representing no doubt the Jewish people, is shown to be a man of fantastic physical powers which he threatens to use not only against Joseph, but against Pharaoh and the Egyptians (Gen. R. 91:6; 92:8; 93:6–8). The anti-Egyptian trend of the midrashic narrative reflects the violent hostility between Jews and Egyptians during the first and second centuries C.E.

Joseph's order to have Jacob embalmed – an Egyptian custom not practiced among Jews – was criticized by R. Judah ha-Nasi, but other rabbis maintained that it had been done in accordance with Jacob's own instructions (Gen. R. 100:3). A similar difference of views arose regarding Joseph's embalmment, carried out, according to one opinion, by the (Egyptian) physicians, and according to another, by his brothers (100:11). The issue in the case was apparently whether non-Jews could be permitted to handle the body of an Israelite. According to the *aggadah*, Joseph's body was placed in a metal coffin which the Egyptians dropped into the Nile so that its waters should be blessed. Others maintain that he was buried in a royal sepulcher as befitted his station in life. At the time of the Exodus from Egypt, Moses miraculously raised the coffin from the Nile or royal mausoleum and took it with him. During the 40 years' wandering in the wilderness, the coffin was carried next to the *Ark of the Covenant because "This one [Joseph] fulfilled all that was written in the other" (Sot. 13a–b; Tosef., Sot. 4:7; Mekh. 2, Proem., et al.).

[Moses Aberbach]

In Islam

Yūsuf was one of *Muhammad's most beloved characters; he consecrated a whole sura (the 12th) to him ("the Sura of Joseph"), which contains "the most beautiful tale," in 111 continuous verses. The tale begins with Jacob's warning to his son not to tell his dream of the sun, the moon, and the stars to his brothers because it might arouse their jealousy. Indeed, Joseph became the object of his brothers' hatred and they availed themselves of the first opportunity to throw him into the pit. Muhammad continues in light of the Bible and the *aggadah* and he embellishes his words when he tells of Joseph's enticement by the wife of his master (see Qiṭfīr = *Potiphar), whom Muhammad knows only by the name of al-ʿAzīz ("the Mighty"; verses 30, 51). Joseph was saved from her designs because Allah was with him. His shirt, which was torn from behind, was definite proof that the woman had not protected herself from the intentions of Joseph, but that she had attacked and attempted to seize hold of him when he had fled from her presence. The Egyptian women mocked the stupid woman, and when the latter invited them to a feast, she presented each of them with a knife, together with the refreshments. She then ordered Joseph to appear before the guests, and when they looked upon him, they were so enraptured by his beauty that they cut their fingers with the knives. The tale then returns to its biblical course. Before Joseph was appointed head of the king's granaries, the woman came to Pharaoh and confessed that Joseph was one of the *al-ṣādiqīn*, "the righteous" (verse 51), and that she had sought to entice him (similarly, the chief butler refers to him (Joseph) as *al-ṣiddīq*, "the righteous one"; verse 46). According to Speyer, this was due to the influence of a Syrian legend, so that Joseph would not desire vengeance against her and her husband, who had imprisoned him. Before the brothers went to Egypt for the second time, their father advised them not to enter together, through one gate (verse 67). The latter detail is taken from the Jewish *aggadah* (Gen. R. 91:2).

In post-koranic literature the tale of Joseph and Zulayka (the name of Qiṭfīr's wife) was considerably enlarged upon. It is developed into an independent subject which undergoes a romantic adaptation in prose and poetry in the Arabic and Persian languages. It is evident that many tales which stem from Jewish and Christian legends have been incorporated in this episode.

[Haïm Z'ew Hirschberg]

In the Arts

Few biblical figures have inspired more extensive and more universal literary treatment than Joseph. He appears in most of the medieval mystery cycles, in *L'Estoire Joseph* (an Old French poem), and in the early 13th-century *Iacob and Iosep*, where the biblical account is conveyed in lively English paraphrase. At about the same period, Shaiyad Hamza wrote a Turkish poem on the theme of Joseph and Potiphar's wife (Zulayka). The theme was popular in the Islamic world, where writers based their work on the 12th sura of the Koran. Though differing in detail, the Islamic legend follows the Hebrew Bible in broad outline. The Persian poet Jāmī (Maulānā Nūreddin Abd'el-Raḥmān Jāmī) wrote his most famous romance, *Yūsuf o Zuleikhā*, toward the end of the 15th century. In several variations a poem about "Yuçuf" (written in the 13th or 14th century) was current in Muslim Spain and gave rise to later Christian adaptations (*El poema de José*). The Jews of medieval Spain also created a tradition of their own which, in *Ladino literature, was entitled the *Poema de Yosef* or *Coplas de Yosef.* A definitive form of the latter, by Abraham de Toledo, was *Coplas de Yosef ha-Ẓaddik* (1732). The story of Joseph gained fresh popularity during the Renaissance and the Reformation. By 1560 there were 12 English plays on the subject and dozens more in French, Spanish, Italian, Dutch, and German. Protestant writers especially favored a moralistic treatment of Joseph's temptation, imprisonment, and final rise to glory and power, which gave them the opportunity of composing long speeches on virtue and the reward of the righteous and the punishment of evildoers. The many other colorful episodes in Joseph's career were, however, generally ignored. Some works of the 16th century were Sixtus Birck's German drama *Joseph* (1539); *Iosephus… Fabula sacra* … (Antwerp, 1544), a neo-Latin verse play by the Flemish Catholic Georgius Macropedius (Joris van Langhveldt); Miguel de Carvajal's Spanish *Tragedia Josephina* (Seville, 1545); and *Żywot Józefa z pokolenia* *żydowskiego* (1545), a play by the Polish Calvinist Mikołaj Rej. One of the oldest Russian poems is the *Istoriya o prekrasnom Yosife*, which was probably the basis for later works about Joseph in the Slavonic languages. The rhymed allegorical *Joseph* by the Alsatian writer Thiebolt Gart (1540), based on a Latin school play by Cornelius Crocus (1536) and first staged in Schlettstadt, was the outstanding German drama of the 16th century. The Italian *sacre rappresentazioni* of the era included Simone Martelli's *Joseph figliuolo di Jacob* (Florence, 1565).

Interest in the subject during the 17th century was more or less confined to writers in England, Holland, and Germany. The late English cycle of mystery plays known as the *Stonyhurst Pageants* (c. 1625) includes a *Pageant of Joseph*. Two other treatments of the period were Sir Francis Hubert's poem, *Egypt's Favorite: The Historie of Joseph* (London, 1631), and Sir Thomas Salisbury's versified *History of Joseph* (London, 1636). Among the Dutch Catholic Joost van den Vondel's biblical verse plays were *Josef* (1635), *Joseph in Dothan* (1640), and *Joseph in Egypten* (1640); while Hugo de Groot (Grotius), the eminent jurist and statesman, wrote *Sophomopaneas* (Eng. tr. 1652), a verse tragedy partly reflecting his own career as a diplomat in the service of Sweden. Two outstanding works by German writers were the *Histori vom keuschen Joseph* (1667) by Hans Jakob Christoffel von Grimmelshausen, later reworked as *Des vortrefflich keuschen Josephs in Egypten… Lebensbeschreibung* (1671²); and *Assenat* (1670), a baroque novel by Philipp von Zesen. The subject continued to attract literary attention during the 18th century, particularly in England, where the works which it inspired included Hannah More's *Joseph Made Known to his Brethren* (in *Sacred Dramas*, 1782). In Switzerland, Johann Jacob Bodmer published several dramatic treatments, notably the epic *Joseph und Zulika* (1753) and two tragedies, *Der erkannte Joseph* and *Der keusche Joseph* (both 1754). Three other works of the period were *Joseph reconnu par ses frères* (Paris, 1786), a sacred drama by Félicité Ducrest de Saint-Aubin, countess of Genlis; the Spanish play *El mas feliz cautiverio, y los sueños de Josef* (Madrid, 1792); and *Gedullat Yosef*, or *Milḥamah be-Shalom… be-Inyan Mekhirat Yosef* (Shklov, 1797), an early Hebrew drama by Abraham b. Aryeh Loeb Ḥayyim ha-Kohen of Mogilev.

The theme retained its popularity throughout the 19th century, when it was exploited by a number of Jewish writers. In Hebrew, Suesskind Raschkow (d. 1836) wrote the drama *Yosef ve-Asenat* (Breslau, 1817); N.S. Kalckar in Denmark was the author of *Gedullat Yosef* (1834); and the Palestine kabbalist Joseph Shabbetai Farḥi (c. 1802–1882) produced his romance *Tokpo shel Yosef* (1846). Later, the Czech half-Jew Julius *Zeyer published *Asenat* (1895), a short novel about Joseph in Egypt. In Aden, Baghdad, and Tunis, there were from the late 19th century onward, many Judeo-Arabic versions of the biblical story under such titles as *Ma'aseh Yosef ha-Ẓaddik*. Non-Jewish authors who dealt with the subject included the Serbian Milovan Vidaković (*Istorija o prekrasnom Josifje*, 1805); the prolific French dramatist Alexandre Duval, whose *Joseph* (Paris, 1807) was set to music by the composer Méhul; and the U.S. poet John Eyre (*The Story of Joseph and his Brethren*, 1854). The theme retained its vogue in England, with works headed by Charles Jeremiah Well's epic *Joseph and his Brethren* (1824), which aroused much interest in its day. One British curiosity was the Gaelic work, *Each draidh Joseiph, Mhic Jacoib* (1831). There were also two distinct, but similarly titled, Italian works in verse, *Giuseppe, figlio di Giacobbe* (Lucca, 1817; Naples, 1820); and *Lyubimets* (1872), a Russian short novel by D.L. Mordovtsev.

Some of the most significant treatments of the subject have been produced by 20th-century authors. In the U.S., Louis Napoleon Parker wrote a pageant play, *Joseph and his Brethren* (1913), which was staged successfully in both America and England, Sir Herbert Beerbohm Tree playing the title role in the British production. There were many works of note in the Old World. *Jāzeps un viņa brāļi* (1919), a play by the Latvian writer J. Rainis (Jānis Pliekšans, 1865–1929), was staged in London as *The Sons of Jacob* in 1924. French biblical dramas included Camille Renard's *Joseph vendu par ses frères; figure du Messie* (1920) and Benoît L'Hermite's four-act tragedy *Joseph, victime et sauveur* (1932). The characteristic eroticism of the Flemish writer Hubert Léon Lampo is revealed in his novel *De belofte aan Rachel* (1952). One of the greatest literary treatments of all time is that contained in Thomas *Mann's novel cycle *Joseph und seine Brueder* (1933–42; *Joseph and His Brothers*, 1934–44) begun in the year of Hitler's rise to power in Germany. This tetralogy, a subtle blend of biblical history, legend, and psychological characterization, consists of *Die Geschichten Jaakobs* (1933; *Joseph and his Brothers*, 1934), *Der junge Joseph* (1934; *Young Joseph*, 1935), *Joseph in Aegypten* (1936; *Joseph in Egypt*, 1938), and *Joseph, der Ernaehrer* (1942; *Joseph the Provider*, 1944). The subject has also formed the basis of several important works by Jewish writers of the 20th century. The three earliest were *Josef, das Kind* (1906), a verse play by Emil (Bernhard) *Cohn; *Die Josephslegende* (1914) by Hugo von *Hofmannsthal; and *Josef und seine Brueder* (1917) by Micha Josef *Berdyczewski. One of the first biblical works of the Yiddish novelist Sholem *Asch was his play *Yosef-Shpil* (1924), and two Yiddish novels of the 1930s were *Der Prints fun Mitsrayim* (1931) by Saul Saphire and *Kenaan un Mitsrayim* (193?) by Hirsch Melamed. There have also been a large number of plays and stories on the theme written for Jewish children by authors in Britain and the U.S.

IN ART. Joseph does not appear before the fifth century. He does not figure in the art of the Christian catacombs, since he was not mentioned in the prayers of the *Commendatio Animae* from which its subjects were mainly drawn. However, in the Middle Ages, Joseph was popularly regarded as the type of Jesus, and the tradition remained in vogue among Christians. Joseph was seldom presented on his own but was sometimes found among the sculptures of patriarchs and prophets surrounding the doors of medieval cathedrals. There are many cycles representing the story of Joseph. They are found in manuscripts, including the fifth/sixth-century Vienna Genesis

(Vienna State Library), and Cotton Bible (British Museum), the 13th-century St. Louis Psalter, and the 14th-century Queen Mary Psalter, and also in Hebrew manuscripts such as the Sarajevo *Haggadah*. There are cycles in ivory, such as that on the sixth-century ivory chair of Bishop Maximian (Ravenna), and in mosaic, including eighth-century mosaics in Rome and 12th-century mosaics from the cupolas of the narthex of St. Mark's Cathedral, Venice, and from the Baptistery in Florence. Among early cycles of wall paintings are eighth-century frescoes from Santa Maria Antica, Rome, 12th-century Romanesque frescoes from Saint-Savin, France, and a very detailed 14th-century cycle from Sopočani in Serbia.

During the Renaissance, the story of Joseph figured in the celebrated bronze doors made for the Baptistery in Florence by Lorenzo Ghiberti and in the frescoes in the Campo Santo, Pisa, by Benozzo Gozzoli. The theme also occurs in the frescoes of the Raphael *loggie* in the Vatican. Other 16th-century cycles include the *Storia di Giuseppe Ebreo* by Jacopo da Pontormo, medallions by the Master of the Joseph Cycle (Berlin Museum), the Chaise-Dieu tapestry (1518), and carvings on the choir stalls at Amiens. Joseph also inspired a series of murals by Philipp Veit, Freidrich Overbeck, Wilhelm Schadow, and Peter Cornelius – members of the early 19th-century German Nazarene brotherhood – for the Casa Bartholdy in Rome. They are now in the Berlin Museum. Veit contributed frescoes of Joseph and Potiphar's wife and of the fat and lean years in Egypt.

There are a number of paintings by great masters of individual episodes from the life of Joseph. In the Six Gallery in Amsterdam, there is a grisaille painting by *Rembrandt of Joseph relating his dreams to his family (Gen. 37:1–10). A painting by Murillo (Wallace Collection, London) shows Joseph sold to the Midianites by his brothers (Gen. 37:28). There are two paintings by Rembrandt of Jacob receiving the bloodstained coat of Joseph (Gen. 37:31–36), one in the Hermitage, Leningrad, and another in the collection of the Earl of Derby. In addition, there is a pen drawing by Rembrandt. The subject is also treated by Velasquez in a painting in the Escorial and by the English pre-Raphaelite painter, Ford Madox Brown, in *The Coat of Many Colors* (1866; Walker Art Gallery, Liverpool). The attempted seduction of Joseph and his subsequent denunciation by Potiphar's wife (Gen. 39) is a picturesque episode much illustrated by artists of the 16th and 17th centuries. There is a painting in the Prado by Tintoretto and several by the later Italian artists, including one by Carlo Cignani (Dresden), showing a young woman who throws herself at Joseph, while the latter reels back in virtuous horror. In northern Europe, Lucas van Leyden made an engraving on the subject, and Rembrandt painted it twice (Berlin Museum and National Gallery, Washington). Here, Potiphar's wife is shown sitting on her bed in the act of denouncing Joseph to her husband. There is a sensitive painting by Barent Fabritius, a pupil of Rembrandt (Mauritshuis, Hague), of Jacob permitting Benjamin to leave with his brethren (Gen. 43:11–15), and another by Jacopo da Pontormo of *Joseph and his Brothers in Egypt* (National Gallery, London). In a work by the French artist Paul-Gustave Doré, Joseph is seen dramatically revealing his identity to his awestruck brethren. Jacob blessing his sons (Gen. 48:1–21) is the subject of a wood engraving by Holbein and of paintings by Guercino and Rembrandt. The painting by Rembrandt (Cassel Museum, Germany) shows Joseph standing over the dying Jacob, while the latter places his hands on the heads of Joseph's children.

IN MUSIC. Joseph and his brothers make an early appearance in music in a 12th-century liturgical drama from Laon, France. The theme is found among the earliest oratorio subjects at the beginning of the 17th century. The greatest number of settings are those of Pietro Metastasio's *Giuseppe riconosciuto* (Vienna, 1733, for M. Porsile), its composers including J.A. Hasse (1741), L. Boccherini (1756), and K. Fr. Fasch (1774). Other librettos of the period were J.B. Neri's *Giuseppe che interpreta i sogni*, set by A. Caldara (1726), who had already set a libretto by A. Zeno in his opera Giuseppe (Vienna, 1722); and Handel's oratorio *Joseph and his Brethren*, to a text by James Miller (first performed at Covent Garden Theatre, London, 1744). The 19th century opens with Méhul's opera *Joseph* (1807; text by Duval), for male voices only, which has remained a classic; the century ends with two parodies: Victor Roger's *Joséphine vendue par ses soeurs* (Paris, Bouffes Parisiennes, 1886) and Edmond Diel's operetta *Madame Putiphar* (Paris, 1897). Richard Strauss's ballet *Die Josephslegende* (1914) had a libretto by Hugo von Hofmannsthal and H. Kessler. Another ballet, Werner Josten's *Joseph and his Brethren* (première in New York, 1936), was also arranged as a symphonic suite (1939). The Israel composer Erich Walter *Sternberg wrote a suite for string orchestra entitled *The Story of Joseph* (1942). Two settings are based on Thomas Mann's novel cycle: David *Diamond's *Young Joseph* for three-part women's chorus and string orchestra (1944, publ. 1947), and Hilding Rosenberg's cycle of four opera-oratorios, *Josef och hans bröder* (composed between 1945 and 1948).

[Bathja Bayer]

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JOSEPH (d. 38 B.C.E.), son of *Antipater and *Cypros, brother of *Herod I. When the Parthians invaded Judea (40 B.C.E.), they forced Herod to flee, and he left his family in the care of Joseph at *Masada, where a sudden thunderstorm enabled the fortress to hold out against the siege of *Antigonus. Later Herod returned with reinforcements and set his family free. Then, in 38, he set out for Samosata to meet Antony, after forbidding Joseph to get involved in battle with Antigonus until his arrival. Disregarding this advice, Joseph took his army into the hills near Jericho to harvest grain for his soldiers and was attacked by Antigonus and killed. His death caused some unrest in Judea and was later avenged by Herod.

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[Lea Roth]

JOSEPH, king of the *Khazars. As his correspondence with *Ḥisdai ibn Shaprut demonstrates, he ruled in the tenth century. In the heading of his presumed reply to Ḥisdai's letter, the Reply of Joseph, he is called "the Togarmian [i.e., Turkish] king" (cf. Gen. 10:3), and in the text of the Reply is referred to as Joseph b. Aaron b. Benjamin. His descent is traced back to *Obadiah, king of the Khazars. In the fragment known as the Cambridge Document, which was found in the Cairo *Genizah*, his father Aaron and grandfather Benjamin are also mentioned by name and the document adds (line 59) that Joseph was married to a daughter of the king of the Alans.

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[Douglas Morton Dunlop]

°**JOSEPH II** (1741–1790), king of Germany (1764–90) and Holy Roman emperor (1765–90); co-regent with his mother, *Maria Theresa, until her death in 1780. Although educated in the spirit of the Enlightenment, he nevertheless remained a practicing Roman Catholic. After the death of his father in 1765 he became emperor of the Holy Roman Empire and married his second wife Josepha of Bavaria (his first wife was Isabella of Parma, 1760–1762). Strongly influenced by the ideas of Joseph von Sonnenfels, his rule was based on a system of "benevolent despotism"; his paramount belief was in the power of the state when directed by reason and his main aims religious toleration, unrestricted trade and education, and a reduction in the power of the Church. Additionally he saw himself as emperor as first servant of the state system. These views were reflected in his policy toward the Jews, first outlined in his "*Judenreformen*" of May 1781. Intending to end the long-standing isolation of the Jews and integrate them into the general social fabric, he wished to increase their means of gaining a livelihood and enable them to aquire general education, "thus rendering them more useful to the state." This attitude was deeply connected to his vision of a centralized state, in which every individual has its function. Like many of his other ideas, such as the abolition of serfdom or new legal code, his Jewish reforms were only partially realizable and had to contend with the opposition of his provincial civil servants. Joseph abolished the most humiliating measures, the yellow *badge and the body tax (*Leibmaut* see **Leibzoll*) in 1781, and on Jan. 2, 1782, he issued the first of the Edicts of Tolerance (**Toleranzpatent*). Although enthusiastically hailed by the enlightened and well-to-do, they were considered a *gezerah* ("oppressive decree") by the broader strata of Jewry, who wished to pursue their traditional way of life. They had even more influence because under his and his mother's reign the Austrian Empire had expanded after the Polish Partition (1772–1795) and annexation of Galicia and the Bukowina with their massive Orthodox Jewish population. In several other laws Joseph II damaged the traditional fabric: in 1781 he prohibited the use of Hebrew and Yiddish in business and in communal and public records. Of profound importance for the structure of Jewish life was the abolition of rabbinical jurisdiction from 1784 onward, as well as the introduction of liability for *military service in 1787. A special law in 1787 obliged Jews to adopt German-sounding family names and personal names, which had to be chosen from a list. The majority of Jewry did not benefit from Joseph's legislation, because neither the restrictions on residence in *Vienna and other cities nor the *Familiants Laws in Bohemia and Moravia were affected; the policy of curtailing the size of the Jewish population was explicitly perpetuated. However, the founding of the German-language schools and the permission to attend universities offered new opportunities to the rising merchant class and led to the development of a Jewish intelligentsia. Joseph's decrees imposed all the duties of a citizen on the Jews but did not grant them all the rights. Nevertheless, the bulk of Jewry in Hapsburg lands was thankful for the alleviations he had introduced. In the modified form of the *Systemalpatent* of 1797, his legislation remained the basis for the status of the Jews until the revolution of 1848.

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[Jan Herman / Bjoern Siegel (2nd ed.)]

JOSEPH, pioneer family in Canadian business and Jewish life. The Canadian-Jewish branch of the Joseph family (some converted to Catholicism and others intermarried with Protestants) was founded by HENRY JOSEPH (1775–1832), a nephew of Aaron Hart, regarded as the first permanent Jewish settler in Canada. In 1790, 15-year-old Henry arrived from England and settled in Berthier, Quebec, where he entered the fur trade. He later moved to Quebec City and established a chain of successful trading posts in the interior of the country (for a time, John Jacob Astor was one of his employees). He also became known as the "father of Canada's merchant marine" because of a shipping network he set up to move goods to and from his posts. He was one of three Jews among the founders of the Bank of Montreal in 1817, Canada's first bank. Henry Joseph and his son Samuel died in the cholera epidemic of 1832.

After Henry's death, his firm passed to his son ABRAHAM (1815–1886) of Quebec City. Besides the family business, Abraham served as president of the Quebec and Dominion Boards of Trade, a director of the Banque Nationale, president of the Stadacona Bank (when it failed during the panic of 1873, he used personal funds to repay investors and depositors), and a member of the Quebec city council (he failed in a bid for the mayoralty). He was a Grand Master of the Grand Masonic Lodge of Quebec and vice consul of Belgium in Quebec City. A memorial horse trough was erected there in his memory. Abraham's son, MONTEFIORE JOSEPH (1851–1943), took over the family firm, as, in turn, did his sons and grandson after him.

Two others of Henry Joseph's sons, JACOB HENRY (1814–1907) and JESSE (1817–1904) also made their mark in the Montreal business world. Jacob Henry Joseph, who married a niece of Rebecca *Gratz, the Philadelphia pioneer of Jewish Sunday-school education, was a railway promoter and director with his brother, Jesse, organizing Canada's first railway, the Saint Lawrence and Champlain. He founded Canada's first telegraph line and was a partner in the Newfoundland Telegraph Company, president of the Montreal Elevator Company, vice president of the Montreal Board of Trade, a bank director, a real estate mogul, and a supporter of charitable and cultural institutions in Montreal.

Jesse Joseph, a life-long bachelor, studied law but eventually followed the family tradition into business. He served as president of both the Montreal Gas Company (he sold his interest in the Montreal Electric Company because he did not believe electricity had a future) and the City Passenger Railway, which formed the nucleus of Montreal's mass transit, and operated the Theatre Royale, the city's premier theater. A promoter of trade between Canada and Belgium, he was named Belgian consul in Montreal, and was one of the largest real-estate owners in the city. He was a member of the executive of the SPCA and known for giving lavish parties in the Sherbrooke Street mansion, which, after his death, became the McCord Museum of McGill University.

Like others of Canada's pre-1900 Jewish elite, the Josephs were proudly British and staunchly patriotic. Abraham Joseph belonged to the St. George's society, and his daughter-in-law, Annette Pinto Joseph, was a member of the Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire. Henry, the family patriarch, fought in the War of 1812, and his son, Abraham, fought with the Royal Volunteers during the Rebellion of 1837. The family firm boasted of having provisioned the troops in every war from 1837 to World War II and never profiteered. Family members took full part in the social life of the English-speaking community in Quebec and seemed to suffer no discrimination because of their faith.

Although Henry's brother, Judah, became a Roman Catholic (one of his descendants, Joseph Olivier Joseph, was among the organizers of the French-Canadian, nationalist Saint Jean Baptiste Society in the 1870s), and some of Henry's grandchildren intermarried, the Josephs were remarkably faithful to their Jewish roots, despite the difficulties of practicing Judaism far from any sizeable community. Henry Joseph was a traditional Jew who instructed his children in Jewish living and taught himself ritual slaughtering so that the family would have a supply of kosher meat. His daughter, Esther (1823–1898), married Abraham *de Sola, the most significant Jewish minister of 19th century Canada; his son, Jesse, was a trustee of the Spanish and Portuguese Synagogue in Montreal; and another son, GERSHOM (1820–1893), a lawyer and the first Jewish Queen's Counsel in Canada, served as president of that synagogue when his nephew, Meldola de Sola, succeeded his father, Abraham, as minister.

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[Michael Brown (2nd ed.)]

JOSEPH, British family. SIR SAMUEL GEORGE (originally "GLUCKSTEIN") JOSEPH (1888–1944) was born in London and was an officer in the British army in Salonika, Egypt, and France in World War I, being twice mentioned in dispatches. He later became chairman and managing director of Bovis, the large building contracting firm. Joseph held several positions in London municipal government before serving as sheriff of the city of London (1933–34) and was lord mayor of London from 1943 to 1944, the sixth Jew to have held this position. He was made a baronet in 1934.

His son, SIR KEITH JOSEPH (1918–1994), inherited his father's title. Educated at Harrow and Oxford, he was a captain in the British army in World War II and was mentioned in dispatches. After the war he was admitted to the bar and, from 1946 to 1960, was a fellow of All Souls College, Oxford. He also held various industrial posts before becoming a director in the family building contracting firm. In 1956 Keith Joseph entered Parliament and three years later was made parliamentary secretary of the Ministry of Housing in the Conservative government. He became minister of state at the Board of Trade in 1961 and, from 1962 to 1964, was minister of housing and local government and minister for Welsh affairs. When the Conservatives returned to power in 1970, he was appointed minister of health and social services, serving until 1974. He earned a reputation for intellectual brilliance and integrity and was one of his party's chief advocates of social welfare reforms. After the Tories lost office in 1974, Joseph was often mentioned as a potential leader of the Conservative Party. He was a founder of the influential "Think Tank," the Centre for Policy Studies, which set the intellectual stage for "Thatcherism" by its advocacy of free enterprise policies. Joseph, however, never became a serious challenger for the party's leadership: he was viewed as cold and distant and, in October 1974, made a regrettable speech advocating birth control among alleged "problem families." Instead, he became a strong supporter and advisor of Margaret Thatcher who appointed him minister for industry (1979–81). From 1981 to 1986 he was minister of education. On retiring from the government he was made a peer. Joseph was treasurer of the British Friends of The Hebrew University and in 1966 became chairman of the Research Board of the Institute of Jewish Affairs.

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[Vivian D. Lipman]

JOSEPH (Yosef), DOV (Bernard; 1899–1980), Israeli politician and lawyer, member of the First to Third Knessets. Born in Montreal, Canada, as a teenager he was among the founders of Young Judea in Canada and served as its president. In 1918 he joined the *Jewish Legion, and within its framework reached Palestine. After his return to Canada Joseph studied economics and political science at McGill University in Montreal, and after that law at Lavale Univesity. He studied in London, where he became a barrister and received his Ph.D. After his studies he settled in Jerusalem, and started working as a lawyer in the office of Horace Samuel. In 1933 Joseph was involved in the preparation of a claim for civil compensation in the case of the assassination of Haim *Arlosoroff and he joined *Mapai. In 1936 Joseph was appointed legal adviser and deputy head of the *Jewish Agency's Political Department, in Jerusalem, under Moshe *Sharett. During World War II he coordinated the enlistment of volunteers for the Jewish units in the British Army. In the years 1945–46 he served as a member of the executive of the Jewish Agency and was sent to the United States on special missions. On "Black Saturday," June 29, 1946, he was among the leaders of the Jewish Agency arrested by the British and held at Latrun until November.

Towards the establishment of the State in 1948 Joseph was appointed military governor of Jerusalem, during the siege on the city. After the establishment of the State he was elected to the First Knesset on the Mapai list and remained a Knesset member until 1959, serving as minister of supply and rationing in 1949–51, in which capacity he initiated a policy of rationing. Until 1959 Joseph served in numerous ministerial posts including agriculture (1950–51), transportation (1950–51), commerce and industry (1951–52), justice (1951–52 and again 1961–66), development (1953–59), and health (1956–59). From 1956 to 1961 he served as treasurer of the Jewish Agency. After the establishment of the *Israel Labor Party in 1968 he served as head of a party committee that proposed an amendment to the Israeli electoral system.

He wrote *Nationality, Its Nature and Problems* (1929); *The White Paper on Palestine: A Criticism* (1930), *British Rule in Palestine* (1948), and *The Faithful City* (1960).

[Susan Hattis Rolef (2nd ed.)]

JOSEPH, HENRY (1838–1913), first rabbi of the Argentine Republic. Born in England, Joseph arrived in Argentina in 1860 and became a successful businessman. He was very active in organizing the first Jewish institution of the country, the Congregación Israelita de la República Argentina, in 1862. He was elected by the members of the congregation as their "rabbi," and his nomination was approved by the chief rabbi of the French Consistory, Isidor Lazare, in 1882. His election as rabbi originated principally in the need for a religious authority to register Jewish births, marriages, and deaths. Joseph's wife, a Christian, converted to Judaism immediately after his appointment, but his children married out of the Jewish faith. Joseph was very active as a religious and social leader, performed weddings, religious services, and occasionally preached in Spanish to the community of West European Jews in Buenos Aires. In the early 1880s he organized a fund to help the persecuted Jews in Russia. He also was of great help to the first group of East European Jews to arrive in Argentina in 1889.

[Victor A. Mirelman]

JOSEPH, JACOB (1848–1902), rabbi. Jacob Joseph was born in Krozhe, province of Kovno. He studied at the yeshivah of Volozhin under R. Hirsch Leib Berlin and later under R. Israel Salanter, and served the communities of Vilon, Yurburg, and Zhagovy before becoming rabbi and *Maggid* of Vilna in 1883. Although a brilliant student of Talmud, Joseph was especially known for his homiletical talents. In 1888 he arrived in the U.S. to assume the post of chief rabbi of the Orthodox congregations of Russian Jews in New York City. As he was primarily concerned with the taxed supervision of meat *kashrut*, much opposition was expressed against him from sectors of the Jewish community who rejected this supervision and objected to the imposition of a kosher meat tax. Although an invalid from 1895, Joseph founded the Bes Sefer Yeshiva (1900), which was renamed the Rabbi Jacob Joseph Yeshiva upon his death. His works include the collection of sermons, *Le-Veit Ya'akov* (1888) and a contribution to the only issue of the publication *Sefer Toledot Ya'akov Yosef be-New York* (1889). His funeral procession, said to have been attended by tens of thousands of Jews, occasioned a riot as workmen of the R. Hoe & Co. factory on the East Side pelted the procession with nuts and bolts. Many mourners were injured by the assailants and police.

His grandson LAZARUS JOSEPH (1891–1966), who was born in New York City, was a U.S. public official. He was elected to the state senate in 1934, and became a financial adviser to Governor Herbert H. Lehman. After serving six terms, he was elected New York City controller in 1946 and remained in office until 1954. Joseph was active on behalf of the United Jewish Appeal and the Federation of Jewish Philanthropies of New York.

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[Edward L. Greenstein]

JOSEPH, MORRIS (1848–1930), English Reform rabbi, preacher, and writer. The son of a London minister, Joseph served as minister (rabbi) successively at the North London Synagogue, the Liverpool Old Hebrew Congregation, and, after an interval of nearly 20 years, at the West London (Reform) Synagogue. When in 1890 the newly founded Hampstead Synagogue, a constituent of the *United Synagogue, elected him as their minister, Chief Rabbi Hermann *Adler vetoed the appointment because of Joseph's unorthodox views, in particular regarding the restoration of the sacrificial cult. This was apparently no obstacle to his teaching homiletics at Jews' College in 1891–92. His views on Reform were very moderate. He expressed them in his *Judaism as Creed and Life* (1903 and several editions to 1958), which became a widely read and popular book. Joseph also published three volumes of sermons, *Ideal in Judaism* (1893), *Message of Judaism* (1906), and *Spirit of Judaism* (1930). He also contributed to the *Jewish Quarterly Review*, the *Jewish Chronicle*, and Hasting's *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*. Joseph was active in Jewish literary societies and the Jewish Peace Society.

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JOSEPH, NORMA BAUMEL (1944–), Canadian professor, Orthodox feminist, activist. Joseph received her B.A. from Brooklyn College in 1966 and M.A. from the City University of New York in 1968. She became associate professor in the Department of Religion at Concordia University in Montreal, where she served in various administrative positions, including director of the women and religion specialization. Her teaching and research areas include women and Judaism, Jewish law and ethics, and women and religion. Her doctoral dissertation, completed in 1995 at Concordia University, focused on the legal decisions of Rabbi Moses *Feinstein concerning the separate spheres for women in the Jewish community. The dissertation was nominated for a Governor General's Gold medal award for excellence. From the early 1970s she promoted women's greater participation in Jewish religious and communal life. Joseph appeared in, and served as consultant to the films *Half the Kingdom* (1990) and *Untying the Bonds…Jewish Divorce* (1999). A founding member of the Canadian Coalition of Jewish Women for the Get (Jewish divorce), Joseph successfully worked with the Jewish community and the Canadian Federal Government to pass a law in 1990 (Divorce Act, ch.18, 21.1) that would protect Jewish women in difficult divorce situations and aid them in their pursuit of a Jewish divorce. Following the Canadian success, Joseph helped form and presided over the International Coalition for Agunah Rights, an organization for women whose husbands refuse to consent to a Jewish divorce. Author of many publications in the field of feminism and Jewish Law, Joseph won the Leo Wasserman Prize from the American Jewish Historical Society for the best article of 1995 in the journal *American Jewish History*.

[Randal F. Schnoor (2nd ed.)]

JOSEPH, SAMUEL (1881–1959), U.S. sociologist. He was taken to the U.S. from Russia as a child. He joined the Sociology Faculty of City College, N.Y., in 1928 and became professor and chairman of the department in 1940, one of the first Jews to hold a leading academic position in American sociology. An expert on immigration problems, and especially Jewish immigration, his major publications were *Jewish Immigration to the United States from 1881 to 1910* (1914), and *History of the Baron de Hirsch Fund* (1935).

[Werner J. Cahnman]

JOSEPH, SAUL ABDALLAH (1849–1906), merchant-scholar in *China. Born in *Baghdad, he was a merchant and money changer by profession. At the age of 18, he traveled to India and China, finally settling in Hong Kong. He was an interesting example of a scholar who dwelt in an environment foreign to Judaism and yet played an active role in Hebrew literature and culture. Writing for the Hebrew newspapers *Ḥavaẓẓelet* and *Ha-Levanon*, he published articles on the Jews of China and on medieval poetry. His profound knowledge of the Bible, the Hebrew language, Arabic literature, and the Oriental way of life enabled him to understand Spanish Hebrew poetry. His principal contribution lay in pointing out the influence of Arabic poetry on the Hebrew poetry of Spain (he himself translated Arabic stanzas written in the Spanish meter). By nature hot-tempered, he wrote essays noted for their sharp controversies and lack of courtesy toward contemporary scholars. Two of his works were posthumously prepared for publication by Samuel *Krauss: *Givat Sha'ul* (1923), an extensive commentary to 138 secular poems of Judah Halevi, which were previously published by H. Brody; *Mishbeẓet Tarshish* (1926), a commentary to *Sefer ha-Tarshish* or *Ha-Anak* of Moses ibn Ezra, first published by David Guensburg in 1886. The divan of Todros *Abulafia, *Gan ha-Meshalim ve-ha-Ḥidot* ("Garden of Apologues and Saws"), which was discovered and copied by Joseph, was published in phototype by Moses *Gaster (1926).

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[Yehuda Ratzaby]

JOSEPH AND ASENATH, pseudepigraphic work – the story of how Asenath, daughter of Pentephres, priest of Heliopolis, converted to the worship of the God of Israel and married Joseph. The tenuous basis of this anecdote is one verse in Genesis (41:45). The marriage of the chaste and pious Joseph to the pagan Asenath was problematic for strictly observant Jews. Targum Pseudo-Jonathan solves the problem by making Asenath the daughter of Dinah, who was raped by Shechem (Gen. 34:1–3). The author of Joseph and Asenath is clearly aware of the theory of Asenath's Jewish origin, but implicitly rejects it. He makes Asenath an Egyptian who converts to Judaism in order to marry Joseph. Joseph and Asenath is extant in Greek as well as in Slavonic, Syriac, Armenian, and Latin versions and, in common with other hagiographic texts, has passed through the hands of many editors. There appear to be one short and three long recensions. The short recension is the oldest and is witnessed to by two Greek manuscripts and the Slavonic version. The original text is Greek and most of the Hebraisms it contains are derived from the Septuagint. Joseph and Asenath should be classified among the pseudepigraphs of the Bible. It provides some interesting points of similarity with the Testaments of the Twelve *Patriarchs. Just as each of the Testaments illustrates a particular virtue, Joseph and Asenath can be held to illustrate the virtue of repentance. The book can also be compared with certain Greek and Latin romances. It contains the stock situations of ancient romantic literature, such as the exceptional beauty of the hero and heroine (1:6; 6:7), love at first sight (6:1), lovesickness (7:4), the kiss (19:3), the separation (26:1), the unscrupulous rival (24), and the hero's virginity (8:2). The author had no intention, however, of writing a frivolous romance, but rather a puritan story designed for Jewish readers, while using a literary style alien to their spirit. Joseph and Asenath presents the precise social situation of Jews and Egyptians confronting each other. One of the aims of the story is to demonstrate the mutual repulsion and attraction of these two groups. The emergence of a third group, the proselytes, is one result of these tensions. Although the author's style is restricted, the literary structure of Joseph and Asenath is sophisticated. The plot contains three elements. The first of these is the missionary story. Asenath is the prototype of the proselyte, who, through repentance, passes "from shadow to light, from error to truth, from death to life" (8:10). Then there is the *roman à clef*; the author has realized that the Egyptian name Asenath means "belonging to Neith." Many almost imperceptible details of the story can only be explained as referring to the goddess of Sais, such as, for example, the fact that the heroine is hermaphrodite (15:1). These references show an extensive knowledge of late Egyptian theology. Finally, there is the mystic element, which is more complex in structure. It contains an astrological allegory, in which Joseph represents the Sun and Asenath the Moon, their marriage being the "*hieros gamos*" of Helios and Selene. There is also the gnostic drama, Joseph representing the Savior and Asenath, Fallen Wisdom. Here, there is a foretaste of Valentinian gnosticism. The text contains a liturgy of initiation comparable in many ways to that of the mystery cults. The entry of the proselyte into the community is marked by a sacred feast. The neophyte eats "the bread of life," drinks from "the cup of immortality," and is annointed with the "unction of incorruptibility" (15:4). He is then "renewed," "reformed," and "revivified" (8:11; 15:4). Joseph and Asenath is thus seen to be valuable evidence for the "mystical Judaism," whose existence has been the subject of much controversy. The short recension of Joseph and Asenath is a Jewish version. It contains no trace of Christian modification or interpolation. The text is certainly the product of Egyptian Jewry, but is not necessarily the work of a Therapeut (Essene). The author may have been an Egyptian of the *Chora* ("region," i.e., outside of Alexandria) converted to Judaism, or, more probably, the Jewish issue of a mixed marriage. Joseph and Asenath must have been composed shortly before the Jewish revolt against Trajan. Joseph and Asenath is also of interest, since the story is repeated in the passions of Saint Barbara, Saint Christine, and Saint Irene. Joseph and Asenath is also the basis for the Persian tale *Yūsuf o Zuleikhā*. There is an English translation by E.W. Brooks, *Joseph and Asenath* (1918).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: C. Burchard, *Untersuchungen zu Joseph und Asenath* (1965); M. Philonenko, *Joseph et Aséneth* (Fr., 1968), includes bibliography.

[Marc Philonenko]

JOSEPH AND AZARIAH BEN ZECHARIAH, two commanders in the army of Judah Maccabee. When, in 165 B.C.E., Judah and his brother Jonathan went to the help of the Jews in Gilead and Galilee who were being oppressed by the gentiles, Joseph and Azariah were entrusted with the defense of the people and strictly forbidden to engage in active hostilities while Judah was absent from Judea. When the news arrived of the victories of Judah and Jonathan, Joseph and Azariah decided on their own initiative to march against Jabneh. The Syrian general Gorgias counter-attacked. The Jewish army was routed and pursued to the borders of Judea, 2,000 Jews falling in the campaign. The author of I Maccabees (5:56–62) explains this defeat by saying that Joseph and Azariah were not of the stock that had been entrusted with the salvation of Israel.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Schuerer, Hist, 35; Klausner, Bayit Sheni, 3 (1950^2), 34.

[Edna Elazary]

JOSEPH BAR ABBA, *gaon* of *Pumbedita 814–816. Joseph was a student of Shinai *gaon* of Pumbedita and successor of Avumai (or Akhumai). In his noted epistle, *Sherira Gaon relates that, as a scholar, his contemporary Mar Rav Kemoi was a more suitable choice for the gaonate, but he did not possess the miraculous powers of Joseph b. Abba, who was very pious and advanced in years. It was believed that Elijah revealed himself to Joseph b. Abba. Sherira relates that on the day of Joseph's death the earth trembled. R. Judah *gaon*, the grandfather of Sherira, was Joseph's secretary. Only a few of his responsa have been transmitted, and it is even uncertain whether these are his or were written by other *geonim* named Joseph (e.g., *Joseph b. Ḥiyya).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: J. Mueller, *Mafte'aḥ li-Teshuvot ha-Ge'onim* (1891), 79–82; B.M. Lewin (ed.), *Iggeret Rav Sherira Ga'on* (1921), 109; Abramson, Merkazim, 10.

[Meir Havazelet]

JOSEPH BAR ḤIYYA (ninth century), *av bet din, gaon*, later *av bet din* again, and once more *gaon* of Pumbedita (828–833) during one of the most crucial periods in the history of Pumbedita and the relationship between the academies of Pumbedita and Sura and the exilarchate. In the controversy between the exilarch David b. Judah and his brother Daniel, Joseph b. Ḥiyya and Abraham b. Sherira presided jointly over the academy until peace was restored, when Joseph b. Ḥiyya volunteered to renounce the office, temporarily resuming the position of *av bet din*. The two academies were then enabled to assert their full independence: according to the decree by the caliph al-Mu'mīn the exilarch was henceforth forced to submit to the judicial authority of the two academies.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: B.M. Lewin (ed.), *Iggeret Rav Sherira Ga'on* (1921), 112; Abramson, Merkazim, 11.

[Meir Havazelet]

JOSEPH (Josse) BAR NISSAN, early liturgical poet of uncertain date. His birthplace appears repeatedly in the acrostic to his poems as Shaveh-Kiriathaim (Gen. 14:5). As in the case of Kiriath-Sepher, similarly used by Kallir, this is obviously intended as the designation of an actual but differently named town: Samuel Klein identified it with Nawe in Transjordan. Joseph's *kerovot*, preserved in numerous *genizah* fragments in Oxford, Cambridge, and elsewhere, were composed according to the triennial Palestinian cycle (see *Torah, Reading of). For this reason, among many others, he cannot be identified with the Babylonian poet Joseph al-Baradani who wrote poems in conformity with the one-year cycle. Joseph's poems are written in a highly involved style.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: I. Davidson, *Ginzei Schechter*, 3 (1928), 49, 96; M. Zulay, *Zur Liturgie der babylonischen Juden* (1933), 68, 87; idem, in: YMḤSI, 2 (1936), 219, 365; 5 (1939), 158–69; Klein, in: BJPES (1936), pt. 3, 4, 76–78; A.M. Habermann, *Ateret Renanim* (1967), 133, 163–5. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** T. Beeri, *The "Great Cantor" of Bagdad* (Heb., 2002).

[Jefim (Hayyim) Schirmann]

JOSEPH BEN AḤMAD IBN ḤASDAI (also known as **Ibn Hasdai**; 12th century), student of medicine, born in Spain of a father who converted to Islam. Joseph emigrated to Egypt, where the vizier Ma'mūn became his patron. Joseph maintained a friendship with Ibn Bajjā (Avempace), the Spanish philosopher, with whom he continued to correspond after his departure from Spain. Among his works are (1) *Al-Sharḥ al-Ma'mūnī* (Commentary on the Oath (Kitāb al Īmān) of Hippocrates). (2) *Sharḥ al-Fuṣūl* (Commentary on the *Aphorisms* of Hippocrates). (3) *Fāwā'īd* (useful observations and extracts from the Commentary of Ali Ibn Riḍwān on the *Glaukon* of Galen). (4) *Al-Qawl ʿalā Awwal al-Ṣināʿāt al-Ṣaghīra* (Study of book one of *Mikrotechnē* of Galen).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Steinschneider, Arab Lit, 148–9; G. Sarton, *Introduction to the History of Science*, 2 pt. 1 (1931), 229–30; H. Friedenwald, *The Jews and Medicine* (1944), 174, 633.

[Isidore Simon]

JOSEPH BEN ASHER OF CHARTRES (12th–13th centuries), liturgical poet. Joseph was the brother-in-law of Joseph b. Nathan of Etampes, and granduncle of Joseph b. Nathan Official. The latter reports in his apologetic for Judaism (*Yosef ha-Mekanne*, no. 24) that Joseph engaged in a disputation with a Christian clergyman. To the latter's question as to why God had appeared to Moses in a bramblebush, rather than in a tree, Joseph is said to have replied that it was because a cross could not be made from a bramblebush. According to Gedaliah *ibn Yaḥia, Joseph was a pupil of Jacob b. Meir *Tam and *Samuel b. Meir. His notes on the Bible are cited in a few commentaries in manuscript (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Bodl. Or. 604; Ms. Marsh. 225; Ms. Opp. 724). He is also known as the author of an elegy on the massacre at York, 1190.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Zunz, Lit Poesie, 470, 480; Z. Kahn, in: REJ, 1 (1880), 238, 240, 246; Gross, Gal Jud, 603–5; C. Roth, in: *Meẓudah*, 2 (1944), 116–21; A.M. Habermann, *Gezerot Ashkenaz ve-Ẓarefat* (1945), 152–4, 260f.

JOSEPH BEN BARUCH OF CLISSON (first half of the 13th century), French tosafist. Joseph lived in Paris and was associated with *Judah b. Isaac Sir Leon. He was one of the leaders of the 300 scholars who went to settle in Ereẓ Israel in 1211. On his way there he passed through Egypt where he met Abraham, the son of Maimonides. In Ereẓ Israel the poet and traveler Judah *Al-Ḥarizi met him and refers to him in his *Taḥkemoni* (ed. by A. Kaminka (1899), 353) with great respect. Joseph is frequently mentioned in the standard *tosafot* to several tractates under different names such as "Joseph of Jerusalem," "Joseph who has gone to the Pleasant Land" (*Ereẓ ha-Ẓevi*; Jer. 3:19), and "Joseph of Israel." A comparison of parallel passages shows that they all refer to Joseph of Clisson or Joseph b. Baruch. His rulings are mentioned in many of the works of the *rishonim*, including *Meir b. Baruch of Rothenburg. Joseph's brother Meir was also one of the emigrants to Israel, but few statements by him have been preserved. There is reason to suppose that Joseph was the teacher of Samuel b. Solomon of Paris, the teacher of Meir of Rothenburg.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Urbach, Tosafot, 265–7; S.H. Kook, *Iyyunim u-Meḥkarim*, 2 (1963), 258–62.

[Israel Moses Ta-Shma]

JOSEPH BEN DAVID HA-YEVANI ("the Greek"; early 14th century), Hebrew grammarian and lexicographer who lived in Greece. He was the author of the unpublished work *Menorat ha-Ma'or* containing a short grammar and a lexicon which, in the solely preserved Bodleian manuscript (Neubauer Cat, 1 (1886), 525 no. 1485), goes only as far as the word **חשב**. Dukes published excerpts from the lexicon (see bibl.). The author quotes the works of Judah b. David *Ḥayyuj, Jonah *Ibn Janaḥ, *Rashi, Abraham *Ibn Ezra, David *Kimḥi, and *Naḥmanides. In his grammar he relies on *Midrash ha-Ḥokhmah* by Judah b. Solomon ha-Kohen ibn Matka of Toledo. Fuerst, Benjacob, and Rosanes confused Joseph b. David with Joseph b. Moses Kilti. Joseph b. David died before 1337.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Dukes, in: *Literaturblatt des Orients*, 10 (1849), 705–9, 727–32, 745–7; 11 (1850), 173–6, 183–5, 215–8; M. Steinschneider, *Jewish Literature* (1857), 140, 329; W. Bacher, *Die hebraeische Sprachwissenschaft* (1892), 94 (= J. Winter and A. Wuensche, *Die juedische Literatur*, 2 (1894), 216); H. Hirschfeld, *Literary History of Hebrew Grammarians and Lexicographers* (1926), 94; Rosanes, Togarmah, 1 (1930^{2}), 5, 2.

[Moshe Nahum Zobel]

JOSEPH BEN ELEM, temporary high priest during the reign of *Herod the Great. Numerous talmudic sources describe how Joseph b. Elem of Sepphoris substituted "for one day" as high priest, on the Day of Atonement. Josephus also relates that when the incumbent high priest, Mattathias the son of Theophilus, was rendered unclean just before the day of the fast, his relative Joseph b. Elem was appointed to serve in his place. According to the rabbinic version, Joseph was removed immediately after the fast from all subsequent priestly service.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Derenbourg, Hist, 160 n. 1; Graetz, in: MGWJ, 30 (1881), 51–53; Schuerer, Gesch, 2 (1907^{4}), 270 n. 7; S. Lieberman, *Tosefta ki-Feshutah*, 4 (1962), 723–4.

[Isaiah Gafni]

JOSEPH BEN ELIJAH OF ZASLAW (first half of 17th century), rabbi and preacher. He was author of the exegetical-moralistic works *Rekhev Eliyahu* (Cracow, 1638) and *Yesod Yosef* (Lublin, 1638). In *Rekhev Eliyahu*, which he named in honor of his father Elijah, he printed as an introduction a moralizing letter by Elijah, containing much self-criticism as a merchant-scholar. Joseph demanded sincerity and humility from his own circle of scholars: "Brethren and companions, see how all of us have gone astray through the bad trait of priding ourselves on learning loudly, openly, and publicly. Whosoever praises himself more appears the better in his own view; each one thinks himself wiser than his fellow, as if the Torah was given to him alone; only he knows how to clarify talmudic problems and teach pupils. This self-glorification is very frequent, in particular among the leaders of the people, who say 'There is none but me. Is there a teacher like me?'" (*Rekhev Eliyahu*, fol. 27b). He attacked false humility: "This evil I have seen – each and every false and boastful man likes to say as if in amazement: 'Is there any pride in me? You would not find a more humble person than myself'" (*ibid.*, fol. 22a–b). He devoted a special paragraph against bankruptcy and warned that bankrupts should not give charity or buy candles for the synagogue (*ibid.*, fol. 12b). He demanded earnest *kavvanah* in prayer. Joseph's personality and work show that, in the new era of Jewish settlement and economic activity in Poland-Lithuania, a high level of Jewish culture and exacting standards of individual and social morality had been set by the first half of the 17th century.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: H.H. Ben-Sasson, *Hagut ve-Hanhagah* (1959), index.

[Haim Hillel Ben-Sasson]

JOSEPH (Joselmann) BEN GERSHON OF ROSHEIM (c. 1478–1554), the greatest of the Jewish **shtadlanim* in Germany during the Middle Ages. According to one tradition, his family originated in Louhans, France, and he himself once added "of the Loans family" to his signature, as did his sons after him. However, it is very doubtful if he was a relative of Jacob Jehiel Loans, physician to emperor Frederick III. During the 15th century, Joseph's family lived in Endingen, in Baden. Three of his father's uncles, Elijah, Aberlin, and Marcolin, were martyred there in 1470 as a result of a *blood libel. When the Jews were expelled from Endingen his father settled in Obernai, Alsace, and fled from there in 1476 after the pillage campaigns of the Swiss mercenaries and settled in Haguenau, Alsace. Orphaned at the age of six, Joseph was brought up by his mother's family. He earned his livelihood from moneylending and commerce and settled in Mittelbergheim, near Strasbourg. In 1507 the Jews who had been expelled from Obernai appealed to him to intercede with the provincial authorities and the emperor to repeal the expulsion decree. Because of his success, he was appointed in 1510, together with R. Zadok, as *parnas u-manhig* ("leader") of the Jews of Lower Alsace. He once referred to himself in one of his appeals to the imperial diet in Speyer (1535) as *Gemeiner Judischheit Regierer im deutschen Land* ("ruler of all Jewry in German lands") and was penalized for so doing because only the emperor could be considered as the ruler of the Jews. He also signed himself *Befehlshaber der ganzen Judenschaft* ("commander of all Jewry"), and was referred to by similar titles by the emperor and government bodies.

While acting on behalf of the Jews of Mittelbergheim in 1514, Joseph first came into the presence of the emperor, Maximilian I. In 1520, in the course of his activity on behalf of the Jews of Obernai, he obtained a general letter of protection for the Jews in Germany from Emperor *Charles V at the coronation celebrations held at Aachen. During the Peasants' Revolt in 1525, he saved the Jews of Alsace – and his town of *Rosheim in particular – from the peasant bands in exchange for a gift of 80 guilders. He also intervened with King *Ferdinand I, the future emperor and brother of Charles V, on behalf of the Jews of Haguenau in 1529, and in the same year was called upon to protect the Jews of *Pezinok (Poesing) in Hungary when they were threatened by a blood libel. In 1530 he succeeded in convincing the emperor and Ferdinand I that the accusation that the Jews had spied for the Turks was false, and the emperor renewed the letter of protection. During the same year the emperor ordered Joseph to engage in a disputation with the apostate Antonius *Margarita, author of the anti-Jewish work *Der gantz juedisch Glaub* (1530). When Joseph succeeded in refuting his accusations, the apostate was expelled from Augsburg. Joseph was called upon to protect the Jews of Silesia in 1535, when the danger of a blood libel threatened the Jews of Jaegerndorf, and a year later he intervened with Elector John Frederick to avert an expulsion decree against the Jews of Saxony. Martin *Luther, whose attitude toward the Jews had already become hostile, refused to receive him and act as mediator between him and the elector. In 1539, at the Protestant convention of Frankfurt, he succeeded in proving the innocence of the martyrs of Brandenburg who had been put to death as a result of an accusation of *Host desecration. Phillip *Melanchthon himself made a declaration to the convention on this subject. In 1544, after he had complained to the emperor over a renewed blood libel in Wuerzburg, he obtained a further letter of protection for the Jews of Germany, "the most liberal and generous letter of protection ever granted to Jews" (S. Stern). During the emperor's war against the Protestant princes, the Smalkaldic League, in 1546, he interceded on behalf of the Jews, who were oppressed by both sides. In 1548 he was again compelled to appeal to the emperor with a complaint against the towns of Alsace. His intervention in favor of the Jews of *Colmar continued until 1551, when at the imperial diet in Augsburg he worked against the severe restrictions on Jewish moneylending, such as the prohibition on selling promissory notes to Christians, and the threat of expulsion from the duchies of Wuerttemberg and Bavaria. His last activities – like his earlier ones – once more concerned the Jews of Alsace, when he came to the aid of the Jews of Dangolsheim and those of Rosheim.

As well as his memorandum against the blood libel of Pezinok (1530) and the disputation with Antonius Margarita, Joseph took up the defense of Judaism in his work *Iggeret Neḥamah* (1537) against the anti-Jewish attacks of the Protestant minister M. *Bucer. The Hebrew original, which has been lost, was read on the Sabbath in the synagogues of Hesse in order to raise the morale of the Jews and strengthen their faith. In 1530 he convened a meeting of communal delegates at Augsburg in order to establish a code to regulate their moneylending and trade affairs. Similar regulations covering the relations between the Jews and the general population of Alsatian towns were proposed and carried out by him. Joseph was called to Prague in 1534 in order to mediate in the dispute between the local Jews and the *Horowitz family. One of the members of the family, Sheftel, who objected to outside intervention, even planned to assassinate him. Joseph was also opposed to the messianic movement of David *Reuveni and Solomon *Molcho. Appealing to the municipal council of Strasbourg against the anti-Jewish writings of Luther in 1543, Joseph obtained a ban on the propagation of these libelous documents within the city.

Joseph wrote several religious, ethical and historical works, which in part are still extant (see bibl.). His *Derekh ha-Kodesh*, a work of ethics and guidance for a life of sanctity and martyrdom (*Kiddush ha-Shem), written in 1531 while he was in Brabant waiting for an audience with the emperor, has been lost and only a few extracts from it were copied by R. Joseph Yospa *Hahn in his *Yosef Omeẓ*. His grandson was the kabbalistic scholar R. Elijah b. Moses *Loans.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: S. Stern, *Josel of Rosheim* (1965); S.P. Rabbinowitz, *Rabbi Yosef Ish Rosheim* (1902); M. Lehmann, *Rabbi Joselmann von Rosheim; eine historische Erzaehlung*, 2 vols. (1925); E. Scheid, *Histoire de Rabbi Joselmann de Rosheim* (1886); Krakauer, in: REJ, 16 (1888), 88–105; Stern, in: ZGJD, 3 (1889), 65–74; Bresslau, *ibid.*, 5 (1892), 307–34; L. Feilchenfeld, *Rabbi Josel von Rosheim* (1898); H. Fraenkel-Goldschmidt (ed.), *Rabbi Yosef Ish Rosheim, Sefer ha-Mikneh* (1970); M. Ginsburger, *Josel von Rosheim* (1913); JJLG, 14 (1921), 45; Y. Tishbi, in: *Sefer Assaf* (1953), 515–28. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** H. Fraenkel-Godlschmidt (ed.), *Rabbi Yosef Ish Rosheim, Ketavim Hstoriyyim* (1996); E. Carlebach, in: *Jewish History and Jewish Memory* (1998), 40–53.

[Jacob Rothschild]

JOSEPH BEN ḤIYYA (d. 333 C.E.), Babylonian *amora* and head of the Pumbedita academy for two and a half years, after the death of *Rabbah. Joseph was a pupil of Judah b. Ezekiel. Hundreds of his sayings in *halakhah* and *aggadah* are to be found throughout the Babylonian and Jerusalem Talmuds, and a large number of his pupils transmitted statements in his name. He devoted himself particularly to the text of the Mishnah, which he would clarify by means of the *beraitot*. His knowledge was exceptionally comprehensive, his teaching was well ordered, and his halakhic decisions clear, so that he was called *Sinai*, i.e., a scholar with wide knowledge (Hor., end). He also delved into mysticism, and was one of the "masters of the merkabah" (see Merkabah *Mysticism; Ḥag. 13a). He was also distinguished in biblical exegesis and left an Aramaic translation of parts of the Bible, which is often quoted. It is not to be assumed, however, that Joseph translated the whole Bible, though the Aramaic translation of the Book of Chronicles is ascribed to him and is called "the Targum of Rav Joseph."

Despite the fact that Joseph was recommended for the position of head of the yeshivah, he deferred this honor for the 22 years that Rabbah headed the yeshivah, and during this period Joseph accepted Rabbah's authority, declining even the slightest external signs of honor or office (Ber. 64a). According to the Talmud, he had an overwhelming love of the Torah and its students and, possessing considerable wealth (he owned fields and vineyards and his wine was praised), he undertook the support of 400 of his pupils (Ket. 106a). He stressed the importance of the Torah and its students in his *aggadah* and underwent many fasts, until he received assurance from heaven that the study of Torah would not depart from his descendants during the course of three generations (BM 85a). One of the central events in his life was a severe illness which caused him "to forget his learning," and Abbaye – his pupil – re-taught him what he had forgotten (Ned. 41a; cf. Er. 10a), and this illness may have been the cause of his blindness (Kid. 31a; cf. Pes. 111 b).

Many remarkable stories of his conduct are related, and even the details of his death and burial were embellished by legends. His teachings and rulings stress concern for the plight of the poor and the improvement of social life. His aspiration to raise the importance of the academy above that of the exilarch, which would lead to the dependence of the latter upon the academies, is discernible in his aggadic dicta, and can also be seen in the tendency in his teachings toward giving increased authority to the courts of law and their decisions (see e.g., Beẓah 5a; Ket. 81b; Git. 88b; et al.). The first struggle in the conflict of the academies with the exilarch originated with Joseph. Another noteworthy detail in his *aggadah* is that he is the only one to mention conversations with *Asmodeus (Asmedai), king of the demons (Pes. 110a).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Hyman, Toledot, 742–9; Halevy, Dorot, 2 (1923), 440ff.; Epstein, Mishnah; Judelowitz, *Ḥayyei ha-Yehudim bi-Zeman ha-Talmud: Ir Pumbedita bi-Ymei ha-Amora'im* (1939), 96–98; J.S. Zuri, *Shilton Rashut ha-Golah ve-ha-Yeshivot* (1939), 127–56, 184–9; Ḥ. Albeck, *Mavo la-Talmudim* (1969), 291–3.

[Israel Moses Ta-Shma]

JOSEPH BEN ISAAC HA-LEVI (17th century), philosophical writer. Born in Lithuania, he later settled in Prague, where he taught medieval religious philosophy to many rabbinical scholars. Ephraim Solomon of Luntschits reports that after Joseph settled in Prague, he became known as a scholar and philosopher and some of the greatest scholars of Prague came to learn from him (see S. Fuenn, *Kiryah Ne'emanah* (1915), 64). Joseph's short commentary on *Maimonides' *Guide*, under the title *Givat ha-Moreh*, was published by Yom Tov Lipmann *Heller, author of the Mishnah commentary *Tosafot Yom Tov*, with his own introduction and annotations (Prague, 1611). Joseph also wrote *Ketonet Passim* (Lublin, 1614), dealing with the basic ideas of the *Guide*.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Zunz, Gesch, 288 no. 141, 290 no. 156; Cowley, Cat., 334; M. Steinschneider, in *Festschrift A. Berliner* (1903), 355; Fuenn, Keneset, 479.

[Samuel Abba Horodezky]

JOSEPH BEN ISRAEL (late 16th–early 17th centuries), the most prominent among the poets of the town Mashtā who molded Yemenite Jewish poetry into its religious, national, and mystic character. Joseph was the earliest member of the group and the predecessor of his younger contemporary, Shalem *Shabazi. (According to legend, he was of the same town and was the latter's relative.) His works consist of about 150 poems and *piyyutim* in Hebrew and Arabic (most of them are extant in manuscript). Their contents deal with religious subjects and are marked by sublime emotion, flowing style, and power of expression. He developed the category of poems which open with *Mi Nishkani* ("Who Has Kissed Me"). Superficially, these are sensual love poems, but in reality they are fiery allegoric religious poems characterized by supplications and "embraces" of the bride (the Jewish People) for her husband, the bridegroom (God). He wrote about 25 graceful *piyyutim* and *seliḥot*.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: A.Z. Idelsohn and H. Torczyner (eds.), *Shirei Teiman* (1930), 45–64; Kafaḥ in: *Ha-Ẓofeh* (Jan. 18, 1957).

[Yehuda Ratzaby]

JOSEPH BEN ISSACHAR BAER OF PRAGUE (end of 16th century), rabbi and author. Joseph was a pupil of Mordecai Jaffe and of Judah Loew b. Bezalel (the Maharal of Prague). He was the author of *Yosef Da'at* (Prague, 1609), a supercommentary on Rashi's commentary to the Pentateuch, in which he corrects mistakes in the text and gives illustrations for understanding it. The work also includes some notes on the biblical commentary of Jacob b. Asher. In the introduction Joseph mentions his commentary to the *Beḥinat Olam* of Jedaiah ha-Penini Bedersi, which has not been published. *Alei Ayin*, a reference work to the *Ein Ya'akov* of Jacob Ibn Ḥabib, has also been attributed to him, though this is doubtful. It is stated that Joseph used a manuscript of Rashi's commentary on the Pentateuch dating from the year 1300.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Zunz, Gesch, 285; Ghirondi-Neppi, 144; Neubauer, Cat, nos. 3697, 5928, 6463, 5566; S. Hock, *Die Familien Prags* (1892), 210f.; Fuenn, Keneset, 498.

[Yehoshua Horowitz]

JOSEPH BEN JACOB (11th century), liturgical poet. His compositions, among which was a *kerovah* in four parts for *Ne'ilah (unpublished) as well as *ma'araviyyot* for Pesaḥ and Shavuot, were part of the French rite at a very early period. Single poems by him have been included in both the Roman and German-Polish *maḥzor*. His *ma'aravit* for the seventh evening of Passover is attributed by S.D. Luzzatto to the younger Joseph b. Jacob *Kalai.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Zunz, Ritus, 104; Zunz, Lit Poesie, 172f.; Davidson, Oẓar, 4 (1933), 402.

[Jefim (Hayyim) Schirmann]

JOSEPH BEN JACOB BAR SATIA (tenth century), *Gaon* of *Sura. The derivation and meaning of the name Bar Satia is not clear. He was appointed *gaon* by the exilarch *David b. Zakkai, some time after 930 C.E., after the exilarch had become embroiled in a dispute with Saadiah Gaon and had deposed him as *gaon* of Sura. Even though the exilarch and Saadiah were reconciled in 937, Joseph was not entirely deposed and, on Saadiah's death in 942, he was reappointed *gaon*. Not of a very strong character, he was unable to stand up to his wealthy and influential opponent in Pumbedita, Aaron *Sargado, and the academy of Sura declined during his days. Some time after 943, Joseph left Sura and went to Basra, where he died shortly after.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Neubauer, Chronicles, 1 (1887), 65f.; 2 (1895), 81ff.; S. Eppenstein, *Beitraege zur Geschichte und Literatur im geonaeischen Zeitalter* (1913), 125f.; B.M. Lewin (ed.), *Iggeret Rav Sherira Ga'on* (1921), 118ff.; H. Malter, *Saadia Gaon, his Life and Works* (1921), 111; Krauss, in: *Livre d'Hommage… S. Poznański* (1927), 140.

[Eliezer Bashan (Sternberg)]

JOSEPH (Jossel) BEN JOSHUA MOSES OF FRANKFURT (d. 1681), German *dayyan*. Joseph was born in Frankfurt. Until his death he served as *dayyan* in Fuerth. He was the author of *Torat Yosef* (Wilmersdorf, 1725), which contains homilies and explanations of the *Masorah and achieved considerable fame. In the preface he points out that in earlier generations people had a wide knowledge of Scripture, with the result that the meaning of the Masorah was plain to all, but that this had changed during recent generations. The aim of the book was to explain the Masorah on the Torah in accordance with the *halakhah*, as well as to explain Rashi's commentary, and to justify statements of his which had been queried by later commentators. In his preface, Joseph mentions his work on the 613 commandments, *Torat Moshe* (in manuscript), which he named after his father "who gave his life on my behalf, as is known to all my father's family in Frankfurt."

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Loewenstein, in: JJLG, 8 (1911), 117.

[Yehoshua Horowitz]

JOSEPH BEN JUSTU OF JAÉN (early 12th century), Spanish scholar. Joseph was a pupil of Isaac *Alfasi. *Zerahiah b. Isaac ha-Levi (*Ha-Ma'or*, to Alfasi Pes. ch. 2) notes that he came from "the province of Jaén" but the exact location is unknown. From a parallel passage in *Ma'or* (Av. Zar. ch. 5, fol. 31b) it may possibly be inferred that Joseph lived in North Africa for some time after the death of Alfasi. The material extant by him or about him is very scanty. It is known that Alfasi charged him with circulating his "amendments" to various *halakhot* of his large work (see *Teshuvot ha-Ge'onim* by A. Harkavy (1887), 258, no. 519), and on one occasion he is found testifying after Alfasi's death to the fact that Alfasi had changed his mind (*Ha-Ma'or*, loc. cit.). *Teshuvot ha-Ge'onim* contains a collection of his queries to Alfasi and the latter's replies, but it is not possible to determine where the collection ends or how many paragraphs it contained. Only a fragment of one of Joseph's own responsa remains preserved in a responsum of Joseph *Ibn Migash (quoted in *Shitah Mekubbeẓet* to BK 108b). Some scholars are of the opinion that the name Justu is an abbreviation of Justus (Zedekiah). It may be that Joseph is identical with Joseph b. Abraham b. Seth (Shet), a collection of whose queries to Alfasi and the latter's replies were also published in *Teshuvot ha-Ge'onim* (51 no. 83ff.), and that Seth (שת, Shet) should read ישת (Yeshet), i.e., Justu.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: S. Shefer, *Ha-Rif u-Mishnato* (1967), 18–19.

[Israel Moses Ta-Shma]

JOSEPH BEN KALONYMUS HA-NAKDAN I (13th century), grammarian and poet from a family of grammarians and *nakdanim* in Germany. Joseph copied and vocalized many manuscripts and signed with the addition "the scribe who gives goodly words" (see Gen. 49:21). *Abraham b. Azriel, author of the *Arugat ha-Bosem*, cites him in his book on matters of language and *piyyut*. His extant *piyyutim* include the *seliḥah* he composed in memory of the martyrs of 1235 of Laudna and Bischofsheim, beginning with the words "*Ezak Ḥamas Korotai*" ("I cry for the violence that has befallen me") and a *piyyut* for Rosh Ha-Shanah, *Melekh Elyon Addir ba-Marom Adonai* ("Exalted King, God, mighty on high") found in a French festival prayer book of 1278. It is possible that he is to be identified with Jose of Heidelberg, who corrected Torah scrolls and lived in Bohemia where the aforementioned Abraham b. Azriel dwelt. Joseph's nephew was Joseph b. Kalonymus ha-Nakdan II (died after 1294). He too was a grammarian and *paytan*. He lived in Xanten and studied under his maternal grandfather, *Samson ha-Nakdan. He was much occupied in copying and vocalizing of manuscripts and composed poems for learning the correct reading and the intonations of the books of the Bible, one of which, entitled *Ta'amei Emet*, for Job, Proverbs, and Psalms, was published with the author's explanation by A. *Berliner (see bibliography).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Davidson, Oẓar, 4 (1933), 402; Zunz, Lit Poesie, 335; A. Berliner (ed.), *Ta'amei Emet im Be'ur be-Ḥaruzim me'et ha-Nakdan Yosef bar Kalonymus* (1886); N. Bruell, *Jahrbuecher fuer Juedische Geschichte und Literatur*, 8 (1887), 118–21; J. Freimann, in: *Festschrift… Dubnow* (1930), 169–71; E. Urbach (ed.), *Arugat ha-Bosem*, 1 (1939), 281.

[Abraham David]

JOSEPH BEN MORDECAI GERSHON HA-KOHEN OF CRACOW (1510–1591), Polish halakhic authority. Joseph, who was born in Cracow, was a brother-in-law of Moses *Isserles and a member of his *bet din*. For about 50 years he served as head of a yeshivah in Cracow. He is the author of *She'erit Yosef* (Cracow, 1590), comprising responsa, expositions of the *Mordekhai* of *Mordecai b. Hillel to the orders *Nezikin* and *Mo'ed*, the tractate *Berakhot*, and the Minor Tractates, and of *Tur Ḥoshen Mishpat*. The responsa were also published separately (Fuerth, 1767). In the introduction he notes that his sons, TANḤUM (d. 1618) and AARON MOSES (d. 1616) "persuaded me to have it published." Most of his responsa deal with commercial and financial matters, in which he was especially expert. He was approached with problems from Moravia (nos. 7, 9, 40), Italy (33), and Turkey (6) and corresponded with Meir *Katzenellenbogen (no. 1) and Solomon *Luria (no. 17). The latter asked him to look into a certain ruling and express his opinion on it, and in reply Joseph wrote a complete responsum. He was inclined to be stringent, as Isserles (no. 111) testified, and when a grain of wheat was found on a salted piece of meat during Passover, he prohibited all the pieces that were in the vessel at the time (no. 46). At the end of this responsum he stressed that many "of my colleagues opposed me, saying that it was a new prohibition and one should take into account only those prohibitions imposed explicitly by our predecessors." Only after he adduced additional evidence in support of his ruling was it accepted as binding in Cracow. His individuality and independence in determining halakhic ruling is marked; for instance he opposed a ruling by Solomon Liebermann in the case of a doubtful betrothal and relied upon Katzenellenbogen, who agreed with his opinion (no. 28). He wrote glosses to and published *Sefer ha-Aguddah* (Cracow,

1571) by *Alexander Susslin ha-Kohen. In the introduction Joseph states that he found it necessary to add his glosses because of the succinct style of the work and the difficulty in understanding it. David *Gans, the author of *Ẓemaḥ David* wrote that Joseph "was adorned with four crowns: the crown of Torah, the crown of the priesthood, the crown of greatness, and the crown of a good name."

BIBLIOGRAPHY: I.M. Zunz, *Ir ha-Ẓedek* (1874), 23–26; Rabbinovicz, in: *Ha-Maggid*, 19 (1875), 311f.; H.N, Dembitzer, *Kelilat Yofi*, 1 (1888), 4b–8a; H.D. (B.) Friedberg, *Luḥot Zikkaron* (1897) 8f.; idem, *Toledot ha-Defus ha-Ivri be-Polanyah* (1950^2), 4, 6, 15; A. Siev, *Ha-Rema* (1957), 29f.

[Yehoshua Horowitz]

JOSEPH BEN MORDECAI HA-KOHEN (late 17th and early 18th century), talmudist of *Jerusalem. Joseph was a pupil of Moses b. Jonathan *Galante. From 1706 to 1718 he wandered through various European countries and, while in Venice, arranged for the printing of his own and other works. Toward the end of his life he was appointed rabbi in Ankara, Turkey.

He was the author of: *Sha'arei Yerushalayim*, a collection of religious poems and prayers in praise of Jerusalem (both his own and those of other authors), printed with the annotations of Moses Cohen (Venice, 1707); *Divrei Yosef*, homilies (*ibid.*, 1710); *Likkut Yosef*, responsa on the laws of *sheḥitah* (unpublished). Joseph further edited *Zevaḥ ha-Shelamim* of Moses Galante (Amsterdam, 1708), as well as the *Idrot ha-Kedoshot*, based on the manuscripts of the *Zohar brought by Nathan Shapiro from Jerusalem (*ibid.*, 1708), and also a work entitled *Leket ha-Omer*, containing diverse prayers according to the custom of the Jews of Corfu (*ibid.*, 1718).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Frumkin-Rivlin, 2 (1928), 87, no. 11;4 (1930), 20; Yaari, Sheluḥei, 372f.

[Samuel Abba Horodezky]

JOSEPH (Joselein) BEN MOSES (1423–1490?), talmudist and author. Born in Hoechstaedt, Bavaria, he studied under Jacob *Weil at Augsburg, Judah *Minz at Padua, and Joseph *Colon at Mestre. His principal teacher, however, was Israel *Isserlein under whom he studied at Wiener Neustadt for 10 years, and whose statements, customs, and daily conduct he noted carefully. From these notes he wrote his work *Leket Yosher* (ed. by J. Freimann, 1903), which is a compilation of his teacher's customs, together with his responsa and halakhic decisions. He was apparently the first to base his work on the *Arba'ah Turim*, but only the sections on the *Oraḥ Ḥayyim* and *Yoreh De'ah* are extant. The language of the author is not clear, as he himself admits. He was, however, an extremely precise and conscientious compiler, regularly indicating his sources, comparing different manuscripts, and, on several occasions, pointing out that a responsum he had found was a revised version and not a true copy of the author's original statement. At times he added brief annotations from the Talmud and halakhic authorities. The work is significant also because of the many new responsa of contemporary scholars which are cited and because of its great value for the history of the Jews and scholars of Germany, whose important communities he visited.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Joseph b. Moses, *Leket Yosher*, ed. by J. Freimann (1903), introd.; S. Eidelberg, *Jewish Life in Austria in the 15th Century* (1962), index.

[Yedidya A. Dinari]

JOSEPH BEN MOSES (Ashkenazi), DARSHAN OF PRZEMYSLANY (17th century), rabbi, preacher, and *dayyan*. He was noted for his *derashot* of admonishment. The *Councils of the Lands approved the publication of *Ketonet Passim* (Lublin, 1691) and *Ẓafenat Pa'ne'aḥ he-Ḥadash* (Frankfurt on the Oder, 1694), two collections of his sermons. Joseph is also the author of *Keter Yosef* (Berlin, 1700), a commentary on liturgy. He was suspected of Shabbatean leanings.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: I. Halpern (ed.), *Pinkas Va'ad Arba Araẓot* (1945), 209, 213f.; idem, *Yehudim-ve-Yahadut be-Mizraḥ Eiropah* (1968), 85, 95.

JOSEPH BEN MOSES OF KREMENETS (second half of the 16th century), Polish talmudist. Joseph's teachers in Cracow included Moses *Isserles, Israel ben Shalom *Shakhna, and R. Mardush in Ostrog. The influence of his teachers is seen in his *Be'urei ha-Semag* (Venice, 1605), a commentary on the section on negative precepts in the *Sefer Mitzvot Gadol* of *Moses of Coucy. He also wrote *Be'urei Rashi*, a supercommentary to Rashi's commentary on the Pentateuch (Prague, 1615), as well as *Be'urei Sha'arei Dura* (*ibid.*, 1609), on the work of that name by Isaac ben Meir *Dueren (Cracow, 1534). A halakhic decision of Joseph appears in the *Mashbit Milḥamot* about the *Mikvah* of Rovigo (Venice, 1606, 88a–89b).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Zunz, Gesch, 286, no. 121; 290, no. 158.

[Samuel Abba Horodezky]

JOSEPH BEN MOSES OF TROYES (known as **Joseph Porat**; 12th century), French scholar of Epernay. Joseph was an older contemporary of Jacob *Tam and a principal pupil of Tam's brother, *Samuel b. Meir, during whose lifetime he wrote *tosafot*. Many scholars studied his works in order to acquaint themselves with Samuel's teachings. Tam himself, as well as *Eliezer b. Samuel of Metz, and, particularly, *Judah Sir Leon, already made use of his *tosafot* to tractate *Shabbat*. His name is frequently mentioned in the printed *tosafot*, particularly to the tractates *Berakhot* and *Shabbat*, and in the *Tosafot Yeshanim* on tractate *Yoma*, and it is possible that wherever "Joseph" is mentioned without qualification in these tractates, it is he that is being referred to. Mention is also made of his *tosafot* to *Mo'ed Katan* and *Ketubbot*. Joseph corresponded with Tam and submitted problems to him (*Sefer ha-Yashar*, section of responsa ed. by F. Rosenthal (1898), 25–28) – even before Tam had left Ramerupt in 1146 – and the latter replied in terms of great respect. Tam's pupil, Aaron, may have been Joseph's son.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Urbach, Tosafot, index.

[Israel Moses Ta-Shma]

JOSEPH BEN MOSES PHINEHAS (1726–1801), Polish talmudic scholar and author. Joseph was a son-in-law of Ezekiel *Landau, who described him as the "unrivaled" scholar of his generation. He was renowned for his piety and is usually referred to as "Joseph the Righteous." His insistence on imposing punishment on members of his community in accordance with Jewish law brought him into conflict with the authorities, who had withdrawn this privilege from the Jewish communities.

Joseph carried on an extensive correspondence with scholars, including his father-in-law; his scholarly exchange of letters with Akiva *Eger is particularly noteworthy. A large part of his writings was destroyed by fire in Dubno, where his widow had taken up residence; the remainder was collected and published by his grandson, Samuel Schoenblum, under the title *Zikhron She'erit Yosef* (1881). Some of his decisions and novellae are quoted in the *Noda bi-Yhudah* (e.g., to EH 63, ḤM 25–28) and *Ẓiyyun le-Nefesh Ḥayyah* (1783, 1855) of his father-in-law; a number of his novellae appear in the *Beit Shemu'el Aḥaron* (1816) of his brother.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: J.A. Kamelhar, *Mofet ha-Dor* (1934^2), 89–92, 113–5 (New York, 1966), 24, 30; J. Perles, *Geschichte der Juden in Posen* (1865), 74–75, 126; I.T. Eisenstadt and S. Wiener, *Da'at Kedoshim* (1897–98), 69; A. Heppner and J. Herzberg, *Aus Vergangenheit und Gegenwart der Juden… in den Posener Landen* (1904–14) 782–3.

[Elias Katz]

JOSEPH BEN NOAH (**Abu Yaʿqūb Yūsuf ibn Nūh**; early 11th century), Karaite scholar. According to a report by *Ibn al-Hītī, he lived in Jerusalem and was principal of an academy of 70 scholars (possibly to conform with the number of members of the *Sanhedrin). His contemporaries were *Sahl b. Maẓli'aḥ and *Japheth b. Ali, who opposed him on certain questions. Joseph b. Abraham ha-Kohen ha-Ro'eh (Abu Yaʿqūb al-Baṣīr) and *Abu al-Faraj Harun ibn al-Faraj refer to him as their teacher. Judah *Hadassi, who mentions Joseph several times in *Eshkol ha-Kofer*, reports that he rejected one of the basic tenets of Karaite doctrine, deduction by analogy. Joseph's works are no longer extant. They included a commentary on the Pentateuch, which Abu al-Faraj is supposed to have summarized and which Ali ibn Suleiman used for his commentary on Deuteronomy. He also wrote a grammatical work, likewise quoted by Abu al-Faraj.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Steinschneider, Arab Lit, 76, no. 38; Mann, Texts, 2 (1935), 33f.; Z. Ankori, *Karaites in Byzantium* (1959), index; L. Nemoy, *Karaite Anthology* (1952), 231ff., 374ff.

[Isaak Dov Ber Markon]

JOSEPH BEN PHINEHAS (d. before 928), *Baghdad businessman and banker. By 877 he was already engaged in large and far-flung business transactions, with *Aaron b. Amram as his partner. In 908 the two had financial dealings with the vizier Ibn al-Furāt, and in 911/12 they were appointed court bankers to the caliph al-Muqtadir – this was regarded as the most important post under the *Abbasid regime. There are records of their activities as court bankers until 924, and it appears that Joseph b. Phinehas retained his post until his death. He knew how to use his high office to further the cause of Babylonian Jewry in government circles. A report by R. *Nathan ha-Bavli refers to a bitter controversy between the exilarch *Ukba and the *Gaon* *Kohen Zedek (according to Mann, the exilarch's controversy was with R. Judah Gaon, the grandfather of R. *Sherira Gaon, and not with Kohen Ẓedek) about revenues from Khorasan for the academy of *Pumbedita. Joseph b. Phinehas and his son-in-law *Netira, who also held a high position in the administration, gave their support to the *gaon* and twice succeeded in having the exilarch Ukba removed from his post. Joseph's position at court was inherited by his grandsons, the sons of his son-in-law Natira who died in 916.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Neubauer, Chronicles, 2 (1895), 78–79; W.J. Fischel, in: JRAS (1933), 339–52, 569–603; Fischel, Islam, index; Mann, in: *Tarbiz*, 5 (1933/34), 148–54, 156f.; Baron, Social, 3 (1957), 152f.; 5 (1957), 10; **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** M. Gil, *Be-Malkhut Ishma'el*, 1:651–56; M. Ben-Sasson, in: *Tarbut ve-Ḥevrah be-Toledot Yisrael bi-Ymei ha-Benayim*, dedicated to the memory of H.H. Ben-Sasson (1989), 182.

[Abraham David]

JOSEPH BEN SAMUEL BEN ISAAC HA-MASHBIR (**Rodi**; d. 1700), Karaite author and scholar. Born in Derazhnya, Volhynia, Joseph was a pupil of Nisan Kukizow and a teacher of his son Mordechai b. Nisan *Kukizow. He helped Mordechai to answer the questions on the Karaites received from the Leiden professor Jacob Trigland (incorporated in *Dod Mordechai*). About 1670 Joseph moved from Derazhnya to *Halicz, where his innovations brought the Galician Karaites into closer contact with those of the Crimea. This earned him the name "*ha-Mashbir*" ("provider of bread"; cf. Gen. 42:6). He endeavored to raise the educational level of Halicz's Karaites and established a number of regulations that were observed also by following generations of that community.

He was an author of several treatises. Most of them are known only by title: *Ner Ḥokhmah* (Ms. JTS, NY), a commentary on the prayer book that was never finished; *Porat Yosef* or *Tiferet Yosef*, a work on Hebrew grammar (Mss. Oxford, Strasbourg); *Er ve-Onah; Perush al Asarah Ikkarim* (Ms. Strasbourg); *Shever Yosef*, an exegetical work, written in the form of questions and answers.

Fourteen of his *seliḥot*, prayers, and hymns are incorporated in the Karaite prayer book.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Fuerst, Karaeertum, 3 (1869), 86; R. Fahn, *Le-Korot ha-Kara'im be-Galiẓyah* (1910), 7–8; S. Poznański, in: ZHB, 14 (1910), 95; Mann, Texts, 2 (1935), index, 1558.

[Isaak Dov Ber Markon / Golda Akhiezer (2nd ed.)]

JOSEPH BEN SHALOM ASHKENAZI (also called **Joseph ha-Arokh**, "the tall"; early 14th century), Spanish kabbalist. According to his own testimony, he was a descendant of *Judah b. Samuel he-Ḥasid. Only two of his works have survived:

(1) a commentary on the Sefer *Yeẓirah (Mantua, 1562), erroneously published under the name of R. *Abraham b. David of Posquières. An abridged version of this commentary was published in Constantinople in 1719. The commentary is often cited in kabbalistic works and even gained Isaac *Luria's appreciation; (2) a commentary on the portion of Genesis in the *Midrash Rabbah* (in Ms.). Although Ashkenazi made use of many talmudic, philosophical, and kabbalistic sources, he cites very few of them. He did not regard the *Zohar as an authoritative work. Despite his opposition to the Aristotelians, he admired *Maimonides, and his works reveal a tendency to merge philosophy and Kabbalah. Joseph Solomon *Delmedigo of Candia stated that Ashkenazi was "a sophisticated and knowledgeable philosopher." He was opposed to mythical speculation.

Ashkenazi's Teaching

Ashkenazi's philosophical inquiry led him to the conclusion that there must be one cause for all causes which cannot be in potentiality, in change, or in motion. Ashkenazi calls this the *Illat ha-Illot* ("cause of causes") and, infrequently, *Ein-Sof ("the Infinite"). By using this causal term, he wished to emphasize the revelatory aspect, although he stressed the cause of all causes as being above the world of emanation (*Aẓilut*). Even the first *Sefirah, Keter* ("crown"), is neither identical nor coexistent with the cause of all causes despite certain resemblances between them. Thus Ashkenazi opposed a number of Spanish kabbalists who identified *Ein-Sof* with *Keter.* At a certain point, the *Ein-Sof* intended to elevate the *Sefirot* hidden within it, which served as manifestations of the concealed divinity. The *Sefirot* constitute inclusive unity and variegated activity into which man is integrated by his theurgic activity.

The principle of paradigma is valid for the entire structure of existence. The emanating element in the *Sefirot* is described in the image of male and female. And just as the microcosm was created as an amorphous mass, according to the Midrash, the macrocosm began as hylic matter "which was neither potential nor actual," and thus, preceding the *Sefirot*, there was an amorphous mass called *havayot* ("essences") or *omakim* ("depths") – a conception resembling Platonic ideas. The force of evil (*temurot*, "changes") is considered a real entity, deriving from a supernal source and dependent on good. Evil's main tasks are provocation, accusation, and punishment. In the world to come man will inevitably fulfill the *mitzvot* and evil will be abolished. Ashkenazi approved of magic as a science, but opposed those who practiced it.

According to Ashkenazi, all existence is merely a system of layers. He posits as a cosmic rule that all that exists, including the seven lower *Sefirot* (and herein lies his great innovation), will undergo transmigration (*gilgul); through transmigration, a being changes form, either rising or declining. Death is a metamorphosis and not the cessation of existence, and man, in part or as a whole, may be reincarnated into any entity in the world. Ashkenazi is the source of the idea that the Messiah is a reincarnation of Moses.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Basilea, Solomon Aviad Sar-Shalom, *Emunat Ḥakhamim* (1888), 139; G. Scholem, in: KS, 4 (1928), 286–302; 5 (1929), 263–6; G. Vajda, in: *Tarbiz*, 27 (1958), 290–300; M. Hallamish, in: *Leshonenu la-Am*, 17 (1966), 107–12; idem, in: *Bar llan*, 7–8 (1970), 211–24; R.J.Z. Werblowsky, *Joseph Karo, Lawyer and Mystic* (1962), 249–51; Y.A. Vaida, in: *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du moyen âge* (1956), 144–5.

[Moshe Hallamish]

JOSEPH BEN SHESHET IBN LATIMI (c. 1300), Hebrew poet. Joseph, who lived in Lérida (Spain), was a member of a well-known Jewish family. His best-known work is a prayer, composed in the year 1308, consisting of 1,000 words, each of which begins with the letter *alef.* Aside from this bit of ingenuity, the piece is distinguished by a highly complicated structure and a long acrostic. It is found in a number of manuscripts, as well as in an edition by Isaac Akrish, *Koveẓ Vikkuḥim* (Breslau, 1844). Joseph is also the author of numerous liturgical poems and elegies, which have remained unknown to most scholars in the field.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Landshuth, Ammudei, 98; Zunz, Lit Poesie, 499; Baer, Urkunden, 1 (1929), 985; Margoliouth, Cat, 3 (1965), 163 no. 871, 241 no. 929 vi, 428 no. 1058; Davidson, Oẓar, 4 (1933), 400.

[Jefim (Hayyim) Schirmann]

JOSEPH BEN SOLOMON OF CARCASSONNE (11th century), liturgical poet. One of the first representatives of the *piyyut* in France, Joseph is already quoted by *Rashi. His *yoẓer* for the first Sabbath of Ḥanukkah (*Odekha Ki Anafta*) appears in the German-Polish and in the Roman rites, and has repeatedly been printed and commented upon. The poem is composed in the old poetic style, in strophes of three lines, with a nine-fold alphabetical acrostic. Its content is largely based on the Scroll of Antiochus, the Book of Judith, and the Books of the Maccabees (I, ch. 1 and II, chs. 6–7).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Zunz, Lit Poesie, 123; Landshuth, Ammudei, 96; Fuenn, Keneset, 505; Gross, Gal Jud, 614f.; Elbogen, Gottesdienst, 331; Davidson, Oẓar, 4 (1933), 408; A.M. Dubarle, *Judith, forme et sens*, 1 (1966), 98f.; 2 (1966), 162f. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** Schirmann-Fleischer, *The History of Hebrew Poetry in Christian Spain and Southern France* (1997), 426 (Heb.).

[Jefim (Hayyim) Schirmann]

JOSEPH BEN TANḤUM YERUSHALMI (b. 1262), Hebrew poet, son of the grammarian-exegete *Tanḥum b. Joseph Yerushalmi of Cairo. It seems that he spent most of his life in Egypt, though he traveled to Jerusalem, Hebron, and other cities of Palestine. At the age of 15 Joseph composed *'Arugot ha-Besamim*', a collection of poems with *tajnīs* rhymes, distributed in 10 sections (*arugot*), in imitation of Moses ibn Ezra's *Sefer ha-'Anak*; the book was published by J. Dishon in 2005. As a means of earning a livelihood Joseph had to write poems in honor of several Jewish patrons. Many of his poems were dedicated to Maimonides' grandson David b. Abraham *Maimuni, who had befriended him. Joseph also addressed verses to David's son, Abraham, to several relatives of this family, and to many others. He celebrated the familiar events (births, circumcisions, weddings) of his sponsors and wrote elegies in case of illness. On the death of his father in 1291 he composed a lamentation in which he mentions the conquest of Acre by the Crusaders. He may have still been alive in 1330.

Beside the poems collected in the *Arugot ha-Besamim,* with Arabic glosses, other of Joseph's poems were collected in a *Divan*, divided into seven sections (*abwāb*). The extant manuscripts are all fragmentary and contain only poems of section 2 (Letters and *maqāmāt*), 4 (Eulogies and Congratulations), 5 (Love and Wine), 6 (Elegies and Dirges), 7 (Miscellaneous). He knew the most important Andalusian Hebrew poets very well and was particularly influenced by Moses *Ibn Ezra and Judah *Al-Ḥarizi; most genres of the Spanish-Hebrew poetry are represented in the *Divan*. There are poems with verses in different meters, strophic verse (*muwashshaḥ*) occasionally with Arabic endings, *maqāmāt* in which the narrator is called Aḥiṭūb b. Ḥakmoni, and plays on words (*tajnīs*). A small number of liturgical poems also appear. Although the compositions are without originality, and often even devoid of precise expression, Joseph displays a knowledge of Arabic and Hebrew literary tradition and stylistic skill and is no doubt the most representative Hebrew poet of Egypt in the 13th century. A.M. Habermann published a number of his shorter wine and love poems. Several other poems and *maqāmāt* were published by H. Brody, J. Schirmann, S.M. Stern, P. Naveh, H.V. Sheynin, J. Yahalom, and J. Dishon.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Brody, in: *Kobez al Jad*, 9 (1893), 7–8, 17–19; Poznański, in: REJ, 40 (1900), 129–53; 41 (1900), 46–61; Mann, Texts, 1 (1931), 435–45; J. Schirmann, *Shirim Ḥadashim min ha-Genizah* (1965), index; idem, in: *Kobez al Jad*, 3 (1939), 62–64; Habermann, in: *Maḥbarot le-Sifrut*, 2 no. 2 (1942), 39–40; Ashtor, Toledot, 1 (1944), 163–6; S.M. Stern, in: *Tarbiz,* 18 (1947), 184–86; Toledano, in: *Sinai*, 42 (1958), 339–55; P. Naveh, in: *Molad*, 25 (1968), 237–44; idem, in: *Studies in Bibliography and Booklore*, 9 (1970), 57–75, V. Sheynin, in: AO, 22 (1969), 245–71. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** Y. Ratzaby, in: *Pirkei Shirah*, 1 (1990), 77–110, 2 (1999), 53–81; J. Yahalom, in: *Sefer Yisrael Levin* (1994), 145–54; idem, in: *Pirkei Shirah,* 3 (2003), 87–98; S. Einbinder, in: *Medieval Encounters,* 1 (1995), 252–70; J. Dishon, in: *Dappim le-Meḥkar be-Sifrut*, 12 (1999/2000), 25–63; idem (ed.), *The Book of the Perfumed Flower Beds* (Heb., 2005).

[Jefim (Hayyim) Schirmann / Angel Sáenz-Badillos (2nd ed.)]

JOSEPH BEN UZZIEL, name of the grandson of *Ben Sira, according to two pseudepigraphical sources. In the first source, the Alphabet of *Ben Sira (a late-geonic work, which contains some heretical tendencies), the unknown author used the literary device of a dialogue between two or three characters, his intention being to create a satirical imitation of midrashic forms. These characters were Ben Sira, his son Uzziel, and the latter's son Joseph b. Uzziel. Probably the idea of Ben Sira's grandson originated from the author's knowledge that the historical Ben Sira had a grandson who had edited and translated his book. The second text, the *baraita* of Joseph b. Uzziel, is a short treatise found in several manuscripts, usually followed by a religious poem which might be part of the pseudepigraphical work. The *baraita* was written by one or more of the early Ḥasidei Ashkenaz, probably in the 12th century. It claims to contain revelations which the prophet Jeremiah handed to his great-grandson (Ben Sira was described as Jeremiah's daughter's son). This treatise is a commentary on *Sefer *Yeẓirah* ("Book of Creation") and contains some of the main ideas of Ashkenazi ḥasidic esoteric doctrines, in addition to some ideas unknown from any earlier source, e.g., the "Special Cherub," which shines in the east (*Shekhinah* ("Divine Presence") shines from the west), and is described as the main vehicle of divine revelation. The *baraita* of Joseph b. Uzziel served as a major source for a group of Ashkenazi ḥasidic thinkers, who wrote some numerous works based on its ideas. The most extensive of these works is the commentary on the *Sefer Yeẓirah* attributed to *Saadiah Gaon. Some quotations from a lost commentary on the *baraita* by one Avigdor ha-Ẓarefati are found in the writings of the Ḥasidei Ashkenaz. *Elhanan b. Yakar used the *baraita* extensively in his esoteric writings.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: A. Epstein, *Mi-Kadmoniyyot ha-Yehudim* (1957), 241, 248; Scholem, Mysticism, 87, 111–8; G. Scholem, *On the Kabbalah and Its Symbolism* (1965), 173ff.; Dan, in: *Molad*, 23 (1966), 490–6; idem, in: *Tarbiz*, 35 (1965/66), 349–72.

[Joseph Dan]

JOSEPH BEN ẒADDIK (late 15th century), rabbinic scholar and chronicler of Arévalo (central Spain). From 1467 to 1487 he was engaged in writing a compendium on ritual law, which he entitled *Zekher Ẓaddik*. The final chapter comprises a chronicle of significant events, with special emphasis on Jewish history, from the creation down to the author's own day; the last entry is dated 1487. This chapter was edited by Neubauer from the manuscript in the Bodleian Library. The contents agree to a considerable extent with the *Sefer ha-Kabbalah* of *Abraham b. Solomon of Torrutiel, which Baer attributes to their borrowing from common sources (see bibl.). Often faulty in its citation of names and dates, Joseph's chronicle contains a number of anachronisms and contradictions; thus, in one passage, Romulus is made a contemporary of David, with whom he allegedly signed a peace treaty, while elsewhere the date of the founding of Rome is placed more correctly in the time of Hezekiah, about 725 B.C.E. However, the chronicle does have some value for the Spanish period from the 11th to the 15th centuries, approximately from the time of *Ferdinand I to *Ferdinand and Isabella, since Joseph frequently cites non-Jewish sources and has a broader and more objective viewpoint than some of the later chroniclers, who were embittered by the final edict of expulsion in 1492.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Y.F. Baer, *Untersuchungen ueber… Schebet Jehuda* (1923), 26f.; F. Cantera Burgos, *Libro de la Cabala* (1928), 8f., 47–64 (annotated Spanish translation of chronicle covering events from 1015 on); Neubauer, Chronicles, 1 (1887 repr. 1965), xiv; Waxman, Literature, 2 (1960^{2}), 462f.

[Jacob Haberman]

JOSEPH (Josel) BEN ZE'EV WOLF HA-LEVI (first half of the 18th century), rabbi and author. Originally from Lissa, he served as a rabbi in Hohensalza and in Dubno. The following of his works have been printed: *Tiferet Yosef*, the first part of a supercommentary on Rashi's Bible commentary (Prague, 1725), dealing with the first three books of the Pentateuch; *Ateret Yosef*, a collection of his halakhic and aggadic novellae to the tractate *Kiddushin* (Berlin, 1746); *Sugyot ha-Shas* (Berlin, 1736–39); a collection of supplements to the 1734–39 Berlin and Frankfurt on the Oder editions of the Talmud, in which old *tosafot* to the Talmud and *tosafot* to *Horayot* and *Keritot* are quoted. This work was criticized as having been largely copied from the Frankfurt on the Main edition of the Talmud (1720–22).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: R.N.N. Rabbinovicz, *Ma'amar al Hadpasat ha-Talmud* (1952), 103, 116; O. Muneles, *Bibliographical Survey of Jewish Prague* (1952), 72, no. 240.

[Elias Katz]

JOSEPH DAVID (**Joseph ben David**; 1662–1736), rabbi of *Salonika. Born in Salonika, at an early age he was appointed as preacher and, on the death of Solomon *Amarillo in 1721, he was appointed *av bet din*, despite the objection of Amarillo's son Moses, who claimed the succession. In 1728 he became chief rabbi of Salonika, succeeding Joseph *Covo. He tended toward leniency in his rulings, and a considerable controversy arose when he gave a lenient punishment to a Jew who had been intimate with a married woman and had a child by her. The local rabbis protested against his ruling and demanded that the man be put to death in accordance with Jewish law. In his defense, Joseph David argued that at that time no Jewish court had the right to inflict capital punishment.

His works, which were published in Salonika, include: *Beit David* – halakhic novellae and responsa (pt. 1, 1740; pt. 2 (*Petaḥ Beit David*), 1746), and *Ẓemaḥ David* (2 pts., 1785–1811) – sermons on the Pentateuch, including a few on the prophets and hagiographa. A number of his works are still in manuscript.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Rosanes, Togarmah, 5 (1938), 21–22; Rivkind, in: KS, 3 (1926/27), 172, no. 209; Toiber, *ibid.*, 8 (1931/32), 275–6; Wilensky, *ibid.*, 15 (1938/39), 491–3.; 16 (1939/40), 271–2; J.M. Toledano, *Oẓar Genazim* (1960), 217, nos. 28–29.

[Abraham David]

JOSEPH DELLA REINA, hero of a kabbalistic legend who attempted to bring an end to Satan's power and thus lead to the redemption. The earliest version of the story, which evolved between the 15th and 17th centuries, is recorded by *Abraham b. Eliezer ha-Levi in his treatise *Iggeret Sod ha-Ge'ullah*, written in Jerusalem in 1519. The author used terms current only in kabbalistic literature of the period of the expulsion from Spain (1492). The story is very short and dwells more on a detailed description of Satan and his hosts than on the hero and his deeds. However, its salient feature is Joseph's burning of incense before Satan; this, being tantamount to idolatry, caused Joseph's failure and undoing. Nothing about the subsequent fate of the hero is reported. Abraham used this story to explain that Joseph's crime caused the redemption, which should have occurred in 1490, to be postponed for 40 years (one generation later) to 1530, according to the author's calculations the proven year of the beginning of the redemption and the coming of the Messiah. Abraham states that Joseph undertook his task in about 1470, a conclusion attested to by various sources which show that Joseph was actually a known kabbalist in the mid-15th century, probably from the Ibn *Gabbai family. Some factual basis for the story exists, though it serves the purposes and reflects the beliefs of later generations.

The story of Joseph was known in 16th-century Safed. Moses *Cordovero and Ḥayyim *Vital mention his name in descriptions of the dangers of messianic and magical activity. Ḥayyim Vital also recalls that his teacher Isaac *Luria once recognized Joseph's soul in the body of a black dog, Joseph's punishment for his crime. However, until the mid-17th century, a full and detailed written description of Joseph's deeds and fate does not exist, although apparently such a story was repeated orally in Ereẓ Israel. Solomon Navarro (b. 1606), the author of the most complete, detailed, and artistic version, lived for a long time in Jerusalem. Sent as emissary to Italy, he married a Christian, was converted to Christianity in 1664, and was involved in the Shabbatean movement. He wrote a book predicting that the redemption would occur in 1676. Navarro claimed that in Safed he had discovered an ancient manuscript of the story, written by a surviving disciple of Joseph. It is clear, however, that he himself had written the story, using the literary and oral traditions which had developed in the 200 years following Joseph's deed. Navarro's version is the first which contains a description of Joseph's fate after his failure to bring about the redemption. He became an ally of Satan and a lover of *Lilith, and later fell in love with the wife of the king of Greece, whom Lilith had brought to his bed every night. After some time this was revealed to the king and Joseph had to commit suicide. Both Eastern and Western folkloristic motifs appear in this last part. In contrast to earlier versions, Navarro describes Joseph's mistake as accidental. The earlier moral of the story, that a man should not try to use magic to bring forth the redemption, does not emerge clearly.

In Navarro's version, the tale may be interpreted as encouragement to follow Joseph's example and as a demonstration of the dangers of such practice, an aspect which interested the Shabbatean writers. Solomon *Ayllon, a leading Shabbatean thinker after *Shabbetai Ẓevi's conversion to Islam, composed a version of the story which has been preserved in Yiddish. It reveals a more sympathetic attitude toward Joseph. The Shabbateans, naturally, noticed the similarity between Joseph, who became a servant of Satan, and their converted messiah. In the late 17th century a Shabbatean Jew who belonged to the *Doenmeh wrote a mythical biography of Shabbetai Ẓevi, using a motif found in this story to describe his messiah's struggle against the cosmic forces of evil.

Navarro's version became very popular in the 18th and 19th centuries, was translated into many languages, and is included in almost every anthology of Jewish stories. Joseph della Reina has served as the subject of many poems, short epics, ballads, and plays.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Sippur Devarim* (Constantinople, 1728), vols. 28–36; G. Scholem, in: *Zion* (*Me'assef*), 5 (1933), 124–30; idem, in: *Sefunot*, 9 (1965), 201; J. Dan, *ibid.*, 6 (1962), 313–26; Z. Rubashov (Shazar), *Eder ha-Yekar* (1947), 97–118.

[Joseph Dan]

JOSEPH HA-KOHEN (1496–1578), historiographer, physician, and philologist active in Italy. His parents were originally from Spain, and, after the expulsion of the Jews from that country, went to Avignon. In 1501/02 they moved to *Genoa, where Joseph received a comprehensive education, including languages, history, literature, and medicine, in which he specialized and became celebrated. With the expulsion of the Jews from Genoa in 1516, Joseph moved with his family to Novi, where he married the daughter of Abraham b. Moses ha-Kohen, one of the most prominent rabbis of Italy. Joseph subsequently moved from place to place. In 1538 he returned to Genoa, and in 1550, when the Jews were expelled from there a second time, he was invited by the inhabitants of Voltaggio to settle in this town as their physician. Seventeen years later a decree ordering the expulsion of the Jews from Voltaggio was issued, and although the townsmen obtained permission for him to stay, Joseph refused to dissociate himself from the rest of the community. Joseph did much to assist in the ransom and rehabilitation of Jewish captives brought to Italy, contributing to this from his own resources. The loss of his three sons caused him bitter grief.

Joseph's writings evince his versatility. His first historical work was *Divrei ha-Yamim le-Malkhei Ẓarefat u-le-Malkhei Beit Ottoman ha-Togar* (Sabbioneta, 1554; Amsterdam, 1733), a history of the kings of France and Turkey, which earned him the title of the "second Josephus" from the Hebraist Jacques *Basnage. The first part deals with the period from the downfall of the Roman Empire until 1520 and dwells particularly on the Crusades and events close to them. The second part deals with the period 1520–53 and contains a description of events in the author's own generation. The work is a general history and includes some events concerning the Jews, such as the exile, persecutions, and massacres. His knowledge of Latin and other languages gave him access to various sources, and his conclusions are well based and objective. A Latin summary of the first two parts of this work was printed in 1670, and an English translation in 1835–36. The third part, dealing with the period 1554–75, was first published in 1955, in Hebrew. After the publication of Samuel *Usque's *Consolaçam as tribulaçoens de Ysrael* in 1552, Joseph decided to compose a similar book in Hebrew, which appeared in 1558 under the title *Emek ha-Bakha* ("Valley of Tears"; cf. Ps. 84:7). In it he tells of the "hardships which befell us since the day of Judah's exile from its land." In the second edition he added events of his own day. A complete edition, with additions until 1605 by an unknown editor, was prepared by S.D. *Luzzatto and published in Vienna in 1852 by M. Letteris. Passages from the *Emek ha-Bakha*, which list at length the sufferings, persecutions, expulsions, and forced conversions undergone by the Jews, were read in some of the Italian communities on the Ninth of Av. The work was translated into German in 1858 and French in 1881. Other works by Joseph have been preserved in manuscript on various subjects – geographical-historical themes, linguistics and medicine. They include *Maẓiv Gevulot Amim*, a translation from the Italian version of Boemus' work *Omnium gentium mores leges et ritus*, a geography of Africa, Asia, and Europe; *Sefer ha-India* and *Sefer Fernando Cortes*, a two-part translation of Francisco López de Gómara's *Historia General de las Indias*, and *La Conquista de Mexico*, a description of the lands of South America and Mexico, and of their conquest by the Spaniards; and *Mekiẓ Nirdamim*, a translation of a medical treatise by the physician Meir *Alguadez, to which Joseph added a chapter on "remedies for the French disease." Several poems by Joseph were published at the end of *Sefer Sha'ashu'im* by Joseph b. Meir Zabara (published in New York, 1913).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: A. Kahana, *Sifrut ha-Historyah ha-Yisre'elit*, 2 (1923), 91–108; D.A. Gross (ed.), Joseph ha-Kohen, *Sefer Divrei ha-Yamim le-Malkhei Ẓarefat u-Malkhei Beit Ottoman ha-Togar* (1955), introd.; M.A. Shulwass, *Ḥayyei ba-Yehudim be-Italyah bi-Tekufat ha-Renaissance* (1955), index; M. Wiener (trans.), Joseph ha-Kohen, *Emek habacha* (1858), introd.; I. Loeb, in: REJ, 16 (1888), 28–56; 212–23; M. Steinschneider, *Die Geschichtsliteratur der Juden* (1905), 101–3; G. Musso, in: *Scritti in Memoria di L. Carpi* (1967).

[Ephraim Kupfer]

JOSEPH ḤAYYIM BEN ELIJAH AL-ḤAKAM (1833 or 1835–1909), *Baghdad rabbi. He was the son of Elijah al-Ḥakam and the father of Jacob al-Ḥakam (see *Al-Ḥakam). Born in Baghdad, he studied with his maternal uncle, David Ḥai b. Meir. In 1848 he began to study under Abdallah *Somekh. He succeeded his father (1859) as preacher, a post he held until his death. In 1869 he visited Ereẓ Israel. In 1876 Jacob Obermeier of *Vienna, who had come to Baghdad to teach French, insulted Joseph Ḥayyim. The community excommunicated him and compelled him to request the rabbi's pardon. Al-Ḥakam was renowned as a great halakhic authority who instituted many *takkanot*. He wrote some 60 works on all aspects of Torah, only a few of which have been published. He is best known for his *Ben Ish Ḥai* (1898), homilies blended with *halakhah* and Kabbalah. This work achieved immense popularity, particularly in Oriental communities, where it is studied extensively and has gone through many editions. His other published works include *Ben Yehoyada* (1898–1904), five volumes of commentaries to the aggadic portions of the Babylonian Talmud and *Rav Pe'alim* (1901–12), responsa. He wrote approximately 200 *piyyutim* and *pizmonim*, about 50 of which are incorporated in the liturgy of Baghdad Jewry; the rest are still in manuscript.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: A. Ben-Jacob, *Yehudei Bavel*, index; D.J. Sassoon, *History of Jews in Baghdad* (1969), index.

[Abraham David]

JOSEPH HA-ẒAREFATI, illuminator of the *Cervera Bible* of 1300 (see Illuminated *Bibles). Joseph ha-Ẓarefati ("the Frenchman") is one of the first Jewish artists known from medieval Europe. His colophon (fol. 449) stating: "I, Joseph ha-Ẓarefati, illustrated this book and completed it," which terminates the manuscript, is written in large anthropomorphic letters, each line framed by a colored band. Joseph's illustrations to the Bible are important as an example of early illuminated Castilian Bibles. No other extant illuminated manuscript was signed by Joseph, but the accomplishment of his work indicates an experienced artist. His style is influenced by 13th-century northern French illumination; the iconography of his illustrations is partly Castilian and partly French, but mostly his own invention. It is probable that his work influenced many artists, especially Joseph *Ibn Ḥayyim, who in 1476 used the *Cervera Bible* as a model for illustrating the *First Kennicott Bible*, where even the colophon is a direct imitation.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Mayer, 2221, 2229, 3009 c; C. Roth, *Gleanings* (1967), 316–9; B. Narkiss, *Hebrew Illuminated Manuscripts* (1969), 15, 245, 252; Schirmann, Sefarad, 2 (1956), 417.

[Bezalel Narkiss]

JOSEPH ḤAZZAN BEN JUDAH OF TROYES (13th century), French scholar, grandson of *Baruch b. Isaac of Regensburg, author of the *Sefer ha-Terumah*. As *ḥazzan* in his town, Joseph carefully studied the customs and versions of the liturgy of that community and its synagogal customs in their various traditions, adding customs of his own. After his death, his son Menahem, who succeeded him, wrote, at the request of many, *Seder Troyes* (ed. by M. Weiss, 1905), in which he summarized all of his father's research. Joseph was one of the few scholars of Germany and France who wrote grammatical works as well: *Yedidut*, on biblical grammar, and (apparently) *Sefer Sarim Rim* (Rim being acronym of **R**abbi **J**oseph **M**i-Troyes), on Hebrew grammar. Another book of his was *Yesod ha-Ibbur* ("The Basis of Calendar Intercalation"). With the exception of a few pages of *Yesod ha-Ibbur*, these works have been lost.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: M. Weiss (ed.), *Seder Troyes* (1905), introd.; Zunz, Gesch, 84f. 112; Gross, Gal Jud, 239f.; Bruell, in: *Jahrbuecher fuer Juedische Geschichte und Literatur*, 8 (1887), 63–65; Epstein, in: MGWJ, 41 (1897), 474f.; J. Freimann, in: *Ha-Eshkol*, 6 (1909), 106.

[Ephraim Kupfer]

JOSEPH IBN SHRAGA (d. 1508–09), kabbalist. Ibn Shraga lived in Italy apparently before the expulsion. He stayed for a long time in Argenta, near Ferrara, and was the father-in-law of Joseph b. Ḥayyim *Jabez. Ibn Shraga was considered the greatest Italian kabbalist in his generation and trained many students in Kabbalah, including Moses b. Mordecai Basola (I. Sonne, *Mi-Paulo ha-Revi'i ad Pius ha-Ḥamishi* (1954), 135), Elijah Menahem b. Abba Mari *Ḥalfan in Venice, and Isaac b. Joseph Jabez (according to his introduction to *Ḥasdei ha-Shem*). He wrote a treatise on the language of the Zohar on redemption which was widely circulated after the expulsion from Spain (printed at the end of *Likkutei Shikhḥah u-Fe'ah*, 1556) and denounced by *Abraham b. Eliezer ha-Levi as a forgery in *Mashreh Kitrin*. In addition, Joseph wrote (1) a kabbalistic commentary on the prayers; (2) a commentary on the blessings (both in Brit. Mus. Alm. Coll. Ms. 140); (3) a commentary on the Torah (Alm. Coll. Ms. 140); (4) *Seder Tikkun ha-Magefah* (printed in *Moshi'a Ḥosim*, 1587); (5) polemical observations on some kabbalistic responsa by the pseudo-prophet Asher *Lemlein (A. Marx, in REJ, 61 (1911), 135–8); (6) on different kabbalistic topics (Alm. Coll. Ms. 124). In 1505 he was living in his son-in-law's house in Padua and perhaps died there.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: HB, 5 (1862), 45–46; G. Scholem, in: KS, 2 (1925), 111; 7 (1931), 149–51; 8 (1933), 262–5.

[Gershom Scholem]

JOSEPH IBN ṬABŪL (c. 1545–beginning 17th century), kabbalist and one of the foremost students of R. Isaac *Luria. He came from North Africa (*Maghreb, Ma'arav*) and was therefore called "Joseph ha-Ma'aravi." He went to Safed in its most flourishing period and joined the circle of the disciples of Luria in 1570. After Luria's death, Ibn Ṭabūl remained in Safed and began to spread his teacher's doctrines. Tension grew between him and Ḥayyim *Vital. In his old age he went to Egypt and remained there for several years. Apparently at the beginning of the 17th century he returned to Ereẓ Israel and died in Hebron. His expositions on the Lurianic system served as one of the primary sources through which it became known in kabbalistic circles. It is preserved in many manuscripts and in time it was given the name (not by the author) *Derush Ḥefẓi-Bah*, and it was even attributed to his rival Ḥayyim Vital, under whose name the book was published when included in *Simḥat Kohen* by Masʿūd ha-Kohen al-Ḥaddād (Jerusalem, 1921). In addition, several of Ibn Ṭabūl's kabbalistic works, *yiḥudim* (hymns on the unity of God), sermons, and several commentaries on different portions of the *Zohar, including on the *Idra*, have been preserved in manuscript. Toward the end of his life, the question was raised if he had the right to leave the *Musta'arabi community (to which he belonged throughout his life) in order to join the Sephardi community. His students in Kabbalah included R. Samuel ben Sid and R. *Israel Benjamin I.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: A.L. Frumkin, *Toledot Ḥakhmei Yerushalayim*, 1, p. 15; G. Scholem, in: *Zion*, 5 (1940), 148–60.

[Gershom Scholem]

JOSEPH ISSACHAR BAER BEN ELHANAN (also called **Baer Frankfurter**; c. 1642–1705), author of rabbinical and kabbalistic works. The son of the kabbalist Elhanan b. Ẓevi, Joseph Issachar Baer served in his youth as rabbi in Moravia but then withdrew to Frydek in order to devote all his time to the study of Torah. In 1677 he was living in Eibenschitz (now Ivancice). Around 1680 he was rabbi of Frankfurt on the Oder, and from 1687 to 1694 district rabbi of Kremsier (Kromeriz), where he signed with David Oppenheim the resolutions prepared by the synod there in 1694. In 1696 he left Kremsier to travel to Palestine but during his journey made lengthy stays in Nikolsburg, in Vienna (where he enjoyed the hospitality of Samson *Wertheimer), and in Venice (1700–01). Baer's published works are *Arba Ḥarashim* (Frankfurt on the Oder, 1681), an anthology of kabbalistic homilies in four parts, and *Sheloshah Sarigim* (Venice, 1701), homilies on the *haftarot. His *Mei Be'er, Matteh Oz*, and *Peraḥ Levanon* remain in manuscript.

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[Joseph Maier]

JOSEPH JOSKE BEN JUDAH JUDEL OF LUBLIN (1659?–1706), talmudist and kabbalist. Joseph studied with his father, who was rabbi at Lemberg and later at Kowel. He was appointed rabbi, first of Minsk, and in 1698, of Dubnow where he lived until his death. Ẓevi Hirsch *Koidonover, one of his pupils, mentions in his *Kav ha-Yashar* the kabbalistic lore he learned from him. Joseph is the author of several works dealing with ethics and moral conduct: (1) *Yesod Yosef* (Sklow, 1785); (2) *Lu'aḥ Hanhagot* (Wilhelmsdorf, 1719); (3) *Ne'imah Kedoshah*, including a Sabbath hymn (Zolkiew, 1720); and (4) *Hanhagot Yesharot* (Zhitomir, 1868).

In his *Yesod Yosef* he describes realistically the conduct of the communal leaders and exhorts the community to behave morally.

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[Yehoshua Horowitz]

JOSEPH MAMAN AL-MAGHRIBI (1741–1822), rabbi and emissary of *Safed. Born in *Tetuán, *Morocco, Joseph Maman later settled in Safed with his family. Ḥayyim Joseph David *Azulai, the great Safed scholar, suggested he be sent on a special mission to the Jewish communities in *Syria, *Iraq, *Turkey, and *Persia to collect funds for the victims of the great famine in Safed. He traveled to Constantinople, Kermanshah, *Hamadan, *Teheran, and *Meshed, where he met Siman Tov Melamed, who persuaded him to visit the Jews in *Bukhara, then living in isolation and ignorance. On his mission, Joseph Maman was accompanied by Mulla Daniel of Meshed, who served him as interpreter. He arrived in Bukhara in 1793 and stayed there for 30 years, completely revitalizing the communities in Bukhara and the vicinity. He established Jewish schools in Bukhara, introduced the Sephardi rite in place of the Persian, and obtained books from *Baghdad, Constantinople, and particularly from Russia. Joseph Maman can be regarded as the spiritual father of the Ḥibbat Zion movement in Central Asia which, under the impact of his personality and teachings, brought thousands of Bukharian Jews to the Holy Land.

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[Walter Joseph Fischel]

JOSEPH MOSES BEN JEKUTHIEL ZALMAN (d. 1781), rabbi and kabbalist. At first he served as rabbi in Drohiczyn (near Pinsk), subsequently in Pinsk itself, and from 1746 in Sambor (Galicia). In his old age he migrated to Ereẓ Israel and died in Safed. He was the author of *Maggid Mishneh*, a commentary on *Mafte'aḥ ha-Olamot*, the first part of *Mishnat Ḥasidim*, the kabbalistic treatise of Immanuel Ḥai *Ricchi (printed with the text, Zolkiew, 1745); *Kiryat Arba*, a kabbalistic commentary to the *Shema*, together with a supplement to his *Maggid Mishneh* and *Ḥillukei de-Rabbanan*, talmudic novellae (*ibid.*, 1768). His *Ḥokhmat ha-Tekhunah*, a commentary on the astronomical portions of Maimonides' Code, was published in the introduction to the *Toledot Avraham* of Abraham b. Isaac Eisenberg (1881), while his *Mareh Ofannim* on astronomy and the calculation of the new moon has remained in manuscript, as has his *Mirkevet ha-Mishneh*, talmudic novellae.

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JOSEPH MOSES OF SALOSITZ (c. 1735–c. 1815), ḥasidic preacher. He was active in spreading Ḥasidism in Zborov and Salositz (Zalosce) and gave clear formulation both to his own ḥasidic teachings and those of others. Following *Dov Baer, the Maggid of Mezhirech, Joseph emphasized the theory that absolute evil does not exist but that there are different levels of good. According to him "justice (*din*) in itself is mercy (*hesed*)." *Ẓimẓum* ("concentration"), the creation of the world according to justice, is the equivalent of mercy which enables those created to receive and attain the divine emanation "because man is unable to attain divine emanation and God's mercies alone." He wrote *Berit Avraham* (Brody, 1875), a lengthy commentary on the Pentateuch, and *Be'er Mayim* (Medzibezh, 1817), on the Passover *Haggadah*.

JOSEPH OF GAMALA, Jewish patriot leader in the Jewish War (66–70/73 C.E.). Together with Chares, he organized the defense of Gamala when it was besieged by Vespasian in 67 C.E. The Romans were decisively repulsed in their first attack. The town fell, as a consequence of severe famine and lack of water, after a siege lasting nearly a month. Joseph was killed when trying to cut his way through the Roman ranks.

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[Edna Elazary]

JOSEPH ROSH HA-SEDER (12th century), Egyptian rabbinical scholar. There is very little biographical information about him. He was born in *Baghdad. His father, Jacob, who died before 1211, was a pupil of *Samuel b. Ali, who sent him in 1187 to visit the communities of Babylonia as an emissary of the Baghdad yeshivah. Joseph emigrated to *Egypt in middle age, leaving behind him in Babylonia an extensive library. He earned his living as a scribe and copyist, and perhaps also as a bookseller. He is unique in having worked out for himself a series of rabbinic-literary projects of very wide scope, and even took preliminary steps for their implementation. Among the *Genizah* documents, there are many fragments from planned works which never got beyond their first stage. His projects included compiling a *Gemara* for those tractates which have none, by assembling the relevant passages from the rest of the Talmud; connecting the oral with the written law by assembling Midrashim according to the weekly scriptural readings; a commentary on the Pentateuch and the *haftarot* taken from previous commentators; commentaries on the Mishnah, the Talmud, the code of *Alfasi and the prayer book of *Saadiah Gaon. Some of the extant fragments have been published. In order to facilitate his work, Joseph made a collection of numerous geonic responsa according to the order of the tractates, and for the same purpose compiled several lists of books, a number of which are extant. These lists contain material valuable for the history of rabbinical literature. It is worth mentioning Joseph's peculiar habit of applying to himself various honorific titles, some of them self-devised, e.g., *Rosh be-Rabbanan* ("Chief of the Scholars").

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[Israel Moses Ta-Shma]

JOSEPH SAMUEL BEN ẒEVI OF CRACOW (d. 1703), rabbi and talmudist. After having served for 26 years as a member of the Cracow *bet din*, he was in 1689 appointed rabbi in Frankfurt. There he established a yeshivah and headed charitable institutions. In his approbation (*haskamah*) to Ḥayyim Krochmal's *Mekor ha-Ḥayyim* (1697), he protested against the excessive publication of rabbinic literature in Germany, accusing the writers of many such works of "writing books not for the sake of Heaven… but seeking only their own benefit and advantage." He himself wrote several works on *halakhah* and *aggadah* but refrained from publishing them. His annotations to the Talmud were published by his son Aryeh Loeb in the Frankfurt and Amsterdam editions of the Talmud (1714–21), and appeared afterward in the Vienna and Sulzbach editions. Only one of his responsa has been published (in Enoch b. Abraham's *Ḥinnukh Beit Yehudah*, 137 (Frankfurt, 1710)).

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[Yehoshua Horowitz]

JOSEPH SOLOMON ZALMAN BEN MEIR (18th cent.), Hungarian rabbi and author. Joseph Solomon Zalman was born in Pressburg in 1727. At the age of 19 he married the daughter, apparently, of Ezekiel *Landau, but he separated from her after 13 years of domestic unhappiness (he refers to his wife as "more bitter than death"; *Minḥat Ani*, introd.; cf. Eccles. 7:26). His life as a whole was one of suffering. In the introduction to his book he alludes to the baseless hatred of his enemies who "deprived me of property and of lives," and to the three of his children "sweet and pure" whom he buried in his lifetime. He wandered from place to place but found no peace. He was in Prague, Frankfurt on the Main, and Fuerth, and everywhere was welcomed with respect and love by the great scholars of his time. He writes (*Minḥat Ani*, 2nd ed., p. 29b) that he did not succeed in clarifying a certain subject "because of lack of strength and brokenheartedness, for I have not yet succeeded in returning in peace to my father's house and my native land, and if I succeed in this I shall fulfill my vows." It is not known where he died or was buried. In 1780 Joseph Solomon published in Prague his *Minḥat Ani*, novellae on talmudic themes; it was republished with additions in Fuerth in 1787. On the title page he mentions his book *Kunteres Aḥaron*, on Maimonides and Abraham b. David of Posquières, that he wanted to publish. Some of his novellae were published at the end of the *Noda bi-Yhudah Mahadura Kamma* (Prague, 1801) of Ezekiel Landau and in his *Ẓiyyun le-Nefesh Ḥayyah* (*Ẓelaḥ*) to *Pesaḥim* (Prague, 1783). His son, GABRIEL ISAAC PRESSBURGER, served as secretary to Ezekiel Landau, and his son SAMUEL was a teacher in Prague and also published *Religioese Gespraeche* (1825) and *Asefat Ḥakhamim* (1846), a collection of explanations of verses in the Pentateuch in Hebrew and German. Pressburger is also mentioned in the *Noda bi-Yhudah, Mahadura Tinyana* (E.H. nos. 67 and 120).

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[Naphtali Ben-Menahem]

JOSEPHSON, Swedish family which had emigrated from Prussia in the late 18th century.

JACOB AXEL JOSEPHSON (1818–1880), conductor, composer, and writer, was born in Stockholm, the son of Salomon Josephson, a merchant. He studied at Uppsala University and, from 1841 (the year in which he converted to Christianity) to 1844, held various conducting and teaching posts. A grant by the famous singer Jenny Lind enabled him to tour and study on the Continent from 1844 to 1847. After directing the Stockholm Harmonic Society for two years, he was appointed *Director musices* of Uppsala University in 1849. In the same year he founded the Uppsala Philharmonic Society, which he headed for 30 years, and in 1867, the choir of Uppsala Cathedral. From 1864 onward he lectured at the university on music history. Under his direction, the Philharmonic Society Orchestra and the cathedral choir became the foremost performing bodies in Sweden and the first to achieve there, in the 19th century, a level comparable with the major European orchestras and choirs. Josephson's writings and his publications of musical anthologies were equally influential. Among his compositions, which were mostly in the Mendelssohn-Schumann vein, the vocal works predominate, and for many of these he wrote the words himself. Some of the works for chorus and orchestra and for male chorus have remained in the Swedish repertoire until today.

[Bathja Bayer]

His brother, LUDVIG OSCAR JOSEPHSON (1832–1899), was a stage director noted for his productions of Ibsen and Strindberg. Born in Stockholm, he began his career as an actor. His talent, however, lay in directing, and from 1865 to 1868 he was administrator of the national theaters. During this time he directed Shakespeare's *Coriolanus*, Byron's *Sardanapalus*, and Meyerbeer's opera, *L'Africaine*, as well as historical plays of his own. From 1873 to 1877 he worked in Christiania (now Oslo), where he became known for his brilliant presentations of Ibsen's *Peer Gynt* and *Pretenders*. Returning to the Swedish Theater in Stockholm (1879–87), he directed plays by the world's great dramatists and staged Strindberg's first important theatrical success, *Master Olof.*

[Viveka Heyman]

His nephew, ERNST ABRAHAM JOSEPHSON (1851–1906), was a well-known painter. He was born in Stockholm. A series of tragic events contributed to his eventual mental breakdown. As long as he adhered to traditional painting and acceptable subject matter, his talent was appreciated by both the Stockholm Academy and the Paris Salon. Difficulties arose after he became a follower of Courbet and then of Manet. Josephson's robust *Spanish Blacksmiths* was roundly rejected by all conservatives when displayed at the Paris Salon, as were his vital, non-posed portraits.

In Paris, Josephson became the leader of The Opponents, a group of Swedish artists who were dissatisfied with the aesthetic backwardness of Sweden. They sought far-reaching reforms and addressed a "Letter of Opposition" to the Swedish king. Josephson soon found out that he had become too radical to please his patron, the Swedish banker Pontus Fuerstenberg, who withdrew his support, and even too uncompromising for The Opponents, who selected a more conciliatory and prudent man as their new leader.

With his patronage lost and his inheritance exhausted, Josephson had recourse only to a friend, the Swedish painter Österlind, with whom he retreated to an island off the coast of Brittany. There the two experimented with spiritualism. Josephson began to have hallucinations: he believed himself to be in communication with Holbein, Velasquez, and Rembrandt, and signed his drawings with the name of the great one under whose "dictation" he had produced it. Realizing that his colleague had become seriously ill, Österlind took him to Sweden (1888), where Josephson was confined to a mental hospital. After he had regained some of his strength and balance he returned to live in Stockholm. In a novel, August Strindberg described the invalid as sitting in a cafe and gazing "far off into space as if he were alone with dreams and visions he could not communicate."

Yet the "sick" man did communicate – through art works, including over a thousand pen-and-ink drawings and about a hundred watercolors and oils. While his "healthy" work, though excellent, was largely eclectic, the work Josephson created after his breakdown was highly original. He became a full-fledged Expressionist more than 20 years before the term was coined, and he is treated with respect and even admiration in works of general art history as one of the precursors of Expressionism. His paintings are to be found in all major museums in the Scandinavian countries. In 1964 and 1965, a Josephson exhibition toured the United States.

[Alfred Werner]

GUNNAR JOSEPHSON (1889–1972) was also born in Stockholm and was a bookseller, community director, and magistrate. From 1936 to 1962, he was chairman of the governing board of the Stockholm Jewish community and was a member of the Swedish State Committee for Refugees during the Nazi period. Josephson was involved specifically in aiding the Jewish refugees who reached Sweden. He represented Jewish interests before the Swedish authorities.

RAGNAR JOSEPHSON (1891–1966), Gunnar's brother, was also born in Stockholm. An author and historian of the fine arts, he served as professor of the history of art at the University of Lund from 1929 to 1957. In a series of monographs he wrote about both North European and other works of art, especially those from the period of the Baroque. In Lund he founded a museum for the study of the North European monumental art and its development. In 1940 he published *Konstverkets födelse* ("Birth of the Work of Art"), the subject of his main interest. He was director of the Dramatic Theater in Stockholm from 1948 to 1951 and wrote dramatic works. He also published some anthologies, including *Judiska dikter* ("Jewish Poems," 1916; new edition 1943 as *Valda judiska dikter*) and in 1961 was elected to the Swedish Academy.

ERLAND JOSEPHSON (1923–), another member of the Josephson family, was an actor and author. He was a member of the City Theater Companies of Helsingborg (1945–49) and Göteborg (1949–56) before joining the national Dramatiska Teatern, Stockholm, of which he became administrator in 1966. Although he came from an assimilated family and knew little about Jewish tradition, Josephson often dealt with the theme of antisemitism in his writings. These include the novel *En Berättelse om herr Silberstein* ("A Tale About Mr. Silberstein," 1957) and the plays *Benjamin* (1963) and *Doktor Meyers sista dagar…* ("Doctor Meyer's Last Days," 1964). He acted in some of Peter Weiss's plays, playing the Marquis de Sade in *Marat-Sade* (1964) and Mulka in *The Investigation* (1965).

[Hugo Mauritz Valentin]

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terton, *Vägen till försoning* (Thesis, Göteborg, 1957; on Ernst); E. Blomberg, *Ernst Josephson, hans liv* (1951); idem, *Ernst Josephsons konst* (1956); *Vision och Gestalt. Studier tillägnade Ragnar Josephson* (1958), index.

JOSEPHSON, BRIAN DAVID (1940–), British physicist. Josephson was born in Cardiff, Wales, where he was a brilliant pupil. He studied physics at Cambridge, receiving his doctorate in 1964. In 1962, at the age of only 22, he discovered the Josephson effect, showing the special characteristics of tunneling between superconductors, which led to the attainment at IBM of switching speeds up to 100 times faster than those obtained with conventional chips and incomparably greater data-processing capabilities. In the same year he was made a fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, subsequently becoming assistant director of research and reader in physics at the university and professor in 1974. He was appointed a fellow of the Royal Society in 1970. In 1969, he received a $10,000 Research Corporation award for his outstanding contribution to science and, in 1973, was awarded the Nobel Prize for physics (jointly with Dr. Ivar Giaever and Dr. Leon Esaki), one of the youngest men ever to receive this award.

JOSEPHSON, MANUEL (c. 1729–1796), merchant and leader in the Philadelphia and New York Jewish communities. Josephson was born in Germany and emigrated to New York City. During the French and Indian War he was a sutler, and during the Revolution supplied the Congressional Army with weapons. In 1762 Josephson was named president of Congregation Shearith Israel in New York. He fled to Philadelphia during the American Revolution, remaining there permanently. Having a considerable Hebrew education, Josephson quickly rose to a position of eminence in Philadelphia, and was appointed president of Congregation Mikveh Israel in 1785. He was given the honor of extending the congratulations of four Jewish communities to George Washington on his assumption of the presidency in 1790.

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[Leo Hershkowitz]

JOSEPHSON, MATTHEW (1899–1978), U.S. author and historian. Born in Brooklyn, he lived for a time in Paris. He was a member of the editorial board of the international arts magazine *Broom* (1921–24), U.S. editor of *Transition* (1928–29), and assistant editor of the *New Republic* (1931–32). After a brief period in Wall Street, Josephson returned to literature in 1930 and became known as a writer on 19th-century French literature and American economic history. His books on French literature include biographical studies such as *Zola and His Time* (1928), *Jean-Jacques Rousseau* (1931), and *Victor Hugo* (1942). He made a significant contribution to the revival of American interest in Stendhal with the study he published in 1946. Josephson's books on American history are moderately leftist in their approach, particularly in regard to the growth of industry. *The Robber Barons* (1934) dealt with the emergence of the 19th-century industrial and railroad magnates. His study of political corruption appeared in two volumes: *The Politicos, 1865–1896* (1938) and *The President Makers: 1896–1919* (1940). His other works include *Portrait of the Artist as American* (1930); *Empire of the Air* (1943), the story of an airline; *Sidney Hillman, Statesman of American Labor* (1952); *Union House, Union Bar* (1956); and *Edison* (1959), a biography. Josephson also wrote two volumes of recollections, *Life among the Surrealists* (1962) and *The Infidel in the Temple: A Memoir of the 1930's* (1967).

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[Hans L. Trefousse]

JOSEPHTAL, LOUIS MAURICE (1869–1929), U.S. naval officer. Born in New Rochelle, N.Y., Josephtal joined the New York naval militia in 1891 and during the Spanish-American War (1898) was an assistant paymaster. During World War I he was a captain (paymaster) at the naval militia headquarters. In 1923 he was appointed rear admiral in the supply corps and was later commander of the New York naval militia. An observant Jew, Josephtal was active in Jewish affairs and was a director of Mount Sinai Hospital for many years.

JOSEPHTHAL, GIORA (**Georg Josephsthal**; 1912–1962), Israeli social worker and labor leader. Born in Nuremberg, Germany, to an assimilated family, Josephthal joined the pioneering Zionist youth movement during the period of the Nazi rise to power. As a social worker in the Munich Jewish community, he established the Berufsumschichtung, a professional training project for Jewish youth preparing for settlement in Palestine. In 1934 he became director of the *Youth Aliyah office in Berlin and two years later secretary of the *He-Ḥalutz movement in Germany. He went to Palestine in 1938 and led the group that established kibbutz Gal-Ed in 1945. In World War II he joined the British army. After the war he began organizing the *Jewish Agency's Absorption Department and was successively director of the Absorption Department and treasurer of the Jewish Agency's executive. In 1952 he participated in the *reparations negotiations with West Germany. In 1956 he became general secretary of *Mapai and, three years later, was elected to the Fourth *Knesset and appointed minister of labor. In this capacity he continued the work of absorption through the building of housing projects and the development of technical training and an employment service. His last post was that of minister of housing and development. His wife, SENTA (1912–), was born in Fuerth, Germany, settled in Palestine in 1938, and was also a founding member of kibbutz Gal-Ed. She served in various positions in the *Histadrut and the Iḥud ha-Kevuẓot ve-ha-Kibbutzim and was a member of the Third Knesset.

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JOSEPHUS FLAVIUS (c. 37–after 100 C.E.), Jewish historian and one of the chief representatives of Jewish-Hellenistic literature.

BIOGRAPHY

Early Life

Born in Jerusalem into an aristocratic priestly family belonging to the *mishmeret* of Jehoiarib, through his mother Josephus was related to the Hasmonean dynasty. Josephus relates of himself that in his youth he was so renowned for his knowledge of the Torah that high priests and leading men of the city would come to consult him on matters of *halakhah*, and he was apparently distinguished in his youth as an aggadist. At all events, he was certainly not ignorant of the Torah, as many scholars have maintained. From the age of 16 he spent three years with a certain Bannus, who appears to have been a member of one of the many contemporary sects (but not necessarily an *Essene), who lived an ascetic life in the wilderness, wore clothes made of leaves, fed on wild herbs – like John the Baptist (Matt. 3:4) – and made ablutions in the morning and evening. In 64 C.E., at the age of 26, Josephus was sent on a mission to Rome to secure the release of some priests who had been seized and delivered to Rome by the procurator *Felix to render an account to the emperor for some offense they had committed. Josephus was probably selected for this mission because of his knowledge of Greek. With the help of the Jewish actor Aliturus he obtained an introduction to the empress *Poppaea Sabina; his efforts were crowned with success and the priests were released. The visit had a profound effect on Josephus, Rome making an indelible impression on him.

As Commander of Galilee During the Jewish War

At the outbreak of the Jewish War (66 C.E.), Josephus was appointed commander of Galilee, which was probably the most important military assignment during the first stage of the war. Despite this he seems to have belonged to the moderate party that had gained control after the victory over Cestius *Gallus, and it was hoped that he would exert his influence at a critical juncture to achieve a compromise settlement. Simeon b. Gamaliel could have found no one more suitable for this purpose than Josephus, since the latter was quite capable of outwitting his rivals until an opportune moment arrived to work for peace. However, it remains uncertain whether John of Giscala was actually ousted from the leadership in Galilee on explicit instructions from Jerusalem and overall command given to Josephus by the Sanhedrin, since his account of his operations in Galilee (contained in the *Life*) is extremely vague, and gives the impression that he conceals more than he reveals. Josephus may have acted on his own responsibility when he sought to supersede John. In any case there is no justification for the theory that Josephus was never sent to Galilee but seized control there against the wishes of the Sanhedrin even before the outbreak of the revolt. In fact Josephus seems to have come to Galilee only after Cestius Gallus' defeat, which marked the beginning of the revolt.

The position of the Sanhedrin's envoy was a difficult one, since the local Galilean leaders had no wish to accept a man who had been appointed over them by the central authority in Jerusalem. Because of this there was continuous strife, and clashes took place between Josephus and John and his Galilean supporters. John failed in his attempt to induce the Sanhedrin to recall Josephus, and the conflict in Galilee persisted until the arrival of *Vespasian in the spring of 67 C.E. The country, unprepared for hostilities, was wholly unable to wage an offensive war. The cities, which Josephus claimed to have fortified, were isolated from one another and could only defend themselves singly, without any cohesion or plan. The decisive battle took place around the city of Jotapata, to which Josephus had retired and which resisted for six weeks. When the city fell on Tammuz 1, 67, Josephus fled with 40 men to a cave. There each man resolved to slay his neighbor rather than be taken captive by the enemy. Josephus artfully cast the lots, deceitfully managing to be one of the two last men left alive and then persuaded his companion to go out with him and surrender to the Romans.

Josephus' "Prophecy" Regarding Vespasian

Josephus relates that when he appeared before Vespasian he foretold the greatness in store for the Roman commander, who spared his life, binding him in chains only. This is a very surprising account, for the Talmud tells a similar story except that there the prophecy was made by R. *Johanan b. Zakkai. In fact, there is some substance in both accounts. Presumably under no circumstances would Josephus have dared so brazenly to misrepresent the truth had the story been a complete fabrication, since *The Jewish War* was written under the patronage of the emperor and its contents sanctioned by the imperial dynasty. The emperor would hardly have assented to the account had it not contained a nucleus of truth, which led him to accept the fictitious element in the story as well. The primary fabrication was that the "prophecy" was not made by Josephus when he appeared as a captive before Vespasian, who received the rebel commander as a prisoner of war punishable with death. It was apparently Vespasian's intention to have him taken to Rome and there to execute him during his triumph, as he later did to *Simeon b. Giora. Josephus was held prisoner in the Roman camp for the duration of Vespasian's campaign until the news was received of Nero's death (68 C.E.). This information undoubtedly caused a stir in Vespasian's camp too, and the ferment increased greatly when word was heard of the death of Galba (69 C.E.), who had been proclaimed emperor. The officers and troops began to entertain the idea of appointing an emperor of their own.

His Exploitation of Circumstances Surrounding Nero's Death

Josephus was determined to exploit this new state of affairs to his own advantage, shrewdly perceiving it as an opportunity for obtaining his freedom – and perhaps even more – if only he was able to make proper use of the favorable turn of events. He was fully aware of the prophecy, which was widespread in

Judea and throughout the east, that the ruler of the world was destined to come forth from Judea. An echo of it even reached the Romans. The basis of the prophecy was undoubtedly messianic, and Josephus, when mentioning it in *The Jewish War*, adds that the Zealots interpreted it as referring to the Messiah. It was then that Josephus, having decided to make use of the belief to gain his freedom, gave it added force by dilating on the prophecy. To convince the Romans, Josephus attributed to himself the qualities of a diviner, which gave great encouragement to the soldiers. It may be asserted that Josephus' "prophecy" was uttered between January 15, the date of Galba's death, and July 1, 69 C.E., the day on which Vespasian was proclaimed emperor in Alexandria, Egypt. The role played by Josephus is somewhat similar to that of Agrippa I at the time of Claudius' accession, and in both instances the intermediary was richly rewarded by the victor. Vespasian undoubtedly learned of Josephus' share in the propaganda on his behalf and, bearing it in mind, awaited coming events.

While all this was taking place in Vespasian's camp, the conquering army advanced still nearer to Jerusalem, a move made necessary by the appearance of Simeon b. Giora and his troops. The whole of Judea was now taken, except for Jerusalem and its immediate environs. The proximity of the Roman army spread the knowledge in the city of events in the enemy camp. Realizing immediately that Vespasian would become emperor, R. Johanan b. Zakkai reasoned that a new ruler, confronted as he would be with weighty problems, might be prepared to reach a peaceful solution, and would be disposed to bring this provincial war to a speedy conclusion.

In Jerusalem with Titus

When Vespasian was proclaimed emperor at Caesarea, Josephus, who was with him there, was released from his chains. From there he went to Alexandria, and when *Titus was given command of the army with orders to take Jerusalem, Josephus accompanied him. Josephus tried several times to induce the rebels to lay down their arms, but they treated him with contempt, and during one of his exhortations injured him. Nor was his position an enviable one in the Roman camp, for the Romans suspected him of being a spy and would have killed him had he not enjoyed Titus' protection. He continued to accompany Titus after the capture of Jerusalem. When Titus permitted him to remove from the ruins of Jerusalem whatever he wished, he took a *Sefer Torah*. His estate in the neighborhood of Jerusalem was confiscated by Titus and instead he received land in the valley of Jezreel.

Favored by Roman Rulers and Hated by Jews

Josephus left to settle in Rome where he was granted Roman citizenship and a pension by the emperor, who allowed him to live in his palace. He never again saw his native land. Although generally a favorite among the members of the courts of Vespasian and Titus during their lifetime, Josephus' position vis-à-vis the Jews was wretched in the extreme. Both in and outside Rome, they despised and hated him for his past and tried to harm him at every turn. After the suppression of the revolt of the *Zealots, who had escaped to Cyrene, the rebels accused him of having been the organizer, but Vespasian refused to believe them.

Inauspicious Family Life

Josephus' family life, too, was inauspicious. In all he was married four times. His first wife died during the siege. The second, whom he married on the advice of Vespasian, left him. In Alexandria he took a third wife who bore him three children, of whom one son, Hyrcanus, born in 72/73 C.E., survived. Having divorced this wife, Josephus married an aristocratic woman from Crete who bore him two sons, Justus and Simonides-Agrippa. The year of Josephus' death is unknown, but it was probably after 100 C.E.

WORKS

The Jewish War

It is very probable that Josephus' decision to become the historian of the Jewish War stemmed primarily from the fact that he was subject to the emperor's wishes and obliged to support his political aims. His history was probably the price exacted by the emperor in return for the grant of freedom and property. Fully appreciating Josephus' talents, Vespasian knew that the freedman could be of use to him in both his foreign and internal policy. After the events in the east and west of the Roman Empire, the fate of the entire state hung in the balance and Vespasian found himself obliged to warn the still powerful enemies of Rome that she could destroy any foe who intended to renew the war.

LOST ARAMAIC VERSION. In the introduction to *The Jewish War* Josephus clearly mentions that he wrote two versions of "the war of the Jews against the Romans," first "in my vernacular," that is, in Aramaic, "for the up-country barbarians." These were the Aramaic-speaking peoples in the lands of the Parthian kingdom, principally the Jews living in Babylonia, who, contrary to the rebels' hopes, had played no considerable part in the war but who were likely to flock to join the fighting should hostilities break out afresh. In this version, which unfortunately has not been preserved, Josephus undoubtedly included material not found in the extant Greek rendering. It presumably also contained factual accounts different from those in the Greek version. At the beginning of the century the German-Baltic scholar Behrends published an ancient Slavonic translation of *The Jewish War*, which he claimed was based on the original Aramaic version, a contention, however, without foundation; nor did Robert Eisler succeed in substantiating it in his great work (see bibl.).

THE EXTANT GREEK VERSION. The extant Greek version, which was adapted by Josephus from the Aramaic work, was divided into seven books by the author himself. However it seems that at first it was intended to comprise only six books, up to the destruction of Jerusalem, as attested by the title "The Capture" (ἅλωσις) given to the work in most manuscripts. The Greek version also served the internal political purpose of bolstering the dynasty which had recently acceded to the throne. Through it the emperor sought to prove to the Roman aristocracy, who despised the Sabine peasant who had risen to eminence, that although he and his sons were *homines novi* in the Roman polity their merit was by far the greater. Since Josephus' Greek rendering of *The Jewish War* was intended to serve as the new dynasty's mouthpiece in Rome, Vespasian and Titus consented to accept the text of the work from him and to sanction its contents. This approval was used by Josephus as proof that he had told the truth and only the truth.

PRINCIPLES PROFESSED BY JOSEPHUS AND DEFECTS IN THE WORK. In his introduction the author declares that he has described the war without bias. Unlike other writers, who had not been eyewitnesses of events and whose obvious intention was to flatter certain persons, he, a native of Jerusalem, had himself fought against the Romans as long as resistance was possible but afterward had become reconciled to the enemy; hence his account was credible. His undoubted aim was to give his work a pragmatic character in keeping with the theory developed by Polybius, in particular, which, rejecting historiography, espoused "truth" and "accuracy." Although Josephus advocated these principles, he cannot be said always to have applied them in practice. As well as being subject to the imperial dynasty, he had a personal interest in revealing some things and in concealing others, better passed over in silence. His own reprehensible actions are shrouded in obscurity or completely evaded. There is no hint of his incompetence on the battlefield, and instead there is boasting based on obvious lies. The Romans' methods of warfare are always portrayed as pure and unsullied. Titus and Vespasian act only under constraint for which they deserve no censure. They refrain from excessive cruelty and are anxious to save the Jews, but the "bandits" are responsible for deterioration in the situation. The Jewish people did not want war at all; it was forced on them by the "robbers." An entirely different picture of the complete participation of the whole people, both men and women, in the war is presented by the anti-Jewish Tacitus, but every historical fact likely to support this view is deliberately omitted by Josephus. In one passage only – Titus' speech to the Zealots – does he have the former voice a comment which was undoubtedly current, namely, that the Jews were always the sworn enemies of Rome. A more serious defect is his distortion of the messianic movement in Judea and its role in fanning the flames of war, doubtless an intentional perversion of the state of affairs in order to represent the Jewish War as the action of limited circles, with the aim of exculpating the nation as a whole in the eyes of the Roman administration.

ITS LITERARY AND HISTORIOGRAPHIC VALUE. These defects naturally diminish the value of Josephus' work as history and in this respect it must be treated with considerable caution. Nonetheless it must be emphasized that the excellence of the work, in both its literary and historiographic qualities, earns it an honorable place in Jewish and in general literature. Its literary skill is considerable: the descriptions are epic in the full sense of the word, scenes are plastically and impressively portrayed, the horrors and the vast spectacle of war are graphically depicted, culminating in one great panorama with the destruction of Jerusalem and the burning of the Temple. Much of *The Jewish War* derives from the author's personal observation. This is especially true of the description of the actual siege. Josephus noted everything he saw, and in addition made use of evidence obtained from those who defected to Titus' camp. These details have a documentary or semi-documentary value.

Great significance attaches also to some descriptions of the war which are almost certainly based on Roman military reports, their Roman origin being apparent in their style, which is concise, dry, and devoid of all rhetorical embellishment. Official material on the stationing of Roman garrisons throughout the kingdom can be discerned in Agrippa's great speech. In this passage, Josephus apparently used an official document made accessible to him from the imperial archives: the speech is a remarkably fervent recapitulation of official propaganda by a lackey of the lord of the Roman Empire. In addition, Josephus made use of works compiled by other writers on the Jewish War. The book is constructed in three sections, with the account of the war as the principal, central one. The first section opens with the events that preceded the revolt of the Maccabeans and continues with a description of the history of the Hasmonean and Herodian dynasties up to the outbreak of the Jewish War (bk. 1 and about half of bk. 2). The second section recounts various episodes of the war, such as the siege of *Masada and the final death agonies of the Jewish people's opposition, as well as several important details about the kingdom of the Parthians. Josephus' sources for the material in the introductory section were a work on the Hasmonean dynasty written originally in Hebrew and Nicholas of *Damascus' great work which provided him with the information on the Herodian dynasty recounted in this section.

ITS LANGUAGE AND STYLE. The Greek of *The Jewish War* is often excellent, but very probably the style was largely the result of polishing by Josephus' literary assistants. According to his own testimony his accent was defective, and his insufficient command of literary Greek is attested by his large work *Jewish Antiquities*, the language of which is poor, sometimes even labored, largely artificial, and much inferior to the clear, flowing style of *The Jewish War*. The careful attention paid to the style of this latter work probably resulted from its official character. It was, moreover, Josephus' first production, the one which would gain him a place in the literary world in Rome. Among the auspicious circumstances of the work was his comparatively youthful age when he wrote it, for he was about 40 years old when it was published, whereas he completed the *Antiquities* at the age of 56. Furthermore the *Antiquities*, unlike *The Jewish War*, was written with the aim of enlightening the non-Jewish world about the nature of Judaism, that it might understand the extent to which it was mistaken in its judgment of the Jewish people.

Jewish Antiquities

The work was the outcome both of the objective circumstances of Jewish life in the Diaspora, and of Josephus' personal conclusions drawn from his experience in Rome, where he saw the Jewish people living in a non-Jewish environment and yet preserving its character and observing its religion.

ITS PURPOSES: ENLIGHTENMENT OF THE GENTILES; PROOF OF THE ANTIQUITY OF THE JEWS. For the first time he came face to face with the gentiles' hatred of the Jews and it appeared to him that nothing but their ignorance of the religion of Israel was responsible. Feeling that if only the gentiles knew and understood the light that permeated Judaism, they would certainly forsake their capricious behavior and cease their hostility toward the Jews, Josephus drew the clear and simple conclusion: he had to teach the non-Jews a lesson in Jewish history so as to show them the error of their ways. The title, *Jewish Antiquities*, was apparently chosen by him on the analogy of *Antiquitates Romanae* by Dionysius of Halicarnassus who lived during the reign of the emperor Augustus; but it also hints at the chief aim which Josephus set himself in this work: to prove the antiquity of Jews and to dispel the slander that the Jewish nation was not an ancient one.

HELLENISTIC, AGGADIC, AND HALAKHIC ASPECTS. He recounts the biblical events, but not as they are given in the Bible. Josephus' approach is that of a Hellenistic writer who, never forgetting his audience, adapts his writing to their taste. A Hellenistic flavor is often added to the narrative, as, for example, in the story of Joseph and Potiphar's wife. The Jewish reader, too, is rewarded with aggadic statements which, taken from literary sources, embellish biblical tales. Some of Josephus' aggadic Midrashim are known from existing sources, others have not been preserved in the extant literature and Josephus is their only source. In these passages he reveals himself as an outstanding aggadist. Nor were halakhic subjects alien to him. Book 4 of his great work contains *halakhot* which are not in agreement with the existing *halakhah*, which should not be interpreted as ignorance on Josephus' part but rather as a halakhic tradition no longer extant, either because it was rejected or because it was forgotten in the course of time.

HELLENISTIC SOURCES FOR BIBLICAL NARRATIVES. In his version of the biblical narratives Josephus preserved many quotations and notices from Jewish-Hellenistic and also from general Hellenistic literature insofar as the latter touches on Jewish subjects, including such writers such as *Artapanus, *Cleodemus Malchus, Berosus, *Manetho, *Menander of Ephesus, and others. There are divergent views on the sources of Josephus' information, some maintaining that he had read the authors in the original, others that he had only an indirect acquaintance with them. In all probability the former view is correct, at least with regard to an author such as Berosus. For a recently published, new Babylonian source, a chronicle of the days of Nebuchadnezzar, reveals Josephus' accuracy on the events preceding the destruction of the First Temple, making it clear that he could only have derived his remarkably precise knowledge from Berosus' work itself. He undoubtedly also used compilations such as that of Alexander Polyhistor as an important source.

USE OF THE SEPTUAGINT FOR BIBLICAL NARRATIVES AND FOR THE PERSIAN PERIOD. There is no basis for the contention that Josephus was ignorant of Hebrew and did not read the Bible in the original. Nevertheless he used mainly the *Septuagint, in a version significantly different from the existing one, as several clear indications testify, notably the personal names found primarily in the *Antiquities*. As stated, Josephus' first work was written in Aramaic and only later, at the request of the imperial court, in Greek. His progress along the path of Hellenistic literature, so completely strange to him, was not easy. It is reasonable to assume that his original draft was in Aramaic and that assistants helped him to give it a Greek garb worthy of the name. In the course of time however there naturally came a change for the better, since there is no doubt that with his talents Josephus had ample opportunities in Rome to improve his knowledge of the language. Yet from his own evidence, referred to previously, it may be concluded that Greek remained a strange tongue to him throughout his life. Using the Septuagint apparently made it easier for him to cast the biblical narratives in a Hellenistic mold than following the Hebrew original, though the language of the Septuagint, which was the Greek spoken by the Jewish masses in Egypt and the rest of the Diaspora, was not agreeable to the fastidious Atticist taste of the public in Rome. Nevertheless, copying the biblical narratives on the basis of the Septuagint version made matters somewhat easier for him, a consideration that presumably played a part in his decision to use it. There is however not a single reference to the prophetical books in the work. This omission apparently resulted from the fact that Josephus wrote for a non-Jewish public, to whom the figure of Moses was familiar, while the Prophets were, it seems, completely unknown to the enlightened Hellenistic world.

The second section of the *Antiquities*, which begins near the end of book 11, opens with an account of the period of Persian rule in Ereẓ Israel. From this account it can be seen that few of the sources extant at present were available to Josephus. Using the Septuagint, he filled out the gaps in the Book of Esther, which he regarded as historical.

POSSIBLE SAMARITAN SOURCE FOR PERSIAN PERIOD. In addition, book 11 contains an extract from an unknown source with regard to the murder committed in the Temple in Jerusalem during the rule of the Persian governor *Bagohi, which Josephus may have taken from a Samaritan source that probably included the description of Alexander the Great's arrival in Ereẓ Israel and the foundation of the Samaritan temple on Mount Gerizim. That there is a historical background to this account of the murder can be seen from the *Elephantine papyri which mention two of the men who figure in it: Bagohi, the Persian governor, and Johanan, the high priest. Thus for the obscure Persian period, too, great importance attaches to the scanty material furnished by Josephus.

TREATMENT OF THE PTOLEMAIC PERIOD AND EVIDENCE OF JOSEPHUS' WEAKNESS AS HISTORIAN. He was however almost entirely ignorant of the rule of the Ptolemies in Ereẓ Israel, filling in the void with the Letter of *Aristeas and with the story of Joseph the Tobiad, the tax-collector, which has at least a historical background and substance (see *Tobiads). Instead of revealing his importance as a transmitter of historical information, Josephus here demonstrates his weakness as a historian. The story about Joseph the tax-collector undoubtedly refers to the time of Ptolemy III and Ptolemy IV, that is, up to the end of the third century B.C.E. Josephus however tells the story as though it took place after the conquest of Ereẓ Israel by Antiochus III, that is, after 200 B.C.E., and resolves the incongruity between the contents of the story and its insertion within the context of the Seleucid conquest by the comment, which has its origin in propaganda for the restoration of Ptolemaic rule in Ereẓ Israel, that Ereẓ Israel and the cities of *Coele-Syria were given by Antiochus III as a dowry to his daughter Cleopatra on her marriage to Ptolemy V, the king of Egypt.

Josephus' lack of awareness of the contradiction attests to his weakness as a historian. He was guilty of inaccuracy, and many passages indicate that his critical sense was not highly developed. He skims over the surface of events rather than penetrate into their inner significance. He gives scant attention to the events preceding Antiochus III's conquest of Ereẓ Israel without mentioning anything of the development in Judea on the eve of the conquest. In this respect he is far inferior to the later *Porphyry whose brilliant analysis of the historical background of the Book of Daniel is incorporated in *Jerome's commentary on that book.

THREE DOCUMENTS FROM THE PTOLEMAIC PERIOD. Josephus quotes three extremely important documents: the first is Antiochus III's proclamation in favor of the Temple in Jerusalem; the second prohibited unclean animals from being brought within the limits of the holy city; while the third decreed the transfer of 2,000 Jewish families from Babylonia to Phrygia and Lydia as military colonists, who were charged with preserving law and order in those countries, then in a state of rebellion following the revolt of Achaeus (see: *Antiochus III).

THE MACCABEAN AND HASMONEAN PERIOD. The account of the Maccabean and Hasmonean period commences in the middle of book 12. Josephus' source for this period is primarily I Maccabees, but there are indications that the history of the Hasmonean dynasty up to the death of *Salome Alexandra, or perhaps only to the end of Alexander *Yannai's reign, was copied by him from a comprehensive work written originally in Hebrew and later translated into Greek. The contention of some scholars that Nicholas of Damascus was the source of Josephus' information on Salome Alexandra is untenable.

NICHOLAS OF DAMASCUS AS SOURCE FOR HERODIAN PERIOD. Nicholas' share in Josephus' work is to be found in books 14–17, that is, from the end of the Hasmonean dynasty to the establishment of the rule of the procurators in Judea in 6 C.E. The main part of this lengthy section describes Herod's accession and his great achievements during his rule in Judea, though Josephus undoubtedly adopted a critical attitude toward Herod's rule and did not accept all Nicholas' statements about him. For example, he rejects the story of Herod's Babylonian origin, regarding it as expressive of Nicholas' flattery of Herod who wished to free himself from the disability of being a "half-Jew" and to be considered as descended from those Jews of pure descent who came back from Babylonia. Against Nicholas, Josephus declares that Herod throughout his life craved honor and that it was this craving that prompted him to squander his money with the aim of acquiring a great reputation in the Hellenistic-Roman world. Josephus regards the murder of Herod's sons as an abhorrent deed, which only a man with the soul of a murderer could perpetrate.

INFORMATION ON DIASPORA COMMUNITIES IN ROMAN TIMES. Because of his admiration for Rome, Josephus included in his work a number of documents, most of them in book 14, which testify to the favorable attitude of the Roman Empire toward the communities in the Diaspora. Although preserved in a state that is far from satisfactory, their importance is inestimable. The view put forward in the 19th century that these documents are forgeries has now been discarded. They reveal the position of the Jewish communities in Hellenistic society, the pent-up hatred of the gentile world for the Jewish religion, and the suspicions that accompanied the Jews everywhere, even to the extent of the wish to extirpate them. On the other hand they show how the Roman administration endeavored to act impartially and to protect the Jews from the attacks of the more populous nations. They also mirror the struggle of the communities for the observance of the precepts of Judaism and their loyalty to Jerusalem, as a result of which they aroused the anger of the gentiles. The documents are also important for the information they provide on the many privileges granted to the Jews by the Roman administration, first and foremost exemption from military service for religious reasons. The source from which Josephus obtained these documents is not known. He may have copied them from Nicholas of Damascus' work, but more probably they came from special collections of documents dealing with the rights granted to the Jews, which were to be found in large communities, like Alexandria, Ephesus, Rome, and great cities in the empire such as Cyrene.

The last part of the *Antiquities*, consisting of books 18–20, presents a difficulty both in its sources and the manner in which the events are recounted.

CONTROVERSIAL PASSAGE ON JESUS. One of the great riddles of the work, and perhaps of ancient history in general, is the well-known passage about Jesus of Nazareth in book 18 which scholars have not yet succeeded in elucidating. Some regarded it as a Christian forgery of the third century C.E., others still consider it as historical evidence of the activities and death of Jesus; but the passage contains statements which could not have been made by a Jew such as Josephus, as Schuerer recognized. Around the 1930s–1940s there was a change in scholarly outlook, the passage being regarded not as a forgery, but as Josephus' original statement tampered with by a Christian. The foremost proponent of this view was Robert Eisler (see bibliography) who even made an unsuccessful attempt to reconstruct the original version. For the period from the procurators to the reign of Agrippa I, Josephus apparently used material from the Roman archives and the works of other authors, but on the whole he writes as a contemporary eyewitness.

FAVORABLE ACCOUNT OF AGRIPPA I. The account of Agrippa I which occupies part of book 18 and the whole of book 19 gives the impression of a uniformity that undoubtedly proves that it had a single source. The division of the material seemed reasonable to Josephus, desirous as he was of giving an account of Agrippa's reign in relation to the events which took place in the days of the emperors Gaius Caligula and Claudius. In this part of the *Antiquities*, it is very likely that Josephus copied the work of his rival *Justus of Tiberias ("On the Crowned Kings of Judah" as it is to be translated, in contradiction to Schuerer, who understands στέμματα as meaning "pedigree"). In it Justus gave an account of the Jewish kings up to Agrippa I, apparently on the instructions of Agrippa II, who wishing to glorify the memory of his father, assigned to his secretary, Justus of Tiberias, the task of writing a work describing the activities of Agrippa I. Clearly the account had to be favorable; and indeed Agrippa I is depicted in the *Antiquities* in a decidedly complimentary light.

ACCOUNTS OF THE TWO BABYLONIAN JEWS AND OF THE ADIABENE ROYAL HOUSE. A large part of book 18 consists of the gripping story of two Babylonian Jews, the brothers Anilaeus and Asinaeus. Book 20 contains the remarkable episode of the proselytization of the royal house of *Adiabene. The two events took place in adjacent regions in which Aramaic was the vernacular. What prompted Josephus to incorporate them in his work? He apparently used the story of the two Babylonian brothers for Roman propaganda purposes aimed primarily at the Jews throughout the Roman Empire, in order that, in the days following the destruction of the Second Temple, they should not entertain any further idea of rebellion, since Rome was ultimately the empire of law and justice with which, unlike countries beyond its borders, it was possible to negotiate. The account of the proselytization of the Adiabene royal house was apparently included by Josephus in book 20 (which deals with the 22 years prior to the outbreak of the Jewish War) because of the part played by the Adiabene royal family in the final days of the Second Temple in general and in the Jewish War in particular. Josephus describes the events contained at the end of book 20 as an actual eyewitness. This book concludes with a list of the high priests from the time of Alexander the Great until the Jewish War, the source for this being, at least from the days of Herod onward, the genealogies of the priests in general and of the high priests in particular which were kept in the Temple archives. Josephus' list is far from clear: much in it is obscure, and the problems it raises have not been satisfactorily solved.

The Life

Finally, there are Josephus' last two works, the *Life* and *Against Apion*. The former was written in response to the attacks of Justus of Tiberias, who accused him of misconduct in Galilee before the arrival of Vespasian and his army, charging in particular that he belonged to the war party, was an enemy of Rome, had suppressed the peace party in Tiberias, committed acts of brigandage, and violated women. Such allegations were highly unpalatable to Josephus, in his position of access to the upper circles in Rome. Josephus' defense conceals more than it reveals, clearly evading any straightforward answers and thereby indirectly confirming Justus' accusations. The testimony of King Agrippa, intended as evidence in his favor, is so worded that it is actually tantamount to an indictment. The *Life* apparently appeared as an appendix to the *Antiquities*, which was published in 93/94 C.E., according to Josephus' own testimony. It seems that Justus' accusation became current shortly before, and Josephus took the first available opportunity to answer him. The *Life*, then, was written either in continuation of, or soon after, the *Antiquities* but before it appeared on the book market in Rome, that is, in 93/94 C.E. or, as held by Laqueur (see bibliography), together with the second edition of the *Antiquities*, between 93/94 and 100 C.E.

Against Apion

In *Against Apion* (or, *On the Antiquity of the Jews*, the original title of the work), which consists of two parts, Josephus lashes out against various antisemites and seeks to refute their accusations with logical arguments and with biting derision. The work reveals outstanding literary skill and great persuasiveness. The first part, a lengthy series of extracts from works no longer extant, in particular from the Egyptian Manetho, is especially significant since it is the only record of a whole body of literature which would otherwise have been completely unknown. This part constitutes a negative defense of the Jews, i.e., it sets out to refute the contentions of the antisemites. The purpose of the positive defense in the second part was to reveal the inner value of Judaism and its ethical superiority over Hellenism. In this part especially Josephus appears as a Jew completely committed to his people and his religion. Here the true Josephus is revealed, not the one who acted treacherously toward his comrades to save his life, but Josephus the Jew who fights his people's fight, and suffers with them.

EVALUATION OF JOSEPHUS

As a Jew

On this subject there are opposing views. By some he is regarded as a traitor who, deserting his people in their hour of need, defected to the enemy, and acting as the apologist of the Romans, distorted the facts. A more charitable view contends that he was essentially a Pharisee who acted in conformity with this outlook, had faith in the future of the Jewish people whose survival depended on submission to Rome, and sordid though the manner was in which he saved his life, he did so in order to devote himself to the highest interests of his people.

As a Writer

As for his merit as an author, it may be said that in point of literary talent Josephus ranks among the leading writers in world literature. His style is epic, his portrayals plastic, his gift of description captivates the reader alike by its fidelity and its colorful presentation. All these qualities apply to what, from the literary aspect, is his principal work, *The Jewish War*, which is marked by a complete identity between the author and his calamitous subject. The reader believes the writer as he mourns over the city, becomes an actual eyewitness as he presents the dramatic picture of the burning of the Temple or the tragic bravery of the heroes of Masada. The pathos inherent in the occasion communicates itself to the reader.

As a Historian

Not so, however, is his merit as a historian. Josephus is, of course, not to be judged according to the criteria of a modern historian. The expression "historical science" does not apply to ancient historiography, for in ancient times the historian was a writer and his craft part of general literature. This aspiration of the historian proved his misfortune, since the requirements of literature did not accord with the demands of historiography, and most often the writer prevailed over the historian. Josephus shared all the defects that characterized contemporary and earlier historians. Nonetheless, he occupies a place of prime importance also as a historian, an importance which is greatly increased because his work is the only surviving source and without it little would have been known of the history of the Second Temple nor would it have been possible to write such a history.

The historian must be grateful to the Christian Church for preserving this treasure. As early as in the first centuries the Christians eagerly translated the writings of the "Greek Livy" into Latin – *Antiquities* and *Against Apion* were translated through the efforts of Cassiodorus in the sixth century C.E. and *The Jewish War* apparently already at the end of the fourth. A distinction must be made between the accurate rendering, ascribed to Rufinus, of *The Jewish War* and the freer version known as Hegesippus or Gegesippus. The first edition of the Greek text of Josephus' writings was printed in 1544 by Frobenius and Episcopus in Basle. The new, scholarly edition, that of Niese, was begun in 1887 in Berlin. The main English editions of Josephus are *Josephus: Complete Works* (1969), translated by W. Whiston; *The Jewish War* (1959), by G.A. Williamson; and the Loeb Classical Library edition translated by H. St. John Thackeray, R. Marcus and L.H. Feldman (1926–65).

[Abraham Schalit]

In the Arts

The Jewish historian and his writings made an imprint on art and literature. In the 11th century, an East Slavonic version made Josephus' *Jewish War* a popular source of legend in the Slav lands and later influenced Russian heroic literature. The rediscovery in the 15th century of the writings of Josephus created a vogue in Western Europe for dramas about the Maccabees and the Herodians. After early translations of Josephus into Latin (1481), German (1531), French (1558), and Italian (1574), the English poet Thomas Lodge (1558–1625) produced the first complete edition in English, *The Famous and memorable workes of Josephus, a man of much honour and learning among the Jewes…* (London, 1602). While there was practically no early fiction about the Jewish historian, there were many 17th-century English dramas dealing with subjects such as *Herod and Mariamne and the fall of Jerusalem which acknowledged their indebtedness to "Josephus, the learned and famous Jew." English dramatists anxious to exploit such themes on the stage found in Josephus a convenient post-biblical authority, enabling them to circumvent Puritan objections to dramatization of the Bible. There was a renewal of interest in these subjects during the Restoration era, and Josephus' account of the destruction of Jerusalem, for example, continued to attract the attention of English playwrights well into the 19th century. In general, however, Josephus himself became significant in fiction only toward the end of the 19th century. The Jew's need to fight for equality was stressed by the Russian author Vladimir Galaktionovich *Korolenko in his tale *Skazaniye o Flore, Agrippe i Menakheme syn Yegudy* ("Tale of Florus, Agrippa, and Menahem ben Judah," in *Ocherki i Razskazy*, vol. 3, 1894^2). Practically all of the works dealing with the theme in the 20th century were written by Jews. They include *Az áruló* ("The Traitor," 1923), a historical drama by the Hungarian author Lajos *Szabolcsi; Yehiel Yeshaia *Trunk's Yiddish short story *Yosepus Flavius fun Yerusholayim* (1930); Julius Wolffsohn's German play *Joseph ben Matthias* (1935; staged in 1934); and *Yerushalayim ve-Romi: Yosifus Flavius* (1939), a Hebrew drama by the writer Nathan *Agmon (Bistritski). The outstanding work on the subject was the German novelist Lion *Feuchtwanger's *Josephus* trilogy: *Der juedische Krieg* (1932; *Josephus*, 1932); *Die Soehne* (1935; *The Jew of Rome*, 1936); and *Der Tag wird kommen* (1941; *The Day Will Come* (U.S. ed., *Josephus and the Emperor*), 1942). After World War II, the Israel writer Shin *Shalom published his play *Me'arat Yosef* (in *Ba-Metaḥ ha-Gavoha*, 1956) and Naftali Ne'eman the Hebrew novel *Beino le-Vein Ammo* (1956–57). Josephus also appears in a number of interesting works of art. A striking first-century marble bust (found in Rome and formerly in the Carlsberg Glyptotekat, Copenhagen) has been thought to represent the Jewish historian because of its pronounced "Semitic" features. Two outstanding French manuscripts that have survived are copies of his works. The first, a late 12th-century Josephus text (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris), contains stylized figures and elongated, convulsive forms resembling those of French Romanesque sculpture of the same period. In one illustration

Josephus is shown presenting his work to Vespasian. The emperor sits enthroned like a medieval monarch, while Josephus – complete with the notorious "Jew's hat" – is depicted in the stance of one of the four Evangelists. Assembled behind Josephus is a group of Jews also wearing the obligatory pointed headgear. The second manuscript, a masterpiece of illumination, is the French *Antiquités judaïques* with miniatures by Jean Fouquet (1415–1480; Bibliothèque Nationale). Painted toward the end of the Middle Ages, these freshly colored works betray the influence of the Italian Renaissance, although the soft landscape backgrounds are those of 15th-century France. In this work Fouquet, a master of grouping, action, and drama, interpreted biblical scenes such as David lamenting the death of Saul and Solomon building the Temple. The *Antiquities* also inspired Altichiero and Avarizi to paint a series of triumphs for the great hall of the palace at Verona (c. 1377). These later served as models for Renaissance masters seeking to evoke the glory of Rome, notably Andrea Mantegna (1431–1506), whose *Triumph of Caesar* (1484–92) is now at Hampton Court Palace, near London. Many printed editions of Josephus' works have also been illustrated by well-known artists.

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JOSHUA (Heb. יְהוֹשֻׁעַ; "YHWH is salvation"), son of Nun of the tribe of Ephraim and leader of the Israelites in the conquest and apportionment of the land of Canaan; his name was originally Hosea (Num. 13:8, 16; Deut. 32:44). Joshua, who appears in the Bible as a commander and as *Moses' attendant, led Israel against *Amalek in the battle of Rephidim (Ex. 17:9–14). He accompanied Moses during his ascent and descent of Mt. Sinai (24:13; 32:17–18), and was placed in charge of security at the tent of meeting (33:11). One of the 12 spies sent from Kadesh, Joshua, together with Caleb, opposed the negative report of the other ten (Num. 13:8; 14:6–9). Because of their trust in the Lord, they were the only two privileged to enter Canaan (14:30). Moses appointed Joshua as his successor (27:15–23; Deut. 1:38) with the duty to conquer and apportion the land among the Israelites (Num. 34:17; Deut. 31:7, 14, 23). He himself received Timnath-Serah in the hills of Ephraim as his lot (Josh. 19:50). On his death at the age of 110, he was buried there (*ibid.* 24:30; cf. Judg. 2:9, as Timnath-Heres). Joshua is portrayed in the Bible as combining the qualities of a military leader and a prophet. His major function lay in the conquest and settlement of Canaan (Deut. 3:21; 31:3–8; Josh. 13:22), but he "was filled with the spirit of wisdom because Moses had laid his hands upon him" (Num. 27:18–20; Deut. 34:9). Like Moses, he is called "servant of the Lord" (Josh. 24:29), and it is also said of him: "And the Lord spoke unto Joshua saying" (20:1) – the form of address used for Moses. He begins his farewell address to Israel: "Thus says the Lord" (24:2). The event of Mt. Ebal (Josh. 8:30–35; cf. Deut. 27) is a kind of act of prophetic leadership continued from Moses to Joshua. In his parting words of chapter 23 and those at Shechem (24), the Bible attributes to him the character of a prophet-legislator in the style of Moses (24:1–28). (For fuller details see *Joshua, Book of.)

The historical role of Joshua has been variously evaluated. There is a general consensus that the Joshua traditions in the Pentateuch are secondary. He appears to have been inserted into the spy story of Numbers 13–14; Deut. 1:34–7, which in an earlier form included only Caleb. As to his historicity E. Meyer and G. Hoelscher deny his existence as a historical reality and surmise that he is the legendary hero of a Josephite clan. Others, especially Y. Kaufmann, accept the biblical tradition in essence and view him as the historical leader of an alliance of tribes during the conquest of Canaan. Before the extensive archaeological excavations of the recent decades demonstrated that the Bible's account of the conquest of the land are unhistorical, most modern scholars did not doubt his historicity, but suggested that he was the leader of only part of the Israelite conquerors, and that he became a national hero associated with Moses only after the passage of time, when numerous stories and traditions accumulated about him. W.F. Albright, T. Meek, B. Mazar, and others held that Joshua was only the leader of the house of Joseph and that he conquered Jericho, Ai, and Beth-El, and won the battle of Gibeon. In the opinion of Alt and Noth, Joshua won only the battle of Gibeon, and following this victory he became the first judge, consolidating the tribes of Israel around their religious center in Shechem, in the center of the hills of Ephraim (Josh. 24). In the present circumstances it seems best to conclude that if there is a historical person ultimately behind the Joshua legends, he cannot be recovered.

[Yohanan Aharoni / S. David Sperling (2nd ed.)]

In the Aggadah

Joshua received the Torah from Moses (Avot 1:1). He was worthy to succeed him and to receive the gift of prophecy because of his faithful service to him both by day and night (Num. R. 12:9). That his inspiration was derived from Moses is indicated in the statement "the face of Moses was as the face of the sun, the face of Joshua as the face of the moon" (BB 75a). Joshua was designated as the "first of the conquerors" at the time of the creation of the world (Esth. R., Proem 10). The rabbis solve the moral problem that Joshua had taken by conquest a land which was occupied by another nation by maintaining that it was divinely designated for the children of Israel, and the Canaanites were merely acting as caretakers of the land until their arrival (Sifra 7:9). The identical plea was used by the Spartans to justify their right to Sparta and Messene, namely, that Heracleus conquered Sparta with his own hands and ordered it to be preserved for his descendants (Diodorus 4:33, 5). Before attacking a city Joshua issued an edict wherein was written, "Whosoever desires to go, let him go; and whosoever desires to make peace, let him make peace; and whosoever desires to make war, let him do so. The Girgashites departed, and so were given a land as good as their own … Africa [Carthage]. The Gibeonites made peace. The 31 kings waged war and were defeated" (Deut. R. 5:14; Lev. R. 17:6). Joshua's dedication of the spoils of Jericho to God was done of his own accord, Joshua reasoning that since it was captured on the holy Sabbath, then all that was taken should be holy to the Lord. Moreover, as the first city to be captured, it was to be regarded as the first of the produce, which belongs to God (Tanḥ B., Num. 42; Jos., Ant., 5:26). When the Gibeonites appealed to Joshua to save them (Josh. 10:6), his first thought was that he should not put the congregation to trouble for the sake of these proselytes, but God pointed out that Joshua himself was a descendant of proselytes (Num. R. 8:4), since he was descended from Ephraim, son of Joseph and Asenath, daughter of Poti-Phera. Joshua succeeded where Moses did not. He allotted and apportioned the land and was vouchsafed the wholehearted cooperation of the entire people which Moses had failed to achieve (Tanḥ B., Lev. 23). He was one of the three for whom the sun stood still (Ta'an. 20a). Joshua married *Rahab after she became a proselyte (Meg. 14b).

[Elimelech Epstein Halevy]

In Christianity

The similarity of the names Yehoshua and Yeshua brought about an early identification, in Christian symbolism, of Joshua as a "type" or prefiguration of Jesus. The typology is first mentioned in the Epistle to the Hebrews (4:8–9), where Joshua, who brought the children of Israel to an imperfect rest only, is contrasted with Jesus who brought his believers to the true and perfect rest. Other events of Joshua's life are similarly interpreted as prophetic anticipations of the life of Jesus. Thus Joshua fights with Amalek, the symbol of the Devil, with whom Jesus too must fight, and he leads the Israelites in battle while Moses folds his arms in the "crossed" position. According to the Church Father Irenaeus, Joshua, who leads the people into the Holy Land, succeeds Moses, the symbol of the superseded Law.

In Islam

When the people of Israel refused to enter Ereẓ Israel out of fear of the people of Anak (see Num. 13–14), they were encouraged by two men who feared Allah and who said to them: "Verily, we shall be victorious and upon God do ye rely if ye be believers" (Sura 5:23–26). The commentators explain that these two were Yūshaʿ (Joshua) ibn Nūn and Kalāb (Caleb) ibn Yūfannā (Jephunneh). Ṭabarī (*Taʾrīkh*, p. 306) mentions that there were divergences of opinion among the earlier authorities (cf. Kisāʾī, 240) as to whether the conquest of Jericho occurred during the lifetime of Moses, and that Joshua commanded the vanguard of the army in this campaign, or whether it occurred after the death of Moses, solely at the hands of Joshua. Ṭabarī (*Taʾrīkh*, p. 311), however, was familiar with the order of the events of the conquest as they are described in the Bible: Joshua conquered more than 30 towns (cf. Josh. 12). In the traditions of Ṭabarī (*Taʾrīkh*, p. 312) the tale of Joshua is connected with that of the Amalekites who were driven out of *Yemen by Shamīr, the first of the *Ḥimyar kings and the same person who was at first the viceroy of the king of Persia in Yemen. The remnants of the Canaanites, who remained after the wars of Joshua, headed by Ifrīqis, a descendant of the Ḥimyarite kings, went to Africa – which they conquered – put its king Jarjīr (or Jarjaṣ – the Girgasite) to death and settled there; these people are the *Berbers. Ibn Khaldūn, the celebrated Arabic-Maghribi historian (late 14th–early 15th century), objected to this genealogy. These confused legends are an echo of the tale of Procopius (sixth century C.E.), and of the Jewish legends – which go back to the period of the *tannaim* – on the expulsion of the Canaanites by "Joshua the Robber" to Africa, or their voluntary departure. They later appear in Arabic literature as the expulsion of the Philistines from Canaan and are connected with the Jālūt (see *Goliath).

[Haïm Z'ew Hirschberg]

In the Arts

Among writers, artists, and musicians the siege and capture of Jericho was the most popular episode in Joshua's career. In literature, Joshua drew little attention during the Middle Ages. One of the earliest works on the subject was a late Elizabethan play by the English writer S. Rowley, whose *Joshua* – though the text has not survived – is known to have been staged in 1602. The theme became more popular in the 18th century, with works beginning with García Aznar Vélez's Spanish drama *El sol obediente al hombre* (Seville, 1720?[2]). Thomas Morell's *Joshua. A Sacred Drama* (1748), enhanced by the music of Handel, was one of the oratorios on Old Testament themes which appealed to the patriotism of a British public unable to see biblical plays on the stage because of rigid censorship. There were also strong patriotic undertones to *The Conquest of Canaan* (1785), an epic poem by the theocratic U.S. writer and preacher Timothy Dwight. Dwight, one of the leading

"Connecticut wits," injected references to the American War of Independence into his allegorical account of the Israelite *The Battles of Joshua* (1843), an anonymous American ballad – generally attributed to Samuel B.H. *Judah – portraying the Israelite leader as a cruel invader. Works on the subject by two other 19th-century Jewish writers were less controversial: *Yehoshu'a; Sar Ẓeva'ot Yisrael* (1853), a Hebrew epic in ten cantos by Benjamin Kewall (1806–1880), and *Joshua* (1890; *Joshua: A Story of Biblical Times*, 1890) by the German Egyptologist Georg Moritz *Ebers, who was raised as a Christian. The subject has retained its popularity in the 20th century, and a three-act drama *Rahab* by the U.S. literary critic Richard Burton appeared in 1906. Another work of the same period was "Josuas Landtag" (composed 1906), a poem by the Prague-born Austrian writer Rainer Maria Rilke. Other works on the theme by modern writers include Tadeusz Breza's Polish novel, *Mury Jerycha* ("The Walls of Jericho," 1946); *The Seven Days of Jericho* (1944), a poem by Patrick Dickinson; a drama, *Das rote Seil* (1952), by the Swiss-German writer Gerhard Wipf; and Frank G. Slaughter's *The Scarlet Cord: a Novel of the Woman of Jericho* (1956). Among treatments by Jewish authors are Saul Saphire's Yiddish novel, *Moyshe Rabeynes Nakhfolger, Yehoshue* (1935), and Israel Isaac Taslitt's *At the Walls of Jericho* (1961). There have also been several works for Jewish children, such as Shlomo Skulsky's *Aggadot Yehoshu'a bin Nun* (1958; *Legends of Joshua*, 1961).

In art, Joshua was regarded as the type of Jesus (Yehoshu'ah = Yeshu'a), both because of his name and because of the symbolic meaning attached to his actions. The crossing of the Jordan, like the crossing of the Red Sea, was regarded as foreshadowing the baptism of Jesus and was therefore represented on baptismal fonts. Joshua also owed much of his popularity in the medieval Christian world to the miracle he performed in arresting the course of the sun in the heavens (Josh. 10:12). He was regarded as one of the Nine Worthies, and was represented in this role in sculpture, painting, and tapestries. The cycles of episodes drawn from the Book of Joshua comprise the fourth-century mosaics from the church of Santa Maria Maggiore, Rome; the tenth-century Greek *Joshua Roll* (Vatican Library); the bronze doors by Ghiberti for the Baptistery at Florence; and a series of 16th-century Brussels tapestries (Vienna Museum). In the mosaics of Santa Maria Maggiore, the scene of the crossing of the Jordan is based on the triumph over the fall of Jerusalem from the Arch of Titus. There is a statue of Joshua by Donatello at the Campanile, Florence, and scenes from his life are found in Byzantine and western manuscripts, including the 12th-century Admont Bible (British Museum); the 13th-century St. Louis Psalter (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris), in which the priests are shown wearing the pointed hats of medieval Jewry; the 14th-century Queen Mary Psalter (British Museum); and the 16th-century *Hours of Henry II* (Bibliothèque Nationale). Similar scenes are also found in medieval frescoes and sculpture. Among other notable representations are an illustration of the fall of Jericho by Jean Fouquet (1415–1480) in his famous manuscript of Josephus (Bibliothèque Nationale); frescoes by the school of Raphael in the *loggie* of the Vatican; and a painting by Tiepolo (1696–1770; Poldi-Pezzoli Museum, Milan) showing Joshua arresting the course of the sun, a subject also treated by Italian artists of the 17th century.

IN MUSIC. Joshua has also inspired a comparatively large number of compositions. The sudden appearance of several oratorios on the subject – mainly about the fall of Jericho – beginning with G.M. Bononcini's *Il Giosuè* (1688) is no doubt directly linked with political events of the time, particularly the victories of Charles of Lorraine over the Turks at Mohács, and of Prince Eugene of Savoy and the Duke of Marlborough. Some early 18th-century works of note are M.-A. Charpentier's *Josué* (c. 1700); the oratorio-pasticcio *I trionfi di Giosuè* (1703), jointly written in Florence by more than ten composers (including Veracini and Bononcini); and other oratorios by Veracini (c. 1715), Logroscino (1743), and Hasse (1743). Handel's oratorio *Joshua* has been mentioned above. The subject was taken up by some relatively undistinguished composers in France. The only noteworthy – or notorious – example there is of slightly later date, *La Prise de Jéricho*, an opera put together from various sources (chiefly Mozart) by Lachnith and Kalkbrenner (1805). Of the very few works on the subject written during the 19th century only Moussorgsky's retains significance. His *Jesus Navin* ("Joshua, the Son of Nun"), for baritone, alto, mixed choir, and piano, is based on melodies which he heard from Jewish neighbors in St. Petersburg in about 1864. Moussorgsky first utilized some of the material in 1866 for the "Chorus of the Libyan Warriors" in his projected opera *Salammbô*. Between 1874 and 1877 he reworked and completed it as a choral scene on the battle of Gibeon, adapting the text himself from the Bible. The work was first performed and published in 1883 by Rimsky-Korsakov, who had arranged the piano accompaniment for orchestra. The opening theme of the main chorus, "Thus saith the Lord of Hosts," is engraved on Moussorgsky's tombstone. It was translated into Hebrew by Saul *Tchernichovsky for the *Lider-Zamlbuch* (1911) published by Z. Kisselgov, A. Zhitomirski, and P. Lwow for the *Society for Jewish Folk Music.

Later works about Joshua include C. Franckenstein's opera *Rahab* (première in Hamburg, 1911), Franz Waxman's oratorio *Joshua* (première in Dallas, 1959), and Ben-Zion *Orgad's *The Story of the Spies* for chorus and orchestra (1953). The Afro-American spiritual "Joshua fit de battle of Jericho" is among the most famous of its type.

[Bathja Bayer]

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JOSHUA (mid-second century C.E.), *tanna*, son of *Akiva. It is told that he stipulated in his marriage contract that his wife had to support him so that he could devote himself to study. Later, during a famine, she contested the validity of the stipulation but under the extraordinary conditions of the time the court upheld the original agreement (Tosef., Ket. 4:6). It is possible that he and his wife are also mentioned in the *Midrash Tehillim* (ed. Buber (1959), p. 302). Joshua is once mentioned as asking his father a halakhic rule (Tosef., Neg. 1:1), and it is also related that his father charged him with seven rules of behavior (Pes. 112a). Some *rishonim*, among them Rashi (Bek. 58a), identify Joshua with *Joshua b. Korḥa. It can be assumed that he perished during the persecutions at the time of *Hadrian. The Talmud mentions that Akiva mourned for the loss of his sons (MK 21b).

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JOSHUA, early liturgical poet of unknown period. Joshua, who apparently lived in Palestine, is mentioned by *Saadiah in his introduction to the *Iggaron*, in conjunction with Eleazar (i.e., *Kallir) and *Phinehas, as one of the first composers of *piyyutim*. Some liturgical compositions by Joshua, who bore the surname "ha-Kohen," were recently found among *Genizah* fragments. Only a few of these texts have been published. In Zulay's opinion, Joshua could have been the father of the well-known poet Johanan ha-Kohen. Joshua is not to be confused with poets of similar name of a later period.

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[Jefim (Hayyim) Schirmann]

JOSHUA, BOOK OF, the first book of the Former Prophets, which relates the conquest of *Canaan and its early settlement from the death of *Moses to the death of *Joshua. The Book of Joshua is divided into three main sections: the conquest of the land (chs. 1–12); the division of the land among the tribes and the establishment of cities of refuge for the levites (chs. 13–21); and the final chapters, which include the negotiations with the tribes dwelling east of the Jordan and the covenant at Shechem (chs. 22–24). (See Table: Book of Joshua – Contents.)

BOOK OF JOSHUA – CONTENTS

1:1–12:24	**The Conquest of Canaan**
1:1–5:12	Crossing the Jordan.
5:13–8.35	First conquests (Jericho, Ai).
9:1–10:27	Success in south-central Canaan.
10:28–43	Southern campaign.
11:1–15	Northern campaign.
11:16–12:24	Summary of conquest.
13:1–21:43	**Allotment of the land**
13:1–6	Land still unconquered.
13:7–33	Inheritance of Transjordanian tribes.
14:1–19:51	Allotment of Canaan.
20:1–9	Cities of refuge.
21:1–43	Levitical cities.
22:1–34	**Departure of Transjordanian tribes**
23:1–24:33	**Joshua's last days**
23:1–16	Joshua's farewell address.
24:1–28	Covenant at Shechem.
24:29–31	Death and burial of Joshua.
24:32–33	Two burial traditions: Joseph's at Shechem, Eleazar's at Gibeah.

THE COMPOSITION OF THE BOOK

According to talmudic tradition, "Joshua wrote his own book" (BB 14b), although the talmudic sages found it necessary to add the qualification that Joshua's death was recorded by *Eleazar son of Aaron, and the latter's death by his son *Phinehas (BB 15a). No mention of the author is made in the book itself, and the statement that "Joshua wrote these things in a record of divine teaching" (24:26) does not refer to the book in its entirety but only to the last section concerning the covenant. Both the date and the editing of the book are subjects of controversy.

The traditional exegetes (Rashi, 15:14–16; Rashi and David Kimḥi, 19:47; Levi b. Gershom, Judg. 1:10) held that most of the book is from the time of Joshua, but mentioned additional details from a later period, which were added in subsequent generations, such as the Danites' wanderings northward (19:37) and the conquest by Caleb and Othniel (15:14–19), who also lived after the time of Joshua (Judg. 1:10–13). Abrabanel rejected this view. According to him the statement "until this day" which recurs throughout the book (Josh. 4:9; 5:9; 7:26; 8:28; 9:27; 13:13; 14:14; 15:63; 16:10) reflects a distinct lapse between the events themselves and their description in the book. An additional important proof, according to him, is provided by the mention of the Book of Jashar (10:13), which is not very early since it contains David's lament over Saul and Jonathan (II Sam. 1:18). For this reason, Abrabanel held that the author of the book was probably the prophet Samuel; "and if you desire … to agree with the words of the sages, you would have to say that Jeremiah … or Samuel collected these sayings, arranged them in a book, and added to them with God's benevolent aid" (Introduction to commentary to Former Prophets). There are significant differences between the Hebrew and

Greek texts of Joshua. Fragments of Joshua have been found at Qumran (see in Ahituv, 28–37). These demonstrate that the text of Joshua was somewhat fluid as late as the Hasmonean period and perhaps even later.

A group of scholars suggest that the Book of Joshua be considered, together with the Five Books of Moses, as part of a six-book literary creation, or Hexateuch. There is no consensus concerning the P, D, E and J sources found in the book (see *Pentateuch). Some scholars hold that not all of the conjectured Pentateuchal sources are represented here. Beatrice Goff thinks that the bulk of the J source for the story of Joshua's conquest of the land has been lost. W. Rudolph denies the existence of the E source in Joshua. A. Alt and M. Noth assume that the first part consists of stories of various origins edited about 900 B.C.E. by one editor, while the second part consists of two separate geopolitical documents, one dating from the end of the period of the Judges, the other from Josiah's time, both of which were combined and edited near the end of the pre-Exilic period. Then during the Babylonian Exile, the Deuteronomist combined these disparate sources and added a historical framework. Finally, some sections were added from the P source, while other small additions were made before the book assumed its present form. For an updated summary of scholarly opinions on Joshua see Auld in Bibliography.

Y. Kaufmann disagrees with all these theories and maintains the unity and antiquity of the Book of Joshua. He is of the opinion that the Book of Joshua correctly reflects the historical events of the conquest and early settlement of Canaan and was written soon after these events took place. The geographical chapters also belong to the period of early conquest; they are partially a realistic description and partly a utopian ideal – a plan that was only partially realized. The current consensus based on extensive excavation of biblical Israel is that the conquest is unhistorical (see *History: Beginning until the Monarchy). As such Kaufmann's views cannot be sustained. Other solutions must be sought for the differing "maps" in the book. The commentary by Ahituv is extremely helpful in identifying the many geographic sites in Joshua.

[Yohanan Aharoni / S. David Sperling (2nd ed.)]

THE CONTENT OF THE BOOK

The Conquest of the Land of *Canaan (chs. 1–12).

The book introduces Joshua as continuing the work of Moses (1:1–9), beginning preparations for crossing the *Jordan, and calling upon the tribes who settled east of the Jordan to participate in the war of conquest (1:10–18). After sending the spies to *Jericho (ch. 2), the crossing of the Jordan is described (chs. 3–4). It is followed by the description of the circumcision of the people at Gibeath ha-Araloth and the Passover festival in *Gilgal (ch. 5). Then stories are told about the miraculous conquest of Jericho (ch. 6) and the destruction of *Ai, after the punishment of *Achan in the valley of Achor (ch. 7; 8:1–29); the construction of the altar on Mt. *Ebal (8:30–35); the covenant with the cities of *Gibeon (Gibeon, Chephirah, Beeroth, and Kiriath-Jearim, ch. 9); the victory over the alliance of the five *Amorite kings of the Judean hills and the lowland (Jerusalem, Hebron, Jarmuth, *Lachish, and *Eglon), and their flight from Gibeon, through Beth-Horon, to the valley of Aijalon, Azekah, and Makkedah; the conquest of Makkedah, Libnah, Lachish (despite the help of the king of Gezer), Eglon, and *Debir (ch. 10); and finally the victory at the waters of Merom over the alliance of the northern kings (*Hazor, Madon, Shimron, and Achshaph) and the capture of Hazor (11:1–15). The description of the wars concludes with a summary of the battles, the conquered areas (11:16–12:6), and a listing of the vanquished Canaanite kings.

In this section, the editor wove several battle stories into a geographical and contextual unit in order to depict a single campaign of conquest under Joshua's leadership. It would appear that this is actually a selection of stories about the conquest, as is apparent from the concluding catalog of vanquished Canaanite kings (12:9–24). This list includes the cities mentioned in the stories of the conquest, such as Jericho and Ai; the alliances of southern and northern cities; cities which do not appear in the biblical stories, such as Geder (Gerar?), Hormah, *Arad, and Adullam in the south, *Beth-El, Tappuah, Hepher, Aphek in the Sharon (according to LXX), Tirzah in the central area, and Taanach, *Megiddo, Kedesh, Jokneam, and Dor in the north; and finally the king of Goiim in Gilgal (according to the LXX in Galilee: i.e., king of the region [Heb. *galil*] of Goiim). There undoubtedly were stories about the conquest of these cities which were not handed down.

Most scholars believe that the stories of the battles originally were related to individual tribes and were only associated with Joshua, and with Israel as a whole, at a later period. Such earlier sources are preserved mainly in Judges 1 and in a few sections in the Book of Joshua, e.g., the conquest of Hebron and Debir which is attributed to Caleb and Othniel (Josh. 15:13–19; 21:12–15), to Judah (Judg. 1:10–11), and finally to Joshua and all of Israel (Josh. 10:36–39). Other cities appearing in the concluding list (ch. 12) were captured, according to Judges (1:16–17, 22–26), by individual tribes: Arad by the Kenites, Hormah by Simeon, and Beth-El by the house of Joseph. Judges 1:4ff. describes a separate campaign launched by Judah against Jerusalem via Bezek and from there to the Judean hills, which concludes with the words "and he drove out the inhabitants of the hill-country; for he could not drive out the inhabitants of the valley, because they had chariots of iron" (1:19).

Among the modern scholars, G.E. Wright prefers the tradition in the Book of Joshua because it presents a total viewpoint in comparison with the fragmentary contradictory data of Judges 1; the progress of the conquest is logical both circumstantially and topographically, and archaeological investigations, particularly in the mounds of the plains, have disclosed ruins dating from the 13th century B.C.E., i.e., the period of Joshua. However, it is impossible to deduce from the ruins of a city whether the destruction was accomplished by individual tribes or as part of a unified campaign of conquest. Nor can the ruins be dated with absolute certainty, so that one cannot rule out the possibility that some towns, such as Lachish, continued to exist until the beginning of the 12th century B.C.E. While it is clear that the editor of the Book of Joshua organized the chapters in logical topographical fashion, this does not necessarily indicate that the events themselves occurred in this same order. Other scholars, such as W.F. Albright, associate the stories of the conquest with the various waves of immigration by different tribes; in his opinion archaeological findings prove the basic historicity of the stories. While the date of Jericho's destruction has not been established with certainty, it is clear that its great decline preceded the period of Joshua. A more complicated problem has arisen in the excavation of *Ai (et-Tell); it is clear that a large city existed there in the early Canaanite period and was destroyed about 1,000 years before Joshua's time. Albright assumes that there was a confusion between the stories of Ai and Beth-El (Josh. 8:17; cf. 8:9, 12). A. Vincent conjectures that the men of *Beth-El temporarily defended themselves in the destroyed city of Ai; others doubt the identification of Ai with et-Tell – but all these are tenuous guesses. Only the destruction of Beth-El, Lachish, Eglon (Tell el-Hesi), Debir (Tell Beit Mirsim?), and Hazor can be dated approximately to the 13th century B.C.E.

Various scholars assume that some of the stories in the Book of Joshua are only etiological legends created in order to explain the existence of outstanding objects in the landscape, as is evident in the emphatic reference to the existence of these objects "unto this very day" at the end of each section, e.g., the stones in the midst of the Jordan (4:9), the house of *Rahab in Jericho (6:25), the heap of stones in the valley of *Achor (7:26), the mound of ruins known as Ai (8:2–8), the heap of stones at the conjectured gate of the city (8:29), the inferior condition of the Gibeonites (9:27), and the great stones by the mouth of the cave in Makkedah (10:27). A. Alt and M. Noth view most of these stories as purely etiological legends and believe that only the stories about the wars of Gibeon and the waters of Merom have an historical basis. The Gibeonite war was apparently associated with Joshua, since he became, in the course of time, the central figure in the stories of the conquest, a result of this decisive victory in the center of the country. In the light of archaeological excavations, one cannot doubt the conquest of the southern cities. Libnah, Lachish, Eglon, and Makkedah were neighboring cities on the plain which evidently fell to the families of Judah at the end of the 13th or the beginning of the 12th century B.C.E. Hebron and Debir were conquered at about the same time by the families of Caleb and Kenaz. The battle of the waters of Merom undoubtedly reflects an historical event, but it should be associated only with the tribes of Galilee.

The Division of the Land Among the Tribes and the Establishment of Cities of Refuge and the Cities of the Levites (chs. 13–21)

These chapters constitute the richest collection of geographical source material in the Bible. They include "the remaining land" which was not conquered by the Israelite tribes (13:1–6); a description of the portions of Reuben and Gad, whose lands lay east of the Jordan (13:7–32); and after an introduction (ch. 14), a description of the lands of Judah (ch. 15), Ephraim (ch. 16), and Manasseh (ch. 17), with introductory and closing remarks which pertain exclusively to the households of Joseph (17:1–4; 14–18). The last seven tribes are apportioned their lands by casting lots at Shiloh before the Lord (18:1–10; 19:51): Benjamin (18:11–28), Simeon (19:1–9), Zebulun (19:10–16), Issachar (19:17–23), Asher (19:24–31), Naphtali (19:32–39), and Dan (19:40–48). The catalog ends with an enumeration of the cities of refuge (ch. 20) and of the 48 cities of the Levites, which were given to them as an inheritance by the 12 tribes of Israel (ch. 21).

Most scholars now generally agree that this is a collection of geographical and administrative documents dating from various periods which were gathered together in order to describe the inheritances of the tribes. One can differentiate among the following documents:

A DESCRIPTION OF THE "REMAINING LAND" (13:1–6). The editor made use of the document in order to introduce the subject of the land which is to be inherited and divided among the tribes. In fact, this is a document completing the boundaries of the tribes and describing those regions of the land of Canaan (cf. Num. 34) which "remained" and were not settled by the Israelite tribes, e.g., all the Philistine provinces from the Egyptian border to north of Ekron; the Phoenician-Sidonian coastal area, from Misrephoth (-Maim, or reading Misrephoth-Miyyam) on the west to the Amorite border in the northern area of Lebanon; and all of Lebanon and the valley of the Lebanese from Baal-Gad at the foot of Mount Hermon to the Lebo-Hamath at the northern limit of Canaan (cf. Num. 34:8; Judg. 3:3).

THE BOUNDARIES OF THE *TRIBES. A. Alt distinguished two separate documents, different in type and in date, describing the territories of the tribes, the tribal boundaries, and the lists of towns. The boundary descriptions consist of a series of consecutive border points on the four corners of the tribal territory. M. Noth showed, through a comparison of parallel sections in the documents, that the original document only enumerated the border points, the connecting verbs between points being added at a later period. The list of boundaries includes the following sections: Judah (15:1–12), the house of Joseph (16:1–3), Ephraim (16:5–8), Manasseh (17:7–10), Benjamin (18:12–20), Zebulun (19:10–14), Asher (19:25–29), and Naphtali (19:33–34). The document therefore contains only the boundaries of seven tribes (Ephraim and Manasseh are included in the house of Joseph); the others – Simeon, Issachar, Dan, and the tribes east of the Jordan – are missing. Noth attempted to prove that the lists of towns belonging to Issachar, Reuben, and Gad are the original boundary descriptions in which the connecting verbs are missing; but there would not seem to be any basis for this theory. The descriptions vary in detail; they are more specific in the case of the southern tribes and briefer for the northern tribes. The most detailed description is that of the boundary between Judah and Benjamin in the area of Jebus (= Jerusalem; 15:8; 18:16), which ran south of the city, an integral part of the area of Benjamin.

On the basis of the detailed description of the border in the Jerusalem area, Albright and others hold that the list does not predate the time of David, who captured Jerusalem. Alt surmises that the list predates the monarchy and comprises both the actual situation and the theoretical Israelite claims to territories still held by the Canaanites (similarly to Judg. 1:27–35). S. Mowinckel, on the other hand, claims that one cannot conceive of a union of tribes, which would include both Israel and Judah, in the period of the Judges. None of these hypotheses has taken the connection between the list of tribal boundaries and the borders of the land of Canaan into consideration (Num. 34) – the southern border of Judah is none other than the southern border of Canaan (Josh. 15:2–4; Num. 34:3–5), and as the Jordan is the eastern border of Canaan, it serves as the boundary of the tribes which have no portion east of the Jordan. It therefore seems that the list did not include Judah (its northern boundary is the southern boundary of Benjamin, and its remaining – theoretical – boundaries are the borders of Canaan) and that it originated in the alliance of the six tribes of the hill-country of Ephraim and Galilee (cf. Judg. 1:27–35; 5:14–18; 6:35). These, then, are the tribes of Israel (as opposed to Judah) as they appear at the beginning of the monarchial period. It would seem that these boundaries were established by the league of tribes whose center was Shiloh (18:8; 19:51) and that the original document included detailed descriptions of the boundary points. It was the Judahite editor who shortened them to their present form. Therefore, no chronological and substantive conclusions can be drawn from the more detailed bits of boundary description.

THE TOWN LISTS. Alt was the first to identify the list of the Judean cities in chapter 15 as a list of the 12 regions of the kingdom of Judah. In his opinion the list included the Judahite cities (15:21–62), arranged in geographical groupings in the south, the lowland, the hill region, and the wilderness, together with the district of *Beth-Lehem, which is preserved only in the Septuagint (v. 59), and the towns of Benjamin (18:21–28) and of Dan (19:41–46). In view of the enlarged territory of the kingdom as reflected in this regional list, Alt dated it to the reign of Josiah. Alt's basic assumption has been accepted by many scholars, but with some modifications. F.M. Cross and G.E. Wright are opposed to the inclusion of the towns of Dan in the list; they believe that the list dates from the time of *Jehoshaphat (II Chron. 17:2) and includes the region of Beth-El, which was conquered in the time of his grandfather, *Abijah (II Chron. 13:19). However, from the days of Abijah to those of Jehoshaphat territorial changes occurred in the boundaries of Judah and Israel (I Kings 15:17–22). It therefore appears that only the southern group of Benjaminite cities (18:25–28) belongs to the list of the regions of Judah, while the northern group (18:21–24) comprises the towns of Benjamin, which belonged to the kingdom of Israel. In this form, a description of Judah does, in fact, reflect the age of Jehoshaphat or Uzziah rather than that of Josiah. The remainder of the town lists are apparently associated with the regional division of the northern kingdom of Israel as it crystallized from the time of *Solomon (I Kings 4:7–12). The absence of city lists for the tribes of Ephraim and Manasseh suggested to Alt that the lists of the cities of the tribes of Galilee are derived from a description of the Assyrian province of *Megiddo, which was formed in the days of *Tiglath-Pileser III and comprised these regions.

CITIES OF REFUGE (CH. 20). The list of the cities of refuge is associated with the ancient law of blood vengeance and the establishment of places of sanctuary for the accidental manslayer (Deut. 4:41–43; 19:1–13). Three cities of refuge were established east of the Jordan River (Bezer, Ramoth-Gilead, and Golan; cf. Deut. 4:43) and three west of the Jordan (Kedesh, Shechem, and Hebron). The formulation of the law apparently belongs to the conjectured D source with additions from the P document, but there is no evidence for the establishment of these sacred sites during the period of Josiah or the Babylonian Exile. More likely is the view of I. Lohr and Y. Kaufmann that the list is early and belongs to the period of the Judges or of the united kingdom.

The Levite Cities (ch. 21)

The list of the *levitical cities concludes the collection of geographical documents in the Book of Joshua. S. Klein and Albright have shown that the composition of the list indicates that it dates from the united kingdom. Based on the parallel version in I Chronicles 6:39–66, Albright reconstructed an original version consisting of 48 cities – four in each tribe (see Num. 35:1–8; Josh. 21:41). Alt showed that the list consists mainly of cities in the border areas and the Canaanite regions; B. Mazar suggested the identification of them as centers of administration to which levite families from Judah, loyal to the house of David, were appointed "for all the business of the Lord and for the service of the king" (I Chron. 26:30–32). It is thus understandable why the levite families were expelled from their towns in the kingdom of Israel during the reign of Jeroboam and were resettled in Judah by Rehoboam (II Chron. 11:13–14).

The Concluding Chapters (22–24)

These chapters include the negotiations with the Transjordanian tribes concerning the altar in the region of the Jordan (ch. 22), Joshua's concluding address (ch. 23), the covenant in Shechem (24:1–20), the death of Joshua and of Eleazar the Priest, and the transfer of Joseph's bones and their burial in Shechem (24:29–33).

Construction of the Altar in the Region of the Jordan

The introduction (22:1–8), which evidently belongs mainly to the supposed D source, associates the construction of the altar with the period of the return of the Transjordanian tribes from the wars of conquest in the land of Canaan. The story itself (22:9–34) belongs mainly to the P source. The Transjordanian tribes – apparently, at first only Reuben and Gad (22:25, 33, 34) – build an altar "in the forefront of the land of Canaan, in the region about the Jordan, on the side that pertains to the children of Israel" (22:11). This arouses the suspicions of the Israelites gathered at Shiloh who consequently send a delegation to Gilead. In response, the Transjordanian tribes state that it is not their intent to rebel against the Lord, but rather that the altar was constructed as a witness to the tie between them and the remaining tribes; they feared that future generations should say that they had no part in the worship of the Lord since they did not dwell in the land of Canaan. There is hardly a basis for the theory that this is a later tradition which belongs to the period of the unification of the cult. It refers rather to the fear of the Transjordanian tribes, who live outside the land of Canaan (Num. 34), and to the boundaries of the tribes (see above).

JOSHUA'S FINAL ADDRESS AND THE SIGNING OF THE COVENANT IN SHECHEM. Most scholars see a redundancy in chapters 23–24; they associate chapter 23 with the D source and the Shechem covenant (ch. 24) with an earlier source (according to some, the E document). Alt and Noth hold that the covenant of Shechem was connected from the beginning with the historical figure of Joshua, through whom the Sinai covenant was extended to include the tribes who lived in Canaan and had not originally participated in it. The covenant of Shechem is the appropriate conclusion to the Book of Joshua and the zenith of Joshua's accomplishments. It is therefore possible to assume, according to Alt, that "the victor in battle against the Canaanites, and the judge of disputes among the tribes, is also the man who, in the dawn of Israel's existence, set it upon the firm foundation of its history by uniting it about a new sanctuary of the Lord in the heart of the land."

[Yohanan Aharoni]

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JOSHUA (Jesus), SON OF SAPPHAS, patriot leader at the outset of the first revolt against Rome. When, after the defeat of *Cestius Gallus in the late summer of 66 C.E., the Jewish defense forces were reorganized, Joshua, together with Eleazar son of Neus (Ananias?), was appointed to the command of Idumea, with *Niger the Perean serving under him. According to Josephus, Joshua was one of the "chief priests," which possibly may only mean that he belonged to one of the families from which high priests were chosen, since this name is not found in any of the lists of high priests. Nothing further is known of him.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Jos., Wars, 2:566; Schuerer, Hist, 250; Klausner, Bayit Sheni, 5 (1951^{2}), 163.

[Edna Elazary]

JOSHUA (Jesus), SON OF SETH, high priest during the reign of Archelaus (4 B.C.E.–6 C.E.), Herod's son. Joshua, preceded by Eleazar the son of Boethus, was the second high priest to be appointed by Archelaus, but nothing further is known of him (Jos., Ant., 17:341). His father's (or family's) name (Σεέ) is reminiscent of that of a subsequent high priest, Ananus, the son of Seth (Σεθ, Σεθι; *ibid.*, 18:26), and it is possible that both were of the same family.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Schuerer, Gesch, 2 (1907^{4}), 270, no. 9; Klausner, Bayit Sheni, 4 (1950^{2}), 179.

[Isaiah Gafni]

JOSHUA BEN ABRAHAM MAIMUNI (1310–1355), *nagid* of Egyptian Jewry who lived in Cairo. Joshua was the third son of *Abraham b. David Maimuni. His brother Moses was probably *nagid* of Egyptian Jewry before him. He was a respected scholar, and his responsa on religious and halakhic questions are quoted by such prominent halakhic authorities of the 16th century as *David b. Solomon ibn Abi Zimra and Joseph *Caro. The majority of his extant responsa were answers to questions asked by the Jews of Yemen. Most of them deal with the subjects of prayer and ritual. Joshua's answers are generally based on the *Mishneh Torah* of his ancestor *Maimonides.

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[Eliyahu Ashtor]

JOSHUA BEN DAMNAI, high priest in 62–63 C.E. Joshua was appointed to succeed *Anan b. Anan after the latter had been deposed by Agrippa II at the request of Albinus, because of the execution of James, brother of Jesus (cf. Jos., Ant., 20:200–3). These were the days immediately preceding the Roman War when the anarchy which prevailed in Jerusalem began to assume major proportions. The high priesthood ceased to be a purely religious office, becoming more and more a position of power contested among influential members of the priestly families, of whom Joshua b. Damnai was one. When the high priesthood was taken from him and given to *Joshua b. Gamla, street fighting broke out between their followers (Jos., Ant., 20:213).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Klausner, Bayit Sheni, 5 (1951^{2}), 22–23.

[Abraham Schalit]

JOSHUA BEN ELIJAH HA-LEVI, collector and final editor of Judah Halevi's *divan* (Oxford, Bodl. Ms. No. 1971). Joshua lived, at the latest, in the 15th century, and was probably of Yemenite origin. From his Arabic preface to the Oxford *divan* (Ms. No. 1971 formerly in the possession of S.D. Luzzatto) it is learned, among other things, that three scholars, Ḥiyya al-Dayyan, David b. Maimun, and Ibn al-Kash, had preceded Joshua in collecting Judah Halevi's poems. Joshua states that he has employed for his *divan* all the previous collections, and in particular the first one, by the Maghrebi Ḥiyya, introducing the "improvements" of the two other compilations; as is usual in similar Arabic collections, he follows the alphabetical order of the rhymes, dividing the materials into three parts (monorhymed compositions, strophic poems and letters, and rhymed prose), with an Arabic introduction. Moreover, Joshua mentions his collection of Abraham Ibn Ezra's poems, which is the *divan* of Ibn Ezra now available in an edition by Egers (see bibl., Ms. Berlin, 1233). The name of the earlier collector of Ibn Ezra's *divan* is not known because the part of the Arabic preface in which Joshua must have mentioned him is missing. It is not excluded that Joshua may be identical with the author of an Arabic grammatical work of which only a small fragment has been preserved (A. Harkavy, *Zikkaron la-Rishonim ve-gam la-Aḥaronim*, 1 (1879), 114).

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[Jefim (Hayyim) Schirmann / Angel Sáenz-Badillos (2nd ed.)]

JOSHUA BEN GAMLA (d. 69/70 C.E.), a high priest in the last years of the Second Temple. Joshua was married to one of the wealthiest women of Jerusalem, *Martha, daughter of Boethus (Yev. 6:4; *ibid.*, 61a; Yoma 18a and Tos. *ibid.*; Git. 56a). He is apparently to be identified with the Joshua b. Gamaliel referred to by Josephus (Ant., 20:213) as a high priest appointed by *Agrippa II. In common with the high priests at the end of the Second Temple period Joshua, too, was appointed to office because of his wealth. Although most of the others were deprecated in rabbinic literature, Joshua was singled out for praise for his establishing a universal system of education after all previous attempts failed. He evolved a system whereby "teachers of young children be appointed in each district and each town," whereas previously they were to be found only in Jerusalem. In addition he laid down sound pedagogical principles. Because of this, it was said of him: "Truly, the name of that man is blessed… since but for him the Torah would have been forgotten in Israel" (BB 21a). Some scholars deny the historicity of this story, maintaining that the establishment of the schools was wrongly attributed to Joshua by later writers. However, Klausner affirms its historical accuracy. The Mishnah also mentions an improvement made by Joshua in the Temple appurtenances. He substituted for the boxwood casket from which the lots were drawn for the scapegoat on the Day of Atonement one of gold, "and his memory was therefore kept in honor" (Yoma 3:9).

Josephus, who describes Joshua as his intimate friend (Life, 204), says he was one of the most vehement opponents of the extremist Zealots at the time of the Roman War (Wars, 4:160). He cites the speech made by Joshua (apparently son of Gamla), the high priest, to the Idumeans who had been invited by the Zealots to assist them against their enemies. He tried unsuccessfully to influence them to desist from this step (*ibid.*, 238ff.). After the Idumeans entered Jerusalem, they put him to death, together with other opponents of the Zealots (*ibid.*, 316). Josephus praises him greatly, saying of him that "he stood far above the rest" (*ibid.*, 322).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Graetz, Hist, 2 (1893), 249, 277–8, 294–6; Schuerer, Gesch, 1 (1901^{4}), 584, 618; 2 (1907^{4}), 273, 494; Klausner, Bayit Sheni, 3 (1950^{2}), 176–7; 5 (1951^{2}), 22–24; N. Morris, *The Jewish School…* (1937), index.

[Zvi Kaplan]

JOSHUA BEN HANANIAH (first and second centuries C.E.), *tanna*, one of the five disciples of *Johanan b. Zakkai's inner circle (Avot 2:8), and the primary teacher of *Akiva. Joshua (together with *Eliezer ben Hyrcanus) served as the bridge between the earlier (pre-destruction) and later (post-destruction) periods of tannaitic tradition. Hundreds of statements in *halakhah* and *aggadah* are ascribed to him in both the Mishnah and the Tosefta, distributed fairly evenly over five of the six *sedarim*, with a slightly smaller presence of his teachings in *seder Nezikin*. In the eyes of later storytellers, the period of the *tannaim* was a heroic age, and even the slightest scrap of information about the least of the *tannaim* can develop in the later *aggadah* into a tale of epic proportions. In the case of truly significant and heroic figures, like Joshua, this process of literary expansion and elaboration is inevitable. Since the narrative traditions in which Joshua eventually played a leading role developed over a period of centuries, it is essential to distinguish between the earlier forms of these traditions, found in the tannaitic sources themselves, and later developments found only in the *Talmudim* and the amoraic Midrashim. At the same time, the tannaitic traditions themselves are not necessarily free of redactional bias, and must be critically evaluated before using them to reconstruct the life and career of Joshua.

For example, the Mishnah of *Rosh Ha-Shanah* (2:8–9) tells the story of a conflict between Joshua and *Gamaliel of Jabneh, in which Joshua reportedly challenged Gamaliel's authority to fix the Jewish calendar, and so to determine the precise dates of the Jewish holidays. (RH 2:8–9). According to this tradition, on one occasion Gamaliel, as head of the rabbinic court, accepted the testimony of two witnesses, who claimed to have seen the new moon, and on the basis of their testimony Gamaliel fixed the date for the Day of Atonement. Joshua had reason to view this testimony as suspect and unreliable and was at first unwilling to accept Gamaliel's ruling. Gamaliel, asserting his authority as *nasi*, commanded Joshua to appear before him with his "staff and money on the Day of Atonement according to your reckoning." After Akiva's attempt to persuade Joshua to accept Gamaliel's ruling in this matter failed, *Dosa b. Harkinus told Joshua: "If we question the rulings of Rabban Gamaliel's court, we would have to question the rulings of every court, all the way back to the time of Moses." The argument that the authority of the *nasi* takes precedence over all doubts – even legitimate doubts – concerning the truth of his rulings finally convinced Joshua. When Joshua appeared before Gamaliel, "Gamaliel rose and kissed Joshua on his head, saying: 'Come in peace, my master and my pupil – my master in wisdom, and my pupil, in that you accepted my words.'" On one level this tradition deals with the tension between the authority of duly constituted communal authority and the autonomy of wisdom. On another level it describes a very human drama involving arrogance and condescension, pride and submission. As one of the most prominent narratives found in the Mishnah, the story also provides a theoretical justification for the preeminent authority of R. Judah ha-Nasi himself – both personally, as grandson of Gamaliel and as inheritor of his role as *nasi*, and for the Mishnah which he redacted and in which this story appears. All of these factors no doubt influenced the way in which this story is told in Mishnah Rosh Ha-Shanah, and must be taken into account when evaluating its worth as historical evidence concerning events which reportedly occurred three generations earlier.

Another stage in the aggadic saga of the ongoing conflict between Joshua and Gamaliel is found only in later amoraic traditions (TJ, Ber. 4:1, 7c–d, Ta'an. 4:1, 77d; TB, Ber. 27b–28a). This tradition concerns a dispute – ascribed in these sources to Joshua and Gamaliel – over the question whether the evening prayer is obligatory or optional. While there is no clear evidence that Joshua and Gamaliel ever actually disagreed over this rather minor point of law, the *Talmudim* describe in detail the dramatic events surrounding this dispute, including the eventual removal of Gamaliel from the office of *nasi*. According to the Jerusalem Talmud, Gamaliel, upon discovering inadvertently that Joshua disagreed with his view on this matter, arranged for the question to be raised in public the following day, whereupon he deliberately attempted to provoke Joshua into contradicting him is front of all the sages and students. Despite repeated taunting, Joshua refused to contradict him in public, and so Gamaliel continued humiliating Joshua in public, until the sages finally were forced to depose Gamaliel, and to appoint another sage in his place. After seeing that his arrogant abuse of authority had undermined his position as *nasi*, Gamaliel decided to go around to all those whom he had offended, in order to appease them. When he arrived at Joshua's house Gamaliel was shocked to find Joshua making needles, from which labor he apparently supported himself. In response to Gamaliel's expression of surprise, Joshua exclaimed: "Woe to the generation that has you for its leader," thereby expressing his contempt for an aristocratic leadership which is so removed from the ordinary existence of the common people that it is totally unaware of the physical and economic conditions under which they must live. Before addressing the question of the historical reliability of this late tradition, it should be noted that the redactional tendencies of the amoraic continuation of this tannaitic story are totally at odds with the original story as found in Mishnah Rosh Ha-Shanah. Rather than justifying the authority of the *nasi*, the amoraic tradition shows how the irresponsible and arrogant abuse of the office of the *nasi* actually undermines the *nasi*'s very right to hold his office and to exercise its authority. This story in the Jerusalem Talmud is told from the perspective of sages who apparently feel that they have suffered mistreatment and humiliation at the hands of a leadership which, while legitimately possessing office and authority, exercises that authority in an illegitimate and unjustifiable fashion. While this *aggadah* could reflect a different historical perspective on the life and times of Joshua and Gamaliel of Jabneh, it is more likely that it is symptomatic of the problematic relations between the sages and the person and institution of the *nasi* characteristic of a far later period. The expansion and elaboration of these events in the Babylonian Talmud (Ber. 27b–28a; Bekh. 36a) are largely consistent with the redactional tendencies found in the Jerusalem Talmud. It would therefore be fair to say that any attempt to use these later amoraic traditions in order to describe the social or political tensions which may have existed among the rabbinic leadership (Joshua and Gamaliel) in the newly established center of Jabneh shortly after the destruction of the Temple would probably be misguided.

Similar care must certainly be taken when examining historical *aggadot* for which little or no evidence can be adduced from tannaitic sources. For example, as a close disciple of *Johanan b. Zakkai, Joshua reportedly plays a central role (together with Eliezer ben Hyrcanus) in the events surrounding Johanan's dramatic and fateful escape from besieged Jerusalem. According to this story, which has reached us in several different versions (TB Git. 56a, Lam. R. 1:5, 31, ARN[1] 4, ARN[2] 6), Joshua and Eliezer carried Johanan b. Zakkai out of Jerusalem in a coffin so that their master might meet with Vespasian. According to one of them (Lam. R.), Joshua and Eliezer were even sent back into the city to help bring out R. Zadok. Since, however, "in Tannaitic sources we find not the slightest reference to an escape" (Neusner, *Development of a Legend*, 228), and in fact all the traditions concerning this episode are late amoraic (TB Git. 56a, Lam. R.) or post-amoraic (ARN), it would probably be ill advised to use this or other similar "events" in order to draw historical conclusions concerning Joshua's attitude toward the Roman conquest of Judea, or toward the policies of various Jewish factions during the struggle. The same must be said about Joshua's role in the dispute over the "oven of Akhnai" (TB, BM 59b). According to this *aggadah*, Joshua boldly articulated and defended the principles of the autonomy of rabbinic legal reasoning and majority rule, in opposition to the repeated attempts of Eliezer to circumvent the decisions of an earthly court by an appeal to divine authority in the form of a heavenly voice. The tannaitic sources themselves, however, make no mention of any dramatic or supernatural events surrounding this dispute, nor is Joshua mentioned by name as playing any special role in it (cf. Kelim 5:10, Eduyot 7:7, Tosefta Eduyot 2:1; cf. TJ, MK 3:1, 81d). While no one can dispute the dramatic power and theological significance of the later versions of this story, it is also true that they almost certainly reflect the synthetic literary activity of many generations of scholars, and so cannot be used as evidence for history of the early tannaitic period or the personal biography of R. Joshua.

Various other legends developed around the figure of Rabbi Joshua, many of them also rooted to some degree in early tannaitic sources. For example, in *Avot* Johanan b. Zakkai praises Joshua, saying: "Happy is she who bore him" (Avot 2:8). A later *aggadah* reports that, when Joshua was still an infant, his mother used to bring him to the synagogue so that "his ears might become accustomed to the words of Torah" (TJ, Yev. 1:6, 3a). According to Ma'as. Sh. 5:9 Joshua was a Levite. A later tradition describes him as having actually served as a chorister in the Temple (Ar. 11b). According to the Tosefta (Sanh. 13:2) Joshua held that "pious gentiles have a share in the world to come," while Eliezer denied them any such reward. Later Midrashim ascribe to Joshua a positive attitude toward the acceptance of proselytes, while Eliezer was described as harsh and unreceptive (Gen. R. 70:5; Eccles. R. 1:8; 4; cf. TB, AZ 17a), thus paralleling somewhat the stereotypical opposition between Hillel and Shammai found in other late *aggadot*. It is reported in *Nega'im* (14:13) that the people of Alexandria once asked Joshua a certain question in *halakhah*. According to the Babylonian Talmud (Nid. 69b–70a) they asked him no fewer than 12 questions: 3 in *halakhah,* 3 in *aggadah*, 3 in practical matters, and 3 questions of *borut* (understood by Rashi as "silly questions," but interpreted by Lieberman to mean idle theoretical questions characteristic of Hellenistic rhetorical education). In line with his leading role in the Jewish community, Joshua may indeed have participated in a number of official missions. The later *aggadah* describes Joshua as having engaged on such occasions in discussions on both theological and quasi-scientific matters with eminent non-Jews, notably the emperor Hadrian and the "elders" of Athens (Bekh. 8b; cf. Ein Ya'akov ad loc.). Similarly his discussions with the Roman emperor are described in the Babylonian Talmud (Ḥul. 59b–60a) and Palestinian Midrashim (see *Hadrian in *aggadah*). Finally, according to the testimony of the Tosefta (Ḥag. 2:2, and cf. 2:6), Joshua served as the primary teacher of Akiva in matters of esoteric speculation, transmitting to him the traditions of the *merkavah* which he had received from Johanan b. Zakkai, though here also Joshua's role in this tradition expanded significantly with the passage of time (Neusner, *Development of a Legend*, 247–52).

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[Stephen G. Wald (2nd ed.)]

JOSHUA BEN HYRCANUS (beginning of the second century C.E.), *tanna*. He is only once mentioned in the Mishnah (Sot. 5:5) expounding that Job served the Lord from love (not from fear). For this aggadic teaching he is praised by *Joshua b. Hananiah, who calls him the pupil of the pupil of *Johanan b. Zakkai, referring most probably to *Akiva (see Rashi, Sot. 27b; but see Maimonides, in his Mishnah commentary). Since this saying starts with the formula, "On that day," which often refers to the day on which *Eleazar b. Azariah was installed as a member of the Sanhedrin (Epstein, *Tannaim*, 424), it is assumed that Joshua was a member of the Sanhedrin in *Jabneh at that period.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Hyman, Toledot, 623.

JOSHUA BEN KORḤA (middle of the second century C.E.), *tanna*. He is quoted four times in the Mishnah. In two of these cases (Ber. 2:2, Ned. 3:11) his statements have an aggadic character, and in two others (RH 4:4, San. 7:5) they are of a more halakhic nature. He is quoted dozens of times in the Tosefta and in the tannaitic midrashim, and here also his statements divide fairly evenly between *halakhah* and *aggadah*. He is often quoted together with students of Rabbi Akiva, and in one passage (Sifra, Shemini, parsh. 8:8) he discusses the impurity of drinks with R. Judah at length. He transmits two *halakhot* in the name of *Eleazar b. Azariah (Tosef., Kelim, BB 2:6; Neg. 7:3), and in the Jerusalem Talmud Rabbi Johanan relates a story connecting Joshua with *Johanan b. Nuri (TJ, Kil. 4:4, 29b). He favored compromise in legal suits, rather than the strict application of judicial rulings, since the judge is thereby able to effect both truth and peace at the same time (Tosef., Sanh. 1:3). He laid down the rule (later accepted; cf. Av. Zar. 7a and Maim. Yad, Mamrim, 1:5) that when the sages differed over a matter of law, one follows the more stringent view with regard to biblical injunctions and the more lenient view with regard to rabbinic injunctions (Tosef., Eduy. 1:5). His testimony on the situation that prevailed in Ereẓ Israel in the aftermath of the Bar Kokhba war is instructive: "Joshua b. Korḥa said: We were once sitting among the trees when the wind blew and knocked the leaves against each other. We got up and ran, saying: Woe unto us! Perhaps the cavalry will overtake us; after a time we looked back and saw that no one was there, and we sat in our places and wept, saying: Woe unto us for whom the verse has been fulfilled [Lev. 26:36]: and the sound of a driven leaf shall chase them …" (Sifra, Be-Ḥukkotai 7:4).

The later *aggadah* describes him as sitting together with the *nasi*, *Simeon b. Gamaliel, while the latter's son, *Judah ha-Nasi, sat on the ground before them (BM 84b; Mid. Ps. to 1:8). According to the Talmud, Joshua lived to an exceptionally advanced age (which he attributed to the fact that he never looked into the face of a wicked man) and blessed Judah ha-Nasi that he should attain to half his age (Meg. 28a). According to a late *aggadah* he sired a son at the age of 100 and played with him in a spirit of abandon ("as though he had become crazy"; Mid. Ps. to 92:13). In a talmudic aggadah he referred to his pupil, *Eleazar b. Simeon, as "vinegar son of wine" for serving as a police officer under the Roman government (TJ, Ma'as. 3:8, 50d; BM 83b; PdRK 92a), since, according to this tradition, Joshua was opposed to all collaboration with the Romans, even in the apprehension of criminals. In post-talmudic aggadic tradition he is described as roundly castigating the sectarians (possibly Judeo-Christians; ARN^2 3) with whom, as well as with non-Jews, he engaged in disputations (see Lev. R. 4:6; et al.). An *aggadah* in the Babylonian Talmud (Shab. 152a) reports an interchange between Joshua and a certain eunuch, in which the eunuch tries to ridicule Joshua's alleged baldness (a play on Joshua's name: Korḥa = baldhead). Joshua, of course, gets the upper hand in this exchange. For other late associations between the name Korḥa and baldness, see: Arukh s.v. *qrh*; in the name of Gershom b. Judah, Rashi to Bek. 58a, and *Tosafot*, Bek. loc. cit., Pes. 112a.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Hyman, Toledot, 648–50; Bacher, Tann; Frankel, Mishnah (19232), 187; S. Klein, in: *Leshonenu*, 1 (1929), 343; Alon, Meḥkarim, 1 (1958), 88–91.

[Moshe David Herr / Stephen G. Wald (2nd ed.)]

JOSHUA BEN LEVI (first half of the third century C.E.), Palestinian *amora* of the transition period from the *tannaim* to the *amoraim*. In his youth he was apparently in the company of Judah ha-Nasi, since Joshua mentions the customs which he followed (Shab. 46a; Yev. 60b; TJ, Meg. 1:1, 70a; et al.). He was a native of Lydda and studied under its scholars Eleazar ha-Kappar (Av. Zar. 43a; et al.), Bar Kappara (Ber. 34a; et al.), and Judah b. Pedaiah (TJ, Or. 1:3, 61b; Gen. R. 94:5). He also transmitted teachings in the names of Antigonus (TJ, Hor. 3:7, 48a) and Oshaiah (TJ, Ḥag. 3:8, 79d). He was an associate of Ḥanina b. Ḥama (TJ, Kil. 9:4, 32c), who, however, was his senior (Yoma 49a; Shab. 156a) and was in contact with Ḥiyya (Lam. R. 3:17, no. 6). According to the Babylonian Talmud, Joshua's son was a son-in-law of Judah Nesiah (Judah II; see Kid. 33b). Joshua b. Levi taught in his native town (Lam. R. *ibid.*), and occupied himself greatly with communal needs (Tanḥ. Va-Era 5). He was also active in matters affecting the community in their relations with the Roman authorities and was a member of various missions to them in Caesarea and in Rome (TJ, Ber. 5:1, 9a; Gen. R. 78:5). His sound practical common sense in these matters is evident (see TJ, Ter. 8:10, 46b). He transmitted sayings in the name of "the holy community of Jerusalem" (Yoma 69a).

Joshua was a halakhist whose opinions were widely accepted (Tos. to Meg. 27a; Tos. to Ḥul. 97a), but he was especially renowned as an aggadist (BK 55a). Talmudic tradition relates that in his *bet midrash* particular attention was devoted to *aggadah*, and it included a special scholar who was called "the arranger [*mesadder*] of the *aggadah*" (Ber. 10a). He was, however, opposed to committing the *aggadah* to writing (TJ, Shab. 16:1, 15c). He preached in praise of humility: "He whose mind is lowly is regarded by Scripture as if he had offered all the sacrifices, as it says [Ps. 51:19] 'The sacrifices of God are a broken spirit'" (Sot. 5b); he also asserted that humility is greater than all the virtues (Av. Zar. 20b). He emphasized the need for pure speech: "One should never utter a gross expression, for the Bible employs a circumlocution rather than utter a gross expression, for it is said (Gen. 7:8) 'Of every clean beast … and of the beasts that are not clean' instead of 'every unclean beast'" (Pes. 3a). He vehemently denounced slander (Zev. 88b; Lev. R. 16:6) and even unnecessary speech: "A word is worth a *sela*, but silence is worth two" (Lev. R. 16:5).

His love of and devotion to Torah also found expression in the story that he attached himself to sufferers from *ra'atan* (an acute festering disease) and studied the Torah (see Ket. 77b). He also said: "If a man is on a journey and has no company, let him engage in the study of Torah … if his head aches, let him occupy himself with the Torah … if he feels pain in his throat, let him occupy himself with the Torah … if he feels pain in his bowels, let him occupy himself with the Torah … if he feels pain in his bones, let him occupy himself with the Torah … if his whole body aches, let him occupy himself with the Torah" (Er. 54a). He had discussions with Christian heretics, but he refrained from cursing them despite his annoyance with their questions, because it is written (Ps. 145:9), "And His tender mercies are over all His works" (Ber. 7a; but see TJ, Shab. 14:4, 14d). He was accustomed to fast on the two successive days, the ninth and the tenth of Av "because most of the Temple was burned on that latter day" (TJ, Ta'an. 4:9, 69c). He said of himself that he had never excommunicated any man (TJ, MK 3:1, 81d). It was also said of him that by virtue of his prayers rain fell in the south of Israel (TJ, Ta'an. 3:4, 66c), and that because of his merit the rainbow was not seen during his lifetime (Ket. 77b; see also Gen. R. 35:2). He himself was a hero of the *aggadah*, which narrates that he became worthy of and achieved the revelation of Elijah (Mak. 11a; TJ, Ter. 8:10, 46b; Gen. R. 35:2).

> He once asked Elijah: "When will the Messiah come?"
> Elijah replied: "'Go and ask him himself."
> "And by what sign may I recognize him?"
> "He is sitting among the poor, who are afflicted with disease; all of them untie and retie [the bandages of their wounds] all at once, whereas he unties and rebandages each wound separately, thinking, perhaps I shall be wanted [to appear as the Messiah] and I must not be delayed."
> Joshua thereupon went to the Messiah and greeted him:
> "Peace unto thee, master and teacher!"
> To this he replied, "'Peace unto thee, son of Levi."
> "When will you come, master?"
> "Today."

> He returned to Elijah … and said: "He spoke falsely to me. For he said he would come today and he has not come." Elijah rejoined: "This is what he said! [Ps. 95:7]: Today – if you would but hearken to His voice" (Sanh. 98a as adapted by J. Ibn-Shmuel, *Midreshei Ge'ullah* (1954^{2}), 292–4, 306–8).

Joshua b. Levi had a son named Joseph (see Ḥul. 56b and Dik. Sof. ad loc.), who, according to the *aggadah*, on one occasion became ill and fell into a trance. When he recovered, his father asked him what he had seen in the upper world. The son replied: "I saw a topsy-turvy world. The upper [class] below and the lower [class] on top." "My son, you saw the world clearly," observed his father (Pes. 50a; BB 10b; however see Dik. Sof. ad loc.).

Descriptions of the future life of the righteous (Sanh. 92a), of the punishments of the wicked after death, and of Joshua b. Levi's conversations with the angel of death (Ber. 51a; Ket. 77b) served as the basis for stories about Joshua b. Levi's journeys to the Garden of Eden and Gehinnom which have been preserved in various forms (see A. Jellinek, *Beit ha-Midrash*, 2 (1938^{2}) 48–51; M. Higger, *Halakhot ve-Aggadot* (1933), 141–50). One of them has been preserved only in a Latin translation in the work of Peter of Cluny against the Jews and apparently derives from the "Alphabet of Ben Sira." These stories contain motifs known from the legends about the journeys of Pythagoras.

Although he was an *amora*, some of Joshua b. Levi's sayings are attached to collections of tannaitic sayings. The Mishnah concludes with one of his aggadic statements: "In the world to come the Holy One will make each righteous person inherit 310 worlds." In the chapter on "The Acquisition of Torah," appended to *Avot* in the prayer book, appears his saying: "Every day a *bat kol* [heavenly voice] goes forth from Mt. Horeb proclaiming, 'Woe to mankind for contempt of the Torah … for no man is free but he who labors in the Torah. But whosoever labors in the Torah constantly shall be exalted'" (Avot 6:2).

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[Zvi Kaplan]

JOSHUA BEN MORDECAI FALK HA-KOHEN (1799–1864), rabbi. Joshua was born in Breść Kujawski in the district of Warsaw. In his youth he settled in Kurnik (Kornik), Poznania, and was therefore called Joshua of Kurnik. In c. 1854 he emigrated to the United States, was appointed rabbi in Newburg, New York, and also acted as an itinerant preacher. His career in the U.S. is obscure. He subsequently left the rabbinate and died in Keokuk, Iowa. His *Avnei Yehoshu'a* (New York, 1860), a commentary on *Avot*, is of special importance in that it was the first work of rabbinic learning published in the United States. In the commentary he utilizes talmudic sources and the works of Maimonides, Judah Halevi, Isaac Arama, and Joseph Albo. In the introduction he mentions his unpublished works, *Binyan Yehoshu'a*, on religious philosophy, and *Ḥomat Yehoshu'a*, on *halakhah*.

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[Yehoshua Horowitz]

JOSHUA BEN PERAḤYAH (second half of the second century B.C.E.), one of the **zugot* ("pairs" of scholars), together with *Nittai of Arbela. Joshua was a pupil of Yose b. Joezer of Ẓeredah and of Yose b. Johanan of Jerusalem. According to the Mishnah, he was the **nasi* (see *Sanhedrin), and in the well-known difference of opinion on **semikhah* (laying of hands upon the sacrifice) on the festival his view was "not to lay on the hands" (Ḥag. 2:2). One halakhah has been preserved in his name (but see: Lieberman, *Tosefet Rishonim*, 4, 116 top) concerning the laws on what renders food liable to become impure: "Joshua b. Peraḥyah said: wheat coming from Alexandria is impure because of their *antlia* (ἀντλια, watering device). The sages said: If so, they shall be impure for Joshua b. Peraḥyah and pure for all Israel" (Tosef., Makhsh. 3:4). One aggadic dictum is ascribed to him in the Mishnah: "Provide thyself with a teacher; get thee a companion; and judge all men charitably" (Avot 1:6).

The Babylonian Talmud (Sot. 47a and Sanh. 107b in mss. and non-censored editions) contains an *aggadah* that Joshua b. Peraḥyah was the teacher of *Jesus, and that on their return together from Alexandria, having fled there out of fear of Alexander Yannai, Joshua found Jesus guilty of sin and was responsible for his failure to repent. It would seem likely that this *aggadah* is an enlarged reworking of an earlier *aggadah* concerning *Judah b. Tabbai and one of his pupils of unknown name when they were about to return from Alexandria to Jerusalem (TJ, Ḥag. 2:2, 77d). One of the statements attributed in the Babylonian Talmud (Men. 109b) to Joshua b. Peraḥyah appears in *Avot de-Rabbi Nathan* (version 1, 10, 43; version 2, 20, 43) in the name of Judah b. Tabbai, and in TJ, Pes. 6:1 this dictum occurs in the name of Joshua b. Kabsai. The statement that Hillel the elder witnessed the preparation of the ashes of a *red heifer in the time of Joshua b. Peraḥyah (Sif. Zut. 19, 3) cannot be reconciled according to chronology, and so the mention of Joshua b. Peraḥyah (and perhaps Hillel also) in this context would seem to be anachronistic.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Frankel, Mishnah (1923^{2}), 35–37; Weiss, Dor, 1 (1871), 131–3; Halevy, Dorot, 1c (1922), 351–3, 468–78; Urbach, in: *Tarbiz*, 27 (1958), 170f.; L. Ginzberg, *Al Halakhah ve-Aggadah* (1960), 15f. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** S. Lieberman, *Tosefet Rishonim, 4* (1939), 115–116; D. Sperber, *Roman Palestine, 200–400 Money and Prices* (1974), 126–27, 247–48.

Moshe David Herr / Stephen G. Wald (2nd ed.)]

JOSHUA BEN PHABI (1st century B.C.E.), high priest. According to Josephus, Herod the Great ousted Phabi from office to replace him by *Simeon the son of Boethus, an Alexandrian, and father of Herod's wife Mariamne II. The house of Phabi (פואבי, פיאבי) was a well-known priestly family, and at least two other members, both named *Ishmael b. Phabi, served as high priests (Jos., Ant., 15:322).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Schuerer, Gesch, 2 (1907⁴), 269 n.6.

[Isaiah Gafni]

JOSHUA BOAZ BEN SIMON BARUCH (16th century), Italian scholar and printer. One of the Spanish exiles (from Catalonia), Joshua Boaz settled in Italy and took up residence in Sabbioneta and in Sarigliano. He was the author of several talmudic reference works: (1) *Ein Mishpat*, giving the references where the laws of the Talmud can be found in the early codes – *Mishneh Torah, Sefer Mitzvot Gadol*, and *Arba'ah Turim;* (2) *Ner Mitzvah*, an enumeration of the laws cited in the *Ein Mishpat*; (3) *Torah Or*, giving source references of the biblical verses in the Talmud, which were first added to M.A. Giustiani's edition of the Babylonian Talmud (Venice, 1546/51), and have since appeared in almost every edition of the Talmud; (4) *Shiltei ha-Gibborim* on the Rif of Isaac Alfasi and the Mordekhai of *Mordecai b. Hillel (published with the *Hilkhot Alfasi*, Sabbioneta, 1554/55), containing supplementary *halakhot*, differing views and criticisms of Alfasi by the greatest posekim, as well as the talmudic novellae of Isaiah di Trani (the Younger).

It is as a result of these quotations by Joshua Boaz that the main teaching of Trani has been preserved. In his extensive introduction to the *Shiltei ha-Gibborim*, he writes that "when the pillars of the exile collapsed… as a result of which dissension increased in Israel, he decided to remedy the situation, attributing the failings to the lack of yeshivot and insufficient study of the words of the scholars." As a result he planned two halakhic works: *Sefer ha-Tamim* or *Ha-Peshutim*, to summarize all the *halakhot* on which there was no difference of opinion, and a second work, *Sefer ha-Maḥaloket*, on disputed *halakhot*, giving all the valid arguments from which the *posekim* derived their differences. Ḥ.J.D. *Azulai states that he saw *Tamim* in manuscript, and in his view the *Sefer ha-Maḥaloket* is identical with the *Shiltei ha-Gibborim* on the *Rif.* Other scholars, however, hold that the two works are not identical.

In 1553 Joshua Boaz commenced the great work of publishing the Talmud in Sabbioneta, but only succeeded in issuing tractate *Kiddushin*. He also wanted to write a *Masoret ha-Tosafot* giving the halakhic rulings of the *tosafot* according to their halakhic order, and he arranged these rulings accordingly, giving the sources for these decisions. He planned to add a halakhic index, entitled *Ḥikkur Dinim*, at the end of the Talmud which would follow the order of Maimonides' *Mishneh Torah*, enumerating the *halakhot* of the Talmud and giving their source according to the tractate and chapter. Only the part to *Bava Batra* was published (Pesaro, 1510). Joshua Boaz emphasized that it is forbidden to be satisfied merely with the decisions of the *posekim*, but reference must be made to the talmudic sources.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Azulai, 2 (1852), 141–2; Heilprin, Dorot, 3 (1882), 33, 106; H. Strack, *Einleitung in den Talmud* (1908⁴), 151ff.; D.W. Amram, *Makers of Hebrew Books in Italy* (1909), 253; M. Mielziner, *Introduction to the Talmud* (1925³), 76ff.; S.M. Chones, *Toledot ha-Posekim* (1929), 579; H. Tchernowitz, *Toledot ha-Posekim*, 1 (1946), 165; R.N.N. Rabbinovicz, *Ma'amar al Hadpasat ha-Talmud*, ed. by A.M. Habermann (1952), 48–51, 55, 74–75, 103; Urbach, Tosafot, 394ff.; Ḥ.D. Friedberg, *Toledot ha-Defus ha-Ivri be-Italyah* (1956²), 68n. 19, 77–78.

[Yehoshua Horowitz]

JOSHUA HA-GARSI (middle of the second century C.E.), mentioned only once, indirectly, in a tannaitic source (Tosef. Makh. 3:13; TB, Bekh. 10b) by R. Jose, who transmits a *halakhah* in the name of "Onomis, the brother of Joshua the Garsi." The Babylonian Talmud relates that Joshua the Garsi was once asked a question concerning the writing of *tefillin*, which he answered by means of an *aggadah* (Shab. 108a, but cf. TJ, Meg. 1:9, 71d). According to the Babylonian Talmud (Er. 21b), Joshua attended upon *Akiva when he was sentenced by Tinneius Rufus. Stories about the deeds of Joshua and his ministrations to Akiva when the latter was in prison are also preserved in the Midrash (Lam. R. 3, Mid. Prov., ch. 9). Opinions differ on the meaning of his name. Some hold he was named for his locality Gerasa in Transjordan, one of the towns of the Decapolis; according to others his locality was Garsis (or Doris) in Galilee, near Sepphoris (cf. Jos., Wars, 3:129). A third opinion is that the name refers to his avocation, a grinder of *gerisim* ("grits").

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Hyman, Toledot, 652; S. Lieberman, *Tosefet Rishonim*, 4 (1939), 119.

[Israel Moses Ta-Shma / Stephen G. Wald (2nd ed.)]

JOSHUA HOESCHEL BEN JACOB (1595–1663), Polish rabbi, also called "**the Rebbi Reb Hoeschel**." Joshua Hoeschel was apparently born in Lublin. He studied under his father *Jacob b. Ephraim Naphtali Hirsch. Because of his many talents, his father brought him into the administration of the yeshivah which he had established in Brest-Litovsk. When in 1635 his father was appointed rabbi and *rosh yeshivah* of Lublin, Joshua Hoeschel continued to assist him there in its administration and was responsible for it after the death of his father in 1644. In 1650 he was appointed to succeed his father as rabbi of the Lublin community. On the death of Yom Tov Lipmann *Heller, rabbi of Cracow, in 1654, he was invited to succeed him and held the post until his death. As a result of the *Chmielnicki massacres of 1648–49 and the consequent impoverishment of the Jewish communities of Poland and Lithuania, as well as the pogrom in Lublin in 1656, he moved to Vienna around 1657, exerted himself with the government for the benefit of his people, and urged the wealthy Jews to intensify their assistance during this difficult period. About 1659 he returned to Poland, where he continued his educational activities and enacted various *takkanot. Among his distinguished pupils were *Shabbetai b. Meir ha-Kohen (the Shakh) and Samuel *Koidanover.

The profound acumen of Joshua Hoeschel was a byword among the Jews of Poland, and he himself became a legendary figure, many remarkable tales being told about him. His method of study was distinguished by a profound penetration into the theme and a reliance upon Rashi and *tosafot, without allowing extensive scope for *pilpul* introduced by Jacob b. Joseph *Pollak and then customary in most Polish yeshivot. Jair Ḥayyim *Bacharach approved this method, stressing that, to the extent that he used *pilpul*, it was "on genuine difficulties." Joshua Hoeschel's great modesty prevented him from publishing his many works, and only a small part has appeared, among them: (1) *Toledot Aharon* (Lublin, 1682, named after his pupil, Aaron Klinger, who collected the material), consisting of novellae on *Bava Kamma, Bava Meẓia*, and *Bava Batra*. They were republished in an enlarged form under the title *Ḥiddushei Halakhot* (Frankfurt, 1725); (2) novellae and glosses on the *Sefer Mitzvot Gadol* of Moses of Coucy (Kopys, 1807); (3) *Ḥanukkat ha-Torah* (1880), novellae on the Bible collected by H. Ersohn. His many responsa are scattered in various collections: two of them were published in the *Ammudei Shittim le-Veit ha-Levi* (Prague, 1791; 58–66) by Levi b. David Pollack. He occupied himself to a considerable extent with the problem of permitting *agunot to remarry, but in consequence of a mistake in one such case he resolved to refrain from giving decisions on this in the future.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Ḥ.N. Dembitzer, *Kelilat Yofi*, 2 (1893), 39–83; Kaufmann, in: MGWJ, 39 (1895), 556–8; Ḥ.D. Friedberg, *Luḥot Zikkaron* (1897), 16–18; S.B. Nissenbaum, *Le-Korot ha-Yehudim be-Lublin* (1900), 56–58; J. Loewenstein, in: *Ha-Eshkol*, 4 (1902), 182–90; Kohen-Ẓedek, in: *Ha-Yehudi*, 5 (1902), nos. 35–42, 47; Michelsohn, *ibid.*, no. 47; Ḥ. Tchernowitz, *Toledot ha-Posekim*, 3 (1947), index; N. Shemen, *Lublin* (1952), 66, 72, 78, 322, 370 (Yid.).

[Yehoshua Horowitz]

JOSHUA HOESCHEL BEN JOSEPH OF CRACOW (1578–1648), Polish rabbi. Joshua Hoeschel was born in Vilna. In his youth he studied under Samuel b. Feibush in Przemysl and then in the yeshivot of *Meir b. Gedaliah of Lublin and Joshua *Falk of Lemberg. From 1634 to 1639 he served as rabbi in the towns of Grodno, Tiktin, Przemysl, and Lemberg. At the beginning of 1640 he was appointed head of the yeshivah of Cracow in succession to Nathan *Spira, and from 1640 to 1644 he served there as rabbi in an honorary capacity. He died in Cracow. His pupils included *Shabbetai b. Meir ha-Kohen, Gershon Ulif *Ashkenazi, and Menahem Mendel *Auerbach. Halakhic problems were addressed to him from many countries. He corresponded on kabbalistic topics with his relative, the kabbalist Samson b. Pesaḥ of Ostropol. Joshua Hoeschel did not follow the method of *pilpul*; he strove toward greater independence in the domain of *halakhah* and directive ruling, stating, "according to the custom of our country anything printed in the Shulḥan Arukh may not, God forfend, be changed, any more than the law of Moses… God spare us from such a view. The judge may decide only according to the facts before him… and anyone may disagree, even with the words of the *rishonim*, if he has definite proof."

He wrote (1) *Meginnei Shelomo* (Amsterdam, 1715), on eight tractates of the Talmud, in which he defends Rashi against the difficulties raised by the tosafists; (2) the responsa *Penei Yehoshu'a* (pt. 1, *ibid.* 1715; pt. 2, 1860), on the four divisions of the Shulḥan Arukh. Other responsa were published in various collections of responsa: *Ge'onei Batra'i* (Zolkiew, 1795); *Beit Ḥadash ha-Yeshanot* (Frankfurt, 1697); *Beit Ḥadash ha-Ḥadashot* (Koretz, 1785) of Joel Sirkes; in the *Gevurat Anashim* (Dessau, 1697) of Meir Katz and his son Shabbetai, author of the *Shakh*; and elsewhere. There remain still in manuscript novellae to the Tur *Yoreh De'ah Hilkhot Sheḥitah*, and a commentary to the *Asarah Ma'amarot* of Menahem Azariah de Fano.

[Yehoshua Horowitz]

His grandson, JUDAH LOEBUSH BEN ISAAC (d. 1731?), was a talmudist. Judah was appointed rabbi in Raków at a youthful age and in 1701 became rabbi at Szydlowiec. Thereafter he was referred to as "R. Leib of Szydlowiec." In 1713, together with Benjamin Ze'ev Horowitz of Wodzislaw, he represented Cracow and the district at the session of the Council of the Four Lands in Jaroslaw, Cracow being then without a rabbi. At the end of 1713 he was appointed rabbi in Cracow. Of his six sons, one, David Schmelka, succeeded his father in Cracow, while Joshua, Isaac, and Joseph served as rabbis in Szydlowiec, Tarnow, and Pinczow, respectively.

[Samuel Abba Horodezky]

BIBLIOGRAPHY: JOSHUA: A.L. Feinstein, *Ir-Tehillah* (1886), 26, 147; Ḥ.N. Dembitzer, *Kelilat Yofi*, 2 (1893), 1a–38b; S. Buber, *Anshei Shem* (1895), 82–85; Graetz-Rabbinowitz, 8 (1899), 114, 120f.; S.M. Chones, *Toledot ha-Posekim* (1910), 375–7; Karl, in: *Arim ve-Immahot be-Yisrael*, 2 (1948), 305, 307; Ḥ. Tchernowitz, *Toledot ha-Posekim*, 3 (1947), 122, 144 n. 7, 149 n. 11, 154 n. 15, 159; Shulvass, in: *Beit Yisrael be-Polin*, 2 (1954), 19f.; Zinberg, Sifrut, 3 (1958), 191. JUDAH: J.M. Zunz, *Ir ha-Ẓedek* (1874), 159–60; Ḥ.N. Dembitzer, *Kelilat Yofi*, 2 (1893), 29b–30a; Ḥ.D. Friedberg, *Luḥot Zikkaron* (1904^2), index, s.v. *Yehudah Lebush Shidlov*; Halpern, Pinkas, 586 (index); Yaari, in: *Talpioth*, 8 (1963), 457.

JOSHUA IBN NUN (second half of the 16th century), Safed scholar, kabbalist, and *rosh yeshivah*. Joshua was one of the leaders of the Safed community. He was in charge of the local charities, and from his own considerable means supported the scholars and the poor of Safed. He became attracted to the teaching of Isaac *Luria and implored Ḥayyim Vital to reveal to him Luria's esoteric doctrines. Vital, however, refused to comply though Joshua, according to one report, humbled himself before him, following him wherever he went, even to Jerusalem and to Egypt. According to that report, which is substantially correct, Vital became ill in 1587, whereupon Joshua bribed Moses, the brother of Ḥayyim, with 50 gold pieces, to copy Luria's writing that his brother had recorded. Moses hired scribes who copied the writings in three days and from then they became available to a select coterie in Israel. Joshua endorsed many of the rulings of Yom Tov *Ẓahalon.

According to Ḥ.J.D. Azulai, some of his responsa are to be found in the responsa *Zera Anashim* (Mss.). The date of his death is usually given as 1587 but if reliance is to be placed on a recently discovered document he was no longer alive in 1585. In that case the above-mentioned incident must have occurred some years earlier than was previously thought.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Frumkin-Rivlin, 1 (1929), 131; Rosanes, Togarmah, 3 (1938), 293; Scholem, in *Zion*, 5 (1940), 138–40; M. Benayahu, *Sefer Toledot ha-Ari* (1967), 74–76; D. Tamar, *Meḥkarim be-Toledot ha-Yehudim be-Ereẓ Yisrael u-ve-Italyah* (1970).

[David Tamar]

JOSIAH (Heb. יֹאשִׁיָּהוּ, יאוֹשִׁיָּהוּ), son of Amon, king of Judah (640–609 B.C.E.). When his father was assassinated, Josiah, then only eight years old, was proclaimed king. His reign was marked by a great national revival, and the author of the Book of Kings in evaluating Josiah says: "Before him there was no king like him … nor did any like him arise after him" (II Kings 23:25; cf. II Kings 18:5 in connection with Hezekiah, the forerunner of Josiah). Josiah not only acted as the king of a completely independent Judah, but his kingdom extended northward into the erstwhile Assyrian provinces of Samaria (II Kings 23:19). Archaeological discoveries in the 1960s brought to light new facts about Josiah's expansion. Following archaeological findings in *Yavneh-Yam (cf. Naveh, in bibl.), it became quite clear that Josiah established feudal estates on the shore of Philistia. Unwalled settlements of the time of Josiah were discovered in the south and east of Gaza (Gophna, in bibl.). In the eastern part of Judah, excavations uncovered the town of En-Gedi (cf. Josh. 15:62), which had been founded at the time of Josiah as a balsam plantation of the king (Mazar and Dunayewski, in bibl.). During Josiah's reign, Jerusalem developed greatly, and it is at this time that a new wall was built on the western slopes of the city, and new quarters (Mishneh and Maktesh) were constructed which served mainly as industrial and commercial centers. Remains of buildings and walls discovered in the Jewish quarter of Old Jerusalem prove that the city expanded even more to the west. The extent of Judah's expansion in this period may be deduced from the list of Ezra 2 (= Neh. 7), where Beth-El and Jericho (previously Ephraimite cities), on the one hand, and the cities of the coastal plain Lydda and Ono, on the other, are considered part of Judah. The borders of Judah as presented in this list undoubtedly go back to the times of Josiah and remained the same until the destruction of Jerusalem. According to A. Alt (in bibl.), the lists of the cities of Judah, Simeon, Dan, and Benjamin in Joshua 15, 18, and 19 also reflect the Josianic administrative reorganization of Judah. Though one has to take into account previous organizations by *Jehoshaphat and *Hezekiah which might be reflected in these lists, there is no doubt that the final formulation of these lists was done in the Josianic period; this may be corroborated by the archaeological evidence cited above. These lists actually cover the area of Josiah's rule: Ekron, Ashdod, and Gaza in the coastal zone (Josh. 15:45–47), Beth-El and Geba al-Tell, 22 mi. (35 km.) to the north of Jerusalem (according to Mazar) in the north, En-Gedi and the other towns of Joshua 15:61–62 in the east, and the Simeonite settlements in the south. The stamped jar handles with the inscription למלך and the inscribed weights characteristic of this period may serve as a good indication of the scope of Josiah's dominion. These have been found not only in the area of the Kingdom of Judah but also in Acre, Shechem, Ashdod, Gezer, etc. This territorial expansion was accompanied by a religious upsurge, which found expression mainly in: (1) the cultic reform, including both the purification of worship (in Judah as well as in the northern areas) and the centralization of the legitimate worship in Jerusalem; (2) the publication and authorization of the "Book of the Torah" (see *Deuteronomy) discovered in the 18th year of the reign of Josiah, i.e., 622 B.C.E., which ultimately turned the book into the main vehicle of the Jewish religion (see below). These religious-spiritual enterprises, though reflecting inner developments of Israelite religion, were conditioned by contemporary political events and especially by the gradual decline of the Assyrian Empire. Assyria, which had acquiesced in Psammetichus I's disregard of its claim to suzerainty over Egypt about 655 B.C.E., was compelled by its strenuous wars in Asia Minor, and then by the enormous effort of pacifying the rebellious Babylonians and the independent peoples to the south and east of them who supported them, to relax its hold on Palestine as well.

The Reform and Its Historical Antecedents

Josiah's reform activities are given in two parallel accounts: II Kings 22–23 and II Chronicles 34–35. According to the account of Kings, the reform was motivated by the discovery of "Book of the Torah" in 622 B.C.E.; before that no reformative action had been reported. Chronicles, in contrast, tells about three stages of the reform:

(1) in the eighth year of his reign (632 B.C.E.) he started "to seek the God of David" (II Chron. 34:3);

(2) in the 12th year (628 B.C.E.) he began to extirpate objectionable cults in Judah and Jerusalem (34:3b–5), as well as in other parts of the land of Israel (34:6–7);

(3) finally, in the 18th year (622 B.C.E.), when the "Book of the Torah" was discovered, he concluded the Covenant before the Lord (34:29–33) and celebrated the Passover (35:1–18).

Each account has its problems. Scholars have observed that the story of the temple repairs in II Kings 23 is modeled on the repairs ordered by *Joash, an earlier king of Judah described in II Kings 12. In addition, the account in Kings telescopes all of Josiah's activity into one year. If that account is accurate, then pious King Josiah had been tolerating a temple "overloaded with idolatrous objects" (Japhet, 1019) for 17 years of his reign, as had the high priest Hilkiah. It strains credibility to believe that such a drastic change in Judahite religion (which included the purge of ancient native Israelite practices as well as the newer astral cults that had become popular in the eighth century), as described in II Kings, would have been inspired by the chance finding of the book. The chronology in Chronicles is more plausible, but as noted by Japhet, the Chronicler depends on the Deuteronomistic source in Kings and gives no indication that he had access to any other. For the Chronicler there was need to purge the temple because he had already attributed that to the repentance of wicked King Manasseh (II Chron. 33). The fact that this picture absolves both Josiah and Hilkiah from complicity in a polytheistic temple cult is perhaps too convenient. The contradictory accounts in II Kings and Chronicles are each motivated by the agenda of their writers. The goal of the Deuteronomists was to highlight the importance of the book. The goal of the Chronicler was to make the account in Kings plausible and to show that Josiah had always been a pious religious reformer. According to Chronicles, it was only after the completion of the reform that the book was found (II Chron. 34:8), so that its role is limited to bringing the people into a covenant to purge the land of the idolatrous practices in the former northern kingdom (II Chron. 34:33) and the celebration of the Passover.

There are good reasons for antedating Josiah's reform to the discovery of the book: (1) The reforms of the other Judahite kings, e.g., Asa, Jehoshaphat, Jehoash, and Hezekiah, were put into effect without relying upon a written book. (2) It would be inconceivable to suppose that Josiah concluded the covenant in the House of God while all the idols still stood there. The establishing or renewing of the relationship between God and the people was always preceded by the removal of the foreign gods (Gen. 35:2–4; Josh. 24:23ff.; Judg. 10:16; I Sam. 7:3–4). (3) In his account of the king's message to Huldah the prophetess (II Kings 22:13), the narrator has Josiah confess not his own sins but the sins of his ancestors, which clearly indicates that at this time (622 B.C.E.) the Judahite cult of Yahweh no longer tolerated other gods. It is the sins of Manasseh hanging over the people (cf. II Kings 21:11; 24:3; Jer. 15:4) with which he is concerned.

(4) The book was discovered in the midst of an action taken in connection with the repairs of the Temple which apparently followed the removal of the cultic objects installed by Manasseh (II Kings 23:4ff.). II Chronicles, in fact, informs us that the repairs were connected with the restoration of the Temple, or rather with its "undergirding," which had been demolished by the previous kings of Judah (II Chron. 34:11).

The Stages of the Reform

It is not known whether the purgative activities in Judah were contemporaneous with those in the northern territories (Beth-El, Samaria, and the Galilee). The presentation of the events in II Kings 23:4–20 leaves the impression that the reform had been performed step by step. The first move of Josiah was the abolition of objectionable cults from Jerusalem and the cities of Judah (23:4–14), then came the destruction of the altar of Bethel, and afterwards the destruction of the high places of the Samarian province (23:19–20). According to II Chronicles 34:6, the reform extended as far as the cities of Naphtali in Galilee. The gradual political deterioration of the Assyrian Empire adds support to the supposition of a gradual takeover of the northern territories by Josiah. A fortress unearthed at Megiddo may be Josianic.

Centralization of Cult

No exact date can be given for the centralization of the cult. Centralization of worship is the great innovation of the Book of Deuteronomy, and therefore its implementation by Josiah might be the result of the "discovery" of the book. But the way Josiah implements the centralization is not in full accord with the prescriptions of Deuteronomy. Deuteronomy 18:6–8 gives the provincial levite equal rights with the priests of the central shrine: "to serve at the altar and to share the dues," whereas, according to II Kings 23:9, the provincial priests are to share the dues with the Jerusalemite priests but are not permitted to officiate along with them (though one must admit that the levite is not necessarily to be identified with the "priest of the high place"). The contracting of the covenant and the celebration of Passover are performed, according to Kings and Chronicles, in the 18th year, so that in this case there is an established date.

The Significance of the Reform

Josiah's death probably brought an end to his reforming efforts, and in any event, the state of Judah fell in 586 B.C.E. The reform found its full implementation beginning in the Persian period, which saw the reconstruction of the temple in 520. That temple stood as the only Jewish sacrificial shrine in the Land of Israel for almost 600 years until its destruction in 70 C.E. by the Romans. Ultimately, of even greater significance for the history of Judaism was the relocation of divine revelation. Thanks to Josiah's circle, Jews began to seek God's word in the book of Torah. The pledge of the people to observe the Law "as written in the book" brought about a metamorphosis in Israelite religion. To observe the law meant that one had to study it. As a result, the Second Temple period saw the rise of scribes and scholars alongside of the temple cult as well as the gradual eclipse of prophecy. By the time of the destruction of the Second Temple other sacred books had joined the Torah to make up Holy Scripture (*kitvei ha-kodesh*; Mishnah Yad. 3:5), whose study and exposition led to the crystallization of rabbinic Judaism, which survived for almost 2,000 years.

The Death of Josiah

Assyria, weakened by her struggle with Babylon, found the Egyptians as allies. In 616 B.C.E. the Egyptians went up to the north to help the Assyrians, but to no avail. After the fall of Nineveh in 612, the Assyrian army consolidated its positions in the western part of the empire, Harran and Carchemish. This time they were assisted by the newly enthroned Egyptian king, Neco II (610–595; son of Psammetichus), who in the summer of 609 marched with a large force to help the Assyrians retake Harran from the Babylonians. Josiah went to Megiddo to meet the Pharaoh, who killed him there. According to II Chronicles 35:20–24, Josiah ignored God's word and engaged Necho in battle. But the account is suspect because: (a) it is modeled on the account of Ahab's death (I Kings 22:30, 34–37); (b) it is characteristic of the Chronicler's theology to find some sin to account for the downfall of an otherwise righteous king. II Kings 23:29–30 says only that Necho put Josiah to death as soon as he saw him and gives no account of a battle nor any motive for Necho's action. Josiah's death, especially in light of subsequent events, was considered a heavy loss for the nation, as may be learned from II Chronicles 35:24–25: "All Judah and Jerusalem held mourning rites for Josiah … and the singers have spoken of Josiah in their laments to this day and have made these a rule in Israel…"

[Moshe Weinfeld / S. David Sperlimg (2nd ed.)]

In the Aggadah

According to one opinion, Josiah was pious from infancy, and his "repentance" (II Kings 23:25) consisted in his reviewing and revising all the judgments he had given from the time he ascended the throne at the age of eight until his 18th year (Shab. 56b). According to another opinion, he is considered a perfect example of a truly repentant individual (OR 24). Because of his righteousness, his father, Amon, was permitted to enjoy the world to come (Sanh. 104a). When he opened the Torah which had been found, the first verse to meet his eyes was, "The Lord shall bring thee and thy king unto exile, unto a nation which thou hast not known" (Deut. 28:36; Yoma 52b). He sought to enlist the intercession of the prophets in his behalf. He addressed his request to the prophetess *Huldah rather than to Jeremiah since he felt that a woman would be more compassionate (Meg. 14b). When informed of the impending destruction of the Temple, Josiah hid the Holy Ark and all its appurtenances, in order to guard them against desecration at the hands of the enemy (Yoma 52b).

The king's efforts on behalf of God found little echo with the majority of the people. Though successful in preventing public idolatry, he was deceived by the people. He sent his pious sympathizers to inspect the homes of the people and was satisfied with their report that no idols were found. In reality, the recreant Israelites had fastened half an image on each wing of the doors, so that they were not recognizable when the doors were opened, but reappeared when they were closed (Lam. R. 1:53). His death was due to this godless generation. When Pharaoh, in his campaign against the Assyrians, wished to travel through the Land of Israel, Jeremiah advised the king not to deny the Egyptians passage. Josiah, innocent of the deception practiced by the people and therefore unaware that they were idol worshipers, retorted that Moses had promised that the sword would not pass through the land and therefore refused permission. In the ensuing battle no less than 300 arrows pierced the king. In his death agony he uttered no word of complaint, proclaiming, "the Lord is righteous for I have rebelled against His word" (Lam. 1:18), thus admitting his guilt in not having heeded the prophet's advice. On hearing the king's confession, Jeremiah exclaimed, "the breath of our nostrils, the anointed of the Lord" (Lam. 4:20; Ta'an. 22b).

Josiah was the only monarch since Solomon to rule over both Judah and Israel, since Jeremiah had brought the ten exiled tribes of the north back to Israel and made them subject to him (Meg. 14b). The mourning for him was profound (MK 28b), and Jeremiah perpetuated his memory in Lamentations (4:20; SOR 24).

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JOSIAH (middle of the second century C.E.), *tanna*. His father's name is not known. He originated in Babylon and apparently taught in Huẓal (Git. 61a). He discussed law in Nisibis with *Judah b. Bathyra. At that time he was already quoting *halakhot* he heard in the name of "the Men of Jerusalem" (Sif. Num. 123; Deut. 218). Later he moved to Ereẓ Israel, where he studied under R. Ishmael (Men. 57b). He is mentioned in the Talmud about 50 times, never in the Mishnah, and once in the Tosefta (Shevu. 1:7). He is quoted very often in the *Mekhilta*, and in the *Sifrei* on Numbers, both of which belong to the school of R. Ishmael. Very frequently he appears alongside his colleague Jonathan, another of R. Ishmael's pupils, with whom Josiah often disagrees. Their disagreements as a rule depend on different methods of biblical interpretation, both variants of R. Ishmael's particular method (Yoma 57–58; Sota 24–25, et al.). A characteristic method of his is *Sares ha-Mikra ve-Doreshehu*, i.e., "transpose the order of the words [lit. "emasculate"] of the verse and then interpret it." His talmudic dicta cover a wide variety of subjects. One of his most famous rulings, which was accepted by the *posekim*, concerns heterogeneous sowing in a vineyard and so limits culpability as to make the interdiction almost nonexistent as far as the biblical law is concerned (Kid. 39a et al.). Many of his other rulings also incline to leniency. Although from Babylon, he firmly upheld the authority of the Great *Bet Din in Jerusalem as the sole body competent to intercalate the year (Mekh. Pisḥa 2). Josiah was still alive in the first age of the *amoraim* and is therefore sometimes called Josiah the Great, to distinguish him from an *amora* of the same name (Sanh. 19b). Of his few aggadic dicta, the following may be noted: "the deeds of the righteous yield fruit … the deeds of the wicked do not produce fruit, for if they produced fruit they would destroy the world" (Gen. R. 33:1); "If a good deed comes your way, do it immediately" (Mekh. Pisḥa 9).

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man, Toledot, 529–31; Neusner, Babylonia, 1 (1965), 128–35; idem, in: PAAJR, 30 (1962), 92ff.

[Harry Freedman]

JOSIAH (third century C.E.), Palestinian *amora*. Josiah was a pupil of Johanan, in whose name he transmitted teachings (TJ, Kil. 9:4, 32b; Ḥul. 128a; et al.). He also studied under Kahana (TJ, RH 1:1, 56d), who upon his death ordered that part of his legacy be given to Josiah (TJ, Sanh. 3:9, 21d; cf. Gen. R. ed. by Theodor and Ḥ. Albeck (19652) 53n. 1). He discussed halakhic problems with Eleazar b. Pedat (Sot. 19a; et al.), and some of his other colleagues were Ḥiyya b. Abba, Ammi, and Assi (TJ, Ta'an. 2:1, 65a–b). On one occasion, when preaching on a public fast day, he interpreted *hitkosheshu va-koshu* (Zeph. 2:1) as if the verb were from the root *kash*, meaning stubble, and rendering it as "let us remove our own stubble before removing the stubble of others," i.e., "let us mend our own ways before pointing out other peoples' faults" (TJ, Ta'an. 2:1, 65a–b; and cf. BM 107b). He was held in high esteem by his contemporaries. When Isaac b. Redifa came to ask a halakhic question of Jeremiah, the latter replied, "the lions are available and you enquire of the foxes! Go and ask Josiah" (TJ, Shev. 9:5, 39a). A number of *amoraim* with the name Josiah are mentioned in the Talmud, and it is possible that one of them, Josiah of Usha (Git. 33b; et al.), is the same as this Josiah.

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[Yitzhak Dov Gilat]

JOSIAH BEN AARON HE-ḤAVER (fl. 11th century), Palestinian *gaon*. Josiah belonged to the family of the *gaon*, *Aron b. Meir. He was the head of Yeshivat Geon Ya'akov in Jerusalem, and later in Ramleh, to which the yeshivah was transferred, presumably as a result of pressure by the Karaites. Josiah engaged in a controversy with a Karaite leader, possibly Solomon b. David b. Boaz. The exact years of his gaonate are not known; his signature appears on a document of the year 1015, and it is thought that he was active until 1020. He appointed *Ephraim b. Shemariah, head of Palestinian Jews in Egypt, as a "*ḥaver*" (a rabbinical title of honor). His letters to the Jewish community of Egypt, appealing for help, reflect the sufferings endured by the Jews of Ereẓ Israel as a result of the persecutions of the Fatimid caliph Ḥakim.

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[Eliezer Bashan (Sternberg)]

JOSIAH BEN JESSE (d. after 1235), *nasi* of the Jews in *Damascus during the first half of the 13th century. Judah *Al-Ḥarizi met him when he visited Damascus, about 1216, and wrote poems of praise in his honor. In these Al-Ḥarizi mentions Josiah's lineage, which could be traced to *Zerubbabel. He refers to him by the title of *Nesi Galuyyot Kol Yisrael* ("prince of the Diasporas of all Jewry"). It appears that there was a special significance to this title and that it was more than mere rhetoric, because in the ban which he issued in 1235 the title appears again. In this ban his brother, Solomon b. Jesse (d. after 1244) who lived in Fostat, is also mentioned. He is also referred to by the title of *Nesi Galuyyot Yisrael* ("prince of the Diasporas"). Hodayah b. Jesse ha-Nasi, referred to as *Nesi Nesi'ei Galuyyot Kol Yisrael* ("chief of the princes of Diasporas of all Jewry"), was also Josiah's brother. It is known that Hodayah was in Alexandria for a few years, since he came into conflict with the *dayyan* R. Joseph b. Gershon, who lived at the same time as Abraham b. Moses b. *Maimuni. One of his descendants was the *nasi* *Jesse b. Hezekiah.

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[Abraham David]

JOSIAH BEN SAUL BEN ANAN (late eighth to ninth century), Karaite authority, presumed grandson of *Anan b. David, the titular founder of the sect, and son of *Saul b. Anan. His writings have not been preserved. Judah *Hadassi (in *Eshkol ha-Kofer*, 258, letter ק) refers to Josiah as a "shining light of knowledge" and reports that he ruled that, in the case of inheritance, the brothers of the deceased should have an equal share with the dead man's sons. *Elijah b. Abraham, author of *Ḥilluk ha-Kara'im ve-ha-Rabbanim*, mentions him as "Josiah, crown of the Torah"; *Aaron b. Elijah (*Gan Eden*, 144b) and Elijah *Bashyazi (*Adderet Eliyahu*, 80b) refer to him as "Prince Josiah" and quote his opinion on the preconditions necessary for entrance into matrimony. Only in the genealogical tables and the "chain of tradition" of the later Karaite authors is Josiah mentioned definitely as a grandson of Anan.

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[Isaak Dov Ber Markon]

JOSIPHIAH (Jehosiphia) THE PROSELYTE (early 12th century), French liturgical poet. Josiphiah is quoted by *Jacob ha-Levi of Marvège and is also mentioned in *Sefer ha-Gan*, and by *Judah b. Eliezer (1313) and Moses *Rieti (15th century). Of the known eight poems which bear Josiphiah's signature, only three have been published, among them an introduction to *Illu Finu*, translated into German by S. Heller (*Die echten hebraeischen Melodien* (1908^3)) on the basis of S.D. Luzzatto's edition in *Tal Orot* (1881), 34, no. 43.

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[Jefim (Hayyim) Schirmann]

JOSIPOVICI, GABRIEL (1940–), English novelist, playwright, and literary critic. Born in Nice, France, Josipovici was educated at Victoria College, Cairo, and at Oxford University. From 1963 he taught at the University of Sussex where he became a professor of English Literature. In 1981 he was made the Northcliffe Lecturer at University College, London. His first novel, *The Inventory*, was published in 1968 and his outstanding work of literary criticism, *The World and the Book: A Study of Modern Fiction*, appeared in 1971. He also wrote *The Lessons of Modernism and Other Essays* (1977) and edited *The Modern English Novels. The Reader, The Writer, and the Work* (1976). As well as his acclaimed literary criticism, Josipovici published *Four Stories* (1977), a collection of short stories, and ten stage and radio plays. *Mobius the Stripper: Stories and Short Plays* (1974) contains an important selection of this work.

Josipovici is a consciously postmodernist writer who has rejected the tradition of 19th-century realism. Instead, his literary tradition is made up of Marcel *Proust, Franz *Kafka, Rainer Maria Rilke, T.S. Eliot and, more recently, Samuel Beckett, Alaine Robbe-Grillet, Jorge Luis Borges and George *Perec. All of these writers transcend a too easy identification with a national culture. Their "rootlessly self-contained" art, in the words of one critic, corresponds to Josipovici's own abstract, vulnerable, inconclusive short novels. Much of his fiction, such as *The Inventory, Words* (1971), and *Conversations in Another Room* (1984), juxtaposes the lightness and musicality of the author's dialogue with a series of haunting, unanswered questions. *Migrations*, on the other hand, lacks a narrative thread as it moves between nameless, displaced individuals who are related only by the author's recurring images.

Josipovici's disdain for fiction which is based on large historical questions means that his novels do not deal explicitly with Jewish themes. The Jewish writers which interest him the most are, therefore, those that write outside of a defined Jewish tradition – such as Saul *Bellow, Bernard *Malamud, and, of course, Kafka and Proust – and not such "insiders," in Josipovici's terms, as Isaac Bashevis *Singer and S.Y. *Agnon. It was only after the Six-Day War that Josipovici began to explore his Jewishness with considerable interest. He wrote the introduction to the English edition of Aharon *Appelfeld's *The Retreat* (1985), and he was a regular contributor to *European Judaism* and *The Jewish Quarterly.*

BIBLIOGRAPHY: J. Vinson (ed.), *Contemporary Novelists*, (1982) 356–357; *The Jewish Quarterly*, 32 (1985). **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** M. Fludermik, *Echoes and Mirrorings: Gabriel Josipovici's Creative Oeuvre* (2001).

[Bryan Cheyette]

JOSIPPON, historical narrative in Hebrew, of anonymous authorship, describing the period of the Second Temple, written in southern Italy in the tenth century. The author starts his narrative by listing the different nations and their places of settlement, based on the catalog of the descendants of Japheth mentioned in Genesis 10, and relating these to peoples of his own times. The author proceeds to recount the history of ancient Italy and the founding of Rome; he then passes to the period of the Second Temple. The book – like Josephus' *The Jewish War* – ends with the fall of Masada. A large part of the work is devoted to the wars of the Jews against the Romans.

The author states that the Hungarians, the Bulgarians, and the Pechenegs dwelt "on the great river called the Danube, i.e., Donau," and this was a geographical situation existing after 900 C.E. The author also observes that the "Ishmaelites" (i.e., Arabs) lived in Tarsus, which is in Asia Minor. Since this town was conquered by Byzantium in 965 C.E., it is clear that the book was written between these two dates. In one of the manuscripts of *Josippon* the precise date of the book is given: "and we wrote from the book, from the book of Joseph ben Gorion ha-Kohen in the year 885 from the Destruction." Since it was customary then to reckon the Destruction of the Temple from the year 68 C.E., it follows that the book was composed in 953 C.E. All signs point to the fact that the Hebrew book was written in southern Italy which, at the time, was one of the important Jewish centers. The author's place of birth was part of the Byzantine Empire, where the official language was Greek. The author, however, could not read Greek, only Latin. The main source of *Josippon* was a Latin manuscript which included 16 of the 20 books of Josephus' *Jewish Antiquities* and the Latin adaptation of *The Jewish War.* The latter was written in the second half of the fourth century C.E. and called *Hegesippus*. The author of *Josippon* also knew random facts from *The Jewish War* itself with which he was acquainted only incidentally; he knew also about the *Contra Apionem* of Josephus. The author calls Josephus "Joseph ben Gorion," although Josephus' father was called Mattathias. He was misled by the inaccurate language of the *Hegesippus*, and he identified Josephus with Joseph b. Gorion who had also been a general in the war against the Romans. The author's second important source was the Latin version of the *Apocrypha; thus he learned about the Hasmonean period from the two books of Maccabees. The remainder of his secular sources were various medieval chronicles; from these he mainly gained information concerning the gentile kingdoms. He had, of course, a certain knowledge of talmudic literature, but his main sources were Latin. Considering the period in which he lived, the author was a gifted historian, aware of his responsibilities and endowed with excellent historical insight. Fables drawn from obscure sources are only rarely found in his book, mainly in the chapters dealing with the ancient history of Italy. The author also had great literary gifts. His narrative is filled with national pride and is written in an excellent biblical Hebrew style. In the Middle Ages, the book was already called *Sefer Josippon*; this is the Jewish-Greek form for *Josephus.* In the original version found preserved in manuscripts the author speaks in the first person and defines the purpose of his writing thus: "I have collected stories from the book of Joseph b. Gorion and from the books of other authors who wrote down the deeds of our ancestors, and I compiled them in one scroll." Since the name of the author was not known, the book was ascribed, by the time of Rashi, to Josephus himself. This mistaken ascription later became explicit in an expanded and revised version of the book written not later than 1160, and edited in the 14th century by Judah Leon *Moskoni. This edition served as a basis for the Constantinople edition of 1510 which was the source for all subsequent editions. This version, too, was composed in Italy. Its author restyled the book, ascribed it to Joseph b. Gorion, and added fictitious elements, although he himself was lacking neither in Jewish nor in secular knowledge. The most famous among the passages to be found in the expanded version is a fictitious description of the crowning of Vespasian in Rome. This was written under the influence of the crowning of emperors in Rome during the Middle Ages. Today the book is known to the reader in this rewritten and popular version. Another early edition of *Josippon* is that of Mantua (c. 1480), based on a carelessly restyled, and at times even abbreviated, manuscript of the original version. In this edition, all reference to Joseph b. Gorion as author has been omitted. The original form and the true character of the book of *Josippon* can, therefore, be known only from manuscripts. Among the better known manuscripts, three are based on a manuscript that R. *Gershom b. Judah copied "in his own hand." In one of these appears the date of composition. R. Gershom probably copied *Josippon* to use as a textbook on the history of the Jews during the time of the Second Temple.

During the Middle Ages, *Josippon* served as a source of information about the period of the later books of the Bible (such as the books of Esther and Daniel) and about the whole period of the Second Temple. This is the reason that Bible and Talmud commentators frequently quoted it during the Middle Ages and at the beginning of the modern period. The book of *Josippon* attained great importance during the Middle Ages. For instance, a passage on Alexander the Great translated from it appeared in the early Russian chronicle of Nestor, without mentioning the source. The book is referred to by name, however, by the Arab scholar Ibn Ḥazm (d. 1063). The importance attached to the book stemmed from its ascription to Josephus, who had been a contemporary of events described in it.

An Arabic translation of *Josippon* by a Yemenite Jew was probably in existence already in the 11th century. From Arabic it was translated into Ethiopian (c. 1300). Translations into European languages, such as Latin, English, Czech, Polish, and Russian, were generally made from printed editions. The author of the book of *Josippon*, following his sources, mentions John the Baptist, but he refers neither to Jesus nor to the beginnings of Christianity. Brief mention of Jesus is made in the manuscript of the expanded version of *Josippon*, and a polemical story about Jesus and the beginnings of Christianity was inserted in a number of manuscripts. *Josippon*'s relationship (or lack of relationship) with Christianity interested both Muslims and Christians. From the age of humanism, leading Christian humanists discussed the question of whether the book of *Josippon* had really been composed by Josephus. The book was also known to the Karaites and, in a Samaritan chronicle written in Arabic, *Josippon*'s account of Alexander the Great's visit to Jerusalem is included; the place of the visit was changed to Mt. Gerizim. A short Hebrew narrative translated from the Greek was inserted into some versions of *Josippon*. The narrative is an abridgment of a legend about Alexander the Great, ascribed to Calisthenes, and an anonymous Greek-Byzantine chronicle on the period from Alexander to Tiberius. This important narrative has been preserved independently in one manuscript.

Two works on Josippon by Professor David Flusser were published almost simultaneously in 1978. The first is an edition based upon the original manuscript with a photostatic reproduction of selected extracts from Josippon, with an introduction (Mercaz Zalman Shazar). The second was the first volume of a critical edition, based upon all existing manuscripts and giving the text with an introduction; the second volume of the critical edition appeared in 1980, completing the work.

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[David Flusser]

JOSKO (or **Jossko**; end of 15th–beginning of 16th century), wealthy Jewish merchant in Lvov. He was a customs duties collector and a banker to King Alexander of Poland (1501–06), and for many years was a purveyor of cloth and fur to the court. In 1503, as a result of Josko's intervention, the king ordered that the Jews of Lvov be permitted to trade at fairs and the town's markets, despite vigorous opposition from the townsmen. Josko assisted the community against them on several occasions.

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[Arthur Cygielman]

JOSPE, ALFRED (1909–1994), rabbi, educator, author, and editor. Jospe was born in Berlin to Josef and Rosa Jospe; his father and both his grandfathers, Israel Jospe and Selmar Cerini (Steifmann), were cantors. An active Zionist from his youth, Jospe received his doctorate in philosophy at the University of Breslau in 1932. In 1935 he married Eva Scheyer and received his rabbinic ordination from the Juedisch-Theologisches Seminar in Breslau. After serving for two years (1934–35) as district rabbi of the province of Grenzmark, he was appointed to the community rabbinate in Berlin (1936). Following *Kristallnacht* (November 9–10, 1938), Jospe was interned in the Sachsenhausen concentration camp. In March 1939 he was able to leave Germany for the United States (via England) with his wife and daughter.

Jospe's first American rabbinical position, and only pulpit, was in Morgantown, West Virginia (1939–44), where in 1940 he also assumed the responsibility for directing the Hillel Foundation at the University of West Virginia. In 1944 he became director of Hillel at Indiana University, and in 1949 joined the national leadership of Hillel in New York, becoming its director of programs and resources. Jospe and his family moved to Washington, D.C., in 1957, when B'nai B'rith (including the Hillel Foundations) moved its headquarters there from New York. In 1971 he was elected Hillel's international director, a position he held until his retirement at the end of 1974.

For most of his career Jospe was involved in educational administration, and in many respects he provided the intellectual leadership shaping the Hillel Foundations during its years of great growth, seeking to formulate an evolving "philosophy of Hillel" that would enable Hillel to meet changing student needs (especially in the "turbulent years" of the 1960s and early 1970s), while remaining faithful to abiding underlying principles.

At the same time, Jospe retained an active interest in philosophy and Jewish thought. His many publications include academic works (on Moses Mendelssohn, on *Wissenschaft des Judentums*, on the history of the German rabbinate, and on the teaching of Jewish Studies at German universities); essays in Jewish thought; anthologies he edited of thematically arranged lectures by leading thinkers and scholars, based on programs at successive national summer institutes of Hillel; and professional guides relating to Hillel as the "Jewish presence on the campus." The rapid expansion of purely academic programs in Jewish Studies in many universities began to take place during the last few years of Jospe's career. Until then, on many campuses, Hillel, besides its other functions in offering religious, cultural, and chaplaincy services, provided the only link for students with an academic (even if extracurricular) presentation of Judaism, to combat what Jospe called the "pediatric Judaism" of many alienated young Jews, whose minimal childhood exposure to Jewish education could not compete with their advanced secular education for intellectual respectability and serious commitment. A proper Jewish education should be both cognitive and affective, involving both mind and heart: "Both celebration and cerebration have a legitimate place, but not at the expense of the other."

Jospe's publications, reflecting his diverse areas of interest, include *Die Unterscheidung von Mythos und Religion bei Hermann Cohen und Ernst Cassirer in ihrer Bedeutung fuer die juedische Religionsphilosophie* (1932); *The Legacy of Maurice Pekarsky* (1965); an annotated English translation with introduction of *Jerusalem and Other Jewish Writings* of Moses Mendelssohn (1969); *Tradition and Contemporary Experience: Essays on Jewish Life and Thought* (1970); *Bridges to a Holy Time: New Worship for the Sabbath and Minor Festivals* (with Richard Levy; 1973); *Studies in Jewish Thought: An Anthology of German Jewish Scholarship* (1981). *To Leave Your Mark: Selections from the Writings of Alfred Jospe*, ed. E. Jospe and R. Jospe, was published posthumously (2000). For a complete bibliography until 1980, see *Go and Study: Essays and Studies in Honor of Alfred Jospe*, ed. R. Jospe and S. Fishman (1980).

His wife EVA (1913–) was born in Oppeln, Germany (now Opole, Poland) and pursued graduate studies in philosophy at the New School for Social Research in New York and Georgetown University in Washington, DC. She taught modern Jewish thought at Georgetown and then at George Washington University until the age of 80. Her publications and translations include Martin Buber's "Early Addresses" in *On Judaism*, ed. N. Glatzer (1967); *Reason and Hope: Selections from the Jewish Writings of Hermann Cohen* (1971; reissued 1993); *Moses Mendelssohn: Selections from His Writings* (1975); "Hermann Cohen's Judaism: A Reassessment," in: *Judaism* 25:4 (1976), 461–72; "Encounter: The Thought of Martin Buber," in: *Judaism,* 27:2 (1978), 135–47; "Moses Mendelssohn: Some Reflections on His Thought," in: *Judaism* 30:2 (1981), 169–82; Franz Rosenzweig's commentary to *Ninety-Two Poems and Hymns of Yehuda Halevi*, ed. R. Cohen (2000).

Eva and Alfred Jospe had three children: SUSANNE GREENBERG (1935–), a rabbi in West Chester, PA; NAOMI PISETZKY (1942–), a teacher in Petaḥ Tikvah; and RAPHAEL JOSPE (1947–) of the department of Jewish Philosophy at Bar-Ilan University and the Hebrew University Rothberg International School, and editor of the Jewish Philosophy division of the second edition of the *Encyclopaedia Judaica*.

Alfred Jospe's brother, ERWIN JOSPE (1907–1983), was a musician, choir director, professor of music and dean of fine arts at the University of Judaism. He edited with Joseph Jacobsen a collection of Jewish music, *Hawa Naschira: Auf! Lasst uns Singen* (1935; reissued 2001).

JOST, ISAAC MARCUS (1793–1860), German educator and historian. Jost was born in Bernburg, central Germany. He received his primary education at the Samson-Schule in Wolfenbuettel, where he became an intimate friend of Leopold Zunz. After studies at the universities in Goettingen and Berlin, he became head of a private high school in Frankfurt on the Main. The school was attended by both Jewish and Christian boys until the Prussian government prohibited this "revolutionary" project; the school then became exclusively Jewish. From 1835 onward he taught at the Philanthropin high school in Frankfurt. In 1853 he founded an orphanage for Jewish girls in Frankfurt. In conjunction with his educational activities Jost published a Pentateuch for young people (1823) and a vocalized Mishnah text (1832–34), with translation and notes; he also published a textbook of English (1843^3), a dictionary of Shakespeare (1830), and a manual of German style (1852^2).

In Frankfurt he edited (with M. Creizenach) the short-lived Hebrew journal *Zion* (1841–42), and from 1839 to 1841 the *Israelitische Annalen*. He founded, with Ludwig Philippson and others, the Institut zur Foerderung der Israelitischen Literatur, which published the *Jahrbuch fuer Geschichte der Juden und des Judentums* (4 vols., 1860–69).

A moderate supporter of the Reform movement, he helped prepare the second Rabbinical Conference at Frankfurt in 1845 and acted as its secretary. Jost, however, opposed extremist tendencies and vigorously defended the use of Hebrew in synagogue and school.

Jost was a pioneer in the field of modern Jewish historiography and his works in this field include: *Geschichte der Israeliten seit der Zeit der Maccabaeer bis auf unsere Tage* (9 vols., (1820–28)); *Neuere Geschichte der Israeliten von 1815 bis 1845* (3 vols., 1846–47); *Allgemeine Geschichte des Israelitischen Volkes* (2 vols., 1832); and *Geschichte des Judenthums und seiner Sekten* (3 vols., 1857–59). Jost wrote his work while others were still laying the foundations of the new Science of Judaism; Zunz himself shrank from writing a comprehensive history, and Graetz soon afterward wrote *Geschichte der Juden*, which exhibited far greater brilliance and scholarship. However, the adverse criticism by A. Geiger, H. Graetz, and S.D. Luzzatto tended to overlook the real merits of Jost's pioneering work with its high standard of objective scholarship. Although a rationalist who felt little sympathy with the religious view of Jewish history and who concentrated mainly on writing political history to the almost complete exclusion of cultural history, Jost anticipated later historiography by his critical approach to the sources, the individual treatment of Jewish history in different countries, and his recognition of the importance of social institutions for the understanding of history. His *Neuere Geschichte* has, in addition, great value as a contemporary record.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: J. Pascheles, *Sippurim*, 3 (1854), 141ff. includes an autobiography by Jost; H. Zirndorf, *Isaac Markus Jost und seine Freunde* (1886), includes bibliography; S.W. Baron, *History and Jewish Historians* (1964), 240ff. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** R. Michael, *Y.M. Jost* (Heb., 1983); U. Wyrwa, in: K. Hoedl (ed.), *Historisches Bewusstsein* (2004), 99–108.

[Marcus Pyka (2nd ed.)]

JOTABAH, an island in the Gulf of Elath (Aila) inhabited by a colony of Jewish merchants. In the second half of the fifth century C.E., it was seized by a Persian adventurer called Amorkesos, who controlled the Red Sea trade from there and levied customs. The emperor Leo confirmed the position of Amorkesos in 474, but in 498 Anastasius sent an expedition under the general Aratus against him and the fortress was stormed. The community remained unmolested till the time of Justinian (527–65), who expelled the Jews. Procopius located the island 1000 stadia from Alia, a position which corresponds to that of the island of Tiran at the mouth of the gulf. A Hebrew University expedition to Tiran in 1956, however, found no evidence of a Byzantine settlement. Recently, Jezīrat el-Farʿūn, 7½ mi. (12 km.) south of Elath, which has remains of Byzantine fortifications, has been proposed as an identification.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Abel, in: RB, 47 (1938), 511ff.; J. Aharoni and B. Rothenberg, *God's Wilderness* (1961); M. Avi-Yonah, *Geschichte der Juden im Zeitalter des Talmud* … (1962), 237.

[Michael Avi-Yonah]

JOTAPATA or **Yodefat** (Heb. יוֹדְפָת), Galilean fortress. It appears as [*Ia*]-*aṭ-bi-te* among the cities captured by Tiglath Pileser III in 732 B.C.E., together with Qana and Ruma. Four hundred of the inhabitants were deported by the Assyrians. It was possibly the home town of Haruz of Jotbah, the wife of Manasseh, king of Judah (II Kings 21:19). In the Mishnah it is described as a fortress dating from the time of Joshua (Ar. 9:6; as Yodefat). In 66 C.E., at the beginning of the Jewish War against Rome, *Josephus turned it into a strong fortress, which served as the key to his line of fortifications protecting Galilee. After the dispersal of his army, he proceeded there and withstood a siege by Vespasian and his army for 47 days (Jos., Wars, 3:141–288, 316ff.). The fortress, as described by Josephus, was built on a ridge surrounded by ravines on all sides but the north, where a suburb lying on the next ridge was also fortified.

Jotapata continued as a Jewish town after it fell to the Romans. Following the destruction of the Temple, the priestly family of Miyamin settled there. In the period of the Bar-Kokhba rebellion Jotbah was the seat of the priestly family of Miyamin; it may also be the Gopatata referred to in the midrash (Eccles. R. 108a). The Babylonian Talmud also mentions a R. Menahem of Jotapata (Zev. 110b) and it may have been the episcopal town of Jotabe from 536 C.E. The site was identified by E.G. Schultz in 1847 with Khirbet Shifat, 6 mi. (c. 10 km.) north of Sepphoris, near Mt. Azmon. The site was subsequently explored by C. Conder and H.H. Kitchener for the Palestine Exploration Fund in the 1870s.

Excavations were conducted at the site in 1992 by D. Edwards, M. Aviam, and D. Adan-Bayewitz, revealing remains dating from the Hellenistic period through to medieval times. A fortification wall from the Ptolemaic period was uncovered with three phases of construction evident. To the northwest were the remains of a ramp dating from the time of the Roman siege in 67 C.E. The finds included remains from the battle including ballista balls and iron bow and catapult arrowheads. Rubble walls built at this location seem to have been part of the Jewish preparations prior to the arrival of the Romans. An oil press, pottery kilns, and several ritual baths (*mikva'ot*) were uncovered. The lower part of the site was reoccupied in the late first or early second centuries C.E., and there were also signs of occupation of medieval date.

[Michael Avi-Yonah / Shimon Gibson (2nd ed.)]

The modern kibbutz of Yodefat is situated north of the ancient mound. It was founded in 1961 by Israel-born youth, mostly from Haifa, unaffiliated with any countrywide settlement federation. In 1968 Yodefat had 47 inhabitants, mostly vegetarians. Fruit orchards were its main farm branch. Since then it has become a large-scale flower bulb exporter, with around 1,000 acres of land under cultivation and 369 residents in 2004.

[Efraim Orni]

BIBLIOGRAPHY: E. Forrer, *Die Provinzeinteilung des assyrischen Reiches* (1920), 61; Saarisalo, in: JPOS, 9 (1929), 39; Oehler, in: ZDPV (1905), 53ff.; Alt, in: PJB, 27 (1931), 40; Avi-Yonah, Geog; idem, *Atlas Karta li-Tekufat Bayit Sheni ve-ha-Talmud* (1966), map no. 109.

ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY: D.R. Edwards et al., "Yodefat, 1992," in: *Israel Exploration Journal*, 45 (1995), 191–97.

JOTBATH, JOTHBATAH (Heb. יָטְבָתָה), a station of the Israelites during their wanderings in the wilderness, situated between Hor-Haggidgad and Abronah (Num. 33:33–34). It is also described as "a land of brooks of water" (Deut. 10:7). The identification of Jotbath depends on the view held of the route taken by the Israelites between Mt. Sinai and Ezion-Geber (Elath). Scholars who favor the northern route to Elath identify Jotbath with ʿAyn Ghadyān near a marsh called Sabkhat al-Ṭāba. The name ʿAyn Ghadyān is derived from the Roman Ad Dianam, which is located on the Peutinger Map 26 mi. (40 km.; erroneously given on the map as 16 mi.) north of Aila (Elath) (see also *Yotvatah). According to this map the Damascus-Elath road joined the Jerusalem-Elath road at Ad Dianam, but this, however, is disputed. Its name suggests that it contained a temple dedicated to Diana. Remains of forts from the time of the Judahite kings and of a fort and pool from the late Roman and Byzantine periods have been discovered at ʿAyn Ghadyān; a kibbutz called Yotvatah has been established there. Other scholars who maintain that the approach to Ezion-Geber was from the south place Jotbath at Wadi al-Ṭāba, which is rich in water and falls into the Read Sea 7 mi. (11 km.) south of Elath.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Abel, Geog, 2 (1938), 216, 366; Glueck, in: AASOR, 18/19 (1939), 95; Frank, in: ZDPV, 57 (1934), 191ff., 238; EM, s.v.; J. Aharoni and B. Rothenberg, *God's Wilderness* (1961); Alt, in ZDPV, 58 (1935), 1ff.; Aharoni, in: iej, 4 (1954), 9ff.; idem, in: *Eretz Israel*, 5 (1958), 129ff.

[Michael Avi-Yonah]

JOTHAM (Heb. יוֹתָם; "YHWH is perfect"), the youngest son of *Gideon the judge. Jotham was the only one to survive the massacre conceived by his half brother *Abimelech, whose hired assassins slew 70 of the 71 sons of Gideon (Jerubbaal) "on one stone" (Judg. 9:1–6). Jotham alone survived. Perhaps the writer is punning on his name in that in Hebrew *yatom* means orphan. He escaped to Mt. Gerizim above the city of Shechem and, with sparkling irony, denounced the Shechemites for accepting Abimelech as king. Jotham relates the fable of the trees (Judg. 9:8–15) which tells how the trees once anointed one of their number king. The good trees – the olive, fig, and vine – to whom the crown was offered, refused to trade their unique capacities for honoring both God and man in return for mere power, but the fruitless bramble accepted the throne. From the subsequent verses (16–20) it is clear that the trees represent the rulers of Shechem, while Abimelech, whom they had crowned, is the bramble. The oration concludes with a curse upon both the Shechemites and Abimelech.

Jotham's fable has frequently been interpreted as a piece of anti-monarchical irony exposing the unproductive and ultimately disastrous nature of kingship. However, the fable does not denounce the institution as such nor are its details in consonance with the historical reality. Unlike the trees, the Shechemites had not taken the initiative, nor had they offered the crown to anyone; Gideon's sons had inherited their position of rulership, and no reference to the murder of the 70 brothers is to be found in the fable. Therefore Jotham's fable is probably an ancient etiology explaining how the lowly, useless thornbush became an incendiary danger to all trees, even to the mighty cedars. The trees, in their folly, gave the bramble power because the good trees had evaded their duty. But in the mouth of Jotham, the fable becomes a parable warning of the fatal danger of placing royal power in the wrong hands (Kaufmann, p. 202 in bibl.). After he delivered his oration, Jotham fled to Beer (Judg. 9:21) and is not heard of again. The subsequent downfall of Abimelech is seen as the fulfillment of the curse (9:57).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Bright, Hist, 151–60; E.H. Maly, in: CBQ, 22 (1960), 299–305; Y. Kaufmann, *Sefer Shofetim* (1962), 199–206. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** Y. Amit, *Judges* (1999), 165–70.

[Nahum M. Sarna and Robert G. Boling]

JOTHAM (Heb. יוֹתָם; "YHWH is perfect"; c. 758–743 B.C.E.), king of Judah; son of *Uzziah (Azariah) and Jerusha, daughter of Zadok (II Kings 15:32–33; II Chron. 27:1). Jotham became king at the age of 25 and, according to II Kings 15:33, reigned 16 years. This contradicts the statement three verses earlier that "*Hoshea son of Elah, made a conspiracy … in the twentieth year of Jotham son of Uzziah" (II Kings 15:30), indicating that Jotham reigned at least 20 years. This may be the result of a miscalculation by a late historian who did not take the coregency (below) into account (Cogan and Tadmor, 181). The concluding phrase is missing from the Lucianic recension of the Septuagint. Apparently Jotham died close to the time of his father's death. According to II Kings 15:5, he was co-regent with his father after the latter had contracted a dread skin disease (*ẓaraʿat*; traditionally but inaccurately rendered "leprosy"), and was isolated outside the city, while Jotham was "in charge of the palace" (*al ha-bayit*), and thus was actually second in rank to the king.

According to II Chronicles 27, Jotham built cities and fortresses and engaged the Ammonites in battle to defend Judah's claims in Trans-Jordan. He was successful in subjugating the Ammonites to Judah and in collecting tribute from them for three years (II Chron. 27:5). The rule of Judah in Transjordan is attested indirectly by I Chronicles 5:17, which tells of the census of the tribes of Israel in the area during the reigns of Jotham king of Judah and Jeroboam king of Israel. The notice that "the Lord began to send Rezin … and Pekah … against Judah" (II Kings 15:37) may indicate that the King of Israel and the King of Aram were responding to Jotham's expansionist moves (Cogan and Tadmor, 182–83). The prosperity of the country during his reign enabled him to undertake projects of fortification throughout the country. The general description given by the Chronicler is that Jotham continued his father's work. He fortified the wall of the Ophel in Jerusalem (II Chron. 27:3) and undertook repairs and made additions in the Temple area (*ibid.*, II Kings 15:35). The Chronicler contrasts the piety of Jotham with the impiety of his father Uzziah, whose skin disease he attributes to Uzziah's attempt to usurp priestly functions (II Chron. 26:16–21). According to Josephus, Jotham built chambers in the Temple and possibly raised the height of the building.

[*Encyclopaedia Hebraica* / S. David Sperling (2nd ed.)]

In the Aggadah

Jotham was one of the most righteous of the kings of Judah. He loyally observed the fifth commandment by being content to act as regent during his father's reign, without even aspiring to the throne. Moreover, he always gave a ruling in his father's name. Simeon b. Yoḥai referred to Jotham's piety in the statement: "I alone am able to exempt the world from judgment from the day I was born until now; were my son Eliezer with me, we could exempt it from creation until now; and were Jotham with us, we could exempt it from the creation of the world until its end" (Suk. 45b).

The difficulties presented by the conflicting scriptural datings of the reigns of Amaziah and Jotham are explained by the statement that Jotham ruled for 20 years during the illness of his father, Uzziah. The scriptural reference to the 20th year of Jotham's reign (II Kings 15:30), as against the statement that he reigned only for 16 years (II Chron. 27:1), is resolved by pointing out that because of his piety four years were deducted from Ahab's reign and added to those of Jotham (SOR 22).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Bright, Hist, 240, 256; Aharoni, in: *Tarbiz*, 21 (1940), 94ff.; S. Yeivin, *Luḥot Kronologiyyim…* (1962); E. Auerbach, *Wueste und Gelobtes Land*, 2 (1936), 85ff.; Tadmor, in: A. Malamat (ed.), *Bi-Ymei Bayit Rishon* (1961), 158ff.; EM, s.v. (includes bibliography). AGGADAH: Ginzberg, Legends, index; I. Ḥasida, *Ishei ha-Tanakh* (1964), 197. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** M. Cogan and H. Tadmor, *II Kings* (AB; 1988); S. Japhet, *I & II Chronicles* (1993), 889–93; J. Kuntz, in: ABD, 3:1021–22.

JOURNALISM.

Jews have played a major role in journalism since the early years of the profession. Publishers, editors, columnists, and reporters contributed to the development of political analysis, mass circulation techniques, methods of worldwide news gathering, chain journalism, and techniques that deepened the influence and impact of the written word. The overall number of Jews engaged in journalism in various countries is actually small. The significance of their contributions is readily apparent, however, in any examination of the relatively new, constantly changing and developing field of communications.

There have been Jews who distinguished themselves in journalism by their direction of some of the leading and most influential papers of the day. In the United States there were Adolph S. *Ochs and Arthur Hays *Sulzberger of *The New York Times*, Joseph *Pulitzer of the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch, The World*, and the *Evening World*, and Samuel *Newhouse, newspaper chain owner; in Germany, Leopold *Ullstein and Bernhard *Wolff; in Britain, Baron Paul Julius *Reuter of the news agency bearing his name, Lord *Southwood of the *Daily Herald*, and Joseph Moses Levy and his son Lord Burnham (see *Lawson family) of the *Daily Telegraph*, the newspaper which, selling at a penny and aiming at popular appeal, started the trend toward brighter newspapers. In the 1890s Rachel *Beer edited two leading London weeklies owned by her husband. The overwhelming majority of publishers and editors, however, were and are non-Jewish, notwithstanding the old canard that the world's press is controlled by Jews. Jews entered the main currents of journalism when they entered the mainstream of life in Europe. In the late 18th century, emancipation broke down the ghetto walls and Jews were able to enter a world from which they had been excluded.

Modern journalism was born after the French and American Revolutions. The freedom to think, to speak, and to write sought expression in the journals then developing, which were read by the rapidly growing educated and semi-educated population of the cities and towns. The Jew emerging from the ghetto was thus in the right place at the right time. German Jews, excluded before 1848 from the professions for which they had been trained, were disproportionately prominent in journalism during this early period and tended to advocate "radical" liberal views. His gift of adaptability permitted the Jew to act as an intermediary, the link between the event and the reader, as the journalist has often been called.

Jewish journalists were active during the 19th century in Austria, Czechoslovakia, Germany, and Hungary, and to a somewhat lesser degree in the United States, England, France, and Romania. Small numbers also worked with the general press in Scandinavia, the Baltic states, Italy, Belgium, Russia, the Netherlands, Spain, Portugal, the Balkans, and Switzerland. Involvement of the Jew in journalism in other areas of the world came later. The activities of Jewish journalists were proscribed, of course, in those countries where antisemitism was practiced officially during the 20th century. Jewish journalists and publishers who led some of Germany's most important newspaper enterprises became the special targets of the Nazis. Some were killed; others fled their homeland to practice their craft in a different land. For at least two decades the voice of Jewish journalists was stilled in Germany and for years also in countries overrun by the Germans.

In the United States, Jews became part of the developing journalism of the new land early in its history. But it took almost a century and a half for any measurable numbers of Jews to enter the profession. Jewish engagement in journalism in the United States began with Mordecai Manuel *Noah, editor of the *Enquirer* in New York. Similarly, in Europe, Jewish participation began almost with the birth of modern journalism.

The impact and influence of Jews on the general press increased markedly during the 19th and 20th centuries. Jews did not work as Jews. In Europe, talented Jewish writers turned to journalism as the best means of expressing themselves. The emancipated mind and spirit often eschewed such traditional forms of expression as poetry and fiction in favor of journalism, which had brightness and novelty. In Germany and Austria, Jewish influence in the new craft was marked by the contributions of such outstanding men as Heinrich *Heine and

Ludwig *Boerne (in the *Augsburger Zeitung*), and Karl *Marx (in the *Rheinische Zeitung*), and by the efforts of Daniel Spitzer (1835–93) and Moritz *Saphir, by the work of Theodore *Herzl, Max *Nordau, and Alfred *Polgar. David Kalisch founded *Kladderadatsch* in 1848 and made it famous as a satirical journal. His collaborator was the poet Rudolf Loewenstein.

Important publishing enterprises were begun by Rudolf *Mosse, who in 1872 founded the *Berliner Tageblatt*; Leopold *Sonnemann, who founded the *Frankfurter Zeitung* in 1856; and Leopold Ullstein, publisher, whose *Morgenpost* reached a circulation of 600,000. Herzl, Nordau, and Spitzer wrote for the *Neue Freie Presse* of Vienna, making it one of the outstanding journals of its day. Eduard Bacher was its publisher. Moritz Saphir published the witty paper *Der Humorist* (1837), and Polgar won a reputation through his contributions to *Die Weltbuehne*. Bernhard Wolff founded the Wolff Telegraphic Bureau in 1848.

This fruitful period of the 19th century was also marked by the journalistic work of Gabriel *Riesser, Johann *Jacoby, and Edward *Lasker. The primary contribution of the most famous of these was in the form of the feuilleton, a personal essay or commentary that has no precise counterpart in present-day journalism. The feuilleton was marked by a highly personal character and a well-developed style. In America only Simeon Strunsky could be said to have reflected this special skill. Several decades later the field attracted such names as Karl *Kraus, Egon Erwin *Kisch, Kurt *Tucholsky, Theodore *Wolff, who served as editor in chief of the *Berliner Tageblatt*, and Georg *Bernhard, editor in chief of the *Vossische Zeitung*. The early 20th century also saw the development of a large group of art, music, and drama critics, such as Alfred *Kerr, who produced a quantity of creative criticism which influenced and fostered the arts.

In Great Britain, first mention of a Jewish journalist is made by Oliver Goldsmith in his *Haunch of Venison* (1776). Emanuel Samuel (d. 1818) contributed to the *Morning Post* as early as 1786 and later worked in *The World*. He is the first Anglo-Jewish journalist on record, followed at the end of the century by Lewis *Goldsmith, a vigorous political writer and propagandist. The contribution of Jews was greater in publishing and organizing than in writing. Men like Ralph D. *Blumenfeld of the *Daily Express*, Lord Burnham (Levy), founder of the *Daily Telegraph*, Paul Julius Reuter, founder of Reuter's news agency, and Lord Southwood (Elias) of the *Daily Herald*, were among the builders of the modern British press. Other important names in British journalism were Sidney *Low, editor of the *St. James Gazette*, Lucien *Wolf, foreign editor of the *Daily Graphic*, Henri Georges Stephane Adolphe Opper de *Blowitz, correspondent of *The Times*, and Bernard Falk, editor of the *Sunday Dispatch*. While a number of leading columnists in the British press in recent years have been Jewish, such as *The Times'* Bernard *Levin, Jewish ownership of the British press in recent decades has been slight, with only the ill-fated period of ownership of the *Daily Mirror* by Robert *Maxwell being an exception. In the 1990s the *Daily Telegraph* was owned by the non-Jewish but strongly pro-Zionist Canadian, Conrad Black (Lord Black of Crossharbour), whose Jewish wife, Barbara Amiel, had an influential pro-Israeli column in the paper.

In France, Jewish journalists were concerned primarily with politics, although several were active in literature. Perhaps the nation's foremost journalist was Leon *Blum, who did his principal journalistic work in the period 1920 to 1939 in such papers as *L'Humanité* and *Le Populaire*. Blum, Joseph *Reinach, and Bernard *Lazare were three of France's greatest journalists at the turn of the 20th century. Other French journalists of repute were Marcel Hutin of *L'Echo de Paris* and *L'Epoque*, Pierre Lazareff, general director of *Paris Soir*, George London of *Le Journal*, Jacques Kayser of *La Dépêche de Toulouse*, Arthur Meyer of *Le Gaulois*, and Louise Weiss of *L'Europe nouvelle*.

In Italy, with its relatively small Jewish population, Jewish journalists made important contributions to the country's liberal movements. Among the most prominent were Cesare Rovighi; Angiolo *Orvieto, who with his brother Adolfo founded the Florentine weekly, *Il Marzocco*; Giacomo Dina, editor of *Opinione*; Salvatore *Barzilai, foreign editor of *La Tribuna*; and Margherita Sarfatti, literary editor of *Il Popolo d'Italia*, who became a member of Mussolini's inner circle.

In Russia and Poland where the suppression of Jews was a continuing governmental policy, several journalists of importance emerged. During the Bolshevik period, many Jewish revolutionaries engaged in newspaper work for political purposes, and Ilya *Ehrenburg won international fame as a journalist of uncommon ability. In Poland the name of Isaac Ignac *Schwarzbart stands out with those of Wilhelm Berkelhammer, Joseph Perl, and Florian Sokolow. Schwarzbart directed the most important paper in Lvov. In Scandinavia, Jews held important posts on papers in Denmark. Among the journalists were Carl *Brandes, who helped to found *Politiken*, M.A. *Goldschmidt, Moritz Nathansen, and Gottlieb Siesby. In Holland, Marcus van Blankenstein, Louis de *Jong, Eduard Elias, Joseph F. Stoppelman, and Arnold Vaz Dias were important.

Jews entered the general Hungarian press during the 1840s when newspapers appeared mainly in German. Active in liberal organs and in the production of pamphlets which preached assimilation, most of them changed their faith. In the revolution of 1848, they attained high posts in the government service. After 1867, the year of "The Compromise" (which ended Austrian domination) and the year of emancipation of Hungarian Jewry, Jews had an important part in the founding of a modern press and its technical organization. Jews worked on almost every paper (except those openly antisemitic), from the nationalist papers which preached complete assimilation for all minorities to the radical and socialist, where the Jews were in a majority. In 1910, out of 1,214 journalists in Hungary, 516 were Jews; but in 1920 their number had dropped to 358, and continued to fall. From 1938 onward Jews were ousted from editorial posts under the provisions of antisemitic legislation; only a small percentage retained their jobs. During the first hours of the German invasion in 1944, the Hungarian Nazis, using prepared lists, hunted down the Jewish journalists still at work and had them sent to the extermination camps. From 1945, during the period of the coalition administration, which was set up after World War II, Jews regained important positions, especially in the socialist and communist press; but after the rise of the communist regime they tried to conceal their Jewish identity.

Unlike the European press (primarily concerned with ideas), the press in the United States focuses its attention on information and news. It is chiefly devoted to reporting the events of the world and not to the propagation of opinions. Jews became active in journalism not long after the first papers made their appearance in the colonies (1704–30). In the first quarter of the 19th century Mordecai Noah was the editor of the *City Gazette* of Charleston, South Carolina and later the editor and publisher of the *New York Enquirer*. Noah also helped James Gordon Bennett to establish the *New York Herald* in 1835. A visionary and dreamer with a Zionist ideal long before the word itself was invented, Noah may be said to have been the first important Jewish journalist in the New World. He was among the first to attempt to enliven his paper for the benefit of the ordinary reader. As in Europe, Jewish journalists participated in all sections – in publishing, chain journalism, circulation techniques, and writing. Their overall numbers are small. Of the 1,800 dailies published in the United States at the end of the 20th century about 50 were owned by Jews, among them some of the most influential – *The New York Times, The Daily News* in New York, and the 22 papers owned by Samuel I. Newhouse.

As on the Continent, it is difficult to define the distinctive Jewish contribution. Most Jewish journalists on the staffs of the general press were entirely integrated into American newspaper routines. An early figure of importance was Edward *Rosewater, who worked during the second half of the 19th century in Nebraska as a correspondent and owner of the *Omaha Bee* (1871). The earliest papers in the New World were commonly called penny papers. They were sensational in their treatment of news, and their attitude was to influence the journalism of two outstanding American Jewish publishers, Joseph Pulitzer and Adolph Ochs, whose papers were among the most important in the nation.

Pulitzer purchased *The New York World* in 1883 after having followed an aggressive policy in earlier penny-paper journalism, both in news and editorial columns. He engaged in numerous crusades, one of the most important of which was the exposure of the mismanagement of life insurance companies in New York City. He introduced political cartoons, striking illustrations, colored pictures, and colored comics. The circulation of *The World* rose and in 1886 it claimed the largest circulation of any newspaper in the United States – 250,000. Pulitzer and William Randolph Hearst, who had purchased the *Morning Journal* in 1895, vied with each other in sensationalism. Their rivalry gave rise to the expression "yellow journalism." Pulitzer was an ardent believer in professional training, and provided a large endowment for a school of journalism, which was opened at Columbia University in 1912, as well as for the prizes in journalism and the arts that bear his name. Adolph Ochs took another road. When he became publisher of *The New York Times*, he issued a statement of purpose under a signature that is still the basic credo of the paper: "… to give the news impartially, without fear or favor, regardless of any party, sect or interest involved…" Ochs recognized that New York was beginning to tire of sensationalism and he promised to give straight news as fast as, or faster than, any other paper. He thought of *The New York Times* as a kind of public institution of which he had only temporary charge, and was fiercely determined that no individual, or favored group, would ever use it selfishly or for self-glorification. When he died he was succeeded by his son-in-law, Arthur Hays *Sulzberger, whose youngest son, Arthur Ochs Sulzberger, became publisher in 1963. His son, Arthur Sulzberger Jr., succeeded him and was publisher and chairman of the board of the New York Times Company, a publicly traded corporation, through the early years of the 21st century. The latter Sulzbergers, along with their advisers and editors, including Executive Editor A.M. *Rosenthal, played prominent roles in putting *The Times* on a sound financial footing, in uncovering government misfeasance, and in furthering the aims of a free press.

In the early 1970s *The Washington Post*, under Katharine Graham, took the lead in exposing an attempted cover-up of the break-in at Democratic Party headquarters in the Watergate office complex in Washington. That reporting, by the team of Robert Woodward and Carl *Bernstein, got Graham's personal backing and eventually resulted in the resignation in 1974 of President Richard M. Nixon in disgrace. During that period, *The New York Times* came into possession of a secret history of the war in Vietnam, which came to be known as the Pentagon Papers when it was published at great length in 1973. The Nixon administration tried to suppress publication of the historic documents and their analyses on the grounds of national security, but the United States Supreme Court upheld the right of the press to publish the information. The case was a landmark ruling against prior restraint of the press, and its champion was *The Times*.

Other important Jewish figures in American journalism include Emanuel Philip Adler who founded the Lee Syndicate, a chain of papers in the Midwest; Eugene *Meyer, former owner of *The Washington Post*; Paul Block (1877–1941), who helped to foster the growth of chain journalism; Moses *Koenigsberg, the creator of the King Features Syndicate; Walter *Annenberg, publisher of *The Philadelphia Inquirer*; J. David *Stern, owner and publisher of papers in Camden, NJ, and Philadelphia; Dorothy *Schiff, owner and publisher of *The New York Post*; Edwin S. Friendly who served on the former *Evening Sun*; Herbert Bayard *Swope of *The World*; and Harry *Golden who, in the 1950s, achieved the distinction of making his *Carolina Israelite* a weekly with general readership. After Dorothy Schiff's death, *The Post* changed hands a few times. The other major New York City newspaper, *The*

Daily News, was bought by Robert Maxwell in 1991 and then, with the paper in bankruptcy, shortly afterward by Mortimer Zuckerman, a Boston builder and the publisher of the magazine *U.S. News and World Report*. *The Post* and *News* became embroiled in a bitter advertising and circulation war in the first years of the 21st century.

Jews scored successes in two special areas of American journalism – commentary on current affairs and the "gossip" column. In the first, Walter *Lippmann, Arthur *Krock, and David *Lawrence commented on domestic and foreign affairs in some of the nation's most important journals, winning attention in world capitals. As gossip columnists, Walter Winchell, Leonard Lyons (d. 1976), Louis Sobol, and Sidney Skolsky (d. 1983) attracted a wide readership and developed an influence by their reporting on the lives of stage and screen personalities, government officials, and public and political figures. Identical twin sisters from the Middle West, Pauline Esther Friedman, writing as Abigail Van Buren, and Esther Pauline *Lederer, writing as Ann Landers, dispensed homespun advice in their newspaper columns, each appearing daily in over 1,200 newspapers and reaching 20 million readers. Each received 10,000 letters a week for help, and both sisters dispensed blunt, common-sense remedies for most of the second half of the 20th century. Other Jewish journalists were active as foreign correspondents and as writers on science, economics, politics, and sports. Among American journalists, Franklin Pierce Adams, Meyer Berger, and Ben *Hecht had especially keen eyes for the unusual. In sketching the human condition they successfully translated the stories of ordinary people into newspaper prose of high quality. As Jews assimilated into the mainstream of American life, they rose to prominent positions in journalism. Rosenthal of *The Times* was succeeded by Max *Frankel, who was succeeded by Joseph *Lelyveld. All had been star reporters and winners of the Pulitzer Prize. And Thomas L. *Friedman of *The Times* became the most influential foreign affairs columnist as well as the first reporter to win a Pulitzer for reporting on Lebanon and another for reporting from Israel. At least one Jewish American journalist lost his life, Daniel *Pearl of *The Wall Street Journal*, while affirming his faith.

The participation of Jews in Latin American journalism began at an early stage of their immigration. Since the publications for which they wrote were oriented toward the Jewish public, the newspapers, journals, and publications in general were in Yiddish during the first years, and with the immigration from Central Europe in the 1930s, also in German. However, publication in Spanish and Portuguese commenced very quickly, and these became the main languages of communication in the community framework with the decline of Yiddish.

Jews were active in general journalism in almost all the Latin American countries. Some of them achieved prominent positions and can be considered pioneers in their field. The first Jewish journalist who published in Argentina in a general daily was Enrique Lipschutz (1864–1937), who wrote in *La Prensa* from 1895. After him, many Jewish journalists and writers published in general newspapers and journals and some of them also became section editors and also chief editors. One of them was Alberto Gerchunoff (1884–1950), who was with the leading daily *La Nación* for 40 years and part of the time was its editor in chief. Other leading journalists were Bernardo Verbitsky (1907–1979) in *El Mundo* (his son Horacio Verbitsky became editor in chief of *Página 12*), Santiago Nudelman (1904–1961) editor in chief of *Crítica* from 1958, and Antonio Portnoy at *La Gaceta*. In the 1960s and 1970s one of the best-known journalists was Jacobo Timerman (1923–1999). In the 1960s he founded and directed two successful current affairs magazines, *Primera Plana* and *Confirmado*, and in 1970 the daily *La Opinión*, which tried to be a new kind of newspaper in the style of the French *Le Monde*. Timerman became known worldwide when was kidnapped by the military junta in 1977. International pressure, especially from the U.S. and Israel, led to his release in 1979. In those years of dictatorship the weekly *Nueva Presencia* (1977) was founded, which started as a Spanish offshoot of the Yiddish daily *Di Prese*. Under the editorship of Herman Schiller, it adopted an opposition stance against the repression in Argentina. This journal became one of the referents of the Argentinean Human Rights Movement, and Schiller, who participated in the organization of the Jewish Movement for Human Rights, was recognized as one of its leaders.

In the early 21st century there were many well-known Jewish journalists who published in the printed press as well as in the electronic media – radio, television, and the internet. These included José Eliaschev, Marcelo Zlotogwiazda, Ernesto Tenenbaum, Roman Lejtman, Martín Liberman, and Juan Pablo Varsky.

Jews were prominent in Chilean journalism. Ana Albala-Levy was editor of *Las Últimas Noticias* of Santiago; her husband, Robert Levy, wrote for many newspapers and journals; Max Dickmann, was literary and managing editor of *El Ateneo* of Santiago and an author of substantial reputation; and Marcos Chamudes was chief editor of the magazine *Política, Economía y Cultura* (PEC) and later of the newspaper *La Nación*.

In Brazil Jews were prominent as journalists as well as entrepreneurs in the news media. One of the most important media companies was Bloch Editores owned by Adolfo Bloch, which at its peak included 25 magazines, among them the famous weekly *Manchete*, six radio stations, and a TV network, *Rede Manchete*. Two important Jewish journalists collaborated in many stages of their career with this group. Zevi Ghivelder (1934–) worked for many years for the magazine *Manchete* and directed the news magazine on its TV network, also publishing numerous books that won national prizes. Henrique Veltman (1936–) was editor in chief of Bloch Editores publications from 1971, including the magazine *Manchete*, and was also editor in chief of the most important newspapers of Rio de Janeiro – *Ultima Hora* and *O Globo*. Both of them were much involved in Jewish community life and Zionist action. Also

Naum Sirotzky was editor in chief of *Manchete* in the 1950s. Alberto Dines (1932–), who started his career as a journalist with *Manchete* under Naum Sirotzky, became one of the most prominent and innovative in the field. As a professional who combined writing and news photography, he was editor in chief of many major newspapers, such as *Jornal do Brasil* and the *Folha de São Paulo* branch in Rio de Janeiro. Besides teaching journalism in many universities, he developed a new kind of journalistic criticism in Brazil with *Observatorio da Imprensa* on TV programs and the internet. Diane Kuperman (1949–), a journalist at *Jornal do Brasil* and director of the Instituto de Comunicação Social da Universidade Gama Filho, and Osias Wurman (1950–), a journalist at *O Globo* and *Jornal do Brasil*, were also the leaders of the Jewish Federation of Rio de Janeiro.

Samuel Wainer (1912–1980) is also considered one of the professionals responsible for a revolution in Brazilian journalism. In 1930 he started his career at *Diário de Notícias* and in 1938 he founded the monthly magazine *Diretrizes* with an agenda in politics, culture, and economic affairs. In 1971 he founded the magazine *Domingo Ilustrado* as part of Bloch Editores, and in 1973–75 was editor in chief of *Última Hora* of São Paulo. From 1977 he was a member of the editorial board of *Folha de São Paulo*.

Arnaldo Niskier (1935–) was, in addition to his more than 40 years in journalism, a teacher at the University of Rio de Janeiro State and secretary of the state for science, technology, education, and culture. He was also chairman of the Academia Brasileira de Letras.

One of the most prominent journalists in Mexico was undoubtedly Jacobo Zabludovsky (1928–). He started his career in 1946 as assistant editor of news magazines at Cadena Radio Continental. In 1950, at the very beginning of TV transmissions in Mexico, he initiated the production and direction of the first professional news magazine on Mexican television, and subsequently directed and presented many news magazines. He also directed the cinema news magazine *El Mundo en Marcha*, wrote for the newspapers *Observaciones* and *Novedades*, for the weeklies *Claridades* and *El Redondel*, and from 1959 edited the magazine *Siempre*. He held official posts in radio and television and also wrote many books on politics and the Mexican media and containing interviews with Mexican painters.

There were also important contributors to the local press like Luis Rubio, Ezra Shabot, Enrique Krauze, Hellen Krauze, and Alberto Musacchio, all of them on the daily *Reforma*, and Esther Shabot on *Excelsior*. Enrique Burak and Abraham Faitelson are sports journalists on TV.

In Canada, Jews were prominent in all facets of the journalism professions, and in ways unimaginable even 30 years ago. In 2000, the Asper family acquired the Hollinger media holdings, thereby controlling a large number of newspapers both in Canada and abroad, including the *National Post*, one of Canada's two English-language newspapers. They also own Global Television Network, Canada's second large independent television network. Another Jew, Edward Greenspon, is the editor in chief of Canada's other major national English language paper, *The Globe and Mail*. Michael Goldbloom is the current publisher of the Toronto *Star*, which is the largest mass circulation newspaper in Canada. Jews are also prominent as reporters, columnists, and feature writers in newspapers across the country, and have achieved a high profile in the electronic media. Peter C. Newman, Joe Schlesinger, William Weintraub, Barbara Frum, Simma Holt, Robert Matas, Michelle Landsberg, Rick Salutin, Ralph Benmergui, Avi Lewis, and Naomi Klein, to name only a few over the last four decades, have become journalistic icons in Canada.

In Australia, an outstanding newspaper owner and builder was Theodore *Fink. In recent decades, none of Australia's newspapers had a Jewish owner, although Michael Gawenda, a Melbourne Jew, was editor of the *Melbourne Age* from 1996 to 2004.

In South Africa, the leading weekly *The Sunday Times* was edited (1912–40) by J. Langley Levy. From 1960 the same paper was edited by Joel Mervis and its companion paper the *Sunday Express* by Meyer Albert "Johnny" Johnson from 1961. Johnson subsequently assumed the editorship of the conservative daily *The Citizen* in 1979. In 1987, the left-leaning weekly *Weekly Mail* (later *Mail & Guardian*) was founded by Irwin Manoim and Anton Harber.

[Kalman Seigel / Stewart Kampel, Richard Menkis, Harold Troper, William D. Rubinstein, David Saks, and Efraim Zadoff (2nd ed.)]

JOY, a term used to render into English a number of Hebrew words expressing a response of pleasure to persons, things, situations, and acts. Commenting on the phrase, "We will be glad and rejoice in thee," the Midrash (Song R. 1:4) notes that there are ten words used in the Bible to describe Israel's pleasurable response: "Israel is summoned by ten expressions of rejoicing, *gilah*, *sisah*, *simḥah*, *rinnah*, *piẓḥah*, *ẓahalah*, *alẓah*, *alizah*, *ḥedvah*, *teru'ah*." The primary root used is *smḥ*, occurring as a verb and as a noun. On the level of interpersonal relationships it covers a range from sexual enjoyment: "and have your pleasure [*u-semaḥ*] with the wife of your youth" (Prov. 5:18); to a satisfactory political arrangement: "rejoice in Abimelech and let him rejoice in you" (Judg. 9:19); and social status: "there is nothing better for a man than to be happy in what he is doing, since that is his lot" (Eccles. 3:22). This word also refers to a particular response on the part of man, as when letters and gifts were sent by the king of Babylon, "and Hezekiah was pleased [*va-yismaḥ*] with them" (Isa. 39:2). There is, too, a kind of joy which is judged negatively: "Rejoice not [i.e., have not malicious joy; *a'l tismeḥi*] against me, O mine enemy" (Micah 7:8); "because you clapped your hand and stamped your foot and rejoiced [*va-tismaḥ*] with all your disdain against the land of Israel" (Ezek. 25:6).

The Bible often warns that purely worldly pleasure brings sorrow, tears, and suffering: "Even in laughter the heart acheth; and the end of mirth is heaviness" (Prov. 14:13). Joy is, however, not an emotion experienced solely on this level. It is viewed in the Bible as a true response to divine action: "I rejoice in your saving action" (I Sam. 2:1); "Be glad and rejoice, for the Lord has done great things" (Joel 2:21). Man's presence in the Temple was considered reason for such a response: "And you shall rejoice before the Lord seven days" (Lev. 23:40); "I rejoiced when they said unto me; let us go into the house of the Lord" (Ps. 122:1). The divine commandments, too, are viewed as a source of human joy (Ps. 19:9). In addition, even nature is called upon to respond joyfully to the divine presence (I Chron. 16:31–33; Ps. 97:1). Joy is even thought of as a response which is proper to God: "Let the Lord rejoice in His works" (Ps. 104:31), and its absence is caused by human misbehavior: "Therefore the Lord shall have no joy in their young men" (Isa. 9:17).

The biblical themes were taken over by rabbinic Judaism and developed in terms of the changed and changing situations of the community. This is particularly noticeable in the period following the destruction of the Temple. The disasters of the period, reflected in extra-biblical literature as well, provided an impulse for a negative judgment on life in the world, and the rise of radical asceticism. Thus rabbinic Judaism warned against the rejection of the world, but at the same time against making the world the sole source of joy. R. Eliezer ha-Kappara viewed self-affliction, i.e., refraining from legitimate pleasure, as a sin similar to that for which the Nazirite was required to bring an atoning sacrifice (Sif. Num. 30; see *Asceticism). Some rabbis went so far as to say that, "He who has seen something pleasant and not enjoyed it will be held responsible" (Yal. Ps. 688). However, the truest source of joy was understood to lie in the performance of the divine commandments (*mitzvot*). In connection with the apparent contradiction between Ecclesiastes 8:15: "then I commended joy," and 2:2: "and of joy I said what does it accomplish?" it was taught (Shab. 30b) that the first phrase refers to the joy present in the performance of a commandment (*simḥah shel mitzvah*), while the second refers to joy which is unconnected with such an act. It must be noted, therefore, that Judaism in this period, while rejecting radical asceticism, did not endorse sensualism. Perhaps the best statement of the disciplined joy prescribed by rabbinic Judaism is found in the comment on Deuteronomy 14:2: "'For you are a people consecrated to God.' Sanctify yourselves even in that permitted you: things allowed to you, but forbidden to others, do not regard as permissible in their presence" (Sif. Deut. 104; see C. Montefiore and H. Loewe, *A Rabbinic Anthology* (1963), 202–3, 523–9). Joy was stressed in many aspects of Jewish life, especially those concerned with the observance of practical commandments. In public observances it was particularly connected with the Sabbath and certain festivals including *Purim, *Sukkot, and *Simḥat Torah – in Temple times – with the Water Drawing Festival (of which it was said that a person who had not witnessed this festival had never witnessed real joy; Suk. 5:1), and in the modern period, with Israel Independence Day. In private circles, there were many joyous occasions of which the outstanding were the circumcision, bar mitzvah, and wedding ceremonies and festivities. Matrimony was regarded as a precondition for happiness and "the man who lives without a wife lives without joy" (Yev. 62b).

While the element of joy was never totally absent from the life of the Jewish community (see I. Abrahams, *Jewish Life in the Middle Ages* (1932), passim), ascetic and restrictive attitudes and practices did hold sway during the Middle Ages.

In the pietist revival of 18th century *Ḥasidism, the emotional quality of joy was once again renewed. Thus, while eating, drinking, sleeping, and the other ordinary functions of the body are regarded by the older Jewish moralists as mere means to an end, to the Ba'al Shem Tov, Ḥasidism's founder, they are a service of God in themselves: "All pleasures are manifestations of God's attribute of love" (S. Schechter, *Studies in Judaism*, 1 (1911), 28). For the Ba'al Shem Tov "weeping is evil indeed, for man should serve God with joy. But if one weeps for joy, tears are commendable" (L.I. Newman and S. Spitz, *The hasidic Anthology* (1963), 204). More than a hundred years later, R. *Ḥanokh of Aleksandrow underscored Ḥasidism's emphasis on joy with these words: "Do you wish to know how important it is to be full of joy at all times? Moses enumerated a long series of curses (Deut. 28) and then remarked in verse 47, 'because you did not serve the Lord your God with joyfulness, and with gladness of heart'" (Newman and Spitz, 202).

Hermann Cohen (*Religion der Vernunft* (1929), 540) saw in the joy of the Sabbath "the symbol of the joy that will spread throughout humanity when all men will be free and ready to serve in the same way…" It is this joy, the joy of the messianic era, that will disclose the reality of peace as a dynamic quality of the human spirit.

[Lou H. Silberman]

JÓZEFOWICZ (also **Ezofovich**), family of financiers prominent in Lithuania during the early 16th century. Its founder, JOSEF RABCHIK (Rebi), from whom the additional name of the family Rabinkovich (Rebichkovich) derives, was the tax collector of Kiev. In 1482, after the capture of Kiev by the Tatars, he settled first in Lutsk and later in Brest-Litovsk, where he continued to engage in commerce and the leasing of the state incomes. Of his three sons, ABRAHAM JAN EZOFOVICH (c. 1450–1519), was a merchant and tax collector and successful head of the treasury (*Podskarbik Litewski*) of the grand duchy of Lithuania (1509–18). Having left Kiev with his father in about 1488, he became an apostate, converting to the Orthodox Church, and entered the service of the grand duke of Lithuania. In 1494 he was appointed commander of the fortress of Kovno. From 1496 he leased or administered customs stations and the collection of taxes in Smolensk, Polotsk, Minsk, Novogrudok, Kovno, and Vilna. Over the years he accumulated a vast fortune, in part from the income derived from gifts of land granted him by the grand duke. From 1507 he served as court banker in Lithuania for King Sigismund I, when he was granted a title of nobility. During the last years of his life, Abraham acquired, with the consent of the king, additional estates in various places, and even ownership of the town of Solec in the province of Sandomierz, in Poland. In 1519 the king still owed Abraham the sum of 12,000 zlotys. He left two sons and a daughter who became Catholics.

His brother MICHAEL EZOFOVICH (d. c. 1529), merchant, banker, and agent of King Sigismund I, was also appointed the elder (senior) of the Jews of Lithuania. Until 1519 he traded in grain, wax, textiles, furs, jewelry, and ironware in partnership with his brother Isaac. When the partnership was liquidated they owned, in addition to valuables and large amounts of money, considerable real estate in houses and lands. The apportionment of these between the brothers was confirmed by the king in 1527 upon the request of Isaac Ezofovich. Michael Ezofovich became one of the leading tax collectors and lessees of the state incomes of his time. At first he supervised the customs administration of Brest-Litovsk (1506) and the provinces of Volhynia and Podolia. Later, in conjunction with partners, he rented the state incomes in additional provinces. After the death of his brother, Abraham Jan, the king effectually appointed him over the customs administration of the whole country. He succeeded in raising the revenues by carrying out stringent controls on the roads. To strengthen his position, his headquarters and residence were established in the fortress of Brest-Litovsk. He granted loans in exchange for pledges in real estate. In 1514, by royal authorization, Michael built a bridge over the River Bug, near the town of Drohiczyn, and was granted the right to collect tolls. In 1514 he was appointed elder (senior) of the Jews of Lithuania to facilitate tax collection and impose a central leadership over the Jews of the grand duchy. The same considerations motivated the appointment of *Abraham Judaeus Bohemus and Moses *Fishel in Poland. Despite the wide powers granted to them, and their activity on behalf of the community, the appointed leadership was resented by the Jews and failed to gain their acceptance. Michael did much for the Brest-Litovsk community, which was to become the most important in Lithuania, thanks to the foundation laid by him. Of his sons are known Moses (who held rabbinical office), Abraham, Chemio, and Ducko (David?).

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[Arthur Cygielman]

JUAN (Poeta), DE VALLADOLID (c. 1420–after 1470), Spanish *Marrano poet, nicknamed "el judío." As many of the 15th-century cancioneros clearly show, Juan Poeta was long a center of controversy and a butt for satire, owing to the ambiguity of his religious position. Antón de *Montoro sneered at his humble origins, while others maintained that he was "neither a Jew nor a Christian, but an excellent Marrano." He is reputed to have been an astrologer and to have enjoyed the favor of Queen Isabella. While on a voyage to the Holy Land, Juan Poeta was said to have been captured by Moslems and to have embraced Islam, for which reason he was bitterly attacked by Gómez Manrique. Like other members of his family, Juan Poeta seems to have retained or reverted to his ancestral Jewish traditions, at least after he left Spain. He was one of the group of poets associated with Alfonso V of Aragon in Naples, and a number of his poems appear in the *Cancionero* of Juan Alfonso de *Baena and in other collections of the period.

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JUAN DE CIUDAD (15th century), Castilian Converso. In 1465 Juan and his son arrived at Huesca in Aragon, then the main center in Spain of Jewish activities for encouraging Conversos to return to Judaism. Juan approached the *ḥakham* Abraham *Bibago and his circle, and after they had become convinced of his sincerity, he and his son were circumcised in a festive ceremony. Subsequently they immigrated to Ereẓ Israel, as customary among many Conversos who regarded this as a means of atonement for adopting Christianity. In 1489 the community of Huesca was charged by the Inquisition with helping Conversos to return to Judaism, the chief indictment being responsibility for the reversion of Juan de Ciudad. The inquisitors arrested the Jews who had been present at the circumcision ceremony, including prominent members of the community such as R. Isaac *Bibago, the brother of Abraham, R. Abraham Almosnino, and others, who confessed their action under torture. At the end of that year the accused were sentenced and burned alive, except Isaac Bibago, who in return for adopting Christianity was strangled before being committed to the pyre.

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JUAN DE ESPAÑA (El Viejo; c. 1350–c. 1420), Spanish Marrano poet and controversialist. Born in Villamartín, Juan de España apparently embraced Christianity under the impact of the preaching of Vicente *Ferrer, but may also have been influenced by the arguments presented by the apostate Geronimo de Santa Fé at the Tortosa disputation (1413–14). An accomplished talmudist, Juan de España became a fervent apologist for his adopted faith and turned his rabbinic knowledge against the Jews. His experiences and opinions are contained in the *Memorial de los misterios de Christo* (1416), the original manuscript of which is in the Madrid National Library. His *Declaración del Salmo LXXII del Salterio* also bears the stamp of wide learning.

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JUBAL (Heb. יוּבָל), son of Lamech and Adah; mythical culture hero, inventor of "the lyre and the pipe" (Gen. 4:21) in the seventh generation after Adam.

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JUBAR (**Djobar**), village N.E. of *Damascus; settled by an ancient Mustarabian (Arabic-speaking) Jewish community which was frequently mentioned by early travelers, such as *Pethahiah of Regensburg (1180) and Samuel b. Samson (1211). The community owned fields, orchards, and vineyards; in addition to farming, the Jews of Jubar worked as artisans and were engaged in commerce and peddling in the nearby villages. After the expulsion of the Jews from Spain, several families settled in Jubar. At the beginning of the 16th century the village had a population of approximately 60 families. There is an ancient synagogue located on top of a cave which tradition associates with the prophet Elisha. Damascus Jews attributed special powers to the synagogue and it was customary for them to hold Sabbath prayers there. The synagogue possessed a "Tāj," or "*Keter Torah*," i.e., an illuminated Hebrew Bible on vellum, written in 1252. The place is sacred to the *Karaites also. In the 20th century Jews ceased living there, but a beadle remained in charge of the synagogue and the large cemetery. Residents of Damascus and Jewish visitors from abroad continued their pilgrimages to the synagogue and the village; according to reports, there are several deeper layers of graves and tombstones underneath the visible tombstones in the cemetery, which date back to the early Jewish settlement.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: I. Ben-Zvi, *Meḥkarim u-Mekorot* (1966), 578–81; idem, *She'ar Yashuv* (1965), 484–8.

[Abraham Haim]

JUBAYL (**Djubayl, Jubail, Gebal-Byblos**), a small town N. of *Beirut, *Lebanon. When Jubayl was annexed to the military province (*Jund*) of *Damascus at the beginning of the Muslim rule, there was a medium-sized Jewish community some of whose members were wealthy merchants. When the *Fatimid caliph al-Ḥākim issued (c. 1010) his decrees against the Jews and Christians, the Jews of Jubayl had their synagogue seized from them but were later authorized to rebuild it. In a document of the late 11th century, the community is mentioned as one of those visited by the messengers of the *nasi* *David b. Daniel in their attempt to gain recognition for him as exilarch. *Benjamin of Tudela found some 150 Jews in the town during the period of Genoese rule in the 12th century. Some documents concerning the Jews of Jubayl were found in the Cairo **Genizah*. After the return of the town to Muslim rule, the Jewish population decreased in numbers until it finally disappeared.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Mann, Egypt, 1 (1920), 73; Braslawski, in: *Eretz Israel*, 1 (1951), 155–7.

[Eliyahu Ashtor]

JUBILEES, BOOK OF, pseudepigraphic work dating from the middle of the Second Temple period. It purports to be the secret revelation of the angel of the "Divine Presence" to Moses, upon his second ascent to Mount Sinai.

Names

The original title of the book seems to have been: "Book of the Divisions of the Seasons According to their Jubilees and their Weeks" (see R.H. Charles (ed.), *Fragments of a Zadokite Work* (1912), 20:1). It was later shortened to "The Jubilees" (οὶ ʻΙωβηλαῖοι or τά ʼΙωβηλάῖα) or "The Little Genesis" (ὴ λεπτὴ Γένεσις), but it was also given such incorrect titles as "The Testament of Moses," and "The Apocalypse of Moses." Although the original language of the book was Hebrew, all the extant versions (Latin, Ethiopic) are translations from the Greek, as is clearly evident from the exegesis of the proper names, scribal errors, etc. Several fragments, apparently in the original Hebrew, have been found in the Qumran caves.

Contents

The book is in the form of a monologue in the first person on the part of the angel of the "Divine Presence," in which he recapitulates the contents of the Bible, at the same time providing an exact date for the events and stories, calculated according to the jubilee year, the sabbatical year and the year of the sabbatical cycle, and sometimes giving even the month and the day. Occasionally he remains entirely faithful to the biblical narrative, but more often he makes changes. He adds material, deletes, gives novel and different reasons for occurrences, and also adds names of wives to those of the men mentioned in the biblical narrative. Besides the new aggadic material (only some of which is hinted at or contained in talmudic and traditional midrashic sources), the author also makes halakhic innovations. According to the author, the Commandments were written on the "tables of heaven" before they were given to man. Some of them (such as circumcision, the Sabbath, and Shavuot) are also performed by the angels, and some were also kept by the patriarchs. The reasons given for the commandments frequently differ from those found in the Bible. In contrast to the traditional view, Shavuot is said to commemorate the renewal of the covenant between God and man after the Flood (6:17); Noah and his descendants, as well as Abraham and Jacob, already observed it; Sukkot is said to have already been celebrated by the patriarch Abraham (16:21–31), and the "Eighth Day of Assembly" (Shemini Aẓeret) to have been instituted by Jacob (when he received the appellation "Israel"). The Day of Atonement was also given a "historical" etiology, it being the day that Joseph was sold (34:18–19). The hallowed position of the tribe of Levi is also explained – not as due to their zeal at the time of the transgression of the Golden Calf (Ex. 32:29 et al.), but as a reward for the action of Levi in Shechem, where they killed those guilty of immoral conduct (30:17–20; 32:1–3).

The book opposes all intimacy with gentiles (22:16; 25:5) and is extremely stringent in its interpretation of the Sabbath laws. It even opposes mandatory fighting and sexual intercourse on the Sabbath. According to it, even slaves are obligated to fulfill the commandment of dwelling in *sukkot* (16:21). Like the rabbinical *halakhah* (cf. Mishnah Rosh Ha-Shanah 1:1), the author is cognizant of four different "new years," but neither all the dates nor the significance ascribed to them are identical. His four new years are the first day of the first, the fourth, the seventh, and the tenth months. Their significance is not a function of normal agricultural life but, rather, of cosmic events which occurred at the time of the Flood (the beginning of the construction of the ark and the day when the land became dry after the Flood; the day when the mouths of the depths of the abyss of the earth were opened and the waters began to descend into them; and the day when the tops of the mountains became visible: 6:15–28). The date of Shavuot is fixed in accord with the interpretation that "the morrow of the Sabbath" (Lev. 23:16) refers to the first Sunday after Passover, so that it always fell on Sunday. It is mainly for this reason that the author ordained the use of the solar *calendar (already familiar from the Book of *Enoch and the *Dead Sea Scrolls), which contained exactly 52 weeks, each month having 30 days except for the third, the sixth, the ninth, and the twelfth months which have 31. In contrast to the *Pharisees (who also disagreed with this interpretation of "on the morrow of the Sabbath"), Jubilees maintains the literal observance of the phrase "an eye for an eye." Neither does the author believe in the Pharisaic doctrine of the resurrection of the dead, but only in the immortality of the soul (23:31) and, again in contrast to the Pharisees, he lays stress on the deterministic element in human affairs. Angels (both good and bad) rule the world, but the war between good and evil will continue until "the day of judgment." At the end of days, the author envisions a Messiah from the tribe of Judah (31:12f.) and another from the tribe of Levi.

The biblical text reflected in the work is not always identical with the Masoretic Text. Sometimes it parallels that of the Septuagint and sometimes the Samaritan text, e.g., in the calculations connected with the enumeration of the ten generations from Adam to Noah. In view of this, as well as several other points which also differ from the traditional interpretation, it is obvious that the author was not a Pharisee (nor do his *halakhot* represent any stage of "early halakhic development"). The author's views are similar to those found in the First Book of Enoch and, to a lesser extent, in the Testaments of the Twelve *Patriarchs.

Influence

Jubilees is mentioned in the literature of the community of *Qumran, and fragments of it were found in the Qumran caves. Its ideological tenets are similar to those of the community of Qumran (the immortality of the soul, the calendar, and the hegemony of Belial in the mundane sphere). In short, it was most probably one of the basic texts written and used by this sect – which was apparently early *Essene (see *Dead Sea Sect). From several details concerning events which he relates, and from the particular religious prescriptions which he stresses – for example, he "knows" that the children of Israel will abandon the ordinance of circumcision (15:33) and that the children of Israel will acquire hegemony over the Philistine cities (24:28–32; cf. I Macc. 5:68; Ex. 84) and over Idumea (38:14) – the author seems to have lived at the end of John Hyrcanus' reign (135–104 B.C.E). The book greatly influenced later midrashic literature (*Midrash Tadsheh; Pirkei de-Rabbi Eliezer; Genesis Rabbati*). It is the source of the legend found in the famous liturgical *piyyut* ("*Elleh Ezkerah*") recited on the Day of Atonement, according to which Joseph was sold by his brethren on the Day of Atonement. The book had a particularly great influence over *Beta Israel, whose ritual observances and whose calendar (particularly in respect to the date of Shavuot) are based upon it.

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[Yehoshua M. Grintz]

JUDA, WALTER (1916–), U.S. inventor. Born in Berlin, Juda settled in the U.S. in 1939. He did research and development at the Harvard Chemistry Department from 1939 to 1948, including production of novel fungicides and fire-retardants for the war effort (1940–45) and a brackish water desalination prototype plant tested at the Weizmann Institute in the winter of 1947–48. He joined the division of industrial cooperation at the Massachussets Institute of Technology and co-founded Ionics Inc. In 1948 he became its executive vice president and technical director, until 1960, pioneering water desalting by electrodialysis; he also was a consultant to the Oak Ridge National Laboratory in 1951–54. Juda founded and ran the Prototech Company from 1960 to 1992, developing and producing gas electrodes (for electrolysis applications and fuel cells) and air pollution control catalysts. Prototech sold its electrochemistry business in 1990 and its catalyst businesses in 1992. From 1992, his third company, Hy9 Corporation (formerly Walter Juda Associates, Inc.), developed new hydrogen generation technology.

[Gali Rotstein (2nd ed.)]

JUDAESAPTAN, legendary kingdom in Austria. The legend, first printed in Hagen's chronicle (15th century), relates how the Jew Abraham of Theomanaria arrived in Austria 860 years after the flood and founded the kingdom of Judaesaptan with its capital, Stockerau; there he reigned for 33 years, while his sons ruled as tetrarchs in Korneuburg, Tulln, and Vienna. The 16th-century historian, Wolfgang Lazius, attempted to establish the truth of the legend (which was considered historic fact even in 1738) by interpreting Hebrew inscriptions on tombstones. Another version speaks of two men, Saunas and Juda Saptai, who established the kingdom in 1700 B.C.E. Yet another version credits them with the founding of Vienna.

One chronicle enumerates 72 Jewish princes, ruling in Austria until 200 B.C.E.

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JUDAH (Heb. יְהוּדָה), fourth son of Jacob and Leah. The biblical explanation of the name Judah connects it with "thanksgiving" and "praise" (Heb. אוֹדֶה, *o'deh*; Gen. 29:35). However, if one compares the names Judith (Gen. 26:34) and Jahdai (I Chron. 2:47) it is clear that this explanation is a popular etymology. According to Yeivin, the name is derived from the Arabic root *whd* (Heb. *yhd*), which yields, for example, the Arabic noun *wahd*, meaning "low ground." The name originated either in the tribe's connection with the land west of the hill country of Judah (the lowland; see below), or in its original lowly social status. As to the latter, the traditional placing of Judah fourth in the first group of Leah's sons should be noted, as well as his Canaanite matrimonial connections (see below). These indicate that the tribe once had a low social status, having contained more non-Israelite elements than any other tribe. It was only subsequently that Judah acquired an honorable and leading place for itself by virtue of its size and its political activity.

Judah in the Pentateuch

Apart from the sons of Rachel (Joseph and Benjamin), Judah is one of the few of Jacob's children (see *Reuben, *Simeon) about whom the traditions of the patriarchal period speak in detail. They tell first and foremost of his marriage to the daughter of a Canaanite named Shua who bore him three sons (Gen. 38). Although they reached adolescence, two of his sons (see *Onan, *Er) had no descendants, while the third, *Shelah, had many children and grandchildren (I Chron. 4:21ff.). In connection with the childless marriages of Judah's older sons, tradition recounts the affair of *Tamar who bore Judah *Perez and *Zerah, the main ancestors of the tribe of Judah. In the *Joseph stories an important role is ascribed to Judah as spokesman for the sons of Jacob (Gen. 37:26; 43:3–5, 8–10; 44:16–34). In the first census in the wilderness (Num. 1:27; 2:4), the tribe numbered 74,600 and had the largest population of the tribes of Israel. In the second census the tribe numbered five families of 76,500 souls (26:19–22), and was again the largest. In the camping and marching arrangements, "the standard [or division] of the camp of Judah," comprising Judah, Issachar, and Zebulun, camped on the eastern side of the Tabernacle and marched at the head of the host (Num. 2:1–9; 10:14–16). (On Judah in the blessings of Jacob and Moses, see below.)

History of the Tribe

*Othniel son of Kenaz, a descendant of Judah, was regarded as the first judge (Judg. 3:4ff.), but this narrative is to be connected, it seems, with the end of the conquest and the settlement of Debir and its vicinity by the sons of Kenaz (cf. Judg. 1:11ff.; see *Cush, *Cushan Rishathaim, and the Book of *Joshua). If this passage be disregarded, no explicit mention of the tribe of Judah is to be found during the greater part of the period of the Judges. In the Song of Deborah the tribe of Judah is not mentioned, although ten of the tribes are enumerated. During this period of 200 years or more (c. 1250–1030 B.C.E.), the Judahite patriarchal families settled in the mountains, in the Shephelah, and in the pasture lands of the wilderness of Judah. It seems that they also had border skirmishes with the Philistines. At the beginning of the Philistine penetration of the coastal strip the Judahites were capable of inflicting local defeats upon them, apparently in concert with the pre-Israelite elements who dwelt in the Shephelah. The deeds of *Shamgar son of Anath, alluded to in two verses of the Book of Judges (3:31; 5:6), belong, as far as can be seen, to this stage of the struggle. However, once the Philistines were entrenched in the coastal strip and began to extend the area of their rule to the hinterland, they imposed their authority over the whole of the Shephelah and Wadi Sorek, as far as the approaches of the mountains (cf. Judg. 14–16); they also settled, as far as one can tell, in the northwestern part of the Negev (cf. "Negev of the Cherethites," I Sam. 30:14). On the other hand, it appears that in the course of time the Judahites succeeded in checking the advance of the Jebusite kingdom in the north and in depriving it of very extensive areas, until they were able to break through toward the northwest and to penetrate into the area in which the Danites first settled before their northward migration. Here they came into conflict with the Benjamites who also wanted to take possession of the Danite inheritance. This rivalry fanned the quarrels between Benjamin on one side and Judah and Ephraim on the other. At the close of the era of the judges (c. 1070 B.C.E.) it led to the fratricidal war between Benjamin and its two neighbors to the north and the south, who were also apparently joined by many units from some of the other tribes of Israel (see *Gibeah; *History; *Judges, Book of). As a result of the defeat of the Benjamites, the Israelite opposition to the Philistine invaders was weakened, and the latter now ruled over almost the entire mountain area of western Israel (c. 1050 B.C.E.).

It seems that while the Judeans were establishing themselves in western Canaan, the tribes of *Reuben, *Simeon, and *Levi were simultaneously spreading southward over the hill country of Judah. However, the Judahites, who where more numerous, did not allow them to settle in their midst. In the course of time, apparently after the Moabites had been defeated by *Ehud son of Gera, the Reubenites crossed eastward into Transjordan and settled the territory between the wadis Jabbok and Arnon, while the Simeonites and Levites were squeezed together on the periphery of Judah's territory in the northern Negev. The close tie with the tribe of Simeon is evidenced also by the fact that its inheritance was actually included within the borders of Judah.

When the Benjamites recovered from their defeat at the hands of the Judahites and took the leading position in the struggle against the domination of the Philistines, Judah par-

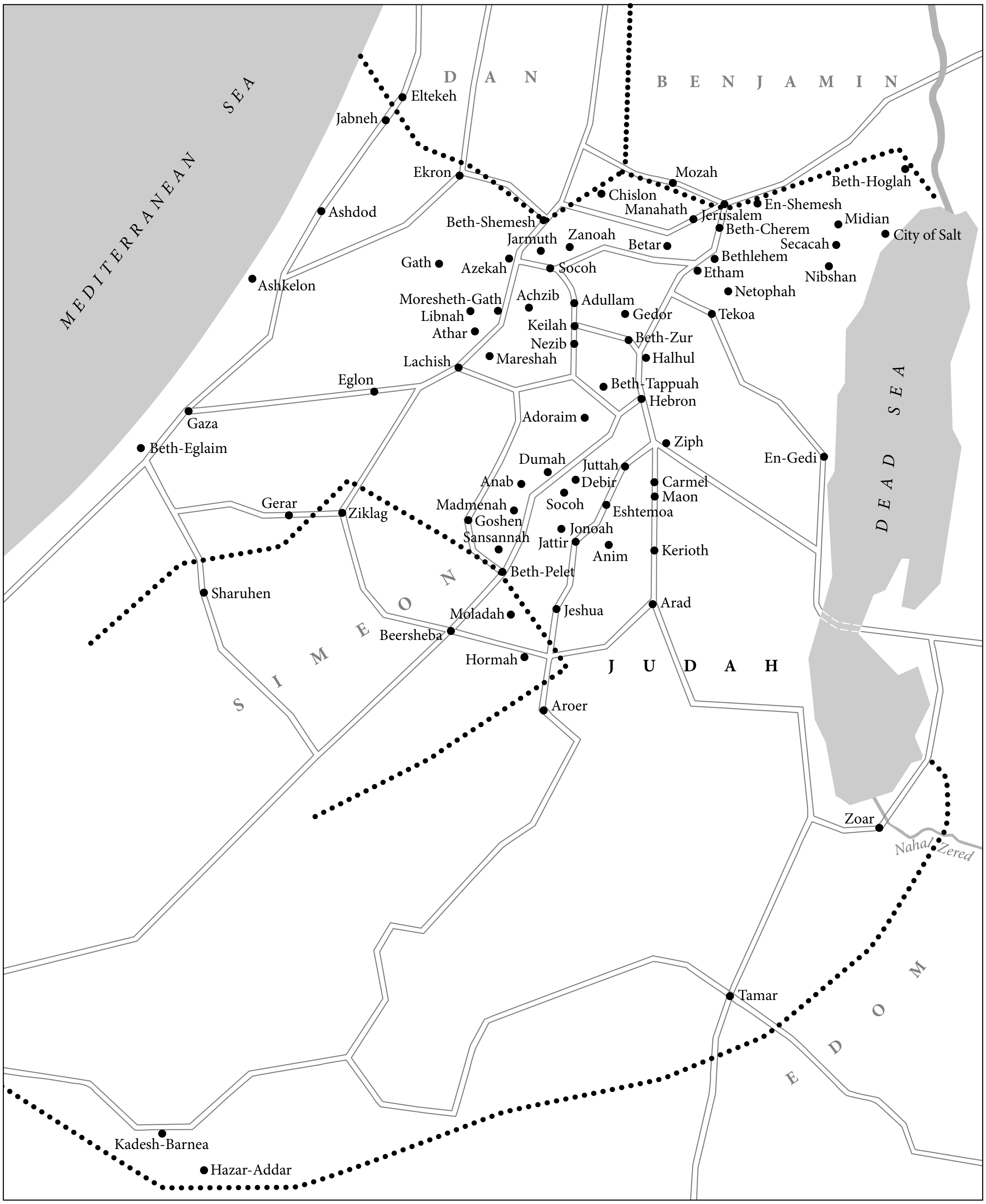
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SIMEON
Moladah
Jeshua
Arad
Beersheba
Hormah
JUDAH
Aroer
Zoar
Nahal Zered
Tamar
EDOM
Kadesh-Barnea
Hazar-Addar

Territory of the tribe of Judah. After Y. Aharoni in Lexicon Biblicum, *Dvir, Tel Aviv, 1965.*

ticipated actively in this war. With the ascendancy of David, the main initiative passed into Judahite hands, a situation reflected in the blessing of Jacob: "The scepter shall not depart from Judah, nor the ruler's staff from between his feet" (Gen. 49:10). This blessing also extols the economic and political status of the tribe (49:8ff.). This text has apparently to be assigned to the time of the united kingdom. Since Levi's office is not mentioned it can be dated to the second half of David's reign (see *Gad, *David), but before the appointment of the Levites to their religious administrative offices (see *Levi). The blessing of Moses, on the other hand, attaches no particular importance to Judah who is alluded to being outside the circle of the other tribes of Israel (Deut. 33:7). This seems to describe the situation from the Israelite point of view in the first years of the reign of *Jeroboam son of Nebat.

Land of Judah

The use of the expression "land of Judah" (Heb. אֶרֶץ יְהוּדָה, *Ereẓ Yehudah*) is not uniform in the Bible. In Deuteronomy 34:2 it serves to indicate the southern part of the hill country west of the Jordan – in contrast to Galilee, the hill country of Ephraim, and the *Negev – and includes the whole area between the plain of the Jordan and the Mediterranean Sea. In other passages it seems to indicate only the tribal territory of Judah (cf. I Sam. 22:5; Ruth 1:7). From the dissolution of the union between Israel and Judah to the fall of the latter, "Judah" designates the kingdom of Judah (cf. I Kings 19:3 with 12:17), and after the return to Zion it signifies the province of Judah (cf. Zech. 2:4; for the political transformations of the expression, see *Israel, Names of). The territory of the tribe is delineated in Joshua 15:1–12. The southern boundary passed from the southern end of the Dead Sea in the Arabah by way of the ascent of Akrabbim, skirted the oasis of *Kadesh-Barnea, and ran with the Wadi of Egypt to the Mediterranean Sea. This line corresponds to the southern boundary of the land of Canaan (cf. Num. 34:3–5). The eastern boundary ran along the shore of the Dead Sea from its southern tip to the mouth of the Jordan. The northern boundary was so drawn as to include within Judah Beth-Hoglah and Beth-Arabah in the western plain of the Jordan. From here it ascended by way of the valley of *Achor and the ascent of Adummim to *En-Rogel, passed through the valley of Ben-Hinnom up to the northern extremity of the valley of *Rephaim, and, progressing by way of the waters of Nephtoah, extended through *Kiriath-Je'arim, Chislon, and *Beth-Shemesh to *Timnah through the Wadi *Sorek, continuing along the southern edge of the wadi until it emptied into the Mediterranean Sea. The western border was the seashore between Wadi Sorek (Wādi Rūbīn) and the Brook of Egypt (Wadi el-Arish). From the enumeration of the Judahite towns (Josh. 15:21–61), which follows the delineation of the boundaries, it would seem that the list was drawn up in the reign of King *Jehoshaphat and expanded in the wake of the conquests of King *Uzziah (Azariah). The last verse (Josh. 15:63) appears to be a gloss by a later editor made to correlate the record before him with the situation at the time of the Judges. This list of cities comprises only ten compact groups, if verses 45 to 47 are excluded. These verses are exceptional in that they do not give a complete enumeration of towns, but merely indicate city-territories (in Philistia), and the usual total at the end is missing. In the enumeration of the towns of Benjamin (Josh. 18:21–28), on the other hand, we have two further compact groups of towns (18:21–24, 25–28). Clearly these combined compact enumerations of Judahite and Benjamite towns are simply an exact marking of the twelve administrative divisions of the kingdom of Judah which included the territories of the tribes of Judah, Simeon (cf. Josh. 19:3–7 with 15:27–32), and Benjamin. Attempts have been made to assign the list to the time of Josiah or Hezekiah, but it would seem that the area described can correspond only to the situation in the time of Jehoshaphat. The area ruled by Josiah extended north of the border described in this list and included only part of the addition recorded in verses 42 to 47. In the time of Hezekiah, too, the situation differed both on the northern border and on the west. Moreover, in the Septuagint, there is an additional verse between verses 59 and 60 that enumerates another group of 11 towns in the vicinity of Jerusalem, i.e., it includes an additional administrative division, which was necessary for the economy of the country in a leap year (verse 59a). Some time after the conquests of Uzziah (apparently in the time of *Hezekiah) a later editor, it seems, added verses 45 to 47, listing the king's conquests in the lowland.

The geographical area from south to north included (1) part of the Negev region (cf. also Judg. 1:15 and parallel passages) and the region of Geshur north of it; from west to east (changing according to political circumstances) parts of the coastal plain, the *Shephelah, and the hill country of Judah, which has a Mediterranean climate; (2) and the wilderness of Judah, small areas of the Jordan plain (north of the Dead Sea), and the Arabah (south of the Dead Sea), whose climate is partly arid. The livelihood of the inhabitants of the different regions varied accordingly (rain agriculture, some irrigated agriculture, horticulture; cattle rearing, some exploitation of the natural resources).

[*Encyclopaedia Hebraica*]

In the Aggadah

Judah was honored more than all his brothers in that all descendants of Jacob are called *Yehudim* ("Jews," lit. "Judah-ites"; see *Jew; Gen. R. 98:6). His superiority was recognized by his brothers who appointed him their king (Gen. R. 84:17). Judah earned these distinctions for saving Joseph's life, for his candor in confessing his relationship with *Tamar (Gen. 38:1–27), and for his admirable traits of character. Although it was at his suggestion that *Joseph was sold rather than put to death, Judah should nevertheless have returned him to their father (Gen. R. 85:3). Indeed, his brothers later blamed him for their crime, since they claimed they would have obeyed him had he suggested it (Tanḥ. B., Gen. 181). The subsequent death of his wife and two sons (Gen. 38:7–12) was divine retribution for the suffering he caused his father by selling Joseph (Tanḥ. B., Gen. 209). Judah was sent on ahead of his father to Egypt (Gen. 46:28) to erect a *bet midrash* in Goshen so that Jacob might begin instructing his sons at once after his arrival. This honorable task was a compensation for the wrongful suspicion that he had slain Joseph which Jacob had previously harbored against him (Gen. R. 95:2).

Judah would never have sinned with Tamar, but God sent the "angel of desire" to entice him, for kings and redeemers were destined to issue from this union (Gen. R. 85:8). Judah's father, grandfather, and brothers wished to condemn Tamar, since they felt that she may have found the signet, cord, and staff (Ex. R. 30:19). At first, Judah also wanted to deny his guilt, but he was moved by Tamar's plea that he "acknowledge his Creator and hide not his eyes from her" (Gen. R. 85:11). Judah never separated himself from Tamar after this incident. Because he rescued Tamar and her two sons from death by burning, three of his descendants, Hananiah, Mishael, and Azariah, were later to be delivered from the fiery furnace (Sot. 10b). Judah was the first to institute the levirate marriage when he insisted that Onan marry Er's widow (Gen. R. 85:5).

Judah revealed his profound wisdom when he induced his father to send Benjamin to Egypt. He reasoned that it was doubtful whether Benjamin would be seized, whereas it was certain that without grain they would all die (Gen. R. 91:10). His wisdom is also displayed by his not responding to Joseph's inquiries until he fully perceived Joseph's intentions (Gen. R. 93:4). Judah also possessed remarkable physical strength. When he became angry, the hairs on his chest became so stiff that they pierced his clothes, and he could chew iron bars into dust and powder (Gen. R. 93:6). His voice traveled 400 parasangs when he shouted so that his conversation with Joseph in Egypt was heard in Ereẓ Israel (Gen. R. 93:7). Judah was the key warrior during the battles which the children of Jacob had to fight after Simeon and Levi destroyed Shechem. When the enemy warriors caught sight of Judah's lion-like face and teeth (cf. Gen. 49:9) and heard his powerful voice, they were terrified, and Judah without difficulty slew thousands of them (Midrash publ. by S. Schechter from Ms. in *Semitic Studies in Memory of A. Kohut*, 490–1; *Sefer ha-Yashar, Va-Yishlaḥ*). Judah's pledge to ban himself from the community if he did not return Benjamin to his father (Gen. 43:9) is regarded as proof that a conditional ban, even if the condition is not fulfilled, still takes effect. As a result of this vow, his bones rolled about in his coffin without rest during the 40 years the Children of Israel wandered in the wilderness. Moses finally secured rest for his remains when he prayed to God, arguing that the example of Judah's confession had induced Reuben likewise to confess his sin with Bilhah (Sot. 7b).

[Aaron Rothkoff]

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JUDAH (**Nesiah**), *nasi* from about 230 to 270 C.E., son of Gamaliel III, and grandson of Judah ha-Nasi. During his period of office the power of the *nasi* began to decline and the struggle between him and the scholars became intensified. Judah and his brother Hillel were apparently regarded favorably (Sem. 8:4, ed. Higger), and Judah conducted his relationship with his opponents among the scholars with skill and understanding, with the aim of drawing them to him. One of his most determined opponents was *Simeon b. Lakish, who criticized him for levying taxes on scholars (BB 7b) and accepting gifts from the people (Gen. R. 78:12). On one occasion Lakish even states that "a *nasi* who sins is flogged," which incidentally was not in accordance with Roman law. As a result Lakish was compelled to flee. On the advice of Johanan, however, with whom he was intimate, Judah himself went to appease him (TJ, Sanh. 2:1). Complaints of persecution were also heard from other scholars (Yose of Oni – Gen. R., Theodor-Albeck edition, p. 950 et al.; Mani – Ta'an. 23b, et al.), all of whom openly preached against him. Although it is not certain whether the *nasi* was made responsible for the collection of taxes from the inhabitants of Judea, it is nevertheless certain that in Judah's time the office of the *nasi* was in great financial straits, and this apparently was the reason for Judah's actions, which included his appointment of unsuitable judges in exchange for money, a step which widened the rift between him and the scholars.

Judah is referred to as "a great man" (TJ, Av. Zar. 1:1). Not only did he go out of his way to appease his opponents, but he also used his authority to impose the decisions of the scholars upon the community (TJ, Ket. 9:2). He himself was a scholar and a member of a *bet din* which became known as "the permissive *bet din*" because it permitted, among other things, oil of the gentiles, which had been long prohibited (Av. Zar. 35b–37a, et al.). This permission was recognized also in Babylon. As a result he is sometimes referred to in the Mishnah as "Rabbi," the title by which his grandfather was known. Simeon b. Lakish, his great opponent, himself transmitted *halakhot* in his name, and also aggadic statements on the importance of Torah study, such as: "The world is sustained for the sake of the breath of schoolchildren," and "Every town in which there are no schoolchildren shall be destroyed" (Shab. 119). Judah's prayer for rain was answered (Ta'an. 249). When he died, it was proclaimed that "the priesthood was abolished for that day" (TJ, Ber. 3:1) to enable kohanim to participate in his funeral. His son was *Gamaliel IV. A tradition dating from the Middle Ages states that his grave was in Upper Galilee.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Frankel, Mevo, 92–94; Alon, Meḥkarim, 2 (1958), 15–57; Z. Vilnay, *Maẓẓevot Kodesh be-Ereẓ Yisrael* (1963), 352.

[Israel Moses Ta-Shma]

JUDAH III (**Judah Nesiah** II), *nasi* from 290 to 320. Judah III was the son of Gamaliel IV and the grandson of Judah Nesiah. It is sometimes difficult to determine from the sources whether a reference is to Judah II or III. Judah III was a pupil of Johanan (see RH 20a). He was especially intimate with *Ammi and *Assi, who headed the academy of Tiberias after the death of Johanan. Halakhic problems raised by him with

Ammi are mentioned (Av. Zar. 33b; Beẓah 27a), and it is also related that Ammi was particularly insistent that Judah should conduct himself beyond that which was required by the strict letter of the law, as was befitting for "a prominent person" (MK 12b). These two scholars were sent by Judah to found schools for children throughout the land of Israel (TJ, Hag. 1:7, 76c). Although the status of the office of *nasi* had deteriorated greatly in his time, dignity was preserved internally and the people obeyed his directives. Judah was himself a scholar and Zera established *halakhah* from his conduct (TJ, Beẓah 1:9, 60d). He was in contact with the scholars of his time (see TJ, Shab. 6:9), and there is a suggestion of a dispute between him and Jeremiah and of a letter of appeasement sent by the latter (TJ, Meg. 3:2, 74a). It is stated that he imposed 13 fasts upon the community in a time of drought (Ta'an. 14a), and mention is made of his slave, Germanius, a member of the Gothic guard, presented to him by the government (TJ, Shab., 6:9; TJ, Yoma 8:5; et al.). During his time the Roman emperor *Diocletian stayed in Tiberias while waging war against the Persians, and the *aggadah* describes a meeting between the two at the invitation of the emperor, embellishing the account with miraculous details (TJ, Ter. 8:10, 46b–c; Gen. R. 63:8).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Hyman, Toledot, 612–5; Alon, *Meḥkarim*, 2 (1958), 16–17.

[Israel Moses Ta-Shma]

JUDAH IV (fl. c. 385–400 C.E.), patriarch, son of *Gamaliel V. Very little is known about him, and even that little is doubtful. He seems to have been unpopular with contemporary rabbis, and when his sister Mana died, a leading Palestinian scholar refused to attend her funeral (TJ, Ber. 3:1, 6a; cf. Ta'an. 23b). Epiphanius (*Adversus Haereses*, 30:7, 3) reports, in the name of a convert called Joseph, that under the influence of his evil companions, the young patriarch had become dissipated. Under Judah IV the general decline of the patriarchate continued, although Jewish religious and judicial privileges were confirmed by Arcadius and *Honorius in 396. According to Bacher (Pal. Amor, 3 (1899), 312 f.), Judah IV is identical with the R. Judah Nesiah who asked Phinehas b. Ḥama why Boaz had demeaned himself to "lie down at the end of the heap of grain" (Ruth R. 5:15 on Ruth 3:7). This identification, however, is uncertain, since Phinehas may have been a contemporary of Judah III. Judah IV was the father of *Hillel, the patriarch who fixed the calendar.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Graetz, Gesch, 4 (1908), 354, 449; M. Avi-Yonah, *Bi-Ymei Roma u-Byzantiyyon* (1952), 78 f., 116 f., 220; Hyman, Toledot; Baron, Social2, 2 (1952), 191 ff.

[Moses Aberbach]

JUDAH, surname of at least three colonial American families not known to be related.

New York Judahs

BARUCH JUDAH (c. 1678–1774), who was born in Breslau, founded a family appearing in New York, Newport, Rhode Island, and Richmond, Virginia, in colonial times. Baruch became a freeman of New York in 1715 or 1716. He was active in the affairs of Congregation Shearith Israel. A son, HILLEL (c 1730–1815), a *shoḥet* in Newport and a New York merchant, married Abigail, daughter of Isaac Mendes *Seixas. Three of their sons were connected with Beth Shalom Congregation in Richmond: BARUCH H. (1763–1830) as a founder, ISAAC H. (1761–1827) as *ḥazzan*, and MANUEL (1769–1834) as a trustee. SAMUEL (1728–1781), another son of the elder Baruch, was a well-known New York merchant. In 1770 he signed the Non-Importation Agreement, a boycott of British goods. His eldest child, BENJAMIN S. (1760–1831), conducted an extensive trade with the West Indies and was a founder of the New York Tontine (1786). His youngest child, WALTER JONAS (1778–1798), a student at the medical school of Columbia College, died while treating patients during a yellow fever epidemic.

Another son, NAPHTALI (1774–1855), was a New York printer, publisher, and merchant. In 1797 he published D. Levi's *Defence of the Old Testament*, against attacks by the deists Thomas Paine and Joseph Priestley. Naphtali Judah was active in Congregation Shearith Israel, serving as president and committee member, particularly in matters involving cemetery maintenance. He also established strong ties with the non-Jewish community, as a member of the Tammany Society, holding the office of sachem; as a prominent Mason; and as one of the original subscribers of New York Hospital in 1811.

The oldest child of Benjamin S. was Samuel Benjamin Helbert *Judah, the playwright. His son EMANUEL (d. 1839) achieved some reputation as an actor.

Canadian Judahs

Another family of Judahs, also originating from Breslau, was established in Canada by SAMUEL JUDAH (1725–1789). He went to Canada with Lord Amherst's army and was one of the founders of the Montreal Jewish community, establishing himself there by 1761. He and his brother-in-law Aaron *Hart of Trois Rivières, Canada, later conducted an extensive business in furs with London. He sympathized with the colonists during the Revolutionary War, lending them a considerable sum of money which was never repaid. His brother URIAH (1714–1782) became prothonotary of Trois Rivières in 1768. His son BERNARD S. (1777–1831) married Aaron Hart's daughter Catherine.

The eldest of their nine sons, SAMUEL (1799–1869), who was born in New York City, became a pioneer Middle Western lawyer and politician. He graduated from Rutgers College in 1816, studied law, and was admitted to the bar. He settled in Vincennes, Indiana, in 1818. From Vincennes he practiced law widely. He was a close friend of Henry Clay. Samuel became active in politics and was elected several times to the Indiana legislature, in 1840 serving as speaker of its house of representatives. In 1830 he was appointed U.S. attorney for the district of Indiana, serving to 1833. He was a man of culture, known for his proficiency in Greek and Latin.

Connecticut Judahs

MICHAEL JUDAH (D. 1786) was a businessman of Norwalk and Hartford, Connecticut, and New York City. He willed his property to the Jews of New York City. His descendants were not Jewish.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Stern, Americans, 101–3; Rosenbloom, Biog Dict, 78–81; D. de Sola Pool, *Portraits Etched in Stone* (1952), index; T. and D. de Sola Pool, *An Old Faith in the New World* (1955), index; B.G. Sack, *History of the Jews in Canada* (1964), index.

[Irving I. Katz and Leo Hershkowitz]

JUDAH, SAMUEL BENJAMIN HELBERT (1799–1876?), U.S. playwright. A member of a prominent Sephardi mercantile family, Samuel Judah was born in New York City. One of the first Jews to contribute to American literature, he was successful with his earliest play, *The Mountain Torrent* (1820), which was followed by other melodramas such as *The Rose of Arragon* (1822). According to the author, it took him just four days to complete his historical drama of the American Revolutionary War, *A Tale of Lexington* which was received "with unbounded applause" when it was performed in New York on Independence Day 1822. His career as a dramatist ended, however, when he wrote *Gotham and the Gothamites* (1823), which satirized well-known New Yorkers, including his eminent fellow playwright Mordecai M. *Noah. He was sued for defamation and imprisoned but on his release took up law. Judah's later writings appeared under the pseudonym Terentius Phologombos. They included a biblical play, *The Maid of Midian*, which, probably because of its sacrilegious approach, was never performed.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: W. Dunlap, *History of the American Theatre* (1832), 409; A.H. Quinn, *History of the American Drama from the Beginning to the Civil War* (1923), 155, 197; S. Liptzin, *Jew in American Literature* (1966), 27–28. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** L. Harap, *The Image of the Jew in American Literature* (1974), 261–63.

[Sol Liptzin]

JUDAH, SON OF ẒIPPORAI (first century), patriot. According to Josephus, Judah was a sophist of highest reputation among the Jews, an unrivalled interpreter of their ancestral laws, and educator of the youth. Taking advantage of Herod's illness (4 B.C.E.) he, together with his friend and fellow scholar Mattathias son of Margalot, persuaded their disciples to pull down the golden eagle, the symbol of Rome, which Herod had erected over the great gate of the Temple, since it was contrary to Jewish law. The two scholars, together with their disciples, were burnt alive on the command of Herod shortly before his death.

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[Edna Elazary]

JUDAH ARYEH LEIB BEN DAVID (d. 1709), rabbi and author, also called Leib Kalish. He was a grandson of Joel *Sirkes and Abraham Ḥayyim Schor, the author of *Torat Ḥayyim* (Lublin, 1624). He served as rabbi and *rosh yeshivah* in the communities of Kremsier (Moravia) and Lobsens (Posen) for 22 years, and Kalisz. In 1708 he accepted an invitation to become the rabbi of the Ashkenazi community of Amsterdam, but he died a year and a half later. He was succeeded in the rabbinate of Amsterdam by Ẓevi Hirsch b. Jacob *Ashkenazi (the Ḥakham Ẓevi). Judah Aryeh Leib was the author of *Gur Aryeh* (Amsterdam, 1733), homilies on the Pentateuch, to which was appended the *Bedek ha-Bayit*, composed by his grandfather Abraham Ḥayyim Schor. Many of Judah Aryeh Leib's aggadic novellae are mentioned in the introduction to *Shama Shelomo* (Amsterdam, 1710) by Solomon *Algazi. His responsa have remained in manuscript.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Michael, Or, no. 991; Ḥ.N. Dembitzer, *Kelilat Yofi*, 1 (1888), 97b–99a; 2 (1893), 143a; A. Heppner and J. Herzberg, *Aus Vergangenheit und Gegenwart der Juden… in den Posener Landen* (1909), 617; I.D. Beth-Halevy, *Toledot Yehudei Kalisch* (1961), 152, 220, 230.

[Yehoshua Horowitz]

JUDAH BAR EZEKIEL (d. 299), Babylonian *amora*, founder of the academy at *Pumbedita. Judah's father was a famous *amora* and "wonder worker" (see Kid. 32a, 33b; TJ, Ta'an 1:3, 64b). Judah's brother was the *amora* Rami b. Ezekiel, who appears to have gone to Ereẓ Israel and returned to Babylonia (Ket. 21a; Kid. 32a; Ḥul. 44a, etc.). According to the Talmud "on the day R. Judah ha-Nasi passed away … Judah [b. Ezekiel] was born," and on his deathbed Judah ha-Nasi said "today R. Judah is born in Babylonia" (Kid. 72a–b; cf. Guttmann, in: HUCA, 25 (1954), 241ff. for a discussion of the date on which this took place). Judah was a pupil first of Rav in Sura, then of R. Assi of Huẓal, and finally of *Samuel in Nehardea, and he quotes many *halakhot* in their names (see Suk. 9a; BB 139b; Yev. 17a and Rashi *ibid.*; Av. Zar. 16b and Rashi *ibid.*). Notwithstanding Judah's boundless esteem for Samuel, he once directed an admonishing remark at him (see Shab. 55a), and in several instances took issue with him (Ber. 36a). Samuel's affectionate nickname for his pupil, "Shinena" (*ibid.*; Shab. 7a, 152a) is generally taken to mean "sharp in talmudic knowledge," although some interpret it as "bigtoothed" (*Arukh*, s.v. *shen* 2). So great was Samuel's admiration for his pupil that he said of him, "he is not of woman born" (Nid. 13a).

After the destruction of Nehardea by *Papa b. Neẓer in 259, part of the academy of Nehardea moved to Pumbedita, where Judah became its head (Git. 60b and Rashi *ibid.*). Pumbedita was considered the heir to Nehardea, in that it continued the tradition of being a purely "Babylonian academy," as opposed to *Sura, where the Palestinian influence – due to Rav's way of learning – remained very strong. However, throughout the lifetime of Huna, Sura remained the main center of learning. Only after Huna passed away in 297 did Pumbedita come to the foreground, where indeed it remained for the next 800 years. The main subject of study there was the order *Nezikin* (Ber. 20a), the importance of which was emphasized by Judah (BK 30a). Judah's *halakhah* is extensively quoted in both the Babylonian and the Jerusalem Talmuds.

His main disputant is Huna, and their discussions occupy a prominent place in the Babylonian Talmud. Judah was highly esteemed by the sages of his day, among them R. Naḥman (see Kid. 70a–b), and R. Eleazar "the master from Palestine" and Ulla, who were loath to give decisions in Pumbedita (Nid. 20b). Among his prominent pupils were Kahana and Joseph (Yev. 17a), Zeira (Ber. 39a) and Abba (Ḥul. 19b).

Judah was opposed to returning from Babylonia to Ereẓ Israel before the coming of the Redeemer (Ket. 110b–111a). When Zeira and Abba decided to do this, they had to do it clandestinely without his knowledge (*ibid.*; Ber. 24b). Nevertheless his devotion to Ereẓ Israel is attested (see Ber. 43a). He was accustomed to speak Hebrew, even in daily conversations with his servant (Shab. 41a). He considered the use of Hebrew mandatory for prayer and enjoined the Aramaic-speaking Jews of Babylonia, "Never should a person plead his needs in Aramaic" (Shab. 12b; see however Sot. 33a).

Judah was noted for his saintliness and piety (Ḥag. 15b; Nid. 13a), and in consequence wonderful powers were popularly ascribed to him. For example, it is stated that in times of drought he had but to remove one shoe (an indication that he was about to undertake a fast) and rain would immediately begin to fall (see Ber. 20a; Ta'an. 24b; Sanh. 106b). Judah was distinguished by the firmness of his convictions and his not indulging anyone (MK 17a; Kid. 70a–b). The *amora* Isaac b. Judah was his son (Yev. 63b; Kid. 71b). When, according to legend, Joseph, the son of R. Joshua b. Levi, ascended to heaven and returned, and was asked by his father what he had seen, he replied, "A world upside down; the exalted below and the lowly above" (BB 10b). This statement is interpreted by geonic tradition to refer to the fact that he saw Samuel sitting at the feet of his pupil Judah, who was thus honored because he had not refrained from admonishing his master (*Arukh*, s.v. *neged* 1; Tos. to BB 10b).

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[Zvi Kaplan]

JUDAH BAR ILAI (mid–second century C.E.), *tanna*. He is the R. Judah mentioned in the Talmud and tannaitic literature without patronymic. Judah came from Usha in Galilee (see Song R. 2:5 n. 2). He studied under his father, who was a pupil of *Eliezer b. Hyrcanus (Tosef. Zev. 2:17).

While still young Judah went to reside in Lydda, close to *Tarfon (Tosef. Meg. 2:8, Neg. 8:2), becoming one of his pupils (Ned. 6:6; Tosef., Yev. 12:15, et al.). He also studied under *Akiva (Tosef., Kel. BM 6:7, Oho. 4:2).

Judah played a central role in the establishment of the new centers of learning in Galillee after the suppression of the Bar Kokhba revolt. The sources preserve a number of contradictory *aggadot* concerning these events. According to one tradition in the Babylonian Talmud, Judah was one of the five ordained by *Judah b. Bava, at the cost of his life, during the time of the Hadrianic persecutions (Sanh. 14a). The historical authenticity of this account has been seriously and convincingly challenged (Oppenheimer, 78–79). According to another tradition he was among "the seven elders" who convened to intercalate the year in the valley of Rimmon (TJ, Ḥag. 3:1, 78c). According to a third tradition, Judah played a leading role in the convention of scholars in Usha at which the Sanhedrin was reestablished, being granted the honor of speaking first, since Usha was his home town (Song R. loc. cit.). In a later Babylonian version of this tradition, there is a "shift of venue," from Usha to Jabneh (Ber. 63b). Judah is still portrayed as the opening speaker at this convention of the Sanhedrin, but this honor is no longer explained by Judah's connection to the location, but rather by means of an obscure title: "R. Judah, the first speaker in every situation" (Oppenheimer, 80–82). This title is then explained by the Talmud as resulting from Judah's role in the events which eventually led to R. Simeon's flight from the Romans with his son, seeking refuge for years in a cave (Shab. 33b). However, there is no evidence in earlier Palestinian sources for the title "first speaker in every situation" with respect to Judah, nor does Judah play any role in the parallel Palestinian versions of the saga of R. Simeon and his son (cf. TJ, 9, 38d, Gen. R. 79:6, PdRK 11:16). As a further sign of Judah's prominent position in the eyes of later tradition, all the scholars of his generation were described as "the generation of Judah b. Ilai" (Sanh. 20a). Judah was the halakhic authority in the house of the *nasi*, *Simeon b. Gamaliel II (Men. 104a), and *Judah ha-Nasi was one of his pupils (Shevu. 13a), as was *Ishmael b. Yose (Suk. 18a).

Tannaitic literature has many statements and teachings by Judah. Long series of *mishnayot* and *halakhot*, as well as whole chapters in the Mishnah and the Tosefta, are from his Mishnah. In his Mishnah Judah had a special place for the *halakhot* of Eliezer b. Hyrcanus which he had received from his father Ilai (cf. Tosef. Zev. 2:17), and for early *halakhot* that he received from Tarfon, particularly with regard to the Temple and its service. He gave the Mishnah of Akiva as the view of an individual (Ma'as. Sh. 5:8) and recorded the disputes between Bet Shammai and Bet Hillel in accordance with a tradition which differed from that of Akiva. The Babylonian Talmud describes Judah's share in the Sifra – the halakhic Midrash to the Book of Leviticus – by the words, "an anonymous Sifra is by Judah" (Sanh. 86a). Though this statement is ascribed in the Babylonian Talmud to R. Johanan, neither its authenticity nor its accuracy can be confirmed. Rules explaining the language used by Judah have been laid down, and in the view of the *amora*, Joshua b. Levi: "Wherever Judah said 'when' or 'these words apply' in our Mishnah, his intention was only to explain the words of the scholars; but where Johanan said 'when' he introduces an explanation, while 'these words apply' indicates disagreement" (Er. 81b–82a). His tendency to generalize is also discernible in his own statement: "Collect the words of the Torah as general rules – and divide them up like the drops of dew which are small … for if a man collects them in items, they will weary him and he will not know what to do" (Sif. Deut. 306). In a dispute between Meir – or Simeon – and Judah, the *halakhah* follows Judah, but in a dispute with Yose, the *halakhah* follows Yose, but some disagree with regard to this (Er. 46b). Another rule laid down was: "Wherever Judah taught a law concerning the *eruv*, the *halakhah* follows him" (Er. 81b).

Explanations of Scripture by Judah have been preserved, which give the plain meaning; some explain difficult words, and some explain the subject matter. Judah issued a warning about the difficulty of giving an accurate Aramaic translation of the Bible: "He who translates a verse literally is a liar, and he who adds to it is a libeler" (Tosef., Meg. 4:41). In his view in several places Scripture removes anthropomorphic or offensive expressions (Mekh. Shirata, 6). His interpretations touch upon many and varied topics. His main disputant in *halakhah* is *Simeon b. Yoḥai and in *aggadah* *Nehemiah; no less than 180 disputes between Judah and Nehemiah have been preserved in both tannaitic literature and in the amoraic Midrashim, particularly in the early *Genesis Rabbah*. Their style shows them to be the product of a dialogue – at times there is not even a substantial difference of view between them – and from them it is possible to discern the aggadic exegetical method of the *tannaim*. Their disputes touch upon all the books of the Bible except Leviticus and Job.

Judah was known for his piety, so that the Talmud states that wherever it is stated, "it once happened with a certain pious man," the reference is either to Judah b. Bava or to Judah b. Ilai (BK 103b). Several of his practices were transmitted by the *amora* Judah in the name of Rav: "This was the practice of Judah b. Ilai. On the eve of the Sabbath a basin filled with hot water was brought to him. He washed his face, hands and feet, and wrapped himself in fringed linen robes, and was like an angel of the Lord of Hosts" (Shab. 25b); "On the eve of the Ninth of Av, dry bread with salt was brought to him, and he sat between the baking oven and the cooking stove and ate and drank with a pitcher of water and looked as if a dead relation were lying before him" (Ta'an. 30a–b); he used to take a myrtle twig, dance before the bride, and say: "Beautiful and graceful bride" (Ket. 17a). A memory of the impressive figure of Judah is found in the story (TJ, Pes. 10:1, 31c and parallels; and cf. Ned. 49b) of a Roman matron who, because of Judah's shining countenance, suspected him of being either a moneylender or a pig breeder – his shining face being due to his wealth – or of having drunk excessively, but he referred her to Ecclesiastes 8:1 ("A man's wisdom maketh his face to shine").

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[Zvi Kaplan / Stephen G. Wald (2nd ed.)]

JUDAH BAR SHALOM (occasionally with the addition **ha-Levi**; Tanh. B., Gen. 141; Mid. Ps. to 119:1), Palestinian *amora* of the fourth century C.E.; aggadist. Judah was apparently a pupil of the Palestinian *amora*, Yose (TJ, Dem. 6:3, 25c; Ma'as. Sh. 4:4, 55a). His aggadic sayings are scattered throughout the Talmud and the Midrashim, especially the *Tanḥuma* (Noah 13; Va-Yera 13; Va-Era 14; Tanḥ B., Gen. 88, et al.). Halakhic statements by him are found in the Jerusalem Talmud (Shab. 12:4, 13d; Er. 5:5, 22d; Shevu, 7:5, 38a). They consist mainly of amplifications, comments, and explanations of the statements of his predecessors. Of special importance are his anti-Christian polemics, in which he emphasizes the importance of the Oral Law: "Moses wished the Mishnah too to be committed to writing. God, however, foresaw that the nations of the world would translate the Torah, read it in Greek, and say: we too are Jews. So God said to him: 'Shall I write for him so many things of My law?' and as a result 'they shall be accounted as strange?' [his interpretation of Hos. 8:12]. Why was He so opposed? Because the Mishnah is God's secret. God reveals His secret only to the righteous, as it is said [Ps. 25:14]: 'The counsel of the Lord is with them that fear Him'" (Tanḥ. B, Gen. 88).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Bacher, Pal Amor, 3; Hyman, Toledot, s.v.

[Zvi Kaplan]

JUDAH BAR SIMEON (**Sima**; late third–early fourth century C.E.), Palestinian aggadist. Judah was the son of *Simeon b. Pazzi. In the Jerusalem Talmud he is usually referred to as Judah b. Pazzi, but in the Babylonian his full name, Judah the son of Simeon b. Pazzi, is given. He studied under his father, in whose name he transmitted both *halakhah* and *aggadah*. He was a priest (TJ, Ber. 5:4, 9c) and members of his family apparently married into the house of the *nasi* (Shab. 12:3, 13c). His homilies, interpretations of Scripture, poems, and parables are quoted in the Talmud (Sanh. 100a; TJ, Ta'an. 4:8, 68c; et al.) and in the Midrashim (Gen. R. 35:3; Lev. R. 7:2, et al.). The Babylonian Talmud also quotes a *baraita* that he "learned in the [tractate] *Nezikin* of the school of Karna" (BK 47b; see Dik. Sof. *ibid*.). In his sermons he deals with the suffering of the people and pleads for its redemption. For example, interpreting the word *aḥar* ("behind") in Genesis 22:13 as meaning "after," he comments: "What is meant by 'after'? After the passage of all the generations, your children will be caught by their sins and entangled in troubles but will finally be redeemed through the horns of this ram, as its says [Zech. 9:14] 'The Lord God will blow the horn and will go with the whirlwinds of the south'" (TJ, Ta'an. 2:4, 65d). Similarly he interprets Psalms 10:12, "Arise O Lord, O God, lift up Thy hand," as "Israel said to God, 'Lord of the Universe! Troubles are about to destroy us like a man drowning in the sea; stretch out Thy hand and save us'" (Mid. Ps. 10:6).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Bacher, Pal Amor; Hyman, Toledot, 566 f.; Ḥ. Albeck, *Mayo la-Talmudim* (1969), 329 f.

[Zvi Kaplan]

JUDAH BEN ASHER (1270–1349), rabbi and talmudist. Judah was born in Cologne, Germany. His father was *Asher b. Jehiel (the Rosh), in whose yeshivah he studied; *Jacob b. Asher was his brother. Because of his impaired eyesight, from which he suffered all his life, he did not succeed in compiling large works. In consequence of the violent anti-Jewish outbreaks of 1283 in Germany, Judah left his father's house and made his way to Spain, reaching Toledo in 1285 (this according to Schechter, but according to Abrahams, in 1305). When his parents reached Spain, Judah renewed his studies under his father. In 1314 he signed a *takkanah* of his father, continuing a family tradition of tithing one's income for charity, a custom that his children also undertook to observe. He married first the daughter of his elder brother, Jehiel, and after her death, Miriam, the daughter of his second brother, Solomon.

In 1321 Judah was appointed his father's successor by the Toledo community, and on the latter's death in 1327 he immediately inherited his position as head of the *bet din* and of the Toledo yeshivah, serving until his death. He conducted his rabbinical office justly and impartially and was considered authoritative in his rulings. The Castilian government took account of his judgment even in non-Jewish cases. Taking into consideration the interests of the Jewish communities in Castile, he maintained that in principle the death sentence could be imposed, but he demanded restraint from the rabbis in imposing punishments and took care to preserve the legal autonomy of Jewish communities. From his responsa he appears to have tended toward stringency. The leaders of the Toledo community attempted to compel his *bet din* to give halakhic rulings only in conformity with the rulings of Maimonides, and to depart from them only where his father Asher had ruled accordingly, in order to avoid differences of practice; Judah vehemently opposed them and threatened to resign his post, though he finally agreed to remain. Among his pupils were *Menahem b. Aaron ibn Zeraḥ, author of the *Ẓeidah la-Derekh*, and Machir, author of the *Avkat Rokhel*.

Among his' works may be mentioned *Zikhron Yehudah* (ed. by J. Rosenberg and D. Cassel, 1846), comprising 83 responsa, and *Iggeret Tokheḥah* (ed. by Schechter, see bibl.), his testament to his children, which contains ethical sayings, an account of his family history, and instruction in the method of learning; apart from its ethical value it also has great historical importance, as it gives details of the social life of the Jews in the 14th century and the mutual relationship between the rabbi and the community in Spain. Also ascribed to him are "a confession" included in the *Ẓeidah la-Derekh* (4:5, chap. 17) and a commentary to tractate *Shabbat*, the last part of which is included at the end of his volume of responsa, and the *Ḥukkat ha-Torah*, consisting of an anthology of *halakhot*. The collection *Ta'am Zekenim* (ed. by A. Ashkenazi (1854) 64b–66a) contains a responsum by Judah "on the subject of metempsychosis and the reply of Asher b. Jehiel." Two *piyyutim* in his name have been preserved.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Michael, Or, no. 965; Graetz-Rabbinowitz, 5 (1897), 278, 282f.; Judah b. Asher, *Zikhron Yehudah* ed. by J. Rosenberg (1846), introd. by D. Cassel; Schechter, in: *Beit Talmud*, 4 (1884), 340–6, 372–7; Weiss, Dor, 5 (1904^4), 68f., 84, 121–4; S. Assaf, *Mekorot le-Toledot ha-Ḥinnukh be-Yisrael*, 1 (1925), 25–27; I. Abrahams, *Hebrew Ethical Wills*, 2 (1926), 163–200; S.M. Chones, *Toledot ha-Posekim* (1910), 240f.; Davidson, Oẓar, 4 (1933), 391; Baer, Spain, index; Ḥ. Tchernowitz, *Toledot ha-Posekim*, 2 (1947), 191f.; Guedemann, Gesch Erz, 3 (1888), 63, 68f.; Guedemann, Quellenschr, 25–27; A. Freimann, in: JJLG, 13 (1920), 212–42; Waxman, Literature, 2 (1933), 295f.

[Yehoshua Horowitz]

JUDAH BEN BARZILLAI ("ha-Nasi"), AL-BARGELONI (late 11th and early 12th century), rabbi of Barcelona. Naḥmanides claimed descent from him, referring to him as "*zekeni*" ("my ancestor"). According to one statement (responsa, *Tashbeẓ*, 1:15), he was a pupil of R. *Isaac b. Reuben of Barcelona, but this is not substantiated from any other source and is open to question. The assumption that *Abraham b. Isaac of Narbonne was his pupil is unfounded, even though Abraham constantly refers to his teachings. He was a contemporary of *Abraham b. Ḥiyya, with whom he engaged in an interesting controversy on the question of postponing a wedding date for astrological reasons. Judah was strongly opposed, since he regarded it as contrary to Jewish law. Judah's works consist mostly of codes which were highly regarded in their time, but most of them were subsequently lost. Quotations from them by other authors show that they embraced all the *halakhah* which applied in practice.

His works are (1) *Sefer ha-Ittim*, dealing with Sabbath and festivals in the Jewish calendar, and of which there have been published – with many errors – only those concerning the Sabbath, with commentaries by R.J. Schorr (Cracow, 1902), and two further fragments, by J.L. Zlotnick (see bibliography); (2) *Yiḥus She'er Basar*, on marriage and personal law, known through a few quotations; (3) *Sefer ha-Din*, on civil law, of which the *Sefer ha-Shetarot* only has been published (Berlin, 1898). In 1928 S. Assaf published *Likkutei Sefer ha-Din*, a précis of the original book (*Madda'ei ha-Yahadut*, 2, 1926); (4) commentary on *Sefer Yeẓirah* (Berlin, 1885). This work is a mine of information on geonic and philosophical literature.

One important aspect of Judah's commentary on *Sefer Yeẓirah* is that in it he quotes extensively from the *Ishrūn Maqālāt* ("Twenty Tractates") of *Al-Mukammis. Since only a small portion of this work has been published, Judah's summaries are the major source of Al-Mukammis' teachings. Among Judah's own philosophical contributions were his polemics against dualistic and trinitarian doctrines (Commentary on *Sefer Yeẓirah*, 75, 175), and especially against Christian allegorism (*ibid.*, 77). Even when not polemicizing, he tried to interpret all of Scripture with a view to removing doubts about God's total spirituality. Among other philosophic doctrines he held that the revelations received by the prophets were emanations of the Divine Spirit, the first created being, to which Scripture also refers as the "glory of God" (*ibid.*, 16, 119, 174). At the end of his commentary Judah reproduced a considerable portion of one early Hebrew translation (no longer extant) of about half of *Saadiah's commentary on *Sefer Yeẓirah* (see H. Malter, *Saadiah Gaon, His Life and Works* (1921), 355–8).

The *hassagot* ("strictures") of the "Ri [ר״י] of Barcelona" on the early work, *Shimmusha Rabba*, quoted in the *Halakhot Ketannot* (laws of *tefillin*) of R. Asher b. *Jehiel are not to be attributed to Judah, but to the aforementioned Isaac, of Barcelona.

Judah based himself mainly on the *halakhot* of Isaac *Alfasi, his older contemporary, on the latter's responsa, and especially, on the geonic responsa and the *Hilkhata Gavruta* of *Samuel ha-Nagid. He also made use of the works of *Isaac b. Judah ibn Ghayyat and Isaac b. Baruch *Albalia, without mentioning them by name. Though the book was planned as a halakhic codex, the author adopted the practice of commenting extensively on the subject under discussion, thus rendering the work of great importance, both for the study of talmudic themes and for *variae lectiones*. Until the 16th century Judah's works were much used and extensively quoted but were increasingly neglected in favor of other codes, mainly because of their enormous range and prolixity. Nevertheless, many extracts and selections from his work have been published: the *Sefer ha-Eshkol* of Abraham b. Isaac of Narbonne is merely a précis of the *Ittim*, indicating its original magnitude; such too are the collections of geonic responsa, *Sha'arei Teshuvah* (Leghorn, 1869) and those published by Jacob Musafia (Lyck, 1864) which are anthologies taken from the *Ittim*. The *Sefer ha-Orah*, from the "school" of Rashi, contains many extracts from *Ittim* (S. Buber (ed.), *Sefer ha-Orah*, 1 (1905), 27). The *Temim De'im* of *Araham b. David of Posquières contains many quotations from Judah's works. Judah was in possession too of the most ancient version of *Ḥisdai ibn Shaprut's letter to the king of the Khazars, though, with the critical approach which characterizes all his works, he doubted its authenticity.

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[Israel Moses Ta-Shma]

JUDAH BEN BATHYRA, *tanna* of the second century C.E. He was apparently a student of Eliezer b. Hyrcanus and *Joshua b. Hananiah (Pes. 3:3; Eduy. 8:3; Neg. 9:3, 11:7), and an associate of *Akiva (Kelim 2:7) and Tarfon (Peah 3:6). His name is regularly associated with *Nisibis in Babylon (Tosef. Yev. 12:4; Tosef. Ket. 5:1; Sifre Num. 117), and the story is told that Simeon ben Shammua and *Johanan ha-Sandelar were on their way to Nisibis to learn Torah from Judah ben Bathyra, but when they reached the border, "tears streamed down and they tore their garments…, saying: 'Residence in the Land Israel is equivalent to the fulfillment of all the precepts of the Torah,' and they returned to the Land of Israel" (Sif. Deut. 80). His yeshivah in Nisibis is mentioned in the Talmud among the centers of study which were recommended to students as worthy of attendance (Sanh. 32b). According to the *aggadah*, Judah b. Bathyra claimed to be a descendant of the dead whom Ezekiel (ch. 37) brought to life, and that the *tefillin* left to him by his paternal grandfather came from them (Sanh. 92b). Another talmudic *aggadah* tells of a certain gentile who once boasted to Judah b. Bathyra that, despite the fact that gentiles are forbidden to eat of the paschal sacrifice, he would regularly go up to Jerusalem, and passing himself off as a Jew, eat from the "juiciest parts" of the paschal lamb. Judah b. Bathyra advised him: "When you go there, tell them to let you eat from the tail fat." Since the tail fat is not eaten, but rather burned up on the altar, his request brought suspicion upon himself, and after an investigation the gentile was exposed. The sages in Jerusalem then sent Judah a message, saying: "Peace be upon you, R. Judah b. Bathyra, for while you remain in Nisibis, your trap is set in Jerusalem" (Pes. 3b). This somewhat fanciful and anachronistic story created problems for some overly literal-minded scholars, who posited the existence of another, earlier Judah b. Bathyra, who must have lived during the time of the second Temple – also in Nisibis – despite the fact that virtually all traditions transmitted in the name of Judah b. Bathyra in talmudic literature clearly refer to the "second" Judah b. Bathyra (Margalioth), the "first" Judah b. Bathyra having left virtually no record in talmudic sources other than this story itself. Compare Mik. 4:5, where Judah b. Bathyra reports a precedent in the name of Bet Shammai, which occurred in Jerusalem during the time of the Second Temple, which has been construed by some as further "evidence" that Judah b. Bathyra himself lived during the time of the Second Temple. See also, *Tosafot* to Men. 65b.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Frankel, Mishnah, 99–102; Halevy, Dorot, 1 pt. 5 (1923), 681–8; Hyman, Toledot. M. Margalioth, Encyclopedia, 412–415.

[Stephen G. Wald (2nd ed.)]

JUDAH BEN BAVA (second century C.E.), *tanna*, and according to the later *aggadah*, a martyr of the era of *Jabneh. A number of *halakhot* are reported in his name in the Mishnah, the Tosefta and the tannaitic Midrashim. One dealt with the case of a husband's death in order to permit his wife to remarry (Yev. 16:3, 5), and Judah was the only one of the scholars of Ereẓ Israel in his generation to permit this on the testimony of a single witness (Yev., 16:7), giving evidence that that was the halakhic decision to this effect. He also testified concerning many other *halakhot*, including some belonging to the period before the destruction of the Temple (Eduy. 6:1, 8:2). After the crushing of the Bar Kokhba revolt, Judah, as a sign of mourning, forbade the use of *foliatum* (aromatic oil of spikenard; Tosef., Sot. 15:9). The Tosefta of *Bava Kama* (8:13) states:

> "It was said of Judah that all his actions were for the sake of Heaven," except for one: he transgressed the injunction against the rearing of small cattle. The Tosefta then tells a story of a painful and protracted illness from which Judah suffered. The only remedy for the pain was to drink warm milk from a small

goat which he kept in his house. When he eventually died (apparently from this same illness), the sages determined that this was in fact his only sin. As a result of this piety the Talmud states (BK 103b): "Wherever the phrase occurs, 'It once happened to a certain pious man' [*ḥasid*], it refers either to Judah b. Bava or to Judah b. Ilai." According to another tannaitic tradition, despite the fact that he was renowned for his piety and modesty, Judah was not properly eulogized, apparently because of the troubled times (Tosef., Sot. 13:4).

According to an *aggadah* in the Babylonian Talmud, Judah's death occurred as a result of Hadrian's decrees of religious persecution, because he transgressed a Roman decree forbidding the *ordination of scholars. This tradition, ascribed to the early *amora* Rav, stated that Judah "sat between Usha and Shefaram and there ordained five scholars, namely Meir, Judah, Simeon, Yose, and Eleazar b. Shammua, and according to some, also Nehemiah. When they were surprised by the Romans, Judah said to them: 'My children, flee.' They said to him: 'What will become of thee, Rabbi?' He said: 'I lie before them like a stone which none can overturn' [i.e., let them do their will]. It was said that the enemy did not leave the spot until they had driven 300 iron spearheads into his body, making it like a sieve" (Sanh. 14a). The historical authenticity of this tradition has been seriously questioned, both because of the alternative tradition concerning the circumstances of his death (Tosef. BK 8:13), and also because of an alternative tradition concerning the ordination of Meir and Simeon by Akiva himself (cf. TJ, Sanh. 1, 19a; Oppenheimer, 78–79). According to other late *aggadot*, when the report of the execution of R. Akiva in Caesarea was received, Judah and Hananiah (Ḥanina) b. Teradyon said that his death was an omen: very soon there would be no place in Ereẓ Israel where corpses would not be found, and the city councils (see *Boule) of Judea would come to an end. Their forebodings were fulfilled (Sem. 8:9, ed. by M. Higger (1931), 154). The *aggadot* about the *ten martyrs, contrary to these earlier aggadic traditions, describe the execution of Judah as the result of a verdict given after judicial proceedings.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Hyman, Toledot, 554f.; J. Bruell, *Mevo ha-Mishnah*, 1 (1876), 133f.; Bacher, Tann; A. Buechler, *Der galilaeische 'Am ha 'Areṣ* (1906), 305f.; Alon, Meḥkarim, 2 (1958), index. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** A. Opperheimer, in: *Eretz Israel from the Destruction of the Second Temple to the Moslem Conquest*, (ed.) Z. Baras, S. Safrai, M. Stern. Y. Tsafrir (Heb., 1982), 78–80.

[Moshe David Herr / Stephen G. Wald (2nd ed.)]

JUDAH BEN DOSOTHEOS (**Dostai**; first century C.E.), *tanna*. In *Simeon b. Shetaḥ's name he transmitted the legal rule that a sentence passed by a Palestinian court over a person who later escaped abroad is not set aside for a new hearing, but in the case of a person who escaped to Palestine the sentence is set aside (Mak. 7a). In some versions, however, the reading here is Dosotheos b. Judah. The former reading is almost certainly a scribal (or printer's) error and, in all likelihood, no such first century C.E. *tanna* ever existed. On the other hand, the halakhic dictum that an "eye for an eye" (Ex. 21:24) refers only to pecuniary compensation, which is rendered in the name of Dosotheos b. Judah (BK 83b), is quoted in some manuscripts in the name of Judah b. Dosotheos.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Hyman, Toledot, 559.

[Stephen G. Wald (2nd ed.)]

JUDAH BEN ELEAZAR (**Riba**; 17th century), Persian physician and philosopher, considered the greatest scholar to emerge from the Jewish community of Persia. His most valuable work is titled *Ḥovot Yehudah* ("Duties of Judah"), which was completed in 1686. He also produced works on astronomy and medicine. *Ḥovot Yehudah* deals with the fundamental principles of Jewish belief and philosophy. These are presented systematically, from a traditional religious-legal and a philosophical – or, as the author puts it, rational – perspective. The work consists of an introduction, four main parts, and an epilogue, which are further divided into 18 sections comprising a total of 50 chapters. Its four main parts correspond to the four principles of Jewish faith asserted by the author (as opposed to Maimonides' 13 principles of faith). *Ḥovot Yehudah* is written in *Judeo-Persian, apart from the epilogue, which is in Hebrew.

By virtue of his training and intellectual inclination, Riba, like *Maimonides, belonged to the school of religious scholars who chose to explain issues of belief in rational terms. His knowledge of the Torah, philosophy, and other intellectual fields of his time was comprehensive and profound. This is indicated by the large variety of texts he analyzed and expounded and by his systematic handling of a broad range of complex subjects. Thanks to his extensive, diligent study of the Persian language and literature, he had a masterful command of the language, as well as knowledge of Arabic, Hebrew, and Aramaic. Thus, Riba stands among the giants of Jewish philosophy.

We have no information concerning the life and activities of the author from other sources. Since he lived before 1686, there is no doubt that he, like the rest of the Jews of *Kashan, suffered persecutions and forced conversions. Riba made use of a wide array of sources. In addition to the Bible, the Talmud, midrashic texts, and the Zohar, all of which he quoted extensively, he also used the New Testament, the Apocrypha, and the Koran. He reveals solid knowledge of the writings of Plato, Aristotle, *Avicenna, *Averroes and al-*Ghazali, paying the most attention to Aristotle's metaphysics, against which he polemicizes. However, the work in its entirety has to do with the principles of Jewish belief, as represented by Jewish thinkers, Maimonides in particular. Special attention is given to Maimonides' *Guide*; *Shemonah Perakim* ("Eight Chapters"); *Perek Ḥelek*; and *Hilkhot Yesodei ha-Torah* in *Sefer ha-Madda* of the *Mishneh Torah*. Also much admired is Rabbi David Messer *Leon, whom Riba calls "the perfect and great rabbi, divine erudite scholar." Quotations from Leon's book, *Tehillah le-David,* may be found throughout the treatise. At times, Riba refutes Maimonides, especially with respect to his 13 principles of faith. He is not satisfied with the explanations of the great commentators, such as Rashi. He criticizes those who do not understand the basic issues of the Torah, but instead play with *sefirot* (divine emanations) and consider themselves kabbalists: "In my opinion, who is a heretic? He who has no knowledge of the rational world and the literal meaning [of the Torah] and occupies himself with the *sefirot* in his wish to be considered a divine mystic. (Concerning him) the Sages said: 'He lacks the outside keys but searches for the inner ones.' We might call him – and certain Ashkenazim with their convoluted treatises – a pious fool (*ḥasid shoteh*)" (Part I, Sec. 1/28).

In its 18 sections and epilogue, *Ḥovot Yehudah* discusses on one hand the accounts of Creation and the Divine Chariot, the nature of God, prophecy, human free will, knowledge, divine providence, the eternal nature of the Torah, immortality of the soul, reward and punishment, the messianic era and resurrection of the dead, and on the other hand, mathematics, astronomy, cosmology, medicine, music, logic, and rhetoric.

The last chapter of the work is a kind of short *summa contra gentiles*. By means of biblical exegesis, Riba attempts to show that there is no passage in the Hebrew Bible that verifies Muslim claims regarding the emergence of their Prophet. In addition, he rejects Muslim contentions that the Torah now in the hands of Jews is a forgery. However, Riba writes, he prefers not to argue with them too much, for according to their custom, anyone who does not believe as they do may be executed; he continues, "they do not hesitate to apply this practice" (*ibid*., 70).

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[Amnon Netzer (2nd ed.)]

JUDAH BEN ELI (**Elan**; d. 932), Karaite grammarian and liturgical poet. Although *rosh yeshivah* in Jerusalem, the city in which he died, Judah is known as "the Tiberian." He has been identified by J.L. Dukes (Dukes (ed.), *Kunteres ha-Masoret* (1850), 2) and A. Geiger (*Oẓar Neḥmad*, 2 (1857), 158) with the Eli b. Judah ha-Nazir quoted by David Kimḥi in his *Mikhlol* (Fuerth 1893 ed., 406). S. Pinsker in his *Likkutei Kadmoniyyot* (1860, 105–6) identifies him with the scholar of Jerusalem mentioned by Abraham ibn Ezra at the beginning of his *Moznayim* as the author of eight grammatical works.

Judah is best known as the author of the grammatical work *Me'or Einayim* or *Me'irat Einayim* in which he divided the Hebrew nouns into 35 classes. He also wrote *piyyutim* included in the Karaite prayer book and a dirge on the destruction of Zion containing his name in acrostic (see: Pinsker, op. cit. Supplement, 139).

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JUDAH BEN ELIEZER (known as **Yesod,** the Heb. initials of **Y**ehudah **S**afra ve-**D**ayyan; "scribe of the *bet din,*" lit. "judge") d. 1762, Lithuanian talmudist, communal worker, and philanthropist. Judah was born in Vilna where he served as communal secretary, *dayyan*, and for a while as rabbi, deputizing for his son-in-law, *Samuel b. Avigdor. He used his position and wealth for the benefit of the community and the needy, rendering valuable service in the community's struggle with the local authorities (1742). His name frequently appears in the communal records of the time. A yeshivah in Vilna was named after him. Judah attended the rabbinical conference at Mir (in 1751), where he supported Jonathan *Eybeschuetz in the latter's controversy with Jacob *Emden. He died in Vilna.

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[Samuel Abba Horodezky]

JUDAH BEN GERIM (mid-second century C.E.), *tanna*. Ben Gerim (*Bar Giore* in Aramaic) means "the son of proselytes" (see Rashi, Shab. 33b). In Gen. R. 35:3 it is told that Judah bar Giore went, together with R. Isaac and R. Jonathan, to study with *Simeon b. Yoḥai. In the parallel version cited in the Babylonian Talmud, Judah ben Gerim went together with Jonathan b. Asmai (or Johanan b. Akhnai) to study with Simeon, and they both pleased their teacher to such an extent that he counseled his son to let himself be blessed by these students. When he asked for a blessing, they apparently cursed him, though Simeon himself managed to interpret their words in a positive light (MK 9 a–b). In sharp contrast to this idyllic description of the warm relationship between these two sages, we are told in another *aggadah* (Shab. 33b–34a) that Simeon b. Yoḥai once uttered critical remarks against the Roman authorities, and Judah b. Gerim, who overheard these remarks, repeated them to others, and thus they became known to the Roman authorities, who sentenced Simeon to death. Simeon escaped by hiding in a cave for 13 years. According to this version of the story, after emerging from his hiding place, he saw Judah in the street. Simeon then "set his eyes upon him" and Judah immediately "turned into a pile of bones." However, in the parallel versions of this story (TJ, 9, 38d, Gen. R. 79:6, PdRK 11:16) Judah ben Gerim is not mentioned at all, and it is a different character upon whom Simeon "set his eyes," and who immediately "turned into a pile of bones." S. Friedman has suggested, however, that this figure was intentionally identified as Judah b. Gerim in the tradition of the Babylonian Talmud, because of the latter's apparently harsh and cruel behavior toward Simeon and his son as described in Mo'ed Katan 9b.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Hyman, Toledot, II, p. 559.

[Stephen G. Wald (2nd ed.)]

JUDAH BEN ḤIYYA (end of the second and beginning of the third century C.E.), *amora*. Judah and his twin brother *Hezekiah moved with their father *Ḥiyya from Babylon to

Ereẓ Israel and assisted him in his work of teaching Torah to the people (Suk. 20a). Like their father, they studied under Judah ha-Nasi (Sanh. 38b). They were called "*ha-rovim*" ("the youths," TJ, Ḥag. 3:4) and several halakhic dicta were transmitted in their name (*ibid.*; Av. Zar. 46a; Zev. 15a; et al.). Judah's father-in-law was *Yannai, who referred with respect to his son-in-law as "*Sinai*" (a profound scholar) and stood up in his presence. Judah apparently died at an early age, since it is stated that he was accustomed to visit his father-in-law every Sabbath eve, and when he failed to arrrive on one occasion his father-in-law understood that he was dead (TJ, Bik. 3:4). His aggadic sayings include: "Come and see how the dispensation of mortals is not like that of the Holy One. Among mortals, when a man administers a medicament to a fellow it may be beneficial to one limb but injurious to another, but with the Holy One, it is not so. He gave a Torah to Israel and it is a medicament of life for all the body" (Er. 54a); "Exile atones for half of man's sins" (Sanh. 37b).

[Zvi Kaplan]

JUDAH BEN ISAAC (**Judah Sir Leon of Paris**; also called **Gur Aryeh** ("lion's whelp") or **Aryeh,** after Genesis 49:9 (*Or Zaru'a*, pt. 1 no. 17; *Tosefot Yeshanim* to Yoma 8a); 1166–1224), French tosafist. Judah headed the Paris *bet ha-midrash*, which was apparently reopened on the return of Jews after the expulsion of 1192. He studied many years under his teacher *Isaac b. Samuel of Dampierre who was his relative, together with his teacher's son Elhanan. Judah was numbered among the most distinguished pupils of Isaac, in whose presence he wrote *tosafot* to various tractates and whose rulings and responsa he collected (Assaf, in *A. Marx Jubilee Volume* (Heb., 1950), 11). Much of Judah's teaching is based upon that of his teacher Isaac which he incorporated into his own works (as did Isaac's other pupils), particularly into his *tosafot*.

Of his teachings there remain only his *tosafot* to the tractates *Berakhot* (first edition in *Berakhah Meshulleshet*, 1863; a supplement to pages 2a–8b was published by Sachs in: *Sinai*, 37 (1955) 87–105), and a new edition by N. Sachs collated with additional manuscripts began to appear in Jerusalem in 1969 under the title *Ginzei Rishonim; Shitat ha-Kadmonim* (ed. M.J. Blau), *Avodah Zarah* (1969), and a fragment of *Nedarim* (J.N. Epstein, *Perushei R. Yehudah Ben Natan*, in: *Musaf le-Tarbiz*, 3 (1933) 171–80). Although this fragment is attributed in the manuscript (Montefiore, see *Kohelet Shelomo, Catalog… A.J. Halberstam*, (1890) 58 no. 323) to Judah b. Nathan, Epstein proved that it was really by Judah b. Isaac. Many of his statements can be detected in the standard *tosafot* printed with the Talmud, particularly the *Tosafot Yeshanim* to the tractate *Yoma*, which are an adaptation by his pupil *Moses of Coucy (Urbach, Tosafot, 394), *Megillah* (*ibid.*, 483f.) and *Bava Kamma* (*ibid.*, 275). It is clear that he wrote *tosafot* to other tractates since he mentions them in the aforementioned works, where he alludes to his commentaries on 12 additional tractates: *Shabbat, Pesaḥim, Beẓah, Rosh Ha-Shanah, Sukkah, Yevamot, Ketubbot, Kiddushin, Bava Kamma, Bava Batra, Ḥullin*, and *Niddah* (*ibid.*, 273 and n. 67). Those *tosafot* were known and used by scholars even at a later date, for instance by his pupils Moses of Coucy and *Isaac Or Zaru'a of Vienna, the latter's pupil Meir of Rothenburg, and even later by Aaron ha-Kohen in the *Orḥot Ḥayyim* and by Joseph Colon (*ibid.*, and n. 68, p. 274 and n. 72). In addition there are references to other *tosafot* compiled by him on *Eruvin, Yoma, Ta'anit, Nedarim, Bava Meẓia*, and *Shevu'ot* (*ibid.*, 274 and n. 73, 74). To these may be added references of his *tosafot Mo'ed Katan* (commentary of Talmid R. Jehiel of Paris to MK, 14b (in: *Kitvei Makhon Harry Fischel* (1937) and the *Mordekhai* (MK, no. 862), to *Gittin* (*ibid.*, n. 73), and to *Zevaḥim* (Tos. Ri to Av. Zar. 51). Great scholars of France and Germany of the following generation, such as Jehiel of Paris, Moses of Coucy, Isaac Or Zaru'a of Vienna, and others, were his pupils (Isaac b. Abraham was not his pupil as stated by Ḥ.J. Michael), and they faithfully transmitted his decisions and customs in their works. Only a few of his responsa have survived. Judah also apparently occupied himself with the *masorah* and there is report of a *Sefer Rabbenu Judah of Paris* (G. De Rossi, *Catalogue*… Parma, no. 721). Judah has been erroneously confused at times with Judah he-Ḥasid (b. Samuel) and this error still persists, very likely because Judah was also occasionally referred to as "He-Ḥasid" ("the pious"; see Michael Or, no. 999).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: H. Gross, in: *Magazin*, 4 (1877), 173–87; 5 (1878), 179–83; Gross, Gal Jud, 519–24; J.N. Epstein, in: *Tarbiz*, 4 (1932/33), 179–81; Urbach, Tosafot, 267–76.

[Shlomoh Zalman Havlin]

JUDAH BEN ISAAC (14th or 15th century), author of a Hebrew treatise on music. Judah ben Isaac, who was probably a native of Southern France and seems to have been connected with the Jewish cultural renaissance in 14th-century Provence, adapted his treatise from several Latin sources. The text is preserved in a manuscript in Paris (Bibliothèque Nationale, Cod. heb. 1037, fol. 22b–27b), and is one of the very few theoretical treatises known to be the work of Jews of the period living in a Christian environment; it was also published in *Yuval* (vol. 1 (1968), 1–47), with a French translation and footnotes by I. Adler.

[Claude Abravanel]

JUDAH BEN ISAAC IBN SHABBETAI (13th century), Spanish Hebrew poet. Born around 1188, presumably in Toledo (according to some scholars, in Burgos, or in a town of Aragon), he lived for some time in Toledo and Saragossa. Judah composed at the age of 20 his best-known work, the rhymed prose narrative "*Minḥat Yehudah Sone ha-Nashim*" ("The Gift of Judah the Misogynist"), which aroused a poetical polemic for and against women, continuing into the 16th century. Even Judah *Al-Ḥarizi's "*Maqāma* of Marriage" in the *Taḥkemoni* (Gate 6) is unmistakably composed under Judah's influence. He follows the Andalusian Arabic pattern of a long narrative with different episodes. The story told in "The Misogynist" is of a young man, Zeraḥ, who had to take a vow of continence at his father's deathbed but who soon fell prey to the vengeance of the offended fair sex: after having established a celibate brotherhood that preaches dissuasion from marriage and incites to divorce, he is seduced by a fair maiden, but through some hoax finds himself married to an ugly witch. When he tries to get a divorce, he almost has to face a death sentence thanks to the intrigues of the women. The fable is not directed against women, but describes the arguments of medieval misogynist discourse and has a very ambiguous attitude in respect to marriage; it may be interpreted as having a twofold aim – to warn men of female vengeance and against rash marriages. In consonance with similar ideas expressed in Latin and Romance narratives of the time, women are presented as the cause of quarrels and troubles, who will turn cosmos back into chaos. The book is dedicated to a patron by the name of Abraham Alfakhar; the work was very popular during the Middle Ages and early Renaissance, and has been preserved in many manuscripts, but the unreliable texts of both complete editions (Constantinople, 1543, and in E. Aschkenasi, *Ta'am Zekenim* (1854), v. 1a–12b) make it impossible to determine the precise date of composition. Halberstam and Davidson believe there must have been three versions: 1188, 1208, and 1225, but very likely the book was composed in 1208, and substantially modified and enlarged in 1225 or 1228. The two versions, plus a revised form of the first one, were edited by M. Huss in his dissertation (1991). In the epilogue Judah attacks a certain Ibn Samun who had accused him of plagiarism. A certain Isaac published around 1210 two short writings attacking the apparent misogynist attitude of Ibn Shabbetai: *Ezrat ha-Nashim* and *Ein Mishpat*.

Judah wrote around 1214 a second narrative in rhymed prose, called *Milḥemet ha-Ḥokhmah ve-ha-Osher* ("Strife of Wisdom and Wealth"), which apparently was dedicated to Todros b. Judah, the father of Meir *Abulafia, who acted as judge in the quarrel in question between two brothers, one of them rich and the other wise, disputing about a tiara left to them by their father (Constantinople, 1503). Judah is also the author of another rhymed prose narrative, *Divrei ha-Alah ve-ha-Niddui* ("The Curse and the Ban"), a parody, or a satirical work, in which he settles accounts with five respected Jews of Saragossa (published by Davidson in *Ha-Eshkol*, 6 (1909), 165–75). It seems that another work on history was destroyed or burned by the leaders of the community of Saragossa, and has not been preserved.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Steinschneider, in: *Israelietische Letterbode*, 12 (1887/88), 63–65, 69–73; idem, in: HB, 13 (1873), 137; Halberstam, in: *Jeschurun* (Kobak's), 7 (1871), 33ff. (Heb. pt.); idem (ed.), *Ben ha-Melekh ve-ha-Nazir* (rev. ed. 1952), appendix; D. Kaufmann, *Gesammelte Schriften*, 3 (1915), 470–7; J. Davidson, *Parody in Jewish Literature* (1907), 7–12; J. Schirmann, *Die Hebraeischen Uebersetzungen der Maqamen des Hariri* (1930), 112f., Schirmann, Sefarad, 2 (1956), 67–86, 689; N. Wieder, in: *Metsudah*, 2 (1943), 122–31; Baer, Spain, 1 (1961), 94f., 398; Zinberg, Sifrut, 1 (1955), 186–9. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** T. Rosen, in: *Prooftexts*, 8 (1988), 67–87; idem, *Unveiling Eve* (2003), 103–123; T. Fishman, in: *Prooftexts*, 8 (1988), 89–111; M. Huss, "*Minḥat Yehudah, Ezrat ha-Nashim, ve-Ein Mishpaṭ*," diss. (Hebrew Univ., 1991); Schirmann-Fleischer, *The History of Hebrew Poetry in Christian Spain and Southern France* (1997), 129–44 (Heb.).

[Jefim (Hayyim) Schirmann / Angel Sáenz-Badillos (2nd ed.)]

JUDAH BEN JACOB HA-KOHEN (18th century), German rabbi. Judah served as *rosh yeshivah* in Berlin and was later appointed *dayyan* in Lissa. He carried on an extensive correspondence with Ezekiel b. Judah *Landau and Ephraim Zalman *Margolioth. All his possessions were lost in the great fire that raged in Lissa in 1767, from which however he succeeded in rescuing some of his manuscripts. His writings, relating mainly to the priesthood, include a comprehensive work in the form of novellae to the order of *Kodashim*, of which only the portions to the tractates *Zevaḥim* and *Menaḥot* have been published, under the titles *Mareh Kohen* (Frankfurt, 1776) and *Minḥat Kohen* (Prague, 1775, 1778, or 1788), respectively. In these two books, Judah mentions *Mattenot Kehunnah*, his novellae to the tractate *Bekhorot*, and *Mishpat ha-Kelal*, methodological rules for the study of the Talmud.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: H.N. Dembitzer, *Kelilat Yofi*, 2 (1893), 56b; L. Lewin, *Geschichte der Juden in Lissa* (1904), 268f.; Michael, Or, no. 1004; A. Walden, *Shem ha-Gedolim he-Ḥadash*, 2 (1864), 24b no. 95.

[Elias Katz]

JUDAH BEN JOSEPH OF KAIROUAN (end of 10th and beginning of 11th century), talmudic scholar of the geonic era. Judah is referred to as *resh sidra, *resh kallah*, and *alluf. He corresponded on halakhic problems with *Sherira and his son *Hai, *geonim* of *Pumbedita, as well as with *Samuel b. Hophni, *Gaon* of *Sura. His last extant letter is dated 1021 C.E. From Cairo **Genizah* fragments and laudatory poems written by Hai Gaon and by an anonymous poet, it is clear that he was a wealthy merchant who had considerable influence with the government. Together with Joseph b. Berechiah and Abraham b. Nathan, **nagid* of *Kairouan, Judah assisted the Jews expelled from *Fez in 979/980 following the revolt of the Beni Ziri against the *Fatimids. Judah was a patron of scholars and contributed to the Babylonian yeshivot. He opposed the *Karaites and is thought to have written a biblical commentary.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: A. Harkavy, *Zikkaron la-Rishonim ve-gam la-Aḥaronim*, 4 (1887), nos. 207, 434, 442; Mann, in: *Tarbiz*, 5 (1933/34), 301–4; Hirschberg, in: *Zion*, 23–24 (1958–59), 166–73; Goitein, *ibid.*, 27 (1962), 159–64; Abramson, in: *Sinai; Sefer Yovel* (1958), 403–17; Abramson, Merkazim, 79–82.

[Eliezer Bashan (Sternberg)]

JUDAH BEN KALONYMUS BEN MEIR (d. 1196/99), German scholar, and *dayyan* in his native Speyer. His father was a communal leader and was one of those responsible to the king regarding the collection of community taxes. His mother was the daughter of Judah, the brother of *Samuel b. Kalonymus he-Ḥasid. Judah frequently quotes *Abraham ben Samuel he-Ḥasid, the brother of *Judah he-Ḥasid. Meir b. Kalonymus, Judah's elder brother, was a well-known scholar who is often quoted by the talmudic scholars, including Judah himself, and there are grounds for thinking that David of Minzburg, the well-known *posek* and formulator of *takkanot*, was also his brother. *Ephraim of Regensburg was one of Judah's teachers, and one of his important pupils was *Eleazar b. Judah of Worms, author of the *Roke'aḥ*. Judah was in Speyer at the time of the anti-Jewish decree of 1196, and his elegy on this event was published by A.H. Habermann. Judah is known mainly for his *Seder Tanna'im ve-Amora'im*, apparently the original name of the book, the beginning of which is missing in the manuscripts. The work is an extensive and valuable talmudic lexicon of the names of the *tannaim* and *amoraim*. Statements of those scholars found in the works available to Judah are listed, sometimes in the context of the discussion where the quoted statements are found and with a comprehensive and extensive exposition, so that it reads like a commentary on the Talmud itself. The book reveals a strong critical tendency, and throughout it the author attempts to establish the correct reading by comparing parallel sources and manuscripts. Judah had a sense of historical perspective and noted many historical details which were found in the sources. The book is infused with the spirit of the *Ḥasidei Ashkenaz, and in explaining the anthropomorphisms in the *aggadah* relies upon the theory of the *Kavod* of that school. There is no doubt that Judah obtained much of his kabbalistic knowledge from Judah he-Ḥasid, even though the latter's name is only once mentioned explicitly in the book. R.N.N. Rabbinovicz, who was the first to publish part of the book (the section containing the letter *bet*), called it *Sefer Yiḥusei Tanna'im ve-Amora'im*, in order to differentiate it from the earlier work known as *Seder Tanna'im ve-Amora'im*. The letters *Bet* to *Tet* were later published by J.L. Fishman (Maimon), at first as a series in *Sinai*, and later in book form with an introduction by M.H. Katzenellenbogen (Jerusalem, 1963). The original manuscript gets only as far as the name Kruspedai, and it is not clear whether the manuscript is incomplete, or whether Judah did not complete the work. The extensive nature of the work was a hindrance to its being copied, for which reason it was hardly used by scholars until recent times. Judah also wrote other works that are no longer extant, including *Sefer ha-Agron*, which was apparently a kind of dictionary of realia on the names of the minerals, vegetables, and animals in the Talmud, and, like his first work, included many digressions; a special work on benedictions; and *tosafot* on a number of tractates. (Those to tractates *Beẓah* and *Sotah* are explicitly mentioned by him.)

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Urbach, Tosafot, 299–315; A. Epstein, in: MGWJ, 39 (1895), 398–403, 447–60, 507–13; A.M. Habermann, *Gezerot Ashkenaz ve-Ẓarefat* (1946), 60, 155–8, 162.

[Israel Moses Ta-Shma]

JUDAH BEN KALONYMUS BEN MOSES OF MAINZ (d. c. 1200), German scholar, halakhic authority, *paytan*, and kabbalist. He was the pupil of Shemariah b. Mordecai in Speyer, and of *Judah he-Ḥasid, who taught him mysticism. During the Third Crusade (1189–93) Judah braced his community to face the approaching trials and inspired them to repentance. Among his prominent pupils were his son Eleazar (who stated that he had received the mystical interpretation of the prayers and other kabbalistic knowledge from his father), *Eliezer b. Joel ha-Levi, and *Baruch b. Samuel, the author of *Sefer ha-Ḥokhmah*. His halakhic decisions are quoted in the works of the earlier authorities. He wrote *seliḥot* and *piyyutim*.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Landshuth, Ammudei, 78; Davidson, Oẓar 4 (1933), 392; Aptowitzer, *Mavo le-Sefer Ravyah* (1938), 252, 342–3; Urbach, Tosafot, 303f., 321–4.

[Yehoshua Horowitz]

JUDAH BEN MENAHEM OF ROME (early 12th century), liturgical poet. Judah, whose son Menahem was the head of the Talmud academy in Rome, is one of the major Italian *paytanim*. His poems must have been fairly popular in the Middle Ages, since they have come down in a number of manuscripts of the Roman ritual. At present, 15 of Judah's poems are known, of which only six have appeared in print: the *Yoẓerot* for **Shabbat ha-Gadol*, *Shabbat Naḥamu*, Simḥat Torah, and Shavuot; the *ofan* for the last; and a poem for Purim. He was perhaps the compiler of *Seder Ḥibbur Berakhot*, the oldest work on the Roman rite.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Landshuth, Ammudei, 68f.; Zunz, in: ZHB, 19 (1916), 132f.; Luzzatto, in: *Maḥzor Italyani*, 1 (1857), 23, 25, 27, introd.; Schirmann, 76f.; Davidson, in: JQR, 21 (1931), 244–6; Davidson, Oẓar, 4 (1933), 391f. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** E. Fleischer, *Hebrew Liturgical Poetry in the Middle Ages* (1975), 445 (Heb.).

[Jefim (Hayyim) Schirmann]

JUDAH BEN MOSES HA-DARSHAN (11th century), French scholar, son of *Moses ha-Darshan, under whom he studied and whose teachings he transmitted. He apparently also studied under *Gershom b. Judah in Mainz, then returned to Narbonne where *Isaac b. Merwan ha-Levi was among his disciples, many of whom later became distinguished. He lived for some time in Toulouse, where *Menahem b. Ḥelbo was his pupil. Menahem thus served as the main channel for the transmission of the works of Moses ha-Darshan from Narbonne in the south to northern France. One saying quoted by his son Joseph has been preserved by Samuel *Ibn Jama.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Abraham b. Azriel, *Arugat ha-Bosem*, ed. by E.E. Urbach, 4 (1963), 3–5.

[Israel Moses Ta-Shma]

JUDAH (Judel) BEN MOSES OF LUBLIN (17th century), rabbi and author. Judah was rabbi and *rosh yeshivah* of Kovel, and district rabbi and *rosh yeshivah* of Lemberg in 1652. From 1691 to 1699 he also served in Lublin, but whether as rabbi as well as head of the yeshivah is uncertain. He was regarded as one of the important rabbis of his generation, his commendations appearing in many books, and was one of the rabbis of the *Council of Four Lands. He wrote commentaries to the Shulḥan Arukh, *Oraḥ Ḥayyim* (called *Kol Yehudah*), as well as notes to *Asher b. Jehiel's Talmud commentary, which he intended to have published along with *David b. Samuel ha-Levi's *Turei Zahav*. The money he sent for this purpose was used without his knowledge to publish David ha-Levi's commentary on the Pentateuch, *Divrei David* (Dyhrenfurth, 1689). Some of his comments are quoted in the *Kav ha-Yashar* (Frankfurt, 1705) of Ẓevi Hirsch *Koidanover. He died in Dubnow. Of his sons, Joseph was rabbi in Dubnow, Ze'ev Wolf in Minsk, Aryeh Leib in Slutsk, and Moses in Posen.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: H.N. Dembitzer, *Kelilat Yofi*, 1 (1888), 68b–70a; S.B. Nissenbaum, *Le-Korot ha-Yehudim be-Lublin* (1899), 130, 135; S. Buber, *Anshei Shem* (1895), 77 no. 188; I.T. Eisenstadt and S. Wiener, *Da'at Kedoshim* (1897–98), 78; Halpern, Pinkas, 143, 214, 496.

[Itzhak Alfassi]

JUDAH BEN NAḤAMANI (Nahman; third century C.E.), Palestinian *amora*. Judah was the *meturgeman* ("interpreter"; see **amora*) of *Simeon b. Lakish in the *bet ha-midrash* of Tiberias. He was also known as a preacher and preached in the *bet ha-midrash* of Johanan (TJ, Suk. 5:1, 55a). Many of his homilies are cited in the Talmud (Ḥag. 16a; Ket. 8b, et al.). On one occasion he was acting as a *meturgeman* for one who had been appointed *dayyan* by the *nasi*. Although the *dayyan* was not a scholar, Judah bent down, as it was the custom for the *meturgeman*, to listen to what the *dayyan* said to him in a low voice, and then explain and convey it to the audience audibly. The *dayyan*, however, was incapable of saying anything to him. Thereupon Judah delivered his own address, taking as his text the verse Habbakuk 2:19: "Woe unto him who sayeth unto wood: Awake! – to the dumb stone: Arise! Can this teach? Behold it is overlaid with gold and silver, and there is no breath at all in the midst of it" (Sanh. 7b), a patent allusion to the circumstances.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Hyman, Toledot, s.v.; Ḥ. Albeck, *Mavo la-Talmudim* (1969), 245.

[Zvi Kaplan]

JUDAH BEN NATHAN (known as **Rivan**; 11th–12th centuries), tosafist. Little is known of his life. He was one of Rashi's most eminent pupils and married his daughter Miriam. R. Yom Tov of Falaise was his son, and his daughter Elvina was known for the traditions which she transmitted from her mother. R. Judah wrote extensively, mainly elaborating on Rashi's teachings, but he did not arrive at a crystallized system of study, such as is found in the *tosafot*. For this reason he is to be regarded as occupying an intermediate stage between Rashi and the *tosafot*. Judah was the author of glosses to Rashi's Talmud commentary, and of independent commentaries to most of the talmudic tractares, extensively quoted in the *tosafot* and by other *rishonim*. He made frequent use of the commentaries of the sages of Mainz as well as that of R. *Hananel b. Ḥushi'el. Most editions of the Talmud include his commentary on *Makkot* from p. 19a onward. Judah also wrote the commentary, sometimes erroneously attributed to Rashi, on chapter ten of *Sanhedrin*. A large part of his commentary on *Ketubbot* has been preserved in Bezalel *Ashkenazi's *Shitah Mekubbeẓet*. Fragments of his commentaries on the tractate *Yevamot* have been printed by A.N.Z. Roth (see Bibliography). The suggestion that the commentary on *Nazir*, generally ascribed to Rashi, is by Judah is ill-founded. Some sources mention a commentary on the Pentateuch by him.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: J.N. Epstein, *Perushei Rabbenu Yehudah bar Natan li-Khetuvot* (1933); idem, in: *Tarbiz*, 4 (1932/33), 11–34; S. Lieberman, *Sheki'in* (1939), 192ff.; Urbach, Tosafot, 36–38; A.N.Z. Roth, in: *Sefer Yovel… S.L. Mirsky* (1958), 285–312; M. Hirshler, in: *Sinai*, 63 (1968), 198–215.

[Israel Moses Ta-Shma]

JUDAH BEN NISSAN (b. early 17th century), Polish talmudic scholar. He was related by marriage to many important rabbinic personages. He held rabbinic positions in Olkusz, Sieniawa, and Tomaszow (all in Poland). The great respect for his scholarship is evidenced by his being appointed to the important rabbinate of Kalisz at the time when Abraham Abele *Gombiner was *dayyan* there. He participated in the Council of the Four Lands in 1681. Judah wrote *Beit Yehudah*, containing novellae on the more frequently studied tractates of the orders *Nashim* and *Nezikin*, as well as on *Ḥullin*. It is in two parts: the first part (Sulzbach, 1687) covers the aggadic sections of the tractates, while the second, edited by his son Abraham (Dessau, 1698), deals with the halakhic material.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: H.N. Dembitzer, *Kelilat Yofi*, 1 (1888), 82a; Lewin, in: *Festschrift… A. Harkavy* (1908), 149f.; Michael, Or, no. 1029; Weinberg, in: JJLG, 1 (1903), 123f.

[Jacob Haberman]

JUDAH BEN PEDAYA (**Padah**; early third century C.E.), Palestinian *amora*. His statements, both in *halakhah* and *aggadah*, are numerous in both Talmuds and the Midrash, but he was recognized as a master of *aggadah*. In the Babylonian Talmud he was known as Bar Pada, in the Jerusalem Talmud as Bar Pedaya, and in the Midrash by his full name. He studied under *Judah ha-Nasi or *Ḥiyya (according to an alternative reading), and he was a pupil of his uncle, *Bar Kappara. Among his disciples were *Joshua b. Levi, Johanan, *Hezekiah, and *Ilfa. His statement concerning the belated attempt of the wicked to repent on Judgment Day has become popular: "If a man has not prepared before the Sabbath, how can he eat on the Sabbath?"

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Bacher, Pal Amor; Hyman, Toledot, s.v.; H. Albeck, *Mavo la-Talmudim* (1969), 163.

JUDAH BEN SAMUEL HE-ḤASID (c. 1150–1217), main teacher of the *Ḥasidei Ashkenaz movement. Judah was one of the most prominent scholars of the Middle Ages in the fields of ethics and theology. He probably lived some time in Speyer and then moved to Regensburg (he was sometimes called "Rabbi Judah of Regensburg"). Very little of his life is known from contemporary sources. However, many legends about his life dating from 15th- and 16th-century sources have survived. In them, he is described as a mystic (whereas his brother Abraham is described as a scholar of *halakhah*) who performed many miracles in order to save the Jews from the gentiles. Judah taught and practiced extreme humility. He even forbade an author to sign a book he wrote, because his sons might take pride in their father's fame. This seems to be the reason why his works were circulated as anonymous works. Even his pupils did not quote his works by name; *Abraham b. Azriel, the author of *Arugat ha-Bosem*, used the title רי״ח, בש״ם, ניחו״ח (*Re'aḥ Bosem Niḥo'aḥ*) when he quoted him, an appellation which hints at his name by the use of *notarikon and *gematria. His descendants helped propagate his teachings. His son Moses wrote a commentary on the Pentateuch; his grandson *Eleazar b. Moses ha-Darshan wrote works in esoteric theology, and his great-grandson, Moses b. Eleazar, who was a kabbalist, tried to harmonize Ashkenazi-ḥasidic teaching with the Kabbalah. However, his most prominent pupil, whose writings popularized Judah's teachings among the Jews in Germany and elsewhere, was *Eleazar b. Judah of Worms. Even though Judah did not write in the field of *halakhah* and ritual practice, many later Ashkenazi writers depended on his teachings and practices in their works. Most of Judah's writings in esoteric theology have not survived. His major work was probably *Sefer ha-Kavod* ("Book of Divine Glory"), of which only quotations in later works have survived. He also wrote a voluminous commentary on the prayers, of which only a small part is known today. Besides these major works, a few small ones have survived: *Sod ha-Yiḥud* ("The Secret of God's Unity"); exegesis of a few *piyyutim*; and some short magical treatises. Because he did not sign his writings, some works by others have been attributed to him, e.g., Eleazar of Worms' *Sefer ha-Ḥokhmah*. In ethics, his main work was his contribution to the *Sefer Ḥasidim*, of which he was the principal author. Eleazar edited a short treatise on *teshuvah* ("repentance") which Judah wrote, and a short collection of ethical and magical paragraphs was published as *Ẓavva'at Rabbi Yehudah he-Ḥasid* ("The Will of Rabbi Judah the Pious," Cracow, 1891).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: J. Dan, *Torat ha-Sod shel Ḥasidei Ashkenaz* (1968), 50–59; idem, in: *Tarbiz*, 30 (1961), 273–289; Bruell, in: JJGL, 9 (1889), 1–71; Scholem, Mysticism, 80–118; E.E. Urbach, *Arugat ha-Bosem* 4 (1963), 73–111; J. Freimann, *Sefer Ḥasidim* (1924^2), 1–15 (introd.).

[Joseph Dan]

JUDAH BEN SHAMMUA (second half of the second century C.E.), *tanna*, presumably a pupil of R. *Meir. He is not mentioned in the Mishnah, and only once in the Tosefta (Kel. BB 7:9, RH 19a) where he is quoted transmitting a ruling about the ritual cleanness of glass vessels in the name of Meir. His name is also found in the manuscript readings of the parallel text in Shab. 15b, the omission of his name in the printed editions being almost certainly a scribal (or printer's) error. An *aggadah* relates that he succeeded in his intercession with the Roman authorities in having their decree forbidding the study of Torah, Sabbath observance, and the circumcision of children repealed (RH 19a; Meg. Ta'an., 22). In this venture he was aided by a Roman matron, probably the widow of *Tineius Rufus (v. Av. Zar. 20a). In commemoration, the day on which the decrees were abrogated, Adar 28, was proclaimed a feast day. The sons of Judah b. Shammua are mentioned in the Palestinian Talmud as having possessed a great flock of sheep, of which over 300 were killed in a raid by wolves (TJ, Beẓah 1:1, 60a).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Hyman, Toledot, s.v.; Graetz, Gesch, 4 (1904^3), 169; B. Lewin, *Megillat Ta'anit* (1964), 198–9. V. Noam, *Megillat Ta'anit* (2003), 312–15.

[Stephen G. Wald (2nd ed.)]

JUDAH BEN TABBAI (first century B.C.E.), one of the **zugot*, the colleague of *Simeon b. Shetaḥ. A disciple of Joshua b. Peraḥyah and Nittai of Arbela. According to one tradition he was the *nasi* (see *Sanhedrin) and Simeon b. Shetaḥ the *av bet din*, but another tradition reverses their roles (Ḥag. 2:2; Tosef., Ḥag. 2:8; cf. TJ, Ḥag. 2:2, 77d and Sanh. 6:9, 23c; TB, Hag. 16b). According to one tradition (Tosef. Sanh. 6:6) Simeon b. Shetaḥ once criticized a halakhic decision of Judah b. Tabbai who thereafter accepted upon himself "never to make a halakhic ruling without Simeon b. Shetaḥ's consent." An attempt in the Babylonian Talmud (Ḥag. 16b) to use this tradition in order to determine which of them was *nasi* and which *av bet din* was inconclusive. Moreover, in the parallel version of this story (Mekh. Nezikin, 20), the roles of Judah b. Tabbai, and Simeon b. Shetaḥ are reversed, and S. Friedman has recently shown that the version in the Mekhilta is more original. A story is told of how Judah b. Tabbai fled from Jerusalem to Alexandria, and the people of Jerusalem wrote to Alexandria, "How long will my betrothed stay with you while I sit grieving for him," whereupon he returned (TJ, Ḥag. 2:2, 77d; cf. TJ, Sanh. 6:9, 23c). Judah's saying in *Avot* (1:8) contains advice for a judge: "Do not play the part of an advocate [or presiding judge]; while the litigants are standing before thee, let them be regarded by thee as if they were guilty; and when they leave thy presence [after] having submitted to the judgment, let them be regarded by thee as guiltless." In the well-known dispute regarding **semikhah* ("the laying on" of hands on the head of the sacrifice on the festival), Judah held that it may not be done (Ḥag. 2:2). According to a Palestinian *amora*, Judah decreed, alone or together with Simeon b. Shetaḥ, the impurity of metal vessels (TJ, Shab. 1:7, 3c; TJ, Pes. 1:6, 27d, TJ, Ket. 8:11, 32c). A *baraita* in the Babylonian Talmud, ascribes this decree to Simeon b. Shetaḥ alone (Shab. 14b).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Frankel, Mishnah (1923^2), 35–39. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** S. Friedman, "If They Have Not Slain They Are Slain; But If They Have Slain They Are Not Slain," in: *Sidra*, 20 (2005).

[Moshe David Herr / Stephen G. Wald (2nd ed.)]

JUDAH BEN TEMA, *tanna*. He is mentioned only once in the Mishnah (Avot 5:20), and twice in the Tosefta (Er. 2:6, and Git. 5:12). It is difficult to determine his date, but from these two passages it would seem that he belonged to the last generation of *tannaim*. His saying in *Avot* 5:20 is, "Be bold as a leopard, swift as an eagle, fleet as a hart, and strong as a lion, to do the will of thy Father in heaven." The Babylonian Talmud refers to "Judah and his colleagues" as examples of "masters of the Mishnah" (Ḥag. 14a), and later tradition ascribes to him the saying: "Love Heaven, fear Heaven, quiver and rejoice with all the precepts. If you have done your fellow a slight harm, let it be regarded as a grievous one in your eyes; if you have done him a great favor, let it be regarded as slight in your eyes; but if your fellow has done you a slight favor, let it be as great in your eyes, and if he has done you great harm, let it be a slight one in your eyes" (ARN^1, 41, 133). The Babylonian Talmud (Pes. 70a) quotes a *halakhah* in the name of "ben Tema," which in the parallel tannaitic traditions (Tosef. Pes. 9:8, Zev. 8:11; Sifra, Nedava 18) is quoted in the name of "Ben Azzai."

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Frankel, Mishnah, 213; Hyman, Toledot, s.v.; J. Kanowitz, *Ma'arekhot Tanna'im*, 2 (1968), 49–51. S. Friedman, in: Y. Elman et al. (eds.), *Neti'ot Ledavid, Jubilee Volume for David Weiss Halivni* (Hebrew), (2005).

[Stephen G. Wald (2nd ed.)]

JUDAH BEN YAKAR (d. between 1201 and 1218), talmudist and kabbalist, teacher of *Naḥmanides. Judah was born in Provence, but in his youth he moved to northern France where he studied under *Isaac b. Abraham, the tosafist. Subsequently he went to Barcelona where his signature is found on a document of 1175. From other documents signed by Abraham b. Judah of Narbonne, who was apparently his son, the years of Judah's death can be established as between 1201 and 1218. Judah was also a kabbalist, having studied under *Isaac the Blind. In his lifetime Judah was famous for two large works. One – which has been completely lost – was a commentary on the Jerusalem Talmud and was one of the earliest systematic commentaries on it. It is frequently quoted by the early authorities and covered at least a large part of the orders of *Mo'ed* and *Nezikin*. His other work is the *Ma'yan Gannim*, a rational commentary on the liturgy and blessings, though the esoteric element is by no means absent. His aim in this work was to show the scriptural and rabbinic versions and sources of the prayers and to detail the various laws connected with them. The commentary was published on the basis of a number of manuscripts by S. Yerushalmi (1968). The work is frequently cited by the *rishonim*, among them Jacob ha-Kohen of Lunel and David *Abudarham. The latter quotes him literally in almost every *halakhah*, without, however, mentioning his name. Judah's main claim to fame in subsequent generations was that he was one of the teachers of Naḥmanides, who refers to him in his works. It seems that he was one of the channels through which Naḥmanides became acquainted with the literature and methods of study of the tosafists.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Judah b. Yakar, *Perush ha-Tefillot ve-ha-Berakhot*, ed. by S. Yerushalmi (1968), introd.; D. Zomber, in: MGWJ, 9 (1860), 421–6; G. Scholem, in: *Tarbiz*, 3 (1932), 276f; C.B. Chavel, *Rabbenu Moshe b. Naḥman* (1967), 38–44.

[Israel Moses Ta-Shma]

JUDAH THE GALILEAN (d. c. 6 C.E.), considered by many scholars identical with Judah, the son of *Hezekiah who was put to death by Herod in Galilee. Judah came from Gamala in the Golan (Jos., Ant., 18:4). Immediately after the death of Herod (4 B.C.E.) Judah participated in the widespread disturbances in the country. He had put himself at the head of a band of rebels near Sepphoris and had seized control of the armory in Herod's palace in the city. According to Josephus, he had even aspired to the throne (Ant., 17:271–2; Wars, 2:56). Though the rebels were defeated, Judah apparently succeeded in escaping (Jos., Ant., 17:289ff.). Together with *Zadok the Pharisee, he was one of the founders of the "fourth philosophy," i.e., the Sicarii (Ant., 18:23–5). When Sulpicius *Quirinius, the governor of Syria, arrived in Judea in 6 C.E. to take a census, as the first step toward converting the country into a Roman province, Judah and Zadok urged the people to resist, maintaining that submitting to a census in Judea was a religious sin, the Jewish people being forbidden to acknowledge any other master but God (Jos., Wars, 2:118, 433). Judah's doctrine struck root among the embittered people, especially among the youth, and its consequences were visible in the period of the procurators, particularly in the last years before the Roman War and during the war itself.

Of his three sons, Jacob and Simeon both continued the zealot tradition and headed the rebels. Both brothers were arrested and crucified during the procuratorship of Tiberius Alexander (46–48 C.E.; Jos., Ant., 20:102). Their brother Menahem was one of the Jewish leaders in the Roman War. For the "fourth philosophy" founded by Judah the Galilean, see *Zealots and *Sicarii.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Schuerer, Hist, index, s.v. *Judas of Galilee* and p. 226 (for his sons); Klausner, Bayit Sheni, index, s.v. *Yehudah ha-Galili*; A.H.M. Jones, *The Herods of Judaea* (1938), 163, 225, 243.

[Abraham Schalit]

JUDAH HALEVI (before 1075–1141), Hebrew poet, philosopher, and physician. Halevi was one of the most distinguished and emblematic medieval intellectuals, perhaps the most mature and representative model of Jewish culture in al-Andalus; he was deeply involved in the life of his times and, because of his prestige, he had a deep influence on future Judaism. Judah Halevi's own work constitutes his most important biographical source: his poems tell of his journeys in Spain and in other countries, of his relations with his contemporaries, of his position in society, and of his spiritual development. Many biographical particulars are also contained in his extant letters and in poems of his contemporaries, as well as in later writers (e.g., Ibn Ezra's commentary to the Pentateuch, and *Maḥberet he-Arukh* of Salomon ibn *Parḥon). Publications of letters from the Cairo *Genizah* have clarified many aspects of the last period of Judah Halevi's life. Wider acquaintance with the many manuscripts and fragments of his writings preserved in the libraries of Russia have notably helped in the last years to increase our knowledge of his person and work.

Biography

EARLY YEARS AND ADULT LIFE. Despite the traditional location of Judah Halevi's birthplace in Toledo, modern research (since Schirman's study in *Tarbiz*, 10 (1939), 237–9) prefers the town of Tudela, still under Muslim rule and close to the border of Castile, as birthplace of both Halevi and Abraham *Ibn Ezra. Judah Halevi, apparently from a wealthy and learned family, received a comprehensive education in both Hebrew and Arabic. His childhood years were spent during a peaceful period for the Jews of the region. He lived for some time in Christian territory, as confirmed by his own words in a letter and by the testimony of his contemporaries. In some manuscripts he is called "the Castilian." Some researchers have pushed forward the date of his first visit to al-Andalus. But it is very likely that he was still very young when he traveled to the Muslim South with the intention of proceeding to the large Jewish center in Granada. Among the various communities he passed through on his way were Córdoba and Lucena; it was probably in one of these places that he participated in a poetry writing contest (styled after those of the Arabs). He won the competition for imitating a complicated poem by Moses ibn Ezra, who invited Judah Halevi to his home. The two developed a close friendship and Judah Halevi seems to have spent some time in Granada, in an atmosphere of wealth and culture. There he also wrote his first important poems – primarily eulogies and poetical letters – and apparently some of his wine and love poems, which reflect his easy-going, hedonistic life during those years. Judah Halevi also became friendly with Ibn Ezra's brother, Isaac, and was in contact with other great poets in Granada, Seville, and Saragossa.

With the coming of the Almoravides from Africa and their conquest of Muslim Spain (after 1090), the position of the Jews in Andalusia deteriorated, and Judah Halevi left Granada. For the following 20 years he traveled through numerous communities. In various places he was in contact with Jewish and non-Jewish nobles and dignitaries (e.g., Joseph ibn Migash in Lucena and the vizier Meir ibn Kamniel in Seville). He spent some time in Christian Toledo, practicing medicine, apparently in the service of the king and his nobles. Like many of his fellow Jews at that time, he trusted that the status and influence of the Jewish nobles and community leaders who were close to the royal house would ensure security and peace for the Jews in the Christian lands. However, he was disillusioned by the murder in 1108 of his patron and benefactor, the nobleman Solomon ibn Ferrizuel, who had achieved a high rank in the service of Alfonso VI. Judah left Toledo apparently before the death of Alfonso VI (1109) and again began to travel. His fame continued to spread, and the circle of his friends and admirers, to whom he wrote many poems, broadened greatly. Judah Halevi also had contact with the Jewish communities in North Africa, Egypt, and Narbonne.

His financial situation was generally sound; it seems that he was only rarely dependent on gifts. Aside from his profession as a physician, he also engaged in trade, apparently with Jewish merchants in Egypt, and, in particular, with the great Jewish merchant, Abu Saʿid Ḥalfon ha-Levi of Damietta, who on one of his many travels came to Spain. Five letters of Halevi to Ḥalfon have been found in the *Genizah*, written by the poet between 1127 and 1140. Active in community affairs, too, he helped to collect money for the ransom of captives.

FRIENDSHIP WITH ABRAHAM IBN EZRA. Of all his ties with various people, Judah Halevi's friendship with Abraham ibn Ezra was especially close and long-lasting. Some scholars believe that both wandered through the various cities of Muslim Spain, and even traveled to North Africa together. They were both in North Africa, but it is not sure that they were there together. In his biblical commentaries, Abraham ibn Ezra quotes Judah Halevi numerous times in matters of grammar, exegesis, and philosophy (e.g., Ex. 9:1; 20:1; Dan. 9:2). Various traditions maintain that the two were related by blood or by marriage. According to a later tradition (*Sefer ha-Yuḥasin* of Abraham Zacuto, ed. by A. Freimann, 1925) they were cousins, while another – no doubt legendary – mentioned in Abrabanel's commentary on the Torah and in the *Shalshelet ha-Kabbalah* of Gedaliah ibn Yaḥya (Cracow, 1596), asserts that Judah Halevi gave his daughter in marriage to Abraham ibn Ezra, despite the latter's poverty. On the basis of letters from the Cairo *Genizah*, however, it may be surmised that his son-in-law was Isaac, the son of Abraham ibn Ezra, who traveled with him to Egypt.

Last Days in Ereẓ Israel

Judah Halevi's decision to emigrate to Ereẓ Israel, a gradual one, reflected the highest aspiration of his life. It resulted from a complex of circumstances: intense and realistic political thought; disillusionment with the possibility of secure Jewish existence in the Diaspora; intense longing for a positive, redeeming act; and the prevalent messianic climate, which so affected him that he once dreamt that the redemption would come in the year 4890 (1130 C.E.).

The decision was strengthened by his religious philosophy, developed at length in his book the *Kuzari* and in many of his poems. This philosophy maintained the unity which ensues from the relationship between the God of Israel, the people of Israel – to whom He chose to reveal His truth through His prophets, Ereẓ Israel – the "Gate of Heaven," the only place where prophecy is possible, and Hebrew – the language of Israel. From this it clearly followed that the ideal existence for the Jews was attainable only in their own land. Throughout the philosophical and poetic work of Judah Halevi, as in his life, one can sense the intellectual effort to make other Jews conscious of this. In his philosophical work as well as in his poetry, Judah Halevi spoke out harshly against those who deceived themselves by speaking of Zion and by praying for its redemption while their hearts were closed to it and their actions far removed from it. Judah, however, understood the problems which emigration to Ereẓ Israel posed for many people; he decided to realize his own *aliyah* – the educational act of an individual who also seeks personal redemption.

Great difficulties lay before him. The long journey by both sea and desert was perilous. He knew that he would encounter very difficult living conditions in Ereẓ Israel, which was under Crusader rule at that time. Moreover, Judah Halevi had to counter the arguments of his friends who tried to deter him; he had to overcome his attachment to his only daughter and son-in-law, to his students, his many friends and admirers; and he had to give up his high social status and the honor which he had attained in his native land. He struggled deeply with his intimate attachment to Spain, the land of "his fathers' graves": at one time he had even looked upon Spain with pride and thankfulness, as a homeland for the Jews. These indecisions, which occupied him in the last period of his life, find expression in his "Poems of Zion," in the *Kuzari* (mainly in the fifth and final part), and in the *Genizah* letters which date from the same period. On the other hand, Judah Halevi was encouraged to make the journey by his friend Ḥalfon ha-Levi, whom he met in Spain in 1139.

Important new letters and documents published by Goitein on the one hand (five of them are holographs of Judah Halevi himself), and by M. Gil and E. Fleischer (2001) on the other, have illuminated in a decisive way his last days in Egypt and his trip to Palestine. Thanks to the letters found in the *Genizah* we know that on the 24th of Elul (Sept. 8, 1140) Judah Halevi, accompanied by Isaac, the son of Abraham Ibn Ezra, among others, arrived in Alexandria. His arrival caused great excitement, and the *dayyan* Aaron ibn al-'Ammānī was his host. Several months later he went to Cairo where he stayed with Ḥalfon ha-Levi. The scenery, pleasures, the admiration and honor generally accorded him everywhere, and the friendships he enjoyed all served to prolong his stopover in Egypt. He wrote there a substantial number of poems, no fewer than 50, praising his Egyptian friends. He wanted to continue his trip to Jerusalem and began to fear that he would die before reaching his destination. His friends tried to convince him to remain in Egypt, claiming that Egypt was as important as Ereẓ Israel, since the first prophecy as well as great miracles took place there. He tried the land route from Cairo to Jerusalem, but had to return. Isaac Ibn Ezra decided to follow his own route and did not return with him to Alexandria. Judah Halevi boarded a ship at Alexandria on May 8, 1141, bound for Ereẓ Israel, but its departure was delayed by inclement weather. The ship finally set sail on May 14. The sea journey to Ashkelon or Acre took about 10 days, and it seems very likely that he actually arrived in the Holy Land. A letter by Ḥalfon informs us that Halevi died in the month of July. It seems that he succeeded spending his last month in the land of his dreams. What was denied him in life, however, the famous legend, first mentioned in *Shalshelet ha-Kabbalah*, and later by Heinrich Heine in his *Hebraeische Melodien*, has supplied. It relates that he managed to reach the city of Jerusalem, but, as he kissed its stones, a passing Arab horseman (Jerusalem, in fact, was then under the Crusaders) trampled on him just as he was reciting his elegy, "*Ẓiyyon ha-lo tishali*."

Poetry

About 800 poems written by Judah Halevi are known, covering all the subjects commonly found in Spanish Hebrew poetry, as well as the forms and artistic patterns of secular and religious poetry.

LOVE POEMS. His love poems, which number about 80, are addressed to a deer or gazelle, or – as marriage poems – to the two together. His short poems with internal rhyme, and his girdle poems, as well as those of the *zajal* type, in which plays on sound and rhyme sometimes add a musical grace, attained great artistic perfection ("*Ḥammah be-ad reki'a ẓammah*," "*Bi bi ha-ẓevi*, *bi adoni*"). Their content and form are those generally found in Arabic-Hebrew love poetry, such as the yearnings and travails of the lover, the cruelty of the beloved who delights in mocking her victims, her countenance shining from the darkness of a stormy night, and her "lethal" glances. Sometimes there is a particularly original description of feminine beauty, such as the one comparing the face surrounded by a red fall of hair to the setting of the sun which reddens the clouds of the horizon ("*Leil gilleta elai*"); sometimes the light playful spirit unites with a surprisingly graphic description. A popular vein is discernible in the clear and simple style of the epithalamia. Interpretations of Judah Halevi's love poems vary: some assert that they reflect his personal experiences, while others maintain that they are simply artistic compositions, with accepted literary themes and descriptions. Following contemporary trends, Judah Halevi also composed poems in praise of wine and its pleasures. A playfulness can also be felt in his entertaining riddles and in his various epigrams, which in the main are witty ("*Lo nikreti*").

POEMS OF EULOGY AND LAMENT. The largest number of Judah Halevi's secular poems deal with eulogy and friendship. A small portion of the approximately 180 were written for unnamed individuals but the majority for his famous contemporaries – poets, philosophers, religious scholars (e.g., Moses ibn Ezra, Judah ibn Ghayyat, Joseph ibn Ẓaddik, Joseph ibn Migash), nobles, and philanthropists. Their form is the *qaṣīda* and their language, rich and brilliant, with much embellishment. Splendid poetic descriptions, such as that of the night in the poetic eulogy composed for Solomon ibn Ghayyat ("*Ayin nedivah asher tashut ke-soḥeret*"), or that of the garden, the wine, and the party of friends in a poem in honor of Isaac ibn al-Yatom ("*Ereẓ ke-yaldah hayetah yoneket*") are attained. The opening is generally the most artistic part of the poem, whereas the eulogy itself – which for the most part comprises the content – is usually pedestrian, lacking any mark of individuality, and tending to extreme exaggeration. The frank and sensitive poems within this type were written for those people, like the Ibn Ezra family, toward whom Judah Halevi felt deep affection and admiration.

The *qaṣīda* is also the form of most of the laments (approximately 45) on the deaths of many of his friends and acquaintances. His grief is combined with pessimistic meditation on omnipotent death, and on fate which strikes arbitrarily, and with exaggerated eulogies of the deceased – all in the contemporary style. The death of close friends, however, evoked a strong personal feeling which succeeded in investing the usual motifs with originality ("*Alei zot tivkeinah*" on the death of Moses ibn Ezra and his brother Joseph). As was common in this period, Judah Halevi combined a conscious intellectual structuring of the whole poem with an expression of genuine emotion, as exemplified in particular by the lament on the murder of Solomon ibn Ferrizuel at the hands of Christian mercenaries. Here the tragedy of the individual unites with the catastrophe of the people, and perplexity with rage against Christendom, which is cursed in this poem. Stylistically the openings of the laments are unique. The poems themselves, adapted to different mourning situations, are written in strophic forms, free from the stylized contents and the representations of the classic laments. The influence of folk songs is clearly discernible in them; the ballad verse form is sometimes used, especially in dialogue between the living who stand by the grave and the deceased.

PIYYUTIM. Outstanding among the 350 *piyyutim* which Judah Halevi composed for all of the Jewish festivals is a large group, which may be entitled "*Shirei ha-Galut*" ("Poems of the Diaspora"). The realism of these poems clearly reflects the tragic events suffered by the Jewish people. Their main value, however, is to be found in the lyric fashioning of his own world by the poet, who identified deeply with the fate of his people and whose poetry afforded true expression to many others. The combination of stylistic aspects of Spanish-Hebrew poetry with the various characteristics of the ancient Hebrew style results in rare achievements of perfection and beauty. Job's lament, the cries of Lamentations and of the psalmist, and the bitter complaints of Jeremiah resound in these poems, together with the joy of the prophetic visions of redemption. By relating his personal experience, the poet particularizes the idea of suffering – heightened by imagery and descriptions drawn from ancient sources. In their rich language and imagery, in the force of their varied style, and in the magic effect of their sound patterns, these poems rank among the most outstanding Hebrew poetry of all time (e.g., "*Yonah nesatah al kanfei nesharim*").

In discussing the problem of the "end of days," Judah Halevi uses the obscure eschatology of the Book of Daniel. He sometimes expresses depression arising from his fear at the delay of the redemption and of the danger of destruction of his people. In these *piyyutim* Judah Halevi expresses his yearning for redemption in an urgent demand for its realization and in rejoicing over its expected realization. Following an ancient midrashic motif, he allegorically expressed the pain of God's chosen and faithful people, whom He had seemingly forsaken to idolators, in terms of the anguish of a prince whose servants have captured him and whose father delays in rescuing him; in contrast God, the lover, promises to keep His covenant and assures His people of His love and the future redemption. In this section the poetry is replete with descriptions of love and spring taken from the Song of Songs. In these poems Judah Halevi takes a polemical stand against false belief; against the enticements of monks and apostates, the beloved, wounded and insulted, vows unconditional faithfulness to her lover ("*Yode'ei yegoni*"), proclaiming happiness in her pains which are but wounds of a lover ("*Me-az me'on ha-ahavah*"). He emphasizes the superiority of the Jewish religion, which alone is divinely revealed ("*Ya'alat ḥen mi-me'onah raḥakah,*" "*Yekar im ha-shabbat tagdil*"). The poems are imbued with sometimes strongly contrasting emotions: loneliness and suffering; rejoicing in the light of the past and sufferings in the darkness of the present; despair and security; lust for revenge and yearning for redemption. The strong tensions between these opposites find imagistic expression in such figures as a dove escaping the hunter (the Jewish people carried, in the past, on the wings of eagles); the degradation of the slave (the lost kingdom); the loneliness of the exiled son (the essential chosenness of the people).

PERSONAL LYRIC POETRY. Along with *piyyutim* of a national nature on such biblical and historic themes as the description of the miracles in Egypt in the poems for Passover, the miracle of Purim, the *Avodah* for the Day of Atonement, are found lyric poems expressing personal religious experiences: *yoẓerot, kerovot, reshuyyot*, and mainly *seliḥot*, which are among the greatest in Jewish religious poetry after the Psalms. Judah Halevi expresses man's reverence for God, his dread of sin, and the desperate struggle against his carnal nature. He repeatedly admonishes the soul with harsh words, instills in it the fear of judgment and death, entices it with the idea of the reward of paradise, and deters it with the threat of the fire of hell. In this conflict God, a harsh judge, is too lofty to be approached and known. On the other hand, he writes of his happiness with God, which pervades his entire being; his powerful love of and devotion to God increase the light in his soul, mitigate its fear, and protect it from the power of evil. At that time, God is revealed to the heart. Traces of contemporary philosophical views can be discerned in these poems, as well as influences of similar motifs in earlier Hebrew poetry. Exalted style is only rarely used ("*Yeḥav lashon ḥazot ishon,*" "*Elohim el mi amshilkha*"); generally the poetic tone is gentle, humble, and quiet. Some poems confront the great paradoxes of religious experience; some combine deep meditation with emotional feeling ("*Yah, anah emẓa'akha*"); others occasionally border on the mystical, as the poet ventures into areas of the ancient revelation in quest of his "lover," his God, "and no one answers."

SONGS OF ZION AND SONGS OF THE SEA. The most famous of the poetic works of Judah Halevi are the "*Shirei Ẓiyyon*" ("Poems of Zion," or Zionides), approximately 35 in number. Their originality is evident in the very topic, which was at that period an uncommon one, but even more so in their varied and beautiful artistry. Several categories of these poems can be differentiated, although they were written over several decades, and contain recurring motifs and similar tones.

(1) The poems of longing for Ereẓ Israel express the inner tension between love and pain, between the dream and

the reality, and the effort required to bridge the West and East (*"Libbi be-mizraḥ," "Yefeh nof," "Elohai, mishkenotekha yedidot"*).

(2) The poetic disputations exhibit a strong intellectual base, overpowered by personal emotion. At times the controversy is an expression of the poet's own inner uncertainties. To Judah Halevi it seemed that for many life in Spain was a kind of slavery, a pursuit of worthless enticements, and a betrayal of God. He found true freedom in servitude to God and in subservience to His will, realized by his emigration to Ereẓ Israel. Prior to his voyage, Judah Halevi lived it in his imagination and poetry, overcoming deep fears in this way; he even taught himself to anticipate happily and excitedly the dangers of the future (*"Ha-tirdof ne'arut," "Ha-yukhlu pegarim"*). It was in his poems of dispute with others – in which Judah Halevi appears a vigorous opponent – that his doctrine on Ereẓ Israel was developed and the national consciousness elevated to a hitherto unknown level. In the 12th century he was able, as a result of reasoning and clear political understanding, to argue that there is no secure place for the Jewish people except Ereẓ Israel. As for its being desolate, it was also given that way to the forefathers.

(3) Some of the poems of the voyage were actually written aboard ship; others are imaginary descriptions composed before the journey, while still others were written after it. Important descriptive poems are structurally influenced by ancient biblical poetical forms (e.g., Ps. 107:23–32). They begin with a description of the world, but the subsequent descriptions diminish in perspective: the stormy Mediterranean Sea, the weak ship at its mercy, and finally the poet himself in prayer. Following that is the final calm after the storm. The roaring of the waves dominate the rhythm and sound patterns. His prayer is identified with Jonah's, and the roaring of the sea is consciously identified with the moaning of his heart. The best of his "*Shirei Ẓiyyon*" is "*Ẓiyyon ha-lo tishali*" ("Zion, wilt thou not ask the welfare of thine prisoners?").

> How shall it be sweet to me to eat and drink while I behold
> Dogs tearing at thy lion's whelps?
> Or how can light of day be joyous to mine eyes while yet
> I see in ravens' beaks torn bodies of thine eagles.

Numerous imitations and translations of this poem have appeared. By virtue of its inclusion (according to the Ashkenazi rite) in the *kinot* for the Ninth of Av, many generations have lamented the destruction of the Temple and dreamt their dream of redemption in the words of this poem. All aspects of the poem focus on Zion. The single rhyme of all the stanzas is ָיִךְ which produces a trance-like effect. Deep attachment to Ereẓ Israel alone permeates the meaning of everything in the poem. The holy qualities of the land are specified at length with a lyric feeling which imaginatively transplants the poet to places of former revelation, prophecy, monarchy, and to the graves of the forefathers. In a unique poetic outcry, he expresses his grief at its destruction and his humiliation in subjugation:

> As the deep groans and roars beneath me
> Learning from my inmost fears.

He expresses the happiness of his hope in the quiet lines which end the poem. With these lines he blesses those who will be fortunate enough to see the real redemption in the dawn.

Judah Halevi's poems were widespread in manuscript from an early period. Thousands of fragments of his poems were preserved in the *Genizah*, and also in other manuscripts collections that are kept today in Russia and many other countries. During his lifetime they were already known outside of Spain. Not long after his death his poems started to be collected in *diwānīm* by different scholars. The best known of them is the large *diwān* compiled, probably in Cairo, by Ḥiyya al-Dayyan al-Maghribī, not long after Halevi's visit to Egypt (Oxford, Bodl. Ms. 1970). Other editors tried to increase the number of poems of the *diwān,* as the Cairene compiler *Joshua ben Elijah Halevi did at least one century later, including an appendix with more compositions (Oxford, Bodl. Ms. 1971). Before him David ben Maimon and Sa'id ibn al-Kash also collected Halevi poetry.

From the beginning of printing many of Judah Halevi's *piyyutim* were included in *maḥzorim* and in collections of *piyyutim, seliḥot*, and *kinot*. From the 19th century scholars began to publish his secular and liturgical poems from manuscripts in literary journals and periodicals, e.g., A. Geiger, in *Melo Ḥofnayim* (1840); S.H. Edelman in *Ginzei Oxford* (1850); J.L. Dukes in *Oẓar Neḥmad* (1857); S.D. Luzzatto in *Tal Orot* (1881) and in *Iggeret Shadal* (1882–84). The first scholar to publish collections of Judah Halevi's poems as individual books and to publish his complete diwan was S.D. Luzzatto. He received from Oxford a copy of the manuscript of the diwan made by Joshua Elijah bar-Levi (14th century) and published the poems in it in *Betulat Bat Yehudah* (Prague, 1864). He also began to publish the entire diwan but he only managed to publish the first section of it (Lyck, 1864). Afterward many collections of Judah Halevi's poems were published, completely or in part. The following may be mentioned: A.A. Harkavy, *Rabbi Yehudah Halevi, Kovez Shirav u-Meliẓotav*, 2 vols. (Warsaw, 1893–94); H. Brody, *Diwan Jehudah ha-Levi*, 4 vols., of which two are annotated (Berlin, 1894–1930); S. Bernstein, *Shirei Rabbi Yehudah Halevi* popular edition (with notes and an explanation; New York, 1945); Y. Zmora, *Kol Shirei Rabbi Yehudah Halevi*, 3 vols. (Tel Aviv, 1955). A commentary on the first section of Judah Halevi's diwan was published by Abdallah Saul Joseph, *Givat Sha'ul* (Vienna, 1923), edited by S. Krauss. In the various anthologies of Hebrew poetry much space was devoted to Judah Halevi's poems, e.g., H. Brody-K. Albrecht, *Sha'ar ha-Shir* (1905); H. Brody-M. Wiener, *Mivḥar ha-Shirah ha-Ivrit* (1922, 1946^2, ed. A.M. Habermann); Ḥ. Schirmann, *Ha-Shirah ha-Ivrit bi-Sfarad u-ve-Provence*, vol. I (1959). A new comprehensive and critical edition of all Halevi's poems is one of the great desiderata of medieval Hebrew poetry in our days. J. Yahalom is working on it.

Part of Judah Halevi's poetry has been translated and published either alongside the Hebrew original or by itself, e.g., by J.M. Sachs (in *Die religioese Poesie der Juden in Spanien*, 1845); by A. Geiger (*Divan des Castiliers Abu'l-Hassan Juda ha-Levi*, 1851); by Franz Rosenzweig (*Zionslieder*, 1933); into English by N. Salaman (*Selected Poems of Jehudah Halevi*, 1924), G. Levin (2002), etc.; into Dutch by S. Pinkhof (1929); Hebrew and Spanish by A. Sáenz-Badillos and J. Targarona (1994); Italian by S. de Benedetti (1871); Hungarian by J. Patai (1910).

CHARACTERISTICS OF HALEVI'S POETRY. Halevi's poetry has received countless commentaries and very different interpretations. No other medieval author has been received with the same enthusiasm by all subsequent generations. His poetry is considered one of the outstanding models of the Andalusian school. Some scholars have shown reserve about his conservative attitude, in sharp contrast, for example, to the much more liberal Ibn *Gabirol. But no one has doubted the literary and esthetic value of his poetry.

Halevi follows the conventions of the time in poems that may be considered "formalist," like most of his love or bacchic poems that are sometimes almost literal translations from Arabic; but even in these cases he has his own particular and personal style. He can also write with the most profound lyricism, expressing in a wondrous way his own aspirations or those of his people in exile. His words of friendship are not simple formulas, and his affection for his people is entirely sincere. As a poet, he feels like a prophet proclaiming the liberation of Israel.

Coming from the Christian North, as a stranger, Halevi became fully integrated in the Andalusian world with its Arabic lore, exhibiting the maximum degree of cultural adaptation. Even some of the most significant topics and images that he employs in his poetry, including the feelings of the exile and the heart's separation from the object of its affection, are taken from Arabic poets, always with the nuances imposed by a Jewish mind. But he seems to have become disenchanted with the life of al-Andalus, gradually rejecting the Andalusian-Jewish courtly cultural and social values; a consequence of this may have been the trip to Jerusalem in the last days of his life and his possible decision to abandon the writing of poetry.

Analyzing this particular situation of Halevi, R. Brann sees in the poet's contradictory attitudes toward poetry a sign of the conflicts inherent in living in two quite different worlds, in cultural ambiguity; for him, Halevi did not undergo a "conversion" in his adult years; he remained an Andalusian and compunctious Hebrew poet conflicted about the ambiguity of his literary identity. However, in the last 15 years of his life, Brann observes in Halevi a clear deviation from literary traditions and cultural conventions that produces a "culturally subversive discourse" tending to replace the dominant values of this society.

R. Scheindlin has examined the individual vision and religious experience of Halevi (in contrast to that of Ibn Gabirol) as reflected in liturgical poetry. Although both poets share the Neoplatonic psychology, they are in fact widely separated: Halevi attributes great importance to the distance between God and man, to His transcendence, introducing in his poems a climate of tranquil confidence in God and a passive acceptance of His will that seem to have their main sources in Arabic religious poetry. In a very beautiful study Scheindlin (2003) has contemplated Halevi's pilgrimage as a literary phenomenon, underlining the significance of his pervasive use of imagery involving birds. Birds can be connected with Israel, with the human soul, or with the pilgrimage itself. In particular, he frequently employs the image of the dove to represent the nation Israel, combining it many times with the words "silence" and "distance" to express the exile or the dream of redemption. When finally he focused his literary energies on the pilgrimage, the distant, silent dove served him also as an image of his search for the land of his dreams.

Halevi's poetry was not an isolated phenomenon. When he arrived in al-Andalus he met a large number of poets in all the important Jewish centers. He learned from them and became the friend of many of them. Poetry was one of the most highly esteemed activities of Andalusian society, a sign of intellectual distinction and an ideal of life. Literary meetings, competitions, proof of inventive capacity and imaginative talent, correspondence between poets, riddles, plays on words and images were usual practices among these groups of cultivated Jewish Andalusians. Judah Halevi was surrounded by the members of the Ibn Ezra family, by Joseph ibn Zaddiq, Joseph ibn Sahal, Judah and Solomon ibn Gayyat, Ibn al-Mu'alim, Levi ibn al-Tabban, and other minor poets that represented the rich life of a Golden Century close to its end.

[*Encyclopaedia Hebraica* / Angel Sáenz-Badillos (2nd ed.)]

His Philosophy

Judah Halevi was one of medieval Jewry's most influential thinkers, and his arguments for the truth of Judaism and the essential superiority of the Jewish People are invoked to this day in traditionalist circles. Although Halevi rejected Islamic Aristotelianism, which was beginning to be adopted by his fellow Jews and would soon be considered by most Jewish philosophers (such as Maimonides) as scientifically authoritative, he maintained that Judaism could be defended rationally by emphasizing its empirical basis. Hence, his rejection of the leading philosophy of the day did not mean that he was an anti-rationalist.

Halevi's thought is developed in *Kitâb al-Radd wa-ʾl-Dalīl fi ʿl-Dîn al-Dhalîl* (*The Book of Refutation and Proof on the Despised Faith*, 1140), commonly called *The Kuzari*, after the king of the Khazars, who is portrayed as initiating a search for the correct religion after repeated dreams in which an angelic figure tells him that his intentions were pleasing to God, but his actions were not. The story is based on the historical conversion of the central Asian Khazars to Judaism in the eighth century, even though Halevi's account of the king's search for truth is purely his own literary invention. As the story is told by Halevi, the king first heard and rejected the doctrines of an Aristotelian philosopher, a Christian, and a Muslim. The philosopher presented a theory of a wholly impersonal God who does not care which actions humans choose; such a stance contradicted the evidence of the king's own dream. In contrast, both the Christian and Muslim claimed that the actions of their religion are those which are pleasing to God, but the king rejected their creeds as illogical (Christianity) and unsubstantiated (Islam).

Having had the king reject the dominant intellectual and religious doctrines of his day, Halevi then presented the king as finally inviting a Jew to hear his views. Eventually he was persuaded by a Jewish sage (the *ḥaver*) of the truth of Judaism. After the king's conversion to Judaism, described at the beginning of *Kuzari*, Book 2 (out of 5), his discussions with the *ḥaver* continued until the latter announced his departure to the Land of Israel at the end of the treatise. This dialogue provided Halevi with the framework for presenting his defense of Judaism.

SOURCES. Halevi used the Bible as the basic text for his reconstruction of Jewish history, paying only scant attention to rabbinic interpretations of the biblical narrative. His use of midrash is selective, highlighting those traditions which emphasize Jewish particularity. There is very little legal material in *The Kuzari*, but Halevi was well aware of rabbinic *halakhah*, especially compared to the Karaite practices. Certain trends in the Jewish mystical tradition, especially *merkavah* speculation, also had an impact on Halevi's ideas; in turn, his thought had a vital impact on later Kabbalah.

The Kuzari benefited greatly from an assortment of non-Jewish sources. While Halevi rejected Greek philosophy as it was developed in the Islamic world, he was very much aware of the Aristotelian system (of which he may have been enamored in his youth). His portrayals of philosophy were indebted to the works of Abû Bakr Muhammad ibn Bajja and Abû Ali al- Hussain Ibn Sînâ (*Avicenna, whose treatise on the soul is transcribed in *Kuzari* 5:12). Halevi's opposition to philosophy seems to have been inspired in part by Abû Hâmid Al-Ghazâli. He also drew from the kalamic sources used by his Jewish predecessors, such as *Saadiah Gaon and *Baḥya ibn Paquda, but he considered Kalam useful only to the extent that one is searching for a rationalistic defense of Jewish theology. Greek science, as moderated by the Islamic environment, had an impact on his thought as well. In recent years, attention has been paid to the way in which Shi'ite and Sufi concepts and terms helped frame Halevi's religious outlook, especially vis-à-vis the special status of the Jewish People.

METHOD. Halevi rejected the two regnant scientific/philosophical models of his day: Kalam and Aristotelianism. He believed that both relied on theoretical constructs rather than hard, empirical truth. Kalam arrived at the correct conclusions, such as the creation of the world and the existence and unity of God, but it was useful mainly for apologetics. Aristotelianism, in contrast, taught many incorrect doctrines, since Aristotle lacked reliable tradition when he set out to understand the world by use of his syllogistic reasoning (*qiyâs*) alone. For instance, he believed that the world is eternal; if he had known the Bible, he would have used his reason to defend the proposition that the world was created (*Kuzari* 1:67). Furthermore, philosophy can go only so far: philosophical, syllogistic knowledge of God, for instance, is possible, but it is deficient compared with immediate, unmediated experience (*dhawq*, literally "taste") of God through prophecy (*Kuzari* 4:15–17).

The Jewish tradition provided true knowledge based on the experience of the Jewish people. The reliability of the tradition is guaranteed by the large number of witnesses to the miraculous exodus from Egypt, the revelation on Mt. Sinai, and the entrance into the Land of Israel. Not only were there hundreds of thousands of observers of these events, but also the original testimony of these witnesses has been transmitted publicly over the centuries. Since, Halevi claimed, all Jews accepted the accuracy of the biblical account as having been passed down to them by previous untold generations, there is no possibility of error or falsification of the tradition. If the Bible were a fabrication, there would not be universal Jewish consent to its truth. In contrast, Christianity and Islam claimed to have been revealed to only a small number of people, and, therefore, cannot be validated. Although this historical argument for the certainty of the Jewish tradition is not totally original (it has an antecedent in the work of Saadiah Gaon), Halevi's formulation of it is probably his most significant legacy.

Once Halevi established the veracity of Judaism, he employed reason to explain its truths. Nothing in Scripture or tradition, he claimed, contradicted reason (*Kuzari* 1:67, 89). Thus, one may look for justifications of problematical doctrines (such as the superiority of the Jewish people) or historical occurrences (such as revelation). These explanations may strike the modern reader as rationally invalid, but they were based in part on medieval scientific notions or commonplace notions of the time. In any event, it is too facile to dismiss Halevi as solely a doctrinaire religious critic of philosophy; he attempted to replace Aristotelian rationalism, which to his mind was insufficient, with a form of Jewish empiricism.

SINGULARITY OF THE JEWISH PEOPLE. According to Judah Halevi, the Jewish people were capable of achieving prophecy and receiving the Torah because they are essentially different from other nations. Borrowing notions common in Shi'ite literature, Halevi argued that Adam was the original perfect human whose status was passed on biologically to a selective line of his descendants. At first, this singular distinctiveness (Arabic: *safwa,* usually translated into Hebrew as *segulah*) was confined to individuals such as Seth, Noah, Shem, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. With the generation of Jacob's sons, this special characteristic became universal among all Jews. As a result of their distinctiveness, the Jewish people were able to conjoin with an aspect of God called "the divine influence" or "the divine order" or "the divine faculty" (Arabic: *al-amr* *al-ilahi*, usually translated into Hebrew as *ha-inyan ha-elohi*) and become prophets (*Kuzari* 1:95 and other places). It is this special relationship which marks Jews off from all non-Jews; a convert to Judaism can aspire at most to a sub-prophetic level of inspiration but will never be equal to the native-born Jew (*Kuzari* 1: 27, 115; the status of the proselyte's Jewish-born progeny is not clarified in the *Kuzari*, although there is reason to think that Halevi believed they would also be inferior to other Jews). The fact that the non-Jewish king of the Khazars chose to become Jewish, despite the convert's lower status, is presented as a strong argument for the essential truth of Judaism.

Even though Jews were a persecuted minority, they actually functioned as the "heart" of humanity; without a heart, a living organism could not exist, but the heart can be very weak when other limbs are strong. Humanity could not exist without Jews, who are like a sick man who once was vibrant and can still return to his earlier state. The nations of the world are like a beautiful statue which is externally impressive but which was never truly alive (*Kuzari* 2:29–44).

THE LAND OF ISRAEL AND THE HEBREW LANGUAGE. A corollary to the theory of the superiority of the Jewish people was the concept of the superiority of the Land of Israel (usually called by the Arabic geographical term *al-sham*, namely "greater Syria") and of the Hebrew language (*Kuzari* 2). For instance, prophecy is possible only in the Land of Israel (or "for its sake"; Halevi was aware that a number of biblical prophets were not in the Land of Israel). In order to explain this geographical uniqueness, Halevi adopted a climatological theory, originally innovated by the Greeks and developed by the Arabs, which postulated that the center of the populated areas of the earth is superior to the northern and southern areas. The Land of Israel is the most perfect of all lands. This is yet another example of the use of what was considered a scientific theory to justify Jewish exclusivity.

The sad state of the Land of Israel in Halevi's own time was explained as a result of the destruction of the Temple and the dispersion of the Jews. Just as a particular piece of land might have all the natural attributes to produce a wonderful vineyard, if other factors necessary to grow grapes (e.g., rain, fertilization, weeding) are missing, the vineyard will not produce as it should. Thus, without the ongoing observance of the commandments, especially the sacrifices, the visible *Shekhinah* is no longer present; the Jewish inhabitants of the Land of Israel have temporarily lost their special status, although it remains latent in both the land and the people. Nevertheless, Jews should return to the Land of Israel, even in its unredeemed state. The *ḥaver*'s departure from Khazaria at the end of the *The Kuzari* mirrors Judah Halevi's own departure from Andalusia.

The Hebrew language has also deteriorated despite its intrinsic superiority. Although it was the language in which the world was created, the language spoken by Adam and Eve, and the language of prophecy, in the exile it has suffered the same fate as the Jewish people. It should be noted that, although Halevi wrote his poetry in Hebrew, *The Kuzari* was written in Arabic.

REASONS FOR THE COMMANDMENTS. Halevi accepted Saadiah Gaon's distinction between rational and revelational commandments, but in contrast to the Gaon, he stressed the value of the revelational commandments as distinguishing Judaism from other religions. Everyone, including a gang of thieves, can observe the basic societal norms (the rational commandments) in their own limited communities; only Jews can observe the specific commandments given in the Torah. Those religions which teach the observance of "intellectual nomoi," and not the divine commandments of the Torah, are human in origin and are merely "syllogistic" and "governmental" or "political" (*Kuzari* 1:13, 81; 2:48).

One should accept observance of the Torah as the will of God, without searching for the reasons for the revelational commandments. For those who were incapable of reaching such a level of belief, Halevi offered a number of different justifications of the commandments, including their contribution to harmony in the world and to personal harmony of the individual worshipper (*Kuzari* 2:25–65; 3:1–22). Unlike those Jewish rationalists who gave historical reasons for many of the commandments, such as the sacrifices, thereby undermining their intrinsic worth, Halevi believed that each of the commandments has its own value and fits into a way of life which, by pleasing God, results in prophecy and divine providence.

INTERRELIGIOUS POLEMIC. Halevi attacked not only Aristotelian philosophy in his *Kuzari*. He was equally opposed to Judaism's rival religions, Christianity and Islam, as well as to Karaism, a Jewish sect which challenged the truth of rabbinic Judaism. Writing at a time of Christian-Muslim warfare both in Iberia and in the Land of Israel, Halevi was sensitive to the claim that numerical, military, and economic successes were signs of the truth of a religion. Compared to both Christianity and Islam, Jews were at a distinct material disadvantage, a fact which called into question the Jewish claim of superiority and divine favor.

Halevi maintained that temporal success is not a measure of truth, and even early Christianity and Islam themselves pointed to the martyrdom of their believers as a sign of the certainty of their religions. The fact that Judaism had survived adversity for such a long time, despite the ease with which individual Jews could have escaped persecution by converting to one of the other religions, is a sign of divine providence (*Kuzari* 1:112–115). Furthermore, Judaism's competitors thrive in this world specifically since they promise their adherents great rewards without demanding a concomitant commitment to observing divine commandments. Christianity and Islam are poor imitations of the one true religion, Judaism, but, in the messianic future, their adherents will recognize the superiority of the People of Israel. In the meanwhile, they prepare the way for the coming of the Messiah (*Kuzari* 4:23).

Refutation of the Karaite interpretation of Judaism may have been one of the Halevi's motivations when he composed an early version of *The Kuzari* (the question of possible changes in Halevi's views has recently been discussed in the scholarly literature, but meanwhile no consensus on the issue has emerged and the suggestions which have been proposed are highly speculative). Halevi regarded Karaism as parallel to philosophy because its adherents used personal exertion (*idjtihâd*) and syllogistic reasoning (*qiyâs*), rather than reliable tradition, as a source of interpreting the Torah and its commandments. Despite the worthiness of their intentions, their lack of reliable legal traditions resulted in behavioral anarchy, since each Karaite interpreted the Torah as he saw fit; in like manner the philosophers' lack of reliable metaphysical traditions resulted in a form of intellectual anarchy, such as their denial of creation of the world (*Kuzari* 3:22–74).

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE. The Judaeo-Arabic original of *The Kuzari* was first published by Hartwig Hirschfeld (Leipzig, 1887) on the basis of the unique manuscript of the text. A more definitive edition was prepared by David Baneth and completed by Haggai Ben-Shammai (Jerusalem, 1977). A medieval Hebrew translation was executed by Judah ibn Tibbon and has been reprinted many times, but there is no scientific edition. Hirschfeld's edition of this translation, which took into account the Judeo-Arabic original and restored censored passages, has served as the basis of most 20th century editions of the Ibn Tibbon text, despite its problematic nature. Johannes Buxtorf the Younger published a good version of the Ibn Tibbon text, accompanied by a Latin translation (Basel, 1660).

Two modern Hebrew translations exist: Yehudah Even Shmuel (Tel Aviv, 1972; the translation is not strictly literal; for instance it blurs some of Halevi's more ethnocentric statements, among its other idiosyncrasies); and Yosef Kafih (Kiryat Ono, 1997). Hirschfeld's English translation (many editions) is superseded by a new translation being prepared by Barry S. Kogan on the basis of the original work of Lawrence V. Berman. A number of other contemporary English editions have been translated from the Hebrew and have little scholarly significance. Charles Touati's French translation from the Arabic (Louvain, 1994) is of great value. *The Kuzari* has also been translated into a number of other European languages.

[Daniel J. Lasker (2nd ed.)]

In Jewish Literature

It is as the romantic "singer of Zion," rather than as the religious philosopher, that Judah Halevi has figured in literary works written by Jews. Perhaps the most memorable of such portrayals is that by the German poet Heinrich *Heine in "Jehuda Ben Halevi," one of the *Hebraeische Melodien* contained in his late *Romanzero* (1851). In lines which reecho the Psalms and the verse of the Spanish poet himself, Heine fondly traces the early education and later career of the courtly troubadour whose heart was set on Jerusalem. Indeed, Heine wrongly credited him with the authorship of the Sabbath Eve *Lekhah Dodi hymn (both here and in "*Prinzessin Sabbat*," in *Hebraeische Melodien*). A Yiddish version of Heine's "*Jehuda Ben Halevi*" was published by Zelig I. Schneider in 1904. Later in the 19th century, Ludwig *Philippson wrote the historical novel *Rabbi Jehuda Halevi, der juedische Minister* (Yid. tr., 1895), a Hebrew version of which later appeared as "*Sefarad vi-Yrushalayim…*" (in *Ha-Asif,* 3 (1886), 481–564). The subject has retained its popularity in the 20th century with works including the U.S. writer Eisig *Silberschlag's Hebrew epic poem *Yehudah Halevi* (1925) and the Yiddish poet A. Leyeles' "*Yehudah Halevi*" (in his *Labyrinth*, 1918). In his Hebrew novel *Elleh Masei Yehudah Halevi* (1959), the Israel writer Yehudah *Burla emphasized Judah Halevi's call for the Jewish people's return to Zion.

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JUDAH HA-LEVI BEI-RABBI HILLEL, medieval paytan, some of whose work was recently discovered in the Cairo *Genizah*. Judah's *piyyutim* are based on customs prevailing in Ereẓ Israel, which would indicate that he lived there or in Egypt, where there was a Palestinian community. He is the only *paytan* known to have composed *piyyutim* for Tu bi-Shevat. Two of his *kerovot* for the *Shemoneh Esreh are preserved; one, published by M. Zulay (*Leket Shirim u-Fiyyutim* (1936)) contains names of trees growing in Palestine.

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[Menahem Zulay]

JUDAH HA-NASI (latter half of the second and beginning of the third century C.E.), patriarch of Judea and redactor of the *Mishnah. He is referred to also as *"rabbenuha-kadosh"* ("our holy teacher") or simply as "Rabbi." Judah was the son of Rabban Simeon b. *Gamaliel and the seventh (or sixth?) generation descended from Hillel (see **Nasi*), having been born, according to an aggadic tradition, "on the day that R. Akiva died" during the Hadrianic persecutions (Kid. 72b). Both his contemporaries and later generations held him in veneration, and regarded him as the savior of Israel, as much as *Simeon the Just, *Mattathias the Hasmonean, and *Mordecai and Esther (Meg. 11a). In him the sages found all the qualities which they enumerated as becoming to the righteous (Avot 6:8). They even associated his name with messianic hopes to the extent of applying to him the verse (Lam. 4:20): "The breath of our nostrils, the anointed of the Lord" (TJ, Shab. 16:1, 15c), and in his days chose for the proclamation of the new month the password: "David, King of Israel, lives and exists" (RH 25a). His wisdom, sanctity, and humility, as well as his wealth and close ties with the Roman emperor, became the subject of numerous legends. In addition to his father, his teachers included *Judah b. Ilai (TJ, BM 3:1, 9a), *Simeon b. Yoḥai (Shab. 147b), *Eleazar b. Shammua (Er. 53a), *Jacob b. Korshai (TJ, Shab. 10:5, 12c), and, apparently, R. *Meir (Shab. 13b). His mastery of the vast volume of tradition, his great application to his studies (Ket. 104a), his humility (Sot. 9:15), coupled with self-confidence, sound judgment, and a rule that was based on a strict discipline (Ket. 103b), combined to give authority to his leadership and an undisputed status to the patriarchate.

His Power in Ereẓ Israel and Relationship with Rome

Judah lived in *Bet She'arim where he had his yeshivah (Sanh. 32b) but, because of ill-health, moved toward the end of his life to *Sepphoris where the air was salubrious (Ket. 103b); according to one tradition he lived there for 17 years (TJ, Ket. 12:3, 35a). He applied himself to the strengthening of the economic position of the Jews in Ereẓ Israel, their settlement on its soil, and to shaping the country's national religious institutions. He devoted himself to spreading a knowledge of the Torah and the observance of its *mitzvot* among all sections of the people, and to maintaining the unity of the nation. His position was recognized by the Roman administration, and this, together with his wealth, enabled him to reinforce the dignity of the patriarchate and give it a quasi-royal status. Various identifications have been suggested for *Antoninus whose friendship for, and discussions with, Judah ha-Nasi form the subject of aggadic stories. These *aggadot* and conversations, which reveal a Stoic influence, were intended to demonstrate the wisdom of Judah and the superiority of the Torah. For this purpose a philosopher-emperor was chosen – probably Marcus Aurelius – who was on friendly terms with the patriarch and respected the Jewish religion. Judah ha-Nasi's contacts with the Roman authorities in the economic and political spheres probably provided the historical background to these aggadic stories, which tell that Antoninus gave him the tenancy of estates in Golan (TJ, Shev. 6:1, 36d) and that they were partners in cattle breeding (*Midrash Bereshit Rabbah*, ed. by Theodor and Albeck, 20:6, p.190). The balsam trees of his household are mentioned along with those on the emperor's estates (Bet. 43a), the reference being undoubtedly to the plantations of balsam trees at En-Gedi and Jericho which were "imperial estates." The grant of greater judicial autonomy, attested by Origen in his letter to Julius Africanus (J.P. Migne (ed.), *Patrologia Graeca*, 11 (1857), 47ff.), was presumably the result of such contacts, and it is possible that Judah ha-Nasi actually met one and perhaps two Roman emperors during their stay in Ereẓ Israel, most probably Septimius *Severus and Antoninus *Caracalla, whose good relations with the Jews are attested by the inscription of Kaẓyon near Safed dated 197–198 C.E. (S. Klein (ed.), *Sefer ha-Yishuv*, 1 (1939), 151) and also by Jerome (commentary on Dan. 11:34).

Circumspection marked Judah ha-Nasi's relations with the Roman authorities. In contrast to the Samaritans, the Jews adopted a policy of nonintervention in the civil war which broke out after the murder of Clodius in 192 C.E. between Septimius Severus and his rival Pescennius Niger. Judah was also careful not to flaunt his position outside Ereẓ Israel, as is illustrated in the following story: "Rabbi said to R. Afes: 'Write a letter in my name to our lord, the emperor Antoninus.' He arose and wrote: 'From Judah ha-Nasi to our lord, the emperor Antoninus.' [Judah] took and read it, tore it up, and wrote: 'To our lord the emperor from your servant Judah.' He [R. Afes] said to him: 'Rabbi, why do you lower your dignity?' He answered him: 'Am I, then better than my ancestor? Did he not declare [Gen. 32:5]: 'Thus shall ye say unto my lord Esau: Thus saith thy servant Jacob'?'" (Gen. R. 75:5). When he went to the Roman authorities at Acre, he refrained from taking with him "Romans," apparently soldiers stationed in his neighborhood (Gen. R. 78:15). His attitude toward the Roman Empire was a negative one, there being ascribed to him the statement that "the destroyers of the Second Temple [Rome] are destined to fall into the hand of Persia" (Yoma 10a). Despite the external splendor of the empire, he realized its faults. At the sight of a legion of fine and distinguished men, whose heads reached up to the capital of the pillars at Caesarea, his son Simeon exclaimed: "How fattened are the calves of Esau!" But Rabbi answered him: "These legions are worth nothing" (Tanḥ Va-Yeshev, 3), knowing as he did that they both raised up and murdered emperors and were a source of weakness and degeneration. Certain that God would bring an end to the Roman Empire, even as He had done to the kingdoms of Babylonia, Media, and Greece, Judah ha-Nasi referred to those who wished to hasten the advent of the redemption as "complainers, the descendants of complainers" (PdRK 130). Aware that the Jews in Ereẓ Israel were unable to influence the course of great political events which were to be left to "Him that called the generations from the beginning," Judah realized that the time was nevertheless opportune to work for the unity of the nation and its internal consolidation.

Judah's Bet Din and Its Rulings

After the destruction of the Second Temple, and especially after the Bar Kokhba revolt, the non-Jewish population increased in several parts of Ereẓ Israel. In order to ease the financial burden on the Jews, enabling them to remain on their lands, Judah ha-Nasi exempted several places from the tithes (Beth-Shean, Caesarea, Bet Guvrin, Kefar Ẓemaḥ: TJ, Dem. 2:1, 22c) by excluding them from the sanctity ascribed to Ereẓ Israel. In order that lands which had been confiscated from Jews should not remain in the possession of non-Jews, Rabbi assembled a *bet din* which decided by a vote "that if the property had been in the hands of the **sikarikon* [the occupier of confiscated property] for 12 months, whoever first purchased it acquired the title, but had to give a quarter [of the price] to the original owner" (Git. 5:6; *ibid.*, 58b). Judah ha-Nasi also attempted to permit the produce of the sabbatical year in an effort to ease the grave economic situation (TJ, Ta'an. 3:1, 66b–c). Although several of Judah ha-Nasi's regulations are given as those of his *bet din* ("Rabbi and his *bet din* decided by a vote": Oho. 18:9), the sources testify to the antagonism and even the opposition of contemporary sages (see Tosef., Oho. 18:18; Ḥul. 6b), but he subjected the *bet din* to his authority, maintaining that "the Holy One, blessed be He, left this crown to us that we may invest ourselves therewith" (TJ, Dem. 2:1, 22c and see Ḥul. 6b). Judah ha-Nasi was not assisted, as his father had been, by an *av bet din* or a *ḥakham*, but instead concentrated all authority in his own hands (TJ, Sanh. 1:3, 19a) including the supervision of the various communities and their religious and judicial institutions (Gen. R. 81:2; TJ, Yev. 12:7, 13a).

Judah ha-Nasi and his *bet din* exercised their influence not only over Galilee but also over the south, and sages of the south were close to him. He showed a special interest in the *Holy Congregation in Jerusalem, which included two sages who were on intimate terms with him – *Simeon b. Menasya and *Yose b. Meshullam (TJ, Ma'as. Sh. 2:10, 53d; Eccles. R. 9:9). The proclamation of the new month and the intercalation of the year were significant areas of the Diaspora's dependence on Ereẓ Israel as the religious center of the Jewish people. After the destruction of the Second Temple the year was intercalated in Judea (Tosef., Sanh. 2:13) but was transferred in the days of Judah ha-Nasi to Galilee (TJ, Sanh. 1:2, 18c), in order to enhance the prestige of the patriarchate, whose seat was there. He also abolished the fire signals announcing the new month and instead introduced regulations calculated to expedite both the hearing of witnesses and the dispatch of messengers (TJ, RH 2:1, 58a). At all events there is no reference to an attempt at intercalating the year in Babylonia as had been done in the preceding generation by *Hananiah, the nephew of R. Joshua (in TJ, Ned. 6:8, 40a, the name is wrongly given as Rabbi: see Ber. 63b). In his relations with the Babylonian Diaspora Judah ha-Nasi displayed the same blend of concession and strength: the *nasi* was king, with none superior to him. He was, however, prepared to show honor to the exilarch (Hor. 11a–b; TJ, Kil. 9:4, 32a). He opposed the sages of Ereẓ Israel who wished to make Babylonia as "dough" in comparison with Ereẓ Israel, that is to declare the Jews of Ereẓ Israel to be of pure descent and those of Babylonia as descended from families suspected of containing an alien element, so that if a Babylonian Jew wished to marry into an Ereẓ Israel family he would have to prove the purity of his descent. Judah ha-Nasi said: "You are putting thorns between my eyes. If you wish, R. Ḥanina b. Ḥama will join issue with you." R. Ḥanina b. Ḥama joined issue with them and said to them: "I have this tradition from R. Ishmael b. Yose who stated on his father's authority: 'All countries are as dough in comparison with Ereẓ Israel and Ereẓ Israel is as dough in comparison with Babylonia'" (Kid. 71a). Furthermore, the inclusion of Babylonian sages in his intimate circle helped to cement Judah ha-Nasi's ties with the important Babylonian Diaspora.

The Aristocracy of Learning

Judah ha-Nasi's numerous activities designed to resuscitate Jewish settlement in Ereẓ Israel are reflected in his desire to give Hebrew precedence over Aramaic, as shown by his remark: "What has the Syrian tongue to do with Ereẓ Israel? Speak either Hebrew or Greek" (BK 82b–83a). Even the maidservant of his household knew Hebrew, and it is related that the sages learned from her the meaning of rare Hebrew words (RH 26b; Meg. 18a). Judah's preference for Hebrew is shown in a *halakhah* quoted in his name: "I declare that the *Shema* is to be said only in Hebrew," thus controverting the earlier *halakhah* that it may be said in any language (Tosef., Sot. 7:7).

The patriarchate, which Judah ha-Nasi elevated to the spiritual and social leadership of the nation, was marked by a lordly manner and a regal splendor. He had guards (eunuchs – Ber. 16b) who punished recalcitrants (Eccles. R. 10:2). There was a hierarchy in the patriarch's court, sages close to him being engaged in special functions and dining at his table (Er. 73a). His wealth enabled him to give generous assistance to students. Affluent circles were attracted to his court, and support for the saying "Rabbi showed respect to rich men" (Er. 86a) can be found in the stories about the son of Bonyis and the son of Elasah (Judah ha-Nasi's wealthy son-in-law) who were not learned in the Torah (Er. 85b; TJ, MK 3:1, 81c; Ned. 51a). Judah's aristocracy of learning found expression in a bluntly negative attitude toward the unlearned. By exempting sages from the city taxes (BB 8a), he undoubtedly increased the burden of taxation on artisans and intensified the hostility between the sages and the uneducated; this hostility was mainly religious and intellectual, but was tinged with economic and class antagonism and is a conspicuous feature of the story told in the *baraita* that he opened his storehouse of food in a year of scarcity to the learned but not to the ignorant. When, however, he was told that there were scholars who refused to disclose their learning because they had no wish to benefit from the honor due to the Torah, he thereafter gave to all the needy without distinction (BB 8a). Yet his negative attitude toward the ignorant did not change, there being ascribed to him the statement: "Trouble comes to the world only on account of the unlearned" (*ibid.*).

There was opposition to several other actions of Judah ha-Nasi. Simeon b. Eleazar criticized his method of making appointments (Mid. Tan., ed. by Hoffmann, 8; and TJ, Ta'an. 4:2, 68a). Even R. Ḥiyya, one of his intimate circle, did not refrain from demonstrating opposition to Judah ha-Nasi's interference in the freedom of teaching by his decree that "pupils are not to be taught in the open public market place" (MK 16a). On one occasion, when *Judah and *Hezekiah, the sons of Ḥiyya, dined with Judah ha-Nasi and were somewhat under the effects of wine, they said: "The son of David [i.e., the Messiah] cannot come until the two ruling houses in Israel will have come to an end, namely, the exilarchate in Babylonia and the patriarchate in Ereẓ Israel" (Sanh. 38a). This remark of theirs echoes the views of the sages who belonged to pietistic circles and were ill-disposed to the domination of the patriarchate and to its affluent and regal habits.

Tradition bestowed on Rabbi the title of *Ha-Kadosh* (the Holy One), but the very form in which this is transmitted: "Why were you called our holy teacher?" (Shab. 118b) testifies to its late date. Unlike sages who were given the title of "holy" because they did not look at iconic statues or at the human figures engraved on coins (TJ, Av. Zar. 3;1, 42c), Judah ha-Nasi, since he was concerned with the needs of others (Eccles. R. 5:11) and in contact with the Roman authorities, was quite unable to act in this manner, especially in view of the statement of his uncle Ḥanina b. Gamaliel that "members of my father's household used seals with human features engraved on them" (TJ, Av. Zar. 3:1, 42c). It is very doubtful whether his preference for Greek over Aramaic, which was widely used by the people (Sot. 49b), his injunction that it is a father's duty to teach his son civics (Mekh., Pisḥa, 18), and even his statement: "Which is the right course that a man should choose for himself? That which is honorable to himself and also brings him honor from men" (Avot 2:1) were able to satisfy the pietists and activists among the sages. The reply of Eleazar b. Simeon's widow to Judah ha-Nasi's proposal of marriage, "Shall a utensil, in which holy food has been used, be used for profane purposes?" (BM 84b) reflects the opposition of the sages to the secular aspect of the sway exercised by him in his patriarchate, an opposition that also found expression in *Phinehas b. Jair's refusal to accept the patriarch's hospitality (Ḥul. 7b; and see TJ, Dem. 1:3, 22a). Whereas Judah ha-Nasi was severe with sages close to him, such as Bar Kappara and Ḥiyya, even to the extent of punishing them (MK 16a), he adopted a conciliatory attitude toward Phinehas b. Jair, as he did to the other pietists among the sages (see Shab. 152a), thus allaying tension and preventing a breach between them and himself. General esteem for Judah ha-Nasi's momentous achievements most probably played a decisive role in the attitude of the majority of the sages toward him. For at no other time did the sages exercise such a sway over all sections of the nation, and at no other period did the honor of the Torah reach such heights. At the head of the nation was one who was not only a courageous personality but also a sage whose indisputable religious and halakhic greatness is shown in his work of codifying the Mishnah, with which his name is permanently associated.

The Redaction of the Mishnah

There is no clear tradition extant regarding Judah ha-Nasi's approach and method in his redaction of the Mishnah. But from the work itself, as also from a comparison with the *beraitot* in the Tosefta, in the halakhic Midrashim, and in the Jerusalem and Babylonian Talmuds, the picture which emerges is that the Mishnah was not intended to serve as a collection of legal judgments in the accepted sense of the word, for in the main it does not constitute the definitive and decided *halakhah*, nor "a receptacle for the Oral Law," but rather a legal canon. The *amoraim* did indeed attribute to him emendations, interpolations, additions, and judgments with regard to the sources at his disposal. Not a few Mishnayot show such elaboration, while many quoted anonymously are the subject of divergent views in the *beraitot*. However, Judah ha-Nasi's redaction was not limited only to such instances but is apparent in the selection and compilation he made from the mishnaic collections of various *battei midrash* without even altering their phraseology. He apparently aimed at giving his Mishnah a variegated form and at making it representative of all the known collections of *mishnayot*, in order that it might be generally acceptable. Mention is made of the "thirteen different interpretations" of the Mishnayot, some of which Judah ha-Nasi taught to Ḥiyya (Ned. 41a), and from which he, exercising his judgment, selected and polished his Mishnah. Due to the pains he took, his compilation became the Mishnah and all the other collections – the "outside *mishnayot*," the **beraitot*. A "canon" was fixed, a standard by which the remainder of the *mishnayot* were judged. It marked the conclusion of the Mishnah, to which no new material was added as had hitherto been done to the other *mishnayot*. Instead, the new material was included in the Talmud, which was studied as a commentary on the Mishnah. Thus, although Judah ha-Nasi produced a legal codex, it did not put an end to the development of the *halakhah* but rather provided it with a solid foundation. His status and personal authority likewise helped to make his collection of *mishnayot* the basis of study and of legal decisions, second in significance and sanctity only to the Scriptures.

The admiration of Judah ha-Nasi's contemporaries for him and their appreciation of his personality found expression in Bar Kappara's announcement of his death: "The angels and the mortals took hold of the holy ark. The angels overpowered the mortals and the holy ark has been captured" (Ket. 104a; and TJ, Kil. 9:4, 32b), and in Yannai's proclamation on that day: "There is no priesthood today" (i.e., the laws pertaining to the priests were suspended for Judah ha-Nasi's funeral; TJ, Ber. 3:1, 6a); in the statement of Hillel b. Vallas that "not since the days of Moses were learning and high office combined in one person until Rabbi" (Git. 59a); and in the addendum to the Mishnah that "when Rabbi died humility and the fear of sin ceased" (Sot. 9:15; and see Maimonides' commentary ad loc.).

Many *amoraim* of the first generation were Judah's pupils: *Ḥanina b. Ḥama, *Yannai ha-Kohen, *Levi, *Rav, and also Ḥiyya, who was both his pupil and associate. On his deathbed he gave the following instructions: "My son Simeon [is to be] *ḥakham*, my son Gamaliel patriarch, Ḥanina b. Ḥama shall preside" (Ket. 103b). A comparison between this version and that in the Jerusalem Talmud (TJ, Ta'an. 4:2, 68a) shows that Judah ha-Nasi's intention was clearly to reinstate the form of group leadership which had prevailed before his time: patriarch, *av bet din*, and *ḥakham*, but that he left the right of appointment in the hands of the patriarch – his son – and not of the Sanhedrin, as had previously been the case [but cf. Goodblatt, 371–72]. Judah ha-Nasi was buried at Bet *She'arim (TJ, Kil. 9:4, 32b; TJ, Ket. 12:3, 35a: Eccles. R. 7:12; cf. Levine, 112–13). The medieval tradition that his tomb is at Sepphoris is not supported by the sources.

Tendencies in Recent Research

From about 1975 there has been a radical change in the scholarly attitude toward the talmudic *aggadah* as a source for the historical biography of the *tannaim* and the *amoraim*. Starting with J. *Neusner's later work on Johanan ben Zakkai (*Development of a Legend*) attention has shifted away from the critical analysis of talmudic traditions, in order to isolate "kernels" of historical fact which may then be used in order to reconstruct the image of a concrete historical figure, and has focused instead on the development of the talmudic legends themselves. This approach has been particularly successful with respect to figures like *Beruryah and *Elisha ben Avuya, whose very existence as historical figures is questionable at best, or like Rabban *Johanan ben Zakkai, whose historical identity lies buried in the shadowy past of the earliest tannaitic traditions, and is known to us primarily through the medium of a far later "normative tradition" consisting mostly of legend. The case of Judah ha-Nasi is exceptional, however, in that his concrete historical identity is present to us, both in the form of the Mishnah which he himself redacted, and as reflected in many contemporary reports and traditions which were recorded and redacted in or shortly after his own lifetime, sometimes by his own disciples and in his own academy. Therefore, even in the "post-Neusner" era historians have profitably continued to investigate the concrete historical role which Judah ha-Nasi played in Ereẓ Israel at the end of the second and the beginning of the third centuries, on the basis of talmudic tradition and contemporary archaeological and documentary evidence (see, for example, Levine). Nevertheless, two of Neusner's insights must be kept in mind when evaluating the historical reliability of different and often conflicting talmudic traditions. The first is that the Rabbis themselves were uninterested in talmudic biography as such, and almost never preserved continuous historical records concerning even the most significant rabbinic figures. Historical accounts – even the earliest and most "authentic" – are fragmentary, usually describing some particular episode or anecdote, and almost always reflecting some ethical, theological, or polemical agenda. The second insight derives from Neusner's synoptic studies, in which he concluded that later talmudic traditions are often literary expansions and elaborations of earlier literary sources, and therefore cannot always be considered to be independent historical sources. This second insight has been most thoroughly and rigorously developed in recent decades by S. *Friedman, who, in a series of studies on the historical *aggadot* of the Babylonian Talmud, has shown that its elaborate and colorful descriptions of events in the lives of the *tannaim* and the *amoraim* are often the product of deliberate and considered editorial revision of earlier sources. Using Friedman's method, S. Wald ("Hate and Peace") has recently analyzed an important Babylonian *aggadah* concerning Judah ha-Nasi found in BB 8a. This tradition has been used by various scholars as evidence for Judah ha-Nasi's vast wealth (Levine, 100), his establishment of an "aristocracy of learning" (see above), the kinds of taxes imposed by the Roman government on the Palestinian Jewish community (Levine, 103–4), and even as evidence for the "portrait of Judah ha-Nasi as a leader" (Meir, 226–27). Wald has shown that the first half of this tradition represents a conscious Babylonian revision of various Palestinian traditions, reflecting a particularly virulent form of consistent anti-*am-ha-areẓ* polemic characteristic of an important trend in post-amoraic Babylonian tradition (see Wald, *Pesaḥim III*, 211–39). The second half of this tradition – which was viewed by Levine as independent corroboration of the imposition in the time of Judah ha-Nasi of the "aurum coronarium" mentioned also in Bavli BB 143a – was shown by Wald to be a later Babylonian reworking of the earlier Babylonian tradition found further on in TB, BB 143a, whose relative originality and authenticity is confirmed by a parallel tradition found in TJ, Yoma 1:2, 39a. The second half of this tradition also reflects the same post-amoraic anti-*am-ha-areẓ* polemic. This example may serve as a warning against accepting the historical *aggadot* of the Babylonian Talmud at face value, even under the best of circumstances. When examined against the background of its immediate literary sources, and in the context of the ideological tendency of the family of Babylonian traditions to which it belongs, this *aggadah* is seen to reflect the ideological agenda of its redactor, who had little or no interest in the historical figure of Judah ha-Nasi or even in providing a coherent "image of Judah ha-Nasi as a leader."

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[*Encyclopaedia Hebraica* / Stephen G. Wald (2nd ed.)]

JUDAH HA-PARSI ("the Persian"), medieval scholar. No details are known about his personality or period. He is first mentioned by Abraham *Ibn Ezra (12th century), who states that Judah wrote a work attempting to prove that the ancient Israelites calculated the calendar according to the solar year, like the other peoples of antiquity. S. *Pinsker, and later H. *Graetz and I.H. *Weiss, identified him with the eighth-century sectarian leader *Yudghān, of Persian origin, but this identification seems highly doubtful. Some scholars consider Judah to have been a Karaite. These include S.I. Luzki, who ascribes to Judah a commentary on the Pentateuch. There is, however, no mention of Judah in Karaite literature.

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[Isaak Dov Ber Markon]

JUDAH ḤASID (Segal), HA-LEVI (1660?–1700), Shabbatean preacher, born in Dubno. Of his early life nothing is known, but it is possible that he is "the ḥasid Judah Ashkenazi," who stayed in Italy in 1678 and is mentioned in the responsa of contemporaries. His affinity with the Shabbatean movement in Poland has been proved from reliable sources which have been verified by modern research. Judah was *Maggid* in Szydlowiec, Lithuania, in 1695, when the Shabbatean preacher Zadok b. Shemariah visited that town. Judah became active in preparing the people for the second appearance of *Shabbetai Ẓevi (in 1706) which was anticipated by many. An impressive preacher, he traveled throughout the communities and urged total repentance, mortifications, and fasts. In 1697, a "holy community" (*ḥavurah kedoshah*), consisting of 31 families of scholars, organized itself in order to emigrate together to Jerusalem and there await the revelation of the Messiah. Early in 1699 they left Poland for Moravia and stopped for a long time at Nikolsburg, where there were many Shabbateans. It is reported that in the spring of 1699 about ten scholars assembled there, "all believers" (i.e., Shabbateans), among them Judah, Heshel *Ẓoref, and Ḥayyim Malakh, who discussed matters pertaining to Shabbetai Ẓevi "with great joy until midnight" (Ms. Ben-Ẓvi Institute, Jerusalem). Some leaders of the group, among them Judah, left Nikolsburg and wandered through Germany and Austria in 1700, where they urged the communities to repent and to contribute toward the support of the emigrants in Ereẓ Israel. They received sympathy and support from some rabbis and wealthy men in the communities, but some opposed them and suspected Judah of being Shabbatean in secret. Emigrants from numerous circles joined the group, including some scholars, apparently mainly from circles with Shabbatean tendencies. It is reported that the number of emigrants traveling from Germany and Moravia via Turkey or Italy reached 1,300, of whom approximately 500 died en route. These numbers perhaps are exaggerated, but there is no doubt that several hundred journeyed to Jerusalem.

Judah traveled through Italy and arrived in Jerusalem on Oct. 14, 1700; he died suddenly a few days later. His death disheartened the remnants of his followers. After they had been in the country for a few years, disputes broke out among them. Some remained in Jerusalem, others returned and joined various Shabbatean groups in Poland and Germany, and others, out of disappointment, converted to Islam or to Christianity. Among the latter was Judah's nephew. Judah's group was the first organized Ashkenazi immigration to Ereẓ Israel. It left a deep impact on his contemporaries, and there are many testimonies to its appearance and customs, as well as sermons and *zemirot* by some of its members. According to tradition, Judah succeeded in buying a large plot in the Old City, on which was built 150 years later the chief synagogue of the Ashkenazi community in Jerusalem, Ḥurvat R. Yehudah he-Ḥasid.

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[Gershom Scholem]

JUDAH LEIB BEN BARUCH (fl. 1800), talmudic scholar and kabbalist. Judah was the brother and disciple of *Shneur Zalman of Lyady, the founder of the *Chabad movement, and preacher at Yanovichi. He recorded his brother's teachings in Hebrew, including his homilies which appeared later as *Torah Or* (Kopys, 1837). Some contributions by Judah are included in the *siddur* of Shneur Zalman. After his brother's death, he corrected Shneur Zalman's Shulḥan Arukh and approved a new edition (*ibid.*, 1822). There was a three-sided dispute among the latter's son, the "middle rabbi," and *Aaron of Starosielce over who was to succeed Shneur Zalman. Judah, in a letter addressed to Aaron, supported his nephew. The "third rabbi," Menahem Mendel of Lubavich (see *Schneersohn family), included several contributions by Judah in his responsa. After Judah's death, his grandson, Ze'ev Wolf, published a tract by Judah *She'erit Yehudah*, which contains instructions for the salting of meat as well as responsa and elucidations of his brother's teachings (Vilna, 1841).

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[Samuel Abba Horodezky]

JUDAH LEIB BEN ENOCH ZUNDEL (1645–1705), German rabbi. Judah Leib's father was rabbi of Gnesen (Gniezno), Poznania. As a result of the *Chmielnicki persecutions (1648) he fled to Germany and became rabbi of the district of Swabia, settling in Oettingen. Judah Leib succeeded him in 1675 but took up his residence in the town of Pfersee, where he remained until his death. He was the author of *Ḥinnukh Beit Yehudah* (Frankfurt, 1708), containing 145 responsa, some of which are by his father, on the four sections of the Shulḥan Arukh. It was published posthumously by his son Ḥanokh Enoch, *av bet din* of Schnaittach. Another work, *Reshit Bikkurim* (*ibid.*, 1708), sermons by Judah Leib and his father, was also published by the son. It contains homilies for festivals and Sabbaths based upon Joseph Albo's three principles of faith – the existence of God, revelation, and reward and punishment. According to his son, this work consists of excerpts from a commentary on the whole Bible which Judah Leib had intended publishing.

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[Yehoshua Horowitz]

JUDAH LEIB BEN HILLEL OF SCHWERSENZ (17th century), rabbi of Schwersenz (Posen). He was the author of *Ḥakham Lev* (Fuerth, 1693), a short commentary on the 613 biblical and rabbinical precepts according to the *Mishneh Torah* by Maimonides and the *Sefer Mitzvot Gadol* by *Moses b. Jacob of Coucy. A Latin translation was published (Lund, 1731) with notes by Karl Schulten. In his apologia in the introduction to *Ḥakham Lev*, the author points out that he dealt only briefly with precepts of practical application which are to be found in the Shulḥan Arukh, but at greater length with laws which have no practical application. The succinct style of the book is due to the fact that it was intended for those who wished to study daily the 613 precepts with their reasons and explanations.

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[Yehoshua Horowitz]

JUDAH LOEW (Liwa, Loeb) BEN BEZALEL (known as **Der Hohe Rabbi Loew** and **MaHaRaL mi-Prag**; c. 1525–1609), rabbi, talmudist, moralist, and mathematician. Judah Loew was the scion of a noble family which hailed from Worms. His father, Bezalel b. Ḥayyim, was the brother-in-law of R. Isaac Klauber of Posen, the grandfather of Solomon *Luria. Judah Loew's older brother, Ḥayyim b. *Bezalel, and his two younger brothers, Sinai and Samson, were also scholars of repute. (According to one tradition, however, Judah was the youngest son.) His teachers are unknown. From 1553 to 1573 he was *Landesrabbiner* of Moravia in Mikulov (Nikolsburg) after which he went to Prague. There he founded a yeshivah called Die Klaus, organized circles for the study of the Mishnah, to which he attached great importance, and regulated the statutes of the *ḥevra kaddisha*, founded in 1564. He remained in Prague until 1584, and from then until 1588 served as rabbi in Moravia (according to others, in Posen), eventually returning to Prague. On the third of Adar 5352 (Feb. 16, 1592) he was granted an interview by Emperor *Rudolph II, but it is not known what its purpose was. There seems little basis for the belief that it was due to their common interest in alchemy. Shortly afterward he left Prague for Posen, where he became chief rabbi; several years later he returned to Prague, becoming its chief rabbi and remaining there until his death.

Judah Loew was revered for his piety and asceticism. He was a great scholar, whose knowledge was not confined to religious subjects, but embraced secular studies as well, particularly mathematics. He was an outstanding personality, held in the highest repute by Jews and non-Jews alike. The astronomer, Tycho Brahe, with whom he enjoyed a social relationship, is said to have arranged his audience with the emperor. Judah preferred recourse to talmudic sources rather than the use of Maimonides' code or the *Tur* for deciding cases of Jewish law (cf. *Netivot Olam, Netiv ha-Torah*, 15). He was a great educationalist whose pedagogic views are of contemporary relevance. Dissatisfied with current methods of education, he strongly criticized his contemporaries for not following the manner of education indicated in Mishnah *Avot* 5:21, which takes into consideration the age of the student and the subjects taught. The "fools nowadays," he said, "teach boys Bible with the commentary of Rashi, which they do not understand, and also Talmud, which they cannot yet grasp" (see the references in Assaf, *Mekorot*, 1 (1925), 48ff.). Furthermore, he claimed that they neglected the study of the Mishnah. He also strongly opposed *pilpul*, and although he sharply criticized Azariah de' *Rossi (*Be'er ha-Golah*, ch. 6), he favored scientific study which did not contradict the principles of Judaism. According to S.J. Rapaport, he did not engage in Kabbalah; G. Scholem, on the other hand, regards him as the forerunner of Ḥasidism in that he popularized kabbalistic ideas. His language is not kabbalistic, and this fact stands in the way of a full understanding of his teaching to the present day. He stresses that philosophy and esoteric love are diametrically opposed to one another ("two things each of which contradicts and opposes the other" – *Derekh Ḥayyim*, ch. 5) and unhesitatingly associates himself with the world of Kabbalah.

Judah Loew's works in the fields of ethics, philosophy, and homiletics are all based on the same homiletical system: exegetical and homiletical interpretation of the sayings of the rabbis of the Talmud. His whole life's work may be regarded as a new interpretation of the *aggadah*. Every chapter (and nearly every paragraph) in his many works opens with a quotation from the traditional sources, which he then goes on to interpret in his unique fashion. His close attachment to the *aggadah* may be the reason for his strong defense of oral tradition against its Italian critics, which was incorporated in his *Be'er ha-Golah*. Even his systematic work on ethics, *Netivot Olam*, which was to become one of the most popular and influential works in the field, is also based on reinterpretation of aggadic passages. Although chapters of his works may be read as a late offspring of the philosophical moralistic literature of the Spanish period, the philosophical terms which he employs do not bear their original meanings but are given new ones geared to the expression of his ideas. Some passages in his writings, as well as some of his basic views regarding the transcendent meaning of the Torah, of prayer, etc., seem to point to familiarity with Kabbalah. He never states kabbalistic ideas as such but seems to have made use of them in his interpretation of talmudic passages. The question has not been sufficiently studied, however, to permit definite conclusions. The most important questions which he tried to solve in his many works were the problem of the relationship between Israel and God, with the Torah serving as mediator between them, and the problem of the *galut*, the reasons for it, and the manner of its termination. His *Tiferet Yisrael* and *Gevurot ha-Shem* are completely devoted to these subjects, and he deals with them in his other works as well.

Judah Loew rejects the Aristotelian view, which is adumbrated mainly by Maimonides, that intellectual perfection is the supreme human goal. In his opinion the study of Torah and observance of its precepts bring man to this goal, and study of the Torah for its own sake has a metaphysical influence and brings about communion with God. The precepts, implemented by means of physical actions, are symbols whereby man comes closer to the Creator and penetrates to the secrets of the Divine; this is the true purpose of the ceremonial precepts.

He lived in an era of the revival of the sciences and displayed some familiarity with scientific studies, but the new discoveries did not influence his cosmic outlook. He knew about Copernicus but remained faithful to the rabbinic view of cosmogony, for, he said, it was received by them from Moses at Sinai who received it from God Who alone can possibly know the truth (*Netivot Olam, Netiv ha-Torah*). An echo of the discovery of America also reached his ears: "They say that recently a certain place has been found, called by them a new world, previously undiscovered" (*Neẓaḥ Yisrael*, ch. 34); in consequence he expressed the hope that the ten tribes too would one day be discovered in a country still unknown. He drew his scientific explanations, generally speaking, from Aristotle's natural philosophy which was generally accepted in the Middle Ages, and his psychological outlook was chiefly Platonic with the addition of Aristotelian and other elements. He also took from Plato the division of people into three classes: philosophers (= talmudic scholars), watchmen (= those who observe precepts), and breadwinners (= merchants). Although the spirit of the Renaissance and of humanism reached him, he remained fundamentally anchored to the outlooks common in the Middle Ages. A number of his formulations in social problems would appear to be very forward looking, but the subject has still to be investigated.

In fixing the standard for *halakhah*, he develops the view that the source of dispute in *halakhah* lies in the diversity of reality and its numerous aspects, which human intelligence cannot fully comprehend, and since human methods of understanding differ – "each one receives one aspect in accordance with his lot" (*Be'er ha-Golah*, ch. 1).

Fundamental Doctrines

NATURAL ORDER. By the terms "nature," "the natural order," "natural reality," and the like, that run like a golden thread throughout all his writings, he refers to the regular physical order of the universe. The various phenomena are connected one with another in a logical connection of cause and effect that can be rationally explained. This order, however, has no validity for the relationship between the Creator and the universe, for two reasons: (a) God created the system of regularity in nature of His own free will; (b) there exist phenomena outside the natural order which are deviations from the fixed order, i.e., the miracles. Since it is inconceivable that God should lay down laws and abrogate them, establish an order and destroy it – he assumes that in principle the natural order is only enduring and valid in this world, while in the upper world, a different order, "the discrete," exists. The miracle has its source in this upper world and occurs when this upper world temporarily penetrates and intrudes into this world. Hence even phenomena that at first sight appear as deviations are ab initio subject to special rules of their own.

THE UNIQUE NATURE OF THE JEWISH PEOPLE AND ITS STATUS. Since the time of Judah Halevi no one had stressed the unique nature of the people of Israel, its mission and its destiny, as did Judah Loew. God chose Israel per se and not because of the merits of the patriarchs. Hence it cannot be said that only when Israel fulfills the will of the Omnipresent the choice exists, but when they rebel it is annulled. This being so, the claim of Christians that the exile is proof that God has forsaken His people is similarly nullified. Cancellation of the choice would have involved a change in reality "until the world would have become different from what it was previously," and this is an impossibility. He terms the choice of Israel *beḥirah kelalit* ("general choice"), and the tie with God which constitutes the nature of the choice *devekut kelalit* ("general attachment").

Israel constitutes the "form," whereas other nations constitute the "matter." From this stem the differences in their ethical conduct and in their comprehension of divine matters. In Israel the forces of the soul prevail, among the nations – physical forces.

EXILE AND REDEMPTION. The natural order is not limited to natural phenomena, it also comprehends human relations. He holds that the exile is a "departure" (deviation) from the natural order of the world, a breakdown in the universal system of relations, in the otherwise unchangeable regularity. The exile expresses itself in three ways:

(1) uprooting from the natural locality; every nation has a country specifically its own, and separation from one's country and dwelling beyond it deleteriously affect the natural order;

(2) loss of political independence and subjection to aliens – "for the subjection of one nation to another does not accord with the proper order of reality, for it is the right of each nation to be free";

(3) the dispersion – every nation is a distinct entity and in the absence of a territorial center it loses its unity; it is not "a complete compact nation" (*Neẓaḥ Yisrael* ch. 1).

However, every departure from the natural order is but a passing phenomenon – hence the conviction of, and faith in, the messianic redemption which will inevitably come about and remedy the anomaly of the exile (see *Galut). Yet despite all his attachment to the messianic faith, he was utterly opposed to "forcing the end" (of the exile) and to the actual messianic speculations of his time. Not only the natural order but its consequences were established by the will of God, and man should not attempt to change them; the decree of God may not be nullified by force. One must pray for the redemption but not "too much," not even in a generation of religious persecution. Even to calculate the time of the redemption is forbidden; it will come in its due time. Shortly before the redemption "the degradation of Israel will be greater than it ever was," and precisely from this "absence" will the redemption emerge. The apocalyptic *aggadot* are explained allegorically by Judah Loew in such a way that the image of the personal Messiah is blurred. He explains the *aggadah* about the birth of the Messiah on the day the Temple was destroyed to the effect that "this birth is not an actual physical birth … but it means that the Messiah was born from the point of view of the messianic potentiality existing in the world."

He discusses the cosmopolitan basis of the exile. Though indeed it is fitting that the Israelite nation, which is the essence of the world, should have for its dwelling place Ereẓ Israel, which is the essence of the geographical world, nevertheless, when they were exiled from the land the whole world became their locality. In accordance with the midrashic saying "wherever Israel went into exile the Divine Presence accompanied them," he stresses that it is fitting that the Divine Presence should be with Israel in exile more than in Ereẓ Israel. In consequence he emphasizes the need for the Jewish people to work for their survival in exile by separating themselves from the nations and by observing the precepts, such as congregational prayer, practice of charity, and study of Torah.

Judah Loew was a prolific writer. His works include:

(1) *Derekh Ḥayyim*, commentary on *Avot* (Cracow, 1589);

(2) *Netivot Olam*, on ethics, the second part of *Derekh Ḥayyim* (Prague, 1596);

(3) *Tiferet Yisrael*, on the excellence of the Torah and the commandments (Prague, 1593);

(4) *Be'er ha-Golah*, on difficult talmudic passages, and, at the same time, a defense of the Talmud, the second part of *Tiferet Yisrael* (Prague, 1598);

(5) *Neẓaḥ Yisrael*, on exile, messianic redemption, and repentance (Prague, 1599);

(6) *Or Ḥadash* on *Megillat Esther* and Purim, and

(7) *Ner Mitzvah* on Ḥanukkah (Prague, 1600);

(8) *Gur Aryeh*, commentary on Rashi, including comments on Bible, Targum, and Midrash (Prague, 1578);

(9) *Gevurot ha-Shem*, on the Exodus from Egypt, the *Haggadah*, and the laws of Pesaḥ (Cracow, 1582);

(10) *Gur Aryeh*, novellae on tractates *Shabbat, Eruvin*, and *Pesaḥim* (Lvov, 1863);

(11) *Haggadah shel Pesaḥ*, with a discourse on *Shabbat ha-Gadol* (1589);

(12) *Ḥiddushei Yoreh De'ah*, novellae on *Tur Yoreh De'ah* (Amsterdam, 1775);

(13) *Sefer Perushei Maharal mi-Prag le-Aggadot ha-Shas* (1959–60);

(14) sermons, novellae, and responsa, some published and others still in manuscript. Most of the above-mentioned works have appeared in several editions.

He is unique in the history of Hebrew literature by virtue of his not having belonged to any defined school, or having been followed by disciples who subscribed to his ideas. He was a lone thinker, who developed his own philosophy as well as its method of presentation. It is ironic that he is better known to later generations for the unfounded and atypical legend that he was the creator of the famous Prague *golem* (he seems not to have dealt with magic) than for his original and profound ideas (see *Golem). Rabbi A.I. Kook used his sayings and methods extensively in his works, and a considerable revival of his ideas has taken place among 20th-century Jewish thinkers. Of his pupils, particular mention should be made of Yom Tov *Heller, Elijah *Loans, and David *Gans (the author of *Ẓemaḥ David*).

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JUDAH MACCABEE, one of the great warriors of history, who laid the foundation of the future Hasmonean state. Judah, the third son of *Mattathias the Hasmonean, assumed leadership of the revolt against *Antiochus Epiphanes in accordance with the deathbed disposition of his father. No suggestion that has been put forward to explain the meaning of his name (Heb. מַכַּבִּי or מַקָּבִּי (Gr. Μακκαβᾶιος)) or those of the other Hasmonean brothers is satisfactory. His exceptional military talent made him the natural choice as military commander of the rebels, and the author of I Maccabees is unstinting in praise of his valor. Because of the disparity between the contending forces during the first days of the revolt, Judah's strategy was to avoid any involvement with the regular army of the Seleucids, but to attack the enemy from ambush, in order to give them a feeling of insecurity. Already at the beginning of the struggle he succeeded in defeating a small Syrian force under the command of *Apollonius, who was killed. Judah took possession of his sword which he used until his death as a symbol of vengeance. More important was his success in battle against Seron, "the commander of the Syrian army." The choice of the neighborhood of Beth-Horon as the field of battle and the coordination of the limited forces at his disposal testify to Judah's outstanding tactical skill, but his military talent was revealed in all its brilliance in the third battle, near Emmaus. This time he faced regular forces led by *Gorgias, an experienced officer. This force had not been dispatched by Antiochus, who at the time was in the northern provinces of his kingdom, but by Lysias, whom the king, on the eve of his departure for the east, had appointed as regent of the western sector of the kingdom and tutor to the young crown prince, the future Antiochus V Eupator. By forced night march, Judah succeeded in eluding Gorgias, who had intended to attack and destroy his enemy in their camp. He then made a surprise attack upon the Syrian camp near Emmaus while Gorgias was searching for him in the mountains. The Syrian commander had no alternative but to withdraw to the coast. This defeat convinced Lysias that he must prepare for a serious and prolonged war. He accordingly assembled a new and larger army and marched to meet Judah. Once again, however, the Jewish commander succeeded in overcoming the numerically superior enemy in a great battle near Beth-Zur. This victory opened up the road to Jerusalem, which Judah entered at the head of his army; he purified the defiled Temple and instituted a festival of eight days on the 25th of Kislev of the year 148 of the Seleucid era corresponding to 164 B.C.E., which became a permanent festival, *Ḥanukkah. It was the first step on the road to ultimate independence.

Hard upon these events came news that the enemies of the Jews had attacked the sparse Jewish settlements in Gilead, in Transjordan, and in Galilee. Judah immediately went to their aid. His brother, Simeon, sent to Galilee at the head of 3,000 men, successfully fulfilled his task and transplanted a substantial portion of the Jewish settlements, including women and children, to Judea. Galilee, however, does not apparently seem to have been evacuated of its Jewish population, since two generations later, when John Hyrcanus conquered it, he found it largely inhabited by Jews. A more difficult task was undertaken by Judah and his younger brother Jonathan, who were compelled to engage in fierce fighting with the Arabian tribes before they could rescue the Jews concentrated in fortified towns in Gilead. At the conclusion of the fighting in Transjordan, Judah turned against the Edomites in the south, captured and destroyed Hebron, and, after marching against the coastal land of the Philistines, returned to Judea with much booty. Judah now laid siege to the Syrian army garrison in the *Acra, the fortress of Jerusalem. In response to desperate appeals from the besieged – who included not only Syrians but also hellenized Jews – Lysias the regent, together with the young king Antiochus Eupator (Antiochus Epiphanes having died in the meantime in the east) came out to do battle at the head of a powerful army. Lysias skirted Judea as he had done in his first campaign, entering it from the south, and besieged Beth-Zur. Judah raised the siege of the Acra and went to meet Lysias, but was defeated in a battle near Bet Zekharyah and withdrew to Jerusalem. Beth-Zur was compelled to surrender and Lysias reached Jerusalem, besieging Judah on Mount Zion. The defenders found themselves in dire straits; their provisions were exhausted, it being a sabbatical year. The situation changed unexpectedly, however; news reached the Syrian camp that Philip, commander in chief of Antiochus, having been appointed regent by the monarch before his death, was about to enter Antioch and seize power. Lysias thereupon decided to propose a peaceful settlement to the Jews based on the restoration of religious freedom, i.e., the repeal of the edicts of Antiochus Epiphanes.

The order of events thus far has followed I Maccabees. According to II Maccabees, however, the order is: Judah's victory over Gorgias and Nicanor, his conquest of Jerusalem, the death of Antiochus Epiphanes, the purification of the temple, the rise to power of Antiochus Eupator, and the wars with the neighboring peoples. Only after these does II Maccabees give the details of the first campaign of Lysias, as a result of which peace was established between the Jews and the Syrians. It continues with the wars between the Jews and their neighbors, and finally relates the second campaign of Lysias against Judah and the subsequent signing of a peace treaty. With this the war for religious freedom came to an end, but it did not bring peace. In place of war against the external enemy, an internal struggle now took place between the nationalist party led by Judah and between the Hellenist party. Changes in the situation in Syria led to a strengthening of the Maccabees and a weakening of the Hellenists among the people. Demetrius I, who fled from Rome in defiance of the Roman senate, appeared on the scene in Syria. Lysias and the young Antiochus Eupator were brought captive before him and put to death. In view of the happenings in Judea and the strengthening of the nationalists, the Hellenist party turned to the new king with a request for help. The delegation was led by Alcimus, a priest who did not, however, belong to a high priestly family. He complained to Demetrius of the persecution of the Hellenist party in Judea and was granted his request to be appointed high priest under the protection of the king's army. Demetrius sent to Judea a new army led by Bacchides, and Alcimus accompanied him as high priest. The *Hassideans, taking it for granted that the religious war was over, received him cordially, but Alcimus, acting in Judea with an iron hand, had 60 of them executed. This again changed the internal situation in Judea in favor of the nationalist party. Judah wreaked havoc among the followers of Alcimus, so that after Bacchides' return to Antioch, Alcimus was again compelled to seek help from the Syrians. Demetrius dispatched a new army with *Nicanor at its head, but Nicanor's plan to seize Judah by guile failed and the war was renewed. The decisive moment came in a battle near Adasa, on the 13th Adar, 161 B.C.E., in which Nicanor was killed and his army destroyed. The annual "Day of Nicanor" was instituted to commemorate this brilliant victory.

Judah then sent a delegation to Rome headed by Eupolemus son of Johanan and Jason son of Eleazar (the fact that their names were Greek and their fathers' Hebrew is noteworthy), with the request for an alliance. The outcome of the mission was less than Judah had hoped for, the Romans committing themselves only to such obligations as were in their own interests. The letter dispatched by the senate to Demetrius, forbidding him to act in a hostile manner against the Jews, failed to exercise any influence on him, for on receipt of the news of Nicanor's defeat he dispatched a new army commanded by Bacchides. This time the Syrian forces were numerically so superior that most of Judah's men left the field of battle and advised their leader to do likewise and to await a more favorable opportunity. Despite this, Judah decided to try his fortune once more. His final battle was near Elasa (so far unidentified). The outcome was inevitable: Judah and those who remained faithful to him were killed. His body was taken by his brothers from the battlefield and buried in the family sepulcher in Modi'in. Virtually all that is known about Judah Maccabee is contained in the Books of the Maccabees (in the Apocrypha) and in Josephus, largely dependent on this source.

[Abraham Schalit]

In the Arts

As warrior hero and national liberator, Judah Maccabee has inspired many writers, and several artists and composers. In literature, however, he makes an unexpectedly late appearance, little of significance having been written before the 17th century. William Houghton's *Judas Maccabaeus*, performed in about 1601 but now lost, is thought to have been the first drama on the theme; however, the earliest surviving literary work is *El Macabeo* (Naples, 1638), a somewhat bombastic Castilian epic by the Portuguese Marrano author Miguel de *Silveyra. Two other 17th century works were *La chevalerie de Judas Macabé* by the French dramatist and tragedian Pierre du Ryer (c. 1600–1658) and the anonymous neo-Latin "melodrama" *Judas Machabaeus* (Rome, 1695). Interest in the subject only revived in the 19th century, with *Giuda Macabeo, ossia la morte di Nicanore*… (1839), an Italian "azione sacra" on which Vallicella based an oratorio. One of the best-known literary works on the theme was *Judas Maccabaeus* (1872), a five-act verse tragedy by the U.S. poet Henry Wadsworth Longfellow. In verse rising at times to a Miltonic grandeur, Longfellow shows how Antiochus, bent on forcibly hellenizing the Jews, finds a compliant tool in the high priest Jason. Act II retells the tragic Apocryphal story of Hannah ("Máhala") and her seven sons, the resolute Judah first appearing only in Act III.

A Hebrew version of Longfellow's play was published by J. Massel in 1900. Two later 19th-century interpretations of the story were *Judas Makkabaeus*, a novella by the German writer Josef Eduard Konrad Bischoff which appeared in *Der Gefangene von Kuestrin* (1885); and *The Hammer* (1890), a book by Alfred J. Church and Richmond Seeley. Several Jewish authors of the 20th century also turned to the subject. They include Jacob Benjamin Katznelson (1855–1930), who wrote the poem *Alilot Gibbor ha-Yehudim Yehudah ha-Makkabi le-Veit ha-Ḥashmona'im* (1922); the U.S. novelist Howard *Fast (*My Glorious Brothers*, 1948); the Yiddish writer Moses Schulstein, who wrote the dramatic poem "*Yehudah ha-Makkabi*" (in *A Layter tsu der Zun*, 1954); and Jacob *Fichmann, whose "*Yehudah ha-Makkabi*" is one of the heroic tales included in *Sippurim le-Mofet* (1954). Many children's plays have also been written on the theme by various Jewish authors. During World War II the Swiss-German writer Karl Boxler published his novel *Judas Makkabaeus; ein Kleinvolk kaempft um Glaube und Heimat* (1943), the subtitle of which suggests that Swiss democrats then drew a parallel between their own national hero, William Tell, and the leader of the Maccabean revolt against foreign tyranny.

In art, during the Middle Ages, Judah Maccabee was regarded as one of the heroes of the Old Testament. He figures in a tenth-century illuminated manuscript of the *Libri Maccabaeorum* (Leyden University Library); and the late medieval French artist Jean Fouquet painted an illustration of Judah triumphing over his enemies for his famous manuscript of Josephus (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris). A painting by Rubens of Judah Maccabee praying for the dead is of special interest. In II Maccabees 12:39–48 there is an account of an episode in which Judah's troops found stolen idolatrous charms on the corpses of Jewish warriors slain on the battlefield. He therefore offered prayers and an expiatory sacrifice for these warriors who had died in a state of sin. During the Counter-Reformation the passage was used by Catholics against Protestants in order to justify the doctrine of purgatory. Accordingly, Rubens painted the scene for the Chapel of the Dead in Tournai Cathedral. This painting is now in the Nantes Museum. In the 19th century, Paul Gustave Doré executed an engraving of Judah Maccabee victoriously pursuing the shattered troops of the Syrian enemy.

In music, almost all the compositions inspired by the Hasmonean revolt are primarily concerned with Judah. The first of distinction – and still the outstanding work – was Handel's oratorio *Judas Maccabaeus*, which had its première in London in 1747. This work, with libretto by Thomas Morrell, had been written for the celebrations following the Duke of Cumberland's victory over the Scottish Jacobite rebels at the battle of Culloden (1746); and its heroic and martial spirit was set off, but in no way lessened, by the doleful and lyrical passages of the composition. The oratorio's most famous chorus is "See, the conqu'ring hero comes." Handel's *Judas Maccabaeus* was often performed in Ereẓ Israel, and the "conqu'ring hero" melody has become a Ḥanukkah song.

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JUDAISM, the religion, philosophy, and way of life of the Jews.

DEFINITION

The term Judaism is first found among the Greek-speaking Jews of the first century C.E. (*Judaismes*, see II Macc. 2:21; 8:1; 14:38; Gal. 1:13–14). Its Hebrew equivalent, *Yahadut*, found only occasionally in medieval literature (e.g., Ibn Ezra to Deut. 21:13), but used frequently in modern times, has parallels neither in the Bible (but see Esth. 8:17, *mityahadim*, "became Jews") nor in the rabbinic literature. (The term *dat Yehudit*, found in Ket. 7:6, means no more than the Jewish law, custom, or practice in a particular instance, e.g., that a married woman should not spin or have her head uncovered in the street.)

The Term "Torah"

The term generally used in the classical sources for the whole body of Jewish teaching is *Torah, "doctrine," "teaching." Thus the Talmud (Shab. 31a) tells the story of a heathen who wished to be converted to the Jewish faith but only on the understanding that he would be taught the whole of the Torah while standing on one leg. Hillel accepted him and, in response to his request, replied: "That which is hateful unto thee do not do unto thy neighbor. This is the whole of the Torah. The rest is commentary. Go and study." Presumably if the Greek-speaking Jews had told the story they would have made the prospective convert demand to be taught Judaism while standing on one leg.

Modern Distinctions Between "Judaism" and "Torah"

In modern usage the terms "Judaism" and "Torah" are virtually interchangeable, but the former has on the whole a more humanistic nuance while "Torah" calls attention to the divine, revelatory aspects. The term "secular Judaism" – used to describe the philosophy of Jews who accept specific Jewish values but who reject the Jewish religion – is not, therefore, self-contradictory as the term "secular Torah" would be. (In modern Hebrew, however, the word *torah* is also used for "doctrine" or "theory" (e.g., "the Marxist theory"), and in this sense it would also be logically possible to speak of a secular *torah*. In English transliteration the two meanings might be distinguished by using a capital *T* for the one and a small *t* for the other, but this is not possible in Hebrew which knows of no distinction between small and capital letters.)

A further difference in nuance, stemming from the first, is that "Torah" refers to the eternal, static elements in Jewish life and thought while "Judaism" refers to the more creative, dynamic elements as manifested in the varied civilizations and cultures of the Jews at the different stages of their history, such as Hellenistic Judaism, rabbinic Judaism, medieval Judaism, and, from the 19th century, Orthodox, Conservative, and Reform Judaism. (The term *Yidishkeyt* is the Yiddish equivalent of "Judaism" but has a less universalistic connotation and refers more specifically to the folk elements of the faith.)

It is usually considered to be anachronistic to refer to the biblical religion (the "religion of Israel") as "Judaism," both because there were no Jews (i.e., "those belonging to the tribe of Judah") in the formative period of the Bible, and because there are distinctive features which mark off later Judaism from the earlier forms, ideas, and worship. For all that, most Jews would recognize sufficient continuity to reject as unwarranted the description of Judaism as a completely different religion from the biblical.

THE ESSENCE OF JUDAISM

The Hebrew writer *Aḥad Ha-Am (*Al Parashat Derakhim*, 4 (Berlin ed. 1924), 42) observed that if Hillel's convert (see above) had come to him demanding to be taught the whole of the Torah while standing on one leg, he would have replied: "'Thou shalt not make unto thee a graven image, nor any manner of likeness' (Ex. 20:4). This is the whole of the Torah. The rest is commentary," i.e., that the essence of Judaism consists in the elevation of the ideal above all material or physical forms or conceptions.

Aḥad Ha-Am's was only one of the latest attempts at discovering the essence of Judaism, its main idea or ideas, its particular viewpoint, wherein it differs from other religions and philosophies. This is an extremely difficult – some would say impossible – task, since the differing civilizations, Egyptian, Canaanite, Babylonian, Persian, Greek, Roman, Christian, Muslim, with which Jews came into contact, have made their influence felt on Jews and through them on Judaism itself. It is precarious to think of Judaism in monolithic terms. Developed and adapted to changing circumstances throughout its long history, it naturally contains varying emphases as well as outright contradictions. Belief in the transmigration of souls, for example, was strongly upheld by some Jewish teachers and vehemently rejected by others. Yet the quest has rarely ceased for certain distinctive viewpoints which make Judaism what it is. Some of these must here be mentioned.

Talmudic Attempts to State Essence

In a talmudic passage (Mak. 23b–24a) it is said that God gave to Moses 613 precepts, but that later seers and prophets reduced these to certain basic principles: David to eleven (Ps. 15); Isaiah to six (Isa. 33:15–16); Micah to three (Micah 6:8); Isaiah, again, to two (Isa. 56:1); and, finally, Habakkuk to one: "The righteous shall live by his faith" (Hab. 2:4). This would make trust in God Judaism's guiding principle.

In another passage the second-century rabbis ruled at the council of Lydda that, although the other precepts of the Torah can be set aside in order to save life, martyrdom is demanded when life can only be saved by committing murder, by worshiping idols, or by offending against the laws governing forbiddden sexual relations (e.g., those against adultery and incest). The historian Heinrich Graetz (in JQR, 1 (1889), 4–13) deduces from this ruling that there are two elements in the essence of Judaism: the ethical and the religious. The ethical includes in its positive side, love of mankind, benevolence, humility, justice, holiness in thought and deed, and in its negative aspects, care against unchastity, subdual of selfishness and the beast in man. The religious element includes the prohibition of worshiping a transient being as God and insists that all idolatry is vain and must be rejected entirely. The positive side is to regard the highest Being as one and unique, to worship it as the Godhead and as the essence of all ethical perfections.

Maimonides' 13 Principles

In the 12th century, *Maimonides (commentary to the Mishnah, on Sanh., ch. Ḥelek (10)) drew up 13 principles of the Jewish faith. These are:

(1) Belief in the existence of God;
(2) Belief in God's unity;
(3) Belief that God is incorporeal;
(4) Belief that God is eternal;
(5) Belief that God alone is to be worshiped;
(6) Belief in prophecy;
(7) Belief that Moses is the greatest of the prophets;
(8) Belief that the Torah is divine;
(9) Belief that the Torah in unchanging;
(10) Belief that God knows the thoughts and deeds of men;
(11) Belief that God rewards the righteous and punishes the wicked;
(12) Belief in the coming of the *Messiah;
(13) Belief in the *resurrection of the dead.

A close examination of Maimonides' thought reveals that his principles are far more in the nature of direct response to the particular challenges that Judaism had to face in his day than conclusions arrived at by abstract investigation into the main ideas of Judaism. The third principle, for instance, is clearly directed against cruder notions of deity which were popular among some talmudists in Maimonides' day. (Maimonides' contemporary critic, *Abraham b. David of Posquières, while believing with Maimonides that God is incorporeal, refuses to treat a belief in God's corporeality as heretical since, he says, many great and good Jews do entertain such a notion because they are misled by a literal understanding of the anthropomorphic passages in Scripture and the rabbinic literature; see Maim. Yad, Teshuvah, 3:7). The seventh principle seems to be aimed against the Christian claims for Jesus and the Muslim claims for Muhammad. The ninth principle similarly serves as a rejection of the Christian and Muslim claim that Judaism had been superseded (see S. Schechter, *Studies in Judaism*, 1 (1896), 147–81).

Reactions to Maimonides

Joseph *Albo (*Sefer ha-Ikkarim*, 1:26) reduces Maimonides' principles to three basic ones – (1) Belief in God; (2) Belief that the Torah is divine; (3) Belief in reward and punishment – while Isaac *Arama (*Akedat Yiẓḥak*, Gate 55) reduces them to (1) Belief in *creatio ex nihilo*; (2) Belief that the Torah is divine; (3) Belief in the hereafter. On the other hand Isaac *Abrabanel (*Rosh Amanah*, 23) is out of sympathy with the whole enterprise of trying to discover the basic principles of Judaism, in that it implies that some parts of the Torah are less significant than others. Similarly, the 16th-century teacher *David b. Solomon ibn Abi Zimra writes: "I do not agree that it is right to make any part of the perfect Torah into a 'principle' since the whole Torah is a principle from the mouth of the Almighty. Our sages say that whoever states that the whole of the Torah is from heaven with the exception of one verse is a heretic. Consequently, each precept is a principle and a basic idea. Even a light precept has a secret reason beyond our understanding. How, then, dare we suggest that this is inessential and that fundamental?" (Radbaz, Resp. no. 344; see also *Articles of Faith).

Modern Trends

In modern times two new factors have been operative in the search for the essence of Judaism, one making the task more difficult, the other more urgent. The first is the rise of the Wissenschaft des Judentums movement in the 19th century. This had as its aim the objective historical investigation into the sources and history of Judaism. Its practitioners succeeded in demonstrating the complexity of Jewish thought and the fact that it developed in response to outside stimuli, so that there could no longer be any question of seeing Judaism as a self-contained unchanging entity consistent in all its parts. The second new factor was the emancipation of the Jew and his emergence into Western society, calling for a fresh adaptation of Judaism so as to make it viable and relevant in the new situation. The historical movement had demonstrated the developing nature of Judaism and seemed, therefore, to offer encouragement to those thinkers who wished to develop the faith further in accord with the new ideals and challenges. Yet this very demonstration made it far more difficult to detect that which is permanent in Judaism when so much is seen to be fluid and subject to change. Among modern thinkers, Leo *Baeck was so convinced that the quest was not futile that his book carries the revealing title, *The Essence of Judaism* (1948^2). Acknowledging the rich variety of forms and differing phenomena in Judaism's history, Baeck still feels able to declare: "The essence is characterized by what has been gained and preserved. And such *constancy*, such *essence*, Judaism possesses despite its many varieties and the shifting phases of its long career. In virtue of that essence they all have something in common, a unity of thought and feeling, and an inward bond."

The Concept of "Normative Judaism"

Jewish thinkers who hold that an essence of Judaism can be perceived tend to speak of "normative Judaism," with the implication that at the heart of the Jewish faith there is a hard, imperishable core, to be externally preserved, together with numerous peripheral ideas, expressed, to be sure, by great Jewish thinkers in different ages but not really essential to the faith, which could be dismissed if necessary as deviations.

Unfortunately for this line of thinking, no criteria are available for distinguishing the essential from the ephemeral, so that a strong element of subjectivity is present in this whole approach. Almost invariably the process ends in a particular thinker's embracing ideas he holds to be true and valuable, discovering these reflected in the tradition and hence belonging to the "normative," while rejecting ideas he holds to be harmful or valueless as peripheral to Judaism, even though they are found in the tradition. Nor is the statistical approach helpful. An idea occurring very frequently in the traditional sources may be rejected by some thinkers on the grounds that it is untrue or irrelevant, while one hardly mentioned in the sources may assume fresh significance in a new situation, to say nothing of the difficulties in deciding which sources are to be considered the more authoritative. The absurdities which can result from the "normative Judaism" approach can be seen when, for example, contemporary thinkers with a dislike for asceticism, who wish at the same time to speak in the name of Judaism, virtually read out of the faith ascetics such as *Baḥya ibn Paquda and Moses Ḥayyim *Luzzatto (see, for instance, Abba Hillel Silver, *Where Judaism Differed* (1957), 182–223).

Recognition of Constant Ideas

However, if due caution is exercised and no exaggerated are claims made, the idea of a normative Judaism is not without value in that it calls attention to the undeniable fact that for all the variety of moods in Judaism's history there does emerge among the faithful a kind of consensus on the main issues. It has always been recognized, for instance, after the rise of Christianity and Islam, that these two religions are incompatible with Judaism and that no Jew can consistently embrace them while remaining an adherent of Judaism. The same applies to the Far Eastern religions. This, of course, is very different from affirming that there are no points of contact between Judaism and other faiths, or no common concerns. Nor has the idea of a Judaism divorced from the peoplehood of Israel ever made much headway, even in circles in which the doctrine of Israel's chosenness is a source of embarrassment. Nor does Jewish history know of a Torah-less Judaism, even though the interpretations of what is meant by Torah differ widely. The most important work of Jewish mysticism, the Zohar, speaks of three grades or stages bound one to the other – God, the Torah, and Israel (Zohar, Lev. 73a–b). Historically considered, it is true that Judaism is an amalgam of three ideas – belief in God, God's revelation of the Torah to Israel, and Israel as the people which lives by the Torah in obedience to God. The interpretation of these ideas has varied from age to age, but the ideas themselves have remained constant.

The Development of Judaism

THE BIBLICAL PERIOD. Any account of the development of Judaism must begin with the Bible as the record of those ideas, practices, and institutions which became prominent in the faith. With regard to the biblical record, as with regard to Judaism itself, the monolithic view has yielded among modern scholars to that of development and change, so that it is unsatisfactory to speak of the faith of the Bible, as if the Bible were a unit rather than a collection of books produced over a period of many hundreds of years and stemming from diverse circles with divergent views. The opinions of biblical criticism are frequently at variance with the traditional viewpoint on such questions as to whether the biblical accounts of the lives of the patriarchs are factually accurate, or whether all the legislation attributed to Moses really goes back to the great lawgiver or was fathered by him. Nevertheless, it is possible to trace certain key ideas, which eventually assumed importance in the Bible and which were influential in shaping Judaism.

MONOTHEISM. The usual description of the biblical faith is ethical *monotheism. Whether, as a minority of scholars suggest (e.g. Y. Kaufmann), monotheism erupted spontaneously among the people in ancient Israel or whether, as the majority would have it, there can be traced a gradual progress from polytheism through henotheism to complete monotheism (see the survey and critique by H.H. Rowley, *From Moses to Qumran* (1963), 35–63), the doctrine that there is one God, Lord of the universe, is clearly taught in a large number of biblical passages (e.g., Gen. 1:1–2:3; 5:1–2; 6:1–7; 9:1–8; 11:1–9; 14:18–22; Ex. 19:5; 20:1–14; Deut. 4:15–19; 5:6–8; 10:14; 32:8; I Kings 8:27; Isa. 2:1–4; 11; 45:5–8; 66:1–2; Jer. 32:17–19; Amos 5:8; Jonah 1:9; Micah 1:2; Hab. 3:3; Zech. 8:20–23; 14:9; Mal. 1:11; Ps. 8:2–4; 33:8–11; 47:6–9; 67:2–5; 86:9; 90:1–4; 96:5; 104; 113:4–6; 115:16; 136; 139:7–18; 145; 148; Job 38; 39; 40). What later became Israel's declaration of faith – the **Shema* – is found in Deuteronomy 6:4: "Hear, O Israel: The Lord our God, the Lord is one." The probable meaning of *eḥad* ("one") in this verse is not only "not many" but also "unique." God is transcendent and different from all His creatures (S.R. Driver, ICC, *Deuteronomy* (1896^2) 89–91). From the critical standpoint these passages are comparatively late, but they are present in the Bible and were consequently adopted by Judaism.

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE ONE GOD. This one God is holy (Lev. 19:2; Isa. 6:3) and demands holiness (Ex. 22:30; Lev. 19:2), righteousness, and justice from His people (Gen. 18:19; Ex. 23:2; Deut. 16:18–20) and from all mankind (Gen. 6:13; Amos 1; 2:1–3). He has compassion over all His creatures (Ps. 145:9), and man can respond to His love in love and fear of Him (Deut. 6:5; 10:20). This God, Lord of all the earth, has chosen the people of Israel, the descendants of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, to serve as a "nation of priests" (Ex. 19:6) and to assist in the fulfillment of His purposes (Isa. 43:10; Zech. 8:23). It is incorrect to see the biblical idea of Israel's choice in terms of the relationship between the god of a tribe and the tribe: a tribal god cannot choose; his destiny is bound up with that of his people. When the tribe is vanquished he, too, suffers defeat. In the biblical record it is the God of all the earth who chooses Israel (Heinemann, in *Sinai*, 16 (1944/45), 17–30). God has given Israel the holy land as its place of abode (Gen. 28:13; 50:24; Ex. 6:8; Deut. 26:15). The special place in which God is to be worshiped by the sacrifices is the *Temple (Deut. 12:11–14; I Kings 8).

CEREMONIAL AND ETHICAL LAWS. Prominent among the ceremonial laws are the observance of the *Sabbath (Ex. 20:8–11; 31:12–17; Lev. 25:1ff.; Deut. 5:12–15), the *New Moon feast (Num. 28:11–15; Amos 8:5; Hos. 2:13; Isa. 1:14; II Kings 4:23), and the celebration of the festivals of *Passover (Ex. 12:14–20; 23:15; Lev. 23:5–8; Deut. 16:1–8), *Shavuot (Ex. 23:16; Lev. 23:15–21), and *Sukkot (Ex. 23:16; Lev. 23:33–43). Males were to be circumcised (see *Circumcision) as a sign of the covenant made with Abraham (Gen. 17:9–27; 34:13–15; Josh. 5:2–8). The *dietary laws (Lev. 11:1–23; Deut. 14:3–21) were to be observed, as well as laws governing dress (Deut. 22:11; Num. 15:37:41; Lev. 19:27) and agriculture (Lev. 19:9–10; 23:22; Num. 18:8–32). Numerous are the laws governing human relationships and social justice (Ex. 21; 22; 23:1–9; Lev. 19; Deut. 22; 23; 24; 25).

SPIRITUAL LEADERS. The spiritual leaders of the people were of different kinds: the *priest (kohen) who served in the Temple and was the custodian of the law (Lev. 21; 22:1–25; Deut. 17:8–13); the prophet (*navi*) who brought a particular message from God to the people (Deut. 18:18; I Sam. 9:9); and the sage (*ḥakham*), the teacher of worldly wisdom and good conduct (Jer. 9:22; Eccles. 7:4–5).

MESSIANIC BELIEFS. The belief became more and more pronounced that a day would eventually dawn when God's kingdom would be established over all the earth and war would be banished (Isa. 2:1–4; 11:1–10; Micah 4:1–4; Zech. 14:9). After the destruction of the Temple and the exile of the people to Babylon, this hope became associated with that of national restoration under a Davidic ruler, later called the *Messiah, and the resurrection of the dead (Dan. 12:2).

UNIVERSALISM AND PARTICULARISM. Israel, it was taught, had been chosen to be a light unto the nations (Isa. 42:6; 49:6) and to be God's special treasure (Ex. 19:5). But both universalism and particularism are found in the Bible, with all the tensions inseparable from belief in God as Father and King of all men and belief in His special concern with Israel. This people were to lead lives of absolute faithfulness to God. The greatest sin they could, and did, commit was idolatry.

There are many prayers in the Bible but these are private and individualistic. Communal prayer was a later development (see *Prayer).

The Pre-Rabbinic Age

The period after the return from Babylon is shrouded in obscurity, but some of the main lines of development can be traced. Not later than the fifth century B.C.E. the Pentateuch had become the Torah, sacred Scripture, with the prophetic books and the books of the Hagiographa being added later on as holy writ. The process of canonization of the biblical books, other than the Pentateuch, was a lengthy one, the full acceptance of all 24 books which constitute the Hebrew Bible, taking place as late as the second century C.E. (see *Bible: Canon).

THE RISE OF ORAL TRADITION. The concept of Torah was, of course, known in the earlier biblical period, but there it referred to groups of laws taught by the priests (Lev. 6:2, 7; 7:11, 37; 13:59; 14:2; 15:32; Num. 5:29–30; 6:13, 21) or to general "teaching" or "doctrine" (Isa. 2:3). In this period, for the first time, the new idea of the Torah (i.e., the Pentateuch) as a sacred text came to the fore. The regular reading of the Torah in assembly began at this period. Out of these assemblies the synagogue and the whole system of public worship evolved. The reading of the Torah was accompanied by its exposition and its application to new situations (see Reading of the *Torah). It is commonly assumed that the notion of an Oral Law, as distinct from the Written Law, was the invention of the *Pharisees in their determination to make Judaism viable by freeing it from the bonds of a text written down in former ages. It is said, further, that the *Sadducees rejected the whole notion of an Oral Law. While it is undoubtedly true that the full development of the Oral Law idea was the work of the Pharisees, the issue must not be oversimplified. The Sadducees, too, must have had some traditions of Torah interpretation, if only because the literal reading of the Torah text cries out for further amplification. Buying and selling, for instance, are referred to in the Torah, but no indications are given there as to how the transfer of property is to be effected. There are references in the Torah to keeping the Sabbath, but hardly any indication of what is involved in Sabbath work (see *Sabbath).

PERSIAN AND GREEK INFLUENCES. The two civilizations with which the Jews came into contact at this period, first the Persian then the Greek, made their influence felt on Jewish beliefs. Under Babylonian and Persian influence there came into Jewish life and thought the notion of angels as identifiable, sentient, but not necessarily corporeal beings, each with his own name: Michael, Gabriel, Raphael and so forth (see *Angels and Angelology). The personification of the evil in the universe as Satan probably owes much to Persia, as do the beliefs in demons and the resurrection of the dead. It was probably under Greek influence that the doctrine of the immortality of the soul came into Judaism. The doctrine of the resurrection also established itself, possibly at the time of the *Hasmoneans when young men were dying for their religion, so that the older solutions to the problem of suffering, in terms of worldly recompense, became increasingly untenable. There are no doubt indications of this belief in the earlier period, but it had not at that time obtained a complete foothold in the faith. Basically, the two beliefs of resurrection and the soul's *immortality are contradictory. The one refers to a collective resurrection at the end of days, i.e., that the dead sleeping in the earth will arise from the grave, while the other refers to the state of the soul after the death of the body. When both ideas became incorporated into Judaism it was held that, when the individual died, his soul still lived on in another realm (this gave rise to all the beliefs regarding heaven and hell), while his body lay in the grave to await the physical resurrection of all the dead here on earth (see also *Garden of Eden, and *Netherworld). However, the pronounced this-wordly emphasis of the early biblical period was not abandoned completely. This life was still held to be good in itself as a gift from God. But the thought took shape that, in addition, this life was a kind of school, a time of preparation for eternal life.

ESCHATOLOGICAL ELEMENTS. Toward the end of the Second Temple period, when ominous clouds of complete national catastrophe began to gather, the eschatological note was sounded particularly loudly. Speculations were rife regarding the end of days and hope for a new era to be ushered in by direct divine intervention. The doctrine of the Messiah and the messianic age, heralded by the prophets, was seen as a hope shortly to be realized. Some groups of Jews fled into the desert, there to await the coming of the Messiah, as is evidenced by the sect of *Qumran (held by most scholars to be identical with the *Essenes).

CHALLENGES FROM OTHER RELIGIONS. From the time of Judaism's contact with Zoroastrianism, faith in the unity of God had to be defended against dualistic theories that there were two gods, one of light and goodness, the other of darkness and evil. With the rise of Christianity the challenge came from the doctrines of the incarnation and the trinity. These challenges took the place of the polytheism and idolatry of the earlier biblical period, though, of course, idolatry continued to exist in the form of the Greek and Roman gods, and made polemics and legislation against *avodah zarah* ("strange worship") all but academic.

The Rabbinic Period

Rabbinic Judaism, the heir to all these tendencies, emerged at the beginning of the present era and lasted until the year 500, but many of the ideas put forward by the great rabbis had their origin in an earlier age. In the rabbinic literature there is a fairly consistent treatment of the three ideas of God, Torah, and Israel, with much debate among the rabbis on this or that detail.

PARTICULARISTIC TENDENCIES. With regard to the doctrine of Jewish peoplehood, the greater the degradation and the more intense the feelings of national rejection, the stronger became the need for national consolation and the assurance that God still cared. All the poignancy of Israel's hope against hope is expressed in the typically rabbinic, imaginary dialogue between God and Israel, in which Israel complains that she has been forgotten by God, and God replies "My daughter, 12 constellations have I created in the firmament, and for each constellation I have created 30 hosts, and for each host I have created 30 legions, and for each legion I have created 30 cohorts, and for each cohort I have created 30 maniples, and for each maniple I have created 30 camps, and to each camp I have attached 365 thousands of myriads of stars, corresponding to the days of the solar year, and all of them I have created only for thy sake, and thou sayest that I have forgotten thee" (Ber. 32b). It can hardly be accidental that the groupings are taken from the divisions of the Roman army. The universalistic tendencies in Judaism are apt to become obscured by the particular in this period. Nevertheless, conversion to Judaism is possible. The biblical *ger* ("sojourner") had long been interpreted to mean a *proselyte to the Jewish faith, and the equal rights demanded in the Bible for the *ger* are applied. "Our rabbis taught: If at the present time a man wishes to become a convert, he is to be addressed as follows: 'What reason have you for wishing to become a convert; do you not know that Israel at the present time is persecuted and oppressed, despised, harassed, and overcome by afflictions?' If he replies 'I know and yet am unworthy,' he is accepted forthwith and is given instruction in some of the minor and some of the major commandments" (Yev. 47a).

DOMINANT VALUE OF TORAH STUDY. The study of the Torah is now the supreme religious duty, the closest approach to God, the Pharisaic form of the beatific vision (R. Travers Herford, *The Ethics of the Talmud, Sayings of the Fathers* (1962), 15). Typical is the saying in the Mishnah (Pe'ah 1:1): "These are the things whose fruits a man enjoys in this world while the capital is laid up for him in the world to come: honoring father and mother, deeds of lovingkindness, making peace between a man and his fellow; but the study of the Torah is equal to them all." When a rabbi took an unduly long time over his prayers it was not considered incongruous for his colleague to rebuke him: "They neglect eternal life [Torah study] and engage in temporal existence [prayer]" (Shab. 10a). Only such devotion to Torah study can explain the remarkable ruling in the Mishnah (BM 2:11): "If a man is called upon to seek the lost property of his father and that of his teacher, his teacher's comes first – for his father only brought him into this world but his teacher, that taught him wisdom, brings him into the world to come; but if his father was also a sage, his father's comes first. If his father and his teacher each bore a burden, he must first relieve his teacher and afterward his father. If his father and his teacher were taken captive, he must first ransom his teacher and afterward his father; but if his father was also a sage he must first ransom his father and afterward ransom his teacher." The reference to wisdom in this passage comes at the end of a long process in which wisdom no longer means, as it does in the Bible, worldly knowledge and practical philosophy but the wisdom of the Torah. Moreover, Torah is no longer the province of the priest but the heritage of all the people.

ANTHROPOMORPHISM. Anthropomorphic descriptions of God abound in the rabbinic literature but, when excessively bold, are generally qualified by the term *kivyakhol* ("as it were"). The two most popular names for God in this literature are *Ribbono shel olam* ("Lord of the universe"), used in direct speech, and *ha-Kadosh barukh Hu* ("the Holy One, blessed be He"), used in indirect speech.

THIS WORLD AND THE WORLD TO COME. The idea of this life as a preparation for eternal bliss in the hereafter looms very large in rabbinic thinking, yet the value of this life as good in itself is not overshadowed. The second-century teacher, R. Jacob, said: "Better is one hour of repentance and good deeds in this world than the whole life of the world to come; but better is one hour of bliss in the world to come than the whole life of this world" (Avot 4:17). The same teacher said (Avot 4:16): "This world is like a vestibule before the world to come: prepare thyself in the vestibule that thou mayest enter the banqueting hall." In the same vein is the saying that this world is like the eve of Sabbath and the world to come like the Sabbath. Only one who prepares adequately on the eve of the Sabbath can enjoy the delights of the Sabbath (Av. Zar. 3a). Bliss in the hereafter is not limited to Jews. The view of R. Joshua, against that of R. Eliezer, was adopted that the righteous of all nations have a share in the world to come (Tosef., Sanh. 13:2).

The Middle Ages

During the Middle Ages Judaism was confronted with the challenge of Greek philosophy in its Arabic garb. The Jews mainly affected were those of Spain and Islamic lands. The French and German Jews were more remote from the new trends, and their work is chiefly a continuation of the rabbinic modes of thinking. The impact of Greek thought demanded both a more systematic presentation of the truths of the faith and a fresh consideration of what these were in the light of the new ideas. A good deal of the conflict was in the realm of particularism. There is definite hostility in much of Greek thought to the notion of truths capable of being perceived only by a special group. Truth is universal and for all men. There is a marked tendency in medieval Jewish thought to play down Jewish particularism. This is not to say that Judaism was held to be only relatively true, but that the doctrine of Israel's chosenness had become especially difficult to comprehend philosophically. The greatest thinker of this period, Maimonides, hardly touches on the question of the chosen people and, significantly enough, does not number the doctrine among his principles of the faith. For most of the thinkers of this age a burning problem was the relationship between reason and revelation. What need is there for a special revelation of the truth if truth is universal and can be attained by man's unaided reason?

In rabbinic times, wisdom is synonymous with Torah. The tendency in medieval thought is to give wisdom its head but to incorporate this, too, under the heading of Torah. Greek physics and metaphysics thus not only become legitimate fields of study for the Jew but part of the Torah (Maim. Yad, Yesodei ha-Torah, 2:5).

LAW CODES AND BIBLICAL EXEGESIS. The great codes of Jewish law were compiled in this period, partly in response to the new demand for great systemization, partly because the laws were scattered through the voluminous talmudic literature and required to be brought together, so that the *posekim* could easily find the sources of their decisions. A further aim was to render decisions in cases of doubt.

In addition to the incorporation of secular learning into Torah, the scope of Torah studies proper was widened considerably. The *Karaites were responsible for a new flowering of biblical scholarship. The *Kabbalah was born, its devotees engaging in theosophical reflection on the biblical texts. According to the Kabbalah every detail of the precepts mirrored the supernal mysteries, and the performance of the precepts consequently had the power of influencing the higher worlds. In the writings of the later kabbalists, Judaism becomes a mystery religion, its magical powers known only to the mystical adepts.

THEOLOGICAL SPECULATIONS. Under the impact of Greek thought the emphasis in medieval Jewish thinking among the philosophers is on the impersonal aspects of the Deity. Not only is anthropomorphism rejected but the whole question of the divine attributes – of what can and cannot be said about God – receives the closest scrutiny. Baḥya ibn Paquda (*Duties of the Heart, Sha'ar ha-Yiḥud*, 10) and Maimonides (*Guide*, 1:31–60) allow only negative attributes to be used of the Deity; to say that God is wise is to say no more than that He is not ignorant. It is not to say anything about the reality of the divine nature in itself which must always remain utterly incomprehensible. In reaction to the philosophers' depersonalization of the Deity, the kabbalists, evidently under Gnostic influence, developed the doctrine of the *Sefirot*, the ten divine emanations by which the world is governed, though among the kabbalists, too, in the doctrine of *Ein Sof* ("the Limitless"), God as He is in Himself – the Neoplatonic idea of *deus absconditus* – is preserved. Indeed, from one point of view, the Kabbalah is more radical than the philosophers in that it negates all language from *Ein Sof*. The utterly impersonal ground is not mentioned in the Bible. Of it nothing can be said at all. No name can be given it except the negative one of "Nothing" (because of it, nothing can be postulated). By thus affirming both the impersonal ground and the dynamic life of the *Sefirot*, the kabbalists endeavor to satisfy the philosophical mind while catering to the popular need for the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob.

The Period of Transition

The 18th century was a period of great ferment in Jewish life, the old world dying, the new not yet coming to birth. The pioneer Jewish historian *Zunz correctly sees the Jewish Middle Ages as lasting until the end of this century. The repercussions following on the adventures of the pseudo-messiah *Shabbetai Ẓevi caused Jewish leaders to retreat into the past. There was a fear of new tendencies in Jewish thought and a pronounced suspicion of mystical fervor. Yet revivalist tendencies were in the air, and not only among Jews. The century which saw the phenomenal successes of a Wesley in England, and movements addicted to what Father Ronald Knox calls "enthusiasm" in America and the European continent, also witnessed the rise of *Ḥasidism. The three towering Jewish figures of this age each represented a prominent trend important at the time and influential for the future. R. *Elijah b. Solomon, the Gaon of Vilna (1720–97), "the last great theologian of classical Rabbinism" (L. Ginzberg, *Students, Scholars and Saints* (1928), 125), spent his days and nights shut up in his study with drawn shutters and setting standards of utter devotion to Torah study in the classical sense as man's noblest pursuit. In the 16th century, Poland had become a home of Torah. The complete devotion there to talmudic studies on the part of so many was unparalleled. The Gaon was an outstanding but not untypical product of this type of hermit-like dedication. The old teaching (Avot 6:4), "This is the way of the Torah. Thou shalt eat bread with salt and thou shalt drink water by measure, and on the ground shalt thou sleep and thou shalt lead a life of suffering the while thou toilest in the Torah," became, in large measure through the Gaon's influence, the pattern for many thousands of talmudists in Russia, Poland, and Lithuania.

ḤASIDISM. It is extremely difficult to disentangle fact from legend in studying the life and work of R. *Israel Ba'al Shem Tov (d. c. 1760), but Ḥasidism, the movement he founded – with its message that simple faith is superior to scholasticism untouched with fervor, that joy is to be invoked in God's service, and that there are "holy sparks" in all things to be redeemed by a life of sanctity – spread so rapidly, despite the most powerful opposition of established rabbinic authorities, that by the end of the 18th century it had won over to its side numerous Jewish communities in Galicia, the Ukraine, Poland, and Belorussia.

MENDELSSOHN AND THE ENLIGHTENMENT. Moses *Mendelssohn (1729–86) is rightly looked upon as the pioneer in bringing the Jewish people face to face with the modern world. Religious truth, taught Mendelssohn, was universal and could be attained by the exercise of the free human reason. No special revelation was required. The Torah, for Mendelssohn, is not revealed religion but revealed legislation. The eternal truths that there is a God, that He is good, and that man's soul is immortal are revealed in all places and at all times. Mendelssohn, thus speaking as a child of the Enlightenment, succeeded in paving the way for those Jews – and they were many – who wished to eat of its fruits. But Mendelssohn was not able to explain adequately why a special revelation to Israel was necessary if the basic truths were attainable by all men.

What was the purpose of this special revealed legislation and, if it had value, why was this confined to a special group? He speaks of "a special favor" for "very special reasons," but nowhere states what these reasons were (M.A. Meyer, *The Origins of the Modern Jew* (1967), 37). Moreover his advice to his fellow Jews to comply with the customs and civil constitutions of the countries in which they lived while, at the same time, being constant to the faith of their forefathers, was easier said than done. Nevertheless no modern Jew is immune from Mendelssohn's influence, and, by the same token, opponents of any kind of modernism in the Jewish camp have laid all the ills of subsequent Jewish faithlessness at Mendelssohn's door.

With the possible exception of the Oriental communities, every Jew in the post-emancipation era, insofar as he strove to remain Jewishly committed, was a disciple of the Gaon, or the Ba'al Shem Tov, or Mendelssohn, with many Jews disciples of more than one of these great figures at the same time.

The Emancipation

The entrance of the Jew into Western society at the beginning of the 19th century presented Judaism with a direct confrontation with modern thought, without the long period of preparation and adjustment that had been available to Christendom since the Renaissance. On the practical side there were the problems connected with the new social conditions. How, for example, were Jews to participate in life in a non-Jewish environment without surrendering their distinctiveness and the claims of their ancient past? How were they to avoid being dubbed antisocial or outlandish? How were they to earn a living if they refused to work on the Sabbath? How were they to mix freely with their neighbors and keep the dietary laws? On the intellectual plane fresh challenges were being presented to the ancient faith by the new scientific viewpoints, by modern philosophy, by art, music, and literature, cultivated independently of any dogmatic considerations, and later, by the historical investigations into the Bible and Jewish origins. It was in Germany that Judaism had to bear the brunt of the new thinking, though, as evidenced by the emergence of a Russian *Haskalah movement, other Jewries were not unaffected by the revolutionary trends.

THEOLOGICAL CHALLENGES. It is not surprising that atheism and agnosticism had their unprecedented appeal for some Jews, and Christianity in one form or another for others. But among the faithful, traditional theism remained the accepted philosophy of life until more recent years, when a number of Jewish thinkers began to explore the possibility of a radical reinterpretation of theism in naturalistic terms. The main tensions, however, in post-emancipation Judaism centered on the ideas of Torah and Israel rather than God.

THE NATIONALISTIC QUESTION. With regard to Jewish peoplehood, the *Zionist movement at the end of the century posed in acute form a problem which had agitated Jewish minds from the beginning of the century – the role of nationalism in Judaism. Were the Jews merely adherents of a common religion – as it was put, Germans, Frenchmen, Englishmen of the Mosaic persuasion – or were they a nation? Was Judaism dependent for its fullest realization on residence in the Holy Land, or was it desirable that Jews be dispersed in many lands to further there the "mission of Israel" in bringing God to mankind in the purest form of teaching? These questions were being asked, and the replies varied considerably. The early Reformers deleted from the prayer book all references to national restoration. Exile was not seen as an evil to be redressed but as an essential step in the fulfillment of the divine purpose (see *Reform Judaism). The Reformers were not alone in their opposition to a nationalistic interpretation of Judaism. When political Zionism became a practical policy for Jews, many of the Orthodox opposed it as a denial of Jewish messianism according to which, it was believed, the redemption would come through direct divine intervention, not at the hands of men. There were not lacking, however, religious leaders who advocated a form of religious Zionism, claiming that, as in other spheres, the divine blessing follows on prior human effort.

With the actual establishment of the State of Israel the older attitudes became academic. With the exception of the fringe groups of the *Neturei Karta (Orthodox) and the *American Council for Judaism (Reform), the majority of Jews now accept the special role the new state has to play as a spiritual center (over and above the haven of refuge it provides), while generally acknowledging that to uncover the full implications of this concept requires a good deal of fresh thinking. Some Orthodox thinkers have taken refuge in the notion of the establishment of the State of Israel as *atḥalta di-ge'ullah* ("the beginning of the redemption"), i.e., that while complete redemption is at the hands of God through the Messiah, the present life of the State still has messianic overtones and belongs in a realm far removed from the secular. Some see this as an unsuccessful attempt literally to have the best of both worlds.

THE QUESTION OF HALAKHAH. The great divide between Orthodoxy and Reform was on the question of Jewish law (*halakhah*). According to the Orthodox position, the traditional doctrine of *Torah min ha-Shamayim* ("the Torah is from Heaven") means that both the Written and the Oral Laws were communicated by God to Moses and that, therefore, all the Pentateuchal laws, in their interpretation as found in the rabbinic literature, are binding upon Jews by divine fiat. The Sabbath, for instance, is to be kept in the manner set forth in detail in the Talmud; the dietary laws are to be observed in all their minutiae. On this view nothing in the law is trivial or unworthy or out-of-date, since every law is a direct command of God for all time. Reform Judaism rejects the idea of a permanently binding religious law. In the Reform view, the moral law alone is eternally valid, together with those religious ceremonies which are still capable of inspiring contemporary Jews to appreciate the beauty, dignity, and supreme worth of a God-orientated life. A middle of the road position was advocated by the followers of the historical school in Germany and later by the *Conservative movement in the United States. In this view, Reform is in error in rejecting the *halakhah*, but Orthodoxy is also mistaken in wedding adherence to *halakhah* to a fundamentalism which recognizes no change or development in Jewish law.

Contemporary Judaism

There are a number of groupings in contemporary Orthodox Judaism. Reform has made little headway among Sephardi or Oriental Jews, and the majority of these, if religious, are at least Orthodox, with many of their own rites and customs.

ORTHODOXY OF THE LITHUANIAN PATTERN. Among the Ashkenazim, possibly the most prominent Orthodox group is that represented by the yeshivot of the Lithuanian pattern and the rabbis educated in these institutions, most of them in Israel and the U.S. The main emphasis here is on Torah study, to the virtual exclusion of all else, and the carrying out of the detailed practical observances. In this group the stress is on intellectual comprehension, particularly of the difficult logic and reasoning of the Talmud, the most admired figure being the *lamdan*, the man proficient in these studies. Religious feeling and ethical content is provided by the *Musar movement, which succeeded in capturing the Lithuanian yeshivot at the end of the last century. Secular learning is either entirely frowned upon or treated as necessary for earning a living, and little more.

NEO-ORTHODOXY. Neo-Orthodoxy (not generally called by this name) has a far more positive attitude to secular learning, with a particular fondness for the physical sciences. In this group are the followers of the Samson Raphael *Hirsch school, which aims at combining Torah (i.e., strict adherence to *halakhah*) with *derekh ereẓ* ("the way of the earth," in this context, the values of Western civilization). In this group, too, are the majority of Orthodox synagogues in the U.S. (the rabbis mainly alumni of *Yeshiva University) and Great Britain (the rabbis mainly alumni of *Jews College).

ḤASIDISM. The Ḥasidim still owe their allegiance to various dynasties of rabbis. Ḥasidism is emotional and mystical. Most of the Ḥasidim wear a special garb, consisting of a girdle for prayer, a long black coat, and fur hat. Beards are generally worn long and earlocks (*pe'ot*) cultivated. Ritual immersion plays an important part in ḥasidic life. The best-known ḥasidic rabbis with large followings today are the Lubavitcher and the Satmarer in New York, and the Gerer, Viznitzer, and Belzer in Israel. Neo-Ḥasidism, as presented in the writings of Martin Buber, is not a movement but a mood of sympathy with some of the ḥasidic values as relevant to the spiritual predicament of Western man.

The two major world groupings of Orthodoxy, embracing members of all preceding groups, are the Zionist *Mizrachi movement and the more right-wing *Agudat Israel.

CONSERVATIVE JUDAISM. This movement is especially strong in the U.S., with its teaching center at the *Jewish Theological Seminary in New York. It is organized in the *United Synagogue of America and has sympathizers in other parts of the Jewish world. It has been said that, while contemporary Reform stresses the God idea and contemporary Orthodoxy the idea of Torah, Conservative Judaism stresses that of Israel (i.e., Jewish peoplehood). This is too much of a generalization, but it is true that an important plank in the Conservative platform is the unity of the Jewish people amid its diversity.

REFORM JUDAISM. This movement is strong in the U.S., with its teaching headquarters at the *Hebrew Union College in Cincinnati, but with followers in other parts of the Jewish world. Reform congregations are loosely organized in the World Union of Progressive Synagogues. (The term "Traditional Judaism" is used, nowadays, to denote either Orthodox or Conservative Judaism. The term "Torah-true Judaism" is used by some of the Orthodox as a synonym for Orthodoxy in order to avoid the possible pejorative implications of the latter term as suggesting reaction or obscurantism. "Liberal Judaism" is the term used in Great Britain for the Reform position, though there are in Great Britain both Liberal and Reform congregations, with the Liberals more to the left.)

There are very few Reform or Conservative congregations in the State of Israel. Orthodoxy is the official religious position in Israel, with the majority of the rabbis belonging to the old school of talmudic jurists. Here and there in recent years a number of small groups have emerged with the aim of seeking a religiously orientated outlook, but one not necessarily Orthodox.

THE INFLUENCE OF JUDAISM

Judaism's main influence on civilization has been in the sphere of religion. This influence has been especially felt by the daughter religions, Christianity and Islam. The institutions of church and mosque are direct descendants of the synagogue, with many of their forms of worship adapted from the mother faith. Words like amen and Hallelujah have become part of the religious vocabulary of a large portion of mankind. The Church uses the Bible in its worship. The Sabbath, the Psalms, the prophetic readings, the weekly sermon, are, through Judaism, the common heritage of the Christian world. The language of the Bible has helped to mold the tongues of the Western world, so that the peoples of Great Britain and the U.S., France, Germany, Spain, and Italy, speak without incongruity in the idioms of ancient Judea. The prophetic vision of a world at peace is still a potent force in human affairs despite the war-blackened pages of human history. Judaism's insistence on justice and righteousness, and the brotherhood of man founded on the Fatherhood of God, has been, in part at least, responsible for the emergence of Western democratic patterns and social reforms.

The rise of modern science was due to a number of factors, prominent among them the Greek element in Western thought. But Judaism's teachings regarding the unity of nature as the creation of the one God are not to be underestimated in their effects on early scientific thought. It is doubtful whether science could have emerged in its full boldness and confidence against a polytheistic backcloth in which each god is allotted only a portion of the world.

The concrete nature of Jewish thought, its concern with the deed, its practical application of lofty ideals, has been responsible, perhaps more than any other factor, for the emergence of ideas connected with social justice. Individual Jews have stood on both sides of the debate on the major social issues. "Yet the determination not to abandon Justice to the realm of the abstract is independent of the machinery suggested for its establishment, and in so far as any movement sets before itself the task of bringing the good things of life within the reach of the masses, it is carrying on the work of the prophets" (L. Roth, in: E.R. Bevan and C. Singer (eds.) *The Legacy of Israel* (1928^2), 468).

In speaking of the influence of Judaism it is sometimes customary to refer to the contributions made by individual Jews, but this is a highly questionable procedure. Adapting a maxim of Rabbi *Kook, it can be argued that these are the contributions of Jews who were great rather than of great Jews. It is certainly a moot point to what extent the thought of a *Spinoza, a *Marx, a *Bergson, an *Einstein, or a *Freud, was nurtured by his Jewish background. Yet it would seem that some of Judaism's influence is to be detected even here in a roundabout way. It can be argued, not unconvincingly, that something of Judaism's spirit contrives to live even in the souls of those of her children who have abandoned her.

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[Louis Jacobs]

JUDAIZERS, persons who, without being Jews, follow in whole or in part the Jewish religion or claim to be Jews. The prototype of the Judaizer was *Naaman, the minister to the king of Syria, who, after being cured by Elisha, worshiped the God of the Hebrews while continuing outwardly to follow the idolatrous state religion. During the counter-attacks at the time of Esther, it is stated that many of the terror-stricken population "acted as Jews" (מִתְיַהֲדִים), though it is difficult to tell what precisely is implied by this term. In the classical period, the principles and certain practices of Judaism exercised a powerful attraction on some segments of the general population even in Rome, who changed the tenor of their lives, becoming "God-fearers" (σεβόμενοι) who rejected pagan worship and observed the Sabbath. The obligation of submitting to circumcision was of course a deterrent for male sympathizers, who, probably more than women, contented themselves, therefore, with half-way conversion, which became recognized too in rabbinic law. With the rise of Christianity, the differentiation between the followers of the new faith and the old was sometimes not easy to impose, and the Church inveighed violently against Judaizers within the Church, who wore Jewish ritual vestments, followed some of the dietary laws, kept the seventh-day Sabbath, and observed Easter on the Passover or with Jewish rites. In the Church, over a prolonged period (for instance at the time of the Albigensian schism), the accusation of Judaizing was frequently made against dissidents. In fact, some of them, such as the "Passagi" and "Circumcisi," were, it seems, Judaizing sects in the full sense of the term. Similar accusations were common at the time of the Reformation, sometimes even within the internal polemics of the Reformers (see *Disputations and Polemics). The ambivalence of the period of the rise of Christianity was long perpetuated in North Africa, where a good part of the population seems to have been affected by Judaism both before and after the spread of Christianity among them. The "Hebrewisms" which have been discerned down to the present day in some African tribes may be a relic of this. With the rise of Puritanism in England and the North Atlantic area generally, including America, the study of the Old Testament led to a relatively wide spread of Judaizing tendencies, expressed in the demands of some extremists for the use of Hebrew in the liturgy, the modeling of the constitution on biblical prescriptions, the observance of the seventh-day Sabbath, and rigorous abstention from blood. In certain cases, as that of the followers of John *Traske in England in the first half of the 17th century, these Judaizing tendencies had as their inexorable sequel in due course the formal adoption of Judaism. The same occurred in the 18th to 19th centuries with the Sabbath-observing sects in Hungary (see *Somrei Sabat) and in Russia (see below), and recently with the proselyte community of *San Nicandro in southern Italy. At the present time, the Seventh Day Adventists, while they have adopted certain Jewish practices based on the Bible, remain a closely organized separate sect. On the other hand, it is difficult to determine whether certain other groups who claim to be Jewish, such as the Mexican Indians or some groups of the black Jews in the United States, should properly be considered Jews or Judaizers. Some of the "Old Christian" victims of the Inquisition in Spain convicted of following Old Testament rites, and therefore termed Jews, are also in this category.

[Cecil Roth]

Present-day Judaizers or Judaizing sects are mostly to be found outside Europe. On the American continent, apart from the black Jews of the United States there are the so-called "Indian" Jews in *Mexico and the Iglesia Israelita de Chile, consisting of less than one thousand people in the southern Chilean province of Cautin. Many of them joined the Zionist movement and some even settled in Israel. They originated in the early 20th century in a Christian fundamentalist sect which gradually adopted Old Testament rites and festivals. Some Protestant Sabbath-observing "Israelitas" in Peru are sometimes mistaken as Jews. In *Japan several Christian sects are deeply interested in Judaism, the Old Testament and the Hebrew language, and their members often visit Israel. In Uganda a Judaizing sect called *Bayudaya, of which only about 500 remained faithful to Judaism, was founded in the 1920s by the political and military leader Semei Kakungulu. It was recognized in 1964 by the Uganda government as a religious community under the name "The Propagation of Judaism in Uganda – Moses Synagogue."

In Russia

There were various Judaizing sects and trends in Russia from the second half of the 15th century on. Occasionally they even adopted Judaism and its precepts, in part or completely, sometimes leading to formal conversion. The emergence of Judaizers in this area stemmed from ancient Byzantine oppositional traditions to the established Church, going as far back as iconoclasm and the *disputations with Jews and encounters with them in the Kievan principality. In the 16th century and later, the Judaizers were influenced by the radical wing of the *Reformation. Long-held critical opinions simmering in the Athos monasteries influenced the many Russian pilgrims who visited them. The first open appearance of Judaizers occurred in Novgorod, the principal commercial city of northern Russia, where heretical expressions had already been known in the 14th century. An ancient Russian chronicle relates that in 1471 Prince Michael Alexandrovich of Kiev came to Novgorod with several Jewish merchants in his retinue; "The Jew Zechariah" (Skhariya Zhidovin) is stated to have "corrupted to Judaism" two clergymen, Alexis and Denis. They were joined by the Lithuanian Jews, Joseph Samuel Skorovey and Moses Khanush, thus forming the nucleus for the new sect. In 1479 Grand Prince Ivan Vasilevich (Ivan III) of Moscow visited Novgorod and invited Alexis and Denis to officiate in the Church of Moscow. There they influenced many members of the grand prince's court, among them his daughter-in-law Helena.

In 1487 Archbishop Gennadi of Novgorod denounced the "atheists," whose numbers were increasing throughout the kingdom, to the grand prince. An investigation was entrusted to Gennadi. Manuscripts of hymns and prayers which did not accord with the doctrine of the official Church were uncovered. Several members of the sect were arrested and severely tortured at Novgorod. Others fled to Moscow, where they found influential protectors. At the Church council of 1490, Gennadi called for the adoption of severe measures against the Judaizers and suggested the establishment of an *Inquisition. The grand prince rejected this project, but it was agreed that the Judaizers were to be confined to monasteries. In 1494 the metropolitan of Moscow, Zosima, was accused of being a Judaizer and deposed. The struggle against the Judaizers became rapidly enmeshed with the underground struggle between various factions of the nobility over the succession to the throne and the course of Russian policy. The Judaizers supported Dmitri, the son of Princess Helena. In 1502 Ivan III nominated his son Vasili (Basil) as his successor; a campaign of persecution against the Judaizers began, and in 1504 the leaders of the sect were condemned to be burned at the stake. The sect rapidly disappeared from the political and cultural scene in Russia.

The extent of actual Judaizing within this sect is disputed among scholars. Some rely on the few extant remains of its literature – among them numerous translations of the Bible from the traditional Hebrew text and extracts from *Millot ha-Higgayon* of "Moses the Egyptian" (Maimonides) – and stress its proximity to Judaism. Others claim that the faulty style of these translations proves that they are not the work of Russians, but of Jews, and do not prove much about the Russian sect. Adherents of the sect were certainly named "Judaizers" by its opponents, who thus sought to impugn its standing among the masses (Joseph Volotski, one of the most violent opponents of the sect, referred to its members as *zhidovomudrstvuyushchiye*, "Jewish wiseacres"). According to some scholars, the Judaizers were a Christian rationalist sect, which tended to reject the Church hierarchy, the religious ceremonies, and icon adulation, whilst some of them even negated belief in the Trinity. Whatever may have been the true character of this sect, the propaganda against it, which emphasized its affinity with Judaism, aroused a persisting fear of the Jews among all classes of the Russian population. The consequences were felt in the Russian attitude toward the Jews during the 16th to 18th centuries.

At the beginning of the 18th century Judaizers reappeared in Russia, but there is no proof of any link between them and the Judaizers of the 15th century. The origin of the later groups was essentially due to a profound study of the Bible. St. Dimitri of Rostov, who concerned himself with tracking down sects which deviated from the Church, mentions the sect of Sabbath observers in his work of the early 18th century. During the second half of the 18th century, sects of Judaizers and Sabbath observers appeared in the interior provinces of Russia, as well as in the Volga provinces and the northern Caucasus. Among the most prominent was the Molokan sect, which broke away from the Dukhobors. Its founder was Simeon Uklein, noted for his biblical erudition, who introduced many Jewish customs among the members of his sect. His disciple Sundukov called for greater association of the sect with the Jews; this resulted in a split within its ranks and the creation of the "Molokan Sabbath Observers."

During the early 19th century, the authorities began to persecute the Judaizers systematically. The existence of Sabbath observers was discovered in the province of Voronezh. After a series of persecutions, many of them were brought back within the fold of the ruling Church. The others were impressed into the army. According to official figures, the number of members of this sect was 3,770 in 1823. In 1805 the authorities of the province of Moscow announced the existence of Sabbath observers, and in the province of Tula about 150 persons were discovered as claiming that they had been attached to their faith from ancient times, but that they had concealed this so as not to provoke their Christian neighbors. The Judaizers succeeded particularly in the province of Saratov, where the preacher Milyukhin won over whole villages to his faith. In 1817 Milyukhin submitted a memorandum to the minister of the interior in which he complained against the persecutions of the local authorities and the Christians. He argued that his followers did not observe the Jewish laws because they had no leaders versed in the customs of Judaism. He requested that the members of the sect be authorized to establish relations with Jewish scholars. In 1820 the Council of Ministers decided to instruct the local authorities to act with lenience toward the Judaizers and to content themselves with banishing their preachers to the Caucasus, where they were to settle. The remainder were not to be attacked so long as they did not propagate their faith. In a memorandum of 1823, submitted by Count Kochubey to the Council of Ministers, he claimed that the Judaizers' sect was widespread throughout Russia and that its adherents were estimated at about 20,000 persons. It was decided to enlist all who propagated the beliefs of the sect into the army, whilst those who were unsuitable for military service were to be banished to Siberia and settled in such a way as to preclude them from any intercommunication. It was also decided to expel the Jews from all places to which the sect had spread. Another decision prohibited the issue of passports to the Judaizers, so as to restrict their movements, prevent them from meeting with Jews, or propagating their faith. In order to arouse the masses of the people against them and ostracize them, it was emphasized that they were merely members of a Jewish sect. At the same time, the Judaizers were prohibited from holding prayer meetings and carrying out circumcision, marriage, and burial ceremonies according to Jewish custom. Many members of the sect decided to accept Christianity outwardly while continuing to practice their customs clandestinely.

With the accession of *Nicholas I to the throne, the position of the Judaizers deteriorated. Those who were apprehended in the observance of Jewish customs were forced to join the army or were exiled to Siberia. Entire villages were thus depopulated and destroyed. Many of the Judaizers were expelled beyond the Caucasus Mountains, where they settled, founded flourishing villages, and spread their religion among the Russian settlers. Near Aleksandrovsk, in the Caucasus, almost all the inhabitants adhered to the Judaizers' sect. During the 1840s, the Russian government supported the settlement of members of the sect in the northern Caucasus because it regarded them as an industrious and desirable element. The expulsion of Judaizers from their former places of residence was nevertheless continued. In Siberia, large settlements of Judaizers of various categories were also established (as in the town of Zima).

With the accession of *Alexander II, the administrative pressure was alleviated and the authorities did not insist on the application of the law. Many of the Judaizers began to observe their religion openly. They were particularly numerous in the provinces of Voronezh and Saratov. In 1887 the government officially recognized the right of the members of the sect to perform marriage and burial ceremonies according to their customs. With the manifesto issued on Oct. 17, 1905, which included freedom of religion for all the citizens of Russia, all the discriminatory legislation against the Judaizers and Sabbath observers was abolished. The government even emphasized, in special circulars issued by the ministry of the interior, that the Sabbath observers were not to be regarded as Jews, and that the special laws directed against the Jews did not apply to them.

All those who came into contact with the members of the sect, even their opponents, pointed out that they were mainly industrious peasants, moral, literate, charitable, and sober in their lives. Their main divisions were (1) the Molokan Sabbath Observers, believers in the New Testament and in Jesus as Christ, but not as God. Their observance of precepts of the Jewish religion (circumcision, the Sabbath, dietary laws, and the like) stemmed from their interpretation of the evangelists; (2) the Sabbath Observers (Subbotniki), who accepted the Hebrew Bible only, but not the Talmud. They were also occasionally referred to as the "Karaite Sabbath Observers" or the "Bareheaded"; (3) the proselytes (Gery), considered themselves Jews in every religious aspect and were also known as the "Covered Heads" (because they covered their heads, according to Jewish custom, both when at prayer or in other places). The proselytes endeavored to intermingle with the Jews as much as possible. Marriage with Jews was regarded by them as an important achievement. They sent a number of their children to yeshivot. Some Jews were secretly active among them as rabbis, *shoḥatim*, and teachers. David Teitelbaum of Lithuania, who was active in the proselyte settlements during the 1880s, became particularly renowned among them. These proselytes traveled to Ereẓ Israel among the masses of Russian pilgrims, and many of their families settled there. They were especially associated with settlements in Galilee (Yesud ha-Ma'alah, Bet Gan, etc.). In Ereẓ Israel they became completely integrated within the Jewish population.

There is no information available on the lives of the Judaizers and the proselytes under the Soviet regime.

[Yehuda Slutsky]

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°**JUDAS**, Christian writer, probably at the beginning of the third century C.E., author of a work (not extant) on the "seventy weeks" prophecy in Daniel (9:24ff.). Influenced by the persecution of the Christians, he predicted the imminent coming of the Antichrist. He is mentioned in Eusebius (*Historia Ecclesiastica* 6:7).

[Jacob Petroff]

JUDE, DER, name of four periodicals in the German language. The first appeared in nine issues between 1768 and 1772 in Leipzig and was published by an apostate, Gottfried Selig, with the intention of making the Christian world familiar with Jewish ritual, religion, and habits.

The second, edited by Gabriel *Riesser, was published for two years (1832–33) with one further issue. It consisted mainly of Riesser's own articles, in which he criticized the political negotiations within various German states concerning the emancipation of the Jews. Riesser chose the name "Der Jude," which had become almost an insult, in order to rehabilitate it.

The third, a monthly (1916–24), was founded and edited by M. *Buber, who adopted the name of Riesser's periodical but pointed out that "the Jew" was meant as representative of the Jewish people, and that he demanded liberty and freedom of work for this oppressed people. The Jewish problem had again been brought to the fore during the latter years of World War I, which had also given rise to nationalist ideas. Nearly all leading personalities among German-speaking Jewry contributed to the periodical during the eight years of its publication. Buber himself published in it his most important essays in that period. After monthly publication ceased, five special issues appeared on antisemitism, education, Jewry and German nationality, Jewry and Christianity (1925–27), and on M. Buber's 50th birthday (1928).

The fourth publication of this name, a Zionist periodical, appeared in Vienna between 1934 and 1938.

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[Reuven Michael]

JUDEA, Latin form of Judah, the southern province of Ereẓ Israel during the period of Roman hegemony. Although this article deals with Judea as a Roman province, it should be pointed out that the name precedes the period. It was the natural name, in its various forms, for the area. The return to Zion, which consisted overwhelmingly of the exiles of the kingdom of Judah, settled in the territory from which they had been exiled (cf. Neh. 11:25–36), and during the Persian period the territory was called Yehud (cf. Dan. 2:25, 5:13; Ezra 5:1, 8) and the name has been found on coins and jar handles of the period. The actual name Judea occurs from the Hellenistic period. It is first used by Clearchus, a disciple of Aristotle (Jos. Apion 1:179), and *Hecateus of Abdera and *Manetho (*ibid.* 1:90) use it to define the area where the Jews of Ereẓ Israel lived. With the direct Roman rule of Ereẓ Israel, which dates from the banishment of *Archelaus to Gaul in 6 C.E., a special governor was appointed over Judea who was given the title *procurator and was responsible to the governor of Syria. The procuratorship was confined to Judea until the accession of *Agrippa I to the throne in 41. On the resumption of Roman rule after his death in 44 the procurator's rule was extended over the whole of Palestine.

Josephus (*Wars*, Wilkinson's translation, Excursus 2) gives the borders of Judea as follows: Ayanot, also called Barkai, on the north, the frontier with Arabia in the south, and on the east from the Jordan to Jaffa. "Nor is Judea cut off from seaside delights, since it has a coastal strip which stretches all the way to Ptolemais." This incomplete description can be supplemented from other references in Josephus and from the Mishnah. In the same passage Josephus states that it was divided into 11 toparchies, which he details, Jerusalem being the most important. Although Judea was primarily a political geographical term, defining one of the three districts into which Roman Palestine was divided, the other two being *Samaria in the center and *Galilee in the north, the division was a natural one, and it is often mentioned with regard to the agricultural laws. "Three countries are to be distinguished in what concerns the laws of removal-Judea, Transjordan, and Galilee" – and Judea is subdivided into "the hill country, the Shephelah and the valley" (Shev. 9:2; Tosef. Shev. 7:10). This subdivision is further expanded by the Jerusalem Talmud (TJ, Shev. 9:2, 38d) which explains that "the mountains are the Royal Mount [not identified], the Shephelah is the plain of the south, and the valley the area between Jericho and En-Gedi," while R. Johanan gives another division: "From Beth-Haran to Emmaus is the mountain country, from there to Lydda the Shephelah, and from Lydda to the sea, the valley."

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JUDEAN DESERT CAVES. Following the discovery of the *Dead Sea Scrolls in the *Qumran caves, frantic searches for additional documents were carried out by Bedouin in all the caves of the valleys in the area of the Dead Sea. As a result of evidence of such activities by Arab infiltrators from Jordanian territory into the territory of Israel, an expedition directed by Y. Aharoni set out to survey the area (November–December 1953). This was followed by a full-scale expedition, divided into four groups, which was undertaken jointly by the Hebrew University, the Israel Department of Antiquities, and the Israel

Exploration Society, assisted by the Israel Defense Forces. In two campaigns (March 24–April 5, 1960; March 15–27, 1961) caves were explored in the valleys between Masada and En-Gedi as far as the Jordanian border. The investigations revealed two major periods of occupation in the Judean Desert Caves – during the Chalcolithic period and as shelters at the time of the Bar Kokhba War (132–135); some had also been inhabited during the First Jewish War (66–70/73). Expedition A, directed by N. Avigad, explored the vicinity of En-Gedi, clearing burial caves from the Second Temple period (including one which contained a wooden sarcophagus inlaid with bone ornaments) and the "Cave of the Pool," which had been inhabited by refugees who had constructed a reservoir to ensure a sufficient water supply; they apparently survived and left the cave when the danger had passed. Expedition B, directed by Y. Aharoni, investigated the caves of Naḥal Ẓe'elim where they discovered several biblical texts and Greek papyri containing lists of names. They also explored the "Cave of Horror" on the southern bank of Naḥal Ḥever where some 40 fugitives took refuge at the end of the Bar Kokhba War. A Roman camp was perched above them on the cliff. In the end the besieged succumbed from lack of water; they buried their dead and made a bonfire of their possessions, apparently choosing to die rather than surrender. Expedition C, led by P. Bar-Adon, explored the "Cave of the Treasure" in the Mishmar Valley. The main finds dated to the Chalcolithic period and consisted of a cache of 429 objects, 416 of copper, six of hematite, six of ivory, and one of stone. These included 240 mace heads of metal, six of hematite, one of stone, about 20 metal chisels and axes, 80 metal wands, ten metal "crowns" ornamented with birds and gate-like structures, five sickle-shaped objects made from hippopotamus teeth, and a box of elephant tusks. These were apparently ritual articles and may represent the treasures of a temple which were hidden from or by robbers. Other finds in this cave include plant remains, among them grains of emmer, which is the "missing link" between wild emmer and durum wheat. Expedition D, under Y. Yadin, worked in the "Cave of the Letters" on the northern bank of Naḥal Ḥever. In this cave, also guarded from above by a Roman camp, Jonathan b. Bayan, one of Bar Kokhba's commanders at En-Gedi, took refuge together with his family which included a woman named Babatha. Objects found here included 19 metal vessels (a patera, jugs, and incense shovels), apparently booty from the Romans; several glass plates, a great number of keys, clothing, sandals, etc., as well as palm mats, a hunting net, and wool for working. Together with these articles were hidden 15 letters from Bar Kokhba to the commanders of En-Gedi, and an archive of 35 documents (17 in Greek; 6 in Nabatean; 3 in Aramaic; and 9 in Greek with Nabatean or Aramaic subscriptions). They are dated to 93/4–132 and represent the family and property archives of Babatha who was related by marriage to the Jonathan mentioned above. The absence of jewelry or coins in the cave together with the meticulous care with which the objects were cached suggests that the inhabitants of the cave survived and left it in the end.

Along with the finds at the Murabba'at caves these discoveries have revolutionized the conception of the Bar Kokhba War and have opened new vistas on the material and religious culture of the Chalcolithic period. By providing precisely dated material they are of great significance for the archaeology of the Roman and talmudic periods.

[Michael Avi-Yonah]

Further Exploration

The archaeological exploration of the Judean Desert, made possible following the victory of the Six-Day War, was continued in subsequent years by a joint expedition headed by Pessah Bar-Adon on behalf of the Hebrew University, the Government Department of Antiquities, and the Israel Exploration Society, and with the assistance of the Military Government. A preliminary archaeological survey of the Judean Desert, the Jericho Plain, and the Jordan Valley revealed large numbers of hitherto unknown sites which have completely changed the previous historical-archaeological picture. Additional information has been gained of the Chalcolithic period as well as settlements, a planned defense system of strongholds, and secret water supplies, belonging to the periods of the First and Second Temples, These strongholds were used to protect flocks and herds, agricultural and manufactured products as well as caravans, Among the important discoveries on the shore of the Dead Sea mention should be made of the uncovering of a large house, 20 × 45 m., consisting of a hall and two rooms, in 'Ein al-Ghuweir. In the area which served as the kitchen were found stoves, granaries, and large vessels in cavities surrounded with stones. An additional floor had been built on a layer of ashes, 10–20 cm. thick. Coins of the reigns of Herod, Archelaus, and Agrippa I were found and earthenware vessels identical with those found at *Qumran. The building seems to have served as a communal one for the Qumran sect, a supposition reinforced by the discovery of a cemetery to the north. Twenty graves were excavated which were in every respect identical with those in the cemetery of Qumran. On a potsherd in one the name Jehohanan could be deciphered.

In the area of 'Ein al-Ghuweir and 'Ein at-Turaba sites were uncovered belonging to the 8th–7th centuries B.C.E. A building was uncovered typical of the Israelite period, but unique in that it had a square chamber, divided in three by inner walls. The utensils discovered, all of the Israelite II period, were similar to those found at Tel Goren in En-Gedi, which have been ascribed to the manufacture of balsam perfume. There was evidence of more houses. A defense wall, to which were attached rooms, suggests that they were part of a general defense system extending from the stronghold of Rujm al-Baḥr to Qumran and south and west. Three such fortresses have been excavated. One of them, on which only experimental soundings had previously been made by I. Blake, has now been excavated in its entirety. It contains eight rooms with sloping walls built of large unhewn stones. The entrance, to the north, was approached by a sloping ramp. Utensils were found belonging to the Israelite II period. A small fortress was found at Rujm a-Sejra, and another fortress, 33 × 55 m., was discovered at the sources of Wadi Mezān = Wadi al-Nār. The excavations revealed a tower 7 m. high containing four rooms and two plastered water cisterns, more than 5 m. in depth. In it were found typical Herodian ashlars, and an adorned frieze or capital. Also found were fragments of plaster in red and black paint, with diagrammatic figures. The utensils found were similar to those of Qumran and coins of Alexander Yannai were also found. All these discoveries raise the interesting question of whether these settlements were founded by the *Dead Sea Sects in view of the statement of Josephus as to their simple and modest way of life. It seems probable that they settled in former estates which had been established as part of a royal network of defense and agriculture in the desert which may be ascribed to John Hyrcanus or to another ruler of the Hasmonean dynasty, and the question is how these sects fitted in with this system.

[Pessah Bar-Adon]

During the 1980s and early 1990s new surveys of caves in the Judean Desert were made by Hanan Eshel and others, and these brought to light Bar Kokhba period remains, as well as fragments of written documents. In 1993 a new project consisting of surveys and excavations was conducted within caves in the northern Judean Desert ("Operation Scroll"). The project was undertaken by the Israeli Antiquities Authority and their stated goal was to find new scrolls. This IAA survey was undertaken by a large numbers of archaeologists at the time when the first Oslo Accords were being agreed upon; as a result the timing of the survey by the IAA was heavily criticized and the survey was seen by some to be an act of opportunism. The survey was undertaken along the eastern cliffs of the Judean and Ramallah anticlines, from Wadi ed-Daliya in the north to Nahal Deregot in the south. A total of about 650 caves and sites were surveyed, and 70 were excavated. Finds were made dating from all periods from the Neolithic through Ottoman times, including numerous finds dating from the time of Bar Kokhba.

[Shimon Gibson (2nd ed.)]

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JUDENBURG, city in Styria, S. central Austria. The name Judenburg first appears between 1074 and 1087, bearing witness to Jewish settlements there in the early Middle Ages (see *Carinthia, *Graz). It may be assumed that the name was also derived from the city's ancient Latin name Idunum. The first documentary mention of Jews in Judenburg dates from 1290; a *iudex Judaeorum is recorded in 1308. There is a report of a massacre in 1312, which is probably legendary. That Jews made their living primarily as moneylenders may be deduced from several instances of financial transactions between Jews and the clergy, dating from 1329. At the beginning of the 15th century there are reports of 22 Jews, each with a fortune of 100,000 florins, and 38 with 50,000 each. In 1467 Emperor *Frederick III permitted the city to expel all Jews who did not pay taxes. After the expulsion of the Jews from the whole of Styria (1496) there was no community in Judenburg until the second half of the 19th century, when there was a small congregation (affiliated to the Graz community) with a prayer room and a cemetery. Thirteen Jews lived in the town in 1869 and 92 in 1880. The municipal arms (at least from 1488) depicted a head wearing a Jewish hat (see *dress). Under the Nazi regime this was replaced (1939) by a seal showing a city gate, but in 1958 the Jew's head was reintroduced. At the time of the 1938 *Anschluss* 16 families (42 persons) lived in Judenburg. The prayer room was closed and its contents confiscated. By February 1939 all Jews had left the city, most of them for Vienna. In 1968 three Jewish families lived in the whole district. The *ḥevra kaddisha* (founded 1887) was still in existence, but there was no community.

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[Meir Lamed]

JUDENPFENNIGE (Ger. for "**Jews' Pennies**"), small coins issued by Rhineland Jews. When Prussia stopped issuing small change in 1808, a serious lack of coins in the lower denominations was felt in the Rhineland. To overcome these difficulties, some Jews issued copper coins in denominations of *Pfennig* and *Heller.* As these were nonofficial issues, they gave them imaginary names, such as "Atribuo," "Halbac," or "Theler." These coins were somewhat lighter than the official coins. They bear fictitious designs, such as a coat of arms, a star, a wreath, a lion, a cock, and others, and carry the dates of 1703, 1740, 1807, 1809, 1810, 1818, 1819, 1820, and 1821. In 1821, however, the Prussian mint renewed the issue of small change, thereby putting a rather abrupt end to these illegal monetary enterprises. The authorities appointed a special unit, the *Muenzpolizei* ("coin police"), whose task was to confiscate these coins and to bring to court those who produced and distributed them. It is not known where they were struck. Some Jews seem to have made immense profit by handling them. One Jew from the city of Neuss is said to have made 54,000 florins profit. One single Westphalian customs office collected about 940 kilograms of such coins.

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[Arie Kindler]

JUDENRAT (Ger. for "Jewish Council"), a body heading a Jewish community, appointed by the German occupying authorities during World War II, which was responsible for the enforcement of Nazi orders affecting the Jews and for the administration of the affairs of the Jewish community. From its inception, Judenrat leaders faced an impossible dilemma. To the Germans, the Judenrat represented Jewish needs, and they were essentially uninterested in fulfilling or responding to Jewish needs, but the Judenrat was also an instrumentality for maintaining control of the ghetto and thus freeing German personnel for other activities. To the Jews, the function of the Judenrat was to provide for their needs, much like municipal officials, in conditions that were not conducive to fulfilling their needs. The power of the Judenrat was severely limited, fully derivative from their German masters, although it did not necessarily appear so to the Jews within the ghettos of Eastern Europe.

The Nazi leadership came to the conclusion that the existence of comprehensive councils representing all the Jewish factions of a city or state would make the execution of their anti-Jewish policies easier. Such bodies were in existence in Germany, Vienna, and Prague, but they were called by various names other than Judenrat and differed in their varying degrees of dependence on Nazi factors (principally the Gestapo). With the German occupation of Poland in September 1939, the decision to set up bodies under this name was endorsed by the central authorities, and *Heydrich sent this decision to the commanders of the *Einsatzgruppen* in a secret letter dated Sept. 21, 1939, which included the following paragraph: "In each Jewish community a council of Jewish elders is to be set up which, as far as possible, is to be composed of the remaining influential personalities and rabbis. The council is to be composed of (up to) 24 male Jews (depending upon the size of the Jewish community). It is to be made fully responsible (in the literal sense of the word) for the exact and punctual implementation of all instructions released or yet to be released."

Since Heydrich used the term Judenrat, this body came to be known as such, and in many places the head of the council was called *Judenaeltester*. According to Heydrich's document, the Judenrat was to be responsible for the transportation of Jews from small towns to large concentrations (ghettos) and their settlement there, and for arranging the entrance to and departure from the ghettos. In the course of time the functions of the Judenrat expanded in two directions. After the establishment of the ghettos they were responsible for everything that happened within them. All the institutions that had been in existence beforehand were given new tasks, and additional institutions, as they became appropriate, were created. The Judenrat quickly became the dominant body and controlled the police, court of law, fire brigade, and employment agency, and departments for economic affairs, food supplies, housing, health, social work, statistics, sanitation, burial, education, and religion. The large working staff necessary for these activities was artificially increased on the assumption that a person working for the Judenrat would not be sent to a forced labor camp or elsewhere. In 1942, as resettlement to the East, what we now know as deportation to death camps, began, it was assumed that those working for the Judenrat would be exempt. In addition, the Germans placed upon the Judenrat other duties, principally the supplying of a work force, choosing people for the work camps, and, later in 1942, choosing those to be sent to camps that were in reality death camps. It seemed at first that the Judenrat had wide authority in this extremely difficult task, but it very quickly became apparent that the Germans did not always pay attention to the decisions of the Judenrat, and at the most the Judenrat had only the opportunity to postpone the dispatch to the death camps.

Fully fledged Judenraete were not set up in all occupied areas. The Germans refrained from appointing Judenraete in France, Belgium, and Greece, apparently because they had no intention of annexing these states to Germany. Under German pressure, however, bodies representing the Jews were created there. According to Heydrich's instructions, men of standing in Jewish public affairs, most of whom were active in Jewish political parties and in religious and charitable institutions, were appointed to the Judenrat. Often many appointees were chosen arbitrarily by local officials or because they knew German. When the German-Soviet war broke out (1941), Jews were largely opposed to joining the Judenrat in the occupied cities, though many saw in it a possibility of saving Jews. The German administrators almost always coordinated the council's authority in the hands of the *Judenaeltester*, and the measure of cooperation given by the other members of the Judenrat to its decisions and activities were contingent upon the character and position of the *Judenaeltester*. Since he was the direct and often only line to the Germans, he seemed to many in the ghettos to be a ruler with great influence on the Germans, while in reality he had to accept and enforce every German decree without objection. Efforts were made to delay, block, argue, plead, postpone, and alleviate the harshness of the decrees. Sometimes these met with modest temporary success; most often the result was failure.

In every ghetto the defining moments that tested the courage and character of Judenrat leaders came when they were asked to provide lists of those to be deported. A decision had to be made. In some ghettos such as Kovno and Vilna rabbis were consulted, seeking guidance from tradition for an unprecedented situation. In Vilna, Judenrat chairman Jacob Gens proceeded with the deportation, hoping that the loss of some would protect the majority. In Lodz, Chaim Mordechai *Rumkowski felt it his duty to "preserve the Jews who remained …The part that can be saved is much larger than the part that must be given away." He confronted his critics: "You may judge me as you wish." In Sosnowiec, Moshe Merin also complied. When faced with the deportation of the children of Warsaw, Judenrat chairman Adam *Czerniakow closed the ninth book of his diary with a tragic confession of failure: "The SS wants me to kill children with my own hands." This he could not do. He swallowed a cyanide pill and the order for deportation appeared without his signature. Some saw his suicide as an act of personal integrity and public responsibility. Emanuel *Ringelblum was far more harsh: "Suicide of Czerniakow, too late, a sign of weakness – should have called for resistance – a weak man."

Other Judenrat leaders would not deliver their people. Dr. Joseph Parnas, the first Judenrat leader in Lvov, refused to deliver several thousand Jews. He was shot. Leaders of the Judenrat in Bilgoraj were also shot. On October 14, 1941, the entire Judenrat of Bereza Karuska committed suicide. The leader of the Jewish Council at Nieswiez Magalif marched to his death rather than turn Jews over. He said: "Brothers, I know that you had no trust in me. You thought I was going to betray you. In this last minute, I am with you – I and my family. We are the first ones to go to our death."

The membership of the Judenrat changed frequently. Many were incarcerated and sent to death camps even before the final liquidation of the ghettos, or were killed. This even happened to the *Judenaeltesten* who for some reason would cease to please the German authorities or when, as a matter of principle, they would not carry out German orders, knowing full well that it would cost them their lives. About 40 members of Judenraete committed suicide when they saw that they could do nothing to prevent the transportation of Jews to the death camps. Others felt that, by executing the orders of the Nazis and sending some people to the camps, they would be able to save others until the Nazis were overcome by the Allies. In the end, however, the fate of the Judenrat was the same as that of the Jewish population at large. The majority of them were deported to death camps, and of the *Judenaeltesten* in Eastern Europe (Poland, the Soviet interior, and the Baltic countries) practically none remained alive. Only in rare circumstances (Holland or Greece, for instance) did the *Judenaeltesten* receive special treatment.

From its establishment a sharp controversy about the role of the Judenrat spread among Jews. The contemporary assessment in diaries, and most especially among the leadership of the resistance, was often most harsh. Even men of unquestioned integrity, who were trusted by their communities, were shattered by their responsibility. In Kovno, the leader of the Judenrat, Dr. Elchanan Elkes, wrote dispassionately of his situation.

> We are trying to steer our battered ship in furious seas, when waves of decrees and decisions threaten to drown it every day. Through my influence I succeeded at times in easing the verdict and scattering some of the dark clouds that hung over our heads. I bore my duties with head high and upright countenance. Never did I ask for pity; never did I doubt our rights … The Germans killed, slaughtered and murdered us in complete equanimity … I saw them when they sent thousands of people – men, women, children, infants to their death – while enjoying their breakfast, and while mocking our martyrs … There is a desert inside me. My soul is scorched. I am naked and empty.

At the end of World War II a negative view of the Judenrat and its members prevailed among members of the underground and the survivors from the camps. In Israel, the Judenrat was viewed as the exemplar of Diaspora weakness, often with scorn. Over time, research has tended to show that the intentions of members of the Judenrat were often guided by a sense of communal responsibility, and that they did not really have the means to foil the methods of the Nazis, who had not only a strong army but also enjoyed the active support of many non-Jews in the local population. These were reinforced by the findings during the *Eichmann trial, and specific research conducted for the trial shed more light on the subject.

[Jozeph Michman (Melkman) / Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

Holocaust Historiography's View

The *historiography of the *Holocaust has produced two extreme views regarding the role of the Judenraete ("Jewish Councils"). One view sees them as an instrument of collaboration in the Nazi policy of extermination. Hannah *Arendt made that very argument in her work *Eichmann in Jerusalem: A Report on the Banality of Evil.* She charged that, had the Jewish people remained leaderless, they could never have been killed in such massive numbers, the German task would have been far more difficult. The other view regards them as a continuation of the Jewish communal structure of the pre-World War II period which contributed greatly to the continued existence and functioning of Jewish communal life during the Holocaust.

Both of these views stem from inadequate information and a lack of sufficient perspective immediately after the Holocaust. In recent years, however, considerable research has uncovered much new material which enables a more objective view to be taken of the Judenraete. Isaiah Trunk's work on the Judenrat presented a far more complete view of the complexity of their role, the diversity of their composition, their fate, and their decisions. Raul *Hilberg, who had been improperly identified with Arendt's view, introduced the *Warsaw Diary of Adam Czerniakow* with a long and distinguished essay on the Judenrat.

It is now possible to distinguish between the various stages of the Judenrat activities corresponding to the changes which took place in the policy of the Nazis, and, in addition, one can now investigate the differences arising from changes in personnel during the various stages of the Judenraete and their composition.

It is, of course, true that the Judenrat organizations were imposed on Jewish communities as their only central representative bodies, and that the Nazis saw in them an instrument for the realization of their policies, from persecution to total annihilation. But the Jewish leaders could not know that, at least not at the outset. Nevertheless, it now appears that the Jews were not only a passive suffering element in this process, but developed their own initiative. As a result, two aims were in direct conflict with one another – the German and the Jewish.

*Heydrich insisted that important and influential personalities be included in the Judenraete, in order to exploit their influence among the Jews on the one hand, and to discredit them in the eyes of the Jewish populace on the other hand, thus neutralizing a potentially active opposition, The Jewish communities on their part tried to include veteran and devoted leaders in the councils, in order to utilize them for the welfare of the community. This was not an easy task in Poland since many Jewish leaders fled eastward toward the Soviet Union in the face of the advancing Germany armies. There were, indeed, instances of communal workers who were reluctant to join the Judenraete. However, those who joined, whether as a result of Nazi pressure or because of the desire of the community, were most conscious of the experience which the Jews had accumulated during different periods of Diaspora history, when a similar organic framework had been enforced and had lent itself to further the interests of the community. Consequently, during the early period of the Judenraete there was some significant continuity of personnel between the Judenraete and the prewar communal institutions.

An analysis of the composition of 128 Judenraete in the Generalgouvernement (German-occupied Poland) showed that more than 80% of the personnel held similar positions of responsibility and authority in the *kehillah*, city councils, and other organizations.

The Judenraete developed a wide range of communal activities in which they applied the dual principle of fulfilling the demands of the Nazis (forced labor and financial levies) as well as the needs of the community (health, education, supervision of communal kitchens, aid to refugees and the poor). A sticking point in many ghettos was the relationship of established Jewish leadership to emerging Jewish leadership, whether it be youth groups or the resistance, self-help groups or even those who fought for memory and documentation.

During the early period of their establishment, the Judenraete regarded obedience to the Nazi demands as a means of ensuring the continued survival of their communities, even when they were faced with the tragic contradictions of this situation. Supplying the Nazis with a labor force, which often provided vital supplies to the Germans and enriched local German supervisors, should have strengthened the position of the Jews and prevented attacks on them. However, this labor force strengthened the German war potential at a time when the fate of the Jews depended upon its weakening. Rational policy considerations would have suggested that the ghettos be sustained, but Judenrat leaders did not comprehend the depth of the Nazi commitment to the "Final Solution." During the first period, the Judenraete employed every tactic and subterfuge in order to alleviate the burdens of the community: bribery, protectionism, and exploitation of conflicts between the various German authorities. It should be taken into consideration, however, that the political, social, and psychological conditions which would have made rebellions possible did not exist for the Jewish communities. The members of the Judenraete did not, and could not, know that Nazi policy was destined to reach the stage of mass extermination. Among other factors which militated against a large-scale anti-Nazi resistance movement in the Jewish communities during the early period of German occupation were: the hostile attitude of the surrounding non-Jewish population, which prevented any possibility of effective dispersion or concealment; the collective punishments inflicted by the Nazis; their threats against any budding opposition; and finally, the belief that, as the war progressed, the tide would turn and this would lead to a collapse of the German war machine.

These factors led to the strategy combining the demands of the Germans with provision for the internal needs of the community.

It would be wrong and misleading to describe the relationship between the Judenraete and the Nazis as "collaboration" in any meaningful sense of the term, as "collaboration" implies a degree of partnership, even if an unequal one; its basis is a *voluntary* agreement between the two parties. This was certainly not the case with the Judenraete and the Nazis – whose relationship was that of a murderer and his victims. The Judenraete were a passive object of pressure in the realm of German policies, and their initiative was used to strengthen the standing of the community within the official framework of Nazi authority and to promote illegal activity.

As soon as the Nazi policy of mass extermination was embarked upon, the Judenraete were no longer able to strike a balance between the demands of the Nazis and the interests of the community. It was at this point that a split occurred in the reactions of the Judenraete. An investigation reveals that 80% of the early Judenraete did not succumb to Nazi pressures. Some refused to carry out the economic decrees, others warned the Jews against imminent *aktions*, and many refused to hand Jews over for expulsion. The Nazis eliminated those who failed to implement their policies and replaced them with more acquiescing individuals who had a much weaker sense of communal responsibility.

During the later stage, in 89 communities in the Generalgouvernement area, only 40 were headed by individuals who had been associated with communal activity before World War II. The others had no such association with Jewish community life, and it is of interest to note that 23 of them were refugees, some from Germany, Austria, or Czechoslovakia. Even during this latter period, examples of self-sacrifice in the interests of the community were not lacking. However, the number of those who succumbed to Nazi pressure – putting their own personal interest before that of the community – exceeded the number of those who did not. Some of the members of the Judenraete came to the conclusion that, if the Nazis were indeed intent upon the total extermination of the Jews, it might still be possible to save a remnant by acquiescing in, and reconciling oneself to, the destruction of the rest. There was also a policy of deliberate misrepresentation and deceit on the part of the Germans, so as to prevent opposition on the part of their victims, by deluding them into the belief that they were not all being sent to their death. In addition, the members of the Judenrat, even when they had no more doubt as to the fate awaiting those transported, nevertheless harbored another hope – that the course of the war was running in favor of the Allies, and that the approaching victory would result in the liberation of at least that remnant of the Jews which had succeeded in remaining alive.

In conclusion, one can distinguish four lines of Judenrat conduct *vis-à-vis* the Nazis:

1. Limited cooperation – even in the economic and material spheres.

2. A willingness to acquiesce in Nazi demands when it was merely a question of expropriating Jewish property and of other material pressures, but a total opposition to the handing over of Jews.

3. Reluctantly agreeing to the deportation to near certain death of one part of the Jewish population in the hope that the other part might, as a result, be saved.

4. Complete submission to Nazi demands in order to safeguard the narrow interests of those concerned.

The majority of members of the Judenraete who belonged to the veteran leadership of the community chose to act according to the first two of these lines of conduct. The last two were pursued by relatively few Judenrat leaders and were characteristic of the final stages, when the leaders were men with no communal background or past association with the *kehillah*. However, it is impossible to indulge in generalizations when judging the actions of the members of the Judenraete. The fact that the framework was forcibly imposed upon the community did not necessarily transform those involved into willing tools of the Nazis. The behavior of each Judenrat must be examined separately and in relation to the different periods of their activity.

In the final analysis, the Judenraete had no influence on the frightful outcome of the Holocaust; the Nazi extermination machine was alone responsible for the tragedy, and the Jews in the occupied territories, most especially Poland, were far too powerless to prevent it.

[Aharon Weiss / Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

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JUDENREIN (**Judenfrei**; Ger. for "cleansed [or free] of Jews"), National Socialist term applied in the "Final Solution of the Jewish Question." The creation of a "Germany and of German living space and ultimately of a Europe free of Jews" was the definitive aim of the National Socialist "Final Solution." In National Socialist terminology and in the Nazi policy of extermination of the Jews, the term referred to towns and regions after their entire Jewish population had been deported to the extermination camps. Especially in occupied Poland (General Government), the term *judenfrei* formed a permanent part of the unofficial and official language used by Nazi officials (see also *Nazi-deutsch). The "cleansing of Jews" was first accomplished by deporting Jews from Germany and other countries to the east. There were discussions about the shipment of Jews to reservations – the Nisko and Lublin plans – and of Jews to Madagascar, where they would be contained. Eventually, as the "Final Solution" evolved, the solution became final, namely the "cleansing of Jews" was accomplished by systematic murder.

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[Wolfgang Scheffler]

JUDEO-ARABIC. The Jewish population of North Africa is divided by language into Arabic and Berber-speaking communities, and groups speaking *Ladino (Judeo-Spanish). Arabic-speaking communities include descendants of the *megorashim* (expellees from *Spain) who were arabicized, and the majority of the *toshavim* ("residents"), the Jewish population which existed in the Maghreb before the expulsion of Jews from Spain. The date of earliest settlement and the ethnic origin of the latter group have posed historical problems which have still to be solved satisfactorily. An examination of documentary evidence reveals the existence within this group of a variety of branches, which provide different means of expression. The various so-called classical or pseudo-classical languages used by authors of the period of Spanish rule for all philosophical, scientific, or religious literature are not within the scope of this survey. The educated Jew in the Maghreb is no longer able to understand these works in their original form and knows them only in their Hebrew translations. However, an exception must be made for certain poetical works in Hispanic Arabic (which has become Zajal), and certain *muwashshaḥāt*, which formed the lyrics of the so-called Andalusian music. This poetic form remains the preserve of a very small Jewish elite, unable to read Arabic script and thus taught orally, by Muslim or Jewish teachers. There is a collection of these verses in an extremely rare edition published in *Tunis in 1886 in Hebrew and Arabic, and entitled *Sefinah Maluf.*

There is also a later type of poetry, the *qiṣṣa*, composed in a type of *koine* (i.e., a form of colloquial Arabic), which is understood by all North African communities. It is extremely popular in cultured circles, as well as among the masses. The *qiṣṣa* includes as its main genre rhymed adaptations of Bible stories or liturgical poems, songs of joy or lamentation, songs in praise of saintly men in Ereẓ Israel or North Africa, homilies on virtue, and satirical works. Folksongs sung on family occasions (funerals and celebrations) are written in a language close to colloquial speech.

Of all North African dialects, those of the Jews have best preserved the oldest characteristics of the language introduced during the early centuries of Arab rule. This conservatism has also produced a paucity of expression. When the realm of the concrete and of everyday life is abandoned for abstract concepts, it is necessary to resort to the vocabulary and morphosyntactical structure of Hebrew and Aramaic. This constitutes the heterogeneous language of preaching, talmudic instruction, circular letters, and decisions of the rabbinical courts or of the community council. The *sharḥ*, or commentary on sacred writings, such as the Bible and liturgical texts, has a special place because of its basic role in traditional education and its special linguistic rules. Beside these, there is an epistolary language and a Jewish slang called *lashon* (Heb.: "language") used to mislead strangers.

Judeo-Berber

There is no written literature, but *Berber society in general possesses an oral literature, whose basis (still scarcely investigated) consists of fables, legends, proverbs, and poetic works, generally on the theme of love and war, or else of a homiletical nature. Apart from their living dialects and folklore, which are no less rich than those of their Muslim neighbors, the Berber-speaking Jews have a traditional and religious oral literature, of which, unfortunately, very little has been preserved and recently collected. Without dealing with the controversial subject of the origin of these communities, it should be noted that Berber was one of the vernaculars of the Jewish communities of the Atlas mountains and the Moroccan Sous (and, apparently, of certain parts of *Algeria and *Tunisia). Most Jews were bilingual, speaking both Berber and Arabic, but others spoke only Berber, and until the 1950s there were a few isolated immigrants to Israel, who settled in Ashkelon, belonging to this latter group. Traditional education employed Berber as the language of interpretation and translation of sacred texts (and sometimes of the liturgy). Several biblical passages have been recorded in their Berber form, but the most important document, which is of vital importance for a knowledge of the linguistic and cultural traditions of this part of the Diaspora (which long remained unknown), is a Passover *Haggadah*. This *Haggadah* has been entirely translated into a dialect which resembles Tamazigt; the antiquity of its literary form appears to be beyond dispute.

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[Haim Zafrani]

JUDEO-ARABIC LITERATURE, written in Arabic by Jews for Jews. It is written in an idiom which is linguistically closer to the spoken form of Arabic than is the idiom used in Muslim literature. It may plausibly be assumed that, prior to the rise of Islam in the early seventh century, the Jews who lived in the Arabian peninsula spoke Arabic and belonged to the more or less cultivated class, which may have included some writers. If this is so, almost nothing of their works has survived. The one Jewish poet whose work is extant, *Samuel ibn Adiya, can be distinguished so little from his non-Jewish colleagues in theme, imagery, and style, that only history has preserved the knowledge of his Jewish identity. The writings of *Muhammad, which contain a considerable amount of biblical and midrashic material, suggest that the Torah and the Midrash were studied during the period, but concrete testimony is wanting.

The remarkable spread of Muslim domination over vast territories in Southwest Asia, North Africa, and *Spain, and the diffusion of Arabic in these areas, did not leave the Jews unaffected. It may be surmised that Arabic gradually displaced the Aramaic vernacular, initially in the larger centers, and that the Jewish population began to use it in its everyday intercourse from about the eighth century. The more inquiring Jews also began to acquire a knowledge of Arabic literature and science, which were undergoing a tremendous growth as a result of the large number of Greek, Syriac, Pahlavi, and Hindi works that had been translated into Arabic. The language became a storehouse for much of the world's knowledge and learning, and there was an upsurge of writing in Arabic on subjects which originated in other cultures. The participation of non-Arab Muslims and of other minorities in this activity was very great, and it likewise stimulated an intensive study of the imported learning among interested Jews. From the eighth century onward, there appeared in the Jewish communities under Muslim rule men who presumably received a traditional education, but who also turned their attention to the recently developed or rediscovered areas of secular studies. They took a particular interest in medicine, mathematics, astrology and astronomy, and philosophy and theology. Of equal importance with their pursuit of these studies was the influence this acquaintance with foreign lore had on their understanding of their Jewish heritage. Not only did they introduce into Jewish culture the investigation of theology, secular Hebrew prose and poetry, Hebrew grammar and lexicography, they also subjected traditional areas to the rationalism and orderliness which they acquired from their excursions into foreign fields. In the biblical commentaries of the time, in the compilations of talmudic law and the expositions on diverse topics particularly relevant to the Jewish world, a novel organization and presentation of the material can be discerned. With the exception of certain *Karaite circles around 1000 C.E., Jews wrote Arabic in Hebrew characters. In the first millennium two methods of transcription into Hebrew characters developed, one phonetic, the other mostly imitating the Arabic spelling. At the beginning of the second millennium, this second way of transcription prevailed (see J. Blau and S. Hopkins, *Zeitschrift fuer arabische Linguistik*, 1984, 9–27).

The East

Just as the Muslims of Spain for a time looked to the East for learning, and for scholars and literary personalities, so in Judeo-Arabic letters it was *Babylonia, *Palestine, and *Egypt, the ancient centers of Jewish cultural activity, which were the first to flourish. Mashallah (770–820) of Egypt was an astrologer and astronomer of note who is credited with a considerable number of works on astronomical phenomena. Māsarjawayh of *Basra (late 9th cent.) was among the first to translate medical works into Arabic, among them the *Pandect* in Syriac of the archdeacon Ahron. Māsarjawayh probably also wrote original works, since Uṣaybiʿa, the historian of medicine, states that the quotations from "the Jew" in the encyclopedic *al-Ḥāwī* by the celebrated physician al-Rāzī are taken from his writings. Isaac b. Solomon *Israeli (c. 850–950), of Egypt and, later, *Kairouan, established a reputation as a philosopher and medical scholar. His writings include *Kitāb al-Ḥudūd wa al-Rusūm* ("The Book of Definitions and Descriptions"), an explanation of logical and philosophical terms; *al-Ustuqṣāt* ("The Elements"), a treatise on the components of the physical world, based on the works of Aristotle, Hippocrates, and Galen; a study of the nature and value of different foods (*Fī Ṭabāʿī al-Aghdhiya wa-Quwāhā*); a study of the knowledge of urine and its components (*Fī Maʿrifat al-Bawl wa-Aqsāmuhu*); an introduction to the study of medicine (*al-Madkhal ilā ṣināʿat at-Ṭibb*); an introduction to logic (*al-Madkhal ilā-al-Manṭiq*); an essay regarding philosophy (*Fī Ḥikma*); and commentary on the Sefer *Yeẓirah.

*Saadiah b. Joseph Gaon (882–942) left his native Egypt and traveled through Palestine to Babylonia, where he was appointed *gaon* of the Academy of Sura. Possessing encyclopedic knowledge and capable of enormous productivity, he wrote works which include a translation of the Bible into Arabic, a long and a short commentary on the Pentateuch, and comments on and introductions to other books of the Bible. He codified the laws relating to such topics as inheritance, trusts, and oaths. In addition, he compiled a list of *hapax legomena in the Bible, which he sought to explain with the aid of rabbinic Hebrew, a Hebrew grammar, and a rhyming dictionary. In expounding the *Sefer Yeẓirah*, a theosophical tract, Saadiah attempted to interpret it as a philosophical monograph. He also wrote a theological work, the *Kitāb al-Amānāt wa-al-Iʿtiqādāt*, made great contributions to liturgy and chronology, and composed polemics against the *Karaites and other heretics. His vigorous attack on the Karaites roused their anger, and he was designated their arch-enemy. He also encountered criticism from the Rabbanite R. Mevasser ha-Levi, who raised objections to explanations of rulings in his works, either because they did not agree with tradition or because they appeared to contradict a previous statement of the author. David ibn Marwān *Al-Mukammiṣ, a contemporary of Saadiah who converted to Christianity and subsequently returned to Judaism, wrote the theological treatise, *ʿIshrūn Maqālā* ("Twenty Tracts"; S. Stroumsa's edition, 1989). The work deals with the attributes of God, and, in accordance with the Mu'tazilite view, regards them as aspects of His essence.

R. Samuel b. Hophni (d. 1013), who was a *gaon* in the Academy of Sura, devoted all his writings to the exposition of traditional Jewish lore. However, the influence of Arabic literature and theology is very evident in his works. More verbose than Saadiah, Samuel supplied commentaries on those parts of the Torah which the former did not annotate, as well as on Ecclesiastes and on some of the Later Prophets. He did not hesitate to include an excursus on any subject related to his theme, for example, his digression on dreams in general after having dealt with the dreams of Pharaoh. He produced a refutation of the doctrine held by Muslim theologians that God would void His revelation to Moses in favor of one to be revealed later. His major work, however, was on the Talmud, to which he wrote an introduction, and he compiled monographs on various topics in Jewish law, such as ritual slaughter, benedictions, partnership, and gifts. As with Saadiah, what distinguishes Samuel's writings is his systematic organization and treatment: in each case, he provides an introduction and a table of contents, and he divides his material into chapters with headings summarizing what is to be dealt with. His son-in-law, *Hai b. Sherira Gaon (939–1038), wrote both in Hebrew and in Arabic. His well-known work *Purchase and Sale* is in Arabic, as is his monograph *Oaths* and a number of other writings. Although his responsa were generally in Hebrew, they were written in Arabic when the inquiry was written in that language. Of particular interest is his glossary of difficult words in the Bible and Talmud, *al-Ḥāwī* ("The Comprehender"), which works on the basis of triliteral roots. The glossary was used in Spain and was directly consulted until at least the end of the 11th century. Of the writings of Hai's father, *Sherira b. Ḥanina Gaon, only one responsum is a manifest translation from Arabic, and although it is said that he wrote halakhic works in that language, nothing has survived. But he did use Arabic in the course of his Hebrew and Aramaic writings.

*Ḥefeẓ b. Yaẓli'aḥ (late 10th or early 11th cent.) was the author of *Sefer ha-Miẓvot*, a work which enumerated and discussed in detail the 613 commandments of Jewish law (edited and translated by B. Halper, *A Volume of the Book of Precepts by Ḥefeṣ b. Yaṣli'aḥ* (Philadelphia 1915); appendices by S. Asaf, *Tarbiz* 15 (1954), and M. Zucker, *Proceedings* etc. 29 (1960–61), *Ha-Do'ar*, 23 (1963; reprinted by Zion, Tel Aviv, 1972). He began every elucidation with either "It is commanded" or "It is required," in the case of positive precepts, and "It is prohibited" in the case of negative commandments. First the biblical law is summarized, and then follows the rabbinic expansion and ramification. His work was used by scholars who read or wrote Arabic, among them *Maimonides; but since it was not translated into Hebrew, later citations are secondary. Moreover, only a relatively small part of what must have been a large work has so far come to light; from the table of contents of the extant section only an idea of the probable extent of the entire production can be formed.

The Karaites

Although they adopted an antagonistic stance toward rabbinic traditions and initially asserted every individual's right, nay duty, to make his own intensive study of the Holy Scriptures, the Karaites gradually restricted this prerogative to the learned, whose conclusions were then followed by the masses. Originating in the eighth century, the movement's earlier leaders – first as Ananites led by *Anan b. David, and in the middle of the ninth century as Karaites, led by Benjamin b. Moses *Al-Nahawendi, and afterwards by Daniel b. Moses *Al-Qūmisī – used Aramaic or Hebrew in their writings. But as Arabic came into wider use, Karaite writers began to adopt it as their means of communication. Among the more renowned was *David b. Boaz (c. 930), a descendant of the movement's founder, Anan, who translated the Pentateuch into Arabic and also wrote a commentary on it. *Salmon b. Jeroham, one of the most vitriolic opponents of Saadiah, wrote a polemic in Hebrew against the *Gaon* which, following the manner of the time, heaped abuse on him as part of the attack. His outlook was in general narrow and partisan, and he was also opposed to the pursuit of secular studies. In Arabic he composed commentaries on the Five Scrolls and also on the Psalms. Jacob *Al-Qirqisānī (c. 930) produced a large work, *al-Anwār wa al-Marāqib* ("The Lights and the Lookouts"), which is in the main an exposition of Karaite beliefs and laws and a somewhat polemical defense of them against criticism from the ranks of the Rabbanites and from fellow Karaites. In addition, the book contains a historical survey of the Jews and Karaites, as well as of heretical sects, which is highly esteemed by modern scholars, particularly for its information about the early divisions among the Karaites and the attitudes toward Anan of his immediate successors. Qirqisānī also wrote a commentary on the book of Genesis, which makes extensive use of Saadiah's interpretations. In the field of Bible study, *Japheth b. Eli ha-Levi holds a high place. He lived in Jerusalem, where the Karaites had established a community in 950–980. He translated the Bible into Arabic, much more literally and unidiomatically than Saadiah, and wrote extensive commentaries which contain a considerable amount of grammatical analysis. He tended toward making as much of the text as he could contemporary in application; this is particularly true of his explanation of Daniel. He made attacks upon Saadiah, Christianity, and Islam; and he is also credited with the authorship of a polemical tract directed against Jacob b. Ephraim, a disciple of Saadiah. His son, *Levi b. Japheth (Abu Saʿid), was likewise a writer. Levi's most important work, a book on the precepts called *Sefer ha-Mitzvot* in its Hebrew translation, was completed in 1007 and is a codification of Karaite *halakhah*. It deals with such topics as the calendar, the nazirite prayer, and civil law, and it is cited by many later Karaites. He may also have composed commentaries on the Early Prophets and on the Psalms.

David b. Abraham *Alfasi (second half of 10th cent.) compiled a dictionary of the Bible in 22 parts corresponding to the letters of the Hebrew alphabet. The various usages of a word are cited, and every entry is translated into Arabic. He refers to Onkelos and Jonathan b. Uzziel, the Aramaic versions of the Bible, and also to the Mishnah, the Talmud, the masorah, and even the Rabbanite prayerbook. He occasionally compares the vocable with Arabic, Aramaic, and mishnaic Hebrew. *Abu al-Faraj Hārūn ibn al-Faraj (c. 1000–1050), who lived in Jerusalem, wrote a grammar of Hebrew called *al-Mushtamil* ("The Encompasser"), which he completed in 1007. It consisted of seven parts and dealt with the manifold aspects of the language. He utilized his knowledge of Arabic and Aramaic for comparison and elucidation. Abu al-Faraj, when giving paradigms of the Hebrew verb, started from the infinitive and showed the difference in the use of this form in Hebrew and Arabic; he also discussed Hebrew particles and syntax. His work was known in Spain and is cited by Jonah *Ibn Janāḥ, and Moses and Abraham *Ibn Ezra. An epitome of the *Mushtamil*, which was probably intended as an appendix, also exists; this may explain why Abraham ibn Ezra speaks of the book as having eight parts. Joseph b. Abraham al-*Baṣīr (called the Seer, a euphemism for "the Blind") was a widely traveled theologian, a polyglot, and a student of Rabbanite lore. He was held in high esteem by the Karaites as a religious authority. His works include *al-Muḥtawi* ("The Compendium," or, in Hebrew, *Sefer Ne'mot*), a theological study which reveals deep Muʿtazilite influence. Consisting of 40 chapters, the book presents a Karaite adaptation of the *kalām* doctrines, as well as polemics against Christians and pagans. He also left an epitome of his major work, *al-Tamyīz*, and a book on inheritance and on ritual cleanliness, *al-Istibṣār* ("Investigation"). His pupil Joshua b. Judah Abu-l-Faraj Furqān ibn Asad (c. 1050–1080) is known as the teacher par excellence. He made an Arabic translation of the Torah together with a commentary on it, which were completed about 1050. His detailed commentary on the Decalogue is available only in the Hebrew translation, which covers only the first four commandments. He also produced *Bereshit Rabbati*, philosophic homilies on Genesis, partially translated into Hebrew. His most important work is on the precepts and is called *Sefer ha-Yashar*. Because of the comparative relaxation of the strict system of relationships (*rikkūb*) which prevailed among the Karaites, the best-known section of the book is on incestuous marriages. He defends his personal views, arguing with his Karaite predecessors and criticizing *Halakhot Gedolot* and the *Hilkhot Re'u*, compilations of Rabbanite law.

The West

The Jewish communities of North Africa and *Spain were as influenced by the Islamic-Arabic environment in which they existed as were their brethren in the East. Although the Jews in those lands (as the Muslims) were for a considerable time pupils of their coreligionists in *Iraq, Palestine, and Egypt, some of them began to write books at about the same time as the Jews in the East. Abu Sahl *Dunash ibn Tamim (10th cent.) was a grammarian, theologian, astronomer, and physician. His work on grammar, of which a small fragment may have been found, is cited by several Spanish Jewish writers. He appears to have undertaken a comparative study of the cognate Semitic languages, lexical rather than morphological; he believed Hebrew to be the mother of Semitic languages, and therefore Arabic to be only a derivative of Hebrew. In his work on astronomy he included a critique of astrology for the

Fatimid Imam Manṣūr Isma'il, and in another study on the same topic he answered the inquiries of *Hisdai ibn Shaprut. There is also mention of works on philosophy and medicine. It is not clear whether his commentary on the *Sefer Yeẓirah* is a revision and editing of Isaac *Israeli's commentary or an entirely independent study. Judah *Ibn Quraysh of Tahert in Morocco (first half of tenth century) was the physician of the emir of Fez. He knew *Eldad ha-Dāni, the self-styled traveler from a distant Jewish land, and believed in his account. His work, called *Risāla* (Epistle; ed. D. Becker, 1984), or possibly *Av va-Em* after the first vocables, is an attempt at comparative linguistics. He states that he composed it in order to rebuke his fellow Jews for neglecting the reading of the Aramaic version of the Torah, which he believed important for the knowledge of Hebrew. In the first of the three parts of the book he compares Aramaic and biblical Hebrew words in alphabetical order; in the second he does the same with Aramaic and Hebrew words in the Mishnah and the Talmud. The final section deals with Arabic and biblical Hebrew.

Talmudic studies flourished in North Africa in the 10th and 11th centuries. One scholar writing in Arabic was *Nissim b. Jacob ben Nissim of Kairouan (c. 990–1060), who headed a school in his native city. His works (a discussion and selections in S. Abramson, *Rav Nissim Ga'on*; Heb., 1965) in chronological order are: *Ha-Mafte'aḥ she-le-Manulei ha-Talmud* ("The Keys to the Locks of the Talmud"), in Arabic, which apparently covered the entire Babylonian Talmud, although only parts of it have so far come to light; comments on the Talmud in Arabic and Hebrew, of which some portions are known and more are being discovered; *Piskei Halakhot* ("Legal Decisions"), in Arabic, fragments of which have been discovered; *Megillat Setarim* ("Scroll of Secrets"), a collection of explanations on difficult passages in the Talmud and on sundry religious topics; and *al-Faraj ba*ʿ*d al-Shidda* ("Relief After Distress"; in Hebrew, *Ḥibbur Yafeh me-ha-Yeshu'ah*), a book of consolation, a genre current in classical Arabic literature, made up of stories written to bring comfort, faith, and acceptance of God's judgment. This last work has appeared both in Hebrew and in its Arabic original, but it is not yet clear what the author's form and arrangement were.

Jewish works of importance written in Arabic were far more abundant in Muslim Spain than in the East. Among the men who were primarily grammarians and only incidentally biblical exegetes, two names are distinguished. The first, Judah b. David *Ḥayyuj (10th–11th cent.), a native of Fez who died in Spain, devoted two works to the geminated verbs and the verbs with weak letters in their roots. He established the principle that all Hebrew verb-roots, regardless of what happens to them in inflection, consist of three letters; and in this manner he worked out the rules which govern the classes of weak verbs. He also compiled a book of random comments on the books of the Bible, parts of which have been found and published. The second name of importance is Ḥayyuj's outstanding disciple, Jonah *Ibn Janāḥ (first half 11th cent.), who compiled a comprehensive work, *al-Tanqīḥ* ("Polishing"), consisting of a grammar and a lexicon. The former, called *al-Luma*ʿ ("Brightness"; in Hebrew, *Ha-Rikmah*), is a presentation of the rules of Hebrew grammar and their exceptions. The lexicon, which consists of the Hebrew roots, gives their definition, together with examples from the Bible, to illustrate their secondary and tertiary meanings as well as their most common usage. He also composed three smaller works which examine and explain the classes of weak verbs. As a result of culling illustrations from the Bible, his writings contain considerable exegetical material.

Moses b. Samuel ha-Kohen ibn *Gikatilla (11th cent.) occupies a prominent place among biblical commentators who used Arabic. A native of Cordoba who lived in Saragossa, he produced commentaries on most of the books of the Bible, which unfortunately have been lost, with the exception of part of his commentary on the Book of Psalms. However, many of his views are known from extracts quoted in the writings of others, notably of his critic Judah b. Samuel *Ibn Bal'am, who condemned him for his "radical" views on the messianic prophecies. Ibn Gikatilla interpreted these prophecies as predictions of events to take place soon after they were uttered, and he also made efforts to explain miracles rationally. Another work, his short grammatical treatise on gender in Hebrew, is extant. Ibn Bal'am, Ibn Gikatilla's younger contemporary, whose exegetical work has survived, was an eclectic commentator who frequently made use of the works of others. True to the practice of the time, he mentions authors only when he disagrees with them. He charges both Saadiah and Ibn Gikatilla with violating Arabic usage in their translations, and occasionally finds fault even with his master, Ibn Janāḥ. In the field of grammar, he compiled a list of Hebrew particles and their uses, a list of homonyms with their different meanings, and a list of verbs derived from nouns. He is known to have had a remarkably good memory and a very sour disposition.

While many halakhic responsa by Spanish Jews were penned in Arabic, legal compilations were composed in Hebrew or hebraized Aramaic. Even Maimonides, who wrote most of his works in Arabic, turned to Hebrew for his *magnum opus*, the compendium of Jewish law entitled *Mishneh Torah* or *Ha-Ḥibbur*. However, as an aid to making his great compilation well-arranged and complete, he prepared in Arabic a list of the 613 commandments before embarking upon his enterprise. He provided this propaedeutic because he had his own ideas, which differed from those of his predecessors, on the nature of the laws which ought to be included in the 613. He insisted, for example, on the need to distinguish between a biblical and a rabbinic prescription and to exclude general admonitions, such as "Be ye holy." By laying down these principles of selection he hoped to establish an unchallengeable list, a hope that was not fulfilled.

Both Maimonides and his father wrote epistles in Arabic. The latter addressed a letter of comfort to the Jews in North Africa who were victims of religious persecution by the Almohads, a fanatical Muslim movement preached by Ibn Tūmart and adopted by a Berber tribe. The letter seeks to fortify the Jews with the faith that God will not forsake them and that the promises of reward to the righteous will be realized. Maimonides himself discussed the same persecution, but in a much more pragmatic fashion. His missive is in fact in response to a question asked of him by a North African crypto-Jew, who had been told by a local rabbi that his secret practice of Judaism was of no use, since he was outwardly a Muslim. Maimonides refutes the rabbi's ruling, adding, however, an analysis of the talmudic principle that certain demands made by persecutors should not be acceded to, even if the consequence is martyrdom. He exhorts Jews in the same position as the inquirer to leave the locale where the oppression exists, or, if this is too difficult, to practice Jewish law as much as possible without endangering their lives. A second letter, *Iggeret Teiman*, deals with the religious persecution in that country in 1172, which was complicated by the rise of a pseudo-Messiah who promised imminent salvation and the return to Zion. Maimonides offers consolation, and gives warning against the readiness to believe in the pseudo-Messiah out of despair. He also wrote the monograph *Resurrection*, the object of which was to refute accusations that he did not believe the dead would eventually return to life. His refutation was that, since he included this hope as one of the 13 articles of the Jewish faith, it was unnecessary to repeat it; and his failure to discuss resurrection in other appropriate places was due to the distinction between rational doctrines and those accepted on faith.

A unique volume in Arabic was composed by the celebrated poet Moses b. Jacob ibn Ezra. It is a study of the art of Hebrew, especially biblical poetry, called *Kitāb al-Muḥāḍara wa al-Mudhākara*, but it is in fact much more than that, for it also contains a brief history, and occasionally characterizations, of the literary figures who flourished in Spain, a disquisition on the composition of poetry in sleep, and an explanation of why the Arabs excel in poetic composition. The whole work is presented in the style of *adab*, a popular Arabic genre in which the author enjoyed the freedom to digress on any subject. The digression was accompanied by an occasional reminder that it was time to return to the major theme.

Religious Philosophy and Theology

These subjects were cultivated more actively in Muslim Spain than in the East; but like most other cultural activities, they flourished initially in the Levant. Ibn Mukammiṣ has been discussed above. Saadiah's *Emunot ve-De'ot*, though not blindly following Mu'tazilite thought, was nonetheless considerably influenced by it. In general he used reason to buttress the accepted articles of the Jewish faith. With the exception of *Baḥya b. Joseph ibn Paquda (11th cent.), who in the first chapter of his *Ḥovot ha-Levavot* gives a brief resume of a theological position deriving from Saadiah, the works of the other great Spanish Jewish thinkers show that they were under the influence of Plato and Aristotle, or a combination of the latter and neoplatonism. The most philosophic of the group, Solomon b. Judah ibn *Gabirol (1021–1058), was drawn to the views of the Muslim thinker Ibn Masarra (883–931), who was strongly influenced by pseudo-Empedocles and who taught the doctrine of universal matter and universal soul. Basing his philosophy on the Aristotelian principles of matter and form, Ibn Gabirol in his writings cited no passage from biblical or rabbinic sources and made no reference to the Jewish tradition. He did not treat matter and form as opposite ends of being, rather he defined matter as the substrate, common to all being, and form as the differentiating principle which gives individuality to every existent. He regarded matter and form as the universal constituent factors in every object, from the lowest species to the highest intellectual being, and he ascribed the appearance of corporeality to some quality in matter which gives it body. In Ibn Gabirol's view, since matter is the subject, it is logically prior to form, which specifies it; nevertheless, both universal matter and universal form are the sources of all being. The beginning of the world, the first cause, was God's Will, which is intermediate between Infinite God and the universe. Ibn Gabirol did not, however, define God's Will with sufficient clarity to make it plainly comprehensible, and his philosophy did not win favor among Jews. Although neglected by Jewish theologians, it was adopted by some Christian thinkers, and it subsequently exerted considerable influence on the Kabbalah.

As stated above, Baḥya ibn Paquda (11th–12th century) employed the reasoning of *kalām* to prove the existence and oneness of God. But these issues were not his primary concern, they were merely the first requirement of the correct attitude to be taken toward God.

Baḥya's real interest was in emphasizing the duties of the heart (the title of his book), the state of mind and of emotion prerequisite to the true performance of the practical religious precepts. He feels doubly impelled to undertake this task, first because among the community in general performance of ritual acts is the backbone of Judaism, and, secondly because concern with the approved manner of practice occupies the time and mind of the learned. Essentially, Baḥya preached the inward experience of faith: trust, humility, asceticism, repentance, and self-examination. His book, therefore, may be regarded as a guide which, though written about Judaism for Jews and replete with quotations from the Bible and the Talmud, actually belongs to the sphere of religion in general; and for this reason Baḥya does not hesitate to adduce proofs from outside sources. Of all the religious literature produced in the Islamic world, his work was probably the best known and most widely studied among Jews. The monograph *Maʿanī al-Nafs* ("Matters of the Soul") falsely ascribed to him, although probably dating from the same period, deals primarily with the fate and duty of the human soul from the time it separates from its source to join the body until it is once again free to return to its original home. In the course of this exposition, the author also gives his views on the emanation and creation of the world, its constituent factors, and other religious and philosophical issues.

Joseph ibn *Ẓaddik (d. 1149) wrote his *Olam Katan* (*Microcosm*) as a guide to help man gain, through introspection and self-analysis, the necessary knowledge of the world, its Maker, the human soul, and the ethical life. This short tract is not endowed with originality, following neoplatonism in its psychology, Aristotelianism in its physics, and *kalām* in its proof of the existence of God. A far better known poet and literary figure, Moses ibn Ezra, mentioned above, is the author of *Kitāb al-Ḥadīqa fī maʿnā al-majāz wa al-ḥaqīqa* ("The Garden of the Subject of Metaphor and Reality"; in Hebrew, *Arugat ha-Bosem*), a semiphilosophical study in which there is the usual discussion of God and His attributes, and man and his psychology, but in addition there is much attention given to metaphor in the Bible.

The well-known poet *Judah Halevi (1080–1141) was also the author of a philosophical work which was unique in its time among the books in this field. Its title, *Kitāb al-Ḥujja wa al-Dalīl fī Naṣr al-Dīn al-Dhalīl* ("The Book of the Argument and the Proof in Defense of the Despised Faith" (crit. ed. D.H. Banett, prepared for publication by H. Ben-Shammai, Jerusalem 1977), popularly called *Sefer ha-Kuzari*, indicates that it was produced in defense of the Jewish religion, which, the author says, was held in low esteem by the Gentiles. Although critical of philosophy, Judah Halevi is not, like the extremely orthodox, against it; in fact, in his discussion of ethics and of God's uniqueness, he concedes the correctness of the philosophic approach. However, he criticizes metaphysics on the grounds that it simply cannot attain to the ultimate truths, but nevertheless pretends that its conclusions are totally valid. Because their revelation is historically attested, the Jewish Scriptures and tradition are the only unimpeachable sources for the essential truths. The revealed source teaches that man's highest attainment is the gift of prophecy, a gift reserved for the people of Israel in Ereẓ Israel. The Jew receives this gift when he lives in full accord with the Law revealed to Moses. Halevi makes the interesting point that the essence of Judaism is not found in the prescriptions which are rational and apprehensible by human reason, but in the irrational precepts known to us only because they were revealed. He thus demonstrates that the Jewish tradition contains not only the basic truths but also the highest good. The book is written in the form of a dialogue between the author and the king of the Khazars, who wanted to learn about the Jewish faith. It is interesting, although not surprising, that this spokesman for Judaism concludes his discussion by announcing his decision to settle in Ereẓ Israel, which he in fact did, as we know from his poetry. Abraham *Ibn Daud (d. c. 1180), the compiler of an original history of the Jewish tradition, was the first Jewish thinker in Spain to attempt a fusion of the doctrines of the Jewish faith with Aristotelian philosophy (the latter, it must be remembered, was suffused with the neoplatonic system of emanations). Ibn Daud did not examine all theological issues, but he provided summaries of topics such as proofs of the existence of God, the Creation, the Revelation, immortality, and providence. His work, *Sefer ha-Emunah ha-Ramah*, was apparently disregarded in favor of Maimonides' celebrated synthesis; its Arabic original is unknown, and the two translations into Hebrew, one of them published in 1852, were both prepared in the late 14th century.

As stated above, Maimonides (1135–1204) wrote most of his works in Arabic. Of these the most celebrated is his *Guide of the Perplexed* (*Moreh Nevukhim*), a philosophical analysis of Jewish law and theology. Believing like many others that revealed truth and philosophical conclusions reach one and the same end, he proposed to establish the principles of Jewish theology according to doctrines of Aristotelian philosophy, which he accepted as the valid interpretation of the sublunar cosmic process. On this basis he discusses the person of God, the Creation, prophecy, providence, the afterlife, and the content and purpose of the revealed law. In order to anchor his philosophy in Jewish doctrine, he used proof texts from the Bible and traditional Jewish sources. The *Guide* became the most important philosophic work in the Jewish world. Its Hebrew translation had been eagerly awaited by admirers of his earlier works. Two Hebrew renderings, almost simultaneously produced, became available, one by Samuel ibn Tibbon, and the other by Judah b. Solomon *Al-Ḥarizi. The former has always been treated as the authentic and reliable version, although it was severely criticized by Shem Tov b. Joseph *Falaquera, one of the early commentators on the work. In modern times the work has been translated again into Hebrew, by Rabbi J. Kafih, and more recently by Prof. M. Schwartz, who produced a brilliant critical edition (*Maimonides: The Guide of the Perplexed*, Tel Aviv, 2002).

The *Guide*'s popularity resulted in two contrary developments. For many it became the basic text, the authoritative reconciliation between the two sources of the one truth, so that the philosophically-minded in subsequent centuries invariably took it as their point of departure for commentary, summary, or controversy. At the same time, there were scholars who were wary of the intrusion of philosophical reflection into the religious sphere, because they sensed that reconciliation meant setting up philosophy as the judge of what in religion could be maintained, and what had to be interpreted, no matter how far the interpretation carried it from its literal meaning. Even students who were not particularly interested in philosophical speculations were compelled to confront it since Maimonides introduced a number of philosophical concepts into the first of the 14 books of his legal compendium. This alignment of admirers and antagonists led to serious conflict in the 13th and 14th centuries.

Joseph b. Judah ibn *Aknin (c. 1150–1220), a contemporary and friend of Maimonides, settled in Fez after his departure from his native Spain. By his own admission he lived there as a crypto-Jew, although his energetic literary activity seems to show that his private life did not suffer any interference. Save for his commentary on *Avot*, which was originally in Hebrew, his other writings were probably all in Arabic, although there is naturally uncertainty in the case of those of his writings which are no longer extant. Of his surviving works, *Ṭibb al-Nufūs al-Salīma* … ("Medicine for Healthy Souls…"), is an ethical treatise which includes a chapter on the soul and its needs and destiny. The book also contains chapters on friendship, speech and silence, keeping a secret, lying, food and drink, and asceticism. In every chapter there is an exposition, followed by relevant rabbinical sayings and epigrams culled from Arabic anthologies. The work is concluded by a chapter on persecutions, and Jewish behavior in relation to them, and a chapter on repentance. A threefold commentary on the Song of Songs, dealing with the plain meaning, the rabbinic elaboration, and a philosophical-psychological interpretation, which Joseph claimed to be an original contribution, has the distinction of providing an explanation of every word in the Scroll. He wrote an *Introduction to the Talmud* (*Mevo ha-Talmud*) and a tract on quantities and measurements in Jewish literature. An as yet undiscovered compilation, *Ḥukkim u-Mishpatim*, may have resembled the legal compendium of Maimonides, and his *Risālat al-Ibāna fī Uṣūl al-Diyāna* ("A Religious Clarification of Religious Fundamentals") was apparently theological in character.

From the 13th Century

In Judeo-Arabic literature, in both Spain and the Middle East, the 13th century marks a division between what preceded it and what followed. In Spain, Christendom's final victory over Islamic power in 1212 led to the gradual elimination of Arabic from Jewish life in favor of the Romance languages in daily intercourse, and of Hebrew in writing. During the 11th and 12th centuries, the continuous shift of the Jewish population from Andalusia to Christian territory, where Arabic had never been the dominant language, accelerated the abandonment of Arabic. However, knowledge of the language remained essential for the translation of texts on philosophy and logic, medicine, mathematics, and astronomy into Hebrew, Latin, and Spanish. It was at this time that the cultural heritage which originated in the East and was enriched during the period of Islamic ascendency was transmitted to the West. Among the authors who continued to write in Arabic, Judah b. Solomon ibn *Matkah (13th cent.), who corresponded with Emperor Frederick II of Sicily, compiled an encyclopedia of logic, physics, and metaphysics, which he translated into Hebrew under the title *Midrash ha-Ḥokhmah*. He also produced *Mishpetei ha-Kokhavim*, a digest of Ptolemy's astronomical *Almagest*. Joseph b. Isaac Israeli of Toledo (d. 1331) wrote a compendium on astronomy which was based on his father's well-known monograph, *Yesod Olam*. Samuel ibn Waqār, the personal physician of Alfonso XI of Castile, may have been the author of the medical work "Castilian Royal Medicine" (1376). Solomon b. Ya'īsh (d. 1345) composed a supercommentary on Abraham ibn Ezra's commentary to the Pentateuch, as well as a six-volume commentary on Avicenna's *Canon*, which remained the standard medical text for centuries. In the field of theology, Moses ibn Crispin Cohen, who in 1336 left his native Cordoba to settle in Toledo, composed a tract on providence and the afterlife. Joseph b. Abraham *Ibn Waqār (14th cent.), a philosopher and kabbalist, also wrote a book on theological matters, for which only a Hebrew title, *Ma'amar ha-Kolel*, is suggested by the name of one of the two extant translations. Judah b. Nissim *Malkah (14th cent.) of North Africa was a neoplatonist who wrote a tripartite work in the spirit of that philosophy; the first two sections were a commentary on the *Sefer Yeẓirah*, the former being an introduction to the theosophic booklet, *Uns al-Gharīb* ("Consolation of the Foreigner," i.e., man's soul on earth) and the latter was on the Midrash *Pirkei De-Rabbi Eliezer*.

The composition of works in Arabic by Jews was much more prevalent in the East, where Arabic continued to be used as the spoken language. However, the general reaction against foreign influences, which gradually eliminated from Muslim intellectual life the variety of interests that had attracted earlier generations, also affected Jewish literary productivity. There was a marked decline in the pursuit of secular subjects, with the exception of medicine; and studies in humanistic areas became confined to theological and ritual topics. Salāma b. Mevorakh (12th cent.), a physician and philosopher, and a student of Ephraim b. āl Zafāh (who was physician to the court), wrote *Niẓām al-Mawjūdāt* ("Arrangement of the Existents"), which was probably philosophic in character, *al-Sabab al-Mūjib li-Qillat al-Maṭar fi-Miṣr* ("The Reasons for the Paucity of Rain in Egypt"), and *fi-al-ʿIlm al-Ilāhī* ("On Theology"). Ḥibat Allah ibn al-Ḥasan b. Ephraim was possibly the head of the academy and community of Fostat, whom the traveler Benjamin of Tudela mentioned by the name of Nethanel and who wrote, among other works: *Irshād li-Maṣāliḥ Anfus al-Ajsād* ("Guide to the Well-Being of Souls and Bodies"), which treats of illnesses, cures, and hygiene; and *al-Taṣrīḥ fī Tanqīḥ al-Qānūn* ("Revelation of the Hidden in Correcting the Canon of Avicenna"). The Karaite *David b. Solomon (1161–1240), physician to Sultan al-Malik al-ʿAdil, and possibly the teacher of Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, wrote a celebrated history of medicine and physicians. He compiled the 12-chapter antidotary *Akrabadhin* or *Dustūr al-Adwiya al-Murakkaba* ("Register of Compound Remedies") and *Risālat al-Mujarrabāt* ("Epistle on Experiences"). Jacob b. Isaac (al-Asad al-Maḥallī; c. 1200) was the author of *Maqāla fī Qawānīn al-Ṭibbiyya* ("Treatise on the Fundamentals of Medicine") and *Masā'il Ṭibbiyya wa-Ajwibatiha* ("Questions and Answers on Medicine"), addressed to the Samaritan author Ṣadaqa ibn Munajja in Damascus. Abu-al-Munā ibn abi Naṣr al-Kohen al-ʿAṭṭār (13th cent.) compiled a popular pharmacopoeia, *Minhāj al-Dukkān wa-Dustūr al-Aʿyān* ("Practice of the Shop and List of the Important"), which is a painstaking collection, arranged in alphabetical order, of pertinent material gleaned from diverse sources, both oral and written. It includes a moralizing first chapter addressed to his son, which in fact may be an addition written by someone else. Nuʿmān ibn abi al-Riḍā' (14th cent.) wrote a medical treatise which he considered to be a collection of glosses on the work of al-Masīḥī. There were a large number of other physicians in the Arabic-speaking Jewish communities who tended to write on religion rather than on their profession. *Abraham

b. Moses b. Maimon (1186–1237), who succeeded his father as court physician and head of the Jewish community, composed a voluminous work, *Kifāyat al-ʿĀbidīn* ("Enough for the Worshippers"), most of which has yet to be discovered. Although he was an ardent defender and great admirer of his father, Abraham's work exhibits a piety which was independent of his father. While not minimizing the importance of learning, he stressed that worship requires humility, concentration, devotion, and other qualities characteristic of pietists such as the Sufis. He also wrote a commentary on Genesis and Exodus and composed two works in answer to his father's critics, as well as responsa (still extant) in answer to religious and legal inquiries. Attributed to one of his two sons, *David b. Abraham (1212–1300), who succeeded him as *nagid*, is a commentary on the *Avot*, which enjoyed great popularity. Also attributed to David is a collection of homilies on the weekly portion of the Torah, but the authorship of both works has been rightly disputed. Like his father, David also had occasion (1290) to rise to the defense of Maimonides. Obadiah (1228–1265), David's brother, composed a *vade mecum* for his son, called *al-Maqāla al-Ḥuḍiyya* ("The Inclusive Treatise"), in which biblical and rabbinic passages were interpreted allegorically, in order to provide moral instruction (ed. P. Fenton).

An ardent admirer of Maimonides, *Tanḥum b. Joseph Yerushalmi (d. 1291), wrote the commentary *al-Ijaz wa al-Bayān* ("Short and Clear"), which was probably on the entire Bible and is still largely extant, although only very few of his remarks on Ezra and Nehemiah have so far been discovered. His *Commentary on the Minor Prophets* has been published by H. Shay (1991). A rationalist, entirely rejecting any mystical approach to the text, he strove to explain every facet of it with the aid of medicine, *realia*, chronology, geography, and philosophy. Of philosophy he made use on numerous occasions, particularly where the literal meaning of the text was difficult to accept. He employed allegory and included digressions on subjects such as prophecy and the allegorical method. He occasionally disagreed with the *Seder Olam*, the chronological monograph which was almost undisputed during the Middle Ages, although he sometimes assumed approximate dates in the Bible in order to explain away discrepancies. He showed an appreciation for the aesthetic quality of the Bible and also a recognition that copyists' errors may have found their way into the masoretic text. In a comprehensive introduction to his vast enterprise, Tanḥum discussed grammatical and philosophical principles at length and also dwelt on the relation between exegesis and *aggadah*. In addition, he compiled a lexicon of the Hebrew in Maimonides' Code, *al-Murshid al-Kāfī* ("The Adequate Guide"). In the introduction to this work he elaborated upon the tremendous importance of the Code, especially at a time when there was a decline in the study of the Talmud. He criticized the *Arukh*, the lexicon of *Nathan b. Jehiel of Rome (11th cent.), because it did not include all the words in the language and operated on the basis of biliteral roots. Despite his criticisms, he was in fact extremely indebted to the lexicon. Moreover, in his own lexicon he strayed from his objective. Not all the words in the Code are listed, nor are all the vocables given there taken from the Code, since he also provided explanations of a number of mishnaic terms. His tendency to go into philosophical and theological matters emerges even in this work. His son, *Joseph b. Tanḥum ha-Yerushalmi, a gifted writer of Hebrew poetry, may also have been the author of a book in Arabic on theology and philosophy, a fragment of which is extant.

*Ibn Kammuna (Saʿd b. Manṣūr; d. 1184) lived in Baghdad; toward the end of his life he was the target of attack by orthodox Muslims, who took offense at his statements about Islam in *Tanqīḥ al-Abḥāth lil-Milal al-Thalāth* ("Examination of the Inquiries into the Three Faiths"), a study of Judaism, Christianity, and Islam. The book, interesting and enlightened, opens with a general discussion of religion and prophecy and continues with sections on each of the three religions. Ibn Kammuna's method is to present the principles of each faith in a general essay, and then to list questions and objections, followed by replies of the adherents of the particular faith. The work is outstanding for its fairmindedness and objectivity, which may be the reason for the belief, now discredited, that the author was a convert to Islam. His other writings include *al-Ḥikma al-Jadīda* ("The New Science"), on logic; *Risāla* ("Epistle"), on the immortality of the soul; and *Sharḥ Talwīḥāt*, a commentary on the *Notes* of the Muslim mystic Suhrawardi (d. 1191). He also wrote on chemistry and ophthalmology.

*Israel ha-Dayyan ha-Ma'aravi (14th cent.) lived in Cairo and was judge of the Karaite community there. His works include a legal compendium known only by its Hebrew name, *Sefer Mitzvot*, a compilation of the personal and ritual laws of the Karaites. His *Shurūṭ al-Dhabāḥa* ("Requirements of Ritual Slaughter") may have been part of his original *Arabic Code*. He also wrote *Tartīb al-ʿAqāʾid al-Sitta* ("Classification of the Six Articles of Faith: God, Moses, the Other Prophets, the Torah, Jerusalem, and the Final Judgment"), as well as a book on the calendar. *Samuel b. Moses al-Maghribi (15th cent.), a physician living in Cairo, compiled *al-Murshid* ("The Guide"), which was a book of laws in 12 sections; he also wrote a commentary on the Pentateuch and a history of Mount Moriah and the Temple. David b. Sa'del al-Hīti (15th cent.) composed a bibliography of Karaite scholars, which, although uncritical and sometimes unreliable, has been of service to modern scholars.

The Jews of *Yemen, who were subjected to many trials and persecutions, probably constituted the most cultivated among the Jewish communities living under Islam in the second millenium. In any case, they can boast of a larger number of literary figures than can other centers. One of the earliest, *Nethanel ibn al-Fayyūmī (d. c. 1170), was probably the head of the community and was the father of *Jacob b. Nethanel whose inquiry to Maimonides brought about the latter's *Iggeret Teiman*. Nethanel wrote *Bustān al-ʿUqūl* ("The Garden of the Intellects"), a theological study with chapters on the unity of God, man the microcosm, the worship of God, repentance, reliance on God, messianic times and the afterlife, influenced by the Isma'ilī. He quoted a good deal from extraneous sources and did not hesitate to invoke the support of the Koran and other Islamic works. *Abraham b. Solomon (1350–1400), probably of Yemen, compiled a commentary on the Prophets and probably also on the Hagiographa. His *Midrash al-Ṣiyāna* is eclectic, quoting copiously from a number of predecessors. Its chief value lies in the fact that it preserves material from works no longer extant. Several Yemenite compositions are midrashic in character, probably because there were frequent occasions in the community when a small sermon was preached at some religious ceremony. *Nethanel b. Yesha, a 14th-century scholar and preacher, composed the midrash *Nūr al-Ẓulām* ("Illumination of the Dark") in 1329. It was written in a combination of Hebrew and Arabic and made up of citations from other sources. In the 15th century *Zechariah b. Solomon ha-Rofe (Yaḥyā b. Suleiman al-Ṭabīb), a physician in Sanʿa, produced *Midrash ha-Ḥefez*, a commentary on the Pentateuch, Lamentations, and the Scroll of Esther. It, too, is eclectic and shows the author's preference for ethical and philosophical interpretations. Zechariah is also credited with a *Sharḥ* ("Commentary") to Maimonides' *Guide*. Another 15th-century author, Abu Manṣūr al-Daimari, composed in a philosophic tone the midrashic commentary on the Pentateuch, *Sirāj al-ʿUqul* ("The Light of the Intellects").

In conclusion, it is to be noted that composition of Jewish works in Arabic continued to appear until there ceased to be Jewish communities in the Arabic-speaking lands. However, it must be admitted that there is little value in these works, most of which are liturgical, exegetic, or translations of Hebrew pietistic works. The European influence, which from the end of the 19th century began to affect Arabic literature as it had affected Jewish literature in Europe a century earlier, does not seem to have played a part in the intellectual life of the Jews in the East. Nevertheless, their output of Hebrew or predominantly Hebrew poetry, rhymed prose, and religious works is of higher quality.

[Abraham Solomon Halkin]

Judeo-Arabic Culture

INTRODUCTION. We are dealing here with that particular body of Jewish religious writings of all types, written in the shadow of *Islam, usually in Arabic, but in Hebrew characters, during the period from before Saadiah Gaon until after the days of Maimonides and his son Abraham, i.e., from approximately the 8th century to the end of the 13th century. This culture is not merely a Jewish culture in Arabic language, but rather a Judeo-Islamic culture. Consequently, it is needless to point out that the Jewish writers who wrote in Arabic during this period were influenced by ideas then current in Islam, but their work should be viewed as the fruit of a period of centuries of creativity and cultural fertility shared by both religions. Similarly, the Arabic language used by the Jews in this period should not be regarded as a mere instrument employed by them, but as an integral part of the religious culture they had absorbed.

The extent to which a culture has absorbed and assimilated influences from another culture, as well as the preconditions which enabled their absorption and assimilation, is well known. The renowned Orientalist H.A.R. Gibb, who studied the influence of Islam on the European Renaissance,[1] laid down, among others, three basic theses which may constitute also a suitable starting point for a discussion of the influence of Islam on medieval Judeo-Arabic culture. These are the following:

(1) No culture absorbs influences from another culture unless the two possess certain similar and related qualities and the ground has been further prepared by similar activities.

(2) The absorption of foreign influences is a sign of the vitality of the absorbing culture or religion, but "the borrowed elements conduce to the expanding vitality of the borrowing culture only insofar as they draw their nourishment from the activities which led to their borrowing in the first place."

(3) Additional evidence of the vitality of the absorbing culture is provided if it confines this foreign influence to certain limits, thus preventing it from becoming too strong and undermining the foundations of the absorbing culture. "A living culture disregards or rejects all elements in other cultures which conflict with its own fundamental values, emotional attitudes or esthetic criteria."

There is no doubt that all this applies to the interrelationship of Judaism and Islam. The essential similarity of these two monotheistic religions which, unlike other religions, are based on law, created from the very beginning a sense of special relationship and led to extensive reciprocal borrowing. The fact that the new religion of Islam assimilated many Jewish elements at the time of its origin and during the years of its consolidation was the reason that many Jewish Sages adopted a much more lenient attitude toward it than toward other religions, and even declared explicitly that it was not to be regarded as idolatry, and differed from Christianity in essential aspects.[2] On the other hand, there is no doubt that Judaism had at least some reservations with regard to borrowing and assimilating Islamic influences. As we will see later on, these reservations were especially strong in the field of mysticism, though many Jews were strongly attracted by Sufi (Islamic mystical) teachings. It is also an established fact that much Islamic material absorbed by Jewish culture has been adapted and developed in a clearly Jewish spirit.

To be properly appreciated, at least three interesting and important viewpoints should be added, however, to these three theses:

(1) Two periods can be clearly distinguished in the interrelationship of Judaism and Islam. During the first period – the 7th and maybe also the 8th centuries – Judaism, more than any other religion and culture, left a decisive impact on Islam, a new religion in the process of consolidation. In the second period – probably from the 8th century, and in particular from the 9th century onward – Islam, which had become a rich and variegated culture, profoundly influenced Jewish culture. Consequently, the interrelationship of these two cultures may be regarded as a closed circle, a rare phenomenon in cultural relationships. Thus it is sometimes possible to trace an idea,

concept or custom that was absorbed by early Islam from Judaism, assimilated by it in a genuine Islamic spirit and, subsequently, in its Muslim guise, left its impact on Judaism. As an example, the concept of intention (*kavanah*, the devotional frame of mind which has to accompany compliance with a religious duty) was doubtless taken from Jewish – mainly Talmudic[3] – sources by Islamic thinkers, who turned it into a Ḥadith saying, allegedly of the prophet, or into a saying of the Sufi (mystic pietists). However, Islam also transformed this concept into a formula which may sometimes deprive it of its very spirit: every believer must declare, before performing a commandment, that he is about to perform it with intention, by reciting a formula: "I now intend to perform the commandment of morning prayer (or midday prayer, etc.)." Pietist Jewish circles seem (at a rather late stage) to have accepted and translated it into Hebrew.[4]

(2) The interrelationship of these two cultures – Judaism and Islam – always took place in the presence of a third religious culture, Christianity, which has strong links with both Judaism and Islam. This permanent Christian presence left its imprint on the interrelationship of these religions. Islam, for instance, regards Judaism and Christianity as belonging to the same category in many respects. They are recognized by Islam as the two earlier monotheistic religions, even though Islam claimed to have superseded and abrogated them. The "People of the Book" (*Ahl al-Kitāb*) or the "Protected People" (*Ahl al-Dhimma*), as both Jews and Christians were called, were granted freedom of worship, though many humiliating restrictions were imposed upon them.[5] The Jews, on their part, generally regarded Islam either as a counterpart of Christianity (as did Judah Halevi, for instance, in his *Kuzari*, Book IV, par. 11), or as its opposite (Maimonides, for instance, in his above-mentioned Responsa). Only seldom did they deal with Islam in a specific way unlinked to Christianity.

(3) This leads us to the central and principal feature of the relationship of Islam and Judaism (and we may now add: and Christianity) in the medieval Arab East: there was a profound religious-cultural alliance among these three positive religions in their common confrontation with the pagan cultural legacy which, in its philosophical Arabic disguise, threatened equally the existence of the three revelational religions.[6] The extent and depth of their spiritual collaboration is highly astonishing and probably has no parallel in any other period of human history. It seems that only against the special cultural background of medieval Islam could such a spiritual alliance have sprung up. The rich Arabic language, with its advanced religious and philosophical terminology, in which the scholars and thinkers of all three religions wrote, was an additional factor. One striking example may be given: it had long been noticed that the "Duties of the Heart" of Baḥya ibn Paquda contains a chapter ("The Ways of Discernment of the Creatures," *Bāb Al-I'tibār Fi-al-Makhlūkīn*) which is surprisingly similar to the book "The Wisdom of God in His Creatures" (*Al-Ḥikma fī makhlūkāt Allah*), probably written by al-Ghazālī (d. 1111), one of the greatest Muslim thinkers of all times. Some passages of these works, which praise God's creation, especially man, are literally identical, and their general contents are the same. It was long believed that Baḥya had copied al-Ghazālī. D.Z. Baneth, however, discovered a manuscript upon which both based their work, and he maintains that it was written by a Christian Arab author. Both Baḥya ibn Paquda and al-Ghazālī adapted this book, each in the spirit of his own religion, mainly by adding verses from the Torah of the Jewish Sages in the case of the former, or verses from the *Qur'ān* or sayings of the Prophet and his companions, by al-Ghazālī.

STUDYING JEWISH CULTURE IN THE SHADOW OF ISLAM. The relationship of Judaism and Islam has so far been considered, as it were, from the outside – a step which is necessary if one wishes to study the Arabic period of Jewish history or the form of Jewish culture that was created in the shadow of Islam. Only thus is it possible to obtain an overall picture of the relationship between two cultures, without which one is bound to get entangled in details, without being able to discern the general framework clearly. However, these cultures must now be considered "from within" in order to determine their characteristic and striking features.

But first an important methodological problem has to be faced. There is a widespread tendency to ascribe a phenomenon occurring in two cultures to the influence of the earlier culture on the later. A. Geiger, in the introduction to his "Was hat Mohammed aus dem Judenthum aufgenommem?" (Leipzig, 1830), and I. Goldziher already warned against this tendency with regard to the relationship of Judaism and Islam. Similar developments and phenomena in different cultures are not necessarily the result of the influence of one on the other, but may also be the fruit of equal external conditions or of the religious needs and developments of the individual believer or the community, etc.

A few examples may illustrate this point.

Both Judaism and Islam are unique in that they have a sacred oral law in addition to the Divinely given written law.[7] It is, nevertheless, questionable whether this phenomenon in Islam is necessarily the fruit of the influence of the older religion. It is true that when the Muslim oral law (*al-Sunna*) was committed to writing, the opponents of this act used arguments very similar to those of the Jewish Sages, who opposed the redaction of the oral law into a book. Nevertheless, Goldziher strongly rejects the assumption that this is a case of direct Jewish influence. An oral law is bound to appear sooner or later in a religion that possesses a written law, in order to answer new questions and needs which arise and are not solved by the written law. It is also natural that initially such a suggestion will meet with fierce opposition, but gradually the oral law will take its place alongside the written law and even overshadow it, in matters of both doctrine and practice. In Islam this is even explicitly expressed by the saying that the oral law, the *Sunna* of the Prophet, may change or even abrogate explicit statements of the *Qur'ān*. Both in Judaism and Islam it is explicitly stated that the later sayings of the oral law are as sacred and binding as the early words of the legislator. In Judaism this was formulated by Rabbi Joshua ben Levi: "Even what an outstanding student may point out to his teacher in the future was already said to Moses on Mount Sinai" (TJ, Ḥag. 1, 8); and in Islam, in the paradoxical sayings ascribed to the Prophet Muhammad, such as: "All beautiful things that are said stem from me, whether I have said them or not."[8]

Another example is the commandment of Islam to make, at least once in a lifetime, the pilgrimage to the holy places in Mecca. Abraham I. Katsh maintains that this practice was adopted from Judaism (see Ex. 23:14ff; Deut. 16:16–17).[9] Yet the assumption is unfounded. The Ḥajj was a common practice in the Arabian peninsula already in pre-Islamic times, and it was adopted by Islam, which gave it an ethiological and monotheistic interpretation, just as Judaism did with the many pagan relics it preserved.

There are, of course, many cases in which direct influence of one religion on another can be established with certainty, especially direct influence of Judaism on Islam; not only in basic concepts and ideas, biblical narratives[10] (such as the stories of the Patriarchs) and laws, but also with regard to minor details, of which two examples are given here, though the main subject of this article is the second stage of Muslim-Jewish interaction, in which Judaism was influenced by Islam.

Originally, the Islamic fast, which is now Ramadan, was held on the tenth day of the first month, from sunset to sunset, like the Jewish Day of Atonement. The change to a whole month's fast was probably the result of Muhammad's disillusion with the Jews and his wish to sever relations with Judaism. Nevertheless, an interesting example of Jewish influence is seen in the verse of the *Qur'ān*: "… and eat and drink until you distinguish between the white thread that becomes distinct to you from the black thread at dawn (or: of the dawn)" (Sura II, 187). The source of this verse is almost certainly the Mishnah Ber. 1, 1: "When is the morning prayer said? When blue can be distinguished from white." For the Jew, wrapped in his usually white prayer shawl with blue stripes, these words had a real meaning, but transferred to an entirely foreign sphere they reveal the direct influence of Judaism.[11]

To the same category belongs a passage of the story in the *Qur'ān* of Joseph (Sura XII) and its commentaries. When Potiphar's wife heard that the women were gossiping about her passion for Joseph, she invited them to a meal and gave each a knife. When Joseph entered, they were so overwhelmed by his handsomeness that they cut themselves. The knife was presumably to cut fruit which was placed before them, but the name of the fruit is not given in the *Qur'ān*. The story is also found in later Midrashim, e.g., the *Midrash ha-Gadol*, which was composed under Muslim influence of the *Qur'ān*. But the commentators state that it was the etrog, the citron, a fruit which was completely unknown in the northern Arabian peninsula. The Israelites, on the other hand, already knew this fruit, perhaps even as early as the Babylonian captivity, and they perhaps transmitted this story to Islam together with the story of Joseph.[12]

ISLAMIC INFLUENCE ON JUDAISM. We now return to the second period in the history of Jewish-Muslim relations, the long period in which Islam exerted its influence on Judaism. This investigation is still in its initial stage, even though many scholars – mainly Jewish – have dealt with it since the 19th century, and the results of their research are published in scores of books and hundreds of articles scattered through periodicals and books.

The philosophical and theological influence of Islam on Jewish thought in the Middle Ages, or on the history and way of life of the Jews in Muslim culture, is now generally recognized. The many studies of Goldziher (published mainly in REJ and MGWJ, and most of them now collected in several volumes by D. Desomogyi) have perhaps also brought about a general recognition of the fact that Muslim sources contain much material for the study of Jewish history and the religious way of life. But only few scholars, especially S.D. Goitein, G. Vajda, N. Wieder and M. Zucker, have hitherto discussed the influence of Islamic religious terminology and practice on Jewish literature and practice. S.D. Goitein's monumental *A Mediterranean Society* has become a major breakthrough in this respect as well, although its more important contributions lie, of course, in the completely new description and analysis of Jewish social and economic history under Islam in the Middle Ages.

Judeo-Arabic also has been studied so far mainly from its linguistic angle – as the counterpart of Christian-Arabic – or as an additional aspect of middle Arabic. Arabic was the main language of the Jews in speech and religious literature in all its varieties; a close examination may help to appreciate the tremendous religious influence of Islam on Jewish medieval scholars, which is more than a mere linguistic phenomenon. Scores of religious Islamic terms permeated Jewish literature, including denominations of the Torah by *Qur'ānic* terms such as *al-Kitāb, al-Shari'a, al-Maṣḥaf, al-Nūzūl, Um al-Kitāb* and even *al-Qur'ān*. Chapters of the Torah were called "Suras" (verses retained their Hebrew name, *Pasuq*, although for the plural an Arabic form was used, *Pawāsīq*). The oral law was called *Sunna* or *Fiqh*, the cantor *Imām*, Jerusalem became *Dār-a-Salām*, Abraham *Khalīl Allah*, Moses *Rasūl-Allah* like Muhammad; the Messiah was called *al-Qā'im al-Muntaẓar* like the awaited Messiah of the Shi'ites; the direction of prayer to the east was named *al-Qibla,* which is the name the Muslims gave their direction of prayer to the south towards Mecca. There are, in addition, hundreds of religious words that may be classified as mere linguistic phenomena, such as *al-Mu'minūn* (the believers); *Nawāfil* (optional prayer); *Jamā'a* (congregation, community; also minyan, the quorum of ten men required for Jewish prayer); *Bid'a* (undesirable religious innovation), etc.[13] In contrast to the west, where Jews never used their non-Hebrew names for religious purposes, Jews used their Arabic names in the synagogue, in marriage contracts, etc.

Combined Hebrew-Arabic phrases, such as *Ṣalāt al-Shaḥarit*, or *Laylat al-Pesaḥ*, and such terms as *Qādī* and

Muftī (judge) and *Fatwā* (*halakhic* responsa) were also widely used. Apart from these, Jewish literature is full of literal quotations from the *Qur'ān* and the Ḥadīth, as well as from later religious literature of Islam. Medieval translations of Arabic works into Hebrew, such as Abraham ben Ḥasdai's translation of al-Ghazālī's *Mīzān al-Amāl* ("The Scales of Justice"), also retained Qur'ānic verses and Ḥadīth sayings in the Hebrew version, but sometimes added biblical verses and sayings of the Jewish Sages.[14] The Jewish authors often changed the proper names, but seldom the quotation itself. For instance, instead of "Aisha," the wife of the Prophet Muhammad, they quoted "the Prophetess Deborah"; instead of writing "said Umar ibn Khattāb," they wrote "said Rabbi Akiva"; they replaced Abū Ḥanīfa and al-Shāfi'ī by Ravina and Rav Ashi; the expression "said the Messenger of Allah" by "said one of the Prophets" or "one of the sons of the Prophets" and "the words of al-Saḥāba" ("the Companions of the Prophets") by "the words of our Sages," etc.[15] Moreover, in the Cairo *Genizah* (see below, note 32) and other places, verses of the *Qur'ān* (especially the two last Suras) and fragments of Arabic religious literature (for instance, verses of the mystic martyr al-Ḥallāj or of al-Ghazālī's autobiography) were found in Arabic, but in Hebrew transcription, apparently for use as amulets or for study. During the Middle Ages the whole *Qur'ān* was also transcribed word for word in Hebrew characters. Unlike some scholars, who consider the use of Hebrew characters in writing Arabic proof of the fact that the spiritual assimilation of the Jews to Islamic culture was less extensive than their assimilation to modern European culture, it is maintained that the Jewish use of Arabic is much more than a mere linguistic phenomenon and had far-reaching cultural-religious repercussions. Medieval Judaism in the Arab East was not only arabicized, but in almost every sphere of life – and not only in philosophy and theology – it bore the stamp of Islam.[16]

A few examples, some better known than others, are given here. The first is taken from the field of linguistics, but its significance exceeds this field by far. The linguistic skill of the Arabs and their veneration of the Arabic language, from the dawn of their civilization (cf. pre-Islamic poetry), may be one of the reasons that the *Qur'ān*, the Word of Allah, may have been one of the best miraculous proofs of the truth of Muhammad's message (just as, according to the Ḥadīth, the previous prophets had performed their own miracles, each in conformity with the characteristics of either his people or times).[17] Hence the interesting Muslim theological doctrine, according to which the *Qur'ān* is superior to other holy writs not only from the religious, but also (and mainly) from the linguistic-stylistic viewpoint and, therefore, cannot be imitated by men.[18] This veneration of language as such was adopted by the medieval Jews (Moses ibn Ezra was one of the intermediaries) and even led to a revival of Hebrew among them to attempt to demonstrate that Hebrew was in no way inferior to the rich language of their Muslim neighbors. Even the Muslim belief that the Quraish, the tribe to which the prophet belonged, spoke a purer language than the other Arabs, had its Jewish parallel in the belief that the tribes of Yehuda and Binyamin, or the Jerusalemites, spoke the purest form of Hebrew.[18]

The second example is from the field of history. It was a strange phenomenon, alien to the spirit of the People of the Book, that some of our false messiahs, who appeared in the shadow of Islam, boasted of their illiteracy and were proud to claim that they could neither read nor write. This motif is found in Judaism only in the appearance of some later false messiahs. Again, we may have here an obvious case of Muslim influence, namely of the concept of *al-Nabī al-Ummi*, a title conferred on Muhammad on the basis of an obscure expression in the *Qur'an*, the original meaning of which was that Muhammad considered himself the prophet who was sent to all nations, but very soon it was interpreted as "the prophet who cannot read and write."[19]

This motif was transmitted to Judaism, but it is so alien to the spirit of Judaism that it justifies the assumption that it was a Muslim motif which the false messiahs needed to rally the ignorant masses of Israel behind them.

The next example belongs to an entirely different sphere. Judaism and Islam both possess a special class of literature which, to a large extent, fulfills the part that is taken in other cultures by the written law, the responsa literature. This literature consists of legal decisions given in answer to questions by individuals. These responsa (*Fatwā*, pl. *Fatāwā*, in Arabic) have the force of decisions of law, and have been collected in tens of books which, both in Judaism and Islam, serve as textbooks of legal precedents and as the basis of subsequent decisions. It is true that Roman law also knew this genre of legal literature (*Jus Respondendi*), and the assumption that the Jewish and Muslim responsa literature was derived from the Roman practice cannot be rejected out of hand.

However, with regard to Judaism and Islam, it is difficult to establish with certainty what preceded what. In general, one can state, however, that a great part of Muslim religious law developed in Iraq was influenced to a certain extent by the Jewish *halakhic* activity, which reached its zenith there under the *Geonim*. It seems, therefore, reasonable to assume, with Goitein, that the well-developed *halakhic* literature left its imprint on the early law of Islam, but, on the other hand, the possibility should be considered that the development of Jewish *halakhah* received momentum as a result of the rise and influence of Islam.[20] Moreover, it should be kept in mind that Islam had the same needs as Judaism, which led to the growth of a similar *halakhic* literature, and vice versa. The tremendous socioeconomic revolution the Jews faced under Muslim rule (their transition from a people of farmers to a people of merchants) led to the rise of laws similar to those of Islam, which is, to a considerable extent, the product of a middle-class, mercantile civilization.[21]

However this may be, the fact remains that the two religions, Judaism and Islam, seem to be the only *halakhic* religions in the world (the Muslim name for *halakhah* is *Sharī'a*, meaning the main road; and the various *halakhic* schools are called *Madhāhib,* a root also related to "going" and expressing – just like the Hebrew term **halakhah* – the idea of a "way of life"). As mentioned above, both possess a sacred oral law alongside the written law, and both have created a huge literature of religious law, chiefly by means of rational analogy. In both, this was the work of independent religious scholars (*Fuqahā,* ʿ*Ulamā* – in Arabic), and in both, different schools of law are all considered equally orthodox. In both, religious preoccupation with the religious law is considered a Divine precept, and both even believe that God Himself engages in the same activity together with His heavenly companions; both have similar basic principles (cf., for instance, the idea that "the power of permission is preferable," in the Babylonian Talmud, *Ber.* 60a, with the end of Sura II in the Koran) and categories to classify all human deeds and scores of identical legal details. It is, however, impossible to determine with certainty when the literary genre of Responsa first appeared, or whether it was the result of the influence of one religion on another. There are hardly any Jewish responsa from the time preceding R. Yehuda Gaon (middle of the 8th century), and in Islam there were, up to the same time, only a few "private" responsa from such individuals as Ibrāhīm al-Nakh'i of al-Kufa, who lived in the first century of the Hegira. According to those scholars who believe that this literary genre already occurs in the Talmud, and that the *geonim* only continued the work of earlier Jewish Sages, the responsa literature would have been taken over by Islam from Judaism, but the question still requires thorough research.[22] I. Goldziher, on the other hand, showed that, in some details at least, the influence of Islamic responsa literature on Judaism can be asserted with some certainty. Much of the Jewish responsa literature in Islamic countries was written in Arabic, and the questions addressed to the Sage from all over the world sometimes open with this formula: "Let our master teach us, and may the Lord give him a double reward." But why a double reward? Goldziher showed that this formula is based on a popular Ḥadīth saying, ascribed to the Prophet, which says: "If a judge rules with deliberation and his decision is right, he shall receive a double reward from the Lord."[23]

One more example of responsa literature illustrates Islamic influence on Judaism, even though this whole literary religious genre may have first started in Islam under Jewish influence. Jewish religious literature proscribes the playing of any musical instrument as a token of mourning over the destruction of the Temple. However, during the period between Saadiah Gaon and Maimonides, another strange argument for this prohibition was added: here it is linked to the immoral ways of musicians and singers (especially female singers). It seems that this reflects the general religious Muslim negative attitude to music (with the exception of the pietist Sufis, who cultivated religious music). Some Muslim scholars even forbade singers and musicians to appear as witnesses in court, since their profession made them unfit to give evidence. Jewish Sages in the same period followed this example and forbade singers to give evidence in court since they were considered transgressors.[24]

RABBI ABRAHAM, THE SON OF MAIMONIDES. This final chapter deals with the interesting topic of Rabbi Abraham, the son of Maimonides, who succeeded his father as the head of the Jewish community in Egypt (1204–37), and more generally with the influence of Muslim Sufi pietism and mysticism on Judaism. This Muslim movement and its marvelous religious literature had a tremendous impact on the Jews, who were attracted by it even more than by Arab philosophy.[25] That some Jews actually joined Sufi groups is attested by Muslim sources, as well as by Jewish letters from the *genizah.* S.D. Goitein published a heartrending letter from a poor Jewish woman to the Nagid David (probably the David II Maimonides who, in the middle of the 14th century, became one of the leaders of Egyptian Jewry), in which she implores him to help her bring her husband Basir back to her from the company of "al-Fuqarā" (the Muslim mystics; literally: the poor). Basir had forsaken his wife and children and taken up residence in a Sufi convent on a mountain near Cairo. His wife expressed her fear that he would abandon Judaism and that their three children would follow his example.[26]

Fragments of poetical and prose works of the Muslim mystics, in their original language but in Hebrew transcription, were found in the Cairo Genizah, and R. Abraham Gavison of Tlemcen in Algeria (d. 1605) says in his commentary on the Proverbs that "every educated man must be impressed by the great philosopher Abu Ḥamid al-Ghazālī," whose books are studied by many Jewish scholars.[27] Al-Ghazālī was, of course, not only one of the great Muslim thinkers, but also an outstanding Sufi pietist. Jewish writers, however, never reached the same degree of extreme ecstasy which the Muslim mystics sought, and which induced them to tear down the partitions between religions, between good and evil, and even between God and man.

The story of R. Abraham the son of Maimonides is one of the most striking episodes in the history of this influence.[28] R. Abraham (d. 1237), who had inherited the function of *Ra'īs al-Yahūd* (leader of the Jews) from his father, was not only a leader and a *halakhic* scholar (see the volume of his responsa published by C. Freiman and S.D. Goitein), but also an outstanding Sufi. He wrote a great pietist Sufi compendium named *Kifāyat al-'ābidīn* ("The Sufficient Book for the Servants of God"), and tried to win his generation over to the Sufi way of life and to prove to them, with the help of a great many quotations from Jewish sources, that this was the true way for God-fearing men. Although opinions differ as to his sources, there is no doubt that he was deeply influenced by the world of Sufism, with which he had become closely acquainted in Egypt.[29] Rabbi Abraham argued that Islam, especially in its Sufi version, preserved many elements of the practices and teachings of the ancient Jewish Sages, which the latter had intentionally neglected with the appearance of pietist heretic circles. Among these elements were kneeling and prostration during prayer, ritual immersions, nightly prayers, etc. Early Islam adopted these ceremonies, as well as the attendant feelings of awe for the Day of Judgment and disgust at this world.

In the world of Islam all these elements were developed in a special way in the Sufi movement, and that is why they are so closely related to the ancient Jewish Sages.

R. Abraham did not, however, content himself with theoretical study alone. His conviction induced him to demand the return to the ancestral customs by imitating the Muslim surroundings, for instance in the matter of prayer. In one section of his work he suggests the removal of pillows from the synagogues and, instead, the spreading of prayer mats and carpets on the floor as in the mosques, and to the practice of prostration in prayer, like the Muslims,[30] and he praises the respectful silence in the mosques, which was in flagrant contrast to the noise and lack of devotion in the synagogues of his day. R. Abraham's suggestion, however, was not adopted, as we learn from the *genizah* documents. The members of his congregation filed a complaint against him with al-Malik al-'Ādil, the ruler, the brother and heir of Saladin, that he tried to force upon them innovations (*bid'a*) forbidden by their religion. This was in contravention of the laws of Islam, which in this respect were also applied to the non-Muslim communities under its jurisdiction. R. Abraham was compelled to apologize to the Muslim ruler and to announce that he did not intend to abuse his authority as leader of the Jewish community by introducing such religious innovations.[31]

Judeo-Arabic culture should not, therefore, be treated as a Jewish culture which merely expressed itself in Arabic, but as a common Jewish-Muslim culture cultivated by Jews who lived under the rule of Islam, spoke Arabic, and were deeply influenced not only by some spheres of Islamic civilization, such as Muslim philosophy, but by Islam as a religion in its widest sense.

Notes

1. H.A.R. Gibb, "The Influence of Islamic Culture on Medieval Europe," in: *John Rylands Library Bulletin* 38 (1955–56), 82–98, esp. 85–87.
2. See, e.g., R. Moses b. Maimon, *Responsa*, ed. and transl. from the Arabic into Hebrew by J. Blau, Jerusalem, 1957, II, 726ff (in Hebrew). This does not mean that Jewish Sages, Maimonides included, refrained from stressing the basic differences and points of dispute between Judaism and Islam.
3. Cf. *Mishnah*, Ber. 5:1, 5: "None may stand up to say the *Tefillah* save in sober mood. The pious men of old used to wait an hour before they said the *Tefillah*, that they might direct their heart towards God."
4. S.D. Goitein, *Jews and Arabs: Their Contacts through the Ages*, Schocken, N.Y. 1955, 178–79.
5. Many of those regulations were taken over by Islam from Byzantine legislation. Cf. A.S. Tritton, *The Caliphs and Their Non-Muslim Subjects* (London, 1930) and *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, v. dhimma.
6. This aspect was especially stressed by J. Guttmann in his studies. See, e.g., his *Philosophies of Judaism* (transl. by D.W. Silverman), The Jewish Publication Society of America, Phila., Pa., 1964, Ch. II, and see his article, "Religion u. Wissenschaft im mittelalterlichen u. modernen Denken," in: *Festschrift zum 50. Bestehen der Hochschule für die Wissenschaft des Judentums, Berlin,* 1922, 146–240. In spite of the feeling of alliance, as it were, there also flourished, of course, a whole genre of polemic literature, especially Islamic polemics against Judaism and Christianity, often composed by Jewish or Christian converts to Islam. Cf. M. Perlmann, "The Medieval Polemics between Judaism and Islam," in: S.D. Goitein (ed.), *Religion in a Religious Age*, Association for Jewish Studies, Ktav Publishing House, New York, 1974, 103ff., and especially the general bibliography mentioned there on 135–38. Cf. now also his ed. and transl. of *Shaykh Damanhuri on the Churches of Cairo*, University of California Press, 1975, and see Hava Lazarus-Yafeh, *Studies in Al-Ghazzali*, Jerusalem, Magnes Press, Appendix A.
7. See G. Weil, *Oral Tradition in Judaism and Islam* (Hebrew), Magnes Anniversary Book, Jerusalem, 1938, 132–42. (English summary, ibid., xxxi–xxxviii)
8. Cf. I. Goldziher, *Vorlesungen über den Islam*, Heidelberg, 1925, Ch. II, 44.
9. See A.I. Katsh, *Judaism in Islam, Biblical and Talmudic Backgrounds of the Koran and its Commentators*, New York, 1954, Sura II, 193, 137–39, and cf. my review of the Hebrew translation of this book (in Hebrew) in: *Ha-Mizrah he-Ḥadash* (*The New East*), *Quarterly of the Israel Oriental Society*, 9 (1958–59), 111–12.
10. A. Geiger's above-mentioned study was translated into English by M. Young as *Judaism and Islam*, Madras, 1848 (and reprinted by Ktav, New York, 1970, with a prolegomenon by M. Perlmann), and was followed by many studies. It should be noted here again that many of these Jewish (and Christian) stories *(Isrā'īliyyāt)* were "islamicized," as it were, and elaborated upon in special Muslim collections called *Qiṣaṣ al-Anbiyā*. Afterwards these Islamic versions of ancient biblical stories exercised clear influence on late Hebrew Midrashim, thus proving once more the "closed circle" relationship mentioned above between the two cultures. Cf. e.g., J. Heinemann, *Aggadah and Its Development* (Hebrew), Jerusalem, 1973, Ch. 12 (on the late Midrash "Pirkei de Rabbi Eliezer"). The study and translation of the various "*Qiṣaṣ al-Anbiyā*" as a literary genre of Arabic religious literature has only recently been begun.
11. G. Vajda, "Jeune Musulmane et Jeune Juif," in: HUCA, 12–13 (1938), 369. *Encyclopaedia of Islam,* v. Ramaḍān (S.D. Goitein).
12. Cf. Encyclopedia Judaica, **Etrog*." See also S.D. Goitein, *Jews and Arabs*, 193. According to Goitein, this specific Arabic version of the Joseph story may have its origins in early Persian literature, ibid., 194–95.
13. Cf. J. Blau, *The Emergence and Linguistic Background of Judeo-Arabic*, Oxford, 1965 (third revised edition, Jerusalem, 1999), 158ff (Appendix II, c). Idem, in: *Tarbiz*, Quarterly for Jewish Studies, 15 (1970–71), 512–14; see also the innumerable Judeo-Arabic texts, such as Saadiah Gaon's *Siddur* (Book of Prayers), his translations of the Bible into Arabic or his famous

Kitāb al-Amānāt wal-I'tiqādāt (Book of Beliefs and Opinions; transl. into English by S. Rosenblatt, Yale University Press). The same holds true for Judeo-Persian Literature. Cf. e.g., H.H. Paper, *A Judeo-Persian Pentateuch*, Jerusalem, 1972, passim. This may mean that we deal not only with Arabic linguistic influences, but with Islamic influences.

14. The Hebrew translation of the book was published with a Hebrew introduction by J. Goldenthal, Paris, 1839, with the title *Compendium Doctrinae Ethicae, auctore al-Ghazzali Tusensi, philosophe Arabum clarissimo, de arabico hebraice conversum ab Abrahamo bar Chasdai Barcinonensi (liber argumento luculentissimus et oratione dulcissimus…)*. Cf. also M. Gottstein, "Translations and Translators in the Middle Ages," in: *Gotthold E. Weil Jubilee Volume*, Jerusalem 1953, 74–80.

15. A.S. Halkin (ed. and transl. into Hebrew), Moshe b. Ya'akov ibn Ezra, *Kitāb al-Muḥadāra wal-l-Mudhākara, Liber Discussions et Commemorationis (Poetica Hebraica)*, passim, and see A.S. Yahuda (ed.), *Al-Hidāya Ilā Farā'id Al-Qulūb des Bahja ibn Jōsēf Ibn Paqudā aus Andalusien*, Leiden 1912. Introduction (German), Ch. 3.

16. See S.D. Goitein's monumental *A Mediterranean Society*, especially Vol. 2, *The Community*, University of California Press, 1971, and Vol. 3, *Daily Life and the Individual*, 1976. As for specific influences cf. also N. Wieder, *Islamic Influences on Jewish Worship* (Hebrew), Oxford, 1957, or M. Zucker, "The Problem of "Isma – Prophetic Immunity to Sin and Error in Islamic and Jewish Literatures" (Hebrew), in: *Tarbiẓ*, 35 (1966), 149–73 (English summary p. VII). Yet one has to be very careful, especially when dealing with details. Cf. e.g., S.D. Goitein's review of J. Blau's edition of Maimonides' *Responsa*, "Maimonides as Chief Justice," in: JQR, 49 (1958–9), 191–204, especially 198, n. 25. Nevertheless, the fact of Islamic influence on medieval Oriental Judaism is today acknowledged almost unanimously among students of Jewish history. Cf. also A.S. Halkin, "Judeo-Arabic Literature," in: L. Finkelstein (ed.) *The Jews, Their History, Culture and Religion,* Vol. 2, New York, 1960, 1116–48; G. Vajda, *Introduction à la Pensée Juive au Moyen Age*, Paris, 1947. It is interesting to discern the same acknowledgement of general influence and the same reservation with regard to specific religious influences in the study of Islamic influences on the Christian West. As against this, see, e.g., G. Makdisi's studies, for example his article "The Scholastic Method in Medieval Education…," in: *Speculum*, 49 (1974), 640–61, esp. 641, 661.

17. Cf. EIS^2 v. *i'djāz*.

18. Cf. A.S. Halkin, "The Medieval Attitude Toward Hebrew," in: A. Altmann (ed.) *Biblical and Other Studies*, Brandeis University, P.W. Lown Institute of Advanced Studies, Studies and Texts I, Harvard University Press, 1963, and Moshe Ibn Ezra, ibid., p. 42ff, 54ff.

19. See EIS v. *Ummī.* I. Goldziher, *Vorlesungen*, ibid., Ch. I, 27ff. Cf. also W.M. Watt, *Bell's Introduction into the Qur'ān*, Edinburgh, 1970 (Islamic Surveys 8), 33ff.

20. See J. Schacht, *An Introduction into Islamic Law*, Oxford 1964, 20–21; S.D. Goitein, *Jews and Arabs*, 59–61; idem, Introduction into Muslim Law, in: Goitein and Ben-Shemesh, *Muslim Law in Israel* (Hebrew), Jerusalem, 1957. For a different view with regard to the responsa, see A.J. Rosenthal, *Judaism and Islam*, Popular Jewish Library, 1961, 55. See also M.A. Friedman, "The Ransom Divorce, Proceedings in Medieval Jewish Practice," in: *Israel Oriental Studies*, 6 (1976), 288–307, esp. 298–99.

21. See S.D. Goitein, *Jews and Arabs*, Ch. VI, 89ff. and cf. idem, *A Mediterranean Society, Vol. 1: Economic Foundations*, University of California Press, 1967, esp. Chs. 2, 3.

22. Cf. also EIS^2, v. *Fatwā*.

23. I. Goldziher, "Über eine Formel in der jüdischen Responsa Literatur und in den Muh. Fatwas," in: ZDMG, 53 (1899), 645–52 (Jewish medieval sources trace this formula back to Isaiah 57:14).

24. Cf. B.M. Lewin (ed.), *Oẓar ha-Ge'onim*, Gittīn, Jerusalem, 1941, 10, Responsum 20. On music in Islam, see now A. Shiloh, "The Dimension of Sound," in: B. Lewis (ed.), *The World of Islam*, London, 1976, esp. 168. Cf. also EIS^2, v. *"Adl*; EIS, v. *Shāhid;* and Th. W. Juynboll, *Handbuch des Islamischen Gesetzes*, Leiden, 1910, 316.

25. Cf. e.g., G. Vajda, "La Théologie Ascetique de Bahya ibn Paquda," in: *Cahiers de la Société Asiatique*, 7 (1947); F. Rosenthal, "A Judeo-Arabic Work under Sufi influence," in: HUCA, 15 (1940), 443–84; R.J.Z. Werblowsky, "Faith, Hope and Trust: A Study in the Concept of Bitaḥon," in: *Annual of Jewish Studies*, London, 1964, 118ff.

26. S.D. Goitein, "A Jewish Addict to Sufism," in: JQR, 44 (1953), 37–49.

27. *Omer ha-Shikhḥah* (Hebrew), Livorno, 1748, 138a.

28. For a full account, see S.D. Goitein, "Abraham Maimonides and his Pietist Circle" (English), in: A. Altmann (ed.), *Jewish Medieval and Renaissance Studies*, P.W. Lown Institute of Advanced Jewish Studies, Brandeis University, Studies and Texts 4, Harvard University Press, 1967, 145–64; and the bibliography mentioned there in note 1. Cf. also idem, i.e., "A Treatise in Defense of the Pietists by Abraham Maimonides," in: JJS, 16 (1966), 105–14; *Jews and Arabs*, 182ff.; *A Mediterranean Society*, Vol. 2, 1971, 156–57, 406–7; G. Cohen, "The Soteriology of R. Abraham Maimoni," in: PAAJR, 35 (1967), 75–98; 36 (1968), 33–48. An analysis, edition, and English translation of parts of R. Abraham's *Kifāyat al- "Abīdīn* is to be found in S. Rosenblatt (ed.), *The Highways to Perfection of Abraham Maimonides*, 1, New York, 1927; 2, Baltimore, 1938.

29. Scholars are divided upon the question, and some, like G. Cohen, try to minimize Islamic influences on R. Abraham.

30. It may be important to note here that in many aspects there is a much greater affinity between a synagogue and a mosque than between the former and a church, especially a Catholic church. Cf. for example, the common prohibition of paintings and sculptures of men and animals, based on Exodus 20:4–5 and Sūra V, 91 and the commentaries thereon. (This prohibition did not hinder the rise of the fine arts, especially in Islam. Cf. K.A.C. Creswell, "The Lawfulness of Painting in Early Islam," in: *Ars Islamica*, 11 (1946), 159–66, and cf. EI-Sūra; cf. now

also the general survey of R. Ettinghausen, “Decorative Arts and Paintings: Their Character and Scope,” in: J. Schacht and C.E. Bosworth (ed.): *The Legacy of Islam*, Oxford, 1974; 274ff. and the bibliography mentioned there 291–92.) Suffice it to mention here that the religious laws of both Judaism and Islam permit paintings, sculptures, etc., of people and animals, only if they are maimed or put on the earth to be trodden upon.
31. The most interesting documents concerning this affair were preserved in the Cairo Genizah (see S.D. Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society*, Vol. I, Introduction, and idem (ed.) *Religion in a Religious Age*, 139ff.).

[Hava Lazarus-Yafeh]

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JUDEO-FRENCH, the Old French spoken and written by medieval French and Rhenish Jewry. It should be stated from the outset that there probably never existed a Judeo-French dialect, with specific Jewish traits. The term applies only to Jewish activities in medieval France, which had French as their vehicle. The mother tongue of the Jews in France during the Middle Ages was what is now called Old French. It was identical with the language spoken by the other inhabitants of the region with whom they lived in close contact. The Latin which they originally spoke underwent the same evolution and the same geographical diversification: thus the Jews of Normandy spoke the Norman dialect, those of Troyes that of Champagne, those of Dijon, Burgundian. They spoke it at home, in the market, at the synagogue, and at school. Rabbinical discussions were conducted in Old French, and it was sometimes even the language of prayer. The pronunciation of Hebrew was gallicized, חַיִּים being pronounced *agin*. Very few Hebrew words relating exclusively to Jewish traditional practices were used even in prayers: most were gallicized, such as *plain* for פְּשַׁט; *bonteable* for חָסִיד. The names adopted by Jews were French: *Colon* (= יוֹנָה), *Bendit* (= בָּרוּךְ), *Vives* (= חַיִּים), *Quinet* (*Jacquinet* = יַעֲקֹב), *Monet* (*Simonet* = שִׁמְעוֹן), *Belasez* (*Belle assez*), *Fleurdelis*.

The written word, however, had a different appearance, since the Jews preferred Hebrew characters, the Latin ones being too strongly identified with the Church. This transliteration had undergone its own evolution from the Latin period and obeyed its own orthographic rules. The Latin *k*, when pronounced [*tš*] in Old French, was still rendered by ק, a diacritical mark showing the new value: ק; the Latin *j*, Old French [dzh], was transcribed by י with a diacritical mark until the 13th century; and the Latin *u*, becoming the French [ü], was written יֻ. The spelling testifies to dialectal differences in keeping with, and stemming from, knowledge of the Latin characters of Old French. The best-known Old French words in Jewish texts are the (glosses) in commentaries on the Bible and Talmud. Somewhat older are the glosses in the commentaries of *Menahem b. Ḥelbo and the Pseudo-Gershom. From the 12th century onward French glosses appeared in all the rabbinic writings of French and English Jewry: biblical and talmudic commentaries, responsa, halakhic treatises, prayer books, codes of law and custom, and financial records, as well as in the margins of innumerable manuscripts. Far more important, however, are the biblical glossaries, of which only six more or less complete 13th-century examples are still extant, although there are fragments of nine more. They contain tens of thousands of Old French words rendering the Scriptures into the vernacular. Together with two complete biblical dictionaries and the fragments of two more, these testify to a continuous translation of the Bible into French as taught in Jewish schools and houses of study. Because of their traditional character, they carried a certain number of ancient Old French words which had disappeared from gentile literary usage, pointing to Normandy as the likely home of the French version. Because of a misleading impression given by the Hebrew script and a false analogy with and – not to speak of a general ignorance of the Old French dialects – a mistaken idea of a distinctive Judeo-French dialect came into being. There are, however, few reasons to doubt that Jews in France spoke and even prayed in the Old French of their Gentile surroundings. Only a few liturgical poems, written according to French literary norms, have survived, and their quality suggests a wide use of this medium in religious services and ceremonies.

French seems to have been the vernacular in Rhineland Jewries in the early Middle Ages and some Old French words were thus carried over into Yiddish, for example *chalant* (חַמִּין, literally “being warm” – *tsholent*). This also accounts for the gallicized form of the official name of certain Jewish communities: *Aspire* (Speyer), *Germèse* (Worms), *Magence* (Mainz); and in English Jewry, *Londres* (London) and *Nicol* (Lincoln).

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[Menahem Banitt / Cyril Aslanov (2nd ed.)]

JUDEO-GREEK. The Judeo-Greek language is known from medieval times onward. It contains an element of Hebrew and Aramaic origin in its vocabulary and grammar and is written in Hebrew characters. Since the 15th century there has also been an element of Turkish origin. Three examples of the Hebrew element are *Yavan* (Javan, Gen. 10:1–2, used in Hebrew for Greece=Ionia), “a Greek”; *ḥamor* (donkey), “a dunce”; *akhlantzis* (Heb. *akhlan*), “glutton.” The earliest Judeo-Greek glosses are considered to be those in the *Arukh* (c. 1101), the talmudic dictionary by Rabbi *Nathan ben Jehiel of Rome. Two other early documents are a fragment of Ecclesiastes translated into Greek and a translation of Jonah containing elements foreign to the language spoken in the 13th century. A fragment of a Greek mishnaic glossary of 124 Hebrew words with their Greek equivalents has been assigned to the 10th or 11th century because of the colloquial phenomena familiar from Byzantine epigraphy; and a Hebrew manuscript of 99 words (1408 – Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris) probably dates from about 1250. A beautiful parchment manuscript of the Book of Jonah found at Candia, Crete, in which the copy's sale in 1263 is recorded, is thought to be the earliest known relic in Judeo-Greek, because the language employed is nearer to ancient Greek than that of any other relic of Byzantine literature (Oxford, Bodleian Library, 1144). Another translation of Jonah (3574, University of Bologna) occurs in a *maḥzor* written in the Corfu dialect dating from the 15th century. Another important document of this period is a fragment of a manuscript located in the National Library in Jerusalem. This includes a brief commentary on Psalms, Lamentations, and Ecclesiastes (see bibliography). The most extensive Judeo-Greek work intended for Greek-speaking Jews of the Balkan peninsula is the translation of the Constantinople Polyglot Pentateuch (1547). The total absence of Turkish words has led some scholars to conclude that the Judeo-Greek Pentateuch was written at least two centuries before the date of publication. There are some archaisms in this work, but they are exceptional. In most translations, as well as in many original works, vowels are indicated by vowel signs (in addition to the vowel letters). The sound "a" was indicated by *kamaẓ* or *pattaḥ* (often with a following *alef*); the sound "i" by *ḥirik* (followed by *yod*); "e" by *ẓeireh* (followed by *yod*); "o" by a full *ḥolam*; and "u" by a *shuruk* or *kubbuẓ*. A Judeo-Greek translation of Job (Constantinople, 1576) was the work of Moses b. Eliezer Phobian (or Pobian), who states explicitly that his aim was to facilitate the teaching of the Hebrew language. Manuscript versions of these translations are to be found in the Bodleian Library, Oxford. There are several collections of Judeo-Greek hymns, one of which – *Yanniotika Evraika Traghoudhia* (1953) – contains 16 hymns, 13 of them previously unpublished. A hymn which begins "Ενας ό Κύριος όθεός" ("The Lord, God, is One") consists of eight stanzas, each of which has a two-word Hebrew refrain: "Israel Hallelujah." A Jewish liturgical song dating from the Renaissance, *Pismon tou Purim*, occurs in two forms: the Chalcis version (ten stanzas) and the superior Oxford version (24 stanzas). The vowel points of the former can be judged only by the vocalization of the Hebrew refrain, the words of which are "Merciful living God, the true King."

The Corfu linguist Papageorgios, editor of *O Israilitis Khronoghrafos* (published in Corfu), first announced the discovery of Judeo-Greek poetry in 1881. In 1889 and in 1900, he reproduced eight stanzas of a hymn entitled "Song Sung Formerly in the Synagogue of Corfu on the Sabbath." The same collection (no. 2, p. 3) contains fragments of 70 verses from an old manuscript, inspired by Isaiah and other biblical prophets. The Karaite Elijah Afeda Beghi produced a Judeo-Greek version in 1627 of the Aramaic chapters of Daniel and Ezra still in manuscript in 1914, while for the rest of the Bible he compiled a glossary of difficult words. The Karaites continued to use Judeo-Greek even after the fall of Constantinople in 1453. Judeo-Greek continued to be spoken and written in Janina, Prevesa, Larissa, Arta, Trikkala, Volos, Chalcis, and especially in Corfu and Zante. During the Nazi occupation of Greece, some Jews communicated with each other in Judeo-Greek as a protective measure. Except for those still familiar with *Ladino, Greek Jews of the post-World War II era spoke standard Greek.

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JUDEO-ITALIAN. Among the Jews living in central and southern Italy, a special dialect took shape from the early Middle Ages onward, particularly in Rome, which scholars have termed Judeo-Italian or Judeo-Roman (*giudeo-romanesco*). One of the several Judeo-Romance dialects which developed alongside the Romance vulgars, Judeo-Italian contains many linguistic elements common to all these dialects. With the formation of a major Jewish cultural center in Rome during the 13th–14th centuries, Judeo-Italian became a type of *koine* spoken by Jews throughout Italy, who called it *Latino* or *Volgare*. Although Jews spread its use as far as Venice and Piedmont to the north and Corfu in the Aegean to the east, the dialect retained its old, archaic form only in Rome, although here, too, it underwent modification and development over the generations. Judeo-Italian belongs to the south-central group of Italian dialects. Both written evidence and the spoken language itself show that a considerable part of the ancient Roman substratum – identical with the dialect of Rome and the surrounding areas spoken by non-Jews in the 13th century – is still recognizable in Judeo-Italian. However, together with this basic element, it is possible to detect the important influence of other central Italian dialects, such as those of the Marches, Campania, Umbria, and the Abruzzi. Judeo-Italian has also preserved still earlier elements, imported by Jews who immigrated from southern Italy and Sicily. A distinct development may be seen in the dialect's Judeo-Roman form during the 15th–16th centuries, although this became frozen after the Jews were isolated in the Roman ghetto from 1555 onward. The special linguistic peculiarities of Judeo-Italian are hard to determine because of the marked affinity of the various Italian dialects. The sole basis for its study lies in the classification and investigation of Judeo-Italian's archaic phonetic and morphological characteristics, as well as in its ancient vocabulary (which has been preserved as a result of Italian Jewry's historical mobility), such characteristics having long vanished in other Italian dialects. The various linguistic phenomena characteristic of the Jewish dialects in general are recognizable in Judeo-Italian. They include (a) the creation of words with a Hebrew root and an Italian suffix, and vice versa – *achannoso* (<*ḥen*, "charming," "comely"), *dabberare* (<*dibber*, "to speak"), *achlone* (<*akhlan*, "glutton"); (b) the creation of mixed terms, half-Hebrew and half-Italian – *mal-mazzalle* ("bad luck," cf. Yiddish *shlimazl*), *magna-torà* ("Torah eater," applied to one who reads at an excessive speed), *perdi-zemàn* ("time loser," i.e., one who wastes time); (c) the preservation of many Hebrew words, including those relating to prayer, study, and worship, which did not readily lend themselves to translation – *cavanà* (<*kavvanah*, "devotion"), *chinianne* (<*kinyan*, "betrothal contract"), *sirichoddi* (<*seliḥot*, "penitential prayers"), *bangavanodde* (>*be-avonoteinu*, "for our sins," a nickname for an unfortunate, luckless person); (d) abstention from the use of Italian words relating to Christian ritual, or a deliberate distortion of such terms – *tonghevà* (<*to'evah*, "abomination," signifying "crucifix"); (e) the coining of approved or secret terms similar to the language of the underworld – *jorbedde* (from י״ב "twelve" = "policeman," a nickname given to the policemen because of the number "12" embroidered on their uniform); (f) the use of Hebrew words in a sense differing from the accepted meaning, or the rejection of one Hebrew word in favor of a synonym – *chavèr* (<*ḥaver*, for "servant"), *beridde* (<*berit*, for "sex organ"), *ngarelle* (<*arel*, for "non-Jew"); (g) a tendency, especially in translations, to use homophones or Italian words reminiscent of identical or similar Hebrew terms.

Judeo-Italian Literature

Judeo-Italian literature may be said to include all the works intentionally written in the dialect, using Hebrew orthography and the set rules of transliteration. The outstanding original work is a Lamentation for the Ninth of Av written at the beginning of the 13th century and based on literary motifs borrowed from the Midrash. This Lamentation, one of the earliest poetic texts in Italian, possesses considerable literary value and the author was apparently influenced in his choice of style by the Italian religious poetry of his time. Other documents which have survived include a "Hymn in honor of Queen Sabbath" by Mordecai b. Judah *Dato (published by Cecil Roth, see appended bibliography). In addition, it would appear that Judeo-Italian was the language in which R. Moses *Rieti wrote his ethically oriented, 15th-century philosophical treatise, now preserved in manuscript at Leiden (MS X, 1 or, Scaliger). Because of their linguistic character, translations form the richest and most important part of Judeo-Italian literature. To facilitate study of the Bible, liturgy, grammar, philosophy, and medicine, and to assist children and women who could read Hebrew without actually knowing the language, Italian Jews translated the entire Bible, the prayer book, the Passover *Haggadah*, the Ethics of the Fathers, various hymns, and large portions of the liturgy. Other works translated were Moses b. Joseph Kimḥi's grammatical treatise *Mahalakh Shevilei ha-Da'at* (early 14th century), Maimonides' *Millot ha-Higgayon* (15th-century manuscript) and *Guide of the Perplexed* (translated by Jedidiah da Recanati, c. 1580), together with various pharmaceutical lists and selections from books on practical medicine. The Bible and the liturgical translations are notable for their conservative nature and for their establishment of a particular method of translation and unified tradition of translation, whose origins date from the era of the later Roman Empire and were crystallized during the 13th century. These Judeo-Italian translations are distinguished by their use of ancient terms long vanished from normative Italian, and by their preservation of the old Jewish exegetical tradition governing the comprehension of particular biblical nouns and expressions. However, despite the mechanical method of translation, the translators succeeded in preserving aesthetic values, both in poetic rhythm and in the lyrical power of the biblical source. Evidence of this is provided by a 13th-century Judeo-Italian version of the Song of Songs, which is the oldest Italian translation of the biblical work. Apart from isolated portions published in recent times, these translations of the Bible remain in manuscript. The liturgical translations were, however, published several times during the 16th century (Fano, 1505; Bologna, 1538; Venice, 1547; Mantua, 1561). A translation into Judeo-Italian was included in a series of Passover *Haggadot* published in Venice in the 17th–18th centuries. Pedantic adherence to the original Hebrew, shown both in the preservation of ancient vocabulary and in the Hebrew influence on the morphology and syntax of the sentence structure, is also characteristic of the translations of the philosophical and grammatical treatises. Several glossaries in Judeo-Italian have survived, composed especially for Bible study and to aid an understanding of any text written in Hebrew. Of the biblical glossaries which have been published – many remain in manuscript – the most important was the *Makrei Dardekei* of Pereẓ Trabot (Naples, 1488), a biblical dictionary with Arabic and Judeo-Italian translations of the roots. One of the most ancient and important collections of glosses is that found in the first talmudic dictionary, the *Arukh* of Rabbi *Nathan ben Jehiel of Rome (late 11th century), which contains some 600

Judeo-Italian words. There is also a multitude of Judeo-Italian glosses in Judah b. Moses b. Daniel Romano's early 14th-century edition of Maimonides' *Mishneh Torah*.

As a spoken language, Judeo-Italian has disappeared in most parts of Italy, although it continues to retain a certain degree of vigor among the Jewish working classes of Rome.

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[Joseph Baruch Sermoneta / Cyril Aslanov (2nd ed.)]

JUDEO-PERSIAN, a form of Persian used by Jews and written in Hebrew characters. The oldest Judeo-Persian texts are the earliest known records in the Persian language (see Judeo-Persian Literature below). These consist of the inscriptions of Tang-i Azao (Central Afghanistan, 752–53 C.E. according to W.B. Henning, in: *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies,* 20 (1957), 335–42; E.L. Rapp, in: *East and West,* 17 (1967), 51–58, suggested, with insufficient arguments, a much later date) and a fragment from a private letter found at Dandan-Uiliq in the region of Khotan (Sinkiang), which can also be dated to the eighth century. Next to be found among the dated documents are a brief inscription on a ninth-century copper tablet discovered at Quilon in southern India; a Karaite legal deed from an unknown locality (presumably in Khuzistan), dated 951 C.E.; a law report written at Ahvaz, Iran, in 1021 C.E., and a collection of funerary inscriptions dating from the late 11th to the early 13th centuries and emanating from a community at Firuzkuh in central Afghanistan. In the exegetic literature as well as in fragments of commercial and personal correspondence, the Cairo *Genizah* and certain other Oriental manuscript depositories acquired by Abraham *Firkovich for his collection (now in St. Petersburg), provide texts datable to the period before the early 13th century. Some of these texts will be enumerated and discussed below.

Many Judeo-Persian writings contain linguistic peculiarities which do not occur in Persian texts written in Arab-Persian script. These peculiarities have often been classified quite simply as "Judeo-Persian." Such a statement has little meaning, since it is evident to anybody examining Judeo-Persian literature as a whole that it has no linguistic unity. The term "Judeo-Persian" does not define a particular form of Persian distinguished from the classical language by regular characteristics. There never was a unified Persian dialect which could be said to belong specifically to the Jews of Iran. Some of the linguistic peculiarities of Judeo-Persian are purely stylistic. Translations of the Scriptures have, throughout the centuries, presented certain specific traits: a literal method of translation, word for word or even morpheme for morpheme (this being also the method used by Muslim translators of the Koran), and a systematic use of certain rare or archaic forms such as active participles in *-ā* to translate Hebrew participles and the particle *azmar* to translate אֶת. Such traits are restricted to the style peculiar to this kind of writing.

Most of the Judeo-Persian linguistic characteristics are, however, dialectal: they belong to local forms of Persian spoken in different regions of Iran. The fact that they appear practically only in Judeo-Persian texts may be explained in connection with the history of the Persian language and the conditions in which Judeo-Persian literature was produced. From the time when the Persian language extended from its original home in southwest Iran to the entire Iranian plateau, it was diversified into a large number of local variants. These dialects were restricted to colloquial usage and did not, as a rule, find their way into the literature in Arabic script, where the classical language (which became fixed and unified at an early stage) reigns, with few exceptions, supreme. On the contrary, Judeo-Persian writings, with the exception of the most literary texts, are foreign to the tradition of classical literature and escaped its normalizing influence. In particular, the old translators of and commentators on the Scriptures, who wrote merely to instruct their fellow-Jews and who did not care for aesthetic considerations, addressed them quite naturally in the current language of the locality, which may have been quite similar among Jews and non-Jews. For this reason, Judeo-Persian literature affords valuable evidence as to the history and dialectology of the Persian language. It would be helpful if we could identify the geographical origins of the different compositions in Early Judeo-Persian, but, apart from a well-defined group of documents coming from Khuzistan in South-West Iran, most fragments cannot be assigned to a definite place of origin.

Dialectal peculiarities are particularly frequent and interesting in the early texts. In the later period, from the 14th century on, the Jews generally used in writing a form of standard Persian which was practically the same as classical Persian. The differences are mainly those of script (the Hebrew alphabet being used for Judeo-Persian), orthography (Judeo-Persian tends to indicate the short vowels *u* and *i* by the letters *vav* and *yod*, contrary to the practice in Standard Persian, and they use different conventions for some of the consonants, e.g., *j* and *č*), and vocabulary (Judeo-Persian often uses Hebrew and Aramaic expressions). The writings which emerged in the 18th–19th century among the Bukharan community are however strongly marked by the local vernacular. Although the early Judeo-Persian texts have not yet been fully explored, a number of dialectal variants can be distinguished among them.

(1) Among the ancient documents, the somewhat laconic inscriptions are of limited instructive value. The Dandan-Uiliq letter, which is fragmentary and cannot be interpreted fully, is remarkable for certain archaisms, notably the use of the *ezāfe* particle (written ארי) as a relative; this usage, common in Middle Persian, does not appear in New Persian texts in Arabic script. Also noteworthy is the almost total absence of Arabic words, characteristic of a very early phase of the language.

(2) The two legal documents, one written in Khuzistan province in 951 (Mosseri Collection Ia.1), and the other, written in Hormshir in 1021 (Bodl. Ms.Heb. b.12.24), the fragment of a Karaite Book of Precepts in the British Library (Or. 8659), together with a number of still unpublished letters from the Cambridge *Genizah* collection, all display some typical features of the Khuzistan dialect: they use the *ezāfe* particle as a relative, and that particle is most often attached in writing to the following word; the word for "thing" is תיס, as in Manichaean Middle Persian, while classical New Persian has the form *čīz* for this word; they have a preposition written א or או (possibly pronounced *o*), which perpetuates the Middle Persian preposition *ō*, a preposition that no longer exists in Standard Persian; they have a passive present stem which ends with the morpheme *ih-*, spelled *-yh-* or *-h-*, before the personal endings, another Middle Persian feature; there is frequent attestation of *imāla* in Arabic words, viz. the change of long *ā* vowel to *ē* or *ī* in certain phonetic conditions, as in *klyp* for Arabic *khilāf* "difference, contrariness." In addition, the vocabulary of these texts contains a whole range of rarely attested or hitherto unknown words, some of which are only familiar from Middle Persian.

(3) Among the ancient exegetic texts, several fragments of commentaries on biblical books are preserved which display the same type of Khuzistan dialect as is attested in the texts described in the previous paragraph. One of these is a Karaite commentary on the *Nevi'im* and the *Ketuvim*, of which a number of fragments are preserved in the *Genizah* Collection of Cambridge University Library. One of these fragments was published in *Irano-Judaica* (1982), 313–22. The same type of language is also attested in an extensive grammatical commentary on the *Ketuvim* of which several fragments survive; see *Irano-Judaica* (1982), 310–12; Khan, *Early Karaite Grammatical Texts* (2000), 250–331.

(4) An extensive Karaite commentary on the book of Genesis (Firkovich I 4605), discussed by S. Shaked in: *Persian Origins* (2003), 195–219, of which a substantial fragment is preserved, seems to belong, by its linguistic features, to North-Eastern Iran. The most conspicuous grammatical element which ties it to the Tajik language is the use of an indeclinable past tense form of the type of *būdagī* "was." The same feature is also attested in Part I of the St. Petersburg commentary on Ezekiel, discussed in the following.

(5) The Ezekiel commentary (Firkovich Collection I 1682) is a curious instance of a single book written in two different dialects by several scribes. The manuscript, which represents a very large but incomplete composition, is on the whole well preserved, and is datable to the 11th century. Part 1 of the manuscript displays a north-east-Iranian type of language, as in the commentary on Genesis mentioned earlier, while Part 2 belongs to the type of language identified with Khuzistan region. The text has been studied by T.E. Gindin, and is to be published in full.

(6) A small fragment of a Judeo-Persian version of the Psalms, acquired by A. Netzer in 1973 in Zefreh, 100 km. northeast of Isfahan, displays a distinct form of the language. It is close to the Khuzistan dialect in that it has the form *kyrd* for standard Persian *kard*, the ending of the abstract noun usually in *-yh*, and the plural ending *-yh'*; but it has some divergent features. The *ezāfe* is spelled *y* and written as an independent word; an optative ending *ē* is attached to verbs, of which the form *hysty* "that it may be" is noteworthy. There are also lexical peculiarities attested in this fragment; cf. A. Netzer, *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 27 (2002), 419–38; S. Shaked, in: *Irano-Judaica* 6 (2006, fc.).

(7) A fragment of a book of Aramaic proverbs with a Judeo-Persian translation was published by S. Shaked, in: *Acta Iranica* 30 (1990), 230–39, and several further fragments of biblical commentaries, some of which not yet studied in detail.

(8) Further books which belong to an early layer of Judeo-Persian compositions are: the Story of Daniel (Bibliothèque Nationale Ms. Héb. 128) – not a translation of the book of Daniel, but a midrash on the Daniel theme; a translation of Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel, also preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, and a translation of the Pentateuch in the Vatican. All of them exhibit the same variant of Persian. This may be illustrated by forms such as פֿרבֿיד ("fat"; classical Persian *farbih*); זיה ("to live"; classical Persian *ziy-*); דושכיזה ("virgin"; classical Persian *dūšiza*); כומאנא ("indeed"; classical Persian *hamānā*); אניז ("also"; classical Persian *nīz*); תנגֿ ("to drink"); and a large number of words unknown in classical Persian.

(9) A translation of the Pentateuch found in a manuscript of the British Museum copied in 1319 represents a dialectal variant distinct from the preceding one (אהנג, "to drink," הניז "also"): but it is not yet possible to determine the region to which it belongs.

(10) The later literary writings (14th–18th centuries) are generally free from dialectal traits. They emanate from a milieu of highly cultured Jews who knew and appreciated the masterpieces of classical Persian literature and imitated them. To commemorate the past or record the sad events of the time in a worthy style, they could choose no better medium than classical Persian. This is the language employed by *Shāhīn and ʿImrānī at Shiraz, by Bābāy at Kashan, and even by Yūsuf Yahūdī in Bukhara. Only in their works does one come across examples of local pronunciation, and these are probably attributable to the copyist. In works of a more popular nature, such as the elegy of Mollā Hizqiyā (17th century), some colloquialisms are to be found, which are also common in the vernacular of modern Iran.

(10) The literary or exegetic texts composed in Bukhara during the 17th–19th centuries in general bear marks of their origin, such marks being more numerous in texts of a lower stylistic level. The poem *Khudāydāt* and the prose writings abound in dialectal peculiarities of the Persian of central Asia (Tajik), which naturally are completely different from those of the ancient texts of southwest Iran. Of particular importance linguistically is the book *Likkutei Dinim*, a collection of rabbinical precepts compiled in six parts by Abraham Aminof and published in Jerusalem between 1899 and 1904. For this book see in particular W. Bacher, in: ZfHB, 5 (1901), 147–54; ZDMG, 56 (1902), 729–59.

One of the characteristic traits is that of vocalization, always written in the manuscripts and printed books of Bukharan Jews in conformity with Tajik, as opposed to the Persian of Iran. Three examples are: בֵזָר ("who renounces," Tajik *bezor*, Iranian Persian *bizâr*), רוֹז ("day" Tajik *růz*, Iranian Persian *ruz*), and לוּטף ("favor," Tajik *lutf*, Iranian Persian *lotf*). The language of these texts, which may appropriately be termed "Judeo-Tajik," is very close to the modern literary language of Tajikistan.

Judeo-Iranian Dialects

One medieval piece of evidence for a Judeo-Iranian dialect which is not Persian but cannot be identified more closely was discovered among the Cambridge *Genizah* fragments; cf. Shaked, in: *Acta Iranica*, 28 (1988), 219–35.

Along with Judeo-Persian proper, mention must be made of the Iranian dialects still in use today among certain communities in Kashan, Hamadan, Isfahan, Kerman, Yazd and Shiraz. These dialects, used exclusively in speech, are not variants of Persian but are related to the local dialects of these regions and belong to the "central" group of western Iranian dialects. A survey of Jewish dialects was undertaken by E. Yarshater, in: *Mémorial Jean de Menasce* (1974), 453–66.

The *Judeo-Tat of the Caucasus region (Daghestan and Soviet Azerbaijan), together with neighboring dialects spoken by Muslims, form a dialectal unit, possibly dating back to a time when Iranian colonies were established by the Sassanian dynasty along the frontier of the empire. All these dialects may be called "Judeo-Iranian."

There is a group of speech-forms used by Jews as a secret language. They are known as *Loterai*, a word which denotes a secret language. They are essentially a jargon in which Hebrew words and some distorted forms take the place of the more familiar Persian words. This phenomenon was discussed by Yarshater, in: *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 97 (1977), 1–7; Lazard, in: *Journal Asiatique* (1978), 251–55; A. Netzer, in: J. Dan (ed.), *Tarbut ve-Historiyah* (1987), 22–23. The language of the Jews of Herat mentioned by Zarubin, in: *Doklady Rossijskoj Akademii Nauk* (1924), 181–83, seems also to belong to this type of speech.

JUDEO-PERSIAN LITERATURE

The Jews of Iran developed a rich and varied literature in the Persian language. They also contributed to several branches of Jewish literature in Hebrew, but this falls outside the scope of this entry. Its formal identification is based on the fact that this is a literature written by Jews, most often on themes of Jewish interest and related to the world of Jewish practice and thinking, and it is written in Hebrew characters and contains a varying number of expressions in Hebrew and Aramaic. This literature was as a rule inaccessible to non-Jews, which explains why there is no reference to the monuments of Jewish-Persian literature in the mainstream Persian literature created by Muslims. There are some towering figures of former Jews who converted to Islam and who contributed to the general literature of Islamic Iran, but what was written in Judeo-Persian remained until modern times entirely unknown and unacknowledged by Muslims.

The literature composed in Judeo-Persian should be treated under two distinct chronological periods: up to the Mongol invasion of Iran in the 1220s, and from that period up to our time. The Mongol invasions created havoc in the life of Iran in general and in particular as far as the Jewish communities of Iran are concerned. Very little of the pre-Mongol literature of Iran survived into the later period, and, on the other hand, a whole new post-Mongol literature was created from the 14th century onwards with characteristic features which did not exist before.

Judeo-Persian Literature in Its Earliest Period

We now have a substantial body of literature for the early period of Judeo-Persian, most of which derives from manuscripts which have come to light during the past decades and not all of which have yet been published. The origin of these manuscripts is the Cairo *Genizah*, scattered in various collections around the world, but most of it at the Cambridge University Library; and the Firkovich Collection acquired in various book depositories in the Middle East, presently housed in St. Petersburg. The use of Judeo-Persian was not confined to the mainland of Iran. A substantial colony of Persian-speaking Jews seems to have lived during the 10th–13th centuries in Palestine, mostly in Jerusalem, and there was a continuity of Jewish Persian presence in Cairo, where some of the Persian Jews held positions of influence. Some manuscripts which may belong to this layer of literature were acquired in Iran and are now kept in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, and in private collections. The main classes of the extant remnants of this once evidently vast literature are the following:

1. Bible exegesis;
2. Hebrew grammar and lexicography;
3. *Halakhah*;
4. Midrash
5. Poetry;
6. Stories and proverbs;
7. Magic;
8. Letters and legal documents.

The literary pieces that have survived represent the creative activity of both major groups within the Jewish community of Persian-speaking Jews, Rabbanites, and Karaites. It is significant that the Cairo *Genizah*, which did not function as a library but as a place for dumping discarded pieces of writing which have lost their relevance to the owners, has usually preserved small fragments of books and a relatively large number of ephemeral writings, such as letters and legal documents, while the collections of manuscripts which derive from other sources, presumably usually synagogue libraries, often comprise larger sections of literary compositions, but their holdings contain no writings of the non-literary type, like letters.

A short survey of the compositions that have survived in the different categories follows.

1. EXEGETICAL WORKS. It is possible that Persian translations of the Bible or of certain biblical books were current among Jews even before the Islamic period. A hint in that direction is found in the Talmud (Meg. 18a), where versions of the Book Esther are mentioned in what is called "Elamite" and "Median," two languages of the Iranian region, although we do not know which precise languages are meant by these designations. Among the versions which have turned up the following, largely unpublished, may be mentioned:

1) A translation of the *Ketuvim*, of which 54 pages have survived, covering Ps. 9–40, Prov. 1–3 and Eccl. 2–5. This translation goes verse-by-verse and follows closely the Hebrew text. This is, by its language, probably a fairly late translation (14th century?)

2) Commentary of grammatical points in *Ketuvim*, written in the Khuzistani dialect of Persian. The surviving fragments make up 32 pages. The composition does not treat every verse, but only with selected themes which are always introduced by a question. The fragments deal with topics from Ruth 1–4, Song of Songs 1–5, Lamentations 2–3, Eccl. 1–2, Daniel 10–11, Nehemiah 8–9. The commentary reflects the grammatical school of the Karaites. (See S. Shaked, in: *Irano-Judaica* (1982), 310–12; Khan, *Early Karaite Grammatical Texts* (2000), 250–331).

3) An exegesis on the Book of Genesis, of which eight pages are extant;

4) A Karaite commentary on selected verses in *Nevi'im* and *Ketuvim*, Isa. 54–66, Dan. 11–12, Est. 1–5. Twenty-one pages are preserved of this composition. One section was published by S. Shaked, *Irano-Judaica* (1982), 313–22.

5) A commentary on selected questions in Ruth (chapters 1–4), each section starting with the words: *guftan-i šān* "(As to) what they said: …"

6) An extensive translation and commentary on Ezekiel, comprising 226 large pages, and treating in detail Ezek. 1–39. To be published by T.E. Gindin (see in the meantime in: idem, *Persian Origins* (2003), 14–30).

7) A Karaite commentary on Genesis, containing an extensive introduction and the beginning of the detailed commentary; a study by S. Shaked is in: *Persian Origins* (2003), 195–219.

8) A small fragment of a translation of the Psalms, possibly from the 11th century, purchased in 1973 in Zefreh (*Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam*, 27 (2002), 419–438; *Irano-Judaica,* 6 (2006), fc).

9) There are, besides, eight further fragments of exegetical compositions on various books of the Bible.

2. HEBREW GRAMMAR AND LEXICOGRAPHY. Besides the grammatical commentary on the Bible (number 2 above), there are two fragments of a systematic Hebrew grammar called by the Hebrew title *qarqaʿot ha-diqduq* "the principles of grammar." This is a typically Karaite treatment of grammar, written in the Khuzistani dialect of Persian. A preliminary edition of one of the fragments of the text is in *E.Z. Melammed Festschrift* (*Hebrew*), 291–311.

Several fragments of a dictionary of the Talmud are found among the Cambridge *Genizah* texts.

3. HALAKHAH. There are a number of fragments of books dealing with legal questions. One fairly large fragment comprising 36 pages, unfortunately in a bad state of preservation, is a Karaite treatise, which contains polemics against the Rabbanites. Another fragment contains part of the introduction to a Karaite *Sefer Mitzvot* or Book of Precepts, followed by the beginning of the book and dealing with the rules for circumcision (British Library Or. 8659). It was published by D.N. MacKenzie, in: *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies,* 31 (1968), 249–69; comments by S. Shaked, in: *Israel Oriental Studies,* 1 (1971), 178–82; English translation in V.B. Moreen, *In Queen Esther's Garden* (2000), 248–55.

Another fragment in this genre seems to be a Rabbanite treatise dealing with the rules of *ʿeruv*, still unpublished.

4. MIDRASH. An extensive collection of midrashim in Hebrew by the order of the books of the Pentateuch is found in an incomplete manuscript dated 1328 C.E., written in Sambadagan, perhaps in North-East Iran, under the title *Pitron Torah*, "Exegesis on the Torah." The underlying composition has a good chance of being older, and seems to have been composed in the late 9th or early 10th century. The manuscript contains an appendix in Judeo-Persian, based on midrashic material, and probably reflecting a pre-Mongol Khuzistan type of Persian (edited E.E. Urbach, 1978, Heb.).

5. POETRY. Poetry, which becomes the most distinctive creation of Judeo-Persian in the post-Mongol period, is not yet so prominent in this early period. Still, we have one piece of popular poetry, in a dialect which is hard to place; see S. Shaked, in: *Pe'amim,* 32 (1985), 22–37. Other fragments contain portions of the liturgy for the Day of Atonement. The Adler Collection in the Jewish Theological Seminary contains a number of poetic fragments, mostly translated from Hebrew, which seem to reflect late Judeo-Persian (i.e., 14–18 century C.E.).

6. STORIES AND PROVERBS. A section of the texts in the category of early Judeo-Persian falls within the domain of folk stories, and includes a fragment of a story about King David, and two fragments of early Islamic history (one concerning the Caliph ʿUmar).

A separate section consists of a fragment of a collection of wisdom sayings in Aramaic with a translation into Judeo-Persian, published by S. Shaked, in: *Acta Iranica,* 16 (1990), 230–39.

7. MAGIC AND MEDICINE. One of the fragments in a Judeo-Iranian language (not Persian) contains magic recipes; edited by S. Shaked, in: *Acta Iranica* 28 (1988), 219–35.

Other, still unedited fragments, deal with medical questions.

8. LETTERS AND LEGAL DOCUMENTS. A large section of the Judeo-Persian find from the Cairo *Genizah* consists of private and commercial letters, written in Judeo-Persian, sometimes with phrases in Arabic expressed by the Arabic alphabet. Another group of documents belongs to the legal field, and contains court reports concerning financial and property disputes between people, usually within one family. These documents have a special value because they mostly belong to the Khuzistan dialect of Judeo-Persian, and make it possible to contrast other Judeo-Persian dialects. The oldest documents in Judeo-Persian, and in fact in Persian altogether, fall within this group: the first is a commercial letter found in Dandan Uiliq in Chinese Turkistan, which belongs to the eighth century C.E. The document is at the British Library, Or. 8212, first published by D.S. Margoliouth, in: *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1903), 737–60; Further studies and comments: C. Salemann, *Zapiski Vostočnago Otdelenja,* 16 (1904/5), 46–57; Henning in: BSOAS, 20 (1957), 341–42; idem, in: *Mitteliranisch (Handbuch der Orientalistik*) (1958), 79–80; B. Utas, in: *Orientalia Suecana*, 17 (1968), 123–36; idem, in: Moreen, *In Queen Esther's Garden* (2000), 22–25; G. Lazard, in: *Acta Iranica*, 28 (1988), 205–9 (Reprinted in: Lazard, *La formation de la langue persane* (1995), 157–61); S. Shaked, in: *Israel Oriental Studies,* 1 (1971), 182.

The second is a Karaite legal deed dated 951 C.E.; the original is in the Jacques Mosseri Collection Ia.1; it was published by S. Shaked, in: *Tarbiz,* 41 (1972), 49–58 (Heb.).

A further document is a JP law report from Ahvaz, dated 1021 C.E., first published by D.S. Margolious, in: JQR, (1899), 671–75. Further studies are J.P. Asmussen, in: *Acta Orientalia*, 19 (1965), 49–60; D.N. MacKenzie, in: *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1966), 69; S. Shaked, in: *Israel Oriental Studies*, 1 (1971), 180–82.

These fragments survived by chance, and they no doubt point to the existence of a much vaster and more varied literature, most of which has not survived.

Judeo-Persian Literature from the 14th Century to the Modern Period

From the 14th century, under the Il-Kahnids and later dynasties, a new phase of literary creativity starts for the Jews of Iran, and the works composed fall into a wide range of literary genres. There is a clear division between standard Judeo-Persian literature and the literature composed, especially in the more recent period, in Central Asia in Judeo-Tajik or Bukharan, a variety of Persian. An offshoot of Judeo-Persian literature is found in the manuscripts of the Jewish community of Kai Feng in China.

1. TRANSLATIONS OF THE BIBLE IN THE POST-MONGOL PERIOD. Judeo-Persian translations of the Pentateuch did not become known in the West before the sixteenth century. The first one printed (1546), is the work of the Persian scholar, Jacob b. Joseph *Tavus. It was thought at the time to be the oldest, and perhaps the sole literary achievement of Persian Jewry, but the manuscripts collected by the Florentine scholar Giambattista Vecchietti early in the 17th century, and the manuscripts which came to light in the 20th century, establish that Tavus' work actually represents the culmination of many centuries of Jewish Persian Bible study.

The oldest dated Judeo-Persian Pentateuch translation is in a manuscript in the British Library (Or 5446), copied by Joseph ben Moses in 1319 C.E. No place of origin is given, but the version could well be from Khurasan in north-east Iran. The manuscript is written in a clear hand, but is incomplete. It begins with Genesis 3:9 and goes to the end of the Pentateuch, with some large sections missing, among them, for example, the whole of Exodus. The initial Hebrew word is given for each verse, and this is followed by a word-by-word Persian translation of the entire verse. Often the Hebrew word is vocalized, usually in the supralinear Babylonian system, occasionally in the Tiberian vowel-points (see *Pronunciations of Hebrew). A commentary in Judeo-Persian or Hebrew, or by a combination of both, sometimes follows the translation, usually on grammatical points, with parallels adduced from the whole Bible. There are several citations from the *Mishneh Torah* of Maimonides to illustrate moral teachings. At the end of the text are two pages that contain the Hebrew verb paradigms. The translation portion of the text is clearly older than that of the commentary. A certain Abi Saʿid, whose earlier commentary influenced the work of the present author, is mentioned. An edition is available by H.H. Paper, *A Judeo-Persian Pentateuch* (Heb.) (Jerusalem, 1972).

Another important translation of the Pentateuch into Judeo-Persian is preserved in a Vatican manuscript (Vat. Pers. 61). The manuscript lacks a colophon, and its date and place of origin cannot be established. Its main interest lies in the large number of unusual Persian words and expressions which it contains. It was published in romanized transliteration by Paper, in: *Acta Orientalia*, 28 (1965), 363–140; 29 (1965/6), 75–181, 254–10; 31 (1968), 55–113.

The earliest Pentateuch version in Judeo-Persian to come to the notice of scholars was printed, as mentioned above, in Constantinople in 1546. It is the work of Jacob ben Joseph Tavus, and his version was included in the polyglot Bible done by Eleazar son of Gershon Soncino. Thomas Hyde transcribed the version from the Hebrew alphabet to Persian (Arabic) characters and published it in Walton's Bible, London (1657).

There are a very large number of other Judeo-Persian versions of biblical books, especially of the Psalms, in the period from the 14th century to the present. A brief survey of some of these versions is given in the following:

Of the Prophets, there is a lexical commentary on Samuel, called *ʿAmuqot Shemuʾel*, in a British Library manuscript, Or. 10472(2), studied by W. Bacher in: ZDMG, 51 (1897), 392–425.

A Judeo-Persian version of Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel exists in a manuscript of Paris. P. de Lagarde, *Persische Studien* (1884), published Isaiah and a portion of Jeremiah and Ezekiel. Two chapters from Isaiah are given by H.H. Paper, in: *Acta Iranica*, 5 (1975), 145–61.

Amos was published from a Paris manuscript by B. Hjerrild, in: *Acta Iranica*, 23 (1984), 73–112.

Joel was published from a manuscript at the Ben-Zvi Institute by H.H. Paper, in: *Essays in honor of Bernard Lewis. The Islamic world: From classical to modern times* (1989), 259–67.

Hosea was partly published by J.P. Asmussen, in: *Acta Iranica*, 4 (1975), 15–18. Another version is in a manuscript at the Ben-Zvi Institute, edited by not yet published by Dan Shapira.

Obadiah was published by J.P. Asmussen, in: *Acta Antiqua*, 25 (1977), 255–63, from a Paris manuscript.

Jonah was published from a Paris manuscript by B. Carlsen in: *Acta Iranica* (1976), 13–26.

Numerous versions of the Psalms exist; for details see A. Netzer, *Oẓar Kitvei ha-Yad* (1985), 17.

Proverbs was published by E. Mainz, in: JA, 268 (1980), 71–106, from a manuscript in Paris and by H.H. Paper, in: *Irano-Judaica* (1982), 122–47 from a manuscript of the Jewish Theological Seminary in New York.

Job was published from a manuscript in the Benayahu Collection in Jerusalem by H.H. Paper, in: *Proceedings of the Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities*, 5 (1976), 313–65.

The Song of Songs exists in several versions. The version of the Paris Bibliothèque Nationale was edited by J.P. Asmussen and H.H. Paper, *The Song of Songs in Judeo-Persian* (1977); and by E. Mainz in: *Journal Asiatique* (1976), 9–34. Other versions have been printed in various non-scholarly publications in Jerusalem. Details are in A. Netzer, *Oẓar Kitvei ha-Yad* (1985), 18–19.

Ruth was published by E. Mainz in the same article (1976) from a manuscript of Paris.

Lamentations was published from a Paris manuscript by E. Mainz, in: *Studia Iranica*, 2 (1973), 193–202.

Ecclesiastes was published by E. Mainz, in: *Studia Iranica*, 3 (1974), 211–28, from a Paris manuscript, and by H.H. Paper, in: *Orientalia*, 42 (1973), 328–37, from a manuscript at the Jewish Theological Seminary. Part of a commentary on Ecclesiastes by Judah ben Benjamin of Kashan, from New York and Jerusalem manuscripts is given in English translation by V.B. Moreen, *In Queen Esther's Garden* (2000), 198–200.

Esther was published from a Paris manuscript by E. Mainz, in: *Journal Asiatique*, 257 (1970), 95–106.

Daniel was published from a Paris manuscript by E. Mainz, in: *Irano-Judaica* (1982), 148–79. Reference was made above to an Early Judeo-Persian version.

Although the Judeo-Persian translations originated in different Jewish communities, they show a certain uniformity in style, suggesting that there may have been contacts between the different centers of learning, with perhaps more than one school of translators that flourished in the 14th and 15th centuries. Many of the authors of the Judeo-Persian Bible translations, treatises, and lexica show a measure of familiarity with the leading biblical and rabbinical authorities of the West. Following traditional Jewish methods of Bible interpretation, these Jewish authors utilized not only Targum Onkelos, Talmud, Midrash, *Saadiah Gaon, and *Hai Gaon, but also western authorities such as *Rashi, David *Kimḥi, and Abraham *Ibn Ezra.

2. MIDRASHIM AND RELIGIOUS NARRATIVES. The Story of Daniel is a composition based on the theme of the book of Daniel, enriched with a narrative which presumably reflects a Jewish midrash not otherwise extant in the relevant literature. The language of this composition is rather old, and abounds in unusual words and expressions. It was first published by H. Zotenberg, in: *Archiv für die wissenschaftliche Erforschung des Alten Testaments*, 1 (1870), 385–427; J. Darmesteter, in: *Mélanges Renier* (1886), 405–20. The latest edition is by D. Shapira, in: *Sefunot*, NS 7 (1999), 337–66 (Heb).

Several small collections of midrashim are found in Judeo-Persian, among which mention can be made of a midrash recounting the death of Moses, and another one on the death of Aaron. A midrash on the ascension of Moses was edited by A. Netzer, in: *Irano-Judaica*, 2 (1990), 105–43; English translation in V.B. Moreen, *In Queen Esther's Garden* (2000), 189–96.

Many of these and other midrashim were translated from Hebrew or Aramaic. In a related genre, that of sermons, there are again several compilations, the most comprehensive of which is the 19th-century book called *Maṭʿame Binyamin*, by Binyamin ben Eliyahu of Kashan, preserved in a Ben-Zvi Institute manuscript written by the author in 1823. The book *Zikhron Raḥamim* attributed to Raḥamim Melammed Ha-Kohen, published in 1962, is largely the same compilation; cf. A. Netzer (1985), 23.

There are several Judeo-Persian versions of the Tractate *Avot*, for which examples are given by W. Bacher, in ZfHB, 6 (1902), 112–18, 156–57; H.H. Paper, in: *Michigan Oriental Studies… George G. Cameron* (1976), 81–95. There is also a large versified elaboration on the themes of Avot made by ʿImrani, on which see further below. Details can be found in A. Netzer, *Oẓar Kitvei ha-Yad* (1985), 21.

There are also quite a few compilations of laws relating to everyday practices, such as the daily blessings, the laws of ritual slaughter, laws pertaining to marriage, etc.

3. PHILOSOPHY, SCIENCE, MEDICINE, MAGIC. One extensive book which belongs to this genre is *Ḥovot Yehudah*, by Judah ben Eleazar, written probably in 1686, possibly in Kashan. The book was published by Netzer, *Duties of Judah by Rabbi Yehudah ben Elazar* (Heb.) (1995). An excerpt in English

translation is in V.B. Moreen, *In Queen Esther's Garden* (2000), 255–59. The same author wrote other books, one of which is on astronomy under the title of *Taqwim Yehuda*; one deals with medicine and one is a versified moralistic treatise known as *Timthāl nāme*. A tractate against the drinking of wine is lost. Details about these books, which are still unpublished, can be found in A. Netzer, *op. cit.*, 18–21.

There is a whole range of medical books which were copied from Standard Persian to Hebrew characters, to facilitate their use by Jewish physicians or learners. A list is provided by A. Netzer, *Oẓar Kitvei ha-Yad* (1985), 48–49.

Among the other sciences, handbooks for calculating the Jewish calendar are quite numerous. The interest of the Jewish public in astronomy is indicated by the books which were copied from Standard Persian to Hebrew characters. See a list in A. Netzer, *Oẓar Kitvei ha-Yad* (1985), 49.

Several collections of amulet formulae and divinations are found among the Judeo-Persian manuscripts and scattered in the various libraries. A book of dream interpretation (*Pitron ḥalomot*) was printed in Judeo-Persian in Jerusalem in 1900/1 by Shim'on Ḥakham. The book contains also other treatises on divination, one by limb twitching (*pirkus avarim*) and another one by astronomical omens.

4. PRAYER BOOKS AND PIYUTIM. The earliest Persian synagogue ritual recorded was based on that of R. Saadiah Gaon. The Persian Jews abandoned this ritual under the influence of a Moroccan-born visitor from the Land of Israel, Joseph ben Moses Maman, toward the end of the 18th century and adopted the Sephardi prayer-book, which they are still using today. A facsimile edition of an early Persian prayer book from the E.N. Adler Collection, one of the few remnants of the original Persian ritual, was published by S. Tal, *Nusaḥ ha-Tefillah shel Yehudei Paras* (1981).

To the field of liturgy belong also the *piyyutim* or religious poetry sung in the synagogues, which was one of the major areas of artistic activity of the Jews of Iran. More details are given in the section on poetry.

5. LEXICAL WORKS. One of the earliest extant lexicographical compositions in Judeo-Persian is *'Amuqot Shemuel*, a lexicon explaining rare and difficult words in the Book of Samuel, arranged by the order of the verses. The work, preserved in a manuscript at the British Library, Or. 10482(2), is still unpublished. A study of it was made by W. Bacher, in: ZDMG, 51 (1897), 392–425.

A major lexicon of Hebrew and Aramaic words occurring in the Bible, Targum, Talmud and Midrashim is *Sefer Ha-Meliẓah* (Book of Rhetoric), also called *Egron*, written, according to a colophon, by Solomon ben Samuel in the town of Gurganj (Urganch, in today's Uzbekistan) in the year 1339 C.E. The Persian part of the lexicon reflects the vocabulary of north-east Iran, but also quotes Turkish and Arab forms. This composition has considerable importance for the study of the Jewish sources, especially the Talmud, and demonstrates a high level of learning and intellectual tradition. The book is unedited, but an extensive monograph, with numerous extracts from the text, was written by W. Bacher, *Ein hebraeisch-persisches Woerterbuch aus dem vierzehnten Jahrhundert*, Strasbourg (1900). There are six known manuscripts of this important book, four of which are described in Bacher's study. A detailed enumeration of all can be found in A. Netzer, *Oẓar Kitvei ha-Yad* (1985), 45–46.

Another important lexicographical work is *Egron* by Moses ben Aaron of Shirvan, written in 1459. This is a biblical lexicon preserved in an incomplete manuscript in the British Library, Or. 10482(1). The book is discussed by W. Bacher, *Zeitschrift fuer die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 16 (1896), 201–47; 17 (1897), 199–200; P. Horm, in: *Zeitschrift fuer die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*, 17 (1897), 201–3; T. Noeldeke, in: ZDMG, 51 (1897), 669–76.

Several other lexical works, often called *Mikhlal* or *Mikhlol* or *Perush ha-Millot*, exist in manuscripts scattered in various libraries. A list can be found in A. Netzer, *Oẓar Kitvei ha-Yad* (1985), 46–48.

6. POETRY. Persian Jews found their highest literary expression in original Judeo-Persian poetry. The first known poet was the 14th-century poet Mawlānā Shāhīn, possibly of Shiraz, but this is uncertain; it is also unclear whether Shāhīn is his name or merely an attribute. He is regarded as the foremost Judeo-Persian poet. Shāhīn was imbued with a profound Jewish consciousness and keenly desired to clothe Jewish traditions in the literary ornaments of Persian poetry. He devoted himself to writing verses on biblical topics, and his greatest work, *Sefer Sharḥ Shāhīn al ha-Torah*, is a poetic paraphrase and reinterpretation of the Pentateuch.

Three major works of Shāhīn are extant: (1) the *Mūsā-Nameh* ("Moses Book," concluded in 1327 C.E.), a commentary on Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, and Deuteronomy. (2) *Ardashīr-Nameh*, consisting of the stories of Esther and Mordecai and of Shero and Mahzad, the latter a typical Iranian love story. There is also *Ezra-Nameh*, dealing mainly with the reign of Cyrus the Great and the building of the Temple of Jerusalem. A. Netzer, *Oẓar Kitvei ha-Yad* (1985), 28, has however argued that the two last books were meant to be a single composition, since they appear following each other in the manuscripts, the former without a conclusion, while the latter without an opening text. The colophon at the end of *Ezra Nameh* gives as the date of completion 1333 C.E. (3) a *Bereshit-Nameh* (concluded in 1359), which includes the story of Joseph and Potiphar's wife, known to Muslims as Zulaykhā. In all his poetic writings, Shāhīn adopted the typical features of Persian poetry and applied the patterns, forms, technique, meter, and language of Persian classical poetry to the presentation of Israel's religious heroes and the events recorded in the biblical narrative, while using both midrashic themes and stories and Muslim ones to fill in the narrative. To Persian-speaking Jews, Shāhīn is "Mawlānā Shāhīn Shīrāzī" (our master Shāhin of Shiraz"), the founder of Judeo-Persian poetry. See on Shāhīn A. Netzer, in: *Israel Oriental Studies,* 4 (1974), 258–64; extensive excerpts from Shāhīn's compositions in English translation are incorporated in V.B. Moreen, *In Queen Esther's Garden* (2000), 26–119.

The next great poet in Judeo-Persian is *ʿImrānī, who was probably born in Isfahan in 1454 and died in Kashan after 1536. Inspired by Shāhīn, ʿImrānī chose as his field the post-Mosaic era from Joshua to the period of David and Solomon. He composed altogether some 12 poetic works. His major work, *Fatḥ-Nameh* ("The Book of the Conquest," begun in 1474), was the first composition that he wrote. He recounts in it in poetic form the events of the biblical books of Joshua, Ruth, and Samuel. He started composing it in 1474 C.E., when he was 20 years old, under the guidance of a teacher by the name of Amin al-Dawla wa-l-Din, and later under that of Judah ben Isaac. The work is unfinished. The last great work of Imrani was *Ganj-Nameh* ("The Book of the Treasures"), a free poetic paraphrase of and commentary on the mishnaic treatise *Avot*. This composition was concluded in the year 1536, when the author was above 80. This work was edited and published by D. Yeroushalmi, *The Judeo-Persian Poet 'Emrānī and his "Book of Treasure"* (1995).

In between these two major works, ʿImrani composed several other smaller poetic compositions, as well as at least two prose works. For further details about ʿImrānī see A. Netzer, in: *Israel Oriental Studies,* 4 (1974), 258–64; idem (1985), 31–33. On ʿImrānī and extracts from his works in English translation, see also V.B. Moreen, *In Queen Esther's Garden*, 119–43, 159–75.

Another early 16th-century author of this type of poetry was Yahuda b. David of Lar. *Makhzan al-Pand* ("The Treasure House of Exhortation") is one of his few extant works. Cf. W. Bacher, *Keleti Szemle* 12 (1911/2), 223–28. An extract in English translation is included in V.B. Moreen, *In Queen Esther's Garden*, 176–183.

In 1606, Khāja Bukhārāī composed a poetical work called *Dāniyāl nāma*, based on the Book of Daniel as well as the Apocrypha and midrashic literature, using the poetic conventions of the earlier Jewish poets, Shāhīn and ʿImrānī. A study of this poet by A. Netzer is in G.L Tikku (ed.), *Islam and Its Cultural Divergence* (1971), 145–64; idem, in: *Israel Oriental Studies*, 2 (1972), 305–14; idem, *Oẓar Kitvei ha-Yad* (1985), 33. Extracts in English translation are included in V.B. Moreen, *In Queen Esther's Garden* (2000), 146–58.

Aaron ben Mashiah is a 17th-century poet. He was born in Isfahan and moved later to Yazd. His composition *Shofetim Nāma* (The Book of Judges), a poetic elaboration of the biblical book of Judges up to chapter 19, was composed in 1692 and follows the pattern of Imrani's *Fatḥ Nāma*. The book contains an allusion to the bloody riots in Isfahan in which the Sabbatean emissary Mattitya Bloch was killed. Cf. A. Netzer, *Oẓar Kitvei ha-Yad* (1985), 33–34. Extracts in English translation are in V.B. Moreen, *In Queen Esther's Garden* (2000), 143–46. The poetic work of Aaron ben Mashiah was continued by Mordecai ben David, who composed a narrative poem under the title of *Maʿase Pillegesh ba-Giva*, which recounts the events of Judges 19–21. Nothing is known of the biography of this poet.

Elisha ben Shemuel, with the poetic name Rāghib, was a poet who lived in Samark in the 17th century. One of his two poetical compositions are *Shāhzāda va ṣūfī*, based on Abraham ben Ḥisdai's Hebrew composition *Ben ha-Melekh ve ha-Nazir*, a re-working of a widespread Buddhist frame story. The other is *Ḥanukka Nāma*, recounting the events in the saga of the Maccabees, and influenced by Imrani's poetic composition with the same title.

Binyamin ben Mishaʾel, known under the name Amina, was born in Kashan probably in 1672 C.E. He is the author of some 40 poetic compositions, mostly rather short. One of the longer compositions is *Tafsir Akedat Yizḥak* (published in Jerusalem 1901/2), on the sacrifice of Isaac. Another one is *Tafsir Megillat Ester*, on the Book of Esther, and a third one is *Tafsir le-Azharot Rashbag*, on the *Azharot* liturgy. He also composed a eulogy to King Ashraf, the ruler of Afghanistan who invaded Iran and fought the Safavids in 1722. Some of Amina's poems were sung in the synagogues, including an alphabetical poem in Hebrew; cf. A. Netzer, in: *Peʿamim,* 2 (1979), 48–54. Translations of poems by Amina can be found in V.B. Moreen, *In Queen Esther's Garden* (2000).

Siman Tov Melammed, with the poetic name Tuvia, was a mystical poet born in Yazd, who lived for a time in Herat and later in Mashhad. He died in 1823 or 1828. He composed *Ḥayāt al-rūḥ*, a poem based on Baḥya Ibn Paquda's *Ḥovot ha-Levavot* and on the *Guide of the Perplexed* by Maimonides (published Jerusalem 1906/7). Another poetic composition of his is *Azharot*, written in Hebrew and Persian, where the precepts are enumerated (published Jerusalem 1895/6). A discussion of this author is by A. Netzer, *Oẓar Kitvei ha-Yad* (1985), 38; idem, in: *Peʿamim,* 79 (1999), 56–95; V.B. Moreen, *In Queen Esther's Garden* (2000), 260–67.

Two major poets composed narrative compositions dealing with the history of their time. One of them is Bābāī ben Luṭf of Kashan, who described the persecution of the Jews under the Safavids during the years 1613–1662. His book, *Kitāb-i anūsī* describes a sequence of decrees against the Jews, the killing of Jews and the confiscation of their property. A large part of his composition is devoted to the events of 1656–62, including the persecutions under Shāh ʿAbbās II. The importance of this book is derived from the fact that it gives details not only concerning the harsh measures against the Jews but also concerning the internal communal organization of the Jewish communities, including the distribution of crafts and occupations among the Jews. A study and extracts in French translation by W. Bacher are in REJ, 47 (1903), 262–82; vol. 51 (1906), 121–36, 265–79; vol. 52 (1906), 77–97, 234–71; further studies are by E. Spicehandler, in: HUCA (1975), 46:331–56; A. Netzer, in: *Peʿamim,* 6 (1980), 33–56; idem, *Oẓar Kitvei ha-Yad* (1985), 42–43. An English translation is by V.B. Moreen, *Iranian Jewry's Hour of Peril and Heroism* (1987). Further on Bābāī ben Luṭf cf. J.P. Asmussen, in: *Acta Orientalia,* 28 (1964), 243–61.

Bābāī ben Farhād, a descendant of Bābāī ben Luṭf, described the suffering of the Jews of Kashan during another difficult period in Iranian history, in which Sunni Afghan invaders got hold of large parts of Shi'ite Iran. The pressure on Jews to convert to Islam was enormous, and huge sums of money were extorted from the Jewish communities in order to finance the costly wars. Bābāī ben Farhād's composition, written in 1729/30, has the title *Kitāb-i sarguzašt-i Kāshān dar bāb-i ʿibrī va gūyīmī-ye thānī*, or "The Book of the Events of Kashan concerning the Second (Conversion) from Judaism to a Foreign Faith." The Jews of Kashan were forced converts to Islam for seven months, after which they were allowed, against payment of a high ransom, to revert to Judaism. Extracts in French translation are in W. Bacher, in: REJ, 53 (1907), 85–110. A facsimile edition is available in A. Netzer, *Sifrut Parsit-Yehudit* (1978). A short presentation is in A. Netzer, *Oẓar Kitvei ha-Yad* (1985), 43–44. An English translation is by V.B. Moreen, *Iranian Jewry during the Afghan invasion* (1990). Mashiaḥ ben Refa'el added a supplement to Bābāī ben Farhād's poem, in which he praised the head of the Jewish community in Kashan, Abraham.

Several other minor poets who composed shorter poems in Judeo-Persian are known.

Besides the original compositions in Judeo-Persian, we have Hebrew poems which were translated into Judeo-Persian, mostly poems of a liturgical character.

7. POETRY TRANSCRIBED FROM STANDARD PERSIAN. The Jews of Iran had a taste for poetry, and they read not only the compositions of their own poets but also those of the Muslims. They deeply admired the classical Persian poetry of such writers as Firdawsī, ʿAṭṭār, Niẓāmī, ʾumar Khayyām, Rūmī, Saʿdī, Ḥāfiẓ, and Jāmī. They transcribed a large number of Persian texts into Hebrew characters. Among the various types of Persian classical poetry – romantic, lyrical, and didactic – popularized in transliteration were *Khusrow o Shirin* and *Haft Paikar* ("Seven Images") by Niẓāmī (d. 1201); some poems of the *Mathnawī* by Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī (d. 1273); some parts of the *Gulistān* by Saʿdi (d. 1291); the *Dīwān* of Ḥāfiẓ (d. 1390); *Yūsuf o Zulaykhā* by Jāmī (1414–92); portions of the *Dīwān* of Saʾib of Isfahan (d. 1678); and others. The Jews often emulated these poets and composed works in the same style. A survey of some of the more popular Muslim compositions which circulated in Hebrew transliteration can be found in A. Netzer, *Oẓar Kitvei ha-Yad* (1985), 39–41. A discussion of some phenomena connected to this topic is by J.P. Asmussen, in: SBB, 8 (1968), 44–53; and in the same author's *Studies in Judeo-Persian literature* (1973), 60–109.

8. POPULAR STORIES. A large number of popular stories are found in the Judeo-Persian manuscripts, often embedded in the midrash-type literature mentioned earlier. A succinct summary of these compositions is found in A. Netzer, *Oẓar Kitvei ha-Yad* (1985), 49. In Israel, a concentrated effort has been made to collect orally transmitted stories by Persian Jews, and many of them have been written down in Hebrew and are preserved in the Archive of the Israeli Folkstories. Examples of publications of folktales may by quoted: two small volumes of *Ma'asiyyot Nifla'im* ("Wonderful Tales"), which were printed by Israel Gul Shaulof and his son in Jerusalem (1911/2); a collection of Bukharan stories was published by J. Pinhasi, *Folktales from Bukhara*, ed. D. Noy, Jerusalem (1978, Heb.).

9. MINIATURES IN JUDEO-PERSIAN MANUSCRIPTS. Persian Jews took part in or sponsored the production of miniatures to illuminate manuscripts. In some of the Shāhīn and ʿImrānī manuscripts, and in those of the classical poetry in Hebrew transliteration, large colored miniatures of exceptional beauty were incorporated. It is not clear who the artists were who drew these pictures. It is quite possible that in some cases non-Jewish workshops were responsible for the execution of the illustrations in Judeo-Persian manuscripts. A study of the miniatures is by J. Gutmann, in: SBB, 8 (1968), 54–76. An illustrated catalogue of miniatures in Judeo-Persian manuscripts is provided by V.B. Moreen, *Miniature Painting in Judeo-Persian Manuscripts* (1985).

10. THE ACTIVITY OF THE BUKHARAN MEN OF LETTERS IN THE MODERN PERIOD. In Bukhara, where the Jews were not subjected to the persecution their brethren endured in Safavid Persia, there appeared Jewish poets and translators who began to create Jewish literature and poetry in their own Bukharan, or rather Judeo-Tajik, dialect. Outstanding among them was Yūsuf *al-Yahūdī (d. 1755), an exponent of the biblical narrative developed by Shāhīn and ʿImrānī. See on him W. Bacher, in: *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenlaendischen Gesellschaft*, 53 (1899), 389–427. He wrote a *Mukhammas*, an ode in praise and glory of Moses; *Haft Barāderān* ("The Seven Brothers"), based on the Midrash story of the martyrdom of the seven brothers and their mother; and bilingual and trilingual hymns honoring biblical heroes. He also wrote a poetic version of *Megillat Antiochus* and his translations into the Bukharan dialect of many of the **zemirot* of Israel *Najara were incorporated into the Judeo-Persian song books still in use today. Under his inspiration there emerged a school of Bukharan Jewish poets. It included a Judeo-Persian translation and commentary, *Daniel-Nameh*, which was edited by Binyamin b. Misha'el, known as Amina, who published a Judeo-Persian Book of Esther in metric form and translated some poems of Solomon ibn *Gabirol, such as *Azharot* and *Yigdal*, into Judeo-Persian.

In 1793 a significant cultural and religious change was inaugurated by the arrival in Bukhara of R. Joseph Maman al-Maghribī ("the messenger from Zion"). A native of Tetuan, Morocco, who had settled in Safed, he came as the official emissary (*shaliaḥ*) of that community. During his 30-year stay, he became the spiritual leader of Bukharan Jewry and effected a radical transformation in its religious life. He established Jewish schools, introduced the Sephardi rite, and imported books from abroad, especially from Shklov, Russia. Under his leadership the Bukharan Jews reestablished contact with other Jewish communities, and integrated their religious life with that of the Jewish people as a whole.

A narrative poem recounts in Judeo-Bukharan the story of a certain cloth merchant, Khudāidāt, who refused the pressure to convert to Islam and was executed as a martyr. The poem was composed probably in the late 18th or early 19th century by an unknown author. It was first published by C. Salemann, in: *Mémoires de l'Académie Impériale des Sciences*, 7, 42, 14 (1897); and studied by W. Bacher, in: ZDMG, 52 (1898), 197–212; ZFHB, 3 (1899), 19–25. A shortened translation is in V.B. Moreen, *In Queen Esther's Garden* (2000), 238–42.

An outstanding Bukharan Jewish scholar can be credited with a major share in the promotion of Judeo-Persian literature in the modern period, Simon *Ḥakham (1843–1910). He moved in 1890 to Jerusalem, where he joined the rapidly increasing colony of Bukharan Jews. Ḥakham began his activities in Jerusalem as author, translator, editor, and publisher of Judeo-Persian works. Among his many impressive achievements was his Judeo-Tajik translation of the novel *Ahavat Ẓiyyon* by Abraham *Mapu, which appeared in 1908. The crowning glory of Shim'on Ḥakham's literary activities was, however, his translation into Judeo-Bukharan of the Bible (Pentateuch, 5 vols., 1901–02). With this work, Ḥakham entered the ranks of the great Jewish Bible translators. He published an edition of Shāhīn's *Sharḥ al ha-Torah* (3 vols., 1902–08). An edition of Shim'on Ḥakham's *Mūsā nāma* was published by H.H. Paper in Cincinnati (1986). An excerpt is translated into English by V.B. Moreen, *In Queen Esther's Garden* (2000), 200–5.

Of great interest is the collection of *dinim* or religious laws under the title *Likkutei Dinim*, compiled by Abraham Aminof and published in Jerusalem between 1899 and 1904; a study of this book was made by W. Bacher, in: ZFHB, 5 (1901), 147–54; ZDMG, 56 (1902), 729–259.

Under Soviet rule Bukharan Jewry at first enjoyed a measure of cultural autonomy, which it lost by the end of World War II. During the 1960s Yakub Chaimov wrote novels and stories in the Tajik variant of Judeo-Persian, but these were published in Uzbek or Russian and presented as the work of a Muslim. In 1959 nearly 20,000 Bukharan Jews gave the Tajik dialect as their mother tongue.

11. THE JUDEO-PERSIAN LITERARY CENTER IN JERUSALEM. Judeo-Persian literature experienced an unforeseen development in the second half of the 19th century, not in Persia but in Jerusalem. This was precipitated by a wave of immigration into Ereẓ Israel, paralleling the Ḥovevei Ẓion immigration from Russia, of Persian-speaking Jews from Bukhara, Turkestan, Afghanistan, and Persia itself. They settled in Tiberias and Safed, in Haifa and Jaffa, but most of them went to Jerusalem, where they established a colony. In Jerusalem they inaugurated a new and spectacular epoch in the history of Judeo-Persian literary activity. Their leaders were eager to help those who remained in their lands of origin and to cement stronger ties between Jerusalem and the "remnants of Israel" in the remote Persian-speaking Oriental Diaspora. They established in Jerusalem a publishing center to perpetuate the manuscripts which Persian Jews had brought with them. This led to a decisive change in the history of Judeo-Persian literature.

Although some Judeo-Persian works had previously been published in Europe, particularly in Vienna and Vilna, Jerusalem now became the main center of Judeo-Persian printing activities. Almost every field in the religious, literary, historical, and philosophical spectrum was included in its program: Bible, Bible commentaries, prayer books for every occasion, rabbinical writings, Mishnah and Zohar, medieval Jewish poetry and philosophy, *piyyutim, seliḥot, pizmonim, midrashim*, historical narratives, and anthologies of songs and stories. Even translations of non-Jewish literature, such as portions of the *Arabian Nights* and selections from Shakespeare's *Comedy of Errors*, found their way to the printer. These literary activities represented a creative effort, a cooperative endeavor of all the groups of Persian-speaking Jews who had settled in the Holy Land. Among the promoters and initiators were the above-mentioned Shim'on Ḥakham of Bukhara and Solomon Babajan Pinchasoff of Samarkand; the leading rabbis of Herat in Afghanistan; the Garjis; Mullā Mordecai b. Raphael *Aklar (Mullā Murād), the secret rabbi of the *anusim* of *Mashhad; and many leading personalities from Shiraz, Hamadan, Isfahan, and other Jewish communities who settled in Jerusalem. They converted Zion into a cultural center for Persian-speaking Jews.

A collection of liturgical poems under the title *Ge'ulat Yisra'el* was printed in Jerusalem in 1969 in Judeo-Persian; it contains several thanksgiving poems composed at the end of the Six-Day War (1967) by Shulamit Tilayoff and others. These poems are given both in Judeo-Persian and in Hebrew, demonstrating the fact that knowledge of the Bukharan dialect was dwindling among the younger members of the community.

12. MODERN JUDEO-PERSIAN. The renaissance of Judeo-Persian literature in Persia found expression in the establishment of a "Society for the Promotion of the Hebrew Language" in 1917 and in the establishment of a Judeo-Persian and Hebrew printing press in Teheran. Teheran became the seat of a Hebrew press and the center of a modern Hebrew and Jewish-Persian literature. Motivated by the endeavor to halt the decline of Jewish life, to combat assimilation and ignorance, and to implant a knowledge of Hebrew, this society published a work titled *Sefer Ḥizzuk Sefat Ever* (1918), a textbook of modern Hebrew. The author, Solomon ben Kohen-Ẓedek of Teheran, was an inspiring leader and teacher of the Jewish community and a former Persian government official. This was the first attempt of its kind in Persia. It concludes with the Hebrew and Persian texts of the Zionist anthem, *Ha-Tikvah*. The society also published the first history of the Zionist movement in the Persian language printed in Hebrew characters (1920) by Aziz ben Jonah Naim, a survey of the Zionist movement, its organizations, and its colonies in Ereẓ Israel. The numerous biblical quotations from Isaiah and the Psalms in this history indicate the strong religious and messianic character of Persian Jewry's conception of Zionism. This history

introduced in Persian Jewish literature leaders of the Zionist movement.

The same Jewish circle also published a Jewish newspaper in the Persian language, *Ha-Ge'ulah* (1920), and another, rather short-lived, periodical called *Ha-Ḥayyim*, which became the mouthpiece of the Jewish renaissance movement in Persia. These periodicals contained some poems by Bialik, first translated into Persian by Aziz ben Jonah Naim. The only other Judeo-Persian newspapers that are known were *Rushnai*, published in Samarkand, and *Raḥamim*, published in Bukhara.

The awakening of Zionism was closely connected with the revival of Judaism. The leading figure in this group, who tried to revive Jewish consciousness among the Persian Jews, was Mulla Elijahu Chayin More. The author of three important works on Jewish tradition, history, and philosophy in Judeo-Persian, *Sefer Derekh Ḥayyim* (1921), *Sefer Gedulat Mordekhai* (1924), and *Sefer Yedei Eliyahu* (1927), he exerted a great influence on his generation. Though deprived of his eyesight, blind from his early youth, this rabbi played a most important role in efforts to lead Persian Jewry toward a Jewish revival.

After the Islamic revolution of Iran (1979), the literary Jewish activity in Iran seems to have halted. A substantial Jewish-Iranian Diaspora was established in various cities in the United States, and with time a whole range of publications was established in standard Persian, in the Arab-Persian alphabet. The younger generation, while wishing to retain its double identity, Jewish and Iranian, is no longer familiar with the brand of Persian written in Hebrew characters. Among the efforts to inculcate Jewish-Iranian consciousness in the Jewish public, both in Iran and in the new Judeo-Iranian Diaspora, mention must be made of the publications of Amnon Netzer, professor of Persian at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem, who, besides writing a history of the Jews in Persian and an anthology of Judeo-Persian poetry in the Arab-Persian script, and besides contributing much to the academic study of Jewish Iranian history, also edited a few volumes of a high-level intellectual annual under the title of *Pādyāvand*.

13. HISTORY OF RESEARCH INTO JUDEO-PERSIAN LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE. *1. The major collections of Judeo-Persian manuscript.* One of the earliest manuscripts acquired for Western libraries was brought to Italy by Giambattista Vecchietti, who got in Lar in 1606 the Judeo-Persian Pentateuch version now kept at the Vatican Library.

Abraham Firkovich (1785–1874) was a Karaite scholar and collector of manuscripts, who traveled to Palestine, Syria and Egypt, and acquired valuable Judeo-Persian manuscripts, sold to the Imperial (now Public) Library of St. Petersburg.

Cambridge University Library acquired a large portion of the manuscripts in the Cairo *Genizah*, including a surprising number of manuscript fragments in Early Judeo-Persian through the efforts of S. Schechter (1847–1915).

One of the most important collectors was Elkan Nathan Adler (1861–1946), who acquired manuscripts during his travels in many lands. His collection is now housed in the library of the Jewish Theological Seminary in New York. A catalogue of his collection was published in Cambridge (1921).

The Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris houses one of the important collections of Judeo-Persian manuscripts, chiefly Bible translations (catalogues by H. Zotenberg, 1866; E. Blochet, 1905). An equally important collection is kept by the British Library, some of it deriving from the Cairo *Genizah*; the catalogue descriptions are by E. Seligsohn, in: JQR, 15 (1903), 278–310; J. Rosenwasser (1966).

Among other significant acquisitions of Judeo-Persian manuscripts, that of Ezra Spicehandler, who bought manuscripts in Iran on behalf of the Hebrew Union College in the late 1950s, should be mentioned, as well as Amnon Netzer, who collected valuable Judeo-Persian manuscripts in Iran in the 1970s and handed them over to the Ben-Zvi Institute in Jerusalem. His catalogue of the Ben-Zvi Institute J-P collection, *Otsar kitve ha-yad* (1985), may serve as a survey of Judeo-Persian literature.

2. A short history of research. One of the earliest scholars to recognize the interest and importance of the field of Judeo-Persian was Paul de Lagarde (1827–1891), who studied the Judeo-Persian Bible versions in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris and published the translation of Isaiah and parts of Jeremiah and Ezekiel, see Lagarde, *Persische Studien* (1884). He made the oft-quoted comment that from now on it would be impossible to claim knowledge of Persian without having gone through the body of Judeo-Persian literature.

The most important contribution to the investigation of Judeo-Persian literature was made by Wilhelm *Bacher (1850–1913) who turned much of his considerable energy and scholarly output to this field, in which he became the undisputed authority.

In the 1960s the two most prominent scholars of Judeo-Persian literature and language were H.H. Paper, who edited the two oldest complete Pentateuch manuscripts, and J.P. Asmussen, who published a long list of books and articles on various Judeo-Persian themes. At the same time Ernst Mainz published a series of Bible versions from the Paris Collections. The most important contribution to the study of Judeo-Persian dialectology is Gilbert Lazard, who emphasized the importance of Judeo-Persian for the study of the development of the Persian language, showing as he did the intermediate position of Judeo-Persian between Middle Persian and Classical Persian, while demonstrating that the early Judeo-Persian texts derived from different local dialect, which explains their divergence from the Classical Persian texts. D.N. MacKenzie studied the Karaite Book of Precepts and the problems of the Tafsir of Ezekiel from St. Petersburg. E. Yarshater devoted some studies to the spoken dialects of Persian Jews. A. Netzer made immense contribution to the study of the history of Judeo-Persian literature of the classical period by identifying the authorship of works and discovering the precise dates and places of several of the authors. He also published a number of important J-P works.

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[Gilbert Lazard, Walter Joseph Fischel, and Herbert H. Paper / Shaul Shaked (2nd ed.)]

JUDEO-PROVENÇAL, the name given to the various dialects spoken among the Jews of Provence. By the sixth Century C.E. Jews formed important communities in the southern area of France known as Provence. The oldest texts in Judeo-Provençal are the glosses found in the *Ittur* of *Isaac ben Abba Mari of Marseilles, written between 1170 and 1193; in the glosses found in the anonymous *Sefer ha-Shorashim* appended to the *Farḥi Bible* (Ms. Sassoon no. 368, p. 42–165); and in extracts from an anonymous 12th-century commentary on the First Prophets (Margoliouth, Cat, no. 249). Other commentaries of the 13th–14th centuries also provide examples of Provençal and Catalonian glosses transcribed in Hebrew letters. The only medieval texts still preserved in Judeo-Provençal are a fragment of the Book of Esther by the 14th-century Crescas du Caylar (published by A. Neubauer and P. Mayer in *Romania*, 21 (1892), 194–227) and a translation of the daily prayers (*siddur*), also from the 14th–15th centuries (Ms. Roth 32). These texts were composed in the vernacular for the benefit of women who could not understand the Hebrew original. A literary text written in the common language of its time, the Judeo-Provençal Esther fragment, though transcribed in Hebrew characters, contains no words or phrases of Hebrew origin. The *siddur*, however, is interspersed with Hebraisms inherent to a translation of this kind. These consist mainly of terms which cannot be easily translated, such as **צבור** for

מועדות, מזבח, פרוכת, בכורים, פסח, פאה, חטאת, גויה, קהל for צבאות, כהנים, ימים טובים. The Hebrew transcription is based on a system more or less common to both texts, and provides no characteristics which would point to a specifically "Jewish" pronunciation, except for some examples of metathesis (*torp* for *trop*, *pormet* for *promet*, *plubic* for *public*) and transposition (*nembres* for *menbres*), which seem to be merely transcription errors. These texts do not warrant the identification of a Judeo-Provençal language distinct from the Provençal in use at this period. They nevertheless do not exclude the possibility of a specifically Jewish dialect or speech such as was later found in the *Comtat-Venaissin.

In later times (17th and 18th centuries) the Jews in the Comtat customarily spoke Provençal, Hebrew, and French. By its phonetic and morphological elements, Judeo-Provençal differed slightly from the Provençal Rhodanien of the Gentile surroundings. Traces of this language, commonly known as *Chuadit* (or Shuadit; perhaps from the Hebrew שפה יהודית *Safah Yehudit* or simply יהודית; the term appears for the first time in a satire of 1803), or sometimes as *ebraicum vulgare* or *jargon de l'escolo*, are to be found in the satires and comedies written in Provençal by non-Jews who introduced Jewish characters using this type of speech. The oldest document of this kind dates only from the 17th century. The comedy *Harcanot et Barcanot* (published by Hirschler in 1896 and, in a second version by Pansier in 1925), entirely written in this language, is the most important specimen of the language of Provençal Jews at the end of the 18th century. Its author was probably the lawyer Bedarrides of Montpellier, who had only an indirect knowledge of the language of the Jews of Carpentras, but the principal phonetic characters were later distinguished in Carpentras by Hirschler in the second half of the 19th century. The most important phonetic changes can be seen in Table: Judeo-Provençal – Phonetics.

Judeo-provencal – phonetics

VOWELS	
l > i	plus > pius, blanc > bianc
endings: ero > èyo	tabatièro > tabatyèo
	filho > fèyo, escanbilho > escobèyo,
ilho > èyo	familho > famèyo
iso > èyo	camiso > camèyo, Aliso > Alèyo
ב > ü	katàv > kataü, ganav > ganaü, rav > raü
l > h	galino > gahino
a (final) > é in Provençalisms and Gallicisms:	apresta > apresté, douna > douné, debita > debité
CONSONANTS	
s > f	basar > bafar, cènt > fant, seḥel > fehe
ט, צ, שׂ, ת > f	perat > peraf mesilah > mefilah ẓurah > furah seḥel > fehel emet > emef
ז > v	zonah > vonah mamzer > mamver
כ, ח > r	ḥadash > radas ḥokhmah > rourmah ḥote > rotie
j, g (soft) > ch	ges > ches louja > loucha juge > chuche
י (yod) > ch	yehudit > chuadit yayin > chain yaḥid > chaïd

Together with this dialect, rich in Hebraisms and Gallicisms, there exists a language written in Hebrew characters which, for the most part, shares its linguistic and lexicological traits with the other Provençal dialects, thus constituting one of the literary dialects of Provence. This language is represented only in the *Obros*, Hebrew-Provençal songs in which verses in Hebrew and Provençal alternate; these were sung on Purim, on the evening before a circumcision, and at special events (critical edition by M. Lazar, 1963). The author of the major part of *Obros* was Mardochée Astruc (end of 17th cent.) who also composed a tragedy in Provençal on Queen Esther entitled *La Tragediou de la Reine Esther*. This was revived in the 18th century by *Jacob de Lunel, who edited it under this same title (The Hague, 1774; 2nd ed. by E. Sabatier, Nîmes, 1877). The language of the *Obros* is the pure Comtadin dialect of Provence transliterated into Hebrew. It is a literary form of speech coexisting with the less pure language of Judeo-Provençal. The language of the *Tragediou de la Reine Esther* is also a debased but purely Provençal dialect, such as was used in Provence in the 17th–18th centuries, and free from the characteristics peculiar to the Jewish dialects.

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JUDEO-TAT (**Zuhun Tati**; **Zuhun Juhuri**), Iranian language derived from a spoken form of New Persian and heavily influenced by Azeri Turkic; traditionally spoken in Jewish communities of the eastern and northern Caucasus, known as the Mountain Jews (*dağ-çufut*; *gorskie jevrei*; *yehudim harariyim* / *qavqaziyim*). Judeo-Tat does form a dialectal unity with neighboring Tati dialects spoken in the past by a Muslim population; these "Tati" Muslim dialects of Azerbaijan and Dagestan, in turn, are to be distinguished from the so-called Southern

Tati dialects of northern* Iran. On the other hand, Judeo-Tat is close to a dialect of the New Persian type spoken, in the past, by a small Armeno-Grigorian community in northern-western Azerbaijan. During the 19th and 20th centuries, Judeo-Tat was adopted by smaller Jewish linguistic minorities of Transcaucasia and northern Caucasus (Neo-Aramaic, Kurdish, Azeri, Adyge-Circassian). The Mountain Jews migrated to Transcaucasia and the eastern and northern Caucasus from Iran during the post-Mongol and, especially, Safavid periods. There is no linguistic evidence to support the claim that they are presumably descended from Iranian military colonies established during the Sassanid period (226–641 C.E.) on the northern frontier of the empire. From the early 19th century, the Mountain Jews were established chiefly in the towns of Makhachkala / Mahaç-Qal'ah and Derbend (Darband, Dagestan), in villages situated in the Caucasian foothills of southern Dagestan and in the district of Qubba (northern Azerbaijan). In the early 21st century the Mountain Jews are to be found chiefly in well-organized communities in Israel, Qubba, Moscow, New York, and Derbend. Before 1917 only two books existed in Judeo-Tat, both translated from Hebrew ("What is Zionism?" and the Sephardi prayerbook, both printed in Vilna). During World War I a newspaper appeared, *Hed Harim*. In the Soviet period the Mountain Jews were recognized as one of the nationalities of the republic of Dagestan, and their language ("Tati") became one of the five official languages of the Dagestan Republic. In 1929, as a secularization measure, the Latin alphabet was imposed on this language in place of the Hebrew one; this was done as part of the general "Latinization politics" in the U.S.S.R.; however, by 1939 the language politics had changed and all the Latin scripts were replaced by the Cyrillic alphabet. In the Soviet period, especially in the 1920s–1960s, there were many Judeo-Tat schools, newspapers and other publications. In the 1960s, some community leaders in Soviet Dagestan (but not in Azerbaijan) promoted the politics of "Tatization," claiming non-Jewish origin of the Mountain Jews and encouraging them to register as "Tats." (There were, however, no other registered "Tats" except the Mountain Jews"). Though withering, this language is now one of the nine literary and official languages of Dagestan; in the 1959 Soviet census about 30,000 Jews declared Judeo-Tat as their mother tongue. Judeo-Tat is an endangered language, and almost all Mountain Jews now speak Russian and/or Hebrew. There are publishing activities in Israel and Russia, but this is either in Russian or in Hebrew.

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[Dan Shapira (2nd ed.)]

JUDGES (Heb. שׁוֹפְטִים), **BOOK OF**, the second book in the second section of the Bible, called Prophets (*Nevi'im*). (See Table: Book of Judges – Contents.) The Book of Judges is named for the series of charismatic leaders of the period between the death of Joshua and the institution of monarchy in ancient Israel. None of them has a name that includes the divine element Yahweh. These judges were not judges in the legal sense, but heroes upon whom "rested the spirit of God" and who led single tribes or groups of tribes in military campaigns to free Israel from periodic foreign oppression.

(The Akkadian cognate *šāpiṭu* has the meaning "district governor," "high administrative official"; see CAD Š/I, 459). Their rule was temporary, and in no case did these leaders receive the allegiance of all the tribes. Only in the case of Deborah (4:4), the only female judge, is there any hint of a judicial function among the activities of a judge-savior. It should be noted that other women play significant roles, active and passive, in the narratives of Judges. One woman, *Jael, assassinates a general; an anonymous woman kills Abimelech, ruler of Shechem (Judg. 9:5–54). Samson's unnamed mother receives an annunciation before his father (Judg. 13:2–3). Clever women get what they want from a father (Akhsah; Judg. 1:12–15); a husband (Samson's Philistine wife; Judg. 14:15–18); and a lover (Delilah; Judg. 16: 4–21). A father's vow leads to the (likely) sacrifice of his daughter (Judg. 11:30–40; but see

Book of Judges – Contents

1:1–2:5	Completion of the conquest.
2:6–3:6	Introduction to the careers of the judges.
3:7–11	Othniel.
3:12–30	Ehud.
3:31	Shamgar.
4:1–5:31	Deborah and Barak (and Jael).
6:1–8:35	Gideon (Jerubbaal).
9:1–57	Abimelech.
10:1–5	Tola and Jair.
10:6–16	Introduction to later judges.
10:17–12:7	Jephthah.
12:8–15	Ibzan, Elon and Abdon.
13:1–16:31	Samson.
17:1–21:25	Migration of Dan to the north and war against the Benjamites.

Marcus). The rape of a woman leads to civil war (Judges 19–21) and the abduction of many women leads to reconciliation (Judg. 21:10–25).

The exact nature of the early history of Israel in Palestine has long been a matter of controversy among scholars. (See *History.)

Completion of the Conquest (1:1–2:5)

Though the biblical account of a unified conquest is unhistorical, it was taken as factual by the compilers of Judges. The biblical text places the events of the first chapter of Judges after the death of Joshua. Israel had had a long series of impressive victories, but several areas of the land were yet to be conquered (David Kimḥi on Judg. 1:1). Whereas the initial stage of the conquest was carried out by all Israel in a single camp under one leader, Joshua, the mopping-up operations were left to the individual tribes. The text relates the capture of several cities that had escaped the unified onslaught of the tribes. Ending the account is a listing of the cities not destroyed by the tribal operations, which were placed under tribute by Israel. Similar city lists appear in the latter half of the Book of Joshua. Medieval Jewish commentators already pointed out that their mention in Joshua is not primary. Their place in the internal historical continuum is in Judges 1, after the death of Joshua (Rashi on Josh. 15:14). It is difficult to reconstruct a chronology within the Book of Judges, because judgeships that may have been contemporaneous or overlapping are presented as though they occurred sequentially. Joshua 1–11 and Judges 1 provide two distinct accounts of the Israelite conquest of Palestine. The unified conquest idea is the product of authors, who, accustomed to the campaign methods of the Assyrian and other empires, retrojected them into their own history. The account in Judges 1, which concentrates on individual tribes, is a pro-Judahite polemic contrasting how the southern Judahites with Simeonite aid fought the Canaanites and mostly wiped them out, whereas the northern tribes at best subjected them and lived among them, thereby setting the stage for the cycles of apostasy and return (Amit, 1999). Another polemic is directed at the sanctuary at Dan, which though Yahwist, is fully equipped with a carved image and other disapproved paraphernalia (Judg. 18:14–31).The polemics against Benjamin and Saul are apparent in chapters 19–21 which close the book.

Introduction to the Careers of the Judges (2:6–3:6)

Although the present Book of Judges contains much ancient material, the final compilers indicate their temporal and geographic distance from the events by phrases such as "in those days" (18:1; 19:1; 20:28; 21:25); "to this very day" (18:12); "until the land went into exile" (19:30); and "Shiloh, which is in the land of Canaan" (21:12). There is less evidence of the work of the Deuteronomists in Judges than in other parts of the Deuteronomistic History (I Samuel–II Kings). Nonetheless, modern scholars are generally in agreement that the central core of Judges (2:6–16:31) was put into its final form by Deuteronomic editors. These editors provided a framework which joined the stories of individual judges around a common theme, the recurrent lapses into idolatry by the Israelites. The history of the period is understood as cyclical. Israel sins by chasing after false gods, and therefore God punishes the people by subjecting them to foreign oppressors. Realizing their misdeeds, the people repent of their idolatry and pray to the Lord for deliverance. The Lord sends a judge to rescue the people from the hands of the oppressors. A tranquil period follows. Some time after the death of the judge the people lapse into idolatry and the cycle begins again (3:7–9, 12, 14–15; 4:1–3; 6:1, 7). These principles, underlying the present structure of the Book of Judges, are stated and elaborated in the introduction to the careers of the judges (2:6–3:6).

Although it would be mistaken to consider the Book of Judges (and most of the rest of the Bible) as literature, the redaction is artful and there are some nice literary touches. Halpern and others detect scatological and sexual humor in the story of Ehud (Judges 3). The exchange over Samson's riddles is riddled with double entendre (Judges 14), and Delilah's henpecking of Samson (Judges 16) conforms to stereotypes modern and ancient (Prov. 19:13). The names *Cushan-Rishathaim, "Cushan-of Double Wickedness," and Gaal Ben Ebed "Loathsome, son of Slave" (Boling) are likely mutilations. There is an ancient ethnic joke about anyone from Ephraim who, when asked to say *shibboleth*, (Judg. 11:6) "said '*sibboleth*,' for he did not prepare (Heb. *yakin*) to pronounce it right," even though his life depended on it. The activities of the judges are arranged geographically from south to north.

Othniel (3:7–11)

*Othniel, the first judge mentioned in Judges, is a transitional figure between the elders who had outlived Joshua (Judg. 2:7) and the judges. As a youth, he had participated in the Conquest, capturing the city of Debir (Judg. 1:13). In chapter 3 he appears as a fighter against foreign oppression, the first of a series of charismatic leaders. Since the story of Othniel is little more than the typical framework formula of Judges, some scholars maintain that the narrative is a fiction invented to place a Judahite hero among the ranks of the judges. Others have rejected the narrative as unhistorical because of the unreal name *Cushan-Rishathaim and the improbability of a northern Aramean ruler oppressing the southern tribe of Judah. Malamat (in Bibliography) made an effort to defend the authenticity of the Othniel narrative, citing Aramean inroads into Egypt around 1200 B.C.E. The Israelites, not particularly important in themselves, were subdued during the Aramean march toward Egypt. It is the Palestine-centered biblical narrative that obscures this fact. Oded sees this story as a hidden polemic against the Saulides, which nevertheless contains a vague reminiscence of an ancient battle (extensive bibliography on Cushan in Oded).

Ehud (3:12–30)

A hero of Benjamin, *Ehud rescues his tribe and others from a long oppression by the Moabites, led by *Eglon. The assassination of Eglon (3:21) was followed by *shofar* blasts (3:27), probably a prearranged signal for Israelite troops to take the fords of the Jordan, thus preventing any Moabite retreat (Kaufmann, 1962, in bibl., 106). Some scholars have suggested that the story is compiled from two sources, citing, e.g., Ehud's "double" entrance in 3:19–20, while others have maintained that such repetitions are just a bit of sloppiness on the part of the storyteller, very common in folktales (Kraeling, in bibl.). There is much discussion about the location of Eglon's house, whether it was in Jericho, in Moab proper, or in some military camp west of the Jordan.

Shamgar (3:31)

The same *Shamgar is mentioned in the Song of Deborah as living in a time of great fear of the enemy, a fear so great that the Israelites kept off the roads lest the enemy find them (Judg. 5:6). Although it is stated that Shamgar succeeded Ehud, Ehud does not die until 4:1, which leads directly into the story of Deborah. Judges reports that "he also" saved Israel, but not how many years of peace there were under his leadership. The regular elements for the description of a judge, e.g., a theological motivation for the oppression of Israel and an indication of where he was located, are lacking. The Philistines are the enemy, despite other biblical evidence that the first real clashes with the Philistines took place later, in the period of Samuel and Eli. Finally, there is the question of Shamgar's very un-Israelite sounding name. Some scholars acknowledged the historical existence of Shamgar, because his name is mentioned in the Song of Deborah. One conjecture was to identify Shamgar as a Canaanite hero from Beth-Anath in Galilee (Albright, in bibl., 111). Another scholar explained that Shamgar was originally a Canaanite warrior so great that he was given the title "son of Anath," the goddess of war (van Selms, in bibl.). Shamgar is a foreign name, probably Hurrian, but this is not decisive, since many foreigners became part of Israel. His conquests resemble those of Samson, who did not use a regular weapon. Both Shamgar and Samson were active against the Philistines in the southwest in the period before Deborah, and the Septuagint traditions which pair them are probably correct (see chapter 13 below). In recent years arrowheads bearing the names *bin-anat* and Aramaic *bar anat,* dating from the 11th to 7th centuries, have been discovered. Following the lead of van Selms, we note that Anat was an archer. Presumably the patronymic ben-Anat was given to skilled archers but Shamgar is not so designated. But as Cross has noted, several arrowheads demonstrate that *bin-anat* was a proper name rather than a patronymic, so that Shamgar ben Anath is to be understood as Shamgar the son of Ben-Anath.

Deborah and Barak (4–5)

Israel sinned after the death of Ehud, and their punishment was enslavement to *Jabin, the king of Canaan. Because the Book of Joshua (chapter 11) attributes Jabin's defeat to Joshua, attempts at harmonization were made as early as the Middle Ages. According to Kimḥi, Jabin of Judges 4 was a descendant of the king of the same name defeated by Joshua. When Ḥaẓor was destroyed, the survivors of the royal family fled to Ḥarosheth-Goiim, which became the new seat of the kingship (David Kimḥi on Judg. 4:2). From this town Jabin and his general *Sisera oppressed the Israelites in the area. *Deborah sent a message to *Barak son of Abinoam of Kedesh-Naphtali, telling him to bring the men of Zebulun and Naphtali to seize Mount Tabor (Judg. 4:6; see Tur-Sinai). Barak refused to go without Deborah, and she agreed to accompany him, noting, however, that the death of Sisera would be at the hands of a woman. Sisera was leading his chariots toward the area when the Israelite forces swept down from Mount Tabor and inflicted a decisive defeat on his army at the Kishon River. Sisera sought refuge in the tent of Ḥeber the Kenite, who was allied with Jabin. *Jael, the wife of Ḥeber, took him in and killed him when he was asleep by hammering a tent peg through his temples. Barak was informed by Jael of Sisera's death.

From then on the Israelites grew stronger and stronger until they finally overwhelmed Jabin, the king of Canaan (Judg. 4:24). In the parallel poetic account of the battle with Sisera, Deborah sang her famous song (Judges 5). Most modern critics accept the Song of Deborah as one of the oldest biblical compositions, perhaps nearly contemporary with the events it describes. The prose narrative in chapter 4 is more problematic. At the root of all difficulties is the presence of Jabin, king of Canaan, who is identified with the Jabin mentioned in Joshua 11:1–9. Most explanations of the presence of Jabin revolve around the theory that two narratives were somehow fused into one. One account was of a war waged by Zebulun and Naphtali against Jabin, and the second was the war against Sisera, which is the subject of the song (Moore, in bibl., 109). The references to Jabin in Judges 4 are reminiscent of Joshua's victory in Joshua. In his attempt to make the conquest appear as a united effort, a later editor took a tale about a victory by Zebulun and Naphtali and changed it into a national battle during the days of Joshua (Burney, in bibl., 81). Any questions raised by the contradictions between Judges 4 and Judges 5 are answered by showing that these two accounts are not parallel at all, but a confusion of two distinct battles against two different enemies. Others advance the theory that Joshua 11 and the Song of Deborah do not speak of two distinct battles, but of two scenes in the same campaign. In later times, it was not known who was responsible for the great defeat, Jabin, the northern commander, or Sisera, commander of the plains forces (Batten, in bibl, 34). Given the current consensus that Joshua 11 is an unhistorical attempt to credit Joshua with victory over the northern kings, the theory is unlikely. Many scholars conceive of the prose narrative of Judges 4 as an independent formulation of the events surrounding the war with Sisera. Others see the prose account as derived from the poem. Although the two narratives are contradictory, they nonetheless complement one another, in a manner hardly unique in biblical redaction (see, e.g., the contradictory creation accounts in Genesis). One cannot avoid consulting the prose account for several important facts, including the identity of Shamgar, son of Anath, the reasons why Deborah and Barak were involved in the battle, and the function and the title of Sisera.

Gideon (6–8)

The story of the fourth major judge, *Gideon, is probably a composite of two stories (7:1–8:3; 8:4–21). Midianite raids annually terrorized the Israelite populace, and an anonymous prophet tells the people that these raids are a punishment for Israel's turning away from God. Gideon's call to judgeship was validated first by the appearance of an angel of God and second by a miracle involving wet and dry fleece. (In divination it was not uncommon to inquire more than once in order to assure the reliability of the oracle.) With a force of only 300 men he routed the camp of the Midianites with a daring night attack. Pursuit of the fleeing Midianites resulted in the death of the Midianite princes Oreb and Zeeb, and later in the blood revenge killings of Midianite kings Zebaḥ and Ẓalmunna. Kingship was offered to Gideon because of his exploits, but he declined, saying that kingship belongs only to God. Some scholars have cast doubt on the historicity of the first half of the Gideon story with its dominant theme of a national holy war. They also regarded with great skepticism the possibility of 300 men overcoming a large enemy camp. In contrast, the second incident involving the blood feud against Zebaḥ and Ẓalmunna describes the 12th-century atmosphere. It has an air of simple realism missing in the first story (McKenzie, in bibl., 130–7). Other scholars regard this approach as an oversimplification. They regard as implausible that a personal blood feud could impress itself on the national consciousness as the "day of Midian" (Isaiah 9:3). Several contemporary Israeli scholars have defended the 300-man raid as making sense from the military point of view. Rather than a miraculous fantasy, they see it as a logical recourse to a well coordinated night attack to offset the enemy's advantage in numbers and arms.

Abimelech (9)

The story of *Abimelech is a supplement to the Gideon narratives. Son of Gideon and his concubine in Shechem (8:31), Abimelech used money given him from the temple of Baal-Berith to hire men to murder his 70 half brothers from the house of Gideon. Jotham, the one surviving brother, related an old parable of the trees' electing the bramble bush to rule over them and applied it to Abimelech. He predicted a break between Abimelech and his Shechemite supporters, and a short-lived rule for Abimelech. True to his prediction, a rebellion under *Gaal soon broke out; Abimelech put it down, but in a campaign against nearby Thebeẓ, a woman threw a millstone at him from the city walls, mortally wounding him. Abimelech ordered his armor-bearer to kill him, lest it be said that a woman killed him. He reigned only three years, failing his kingly ambitions mainly because there was no outside threat for which the people might have needed a strong king (Oesterley and Robinson, in bibl., 153).

Tola and Jair (10:1–5)

These two minor judges are mentioned as having judged Israel after the death of Abimelech and before Jephthah. Some scholars have concluded from these notices, lacking the usual framework of the Book of Judges (see above), that the minor judges were judges in the legal sense, filling a central office in an amphictyonic league of the 12 tribes. The major judges were charismatic leaders and not judges, and the only reason these two separate groups were combined was the presence of Jepthah in both groups (Noth, in bibl., 101). Noth's amphictony hypothesis has generally been abandoned. Other scholars have suggested that the names of minor judges are clan names, which were inserted to bring the total number of judges to 12 (Burney, in bibl., 289–90). Conservative scholars have rejected these suggestions. In their view, the minor judges are also "saviors" and not mere adjudicators. Use of the term *wa-yaqom* (*va-yakom*, "and he arose") implies that they came to power sporadically, as did the major judges (Kaufmann, 1962, in bibl., 46–48).

Introduction to Later Judges (10:6–16)

The characteristic framework of the Book of Judges is expanded into a recapitulation of recent history, recounting the Israelites' worship of foreign gods. God rebukes the people (evidently through a prophet not mentioned), telling them that He will punish them, and challenging them to rely on their false gods to protect them on the day of His wrath. The people confess their sins and remove the false gods from their midst. This forms an introduction to the story of Jephthah.

Jephthah (10:17–12:7)

*Jephthah's reputation as a warrior in the land of Tob reached the elders of Gilead, and they asked him to be their "chief" (*qaẓin*) in a war against Ammon, who had attacked Israel. They tried to convince him to forget the shame the elders caused him when they had condoned his expulsion because of his illegitimate birth. Jephthah accepted their offer of leadership in war on the condition that he would lead the people in peacetime as well. Before going to war Jephthah began a diplomatic correspondence with Ammon, arguing that Ammon had no cause for war with Israel, since Israel had conquered the Transjordan territory from the Amorites, not from Ammon (Levi b. Gershom on Judg. 11:12). Furthermore, God had given the land to Israel as an inheritance, and for more than 300 years no counterclaims had been made (Judg. 11:26). The arguments did not convince the Ammonites. Jephthah made a solemn vow that if God would grant him victory, whatever emerged from his house to greet him on his return would be sacrificed to God as a burnt offering (11:31). Jephthah was successful in his battle, and on his return home his daughter was the first to greet him. In fulfillment of his vow Jephthah offered his daughter as a sacrifice, after she had been given time to bewail her virginity (11:29–40). Medieval Jewish commentators stress the unbinding nature of Jephthah's vow according to Jewish law, and many suggest that his daughter was not really sacrificed, but instead was condemned to eternal virginity (Marcus). One legend acknowledges the sacrifice of Jephthah's daughter, but relates that as a punishment Jephthah was buried "in the cities of Gilead" (12:7), that is, his body slowly rotted and each limb was buried in a different city (David Kimḥi on 12:7). The people of Ephraim complained to Jephthah that they were not called to join the battle. Unlike Gideon, Jephthah gathered an army to fight the Ephraimites. They captured the fords of the Jordan, and all people who attempted to cross the river and who were recognized as Ephraimites were immediately killed. The most extreme critics consider the whole story an etiological narrative designed to explain the yearly observance of the young women of Gilead (Moore, in bibl., 284). More conservative scholars see Jephthah as a historical figure, but believe some elements of the story are not original. In the diplomatic correspondence (11:12–28), Khemosh, god of Moab, rather than Milcom, god of Ammon, is mentioned, and therefore scholars have maintained that this section belongs to another story about Israelite-Moabite relations (Moore, in bibl., 283). Kaufmann suggested that out of diplomatic courtesy Jephthah did not mention Milcom. He used instead the name of the god Khemosh. The Ammonite king understood the hint: the failure of Khemosh to stop Siḥon (Num. 21:26–30) was also the beginning of the failure of Ammon (Kaufmann, 1962, in bibl., 222). More likely, we have an original story of a territorial dispute with the Moabites. According to Jephthah, Israel had held the territory for 300 years, reminiscent of the statement on the stela of King Mesha of Moab (mid-ninth century) that "the men of Gad had dwelt in Ataroth forever" (COS II, 137). The Moabite stratum of the story dates from the ninth century (Taeubler apud Amit 1999, 200). At a later date, perhaps as early as the eighth century (see Amos 1:13) or later (see Zephaniah 2:8) the reality of Ammonite and Judahite hostility was retrojected into pre-monarchic times.

Ibzan, Elon, and Abdon (12:8–15)
See above the discussion of Tola and Jair.

Samson (13–16)
*Samson did not go to war against the enemy as a judge-savior, nor did he lead tribes against a foreign oppressor or invader. He fought alone with his bare hands or with some improvised weapons. His weakness for Philistine women led him into several clashes with the Philistines and finally to his death in the temple of Dagon (16:23–31). Modern scholars have argued that the Samson stories were secular stories of a popular local hero but were given a religious cast by such details as a miraculous birth and the appearance of angels (Renan, in bibl., 282). Others have theorized that the Samson cycle was an Israelite reworking of a sun god myth. The name Samson (from the Hebrew *shemesh*, "sun") and the fact that the events took place near Beth-Shemesh suggest that the people in the area, who worshipped the sun, may have pictured the sun and its rays as the head of a warrior whose strength lay in his locks. A group of stories then grew up around the conception (Renan, *ibid.*, 283–4). Others have rejected this explanation. The name Samson, even if Canaanite in origin, is no proof of his mythical origin. Unlike mythical figures, Samson was not of divine ancestry (but see Reinhartz). Samson was, rather, a "war-Nazirite," a common phenomenon in those days. People believed that the uncut hair of the *Nazirite protected him, and this served as the basis for the legend of a divinely elected hero with superhuman strength, whose strength lay in his hair (Kaufmann, 1962, in bibl., 242, 244). That his hair is the source of his sexual virility is nicely demonstrated (Judg. 16:19) when Delilah tries to initiate sex with him (the only case in the Bible of *innah* directed by a woman toward a man). Chronologically, the Samson stories would seem to fit best before Deborah. In the Samson narrative *Dan is still in the south, but in the Song of Deborah they had already moved north. The stories about Samson were removed from their proper chronological place, because they break up the flowing pattern of Judges 2–12, but the mention of Shamgar was left before Deborah as a reminder that the beginnings of the Philistine problem were at that time (Kaufmann, 1962, in bibl., 113). The presence of the word *ḥiddah*, "riddle"(Judg. 14:12 passim), a loan from Aramaic *aḥidah* after the shift of Aramaic *dhal* to *dalet* in the Imperial Aramaic that arose in the sixth century precludes an early period for the date of composition of that chapter.

Migration of Dan to the North (17–18) and the War Against the Benjaminites (19–21)
These concluding sections have no immediate introductory statements to connect them with the rest of the book and are characterized by the recurring phrase "in those days there was no king in Israel, each man doing what was right in his own eyes" (17:6, 18:1, 19:1, 21:25). It would seem that these sections were intended to illustrate the dangers of irregular tribal rule. The potential anarchy could be prevented only by the crowning of a king. The Danites, unable to resist the pressures of the Philistines in their southern home, traveled to the north and settled there. They stole the cult objects from the personal sanctuary of a certain northerner named Micah and set them up in their new sanctuary at Laish (17–18). The war against the Benjaminites was the direct result of an abominable offense committed by the people of Gibeah. A levite traveler came to Gibeah to spend the night. The people of Gibeah, surrounding the house in which he lodged, demanded that the levite be sent out to them for homosexual acts (19:22). (One point of the story is to show that the Benjaminites of Gibeah shared the values of the ancient Sodomites. The many elements common to Judges 19 and Genesis 19 were already pointed out by Naḥmanides to Gen. 19:8.) His concubine was sent out instead and she was abused until she died. The levite cut her body into 12 pieces, sending one to each of the tribes, demanding revenge for the foul deed. An intertribal war resulted, in which Benjamin was decisively defeated. Fearing that a tribe of Israel might be wiped out, yet not wanting to break their vow against marrying Benjaminites, the Israelites resorted to several subterfuges to repopulate the tribe (21). First they attacked the city of Jabesh-Gilead, which had not participated in the campaign against Benjamin. Only young virgins were spared and given to the men of Benjamin. To acquire women for the rest of the survivors, the Benjaminites were advised to

lie in wait in the vineyards of Shiloh and take for their wives the young girls who usually came there to dance in celebration for the harvest. Technically, this was no breach of the vow, since the women were taken by force. Both medieval and modern commentators have advanced several theories concerning the date of these events. The Danite migration would seem to follow directly on the Samson narratives and be dated some time before Deborah. Perhaps 18:30, in which the first priest of Dan is of the generation of Moses' grandchildren, further supports this thesis (Kaufmann, 1962, in bibl. 267). Various dates have been suggested for the concubine in the Gibeah story, including the period of Othniel, of Joshua, and before Eli, the priest, and Samuel. Some scholars cited the concerted action of the tribes against Gibeah and Benjamin as proof for the theory that, before the foundation of the monarchy, Israel was governed by an amphictyony, a tribal federation grouped around a sanctuary similar to Greek federations, but that view has been generally abandoned.

For all its theological tendentiousness, the picture presented by Judges of conditions in pre-monarchic Israel finds a good deal of archaeological support (Bloch-Smith and Nakhai, 118). In addition, despite the imposition of their own concerns by later writers, Judges has preserved literary fragments of great antiquity and affords insights into the social and religious conditions of the period between the conquest and the monarchy. The theological picture presented by the Book of Judges is that the overriding, uniting goal of conquest was no longer present. The strong loyalty to Yahweh that had characterized the generation of Joshua declined. Israelites turned to the gods of their neighbors. The present Book of Judges stresses the point that these phenomena were the prime cause of national disaster, and that only in true repentance would the nation be able to live a secure life on its land. The Christian author of Hebrews 11:32–33 cites Gideon, Barak, Samson, and Jephthah as examples of ancient worthies whose faith brought them triumph.

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[Gershon Bacon / S. David Sperling (2nd ed.)]

JUDIN, SAMUEL (1730–1800), Russian medalist. Judin possessed extraordinary natural talent and was accepted at a very early age by the School of Engraving of the St. Petersburg (Leningrad) Mint. From 1757 to 1762 he was the principal mint engraver there. In his first year he struck the silver ruble for Peter III; the limited edition showed his Cyrilian initials ("S. Yu.") on the sleeve and is a coveted numismatic item. Judin's best-known medal is the one commemorating the Russian victory over Charles XII of Sweden at Poltava in 1709. He also engraved a group of medals, following previous models, which dealt with the life of Peter the Great. Judin collaborated with Timothy Ivanov on large portrait medals, an excellent example being their joint medal of Elizabeth I of Russia.

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[Daniel M. Friedenberg]

JUDITH (c. 200 C.E.), the wife of R. Ḥiyya. She was the mother of twin daughters, Pazi and Tavi, and twin sons, Judah and Hezekiah. Having suffered unusually in childbirth, she disguised herself and asked her husband whether a woman was commanded by the Torah to propagate the race. On being told that she was not, she drank a sterilizing potion – a form of birth control permitted to women (Shab. 111a). Ḥiyya, however, was greatly displeased (Yev. 65b). According to another account, she claimed unsuccessfully that her father had betrothed her to another man when she was still a child, so that she was forbidden to cohabit with Ḥiyya (Kid. 12b). Judith constantly tormented her husband – so much so that he once told his nephew Rav, "May God deliver you from that which is worse than death," i.e., a bad wife (cf. Eccles. 7:26). He nevertheless used to buy her many gifts, explaining to his surprised nephew, "It is sufficient for us that they bring up our children and save us from sin" (Yev. 63a).

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[Moses Aberbach]

JUDITH, BOOK OF, a historical narrative dating from Second Temple times, included by the Septuagint and the canon of the Catholic and Greek churches in the Bible and by the Protestants in the Apocrypha.

The story is as follows: Nebuchadnezzar, king of Assyria who reigned in Nineveh, after having defeated Arphaxad, king of Media, in the valley of Ragau, sent Holofernes, his commander in chief, on a campaign of conquest, in the course of which he overran all the countries from the border of Persia to Sidon and Tyre. When he reached the valley of Esdraelon before the narrow pass leading to Judea and Jerusalem, he found that, by order of the high priest in Jerusalem, all the passes had been occupied by the Jews living in the fortified mountain-pass towns of Bethulia and Betomesthaim. At this Holofernes summoned a council, as a result of which he ordered that Achior, the Ammonite chief, who had spoken confidently of the victorious power of Israel so long as they remained faithful to God, be sent to the Jews of Bethulia. Holofernes then laid siege to the town. After a month, when there was no water left in Bethulia and its leaders had already decided to open the gates to the enemy, there suddenly appeared a widow named Judith the daughter of Merari. She was of the tribe of Simeon and a resident of Bethulia, young and beautiful, righteous and wealthy. With the permission of the leaders of the town she went down to the camp of Holofernes who, attracted by her wisdom and beauty, invited her to a feast. When Holofernes fell asleep, overcome by wine, Judith took his dagger, cut off his head, and handing it to her maid returned with her to Bethulia. Deprived of their commander in chief by Judith's courageous deed, the panic-stricken Assyrian soldiers fled.

There are many obscure elements in the story. Its date has been assigned to the period of the return to Zion after the Babylonian Exile. At that time the kingdoms of Assyria and Media no longer existed, and hence various other theories have been advanced by scholars. Some (following Luther) have maintained that it is merely an allegory. More probably it is a historical novel written in the days of the Hasmoneans to inspire courage, its historical kernel being found in the events which took place under Artaxerxes III, when in 352 B.C.E. a Cappadocian prince named Holofernes fought against the Egyptians (Diodorus Siculus xvii, 6, 1). However, even this theory presents some difficulty, since the story contains no Greek features (and its geographic and ethnic background even conflicts with such an interpretation). On the other hand it contains definitely Persian names (Holofernes, Bagoas) and elements (such as ἀκινακή for "dagger"; presenting "earth and water" to the king as a sign of surrender; the appellation "the God of heaven" for God of Israel; and the royal designation, "the king of all the earth"). It has therefore been suggested that the entire book is a "Persian" production. While, according to this view, the background of the story is Darius I's war against Phraortes, the "king" of Media at the time of the return to Zion (which is mentioned in the book), it was written only at the end of the Persian period, in the wake of the great revolt of 362 B.C.E. (in the reign of Artaxerxes II) which also spread to Ereẓ Israel. Nor, according to this theory, is the most important geographical detail in the book, namely the reference to a Jewish (Simeonite) settlement on the border of the valley of Dothan, a fabrication. For a combination of various sources (Meg. Ta'an. for 25 Marḥeshvan (chap. 8); Jos., Ant. 13:275f., 379f: Wars 1:93f.; and also apparently I Macc. 5:23) shows that at the time of the return in the region of Samaria, in the neighborhood of what was known as "the cities of Nebhrakta," there was a Jewish-Simeonite settlement (which may in effect have existed as early as in the days of the First Temple and being of Semite origin: cf. II Chron. 34:6, 15:9; and also I Chron. 4:31). The supposition is that in the great revolt at the end of the reign of Artaxerxes II (404–359 B.C.E.) this region fulfilled some function.

From a literary standpoint, by virtue of its epic description, the book is one of the most finished productions of Second Temple times. A prose work, it embodies two poems, Judith's prayer before setting out for the camp of Holofernes (9) and the thanksgiving of Israel after the victory (16). Very close to the later biblical poetry, in its structure and poetic imagery, this song of thanksgiving antedates those found at Qumran. The book is also significant by reason of both the *halakhah* it contains and the religious faith it reflects. Yet it reveals no trace of sectarianism, as do the works written in the post-Hasmonean period.

As is clearly evident from its many Hebraisms, the book was originally written in Hebrew (cf., for example, the expressions: "the space of 30 days"; "all flesh," as a designation for human beings; "let not thine eye spare"; "the face of the earth"; and "smote with the edge of the sword," etc.). In the precise Greek translation there is also discernible the special Ereẓ Israel spelling (the substitution of the ע״ו verb by פ״י).

The book is extant in four principal Greek versions (A, B, Codex 58, and Codex 108), all of which derive from the Hebrew. In ancient times an abridged Aramaic translation was made, on the basis of which Jerome translated the work into Latin (this being the Vulgate version). At an early stage the Hebrew book was lost, but in one form or another (chiefly through translations and adaptations from the Latin), from the 10th–11th centuries, several abridged Hebrew versions of the work found their way back into midrashic literature.

[Yehoshua M. Grintz]

In the Arts

Judith has attracted more writers, artists, and composers than any other figure in the Apocrypha. Two of the earliest literary works were *Judith*, a fragmentary Old English epic, and a Middle High German poem of the same title dating from the 13th century. One of the first recorded plays about Judith and Holofernes was that staged at Pesaro, Italy, in 1489 by the local Jewish community. By the beginning of the 16th century, the subject was arousing fresh attention – particularly among Protestant writers, who reinterpreted it in terms of the triumph of virtue over wickedness. Martin *Luther favored the use of Old Testament material as a basis for drama, especially recommending Judith as a tragic theme. Two pioneering works of the Renaissance era were *Judita* (1521), a religious epic by the Croatian humanist Marko Marulić and the German playwright Sixtus Birck's *Judith* (1532). Another *Judith* (1551) was written by the German *Meistersinger* Hans Sachs. In Italy, where the subject was treated in an orthodox Catholic fashion, Luca (Ciarafello) de Calerio produced the drama *Giuditta e Oloferne* (Naples, 1540), and G. Francesco Alberti the tragedy *Oloferne* (1594). The subject retained its popularity throughout the 17th–19th centuries and was the subject of plays in various countries. Thus in Spain, the Marrano dramatist and preacher Felipe *Godínez wrote *Judit y Holofernes* (1620); and *Iyudif* (1674), a seven-act Russian prose drama, was one of the first biblical works to be staged in Moscow. An anonymous work of 1761, *Sefer Yehudit ve-Sefer Yehudah ha-Makkabi*, appeared at Amsterdam. Two curiosities of the 19th century, both written in *Judeo-Italian and titled *La Betulia liberata*, were a poem by Luigi Duclou (1832) and an epic by Natale Falcini (1862). An outstanding tragedy on the theme was the German dramatist Friedrich Hebbel's *Judith* (1841). In the United States, the Quaker John Greenleaf Whittier included "Judith at the Tent of Holofernes" (1829) among his biblical poems, while Thomas Bailey Aldrich dramatized his *Judith and Holofernes* (1896), and Adah Isaacs *Menken wrote her sensual story, "Judith" (in *Infelicia*, 1888). An impressive number of works about Judith have been written by authors of the 20th century. The German expressionist Georg Kaiser adopted an original approach in his comedy *Die juedische Witwe* (1911). The urge to "modernize" the subject was particularly evident in England, where Thomas Sturge Moore's *Judith* (1911; staged 1916) suggested that the heroine became the tyrant's mistress before she killed him. The *Judith* of Lascelles Abercrombie (in *Emblems of Love*, 1912) contained strong undertones of suffragette thinking, while Arnold Bennett's heroine (1919) created a furore by appearing on the stage in a revealing costume. Among the plays that appeared between the world wars were Henry *Bernstein's drama *Judith* (1922), Bartholomaeus Ponholzer's *Judith, die Heldin von Israel* (1927), and Ricardo Moritz's *Giuditta* (1938). In his psychological tragedy, *Judith* (1931), the French writer Jean Giraudoux went even further than the British by treating the whole story as a myth, transforming the heroine into a courtesan and the villain into the more likeable character.

Judith has often been portrayed by artists. For medieval Christianity, the Jewish heroine's slaying of Holofernes represented the triumph of the Virgin over the devil. It also signified the victory of *sanctimonia* (chastity and humility) over lust and pride. Judith is usually shown either with the sword in her right hand and Holofernes' head in her left, or dropping the head into a receptacle held by her servant. A dog, the symbol of fidelity, often accompanied her. In Renaissance and later painting she was sometimes shown nude. The story was treated in narrative cycles and in isolated incidents. An early cycle exists in the Bible of San Paolo fuori le Mura (Rome, ninth century). The arches over the north portal of Chartres Cathedral (13th century) depict several episodes, as does a window of the same period in La Sainte-Chapelle, Paris. The subject was found suitable for tapestry, two examples being a Tournai cycle (15th century in Brussels' Musées royaux d'art et d'histoire), and a French version (c. 1515; now in the Cathedral of Sens). In the Loggia dei Lanzi, Florence, there is an ornate sculpture of the subject by Donatello. Among the Renaissance painters, Andrea Mantegna treated the subject several times and Botticelli painted some episodes from the story of Judith that are not commonly illustrated: Judith and her maid arriving home with the head, and the discovery of the dead body of Holofernes (both in the Uffizi Gallery, Florence). There is a painting of Judith with the head by the same artist in the Rijks Museum, Amsterdam. Michelangelo included figures of Judith and her maid in his Sistine Chapel ceiling.

Several of the great Venetian artists painted Judith. There is an upright figure of the heroine delicately trampling on Holofernes' head by Giorgione (Hermitage, Leningrad). Paolo Veronese painted a very attractive Judith (Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna), and there is a study of her in the act of killing Holofernes by Tintoretto (Prado, Madrid). Of the later Italian artists, Caravaggio painted the same scene (Naples Museum) with a certain violence. The German Renaissance painter Lucas Cranach was particularly attracted by the subject of Judith and Holofernes and painted it several times. One version is in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna. Rubens used a dramatic chiaroscuro to portray Judith in the act of killing Holofernes (Brunswick Museum).

In Jewish musical tradition, the story of Judith is represented by the singing of the *piyyut, Mi Khamokha Addir Ayom ve-Nora* (Davidson, Oẓar, 1143) on the Sabbath of Ḥanukkah, a custom retained in several communities. The "Canticle of Judith," *Hymnum cantemus Domino* (Judith 16: 15–21), is prescribed in the Catholic Church for the *Laudes* (dawn service) on Wednesdays, and intoned to a simple psalmodic melody. Polyphonic settings of the text appear only rarely: one instance is *O bone Deus, ne projicias* by Jacobus Gallus (Handl), the text being a combination of verses from chapters 8, 14, 16, and 19 of the Apocryphal book. With the rise of the oratorio, the subject – possessing a naturally dramatic plot – came into its own and it continues to maintain its popularity. Two factors contributed to the remarkably frequent appearance of *Judith* oratorios in the second and third quarters of the 18th century: first of all, the appeal of Metastasio's libretto, *Betulia liberata* (commissioned by the emperor Charles VI of Austria, and first performed in the Imperial Chapel, Vienna, with music by Georg Reutter, in 1734); and secondly, the reign of Maria Theresa (1740–80), who was symbolized as a latter-day Judith standing up to the new Holofernes – Frederick the Great of Prussia. The regular production of operas about Judith only began toward the middle of the 19th century, by which time biblical subjects were permitted on the stage and the early romantic "horror opera" had prepared audiences for the sight of Holofernes' severed head.

The following is a selective list of compositions about Judith; all are oratorios, if not designated otherwise: Caspar Foerster, *Dialogus de Holoferne* (1667); Antonio Draghi, *La Giuditta* (1668–69); Giovanni Paolo Colonna, *Bettuglia liberata* (1690); Alessandro Scarlatti, *La Giuditta vittoriosa* (1695); Marc-Antoine Charpentier, *Judith sive Bethulia liberata* (c. 1700); Antonio Vivaldi, *Judith triumphans devicta Holofernis barbarie* (1716); Giuseppe Porsile, *Il trionfo di Giuditta* (1923); Wilhelm de Fesch, *Judith* (English libretto: London, 1733); Georg Reutter, *Betulia liberata* (first setting of Metastasio's libretto; Vienna, 1734); Joseph Anton Sehling, *Firma in Deum fiducia… in Judith Israelis Amazone* (melodrama; Prague, 1741); Niccolò Jomelli, *Betulia liberata* (Metastasio's text; Venice, 1743; the composer's first oratorio); Antonio Bernasconi, *Betulia liberata* (Metastasio's text; 1754); Giovanni Battista Martini, *In cymbalis and Hymnum novum*, two puzzle canons in his *Storia della musica*, 1 (1757), 165, 334; Ignaz Holzbauer, *Betulia liberata* (Metastasio's text; 1760); John Christopher Smith, *Judith* (scenic oratorio; 1760, not performed); Thomas Augustine Arne, *Judith* (1761, restaged 1773; first use of female choristers on the English stage); Domenico Cimarosa, *Giuditta* ("opera sacra," 1770); Florian Gassmann, *Betulia liberata* (Metastisio's text; Vienna, 1771; inaugurating the concerts of the *Tonkuenstlersozietaet*); Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, *Betulia liberata* (Metastasio's text; 1771; see also below); Leopold Anton Koželuch, *La Giuditta* (c. 1780) and *Judith und Holofernes* (after Metastasio; as opera, c. 1779; as oratorio, 1799); Ludwig van Beethoven, three canons on "Te solo adoro" from Metastasio's libretto (1823); Samuele Levi, *Giuditta* (opera; Venice, 1844); Julius Rietz, *Judith* (ouverture and entr'actes to Hebbel's drama, 1851); Emil Naumann, *Judith* (opera, 1858); Alexander Serov, *Judith* (opera; text by the composer and three collaborators; St. Petersburg, 1863; his greatest success); Giacomo *Meyerbeer, *Judith* (operatic fragment, 1864; unpublished); Albert Franz Doppler, *Judith* (opera, 1870); Paul Hillemacher, *Judith* ("scène lyrique," 1876); Charles Lefebvre, *Judith* (opera, 1879); Cart Goetze, *Judith* (opera, 1887); Sir Hubert Parry, *Judith* (1888); George W. Chadwick, *Judith* ("lyric drama," 1901); August Reuss, *Judith* (for orchestra; "after Hebbel," 1903); Carlo Ravasenga, *Giuditta e Oloferne* (for orchestra, 1920); Max Ettinger, *Judith* (opera, 1920); Emil von Resniček, *Holofernes* (opera; libretto by the composer, based on Hebbel, 1923; the overture, in the form of an arrangement of *Kol Nidre*, was also performed and published separately); Arthur Honegger, *Judith* (opera; text by René Morax, 1926); Eugene Goossens, *Judith* (opera; text by Arnold Bennett, 1928); Gabriel Grad, *Judith and Holofernes* (opera in Hebrew; only parts published, 1931 and 1939); Carl Nathanael Berg, *Judith* (opera, 1931–35); Mordechai *Seter, *Judith* (ballet, 1963; reworked in 1967 as a "symphonic chaconne" for orchestra). Metastasio's *Betulia liberata* was translated into Hebrew by David Franco *Mendes in 1790–91 as *Teshu'at Yisrael*. It is not certain whether the translation was made for a performance with Mozart's music, since the manuscript bears only the direction *Lahakat Meshorerim* ("group of singers," i.e., chorus), and does not indicate the solos. F. Clément, in his *Dictionnaire des Opéras* (1897^2, 624), reports the United Hebrew Opera Company's performance in Boston of an opera titled *Judith und Holofernes* (1861), which was "sung in German, with the program printed in Hebrew." Both the performance and the program were probably in Yiddish.

[Bathja Bayer]

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JUEDISCHE FREISCHULE (Ger.; "Jewish Free School"), private school for poor children, founded in Berlin in 1778 by Isaac Daniel *Itzig and David *Friedlaender, who were influenced by Moses Mendelssohn's ideas on education. Adjoining the school was a printing shop whose returns were to contribute to the maintenance of the school. The subjects taught comprised writing, arithmetic, accountancy, drawing, reading in German and French, and geography. Biblical Hebrew was taught only to a very limited extent, the greatest amount of time being given to commercial courses. In 1779 Friedlaender published a reader for his pupils – one of the first of its kind to be used in German Jewish schools – containing excerpts from German and Hebrew literature, the latter in German translations by Mendelssohn. Some Christians were included on the teaching staff. During the first few years there were about 80 pupils. After ten years, however, about 500 pupils had graduated from the school. Following the death of I.D. Itzig in 1806, Lazarus *Bendavid was appointed principal. He was prompted by ideological and practical considerations to accept Christian pupils, whose number increased, in the course of time, to one-third of the total. The Freischule thus became the first interdenominational school in Germany. Of the 80 pupils attending the school, in 1817, 40 were educated free of charge, and 16 were Christians. At the time of the reaction following the Napoleonic wars, the Prussian government forbade Christian children to attend Jewish schools; consequently, all non-Jewish pupils had to leave the school in 1819. In the same year the number of Jewish pupils decreased to 50 and by 1825 the school had to be closed.

In the 48 years of its existence the Freischule educated about 1,000 students, a majority of whom later took an active part in the Reform movement. The school, which had always advocated modern teaching methods, served as a model for similar schools such as the Samsonschule in *Wolfenbuettel and the Philanthropin in Frankfurt.

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[Reuven Michael]

JUEDISCHE PRESSE, German weekly reflecting an Orthodox viewpoint, published in Berlin. The *Juedische Presse* was founded in 1870 on the initiative of Azriel *Hildesheimer, and edited from 1884 to 1910 by his son, Hirsch *Hildesheimer. From the first, it reflected Hildesheimer's view on the evils of **ḥalukkah* and on the need in Jerusalem for educational reform and technical training. The paper also supported the *Ḥibbat Zion movement and colonization in Ereẓ Israel, but was critical of *Herzl and of political Zionism. In communal politics, it stood against the dogmatic secessionism (*Austritt*) of some Orthodox from the community, with its center in Frankfurt, and defended the so-called "communal Orthodoxy" which worked within the framework of the state-established congregations. In 1919 the *Juedische Presse* became the official organ of the German *Mizrachi (with a Hebrew and Yiddish supplement) but ceased publication in 1923.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: M. Eliav, in: *Sinai*, 65 (1969), 221–33.

JUEDISCHER FRAUENBUND, organization of Jewish women founded in 1904 by Sidonie Werner and Bertha *Pappenheim originally in order to combat white slavery, especially of Jewish girls from Eastern Europe. Under Pappenheim's energetic leadership the organization expanded rapidly and after 30 years of existence boasted 30,000 members in about 450 branches. Politically the organization was neutral: the women's organizations of the *Central-Verein and *B'nai B'rith were affiliated with it, whereas Orthodox and Zionist women's organizations were not. Its charitable agencies were concerned with adoption, social work, and health, and especially the Isenburg home for wayward women. In the Jewish communities the Frauenbund strove for full female suffrage in communal elections, and it received nominal representation in national and international forums. Bertha Pappenheim was succeeded by Hannah Karminski (1887–1943), who was deported and killed by the Nazis after the forced shutdown of the Juedischer Frauenbund in 1938 (refounded by Jeanette Wolff and Ruth Galinski in 1953).

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JUEDISCHER KULTURBUND (Ger. "Jewish Cultural Association"), German Jewish organization founded in Berlin in May 1933 when the National Socialist regime dismissed Jewish high school teachers, artists, and authors from their positions and excluded all Jews from German cultural life. The Juedischer Kulturbund was initiated by Kurt Baumann, a young theater director, and directed by Kurt Singer, who was a physician and a musician and a director of the Berlin Opera. Singer engaged some good Jewish artists to perform and also organized a series of lectures on scientific subjects. Their existence was accepted by the Gestapo only after the words "German Jews" were eliminated from its title and their activities were under Nazi scrutiny. The Juedischer Kulturbund devoted itself to extensively spreading interest in Jewish art and culture in spite of the Nazi persecution and worked to secure continued cultural activity by providing funds from the resources of its members and through the communities themselves. Evidently the work of the Juedischer Kulturbund largely helped to maintain a closely knit Jewish population and awaken a love for the land of Israel by promoting Zionist ideas. This body also published the *Monatsblaetter des Kulturbundes deutscher Juden* from 1933 on, edited by Julius *Bab. The paper was forced to change its name to *Monatsblaetter des juedischen Kulturbundes* in 1938, after **Kristallnacht*.

From its foundation until October 1938 it organized 8,457 programs, including lectures, concerts, plays, art exhibits, and operas. Julius Bab, Joseph Rosenstock (d. 1985; musical director), Kurt Singer, Kurt Baumann, and Werner Levie (secretary general) directed the Juedischer Kulturbund's affairs. In early 1938 there were 76 branches of the Kulturbund in 100 towns, with more than 50,000 members and 1,700 artists. Membership and the scale of activities were proportionately larger outside of Berlin. Yet, in Berlin alone the membership fluctuated between 12,000 and 18,000. The choice of the programs for lectures, plays, and concerts was often very difficult and was constantly controlled by the secret police (*Gestapo), the Chamber for Arts and Culture (Reichskulturkammer), and the leadership (Gauleitung) of the Nazi Party in Berlin. The Kulturbund was itself divided over whether to present general cultural programs or those of specific Jewish content as advocated by the Zionists. For every organized performance the material had to be submitted in writing for approval by the state commissioner, *Staatskommissar* Hinkel. Hinkel told the Juedischer Kulturbund which plays and lectures could be performed and which articles and literary works could be published. After the November 1938 **Kristallnacht* pogroms, local activities were centralized and therefore better controlled by the national organization, which was disbanded in September 1941. A few of the leading organizers managed to emigrate, but the great majority of artists eventually perished in death camps. The Kulturband provided spiritual support for Jews in Germany during a time of ever more intense persecution; and for individual artists it provided both employment and an opportunity to remain creative and productive amidst the great struggle for basic survival.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: H. Freeden, in: YLBI, 1 (1956), 142–62; idem, *Juedisches Theater in Nazideutschland* (1964); B. Cohn, in: *Yad Vashem Studies*, 3 (1959), 272–5. Y. Cochavi, *Armament for Spritual Survival* (1988).

[B. Mordechai Ansbacher / Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

JUEDISCHE RUNDSCHAU, journal of the Zionist Federation in Germany. Founded in 1896 under the editorship of Heinrich *Loewe, it appeared twice weekly and was the chief rival of the anti-Zionist *Central-Vereins-Zeitung*. By 1937 the paper had a circulation of over 30,000, much of it outside

Germany. Its influence on the younger generation of Zionists was profound, especially during the Nazi period when it helped to strengthen Jewish morale. When Hitler made the wearing of the yellow patch compulsory, Robert *Weltsch's editorial article urged readers to "wear it with pride." Its last editors were Weltsch and Kurt Loewenstein. It was among the Jewish newspapers banned by the Nazis and ceased publication in 1938.

JUEDISCHER VERLAG, the first Jewish-Zionist publishing house in Western Europe. It was established in 1902 by M. *Buber; B. *Feiwel, E.M. *Lilien, L. *Motzkin, A. *Nossig, Ch. *Weizmann, and others, who constituted the core of the *Democratic Fraction. In line with the aims of the Fraction, the publishing house was to serve as an expression of the Jewish renaissance by publishing the spiritual, cultural, literary, and artistic treasures of the Jewish people over the ages as a basis for the spiritual-cultural rebirth of the Jewish people. The idea had received *Herzl's warm support at the Fifth Zionist Congress (1901). The aim of the plan was to supplement the political activities of the Zionist Organization and to serve as a bridge between Western and Eastern Jews. The first book, *Juedischer Almanach* (1902) edited by Feiwel and Lilien, included authors from both East and West and presented all types of literary works, some of them translated from Hebrew and Yiddish. The second book, *Eine juedische Hochschule* (1902), written by Buber, Feiwel, and Weizmann (translated into Hebrew in 1968 by S. Esh with a preface by S.H. Bergman), voiced for the first time the idea of establishing a Hebrew University in Jerusalem. In 1907, when the publishing house was transferred to the Zionist Organization, it was removed to Cologne; it returned to Berlin in 1911. Until 1920 it was directed by A. Eliasberg, and from 1920 on by S. *Kaznelson. The firm passed through periods of prosperity and times of crisis. It flourished especially under the direction of Kaznelson, when it became one of the greatest Jewish publishing firms in the world, maintained without external support. Among the hundreds of books published by it were the works of *Aḥad Ha-Am, Herzl, *Nordau, A.D. *Gordon, *Agnon (in Hebrew and in German), *Bialik, J.L. *Peretz, *Abramovitsh (Mendele Mokher Seforim), and *Bergelson, *Dubnow's *Weltgeschichte des Juedischen Volkes*, the five volume *Juedisches Lexikon*, L. *Goldschmidt's German translation of the Talmud in twelve volumes, Adolf *Boehm's *Die Zionistische Bewegung*, *Tur-Sinai's German translation of the Bible, the book "*Yizkor*" (dedicated to Ha-Shomer in Ereẓ Israel), *Trumpeldor's diaries, *Jabotinsky's book on the Jewish Legion, the monthly *Der Jude*, edited by Buber, etc. The distribution of some books was extraordinarily large (Dubnow's works on Jewish history and history of Ḥasidism, 100,000 copies; the *Juedisches Lexikon*, 50,000 copies; the translation of the Talmud, 100,000 copies; Herzl's works and diaries, 30,000 copies). In 1938 the firm was closed by the Gestapo and its warehouse confiscated. S Kaznelson, who had settled in Palestine, established in 1931 a daughter company, Hoẓa'ah Ivrit, in partial partnership with the Dvir Publishing Company, Ltd. After the liquidation of the Juedischer Verlag Hoẓa'ah Ivrit continued its work in Palestine. In 1958 the Juedischer Verlag was newly established in Berlin. From 1990 it was part of the German publishing house Surkamp in Frankfurt am Main.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Juedischer Verlag, Almanach 1902–1964* (1964). **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** S. Urban-Fahr, in: *Buchhandlungsgeschichte*, 1 (1994), 12–29; A. Schenker, *Der Juedische Verlag 1902–1938*, (2003) (see also bibliographies on pages 517–605).

[Getzel Kressel]

JUEDISCHE VOLKSPARTEI, party organized in 1919 by M. Kollenscher, H. Loewe, G. Kareski, A. Klee, and others from Zionist-oriented groups in Berlin and other large cities of Germany. The Juedische Volkspartei originated in circles influenced by Herzl's call for Zionists to enter communal politics to contest the dominance of assimilationist and conservative factions. This program was successfully carried out only after World War I by a coalition of East European Jewish immigrants (who, in a few communities, were not entitled to a communal vote as foreign citizens) and the Zionist parties. This coalition successfully agitated for the democratization of the statutes of the Jewish communities. Communal elections, formerly peaceful affairs, aroused great interest and were hotly contested. The Juedische Volkspartei achieved resounding successes in Saxony and a few larger cities after the electoral regulations of the communities had been democratized and standardized. In a coalition with the Orthodox forces they succeeded in the 1926 communal elections to overthrow the long-time Liberal dominance in Berlin. Under their leadership, new Jewish schools were opened and the social welfare institutions were strengthened. In the 1930 Berlin communal elections they had to return power to a Liberal majority despite an increase in the number of votes.

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[Michael Brenner (2nd ed.)]

JUEDISCH-LITERARISCHE GESELLSCHAFT, society for the advancement of the scientific study of Judaism, founded in Frankfurt on the Main by Orthodox Jews in 1902, the same year as the founding of the liberal Berlin *Gesellschaft zur Foerderung der Wissenschaft des Judentums. Its founding members were the rabbis Solomon Bamberger, Jonas Bondi, Isaac *Halevy, Heymann Kottek, and Moses Marx, and educator Gerson Lange. This society endeavored to show that properly oriented Jewish scholarship need not be in conflict with the tenets of traditional Judaism. Thus, it rejected such "unproven hypotheses" as the documentary theory of biblical criticism while concentrating on post-biblical studies. In pursuit of its aims it published an annual titled *Jahrbuch der juedisch-literarischen Gesellschaft* (1903–32), of which 22 volumes appeared (until 1929 edited by Jonas Bondi). It contained articles on diverse aspects of Jewish history and thought, book reviews, and a few contributions in Hebrew. In addition to the yearbook, the society published a number of scholarly and popular works, of which the following may be mentioned: I. Halevy, *Dorot ha-Rishonim* (6 vols., 1897–1939); H. Kottek, *Geschichte der Juden* (1915); and B. Lewin's critical edition of *Iggeret Rav Sherira Ga'on* (1921). It also granted subventions toward the publication of other scholarly volumes. The founding members of the society were among the most active in its scholarly ventures.

[Michael A. Meyer]

JUEDISCH-THEOLOGISCHES SEMINAR, BRESLAU, first modern rabbinical seminary in Central Europe. Founded in 1854 with the funds which Jonas Fraenkel, a prominent Breslau businessman, had willed for the purpose, the seminary became the model for similar colleges set up in Europe and the U.S. Its first head was Z. *Frankel, to the disappointment of A. *Geiger, who had conceived the idea of the seminary and won Jonas Fraenkel's support for it. The seminary also trained teachers until 1887, and this training was resumed in the 1920s and 1930s. However, the seminary's basic aim was to teach "positive historical Judaism." The "positive" stood for a faithful adherence to the practical precepts of Judaism, while "historical" permitted free inquiry into the Jewish past, including even Bible criticism, though with some self-imposed limitations.

Thus the Breslau seminary, under Frankel's guidance, took a middle position between dogmatic Orthodoxy, as represented by S.R. *Hirsch and A. *Hildesheimer's Rabbinical Seminary, and Geiger's *Lehranstalt (Hochschule) fuer die Wissenschaft des Judentums, officially an academic institution without ideology, but in fact largely a training college for Reform rabbis. Many of its graduates became rabbis in Liberal or Reform congregations, some in Orthodox ones.

After his death in 1875, Frankel was succeeded by L. Lazarus. However, when the latter died in 1879, the administrative functions were henceforth exercised by the lecturers collectively. The one who taught Talmud and rabbinics held the post of "seminary rabbi" and was alone entitled to bestow rabbinical ordination. The seminary graduated about 250 rabbis between 1854 and 1938. Many students of the college made a name for themselves in Jewish scholarship and/or public life.

The seminary issued annual reports (until 1937) containing scholarly contributions by the staff. There was a close association between the college and the *Monatsschrift fuer die Wissenschaft des Judentums. The library, based on the Saraval Collection, grew to over 30,000 volumes and contained more than 400 valuable manuscripts (see D.S. Loewinger and B.D. Weinryb, *Catalogue of Hebrew Manuscripts in the Library of the Juedisch-Theologisches Seminar in Breslau*, 1965).

The years after World War I saw considerable expansion, with teachers' and youth leaders' training courses. Modern Hebrew, too, was given a place in the curriculum. In 1931 the Prussian government approved the addition to the seminary's original name of that of Hochschule fuer juedische Theologie. Nazi rule in Germany from 1933 led to a decrease in the number of regular students, and some of the lecturers sought refuge abroad. The pogrom of November 1938 led to the sack of the seminary and the destruction of the greater part of its library. By order of the police, all teaching activities had to cease and many students were sent to the Buchenwald concentration camp. Nonetheless, some more or less clandestine work continued until February 21, 1939, when the seminary ordained (for the last time) two students.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: G. Kisch (ed.), *The Breslau Seminary, Memorial Volume* (Eng. and Ger., 1963); M. Brann, *Geschichte des juedisch-theologischen Seminars in Breslau (Festschrift zum 50-jaehrigen Jubilaeum, 1904); Festschrift zum 75-jaehrigen Bestehen des juedisch-theologischen Seminars*, 2 vols. (1929).

JUELICH, former duchy and town in Germany. During the 13th century Jews lived in the county of Juelich (from 1356 the duchy of Juelich-Berg). In the course of the 16th century the Jews of Juelich-Berg were persecuted and finally expelled in 1595; however, they were readmitted around the first quarter of the 17th century. The first privilege, granted in 1689, was renewed and approved every 16 years up to the French occupation in 1792. In 1808 the duchy of Juelich-Berg was transformed into the grand duchy of *Berg and in 1815 it was incorporated into the Prussian kingdom.

Among other documentary evidence, reference to a Jewish martyr bears witness to the fact that Jews resided in the town of Juelich in the 13th century. The names of four Jews are known from documents dating from 1324, when a community possessing a synagogue was in existence. A R. Jacob of Juelich lived c. 1300. During the *Black Death persecutions (1348–49) the Jewish community was destroyed and its property and synagogue confiscated. Among the few survivors was "Jacob son of the martyr Joel of Gulkha" (Juelich). In 1356, Margrave William IV of Juelich-Berg relinquished his claims to the property of the defunct community to the archbishop of Cologne. Later the community was restored: at the end of the 16th century there was one Jewish family in Juelich; there were three families in 1673 and 13 in 1786. In the 18th century services were held in a private house. The community of Juelich was under the jurisdiction of the **Landesrabbiner* of the duchy Juelich-Berg, with his seat in *Duesseldorf. In the 18th century he performed his rabbinic functions in both Juelich and Dueren. From 1706 to 1750 Samson Levi Froehlich served as rabbi, Judah Loeb Senever was rabbi in 1779–1821.

In 1806 there were 95 Jews in Juelich. The community reached its peak of 137 in 1910. When the Nazis seized power in 1933, there were 120 Jews in Juelich, owning a synagogue (erected 1860) and a cemetery. There were then two charitable societies and two cultural organizations. As a result of emigration the community had declined to 52 by May 17, 1939. On March 24, 1941, the last 24 Jews of Juelich were removed to Kirchberg and from there deported to the East. With those local Jews deported after reaching Holland and Belgium a total of 71 of the town's Jews perished in the Holocaust.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Aronius, *Regensten*, 195 no. 441, 259 no. 614; Germ Jud, 1 (1963), 138–9, 2 (1968), 380–2; A. Kober, *Cologne* (Eng., 1940), index; E. Ouverleaux, in: REJ, 7 (1883), 117ff.; FJW (1932–33), 258; Salfeld, Martyrol, 24, 155; A. Wedell, *Geschichte der juedischen Gemeinde Duesseldorfs* (1888).

[Chasia Turtel]

JUJUBE. Two species of jujube grow wild in Israel: the wild jujube (*Zizyphus spina-Christi*) and the lotus jujube (*Zizyphus lotus*). The former is a tall tropical tree with dense, prickly branches (from which, according to Christian tradition, Jesus' crown of thorns was made, hence its scientific name), growing in the hot regions of Israel. The latter is a prickly desert bush, bearing small floury fruit; it grows wild in North Africa where the people make bread from it. These are "the lotus eaters" mentioned by Herodotus (*Historiae*, 4:177). Also growing in Israel is the cultivated jujube (*Zizyphus vulgaris*) which produces a large fruit with an excellent flavor. This is the *sheizaf* of rabbinic literature which is commonly grafted on to the wild jujube, called *rimin*, the two species being counted as diverse kinds (*kilayim*) according to *halakhah* (Kil. 1:4). The fruits of the wild jujube are tasty but were not highly thought of (cf. Dem. 1.1). This tree, widespread in the wadis of the Arabah and the Jordan Valley, is identified with the *ẓe'elim* (lotus trees, AV "shady trees") of Job 40:21–22 under which the *behemoth* lies near the banks of the Jordan. Near Ein Ḥaẓevah in the Arabah grows a huge wild jujube which is counted among the oldest trees in Israel.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Loew, Flora, 3 (1924), 133–41; H.N. and A.L. Moldenke, *Plants of the Bible* (1952), 248f.; J. Feliks, *Kilei Zera'im ve-Harkavah* (1967), 103–5. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** Feliks, Ha-Ẓome'aḥ, 152, 160.

[Jehuda Feliks]

°**JULIAN THE APOSTATE** (**Flavius Claudius Julianus**; 331–363 C.E.), Roman emperor 361–363 C.E. As a child Julian escaped the slaughter of his immediate family during the struggles for the throne after the death of his uncle Constantine the Great. Although in his youth Julian received a Christian education under the supervision of Eusebius, the bishop of Nicomedea, he later was greatly influenced by Greek philosophy and ideas. In 355 Emperor Constantius appointed Julian governor of Gaul, where he proved to be an outstanding soldier and administrator, defeating the invading German tribes, and strengthening the provincial administration. In 360 Julian's troops, ordered to join Constantius in the war against Persia in the East, mutinied and declared Julian emperor. When Constantius suddenly died the following year, Julian became the undisputed ruler over the entire Empire.

Julian saw Christianity – which within a generation had ceased to be a persecuted belief and had become the official religion persecuting others – as a sickness within the body politic, and felt deep revulsion toward it from an ethical-religious viewpoint. Although he issued an edict of universal religious toleration, he gave practical expression to his opposition to Christianity by founding a pagan cult in which he served as pontifex maximus. He established regulations governing the behavior and way of life of the pagan priests, formulated important ethical values, and forbade certain books because they were inimical to pagan religious belief. His polemics against Christianity were reinforced by the use of imperial influence – though not force – on behalf of paganism. His writings reveal his knowledge of the Bible and the New Testament. Many of the themes in his polemic *Against the Galileans* (as the Christians were known) have some relevance to Judaism, but they must be judged less in terms of his friendship to the Jews than of his hatred of Christianity. He chides Christianity for having adopted the worst aspects of paganism and Judaism, and for having broken away from Judaism; he writes that the beliefs of the Jews are identical with or only slightly different from those of other nations, with the exception of belief in one God; and on various occasions he denies the allegorical interpretation of Christianity, deriving his arguments from the Bible.

Julian discussed Jewish monotheism from two viewpoints: first, he refuted the Christian claim that Jesus, the Logos, is God, since the Bible recognizes only one God (*Against the Galileans*, 253Aff.); second, he attempted to fit Judaism into the pagan pantheon and isolate Christianity. He therefore argued that the Jews are the chosen people of their god, who is their particular national and local deity (or daemon) and watches over them, just as do other city gods and national deities "who are a kind of regent for the king" (*ibid.* 99E, 115D, 141C–D, 176A–B). However, he was not pleased with Jewish zealousness against other gods, and with the Jews' observance of the Sabbath. He compared the myths of Genesis with the Homeric epic and the Platonic cosmogony, and argued that paganism's religious tradition and view of godhood is superior to Judaism's. He found supporting evidence in the Jewish history of bondage, and the fact that the Jewish people never spawned great military leaders, philosophers, lawmakers, natural scientists, physicians, musicians, logicians, etc. in proportion to their numbers – reflecting negatively upon their religion.

Julian's attitude toward the Jews was generally defined by the needs of his polemic against the Christians. Just before Julian embarked on his Persian campaign he promised to abolish the anti-Jewish laws and to rebuild the Temple where he would join the Jews in worship (*Letter to the Community of the Jews*, no. 51, 396–8). Shortly after this he wrote that "even now the temple is being raised again" (*Letter to a Priest*, 295C). Jewish sources contain only vague hints of these activities. R. Aḥa said that the five sacred objects present in the First Temple were missing in the Second (TJ, Ta'an. 65a; *ibid.* Hor. 47c; Yoma 21b), implying that the Third Temple would be built without any of these. He also said that it would be rebuilt before the Messiah (TJ, Ma'as. Sh. 56a). Jerome reports that some Jews interpreted *sublevabuntur auxilio parvulo* (Dan. 11:34) to refer to this episode (Commentary to Daniel 717). A fuller account is found in Ammianus Marcellinus where Julian is said to have wanted to found the Temple as a memorial to his rule. He arranged for money and building materials to be provided, appointing

Alypius of Antioch, but after several attempts to build on the site he was discouraged by a fire which broke out in the ruins there (Res Gestae 23:2–3). The Church Fathers embellished the story in various ways adding that the Jews received Julian's proposal enthusiastically, coming in thousands to the Temple Mount with stones in their hands, but when the first stones were laid the Jews were threatened by earthquakes and hurricanes, and finally driven off by a heavenly fire and specter of Christ (Gregory of Nazianz, *Contra Julianum, Oratio*, no. 4, 2:149–50; Socrates, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, 3:196; Sozomenus, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, 5:214–5). Two important facts may be gathered from these sources: (1) Julian wished to rebuild the Temple to strengthen paganism against Christianity (he saw Judaism and paganism as having sacrificial rites in common); (2) he wished to refute Jesus' prophecy concerning the Temple (Luke 21:6; Matt. 24:2). Later Christian writers claimed that at Julian's decree to rebuild the Temple the Jews massacred the Christians, burning churches at Ashkelon, Damascus, Gaza, and Alexandria (Ambrose, *Epistles*, 1, no. 40:14–15; Sozomenus, *loc. cit.* 5:22). Most scholars accept rather the opposite view of Bar Hebraeus that the Christians in anger at the decree killed the Jews of Edessa (*Chronography*, 63). A Hebrew inscription quoting part of Isaiah 66:14 found on the Western Wall in 1969 has been ascribed to this period of messianic revival. Julian's works were published with an English translation by W.C. Wright under the title *The Works of the Emperor Julian* (3 vols., 1913–23).

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[David Rokeah]

°**JULIUS III** (**Giovanni Maria Ciocchi del Monte**; b. 1487). pope, 1550–55. Julius III showed himself comparatively favorably disposed toward the Jews by employing many Jewish physicians, by imposing a fine of 1,000 ducats on anyone who forcibly baptized Jewish children, and by placing no limit on the residence permits of the Marranos at *Ancona. Naturally he was in favor of conversion: he himself acted as godfather to Andrea del Monte (Joseph *Sarfati) and set aside certain taxes levied from the Jews for the House of *Catechumens. On the other hand, he allowed the Franciscan Cornelio de Montalcino, a Jewish convert, to be condemned to the stake. In 1550, he confirmed the constitution of the Society of Jesus. Following the denunciations of two rival printers and a number of converted Jews, Julius set up in 1553 a new commission to examine the Talmud and, on the commission's recommendation, ordained that it be publicly burned. After a new inquiry, in 1554, passages deemed anti-Christian were censored and suppressed.

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[Bernhard Blumenkranz]

JULIUS ARCHELAUS (first century C.E.), a member of one of the notable families of Judea who married into the Herodian dynasty. His name indicates that he was a Roman citizen. Josephus sold him a copy of his work, *The Jewish War,* and praises him highly, describing him as well acquainted with Hellenistic learning. Agrippa I promised him his daughter Mariamne in marriage, but since she was only ten years old when Agrippa died, the marriage was not celebrated until the reign of Agrippa II. Subsequently Mariamne abandoned him for *Demetrius, a noble and wealthy Alexandrian Jew, who held the position of the *alabarch of Alexandria.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Jos., Ant., 19:355; 20:140, 147; Jos., Apion, 1:51; Schuerer, Hist, 373 n. 38; Stern, in: *Tarbiz*, 35 (1965/66), 244f.

[Edna Elazary]

°**JULIUS CAESAR** (c. 100–44 B.C.E.), Roman leader. During the civil war between him and Pompey (49 B.C.E.), Caesar freed *Aristobulus II, the deposed ruler of Judea, planning to send him to Syria, along with troops to aid him to recover his throne. Pompey's supporters, however, succeeded in poisoning Aristobulus before he could leave Rome (cf. Dio Cassius 41:18, 1). At the same time, Hyrcanus II and Antipater, in common with the other vassal rulers in the East, remained loyal to Pompey and even sent him troops for the battle of Pharsalus (48 B.C.E.); but after Caesar's victory and his conquest of the Orient, they went over to the side of the victor. When Caesar besieged Alexandria, Hyrcanus was one of the Oriental rulers who sent him reinforcements, and Hyrcanus's letter influenced the Jews living in the "territory of Onias" to grant the invading army free passage. Upon his return to Syria, Caesar ratified Hyrcanus' appointment as high priest and granted Antipater Roman citizenship and exemption from taxes. The efforts of Aristobulus' younger son Antigonus to turn Caesar against Hyrcanus and Antipater met with failure. At the same time, Caesar nullified Gabinius' Judean settlement and even attempted to correct some of Pompey's abuses against the Jews. In a series of decrees and through decisions made by the Senate at his instigation, Caesar instituted a new administration in Judea. He permitted the reconstruction of the walls of Jerusalem, restored to Judea the port of Jaffa, and confirmed Hyrcanus and his descendants after him as high priests and ethnarchs of Judea. Hyrcanus' realm now included Judea, Jaffa, and the Jewish settlements in Galilee and Transjordan. He also ratified Hyrcanus' ownership of the Hasmonean territory in the "Great Valley of Jezreel." The annual taxation of Judea was set as 12.5% of the produce of the land, with total exemption during the sabbatical year. Extortion by the military was forbidden under any pretext. Caesar's settlement favored the continued rise of the House of Antipater. Caesar permitted Jewish organization in the Diaspora, and his tolerant attitude to Diaspora Jewry was emulated by the rulers of the provinces. Caesar's enmity toward Pompey, who had conquered Jerusalem and defiled the Holy of Holies, led to a positive attitude toward him among the Jews. His restoration of the unity of Judea, his deference toward the high priest, Hyrcanus II, and his tolerant attitude toward the Diaspora Jews increased the sympathy of the Jewish masses for him. When he was assassinated, he was mourned by the Jews more than by any other nation, and for a long time after they continued to weep over his tomb both by day and night (Suetonius, *Divus Iulius*, 84).

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[Menahem Stern]

°**JULIUS FLORUS** (second century C.E.), author of an abridged Roman history. He mentions Pompey's capture of Jerusalem and his involvement in Jewish affairs in 63 B.C.E. He says that Pompey entered the Temple and (if the text is correct) saw there the image of an ass (*Epitomae*, 1:40, 30).

[Jacob Petroff]

°**JULIUS SEVERUS** (**Sextus Julius Severus**), Roman commander who suppressed the revolt of *Bar Kokhba. He was governor of Britain at the outbreak of the revolt and was called to Judea after *Tinneius Rufus, procurator of Judea, and Marcellus, governor of Syria, had failed to suppress it. Considered one of Hadrian's most able commanders, Julius Severus, according to Dio Cassius, avoided pitched battles and obliged the rebels to engage in a defensive war (*Historiae Romanae*, 69:13). He fought a war of attrition, attacking each fortress and citadel individually, until the whole country, with the exception of Bethar, had been conquered. Dio Cassius relates that dozens of fortresses as well as hundreds of villages were destroyed, and that over half a million people were killed, in addition to those who died of hunger and disease. Jewish sources also testify to the great carnage of the war, in which the Romans likewise suffered heavy losses. The fall of Bethar marked the end of the war. The Romans, regarding Severus' victory as one of special importance, conferred special honors on him.

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[Lea Roth]

JUN-BRODA, INA (1902–1983), Yugoslav poet and translator. Born in Zagreb, Ina Jun-Broda wrote stories for Jewish children. She was a leader of the left-wing women's organization and after the Nazi invasion fled to Dalmatia, where she joined the partisans. In 1947 she settled in Vienna and thereafter published poems, essays, and German translations from Serbo-Croat and Italian. Much of her work reflects her experiences during World War II. *Der Dichter in der Barbarei* (1950) contains sensitive but powerful verse inspired by her life in the occupation period and after; *Die schwarze Erde* (1958), an anthology of Yugoslav partisan poetry; and the first Serbo-Croat selection of Bertolt Brecht's poems, *Pjesme* (1961). She also produced a German version of Krleza's "Balladen des Peter Kerempuch" and commented on Croatian poetry in her "Die aelteste kroatische Dichtung," Zagreb, 1972.

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[Zdenko Lowenthal]

JUNG, LEO (1892–1987), U.S. Orthodox rabbi. Jung was born in Ungarisch-Brod (Uhersky-Brod), Moravia, son of Meir Jung who became rabbi of the London Federation of Synagogues in 1912. He pursued rabbinical studies at Hungarian yeshivot and received his rabbinical ordination first from Rabbi Mordecai Schwartz and Rabbi Avraham Kook; after World War I he returned to Berlin to receive his ordination from Rabbi David Hoffman at the Rabbinical Seminary of Berlin (1920). His secular education was at the University of London where he received his Ph.D. In 1920 he went as rabbi to Congregation Kenesseth Israel, in Cleveland, Ohio, in place of his father, who had been offered the position first.

In 1922 he became rabbi of the Jewish Center in New York, one of the most prominent Orthodox congregations in the city, where Mordecai Kaplan had been rabbi before he left Orthodoxy. He shaped the congregation into a bastion of modern Orthodoxy based on the philosophy of Torah and Derekh Eretz. Jung emerged as one of the best-known spokesmen of neo-Orthodoxy in America. He helped organize the Rabbinical Council of the Union of Orthodox Congregations, which served English-speaking rabbis, and was its president from 1928 to 1935. Together with his cross-town colleague and rival, Rabbi Joseph *Lookstein, Jung was instrumental in Americanizing the Orthodox rabbinate and in making the Orthodox synagogue prestigious for affluent Jews. He became professor of ethics at Yeshiva University in 1931 and held a similar position at Stern College for Women from 1956. During World War II he personally collected 1,200 affidavits and helped rescue some 9,000 Jews. He worked closely with Mike Tress of Ẓe'irei Agudah and with the Va'ad ha-Haẓẓalah. Active in efforts to regularize *kashrut* supervision in New York, Jung was appointed chairman of the New York State Advisory Board for Kashrut Law Enforcement in 1935. He was associated with the *American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee as chairman of its cultural committee (from 1940) and was a trustee of the *National Jewish Welfare Board from 1928. Jung was at one time identified with the Agudat Israel organization and was a member of its supreme council until 1929. He withdrew when the organization refused to cooperate in the Jewish Agency for Palestine, of whose first council he became a member.

A noted writer and editor, Jung started the Jewish Library in 1928 and edited eight volumes. His own writings numbered some 35 books. His *Harvest: Sermons, Addresses, Studies* appeared in 1956. Jung's 70th birthday was commemorated by the *Leo Jung Jubilee Volume* (edited by M.M. Kasher, 1962). His other writings included *The Path of a Pioneer: the Autobiography of Leo Jung* (1980) and *Business Ethics in Jewish Law* (1987).

Leo's brother MOSES (1891–1960) was a professor of religion. Born in Moravia, he went to the U.S. in 1922. A prolific writer, Moses Jung contributed to various Jewish publications and published several books on Jewish law, history, and education. He lectured at Columbia University from 1952. Another brother, JULIUS (1894–1975), was secretary (1925–54) and executive director (1954–59) of the Federation of Synagogues in London.

[Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

JUNGHOLZ, village in the Haut-Rhin department, E. France. There is evidence that there were Jews in Jungholz in the second half of the 15th century, but there is no further record of another settlement until the beginning of the 18th century. The community was at its height in 1784 with 215 members, but the number had fallen to 12 by 1880. At the end of the 17th century, the elders of the Jewish community of *Ribeauvillé acquired the right to bury their dead at Jungholz, in a site on the outskirts of the village. Around the end of the 18th century, this cemetery, successively and officially enlarged, served 35 communities in upper Alsace. From the 19th century, when numerous communities acquired local cemeteries, the Jungholz burial ground lost its importance. The six communities who used it erected there a memorial to their World War II dead.

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[Bernhard Blumenkranz]

JUNGREIS (Jungreisz), ASHER ANSHEL (1806–1872), Hungarian rabbi. Jungreis studied under Meir Eisenstadter and Jacob Koppel Altenkundstadt (Kunstadt) of Verbo, For 40 years he served as rabbi of Csenger and gained a widespread reputation for his piety, to the extent that from all quarters people turned to him for amulets and cures from ailments. He supported widows, cared for the education and marriage of orphans, and also sent considerable sums to the Hungarian *kolel in Ereẓ Israel. After his death his children published his *Menuḥat Asher* in two parts (1876–1908), consisting of talmudic exposition and responsa. Jungreis left three sons who served in the rabbinates of various Hungarian communities. ABRAHAM HA-LEVI (d. 1904) succeeded his father in Csenger. MOSES NATHAN NATA HA-LEVI (1832–1889) was rabbi of Fehergyarmat for 27 years, and of Tiszafüred for 21. He was the author of *Torat Moshe Natan* in two parts (1896, 1923) and of *Menuḥat Moshe* (1905). SAMUEL ZE'EV HA-LEVI (d. 1909) was rabbi of Bojom for 30 years. His three sons-in-law were also rabbis: Joshua Baruch Reinitz (1823–1912), rabbi of Balkany and then Galszecs; Samuel David Segal Jungreis (1837–1894), rabbi and *rosh yeshivah* of Fehergyarmat from 1868; and Jacob Schick (d. 1915), rabbi of Miskolcz and then of Nadudvar.

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[Naphtali Ben-Menahem]

JUNIPER. The juniper is the biblical *berosh* (Heb. בְּרוֹשׁ) or *berot* (Heb. בְּרוֹת; Song 1:17), wrongly used in modern Hebrew for the *cypress (the AV translation of *rotem* as juniper is not acceptable). *Beroshim* are frequently mentioned in the Bible, chiefly together with the cedar of Lebanon. It is a tall evergreen tree (Hos. 14:9), smaller than the cedar (Ezek. 31:8) but, like it, symbolizing strength and high stature (II Kings 19:23). It grows in the Lebanon (*ibid.*; Isa. 14:8) and on Mt. Senir, which is Hermon (Ezek. 27:5). In ancient times its choice wood, like that of the cedar, was the most important source of timber for building in the Near East (cf. Isa. 14:8). Junipers were sent by Hiram, king of Tyre, for the building of the Temple (I Kings 5:22), whose flooring, walls, and doors were faced with them (*ibid.* 6:15). From its wood the ships of Tyre were built (Ezek. 27:5). In his vision of the blossoming desert, Isaiah (41:19; 55:13) prophesied that the juniper would one day grow in the wilderness. The Semitic name *berosh* or *berot* occurs in Greek (βράθυ) and in Latin (*bratus*) as a species of lofty juniper. In the hills of Lebanon and of Hermon two species of juniper (*Juniperus drupacea* and *Juniperus excelsa*) grow wild and are called by the Arabs *berota*. Both are upright trees, up to 65 feet (20 m.) high, evergreens, whose tiny leaves are like splinters. The wood is hard and very fragrant (the "fragrance as Lebanon" (Hos. 14:7) refers to the juniper and the cypress). The Septuagint identified the biblical *berosh* with the cypress, and from there the usage passed into modern Hebrew. This identification is not acceptable, however, because the cypress does not grow wild in the hills of Lebanon and Hermon in the neighborhood of the cedar, as described in the Bible. The biblical name for the cypress is *te'ashur* or *gofer*. Nor can the juniper be identified with the *arar ba-aravah* (AV "the heath in the desert"; Jer. 17:6), since this cannot refer to the juniper growing in the Lebanon. The species *Juniperus oxycedros* grows in Upper Galilee and *Juniperus phoenicea* in the desert regions of Edom and Sinai, but it cannot be supposed that Jeremiah was referring to these distant trees. The *arar* is to be identified with the *tamarisk.

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[Jehuda Feliks]

°**JUNOSZA, KLEMENS** (pseudonym of **Klemens Szaniawski**; 1849–1898), Polish author. Junosza, who was born in Lublin, translated from Yiddish *Mendele Mokher Seforim's *Masoes Binyomin Hashlishi*, published as *Don Kiszot żydowski* ("A Jewish Don Quixote," 1885), as well as *Shalom Aleichem's *Briv fun Menakhem-Mendl* (*Miljony*) and a few short stories by I.L. *Peretz. Several of Junosza's original writings describe Polish-Jewish life, notably "*Łłaciarz*" ("A Patcher," i.e., a tailor who only patches clothes, first published in *Z mazurskiej ziemi* ("From the Mazurian Land," 1884); *Pająki* ("Spiders," 1894); and *Żywota i spraw lmć Pana Symchy Borucha Kaltkugla ksiąg pięrcioro* ("Five Books on the Life and Affairs of His Highness Simḥah Baruch Kaltkugel," 1895). In *Laciarz*, Junosza showed sympathy for the Jewish poor, but in *Pająki*, he castigated Jews who exploited the Polish peasants. In many of his articles, and especially in his book *Nasi Żydzi w miasteczkach i na wsiach* ("Our Jews in Townlets and Villages," 1889), Junosza discussed the Jewish problem. He defended the Jews against antisemitic attacks but, at the same time, stressed that, because of their traditional education, the Jews were not prepared or fit for productive work. Driven by extreme poverty, they often turned to the exploitation of the peasants, to usury, smuggling, and other illegal activities. The remedy, in his view, was a change in the Jewish educational system, to hasten the productive employment and assimilation of Polish Jewry.

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[Yehuda Arye Klausner]

JURBARKAS (Ger. **Jurburg**), town in S.W. Lithuania; until the incorporation of Lithuania within Russia in 1795, the town belonged to the principality of Zamut (Zhmud; Samogitia); subsequently, until the 1917 Revolution, it was in the province of Kovno. Jews who visited Jurbarkas at the end of the 16th century are mentioned in the responsa of Meir b. Gedaliah of Lublin (Metz, 1769, 4a no. 7). Within the framework of the Lithuanian Council (see *Councils of the Lands) the community of Jurbarkas belonged to the province (*galil*) of Kaidany (Kedainiai). In 1766, 2,333 Jews were registered with the community. A wooden synagogue built in Jurbarkas during the second half of the 17th century was preserved until the Holocaust. There were 2,527 Jews registered with the community in 1847. The Jews numbered 2,350 (31% of the total population) in 1897, and 1,887 in 1923. In June–September 1941, after the occupation of the town by the Germans, some 1,000 Jews were murdered at the cemetery and outside the town.

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[Yehuda Slutsky]

JURNET OF NORWICH (Hebrew name: **Eliab**; c.1130–1197), English financier. He had important dealings with the crown and with the monastery of Bury St. Edmunds. In 1184, a fine of 6,000 marks was imposed on him and he went abroad, but was permitted to return in 1186 after a payment of 2,000 marks. In the Hebrew sources he is referred to as *nadiv*, indicating that he was a patron of learning. The story that he married a Christian heiress has now been disproved. His son ISAAC OF NORWICH (c. 1170–1235/6), termed *nadiv* like his father, was an outstanding financier under Henry III and was able to survive a fine of 20,000 marks imposed on him for concealment of chattels in 1218, paid off at the rate of one mark daily. A remarkable caricature of him and his associates is preserved (see *Caricature). On his death, his son SAMUEL (before 1204–1273) succeeded to his position in the Norwich community. Substantial relics of the family mansion, which originally had a wharf attached, are still known as Isaac's Hall.

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[Cecil Roth]

JUSTER, GEORGE (1902–1968), Romanian painter. Born in Jassy, he devoted himself to painting, soon developing a distinctive style of his own. During World War II, he fled to the Soviet Union and spent two years in Armenia. While there his works were acquired by museums and private collections. After the war he returned to Romania and became one of the most important masters of water color. In 1956 he was awarded the title of artist emeritus. His work aimed at authentic expression rather than external likeness. Juster endowed his portraits with vigor and his landscapes and static themes with a vibrating reality. His work included many illustrations of the Romanian classics such as Eminescu, Topîrceanu. These are filled with inventive spirit, poetry and humor.

JUSTER, JEAN (c. 1886–1916), lawyer and historian. Juster, born in Piatra-Neamţ, Romania, studied in Germany and at the Sorbonne in Paris, where he was admitted to the bar in 1913. Later, he became an advocate at the Paris Court of Appeal. He died in military action. In 1913 Juster contributed a valuable study of the legal position of the Jews under the Visigothic kings to *Etudes d'histoire juridique offertes à Paul F. Girard* (2 (1912–13), 275–336). His doctoral dissertations, *Examen critique des sources relatives à la condition juridique des juifs dans l'empire romain* (1911) and *Les Droits politiques des juifs dans l'empire romain* (1912), marked the bent of his interests and became the basis of his major work, *Les juifs dans l'empire romain: leur condition juridique, économique et sociale* (2 vols., 1914). Juster's approach is a legal one, but his goal, as he explains in the preface to his work, is the study of the relations of the Jews, by way of conflict and resolution, to their environment. In this purview fall civic, communal, confessional, national, military, domestic, jurisdictional, economic, social, and sartorial relations. He does not treat "Jewish religion, Jewish morality or Jewish law" per se, but only their external effects on Jewish relations with the Roman world. The investigation of these matters, he explains, involves the utilization of varied sources, and their classification and critical evaluation. The result is an essay "on the Jews in pagan and Christian literature, a tableau of their geographical dispersion and indications of their numerical importance."

Within these limits his work has remained a model of comprehensiveness, clarity, and scholarly documentation. If he errs at all, it is in the sharpness of his judgment stemming from the juridical approach used, but even critics of his method or conclusions find his work an indispensable tool and source of suggestion. This is illustrated in his handling of the Jewish *privilegia* ("privileges"), in which he takes sharp issue with Theodor *Mommsen, who had argued that the Jewish War of 66–70 C.E. altered the status of all Jews in the empire by transforming their religion from a national cult into a *religio licita* ("licensed" or "licit religion"), and the individual synagogues into *collegia licita* ("legalized associations"). Juster denies both parts of the thesis: The *natio*, or national community, continues to be the basis of the Jewish privileges after, as before, the year 70; the synagogue never became a *collegium licitum*; it was and remained an institution *sui generis*.

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[Simeon L. Guterman]

JUSTICE. Justice has widely been said to be the moral value which singularly characterizes Judaism both conceptually and historically. Historically, the Jewish search for justice begins with biblical statements like "Justice (Heb. *ẓedek*), justice shall ye pursue" (Deut. 16:20). On the conceptual side, justice holds a central place in the Jewish world view, and many other basic Jewish concepts revolve around the notion of justice.

God's primary attribute of action (see Attributes of *God) is justice (Heb. *mishpat*; Gen. 18:25; Ps. 9:5). His commandments to men, and especially to Israel, are essentially for the purpose of the establishment of justice in the world (see Ps. 119:137–44). Men fulfill this purpose by acting in accordance with God's laws and in other ways imitating the divine quality of justice (Deut. 13:5; Sot. 14a; Maimonides, *Guide*, 1:54, 3:54). This process of establishing justice in the world is to be completed in the messianic reign of universal justice (see Isa. 11:5ff.; Deut. R. 5:7). All history, therefore, like the Torah itself, which is its paradigm, begins and ends with justice (Ex. R. 30:19).

The two main biblical terms for justice are *ẓedek* and *ẓedakah*. They refer to both divine and human justice, as well as to "the works of justice" (Ex. 9:27; Prov. 10:25; Ps. 18:21–25). This justice is essentially synonymous with holiness (Isa. 5:16). In the Bible, furthermore, "justice" is so consistently paired with "mercy" or "grace" (*ḥesed*; Isa. 45:19; Ps. 103:17ff.), that by talmudic and later times the term *ẓedakah* has come to mean almost exclusively "charity" or "works of love" (BB 10b), and the notion of "justice" is rendered by the terms "truth" (*emet*), "trust" (*emunah*), and "integrity" (*yosher*). Throughout the literature, finally, other values, particularly peace and redemption, are consistently associated with justice, as its components or products (Hos. 12:7; Ps. 15:1; Ta'an. 6:2). Ultimately, therefore, virtually the entire spectrum of ethical values is comprised in the notion of justice.

Jewish justice is different from the classic philosophic (Greek-Western) view of this concept. In the latter, justice is generally considered under the headings of "distributive" and "retributive." These are, of course, also comprised in *ẓedakah*, but while "distributive" and "retributive" justice are essentially procedural principles (i.e., how to do things), Jewish justice is essentially substantive (i.e., what human life should be like). Substantive justice depends on an ultimate (i.e., messianic) value commitment. This is also made clear by modern thinkers, such as Hermann *Cohen, who regards the just society as the ideal society of universal human dignity and freedom (*Ethik des reinen Willens* (1904), ch. 15; *Religion der Vernunft aus den Quellen des Judentums* (1929), ch. 19), and Ch. Perelman, who in his analysis of justice writes: "…in the end one will always come up against a certain irreducible vision of the world expressing nonrational [though justifiable] values and aspirations" (Perelman, *Justice* (1967), 54). Although Perelman does not claim to be discussing a particularly Jewish concept of justice, he is aware of the Jewishness of this ethos (cf. W. Kaufmann, in: *Review of Metaphysics*, 23 (1969), 211, 224ff., 236). The substantive view of justice is concerned with the full enhancement of human and, above all, social life. Thus it suffuses all human relations and social institutions – the state (the commonplace dichotomy between individual and collective responsibility, often illustrated by the contrast between Ex. 20:5 and Ezek. 18, is transcended in the recognition of the dialectical interrelationship between the two, illustrated in Deut. 24:16 alongside Lev. 19:16 (see also Sanh. 73a), and in the contemporary involvement of the individual citizen in the collective actions of his nation), lawcourts (e.g., II Chron. 19:6; Maim. Yad, Sanhedrin, 23:8–10), economics (Lev. 19:36), and private affairs – and, indeed, the single positive ordinance encumbent also on all non-Jews is the establishment of judiciaries (Sanh. 56a).

Justice is not contrasted with love, but rather correlated with it. In rabbinic literature, Jewish philosophy, and Kabbalah, God is described as acting out of the two "attributes of lawfulness and compassion" (PR 5:11, 40:2; Maimonides, *Guide* 3:53).

The critical problem pertaining to justice is that of theodicy: if God is just and rules the world, how can the successes of evil be explained? The problem of theodicy, a recurrent theme in literature, is raised by the Psalmist and is the theme of Job. It is the subject of E. *Wiesel's story, written in the wake of the Holocaust, in which three rabbis subpoena God to a trial and find Him guilty. In the history of Jewish thought many solutions to the problem have been suggested, among them the essentially neoplatonic notion that evil is privation, i.e., that it is not something positive in itself but merely the absence of good

(*Guide* 3:18–25); the view that evil and suffering constitute trials of the just, or, in rabbinic literature, "afflictions of love," i.e., that God tests the righteous by causing them to suffer in this world; and the doctrine of reward and punishment in *Olam ha-Ba (Sanh. 90b–92a; Albo, *Sefer ha-Ikkarim*, 1:15).

The rabbis regard Moses as the ideal of strict unbending justice, in contrast to Aaron, who is the prototype of the ideal of peace, and they interpret the incident of the Golden Calf as exemplifying the problem arising from the clash of these two ideals (cf. Sanh. 6a–7b and parallels). In the same context they suggest that compromise in legal cases may constitute a denial of justice (*ibid.*).

A reply to, though not a resolution of, the problem of theodicy in our time may be attempted in two directions. (a) to protest against injustice in the tradition of Job, *Ḥoni ha-Me'aggel, and the ḥasidic leader Levi Isaac of Berdichev, which is possible only before a responsible authority, i.e., a just God; (b) to regard justice as a normative, rather than a descriptive, concept, as does Cohen, who writes that "justice maintains the tension between reality and the eternal ideal" (*Religion der Vernunft*, p. 569). According to this view, justice can be striven for and looked for only in the future – whether the future of mankind as a whole (the days of the Messiah) or of the individual – i.e., in God, whose justice in judgment is affirmed in the blessing recited in the hour of death, "blessed be the just judge."

Man is obliged to imitate God by acting on the principle of compassionate equity (Micah 6:8; Mak. 24b; BM 30b, 83a), and – at the final consummation of history – justice and mercy become identical.

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[Steven S. Schwarzschild]

°**JUSTIN** (**Marcus Junian(i)us Justinus;** third century C.E.), author of the *Epitoma Historiarum Philippicarum*, an abridgment of *Pompeius Trogus' "Universal History" and the main source for that work. Justin gives a very brief, error-filled summary of Jewish history, from its biblical beginnings into the Hasmonean period.

[Jacob Petroff]

°**JUSTINIAN I**, emperor of the Eastern Roman Empire, 527–565, a virulent and consistent persecutor of all non-Orthodox Christians, heretics, pagans, and also of Jews and Judaism. Justinian's famous *Corpus Juris Civilis* and his novellae (imperial instructions on specific subjects) included legislation on the Jews which confirmed or amended that of *Theodosius II (408–450) and virtually fixed the status of the Jew in Byzantine society for the next 700 years (see *Byzantine Empire). Adding to the restrictions and disabilities imposed by Theodosius, Justinian declared that Jews could not retain heretical and pagan slaves who converted to Orthodox Christianity, and that they could give evidence only for (not against) Orthodox Christians, while they could testify either for or against heretics. Justinian's novellae concerning the Jews are the following:

NOVELLA 37 (535 C.E.), forbidding Jews and heretics in the newly conquered province of North Africa to practice their religious rites. Synagogues and the meeting places of heretics were to be confiscated and, suitably consecrated, put to ecclesiastical use. Contrary to the prevailing Christian attitude, this novella attempted to view Judaism as a heresy and may have been motivated by suspicion of Jewish support for the Vandal regime overthrown by Justinian and the belief, prevalent in North Africa, in the alleged Jewish role in spreading heresy. Although it is known that the ancient synagogue in the city of Borion was transformed into a church and the local Jewish population was forced to accept Christianity, the novella was not put into effect. However, it was a dangerous precedent, symptomatic of the deterioration of the attitude toward the Jews under Justinian.

NOVELLA 45 (537 C.E.), prohibiting Jews, Samaritans, and heretics any exemption from service on local municipal bodies (the decurionate), a service which entailed heavy financial burdens. Previously, Jews as well as gentiles could claim exemption on the grounds of holding a religious office in their own community. The few privileges enjoyed by the decurions, such as immunity from corporal punishment or exile, would not apply to Jewish decurions. It was stated that "Jews must never enjoy the fruits of office but only suffer its pains and penalties." If a Jew was found holding a higher office than a Christian, he had to pay a fine. This novella affected the western provinces for a short time.

NOVELLA 131 (545 C.E.), prohibiting sales of ecclesiastical property to Jews, Samaritans, pagans, and heretics, and declaring synagogues built on land subsequently shown to be ecclesiastical property subject to confiscation.

NOVELLA 146 (553 C.E.), supposedly in response to a Jewish request, forbids the insistence that the readings from the Pentateuch be exclusively in Hebrew from the Scrolls of the Law (Torah). They could be in Greek, Latin, or any other tongue, and the Greek could be either that of the Septuagint or the translation of *Aquila, which had rabbinic sanction. Secondly, the use of the *deuterosis*, the Mishnah, for exegesis was forbidden. Justinian argued that the *deuterosis* was not divinely inspired and could only mislead men. Rabbinic interpretations spread errors such as a denial of the existence of angels and the Last Judgment (probably a confusion with earlier *Samaritan beliefs). Just as the Byzantine emperor was the arbiter of Christian practice, Justinian also saw him as the arbiter of the only other legal religion in his dominions. The extent of Justinian's interference in the service of the synagogue is open to question, but it attempted to impose a Christian interpretation of what Judaism and its holy texts should be.

Besides the novellae, Justinian allegedly prohibited the celebration of Passover if its date fell before the date of Easter. Ereẓ Israel was the scene of several outbursts against the empire, mainly on the part of the Samaritans, whose efforts to form their own kingdom were brutally suppressed in 529. In

556 Jews joined Samaritans in an anti-Christian riot in Caesarea in which several churches were burned down. Imperial troops were eventually dispatched to subdue the rebels.

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[Andrew Sharf]

°**JUSTIN MARTYR** (c. 100–c. 165 C.E.), early Church Father who waged an active polemic against Jews and Judaism. Justin Martyr was born to pagan parents in Neapolis, the modern Nablus. After his conversion to Christianity he became a staunch advocate of his new faith against its major then current adversaries, Greek philosophy and Judaism. He was martyred for his faith as a Christian by the Roman authorities sometime between 163 and 167.

Justin's principal polemic against Judaism was waged in his work, *Dialogue with Trypho.* The latter is presented as a Jew who during the Bar Kokhba war fled from Jerusalem to Ephesus, where he encountered Justin, and the two engaged in a dialogue on the merits of Judaism and Christianity. All the issues then current between the two faiths are marshaled in the dialogue. Justin is the aggressive protagonist; Trypho seeks to counter Justin's arguments, but he is clearly the weaker of the opponents. Justin's goal is to convert Trypho to Christianity, and while this is not accomplished by the end of the dialogue, the reader feels that Trypho has been seeded with the Christian truth, and conversion will follow.

Some Christian scholars, and also the Jewish historian Heinrich Graetz, have identified Trypho with the *tanna* Rabbi *Tarfon. This would make the dialogue the record of a historical event. However, certain historical facts show this to be impossible. Rabbi Tarfon served in the Temple as a priest before the destruction in 70 C.E. Since 30 was the minimum age for such service, he could no longer have been active in 135 C.E. Trypho cites interpretations paralleled in the Septuagint and the New Testament, which are at variance with interpretations current in the rabbinic academies. It is clear the Trypho is a fictional character, and the entire dialogue is merely a literary format for the exposition of Justin's views.

Justin's thesis is an extension of the kind of reasoning which pervades the New Testament. In essence it makes the claim that Christianity is the authentic flowering of biblical Judaism, and that the Jews who cling to their faith in its old form are clinging to an obsolete doctrine. For doing so they are berated as blind and stubborn and insensitive, a fossil people clinging to a superseded faith. Justin expounds this position through a hermeneutical device parallel to the Midrash: a figurative interpretation of biblical texts investing them with Christian meanings. Some of these passages are direct citations from the New Testament. Thus the identification of the new covenant in Jeremiah 31:3–32 with the structure of Christian truth, in replacement of the earlier truth of Judaism (Dial. 11:3), appears in Hebrews 8:8–10, 10:16–17. But other interpretations seem to be Justin's own. Water and faith and wood (the ark) figure in the rescue of Noah, and the rescue of men from sin as mediated by Jesus is likewise effected by water (baptism) and faith and wood (the cross). The upraised hands of Moses which occasioned Israel's victory against the Amalekites (Ex. 17:8–14) are interpreted by Justin as having derived their efficacy because the sign thus formed foreshadowed the cross. The rod with which Moses performed the wonders of leading the Israelites out of Egypt, of parting the Red Sea for them, of drawing water from the rock – these and more were all made possible, according to Justin, because the rod was in truth a type of the cross (Dial. 138,9:1–2,86:1–6).

Justin does not content himself with the exposition of a Christian interpretation of the Bible. He often denounces the Jews for having crucified Jesus, and he accuses them of continuing to persecute Christians. He finds many indications that God had deemed the Jews as especially reprehensible. In repudiating the efficacy of the law as prescribed in the Bible, Justin makes the bold assertion that the law was initially given to the Jews because, as an especially unspiritual race, hardhearted, rebellious, and ungodly, they needed a more elaborate law, with many more disciplines as a means of mitigating some of their offensive qualities. For the gentiles, however, it was enough to prescribe two commandments as Jesus did, the love of God and the love of man (Dial. 93:4). Justin also makes himself into a philosopher of history and offers the theory that the defeats of the Jews in the wars against Rome, both in the year 70, and again in 135, were God's visitation of a deserved punishment, because they had sinned so grievously by crucifying Christ and rejecting his new faith. Justin gloated as he contemplated the destruction of Jerusalem and the collapse of the Jewish struggle for freedom, and he taunted Trypho with this sweeping assertion: "All this has happened to you rightly and well, For ye slew the Just One and His prophets before Him, and now ye reject, and … dishonor those who set their hopes on Him, and God Almighty and Maker of the universe who sent Him …" (Dial. 16:3–4).

Justin's invective against Jews and Judaism entered the mainstream of Christian thought and became a sinister influence which contributed not a little toward the development of what is known as Christian antisemitism.

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[Ben Zion Bokser]

JUSTITZ, ALFRED (1879–1934), Czech painter and graphic artist. Justitz was born in Novā Cerekev and studied first architecture and then painting at the Academy in Prague and, from 1905, in Karlsruhe and Berlin. In 1910 he settled temporarily in Paris, where he was greatly influenced by impressionist theories of form, retaining at the same time, however, his decorative lyricism. After serving in the Austro-Hungarian army in World War I, he returned to Prague and became one of the founders of modern Czechoslovak art. In 1920 and 1921 he participated in the exhibitions of the most important avant-garde group of that time in Prague, which called itself "Tvrdošijní" ("The Stubborn Ones"). He was again in Berlin and Paris in 1922 and 1923, but in 1924 he returned to Prague, where he spent the rest of his life. His best paintings – *Men in Landscape* (1914), *Head of a Dancer* (1922), *Road between Barns* (1924), and *Three Men* (1926) – are in the Prague National Gallery.

[Avigdor Dagan]

JUSTMAN, JOSEPH (1909–), U.S. educator. Justman, who was born in Warsaw, taught at Brooklyn College from 1934, was appointed professor of education in 1950, and director of teacher education and chairman of the department in 1960. Upon his retirement, he became professor emeritus of education at Brooklyn College.

Justman spent 1956–57 in Italy, preparing *The Italian People and Their Schools* (1958). He subsequently returned several times to Rome, Florence, and Padua as visiting lecturer. His books include *Theories of Secondary Education in the United States* (1940), *College Teaching: Its Practice and Potential* (1956), *Evaluation in Modern Education* (1956), *Improving Instruction with Supervision* (with T. Briggs, 1960), and *The Effects of Ability Grouping* (with Miriam L. Goldberg, 1966). His work was mainly concerned with giving the college teacher a deeper understanding of his profession through an evaluation of educational principles, practices, and their effects on curriculum and organization.

[Ronald E. Ohl / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

JUSTMAN, MOSHE BUNEM (pseudonym: **B. Yeushzon**; 1889–1942), Yiddish journalist, humorist, and novelist. Born in Warsaw, he was educated in yeshivah and torn between admiration for ḥasidic life and the lure of modernism. He published in a broad spectrum of Yiddish periodicals, but from 1910 to 1925, his articles in the Warsaw Yiddish daily *Moment* under the pseudonym Itshele won him a large following among troubled ḥasidic youth. In 1925 he transfered his journalistic activities to the rival Warsaw daily, *Haynt*. His best novel *Inem Rebms Hoyf* ("At the Rabbi's Court," 1914) depicted the joyous fervor prevailing in Polish ḥasidic courts but also the infiltration of maskilic ideas even among the children of ḥasidic rabbis. While nostalgic for the old order, he recognized the inevitability of its decline. His other tales include *Oyf der Frisher Luft* ("Fresh Air," 1912) and *Apikorsim* ("Heretics," 1913). His articles on Jewish folklore, written over a number of years, were collected in eight volumes, *Fun Unzer Alten Oytser* ("From Our Old Treasure," 1932) and constitute his major work. Together with Menahem *Kipnis, he wrote a parody on S. *An-ski's *The Dybbuk*, which was performed on the Warsaw stage in 1921. He escaped Warsaw at the last moment and then also Vilna, settling in Ereẓ Israel in 1940. A posthumous collection of his feuilletons was published in 1988 (*Nekhtn: A Bukh Felyetonen*).

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[Shlomo Bickel / Jerold C. Frakes (2nd ed.)]

JUSTUS OF TIBERIAS, historian; a contemporary of *Josephus and his rival in describing the Jewish War (66–70/73 C.E.). The main source of knowledge of Justus – the disparaging polemic directed against him by Josephus in his *Life* – is of doubtful value, since Josephus may have falsified facts. Nevertheless two things are clear: that Justus came from a respected Tiberian family, and that "he did not lack Greek culture," as Josephus himself admits. Justus' name and that of his father (Pistus) also attest Hellenistic influence, and he was, moreover, appointed private secretary to *Agrippa II, a post which obviously demanded a thorough command of Greek. Apart from this it is difficult to find in Josephus anything further in Justus' favor. Josephus accuses him of personal turpitude, licentiousness, bribery, and theft. These accusations may be ignored. Of a more complex nature is the question of Justus' loyalties during the war. Josephus charges that Justus was the sworn enemy of the Romans and an associate of the *Zealots, doing everything in his power to draw Tiberias and Galilee into the revolt against Roman rule. In addition, Josephus states that Justus organized an attack on the Greek cities of the Decapolis, whose inhabitants were faithful allies of the Romans, adding that this attack is also mentioned in the memoirs of Vespasian. According to Josephus, Justus, while in Berytus (Beirut), was accused of treason against the Romans and would certainly have been sentenced to death but for Vespasian's friendliness to Agrippa. All this, however, does not necessarily prove that Justus was a Zealot. Possibly Agrippa explained the attack as a loyal Tiberian's vengeance against the Greeks for their bloody attacks on the Jews at the outbreak of the war.

Nevertheless, Justus was obviously no lover of Roman rule. In view of his friendship with Agrippa, Justus probably shared the views expressed by the latter in his speech to the rebels in Jerusalem (the account of which in Josephus undoubtedly has an historical basis). The gist of this was that Roman might was so decisive that it could not be overcome, and that there was therefore no sense fighting it. Agrippa himself, then, was not an admirer of Roman rule in Judea, but only reconciled to it. Justus, a devoted Tiberian concerned for the welfare of his native city, did everything in his power to ensure Agrippa's continued rule in Tiberias. This brought him into conflict with Josephus, who arrived in Galilee on behalf of the revolutionary government in Jerusalem and strove to extend his influence over the whole province. In an attempt to crush the opposition against him, Josephus imprisoned many of the city notables, including Justus and his father. Justus, however, succeeded in escaping from his prison in Tarichaeae to Berytus, and henceforth had no further direct contact with the events of the war. It was after his escape that he was appointed Agrippa's private secretary, which gave him good opportunity of hearing at first hand about the conduct of the war in Galilee, and especially about the questionable role played by Josephus. He embodied this information in a book about the war, which was for the most part an extensive account of events in Galilee before the arrival of Vespasian, and dealt particularly with the misdeeds of Josephus in Tiberias. Since Josephus published his own history of the war after 75 C.E. and Justus suppressed his reply for some 20 years (Vita, 360), it may be concluded that Justus' work was published only after the death of Domitian (96 C.E.) when Nerva ascended the throne. From the fact that Josephus begins his *Life* with a detailed description of his distinguished descent from the Hasmoneans, it may be assumed that Justus tried to derogate not only him but also his family. Justus' main purpose in writing the book was apparently to wreak belated vengeance on his rival, which he could not exact under the Flavian emperors.

It is generally believed that Justus also wrote a second book, a chronicle of the kings of Israel. Although a list which was in the possession of Photius, patriarch of Constantinople, between 858 and 868, seemed to make the description of the war merely part of the chronicle, the detailed nature of the description of the events in Galilee (as evidenced in Josephus) presupposes a separate work.

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[Abraham Schalit]

°**JUVENAL** (c. 50–c. 127 C.E.), the most famous Roman satirist, a rhetorician by profession. Juvenal is most bitter against those foreigners – Greeks, Syrians, and especially Jews – who have, in his opinion, brought about the decline and fall of the old Roman way of life.

In *Satire* 14:96–106, he derides those who sympathize with Judaism, reverencing the Sabbath, worshipping clouds and a heavenly divinity (cf. *Hecataeus, Varro, *Strabo, and *Petronius Arbiter), and avoiding pork. Their children, he says, go still further (so also *Tacitus, Hist. 5:5), undergoing circumcision. He also denounces these proselytes for despising Roman statutes while observing the law which Moses had handed down in a secret scroll (perhaps a reference to Judaism as a mystery, as seen by the Romans generally or as seen in *Philo, who may have been known to Juvenal through *pseudo-Longinus), hating anyone who is not one of them (so also Tacitus, loc. cit.), to the point of being unwilling to direct a non-Jew to the road that he seeks or a thirsty man to a fountain (perhaps an allusion to the baptism required of proselytes). Lewy has indicated that to show the way to wanderers and to give drink to the thirsty were basic to Juvenal's Stoic philosophy, for which reason he felt so strongly about them. He also condemns the Judaizers for showing laziness by abstaining from work on the Sabbath (so also *Seneca the Younger).

Juvenal mocks at the poverty among the Jews (3:12–16; 6:542–7), though perhaps this is a reflection merely of the Jewish tradition of charity. Synagogues in particular, he says, are the haunts of beggars (3:296). The Jews, for a very small fee, interpret dreams and tell fortunes for credulous Romans (6:542–7). Juvenal also mentions an incestuous relationship between *Agrippa II and his sister *Berenice and contemptuously speaks of the poverty and piety of the Jewish kings who observe the Sabbath with bare feet (6:156–60), perhaps referring to the belief that Jews fasted on the Sabbath (cf. Strabo, *Augustus, *Pompeius Trogus, and Petronius Arbiter), which may be an allusion to the Day of Atonement, as possibly in *Horace's "thirtieth Sabbath" (Satires 1:9, 69).

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[Louis Harry Feldman]

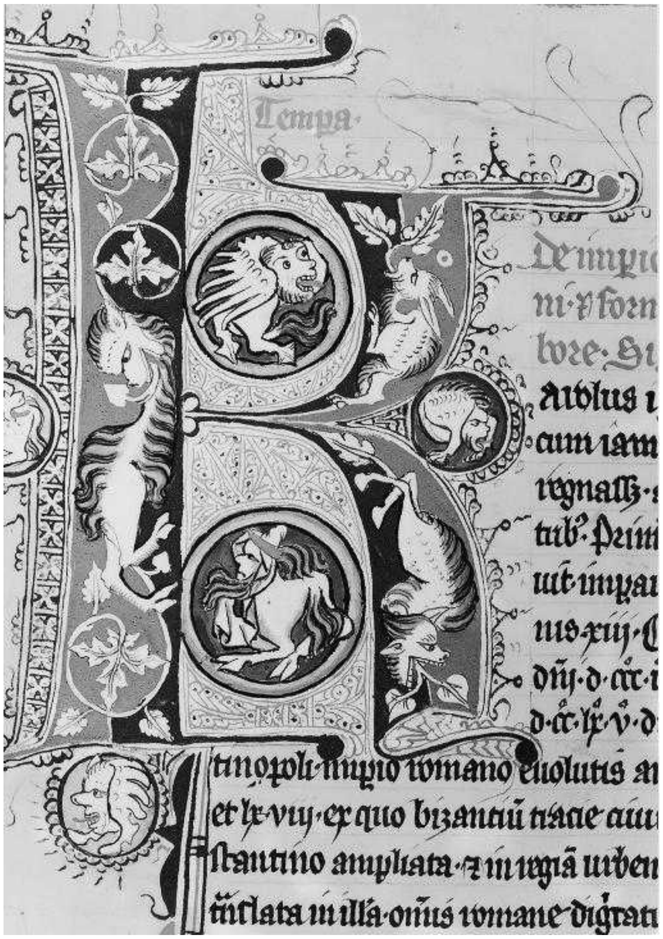

Initial letter "K" for Karolus (Charlemagne), from the opening of Book 25 of Vincent of Beauvais, Speculum Historiale, *Metten, S. Germany, 1332. Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cod. lat. 8201c, fol. 9v.*

KA-KAS

KAATZ, SAUL (1870–1942?), rabbi and scholar. Kaatz, who was born in Schwersenz (Swarzedz), Poznania, served as rabbi at Hindenburg, Upper Silesia, from 1895. When the validity of the Nazis' anti-Jewish legislation in Upper Silesia was contested before the League of Nations in 1933 (see *Bernheim Petition), Kaatz was among those who courageously resisted the German government's intimidation. He spurned the possibility of emigration and was deported to his death with his congregation in 1942. Kaatz was an individualist and often upheld unpopular ideas against his fellows in the Orthodox rabbinate, just as he opposed, in 1897, the anti-Zionist line of the *Allgemeiner Rabbinerverband*. His published writings include *Die Scholien des Gregorius Abulfaragius Bar Hebraeus zum Weisheitsbuch des Josua ben Sira…* (1892); *Das Wesen des juedischen Religionsunterrichts* (1904); *Wesen des prophetischen Judentums* (1907); *Abraham Geigers religioeser Charakter* (1911); *Die muendliche Lehre und ihr Dogma…* (2 vols., 1922–23); *Weltschoepfungsaera und Wissenschaft* (1928); and *Sendschreiben an den Vorstand… der Vereinigung traditionell-gesetzestreuen Rabbiner Deutschlands*, in which he opposed the custom of abbreviating the name of God in non-Hebrew languages. Kaatz was a regular contributor to Wohlgemuth's *Jeschurun* and the weekly *Israelit*. He also wrote short stories (*Alter Vogel*, 1919) and a play, *Alexander der Grosse vor Jerusalem*.

KABACHNIK, MARTIN IZRAILOVICH (1908–1997), Russian organic chemist. Kabachnik was attached to the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences from 1939 and to the Institute of Organic Chemistry until 1954. Thereafter he was at the Institute of Elementary Organic Compounds. He was awarded the Stalin Prize in 1946, and became an academician in 1958. His field of research included tautomerism and phosphorus-containing organic insecticides.

KABAK, AARON (Aharon) ABRAHAM (1880–1944), Hebrew author. Born in Smorgon in the province of Vilna, Kabak lived in Turkey, Palestine, Germany, and France before studying in Switzerland at the universities of Geneva and Lausanne. He finally settled in Palestine in 1921. A teacher at the

Jerusalem Reḥavyah Gymnasium, he played a central role in the literary, educational, and civic life of the city.

Kabak's first novel *Levaddah* ("By Herself," 1905) was hailed as the first Zionist novel in Hebrew literature. Sarah, a young girl of the 1890s, is drawn to Zionism although all her friends are socialists. She learns that she has chosen a lonely path, demanding self-sacrifice and unflinching determination. Similarly, the hero of *Daniel Shafranov* (1912) discovers that the way of redemption is through sacrifice. The action takes place before the Russian Revolution of 1905. Daniel fails in his efforts to unite the disparate segments of Jewish life, even in the face of a pogrom mob, and commits suicide. *Ahava* ("Love," 1914) depicts the life and loves of the emigrant Russian intelligentsia in Switzerland. *Nizzaḥon* ("Victory," 1923) is set in Germany, before World War I. Zinner, a Jewish sculptor in Berlin, practices "German" art, but is won back to Judaism by a young girl from Palestine. Kabak introduced the realistic historical novel into Hebrew literature with his trilogy *Shelomo Molkho* (1928–29; 1973), each book of which deals with a crucial phase in the life of the false messiah, Solomon *Molkho.

Bein Yam u-vein Midbar ("Between the Sea and the Desert," 1933) was Kabak's first novel with a Palestinian setting. *Ba-Mishol ha-Ẓar* (1937; *The Narrow Path*, 1968) was written after Kabak's return to Orthodox Judaism, in the early 1930s. It depicts Jesus of Nazareth as a Jew whose teaching centers around the idea that man must seek the Kingdom of God in himself. The book contains vivid descriptions of the Galilean landscape. *Toledot Mishpaḥah Aḥat* ("History of One Family," 1943–45; 1998) is a series of loosely connected novels in which the author intended to trace the development of the national renaissance from its beginnings in Russia "to the heroic days of *Ḥanitah" through events that befall a single family. The three novels which he succeeded in completing before his death are set respectively in mid 19th-century Russia, Poland of the 1863 insurrection, and Odessa in the 1860s. They are *Be-Ḥalal ha-Reik* ("The Empty Space," 1943), *Be-Ẓel Eẓ ha-Teliyyah* ("In the Shadow of the Gallows," 1944), and *Sippur beli Gibborim* ("Story without Heroes," 1945, posthumous).

Of Kabak's many short stories the most noteworthy is "*Ha-Ma'pil*" ("The Trailblazer"), in which a boy sets out to force the coming of the Messiah and dies in an act of heroism (*Ha-Shilo'aḥ*, 14, 1904). Among his more important stories and novelettes are "*Ḥalom*" (*Ha-Shilo'aḥ*, 20, 1909), *Me-al ha-Migdal* (1910), *Nano* (1911), *Ha-Navi* (*Ha-Shilo'aḥ*, 38, 1921), *Kol ba-Afelah* (1927), *Ẓe'if ha-Mayyah* (in: *Sefer Klausner*, 1937). Kabak wrote two biblical dramas: *Be-Himmot Mamlakhah* (1929) and *Bat Sanballat* (in *Beitar*, 2, 1934). He was also the author of numerous critical essays, and translated works by Loti, Stendhal, Wassermann, and Merezhkovsky. He also edited several anthologies.

While critics condemned Kabak's early work as tendentious, didactic, catering to popular taste, and lacking psychological depth, their comments became more favorable after the publication of *Shelomo Molkho*. Kabak's major contribution to Hebrew literature was in the genre of the novel, which he freed of stereotyped heroes, settings, and themes, giving it modern characters, plot, dialogue, and a sense of progression. One of the first Hebrew novelists to use the wide canvas approach, Kabak had strong impact on the Hebrew reading public in general, and most particularly on its younger members. By applying European methods and forms to Jewish content, he was a decisive force in bringing the Hebrew novel into line with world literature.

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[Werner Weinberg]

KABAKOFF, JACOB (1918–), U.S. educator and scholar. Born in New York, Kabakoff earned a diploma from the Teachers Institute of Yeshiva University in 1935 and a B.A. from the same institution in 1938. He was ordained a rabbi and awarded an M.H.L. from the Jewish Theological Seminary in 1944. He received a D.H.L. from the JTS in 1958. He served as a Conservative rabbi in Philadelphia (1944–48). From 1952 to 1968 he was dean of the Cleveland College of Jewish Studies, and then was appointed associate professor of Hebrew literature at Lehman College in New York City. A specialist in Hebrew literature in America, his *Ḥalutzei ha-Sifrut ha-Ivrit ba-Amerikah* ("Pioneers of Hebrew Literature in America," 1966) dealt with such writers as Jacob Ẓevi Sobel, Henry Gersoni, Ze'ev Schurr, Gershon Rosenzweig, and Isaac Rabinowitz. His contributions to the *Jewish Book Annual* were listed in JBA, 25 (1967/68), 418. Kabakoff served as editor of the JBA from 1977 to 1996. He also served as chairman of the editorial board of the Hebrew weekly newspaper *Hadoar* and was a member of the Rabbinical Assembly, the American Association of Jewish Studies, the World Congress of Jewish Studies, and the American Association of Professors of Hebrew. In 1988 he was acknowledged by the Habermann Institute for Literary Research with its publication of a Hebrew Festschrift entitled *Migvan: Studies in Honor of Jacob Kabakoff.* He wrote *Seekers and Stalwarts*: *Essays on American Hebrew Literature and Culture* (1978) and edited *Master of Hope: Selected Writings of Naphtali Herz Imber* (1985).

[Eisig Silberschlag / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

KAʿB AL-AḤBĀR (**Abū Isḥāq Kaʿb al-Aḥbār** or "Kaʿb of-the Jewish-doctors"; also **Kaʿb al-Ḥabr**, "Kaʿb the former Jewish doctor"; d. ca. 654), Jewish Yemenite convert to Islam from the tribe of Ḥimyar who lived in Ḥims (Homs). He was referred to as "the owner of the two books" (*dhūl-kitābayni*, i.e., the Koran and the Bible).

Some say that he converted to Islam in Muhammad's lifetime at the hands of the latter's cousin, ʿAli ibn Abī Ṭālib, while others say that he converted at the hands of the caliph Abu Bakr. But the most widespread version has it that he converted during the caliphate of *Omar ibn al-Khattab at the hands of Muhammad's uncle al-ʿAbbas, thus becoming the latter's *mawlā* or client. He is supposed to have been one of Omar ibn al-Khattab's closest advisors. Under ʿUthmān ibn ʿAffān Kaʿb was a salaried preacher (*qāṣās*). He allegedly legitimized for ʿUthmān the borrowing of money from the treasury, on which an opponent of this caliph commented by saying: "You son of two Jewish parents, will you teach us our religion?" A polemical account associates the recent convert Kaʿb with Jewish scholars: in a meeting that took place in Jerusalem, Kaʿb resorted to a book found in Daniel's tomb in Susa in order to convince 42 Jews to embrace Islam; the then governor of Syria and Palestine, Muʿāwiya ibn Abī Sufyān, later included them among those entitled to an annual pension from the treasury.

Kaʿb's reputation as an expert in "sacred books" was an asset for the rulers who employed him to convey messages in their favor and to combat opposition movements. Supposed quotations from the "Torah" or the "Tales about Prophets," in addition to eschatological traditions, were used to indoctrinate the masses in general and the warriors in particular. Kaʿb reportedly died on his way to an expedition against Byzantium; one assumes that he was a battlefield preacher rather than a warrior.

Widespread accounts describe Kaʿb as providing Omar with the background necessary for Islamizing the Temple Mounṭ. For example, he bribed a Jewish *ḥabr* or doctor to pinpoint the rock on which Solomon had stood upon the completion of the Temple (or "the mosque"). However, in several anecdotes Kaʿb is accused of an attempted "Judaization" of nascent Islam by combining the directions of prayer of Moses and Muhammad. He argued that while praying in Jerusalem in the direction of Mecca, a Muslim had to direct himself at the same time to the Rock. Omar established the correct Muslim direction by praying toward Mecca with his back to the Rock. It was another famous Jewish convert, Abdallah ibn Salam, who confirmed that this had been the original direction before it was changed by the Jews. Omar in turn declared Abdallah more truthful than Kaʿb.

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[Michael Lecker (2nd ed.)]

KAʿB AL-ASHRAF (d. 625), poet and chief opponent of Muhammad at *Medina. A member of the *Naḍīr tribe or of mixed Arab-Jewish descent (his mother was a Naḍīr), Kaʿb espoused the cause of Judaism and composed verses against Muhammad and *Islam. He went to Mecca to incite the Quraysh tribe to fight against Muhammad and later lamented its defeat. His lament and other poetry are extant. On his return to Medina, he allegedly seduced Muslim women. Anxious for his death, Muhammad ibn Maslama led Muhammad's followers into enticing Kaʿb to leave his house one night on the pretext of plotting against the Prophet; they then assassinated Kaʿb. The poet was mourned by the Naḍīr, who were expelled from Medina one year after his death. The story is recorded in the eighth-century Arab history by Muhammad ibn Isḥāq, *Sīrat Rasūl Allah* (tr. by Guillaume, *The Life of Muhammad* (1955), 364–9); EIS^2 4 (1978), 315 (incl. bibliography)..

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KABBALAH (Heb. קַבָּלָה; "received (doctrine)," "tradition"). Today the term Kabbalah is used for the mystic and esoteric doctrine of Judaism (see following entry). The mystical connotation is unknown in the Talmud. In the Talmud the word occurs, however, in two other and entirely different senses. The first refers to the prophets and the Hagiographa as distinct from, and in contrast to, the Pentateuch. The other, especially in its verbal form *mekubbelani* ("I have received a *kabbalah*"), is used to indicate oral traditions handed down either from teacher to disciple, or as part of a family tradition.

The Talmud points out that the proof that Nisan is the first month of the year in the civil calendar (see *New Year) is derived from "the words of *kabbalah,*" the reference being to Zechariah 1:7 (RH 7a), and that the Fast of Gedaliah was instituted in the *kabbalah (ibid.* 19a). Similarly, it points out that "the words of the Torah cannot be derived from words of *kabbalah,*" the "words of *kabbalah*" being respectively from the Books of Kings and Amos (BK 2b., Ḥag. 10b), and in a passage of the Midrash a man protests that he is being sentenced to flogging on the strength of a verse from the *kabbalah* (Ezra 10:3), which has not the same force as a law in the Pentateuch (Gen. R. 7:2). Mishnah *Taʾanit* 2:1, however, quotes a verse from the Book of Jonah (3:10) and continues "and in the words of *kabbalah* it says," quoting Joel 2:13. It has been suggested that in this passage the word should here be read as "*kevalah*" ("protest") instead of "*kabbalah*."

In the sense of "oral tradition," the verbal form of the word is frequently found for a tradition going back to the earliest times: "I have a *kabbalah* from R. Meʾasha, who received it from his father, who received it from the *zugot, who received it from the prophets" (Peʾah 2:6); "So I have a *kabbalah* from Rabban Johanan b. Zakkai, who heard it from his teacher, who heard it from his teacher" (Ḥag. 3b). It is also used for traditions from the outstanding early authorities Shemaiah and Avtalyon (Pes. 66a) or from Shammai the Elder (Git. 57a). Family traditions are quoted as a *kabbalah* "from my father's house" (Ber. 10a, 34b), "from my ancestors" (Shab. 119b), and to emphasize a continuous tradition "from the house of my father's father" (BM 59b; BB 110a; Sanh. 89a). From the Middle Ages the word *kabbalah* has been used for the certificate of competence issued by a rabbi for a *shoḥet*.

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KABBALAH.

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SHABBATEANISM
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INTRODUCTION

General Notes

Kabbalah is the traditional and most commonly used term for the esoteric teachings of Judaism and for Jewish mysticism, especially the forms which it assumed in the Middle Ages from the 12th century onward. In its wider sense it signifies all the successive esoteric movements in Judaism that evolved from the end of the period of the Second Temple and became active factors in the history of Israel.

Kabbalah is a unique phenomenon, and should not generally be equated with what is known in the history of religion as "mysticism." It is mysticism in fact; but at the same time it is both esotericism and theosophy. In what sense it may be called mysticism depends on the definition of the term, a matter of dispute among scholars. If the term is restricted to the profound yearning for direct human communion with God through annihilation of individuality (*bittul ha-yesh* in ḥasidic terminology), then only a few manifestations of Kabbalah can be designated as such, because few kabbalists sought this goal, let alone formulated it openly as their final aim. However, Kabbalah may be considered mysticism in so far as it seeks an apprehension of God and creation whose intrinsic elements are beyond the grasp of the intellect, although this is seldom explicitly belittled or rejected by the Kabbalah. Essentially, these elements were perceived through contemplation and illumination, which is often presented in the Kabbalah as the transmission of a primeval revelation concerning the nature of the Torah and other religious matters. In essence, the Kabbalah is far removed from the rational and intellectual approach to religion. This was the case even among those kabbalists who thought that basically religion was subject to rational enquiry, or that, at least, there was some accord between the path of intellectual perception and the development of the mystical approach to the subject of creation. For some kabbalists the intellect itself became a mystical phenomenon. So we find in Kabbalah a paradoxical emphasis on the congruence between intuition and tradition. It is this emphasis, together with the historical association already hinted at in the term "kabbalah" (something handed down by tradition), that points to the basic differences between the Kabbalah and other kinds of religious mysticism which are less closely identified with a people's history. Nevertheless, there are elements common to Kabbalah and both Greek and Christian mysticism, and even historical links between them.

Like other kinds of mysticism, Kabbalah too draws upon the mystic's awareness of both the transcendence of God and His immanence within the true religious life, every facet of which is a revelation of God, although God Himself is most clearly perceived through man's introspection. This dual and apparently contradictory experience of the self-concealing and self-revealing God determines the essential sphere of mysticism, while at the same time it obstructs other religious conceptions. The second element in Kabbalah is that of theosophy, which seeks to reveal the mysteries of the hidden life of God and the relationships between the divine life on the one hand and the life of man and creation on the other. Speculations of this type occupy a large and conspicuous area in kabbalistic teaching. Sometimes their connection with the mystical plane becomes rather tenuous and is superseded by an interpretative and homiletical vein which occasionally even results in a kind of kabbalistic *pilpul*.

In its form the Kabbalah became to a large extent an esoteric doctrine. Mystical and esoteric elements coexist in Kabbalah in a highly confused fashion. By its very nature, mysticism is knowledge that cannot be communicated directly but may be expressed only through symbol and metaphor. Esoteric knowledge, however, in theory can be transmitted, but those who possess it are either forbidden to pass it on or do not wish to do so. The kabbalists stressed this esoteric aspect by imposing all kinds of limitations on the propagation of their teachings, either with regard to the age of the initiates, the ethical qualities required of them, or the number of students before whom these teachings could be expounded. Typical of this is the account of the conditions for initiates in Kabbalah found in Moses *Cordovero's *Or Ne'erav*. Often these limitations were disregarded in practice, despite the protests of many kabbalists. The printing of kabbalistic books and the influence of Kabbalah on widening circles broke down such restrictions, especially as far as the teachings on God and man were concerned. Nevertheless, there remained areas where these limitations were still more or less adhered to; for example, in the meditations on the letter-combinations (*ḥokhmat ha-ẓeruf*) and practical Kabbalah.

Many kabbalists denied the existence of any kind of historical development in the Kabbalah. They saw it as a kind of primordial revelation that was accorded to Adam or the early generations and that endured, although new revelations were made from time to time, particularly when the tradition had been either forgotten or interrupted. This notion of the nature of esoteric wisdom was expressed in apocryphal works like the Book of Enoch, was again stressed in the *Zohar, and served as the basis for the dissemination of kabbalistic teaching in *Sefer ha-Emunot* by *Shem Tov b. Shem Tov (c. 1400) and in *Avodat ha-Kodesh* by *Meir b. Gabbai (1567). It became widely accepted that the Kabbalah was the esoteric part of the Oral Law given to Moses at Sinai. Several of the genealogies of the tradition appearing in kabbalistic literature, which were intended to support the idea of the continuity of the secret tradition, are themselves faulty and misconceived, lacking in any historical value. In actual fact, some kabbalists themselves give concrete instances of the historical development of their ideas, since they regard them either as having deteriorated to some extent from the original tradition, which found its expression in the increase of kabbalistic systems, or as part of a gradual progress toward the complete revelation of the secret wisdom. Kabbalists themselves rarely attempt to attain a historical orientation, but some examples of such an approach may be found in *Emunat Ḥakhamim* by Solomon Avi'ad Sar-Shalom *Basilea (1730), and in *Divrei Soferim* by *Zadok ha-Kohen of Lublin (1913).

From the beginning of its development, the Kabbalah embraced an esotericism closely akin to the spirit of Gnosticism, one which was not restricted to instruction in the mystical path but also included ideas on cosmology, angelology, and magic. Only later, and as a result of the contact with medieval Jewish philosophy, the Kabbalah became a Jewish "mystical theology," more or less systematically elaborated. This process brought about a separation of the mystical, speculative elements from the occult and especially the magical elements, a divergence that at times was quite distinct but was never total. It is expressed in the separate usage of the terms *Kabbalah iyyunit* ("speculative Kabbalah") and *Kabbalah ma'asit* ("practical Kabbalah"), evident from the beginning of the 14th century – which was simply an imitation of *Maimonides' division of philosophy into "speculative" and "practical" in chapter 14 of his *Millot ha-Higgayon*. There is no doubt that some kabbalistic circles (including those in Jerusalem up to modern times) preserved both elements in their secret doctrine, which could be acquired by means of revelation or by way of initiation rites.

Once rabbinic Judaism had crystallized in the *halakhah*, the majority of the creative forces aroused by new religious stimuli, which neither tended nor had the power to change the outward form of a firmly established halakhic Judaism, found expression in the kabbalistic movement. Generally speaking, these forces worked internally, attempting to make of the traditional Torah and of the life led according to its dictates a more profound inner experience. The general tendency is apparent from a very early date, its purpose being to broaden the dimensions of the Torah and to transform it from the law of the people of Israel into the inner secret law of the universe, at the same time transforming the Jewish *ḥasid* or *ẓaddik* into a man with a vital role in the world. The kabbalists were the main symbolists of rabbinic Judaism. For Kabbalah, Judaism in all its aspects was a system of mystical symbols reflecting the mystery of God and the universe, and the kabbalists' aim was to discover and invent keys to the understanding of this symbolism. To this aim is due the enormous influence of the Kabbalah as a historical force, which determined the face of Judaism for many centuries, but it too can explain the perils, upheavals, and contradictions, both internal and external, which the realization of this aim brought in its wake.

Terms Used For Kabbalah

At first the word "kabbalah" did not especially denote a mystical or esoteric tradition. In the Talmud it is used for the extra-Pentateuchal parts of the Bible, and in post-talmudic literature the Oral Law is also called "kabbalah." In the writings of *Eleazar of Worms (beginning of the 13th century) esoteric traditions (concerning the names of the angels and the magical Names of God) are referred to as "kabbalah," e.g., in his *Hilkhot ha-Kisse* (in *Merkabah Shelemah*, 1921), and *Sefer ha-Shem*. In his commentary to the Sefer *Yeẓirah (c. 1130), when he is discussing the creation of the Holy Spirit, i.e., the *Shekhinah*, *Judah b. Barzillai states that the sages "used to transmit statements of this kind to their students and to sages privately, in a whisper, through kabbalah." All this demonstrates that the term "kabbalah" was not yet used for any one particular field. The new, precise usage originated in the circle of *Isaac the Blind (1200) and was adopted by all his disciples.

Kabbalah is only one of the many terms used, during a period of more than 1,500 years, to designate the mystical movement, its teaching, or its adherents. The Talmud speaks of *sitrei torah* and *razei torah* ("secrets of the Torah"), and parts of the secret tradition are called *ma'aseh bereshit* (literally, "the work of creation") and *ma'aseh merkabah* ("the work of the chariot"). At least one of the mystical groups called itself *yoredei merkabah* ("those who descend to the chariot"), an extraordinary expression whose meaning eludes us (perhaps it means those who reach down into themselves in order to perceive the chariot?). In the mystical literature from the close of the talmudic period and afterward, the terms *ba'alei ha-sod* ("masters of the mystery") and *anshei emunah* ("men of belief") already occur, and the latter also appears as early as the Slavonic Book of Enoch. In the period of the Provençal and Spanish kabbalists the Kabbalah is also called *ḥokhmah penimit* ("inner wisdom"), perhaps a phrase borrowed from Arabic, and the kabbalists are often called *maskilim* ("the understanding ones"), with reference to Daniel 12:10, or *doreshei reshumot* ("those who interpret texts"), a talmudic expression for allegorists. In the same way as the word Kabbalah came to be restricted in meaning to the mystical or esoteric tradition, so, at the beginning of the 13th century, the words *emet* ("truth"), *emunah* ("faith"), and *ḥokhmah* ("wisdom") were used to designate the mystical or inner truth. Hence the widespread use of *ḥokhmat ha-emet* ("the science of truth") and *derekh ha-emet* ("the way of truth"). There is also found the expression *ḥakhmei lev* ("the wise-hearted"), after Exodus 28:3. The kabbalists are also called *ba'alei ha-yedi'ah* ("the masters of knowledge" – Gnostics) or *ha-yode'im* ("those who know") beginning with *Naḥmanides. Naḥmanides also coined the phrase *yode'ei ḥen* ("those who know grace"), after Ecclesiastes 9:11, where *ḥen* is used as an abbreviation for *ḥokhmah nistarah* ("secret wisdom"). The author of the Zohar uses terms such as *benei meheimnuta* ("children of faith"), *benei heikhala de-malka* ("children of the king's palace"), *yade'ei ḥokhmeta* ("those who know wisdom"), *yade'ei middin* ("those who know measures"), *meḥaẓdei ḥakla* ("those who reap the field"), and *inon de-allu u-nefaku* ("those who entered and left in peace"), after *Ḥagigah* 14b. Several authors call the kabbalists *ba'alei ha-avodah* ("masters of service"), i.e., those who know the true, inner way to the service of God. In the main part of the Zohar the term Kabbalah is not mentioned, but it is used in the later strata, in the *Ra'aya Meheimna* and the *Sefer ha-Tikkunim*. From the beginning of the 14th century the name Kabbalah almost completely superseded all other designations.

THE HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE KABBALAH

The Early Beginnings of Mysticism and Esotericism

The development of the Kabbalah has its sources in the esoteric and theosophical currents existing among the Jews of Palestine and Egypt in the era which saw the birth of Christianity. These currents are linked with the history of Hellenistic and syncretistic religion at the close of antiquity. Scholars disagree on the measure of the influence exerted by such trends, and also by Persian religion, on the early forms of Jewish mysticism. Some stress the Iranian influence on the general development of Judaism during the period of the Second Temple, and particularly on certain movements such as the Jewish apocalyptic, a view supported by many experts on the different forms of Gnosticism, like R. Reitzenstein and G. Widengren. That there was an extensive degree of Greek influence on these currents is maintained by a number of scholars, and various theories have been adduced to explain this. Many specialists in the Gnosticism of the first three centuries of the common era see it as basically a Greek or Hellenistic phenomenon, certain aspects of which appeared in Jewish circles, particularly in those sects on the fringes of rabbinic Judaism – *ha-minim*. The position of *Philo of Alexandria and his relationship with Palestinian Judaism is of special weight in these controversies. In contrast to scholars like Harry Wolfson who see Philo as fundamentally a Greek philosopher in Jewish garb, others, like Hans Lewy and Erwin Goodenough, interpret him as a theosophist or even a mystic. Philo's work, they believe, should be seen as an attempt to explain the faith of Israel in terms of Hellenistic mysticism, whose crowning glory was ecstatic rapture. In his monumental book, *Jewish Symbols in the Greco-Roman Period* (13 vols. 1953–68), Goodenough maintains that, in contrast to Palestinian Judaism which found expression in *halakhah* and *aggadah* and in the esoteric ideas which were indigenous developments, Diaspora Judaism showed little evidence of Palestinian influence. Instead, he avers, it had a specific spirituality based on a symbolism which is not rooted solely in the *halakhah*, but which is endowed with an imaginative content of a more or less mystical significance. He believes that the literary evidence, such as the writings of Philo and Hellenistic Judaism, provides extremely useful keys to an understanding of the archaeological and pictorial documentation which he has assembled in such abundance. Although considerable doubt has been cast on Goodenough's basic theories there is sufficient material in his great work to stimulate investigation into previously neglected aspects of Judaism and into evidence which has been insufficiently examined. His argument on the basically mystical significance of the pictorial symbols cannot be accepted, but he did succeed in establishing a link between certain literary evidence extant in Greek, Coptic, Armenian, and esoteric teachings prevalent in Palestinian Judaism. A similar link between Philonic ideas and the viewpoint of the *aggadah*, including the *aggadah* of the mystics, was also suggested by Yitẓḥak Baer (*Zion*, 23–24 (1958/59), 33–34, 141–65). Philo's book *De Vita Contemplativa* (*About the Contemplative Life*, 1895) mentions the existence of a sectarian community of "worshipers of God," who had already formulated a definitely mystical understanding of the Torah as a living body, and this paved the way for a mystical exegesis of Scripture.

An important element common to both Alexandrian and Palestinian Judaism is the speculation on Divine Wisdom which has its scriptural roots in Proverbs 8 and Job 28. Here Wisdom is seen as an intermediary force by means of which God creates the world. This appears in the apocryphal Wisdom of Solomon (7:25) as "a breath of the power of God, and a clear effluence of the glory of the Almighty… For she is an effulgence from everlasting light, And an unspotted mirror of the working of God, And an image of His goodness" (Charles). In the Slavonic Book of Enoch God commands His Wisdom to create man. Wisdom is here the first attribute of God to be given concrete form as an emanation from the Divine Glory. In many circles this Wisdom soon became the Torah itself, the "word of God," the form of expression of the Divine Power. Such views of the mystery of Wisdom demonstrate how parallel development could take place, on the one hand through rabbinic exegesis of the words of Scripture, and on the other through the influence of Greek philosophical speculations on the Logos. It should be noted that there is no definite proof that Philo's writings had an actual direct influence on rabbinic Judaism in the post-tannaitic period, and the attempt to prove that the *Midrash ha-Ne'lam* of the Zohar is nothing but a Hellenistic Midrash (S. Belkin, in: *Sura*, 3 (1958), 25–92) is a failure. However, the fact that the Karaite *Kirkisānī (tenth century) was familiar with certain quotations drawn from Philonic writings shows that some of his ideas found their way, perhaps through Christian-Arab channels, to members of Jewish sects in the Near East. But it should not be deduced from this that there was a continuous influence up to this time, let alone up to the time of the formulation of the Kabbalah in the Middle Ages. Specific parallels between Philonic and kabbalistic exegesis should be put down to the similarity of their exegetical method, which naturally produced identical results from time to time (see S. Poznański, in REJ, 50 (1905), 10–31).

The theories concerning Persian and Greek influences tend to overlook the inner dynamism of the development taking place within Palestinian Judaism, which was in itself capable of producing movements of a mystical and esoteric nature. This kind of development can also be seen in those circles whose historical influence was crucial and decisive for the future of Judaism, e.g., among the Pharisees, the *tannaim* and *amoraim*, that is to say, at the very heart of established rabbinic Judaism. In addition, there were similar tendencies in other spheres outside the mainstream, in the various currents whose influence on subsequent Judaism is a matter of controversy: the *Essenes, the *Qumran sect (if these two are not one and the same), and the different Gnostic sects on the periphery of Judaism whose existence is attested to by the writings of the *Church Fathers. Some have sought to demonstrate the existence of mystical trends even in biblical times (Hertz, Horodezky, Lindblom, Montefiore), but it is almost certain that the phenomena which they connected with mysticism, like prophecy and the piety of certain psalms, belong to other strands in the history of religion. Historically speaking, organized closed societies of mystics have been proved to exist only since the end of the Second Temple era; this is clearly attested to by the struggle taking place in this period between different religious forces, and by the tendency then current to delve more deeply into original religious speculation.

Apocalyptic Esotericism and Merkabah Mysticism

Chronologically speaking, it is in apocalyptic literature that we find the first appearance of ideas of a specifically mystical character, reserved for the elect. Scholars do not agree on whether the origins of this literature are to be found among the Pharisees and their disciples or among the Essenes, and it is quite possible that apocalyptic tendencies appeared in both. It is known from Josephus that the Essenes possessed literature which was both magical and angelological in content. His silence concerning their apocalyptic ideas can be understood as his desire to conceal this aspect of contemporary Judaism from his gentile readers. The discovery of the literary remains of the Qumran sect shows that such ideas found a haven among them. They possessed the original Book of Enoch, both in Hebrew and Aramaic, although it is quite likely that it was composed in the period preceding the split between the Pharisees and the members of the Qumran sect. In fact, traditions resembling those embedded in the Book of Enoch found their way into rabbinic Judaism at the time of the *tannaim* and *amoraim*, and it is impossible to determine precisely the breeding ground of this type of tradition until the problems presented by the discovery of the Qumran writings have been solved. The Book of Enoch was followed by apocalyptic writing up to the time of the *tannaim*, and, in different ways, after this period also. Esoteric knowledge in these books touched not only upon the revelation of the end of time and its awesome terrors, but also upon the structure of the hidden world and its inhabitants: heaven, the Garden of Eden, and Gehinnom, angels and evil spirits, and the fate of the souls in this hidden world. Above this are revelations concerning the Throne of Glory and its Occupant, which should apparently be identified with "the wonderful secrets" of God mentioned by the *Dead Sea Scrolls. Here a link can be established between this literature and the much later traditions concerning the *ma'aseh bereshit* and the *ma'aseh merkabah*.

It is not just the content of these ideas which is considered esoteric; their authors too hid their own individuality and their names, concealing themselves behind biblical characters like Enoch, Noah, Abraham, Moses, Baruch, Daniel, Ezra, and others. This self-concealment, which was completely successful, has made it extremely difficult for us to determine the historical and social conditions of the authors. This pseudepigraphical pattern continued within the mystical tradition in the centuries that followed. The clear tendency toward asceticism as a way of preparing for the reception of the mystical tradition, which is already attested to in the last chapter of the Book of Enoch, becomes a fundamental principle for the apocalyptics, the Essenes, and the circle of the Merkabah mystics who succeeded them. From the start, this pietist asceticism aroused active opposition entailing abuse and persecution, which later characterized practically the whole historical development of pietist tendencies (*ḥasidut*) in rabbinic Judaism.

The mysteries of the Throne constitute here a particularly exalted subject which to a large extent set the pattern for the early forms of Jewish mysticism. It did not aspire to an understanding of the true nature of God, but to a perception of the phenomenon of the Throne on its Chariot as it is described in the first chapter of Ezekiel, traditionally entitled *ma'aseh merkabah*. The mysteries of the world of the Throne, together with those of the Divine Glory which is revealed there, are the parallels in Jewish esoteric tradition to the revelations on the realm of the divine in Gnosticism. The 14th chapter of the Book of Enoch, which contains the earliest example of this kind of literary description, was the source of a long visionary tradition of describing the world of the Throne and the visionary ascent to it, which we find portrayed in the books of the Merkabah mystics. In addition to interpretations, visions, and speculations based on the *ma'aseh merkabah*, other esoteric traditions began to crystallize round the first chapter of Genesis, which was called *ma'aseh bereshit*. These two terms were subsequently used to describe those subjects dealing with these topics. Both Mishnah and Talmud (Ḥag. 2:1 and the corresponding *Gemara* in both the Babylonian and Jerusalem Talmud) show that, in the first century of the common era, esoteric traditions existed within these areas, and severe limitations were placed on public discussion of such subjects: "The story of creation should not be expounded before two persons, nor the chapter on the Chariot before one person, unless he is a sage and already has an independent understanding of the matter." Evidence concerning the involvement of *Johanan b. Zakkai and his disciples in this sort of exposition proves that this esotericism could grow in the very center of a developing rabbinic Judaism, and that consequently this Judaism had a particular esoteric aspect from its very beginning. On the other hand, it is possible that the rise of Gnostic speculations, which were not accepted by the rabbis, made many of them tread very warily and adopt a polemical attitude. Such an attitude is expressed in the continuation of the Mishnah quoted above: "Whoever ponders on four things, it were better for him if he had not come into the world: what is above, what is below, what was before time, and what will be hereafter." Here we have a prohibition against the very speculations which are characteristic of Gnosticism as it is defined in "Excerpts from the writings of [the Gnostic] Theodotus" (*Extraits de Théodote*, ed. F. Sagnard (1948), para. 78). In actual fact, this prohibition was largely ignored, as far as can be judged from the many statements of *tannaim* and *amoraim* dealing with these matters which are scattered throughout the Talmud and the Midrashim.

In an age of spiritual awakening and deep religious turmoil there arose in Judaism a number of sects with heterodox ideas resulting from a mixture of inner compulsion and outside influence. Whether Gnostic sects existed on the periphery of Judaism before the coming of Christianity is a matter of controversy (see below); but there is no doubt that *minim* ("heretics") did exist in the tannaitic period and especially in the third and fourth centuries. In this period a Jewish Gnostic sect with definite antinomian tendencies was active in Sepphoris. There were also of course intermediate groups from which members of these sects gained an extended knowledge of theological material on *ma'aseh bereshit* and *ma'aseh merkabah*, and among these should be included the Ophites (snake worshipers) who were basically Jewish rather than Christian. From this source a considerable number of esoteric traditions were transmitted to Gnostics outside Judaism, whose books, many of which have been discovered in our own time, are full of such material – found not only in Greek and Coptic texts of the second and third centuries but also in the early strata of Mandaic literature, which is written in colloquial Aramaic. Notwithstanding all the deep differences in theological approach, the growth of Merkabah mysticism among the rabbis constitutes an inner Jewish concomitant to Gnosis, and it may be termed "Jewish and rabbinic Gnosticism."

Within these circles theosophical ideas and revelations connected with them branched out in many directions, so that it is impossible to speak here of one single system. A particular mystical terminology was also established. Some of it is reflected in the sources of "normal" Midrashim, while part is confined to the literary sources of the mystics: the literature of the *heikhalot* and the *ma'aseh bereshit*. Verbs like *histakkel, ẓafah, iyyen*, and *higgi'a* have specific meanings, as do nouns like *ha-kavod, ha-kavod ha-gadol, ha-kavod ha-nistar, mara di-revuta, yoẓer bereshit, heikhalot, ḥadrei merkabah*, and others. Particularly important is the established usage of the term *Kavod* ("glory") as a name both for God when He is the object of profound mystical enquiry and also for the general area of theosophical research. This term acquires a specific meaning, distinct from its scriptural usage, as early as the Book of Tobit and the end of the Book of Enoch, and it continues to be used in this way in apocalyptic literature. In contrast, the use of the word *sod* ("mystery") in this context was relatively rare, becoming general only in the Middle Ages, whereas *raz* ("secret") is used more often in the earlier texts.

Merkabah terminology is found in a hymn-fragment in the Dead Sea Scrolls, where the angels praise "the image of the Throne of the Chariot" (Strugnell). Members of the sect combined ideas concerning the song of the angels, who stand before the Chariot, with other ideas about the names and duties of the angels, and all this is common to the sect of Qumran and to later traditions of the *ma'aseh merkabah*. From the very beginning these traditions were surrounded by an aura of particular sanctity. Talmudic *aggadah* connects exposition of the Merkabah with the descent of fire from above which surrounds the expositor. In the literature of the *heikhalot* other and more daring expressions are used to describe the emotional and ecstatic character of these experiences. Distinct from the exposition of the Merkabah which the rabbis gave while on earth below was the ecstatic contemplation of the Merkabah experienced as an ascent to the heavens, namely descent to the Merkabah, through entering *pardes* ("paradise"). This was not a matter for exposition and interpretation but of vision and personal experience. This transition, which once again connects the revelations of the Merkabah with the apocalyptic tradition, is mentioned in the Talmud alongside the exegetic traditions (Ḥag. 14b). It concerns the four sages who "entered *pardes*." Their fate demonstrates that here we are dealing with spiritual experiences which were achieved by contemplation and ecstasy. *Simeon b. Azzai "looked and died"; *Ben Zoma "looked and was smitten" (mentally); *Elisha b. Avuyah, called *aḥer* ("other"), forsook rabbinic Judaism and "cut the shoots," apparently becoming a dualistic Gnostic; R. *Akiva alone "entered in peace and left in peace," or, in another reading, "ascended in peace and descended in peace." So R. Akiva, a central figure in the world of Judaism, is also the legitimate representative of a mysticism within the boundaries of rabbinic Judaism. This is apparently why Akiva and *Ishmael, who was his companion and also his adversary in halakhic matters, served as the central pillars and chief mouthpieces in the later pseudepigraphic literature devoted to the mysteries of the Merkabah. In addition, the striking halakhic character of this literature shows that its authors were well rooted in the halakhic tradition and far from holding heterodox opinions.

In mystic circles particular conditions were laid down for the entry of those fit to be initiated into the doctrines and activities bound up with these fields. The basic teachings were communicated in a whisper (Ḥag. 13b; *Bereshit Rabbah*, Theodor-Albeck edition (1965), 19–20). The earliest conditions governing the choice of those suitable were of two types. In the *Gemara* (Ḥag. 13b) basically intellectual conditions were formulated, as well as age limits ("at life's half-way stage"); and in the beginning of *Heikhalot Rabbati* certain ethical qualities required of the initiate are enumerated. In addition to this, from the third and fourth centuries, according to Sherira Gaon (*Oẓar ha-Ge'onim* to *Ḥagigah* (1931), *Teshuvot*, no. 12, p. 8), they used external methods of appraisal based on physiognomy and chiromancy (*hakkarat panim ve-sidrei sirtutin*). *Seder Eliyahu Rabbah*, chapter 29, quotes an Aramaic *baraita* from the Merkabah mystics concerning physiognomy. A fragment of a similar *baraita*, written in Hebrew in the name of R. Ishmael, has been preserved, and there is no doubt that it was a part of Merkabah literature. Its style and content prove its early date (see G. Scholem in *Sefer Assaf* (1953), 459–95; the text itself is translated into German in *Liber Amicorum*, in honor of Professor C.J. Bleeker, 1969, 175–93).

Esoteric Literature: the *Heikhalot*, the *Ma'aseh Bereshit*, and the Literature of Magic

This literature occupies an extremely important place in the development of esotericism and mysticism. It is connected at innumerable points with traditions outside its boundaries, in the Talmuds and Midrashim, and these traditions sometimes explain each other. In addition, esoteric literature contains a wealth of material that is found nowhere else. Many scholars, including Zunz, Graetz, and P. Bloch, have tried to show that a vast distance, both in time and subject matter, separates the early Merkabah ideas from those embedded in Talmud and Midrash, and they ascribed the composition of Merkabah literature to the geonic era. Even though it is quite possible that some of the texts were not edited until this period, there is no doubt that large sections originated in talmudic times, and that the central ideas, as well as many details, go back as far as the first and second centuries. Many of the texts are short, and in various manuscripts there is a considerable amount of basic material quite devoid of any literary embellishment. (For a list of the books belonging to this literature see *Merkabah Mysticism.) Of great importance are the texts entitled *Heikhalot Rabbati*, whose main speaker is R. Ishmael; *Heikhalot Zutrati*, whose main speaker is R. Akiva; and the *Sefer Heikhalot*, which has been published under the name of the Third Book of Enoch or the Hebrew Enoch. The traditions assembled here are not all of the same kind, and they indicate different tendencies among the mystics. We find here extremely detailed descriptions of the world of the Chariot, of the ecstatic ascent to that world, and of the technique used to accomplish this ascent. As in non-Jewish Gnostic literature, there is a magical and theurgic aspect to the technique of ascent, and there are very strong connections between Merkabah literature and Hebrew and Aramaic theurgic literature from both this and the geonic period. The earliest stratum of the *heikhalot* strongly emphasizes this magical side, which in the practical application of its teachings is linked to the attainment of the "contemplation of the Chariot." It is very similar to a number of important texts preserved among the Greek magic papyri and to Gnostic literature of the *Pistis Sophia* type which originated in the second or third century C.E.

The *heikhalot* books mentioned above refer to historical figures, whose connection with the mysteries of the Chariot is attested by Talmud and Midrash. On the other hand, there also existed early sources containing traditions attributed to various *tannaim* and *amoraim*; as some of them are almost or completely unknown, there would have been no point in appending their names to pseudepigraphical writings. In the Cairo *Genizah* a few fragments of a tannaitic Midrash on the Chariot were discovered (Ms. Sassoon 522), and the short fourth-century text *Re'iyyot Yeḥezkel* belongs to the same category. It could be inferred from this that the mystics did not always try to conceal their identities, although in most cases they were inclined to do so. The ascent to the Chariot (which in the *Heikhalot Rabbati* is deliberately called "descent") comes after a number of preparatory exercises of an extremely ascetic nature. The aspirant placed his head between his knees, a physical positon which facilitates changes in consciousness and self-hypnosis. At the same time, he recited hymns of an ecstatic character, the texts of which are extant in several sources, particularly in the *Heikhalot Rabbati*. These poems, some of the earliest *piyyutim* known to us, indicate that "Chariot hymns" like these were known in Palestine as early as the third century. Some of them purport to be the songs of the holy creatures (*ḥayyot*) who bear the Throne of Glory, and whose singing is already mentioned in apocalyptic literature. The poems have their own specific style which corresponds to the spirit of "celestial liturgy," and they have a linguistic affinity with similar liturgical fragments in the writings of the Qumran sect. Almost all of them conclude with the *kedushah* ("sanctification") of Isaiah 6:3, which is used as a fixed refrain. *Isaac Nappaḥa, a third-century Palestinian *amora*, puts a similar poem in the mouth of the kine who bore the Ark of the Covenant (I Sam. 6:12), in his interpretation of "And the kine took the straight way" (*va-yisharnah*, interpreted as "they sang"; Av. Zar. 24b), for he sees a parallel between the kine who bear the ark singing and the holy creatures who bear the Throne of Glory with a glorious festive song. These hymns clearly show their authors' concept of God. He is the holy King, surrounded by "majesty, fear, and awe" in "the palaces of silence." Sovereignty, majesty, and holiness are His most striking attributes. He is not a God Who is near but a God Who is afar, far removed from the area of man's comprehension, even though His hidden glory may be revealed to man from the Throne. The Merkabah mystics occupy themselves with all the details of the upper world, which extends throughout the seven palaces in the firmament of *aravot* (the uppermost of the seven firmaments); with the angelic hosts which fill the palaces (*heikhalot*); the rivers of fire which flow down in front of the Chariot, and the bridges which cross them; the *ofan* and *ḥashmal*; and with all the other details of the Chariot. But the main purpose of the ascent is the vision of the One Who sits on the Throne, "a likeness as the appearance of a man upon it above" (Ezek. 1:26). This appearance of the Glory in the form of supernal man is the content of the most recondite part of this mysticism, called **Shi'ur Komah* ("measure of the body").

The teaching on the "measure of the body" of the Creator constitutes a great enigma. Fragments of it appear in several passages in the *ma'aseh merkabah* literature, and there is one particularly long section which has come down separately (an early *genizah* Ms. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Heb., c. 65). Such passages enumerate the fantastic measurements of parts of the head as well as some of the limbs. They also transmit "the secret names" of these limbs, all of them unintelligible letter combinations. Different versions of the numbers and the letter combinations have survived and so they cannot be relied upon, and, all in all, their purpose (whether literal or symbolic) is not clear to us. However, the verse which holds the key to the enumeration is Psalms 147:5: "Great is Our Lord, and mighty in power," which is taken to mean that the extent of the body or of the measurement of "Our Lord" is alluded to in the words *ve-rav ko'aḥ* ("and mighty in power") which in *gematria* amount to 236. This number (236 × 10,000 leagues, and, moreover, not terrestrial but celestial leagues) is the basic measurement on which all the calculations are based. It is not clear whether there is a relationship between speculations on "the greatness of the Lord of the world" and the title *mara direvuta* ("Lord of greatness") which is one of the predications of God found in the Genesis Apocryphon (p. 2, line 4). The terms *gedullah* ("greatness"; e.g., in the phrase "*ofan* [wheel] of greatness") and *gevurah* ("might") occur as names for God in several texts of the Merkabah mystics. We should not dismiss the possibility of a continuous flow of specific ideas from the Qumran sect to the Merkabah mystics and rabbinic circles in the case of the *Shi'ur Komah* as well as in other fields. The paradox is that the vision of the *Shi'ur Komah* is actually hidden "from the sight of every creature, and concealed from the ministering angels," but "it was revealed to R. Akiva in the *ma'aseh merkabah*" (*Heikhalot Zutrati*). The mystic, therefore, grasps a secret which even the angels cannot comprehend.

The provocative anthropomorphism of these passages perplexed many rabbis, and was the object of attacks by the Karaites – so much so that even Maimonides, who at first regarded the *Shi'ur Komah* as an authoritative work requiring interpretation (in his original Ms. of his commentary to the Mishnah, Sanh. 10), later repudiated it, believing it to be a late forgery (*Teshuvot ha-Rambam* (1934), no. 117). In fact, as G. *Scholem and S. *Lieberman have demonstrated, the *Shi'ur Komah* was an early and genuine part of mystic teaching in the days of the *tanna'im*. The theory does not imply that God in Himself possesses a physical form, but only that a form of this kind may be ascribed to "the Glory," which in some passages is called *guf ha-Shekhinah* ("the body of the Divine Presence"). *Shi'ur Komah* is based on the descriptions of the beloved in Song of Songs (5:11–16), and it apparently became a part of the esoteric interpretation of this book. The early date of the *Shi'ur Komah* is attested by allusions to it in the Slavonic Book of Enoch, chapter 13 (ed. Vaillant (1952), p. 39), which still reflects the Hebrew terminology in its translation. Similarly, the Gnostic teaching of Markos (second century), on "the body of the truth" is a spiritualized Gnostic version of the *Shi'ur Komah*. Perhaps the idea of the "tunic" and garment of God also belonged to the *Shi'ur Komah*. This "tunic" is of great significance in the *ma'aseh bereshit* of the *Heikhalot Rabbati*, and echoes of this idea can be found in the rabbinic *aggadot* concerning the garment of light in which the Holy One, blessed be He, wrapped himself at the moment of creation.

The ascent and passage through the first six palaces are described at length in the *Heikhalot Rabbati*, with details of all the technical and magical means which assist the ascending spirit and save it from the dangers lying in wait for it. These dangers were given much emphasis in all Merkabah traditions. Empty visions meet the ascending soul and angels of destruction try to confound it. At the gates of all the palaces it must show the doorkeepers "the seals," which are the secret Names of God, or pictures imbued with a magical power (some of which are extant in the Gnostic *Pistis Sophia*), which protect it from attack. The dangers especially increase in number at the entrance to the sixth palace where it appears to the Merkabah mystic as if "one hundred million waves pour down, and yet there is not one drop of water there, only the splendor of the pure marble stones which pave the palace." It is to this danger in the ecstatic ascent that the words of R. Akiva refer in the story of the four who entered *pardes*: "when you come to the place of the pure marble stones, do not say 'water, water.'" The texts also mention a "fire which proceeds from his own body and consumes it." Sometimes the fire is seen as a danger (*Merkabah Shelemah* (1921), 1b) and at other times as an ecstatic experience which accompanies the entry into the first palace: "My hands were burned, and I stood without hands or feet" (Ms. Neubauer, Oxford 1531, 45b). The *pardes* which R. Akiva and his companions entered is the world of the celestial Garden of Eden or the realm of the heavenly palaces and the ascent or "rapture" is common to several Jewish apocalypses, and is mentioned by Paul (II Cor. 12:2–4) as something which needs no explanation for his readers of Jewish origin. In contrast to the dangers which attend those who, although unfit for them, indulge in these matters and in the magical science of theurgy, great emphasis is laid on the illumination which comes to the recipients of the revelations: "There was light in my heart like lightning," or "the world changed into purity around me, and my heart felt as if I had entered a new world" (*Merkabah Shelemah* 1a, 4b).

An early passage enumerating the basic subjects of the mystery of the Chariot is to be found in the Midrash to Proverbs 10, and, in a different version, in R. *Azriel's *Perush ha-Aggadot* (ed. Tishby (1945), 62). The subjects mentioned are the *ḥashmal*, the lightning, the cherub, the Throne of Glory, the bridges in the Merkabah, and the measurement of the limbs "from my toenails to the top of my head." Other subjects which are of great importance in a number of sources are not mentioned. Among these are ideas concerning the *pargod* ("curtain" or "veil") which separates the One Who sits on the Throne from the other parts of the Chariot, and upon which are embroidered the archetypes of everything that is created. There are different, highly colored traditions concerning the *pargod*. Some take it to be a curtain which prevents the ministering angels from seeing the Glory (Targ. of Job 26:9), while others hold that "the seven angels that were created first" continue their ministry inside the *pargod* (*Massekhet Heikhalot*, end of ch. 7). There was no fixed angelology, and different views, and indeed complete systems, have been preserved, ranging from those found in the Ethiopic Book of Enoch to the Hebrew Enoch found among the literature of the *heikhalot*. These ideas occupy a considerable place in the extant Merkabah literature, and, as would be expected, they reappear in various forms of a practical nature in incantations and theurgical literature. Knowledge of the names of the angels was already part of the mysticism of the Essenes, and it developed in both rabbinic and heterodox circles up to the end of the geonic period. Together with the concept of the four or seven key angels, there developed (about the end of the first or the beginning of the second century) a new doctrine concerning the angel *Metatron (*sar ha-panim*, "the prince of the Presence") – who is none other than Enoch himself after his flesh had been transformed into "flaming torches" – and the place assigned to him above all the other angels. There are some sources which contain little or no reference to this subject or to other views associated with it (e.g., concerning the angel *Sandalfon), while others like the Hebrew Enoch (ed. H. Odeberg, 1928), dwell on it at length. At the beginning of the tannaitic period speculations are found concerning the angel who bore within him the name of God Himself, the angel Yahoel, who occupies a dominant position in the Apocalypse of Abraham. Everything said here of Yahoel was transferred in another circle to Metatron, to whom the mystics assigned many other secret names, most important of which were Yahoel and "the lesser YHWH." While traditions concerning Yahoel and the lesser YHWH reappeared in different forms among the Gnostics, the subject of Metatron remained confined to Jewish circles for a long time. Metatron also took upon himself several of the duties of the angel *Michael, and from the amoraic period onward he was identified with the "prince of the world." His title *ha-na'ar* ("the boy") refers to his role as servant of God and is based on the linguistic usage of the Bible. Several extant passages of the *Shi'ur Komah* include references to Metatron and his role as servant of the Chariot.

In Merkabah literature the names of the angels easily intermingle with the secret Names of God, many of which are mentioned in the fragments of this literature still extant. Since many of these names have not been completely explained it has not yet been possible to ascertain whether they are meant to convey a specific theological idea – e.g., an emphasis on a particular aspect of God's revelation or activity – or whether they have other purposes which we cannot fathom. Fragments of *heikhalot* literature mention names like Adiriron, Zohirariel, Zavodiel, Ta'zash, Akhtriel (found also in a *baraita* emanating from this circle in Ber. 7a). The formula "the Lord, God of Israel" is very often added to the particular name, but many of the chief angels also have this added to their names (e.g., in the Hebrew Enoch) so it cannot be deduced from this whether the phrase refers to the name of an angel or to the name of God. Sometimes the same name serves to designate both God and an angel. An example of this is Azbogah ("an eightfold name") in which each pair of letters adds up, through *gematria*, to the number eight. This "eightfold" name reflects the Gnostic concept of the *ogdoas*, the eighth firmament above the seven firmaments, where the Divine Wisdom dwells. In the *Heikhalot Zutrati* it is defined as "a name of power" (*gevurah*), i.e., one of the names of the Divine Glory, while in the Hebrew Enoch chapter 18 it becomes the name of one of the angelic princes; its numerical significance is forgotten and it is subject to the customary aggadic interpretation of names. The same is true of the term *ziva rabba*, which from one angle is no more than an Aramaic translation of *ha-kavod ha-gadol* ("the great glory") found in the apocalypses and also in Samaritan sources as a description of the revealed God. But it also occurs in the lists of the mysterious names of the angel Metatron, and it is found with a similar meaning in Mandaic literature. Just as non-Jewish Gnostics sometimes used Aramaic formulae in their Greek writings, so Greek elements and Greek formulae found their way into Merkabah literature. The dialogue between the mystic and the angel Dumiel at the gate of the sixth palace in the *Heikhalot Rabbati* is conducted in Greek (J. Levy, in *Tarbiz*, 12 (1941), 163–7). One of the names of God in this literature is Totrossiah, which signifies the *tetras* of the four letters of the name YHWH. The reverse parallel to this is the name Arbatiao which is found frequently in the magic papyri of this period.

The different tendencies of Merkabah mysticism established ways of contemplating ascent to the heavens – ways which were understood in their literal sense. Their basic conception did not depend on scriptural interpretation but took on its own particular literary form. The magical element was strong in the early stages of *heikhalot* literature only, becoming weaker in later redactions. From the third century onward interpretations appear which divest the subject of the Chariot of its literal significance and introduce an ethical element. Sometimes the different palaces correspond to the ladder of ascent through the virtues (e.g., in the *Ma'aseh Merkabah*, para. 9, ed. by Scholem in *Jewish Gnosticism*… (1965), 107); and sometimes the whole topic of the Chariot completely loses its literal meaning. This kind of interpretation is especially evident in the remarkable mystic utterance of the third-century *amora* *Simeon b. Lakish: "the patriarchs are the Chariot" (Gen. Rabba, 475, 793, 983, with regard to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob). Statements like these opened the door to the type of symbolic interpretation which flourished afterward in kabbalistic literature.

The first center for this type of mysticism was in Palestine, where a large part of *heikhalot* literature was written. Mystical ideas found their way to Babylonia at least as early as the time of *Rav, and their influence is recognizable, among other places, in the magical incantations which were inscribed on bowls to afford "protection" from evil spirits and demons, and which reflect popular Babylonian Judaism from the end of the talmudic period to the time of the *geonim*. In Babylonia, apparently, a number of magical prayers were composed, as well as treatises on magic, like the *Ḥarba de-Moshe* (ed. Gaster 1896), *Sefer ha-Malbush* (Sassoon Ms. 290, pp. 306–11), *Sefer ha-Yashar* (British Museum, Margoliouth Ms. 752, fol. 91ff.), *Sefer ha-Ma'alot, Havdalah de-R. Akiva* (Vatican Ms. 228), *Pishra de R. *Ḥanina b. Dosa* (Vatican Ms. 216, fols. 4–6), and others, some of which were written in Babylonian Aramaic. In all these the influence of Merkabah ideas was very strong. In Palestine, perhaps at the end of the talmudic period, the *Sefer ha-*Razim* was composed, which contains descriptions of the firmaments greatly influenced by *heikhalot* literature, while the "practical" part, concerning incantations, has a different style, partly adopted verbatim from Greek sources. From circles such as these emanated the magical usage of the Torah and Psalms for practical purposes (see JE III, s.v. Bibliomancy). This practice was based on the theory that essentially these books were made up from the Sacred Names of God and His angels, an idea that first appeared in the preface to the *Sefer Shimmushei Torah*; only the midrashic introduction, with the title *Ma'yan ha-Ḥokhmah*, has been printed (Jellinek, *Beit ha-Midrash*, part 1 (1938), 58–61), but the whole work is extant in manuscript. Of the same type is the *Sefer Shimmushei Tehillim*, which has been printed many times in Hebrew and also exists in manuscript in an Aramaic version.

The poetical content of the literature of the *ma'aseh merkabah* and the *ma'aseh bereshit* is striking; we have already noted the hymns sung by the *ḥayyot* and the ministering angels in praise of their Creator. Following the pattern of several of the Psalms, the view was developed that the whole of creation, according to its nature and order, was singing hymns of praise. A hymnology was established in the various versions of the **Perek Shirah*, which without any doubt derives from mystical circles in the talmudic period. Connected with this poetical element is the influence that the Merkabah mystics had on the development of specific portions of the order of prayer, particularly on the morning *kedushah* (Ph. Bloch, in MGWJ, 37, 1893), and later on the *piyyutim* which were written for these portions (*silluk, ofan, kedushah*).

Jewish Gnosis and the *Sefer Yeẓirah*

In these stages of Jewish mysticism, the descriptions of the Chariot and its world occupy a place which in non-Jewish Gnosticism is filled by the theory of the "aeons," the powers and emanations of God which fill the *pleroma*, the divine "fullness." The way in which certain *middot*, or qualities of God, like wisdom, understanding, knowledge, truth, faithfulness, righteousness, etc., became the "aeons" of the Gnostics is paralleled in the tradition of the *ma'aseh bereshit*, although it did not penetrate the basic stages of Merkabah mysticism. The ten sayings by which the world was created (Avot 5:1) became divine qualities according to Rav (Ḥag. 12a). There is also a tradition that *middot* such as these "serve before the Throne of Glory" (ARN 37), thus taking the place occupied by the *ḥayyot* and the presiding angels in the Merkabah system. The semi-mythological speculations of the Gnostics which regarded the qualities as "aeons" were not admitted into the rabbinic tradition of the Talmud or the Midrashim, but they did find a place in the more or less heterodox sects of the *minim* or *ḥiẓẓonim*. To what extent the growth of Gnostic tendencies within Judaism itself preceded their development in early Christianity is still the subject of scholarly controversy. Peterson, Haenchen, and Quispel, in particular, along with several experts on the Dead Sea Scrolls, have tried to prove that Jewish forms of Gnosis, which retained a belief in the unity of God and rejected any dualistic notions, came into being before the formation of Christianity and were centered particularly around the idea of primordial man (following speculation on Gen. 1:26; see *Adam Kadmon). The image of the Messiah, characteristic of the Christian Gnostics, was absent here. These scholars have interpreted several of the earliest documents of Gnostic literature as Gnostic Midrashim on cosmogony and Haenchen in particular has argued that their basic Jewish character is clearly recognizable in an analysis of the teaching of Simon Magus, apparently the leader of Samaritan Gnosis, a first-century heterodox Judaism. Even before this, M. *Friedlaender had surmised that antinomian Gnostic tendencies (which belittled the value of the Commandments) had also developed within Judaism before the rise of Christianity. Although a fair number of these ideas are based on questionable hypotheses, nevertheless there is a considerable measure of truth in them. They point to the lack of Iranian elements in the early sources of Gnosis, which have been exaggerated by most scholars of the last two generations, whose arguments rest on no less hypothetical assumptions. The theory of "two principles" could have been the result of an internal development, a mythological reaction within Judaism itself, just as easily as a reflection of Iranian influence. The apostasy of the *tanna* Elisha b. Avuyah to a Gnostic dualism of this kind is connected in the Merkabah tradition with the vision of Metatron seated on the Throne like God. Mandaic literature also contains strands of a Gnostic, monotheistic, non-Christian character, which many believe originated in a Transjordanian Jewish heterodox sect whose members emigrated to Babylonia in the first or second century. The earliest strata of the *Sefer ha-*Bahir*, which came from the East, prove the existence of definitely Gnostic views in a circle of believing Jews in Babylonia or Syria, who connected the theory of the Merkabah with that of the "aeons." These early sources are partly linked with the book **Raza Rabba*, which was known as an early work at the end of the geonic period; fragments of it can be found in the writings of the *Ḥasidei Ashkenaz. Concepts which did not originate exclusively in Jewish mysticism, like the idea of the *Shekhinah* and the hypostases of stern judgment and compassion, could easily have been interpreted according to the theory of the "aeons" and incorporated with Gnostic ideas. The "exile of the *Shekhinah*," originally an aggadic idea, was assimilated in Jewish circles at a particular stage with the Gnostic idea of the divine spark that is in exile in the terrestrial world, and also with the mystic view of the Jewish concept of the *keneset Yisrael* ("the community of Israel") as a heavenly entity that represents the historical community of Israel. In the elaboration of such motifs, Gnostic elements could be added to rabbinic theories of the Merkabah and to ideas of Jewish circles whose connection with rabbinism was weak.

THE *SEFER YEẒIRAH*. Speculation on the *ma'aseh bereshit* was given a unique form in a book, small in size but enormous in influence, that was written between the second and sixth centuries, perhaps in the third century, in a Hebrew style reflecting that of the Merkabah mystics. In early manuscripts it is called *Hilkhot Yeẓirah* ("*Halakhot* on Creation"), and later *Sefer Yeẓirah* ("Book of Creation"; uncritical edition by L. Goldschmidt, 1894). We should not dismiss out of hand the possibility that the *hilkhot yeẓirah* mentioned in *Sanhedrin* 65b and 67b could be one early version of this text. There is here an independent adaptation of the concept of the *ma'aseh bereshit* conceived in the spirit of the Pythagoreans of the talmudic period. On the one hand the book is closely connected with Jewish speculation on "Divine Wisdom," *Ḥokhmah*, and with the traditions concerning cosmogony, and on the other hand it introduces new concepts and an original plan of cosmogony far removed, for example, from the *baraita* of the work of creation. The "32 secret paths of Wisdom," by means of which God created His world, are nothing more than the "ten *Sefirot*" added to the 22 letters of the Hebrew alphabet. The *Sefirot*, a term which first appears in this text, are merely the primordial numbers of the later Pythagoreans. They are created powers, and not emanations from within the Divine. They also fulfill a decisive role in both the creation and the order of the world. When he describes their work the author uses expressions purposely taken from the description of the *ḥayyot* in the first chapter of Ezekiel. The first four *Sefirot* represent the four elements of the entire world: the spirit of God; ether – the spirit which is the world's atmosphere; water; and fire. The following six *Sefirot* represent the six dimensions of space. The *Sefirot* are described in a style full of mysterious solemnity almost without parallel in Jewish tradition. This enigmatic style enabled both philosophers and kabbalists of a later age to base their ideas mainly on the first chapter of the book, interpreting it in their own individual ways.

In the rest of the book there is no further mention of these *Sefirot*, and there follows a description of the parts that the letters play in creation. The whole work of creation was enacted through the combinations of the Hebrew letters that were inscribed on the sphere of heaven and engraved into the spirit of God. Every process in the world is a linguistic one, and the existence of every single thing depends on the combination of letters that lies hidden within it. This idea is very close to the view mentioned in *Berakhot* 55a in the name of the *amora* Rav, that there are "letters through which heaven and earth were created," and that Bezalel built the tabernacle (which, according to some, was a microcosmic symbol of the whole work of creation) through his knowledge of the combinations of these letters. Perhaps this view can be seen as the ultimate conclusion of the theory that the world was created through the Torah, which is made up of letters and which contains these combinations in some mysterious way. At this point an element common to the concepts of the *Sefer Yeẓirah* and to ideas concerning the practice of magic through the power of letters and names and their permutations clearly emerges. The author compares the division of the letters according to their phonetic origin with the division of creation into three areas: world (place), year (time), and soul (the structure of the human body). The relationship of the letters to the *Sefirot* is obscure. The whole of creation is "sealed" with combinations of the name Yaho (יהו), and the emphasis on this name in the *Sefer Yeẓirah* recalls Gnostic and magical speculations on that same name, in its Greek form Ιάω. Through "contemplation" of the mysteries of the letters and the *Sefirot* Abraham attained a revelation of the Lord of All. Because of this conclusion the authorship of the book was attributed to Abraham, and in some manuscripts it is even entitled "The Letters of our Father Abraham." The Ḥasidim of Germany (see *Ḥasidei Ashkenaz) read the book as a manual of magic, and they connected it with traditions about the creation of the **golem* (see G. Scholem, *On the Kabbalah and its Symbolism* (1965), 165–73).

Mysticism in the Geonic Period

The mishnaic and the talmudic periods were times of irrepressible creativity in the field of mysticism and esoteric inquiry. In the geonic era (from the seventh to the 11th centuries) little that was essentially original emerged, and the various streams already mentioned continued to exist and to intermingle. The center of mystical activity shifted to Babylonia, although its continuing influence in Palestine is evident in several chapters of later midrashic literature and particularly in the Pirkei de-R. *Eliezer. The poems of Eleazar *Kallir, which are greatly influenced by *Merkabah* literature and also by the *Shi'ur Komah*, belong to the end of the earlier period or were composed between the two eras. The poet made no attempt to conceal ideas which had been transmitted through old esoteric theories. As mysticism developed in this period, in both Palestine and Babylonia, it followed the pattern of the earlier period. Apocalyptic writing continued with great momentum; examples are extant from the time of the *amoraim* almost to that of the Crusades, and they were collected in Judah Even-Shemuel's great anthology, *Midreshei Ge'ullah* (1954²), most of them from the geonic period. They display a marked connection with the Merkabah tradition, and several have been preserved in manuscripts of works by mystics. Simeon b. *Yoḥai appears here for the first time, side by side with R. Ishmael, as a bearer of apocalyptic tradition (in the *Nistarot de-R. Shimon b. Yoḥai*). Apocalypses were also attributed to the prophet Elijah, Zerubbabel, and Daniel.

At the other extreme there grew and flourished in these circles an angelology and a theurgy which produced a very rich literature, much of it extant from this period. Instead of, or in addition to, the contemplation of the Chariot, this presents a many-sided practical magic associated with the prince or princes of the Torah, whose names vary. Many incantations addressed to the angel Yofiel and his companions, as princes of wisdom and of Torah, are found in a large number of manuscripts of magical manuals, which continue the tradition of the earlier magical papyri. There was also a custom of conjuring up these princes particularly on the day before the Day of Atonement or even on the night of the Day of Atonement itself (see G. Scholem, in *Tarbiz*, 16 (1945), 205–9). Formulae for more mundane purposes have also been preserved in many incantations written in Babylonian Aramaic by Jewish "masters of the Name," and not always on behalf of Jewish customers. Concepts from the Merkabah mystics' circle, as well as mythological and aggadic ideas – some unknown from other sources – filtered through to groups which were far removed indeed from mysticism and much closer to magic. A demonology, extremely rich in detail, also grew up side by side with the angelology. Many examples of these (published by Montgomery, C. Gordon, and others) were found on clay bowls which were buried, according to custom, beneath the thresholds of houses. They have important parallels among the incantations transmitted through literary tradition in the fragments of the *Genizah* and in the material which found its way as far as the Ḥasidim of Germany (e.g., in the *Havdalah de-R. Akiva*). The theology and angelology of the incantations were not always explained correctly by their editors, who saw in them a heterodox theology (for an example of this see Scholem, *Jewish Gnosticism* (1965), 84–93). It was in Babylonia also, apparently, that the book *Raza Rabba* ("The Great Mystery") was composed. Attacked by the Karaites as a work of sorcery, the book does indeed contain magical material but the extant fragments show that it also has some Merkabah content, in the form of a dialogue between R. Akiva and R. Ishmael. As the angelology in these fragments has no parallel in other sources, it would seem that the work is a crystallization of an early form of a theory of the "aeons" and of speculations of a Gnostic character. The style, quite different from that of the *heikhalot*, indicates a much later stage. These fragments were published by G. Scholem in *Reshit ha-Kabbalah* (1948), 220–38.

The beginnings of new trends in this period can be discerned in three areas:

(1) The utterances employed in the creation of the world were conceived either as forces within the Chariot or as "aeons," *middot*, or hypostases. To what extent this speculation is associated with the view of the ten *Sefirot* in the *Sefer Yeẓirah* is not altogether clear. It is evident, however, that in Jewish Gnostic circles the concept of the *Shekhinah* occupied a completely new position. In the early sources "*Shekhinah*" is an expression used to denote the presence of God Himself in the world and is no more than a name for that presence; it later becomes a hypostasis distinguished from God, a distinction that first appears in the late Midrash to Proverbs (Mid. Prov. 47a: "the *Shekhinah* stood before the Holy One, blessed be He, and said to Him"). In contrast to this separation of God and His *Shekhinah*, there arose another original concept – the identification of the *Shekhinah* with *keneset Yisrael* ("the community of Israel"). In this obviously Gnostic typology, the allegories which the Midrash uses in order to describe the relationship of the Holy One, blessed be He, to the community of Israel are transmuted into this Gnostic concept of the *Shekhinah*, or "the daughter," in the eastern sources which are embedded in *Sefer ha-Bahir* (G. Scholem, *Les Origines de la Kabbale* (1966), 175–94). Gnostic interpretations of other terms, like wisdom, and of various talmudic similes in the spirit of Gnostic symbolism, can be understood as going back to the early sources of the *Sefer ha-Bahir (ibid.*, 78–107). Several of the book's similes can be understood only against an Oriental background, and Babylonia in particular, as, for example, the statements concerning the date palm and its symbolic significance. The ascent of repentance to reach the Throne of Glory is interpreted in a late Midrash (PR 185a) as an actual ascent of the repentant sinner through all the firmaments, and so the process of repentance is closely connected here with the process of ascent to the Chariot.

(2) In this period the idea of the transmigration of souls (**gilgul*) also became established in various eastern circles. Accepted by Anan b. *David and his followers (up to the tenth century) – although later rejected by the Karaites – it was also adopted by those circles whose literary remains were drawn upon by the redactors of the *Sefer ha-Bahir*. For Anan (who composed a book specifically on this subject) and his followers the idea, which apparently originated among Persian sects and Islamic Mutazilites, had no mystical aspects. It is apparent, however, that the mystics' idea of transmigration drew upon other sources, for in the sources of the *Sefer ha-Bahir* it makes its appearance as a great mystery, alluded to only through allegory, and based on scriptural verses quite different from those quoted by the sect of Anan and repeated by Kirkisānī in his *Book of Lights* (pt. 3, chs. 27–28).

(3) A new element was added to the idea of the Sacred Names and angels which occupied such a prominent position in the theory of the Merkabah. This was an attempt to discover numerological links, through *gematria*, between the different types of names and scriptural verses, prayers, and other writings. The numerological "secrets," *sodot*, served two purposes. They ensured, firstly, that the names would be spelled exactly as the composers of *gematriot* received them through written or oral sources – though this system did not entirely save them from mutilation and variation, as is clearly shown by the mystical writings of the Ḥasidei Ashkenaz. Secondly, by this means they were able to give mystical meanings and "intentions" (*kavvanot*) to these names, which served as an incentive to deeper meditation, especially since many of the names lacked any significance. This process seems to be connected with a decline in the practical use of this material during preparation for the soul's ecstatic ascent to heaven. Names which originated through intense emotional excitement on the part of contemplatives and visionaries were stripped of their meaning as technical aids to ecstatic practice, and so required interpretations and meanings on a new level of *kavvanah*. All the names, of whatever kind, have therefore a contemplative content; not that ascent to the Merkabah completely disappeared at this time, for the various treatises in many manuscripts on the methods of preparation for it testify to the continuity of their practical application. However, it is clear that this element gradually became less significant. Another new factor must be added to this: the interpretation of the regular prayers in the search for *kavvanot* of this numerical type.

It is impossible to determine with any certainty from the evidence that remains where the secrets of the names and the mysteries of prayer according to this system of *gematria* first made their appearance. The new interpretations of prayer link the words of phrases of the liturgy generally with names from the Merkabah tradition and angelology. Perhaps this link was first formulated in Babylonia; but it is also possible that it grew up in Italy, where the mysteries of the Merkabah and all the associated material spread not later than the ninth century. Italian Jewish tradition, particularly in the popular forms it assumed in *Megillat *Aḥimaʿaẓ*, clearly shows that the rabbis there were well versed in matters of the Merkabah. In addition it tells of the miraculous activity of one of the Merkabah mystics who emigrated from Baghdad, namely Abu Aharon (see Aaron of *Baghdad), who performed wonders through the power of the Sacred Names during the few years that he lived in Italy. The later tradition of the Ḥasidim of Germany (12th century) maintained that these new mysteries were transmitted about the year 870 to R. Moses b. *Kalonymus in Lucca by this same Abu Aharon, the son of R. Samuel ha-Nasi of Baghdad. Afterward, R. Moses went to Germany where he laid the foundations of the mystical tradition of the Ḥasidei Ashkenaz, which grew up around this new element. The personality of Abu Aharon remains obscure in all these traditions, and the recent attempts (in several papers by Israel Weinstock) to see him as a central figure in the whole development of the Kabbalah and as author and editor of many mystical works, including the *heikhalot* literature and the *Sefer ha-Bahir*, are founded on an extreme use of *gematriot* and on dubious hypotheses (see *Tarbiz*, 32 (1963), 153–9 and 252–65, the dispute between I. Weinstock and G. Scholem, and Weinstock's reply in *Sinai*, 54 (1964), 226–59). In any event, there is no doubt that at the end of the geonic period mysticism spread to Italy, in the form of Merkabah literature and perhaps also in the form of the above-mentioned theory of names, which served as an intermediate link between the orient and the later development in Germany and France. These ideas reached Italy through various channels. The magical theurgic elements in them came to the fore, while the speculative side became weaker. This latter was represented in the main by the commentary of the physician Shabbetai *Donnolo to the *Sefer Yeẓirah* which was indisputably influenced by the commentary of Saadiah b. Joseph *Gaon to the same work. It is impossible to say to what extent theosophic writings of a Gnostic character, in Hebrew or Aramaic, also passed through these channels, but this possibility should not be denied.

From the numerous remains of mystical literature extant from the talmudic and geonic periods it can be deduced that these types of ideas and attitudes were widespread in many circles, wholly or partially restricted to initiates. Only on very rare occasions is it possible to establish with certainty the personal and social identity of these circles. There is no doubt that, apart from the individual *tannaim* and *amoraim* whose attachment to mystical study is attested by reliable evidence, there were many whose names are unknown who devoted themselves to mysticism and even made it their chief preoccupation. In addition to the rabbis that have already been mentioned, R. *Meir, R. *Isaac, R. *Levi, R. Joshua b. *Levi, R. *Hoshaiah, and R. Inyani b. Sasson (or Sisi) were also involved with mystical ideas. The identity of those who studied theurgy (who were called, in Aramaic, "users of the Name," and only from the geonic period onward "masters of the Name," *ba'alei ha-Shem*) is completely unknown, and most of them, of course, did not come from rabbinic circles. Our knowledge of the exponents of mysticism and esotericism in the geonic period is even more limited. Geonic responsa reveal that esoteric traditions did spread to the leading academies, but there is no proof that the foremost *geonim* themselves were steeped in these teachings or that they actually practiced them. The material touching on Merkabah traditions in the responsa and in the commentaries of the *geonim* (the greater part of which were assembled by B.M. Levin in *Oẓar ha-Ge'onim* to *Ḥagigah* (1931), 10–30, and in the section on commentaries 54–61) is notable for its extreme caution, and occasionally for its forbearance. The main attempt to link the theories of the *Sefer Yeẓirah* with contemporary philosophical and theological ideas was made by Saadiah Gaon, who wrote the first extensive commentary to the book. He refrained from dealing in detail with the subject matter of the Merkabah and the *Shi'ur Komah*, but at the same time he did not disown it despite the attacks of the Karaites. In several instances Sherira b. Ḥanina *Gaon and Hai *Gaon set out to discuss matters in this field, but without connecting their explanations with the philosophical ideas expressed elsewhere in their writings. Hai Gaon's opinion in his well known responsum concerning some of the Secret Names, such as the 42-and the 72-lettered Name, led others to attribute to him more detailed commentaries on these subjects, and some of these came into the possession of the Ḥasidei Ashkenaz (see J. Dan, *Torat ha-Sod shel Ḥasidut Ashkenaz*, 1968). The words that Hai Gaon addressed to the rabbis of Kairouan show that the esoteric teaching on names had an impact even on the more distant Diaspora, but they also demonstrate that there was no tradition and little textual distribution of the literature of the *heikhalot*, of which the *gaon* says "he who sees them is terrified by them." In Italy this literature did spread, particularly among the rabbis and the poets (*paytanim*), and an important section of the work of Amittai b. Shephatiah (ninth century) consists of Merkabah poems. As these traditions passed into Europe, some circles of rabbinic scholars became once more the principal but not the only exponents of mystical teaching.

Aggadot and Midrashim with angelological and esoteric tendencies were also written in this period. The *Midrash Avkir*, which was still known in Germany up to the end of the Middle Ages, contained material rich in mythical elements concerning angels and names. The remains of it which appear in the *Likkutim mi-Midrash Avkir* were collected by S. Buber in 1883. Various parts of the *Pesikta Rabbati* also reflect the ideas of the mystics. The *Midrash Konen* is made up of different elements (Jellinek, *Beit ha-Midrash*, pt. 2 (1938), 23–39, and, with a commentary, in *Sefer Nit'ei Na'amanim*, 1836); the first part contains a remarkable combination of ideas concerning the Divine Wisdom and its role in creation and the theory of the *Shekhinah*, while the rest of the work includes different versions of angelology and a version of *ma'aseh bereshit*. An element of *gematria* also appears. Judging from the Greek words in the first part, the extant text was edited in Palestine or in southern Italy. In the tradition of the Ḥasidei Ashkenaz (British Museum Ms. 752 fol. 132b) a fragment of a Midrash survives concerning the angels active during the Exodus from Egypt, which is also based to a large extent on the exegesis of *gematriot*, and it would seem that there were other Midrashim of this type whose origin is not known.

While many ideas concerning God and His manifestation are expressed or implied in the Merkabah literature, no particular concentrated attention is paid in these early stages of mysticism to the teaching about man. The emphasis of the Merkabah mystics is on the ecstatic and contemplative side, and man interested them only insofar as he received the vision and revealed it to Israel. Their speculations contain no specific ethical theory nor any new concept of the nature of man.

Ḥasidic Movements in Europe and Egypt

Religious impulses which were mystical in the sense of involving man's powerful desire for a more intimate communion with God and for a religious life connected with this developed in the Judaism of the Middle Ages in different places and by various means; not all are associated exclusively with Kabbalah. Such tendencies resulted from a fusion of internal drives with the external influence of the religious movements present in the non-Jewish environment. Since their proponents did not find the answer to all their needs in the talmudic and midrashic material which purported to bind man closer to God – although they utilized it as far as they could and also at times based far-fetched interpretations on it – they drew extensively on the literature of the Sufis, the mystics of Islam, and on the devout Christian ascetic tradition. The intermingling of these traditions with that of Judaism resulted in tendencies which were regarded as a kind of continuation of the work of the *Ḥasideans of the tannaitic period, and they stressed the value of *ḥasidut* as a way of bringing man nearer to *devekut* ("communion" with God) although this term was not yet used to designate the culmination of *ḥasidut*. Extremism in ethical and religious behavior, which in the sayings and literature of the rabbis characterized the term "*ḥasid*" ("pious") as against "*ẓaddik*" ("righteous"), became the central norm of these new tendencies. They found their classical literary expression, first and foremost, in 11th-century Spain in *Ḥovot ha-Levavot* by *Baḥya ibn Paquda which was originally written in Arabic. The material dealing with the life devoted to communion of the true "servant" – who is none other than the *ḥasid* yearning for the mystical life – is taken from Sufi sources and the author's intention was to produce an instructional manual of Jewish pietism which culminated in a mystical intent. A Hebrew translation of the *Ḥovot ha-Levavot* was made on the initiative of *Abraham b. David of Posquières and the early circle of kabbalists in Lunel. The book's great success, especially in Hebrew, shows how much it answered the religious needs of people even beyond the confines of the Kabbalah. The obvious connection with talmudic tradition, which served as the point of departure for explanations of a remarkable spiritual intent, was a distinguishing feature in works of this kind, which also clearly reveal neoplatonic philosophical elements. Such elements facilitated the creation of formulations of a mystical character, and this philosophy became one of its most powerful means of expression. Several of the poems of Solomon ibn *Gabirol, Baḥya's older contemporary, evidence this trend toward a mystical spirituality, and it is expressed particularly in the concepts of his great philosophical work, *Mekor Ḥayyim*, which is completely saturated with the spirit of neoplatonism. The extent to which his poems reflect individual mystical experiences is controversial (cf. the view of Abraham Parnes, *Mi-Bein la-Ma'arakhot* (1951), 138–61). In Spain, after a century or more, these tendencies intermingled with the emerging Kabbalah, where traces of Gabirol may be seen here and there, especially in the writings of Isaac b. *Latif.

Parallel with this was a growth of *ḥasidut* of a mystical bent in Egypt in the days of Maimonides and his son Abraham b. Moses b. *Maimon; this, however, found no echo in the Kabbalah, remaining an independent occurrence of a Jewish Sufi type which is recorded as late as the 14th or even the 15th century. No mere figure of speech, the epithet "Ḥasid" was a description of a man who followed a particular way of life, and it was appended to the names of several rabbis from the 11th century onward, in both the literary and the personal records that survived in the *Genizah*. The Egyptian trend of *ḥasidut* turned into "an ethically oriented mysticism" (S.D. Goitein), particularly in the literary productions of Abraham b. Moses b. Maimon (d. 1237). The mystical aspect of his book *Kifāyat al-ʿĀbidīn* (ed. S. Rosenblatt, 2 vols. (1927–38), with the title *The High Ways to Perfection*) is entirely based on Sufi sources and bears no evidence of any similar Jewish tradition known to the author. The circle of Ḥasidim which grew up around him stressed the esoteric aspect of their teaching (S.D. Goitein), and his son, R. Obadiah, also followed this path (G. Vajda, in JJS, 6 (1955), 213–25). A much later work of the same kind was discussed by F. Rosenthal (HUCA, 25 (1940), 433–84). What remains of this literature is all written in Arabic, which may explain why it found no place in the writings of the Spanish kabbalists, most of whom had no knowledge of the language.

An essentially similar religious movement grew up in France and Germany, beginning in the 11th century. It reached its peak in the second half of the 12th and in the 13th century, but it continued to have repercussions for a long time, particularly in the Judaism of the Ashkenazi world. This movement – known as the Ḥasidei Ashkenaz – has two aspects: the ethical and the esoteric-theosophical. On the ethical plane a new ideal developed of extreme *ḥasidut* linked to a suitable mode of life, as described particularly in the *Sefer Ḥasidim* of Judah b. Samuel *he-Ḥasid, extant in two versions, one short and the other long. Along with specific pietistic customs there grew up a particular method of repentance which, remarkable for its extremism, had a marked influence on Jewish ethical behavior. The common factor in all the ḥasidic movements of Spain, Egypt, and Germany was the violent opposition that they aroused, attested by the Ḥasidim themselves. A Ḥasidism which does not arouse opposition in the community cannot, according to their own definition, be considered a true one. Equanimity of spirit, indifference to persecution and ignominy; these are the distinguishing traits of the Ḥasid, to whichever particular circle he belongs. Although the Ḥasidei

Ashkenaz reflect to some extent the contemporary Christian asceticism, nevertheless they developed mainly within the framework of a clear talmudic tradition, and the basic principles were often identical with the principles of this tradition. All these movements had from the beginning a social significance intended "to revive the hearts." The Ḥasidei Ashkenaz did not, relatively speaking, lay great stress on the mystical element associated with the ḥasidic ideal. Despite the paradox inherent in the situation, they tried as far as possible to integrate the Ḥasid, ostensibly an unnatural phenomenon, into the general Jewish community, and to make him responsible in practice to the community. The Ḥasid who renounced his natural impulses and always acted "beyond the limit of strict justice" was the true embodiment of the fear and love of God in their purest essence. Many of these Ḥasidim attained the highest spiritual levels, and were considered to be masters of the holy spirit, or even prophets, a term applied to several men who are known for their activity in tosafist circles, e.g., R. Ezra ha-Navi ("the prophet") of Montcontour, and also to others who are otherwise completely unknown, e.g., R. Nehemiah ha-Navi and R. Troestlin ha-Navi from Erfurt. These men's attainment of such spiritual heights was connected not only with their behavior on the ethical plane but also with the distinction they achieved in the realm of esoteric theosophy. The latter was assigned an important position; in it all earlier trends were maintained, joined and mingled with new forces. Remaining the main object of enquiry, and even a practical guide toward the "ascent to heaven," the searching on the Merkabah became largely interwoven with number mysticism and the speculations based on it. In addition to the ecstatic or visionary ascent to heaven, there developed a tendency toward deep meditation, toward prayer and the mysteries of prayer, which were communicated orally. Medieval Jewish philosophy introduced a new element, mainly through Saadiah Gaon's commentary to the *Sefer Yeẓirah* (which had been translated into Hebrew as early as the 11th century), and through the early translation of his *Sefer Emunot ve-De'ot* in a style reminiscent of the *piyyutim* of the Kallir school. This was the source of the theory of the *Kavod* ("Glory"), transmitted through ḥasidic literature, which saw the Divine Glory as the first created entity, although the mystics dared speak of it only with trembling awe. Despite their distinction between God and the *Kavod*, which is also called *Shekhinah*, they continued to refer to the *Shekhinah* in terms of the talmudic and midrashic conception of it as an attribute of God. An additional factor from the 12th century onward was the influence of rabbis of the neoplatonic school, especially Abraham ibn *Ezra, and Abraham b. *Ḥiyya. Perhaps Ibn Ezra's travels to France and his personal contacts there contributed to this influence as well as his books. In all the literature they inherited from Saadiah and the Spanish rabbis, the Ḥasidim concentrated on that part that was closest to their thought, practically turning these authors into theosophists. Arriving at no unified systemization of these disparate and contradictory elements, in formulating their ideas they contented themselves with eclectic presentations. The ideas of the Merkabah and the *Shi'ur Komah* were already known in France at the beginning of the ninth century, as witnessed by the attacks on them by *Agobard, bishop of Lyons. Here and there glimpses of these traditions appear in the writings of *Rashi and the tosafists of the 12th and 13th centuries. The study of the *Sefer Yeẓirah* was looked upon as an esoteric discipline, consisting both of revelations concerning creation and the mysteries of the world, and of a profound knowledge of the mysteries of language and the Sacred Names. Traditions of this type have come down from Jacob b. Meir *Tam, Isaac of Dampièrre, Elhanan of Corbeil, and Ezra of Montcontour. The latter, claiming divine revelation, aroused messianic excitement in France and beyond in the second decade of the 13th century (Scholem, *Origines de la Kabbale*, 254–5). These traditions were given written form in France in the *Sefer ha-Ḥayyim* (Munich Ms. 107), written around 1200. However, following Ibn Ezra, its basic doctrine assimilated other theosophical elements concerning the divine attributes and their place in the *Kavod* and beneath the Throne whose similarity to the kabbalistic outlook is clear.

In all aspects, including the esoteric, the movement reached its peak in Germany, first within the widespread Kalonymus family from the 11th century on. In Worms, Speyer, and Mainz, and afterward in Regensburg, the main upholders of the tradition are known: *Samuel b. Kalonymus, *Judah b. Kalonymus of Mainz, and his son, *Eleazar of Worms; his teacher, Judah b. Samuel ha-Ḥasid (d. 1217); Judah b. Kalonymus of Speyer (author of *Sefer Yiḥusei Tanna'im ve-Amora'im*), and the descendants of Judah he-Ḥasid who were scattered throughout the German cities of the 13th century. They and their pupils gave a far-reaching popular expression to the movement, and several of them wrote books of a wide compass which embodied a major part of their traditions and ideas. In addition to the bulk of the *Sefer Ḥasidim*, Judah he-Ḥasid, the movement's central figure in Germany, wrote other books known to us only through citation in other works, particularly the *Sefer ha-Kavod*. According to J. Dan he was also the author of a large work extant in Oxford manuscript 1567. His pupil, Eleazar of Worms, included in books large and small (most of which have been preserved in manuscript) the major part of the material he had received concerning the teachings of the *ma'aseh merkabah*, the *ma'aseh bereshit*, and the doctrine of Names. They are a mixture of mythology and theology, of Midrash and speculation on one side, and of theurgy on the other. All the tendencies already mentioned above find expression in his work, existing side by side, as in his *Sodei Razayya* (considerable parts of which were published in the *Sefer *Razi'el*, and all of which is extant in B.M. Margoliouth 737) or in texts which are arranged like *halakhot*: *Hilkhot ha-Malakhim, Hilkhot ha-Kisse, Hilkhot ha-Kavod, Hilkhot ha-Nevu'ah* (printed under the title of *Sodei Razayya*, 1936), and also in many others that remain unpublished. The scope of this literature is very wide (see J. Dan in: *Zion*, 29 (1964), 168–81), and it contains some fragments of traditions of an unusual type, Gnostic in character, which apparently traveled from the east by way of Italy. The mysteries of prayer and the extensive interpretation of Scripture through number mysticism were further developed in Germany, partly through the chain of tradition of the Kalonymus family and partly through other developments which went so far that the emphasis on the search for associations by way of *gematriot* was considered by Jacob b. *Asher (Tur OḤ 113) to be the most characteristic feature of the Ḥasidei Ashkenaz. In the 13th century a very rich literature grew up, grounded on the different aspects of ḥasidic tradition but still independent of the kabbalistic literature that developed in the same period. The names of many rabbis who trod the path of ḥasidic theosophy are recorded in these sources, most of which are in manuscript. Many of their sayings were incorporated in Eleazar Hirz Treves' commentary to the liturgy (in *Siddur ha-Tefillah*, 1560), and in the *Sefer Arugat ha-Bosem* of Abraham b. *Azriel, an early 13th-century commentary on the *piyyutim* of the *maḥzor* of the Ashkenazi rite (ed. E. Urbach, 1939–63; see the introduction (vol. 4) in the section on mysticism). In this circle the *Sefer Yeẓirah* was nearly always interpreted in the manner of Saadiah and Shabbetai Donnolo, with an added tendency to see the book as a guide for both mystics and adepts of magic. The study of the book was considered successful when the mystic attained the vision of the *golem*, which was connected with a specific ritual of a remarkably ecstatic character. Only in later times did this inner experience assume more tangible forms in popular legend (Scholem, *On the Kabbalah and its Symbolism*, 173–93).

The theological views of the Ḥasidim are summarized in the *Hilkhot ha-Kavod*, and in the *Sha'arei ha-Sod ve-ha-Yiḥud ve-ha-Emunah* (*Kokhevei Yiẓḥak*, 27, 1862), and in the various versions of the *Sod ha-Yiḥud* from Judah he-Ḥasid to Moses Azriel at the end of the 13th century (Scholem, *Reshit ha-Kabbalah*, 206–9). In addition to the ḥasidic version of the concept of the *Kavod*, another view developed in a particular circle in the 11th or 12th century which is not mentioned in the writings of Judah he-Ḥasid and his school. This is the idea of *keruv meyuḥad* ("the special cherub") or *ha-keruv ha-kadosh* ("the holy cherub"). According to this view, it is not the *Kavod* pure and simple which sits upon the Throne but a specific manifestation in the shape of an angel or a cherub, to whom the mysteries of the *Shi'ur Komah* refer. In the writings of Judah ha-Ḥasid and Eleazar of Worms, and in the *Sefer ha-Ḥayyim*, there are a number of variations on the theme of the *Kavod* and various ways of presenting the idea. Sometimes a distinction is made between the revealed and the hidden *Kavod*, and so on. The special cherub appears as an emanation from the great fire of the *Shekhinah* or from the hidden *Kavod*, which has no form. In this circle the two basic divine attributes are contrasted with one another: God's "holiness," which denotes the presence of the *Shekhinah* in all things and the hidden *Kavod*, and God's "greatness" or "sovereignty," which has both appearance and size. Such an idea is somewhat reminiscent of the speculations of members of sects, such as that of Benjamin b. Moses *Nahawendi, who believed that the world was created through an angelic intermediary (a concept which also had precedents among early heterodox sects during the development of Gnosis). This idea becomes apparent among the Ḥasidim in the pseudepigraphicai text called the *Baraita of Yosef b. Uzziel*, which appears, from its language, to have been written in Europe. Joseph b. *Uzziel is taken to be the grandson of Ben Sira. The *baraita* is found in several manuscripts and was published in part by A. *Epstein (in *Ha-Ḥoker*, 2 (1894), 41–47). This idea was accepted by several rabbis, including Avigdor ha-Ẓarefati (12th century?); the author of *Pesak ha-Yir'ah ve-ha-Emunah*, which was mistakenly combined by A. *Jellinek with the *Sha'arei ha-Sod ve-ha-Yiḥud*; the anonymous author of the commentary to the *Sefer Yeẓirah*, which was apparently composed in France in the 13th century and printed under the name of Saadiah Gaon in the editions of the *Sefer Yeẓirah*; and, finally, Elḥanan b. *Yakar of London, in the first half of the 13th century (J. Dan, in *Tarbiz*, 35 (1966), 349–72). In the course of time such ideas, and particularly that of the special cherub, became combined and confused with Spanish Kabbalah, and in Germany in the 14th century several texts were composed which reflect this combination; some are still extant (British Museum Ms. 752; Adler Ms. 1161 in New York, and the commentary of Moses b. Eliezer ha-Darshan to the *Shi'ur Komah; Reshit ha-Kabbalah*, 204ff.).

Ḥasidic ideology, particularly in its French manifestations and in the form given it by Elḥanan of London, adopted the theory of the five worlds. Mentioned by Abraham b. Ḥiyya in his *Megillat ha-Megalleh* and originating among the Islamic neoplatonists in Spain, this theory enumerates in order the worlds of light, of the divine, of the intellect, of the soul, and of nature (Scholem, in MGWJ, 75 (1931), 172–90). Occasionally the writings of this circle incorporated material which originally came from Latin Christian literature, as G. Vajda demonstrated in connection with Elḥanan of London (*Archives d'histoire doctrinale du moyen-âge*, 28 (1961), 15–34). The views of the Ḥasidim were reflected to a large extent in their own special prayers, composed either in the style associated with Saadiah's concept of the *Kavod* (e.g., in the *Shir ha-Yiḥud*, a hymn which was perhaps written by Judah he-Ḥasid or even earlier), or frequently based on the Secret Names, alluded to in the acronym. Many of these have survived in the writings of Eleazar of Worms, particularly in the manuscripts of his commentary to the *Sefer Yeẓirah*. There are also prayers and poems which their authors intended to represent the songs of heavenly beings, a kind of continuation of the *heikhalot* hymns, the songs of the sacred *ḥayyot*. Generally speaking, these prayers were not accorded a fixed place in the liturgy, and they were apparently the preserve of a chosen few. At a much later time they were included in liturgical anthologies in Italy and Germany, collected by kabbalists in the Safed period, and many of them were finally published in the *Sha'arei Ẓiyyon* by Nathan *Hannover (ch. 3). Several of them were attributed in manuscript to Spanish kabbalists, e.g., Jacob b. Jacob *ha-Kohen of Segovia, who was, in fact, personally connected with the German Ḥasidim, or Solomon *Alkabeẓ (see Werblowsky, in *Sefunot* 6 (1962), 135–82).

Eleazar of Worms clearly recognized the esoteric character of those subjects that merited special study, and he enumerates with some variations the areas involved: "The mystery of the Chariot, the mystery of Creation, and the mystery of the Unity [*Sod ha-Yiḥud*, a new concept] are not to be communicated except in a fast" (*Ḥokhmat ha-Nefesh* (1876), 3c). He defines "the science of the soul," to which he devotes one of his main works, as the means and gateway to the "mystery of the Unity," which he apparently saw as the root of mystical theology. In the *Sodei Razayya* he enumerates "three kinds of mystery," those of the Chariot, Creation, and the Commandments. The question of whether the Commandments also have an esoteric purpose is also discussed in the *Sefer Ḥasidim* (ed. Wistinetzki (1891), no. 1477). This book (no. 984) mentions "the profundity of piety [*ḥasidut*], the profundity of the laws of the Creator, and the profundity of His Glory [*Kavod*]," and initiation in these subjects depends on the fulfillment of the conditions laid down in the Talmud in connection with the *ma'aseh merkabah*. The mystics (*ḥakhmei ha-ḥidot*) are "nourished" in this world on the savor of some of the mysteries that originate in the heavenly academy, most of which are treasured up for the righteous in the world to come (no. 1056). Associated with the ḥasidic affinity for mysticism was their desire to synthesize the early material, including the anthropomorphic elements, with the spiritual interpretation that denies these elements. Aroused by this compromise, Moses *Taku (writing in the early 13th century), denied the Saadian principles and defended a corporeal point of view. His attack was included in the *Sefer Ketav Tammim*, of which two extensive fragments survive (*Oẓar Neḥmad*, 3 (1860), 54–99, and *Arugat ha-Bosem*, vol. 1, 263–8). Seeing in the new tendencies "a new religion" which smacked of heresy, he also denounced the attention that the Ḥasidim paid to the mysteries of prayer, and particularly the dissemination of these mysteries in their books. By his attack he shows how widespread the ideas and literature of the Ḥasidim were in his time.

The Establishment of the Kabbalah in Provence

Contemporaneously with the growth of *ḥasidut* in France and Germany, the first historical stages of the Kabbalah emerged in southern France, although there is no doubt that there were earlier steps in its development which cannot now be discerned. These earlier stages were connected with the existence of a Jewish Gnostic tradition, associated in particular eastern circles with Merkabah mysticism. The main remnants were incorporated in the early parts of Sefer *ha-Bahir and also in a few records preserved in the writings of the Ḥasidei Ashkenaz. *Sefer ha-Bahir*, ostensibly an ancient Midrash, appeared in Provence some time between 1150 and 1200 but no earlier; it was apparently edited there from a number of treatises which came from Germany or directly from the East. An analysis of the work leaves no doubt that it was not originally written in Provence (Scholem, *Les Origines de la Kabbale*, 59–210), and to a large extent confirms the mid-13th-century kabbalistic tradition concerning the history of the book and its sources before it reached the early Provençal mystics in a mutilated form. That the book reflects opinions which were not current in Provence and Spain is quite clearly shown by the commentary to the *Sefer Yeẓirah* by Judah b. Barzillai, written in the first third of the 12th century and containing all that the author knew of the traditions of the *ma'aseh bereshit* and especially the *ma'aseh merkabah*. In his interpretations of the ten *Sefirot* of the *Sefer Yeẓirah* there is no mention of them as "aeons" or divine attributes, or as powers within the Merkabah, as they appear in the *Bahir*. His commentary is impregnated throughout with the spirit of Saadiah Gaon, quite unlike the *Bahir*, which is completely unconcerned with philosophical ideas or with any attempt to reconcile philosophy with the concepts it advances. Cast in the form of interpretations of scriptural verses, particularly passages of mythological character, the *Bahir* transforms the Merkabah tradition into a Gnostic tradition concerning the powers of God that lie within the Divine Glory (*Kavod*), whose activity at the Creation is alluded to through symbolic interpretation of the Bible and the *aggadah*. Remnants of a clearly Gnostic terminology and symbolism are preserved, albeit through a Jewish redaction, which connects the symbols with motifs already well known from the *aggadah*. This is especially so with regard to anything that impinges on *keneset Yisrael*, which is identified with the *Shekhinah*, with the *Kavod*, and with the *bat* ("daughter"), who comprises all paths of wisdom. There are indications in the writings of Eleazar of Worms that he too knew this terminology, precisely in connection with the symbolism of the *Shekhinah*. The theory of the *Sefirot* was not finally formulated in the *Sefer ha-Bahir*, and many of the book's statements were not understood, even by the early kabbalists of western Europe. The teaching of the *Bahir* is introduced as *ma'aseh merkabah*, the term "Kabbalah" not yet being used. The theory of transmigration is presented as a mystery, an idea which is self-explanatory and has no need for philosophical justification, despite the opposition of Jewish philosophers from the time of Saadiah onward.

The book *Raza Rabba* may be identified as one of the sources of the *Bahir*, but there is no doubt that there were other sources, now unknown. The earliest signs of the appearance of the Gnostic tradition, and of religious symbolism constructed upon it, are to be found in the mid-12th century and later, in the leading circle of the Provençal rabbis: Abraham b. Isaac of *Narbonne, the author of *Sefer ha-Eshkol*, his son-in-law Abraham b. David *(Rabad), the author of the "animadversions" to Maimonides' *Mishneh Torah*, and Jacob *Nazir of Lunel. Their works did not deal specifically with the subject of mysticism, but fragments of their opinions scattered here and there prove their association with kabbalistic views and with kabbalistic symbolism (*Origines de la Kabbale*, 213–63). In addition to this, according to the reliable testimony of the Spanish kabbalists, they were considered as men inspired from above, who attained "a revelation of Elijah," that is, a mystical experience of spiritual awakening, through which something novel was revealed. Since the theory of the *Sefirot* in its theosophical formulation is already contained in the *Sefer ha-Bahir*, it cannot be regarded as the basic content of these revelations; these were apparently connected with a new idea of the mystical purpose of prayer, based not on *gematriot* and secret Names but on contemplation of the *Sefirot* as a means of concentrating on the *kavvanah* ("meditation") in prayer. Within this circle Jacob Nazir belonged to a special group – called *perushim* in rabbinic parlance and "nazirites" in biblical terminology – whose members did not engage in commerce, but were supported by the communities so that they could devote all their time to the Torah. From its very nature, this group was akin to the Ḥasidim, and there is evidence that several of them led a ḥasidic life. Within this group a contemplative life could develop in which mystic aspirations could easily be aroused. The rabbis mentioned above did not share one consistent system of thought: there are several different and conflicting tendencies in their writings. The idea of the *Kavod*, in its plain Saadian meaning, was not regarded particularly as a mystery, but interpretations in the spirit of the theory of the *Sefirot* in the *Bahir* were considered to be "the great mystery." In the school of Abraham b. David, traditions of this type were transmitted orally, and mysteries relating to the profundities of the Divine were added to the new theory concerning mystical *kavvanah* during prayer.

This circle of the early kabbalists in Provence worked in a highly charged religious and cultural environment. Rabbinic culture had reached a high stage of development there, and even Maimonides considered those proficient in the *halakhah* to be great exponents of the Torah. Their minds were open to the philosophical tendencies of their age. Judah ibn *Tibbon, head of the renowned family of translators, worked in this circle, and translated for his colleagues many of the greatest philosophical books, among them works of a distinctly neoplatonic tendency. He also translated Judah Halevi's *Kuzari* from Arabic, and its profound influence derived from this circle. The early kabbalists absorbed the *Kuzari*'s ideas concerning the nature of Israel, prophecy, the Tetragrammaton, the *Sefer Yeẓirah* and its meaning, in the same way as they assimilated the writings of Abraham ibn Ezra and Abraham b. Ḥiyya, with their tendency toward neoplatonism. Jewish versions of neoplatonic theories of the Logos and the Divine Will, of emanation and of the soul, acted as a powerful stimulus. But philosophical theories concerning the Active Intellect as a cosmic force, association with which could be attained by the prophets and the select few, also penetrated these circles. The close proximity of this theory to mysticism stands out clearly in the history of medieval Islamic and Christian mysticism, and not surprisingly it acts as an important link in the chain which connects many kabbalists with the ideas of Maimonides. The influence of the asceticism of *Ḥovot ha-Levavot* has already been mentioned, and it continued to play an active role in the ethics of the Kabbalah and in its theory of mystical communion. In the last 30 years of the 12th century the Kabbalah spread beyond the circle of Abraham b. David of Posquières. The encounter between the Gnostic tradition contained in the *Bahir* and neoplatonic ideas concerning God, His emanation, and man's place in the world, was extremely fruitful, leading to the deep penetration of these ideas into earlier mystical theories. The Kabbalah, in its historical significance, can be defined as the product of the interpenetration of Jewish Gnosticism and neoplatonism.

In addition, Provence in these years was the scene of a powerful religious upheaval in the Christian world, when the Catharist sect gained control of a large part of the Languedoc, where the first centers of Kabbalah were to be found (see *Albigenses). It is not yet clear to what extent if any there was a connection between the new upsurge in Judaism in the circles of the *perushim* and the Ḥasidim, and the profound upheaval in Christianity which found expression in the Catharist movement. In their ideology there is practically nothing in common between the ideas of the kabbalists and those of the Cathari, except for the theory of transmigration, which kabbalists in fact took from the eastern sources of the *Sefer ha-Bahir*. The dualistic theology of the Cathari was clearly opposed to the Jewish view; nevertheless, it remains a possibility that there were some contacts which can no longer be discerned between the different groups, united as they were by a deep and emotional religious awakening. There is some evidence that the Jews of Provence were well aware of the existence and the beliefs of the sect as early as the first decades of the 13th century (Scholem, *Origines*, 252).

Fragments of the kabbalist tradition that was familiar to Abraham b. David and Jacob Nazir are found in the writings of the kabbalists, and the clear contradictions between them and later ideas, whether on the teaching on God or on the question of *kavvanah*, testifies to their authenticity. Abraham b. David's statement in his criticism of Maimonides (*Hilkhot Teshuvah*, 3, 7) defending those who believe in God's corporeality becomes clarified when it is seen against the background of his kabbalistic views, which distinguish the "Cause of Causes" from the Creator, who is the subject of the *Shi'ur Komah* in the early *baraita*. His interpretation of the *aggadah* in *Eruvim* 18a, that Adam was at first created with two faces, also reflects kabbalistic speculation on the divine attributes – the *Sefirot*.

Abraham b. David's son, Isaac the Blind (d. c. 1235), who lived in or near Narbonne, was the first kabbalist to devote his work entirely to mysticism. He had many disciples in Provence and Catalonia, who spread kabbalistic ideas in the form they had received them from him, and he was regarded as the central figure of the Kabbalah during his lifetime. His followers in Spain have left some record of his sayings and his habits, and a few letters and treatises written at his dictation are also extant: their style is quite different from that of any of his known disciples. Generally he couched his ideas elliptically and obscurely, and he used his own peculiar terminology. Something of his opinions can be learned from the common elements in the writings of his pupils. At all events, he is the first kabbalist whose historical personality and basic ideas clearly emerge. Entrusting his writings only to a few chosen individuals, he definitely opposed the public dissemination of the Kabbalah, seeing in this a dangerous source of misunderstanding and distortion. At the close of his life he protested in a letter to Naḥmanides and Jonah *Gerondi against popularization of this sort in Spain, in which several of his pupils were engaged (*Sefer Bialik* (1934), 143ff.). When the Spanish kabbalists of the 13th century speak simply of "the Ḥasid" they refer to Isaac the Blind. He developed a contemplative mysticism leading to communion with God through meditation on the *Sefirot* and the heavenly essences (*havayot*). The earliest instructions on detailed meditations associated with basic prayers, according to the concept of the *Sefirot* as stages in the hidden life of God, came from him. There is no doubt that he inherited some of his main ideas from his father, on whom he sometimes relied, but he had also recognized the value of the *Sefer ha-Bahir* and he built on its symbolism. His commentary to the *Sefer Yeẓirah* (established as an appendix to G. Scholem, *Ha-Kabbalah be-Provence*, 1963) is the first work to explain the book in the light of a systematic *Sefirot* theory in the spirit of the Kabbalah. At the head of the world of divine qualities he puts the "thought" (*maḥashavah*), from which emerged the divine utterances, the "words" (λόγοι) by means of which the world was created. Above the "thought" is the Hidden God, who is called for the first time by the name **Ein-Sof* ("the Infinite"; see below). Man's thought ascends through mystic meditation until it reaches, and is subsumed into, Divine "Thought." Along with the theory of the *Sefirot* he developed the concept of the mysticism of language. The speech of men is connected with divine speech, and all language, whether heavenly or human, derives from one source – the Divine Name. Profound speculations on the nature of the Torah are found in a long fragment from Isaac's commentary on the beginning of the *Midrash Konen*. The neoplatonic character of his ideas is immediately striking, and distinguishes them completely from the *Bahir*. (For an analysis of his thought, see Scholem, *Origines*…, 263–327.)

There were other circles in Provence who spread the kabbalistic tradition on the basis of material which seems partly to have reached them directly from anonymous eastern sources. On the one hand they continue the neoplatonic, speculative trend of Isaac the Blind, especially in his commentary to the *Sefer Yeẓirah*; and on the other hand they connect this trend with new ideas concerning the world of the Merkabah and the spiritual powers from which it is composed. There is a marked tendency to particularize and name these powers, and the theory of the *Sefirot* occupies only an incidental place among other attempts to delineate the world of emanation and the forces which constitute it. While Isaac the Blind and his disciples revealed their identities and refrained from writing pseudepigraphically, these circles concealed their identities as far as possible, both in Provence and in Spain, and produced a rich kabbalistic pseudepigrapha imitating the literary forms used in Merkabah literature and the *Sefer ha-Bahir*. One portion of this pseudepigraphic literature is neoplatonic and speculative in character, while another is angelological, demonological, and theurgic. This latter tendency in particular found a home in some Castilian communities, e.g., Burgos and Toledo. Among the early kabbalists of Toledo are mentioned the Ḥasid Judah ibn Ziza, Joseph ibn Mazaḥ, and Meir b. Todros *Abulafia (Scholem, *Origines*…, 414). How, and in what circumstances, the Kabbalah arrived there around the year 1200 is not known, but there is evidence linking the Provençal kabbalists with the citizens of Toledo. A reliable document from Provence mentions as sources the traditions of the Provençal teachers, Abraham b. David and his father-in-law, Ḥasidim of Germany, and Judah ibn Ziza from Toledo (*ibid.*, 241). The pseudepigraphic literature used names from the time of Moses up to the later *geonim* and the Ḥasidim of Germany. Provence was undoubtedly the place of composition of the *Sefer ha-Iyyun* ascribed to Rav Ḥamai Gaon, the *Ma'ayan ha-Ḥokhmah*, which was communicated by an angel to Moses, the *Midrash Shimon ha-Ẓaddik*, and other texts, while the home of most of the writings attributable to the circle of the *Sefer ha-Iyyun* could have been either Provence or Castile. More than 30 texts of this kind are known, most of them very short (see the list of them in *Reshit ha-Kabbalah*, Heb. ed. pp. 255–62; *Origines*…, 283–91). New interpretations of the ten *Sefirot* are found side by side with notes and expositions of the "32 paths of wisdom," the Tetragrammaton, and the 42-lettered Name of God, as well as various cosmogonic speculations. Platonic and Gnostic tendencies are interwoven in them. Knowledge of the "intellectual lights," which fill the place previously occupied by the Chariot, competes with theories of the ten *Sefirot* and of the mystical names. The authors of these works had their own solemn, abstract terminology, but the terms are given differing interpretations as they recur in various places. The order of emanation varies from time to time, and it is clear that these speculations had not yet reached their final state. There were considerable differences of opinion within this circle, and each individual author seems to have been trying to define the content of the world of emanation as it was disclosed to his vision or contemplation. Even where the theory of the *Sefirot* was accepted it underwent remarkable changes. One group of texts interprets the 13 attributes of divine mercy as the sum of the powers which fill the world of emanation, some authors adding three powers to the end of the list of *Sefirot*; while in other texts the three powers are added to the top, or are considered to be intellectual lights shining within the first *Sefirah*. This view, which stimulated many speculations as the development of the Kabbalah continued, occurs in the responsa attributed to Hai Gaon on the relationship of the ten *Sefirot* to the 13 attributes.

There are clear connections leading from Saadiah's theory of the *Kavod* and his concept of "the ether which cannot be grasped," stated in his commentary to the *Sefer Yeẓirah*, to this circle, which made use of his ideas through the early translation of the *Sefer Emunot ve-De'ot*. The circle seems to have had little use for the *Sefer ha-Bahir*. The stress on the mysticism of the lights of the intellect is near in spirit, although not in detail, with later neoplatonic literature, e.g., the "Book of the Five Substances of Pseudo-Empedocles" (from the school of

Ibn Masarra in Spain). For example, the supernal essences which are revealed, according to the *Sefer ha-Iyyun* and several other texts, from "the highest hidden mystery" or "the primeval darkness," are: primeval wisdom, wonderful light, the *ḥashmal*, the mist (*arafel*), the throne of light, the wheel (*ofan*) of greatness, the cherub, the wheels of the Chariot, the surrounding ether, the curtain, the throne of glory, the place of souls, and the outer palace of holiness. This mixture of terms from widely different fields is characteristic of the blending of sources and of a hierarchical arrangement that does not depend on the theory of the *Sefirot*, although it too is incorporated in some of the writings of this circle. A theurgic tendency also appears along with a desire to indulge in philosophical speculations on the Sacred Names. In addition to the influence of Arab neoplatonism, there are indications of some links with the Christian Platonic tradition transmitted through the *De Divisione Naturae* of John Scotus Erigena, but this question needs further research.

The Kabbalist Center of Gerona

Under the influence of the first kabbalists, their ideas spread from Provence to Spain, where they found a particular response in the rabbinic circle of Gerona, in Catalonia, between the Pyrenees Mountains and Barcelona. Here, from the beginning of the 13th century, a center of great and far-ranging importance came into being which fulfilled an essential role in the establishment of the Kabbalah in Spain and in the development of kabbalistic literature. For the first time, books were written here which, despite their emphasis on the esoteric side of Kabbalah, sought to bring its major ideas to a wider public. Sometimes allusions to these ideas are found in works which are not basically kabbalistic – e.g., works of *halakhah*, exegesis, ethics, or homiletics – but there were a number of books which were completely or largely devoted to the Kabbalah. Several letters from members of this group have survived which contain important evidence of their feelings and their participation in contemporary disputes and discussions. The main figures in this group were a mysterious individual by the (pseudonymous?) name of Ben Belimah (Scholem, *Origines*…, 413); Judah b. Yakar, Naḥmanides' teacher and for a certain time *dayyan* in Barcelona (1215), whose commentary to the liturgy (JQR, 4 (1892), 245–56) contains kabbalistic statements; *Ezra b. Solomon and *Azriel; Moses b. Naḥman (Naḥmanides); Abraham b. Isaac *Gerondi, the *ḥazzan* of the community; Jacob b. Sheshet *Gerondi; and the poet Meshullam b. Solomon *Da Piera (whose poems were collected in *Yedi'ot ha-Makhon le-Ḥeker ha-Shirah*, 4, 1938). In addition, their pupils should also be included, although many of them spread further afield to the Aragonese communities.

A personal and literary link between the kabbalists of Provence and those of Gerona may be seen in *Asher b. David, a nephew of Isaac the Blind. A number of his writings were very widely scattered in manuscript (collected by M. Ḥasidah in *Ha-Segullah* (fascicles 17–30, Jerusalem, 1933–34). In content, his writings are very similar to those of Ezra and Azriel, who were apparently among the first to write works entirely devoted to Kabbalah, composed mainly in the first third of the 13th century. Ezra wrote a commentary to the Song of Songs (which was published under Naḥmanides' name), interpreted the *aggadot* to several tractates of the Talmud wherever he was able to connect them with the Kabbalah, and summarized traditions, the greater part of which doubtless derived from the Provençal kabbalists. His younger companion, Azriel, made an independent rendering of his interpretation of the *aggadot* (ed. Tishby, 1943), wrote a commentary to the liturgy (extant in Ms.) according to the theory of the *kavvanot*, a commentary to the *Sefer Yeẓirah* published in editions of that work under the name of Naḥmanides, and two small books on the nature of God, *Be'ur Eser Sefirot* (also entitled *Sha'ar ha-Sho'el*), and *Derekh ha-Emunah ve-Derekh ha-Kefirah*. These two kabbalists also left separate "mysteries" on several subjects (e.g., "the mystery of sacrifices"), and letters on kabbalistic questions, including a long letter from Azriel to the kabbalists of Burgos (*Madda'ei ha-Yahadut*, 2 (1927), 233–40). Azriel stands out above other members of the group because of the systematic nature of his thought and the depth of his intellect. He is the only one of the group whose work is connected in style and content with the writings of the circle of the *Sefer ha-Iyyun* mentioned above. In his books, the interpenetration of neoplatonic and Gnostic elements reached their first apex. The neoplatonic element came largely from the writings of Isaac b. Solomon Israeli, some of which were undoubtedly known in Gerona (Altmann, in JJS, 7 (1956), 31–57). Jacob b. Sheshet, in his polemical work against Samuel ibn *Tibbon, *Meshiv Devarim Nekhoḥim* (ed. Vajda, 1968), combined philosophical enquiry with kabbalistic speculation. Two of his books were devoted to the latter: *Sefer ha-Emunah ve-ha-Bittaḥon*, which was later attributed to Naḥmanides and published under his name, and *Sha'ar ha-Shamayim*, a rhymed summary of kabbalistic ideas (*Oẓar Neḥmad*, 3 (1860), 133–65).

It is doubtful if these kabbalists, who were known only to a small circle and who composed no works outside the field of Kabbalah, would have had the great influence that they did if it had not been for the stature of their colleague Naḥmanides (c. 1194–1270), the highest legal and religious authority of his time in Spain. The fact that he joined the ranks of the kabbalists as a young man prepared the way for the reception of the Kabbalah in Spain, just as the personality of Abraham b. David had prepared the way in Provence. The names of these two men were a guarantee to most of their contemporaries that, despite their novelty, kabbalistic ideas did not stray from the accepted faith and the rabbinic tradition. Their undisputed conservative character protected the kabbalists from accusations of deviation from strict monotheism or even of heresy. Charges of this kind were made, provoked mainly by the wider publicity given to the earlier works of Kabbalah and to their oral propagation in a number of communities. Isaac the Blind refers to polemics between the kabbalists and their opponents in Spain, and evidence of similar arguments in Provence (between 1235 and 1245) is extant in the accusations of *Meir b.

Simeon of Narbonne, a reply to which, in defense of the Kabbalah, is included in the works of Asher b. David (see *Sefer Bialik* (1934), 141–62).

From the very beginning two opposing tendencies appear among the kabbalists, the first seeking to limit the Kabbalah to closed circles as a definitely esoteric system, and the second wishing to spread its influence among the people at large. Throughout the history of the Kabbalah right down to recent times these two tendencies have been in conflict. Parallel with this, from the time of the appearance of the Kabbalah in Gerona, two attitudes developed concerning the relationship of the bearers of rabbinic culture to the Kabbalah. The kabbalists were accepted as proponents of a conservative ideology and as public defenders of tradition and custom, but at the same time they were suspected, by a substantial number of rabbis and sages, of having non-Jewish leanings and of being innovators whose activities must be curtailed wherever possible. Most of the kabbalists themselves saw their role in terms of the preservation of tradition, and in fact their first public appearance was associated with their taking the traditionalists' side in the controversy over Maimonides' writings and the study of philosophy in the 13th century (Scholem, *Origines*…, 416–54). In these disputes the Kabbalah of the Gerona scholars seemed to be a symbolic interpretation of the world of Judaism and its way of life, based on a theosophy which taught the inner secrets of the revealed Godhead and on a rejection of rationalist interpretations of the Torah and the Commandments. Nevertheless, it cannot be ignored that the system of thought elaborated by a man like Azriel did not invalidate the philosophic teachings of his time but rather added to it a new dimension, that of theosophy, as its crowning glory.

In several of his works Naḥmanides gives room to the Kabbalah, particularly in his commentary to the Torah, where his many veiled and unexplained allusions to interpretations "according to the true way" were meant to arouse the curiosity of those readers who had never heard of that "way." He also used kabbalistic symbolism in some of his *piyyutim*. And his views on the fate of the soul after death and the nature of the world to come, expressed in *Sha'ar ha-Gemul* at the end of his halakhic work *Toledot Adam*, represent the ideas of his circle and are in contrast to Maimonides' views on this subject. His commentary to the Book of Job is based on the theory of transmigration (without mentioning the term *gilgul* itself) and on the views of his companion, Ezra, concerning the *Sefirah Ḥochmah* ("wisdom"). Naḥmanides wrote no works specifically on the Kabbalah, apart from a commentary to the first chapter of the *Sefer Yeẓirah* (KS, 6 (1930), 385–410) and a sermon on the occasion of a wedding (*He-Ḥalutz*, 12 (1887), 111–4). Since the 14th century, several books by other authors were attributed to him. In the writings of the Gerona kabbalists there is a definite, well-established symbolic framework which is related first and foremost to the theory of the *Sefirot* and to the way in which this theory interprets scriptural verses and homilies dealing with the acts of God. This symbolism served as the main basis for the development of the Kabbalah in this group, and numerous anonymous kabbalists of this and later periods made out lists and tables, mostly brief, of the order of the *Sefirot*, and of the nomenclature in Scripture and *aggadah* which fitted them. In points of detail practically every kabbalist had his own system but there was a wide measure of agreement on fundamentals (a list of such tracts in KS, 10 (1934), 498–515).

Contacts were made between the Spanish kabbalists and the Ḥasidei Ashkenaz, either through individual Ḥasidim who visited Spain or through books which were brought there, e.g., the works of Eleazar of Worms. Abraham Axelrod of Cologne, who traveled through the Spanish communities between 1260 and 1275 approximately, wrote *Keter Shem Tov* dealing with the Tetragrammaton and the theory of the *Sefirot*. It exists in various versions, one of which was published in Jellinek's *Ginzei Ḥokhmat ha-Kabbalah* (1853), while another gives the author's name as Menahem, a pupil of Eleazar of Worms. This combination of the theory of the Sacred Names and speculations using the methods of *gematria* with the theory of the *Sefirot* of the Gerona kabbalists contains, at least in a third version of the book, a powerful renewal of ecstatic tendencies, which took on the new form of "prophetic Kabbalah" (*Kelal mi-Darkhei ha-Kabbalah ha-Nevu'it*; see G. Scholem, *Kitvei Yad be-Kabbalah* (1930), 57). Other kabbalists from Castile also established contacts with one of the pupils of Eleazar of Worms who lived in Narbonne in the middle of the 13th century.

It is almost certain that an anonymous kabbalist from the Gerona circle, or one of the Provençal kabbalists, was the author of the book **Temunah* (written before 1250), which was attributed several generations later to R. Ishmael, the high priest. The style of the book is very difficult, and its contents are obscure at many points. An interpretation of the "image of God" through the shapes of the Hebrew letters, it became the basis of several other texts, composed in a similar fashion and perhaps even by the same author; e.g., interpretations of the secret 72-lettered Name of God mentioned in the mystical literature of the geonic period. The importance of the book lies in its detailed though enigmatic explanation of the theory of *shemittot* (see below), to which the Gerona kabbalists alluded without a detailed explanation. The difficult style of the *Temunah* was elucidated to some extent by an old commentary, also anonymous (published with the book itself in 1892), which was written at the end of the 13th century. *Temunah* had a distinct influence on Kabbalah up to the 16th century.

Other Currents in 13th-Century Spanish Kabbalah

The combination of theosophic-Gnostic and neoplatonic-philosophical elements, which found expression in Provence and Gerona, led to the relative, or sometimes exaggerated, dominance of one element over the other in other currents from 1230 onward. On one side there was an extreme mystical tendency, expressed in philosophical terms and creating its own symbolism which was not based on the theory or nomenclature of the *Sefirot* found among the Gerona kabbalists. Refuting some of the suppositions of the latter (e.g., the theory of transmigration), nevertheless it saw itself as the true "science of Kabbalah." Its first and most important exponent was Isaac ibn *Latif, whose books were written (perhaps in Toledo) between 1230 and 1270. "He had one foot inside [in Kabbalah], and one foot outside [in philosophy]" as Judah *Ḥayyat said of him (preface to *Minḥat Yehudah* on *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut*). Becoming a kind of independent mystic, he drew his philosophical inspiration from the writings in both Arabic and Hebrew of the neoplatonists, and especially from Ibn Gabirol's *Mekor Ḥayyim* and the works of Abraham ibn Ezra, although at times he completely transformed their meaning. His main work, *Sha'ar ha-Shamayim* (written in 1238), was intended to be, in a speculative mystical vein, both a continuation of and a substitute for Maimonides' *Guide of the Perplexed*. Together with most of the Gerona kabbalists he accorded the highest place to the Primeval Will, seeing in it the source of all emanation. The theory of the Divine Logos, which he took from the Arabic neoplatonic tradition, became divided into the Will – which remained completely within the Divine and was identified with the Divine Word (Logos) which brought forth all things – and into the "first created thing," the Supreme Intellect that stands at the top of the hierarchy of all beings, and was presented in symbols which in other places belong to the Logos itself. But Ibn Latif is not consistent in his use of symbolism and often contradicts himself, even on important points. From the "first created thing" emanated all the other stages, called symbolically light, fire, ether, and water. Each of these is the province of one branch of wisdom: mysticism, metaphysics, astronomy, and physics. Ibn Latif created a complete and rich system of the universe, basing his views on a far-fetched allegorical interpretation of Scripture, although he was opposed to the extreme allegorists who regarded allegory as a substitute for the literal interpretation and not simply an addition to it. His ideas about prayer and true understanding have a distinctly mystical tinge, and in this respect exceed the theory of *kavvanah* and meditation prevalent among the kabbalists of Gerona. The influence of Ibn Gabirol is most noticeable in his *Ẓurat ha-Olam* (1860) which contains specific criticisms of kabbalistic theosophy. Nevertheless, Ibn Latif regards Kabbalah as superior to philosophy both in nature and efficacy, in particular because it takes hold of truth which is of a temporal nature, whereas philosophical truth is atemporal (*Rav Pe'alim* (1885), no. 39). Ibn Latif had personal ties with exponents of Kabbalah whose conceptions were completely opposed to his, and he dedicated *Ẓeror ha-Mor* to Todros *Abulafia of Toledo, one of the leaders of the Gnostic trend of Kabbalah. His books were read by kabbalists and philosophers alike, e.g., the philosopher Isaac *Albalag (Vatican Ms. 254, fol. 97b), who criticized his *Ẓurat ha-Olam*. According to Ibn Latif, the highest intellectual understanding reaches only the "back" of the Divine, whereas a picture of the "face" is disclosed only in supra-intellectual esctasy, which involves experience superior even to that of prophecy (*Ginzei ha-Melekh*, chs. 37 and 41). This perception he calls "the beatitude of supreme communion." True prayer brings the human intellect into communion with the Active Intellect "like a kiss," but from there it ascends even to union with the "first created thing"; beyond this union, achieved through words, is the union through pure thought intended to reach the First Cause, i.e., the Primeval Will, and at length to stand before God Himself (*Ẓeror ha-Mor*, ch. 5).

The second exponent of philosophic-mystical tendencies distinct from the theosophical Kabbalah of the Gerona school and aspiring toward an ecstatic "prophetic Kabbalah" was Abraham *Abulafia (1240–after 1292). The striking image of this man derives from his outstanding personality. He came into contact with a group whose technique of letter combination and number mysticism stimulated his own ecstatic experiences. At least part of his inspiration was derived directly from the German Ḥasidei Ashkenaz and perhaps also through the influence of Sufi circles, whom he met with during his travels in the east in his early years. Abulafia's teacher was the *ḥazzan* Barukh Togarmi (in Barcelona?), who, judging by his name, came from the east. From him he learned the fundamental teachings of prophetic Kabbalah to whose dissemination he devoted his life, after he had attained illumination in Barcelona in 1271. His prophetic and perhaps also his messianic claims aroused strong opposition both in Spain and in Italy, but his books were widely read from the end of the 13th century, especially those where he expounded his system of Kabbalah as a kind of guide to the upward journey from philosophical preoccupations of the Maimonidean type to prophecy and to those mystical experiences which he believed partook of the nature of prophecy. Abulafia was also a copious borrower of kabbalistic ideas whenever he found them relevant, but those aspects which were foreign to his nature he opposed even to the point of ridicule. A passionate admirer of Maimonides, he believed that his own system was merely a continuation and elaboration of the teaching of the *Guide of the Perplexed*. Unlike Maimonides, who dissociated himself from the possibility of prophecy in his time, Abulafia defended such a prospect, finding in "the way of the Names," i.e., a specific mystical technique also called "the science of combination" (*ḥokhmat ha-ẓeruf*), a means of realizing and embodying human aspirations toward prophecy.

So inspired, he himself wrote 26 prophetic books of which only one, *Sefer ha-Ot*, has survived. *Derekh ha-Sefirot* ("the way of the *Sefirot*"), he believed, is useful for beginners but is of little value compared with *Derekh ha-Shemot* ("the way of the Names"), opening up only after deep study of the *Sefer Yeẓirah* and the techniques to which it alludes. Abulafia saw his Kabbalah, therefore, as another layer added to the earlier Kabbalah, which did not contradict such major works as the *Bahir*, the *Temunah*, and the writings of Naḥmanides. His promise to expound a way which would lead to what he called "prophecy," and his practical application of kabbalist principles, found a distinct echo in Kabbalah from the 14th century onward, first in Italy and later in other countries. His great manuals (*Sefer ha-Ẓeruf, Sefer Or ha-Sekhel, Sefer Ḥayyei ha-Olam ha-Ba*, and others), which have been copied right down to recent times, are textbooks of meditation, the objects of which are the Sacred Names and the letters of the alphabet and their combinations, both comprehensible and incomprehensible. It was precisely this kind of manual which had been lacking in the usual type of kabbalistic literature, which had confined itself to symbolic descriptions, and refrained from advancing in writing techniques for mystic experience. The work of Abulafia filled this need, and the fierce criticism of him which was heard here and there did not prevent their absorption and influence. One of Abulafia's pupils wrote (perhaps in Hebron) at the end of 1294 a small book on prophetic Kabbalah, *Sha'arei Ẓedek*, which includes an important autobiographical description of his studies with his teacher, and of his mystical experiences (Scholem, *Mysticism*, 146–55).

On the other side of this twofold development of the Kabbalah was a school of kabbalists who were more attracted to Gnostic traditions, whether genuine or only apparently so, and who concentrated on the Gnostic and mythological element rather than on the philosophical. The exponents of this trend set out to find and assemble fragments of documents and oral traditions, and added to them just as much themselves, until their books became an astonishing mixture of pseudepigrapha with the authors' own commentaries. In contrast with the Kabbalah of Gerona, the pseudepigraphic element was very strong in this branch, although it is not absolutely certain that the authors of these books themselves invented the sources which they quoted. This school, which might properly be called "the Gnostic reaction," includes the brothers *Jacob and *Isaac, sons of Jacob ha-Kohen of Soria, who traveled in Spain and Provence and met their older kabbalist predecessors: Moses b. *Simeon, their pupil and successor, rabbi of Burgos; and Todros b. Joseph *Abulafia of Burgos and Toledo, one of the leaders of Castilian Jewry of his day. Their main work belongs to the second half of the 13th century. In Kabbalist circles Moses of Burgos was widely considered to be endowed with particular authority, and he was also the teacher of Isaac ibn Sahula, author of *Meshal ha-Kadmoni*. It is extraordinary that such a complete rationalist and devotee of philosophical enquiry as Isaac Albalag could see three members of this school as the true exponents of Kabbalah in his time, with Moses of Burgos at their head: "His name has spread throughout the country: Moses has received [*kibbel*] the [authentic] kabbalist tradition" (*Madda'ei ha-Yahadut*, 2 (1927), 168).

The speculative side is not altogether absent in this school, and some fragments of one of Isaac ha-Kohen's books (*ibid.*, 276–9) in particular show some relationship between him and Ibn Latif, but its true characteristics are quite different. He developed the details of the theory of the left, demonic, emanation, whose ten *Sefirot* are the exact counterparts of the Holy *Sefirot*. A similar demonic emanation is already mentioned in the writings of the *Sefer ha-Iyyun* group, and in the works of Naḥmanides, and it is possible that its origins stemmed from the east. In the evidence extant, this theory appeared in pseudepigraphic texts and its roots were mainly in Provence and Castile. From these traditions came the Zoharic theory of the *sitra aḥra* (the "other side"). There is a strong tendency here to make long lists of beings in the world below the realm of the *Sefirot* – that are given specific names – and so establish a completely new angelology. These emanations of the second rank are presented partly as "curtains" (*pargodim*) in front of the emanations of the *Sefirot*, and as "bodies" and "garments" for the inner souls, which are the *Sefirot*. This multiplicity of personified emanations and the listing of them recall similar tendencies in the later development of several Gnostic systems, and in particular the book *Pistis Sophia*. To everything in the world below there is a corresponding force in the world above, and in this way a kind of strange mythology without precedent in other sources is created. This theme runs through all the writings of Isaac b. Jacob ha-Kohen, and through some of the work of his elder brother Jacob. The novelty of the names of these forces and their description is obvious, and some of the details of the *Sefirot* and their nomenclature occasionally assume a form different from that in the Kabbalah of Gerona. In the writings of Todros Abulafia the kabbalists who are exponents of the Gnostic trend are given the specific name of *ma'amikim* ("those who delve deeply"), in order to distinguish them from the others. The Spanish kabbalists of the 14th century made an additional distinction between the Kabbalah of the Castilian kabbalists, which belonged to the Gnostic school, and that of the Catalonian kabbalists. In this circle we can observe quite clearly the growth of the magical element and the tendency to preserve theurgic traditions of which there is no trace in the Gerona school.

This new Gnostic bent did not stop the individual mystical or visionary experience. The two elements go hand in hand in the writings of Jacob ha-Kohen, who wrote the extensive *Sefer ha-Orah*, which has no link with earlier kabbalistic tradition but is based entirely on visions which "were accorded him" in heaven. The Kabbalah of these visions is completely different from the traditionalist portion of his other writings, and it is not taken up anywhere else in the history of the Kabbalah. It is based on a new form of the idea of the Logos which assumes here the image of Metatron. The theory of emanation also acquires another garb, and concern with the *Sefirot* makes way for speculations on "the holy spheres" (*ha-galgalim ha-kedoshim*) through which the power of the Emanator is invisibly dispersed until it reaches the sphere of Metatron, which is the central cosmic force. This very personal theosophy, nourished and inspired by vision, has no relationship with the theosophy of the Gerona kabbalists but it has some connection with the Ḥasidei Ashkenaz. Jacob ha-Kohen was the first Spanish kabbalist to build all his mystical teachings concerning the reasons for the Commandments and other matters on *gematriot*. Metatron, to be sure, was created, but came into being simultaneously with the emanation of the inner heavenly spheres, and the verse "Let there be light" alludes to the "formation of the light of the intellect" in the shape of Metatron. There is little doubt that Jacob ha-Kohen knew about the art of "combination" as a prerequisite for mystical perception, but had no knowledge of those mysteries derived from it through rationalist interpretation characteristic of Abraham Abulafia. *Sefer ha-Orah* has not been preserved in its entirety, but large parts of it exist in various manuscripts (Milan 62, Vatican 428, etc.). It is the most striking example of how an entirely new Kabbalah could be created side by side with the earlier Kabbalah, and it is as if each one of them speaks on a different plane. In his *Oẓar ha-Kavod* on the legends of the Talmud (1879), and in his *Sha'ar ha-Razim* on Psalm 19 (Munich Ms. 209) Todros Abulafia strove to combine the Kabbalah of Gerona with the Kabbalah of the Gnostics, but he never alluded to the revelations accorded to Jacob ha-Kohen.

THE ZOHAR. The mingling of the two trends emanating from the Gerona school and from the school of the Gnostics is to a certain extent paralleled in the main product of Spanish Kabbalah, the character of which is also determined by them. This is the *Sefer ha-Zohar*, written largely between 1280 and 1286 by Moses b. Shem Tov de *Leon, in Guadalajara, a small town northeast of Madrid. In this city there also lived two kabbalist brothers, Isaac and Meir b. Solomon ibn *Sahula, and it is in Isaac's books that the first quotations are found from the earliest stratum of the Zohar, dating from 1281 (G. Scholem, in *Tarbiz*, 3 (1932), 181–3; KS, 6 (1929), 109–18). Many kabbalists were working at this time in the small communities around Toledo, and there is evidence of mystical experience even among the unlearned. An example of this is the appearance as a prophet in Avila in 1295 of Nissim b. Abraham, an ignorant artisan, to whom an angel revealed a kabbalistic work, *Pil'ot ha-Ḥokhmah*, and who was opposed by Solomon b. Abraham *Adret (Responsa of Solomon b. Adret, no. 548). This was the community where Moses de Leon passed the last years of his life (d. 1305). The Zohar is the most important evidence for the stirring of a mythical spirit in medieval Judaism. The origin of the book, its literary and religious character, and the role that it has played in the history of Judaism, have been subjects of prolonged argument among scholars during the last 130 years, but most of it has not been based on historical and linguistic analysis. In an analysis of this kind we can establish a precise place for the Zohar in the development of Spanish Kabbalah, which has set its seal on the book. In so doing we must resist continually recurring apologetic attempts to antedate its composition by turning its late literary sources into evidence for the earlier existence of the book, or by proclaiming ancient strata in it – of whose presence there is no proof whatsoever (J.L. Zlotnik, Finkel, Reuben Margulies, Chavel, M. Kasher, and others).

The mingling of these two currents – the Kabbalah of Gerona and the Kabbalah of the "Gnostics" of Castile – became in the mind of Moses de Leon a creative encounter which determined the basic character of the Zohar. Instead of the brief allusions and interpretations of his predecessors he presents a broad canvas of interpretation and homiletics covering the whole world of Judaism as it appeared to him. He was far removed from systematic theology, and indeed there are fundamental problems of contemporary Jewish thought which do not arise in his work at all, such as the meaning of prophecy and the questions of predestination and providence; however, he reflects the actual religious situation, and expounds it through kabbalistic interpretation. In a pseudepigraph attributed to Simeon b. Yoḥai and his friends, Moses de Leon clothed his interpretation of Judaism in an archaic garb – long and short Midrashim on the Torah and the three scrolls, the books Song of Songs, Ruth, and Lamentations. The explanations in the book revolve round two axes – one consisting of the mysteries of the world of the *Sefirot* that constitute the life of the Divine, which is also reflected in many symbols in the created world; and the other of the situation of the Jew and his fate both in this world and in the world of souls. The deepening and broadening of a symbolic view of Judaism was very daring in an age when the kabbalists still preserved in some measure the esoteric character of their ideas. The appearance of what purported to be an ancient Midrash which actually reflected the basic viewpoints of the Spanish kabbalists, and successfully expressed them in an impressive literary synthesis, sparked off a number of arguments among the kabbalists of the day. However, it also served to spread knowledge of the Kabbalah and ensure its acceptance. The author's viewpoint progressed from a tendency toward philosophy and allegoric interpretation to Kabbalah and its symbolic ideas. The steps in this progress can still be recognized in the differences between the *Midrash ha-Ne'lam*, the earliest part of the Zohar, and the main body of the book. There is little doubt that the aim of the book was to attack the literal conception of Judaism and the neglect of the performance of the *mitzvot*, and this was accomplished by emphasizing the supreme value and secret meaning of every word and Commandment of the Torah. As in most great mystical texts, inner perception and the way to "communion" are connected with the preservation of the traditional framework, whose value is increased sevenfold. The mystical viewpoint served to strengthen the tradition and indeed became a conscious conservative factor. On the other hand, the author of the Zohar concentrated frequently on speculations on the profundities of the Nature of the Divinity, which other kabbalists did not dare to dwell upon, and his boldness was an important contributory factor in the renewed development of Kabbalah several generations later. When the Zohar appeared few kabbalists turned their attention to this original aspect. Instead they used the Zohar as a distinguished aid to strengthening their conservative aims. In his Hebrew books written in the years after 1286, after he had finished his major work in the Zohar, Moses de Leon himself concealed many of his more daring speculations (which the obscure Aramaic garb had suited very well). On the other hand he stressed in them the principles of *Sefirot* symbolism, with its value for the comprehension of the Torah and of prayer, and also the homiletical and moral element of the Zohar. His Hebrew books expanded, here and there, themes which were first adumbrated with some variations in the Zohar. These works have largely been preserved, and some of them were copied many times, but only one has been published (*Sefer ha-Mishkal*, also called

Sefer ha-Nefesh ha-Ḥakhamah, 1608). It is hard to say to what extent Moses de Leon expected his work in the Zohar actually to be accepted as an ancient and authoritative Midrash, or how far he intended to create a compendium of Kabbalah in a suitable literary form which would be perfectly clear to the discerning eye. Many kabbalists in the succeeding generation used similar forms and wrote imitations of the Zohar, something which they would not have dared to do in the case of genuine Midrashim, thus showing that they did not take the framework of the book too seriously. This does not detract from (indeed it may add to) the value of the Zohar from a historical point of view, whether for its own sake or for the sake of the influence that it exerted.

Moses de Leon was certainly very closely associated with another kabbalist, who began as a disciple of Abraham Abulafia himself. This was Joseph *Gikatilla, who wrote *Ginnat Egoz* in 1274 and later a number of other works under the inspiration of his first master. However, while still young he also became associated with Gnostic circles and afterward he struck up a friendship with Moses de Leon; each came under the other's influence. Turning his attention from the mysteries of letters, vowels, and names, Gikatilla embarked on a profound study of the theosophy of the *Sefirot* system, and his books provide an independent and valuable parallel to the writings of Moses de Leon. *Sha'arei Orah*, written about 1290, already shows the influence of certain parts of the Zohar, although there is no mention of it. An important summary of, and renowned introduction to, the interpretation of *Sefirot* symbolism, this book became one of the major works of Spanish Kabbalah. It is worth noting that three different streams, the Kabbalah of Gerona, the Kabbalah of the Zohar, and the Kabbalah of Abulafia, were able to meet and be reconciled in Gikatilla's mind, a very rare occurrence in this period. His *Ginnat Egoz* is the latest source, insofar as we know, utilized by the author of the Zohar.

Two works written in the 1290s or in the earliest years of the 14th century, the *Ra'aya Meheimna* and the *Sefer ha-Tikkunim*, comprise the latest strands in the zoharic literature. They are the work of an unknown kabbalist who was familiar with the major part of the Zohar and wrote his books as a kind of continuation of it (albeit with some change in literary style and framework). The books contain a new interpretation of the first chapters of Genesis and a tabulated explanation of the reasons for the Commandments. Elevating the importance of the Zohar as the final revelation of the mysteries, these two works connected its appearance with the beginning of the redemption: "Through the merits of the Zohar they will go forth from exile in mercy," i.e., without the dread pains of the redemption (Zohar 3, 124b). The author exaggeratedly blends the image of the biblical Moses with Moses the revealer of the Zohar on the eve of the final redemption. It is possible that he was very close to the circle of Moses de Leon, and perhaps he was also called Moses. These books are the first of a whole line of kabbalistic works which were written in the pseudo-Aramaic style of the Zohar and as a continuation of it. Some authors also wrote in Hebrew, adding interpretations in the name of zoharic characters but reflecting their own ideas. In this category mention should be made of *Mar'ot ha-Ẓove'ot* (Sassoon Ms. 978) by David b. Judah *he-Ḥasid, known from his other writings as a grandson of Naḥmanides (*Ohel Dawid*, 1001–06); and *Livnat ha-Sappir* (on Gen., 1914; on Lev. British Museum Ms. 767) by Joseph Angelino, written in 1325–27, and wrongly ascribed by several kabbalists to David b. Judah Ḥasid. This latter David was the first to write a quasi-commentary on and elaboration of the speculations in the *Idra Rabba* of the Zohar, called *Sefer ha-Gevul* (Jerusalem Ms., and see Scholem in KS, 4 (1928), 307–10). He also wrote a long commentary, *Or Zaru'a*, on the liturgy, and several other books (*ibid.*, 302–27).

An important pseudepigraph written at the time of the appearance of the Zohar was "The Mystery of the Names, Letters, and Vowels, and the Power of the [Magical] Operations, according to the Sages of Lunel," which is found in several manuscripts under different names (Vatican Ms. 441). Attributed to the circle of Abraham b. David, the book is actually based on the works of Gikatilla and Moses de Leon, and connects speculations on the letters, vowels, and the Sacred Names with the theory of practical Kabbalah. Its author, who gave the words of the late 13th-century kabbalists a new pseudepigraphic frame, also compiled the kabbalist anthology *Sefer ha-Ne'lam* (Paris Ms. ^{3}), using similar source material. An obscure figure in zoharic imitation literature is Joseph "who came from the city of Shushan" (i.e., from Hamadan in Persia). Perhaps this is a completely fictitious name concealing a Spanish kabbalist who lived about 1300 or a little later and wrote a lengthy work on the Torah section of *Terumah* and the Song of Songs, which is largely written in the style of the Zohar and develops the ideas of the zoharic *Idras* concerning the *Shi'ur Komah*. According to A. Altmann he is to be identified with the anonymous author of the *Sefer Ta'amei ha-Mitzvot*, which was used as the source of a literary plagiarism by Isaac ibn Farḥi in the 16th century (KS, 40 (1965), 405–12). At any rate, his extensive work is preserved (British Museum Ms. 464) and was widely disseminated, even in comparatively late times (G. Scholem, in *Sefer Yovel le-Aron Freimann* (1935), 51–62). The book is full of astonishing ideas not to be found in other kabbalistic texts, and the author introduces opinions which are quite foreign to the Zohar, although couched in its style. The third book in this category is the *Sefer ha-She'arim* or *She'elot la-Zaken* (Oxford Ms. 2396) from the first quarter of the 14th century. The old man (*zaken*) who replies to the questions of his disciples in none other than Moses himself. The bulk of the book is written in Hebrew and only a minor section in the zoharic style. Also a completely independent work, it relies a great deal on allusion without fully explaining its ideas.

The Kabbalah in the 14th Century up to the Expulsion from Spain

The 14th century was a period of intellectual development which produced an extremely rich literature. The Kabbalah spread through most of the communities of Spain and beyond, in particular to Italy and the East. Once the gates were opened wide through the books that revealed mystical ideas, all the preceding trends found their continuators and their interpreters; with this expansion all the different trends mingled with one another to a certain extent, and attempts were made to find a compromise between them.

The Kabbalah of Gerona was continued through the prolific literary activity of the disciples of Naḥmanides' pupils, who were taught by Solomon b. Abraham Adret (Rashba) and Isaac b. *Todros, author of a commentary to the *maḥzor* according to Kabbalah (Paris Ms. 839). Members of this school, who did not favor the prevailing pseudepigraphic style, produced many books attempting to clarify the kabbalistic passages of Naḥmanides' commentary to the Torah. An unknown author writing at the beginning of the 14th century composed *Ma'arekhet *ha-Elohut* (1558), a compendium which expounded the doctrine of Kabbalah in a terse and systematic fashion. This book was very widely read and its influence was felt as late as the 16th century. Although Solomon b. Abraham Adret was very cautious in his dealings with kabbalistic matters, he often alluded to them in his commentary to the *aggadot* (Vatican Ms. 295), and he also composed a long prayer in the kabbalistic way. His pupils, however, assigned a central place to the Kabbalah. To this school belong: Baḥya b. *Asher from Saragossa, whose commentary to the Torah contributed greatly to the dissemination of the Kabbalah and was the first kabbalist book to be printed in its entirety (1492); Joshua ibn *Shuaib from Tudela, author of the important *Derashot* (homilies) on the Torah (1523), the first book in this genre to assign a central place to the Kabbalah, and the real author of the *Be'ur Sodot ha-Ramban* ("Explanation of [the kabbalistic] secrets of Naḥmanides' Commentary"), which was printed (1875) under the name of his pupil, Meir b. Solomon Abi Sahula; Ḥayyim b. Samuel of Lerida, author of *Ẓeror ha-Ḥayyim*, which contains a kabbalistic exposition of halakhic matters (Musajoff Ms.); Shem Tov b. Abraham ibn *Gaon from Soria, who began a large-scale literary activity on the Kabbalah between 1315 and 1325, emigrated to Ereẓ Israel with his friend Elhanan b. Abraham ibn Eskira, and settled in Safed. Elhanan's *Yesod Olam* (Guenzburg Ms. 607) merges the Gerona tradition with neoplatonic philosophical Kabbalah. In the school of Solomon Adret a large amount of raw material was assembled which has been preserved in *collectanea* of considerable value (Vatican Ms. 202, Parma Mss. 68 and 1221, and others). In the same way several anonymous texts have been preserved which interpret the hidden meanings in Naḥmanides. The main storehouse for all the traditions of this school is *Me'irat Einaim* by Isaac b. Samuel of *Acre, who also dealt at length in other books with completely different aspects of the Kabbalah, under the joint influence of the Zohar and the school of Abraham Abulafia. In contrast to the attempts to seek a compromise between Kabbalah and philosophy, he insisted on the independence and supreme worth of kabbalist theosophy. Parts of the collection of revelations that were granted to him in various ways were assembled in *Oẓar ha-Ḥayyim* (Guenzburg Ms. 775), parts of which have been frequently copied. He was associated with many contemporary kabbalists, and he was the first of this circle to write an autobiography, which, however, is now lost.

Another kabbalist who migrated to Spain and became acquainted with the Kabbalah there was Joseph b. Shalom *Ashkenazi, author of an extensive commentary to the *Sefer Yeẓirah* (which has been printed in editions of the book under the name of Abraham b. David). He also wrote a commentary to the *bereshit* section of the *Midrash Genesis Rabbah* (KS, 4 (1928), 236–302). The works of David b. Judah Ḥasid develop the theory of the *Sefirot* to the extreme, assigning to everything a precise place in the world of the *Sefirot*. Joseph b. Shalom engaged in a kabbalistic critique of philosophy, but he interpreted its principles kabbalistically in a very bold way. Like most of the kabbalists of his time he was taken with the idea of the *shemittot*, which gained much ground in this period. Among the most important versions of this theory is that of *Sod ilan ha-aẓilut* by Isaac b. Jacob ha-Kohen (*Koveẓ al Yad*, 5, 1951). Joseph b. Shalom expounded an extreme conception of the theory of transmigration of souls, turning it into a cosmic law involving a change of form which affected every part of creation from the *Sefirah* of *Ḥochmah* down to the lowest grade of inanimate objects.

Together with the influence of the Zohar and the school of Solomon Adret the Spanish Kabbalah began to spread into Italy, particularly through the writings of Menahem *Recanati who wrote, early in the 14th century, a commentary "according to the path of truth" on the Torah (1523) and a work on the mystical reasons for the commandments (complete ed. 1963). But there was little independence in Italian Kabbalah, and for a long time it consisted of no more than compilations and interpretations, following the Zohar and the *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut*, and, to an even greater extent than in Spain itself, the writings of Abraham Abulafia. One exception is the *Iggeret Purim* (KS, 10 (1934), 504, no. 52), whose author gives an unusual symbolic interpretation of the theory of the *Sefirot*. In Germany also there was little independent creativity in the Kabbalah. German kabbalists contented themselves with mingling the Zohar and the *Ma'arekhet* with the tradition of Ḥasidei Ashkenaz. Avigdor *Kara (d. 1439), who achieved fame there as a kabbalist (see *Sinai*, 5 (1939), 122–48), wrote *Kodesh Hillulim* on Psalm 150 (Zurich Ms. 102). In the second half of the 14th century Menahem *Ẓiyyoni of Cologne wrote *Sefer Ẓiyyoni* on the Torah, and Yom Tov Lipmann *Muehlhausen devoted part of his literary activity to the Kabbalah, e.g., *Sefer ha-Eshkol* (ed. Judah Even-Shemuel (Kaufmann), 1927). From the beginning of the 14th century the Kabbalah also spread to the East. In Persia Isaiah b. Joseph of Tabriz wrote *Ḥayyei ha-Nefesh* (1324; Jerusalem Ms. 80 544; part of it was published in 1891); and in Constantinople Nathan b. Moses Kilkis, who says that he studied in Spain, wrote *Even Sappir* (1368–70; Paris Ms. 727–8).

These last two books belong to the strain which attempted to combine Kabbalah and philosophy in more or less radical ways. Originating mainly among the Spanish kabbalists of the period, these attempts became quite common, and their proponents attacked the opposite tendency to emphasize the two sides' basic differences of approach. The unequivocal neoplatonic line of Ibn Latif was continued (about 1300) by *David b. Abraham ha-Lavan in his *Masoret ha-Berit*. Joseph b. Shalom, mentioned above, linked Kabbalah with Aristotelian metaphysics and with natural philosophy, showing how even abstract philosophical concepts had a mystical content. Obviously, some tended toward a more philosophical view, while others concentrated on the specifically kabbalistic side. Two of the chief exponents of these tendencies wrote in Arabic, an extremely rare occurrence in kabbalistic literature. One was Judah b. Nissim ibn *Malka from Fez, who wrote in 1365; his works have been analyzed by G. Vajda (1954), who has done a great deal of research on the relationship between Kabbalah and philosophy in this period. The other, who lived a generation earlier, was Joseph b. Abraham ibn *Waqar of Toledo. In his lengthy work entitled *al-Maqāla al-Jamī a bayna al-Falsafa wa-al-Shari'a* ("A Synthesis of Philosophy and Kabbalah"), he set down the views of the philosophers, the kabbalists, and the astrologers, evaluated their ideas according to their relative merits, and tried to establish a basis common to them all (Vajda, *Récherches sur la philosophie et la kabbale* (1962), 115–297). His book also includes a lexicon of *Sefirot* symbolism, which was translated into Hebrew and circulated widely. The author was deeply indebted to Naḥmanides and Todros Abulafia, but he warns "that many errors have crept into" the Zohar. Ibn Waqar wrote poems on the Kabbalah (A.M. Habermann, *Shirei ha-Yiḥud ve-ha-Kavod* (1948), 99–122). His personal friend was Moses *Narboni, who was inclined basically toward philosophy; however, in the *Iggeret al Shi'ur Komah* and in other places in his writings, through a positive albeit somewhat reluctant approach to Kabbalah, Narboni tries to explain kabbalistic statements as if they were in agreement with philosophy (A. Altmann (ed.), *Jewish Medieval and Renaissance Studies*, 4 (1967), 225–88).

An attempt to weight the balance in favor of Kabbalah found expression in the criticism of the work of Judah ibn Malka attributed to Isaac of Acre (Vajda, in REJ, n.s. 15 (1956), 25–71). Samuel b. Saadiah *Motot in Guadalajara (c. 1370) also followed Ibn Waqar in his commentary to the *Sefer Yeẓirah* called *Meshovev Netivot*, and his commentary to the Torah, *Megalleh Amukot* (to Ex., Oxford Ms. 286, and Lev. to Deut., Jerusalem, National Library, Ms. 8°552). But the Zohar had a very strong influence on him. In the discussions of the philosophical kabbalists a great deal of attention was paid to the question of the relationship between the theosophic theory of the *Sefirot*, the philosophers' theory of the separate intelligences, and the neoplatonic idea of the cosmic soul. Attempts were made to explain the *Guide of the Perplexed* in a kabbalistic manner, or at least to clarify certain problems in it from the standpoint of the Kabbalah, using methods different from that of Abraham Abulafia; e.g., in the critique attributed to Joseph Gikatilla (1574; Vajda, in *Mélanges E. Gilson* (1959), 651–9), or in the *Tish'ah Perakim mi-Yiḥud* attributed to Maimonides (*Koveẓ al-Yad*, 5 (1950), 105–37). Following Abulafia, the urge to make a kabbalist of Maimonides was emphasized in the legend that he had a change of heart at the end of his life and turned to the Kabbalah (Scholem, in *Tarbiz*, 6 (1935), 90–98), a tale that was current from the year 1300 and appears in several versions. In this period the *Megillat Setarim* was also written, which was said to be a letter of Maimonides concerning the Kabbalah (in Z. Edelmann's collection, *Ḥemdah Genuzah* (1855), 45–52).

Totally in contrast to these tendencies toward compromise were two important phenomena which were absolutely opposed to the world of philosophy. The first is connected with the growth of meditative movements leading to contemplation, whether of the inner world of the *Sefirot* and the innumerable hidden lights concealed therein, or of the inner world of the Sacred Names which themselves conceal mystic lights. As a rule this contemplation follows the methods of prophetic Kabbalah, but by changing it and bringing it into the realm of Gnostic theosophy. The 13th-century theory of the *Sefirot* is subordinated to the contemplation of the lights of the intellect, which originated in the writings of the *Sefer ha-Iyyun* school, and produced a voluminous literature, wavering between pure inner contemplation and magic. There is no doubt that Isaac of Acre was very much inclined to this trend. Practically the whole of this literature is still concealed in manuscript form, no doubt because of the self-censorship of the kabbalists, who regarded it as the truly esoteric part of the Kabbalah. One characteristic example, however, did find its way into print, namely *Berit Menuḥah* (1648), which dates from the second half of the 14th century and was wrongly attributed to Abraham b. Isaac of *Granada. It deals at length with meditations on the inner lights sparkling from the various vocalizations of the Tetragrammaton. This literature represents a continuation of Abulafia's science of letter combination with the addition of the theory of *kavvanah* of the theosophical Kabbalah. The book *Toledot Adam* (Jerusalem Ms., Scholem, Catalogue, 58–60) also belongs to this body of writing, and parts of it were printed under the name of *Sefer ha-Malkhut* (1930). The true *Sefer ha-Malkhut*, also a treatise on letter combinations, was written about 1400 by the kabbalist David ha-Levi from Seville (printed in the collection *Ma'or va-Shemesh*, 1839). Intended as practical manuals for initiates, these books are of little interest for kabbalistic theory or philosophy.

The second phenomenon is connected with the composition of two pseudepigraphic works: *Sefer ha-Peli'ah* (1784) on the first section of the Torah and *Sefer *ha-Kanah* (1786) on the (meaning of) the Commandments. The author, who wrote between 1350 and 1390, speaks in the guise of the grandson of R. Neḥunya b. *ha-Kanah, the supposed author of the *Sefer ha-Bahir.* Actually, a large part of the first book consists of an anthology of earlier kabbalistic literature. The author, a considerable talmudist, adapted these sources and added a comparable amount to them. His main object was to prove, through the use of talmudic argument, that the *halakhah* has no literal meaning but mystical significance alone, and that the true literal meaning is mystical. With sweeping enthusiasm, these works go to greater lengths than the Zohar in their insistence that Judaism has no true meaning outside the world of the Kabbalah, thus representing the peak of kabbalistic extremism (S.A. Horodezky, *Ha-Mistorin be-Yisrael* vol. 2: *Ginzei Seter* (1952), 341–88; Baer, Spain, 1 (1961), 369–73). Clearly, in such a case there is no room for a philosophical approach. The anti-philosophical line was continued in the works of Shem Tov b. Shem Tov, who wrote two systematic books on the Kabbalah around 1400. His *Sefer ha-Emunot* (1556) demonstrates how completely the Zohar had become accepted, a century after its appearance, as the central work of Kabbalah. A large portion of the second book, whose title is unknown, is extant (British Museum Ms. 771). In this work the anti-philosophical tendency, which was perhaps influenced by contemporary events and by the persecution of 1391, is expressed quite clearly: there is no longer any room for compromise between mysticism and the demands of rationalistic thought. It cannot be affirmed, however, that this point of view dominated the Kabbalah in its entirety, for in the years that followed, up to the beginning of the 16th century, there were various moves toward reconciliation, especially noticeable among the Italian kabbalists.

In contrast with the clear direction followed by the pseudepigraphy of the *Sefer ha-Peli'ah*, there is no obvious goal in the voluminous pseudepigraphic activity of the Provençal kabbalist Moses *Botarel. He wrote a large number of books around 1400, including a long commentary to the *Sefer Yeẓirah*, filling them with fabricated quotations from the works of kabbalists and others, both historical and imaginary figures. However, his method was not at all like that of the Zohar and he also cultivated a conciliatory attitude toward philosophy, in complete contrast to Shem Tov b. Shem Tov. While the author of *Sefer ha-Peli'ah* and *Sefer ha-Kanah* put forward the Kabbalah as the only interpretation which could save Judaism from deteriorating and disintegrating, in other circles, imbued with a distinct talmudic and ethical spirit, it was regarded as a complementary element, through a stress on its moral and ascetic ideas. It is clear that the Kabbalah had already attained a firm status in the mind of the public, and quite obvious kabbalistic elements had begun to appear in the ethical literature of the 14th and 15th centuries. In this connection the *Sefer Menorat ha-Ma'or* by Israel *al-Nakawa of Toledo (d. 1391) is very important. It is a comprehensive work on Judaism with a clear halakhic standpoint. Wherever ethical questions are discussed in this book, which was intended for a wide public, statements are quoted from the Zohar (in Hebrew, under the name of *Midrash Yehi Or*) and from the other kabbalists, including specifically the *Ḥibbur ha-Adam im Ishto*, a treatise on marriage and sexuality written by an anonymous kabbalist at the end of the 13th century and later attributed to Naḥmanides (KS, 21 (1945), 179–86).

The literature of the kabbalists themselves testifies to the continuous existence in various circles of a strong opposition to Kabbalah and its claims – among halakhists, literalists, and philosophers. Beginning with the polemic of Meir b. Simeon of Narbonne (1250) this opposition continued to be expressed, either *en passant*, as was the case with Isaac Polkar and Menahem *Meiri, or in specific works; e.g., in the *Alilot Devarim* of Joseph b. Meshullam (?), who wrote in Italy in 1468 (*Oẓar Neḥmad*, 4 (1863), 179–214), and in several writings of Moses b. Samuel Ashkenazi of Candia, 1460 (in Vatican Ms. 254). Even with the expansion of the Kabbalah's influence to much wider circles these voices were not silenced, particularly not in Italy.

In Spain kabbalistic creativity diminished considerably in the 15th century. The original stimulus of the Kabbalah had already reached its fullest expression. There were many kabbalists still to be found in Spain, and the numerous manuscripts written there testify to the large numbers who were engaged in Kabbalah, but their work shows very little originality. In 1482 Joseph *Alcastiel from Jativa wrote responsa to 18 questions on various kabbalistic subjects which had been addressed to him by Judah Ḥayyat, and in them he adopts a very independent approach (*Tarbiz*, 24 (1955), 167–206). Joshua b. Samuel ibn Naḥmias in his book *Migdol Yeshu'ot* (Musajoff Ms.), Shalom b. Saadiah ibn Zaytun from Saragossa, and the pupils of Isaac *Canpanton, who occupied a central position in the Judaism of Castile in the middle of the 15th century, were among the chief exponents of Kabbalah. Many kabbalists had crossed to Italy even before the expulsion from Spain, e.g., Isaac Mar-Ḥayyim who wrote in 1491, en route for Ereẓ Israel, two long letters on problems concerning the beginning of emanation (JQR, 21 (1931), 365–75; Yael Nadav, in *Tarbiz*, 26 (1956), 440–58). Joseph ibn *Shraga (d. 1508/09) who was called in his time "the kabbalist from Argenta," and Judah Ḥayyat, the author of a long commentary, *Minḥat Yehudah*, on the *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut* (1558), were also among the chief transmitters of Spanish Kabbalah to Italy. The book *Ohel Mo'ed* (Cambridge Ms.) was written by an unknown kabbalist before 1500 – in Italy or even still in Spain – in order to defend the Kabbalah against its detractors. Abraham b. Eliezer *ha-Levi and Joseph *Taitaẓak, too, began their kabbalistic activities while still in Spain. The migrants strengthened the Kabbalah, which acquired many adherents in Italy in the 15th century. Reuben Ẓarfati interpreted the theory of the *Sefirot*; Johanan Alemano, who united Kabbalah with philosophy, wrote a commentary to the Torah in *Einei ha-Edah* (Paris Ms.), and to the Song of Songs in *Ḥeshek Shelomo*, and he also compiled a large anthology of kabbalistic miscellanies. He also composed an unnamed work on the Kabbalah (Paris Ms. 849; KS, 5 (1929), 273–7). Only the introduction of his commentary to the Song of Songs has been published (1790). Judah b. *Jehiel Messer Leon of Mantua opposed the tendencies of the later kabbalists and defended the view that kabbalistic principles agreed with Platonic ideas (S. Assaf in *Jubilee Volume for D. Yellin* (1935), 227). This emphasis on kabbalistic Platonism undoubtedly suited the spiritual temperament of the humanists of the circle of Marsilio Ficino and Pico della *Mirandola. The poet Moses *Rieti devoted part of his long poem *Mikdash Me'at* to a rhymed discourse on kabbalistic ideas, and Elijah Ḥayyim of *Gennazano wrote an introduction to the Kabbalah entitled *Iggeret Ḥamudot* (1912).

The Kabbalah after the Expulsion from Spain and the New Center in Safed

The expulsion from Spain in 1492 produced a crucial change in the history of the Kabbalah. The profound upheaval in the Jewish consciousness caused by this catastrophe also made the Kabbalah public property. Despite the fact that the Kabbalah had spread in preceding generations, it still remained the preserve of relatively closed circles, who only occasionally emerged from their aristocratic seclusion. The aims of certain individuals like the author of the Zohar or the *Sefer ha-Peli'ah*, who intended quite consciously to create a work of historical and social importance, were not fully achieved until the 16th century. It was not until this period also that the eschatological mood prevalent among particular individuals in Spain was combined with the more basic stimuli of the Kabbalah. With the expulsion, messianism became part of the very core of Kabbalah. The earlier generations centered their thoughts on the return of man to the wellspring of his life, through the contemplation of the upper worlds, and on instruction in the method of his return through mystic communion to his original source. An ideal which could be realized in any place and at any time, this communion was not dependent on a messianic framework. Now it became combined with messianic and apocalyptic trends which laid greater stress on man's journey toward redemption than on his contemplated future return to the source of all existence in God. This combination of mysticism with messianic apocalyptic turned Kabbalah into a historic force of great dynamics. Its teachings still remained profound, abstruse, and difficult for the masses to assimilate, but its aims lent themselves easily to popularization, and many kabbalists sought to extend its influence throughout the general community. The Kabbalah penetrated many areas of popular faith and custom, overcoming the unceasing opposition of some individuals. It should be noted that the highly original development of the Kabbalah after the expulsion did not start in Italy, although that country was a center of a flourishing Jewish culture, and fruitful kabbalistic activity could be found there. The real creative force came from the new center which was established in Ereẓ Israel about 40 years after the expulsion. The religious movement which originated in Safed, and which manifested a renewal of the Kabbalah in all its intensity, is particularly important because it was the last movement in Judaism to have such a wide scope and such a decisive and continuous influence on the Diaspora as a whole, in both Europe, Asia, and North Africa. This influence was maintained even after the break-up of the Shabbatean movement, which testifies to the degree to which it had become rooted in the national consciousness.

A connection between the appearance of new aspects of the Kabbalah and its rapid dissemination, and the imminent redemption of Israel, had already been established by a few of the Spanish kabbalists, like Abulafia, the author of the *Ra'aya Meheimna*, and the author of the *Sefer ha-Peli'ah*. But it was only after the expulsion that this became a dynamic and all-embracing force. A clear indication of this is the statement of an unknown kabbalist: "The decree from above that one should not discuss kabbalistic teaching in public was meant to last for only a limited time – until 1490. We then entered the period called 'the last generation,' and then the decree was rescinded, and permission given… And from 1540 onward the most important *mitzvah* will be for all to study it in public, both old and young, since this, and nothing else, will bring about the coming of the Messiah" (quoted in Abraham *Azulai's introduction to his *Or ha-Ḥammah* on the Zohar).

The exiles mostly studied the Kabbalah in its earlier forms, but they sought to respond to the interest in the Kabbalah aroused in Italy, North Africa, and Turkey by means of systematic and complete presentations, which at this time, however, did not contain any new points of view. The main exponents of the Kabbalah were Judah Ḥayyat, in his extensive commentary to *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut*; Abraham Saba and Joseph *Alashkar, in their commentaries to Scripture and Mishnah; Abraham Adrutiel, in an anthology of earlier traditions entitled *Avnei Zikkaron* (KS, 6 (1930), 295ff.; 7 (1931), 457ff.); and particularly Meir ibn *Gabbai, in his exhaustive presentation in *Avodat ha-Kodesh* (1568), which was perhaps the finest account of kabbalistic speculation before the resurgence of the Kabbalah in Safed. There was intensive activity along traditional lines in Italy and Turkey in particular. Among those active in Italy were Elijah Menahem Ḥalfan of Venice, Berakhiel b. Meshullam Cafman of Mantua (*Lev Adam*, 1538, in Kaufmann Ms. 218), Jacob Israel Finzi of Recanati (commentary on the liturgy, Cambridge Ms.), Abraham b. Solomon Treves ha-Ẓarfati (b. 1470) who lived in Ferrara and had "a revelation of Elijah," and Mordecai b. Jacob Rossillo (*Sha'arei Ḥayyim*, Munich Ms. 49). A panentheistic view of the relationship between God and the world was quite clearly stated in *Iggeret ha-Ẓiyyurim* by an unknown kabbalist of the first half of the 16th century in Italy (JTS Ms.). An important center was formed in Salonika, then in Turkey. Among the leaders there were Joseph *Taitaẓak, apparently the author of a large book of revelations which he had composed in the last decade before the expulsion from Spain: *Sefer ha-Meshiv*, in which the speaker is God Himself (G. Scholem, in *Sefunot*, vol. 11); Ḥayyim b. Jacob Obadiah de *Busal (*Be'er Mayim Ḥayyim*, 1546); Isaac Shani (*Me'ah She'arim*, 1543); and Isaac b. Abraham Farḥi, who circulated in his own name the anonymous *Ta'amei ha-Mitzvot*, which had actually been written about 1300. The kabbalist philosopher David b. Judah Messer Leon left Italy to work in Salonika, but his book *Magen David* (London, Jews' College, Ms. 290) on the philosophical principles of the Kabbalah was apparently written in Mantua; this work influenced several later kabbalists, including Meir ibn Gabbai and Moses Cordovero (Schechter, in REJ, 62 (1892), 118ff.; KS, 9 (1933), 258). Solomon *Alkabeẓ also began working in this circle before he went to Safed.

We also know of considerable kabbalistic activity in Morocco. Joseph Alashkar wrote most of his books in Tlemçen (*Ẓofenat Pa'neaḥ*, 1529, Jerusalem Ms. 2° 154; and several other books in the *Katalog der Handschriften … E. Carmoly*, 1876), but the main center in this area was Dra (or Dar'a), whose kabbalists were renowned. There Mordecai *Buzaglo wrote the *Ma'yenot ha-Ḥokhmah*, which was hidden by the kabbalists (Goldschmidt Ms. Copenhagen), and a commentary on the liturgy (*Malkhei Rabbanan* (1931), 86–87). This was the environment where the *Ginnat Bitan* was written, an introduction to the theory of the *Sefirot* by Isaac b. Abraham Cohen (Gaster Ms. 720). This work should not be confused with the *Ginnat ha-Bitan* which has two commentaries attributed to the Spanish kabbalists Jacob b. Todros and Shem Tov ibn Gaon (Gaster Ms. 1398), and which is, from beginning to end (as shown by E. Gottlieb), a late 16th-century forgery based on *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut* and Judah Ḥayyat's commentary to it. The most important book produced by the Moroccan kabbalists in this period was *Ketem Paz* by Simeon ibn *Labi of Fez, the only commentary on the Zohar that was not written under the influence of the new Kabbalah of Safed. Consequently, it is frequently closer to the primary meaning of the text (the part on Genesis was printed in 1795). Several kabbalists were working in Jerusalem and Damascus. Some of them were emigrants from Spain, and some from the Musta'rabim. Among the emigrants from Portugal was Judah b. Moses *Albotini (d. 1520), who wrote an introduction to prophetic Kabbalah (*Sullam ha-Aliyyah*, see Scholem, *Kitvei Yad be-Kabbalah*, 225–30; KS, 22 (1946), 161–71), and devoted many chapters of his book *Yesod Mishneh Torah* on Maimonides to the Kabbalah (M. Benayahu in *Kovez ha-Rambam* (1955), 240–74). In Damascus, in the middle of the century, Judah Ḥaleywa, a member of a Spanish family, wrote the *Sefer ha-Kavod* (Jerusalem Ms. 80 3731). In the main, however, this was the center of activity of Joseph b. Abraham ibn Ẓayyaḥ, one of the rabbis of the Musta'rabim who lived for several years in Jerusalem and in 1538 wrote there *Even ha-Shoham* (G. Scholem, *Kitvei Yad be-Kabbalah*, 89–91), in 1549 *She'erit Yosef* (Ms. of the pre-War Vienna community, Schwarz catalogue 260), and also several other kabbalistic works. Noteworthy for their theoretical speculations on details of the *Sefirot* system and for their profound meditation on the mysticism of the infinite number of luminaries which shine in the *Sefirot*, his books represent the culmination of a certain approach, and at the same time reveal a strong leaning toward practical Kabbalah and matters concerning the *sitra aḥra*.

Books written by the Ashkenazim after the expulsion from Spain were mainly of the anthology type: like the *Shoshan Sodot* of Moses b. Jacob of *Kiev (partially printed 1784, and extant in its entirety in Oxford Ms. 1656); *Sefer ha-Miknah* of Joseph (Josselmann) of Rosheim (1546, Oxford Ms. 2240); and the great commentary to the liturgy by Naphtali Hirz Treves (1560). The writings of Eliezer b. Abraham Eilenburg on Kabbalah and philosophy show how different fields became intertwined in the mind of a German kabbalist who studied in Italy and traveled in several countries. Eilenburg edited the books of the original kabbalists together with additional material of his own, some of it autobiographical (Hirsch Ms. 109, Schwager and Fraenkel 39, 5–10, now in New York; A. Marx, in ZHB, 10 (1906), 175–8). The Kabbalah was established in Germany long before it found its way into Poland, where it penetrated only in the second half of the century through the work of Mattathias *Delacrut and Mordecai *Jaffe.

The printing of several classical works contributed a great deal to the dissemination of the Kabbalah, particularly in the middle of the 16th century. At first no opposition was roused – neither when Recanati's book was produced in Venice (1523) nor when several other books came out in Salonika and Constantinople – although these works did not receive the *haskamah* ("approval") of the rabbinic authorities. However, when the printing of the Zohar itself and the *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut* (1558) was contemplated, the plan gave rise to bitter arguments among the Italian rabbis; a few of the leading kabbalists violently opposed it, saying that they were afraid that these things would fall into the hands of men who were both ignorant and unprepared and so be liable to lead people into error. The burning of the Talmud in Italy on the order of Pope Julius III (1553) played a part in this controversy, for there were those who feared that the widespread publication of kabbalistic works would in itself tend to stimulate missionary activity. Some kabbalists who at first were opposed to the idea later became the chief protagonists of the printing of the Zohar, e.g., Isaac de *Lattes, the author of a decision in favor of the printing of the Zohar, which appears at the beginning of the Mantua edition. At length, the protagonists prevailed, and the publication of other works of Kabbalah in Italy, Germany, Poland, and Turkey met with no further opposition (I. Tishby, in *Perakim* 1 (1967), 131–82; S. Assaf, in *Sinai*, 5 (1940), 360–8).

In addition to the traditional Kabbalah, during the first 40 years after the expulsion from Spain there arose a remarkable apocalyptic movement, whose leading exponents among the émigrés were active in Palestine and Italy. Abraham b. Eliezer *ha-Levi, who traveled through many countries and settled in Jerusalem about 1515, devoted most of his energies to the propagation of a kabbalistic apocalyptic which was then causing a great stir. A few years after the expulsion a book appeared which affords striking evidence of this movement; called *Kaf ha-Ketoret* (Paris Ms. 845), it is an interpretation of the Psalms as battle-hymns for the war at the end of time, and was apparently written in Italy. At this time messianic movements also sprang up among the Marranos in Spain (Y. Baer, in *Me'assef Shenati Zion*, 5 (1933), 61–77), and emerged in Italy around the kabbalist Asher *Lemlein (1502). This too was the time of the first account of the attempt of the Spanish kabbalist Joseph della *Reina to bring about the final redemption by means of practical Kabbalah (G. Scholem, *ibid.*, 4 (1933), 124–30; J. Dan, in *Sefunot*, 6, 1962, 313–26). The story subsequently went through many adaptations and was very widely publicized. The commentator Isaac *Abrabanel also turned his attention to the propagation of apocalyptic views, whose adherents fixed the date of redemption variously at 1503, 1512, 1540, and 1541. The most serious repercussion was the agitation marking the appearance of David *Reuveni and his supporter Solomon *Molcho, whose kabbalistic expositions (*Sefer ha-Mefo'ar*, 1529) were favorably received by the Salonika kabbalists. Molcho's visions and discourses were a mixture of Kabbalah and incitement to political activity for messianic purposes among the Christians. With his martyrdom (1532) he was finally established in the Jewish community as one of the "saints" of the Kabbalah. For the apocalyptists the advent of Martin *Luther was another portent, a sign of the break-up of the Church and the approach of the end of days.

After its failure as a propagandist movement, the apocalyptic awakening penetrated to deeper spiritual levels. Both Christian and Jewish apocalyptists began to perceive that on the eve of redemption light would be revealed through the disclosure of mysteries that had previously been hidden. The most profound expression of this new movement was that Ereẓ Israel became the center of Kabbalah. First Jerusalem and from 1530 onward Safed were for decades the meeting places of many kabbalists from all corners of the Diaspora; they became the leaders of the religious awakening which elevated Safed to the position of spiritual center of the nation for two generations. Here the old and the new were combined: the ancient traditions together with an aspiration to reach new heights of speculation which almost completely superseded the older forms of Kabbalah, and which in addition had a profound influence on the conduct of the kabbalistic life and on popular custom. Even such great halakhic authorities as Jacob *Berab and Joseph *Caro were deeply rooted in the Kabbalah, and there is no doubt that their messianic expectations set the scene for the great controversy over the reintroduction of ordination, which Jacob Berab wanted to organize in 1538 when Safed had already been established as a center. Sephardim, Ashkenazim, and Musta'rabim all contributed something to this movement, which attracted sympathizers from far afield and was also responsible for a great upsurge in the Diaspora, where communities far and wide accepted the supreme religious authority of the sages of Safed. The spread of a pietistic way of life was a practical expression of the movement and it prepared the ground for the colorful legends which quickly grew up around the major kabbalists of Safed. As with the beginning of Kabbalah in Provence, so here too profound rational speculations were combined with revelations which welled up from other sources, and they took the form (especially after the expulsion from Spain) of the revelations of *maggidim*: angels or sacred souls who spoke through the lips of the kabbalists or made them write down their revelations. Far from being merely a literary device, this was a specific spiritual experience, as indicated by *Sefer ha-Meshiv*, attributed to Joseph Taitaẓak, and Joseph Caro's *Maggid Mesharim* (R.J.Z. Werblowsky, *Joseph Karo, Lawyer and Mystic*, 1962). Once more, like the beginning of Kabbalah in Provence and Spain, here too there were two opposing trends of a philosophic and theoretical nature on the one hand, and of a mythical and anthropomorphic kind on the other.

The earlier forms of the Kabbalah were represented by David b. Solomon ibn *Zimra (known as Radbaz, d. 1573), first in Egypt and later in Safed: in *Magen David* (1713) on the shape of the letters; *Migdal David* (883) on the Song of Songs; *Meẓudat David* (*1662*) on the meaning of the Commandments; and also in his poem *Keter Malkhut*, which is a kabbalistic imitation of the famous poem of the same name by Solomon ibn Gabirol (in the collection *Or Kadmon*, 1703). In contrast, a new system was propounded by Solomon b. Moses Alkabeẓ, who emigrated to Ereẓ Israel from Salonika, and by his pupil and brother-in-law Moses b. Jacob Cordovero (known as Remak, 1522–70). In Cordovero Safed produced the chief exponent of Kabbalah and its most important thinker. Combining intensive religious thought with the power to expound and explain it, he was the main systematic theologian of the Kabbalah. His theoretical philosophy was based on that of Alkabeẓ and was completely different from the earlier Kabbalah, especially with regard to the theory of the *Sefirot*. It also developed greatly between his first major work, *Pardes Rimmonim*, written in 1548, and the second, *Elimah Rabbati*, composed 19 years later; this later work followed his long commentary on the Zohar, *Or Yakar*, which interprets the book in the light of his own system. Cordovero interprets the theory of the *Sefirot* from the standpoint of an immanent dialectic acting upon the process of emanation, which he sees as a causative process. According to his view there is a formative principle subject to a specific dialectic, which determines all the stages in the revelation of the Divine (*Ein-Sof*) through emanation. The Divine, as it reveals itself when it emerges from the depths of its own being, acts like a living organism. These and other ideas give his system quite a different appearance from that adopted in Gabbai's *Avodat ha-Kodesh*, which was written (1531) shortly before the establishment of the center at Safed, although both are based on the Zohar. It would appear that Alkabeẓ' systematic presentation was written only after the *Pardes Rimmonim* (*Likkutei Hakdamot le-Ḥokhmat ha-Kabbalah*, Oxford Ms. 1663). Cordovero was followed by his disciples, Abraham ha-Levi *Berukhim, Abraham *Galante, Samuel *Gallico, and Mordecai *Dato, who introduced his master's Kabbalah to Italy, his birthplace and the scene of his prolific kabbalistic activity. Eleazar *Azikri and Elijah de *Vidas, both students of Cordovero, wrote in Safed the two classical works on kabbalistic ethics which were destined to have a wide public among students of Torah: *Sefer Ḥaredim* and *Sefer Reshit Ḥokhmah*. Not only did they have a great influence in their own right, these books also opened the way to a whole literary genre of works on ethics and conduct in the kabbalistic manner which appeared in the 17th and 18th centuries and were widely popular. This literature did more for the mass dissemination of Kabbalah than those books dealing with Kabbalah in the narrower sense whose mystical content was comprehensible only to a few.

One book which is not dependent on Cordovero's Kabbalah, but which is saturated with the atmosphere of Safed, where the idea of transmigration held an important place, is the *Gallei Razayya* by an unknown author. Doubtfully attributed to Abraham ha-Levi Berukhim, this comprehensive book was written in 1552–53, and the most important section is devoted to the theory of the soul and its transmigrations. Especially striking is the attempt to explain the lives of the biblical heroes, in particular their more unscrupulous deeds and their relationships with foreign women, in terms of transmigration. The book is among the more original creations of the Kabbalah; only part of it has been printed (1812), although the whole work is extant (Oxford Ms. 1820). Its daring psychology became a precedent for the paradoxical approach of the Shabbateans in their interpretation of the sins of the biblical characters (G. Scholem, *Shabbetai Ẓevi*, (1967), 47–49). Curiously enough, it did not arouse any recorded opposition.

In the magnetism of his personality and the profound impression he made on all, Isaac *Luria Ashkenazi, the "Ari" (1534–72), was greater than Cordovero. The central figure of the new Kabbalah, he was the most important kabbalistic mystic after the expulsion. Although he worked in Safed during the last two or three years of his life only, he had a profound influence on the closed circle of students – some of them great scholars – who after his death propagated and interpreted various versions of his ideas and his way of life, mainly from the end of the 16th century onward. Immediately after his death a rich tapestry of legend was woven around him, in which historical fact was intermingled with fantasy (M. Benayahu, *Toledot ha-Ari*, 1967). Luria's powers as a thinker cannot be compared with those of Cordovero, with whom he studied for a short while in 1570; but his personal and historical influence went far deeper, and in the whole history of Kabbalah only the influence of the Zohar can measure up to his. Developed from speculations of a mythical character on the Zohar, in general his system depends more than was previously thought on Cordovero, although he effected a kind of remythicization of the latter's theoretical concepts. In particular Cordovero's interpretations of the ideas in the *Idra* of the Zohar, voiced in his *Elimah Rabbati*, had a marked influence on Luria, who based the details of his system to a large extent on the *Idrot*. With Luria these ideas are bound up with his preoccupation with letter combinations as a medium for meditation. A large area of his system does not lend itself to complete intellectual penetration, and in many instances it can only be reached through personal meditation. Even in his theory of creation (see below), which from its inception is associated with the extreme mysticism of language and the Holy Names in which the divine power is concentrated, we quickly arrive at the point – the details of the idea of the *tikkun ha-parẓufim* ("the restoration of the faces [of God]") – which is beyond the scope of intellectual perception. Here we are dealing with an extreme case of Gnostic reaction in the Kabbalah, which finds its expression in the placing of innumerable stages among the degrees of emanation, and the lights which sparkle in them. This Gnostic reaction, and with it the mythical tendency in the Kabbalah, reached its highest point in Luria, while at the same time its relationship with the philosophical trends of Spanish Kabbalah and of Cordovero also was at its most tenuous.

Those passages which are comprehensible, and which are related to the origin of the process of creation, are quite dissimilar from the starting-points of the neoplatonists, but they are of great importance for the history of mysticism and their historical influence was astounding. It is precisely in these sections that we find important differences in the various versions of Lurianic Kabbalah. Some concealed particular parts of these speculations, as did Moses *Jonah with regard to the whole theory of *ẓimẓum* ("contraction") in his *Kanfei Yonah*, and Ḥayyim *Vital with the problem of *berur ha-dinim*, the progressive removal of the powers of rigor and severity from the *Ein-Sof* in the process of contraction and emanation. Some added new ideas of their own, like Israel *Sarug, in his theory of the *malbush* ("garment") which is formed by the inner linguistic movement of the *Ein-Sof* and is the point of origin, preceding even the *ẓimẓum*. The original aspects of Luria's work, both in general and in particular, were both profound and extreme, and despite the fact that they were rooted in earlier ideas, they gave the Kabbalah a completely new appearance. A new terminology and a new and more complex symbolism are the outstanding features of the literature of this school. There was much originality in the ideas concerning the *ẓimẓum* which preceded the whole process of emanation and divine revelation; the dual nature of the evolution of the world through the *hitpashetut* ("egression") and *histallekut* ("regression") of the divine forces, which introduced a fundamental dialectical element into the theory of emanation (already apparent in Cordovero); the five *parẓufim* ("configurations") as the principal units of the inner world, which are simply configurations of the *Sefirot* in new arrangements, in the face of which the ten *Sefirot* lose their previous independence; the growth of the world out of the necessary catastrophe which overtook Adam; and the slow *tikkun* ("restoration") of the spiritual lights which have fallen under the domination of the *kelippot* ("shells, husks"; forces of evil). The Gnostic character of these ideas, which constitute a new mythology in Judaism, cannot be doubted. Parallel to the cosmogonic drama there exists a psychological drama, just as complex, concerning the nature of original sin and the restoration of the souls condemned to transmigration because of that sin. The theory of prayer and mystical *kavvanah* ("intent") once more becomes central to the Kabbalah, and the emphasis it receives far surpasses any previously accorded to the subject. This mysticism of prayer proved to be the most important factor in the new Kabbalah because of the steady stimulus it provided for contemplative activity. A fine balance existed in Lurianic Kabbalah between theoretical speculations and this practical activity. The messianic element is far more noticeable here than in other kabbalistic systems, for the theory of *tikkun* confirmed the interpretation of the whole meaning of Judaism as an acute messianic tension. Such tension finally broke in the Shabbatean messianic movement, whose particular historical power may be explained through the combination of messianism with Kabbalah. A messianic explosion like this was unavoidable at a time when apocalyptic tendencies could easily be resuscitated in large sections of the people because of the dominance of Lurianic Kabbalah. Not that this form of Kabbalah was distinct from other streams in its tendency to practical application or its association with magic. These two elements also existed in other systems, even in that of Cordovero. The theory of *kavvanah* in prayer and in the performance of the *mitzvot* undoubtedly contained a strong magical element intended to influence the inner self. The *yiḥudim*, exercises in meditation based on mental concentration on the combinations of Sacred Names which Luria gave to his disciples, contained such an element of magic, as did other devices for attaining the holy spirit.

Luria's disciples saw him as the Messiah, son of Joseph, who was to prepare the way for later revelation of the Messiah, son of David (D. Tamar, in *Sefunot*, 7 (1963), 169–72), but for a whole generation after his death they kept themselves in esoteric groups and did little to spread their belief among the people (G. Scholem, in *Zion*, 5 (1940), 133–60). Only occasionally did written fragments and various anthologies or summaries of Luria's teachings penetrate beyond Ereẓ Israel. In the meantime, in Ereẓ Israel itself, a complete literature of "Lurianic writings" came into being, which originated in the circles of his disciples together with their own disciples. Only a very few of these works come from Luria's own writings (KS, 19 (1943), 184–99). In addition to the disciples mentioned above, Joseph ibn *Tabul, Judah Mishan, and others also took part in this activity, but not one of them became a propagandist or was active outside Ereẓ Israel. This work began only at the end of the 16th century with the journeys of Israel Sarug to Italy and Poland (*Zion*, 5 (1940), 214–43; 9 (1954), 173), and then through a scholar who, despite his pretensions, was not one of Luria's pupils in Safed but only a disciple in the spiritual sense. Up to about 1620 the Kabbalah remained largely under the influence of the other Safed kabbalists, Cordovero in particular.

As the Kabbalah began to radiate from Safed to the Diaspora it was accompanied by great religious excitement, particularly in Turkey, Italy, and Poland. In Italy particular importance attaches to the work of Mordecai Dato, who also engaged in literary messianic propaganda around the year 1575, which many considered to be the actual year of redemption (D. Tamar, in *Sefunot*, 2 (1958), 61–88). Equally important was his pupil Menahem Azariah *Fano (d. 1623), who was regarded for many years as the most prominent kabbalist of Italy, and who produced a considerable number of works, following Cordovero first of all and then Lurianic Kabbalah in the version spread by Sarug. He and his disciples, particularly Aaron Berechiah b. Moses of *Modena (d. 1639) and Samuel b. Elisha Portaleone, made Italy into one of the most important centers of Kabbalah. Preachers in Italy and Poland began to speak of kabbalistic matters in public, and kabbalistic phraseology became public property. Some attempts were also made to explain kabbalistic ideas without using technical language. This is seen particularly in the writings of Judah Loew b. *Bezalel (Maharal of Prague) and in the *Bet Mo'ed* of Menahem Rava of Padua (1608). The spread of the Kabbalah also brought with it a mingling of popular belief and mystic speculation, which had widespread results. The new customs of the kabbalists in Safed found their way to the wider public, especially after the appearance of *Seder ha-Yom* by Moses ibn Makhir from Safed (1599). Penitential manuals based on the practice of the Safed kabbalists and new prayers and customs became widespread. In Italy, and later in other lands too, special groups were established for their propagation. Small wonder that the movement resulted also in the revival of religious poetry, rooted in the world of the Kabbalah. Beginning in Safed too, where its main exponents were Eliezer Azikri, Israel *Najara, Abraham Maimin, and Menahem *Lonzano, this poetry spread to Italy and was exemplified in the works of Mordecai Dato, Aaron Berechiah Modena, and Joseph Jedidiah *Carmi; in the years that followed it was echoed extensively. Many poets owed a major stimulus of their creativity to Kabbalah, especially the great Yemenite poet Shalom (Salim) *Shabbazi, Moses *Zacuto, and Moses Ḥayyim *Luzzatto. In their works they revealed the imaginative and poetic value of kabbalistic symbols, and many of their poems found their way into prayer books, both of the community and of individuals (G. Scholem, *Lyrik der Kabbalah?* in *Der Jude*, 6, 1921, 55–69; A. Ben-Yisrael, *Shirat ha-Ḥen*, 1918).

As long as Ḥayyim Vital, Luria's chief disciple, refused to allow his writings to be publicized – a process which did not begin in earnest until after Vital's death (1620) – detailed knowledge of Luria's system reached the Diaspora at first only through the versions of Moses Jonah and Israel Sarug. Nearly all the works of Kabbalah which were devoted to the spread of these ideas through the press in the first half of the 17th century bear the imprint of Sarug. But in his book *Shefa Tal* Shabbetai Sheftel Horowitz of Prague based his attempt to reconcile the Lurianic theory of *ẓimẓum* with the Kabbalah of Cordovero on the writings of Joseph ibn Tabul. Abraham *Herrera, a pupil of Sarug who connected the teaching of his master with neoplatonic philosophy, wrote *Puerto del Cielo*, the only kabbalistic work originally written in Spanish, which came to the knowledge of many European scholars through its translations into Hebrew (1655) and Latin (1684).

At first Lurianic ideas appeared in print in an abbreviated form only, as in the *Appiryon Shelomo* of Abraham Sasson (Venice, 1608); but in 1629–31 the two bulky volumes by Joseph Solomon *Delmedigo were published, *Ta'alumot Ḥokhmah* and *Novelot Ḥokhmah*, which also included source material from the writings of Sarug and his pupils. The latter volume also contains lengthy studies of these ideas and a number of attempts to explain them philosophically. During these years manuscripts of Vital's teachings were disseminated and in 1648 there appeared in Amsterdam the *Emek ha-Melekh* of Naphtali *Bacharach, which contained an extremely detailed presentation of Lurianic doctrine based on a mixture of the two traditions of Vital and Sarug. It had an enormous influence although it also aroused protest and criticism. It was followed by the publication of other sources which sought to interpret the new teaching; e.g., *Hatḥalat ha-Ḥokhmah* from the Sarug school, published by a Polish kabbalist, Abraham Kalmanks of Lublin, who assumed authorship of the book under the title *Ma'ayan ha-Ḥokhmah* (Amsterdam, 1652). However, the books published in the field of Kabbalah, which continued to increase in number during the 17th century, only partially reflect the great tidal waves of Kabbalah which were sweeping both East and West. From Ereẓ Israel and Egypt spread a great variety of different editions and redactions of all kinds of Lurianic teachings, which captivated those who were mystically inclined. A large amount of this output was the work of men at the center established in Jerusalem between 1630 and 1660 whose leaders, Jacob *Ẓemaḥ, Nathan b. Reuben Spiro, and Meir *Poppers, labored unstintingly both in editing Vital's writings and in composing their own works. Of these, only the books of Nathan Spiro, who spent some of his later years in Italy, were actually printed (*Tuv ha-Areẓ*, 1655, *Yayin ha-Meshummar*, 1660, and *Mazzat Shimmurim*, all in Venice). The way in which the Kabbalah penetrated every aspect of life can be seen not only in the long list of homiletic works of a completely kabbalistic nature and of ethical works written under its influence (especially the *Shenei Luḥot ha-Berit* of Isaiah *Horowitz), but also in the interpretations of legal and halakhic details based on kabbalistic principles. Ḥayyim b. Abraham *ha-Kohen of Aleppo was particularly distinguished in this field and his book *Mekor Ḥayyim*, with its various parts, paved the way for a new type of kabbalistic literature.

The rise of the Kabbalah and its complete dominance in many circles was accompanied by some hostile reaction. It is true, of course, that the support given to the Kabbalah by men of renowned rabbinic authority prevented vituperative attacks and, in particular, open charges of heresy, but many intellectuals of a more conservative nature were suspicious of the Kabbalah and some even expressed their hostility openly in their books. Among these should be mentioned Elijah *Delmedigo in his *Beḥinat ha-Dat*, and Mordecai Corcos in a special work now lost. A bitter attack on the Kabbalah was launched by Moses b. Samuel Ashkenazi of Candia (c. 1460) in a number of writings preserved in Vatican Ms. 254. An anonymous work, *Ohel Mo'ed* (of the Spanish expulsion period; Jerusalem Ms.), was written in answer to the rabbis who belittled and mocked the Kabbalah. As the Kabbalah spread more widely in the community Leone (Judah Aryeh) *Modena of Venice (about 1625) wrote the classical polemical work against it, *Ari Nohem*, but he did not dare to publish it in his lifetime (ed. N. Libowitz, 1929). However, his book became widely known in manuscript and provoked many reactions. Solomon Delmedigo also criticized the Kabbalah severely in his *Iggeret Aḥuz*, which was also circulated in manuscript only (published by Abraham *Geiger in *Melo Chofnajim*, Berlin, 1840).

In its continued advance, the Kabbalah reached Poland from the second half of the 16th century (see the mass of material in Dembitzer, *Kelilat Yofi*, 2 (1888), 5–10, 117–26). Public enthusiasm reached such proportions that "he who raises objections to the science of the Kabbalah" was considered "liable to excommunication" (R. Joel *Sirkes in a responsum). At first Cordovero's approach was in the forefront, but from the beginning of the 17th century Luria's Kabbalah began to dominate. Nevertheless, before 1648, the actual systematic ideas of the Kabbalah had little influence, as far as can be judged from the writings of Aryeh Loeb Priluk (commentaries to the Zohar), Abraham Kohen Rappaport of Ostrog (in his homilies at the end of the collection of responsa *Eitan ha-Ezraḥi*), Nathan b. Solomon Spira of Cracow (*Sefer Megalleh Amukot*, 1637), Abraham Chajes (in *Holekh Tamim*, Cracow, 1634), and others. Here also the writings of the Sarug school were the first to be circulated; apparently the visit of Sarug himself to Poland shortly after 1600, which is convincingly documented, also left its mark. Great stress was laid here on the war against the power of the *sitra aḥra* crystallized in the *kelippot*, which was divorced from its association with the Lurianic idea of *tikkun* and treated as a basic principle in its own right. The tendency to personify these powers in various demonological forms is featured particularly in the work of Samson b. Pesaḥ *Ostropoler, who after his death (in the *Chmielnicki massacres of 1648) was considered one of the greatest Polish kabbalists. The attempt to create a complete demonological mythology gave this particular stream of Kabbalah a unique character. To some extent it was based on writings falsely ascribed to Isaac Luria, but really composed in Poland (see REJ, 143 (1953), 37–39).

The Kabbalah in Later Times

A generation after Lurianic Kabbalah had become widely established, the messianic tension embodied within it burst out into the Shabbatean movement. Although there were, of course, various local factors involved in the extent to which people's minds were open to the announcement of the Messiah's coming, nevertheless the growing dominance of the Kabbalah in the popular consciousness of the time, and particularly among the fervently religious, must be seen as the general background which made the movement possible and fixed its mode of expression. The profound upheaval which the messianic experience brought in its wake opened the way for great changes in the world of traditional Kabbalah – or in the Kabbalah that the generations preceding Shabbateanism considered to be traditional. When large groups of people continued to hold fast to their faith in the messianic claim of Shabbetai *Ẓevi even after his apostasy, two factors combined to create an abnormal and audacious Shabbatean Kabbalah which was regarded as heretical by the more conservative kabbalists: (1) the idea that the beginning of redemption made it already possible to see the changes that redemption would effect in the structure of the worlds, and that the mystery of creation could be unravelled in terms of visionary revelations which had not been possible before; and (2) the need to fix the place of the Messiah in this process and to justify in this way the personal career of Shabbetai Ẓevi despite all its contradictions. Consequently it is clear that the whole Shabbatean Kabbalah was new, full of daring ideas which had great powers of attraction. Whatever essential originality later Kabbalah contains is derived mainly from the Kabbalah of the Shabbateans, whose principal ideas were the creation of Nathan of *Gaza (d. 1680), Shabbetai's prophet, and of Abraham Miguel *Cardozo (d. 1706). Although their books were not printed, they were frequently copied, and the influence of their ideas on those who were secret adherents of Shabbateanism is easily recognizable, even in several works that did in fact reach the press. The fact that some of the greatest rabbis were to be counted among the concealed Shabbatean faithful meant that there was a twilight area in their printed writings. This new Kabbalah showed its strength mainly in the period from 1670 to 1730.

By contrast, originality in the work of the kabbalists who remained outside the Shabbatean camp was limited. Continuators rather than original thinkers, they concentrated their efforts in two directions: (1) to continue the way that had emerged through the development of the Kabbalah from the Zohar to Isaac Luria; to examine and interpret the words of the earlier authorities; and generally to act as if nothing had happened and as if the Shabbatean explosion had never taken place; and (2) to limit the spread of the Kabbalah among the populace, because of the dangerous consequences they feared Shabbateanism had had for traditional Judaism; and to restore the Kabbalah to its former position, not as a social force but as an esoteric teaching restricted to a privileged few. Hence the predominantly conservative character of the Kabbalah from 1700 onward. Careful not to burn themselves on the hot coals of messianism, its adherents emphasized rather the aspects of meditation, of praying with *kavvanah*, of theosophy, and of moral teaching in the spirit of Kabbalah. New revelations were suspect. Differences of approach began to crystallize particularly around the question of how exactly the teachings of Isaac Luria should be understood as they had been formulated in the different schools of his disciples or of their disciples. Here there was room for quite striking differences of opinion. There were even some kabbalists who, secretly influenced by Shabbateanism, drew a clear boundary between the traditional Lurianic Kabbalah and the area of new revelations and researches which remained closed to outsiders. It was as if there were no point of contact between these two areas, and they were able to remain side by side within the same domain. This was the case, for example, with Jacob Koppel Lifschuetz (one of the secret Shabbateans) in his *Sha'arei Gan Eden* (Koretz, 1803) and, in a different way, with Moses Ḥayyim Luzzatto (d. 1747), who tried to make a distinction between his systematic studies of Lurianic Kabbalah (in *Pitḥei Ḥokhmah* and *Addir ba-Marom*, etc.) and the studies based on the revelations granted to him through his **maggid*.

Most of those who were considered the foremost kabbalists devoted themselves to cultivating the Lurianic tradition, sometimes attempting to combine it with Cordovero's system. The enormous literary output, of which only a fraction has been printed, reflects this state of affairs. In addition to this, selections or anthologies were made, most outstanding of which was the *Yalkut Reuveni* by Reuben *Hoeshke, arranged in two parts, the first according to subject matter (Prague, 1660) and the second following the order of the Torah (Wilmersdorf, 1681). This collection of the aggadic output of the kabbalists had a wide circulation. Anthologies of this type were composed mainly by the Sephardi rabbis up to recent times, mostly with the addition of their own interpretations; e.g., the valuable *Midrash Talpiyyot* of Elijah ha-Kohen ha-Itamari (Smyrna, 1736).

Apart from works of Kabbalah in the precise sense of involvement in, and presentation of, its ideas, a more popular Kabbalah began to spread from the end of the 17th century. Emphasizing mainly the basic ethical foundation and teaching concerning the soul, this popular Kabbalah chose a few isolated ideas from other kabbalistic teachings and embroidered them with general aggadic homilies. The influence of these books was no less than that of the works of technical Kabbalah. Literature of this kind was initiated by great preachers like Bezalel b. Solomon of Slutsk, Aaron Samuel Kaidanover (*Koidanover), and his son Ẓevi Hirsch, author of *Kav ha-Yashar*, and Berechiah Berakh Spira of Poland. Among the Sephardim were Ḥayyim ha-Kohen of Aleppo in his *Torat Ḥakham*, Elijah ha-Kohen ha-Itamari of Smyrna, Ḥayyim ibn *Attar of Morocco in *Or ha-Ḥayyim*, and Mordecai Moses Sasson of Baghdad. Commentaries in this vein on midrashic literature also circulated; e.g., *Nezer ha-Kodesh* by Jehiel Mikhal b. Uzziel (on Gen. R., 1719) and *Zikkukin de-Nura* by Samuel b. Moses Heida (on *Tanna de-Vei Eliyahu*, Prague, 1676). Under the influence of the Kabbalah, the *Midrashei ha-Peli'ah* were composed in Poland in the 17th century. These extremely paradoxical and mystifying sayings, often couched in an early midrashic style, can be understood only through a mixture of kabbalistic allusion and ingenuity. According to Abraham, the son of the Gaon of Vilna (in *Rav Pe'alim*, 97), a collection of this type, *Midrash Peli'ah*, was printed in Venice in the 17th century. Other such collections are known from the 19th century.

In this period there were important kabbalistic centers in Morocco where a very rich literature was produced, although most of it remained in manuscript. The Kabbalah was dominant in other North African countries and the emphasis was mainly on Lurianic Kabbalah in all its ramifications. A mixture of all the systems is evident among the kabbalists of Yemen and Kurdistan, where the Kabbalah struck very deep roots, particularly from the 17th century onward. The most prominent Yemenite kabbalists, both from Sana, were the poet Shalom b. Joseph Shabbazi (17th century), to whom has been attributed the *Midrash Ḥemdat Yamin* on the Torah, and Joseph Ẓalaḥ (d. 1806), author of the commentary *Eẓ Ḥayyim* on the liturgy according to the Yemeni rite (*Tikhlal*, Jerusalem, 1894). The Hariri family of kabbalists was active in *Ruwandiz in Kurdistan in the 17th and 18th centuries, and most of their writings are extant in manuscript. Later centers were formed in Aleppo and Baghdad, whose kabbalists were renowned in their own lands. In all these countries, and also in Italy, religious poetry of a kabbalistic nature developed and spread widely. The main later poets were Moses Zacuto, Benjamin b. Eliezer ha-Kohen, and Moses Ḥayyim Luzzatto in Italy, Jacob b. Ẓur in Morocco (*Et le-Khol Ḥefeẓ*, Alexandria, 1893), Solomon Molcho (the second) in Salonika and Jerusalem (d. 1788), and Mordecai Abadi in Aleppo.

In contrast to these regional centers, a special position was occupied by the new center established in Jerusalem in the middle of the 18th century, headed by the Yemenite kabbalist Shalom Mizraḥi *Sharabi (ha-Reshash; d. 1777), the most important kabbalist throughout the Orient and North Africa. He was thought to be inspired from on high and in this respect equalled only by Isaac Luria himself. In his personality and in the yeshivah Bet El which continued his tradition for nearly 200 years in the Old City of Jerusalem (it was destroyed in an earthquake in 1927), a twofold approach crystallized: (1) a definite, almost exclusive, concentration on Lurianic Kabbalah based on the writings of Vital, particularly his *Shemonah She'arim*, and the adoption of the doctrine of *kavvanot* and mystical contemplation during prayer as being central to Kabbalah in both its theoretical and practical aspects; (2) a complete break with activity on the social level and a shift toward the esotericism of a spiritual elite, who embody the exclusive, pietist life. There are obvious points of similarity between this later form of Kabbalah and the type of Muslim mysticism (Sufism) prevailing in those lands from which Bet El drew its adherents. Sharabi himself wrote a prayer book (printed in Jerusalem in 1911) with detailed elaborations of the *kavvanot*, outnumbering even those transmitted in the *Sha'ar ha-Kavvanot* in the name of Luria. The training of the members of this circle, popularly known as the *Mekhavvenim*, required them to spend many years on the spiritual mastering of these *kavvanot*, which every member was duty-bound to copy in their entirety. From the first two generations after Bet El was founded a number of *shetarei hitkasherut* ("bills of association") still exist, in which the signatories pledged themselves to a life of complete spiritual partnership both in this world and in the world to come. Apart from Sharabi, the leaders of the group in the first generation were Yom Tov *Algazi (1727–1802), Ḥayyim Joseph David *Azulai, and Ḥayyim della Rosa (d. 1786). As in the case of the writings of Isaac Luria, Sharabi's books also gave rise to an abundant exegetical and textual literature. (For a detailed list of the Bet El kabbalists see Frumkin, *Toledot Ḥakhmei Yerushalayim*, 3 (1930), 47–54, 107–21.) The supreme authority of this circle as the true center of Kabbalah was quickly established throughout all Islamic countries and its position was very strong. Many kabbalistic legends were woven around Sharabi. The last of the chief mainstays of Bet El were Mas'ud Kohen Alḥadad (d. 1927), Ben-Zion Ḥazan (1877–1951), and Ovadiah Hadayah (1891–1969).

Only a few chosen individuals, naturally, went to the center at Bet El. Among those leaders of Kabbalah who remained in their own countries in the East, particular mention should be made of Abraham *Azulai of Marrakesh (d. 1741), Abraham Tobiana of Algiers (d. 1793), Shalom *Buzaglo of Marrakesh (d. 1780), Joseph Sadboon of Tunis (18th century), and Jacob Abi-Ḥasira (d. 1880); Sasson b. Mordecai Shandookh (1747–1830) and Joseph Ḥayyim b. *Elijah (d. 1909) were the main kabbalists of Baghdad. Several of the Turkish and Moroccan kabbalists of the 18th century were wavering with regard to Shabbateanism, like Gedaliah Ḥayon of Jerusalem, Meir *Bikayam of Smyrna, and David di Medina of Aleppo. The classic work to emerge from the kabbalists of these circles, who clung to all the minutiae of the tradition but at the same time did not sever their links with Shabbateanism, was **Ḥemdat Yamim*, by an anonymous author (Smyrna, 1731–32), which was enormously influential in the East.

The later development of the Kabbalah in Poland did not lead to the establishment of a center like Bet El, but a center of a slightly similar type existed between 1740 and the beginning of the 19th century in the *Klaus (*kloiyz*) at Brody. In this era the *Yoshevei ha-Klaus* ("the Sages of the Klaus") constituted an organized institution of kabbalists who worked together and were consulted as men of particular authority. At the head of this group were Ḥayyim b. Menahem Zanzer (d. 1783), and Moses b. Hillel Ostrer (from Ostrog; d. 1785). When the new ḥasidic movement developed in Podolia and became an additional and independent stage in the growth of Jewish mysticism and of the wider popularization of the kabbalistic message, the kabbalists of the Klaus remained outside it and indeed stood aloof from it. In this center, too, great emphasis was laid on profound study of Lurianic Kabbalah. The only link between the two centers was provided by Abraham Gershon of *Kutow (Kuty), the brother-in-law of Israel b. *Eliezer, the Ba'al Shem Tov, who was at first a member of the Klaus at Brody, and who went to Ereẓ Israel and in his later years joined the kabbalists of Bet El, or at least was close to them in spirit. Many of the kabbalistic works published in Poland in the 18th century received the official approval of the Klaus group; but even before the establishment of this center the study of Kabbalah flourished in many places in Poland, as well as in Germany and other Hapsburg lands.

At this time many kabbalists came in particular from Lithuania, like Judah Leib Pohovitzer at the end of the 17th century, and Israel *Jaffe, the author of *Or Yisrael* (1701). In the 18th century the foremost Lithuanian kabbalists were Aryeh Leib *Epstein of Grodno (d. 1775) and R. Elijah, the Gaon of Vilna, whose approach set the pattern for most 19th-century Lithuanian kabbalists. Especially notable among the latter were Isaac Eisik (Ḥaver) *Wildmann, author of *Pitḥei She'arim*, and Solomon *Eliashov (1841–1924), who wrote *Leshem Shevo ve-Aḥlamah*; both works are systematic discourses on Lurianic Kabbalah. Many kabbalistic works appeared in Poland and

Germany from the end of the 17th century, and just as many ethical treatises based on kabbalistic principles. Attempts at systematization occur in *Va-Yakhel Moshe* by Moses b. Menahem *Graf of Prague (Dessau 1699) and several books by Eliezer Fischel b. Isaac of *Strzyzów. Literature which based its religious fervor on the power of "revelation from above" was generally suspected, not without reason, of Shabbatean tendencies, but books of this genre did exist within the more conservative Kabbalah, e.g., *Sefer Berit Olam* by Isaac b. Jacob Ashkenazi (vol. 1 Vilna, 1820, vol. 2 Jerusalem, 1937). The development in Poland in the 18th century was linked to a great extent with the influence of Italian kabbalists, and particularly with the *Shomer Emunim* of Joseph *Ergas and the *Mishnat Ḥasidim* and *Yosher Levav* of Immanuel Ḥai *Ricchi, which presented different approaches to an understanding of Lurianic teaching. The kabbalistic revelations of Moses David *Valle of Modena (d. 1777) remained a closed book, but copies of the writings of Moses Ḥayyim Luzzatto reached the Lithuanian kabbalists, and some of them were known to the early Ḥasidim, on whom they made a great impression. Ergas was followed by Baruch b. Abraham of *Kosov in his various introductions to the Kabbalah, which remained unpublished until some 100 years after his death. An orthodox systematic presentation was made by the kabbalist Jacob Meir Spielmann of Bucharest in *Tal Orot* (Lvov, 1876–83). Attempts were made once again to link Kabbalah with philosophic studies, as in the *Ma'amar Efsharit ha-Tiv'it* by Naphtali Hirsch *Goslar, the early writings of Solomon *Maimon (see A. Geiger, JZWL, 4, 1866, 192–6), which remained in manuscript, and particularly the *Sefer ha-Berit* of Phinehas Elijah Horowitz of Vilna (Bruenn, 1897) and the *Imrei Binah* by Isaac *Satanow, one of the first *maskilim* in Berlin.

In contrast to these attempts at a deeper study of Kabbalah, the ḥasidic movement broadened the canvas and strove to make kabbalistic ideas more and more popular, often by means of a new and more literal interpretation of its principles (see *Ḥasidism). In this movement Jewish mysticism proved to be once again a living force and a social phenomenon. In the *Chabad branch of Ḥasidism an original form of Kabbalah was created, which had a clear psychological objective and produced a variegated literature; but in the ḥasidic camp too there were currents that went back to a study of Lurianic Kabbalah. This Kabbalah flourished anew for a century, particularly in the school of Ẓevi Hirsch of *Zhidachov (Zydaczów; d. 1831) which produced a rich kabbalistic literature. The heads of this school were Isaac Eizik Jehiel of *Komarno (d. 1874), Isaac Eizik of Zhidachov (d. 1873), and Joseph Meir Weiss of *Spinka (1838–1909).

At the beginning of the nationalist ferment of the 19th century two kabbalists were active – Elijah *Guttmacher in Graetz (1796–1874) and Judah *Alkalai in Belgrade (1798–1878); the latter's Zionist writings are suffused with the spirit of Kabbalah. In Central and Western Europe the influence of the Kabbalah swiftly declined, particularly after the conflict between Jacob *Emden and Jonathan *Eybeschuetz concerning the latter's association with Shabbateanism. Nathan *Adler in Frankfurt gathered around himself a circle which had kabbalistic tendencies, and his pupil, Seckel Loeb *Wormser, "the Baal Shem of Michelstadt" (d. 1847), was for some time removed by the government from the rabbinate of his city, "because of his superstitious kabbalistic faith" – apparently as the result of intrigue by the *maskilim*. While Phinehas Katzenelenbogen, the rabbi of Boskovice in the middle of the 18th century, was cataloging the kabbalistic dreams and experiences of his family (Oxford Ms. 2315), and in the circle of Nathan Adler, as in the circles of the later Frankists in Offenbach, claims to prophetic dreams were made, the rabbis were withdrawing further and further from any manifestation of a mystical tendency or a leaning toward the Kabbalah. When Elhanan Hillel Wechsler (d. 1894) published his dreams concerning the holocaust which was about to befall German Jewry (1881), the leading Orthodox rabbis tried to prevent him from doing so, and his kabbalistic leanings led to his being persecuted. The last book by a German kabbalist to be printed was *Torei Zahav* by Hirz Abraham Scheyer of Mainz (d. 1822) published in Mainz in 1875. However, various kinds of kabbalistic literature continued to be written in Eastern Europe and the Near East up to the time of the Holocaust, and in Israel until the present. The transformation of kabbalistic ideas into the forms of modern thought may be seen in the writings of such 20th-century thinkers as R. Abraham Isaac *Kook (*Orot ha-Kodesh, Arpilei Tohar, Reish Millin*); in the Hebrew books of Hillel *Zeitlin; and in the German writings of Isaac Bernays (*Der Bibel'sche Orient*, 1821) and Oscar *Goldberg (*Die Wirklichkeit der Hebraeer*, Berlin, 1925).

The fervent assault on the Kabbalah by the Haskalah movement in the 19th century limited its deep influence in Eastern Europe to a marked degree; but it succeeded hardly at all in lessening the influence of the Kabbalah in Oriental countries, where the life of the Jewish community was deeply affected by it until recent times. An exception was the anti-kabbalistic movement in the Yemen known as *Dor De'ah* ("Doerde"). Headed by Yiḥya *Kafaḥ (Kafiḥ) of Sana (d. 1931), it caused much strife among the Jews of Yemen. Apart from the accusatory and defamatory writings from 1914 onward, there appeared in connection with this controversy the *Milḥamot ha-Shem* of Kafaḥ and the reply of the Yemeni rabbis, *Emunat ha-Shem* (Jerusalem 1931 and 1938). This voluminous defense was actually written by an 18-year-old scholar, Joseph Jacob Zubiri.

THE BASIC IDEAS OF KABBALAH

As is apparent from the preceding account, the Kabbalah is not a single system with basic principles which can be explained in a simple and straightforward fashion, but consists rather of a multiplicity of different approaches, widely separated from one another and sometimes completely contradictory. Nevertheless, from the date of the appearance of the *Sefer ha-Bahir* the Kabbalah possessed a common range of symbols and ideas which its followers accepted as a mystical tradition, although they differed from one another in their interpretation of the precise meaning of these symbols, of the philosophical implications inherent in them, and also of the speculative contexts through which it became possible to regard this common framework as a kind of mystical theology of Judaism. But even within this system two stages must be differentiated:

(1) the range of symbols of the early Kabbalah up to and including the Safed period, i.e., the theory of the *Sefirot* as it crystallized in Gerona, in the various parts of the Zohar, and in the works of kabbalists up to Cordovero; and

(2) the range of symbols created by Lurianic Kabbalah, which in the main dominated kabbalistic thinking since the 17th century until recent times. The Lurianic system goes beyond the doctrine of the *Sefirot*, although it makes a wide and emphatic use of its principles, and is based on the symbolism of the *parẓufim*.

In addition to this, two basic tendencies can be discerned in kabbalistic teaching. One has a strongly mystical direction expressed in images and symbols whose inner proximity to the realm of myth is often very striking. The character of the other is speculative, an attempt to give a more or less defined ideational meaning to the symbols. To a large extent this outlook presents kabbalistic speculation as a continuation of philosophy, a kind of additional layer superimposed upon it through a combination of the powers of rational thought and meditative contemplation. The speculative expositions of kabbalistic teaching largely depended on the ideas of neoplatonic and Aristotelian philosophy, as they were known in the Middle Ages, and were couched in the terminology customary to these fields. Hence the cosmology of the Kabbalah is borrowed from them and is not at all original, being expressed in the common medieval doctrine of the separate intellects and the spheres. Its real originality lies in the problems that transcend this cosmology. Like Jewish philosophy, the speculative Kabbalah moved between two great heritages, the Bible and talmudic Judaism on the one hand, and Greek philosophy in its different forms on the other. The original and additional feature, however, was the new religious impulse which sought to integrate itself into these traditions and to illuminate them from within.

God and Creation

All kabbalistic systems have their origin in a fundamental distinction regarding the problem of the Divine. In the abstract, it is possible to think of God either as God Himself with reference to His own nature alone or as God in His relation to His creation. However, all kabbalists agree that no religious knowledge of God, even of the most exalted kind, can be gained except through contemplation of the relationship of God to creation. God in Himself, the absolute Essence, lies beyond any speculative or even ecstatic comprehension. The attitude of the Kabbalah toward God may be defined as a mystical agnosticism, formulated in a more or less extreme way and close to the standpoint of neoplatonism. In order to express this unknowable aspect of the Divine the early kabbalists of Provence and Spain coined the term *Ein-Sof* ("Infinite"). This expression cannot be traced to a translation of a Latin or Arabic philosophical term. Rather it is a hypostatization which, in contexts dealing with the infinity of God or with His thought that "extends without end" (*le-ein sof* or *ad le-ein sof*), treats the adverbial relation as if it were a noun and uses this as a technical term. *Ein-Sof* first appears in this sense in the writings of Isaac the Blind and his disciples, particularly in the works of Azriel of Gerona, and later in the Zohar, the *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut*, and writings of that period. While the kabbalists were still aware of the origin of the term they did not use it with the definite article, but treated it as a proper noun; it was only from 1300 onward that they began to speak of *ha-Ein-Sof* as well, and generally identify it with other common epithets for the Divine. This later usage, which spread through all the literature, indicates a distinct personal and theistic concept in contrast to the vacillation between an idea of this type and a neutral impersonal concept of *Ein-Sof* found in some of the earlier sources. At first it was not clear whether the term *Ein-Sof* referred to "Him who has no end" or to "that which has no end." This latter, neutral aspect was emphasized by stressing that *Ein-Sof* should not be qualified by any of the attributes or personal epithets of God found in Scripture, nor should such eulogies as *Barukh Hu* or *Yitbarakh* (found only in the later literature) be added to it. In fact, however, there were various attitudes to the nature of *Ein-Sof* from the very beginning; Azriel, for example, tended toward an impersonal interpretation of the term, while Asher b. David employed it in a distinctly personal and theistic way.

Ein-Sof is the absolute perfection in which there are no distinctions and no differentiations, and according to some even no volition. It does not reveal itself in a way that makes knowledge of its nature possible, and it is not accessible even to the innermost thought (*hirhur ha-lev*) of the contemplative. Only through the finite nature of every existing thing, through the actual existence of creation itself, is it possible to deduce the existence of *Ein-Sof* as the first infinite cause. The author of the *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut* put forward the extreme thesis (not without arousing the opposition of more cautious kabbalists) that the whole biblical revelation, and the Oral Law as well, contained no reference to *Ein-Sof*, and that only the mystics had received some hint of it. Hence the author of this treatise, followed by several other writers, was led to the daring conclusion that only the revealed God can in reality be called "God," and not the hidden "*deus absconditus*," who cannot be an object of religious thought. When ideas of this kind returned in a later period in Shabbatean and quasi-Shabbatean Kabbalah, between 1670 and 1740, they were considered heretical.

Other terms or images signifying the domain of the hidden God that lies beyond any impulse toward creation occur in the writings of the Gerona kabbalists and in the literature of the speculative school. Examples of these terms are *Mah she-ein ha-maḥashavah masseget* ("that which thought cannot attain" – sometimes used also to describe the first emanation), *ha-or ha-mit'allem* ("the concealed light"), *seter ha-ta'alumah* ("the concealment of secrecy"), *yitron* ("superfluity" – apparently a translation of the neoplatonic term *hyperousia*), *ha-aḥdut ha-shavah* ("indistinguishable unity," in the sense of a unity in which all opposites are equal and in which there is no differentiation), or even simply *ha-mahut* ("the essence"). The factor common to all these terms is that *Ein-Sof* and its synonyms are above or beyond thought. A certain wavering between the personal and the neutral approach to the concept of *Ein Sof* can also be seen in the main part of the Zohar, while in the later stratum, in the *Ra'aya Meheimna* and the *Tikkunim*, a personal concept is paramount. *Ein-Sof* is often identified with the Aristotelian "cause of all causes," and, through the kabbalistic use of neoplatonic idiom, with the "root of all roots." While all the definitions above have a common negative element, occasionally in the Zohar there is a remarkable positive designation which gives the name *Ein-Sof* to the nine lights of thought that shine from the Divine Thought, thus bringing *Ein-Sof* out of its concealment and down to the more humble level of emanation (the contrast between the two concepts emerges through comparison between various passages, e.g., 1, 21a, and 2, 239a with 2, 226a). In later development of Lurianic Kabbalah, however, in distinct opposition to the view of the earlier kabbalists, several differentiations were made even within *Ein-Sof*. In Kabbalah, therefore, *Ein-Sof* is absolute reality, and there was no question as to its spiritual and transcendental nature. This was so even though the lack of clarity in some of the expressions used by the kabbalists in speaking of the relationship of the revealed God to His creation gives the impression that the very substance of God Himself is also immanent within creation (see below on Kabbalah and pantheism). In all kabbalistic systems, light-symbolism is very commonly used with regard to *Ein-Sof*, although it is emphasized that this use is merely hyperbolical, and in later Kabbalah a clear distinction was sometimes made between *Ein-Sof* and "the light of *Ein-Sof*." In the popular Kabbalah which finds expression in ethical writings and ḥasidic literature, *Ein-Sof* is merely a synonym for the traditional God of religion, a linguistic usage far removed from that of the classical Kabbalah, where there is evidence of the sharp distinction between *Ein-Sof* and the revealed Divine Creator. This can be seen not only in the formulations of the early kabbalists (e.g., Isaac of Acre in his commentary to the *Sefer Yeẓirah*, in: KS 31 (1956), 391) but also among the later ones; Barukh Kosover (c. 1770) writes: "*Ein-Sof* is not His proper name, but a word which signifies his complete concealment, and our sacred tongue has no word like these two to signify his concealment. And it is not right to say '*Ein-Sof*, blessed be He' or 'may He be blessed' because He cannot be blessed by our lips" (*Ammud ha-Avodah*, 1863, 211d).

The whole problem of creation, even in its most recondite aspects, is bound up with the revelation of the hidden God and His outward movement – even though "there is nothing outside Him" (Azriel), for in the last resort "all comes from the One, and all returns to the One," according to the neoplatonic formula adopted by the early kabbalists. In kabbalistic teaching the transition of *Ein-Sof* to "manifestation," or to what might be called "God the Creator," is connected with the question of the first emanation and its definition. Although there were widely differing views on the nature of the first step from concealment to manifestation, all stressed that any account of this process was not an objective description of a process in *Ein-Sof*; it was no more than could be conjectured from the perspective of created beings and was expressed through their ideas, which in reality cannot be applied to God at all. Therefore, descriptions of these processes have only a symbolic or, at best, an approximate value. Nevertheless, side by side with this thesis, there is detailed speculation which frequently claims objective reality for the processes it describes. This is one of the paradoxes inherent in Kabbalah, as in other attempts to explain the world in a mystical fashion.

The decision to emerge from concealment into manifestation and creation is not in any sense a process which is a necessary consequence of the essence of *Ein-Sof*; it is a free decision which remains a constant and impenetrable mystery (Cordovero, at the beginning of *Elimah*). Therefore, in the view of most kabbalists, the question of the ultimate motivation of creation is not a legitimate one, and the assertion found in many books that God wished to reveal the measure of His goodness is there simply as an expedient that is never systematically developed. These first outward steps, as a result of which Divinity becomes accessible to the contemplative probings of the kabbalist, take place within God Himself and do not "leave the category of the Divine" (Cordovero). Here the Kabbalah departs from all rationalistic presentations of creation and assumes the character of a "theosophic" doctrine, that is, one concerned with the inner life and processes of God Himself. A distinction in the stages of such processes in the unity of the Godhead can be made only by human abstraction, but in reality they are bound together and unified in a manner beyond all human understanding. The basic differences in the various kabbalistic systems are already apparent with regard to the first step, and since such ideas were presented in obscure and figurative fashion in the classical literature, such as the *Bahir* and the Zohar, exponents of widely differing opinions were all able to look to them for authority. The first problem, which from the start elicited different answers, was whether the first step was one toward the outer world at all, or rather a step inward, a withdrawal of *Ein-Sof* into the depths of itself. Early kabbalists and Cordovero adopted the former view, which led them to a theory of emanation close to the neoplatonic although not absolutely identical with it. But Lurianic Kabbalah, which took the latter position, speaks not only of a return of created things to their source in God but also of a return (*regressus*) of God into the depths of Himself preceding creation, a process identifiable with that of emanation only by means of interpreting it as a mere figure of speech. Such an interpretation did, in fact, appear before long (see the section on Lurianic Kabbalah). The concepts which occur most frequently in the description of this first step mainly concern will, thought, *Ayin* ("absolute Nothingness"), and the inner radiation of *Ein-Sof* in the supernal lights called "splendors" (*ẓaḥẓaḥot*), which are higher than any other emanation.

WILL. If *Ein-Sof* is denied any attributes then it must be separated from the Divine Will, however exalted the latter is and however clearly connected with its possessor, which is *Ein-Sof.* The kabbalists of Gerona frequently speak of the hidden God working through the Primal Will, which is, as it were, encompassed by Him and united with Him. This, the highest of emanations, which is either emanated from His essence, or concealed within His power, constitutes the ultimate level to which thought can penetrate. Mention is made of "the infinite Will" (*ha-raẓon ad ein-sof*), "infinite exaltation" (*ha-rom ad ein-sof*) or "that which thought cannot ever attain," and the reference is to that unity of action between *Ein-Sof* and its first emanation, which is bound to and returns constantly to its source. In some works, e.g., Azriel's *Perush ha-Aggadot*, there is hardly any mention of *Ein-Sof* at all; instead, the Primal Will appears in expressions which are generally connected with *Ein-Sof* itself. Was this Will co-eternal with *Ein-Sof* itself, or did it originate only at the time of its emanation, so that it is possible to think of a situation in which *Ein-Sof* existed without Will, i.e., volition to create or be manifested? Several of the kabbalists of Gerona and their followers tended to believe that the Primal Will was eternal, and thus they fixed the beginning of the process of emanation at the second step or *Sefirah*, which was consequently called *reshit* ("beginning"), identified with the Divine Wisdom of God (see below). Most of the statements in the main part of the Zohar follow this view. What is called "the infinite Will," in the sense of the unity of *Ein-Sof* with the Will and their joint manifestation in the first *Sefirah*, is given the figurative name *Attika Kaddisha* ("the Holy Ancient One") in the Zohar. Also, in those passages which speak of *Ein-Sof* and the beginning of emanation, this beginning (*reshit*) is always related to the second *Sefirah*, there being no mention that what preceded it also came into being in time and had not been eternally emanated. Therefore in some cases the first emanation is seen as only an external aspect of *Ein-Sof*: "It is called *Ein-Sof* internally and *Keter Elyon* externally" (*Tikkunei Zohar*, end of *Tikkun* 22). However, this ordering occurs only in those passages which discuss the process in detail; in those dealing with the process of emanation in general there is no differentiation between the status of the first *Sefirah* and that of the other *Sefirot*. As the Kabbalah developed in Spain the tendency prevailed to make a clear distinction between *Ein-Sof* and the first emanation, which now began to be considered neither eternal nor pre-existent. Among the kabbalists of Safed, indeed, the contrary view was considered almost heretical, since it made possible the identification of *Ein-Sof* with the first *Sefirah*. In fact this identification is actually found in several early kabbalistic sources, and the anonymous author of *Sefer ha-Shem*, mistakenly attributed to Moses de Leon (c. 1325, printed in *Heikhal ha-Shem*, Venice, 1601, 4b), criticizes the Zohar because of it, saying it is contrary to "the view of the greatest kabbalists" and an error made possible only by the false assumption that the *Ein-Sof* and first emanation are one.

The early kabbalists, particularly Azriel of Gerona and Asher b. David, considered the Divine Will as that aspect of the Divine Essence which alone was active in creation, and was implanted there by the power of *Ein-Sof.* Communion with the Supreme Will was the final aim of prayer, for it was "the source of all life," including emanation itself. Does this specific concept of the Will as the supreme Divine Power, which, according to the Gerona kabbalists and the Zohar, takes precedence even over Divine Thought and pure intellect, contain traces of the indirect influence of Solomon ibn Gabirol's central idea in *Mekor Ḥayyim*? A historical connection seems clearly apparent in the teachings of Isaac ibn Latif (fl. 1230–60), who apparently lived in Toledo and could have read Gabirol's book in the Arabic original. His theory is a mixture of Gabirol's ideas and those of the first generations of Spanish Kabbalah. His view of the Will can be found mainly in his *Ginzei ha-Melekh* and *Ẓurat ha-Olam*. "The primordial Will" (*ha-ḥefeẓ ha-kadmon*) is not completely identical with God, but is a garment "clinging to the substance of the wearer on all sides." It was "the first thing to be emanated from the true pre-existent Being" in a continuing process which had no real beginning. Above matter and form, this Will unites the two in their first union, thus bringing into being what Ibn Latif calls "the first created thing" (*ha-nivra ha-rishon*). His description of the details of the processes that take place below the level of the Will differs from that of the other kabbalists; it was not accepted nor did it have any influence on the theory of emanation as it was formulated in later Kabbalah. As the tendency to all but identify *Ein-Sof* with the first *Sefirah* became less and less pronounced, so the distinction between Ein-Sof and the Will was emphasized to a correspondingly greater degree, although the question as to whether the Will was created or eternal continued to be surrounded by controversy, or was consciously obscured.

THOUGHT. Another concept basic to the whole problem of the first manifestation of *Ein-Sof* is that of "Thought" (*maḥashavah*). In the *Sefer ha-Bahir* and the writings of Isaac the Blind no special status is accorded to the Will, whose place is taken by "the Thought which has no end or finality," and which exists as the highest state, from which all else has emanated, without being designated as an emanation itself. Accordingly, the first source of all emanation is sometimes also called "pure Thought" – a domain impenetrable to merely human thought. According to this theory, the whole creative process depends on an intellectual rather than a volitional act, and the history of Kabbalah is marked by a struggle between these two views of creation. The essential identity of Will and Thought was insisted on by Ibn Latif alone. For most kabbalists, that Thought which thinks only itself and has no other content was demoted to a level below that of Will and became identified with the Divine Wisdom, which proceeded to contemplate not only itself but the whole plan of creation and the paradigma of all the universe. Therefore, the Gerona kabbalists and the author of the Zohar speak of "the Will of Thought," i.e., the Will which activates Thought, and not vice versa. The highest aspect of *ḥokhmah* ("Wisdom"), which the Gerona kabbalists speak of a great deal, is called *haskel* (from Jer. 9:23), a term denoting divine understanding, the activity of the *sekhel* ("divine intellect"), whatever the content of this might be, and not, as with *ḥokhmah*, its crystallization into a system of thought. The concept of *haskel* took the place of Will among those who were disinclined to accept the theory or were perplexed by it, particularly in the school of Isaac the Blind.

NOTHINGNESS. More daring is the concept of the first step in the manifestation of *Ein-Sof* as *ayin* or *afisah* ("nothing," "nothingness"). Essentially, this nothingness is the barrier confronting the human intellectual faculty when it reaches the limits of its capacity. In other words, it is a subjective statement affirming that here is a realm which no created being can intellectually comprehend, and which, therefore, can only be defined as "nothingness." This idea is associated also with its opposite concept, namely, that since in reality there is no differentiation in God's first step toward manifestation, this step cannot be defined in any qualitative manner and can thus only be described as "nothingness." *Ein-Sof* which turns toward creation manifests itself, therefore, as *ayin ha-gamur* ("complete nothingness"), or, in another version: "God Who is called *Ein-Sof* in respect of Himself is called *Ayin* in respect of His first self-revelation." This daring symbolism is associated with most mystical theories concerning an understanding of the Divine, and its particular importance is seen in the radical transformation of the doctrine of *creatio ex nihilo* into a mystical theory stating the precise opposite of what appears to be the literal meaning of the phrase. From this point of view it makes no difference whether *Ein-Sof* itself is the true *ayin* or whether this *ayin* is the first emanation of *Ein-Sof.* From either angle, the monotheistic theory of *creatio ex nihilo* loses its original meaning and is completely reversed by the esoteric content of the formula. Since the early kabbalists allowed no interruption in the stream of emanation from the first *Sefirah* to its consolidation in the worlds familiar to medieval cosmology, *creatio ex nihilo* may be interpreted as creation from within God Himself. This view, however, remained a secret belief and was concealed behind the use of the orthodox formula; even an authoritative kabbalist like Naḥmanides was able to speak in his commentary to the Torah of *creatio ex nihilo* in its literal sense as the free creation of the primeval matter from which everything was made, while simultaneously implying, as shown by his use of the word *ayin* in his commentary to Job 28:12 and by kabbalistic allusions in his commentary to Genesis 1, that the true mystical meaning of the text is the emergence of all things from the absolute nothingness of God. Basing their speculations on the commentary to the *Sefer Yeẓirah* by Joseph Ashkenazi (attributed in the printed editions to Abraham b. David), kabbalists who held an undoubted theistic view tried to rescue the original significance of the formula by defining the first *Sefirah* as the first effect, which is absolutely separated from its cause, as if the transition from cause to effect involved a great leap from *Ein-Sof* to *ayin*, a view which conformed with the traditional theological picture. However, in order to escape the inner logic of the early theory, a few later kabbalists, from the 16th century onward, tried to add a new act of *creatio ex nihilo* after the emanation of the *Sefirot* or at each stage of emanation and creation. Doubts of this kind did not exist in Spanish Kabbalah, nor in the works of Cordovero, although in the *Elimah Rabbati* he found it hard to decide between a symbolic and a literal interpretation of the formula. David b. Abraham ha-Lavan in *Masoret ha-Berit* (end of 13th century) defined the *ayin* ("nothingness") as "having more being than any other being in the world, but since it is simple, and all other simple things are complex when compared with its simplicity, so in comparison it is called 'nothing'" (*Koveẓ al-Yad*, new series, i, 1936, 31). We also find the figurative use of the term *imkei ha-ayin* ("the depths of nothingness"), and it is said (*ibid.*) that "if all the powers returned to nothingness, the Primeval One who is the cause of all would remain in equal oneness in the depths of nothingness."

THE THREE LIGHTS. Another idea connected with the transition from the Emanator to the emanated originated in a responsum (early 13th century) attributed to Hai Gaon, and subsequently aroused a great deal of speculation (see *Origines*…, 367–75). There it is stated that, above all emanated powers, there exist in "the root of all roots" three hidden lights which have no beginning, "for they are the name and essence of the root of all roots and are beyond the grasp of thought." As the "primeval inner light" spreads throughout the hidden root two other lights are kindled, called *or meẓuḥẓaḥ* and *or ẓaḥ* ("sparkling light"). It is stressed that these three lights constitute one essence and one root which is "infinitely hidden" (*ne'lam ad le-ein sof*), forming a kind of kabbalistic trinity that precedes the emanation of the ten *Sefirot*. However, it is not sufficiently clear whether the reference is to three lights between the Emanator and the first emanation, or to three lights irradiating one another within the substance of the Emanator itself – both possibilities can be supported. In the terminology of the Kabbalah these three lights are called *ẓaḥẓaḥot* ("splendors"), and they are thought of as the roots of the three upper *Sefirot* which emanate from them (see Cordovero, *Pardes Rimmonim*, ch. 11). The need to posit this strange trinity is explained by the urge to make the ten *Sefirot* conform with the 13 attributes predicated of God. It is hardly surprising that Christians later found an allusion to their own doctrine of the trinity in this theory, although it contains none of the personal hypostases characteristic of the Christian trinity. In any case, the hypothesis of the *ẓaḥẓaḥot* led to further complication in the theory of emanation and to the predication of roots in the essence of *Ein-Sof* to everything that was emanated. In the generation following the publication of the Zohar, David b. Judah Ḥasid, in his *Mare'ot ha-Ẓove'ot*, mentions ten *ẓaḥẓaḥot* placed between *Ein-Sof* and the emanation of the *Sefirot*.

Emanation and the Concept of the *Sefirot*

Scholars have long been engaged in a controversy over whether or not the Kabbalah teaches emanation as the emergence of all things from within God Himself. In this controversy there is considerable conceptual confusion. Like several scholars before him, A. Frank interpreted the Kabbalah as a pure emanatist system, which he considered identical with a clearly pantheistic approach. He therefore thought of emanation as an actual going-forth of the substance of God and not simply of the power of the Emanator. He based his interpretation on the Zohar, and especially on later Lurianic teaching, although neither of these two sources contains any reference to a direct theory of substantive emanation. In contrast to Frank, D.H. Joel set out to prove that the Zohar and early Kabbalah in general contained nothing of the theory of emanation, which Joel believed first appeared in the writings of "the modern commentators" of the 16th century, where it was the result of faulty interpretation. In his opinion there is no significant difference between "the pure theology" of Jewish medieval thinkers, and "the true Kabbalah," the very foundation of which is the idea of the free creation of primeval substance *ex nihilo* in the literal meaning of the term. There is no doubt that Joel and Frank were equally mistaken, and that both were at fault in interpreting the basic content of Lurianic Kabbalah in pantheistic terms. Inasmuch as early Kabbalah needed a theoretical foundation it was largely influenced by neoplatonism; and although it proposed a definite process of emanation – the theory of the emanation of *Sefirot* – this was a kind of activity which took place within the Divine itself. The God who manifests Himself in His *Sefirot* is the very same God of traditional religious belief, and consequently, despite all the complexities such an idea involves, the emanation of the *Sefirot* is a process within God Himself. The hidden God in the aspect of *Ein-Sof* and the God manifested in the emanation of *Sefirot* are one and the same, viewed from two different angles. There is therefore a clear distinction between the stages of emanation in the neoplatonic systems, which are not conceived as processes within the Godhead, and the kabbalistic approach. In Kabbalah, emanation as an intermediate stage between God and creation was reassigned to the Divine, and the problem of the continuation of this process outside the Godhead gave rise to various interpretations. At first there was no need to conclude that worlds below the level of the *Sefirot*, and the corporeal world itself, were also emanated from the *Sefirot*. Perhaps intentionally, the kabbalists dealt with this point in a highly obscure fashion, frequently leaving open the way to the most diverse interpretations. God's actions outside the realm of the *Sefirot* of emanation led to the emergence of created beings separated from the *Sefirot* by an abyss, although few kabbalists maintained unambiguously that the process of emanation came to an absolute end with the final *Sefirah* and that what followed constituted a completely new beginning. The early kabbalists agreed that all creatures below the *Sefirot* had an existence of their own outside the Divine, and were distinguished from it in their independent existence since their state was that of created beings, although they had their archetypes in the *Sefirot*. Even given the belief that from the point of view of God they have their root in His being, nevertheless they are in themselves separated from His essence and possess a nature of their own. Distinctions of this kind are common to the Kabbalah and to other mystical theologies, like those of medieval Islam and Christianity, but they were generally neglected in most kabbalistic discussions of emanation, with all the consequent unclarity that this entailed. Particularly in a number of important books which do not attempt to build their doctrines on a firm theoretical foundation, such as the *Bahir*, the Zohar, and the works of Isaac b. Jacob ha-Kohen, the authors often use highly ambiguous terms and speak of "creation" even when they mean "emanation." This ambiguity can be explained in the light of the history of the Kabbalah, which was at first concerned with the description of a religious and contemplative experience and not with questions of purely theoretical systematization. In addition, the developing Kabbalah was heir to a strong, mythically inclined Gnostic heritage of speculation on the aeons (whose nature was also subject to many theoretical interpretations). Thus, when their figurative and symbolic language was put to a logical test, sources like the above were accorded many different theological and analytical interpretations.

As the Kabbalah developed in Provence and Spain and the Gnostic tradition was confronted with neoplatonism, a host of short tracts were written in which it was attempted to give an independent description of the processes of emanation. Most of these works belong to the circle of the *Sefer ha-Iyyun* (see above). They show quite clearly that, aside from the theory of the *Sefirot*, there were other approaches to a description of the spiritual world, such as in terms of a world of powers (*koḥot*), lights, or divine intellects, which were sometimes given identical names but which were ordered each time in quite different ways. Obviously these were the first gropings toward the establishment of a definitive order in the degrees and stages of emanation. However, as they did not correspond with the symbolism that had been constructed in a more or less unified fashion from the time of Isaac the Blind up to the Zohar, they were almost completely disregarded.

Unlike these first hesitant steps, the theory of the *Sefirot* ultimately became the backbone of Spanish kabbalistic teaching and of that basic system of mystical symbolism which had such important repercussions on the kabbalists' view of the meaning of Judaism. Right from the beginning, ideas concerning emanation were closely bound up with a theory of language. On the one hand, much is written about the manifestation of the power of *Ein-Sof* through various stages of emanation which are called *Sefirot* and are no more than the various attributes of God or descriptions and epithets which can be applied to Him – that is, about a continuous process of emanation. Yet at the same time this very process was described as a kind of revelation of the various Names peculiar to God in His capacity of Creator. The God who manifests Himself is the God who expresses Himself. The God who "called" His powers to reveal themselves named them, and, it could be said, called Himself also, by appropriate names. The process by which the power of emanation manifests itself from concealment into revelation is paralleled by the manifestation of divine speech from its inner essence in thought, through sound that as yet cannot be heard, into the articulation of speech. Through the influence of the *Sefer Yeẓirah*, which speaks of "the ten *Sefirot* of *belimah*," the number of the stages of emanation was fixed at ten, although in this early work the term refers only to the ideal numbers which contain the forces of creation. In kabbalistic usage, on the other hand, it signifies the ten powers that constitute the manifestations and emanations of God. Since the *Sefirot* are intermediary states between the first Emanator and all things that exist apart from God, they also represent the roots of all existence in God the Creator.

That many themes are united, or sometimes simply commingled, in this concept is demonstrated by the profusion of terms used to describe it. The term *Sefirah* is not connected with the Greek σφαῖρα ("spheres"), but as early as the *Sefer ha-Bahir* it is related to the Hebrew *sappir* ("sapphire"), for it is the radiance of God which is like that of the sapphire. The term is not used at all in the main part of the Zohar, appearing only in the later stratum, but other kabbalists too employed a wealth of synonyms. The *Sefirot* are also called *ma'amarot* and *dibburim* ("sayings"), *shemot* ("names"), *orot* ("lights"), *koḥot* ("powers"), *ketarim* ("crowns"; since they are "the celestial crowns of the Holy King"), *middot* in the sense of qualities, *madregot* ("stages"), *levushim* ("garments"), *marot* ("mirrors"), *neti'ot* ("shoots"), *mekorot* ("sources"), *yamim elyonim* or *yemei kedem* ("supernal or primordial days"), *sitrin* (i.e., "aspects" found mainly in the Zohar), *ha-panim ha-penimiyyot* ("the inner faces of God"). (A long list of other designations for the *Sefirot* can be found in Herrera, *Sha'ar ha-Shamayim*, 7:4.) Terms like "the limbs of the King" or "the limbs of the *Shi'ur Komah*," the mystical image of God, allude to the symbolism of the supernal man, also called *ha-adam ha-gadol*, or primordial man. Sometimes the term is used for one specific *Sefirah*, but often it denotes the whole world of emanation. The term *ha-adam ha-kadmon* ("primordial man") occurs for the first time in *Sod Yedi'at ha-Meẓi'ut*, a treatise from the *Sefer ha-Iyyun* circle. These different motifs of the *Sefirot*, which express themselves in this proliferation of names, tend to vary both with the specific context and with the overall inclinations of the kabbalist making use of them.

No agreed canonical definition exists. The conceptual connection between the *ma'amarim* or the *ketarim*, as the *Sefirot* were called in the *Sefer ha-Bahir*, and the intermediate substances between the infinite and the finite, the one and the many, of neoplatonism, originated mainly in the work of Azriel, who was determined to divest the idea of the *Sefirot* of its Gnostic character. His definitions, which appear in *Perush Eser Sefirot* and *Derekh ha-Emunah ve-Derekh ha-Kefirah*, and those of his companion Asher b. David, were largely instrumental in fixing the concept of the *Sefirot* in Spanish Kabbalah, although the tendency to portray them as Gnostic aeons did not entirely disappear. According to Azriel, things were created in a specific order, since creation was intentional, not accidental. This order, which determines all the process of creation and of generation and decay, is known as *Sefirot*, "the active power of each existing thing numerically definable." Since all created things come into being through the agency of the *Sefirot*, the latter contain the root of all change, although they all emanate from the one principle, *Ein-Sof*, "outside of which there is nothing." In terms of their origin in *Ein-Sof* the *Sefirot* are not differentiated, but in respect of their activity within the finite realm of creation they are. Existing alongside these Platonic definitions is the theosophic conception of the *Sefirot* as forces of the divine essence or nature, through which absolute being reveals itself; they therefore constitute the inner foundation and the root of every created being in a way which is generally not specifically defined, but not necessarily as "intermediaries" in the philosophical sense. The contrast with the neoplatonic pattern is very definitely expressed in a doctrine, common to all kabbalists of every age (even to Azriel), concerning the dynamic of these powers. Although there is a specific hierarchy in the order of the *Sefirot*, it is not ontologically determined: all are equally close to their source in the Emanator (this is already so in the *Sefer ha-Bahir*). It is possible for them to join together in mystical unions, and some of them move up and down within the framework of the hidden life of God (both Gnostic motifs), which does not fit the Platonic point of view. In other words, within a conceptual Platonic system a theosophic understanding of God came to the fore.

The nature or essence of these *Sefirot*, that is the relationship of the manifested world of the Divine to the created world and to the hidden being of the Emanator, was a widely disputed subject. Were the *Sefirot* identical with God or not, and, if not, wherein lay the difference? At first this question did not arise, and the imagery used to describe the *Sefirot* and their activity was not aimed at a precise definition. The description of the *Sefirot* as vessels for the activity of God, the Emanator, which occurs, for example, as early as Asher b. David, does not contradict the idea that in essence they are equated with God. The term *ko'aḥ* ("force," "power," "potency"), which is common in kabbalistic literature, does not always indicate a precise distinction between "force" and "essence" in the Aristotelian sense. It is also used to refer to the independent existence of "potencies," hypostases which are emanated from their source, without any preceding indication of whether this emanation is an expansion of the latter's essence or only of its radiation that was previously concealed in potentiality and now is activated. In purely figurative descriptions of the world of the *Sefirot* these philosophical distinctions did not come to the forefront, but once questions of this sort were raised it was impossible to evade them.

Most of the early kabbalists were more inclined to accept the view that the *Sefirot* were actually identical with God's substance or essence. This is stated in many documents from the 13th century, and stressed later in the school of R. Solomon b. Adret, and particularly in the *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut*, which was followed in the 16th century by David Messer Leon, Meir ibn Gabbai, and Joseph Caro. According to this view, the *Sefirot* do not constitute "intermediary beings" but are God Himself. "The Emanation is the Divinity," while *Ein-Sof* cannot be subject to religious investigation, which can conceive of God only in His external aspect. The main part of the Zohar also tends largely toward this opinion, expressing it emphatically in the interchangeable identity of God with His Names or His Powers: "He is They, and They are He" (Zohar, 3, 11b, 70a). In the latter stratum, however, in the *Ra'aya Meheimna* and the *Tikkunim*, and subsequently in the *Ta'amei ha-Mitzvot* of Menahem Recanati, the *Sefirot* are seen not as the essence of God but only as vessels or tools: although they are indeed neither separated from Him nor situated outside Him like the tools of a human artisan, nevertheless they are no more than means and instruments which He uses in His work. Recanati states that most of the kabbalists of his time disagreed with this view. In the writings of Joseph Ashkenazi (Pseudo-Ravad) this theory is developed to the extreme where the *Sefirot*, being intermediaries, pray to God Himself and are actually unable to perceive the nature of their Emanator, a view which was first presented in the writings of Moses of Burgos and subsequently appeared in many kabbalistic works. Cordovero tried to reconcile these two opposing views and to accord a certain measure of truth to each one. Just as in all organic life the soul (the essence) cannot be distinguished from the body (the vessels) except *in abstracto* and in fact they cannot be separated at all when they are working together, so it may be said of God that He works, so to speak, as a living organism, and thus the *Sefirot* have two aspects, one as "essence," and the other as "vessels." Dominating this theosophic organism is a metabiological principle of measure and form called *kav ha-middah* (according to specific statements in the Zohar which use this term to express the nature of the activity of the first *Sefirah*). From this point of view the *Sefirot* are both identical with the essence of God and also separated from Him (see *Pardes Rimmonim*, ch. 4). In later Kabbalah this view became paramount.

The *Sefirot* emanate from *Ein-Sof* in succession – "as if one candle were lit from another without the Emanator being diminished in any way" – and in a specific order. Nevertheless, in contrast to the neoplatonic concept in which the intermediaries stand completely outside the domain of the "One," they do not thereby leave the divine domain. This influx is given the name *hamshakhah* ("drawing out"), that is to say, the entity which is emanated is drawn out from its source, like light from the sun or water from a well. According to Naḥmanides (in his commentary to Num. 11: 17) and his school, the second term, *aẓilut*, expresses the particular position of this emanation. The term is understood as deriving from *eẓel* ("near by," or "with"), for even the things that are emanated remain "by Him," and act as potencies manifesting the unity of the Emanator. Naḥmanides' anti-emanatist interpretation of the term *aẓilut* was apparently intended only for the uninitiated, for in his esoteric writings he also uses the term *hamshakhah* (in his commentary to the *Sefer Yeẓirah*). Generally speaking, stress is laid on the fact that the God who expresses Himself in the emanation of the *Sefirot* is greater than the totality of the *Sefirot* through which He works and by means of which He passes from unity to plurality. The personality of God finds expression precisely through His manifestation in the *Sefirot*. It is therefore surprising that, in those circles close to Naḥmanides, the nature of the Emanator which remained concealed beyond all emanation was thought to be a closely guarded tradition. Naḥmanides himself refers to it as "the hidden matter at the top of the *Keter*," at the head of the first *Sefirah*, a designation which deprives it of any personal quality (commentary to the *Sefer Yeẓirah*). As noted above, however, some of his contemporary kabbalists, like Abraham of Cologne (1260–70) in *Keter Shem Tov*, completely rejected this idea by denying an impersonal aspect to God and by identifying *Ein-Sof* with the first *Sefirah*.

Deriving *aẓilut* from *eẓel* does not necessarily imply that the process of emanation is eternal: it simply signifies the contrast between two domains – the *olam ha-yiḥud* ("the world of unification") and the *olam ha-perud* ("the world of separation"). Emanation is the world of unification, not of the static unity of *Ein-Sof* but of the process which occurs in God, who is Himself unified in the dynamic unity of His powers ("like the flame linked to a burning of coal"). In contrast to this, "the world of separation" refers to the domain which results from the act of creation, whose theosophic inner nature is expressed in the emanation of the *Sefirot*. But this process of emanation of the *Sefirot* is not a temporal one, nor does it necessitate any change in God Himself; it is simply the emergence from potentiality into actuality of that which was concealed within the power of the Creator.

However, opinion differed on the question of emanation and time. Azriel taught that the first *Sefirah* was always within the potentiality of *Ein-Sof*, but that other *Sefirot* were emanated only in the intellectual sense and had a beginning in time; there were also *Sefirot* that were emanated only "now, near to the creation of the world." Others maintained that the concept of time had no application to the process of emanation, while Cordovero held that this process occurred within "non-temporal time," a dimension of time which involved as yet no differentiation into past, present, and future. A dimension of this type was also important in the thinking of the later neoplatonists, who spoke of *sempiternitas*. This supermundane concept of time was defined "as the twinkling of an eye, without any interval" between the various acts which were part of emanation (so in *Emek ha-Melekh* and *Va-Yakhel Moshe* by Moses Graf). Joseph Solomon Delmedigo in *Navelot Ḥokhmah*, and Jonathan Eybeschuetz in *Shem Olam*, also posited the coeternity of the *Sefirot*, but generally speaking this idea aroused a great deal of opposition. As early as the 13th century the counter-doctrine was formulated that "the essences existed but emanation came into being" (*Origines*…, 295). If the essences preceded emanation then they must of necessity have existed in the will or thought of *Ein-Sof*, but they were made manifest by an act which had something of the nature of new creativity although not in the usual sense of creativity in time.

In the literature of the Kabbalah the unity of God in His *Sefirot* and the appearance of plurality within the One are expressed through a great number of images which continually recur. They are compared to a candle flickering in the midst of ten mirrors set one within the other, each of a different color. The light is reflected differently in each, although it is the same single light. The daring image of the *Sefirot* as garments is extremely common. According to the Midrash *(Pesikta de-Rav Kahana)*, at the creation of the world God clothed Himself in ten garments, and these are identified in the Kabbalah with the *Sefirot*, although in the latter text no distinction is made between the garment and the body – "it is like the garment of the grasshopper whose clothing is part of itself," an image taken from the Midrash *Genesis Rabbah*. The garments enable man to look at the light, which without them would be blinding. By first growing used to looking at one garment man can look progressively further to the next and the next, and in this way the *Sefirot* serve as rungs on the ladder of ascent toward the perception of God (Asher b. David, *Perush Shem ha-Meforash*).

The doctrine of the *Sefirot* was the main tenet clearly dividing Kabbalah from Jewish philosophy. The subject matter of philosophy – the doctrine of divine attributes and in particular "the attributes of action" as distinct from "the essential attributes" – was transformed in Kabbalah into the theosophic conception of a Godhead that was divided into realms or "planes" which, in the eyes of the beholder at least, existed as lights, potencies, and intelligences, each of unlimited richness and profundity, whose content man could study and seek to penetrate. Each one was like "a world unto itself," although it was also reflected in the totality of all the others. As early as the beginning of the 13th century, after the appearance of the *Sefer ha-Bahir*, the view was propounded that there were dynamic processes not only between the *Sefirot* but also within each separate *Sefirah*. This tendency toward an increasingly more complex doctrine of the *Sefirot* was the most distinctive characteristic of the development of kabbalistic theory. The number ten provided the framework for the growth of a seemingly endless multiplicity of lights and processes. In the circle of the *Sefer ha-Iyyun*, where this development began, we find an enumeration of the names of the intellectual lights and powers, which only partially fit the traditional symbolism of the *Sefirot* (see below) and sometimes diverge widely from it. The writings of "the Gnostic circle" in Castile expanded the framework of emanation and added potencies bearing personal names which gave a unique coloring to the world of the *Sefirot* and to all that existed outside it. This tendency was continued by the author of the Zohar, whose descriptions of the first acts of creation, and particularly those in the *Idra Rabba* and the *Idra Zuta* concerning the configurations of the forces of emanation (called *Attika Kaddisha, Arikh Anpin* and *Ze'eir Anpin*), are very different from the original simple concept of the *Sefirot*. Here is the beginning of the anatomical and physiological symbolism of the *Shi'ur Komah* – a description of the image of God based on analogy with human structure – which shook the very foundations of the *Sefirot* doctrine and introduced into it new differentiations and combinations. An additional complexity resulted when the theory of the *Sefirot* was combined with prophetic Kabbalah and "the science of combination" of the school of Abraham Abulafia. Every different combination of letters and vowels could be seen in the radiance of that intellectual light which appears under certain circumstances in the meditations of the mystic. Whole books, like the *Berit Menuḥah* (second half of the 14th century), *Toledot Adam* (see *Kitvei Yad ba-Kabbalah*, 58–60; printed in part in Casablanca in 1930 in *Sefer ha-Malkhut*), and *Avnei Shoham* by Joseph ibn Sayyaḥ (*ibid.*, 89–91), reflect this view. These complexities in the doctrine of the *Sefirot* reached their most extreme expression in Cordovero's *Elimah Rabbati* and, finally, in the Lurianic theory of the *parẓufim* (see below).

The *Sefirot*, both individually and collectively, subsume the archetype of every created thing outside the world of emanation. Just as they are contained within the Godhead, so they impregnate every being outside it. Thus, the limitation of their number to ten necessarily involves the supposition that each one is composed of a large number of such archetypes.

Details of the Doctrine of the Sefirot and Their Symbolism

Both theosophical and theological approaches are equally evident in kabbalistic speculation about the *Sefirot* in general and their relationship to the Emanator in particular. When it comes to the sequential development of the *Sefirot*, on the other hand, and to the individual function of each, especially from the second *Sefirah* onward, a strong Gnostic and mythic element begins to predominate. The kabbalists continuously stressed the subjective nature of their descriptions: "everything is from the perspective of those who receive" *(Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut)*; "all this is said only from our view, and it is all relative to our knowledge" (Zohar 2, 176a). However, this did not prevent them from indulging in the most detailed descriptions, as if they were speaking after all of an actual reality and objective occurrences. The progressive movement of the hidden life of God, which is expressed in a particular structural form, established the rhythm for the development of the created worlds outside the world of emanation, so that these first innermost structures recur in all the secondary domains. Hence there is basic justification for a single comprehensive symbolic system. An inner existence that defies characterization or description because it is beyond our perception can only be expressed symbolically. The words of both the Written and the Oral Law do not describe mundane matters and events alone, situated in history and concerned with the relations between Israel and its God, but also, when interpreted mystically, they speak of the interaction between the Emanator and the emanated, between the different *Sefirot* themselves, and between the *Sefirot* and the activities of men through Torah and prayer. What in the literal sense is called the story of creation is really a mystical allusion to the process which occurs within the world of emanation itelf and therefore can be expressed only symbolically. General speaking, such symbolism interested the kabbalists far more than all the theoretical speculation on the nature of the *Sefirot*, and the greater part of kabbalistic literature deals with this aspect and its detailed application. Most of the commentaries to the Torah, to Psalms, and to the *aggadot*, as well as the voluminous literature on the reasons for the Commandments (*ta'amei ha-mitzvot*), are based on this approach. As noted above, however, none of this symbolism has any bearing on *Ein-Sof*, although there were nevertheless kabbalists who did attribute to the latter specific expressions in Scripture or in the *Sefer Yeẓirah*.

The common order of the *Sefirot* and the names most generally used for them are (1) *Keter Elyon* ("supreme crown") or simply *Keter*; (2) *Ḥokhmah* ("wisdom"); (3) *Binah* ("intelligence"); (4) *Gedullah* ("greatness") or *Ḥesed* ("love"); (5) *Gevurah* ("power") or *Din* ("judgment"); (6) *Tiferet* ("beauty") or *Raḥamim* ("compassion"); (7) *Neẓaḥ* ("lasting endurance"); (8) *Hod* ("majesty"); (9) *Ẓaddik* ("righteous one") or *Yesod Olam* ("foundation of the world"); (10) *Malkhut* ("kingdom") or *Atarah* ("diadem"). This terminology was greatly influenced by the verse in I Chronicles 29: 11, which was interpreted as applying to the order of the *Sefirot*. Although the *Sefirot* are emanated successively from above to below, each one revealing an additional stage in the divine process, they also have a formalized structure. Three such groupings are most commonly found. In their totality the *Sefirot* make up "the tree of emanation" or "the tree of the *Sefirot*," which from the 14th century onward is depicted by a detailed diagram which lists the basic symbols appropriate to each *Sefirah*. The cosmic tree grows from its root, the first *Sefirah*, and spreads out through those *Sefirot* which constitute its trunk to those which make up its main branches or crown. This image is first found in the *Sefer ha-Bahir*: "All the divine powers of the Holy One, blessed be He, rest one upon the other, and are like a tree." However, in the *Bahir* the tree starts to grow by being watered with the waters of Wisdom, and apparently it includes only those *Sefirot* from *Binah* downward. Alongside this picture we have the more common image of the *Sefirot* in the form of a man. While the tree grows with its top down, this human form has its head properly on top, and is occasionally referred to as the "reversed tree." The first *Sefirot* represent the head, and, in the Zohar, the three cavities of the brain; the fourth and the fifth, the arms; the sixth, the torso; the seventh and eighth, the legs; the ninth, the sexual organ; and the tenth refers either to the all-embracing totality of the image, or (as in the *Bahir*) to the female as companion to the male, since both together are needed to constitute a perfect man. In kabbalistic literature this symbolism of primal Man in all its details is called *Shi'ur Komah*. The most common pattern is the following:

	Keter	
Binah		*Ḥokhmah*
Gevurah		*Gedullah*
	Tiferet	
Hod		*Neẓaḥ*
	Yesod	
	Malkhut	

Sometimes the three *Sefirot, Keter, Ḥokhmah*, and *Binah*, are not depicted in a triangle, but in a straight line, one below the other. On the whole, however, the overall structure is built out of triangles.

From the end of the 13th century onward a complementary *Sefirah*, called *Da'at* ("knowledge"), appears between *Ḥokhmah* and *Binah*, a kind of harmonizing of the two that was not considered a separate *Sefirah* but rather "the external aspect of *Keter*." This addition arose from the desire to see each group of three *Sefirot* as a unit comprising opposing attributes and as a synthesis which finally resolved them. This was not, however, the original motivation of the pattern. In the *Sefer ha-Bahir*, and in several early texts of the 13th century, the *Sefirah Yesod* was thought of as the seventh, preceding *Neẓaḥ* and *Hod*, and only in Gerona was it finally assigned to the ninth place. On the model of the neoplatonic hierarchy, according to which the transition from the one to the many was accomplished through the stages of intellect, universal soul, and nature, many kabbalists, Azriel in particular, thought of the *Sefirot* as also comprising these stages (although they still remained within the domain of deity). *Keter, Ḥokhmah*, and *Binah* were "the intellectual" (*ha-muskal*); *Gedullah, Gevurah*, and *Tiferet* were "the psychic" (*ha-murgash*); *Neẓaḥ, Hod*, and *Yesod* were "the natural" (*ha-mutba*). Apparently it was intended that these three stages should be understood as the sources of the independent realms of intellect, soul, and nature, which were fully activated and developed only at a lower level.

Since the *Sefirot* were conceived of as the progressive manifestation of the Names of God, a set of equivalences between the latter and the names of the *Sefirot* was established:

	Ehyeh	
YHWH (vocalized as *Elohim*)		*Yah*
Elohim		*El*
	YHWH	
Elohim Ẓeva'ot		YHWH *Ẓeva'ot*
	El Ḥai or *Shaddai*	
	Adonai	

According to the Kabbalah these are "the ten names which must not be erased" mentioned in the Talmud, and compared with them all other names are mere epithets. The Zohar distinguishes *Shaddai* as the name particularly related to the *Sefirah Yesod*, while Joseph Gikatilla associates this *Sefirah* with *El Ḥai*.

The division of the Sefirot was also determined by other criteria. Sometimes they were divided into five and five, i.e., the five upper *Sefirot* corresponding to the five lower, an equal balance between the hidden and the revealed being maintained. On the basis of the statement in the *Pirkei de-R. Eliezer* "with ten sayings was the world created, and they were summarized in three," they were also divided into seven and three. In this case there was a differentiation between three hidden *Sefirot* and "the seven *Sefirot* of the building," which are also the seven primordial days of creation. Six of these were also equated with the six sides of space in the *Sefer Yeẓirah*. How these six were complemented by a seventh was never decisively established. Some thought that the seventh was the sacred palace which stood in the center, as in the *Sefer Yeẓirah*. Others considered it to be represented by Divine Thought, while for others it was a symbolic Sabbath. The correlation of the "*Sefirot* of the building" with the days of creation became extremely complex. Many kabbalists, including the author of the main part of the Zohar, could not agree on the automatic association of each *Sefirah* with one particular day, and they regarded creation, which from the mystical viewpoint was the completion of "the building" of emanation, as having been already completed by the fourth day. They were particularly perplexed by the problem of the Sabbath, which many interpreted as a symbol of *Yesod*, since it paralleled the original seventh place of this *Sefirah*, while many others saw in it an allusion to the last *Sefirah*, especially since the powers came to an end there. Just as each day performed an act specific to it, apart from the seventh, so each *Sefirah* performed its own specific activities by which it was characterized, except for the last *Sefirah*, which had no such active force, but comprised the totality of all the *Sefirot* or the specific principle that received and united the active forces without adding anything particular of its own. On the contrary it is this absence of activity and the tenth *Sefirah's* function as an all-inclusive entity which constitute its uniqueness. The division of the *Sefirot* into three lines or columns was especially important: the right hand column includes *Ḥokhmah, Gedullah*, and *Neẓaḥ*; the left hand column includes *Binah, Gevurah*, and *Hod*; and the central column passes from *Keter* through *Tiferet* and *Yesod* to *Malkhut*.

All of these groupings testify to the kabbalists' belief that there was a definite structure to the *Sefirot*, no matter how great the possibilities may have been. In contrast to them all is yet another arrangement which presents the *Sefirot* either as adjoining arcs of a single circle surrounding the central Emanator, or as ten concentric spheres (called "circles") with the power of emanation diminishing as it moves further away from the center. This latter concept is related to the medieval cosmological picture of a universe of ten spheres, which could be imagined in terms of the outward gyration of these spiritual circles. The circular concept appears especially from the 14th century onward (Pseudo – Ravad to the *Sefer Yeẓirah*, 1, 2). In Lurianic Kabbalah every one of these diagrammatic arrangements, circular or linear, is accorded a specific place in the plan of emanation.

When we come to deal with the symbolism of the *Sefirot* we must distinguish between the general symbolic systems appertaining to the processes of emanation as a whole and the symbolism related to each individual *Sefirah* or to a particular combination of *Sefirot*. The overall symbolic systems are based on both mathematical and organic imagery. In the system depending on mathematical concepts, which is sometimes linked with images of light and rivers, the first *Sefirah* is nothingness, zero, and the second is the manifestation of the primordial point, which at this stage has no size but contains within it the possibility of measurement and expansion. Since it is intermediate between nothingness and being, it is called *hatḥalat ha-yeshut* ("the beginning of being"). And since it is a central point it expands into a circle in the third *Sefirah*, or it builds around itself a "palace" which is the third *Sefirah*. When this point is represented as a source welling up from the depths of nothingness, the third *Sefirah* becomes the river that flows out from the source and divides into different streams following the structure of emanation until all its tributaries flow into "the great sea" of the last *Sefirah*. This first point is established by an act of the Divine Will, taking its first step toward creation. In the Zohar the appearance of the supernal point (which is called *reshit*, "beginning," the first word of the Bible) is preceded by a number of acts that take place between *Ein-Sof* and the first *Sefirah* or within the first *Sefirah*. As well as being nothingness (*ayin*) and the will of God, this *Sefirah* is also the primordial ether (*avir kadmon*) which surrounds *Ein-Sof* like an eternal aura. From the mystery of *Ein-Sof* a flame is kindled, and inside the flame a hidden well comes into being. The primordial point shines forth in being when the well breaks through the ether (1, 15a). It is as if all the possible symbols were assembled together within this description.

The organic symbolism equates the primordial point with the seed sown in the womb of "the supernal mother," who is *Binah*. "The palace" is the womb which is brought to fruition through the fertilization of the semen and gives birth to the children, who are the emanations. In another organic image *Binah* is compared to the roots of a tree which is watered by *Ḥokhmah* and branches out into seven *Sefirot*. In another symbolic pattern – very common in the 13th century and particularly in the Zohar – the first three *Sefirot* represent the progress from will to thought and thence to intellect, where the general content of wisdom or thought is more precisely individuated. The identification of the following *Sefirot* as love, justice, and mercy links this doctrine with the aggadic concept of the divine attributes. References to male and female appear not only in the symbolism of father and mother, son and daughter (*Ḥokhmah* and *Binah*, *Tiferet* and *Malkhut*) but also in the striking use of sexual imagery which is a particular characteristic of the Zohar and Lurianic Kabbalah. The use of such images is especially prominent in the description of the relationships between *Tiferet* and *Yesod* on the one hand and *Malkhut* on the other. Many kabbalists did their utmost to minimize the impact of this symbolism, which afforded much scope for mythical images and daring interpretations.

A general symbolism of a different type is related to the stages in the manifestation of the personal, individual identity of God. The first *Sefirah* contains only "He"; sometimes this "He" is hidden and no mention is made of Him because of His extreme self-concealment, as, for example, within the verb *bara* ("He created") at the beginning of the Bible. Thus *bereshit bara Elohim* (usually "in the beginning God created") is interpreted mystically to refer to the first three *Sefirot*: through the medium of *Ḥokhmah* (called *reshit*), the first *Sefirah* – the force hidden within the third person singular of the word bara – produced by an act of emanation the third *Sefirah* (*Binah*), which is also called *Elohim. Elohim* ("God") is thus not the subject but the object of the sentence. This daring interpretation is common to almost all 13th-century kabbalists. But as His manifestation continues, God becomes "Thou," whom man is now able to address directly, and this "Thou" is related to *Tiferet* or to the totality of the *Sefirot* in *Malkhut*. However, God reaches His complete individuation through His manifestation in *Malkhut*, where He is called "I." This conception is summed up in the common statement that through the process of emanation "Nothingness changes into I" (*Ayin le-Ani*). The three letters or elements which make up *Ayin* ("Nothingness") – *alef, yod, nun* – are also contained in *Ani*, that is in both the beginning and the end of the process, but like the forces which they denote they are combined in a different way. In a similar fashion the name YHWH denotes just one *Sefirah* (*Tiferet*) but also contains within it all the fundamental stages of emanation: the spike at the top of the *yod* represents the source of all in *Ayin*, the *yod* itself is *Ḥokhmah*, the first *heh* is *Binah*, the *vav* is *Tiferet* or, because of the numerical value of the letter *vav*, the totality of the six *Sefirot* and the final *heh* is *Malkhut*. Since the latter comprises the other *Sefirot* and has no independent power, it cannot be assigned a letter of its own but only that *heh*, which has already appeared at the beginning of the emanation of the structure of the *Sefirot* and whose manifestation has reached its final development at the end of the process. The other names of God in the Bible are also interpreted in a similar fashion, their letters alluding to an inner progress in the process of emanation.

Emanation in its totality is the "Celestial Chariot" and individual components are "parts of the Chariot" which are interpreted in particular in the commentaries on the Chariot by Jacob Kohen of Soria, Moses de Leon, and Joseph Gikatilla. Biblical figures are also connected with this. "The patriarchs are the Chariot" (*Genesis Rabbah*), for Abraham represents the attribute of abundant love (*Ḥesed*), Isaac the attribute of strict justice (*Din*), and Jacob the attribute of mercy (*Raḥamim*), which is a combination of the other two. These three, together with King David, the founder of the kingship (*Malkhut*) of Israel, constitute the "four legs of the Throne" in the Chariot. And when Moses and Aaron are added, as representing the sources of prophecy in *Neẓaḥ* and *Hod*, and then Joseph – according to the talmudic picture of him as Joseph the righteous, keeper of the covenant, who resists the temptations of the sexual instinct – we have the seven *Sefirot* portraying the heroes of the Bible, who are called the "seven shepherds" or guests (*ushpizin*). This kind of symbolism conveys the moral content of the *Sefirot* as specific ethical attributes. The righteous, each of whom is inspired by a characteristic moral quality, embody the rule of the divine attributes in the world.

In addition to this ethical symbolism we find several cosmological systems. The four elements, the four winds, and even the four metals (gold, silver, copper, and lead) are indications of *Gedullah, Gevurah, Tiferet*, and *Malkhut*; the sun and the moon of *Tiferet* or *Yesod* and *Malkhut*. The moon, which receives its light from the sun and has no light of its own, and which waxes and wanes according to a fixed cycle, occupies an important place in the very rich symbolism of the last *Sefirah*. However, the most important of these symbols are the *Keneset Yisrael* ("the community of Israel") and the *Shekhinah* ("the Divine Presence"). The Kingdom of Heaven, which is realized in time in the historical *Keneset Yisrael*, represents therefore the latter's meta-historical aspect as well. The supernal *Keneset Yisrael* is the mother (*matrona*), the bride, and also the daughter of the "king," and they appear in countless midrashic parables on the relationship between God and the Jewish people. In her capacity as bride (*kallah*) she is also, by a mystical etymology, "the consummation of all" (*kelulah mi ha-kol*). She is the receptive aspect of "the holy union" of "king" and "queen." Other of her features are to be seen in the symbols of her as freedom, the Torah, and the trees in the Garden of Eden. The *Sefirah Binah* is the "supernal Jubilee," in which everything emerges into freedom and returns to its source, and therefore *Binah* is also called *Teshuvah* ("return"). But the last *Sefirah* is the *shemittah*, the seventh year when the earth rests and is renewed. The Written Law is woven from the name YHWH, and alludes to an emanation which already has some manifestation but has yet to be fully articulated. The Oral Law, which gives a detailed interpretation of the ways of the Written Law and of its application to life, is embodied in *Keneset Yisrael*, both in heaven and on earth. And similarly with regard to the trees: the Tree of Life is the *Sefirah Yesod* (though later on it is mainly *Tiferet*), while the Tree of Knowledge is a symbol of *Malkhut*, or of the Oral Law. In the early *aggadah* the *Shekhinah* is a synonym for God, indicating His presence, His "dwelling" in the world, or in any specified place. In the Kabbalah, on the other hand, from the *Sefer ha-Bahir* onward, it becomes the last attribute through which the Creator acts in the lower world. It is "the end of thought," whose progressive unfolding demonstrates God's hidden life. From its source at "the beginning of thought" in *Ḥokhmah* ("wisdom"), the thought of creation pursues its task through all the worlds, following the laws of the process of the *Sefirot* themselves. The emphasis placed on the female principle in the symbolism of the last *Sefirah* heightens the mythical language of these descriptions. Appearing from above as "the end of thought," the last *Sefirah* is for man the door or gate through which he can begin the ascent up the ladder of perception of the Divine Mystery.

The symbols mentioned so far form only part of a rich symbolism which drew on material from every sphere. Often there are differences in the details of its presentation, and there was a certain amount of freedom in the way given symbols were connected to a given *Sefirah*, but as far as basic motifs were concerned there was a great degree of agreement. Yet works explaining the attributes of the *Sefirot* were written from the time of the Gerona kabbalists onward, and the differences between them should not be minimized. Even in the Zohar itself there are many variations within a more or less firmly established framework. Such differences can also be seen between the symbolism of Moses de Leon and that of Joseph Gikatilla. The best sources for an understanding of this symbolism are: *Sha'arei Orah* and *Sha'arei Ẓedek* by Gikatilla; *Shekel ha-Kodesh* by Moses de Leon; *Sefer ha-Shem* written by another, unidentified Moses; *Sod Ilan ha-Aẓilut* by R. Isaac (*Koveẓ al-Yad*, 68, 5, 1951, 65–102); *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut*, chs. 3–7; *Sefer ha-Shorashim* by Joseph ibn Wakkar (translation of the section on symbolism from his Arabic work; found separately in many Mss.); *Sha'ar Arkhei ha-Kinuyim* in *Pardes Rimmonim* by Cordovero, ch. 22; *Sefat Emet* by Menahem Azariah Fano (Lobatschov 1898); *Arkhei ha-Kinuyim* by Jehiel Heilprin (Dyhrenfurth 1806); *Kehillat Ya'akov* by Jacob Ẓevi Jolles (Lemberg 1870) and the second part entitled *Yashresh Ya'akov* (Brooklyn, about 1961). The attributes of the *Sefirot* according to Lurianic Kabbalah are described in detail in *Me'orot Natan* by Meir Poppers (text) and Nathan Nata Mannheim (notes) (Frankfurt 1709); *Regal Yesharah* by Ẓevi Elimelech Spira (Lemberg 1858); *Emet le-Ya'akov* by Jacob Shealtiel Niño (Leghorn 1843); and *Or Einayim* by Eliezer Ẓevi Safrin (Part 1 Premysl 1882, Part 2 Lemberg 1886).

From the 13th century onward we find the idea that each *Sefirah* comprises all others successively in an infinite reflection of the *Sefirot* within themselves. This formal method of describing the rich dynamic that exists within each *Sefirah* was also expressed in other ways. So, for example, we read of the 620 "pillars of light" in *Keter*, of the 32 "ways" in *Ḥokhmah*, of the 50 "gates" of *Binah*, of the 72 "bridges" in *Ḥesed*, and so on (in the *Tefillat ha-Yiḥud* ascribed to R. Neḥunya b. ha-Kanah), and of forces which are called by magical names whose meaning cannot be communicated but which denote the various concentrations of power that can be differentiated in emanation. As early as Moses of Burgos and Joseph Gikatilla it is stressed that from each *Sefirah* are suspended worlds of its own that do not form part of the hierarchical order of the worlds that follow the world of emanation. In other words, the total power of each *Sefirah* cannot be expressed simply with reference to the known creation. There are aspects that have other purposes: hidden worlds of love, of justice, and so on. In the Zohar descriptions of this type occur only in relation to the world of *Keter* (*Arikh Anpin*, lit. "the long face," properly "the long-suffering God") and the world of *Tiferet* (*Ze'eir Anpin*, lit. "the short face," properly "the impatient One") and take the form of a description of the anatomy of the "the white head," written with an extreme tendency to anthropomorphism. Parts of this "head" symbolize the ways in which God acts: the brow refers to His acts of grace, the eye to His providence, the ear to His acceptance of prayer, the beard to the 13 facets of mercy, and so on. An allegorization of the theological concepts in the doctrine of the attributes, a symbolism which views its own imagery as an accurate allusion to that which is beyond all imagining, and an attempt to reconcile the apparently incompatible doctrines of the *Sefirot* and the earlier *Shi'ur Komah* – all meet in these symbols of the *Idrot* of the Zohar. The author never states openly that his descriptions entail a positing of "*Sefirot* within *Sefirot*" (which are mentioned in the main part of the Zohar and also in the Hebrew writings of Moses de Leon, but only incidentally and without any detail). Apparently he saw no need to offer any speculative theory to justify his use of corporeal images, so difficult to probe rationally in any detail. His world was symbolic rather than conceptual. However, the kabbalists from the beginning of the 14th century did give such "revelations" a theoretical interpretation, starting with the *Sefer ha-Gevul* (based on the *Idra Rabba* in the Zohar) by David b. Judah he-Ḥasid and ending with Cordovero's *Elimah Rabbati* and his commentary to the Zohar. A similar doctrine is also evident in the writings of Joseph b. Shalom Ashkenazi. In their meditations on these internal reflections of the *Sefirot* within one another some kabbalists, such as Joseph ibn Sayyaḥ, went as far as to describe in detail the play of lights inside the *Sefirot* to the fourth "degree," as, for example, the "*Tiferet* which is in *Gedullah* which is in *Binah* which is in *Keter*." Cordovero too went further along this path than most kabbalists.

In Cordovero's teachings this theory of *Sefirot* within *Sefirot* is connected with another – that of the *beḥinot*, the infinite number of aspects which can be differentiated within each *Sefirah* and whose main purpose is to explain how each *Sefirah* is connected with both the preceding and the following ones. According to Cordovero, there are, in the main, six of these aspects in each *Sefirah*:

(1) its concealed aspect before its manifestation in the *Sefirah* which emanates it;

(2) the aspect in which it is manifested and apparent in the emanating *Sefirah*;

(3) the aspect in which it materializes in its correct spiritual location, that is to say, as an independent *Sefirah* in its own right;

(4) the aspect which enables the *Sefirah* above it to instill within it the power to emanate further *Sefirot*;

(5) the aspect by which it gains the power to emanate the *Sefirot* hidden within it to their manifested existence within its own essence; and

(6) the aspect by which the following *Sefirah* is emanated to its own place, at which point the cycle begins again.

This complete array of *beḥinot* is seen as causal relationship, each *beḥinah* causing the awakening and the manifestation of the following *beḥinah* (*Pardes Rimmonim*, ch. 5, 5). But there are many other "aspects" in the *Sefirot* as well and their discovery depends on the perspective of their investigator. Each *Sefirah* "descends into itself," and the process of this descent is infinite in its internal reflections. At the same time, however, it is also finite, in that it begets or brings into being from within itself another *Sefirah*. This concept necessitates the premise that the roots of emanation have a concealed "aspect" in *Ein-Sof* itself, and Cordovero interprets the three *ẓaḥẓaḥot* mentioned above as the three hidden *beḥinot* of *Keter* in *Ein-Sof.* He is thus forced to demolish the natural boundary between *Ein-Sof* and the first *Sefirah*, despite his clear desire to establish such a natural division. He therefore postulates that the *beḥinot* of *Keter* within *Keter* within *Keter* and so on, although they potentially continue *ad infinitum*, do not in fact reach an identity with the essence of the Emanator, so that the propinquity of *Ein-Sof* and *Keter* remains asymptotic. All this, of course, is stated from the point of view of created beings for even the supernal awakening of "aspects" of the Will within the Will within the Will and so on does not reveal *Ein-Sof,* and it is this differential which comprises the leap from the essence of the Emanator to that of the emanated. On the other hand, the differential gap closes when it is regarded from the point of view of the Emanator Himself. Cordovero's doctrine of the *beḥinot* shows how closely he approached a clearly dialectic mode of thought within the framework of kabbalistic ideas. With Cordovero the *Sefirot* are more than emanations which manifest the attributes of the Emanator, though they are this too. They actually become the structural elements of all beings, even of the self-manifesting God Himself. The implied contradiction between the processes of emanation and structuralism was never fully resolved by Cordovero himself, and it appears even in the systematic presentation of his ideas in *Shefa Tal* by Shabbetai Sheftel Horowitz. In such works as *Elimah Rabbati* and *Shefa Tal* zoharic Kabbalah undergoes an extremely profound speculative transformation in which as far as possible theosophy dispenses with its mythical foundations. Nevertheless, it is evident than this speculative trend does not turn Kabbalah into philosophy, and that the acknowledgment of a hidden life within the deity – the process of the emanation of the *Sefirot* – depends finally on mystical intuition, for by it alone can this domain be understood. In the Zohar this intuition is called "fleeting vision [of the eternal]" (*istakluta le-fum sha'ata*; 2, 74b; ZH 38c), and this is the element that the prophet and the kabbalist have in common (1, 97a and b).

In addition to the process of emanation which takes place between the *Sefirot*, there are two symbolistic modes of expressing the way in which each *Sefirah* radiates upon the others:

(1) Reflected light. This is based on the premise that, in addition to the direct light which spreads from one *Sefirah* to the next, there is a light which is reflected back from the lower *Sefirot* to the upper. Thus the *Sefirah* can be seen as both a medium for the transference of the light from above to below, and as a mirror serving to reflect the light back to its source. This reflected light can re-ascend from any *Sefirah*, particularly from the last one, back up to the first, and it acts on its return path as an additional stimulus that causes the differentiation of still further *beḥinot* in each *Sefirah*. Reflected light, according to Cordovero (*Pardes* 15), fulfills a great task in the consolidation of the potencies and *beḥinot* of judgment (*din*) in each *Sefirah*, for it functions through a process of restrictive contraction rather than free expansion. Only marginally based on early Kabbalah – e.g., the statements in the Zohar on the relationships among the first three *Sefirot* – this doctrine was developed by Solomon Alkabez and Cordovero alone and it formed an important factor in their dialectical reasoning.

(2) Channels. This is based on the premise that specific *Sefirot* stand in particular relationships of radiation with other *Sefirot* (though not necessarily with all of them). The face of one *Sefirah* turns toward another and consequently there develops between them a "channel" (*ẓinnor*) of influence which is not identical with actual emanation. Such channels are paths of reciprocal influence between different *Sefirot*. This process is not a one-way influx from cause to effect; it also operates from effect to cause, dialectically turning the effect into a cause.

It is not clear to what extent there is any identity between the symbols of reflected light and channels nor, if there is none at all, what their relationship is. Any interruption in the return influx from below to above is called a "breaking of the channels" (*shevirat ha-ẓinnorot*; Gikatilla, *Sha'arei Orah*), an idea which serves to explain the relations between the lower and upper worlds on the occasion of sin and divine disapproval. These channels are alluded to by the Gerona kabbalists, Gikatilla, Joseph of Hamadan (if this is the real name of the author of *Shushan ha-Birah*, a commentary to Song of Songs and to the *parashah Terumah* in British Museum Ms. Margoliouth 464), as well as other kabbalists of the 14th and 15th centuries, and the doctrine is presented in detail in chapter 7 of *Pardes Rimmonim*.

Earlier Worlds, Lower Worlds, and Cosmic Cycles (the Doctrine of the *shemittot*)

The emergence of God from the depths of Himself into creation, which constitutes the foundation of the doctrine of the *Sefirot*, was not always understood as a single, uninterrupted, straightforward process. In other views of the process of emanation and creation, a vital role was played by the midrashic legend concerning the worlds which were created and destroyed before the creation of our present world. An important variation of this idea lies at the root of a doctrine of the *Idrot* in the Zohar, in which the *Midrash* and other similar *aggadot* are connected with a description of how God entered into the form of the *Adam Kadmon* or Primeval Man, or into the different configurations of this form. Here we have a motif whose origin is in no way consistent with the classical formulation of the *Sefirot* doctrine, as can be easily seen from its reversed treatment of the male-female principle. Unlike in classical tradition, the male principle is considered here to be the principle of *din* or strict judgment which needs softening and "sweetening" by the female principle. A creation dominated solely by the forces of judgment could not survive. The exact nature of such earlier, unsuccessful creations, however – called in the

Zohar "the Kings of Edom" or "the Primeval Kings" (*malkhei Edom* or *malkin Kadma'in*) – is not made plain. It was only when the form of Primeval Man was fashioned perfectly, with a harmonious balance between the male and the female forces, that creation was able to sustain itself. This balance is called in the Zohar *matkela* ("the scales"), and only through its power did our world come into being. The biblical list of the kings of Edom (Gen. 35:31ff.) was interpreted in the light of this doctrine, for Edom was understood to represent the principle of judgment.

The author of the Zohar also expressed this doctrine in other ways. The worlds which preceded ours and were destroyed were like the sparks that scatter and die away when the forger strikes the iron with his hammer. This doctrine, in a completely new version, acquired a central place in Lurianic Kabbalah, while still other kabbalists tried to divest it of its literal meaning because of its theological difficulties. Cordovero's interpretation related it to the emanation of the *Sefirot* themselves, and to the dialectical process within each *Sefirah* – an interpretation quite out of keeping with the original idea. Other kabbalists of the Zohar period, such as Isaac ha-Kohen of Soria, expressed similar ideas, which they connected with the development of a "left-sided" emanation, that is, of an emanation of the forces of evil. The common element in all these doctrines is the supposition that during the first steps toward emanation certain abortive developments took place that had no direct effect on the actual creation of the present worlds, although remnants of these destroyed worlds did not entirely disappear and something of them still hovers disruptively among us.

Spanish Kabbalah concentrated its thinking on the emanation and structure of the *Sefirot*, a subject which is not dealt with at all in the writings of the philosophers. As regards the continuity of this process below the level of the last *Sefirah*, the kabbalists were in the main deeply influenced by medieval philosophical cosmology. Most kabbalists agreed that there was no essential break in the continuity of the influx of emanation which led to the development of additional areas of creation as well, such as the world of the intellect, the world of the spheres, and the lower world. But they maintained that whatever preceded these secondary stages was part of the divine domain, which they symbolically portrayed as a series of events in the world of emanation, whereas from this point on, the outward movement departed from the realm of the Godhead and was thought of as a creation distinct from the divine unity. This fundamental distinction between "the world of unity" of the *Sefirot* and "the world of separate intelligences" that was below them was made as early as the beginning of the 13th century. When the philosophers spoke of "separate intelligences," however, which they identify with the angels, they thought of them as immaterial beings representing pure form, whereas in kabbalistic language the term refers rather to a separation from the sefirotic unity of the divine domain.

As the Kabbalah developed, the world of the Merkabah (see above) described in the *heikhalot* literature became quite clearly distinguished from the world of the divine above it. The former was now often called "the domain of the Throne," and a rich angelology developed around it which was only partly identical with the earlier angelology of the Merkabah literature. In the main body of the Zohar there are detailed descriptions of the inhabitants of the seven "palaces" which spread out below the *Sefirah Malkhut* and are the products of its emanative influx, and which have little in common with the *heikhalot* of earlier literature. No fixed hierarchical order had been established in earlier Kabbalah for the world of the angels, and the writings of various 13th- and 14th-century kabbalists contain quite different angelological systems. Such systems occupy an important place in the works of Isaac ha-Kohen, his brother Jacob, and their pupil Moses of Burgos, all of whom spoke in detail of secondary emanations which served as garments for the *Sefirot* and were situated even higher than the most prominent angels in the traditional angelology, such as Michael, Raphael, Gabriel, and so on. Other systems occur in the *Tikkunei Zohar*, in the *Sod Darkhei ha-Nekuddot ve-ha-Otiyyot* attributed to the school of Abraham b. David of Posquières, in the books of David b. Judah ha-Ḥasid, and in the *Sefer Toledot Adam*. Sometimes a distinction was made between the Merkabah as a symbol of the world of the *Sefirot* themselves, and the *merkevat ha-mishneh*, or "second chariot," which represented the domain that came after the *Sefirah Malkhut*, and was itself divided into ten *Sefirot* of its own. Everything below the last *Sefirah* is subject to time and is called *beri'ah* ("creation") since it is outside (*le-var*) the Godhead.

The general scheme of a world of the Godhead and the *Sefirot*, and of the intelligences and the spheres, did not prevent many kabbalists, such as the author of the Zohar and Gikatilla, from supposing the existence of a very large number of secondary worlds within each one of these primary worlds. This expansion of an originally narrower cosmological framework is analogous to similar motifs in Indian thought, although there is no need to try to establish a direct historical link between the two. Every stage in the process of creation is crystallized in a specific world where the creative power of the Creator achieves the perfect expression of one of its many aspects. At the same time, we can trace the development of a unified doctrine of a series of worlds from above to below forming one basic vector along which creation passes from its primeval point to its finalization in the material world (see G. Scholem, *Tarbiz*, 2–3, 1931–32). The outcome of this development, in which Jewish, Aristotelean, and neoplatonic principles were all mingled together, was a new doctrine of four basic *worlds, called *olam ha-aẓilut* (the world of emanation – the ten *Sefirot*), *olam ha-beriah* (the world of creation – the Throne and the Chariot), *olam ha-yeẓirah* (the world of formation – sometimes the world of the angels centered around Metatron), and *olam ha-asiyyah* (the world of making – which sometimes includes both the whole system of the spheres and the terrestrial world, and sometimes the terrestrial world only). This arrangement, although without the nomenclature of "worlds," is already mentioned in the later strata of the Zohar, particularly in the *Tikkunei Zohar*. It appears in the form of four actual worlds in the *Massekhet* *Aẓilut, from the beginning of the 14th century. Isaac of Acre also made frequent use of this arrangement and gave it, for the first time, the abbreviated name *abiya* (*aẓilut, beri'ah, yeẓirah, asiyyah*). However, the doctrine was not fully developed until the 16th century when the kabbalists of Safed went into the details even of the worlds of *beri'ah* and *yeẓirah*, particularly Cordovero and the school of Isaac Luria. In the *Tikkunei Zohar* the world of *asiyyah* was understood as the domain of the material world and of evil spirits, while according to the *Massekhet Aẓilut* it included the whole range of creation from the angels (known as *ofannim*) through the ten spheres to the world of matter. According to Lurianic Kabbalah, all the worlds, including the world of *asiyyah*, were originally spiritual, but through the "breaking of the vessels" the world of *assiyyah*, after its descent from its earlier position, was commingled with the *kelippot* or impure "husks," which in principle should have remained completely separate, thus producing a world of matter that contained nothing spiritual. The ten *Sefirot* are active in all four worlds according to their adaptation to each one, so that it is possible to speak of the *Sefirot* of the world of *beri'ah*, the *Sefirot* of the world of *yeẓirah* and so on. Some concomitant of the *Sefirot* may be seen in the lower world also. Even the image of *Adam Kadmon* is reflected in each of these worlds (*adam di-veriyah, adam de-aẓilut*, etc., as in the writings of Moses de Leon, in the *Ra'aya Meheimna* and the *Tikkunim*). Even the terrestrial world of nature may be called *adam gadol* ("the great man"; macroanthropos). In another kabbalistic view dating to the period of the expulsion from Spain, nature is defined as *ẓel Shaddai*, that is, the shadow of the Divine Name.

Beginning in the 13th century, and especially from the 15th and 16th centuries, the kabbalists tried to make pictorial representations of the structure of creation as it progressed from *Ein-Sof* downward. Such diagrams were generally called *ilanot* ("trees"), and the obvious differences between them reflect divergences among the various doctrines and schemes of symbolism. Drawings of this kind are found in a large number of manuscripts. A detailed pictorial representation of the Lurianic system, called *ilan ha-gadol* ("the great tree"), which was made by Meir Poppers, has been published, first in the form of a long scroll (Warsaw 1864) and later as a book (Warsaw 1893).

These speculations were accorded a unique form in the doctrine of the *shemittot* or cosmic cycles which was based on a fixed periodicity in creation. Although dependent on aggadic motifs, this doctrine displays some relationship with similar non-Jewish systems, whose influence on Jewish authors can be traced in Muslim countries and in Spain, particularly in the writings of Abraham bar Ḥiyya. In his *Megillat ha-Megalleh*, he speaks of unnamed "philosophers" who believed in a long, even infinite series of cyclical creations. Some of them, he said, maintained that the world would last for 49,000 years, that each of the seven planets would rule for 7,000 years, and that God would then destroy the world and restore it to chaos in the 50th millenium, only to subsequently recreate it once again. These were astrological ideas drawn from Arabic and Greek sources, which could easily be assimilated to certain views expressed in the *aggadah*, such as the statement of Rav Katina (Sanh. 97a) that the world would last for 6,000 years and be destroyed in the seventh millenium, in which a parallel is drawn between the days of creation and those of the world, seen as a great cosmic week, at the end of which it "rests" and is destroyed. The earlier kabbalists related these ideas to their own doctrine of emanation. Their new teaching concerning the cycles of creation, which was widely referred to and even summarized in the Kabbalah of Gerona, was fully articulated, although in a highly cryptic style, in the *Sefer ha-Temunah*, which was written about 1250. The main point of this doctrine is that it is the *Sefirot* and not the stars that determine the progress and span of the world. The first three *Sefirot* remain concealed and do not activate "worlds" outside themselves – or at least not worlds that we can recognize as such. From the *Sefirah Binah*, also called "the mother of the worlds," the seven apprehendable and outgoing *Sefirot* are emanated. Each one of these *Sefirot* has a special role in one creation-cycle, which comes under its dominion and is influenced by its specific nature. Each such cosmic cycle, bound to one of the *Sefirot*, is called a *shemittah* or sabbatical year – a term taken from Deuteronomy 15 – and has an active life of 6,000 years. In the seventh millenium, which is the *shemittah* period, the Sabbath-day of the cycle, the sefirotic forces cease to function and the world returns to chaos. Subsequently, the world is renewed through the power of the following *Sefirah*, and is active for a new cycle. At the end of all the *shemittot* there is the "great jubilee," when not only all the lower worlds but the seven supporting *Sefirot* themselves are reabsorbed into *Binah*. The basic unit of world history is therefore the 50,000-year jubilee, which is subdivided as described above. The details of this doctrine in the *Sefer Temunah* are complicated by the fact that, according to the author, the *Sefirah Yesod*, which is also called *Shabbat*, does not activate a manifest *shemittah* of its own. Rather, its *shemittah* remains concealed and works through the power of the other cosmic cycles. Nor is there explicit mention here of any new cycle of creation after the jubilee. According to the kabbalists of Gerona, the laws in the Torah concerning the sabbatical and the jubilee years refer to this mystery of recurrent creation.

An even more radical doctrine came into being in the 13th century, according to which the world-process lasts for no less than 18,000 jubilees (Baḥya b. Asher, on the Torah portion *Be-Ha'alotekha*). Moreover, the actual chronology of these calculations is not to be taken literally, because the *Sefer ha-Temunah* teaches that in the seventh millenium there sets in a gradual and progressive retardation in the movement of the stars and the spheres, so that the measurements of time change and become longer in geometrical progression. Fifty thousand "years" therefore becomes a much longer period. Hence other kabbalists, and Isaac of Acre in particular, arrived at truly astronomical figures for the total duration of the world. Some kabbalists taught that after each "great jubilee" a new creation would begin *ex nihilo*, a view which passed from Baḥya b. Asher to Isaac Abrabanel, and from him to his son Judah, who mentioned it in his famous Italian work, *Dialoghi di Amore*. These views were also accepted much later by the author of *Gallei Razaya* (1552), and even by Manasseh Ben Israel. No kabbalist posited an infinite number of jubilees. In contrast to such enormous vistas, others maintained that we do not know what will follow the jubilee and that investigation of the subject is forbidden.

There were also divergent views on the question of which *shemittah* in the jubilee period we are living in now. Generally speaking, the accepted position was that of the *Sefer ha-Temunah*, namely, that we are now in the *shemittah* of judgment, dominated by the *Sefirah Gevurah*, and the principle of strict justice. Consequently, this must have been preceded by the *shemittah* of *Ḥesed* or lovingkindness, which is described as a kind of "golden age," akin to that of Greek mythology. According to another view (for example, that of the *Livnat ha-Sappir* by Joseph Angelino), we are in the last *shemittah* of the present jubilee period. Each *shemittah* experiences a revelation of the Torah, which is simply the complete articulation of the Divine Name or Tetragrammaton, but comprehension of it, that is, the combination of its letters, differs in every *shemittah*. Therefore, in the previous *shemittah* the Torah was read completely differently and did not contain the prohibitions which are the product of the power of judgment; similarly, it will be read differently in the *shemittot* to come. The *Sefer ha-Temunah* and other sources contain descriptions of the final *shemittot* which are of a distinctly utopian character. In their view, some souls from the previous *shemittah* still exist in our own, which is governed by a universal law of transmigration that includes the animal kingdom as well. As the power of judgment is mitigated in subsequent *shemittot*, so laws and customs will be relaxed also. This doctrine allowed tremendous play to the power of the imagination, which was particularly exploited by Isaac of Acre. It should be noted that in itself the premise that one and the same Torah could be revealed in a different form in each *shemittah* did not at the time arouse any open opposition, and was even extended by some who maintained that the Torah was read differently in each of the millions of worlds involved in the complex of creation – a view first expressed in Gikatilla's *Sha'arei Ẓedek* (see *Tarbiz*, 39, 1970, 382–3). One of the most extreme manifestations of this belief was the theory that in the present *shemittah* one of the letters of the alphabet is missing and will be revealed only in the future, thus the reading of the Torah will obviously be absolutely transformed.

The influence of the *Sefer ha-Temunah* and the doctrine of the *shemittot* was extremely strong and it still had its champions as late as the 17th century. However, the author of the Zohar ignored it completely, apparently out of some fundamental disagreement, although he too held that there was a great jubilee lasting 50,000 years in the world. As the Zohar became increasingly recognized as the authoritative and chief source for later Kabbalah, this silence on the subject strengthened opposition to the doctrine. Joseph ibn Zayyaḥ, Cordovero, and Isaac Luria rejected it as a mistaken or unnecessary hypothesis, at least in the version found in the *Sefer ha-Temunah*, and as a result of their influence it more or less disappeared from later kabbalistic literature. However, Mordecai Jaffe, a contemporary of Isaac Luria, was still teaching at the end of the 16th century that sequences of *shemittot* existed, even within the limits of historical time. The *shemitah* of *Din* ("judgment") began precisely at the time of the giving of the Torah, while everything that preceded it still belonged to the end of the *shemittah* of *Ḥesed* ("lovingkindness"). Its visionary utopianism and its mystical theory concerning the changing manifestations of the essence of the Torah were without doubt among the main reasons why the doctrine of *shemittot* was accepted so widely in kabbalistic circles. The disciples of Shabbetai Ẓevi made much of it, stressing its inherently antinomian implications.

The Problem of Evil

The question of the origin and nature of evil was one of the principal motivating forces behind kabbalistic speculation. In the importance attached to it lies one of the basic differences between kabbalistic doctrine and Jewish philosophy, which gave little original thought to the problem of evil. Various kabbalistic solutions were proffered. The *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut* reveals the influence of the conventional neoplatonist position that evil has no objective reality and is merely relative. Man is unable to receive all the influx from the *Sefirot*, and it is this inadequacy which is the origin of evil, which has therefore only a negative reality. The determining factor is the estrangement of created things from their source of emanation, a separation which leads to manifestations of what appears to us to be the power of evil. But the latter has no metaphysical reality, and it is doubtful whether the author of the *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut* and his disciples believed in the existence of a separate domain of evil outside the structure of the *Sefirot*. On the other hand, we already find in the *Sefer ha-Bahir* a categorization of the *Sefirah Gevurah*, as "the left hand of the Holy One blessed be He," and as "an attribute whose name is evil" and which has many offshoots in the forces of judgment, the constricting and limiting powers in the universe. As early as Isaac the Blind this led to the conclusion that there must of necessity be a positive root of evil and death, which was balanced within the unity of the Godhead by the root of goodness and life. During the process of differentiation of these forces below the *Sefirot*, however, evil became substantified as a separate manifestation. Hence the doctrine gradually developed which saw the source of evil in the superabundant growth of the power of judgment, which was made possible by the substantification and separation of the attribute of judgment from its customary union with the attribute of lovingkindness. Pure judgment, untempered by any mitigating admixture, produced from within itself the *sitra aḥra* ("the other side"), just as a vessel which is filled to overflowing spills its superfluous liquid on the ground. This *sitra aḥra*, the domain of dark emanations and demonic powers, is henceforth no longer an organic part of the World of Holiness and the *Sefirot*. Though it emerged from one of the attributes of God, it cannot be an essential part of Him. This view became dominant in the Kabbalah through the writings of the Gerona kabbalists and the Zohar.

According to the "Gnostics" of Castile and, in a different version, the Zohar also, there exists a complete hierarchy of the "emanation of the left," which is the power of uncleanness that is active in creation. However, this objective reality lasts only as long as it continues to receive fresh strength from the *Sefirah Gevurah*, which is in the holy order of the *Sefirot*, and in particular, only as long as man revives and fortifies it through his own sinful deeds. According to the Zohar, this *sitra aḥra* has ten *Sefirot* of its own, and a similar view, albeit with several variations and the addition of certain mythical elements, is expressed in the writings of Isaac ha-Kohen and in *Ammud ha-Semoli* by his pupil, Moses of Burgos. Isaac ha-Kohen taught that the first worlds that were destroyed were three dark emanations, which perished because of the overly concentrated power of strict judgment that they contained. The force of evil in this world, he argues, does not come from the *Sefirah Gevurah* but is a continuation of the *Sefirah Binah* that was substantified in the destructive potencies corresponding to the seven constructive *Sefirot* of creation. These two forces battle with one another from the beginning of creation itself.

In the Zohar too it is implied that the evil in the universe originated from the leftovers of worlds that were destroyed. The power of evil is compared to the bark (*kelippah*) of the tree of emanation, a symbol which originated with Azriel of Gerona (see Altmann, JJS, 9, 1958, 73–81) and became quite common from the Zohar onward. Some kabbalists called the totality of the emanation of the left "the outer tree" (*ha-ilan ha-ḥiẓon*). Another association, found in the Gerona kabbalists, and following them in the Zohar as well, is with "the mystery of the Tree of Knowledge." The Tree of Life and the Tree of Knowledge were bound together in perfect harmony until Adam came and separated them, thereby giving substance to evil, which had been contained within the Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil and was now materialized in the evil instinct (*yeẓer ha-ra*). It was Adam therefore who activated the potential evil concealed within the Tree of Knowledge by separating the two trees and also by separating the Tree of Knowledge from its fruit, which was now detached from its source. This event is called metaphorically "the cutting of the shoots" (*kiẓẓuẓ ha-neti'ot*) and is the archetype of all the great sins mentioned in the Bible, whose common denominator was the introduction of division into the divine unity. The essence of Adam's sin was that it introduced "separation above and below" into what should have been united, a separation of which every sin is fundamentally a repetition – apart, that is, from sins involving magic and sorcery, which according to the kabbalists join together what should have remained separate. In actual fact, this view too tends to stress the separation of the power of judgment contained within the Tree of Knowledge from the power of lovingkindness contained within the Tree of Life. The latter pours out its influence unstintingly, while the former is a restrictive force with a tendency to become autonomous. This it can do either as the result of man's actions or of a metaphysical process in the upper worlds.

Both these views appear concurrently in kabbalistic literature without any clear distinction being drawn between them. The cosmic evil stemming from the inner dialectic of the emanating process is not differentiated here from the moral evil produced by human action. The Zohar tries to bridge these two realms by positing that the disposition toward moral corruption, toward evil in the guise of human temptation, derives from the cosmic evil which is in the domain of the *sitra aḥra* (3, 163a). The basic difference between the Zohar and the writings of the Gnostics in Castile was that the latter indulged in exaggerated personifications of the powers in this domain, resorting on occasion to earlier demonological beliefs and calling the potencies of "the emanation of the left" by proper names, whereas the author of the Zohar generally kept to more impersonal categories, with the exception of the figures of *Samael – the kabbalistic equivalent of Satan – and his mate *Lilith, to whom he assigned a central role in the realm of evil. Another departure from this rule is his detailed description of the "palaces of impurity" with their guardians in his commentary on Exodus 38–40 (2, 262–9), which follows a parallel description of the "palaces of holiness."

In the symbolism of the Zohar concerning the *sitra aḥra*, a number of different themes confront and occasionally even conflict with one another. The *kelippot* ("shells" or "husks" of evil) are sometimes understood neoplatonically as the last links of the chain of emanation where all turns to darkness, as "the end of days" in the language of the Zohar. At other times they are defined simply as intermediaries between the upper and lower worlds, in which light they are not necessarily seen as evil. Indeed, every mediating principle is a "shell" from the perspective of that which is above it but a "mind" from the point of view of that which is below (Zohar, 1, 19b). In other descriptions the domain of evil is delineated as the natural waste product of an organic process and is compared to bad blood, a bitter branch on the tree of emanation, foul waters (2, 167b), the dross which remains after gold has been refined (*ḥittukhei ha-zahav*), or the dregs from good wine. Such descriptions of the *sitra aḥra* in the Zohar are particularly rich in mythical images. The identification of evil with physical matter, though it occurs occasionally in the Zohar and in other kabbalistic books, never became an official doctrine of either. The equivocation of medieval philosophy between the Aristotelian and Platonic-emanatist concepts of matter is equally strongly felt in the Kabbalah, although the problem of how matter is emanated is referred to only infrequently. Generally speaking, the question of the nature of matter is not central in the Kabbalah, where the major interest was rather the question of how the Divine was reflected in matter. Occasional discussions of the nature of matter from a neoplatonic viewpoint can already be found in the literature of the *Sefer ha-Iyyun* circle. Cordovero, in his *Sefer Elimah*, explains the emanation of matter from spirit by means of a dialectic treatment of the concept of form that was common in medieval philosophy.

According to the Zohar there is a spark of holiness even in the domain of "the other side," whether from an emanation of the last *Sefirah* or as an indirect result of man's sin, for just as the fulfillment of a commandment strengthens the side of holiness, so a sinful act revitalizes the *sitra aḥra*. The realms of good and evil are to an extent commingled, and man's mission is to separate them. In contrast to this view which acknowledges the metaphysical existence of evil, an alternative approach has found its basic expression in Gikatilla, who defined evil as an entity which was not in its rightful place: "every act of God, when it is in the place accorded to it at creation, is good; but if it turns and leaves its place, it is evil." These two views – that of the Zohar, which accords evil actual existence as the fire of God's anger and justice, and that of Gikatilla, which attributes to it only a potential existence that nothing can activate save the deeds of men – occur throughout kabbalistic literature without any victory of one over the other. Even in the different versions of Lurianic doctrine the two are perpetually in conflict. (On the problem of evil in Lurianic Kabbalah, see below.)

A new and final development in regard to the problem of evil occurred in the doctrine of the Shabbateans, as formulated particularly in the writings of Nathan of Gaza. According to him, there were from the very beginning two lights in *Ein-Sof*: "the light which contained thought" and "the light which did not contain thought." The first had in it from the very beginning the thought of creating worlds, while in the latter there was no such thought, its whole essence striving toward remaining concealed and resting within itself without emerging from the mystery of *Ein-Sof.* The first light was entirely active and the second light entirely passive and immersed in the depths of itself. When the thought of creation arose in the first light, it contracted to make room for this creation, but the thought-less light which had no share in creation remained in its place. Since it had no other purpose but to rest in itself, it passively resisted the structure of emanation which the light containing thought had built in the vacuum created by its own contraction. This resistence turned the light without thought into the ultimate source of evil in the work of creation. The idea of a dualism between matter and form as being at the root of good and evil here assumes a most original pattern: the root of evil is a principle within *Ein-Sof* itself, which holds itself aloof from creation and seeks to prevent the forms of the light which contains thought from being actualized, not because it is evil by nature but only because its whole desire is that nothing should exist apart from *Ein-Sof.* It refuses to receive within itself the light that contains thought, and consequently it strives to frustrate and destroy whatever is constructed by that light. Evil is therefore the outcome of a dialectic between two aspects of the light of *Ein-Sof* itself. Its activity arises from its opposition to change. The approximation of this idea to the neoplatonic view of matter as the basis of evil is obvious. The struggle between the two lights is renewed at every stage of creation, nor will it come to an end until the time of final redemption, when the light that contains thought will penetrate through and through the light without thought and delineate therein its holy forms. The *sitra aḥra* of the Zohar is no more than the totality of the structure which the light without thought is forced to produce as a result of this struggle. As the process of creation goes on, the struggle becomes sharper, because the light of thought wants by its very nature to penetrate all the space that has been vacated by its contraction and to leave nothing untouched in that formless, primordial realm that Nathan calls *golem* (the formless *hyle*). The premise that the principles of both good and evil exist together in the supreme mind of God and that there is no other possible logical solution to the problem of evil in a monotheistic system was shared by Leibnitz, who approached the problem similarly some 50 years later in his *Théodicée*.

Although there is no doubt that most kabbalists held that evil did have a real existence at various levels, even though it functioned through negation, they were divided in their views concerning the eschatological problem of how it would finally be terminated both in the world and in man. Would the power of evil be totally destroyed in the time to come? Would it perhaps survive, but without any possibility of influencing the redeemed world once good and evil, which had become intermingled, had now been finally separated? Or would evil perhaps be transformed into good once more? The view that in the future world, whenever that would be, all things would return to their original, holy state, had eminent advocates from the days of the Gerona kabbalists onward. Naḥmanides spoke of "the return of all things to their true essence" – a concept drawn perhaps from Christian eschatology and the doctrine of *apokatastis* – and he meant by this the reascent of every created being to its source in emanation which would no longer leave room for the continued existence of the kingdom of evil in creation or of the power of the evil instinct in man. It would appear, indeed, that this return was connected in his view with the great jubilee, according to the doctrine of the *shemittot*. Such a position accepted the reality of evil within the different *shemittot*, in each *shemittah* according to its specific nature.

Generally speaking, kabbalistic arguments about the ultimate fate of evil limited themselves to the time of the redemption and the final day of judgment. The dominant view was that the power of evil would be destroyed and disappear, since there would be no longer any justification for its continued existence. However, others held that the evil domain would survive as the place of eternal punishment for the wicked. A certain vacillation between these two beliefs is found in both the Zohar and Lurianic Kabbalah. On the whole, the Zohar emphasizes that the power of the *kelippot* will be terminated and "broken" in the time to come, and in a number of places it states quite plainly that the *sitra aḥra* "will pass from the world" and the light of holiness will shine "without hindrance." Gikatilla states, on the other hand, that in the time to come "God will take the attribute of misfortune [i.e., the power of evil] to a place where it will not be able to be malignant" (*Sha'arei Orah*, ch. 4). Those who upheld the doctrine that evil would once more become good claimed that Samael himself would repent and be transformed into an angel of holiness, which would automatically cause the disappearance of the kingdom of the *sitra aḥra*. This view is expressed in the book *Kaf ha-Ketoret* (1500), and particularly in the *Asarah Ma'amarot* of Menahem Azariah Fano, but is opposed in the writings of Vital, who took a less liberal position. A powerful symbolic statement of Samael's future return to sanctity, and one particularly common from the 17th century onward, was the view that his name would be changed, the letter *mem*, signifying death (*mavet*), dropping out to leave Sa'el, one of the 72 holy Names of God.

The Doctrine of Creation in Lurianic Kabbalah

The one factor common to all kabbalistic doctrines of emanation and creation before Isaac Luria was their belief in an inner, uni-directional development that led from the stirring of *Ein-Sof* toward creation by means of more or less continuous stages. This process was prone to assume more complex forms and to go beyond the general doctrine of the ten *Sefirot*, to delve into the inner dynamic of the *Sefirot* themselves, or to describe the world of emanation through other symbolic systems, such as that of the mutually evolving, mutually conjoining Names of God. But the basic theme always remained the same: the progressive manifestation of *Ein-Sof* as articulated through the processes of emanation and creation. Even the classic formulation of this doctrine in the books of Cordovero, with all its dialectic complexity, does not diverge from this basic line. In contrast to this, we find a crucial turning-point in Lurianic cosmogony, whose extremely dramatic conception introduced far-reaching changes in the structure of kabbalistic thought. The details of this system are extremely complex even where they are clearly expounded, as for example, with regard to the principal acts of the creation-drama, to say nothing of its many obscurities that mystical meditation alone can perhaps comprehend. Lurianic doctrine created an enormous chasm between *Ein-Sof* and the world of emanation, which in previous kabbalistic teachings had been closely bound together, and then proceeded to fill it with divine acts of which the earlier Kabbalah had known nothing, although they can often be better understood against the background of older motifs. The principal accounts of the stages of creation found in the different versions of Lurianic doctrine given in the writings of his disciples and their pupils (on these sources, see the article on Luria) are basically similar, but they vary in emphasis and in the speculative interpretations they give to the significance of the main acts of creation. It may indeed be said that with Isaac Luria a new period of kabbalistic speculation was inaugurated which must be distinguished from earlier Kabbalah in all respects.

This new Kabbalah was based on three main doctrines, which determined its character: *ẓimẓum*; "the breaking of the vessels"; and *tikkun*.

ẒIMẒUM ("CONTRACTION"). The basic source of this doctrine is found in an early fragment from the circle of the *Sefer ha-Iyyun* (a preface to a commentary on "the 32 paths of wisdom" in the Florence Ms.) which speaks of an act of divine contraction that preceded emanations: "How did He produce and create this world? Like a man who gathers in and contracts (*meẓamẓem*) his breath [Shem Tov b. Shem Tov has, "and contracts Himself"], so that the smaller might contain the larger, so He contracted His light into a hand's breadth, according to His own measure, and the world was left in darkness, and in that darkness He cut boulders and hewed rocks." Here the reference is to the creation of *Keter*, which was thought to evolve from an act of contraction that left room for that darkness which alone was *Keter*. This was also in fact Naḥmanides' view in his commentary to the *Sefer Yeẓirah*, but not until Luria was the idea elevated to a basic cosmological principle.

The main originality of this Lurianic doctrine lay in the notion that the first act of *Ein-Sof* was not one of revelation and emanation, but, on the contrary, was one of concealment and limitation. The symbols employed here indicate an extremely naturalistic point of departure for understanding the beginning of creation and their very audacity made them highly problematic. Not surprisingly, therefore, important points of Luria's doctrine, which was preserved in its original wording in Luria's own literary remains and in Joseph ibn Tabul's version, were either obliterated (as in Vital's *Eẓ Ḥayyim*) or completely suppressed (as in *Kanfei Yonah* by R. Moses Jonah). The starting point of this theory is the idea that the very essence of *Ein-Sof* leaves no space whatsoever for creation, for it is impossible to imagine an area which is not already God, since this would constitute a limitation of His infinity. (This problem was not a source of concern to either the Zohar or Cordovero.) Consequently, an act of creation is possible only through "the entry of God into Himself," that is, through an act of *ẓimẓum* whereby He contracts Himself and so makes it possible for something which is not *Ein-Sof* to exist. Some part of the Godhead, therefore, retreats and leaves room, so to speak, for the creative processes to come into play. Such a retreat must precede any emanation.

Unlike the midrashic use of the word (*meẓamẓem*), which speaks of God contracting Himself into the Holy of Holies in the abode of the cherubs, kabbalistic contraction has quite the reverse significance: it is not the concentration of God's power *in* a place, but its removal *from* a place. The place from which He retreats is merely "a point" in comparison with His infinity, but it comprises from our point of view all levels of existence, both spiritual and corporeal. This place is primordial space, and it is called *tehiru*, a term taken from the Zohar (1, 15a). Luria also answers the question of how this *ẓimẓum* actually took place. Before *ẓimẓum* all the forces of God were stored within His infinite Self and equitably balanced without any separation between them. Hence, even the forces of *Din* ("judgment") were stored there but were not distinguishable as such. When the primal intention to create came into being, *Ein-Sof* gathered together the roots of *Din*, which had been previously concealed within him, into one place, from which the power of mercy had departed. In this way the power of *Din* became concentrated. *Ẓimẓum* therefore was an act of judgment and self-limitation, and the process thus initiated was intended to continue by means of a progressive extraction and catharsis of the power of *Din* that was left in primordial space, where it was intermingled in a confused fashion with the remnants of the light of *Ein-Sof* that had remained behind even after *ẓimẓum*, like the drops of oil that remain in a vessel after it has been emptied. This residue was called *reshimu*. Into this inchoate mixture, which is the hylic aspect of the future universe, there descends from the primordial, space-encompassing *Ein-Sof* a *yod*, the first letter of the Tetragrammaton, which contains a "cosmic measure" or *kav ha-middah*, that is, the power of formation and organization. This power may be seen as belonging to the attribute of mercy (*Raḥamim*).

Creation, therefore, is conceived of as a double activity of the emanating *Ein-Sof* following on *ẓimẓum*: the Emanator acts both as a receptive substratum in the light of the *reshimu*, and as a form-giving force which descends from the essence of *Ein-Sof* to bring order and structure to the original confusion. Thus, both the subject and object of the process of creation have their origin in God but were differentiated from each other in the *ẓimẓum*. This process is expressed in the creation of "vessels" (*kelim*) in which the divine essence that remained in primordial space is precipitated out: at first this takes place still hylically, in the vessel called "primordial air" (*avir kadmon*), but subsequently it assumes a clearer form in the vessel called "primordial man" (*Adam Kadmon*) that is created by a raising and lowering of the "cosmic measure," which serves as a permanent connection between *Ein-Sof* and the primordial space of *ẓimẓum*.

This version of the doctrine of *ẓimẓum* was obscured to a great extent by Vital, although occasional allusions to it remain scattered here and there in his works. At the beginning of his *Eẓ Ḥayyim*, however, there is a much simpler account. Without mentioning either the gathering out of the roots of *Din* or the *reshimu*, he describes a process whereby as a result of the act of divine contraction an empty vacuum was formed in the midst of *Ein-Sof*, into which emanated a ray of light that filled this space with ten *Sefirot*. Since the *ẓimẓum* took place equally on all sides, the resulting vacuum was circular or spherical in shape. The light which entered it in a straight line after the *ẓimẓum* has, therefore, two aspects from the start: it arranges itself both in concentric circles and in a unilinear structure, which is the form of "the primordial man that preceded every first thing." The form of a circle and of a man are henceforth the two directions in which every created thing develops. Just as the first movement in creation was in reality composed of two movements – the ascent of *Ein-Sof* into the depths of itself and its partial descent into the space of *ẓimẓum* – so this double rhythm is a necessarily recurring feature of every stage in the universal process. This process works through the double beat of the alternately expanding movement of *Ein-Sof* and its desire to return to itself, *hitpashtut* ("egression") and *histalkut* ("regression"), as the kabbalists call it. Every movement of regression toward the source has something of a new *ẓimẓum* about it. This double-facedness in the process of emanation is typical of the dialectical tendency of Lurianic Kabbalah. Every stage in the development of the emanating light has not only a circular and linear aspect but also the modes of both an "inner light" within the vessels that are produced and a "surrounding light," as well as the modes of *aẓmut ve-kelim* ("substance and vessels"), and "direct light and reflected light," that are taken from the teachings of Cordovero. Luria's special interest in the structure of the spiritual worlds and their emergence through dialectical processes is also expressed in the distinction he makes between the structural "totality" (*kelalut*) of the forces of emanation and the structural "individuality" (*peratut*) of each, that is, the isolated articulation in itself of each such power that is active in a given overall structure.

Our earliest sources for the doctrine of *ẓimẓum* clearly show that Luria did not differentiate between the substance of *Ein-Sof* and its light, in both of which *ẓimẓum* occurred. Such a distinction was made only when problems arose concerning the harmonization of this doctrine with the idea of God's immutability. This desire for consistency had two consequences:

(1) a differentiation between the substance of *Ein-Sof* and its light (i.e., its will), which made it possible to argue that the *ẓimẓum* occurred only in the latter and not in its "possessor"; and

(2) the insistence that the concept of *ẓimẓum* was not to be taken literally, being only figurative and based on a human perspective. These two beliefs were particularly stressed in the school of Israel Sarug, whose teachings on the subject were based on a combination of Ibn Tabul's redaction of Lurianic doctrine with that of Moses Jonah in his *Kanfei Yonah*, which makes no mention of *ẓimẓum* but speaks only of an emanation of one primal point comprising all the *Sefirot* without going into the details of how the latter came into being. To this Sarug added original ideas of his own which had a great influence on later Kabbalah; a summary of them can be found in his book *Limmudei Aẓilut*. According to him, the *ẓimẓum* was preceded by processes of a more internal nature within *Ein-Sof* itself. In the beginning *Ein-Sof* took pleasure in its own autarchic self-sufficiency, and this "pleasure" produced a kind of "shaking" which was the movement of *Ein-Sof* within itself. Next, this movement "from itself to itself" aroused the root of *Din*, which was still indistinguishably combined with *Raḥamim*. As a result of this "shaking," "primordial points" were "engraved" in the power of *Din*, thus becoming the first forms to leave their markings in the essence of *Ein-Sof*. The contours

of this "engraving" were those of the primordial space, that was to come into being as the end-product of this process. As the light of *Ein-Sof* outside this "engraving" acted upon the points within it, the latter were activated from their potential state and the primordial Torah, the ideal world woven in the substance of *Ein-Sof* itself, was born. This Torah, the linguistic movement of *Ein-Sof* within itself, is called a *malbush* ("garment"), though in fact it is inseparable from the divine substance and is woven within it "like the grasshopper whose clothing is part of itself," to use the language of the Midrash. Sarug described the structure of this "garment" in great detail. Its length was made up of the alphabets of the *Sefer Yeẓirah* and had 231 "gates" (i.e., possible combinations of the 22 letters of the Hebrew alphabet in the progression אב, אג, אד etc.), which form the archistructure of divine thought. Its breadth was composed of an elaboration of the Tetragrammaton according to the numerical value of the four possible spellings of the fully written names of its letters, viz., the "name" 45 (יוד, הא, יאו, הא), the "name" 52 (יוד, הה, וו, הה), the "name" 72 (יוד, הי, ויו, הי), and the "name" 63 (הי, יוד, הי, ואו), which were the "threads" of the "weave" that were originally situated in the hem of the garment. This primordial Torah contained potentially all that could possibly be revealed through the Torah to be given on earth. In effect, it was a kabbalistic version of the Platonic world of ideas. The size of this garment was twice the area necessary for the creation of all the worlds. After it had been woven, it was folded in two: half of it ascended and its letters stood behind the letters of the other half. The "names" 45 and 52 were arranged behind the "names" 72 and 63, and consequently the last *yod* of the "name" 63 was left without a partner in the folded garment. This folding constituted a contraction (*ẓimẓum*) of the garment to half its area, and with the removal of half of it from its previous place, something was created in *Ein-Sof* that no longer partook of its substance. All that remained in this primordial square was the unmatched *yod*, which now assumed the dynamic task of transferring the light of *Ein-Sof,* which spread in circles, to the area produced by the act of *ẓimẓum*, as in the version of Ibn Tabul. The empty area created by the folding of the garment is not an actual vacuum but is merely deprived of the garment or of the light of its substance. Yet the hidden law of the whole of creation that is inscribed within the "engraving" of *Ein-Sof* is henceforward active and expresses itself throughout all subsequent processes through the power invested in this one intruding *yod*. Made manifest in the vacated space are both the residue (*reshimu*) of the remaining light of its essence and some of the light of *Ein-Sof* itself, which acts as the soul that sustains all and without which all would return to *Ein-Sof* as before. This soul too contracts to a point, which is none other than the *anima mundi* of the philosophers. Moreover, the various movements of the *ẓimẓum*, and the ascents and descents of this *yod*, produce still other points in space that constitute the primordial "world of points" (*olam ha-nekudot*), which at this stage still has no definite structure and in which the divine lights exist in an atomized state. According to Sarug, not one but many contractions occur in the place of the *reshimu*, and even more so thereafter. Elsewhere he states that there are two kinds of *reshimu*, one of the divine substance and one of the folded garment, and that only the second is articulated in the world of the points. Only upon the return of the *yod*, which ascends to *Ein-Sof* and re-descends from it, is that supernal light created in the primordial space which is known as the *tehiru* or primal matter of every being.

The dialectical confusion apparent in Sarug's presentations bears witness to the uncertainty and excitement caused by the new idea of the *ẓimẓum*. The importance of the power of *Din* in those acts which led to its embodiment in primal matter is obliterated to a much greater extent in Sarug's presentation than in that of Ibn Tabul, though it does not disappear altogether. The contradiction inherent in the opposing conceptions of the vacated primordial space, now as a square and now a sphere created by the activity of the emanating *yod*, posed an additional problem in Sarug's work that was not found elsewhere and that had no consistent solution. In any case, extreme naturalistic descriptions in these accounts were qualified by the stress laid on their symbolic character.

One of the most interesting of the further speculative attempts to explain the theories of *ẓimẓum*, which continued to be made for more than 200 years, is the daring interpretation of Shabbetai Sheftel Horowitz in his *Shefa Tal*. Horowitz tried to revise the doctrine of *ẓimẓum* once again and to regard it as merely a symbolic account of the emanation of the *Sefirah Keter.* Following Sarug's presentation, although without mentioning the *malbush* ("garment"), he attempted to equate the different stages in *ẓimẓum* with what he considered to be the parallel stages in the emanation of *Keter* in Cordovero's teachings. The emergence of the *tehiru* was no longer produced by the *ẓimẓum* itself but by the emanation of the light of *Ein-Sof* from within the essence of *Ein-Sof* itself. Only within this emanated *tehiru* did a contraction take place of the light of *Ein-Sof,* a residue of which mingled with some of the emanated substance to form the *reshimu*. Thus, the soul came into being as a supernal point in the *Sefirah Keter.* This transformation of the *ẓimẓum* into a second divine act following an original act of emanation made the doctrine once more compatible with Cordovero, who had also acknowledged the existence of a *ẓimẓum* within the chain of emanations, in which the power of the Creator became inevitably restricted in a progressive manner. Thus, Horowitz's interpretation removed the paradoxical thrust which was inherent in the doctrine of *ẓimẓum* from its very conception.

From the 17th century onward kabbalistic opinion was divided on the doctrine of *ẓimẓum*. Was it to be taken literally? Or was it to be understood symbolically as an occurrence in the depths of the Divine, which the human mind could only describe in figurative language? The question was a bone of contention in the many arguments that took place between the kabbalists and the more philosophically inclined who found kabbalistic speculation distasteful, for all that the concept of *ẓimẓum* was in fact very close to ideas that later developed in modern idealist philosophies, such as those of Schelling and Whitehead. As a result of the exposition of the doctrine given by the author of *Emek ha-Melekh*, many kabbalists were inclined to take the *ẓimẓum* literally, a view that became especially popular among the Shabbateans, whose entire creed made a non-literal interpretation impossible. This position was clearly expressed in the writings of Nathan of Gaza and Nehemiah Ḥayon. It was Ḥayon's determined defense of the literalist interpretation, in fact, that prompted Joseph Ergas to stress even more keenly Abraham Herrera's view that the *ẓimẓum* doctrine was symbolic. This dispute, which was also bound up with the anthropomorphistic doctrine of the Shabbateans in general, broke out in 1714 and was summed up by Ergas in his *Shomer Emunim* (1736), which is our main source for that fundamental reinterpretation that restored Lurianic doctrine to its Cordoveroan starting-point. By then the Shabbatean side of the argument was no longer a factor, so that the literalist position was defended again, even in the camp of the orthodox kabbalists, whose chief spokesman was Immanuel Hai Ricchi in his *Yosher Levav* (1737). Ergas' system, on the other hand, was expanded in the *Amud ha-Avodah* by Baruch Kosover (written about 1763, but not printed until 1854). Ergas greatly influenced ḥasidic literature, especially the Ḥabad teachings of Shneur Zalman of Lyady and his pupil Aaron ha-Levi of Staroselye, who devoted a profound dialectical discussion to the subject in his *Avodat ha-Levi*. In his *Tanya* Shneur Zalman maintained that the Gaon of Vilna mistakenly took *ẓimẓum* literally, but it is an open question if he was justified in interpreting the Gaon's teachings in this way. Aaron ha-Levi's system is based on the premise of a double *ẓimẓum*. The first *ẓimẓum*, also called *beki'ah* ("piercing"), is a contraction in the substance of *Ein-Sof* which renders possible the appearance of the Infinite in general and which is completely beyond our understanding. It leads to a revelation of the light of *Ein-Sof*, but it is so unfathomable that there is not the slightest mention of it in Ḥayyim Vital's *Eẓ Ḥayyim*. It is only after this *beki'ah*, which is conceived of as a "leap" from absolute *Ein-Sof* to relative *Ein-Sof*, that the second contraction occurs, whereby the Infinite light of *Ein-Sof* is made to appear finite. In fact, however, the finite has no existence at all and is made possible only through the emission of a line or a ray from the Infinite. The cathartic concept of *ẓimẓum* mentioned above was developed independently in the writings of Moses Ḥayyim Luzzatto, who believed the crux of *ẓimẓum* to lie in the fact that the Creator "overcomes, as it were, His innate law of goodness in creation, so that His creatures should not be made perfect, even seen from their own point of view, let alone seen from that of God." The metaphysical root of evil is inherent in the very privation that the act of *ẓimẓum* involves, and the whole development of created beings depends on their being given an opportunity to perfect themselves according to their merits and to separate the power of evil from the power of good.

In sum, we can say that those kabbalists who wrote with one eye on the philosophers tended to stress the non-literal nature of *ẓimẓum*, whereas those kabbalists who had little use for Aristotelian philosophy to begin with presented the doctrine literally and unadorned. Nor should we overlook the close connection in the view of many kabbalists between *ẓimẓum* and the existence of the hylic matter which served as the basis for creation as a whole. Even Ḥayyim Vital himself defined the Infinite as the Nothing, which became manifest in *Keter* only through *ẓimẓum*, the hylic matter in the whole of creation (*Eẓ Ḥayyim*, ch. 42, para. 1). Others connected the existence of the *hyle* with the *reshimu*, the primordial space, or the primordial air which was made manifest through *ẓimẓum*. A special discussion of the subject occurs in Eliakim b. Abraham Hart's *Ẓuf Novelot* (London, 1799), summarizing the far longer elaboration in *Novelot Ḥokhmah* by Joseph Solomon Delmedigo (1631).

THE BREAKING OF THE VESSELS. The point in *Ein-Sof* that was vacated in the act of *ẓimẓum* was subsequently filled with a proliferation of worlds and ontological events, each one of which tends in Lurianic Kabbalah to become the subject of a description whose complexity verges on the extreme. Moreover, these descriptions themselves vary widely in the different redactions of Ibn Tabul, Moses Jonah, and Ḥayyim Vital, and highly contradictory versions of them can even be found in several of Vital's own works. Israel Sarug's attempts to make a unified whole out of this confusion only added still further to it. Nevertheless, in each of these many presentations the same broad outlines appear. Isaac Luria's main preoccupation, it would appear, was to trace the further development of the vessels that received the light of emanation which shone into the primordial space after the act of *ẓimẓum*. In the actual emergence of these vessels a part was played both by the lights that were located in the *tehiru* after the *ẓimẓum* and by the new lights that entered with the ray. The purpose of this process was the selecting out of the forces of *Din* that had collected, a catharsis that could have been attained either by eliminating these forces from the system entirely or else by integrating them within it by first "softening" and purifying them – two conflicting approaches which we frequently encounter side by side. In either case, however, in order to further those processes that were a necessary prelude to the complex hierarchy of creation, a progressive differentiation was called for in the vessels themselves, without which the emanating streams would have been unable to regulate themselves and function properly. To this end, the various conjunctions of the first emanating lights as they collided with each other resulted in the creation of the vessels, which "crystallized out," as it were, from certain modes that these lights contained.

All the Lurianic redactions agree that the ray of light that comes from *Ein-Sof* in order to organize the *reshimu* and the forces of *Din* that have filled the primordial space functions in two opposing fashions which inform all the developments in this space from beginning to end. These are the two aspects of "circle and line" (*iggul ve-yosher*). Practically speaking, a point can expand evenly in one of two ways, circularly or linearly, and herein is expressed a basic duality that runs through the process of creation. The more harmonious of the two forms, which partakes of the perfection of *Ein-Sof*, is the circle; the latter conforms naturally to the spherical space of the *ẓimẓum*, while the straight ray of light goes forth to seek its ultimate structure in the form of man, who represents the ideal aspect of *yosher* ("straightness"). Thus, while the circle is the natural form, the line is the willed form that is directed toward the figure of man. Moreover, because the line of light comes directly from *Ein-Sof*, it is of a higher degree than the circle, whose shape is a reflection of the *ẓimẓum*. The former, according to Isaac Luria, comprehends the principle of the *ru'aḥ*, the latter the principle of the *nefesh* or natural perfection. Essentially, this doctrine is a restatement of the Pythagorean geometrical symbolism that dominated natural philosophy until the 17th century. Every act of emanation, therefore, contains these two aspects, and should one be missing various disruptions or unexpected developments will take place. All purposeful, teleological movements are basically those of the line, while to the circle belong all processes dominated by natural, immanent necessity.

The first form that emanation assumes after the *ẓimẓum* is that of the *Adam Kadmon* ("primordial man"), which in the Lurianic system stands for a realm above the four worlds of *aẓilut*, *beri'ah*, *yeẓirah*, and *asiyyah* with which pre-Lurianic Kabbalah began. Isaac Luria did, it is true, seek to support this belief with a number of citations from the Zohar and the *Tikkunim*, but in fact it represented a completely new departure. Though he and his disciples maintained that many of the processes that take place in the *Adam Kadmon* are mysteries beyond human knowledge, they nevertheless discussed in great detail the manner in which the forces of emanation were organized after the *ẓimẓum* in this form. Throughout their treatment of this figure and of the supernal lights that radiated from it, the double dialectical movement mentioned above remains dominant. Thus, the ten *Sefirot* first took shape in the *Adam Kadmon* in the form of concentric circles, of which the outermost, the circle of *Keter*, remained in close contact with the surrounding *Ein-Sof*. This was the *nefesh* of the *Adam Kadmon*. Next the ten *Sefirot* rearranged themselves as a line, in the form of a man and his limbs, though of course this must be understood in the purely spiritual sense of the incorporeal supernal lights. This was the *ru'aḥ* of the *Adam Kadmon*. The higher aspects of the *nefesh*, known as *neshamah, ḥayyah*, and *yeḥidah*, are also rooted in the upper *Sefirot* in their linear configurations. All of these lights possess vessels which are still so subtle and "pure" that they can hardly be considered vessels at all. The promotion of the *Adam Kadmon* to the rank of the first being to emerge after the *ẓimẓum* accounts for the strong anthropomorphic coloring that accompanies all descriptions of the process of emanation in the Lurianic system. The *Adam Kadmon* serves as a kind of intermediary link between *Ein-Sof*, the light of whose substance continues to be active in him, and the hierarchy of worlds still to come. In comparison with the latter, indeed, the *Adam Kadmon* himself could well be, and sometimes was, called *Ein-Sof*.

From the head of the *Adam Kadmon* tremendous lights shone forth and aligned themselves in rich and complex patterns. Some assumed the form of letters while others took on still other aspects of the Torah or the Holy Tongue, such as the cantillations (*te'amim*), the vowel points, or the scribal affixes (*tagim*), which too are components of Holy Writ. Thus, two essentially different symbolisms – that of light, and that of language and writing – are here joined. Every constellation of light has its particular linguistic expression, though the latter is not directed toward the lower worlds but rather inward toward its own hidden being. These lights combine to form "names" whose concealed potencies become active and are made manifest through concealed "configurations" (*millu'im*) where each letter is fully written out by name in the alphabet. This primordial world from the lights of *Adam Kadmon's* forehead, which issued from the spot where the phylactery-of-the-head is laid. The lights issuing from the *Adam Kadmon's* ears, nose, and mouth, however, expanded linearly only, nor did their *Sefirot* have special vessels, since they were at first joined together in a common vessel in accord with the "collectivity" that was their structural nature. Vital called this sphere *olam ha-akudim*, meaning a world where the *Sefirot* were not yet differentiated (lit. bound together). The function assigned to these lights in the drama of creation was never clearly defined. The lights of the eyes, on the other hand, were differentiated into every *Sefirah*. In theory these lights should have issued from the navel, but the place of their appearance was deflected by a medium acting within the *Adam Kadmon* and referred to as *parsa* (apparently a reference to the diaphragm). This displacement is described as the result of another *ẓimẓum* within the lights themselves. Having changed their path, these lights issued from the eyes both linearly and circularly, and each of their *Sefirot* commanded a vessel of its own. Vital calls these separated lights "the world of dots" (*olam ha-nikuddim*), but in other Lurianic writings they are grouped together with the light of the *tehiru* and referred to as "the world of points" (*olam ha-nekuddot*) or "the world of chaos" (*olam ha-tohu*) – the latter because at this stage the lights of the *Sefirot* had not yet attained a stable structural arrangement. All the lights of these *Sefirot* were given vessels, themselves made of thicker light, in which to arrange themselves and function.

At this point, however, there occurred what is known in Lurianic Kabbalah as "the breaking of the vessels" or "the death of the kings." The vessels assigned to the upper three *Sefirot* managed to contain the light that flowed into them, but the light struck the six *Sefirot* from *Ḥesed* to *Yesod* all at once and so was too strong to be held by the individual vessels; one after another they broke, the pieces scattering and falling. The vessel of the last *Sefirah, Malkhut*, also cracked but not to the same degree. Some of the light that had been in the vessels retraced its path to its source, but the rest was hurled down with the vessels themselves, and from their shards the *kelippot*, the dark forces of the *sitra aḥra*, took on substance. These shards are also the source of gross matter. The irresistible pressure of the light in the vessels also caused every rank of worlds to descend from the place that had been assigned to it. The entire world process as we now know it, therefore, is at variance with its originally intended order and position. Nothing, neither the lights nor the vessels, remained in its proper place, and this development – called after a phrase borrowed from the *Idrot* of the Zohar, "the death of the primordial kings" – was nothing less than a cosmic catastrophe. At the same time, the breaking of the vessels, which corresponds to the destruction of the first, unsuccessful worlds in earlier Kabbalah, was not understood in Lurianic writings to be an anarchic or chaotic process; rather, it too took place in accord with certain clear internal laws that were elaborated extensively. Similarly, the emergence of the *kelippot* as the root of evil was described as a process following fixed rules and involving only the shards of those vessels that had been struck by the first sparks of light. These lights remained "captured" among the *kelippot*, which are nourished by them; they, in fact, provide the life-force for the entire world of *kelippot*, which in one degree or another interpenetrated the whole hierarchy of worlds once the vessels had been broken. The broken vessels too, of course, were subjected to the process of *tikkun* or restoration which began immediately after the disaster, but their "dross" was unaffected, and from this waste matter, which can be compared to the necessary by-products of any organic process, the *kelippot*, in their strict sense as the powers of evil, emerged. The catastrophic aspects of the breaking of the vessels were especially stressed in the simplified versions of the story that appeared in popular kabbalistic literature which described the entire process in highly mythical imagery.

Widely differing explanations for the breaking of the vessels were offered in Lurianic writings. Some commentators were content to attribute it to the weak and atomized inner structure of "the world of points," whose isolated, unorganized parts were too unstable to prevent the occurrence. Another explanation was that since the first emanations of the points were all circular rather than partly linear, an inevitable imbalance was created. In some texts it is stated that only the "branches" of the points went forth from *Adam Kadmon* while the "roots" remained within him, and that the former lacked the power by themselves to withstand the pressure of the light. All of these explanations are based on the premise that the unsound structure of the world of points was at fault, and view the breaking of the vessels as a mishap in the existence of the life-process of the Godhead. (See Tishby, *Torat ha-ra ve-ha-kelippah be-kabbalat ha-Ari*, 39–45.) Other explanations which seem to derive from Isaac Luria himself actually seek to justify this unsound structure by viewing it as a reaction to the roots of *Din* and the *kelippot* that were from the start present in the emanation. According to this view, the main design of the emanative process was to bring about a catharsis of these harsh elements and of the waste matter in the divine system. The presence of the roots of the *kelippot* in the emanation was the true inner reason for the breaking of the vessels. This cathartic explanation is frequently associated with the teleological view that the vessels were broken in order to pave the way for reward and punishment in the lower worlds that were due to emerge as the last phase of the creation. Differently stressed versions of such explications can be found in Moses Jonah, Vital, and Ibn Tabul. The cathartic and teleological explanations represent basically different approaches and well illustrate the tension in Lurianic Kabbalah between mythic and theological modes of thought. Later kabbalists ruled that the teleological explanation was indeed the literally correct one but that the cathartic explanation represented the mystical truth (Meir Bikayam, *Me'orei Or*, 1752, 15c). In the Lurianic school of Israel Sarug an additional, organic analogy was offered: the world of points was like a sown field whose seeds could not bear fruit until they had first split open and rotted.

TIKKUN. The breaking of the vessels marks a dramatic turning-point in the relations between the *Adam Kadmon* and all that develops beneath him. All the subsequent processes of creation come about to restore this primal fault. In its imaginative boldness, the belief that such an event could take place within a realm that, according to all opinions, was still part of the self-manifesting Godhead can be compared only to the doctrine of the *ẓimẓum* itself. Indeed, it was even suggested that the *ẓimẓum* too represented a kind of primordial "breakage" within *Ein-Sof.* The laws by which the process of cosmic restoration and reintegration (*tikkun*) works itself out constitute the largest part of Lurianic Kabbalah, for they touch on all the realms of creation, including the "anthropological" and "psychological" ones. The details of the doctrine of *tikkun* are extremely complex and seem to have been intentionally designed as a challenge to mystical contemplation. The most crucial element in this doctrine is the concept that the chief medium of *tikkun*, that is, of the restoration of the universe to its original design in the mind of its Creator, is the light that issued from *Adam Kadmon's* forehead to reorganize the disorderly confusion that resulted from the breaking of the vessels. The main support of these lights comes from the linear *Sefirot* of "the world of points," which did not undergo any breakage and henceforward have the task of encouraging the formation of balanced and stable structures in the future realms of creation. These new structures are called *parẓufim*, that is, configurations or *gestalten*, and each comprises an organic pattern of hierarchies of *Sefirot* with its own dynamic laws.

These *parẓufim* (literally, "faces" or "physiognomies") now take the place of the *Sefirot* as the principal manifestations of *Adam Kadmon*. In each of them newly emanated forces are bonded together with others that were damaged in the breaking of the vessels; thus, each *parẓuf* represents a specific stage in the process of catharsis and reconstruction. The *Sefirah Keter* is now re-formed as the *parẓuf* of *Arikh Anpin* (literally, "the long-faced one," i.e., "the indulgent one" or "forbearing one," a phrase borrowed from the Zohar, where it appears as an Aramaic translation of the biblical *erekh-appayin*, "long-suffering"), or *Attika* ("the ancient one"), which are sometimes treated as two separate aspects of the same *parẓuf.* The *Sefirot Ḥokhmah* and *Binah* now become the *parẓufim* of

Abba and *Imma* ("father and mother"), which function in a dual capacity: they exist as a medium for the reindividuation and redifferentiation of all the emanated beings into transmitters and receivers of influx, and they also serve as the supreme archetype for that procreative "coupling" (*zivvug*) which, in its metaphorical aspect of "face-to-face contemplation" (*histakkelut panim-be-fanim*), is the common root of all intellectual and erotic unions. This "coupling" is aroused by the reascent of the 288 sparks that had been in the broken vessels and returned to the bowels of *Binah*, where they play the role of animating and quickening forces within a structure whose function is primarily receptive. Without such assisting forces, which are referred to as "female waters" (*mayim nukbin*), there can be neither "coupling" nor unification even in the world of *aẓilut*. From the union of *Abba* and *Imma* a new *parẓuf* is born, known as *Ze'eir Anpin* (literally, "the short-faced one," i.e., "the impatient" or "unindulgent one"), which is comprised of the six lower *Sefirot*, from *Gevurah* to *Yesod*. Here we have the center for the cathartic processes that take place in all the *parẓufim* in order to mitigate the harsh powers of *Din*; their ultimate success depends on a long, almost endless series of developments. The self-manifestation of *Ein-Sof* in the created worlds takes place largely through this *parẓuf*, which undergoes an embryonic development in the depths of *Imma*, followed by "birth," "suckling," and the progressive emergence of the formative powers known as "immaturity" (*katnut*) and "maturity" (*gadluṭ*). The latter in turn are reinvigorated through a second "conception" by means of new powers that join them from other *parẓufim*. The structural unity of *Ze'eir Anpin* is assured by the workings of a principle called *ẓelem* ("image," after the verse in Gen. 1:27), which involves the activity of certain lights that help serve as a constituent element in all the *parẓufim* but are especially centered in *Ze'eir Anpin*. The last and tenth *Sefirah, Malkhut*, is also converted into a *parẓuf*, which is named *Nukba de-Ze'eir*, "the female of *Ze'eir*," and represents the latter's complementary feminine aspect. The main source of this boldly anthropomorphic symbolism is in the *Idrot* of the Zohar, but in its development in the Lurianic Kabbalah it took a radical turn. Isaac Luria himself undoubtedly viewed the *parẓufim* as power centers through which the creative dynamism of the Godhead was able to function and assume form. The various names, configurations, and sub-configurations that accompany these symbolic descriptions were probably intended to mute this almost provocatively conspicuous anthropomorphism to some extent. Over and above the five *parẓufim* just mentioned, whose inner dialectic is extensively explained in Ḥayyim Vital's *Eẓ Ḥayyim*, there are still other, secondary *parẓufim* that constitute the articulation of certain powers in the *Ze'eir Anpin* and its feminine *Nukba*, such as *Yisrael Sava, Tevunah, Raḥel*, and *Leah*. Indeed, in Isaac Luria's richly associative thought, practically every biblical personage was immediately transformed into a metaphysical figure from which sprang new hypostases and *parẓufim*. An outstanding example of this tendency can be found in chapter 32 of the *Eẓ Ḥayyim*, where all that happened to the "generation of the desert" is construed as representing processes in the *parẓufim* of the three upper *Sefirot* of the *Ze'eir Anpin* and its female counterpart.

The five principal *parẓufim* of *Abba, Imma, Arikh Anpin, Ze'eir Anpin*, and *Nukba de-Ze'eir* constitute the figure of the *Adam Kadmon* as it evolves in the first stages of *tikkun*, which is quite different from the figure of *Adam Kadmon* that existed before the breaking of the vessels. These *parẓufim* also comprise "the world of balance" (*olam ha-matkela*), which is identical with the world of *aẓilut* of earlier Kabbalah. From this world, though not its substance, an influx of spiritual light descends downward to the lower worlds of *beri'ah, yeẓirah*, and *asiyyah*. At the bottom of each world is a "curtain" which serves to filter out the sefirotic substance that properly corresponds to the nature of that world and to let all else pass on through a secondary reflex which in turn becomes the substance of a subsequent stage. The basic structure of the world of *aẓilut* repeats itself with certain modifications in the three lower worlds. The *tikkun*, however, has not yet been completed. As a result of the breaking of the vessels, none of the worlds is located in its proper place. Each one of them stands a rank lower than it should be, the original place of the world beneath it. In consequence, the world of *asiyyah*, which in essence is also a spiritual world (like the Ideal Nature of the neoplatonists), has descended and commingled with the lowest part of the realm of the *kelippot* and with the physical matter that is dominant there.

The main concern of Lurianic Kabbalah, as has been mentioned, is with the details of the process of *tikkun* and the developments that take place in the *parẓufim* of the different worlds, in the "*adam* of *aẓilut*," the "*adam* of *beri'ah*," etc. (Over three-quarters of the *Eẓ Ḥayyim* is devoted to this subject.) The crucial point in the various Lurianic discussions of these developments is that although the *tikkun* of the broken vessels has almost been completed by the supernal lights and the processes stemming from their activity, certain concluding actions have been reserved for man. These are the ultimate aim of creation, and the completion of *tikkun*, which is synonymous with the redemption, depends on man's performing them. Herein lies the close connection between the doctrine of *tikkun* and the religious and contemplative activity of man, which must struggle with and overcome not only the historic exile of the Jewish people but also the mystic exile of the *Shekhinah*, which was caused by the breaking of the vessels.

The object of this human activity, which is designed to complete the world of *tikkun*, is the restoration of the world of *asiyyah* to its spiritual place, its complete separation from the world of the *kelippot*, and the achievement of a permanent, blissful state of communion between every creature and God which the *kelippot* will be unable to disrupt or prevent. Of crucial importance here is the Lurianic distinction between the inward and outward aspects of the supernal lights and the worlds of creation themselves: the *tikkun* of the outward aspects of the worlds is not up to man at all, whose mission is solely concerned with certain aspects of inwardness. In the

Lurianic system the hierarchical rank of the inward is always lower than that of the outward, but precisely because of this it is within reach of the truly spiritual, inward individual, to some extent at least. Should the latter perform his task properly, the "female waters" that enable the supernal couplings to take place will be aroused, and the work of outward *tikkun* will be completed by the supernal lights that have remained concealed in the *parẓuf* of *Attika* and are due to reveal themselves only at some future time. At the very least, human activity in accordance with the Torah can prepare the way for the *tikkun* of the lower worlds.

The Gnostic character of this cosmogony cannot be denied, though the detailed manner in which it is worked out is drawn entirely from internal Jewish sources. Typically Gnostic, for example, are the depiction of the creation as a cosmic drama centered around a profoundly fateful crisis within the inner workings of the Godhead itself, and the search for a path of cosmic restoration, of a purging of the evil from the good, wherein man is assigned a central role. The fact that such an unrecognized Gnostic theology was able to dominate the mainstream of Jewish religious thought for a period of at least two centuries must surely be considered one of the greatest paradoxes in the entire history of Judaism. At the same time, side by side with this Gnostic outlook, we find a most astonishing tendency to a mode of contemplative thought that can be called "dialectic" in the strictest sense of the term as used by Hegel. This tendency is especially prominent in attempts to present formal explanations of such doctrines as that of the *ẓimẓum*, the breaking of the vessels, or the formation of the *parẓufim*.

In addition to the Lurianic texts mentioned above, the basic tenets of Lurianic Kabbalah are systematically and originally presented in the following works: *Ma'amar Adam de-Aẓilut* by Moses Praeger, in his *Va-Yakhel Moshe* (Dessau, 1699); Joseph Solomon Delmedigo's *Novelot Ḥokhmah* (Basle, actually Hanau, 1631); *Kelaḥ* [138] *Pitḥei Ḥokhmah* by Moses Ḥayyim Luzzatto (Koretz, 1785); Jacob Meir Spielmann's *Tal Orot* (Lvov, 1876–83); Isaac Eisik Ḥaver's (see Wildman) *Pitḥei She'arim* (1888); Solomon Eliashov's *Leshem Shevo ve-Aḥlamah* (1912–48); and Judah Leib Ashlag's *Talmud Eser ha-Sefirot* (1955–67). Well-known expositions of Lurianic Kabbalah by Abraham Herrera and Joseph Ergas were greatly influenced by their tendency to reconcile or at least to correlate the Lurianic system with the teachings of Cordovero, as can be seen in Ergas' allegorization of the Lurianic doctrine of *ẓimẓum*.

The Kabbalah and Pantheism

The question of whether, and to what degree, the Kabbalah leads to pantheistic conclusions has occupied many of its investigators from the appearance in 1699 of J.G. Wachter's study attempting to show that the pantheistic system of Spinoza derived from kabbalistic sources, particularly from the writings of Abraham Herrera. Much depends here, of course, on the definition of a concept which has been employed in widely different meanings. A teaching can be considered pantheistic when it insists that "God is everything" and that "everything is God," yet we must distinguish between occasional formulas which have this kind of pantheistic coloring and the exact place assigned them within the framework of a systematic theology. Such formulas are found extensively in Christian and Muslim mysticism as well, yet their actual content does not always conform to their outward pantheistic appearance. This is equally true of many similar utterances in kabbalistic literature, especially those which occur in expositions of kabbalistic thought deliberately intended for popular consumption, as in a great deal of ḥasidic writing. On the other hand, the opposite phenomenon may occur as well, and here and there we find explicitly theistic formulas that belie their inner pantheistic or near-pantheistic content. All depends on the internal context of a given system of thought. Apparent theistic tendencies can serve to conceal actually pantheistic views, while general formulas can more often than not be variously interpreted and do not therefore prove a great deal. Examples of this are Azriel's pronouncement that "nothing is outside" *Ein-Sof*, Meir ibn Gabbai's declaration that "everything is in Him and He is in everything," or the recurring insistence in the Zohar that God "is everything" and that everything is unified in Him, "as is known to the mystics" (2, 85b). Such statements can also be found in orthodox theistic systems of thought, where they serve to underline the belief that nothing could exist without a first, divine cause and that the latter, since it is the cause of all, includes and comprehends within itself whatever it has caused. In this respect God can be said to be present and immanent in all that He has caused, and were He to discontinue His presence all caused existence would thereby be annihilated. The neoplatonic principle that every effect is included in its cause greatly influenced such formulations in the Kabbalah without casting them in a necessarily pantheistic mold.

Strictly speaking, however, the problem of pantheism does occur in connection with a number of specific questions that greatly preoccupied kabbalistic speculation and to which pantheistic doctrines were at least able to offer unambiguous answers. Such questions were:

(1) Is there a unity of substance between the Emanator and the emanated? Does the actual substance of God go forth into all or only the radiated potency of that substance?

(2) If there is a unity of substance between *Ein-Sof* and the *Sefirot*, is there also such a unity between *Ein-Sof* and created beings?

(3) Is God the soul of the world or identical with the world?

(4) Does God exist in created beings (or, in the language of the philosophers, is He immanent in them), or even in them alone?

Wherever we find positive answers to these questions there is good reason to assume that we are dealing with pantheism, and wherever we do not, we can assume the converse.

The majority of kabbalists from Isaac the Blind on rejected the notion that God's substance manifests itself in the world of emanation and insisted, as did most medieval neoplatonists, that God's power alone, as opposed to his substance, goes forth in the emanative process. Some of the earliest kabbalists, however, in particular the author of the *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut*, did believe the emanated *Sefirot* to be of one substance with the emanating *Ein-Sof.* Only in the realms below the *Sefirot*, they held, was the divine potency alone active as the cause of beings that were separate from the Godhead. On the whole, we find that this school of thought had clearly theistic tendencies. Isaac b. Samuel Mar Ḥayyim (1491) distinguished between an "emanation of essence," which is the beaming forth of the *Sefirot* within the substance of *Ein-Sof,* and an "emanation of influx," which is the potency of the Emanator as it manifests itself in accordance with the receptive capacity of the given medium. Those kabbalists who identified *Ein-Sof* with the *Sefirah Keter* were obliged to consider the *Sefirot* as consubstantial with *Ein-Sof.* Yet those who held this view also explicitly denied that there could be any oneness of substance between God and the separate intellects, much less between God and other created beings. Such, for instance, was the opinion of Joseph Gikatilla in his commentary on the *Guide of the Perplexed*. Even he, however, did not restrain himself from declaring that "He fills all and He is all." Many other kabbalists, on the other hand, denied the consubstantiality of God with the emanated world, in which they professed to see only His emanating potency. In carrying on the thought of Cordovero (see below), the disciples of his school emphasized the separate substance of the emanated as opposed to the substance of the Emanator whose "garment" the former was.

The author of the Zohar was not especially concerned with this problem and was content to dispose of it with conceptually vague formulations which were open to conflicting interpretations, but in Moses de Leon's Hebrew works there is a more discernible tendency to stress the unity of all beings in a continuous chain of being. There are no qualitative jumps in the links of this chain, and God's true essence is "above and below, in heaven and on earth, and there is no existence besides Him" (*Sefer ha-Rimmon*). In the theophany at Mount Sinai God revealed all the worlds to the children of Israel, who saw that there was nothing in them that was not His manifest glory and essence. Implied here is the suggestion that every being has a secondary existence of its own apart from the Godhead but that this disappears before the penetrating gaze of the mystic which uncovers the unity of essence behind it. The pantheistic tendencies in this line of thought are cloaked in theistic figures of speech, a device characteristic of a number of kabbalists. On the one hand such writers describe *Ein-Sof* in personalistic terms and stress its absolute transcendence over everything, even the *Sefirot*, which have no apprehension of it, while on the other hand they make much of its "clothing itself" in the latter, and through them in the lower worlds as well. There is also a certain ambiguity in their double interpretation of the *creatio ex nihilo,* sometimes insisting that it be taken literally, which would of course rule out any pantheistic approach, and sometimes explaining it symbolically, rejecting a simple literalism in order to leave the door open to the possibility that all being has it place, at least partially, in the divine reality. The true nothingness from which all was created manifests itself in the transition from *Ein-Sof* to the first *Sefirah*, nor is there in reality any jump or discontinuity in the structure of being. The creation from nothingness is a manifestation of the divine wisdom where human thought reaches its limit, or of that nothingness which is the first emanation, *Keter.* In those systems where *Ein-Sof* was identified with the *Keter*, it was *Ein-Sof* itself that became the Divine Nothingness in which all has its source. Such views left room for the belief that God, who is one with *Ein-Sof,* comprehends much more than what proceeds from Him in the emanative and creative processes but that He encompasses the latter within Himself as well. All is comprehended within the Godhead but not everything is identical with it. In the early 19th century the term "panentheism" was coined to distinguish such a view from pure pantheism. There is no doubt that the term could apply to a number of well-known kabbalists, who were able to argue – with some measure of justice – that a similar position is already implied in the statement in the Midrash (Gen. R. 68) that "The Holy One blessed be He is the place of the world but the world is not His place." The panentheist view offered a clear compromise between pure theism and pure pantheism and left room for a personalistic depiction of the Godhead.

It is evident, therefore, that while not a single kabbalist school of thought ever claimed that God has no existence apart from created beings, the position most commonly held was that He was nevertheless to be found within them in variously definable ways. Hence, too, the neoplatonic assertion frequently encountered in kabbalistic literature that God is "the soul of souls," a claim which is not entirely free of pantheistic nuances although it lends itself to other interpretations as well. This phrase was already favored by the Zohar, but it must be observed that "soul" (*neshamah*) in its precise sense often does not imply in such writings an actual inherence in or existence contingent on the body but rather a higher mode of being. The *neshamah* proper does not descend to the lower worlds at all but radiates downward to the mode that we call man's "soul." Such, for instance, was the opinion of Isaac Luria. Other kabbalists, on the other hand, especially Moses de Leon, considered the human soul "a part of God above" (Job 31:2), not just in a figurative sense, as it was generally understood to be, but quite literally. Thus, their thought was based on the assumption that there is something in the soul consubstantial with God. It was this same assumption that led Moses de Leon in his *Mishkan ha-Edut* (see *Midrash Talpiot* (1860), 113c) to challenge the view that the punishment of the souls of the damned in hell is eternal, for how is it possible that God should inflict such suffering on Himself? This opinion is also indirectly hinted at in the Zohar, where it is stated that that highest part of the soul (*nefesh*) that is called *neshamah* is incapable of sinning and departs from the sinner at the moment that a sin is committed. Shabbetai Sheftel Horowitz was in agreement with this view and conceded only a quantitative distinction between the soul and the substance of God, a position that, because of its pantheistic implications, was challenged, especially by Manasseh Ben Israel in his *Nishmat Ḥayyim* (1652).

In contrast to the main part of the Zohar, its later strata (the *Ra'aya Meheimna* and the *Tikkunim*) have a markedly theistic flavor. Here too, however, it is especially stressed that if God stands apart from the world He is also within it ("He is outside as much as He is inside"), and that He "fills all and causes all" without this immanence precluding a personalistic and theistic view of Him. Such formulations in the Zohar became extremely popular among later kabbalists and in the writings of Ḥasidism, where they were used to bridge theistic and panentheistic opinions abounding in these texts. Kabbalistic works written between 1300 and 1500 tended on the whole to obscure the problem, as can be seen in the writings of the disciples of Solomon b. Adret and in the *Sefer ha-Peliah*. Similarly, popular kabbalistic texts written at the time of the expulsion from Spain show a marked preference for decidedly theistic formulations (Abraham b. Eliezer ha-Levi, Judah Ḥayyat, Abraham b. Solomon Ardutiel), which in rare cases only conceal a different content between the lines.

A detailed discussion of the problematics of pantheism can be found in the writings of Cordovero, whose own panentheistic outlook was more carefully worked out than that of any other kabbalist, especially in his *Sefer Elimah* and *Shi'ur Komah*. His presentation of the question is extremely subtle and has nothing in common with that "Spinozist" approach which, in its more vulgar sense, a number of authors have sought to attribute to him. Cordovero understood full well that the salient point of the whole theory of emanation was the transition from *Ein-Sof* to the *Sefirah Keter* and he devoted great effort to its solution. The *Sefirot*, he argues, owe the source of their existence to *Ein-Sof*, but this existence is "hidden" in the same sense that the spark of fire is hidden in the rock until it is struck with metal. Moreover, this aspect of their existence is incomparably more rarified than their existence once they have been emanated to their respective places, for in their emanated existence they assume a totally new guise. Even in their ultimate, "hidden" mode of existence, however, when they are comprehended in the substance of *Ein-Sof* and united with it perfectly, they are nevertheless not truly identical with this substance, which apprehends them while remaining unapprehended by them. This being the case, should it be said that the first change in their ontological status takes place in their hidden existence or not until their manifest one? Cordovero avoided giving an unequivocal answer to this question, while at the same time developing the theory that even the highest aspects of the *Keter*, which he called "the *Keter* of the *Keter*," "the *Keter* of the *Keter* of the *Keter*," and so forth, approach the substance of *Ein-Sof* asymptotically until the human intellect can no longer distinguish them. Nevertheless they retain an identity distinct from it, so that there is a kind of leap between *Ein-Sof* and their hidden existence within it that continually approaches to infinity. The existence of these inward stages is considered by Cordovero to represent an entirely new departure within the Godhead, and the coming into being of this hidden existence, or "Will of Wills" as he calls it, is what consitutes the act of creation from nothingness in its literal sense. The initial awakening of the Divine Will in this chain of wills (*re'utin*) is, he argues, the one occasion on which true creation from nothingness takes place, a view whose paradoxical nature testifies to the manner in which he felt torn between the theistic and the pantheistic approach. From the divine point of view God comprehends all, inasmuch as He encompasses the "wills" both by virtue of being their cause and of embracing them in His essence, but from the human point of view all of these subsequent stages comprise a secondary reality existing separately from *Ein-Sof* and contingent on it, so that they cannot possibly share a true identity with the substance of the Emanator. Even at the highest levels this substance clothes itself in "vessels" which are by their very nature secondary and preceded by a state of privation (*he'eder*).

In all of these processes, therefore, it is necessary to distinguish between the substance of the Emanator, which clothes itself in vessels, and the substance of the emanated. Though this distinction is somewhat obscured in the *Pardes Rimmonim*, it is emphasized in the *Sefer Elimah*, where Cordovero asserts that while in the act of emanation the divine substance goes forth into vessels, these vessels (*kelim*) or garments (*levushim*) assume an increasingly less refined existence as the process continues downward. And yet behind these infinite garments there is not a single link in the chain where the substance of *Ein-Sof* does not remain present and immanent. Even from the viewpoint of the human condition it is potentially possible to contemplatively "undress" these garments and reveal "the processions of the substance" (*tahalukhei ha-eẓem*) which clothe themselves in them. Such a moment of revelation is the supreme happiness to which the mystic can attain in his lifetime. Yet again, this immanence of *Ein-Sof* in everything is not identical with the specific existence of the vessels: "The products of causation as they descend do not share one substance with their cause but rather… are diminished from their cause as they descend until the lowest [level of] existence." Only as they reascend toward their cause are they reunified with it, until they reach the Supreme Cause of all, which is the *Keter*, where there is no longer any distinction between the agent and the products of its action, for they adhere to it as far as is in any way possible and are truly united to *Ein-Sof*, "where there is no cause or caused but everything is cause" (*Elimah*, 18c). The single most definitive statement in Cordovero's treatment of the problem can be classed as panentheistic: "God is all that exists, but not all that exists is God" (*Elimah*, 24d). To be sure, this reascent toward first causes must be taken as applying to the culminating process of all creation in its return to the bosom of the Emanator rather than to the mystical experience of the individual. Moreover, in many passages Cordovero further dilutes the concept by warning against misunderstanding: the caused beings themselves will not be reabsorbed into the substance of *Ein-Sof* but only their "spirituality" once their separate garments have been cast off. What has been forever sundered from the Godhead cannot be redeified.

Lurianic Kabbalah tended on the whole to avoid even the panentheistic formulations of Cordovero and to adopt an openly theistic position. The doctrine of the *ẓimẓum*, by stressing the discontinuity between *Ein-Sof* and the world of emanation, heightened this proclivity even more. Granting even that something of the divine substance goes forth into the *Adam Kadmon* and even into the *parẓufim* that emanate from him, clothing itself in them, this process comes to a definite end with the emanated *Sefirot* in the first world of *aẓilut*. Beneath them stretches a "curtain" which prevents the divine substance from finding garments for itself in the worlds of *beri'ah, yeẓirah*, and *asiyyah* as well. Of course it is possible to speak of a radiation of *Ein-Sof* into all the worlds, *asiyyah* included, but not of its substance being immanent in them. On the other hand, though such theistic arguments dominate most of the writings of Ḥayyim Vital and Ibn Tabul, even here there are occasional statements that are closer to Cordovero's position. Indeed, the doctrine that every higher principle "clothes itself" in a lower one, which in the final analysis is a doctrine of divine immanence, was sometimes carried to extremes. Above all the kabbalist was expected to understand "how all the worlds share a single mode of being as garments of *Ein-Sof,* so that *Ein-Sof* clothes itself in them and surrounds [*sovev*] them and nothing goes beyond it. Everything can be seen under one aspect and all the worlds are bound to the Emanator," although caution decrees that "it would be inadvisable to reveal more of this matter" (*Sha'ar ha-Hakdamot*, Hakdamah 4). Others, such as Ibn Tabul, emphasized that only God's "inner light" (*ha-or ha-penimi*) was filtered out by the "curtains," whereas His "comprehensive light" (*ha-or ha-mekif*) was not curtained off at all. Inasmuch as the latter comprises the main part of the divine substance that goes forth into the world of emanation, a door was here opened once again for a return to the panentheistic views of Cordovero.

Whether the light of *Ein-Sof* that goes forth into the vacuum of the *ẓimẓum* and clothes itself in vessels can be considered part of the Godhead even though it does not partake of the latter's substance remained an open question which most Lurianic kabbalists emphatically answered in the affirmative. The Lurianists held that without question the world of *aẓilut* with its inner dynamic processes belonged to the Godhead. Nevertheless, many of them denied that there was a unity of substance between the manifestations of the Godhead in *aẓilut* and the substantive properties of *Ein-Sof.* Even the highest circle of the *Sefirot* of the *Adam Kadmon*, they argued, was closer to the lowliest worm than to *Ein-Sof.* Such analogies bear witness to a continual equivocation between two inherently conflicting points of view. One radical solution to this ambivalence was the strict theistic doctrine of Moses Ḥayyim Luzzatto, who insisted that *aẓilut* could be called a "world" (*olam*) in the figurative sense only, because in it the Godhead manifested itself directly, whereas all the other worlds were created by a free act of God from literal nothingness. No statement to the effect that these lower worlds had evolved or developed out of the world of *aẓilut* was to be taken literally, for at most it could mean that they had been patterned after *aẓilut*. "We must not think that there can be any bond [*hitkashrut*] between what is created and the Creator." It would appear that Luzzatto had an especially firm grasp of the built-in contradiction between the doctrine of emanation and that of a paradigmatic creation, in the clash between which lay the crux of the problem of pantheism in the Kabbalah. Generally speaking, most kabbalistic texts that were written for the benefit of a wider audience, such as Ḥayyim Vital's *Sha'arei Kedushah*, were theistic on the surface, sometimes concealing beneath it the germs of a different, essentially panentheistic interpretation. These germs, such as the Lurianic doctrines of the creative ray, the residue or *reshimu*, the primordial space of the *ẓimẓum*, the unity of the chain of being, and so forth, nourished panentheistic tendencies which subsequently came to the fore once more in a number of the classic texts of Ḥasidism.

Man and His Soul (Psychology and Anthropology of the Kabbalah)

Over and above disagreements on specific details that tend to reflect different stages in the Kabbalah's historical development, there exists a basic consensus among kabbalists on man's essential nature. The fundamental doctrine of a hidden life of the Godhead which through a dynamism of its own determines the life of creation as a whole had inevitable implications as regards the human condition, in which the same theosophic process, though with certain significant differences, was thought to repeat itself. At opposite poles, both man and God encompass within their being the entire cosmos. However, whereas God contains all by virtue of being its Creator and Initiator in whom everything is rooted and all potency is hidden, man's role is to complete this process by being the agent through whom all the powers of creation are fully activated and made manifest. What exists seminally in God unfolds and develops in man. The key formulations of this outlook can already be found in the Kabbalah of Gerona and in the Zohar. Man is the perfecting agent in the structure of the cosmos; like all the other created beings, only even more so, he is composed of all ten *Sefirot* and "of all spiritual things," that is, of the supernal principles that constitute the attributes of the Godhead. If the forces of the *Sefirot* are reflected in him, he is also the "transformer" who through his own life and deeds amplifies these forces to their highest level of manifestation and redirects them to their original source. To use the neoplatonic formula, the process of creation involves the departure of all from the One and its return to the One, and the crucial turning-point in this cycle takes place within man, at the moment he begins to develop an awareness of his own true essence and yearns to retrace the path from the multiplicity of his nature to the Oneness from which he originated. The essential correspondence or parallelism between the inward aspects of man, God, and creation introduces a mutual interplay among them that was frequently dramatized in the Kabbalah by means of anthropomorphic symbols, though the latter are nearly always accompanied by warnings that they are only to be understood "as if." If the *Sefirot* in which God reveals Himself assume the form of man, making him a microcosm in himself – a doctrine which found universal acceptance among the kabbalists – then man on earth is obviously capable of exerting an influence upon the macrocosm and upon primordial man above. Indeed it is this which bestows on him the enormous importance that the kabbalists went to great lengths to describe. Because he and he alone has been granted the gift of free will, it lies in his power to either advance or disrupt through his actions the unity of what takes place in the upper and lower worlds. His essence is unfathomably profound; he is "a face within a face, an existence within an existence, and a form within a form" (Ezra of Gerona). Even man's physical structure corresponds to that of the *Sefirot*, so that we find Ezra of Gerona's description of the last *Sefirah* as "the form [*temunah*] that includes all forms" applied in the Zohar to man himself, who is called "the likeness [*deyokna*] that includes all likenesses." Such speculations about man's essence were most pithily expressed in various statements about Adam before his fall. Though his original harmony was disrupted by his sin, his principal mission remained to bring about a *tikkun* or restoration of this world and to connect the lower with the upper, thereby "crowning" creation by setting the Creator upon His throne and perfecting His reign over all His handiwork.

Man's essence has a spiritual nature for which his body serves only as an outer cloak. One widespread belief was that prior to Adam's sin his body too was spiritual, a kind of ethereal garment which became corporealized only after his fall. (In support of this view, the statement in Gen. 3:21 that God made "garments of skin," *kotnot o'r*, for Adam and Eve after their expulsion from Eden, was taken as meaning that previously they had worn "garments of light," *kotnot 'or.*) Had it not been for Adam's sin, the supreme divine will would have continued to work unfragmentedly in Adam and Eve and all their descendants, and all of creation would have functioned in perfect harmony, transmitting the divine influx downward from above and upward from below, so that there would have been no separation between the Creator and His creation that adhered to Him. This uninterrupted communion, which is the goal of creation, was broken off at the time of Adam's sin when his lower will was parted from the divine will by his own free volition. It was then that his individuality, whose origin lay in his separation from God with its attendant proliferation of multiplicity, was born. What had been intended to be nothing more than a series of periodic fluctuations within a single harmonic system now turned into an opposition of extremes that found their expression in the fierce polarization of good and evil. It is the concrete destiny of the human race, and of the Jew as the principal bearer of this mission and the recipient of God's revelation through the Torah, to overcome this polarization from within the human condition created by the first sin.

It is at this point that the problem of man in the world and the problem of evil in the world are interlaced. The sin which gave evil an active existence lies in mankind's failure to achieve his primal purpose, a failure which occurred again and again in history. It is the function of good in the world, whose tools are the Torah and its commandments, to bridge the abyss of separation that was formed by man's sin and to restore all existence to its original harmony and unity. The final goal, in other words, is the reunification of the divine and the human wills. It is likely that this kabbalistic doctrine of the corruption of the world through man's first sin originated as a result of direct contact with Christian beliefs, although it is also possible that these Christian ideas were derived from the same sources from which homologous *aggadot* in the Midrash took their inspiration. There can be no doubt that the kabbalists accepted the doctrine that the entire creation was fundamentally flawed by man's sin, after which the *sitra aḥra* or "other side" achieved a dominion over man which will not be finally abolished until the ultimate redemption in which all things will revert to their original state. The crucial Christian element, however, is lacking here, for unlike the Christian dogma of original sin, the Kabbalah does not reject the idea that every man has the power to overcome this state of corruption, to the extent that he too is affected by it, by means of his own powers and with the help of divine aid prior to and independently of the final redemption. Speculations of this sort concerning the essence of sin as a disruption of the primordial order of things, the effects of which as it were reach up to and include the world of the *Sefirot* themselves, and concerning the means to achieve a *tikkun* whereby creation will be restored to its former grandeur, assumed a central place in the kabbalistic doctrine of man. This teaching developed out of purely religious motifs that only incidentally became motivated in the course of time with certain psychological motifs as well. Judah Halevi's metaphor in the *Kuzari* of Israel constituting the heart of the nations was taken over by the author of the Zohar and the kabbalists of Gerona, who spoke of the Jewish people as being "the heart of the cosmic tree" [*lev ha-ilan*], a symbol borrowed from the *Sefer ha-Bahir.* Within this basic context, a fuller understanding of Israel's mission depends on the kabbalistic teachings on the structure of man's soul.

The kabbalists adopted the psychological doctrines of neoplatonism and tried to adapt them to the language of Jewish tradition. The Zohar occasionally mentions the three faculties or dispositions of a unified human soul as they are spoken of in the philosophy of Aristotle, but generally the Zohar refers to three essentially different parts of the soul that form a sequence from lower to higher and are designated by the Hebrew terms *nefesh, ru'ah*, and *neshamah*. True, here too a unity was posited among these parts, but for the most part it remained problematic. The *nefesh* or first element is to be found in every man, for it enters him at the moment of birth and is the source of his animal vitality (*ḥiyyut*) and of the totality of his psychophysical functions. Whatever is necessary for the well-being of these functions is already contained in it and it is equally the property of all human beings. The two other parts of the soul, on the other hand, are postnatal increments that are found only in the man who has awakened spiritually and made a special effort to develop his intellectual powers and religious sensibilites. The *ru'aḥ* or *anima* is aroused at an unspecified time when a man succeeds in rising above his purely vitalistic side. But it is the highest of the three parts of the soul, the *neshamah* or *spiritus*, which is the most important of all. It is aroused in a man when he occupies himself with the Torah and its commandments, and it opens his higher powers of apprehension, especially his ability to mystically apprehend the Godhead and the secrets of the universe. Thus, it is the intuitive power that connects mankind with its Creator. It is only in the most general terms, however, that this tripartite division was adopted by all the various kabbalistic schools of thought. The terminology indeed remains the same, but the meanings and interpretations assigned to it differ widely in detail.

The fundamental division of the soul into three parts and the use of the terms *nefesh*, *ru'aḥ*, and *neshamah* (*naran* in the kabbalistic acronym) to describe them came from such Jewish neoplatonists as Abraham ibn Ezra and Abraham bar Ḥiyya, but in the course of the Kabbalah's development in the 13th century the philosophical content of these categories became considerably blurred and yielded to occultistic associations under whose influence the strictly defined concepts of neoplatonic psychology took on fantastic and mythic dimensions. This process can be clearly traced in the classic texts of early Kabbalah. Already for the kabbalists of Gerona, though they still retained the original identification of the *neshamah* with the rational soul of the philosophers, the rational faculty of the soul was merged with the intuitive and mystic. Only the *neshamah*, they held, which was like a divine spark in man, was emanated directly from the Godhead itself rather than evolved from the separate intellects like the *ru'aḥ* or from the four elements like the *nefesh*. There is still an echo here of the philosophical division of the soul into its animal or vital, vegetative, and rational faculties and of the association of the soul's origin with the world of the intellects, and particularly of the active intellect, as in the philosophy of Isaac Israeli. Within this system man's *nefesh* is still a common denominator between him and the animal world, while only the rational *neshamah*, whose origin is in the world of the *Sefirot*, and more precisely in the *Sefirah Binah*, truly deserves to be called the human soul, for it is a divine spark, one that was created from nothingness, to be sure, but from a nothingness that belongs nonetheless to the realm of the Godhead itself. Some of the kabbalists of Gerona even held that the source of the *neshamah* was in the *Sefirah* of Divine Wisdom or *Ḥokhmah*, a difference of opinion which bore on the question of the heights to which man's mystical cognition could attain.

The different strata of the Zohar reflect the varying psychological doctrines toward which its author leaned at different times. In the *Midrash ha-Ne'elam* there is still a clear debt to the psychology of the school of Maimonides with its doctrine of the "acquired intellect" which is activated in man through his pursuit of the Torah and its commandments and which alone has the power to bestow on him immortality of the soul. Together with this, however, we find the characteristic Aristotelian division of the soul, though minus the identification with the *nefesh, ru'aḥ*, and *neshamah*, and in connection with a number of functions that are peculiar to Moses de Leon alone. Thus, for instance, we find a distinction between the "speaking soul" (*ha-nefesh ha-medabberet*) and the "rational soul" (*ha-nefesh ha-sikhlit*), the latter alone possessing the supernal power which can bring man to perfection and which is identical with the true soul or *neshamah*. In effect the faculty called *nefesh* embraces all three forces, the animal, the vegetative, and the cognitive (*medabber*), which comprise the psycho-physical totality of man. The *neshamah*, in contrast, is a power concerned exclusively with mystical cognition, while the *ru'aḥ* represents an intermediate stage that involves the ethical power to distinguish between good and evil. The *neshamah* itself, on the other hand, by virtue of being "a part of God above," is capable of performing good only. It is impossible to speak here of a consistent approach: purely religious motifs alternate freely with philosphical ones, a confusion that extends to the relationship between intellectual awareness and the *neshamah* itself. In some instances the author, who expresses his views through the mouths of various rabbinic sages, even abandons the tripartite division of the soul entirely in favor of a twofold distinction between the vital soul (*ha-nefesh ha-ḥayyah*) and the *neshamah*. In the main corpus of the Zohar these divergent opinions are consolidated into a unified position of sorts in which religious motifs predominate over traditional philosophical and psychological ones. Here a fundamental contradiction emerges between the belief that the soul is universally the same for all mankind and another, double standard according to which the soul of the Jew and the soul of the gentile are dissimilar. The kabbalists of Gerona knew only of the former doctrine, that is, of the soul that is universally shared by all the descendants of Adam, and it is in the main body of the Zohar that we read for the first time of a twofold though corresponding division of souls into non-Jewish and Jewish. The first group has its source in the "other side" or *sitra aḥra*, the second in the "holy side" or *sitra di-kedusha*. Interest in the Zohar is almost entirely confined to the psychic structure of the Jew. In the later Kabbalah, particularly in the works of Ḥayyim Vital, this duality between the "divine soul" (*ha-nefesh ah-elohut*) and the "natural soul" (*ha-nefesh ha-tiv'it*) is given enormous emphasis.

An important problem for the Kabbalah was the different sources of the different parts of the soul in the different worlds of emanation. According to the *Midrash ha-Ne'elam* even the highest *neshamah* emanates only from the Throne of Glory, that is, from a realm beneath that of the *Sefirot* though above that of the intellects. It is thus considered to be something created, though a creation of the highest order. In the main corpus of the Zohar this view is abandoned and each part of the soul is assigned a root in the world of the *Sefirot*: the *nefesh* originates in the *Sefirah Malkhut*, the *ru'aḥ* in the *Sefirah Tiferet*, and the *neshamah* in the *Sefirah Binah*. The descent of the supernal *neshamah* is brought about by the "holy union" of the "king" (*melekh*) and the "queen" (*matronita*), who are synonymous with the *Sefirot Tiferet* (or *Yesod*) and *Malkhut*. In its root every soul is a composite of male and female, and only in the course of their descent do the souls separate into masculine souls and feminine souls. The symbolism used to describe the descent of the souls from the world of emanation has a strongly mythical flavor. Especially prominent are the symbols of the tree of souls on which each soul blooms, and of the river which carries the souls downward from their supernal source. In both symbolisms the *Sefirah Yesod* is considered to be a halfway station through which all the souls must pass before entering the "treasure-house of souls" (*oẓar ha-neshamot*), which is located in the celestial paradise (*gan-eden shel ma'lah*), where they live in bliss until they are called to descend still further and assume a human form. Many differences in detail exist among the various accounts of this process, but all the kabbalists agree as to the preexistence of the soul, especially in the latter's more strictly defined sense. Undisputed too is the belief that the soul originates on a plane higher than that of the angels, a doctrine that is referred to repeatedly in discussions of the human condition, for if man is capable of plunging to indescribable depths of depravity, he also has the capacity, when he fulfills his true destiny, of rising even above the angelic realm. No angel has that potential power to restore the worlds to a state of *tikkun* which has been granted to man.

In addition to the three parts of the soul that were collectively referred to by the acronym *naran*, kabbalists after the Zohar came to speak of two more additional, higher parts of the soul which they called *ḥayyah* and *yeḥidah* and which were considered to represent the sublimest levels of intuitive apprehension and to be within the grasp only of a few chosen individuals. In Lurianic Kabbalah these five parts of the soul (*naran-ḥai* in acronym) became associated with the five *parẓufim* of *Adam Kadmon* in each of the worlds of *aẓilut, beri'ah, yeẓirah*, and *asiyyah*, so that a tremendous multiplicity of potential soul-ranks was created in accordance with the particular world of emanation and *parẓuf* from which a given soul stemmed. The soul having its source in the *yeḥidah* of the *Sefirah Keter* of the world of *aẓilut* was believed to be that of the Messiah. Unlike the masses of souls which are subject to the general laws of transmigration, such high-ranking souls were thought to remain concealed among the supernal lights until their time arrived and not to enter the cycle of reincarnation at all.

From the Zohar and through the works of the disciples of Isaac Luria mention is made of an aspect of man that is referred to in the Kabbalah as the *ẓelem* (the "image," on the basis of Gen. 1:26, "Let us make man in our image, after our likeness") and which is not identical with any of the parts of the soul referred to above. The *ẓelem* is the principle of individuality with which every single human being is endowed, the spiritual configuration or essence that is unique to him and to him alone. Two notions are combined in this concept, one relating to the idea of human individuation and the other to man's ethereal garment or ethereal body which serves as an intermediary between his material body and his soul. Because of their spiritual nature, the *neshamah* and *nefesh* are unable to form a direct bond with the body, and it is the *ẓelem* which serves as the "catalyst" between them. It is also the garment with which the souls clothe themselves in the celestial paradise before descending to the lower world and which they don once again after their reascent following physical death; during their sojourn on earth it is hidden within man's psycho-physical system and is discernible only to the intellectual eye of the kabbalist. The source of this belief is undoubtedly the similar doctrine held by the later neoplatonists concerning the ethereal body that exists in every man and that reveals itself to the mystical experience of those endowed with the gift of vision. Unlike the soul, the *ẓelem* grows and develops in accordance with the biological processes of its possessor. The kabbalists made use of a play on words to draw a parallel between a man's *ẓelem* and his shadow (*ẓel*). The Zohar apparently considers the shadow to be a projection of the inner *ẓelem*, a belief that brought with it various popular magical superstitions that were widespread in Europe during the Middle Ages. Supposedly the *ẓelem* was the repository of the years a man lived and it departed with the approach of his death. According to another view, the *ẓelem* was woven as a garment for the soul from a man's good deeds and served as a kind of supernal appearance that protected and clothed him after his death. An ancient belief concerning such an ethereal body, whose source lies in Persian religion and which reached the author of the Zohar through later legends to become associated in his mind with various occultist ideas, was that the *ẓelem* was actually a man's true self. In Lurianic Kabbalah the *nefesh*, *ru'aḥ*, and *neshamah* were each assigned a *ẓelem* of their own which made it possible for them to function in the human body. Without the *ẓelem* the soul would burn the body up with its fierce radiance.

Moses de Leon, in his Hebrew writings, connects Maimonides' teaching that man's mission in this world is the full realization of his intellectual power with the doctrines of the Kabbalah. In his *Ha-Nefesh ha-Ḥakhamah* (1290), De Leon writes: "The purpose of the soul in entering the body is to exhibit its powers and abilities in the world… And when it descends to this world, it receives power and influx to guide this vile world and to undergo a *tikkun* above and below, for it is of high rank, [being] composed of all things, and were it not composed in a mystic manner of what is above and below, it would not be complete… And when it is in this world, it perfects itself and completes itself from this lower world… And then it is in a state of perfection, which was not the case in the beginning before its descent."

According to an even earlier belief, which is already present in the *heikhalot* literature, all the souls are initially woven into a curtain (*pargod*) that hangs before the Throne of Glory, and this symbol of "the curtain of souls" was both adopted and adapted by a number of classic kabbalistic texts. The entire past history and future destiny of each single soul is recorded in this curtain. The *pargod* is not just a mystical fabric composed of spiritual ether which contains or is capable of receiving a record of each man's life and works; it is in addition the abode of all those souls that have returned from below to their native land. The souls of the wicked will find no place in it.

The kabbalistic doctrine of man and his soul dealt at great length with such eschatological problems as the fate of the soul after death, and its ascent up a river of fire, which resembles a kind of purgatory, to the terrestrial paradise and from there to the still sublimer pleasures of the celestial paradise and the realm referred to by the early kabbalists as "eternal life" (*ẓeror ha-ḥayyim*), which is sometimes synonymous with the celestial paradise and sometimes taken to refer to one of the *Sefirot* themselves, to which the soul returns to partake of the life of the Godhead. Human life on earth, therefore, must be seen in the broad context of the soul's life before birth and after death; hence the great interest of the Kabbalah in descriptions of heaven and hell such as those that we find in extensive and imaginative detail in the works of the kabbalists of Gerona or the Zohar, which inaugurated a long and influential tradition that flourished especially in the more popularly oriented literature of the Kabbalah until recent generations. Much use was made here of beliefs that were already to be found in the *aggadah*, particularly in a number of small, late Midrashim, and which were reinterpreted in the light of kabbalistic symbolism and embellished with further details. Many obvious parallels exist between such material and similar eschatological motifs in Christianity and Islam. None of these teachings was ever given a definitive or authoritative form, thus enabling them to preserve a great deal of imaginative freedom in which folkloristic and mystic elements came together. The kabbalists of the 13th century in particular, among them the author of the Zohar, were attracted to such speculations and devoted considerable attention to such questions as the garments of the souls in paradise, the nature of their perceptions, the expansion of their consciousness in the apprehension of the divine, and the unification of the highest level of the *neshamah* with God.

Generally speaking, however, the kabbalists were wary about speaking of an actual mystic union of the soul with God and preferred to talk in terms of a spiritual communion (*devekut*) and no more. In his commentary on the letters of the Hebrew alphabet, Jacob b. Jacob Kohen (1270) speaks of mystic union without defining its nature. Moses de Leon mentions a supreme but temporary condition in which the soul finds itself standing before God in a state of contemplation and ultimate bliss without any garment between it and Him, though as a rule it must don a garment of ether or light even in the celestial paradise. Descriptions of the soul's union with God in terms of a divine nuptial are rare in the Kabbalah, though there are occasional examples, such as commentaries on the Song of Songs interpreting it as a conjugal dialogue between God and the soul. Even here, however, the love that is described is that between a father and daughter rather than of an erotic nature nor is anything said about the dissolution of the soul in the substance of God but merely about its temporary rapture in His presence. Only in the writings and poetry of the kabbalists of Safed is there an obviously strong erotic overtone. Whether later schools of kabbalistic thought tended to the extreme mystical position, such as that found in Ḥabad Ḥasidism, which holds that the soul loses its selfhood entirely in God, remains open to question. The author of the Zohar (2, 253a) writes of the souls passing before God in the "room of love" from which the new souls depart to descend, but not in terms of conjugal imagery. On the contrary, the outcome of this divine "reception" is that God makes the soul swear to fulfill its earthly mission and attain to the "knowledge of the mysteries of the faith" which will purify it for its return to its homeland. By means of its awakening through the Torah and its commandments it gains new strength and helps complete the mystical figure of the *Keneset Yisrael* or Community of Israel, which is one with the *Shekhinah*. Only a few rare souls, such as those of Enoch and Elijah, ever achieve a permanent communion (*devekut*) with God; among the other biblical heroes of righteousness there are infinite degrees and differences of rank. Nor does a single fate await the different parts of the soul after death. The *nefesh* remains for a while in the grave, brooding over the body; the *ru'aḥ* ascends to the terrestrial paradise in accordance with its merits; and the *neshamah* flies directly back to its native home. Punishment and retribution are the lot of the *nefesh* and *ru'aḥ* alone. According to Moses de Leon, once in a cosmic jubilee the soul ascends from its communion with the *Shekhinah* to the hidden, celestial paradise in the world of the divine mind, that is, to the *Sefirah Ḥokhmah*.

The teachings of the Kabbalah concerning the soul are inextricably connected with the doctrine of transmigration, a basic kabbalistic principle that frequently came into conflict with other beliefs, such as that in the reward and punishment that are meted out to man in heaven and hell. (For further details, see *Gilgul.) In the course of the development of the Kabbalah the idea of transmigration was radically expanded from that of a punishment restricted to certain sins to that of a general law encompassing all the souls of Israel, and, in a later stage, the souls of all human beings and even, in its most radical form, of all creation from the angels to unsentient things. Thus, transmigration ceased to be considered merely a punishment and came also to be viewed as an opportunity for the soul to fulfill its mission and make up for its failures in previous transmigrations.

In comparison with the Zohar, the teachings of the Lurianic Kabbalah in regard to man's psychic structure are far more complex, concerning both the source of soul and man's inner make-up. In the works of Ḥayyim Vital there is also a discrepancy between his presentation of the subject in books meant for popular consumption, such as his *Sha'arei Kedushah*, and in his more esoteric writings. In the former work Vital distinguishes clearly between three "quarries" (*maḥẓevim*): the quarry of the *Sefirot*, which is all divinity, the quarry of the souls, and the quarry of the angels, who are not themselves divine. His explanation of the coming-into-being of the souls through the emanative process in his *Eẓ Ḥayyim*, on the other hand, is far more complex and largely parallels his outline of the development of the lights that manifest the divine existence in the worlds of *aẓilut* and *beri'ah*. Just as the supernal lights in the *parẓufim* of *aẓilut* develop through conjunctions and "couplings" (*zivvugim*) of the *parẓufim*, so are the souls born through corresponding processes. Within the *Sefirah Malkhut* of each *parẓuf* are concealed souls in a potential state that ascend to the highest modes of that *parẓuf* and are actualized as a result of the "unions" of the *Sefirot*. At the outset these souls exist only in the state of "female waters" (*mayim nukbin*); that is, they are passive potencies that possess the power of active arousal but still lack harmony and form, for their supernal source lies in those 288 sparks of light that fell into the *kelippot* at the time of the breaking of the vessels. Only through additional "couplings" of the *parẓuf* of *Ze'eir Anpin* with its female counterpart or *nukba* do they receive the actual structure of souls. With each new arousal of the "female waters" in these *parẓufim*, new opportunities arise for the creation of souls. Such a process occurs in all four worlds of emanation, the possible variations in modes of souls being practically infinite. Each of these souls recapitulates in miniature the structure of the worlds through which it passed in the process of being created, so that when it descends to enter a body in this world it will be able to work toward the latter's *tikkun* and uplifting and, to some extent, toward the uplifting of the higher worlds as well. On the other hand, a number of Lurianic texts stress the view that in substance the souls as such remain above and do not enter into bodies at all but rather radiate sparks of themselves that can be called souls (*neshamot*) by analogy only. The true soul hovers over a man, whether from near or afar, and maintains an immediate magic tie with its spark below. Popular expositions of these doctrines were always much simpler than their original elucidations, which tended to have a strong Gnostic flavor.

The soul of Adam was composed of all the worlds and was destined to uplift and reintegrate all the sparks of holiness that were left in the *kelippot*. Its garment was of spiritual ether and it contained within it all of the souls of the human race in perfect condition. It had 613 limbs, one for each of the commandments in the Torah, the spiritual aspect of which it was Adam's mission to uplift. Each of these limbs formed a complete *parẓuf* in itself known as a "great root" (*shoresh gadol*), which in turn contained 613 or, according to other versions, up to 600,000 "small roots." Each "small root," which was also referred to as a "great soul" (*neshamah gedolah*), concealed within it 600,000 sparks or individual souls. These sparks too were apt to fission still further, but there remained a special affinity and power of attraction between all the sparks that descended from a common root. Each of these sparks formed a complete structure or *komah* in itself. Had Adam fulfilled his mission through the spiritual works of which he was capable, which called for contemplative action and deep meditation, the living chain between God and creation would have been closed and the power of evil, the *kelippah*, would have undergone that complete separation from holiness that, according to Luria, was the aim of the entire creative process. Thus, Adam had within him the fully developed powers of the *Adam Kadmon* in all his *parẓufim* and the depth of his fall when he sinned was equal to the great height of his cosmic rank beforehand (see below). Instead of uplifting everything, however, he caused it to fall even further. The world of *asiyyah*, which had previously stood firmly on its own base, was now immersed in the realm of the *kelippot* and subjected to their domination. Where the *Adam Kadmon* had stood a satanic creature now rose up, the *Adam Beliyya'al* who gained power over man. As a result of the admixture of the world of *asiyyah* with the *kelippah*, Adam assumed a material body and all his psycho-physical functions were corporealized. Moreover, his soul shattered and its unity was smashed to pieces. In it were elements of high rank known as "upper light" (*zihara ila'ah*) which refused to participate in Adam's sin and departed for above; these will not return to this world again until the time of the redemption. Other souls remained in Adam even after his spiritual stature was diminished from cosmic to mundane dimensions; these were the holy souls that did not fall into the clutches of the *kelippot*, and among them were the souls of Cain and Abel, which entered their bodies through direct hereditary transmission rather than through the process of transmigration. The bulk of the souls that were in Adam, however, fell from him and were subjugated by the *kelippot*; it is these souls that must achieve their *tikkun* through the cycle of transmigration, stage after stage. In a manner of speaking, Adam's fall when he sinned was a repetition of the catastrophe of the breaking of the vessels. The Lurianic Kabbalah went to great lengths to play up the dramatic elements in Adam's sin and its consequences. The inner history of the Jewish people and the entire world was identified with the recurrent reincarnations through which the heroes of the Bible struggled to achieve *tikkun*. Among these heroes were both "original souls" (*neshamot mekoriyyot*), which embraced a great and powerful psychic collectivity and were capable of great powers of *tikkun* whereby the whole world stood to benefit, and other, private souls which could achieve a *tikkun* only for themselves. Souls descending from a single "root" comprised "families" who had special relations of affinity and were especially able to help each other. Now and then, though only very rarely, some of the upper souls that had not even been contained in the soul of Adam might descend to earth in order to take part in some great mission of *tikkun*. A complete innovation in Lurianic Kabbalah was the stress laid on the high rank of the souls of Cain and Abel, and particularly of the former. These two sons of Adam were taken to symbolize the forces of *gevurot* and *ḥasadim*, that is, the restrictive and outgoing powers of creation. Though the outgoing power of *ḥesed* is at present greater than the restrictive power of *gevurah* and *din*, this order will be reversed in the state of *tikkun*. Paradoxically, therefore, many of the great figures of Jewish history are represented as stemming from the root of Cain, and as the messianic time approaches, according to Isaac Luria, the number of such souls will increase. Ḥayyim Vital himself believed that he was of the root of Cain.

The nature of Adam's sin itself was never authoritatively defined in kabbalistic literature and highly differing views of it can be found. The problem of the first sin is closely connected with the problem of evil discussed above. According to the Spanish Kabbalah, the crux of the sin lay in "the cutting of the shoots" (*kiẓẓuẓ ha-netiyyot*), that is, in the separation of one of the *Sefirot* from the others and the making of it an object of a special cult. The *Sefirah* that Adam set apart was *Malkhut*, which he "isolated from the rest." In the *Ma'arekhet Elohut*, nearly all the major sins mentioned in the Bible are defined as different phases of "the cutting of shoots," or as repetitions of Adam's sin which prevented the realization of the unity between the Creator and His creation. Such were the drunkenness of Noah, the building of the Tower of Babel, Moses' sin in the desert, and above all the sin of the golden calf, which destroyed everything that had been accomplished in the great *tikkun* that took place during the theophany at Mount Sinai. In the final analysis, even the destruction of the Temple and the exile of the Jewish people were the results of misinformed meditations that brought division into the emanated worlds. Such sins wreaked havoc above and below, or, in the symbolism of the Zohar, caused division between the "king" (*melekh*) and the "queen" (*matronita*) or *Shekhinah*. The exile of the *Shekhinah* from her husband was the main metaphysical outcome of these sins. The good deeds of the biblical heroes, on the other hand, especially those of the patriarchs Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, came to set this fundamental fault in creation aright and to serve as a paradigm for those who came after. It is noteworthy that the author of the Zohar himself was reticent in his remarks on the nature of Adam's sin. The author of the *Tikkunei ha-Zohar* was less circumspect. Adam's sin, he held, took place above all in the divine mind itself, that is, in the first or second *Sefirah*, from which it caused God's departure; indeed, it was Adam's sin alone that caused God to become transcendent (*Tikkun* 69). As far as the effect of the first sin is concerned, we find two conflicting lines of thought:

(1) Whereas previously good and evil had been mixed together, the sin separated evil out as a distinct reality in its own right (as in Meir ibn Gabbai's *Avodat ha-Kodesh*);

(2) Good and evil were originally separate, but the sin caused them to become mixed together (such was Gikatilla's position, and in general, that of the Lurianic Kabbalah).

In the tradition of earlier teachings, such as those in the *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut* and the *Sefer ha-Peli'ah*, Lurianic Kabbalah also occasionally explained the first sin as a "technical" mishap, though one with grave consequences, in the procedure of *tikkun*. This occurred because Adam was in a hurry to complete the *tikkun* before its appointed time, which was to have been on the first Sabbath of creation, starting late on the afternoon of the sixth day. The tendency in such explanations is to emphasize that essentially the greatest biblical sinners meant to do good but erred in their choice of means.

The principal instrument for repairing the primal fault, both in the metaphysical aspect of completing the *tikkun* of the broken vessels and in relation to Adam's sin which disrupted the channels of communication between the lower and upper worlds, is human engagement in holiness through Torah and prayer. This activity consists of deeds, which restore the world in its outward aspects, and of mystical meditations, which affect it inwardly. Both have profound mystical dimensions. In the act of revelation God spoke and continues to speak to man, while in the act of prayer it is man who speaks to God. This dialogue is based on the inner structure of the worlds, on which each human action has an effect of which man himself is not always aware. The actions of the man who is conscious of their significance, however, have the greatest effect and help speed the ultimate *tikkun*. Because the world became corporealized as a result of the first sin, the great majority of the commandments in the Torah acquired a material meaning, because every instrument must be adjusted to the end it is meant to serve. Yet this does not detract from the inward spiritual dimension that each commandment possesses, whose collective purpose is the restoration and perfection of the true stature of man in all 613 of the limbs of his soul. (For further details, see Reasons for *Commandments.) The same Torah which prescribes a practical way of life for human beings in the light of revelation simultaneously provides an esoteric guide for the mystic in his struggle to commune with God. Evident in such an approach is the conservative character of the Kabbalah as a factor working to defend and deepen Jewish values. Observance of the Torah was sanctified as the way to abolish division in the world, and every man was called upon to play his part in this task in accordance with the rank of his soul and the role that was allotted him. The spiritual light that shines in every commandment connects the individual with the root of his soul and with the supernal lights in general. Thus, a mission was entrusted to the collective body of the souls of Israel which could not easily be carried out and involved many descents and reascents before all obstacles could be overcome, but which in the final analysis had a clear and urgent purpose: the *tikkun* and redemption of the world.

Exile and Redemption

It therefore follows that the historical exile of the Jewish people also has its spiritual causation in various disturbances and faults in the cosmic harmony for which it serves as a concrete and concentrated symbol. The situation of the spiritual worlds at the time of the exile was completely different from that ideal state in which they were supposed to exist according to the divine plan and in which they will find themselves at the time of redemption. In one form or another this belief recurs throughout the development of the Kabbalah. The kabbalists of Gerona held that for as long as the exile continues the *Sefirot* do not function normally; as they are withdrawn toward the source of their original emanation, Israel lacks the power to adhere to them truly by means of the Divine Spirit, which has also departed for above. Only through individual effort can the mystic, and he alone, still attain to a state of *devekut*. In some texts we are told that only the five lower *Sefirot* continue to lead an emanated existence below, whereas the upper *Sefirot* remain above. When the Jewish people still lived in its own land, on the other hand, the divine influx descended from above to below and reascended from below to above all the way to the highest *Keter*. The letters of the Tetragrammaton, which contain all the emanated worlds, are never united for the duration of the exile, especially the final *vav* and *he*, which are the *Sefirot Tiferet* and *Malkhut*, and which were already parted at the time of Adam's first sin, when the exile in its cosmic sense began. Since then there has been no constant unity between the "king" and "queen," and this will be restored only in the future when the queen, who is the *Shekhinah* and the *Sefirah Malkhut*, reascends to be rejoined with the *Sefirah Tiferet*. Similarly, only in messianic times will man return to that paradisical state in which "he did of his own nature that which it was right to do, nor was his will divided against itself" (Naḥmanides on Deut. 30:6). lt was in these same Spanish circles that there first arose the belief in the mystical nature of the Messiah, who was supposedly a harmony of all the levels of creation from the most rarified to the most gross, so that he possessed "a divine power, and an angelic power, and a human power, and a vegetative power, and an animal power" (Azriel in his Epistle to Burgos). The Messiah will be created through the special activity of *Malkhut*, and this origin will serve to elevate his powers of apprehension above those of the angels. The Zohar too takes the position that the crux of the redemption works itself out in the continuing conjunction of *Tiferet* and *Malkhut*, and that redemption of Israel is one with the redemption of God Himself from His mystic exile. The source of this belief is talmudic and can be found in both the Palestinian Talmud, *Sukkah* 4, 3 and in the *Midrash Va-Yikra Rabbah*, sect. 9, 3: "The salvation of the Holy One blessed be He is the salvation of Israel." At the time of the redemption "all the worlds will be in a single conjunction [*be-zivvug eḥad*]," and in the year of the grand jubilee *Malkhut* will be joined not only with *Tiferet* but with *Binah* as well. In the *Ra'aya Meheimna* and the *Tikkunei Zohar* we find the idea that whereas during the period of the exile the world is in thrall to the Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil, in which the realms of good and evil struggle between themselves so that there are both holiness and impurity, permitted acts and forbidden acts, sacred and profane, in the time of the redemption dominion will pass to the Tree of Life and all will be as before Adam's sin. The utopian motifs in the messianic idea are given their ultimate expression in these works and in those composed under their influence. The future aboliton of the commandments mentioned in the Talmud (Nid. 61b) was taken by the kabbalists to refer to the complete spiritualization of the commandments that would take place under the dominion of the Tree of Life. The details of this vision tended to vary greatly according to the homiletic powers of the particular kabbalist who embraced it.

In Lurianic Kabbalah too the exile of Israel is connected with Adam's sin, the outcome of which was the scattering of the holy sparks, both of the *Shekhinah* and of Adam's soul. When the sparks became diffused even further in Adam's descendants, the mission of gathering them and raising them up, that is, of preparing the way for redemption, was awarded to Israel. The exile is not, therefore, merely a punishment and a trial but is a mission as well. The Messiah will not come until the good in the universe has been completely winnowed out from the evil, for in Vital's words "the ingathering of the exiles itself means the gathering of all the sparks that were in exile." The exile may be compared to a garden that has been abandoned by its gardener so that weeds have sprung all over it (*Eẓ Ḥayyim*, ch. 42, para. 4). The *tikkun* progresses in predetermined stages from one generation to the next and all the transmigrations of souls serve this purpose. As the exile draws to an end, the *tikkun* of the human structure of the *Sefirot* reaches the "feet" (*akevayim*); thus, the souls that go forth in "the footsteps of the Messiah" are unusually obdurate and resistant to *tikkun*, from whence stem the special ordeals that will occur on the eve of the redemption.

Opinions varied as to whether the Messiah's soul too entered the cycle of transmigration: some kabbalists held that his soul had also been incarnated in Adam and in David (according to other views, in Moses as well), while others contended (a view first found in the *Sefer ha-Bahir*) that it was not subject to the law of transmigration. According to the Lurianic Kabbalah, each of the *parẓufim* of the *Adam Kadmon* had a female counterpart (*nukba*) except for the *parẓuf* of *Arikh Anpin*, which was instrumental in creating the world through a process of autogeny (*zivvug minnei u-vei*), that is, of "coupling" with itself. At the time of the redemption, however, it will be able to "couple" through the pairing of its *Yesod* with its *nukba* (the waxing *Sefirah Malkhut*), and the offspring of this act will be the most hidden root of the soul of the Messiah Son of David, which is its *yeḥidah*. The descent of this soul depends on the state of *tikkun* prevailing in the different worlds, for in every generation there is one righteous man who has the disposition to receive it if only the age is worthy. The soul of the Messiah Son of Joseph, on the other hand, who is the harbinger of the Messiah Son of David, is part of the regular cycle of transmigration. The redemption will not come all at once but will rather manifest itself in stages, some of which will be inwardly hidden in the spiritual worlds and others of which will be more apparent. The final redemption will come only when not a single spark of holiness is left among the *kelippot*. In the writings of Luria's school different views can be found on whether the Messiah himself has an active role to play in the process of redemption through his unique ability to raise up certain last sparks that are beyond the power of anyone else. This question assumed particular importance in the development of the Shabbatean movement. In the course of the redemption certain hitherto concealed lights from the *parẓuf* of *Attika* will manifest themselves and alter the structure of creation. In the final analysis, national and even nationalistic motifs blend with cosmic ones in the Lurianic Kabbalah to form a single great myth of exile and redemption.

The Torah and Its Significance

The role of the Torah in the Kabbalah as an instrument and a way of life in the service of a universal *tikkun* has already been discussed. The central position of the Torah in the Kabbalah, however, goes far beyond such definitions. The kabbalistic attitude to the Pentateuch, and in a somewhat lesser degree to the Bible as a whole, was a natural corollary of the overall kabbalistic belief in the symbolic character of all earthly phenomena. There was literally nothing, the kabbalists held, which in addition to its exterior aspect did not also possess an interior aspect in which there existed a hidden, inner reality on various levels. The kabbalists applied this view of the "transparency" of all things to the Torah as well, but inasmuch as the latter was the unique product of divine revelation, they also considered it the one object which could be apprehended by man in its absolute state in a world where all other things were relative. Regarded from this point of view in its quality as the direct word of God and thus unparalleled by any other book in the world, the Torah became for the kabbalists the object of an original mystical way of meditation. This is not to say that they sought to deny the concrete, historical events on which it was based, but simply that what interested them most was something quite different, namely, the conducting of a profound inquiry into its absolute nature and character. Only rarely did they discuss the relationship among the three parts of the Bible, the Pentateuch, the Prophets, and the Hagiographa, and for the most part their attention was concentrated almost exclusively on the Torah in its strict sense of the Five Books of Moses. The Zohar (3, 35a) actually attempts in one place to assert the absolute superiority of these books and their students over the Prophets and the Hagiographa and their students, yet only in the context of commenting on the talmudic statement that "the sage is preferable to the prophet." In his *Ginnat Egoz* (1612, 34d ff.), Joseph Gikatilla also sought to attach a kabbalistic interpretation to the tripartite division of the Bible. On the whole, however, where kabbalistic commentaries do exist on the Prophets and the later writings (and especially on the Book of Psalms), their approach to these texts is essentially no different from that of the commentaries on the Torah.

The classic formulations of this approach appear as early as the 13th century, nor do later and bolder restatements of them, even in the Lurianic school, add anything fundamentally new. A large part of the literature of the Kabbalah consists of commentaries on the Pentateuch, the Five Scrolls, and the Book of Psalms, and the Zohar itself was largely written as a commentary on the Pentateuch, Ruth, and the Song of Songs. Books such as the commentaries on the Pentateuch by Menahem Recanati, Baḥya b. Asher, and Menahem Ẓiyyoni became classic kabbalistic texts. Noteworthy too is the fact that there are practically no kabbalistic commentaries to speak of on entire books of the Prophets or on the Book of Job and the Book of Daniel. Only a few, isolated exegeses of fragments of these texts tend to recur regularly in connection with certain mystical interpretations. The only known kabbalistic commentary ever to have been composed on the entire Bible is the 16th-century *Minḥat Yehudah*, written in Morocco, large sections of which have been preserved in various manuscripts. Outside the Pentateuch, the Song of Songs alone was made the subject of a large number of kabbalistic commentaries, beginning with Ezra of Gerona's and continuing down to several written in recent generations.

The main basis of the Kabbalistic attitude toward the Torah is, as was mentioned above, the fundamental kabbalistic belief in the correspondence between creation and revelation. The divine emanation can be described both in terms of symbols drawn from the doctrine of *Sefirot* and of the emanated, supernal lights, and of symbols drawn from the sphere of language and composed of letters and names. In the latter case, the process of creation can be symbolized as the word of God, the development of the fundamentals of divine speech, and as such it is not essentially different from the divine processes articulated in the Torah, the inwardness of which reveals the same supreme laws that determine the hierarchy of creation. In essence, the Torah contains in a concentrated form all that was allowed to develop more expansively in the creation itself. Strictly speaking, the Torah does not so much mean anything specific, though it in fact means many different things on many different levels, as it articulates a universe of being. God reveals Himself in it as Himself rather than as a medium of communication in the limited human sense. This limited, human meaning of the Torah is only its most external aspect. The true essence of the Torah, on the other hand, is defined in the Kabbalah according to three basic principles: the Torah is the complete mystical name of God; the Torah is a living organism; and the divine speech is infinitely significant, and no finite human speech can ever exhaust it.

THE TORAH AS THE MYSTICAL NAME OF GOD. Underlying this principle is an originally magical belief which was transformed into a mystical one. Such a magical belief in the structure of the Torah can already be found in the *Midrash Tehillim* (on Ps. 3): "Had the chapters of the Torah been given in their correct order, anyone who read them would have been enabled to raise the dead and work miracles; therefore, the Torah's [true] order has been hidden and is known [only] to God." The magical uses of the Torah are discussed in the book *Shimmushei Torah*, which dates at the very latest from the geonic period, and in which it is related that together with the accepted reading of the Torah, Moses received yet another reading composed of Holy Names possessing magical significance. To read the Torah "according to the names" (Naḥmanides' introduction to his commentary on the Pentateuch) does not, therefore, have any concrete human meaning but rather one that is completely esoteric: far from having to do with historical narrations and commandments, the Torah thus read is solely concerned with concentrations of the divine power in various combinations of the letters of God's Holy Names. From the magical belief that the Torah was composed of God's Holy Names, it was but a short step to the mystical belief that the entire Torah was in fact nothing else than the Great Name of God Himself. In it God expressed His own being insofar as this being pertained to creation and insofar as it was able to manifest itself through creation. Thus, the divine energy chose to articulate itself in the form of the letters of the Torah as they express themselves in God's Name. On the one hand this Name comprises the divine potency; on the other hand it comprehends within it the totality of the concealed laws of creation. Obviously, such an assumption about the Torah did not refer to the physical text written on parchment but rather to the Torah in its pre-existential state in which it served as an instrument of the creation. In this sense, the creation of the Torah itself was simply a recapitulation of the process by which the *Sefirot* and the individual aspects of the Divine Names were emanated from the substance of *Ein-Sof.* Nor is the Torah separate from this substance, for it represents the inner life of God. In its earliest and most hidden existence it is called "the primordial Torah," which is occasionally identified with the *Sefirah Ḥokhmah*. Thereafter it develops in two manifestations, that of the Written Torah and that of the Oral Torah, which exist mystically in the *Sefirot Tiferet* and *Malkhut*, while on earth they exist concretely and are geared to the needs of man.

The relationship between the Torah as the all-comprehensive Name of God and the Ineffable Name or Tetragrammaton was defined by Joseph Gikatilla in his *Sha'arei Orah*: "The entire Torah is like a commentary on the [Ineffable] Name of God." In what way is it essentially an explication of the Ineffable Name? In that it is a single "fabric" woven out of the epithets of God in which the Ineffable Name unfolds. Thus, the Torah is a structure the whole of which is built on one fundamental principle, namely, the Ineffable Name. It can be compared to the mystic body of the Godhead, and God Himself is the soul of its letters. This view evolved among the kabbalists of Gerona, and can be found in the Zohar and in contemporaneous works.

THE TORAH AS A LIVING ORGANISM. The weaving of the Torah from the Ineffable Name suggests the analogy that the Torah is a living texture, a live body in the formulation of both Azriel of Gerona and the Zohar. The Torah "is like an entire building; just as one man has many organs with different functions, so among the different chapters of the Torah some seem important in their outward appearance and some unimportant," yet in actual fact all are bound together in a single organic pattern. Just as man's unified nature is divided up among the various organs of his body, so the living cell of God's Name, which is *the* subject of revelation, grows into the earthly Torah that men possess. Down to the last, seemingly insignificant detail of the masoretic text, the Torah has been passed on with the understanding that it is a living structure from which not even one letter can be excised without seriously harming the entire body. The Torah is like a human body that has a head, torso, heart, mouth, and so forth, or else it can be compared to the Tree of Life, which has a root, trunk, branches, leaves, bark, and pith, though none is distinct from another in essence and all form a single great unity. (According to Philo of Alexandria, a similar conception of the Torah as a living organism inspired the sect of Therapeutes, as it did to a certain extent his own biblical commentaries, without there of course being any demonstrable historical filiation between such sources and the Kabbalah.) This organic approach was well able to explain the apparent stylistic discrepancies in the Bible, which was part narrative (and sometimes even seemingly superfluous narrative), part law and commandment, part poetry, and part even raw statistic. Behind all these different styles stood the mystic unity of the great Name of God. Such outward appearances were simply the garments of the hidden inwardness that clothed itself in them, and "Woe is he who looks only at the garments!" Connected with this is the view that the Torah is revealed in a different form in each of the worlds of creation, starting with its primordial manifestation as a garment for *Ein-Sof* and ending with the Torah as it is read on earth – a view that was especially promulgated by the school of Israel Sarug (see above). There is a "Torah of *aẓilut*," a "Torah of *beri'ah*," and so forth, each one reflecting the particular function of the mystical structure of a given phase of creation. In each of these phases there is a relativization of the Torah's absolute essence, which is in itself unaffected by these changes, great though they be. Similarly, as was explained above, the single Torah appears in different forms in the different *shemmitot* or cosmic cycles of creation.

THE INFINITE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE DIVINE SPEECH. A direct consequence of this belief was the principle that the content of the Torah possessed infinite meaning, which revealed itself differently at different levels and according to the capacity of its contemplator. The unfathomable profundity of the divine speech could not possibly be exhausted at any one level alone, an axiom that applied as well to the concrete, historical Torah revealed by God in the theophany at Mount Sinai. From the outset this Torah possessed the two aspects mentioned above, a literal reading formed by its letters that combined to make words of the Hebrew language, and a mystical reading composed of the divine Names of God. But this was not all. "Many lights shine forth from each word and each letter," a view that was summed up in the well-known statement (itself an epigrammatic rendering of a passage in the *Otiyyot de-Rabbi Akiva*) that "the Torah has 70 faces." The conventional four categories by which the Torah was said to be interpretable, the literal (*peshat*), the allegorical (*remez*), the hermeneutical or homiletical (*derash*), and the mystical (*sod*), served only as a general framework for a multiplicity of individual readings, a thesis which from the 16th century on was expressed in the widespread belief that the number of possible readings of the Torah was equal to the number of the 600,000 children of Israel who were present at Mount Sinai – in other words, that each single Jew approached the Torah by a path that he alone could follow. These four categories were first collectively given the acronym *pardes* (literally, "garden") by Moses de Leon. Basically, this "garden of the Torah" was understood as follows. The *peshat* or literal meaning did not embrace only the historical and factual content of the Torah but also the authoritative Oral Law of rabbinic tradition. The *derash* or hermeneutical meaning was the path of ethical and aggadic commentary. The *remez* or allegorical meaning comprised the body of philosophical truths that the Torah contained. The *sod* or mystical meaning was the totality of possible kabbalistic commentaries which interpreted the words of the Torah as references to events in the world of the *Sefirot* or to the relationship to this world of the biblical heroes. The *peshat*, therefore, which was taken to include the corpus of talmudic law as well, was only the Torah's outermost aspect, the "husk" that first met the eye of the reader. The other layers revealed themselves only to that more penetrating and latitudinous power of insight which was able to discover in the Torah general truths that were in no way dependent on their immediate literal context. Only on the level of *sod* did the Torah become a body of mystical symbols which unveiled the hidden life-processes of the Godhead and their connections with human life. This fourfold exegetical division was apparently influenced by the earlier yet similar categories of Christian tradition. Literal, aggadic, and philosophical-allegorical commentaries had previously been known to Jewish tradition as well, and Joseph ibn Aknin's long commentary on the Song of Songs, for example, which was composed early in the 13th century, combined all three of these approaches. Baḥya b. Asher was the first biblical commentator (1291) to introduce a kabbalistic aspect into his textual explications as well, though he did not use the acronym *pardes* and referred to the philosophical reading of the Torah as "the way of the intellect." Explication on the level of *sod*, of course, had limitless possibilities, a classic illustration of which is Nathan Spira's *Megalleh Amukkot* (1637), in which Moses' prayer to God in Deuteronomy 3:23ff. is explained in 252 different ways. In the main corpus of the Zohar, where use of the term "Kabbalah" is studiously avoided, such mystical interpretations are referred to as "mysteries of the faith" (*raza de-meheimnuta*), that is, exegesis based on esoteric beliefs. The author of the Zohar, whose belief in the primacy of kabbalistic interpretation was extreme, actually expressed the opinion (3, 152a) that had the Torah simply been intended as a series of literal narratives, he and his contemporaries would have been able to compose a better book! Occasionally kabbalistic interpretations would deliberately choose to stress certain words or verses that seemed insignificant on the surface and to attribute to them profound symbolic importance, as can be seen in the Zohar's commentary on the list of the kings of Edom in Genesis 36 or on the deeds Benaiah the son of Jehoiada related in II Samuel 23.

Since the Torah was considered to be essentially composed of letters that were nothing less than configurations of the divine light, and since it was agreed that it assumed different forms in the celestial and terrestrial worlds, the question arose of how it would appear in paradise or in a future age. Certainly its present reading had been affected by the corporealization of its letters that took place at the time of Adam's sin. The answer given to this conundrum by the kabbalists of Safed was that the Torah contained the same letters prior to Adam's sin but in a different sequence that corresponded to the condition of the worlds at that time. Thus, it did not include the same prohibitions or laws that we read in it now, for it was adjusted in its entirety to Adam's state before his fall. Similarly, in future ages the Torah will cast off its garments and will again appear in a purely spiritual form whose letters will assume new spiritual meanings. In its primordial existence, the Torah already contained all the combinational possibilities that might manifest themselves in it in accordance with men's deeds and the needs of the world. Had it not been for Adam's sin, its letters would have combined to form a completely different narrative. In messianic times to come, therefore, God will reveal new combinations of letters that will yield an entirely new content. Indeed, this is the "new Torah" alluded to in the Midrash in its commentary on Isaiah 51:4, "For instruction shall go forth from Me." Such beliefs continued to be widespread even in ḥasidic literature.

The most radical form that this view took was associated with the talmudic *aggadah* according to which prior to the creation of the world the whole of the Torah was written in black fire on white fire. As early as the beginning of the 13th century the daring notion was expressed that in reality the white fire comprised the true text of the Torah, whereas the text that appeared in black fire was merely the mystical Oral Law. Hence it follows that the true Written Law has become entirely invisible to human perception and is presently concealed in the white parchment of the Torah scroll, the black letters of which are nothing more than a commentary on this vanished text. In the time of the Messiah the letters of this "white Torah" will be revealed. This belief is referred to in a number of the classic texts of Ḥasidism as well.

The Mystic Way

DEVEKUT. Life in the framework of Judaism, through the study of Torah and prayer, offered the kabbalist a way of both active and passive integration in the great divine hierarchy of creation. Within this hierarchy, the task of the Kabbalah is to help guide the soul back to its native home in the Godhead. For each single Sefirah there is a corresponding ethical attribute in human behavior, and he who achieves this on earth is integrated into the mystic life and the harmonic world of the Sefirot. Cordovero's *Tomer Devorah* is dedicated to this subject. The kabbalists unanimously agreed on the supreme rank attainable by the soul at the end of its mystic path, namely, that of *devekut*, mystical cleaving to God. In turn, there might be different ranks of *devekut* itself, such as "equanimity" (*hishtavvut*, the indifference of the soul to praise or blame), "solitude" (*hitbodedut*, being alone with God), "the holy spirit," and "prophecy." Such is the ladder of *devekut* according to Isaac of Acre. In contrast, a running debate surrounded the question of what was the highest quality preparatory to such *devekut*, the love of God or the fear of God. This argument recurs throughout the literature of the Kabbalah with inconclusive results, and continued into the later *musar* literature that was composed under kabbalistic influence. Many kabbalists considered the worship of God in "pure, sublime fear," which was quite another thing from the fear of punishment, to be an even higher attainment than the worship of Him in love. In the Zohar this "fear" is employed as one of the epithets of the highest Sefirah, thus giving it supreme status. Elijah de Vidas, on the other hand, in his *Reshit Ḥokhmah*, defended the primacy of love. In effect, both of these virtues lead to *devekut*.

The early Kabbalah of Provence already sought to define *devekut* both as a process by which man cleaves to his Creator and as an ultimate goal of the mystic way. According to Isaac the Blind: "The principal task of the mystics [*ha-maskilim*] and of they who contemplate on His Name is [expressed in the commandment] 'And ye shall cleave unto Him' [Deut. 13:5]. And this is a central principle of the Torah, and of prayer, and of [reciting] the blessings, to harmonize one's thought with one's faith as though it cleaved to [the worlds] above, to conjoin God in His letters, and to link [*likhol*] the ten *Sefirot* in Him as a flame is joined to a coal, articulating his epithets aloud and conjoining Him mentally in His true structure." In a more general sense, Naḥmanides, in his commentary on Deuteronomy 11:22, defines *devekut* as the state of mind in which "You constantly remember God and His love, nor do you remove your thought from Him… to the point that when [such a person] speaks with someone else, his heart is not with them at all but is still before God. And indeed it may be true of those who attain this rank, that their soul is granted immortal life [*ẓerurah bi-ẓeror ha-ḥayyim*] even in their lifetime, for they are themselves a dwelling place for the *Shekhinah*." Whoever cleaves in this way to his Creator becomes eligible to receive the holy spirit (Naḥmanides, *Sha'ar ha-Gemul*). Inasmuch as human thought derives from the rational soul in the world of *aẓilut* it has the ability to return to its source there, "And when it reaches its source, it cleaves to the celestial light from which it derives and the two become one" (Meir ibn Gabbai). In his commentary on Job 36:7, Naḥmanides refers to *devekut* as the spiritual level that characterizes the true *ḥasid*, and in fact Baḥya ibn Pakuda's definition of *ḥasidut* in his *Ḥovot ha-Levavot* (8, 10) is very similar to Azriel of Gerona's definition of *devekut* in his *Sha'ar ha-Kavvanah*, for both speak in almost identical terms of the effacement of the human will in the divine will or of the encounter and conformity of the two wills together. On the other hand, kabbalistic descriptions of *devekut* also tend to resemble the common definitions of prophecy and its various levels. In his Epistle to Burgos, Azriel of Gerona speaks of the way to prophecy as being also the way to *devekut*, while in his *Perush ha-Aggadot* (ed. Tishby, 40), he virtually equates the two.

Devekut results in a sense of beatitude and intimate union, yet it does not entirely eliminate the distance between the creature and its Creator, a distinction that most kabbalists, like most Ḥasidim, were careful not to obscure by claiming that there could be a complete unification of the soul and God. In the thought of Isaac of Acre, the concept of *devekut* takes on a semi-contemplative, semi-ecstatic character. (See E. Gottlieb, *Papers of the Fourth World Congress of Jewish Studies*, 1969, Vol. 2, 327–34.) Here and there ecstatic nuances can be found in the conceptions of *devekut* of other kabbalists. (See Y. Tishby, *Mishnat ha-Zohar* 2, 247–68; G. Scholem, *Review of Religion* 14, (1950), 115–39.)

PRAYER, *KAVVANAH*, AND MEDITATION. The main path traveled by the mystic was of course associated in the kabbalistic consciousness with the practical observance of the commandments, yet the two were not intrinsically connected, for essentially the mystic way involved the ascent of the soul to a state of ecstatic rapture through a process of concentrated thought and meditation. Above all, in the Kabbalah it is prayer that serves as the principal realm for this ascent. Prayer is unlike the practical commandments, each of which demands a certain well-defined action, the performance of which does not leave much room for meditation and mystical immersion. True, every commandment has its mystical aspect whose observance creates a bond between the world of man and the world of the *Sefirot*, but the full force of spirituality can express itself far better in prayer. The mystical intention or *kavvanah* that accompanies every commandment is in effect a concentration of thought upon the kabbalistic significance of the action at the time that it is performed; prayer, on the other hand, stands independent of any outward action and can easily be transformed into a comprehensive exercise in inward meditation. The tradition of mystical prayer accompanied by a system of meditative *kavvanot* that focused on each prayer's kabbalistic content developed as a central feature of the Kabbalah from its first appearance among the Ḥasidei Ashkenaz and the kabbalists of Provence and on through the Lurianic Kabbalah and the latter's last vestiges in modern times. The greatest kabbalists were all great masters of prayer, nor would it be easy to imagine the Kabbalah's speculative development without such permanent roots in the experience of mystical prayer. In its kabbalistic guise, the concept of *kavvanah* was given new content far beyond that bestowed on it in earlier rabbinic and halakhic literature. (See Enelow, *Jewish Studies in Honor of Kaufmann Kohler* (Berlin, 1913), 82–107; G. Scholem, MGWJ 78, 1934, 492–518.)

Kabbalistic doctrine sought a way out of the dilemma, which the kabbalists themselves were aware of, that was posed by the theologically unacceptable notion that prayer could somehow change or influence the will of God. The Kabbalah regarded prayer as the ascent of man to the upper worlds, a spiritual peregrination among the supernal realms that sought to integrate itself into their hierarchical structure and to contribute its share toward restoring what had been flawed there. Its field of activity in kabbalistic thought is entirely in the inward worlds and in the connections between them. Using the traditional liturgical text in a symbolic way, prayer repeats the hidden processes of the universe which, as was explained above, can themselves be regarded as essentially linguistic in nature. The ontological hierarchy of the spiritual worlds reveals itself to the kabbalist in the time of prayer as one of the many Names of God. This unveiling of a divine "Name" through the power of the "word" is what constitutes the mystical activity of the individual in prayer, who meditates or focuses his *kavvanah* upon the particular name that belongs to the spiritual realm through which his prayer is passing. In early Kabbalah, it is the name of the appropriate *Sefirah* on which the mystic concentrates when reciting the prayers and into which he is, as it were, absorbed, but in later Kabbalah, and especially in the Lurianic school, this is replaced by one of the mystical Names of God. Thus, while prayer has an aspect of "inward magic" by which it is empowered to help order and restore the upper worlds, it has no outwardly magical efficacy. Such "inward magic" is distinguished from sorcery in that its meditations or *kavvanot* are not meant to be pronounced. The Divine Names are not called upon, as they are in ordinary operational magic, but are aroused through meditative activity directed toward them. The individual in prayer pauses over each word and fully gauges the *kavvanah* that belongs to it. The actual text of the prayer, therefore, serves as a kind of a banister onto which the kabbalist holds as he makes his not unhazardous ascent, groping his way by the words. The *kavvanot*, in other words, transform the words of the prayer into holy names that serve as landmarks on the upward climb.

The practical application of mystical *meditation in the Kabbalah, therefore, is connected mainly, if not exclusively, with the moment of prayer. In terms of Jewish tradition, the principal innovation in this approach lay in the fact that it shifted the emphasis from group prayer to individual mystical prayer without in any way destroying the basic liturgical framework itself. Indeed, in their effort to preserve this framework, the first generations of kabbalists largely refrained from composing original prayers of their own that would reflect their beliefs directly. Only from the 16th century onward, and especially under the influence of the Lurianic school, were large numbers of kabbalistic prayers added to the old. The short meditations of the early kabbalists were now replaced by increasingly lengthy and involved *kavvanot* whose execution led to a considerable lengthening of the service. The system of *kavvanot* reached its maximum development in the school of the Yemenite kabbalist Shalom Sharabi, where prayer required an entire congregation of mystical meditators who were capable of great psychical exertion. Several such groups are actually known to have existed. According to Azriel of Gerona, he who meditates mystically in his prayer "drives away all obstacles and impediments and reduces every word to its 'nothingness.'" To achieve this goal is in a sense to open a reservoir whose waters, which are the divine influx, pour down on the praying individual. Because he has properly prepared himself for these supernal forces, however, he is not overwhelmed and drowned by them. Having completed his upward ascent, he now descends once again with the aid of fixed *kavvanot*, and in this manner unites the upper and the lower worlds. An excellent example of this circle of ascent and descent can be found in the *kavvanot* to the *Shema*.

In contrast to the contemplative character of prayer in the Kabbalah of Gerona and the Zohar, Lurianic Kabbalah emphasized its more active side. Every prayer was now directed not only toward the symbolic ascent of him who prays, but also toward the upraising of the sparks of light that belonged to his soul. "From the day the world was created until the end of time, no one prayer resembles another." Despite the fact that there is a common collectivity to all the *kavvanot*, each one has its completely individual nature, and every moment of prayer is different and demands its own *kavvanah*. In this way, the personal element in prayer came to be highly stressed. Not even all the *kavvanot* listed in the writings devoted to them exhausted the totality of possibilities, just as a musical score cannot possibly contain the personal interpretation that the musician brings to it in the act of performance. In answer to the question in the Talmud, "From whence can it be known that God Himself prays?" the Kabbalah replied that through mystical prayer man was drawn upward or absorbed into the hidden, dynamic life of the Godhead, so that in the act of his praying God prayed too. On the other hand, the theory can also be found in kabbalistic literature that prayer is like an arrow shot upward by its reciter with the bow of *kavvanah*. In yet another analogy from the Lurianic school, which had a great impact on ḥasidic literature, the process of *kavvanah* is defined in terms of the drawing downward of the spiritual divine light into the letters and words of the prayer book, so that this light can then reascend to the highest rank (*Ḥesed le-Avraham*, 2, par. 44). In the opinion of the Zohar (2, 215b), the individual passes through four phases in his prayer: he accomplishes the *tikkun* of himself, the *tikkun* of this lower world, the *tikkun* of the upper world, and, finally, the *tikkun* of the Divine Name. Similarly, the morning service as a whole was interpreted as representing a symbolic progression, at the end of which the reciter was ready to risk all for God, whether by yielding to a near-ecstatic rapture or by wrestling with the *sitra aḥra* in order to rescue the imprisoned holiness from its grasp. In Lurianic prayer a special place was reserved for *yiḥudim* ("acts of unification"), which were meditations on one of the letter combinations of the Tetragrammaton, or on configurations of such names with different vocalizations, such as Isaac Luria was in the habit of giving to his disciples, to each "in accordance with the root of his soul." As employed in such individual *yiḥudim*, the *kavvanot* were detached from the regular liturgy and became independent instruments for uplifting the soul. They also were sometimes used as a method of communing with other souls, particularly with the souls of departed *ẓaddikim*.

A wide kabbalistic literature was devoted to the path of prayer and to mystical interpretations of the traditional liturgy. Such interpretations were less commentaries in the ordinary sense than systematic handbooks for mystical meditation in prayer. Among the best known of these are Azriel of Gerona's *Perush ha-Tefillot* (extant in many Mss.); Menahem Recanati's *Perush ha-Tefillot* (1544); David b. Judah he-Ḥasid's *Or Zaru'a* (see Marmorstein in MGWJ 71 (1927), 39ff.) and a commentary by an anonymous author (c.1300), the long introduction to which has been published (*Kovez Madda'i le-Zekher Moshe Shor*, 1945, 113–26). Among such books written in the 16th century were Meir ibn Gabbai's *Tola'at Ya'akov* (1560); Jacob Israel Finzi's *Perush ha-Tefillot* (in Cambridge Ms.); and Moses Cordovero's *Tefillah le-Moshe* (1892). The rise of Lurianic Kabbalah led to an enormous outpouring of books of *kavvanot* and mystical prayers. The most detailed among them are Ḥayyim Vital's *Sha'ar ha-Kavvanot* and *Pri Eẓ Ḥayyim*, and Emmanuel Ḥai Ricchi's summary *Mishnat Ḥasidim* (1727). As early as Vital's circle the practice developed of compiling special prayer books with the corresponding *kavvanot*, and many copies of these circulated in manuscript under the title *Siddur ha-Ari* ("The Prayer Book of Isaac Luria"). A number of such prayer books were published, among them *Sha'arei Raḥamim* (Salonika, 1741); *Ḥesed le-Avraham* (Smyrna, 1764); Aryeh Loeb Epstein's *Mishnat Gur Aryeh* (Koenigsberg, 1765); the *Siddur ha-Ari* of the kabbalists of the Brody *Klaus* (Zolkiew, 1781); and the kabbalistic prayer books of Asher Margoliot (Lvov, 1788), Shabbetai Rashkover (1794), and Jacob Koppel Lipshitz, whose *Kol Ya'akov* (1804) is full of Shabbatean influence. The acme of such books was the prayer book of Shalom Sharabi, the bulk of which was published in Jerusalem in a long series of volumes beginning in 1910. To this day there are groups in Jerusalem who pray according to Sharabi's *kavvanot*, although the spiritual practice of this can take many years to master. Other guides to prayer from this period are Isaiah Horowitz's *Siddur ha-Shelah* (Amsterdam, 1717); Solomon Rocca's *Kavvanat Shelomo* (Venice, 1670); Moses Albaz's *Heikhal ha-Kodesh* (Amsterdam, 1653); and Ḥayyim Vital's son Samuel's *Ḥemdat Yisrael* (1901). In his *Sha'ar Ru'aḥ ha-Kodesh* (with commentary, 1874), Ḥayyim Vital discusses the *yiḥudim*. Numerous kabbalist prayer books were compiled for various specific occasions, a genre that began with Nathan Hannover's *Sha'arei Ẓiyyon* (1662).

ECSTASY. Beside the mystical meditation of prayer, a number of other mystical "disciplines" developed in Kabbalah. (On the ecstatic ascents of the Merkabah mystics, see above.) From the beginning of the geonic period there is a text called *Sefer ha-Malbush* describing a half-magical, half-mystical practice of "putting on the Name" (*levishat ha-Shem*), whose history apparently goes back even further. Of central importance in this context is the "prophetic Kabbalah" of Abraham Abulafia, in which an earlier tradition of systematic instruction based on "the science of combination," *ḥokhmat ha-ẓeruf* (a play on the double meaning of the word in *ẓeruf ha-otiot*, "the combination of letters," and *ẓeruf ha-levavot*, "the purification of hearts"), was refashioned. This mystical discipline made use of the letters of the alphabet, and especially of the Tetragrammaton and the other Names of God, for the purpose of training in meditation. By immersing himself in various combinations of letters and names, the kabbalist emptied his mind of all natural forms that might prevent his concentrating on divine matters. In this way he freed his soul of its natural restraints and opened it to the divine influx, with whose aid he might even attain to prophecy. The disciplines of *kavvanah* and letter combination became linked together toward the end of the 13th century and from then on mutually influenced each other. The Lurianic *kavvanot* were especially heavily influenced by *ḥokhmat ha-ẓeruf*. The doctrine of the *Sefirot* was also absorbed by these disciplines, though Abulafia himself regarded it as a less advanced and less valuable system than "the science of combination" as the latter was expounded in his books.

In the further course of the development of the Kabbalah, many kabbalists continued to regard such disciplines as the most esoteric side of Kabbalah and were reluctant to discuss them in their books. Abulafia himself described quite explicitly, and in a seemingly objective manner, just what were the obstacles and dangers, as well as the rewards, that such mystical experience could bring. He drew a clear parallel between "the science of combination" and music, which too could conduct the soul to a state of the highest rapture by the combination of sounds. The techniques of "prophetic Kabbalah" that were used to aid the ascent of the soul, such as breathing exercises, the repetition of Divine Names, and meditations on colors, bear a marked resemblance to those of both Indian Yoga and Muslim Sufism. The subject sees flashes of light and feels as though he were divinely "anointed." In certain stages he lives through a personal identification with an inner spiritual mentor or *guru* who is revealed to him and who is really Metatron, the prince of God's countenance, or in some cases, the subject's own true self. The climactic stage of this spiritual education is the power of prophecy. At this point Abulafia's Kabbalah coincides with the discipline of *kavvanot* developed by the kabbalists of Gerona, which was also intended to train its practitioner so that "whoever has mastered it ascends to the level of prophecy."

Here and there mention is made in the Kabbalah of various other occult phenomena, but on the whole there is a clear-cut tendency to avoid discussing such things, just as most kabbalists refrained from recording their personal experiences in the autobiographical form that was extremely common in the mystical literature of both Christianity and Islam. Descriptions exist of the mystical sensation of the subtle ether or "aura," called also "the ether of the *ẓelem*," by which man is surrounded, of mystical visions of the primordial letters in the heavens (Zohar, 2, 130b), and of invisible holy books that could be read only with the inward senses (KS 4, 319). In a number of places prophecy is defined as the experience wherein a man "sees the form of his own self standing before him and relating the future to him" (MTJM, 142). One anonymous disciple of Abulafia actually composed a memoir about his experiences with *ḥokhmat ha-ẓeruf* (MTJM, 147–55). Generally speaking, however, the autobiographical confession was strictly disapproved of by most kabbalists. In the Zohar, a description of mystical ecstasy occurs only once, and that in a highly circumspect account of the experience of the high priest in the Holy of Holies on the Day of Atonement (3, 67a, and in the *Zohar Ḥadash*, 19a). Even in those writings that essentially continue the tradition of Abulafia, there is little of the latter's ecstatic extravagance, and ecstasy itself is moderated into *devekut*. Not until the golden period of the ḥasidic movement in the late 18th century, particularly in the circle of the Maggid of Mezhirech, are descriptions of ecstatic abandon once again encountered in the literature of Judaism. Several books or sections of books that dealt openly and at length with the procedure to be followed for the attainment of ecstasy and the holy spirit, such as Judah Albotini's *Sulam ha-Aliyah* (c. 1500) and the last part of Ḥayyim Vital's *Sha'arei Kedushah*, called *Ma'amar Hitbodedut*, "On Solitary Meditation" (Ginzburg Ms. 691, British Museum 749), were suppressed in their day and preserved only in manuscript. The only such book to have been actually published was the *Berit Menuḥah* (Amsterdam, 1648), the work of an anonymous 14th-century author that has been mistakenly attributed to Abraham of Granada. This book, which contains lengthy descriptions of visions of the supernal lights attained by meditating on various vocalizations of the Tetragrammaton with the aid of a symbolic system unparalleled elsewhere in the Kabbalah, borders on the frontier between "speculative Kabbalah" (*kabbalah iyyunit*), whose primary interest was in the inner spiritual guidance of the individual, and "practical Kabbalah" (*kabbalah ma'asit*), which was concerned above all with magical activity.

Practical Kabbalah

The disciplines discussed in the preceding section, though they deal with practical instructions for the spiritual life, do not belong to the realm of "practical Kabbalah" in the kabbalistic sense of the term, which refers rather to a different set of preoccupations. For the most part, the realm of practical Kabbalah is that of purely motivated or "white" magic, especially as practiced through the medium of the sacred, esoteric Names of God and the angels, the manipulation of which may affect the physical no less than the spiritual world. Such magical operations are not considered impossible in the Kabbalah, or even categorically forbidden, though numerous kabbalistic writings do stress the prohibitions against them. In any case, only the most perfectly virtuous individuals are permitted to perform them, and even then never for their private advantage, but only in times of emergency and public need. Whoever else seeks to perform such acts does so at his own grave physical and spiritual peril. Such warnings were generally observed in the breach, however, as is demonstrated by the extensive literature of practical Kabbalah that has survived. In actual practice, moreover, the boundary between physical magic and the purely inward "magic" of letter combination and *kavvanot* was not always clear-cut and could easily be crossed in either direction. Many early scholarly investigators of the Kabbalah did not often distinguish clearly between the two concepts and frequently used the term "practical Kabbalah" to refer to the Lurianic school as opposed to Cordovero and the Zohar. This confusion can be traced as far back as Pico della Mirandola, who considered the Kabbalah of Abulafia to belong to the "practical" variety. Abulafia himself, however, was well aware of the distinction and in many of his books he fiercely attacked the "masters of names" (*ba'alei shemot*) who defiled themselves with magical practices. The anonymous author of a text once attributed to Maimonides (*Megillat Setarim*, published in *Ḥemdah Genuzah* 1 (1856), 45–52), who himself belonged to the Abulafian school, differentiates between three kinds of Kabbalah, "rabbinic Kabbalah," "prophetic Kabbalah," and "practical Kabbalah." The latter is identified with theurgy, the magical use of Sacred Names, which is not at all the same thing as the meditation on such names. Before the term "practical Kabbalah" came into use, the concept was expressed in Hebrew by the phrase *ḥokhmat ha-shimmush*, which was a translation of the technical Greek term (*praxis*) used to denote magical activity. The Spanish kabbalists made a clear distinction between traditions that had come down to them from "masters of the doctrine of the *Sefirot*" (*ba'alei ha-sefirot*) and those that derived from magicians or "masters of the names." Also known to them were certain magical practices that were referred to as "great theurgy" (*shimmusha rabba*) and "little theurgy" (*shimmusha zutta*; see *Tarbiz*, 16 (1945), 196–209). Unlike Abulafia, however, Gikatilla, Isaac ha-Kohen, and Moses de Leon all mention such "masters of the name" and their expositions without holding them up to reproach. From the 15th century on the semantic division into "speculative" and "practical" Kabbalah became prevalent, though it was not necessarily meant to be prejudicial to the latter. On the whole, however, general summaries of kabbalistic doctrine rarely referred to its "practical" side except accidentally, such as in Cordovero's angelology *Derishot be-Inyanei ha-Mal'akhim* (at the end of R. Margaliot's *Malakhei Elyon*, 1945).

Historically speaking, most of the contents of practical Kabbalah considerably predate those of speculative Kabbalah and are not dependent on them. In effect, what came to be considered practical Kabbalah constituted an agglomeration of all the magical practices that developed in Judaism from the talmudic period down through the Middle Ages. The doctrine of the *Sefirot* hardly ever played a decisive role in these practices, despite occasional attempts from the late 13th century on to integrate the two. The bulk of such magical material to have been preserved is found in the writings of the Ḥasidei Ashkenaz, which for the most part were removed from the theological influences of Kabbalism, both in texts that were especially written on the subject, such as Eliezer of Worms’ *Sefer ha-Shem*, and in collected anthologies. Most earlier theurgical and magical works, such as the *Ḥarba de-Moshe* or the *Sefer ha-Razim* (see above), were eventually assimilated into practical Kabbalah. Various ideas and practices connected with the figure of the *golem* also took their place in practical Kabbalah through a combination of features drawn from the *Sefer Yeẓirah* and a number of magical traditions. The ostensible lines drawn by the kabbalists to set the boundaries of permissible magic were frequently overstepped and obscured, with the consequent appearance in practical Kabbalah of a good deal of “black” magic – that is, magic that was meant to harm others or that employed “the unholy names” (*shemot ha-tum’ah*, Sanh. 91a) of various dark, demonic powers, and magic used for personal gain. The open disavowal of practical Kabbalah by most kabbalists, to the extent that it was not simply an empty formality, was for the most part in reaction to practices like these. Such black magic embraced a wide realm of *demonology and various forms of sorcery that were designed to disrupt the natural order of things and to create illicit connections between things that were meant to be kept separate. Activity of this sort was considered a rebellion of man against God and a hubristic attempt to set himself up in God’s place. According to the Zohar (1, 36b), the source of such practices was “the leaves of the Tree of Knowledge,” and they had existed among men since the expulsion from the Garden of Eden. Alongside this view, there continued the ancient tradition, first found in the Book of Enoch, that the rebellious angels who had fallen from heaven were the original instructors of the magic arts to mankind. To this day, the Zohar relates (3, 208a, 212a–b), the sorcerers journey to “the mountains of darkness,” which are the abode of the rebel angels Aza and Azael, to study under their auspices. The biblical archetype of the sorcerer is Balaam. Such black magic is called in the Kabbalah “apocryphal science” (*ḥokhmah ḥiẓonah*) or “the science of the Orientals” (*ḥokhmah benei kedem*, on the basis of 1 Kings 5:10), and though a theoretical knowledge of it is permitted – several kabbalistic books in fact treat of it at length – its practice is strictly forbidden. The sorcerer draws forth the spirit of impurity from the *kelippot* and mixes the clean and the unclean together. In the *Tikkunei Zohar* the manipulation of such forces is considered justifiable under certain circumstances, inasmuch as the *sitra aḥra* must be fought with its own weapons.

The opposition of the speculative kabbalists to black magic was unable to prevent a conglomeration of all kinds of magical prescriptions in the literature of practical Kabbalah. Often the white-magical practices of amulets and protective charms can be found side by side with the invocation of demons, incantations, and formulas for private gain (e.g., magical shortcuts, the discovery of hidden treasure, impregnability in the face of one’s enemies, etc.), and even sexual magic and necromancy. The international character of magical tradition is evident in such collections, into which many originally non-Jewish elements entered, such as Arab demonology and German and Slavic witchcraft. It was this indiscriminate mixture that was responsible for the rather gross image of practical Kabbalah that existed in the Jewish popular mind and eventually reached the Christian world too, where the theoretical kabbalistic distinction between forbidden and permitted magical practices was of course overlooked completely. The widespread medieval conception of the Jew as a powerful sorcerer was nourished to no small extent by the practical kabbalistic sources that fostered this confusion. As early as the geonic period the title *ba’al shem* or “master of the name” signified a master of practical Kabbalah who was an expert at issuing amulets for various purposes, invoking angels or devils, and exorcising evil spirits (see *Dibbuk) who had entered a human body. On the whole such figures were clearly identified with white magic in the popular mind, as opposed to sorcerers, witches, and wizards.

Among earlier kabbalistic works that are especially rich in material taken from practical Kabbalah are the Zohar, the writings of Joseph b. Shalom Ashkenazi and Menahem Ẓiyyoni, and the *Berit Menuḥah*, while in the post-Lurianic period the *Emek ha-Melekh* is outstanding in this respect. Magical prayers attributed to some of the leading *tannaim* and *amoraim* were already composed long before the development of speculative Kabbalah, and indeed magical material that has been preserved from the geonic age contains many similarities to magical Greek papyri that have been discovered in Egypt. Contemporaneous with such sources are various magical reworkings of the *shemoneh esreh* prayer, such as the *Tefillat Eliyahu* (Cambridge Ms. 505), which was already known to Isaac the Blind, or the maledictory version of the same prayer, quoted from the archives of Menahem Recanati in the complete manuscript of *Shoshan Sodot*. Almost all such compositions have been preserved in manuscript only, except for occasional borrowings from them in more popular anthologies. Among the most important known manuscripts of practical Kabbalah with its characteristic mixture of elements are Sassoon Ms. 290; British Museum Ms. 752; Cincinnati Ms. 35; and Schocken Ms. 102. Literature of this sort was extremely widespread, however, and hundreds of additional manuscripts also exist. Noteworthy also are the anonymous *Sefer ha-Ḥeshek* (*Festschrift fuer Aron Freimann* (1935), 51–54) and *Shulḥan ha-Sekhel* (in Sassoon Ms.), and Joseph ibn Ẓayyah’s *She’erit Yosef* (1549, formerly in the Jewish Library of Vienna). In none of these books, however, is there any serious attempt at a systematic exposition of the subject. In many popular anthologies, which were widely circulated, both practical Kabbalah and folk medicine were combined together.

Other prominent works of practical Kabbalah include Joel Ba’al Shem’s *Toledot Adam* (1720) and *Mif ’alot Elohim* (1727); *Derekh ha-Yashar* (Cracow, 1646); Ẓevi Chotsh’s *Derekh Yesharah* (Fuerth, 1697); *Ta’alumot Ḥokhmah* (Venice, 1667); Zechariah Plongian’s *Sefer ha-Zekhirah* (Hamburg, 1709); Abraham Ḥammawi’s anthologies *He’aḥ Nafshenu* (1870), *Devek me-Aḥ* (1874), *Abi’ah Ḥidot* (1877), *Lidrosh Elohim* (1879), and *Nifla’im Ma’asekha* (1881); and Ḥayyim Palache’s *Refu’ah ve-Ḥayyim* (1874). A great deal of valuable material from the realm of practical Kabbalah can be found in *Mitteilungen der Gesellschaft fuer juedische Volkskunde* (1898–1929), and *Jahrbuecher fuer juedische Volkskunde*, 1–2 (1923–24). Ḥayyim Vital too compiled an anthology of practical Kabbalah mixed with alchemical material (Ms. in the Musayof Collection, Jerusalem). His son Samuel composed an alphabetical lexicon of practical Kabbalah called *Ta'alumot Ḥokhmah*, which has been lost. Moses Zacuto's comprehensive lexicon *Shorshei ha-Shemot*, on the other hand, has been preserved in many manuscript copies (selections from it were published in French by M. Schwab, 1899). Clear proof exists of several books on the subject of practical Kabbalah written by some outstanding kabbalists, but these have not been preserved. Among the great masters of practical Kabbalah in the eyes of kabbalistic tradition itself were figures like Judah Ḥasid, Joseph Gikatilla, Isaac of Acre, Joseph della Reyna, Samson of Ostropol, and Joel Ba'al Shem Tov.

To the realm of practical Kabbalah also belong the many traditions concerning the existence of a special archangelic alphabet, the earliest of which was "the alphabet of Metatron." Other such alphabets or *kolmosin* ("[angelic] pens") were attributed to Michael, Gabriel, Raphael, etc. Several of these alphabets that have come down to us resemble cuneiform writing, while some clearly derive from early Hebrew or Samaritan script. In kabbalistic literature they are known as "eye writing" (*ketav einayim*), because their letters are always composed of lines and small circles that resemble eyes. Under exceptional circumstances, as when writing the Tetragrammaton or the Divine Names Shaddai and Elohim, these alphabets were occasionally used even in a text otherwise written in ordinary Hebrew characters. Such magical letters, which were mainly used in amulets, are the descendants of the magical characters that are found in theurgic Greek and Aramaic from the first centuries C.E. In all likelihood their originators imitated cuneiform writing that could still be seen in their surroundings, but which had become indecipherable and had therefore assumed magical properties in their eyes.

The well-known medieval book, *Clavicula Salomonis* ("Solomon's Key"), was not originally Jewish at all, and it was only in the 17th century that a Hebrew edition was brought out, a mélange of Jewish, Christian, and Arab elements in which the kabbalistic component was practically nil. By the same token, *The Book of the Sacred Magic of Abra-Melin* (London, 1898), which purported to be an English translation of a Hebrew work written in the 15th century by a certain "Abraham the Jew of Worms" and was widely regarded in European occultist circles as being a classical text of practical Kabbalah, was not in fact written by a Jew, although its anonymous 16th-century author had an uncommon command of Hebrew. The book was originally written in German and the Hebrew manuscript of it found in Oxford (Neubauer 2051) is simply a translation. Indeed, the book circulated in various editions in several languages. It shows the partial influence of Jewish ideas but does not have any strict parallel in kabbalistic literature.

The relationship of the Kabbalah to other "occult sciences" such as astrology, alchemy, physiognomy, and chiromancy was slight. Astrology and alchemy play at most a marginal role in kabbalistic thought. At the same time, practical Kabbalah did manifest an interest in the magical induction of the pneumatic powers of the stars through the agency of specific charms. This use of astrological talismans, which clearly derived from Arabic and Latin sources, is first encountered in the *Sefer ha-Levanah* (London, 1912), cited by Naḥmanides. Another text of astrological magic is the Hebrew translation of the *Picatrix, Takhlit he-Ḥakham* (Arabic original and German translation, 1933 and 1962). This genre of magical book is also referred to in the Zohar (1, 99b), and several tracts on the subject have been preserved in manuscripts of practical Kabbalah. A number of kabbalistic works dealing with the preparation of magical rings combine astrological motifs with others taken from "the science of combination." A book in this vein that claims to have been divinely revealed has been preserved in Sassoon Ms. 290. *The Sefer ha-Tamar*, which has been attributed to Abu Aflaḥ (ed. G. Scholem, 1927), was preserved in practical kabbalistic circles but did not derive from them, having its source rather in Arabic astrological magic. Interestingly, kabbalistic attitudes toward astrological magic were highly ambivalent, and some leading kabbalists, such as Cordovero, actually approved of it.

Alchemy too had relatively little influence on the Kabbalah (G. Scholem, in: MGWJ, 69 (1925), 13–30, 95–110; *ibid.*, 70 (1926), 202–9). Indeed, there was a basic symbolic divergence between the two from the start, for while the alchemist considered gold to be the symbol of perfection, for the kabbalists gold, which symbolized *Din*, had a lower rank than silver, which symbolized *Ḥesed*. Nevertheless, efforts were made to harmonize the two systems and allusions to this can already be found in the Zohar. Joseph Taitaẓak, who lived at the time of the Spanish expulsion, declared the identity of alchemy with the divine wisdom of the Kabbalah (*Ẓefunot* 11 (1971), 86–87). In 17th-century Italy a kabbalistic alchemical text called *Esh Meẓaref* was composed in Hebrew, but the original has been lost; some parts have been preserved in the Latin in Knorr von Rosenroth's *Kabbala Denudata* (Eng. London, 1714, and in a new edition, 1894). Ḥayyim Vital spent two years of his youth studying alchemy exclusively and composed a book on alchemical practices which he publicly repented of in old age. No kabbalistic reworkings of physiognomy are known, but there are several treatments of *chiromancy, especially in the Zohar and in traditions of the Lurianic school. Some kabbalists believed that the lines of the hand and the forehead contained clues to a man's previous reincarnations.

The practice of practical Kabbalah raised certain problems concerning occult phenomena (see also preceding section). A number of these come under the category of *giluy eynayim*, whereby a man might be granted a vision of something that, generally speaking, only the rare mystic was permitted to see. Such visions included a glimpse of the "sapphiric ether" (*ha-avir ha-sappiri*) that surrounds all men and in which their movements are recorded, "the book in which all one's deeds are expressly written down" (especially in the works of Menaḥem Azariah Fano). The concept of the *ẓelem* was often associated with this ether, according to Lurianic sources, as was that of the angelic "eye-writing," and invisible letters that spelled out the secret nature of each man's thoughts and deeds which hovered over every head and might be perceived by initiates. Sometimes, especially during the performance of certain commandments such as circumcision, the initiate might also be granted a vision of the Tetragrammaton in the form of fiery letters that "appear and disappear in the twinkling of an eye." A *mohel* who was also a kabbalist could tell by the hue of this fire what the fortune of the newborn child would be (*Emek ha-Melekh*, 175b). The *aggadah* about the rays of light that shone from Moses' forehead (*Midrash Shemot Rabba*, 47) fathered the kabbalistic notion of a special halo that circled above the head of every righteous man (*Sefer Ḥasidim*, par. 370). This belief became widespread, although the halo was sometimes considered to appear only shortly before the *ẓaddik's* death. Visions of angels were explained in a similar fashion: the angel's form was imprinted in an invisible ether that was not the same as ordinary air, and could be seen by a select few, not because they were prophets but because God had opened their eyes as a reward for having purified their corporeal bodies (Cordovero in his *Derushei Mal'akhim*). Sorcerers who saw demons constituted an analogous phenomenon. Automatic writing is mentioned in a number of sources. Thus, Joseph b. Todros Abulafia, for example, composed a kabbalistic tract under the influence of "the writing name" (*Kerem Ḥemed*, 8, 105). Such "names" that facilitated the process of writing are referred to in a number of practical kabbalistic manuscripts. In describing a "revelation" that was granted to him, Joseph Taitaẓak speaks of "the mystic secret of writing with no hand." The anthology *Shoshan Sodot* (Oxford Ms., par. 147) mentions the practice of automatic writing, "making marks [*ḥakikah*] by the pen," as a method of answering vexing or difficult questions. A number of other spiritualistic phenomena, both spontaneous and deliberately induced, are also mentioned in various sources, among them the "levitating table," which was particularly widespread in Germany from the 16th century on. According to one eyewitness report, the ceremony was accompanied by a recital of Divine Names taken from practical Kabbalah and the singing of psalms and hymns (Wagenseil, *Sota*, 1674, 530). An acquaintance of Wagenseil's told him (*ibid.*, 1196) of how he had seen some yeshivah students from Wuerzburg who had studied in Fuerth lift such a table with the aid of Divine Names. Specific instructions for table levitation have been preserved in a number of kabbalistic manuscripts (e.g., Jerusalem 1070 8ø, p. 220). The use of divining rods is also known in such literature, from the 15th century on at the latest (Y. Perles, *Festschrift fuer H. Graetz* (1887), 32–34; see also Eliahu Kohen ha-Itamari, *Midrash Talpiot*, under *devarim nifla'im*).

Certain magical names or *shemot* were prescribed for certain special activities. The *shem ha-garsi* was invoked in the study of Talmud or any rabbinic text (*girsa*); the *shem ha-doresh* was invoked by the preacher (*darshan*). There was a "name of the sword" (*shem ha-ḥerev*), a "name of ogdoad" (*shem ha-sheminiyut*), and a "name of the wing" (*shem hakanaf*). Some of these invocations were borrowed from non-Jewish sources, as for example, the name "Parakletos Jesus b. Pandera" that a preacher recommended for use in synagogue (*Hebr. Bibl.*, 6 (1863), 121; G. Scholem, *Kitvei Yad be-Kabbalah* (1930), 63).

THE WIDER INFLUENCES OF AND RESEARCH ON THE KABBALAH

The Influence of the Kabbalah on Judaism

Though it has been evaluated differently by different observers, the influence of the Kabbalah has been great, for it has been one of the most powerful forces ever to affect the inner development of Judaism, both horizontally and in depth. Jewish historians of the 19th century, while conceding the Kabbalah's significant role, considered it to have been overwhelmingly negative and even catastrophic, but the appraisal of 20th-century Jewish historiography has been far more positive, no doubt due in part to profound changes in the course of Jewish history itself since the beginnings of the Zionist revival. There has been a new readiness in recent decades to acknowledge the wealth of rich symbolism and imagery that the kabbalistic imagination added to Jewish life, as well as to recognize the contributing role of the Kabbalah in strengthening the inner life of collective Jewry and the individual Jew. This reappraisal has made itself felt especially in the last two generations, both in literature and historical studies. Indeed, at times it has assumed panegyric proportions, as in the works of S.A. Horodezky, which have done little to further a fruitful discussion of the religious motives that found their expression in the Kabbalah with results that were sometimes problematic.

As was pointed out at the beginning of this exposition, the Kabbalah represented a theological attempt, open to only a relative few, whose object was to find room for an essentially mystical world-outlook within the framework of traditional Judaism without altering the latter's fundamental principles and behavioral norms. To what extent if at all this attempt was successful remains open to debate, but there can be no doubt that it achieved one very important result, namely, that for the three-hundred-year period roughly from 1500 to 1800 (at the most conservative estimate) the Kabbalah was widely considered to be *the* true Jewish theology, compared with which all other approaches were able at best to lead an isolated and attenuated existence. In the course of this period an open polemical attack on the Kabbalah was practically unheard of, and characteristically, when such an attack appeared, it was almost always in the guise of a rebuke addressed to the later kabbalists for having misrepresented and corporealized the pure philosophy of their predecessors, rather than an open criticism of the Kabbalah itself. Examples of this tactic, which was dictated by necessity, can be found in the anonymous polemic written in Posen in the middle of the 16th century (see

P. Bloch, MGWJ 47, 1903, 153 ff., 263 ff.) and in Jacob Francis of Mantua's anti-kabbalistic poems from the middle of the 17th century. When Mordecai Corcos, on the other hand, wished to publish a book openly opposed to the Kabbalah itself in Venice in 1672, he was prevented from doing so by the Italian rabbinical authorities.

In the area of *halakhah*, which determined the framework of Jewish life in accordance with the laws of the Torah, the influence of the Kabbalah was limited though by no means unimportant. As early as the 13th century there began a tendency to interpret the *halakhah* in kabbalistic terms without actually seeking to effect halakhic rulings or discussions by this means. In the main such kabbalistic interpretations touched on the mystical reasons for the commandments. At times there was an undeniable tension between the kabbalists and the strict halakhists, which in some cases expressed itself partly in kabbalistic outbursts rooted both in the natural feeling of superiority, which, whether justified or not, is frequently found in mystics and spiritualists (as in the case of Abraham Abulafia), and partly in the lack of a certain religious intensity, that kabbalists believed characterized the outlook of some leading halakhists. The attacks on cut-and-dried legalism that can be found in Baḥya ibn Paquda's *Ḥovot ha-Levavot* and in the *Sefer Ḥasidim* clearly reflect an attitude that did not exist only in the imagination of the mystics and was responsible for the fierce polemical assaults of the authors of the *Ra'aya Meheimna* and the *Sefer ha-Peli'ah* against the "talmudists," that is, the halakhists. Popular witticisms directed against such scholars, such as the ironic reading of the word *ḥamor* ("donkey") as an acronym for the phrase *ḥakham mufla ve-rav rabanan* ("a great scholar and a rabbi of rabbis"; see Judah Barzilai's *Perush Sefer Yeẓirah*, 161), have their echoes in the *Ra'aya Meheimna* (3, 275b), whose author does not shrink from the pejorative expression *ḥamor de-matnitin* ("mishnaic donkey"), and in the mystical homily 127b, in a passage belonging to the *Tikkunei Zohar* that refers to the Mishnah in a double-entendre as "the burial place of Moses." Other similar discourses, such as the exegesis (*ibid.*) relating the verse in Exodus 1:4, "And they made their lives bitter with hard service," to talmudic studies, or the angry descriptions of rabbinic scholars in the *Sefer ha-Peliah*, reveal a good deal of resentment. On the other hand, there is no historical basis for the picture drawn by Graetz of an openly anti-talmudic campaign waged by the kabbalists, who in reality insisted in their own writings on a scrupulous observance of halakhic law, albeit of course from a mystical perspective. At the same time, however, true antinomian tendencies could easily spring from the Kabbalah when it joined forces with messianism, as happened in the case of the Shabbatean movement.

A trend toward actually ruling on moot halakhic questions by treating them according to kabbalistic principles first appears in the mid-14th century, in the *Sefer ha-Peliah* and especially in discussions of the commandments in the *Sefer ha-Kanah*. Dating from the same period or shortly after are a number of similarly minded rabbinic responsa that have been attributed to Joseph Gikatilla (first published in the *Festschrift* for Jacob Freimann (1937) 163–70). Yet this school of thought remained in the minority, and most kabbalists, to the extent that they were also leading authorities on the *halakhah*, such as David b. Zimra, Joseph Caro, Solomon Luria, Mordecai Jaffe, and Ḥayyim Joseph Azulai, deliberately refrained from adopting halakhic positions that conflicted with talmudic law. The accepted rule among them was that decisions were only to be made on the basis of the Zohar when no clear talmudic guideline could be found (*Beit Yosef le-Oraḥ Ḥayyim*, par. 141). The entire question of whether halakhic rulings could ever be made on the basis of the Zohar or other kabbalistic texts led to considerable controversy. No less accomplished a kabbalist than David b. Zimra declared that, apart from the Zohar itself, it was forbidden to cite a kabbalistic work in opposition to even an isolated halakhic authority. A differing view was expressed by Benjamin Aaron Selnik, a disciple of Moses Isserles, in his volume of responsa, *Mas'at Binyamin* (1633): "If all the [halakhic] writers since the closing of the Talmud were placed in one pan of the scales, and the author of the Zohar in the other, the latter would outweigh them all." The laws and regulations that could be gleaned from the Zohar were collected by Issachar Baer b. Pethahiah of Kremnitz in his *Yesh Sakhar* (Prague, 1609). Joseph Solomon Delmedigo (1629) assembled a large amount of material dealing with the attitudes of the halakhic authorities to various kabbalistic innovations (*Maẓref le-Ḥokhmah* (1865), 66–82). The tremendous growth of new customs influenced by Lurianic Kabbalah led a number of kabbalists to seek to elevate Isaac Luria himself to a halakhically authoritative status. Even Ḥayyim Joseph David Azulai, who generally accepted as authoritative the halakhic opinions of Joseph Caro, wrote that Isaac Luria's interpretations of *halakhah* took precedence over Caro's Shulḥan Arukh (*Shiyurei Berakhah* on *Oraḥ Ḥayyim*). The tendency to refer to kabbalistic sources in the course of halakhic discussions was much more prominent in the post-Lurianic period among the Sephardim than among the Ashkenazim. The influence of the Kabbalah was particularly felt in connection with observances involving prayer, the Sabbath, and holidays, and was much less pronounced in more purely legal matters. It was common practice to comment on halakhic fine points from a kabbalistic perspective without actually claiming for the latter any halakhic authority. Outstanding examples of this are the *Mekor Ḥayyim* (1878–79) of Ḥayyim ha-Kohen of Aleppo, a disciple of Ḥayyim Vital, and Jacob Ḥayyim b. Isaac Baruch's *Kaf ha-Ḥayyim* (1912–29), a compilation of all the kabbalistic matter connected with the *Oraḥ Ḥayyim* of the Shulḥan Arukh.

In the realm of *aggadah*, the Kabbalah was unrestricted, and many kabbalists made use of this opportunity not only to compose far-reaching interpretations of the early *aggadot* of the Midrash, in which they saw the key to many of their mystic doctrines, but also to create a rich new body of aggadic legend bearing a strongly mythic character. In general, they were more at home in aggadic expression than in systematic exposition, and it is to this "kabbalization" of the *aggadah* that much of the enormous attraction of the Zohar must be credited. As for the fresh aggadic material created by the kabbalists themselves, it largely consisted of a mystical dramatization of the epos of creation and of the interaction of upper and lower worlds in the lives of the biblical heroes. The latter are portrayed as acting against a broad cosmic background, drawing sustenance from supernal powers and affecting them in turn by their deeds. The classic anthology of nearly 500 years of this kabbalistic *aggadah* is Reuben Hoeshke of Prague's *Yalkut Re'uveni*, a first edition of which (Prague, 1660) was organized topically, while its second, enlarged version (Wilmersdorf, 1681), which was modeled after the early midrashic anthology, *Yalkut Shimoni*, was arranged as a commentary on the Torah. Another comprehensive collection of both exoteric and esoteric *aggadot* on the period from the first week of creation to Adam's sin is Nahum Breiner's *Yalkut Naḥmani* (1937).

The main influence of Kabbalah on Jewish life must be sought in the three areas of prayer, custom, and ethics. Here the Kabbalah had practically unlimited freedom to exert its influence, which expressed itself in the creation of a broad body of literature that was directed at every Jewish home. From the middle of the 17th century onward, kabbalistic motifs entered the everyday prayer book and inspired special liturgies intended for a variety of specific occasions and rituals, many of which were in essence kabbalistic creations. This development began in Italy with books by Aaron Berechiah Modena and Moses Zacuto, and above all, with the appearance of Nathan Hannover's *Sha'arei Ẓiyyon* (Prague, 1662), one of the most influential and widely circulated of all kabbalistic works. In this volume the Lurianic doctrines of man's mission on earth, his connections with the powers of the upper worlds, the transmigrations of his soul, and his striving to achieve *tikkun* were woven into prayers that could be appreciated and understood by everyone, or that at least could arouse everyone's imagination and emotions. Such liturgies reached the furthest corners of the Diaspora and continued to be popular among Jews in Muslim countries long after they were excised from the prayer book by the Jewish communities of Central Europe as a consequence of the decline of the Kabbalah there in the 19th century. Sizable anthologies of highly emotional prayers composed under kabbalistic inspiration were published mainly in Leghorn, Venice, Constantinople, and Salonika. Especially important in this realm were the activities of Judah Samuel Ashkenazi, Abraham Anakawa, and above all, Abraham Hammawi (or Hamoj), who published a series of such books in Leghorn for the Jews of North Africa (*Bet Oved, Bet El, Bet ha-Kaporet, Bet ha-Beḥirot, Bet Av, Bet Din, Bet ha-Sho'evah, Bet Menuḥah*). The liturgical anthology *Oẓar ha-Tefillot* (1914) reflects the last lingering kabbalistic influences on the prayers of Eastern European Jewry.

Popular customs and popular faith were also highly affected by the spread of the Kabbalah. Many kabbalistic concepts were absorbed at the level of folk beliefs, such as the doctrine of man's first sin as the cause of a disruption in the upper worlds, the belief in transmigration of souls, the kabbalistic teachings about the Messiah, or the demonology of the later Kabbalah. Throughout the Diaspora, the number of folk customs whose origins were kabbalistic was enormous; many were taken directly from the Zohar, and many others from Lurianic tradition, the observances of which were compiled in the middle of the 17th century by Jacob Ẓemaḥ in his *Shulḥan Arukh ha-Ari* and *Naggid u-Meẓavveh*. A more recent guide to Lurianic customs was the compilation *Ta'amei ha-Minhagim* (1911–12). Such customs came on the whole to fulfill four mystical functions: the establishment of a harmony between the restrictive forces of *Din* and the outgoing forces of *Raḥamim*; to bring about or to symbolize the mystical "sacred marriage" (*ha-zivvug ha-kadosh*) between God and His *Shekhinah*; the redemption of the *Shekhinah* from its exile amid the forces of the *sitra aḥra*; the protection of oneself against the forces of the *sitra aḥra* and the battle to overcome them. Human action on earth assists or arouses events in the upper worlds, an interplay that has both its symbolic and its magical side. Indeed, in this conception of religious ceremony as a vehicle for the workings of divine forces, a very real danger existed that an essentially mystical perspective might be transformed in practice into an essentially magical one. Undeniably, the social effects of the Kabbalah on popular Jewish custom and ceremony were characterized by this ambivalence. Alongside the tendency to greater religious inwardness and insight was the tendency to a complete demonization of all life. The conspicuous growth of this latter trend at the expense of the former was undoubtedly one of the factors which, by reducing Kabbalah to the level of popular superstition, ultimately helped eliminate it as a serious historical force. (See G. Scholem, Th*e Kabbalah and its Symbolism* (1965), 118–57.)

Among kabbalistic customs that became particularly widespread were the holding of midnight vigils for the exile of the *Shekhinah*, the treating of the eve of the new moon as "a little Day of Atonement," and the holding of dusk-to-dawn vigils, which were dedicated to both ordinary and mystical study, on the nights of Pentecost, Hoshanah Rabba, and the seventh day of Passover. All such ceremonies and their accompanying liturgies and texts were referred to as *tikkunim* (e.g., "the *tikkun* of midnight" for the exile of the *Shekhinah*, etc.). A special atmosphere of solemn celebration surrounded the Sabbath, which was thoroughly pervaded with kabbalistic ideas about man's role in the unification of the upper worlds. Under the symbolic aspect of "the marriage of King and Queen," the Sabbath was enriched by a wealth of new customs that originated in Safed, such as the singing of the mystical hymn *Lekhah Dodi* and the recital of the Song of Songs and Chapter 31 of Proverbs ("A woman of valor who can find?"), all of which were intended as meditations on the *Shekhinah* in her aspect as God's mystical bride. Mystical and demonic motifs became particularly interwined in the area of sexual life, to which an entire literature was devoted, starting with the *Iggeret ha-Kodesh*, later mistakenly ascribed to Naḥmanides (see G. Scholem, in: KS 21 (1944), 179–86; and Monford Harris, in: HUCA 33 (1962), 197–220) and continuing up to Naḥman of

Bratslav's *Tikkun ha-Kelali*. Connected with these motifs were also a number of common burial customs, such as the circling of corpses and the forbidding of sons to attend their fathers' funerals. Similar ideas were behind the fast days in the months of Tevet and Shevat for "the *tikkun* of the *shovevim*," that is, of the demonic offspring of nocturnal emission.

This penetration of kabbalistic customs and beliefs, which left no corner of Jewish life untouched, is especially well documented in two highly influential books: Isaiah Horowitz's *Shenei Luḥot ha-Berit* (1648), which was accorded a particularly prominent place among Ashkenazi Jewry, and the anonymous *Ḥemdat Yamim* (1731), which was written by a moderate Shabbatean in the early 18th century. The latter book was circulated at first in Poland as well, but once its Shabbatean character came under attack its influence became largely restricted to the Sephardi world, where it fostered an entire literature of breviaries and study texts for special occasions. Despite the bulkiness of such works, their expressive power and rich contents made them classics of their kind. Noteworthy among more recent examples of this literature is Mordecai Moses Sassoon of Baghdad's *Davar be-Itto* (1862–94). A custom that became particularly widespread among the Sephardim was that of reciting the Zohar aloud, paying no attention to its contents, simply as "salutary for the soul."

Most of the popular ethical works of *musar* literature, especially the more prominent of them, bear the stamp of kabbalistic influences from the 1570s until the beginning of the 19th century, and even until the latter's end in the Sephardi world. The pioneer works in this respect were Eliezer Azikri's *Sefer Ḥaredim* (Venice, 1601), and Elijah de Vidas' *Reshit Ḥokhmah* (Venice, 1579), a comprehensive and exhaustive volume on all ethical aspects of Jewish life which served as a link between the motifs of medieval aggadic and *musar* literature and the new world of popular Kabbalah. Contemporaneous homiletic literature, much of which was also devoted to ethical instruction, also contains strong kabbalistic elements, which were further reinforced by the spread of Lurianic beliefs. The Lurianic doctrines of *tikkun*, the transmigration of souls, and the struggle with the *sitra aḥra* were subjected to especially intensive popular treatment. Such exhortative works as Ḥayyim Vital's *Sha'arei Kedushah* (Constantinople, 1734), Ẓevi Hirsch Koidanover's *Kav ha-Yashar* (Frankfurt, 1705), Elijah ha-Kohen's *Shevet Musar* (Constantinople, 1712), and many others down to the *Nefesh ha-Ḥayyim* of Ḥayyim of Volozhin, a disciple of the Gaon of Vilna, manifest indebtedness to kabbalistic sources on every page. Even the crowning masterpiece of this type of ethical literature, Moses Ḥayyim Luzzatto's *Mesillat Yesharim* (Amsterdam, 1740), was basically inspired by a conception of the ethical education of the Jew as a stage on the way to mystical communion with God, despite its restricted use of kabbalistic citations and symbols. Similar works of ethical exhortation composed in Poland in the middle of the 18th century are highly charged with attitudes and ideas that clearly served as a prelude to the beginnings of Ḥasidism. Examples of such books are Moses b. Jacob of Satanov's *Mishmeret ha-Kodesh* (Zolkiew, 1746), the *Bet Pereẓ* (Zolkiew, 1759) of Pereẓ b. Moses who was a kabbalist of the Brody *Klaus*, and Simḥah of Zalosicz's *Lev Simḥah* and *Neti'ah shel Simḥah* (Zolkiew, 1757 and 1763). In the 20th century the deep influence of kabbalistic *musar* literature can still be felt in the works of R. Abraham Kook. Similarly, in the mid-19th century, we find R. Judah Alkalai of Belgrade, one of the earliest heralds of Zionism, still totally immersed in the ethical world of the Kabbalah (see his collected writings in Hebrew, Jerusalem, 1944).

The Christian Kabbalah

From the late 15th century onward, in certain Christian circles of a mystical and theosophical persuasion a movement began to evolve with the object of harmonizing kabbalistic doctrines with Christianity, and, above all, of demonstrating that the true hidden meaning of the teachings of the Kabbalah points in a Christian direction. Naturally, such views did not meet with a friendly reception from the kabbalists themselves, who expressed nothing but derision for the misunderstandings and distortions of kabbalistic doctrine of which Christian Kabbalah was full; but the latter undeniably succeeded in arousing lively interest and debate among spiritualistic circles in the West until at least the middle of the 18th century. Historically, Christian Kabbalah sprang from two sources. The first was the christological speculations of a number of Jewish converts who are known to us from the end of the 13th century until the period of the Spanish expulsion (G. Scholem, in *Essays Presented to Leo Baeck* (1954), 158–93), such as Abner of *Burgos (Yiẓḥak Baer, *Tarbiẓ* 27 (1958), 152–63), and Paul de Heredia, who pseudepigraphically composed several texts of Christian Kabbalah entitled *Iggeret ha-Sodot* and *Galei Rezaya* in the name of Judah ha-Nasi and other *tannaim*. Another such tract put out by Jewish converts in Spain toward the end of the 15th century, and written in imitation of the styles of the *aggadah* and the Zohar, circulated widely in Italy. Such compositions had little effect on serious Christian spiritualists, nor was their clearly tendentious missionary purpose calculated to win readers. Another matter entirely, however, was the Christian speculation about the Kabbalah that first developed around the Platonic Academy endowed by the Medicis in Florence and was pursued in close connection with the new horizons opened up by the Renaissance in general. These Florentine circles believed that they had discovered in the Kabbalah an original divine revelation to mankind that had been lost and would now be restored, and with the aid of which it was possible not only to understand the teachings of Pythagoras, Plato, and the Orphics, all of whom they greatly admired, but also the secrets of the Catholic faith. The founder of this Christian school of Kabbalah was the renowned Florentine prodigy Giovanni Pico della *Mirandola (1463–94), who had long passages of kabbalistic literature translated for him into Latin by the very learned convert Samuel b. Nissim Abulfaraj, later Raymond Moncada, also known as Flavius *Mithridates, Pico began his kabbalistic studies in 1486, and when he displayed his 900 famous theses for public debate in Rome he included among them 47 propositions taken directly from kabbalistic sources, the majority from Recanati's commentary on the Torah, and 72 more propositions that represented his own conclusions from his kabbalistic research. These theses, especially the daring claim that "no science can better convince us of the divinity of Jesus Christ than magic and the Kabbalah," first brought the Kabbalah to the attention of many Christians. The ecclesiastical authorities fiercely rejected this and other of Pico's propositions, and there ensued the first real debate on the subject of the Kabbalah ever to take place in humanistic and clerical circles. Pico himself believed that he could prove the dogmas of the Trinity and the Incarnation on the basis of kabbalistic axioms. The sudden discovery of an esoteric Jewish tradition that had hitherto been completely unknown caused a sensation in the Christian intellectual world, and Pico's subsequent writings on the Kabbalah helped to further increase the interest of Christian Platonists in these newly uncovered sources, particularly in Italy, Germany, and France. Under Pico's influence the great Christian Hebraist Johannes *Reuchlin (1455–1522) also took up the study of Kabbalah and published two Latin books on the subject, the first ever to be written by a non-Jew, *De Verbo Mirifico* ("On the Miracle-working Name," 1494) and *De Arte Cabalistica* ("On the Science of the Kabbalah," 1517). The years between these two dates also witnessed the appearance of a number of works by the learned convert Paul Ricius, the private physician of Emperor Maximilian, who took Pico's and Reuchlin's conclusions and added to them through an original synthesis of kabbalistic and Christian sources. Reuchlin's own main contribution was his association of the dogma of the Incarnation with a series of bold speculations on the kabbalistic doctrine of the Divine Names of God. Human history, Reuchlin argued, could be divided into three periods. In the first or natural period, God revealed Himself to the patriarchs through the three-lettered name of Shaddai (שדי). In the period of the Toráh He revealed Himself to Moses through the four-lettered name of the Tetragrammaton. But in the period of grace and redemption He revealed Himself through five letters, namely, the Tetragrammaton with the addition of the letter *shin*, signifying the Logos, thus spelling Yehoshua or Jesus. In the name of Jesus, which is the true Miraculous Name, the formerly forbidden name of God now became pronounceable. In Reuchlin's schematic arrangement, which was able to draw for support on the common abbreviation for Jesus in medieval manuscripts, JHS, Jewish beliefs in three world ages (Chaos, Torah, Messiah) blended with the tripartite Christian division of the millennialist school of Joachim of Fiore into a reign of the Father, a reign of the Son, and a reign of the Holy Ghost.

Pico's and Reuchlin's writings, which placed the Kabbalah in the context of some of the leading intellectual developments of the time, attracted wide attention. They led on the one hand to considerable interest in the doctrine of Divine Names and in practical Kabbalah, and on the other hand to further speculative attempts to achieve a synthesis between kabbalistic motifs and Christian theology. The place of honor accorded to practical Kabbalah in Cornelius Agrippa of Nettesheim's great compendium *De Occulta Philosophia* (1531), which was a widely read summary of all the occult sciences of the day, was largely responsible for the mistaken association of the Kabbalah in the Christian world with numerology and witchcraft. Several Christian kabbalists of the mid-16th century made a considerable effort to master the sources of the Kabbalah more deeply, both in Hebrew and in Latin translations prepared for them, thus widening the basis for their attempts to discover common ground between the Kabbalah and Christianity. Among the most prominent of these figures were Cardinal Egidio da *Viterbo (1465–1532), whose *Scechina* (ed. F. Secret, 1959) and "On the Hebrew Letters" were influenced by ideas in the Zohar and the *Sefer ha-Temunah*, and the Franciscan Francesco *Giorgio of Venice (1460–1540), the author of two large and at the time widely read books, *De Harmonia Mundi* (1525) and *Problemata* (1536), in which the Kabbalah assumed a central place and manuscript material from the Zohar was used extensively for the first time in a Christian work. The admiration of these Christian authors for the Kabbalah aroused an angry reaction in some quarters, which accused them of disseminating the view that any Jewish kabbalist could boast of being a better Christian than an orthodox Catholic. A more original mystical thinker who was also better acquainted with the Jewish sources was the renowned Frenchman Guillaume *Postel (1510–1581), one of the outstanding personalities of the Renaissance. Postel translated the Zohar and the *Sefer Yeẓirah* into Latin even before they had been printed in the original, and accompanied his translation with a lengthy theosophic exposition of his own views. In 1548 he published a kabbalistic commentary in Latin translation on the mystical significance of the *menorah*, and later a Hebrew edition as well. These authors had many connections in Jewish circles.

During this period, Christian Kabbalah was primarily concerned with the development of certain religious and philosophical ideas for their own sake rather than with the desire to evangelize among Jews, though this latter activity was occasionally stressed to justify a pursuit that was otherwise suspect in many eyes. One of the most dedicated of such Christian kabbalists was Johann Albrecht *Widmanstetter (Widmanstadius; 1506–1557), whose enthusiasm for the Kabbalah led him to collect many kabbalistic manuscripts that are extant in Munich. Many of his contemporaries, however, remained content to speculate in the realm of Christian Kabbalah without any firsthand knowledge of the sources. Indeed, in the course of time the knowledge of Jewish sources diminished among the Christian kabbalists, and consequently the Jewish element in their books became progressively slighter, its place being taken by esoteric Christian speculations whose connections with Jewish motifs were remote. The Lurianic revival in Safed had no effect on these circles. Their commitment to missionary work increased, yet the number of Jewish converts to Christianity from kabbalistic motives, or of those who claimed such motives retrospectively, remained disproportionately small among the numbers of converts in general. There is no clear evidence in the writings of such Christian theosophists to indicate whether or not they believed the Jewish kabbalists to be hidden or unconscious Christians at heart. In any event, Christian Kabbalah occupied an honored place both in the 16th century, primarily in Italy and France, and in the 17th century, when its center moved to Germany and England.

In the 17th century Christian Kabbalah received two great impetuses, one being the theosophical writings of Jacob Boehme, and the other Christian Knorr von *Rosenroth's vast kabbalistic compendium *Kabbala Denudata* (1677–84), which for the first time made available to interested Christian readers, most of whom were undoubtedly mystically inclined themselves, not only important sections of the Zohar but sizable excerpts from Lurianic Kabbalah as well. In this work and in the writings of the Jesuit scholar Athanasius Kircher the parallel is drawn for the first time between the kabbalistic doctrine of *Adam Kadmon* and the concept of Jesus as primordial man in Christian theology. This analogy is pressed particularly in the essay entitled *Adumbratio Kabbalae Christianae* which appears at the end of the *Kabbala Denudata* (Fr. trans., Paris, 1899), and from which the very term Christian Kabbalah was taken over by many writers. Its anonymous author was in fact the well-known Dutch theosophist, Franciscus Mercurius van Helmont, all of whose works are shot through with kabbalistic ideas. It was Van Helmont who served as the link between the Kabbalah and the Cambridge Platonists led by Henry More and Ralph Cudworth, who made use of kabbalistic motifs for their own original speculative purposes, more especially. Somewhat earlier, students (as well as opponents) of Jacob Boehme had discovered the inner affinity between his own theosophical system and that of the Kabbalah, though there would seem to be no historical connection between them, and in certain circles, particularly in Germany, Holland, and England, Christian Kabbalah henceforward assumed a Boehmian guise. In 1673 a large chart was erected in front of a Protestant church in Teinach (southern Germany), which had as its purpose the presentation of a kind of visual summary of this school of Christian Kabbalah. Several different interpretations were given to it. As early as the late 16th century a pronounced trend had emerged toward the permeation of Christian Kabbalah with alchemical symbolism, thus giving it an oddly original character in its final stages of development in the 17th and 18th centuries. This mélange of elements typifies the works of Heinrich Khunrat, *Amphitheatrum Sapientiae Aeternae* (1609), Blaise de *Vigenère, *Traité du Feu* (1617), Abraham von Frankenberg, Robert Fludd (1574–1637), and Thomas Vaughan (1622–1666), and reaches its apogee in Georg von Welling's *Opus Mago-Cabbalisticum* (1735) and the many books of F.C. Oetinger (1702–1782), whose influence is discernible in the works of such great figures of German idealist philosophy as Hegel and Schelling. In yet another form this mixture reappears in the theosophical systems of the Freemasons in the second half of the 18th century. A late phase of Christian Kabbalah is represented by Martines de Pasqually (1727–1774) in his *Traité de la réintégration des êtres*, which greatly influenced theosophical currents in France. The author's disciple was the well-known mystic Louis Claude de St. Martin. Pasqually himself was suspected during his lifetime of being a secret Jew, and modern scholarship has in fact established that he was of Marrano ancestry. The sources of his intellectual indebtedness, however, have still to be clarified. The crowning and final achievement of Christian Kabbalah was Franz Josef Molitor's (1779–1861) comprehensive *Philosophie der Geschichte oder Ueber die Tradition*, which combined profound speculation in a Christian kabbalistic vein with highly suggestive research into the ideas of the Kabbalah itself. Molitor too still clung to a fundamentally christological view of the Kabbalah, whose historical evolution he completely failed to understand, yet at the same time he revealed an essential grasp of kabbalistic doctrine and an insight into the world of the Kabbalah far superior to that of most Jewish scholars of his time.

Scholarship and the Kabbalah

As implied above, the beginnings of scholarly investigation of the Kabbalah were bound up with the interests of Christian Kabbalah and its missionary zeal. A number of Christian kabbalists were led to study the literature of the Kabbalah first hand, one of the first being Reuchlin, who resorted primarily to the works of Gikatilla and to a large collection of early kabbalistic writings that has been preserved in Halberstamm Ms. 444 (in the Jewish Theological Seminary in New York). Though a significant number of kabbalistic works had been translated by the middle of the 16th century, only a few of these translations, such as one of Gikatilla's *Sha'arei Orah* (1516), had been published, while the majority remained in manuscript where they did little to stimulate further research. In addition, the theological presuppositions of the Christian kabbalists ruled out any historical, to say nothing of critical, perspective on their part. A crucial turning-point was the publication of Knorr von Rosenroth's *Kabbala Denudata*, despite its many erroneous translations which were further compounded in the retranslation of some of its parts into English and French (see MGWJ 75 (1932), 444–8). The appearance of this book aroused the interest of several scholars who had not previously had any attachment to Christian Kabbalah. Completely at variance with the latter's premises was Johann Georg Wachter's study of Spinozistic tendencies in Judaism, *Der Spinozismus im Juedenthumb* [sic!] (Amsterdam, 1699), which was the first work to interpret the theology of the Kabbalah pantheistically and to argue that the kabbalists were not disguised Christians but rather disguised atheists. Wachter's book greatly influenced discussions on the subject throughout the 18th century. Early in the 18th century J.P. Buddeus proposed the theory of a close connection between the early Gnostics and the Kabbalah in his "Introduction to the History of the Philosophy of the Jews" (in Latin, Halle, 1720), which was largely devoted to the Kabbalah. J.K. Schramm too, in his "Introduction to the Dialectics of the Kabbalists" (Braunschweig, 1703) sought to discuss the subject in scientific and philosophical terms, while G. Sommer's *Specimen Theologiae Soharicae* (Gotha, 1734) presented an anthology of all the passages from the Zohar that were in the author's opinion close to Christian doctrine. A particularly valuable though now totally forgotten book was Hermann von der Hardt's *Aenigmata Judaeorum Religiosissima* (Helmstadt, 1705), which dealt with practical Kabbalah. J.P. Kleuker published a study in 1786 in which he argued the case for a decisive Persian influence on the kabbalistic doctrine of emanation. Common to all these early scholars was the belief that the Kabbalah was in essence not Jewish at all, but rather Christian, Greek, or Persian.

Scholarly investigation of the Kabbalah by Jews also first served a tendentious purpose, namely, to polemicize against what was felt to be the Kabbalah's undue influence on Jewish life. The first critical work to be written in this vein was Jacob Emden's highly influential *Mitpaḥat Sefarim* (Altona, 1768), which grew out of the author's battle with Shabbateanism and was intended to weaken the authority of the Zohar by proving that many of its passages were late interpolations. In the 19th century also most Jewish scholarship on the Kabbalah bore a polemical character primarily aimed against kabbalistic influences as they appeared in Ḥasidism. For the most part such scholars too considered the Kabbalah to have been an essentially foreign presence in Jewish life. At the time, indeed, Kabbalah was still a kind of stepdaughter in the field of Jewish scholarship whose actual literary sources were studied by only a few. Even from this limited perspective, however, important contributions to the investigation of the Kabbalah were made by Samuel David Luzzatto, Adolphe Franck, H.D. Joel, Senior Sachs, Aaron Jellinek, Isaac Mieses, Graetz, Ignatz Stern, and M. Steinschneider. The works of the single Jewish scholar of this period to devote in-depth studies to the Zohar and other important kabbalistic texts, Eliakim Milsahagi (Samiler), remained almost completely unpublished and were eventually forgotten and largely lost. All that has been preserved of them is his analysis of the Zohar (Jerusalem Ms. 4° 121), and the *Sefer Raziel*. Works on the Kabbalah during the Haskalah period are almost all practically worthless, such as the many tracts and books of Solomon Rubin. Exceptions are David Kahana's studies of Lurianic Kabbalah, which despite their polemic tendentiousness have some historical value. The only two scholars of the age to approach the Kabbalah out of a fundamental sympathy and even affinity for its teachings were the Christian P.J. Molitor and the Jew Elijah Benamozegh. The many books written on the subject in the 19th and 20th centuries by various theosophists and mystics lacked any basic knowledge of the sources and very rarely contributed to the field, while at times they even hindered the development of a historical approach. Similarly, the activities of French and English occultists contributed nothing and only served to create considerable confusion between the teachings of the Kabbalah and their own totally unrelated inventions. To this category of supreme charlatanism belong the many and widely read books of Eliphas Levi (actually Alphonse Louis Constant; 1810–1875), Papus (Gérard Encausse; 1868–1916), and Frater Perdurabo (Aleister Crowley; 1875–1946), all of whom had an infinitesimal knowledge of Kabbalah that did not prevent them from drawing freely on their imaginations instead. The comprehensive works of A.E. Waite, S. Karppe, and P. Vulliaud, on the other hand, were mere compilations made from secondhand sources.

The profoundly altered approach to Jewish history that followed in the wake of the Zionist revival and the movement for national rebirth led, particularly after World War I, to a renewal of interest in the Kabbalah as a vital expression of Jewish existence. A new attempt was made to understand, independently of all polemic or apologetic positions, the genesis, development, historical role, and social and intellectual influence of the Kabbalah within the total context of the internal and external forces that have determined the shape of Jewish history. The pioneers of this new approach were S.A. Horodezky, Ernst Mueller, and G. Scholem. In the years following 1925 an international center for kabbalistic research came to reside in the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. Among the foremost representatives of the school of historical criticism that developed there were G. Scholem, Y. Tishby, E. Gottlieb, and J. Ben-Shlomo. Elsewhere important contributions to kabbalistic scholarship were made too, particularly by G. Vajda, A. Altmann, and François Secret. With the development of new perspectives in recent years, scholarly investigation of the Kabbalah is only now emerging from its infancy. Ahead of it lies a great deal of room for fruitful expansion that will yet take in kabbalistic literature in the whole of its richness and its many implications with regard to the life of the Jewish people.

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[Gershom Scholem]

KABBALAH IN THE LATE 20TH CENTURY

During and after World War II, numerous kabbalistic and ḥasidic centers were destroyed or weakened as a result of the Holocaust and the relocation of the Jewish communities of the Middle East and North Africa. However, powerful new centers were soon established, mostly in Israel and the United States. As a result, kabbalistic literature was written, published, and studied on a scale totally unknown even during its previous "Golden Ages," such as the 13th and 16th centuries. This quantitative expansion accelerated the appearance of new forms of kabbalistic creativity. Thus, 20th-century Kabbalah often markedly diverged from its classical roots and acquired a distinctive modern (and even post-modern) character. This can be best appreciated by considering several themes, which shall be enumerated after a brief presentation of central schools and figures.

Central Schools and Figures

THE ḤASIDIC WORLD. Large parts of the ḥasidic world were destroyed during the Holocaust. One example of a unique ḥasidic group devoted to intense mystical practice which was almost totally destroyed was the circle of Kalonymus Kalman Shapira (1889–1943) in Warsaw. The post-Holocaust recovery of the various ḥasidic schools was one of the most striking quantitative developments in the history of Kabbalah in the 20th century. The most influential ḥasidic school was that of *Chabad-Lubavitch. Under the leadership of its last rebbes, Joseph Isaac (1880–1950) and Menahem Mendel *Schneersohn (1902–1994), who operated from New York, Lubavitch expanded into a worldwide network, which utilized sophisticated technology to propagate its mystical and messianic doctrine (on the latter, see below). The late 20th century also saw the expansion of Braslav ḥasidism (which follows the leadership of Naḥman of Braslav) from a small sect into a diverse popular movement. Leaders of various branches of this school included Israel Odesser (1905?–1994), Eliezer Berland (1937–) and Jacob Meir Schecter (1931–). Numerous secular Israeli cultural figures went through a process of "return" and joined one of these branches. In the United States, the teachings of Naḥman of Braslav were popularized by the kabbalistic writer Aryeh *Kaplan (1934–1983), who was also one of the pioneers of the "return" movement.

THE NON-ḤASIDIC ULTRA-ORTHODOX. One of the most striking developments of 20th-century Kabbalah was the "kabbalization" of the non-ḥasidic Ultra-Orthodox world and especially the *Musar (Ethics) movement. The founders of this school, such as Israel *Salanter (1809–1883), were initially reserved towards the study of Kabbalah, preferring to focus on the transformation of everyday behavior and feeling. However, during the course of the 20th century, Musar thinkers such as Judah Leib Bloch (1860–1930) of Telz Yeshivah, Isaac *Hutner (1906–1980) of New York, and Shelomo Wolbe (1915–2005) of Israel often resorted to mystical doctrines in developing its psychological theory and praxis.

THE ORIENTAL JEWISH WORLD. During the first part of the 20th century, Oriental (Sephardi) kabbalists continued to engage in traditional kabbalistic practice in the Near East and North Africa. The most prominent among these included Joseph Ḥayyim of Baghdad (1834–1909) and his student Judah Petaya (1859–1942). In the middle of the century, the displacement of Oriental Jews from these centers significantly disrupted these activities. However, as a response to its social and cultural marginalization in its new home in Israel, the Oriental world enjoyed a marked resurgence during the course of the last two decades of the century. This included the establishment of numerous "Yeshivot for Kabbalists" as well as the expansion of existing institutions, such as Bet El, Aḥvat Shalom, and Ha-Ḥayyim ve-ha-Shalom. One of the most prominent amongst the leaders of these yeshivot was Ovadiah Haddayah (1891–1969), who incorporated kabbalistic doctrines in his halakhic (legal) writing and public discourses. These influential kabbalists also included figures with a more magical orientation, such as Israel Abu-Hatzeira (1889–1984), who acquired a mass following as well as a marked effect on political and economic life in Israel. The most prominent of contemporary Oriental kabbalists are R. Isaac Kadoorie (1904?–2006) and Jacob Moses Hillel, himself an opponent of magical practices.

RELIGIOUS ZIONISM. Another major development was the rise of the messianic branch of Religious Zionism. This group is led by the followers of the first chief rabbi of Palestine, Abraham Isaac *Kook (1865–1935), whose writings reflect intense mystical practice and thought. This is most apparent in his diaries (*Shemonah Kevaẓim*, published 1999), which were previously censored by his followers, partly in order to obscure this aspect of his thought. His heirs included David Cohen (1887–1972), who further developed the mystical aspects of his thought, as well as Jacob Meir Harlap (1883–1951), and Ẓevi Judah *Kook (1891–1982) who emphasized the nationalistic elements of his doctrine. The most prominent contemporary leader of this school is Ẓevi Israel Tau (1938–) of the Har ha-Mor Yeshivah. Various aspects of the nationalistic interpretation of Kabbalah offered by Rabbi Kook and his disciples will be discussed below at length.

NON-JEWISH KABBALAH. Another central development was the proliferation of kabbalistic literature in the non-Jewish world. One result of this change was the flourishing of Christian interpretations of Kabbalah, as well as various "New Age" renderings of kabbalistic thought (see below). Another was the "marketing" of popular versions of Kabbalah to the non-Jewish world by some of the followers of Judah Leib Ashlag (1885–1954). Towards the end of the century, the Internet, as well as popular entertainment figures such as Madonna, played a prominent role in these processes. At the same time, more academic figures, such as the philosopher Jacques *Derrida (1930–2004) and the writer and theorist Umberto Eco (1932–), were also substantially influenced by kabbalistic ideas and images.

The Ideology of Dissemination

A distinct characteristic of 20th-century Kabbalah was the abandonment of earlier strictures placed on the study and propagation of kabbalistic literature, which was traditionally regarded as esoteric lore. This reservation was replaced by an ideology of mass dissemination of kabblistic doctrines. The propagation of Kabbalah was to be accomplished through modern and popular interpretations designed to translate often obscure texts into accessible forms. Numerous 20th-century kabbalists regarded the spread of Kabbalah as an expression of the imminence, or even advent, of the messianic epoch – and sometimes even as the means of bringing it about.

Two of the figures mentioned above developed an elaborate ideological rationale for the dissemination of Kabbalah. Abraham Isaac Kook wrote that he was vouchsafed a prophetic revelation which legitimated the overriding of the talmudic prohibition against the revelation of mysteries. Furthermore, he saw the creation of a "popular literature" based on Kabbalah as a means towards the return of prophecy. Kook predicted that "the chosen will become multitudes"; in other words, that his small circle will eventually become a mass movement guided by this literature.

Judah Leib Ashlag expressed his belief in the rendering of Kabbalah into popular terms through a large-scale project of translation and interpretation of canonical kabbalistic texts (as in his "Ha-Sulam" series on the Zohar). Interpretation centered on a psychological re-reading of key kabbalistic concepts, to be described below. Ashlag's heirs, and especially Philip *Berg (b. 1929, a breakaway student of Ashlag's disciple R. Judah Brandwein (1904–1969)), utilized aggressive marketing and sophisticated technology in order to transform Ashlag's ideology into a global mass "product."

At the same time, the new ideology of dissemination was not unopposed. Various kabbalists, including members of Rabbi Kook's circle and some adherents of the Musar school, insisted on the continuing restriction of the study of Kabbalah to the select few. This internal opposition was joined by certain Orthodox Jewish figures, such as Yeshayahu *Leibovitz (1903–1994), whose internalization of modern rationalism led them to descry the Kabbalah itself.

National Mysticism

The 20th century was marked by the proliferation of nationalistic interpretations of Kabbalah. These provided substantial support for the Zionist movement, and especially its more chauvinistic branches, such as the *Gush Emunim movement, which established numerous settlements in the territories occupied in 1967.

The concept of power played a key role in this discourse. While the Ultra-Orthodox branch of Jewry maintained the split between earthly and supernal power that originated after the destruction of the Second Temple, Religious Zionism sought to merge these domains. The latter attempt is nowhere more apparent than in the mystical vision of Abraham Isaac Kook. Kook saw the return of the Jews to embodied and seemingly mundane forms of empowerment as an expression of the power of the divine, rather than as its denial (as claimed by the Ultra-Orthodox). Furthermore, in his vision, the manifestation of Jewish power through the return to the Land of Israel would theurgically enhance the power of the divine domain. In one passage, Kook wrote that "our state, the state of Israel" is "the foundation of God's throne in the world."

However, Kook's message was far from unequivocal. In another passage, written in response to the horrors of World War I, he envisioned the postponemet of the establishment of the state until such time that it would be possible to forgo the "barbarity" of violence and war. This complexity, though reflected in the works of one of his close students, David Cohen, was not maintained when the Kookist school became transformed into a mass movement. Kook's son, Ẓevi Judah, transformed his father's mystical reflections into an ideological platform, which was galvanized by the 1967 war and the occupation of the ancestral territories of Judea and Samaria (the West Bank). Ẓevi Judah and his students unequivocally taught that the political and military might of Israel is "one" with the power of God.

Nationalistic interpretations of the kabbalistic teachings on divine power may also be found in other streams of 20th century Jewish mysticism – most notably in the messianic thought of the last Rebbe of Lubavitch. One of his disciples, the kabbalist Isaac Ginsburg (1944–), composed a kabbalistic treatise detailing the theurgical benefits of the massacre committed in Hebron by Baruch Goldstein in 1995! Other nationalistic interpreters of Kabbalah included Ẓevi Ribek (1910–1995), whose work *Al Ketz ha-Tikkun* contains a detailed theosophical explanation of the fall of the Soviet Bloc and the Israeli-Arab conflict, and the French teacher Judah Leon Ashkenazi (1922–1996).

Psychological Interpretations

Alongside the proliferation of nationalistic interpretations, some 20th-century kabbalists offered an extensive psychological reinterpretation of classical kabbalistic symbols and ideas. The most prominent of these is the elaborate system constructed by Judah Leib Ashlag. Ashlag redefined the main concern of the canonical texts of Kabbalah as the struggle between two psychological forces – the "will to receive," or the egoistical impulse, and "the will to bestow" – the altruistic impulse. The essentially universalistic nature of this proposal ensured the smooth reception of Ashlagian doctrine in broad non-Jewish circles after his death.

As in the case of the nationalistic interpretation, the psychological reading includes a theurgical dimension: According to Ashlag, the highest form of giving is that of granting God pleasure by performing His will on earth. By doing so, Man imitates God's own generous bestowal of pleasure on Man. Actually, the greatest gift that God bestows on Man is the ability to give back to Him. Thus, one should only accept God's good with the intention of fulfilling the divine desire to give, and thus dialectically, receiving becomes giving. For Ashlag, the observance of Jewish law, and especially its social aspects, can be seen as training in overcoming one's innate egotistical tendencies and developing the capacity to give.

However, in this doctrine, the heart of Judaism is the Kabbalah, rather than the Law, for it is the former lore which uncovers the true intent of the Law, and most effectively leads to psychic transformation. While rationalistic cognition merely perpetuates the logic of self-interest, transcending rationality through mysticism enables a shift to a different order of being, which is characterized by pure generosity.

Here, psychology leads into social psychology: According to Ashlag, the elect or *ẓaddikim* (righteous) are those who manifest the power of giving, as well as possessing access to the trans-rational. Therefore the ordinary individual should train to overcome his egotism by setting aside his own reason and accepting the directives of mystical leaders, such as Ashlag himself. This social doctrine was especially developed by some of Ashlag's successors, such as his son Baruch Ashlag (1907–1991), and Baruch's own heir, Michael Leitman, who expressed its social implications through their centralized leadership of the Bnei Baruch sect.

In one text (published in the collection *Ha-Ummah*), Ashlag's teachings on altruism are translated into an affinity to Socialism, which he found to express this ideal over and above other political systems. However, Ashlag warned that the perversion of Socialism in the Soviet Union was a sign that the implementation of this ideal in actual practice was premature and required the development of purer forms of altruism, which would overcome class warfare. In his vision, these would be cultivated by the study and practice of Kabbalah.

Besides Ashlag, several other figures in contemporary Kabbalah (such as Isaac Ginsburg) offered psychological renderings of its teachings. In the non-Jewish world such universalistic approaches were quite popular, as evidenced by the Jungian interpretation given to the Kabbalah by "Zeev Ben Shimeon Halevi" (Warren Kenton) in his *Kabbalah and Psychology*, as well as numerous "New Age" renderings of kabbalistic ideas. However, the influence of modern and postmodern psychology has penetrated into the most Orthodox of circles.

A striking example is that of the Musar (Ethics) movement. As mentioned above, its proponents initially insisted that their focus was on human failings and potential rather than divine realms. However, in the course of its development in the yeshivot of Eastern Europe, the Musar school increasingly turned to Kabbalah in order to embellish its elaborate psychological doctrine. The results of this shift could be later seen in the works of major Musar teachers of the late 20th century, such as Shelomo Wolbe and Chaim Friedlander (1923–1986).

Sacred Space and Sacred Persons

During the 20th century, the pivotal event of return to the Land of Israel intensified kabbalistic discourse on sacred space. On the one hand, certain kabbalists greatly enhanced the role of the land within their mystical schema. At times, however, the growing importance of the chosen person, or *ẓaddik*, supplanted the centrality of sacred space. In other words, the body of the saint was regarded as the true sacred space in certain kabbalistic texts.

Already in classical Kabbalah, one can find two basic models of sacred space; as an actual geographical location, and as an internal experiential state or site of consciousness. In general, Rabbi Kook and his followers developed the first model, and in fact reached new heights of valorization of the Land of Israel. For instance, Jacob Moses Harlap wrote (in his *Mei Marom*) that the Land of Israel is destined to reveal itself as identical with the Infinite, or the highest level of divinity! In general, the leaders of the Kookian school saw themselves as the new prophets, whose higher inspiration was enhanced by the return to the Land, and the resultant renewal of the spirit of the Jewish nation.

However, in the previously censored diaries of Abraham Isaac Kook himself, one can discern a different theme, which echoes the second, more internal model. He wrote of Moses as an archetype of the spiritual leader whose level transcends that of the actual land, as his vision entails the transformation of the entire world into sacred space. Certain textual parallels disclose that R. Kook saw himself as a leader of this type (or *higher ẓaddik*), and thus as equivalent to the "higher Land of Israel."

This tendency is far more readily apparent in 20th century Ḥasidism. During his last years, Menahem Mendel Schneersohn of Lubavitch rather openly affirmed the faith expressed by his followers that he was in fact the Messiah. In the voluminous messianic literature composed by the Rebbe and his faithful, it is stated that the redemption would begin at the residence of the Rebbe in New York City, as the dwelling place of the "leader of the generation" is the true sacred space.

As in the case of Rabbi Kook, the spiritual leader is one who can transform the entire world into sacred space. However, while Rabbi Kook felt that this leader should naturally commence this messianic project in the land of Israel, the Lubavitcher Rebbe took this model one step further: he developed an even stronger messianic doctrine, in which the leader is charged with redeeming the Diaspora, and is thus absolved or even prevented from entering Israel prior to his coronation as "the King, the Messiah."

Braslav Ḥasidism developed a further variant on this model. For these ḥasidim, the true sacred space is R. Naḥman's grave in Uman, Ukraine. During the late 20th century, this became a site for mass pilgrimage. As in the case of Lubavitch, the residence of the saint was seen as the true sacred space. In this case, however, it is his grave rather than his home. From a broader perspective, the displacement of concrete sacred space can be attributed to the decline of concrete location in an age of globalization. This process facilitated the creation of "transnational" sacred sites, such as Uman or the Rebbe's house in Brooklyn.

The Loosening of the Link to *Halakhah* (Jewish Law)

A final theme to be considered is that of the loosening of the connection between contemporary Kabbalah and normative Jewish practice (*halakhah*) during the 20th century, and especially its last decades. Although this process partly reflected the expansion of Kabbalah beyond the boundaries of the Orthodox and indeed the Jewish world, it was paralleled by developments within Orthodox circles.

The decoupling of Kabbalah and *halakhah* can be located already in the censored writings of Rabbi Kook – the first chief rabbi of Palestine! In part, this expresses his self-image as a "higher *ẓaddik*." For Kook, such saints are not bound by the rules of rote halakhic observance, as they should remain free of all bondage, including that of the Law. Furthermore, Kook expressed sympathy for the non-halakhic conduct of the secular Zionists. In his view, this reflected the exalted level of their souls, which should not be judged by legalistic standards.

Rabbi Kook's openness towards transgression of the law is closely related to his prophetic self-perception. Traditionally, a prophet is empowered to authorize a temporary transgression of the *halakhah*, and Rabbi Kook definitely regarded himself as such a figure. However, in one previously censored passage, he expresses the fear that he actually may have been a false prophet. This self-doubt may have led him to moderate the public expression of his radical views.

Another movement in which a looser connection to the law was readily apparent was the "Neo-Ḥasidism" of the late 20th century. Both in Israel and North America, figures such as Shlomo *Carlebach (1925–1994) anchored their avoidance of strict adherence to the *halakhah* in an updated interpretation of ḥasidic thought. One of the central sources for this move was the radical corpus composed by Mordecai Joseph Leiner (1801–1854), the Izbicher Rebbe. Neo-Hasidism delved into the works of this earlier figure, who espoused transcendence of the letter of the law in favor of deeper spiritual intuitions.

As in the case of sacred space, the displacement of halakhic norms owes much to the rise of the figure of the saint. As we have seen in the case of Rabbi Kook, spiritual virtuosi are seen as transcending mundane norms. Here developments in Jewish mysticism reflected more global phenomena. These included the marginal place of the *Shari'a* (Islamic law) in Western Sufism, the antinomian behavior of certain Christian mystics (such as Thomas Merton, 1915–1968), and the extreme conduct of American Buddhist leaders such as Chogyam Trungpa (1939–1987).

Contemporary Kabbalah and Classical Kabbalah

The proliferation of Jewish mysticism in the late 20th century was part of a more global phenomena – that of the "New Age" movement. Empirical sociological studies of this movement showed that to a marked extent "New Age" spirituality increasingly displaced traditional forms of religious practice.

This was also the case for Kabbalah: While the core of most branches of classical Kabbalah was the idea and practice of influencing the divine realm through observance of Jewish law, in almost all 20th century schools, this theurgical goal gave way to focus on the human realm, whether from a national or psychological point of view. The radical implications of this shift were noticed and critiqued already at the beginning of the century, by more traditionally oriented kabbalists such as Solomon Eliashiv (1841–1928), the author of the "Leshem Shevo ve-Aḥlamah" series.

While in earlier periods the kabbalistic endeavor was subsumed to normative religious pursuits, over the course of the century the propagation of the Kabbalah became a goal in itself. Thus, the halakhic restrictions placed on the dissemination of this lore, together with the notion of esotericism, were the first "victims" of this radical change. At the same time, the authority of halakhic experts was increasingly undermined by that of the prophet, saint, or would-be Messiah.

An interesting sociological expression of the new centrality of the Kabbalah was the establishment of rural communities dedicated to the propagation of kabbalistic doctrine and the intensification of kabbalistic practice, such as the Or ha-Ganuz community of followers of Judah Leib Ashlag (in Galilee), or the Bat Ayin settlement in the West Bank, which was established by followers of Isaac Ginsburg.

The rise of magic was another important result of this cultural change. Though this was also part of a more global phenomenon, it had distinct manifestations within the kabbalistic world. Classical kabbalists usually frowned on "practical," or magical, applications of their teachings, or saw them as secondary to the theurgical task. Yet late 20th century kabbalists, from the Oriental world to Philip Berg's popular version, increasingly stressed the benefits of kabbalistic practice for marital, economic, and political success! This dramatic shift reflected not only the more global tendency towards weakening of rationalistic beliefs in this period, but also the essentially pragmatic, and often commercial, nature of late 20th century Kabbalah.

Another marked move away from more classical kabbalistic practice pertains to the role of women. One of the most revolutionary characteristics of late 20th century Kabbalah was the emergence of female mystical teachers, perhaps for the first time in the history of Jewish mysticism. These included the Israeli medium and mystic Yemima Avital (1929–1999), as well as American and Israel neo-ḥasidic teachers.

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[Jonathan Garb (2nd ed.)]

KABBALAH STUDIES

The present survey of scholarship in the field of Jewish mysticism attempts to point to the main lines of development in the generation following 1973. However, in order to better understand them we shall first briefly survey the fundamental phases of previous scholarship, periodize them, and then delineate the most important areas in which scholarship developed in the last decades.

Kabbalah Studies in the 20th Century: Three Main Stages from 1923 to 1998

The most influential event for future studies of Jewish mysticism was the arrival of Gershom *Scholem in the Land of Israel in 1923 and the foundation, through his scholarship and teaching, of the Jerusalem school of studies in Jewish mysticism. In that same year his first book, his doctoral thesis on the book of *Bahir,* was published. This is a convenient starting point that neatly lends itself to a threefold division of the following 75 years into three phases of scholarship of roughly equal length which may be described as the creative, the reproductive, and the critical. This threefold scheme applies mainly to developments in the study of Kabbalah in Israel rather than abroad.

1923–1948: THE CREATIVE PERIOD. This phase spans the period between Scholem's arrival in Israel and the establishment of the State of Israel. It is characterized by the intensive production of a wide-ranging series of studies, written and published in three languages, Hebrew, English, and German, mostly by Gershom Scholem. It is in this period that a clear outline for an historical understanding of Jewish mysticism emerged. The many articles of Scholem in *Kiryat Sefer, Tarbiz,* and *Zion* represented a comprehensive and mature exposition of Scholem's insights, and those of his followers. This is obvious in two major books written toward the end of the creative period: *Major Trends in Jewish Mysticism*, originally delivered as a series of lectures in New York in 1939 and published in Jerusalem in 1941; and *Reshit ha-Kabbalah* ("Beginning of Kabbalah"), published in Hebrew in 1948. The two books complement one other, as Scholem himself once noted, covering all the main phases of Jewish mystical literatures. This is not the place to survey in detail Scholem's enormous influence on the historiography and phenomenology of Kabbalah, as this has been done several times by various writers. It should be pointed out that as creative as this period indeed was, it did not lack critical attitudes, especially toward Kabbalah scholarship in previous generations. During this phase, two other scholars were active in this field in Israel, both Scholem's students, who contributed significant studies. The most eminent was Isaiah *Tishby, who wrote an analysis of the Lurianic Kabbalah and printed a critical edition of an early kabbalistic text, and Chaim *Wirszubski, who wrote the first in-depth analyses of Shabbatean theosophy.

1948–1973: THE REPRODUCTIVE PERIOD. This phase saw the publication of still more studies of Jewish mysticism in Israel or by Israeli scholars abroad, most of which consolidated the findings and articulated in greater detail many of the theories first brought forth during the creative period. The most conspicuous evidence of the reproductive impulse is the fact that many of the chapters of Scholem's *Major Trends* become in this period full-fledged books. Thus, for example, Scholem himself contributed two books, one dealing with the first chapter, the *Hekhalot* literature, and his famous monograph on Sabbatai Sevi (*Shabbetai Ẓevi), first published in Hebrew in 1957 and then, in a much more elaborate English version, in 1973. Likewise, Tishby published in 1949 and 1961 his two volumes of *Mishnat ha-Zohar* paralleling in a way Scholem's two chapters on the Zohar in *Major Trends*. Joseph Dan published in 1968 his monograph on the esoteric theology of *Ḥasidei Ashkenaz and in the same year Rivka Schatz-Uffenheimer published her book on mystical, basically quietist aspects of Beshtian Ḥasidism. In fact, the single chapter in *Major Trends* which was not elaborated into a full-fledged monograph is that on Abraham *Abulafia, whose kabbalistic thought had to wait much longer for exposition. In fact, we may speak of a process of specialization, as each of the scholars mentioned above, with the exception of Scholem, analyzed only some part of the spectrum of mystical literature that had already been surveyed by the master. Though each of the students was destined to broaden his knowledge and studies to other fields, none of them offered an original picture of the whole field, based on his or her readings. Leaving aside for the moment *Major Trends*, another main contribution of Scholem's, which appeared in 1962, *Ursprung und Anfaenge der Kabbala*, is an expansion of the much shorter version published in 1948 as *Reshit ha-Kabbalah.*

The term reproductive does not intend solely to point to the external correspondences between the chapters in *Major Trends* and the subsequent monographs, including Scholem's own. The turning to details was in itself a sound development from the point of view of determining what was more important and what less. However, reproduction means much more the historical, phenomenological, and methodological continuity between Scholem's studies and those of his followers. If, for Scholem himself, the original thinker and writer, such continuity and elaboration is natural, it is much less so for other scholars. Little had been done to test Scholem's broad phenomenological and historical theories. With the major exception of the assaults of Baruch *Kurtzweil, who was an outsider from the point of view of Kabbalah scholarship, and an audacious critique of Scholem's *Sabbatai Sevi* by R.J. Zwi *Werblowsky, who was destined to retreat from his arguments and devote many years and much talent to translating the very book he so sharply criticized into an impeccable English, no methodological debates took place in the Scholemian school. In fact, the points made in these two critiques were never accepted, not even with qualifications, by Scholem or any member of his school. The single significant divergence to be noted between Scholem and his most important follower, Isaiah Tishby, has to do with the polemic concerning the interpretation of Ḥasidism in messianic or non-messianic terms: While Tishby, who developed Ben-Zion *Dinur's thesis about the messianic message of Ḥasidism, adduced more material from kabbalistic Lurianic sources contemporary with early Ḥasidism in order to make the point only roughly advanced by the historian, Scholem remained convinced that his, basically Buberian understanding of the role of messianism in early Ḥasidism, is the correct explanation for the emergence of this movement.

In this period, an excellent and isolated monograph was written by Werblowsky on the 16th-century paragon of Jewish culture, R. Joseph *Caro, which significantly differed from the main methodological line in Scholem's school. Another senior member of the inner circle of the Scholemian school, Joseph ben Shlomo, published in 1965 his analysis of R. Moses *Cordovero's theology, written from a much more philosophical point of view than the more common historical-philological products of his colleagues.

Another significant phenomenon commencing precisely in 1948 and remaining constant during the whole reproductive period is Scholem's attendance at the Eranos conferences in Ascona, Switzerland. In a long series of lectures delivered there and published in several languages, Scholem took on a number of the main concepts of Kabbalah. These lectures may be regarded as the most important contribution to the study of Kabbalah in this period, as it adopted a far more phenomenological than historical approach. However, though these lectures contributed tremendously to the explication of Scholem's phenomenology, most of the theories advanced in those expositions had already been adumbrated, and sometimes even fully explicated, in the studies he produced during the creative phase.

There are indications in Scholem that modern historical events were regarded as being useful in opening up the possibility of understanding the past, including the symbols of Kabbalah. The existential matrix of modern scholars was sometimes conceived of as serving as powerful filters. Thus, for example, we read in an essay by Scholem written toward the end of World War II: "In a generation that has witnessed a terrible crisis in Jewish history, the ideas of these medieval Jewish esoterics no longer seem so strange. We see with other eyes, and the obscure symbols strike us as worth clarifying."

The phrase "other eyes" presupposes that prior to the crisis brought on by the terrible news concerning the Holocaust, one could not indeed understand properly the "obscure symbols." The history of the Jews, or more concretely their experience in recent times, is capable, therefore, of producing a new understanding of kabbalistic symbolism. This retrospective reading of kabbalistic symbolism also assumes the potential relevance of kabbalistic symbols for events which might take place hundreds years later. A certain isomorphism makes possible an understanding of the earlier by the later, namely of medieval Kabbalah by modern scholars of Kabbalah, and vice versa. The experience of exile and redemption shared by kabbalists and by scholars of Kabbalah creates the epistemological circle. This is the systemic basis of what Scholem designated as the "productive" scholarship of Kabbalah, and its relevance for understanding history. Indeed, in another essay, Scholem returns to the affinity between the expulsion of the Jews from Spain and the Holocaust: "From a historical point of view, Luria's myth constitutes a response to the expulsion of the Jews from Spain, an event which more than any other in Jewish history down to the catastrophe of our time gave urgency to the question: why the exile of the Jews and what is their vocation in the world?"

The nexus between the Lurianic myth and the expulsion is hardly a matter of history. It is, if at all, a matter of psychology, of systemic restructuring of a complex theosophical lore: If the historical event that inspired the emergence of the Lurianic myth is unparalleled except by the recent catastrophe, is not the understanding of kabbalistic symbolism both easier and acutely relevant in the aftermath of the modern Holocaust? Is not scholarship an attempt to answer metaphysical questions about the meaning of national destiny and national vocation? The basic presupposition of Scholem and Tishby assumes a privileged historical and psychological status enjoyed by a certain academic school, which facilitates a proper understanding, hardly accessible to earlier scholars who did not endure the travails of historical catastrophes.

Isaiah Tishby, the other great scholar in Scholem's school, juxtaposes the negative attitude of 19th century scholars to Kabbalah to that of 20th century scholars, writing as follows:

> … especially those of the last generation who were expelled from Paradise into the great desolation and are wandering on the paths of life, divided and perplexed, without a compass and without a way … reality revealed itself in its demonic, threatening face. The age of anxiety, which the kabbalists and those like them apprehended in their time and in other times returned again, an age of disintegration and breakdown of values. The crisis of values … did not pass over the small Jewish world at all. We were standing, feeble and ill and without solid values. Our generation, as human beings and as Jews, as individuals and as a community, is pushed toward the chasm and before us there is a parting of the ways: to roll down the slope of nihilism or to be spiritually elevated and discover the existing values hidden within the external shattered reality. It is possible that a profound study of the wisdom of Kabbalah, and especially the meaning of the symbolistic approach for the values of Judaism, will illumine our eyes and help us in the search for the exit from the great perplexity.

Both Scholem and Tishby suffered from the consequences of the catastrophe and they spoke about it in a very direct manner. Scholem's brother, Werner, was killed by the Nazis in Buchenwald early in the war, and his best friend, Walter *Benjamin, committed suicide in 1940. To him he dedicated his *Major Trends in Jewish Mysticism*, and the dedication ends with the sentence: "Died at Port Bou (Spain) on his way into freedom." Those deaths must have been terrible personal losses. Worse blows were part of Tishby's experience while in Israel. He dedicated his first book – an M.A. thesis written under Scholem's guidance earlier in 1939 – *The Doctrine of Evil and Shells in Lurianic Kabbalah*, published in 1942 – "To Father and Mother, who are imprisoned in the kingdom of Satan, and are waiting for imminent redemption," but in the second edition, published in 1962, another dedication was added, "To the Memory of Father and Mother, who were imprisoned in the kingdom of Satan, and waited for imminent redemption." Tishby was originally from Transylvania, Romania, from where he made *aliyah* to the Land of Israel; his parents remained in the Diaspora and perished toward the end of World War II. Never before had scholars in Jewish studies to deal with situations where redemption and freedom were not abstract concepts or cherished beliefs but matters of life and death, namely, the death of their closest relatives and friends. However, the tribulations of the Holocaust were not the end of his suffering. Tishby's most important scholarly achievement, *Mishnat ha-Zohar*, whose first volume, co-authored by F. Lachover, was published in 1949, had the following dedication: "My work on *Mishnat ha-Zohar* is dedicated to the memory of my brother Shmuel, blessed be his memory, one of the survivors of the Nazi hell, who fell in the war for the defense of the homeland."

Therefore, two of the most important studies on the nature of Kabbalah are explicitly dedicated to persons who lost their lives in fateful struggles for survival. The personal tragedy and the national one are mentioned explicitly by the scholars of Kabbalah. This is also the case with the scholarly oeuvre of Mendel Piekarz, a leading scholar of Ḥasidism, who suffered terrible family loss in the Holocaust. To a certain extent, his expositions of Ḥasidism also contain implicit and explicit criticism related to the role played by ḥasidic leaders during the Holocaust.

The terrible events of World War II were at least one of the main reasons for the strong focus on exile and redemption, and theories of evil, in the overall vision of the nature of Kabbalah and Ḥasidism. Not that these subjects are absent in numerous kabbalistic sources; nor are they negligible. It would seem that a variety of messianic ideas was as important for the kabbalists as they were for many traditional Jews, but their transformation by scholars into the main clue for understanding Kabbalah represents an overemphasis whose existential background has been briefly surveyed above.

In different ways, the scholarship of Kabbalah in this period advanced in a manner that resonates with the main concerns deriving from the two major events in the history of modern Jewry: the optimistic and the somewhat messianically oriented aspects of Zionism, on the one hand, and the pessimism generated by the Holocaust, which demanded answers to the perennial question of the meaning of Jewish tragic experiences, on the other. Like Martin *Buber at the beginning of the 20th century, who looked for spiritual alternatives in Ḥasidism, Scholem's school preferred Kabbalah, understood as reflecting antinomian and paradoxical tendencies, as the spiritual alternative. In other words, far from being detached scholars, as they are sometimes portrayed, both Scholem and Tishby looked to their academic subject-matter as a possible source of spiritual inspiration. From this point of view, they continued the spiritual experiments which non-traditional alternatives underwent in non-religious Zionism, started by Buber. However, they did so in the extraordinarily terrible circumstances of the Holocaust and under the spell of the exuberant impetus created by Zionism and the establishment of the State of Israel. All the vicissitudes of exile and the hopes for redemption were epitomized in the experience of the two representative scholars of the creative period, whose basic phenomenology reflects the dichotomy that informed the history of the Jewish nation. Scholarship of Kabbalah in the first generation of scholars active in Israel was not only a revival of old lore, a cold and distanced analysis of neglected ideas of old forgotten masters, but also a mirror for expressing deep personal and national quandaries. Studying Kabbalah certainly was, for both Scholem and Tishby, a total vocation that demanded infinite dedication and forms of sacrifices which we can hardly understand today in a period of abundance in universities, of unparalleled mobility, and speedy circulation of information. In the much greater propensity to criticism characteristic of the third period, however, the particular circumstances that shaped the achievements of the founding scholars should not be overlooked. By pointing out the importance of the historical circumstances that served as the background of modern studies of Kabbalah in Israel, and the impact of these circumstances on the structure of these studies, the achievements of those scholars are put in bold relief and seen as as outstanding.

The first main reservations about Scholem's theories come from historians, even from some who were influenced by Scholem. In the writings of Yitzhak F. *Baer, there are indications that some kabbalistic ideas are earlier than supposed. Jacob Katz doubted whether Scholem's suggested nexus between Shabbateanism and Reform in the 19th century was indeed plausible, while much earlier Azriel Shohat doubted the affinities seen by Scholem between the dissemination of Lurianic Kabbalah and the emergence of Shabbateanism. More vehemently and much later, Shmuel Ettinger criticized the historical method applied by Scholem's school to the study of Ḥasidism. However, as critical as some of their views were, they never touched the overall historical scheme of Scholem, and even less his phenomenology of religion. The first detailed and penetrating critique of a major tenet of Scholem's school came in 1978 with the publication of Mendel Piekarz's book on the beginnings of Ḥasidism. The book represents a major departure from the explication predominant in Scholem's school, based on the linkage between Ḥasidism and Shabbateanism. In its stead Piekarz pointed to the existence of what were regarded as radical views in the ethical-mystical literature that either preceded or were contemporary with the first generation of ḥasidic masters.

It is in this period that some of the studies of Shlomo Pines, an illustrious historian of philosophy, dealing with Jewish mysticism were published. They deal with an ancient Jewish theology that had interesting parallels in early Kabbalah, with the emergence of some of the main concepts of *Sefer Yeẓirah*, with views associated with the town of Ismailiyyah and reflecting on the thought of *Sefer ha-Bahir*, with kabbalistic views in *Sefer ha-Temunah*, *35* with the history of the magical concept of *ruḥaniyyut* – which had profound reverberations in Kabbalah, in Ḥasidism, and even among certain Jewish intellectuals of the early 20th century Germany – and with the Arabic origin of the concept of the angelic mentor known as Maggid. Pines put his unequalled knowledge of Arabic sources into the service of the scholarship of Jewish mysticism, pointing the way to solutions to questions concerning the sources of certain kabbalistic ideas in Islamic thought. Two major contributions of Pines to our general understanding of Kabbalah may be summarized as follows: (a) the possibility that ancient Jewish theologies hitherto not addressed by Kabbalah scholarship contributed to the emergence of the medieval kabbalistic theosophies; (b) the possibility that Arabic sources were significant catalysts for kabbalistic ideas, especially in the case of astro-magic.

1973–1998: THE PERIOD OF CRITICISM. In this period the critical attitude becomes much more prominent among scholars of Kabbalah. This does not mean that both creative and reproductive aspects are absent in the scholarship of the period.

There is good reason to choose the year 1973 as a significant turning point: in this year Werblowsky's English translation of Scholem's *Sabbatai Sevi* was published, which represents the last major formulation of the most important contribution of Scholem's historiography that introduced additional material. By then, in 1974, Scholem's last comprehensive summary of his oeuvre, his items in the *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, had been published as a separate book under the title *Kabbalah*. It is in the autumn of 1973, that one of the main scholars in Scholem's school, Ephraim Gottlieb, passed away.

In general terms, in the immediately following years a group of younger scholars in Israel began to emerge: Yehudah Liebes, Mordekhai Pachter, Moshe Hallamish, Rachel Elior, Amos Goldreich, Mikhal Kushnir-Oron, Bracha Sack, Assi Farber-Ginnat, Yoram Jacobson, Hava Tirosh-Rotschild, and Moshe Idel. Students of Alexander Altmann and George Vajda also entered the study of Jewish mysticism, such as Arthur I. Green, Daniel C. Matt, and Lawrence Fine.

The most important event that contributed to a shift in the direction of research among younger scholars in Israel was the Yom Kippur War. The profound restructuring of the Israeli worldview also changed the course of study in certain domains of Jewish studies, including Kabbalah, in subtle ways. The most important change is the more general and diffuse feeling that concepts that were conceived of as permanent and around which the national, political, or ideological agenda was organized were inadequate. In the military-political realm the term used in modern Hebrew for "concept" is *konẓepẓiyah*, which represents unexamined presuppositions that guide major areas of thought and behavior. There is no need to dwell on the consequences of such a *konẓepẓiyah* on the military-political plane, or on the turmoil created in the wake of the Yom Kippur War on the intellectual plane. The more critical examination of the findings and theories of the founders of Kabbalah studies since that time reflects an upheaval which, though much more general and diffuse, is less evident in other fields of Judaica. The single most important shift is the modification of the earlier emphasis on the importance of *gnosticism as a historical source of medieval Kabbalah and the marginalization of the phenomenological affinities between the two types of literature.

New Developments in the Study of Jewish Mysticism since 1973

In the last generation, the volume of studies published on the subject of Jewish mysticism increased in a dramatic manner. Even if we ignore the more widespread trend of vulgarization and popularization of Kabbalah, which scholars themselves sometimes contribute to, and limit our survey to the more scholarly publications, we still see a huge increase in the number of published studies. This new harvest of studies differs in many cases from the earlier ones in a variety of ways: more and more studies are written in other languages than Hebrew, they address in many cases new topics, they also adopt methodologies other than the philological-historical one and sometimes offer different answers to questions that were answered in the previous generations of scholars. Some of these changes are the result of the greater diversification of the intellectual centers in which Jewish mysticism is studied. It is only after 1973 that we may speak of the significant expansion of the study of Jewish mysticism in centers other than Israel, especially the United States, France, Germany, Great Britain, and Italy. There are many signs of the establishment of Jewish mysticism as an independent field of research, with positions in universities, a growing number of students on all levels, the inevitable emergence of internal debates in the field as well as the emergence and development of specialized journals where topics related to Jewish mysticism are regularly discussed. This is part of both the renewed interest in Jewish mysticism in general and of the much greater resources the academic world has placed at the disposal of scholars in this field. In the limited space of this survey it is impossible to encompass all the variety of developments.

First and foremost, we should emphasize the expansion of study of topics that were the subject of intense earlier study. This does not mean that there are no new and important contributions in areas like Hekhalot literature, early Kabbalah, the origins of Kabbalah, the book of *Bahir*, *Naḥmanides, the *Zohar, Abraham Abulafia, Safedian Kabbalah, or Shabbateanism. Moreover, many of the new developments are quite recent, and represent ongoing processes initiated by young scholars, and we lack the necessary perspective to evaluate them properly.

There are six main topics, some relatively new in the scholarship of Jewish mysticism, in which major developments have been made in the last generation: emphasis on the experiential nature of Jewish mysticism, the relationship between Jewish mysticism and *halakhah*, the relation between magic and Jewish mysticism, a variety of discussions of hermeneutics in Jewish mysticism, the history of Kabbalah in the Renaissance and Christian Kabbalah, and more recently the attitude to sex and femininity in Jewish mysticism. All six topics represent the dialogue between scholars of Jewish mysticism and modern developments in the history of religion in general, and are less related to the historical aspects of Jewish mysticism that were at the center of most of the earlier studies of this lore. To be sure, all of them were touched upon in one way or another also earlier, but in the last generation they were put in much more bolder relief than previously, not only because more has been written about them but also because they were regarded as more important than earlier scholars assumed.

The more experiential nature of Jewish mysticism has been addressed in scholarship in different ways: the special emphasis on the importance of ecstasy, of mystical experiences, of *unio mystica*, of techniques and paths to reach such experiences. The interest in the writings of Abraham Abulafia, Isaac of Acre, and Ḥayyim *Vital, where these topics are dealt with, as well as in concepts like *hitbodedut*, namely isolation and mental concentration, *devekut* (union and communion with God), prophecy, and *hitpashtut mi-gashmiyyut*, namely divestment of corporeality and ascent of the soul, is much more pronounced. Especially in the studies of Yehudah Liebes, the affinities between the personal and the systemic aspects of the writings of some mystics, like Isaac *Luria and Shabbatai Ẓevi, have been emphasized. Most of the extant material which was until now found only in manuscripts has been published and analyzed.

Another major field of research that developed in the 1980s is the the relationship between Kabbalah and *halakhah*. A small but but basic series of studies on this subject has charted the most important developments in the long history of the relationship between Jewish mysticism and *halakhah*. The first major contribution is Jacob Katz's monograph on the subject, followed by Israel M. *Ta-Shma's book on the *Zohar* and his study of Joseph Caro, Moshe Hallamish's numerous studies dealing especially with Jewish liturgy and Kabbalah, Robert *Bonfil's study of Menahem Azariah of Fano, and Moshe Halbertal's analyses of Naḥmanides's halakhic thought. The manifold affinities between the two religious aspects of Judaism now underlie scholarship more than the earlier emphasis on the antinomian and paradoxical approaches that were deemed to characterize Jewish mysticism.

A topic that draws more and more attention is the role played by magic, and sometimes also astrology, in the general economy of Jewish mysticism. This is especially evident in the material related to the Hekhalot literature, to the Kabbalah during the Renaissance in Italy, to Safedian Kabbalah, and 18th century Ḥasidism.

The second half of the 20th century represents a linguistic turn in general philosophy, and its repercussions are evident also in the scholarship of Jewish mysticism. A series of studies dealing with Jewish mystical theories of the origin and nature of language, interpretation, the status of the text – mainly that of the Torah – and more general hermeneutical questions like the role of the reader and interpreter and the nature of the kabbalistic symbols, moved much closer to the center of scholarly interest than earlier. At the same time, the impact of Scholem's scholarship and that of others on main figures in modern thought like Harold *Bloom, Jacques Derrida, Umberto Eco, and George *Steiner can be detected.

A field having great potential which began to become more and more prominent is the history of Kabbalah in Italy and the emergence and development of the Christian Kabbalah. The prominence of the Italian Kabbalah has been placed in relief in studies by Ephraim Gottlieb, Moshe Idel, Fabrizio Lelli, David Ruderman, and Hava Tirosh-Samuelson. Thanks to the innovative studies of Chaim Wirszubski, and more recently the publications of Brian Copenhaven and Giulio Busi, Giovanni Pico della Mirandola's and Johann Reuchlin's kabbalistic sources have been charted. Allison Coudert has contributed important studies to the impact of Jewish Kabbalah on 17th-century European thought.

The reluctance to resort to psychological explanations to understand Jewish mysticism, so evident in pre-1973 scholarship, changed dramatically afterwards. Under the impact of Freudian psychoanalysis in its various guises, and somewhat less so also Jungianism, new interpretations of Jewish mysticism have been advanced. Subjects like the appearance of the mandala during the mystical experience, the issue of Kabbalah as phallocentric, androgyny, the status of feminine elements within kabbalistic thought, the theories of eroticism found in Jewish mysticism, can be found in the studies of Daniel Abrams, David Halperin, Moshe Idel, Yehudah Liebes, and in a more comprehensive and sophisticated manner in those of Elliot R. Wolfson. The impact of feminist scholarship on the understanding of Kabbalah can also be seen from time to time in the choice of the subjects addressed by scholars in recent decades.

Methodologically speaking, we should also mention the greater effort efforts to offer more phenomenological descriptions of Jewish mysticism, evident in the writings of Yehudah Liebes, who emphasizes the important role of myths, Moshe Idel, who proposed theories of the models informing the major developments of Jewish mysticism, Elliot R. Wolfson, who describes Jewish mysticism as phallocentric, Haviva Pedaya's categorizations of mystical experiences, and Jonathan Garb, who put into relief the importance of concepts of power in many mystical literatures in Judaism.

To be sure, expansions of the subjects and phases of the study of Jewish mysticism as delineated above continued steadily also after 1973. The number of collections of Scholem's articles in different forms and translations, as well as studies on his thought, proliferated, as the bibliography below demonstrates. Nevertheless, the one field in Jewish mysticism which flourished more than any other is modern Ḥasidism. In addition to monographs and numerous articles dealing with the history of Ḥasidism, a plethora of studies dealing with its mystical aspects, its approach to story-telling, to magic, to messianism, to the topic of interiorization, ecstasy, and psychologization, or to the sources of Ḥasidism have been published in the last generation. Many monographs dedicated to individual ḥasidic masters and schools put scholarship on a surer track than the earlier generalizations about the nature of Ḥasidism. Unlike the earlier debates between Buber and Scholem, or between Tishby and Scholem, scholarship in more recent years now emphasizes much more the particularity of each form rather than the global picture of this mystical movement. This is evident in the many studies and monographs dedicated to the Besht himself, to R. Naḥman of Braslav, and to the Chabad school. Also important are the critical editions of important ḥasidic texts, especially by Gedaliah Nigal, and the reprinting of almost the entire corpus of ḥasidic writings in two series of books, mainly in the United States.

From Martin Buber to Scholem's school, Ḥasidism has been studied mainly as a mystical movement. However, in a series of monographs, Mendel Piekarz has described the social aspects of the ḥasidic movement, denying the main role of mystical elements.

There has also been increasing study of the Kabbalah of Naḥmanides and of R. *Elijah, the Gaon of Vilna, known as ha-Gra, and of his students, on the one hand, and the development of Kabbalah in North Africa, on the other.

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[Moshe Idel (2nd ed.)]

KABBALAT SHABBAT (Heb. קַבָּלַת שַׁבָּת; "Reception of the Sabbath"), term designating the inauguration of the Sabbath in general and, in a more specifically liturgical sense, that part of the Friday evening service which precedes the regular evening prayer and solemnly welcomes the Sabbath. The inauguration begins considerably before nightfall "so as to add from the weekday to the holy day" (Yoma 81b). Much care is traditionally lavished on preparing for the Sabbath. All housework that is forbidden on the Sabbath, e.g. cooking, is completed beforehand (cf. Shab. 2:7; Shab. 119a). Before the Sabbath, some people used to read the weekly Torah section, twice in the original Hebrew texts and once in the Aramaic (Targum) version. It is customary to bathe before the beginning of the Sabbath and to put on festive clothes. The Talmud (Shab. 119a) tells that R. Ḥanina used to put on his Sabbath clothes and stand at sunset of Sabbath eve and exclaim: "Come and let us go forth to welcome the Queen Sabbath" and R. Yannai used to don his festive robes at that time and exclaim, "Come, O bride! Come, O bride!" These stories served as the main motif for the Sabbath hymn *"Lekhah Dodi" of Solomon b. Moses ha-Levi *Alkabeẓ and formed the basis of the custom of the kabbalists of Safed, who welcomed the Sabbath by going into the fields on Fridays at sunset to recite special prayers and hymns in honor of the Sabbath amid nature. In traditional synagogues this prayer is recited no later than half an hour after sunset. It opens with Psalm 29 (in the Ashkenazi and some other rites with the six Psalms 95–99 and 29 corresponding to the six days of creation or the six weekdays). The hymn "Lekhah Dodi" is then sung, followed by Psalms 92 and 93. In some rituals the evening service is preceded by the recital of the *Song of Songs in honor of the Bride (or Queen) Sabbath. In many traditional rituals the hymn *"Anna be-Kho'aḥ" is said before the "Lekhah Dodi" (or Psalm 121). Chapter 2 of Mishnah *Shabbat* (*Ba-Meh Madlikin*) is recited in some rites before the main evening prayer, in other rites following it. In the Yemenite ritual special *piyyutim* are also inserted before the evening prayer on those Sabbaths which coincide with the New Moon as well as for Sabbaths in the *Omer period. The major deviations from the regular evening service are the elimination of the petitions of the *Amidah* and the substitution of blessings in honor of the Sabbath.

In modern Israel special *Kabbalat Shabbat* ceremonies are held on Friday at noontime in schools and kindergartens, and before supper in some kibbutzim, where they consist of lighting the Sabbath candles, reciting poetry, and singing songs in honor of the weekly day of rest. In the United States, many Reform and Conservative synagogues have introduced the late Friday evening service, which starts after the end of the business day in order to enable a greater number of the congregants to participate. The central feature of the service is the rabbi's sermon; after the service an *Oneg Shabbat* (Sabbath Reception) is usually held.

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[Meir Ydit]

KAʿB BEN ASAD (d. 627), chief of the Jewish tribe of *Qurayẓa in Medina. When Kaʿb saw the tragic fate awaiting his tribe as a result of their defeat by Muhammad's forces and their betrayal by their Arab allies, he offered three suggestions to his council: conversion to Islam; that the men kill their wives and children to save them from slavery and dishonor, but that they continue to fight; and that they unexpectedly attack Muhammad's forces on the Sabbath, thus desecrating the holy day. Each suggestion was rejected. He was put to death along with the rest of his tribe in 627, after refusing to accept Islam. Kaʿb is the subject of Tchernichowsky's poem "*Ha-Aḥaron li-Venei Kurayta*" ("The Last of the Banu Qurayẓa").

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KABĪR, ABRAHAM ṢĀLIḤ AL- (1885–), Iraqi official. Born in *Baghdad, al-Kabīr received a legal education and was at first employed in various banks, later joining the Iraqi treasury service; he held important and responsible positions, especially at the time when Ezekiel *Sassoon was finance minister. Al-Kabīr also played an active role in Jewish communal life, and in 1946 testified before the Anglo-American Commission of Inquiry on the discrimination practiced against Jews by the Iraqi authorities. He settled in London in the 1960s.

Abraham Ṣāliḥ's brother, JOSEPH, also born in Baghdad, was a lawyer and communal worker. Al-Kabīr was at first employed in the Iraqi Ministry of Justice, but from 1925 he maintained a private law practice. From the early 1930s he lectured at the Baghdad School of Law on private international law and comparative law. He published his lectures in two books (in Arabic). As a member of the general council of the Jewish community of Baghdad from 1932, he was among the critics of the community's administration by its president Sasson *Kadoorie and published a pamphlet on this subject (Baghdad, 1944). In 1935–36, he represented the Jews of Baghdad in the Iraqi Parliament.

[Hayyim J. Cohen]

KABRI (Heb. כַּבְרִי), kibbutz bordering on Acre Plain and the hills of Upper Galilee in Israel, affiliated to Ha-Kibbutz ha-Me'uḥad. It was founded in 1949 by settlers from *Bet Arabah who were forced to abandon their settlement north of the Dead Sea in the *War of Independence (1948). In 1968 Kabri, with 560 inhabitants, engaged in mixed farming. In 2002 its population numbered 728, with the economy based on the manufacture of aluminum and plastic products and a few farming branches such as fruit plantations and cattle. Large-scale excavations in 1986–93 revealed settlement on the site from the Neolithic period and enormous growth in the Middle Bronze II period (2000–1550 B.C.E.). By the end of the Bronze Age (1200 B.C.E.) the site was deserted. In Roman and Byzantine times, Kabri (*Kabritha) was a flourishing center (Tos. Shev. 4:11). Numerous ashlars and mosaic floors remain from this era, some of which were reused in the houses of the Arab village which was abandoned in 1948. Porous limestone beneath a stratum of impervious heavy soil resulted in the formation of four copious springs whose fresh waters were led a distance of about 7 mi. (12 km.) to Acre by the aqueduct built in 1800 by the governor Aḥmad al-Jazzār. Under British Mandatory rule, a British-owned plant bottled the "Kabri water." In the spring of 1948, *Haganah soldiers on their way to reinforce the isolated kibbutz of *Yeḥi'am further east were caught at Kabri in an ambush, and 46 men fell; a memorial has been set up there. A government fruit-tree nursery, a Jewish National Fund (JNF) forest-tree nursery, and the JNF regional administration were located at Kabri.

WEBSITE: www.cabri.org.il.

[Efram Orni / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

KABRITHA, a village in the territory of Ptolemais (Acre). In the talmudic lists describing the area held by those who returned from Babylonian exile, it is located on the border between the "wall of Acre" to the north and the "spring of Ga'aton" to the south (Sif. 51; Tosef. Shev. 4:11; TJ, Shev. 6:1, 36c, et al.). Some scholars have looked for it at Khirbat Qabārṣa to the south of Nahariyyah and near the outlet of Naḥal Ga'aton, but as this position is too close to the sea and is also west of the coastal road which marked the theoretical boundary of the Holy Land, the identification with *Kabri to the northwest of Nahariyyah is preferable.

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[Michael Avi-Yonah]

KACH, Israeli party established by Rabbi Meir *Kahane in 1971, as an outpost of the Jewish Defense League in the United States. Kach advocated that the *halakhah* should become the law of the State of Israel in Greater Israel, and proposed that the state's Arab inhabitants be given the option of becoming citizens after a security check, on condition that they would agree to serve in the defense forces and undertake other civilian duties, and accept the status of *ger toshav* (non-Jewish resident), or emigrating from the country. In the elections to the Eighth, Ninth and Tenth Knessets Kach ran but did not pass the 1% qualifying threshold. An attempt to disqualify the party from running in the elections to the Tenth Knesset failed. In that election campaign Kach advocated that the Arabs be expelled from the country, to prevent their becoming a majority. It also advocated that the Camp David Accords and the Egyptian-Israeli Peace Treaty be abrogated, that the Israeli response to acts of terror should be counterterror, and that the mosques be removed from the Temple Mount. Kach was disqualified by the Central Elections Committee from running in the Eleventh Knesset elections. However, the High Court of Justice ruled that the disqualification was illegal. In these elections Kach finally passed the qualifying threshold, and Kahane entered the Knesset. In the Knesset Kahane presented several bills that were rejected by the Knesset Presidium, headed by Knesset Speaker Shlomo *Hillel, since they were viewed as racist. On July 31, 1985, both Basic Law: the Knesset and the Election Law were amended to enable the Central Elections Committee to disqualify lists that incite to racism and deny the democratic character of the State of Israel. On this basis Kach was disqualified from running in the elections to the Twelfth Kensset.

Following the murder of Kahane in November 1990 in New York by an Egyptian assassin, Kach split into two movements. "Kahane Ḥai," which was headed by his son Binyamin Ze`ev, who was killed in a terrorist attack in Samaria in December 2000, and Ko'aḥ, which soon assumed the name Kach, headed by Kahane's former assistant Baruch Marzel, who lives in Tel Rumeida in Hebron.

Following the massacre by Baruch Goldstein in the Cave of Machpelah on February 24, 1994 – which was welcomed by Kach – the movement was declared illegal, but it has since continued to exist underground, with its members participating in demonstrations, clashing with the police, and attacking Palestinians and Palestinian property. After the Government approved the plan for disengagement from the Gaza Strip and the dismantlement of settlements, Kach advocated violent resistance to the removal of settlements, while verbally and physically attacking ministers. Among its activists are Marzel, No'am Federman, Tiran Pollack, and Itamar Ben-Gvir, who have frequently been detained by the police.

[Susan Hattis Rolef (2nd ed.)]

KACYZNE (Katsizne), ALTER (1885–1941), Yiddish poet and essayist. Born in Vilna, he was a professional photographer and also wrote poetry, fiction, drama, and essays. His earliest short stories were written in Russian and published by S. *An-Ski, one of whose literary executors he was; he also completed An-Ski's fragmentary drama *Tog un Nakht* ("Day and Night"), which was frequently performed on Yiddish, Polish, and German stages in the 1920s. Under the influence of I.L. *Peretz and modern Polish poets, Kacyzne wrote his first mystical drama, which was not favorably received. He aroused greater attention with his folk ballads and with semi-mystical, semi-realistic short stories, such as "Kranke Perl" ("Sick Pearl" in *Arabeskn*, 1922). His drama *Dukus* ("The Duke," 1926), whose hero was a legendary Vilna aristocrat who embraced Judaism, was first staged in Warsaw with Abraham *Morewski in the leading role and then often performed in Yiddish theaters worldwide. His less popular historical drama *Hordes* ("Herod," 1926) was generally held to be of greater literary value. His two-volume novel *Shtarke un Shvakhe* ("Strong and Weak"), dealing with Polish-Jewish intellectuals during World War I, was published posthumously in Argentina in 1954. Fleeing the Germans in 1941, he tried to escape to Tarnopol, but was seized by Ukrainian collaborators and beaten to death. His daughter Shulamit Reale published the first volume of his collected works in 1967.

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[Melech Ravitch]

KACZÉR (originally **Katz**), **ILLÉS** (1887–1980), Hungarian author and journalist. Born in Szatmár, Kaczér began his career in provincial journalism before starting to write for Budapest newspapers. He made his name as a novelist and playwright, and his dramas enjoyed considerable success in Hungary during the 1920s. By this time, however, as a result of the revolution of 1918–19, he had left the country and gone to live first in Vienna and later in Berlin, Romania, and Czechoslovakia. In 1938 he moved to London but in 1959, at which time he was already established as a contributor of stories and essays to the Hungarian-language newspaper *Uj Kelet*, made his home in Israel. Kacźer was noted for his powerful treatment of Jewish themes, ranging from biblical times to the era of social and religious family conflict in the 19th and 20th centuries. His works include the novel *Khafrit, az egyiptomi asszony* (1916); the play *Megjött a Messiás* (1921); *Ikongo nem hal meg* (1936); *Fear Not, My Servant Jacob* (1947); and *The Siege of Jericho* (1949), originally published in London as *The Siege*, 2 vols; and *Három a csillag* (1956).

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[Baruch Yaron]

KACZERGINSKY, SZMERKE (1908–1954), Yiddish writer. Born in Vilna (Lithuania), Kaczerginsky joined the literary group *Yung Vilne in 1929, contributing poems and stories to its publications. He worked as a printer and was active in underground communist movements, for which activity he was frequently arrested. During the German occupation he was one of several Yiddish intellectuals (including *Abraham Sutzkever) forced to select the most important holdings of the *YIVO Institute to be shipped to Germany (unchosen material was slated to be destroyed). This *Papir Brigade* smuggled both books to be hidden in the Vilna ghetto and weapons to the partisans. Kaczerginsky escaped the ghetto before its liquidation and joined the partisans. After liberation Kaczerginsky returned to Vilna, where he helped dig up the hidden materials and ship them to the new YIVO headquarters in New York. Discouraged by Soviet control, he left for Poland and then Paris. In May 1950 he settled in Argentina, where he became a leading figure in Yiddish cultural life. While returning from a lecture tour he was killed in an airplane crash. Kaczerginsky's writings are notable for their simplicity and power. His most important work chronicles, in verse, prose, and drama, the Vilna ghetto and the Jewish partisan movement. Among his books are: *Khurbn Vilne* ("The Destruction of Vilna," 1947) and *Ikh Bin Geven a Partizan* ("I Was a Partisan," 1952); in his travels after the war he collected *Lider fun di Getos un Lagern* ("Songs of the Ghettos and Concentration Camps," 1948).

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[Elias Schulman / Faith Jones (2nd ed.)]

KADAN (Czech **Kadaň**; Ger. **Kaaden**), town in N.W. Bohemia, Czech Republic. Jews are first mentioned in Kadan in 1339 and 1341. Between 1465 and 1517, seven Jews were formally granted citizenship. However, after the town had bought its freedom from the local lord, the Jews were expelled in 1520. After receiving permission from Frederick II, one Jewish family settled in Kadan in 1624; more followed (mainly from *Udlice) in spite of protests by the townsmen. This new community was expelled in 1650 after the execution of a visiting Jew on charges of killing a Christian child. The body of the child was preserved in a special altar in the church (which was burned down in 1810). There were ten Jewish families in the town in 1724 and nine in 1798. More lived there from the middle of the 19th century, totaling 118 in the district in 1869 and 219 in 1881. The congregation, founded in 1874, was approved in 1884 and legally became a community in 1893. From 409 in 1910, the number of Jews fell to 116 (1.5% of the total population) in 1930. The community was dispersed at the time of the Nazi occupation of the Sudeten area and the synagogue was set on fire on Nov. 10, 1938. Most of the Jews who remained in the Protectorate were sent to the death camps.

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[Jan Herman]

KÁDAR, JÁN (1918–1979), film director. Born in Budapest, Kádar was imprisoned in a Hungarian labor camp during World War II. Later he worked for the Czech state film studios, and with Elmar Klos made *Death Is Called Engelchen*, which won acclaim. He became known in the West for the film *The Shop on Main Street* (1965), which starred Ida Kaminska and won an Academy Award. Kádar was linked with the writers and artists involved in the liberal movement in Czechoslovakia in 1968. In 1969 he directed the American film of Bernard *Malamud's story, *Angel Levine*.

KADARI, SHRAGA (1907–1982), Hebrew author. Born in Lvov, he went in 1927 to Ereẓ Israel, where he worked as an agricultural laborer, and later was one of the founders of *Kefar Pines. In 1936 he joined the staff of the cultural department of the *Va'ad Le'ummi. After the establishment of the State of Israel he became an official of the Ministry of Social Welfare. His stories and articles appeared in many newspapers and journals (particularly the dailies *Davar* and *Ha-Ẓofeh*). He published several books, including *Mi-Martef ha-Olam* (1936), *Asonah shel Alinah* (1939), *Einayim Aẓumot* (1945), *Eẓ ha-Ahavah* (1956), *Mi Yitten Boker* (1960, a novel), *Megillat Korekh ha-Sefarim* (1962), *Veha-Boker le-Darko Oleh* (a novel, 1981), and *Shezufei ha-Leḥi ha-Aḥat* (1967, a collection of stories).

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[Getzel Kressel]

KADDARI, MENACHEM ZEVI (1925–), Hebrew scholar and linguist. Born in Mezoekoevesd (Hungary), Kaddari studied philosophy and Semitic languages at the Pazmany-Peter University of Budapest and Jewish bibliography, Bible, and Jewish philosophy at the Rabbinical Seminary (1945–46). He immigrated to Israel in 1947 and continued his academic training in Hebrew, Bible, Jewish philosophy, and Kabbalah at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem (1947–50). In 1953 he submitted his Ph.D. thesis on *Grammar of the Aramaic Language of the Zohar* (published in 1971). Teaching at Bar-Ilan University from 1961, he was appointed full professor in 1970, where he also served as dean of the Faculty of Humanities (1967–70) and rector of the University (1971–74). He also taught at several universities abroad, among them UCLA (1967), the University of Leeds, U.K. (1978), and the University of Witwatersrand, Johannesburg (1979–81). Kaddari was elected a member of the Hebrew Academy in 1973 and its vice president in 1994. He received the Israel Prize in 1999. Kaddari's major fields of research are Aramaic, Hebrew syntax, biblical and rabbinic Hebrew, and, mainly, modern Hebrew. Among his major works are *Oẓar Leshon ha-Mikrah: Konkordansi'ah Mele'ah u-Millon Ivri ve-Angli*, letters י–ת, initiated by Y. Blau and S. Loewenstamm, with whom he had already collaborated in the publication of vol. 3 (letters ז–ט), and *Taḥbir ve-Semantikah ba-Ivrit shel-le-aḥar ha-Mikra: Iyyunim ba-Di'akhroni'ah shel ha-Lashon ha-Ivrit*, 2 vols. (1991, 1995). A full list of Kaddari's works and scientific publications appeared in *Meḥkarim ba-Lashon ha-Ivrit ha-Attikah ve-ha-Ḥadashah li-Khevod Menachem Zevi Kaddari* (ed. S. Sharvit, 1999, 413–24).

During World War II, Kaddari was active in the clandestine pioneering Zionist movement in Hungary (1943–46) and a member of the joint secretariat of the *ma'pilim* (*"illegal" immigration) camps in Cyprus (1946–47). During Israel's War of Independence, he fought in the Haganah in *Gush Etzyon (*Massu'ot Yitzḥak) and Jerusalem.

[Aharon Maman (2nd ed.)]

KADDISH (Aram. קַדִּישׁ; "holy"), a doxology, most of it in Aramaic, recited with congregational responses at the close of individual sections of the public service and at the conclusion of the service itself. There are four main types of *Kaddish*:

(a) THE WHOLE (OR COMPLETE) KADDISH, the text of which is as follows:

> Glorified and sanctified be God's great name throughout the world which He has created according to His will. May He establish His kingdom in your lifetime and during your days, and within the life of the entire house of Israel, speedily and soon; and say, Amen.

The congregational response, which is repeated by the **sheli'aḥ ẓibbur* is

> May His great name be blessed forever and to all eternity.
> Blessed and praised, glorified and exalted, extolled and honored, adored and lauded be the name of the Holy One, blessed be He, beyond all the blessings and hymns, praises and consolations that are ever spoken in the world; and say Amen.
> May the prayers and supplications of the whole house of Israel be accepted by their Father in heaven; and say, Amen.
> May there be abundant peace from heaven and life, for us and for all Israel; and say, Amen.
> He who creates peace in His high places, may He create peace for us and for all Israel; and say Amen.

It is recited by the *sheli'aḥ ẓibbur* after each **Amidah* (virtually concluding the whole service), except in the morning service when it comes after the prayer *U-Va le-Ẓiyyon*.

(b) THE "HALF" KADDISH consists of the above text with the exception of the concluding passage, from "May the prayers and supplications …" until the end of the prayer. It is also recited by the *sheli'aḥ ẓibbur* and functions as a link between the sections of each service. In the morning service, the "Half" *Kaddish* is recited after the psalms (**Pesukei de-Zimra*), the *Amidah* (or the **Taḥanun*, when that is said), and the Reading of the Law. In the afternoon service, it is recited before the *Amidah*; in the evening service before *Ve-Hu Raḥum* (when the special psalms before it are recited) and before the *Amidah*. It is also recited before the **Musaf* service.

(c) THE KADDISH DE-RABBANAN ("the scholars' *Kaddish*") consists of the whole *Kaddish* with "May the prayers and supplications …," however, replaced by, "[We pray] for Israel, for our teachers and their disciples and the disciples of their disciples, and for all who study the Torah, here and everywhere. May they have abundant peace, loving-kindness, ample sustenance and salvation from their Father Who is in heaven; and say, Amen." The prayer then continues with the passage "May there be abundant peace from Heaven …" It is recited by mourners after communal study and in the synagogue, particularly after the reading of **Ba-Meh Madlikin* (Shab. 2) on Friday nights, after the early morning service, and after **Ein Ke-Elohenu*.

(d) THE MOURNERS' KADDISH contains the full text of the whole *Kaddish* with the exception of the line "May the prayers and supplications …" It is recited by the close relatives of the deceased (see: *Mourning) after the **Aleinu*, at the end of each service, and may be repeated after the reading of additional psalms.

All four forms of the *Kaddish* are recited standing, facing Jerusalem. In some communities, the whole congregation stands, in others only the mourners. If one stands at the beginning of the *Kaddish*, however, one should not sit down before the response "May His great name be blessed …" When the *Kaddish* is recited at the burial service, an addition, stressing the eschatological aspect of the *Kaddish*, is made to the opening paragraph. It is also added to the *Kaddish* recited at the celebration marking the conclusion of the study of a Talmud tractate (*Siyyum*).

The *Kaddish* is characterized by an abundance of praise and glorification of God and an expression of hope for the speedy establishment of His kingdom on earth. The brief reference to the latter ("May He establish His kingdom") in the usual Ashkenazi version is expanded by the Sephardim with *ve-Yaẓmaḥ purkaneih ve-karev meshiḥeih* ("May He make His salvation closer and bring His Messiah near"). The congregational response "May His great name be blessed for ever and to all eternity" is the kernel of the prayer (Sifre to Deut. 32:3). The verse is akin to Daniel 2:20 (in Aramaic), to Job 1:21, and to Psalm 113:2 (in Hebrew), and to the eulogy "Blessed be the name of His glorious kingdom for ever and ever," which was recited in the Temple (Yoma 3:8). According to R. Joshua b. Levi, "joining loudly and in unison in [this] congregational response …" has the power of influencing the heavenly decree in one's favor (Shab. 119b; cf. Mid. Prov. 10).

The simple form in which the eschatological pleas are phrased and the lack of allusion to the destruction of the Temple indicate the antiquity of the *Kaddish* prayer. The opening phrase, "Magnified and sanctified be His great name in the world …" (whose origin is Ezek. 38:23), shows affinities to the "Lord's Prayer" (Matt. 6:9–13); similar phrases were apparently used in a variety of public and private prayers (e.g., that of thanksgiving for rain, cited in TJ, Ta'an. 1:3, 64b). The *Kaddish* prayer was not originally part of the synagogue service. The Talmud (Sot. 49a, and Rashi ad loc.) specifically records that it first served as a concluding prayer to the public aggadic discourse which was also conducted in Aramaic. The *Kaddish de-Rabbanan* testifies to this connection. Special verses were even inserted into the *Kaddish de-Rabbanan*, for the *nasi*, *resh galuta*, and the heads of the academies (cf. Schechter in *Gedenkbuch D. Kaufmann* (1900), Hebr. part 52–4), or, as in Yemen, for such distinguished scholars as Maimonides (Letter of Naḥmanides to the French Rabbis, in *Kovez̦ Teshuvot ha-Rambam*, Leipzig edition (1859), 9a).

The *Kaddish* is mentioned as part of the prescribed synagogue daily prayers for the first time in tractate *Soferim* (c. sixth century C.E.). By geonic times, it had become a statutory synagogue prayer requiring the presence of ten adult males. The name *Kaddish* is first mentioned in *Soferim* 10:7, and the explanatory passage beginning "Blessed and praised … etc." (which is recited in Hebrew) was added for non-Aramaic speakers. The plea for the acceptance of the prayer ("May the prayers and supplications … etc."), the prayer for the welfare of the supplicants ("May there be abundant peace from heaven …"), and the concluding passage ("He who creates peace … etc.," cf. Job 25:2), were all later additions.

The German and Italian text, quoted above, is derived from *Seder Rav *Amram* (ed. by D. Hedegard, 1951) but exhibits local variations. In the Yemenite rite, the phrase *le-ella u-le-ella* ("much beyond all praises") is repeated all the year round, and not only during the *ten days of penitence. In Jerusalem and Safed the word *kaddisha* is added in the *Kaddish de-Rabbanan* ending "in this holy place and everywhere," and according to the *Maḥzor Romanyah*, several additions were made to the passage "May the prayers and supplication …" On the other hand, the final invitation to the congregation to respond "*amen*" (i.e., *ve-imru*, "and say") is neither in the *Seder Rav Amram* nor in other old manuscripts.

The practice of mourners reciting the *Kaddish* seems to have originated during the 13th century, at the time of severe persecutions in Germany by the Crusaders. No reference is made to it in the *Maḥzor Vitry* (the comment on page 74 is a later interpolation). According to a late *aggadah* (originating in *Seder Eliyahu Zuta*), R. *Akiva rescued a soul from punishment in hell by urging the latter's sons to recite the verse "May His great name be blessed …" The idea was already earlier expressed in *Sanhedrin* 104a. The mourner's *Kaddish*, now recited for 11 and not the full 12 months of the mourning period (according to the Sh. Ar., YD 376:4, the longer period implies a disrespectful view of the parents' piety), is also recited on the **yahrzeit*. It has been suggested that the *Kaddish* became the mourner's prayer because of the mention of the resurrection of the dead in the messianic passage at the beginning. (The phrase, however, no longer occurs in most versions today.) The *Kaddish* is not properly "a prayer for the soul of the departed," but an expression of the *z̦idduk ha-din* ("justification of judgment") by the bereaved, conforming to the spirit of the maxim: "Man is obliged to give praise for the evil [that befalls him] even as he gives praise for the good" (Ber. 9:5). However, the prayer is popularly thought to be a "prayer for the dead" to the extent that a son, in Yiddish, is often called "a *Kaddish*," and a man is said to have died "without leaving a *Kaddish*."

Musical Rendition

The various forms and functions of the *Kaddish* in the service are matched by a variety of musical configurations. Melodies range from simple *parlando* recitatives to elaborate solo productions, from light tunes in the popular taste to most solemn and impressive compositions. Salamone de *Rossi even set the entire text for three- and five-part chorus (*Ha-Shirim asher li-Shelomo*, Venice, 1623, nos. 1 and 16). Nevertheless, some guiding principles may be ascertained from the multiplicity of *Kaddish* tunes. In the Ashkenazi rite, the *Kaddish* before the *Amidah* (especially in the *Musaf* prayer) is distinguished by a striving for sublime melodic expression (see *Music, Jewish, Ex. 30; and **Mi-Sinai Niggunim*, Ex. 1, nos. 3, 7, 9); its music is sometimes identical with that of the following *Avot* benediction. The Sephardim emphasize rather the *Kaddish* preceding *Barekhu*, by means of elaborate coloraturas (Idelsohn, Melodien, 2 (1922), 97, no. 50; 4 (1930), 137, no. 32; 195, no. 220), or by melodic identity with the said benediction. In the Ashkenazi synagogues, certain liturgical situations evoke *Kaddish* melodies of a definite character or form. The *Kaddish* which closes the *Musaf* prayer is preferably sung to a lively and gay tune, sometimes in a dancelike manner (earliest example notated by Benedetto Marcello in his *Estro Poetico-Armonico*, Venice, 1724–27). During festivals the *Kaddish* over the Torah scroll and that before the evening *Amidah* are "labeled" with musical motives characteristic of the feast in question. On Simḥat Torah, which closes the cycle of holidays, the characteristic motives of all the festivals are assembled in the "Year-*Kaddish*."

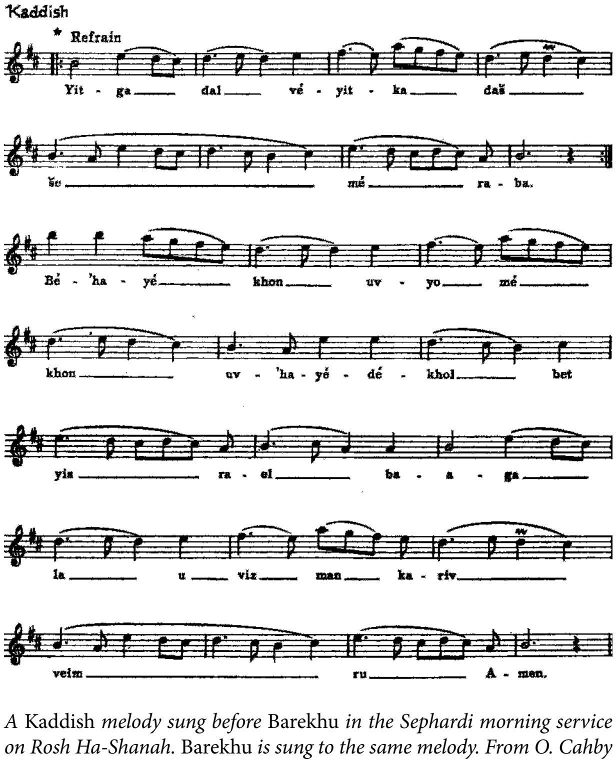
Kaddish
* Refrain
Yit - ga dal vé - yit - ka daš
še mé ra - ba.
Bé - 'ha - yé khon uv - yo mé
khon uv - 'ha - yé - dé - khol bet
yis ra - el ba - a - ga
la u viz man ka - riv
veim ru A - men.

A Kaddish *melody sung before* Barekhu *in the Sephardi morning service on Rosh Ha-Shanah.* Barekhu *is sung to the same melody. From O. Cahby (ed.),* Liturgie Sephardi *no 65, 1959. Courtesy World Sephardi Federation, London.*

The particular tunes anchored in local traditions are also worth mentioning, such as the so-called *Trommel* ("drumming") *Kaddish* which used to be sung in Frankfurt on the Main on "Purim Vinz" – the 20th of Adar, commemorating that day in 1616 when, after the *Fettmilch persecution, the Jews were brought back into the town "with trumpets and drums" as described in Elhanan Helen's *Megillat Vinz* (see F. Ogutsch, *Der Frankfurter Kantor*, 1930, 103, no. 319). The famous "*Kaddish*" of R. *Levi Isaac of Berdichev, *A Din-Toyre mit Got*, is a kind of introduction to the liturgical *Kaddish*, in which Levi Isaac addresses and rebukes God in an extended "prose poem" whose melody comprises elements of the High Holiday liturgy (see Idelsohn, Melodien, 10 (1932), xii, 29, no. 104). Leonard Bernstein's *Kaddish* (his Symphony no. 3, 1963) for narrator, choir, and orchestra is also a kind of "lawsuit with God" centering on the *Kaddish* and is thus a descendant of Levi Isaac's song.

[Hanoch Avenary]

Women and *Kaddish*

Responsa literature, historical sources, and contemporary testimony indicate that at least since the 17th century some women have recited the mourner's *Kaddish*, both at home during *shiva* and at daily services in the synagogue. Saying *Kaddish* at the grave during the funeral was also a customary practice among devout women in certain communities. The earliest known responsum in which the issue of women and *Kaddish* is discussed appears in the late 17th-century work of R. Jair Hayyim Ben Moses Samson *Bacharach, known as the *Ḥavvat Yair*. Based on a particular set of circumstances in Amsterdam, R. Bacharach's responsum, which became known as "the Amsterdam case," concludes that women may recite *Kaddish*, but the nuances of the responsum are used by various rabbis in different ways. Among those who restrict the Amsterdam case, arguing variously for limitations on women's expression of grief through public recitation of *Kaddish*, are the *Be'er Heitev*, *Gesher ha-Ḥayyim*, *Mishpetei Uziel*, *Matteh Ephraim*, and *Aseh Lekha Rav*. R. Israel Meir *Lau, former Ashkenazi chief rabbi in Israel, and Reuven Fink in the U.S. are adamant in their opposition to women's saying *Kaddish*.

While R. Bacharach, who realized that he was transforming social practice, also articulated caution, those who restrict his opinion project a general fear of women's entering the public religious sphere. This apprehension is absent in the vocal minority of decisors who offer lenient interpretations of the Amsterdam case, often adding specific details relevant to changed social circumstances. Examples are found in the writings of R. Joseph B. *Soloveitchik, R. Aaron *Soloveitchik, R. Moshe Leib Blair, and R. Yehuda Herzl Henkin.

In 1916, Henrietta *Szold expressed her conviction that it was never intended by Jewish law and custom that women should be exempt from positive commandments if they were able to perform them, writing, "And of the *Kaddish* I feel sure this is particularly true" (letter to Haym Peretz, in *Four Centuries of Jewish Women's Spirituality*, ed. E. Umansky and D. Ashton (1992), 164–65).

Among Modern Orthodox women at the beginning of the 21st century, the recitation of *Kaddish* is widespread. In Reform, Reconstructionist, and most Conservative practice, women recite the mourner's *Kaddish* as a matter of course and are also counted among the ten persons required to constitute the *minyan* required for communal worship. In recent years, several women have written personal testimonies about reciting *Kaddish* in Orthodox settings. These include E.M. Broner (*Mornings and Mourning: A Kaddish Journal* (1994)) and Sara Reguer and Deborah E. Lipstadt (in essays anthologized in *On Being a Jewish Feminist*, ed. S. Heschel (1983; rep. 1995), 177–81, 207–9).

[Rochelle L. Millen (2nd ed.)]

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KADELBURG, LAVOSLAV (1910–1995), lawyer. Kadelburg was born in Vinkovci, Croatia, and completed his secondary education there. He participated in the local Herut youth organization (1925–30) and studied law and economics. He was appointed attorney general in the High Court of the Serbian Republic; later he acted as judge in the same court, retiring in 1966. In the following years acted as judge in International Arbitration Tribunals.

Before the Nazi invasion of Yugoslavia in April 1941, he was mobilized as a reserve officer of the Royal Yugoslav Army; he was interned in POW camps in Germany throughout WWII. Upon his return, Kadelburg developed close contacts with the new regime that took over the country under Tito's leadership and became involved again in Jewish affairs. Along with Dr. Albert *Vajs (Weiss), he helped in rehabilitating the few survivors of the Holocaust and in restoring Jewish life. On Vajs's death, he carried on as the president of the renewed Federation of Jewish Communities in Belgrade. He held that position for many years and was considered the mainstay of Jewry in that area. He was also a member of the Executive of the World Jewish Congress.

Commanding several languages, he was a widely respected figure in European Jewish assemblies, where his advice was often sought.

[Zvi Loker (2nd ed.)]

KADESH (Heb. קָדֵשׁ), name of several places in Ereẓ Israel and Syria to which a sacred character is attributed.

(1) Kadesh, Kadesh-Barnea (Heb. קָדֵשׁ, קָדֵשׁ בַּרְנֵעַ), an important oasis situated on the southern border of Canaan (Num. 34:4; Josh. 15:3; Ezek. 47:19; 48:28) in the wilderness of Zin (Num. 20:1; 27:14; 33:36; Deut. 32:51) – part of the wilderness of Paran (Num. 20:16) – at a distance of an eleven days' journey from Mt. Horeb (Deut. 1:2). Kadesh is alternatively called En-Mishpat ("spring of judgment"; Gen. 14:7) and the "waters of Meribah" ("strife," Num. 20:13, 24; 27:14; Deut. 32:51), names which indicate its special role as a sacred place of judgment and assembly for the desert tribes.

Kadesh-Barnea appears in the stories of Abraham (Gen. 16:14; 20:1) and in the description of the expedition of Chedorlaomer and his allies; Kadesh-Barnea, here called En-Mishpat, is said to have been inhabited by Amalekites (Gen. 14:7). During the Exodus it served as an assembly point for the Israelite tribes in the desert (Deut. 1:46). Some scholars regard it as the first amphictyonic center of the Israelites. From Kadesh-Barnea spies were sent to explore Canaan (Num. 13:26); the attempt was made to penetrate into Canaan which was prevented by Arad and Hormah (Num. 14:40–45; 21:1; 33:36–40); messengers were sent to the king of Edom; and from here the Israelites started out on their eastward march to Transjordan (Num. 20:14ff.; 33:36ff.; Deut. 1:46ff.; Judg. 11:16ff.). Biblical tradition associates Kadesh-Barnea with the family of Moses in particular: here Moses drew water abundantly from the rock; here he and Aaron were punished for their lack of faith by being denied entrance into the land of Canaan (Num. 20:2ff.); here his sister Miriam died and was buried (Num. 20:1); and Aaron died nearby at mount Hor (Num. 20:22–29; 33:37–39). Kadesh-Barnea has been identified with the group of springs 46 mi. (75 km.) south of Beer-Sheba and 15 mi. (25 km.) south of Niẓẓanah. The name is preserved at the southernmost spring ʿAyn Qudays, but ʿAyn al-Qudayrāt to the north of it is of much greater importance being a rich spring which waters a fertile plain. In its vicinity a large fortress from the time of the Judahite kings was discovered. Most scholars therefore identify Kadesh-Barnea with the larger spring; the entire group of springs may have originally been called Kadesh-Barnea and the name survived at the southern one despite its lesser importance. During the Sinai campaign a large Israelite fortress was discovered also above ʿAyn Qudays as well as numerous remains in the whole region from the Middle Bronze I (c. 2000 B.C.E.) and Israelite periods.

Large-scale excavations in 1976 and 1982 uncovered three superimposed fortresses on the site. The first was dated to the 11th century, the second to around the time of Hezekiah and measured 65 ft. × 195 ft. (20 × 60 m.) with six rectangular towers and a moat and glacis on three sides, and the third to the seventh century, probably destroyed by Nebuchadnezzar. Inscriptions indicate that the inhabitants of the fortress probably spoke Hebrew.

(2) Kedesh in Galilee (Heb. קֶדֶשׁ בַּגָּלִיל), one of the principal cities in Upper Galilee in the Canaanite and Israelite pe-

riods. In the opinion of some scholars, it is mentioned in the list of cities conquered by Thutmosis III (c. 1468 B.C.E.) and depicted on a relief of Seti I (c. 1300 B.C.E.); others, however, argue that these references are to Kadesh on the Orontes. In the Bible, "Kedesh in Galilee in the hill country of Naphtali" appears in the list of defeated Canaanite kings (Josh. 12:22), as a city of refuge (Josh. 20:7) and a levitical city (Josh. 21:32; I Chron. 6:61), and as one of the fortified cities of the tribe of Naphtali (Josh. 19:37). It was conquered by Tiglath-Pileser III in his expedition in 733/2 B.C.E. (II Kings 15:29) but continued to exist in the Second Temple period eventually becoming a Hellenistic city in the territory of Tyre. Near Kedesh, Jonathan the Hasmonean defeated the army of Demetrius II (I Macc. 11:63–73; Jos., Ant. 13:154). It is identified with Tell Qadis, a large tell overlooking the fertile plateau west of the Ḥuleh, and containing remains and fortifications from the Canaanite, Israelite, and later periods. A Roman temple was partially excavated in 1981–84, dedicated under Hadrian in 117/8 C.E.

(3) Kedesh-Naphtali (Heb. קֶדֶשׁ־נַפְתָּלִי), the birthplace of Barak, son of Abinoam, located in Galilee in the territory of the tribe of Naphtali (Judg. 4:6, 9–11). It is generally identified with Kedesh (2) but this seems unsound for the following reasons:

(a) Kedesh Upper Galilee is far from Mt. Tabor in the vicinity of which Deborah's battle with the Canaanite kings took place;

(b) "Elon-Bezaanannim, which is by Kedesh" (Judg. 4:11) is also known from the border description of Naphtali where it is situated between the Tabor and the Jordan (Josh. 19:33).

Kedesh-Naphtali should therefore be sought east of Mount Tabor and in this area Khirbat al-Kadīsh near Poriyyah which contains extensive remains from the early Israelite period has been proposed as the location of the site.

(4) Kadesh on the Orontes, a major city in the Canaanite period on the Orontes River, identified with Tell Nabī Mind south of Lake Homs. Together with Megiddo, Kadesh headed the coalition of Canaanite kings against Thutmosis III in their great battle in c. 1468 B.C.E. Although confined with the other defeated kings within the walls of Megiddo, the king of Kadesh succeeded in escaping the Egyptian siege and Kadesh was conquered only during Thutmosis' sixth campaign, in his eighth year. In the 14th century B.C.E. the city came under Hittite influence, as indicated by the *El-Amarna letters. It was conquered at the beginning of the 13th century by Seti I as shown in a stele discovered by Pézard in his excavations at Kadesh. A relief depicting Seti's conquest may be preserved in the Karnak temple in Egypt but some scholars interpret it as referring to Kadesh in Galilee. During the reign of Ramses II, a famous battle between the Egyptians and the Hittites (c. 1280 B.C.E.) took place near Kadesh; it actually terminated in a defeat for the Egyptians and Kadesh remained in the possession of the Hittites. According to the peace treaty concluded after the battle, the border between the two kingdoms in the Lebanon al-Biqʿa was moved south of Kadesh. Further information on the city is lacking. It was apparently destroyed in the invasion of the Sea Peoples at the beginning of the 12th century B.C.E. and its place was taken over in the Israelite period by Riblah on the Orontes south of Kadesh. The border of Lebo-Hamath in the Bible corresponds to the Egyptian border south of Kadesh.

Excavations from 1975 reveal a settlement at the site in the sixth millennium B.C.E. and then reoccupation in the third millennium. The settlement was apparently destroyed around 1600 B.C.E. and reestablished by the time mentioned in the sources, i.e., 1468.

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[Yohanan Aharoni]

KADIMAH (Heb. קָדִימָה; "Forward"), semi-urban settlement in central Israel. Kadimah was founded as a moshav in 1933. It was initially based almost exclusively on citrus groves, but suffered from the citrus crisis during World War II. After 1948 an immigrant camp (*ma'barah*) was established there and replaced later by permanent housing. In 1950 it received municipal council status. In 1969 Kadimah had 3,920 inhabitants, jumping to 9,130 in 2002 with an annual growth rate of 4.6%. Its municipal area, extending over 5 sq. mi. (13 sq. km.), included Ilanot ("Trees"), the national forest tree research station affiliated to the Agricultural Research Institute of Reḥovot. In 2003 Kadimah was united with the nearby settlement of *Zoran, and the two became known as Kadimah-Zoran.

[Efram Orni / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

KADIMAH, the first Jewish national students' association, established in Vienna in 1882. The founders and leaders of the *Akademischer Verein Kadimah* were Ruben *Bierer, a physician from Lemberg and the oldest of the group, Moritz Tobias *Schnirer, a student of medicine from Bucharest, and Nathan *Birnbaum. Under the impression of the Russian pogroms, they were united in the conviction that only "the struggle against assimilation and the fostering of Jewish peoplehood are a barrier against the destruction of Judaism." The three decided to found a Jewish students' association at Vienna University that would be "a center for the cultivation and dissemination of the national idea and a workshop for the development of Jewish leadership for the future." The group was greatly influenced by the Hebrew writer *Pereẓ Smolenskin, who was then living in Vienna and editing the nationalist monthly *Ha-Shaḥar*. He became friendly with the group and named it "Kadimah," with the double meaning *kedmah* – eastward, i.e., to Ereẓ Israel – and *kidmah* – forward. In autumn

1882 the association was founded in Bierer's house in Vienna, although the governmental permit for the organization was issued only in March 1883. Because of the watchful eye of the Vienna police, the aim of the association was defined as "cultivation of Jewish literature and scholarship to the exclusion of any political tendency." In secret, however, every new member was requested to adopt a credo of three points: struggle against assimilation, Jewish nationhood, and the settlement of the land of Israel as a means toward Jewish independence. At the first official meeting (May 5, 1883) Schnirer was elected to head the association and P. Smolenskin and J.L. *Pinsker, who inspired the association, were elected as honorary members.

Already in its first year the group established its own library and reading room, housing German and Hebrew books, and regularly organized talks on Jewish nationalist topics. The publication of the group, **Selbst-Emancipation!* (renamed the *Juedische Volkszeitung* in 1894), was edited by N. Birnbaum and named after Pinsker's pamphlet **Autoemancipation!* (1882), which was of great influence on its members.

The first act of the association was to paste posters in German and Hebrew on the walls of Vienna University that proclaimed loudly the message of Jewish nationhood. This step was a daring one, since the majority of the Jewish students as well as the Viennese Jewish bourgeoisie opposed Kadimah's program. The association was exposed to attacks, but many young people from both Eastern and Western Europe joined it. From its beginnings Kadimah adopted customs of traditional German student associations, like regular beer drinking (*Kneipen*) and assemblies (*Kommers*), and in the early 1890s even changed into a "dueling fraternity." By then Kadimah had become a central institution of Jewish national activity and an educational framework for many who later became associates of *Herzl. Following the example of Kadimah, Jewish-nationalist associations and student fraternities were founded all over Europe.

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[Getzel Kressel / Mirjam Triendl (2nd ed.)]

KADISHMAN, MENASHE (1932–), Israeli painter and sculptor. Kadishman was born in Tel Aviv, the son of Russian pioneers. When he was 15 his father died and he had to give up his education, leave school, and help his mother. During his army service Kadishman served as a shepherd at kibbutz Ma'yan Barukh. This experience made an indelible impression on him that was later expressed in his art. In 1959 Kadishman followed Itzhak *Danziger's advice and went to London to study sculpture in the St. Martin School of Art. During the 13 years that he spent in London he refined his Minimalist Conceptual style. Most of his sculptures from that period were made from steel or aluminum and some of them included glass, too. The common theme in these sculptures was tension. The forms assembled in the sculptures created a strange posture that was contrary to the laws of nature. The ability of the sculptures to stand without falling constituted their formal power. Kadishman installed some of these sculptures in Israel on his return to his homeland (*Rising*, 1974, Habimah Square, Tel Aviv).

In 1978 Kadishman represented Israel in the Venice Biennial. He created an unforgettable performance in a sheep pen. Kadishman stood, as a shepherd, in the middle of the Israeli pavilion and painted the backs of the sheep blue. The smell of the pavilion and the bleating sounds attracted the curious, integrating conceptual art and biblical imagery.

The sheep motif returned in Kadishman's art in different kinds of media. Over time it became a ram and in 1983 the whole scene expanded to become the Sacrifice of Isaac. The inspiration for this subject was his son's military service in Lebanon. In the paintings and the sculptures that deal with the biblical scene Abraham appears as a secondary figure while the ram's image increases in significance (*Sacrifice of Isaac*, 1982–85, Jewish Museum, New York).

Another series of sculptures deal with birth. The mother and infant are described as silhouettes in exaggerated postures of pain. Toward the end of the 1990s the single motif of a screaming head was left in the sculptures. In a very impressive installation Kadishman placed hundreds of heads on the floor under the title *Shalekhet – Fallen Leaves* (1997–99, Julie M. Gallery, Tel Aviv). The reference to the famous painting of Edward Munch as well as the Holocaust symbolism was unmistakable. The romantic title was provocative, since the work had such a different meaning.

In 1995 Kadishman received the Israel Prize.

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[Ronit Steinberg (2nd ed.)]

KADMAN (formerly **Kaufman**), **GURIT** (1897–1987), Israeli folk-dance teacher. Gurit Kadman, who was born in Leipzig, Germany, settled in Ereẓ Israel in 1920 and for 18 years taught dancing and gymnastics in schools and kibbutzim. Through her initiative, the first folk-dance festival was held in kibbutz *Daliyyah in 1944 and the folk-dancing movement grew in popularity under her aegis, demonstrating the evolution, under various influences, toward a national style. She was awarded the Israel Prize in 1981 for dance. In her book, *Am Roked* (1968; *The New Folkdances of Israel*, 1968), she maintained that subtle changes had taken place over the decades; some of the dance movements introduced by early immigrants from Poland, Romania, Russia, and Yemen were becoming more restrained and Oriental, and in some of the later creations she detected an Eastern Mediterranean quality reminiscent of Greek and Bulgarian characteristics.

[Yohanan Boehm]

KADOORIE (Heb. כַּדּוּרִי), Israel agricultural school at the northern foot of Mt. Tabor in Lower Galilee, founded in 1933 and named for Sir Elly Silas *Kadoorie whose contribution to the Palestine Mandate government made possible the establishment of the Jewish school and a similar school for Arabs at *Tūl Karm. During the Arab riots of 1936–39, the *Haganah organized Kadoorie's pupils for self-defense, and during World War II, the nucleus of the *Palmaḥ was formed there, making the school a Palmaḥ training and organizational center. In agricultural education Kadoorie emphasized branches of hill farming.

[Efraim Orni]

KADOORIE, family with large business interests in the Far East, known for its philanthropy. The founder of the family, ṢĀLIḤ KADOORIE (d. 1876), was a well-known philanthropist in *Baghdad. His sons, SIR ELLIS (1865–1922) and SIR ELLY SILAS (1867–1944), were born in Baghdad. At the end of the 19th century they settled in *Hong Kong, developing their business in *Shanghai and other cities. Sir Ellis endowed a chair in physics at Hong Kong University and bequeathed funds for the building of two agricultural schools for Jews and Arabs in Mesopotamia. He also contributed generously to the Anglo-Jewish Association for education. He and his brother also established schools in Baghdad and Bombay. Sir Elly, an active Zionist from 1900, was president of the Palestine Foundation Fund in Shanghai and established agricultural schools in Palestine, as well as contributing a large sum toward the construction of the Hebrew University. In Baghdad in 1911 he established a school in honor of his wife Laura Kadoorie, as well as a girls' sewing school in 1922, also named after her; he set up an ophthalmic hospital in 1924 which was named after his mother Rima, with a trust for its maintenance. In 1935 he built a training school for the blind and in 1926 a club for women. In both *Basra and Mosul he founded separate schools for boys and girls, as well as a girls' sewing school. In 1934 he established in Kirkuk a school for boys and two schools for girls. He was knighted in 1926. His sons, BARON LAWRENCE (see next entry) (1899–1993) and SIR HORACE (1902–1995), continued their father's widespread business activities in Hong Kong. In 1951 they established the Kadoorie Agricultural Aid Loan Fund, which has assisted over 300,000 Chinese refugees. They also gave substantial support to the small Hong Kong Jewish community. A knighthood was conferred on Lawrence in the 1974 New Year Honours List for his manifold civic and philanthropic services in Hong Kong, and in the 1981 Queen's Birthday Honours he was made a life peer.

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[Rudolph Loewenthal]

KADOORIE, LAWRENCE, BARON (1899–1993), Hong Kong businessman and communal leader. Kadoorie was descended from prominent Sephardi business families in Hong Kong and Britain; his mother was a *Mocatta. His father built up a substantial business presence in Hong Kong as a banker and company financier, and, in particular, as head of China Power and Light, a major firm on the island and the mainland. Kadoorie was educated at Clifton College in England and then in Shanghai, where the family owned significant property. Kadoorie and his family were interned by the Japanese during World War II. After losing his mainland holdings following the Communist takeover in 1949, Kadoorie focused exclusively on Hong Kong. As head of Sir Elly Kadoorie & Sons, he was one of the most influential businessmen in the colony, holding 14 chairmanships in local companies and serving on Hong Kong's legislative and executive councils. He was knighted in 1974 and received a life peerage on the recommendation of Hong Kong's governor in 1981, possibly the last senior honor to be conferred on a British colonial figure. Shortly before receiving his title, Kadoorie's firm had placed an order worth £600 million with British companies, the largest order in Hong Kong's history. When he died, his fortune was estimated by *Fortune* magazine at $3.3 billion. Baron Kadoorie was closely associated with Jewish and Sephardi causes and charities.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: ODNB online.

[William D. Rubinstein (2nd ed.)]

KADOORIE, SASSON (1885–1971), *Baghdad rabbi and community leader. Born in Baghdad, Kadoorie was educated at the rabbinical seminary there and later appointed head of the rabbinical court of the community. He was chief rabbi of Baghdad from 1927 to 1929. Before being appointed to this post, he supported Zionist institutions such as the *Jewish National Fund, but later he rejected *Zionism, to the anger of his congregation. Despite the fact that the Iraqi government supported him, the community forced him to resign. In 1932 he became chairman of the community and served in this capacity until 1949, when the members of the community again compelled him to resign, suspecting him of helping the authorities to suppress the Jewish national movement in Iraq. Together with Menahem and Ezra *Daniel, Kadoorie advocated opposition to Zionism in order to prevent the persecution of Iraqi Jewry by the Muslim population. In 1953 he resumed office as community chairman and also became again chief rabbi of the community.

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[Haim J. Cohen]

KADUSHIN, MAX (1895–1980), U.S. rabbinic scholar. Kadushin was born in Minsk, Russia, and immigrated with his family to Seattle, Washington in 1897. He earned his B.A. at New York University (1916). He was ordained by the Jewish Theological Seminary of America in 1920, where he also received his D.H.L. in 1932. Kadushin held pulpits in New York City (Temple Israel, 1921–26) and left to seek distance from his mentor, Rabbi Mordecai Kaplan, in Chicago (Humboldt Blvd. Temple, 1926–31). A Reconstructionist at the time, Kadushin established the Midwest Council of the Society for the

Advancement of Judaism. Despite his success in the pulpit, he was drawn to the university and became the Hillel Foundation director at the University of Wisconsin (1931–42). He resigned and moved to New York in 1942, where he taught at the Hebrew High School of Greater New York (1942–52) and then had a series of pulpits, each of short duration. He later taught at the Academy for Higher Jewish Learning in New York, an interdenominational rabbinical school, of which he was also dean (from 1958). In 1960, he received a coveted academic appointment to the faculty of JTS, where he taught ethics and rabbinic thought. Kadushin's scholarly interest was the explication of talmudic thought. Basing his observations on the latest rabbinic texts and historical investigations, Kadushin explained the unique character of the rabbinic mind. Rather than being random and disorganized, Kadushin believed that the rabbis' thought-world was made up primarily of value concepts, which were expressed in such noun forms as *berakhah* ("blessing"), *ẓedakah* ("charity), and *derekh ereẓ* ("proper behavior," "ethics"). Kadushin believed that four rabbinic concepts play a dominant role in integrating the entire complex of concepts: *Middat ha-Din* (God's justice), *Middat Raḥamim* (God's love of mercy), Torah, and Israel. In addition, rabbinic thought reflects certain "emphatic trends," i.e., love, the individual, universality, and the experience of God, which Kadushin calls "normal mysticism." His major works are *The Theology of Seder Eliahu; A Study in Organic Thinking* (1932); *Organic Thinking: A Study in Rabbinic Thought* (1938); *The Rabbinic Mind* (1952, 1965); *Worship and Ethics: A Study in Rabbinic Judaism* (1964). His wife EVELYN GARFIEL was a psychologist and author. She taught at the universities of Chicago and Wisconsin and wrote *The Service of the Heart* (1958) on the prayer book. Together they created one of the first Hebrew-speaking homes in America.

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[Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

KAEL, PAULINE (1919–2001), U.S. film critic. Probably the most influential film critic of her time, Kael, who was born in Petaluma, Calif., did not write movie criticism until she was 35. She reviewed movies for *The New Yorker* magazine from 1968 to 1979 and, after working in the film industry, again from 1980 to 1991. Enchanting her fans and infuriating her foes, she was rarely dull and often sharp and funny, with an intellectual bent. She was outspoken, sometimes to a fault, promoting her favorite films (*Last Tango in Paris*), actors and directors and dismissing some sacred cows. Always provocative, her writing style bred a legion of acolytes, known as Paulettes. Kael's appetite for movies began in childhood as the daughter of immigrants from Poland. Her father was a gentleman farmer and moviegoer, and her own trips to see films began early. Among her early favorites were the *Marx Brothers comedies *Monkey Business* of 1931 and *Duck Soup* of 1933. In 1936 she enrolled at the University of California at Berkeley, where she majored in philosophy. However, she went to New York with a friend, the poet Robert Horan, for about three years. She returned to California, tried writing plays and helped make experimental films. Married and divorced three times, she supported herself and her daughter by writing advertising copy, clerking in a bookstore, and working as a cook, a seamstress, and a textbook writer. In 1953, while she was in a coffee shop in the San Francisco area, the editor of *City Lights* magazine asked her and a friend with whom she was arguing about a movie to review the Charlie Chaplin film *Limelight*. The friend turned in nothing. Kael's review called the film "slimelight," and a career was born. Kael began being published in magazines like *Sight and Sound* and *Partisan Review*, and her criticism was broadcast on a Berkeley listener-supported radio station. While managing an art theater, she wrote funny, feisty reviews for the programs and she began lecturing on film at universities in San Francisco and Los Angeles. She was 46 when her essays in *Partisan Review* led to an offer to publish her first book, *I Lost It at the Movies*, a collection of her articles and broadcasts. It became a bestseller. In it she praised movies like Jean Renoir's *Grand Illusion*, Vittorio de Sica's *Shoeshine*, and Martin Ritt's *Hud*. She attacked other critics, derided materialistic movie magnates, and attacked the pretensions of Alan Resnais's *Last Year at Marienbad*, calling it "the snow job in the ice palace." In 1968 she was invited to review for *The New Yorker*. Her first review was virtually the only rave that *Bonnie and Clyde* received in New York, but it compelled other critics to reconsider their assessments. Her favorite actors included Marlon Brando, Nicolas Cage, Sean Connery, Paul Newman, Diane Keaton, Anjelica Huston, Jessica Lange, and Debra Winger. She championed films of the 1970s like Francis Ford Coppola's *Godfather* and *Godfather, Part II*, and Martin Scorsese's *Mean Streets* and *Taxi Driver*. Her reviews and essays were assembled in a series of books whose double-entendre titles suggested the intimacy of her love affair with movies: *Kiss Kiss Bang Bang*, *Going Steady*, *Deeper into Movies*, *Reeling*, *When the Lights Go Down*, *Movie Love*, *Hooked* and *For Keeps*. In 1991, at 71, after 22 years at the magazine, Kael retired from regular reviewing.

[Stewart Kampel (2nd ed.)]

KAEMPF, SAUL ISAAC (1818–1892), rabbi and Orientalist. Kaempf, who was born at Lissa (Leszno), Poznania, was a disciple of Akiva *Eger there. He later studied at the University of Halle where he was a student of *Gesenius. In 1845 he became a preacher in Prague and in 1858 professor of Semitics at the University of Prague. His works include the two-volume *Nichtandalusische Poesie andalusischer Dichter aus dem 11., 12. und 13. Jahrhundert* (2 vols., 1858), an important pioneering contribution to the study of Hebrew poetry; a biography of R. Akiva Eger with a eulogy at his death (1838); *Mamtik Sod* (1861), a defense of Z. *Frankel's *Darkhei ha-Mishnah* against S.R. *Hirsch (1861); popular German translations of the *maḥzor* (1854) and of the *siddur* (1874), both following the rite of his temple in Prague (1874); *Das Ruehmen Moab's, oder* *die Inschrift auf dem Denkmal Mesa's* (1870); and collections of sermons and poetry.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Zeitlin, Bibliotheca, 163ff.; M. Reines, *Dor ve-Ḥakhamav*, 1 (1890); I. Davidson, in: PAAJR, 1 (1930), 43–44.

[Jacob Hirsch Haberman]

KAF (Heb. כָּף; ך, כ), the eleventh letter of the Hebrew alphabet; its numerical value is 20. In the Proto-Sinaitic and early Proto-Canaanite inscriptions the *kaf* was drawn as a pictograph of the palm of the hand and hence its name. In the later Proto-Canaanite and in the early Phoenician scripts the letter was represented by three fingers meeting at a common base . From the late tenth century B.C.E. and onward a downstroke was added . The *kaf* developed in the various branches the following variations: 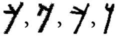 (Phoenician); 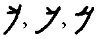 (Hebrew); and 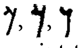 (Aramaic). From the fourth century B.C.E. Aramaic script the *kaf* (as well as *mem, nun, pe,* and *ẓadi*) in medial position began to bend its downstroke to the left, toward the next letter within the word, and the long downstroke was used only in the final forms. The distinction, which survived also in Syriac and Nabatean, is clear in the Jewish script: כ (medial), ך (final).

The Greek *kappa* – the ancestor of the Latin "K" – developed from the ninth-century Phoenician *kaf.* See *Alphabet, Hebrew.

[Joseph Naveh]

KAFAḤ (Kafih), YIḤYE BEN SOLOMON (1850–1932), Yemenite scholar. Kafaḥ was orphaned as a child and was brought up by his grandfather. Though a goldsmith by trade, he dedicated most of his life to study and teaching. He excelled in *halakhah* and many of the responsa of the *bet din* of San'a which were sent to inquirers from Yemen and other parts of the world were written by him. He studied the works of medieval Jewish scholars and Haskalah literature while his preoccupation with secular studies and languages (Arabic and Turkish) and his connections with scholars outside Yemen rendered him unique among his Yemenite contemporaries. Especially worthy of mention is his correspondence with A.I. *Kook and Hillel *Zeitlin concerning matters of Kabbalah. His study of philosophy and Haskalah literature and his contact and discussions with intellectuals and scholars such as Joseph Halevy and Eduard Glaser constituted a turning point in his mode of thought. The Young Turk revolution was also a factor in arousing Kafaḥ's desire for reform, and he sought to introduce reforms in the social life of the Jews in all areas: in the way of thought, methods of education, prayer and study, in customs and superstitions (occult medicine, amulets, charms, etc.). For this purpose he set up the movement of Darda'im (a combination of Dor De'ah, after the learning and intellectualism which characterize the movement, and the name of one of the four ancient sages, Darda, who is mentioned in I Kings 5:11 [4:31]). This movement, which developed before World War I, was a microcosm of the Enlightenment of 18th-century European Jewry, which it resembled in its aspiration for learning and reform in Jewish life. It led to a certain intellectual revival, but provoked a storm in the life of the community. Kafaḥ wrote *Sefer Milḥamot ha-Shem* (1931), which sought to prove that the Kabbalah harms the true unity of God. In his *bet midrash* he directed the study of Torah in a new spirit, away from the study of homiletics, allegories, and mystical interpretation and toward the simple meaning of the Torah and the study of philosophic speculation. His method of teaching developed a sense of reflection and criticism. In his time the writings of Maimonides were again fully studied. Previously Yemenite Jewry only studied the *Mishneh Torah*, but from this time Maimonides' other (Arabic) works were also studied, as were other classics, including the *Kuzari* of Judah Halevi and *Ḥovot ha-Levavot* of Baḥya ibn Paquda. Kafaḥ was also interested in the writings of the *rishonim*, both of Yemenite origin and others whose works reached Yemen. He spent considerable time searching for manuscripts, copying them, and preserving them.

[Yehuda Ratzaby]

In Jerusalem in 1914 the pamphlet *Amal u-Re'ut Ruaḥ ve-Ḥaramot u-Teshuvatam* was published, including the excommunication of Kafaḥ by the Jerusalem rabbis and his reply. The pamphlet characterizes the energetic struggle of the movement against the Zohar and kabbalistic literature. Defending the Kabbalah, Yemenite rabbis answered it in *Emunat ha-Shem* (1937).

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KAFAḤ (Kafih, קאפח), YOSEF (1917–2000), Israeli rabbi and scholar, grandson of Yiḥye *Kafaḥ, who was born in *San'a, *Yemen, first became a gold-and silversmith there and also owned a textile business. In 1943 he emigrated to Palestine and worked as a gold- and silversmith in Tel Aviv. Eventually, he gave up his trade and settled in Jerusalem where he enrolled in the Merkaz ha-Rav yeshivah. In 1950 Kafaḥ was appointed a member of the *bet din* of Tel Aviv and a year later of that of Jerusalem.

Encouraged by M. Berlin (*Bar-Ilan), Kafaḥ began to publish research in Yemenite Jewish literature and translated important works, written in Arabic, into Hebrew, including an edition of Maimonides' commentary on the Mishnah containing the Arabic text with a new Hebrew translation and notes (1963–68), and a three-volume edition (1963–68), consisting only of the translation. His scholarly editions of Arabic texts with Hebrew translation include: the Yemenite Nethanel b. Isaiah's commentary on the Pentateuch, *Me'or ha-Afelah* (1957); Saadiah's translation and commentary on Psalms (n.d.); Nethanel b. (or al-) Fayyumi's *Gan ha-Sekhalim* (1954, "Garden of Intellects"); and a collection of various translators and commentators on the Five Scrolls (1962); Saadiah's *Emunot ve-De'ot* (1970); Maimonides' *Book of Precepts*, his *Guide*, and his epistles to the Yemen and on resurrection with a concordance of biblical references in all his writings (all in 1971). He also edited a commentary by Saadiah on the Pentateuch (1963) and on Psalms (1966); Isaac Alfasi's *Halakhot* on *Ḥullin* (1960); Abraham b. David of Posquières' *She'elot u-Teshuvot* ("Responsa," 1964) and his ritual treatise *Ba'alei ha-Nefesh*, with Zerahiah ha-Levi's strictures *Sela ha-Maḥaloket* (1964); the responsa of Abraham b. Isaac (of Narbonne; 1962), and those of Yom Tov b. Abraham (Ritva; 1959). He translated Nathan b. Abraham's commentary on the Mishnah from the Arabic (1955). In the field of liturgy he edited a *siddur, Shivat Ẓiyyon* (1952), and a Passover *Haggadah* according to the Yemenite rite with commentaries translated from the Arabic (1952). An important contribution to the history of Yemenite religious culture and folklore is Kafaḥ's *Halikhot Teiman* (1961). He received the Israel Prize in 1969 for his translation of Maimonides' commentary on the Mishnah. His translation of Maimonides' *Guide for the Perplexed* appeared in 1972 along with his translation of Ibn Pakuda's *Ḥovot ha-Levavot*. Kafaḥ went on to write a total of 83 books and 182 articles. His collected writings, *Rav Yosef Kafaḥ: Ketavim*, appeared in three volumes in 1989. His *magnum opus* was a 23-volume edition of Maimonides' *Mishneh Torah*. Kafaḥ's edition contains a corrected text according to Yemenite manuscripts, as well as cross-references to all of Maimonides' other work and Kafaḥ's own concise commentary. Despite his contribution in translating and publishing the works of Saadiah Gaon and the relatively large corpus of medieval Yemenite philosophical works, the center of Kafaḥ's intellectual universe was Maimonides. Kafaḥ never founded or taught in a yeshivah. Aside from his work as a rabbinical judge, he was the rabbi of a synagogue in Jerusalem where he gave both daily and weekly classes, many of which were devoted to the study of Maimonides. These classes were attended both by his congregants and by many others.

In 1969, Kafaḥ was appointed to the Rabbinical Council of the Israeli Chief Rabbinate. He became a member of the Rabbinical High Court in 1970. Throughout his life, he received numerous prizes. Aside from the 1969 Israel Prize, he received the Rav Kook Prize from the Municipality of Tel Aviv-Yaffo twice, in 1964 and 1986. He received the Bialik Prize in 1973, the Katz Prize in 1986, and the Yiẓhak Ben-Zvi Prize in 1994 for his work on Yemenite Jewish communities. In 1997 he received an honorary doctorate from Bar-Ilan University. When asked why he never entered politics, Kafaḥ answered that instead of trying to understand ministers and MKs, he would rather devote himself to understanding the commentaries on the *Mishneh Torah*. He retired from the Rabbinical Court in 1988 at the age of 70 and from the Rabbinical Council in 1997.

Known as a very precise person, who was always on time and never long-winded in speech or in print, Kafaḥ was a unique rabbinic figure. His legacy includes historical works alongside the traditional rabbinic commentaries and halakhic responsa. At the same time, contrary to current trends, Kafaḥ viewed the scientific and medical statements made in talmudic and medieval Jewish literature within their historical context. If these statements contradicted modern science, then they were to be discarded. Kafaḥ contended that these statements were actually the opinions of the non-Jewish scientists of those eras and therefore had no lasting authority. On the other hand, Kafaḥ is quick to point out that this proves that these ancient Jewish sages did study science, thus teaching us the great value in studying science today. Kafaḥ viewed scientific knowledge as necessary for forming firm religious convictions that are the essence of Jewish belief.

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[Alexander Carlebach / David Derovan (2nd ed.)]

KAFKA, BRUNO ALEXANDER (1881–1931), Czechoslovak jurist. Born in Prague, Kafka was the son of a lawyer and a cousin of Franz *Kafka. He became a professor of law at the German University of Prague in 1918 and was the author of several works on civil and family law, including *Die eheliche Guetergemeinschaft* (1906) and *System des buergerlichen Rechtes* (1920). He also served on the commission for the reform of the Czechoslovakian code of civil law as an expert on family law. He was dean of the faculty of law on several occasions and was elected rector of the University of Prague in 1931, but died before taking office. Kafka entered politics in 1917 and became editor of *Bohemia*, the oldest German-language newspaper in Czechoslovakia. He sat in the Czechoslovakian parliament as a representative of the German Democratic Liberal Party, of which he was a founder. It advocated cooperation among the various national groups in the Republic and secured the cooperation of leading industrialists and intellectuals. Kafka converted to Catholicism.

[Yehuda Gera]

KAFKA, FRANTIŠEK (1909–1991), Czech author. His novel *Krutá léta* ("The Cruel Years," 1958), notable for its combination of poetic fantasy and reality, vividly describes the Lodz ghetto during the Nazi era. He also adapted for broadcasting his namesake Franz Kafka's *Letters to Milena*.

[Avigdor Dagan]

KAFKA, FRANZ (1883–1924), Czech-born German novelist, whose work has had an enormous impact on western art and literature. Kafka, who was born and raised in Prague, studied law at the German University there. He worked in a law office and then for an insurance company, writing only in his spare time. A tyrannical father greatly affected Kafka's psychological development. He never married, but three women played an important part in his life. The first was Felice Bauer, known only as F. or F.B. from Kafka's Diaries until she sold his letters to her to Schocken in 1955; they were finally published in 1967 as *Briefe an Felice* (*Letters to Felice*, 1973). Kafka met her in 1912 and they were engaged twice before Kafka finally broke off their tortured relationship in 1916. Representing for Kafka the "real" world, the world of home and family, she could not overcome the pull of Kafka's other world, the world of his literary imagination. The second woman was the journalist Milena Jesenska, wife of the Jewish intellectual Ernst Pollak, with whom he maintained a close relationship from 1920; the last was Dora Dymant, a Polish Jewess who nursed him in his last illness. During his lifetime, Kafka published some collections of sketches and stories: *Betrachtung* (1913); *Das Urteil* (1916); *Die Verwandlung* (1916; *The Metamorphosis*, 1937); *In der Strafkolonie* (1919; *The Penal Colony*, 1948); and *Ein Landarzt* (1919; *The Country Doctor,* 1945). Kafka suffered from migraine and insomnia for years. In 1917 his illness was diagnosed as tuberculosis, and he spent much of the rest of his life in a sanatorium. He deposited his manuscripts with his close friend and eventual biographer, Max *Brod, and when he was dying left instructions that they were to be burnt. Brod, however, was fully aware of the importance of Kafka's work, and succeeded in getting it published. Kafka's most famous novels are *Der Prozess* (1925; *The Trial*, 1937); *Das Schloss* (1926; *The Castle*, 1930); and *Amerika* (1927; *America*, 1938). Between 1925 and 1937 Brod published Kafka's collected works, together with his *Tagebuecher und Briefe*.

The action in most of Kafka's books is centered in the hero's unremitting search for identity. The nature of this identity is never revealed and can only be vaguely conjectured from the obstacles placed in the hero's path and his failure to reach his goal. The story generally begins with an event outside normal everyday experience: "Someone must have been telling lies about Joseph K. for without his having done anything wrong, he was arrested one fine morning." This is the opening of *The Trial*, a sentence which, in its sheer simplicity, foreshadows the nightmare quality of the novel. The hero never knows what he is accused of, never discovers the nature of his tribunal, and is either unconscious of any guilt, or only too conscious of it. *The Trial* has a tragic finale, but in the other novels there is no ending at all. *The Castle* is even more obscure: no goal is ever reached, the castle can never be entered.

Few writers are as difficult to interpret as Kafka. Some critics see in his works a mirror of his own life; others are psychoanalytical, stressing his relationship with his father. There are those who explain the alienation of his heroes from their environment in terms of the Jew's isolation in the world. Most interpreters, however, sense in his works a symbolic representation of the religious plight of contemporary man. Even these interpretations range from nihilistic existentialism to a positive faith in divine salvation. The latter view is that of Max Brod. However, Kafka must be regarded primarily as a creative artist, not as a prophet or a philosopher. Through his imaginative writing, he tried to elevate his own existential situation into the realm of what he himself called "the true, the pure, the indestructible." His prose is unusually lucid, with a melodic range that lifts it to the heights of poetry. His narration is full of surprises, sudden shifts of perspective, and contradictions whose humor only accentuates the grimness of a particular situation.

In common with most assimilated Prague Jews, Kafka was at first only vaguely conscious of his Jewish heritage, but learned about Zionism from Max Brod and Hugo *Bergman. He heard about Jewish life in Eastern Europe from Isaac Loewy, an actor in a Yiddish theatrical troupe with whom he struck up a friendship. Through the writer Georg Langer, he became interested in *Ḥasidism. He studied Hebrew, attended lectures at the Hochschule fuer die Wissenschaft des Judentums in Berlin and, when he came to know Dora Dymant, toyed with the idea of settling in Palestine with her. This progress toward a deeper understanding and appreciation of Judaism corresponds to Kafka's search for his ideal of genuineness and his intense longing for a pure life.

Kafka's novels have been translated into many languages, including Hebrew. They have been adapted for plays, operas, and movies. The Theater of the Absurd is unthinkable without Kafka, and "Kafkaesque" has become an international word to describe the feeling of being trapped in a maze of grotesque happenings. In the introduction to the collection of unpublished stories and fragments issued in 1931 as *Beim Bau der chinesischen Mauer* ("The Building of the Chinese Wall"), Kafka is eulogized as "a master-stylist and a master of the short story, a novelist to be compared only with the very greatest, and an inexorable molder and interpreter of our time." It was not, however, until 1964 that the Czech Communist government thought fit to rehabilitate this "decadent" genius.

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[Felix Weltsch]

KAFR KAMĀ, the larger of the two Muslim-Circassian villages in Israel, in eastern Lower Galilee, 3 mi. (4½ km.) northeast of Kefar Tavor. The second Circassian village is al-Rīḥāniyya, located in Upper Galilee. Kafr Kamā was founded toward the end of the 19th century on the remains of an earlier settlement which had existed from the Roman to the Early Arab period. The Circassian founding settlers, who abandoned their Caucasian homeland in 1878 when it was occupied by czarist Russia, were granted asylum in the Turkish Empire. During the Israeli *War of Independence (1948), the inhabitants of Kafr Kamā were not inimical toward their Jewish neighbors, and good economic relations subsequently developed. Farming includes field crops and livestock. In 1950 Kafr Kamā received municipal council status. Its population rose from 1,330 in 1968 to 2,710 in 2002, occupying an area of 4 sq. mi. (10 sq. km.)

[Efraim Orni]

KAFR QĀSIM, Muslim-Arab village on the southwestern rim of the Samarian Hills, Israel, northeast of Petaḥ Tikvah. The longest bridge in Israel is located nearby as part of Route 6, the Trans-Israel Highway. In 1968 Kafr Qāsim had 3,720 inhabitants, rising to 15,700 in 2002, on an area of 3.5 sq. mi. (9.2 sq. km.). Its farming was based on field and garden crops and fruit orchards. Income in the village was about half the national average. On the eve of the *Sinai Campaign (1956), the literal execution of a curfew order resulted in the shooting of 47 people, including women and children, by Israel border police. The military personnel responsible were tried and convicted of murder. The court also decided that obedience to an order from above (the defense counsel's argument) does not excuse military personnel from responsibility in the execution of crimes. During the trial, a public board, headed by the mayor of Petaḥ Tikvah, Pinḥas Rashish (d. 1978), was set up to determine compensation to the families of the victims and decided to pay out IL500,000 in reparations. At the end of 1957, a reconciliation ceremony (*sulḥa*) was held between the families of the victims and a representative of the Jewish community (Avraham *Shapira).

[Efraim Orni]

KAGAN, ELIE (1928–1999), French photographer. Kagan was born in Paris to parents who had emigrated from Russia and Poland and worked in the garment industry. His father disappeared during the German occupation while he himself was hidden in the countryside. A member of the French Communist Party during his youth, he tried his hand at various jobs until he became a professional photographer in 1957. His most famous photographs are those he made during the repression of the FLN-organized Algerian demonstration in Paris on October 17, 1961. He was the only photographer to capture the faces of many who were not to survive the day. Probably the outstanding photojournalist on the French political scene in the 1960s and 1970s, with a clear leftist orientation, he displayed a measure of the humor and irreverence typical of the period. A partner of Serge and Beate *Klarsfeld in their campaign against Nazis who had committed crimes in France and their French accomplices, he expressed his solidarity with the State of Israel, which ran counter to the position of the far left. In 1969 he published *Le Reporter engagé: trente ans d'instantanés* (with Patrick Rotman), also including images of artists he had befriended. In 2001, Jean-Luc Einaudi published posthumously his *17 octobre 1961*. The collection of his photographs, deposited in the BDIC library in Nanterre, was used in 2004 for an exhibition on Michel Foucault as a political activist.

[Philippe Boukara (2nd ed.)]

KAGAN, HELENA (1889–1978), physician and social worker. Kagan was born in Turkestan and received her medical education in Switzerland. In 1916 she founded the first children's hospital in Jerusalem, and from 1923 until 1943 was medical director of the Spafford Baby Home for Arab Children in the Old City of Jerusalem. After the establishment of the State she was associated with the Bikkur Ḥolim and Hadassah hospitals, and was prominently associated with WIZO and the Hebrew University. In 1958 she was awarded the Freedom of the City of Jerusalem for her outstanding services and in 1975 was awarded the Israel Prize.

KAGAN, JOSEPH, BARON (1915–1995), British businessman. Born Juozapas Kaganas in Lithuania, Kagan, with most of his family, managed to survive World War II in hiding near the Kaunas (Kovno) ghetto. Kagan migrated to Britain after the war to join his father (who lived to be 109), who had emigrated there in 1940 and established a successful textile business. In 1951 Kagan founded the enterprise for which he became well known, Gannex raincoats, made from waterproof nylon. In Bradford, Kagan became acquainted with Harold *Wilson, who had been born nearby and adopted the wearing of Gannex raincoats as his trademark. The coats enjoyed a fad throughout Britain in the 1950s and early 1960s, being worn as well by royalty. When Wilson became prime minister in 1964, Kagan became a close but unofficial advisor on industrial policy and technological innovation. It is also said that Kagan paid a monthly consultancy fee to Wilson before he became prime minister and financially assisted other members of Wilson's entourage. Kagan was knighted by Wilson in 1970 and received a life peerage from him in 1976.

In 1978 Kagan became the subject of national controversy when, charged with theft and fraud (in matters unrelated to his relationship with Harold Wilson), he fled to Israel. Kagan was forced to return to England, where he was fined £375,000 and served ten months in prison. He was stripped of his knighthood by the Queen but allowed to remain a peer. From 1982 he again became a frequent speaker in the House of Lords.

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[William D. Rubinstein (2nd ed.)]

KAGAN, SOLOMON ROBERT (1889–1955), U.S. medical historian. Kagan was born in Orany, Lithuania, of a prominent rabbinic family. He was ordained as a rabbi but turned to medicine. He emigrated to the United States in 1922 and practiced in Boston. He was the author of many books including *Researches in Hebrew Literature* (2 vols. 1929–30), *American Jewish Physicians of Note* (1942), *Jewish Contributions to Medicine in America* (1934), *Leaders of Medicine* (1941), *The Modern Medical World* (1945), *Fielding H. Garrison; a biography* (1948), and *Jewish Medicine* (1952).

[Fred Rosner]

KAGANOVICH, LAZAR MOISEYEVICH (1893–1991), Soviet politician. Born in Kiev province, Kaganovich joined the Communist Party in 1911 and became a member of the Kiev committee of the party in 1914. In 1915 he was arrested and restricted to residence in Kabana, his native village, but left illegally and for the following two years lived in various parts of Russia under false names. Kaganovich took an active part in the October Revolution in the Red Army, where he headed the Saratov war organization, and later in Belorussia, where he played a major role in taking Gomel. During the Civil War (1917–20) he served on the All-Russian Committee for building up the Red Army. He rose rapidly in the Party hierarchy. In 1924 he became a member of the Communist Party's Central Committee and from 1925 to 1928 was first secretary of the party organization in the Ukraine. Between 1930 and 1935 he was secretary of the Moscow party committee, headed the reconstruction of the capital, and managed the construction of the Moscow underground, which was named after him until 1957. In 1930 he became a member of the Politburo, the nine-man committee controlling the party. In 1932 he was in the Politburo for organizing terror in the party, and he took part in the execution of it. At the 17th party congress in 1934 he reported on "organizational questions" and was elected chairman of the party control commission.

Kaganovich organized the industrialization of the Moscow region. He was subsequently appointed commissar for communications and commissar for heavy industry. From 1938 he served also as vice chairmen of the Council of Commissars of the Union. During World War II he was a member of the State Defense Committee. In 1947 he was again secretary of the party in Ukraine, and from March 1953 first vice chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Union. Kaganovich's subservience to Stalin was made abundantly clear in his pamphlet *Stalin vedyot nas k pobede komunizma* ("Stalin leads us to the victory of Communism") printed in 1950 in half a million copies. For a number of years he was the only Jew to occupy a top position in the Soviet leadership. In 1957, as a member of the "anti-Party group" of Molotov, Malenkov, and Shepilov, he was expelled from the Central Committee and dismissed from all government posts. In the years 1957–61 he was director of a metallurgical factory in the Ural area. And in 1961 he was expelled from the party and pensioned. Regarding Jewish matters, he was not only estranged from Zionism and the Bund, but he was also against the Yevsektsiya. While visiting the Jewish State Theater in the 1930s, he called to show real Jewish heroes like the Maccabeans and Bar-Kokhba. It is not clear what his role was in the Crimean Affair, and rumors say that he was in favor of a Jewish republic there.

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[Shmuel Spector (2nd ed.)]

KAGANOWSKI, EFRAIM (1893–1958), Yiddish writer. Deeply influenced by Chekhov and Maupassant, his many stories of his native Warsaw, which appeared in the best Yiddish journals, had an international vogue and were collected in the jubilee edition *Shriftn* ("Works," 1951) and *Poylishe Yorn* ("Polish Years," 1956). The title of his earliest group of short stories, *Meydlekh* ("Girls"), marked the importance of the erotic theme in his works, but even more important was the specifically Jewish cultural richness that emerged from his portraits of Warsaw Jewry. Upon the German invasion of Warsaw, he found refuge in Soviet Russia, being repatriated to Poland in 1946. His last years were spent in Paris. Among his story collections are *Tiren-Fenster* ("Doors-Windows," 1921), *Leyb un Lebn* ("Body and Soul," 1928), *Figurn* ("Figures," 1937), and a novel, *A Shtot oyf der Volge* ("A City on the Volga," 1961).

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[Melech Ravitch]

KAGE, JOSEPH (1912–1996), Canadian Jewish educator, communal worker, and author. Kage was born in Minsk, Belarus, emigrating to Canada in his youth. He acquired an extensive university education, culminating in a doctorate in history at the University of Montreal. He worked in Jewish education and later in social work with the Jewish Family Services of Montreal. In 1947, he began working for Canada's Jewish Immigrant Aid Society, where he ultimately became national executive director and national executive vice president until his retirement in 1983. In this role, he became an authority on issues of Canadian immigration policy and was chair of the Canadian governmental Advisory Board on Immigrant Adjustment. He was active in numerous civic and Jewish community organizations, and was chair of the Canadian Jewish Congress National Conference on Yiddish and Yiddish culture as well as president of Montreal's Jewish Public Library.

He published *With Faith and Thanksgiving: The Story of Two Hundred Years of Jewish Immigration and Immigrant Aid Efforts in Canada* (1962) and *Chapter One: Sketches of Canadian Life Under the French Regime* (1964), which was published bilingually in English and in French.

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[Ira Robinson (2nd ed.)]

KAHAN, BARUCH MORDECAI (pseudonym **P. Virgily**; 1883–1936), Bundist, born in Mogilev, Belorussia. His father Isaac, a wealthy Ḥasid, was the brother of Mordecai b. Hillel *Hacohen. Kahan, who studied in a yeshivah, joined the *Bund in Gomel, Belorussia, at the age of 18, becoming a professional revolutionary. In 1905 he helped to lead Jewish self-defense during the pogrom in Zhitomir and was one of the leaders during the revolution in *Lodz. He served as a reporter for the Bundist press. In the wake of a religious crisis, he returned to religion for a short time and worked as a simple laborer. He rejoined the Bund during World War I and in 1917 became a member of the Petrograd Soviet Workers' and Soldiers' Council. Between the two world wars he lived in Vilna, was active in ORT and YIVO and in Jewish education, and represented the Bund on the communal and municipal councils.

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[Moshe Mishkinsky]

KAHAN, LOUIS (1905–2002), Australian portraitist. Kahan, who was born in Vienna, originally studied tailoring and dress design. He showed a talent for portraiture and this was fostered during World War II, when as a member of the French Foreign Legion, he painted regimental murals and portraits. When the Americans landed in North Africa, Kahan became a war artist, sketching wounded soldiers of the Allied armies. After the war he was appointed staff artist to the French newspaper *Le Figaro*. He immigrated to Australia in 1951 and settled in Melbourne, where he sketched famous personalities for the literary magazine *Meanjin*, and for the weekend literary section of the *Age* newspaper. In 1981 he published *Australian Writers: The Face of Literature*. Kahan is represented in the National Gallery of each of the six states of Australia.

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[Shmuel Gorr]

KAHAN, SALOMON (1896–1965), Yiddish essayist and musicologist. Born in Bialystok, he was educated in Warsaw and Berlin and immigrated to Mexico City in 1921 where he was professor of the history of modern civilization at the Mexican National Teachers' College (1925–39). He served as music critic for Mexican dailies and, between 1936 and 1964, published five volumes of critical and impressionistic articles on music, written in Spanish. He was editor of *Der Veg* (Mexico City, 1945–48), and managing editor of *Tribuna Israelita* (1953–65). He played an important role in the cultural life of Mexico's Jewish community and collected his many essays on literature, music, and important Jewish and Mexican personalities in five Yiddish volumes, of which the most significant was his *Literarishe un Zhurnalistishe Fartseykhnungen* ("Literary and Journalistic Sketches," 1961). He published an abridged Spanish translation of *Graetz's *History of the Jews* under the title *Historia del pueblo de Israel*. His son, José Kahan, achieved renown as a concert pianist.

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[Sol Liptzin]

KAHANA, name of several Babylonian *amoraim*. The first two of these *amoraim*, Kahana (1) and Kahana (2), were both disciples of Rav, and certain traditions relating to these two scholars have become conflated in the Babylonian Talmud. As a result it is necessary to trace the development of these traditions in order to determine which originally related to Kahana (1) and which to Kahana (2).

(1) The first Kahana, together with his companion *Assi, were already prominent scholars when Rav returned from Ereẓ Israel to Babylonia (c. 219 C.E.) but they immediately joined his academy (Sanh. 36b; Naz. 19a) and became his disciples (TJ, Suk. 1:1, 52a). Rav held them in very high esteem (Shab. 146b; Naz. 19a) and because of their profound erudition he was sometimes unable to answer their questions (Suk. 6b; Beẓah 6a, 37b; et al.). Kahana later emigrated to Palestine where he joined some of the last of the *tannaim* such as *Simeon son of *Judah ha-Nasi (Zev. 59a), Judah and Hezekiah the sons of Ḥiyya (BK 10b), and *Oshaiah (TJ, Ḥag. 1:14, 57c). Among his pupils were *Eleazar b. Pedat (TJ, Kil. 1:7, 27b; MK 3:8, 83d), and *Zeiri (BM 60b). Rav's advice to Kahana: "flay carcasses in the marketplace and earn wages and do not say 'I am a priest and a great man and it is beneath my dignity'" (Pes. 113a) may indicate that Kahana lived in poverty. A Palestinian *aggadah* describes a meeting between Kahana (1) and *Johanan and *Simeon b. Lakish, two of the most prominent Palestinian *amoraim* (TJ, RH 4:1, 59b; PdRK, 345; Lev. R. 29, 684–5). This tradition is of special interest because certain elements of this story were later combined in the Babylonian Talmud with other narrative elements concerning events relating to Kahana (2) (see below). We are told in the Jerusalem Talmud (and in the parallel texts) that Johanan and Simeon b. Lakish were once sitting and studying together, when they encountered a difficulty concerning a certain *halakhah*. At that moment Kahana was passing by, so Johanan and Simeon b. Lakish said: "Behold, here is a great scholar (thus in TJ; in PdRK, Lev. R.: "a master of the teachings"); let us ask him." They asked Kahana, and he replied with an authoritative answer which they apparently accepted. From this story it is clear that (this) Kahana was already recognized as a mature and respected scholar, to whom both Johanan and Simeon b. Lakish felt comfortable turning to in order to resolve the problem which arose in their study together. There can therefore be no doubt that the Kahana mentioned in this tradition is the elder Kahana (see below).

(2) The second Kahana was also one of Rav's pupils, and used to read the weekly Bible portion at Rav's academy (Shab. 152a). He also stood in close contact with *Samuel and transmitted *halakhot* from both teachers (Ber. 14b; Ket. 101a, et al.). According to a well-known *aggadah* in the Babylonian Talmud (BK 117a), Kahana (2) was forced to escape from Babylonia after impulsively killing a person who had threatened to denounce a fellow-Jew to the Persian authorities – by "tearing out his windpipe." Rav advised him to flee to Ereẓ Israel, but made him swear that he would sit passively in R. Johanan's academy and refrain from asking any difficult questions for a period of seven years, apparently in order not to embarrass R. Johanan with his superior scholarship. Kahana's reputation as a brilliant scholar preceded him, and R. Johanan, unaware of the oath which Kahana had taken, prepared his lesson for the next day with care, anticipating that Kahana might cause him some difficulties. Placed in the first row from which he would be able to engage the master directly, Kahana nevertheless remained silent. Considered by those present to be incapable of serious scholarly debate, he was progressively demoted, until he was seated in the seventh and final row. At this point, R.

Johanan mocked Kahana, saying that "the lion who has arrived from Babylonia has turned out to be no more than a fox." After hearing this remark, Kahana held himself absolved of his oath, and began asking questions, which R. Johanan was unable to answer. Quickly regaining his position in the first row, Kahana continued raising objections. For each unanswered question they removed one cushion from under R. Johanan until all seven cushions had been removed and he was sitting on the floor. At this point, R. Johanan made an effort to get a good look at this "lion who arrived from Babylonia," and saw that his mouth was distorted. R. Johanan, unaware that Kahana had a split lip, thought that Kahana was laughing at him and became upset at him, as a result of which Kahaha died. After his students informed R. Johanan of his unfortunate mistake, Johanan went to the cave in which Kahana's body was being kept. The mouth of the cave was, however, blocked by a snake with its tail in its mouth. At first Johanan demanded that the snake grant him entrance to the cave, so that "the master may go in to his pupil." The snake did not respond. He then asked permission to enter the cave so that "one friend may visit another." Still the snake did not respond. Finally he asked permission to enter the cave so that "the pupil may go in to his master." Only then did the snake grant him entrance to the cave. Johanan offered to restore Kahana to life, but the latter apparently refused. R. Johanan then put to him "all the uncertainties that he had, and he solved them for him." R. Johanan concluded by conceding that the Torah of Ereẓ Israel was in fact derivative of the more incisive and original Torah of Babylonia.

After paring away the many supernatural and obviously legendary elements from this tale, the resulting "historical kernel" of this story has in the past been accepted by scholars as providing reliable historical information concerning the life and career of Kahana (2). In 1982 D. Sperber seriously challenged the historical authenticity of this tale as a whole, writing that its author "demonstrates ignorance of Palestinian chronology, of the structure of the Palestinian academy, and, on the other hand, he possesses a knowledge of Persian, of Sasanian folk-literature, courtly practice, and of the structure of the Babylonian academy" (Sperber, 93–94). In addition, the tendency of the entire story is polemical, "asserting Babylonian authority and ascendancy in learning" in opposition to the similar claims put forward by the yeshivot of Ereẓ Israel (98). In Sperber's view such a polemic must reflect a very late, certainly post-amoraic stage in the development of the Babylonian talmudic tradition. Some twenty years later, S. Friedman published a detailed analysis of this *aggadah*, revealing its literary sources, both in Palestinian and in other parallel Babylonian traditions, and explaining the way in which these sources were combined and reworked by the late Babylonian editor of this story. Particularly relevant here is the Palestinian version brought by Friedman of the events surrounding Kahana's encounter with R. Johanan. The Jerusalem Talmud tells us (Ber. 2:8, 5c): "Kahana was a tall lad. When he came up here (i.e., to Ereẓ Israel), a certain rogue saw him, and asked: What do you hear all the way up there in the sky?" Kahana then impulsively replied: "[I heard that] your death sentence has been sealed." In fact the rogue died. After the same thing happened a second time, Kahana was struck with remorse and said to himself: "I came to do good, and I ended up sinning." Racked with doubts he considered leaving Ereẓ Israel and returning to Babylonia. He then went to see R. Johanan and posed him the following enigmatic question: "If one's mother despises you, but your father's second wife treats you well, where should you go?" R. Johanan responded that he should return to the house of his father's second wife. Kahana took this response to mean that he should return to Bavel, and again impulsively set off home without asking permission or taking his leave from R. Johanan. The description of Kahana (2) in this story is one of an impulsive and indecisive youth, lacking in self-confidence – inexperienced and clearly subordinate to R. Johanan in all respects. Friedman concluded that the first part of the Babylonian *aggadah* "appears to be a radical reworking of a Palestinian account concerning the *second* Rav Kahana, who causes death with a lack of self restraint," and the third part of the Babylonian *aggadah* "is a Babylonian expansion of the [Palestinian] tradition that R. Johanan revered the *first* Rav Kahana, and turned to him concerning perplexing questions" (Friedman, 258). Therefore the two Palestinian traditions cited above, which clearly distinguish between these two *amoraim*, must provide the starting point for any historical description of their lives and careers, and not the Babylonian tradition, which conflates the two – in all likelihood intentionally, as Sperber has made clear (cf. Pes. 49a, and Rashi to BK 117a).

(3) Another *amora* who lived in the second half of the third century C.E., was one of the prominent students of *Huna (MK 13b), the head of the academy of *Sura from 250 C.E., and of *Judah b. Ezekiel of *Pumbedita (Ḥul. 19b). He appears to have visited Ereẓ Israel for a short while (BB 41b), after which he returned to Babylonia. Among his pupils were *Joseph b. Ḥiyya (Yev. 17a, 102a), *Rabbah b. Naḥamani (Yev. 102a), *Abba (Shab. 38a), and Isaac (RH 3b–4a). He may, however, be identical with the second Kahana.

(4) A pupil of Rabbah b. Naḥamani in Pumbedita (Sanh. 41b; Shevu. 36b), early part of the fourth century C.E. He knew the whole Mishnah order by heart at the age of 18 years (Shab. 63a). Among his associates were Aḥa b. Huna, Rama b. Ḥama, and *Safra whom he accompanied on a journey to Ereẓ Israel (Pes. 52b), remaining there for some time. There he joined a new circle of scholars, *Ḥiyya b. Abba (TJ, RH 2:6, 58b), Zera (TJ, Bik. 2:1, 64d) and *Jacob b. Aḥa with whom he collaborated in the fixing of the calendar (TJ, RH 2:6, 58b). Most probably it is this Kahana whom the Talmud refers to as an extremely handsome person (BM 84a; BB 58a). According to the *aggadah* he was compelled to sell baskets in the marketplace because of his poverty. On one occasion a Roman woman persuaded him to follow her, but he managed to escape from her home by jumping from the roof. The prophet Elijah rescued him and richly rewarded him (Kid. 40a).

(5) A pupil of Rava (Ket. 63a; BK 41b). Ḥanan of Nehardea was his colleague (Kid. 81b; Nid. 66b). He taught at the academy of Pure Nahara (Ḥul. 95b; BB 22a, 88a; et al.). Among his distinguished pupils was *Ashi, the redactor of the Babylonian Talmud (Ber. 39a, 42a; Ket. 69a; et al.). His sons were very wealthy (Me'il. 19a).

(6) *Amora* who died c. 414 C.E. He succeeded Rafram b. Papa as the head of the academy of Pumbedita from 396 until his death (*Iggeret R. Sherira Ga'on*, ed. Lewin, 90; cf. Halevy, *Dorot*, ii, 518, note 144). As a Kohen he once accepted a garment instead of silver coins for the ceremony of *Pidyon ha-Ben* (Kid. 8a; see also Tos. ad loc.). It is not always possible to distinguish between this Kahana and Kahana (2).

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[Stephen G. Wald (2nd ed.)]

KAHANA, ABRAHAM (1874–1946), biblical scholar and historian. Kahana, who was born in Skomorochy, Russia, was self-educated and started writing on Jewish subjects at an early date. In 1923 he emigrated to Palestine where he engaged in teaching and also served as librarian at the Sha'ar Zion library in Tel Aviv. From 1903 onward, he edited the Hebrew Bible, with a critical commentary and introductions (*Perush Madda'i*), he himself being responsible for Genesis, Exodus, Numbers, Job, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Ezra, and Nehemiah. The project, with which H.P. *Chajes, A. *Kaminka, S. *Krauss, F. Perles, M.L. Margolis, and others were associated, was, however, not completed. Kahana also edited the two-volume *Apocrypha (1936–37), which went through many reprints. He translated part of the Greek text into Hebrew, added commentary and introductions to each book, and took care of a considerable number of the apocryphal and pseudepigraphical books himself. Kahana wrote the introduction to D. Ginzburg's edition of the Mantua version of *Josippon (1896–1913). His historical writings include: *Korot ha-Yehudim be-Roma* (1901, 1914^2; "History of the Jews in Rome") based on the works of A. *Berliner and that of H. *Vogelstein and P. *Rieger; a biography in Hebrew of M.Ḥ. *Luzzatto (1898); an edition of Leone de *Modena's autobiography (1912); and an edition of the travel diary of David *Reuveni (1922). Kahana also published a two-volume historical anthology, *Sifrut ha-Historyah ha-Yisre'elit* (1922–23), and an anthology on Ḥasidism, *Sefer ha-Ḥasidut* (1922). His interest in the ḥasidic movement is also shown by his biography of Israel b. Eliezer Ba'al Shem Tov (1900) and his edition of *Sippurei Ma'asiyyot shel R. Naḥman mi-Bratslav* (1922). Kahana's contribution to linguistics consisted of a Hebrew grammar (1931), a translation into Hebrew of S.D. Luzzatto's grammar (1899, repr. 1944), and a Russian-Hebrew dictionary (1907, 1919^4).

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KAHANA, ABRAHAM ARYEH LEIB BEN SHALOM SHAKHNA (also called **Loeb Scheines**; d. 1788), rabbi and author. Born in Horodenka, Galicia, where his father was rabbi, Kahana is not to be confused with his great-uncle, Abraham b. Shalom Shakhna Kahana, who was rabbi in Brody, Ostrog, and Dubno. Kahana himself was rabbi in Berdichev and Polonnoye (south Russia). He wrote novellae to the first three and to the fifth orders of the Babylonian Talmud under the title *Or ha-Ne'erav*, which was published with annotations, *Divrei Shelomo*, by his son Solomon Zalman (Ostrog, 1824). His homilies and a Bible commentary entitled *Divrei Ḥemed* and *Zer Zahav*, respectively, remain unpublished.

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[Joseph Elijah Heller]

KAHANA, AHARON (1905–1967), Israeli painter. Kahana was born in Stuttgart, Germany. As soon as he began painting as a child he discovered abstraction. He studied art at the Stuttgart Academy of Art from 1922 to 1925. After he finished his studies he traveled to Berlin and Paris to learn more about the history of art and the modern art of his time. In 1934 he immigrated to Ereẓ Israel and settled in Ramat Gan. In his first decade in Israel, his style became Realistic. Only in 1943 did he return to abstraction. This was in keeping with the ideas of a new group of artists, New Horizons, that Kahana helped found. From 1962 Kahana painted in a very personal Pop Art style. He died suddenly of a heart attack in Paris during the Six-Day War.

Kahana was known for the unique art style he developed in the beginning of the 1950s. It was a mixture of Modernist forms, usually geometric, presenting very remarkable defining lines together with an archaic conceptual and biblical content. This style was suitable for wall decoration in public spaces in the young country, and using ceramic technique Kahana indeed decorated such walls (*Sacrifice of Isaac*, Hebrew University, Givat Ram).

During his last years he worked in a completely opposite style. The lines became soft and liquid, the figures were brimming with intensity, and the rhythm expressed vitality. The content of these drawings was more personal, showing nude figures and women's bodies.

Kahana's house in Ramat Gan was made into a museum of ceramic art in his memory.

[Ronit Steinberg (2nd ed.)]

KAHANA (Kogan), DAVID (1838–1915), scholar. Kahana, who was born in Odessa, published his first article in *Ha-Meliẓ* in 1866. He became known through his monographs on kabbalists, Shabbateans, and Ḥasidim which were first published in *Ha-Shaḥar* (1874–75; later in *Keneset Yisrael* 1886, and *Ha-Shilo'aḥ*, 1897, 1899, 1909), and then in book form. His main work in this field is concentrated in his two-volume *Toledot ha-Mekubbalim, ha-Shabbeta'im ve-ha-Ḥasidim* (1913; 1926^2).

In the field of Bible studies he published (1) *Or Ḥadash* (1880) on Psalm 68; (2) *Meḥkerei Kohelet ben David* (1881), an introduction to the Book of Ecclesiastes, with a commentary to Psalm 119 as an appendix; (3) *Devar Ester* (1881), introduction and commentary to the Book of Esther; (4) *Masoret Seyag la-Mikra* (1882), a defense of the masorah; (5) *Mavo le-Parshat Bilam u-Devar Atono* (1883); and (6) *Toledot Shelomo* (1883), on Solomon and Solomonic literature.

Kahana also wrote numerous studies on other periods of Jewish history, in particular a number of articles on medieval grammarians and poets published in *Ha-Shilo'aḥ*. Noteworthy among his other works are (1) *Le-Toledot R. Sa'adyah Ga'on* (1892); (2) *Rosh Petanim* (1883), on *Eisenmenger; (3) *Ma'asei Even Reshef* (1884), on the forgeries of *Firkovich; (4) *Ḥokhmat Yehudah* (1892), Jewish-Christian polemics on religion; (5) "On Lilienthal and the Russian Haskalah Movement" (*Ha-Shilo'aḥ*, 1912). Kahana also edited the Hebrew original of Ben Sira, *Ḥokhmat ben Sira* (1912; first published in *Ha-Shilo'aḥ*), together with the only Hebrew commentary on the book existing at that time; the collected poems, with introductions and notes, of Dunash b. Labrat (1894), Solomon Sharvit ha-Zahav (1894), and Abraham ibn Ezra (1894); and *Megillat Sefer* (1897), an autobiography of Jacob *Emden, based on manuscripts in Oxford. He died in Odessa.

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[*Encyclopaedia Judaica* (Germany)]

KAHANA, JACOB BEN ABRAHAM (d. 1826), rabbinical scholar in Vilna. His father was rabbi at Brestowitz in the province of Grodno. Supported by his father-in-law, Issachar Baer, the brother of *Elijah of Vilna and one of the prominent rabbis of that town, he devoted himself to study. On the death of his father-in-law, he was appointed by the communal leaders of Vilna as trustee of the local charities. He is the author of a commentary in three parts on tractate *Eruvin*: on the tractate in the Babylonian Talmud, the *Tosefta*, and the Jerusalem Talmud respectively. Each section has a different title but the whole work was given the general title *Ge'on Ya'akov*. It was published, together with Joseph Padua's two-page pamphlet *Zikhron Yosef* (1863), by Raphael Nathan Neta *Rabbinovicz, who wrote a lengthy introduction containing a biography of the author. Kahana occupied no rabbinical position, but was held in the highest esteem.

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[Itzhak Alfassi]

KAHANA, JEHIEL ẒEVI BEN JOSEPH MORDECAI (first half of 19th century), member of a family of Hungarian rabbis. He was a grandson of Judah b. Joseph ha-Kohen, who was a brother of Aryeh Leib b. Joseph ha-Kohen *Heller, author of the *Keẓot ha-Ḥoshen*. Kahana served as *dayyan* in Sziget, and all three of his sons were well-known *dayyanim* in Hungary. The first, ḤAYYIM ARYEH (d. 1917), served as *dayyan* of Máramarossziget (Sighet). He was the author of *Divrei Ge'onim* (1870), containing 113 principles and themes in civil law. The work is in alphabetical order, collected from various responsa and books. In his introduction the author stresses that it was not his purpose "to give practical rulings of the law… and I only intend to stimulate these scholarly teachers who know the law thoroughly." The second son, JOSEPH MORDECAI (d. 1896), served as *dayyan* of Teczo, Hungary, and was the author of *Divrei Ẓaddikim* (2 parts, 1874–76), an alphabetical work on the reasons for the precepts and customs. In his introduction he stresses that the purpose of the work was to show "that Jewish customs are binding as law." The disregard of a good custom is tantamount to disregarding the commands of the Lord and His Torah. The third son, JACOB GEDALIAH, was the author of *Rimzei Torah ve-Alfa Beta* (1876), a commentary on Genesis, also giving the reasons for different customs in alphabetical order.

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[Yehoshua Horowitz]

KAHANA, KALMAN (1910–1991), leader of the *Po'alei Agudat Israel movement. Born in Brody, Galicia, Kahana studied at the Berlin rabbinical seminary and the universities of Berlin and Wuerzburg. He was one of the founders of the Agudat Israel youth movement in Germany and moved to Palestine in 1938 with a group of young Orthodox settlers, joining the Po'alei Agudat Israel movement. Kahana was a founder of kibbutz *Ḥafeẓ Ḥayyim (1944) and a member of the *Knesset from its establishment in 1949. He was deputy minister of education (1962–69). He became president of the Po'alei Agudat Israel movement. Kahana published several studies in rabbinics and wrote on Maimonides.

[Menachem Friedman]

In later years Kahana occupied himself with the *halakhah* pertaining to the agricultural laws which apply in Israel. In 1976 he published *Miẓvot ha-Areẓ* and in 1980 tractate *Shevi'it* according to both the Babylonian and Jerusalem Talmuds with the notes and commentary of Elijah, Gaon of Vilna, and as an appendix his own commentary to the Mishnah and the Tosefta to the order *Zeraim*.

KAHANA (Kagan), KOPPEL (1895–1978), rabbinical scholar and authority on Jewish, Roman, and English law. Kahana, who was born in Eisiskes, Lithuania, studied at Lithuanian yeshivot and served as rabbi in Bialowieza and Rozanai, Poland. Before World War II, he went to Cambridge, where he studied law. From 1946 to 1968 he was lecturer in Talmud and codes at Jews' College, London, which before then had trained few rabbis. The new Rabbinical Diploma Course, introduced by the principal, Isidore *Epstein and conducted by Kahana, attracted to the college also some of its former students, raising a new generation of Anglo-Jewish rabbis, who were inspired by his teaching. Among his published writings are: *Three Great Systems of Jurisprudence* (1955), a comparative study of Jewish, Roman, and English Law; *The Case for Jewish Civil Law in the Jewish State* (1960); and *The Theory of Marriage in Jewish Law* (1966). Under the name of K. Kagan, he contributed articles to some of the leading American and English law reviews. Kahana represented the rare type of Lithuanian *Gaon*, who was acquainted with modern legal studies and whose contributions in this field were considerable.

KAHANA, NAḤMAN (1861–1904), Hungarian rabbi. Kahana, the son-in-law of Joseph Meir *Weiss, was rabbi of Szaploncza. He became particularly well-known because of his *Orḥot Ḥayyim* (2 pts., 1898; 1962^2), on the Shulḥan Arukh *Oraḥ Ḥayyim*, which for a long time was regarded as an indispensable reference work for every rabbi. It included the important glosses of Shalom Mordecai ha-Kohen Schwadron and Elijah David *Rabinowitz-Teomim. The author made use of more than 800 works of responsa and codes, assembling the material logically in a clear style. In the new edition glosses from the author's private copy, and by Solomon Zalman Ehrenreich, Ephraim Weinberger, and others were added. He also arranged the publication of the *Divrei Ge'onim* (1901) of his father, Ḥayyim Aryeh ha-Kohen, and of the *Likkutei Torah ve-ha-Shas* on Deuteronomy (1892) by Isaac Eichenstein of Zhidachov.

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[Naphtali Ben-Menahem]

KAHANA, SOLOMON DAVID (1869–1953), Polish rabbi. Born in Yanova, province of Kovno, Kahana studied at the yeshivah of Volozhin and the *kolel of Kovno. He was ordained by R. Isaac Elhanan *Spektor. He collaborated with and later succeeded his father-in-law, R. Samuel Zanvil *Klepfish, as a member of the Warsaw rabbinate, where he was much in demand as an arbiter in business disputes. In matters of ritual law he took a lenient view. After World War I he took an active part in rehabilitation and relief, and in particular established a special department in Warsaw to deal with problems of war *agunot* (see *agunah), forming a network of information bureaus in the larger cities of Europe for this purpose. The information gathered about missing husbands made possible the remarriage of thousands of *agunot*. He was among the founders and a member of the presidium of the Agudat ha-Rabbanim of Poland, created after Poland's independence was restored in 1919. After the Nazi invasion of Poland in September 1939, he managed to escape to Ereẓ Israel. He was appointed rabbi of the Old City of Jerusalem and took up residence in the historic courtyard which 200 years earlier had been occupied by R. Ḥayyim b. *Attar. After the Holocaust he organized an *agunot* department on behalf of the Chief Rabbinate. With the outbreak of Arab disturbances in 1947 he was evacuated, with the help of the Belgian consul, to the new city of Jerusalem, where he lived until his death. With the exception of some responsa published in the compilations of other rabbis, his literary output was lost during his two forced evacuations. His son, Shmuel Zanwil Kahana (1905–), served as director general of the Ministry of Religions in Israel.

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[Jacob Goldman]

KAHANA-CARMON, AMALIA (1926–), Israeli writer. Amalia Kahana-Carmon was born in kibbutz En-Ḥarod but lived in Tel Aviv since childhood. She served in the Negev Brigade during the War of Independence and took part in the capture of Beersheba. After studying at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem, she stayed for seven years in England and Switzerland, and then returned to Tel Aviv, where she worked for many years as a librarian. Chronologically she belongs to the group of writers who began writing in the 1940s and subsequently became known as the "Palmaḥ generation," but her work differs basically from theirs: though it does echo the events of the pre-State period and War of Independence and later periods, she makes no attempts to deal with external reality and social themes as such. Others consider her as a member of the experimental "New Wave." Her prose is intrinsically lyrical, concentrating on the characters' inner responses. The events depicted are usually minor ones, the characters mainly described during an attempt to break out of their closed world, generally in order to reach another person. These attempts mostly fail, and the stories end with characters withdrawing into themselves again, resigned and somewhat changed. A contact that is established is frequently described as miraculous and blessed.

The lyrical nature of her prose is a reflection of her major themes: most of her characters are represented while reflecting on events rather than creating them, discovering their inability to break out and effect a change. Amalia Kahana-Carmon's style is remarkable for its capacity to represent the inner world of her characters, with all the subtle changes that take place there. Critics have praised her stylized impressionistic diction, her way of portraying in a refined poetic manner melodramatic moments as well as trivial daily matters. One of the first self-aware feminine voices in Hebrew prose, author of a series of articles in which she criticized the discrimination against women as writers and readers in a male-dominated, male-oriented Hebrew literature, Kahana-Carmon's oeuvre has become the subject of research and interpretation among scholars in the fields of Gender Studies and Feminist Theory. Her works include a collection of 17 short stories, *Bi-Khefifah Aḥat* ("Under One Roof," 1966); the novel *Ve-Yareaḥ be-*

Emek Ayalon ("And the Moon in the Valley of Ayalon," 1971); a collection of three novellas, *Sadot Magnetiyyim* ("Magnetic Fields," 1977); stories collected as *Himurim Gevohim* ("High Stakes," 1980); *Lema'alah be-Montifer* ("Up in Montifer," 1984); novellas and stories. The novel *Liviti Otah ba-Derekh Le-Veitah* ("I Escorted Her on the Way Home," 1991) depicts the relationship between Me'irah, a well-known middle-aged Ashkenazi actress, and an Oriental Israeli from a development town, twenty years her junior. *Kan Nagur* ("Here We'll Live," 1996), is composed of five novellas: Two of these depict the life of three students in Jerusalem under the British Mandate; "*Lev ha-Kayiẓ, Lev ha-Or*" portrays the life of a family from the point of view of a child, while "*Mi-Mar'ot Gesher ha-Barvaz ha-Yarok*" is a historic novella, focusing on the notion of captivity and personal freedom.

Kahana-Carmon received many major awards, including the Bialik Prize and the prestigious Israel Prize for literature (2000). Although much admired in Israel, very few of her works have been translated into other languages, mainly due to her own objection: "Despite interest from various publishers all over the world, I have not yet found the translator who is capable of transporting my words into another language," she said in an interview. The novel *Liviti Otah ba-Derekh Le-Veitah* was translated into Italian and Chinese, a few stories appeared in German anthologies of Hebrew literature. The story "Bridal Veil" appeared in G. Abramson (ed.), *Oxford Book of Hebrew Short Stories* (1996) as well as in R. Domb (ed.), *New Women's Writing from Israel* (1996). Further information regarding translation is available at the ITHL website at www.ithl.org.il

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[Abraham Balaban / Anat Feinberg (2nd ed.)]

KAHAN COMMISSION, commission set up by the Israeli government on Sept. 28, 1982, to investigate "the atrocities committed by a unit of Lebanon forces against the civilian population in the Sabra and Shatilla camps" adjacent to Beirut between Sept. 16 and 18. The members were Justice Yitzhak Kahan, president of the Supreme Court; and General (reserve) Yona Efrat.

The commission held 60 meetings and examined 58 witnesses. It also had available a number of official documents provided by the relevant government departments. The public at large, both in Israel and abroad, were invited to appear and present evidence. The commission was assisted in its work by a specially appointed professional unit. For reasons of security, many sessions were held *in camera* and part of the evidence was withheld from publication. Nine individuals (including the Israeli prime minister, the foreign minister, the defense minister, the chief of General Staff, and other military commanders) were specifically notified of their right to appear and be heard because of the harm that might accrue to them, and they all took the opportunity to do so.

The commission spent considerable time investigating the events preceding the killings, the intense divisions and hostilities – religious, ethnic and political – in the Lebanese population, the military and political relations existing between Israel and the Christian Phalange forces (as well as, in the south, with the Free Lebanese Army under Major Saad Haddad), and the differing evaluations made by the two intelligence arms, the Mossad and Army Intelligence, of the stability and battle behavior of these forces.

The commission found that the premature departure of the Multinational Force from Beirut induced the Israeli army to enter the city and rid it of terrorists, in the course of which it was decided to allow the Phalange to enter the camps, a step intended to involve them more closely in clearing the area. The forward Israeli army observation post close to the camps was, however, so sited that it was difficult or impossible to observe what was happening inside the camps. Israeli units advancing on the camps were halted by heavy gunfire and suffered considerable casualties.

The commission examined in depth the information available to the Israeli authorities, military and political, the meetings held with the Phalange commanders, and the warnings given not to harm the civilian population. Much of what transpired was not apparently recorded or minuted, and the faulty recollection of the persons involved led, in the view of the commission, to inconsistencies in the evidence. In addition, radio communication between the Phalange in the camps and their liaison officer in the forward post, which were overheard by the Israelis there and should have aroused concern about what was taking place, were either dismissed or ignored and certainly not reported to the upper military and political levels. The Israeli cabinet's attention was drawn to events only after a journalist had reported to a minister information he had heard from an Israeli officer or officers at the forward post. The minister informed the foreign minister, but recollection of the parties was confused. Equally disputed were the oral reports made by the chief of General Staff to the defense minister. No report reached the prime minister until he learned of the events from a British broadcast on September 18 after the Phalange had finally left the camps.

The commission could not establish precisely the number of people killed. Non-Israeli sources put it between 328 and 460. The International Red Cross indicated they included over 100 Lebanese and over 300 Palestinians, most of them males; women and children victims numbered 35. The commission noted the difficulty of distinguishing between those who fell in military action and those who were simply slain.

The report held that direct responsibility lay with the Phalange. The victims were all found in the camps which the Phalange alone had entered; no other forces were present or had means of entry. The Phalange were notorious for their extreme hostility to the Palestinians for their acts against Lebanese Christians during the civil war that had raged since 1975. The assassination of Bashir Jemayel, the Phalange leader, two days earlier, had also inflamed passions.

No evidence was produced to implicate the forces of Haddad. Nor was the IDF present in the camps throughout the three vital days, and the Phalange were refused the artillery and tank support they asked for.

In the opinion of the commission, the manner in which the decisions were reached at the political level and the handling of intelligence gave cause for concern. The decision of the minister of defense and the military command to allow entry to the Phalange was made without proper consideration as to its implementation and without thought for the likely consequences. The decision was not passed on in a timely manner to the political element or to other military elements that should have been informed. Nor were reports of what was happening that filtered through passed on or fully passed on, and then only after some delay that prevented appropriate orders to be issued or action to be taken. The commission was clear as to the steps to be taken to remedy the deficiencies disclosed. In addition to internal review by the military themselves, it recommended investigation by a ministerially appointed team of experts to establish the responsibility of those concerned.

Regarding the indirect responsibility of the nine persons who were notified of the jeopardy they were in, the commission came to the following conclusions: Prime Minister Menaḥem Begin, preoccupied as he was with other matters of state, was entitled to rely on the optimistic reports he received from the minister of defense and the chief of General Staff. Under the circumstances, however, he should have given thought to all the possibilities, especially those raised by other members of the government, but he seems to have distanced himself from the matter.

Although no clear warning was received from Intelligence by Minister of Defense Ariel Sharon, his disregard of the obvious dangers and his failure to order that suitable safeguards be taken could not be justified, especially in view of the very active role he played in the Lebanon War. The commission thought he should draw the necessary personal conclusions; if necessary, the prime minister should exercise his constitutional right to remove him from office.

Foreign Minister Yiẓḥak Shamir, although informed by his deputy minister (with whom he was not on good terms) of what was happening, did not show any special interest or attempt to investigate the matter or take it up with the minister of defense.

The Chief of Staff General Raphael Eitan knew from his past experience with Phalange that they could not be relied upon. His view that they were a disciplined force was entirely baseless, and he made no proper provision to control their actions; his belief that the Phalange would report fully was naive, especially in view of what he heard from the local Israeli commanders. Since he was soon due to retire, the commission made no recommendation in his regard.

The head of Military Intelligence, General Yehoshua Saguy, could not be believed when he said that he received no information about the plan to let the Phalange into the camps. He was present at all relevant meetings but acted with complete indifference. His awareness that his organization took second place to the Mossad in the deliberations did not justify his complete inactivity. It was recommended that he should cease to act.

The head of the Mossad did not initially know, nor should he have known, of the decision about the Phalange but, having learned of it, he failed in his duty to evaluate the situation, especially in the light of his close association with Phalange.

General Amir Drori, head of the Northern Command, had no explicit information. He relied on the chief of General Staff and acted correctly with understanding and responsibility, although he should have warned the CGS.

Brigadier Amos Yaron of the local command was severely criticized for the absence of critical oversight of events. He was content with taking Phalange promises at their face value. He did not act firmly though he knew that the behavior of the Phalange left much to be desired. He did not keep the chief of General Staff fully informed and made no suggestions as to how to proceed. It was recommended that he should not fill a position of command for at least three years.

Finally, the personal assistant of the minister of defense was exonerated, having, it seems, done what was to be expected from him.

[Peter Elman (2nd ed.)]

KAHANE, ARTHUR (1872–1932), German author and editor. Kahane, who was born and educated in Vienna, became literary adviser to the Deutsches Theater in Berlin, under the direction of Max *Reinhardt, in 1905. He also edited the theater's journal, *Blaetter des deutschen Theaters* (later combined with *Das junge Deutschland*). Kahane's novels and essays reveal an extremely individualistic philosophy. In his two lyrical works, *Clemens und seine Maedchen* (1918) and *Willkommen und Abschied* (1919), he contrasts the modern age of materialism and brutality with an earlier era of love and tenderness. In *Das Judenbuch* (1931) Kahane declared: "I love the Jews and my own Jewish character"; but he believed that the Jews were destined to be restless forever. "Ahasver" (i.e., the *Wandering Jew), he contended, "will always remain the true symbol of our immortal people." Other works by Kahane deal with his experiences in the theater. He left the Jewish community when he was 19 years old.

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[Rudolf Kayser]

KAHANE, ISAAK (**Yitzḥak Ze'ev**; 1904–1963), rabbinic scholar. Kahane was born in Munkacs, Hungary, and studied at talmudic schools in his hometown, where he was ordained. He continued his studies at the Jewish Theological Seminary of Breslau and the University of Prague. Subsequently he became rabbi of Pohorelice (Pohrlitz), Moravia, serving until his emigration to Palestine in 1939. In Jerusalem he was associated with several religious research institutions, chiefly Mosad ha-Rav Kook. During the last years of his life, he taught rabbinic literature at Bar-Ilan University. Kahane's major field of research was rabbinic responsa literature. In numerous studies he organized and analyzed a variety of topics and problems discussed in rabbinic responsa and also abstracted material of historical or linguistic interest from them. Among his works are *Shemittat Kesafim* (1945), on the cancellation of debts in the sabbatical year; *Le-Takkanat Agunot* (1946), on the *agunah* ("deserted wife") problem; *Sefer ha-Agunot* (1954), a voluminous collection of source material on the *agunah* question; and *Teshuvot, Pesakim u-Minhagim* (3 vols., 1957–62), responsa, rulings, and customs of Rabbi Meir of Rothenburg, systematically arranged and annotated. His contributions to Hebrew scholarly periodicals and publications include: "Military Service in Rabbinic Responsa" (*Sinai*, 1948); "Changes in the Value of Currency in Jewish Law" (*ibid.*, 1949); "Medicine in Post-Talmudic Halakhic Literature" (*ibid.*, 1950) and "Synagogue Art in Halakhic Literature" (*Beit ha-Keneset*, 1955). He also wrote on the history of the Jews of Moravia, including a monograph on the Jewish community of Nikolsburg (in J.L. Maimon (ed.), *Arim ve-Immahot be-Yisrael*, 4 (1950), 210–313).

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[Tovia Preschel]

KAHANE, MEIR (1932–1990), religious activist. Born in Brooklyn, New York, he was as a youth a member of the *Betar youth movement and was often imprisoned for his acts of violence. He was ordained as an Orthodox rabbi and graduated in law from New York University. In 1960, he founded the Jewish Defense League whose activities included self-defense of the Jewish community of Brooklyn threatened with urban violence and harassment of Soviet activities in New York as a protest against the treatment of Jews in Russia. In 1971 he moved to Israel and in 1976 founded the extremist nationalist *Kach movement, advocating the removal of Arabs from Israel. Kahane served as a member of the Knesset on its behalf, 1981–1985. His party was eventually disbarred for its racism and advocacy of violence. Kahane was assassinated while addressing a meeting in New York. An Egyptian-born Arab was acquitted of the murder on technicalities but in 1995 was sentenced to a long term of imprisonment for his involvement in Muslim fundamentalist terror in New York.

KAHANEMAN, JOSEPH (popularly known as the "**Ponevezher Rav**"; 1888–1969), rabbi and yeshivah head, founder of the talmudic educational complex in *Bene Berak, Israel. As a young man, Kahaneman studied in the yeshivah of Telz. The *rosh ha-yeshivah*, Eliezer *Gordon, had a lifelong influence on Kahaneman. For ever after, whenever Kahaneman made reference to *"der rov,"* he meant Rabbi Gordon. After Telz, he spent a short time in the *musar* yeshivah of Navarodok. From there he went to join the *kolel* of the Ḥafeẓ Ḥayyim in Radin. It was there that Kahaneman became close with Rabbi Elḥanan *Wasserman and Rabbi Ḥayyim *Soloveitchik of Brisk. In 1910 he married the daughter of another famous Lithuanian rabbi, Aryeh Leib Rubin. In 1916 he was appointed head of the yeshivah of Grodno, where his outstanding organizing abilities soon became evident. Possessed of a dynamic and winning personality, he devoted himself not only to the development of the yeshivah, but also to the establishment of similar centers of learning throughout Lithuania, among them a preparatory yeshivah in Ponevezh. On the death of Isaac Rabinowitz, the rabbi of Ponevezh, in 1919, Kahaneman was appointed his successor. He opened a yeshivah which after the attainment of Lithuania's independence became one of the largest in the country. In addition to his preoccupation with the yeshivah, in which he lectured twice a week, and whose material needs he personally looked after, Kahaneman was active in many spheres of communal endeavor. He was a leader of *Agudat Israel and an elected member of the Lithuanian parliament. He established a Talmud Torah attended by 400 children and a preparatory yeshivah to serve as a feeder for the main institution.

Kahaneman was on a mission abroad when World War II broke out. In 1940 he settled in Ereẓ Israel and from there directed efforts, in vain, toward the rescue of Lithuanian Jewry from the Nazis. Most of his family perished in the Holocaust. Thereafter, he devoted himself to reestablishing in Ereẓ Israel a network of Torah institutions. In 1943 he established Batei Avot, an orphanage for refugee children. At the end of 1944 he laid the foundation of the Ponevezh Yeshivah in Bene Berak with seven students. Over the years, he traveled throughout the Jewish world to enlist financial support for his ambitious venture. The result was Kiryat Ponevezh, where more than 1,000 students have studied and which has included hostels for children and adults, a large library, and a memorial to Lithuanian Jewry. He instituted the *yarḥei kallah*, an annual summer refresher course in talmudic studies for adults. All this, he stated, he did "with 21 fingers," those of his hands and feet and the finger of God. In later years, he established a branch yeshivah in the development town of Ashdod. He was widely revered among all sections of the population. Kahaneman was among those approached by Israeli Prime Minister David Ben-Gurion to answer the question, "Who is a Jew?"

In his answer, Kahaneman wrote, "I see the vision of the return to Zion in our generation as the revelation of the light of divine providence, which strengthens our hand and accompanies us through the evil waters that have risen against us … I see miracles every moment, every hour! I am sure that His Honor [i.e., Ben-Gurion] sees the thing as I do, for who like the ship's captain standing at the wheel of the ship sees these miracles." Kahaneman also viewed the Six-Day War as a miracle. The Ponevezh Yeshivah in Bene Berak and its sister institution in Ashdod have thrived along with the communities Kahaneman built around them. In 1989 and again in 2003, collections of Kahaneman's writings and lectures were published, *Kovez̩ Shi'urim ve-Ḥidushei Torah* and *Sefer Divrei ha-Rav*, respectively.

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[Mordechai Hacohen / David Derovan (2nd ed.)]

KAHANOV, MOSES NEHEMIAH (1817–1883), Jerusalem talmudist. He was born in Belorussia but after his marriage at the age of 15, settled in Petrovice where at the age of 18 he was appointed assistant to the local rabbi. Some years later, he became rabbi of Khaslavich, a city noted for its scholars. In 1864 he set out for Jerusalem. On his arrival, after a journey of six months, he was appointed head of the Ez̩ Ḥayyim yeshivah, the most important in Jerusalem, remaining in this position until his death. Kahanov was remarkably progressive for his time and environment. He appealed for the founding of industrial enterprises, a daring proposal for that time. He even consented to the proposal of Sir Moses *Montefiore to introduce the teaching of the vernacular, Arabic, in his yeshivah, but was obliged to abandon the proposal in the face of pressure from extremist elements. One of the first of the old *yishuv* to speak only Hebrew, he was also one of those who encouraged settlement outside the walls of the Old City of Jerusalem, building a house for himself in Naḥlat Shivah.

Among his publications were *Erez̩ Ḥefez̩* (1884), on laws of *terumah* and tithes; *Ḥukkot Olam* (1886), on mixed species (*kilayim); *Mei Menuḥot* (c. 1860) on the laws of the sabbath, to which was appended *Palgei Mayim*, giving rules for those traveling by ship on the sabbath; and *Netivot ha-Shalom* on the Shulḥan Arukh (pt. 1 (1858, 1875^2), pt. 2 (1861)). He applied himself particularly to the question of the application of the laws of the sabbatical year which had become of practical importance with the establishment of the Jewish agricultural colonies, and in this connection published *Shenat ha-Sheva* (1881). The eulogies he delivered on the deaths of Baron Asher Rothschild and Sir Moses Montefiore were published. His *Sha'alu Shelom Yerushalayim* (1867) on the state of Jerusalem and its citizens was published three times. His will was published in 1968 (*Siftei Yeshenim*, Jerusalem) together with a responsum on Jerusalem and a brief biography.

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[Itzhak Alfassi]

KAHANOVITCH, ISRAEL ISAAC (1872–1945), Canadian rabbi and communal leader in Winnipeg. Born in Grodno, Poland, Kahanovitch studied at the yeshivot in Grodno and Slobodka, Lithuania. He received his *semikhah* at age 20 from the leading halakhic authority, Rabbi Jehiel Michal Epstein, author of the *Arukh ha-Shulḥan.* In the wake of the 1905 pogroms, Kahanovitch moved to North America. For one year he served as rabbi in Scranton, Pennsylvania, and then moved to Winnipeg, where he lived out the rest of his life.

On the strength of his rabbinic learning, his speaking ability, and extraordinary energy, Kahanovitch was widely recognized as the rabbinic authority of Winnipeg, and he exercised influence across western Canada. A passionate advocate for Jewish education, he established groups for Talmud study and was actively involved in the creation and support of the Winnipeg Hebrew Free School first established in 1907 and in the construction of a proper building to house the school. Although a Mizrachi Zionist at heart, Kahanovitch participated in communal functions with secular Zionists. He served on the National Executive of the Zionist Organization of Canada and regularly attended the Zionist congresses in Canada. He also looked to strengthen Jewish communal bonding by supporting the Canadian Jewish Congress (CJC) at the national level, both in its first incarnation at the end of World War I and when it was revamped in the 1930s to counteract the bitter antisemitism and restrictive immigration policies of Depression-era Canada. He was elected a delegate to the first CJC meeting in Montreal by an overwhelming majority. At the local level, shortly after his arrival he was the prime mover behind the establishment of the United Hebrew Charities in Winnipeg and hoped in vain for a *kehillah*-type organization.

Kahanovich was appreciated by those in smaller Jewish communities across western Canada who struggled to sustain local Jewish community life and institutions. At a time when travel was often difficult and rabbinic authorities few and far between, Kahanovich supported the creation of a Jewish school in Regina, attended a teachers' conference in Saskatoon, and traveled to tiny Melville in Saskatchewan to dedicate a new synagogue, to name just a few of his activities outside of Winnipeg

While highly regarded, Kahanovich's authority on matters of supervision of kosher slaughtering did not go unchallenged. His most serious challenger was Rabbi I.D. Gorodsky who also held a rabbinic position in Winnipeg between 1911 and 1919. But Kahanovitch remained a beloved figure among Jews, religious and secular, in Winnipeg and across western Canada. In 1927 a number of communal leaders established a special committee to raise money to increase Kahanovich's salary, when a rumor circulated that he was going to leave Winnipeg. His funeral in 1945 was attended by a crowd of about 5,000, about one-third of the total adult Jewish community of Winnipeg.

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[Richard Menkis (2nd ed.)]

KĀHINA (feminine form of the Ar. *Kāhin*, "soothsayer," sometimes incorrectly thought to be derived from Cohen), the surname given by the Arabs to the *Berber queen of the mountainous Aurès region in southeast Algeria. According to Arabic authors, the powerful Jerawa tribe of Berber converts to Judaism, to which Kāhina belonged, was led by her during the final resistance to the Arab invasion. She defeated the armies of Ḥasān ibn al Nuʿmān and took prisoners, one of whom, Khālid b. Yazīd, she kept and adopted. Allegedly, Khālid betrayed Kāhina who died in combat (698 or 702). The Arabs then poured into Africa and invaded Spain with Berber troops. Arab authors' accounts of Kāhina are partly legendary, but they nevertheless contain some historical facts such as the historical personage of the Queen of the Aurès. Her opposition to the Muslim Arabs was not religiously inspired; some authorities deny that she was Jewish. The history of Kāhina remains controversial.

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[David Corcos]

°**KAHLE, PAUL ERNST** (1875–1965), Orientalist, masoretic scholar, and minister. Kahle, who was born in Hohenstein (East Prussia), served for five years as a pastor in Cairo. He then taught at the universities of Halle, Giessen, and Bonn, and from 1923 was director of the Oriental Institute at Bonn. Under his guidance, many of his students devoted themselves to the study of the **Genizah*, especially the early history of **piyyut*. Many of his students, including M. *Zulay, settled in Israel and became prominent in Jewish scholarship. In 1924 Kahle wrote an opinion defending the Talmud against the libels of the notorious antisemite, T. Fritsch. Because of his and his wife's pro-Jewish activities following Kristallnacht, the family had to seek refuge in England (Oxford) in 1938. Kahle continued his work at Oxford University. He received two doctorates: his philosophy thesis was published as *Textkritische und Lexikalische Bemerkungen zum samaritanischen Pentateuchtargum* (1898), while his theology thesis was published as *Der masoretische Text des Alten Testaments nach der Ueberlieferung der babylonischen Juden* (1902, repr. 1966). Masoretic studies were the dominating interest of his life. His first major work in this field was *Masoreten des Ostens* (1913, repr. 1966), and the two-part *Masoreten des Westens* (1927–30, repr. 1967). This research led him from the popular text of Jacob ben Ḥayyim's *Second Rabbinic Bible* (1524/25) to the Aaron ben Asher texts of the 11th century. Due to Kahle's research, one of these texts, the Leningrad Codex B 19a, supplanted the former as basis for Kittel's *Biblia Hebraica* (1937^3 and later), and was later used for its successor, *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia* (1969 ff.). Kahle's main source of evidence for his study of the masorah were the fragments from the Cairo *Genizah*, in which his interest was aroused by Solomon Schechter. With the aid of the fragments he was able to make a pioneering contribution to the understanding of the emergence and development of the masoretic text. Using the *Genizah* material as his main source of evidence, he developed his thesis regarding Hebrew vocalization in which he contended that the two centers of rabbinic learning, Babylon and Palestine, each created both a simple and a complete system of vocalization, which ultimately emerged into the official Tiberian vocalization which is an integral part of the Ben Asher text and masorah.

This, and much else, is to be found in Kahle's *Cairo Geniza* (1947, enlarged 1959^2). Basically, to Kahle, all textual transmission was a matter of emergence from earlier traditions. The Targums of the Torah and the Prophets were originally free, random renderings and were later edited in Babylon as Targums Onkelos and Jonathan and transferred to Palestine as official renderings, c. 1000 C.E. The Septuagint, which originally had only the Torah, with its authorized form advocated in the Letter of *Aristeas, emerged as a full version only in and for the Christian Church. It was composed from a variety of Targum-like Greek renderings. This hypothesis was stretched to include all known versions. Opposition to Kahle's view was widespread, and it is possible that his attempt to make his hypothesis so universally applicable shows that it has a fundamental weakness, but his text remains important as a parallel to the Aleppo text of the Hebrew University Bible project.

Kahle's two-volume *Volkserzaehlungen aus Palaestina* (with H. Schmidt, 1918–30) deals with Ereẓ Israel. He also wrote a series of articles on Muslim holy places in Palestine (in PJB, vols. 6–8, 1910–12), and studies of the Dead Sea Scrolls (*Die hebraeischen Handschriften aus der Hoehle* (1951)). On the occasion of his 60th birthday, Kahle was honored by a festschrift (*Studien zur Geschichte und Kultur des Nahen und Fernen Ostens* (1935), with bibliography), and on his 80th birthday by a collection of his minor studies (*Opera Minora* (1956), again with bibliography). A memorial volume, *In memoriam Paul Kahle*, edited by M. Black and G. Fohrer, appeared in 1968.

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[B.J. Roberts / Bjoern Siegel (2nd ed.)]

KAHLER, ERICH (1885–1970), historian and philosopher. Born in Prague, raised in Vienna, educated at the universities of Berlin, Munich, Heidelberg, and Vienna, he settled in

Munich after obtaining his doctorate in Vienna (1908) with his dissertation *Recht und Moral* (published 1911). His study, *Das Geschlecht Hapsburg* (1919), was followed by *Der Beruf der Wissenschaft* (1920), a polemic directed against Max Weber's *Wissenschaft als Beruf.* A publisher to whom he submitted the manuscript of his major work, *Der deutsche Charakter in der Geschichte Europas*, denounced him to the Nazis in 1933, but he had already escaped to Vienna, afterwards to Czechoslovakia, and then to Switzerland, where the book appeared in 1937 and aroused much attention. In 1938 he found a permanent refuge in Princeton. His public lectures and seminars at American universities, primarily at Cornell from 1947 to 1955, resulted in seven scholarly volumes. A book of tributes to him by John Berryman, G.A. Borgese, Hermann Broch, Albert Einstein, Rudolf Kassner, Thomas Mann, Wolfgang Pauli, and others appeared in 1951.

Kahler's approach to history was characterized by Hermann Broch as moral anthropology. This approach was apparent in his study of the Hapsburgs, which considered the royal family as a historical organism with common psychological traits throughout six centuries. In his sociological and historical study *Israel unter den Völkern* (1936) he found a common Jewish type persisting down the millennia from its tribal origin until the twentieth century. In *Der deutsche Charakter in der Geschichte Europas*, he presented the Germans as a specific historic organism, its evolution and its impact upon Europe. Its ideas continued to occupy Kahler's thinking and formed the basis for *The Germans* published in 1974. In it, the material was presented not topically, as in the earlier volume, but rather chronologically, from the confrontation of the German tribes with the Roman Empire until the Nazi assumption of power and the catastrophe of World War II.

Kahler's most important work, *Man the Measure* (1943), was subtitled *A New Approach to History.* It studied the human species as an organism whose historical changes were grafted on to an enduring psychic structure. It emphasized the evolution and transformation of human consciousness.

The Tower and the Abyss (1957) may be regarded as a sequel to *Man the Measure.* As an inquiry into the transformation of the individual, it stresses the evolutionary forces that converged to bring about the disruption, disintegration, and fragmentation of the contemporary individual personality from without and from within. Kahler sees the present as a state of transition from an individual form of existence to a supra-individual form, whose character is still obscure. The work concludes with Kahler's own vision of a possible Utopia, which will permit the reintegration of fragmented Man in free communities.

Kahler's essays were collected in the German volume *Die Verantwortung des Geistes* (1952) and in the English volumes *Out of the Labyrinth* (1947), *The Disintegration of Form in the Arts* (1968), and *The Inward Turn of the Narrative* (1973).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: S. Liptzin, *Germany's Stepchildren* (1944), 275–81.

[Sol Liptzin (2nd ed.)]

KAHN, ALBERT (1860–1940), French philanthropist. Born in Marmoutier (Alsace) to a family of merchants, Kahn settled in Paris in 1876 and found a job at the Banque Goudchaux. However, he displayed such genius in the field of finance that he soon became a partner in the bank and founded his own bank in 1898. He built his fortune by investing in the diamond and gold mining projects developed by Cecil Rhodes in South Africa in the 1880s and 1890s. A confirmed bachelor, Kahn devoted his energy and his financial resources to the promotion of utopian concepts of peace and harmony in the world through better mutual understanding among the different civilizations and social forces. In 1898, he created the Autour du monde ("Around the World") fellowships to encourage young French intellectuals to travel and discover other parts of the world. The project was later extended to candidates from many other countries. His Archives de la Planète, created in 1912, sent photographers to various parts of the world and accumulated a wealth of rare animated images and photographs both of daily life and of specific events. In the same year, he sponsored the creation in the Collège de France, by Jean Brunhes, of a Human Geography cathedra.

From 1920, Albert Kahn endowed various French institutions of higher learning (notably the École Normale Supérieure in Paris) with documentation centers. He encouraged discussion of the social and human problems in a spirit of goodwill in the Autour du monde forum (1906) and the Comité national d'études sociales et politiques (1916), which published much material. A friend of Henri *Bergson since the time of their youth, he supported the activities of the League of Nations in the field of intellectual cooperation. His connections were particularly close with Japan and were reflected in the Japanese garden in his mansion in Boulogne Billancourt (near Paris), combined with an Alsatian-style garden reminding him of his youth. Kahn was ruined by the economic crisis of the 1930s, and most of his public activities were curtailed. His garden remains open to the public at large, and from the 1990s, mainly through Japanese sponsorship, his films and photographs have been digitized and are available to visitors together with thematic exhibitions.

[Philippe Boukara (2nd ed.)]

KAHN, ALBERT (1869–1942), U.S. industrial architect. Kahn was born in Rhaunen, Germany, and was taken to the United States in 1881. He was trained in Detroit and specialized in factory design. He was engaged by Henry Ford as one of his principal architects. He also designed assembly plants for other leading automobile companies. His outstanding buildings include the General Motors Building in Detroit (1901) and the Ohio Steel Foundry Company Building (1940). In 1930 the Soviet government engaged him to design a series of factories in the Volga region, and members of his staff helped supervise the construction of industrial plants for the second 5-year plan. He built two Reform synagogues in Detroit for the Beth-El congregation of which he was a member, both in the classical style.

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KAHN, ALEXANDER (1881–1962), U.S. lawyer and newspaper executive. Kahn, who was born in Smolensk, Russia, was taken to the U.S. in 1893. He was an active member of the Socialist literary club that took part in the founding of the **Jewish Daily Forward* (1897) and became general counsel to the Forward Association, the nonprofit organization established to run the paper. In 1939 he became the paper's general manager. Kahn, a founder and vice president of the New York State Liberal Party, was an unsuccessful candidate for public office on that ticket as well as on the American Socialist Party and American Labor Party tickets on several occasions during his career. Extremely active in Jewish affairs, he was a founder and vice chairman of the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee. He was also a founder of the liberal weekly magazine, the *New Leader.*

KAHN, ALFRED JOSEPH (1919–), U.S. educator and social planner. Born in New York City, Kahn received his B.S.S. from the City College of New York (1939), his Master's of Social Work from Columbia University School of Social Work (1946), and his Ph.D. in Social Welfare from Columbia University (1952). It was the first doctorate given at Columbia's School of Social Work.

He was with the U.S. Army Air Force from 1942 to 1946. After serving as a psychiatric social worker with the Jewish Board of Guardians in New York City (1946–47), he began teaching at the Columbia University School of Social Work and in 1954 was appointed a full professor. His special areas of expertise included delinquency, services for children, mental health, and social policy and planning. After his retirement from teaching, he became professor emeritus, special research scholar, and special lecturer at the Columbia University School of Social Work.

Kahn was a consultant to a number of social agencies and foundations. His writings show his special interest in social planning. These include *A Court for Children* (1953), *Planning Community Services for Children in Trouble* (1963), *Neighborhood Information Centers* (1965), and *Day Care as a Social Instrument* (1966, with Anna Mayer). His companion volumes *Theory and Practice of Social Planning* and *Studies in Social Policy and Planning*, published in 1969, are basic texts in this field. He was editor of *Issues in American Social Work* (1959). Kahn's recommendations have been incorporated in a number of social programs to meet the problems of the young.

Kahn served as consultant to federal, state, and local agencies; to voluntary organizations; and foundations concerned with the planning of social services, income maintenance, child welfare-related programs, international collaboration, and social policy. He was national chairman for the Division of Practice and Knowledge of the National Association of Social Workers and served for two terms on the NASW Board.

Kahn completed several overseas assignments for the Department of Health Education and Welfare, the State Department, private foundations, the UN, and various foreign governments. He received a Lifetime Achievement Award from the Council on Social Work Education (1990), the National Association of Social Workers (1996), and the Social Welfare Policy and Policy Practice Group (2001). In 2002, the Alfred J. Kahn Doctoral Fellowship was established at the Columbia University School of Social Work. Some of Kahn's later works, which he co-authored with Sheila Kamerman, include *Not for the Poor Alone* (1981), *Helping America's Families* (1982), *Maternity Policies and Working Women* (1983), *The Responsive Workplace* (1987), *Mothers Alone* (1988), *Child Support* (1988), and *Starting Right* (1995).

[Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

KAHN, BERNARD (1876–1955), organization executive. Born in Oscarsham, Sweden, Kahn studied in Germany, where he became involved in Jewish communal affairs. In 1904 he was appointed secretary-general of the *Hilfsverein der Deutschen Juden, a position he held until 1921 and from which he helped direct the large flow of Jewish emigration in those years from Germany and Central Europe to the United States. In 1921 he became director of the refugee department of the *American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (JDC), whose main European office was in Paris, and in 1924 overall European director of the JDC, as well as managing director of its subsidiary, the American Joint Reconstruction Foundation. Kahn held these positions until 1939, a period during which the Joint was called on to perform enormous tasks in the fields of resettlement, medical and financial help, and education and vocational training, particularly among the ravaged Jewish communities of Eastern Europe, to which he frequently traveled. His own special interest was in the Reconstruction Foundation, which created a large network of cooperative Jewish loan societies that provided a credit and banking structure for Jews who were being progressively shut out of economic life in various Central and Eastern European countries. His knowledge of finance also led him to play active roles in the Central Bank for Cooperative Investment in Palestine, the Palestine Economic Corporation, and Keren Hayesod. With the outbreak of World War II in 1939, Kahn emigrated to the U.S. He served as honorary chairman of the JDC European Council from 1939 to 1950 and as vice chairman of the JDC from 1950 until his death.

[Hillel Halkin]

KAHN, DOROTHY C. (1893–1955), U.S. social worker. Dorothy Kahn, who was born in Seattle, Washington, began her career as a caseworker for the Jewish Social Service Bureau, Chicago (1915–18). She subsequently held several important posts in the social work field, including: executive director of both the Jewish Social Service Bureau of Baltimore (1919–28), and the Philadelphia County Board of Assistance (1932–38); faculty member at the Pennsylvania School of Social Work (1930–45); director of the department of economic adjustment and family service of the National Refugee Service, Inc. (1941–43); and chairman of the subcommittee on unemployment relief of the President's Committee on Social Security during World War II. From 1951 to 1954 she headed the social services section of the UN's Department of Social Affairs. As such, she represented the UN at social work and child welfare conferences at Madras and Bombay, India (1952), and advised the Israel government on social welfare administration.

KAHN, ELY JACQUES (1884–1972), U.S. architect, born in New York. He studied at Columbia University and in Paris. Kahn was an outstandingly versatile and successful New York architect in the period between the two world wars. He built houses, country clubs, office blocks, department stores, hospitals, factories, and other buildings and was also a designer in the applied arts. At the same time, he lectured on design and architecture. His buildings of Jewish interest are the Mount Sinai Hospital, New York, and the offices of the Jewish Federation for the Support of Philanthropic Societies of New York City. Kahn held that each new architectural problem demanded a fresh solution, free from the "heavy and deadly practice" of copying the architecture of the past. Although he built many skyscrapers in the manner of the period, some of his works, such as his country clubs, were built in a historical style despite his scruples. He also maintained that architectural beauty consists in proportions and material rather than in ornamentation. He wrote *Design in Art and Industry* (1935).

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KAHN, ERICH ITOR (1905–1956), composer and pianist. Born in Germany, Kahn spent some time in France and then settled in the United States. He was a distinguished performer of chamber music. As a composer, he was influenced by the *Schoenberg school, and he also made frequent use of ḥasidic material. Among his important compositions are: *Rhapsodie Hassidique*, for mixed chorus (1938); *Ciaccona dei tempi di guerra*, for piano (1943); *Nenia Judaeis Qui Hac Aetate Perierunt*, for cello and piano (1943); *Actus Tragicus* for ten solo instruments (1946); and *Three Madrigals for Mixed Choir* (1956). He died after a road accident.

KAHN, FLORENCE PRAG (1866–1948), U.S, congresswoman. Elected in 1924 to the United States House of Representatives for the first of six two-year terms, Kahn in her first speech before the House observed that since Moses had conducted the world's first census, she was especially qualified to address the reapportionment issue. Kahn, a Republican from San Francisco, California, the first Jewish congresswomen, chose to introduce herself to her colleagues as a Jew.

Kahn's Polish parents reached San Francisco during the Gold Rush. Her father was a 49er, while her mother arrived in 1852. Florence, born in Salt Lake City (where her parents lived briefly) grew up in a family and city where a Jewish woman had examples of success. In cosmopolitan San Francisco, Jews worked with non-Jews and faced relatively little antisemitism.

Educated in San Francisco's public and Jewish schools, Kahn earned a degree at the University of California at Berkeley in 1887. She became the first Berkeley graduate to teach in the San Francisco public school system. In 1899 Florence Prag married San Francisco Congressman Julius Kahn; he served in the House until 1924 except one term when he failed to win re-election.

In Washington, Florence served as her husband's secretary and observer for his local district, regularly sitting in the gallery of the House. Starting in 1919 she wrote columns for the *San Francisco Chronicle* which discussed a wide range of political issues.

After her husband's death in 1924, Kahn ran successfully for his seat in Congress. While her husband had been ill, she had been the de facto representative. The first piece of legislation Kahn introduced was a bill to reimburse Indians for land that had been taken from them in the treaties of 1851 and 1852. The bill was defeated. However, eventually California's native peoples received some compensation.

Kahn also helped her district's Chinese citizens. She supported an amendment providing citizenship for Chinese women married to American-born Chinese men, noting that the existing law deprived Chinese men and women of family life. In 1930 Congress changed the law to allow Chinese women who had married before the 1924 immigration legislation to enter the country. She also supported an amendment that passed on citizenship to children of American-born women residing outside the United States, the law already gave men this right.

Often receiving endorsements from both Republicans and Democrats, Kahn was the first woman appointed to the Committee on Military Affairs. She also served on the Appropriations Committee and co-authored legislation that obtained federal support for California's military installations and the building of the Oakland-Bay Bridge which connected Oakland to San Francisco.

For Kahn, citizenship rights for men and women, the Republican Party, and a confident Jewish identity were the core of her life and politics. She only voted against her party when Republicans supported prohibition and movie censorship, two issues that had a financial impact on her district. Known as a forceful, shrewd, and witty politician, Kahn's credo was "[t]here is no sex in citizenship, and there should be none in politics."

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[Ava F. Kahn (2nd ed.)]

KAHN, FRANZ (1895–1944), Zionist leader in Czechoslovakia. Born in Pilsen, Bohemia, Kahn joined the Zionist youth movement *Blau-Weiss when he was still in high school. He was severely wounded in World War I, losing his left arm. After the war he completed his studies in law. In 1921 he was appointed secretary-general of the Czechoslovak Zionist Federation and a member of its administrative committee, subsequently becoming deputy chairman of the federation. As director of the bureau of the Zionist Congress, Kahn was responsible for the organization of most *Zionist Congresses between the two world wars. Seeing Zionism as a safeguard for the survival of the Jewish people and a continuous aspiration toward the reform of Jewish society, Kahn devoted himself to the creation of an organizational framework for such a Zionist society. When Nazi Germany occupied Czechoslovakia, he viewed the future of Jewry with great pessimism. He did not believe that Jewish lives could be saved by making them useful to the oppressor, though he did not oppose the attempt. Considering it his duty to keep control over the activities of the Jewish institutions, without any self-deception, on the very day of the occupation he decided to remain behind. Later, in *Theresienstadt, he was mainly concerned in keeping contact with the pioneering youth movements, who saw him as the embodiment of the Jewish and human conscience. In 1944, at a meeting marking the 40th anniversary of Herzl's death, he addressed thousands of camp inmates. Summarizing Zionist teachings for the last time, he concluded his address with the call "The people of Israel lives." In October 1944 Kahn and his wife, along with many other militant Zionists, were taken to Auschwitz to perish in the gas chambers.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Theresienstadt* (Heb., 1947); Ch. Yahil, *Devarim al ha-Ẓiyyonut ha-Czechoslovakit* (1967).

[Chaim Yahil]

KAHN, GUSTAVE (1859–1936), French poet and author. Kahn, who was born in Metz, was one of the outstanding poets of the Symbolist movement and, with Jules Laforgue, is considered the inventor of *vers libre* (free verse), which uses mixed rhythms, especially of common speech. His *Premiers poèmes* (1897) included "Les palais nomades" (1887), "Chansons d'amant" (1891), and "Le Domaine de fée" (1895). An admirer of Baudelaire and Verlaine, Kahn was also an art critic, and he sponsored the review *Vogue*. He published essays on French painters, including "François Boucher" (1905), "Jean-Honoré Fragonard" (1907), and "Fantin-Latour" (1926). Kahn also wrote a work of criticism entitled *Symbolistes et décadents* (1902), and a few novels. Though generally remote from Jewish communal affairs, he became an enthusiastic advocate of the Zionist cause, which was, in his opinion, a romantic, heroic, and mystical form of Judaism. These sympathies inspired his *Contes juifs* (1926), *Vieil Orient, Orient neuf* (1928), *Images bibliques* (1929), and *Terre d'Israël* (1933). For many years Kahn edited the *Menorah*, a French Zionist periodical and, after his death, his manuscripts were deposited at the Jewish National and University Library in Jerusalem.

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[Moshe Catane]

KAHN, JEAN (1929–), French Jewish leader. Kahn was born in Strasbourg where he attended school and the university law school. He received his doctorate in law for a thesis on "Marriage in Jewish and Roman Law." Kahn qualified as a lawyer in 1953 but gave up his practice to enter the family textile business. He was early involved in communal affairs and from 1969 to 1990 was president of the Strasbourg Jewish Community. Active in the World Jewish Congress from 1979, he became president of its European Commission in 1979 and president of the European Jewish Congress in 1991. In 1983, Kahn was elected vice president of CRIF (the French Jewish Representative Council) and in 1989, by a 75% vote, he became its president. He has been involved in various major problems facing the European Jewish community, especially in view of the recrudescence of antisemitism. He was active in the efforts to transfer the Carmelite convent from Auschwitz, in the protests against the desecration of Jewish graves in the Carpentras cemetery, and in the struggle against France's National Front Party, including a crucial intervention in having the parliamentary immunity of its leader, Jean-Marie le Pen, lifted so he could face charges before the European Parliament. In 1991 he became president of the Bas-Rhin Consistoire. He has been awarded the Legion of Honor and other honors.

[Gideon Kouts]

KAHN, JULIUS (1861–1924), U.S. congressman. Kahn, who was born in Kuppenheim, Germany, was taken to the U.S. in 1866. After following a career as an actor for ten years, Kahn became a lawyer (1894). He served one term in the California State Assembly. From 1899 to 1903 he was Republican congressman from California's Fourth District (representing part of San Francisco). Reelected in 1905, he served in the House until his death. Kahn, a strong advocate of universal military training and naval preparedness, was ranking Republican member of the House Military Affairs Committee during World War I. As such, he helped to steer through Congress President Wilson's World War program, particularly the administration's conscription bill which was opposed by the majority of Democratic committee members. In 1921 Kahn became chairman of the House Military Affairs Committee and took charge of legislation for reorganizing the army on a peacetime basis. He was the first member of Congress to advocate that candidates be obliged to publish their primary campaign expenses and contributions. He was an active opponent of Zionism. Kahn was one of the founders of the Jewish Educational Society in San Francisco (1897). His widow, FLORENCE PRAG KAHN (1868–1948), was appointed to his House seat on his death. She served in the House until 1937.

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[Robert E. Levinson]

KAHN, LÉON (1851–1900), French historian and publicist. Born in Paris, Kahn became secretary-general of the Paris *Consistory in 1895. He was active in many Jewish associations in Paris; for a time he edited *Univers Israélite* and collaborated on the yearbook of the *Archives Israélites*. A specialist on the history of the Jews of Paris, he wrote a book, *Les Juifs de Paris pendant la revolution* (1899), and a number of studies on that subject, based on archival material.

[Georges Weill]

KAHN, LOUIS (1895–1967), French general and naval engineer. Born in Versailles, Kahn commanded a battery in World War I and was wounded twice. After the war, he graduated as a maritime engineer and helped construct the first modern French cruisers. Head of the technical department of the Air Force Ministry between 1928 and 1938, he discovered a new method of cartographic projection, well-known to air navigators as the "transcontinental orthodromic itineraries." He also participated in the design of modern aircraft carriers. In 1940 Kahn was dismissed from the French Navy by the Vichy government (see *France: Holocaust Period). He escaped to London where, as director of naval construction with the Free French, he introduced new techniques of submarine warfare. After the liberation, Kahn was put in charge of the reconstruction of industrial equipment and was responsible for coordinating the operations of refloating 1,400,000 tons of scuttled ships to reestablish navigation. In 1950 he was appointed secretary-general of the armed forces by Jules *Moch, then minister of national defense. Parallel to his military and naval career, Kahn always took an active part in Jewish cultural and communal affairs. He presided over the "Chema Israel" Jewish cultural association from 1925, and, after the liberation, drew up with Edmond *Fleg the manifesto of the Alliance Israélite *Universelle. From 1963, Kahn was president of the Central *Consistory of French Jews, deputy president of Alliance Israélite, and vice president of *Ort.

[Emmanuel Beeri]

KAHN, LOUIS I. (1901–1974), U.S. architect. Born on the island of Osel (Saaremaa), Estonia, he was taken to the U.S. in 1905. After traveling in Europe he worked with Paul Cret, an academic architect, and later became an expert in city planning. During World War II he designed a number of housing projects with associates, and later became resident architect of the American Academy in Rome, design critic at Yale, and professor of architecture at the University of Pennsylvania.

His first building of importance was the Yale Art Gallery, New Haven (1952–55). In his Community Center of Trenton (1956–59), the cross-axial plan reveals the influence of the Beaux-Arts tradition. Here and in the Yale Art Gallery Kahn revived the use of the column as a means of defining space. The Richards Medical Research Building, University of Pennsylvania (1958–60), was a spectacular construction which placed Kahn at the forefront of international architecture. The horizontal buildings are surmounted by thrusting vertical towerlike ducts, the purpose of which is to allow toxic atmospheres to escape from the laboratories. By this means Kahn created a flamboyantly picturesque skyline out of a functional need.

Kahn later designed many synagogues. The exterior of his design for Congregation Mikveh Israel, Philadelphia (1963) is very austere and resembles a fortress. It features a series of massive, repetitive, round stone blocks. The rounded walls of the interior are broken up by arched openings which let in the light. Emphasis is placed on the area of space rising above the congregation. His notebooks and drawings were published in 1962.

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KAHN, MADELINE (**Madeline Gail Wolfson**; 1942–1999), U.S. actress. Born in Boston, Massachusetts, Kahn began acting in school productions during high school, first at a boarding school in Pennsylvania and then at Martin Van Buren High School in Queens, New York, where she earned a drama scholarship to Hofstra University. She graduated from Hofstra in 1964 and began auditioning for professional roles, landing her first part as a chorus girl in a City Center revival of *Kiss Me Kate* (1965). Kahn's first starring role on Broadway came three years later playing Cunegonde, the female lead in Leonard Bernstein's *Candide* (1968). Kahn made her film debut the same year in the comic mock-Swedish short film *The Dove*, but her first major film appearance was four years later, playing Ryan O'Neal's uptight fiancé in Peter Bogdanovich's *What's Up, Doc?* (1972). In 1973, Kahn received an Oscar nomination for Best Supporting Actress for another role opposite Ryan O'Neal in a second Bogdanovich film, *Paper Moon*, but the award eventually went to her fellow co-star in the film, Ryan O'Neal's 11-year-old daughter Tatum. The following year, Kahn delivered her unforgettable performance as saloon singer Lili Von Shtupp in Mel Brooks' irreverent comedy *Blazing Saddles*, for which she received her second Oscar nomination for Best Supporting Actress in two years. Kahn continued to work with Brooks in two subsequent films that further cemented her reputation as one of Hollywood's best comedic actresses, *Young Frankenstein* (1974) and *High Anxiety* (1977). On the stage, Kahn was nominated for three Tony Awards before winning the Best Actress Tony in 1993 for the role of Gorgeous in Wendy Wasserstein's *The Sisters Rosenzweig*, the tale of three sisters, all accomplished assimilated Jewish women approaching middle-age, who gather to celebrate a birthday. Later Kahn played a major role on the television show *Cosby* (1996–99) and provided the voice of the Gypsy Moth in the animated Pixar film *A Bug's Life* (1998), before succumbing to ovarian cancer in 1999 at the age of 57.

[Walter Driver (2nd ed.)]

KAHN, OTTO HERMANN (1867–1934), U.S. banker, arts patron, and philanthropist. Kahn, who was born in Mannheim, Germany, was the son of Bernhard Kahn, a banker and arts patron. Otto Kahn began his banking career at a small bank in Karlsruhe. After service with a German elite cavalry regiment, he joined the Deutsche Bank. From 1888 to 1893 he worked at the bank's London branch, and became its assistant manager. In 1893 Kahn accepted a position with the New York banking house of *Speyer & Co. Three years later he married Addie, the daughter of Abraham Wolff, a partner in *Kuhn, Loeb & Co., and joined that firm in 1897. His financial aptitude attracted the attention of the world's financial leaders, and at the age of 30 he was considered a leading banking authority. Kahn opposed inflationary policies and excessive government intervention in economic affairs. During World War I, he advocated the establishment of a war finance board to cope with the complex situation. After the war, he opposed both the Versailles Peace Treaty and the League of Nations, and urged the cancellation of all foreign war debts provided that European governments curb their militaristic tendencies and limit armaments production. Kahn endowed and subsidized art schools, orchestras, universities, museums, galleries, opera projects, and theatrical productions, including *Habimah, Yiddish productions, and Max *Reinhardt's United States tour in 1928, and contributed prizes for black artists in New York. From 1903 to 1917 he served as chairman of the board of the Metropolitan Opera and from 1917 to 1931 was its president. He was instrumental in bringing Toscanini to New York. In recognition of his many public services, he was decorated by several foreign governments. His Jewish interest concentrated on the Federation of Jewish Philanthropies of New York of which he was a founder. Kahn's works include *Right Above Race* (1918); *Our Economic and Other Problems* (1920); and *Of Many Things* (1926).

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[Joachim O. Ronall]

KAHN, RICHARD FERDINAND, LORD (1905–1989), British economist. Kahn, son of Augustus Kahn (1868–1944), a well-known educator and communal worker, was a disciple of the economist J.M. Keynes, whom he succeeded as bursar of King's College, Cambridge. Born in London, Kahn was educated at St. Paul's and Cambridge and became a fellow of King's College, Cambridge, in 1930. In 1951 he was appointed professor of economics at Cambridge. He was the author of the "multiplier theory," which deals with the ability to save and invest as against the propensity to consume. Kahn was extremely influential in the origins of Keynes' celebrated General Theory (1936) and was the originator of several of its crucial concepts. An authority on investment and international trade, Kahn was a member of several government committees, a part-time member of the National Coal Board (1967), and an adviser to banking firms. In 1955 he was appointed to the research and planning division of the United Nations Economic Commission for Europe. He was created a life peer in 1965. Among his writings are "The Relation of Home Investment to Unemployment" (*Economic Journal*, 1931), and *Payments Arrangements among the Developing Countries for Trade Expansion* (1966). In early and later life Kahn was an observant Orthodox Jew.

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[John M. Shaftesley]

KAHN, ROBERT I. (1910–), U.S. rabbi and community leader. Born in Des Moines, Kahn was a graduate of the University of Cincinnati (1932) and ordained by the Hebrew Union College (1935). He then became an assistant rabbi to Congregation Beth Israel in Houston. Kahn served in the infantry during World War II in New Guinea and the Philippines and then returned to Houston as rabbi of Congregation Emmanu-El. Kahn preached and lectured all over the United States, in person and over radio and television. In a national "Back to God" telecast, he shared the camera with Billy Graham.

In his community, Kahn served on the boards of several social agencies such as Red Cross, Boy Scouts, Travelers Aid, Mental Health, Muscular Dystrophy, Houston Metropolitan Ministries, and United Fund. He was a member of B'nai B'rith, of which he was a past president, the Masons, and Shriners. He was president of the Houston Rotary Club in 1967–68, the largest rotary club in the world, and was district governor from 1978 to 1979. He was grand chaplain of the grand lodge of Texas.

He was honored by the Boy Scouts of America with the Silver Beaver and Ner Tamid Awards; by the Freedoms Foundation with a George Washington Medal; by the French government for service to veterans; by the Masonic Order with the 33rd degree; and by the State of Israel with the Prime Minister's Medal for Israel Bonds. A forest has been planted in his honor in Israel.

Among his writings are *Lessons for Life* (1963); *The Ten Commandments for Today* (1964); *May the Words of My Mouth* (1984); and the *Letter and the Spirit* (1972).

In Houston he taught at St. Thomas University and at St. Mary's University and was a guest lecturer on Judaism at universities and colleges throughout the Southwest. Upon his retirement in 1978 he returned to Hebrew Union College to teach liturgy, in keeping with his work as chair of the committee that published the new Reform Prayer Book *Gates of Prayer* in 1975.

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[Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

KAHN, ROGER (1927–), U.S. sportswriter. Born and raised in Brooklyn, N.Y., Kahn worked at the *New York Herald Tribune* in the early 1950s covering the Brooklyn Dodgers. He was named sports editor at *Newsweek* in 1956, and editor at large at the *Saturday Evening Post* from 1963 to 1969 as well as writing freelance magazine essays for *Esquire, Sports Illustrated, Time*, and other publications. His most famous work among 17 books was the 1972 bestseller *The Boys of Summer*, an account of the Dodger teams of the 1950s and how the players aged 20 years later. He also wrote *How The Weather Was* (1973); *A Season in the Sun* (1977); *Good Enough to Dream* (1985), chronicling the Class A Utica Blue Sox baseball team in the summer of 1983; *Joe & Marilyn: A Memory of Love* (1986); the controversial *Pete Rose: My Story* (1989); *The Era: 1947–1957, When the Yankees, the Giants, and the Dodgers Ruled the World* (1993); *Games We Used to Play* (1994); *Memories of Summer: When Baseball Was an Art and Writing about It a Game* (1997); *Flame of Pure Fire: Jack Dempsey and the Roaring '20s* (1999); *Head Game: Baseball Seen From the Pitcher's Mound* (2000); and *October Men: Reggie Jackson, George Steinbrenner, Billy Martin, and the Yankees' Miraculous Finish in 1978* (2003). Kahn also wrote two non-sports books, *The Passionate People: What It Means to Be a Jew in America* (1968) and *The Battle for Morningside Heights:Why Students Rebel* (1970), and two novels, *But Not to Keep* (1979) and *The Seventh Game* (1982).

[Elli Wohlgelernter (2nd ed.)]

KAHN, ZADOC (**Zadig**; 1839–1905), chief rabbi of France. Born in Mommenheim, Alsace, Kahn was the son of a village peddler. His mother was the daughter of Rabbi Isaac Weyl (Reb Eisik) of Wintzheim, whose father, Jacob Meyer, was a member of the Sanhedrin convened by Napoleon I, and chief rabbi of the Lower Rhine department. Kahn was educated in a yeshivah at Strasbourg and from 1856 at the Ecole Rabbinique in Metz (later in Paris), from which he graduated in 1862. He then became director of the Talmud Torah, a preparatory school of the Ecole. In 1866 Kahn became assistant to Chief Rabbi Isidore Lazare of Paris, whom he succeeded in 1868. Kahn's appointment over many candidates was determined by his excellent thesis, *L'Esclavage selon la Bible et le Talmud* (1867). In 1889 Kahn was appointed chief rabbi of France. His position both as chief rabbi of Paris and chief rabbi of France was marked by a series of critical events in the history of French and world Jewry. After the death of Adolphe *Crémieux in 1880, French Jewry had no recognized secular leader, and institutions and individuals turned to Kahn for advice and leadership. His freedom of action was often limited by the attitude of the official Franco-Jewish leaders, so that Kahn never really became one of the great Jewish leaders who developed out of the period. French Jewry lost its most active communities during his tenure of office, when Alsace-Lorraine was annexed by Germany. The years 1881–82 witnessed the beginning of a mass emigration of East European Jews, some of whom turned to France. But Kahn was unable to influence this important event, as policy was dictated by the *Alliance Israélite Universelle and the Paris charity administration, which tried to limit the immigration. The plan for the first project on Jewish colonization in Argentina was addressed to Kahn and he forwarded it to Baron Maurice de *Hirsch.

From the establishment of *Ḥibbat Zion, Kahn was the head of the movement in France, directing it from Paris. He was also responsible for putting the leaders of Ḥibbat Zion in contact with Baron Edmund de *Rothschild. His activities in Ḥibbat Zion were for the most part disapproved of by the leaders of French Jewry. He was very involved with the practical problems of settlement in Ereẓ Israel, as all the reports coming from Ereẓ Israel and movement functionaries passed directly or indirectly through his hands. Kahn witnessed the birth of the Zionist Movement and sympathized with *Herzl, but officially he adopted the view that French Jews must in all aspects of their lives be faithful citizens of France alone and must therefore reject the idea of a Jewish state in Palestine. He was one of the first Jewish leaders to suspect that Alfred Dreyfus was the victim of an antisemitic campaign, but during the *Dreyfus Affair he was unable to persuade Franco-Jewish leaders to adopt a policy of self-defense instead of remaining silent. Kahn called a few meetings for the purpose of drafting a new policy, but they were unsuccessful, and the defense of Dreyfus was left in the hands of Jewish individuals and non-Jews. The same conservative attitude prevailed in response to the violent antisemitic campaign in Algeria. In 1880 Kahn was more successful in helping to create the *Société des Études *Juives, of which he was president and whose publication, **Revue des Etudes Juives*, became one of the leading scholarly periodicals for the study of Judaism. He was also the editor of a French Bible translation known as the "Bible of the Rabbinate," and of the *Bible de la Jeunesse* (both 1899). In addition, he assisted Isidore *Singer in preparing the *Jewish Encyclopaedia*. Kahn published a few volumes of his sermons. He was the last official chief rabbi of France. Shortly after his death the law of the Separation of the Church and the State was adopted and the Jewish Consistories were reorganized as nongovernmental religious bodies. Before his death Kahn tried to prepare the Consistories for such an event and took part in drafting the bylaws of the new nonofficial Consistories.

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KAHNEMAN, DANIEL (1934–), Israeli-American scientist, psychology professor, and researcher; joint winner of the 2002 Nobel Prize in economic sciences. Kahneman was born in Tel Aviv (while his mother was visiting Palestine; his Lithuanian-born parents usually resided in Paris). He held dual

Israeli and United States citizenship. Kahneman studied at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem, receiving a B.A. in psychology and mathematics, and earned a Ph.D. in psychology at the University of California. Kahneman began his academic career lecturing psychology at the Hebrew University in 1961. He held a variety of positions, from visiting scientist to professor of psychology at several institutions throughout the United States, Canada, and England. From 1993 Kahneman was the Eugene Higgins Professor of Psychology and professor of public affairs at the Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs at Princeton University.

While Daniel Kahneman is not an economist, his work earned him half of the 2002 Nobel Prize in economic sciences, "for having integrated insights from psychological research into economic science, especially concerning human judgment and decision-making under uncertainty." Among Kahneman's recognitions in the field of psychology are the Hilgard Award for Lifetime Contribution to General Psychology, the Warren Medal of the Society of Experimental Psychologists, and a variety of other fellowships, recognitions and honorary degrees. His extensive work with colleague Amos Tversky (who died in 1996) was recognized in 2003 when the two were awarded the Grawemeyer Award for Psychology.

The focus of Kahneman's work is the study of various aspects of experienced utility, or the measure of the utility of outcomes. His theories in behavior finance combine economics and cognitive science to decipher human risk management behaviors. His main findings demonstrate how human decisions may contradict what is predicted by standard economic theory. His work has inspired a new generation of study using cognitive psychology and human motivation in economics and finance. Kahneman's work with Tversky challenges the traditional economic thought that people make rational decisions motivated by self-interest, including rational financial decisions. According to Kahneman and Tversky's studies, people's economic behavior is more psychologically and emotionally motivated.

In an autobiography Kahneman wrote for the Nobel award, he tells of his beginning interest in the field of psychology, describing an incident in France where he, as a child in either 1941 or 1942, was out past the 6 P.M. curfew that Jews were forced to adhere to. He had turned his brown sweater with the required Star of David inside out to hide the symbol, and he found himself face to face with a German soldier on an empty street. The soldier called to him, speaking in excited German, hugged him and showed him a picture of a young boy, and even gave him some money. Kahneman writes that he walked home convinced that his mother was right when she had told him that "people were endlessly complicated and interesting."

Kahneman's published works include articles in the *American Economic Review, Journal of Risk and Uncertainty, Journal of Environmental Economics and Management, Journal of Economic Perspectives,* and other scholarly and association journals.

[Lisa DeShantz-Cook (2nd ed.)]

KAHNSHTAM, AHARON (1859–1921), Hebrew and Yiddish educator. Born in Plock, Poland, Kahnshtam studied law but decided to devote his time to the study and practice of education. In 1895 he was invited to direct a *talmud torah* in Lodz. His ambition was to modernize Jewish schools and to train competent teachers. A gifted teacher, Kahnshtam partially realized his dream in Lodz where, after working diligently, he succeeded in making the *talmud torah* a model school. He organized summer camps in Lodz for culturally deprived children where they were taught such subjects as farming and carpentry. In 1898, Kahnshtam was invited to head the school of the Society for the Diffusion of Culture in St. Petersburg. Kahnshtam served in this post for nine years, and when the Society decided to establish a teachers training school in Grodno, Kahnshtam was appointed director. This school attracted many highly intelligent young Jews, among them writers and scholars, who were devoted to Zionism, Hebrew reform, and Jewish education. During World War I, because of the Grodno school's proximity to the front lines, it was moved to Kharkov in 1915–16. However, in the new location the school's existence was precarious because of the decline in the number of students, the decision to make the study of Yiddish mandatory, and the political upheaval of February 1917. Kahnshtam became the theoretician and an organizer of the *Tarbut Society, which in the postwar period developed a network of modern schools in Eastern Europe. In 1918–19 he became the director of the Tarbut Society's teachers' school in Kiev, but the school functioned only for a very short time.

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[Judah Pilch]

KAHNWEILER, DANIEL-HENRY (1884–1979), German art patron, art dealer, and writer. Kahnweiler was born in Mannheim, Germany. Following his father's profession he volunteered at the Paris Stock Exchange, but soon developed a passion for contemporary art. After a short time working in London he decided to open a gallery of contemporary art in Paris in 1907, sponsored by his family. While recruiting his artists, especially the circle of Montparnasse, he met Pablo Picasso and George Braque and became their principal agent, but he also supported the cubist painters Fernand Léger and Juan Gris. A famous portrait by Picasso of 1910 (Art Institute of Chicago) reveals the dominant role of Kahnweiler in the promotion of Cubism at that time. In 1909 Kahnweiler started his career as a publisher with *L'Enchanteur pourrisant* written by Guillaume Apollinaire with woodcarvings by André Derain. In 1914, Kahnweiler fled to Rome to escape German military service. Shortly after he moved in with a friend in Berne, where he began to write his first art book, *The Path to Cubism*, published in 1920. In 1920 he returned to Paris and together with André Simon launched the Galerie Simon. He tried to retrieve his art collection, which had been confiscated by the French government, and with the help of his brother Gustave and the art dealer Alfred Flechtheim was able to redeem part of his former property. At the time Picasso and Juan Gris fell out with Kahnweiler when he tried to become their exclusive agent. Picasso was reconciled with him only after World War II, which Kahnweiler and his wife survived in hiding near Limoges. However, his gallery in Paris continued to exist under the name of Galerie Louise Leiris, his non-Jewish sister-in-law. Until his death in 1979 Kahnweiler organized more than 80 exhibitions of works by Braque, Picasso, Klee, Masson, Léger, and Gris. Moreover, he was the author of many books which were seminal to the popularization of contemporary art in general and cubist art in particular.

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[Philipp Zschommler (2nd ed.)]

KAIFENG (formerly **P'ien-liang**), capital of Honan province, central China. Jews arrived in Kaifeng probably before 1127 from India or Persia. They were an ethnic unit of approximately 1,000 in all. It is believed that their daily language was New Persian and presumably they were experts in the production of cotton fabrics, in dyeing them, or printing patterns on them. This industry was well developed in India, but China with its rapidly increasing population was just introducing cotton, in order to meet the acute silk shortage. The first Kaifeng synagogue was constructed in 1163. It was restored in 1279 and after being destroyed in a disastrous flood was rebuilt again through the efforts of *Chao Ying-ch'en, a mandarin of Jewish descent, in 1653, when the sacred scrolls were also restored. Thereafter the community fell into rapid decay, most likely as a result of its complete isolation from other centers of Jewish life. By the middle of the 19th century the Jews of Kaifeng preserved only a rudimentary knowledge of Judaism and only the ruins of the former synagogue were left.

The first news concerning the presence of Jews in China reached Europe when Matteo Ricci, the Italian Jesuit missionary, informed his superior in Rome about the visit that the Kaifeng Jew *Ai T'ien of Kaifeng had paid him in 1605. Ai informed Ricci in detail about the status of his community which led Ricci to reach the conclusion that they were of Jewish descent. Other important records are four Chinese stone inscriptions of the Kaifeng Jewish community on three steles, dating from 1489, 1512, 1663, and 1679. Rubbings have been preserved of Chinese inscriptions on wooden tablets formerly in the Kaifeng synagogue. The Hebrew Union College in Cincinnati has in its possession a genealogical register in Chinese and Hebrew of the Kaifeng community (1660–70), as well as a large collection of prayer books obtained from Kaifeng by Christian missionaries in 1850–51. A unique scroll of the Book of Esther (in the Roth collection), with Chinese illuminations by three different artists, is believed to have probably come from the same source. Several outstanding members of the Kaifeng community, who became officials or military officers, are mentioned in provincial Chinese gazetteers. Gradually, however, the Jewish community adopted Chinese customs and surnames: Ai, Chang, Chao, Chin, Chou, Huang, Li, Mu, Nieh, Pai, Tso, and Yen. At the end of World War II, about 200 or 250 traceable descendants of the original Kaifeng Jewish community still survived. Descendants of some of these families can still be traced locally, but all have intermarried with local Chinese including Muslims, and they more or less have lost their Jewish identity. Nonetheless the Jewish world still has great interest in the remnants of the community.

[Rudolf Loewenthal]

Further Information

In 1957 a Canadian Jewish visitor to Kaifeng was told by a local Communist cadre that of 2,000 individuals in the city known to be of Jewish extraction 700 still acknowledged their Judaic descent. The figures, the validity of which is not otherwise confirmed, seem to have been derived from the census of minority (non-Han) peoples taken by the Chinese government in 1953. In 1980 there appeared *Juifs de Chine* by J. Dehergne and D.D. Leslie, a collection of letters preserved in various Jesuit archives, several of which had never previously been published, which provide new information on the Jews of Kaifeng.

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KAIROUAN (**Qairuwān**) Tunisian town situated 77 mi. (125 km.) S. of *Tunis. Kairouan was founded in 670 by ʿUqba ibn Nāfiʿ, the Arab conqueror of North Africa. For about four centuries it was the government center and the capital of the *Aghlabids, the *Fatimids (until 969), and the *Zirid emirs, and the meeting place of commerce of East and West. It is possible, though not certain, that Jews settled in the town from the time of its establishment. In about 690 the *Umayyad caliph ʿAbd al-Malik ibn Marwān had 1,000 Copt families transferred from *Egypt to Kairouan. Some traditions have it that these families were Jewish. The fact remains that Jewish life prospered there. The community became the leading Jewish economic and cultural center in North Africa during the Middle Ages. The detailed extant information on this community begins with the ninth century. Studies of documents from the Cairo **Genizah* have shed light on the Jewish society of Kairouan about which some aspects were previously known from rabbinical literature, especially responsa by Babylonian *geonim*. An important correspondence was maintained between the Jews of Kairouan and the Babylonian academies.

The academy of Kairouan was well-known throughout the Jewish world. Its heads, known as *resh kallah*, were outstanding scholars. When Natronai b. Ḥavivai (c. 775) was not accepted as exilarch in Babylonia, he is said to have gone for some time to the Maghreb, i.e., Kairouan. In the tenth century (c. 920) another exilarch, Mar Ukba, also settled in Kairouan, after being compelled to leave Baghdad. In 880 the mysterious Jewish traveler *Eldad ha-Dani, who claimed to belong to the lost Ten Tribes of Israel, also went to Kairouan. His presence and his knowledge aroused discussions among the rabbis of Kairouan, who also addressed themselves to this subject in correspondence with Ẓemaḥ Gaon of *Sura. The medical writer and philosopher, Isaac *Israeli, went to Kairouan from Egypt, and died there in 932 or 942. From 904 he was the private physician of Ziyādat-Allah III (903–909), the last Aghlabid sovereign, and later held the same position in the service of ʿUbayd Allah al-Mahdī (910–934), the founder of the Fatimid dynasty in Tunisia. His numerous students included the astronomer and physician *Dunash ibn Tamim, who was born in Kairouan at the beginning of the tenth century and spent his entire life as the private physician to the Fatimid caliphs.

Toward the end of the tenth century the arrival of *Ḥushi'el b. Elhanan in Kairouan marked a turning point in the study of *halakhah*. R. Ḥushi'el, like many other Jews, went to Kairouan from *Italy. The actual population which made up the Jewish community was varied in origin. In addition to numerous names which were obviously of *Berber origin, such as Labrat, Sighmar, and Masnut, documents from the Cairo *Genizah* have furnished many names of families of foreign origin which were established in Kairouan. These include Andalusi (of Spanish origin), Fasi (of *Fez), Taherti (of Tahert (now Tiaret) in southwestern *Algeria), and Siqili (of Sicily).

Kairouan scholars were in contact with Palestine where in fact there were many immigrants of North African origin. The *gaon* of the Palestinian academy at the beginning of the 11th century, Solomon b. Judah, who was originally from Fez, maintained contact with Kairouan. R. Ḥushi'el introduced a new method of study in his academy which did not rely upon the opinions of the Babylonian scholars. Moreover, the academy of R. Ḥushi'el asserted itself in a stronger fashion than was generally the case for such academies. This resulted in the intellectual and spiritual independence of the school of Kairouan, which was accentuated to an even greater degree when R. Ḥushi'el was succeeded by his son R. *Hananel, one of the great medieval Jewish scholars. However, other rabbis, such as *Jacob b. Nissim ibn Shahin, the head of a second academy in Kairouan and representative of the Babylonian academies, continued to correspond with the *Pumbedita *geonim* R. Sherira and his son R. Hai. From the end of the first half of the 11th century R. *Nissim, the son of R. Jacob, held a prominent position in Kairouan as a result of his vast erudition and his connections. He was the teacher of the Spanish poet Solomon ibn *Gabirol and his daughter married *Joseph, the son of *Samuel ha-Nagid of Granada. R. Nissim succeeded his friend Hananel b. Ḥushi'el as representative of the Babylonian academies in Kairouan. His writings are a valuable source for the history of the Jews of North Africa, as well as being important in the field of *halakhah*. R. Nissim witnessed the destruction of his community when the town was sacked in 1057 by Arabs who invaded North Africa from Egypt.

This invasion considerably impoverished the area occupied by present-day *Libya and Tunisia. It marked the end of Kairouan as a Jewish intellectual center; one finds its Jewish inhabitants scattered in Egypt and Sicily. The town itself never regained its former prosperity. The last **nagid* of Kairouan left for Egypt, where he was followed by large numbers of Tunisian Jews. The Jews of Cairo had to collect contributions in order to provide him with a livelihood. There is much documentary evidence to show the extraordinary prosperity of the community during the period which preceded its ruin. Its worldwide contacts, from *Spain in the West to *India in the East, were particularly active and intensive. The Jews, like the other inhabitants of the town, were spoiled by a life of wealth, and had extravagant tastes so that, for example, they desired expensive and richly colored cloths of Persian origin. They were also fond of perfumes and music. Their business firms were represented in many centers of commerce. These large firms were headed by families with numerous branches; they were noted for their activity and wealth. Typical examples include the following: the Ibn Sighmar family, which in addition to its economic importance and great influence at the court furnished Kairouan with at least four generations of *dayyanim*; the Berechiah family, which was made up of scholars and community leaders; the Majjani family, which played a prominent role in world commerce; and many other families.

The most important personalities of Kairouan during the first half of the 11th century included the first *nagid* of the Jewish community, Abu Isḥāq Abraham ibn ʿAta, who was not only exceedingly wealthy, concerned with the welfare of others, and a scholar, but also a general in the army of the Zirids. The second *nagid* of Kairouan was Jacob b. Amram, whose power and generosity were lauded by the *geonim* of Palestine.

When Tunisia was conquered by the *Almohads in 1160, there is no mention of the Jews of Kairouan. From then until 1881, when Tunisia became a French protectorate, Kairouan, a holy city of *Islam, remained strictly out of bounds for all non-Muslims. From 1881, French civil servants were sent to Kairouan. Shortly afterwards Jewish shopkeepers settled there with their families and two synagogues were founded. The small community had its own *shoḥeṭ* and *ḥazzan*. In 1936 there were 348 Jews in Kairouan. They suffered hardships during the German occupation (see *Tunisia: Holocaust period) when many fled. Some subsequently returned, and in 1946 there were 275 Jews in Kairouan. These, however, left – some for the bigger cities, some to other countries – and by the late 1960s no Jews remained in Kairouan.

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[David Corcos]

KAISER, ALOIS (1840–1908), *ḥazzan* and composer. Born in Hungary, Kaiser sang as a boy with Salomon *Sulzer. From 1859 to 1863 he was *ḥazzan* in Vienna, then went to Prague and three years later to the U.S. where he officiated until his death at the Oheb Shalom Congregation in Baltimore. Kaiser's intention in his compositions and arrangements was to provide music for the American synagogue, based on the traditional melodies but stripped of all "unnecessary ornamentation." With William Sparger he was responsible for the first edition of the *Union Hymnal* (1897) for the Conference of American Rabbis and edited *A Collection of the Principal Melodies of the Synagogue from the Earliest to the Present* (1893).

KAISERSLAUTERN, city in Germany. The first documentary evidence for the existence of a Jewish community dates from 1242, but it is probably somewhat older. The community suffered during the *Black Death persecution of 1348–49. The Jews lived on a *Judengasse* and the community possessed both a cemetery and a synagogue, built by those who returned after the Black Death persecutions. Between 1383 and 1388 the Jews were expelled "forever," but during the 17th and 18th centuries a few *Schutzjuden* ("protected Jews") were tolerated. The community was reestablished after emancipation was granted during French rule (1797–1814). From 1828 it had a rabbi. A synagogue, built in 1823, was rebuilt in 1848, and a Reform synagogue was dedicated in 1886 (the massive neo-Gothic structure was sold and dismantled before November 1938). A cemetery was consecrated in 1858. In 1840 the community totaled 118 persons, and 716 (2.72% of the total) in 1880. The number remained stable until Nazi persecution reduced it to 395 in 1937 and 85 in 1939. Of the 74 remaining, 48 were deported to *Gurs on Oct. 22, 1940. In 1951 a synagogue was consecrated and in 1965 a community center serving about 150 Jews in the town and neighborhood was opened.

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KĀKHYA (Kiāhya), Turkish version of the Persian *ketkhudā*, meaning majordomo or intendant (also: head of a guild). Many Jews served the sultans, viziers, and pashas as commissioners of revenue, superintendents of the mint, and farmers of tolls and customs. More important, they held monopolies on certain exported and imported goods. The *kākhya* appears as the official intercessor for the Jewish community with the Turkish authorities in 16th-century documents and responsa. From a responsum of R. Elijah *Mizraḥi (no. 15), chief *dayyan* of Constantinople, it appears that while serving as official spokesman for Constantinople, *Kākhya* Shaltiel accepted bribes. In 1518 representatives of the various congregations in the city complained to Mizraḥi, and at the end of the year, in their presence and with their consent, he deprived the *kākhya* and his sons of all rights which they hitherto had enjoyed. In 1520 the judgment was reversed and Shaltiel was restored with the promise to act in a public capacity only with the permission of persons appointed by the congregations. The term *kākhya* also designates a representative of the Greek Orthodox and Armenian *millets and of the provincial tax farmers, each protecting the interests of his constituency at the Sublime Porte. Later on the *kākhya* appears as a minister in *Syria, or as representative of the pasha in *Palestine and *Egypt.

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[Haïm Z'ew Hirschberg]

KALAI, JOSEPH B. JACOB (13th century), liturgical poet. Probably a native of Southern Europe (perhaps Greece or Sicily), the poet, whose surname קלעי is of Arabic origin, signs his name in addition as *ḥazzan, payyat* ("poet"), and כרפאן or בן כרפאן. For the latter, neither Zunz, who renders it κορυφαῖος ("precentor"), nor S. Krauss, who prefers "of Corfu," provides a satisfactory explanation. His compositions were adopted chiefly in the *Maḥzor Romania* (Greek rite). Single poems were in use in Rome, Tripoli, Kaffa, and among the Karaites. Zunz (see bibl.) lists 23 poems by Kalai. His compositions include *yoẓerot, ḥatanu, taḥanun*, and *tokhaḥot*; two dialogues, one between Haman and Ahasuerus and the other between the Sabbath and the New Moon, deserve special mention.

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[Jefim (Hayyim) Schirmann]

KALAI (Kali), MORDECAI BEN SOLOMON (1556–1647), Salonikan talmudist. The family name derives from Calatayud in Spain. Kalai was born in Salonika, and studied under Aaron ben Ḥason and Aaron Sason. His manuscripts were destroyed in the great fire in Salonika in 1625, but he resumed writing. He was known as a capable communal leader, being active in the ransoming of captives and other charitable and benevolent activities. Among his many disciples who later served as rabbis in the cities of Peloponnesus were Daniel *Estrosa and David *Conforte. Kalai's responsa were included in the *Mekor Barukh* (Smyrna, 1659) of his brother Baruch, published by the latter's son. Kalai is quoted by many of his contemporaries, including Joshua Handali, Ḥayyim *Shabbetai (Maharḥash), and Judah Lerma, and by Solomon *Levi and Joseph of *Trani in their responsa. Mordecai's brother, BARUCH (d. 1597), who also studied under Aaron ben Ḥason, was rabbi of Siderocapsa, near Salonika. *Mekor Barukh* contains 61 responsa which consist of halakhic discussions with his teacher, and with Solomon Levi the Elder, in addition to those with his brother. He also wrote *Arba Shitot*, on four tractates of the Talmud, and left an unpublished volume of sermons on Sabbaths and festivals.

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[Simon Marcus]

KALAI, SAMUEL BEN JOSEPH (d. 1754), Karaite scholar of Chufut-Qaleh, Crimea. He was the head of the study-house in Chufut-Qaleh. After his demise Simḥah Isaac *Luzki occupied his place.

He wrote *Me'il Shemu'el* (which survived in several mss. in St. Petersburg, NY, Oxford, and Cambridge), a supercommentary on *Sefer ha-Mivḥar* by *Aaron b. Joseph; the work remained unfinished and was later edited by S.I. Luzki.

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[Isaak Dov Ber Markon]

KALAI (Kal'i), SAMUEL BEN MOSES (16th century), Turkish rabbi. Kalai may have been born in Corfu. He was a son-in-law of Benjamin ibn Mattathias, author of *Binyamin Ze'ev.* At first he lived in Salonika and subsequently in Arta. In consequence of a dispute he left the town and stayed for a time in Trikkala, but later returned to Arta where he served as rabbi. In about 1560 he was appointed rabbi of Vidin in Bulgaria. He was compelled to leave Vidin because of a dispute that broke out between him and other rabbis as a result of his prohibiting the use of a certain cheese. He was among the signatories of the ban against the David (Da'ud), who had opposed Don Joseph *Nasi. In his old age Kalai settled in Salonika where he served as rabbi of the Keianah community. He was regarded as the talmudic authority for the whole country and problems were addressed to him from various Balkan towns. He was the author of the responsa *Mishpetei Shemu'el* (Venice, 1599).

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[Simon Marcus]

KALĀM, meaning *ʿilm al-kalām* (the science of *Kalām*), is one of the branches of Islamic religious science. The common use of the word *kalām* is word, words, or speech. The *Koran is called *kalām Allāh*, i.e., the speech of God, and so, it was suggested, *ʿilm al-kalām* is "the science of the word [of God]." The exponent of *Kalām* is called *mutakallim* (lit. speaker, pl. *mutakallimūn*). The Hebrew designation *ha-medabberīm* and the Latin *loquentes* are equivalent to *mutakallimūn*.

The term *Kalām*, which represents the use of dialectics in theology, probably has antecedents in Greek (as derived from *logos* or *dialexis*) and Syriac (as derived from both *mamlā,* i.e. *dialexis* and *mamlūt allāhūtā*, i.e., theology). *Kalām* is usually translated as "theology," although this rendering is inaccurate, and it is best to use "speculative theology." The theological arena in Sunnite *Islam consisted not only of the Muʿtazilite *mutakallimūn,* who used logical argumentation, in order to prove some of the principles of religion (= *ʾuṣūl al-dīn*), but mainly of traditionalist theologians, who were, and still are, the central trend of Islam. While *Kalām* gives precedence to human reason (= *ʿaḳl*) in the process of perceiving God and the world, Islamic traditional theology declares to draw its authority solely from divine revelation and tradition (= *naḳl*) and the teachings of the ancestors (= *salaf*) of the Muslim community. It should be noted, that even the Muʿtazilite *mutakallimūn* could not be considered pure rationalists, because they rely to some extent upon divine revelation.

Kalām is commonly identified with two rival schools in Sunnite Islam: the *Muʿtazila*, flourished as two separate schools in *Baṣra and *Baghdād from the first half of the 8th century until the middle of the 11th century, and the *Ashʿariyya*, founded in Baṣra in the first half of the 10th century. The eponym of the *Ashʿariyya*, Abū al-Ḥasan al-Ashʿarī (d. 935) was a former Muʿtazilite, who used the rationalistic tools of the *Muʿtazila* in order to defend the doctrines of traditional Islam and to defeat the *Muʿtazila*. Another important theological school is the *Māturīdiyya-Ḥanafiyya*, probably founded in central Asia in the 11th century.

The beginning of *Kalām* is by all means connected to the Arab conquests of *Iraq and *Persia in the 7th century, when the relatively young Muslim community came into contact with Hellenistic philosophical thought, both Christian and non-Christian, and with other religious doctrines, mainly Mazdaean and Manichaean. Public debates with holders of well-established faiths increased the need to use various rationalistic tools in order to defend Islamic doctrines and articles of faith (*ʿaḳīda* pl. *ʿaḳāʾid*), whose origins are to be found in the Koran and *Ḥadīth* (= prophetic traditions), and to uproot what was perceived as heretical concepts (= *zandaḳa*), infiltrated into Islamic thought. According to al-Tahānawī (d. circa 1745): "[*ʿilm al-kalām*] is the science, which enables one to assert the authenticity of religious beliefs and [discredit] others by giving proofs and dispelling doubts" (*al-Kashshāf*, vol. 1, p. 22).

The *mutakallimūn* comprehended their occupation as two-fold: on the one hand, *Kalām* is a process of a pure intellectual speculation in search of the ultimate truth, that is "to grasp the unity of God, and study the essence of God and His attributes" (al-Ghazālī, *Iḥyāʾ ʿulūm al-dīn*, vol. 1, p. 25); on the other hand, *Kalām* is a system of defense and attack. Defeating the adversary by using various dialectical instruments is the main feature of *Kalām*. Alongside the use of analogy (= *ḳiyās*), one of the prominent methods of *Kalām* is *ilzām*, which means forcing the adversary to admit heretical or absurd views, drawn from his own set of arguments.

Most of the activity of the *mutakallimūn* was in the inner circles of Islam, mainly against Sunnite traditionalist theologians. Nevertheless, the boundaries between the two groups were never definite. Although traditionalist scholars prohibited practicing *Kalām* and debating with *mutakallimūn*, *Kalām*'s methods had a huge impact upon them. For example, Ibn Taymiyya (d. 1328), who belonged to the ultra-traditionalist Ḥanbalite movement, used Muʿtazilite theses and argumentations in his dispute with the Ashʿarites about predestination and free will.

Another group challenged by *Kalām* and labeled as heretics were the Muslim philosophers, in spite of the resemblance between *Kalām*'s areas of interest and that of *falsafa* (= Muslim philosophy). The most elaborate endeavor in that direction is *Tahāfut al-Falāsifa* (= The Incoherence of the Philosophers) by the Ashʿarite theologian *al-Ghazālī (d. 1111). The philosophers, on their part, attacked *ʿilm al-kalām* and refuted its tenets and methods, as reflected in Ibn Rushd's (= Averroes, d. 1198) *Tahāfut al- Tahāfut* (= The Incoherence of the Incoherence).

Main Themes in Kalām

All *Kalām* manuals, after introducing the sources of knowledge of God and the world, viz. human reason and divine revelation, prove the existence of God and the creation of the world by using the proof from accidents, which is based on the doctrine of atoms. According to this doctrine, reality is made up of indivisible atoms with concomitant accidents, which exist only for an instant. Therefore, in every instant God is creating the world anew; there are no intermediate causes. This Islamic occasionalism allows for creation from nothing.

A point of dispute between the *Muʿtazila* and the *Ashʿariyya* is the denial of anthropomorphism (= *tashbīh*). This theme is derived from numerous Qurʾānic verses, which ascribe human properties to God. The *Muʿtazila* denied the figurative interpretation and applied allegorical interpretation to these verses. The *Ashʿariyya* for their part used the doctrine of *bi-lā kayfa*, which means believing the Qurʾānic formulae without trying to explain them.

The question of the unity of God (= *tawḥīd*), which is actually a cluster of problems, such as proving the existence of God, proving the creation of the world and explaining divine attributes, set out numerous points of dispute between the *Muʿtazila* and the *Ashʿariyya*. In the question of divine attributes (= *ṣifāt*), for example, the *Muʿtazila* denied their real existence, while the *Ashʿariyya* stressed their independent status.

The *Muʿtazila* asserted man's free will, while stating that man creates his own good and bad actions, due to the power God grants him beforehand, and therefore he is liable to reward and punishment. The *Ashʿariyya*, on the other hand, emphasized that God, as a creator of all things, creates all human actions. Man's responsibility over his actions is maintained by using the doctrine of *kasb* (lit. acquisition), according to which, when God creates man's acts he also creates in him the ability to "acquire" them. Designed to provide for man's responsibility for his actions, this doctrine is not far removed, if at all, from complete determinism.

The *Kalām* manuals discuss in length various topics regarding theodicy, eschatology and the status of prophecy. A major issue concerns the created or uncreated character of the Koran, and whether it exists as a divine attribute from all eternity.

Shiʿite Islam embraced Muʿtazilite theses as part of its doctrine from the 9th century, so in a sense they are current to some extent even nowadays. The Ashʿarite manuals are being studied in Sunnite *madrasa*s (= religious boarding schools) alongside the works of the traditionalists.

[Livnat Holtzman (2nd ed.)]

Influence on Jewish Philosophy

The influence of *Kalām*, in its Muʿtazilite version only, on Jewish thinkers, both *Karaite and Rabbanite, during the Middle Ages was considerable. The earliest Jewish philosopher who was also influenced by *Kalām* was David ibn Marwan al-*Mukammis (first half of ninth century), who may have received it from his Christian teachers. It also had a great impact on *Saadiah Gaon. Muʿtazilite influence is visible from the very opening of Saadiah's *Book of Doctrines and Beliefs*, which begins with a demonstration of the createdness of the world and proceeds to deduce from this the existence of a creator. The very structure of Saadiah's theological masterpiece follows the order of the five Muʿtazilite theses previously mentioned. Most of his proofs of the noneternity of the world are derived from the *Kalām*, except that Saadiah did not hold the theory of atomism. Saadiah uses *Kalām* arguments, as well, in proving the unity of God, and his doctrine of attributes is similar to that of the Muʿtazilah. In treating the commandments, Saadiah distinguishes between rational and revealed commandments, thus sharing the Muʿtazilite distinction. In positing a future world in which children and animals will find reward for suffering in this world, Saadiah merely repeats a doctrine based on the Muʿtazilite sense of justice. In general, one may say that through Saadiah the Muʿtazilite *Kalām* exercised enormous influence on Jewish thought throughout the Middle Ages. *Samuel b. Hophni (d. 1013) followed closely the Muʿtazilite system in its Basran version. His son in law *Hai Gaon, did so to a lesser extent. Traces of the speculation of the *Kalām* are to be found in *Baḥya ibn Paquda and Joseph ibn Ẓaddik's proofs of creation. *Maimonides expounded and refuted kalamic doctrine in detail in the *Guide of the Perplexed* (1:73–76), although he did mention that his own point of view resembles the *Kalām* in certain respects (*ibid.*, 2: 19). The influence of *Kalām* on Karaite thinkers was very pronounced. Its earliest attestations are found in the formulation of normative beliefs by al-*Qumisi (late 9th century). It had become accepted by most medieval Karaite thinkers. Joseph b. Abraham ha-Kohen *al-Baṣīr wrote theological works that follow closely the Basran Muʿtazilah both in structure and in contents, and so did his disciple *Jeshua ben Judah. They even accepted the doctrine of atoms. As late as the 14th century, *Aaron ben Elijah the Younger of Nicomedia defended the *Kalām* outlook in his *Ez Ḥayyim*, which was intended to be the Karaite counterpart of Maimonides' *Guide*.

[Lawrence V. Berman / Haggai Ben-Shammai (2nd ed.)]

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KALARASH (Rom. **Călărași**, formerly also **Tuzora**), town in Bessarabia, Moldova. Jews began to settle there in the first half of the 19th century. They numbered 4,593 in 1897, forming 89% of the population. Most were engaged in trade, primarily in agricultural produce, and some in agriculture. Most of the Jews were ḥasidim and spoke Yiddish. The wave of pogroms in Russia in October 1905 also hit Kalarash, where 60 Jews were killed, 300 were injured, and over 200 houses were burned down. After Bessarabia passed to Romania in 1918, communal life flourished in Kalarash. The community had welfare organizations and educational institutions, including a hospital (founded in 1890), a *talmud torah*, a library, and a loan and savings fund. In 1930 the Jewish population numbered 3,631 (76% of the total population). Israel *Giladi was born in Kalarash. Zionist organizations were also active.

[Eliyahu Feldman]

Holocaust Period and After

When World War II broke out, some of the community managed to escape from Kalarash, apparently to the Soviet Union. Those caught on the way were either killed on the spot or deported to Transnistria. In July 1941 Romanian troops assembled all the remaining Jews in Kalarash and took them to a forest not far from the city, where a deep ditch had been prepared. Some 250 Jews were thrown into the ditch and killed. This action had been ordered by the commander of the gendarmerie legion in the Lāpuşna district, Lieut. Col. Nicolai Caracas. The local Kalarash gendarmerie commander also took part in the slaughter and looted Jewish property. In 1970 the Jewish population was estimated at about 750. The only synagogue was closed down by the authorities in 1961 and converted into a public library. The baking of matzah was stopped in 1962. In 1964 seven Jews were arrested for economic crimes allegedly committed 20 years earlier.

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[Jean Ancel]

KALB, BERNARD (1922–), U.S. journalist. Born in New York, the son of immigrants from Poland and Russia, Kalb graduated from the City College of New York in 1942. He then spent two years in the Army, mostly on an Army newspaper in the remote Aleutian Islands. His editor was Sgt. Dashiell Hammett, the detective story writer. After the war, Kalb got a job with *The New York Times*, first as a writer for its radio station and then as a reporter in New York City and at the United Nations bureau. On his first overseas assignment, he accompanied Adm. Richard E. Byrd on a mission to Antarctica in late 1955 and early 1956. Later, he was sent to Indonesia and served there until 1961, covering the chaotic rule of President Sukarno. In 1962 Kalb opened a CBS News bureau in Hong Kong and worked there until 1970. Returning to the United States, Kalb was posted to Washington, where he covered the State Department for eight years, traveling constantly with secretaries of state, until 1984, when he became the department's spokesman, with the title of assistant secretary of state for public affairs. It was the first time a journalist who covered the State Department had been named as its spokesman. Kalb worked there first for CBS News and after 1980 for NBC News. At the time of his appointment, Kalb's younger brother, Marvin, was chief diplomatic correspondent for NBC News. As a television correspondent, he accompanied President Nixon on the opening trip to China in 1972. As State Department spokesman, Kalb was with the U.S. delegation when President Reagan held his first summit with Mikhail Gorbachev in Geneva in November 1985. In 1986, when he read about the Reagan Administration's reported effort to deceive news organizations, Kalb resigned from the State Department. Kalb then became the founding anchor and a panelist on the weekly CNN program *Reliable Sources*, which turned a critical eye on the media in a weekly series that ran for 10 years. He was co-author with his brother of two books: *Kissinger* (1974), about the former secretary of state, and *The Last Ambassador* (1975), a novel about the collapse of Saigon.

[Stewart Kampel (2nd ed.)]

KALB, MARVIN (1930–), U.S. journalist. Born in New York City, Kalb graduated from the City College of New York. He earned a master's degree from Harvard and was completing studies for a doctorate in Russian history when he left in 1956 to accept a State Department appointment in Moscow. Kalb made his mark as a broadcast journalist, serving over a 30-year period as chief diplomatic correspondent for CBS News and NBC News and as moderator of the long-running *Meet the Press*. Among his many honors were two Peabody awards, the DuPont Prize from Columbia University, and more than half a dozen Overseas Press Club awards. Kalb was the first director of the Joan Shorenstein Center on the Press, Politics and Public Policy at Harvard, serving for 12 years. He also taught and lectured as the Edward R. Murrow Professor on Press and Politics. He left to be executive director of the institute's office in Washington, D.C., where he frequently led seminars addressing critical issues facing the business and practice of journalism. Kalb was also the host of a number of television series for the Public Broadcasting System, including *Vox Populi*, a four-part series on citizen attitudes toward government. He authored or co-authored seven nonfiction books, including *Kissinger* (1974), *Roots of Involvement*, *The Nixon Memo* (1994), and *One Scandalous Story* (2001), which dissects Washington journalism in the breaking of the Monica Lewinsky scandal, as well as two best-selling novels.

[Stewart Kampel (2nd ed.)]

KALDOR, NICHOLAS, BARON (1908–1986), British economist. Born in Budapest as Miklos Kaldor, he was educated there and then studied at the London School of Economics, where he taught economics from 1932. At the end of World War II, Kaldor worked for the United States government as chief of the economic planning staff of the Strategic Bombing Survey and from 1947 to 1949 was director of the research and planning division of the Economic Commission for Europe. In 1952 he became a lecturer at Cambridge University, where he was appointed professor of economics in 1966. Kaldor acted as adviser on taxation and fiscal matters to various governments and from 1964 to 1970 was special adviser to the chancellor of the exchequer of the Labour government on employment, development, and fiscal policy. Kaldor's numerous publications advocate an extension of state control and high taxation as the prerequisite for faster economic growth. He edited *Essays on Economic Policy* (1964) and contributed essays to *National and International Measures for Full Employment* (1950), an economic report to the United Nations. Kaldor's lecture, *Accumulation and Economic Growth*, was published in *The Theory of Capital* (1961), a major work of the International Economic Association. Kaldor's emphasis on the role of the manufacturing industry in the growth process was of considerable influence on the Labour government of 1964–70, but his impact waned with the rise of monetarism. He was awarded a life peerage in 1974.

ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY: ODNB online.

[Joachim O. Ronall]

KALECKI, MICHAL (1899–1970), Polish economist. Born in Lodz and educated at Cambridge and Oxford, Kalecki worked for the United Nations Economic Department from 1947 to 1954. In 1957 he joined the Polish State Planning Commission where he was instrumental in preparing Poland's first 20-Year Plan (1959). He taught in Warsaw from 1961 to 1968 when, under pressure exerted by the Polish authorities, he resigned and ceased teaching. His studies on business cycles, inspired by Karl *Marx and Rosa *Luxemburg, anticipated much of Keynes' *General Theory of Employment, Interest and Money* (1936), and his work on war economics and full employment ensured him an eminent place, particularly among English-speaking economists. He was a member of the Polish Academy of Sciences. Outstanding among his more than 200 publications are *Essays in the Theory of Economic Fluctuations* (1939); *Studies in Economic Dynamics* (1943); *Theory of Economic Dynamics* (1954, 1965^2); and *Zarys teorii wzrostu gospodarki socjalistycznej* ("Outline of the Theory of Development in a Socialist Economy", 1963).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Problems of Economic Dynamics and Planning* (1966).

[Joachim O. Ronall]

KALEF, YEHOSHUA (1875–1943), Bulgarian Zionist leader. Born in Plovdiv (Philippopolis) to a large and influential family, Kalef was educated in Alliance Israélite schools and later completed his law studies in Sofia and in Brussels. With the appearance of *Herzl, Kalef joined *Z.H.Belkowsky in his Zionist work. He began by publishing the Zionist newspaper *Kol ha-Am* ("Voice of the People") in Bulgarian (1896) and together with K. *Herbst translated Herzl's *Judenstaat* into Bulgarian (1896). He participated in the First Zionist Congress (1897) and thereafter fought for Zionist leadership in the Jewish communities, the crystallization of a Zionist consciousness among Bulgarian Jewry, and the domination of Jewish national ideology and of the Hebrew language in Jewish schools. Kalef was a member of the Bulgarian government's delegation to the Paris Peace Conference after World War I. In 1920 he was elected chairman of the Jewish Consistory and later also president of the Zionist Organization in Bulgaria. Afterward, he moved to Alsace and then to Paris, where he lived out his life. In 1961 his remains were reinterred in Bet Ḥanan, a moshav of Bulgarian immigrants in Israel.

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[Getzel Kressel]

KALÉKO, MASCHA, pseudonym of **Golda Malka Kaléko**; 1907–1975), German lyrical poet. Mascha Kaleko was born in Chrzanów (Poland), but grew up in Frankfurt, Marburg and Berlin. Escaping the poverty of the Berlin *Scheunenviertel*, she started to work at a young age as a shorthand typist and married the Hebraist Saul Kaléko. In 1938 she emigrated with her son and second husband, the musicologist and composer Chemjo *Vinaver, to New York. In 1959 she left the U.S. and settled with her family in Jerusalem. After the death of her son (1968) and her husband (1973) she lived in isolation until she died during a trip to Europe, in Zurich.

Between 1929 and 1933 Mascha Kaléko regularly published poems in newspapers, like the *Vossische Zeitung*, the *Berliner Tagblatt*, and the *Welt am Montag*. Her first book of verse, *Das Lyrische Stenogrammheft. Verse fuer den Alltag* (1933), though seemingly influenced by Erich Kaestner's "Gebrauchslyrik" (lyrics for everyday use) with its cynical yet neoromantic tone, nevertheless reveals a very personal style with a specific Berlinesque flavor. Her extraordinary sense of humor and a gift for playing on words kept her work fresh over the years, and her *Kleines Lesebuch fuer Grosse Gereimtes und Ungereimtes*, after it had been confiscated at the printer's in 1935, was published together with her first book after the war in many editions.

Kaleko's third volume, *Verse fuer Zeitgenossen* (published in the U.S. in 1945 and in Germany in 1958), reflects many facets in the life of the Jewish exiles, such as material and psychological misery, loneliness, and the difficulties of acculturation in the new country. Her denunciation of the Nazi tyrants – in a poem dedicated to the victims of Hitler's annihilation camps – concluded: "But you, who taught me hate, I hate the worst."

Mascha Kaléko later expanded her scope to include children's books and epigrams. After her death numerous collections of unpublished poems were printed, including *In meinen Traeumen laeutet es Sturm. Gedichte und Epigramme aus dem Nachlass* (1980) and *Heute ist morgen schon gestern. Gedichte aus dem Nachlass* (1980).

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[Erich Gottgetreu /Mirjam Triendl (2nd ed.)]

KALFA, ISAAK BEN JOSEPH (d. 1801), Karaite scholar, *hazzan*, and teacher of Torah from *Chufut-Qaleh. He was a head of a study house where he taught both Karaite and Rabbanite treatises. One of his disciples was *Isaac ben Solomon, who became one of the last prominent scholars of the Crimea and who established the calendar reform (1779), which was supported by most scholars in Crimea and some other Karaite communities. Kalfa wrote a book on ritual slaughter and about the 10 principles of the Karaite faith, *Ziz Nezer ha-Kodesh* and a number of liturgical poems, some of which were included in Karaite *siddurim*. He corresponded with the Karaite community in Jerusalem and sent donations there.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: G. Akhiezer, in: M. Polliack (ed.), *Karaite Judaism* (2003), 742; Mann, Texts, 2 (1935), index, 1552.

[Golda Akhiezer (2nd ed.)]

KALIB, SHOLOM (1929–), *ḥazzan* and musicologist. Kalib was born in Dallas, Texas, and studied cantorial music with his father Morris Kalib. He also studied in Chicago with the *ḥazzanim* Todros Greenberg and Joshua Lind, both of whose cantorial compositions he later edited. He studied at Northwestern University and received a doctorate in music. In 1969 he was appointed professor of music at Eastern Michigan University and from 1977 was *ḥazzan* in Flint, Michigan. Kalib composed music for Sabbath and High Holiday services and wrote ḥasidic melodies. His *Days of Awe*, a concert rendition of the High Holiday service, was recorded with the Beth Abraham Youth Chorale conducted by Jerome B. Kopmar. His magnum opus as a musicologist is his five-volume *Musical Tradition of the Eastern European Synagogue*, which makes available a single, definitive resource for the vast musical, cultural, and historic legacy of the Eastern European synagogue.

[Akiva Zimmerman / Raymond Goldstein (2nd ed.)]

KALICH, BERTHA (1875–1939), U.S. actress born in Poland. She was the first outstanding Yiddish actress to win recognition on the English-speaking stage. Bertha Kalich trained for opera in Lemberg and later appeared in the Bucharest National Theater. Offered a leading role in *La Dame Blanche* at the Romanian Imperial Theater in 1894, she learned Romanian in three months and received an ovation for her performance.

She reached New York in 1895 and appeared in Yiddish repertory which included Ibsen's *Doll's House* and Tolstoy's *Kreutzer Sonata*. Her performance in Sardou's *Fedora* in English in 1905 led to a contract with Harrison Grey Fiske, who engaged her to appear in Maeterlinck's *Monna Vanna*. She remained under his management until 1910, and then acted for Lee Shubert in *Sappho* (1912) and *Rachel* (1913), and repeated in English some of her Yiddish successes, such as *The Riddle Woman* (1918) and *Magda* (1926).

[David S. Lifson]

KALICHSTEIN, JOSEPH (1946–), Israeli pianist. Born in Tel Aviv, Kalichstein studied with Prof. Sher at the Ḥolon Conservatory. In 1962, he moved to the U.S. to study with Edward Steuermann and Ilona Kabos at the Juilliard School in New York. Kalichstein won the Young Concert Artists Award (1967) and the Leventritt Award in 1969. His extraordinary technique, coupled with a superb musical sensibility, made him a favorite with leading conductors and orchestras in the U.S., Europe, Japan, Australia, and Latin America. Kalichstein toured widely in a trio with the violinist Jaime Laredo and the cellist Sharon Robinson from 1976. Together with the Guarneri Quartet they presented Brahms' complete works for piano and strings in New York in 1983 to celebrate the 150th anniversary of the composer's birth. Their rapport, intimacy, and sense of communication earned the trio tremendous acclaim.

ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY: Grove online.

[Uri Toeplitz and Yohanan Boehm / Naama Ramot (2nd ed.)]

KALIK, MIKHAIL (**Moshe**; 1927–), Russian film director. The son of an actor, Kalik graduated in 1949 from the art history faculty of the State Institute of Cinematography in Moscow. From 1951 to 1954 he was imprisoned in a "corrective-labor" camp, having been sentenced for "Jewish bourgeois nationalism." After graduating from the Institute's directing faculty in 1958, he became one of the representatives of the so-called "poetic cinema," a significant aspect of the new wave in Soviet art in the early 1960s. Together with B. Rytsarev he made the film *Yunost' nashikh otsov* ("Youth of Our Fathers," 1958), adapted from the novel *Razgrom* ("The Rout") by Fadeyev in which the appearance of the Jewish hero Levinson was stressed, and *Ataman Kodr* ("The Cossack Leader Kodr," 1959). Kalik included scenes with Jewish characters in his films *Kolbel'naya* ("Cradle Song," 1960), and *Chelovek idet za solntsem* ("Man Goes Beyond the Sun," 1962). In his film *Do svidaniya, mal'chiki* ("Goodbye, Boys," 1965), Kalik partially relied on his personal experience to depict the tragic fate of his generation. One of the film's three heroes, a Jewish youth, is arrested during the Doctors' Plot and perishes in prison. Despite his successes and prizes, he was not allowed to make films on Jewish themes, for example, about *Korczak. His television film *Tsena* ("The Price," 1969), based on the play by Arthur *Miller, was shown with the name of Kalik omitted from the credits several years after he immigrated to Israel in 1971 after a long struggle.

In Israel Kalik directed *Three Men and a Girl* (1975) based on short stories by Gorky, several short films, and a video-documentary about the country, which was shown at the entrance to the Israeli pavilion at the Moscow International Book Fair in 1987. In 1991 he made the autobiographical *And the Wind Returneth*.

[E. Kapitaikin / *The Shorter Jewish Encylopaedia in Russian*]

KALIKOW, PETER S. (1943–), U.S. real-estate executive, civic official. Born in New York City and a graduate of Hofstra University, Kalikow began his career in real estate in 1967 with the family's 75-year-old company. He became president of H.J. Kalikow & Co. in 1973. The company, with his father at the helm, had concentrated on building middle-class housing in the borough of Queens. Following his father's death in 1982, he assumed responsibility for all Kalikow holdings, which included vast swaths of Manhattan residential and commercial buildings. He brought it into the big-time business of office and cooperative apartment development in Manhattan. Branching out, Kalikow in 1988 bought the *New York Post*, the oldest daily newspaper in the United States, from Rupert Murdoch, for about $37.6 million (he later sold the paper back to Murdoch). But in 1991, Kalikow, once one of the wealthiest individuals in the United States, filed for personal bankruptcy protection. Burdened by debt taken on to expand his empire, Kalikow was forced to put up some of his property partnerships and other businesses as collateral during a wide-ranging reorganization. At the time Kalikow and his companies had more than $1 billion in debt, some of which he defaulted on.

In 1994 Kalikow was appointed to the board of the Metropolitan Transportation Authority, an agency that oversees New York's subways, bridges and tunnels, and commuter railroads, by Gov. Mario M. Cuomo, and served for a little more than a year. Gov. George E. Pataki appointed him to be vice chairman of the MTA in 1999 and he became chairman in 2001. The organization provides mass transit to nearly 8 million riders each weekday and moves nearly 300 million vehicles through bridges and tunnels a year.

Kalikow was involved in numerous real estate, health, and philanthropic activities. In 1982 he was awarded the Peace Medal, the State of Israel's highest civilian award, for his many years in aiding Israel's development. In 1987 he was honored by the American Jewish Committee and in 1989 the Anti-Defamation League awarded him and his wife its first annual Jacob K. Javits award for outstanding accomplishment. He was a member of the board of trustees of New York's Museum of Jewish Heritage: A Living Memorial to the Holocaust and served on the board of the Jewish National Fund.

In 1995 he received the Jerusalem 3000 Award from the State of Israel Bonds for his chairmanship of the real-estate division for eight years.

[Stewart Kampel (2nd ed.)]

KALILA AND DIMNA, a cycle of fables which originated in *India in the third century C.E. and were collected and compiled in Kashmir. In the course of centuries the cycle has gone through numerous changes, especially as a result of having been translated into many languages: Persian, Arabic, Hebrew, Syriac, Ethiopian, Malay, Mongolian, Greek, and many European languages. Most of the translators also acted as adaptors and added material of their own. The story was greatly expanded and revised in the seventh century when Abdallah ibn al-Muqaffaʿ translated it into Arabic from the Persian adaptation, i.e., from Pahlavi. In the 12th century this Arabic translation was the basis for the story's translation and adaptation into Hebrew by an author about whom nothing is known except his name, Joel. In the 13th century the poet *Jacob b. Eleazar not only translated the story into Hebrew, but also adapted it into rhymed rhetoric. Since the original source has been lost, these medieval Hebrew translations are of great importance in studying the textual changes in the story during succeeding generations. The apostate *John of Capua's 13th-century Latin translation of the story (*Directorium Vitae*), from which most European translations have been made, was executed in accordance with Joel's Hebrew translation. In 1881 both Hebrew translations, which had over centuries become deficient because of copying errors, were published in Paris, Joel's work being accompanied by Joseph Derenbourg's French translation. A new Hebrew translation from the Arabic was made by Abraham *Elmaleh and appeared in Tel Aviv in 1927.

In both content and form the story resembles other books that have come down from Indian sources, i.e., stories whose bare outlines had been fleshed out by the addition of new material or the substitution of new stories for old ones. *Kalila and Dimna* comprises a collection of moral fables and fables about birds and animals, Kalila and Dimna being the names of two foxes. The story, in outline, tells of a physician named Barzoyeh, who, at the behest of the king of *Persia, sought plants whose juice would not only bring health to the sick but immortality as well. Ultimately, the physician learns that such "plants" are really symbols for the books of wisdom which help man achieve perpetual life. Barzoyeh told the king of his discovery and the king ordered "all those books to be collected from every native and every traveler, and to be brought to the king's treasury." It is said that from these collected wisdom books, *Kalila and Dimna*, the essence of wisdom and morality, was compiled. The major part of the book is constituted by the king's queries and the replies of the philosopher Sindbar, or in Jacob b. Eleazar's translation, *Dod Ḥokhmah* (lit. "lover of wisdom," the Hebrew equivalent of philosopher). Some editions of the book including, apparently, the Hebrew translations, were accompanied by pictures.

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[Abraham Meir Habermann]

KALININDORF (until 1927, **Bolshaya Seidemenukha**, from the Heb. שְׂדֵה מְנוּחָה), Jewish settlement in Ukraine; one of the first four Jewish agricultural colonies to be founded in the province of Kherson in 1807. After several decades of hardship caused by droughts and the distant attitude of Russian clerks nominated to help and supervise, the settlement became a Jewish village whose inhabitants engaged in agriculture. In 1897 there were 1,786 Jewish inhabitants (81% of the population), most of them farmers with a few being artisans. From 1924 there was an influx of settlers into the vicinity and many lived temporarily in the settlement. By 1926 there were 2,400 Jews (89.3% of the population) living in the locality, and by 1939 the numbers had dropped to 1,879 (of a total 3,126). On March 22, 1927, Kalinindorf became the center of the first autonomous Jewish region in the Soviet Union. It had 11 county councils, eight of them Jewish, and 49 settlements, 39 of them Jewish. In 1927 there were in the region 15,833 Jews (87% of the total population), with the figures dropping to 7,717 (40% of the total) in 1939. The main cause was the severe crisis during the process of collectivization (1930–32), and many of the settlers left. In 1932 it comprised over 72,000 hectares of land. The largest villages were then the settlements of Kalinindorf (population 902), *Bobrovy Kut (832), Lvova (702), and Sterndorf (formerly called Malaya Seidemenukha, 503 inhabitants). During the 1920s a Jewish elementary school operated, enlarged later to a junior high, and in the 1930s there were a Jewish agricultural high school and a teachers' college. About 2,000 (in 1932), almost all Jewish children of the region, attended Jewish schools. During the 1930s a daily, *Kolvirt Emes*, was published in the area. Kalinindorf was occupied by the Germans on August 27, 1941. Some Jews succeeded in escaping. On September 17, 1,423 Jews were killed. A few days later Jews from neighboring villages, like Shterendorf and Judendorf, were brought there and murdered. More than 4,100 Jews were killed in the region during the Nazi occupation. After World War II Kalinindorf was rehabilitated, but most of its inhabitants were non-Jews; it was renamed Kalininskoye and the Jewish Autonomous Region was abolished.

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[Yehuda Slutsky / Shmuel Spector (2nd ed.)]

KALINKOVICHI, townlet in Polesye district, Belarus. In 1811 there were 108 Jews, and in 1897 their number grew to 1,341. All inhabitants of the town were then Jews. Many of them traded in flour, and others worked in crafts. The invalid Jewish author Joseph Ḥayyim Dorozhka (1869–1919), who lived in Kalinkovichi, was the leading spirit behind an attempt made during 1911–12 to introduce Hebrew as the spoken language of the town. For this purpose, a network of Hebrew schools was established. The townlet suffered heavily at the end of the Civil War (1920). In March 1920 the Polish soldiers staged a pogrom, and on November 10, 1920, Balakhovich's gang killed 32 Jews. At that time many Jews from the surrounding district flocked to the town. The 3,106 Jews living in Kalinkovichi in 1926 constituted about half of the total population, and in 1939 it reached 3,386 Jews (out of a total population of 9,799). From 1923 there was a Yiddish school, with 397 pupils enrolled in 1930. Classes for adult studies were also available at this time. Shlome *Simon, who was born there, described the town in *Vortslen* (1956) and *Tsvaygn* (1960). The Jewish Soviet poet Zalman Telesin was also a native of Kalinkovichi. The Germans occupied Kalinkovichi on August 22, 1941. Many Jews had fled before. On September 22, 1941, the remaining 700 were murdered by the Nazis. The last synagogue was closed down in 1960, after 10 of the 20 "aldermen" responsible for its upkeep were compelled to sign a letter accusing the Jews of organizing illegal activity within the synagogue.

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[Yehuda Slutsky / Shmuel Spector (2nd ed.)]

KALIR, AVRAHAM (1903–1985), Israeli industrialist. Born in Bukovina, he immigrated to Israel in 1934, where he devoted himself to the development of the textile industry. Kalir is a pioneer in developing industrial projects in new development areas in the country, introducing modern technological methods. He distinguished himself in developing human relations in his enterprises and programs of technological training and instruction. In 1962 he became the chairman of the Israel Manufacturers Association, serving on its board for 20 years. In 1976 he was awarded the Industrial Prize by the Manufacturers Association. He was also active in security and defense matters prior to the establishment of the State of Israel and after that time contributed to the development of cultural and educational institutions. In 1961 he was one of the founders of the Beit Tzvi school for stage arts, named after his son Tzvi Kalir, who died during the War of Independence. Subsequently he served on the boards of directors of Bank Leumi and the Dead Sea Works. He also served on the boards of the Technion, the Hebrew University, and ORT. In 1978 he was named director of Bank Leumi's special fund for social projects. He was awarded the Israel Prize in 1977 for achievements in industry and social activities. In 1985 he was selected as one of the torchbearers in Israel's Independence Day ceremonies, representing industrialists.

[Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

KALISCH, DAVID (1820–1872), German playwright and humorist. Kalisch was born in Breslau. After a brief business career, he visited Paris in 1844 and there associated with a group of poets and socialists, among them Heinrich *Heine, Georg Herwegh, and Karl Marx. When his funds were exhausted he returned to Germany and in 1846 started writing comic sketches and farces for various theaters, first in Leipzig and later in Berlin. The couplets of his comedy *Einmal Hunderttausend Taler* (1847) became extremely popular. In 1848 Kalisch founded the humorous and satirical weekly *Kladderadatsch* and edited it together with Ernst Dohm and Rudolf Löwenstein. This periodical spread his fame quickly throughout the German-speaking world. His successful farces and light comedies, some of which he wrote in collaboration with other playwrights, were popular on the Berlin stage for many years. His humorous writings were collected in *Berliner Volksbuehne*, 4 vols. (1864), and *Lustige Werke*, 3 vols. (1870).

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[Sol Liptzin / Noam Zadoff (2nd ed.)]

KALISCH, MARKUS MORITZ (1825–1885), Hebraist and biblical commentator. Kalish was born in Treptow, Pomerania and studied at the Berlin University, where he graduated in 1848, and the Rabbinical College of Berlin. He was active in the struggle for freedom in Europe which resulted in the *emeute* of 1848 and as a result had to leave Germany; he settled in England, where he remained until his death. He was appointed secretary to Chief Rabbi N.M. *Adler, holding the post from 1848 to 1853, after which he served as tutor and literary adviser to the Rothschild family, a post in which he was able to devote himself to biblical scholarship and Hebrew grammar. He contemplated writing a comprehensive commentary on the Pentateuch, giving a resumé of Jewish and Christian scholarship to date, but completed only the first three volumes, Exodus (1885), Genesis (1858), and Leviticus (Part 1, 1867; Part 2, 1872), in the last of which he anticipated *Wellhausen to a considerable extent. Other publications were a Hebrew grammar in two parts and Bible studies on the book of Jonah (1876) and on the prophecies of Balaam (1877). In 1880 there appeared his last work *Path and Goal: A Discussion on the Elements of Civilization and the Conditions of Happiness*, consisting of an attempt to combine the views of the representatives of the main religions.

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KALISCHER, JUDAH LEIB BEN MOSES (d. 1822), *av bet din* in Lissa. The head of the yeshivah of Lissa for many years, Kalischer was referred to as "the sharp sword" on account of his profound acumen in the study of the Talmud. He was the author of *Ha-Yad ha-Ḥazakah* (Breslau, 1820), novellae and casuistic discussions on 27 sections in talmudic law dealing with *ḥazakah ("presumption"). In the work he stresses that "I have come to understand and learn, but not to give decisions." His glosses to the Talmud have remained in manuscript. Kalischer was on friendly terms with Akiva *Eger. Kalischer had five sons, of whom one, ABRAHAM MOSES (d. 1812), was a son-in-law of Akiva Eger and served as rabbi of Schneidemuehl, dying there at an early age. One of his novellae is quoted at the end of the *Ha-Yad ha-Ḥazakah*.

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[Josef Horovitz]

KALISCHER, ẒEVI HIRSCH (1795–1874), rabbi and harbinger of the Zionist idea. Born in Lissa (Leszno), Posen district, Kalischer studied under the great scholars of his day, Jacob of Lissa (Lorberbaum) and Akiva Eger. In 1824 he settled in Thorn, where he lived until his death, rejecting invitations from many communities to serve as their rabbi. Even in Thorn he served only as unpaid acting rabbi and lived off the meager income supplied by his wife's small business. He published books on *halakhah* (*Even Boḥan; Moznayim la-Mishpat*, 1843–55) and on religious philosophy (*Emunah Yesharah*, 1843), and contributed to the Hebrew press for many years. (Before the existence of a regular Hebrew press, his articles were published in German translation in the German-Jewish press.) His major activity, however, throughout his life, was advocating the idea of mass settlement of European Jewry in Ereẓ Israel. In his discussions with members of the Reform movement on the observance of religious precepts, the belief in the coming of the Messiah, the *mitzvot* connected with Ereẓ Israel, etc., Kalischer revealed not only his strong attachment to religious tradition but also his preoccupation with the problems of the day.

As early as his meeting with Anschel *Rothschild in 1836, Kalischer revealed his opinion that the redemption of Israel would not come, as had been believed for generations, through a miracle, that "suddenly God would come down from the heavens or suddenly send His messiah," but rather that salvation would be brought about by human endeavor. He stressed the idea that the natural redemption would serve as the first and main stage before the miraculous redemption at the end of days. This was a revolutionary departure from over 1,000 years of Jewish thinking about redemption. His system initially included the observance of the *mitzvot* connected with Ereẓ Israel, especially those of sacrifice, as basic steps toward the future redemption, but at a later stage he disregarded this element in his ideology. Indeed, he wrote to Rothschild detailing the halakhic issues involved in renewing the practice of sacrifice on the Temple Mount. Shortly thereafter, Kalischer corresponded at length with his former teacher Akiba *Eger about the sanctity of the Temple Mount, the problems regarding the laws of purity and the genealogies of the priests. Unfortunately for Kalischer, Eger, who opposed Kalischer's ideas, died in 1837 before they could come to a resolution. Following Judah *Alkalai, he based his doctrine on the talmudic saying "It [the coming of the Messiah] depends solely on the return [to God]" (Sanh. 97b), interpreting the word "return" as return to Ereẓ Israel. He based this interpretation on *Tikkunei Zohar*. Thus he introduced an active human element into the concept of the redemption of the Jewish people, in opposition to most of the Orthodox rabbis of the time, who objected to this interpretation and its practical implications. His urge to gather supporters for the return to Ereẓ Israel was reinforced by the various national movements in Europe, which were specifically cited by Kalischer. Pointing to the struggles of European nations to achieve independence, Kalischer chastised his fellow Jews for being the only people without such an aspiration. He was particularly critical of the Reform Jews who tried to emulate the gentile lifestyle. Kalischer urged them to emulate gentile nationalism as well by returning to the Jewish homeland, Ereẓ Israel. Kalischer was a realist. He was aware that only a catastrophic event or the very slow process of education would change the attitudes of Europe's Jews. However, he felt that the mid-nineteenth century was ripe for this change, for there were enough wealthy Jewish leaders who could influence the European political leadership without begging for their mercy and good will. After Rothschild gave a noncommittal response, Kalischer approached Moses *Montefiore. Unfortunately, his correspondence with Montefiore has not survived. Nevertheless, the result was the same lukewarm response that did not produce any practical results.

Practical activities for the settlement in Ereẓ Israel did not come into being until 1860, when Ḥayyim *Lorje established the first society for this purpose in Frankfurt on the Oder and Kalischer supported it. The society quickly attracted many of the leaders of the European Jewish community. Among them were Albert *Cohen, R. Joseph Blumenthal of Paris, R. Nathan *Adler of London, S.J. *Finn of Vilna, R. Judah *Alkalai and Dov Meisels, chief rabbi of Budapest. The society did not last long, basically because of the eccentric personality of its leader, but it did manage to publish Kalischer's book *Derishat Ẓiyyon* (1862), which for many years served as the basic book to explain the idea of the return to Ereẓ Israel to Orthodox groups (the book came out in a number of editions, was translated into German, and portions of it were translated into English and other languages). In the book, Kalischer expounded at length his theory that redemption would come in two stages: the natural one, return to Ereẓ Israel and labor – particularly agricultural – in the country, and the supernatural one to follow. The first stage would invigorate the *yishuv* and put it on a healthy economic foundation instead of its dependence upon donations from abroad (*ḥalukkah*). In his program he did not ignore the unstable security situation (this argument was used against him mainly by the rabbis in Ereẓ Israel), and he devoted one paragraph especially to the necessity of appointing guards trained for war and police duty. He also envisioned the establishment of an agricultural school for the younger generation. The book had a great influence on, inter alia, Moses *Hess, who included portions of it in German translation in his book *Rome and Jerusalem*. Even though the society founded by Lorje collapsed, it left Kalischer with numerous contacts and key friendships. One was with Rabbi Joseph Natank of Hungary, who became a loyal and assiduous worker on Kalischer's behalf. From the time Kalischer published *Derishat Ẓiyyon*, his life was devoted to traveling through Europe in order to enlist the support of Jewish groups for his idea. He tried to win leading Jewish personalities over to his plan. He also published sermonizing articles in many Hebrew newspapers and journals. At the same time he continued his writing in the field of *halakhah* as well as his struggle against those who, in his opinion, undermined the foundations of religious tradition. He also found himself disputing with the rabbis who objected to his ideas on religious grounds, and especially with the rabbis in Ereẓ Israel, who also brought up the argument that conditions, especially of security, in Ereẓ Israel were not yet ripe for beginning agricultural settlement. Their vigorous opposition was also based on theological objections to Kalischer's view of redemption. At the same time, they feared that mass settlement would lead to the lessening of their authority. Kalischer stood his ground even before the great rabbis of his time. He distinguished between philanthropy on behalf of Ereẓ Israel, in which German Orthodox rabbis were active, and settlement activity of redeeming value in the future. Thus he adopted a critical attitude toward the building of houses in Jerusalem at the beginning of the 1860s (the "*Battei Maḥaseh*" in the Old City), as he saw this project as a private endeavor and not promoting the "main objective." He believed that only agriculture on a large scale could serve as a stable solution for both the *yishuv* and the victims of persecution in Europe. Kalischer saw a small beginning of his ideal realized toward the end of his life when the agricultural school was opened at Mikveh Israel (1870) and even thought of settling there at the invitation of the school's director, Charles *Netter, to supervise the observance of the *mitzvot* connected with Ereẓ Israel, but his desire was not realized. His son Ze'ev Wolf continued Kalischer's activity and, at his initiative, a tract of land near Rachel's tomb was purchased from the funds in Kalischer's estate. A selection of his Zionist writings was published together with an introduction by G. Kressel (1943). All his Zionist writings were collected with an introduction by I. Klausner (1947). Both collections have full bibliographies.

In practical terms, there was little difference between Kalischer's plans and those of Herzl: A Jewish state based on agriculture, with its own police and army. So why did Kalischer fail to start a mass Zionist movement? Kalischer was a bit of an anomaly. East European Orthodox Jews thought that his messianic ideas were too modern and were thus afraid that they might lead to assimilation. West European Jews saw him as an East European rabbi who spoke and wrote using a talmudic and rabbinic idiom that was foreign to them.

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[Getzel Kressel / David Derovan (2nd ed.)]

KALISZ (Ger. **Kalisch**; **Kalish**), city in Poznan province, W. Poland; it had the most ancient community in Poland. The first Jews to arrive there, in the last third of the 12th century, were minters. They served Mieszko III the Oldster, prince of Great Poland (1127–1202), and his descendants. A large group of Jews from the Rhineland and other parts of Germany arrived in Kalisz by way of Silesia in the middle of the 13th century and received protection from the ruler. They established a settlement in the city of Kalisz, and engaged in financial activity and commerce. They were among the initiators of the Statute of Kalisz issued by *Boleslav V the Pious in 1264, which they apparently helped to draft. In 1287 the elders of the community (*judei seniores Kalisienses*) bought a plot of land from the owner, Rupinus, on which a cemetery was established. In the middle of the 14th century there existed a "Jewish street" in the city which was the center of varied financial activities. At the time of the *Black Death in 1349 the Jews in Kalisz suffered from persecutions. In 1358 the heads of the community obtained permission from King *Casimir III the Great to establish a synagogue; its erection was begun immediately, and it remained standing until 1857 when it was destroyed by fire. In 1364 the head of the Kalisz community, Falk, obtained Casimir's ratification of the charter of privileges for the Jews of Poland.

Apart from *moneylending, during the 15th and 16th centuries the Jews of Kalisz engaged in commerce with Cracow and Breslau, and in crafts including goldsmithing, tailoring, and butchery. The Jewish quarter was extended, and the community grew with the addition of immigrants and refugees from Bohemia (1542), Hungary, and Germany. During the 15th century many Jews in Kalisz moved to new settlements in other towns in Poland. At the beginning of the 16th century the Kalisz community was headed by a *kahal* administered by three to five *parnasim*.

Anti-Jewish disorders broke out in Kalisz in 1542 owing to the Jewish commercial competition with the townsmen. A *Host libel involving the Jews in Kalisz occurred in 1557. In 1565 the Kalisz community applied to the king for justice with a claim against the municipality for damages and desecration of the synagogue which had occurred during a mob outbreak that year. At the end of the 16th century wealthy Jews of Kalisz engaged in extensive commercial activities at the fairs of Lublin, Cracow, and Poznan, and also with towns in Silesia. In 1580–81, they conveyed through the local customs station approximately 4,500 hides, 13,500 kg. wool, 4,000 kg. wax, and 70 kg. pepper, among other merchandise. Apart from this elite there existed a poorer stratum of Jews in Kalisz; in 1579 about one-third of the Jews of the city had not paid their taxes because they were in financial straits.

The Kalisz community was severely affected by the cataclysm in Poland in the middle of the 17th century. Hundreds of Jewish refugees from south and east Poland passed through Kalisz in 1648–49 escaping from the *Chmielnicki massacres. In 1659, toward the end of the war between Sweden and Poland, hundreds of Jews were killed in Kalisz and the Jewish quarter was razed by the troops of S. *Czarniecki. The Kalisz community was rehabilitated within a short time through the prompt assistance given it by the Jews of Poznan, *Leszno, and *Krotoszyn. By 1670 it was able to give asylum to refugees from Vienna. King John III Sobieski ratified the privileges of the Jews of Kalisz in 1676, and in 1678 the Sejm (diet) granted them tax reliefs to assist them to overcome a severe financial crisis. In the last third of the 17th century many Jews of Kalisz did business at the fairs of Breslau and *Leipzig, exporting furs and hides, and importing costly cloth, metal ware, and precious stones. Apart from commerce, the Jews of Kalisz also engaged in crafts as tailors, furriers, goldsmiths, saddlers, smiths, engravers, bakers, and butchers. From 1672 Jewish craftsmen were obliged to join crafts associations.

During a fire which broke out in Kalisz in 1706, 45 Jews perished, and two years later 450 Jews lost their lives in a plague in the town. Many Jews became ruined after these calamities and the financial crisis, and in 1713 the community was obliged to borrow money from Christians in order to aid the needy. The position of the Jews in Kalisz became even more serious when Christian merchants in the 1720s organized themselves in a confraternity one of whose main objectives was to oppose Jewish commerce. The economic position of the Jews in Kalisz improved only in the second half of the 18th century due to their success in dealing in grain, cattle, sheep, wool, and cloth, and in the production and sale of alcoholic liquor. In 1761 the community arrived at an agreement with the municipal authorities by which the Jewish population was exempted from the duty of supporting soldiers in exchange for an annual payment of 1,200 zlotys. Following a *blood libel incited by extreme Catholic circles in 1763, four Jews were sentenced to death. There were 809 Jews who paid the poll tax in Kalisz in 1765. In 1786 among 207 craftsmen 101 were Jews.

In the second half of the 17th century Kalisz was an important spiritual center of Polish Jewry. The first rabbi known by name, Solomon Zalman b. Jeremiah Jacob, officiated there from 1639 to 1643. Israel b. Nathan Shapira (R. Israel ha-Darshan) who served as rabbi in the second half of the 17th century, established an important yeshivah there. He was followed until 1696 by *Judah b. Nissan, author of *Beit Yehudah*. From 1656 to 1683 Abraham Abele *Gombiner, author of *Magen Avraham*, served as *dayyan* there.

Within the framework of the *Councils of the Four Lands the communities of Kalisz, Poznan, Leszno (Lissa), and Krotoszyn, were the most important in the province of *Great Poland. In the second half of the 17th century the Kalisz community obtained the leadership of the provincial council, continuing to hold it until 1714 when the treasury of the council was transferred to the Leszno community. Representatives of the Kalisz community frequently served as *parnasim* of the Councils of Four Lands at the end of the 17th century and the beginning of the 18th. In 1737 the province of Poznan-Kalisz had the third-largest Jewish population in the kingdom of Poland (after the provinces of "Russia" and *Sandomierz-Krakow), and was responsible for 16% of the sum that the Jews of Poland were obliged to pay to the royal treasury.

When Kalisz was under Prussian rule (1793–1806), many Jews found employment in the expanding commerce and crafts, as well as in supplying the army. The number of Jews in the town had increased to 2,113 (c. 30% of the total population) in 1804. The struggle of the townsmen against the Jews now intensified, particularly after Kalisz was incorporated within Congress Poland in 1815. In 1827, under pressure by the local authorities, the government ordered that the Jews of Kalisz should reside in a separate quarter (*rewir*) which existed until 1862 and was severely overcrowded. In addition, until this year Jews from other places were prohibited, under the czarist regulations concerning residence of Jews in the border zones, from settling in Kalisz to the border with Prussia. The Jewish population numbered 3,463 (29% of the total) in 1827, and 4,352 (36%) in 1857. In 1854 only 23 Jews had houses outside the Jewish quarter.

From the 1840s Jewish economic activity became more extensive. Up to 1861 Jewish merchants and contractors developed enterprises for wool weaving and tanning, and also traded in cotton, wool, and wine. After the economic standstill resulting from the Polish uprising (1863–64) came to an end, and following the opening of the railway (1871), Jews with capital opened factories for soap, candles, and liqueurs, and in the 1870s began to develop the lace industry in Kalisz which soon became celebrated on the Russian and Chinese markets. Toward the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th, Jewish manufacturers established modern textile works and knitting factories for mass-produced socks, as well as a toy factory (for dolls). The Jewish population in Kalisz numbered 7,580 (32% of the total) in 1897, and 14,318 (36%) in 1908; among the 67 factories in Kalisz that year, 32 were Jewish-owned. A Jewish hospital was founded in Kalisz in 1836 by the industrialist L. Mamroth, on the initiative of the physician Michael Morgenstern, which continued to exist until 1939. A Jewish school with Russian as the language of instruction was founded in Kalisz in 1875, in which 150 pupils were registered that year. In 1878 anti-Jewish riots occurred in the town, provoked by religious fanatics in which many peasants took part;

13 Jews were killed and damage caused to Jewish property in the city amounted to 200,000 rubles. From 1881 on, the Russian authorities organized frequent expulsions from Kalisz of Jews who were German or Austrian citizens. By the beginning of the 20th century there was a large stratum of Jewish workers in Kalisz, who in 1909 numbered over 3,000, including apprentices and hired workers employed in workshops. Toward the end of the 19th century and beginning of the 20th century *Ḥasidism gained influence in Orthodox circles in Kalisz, especially the Hasidim of Gur (*Gora Kalwaria), Kotsk (see Menahem Mendel of *Kotsk), and *Warka. Progressive circles established their own synagogue in 1911. Among rabbis of Kalisz in the 19th and 20th centuries were Solomon b. Akiva *Eger (1835–40), Elijah Ragoler (1840–50), Ẓevi Hirsch *Chajes (1851–55), Meir b. Isaac *Auerbach (1855–60), Hayyim Eleazar Waks (1862–81), Samson Ornstein (1881–1902), and Ezekiel Lipschuetz (until 1932).

When the German army occupied Kalisz in August 1914, the soldiers — as a result of deliberate incitement without any military justification — set fire to about 150 Jewish houses in the center of the city. Thirty-three Jewish residents of Kalisz lost their lives in this action, and many fled from the city. Later, schools were established, including a Tahkemoni school directed by Jacob Shalom Engel, and a national religious school for girls, Havazelet.

After the establishment of Polish rule, members of the *Endecja party in Kalisz organized a pogrom there in March 1919 in which two Jews lost their lives. In order to defend themselves against antisemitic agitation, Jewish youth and workers there organized *self-defense groups at the end of 1919 and in 1920. The Jewish population of Kalisz numbered 15,566 (35% of the total) in 1921, and 19,248 in 1931. During the interwar period all the Jewish parties were active in the city, as well as trade associations of workers in the lace factories, to which both Jews and Poles belonged, and of garment workers, leather workers, porters, and others. In the municipal elections held in 1927, 11 Jews were elected among 34 members of the council. A Jewish secondary school was opened in 1916. There were three Yiddish schools in Kalisz in the 1920s and 1930s (belonging to CYSHO), founded by workers' parties. Periodicals published in Kalisz included a weekly of Zionist orientation, *Di Kalisher Vokh*, founded in 1919 and edited by M. Abramowitz, and an independent weekly, *Kalisher Lebn*, founded in 1927 by Dr. Fogelson, which continued as *Dos Naye Lebn* under the editorship of A. Mamelok until 1938. Between 1929 and 1937 *Agudat Israel published a weekly, *Kalisher Vokh*, under the editorship of Rabbi Littman. In the 1930s there were two synagogues and about 35 prayer-houses in Kalisz.

Antisemitic propaganda increased in Kalisz under the leadership of the Endecja party from 1933, and many attempts were made to impose an economic *boycott on Jewish businessmen and artisans there.

[Arthur Cygielman]

Holocaust Period

In 1939 there were over 20,000 Jews living in Kalisz (almost 50% of the total population). The Germans occupied Kalisz on Sept. 6, 1939. Jews were seized by the Germans in the streets for slave labor, and were subjected to confiscation of property. Measures were introduced imposing a curfew, and the wearing of the yellow *badge. The beards and earlocks of Orthodox Jews were cut off, Polish antisemites taking part in these activities with particular zeal. Over a short time about 20% of the local Jews managed to escape while 10,000 others were evicted from their homes in an *Aktion* on Nov. 20, 1939, to make room for Baltic *Volksdeutsche*. The evicted families were at first lodged in warehouses, but during the first two weeks of December were deported to the Lublin district of the General Government. Following the deportation several thousand additional Jews managed to escape from Kalisz and dispersed over many parts of Poland, including nearly 7,000 who found refuge in the *Warsaw ghetto (1940). The Germans established a labor camp in the nearby village of Kozminka where 1,300 able-bodied Jews were employed. By Jan. 1, 1940, 612 Jews remained in Kalisz, some of them craftsmen. In October 1940 the Germans murdered all those chronically ill in a nearby forest.

The Jewish community of Kalisz, reduced to some 400 able-bodied young people, was housed in three buildings, in which workshops were established. Some Jews were forced to dismantle the tombstones from the Jewish cemetery to be used for pavements. By the end of 1941, 200 Jews, including some children, were sent to the death camp at *Chelmno. A few months later the remaining Jews were sent to *Lodz ghetto, where the few Jews still in the Kozminka work camps were sent. Kalisz thus became **judenrein*.

The Jewish community numbered nearly 300 in 1946 after some of the survivors returned, but all eventually left. Several memorial books for the Kalisz community were published in Israel: *Sefer Kalish* (2 vols., Heb. and Yid., 1964–67); *The Kalish Book* (1968); and *Toledot Yehudei Kalish* (1961, by Y.D. Beit-Halevi).

[Danuta Dombrowska]

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KALLAH (Heb. כַּלָּה; "bride"), one of the minor tractates appended to the end of the fourth order, *Nezikin*, in the printed texts of the Babylonian Talmud. There are two separate versions of the tractate. The shorter one consists of a single chapter while the larger version contains ten chapters and is known as *Kallah Rabbati*. Originally only the shorter tractate was known and it was published in the printed edition of the Talmud and the *Maḥzor Vitry*. The manuscript of the longer version was first published by Naḥman Coronel (Vienna, 1864), and subsequently printed in the *Romm (Vilna) edition of the Talmud. In three places the Babylonian Talmud cites the same passage, which mentions a tractate *Kallah* (Shab. 114a; Ta'an. 10b; Kid. 49b). It is related that a person is considered a disciple of the wise when he can answer any question of *halakhah* connected with his studies "even though it is on a subject dealt with in the *Kallah* tractate." Scholars are uncertain as to the exact meaning of this phrase. Some hold that the allusion is to this tractate, while others explain that the reference is to the semiannual assemblies of the Babylonian scholars which were termed *kallah* and at which a designated tractate was studied.

The smaller tractate of *Kallah* discusses the subject of betrothal, marriage, chastity, and moral purity both in thought and action. The subject matter of this treatise is culled from *beraitot* contained in the Babylonian Talmud. Its authorship was generally attributed to Yehudai Gaon (eighth century), but M. Higger concludes that the original *Kallah* was compiled by a disciple of *Eliezer b. Hyrcanus and that a later compiler added to it (intro. to M. Higger's edition of *Kallah*, 13).

The larger tractate of *Kallah Rabbati* resembles the format of the Talmud, consisting of *beraitot* and *Gemara*. According to N. Friedmann (*Seder Eliyahu Zuta*, introd. p. 15), it emanated from the school of *Rava in Maḥoza (Babylonia, third century). A. Aptowitzer, however, held that the author was Rava, a disciple of Yehudai Gaon (REJ 57 (1909), 239–48). Of the ten chapters comprising *Kallah Rabbati* only the first two discuss betrothal and marriage and they form a commentary to the shorter version of *Kallah*. Except for chapter 8, the remaining chapters form an amplification of *Derekh Ereẓ Rabbah* and *Derekh Ereẓ Zuta*. Chapter 8 is closely related to "the chapter on the acquisition of the Torah" or "the *baraita* of R. Meir" appended to *Pirkei Avot*. Much aggadic material is contained in this tractate, including the interesting stories of Akiva and the spirit of a deceased man (ch. 2); the four sages and the philosopher (ch. 7); Simeon b. Antipatros and his guests (ch. 9); and Akiva and the Athenian (ch. 10). A critical edition of the texts of *Kallah* and *Kallah Rabbati* was published by M. Higger in 1936. An English translation of these tractates was issued by Soncino Press in 1965.

KALLAH, MONTHS OF, a term for the months of Elul and Adar when, during the talmudic and geonic eras, large gatherings assembled to study Torah in the Babylonian academies. Many conjectures have been made about the etymology of the word *kallah*, but they are all doubtful (see Krauss, in *Tarbiz*, 20 (1949), 123ff. and bibliography). The custom of the institution of the *kallah* apparently began in Babylon in the third century. It is related that Rabbah b. Nahamani, head of the Pumbedita academy (end of the third and beginning of the fourth centuries), was calumniated to the government for hindering 12,000 people from paying their tax to the king during the two months of the *kallah*, since they refrained from work during this period (BM 86a). Rav Ashi stated that the gentiles of Mata Meḥasya, near Sura, were obdurate, since they saw the glory of the Torah twice a year, in the months of Adar and Elul, and yet remained unconverted (Ber. 17b). Besides the *benei kallah* (the "members of the *kallah*") who participated in the studies during the whole day, many of the ordinary people would come just for the public sermon and were called *benei pirkei* (Ket. 62a). The students devoted themselves diligently to their studies during the *kallah* months. Bibi b. Abbaye had not the time even to go over the weekly Bible portion "twice in Hebrew and once in the Targum," and would complete the reading on the eve of the Day of Atonement (Ber. 8b in Ms. readings and He-Arukh s.v. כל). Rav Naḥman (end of the third century) gave instructions that litigants who were members of the *kallah* were not to be summoned to appear before the courts during the *kallah* so as not to interrupt their studies (BK 113a). The Talmud mentions two heads of *kallah* by name: *Naḥman b. Isaac was the head of the *kallah* and Adda b. Abba used to "go over the discourse" with him every day before he went in to expound it in the *kallah* (BB 22a). It is said of Abbahu that he was one of the heads of the *kallah* of Refram (Ḥul. 49a). It is therefore evident that several heads of *kallah* served in that office during one *kallah* period.

During each *kallah* month the studies were one specific tractate, the "*kallah* tractate," which the head of the academy announced at the end of the previous *kallah*, so that each participant could study it during the months intervening between one *kallah* and the next. During the *kallah* month, the head of the academy would give a discourse on that tractate and reply to the queries of the students, and then one of the scholars among those sitting in the first row, "the heads of the *kallah*," would discuss the topic with the hearers until it was explained and clarified to all. In the last week of the *kallah* month the head of the academy would test and examine the permanent members of the academy, and if "he saw that one of them had not organized his studies … he would diminish his stipend, rebuke him, and reprimand him … as a result they applied themselves and occupied themselves well with their studies in order not to come to grief in a halakhic matter before him" (Neubauer, 2 (1895), 87–88).

These descriptions, and others known from R. Nathan ha-Bavli, describe mainly the arrangements in the academies in the geonic era, but they had their source at the beginning of the talmudic era and continued unchanged in Babylonia for centuries. According to one tradition (*ibid.*) the month of Adar was used for the clarification of the written queries which reached the Babylonian academies. During this month the queries which reached the heads of the academy from the communities in the Diaspora were brought out, and the scholars of the academy examined them together, finally arriving at the practical *halakhah*. After "the truth had become clear to them," the scribe committed the result to writing, and at the end of the month the head of the academy signed them and sent the replies to the inquirers. It is clear from other geonic sources, however, that during the rest of the year, too, replies were sent in answer to questions (S. Assaf, *Tekufat ha-Ge'onim ve-Sifrutah* (1955), 256–60). The institution of *kallah* months was unknown in Ereẓ Israel, and is mentioned neither in the Jerusalem Talmud, nor in any *baraita*. The phrase "and even in the *kallah* tractate" in the *beraitot* of tractates *Ta'anit* (10b) and *Kiddushin* (49b) was added in accordance with the custom of the time among the Babylonians (see the Mss. and the parallels in the Tosefta and the Jerusalem Talmud). Rashi explains the expression "tractate *kallah*" as referring to tractate *Kallah Rabbati* or to the festival *halakhot* on which they were accustomed to discourse before the festival (Shab. 114a; et al.). But the correct meaning is that given by Hai Gaon (*Sefer ha-Ittim*, 246–8) and others, that the months of Adar and Elul are meant (see also the supplement to the Tanḥuma, No'ah 3). In modern Israel a modified form of the *kallah* month was instituted by Rabbi J. Kahaneman at the Ponevezh yeshivah in Bene-Berak, and it spread to other centers.

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[Yitzhak Dov Gilat]

KALLEN, HORACE MEYER (1882–1974), U.S. philosopher and educator. Kallen was born in Berenstadt, Silesia, Germany, the son of a rabbi, and was taken to the United States in 1887. Early in his career he taught at Harvard University (1908–11), Clark College (1910), and the University of Wisconsin (1911–18). He was one of the founders of the New School for Social Research in New York City and taught there 1919–52, serving as dean of the graduate faculty of political and social science, 1944–46. From 1952 to 1965 he was research professor there, and in 1965 he began teaching at Long Island University. Kallen was an active member of the Jewish community, working at such organizations as the American Jewish Congress, the American Association for Jewish education, of which he was vice president, and *YIVO. He served on many government committees, e.g., the Presidential Commission on Higher Education and the New York City Commission on Intergroup Relations (1961), and was active in such organizations as the International League for the Rights of Man and the Society for the Scientific Study of Religion. Kallen's philosophy has been characterized as Hebraism, aesthetic pragmatism, humanism, cultural pluralism, and cooperative individualism. Among its distinctive features is the stress on the variety of men and things in nature and society. Chance and individuality are primary in nature; law and group characteristics are secondary. Against the ancient Greek stress on fixity and eternity, Kallen's philosophy affirms the importance of time, change, becoming, and futurity. As a Hebraist he rejected predestination in any form. He believed in freedom of the will and in each individual's responsibility for his actions. Kallen's cultural pluralism affirms that each ethnic and cultural group in the United States has a special contribution to make to the variety and richness of American culture and, thus, provided a rationale for those Jews who wish to preserve their Jewish cultural identity in the American melting pot. He argued strongly for 60 years that the Jewish people need a homeland in Palestine to protect them against persecution and to enhance their Jewish cultural heritage. He also championed the ideal of a world in which all varieties of peoples and cultures will be able to live together, each one the equal of the others in its right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. According to Kallen, the goal of modern education and society is the creation of free men in an expanding free society. He warned that such a free society can be preserved only if moral conviction is accompanied by military strength. In the economic sphere he urged consumers' cooperatives as a protection against business exploitation. Kallen's aesthetics were concerned with the relations between beauty, use, and freedom in the context of each individual's experience. All ideas, values, deeds, tools, and methods are to be tested by their contribution to the satisfactions of human beings.

Although Kallen's philosophy was addressed to all mankind, he always affirmed his debt to the positive values of his Jewish inheritance. By affirming his integrity as a Jew he vindicated the integrity of the Jew as a man and thinker. His insistence on the link between thought and action led him into active participation in the extension of democracy at home and abroad, especially in relation to civil liberties and minority rights. Kallen's writings include, among many others, *The Book of Job as a Greek Tragedy* (1918); *Zionism and World Politics* (1921); *Judaism at Bay* (1932); *Individualism: An American Way of Life* (1933); *The Decline and Rise of the Consumer* (1936); *Art and Freedom* (2 vols., 1942); *The Education of Free Men* (1949); *Of Them Which Say They Are Jews* (1954), edited by J. Pilch, a collection of Kallen's essays on the Jewish struggle for survival; *Utopians at Bay* (1958) on his impressions of Israel; and *Liberty, Laughter and Tears* (1968).

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[Sidney Ratner]

KALLENBACH, HERMANN (1871–1945), South African architect and intimate of *Gandhi. Kallenbach was born in East Prussia and studied architecture in Stuttgart and Munich. In 1896 he went to South Africa, where he practiced as an architect. In 1904 he met Mohandas Gandhi, who was then working in South Africa. He became his intimate friend and dedicated devotee. Abandoning the life of a wealthy, sport-loving bachelor, he adopted the vegetarian diet and simple lifestyle of Gandhi. In Gandhi's words, they became "soulmates" and, for a time, shared Kallenbach's home. Together with another Jew, H.S.L. Polak, Kallenbach was associated with Gandhi throughout the *Satyagraha* (non-violent resistance) struggle which lasted in South Africa until 1914.

In 1910 Kallenbach purchased a farm near Johannesburg as a commune for the families of Indian resisters who had been imprisoned. It was named Tolstoy Farm and Kallenbach joined Gandhi there. During the great *Satyagraha* march of Indians in 1913, he risked his personal safety to confront hostile whites in defense of the Indians. In November 1913 he was imprisoned together with Gandhi. Upon their release they both went to England. Kallenbach planned to accompany Gandhi to India, but with the outbreak of World War I, he was detained in England because of his German citizenship. After the war he returned to South Africa, where he resumed his work as an architect, but continued to correspond with Gandhi.

The rise of Nazism shocked Kallenbach into a rediscovery of his Jewish roots. He became a convinced Zionist, served on the Executive of the South African Zionist Federation, and planned to settle in Ereẓ Israel. At the request of Moshe Shertok (Sharett), Kallenbach visited Gandhi in May 1937 to enlist his sympathy and support for Zionism. In private conversations he gained the sympathy of Gandhi and his promise to take an interest in the Zionist cause. In his public statements, however, Gandhi continued to maintain a position unsympathetic to Zionism. Although disagreeing with Gandhi over Zionism and also in his (Kallenbach's) conviction that Hitler had to be resisted by violence, Kallenbach's deep friendship with Gandhi continued, and he visited him again in 1939. When Kallenbach died in 1945 he left a portion of his considerable estate for South African Indians, but the bulk was left for the benefit of Zionism. His large collection of books went to the Hebrew University, and his cremated remains were buried at Deganyah.

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[Gideon Shimoni]

KALLIR, ELEAZAR (Heb. אֶלְעָזָר בִּירְבִּי קְלִיר, and קִילִיר; instead of אֶלְעָזָר, also the Palestinian form לְעָזָר), the greatest and most prolific of the early *paytanim*, and one of the most influential liturgical poets. He apparently lived in Ereẓ Israel and resided in Tiberias.

Works

Kallir wrote *piyyutim* for all the main festivals (sometimes more than one for the same festival), for the special Sabbaths, for weekdays of festive character, and for the fasts. The structures of his *yoẓer, kerovah, shivatah*, and *hoshana* poems, of his elegies, prayers for dew, and prayers for rain, which he often took from his predecessors and developed, have remained classic models. Poems written in his style are even called *Kalliri* after him. Kallir in his poetic writings drew on the didactic *aggadah*, thus preserving some otherwise forgotten aggadic traditions. Closely following the midrashic original in content, Kallir's poetic originality is expressed in his linguistic inventiveness. Probably the most audacious coiner of neologisms in Hebrew, Kallir was however very selective in his language and despite complicated poetic forms composed of intricate acrostics, interpolated with biblical verses, various types of rhyme, and auditory images, he rarely coined a word which did not fit the text. The new words, the many midrashic allusions, and the numerous errors in the extant texts of Kallir gave an aura of obscurity to Kallir's works, and thus commentaries to Kallir were written as early as the 11th century and perhaps even earlier; one of them is attributed to Rashi (cf. L. Ginzberg, and S. Klein, see bibl.). Kallir's *piyyutim* were widely known in the Orient, the Balkans, Italy, France, Germany, and Eastern Europe, and more than 200 are extant in various rites. The fact that more of his *piyyutim*, previously unknown, were found in the *Genizah* implies an even greater popularity than presumed. Several of these were published. A complete collection of Kallir's work, however, has not yet appeared.

Biography

Biographical facts about Kallir are shrouded in mystery. His name, country of birth, and when he lived are still unknown and can only be speculated upon. The assumption that *Natronai b. Hilai, *Gaon* of Sura in 857, mentions Kallir's poems is doubtful. *Saadiah b. Joseph Gaon quotes Kallir as one of the old *paytanim* (see bibl., A. Harkavy). According to a late (12th-century) source, Kallir was killed by his teacher *Yannai (see bibl., S.J. Rapoport and I. Davidson) who apparently was jealous of him. There is evidence that as early as the tenth century Kallir had already become a subject for legends.

Derivation of his Name

An old tradition derives the name Kallir (קַלִּיר) from *kalura* (Gr. κολλύρα), a cake that Jewish boys were given when they started school (*Arukh ha-Shalem* of *Nathan b. Jehiel, ed. by Kohut, s.v. קלר). Another interpretation holds that the name was derived from the poet's or his father's hometown: Cagliari in Sardinia, Calais, Cologne, Kallirrhoe in Transjordan (A. Jellinek, S. Cassel), or Edessa in Syria, whose Greek name has a phonetic resemblance to Kallir (F. Perles). J. Derenbourg assumes that Kallir may perhaps be a Latin nickname (*celer*, "the fast one") which would have been attached to the real name of Kallir's father, Jacob (alluding to Hosea 12:13, "And Jacob fled into the field of Aram"); S. Shullam claims to have found the acrostic בְּרַבִּי יַעֲקֹב *be-Rabbi Ya'akov.* J. Perles holds Kallir to be Cyril (Gr. Κύριλλος), a name popular in the Byzantine Empire. W. Heidenheim assumes that the hometown given in many acrostics as קִרְיַת סֵפֶר (*Kiryat Sefer*) could be identified with the biblical place in Ereẓ Israel of the same name (Kiriath-Sepher; Jos. 15:15). S.J. Rapoport read סְפָר (*sefar*) and interpreted it as "coastal town," associating it with Cagliari, Bari, or Ostia. Others, in a similar interpretation, suggested Civitas Portas, the former port of Rome (Derenbourg); Constantinople (S. Krauss); Civita di Penna in the Abruzzi (I.S. Reggio); while Luzzatto first suggested Bocherville in Normandy, Speyer in Germany, and later, cities in Babylonia: first Pumbedita and afterward nearby Sippar; L. Zunz suggested Lettere in southern Italy, later Antioch and Hama in Syria because of ספר; Bruell thought of the Phoenician town Byblos. S. Cassel read in the acrostic in Kallir's prayer for rain קִרְיַת שֶׁפֶר *Kiryat Shefer* ("fairtown") and identified it with Kallirrhoe in Palestine (from the Greek "fair," "beautiful"). According to S. Eppenstein the town meant is Tiberias, the place of Masoretic biblical studies since the seventh century. R. Solomon b. Abraham Adret believed him to be the *tanna* *Eleazar b. Arakh (Resp. Rashba no. 449); while the tosafists identified him with the *tanna* *Eleazar b. Simeon (Ḥag. 13a).

Dates

The conjectures as to when Kallir lived cover several centuries (from the second to the tenth or eleventh). As early as the 12th century he was thought to have been a *tanna* (see above). Rapoport tried to place him around 970, but this had to be antedated by a century after M.H. Landauer's discovery of Saadiah's *Yeẓirah* commentary. According to Zunz the earliest acceptable date is the first half of the ninth century. Some modern scholars believe Kallir to have lived about 750 at the latest, a date deduced from a statement by al-Kirkisānī, a younger contemporary of Saadiah's (see bibl., A. Harkavy), according to whom the *paytan* Yannai was a source for the founder of Karaism. Yannai, therefore, must have lived at least during the same period, if not earlier, and his pupil, Kallir, a generation later. Other scholars assume him to have lived no later than the sixth or the early seventh century, i.e., before the Arab conquest of Ereẓ Israel in 635, since in his poems he laments the suffering inflicted and the destruction wrought by Edom (i.e., the Christians) only, and does not mention Ishmael (i.e., the Arabs).

From a linguistic point of view it would also seem that Kallir lived in Ereẓ Israel at the end of the sixth century. Kallir's language, considered by later medieval grammarians as ungrammatical, is a product of the poet's conception of the grammatical structure of the Hebrew language. Abraham *Ibn Ezra (commentary to Eccles. 5:1) denounced the style of Kallir, a criticism which centuries later influenced the *maskilim* in their disparagement of the *paytan*. Many of Kallir's *piyyutim* are interlaced with Hebrew folk language. Like the Palestinian *piyyut*, Kallir's works are an organic continuation of ancient Hebrew while the Hebrew poetry of Spain is a revival of the biblical language.

Published Works

Many of Kallir's liturgical poems were published in different prayer books, *maḥzorim*, and also by various scholars. Those liturgical poems published until 1933 are listed by I. Davidson, in: *Oẓar ha-Shirah ve-ha-Piyyut*, pt. 4 (1933), 367. Since then many more have been published: I.M. Elbogen, in *Jewish Studies in Memory of G.A. Kohut* (1935), 159–77; idem, in *Sefer ha-Yovel… S. Krauss* (1936), 307, 309–10; idem, in: *Sefer Klausner* (1937), 235–9; E. Fleischer, in: *Tarbiz* 36 (1967), 119–28, 139–40, 147f., 350–7; 38 (1969), 264–5, 271–2, 276–9; idem, in: *Sinai*, 62 (1967/68), 13–40, 142–51, 155–8; 63 (1968), 32–49; 64 (1968/69), 184; 65 (1969), 34–35; 66 (1969/70), 225–6); idem, in: *Ha-Sifrut*, 2 (1969/70), 202–4, 208–18, 229, 231–6; A.M. Habermann, in: YMḤSI, 5 (1939), 52–56, 76–77, 104); idem, in: *Tarbiz*, 14 (1943), 53ff. 59–65, 143; 15 (1944), 216; J. Marcus, *Ginzei Shirah u-Fiyyut* (1933), 11–66; idem, in: *Horeb*, 1 (1934), 21–31, 151–66; 2 (1935), 6–16; A. Marmorstein, in: JQR (15 (1924/25), 418 (see a note of S. Abramson, in: *Tarbiz*, 15 (1944), 50); A. Murtonen and G.J. Orman, *Materials for a Non-Masoretic Hebrew Grammar*, 1 (1958), 52–60 (Heb. part); A. Scheiber, in: *Ginzei Kaufmann*, 1 (1949), 3–35; idem, in: *Alexander Marx Jubilee Volume* (1950), 545–6 (Eng. part); idem, in: HUCA, 23, pt. 2 (1950/51), 355–68; S. Spiegel, in: YMḤSI, 5 (1939), 269–91; S. Wieder, in: *Ginzei Kaufmann*, 1 (1949), 89–92; M. Zulay, in: *Lu'aḥ ha-Areẓ* (1944/45), 5; idem, in: *Sinai*, 17 (1945), 289–90; 32 (1952/53), 52–54; idem, *Mivḥar ha-Shirim* (1948?), 9–11, 13; idem, in: *Melilah*, 5 (1955), 70–74.

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emyah ha-Le'ummit ha-Yisre'elit le-Madda'im, 3 (1969/70), 28–36, 45–54; S. Bernstein, in: *Sefer Yovel… S. Federbush* (1960), 105–16; idem, in: *Sura*, 4 (1964), 478–516; S. Abramson, in: *Sinai*, 54 (1963/64), 31–32; E. Fleischer, *ibid.*, 65 (1969), 31–37, 167; idem, in: *Tarbiz*, 39 (1969/70), 24–27.

[*Encyclopaedia Judaica* (Germany)]

KALLIR, ELEAZAR BEN ELEAZAR (1728–1801), rabbi. Kallir's father died before his birth, and he was therefore given his father's name. In 1759 he was appointed rabbi of Zabludow, and from there proceeded to Berlin where he lectured in the college of the wealthy Moses b. Isaac Levy. He was appointed rabbi of Rechnitz and head of its large yeshivah in 1768, and in 1781 rabbi of Kolin near Prague. Kallir was highly regarded by his contemporaries. *Azulai says, "he has the reputation of being sharpwitted and erudite," while Baruch Jeiteles states that "after the death of Ezekiel *Landau, he was the sole remaining authority in the country." His first work, *Or Ḥadash*, on the Pentateuch, was an appendix to the *Kotnot Or* of his grandfather, Meir *Eisenstadt, which he published under the title *Me'orei Esh* (Fuerth, 1766). Under the same title he subsequently published commentaries on tractate *Pesaḥim* (Frankfurt on the Oder, 1771, and often republished) and on *Kiddushin* (Vienna, 1799); he also wrote *Ḥavvot Ya'ir he-Ḥadash* (Prague, 1792), sermons and eulogies; *Ḥeker Halakhah* (Vienna, 1838), responsa. His books met with a wide acceptance and are quoted by his contemporaries. Other works remain in manuscript. His son Alexander Susskind was a well-known philanthropist.

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[Itzhak Alfassi]

KALLIR (Kallier), MEIER (d. 1875), banker and politician in Brody (Galicia; now Ukraine). Son of Alexander Kallir, an émigré from Germany, Meier managed the banking business established by his father. He served as chairman of the Board of Commerce and Trade several times and in 1853 as deputy mayor of Brody. In 1848 he was elected to the Galician *Landtag* (Diet), and served as a deputy once more from 1861 to 1867. Together with two other Jewish deputies Kallir introduced the proposal for the emancipation of the Jews in 1861. Also active in the Jewish community of Brody, he supported agricultural settlement of the Galician Jews on the plains, publishing an appeal entitled *Galiẓyah Kol Titten*. However, since Orthodox Jewry opposed it, the project was never realized. Meier's son NATHAN VON KALLIR (1821–1886), also a deputy in the Galician *Landtag* (1870–73), was a noted philanthropist.

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[Benjamin Lubelski]

KALLO, YIẒḤAK ISAAC (of Taub, 1751–1821), rabbi and ḥasidic *admor* in Hungary. According to legend his talents were recognized by *Aryeh Leib Sarahs and the latter sent him to be educated by Samuel Shmelke *Horowitz of Nikolsburg, who was his teacher in Talmud as well as in Ḥasidism. He also studied for some time under *Elimelech of Lyzhansk. In 1781 he became rabbi of Kallo and district, where he resided for 40 years, and became known for his learning and piety. Yiẓḥak Isaac was the first ḥasidic leader to live permanently in Hungary and helped to further the spread of the ḥasidic movement there. His contemporaries esteemed both his talmudic learning and ḥasidic teachings, but he left no works in writing. Possessed of great musical talent, he wrote songs in Yiddish and Hungarian and composed many melodies, some of them adaptations of Hungarian folk songs. Some of his grandsons were ḥasidic leaders in Kallo and other places.

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[Adin Steinsaltz]

KÁLMÁN, EMMERICH (Imre; 1882–1953), composer. Born in Siófok, Hungary, Kálmán studied at the Budapest Academy with Hans Koessler, while also taking his law degree. Until 1908 he worked in a law office, acted as a music critic, and composed several serious works. The success of the cabaret songs which he had written under a pseudonym drew him to the field of operetta. The first of his 21 works in this genre was *Tatárjárás (*1909), produced in Vienna as *Ein Herbstmanoever* (1909) and in the same year in New York as *The Gay Hussars*. Kálmán settled in Vienna, where he remained until 1936. In 1938 he went to Switzerland, then to France, and in 1940 to the United States. Returning to Europe in 1949 he was feted in Paris and in major German-speaking cities. He returned briefly to New York where he finished his last operetta, *Arizona Lady* (1954). The most famous of Kálmán's operettas are *Der Zigeunerprimas* (1912); *Die Bajadere* (1921); *Circus Princess* (1926); and the two world-wide successes – *Gypsy Princess* (1915), produced in the U.S. as *Riviera Girl*, and *The Countess Maritza* (1924). The latter, as well as most of his other works, were based on the melodic idiom of urban Hungarian folk and entertainment music, including the gypsy element. Kálmán's operettas – orchestrated by himself – have been appreciated for their melodic richness, which ranges from sentimental pathos to dashing gaiety. Together with Franz Lehár, Leo *Fall, and Oskar *Straus, Kálmán represents the third and last phase of the European operetta. His son Charles (1929–) was also a composer.

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[Bathja Bayer]

KALMAN, MAIRA (1950–), U.S. author, illustrator, designer. Born in Tel Aviv, Kalman immigrated to New York in 1954. She met her husband, Tibor, at New York University, where both were English students. While nurturing an ambition to write short stories, she helped her husband found M&Co, the quirky design firm. In 1987 she published her first book, *Stay Up Late* (1987), illustrating David Byrne's lyrics with an array of colorful primitive-looking characters. A year later she published *Hey Willy, See the Pyramids* (1988), a sarcastic, witty book abounding in non sequiturs and naïve drawings. Her major protagonist, a dog named Max, won children's hearts and book awards. She also wrote and illustrated *Chicken Soup, Boots; Next Stop Grand Central* (1999), based on murals she created for New York's Grand Central Terminal, and *What Pete Ate From A–Z* (2001), a culinary biography of her mutt Pete. After her husband's death in 1999, she continued their work with *(un)Fashion* (2000), a book about the way the non-Westernized world attires itself, and *Colors* (2002), an anthology of his work as editor of that magazine. She has written and illustrated a dozen children's books and runs M&Co as an entrepreneurial producer of paperweights, clocks, and "art" products. She also produced window displays for Sony and clothes mannequins for Pucci. Her book *Fireboat: The Heroic Adventures of the John J. Harvey* (2002), about the decommissioned boat that fought fires at the World Trade Center attack on 9/11, reveals a growing interest in fusing real life and art into an entertaining though poignant form of social commentary. Kalman endeared herself to countless readers with her illustration that appeared on the cover of *The New Yorker* magazine on December 8, 2001. It showed a simple pastel map, a flat, bird's-eye view of New York City drawn in pen and wash with the city's neighborhoods Afghanistanicized: Lubavistan, Kvetchnya, Irate, Feh, Fattushis, Fuhgeddaboutitstan, etc. The map became almost as famous as the one Saul *Steinberg drew for the *New Yorker* cover of March 29, 1976, showing his *View of the World from Ninth Avenue*.

[Stewart Kampel (2nd ed.)]

KALMAN, TIBOR (1949–1999), U.S. graphic designer. A native of Budapest, Hungary, Kalman moved with his family in 1957 to Poughkeepsie, N.Y., after the unsuccessful Hungarian uprising. He spent a year at New York University, where he joined Students for a Democratic Society, and traveled to Cuba to pick cotton with the Venceremos Brigade, which took middle-class Americans to help support the Cuban regime. When he returned to the United States in 1971, Kalman did window displays for the Student Book Exchange at NYU, which was owned by Leonard Riggio, who later bought Barnes & Noble and made Kalman its first creative director. Kalman designed the bookstore's first shopping bag, featuring an antique woodcut of a scribe. The design was still in use decades later. In 1979 Kalman was hired as the creative director of the discount department store E.J. Korvettes ("Eight Jewish Korean War Veterans"). Unhappy, he established M&Co in his Greenwich Village apartment in 1980. The enigmatic name was typical of Kalman's wit: it gave an aura of mystery and confused his more traditional clientele, who wanted to know what the M stood for. His wife, Maira *Kalman, then a children's book author and illustrator, had the nickname M. Kalman's transformation into a progressive design impresario came when M&Co designed an album for the rock group Talking Heads that featured four digitally manipulated photographs of the group's members and a title with upside-down letters. From that point on, the firm received attention in the design trade press for pushing beyond the conventions of design and typography. A number of cutting-edge designs produced by M&Co were sold at the Museum of Modern Art in New York for years. Kalman moved on to editing and being the creative director for the magazines *Art Forum* and *Interview.* He made a splash as editor in chief of *Colors*, the Italian and English magazine published by the Italian clothing company Benetton, an assignment that forced him to move his family to Rome. *Colors* focused on sociocultural issues like racism, AIDS, and sports. An issue devoted to racism had a featured titled "How to Change Your Race" and examined cosmetic means of altering hair, features, and skin color. Another feature was a collection of manipulated photographs showing famous people racially transformed. Kalman returned to New York in 1997 to battle cancer. In the last months of his life, Kalman designed the exhibition *Tiborocity*, which consisted of "neighborhoods" representing different aspects of his work as well as the protest posters and graphics that influenced him in the 1960s and 1970s. He told friends he intended the retrospective, which was shown at the San Francisco Museum of Modern Art, to be his last testament.

[Stewart Kampel (2nd ed.)]

KALMAN OF WORMS (d. 1560), Polish rabbi. Kalman is the first known rabbi of Lemberg and one of the leading Polish talmudic scholars of his time. He is known mainly from references in the works of contemporary rabbis. Joseph Katz of Cracow (the brother-in-law of Moses *Isserles) on one occasion enlisted his support and states: "The elder scholar… Kalman of Worms agreed with my decision…" (responsa *She'erit Yosef* (Cracow, 1590), no. 1). A responsum by Kalman himself, dated 1558 and signed "Kalman Wermeisa," appears in the responsa of Moses Isserles (responsum no. 15). It is possible he is the Kalman referred to in a responsum from Meir *Katzenellenbogen of Padua (in responsa *Maharshal* [S. Luria] (Lemberg, 1859), 38a, no. 37). Both David Gans and Jehiel Heilprin, in *Ẓemaḥ David* and *Seder ha-Dorot* respectively, mention Kalman of Worms among the foremost scholars of the first half of the 16th century.

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[Alexander Tobias]

KALMANOVITCH, ZELIG (1881–1944), Yiddish writer, philologist, and translator. Born in Goldingen, Latvia, in 1929, he settled in Vilna, where he joined the *YIVO Institute and became editor of its journal *YIVO Bleter.* Kalmanovitch published studies on Yiddish philology, the influence of Hebrew on Yiddish syntax (1906, 1907), and on the Yiddish dialect spoken in Courland (1926). He translated into Yiddish Josephus' *Jewish Wars* (1914), Dubnow's *History of the Jews* (1909–10), and H.G. Wells' *Outline of History* (1930). During the Nazi occupation he was forced to select the books to be shipped to Germany. In the Vilna ghetto Kalmanovitch kept a diary in Hebrew. It is written in a spirit of resignation; he expresses the hope that, by carrying out the orders of the Nazis, some lives might be spared. With the liquidation of the Vilna ghetto in September 1943, he was deported to an extermination camp in Estonia where he died the following winter. His ghetto diary was published in an English translation in the *YIVO Annual of Jewish Social Science*, 8 (1951) and in a Yiddish translation in the *YIVO Bleter,* 35 (1951) and New Series, 3 (1997), 43–113.

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[Elias Schulman / Gennady Estraikh (2nd ed.)]

KALMANOWITZ, ABRAHAM (1891–1964), rabbi and *rosh yeshivah*. Born in Delyatis, Belorussia, he received his education at the yeshivot of Zavahil, Eisiskes, Slobodka, and Telz, and was ordained by the rabbis Raphael Shapiro of Volozhin, Elijah Baruch Komai of Mir, Moses Mordecai *Epstein of Slobodka, and Eliezer Rabinowitz of Minsk. At the unusually young age of 22, Kalmanowitz was chosen as the rabbi of Rakov (1913), where he later established an advanced yeshivah (1916). During the Bolshevik Revolution he aided Jews who had been arrested by the Bolsheviks and was consequently arrested and imprisoned in Minsk. Kalmanowitz served as a member of the Mo'eẓet Gedolei ha-Torah of *Agudat Israel and was among the founders of the Va'ad ha-Yeshivot in Vilna. He assisted R. Ḥayyim Ozer *Grodzinski in organizing the Ateret Ẓevi *kolel* in Vilna which later moved to Otwock. In 1926, Kalmanowitz was elected president of the Mir yeshivah. In 1929 he became the rabbi of Tiktin (Tykocin) and also established a yeshivah there.

After the outbreak of World War II, Kalmanowitz accompanied the Mir yeshivah to Vilna, where it sought refuge. In 1940 he succeeded in emigrating to the United States and there devoted himself to rescuing European rabbis, heads of yeshivot, and their students. Kalmanowitz arranged for the transfer of the Mir yeshivah to Kobe, Japan, and later Shanghai, where Kalmanowitz made himself responsible for its upkeep for the duration of the war. In 1945 he arranged for its transfer to the United States and Ereẓ Israel, and in 1946 he reopened the Mir yeshivah in Brooklyn, New York, with the new arrivals serving as the nucleus. American-born youngsters were gradually attracted to the new school and it became a leading American yeshivah. Later, Kalmanowitz was active in the Oẓar ha-Torah, which aided Jewish education in Morocco, Algeria, and Tunisia, bringing youngsters from these countries to the United States to study in a special division of the Mir yeshivah.

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[Aaron Rothkoff]

KALMS, SIR (Harold) STANLEY, BARON (1931–), British businessman, communal leader, and figure in the Conservative Party. Born in London in 1931, Kalms was chairman of the Dixon Group from 1948 to 2002, which he developed from a single photographic shop into one of the biggest and best known of British high street retail chains, specializing in electronic equipment, especially televisions and stereos, computers, and household appliances. Dixons also owned a number of other well-known British retail chains in the same field, such as Currys and PCWorld. Within the Anglo-Jewish community Kalms became well known as the author of the "Kalms Report" of 1992, entitled *A Time For Change,* which recommended a sweeping reorganization of the financial bases of the mainstream United Synagogue. He was also the founder of the Stanley Kalms Foundation to encourage Orthodox Jewish education. In addition, Kalms was an influential figure in the administrative organization of the Conservative Party, serving from 2001 as the Party's treasurer. He was knighted in 1996 and received a life peerage in 2004.

[William D. Rubinstein (2nd ed.)]

KALNITSKY, GEORGE (1917–), U.S. biochemist, born in Brooklyn, New York City. He worked at the University of Chicago and the U.S. Office of Scientific Research and Development before joining the University of Iowa College of Medicine (1946), where he became professor (1957). His main research field was bacterial and mammalian metabolism. He made major contributions to clarifying the intermediate steps in the citric acid (Krebs) cycle for generating energy from the oxidation of glucose. He also contributed to understanding the chemistry of enzyme action. He was active in Jewish communal affairs.

[Michael Denman (2nd ed.)]

KALONYMUS, one of the most eminent Jewish families in Germany which flourished from the 9th to the 13th century, especially in the cities near the Rhine. Among its members were numerous rabbis, preachers, poets, teachers, authors, moralists, and theologians, and most of the prominent communal leaders of this period came from its ranks. The origins of the family go back to eighth-century Italy, although the name Kalonymus appears in talmudic literature. The father of Onkelos, the great translator of the Bible, was, according to *Avodah Zarah* 11a, called Kalonymus, although other sources refer to him by a different name, e.g., Kolonikos (Git. 56b). While Kalonymus is the name of many medieval Jewish families, its appearance does not always indicate a connection with the family described here.

Two major events stand out in the family's history: the migration of the family from southern Italy to Germany in the ninth century, and their leadership of the Jews in Germany during the Crusades, especially during the massacres of 1096 (the year of the First Crusade) and the subsequent upheaval of the 12th and 13th centuries. The Kalonymus family tree, despite many attempts, has not been accurately described. The family had many branches, with the same names frequently recurring in different cities and different generations, so that it is very easy to confuse them. The best and most complete tradition regarding the history of the family is given in a small polemical work written probably around 1220 by *Eleazar b. Judah (b. Kalonymus) of Worms, the author of the *Roke'aḥ*. Eleazar's aim in his polemic was to prove that the version of the prayers recited by himself and his circle was the true one, as opposed to the various changes introduced by rabbis in France and England. He gave a list of his family and teachers in order to demonstrate the antiquity and reliability of his version, which was printed by Joseph *Delmedigo in his *Maẓref le-Ḥokhmah*. The list also appears in other manuscripts and has been discussed at length by many scholars, especially H. Gross and A. Neubauer. The Paris manuscript, no. 772, p. 60a, gives the following version:

> "I, Eleazar ha-Katan, received the true version of the prayers from my father and teacher, Rabbi Judah, son of Rabbi Kalonymus, son of Moses, son of Rabbi Judah, son of Rabbi Kalonymus, son of Rabbi Moses, son of Rabbi Kalonymus, son of Judah.
>
> "And I also received it from *Judah he-Ḥasid, as he received it from his father, Rabbi *Samuel he-Ḥasid, as he received it from Rabbi Eleazar he-Ḥazzan of Speyer; for when Rabbi Kalonymus died, his son Rabbi Samuel he-Ḥasid was only a boy, so he gave (transmitted) it to Rabbi Eleazar he-Ḥazzan of Speyer, and when he, Rabbi Samuel he-Ḥasid, grew up, he received [the secrets] from him, as was ordered by Rabbi Kalonymus the Elder.
>
> "And Rabbi Kalonymus the Elder received [the tradition] from his father, Rabbi Isaac; and Rabbi Isaac received [it] from his father, Rabbi Eleazar the Great, son of Rabbi Isaac, son of Rabbi Joshua, son of Rabbi Abun, the Rabbi Abun who was the grandfather of Rabbi Simeon the Great, of Mainz.
>
> "And Rabbi Eleazar the Great was a student of Rabbi Simeon the Great. For Rabbi Isaac, the father of Rabbi Simeon the Great, and Rabbi Joshua, the grandfather of Rabbi Eleazar the Great, were brothers. This is why Rabbi Simeon was like a father to him, for when Rabbi Isaac died his son Rabbi Eleazar the Great was just a small boy, and he grew up in his house and he taught him the Torah, And he was [with] Rabbi Gershom, Me'or ha-Golah.
>
> "Rabbi Judah ha-Kohen also transmitted his [knowledge] to Rabbi Eleazar the Great. This was Rabbi Judah ha-Kohen who wrote the book of laws; he was the father of Rabbi Abraham ha-Kohen, and Rabbi Abraham ha-Kohen was the father of Rabbi Meir ha-Kohen, who was the father of Rabbi Eleazar ha-Kohen he-Ḥasid. Rabbi Eleazar ha-Kohen he-Ḥasid was the father of Rabbi Jacob ha-Kohen he-Ḥasid, the young one.
>
> "They all received the secret of the true version of the prayers, teacher from his teacher, up to Abu Aaron, the son of Rabbi Samuel ha-Nasi, who came from Babylonia because of a misadventure, and had to wander from place to place [as a punishment], until he came to the country of Lombardy, to a city named Lucca, where he found Rabbi Moses [son of Kalonymus], who wrote the *piyyut, Eimat Norotekha*, and he [Abu Aaron] transmitted to him all his secrets. And he was Rabbi Moses, son of Kalonymus, son of Rabbi Judah. He was the first who left Lombardy, he and his sons, Rabbi Kalonymus and Rabbi Jekuthiel, and his relation Rabbi Ithiel, and other important persons; for the king Charles brought them with him from the country of Lombardy, and settled them in Mainz, and there they multiplied and flourished very much; until God's fury hit all the holy communities in the year 1096. And then we were all lost, all perished, except very few who were left from our kinsmen. [Rabbi Kalonymus] the Elder who transmitted [the Torah] to Rabbi Eleazar he-Ḥazzan of Speyer, as we have written above, and Rabbi Eleazar he-Ḥazzan transmitted it to Rabbi Judah he-Ḥasid, and from him I, the small one, received the secrets of the prayers and other secrets."

This list is as close to a Kalonymus family tree as exists today, though many more members of the family are known from other sources (see below). It is evident that the family originally flourished in southern Italy, from where some of its members were moved by one of the Carolingian emperors to the Rhine cities in Germany. There was some controversy among scholars as to the identity of this ruler; some texts explicitly named Charlemagne as the king responsible for the move, but this seems to be a later emendation to the text. It is now accepted that it must have been Charles the Bald, who lived in the second half of the ninth century.

It should be noted that Eleazar of Worms stresses the fact that the family received "secrets" orally from the Babylonian scholar, Aaron son of Samuel. Generally, the Jewish communities in southern Italy were under the influence of the center of learning in Palestine, and not in Babylonia. It seems, therefore, that the traditions transmitted from generation to generation within the Babylonian and Palestinian elements of the family were fused together into one whole which gave the members of the family stature and importance among the scholars in Germany. No clear connection has been established between the Kalonymus family and another family which received secret traditions from Abu Aaron, and which is described in the *Megillat *Aḥima'aẓ* as an Italian family of the 8th to the 11th centuries.

The Kalonymus family provided the Jews in Germany with leaders of the communities, as attested by the chronicles describing the massacres of the crusaders from 1096 to the middle of the 13th century (see A.M. Habermann, *Gezerot Ashkenaz ve-Ẓarefat*, 1945). Their leadership extended to cultural fields as well. It is probable that more than a dozen prominent *paytanim*, who wrote of the sufferings of German Jewry during this period, belonged to this family. Many of the most prominent halakhists and talmudic scholars of the time were also members of the Kalonymus family. The *Ḥasidei Ashkenaz were led and directed by members of the family, who formulated their esoteric theology, and created their code of ethical, pious behavior – *Sefer *Ḥasidim*. Furthermore, the political and cultural life of the Jews in Germany between the 9th and 13th centuries was dominated by the family.

Among the prominent members of the Kalonymus family in Italy and Germany were KALONYMUS OF LUCCA, a *paytan*, who lived in Italy probably in the ninth century; *MOSES BEN KALONYMUS, a *paytan*, who lived in Italy but who moved to Mainz, and influenced the early *paytanim* in Germany, especially *SIMEON BEN ISAAC; KALONYMUS BEN JUDAH HA-BAḤUR (the Younger), a *paytan* in Mainz at the end of the 11th century and the beginning of the 12th, who witnessed the persecutions of 1096 and who wrote of them in many liturgical poems; KALONYMUS BEN MOSES OF LUCCA, a talmudic scholar, halakhist, and author of many responsa, who probably also emigrated to Mainz; KALONYMUS BEN MESHULLAM HA-PARNAS, the leader of the Mainz community during the persecutions of 1096, who was martyred with his whole community; KALONYMUS BEN ISAAC HA-ZAKEN (the Elder), a communal leader and halakhist, and the founder of the branch of the Kalonymus family which most influenced German Jewry during the 12th and 13th centuries; his son *SAMUEL BEN KALONYMUS HE-ḤASID, the founder of the Ḥasidei Ashkenaz, author of a part of *Sefer Ḥasidim* and other works; Samuel's son, *JUDAH B. SAMUEL HE-ḤASID, who was the principal leader of the Ḥasidei Ashkenaz and the author of *Sefer Ḥasidim*. Other descendants of Kalonymus ha-Zaken were *JUDAH B. KALONYMUS B. MEIR OF SPEYER, author of the monumental talmudic lexicon, *Seder Yiḥusei Tanna'im ve-Amora'im*; and *JUDAH B. KALONYMUS B. MOSES OF MAINZ, a talmudic scholar and a poet, who was the father of *Eleazar of Worms. Eleazar's children were murdered by the crusaders, probably terminating his family line. The descendants of Judah b. Samuel he-Ḥasid, however, carried on for at least three more generations, giving rise to such scholars as MOSES ZALTMAN, son of Judah, who wrote a commentary on the Torah; *Eleazar b. Moses ha-Darshan, author of mystical and theological works; and MOSES B. ELEAZAR, great-grandson of Judah he-Ḥasid. KALONYMUS BEN GERSHON, a halakhist, also flourished in the 13th century. Among other *paytanim* of the Kalonymus family were *Meshullam ben Moses of the 11th century; MOSES BEN MESHULLAM OF LUCCA (probably the ninth century); KALONYMUS BEN MESHULLAM OF MAINZ, c. 1000; and notably *Meshullam b. Kalonymus of Rome of the tenth century, a *paytan* and halakhist who had contact with Gershom b. Judah, Me'or ha-Golah.

The name Kalonymus appears also among some families in Provence, where several great scholars and writers bear that name, for example the 13th-century writers Kalonymus ha-Nasi of Beaucaire and Kalonymus ben Kalonymus of Arles, author of *Even Boḥan*. However, it is not known whether the Provençal rabbis of this name were connected with the Italian-German family.

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[Joseph Dan]

KALONYMUS BEN KALONYMUS (Ben Meir ha-Nasi; 1286–after 1328), author and translator. Probably born in Arles (Provence), Kalonymus pursued his studies in Salonica and devoted himself from his youth to the translation of Arabic scientific works into Hebrew. His first translation, Ibn Ridwan's *Principles of Medicine*, is believed to have been lost during the expulsion of the Jews from the territories directly under the rule of the king of France in 1306. During the years 1307–17 he lived in Arles (he was in Avignon in 1314), and in 1318 he stayed again for a time in Salonica. He later entered the service of Robert d'Anjou "the Wise" (1277–1343), king of Naples and count of Provence, for whom he is said to have made translations from Arabic and Hebrew into Latin. Probably in about 1319–21, Kalonymus traveled to Rome, where he frequented the circle to which the poet *Immanuel of Rome and the philosopher Judah b. Moses (among others) belonged. Whether, as some surmise, he was the representative sent by the Jews of Rome to the papal court at Avignon in 1321 remains uncertain. When Kalonymus was recalled to Arles, the Rome community addressed to the Jews of Arles a letter composed by the poet Immanuel explaining why it was desirable for Kalonymus to remain in Rome (*Maḥberot Immanuel*, no. 23). However, Kalonymus subsequently made his way home and from there went to Catalonia, but returned to Provence after 1322. In 1324 he was again in Naples and in 1328 he was still busy in Arles working on the Latin translation of Averroes for the King.

The works of Kalonymus comprise a polemic epistle against Joseph *Kaspi (1318; ed. Perles, Munich 1879) written in Provence; *Massekhet Purim*, a parody for the festival of Purim, composed in Rome; this work, in the guise of a talmudic tractate in four chapters, has gone through many editions (Pesaro 1513, c. 1520; Venice 1552, etc.); a fragment on mathematics (Munich MS 290); *Iggeret Musar*, an ethical work written for his son, published by I. Sonne in *Koveẓ al Yad*, 1 (1936), 93–110; *Iggeret ha-Hitnaẓẓelut ha-Katan*, published by J. Schatzmiller in *Sefunot*, 10 (1966), 9–52. One of his best-known works is *Even Boḥan*, a satire in rhymed prose, composed c. 1322 in Barcelona, on the moral and religious abuses prevailing among the author's contemporaries (Naples 1489; Venice 1546; Tel Aviv, ed. A.M. Habermann, 1956). He dedicated it to 10 notable Catalan Jews who had helped him during his stay in Catalonia. As T. Rosen has commented, Kalonymus includes in his *Even Boḥan*, among others things, the case of a man who asks God to turn him into a female – something that is unique in Jewish literature. It can be seen as a critique of the Jewish view on the life of men and women. The author describes also with humor many aspects of the life of the Jewish communities of his time, the celebration of Jewish festivals, and many kinds of social types (rich people, physicians, astronomers, grammarians, experts in masorah, poets, talmudists, etc.), criticizing their habits in a way that is sometimes picturesque, sometimes even grotesque.

He also translated works on philosophy, natural sciences, medicine, mathematics, and astronomy by other writers (more than 30), including 10 works by Averroes, the *Centiloquium* attributed to Ptolemy, with the commentary of Abu Jaffar Ahmed ben Yussuf; the *Sphere and Cylinder* of Archimedes (two translations, one of which has been lost); Galen's *De clysteriis et colica* and *De Phebotomia*, the *Compendium of Arithmetic* by Nicomachus of Gerasa; the *Principles of Medicine* by Ibn Ridwan (second translation; the first was lost in 1306); the treatise *Cylinder and Cone* of Ibn Samkh; the *Figura sector* of Thabit b. Kurras, the *Hypotheses* of Ptolemy and "Iggeret Ba'alei Ḥayyim," from the 21st treatise of the *Encyclopedia of the Sincere Brethren* (Mantua 1557, etc.). Only one of Kalonymus' translations into Latin is known, namely the *Destructio destructionis* of Averroes (part printed, Venice 1497; Venice 1508). Other works and translations have been incorrectly attributed to Kalonymus.

E. Fleischer sees in the work of Kalonymus, with all his bitter criticism and his satiric humor, but at the same time with his philosophic and scientific knowledge and his literary virtues, the last brilliant representative of the culture of Provence, inspired by the Sephardi tradition.

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[Umberto (Moses David) Cassuto / Angel Sáenz-Badillos (2nd ed.)]

°**KALTENBRUNNER, ERNST** (1903–1946), Nazi lawyer, SS leader, chief of the Reichssicherheitshauptamt (*RSHA). Born in Ried im Innkreis, Austria, he attended school in Linz and was trained as a lawyer in Prague. He was an attorney. He joined the Nazis in 1932 and was imprisoned in Austria for his Nazi activities. After the Anschluss he was appointed undersecretary of state for public security in Ostmark (Nazi-renamed Austria) and was responsible for the Central Office for Jewish Emigration headed by Adolf *Eichmann. On January 30, 1943 he succeeded *Heydrich, who was assassinated the previous May, as chief of the RSHA and served in this assignment until the collapse of Nazi Germany. Kaltenbrunner, who was a boyhood friend of Eichmann and became his superior, was largely responsible for the implementation of the annihilation policy against the Jews. He was previously responsible in part for the *Euthanasia program. A member of *Hitler's inner circle, he not only opposed *Himmler's efforts to seek peace with the West, but also sabotaged Himmler's order given in the last phase of the war to prevent the further murder of Jews. He was tried as a major war criminal by the International Military Tribunal in *Nuremberg, where he downplayed his role and knowledge, and was hanged on October 16, 1946.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: E. Davidson, *Trials of the Germans* (1966), index; G. Reitlinger, *SS: Alibi of a Nation 1922–1945* (1956), index; idem, *Final Solution* (1953), index; G.M. Gilbert, *Nuremberg Diary* (1947), index; IMT, *Trial of the Major War Criminals*, 24 (1949), index; P.R. Black, *Ernst Kaltenbrunner: Ideological Soldier of the Third Reich* (1984).

[Yehuda Reshef]

KALUSH (Pol. **Kalusz**), city in Ivano-Frankovsk (Stanislavov) district in southwestern Ukraine, formerly within Poland; in 1772 it passed to Austria, reverting to Poland in 1919, and was within the U.S.S.R. from 1939 to 1991 when Ukraine gained independence. The salt mines in the area around Kalush became noted as early as the 15th century, and were leased on occasion by Jews during the following century; they were the main source of livelihood in the 19th century. An organized Jewish community existed in the city by 1650. According to the census of 1765, there were 1,087 Jews in Kalush who paid poll tax. They owned about 130 buildings in the city. The great synagogue was completed in 1825. In 1880 there lived in Kalush 4,266 Jews, representing 59% of the total population. Apart from salt, they controlled trade in lumber, grain, hides, and clothing. The community numbered 4,363 in 1910, about half the total population, and maintained six synagogues and charitable and religious institutions. During World War I the town suffered, mostly from Russian troops, leaving 200 widows, 400 orphans, and about 250 Jewish homes in the center of the city destroyed, along with the community's archives and records. In the fall of 1918 the region came under independent Ukrainian rule. A Jewish local council was set up and a Jewish militia organized to defend the community against pogroms. When Kalush reverted to independent Poland, the Jewish council and prewar communal organizations were disbanded and a government-appointed Jewish community council established. In 1921 there lived in Kalush 3,121 Jews, representing 47% of its total population. During the period between the two world wars, a Hebrew school (200 pupils in 1938), a *talmud torah*, a *Beth Jacob school, and various welfare associations were established. The community numbered approximately 6,000 in 1938, about one-third of the total population in Kalush.

[Arthur Cygielman]

Holocaust Period

During the period of Soviet occupation (1939–41), the Jewish community in Kalush underwent many changes: independent political activity was prohibited, and the community institutions, political parties, and youth movements were disbanded. Trade and industry were nationalized. After the German occupation of Kalush at the beginning of July 1941, the Jews and their property were attacked. In October 1941 several hundred Jews were murdered. Other *Aktionen* took place in March–April 1942, and the victims were sent to the *Belzec death camp, where they perished. On Sept. 15–17, 1942, the ghetto was destroyed and the city was declared *Judenrein*. The few remaining Jews in Kalush were transferred to *Stanislav and subsequently perished. The community was not reconstituted after the war.

[Aharon Weiss]

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KALUSZYN, town in Warszawa province, E. central Poland. Jews lived there almost from the date of its foundation and always formed the majority of the population. There was an organized Jewish community from the beginning of the 17th century which established educational and cultural institutions. The most notable rabbi of the community was Meir Shalom Rabinowicz (1896–1902). Mordecai Mottel Mikhelson, one of the wealthiest merchants of the town during the 19th century, assumed the role of *shtadlan*. The community numbered 1,455 (80% of the total population) in 1827; 6,419 (76%) in 1897; 5,033 (82%) in 1921; 7,256 (82%) in 1931; and approximately 6,500 on the eve of the Holocaust. Jewish economic activity included industrial enterprises, such as pottery, flour mills, the weaving of prayer shawls, the fur trade which employed many Jewish workers, and crafts, notably tailoring and carpentry. The community administration elected in 1924 was composed of six members for *Agudat Israel, five for *Mizrachi, and one Zionist.

[Shimshon Leib Kirshenboim]

Holocaust Period

The German Army entered Kaluszyn on Sept. 11, 1939, after a heavy bombardment and conflagrations that killed around 1,000 Jews. Some 4,000 Jews were then confined 15–20 to a room in the part of the town still standing. In summer 1940 a ghetto was established, including also 1,000 Jewish refugees. On November 25, 1942, around 3,000 were deported to the *Treblinka death camp where they were exterminated. Another group of Jews from Minsk Mazowiecki was then deported to the Kaluszyn ghetto and in December 1942 also sent to Treblinka. The Jewish community was not reconstituted after the war.

[Stefan Krakowski]

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KALVARIJA (Pol. **Kalwaria**; Rus. **Kalvariya**), town in S.E. Lithuania. Jews who had settled there, including several families of weavers, received a grant of privilege in 1713 to engage in commerce and crafts independently of the guilds, and permission to build a synagogue. A new synagogue was built in 1803. The community numbered 1,055 poll tax payers in 1766 and 6,508 persons (over 80% of the population) in 1856. During the 1860s many Jews in Kalvarija immigrated to the United States, and by 1897 the community had decreased to 3,581 (37%). Isaac Slonimer, author of *Emek Yehoshuʿa*, and Mordecai Klaczko (also called Mordecai Melzer), author of *Tekhelet Mordekhai*, served as rabbis in Kalvarija. Other prominent scholars and communal workers included Baer Ratner and Isaac Meir Margoliot. During World War I there was a further decline in the Jewish population when, owing to the war and a fire which broke out in 1915, many Jews moved to towns in Russia and Lithuania. Their numbers had decreased to 1,233 by 1923 (27%). The gradual nationalization of the agricultural import trade, from which Jews largely derived their livelihood, led to further emigration, and by 1939 only 1,000 Jews remained in Kalvarija. During the period of Lithuanian independence (1918–40) the community had five synagogues and three Jewish schools, a loan bank, and communal and cultural institutions.

Following the outbreak of World War II Jewish refugees from nearby Polish towns arrived in Kalvarija where they were warmly received by the community. After the Germans occupied Kalvarija on June 22, 1941, the Jews were brought to the Marijampole barracks on August 30 with thousands of other Jews from the area and murdered.

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[Dov Levin]

KAMELHAR, JEKUTHIEL ARYEH BEN GERSHON (1871–1937), Galician rabbi and author. Kamelhar was born in Kolaczyce, Galicia. During his youth, his parents moved to Tarnow, where he received a thorough talmudic education, and in 1897 took up residence in Rzeszow. In 1906 he was appointed head of the yeshivah Or Torah in the town of Stanislav, Eastern Galicia. At the outbreak of World War I he went to Vienna as a refugee, returning to Rzeszow after the war. In 1926 he accepted an appointment as rabbi of the congregation Reisha-Kurtshin in New York. In 1933 he emigrated to Ereẓ Israel, and lived in Jerusalem for the rest of his life. He wrote a number of biographies of rabbis: *Mofet ha-Dor* (1903), on Ezekiel *Landau; *Em le-Binah* (1909), a life of Ẓevi Hirsch of Romanov; *Ḥasidim ha-Rishonim* (1917), on *Samuel he-Ḥasid and his son *Judah he-Ḥasid; *Dor Deʿah* (1933–35; new ed. under the title *Arba Tekufot ba-Ḥasidut ha-Beshtit*), biographies of the leaders of the modern ḥasidic movements; and another work of the same name (1935), which contains a survey of the activities of great talmudists and a methodology of their systems. His talmudic works are *Boker Yizraḥ* (1896), on the order of service for the blessing of the sun at the beginning of its cycle; a commentary on *Rosh ha-Shanah* attributed to Maimonides (1906, 1955^{2}, published by his son Moses); *Ḥedvata di-Shemateta* in 2 parts (1912–13), whose purpose was "to resolve doubts and problems in *halakhah* by means of authoritative sources and examples from the Babylonian and Jerusalem Talmuds." He wrote *Ha-Talmud u-Maddaʿei ha-Te-*

vel (1928), comprising a kind of methodology of the Talmud, and appended to it *Netivot ha-Talmud*, on tractate *Berakhot* of the Babylonian and Jerusalem Talmuds, giving general rules and principles derived from the *Gemara*, Rashi, and *tosafot* of the tractate. Among his other works was *Ma'amar ha-Avodah ve-Ishei Yisrael* (1935–36), a blueprint for the renewal of the Temple service in Jerusalem. Kamelhar was also the editor of *Ohel Mo'ed* – a talmudic periodical that appeared between the years 1898 and 1901. A complete bio-bibliography of the works of Kamelhar in the possession of the Jewish National and University Library, including unpublished manuscripts, incomplete works, projects and notes, has been published by Binyamin (Tel Aviv, 1978).

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[Yehoshua Horowitz]

KAMENETSKY, YAAKOV (1891–1986), U.S. rabbi and scholar. A leader of modern Orthodox Jewry for more than a half-century, Kamenetsky was born in Kalushkave, a small Lithuanian village near Minsk. He studied under Torah luminaries at the Slobodka yeshivah, including Rabbi Moshe Mordechai Epstein and Rabbi Nosson Zvi Finkel (the *Sabba* of Slobodka), who nurtured the brilliant student's education and his interest in **musar* (spiritual self-improvement). By 18, Kamenetsky had become a renowned Torah scholar who had earned rabbinical ordination by several esteemed Lithuanian rabbis.

In 1919, Kamenetsky married Etta Heller, daughter of the *mashgi'aḥ* of the Slobodka yeshivah and continued to study at the Kollel Bet Yisroel in Slobodka. He accepted his first rabbinic position in 1926 at Zitavian, near Kovno, Lithuania, serving as communal rabbi until 1937. However, harsh Communist rule led Kamenetsky to immigrate to Seattle, Washington, in 1937 to accept a temporary position at Congregation Bikur Cholim. Later that same year, Kamenetsky moved to Toronto, where he served as rabbi of Congregation Toras Emes and as headmaster of a small yeshivah.

In 1946, Kamenetsky joined the faculty of Mesivta Torah Vo-Da'ath in Brooklyn, New York. Within two years, he headed the yeshivah (together with Rabbi Gedalya Schorr) following the passing of the dean, Rabbi Shraga Feivel Mendlowitz. Under Kamenetsky's energetic and inspiring leadership, the Mesivta Torah Vo-Da'ath added a high school, a post-high school seminary, and a *kolel* institute. Through these efforts, Kaminetsky helped fuel the unprecedented surge in Torah education in the U.S. in the post-Holocaust era. By the 1960s, Kaminetsky was widely regarded as one of the leading Torah scholars in the U.S. He served on the presidium of the Council of Torah Sages of the Agudath Israel of America (*Moetzet Gedolei HaTorah*) and as chairman of the Advisory Board of Torah U'Mesorah (National Society of Hebrew Day Schools).

Unlike many other Orthodox rabbis of his generation, Kaminetsky read and admired some works of classic secular literature. Such secular reading was controversial, as some feared the further secularizing influences on European and American Orthodox youth, many of whom were already shedding their religious lifestyles.

Kamenetsky retired to Monsey, New York, in 1968, where he continued to teach Talmud classes from his home, provide personal counseling and halakhic advice to those who sought it. He also wrote articles for the journals *Jewish Observer* and *Ha-Pardes*. He died at the age of 95.

His son, Nathan, a brilliant Talmudist, published a biography of his father, *The Making of a Gadol.* Respectful and insightful as it was, the book was banned because of the climate of Ḥaredi Judaism in the early 20th century. Published in a limited edition of 1,000, the book is now rare and offered at auction at many times its original publication price. It seems that the ban has only excited the interest of would-be readers. The book will be reissued without the offending passages.

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[Judy Gruen (2nd ed.)]

KAMENETS-PODOLSKI, city in Khmelnitski district (until the 1950s district capital), in Ukraine; under the rule of Lithuania from the 14th century, and after the union with Poland (1569) under Poland-Lithuania (but for the short though important and formative interval of Ottoman rule there, 1672–99); it passed to Russia in 1795, and from then until the 1917 Revolution was capital of the province of Podolia. For a long time the municipality of Kamenets-Podolski prevented attempts of Jews to settle in this important trading and communications center in southeast Poland-Lithuania. In 1447 Jews were prohibited from staying there for more than three days. In 1598 King Sigismund III prohibited Jews from settling in the city and suburbs and from engaging in trade there; their visits were again restricted to three days only. During the *Chmielnicki uprising, many Jews sought refuge in the fortified city which withstood attacks by the Cossacks in 1648 and 1652. Subsequently King John II Casimir permitted Jews to reside there, and they apparently continued to live in Kamenets-Podolski despite repeated prohibitions in 1654, 1665, and 1670. Under Ottoman rule Jewish settlement was permitted and grew to a considerable size.

After the city's return to Poland in 1699, the Christian citizens resumed their opposition to Jewish settlement. In 1737 the city council submitted a request to the state and Church authorities to banish the Jews from the city, maintaining that they had no right to settle there, and were competing with the Christian inhabitants and impoverishing them. King Augustus III expelled the Jews from Kamenets-Podolski in 1750. Their houses passed to the town council and the synagogue was demolished. The expelled Jews settled in the suburbs and in nearby villages, which were under jurisdiction of Polish noblemen, and developed extensive trading activity there which led to additional complaints on the part of the citizens. In 1725 the Council of Four Lands met in Kamenets-Podolski.

In 1757 a public disputation was held by the Church in Kamenets-Podolski – enjoined by the local bishop – between the representatives of Podolian Jewry and Jacob *Frank and his supporters. After it took place the Talmud was publicly burned in the city on the bishop's orders (see *Disputations; *Talmud, Burning of).

After Kamenets-Podolski passed to Russia, Czar Paul I confirmed in 1797 the right of Jews to reside there. At that time 24 Jews belonging to merchant guilds and 1,367 Jewish inhabitants were registered in the tax-assessment books of the city. Two years later, in 1799, 29 merchants and 2,617 Jewish inhabitants were registered. In 1832 the Christians in Kamenets-Podolski petitioned the government to expel the Jews from the city, basing themselves upon their ancient privileges. The petition was rejected but in 1833 the government restricted the right of the Jews to build shops and new houses, or to acquire houses, to two suburbs of the city only in order to prevent them from residing in the city itself. The restriction was rescinded in 1859. The community numbered 4,629 in 1847, 16,211 (40% of the total population) in 1897, and they were busy in small industry, trade, and artisanship. Rabbis who served in the city were Pinkhas of Koretz, David Wahrman, a disciple of R. Levi Isaac from Berdichev, S.Y. Abramovitsh (Mendele Mokher Sforim), and Menakhem Poznanski; the poets Aharon Ashman and Avraham Rosen were active for various periods. In 1910 there were 22,279 Jews. Four private schools and modernized *ḥadarim* were operating, and later also two Hebrew schools and a library. All major Jewish parties were active there.

After 1918, during the civil war, the Jews in Kamenets-Podolski suffered severely and 200 Jews were killed there in pogroms by Petlyura's gangs in July 1919. After the establishment of the Soviet regime, many wealthy Jews fled across the frontier and the economy of the Jewish population was ruined. Jewish cultural and communal life was entirely suppressed after a protracted struggle with the *Yevsektsiya. In 1922 ORT opened vocational schools to train Jewish youth in crafts. By 1926 only 12,774 Jews remained (29.9% of the total population), and by 1939 they numbered 13,796. In the 1920s 76 families left to settle in Crimea, and 80 to settle in Birobidzhan. Three Yiddish schools and two teachers' colleges opened there, but only one school was active in 1938.

Holocaust Period

The Germans entered the town on July 11, 1941. A ghetto was established on July 20, and by the end of the month 11,000 Jews were brought in from Hungary as well as from Czechoslovakia and Poland. From August 25 through 28, 23,600 Jews were killed. Laborers with skills, from town and from neighboring settlements, were concentrated in a labor camp within the ghetto. In January 1942, 4,000 were murdered and much later 500 children (aged 4–8) were executed; 2,500 were killed in January 1943 and another 2,000 in February. In 1979 about 1,800 Jews lived in Kamenets-Podolski; most of them left in the 1990s for Israel or the West.

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[Yehuda Slutsky / Shmuel Spector (2nd ed.)]

KAMENETZKY, ABRAHAM SHALOM (1874–1943), Polish scholar. Kamenetzky, born in Slonim, studied Oriental languages at German and Swiss universities. Until 1914 he was on the staff of the *Yevreyskaya Entsiklopediya* and lectured at the St. Petersburg Institute of Jewish Studies. After World War I he was in charge of the library attached to the Warsaw Tlomackie Synagogue. During the Nazi occupation of Poland he was in Lodz, where he worked in the ghetto archives. He died in the ghetto. Kamenetzky's publications in Hebrew, Yiddish, German, and French appeared in various periodicals. He produced an illustrated geography of Ereẓ Israel, *Geografyah Meẓuyyeret shel Ereẓ Yisrael* (1920 and subsequent editions), and coedited a shortened Hebrew version of Graetz's *Geschichte der Juden*, called *Divrei Yemei Yisrael* (6 vols., 1929–30), of which he translated parts three and four.

KAMENEV, LEV (pseudonym for **Lev Borisovich Rosenfeld**; 1883–1936), Soviet state and party activist. He was born in Moscow to a father who was an engineer and a Russian mother. Kamenev joined the Social Democratic Party in 1901, while studying law at Moscow University, and in 1903 the Bolshevik faction. Until 1914 he worked in the foreign press of the party, and returned to Russia to head the editorial board of *Pravda*. In 1915 he was exiled to Siberia and returned to Petersburg after the February 1917 revolution; he headed the Bolshevik Party until Lenin's return. He was against armed uprising and for a coalition with socialist parties, which countered Lenin's ideas. As a protest he resigned from the Central Committee of the party, and was restored only in mid-1918. In the years 1919–26 he was a member of the Politburo, and at the same time chairman of the Moscow Town Council, and chairman of the Council of the People's Commissars. In 1926 he was Commissar of Trade, and chief editor of Lenin's writings. In 1927 he was ambassador to Italy.

In 1922–24 he was, together with Zinovyev and Stalin, involved in a struggle with *Trotsky for the leadership of the party. In 1925 he headed together with Zinovyev the new opposition, and in 1926 he joined Trotsky. For that he was banished in 1927 from the Central Committee and the party. In 1928 he admitted his "mistakes," and was reinstated in the party, but given second-rate jobs. In 1932 he was again banished from the party and exiled to the Urals. He was freed but arrested again in December 1934, after the assassination of S. Kirov, and sentenced to five years' imprisonment. In July 1935 Stalin organized a closed trial, and only due to M. Gorki's intervention was he not executed but sentenced to ten years in prison. In August 1936 in the first show trial he was accused together with Zinovyev and others of conterrevolution, terror, and espionage, and under physical and psychological pressure he admitted his guilt and was shot, according to an official announcement on August 25, 1936.

In the 1920s he promoted the Habimah theater, helped Prof. Shor of the Moscow Conservatory to immigrate to Ereẓ Israel, and was active in reducing the arrest of Zionists to expulsion from the Soviet Union.

[Shmuel Spector (2nd ed.)]

KAMENKA, ẒEVI HIRSCH OF (d. 1781), founder of a ḥasidic dynasty in Kamenka, Ukraine. Kamenka was one of seven brothers who were disciples and admirers of *Israel b. Eliezer, the Ba'al Shem Tov, and were active in furthering his influence. The eldest brother was SAMUEL (THE ELDER) OF KAMENKA (d. 1831?). A grandson of Ẓevi Hirsch, SAMUEL II OF KAMENKA, was a ḥasidic *admor, a disciple of *Baruch of Medzhibezh and *Abraham Joshua Heschel of Apta, and an outstanding disciple and colleague of *Levi Isaac of Berdichev. His grandson, ABRAHAM DAVID of Miropolye, a noted scholar and *admor* of many Ḥasidim, continued the dynasty. David's son, SAMUEL III, author of *Shem mi-Shemu'el*, succeeded to his father's position and moved to the United States.

The book *Shenei ha-Me'orot* (Kishinev, 1896) includes some of the sayings of Ẓevi Hirsch and his brothers, and of Samuel II of Kamenka.

[Adin Steinsaltz]

KAMENKA-BUGSKAYA (Pol. **Kamionka Strumiłowa**), city in Tarnopol district, Ukraine. The earliest information on Jewish settlement dates from 1456. An agreement reached between the burghers and the Jews, granting the latter rights of residence and free trade, was confirmed by King Sigismund III Vasa in 1589. Jews traded in grain, cattle, fish, and lumber. At the end of the 17th century the bishop of Lvov permitted the community to erect a wooden synagogue. The walls of this fine building were covered with paintings (done in 1730) mainly depicting animal figures. In 1662 there were 16 Jewish and 90 Christian houses in the town. At the beginning of the 18th century Ḥayyim b. Isaac *Reiẓes served as rabbi of the community, which was under the jurisdiction of the regional *kahal* of the province of "Russia." In 1719 and 1736 the Jews paid poll taxes of 786 and 400 zlotys respectively. Of the 522 Jews in the city in 1765, 79 were innkeepers. The community numbered 2,922 (48% of the total population) in 1880, 3,164 (43.3%) in 1900, and 2,685 (41%) in 1921. The drop in their number resulted from devastation by a large fire during WWI. From 1924 until 1939 there was a supplementary Hebrew school with about 200 pupils. In 1931 the Jewish population numbered 3,283; before September 1939 it had reached 4,000.

[*Encyclopaedia Judaica* (Germany)]

Holocaust Period

The Jewish community changed greatly during the Soviet period of 1939–41, when community institutions were dissolved and any independent political activity was forbidden. The traditional Jewish economy was also hurt. Jews tried to integrate into the new activities by organizing themselves into craftsmen's cooperatives and entering the municipal and civil service. On June 28, 1941, the city was occupied by the Germans, and the next day they murdered 200 Jews. On July 2, the Ukrainians, instigated by the Germans, carried out a pogrom, killing a few hundred Jews. On November 10, 1941, another 500 Jews were killed near the city. In the summer of 1942 a census was taken of the Jewish population; workers were given special permits, while of the others some 1,500 persons were deported to *Belzec death camp (Sept. 15, 1942). On Sept. 21, 1942, 600 persons were put to death in Zabuze (area beyond the River Bug), where Jews from *Busk, Cholojow, and Radziechow (Radekhou) were also murdered. On Oct. 28, 1942, another group was deported to Belzec, thereby completing the murder of most of the community. In November 1941 a forced-labor camp was set up in which Jews from the entire neighborhood were concentrated. On July 10, 1943, more than 5,000 Jews were murdered there.

[Aharon Weiss]

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KAMENSZAIN, TOBIAS (1918–2000), lawyer and leader of the Argentinean Jewish community. Kamenszain was born in Ostrow, Poland. In 1928 his family emigrated to Buenos Aires. In addition to studying at a state school he attended the Hebrew school of the Zionist Federation (General Zionists). He joined Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir as a teenager and in 1939 began his university studies, which he completed in 1946. He also joined the Right Po'alei Zion Party and was close to one of its leaders, Moshe Kostrinsky-*Kitron. In 1946 he married Eva Staif, a graduate in biochemistry. Her family was very active in Jewish life, and her father, Moshe Staif, was one of the founders of the Zionist Bialik School in Buenos Aires. Eva was much involved in Jewish education and for many years directed the ORT school. In 1947 Kamenszain was elected to the central committee of Right Po'alei Zion and became secretary of *Keren Kayemet with Isaac Kaplan as chairman. Subsequently he was secretary of *Keren Hayesod. When Yitzhak Harkavi made *aliyah*, Kamenszain was elected secretary general of Po'alei Zion. In 1960 and 1966 Kamenszain was elected chairman of AMIA-Ashkenazi Community of Buenos Aires. In 1966 he was also elected chairman of the Vaad Hakehilot – the federation of all the Jewish communities of Argentina. Among other positions, in the 1960s and 1970s he headed the board of Hamidrasha Haivrit (high school for Jewish studies and seminar for secondary school teachers) and in the 1990s the Keren Kayemet of Argentina.

[Efraim Zadoff (2nd ed.)]

KAMHI, JAK V. (1925–), Turkish industrialist. Born in Istanbul, Kamhi graduated as an engineer from Yıldız Technical University, becoming chairman of the board of the Profilo Group of companies. He was an adviser to the prime ministry of Turkey for Turkey-EU and Turkey-U.S. relations. He was the founding chairman of the Quincentennial Foundation, which was established in 1989 with the purpose of celebrating the arrival of the Sephardim exiled in 1492 to the Ottoman lands; and he lobbied on behalf of the Turkish Republic, especially in the U.S., where Turkey was severely criticized for denying the Armenian genocide and for the infringement of human rights. He was given several awards, including the High Service Award from the Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Légion d'Honneur, and the rank of commander in the National Order of Merit from the president of the French Republic and the commander of the Order of Spanish Civil Merit from the king of Spain.

[Rifat Bali (2nd ed.)]

KAMHI, LEON (1898–1943), commercial agent and Zionist activist. Kamhi was born and lived in Bitola (Monastir) in the Yugoslav part of Macedonia, also known as Vardar Macedonia. He received his education in the Alliance school and intended to pursue studies in Paris, but family problems prevented him and he had to start earning a living without delay. Working hard, he soon became an independent businessman. From his youth on, he was a Zionist leader and organizer. He was influential also in the affairs of the Kehillah, helping in financing the participation of Macedonian Jewish youth in the Zionist summer camps, mostly held in the Julian Alps, in faraway Slovenia. He founded or managed Zionist groups in other towns of the region, such as Stip and the provincial capital, Skopje. He represented Macedonian Jewry in all countywide forums and gatherings, maintaining intimate ties with Jewish leaders in Zagreb, the Zionist center, as well as in Belgrade, the seat of the Federation of Jewish Communities. His assistance in promoting *aliyah* to Palestine was essential, including the sending of unmarried young girls or arranging for them fictional marriages to assure the fullest use of the very scarce available certificates (immigration affidavits) apportioned by the British, allocated through the services of the Jewish Agency for Palestine and its representatives in Zagreb.

Kamhi planned to emigrate himself and corresponded on this matter with his friends already residing in Palestine during the years 1934 to 1936, postponing the implementation of his plan time and again for personal and/or communal reasons.

He was the uncontested leader of Macedonian Jewry, eventually sharing their tragic fate in March 1943, when the Bulgarian fascists, cruel and willing collaborators with the Nazis, arrested all 7,000 Jews, mistreating them and handing them over to the Germans in the Bulgarian town of Lom, from where they were deported, in four transports, to their death in Treblinka.

[Zvi Loker (2nd ed.)]

KAMINER, ISAAC (1834–1901), Hebrew writer. Born in Lewkiow in the Ukraine, he was drawn into the Haskalah movement in his youth, and taught at the government school for Jews in Zhitomir (1854–59). Later he completed medical school at the University of Kiev and was a physician in that town till the end of the 1870s. During that period he inclined toward socialism and joined the circles of A.S. *Liebermann and Judah Loeb *Levin (Yehalel).

Kaminer wrote verse satires for the Hebrew socialist papers *Ha-Emet* and *Asefat Ḥakhamim* (among them his best poem *Shir ha-Yiḥud la-Matbe'a*), but he disagreed with the assimilationist tendencies prevalent in socialist circles. Only two works were published separately in his lifetime, *Kinot mi-Sidduram shel Benei Dan* (1878), and *Seder Kapparot le-Va'al Takse* (1878). Kaminer criticized not only the Ḥasidim and those clinging to old notions but also supporters of the Haskalah and the rich community leaders. In a series of poems, *Maskil el Dal*, he described, in a favorable light, folk figures like the peddler and the destitute rabbis. In some of his verse he strongly defended the use of the Hebrew language and lamented the younger generation's alienation from "Jewish nationality." After the pogroms of the 1880s he joined the Ḥibbat Zion movement and from then on his verse was dedicated to the cause of Jewish nationalism and the settlement of Palestine. The board of Ḥovevei Zion published his selected poems posthumously (1905), edited by *Aḥad Ha-Am and J.H. Rawnitzky. The selection was drastically edited. Kaminer's works have little artistic value but they had an influence upon the readers of his day.

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[Yehuda Slutsky]

KAMINETSKY, JOSEPH (1911–1999), director of Torah Umesorah. Kaminetsky attended public school for one year, when his father realized that this would not do. He sold their home so he his son could attend Yeshiva Chaim Berlin in Brownsville, Brooklyn, New York. The boy then attended Talmudical Academy High School on the Lower East Side and was a student in the first freshman class of Yeshiva University. He graduated magna cum laude in 1932.

While working toward his doctoral degree in education at the Teacher's College at Columbia University, he was the founding principal of the after-school learning program of the Jewish Center Synagogue in Manhattan. Later, he was the congregation's assistant rabbi under Rabbi Leo Jung. After earning his degree, Rabbi Kaminetsky was appointed executive director of Manhattan Day School.

In 1946, he was handpicked by Rabbi Shraga Feivel Mendlowitz, founder of Torah Umesorah, the National Association for Hebrew Day Schools, to be its educational director, and then two years later, its national director. Upon his retirement, 36 years later, he was appointed director emeritus. Dr. Joe, as he was affectionately known, served Torah Umesorah for 41 years.

Kaminetsky was the key figure in the explosive growth of Orthodox day schools in the United States and Canada since World War II. When he began his tenure at Torah Umesorah, his goal was that every town or city with a Jewish population of at least 5,000 would establish a Jewish day school. As Kaminetsky put it in his memoirs, *Memorable Encounters*, his job was to create "a national bureau of 'doers' who could help communities establish all-day Jewish schools of their own."

Dr. Hillel Goldberg of the National Council of Synagogue Youth, recalls that in the post-Holocaust 1940s, there was almost no American Jew who had all of Kaminetsky's qualifications to become executive director of Torah Umesorah.

Goldberg wrote that

> Dr. Kaminetsky could sell Jewish education, not just because he believed in it, understood it, or cared. He did not found scores of Jewish day schools on these qualities alone. Still less, on these qualities alone did he persuade others to give up potentially lucrative careers to found hundreds more day schools. The secret… *his* secret? Dr. Joseph Kaminetsky convinced you that *you* were building the school, *you* were the leader, *you* were the doer, *you* were making the sacrifice, *you* had the abilities, *you* were making the difference.

Today there are well over 600 yeshivah day schools in the United States and Canada with over 170,000 students.

Marvin Schick wrote of Rabbi Kaminetsky as an educator who bridged three worlds.

> Torah Umesorah represented a coming together in common cause of a remarkable group of Roshei Yeshiva, lay leaders and staff. The Roshei Yeshiva set the over-all policy and decided difficult questions. Led by Rav Aharon Kotler, the transcendent Torah leader of American Orthodoxy in the post-Holocaust years, their involvement in day schools was remarkable in view of their personal histories and the character of the institutions which they headed. Their Torah Umesorah activities entailed, in a certain way, a measure of compromise, for they were sanctioning schools whose standards were at times more than a notch below what they ordinarily would be willing to accept. Yet they all knew that the building of Torah in America required nurturing.

In the mid-1950s, most lay leaders were Modern Orthodox, while the *roshei yeshivah*, generally, were also the leaders of the more stringent Agudath Israel. As Shick says, "There were strains, some serious, in the tripartite arrangement. Dr. Joe served as the mediator between the yeshivish world of Torah Umesorah leadership and the Modern Orthodox community."

In his memoirs, Dr. Kaminetsky wrote

> Although I felt sympathetic to the ideals of both the pure yeshivish and Modern Orthodox worlds, I was typed as a "modern" by some of the Torah Umesorah kehillah… In truth, in those early years, I did indeed find myself living ideologically in two worlds: the Modern Orthodox milieu of Yeshiva University and the more traditional yeshiva world of my early Brownsville days and of Torah Umesorah… I was criticized now and then by… religiously conservative people who objected to any hint of ideological flexibility on the day-school initiative – while at the same time, many of my former friends at Yeshiva called me a "black-hatter." Yet the L-rd was good to me and enabled me to maintain a careful equilibrium between the two worlds and to work with both for the sake of Torah.

[Jeanette Friedman (2nd ed.)]

KAMINKA, ARMAND (**Aaron**; 1866–1950), rabbi and scholar. Kaminka, who was born in Berdichev, studied at the universities of Berlin and Paris as well as at the orthodox Rabbinerseminar in Berlin and the Lehranstalt fuer die Wissenschaft des Judentums in Berlin. His first appointment was as rabbi at Frankfurt on the Oder, then as preacher at the Reform temple in Prague (1893–97). After serving as chief rabbi of Esseg (Osyek), Slavonia (1897–1900), he moved to Vienna where he became secretary of the Israelitische Allianz (whose history he described in *Haolam*, 35 (1948), nos. 1–11). In 1903 Kaminka was sent by the Israelitische Allianz to Kishinev to investigate the pogrom that had taken place there that April. He also taught Talmud, philosophy, and history at the *bet ha-midrash* of I.H. Weiss (1901–04), as well as at the community's religious teachers' training college. In 1924 Kaminka founded Maimonides College (for the spreading of Jewish knowledge among Viennese Jewry), and from 1926 lectured on Talmud and Jewish philosophy at the University of Vienna. With the annexation of Austria by Hitler in 1938, Kaminka settled in Palestine.

As secretary of the Allianz, Kaminka was involved in relief work for the victims of persecution in Romania and Russia to the end of World War I. He had been active from youth in the Ḥibbat Zion movement and was long associated with Theodor *Herzl, who considered Kaminka a suitable intermediary between himself and the Russian Ḥovevei Zion. Kaminka took part in the first Zionist Congress (1897), where he gave the official address on Jewish settlement in Palestine. Because of his interest in "practical Zionism," he eventually fell out with Herzl.

Kaminka was a poet and translator. His translations into Hebrew from classical literature include: Marcus Aurelius' *Meditations* (1923); Aristotle's *De Anima* (1949); Seneca's *Epistulae Morales* (1940–42), *Dialogues* (1943–45), and *Naturales Quaestiones* (1946); and a two-volume selection of tragedies by Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides (*Tragedyot Nivḥarot*…, 1940–48). Kaminka's own poetry as well as some of his translations were published in several collections. He also wrote a drama, *Shever Beit Aḥav* ("Downfall of the House of Ahab," 1941).

In his writings on the Bible, Kaminka generally adopted a conservative line, strongly rejecting the theories of the Bible criticism and arguing for the unity of Isaiah and for the pre-Exilic origin of much of Psalms and Song of Songs. Kaminka also published numerous studies on the talmudic literature. Here, in contrast to his biblical research, he adopted a very critical view denying the historicity of many talmudic statements. He also began to publish a critical edition of the *She'iltot de-R. Aḥai Ga'on* (1908), a subject to which he returned in several articles, claiming that the work is of a rhetorical and nonhalakhic nature. Kaminka also prepared an edition of Al-Ḥarizi's *Taḥkemoni* (1899), with introduction and notes. In the field of Apocrypha, he translated the so-called IV Ezra from Latin into Hebrew as *Ḥazonot Asir Sheʾaltiʾel* (1936), with notes and introduction. He also turned his attention to the early translators in his *Studien zur Septuaginta* (1928). In this study he tries to prove that the Septuagint did not have a textually different Hebrew version as its basis. Some of his scholarly articles were republished in *Meḥkarim ba-Mikra u-va-Talmud…* (2 vols., 1938–51), and *Kitvei Bikkoret Historit* (1944).

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[Tobias Grill (2nd ed.)]

KAMINSKI or **KAMINSKA**, family of Yiddish actors. ABRAHAM ISAAC KAMINSKI (1867–1918) organized his own theatrical company in Warsaw at the age of 20 and also toured the smaller towns. When the Russian ban on Yiddish theater was lifted in 1908, he also toured in Russia. Among the plays he staged were several of his own and translations of Gorki (*The Lower Depths*), Schiller (*Die Raueber*), and Molière (*Le Malade imaginaire*). Shortly before World War I he founded the Kaminski Theater in Warsaw.

His wife ESTHER RACHEL KAMINSKA (née Halpern; 1870–1925) won fame in her husband's company. When she appeared in St. Petersburg in 1905, she was hailed as "the Yiddish Duse." Her repertoire included plays by Ibsen, Dumas, and Sudermann, but she was considered at her best in portrayals of the mother roles of Jacob *Gordin She toured the U.S. in 1909–11, and played in London and Paris in 1913.

IDA KAMINSKA (1899–1980), their daughter, started her career as a child in her father's company and became its leading figure. Her first husband was Martin Sigmund *Turkow; her second Meir Melman (1899–1978), a leading actor.

On the invasion of Poland in 1939, the family fled into the Soviet-occupied zone and later into Central Asia. When she returned to Poland after World War II, she resumed activity in Lodz. In Warsaw she earned for her company the status of the "Jewish State Theater," with which she toured Israel, North and South America, and later western Europe. She also achieved fame in films. Her role in the film *The Shop on Main Street* (1967) was widely acclaimed. She left Poland in 1968 as a result of the antisemitic campaign in the country when the emigration of many of the country's remaining Jews deprived her of her audience. After emigrating to the United States, where she starred in *Glueckel von Hameln*, Kaminska settled in Israel in 1975 with her actor-husband Meir Melman, and joined the newly formed Yiddish Theater in Tel Aviv.

Another member of the family, JOSEPH KAMINSKI (1903–1972), son of Abraham and Esther Rachel, studied music in Berlin and Vienna, settled in Palestine in 1937, and became first violinist in the Israel Philharmonic Orchestra. He composed works for orchestra, chamber groups, and solo instruments.

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[Joseph Leftwich]

KAMNIEL, ABU AL-HASAN MEIR IBN, physician in Seville who was invited by the Almoravide ruler Ali b. Yūsuf ibn Tāshfin (1106–43) to serve at his court in *Marrakesh. Ibn Kamniel was a friend of *Judah Halevi, who dedicated some of his poems to him. At the court in Marrakesh he met Solomon ibn al-Muʿallim, also a physician and poet, and a friend of Judah Halevi and Abraham *Ibn Ezra, who both praised Ibn al-Muʿallim in their poems. According to Ibn *Aknin, Ibn al-Muʿallim expounded verses to the ruler from Song of Songs according to their plain meaning, thereby arousing Ibn Kamniel's anger. At the time these Jewish physicians met in Marrakesh, which was the capital of the Almoravide empire and Ibn Tāshfin's residence, it was generally not permitted for Jews to live in the city. Therefore, Ibn Tāshfin's invitation to the two Jewish physicians from Spain to serve at his court must have been with good reason, particularly when his policies were not friendly toward Jews. It is known that there were competent Arab physicians in North Africa at the time. In sending for the Jewish physicians Ibn Tāshfin may have desired to establish a medical school in Marrakesh which could compete with that in Fez. Be that as it may, these physicians seem to have built the nucleus for a small Jewish community in Marrakesh which was destroyed by the *Almohads in the middle of the 12th century.

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[Haïm Z'ew Hirschberg]

KAMPELMAN, MAX M. (1920–), U.S. lawyer and diplomat. Born in New York, Kampelman received his undergraduate and legal education at New York University, and his M.A. and Ph.D. in political science at the University of Minnesota. He taught political science at the University of Minnesota (1946–48) and at Bennington College (1948–50). He came under the influence of Senator Hubert H. Humphrey and served as his legislative counsel (1949–55). He then joined the law firm of Fried, Frank, Harris, Shriver and Kampelman, in Washington, D.C. He served as director and as chairman of the executive committee of the District of Columbia National Bank (1962–66). He was a creator and moderator of the popular television program *Washington Week in Review* (1967–70) and chairman of the Washington public broadcasting radio and television stations (1963–70).

Kampelman has had an active career as a major American diplomat, serving in several important and delicate negotiations. He has served as senior adviser to the U.S. delegation to the United Nations. From 1980 to 1983, by appointment of President Carter and then of President Reagan, he was ambassador and head of the U.S. delegation to the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (under the Final Act signed in Helsinki in 1975). Then he was appointed by President Reagan as ambassador and head of the Delegation on Negotiations on Nuclear and Space Arms.

Kampelman has a long and distinguished record of public and philanthropic service. By appointment of the president of the United States, he was chairman of the board of trustees of the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars (1979–81), and continued as a member of the board of trustees. He was chairman of Freedom House (1983–85). He has served on the board of directors of Georgetown University, on the board of advisers of the Kennedy Institute of Ethics, on the board of trustees of the Law Center Foundation of New York University, on the board of trustees of the U.S. Council for International Business, as vice president of the Helen Dwight Reid Educational Foundation, vice chairman of the Coalition for a Democratic Majority, a member of the executive committee of the Committee on the Present Danger, and a member of the board of directors of the Atlantic Council of the United States. He was chairman of the Board of Governors of the United Nations Association (1989–93) and served as vice chairman of the United States Institute of Peace (1992–2001).

Kampelman has been actively identified with many Jewish and Israeli interests. He is honorary chairman of the Jerusalem Foundation and honorary governor of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. He has served as honorary vice chairman of the B'nai B'rith Anti-Defamation League; as a member of the board of governors of Tel Aviv University and of the University of Haifa; as chairman of the National Advisory Committee of the American Jewish Committee; as a member of the board of directors of HIAS; as vice president of the Jewish Publication Society; on the board of trustees of the America-Israel Cultural Foundation and of the American Friends of the Israel Conservatory of Music; and on the board of trustees of the American Histadrut Cultural Exchange Institute.

In 1989 he received the Presidential Citizens Medal; in 1999 he was awarded the Presidential Medal of Freedom; and in 2000, he was among those who received the first Library of Congress Living Legend award. Kampelman is the author of many articles and pamphlets on public affairs, American foreign policy, and Jewish subjects. He also wrote *The Communist Party vs. the* CIO (1957) and *Entering New Worlds: The Memoirs of a Private Man in Public Life* (1991).

[Milton Ridvas Konvitz / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

KAMSON, YA'AKOV (Jacob) DAVID (1907–1980), Hebrew poet. Born in Vorna, Lithuania, Kamson immigrated to Palestine in 1926, living first in Jerusalem and later in Ashkelon. While in Germany he began publishing his poems in the German-Jewish press, and later contributed to most Hebrew periodicals. His works include *Yerushalayim* (1950), a collection of poems on the theme of Jerusalem, and books of poetry and stories for children. He was an editor of the album about Lithuanian Jewry, *Yahadut Lita* (1959). He also wrote in Yiddish. For a list of English translations of his poetry see Goell, Bibliography, 30f.

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[Getzel Kressel]

KAMẒA AND BAR KAMẒA, figures in one of the *aggadot* dealing with the events which led to the destruction of the Second Temple (Git. 55b–56a; cf. Lam. R. 4:2 no. 3). The passage opens with the statement, "Because of Kamẓa and Bar Kamẓa Jerusalem was destroyed," and states that a certain man instructed his servant to invite his friend Kamẓa to a feast. By mistake the servant extended the invitation to a certain Bar Kamẓa, his master's personal enemy. Bar Kamẓa was ordered to leave, but offered increasing sums of money to be allowed to stay and avoid the humiliation of being thrown out. His host remained obdurate. Bar Kamẓa was compelled to leave. Furious with the rabbis who witnessed the scene and did not speak up on his behalf Bar Kamẓa went to the emperor and informed him that the Jews were planning a revolt, the proof being that they would refuse to accept his sacrifice. The emperor sent a sacrifice through Bar Kamẓa, who inflicted a blemish on it which would disqualify it according to Jewish law but not according to Roman law. The sages were inclined to overlook this blemish and offer up the sacrifice so as not to offend the Romans. A certain *Zechariah b. Avkilus, however, objected strongly on the grounds that "people will think that blemished animals may be offered for sacrifice." To a proposal that Bar Kamẓa be put to death to prevent him from informing the emperor, Zechariah b. Avkilus objected, maintaining that "people will think that the penalty for inflicting a blemish on sacrificial animals is death."

There may well be a grain of historical truth in this legend. Josephus states that Eleazar, son of Hananiah the high priest, and a leader of zealots, sought to abolish sacrifices of non-Jews in the Temple, and maintains that this was the signal for the outbreak of the Roman War, since it meant the abolition of daily sacrifice for the emperor (Wars, 2:409ff.), constituting an act of rebellion. In the story one can detect an echo of the factional dissensions that ravaged Jerusalem in the years preceding the destruction of the Temple. It should be associated with similar popular sayings from talmudic literature, e.g., "Why was the Second Temple destroyed…? Because of baseless hatred" (Yoma 9b).

Some scholars see a resemblance between the name Kamẓa and Bar Kamẓa and the name Compsus b. Compsus mentioned by Josephus (Life, 33). Compsus was a member of the aristocratic party in Tiberias and among the supporters of the Romans. Support for the theory is found in the fact that the legend is attributed to Johanan who taught in Tiberias, which might well have been the scene of the story.

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[A'hron Oppenheimer]

KANAH, Cana (Heb. קָנָה).

(1) City in the territory of Asher (Josh. 19:28), mentioned in Egyptian lists of cities conquered by Seti I and Thutmosis III (no. 26); now Kanah, 6 miles (10 km.) southeast of Tyre.

(2) Town in Galilee captured by Tiglath-Pileser III in 732 B.C.E. According to John 2, a marriage feast at Cana was the scene of Jesus' miracle of changing water into wine; there also he performed a miracle of healing (John 4:46 ff.). Josephus made it his headquarters early in 67 C.E. during the Jewish War (Life, 86). After the destruction of the Temple, Kanah was settled by priests of the Eliashib family. Identified since the Middle Ages with Kafr Kannā, the site is now more likely placed at Khirbat Kannā, 5 miles (8 km.) north of Sepphoris.

(3) River separating the territories of Manasseh and Ephraim (Josh. 17:9); now Wadi Kannā, a tributary of the Yarkon.

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[Michael Avi-Yonah]

KANAH AND PELIYAH, BOOKS OF, two of the most important compositions of pre-Safedian *Kabbalah. The former is a lengthy commentary on the commandments, the latter a commentary on the first chapters of Genesis. Though different from the literary point of view, the two books have been confused by many kabbalists, the title *Kanah* being attributed to both. Written by the same kabbalist, they were attributed to members of the family of the famous tannaitic figure R. *Neḥunyah ben ha-Kanah, to whom some other kabbalistic writing had been attributed previously. The author introduces three generations of this family, who discuss and exchange among themselves kabbalistic ideas. The main assumption of the author is the superiority of Kabbalah, which contains the most important clues for understanding Judaism.

For many years the books were thought to have been composed in Spain, but findings of Kushnir-Oron and Ta-Shma established the Byzantine background of the books, presumably at the end of the 14th century. A study of the sources demonstrates that the anonymous kabbalist drew on a huge variety of kabbalistic sources starting from early Kabbalah, the book of the Zohar, prophetic Kabbalah, R. Joseph Gikatilla, R. Menahem Recanati, and R. Joseph b. Shalom Ashkenazi. Especially important is the impact of *Sefer ha-Temunah* and the kabbalistic thought in writings from its circle, plausibly produced in mid-14th century Byzantium. Also the appropriation of Heikhalot poems, late Midrashim, and Ashkenazi sources is detectable. Many of these sources were copied verbatim or with slight changes and interpolations. Despite the highly eclectic nature of these books, the recasting of the sources in a dialogue form, which uses many parables, was helpful in introducing the variety of ideas appropriated by the author to wider and variegated audiences. Together with writings from the *Temunah* circle, the books of *Kanah* and *Peliyah* are cornerstones of Byzantine Kabbalah as a divergent school from the Spanish center of Kabbalah, and contributed a special blend of views which underscore transmigration and cosmic cycles (*shemittot*), surmising that the present eon is one of stern judgment, and show special interest in Hebrew letters and divine names.

The books contain ideas stemming from earlier sources which deviate from the consensus of the main kabbalistic schools in Spain. On the other hand, they express critical attitudes toward students of *Halakhah*, depicted as immersed in the study of Jewish law, but enjoying a good life instead of fasting and preaching to the Jews about their plight in exile. The style of admonition and the frequent appearance of Elijah, who teaches supernal secrets, permeate the two compositions and had an impact on later writings. Because of the recurring concern with messianism and eschatology – again following earlier kabbalistic sources – the books have been seen as a very reliable source because of their mooted early date. The computation of the year of arrival of the Messiah as 1490 evoked special interest after the expulsion of the Jews from Spain.

The impact of the books on the further development of Kabbalah has been quite substantial. They were canonized already at the beginning of the 16th century, and their influence is discernible among Spanish kabbalists who were expelled from Spain and others. The most important names in this context are Johanan *Alemanno, *Moses of Kiev, Solomon *Molcho, Joseph *Caro, Solomon ha-Levi *Alkabez, Meir ibn Gabbai, Moses *Cordovero, David ibn Zimra, *Shabbetai Ẓevi and other Shabbatean figures, and some in early Ḥasidism. Some of its more radical ideas contributed to the rejection of the books by other kabbalists, like R. Isaac *Luria.

Sefer ha-Kanah was published in part in 1617 in Prague, in 1730 in Wilharsdorf, in 1786 in Poritsk, and in 1894 in Cracow, and in 1974 in Jerusalem. *Sefer ha-Peliyah* was published twice, in 1784 in Koretz and in 1884 in Premislany.

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[Moshe Idel (2nd ed.)]

KANDEL, ERIC RICHARD (1929–), neurophysiologist and Nobel laureate in physiology and medicine. Kandel was born in Vienna, Austria, and emigrated to the U.S. in April

1939 after a childhood experience of Nazi occupation which determined his life-long interest in behavior. After attending the Yeshiva of Flatbush elementary school, followed by Erasmus Hall High School, he majored in European history at Harvard before entering New York University Medical School with the initial intention of pursuing a career in psychiatry. An elective course at Columbia University with Harry Grundfest reinforced his decision to become a scientist. After graduation (1956) he joined the National Institutes of Health (NIH), Bethesda (1957–60), and trained in clinical psychiatry at Harvard Medical School (1960–65), a period which included a seminal year as a postdoctoral fellow with Ladislav Tauc in Paris. He formed a neurophysiology group at New York University (1965–72). In 1972 he moved to Columbia University College of Physicians and Surgeons as founding director of the Center for Neurobiology and Behavior, where he became professor (1983), senior investigator of the Howard Hughes Medical Institute (1984), and director of the Kavli Institute for Brain Sciences (2004). His research has centered on the biological basis of memory and its implications for normal and abnormal behavior. He was among the first to devise experimental methods for establishing the physiological and molecular basis of a crucial function of the brain. He worked initially on the relatively simple giant marine snail *Aplysia* and later on the hippocampus, the memory center, in mice, convinced that only simple systems would give insight into the formidable challenge of understanding consciousness and related brain function in humans. He ended previous fruitless speculation by establishing that memory involves the connections between nerve cells and patterns of protein synthesis in these cells. He was awarded the Nobel Prize (2000) jointly with Arvid Carlsson and Paul Greegard. His other honors include membership in the U.S. Academy of Sciences (1974), the Lasker Award (1983), the Gairdner Award (1987), the Harvey Prize of the Haifa Technion (1993), and the Wolf Prize (1999). His publications include (with J. Schwartz and T. Jessell) the standard textbook *Principles of Neural Science*.

[Michael Denman (2nd ed.)]

KANDEL, ISAAC LEON (1881–1965), U.S. educator, an internationally known specialist on comparative education. Kandel was born in Romania, and went to university in Manchester, England, and at Columbia University, New York. From 1914 to 1923 he was a research specialist for the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching and produced significant monographs, including one on the examination system in the United States. From 1923 to 1947, he was professor of education at Teachers College of Columbia University and editor of its *Educational Yearbook of the International Institute*. From 1944 to 1949 he edited *Universities Quarterly*, and from 1946 to 1953, *School and Society*. In 1948–50, Kandel was professor of American studies at the University of Manchester, England. Kandel contributed to the fields of educational history, educational theory, and comparative and international education. His most important work was *Comparative Education* (1933), and his other books include *History of Secondary Education* (1930), *Conflicting Theories of Education* (1938), *Intellectual Cooperation: National and International* (1944), *The New Era in Education* (1955), and *American Education in the Twentieth Century* (1957). Of great significance was his pioneering study, *The Making of Nazis* (1935), in which he documented the theory and practice of Nazi education and warned of its dangers. Kandel's work is distinguished by vigorous opposition to extremism in progressive education, his advocacy of international cooperation in culture and education, and his application of a precise, multilingual approach to educational research. Kandel was a member of the advisory board of the American Friends of the Hebrew University, the editorial council of *Jewish Social Studies*, and of the Institute for Religious and Social Studies (Jewish Theological Seminary of America). He was coauthor of an article on Jewish education in Monroe's *Cyclopedia for Education*. He taught for a period at the Jewish Institute of Religion in New York.

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[William W. Brickman]

KANDLEIN OF REGENSBURG (14th century), community leader first mentioned in the records of Regensburg in 1351. Kandlein was a widow whose relatives, including her brother, son, and son-in-law, were the most prominent moneylenders in that city. The family, originally from Graz, also payed the highest taxes. Kandlein was one of the appointed leaders of the Regensburg Jewish community and was usually mentioned first in the listings of the important Jews. This group set the taxes for local Jews and regulated which Jews should be allowed to settle in Regensburg and what they should pay for the privilege. In July 1356, the Regensburg council gave Kandlein and others permission to live in Regensburg for two further years and all rights to sing in their synagogue and to their graveyard. Kandlein was murdered sometime before August 1365 during a robbery of her home.

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[Cheryl Tallan (2nd ed.)]

KANE, BOB (1916–1998), U.S. comic book creator. Born in New York City with the surname Cahn, he attended Cooper Union and the Art Students League before entering the comics field. His first strips, *Peter Pupp* and *Hiram Hick*, were published in 1936. In 1938, while he was drawing adventure strips for National Comics, a comic book hero named Superman appeared. Kane's boss asked him and his high-school classmate, Bill Finger, then a shoe salesman, to come up with a Supercompetitor. They developed *Batman*, which came out in May 1939 in *Detective Comics*, the successor to National. Batman the Caped Crusader was not as strong as Superman, but he was much more agile, a better dresser, and had more sophisticated technological contraptions. He lived in the Batcave with his "ward," Robin the Boy Wonder, drove the Batmobile, which had a crime laboratory and a closed-circuit television in the back, and owned a Batplane. In creating Batman, really a man named Bruce Wayne, a wealthy socialite, Kane said he drew on a number of sources: a 1920s movie, *The Mark of Zorro*, a radio show called *The Shadow*, and a 1930 movie called *The Bat Whispers*. As Batman's popularity increased – there was a television series, Batman movies, toys, and costumes – over the years, Kane did less and less of the drawing. Although his name appeared on the strip until 1964, the work was done mostly by other artists. According to a recollection-tribute by Jerry Robinson, who was a writer during the creation of Batman, Kane and Finger, like himself and the creators of Superman, came from middle-class Jewish families beset by the Depression. Bruce Wayne, he wrote, "is rich, handsome and equipped with a butler, the Batmobile and an array of seductive women. That, of course, represented our ultimate fantasy." The fantasy proved to be universal. Batman was soon speaking Greek, Arabic, and Japanese, among other languages. In 1966 Kane turned to children's television cartoons and in his last years he devoted himself to Batman paintings and lithographs for collectors.

[Stewart Kampel (2nd ed.)]

KANE, CAROL (1952–), U.S. actress. Born in Cleveland, Ohio, Kane traveled extensively as a child, living with her parents in Paris and Haiti before settling with them in New York. She attended the Professional Children's School in New York City until the age of 14, when she began acting professionally in theater roles in New York and around the Northeast. Kane's first significant film roles were in *Carnal Knowledge* (1971) and *The Last Detail* (1973), and she played a memorable role as a bank teller-hostage in *Dog Day Afternoon* (1975). Later that year, Kane received an Oscar nomination for her portrayal of Gitl, a young Jewish bride in Joan Micklin Silver's *Hester Street,* a tale of immigrant life on New York's lower East Side circa 1896. In 1977, Kane played the role of Woody Allen's first wife in *Annie Hall* and Gene Wilder's girlfriend in *The World's Greatest Lover.* Two years later, she received acclaim for her role as babysitter Jill Johnson in *When A Stranger Calls* (1979). Despite her success in film, however, Kane is perhaps best known for her role as the ditzy nonsense-speaking immigrant Simka on the television show *Taxi*. Kane's performance as Simka, who eventually married Andy *Kaufman's character on the show, Latka, won her Emmy Awards in 1982 and 1983. Subsequently, Kane appeared in a myriad of films and television shows while continuing to perform in the theater. Among these appearances, Kane's other notable credits include the TV series *Brooklyn Bridge* (1991) and the films *Racing with the Moon* (1984), *The Princess Bride* (1987), *Ishtar* (1987), *Scrooged* (1988), *The Lemon Sisters* (1990), *Addams Family Values* (1993), *Even Cowgirls Get the Blues* (1994), *Office Killer* (1997), *Jawbreaker* (1999), *My First Mister* (2001), and *Confessions of a Teenage Drama Queen* (2004).

[Walter Driver (2nd ed.)]

KANE, GIL (1926–2000), U.S. comic book artist. Born in Latvia and named Eli Katz, he immigrated to New York with his family when he was three. Kane dropped out of high school at 15 to seek work penciling comic books, the first stage of the process. Some artists would go over his lines in ink, others would add words, and some would add color. His first job was at MLJ, publishers of *Archie* comics. Just before entering the army in 1944, Kane took a job with DC Comics. He returned there after the war to work at the dawn of a new medium and gradually became recognized as one of the greatest comic book artists. His breakthrough came in 1959 when he drew an early follow-up to DC's *Flash*, a feature that had been a hit in the 1940s. He then revamped the characters Green Lantern and Atom and infused them with a vibrant new life. He represented an integral part of the resuscitation of superheroes in the 1960s, an era known as the "silver age" of comic books. He gave dynamic new interpretations to the Hulk, Captain Marvel, and Spider-Man. Kane drew tens of thousands of pages of superheroes for DC and Marvel Comics as well as for dozens of other companies.

[Stewart Kampel (2nd ed.)]

KANE, IRVING (1908–1988), U.S. attorney, businessman, and communal leader. Kane was born in Kiev, Russia, and went to America in 1913 with his parents, who settled first in Hoboken, New Jersey, and then moved to Cleveland, Ohio, in 1917. Kane worked in a Cleveland law firm until 1937, when he established his own firm. President of the Hospital Specialty Co. of Cleveland from 1941 to 1962, he owned and operated Irving Kane Associates, a consulting firm for business and finance. Kane first entered communal service as chairman of the Jewish Community Relations Committee of Cleveland in 1947. He served with both Jewish and non-Jewish organizations in various capacities, among them as chairman of the National Community Relations Advisory Council (1949–53), vice president of the American Jewish Congress (1956–58), and president of the Council of Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds (1959–62). He was a member of the campaign cabinet of the United Jewish Appeal from 1961. In 1964, Kane was one of the 29 high-profile guarantors of the newly formed *Cleveland Jewish News*, as well as one of the attorneys involved in negotiating the deal to create the English-language community Jewish newspaper. He also served as chairman of the American Israel Public Affairs Committee.

[Hillel Halkin / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

KANEE, SOL (1909–), Canadian philanthropist, lawyer, and businessman; Jewish community official. Kanee was born into an immigrant family in the small Saskatchewan farm community of Melville. He graduated with a B.A. from the University of Manitoba in 1929 before going on to complete a degree in law at the University of Saskatchewan in 1932. He was admitted to the Saskatchewan Bar in 1933. Kanee returned to Melville to begin practicing law but with the outbreak of war in Europe he enlisted in the Canadian Army. From 1940 to 1945 he served in the Royal Canadian Artillery, retiring with the rank of major. Rather than return to Melville, Kanee settled in Winnipeg, where he combined law and business. He became president of Loo Line Mills and director of the Kanee Grain Company. In 1956 he was appointed director of the Bank of Canada and served on its board for 17 years, the longest anyone had ever sat as a director. He was also director of the Federal Business Development Bank, which offered financial services to support the long-term growth of businesses in all sectors of the Canadian economy.

Active in both Jewish and non-Jewish community life, Kanee supported a number of community organizations and service groups in Winnipeg. Long an officer of the Canadian Jewish Congress, he served as chairman of the National Executive of the Canadian Jewish Congress and president of the organization between 1971 and 1974. He was also chair of the University of Manitoba board of governors where an annual lecture series has been named in his honor. In addition, Kanee held executive volunteer positions with the World Jewish Congress, the United Way of Greater Winnipeg, the Royal Winnipeg Ballet, and the Canadian National Millers Association, among other organizations. A lifelong Liberal Party supporter and Israel advocate, he was close to leading Canadian and Israeli political figures. His record of community service was recognized when Winnipeg's Jewish nursing home was renamed in honor of the Kanee family and, among his many awards, Sol Kanee was inducted into the Order of Canada in 2000.

[Judith E. Szapor (2nd ed.)]

KANETI, SELIM (1934–1992), professor of civil and tax law. Born in Istanbul, Kaneti graduated from the Faculty of Law of Istanbul University. In 1968 he was an associate professor and in 1972 became a professor of civil law. In 1984 he was appointed president of the Finance and Economy Department of the Faculty of Law of Istanbul University and president of the Tax Law Department. He was also deputy director of the Center for Comparative Research and Application of Law in the Law Faculty. From 1957 he was a member of the Istanbul Bar Association and worked as a lawyer. He was president of the Secular Council of Turkey's Chief Rabbinate between 1989 and 1992. He wrote *Akdin İfa Edilmediği Def 'i* (1962); *İsviçre Federal Mahkemesi Borçlar Hukuku Kararları Özel Borç İlişkileri* (1969); *Hukuki İşlemlerin Çevrilmesi* (*Tahvili)* (1972); *Sınırlı Ayni Haklar* (1972); *Medeni Hukuk Sorunları* (1976); *Aile Hukuku* (1985)*;* and *Vergi Hukuku* (1989).

[Rifat Bali (2nd ed.)]

KANEV, port on the Dnieper River in Kiev district, Ukraine. Jewish settlement began in the end of the 17th century or the beginning of the 18th. From 98 (including the surrounding villages) in 1765, the Jewish population grew to 1,635 in 1847 and 2,682 (30% of the total population) in 1897. On the eve of WWI most of the petty trade in town was in Jewish hands, all groceries and textile shops as well as others. On November 6, 1917, local hoodlums ransacked many Jewish properties; this happened again in the beginning of autumn 1919 by General *Denikin's soldiers. The number of Jews in 1926 was 1,305 (17.2%), and it dropped to 487 in 1939 (total population 8,020). In the 1920s there was a two-grade school with 59 pupils. Kanev was occupied by the Germans on August 16, 1941. The Jews who remained were herded into one building under horrible conditions and robbed of all their property. After two months they were taken to Korsun and murdered in November 1941 together with the local Jews. Kanev was liberated on February 3, 1944.

[Shmuel Spector (2nd ed.)]

KANEV, ISAAC (1896–1980), specialist in social insurance. Born in the Crimea, Kanev studied science and economics at the University of Simferopol. He immigrated to Ereẓ Israel in 1919 and took part in the defense of Tel Ḥai, where he was wounded. After working as an agricultural laborer he was appointed to the executive of Kuppat Ḥolim in 1923, and henceforth devoted himself entirely to the field of social insurance, completing his studies in Vienna and London, after which he was made responsible for social health research at Kuppat Ḥolim. In 1947 he founded the Institute for Social Research of the Histadrut and on the establishment of the state was appointed to work out a scheme for social insurance and social services, the results of which he published in 1950. He served in the First Knesset as a representative of *Mapai. In 1957 he was appointed by the government to work out a scheme for comprehensive health insurance. From 1928 he was a member of the executive of the International Social Security Association, of which he was vice president from 1955 to 1964, and in 1958 lectured at a United Nations seminar on the social and demographic problems of the Mediterranean countries. He published a large number of works on social insurance and was awarded the Israel Prize for social sciences in 1962.

[Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

KANIEVSKY, JACOB ISRAEL ("**the Steipler**"; 1899–1985), rabbi. Kanievsky was born in Hornistopol from which his appelation "the Steipler" was derived. From an early age he studied at the yeshivah of Gomel, which was directed by the "elder of Novogrudok," Joseph Yozel *Hurvitz. Kanievsky soon became known as the *illui* ("genius") from Stopol. At the end of his teens he was pressed into service in the Russian army.

In 1925 his first book, *Sha'arei Tevunah*, was published. After the Ḥazon Ish, Avraham Yeshayahu *Karelitz, read the work, he offered his sister Miriam in marriage to Kanievsky and the two were married. Emigrating to Palestine in 1934 – about a year and a half after his brother-in-law had settled in Bene-Berak – Kanievsky was appointed the head of Bet Yosef-Novohardok yeshivah in Bene-Berak. Karelitz was once asked was there any man in his generation for whom one could recite the blessing "blessed is He for having shared His wisdom with His reverers," and the reply of the Ḥazon Ish was, "the Steipler."

Kanievsky was the author of nearly 30 books and devoted much time to writing, teaching, and dealing with the vast public which constantly streamed to his home seeking spiritual guidance. Religious and nonreligious alike sought his counsel, and Jews from many communities looked to him for guidance. Some 200,000 people from all over Israel attended his funeral.

KANIN, FAY MITCHELL (1917–), screenwriter and leader in the U.S. film and television industries. Born in New York City to Bessie (Kaiser) and David Mitchell, Kanin grew up in Elmira, N.Y., where as a teenager she won the New York State Spelling Championship. Kanin attended Elmira College on a scholarship and received a B.A. from the University of Southern California after the family moved to Los Angeles.

Kanin got her start in film as a script reader at RKO Studios, where she met her future husband, Michael Kanin (1910–1993), who was writing his first screenplay. Fay and Michael, who married in 1940, raised two sons while collaborating for 20 years on dozens of scripts for film, theater, radio, and television. Their dramatic version of the Japanese film *Rashoman* (1957) continues to be performed. Michael Kanin's brother, Garson *Kanin, and his wife, Ruth Gordon, were a similar husband-and-wife team. Fay Kanin also wrote independently. Her play, *Goodbye, My Fancy*, about a congresswoman, was a Broadway success in 1949. Many of Fay Kanin's scripts present characters who reflect her own values as an educated, independent, career woman. They focus on the importance of personal integrity, academic freedom, and individual accomplishment. One of her most important scripts, *Friendly Fire* (1979), which starred Carol Burnett, won an Emmy for its moving depiction of an Iowa couple who lost their son in Vietnam. She also won an Emmy for *Tell Me Where it Hurts* (1974). Kanin, who was nominated with her husband for an Academy Award for writing *Teacher's Pet* (1958), was also nominated for a Tony Award for Best Book (Musical) for *Grind* in 1985.

Kanin served for over 25 years in various leadership roles in the film industry, including governor of the Academy of Motion Picture Arts and Sciences, representing the writers branch; president of the Academy Foundation, the educational and cultural arm of the Academy; and chair of the National Film Preservation Board of the Library of Congress. She was an officer of the Writers Guild Foundation and a member of the board of directors of the American Film Institute. From 1979 to 1983, Kanin was president of the Academy of Motion Picture Arts and Sciences for four consecutive terms, the only woman elected to that office since Bette Davis's brief stint as president in 1941.

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[Sharon Pucker Rivo (2nd ed.)]

KANIN, GARSON (1912–1999), U.S. playwright and director. Kanin, born in Rochester, New York, became a Hollywood director for Samuel Goldwyn at 25. He directed John Barrymore in *A Great Man Votes* (1939) and Ginger Rogers in both *Bachelor Mother* (1939) and *Tom, Dick and Harry* (1941). After army service during World War II, Kanin was co-director, with Sir Carol Reed, of *The True Story* (1945). The film was about the Allied victory, and it won the Academy Award for Best Documentary.

Plays Kanin wrote that were performed on Broadway include *The Smile of the World* (1949), *Rat Race* (1950), *The Live Wire* (1950), *A Gift of Time* (1962), and *Come on Strong* (1962). He wrote and directed the Broadway hits *Born Yesterday* (1946) and *Do Re Mi* (based on his novella, 1960; Tony nominations for Best Musical and Best Director). He also directed such Broadway productions as *The Rugged Path* (1945), *Years Ago* (1947), *The Leading Lady* (1948), *The Diary of Anne Frank* (1955, Tony nomination for Best Director), *A Hole in the Head* (1957), *Sunday in New York* (1962), and *Funny Girl* (1964). He produced and directed *A Very Rich Woman* (1965), written and acted by his author-actress wife Ruth Gordon.

In the realm of cinema, Kanin and Gordon co-authored such films as *A Double Life* (1947, Oscar nomination for Best Screenplay), *Adam's Rib* (1949, Oscar nomination for Best Screenplay), *The Marrying Kind* (1952), *Pat and Mike* (1952, Oscar nomination for Best Screenplay), and *It Should Happen to You* (1954). In 1969 he wrote and directed the films *Where It's At* (based on his novel) and *Some Kind of a Nut.* In 1979 the couple co-wrote the TV movie *Hardhat and Legs*. In 1980, Kanin's novel *Movieola* (1979) was adapted into three separate made-for-TV movies: *This Year's Blonde; The Scarlett O'Hara War*; and *The Silent Lovers.*

Ruth Gordon died in 1985; Kanin married actress Marian Seldes in 1990. He was the brother of screenwriter Michael Kanin (1910–1993).

Among Garson Kanin's published works are *Remembering Mr. Maugham* (1966), *Cast of Characters: Stories of Hollywood* (1969), *Tracy and Hepburn: An Intimate Memoir* (1971), the novel *A Thousand Summers* (1973), *Hollywood* (1974), the novels *One Hell of an Actor* (1977) and *Smash* (1980), *Together Again: Stories of the Great Hollywood Teams* (1981), and the novel *Cordelia* (1982).

[Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

KANIUK, YORAM (1930–), Israeli writer. Kaniuk, who was born in Tel Aviv, fought in the War of Independence, during which he was wounded, spent the 1950s as journalist and painter in New York, and in 1961 settled down in Tel Aviv. One of the country's most prolific writers, his oeuvre sets up a mirror to the changes within Israeli society while taking issue with the so-called Zionist narrative. Kaniuk's disillusioned, critical voice is reminiscent of that of Y.H. *Brenner, a writer whom he greatly admires and with whom he shares a thematic and expressive affinity.

His works, commingling autobiographical elements with collective concerns, revolve around three major themes: the Arab/Palestinian-Israeli conflict and in particular the War of Independence, the Holocaust, and the attitude of the New Jew, the Israeli, to Diaspora tradition.

The protagonist of Kaniuk's first novel, *Ha-Yored le-Ma'alah* (which appeared in an English translation as *The Acrophile* in 1961, two years before it was published in Hebrew!) is an Israeli living abroad, as it were an uprooted Sabra, who is tormented by guilt feelings for having killed an Arab boy during the war, preferring life in total isolation rather than to return to his native country. A similar theme, clearly inspired by the personal experience of Kaniuk in the U.S., is treated in the novel *Sus-Eẓ* (1974; *Rocking Horse*, 1977). The moral dilemma, present in several works of other writers of his generation, underlies many of Kaniuk's novels, including *Bitto* (1987; *His Daughter*, 1988) and *Aravi Tov* (1984; *Confessions of a Good Arab*, 1987), the latter being a compelling and deliberately provocative Arab-Jewish family saga, which "is out to fracture the badly set bone that deforms the Middle East" (*The Los Angeles Times*). While his second novel, *Ḥimmo Melekh Yerushalayim* (1965; *Himmo King of Jerusalem*, 1969), describes the dramatic relationship between a severely wounded Israeli soldier and the nurse who attends to his needs in an old monastery in Jerusalem during the War of Independence, the third novel, *Adam Ben Kelev* (1968; *Adam Resurrected*, 1969; 1971) marks a new thematic and stylistic direction in Kaniuk's prose. In this novel as well as in *Ha-Yehudi ha-Aḥaron* (1982; *The Last Jew*, 2005), Kaniuk confronts the ever-open scars of Holocaust survivors and their traumatized life. In expressionistic style, harsh, gruesome, and provocative, Kaniuk tells the pathetic-grotesque story of Adam Stein, once a well-known clown in Europe, who survived the death camp because he entertained victims on their way to the gas chamber. Stein arrives in Israel but suffers a nervous breakdown. A patient at a rehabilitation and therapy institute, he presides over a demented kingdom which includes distraught persons, like Jenny, who provides him with medical and sexual services, and a "dog," who slowly shows feeling and finally can even speak. The novel, which has been translated into fourteen languages, was also successfully staged and is undoubtedly one of the most original and powerful Hebrew novels about the Holocaust. *The Last Jew*, one of Kaniuk's most ambitious works, attempting to present a historic panorama of Jewish fate in the 20th century, is the tragic-grotesque story of Ebenezer Schneurson, who believes he is the "last Jew." Confronting the Holocaust and the incurable wounds of the survivors prompted Kaniuk also to look closer at the relations between Germans and Jews. In *Post Mortem* (1992), an impressive, albeit disturbing portrait of his parents, Kaniuk does not hide his ambivalent emotions toward Germany and its culture. It was the father, Moshe Kaniuk, for many years director of the Tel Aviv Museum, who imbued his son with a passion for the German language and its culture. Kaniuk recounts how he, a boy in Tel Aviv of the 1930s, wished to rid himself of the ubiquitous Sabra attributes and resemble the children of the German Templars. One of the most successful Israeli authors in Germany, Kaniuk visited that country many times and published in 2002 (first in German, two years later in Hebrew!) his impressions of a haunted and haunting country.

Other prose works by Kaniuk examine the Zionist Myth and its realization, as in *Afar ve-Teshukah* ("Soil and Desires," 1975) or *Ha-Sippur al Dodah Shlomẓiyon ha-Gedolah* (1976; *Aunt Schlomzion the Great*, 1978); tell of the passionate, obsessive love of a 60-year-old film producer for a much younger woman ("Another Love Story," 1996); relate an imaginary, humorous encounter with Queen Elizabeth (*Ha-Malkah va-Ani*; "The Queen and I," 2001); or recollect personal moments, both turbulent and inspiring, in New York of the 1950s (*Ḥayyim al Neyar Zekhukhit*, "I Did It My Way," 2003). In 2005 Kaniuk published *Ha-Ne'ederet mi-Naḥal Zin*, a sophisticated thriller in which he examines the corrosion of values in Israeli society. Kaniuk also wrote books for young readers, such as *Wasserman* (1988), and a biographical novel about the commander of the famous ship *Exodus* (1999). Kaniuk won the Prix de Droits de l'Homme in Paris (1997), and he received the Bialik Prize (1999). In 2000 he was awarded the prestigious Prix Mediterranée Etranger.

Kaniuk's books have been translated into twenty languages, and a list is available at the ITHL website at www.ithl.org.il

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[Anat Feinberg (2nd ed.)]

KANN, JACOBUS HENRICUS (1872–1945), banker; founder of the Zionist Organization in Holland. Born in The Hague, from 1891 Kann was the owner and manager of his family's bank, Lissa & Kann – one of the largest banks in Holland (established in 1805) and for three generations that of the Dutch royal family. Herzl's *Der Judenstaat* made a great impression on Kann, who was not at all involved in Jewish public life until then. He participated as an observer in the First Zionist Congress (1897) and later became Herzl's aide, especially in matters of banking. He and David *Wolffsohn were among the founders of the *Jewish Colonial Trust, despite his earlier hesitation about the financial effectiveness of the bank. He established the Zionist Organization in Holland, becoming its leader and representative at the Zionist General Council (then called Greater Actions Committee; 1897–1905). At the Seventh Zionist Congress (1905) he was elected to the Zionist Executive (the "Smaller Actions Committee"), reduced to three members, Kann, Wolffsohn, and Otto *Warburg, at the Eighth Zionist Congress (1907). Throughout, he was an enthusiastic fighter for Herzl's political Zionism as opposed to "practical" Zionism, which the Zionist organization introduced during his term of office in the executive. When the opposition to Wolffsohn was victorious at the Tenth Congress (1911), Kann also resigned, but he continued to manage the financial institutions (the Jewish Colonial Trust and the Anglo-Palestine Bank). The plot of the "Aḥuzzat Bayit" suburb near Jaffa, purchased by an association of settlers in Ereẓ Israel and from which Tel Aviv developed, was registered under his name. Impressions of his visit to *Ereẓ Israel* in 1907, published in his *Ereẓ Israel* (Dutch, 1908; German, 1909; French, 1910), included a demand for Jewish autonomous home rule in Ereẓ Israel. This demand aroused sharp criticism from V. *Jabotinsky, then head of the Zionist press in Constantinople, who claimed that Kann's statement was causing political harm to Zionism in the Ottoman capital. When Wolffsohn rejected his argument, Jabotinsky resigned and left Constantinople. From 1911, Kann remained in the Zionist opposition. He did not participate in the Zionist Congresses after World War I. Nevertheless, he moved to Palestine in 1923 as the consul-general of Holland (until 1927). He returned to Holland in 1931, working on behalf of different projects in Palestine (among them the establishment of the Jewish National Library on Mt. Scopus, using the resources of the Wolffsohn Fund, etc.). After the 1929 riots in Palestine, Kann published a pamphlet in English (1930) in which he criticized the actions of the Zionist Executive in economic matters and in Arab-Jewish relations. When Holland was occupied by the Germans in World War II, he was dismissed from the bank and eventually deported to *Theresienstadt, where he died shortly before the liberation.

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[Getzel Kressel]

KANN, MOSES (d. 1761), head of the yeshivah in Frankfurt on the Main. Born of a wealthy and influential family which had resided in Frankfurt from 1530, Moses was a leading authority in his day. His first wife was a daughter of the famous Court Jew Samson *Wertheimer, who collaborated with Moses in enabling J.L. Frankfurter, the rabbi of Frankfurt, to publish a new edition of the Talmud (Amsterdam-Frankfurt, 1714–22). When the Talmud was confiscated following the denunciations of the apostate Paul Christian, Moses appealed to the elector of Mainz; the confiscation order was finally rescinded in 1753. Moses' second wife was a daughter of the Court Jew Behrend *Lehmann. The talmudic scholar Jacob Joshua *Falk owed his appointment to the rabbinate of Frankfurt largely to Moses' influence.

Moses and his brother BEER LOEB ISAAC doubled the sum of 10,000 thalers, which their father had bequeathed for the support of scholars, and presented it to the community in 1736. In 1749 David Meyer Kulp initiated a revolt against Beer Loeb Isaac's long and unpopular oligarchic rule over the community. The bone of contention was the control of the communal treasury. Frankfurt Jewry divided into opposing factions, disturbances broke out, and troops had to be called in. Beer Loeb Isaac was supported by the city council, while Kulp appealed to the emperor. An investigation absolved Beer Loeb Isaac of charges of embezzlement. Both contenders were impoverished by the continued litigation; the power of the Kann family was broken and constitutional reforms were introduced in the community. Beer Loeb Isaac died in 1754; his son, LAZARUS BEER ISAAC, settled in The Hague about a year later. Lazarus' son, HIRSCHEL (1772–1819), founded the firm of Lissa & Kann, which his son, ELEAZAR (1810–90), made into a leading banking house. Eleazar's grandson, Jacobus Henricus *Kann, also a banker, was a well-known philanthropist and Zionist.

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KANN, PETER R. (1947–), U.S. publisher. A native of Princeton, N.J. Kann graduated from Harvard University with a bachelor's degree in journalism. Joining the San Francisco bureau of *The Wall Street Journal* in 1963, Kann became a staff reporter the following year and worked in the Pittsburgh and Los Angeles news bureaus. In 1967 Kann became the *Journal*'s first resident reporter in Vietnam. From 1969 to 1975 he continued to cover the Vietnam War, as well as other events across Asia, as a roving reporter based in Hong Kong. In 1972 he was awarded a Pulitzer Prize for distinguished reporting on international affairs for his coverage of the 1971 India-Pakistan war. In 1976 Kann was named the first publisher and editor of *The Asian Wall Street Journal,* headquartered in Hong Kong. After 12 years in Asia, Kann returned to the United States in 1979, and the following year he was named associate publisher of the *Journal* and a vice president of Dow Jones & Company, publisher of the *Journal*. Later that year he became chief operating officer of Dow Jones. He became chief executive officer in January 1991 and chairman in July 1991. During his tenure, the *Wall Street Journal* grew significantly as readers sought more business information. Kann also presided over the expansion of the *Journal* from five days to six days when it added a feature-oriented Saturday edition in 2005. Kann's wife, Karen Elliott House, who received a Pulitzer Prize for international reporting in 1984 for her coverage of the Middle East, became publisher of *The Wall Street Journal* in 2002.

[Stewart Kampel (2nd ed.)]

KANNEGISER, LEONID AKIMOVICH (1873–1918). Russian poet who assassinated M.S. Uritsky, the chairman of the Petrograd Secret Police, the Cheka. Kannegiser's grandfather, a physician, attained the status of nobility while his father was a famous engineer. Both were involved in Jewish communal life. Kannegiser was born in St. Petersburg. From 1915 to 1917 he studied at the Petrograd Polytechnical Institute, then joined the Union of Jewish polytechnic students. After the February Revolution of 1917 he entered the military academy and was elected chairman of the socialist cadets. His attitude toward the October Revolution was positive but after the conclusion of the Brest-Litovsk peace treaty he began to be highly critical of the Bolsheviks. The assassination of Uritsky and the attempt on the life of Lenin on the same day (August 30, 1918) served as a pretext for the Soviet authorities to declare their "red terror." Kannegiser was executed by the Cheka in Petrograd soon after.

From childhood Kannegiser had written poetry. He was close to the Acmeists (see O. *Mandelstamm). Jewish motifs appear in his poetry (e.g. in "Yevreyskoe venchanie"; "Jewish Betrothal"). The anthology *Leonid Kannegiser* containing several of his surviving lyric poems with memoirs of him by M. *Aldanov and others appeared in Paris in 1928. A major part of Kannegiser's literary heritage is preserved in the closed files of the Central Government Archives of Literature and Art in Moscow.

[*The Shorter Jewish Encylopaedia in Russian*]

KANNER, LEO (1894–1981), U.S. child psychiatrist. Kanner, who was born in Klekotow, Austria, emigrated to the U.S. in 1924. In 1928 he began his connection with Johns Hopkins University, where he was appointed associate professor of psychiatry in 1948 and professor of child psychiatry in 1957. He was chairman of the child psychiatry section of the American Psychiatric Association in 1942–43.

Kanner may well be considered the father of American child psychiatry. Coming as he did from the tradition of psychobiologically oriented psychiatry, he gave proportionate attention, when describing the basis of behavior, to constitutional, biological, environmental, psychological, and situational aspects of the child's life. For more than two decades his *Child Psychiatry* (1935, 1957^3) was the basic textbook in this field, and it has left its impact upon child psychiatry in the United States and Europe alike. He is particularly well known for his original description of "early infantile autism," or what is now called "Kanner's autism" – a severe behavioral disorder which is apparent from early infancy. He wrote the introduction to *Modern Perspective in International Child Psychiatry* (ed. by J.C. Howells, 1969).

[Joseph Marcus]

KANOVICH, GRIGORY (pseudonym of **Yakov Semenovich**; 1929–), Soviet prose writer, poet, and dramatist. Kanovich, who wrote in Russian and Lithuanian, was born in the town of Ionava near Kaunas or, according to another source, in Kaunas itself, into the family of an observant Jewish tailor. In 1953 he graduated from Vilnius University. His first writings were published in 1949. He wrote collections of poetry in Russian: *Dobroye utro* ("Good Morning," 1955) and *Vesenniy grom* ("Spring Thunder," 1960); of literary epigrams and parodies in Lithuanian ("*With a Joyful Eye*," 1964; *Naked Ones on Olympus*, 1981); 30 plays and film scenarios (some co-authored) on contemporary themes; and he translated literary prose from Lithuanian into Russian.

Kanovich's Russian prose works are almost all devoted to the life of Lithuanian Jewry. The theme of the moral quest of a Jewish boy from a Lithuanian shtetl in his long stories "Ya smotryu na zvezdy" ("I Gaze at the Stars," 1959) and "Lichnaya zhizn'" ("Private Life," 1967) is developed in his trilogy *Svechi na vetru* ("Candles in the Wind") consisting of the novels: *Ptitsy nad kladbishchem* ("Birds over the Cemetery," 1974), *Blagoslovi i list'ya i ogon'* ("Bless Both the Leaves and the Fire," 1977), *Kolybel'naya snezhnoy babe* ("Lullaby for a Snowman," 1979, translated into Hebrew in 1983). The trilogy, the action of which takes place between 1937 and 1943, recreates the traditional world and spirituality of East European Jewry. The events, even those on the most massive scale such as the Holocaust, are presented through the eyes of a youth and, as he develops, of a young man; in its structure the novel in places resembles a lyrical diary. An epic, philosophic element predominates in Kanovich's cycle of novels devoted to Jewish shtetl life of the end of the 19th and early 20th centuries – *Slëzy i molitvy durakov* ("Tears and Prayers of Fools," 1983); *I net rabam raya* ("There's No Heaven for Slaves," 1985), *Kozlenok za dva grosha* ("A Kid for Two Pennies"). The ethnic character of the novels (the heroes' way of thinking, reminiscent of Talmudic dialectics, and their way of speaking) and the problems they raise (the aspiration of the Jewish masses for national self-preservation, the feeling of responsibility for the ethical and ethnic essence of the people, the tendency of part of the Jewish intelligentsia to reject its identity for the sake of career, and assimilation) brought these works popularity among Soviet Jews. Kanovich visited Israel in 1980 and settled there in 1993.

[*The Shorter Jewish Encylopaedia in Russian*]

KANOVITZ, HOWARD (1929–), U.S. painter. Kanovitz was born at Fall River, Mass., and studied at Providence College, Rhode Island (1947–49), and Rhode Island School of Design (1949–51). He taught at Brooklyn College and Pratt Institute, New York City, until 1964, when he moved to London. Kanovitz achieved international prominence with the development of "*Photo-Realism*" in the late 1960s and the exhibition under that title of American painters and sculptors, which toured Europe in 1973. Kanovitz's work tends to be more complex than that of the meticulous imitators of reality; he often works in collage or three-dimensional forms. In an interview in the German magazine *Kunst* (4th quarter, 1971), he explained: "There is nothing in my work that isn't real, yet there is nothing real in my work but paint, canvas, and stretcher. There is much, though, that seems to be real, and this resemblance is the way of cooling off my anxious vision.… The point for me is to find that stage in the painting of images that brings objects to a state of relaxed relationship to other objects, no matter how absurd, and all this should take place logically and with good sense." His first one-man exhibition was at the Stable Gallery, New York, in 1962, since when he held numerous exhibitions in America, including the Jewish Museum, New York, in 1964.

[Charles Samuel Spencer]

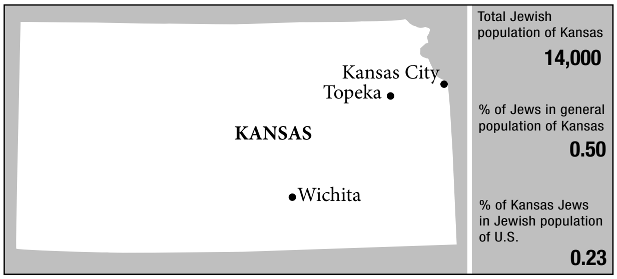
Kansas City
Topeka
KANSAS
Wichita
Total Jewish population of Kansas
14,000
% of Jews in general population of Kansas
0.50
% of Kansas Jews in Jewish population of U.S.
0.23

Jewish population of Kansas, 2001.

KANSAS, midwestern state in the central United States. The population in 2001 numbered 2,692,000, with a Jewish population of 14,000, the bulk of the Jews living in the greater Kansas City area. Wichita has some 1,300 Jews. The first Jewish settlers began arriving soon after Kansas Territory was established in 1854. Two early arrivals were August *Bondi and Theodore Wiener, who were members of John Brown's Free-Soil army and also fought in the Civil War. The state's first Jewish cemetery was the Mt. Zion Cemetery Association, founded in Leavenworth in 1857. That city was also the site of the state's earliest congregation, B'nai Jeshurun, which was formed in 1859. An Orthodox congregation, Beth Jacob, was organized much later. The second congregation to be formed in Kansas was Emanu-El, of Wichita, in 1885. The first rabbi, Bernard Cantor, was killed in 1920 while serving as a representative of the Joint Distribution Committee in the Ukraine. An Orthodox congregation, Ahavath Achim, was organized in 1913. The I. Goldsmith Memorial Library, containing the largest collection of Judaica in Kansas, was located in Wichita. It was named after Ike Goldsmith, who opened the city's first bookstore and was one of the founders of Temple Emanu-El. There were many unsuccessful Jewish agricultural colonies, the most important of which was Beersheba, established in 1882 by Isaac Mayer Wise. Other colonies, such as Lasker, Montefiore, Gilead, Touro, Leeser, and Hebron also failed. The settlers returned to the East, moved on to Colorado, or joined other settlements. By 1890 Kansas contained six Jewish congregations, with a membership of 486. Between that date and 1905 only one more was formed, Ohev Shalom in Kansas City. In 1917 the Jewish Community Center of Kansas City, Kansas first opened its doors. In 1924 Congregation Beth Shalom was organized in Topeka, and the city of Hutchinson later built a Jewish center. Many Jews were scattered among the smaller Kansas communities, where often there was not a sufficient number to organize a congregation. There are old Jewish cemeteries in Atchinson, Fort Scott, and Eudora, indicating that these towns once had Jewish communities, which have since disappeared. The Mid-Kansas Jewish Federation was created in 1935 to unify the Jewish population of south-central Kansas. In 1959 came the establishment of The Jewish Community Foundation of Kansas City, Kansas, which provides education and charitable contributions as well as caring for urgent economic needs of the community. The *Kansas City Jewish Chronicle* was founded in 1920 to provide the Jews of Kansas City, Kansas, and Missouri with news on their community. In recent years the Jewish population of Kansas has greatly diminished, mainly because young people attend colleges in areas of larger Jewish population, and do not return to Kansas. Still, both major universities in the state, the University of Kansas and Kansas State University, maintain Hillel houses that help their student populations to live a Jewish life on campus and offer courses in Jewish Studies. Several Kansas Jews have distinguished themselves in public life, such as Adolph Gluck, mayor of Dodge City; Sol Kohn, mayor of Wichita; and B.I. Litovich, president of the Kansas Bar Association. Kansas Jews are served by Topeka-Lawrence Jewish Federation and the Mid-Kansas Jewish Welfare Federation. Dan *Glickman was a U.S. congressman representing Wichita and later the first Jewish secretary of agriculture. Senator Arlen *Spector of Pennsylvania was born in Kansas and was a descendant of Jewish farmers.

[Helen Kragness-Romanishan / Ben Paul (2nd ed.)]

KANSAS CITY, Missouri commercial and industrial center on the Missouri River opposite Kansas City, Kansas; Jewish population totaled approximately 19,000 or 1.1 percent of the total city population which is listed as 2,692,000 (2005).

As early as 1839 several Jews had found their way to the settlement of Wyandotte, Missouri, which was not renamed "Kansas City" until 1889. Among the earliest Jewish residents were Herman and Benjamin Ganz, Henry Miller, and Lewis Hammerslough. During the Civil War, 12 Jews served in the local home guard and another, Lieutenant Colonel Reuben E. Hershfield, was commander of nearby Fort Leavenworth.

Kansas City, MO, is part of the greater Kansas City area, which incorporates Kansas City, Kansas, as well as their surrounding suburbs. The first Jewish organization in Kansas City was a burial society founded in 1864. Three years later a local chapter of B'nai B'rith was formed. The first synagogue, Bnai Jehudah, was established in 1870 as a Reform congregation. An Orthodox congregation, Keneseth Israel, was organized in 1878; a decade later its more liberal wing split off to become Congregation Beth Sholom. Bnai Jehudah opened the city's first Sunday school in the 1880s and Keneseth Israel founded a *talmud torah* in 1901. As the Jewish population of Kansas City grew, other institutions were not long in following. The city's first Jewish social group, the Progress Club, was established in 1881. In 1895 a chapter of the Council of Jewish Women was formed and in 1901 The Jewish Family and Children Services was established to aid in resettlement and counseling. In 1913 the first Hadassah group came into being after a visit by Henrietta Szold. A branch of the Workmen's Circle was created in 1904. A Jewish Home for the Aged was opened in 1912 and a Jewish Community Center and YMHA-YWHA in 1917. The Kansas City United Jewish Charities, chartered in 1901, established the Jewish Educational Institute in 1907 and a health center, the Alfred Benjamin Dispensary, in 1919. While the UJC was extending its services, newcomers developed other agencies which provided help in ways often more acceptable to their recipients, such as the Hebrew Ladies Relief, the Hebrew Free Loan Society, the Jewish Orphans' Home, and the Wayfarers' Lodge. Zionism had its supporters in Kansas City from the time of the first Zionist Congress in 1897, and several Zionist groups were formed shortly after. The 1920s witnessed the continued growth of institutional life. The weekly *Kansas City Jewish Chronicle* has been reporting on Jewish activity in the area since it began publication in 1920. In 1926 the Jewish Memorial Association was formed and soon after it received a bequest of $200,000 for the erection of a hospital with a *kasher* kitchen. The building, first called Menorah Hospital and later the Menorah Medical Center, was dedicated in 1931.

The economic crisis of the 1930s posed a severe economic threat to Kansas City's Jewish institutions, and in 1933 the situation became so bad that the Jewish Community Center was almost forced to close its doors. To meet this challenge, several leaders of the community evolved a plan for setting up a federation and conducting a campaign for immediate needs. The joint drive was a success and since then the federation has continued to minister to the community's financial wants. The trend toward consolidation continued into the late 1930s and 1940s. In 1939 the Rabbinical Association was organized by Samuel S. Mayerberg and Gershon Hadas and in 1945 all community organizations were joined together into a council combined with the federation. In 1968 Kansas City had seven congregations: Bnai Jehudah, Beth El (est. 1958), and the New Reform Congregation (est. 1967) were Reform; Ohev Sholom (est. 1930), Beth Israel-Abraham (est. 1958), and Kehilath Israel (est. 1959) were Orthodox; and Beth Shalom in the Overland Park suburb was Conservative. In addition to congregational schools, a Jewish day school, the Hebrew Academy, was founded in 1966. Adult Jewish education, formerly offered through the School of Jewish Studies (1946–56), was under the joint direction of the Jewish Community Center and the congregations in 1968.

In that same year, in the social services field, the United Jewish Charities, which was renamed the Jewish Family and Children's Service in 1960, continued to offer a wide variety of programs. The Jewish Vocational Service, helped into existence in 1950 by the Federation and Council for the initial purpose of finding jobs for newcomers, was largely occupied with guidance for young people. The Menorah Medical Center, enlarged in 1951 and again in 1960 and 1963, had a capacity of 335 beds. In 1966 the Jewish Educational Program was founded to help assist the Jewish community of Kansas better to understand their heritage.

Jews have played important roles in almost every phase of Kansas City's growth. The settlers, who often began as peddlers, soon moved into retail business and later became wholesale merchants. A goodly number became manufacturers and developed such enterprises as the important center for the manufacture of women's garments. Jews have been prominent dealers in grain and flour, cattle and hides, meatpacking and produce, insurance and real estate, and, in recent years, securities and banking. Civic and political participation by Jews has been significant for many years. Several Jews were on the board of trade as early as 1869. From 1904 to approximately 1934 Jewish aldermen and councilmen sat continuously on the city council. From 1932 to 1937 Rabbi Mayerberg assumed a leading part in spearheading the long, bitter, and ultimately successful campaign against the city's corrupt, machine-dominated government. After World War II, Richard H. Koenigsdorf was city counselor and then circuit judge. Kenneth Krakauer and Bert Berkley were presidents of the chamber of commerce, Irving Fane served on the police board and Richard L. Berkley was Republican county chairman. Early in 1948, when Jewish settlements in Palestine were under heavy Arab attack, several residents of Kansas City called upon Eddie *Jacobson, a fellow townsman and a close friend of President Truman, to persuade Truman to grant an audience to Chaim Weizmann, a mission which he successfully carried out.

In 1968 it was estimated that approximately 60 percent of the Jewish population was self-employed, approximately 20 percent were employed by others, and another 20 percent were in the professions. This relative isolation of Jewish economic achievement had its social counterpart in the generally small amount of intermingling with non-Jews. The major downtown social club began accepting Jewish members only in 1967. Other clubs still retained an informal practice of exclusion. The two Jewish country clubs, on the other hand, were almost totally devoid of non-Jews. Yet, the rate of intermarriage had steadily increased while the size of the Jewish population had remained practically unchanged from 1948 to 1968. Today many of the Jews in the Greater Kansas City area have moved out of the city center and into suburbs such as Overland Park, Kansas. With a general population of over 160,000 (2004 estimate), Overland Park has become the new center of the Jewish community in Greater Kansas City. Several Jewish institutions have moved into Overland Park in recent decades, including the Jewish Historical Society and Temple Bnai Jehudah. This is part of a larger trend across the country, as Jewish populations in many metropolitan areas move steadily from the heart of the city and into more residential suburban communities.

[Gershon Hadas / Ben Paul (2nd ed.)]

In the early 21st century the Kansas City metropolitan area contained 12 synagogues, 7 Jewish cemeteries, and several new organizations devoted to Jewish life. The Midwest Center for Holocaust Education was founded in 1993 in Overland Park, with an endowment of $2.4 million. The Kansas City community also sponsors the Village Shalom senior living community, located in the heart of the city. Although small in numbers, the Jewish community of Kansas City works hard to maintain its identity and ensure that its members receive a strong Jewish education.

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°**KANT, IMMANUEL** (1724–1804), German philosopher. Born in Koenigsberg, East Prussia, Kant studied at the university in that city, where in 1755 he began to teach as a Privatdozent. In 1770 he was appointed to the chair of logic and metaphysics. His major work, the *Critique of Pure Reason*, in which he lay down the foundations of his critical philosophy, appeared in 1781. In 1783 he published the *Prolegomena to Every Future Metaphysic* in an effort to explain more clearly the main arguments of the *Critique*. The *Critique of Practical Reason* and the *Critique of Judgment* were published in 1790, *Religion Within the Limits of Reason Alone* in 1793, and the *Foundation of the Metaphysics of Morals* in 1797.

Attitude Toward Religion

Kant's statement in the *Critique of Pure Reason*, "I have found it necessary to deny *knowledge* in order to make room for *faith*" (*Critique of Pure Reason*, BXXX) succinctly expresses his attitude to religion, revealing both its critical and constructive aspects. His critical analysis of pure reason leads Kant to limit the scope of theoretical, demonstrative knowledge to the phenomenal world, i.e., to the world of sense perception, thereby denying the possibility of metaphysics, and consequently the validity of the traditional proofs for the existence of God – the ontological, cosmological, and teleological arguments (*ibid.*, B811–25). But while Kant maintains that God, as a supersensuous being, cannot be an object of demonstrative knowledge, he does not claim that God does not exist, or that He is beyond the reach of reason as such. Indeed – and this is the constructive aspect of Kant's philosophy – he claims that reason must postulate the existence of God. In the realm of scientific knowledge the need for a "regulative principle of the systematic unity of the manifold of empirical knowledge…" leads reason to postulate the existence of God. It is, however, mainly in the realm of ethics that the burden of establishing the existence of God lies. God comes into the picture here not as the giver of the moral law, for this would destroy the autonomy of the moral law which is fundamental to Kant's ethical theory, but as the "necessary condition for the possibility of the *summum bonum*," i.e., for the "distribution of happiness in exact proportion to morality" (*Critique of Practical Reason* (tr.) Beck (1956), 129). The existence of God is postulated in order to fulfill a fundamental requirement of the moral law, namely, that the virtuous man is worthy to be happy (*ibid.*, 135). True religion, in contrast to clericalism, is, therefore, ethical religion in which the kingdom of God is nothing else than the ethical commonwealth (*Religion Within the Limits of Reason Alone* (1960), 90ff.).

View of Judaism

Kant believes that Christianity, because of its idealized, spiritualized ethical teachings based on pure love, approaches this ideal of ethical religion more than any other historical religion. In contrast, following *Spinoza, he views Judaism as a mere national-political entity, contending that it fails to satisfy the essential criteria of religion in that it fails to inculcate the inner appropriation of morals, demanding only external obedience to statutes and laws. Interpreting Jewish messianism as nothing more than a national-political experience, Kant maintains that Judaism is concerned only with things of this world, and lacks any formulation of the concept of immortality.

Kant's negative view of Judaism, however, in no way interfered with his congenial relations with the Jewish community or with individual Jews, such as Moses *Mendelssohn. Nor did it deter many emancipated Jews from becoming attracted to Kantian philosophy. In Kant's lifetime Markus *Herz, Lazarus *Bendavid, and Solomon *Maimon were among his staunch supporters, and later, in the neo-Kantian revival, Hermann *Cohen and Ernst *Cassirer were numbered among his ardent followers. Kant also exercised an appreciable influence on Moritz *Lazarus, and a less pronounced, though significant, influence on Solomon *Formstecher, Solomon *Steinheim, and Franz *Rosenzweig.

Kant and Liberal Judaism

Kant's influence on Jewish philosophers may result from the basic affinity between his philosophic formulation of religion and the orientation of modern liberal Judaism (see *Reform Judaism). The exponents of liberal Judaism, regarding religion as essentially a system of ethics, found in Kant a philosophical formulation of religion which articulated their own conceptions of Judaism. The similarity between Kant and Judaism goes even deeper than the linking of religion with ethics. It is reflected in the structuring of the ethical system itself. The structure of Kant's ethics parallels that of biblical ethics with its source-consequences pattern and the central categories of "duty" and the "right" and not the Greek model with its means-end pattern and the categories of the "good" and "happiness." Yet it is at this point of closest similarity that basic differences emerge. For Kant the ethical source is reason. Thus religion is ultimately grounded in reason; it is "religion within the limits of reason alone," and, as such, is ahistorical, universal, and available to every individual by virtue of his inherent rational capacity. For classical Judaism, on the other hand, the ethical source is God. Ethics is grounded not in reason but in the will of God, a will which expresses itself not in timeless continuity but at a specific moment in time through revelation. While for Kant, religion is grounded in ethics, in Judaism it is ethics which is grounded in religion. Hence, notwithstanding the similarities between Kant and Judaism, the two formulations of religion move in radically different "worlds," making the attempt of adopting Kant as an authentic philosophic expression for Judaism problematic.

It is interesting to note that it was precisely in those aspects where he differed most from Judaism that Kant proved most congenial to his Jewish followers. This is understandable insofar as his followers were emancipated Jews for whom religion in its historical, particularistic manifestation, and its mystical, supernaturalistic, or ritualistic dimension was unacceptable. To be acceptable religion had to be thoroughly rationalized, ethicized, and universalized. These people gave up the attempt to find in Kant a philosophic formulation capable of authentically expressing Judaism, but sought rather to interpret Judaism in such a way that it would conform to Kant's formulation of religion. Kant's philosophic formulation became the norm and ideal. Indeed, for many of his followers the merit of Judaism lay precisely in being, as they thought, malleable to such a transformation.

Moritz Lazarus and Hermann Cohen

This can be seen in a particularly striking manner in the writings of Moritz *Lazarus and Hermann *Cohen. In his *Ethik des Judentums* (2 vols., 1898–1911; vol. 1 tr. into Eng. under the title *The Ethics of Judaism*, 1900) Lazarus, although he somewhat reinterprets the Kantian ethical imperative, follows Kant completely in giving priority to ethics over religion, and the autonomy of ethics is fully safeguarded (*Ethics of Judaism*, 1 (1900), no. 104). Ethics is not the content or expression of religion, rather religion is one of the subdivisions or expressions of ethics. Thus God is subjected to the ethical. He commands the ethical because it is ethical: "Moral laws, then, are not laws because they are written; they are written because they are laws" (*ibid.*, 1 (1900), no. 85).

In Hermann Cohen's earlier writings there is a strong Kantian influence. The autonomy of ethics is never compromised. Religion, with its central idea of God, is established only on the basis of, and to the extent of, the requirements of ethical considerations. In his *Ethik des reinen Willens* (1904) he maintains that ethics require God as an idea, a hypothesis guaranteeing the existence of nature for the realization of the infinite ethical goal.

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[Manfred H. Vogel]

KANTOR, JACOB ROBERT (1888–1984), U.S. psychologist. Born in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, Kantor spent most of his teaching and research years at Indiana University. His major fields were behavior theory, language and logic, physiological psychology, and the history of psychology and related sciences. In 1937 he founded, and for decades contributed to, the journal *The Psychological Record*. Kantor was an important early spokesman in the U.S. for the view that the proper goal of psychology in its every aspect is to become an objective natural science of behavior, rather than a subjective or mentalistic discipline. In his writings, Kantor used the term "interbehavior" to emphasize certain theses: (1) that the variables which control behavior are physical, continuous, and instant; (2) that the physical consequences of behavior themselves become part of the complex of determiners of ensuing behavior; and (3) that behavior is an ever-changing stream, so that concepts of "stimulus" and "response" as static events do not provide analytic categories that are suitable starting points for behavior theory.

Following his retirement from Indiana University in 1959, Kantor served as visiting professor at New York University (1952–63) and at the University of Maryland (1963–64). He lectured often at universities and professional societies in the U.S. and, beginning in 1974, often lectured and gave seminars at universities in Mexico.

Among Kantor's major works are *Principles of Psychology*, 2 vols. (1924, 1926), *An Objective Psychology of Grammar* (1935), *Psychology and Logic*, 2 vols. (1945–50), *Problems of Physiological Psychology* (1947), *The Logic of Modern Science* (1953), *Interbehavioral Psychology* (1958, 1959^2), *The Scientific Evolution of Psychology*, 2 vols. (1963, 1969), *Psychological Linguistics* (1977), *Cultural Psychology* (1982), *Tragedy and the Event Continuum* (1983), and *Psychological Comments and Queries* (1984).

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[William N. Schoenfeld / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

KANTOR, JUDAH LEIB (1849–1915), founder of the first Hebrew daily newspaper. Born in Vilna, he became a devotee of the Haskalah in his youth, graduated from the Government Rabbinical Seminary in Zhitomir, and also studied medicine in Berlin. After editing *Ha-Ẓefirah* in Berlin (1874–75) and the Russian weekly *Russki Yevrey* (The Russian Jew, 1879–84), he founded the Hebrew daily **Ha-Yom* in 1886, a bold publication venture for the time. As a supplement to *Ha-Yom*, for which he wrote most of the articles under various pseudonyms, Kantor issued a scientific-literary monthly, *Ben-Ammi* (of which four issues appeared).

At first *Ha-Yom* was successful, but competition with the established papers, **Ha-Meliẓ* and *Ha-Ẓefirah*, which also became dailies under its influence, led to its demise. The failure of Kantor's literary projects was partly caused by his negative attitude to the Ḥibbat Zion movement, which alienated the only circles who regarded Hebrew and Hebrew literature as a vital national need. From 1888 to 1890 Kantor was one of the editors of *Ha-Meliẓ*; he also edited the Yiddish weekly, *Dos Yidishe Folksblat*.

Kantor was a representative of the last generation of *maskilim* in Hebrew literature who believed that Haskalah held the cure for all Jewry's ills and were unable to accept the nationalist and Zionist movements. In his last years he served as an official rabbi in Libau (1890–1904), Vilna (1905–08), and Riga (1909–15).

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[Yehuda Slutsky]

KANTOR, MICHAEL ("Mickey"; 1939–), U.S. lawyer and lobbyist. Kantor was U.S. representative to the World Trade Organization (WTO) and then as secretary of commerce in the Clinton administration served as a staunch advocate of free trade and a tireless foe of restrictive trade barriers abroad. The scion of Nashville-based furniture retailers, Kantor attended Vanderbilt University, where he became a star shortstop for the baseball squad. Graduating in 1961, Kantor served four years as a lieutenant in the U.S. Navy, later studying law at Georgetown University Law Center, where he graduated in 1968. In 1972, he worked as a staff coordinator for vice presidential candidate R. Sargent Shriver during George McGovern's unsuccessful bid for office. After representing migrant farm groups as an anti-poverty lawyer and founding the Los Angeles Conservation Corps in 1973, Kantor managed Senator (D-California) Alan Cranston's reelection. In 1976, Kantor joined the Los Angeles lobbying firm of Manatt, Phelps, Phillips & Kantor, where he represented entertainment industry clients such as the U.S. National Cable Television Association as well as companies such as Occidental Petroleum, Lockheed, Philip Morris, and General Electric. Kantor specialized in securing market access and growing foreign markets through trade, direct investment, joint ventures, and strategic business alliances. Failure to repeat his success in ensuing political campaigns did not prevent Kantor, a friend of Hillary Clinton and an apt fundraiser and political dealmaker, from helping Bill Clinton secure the Democratic Party nomination and the presidency in 1992. Named to the Clinton transition team, Kantor became U.S. representative to the WTO in January 1993, a position he held until 1996, when he took over as commerce secretary after the death of Ron Brown in an airplane crash. Kantor left the Cabinet in 1997, involving himself in Clinton's efforts to fend off impeachment. That year, Kantor joined Mayer, Brown, Rowe & Maw, LLP, a Washington-based legal firm specializing in global project finance, and Morgan & Stanley Co. Inc. as a senior advisor. After a year's hiatus from politics, he lobbied on behalf of the American wheat industry and other major clients.

Described as "gruff," "prodigiously tempered," and possessing the "tact of a pit bull," Kantor traumatized the international community, alternately charming and browbeating counterparts and governments from Canada and Mexico to China and Japan. During negotiations with Japan on behalf of American automakers, Kantor presented his opposite number, Ryutaro Hashimoto, a kendo martial-arts sword symbolizing courage, honesty, integrity, and patience. Hashimoto, who would become Japan's prime minister, is reputed to have feared that Kantor might use it on him, declaring that "He's scarier than my wife when I come home drunk." As Clinton's trade enforcer, however, Kantor proved unusually successful, negotiating hundreds of trade agreements that generated close to $100 billion in contracts for U.S. businesses. Kantor's achievements were offset by several personal tragedies, including the loss of his wife in a passenger-jet crash in 1978, and of a 17-year-old son in a car accident ten years later. He has two grown children and a nine-year-old daughter by his second wife, former NBC reporter Heidi Schulman.

[Sheldon Teitelbaum (2nd ed.)]

KANTOROVICH, LEONID (1912–1986), Soviet mathematician and economist, joint winner of the Nobel award for economics in 1975. A member of the Soviet Academy from 1958, he was also a winner of the Stalin (1949) and Lenin (1965) Prizes. He was a professor at Leningrad University in 1934–60. However, his position was weakened during the last years of Stalin's life, and his methods were criticized as "bourgeois science." His applications of mathematical methods to economic planning were not favored by the Soviet leadership. However after 1953, he was again recognized and became a professor at Leningrad University, and at the Moscow Institute for Management of the People's Economy, apart from teaching in the Novosibirsk Mathematics Institute. The Nobel award called him "the leading representative of the mathematics school in Soviet research" and noted that in his book *The Best Use of Economic Resources*, he analyzed conditions for efficiency in an economy as a whole and demonstrated the connection between allocation of resources and the process of economic growth. He contended that a deficient Soviet investment policy has failed to achieve optimum economic growth.

KANTOROWICH, ROY (1917–1996), South African architect and town planner. Born in South Africa, the son of a Transvaal pioneer, Kantorowich won an international reputation for town planning. In Israel, he was responsible for the master design and detailed plans for the town of *Ashkelon. In South Africa he planned a number of large-scale civic and industrial projects. These included the foreshore development scheme in Cape Town, the design for the Transvaal steel center of Vanderbijlpark, a central redevelopment scheme for Pretoria (with the British expert Lord Holford), and plans for several smaller towns. He prepared the winning design (with Jack Barnett) for the civic center in the new Orange Free State goldfields town of Welkom. He acted as consultant town planner for the city of Port Elizabeth and, with Lord Holford, advised on the replanning of central Durban.

Kantorowich was president of the South African Institute of Town Planners in 1960. From 1961 he held the chair of town and country planning at the University of Manchester, England.

[Louis Hotz]

KANTOROWICZ, ERNST HARTWIG (1895–1963), German medieval historian. Born and educated in Prussia, he joined the army in World War I and was wounded at Verdun. At Heidelberg, Kantorowicz carried out research in ancient and then in medieval history and produced his first and most famous book *Kaiser Friedrich der Zweite* (2 vols., 1927), which combined deep historical insight with literary skill and imagination. Critics who termed his interpretation a *Mythenschau* were silenced by *Kaiser Friedrich der Zweite: Ergaenzungsband* (1931). The book ran through several editions and was translated into English (*Frederick the Second*, 1931) and into Italian. In 1930, Kantorowicz was appointed professor of medieval history at Frankfurt. Dismissed by Nazi pressure in 1934, he went to Oxford as a lecturer and from there to the U.S. to the University of California (Berkeley) from 1940 to 1949, and after 1951 as professor at the Institute for Advanced Study at Princeton. In America, Kantorowicz studied the nature of theocratic kingship as revealed in patristic, liturgical, and archaeological sources. He created a new area of studies, political theology, in *Laudes regiae* (1946, 1958^2), in *The King's Two Bodies* (1957), and in many papers which were later collected in his *Selected Studies* (1965).

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[Helene Wieruszowski]

KANTOROWICZ, HERMANN (1877–1940), German jurist. Born in Posen, Kantorowicz became assistant lecturer at the University of Freiburg in 1908 and professor extraordinary in 1913. In 1923 he was made a member of the German parliamentary commission investigating the origins of World War I and the war debt question, and in 1929 was appointed full professor of jurisprudence and criminal law at the University of Kiel. He was removed from his post by the Nazis in 1933 and immigrated to the United States, where he taught at Columbia and New York universities. In 1935 he settled in England, where he lectured and conducted legal research at the universities of London, Oxford, and Cambridge.

Kantorowicz was an authority on jurisprudence and legal history. He was the author of numerous works on jurisprudence, including *Kampf um die Rechtswissenschaft* (1906); *Rechtwissenschaft und Soziologie* (1911); *Der Geist der englischen Politik* (1929; *The Spirit of British Policy*, 1931) and *Dictatorships* (1935). In his last work, *Studies in the Glossators of the Roman Law* (1938), he examined the development of Roman law in the Middle Ages.

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[B. Mordechai Ansbacher]

KANTROWITZ, ADRIAN (1918–), U.S. cardiovascular surgeon born in New York City. He graduated as an M.D. from Western Reserve University (1943). After training in cardiovascular physiology, he became director of surgical services at Maimonides Medical Center in Brooklyn and professor of surgery at New York State University (1964–70), and chairman of the department of surgery at Sinai Hospital, Detroit (1970). He was also director of the biotechnology company LVAD of Detroit. He was a pioneer in bioengineering relating to the heart and cardiovascular surgery. He devised a plastic heart valve, a heart-lung machine, an internal pacemaker, the first partial mechanical heart implanted in humans, a machine recording blood loss during open heart surgery, devices to aid the failing heart ventricle to pump blood more effectively, and techniques for taking films inside the living heart. He carried out the world's second heart transplant (1967). His bioelectronic techniques have also been used to control bladder function in paraplegics. He won the Max Berg Award (1966).

[Michael Denman (2nd ed.)]

KANTROWITZ, ARTHUR (1913–), U.S. physicist and aerodynamicist. Kantrowitz, who was born in New York, worked with the National Advisory Council on Aeronautics from 1935–46, and for the next ten years was professor of aeronautical engineering and engineering physics at Cornell University. From 1956 he was director of the Avco-Everett Research and Laboratories and of Avco Corporation. His numerous scientific papers have been concerned with supersonic axial flow compressors, the effect of molecular vibrations on gas dynamics, magnetohydrodynamic generators, shock tube studies, shock waves in the interplanetary plasma, and the re-entry of space vehicles into the earth's atmosphere. He invented the high-intensity molecular beam which has been instrumental in several Nobel Prize-winning research projects. Kantrowitz also worked in medical engineering in the development of cardiac-assist devices.

[Samuel Aaron Miller]

KAPLAN, ABRAHAM (1918–1993), U.S. philosopher. Born in Odessa, Ukraine, Kaplan was the son of a rabbi and the youngest of eight children. The Kaplan family immigrated to the United States in 1923. Kaplan graduated high school in Duluth at the age of 14. He won five national debating awards at Duluth Junior College and the College of St. Thomas. He studied philosophy at the University of Chicago under Rudolf Carnap and visiting lecturer Bertrand Russell, with whom he became close friends.

Kaplan received his Ph.D. from the University of California in 1942, and taught philosophy there for many years. He taught in many other universities including Harvard, Columbia, and the University of Michigan and in 1966 was named by *Time* Magazine as one of the ten great teachers of America. He was director of the East-West Center in Hawaii and was chairman of the Israeli Philosophical Society. In 1972 Kaplan moved to Israel to join the Haifa University as dean of the philosophy-sociology department. The Haifa University, which had just been established, was seeking renowned Jewish professors to join the university's faculty. Kaplan was the only professor to oblige, fulfilling his and the Zionist aspirations of his wife, Iona.

Kaplan's philosophical interests were broad in scope, including ethics, aesthetics, political theory, and methodology of the social sciences, as well as Oriental philosophy and philosophy of religion, including Ḥasidic thought. He wrote *Power and Society* (with W.H.D. Lasswell, 1950); *The New World of Philosophy* (1962); *American Ethics and Public Policy* (1963); *Conduct of Inquiry* (1964); *Love… and Death* (1973) and *In Pursuit of Wisdom* (1977). He also published about a hundred articles in professional journals and became associate editor of *Philosophy East and West* in 1951. Kaplan's motto was "Interest in everything." As Kaplan said of himself: "I am by training a positivist, by inclination a pragmatist, in temperament a mystic, in practice a democrat; my faith Jewish, educated by Catholics, a habitual Protestant; born in Europe, raised in the Midwest, hardened in the East, softened in California and living in Israel."

[Eyal Diskin (2nd ed.)]

KAPLAN, ALEXANDER SENDER BEN ZERAH HAKOHEN (d. 1884), Lithuanian rabbi. Few biographical details are known about him. Kaplan served first as *dayyan* in Wilkomierz (Ukmerge), but was later appointed rabbi of Kupishki (Kupiskis) in the district of Ponevezh (Panevezys), where he served for 40 years. He is best known for his *Shalmei Nedarim* (1881), a comprehensive commentary on tractate *Nedarim. He regarded the compilation of a commentary on tractate *Nedarim* as of prime importance, because many errors had crept into it through the fault of the printers. Already in the previous generations this had resulted in *haggahot* being added to it by both Isaiah *Berlin-Pick and Samuel Straschun. Appended to the volume is *Millu'im li-Shelamim* containing a letter from Elijah David Rabinowitz-Teomim on a halakhic problem submitted to Kaplan, and his reply. Another responsum by Rabinowitz-Teomim to Kaplan is mentioned in the *Shalmei Nedarim* (p. 470). Kaplan's notes on the Talmud remain in manuscript.

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[Yehoshua Horowitz]

KAPLAN, ANATOLI LVOVICH (1902–1980), Russian draftsman and lithographer. Kaplan studied at the Leningrad Academy from 1921 to 1927 and then he worked as a stage designer for ten years. He became a member of the Union of Soviet Artists in 1939 and his work was regularly shown in Russia. In 1941 he was commissioned to arrange the Jewish exhibit in the Leningrad Ethnological Museum. Kaplan started doing lithographs in 1937. His prints are inspired by Jewish tradition and Russian folklore. An emphasis on decorative elements imbues many of his works with a fairy tale quality. Kaplan drew illustrations to *Shalom Aleichem's *Kasrilovka* (1937–41), *The Bewitched Tailor* (1953–57); and *Tevye the Milkman* (1957–61). The series "Views of Leningrad" (1946), executed during the days of the blockade, were acquired by many Russian museums. He also created lithographs for *Song of Songs* (1958–60), *Yiddish Folk Songs* (1959–60), and *The Little Goat* (1958). Kaplan, even at this late date, caught the atmosphere of the Jewish shtetl with simplicity and humor and succeeded in conveying the poetic mood of the literary sources.

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[Elisheva Cohen]

KAPLAN, ARYEH (1934–1982), U.S. scholar and author. Kaplan was a teacher of Judaism who had profound influence on the Teshuvah movement of the late 1950s and 1960s. He was a foremost figure in the Jewish meditation movement, a thinker and writer whose translations, commentaries, and essays inspired thousands of young Jews to a deeper connection with the Jewish religious tradition.

Born in the Bronx, Kaplan came from a family whose origins were in Salonika, Greece. He was educated in the Torah Voda'ath and Mir yeshivot in Brooklyn. Subsequently, he was ordained by Rabbi Eliezer Yehuda Finkel of the Mir Yeshivah in Jerusalem. Trained as a scientist (he was for a time the assistant of world-renowned physicist J. Robert Oppenheimer), he chose instead to devote his life to the teaching of Judaism.

Kaplan's writing career began in the early 1970s with booklets of the Young Israel Intercollegiate Hashkafa Series. Other booklets dealing with the fundaments of Jewish observance were published by the Orthodox Union, and its youth wing, National Conference of Synagogue Youth (NCSY). He also wrote anti-missionary works, which were combined into the volume *The Real Messiah* (1976).

Kaplan was a pioneer in the study and teaching of Breslov Ḥasidism. On the initiative of Rabbi Zvi Aryeh Rosenfeld, who was the leading English-speaking Breslover teacher in the U.S., he made the first reliable translation into English of Rebbe Nachman's writings.

He translated into English and wrote notes and introductions to classic works on the great classics of Jewish Mysticism, the *Bahir* ("Book of Illumination," 1989) and *Sefer Yeẓirah* (1997), which he elucidates in terms of traditional Kabbalistic doctrine, providing details of esoteric practice not ordinarily discussed in printed form. He also wrote three works on Jewish meditation.

In his works *Meditation and the Bible* (1989) and *Jewish Meditation* (1995) he considers meditation in relation to current Jewish practices through the prism of biblical texts and kabbalistic commentaries upon them.

His capacity for work was extraordinary as reflected in his more than 50 published books. His works ranged over a wide variety of subjects including Ḥasidism, Kabbalah, and *Aggadah*.

[Shalom Freedman (2nd ed.)]

KAPLAN, CHAIM ARON (1880–1942), educator and diarist of the Holocaust. Kaplan was born in Gorodishche, Belorussia. He received a talmudical education at the famous yeshivah of Mir and later studied at the Government Pedagogical Institute in Vilna. In 1902 he settled in Warsaw, where he founded a pioneering elementary Hebrew school, of which he was principal for 40 years. The school was known as "the Sixth Grade Grammar Elementary School of Ch. A. Kaplan." Kaplan was an exponent of the direct method of language teaching, in which Hebrew was taught as a spoken language, using the Sephardi pronunciation. Stubbornly following this system, despite strong opposition from exponents of traditional methods, he published several Hebrew textbooks advocating his method. An ardent Hebraist, he participated actively in the Society for Jewish Writers and Journalists in Warsaw, and contributed to many Hebrew and Yiddish periodicals.

Kaplan visited the United States in 1921. In 1936 he visited Ereẓ Israel, intending to settle there in order to be with his two children who had emigrated there earlier, but was unable to obtain a position and returned to Warsaw. In 1937, Kaplan published a book in Hebrew called *Pezurai*, a collection of essays and articles on the Hebrew language and Jewish education that he had published during the 40 years of teaching. He also wrote Hebrew grammar and children's textbooks on Jewish history and customs.

Kaplan's Judaism seems to have been based on national and historic allegiance, rather than on traditional observance. Something of an introvert, he made books his friends and the walls of the academies his companions. At times he felt that his ambition to be independent was a primary obstacle to him in attaining leadership in the Warsaw community, and for that reason he was unable to develop his full talents and intellectual abilities. On the other hand, the fact that he was a respected member of the community gave him comfort and satisfaction.

Kaplan began a personal diary as early as 1933. This trained him for the mission he undertook at the beginning of World War II, to devote all his efforts to preserving a record for posterity. No diarist, of course, can be fully objective, even in a less tormented time than Kaplan's. Yet his intention of objectivity is carried out with remarkable tenacity, and with increasing dedication in the face of hardship, as the dreadful events increased his own physical and emotional suffering and his anguish at the mounting tragedy around him. It is significant that, although he had suffered from diabetes since 1928, there is no mention of this illness in his diary dealing with the war years. The diary has been preserved in toto, having been smuggled out of the Warsaw Ghetto before its total destruction. Kaplan himself was largely responsible for the miracle of its preservation. In 1942, when he knew that the Nazi noose was around his neck, he gave it to a Jewish friend named Rubinsztejn, who was working daily at forced labor outside the ghetto, returning each evening. Rubinsztejn smuggled the notebooks out one by one, handing them over to a Pole.

Kaplan's Hebrew script is clear and beautiful, with no erasures, a remarkable feat in view of the almost impossible conditions under which it was written. At the worst moments, on the brink of destruction, Kaplan sustained himself with the hope that the diary would be saved. His own future worried him little; the fate of his chronicle was his main concern. This concern increased in proportion with the daily atrocities of the Nazis. During the most tragic days, in the midst of frenzied flight from one place to another, he felt himself obligated to quicken the pace of his work. He wrote several times a day in order to include every detail of the horror surrounding him. It was not easy to "catch with the pen the knife which cuts down ceaselessly without a drop of pity," but he continued to record events with amazing regularity. Thus he writes in his last entry (August 4, 1942) during the Great Aktion that began on July 23 and lasted until September, "If the hunters do not stop, and if I am caught, I am afraid my work will be in vain. I am constantly bothered by the thought: If my life ends, what will become of my diary?"

The diary records the daily events and experiences of the author and the ghetto community. The heart of a pained, dedicated educator is revealed when he describes the yearning of the children for a bit of nature, the sight of a tree, or a blade of grass. A smile – the laughter of the condemned – illuminates his description of the bringing of the gypsies to the ghetto, for the gypsies, too, according to the Nazi ideology, were of inferior race.

The diarist has an eye for detail as well for major trends. He is concerned with politics as well as with philosophy. Since the diary was his constant companion, Kaplan poured into it a great deal of his intellectual life – his thoughts, his information, and all the conversations he had with his friends. He is not detached from the scene; indeed, he apparently sought out all possible first-hand information and his descriptions deal with the mood of the time, the hour of occurrence. Many seeming contradictions are really the hourly changes of those fantastic times, with the result that at times he condemns the leaders of the Jewish community and at times praises them. He had no use for Adam *Czerniakow, the president of the *Judenrat whom he accused of usurping power at a time when the Warsaw Jewish community was powerless to elect a leader. Yet when Czerniakow committed suicide because he could no longer bring himself to deliver Jews to the Nazis, Kaplan wrote a noble eulogy of him, commenting: "His end proves conclusively that he worked and strove for the good of his people, though not everything that was done in his name was praiseworthy. Czerniakow earned immortality in a single instant." The diary has been translated into English, German, French, Danish, and Japanese.

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[Abraham I. Katsh]

KAPLAN, ELIEZER (1891–1952), Israeli financial leader and politician, member of the First and Second Knessets. Born in Minsk in White Russia, as a child he studied in a *ḥeder* and later on in a Russian gymnasium. Kaplan received a diploma in construction engineering from the Higher School for Technology in Moscow in 1917. In 1915 he joined the Socialist Zionists, and in 1918 Ẓe'irei Zion, becoming a member of its Central Committee and representing it on the Zionist Central Committee. In the course of World War I Kaplan was active in helping Jewish refugees and at the end of the war was a member of the Jewish delegation from Russia that participated in the *Comité des Délégations Juives, which represented the Jewish people at the peace negotiations at Versailles in 1919. In 1920 Kaplan was one of the initiators of the union between part of Ẓe'irei Zion and Ha-Po'el ha-Ẓair, that came to be known as Ha-Hitaḥadut ha-Olamit, and whose program was "pioneering and labor in Eretz Yisrael and popular socialism." He represented the Hitaḥadut at the London Zionist Conference in 1920 and was elected to the Zionist Executive.

Kaplan immigrated to Palestine in 1920, but was immediately sent to run the office of Ẓe'irei Zion–Ha-Po'el ha-Ẓa'ir in Berlin. He returned to Palestine in 1923 and served as a member of the executive of the Public Works Department in the *Histadrut, that was later renamed Solel Boneh, and became a member of the Histadrut Executive. In 1923–25 he ran the technical department in the Tel Aviv municipality, and in 1925–33 was a member of the Tel Aviv Council. He was also a member of the Ha-Po'el ha-Ẓa'ir Central Committee, and was one of the initiators of the union between Ha-Po'el ha-Ẓa'ir with Aḥdut ha-Avodah in 1930, and the foundation of *Mapai, becoming a member of its Central Committee. Within Mapai he was considered a moderate. In 1933–48 Kaplan served as the treasurer of the *Jewish Agency and was a member of its Executive; in 1943–48 he also served as head of its Settlement Department. As treasurer he managed to attain loans abroad and made great efforts to introduce strict supervision over expenditure. He was among the initiators and implementers of all the major Zionist economic enterprises of the period. In those years he supported Chaim *Weizmann on the issue of moderation in the struggle against the British authorities, and opposed David *Ben-Gurion's activist line. During the transitional period toward the establishment of the State of Israel, he directed the financial affairs of Minhelet ha-Am (the People's Administration) and was appointed minister of finance in the Interim Government after the establishment of the State. Kaplan laid the foundations for the financial and fiscal policy of the State of Israel, and helped shape its policy toward the various branches of the economy, being particularly interested in the development of agriculture. In 1949 he obtained the first loan from the U.S. Ex-Im Bank. He also contributed to the organization of the Israel Bonds drive in the U.S. Kaplan served as minister of finance until June 1952, and resigned as a result of poor health, serving as deputy prime minister until his death in July. He published several books on the economy of Israel.

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[Susan Hattis Rolef (2nd ed.)]

KAPLAN, ISAAC (1878–1976), leader of Jewish farmers in Argentina and veteran Zionist. Born in Svisloch, Belorussia, in 1895 Kaplan arrived in Argentina with his family and went directly to Colonia Clara in Entre Ríos, one of the colonies of the Jewish Colonization Association. Together with Miguel Sajaroff and Noé Yarcho, Kaplan was among the most enthusiastic promoters of the cooperative movement among the colonists through his work in the Fondo Communal of Clara, founded in 1904. Kaplan advocated the doctrines of the Fondo Communal, which began as an institution to help the colonists and later developed into a cooperative, in articles in *Colono Cooperador* (the Jewish settlers' monthly paper), which he headed from 1921 to 1947. He also held executive positions in the Federación Agraria Israelita Argentina, founded in 1925, and was an active participant in various national and provincial agrarian congresses. He promoted the passage of various laws in the Argentinian parliament for the welfare of all colonists and was appointed to serve on several projects by the secretary of agriculture. He was also one of the founders of the Zionist organizations in the Jewish colonies and held leading positions in the major Jewish institutions in Buenos Aires (e.g., the Federación Sionista Argentina, over which he presided for eight years; the JNF; Keren Hayesod; and DAIA).

[Victor A. Mirelman]

KAPLAN, JACOB (1895–1994), French rabbi and author. Born in Paris, Kaplan served with distinction in World War I and later graduated from the Sorbonne (1919) and the Séminaire Israélite de France (1921). He held rabbinical posts in Mulhouse, Alsace (1922), and in Paris (1929). During the German occupation he worked with the resistance movement.

He served briefly as interim chief rabbi of France (1944) and later became chief rabbi of Paris (1950). He participated in the creation of the Jewish-Christian friendship movement (1948) and in 1953 negotiated the return to their family of the *Finaly children. He was appointed to the post of chief rabbi of France in 1955. He retired as chief rabbi of France at the end of 1980 and was appointed honorary chief rabbi. Kaplan openly proclaimed French Jewry's solidarity with the State of Israel during the period of the Six-Day War and after, when French official policy was hostile to Israel. Apart from his Jewish scholarship, Kaplan was also a lecturer at l'Institut d'Etudes Politiques and a member of the Académie des Sciences Morales et Politiques in Paris (1967). His published works include *Le Judaïsme et la justice sociale* (1937), *Racisme et Judaïsme* (1940), *French Jewry under the Occupation* (1945–46), *Le Judaïsme dans la société contemporaine* (1948), *Témoignages sur Israël* (1949), *Les Temps d'Epreuve* (1952), and *Notice sur la vie et les travaux de Georges Duhamel* (1968).

[Lucien Lazare]

KAPLAN, JOHANNA (1942–), U.S. author and teacher. Born in New York City, Kaplan became a teacher of emotionally disturbed children in the New York City school system and at Mt. Sinai Hospital. At the same time, she developed an interest in writing and following the publication of a collection of short stories and a novel was recognized as a significant talent among the younger generation of Jewish writers.

Her short stories collection, *Other People's Lives* (1975), revealed her sensitive development of character and dialogue, a talent exploited to the full in her first novel *O My America!* (1980). *O My America!* describes the life of a famous radical, Ezra Slavin, as told after his death by one of his children. The book follows Slavin's early years on the Lower East Side, his intellectual rise, and his attempted dissociation from his Jewish roots. As it unfolds, the novel also surveys several generations of the Jewish experience in America.

Johanna Kaplan also contributed book reviews to the *New York Times* and other journals.

[Susan Strul]

KAPLAN, JOSEPH (1902–1991), geophysicist. Kaplan was born in Tapolcza, Austro-Hungary, and moved with his family to Baltimore at the age of eight. He received his B.Sc. in chemistry in 1924 and his Ph.D. in physics in 1927 at Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, after which he was a research fellow at Princeton University before moving to the University of California at Los Angeles (UCLA) in 1928. He remained at UCLA for the rest of his life. At UCLA he was a full professor from 1940, chairman of the Department of Physics (1939–44), and director of the Institute of Geophysics (1946–47). Kaplan's laboratory work simulated the atomic and molecular reactions which occur in the earth's upper atmosphere. His subsequent work characterized the physical nature of nitrogen in the upper atmosphere and the atmospheric bands of oxygen which contribute to the light of the night sky. With colleagues he founded the science of "aeronomy," which studies the physics of the planetary atmosphere. Kaplan was an enthusiastic undergraduate and graduate teacher. He also contributed to the World War II program training U.S. Army Air Force weather officers. He was an outstanding contributor to international organizations concerned with geophysics, including the presidency of the International Union of Geodesy and Geophysics (1963). His many honors included membership in the U.S. National Academy of Sciences (elected 1957). He was an honorary member of the Board of Governors of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem and a member of the Board of Governors of the Weizmann Institute of Science.

[Michael Denman (2nd ed.)]

KAPLAN, LOUIS LIONEL (1902–2001), U.S. educator. Kaplan was born in Slonim, Russia, was taken to the U.S. in 1909, and educated in New York. From 1930, he served as executive director of the Baltimore Board of Jewish Education. He was president of the Baltimore Hebrew College, now *Baltimore Hebrew University, from 1930 to 1970. He was president of the National Council for Jewish Education (1939–41); and from 1940, he was a member of the board of governors of *Dropsie College, Philadelphia. He was also a member of the Board of Regents of the University of Maryland from 1952. He wrote *A New Approach to the Teaching of the Torah* (1942) and edited Hebrew texts and readers. Kaplan viewed Jewish education as an instrument for helping the individual, through a study of the unique Judaic religious-historical tradition, to find his place in the larger society of which he is a part.

From 1975 to 1981, he served as an interim rabbi at the Beth Am Synagogue in Baltimore.

With Theodor Schuchat, Kaplan wrote *Justice, Not Charity: A Biography of Harry Greenstein* (1967).

Baltimore Hebrew University has established the Louis L. Kaplan Prize in Hebrew Literature; and the University of Maryland awards the Louis L. Kaplan Scholarship to its most outstanding undergraduate student leaders.

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[Leon H. Spotts / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

KAPLAN, MORDECAI MENAHEM (1881–1983), rabbi, philosopher, educator, activist, and founder of the *Reconstructionist school of thought. Kaplan was born in Svencian, Lithuania. His father, Israel Kaplan, was a talmudic scholar who immigrated to the United States in 1888, where he was joined a year later by his wife, Anna, and their two children, Sophie and Mordecai. Kaplan's early education was strictly Orthodox, but by the time he reached secondary school, he had been attracted to heterodox opinions, particularly regarding the critical approach to the Bible. After his ordination from the *Jewish Theological Seminary of America, he became the minister and superintendent of education of Kehilath Jeshurun, a noted Orthodox synagogue in New York City. It was only in 1908, when he was granted traditional ordination by

Rabbi Isaac Jacob *Reines, that the synagogue was prepared to honor the title of rabbi that had been conferred upon him by the Seminary. Meanwhile Kaplan had become uncomfortable at Kehilath Jeshurun, because by then he realized that he could no longer serve an Orthodox congregation in good conscience.

In 1909, Solomon *Schechter invited Kaplan to become the principal of the newly established Teachers Institute of the Jewish Theological Seminary. Shortly thereafter, he also began to teach homiletics as well as Midrash in the Seminary's rabbinical department. Later on, he began to teach philosophies of religion as well. For over 50 years, Kaplan influenced the thinking of Conservative rabbis. He spoke to their existential spiritual problems in light of contemporary philosophical and sociological developments and, in his view, the breakdown of traditional theology. Even those who disagreed with his views appreciated his direct approach. They were impressed by his emphasis on intellectual honesty in confronting the challenges posed by modern thought to traditional Jewish beliefs and practices. In his approach to Midrash and philosophies of religion, Kaplan combined scientific scholarship with creative application of the texts to contemporary problems. Kaplan's Reconstructionist philosophy influenced not only his own immediate students, but through them and through his extensive writings and public lectures over several decades, the American Jewish community at large. Many of his ideas, such as Judaism as a civilization (and not merely a religion or nationality), bat mitzvah, egalitarian involvement of women in synagogue and communal life, the synagogue as a Jewish center and not merely a place of worship, and living as Jews in a multicultural society, eventually came to be accepted as commonplace and implemented in all but strictly Orthodox segments of the community.

Kaplan was undoubtedly a product of his times. But he was also a cultural innovator. All advances in human thought are generated by seminal minds working on the knowledge they have acquired from equally creative thinkers. Early in his career, Kaplan became a devotee of the scientific and historical study of the Bible. He was the leading educator to confront rabbis, teachers, and laity with the changes in Jewish thought that had become necessary once the Bible had been exposed to modern techniques of examination and interpretation. But far from denigrating the genius of the biblical text, Kaplan taught his students to regard it as an indispensable source for an understanding of Jewish peoplehood and Jewish civilization.

Kaplan was a voracious reader. References in his published writings and in his Diaries are a veritable catalogue of the outstanding thinkers of ancient, medieval and modern times. Nonetheless, it can be said that for the most part, Kaplan's ideas were part of the Zeitgeist but not carbon copies of the thought of the men and women he quoted.

Kaplan did not live in an ivory tower. Although he produced studies on M.H. *Luzzatto and Hermann *Cohen, he was not primarily interested in academic scholarship. Instead, he focused on teaching future rabbis and educators to reinterpret Judaism and to make Jewish identity meaningful under modern circumstances. This was also the focus of many of his sermons and cross-continental lectures. He was heavily involved in communal efforts to improve Jewish education and was one of the founders of the New York Kehillah. He became the first rabbi of the Jewish Center, when it opened in 1918. Due to ideological conflicts with the Center's lay leadership, he resigned his position and, in 1922, organized the Society for the Advancement of Judaism. In 1935, he and his colleagues published the first issue of *The Reconstructionist*. A few years later, he participated in the founding of the Jewish Reconstructionist Foundation.

Kaplan was frequently called upon to participate in Zionist affairs. In 1925, when the Hebrew University of Jerusalem was officially opened, the American Zionist Organization sent Kaplan to Jerusalem as its official representative. His associations with Weizmann, Brandeis, Magnes, Ben-Gurion and other prominent figures constitute interesting chapters in Zionist history. In addition, Kaplan was very active in various aspects of Jewish social work and communal organization. He traveled the length and breadth of America to spread his ideas.

Kaplan's Philosophy of Judaism

In formulating his philosophy of Judaism, Kaplan drew upon classic rabbinic sources, as well as Jewish and non-Jewish philosophers, including the thinkers of the Haskalah, and the findings of the physical and human sciences. He defined Judaism as an "evolving religious civilization," attempting thereby to aid in the adjustment of world Jewry to the social and intellectual conditions of the 20th century. He maintained that as a civilization, the Jewish people possesses all the characteristics of land, language, political structure, culture, and other characteristics associated with that designation.

While Kaplan was always an ardent Zionist, he was equally convinced that the creative survival of the Jewish people in the free Diaspora was both possible and necessary. Although Jews had been forced for many centuries to live in exile, they had become a transterritorial people by choice. As long as Jews are free, they will live wherever they choose. And so, Kaplan thought, it is highly unlikely that the "ingathering of the exiles" will ever be fully implemented. Therefore, he never ceased to prod his people to formulate a new covenant, which would proclaim the centrality of Ereẓ Israel in their transterritorial identity and state the historical and cultural elements of their unity and identity.

Jewish civilization, Kaplan argued, expresses its genius best in its historical religion. Religion entails clarifying the purposes and values of human existence, wrestling with God, whom Kaplan conceived in impersonal terms, and maintaining the vitality of the rituals of home, synagogue, and community. However, because Judaism is a civilization, the secular elements of culture are as essential as Jewish religion. These elements curb the frequent tendency of religion to foster rigidity, uniformity, and excessive worship of the past. For Kaplan, Jewish religion should embrace all that pertains to the Jewish people's search for a meaningful existence for itself.

By "evolving," Kaplan means that Judaism should be considered from a pragmatic, historical point of view, rather than a metaphysical or revelational one. All concepts and rituals should be measured by their usefulness in sustaining individual and communal growth. The focus of Jewish life has to be the Jewish people, its needs and its response to challenge, rather than reliance on "revealed" texts or metaphysical constructions. Kaplan argued that the Jewish people will not and should not rely on a static theory of Judaism. After responsible study, each Jew must contribute his own understanding to solving the perplexities of life. Tradition must guide but not dictate. Kaplan fully embraced the pluralism inherent in his conception. He understood that his own naturalistic approach can be only an option. Henceforth, Jews will have to learn the art of compromise and how to orchestrate their differences with mutual respect.

Kaplan developed a concept of "sancta" by which he meant that civilizations differ from one another not so much ideationally in their ideas and values, which they claim are universally applicable, as they do existentially in the particular ways they express those ideas and values. For example, Kaplan designated as sancta texts, ritual and folk practices, festivals, or symbols which are regarded as sacred, namely as of special significance and as evoking respect and awe. The sancta of a civilization are continually subject to "revaluation," by which they are given new meaning, much as the term "democracy" was differently understood in ancient Athens from the way it is currently interpreted in the United States, or in totalitarian "people's democratic republics." Similarly, "God" and "Torah" were valued in different ways by Moses, Ezra, Hillel, and Maimonides. The ancient sancta of Judaism need to be subject to functional interpretation, by which Kaplan meant that we must understand how concepts and practices functioned in the lives of Jews over the centuries and how they might function today. Specifically, with regard to God, Kaplan argued that a functional interpretation of the theistic belief leads to an impersonal concept of God as cosmic process and not as a personal being. Like such nouns as parent, teacher, or president, God denotes function and not substance.

The most controversial aspect of Kaplan's thought is this pragmatic theology. Early in his career, he rejected the traditional notion of a personal God who intervenes in human affairs. Kaplan chose to emphasize the divine aspects of the universe and the creative forces that are embodied in our attempt to become fully human. His theology is complex and multilayered. He explicitly rejected the terms naturalism and humanism to characterize his thought but rather looked to what he called transnaturalism, a realm beyond but not apart from the natural, where we find the reality of the divine.

In arguing that ideas of God are correlatives of ideas of man and the cosmos and therefore bear an organic relationship to man's understanding of himself and the world, Kaplan has been criticized for what is claimed to be his excessive reliance on human reason as expressed in the latest scientific theories of his day.

Nonetheless, it is noteworthy that some of the criticisms of Kaplan have only heightened the cogency of much of his thought. In defense of his theology, he exemplified intellectual modesty by pointing out that pluralism in this discipline was an ineluctable outcome of the uncertainties that seem to inhere in all efforts to plumb the depths of cosmic reality.

Kaplan was a strong supporter of the equality of women in Jewish life. He inaugurated the first bat mitzvah ceremony in 1922, when he called his daughter, Judith (*Eisenstein), to read from the Torah. He publicly advocated that Jewish rituals be reconstructed to include greater equality for women. Though his ideas were advanced for his time, he never attempted to revise the liturgy to be gender sensitive. But his call for reading the Bible as an inspired but man-made document, his demand for the equality of women, his insistence on adjusting liturgy to contemporary beliefs – these and other hallmarks of his philosophy are now generally accepted in all but strictly Orthodox ranks. One persistent criticism has related to what is mistakenly held to be Kaplan's failure to appreciate the primacy of emotion in worship. Kaplan, however, argued that emotion is purer when worshippers believe in the truth of the content of their prayers.

No understanding of Kaplan can be complete without reference to his Diaries, which are contained in 27 volumes of 300 handwritten pages each. The Diaries are an unmatched collection of autobiographical data, historical source material, philosophical reflection, literary criticism, sketches of innumerable persons, and reflections on life. The originals are housed in the library of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America.

On Denominationalism

For many years, Mordecai Kaplan sought to keep his philosophy of Judaism within the bounds of a school of thought. He resisted the pressure of some of his supporters to leave the Jewish Theological Seminary and accept the invitation of Rabbi Stephen S. *Wise to join the faculty of the Jewish Institute of Religion (founded in 1922), a move which might well have been the precursor of a new Jewish denomination. In 1927, Kaplan finally did resign his JTS position and accepted Wise's proposal. Although some of Kaplan's Seminary colleagues might have been pleased with this step, many students and alumni were not. Kaplan bowed to their pressure, withdrew his resignation, and remained at the Seminary until he retired in 1963. Despite his dissatisfaction with the Seminary, Kaplan believed that a new denomination would further fragment the American Jewish community. He advocated that Reconstructionism be conceived as a school of thought that could operate within all the streams in the American Jewish community. By the late 1940s, however, a number of laymen in synagogues throughout the United States decided to organize an independent federation of Reconstructionist synagogues. Kaplan was unable to forestall this development.

Meanwhile, some of Kaplan's primary supporters, including Rabbis Ira *Eisenstein (his son-in-law), Solomon *Goldman, Max *Kadushin, Milton *Steinberg, Joshua Loth *Liebman, and Edward *Israel urged him at various times to establish a new rabbinical school. In 1963, Kaplan retired from the Seminary at the age of 82. Within a short time, his supporters, led by Eisenstein, set up the Reconstructionist Rabbinical College, which is now located in Wyncote, Pennsylvania. Kaplan taught willingly at the College for a year or so. In addition to the slow growth of the Reconstructionist movement, which by the beginning of the 21st century included over a 100 congregations and havurot, increasing numbers of graduates of the Reconstructionist Rabbinical College and a successful summer camp, Kaplan's school of thought continues to permeate and to challenge other Jewish movements, especially the Reform, Conservative and modern Orthodox.

Literary Output

Although he began to publish books at what might be considered an advanced age, Kaplan was a prolific writer. His first and major work, *Judaism as a Civilization*, was first published in 1934, when Kaplan was 53. Other writings include *A New Approach to the Jewish Problem* (1924); the translation and editing of *Mesillat Yesharim*, by Moses Ḥayyim Luzzatto (1937); *The Meaning of God in Modern Jewish Religion* (1937); *The New Haggadah for the Pesah Seder* (1941); *The Faith of America* (ed. with Paul Williams, 1951); *Ha-Emunah ve-ha-Musar* (1954); *The Future of the American Jew* (1949); *A New Zionism* (1955); *Questions Jews Ask* (1956); *Judaism Without Supernaturalism* (1958); *The Greater Judaism in the Making* (1960); *Higher Jewish Learning* (1963); *The Purpose and Meaning of Jewish Existence* (1964); *Not So Random Thoughts* (1966); *The Religion of Ethical Nationhood* (1970); *If Not Now, When?* (with Arthur A. Cohen, 1973). Over the years, Kaplan was also the dominant figure in the production of the *siddurim, maḥzorim*, and other liturgical material of the Reconstructionist movement. Three of the above volumes have been translated into Hebrew: *The Meaning of God in Modern Jewish Religion*, *A New Zionism,* and *The Religion of Ethical Nationhood*. *Ha-Emunah ve-ha-Musar* appeared only in Hebrew. A full bibliography of over 400 items can be found in *The American Judaism of Mordecai Kaplan*, ed. by Emanuel S. Goldsmith, Mel Scult, and Robert Seltzer (1990).

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[Jack Cohen, Mel Scult, and Raphael Jospe (2nd ed.)]

KAPLAN, PESAḤ (1870–1943), Hebrew and Yiddish journalist. Born in Stawiski, Poland, Kaplan lived in Bialystok from 1888 and was active in Zionist circles, writing regularly in the Hebrew press. He also published a series of popular works and children's books in Hebrew. Later he moved away from Zionism, wrote in Yiddish, and served as journalist and editor of Yiddish periodicals. He was a member of the *Judenrat in the Bialystok ghetto and perished in the Holocaust. Two diaries which he kept in the ghetto (on the Bialystok Judenrat, and on the expulsion of the Jews of Bialystok) are preserved in the archives of *Yad Vashem in Jerusalem.

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[Getzel Kressel]

KAPLAN, ROBERT P. (**Bob**; 1936–), Canadian politician, lawyer, businessman. Kaplan was born in Toronto. He earned a B.A. (1958) and LL.B. (1961) from the University of Toronto, during which time he was awarded a number of academic prizes and wrote for the University's student newspaper and for the *Toronto Telegram*. Called to the Ontario Bar in 1963, he practiced corporate and tax law with several prominent firms. In 1968 he entered national politics, working on Pierre Elliott Trudeau's successful campaign for leadership of the Liberal Party. In the federal election that same year, Kaplan was elected to the House of Commons for Toronto's Don Mills riding. He lost his seat in the election of 1972 but was re-elected in 1974 in the heavily Jewish York Centre riding and held the seat until he retired from electoral politics in 1993.

In 1980 Trudeau appointed Kaplan to the cabinet post as solicitor general, responsible for Canadian law enforcement and for national security. He also held the post during the short-lived administration of Trudeau's successor, John Turner. Among Kaplan's contributions as solicitor general was overseeing a reorganization of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police and establishing the Canadian Security Intelligence Service. He also implemented the Young Offenders Act (1982), dealing with youth accountability for criminal actions, and reformed the Correctional Services of Canada. When the Liberals lost the 1984 federal election, Kaplan was personally re-elected in York Centre and became the Liberal opposition's justice critic.

Kaplan is best remembered in the Canadian Jewish community for his attempts to persuade a reluctant Liberal government to take action against war criminals living in Canada. The government, under Trudeau's influence, however, was wary of inciting inter-ethnic passions and refused to take action, despite strong lobbying by Jewish leaders. Nevertheless, Kaplan was able to extradite a Nazi war criminal, Helmut Rauca, to West Germany in 1982, where he was imprisoned.

Kaplan was honored with numerous awards, including the Order de la Pléiade for his service to francophonie in Canada. From 1994, he was honorary consul general of Kazakhstan in Canada and fostered relations and business contacts between that country and Canada. Kaplan was a member of committees at the University of Toronto, the Alliance Française in Toronto, the Canadian Jewish Congress, and B'nai

B'rith Canada. He sat on boards of a number of publicly traded companies and was a trustee of H&R REIT, one of Canada's largest real estate investment trusts, and a director of TV Niagara and European Goldfields.

[Frank Bialystok (2nd ed.)]

KAPLAN, SENDER MEYER (1914–1992), journalist and Zionist activist; honorary consul of Israel in Cuba. He was the son of Rabbi Zvi Kaplan, the spiritual leader of the Ashkenazi congregation Adath Israel in Havana (1929–31) and later of Knesset Israel (1931–41), Sender Kaplan emigrated from Poland to Cuba with his family at the age of 15. After serving a short time as an apprentice to a watchmaker, he began to work at the Yiddish periodical *Havaner Lebn*, serving as its editor from 1935 until it was closed down in 1960. *Havaner Lebn*, which was published twice a week, was the main Jewish periodical in Cuba, and Kaplan had a central role in shaping Jewish public opinion. An outstanding Zionist leader, he was the president of the Unión Sionista de Cuba in 1940–43. When JNF leader Nathan Bistritzky began to organize the Comité Cubano Pro Palestina Hebrea (the Cuban Committee for a Jewish Palestine) Kaplan served as the link with Cuban politicians and intellectuals. Thanks to his great devotion to the Zionist cause and to his close contacts in government circles, Kaplan was appointed honorary consul when the Consulate of Israel was opened in Havana (1952). In 1954 the Israeli ambassador in Mexico presented his credentials to President Batista, and Kaplan remained the only diplomatic representative of Israel residing in Havana until the Castro revolution. In 1961 Kaplan emigrated to Miami, where he continued to serve the Zionist cause. He worked as director of the Latin Department of the Jewish Federations of Greater Miami. He devoted the later years of his life to writing the history of the Jews of Cuba, but was unable to complete the work.

[Margalit Bejarano (2nd ed.)]

KAPLANSKY, KALMEN (1912–1997), Canadian labor leader and human rights advocate. Kaplansky was born in Bialystok, Poland, and, while still in his teens immigrated alone to Canada in 1929. He settled into Montreal's downtown Jewish immigrant community. A typesetter and linotype operator, during the Depression Kaplansky rose through the ranks of the labor movement. He was a delegate of Montreal Typographical Union 176 to the Trades and Labour Congress of Canada and, soon after, to the merged Canadian Labour Congress. In 1939, he helped organize the Jewish Labour Committee (JLC) in Canada, an offshoot of the American labor organization founded in 1933.

Kaplansky became the Canadian group's national director in 1946. Under his leadership the JLC was instrumental in forging the 1946 alliance of Jewish clothing manufacturers and labor leaders who convinced the federal government to open Canada's door to several thousand clothing workers from the Displaced Persons' camps in Europe. The JLC was also a key player in the tripartite committee of labor, manufactures, and government responsible for selecting tailors in Europe for Canadian immigration.

A champion of human rights, Kaplansky was incensed by the discriminatory employment restrictions common in Canada, and organized the Joint Labour Committees Against Racial and Religious Discrimination, later known as the Labour Committees for Human Rights. He also convinced the Trades and Labour Congress of Canada and the Canadian Congress of Labour to establish parallel committees. Together they actively lobbied the Ontario government for legislation barring discrimination and, in large part, were responsible for the passing of the Ontario Fair Employment Practices Act in 1951 (subsequently used as a model for virtually all provincial and federal codes that followed), the Ontario Fair Accommodations Act in 1954, and, ultimately, the Ontario Human Rights Code. Kaplansky also pioneered efforts to eradicate discrimination against blacks and native peoples in Canada. He was involved in the Canadian Jewish Historical Society and twice ran for public office as a Co-Operative Commonwealth Federation (CCF) candidate.

Remembered as a humble, unpretentious man, loyal to his roots, Kaplansky was the recipient of many awards and commendations, including the Order of Canada, the nation's highest civilian award.

[Frank Bialystok (2nd ed.)]

KAPLANSKY, SHELOMO (1884–1950), Zionist labor leader. Born in Bialystok (then Russia), Kaplansky trained as an engineer and joined the Zionist labor movement at an early age. He lived in Vienna between 1903 and 1912, founded the *Po'alei Zion movement in Austria, and edited its journal *Der Juedische Arbeiter*, which appeared in German and Yiddish. He was a founder of the World Union of Po'alei Zion and was instrumental in having it accepted as a member of the Socialist International. He devised the idea of the Ereẓ Israel Workers' Fund (Kuppat Po'alei Ereẓ Yisrael) which was founded in 1910 by the World Union of Po'alei Zion to foster cooperative settlements and enterprises in Ereẓ Israel. He went to Ereẓ Israel in 1912 to settle there, but between 1913 and 1919 he was secretary of the *Jewish National Fund head office at The Hague. He was a member and chairman of the finance and economics committee of the Zionist Executive in London between 1919 and 1921. Kaplansky, who belonged to the moderate socialist trend, supported the participation of Po'alei Zion in the World Zionist Organization and all its institutions. At the 1920 World Conference of Po'alei Zion in Vienna he preferred the movement's split, repudiating its pro-Communist faction (the Left Po'alei Zion). Between 1927 and 1929 he was a member of the Zionist Executive in Jerusalem and the director of its Settlement Department. From 1929 until 1931 he lived in London as an emissary of the Zionist labor movement to the British Labour Party, which was then in power. From 1932 until his death, Kaplansky was director of the Haifa *Technion. During the debate over the partition of Palestine in 1937 he opposed the scheme, preferring the idea of a binational state in the whole of Palestine. As a result, he left the *Mapai Party in 1944 and later joined *Mapam. Some of his many articles and pamphlets in Russian, German, English, Hebrew, and Yiddish are collected in *Ḥazon ve-Hagshamah* ("Vision and Fulfillment," 1950).

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KAPO, prisoner in charge of a group of inmates in Nazi concentration camps. The derivation of the word is not clear; according to one view the name is Italian (*capo* = "boss"); according to others it is an abbreviation of *Kameradschaftpolizei* and would then have originated among the prisoners themselves. Similarly, it is not possible to ascertain when this unofficial term first came into use. The appointment of Kapos was made by the SS who guarded the camps; but the authority to appoint Kapos was never explicitly defined. It was the Kapo's task to carry out the orders of the SS and to ensure absolute control over the prisoners. The Kapo was not an expert like the "chief worker" (*Vorarbeiter*) but just a strong man. For the most part, Kapos were in charge of work gangs, but there were also Kapos for the hospitals or the kitchens. Certain camps even had a hierarchy: Oberkapo, Kapo, Unterkapo. Initially, Kapos were appointed from the ranks of ethnic German prisoners convicted on criminal charges. These criminals enjoyed extra privileges of great importance under camp conditions: better food, clothing, and housing. In return, many of them tyrannized the prisoners with a cruelty equal to that of the SS, motivated both by the desire to curry favor among the SS as well as by sadistic inclinations. In the course of time, the political prisoners in many camps succeeded in ousting some of the criminals and having them replaced by Kapos from their own ranks. Jews were appointed Kapos only in those camps which were all Jewish. Some Kapos exercised their power humanely and sensitively and worked to assist their fellow prisoners. Others mimicked the oppressive behavior of the SS and may have indeed internalized their values. Thus, the term Kapo became synonymous with a cruel and egocentric person who oppresses, tortures, and exploits others.

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[Jozeph Michman (Melkman)]

KAPOSI (Kohn), MORITZ (1837–1902), dermatologist. Born in Kaposvar, Hungary, he became assistant to Ferdinand Hebra at the dermatological hospital, Vienna, in 1879, and the collaboration with the famous pathologist proved most fruitful. Kaposi completed Hebra's studies on the anatomical-pathological aspects of dermatology by new findings in chemistry and bacteriology. Together they were the first to describe several diseases. In 1875 Kaposi, a convert to Christianity, was appointed professor of dermatology at Vienna University. Kaposi was an outstanding diagnostician and teacher as well as a prolific author. He wrote *Pathologie und Therapie der Hautkrankheiten* (1879) and *Handatlas der Hautkrankheiten* (1898–1900) which included the most complete descriptions and illustrations of skin diseases at that time. He was the first to describe multiple idiopathic hemorrhagic sarcoma, called Kaposi's sarcoma, and *xeroderma pigmentosum*, called Kaposi's disease. He wrote many articles in the field of dermatology and syphilology.

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[Suessmann Muntner]

KAPOSVAR (Hung. **Kaposvár**), city in S.W. Hungary. In 1784 there were 15 Jews living in the town. The numbers increased to 95 in 1840; 1,078 in 1869; 3,505 in 1920; and 2,341 in 1941. A Jewish elementary school functioned from 1840 until the Holocaust. The synagogue was erected in 1862. Like those in all the surrounding communities the Jews of Kaposvar were inclined toward *assimilation. In 1860 A. Freystaedtler, a Jew, leased an estate from Count Esterházy and endeavored to employ Jews. At the beginning of the 20th century, many banks were owned by Jews, as well as several large factories and flour mills. A Jew served as deputy mayor for 20 years. Anti-Jewish attacks were made in 1848. The antisemite G. *Istóczy and some noblemen who had been dispossessed of their estates were responsible for anti-Jewish outbreaks in the town. Rabbis of the community included A. Ehrental (1852–54) and S. Kuttna (1853–71).

Holocaust Period

In 1940 all Jewish men were moved to a labor camp and after the German invasion in March 1944 around 6,000 Jews including refugees were concentrated in a ghetto around the synagogue in May. On July 4 all were deported to *Auschwitz. After the liberation of the town (December 1944) by the Red Army, Jewish men from the surrounding labor camps began to return to Kaposvar. Only about 200 of those deported from Kaposvar survived. There were 450 Jews living in the town in 1945 and 574 in 1949. After the revolution of 1956, many of them left the country, and by 1959 only 261 Jews remained in Kaposvar.

[Baruch Yaron]

KAPPAROT (Heb. כַּפָּרוֹת, plural of the Heb. כַּפָּרָה, *kapparah*; "expiation"), custom in which the sins of a person are symbolically transferred to a fowl. The custom is practiced in certain Orthodox circles on the day before the *Day of Atonement (in some congregations also on the day before *Rosh Ha-Shanah or on *Hoshana Rabba). Psalms 107:10, 14, 17–21, and Job 33:23–24 are recited; then a cock (for a male) or a hen (for a female) is swung around the head three times while the following is pronounced: "This is my substitute, my vicarious offering, my atonement; this cock (or hen) shall meet death, but I shall find a long and pleasant life of peace." The fowl is thought to take on any misfortune which might otherwise befall a person in punishment of his sins. After the ceremony, it is customary to donate the fowl to the poor, except for the intestines which are thrown to the birds. Some rabbis recommended that money, equivalent to the fowl's value, be given instead.

This custom is nowhere mentioned in the Talmud. It appears first in the writings of the *geonim* of the 9th century, who explain that a cock is used in the rite because the word *gever* means both "man" and "cock"; the latter can, therefore, substitute for the former.

In Babylonia, other animals were used, especially the ram since Abraham offered a ram in lieu of his son Isaac (see: *Akedah and Gen. 22:13), or plants, e.g., beans, peas, (cf. Rashi, Shab. 81b). After the destruction of the Temple, no animals used in sacrificial rites could serve similar purposes outside the Temple (Magen Abraham to Sh. Ar., OḤ 605) and therefore cocks or hens were employed in the *kapparot* rite because they were not used in the Temple sacrificial cult. R. Solomon b. Abraham *Adret strongly opposed *kapparot* because it was similar to the biblical atonement rites (see *Azazel; cf. Lev. 16:5–22); he also considered the *kapparah* ritual to be a heathen superstition ("*Darkhei Emori*," responsa ed. Lemberg (1811) pt. 1, no. 395). This opinion was shared by *Naḥmanides and Joseph *Caro who called the *kapparot* "a stupid custom" (OḤ 605). The kabbalists (Isaac *Luria, Isaiah *Horowitz), however, invested the custom with mystical interpretations. These appealed strongly to the masses, and it became very popular when the rabbis acquiesced to it. Isserles made it a compulsory rite and enjoined for it many ceremonials similar to those of the sacrificial cult; e.g., the laying of the hands upon the animal, its immediate slaughter after the ceremony, prayers of confession, etc.

If a cock, or hen, cannot be obtained, other animals, fish or geese, may be used instead. A white cock or hen was especially desirable (based on Isa. 1:18, and Yoma 6:8). Some authorities, e.g., Joel Sirkes, forbade the use of a white cock on the grounds that it was a pagan rite (cf. Bayit Ḥadash, to Tur., OḤ 605, and Av. Zar. 1:5 and 14a). *Kapparot* is not practiced with a fowl at all in some traditional and many modern congregations. Money is substituted for a cock and the formula is changed accordingly ("this coin shall go to charity but we…," etc.). In Yiddish and popular Hebrew parlance the word *kapparot* may also refer to a financial or material loss, a regretted waste, or a vain effort.

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KAPPER, SIEGFRIED or **VÍTĚZSLAV** (1821–1879), Czech poet and the first Jew to publish in Czech. Born and educated in Prague, Kapper graduated in medicine from the University of Vienna and spent some time as a physician, but he devoted his life mainly to writing. Like Moritz *Hartmann, the German revolutionary who became his brother-in-law, he belonged to the "Young Bohemia" circle and took an interest in Slavic culture. From 1839 Kapper was a contributor to *Ost und West*, and the following year he began translating Czech poems into German. In 1841 he moved to Vienna, where he met Václav Bolemír Nebeský, who urged him to devote himself to Czech and Slavic affairs. Accordingly, in 1843, Kapper began a press campaign, and a year later published his *Slavische Melodien*, some of which were later set to music. In his *České listy* ("Czech Epistles," 1846), Kapper criticized the Austrian regime's treatment of the Czechs and called for the restoration of their national and civic rights. In the same book he expressed his hopes for the cultural assimilation of Czech Jewry. Both the form and the ideology of the poems were completely rejected by the eminent nationalist critic, Karel Havliček-Borovský, and as a result Kapper temporarily abandoned writing in Czech. It was at this period that he published three of the earliest "ghetto" stories in the German language (1845–49). During the 1848 Revolution Kapper was medical officer of the academic legion. The revolution inspired a volume of political poems, *Befreite Lieder* (1848–49). He then became a parliamentary reporter, but returned to medical practice in 1867.

Kapper's works include *Suedslavische Wanderungen* (1851; *A Visit to Belgrade*, 1854); the epic poem *Fuerst Lazar* (1851), which was his major literary achievement; *Christen und Tuerken* (1854); *Boehmische Baeder* (1857); and several volumes of Czech and German translations of Serbian, Montenegrin, and Bulgarian folk songs, in which field he became an acknowledged authority. Though estranged from traditional Jewish life, Kapper developed ideas of a Czech-Jewish symbiosis which greatly impressed the younger generation of Czech Jewry, and the first Czech-Jewish students' organization was named in his honor.

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[Avigdor Dagan]

KAPUZATO, MOSES HA-YEVANI (fl. second half of 15th century), rabbi in Salonika. Moses was the author of a commentary on the Pentateuch in which he takes issue with Abraham ibn Ezra, Maimonides, and in particular with Karaite exposition. He was the author of the poem – a *reshut* for Passover: "*Imrei Higyonai Ashir ve-Azamer la-Adonai*" included in the Romaniot *maḥzor* and the Kaffa and Aleppo rites. He was a trenchant opponent of the Karaites, who reacted violently to his criticism. He sharply criticized Aaron b. Joseph, author of the *Sefer ha-Mivḥar* and the Karaites Abraham *Bali, the physician, author of the *Iggeret ha-Issur Ner shel Shabbat*, and Caleb Abba *Afendopulo answered his criticisms. He was especially attacked by Elijah *Bashyazi in his *Aderet Eliyahu* for daring to speak against Aaron b. Joseph, against the Karaite scholars, and for following in the wake of Mordecai *Comtino. Moses is also mentioned by Karaites of later generations, such as Joseph Bagi (end of 15th and beginning of 16th centuries) in his *Iggeret Kiryah Ne'emanah*.

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[Simon Marcus]

KARA (Cara), AVIGDOR BEN ISAAC (d. 1439), rabbi, kabbalist, and poet. Kara was of German origin. It is uncertain whether the name Kara indicates, as some think, that he was a descendant of Joseph *Kara, or whether it is a reference to his expert knowledge of Scripture (*Mikra*). His father, Isaac Kara, met a martyr's death. About 1389 Kara was appointed *dayyan* in Prague. He and Yom Tov Lipmann *Muelhausen were among the most important rabbis of Prague of the age. Kara is the author of the elegy *Et Kol ha-Tela'ah asher Meẓa'atnu* to commemorate the sufferings which overtook the Jews of Prague on the last day of Passover 1389, as a result of an accusation that they had desecrated the Host. This elegy is recited by the Jews of Prague during the *Minḥah* service on the Day of Atonement. Like his colleague Yom Tov Lipmann Muelhausen he became famous for his polemics with Christians. According to the tradition of Jacob *Moellin, which is not to be accepted as true, he was a favorite of Wenceslaus IV, king of Bohemia, and played an important role in his court. It may be assumed, however, that he had discussions with high Christian dignitaries on theological matters, and it appears that John Huss and his colleagues and disciples were influenced in no small degree by his views. The Hussite sect, founded by Huss, opposed the authority of the Church and many of its principles. Probably due to this the Jews were persecuted by the Catholics in the war that broke out between the Hussites and Catholics. Huss even made use of a poem by Kara on the unity of God, beginning *Eḥad Yaḥid u-Meyuḥad*, which has been published in the *Birkat ha-Mazon* (Amsterdam, 1722).

Kara was also known as a kabbalist, and was one of the first to cause the spread of the Spanish and German Kabbalah in his land. Moses *Cordovero and Menahem Azariah da *Fano wrongly attributed to him the authorship of **Kanah*, a kabbalistic work on the reasons for the precepts, and *Peli'ah*, a commentary on the first six chapters of Genesis. His kabbalistic compositions are still in manuscript, including: *Kodesh Hillulim*, a kabbalistic commentary on Psalm 150; and a biblical commentary based on *gematriot*. He appears also to have composed the kabbalistic work *Sefer ha-Emet*. He was known as a *paytan* and some of his *piyyutim* have been published in various places while others are still in manuscript. Some of his responsa have also been preserved. MENAHEM BEN JACOB KARA, who wrote commentaries on various philosophical works, including Maimonides' *Guide of the Perplexed*, may have been his half brother. He is regarded as the originator of the movement whose aim was to find common ground between the Kabbalah of Eastern Europe and the doctrines of the Spanish scholars, particularly Maimonides. *Abraham b. Avigdor, a 16th-century rabbi of Prague, was his descendant.

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[Abraham David]

KARA, JOSEPH (before c. 1060–70), Bible commentator from the north of France. The surname "Kara" (presumably Bible commentator) is an indication of Joseph's major occupation. The assumption that his surname means "teacher" is supported by his popular style and his frequent use of words in French (**la-az*), probably reflecting the fact that his commentaries are based on oral teaching.

His father, Simeon, was apparently also a scholar, but S.J. Rapoport's ascription to him of the authorship of *Yalkut Shimoni* has been shown by A. Epstein to be without foundation (see bibl.). Joseph studied under his paternal uncle, *Menahem b. Ḥelbo, and was also a student and colleague of Rashi. Rashi obviously knew Kara, who was about 25 years his junior, since he mentions him (cf. Rashi on Is. 10:24 and 64:3) and quotes some of his interpretations; at least in one case he states that Kara told him an explanation of Menaḥem b. Ḥelbo. Recent scholarship asserts that there is no evidence that Kara studied under Rashi. There is evidence that the latter occasionally accepted his biblical exegesis, and Samuel b. Meir calls Kara "our colleague" (Commentary on Gen. 37:13). Kara was the first to copy and edit Rashi's commentary. In the process he added his own remarks, some of which were approved by Rashi and many of them were integrated into the standard Rashi commentary. Some 100 such notes were compiled by A. *Berliner in his *Pletath Soferim*. Kara lived mainly in Troyes and for a period in Worms and is known to have taken part in theological discussions with Christians.

He wrote commentaries on most of the books of the Bible (possibly all), most of which remained in manuscript until recent times. Recently, fragments of his commentary on the Pentateuch have been discovered in the Italian *genizah*. Until recently, this commentary was only known from the many quotations in later works, some even incorporated in Rashi's commentary. The main characteristic of his biblical commentaries is the intention (cf. his remarks on I. Sam. 1:17; Judg. 5:4) of interpreting Scripture according to the *peshat* ("literal meaning"). Now and then, however, he deviates from this course and explains the text according to the *derash* ("homiletical interpretation"; e.g., Jer. 2:3), especially where the text presents difficulties, and he sometimes gives *derash* together with the *peshat*. Nevertheless, there is still no explanation for the distinction he makes between homiletic explanations that "the ear may hear," i.e., which are plausible (*aggadah ha-nishma'at la-ozen*, on Job 26:13) and those which are only meant to "make the Law great and glorious," such as his commentary on 1 Sam. 1:17. Though Kara relied heavily upon Rashi's commentary, at times even quoting it verbatim, he sometimes vigorously refutes his interpretations, stating of 1 Kings 7:33, for example: "This is a distortion of the words of the Living God, which causes all Israel to go astray." Other characteristics of Kara's approach are: indication of the connection between different scriptural verses; exegesis in accordance with the cantillation; differentiation between the language of the Mishnah and that of the Talmud and the Midrash; extensive use of Targum, including the Palestinian Targum, and frequent use of French and German **la'azim*; etymology of biblical words based on similar usage, roots, and sounds; pointing out words or phrases that are meaningless in context but allude to events or ideas that appear later on in the text; and literary analysis. In some places Kara's text differs from the accepted one (Josh. 9:4; Jer. 25:13). Kara was well aware of some problems concerning the biblical text and its transmission. Sometimes, as on Joshua 9:4, he cites two different versions of the text, and at least once (on Jer. 25:13) he states that a certain interpretation would be acceptable "provided a fitting version can be found in some accurate book." Kara's commentaries on the Former Prophets, the Megillot (except Song of Songs), Job, and most of the Latter Prophets are now at our disposal. Since Kara considered his works as amplifications of Rashi's commentaries, he often mentions, or even quotes, Rashi without referring to him. Some of Kara's commentaries (on Ezekiel, for example), seem to have been edited by his pupils.

Kara was one of the first to participate in a unique phenomenon that occurred in French biblical exegesis at the end of the 11th century and the beginning of the 12th century: The sudden appearance of biblical commentary based on strict *peshat*, the explicit meaning of the text. This new trend dissipated by the end of the 12th century. This new trend is seen as an attempt to refute Christian interpretation of the Hebrew Bible. A close reading of Kara's commentaries and those of Rashbam (*Samuel ben Meir, Rashi's grandson) reveals a very strong anti-Christian polemic. Contemporary Jewish polemical works quote extensively from Kara's work to refute the Christian attempts to use the Hebrew Bible (Old Testament) as proof for their theology. Even Kara's occasional use of Midrash can be ascribed to this general purpose. Given heavy Christian censorship of Jewish books, Kara was careful to hide his polemical intentions.

In addition to his biblical commentary, Kara also commented extensively on the *piyyutim*, exerting a great influence in this field on his successors who often referred to him simply as "the commentator," by virtue of his ability to penetrate into their literal meaning and the beauty and simplicity of his style. He wrote commentaries on all *piyyutim* recited in his time on festivals and special Sabbaths, and on *kinot* and *hoshanot*. There is hardly a manuscript commentary on the liturgy which does not quote him. Many of his commentaries are also to be found in printed editions, in which however, they are often abridged and quoted anonymously. Kara received many of his explanations of the *piyyutim* from scholars in southern and northern France, Germany, and Rome, including Rashi, Menahem b. Ḥelbo, and Kalonymus b. Shabbetai of Rome. Although the *aggadah* is an important source for the *piyyutim*, and Kara paid great attention to it in his commentaries, here too he extracted from the Midrash only what was essential to an understanding of the text, avoiding all extraneous matter. He explained the language and the literary aspects of the *piyyutim*, but did not concern himself with historical background. In his liturgical commentaries he made much use of his Bible commentary and laid down general principles of *piyyut*.

Berliner suggested that Kara was the author of the commentary on *Genesis Rabbah*, generally attributed to Rashi. Epstein, however, proved that it only contains additions by Kara and that the original commentary is not his.

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[Avraham Grossman and Moshe-Max Arend /
David Derovan (2nd ed.)]

KARA, MENAHEM BEN JACOB, *dayyan* and scribe in Prague at the beginning of the 15th century. Kara refers to Avigdor b. Isaac *Kara as "my brother" and he may in fact have been his half-brother from the same mother. If, however, he is to be identified, as some suggest, with the Menahem who signed a power of attorney in 1413, together with Avigdor and Yom Tov Lipman *Muelhausen (two *dayyanim* in Prague), it must be assumed that the word means "relative" and not "brother." He wrote commentaries on various parts of the Bible, and studied philosophical literature. The following known works by Kara are in manuscript: a commentary on Maimonides' *Guide of the Perplexed*, a commentary on Al-Ghazālī's *Kavvanot ha-Pilosofim*, and on the *Mareh Elohim* of Enoch Al-Kostantin. It is maintained by some that he aspired to bring the pietists and *kabbalists of Eastern Europe closer to the Torah teaching of the Sephardim, and in particular to the teaching of Maimonides. Kara was one of the Prague scholars attracted to philosophical speculation who exercised a considerable influence on subsequent generations.

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[Yehoshua Horowitz]

KARÁCSONY, BENÖ (**Bernát Klaermann**; 1888–1944), Hungarian author. Karácsony, who lived in Kolozsvár (Cluj), was a leading social writer in Transylvania during the era of Romanian control. Though not class-conscious, he often satirized middle-class failings in works such as *Új élet kapujában* ("At the Gates of a New Life," 1932) and *A napos oldalon* ("On the Sunny Side," 1940). *A megnyugvásösvényein* ("For me, Tranquility") appeared in 1946. He died in Auschwitz.

KARACZEWSKI, ḤANINA (1877–1926), music teacher and composer. Born in Petrovka, Bessarabia, he went in 1899 to Warsaw where for a time he conducted a military band. In 1908 he went to Palestine and taught music at various schools in Tel Aviv, chiefly at the Herzlia Gymnasium where he remained for 18 years. Here he instituted a choir and an orchestra. Many of his pupils became music educators and choral conductors. He also organized an adult choir of 200 voices whose most memorable appearance was at the cornerstone-laying ceremony of the Hebrew University in 1925. Karaczewski and A.Z. *Idelsohn were considered the "music teachers of the National Renaissance." Only a few of Karaczewski's songs and arrangements were published during his lifetime, but a collection of his works, *Ẓelilei Ḥanina* (1927), appeared after his death. Three of his songs entered the permanent "corpus" of Palestinian-Israel folk songs: the song for Lag ba-Omer, *Ha-Ya'arah be-Keshet va-Ḥeẓ* ("To the Forest with Bow and Arrow"), with words by Samuel Leib *Gordon; *El Rosh ha-Har* ("To the Peak of the Mountain"), with words by Levin *Kipnis; and one of the most beautiful songs inspired by Lake Kinneret, *Al Sefat Yam Kinneret* ("On the Shore of Lake Kinneret"), with words by Jacob *Fichmann.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Ha-Gimnasyah ha-Ivrit Herẓiliyyah Zekher la-Ḥaver… Ḥanina Karaczewski* (1927).

[Bathja Bayer]

KARAITES (Heb. קָרָאִים, בְּנֵי מִקְרָא, בַּעֲלֵי מִקְרָא, *Qara'im, Benei Miqra, Ba'alei Miqra*; Ar. *Qarāʾiyyūn*), Jewish sect which came into being toward the middle of the ninth century. (See Map: Karaite Settlement). Its doctrine is characterized primarily by its denial of the talmudic-rabbinic tradition. This article is arranged according to the following outline:

Name; Relation to Biblical Tradition
Karaism and the Dead Sea Scrolls
Historical Development
  EMERGENCE OF THE SECT
  CONSOLIDATION: LATE NINTH TO 12TH CENTURIES
  12TH TO 16TH CENTURIES: BYZANTIUM AND TURKEY
  17TH TO 18TH CENTURIES: KARAITES IN CRIMEA AND LITHUANIA
  UNDER RUSSIAN RULE: LEGAL SEPARATION FROM RABBANITES
  NUMBERS OF KARAITES
  CONTEMPORARY KARAITE LIFE
Scholarship on Karaism and the Karaites
Karaite Doctrine
  PRINCIPLES OF HERMENEUTICS AND LEGAL THOUGHT
  CREED
  LAW
  CALENDAR AND HOLIDAYS
  CIRCUMCISION AND DIETARY LAWS
  MARRIAGE LAWS AND LAWS ON RITUAL PURITY
  LITURGY, ẒIẒIT, AND TEFILLIN
Attempts at Reconciliation Between Karaism and Rabbanism
Karaite Printing
Musical Tradition

Name; Relation to Biblical Tradition

Scholars have had different opinions as to the exact vocalization of the name: Whether it is *qaraʾim* (sing. *qaraʾ*), or *qeraʾim* (sing. *qeraʾi*). The common sing. form *qaraʾi*, seems to be secondary. The accepted meaning of the name of the sect – Kara'im, Ba'alei ha-Mikra ("people of the Scriptures") – is assumed to imply the main characteristic of the sect: the recognition of the Scriptures as the sole and direct source of law, to the exclusion of the Oral Law as it is embodied in the talmudic-rabbinic tradition. At the early stage of the group's history the name may have indicated their concentrated occupation with the text of the Hebrew Bible. At that stage their activity was perhaps connected to the Massoretes. Indeed, the famous authority on Massorah, Aharon ben Asher (who was responsible for the Massoretic element of the Aleppo Codex), was most probably a Karaite. There is, however, another interpretation of the name Kara'im, defining it as "callers" or "propagandists," in the sense of the Arabic word *duʿāt* by which the Shiʿite Muslim sect designated propagandists on behalf of ʿAli. Since a religion based on revelation cannot tolerate the complete exclusion of tradition, either in principle or in practice, the Karaite demand for a return to Scripture, and a rejection of any tradition as the authoritative interpretation of Scripture, should be taken as a theoretical watchword, directed not against all tradition, but specifically against the rabbinical tra-

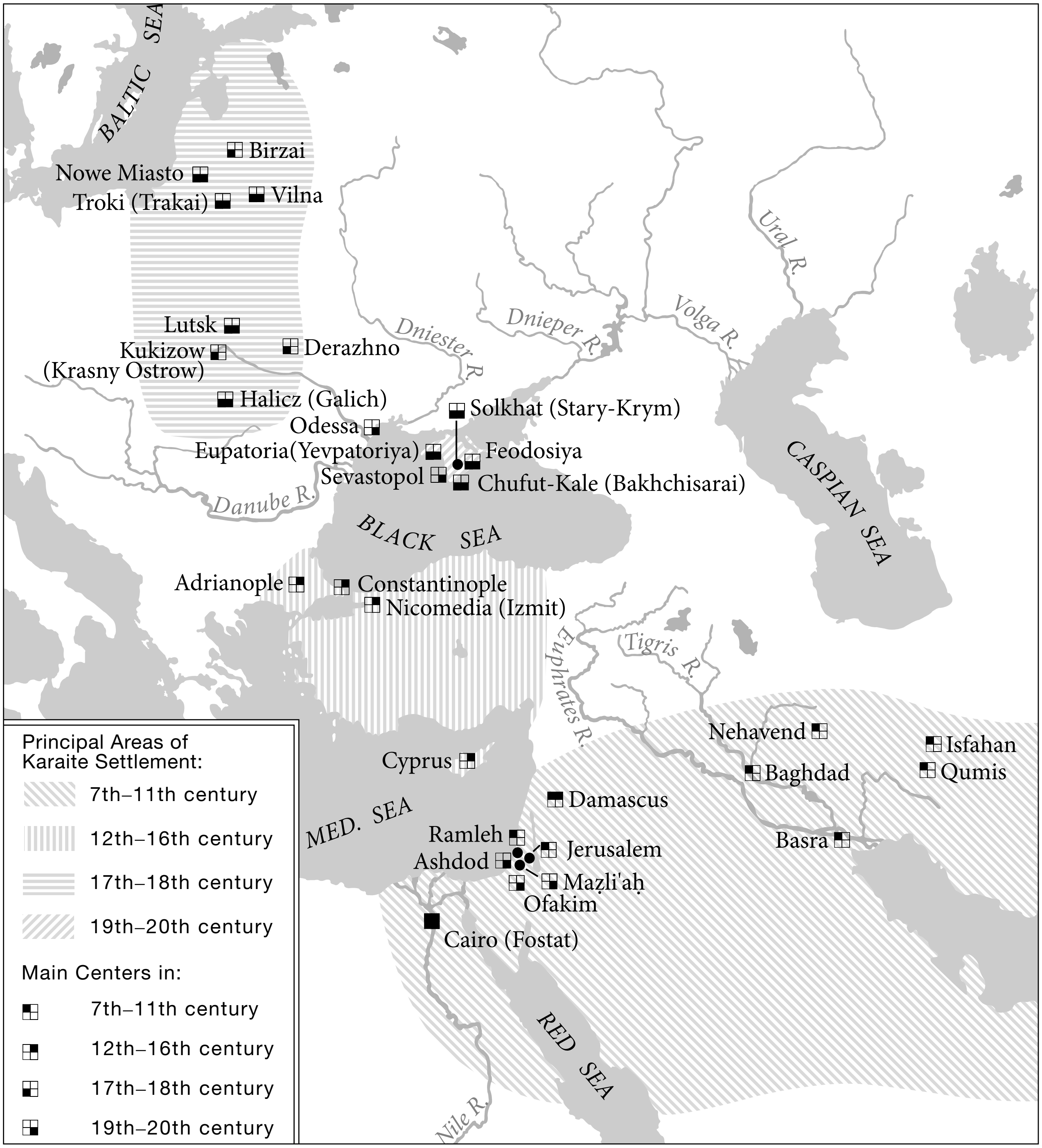
BALTIC SEA
Birzai
Nowe Miasto
Troki (Trakai)
Vilna
Ural R.
Volga R.
Dnieper R.
Dniester R.
Lutsk
Kukizow
(Krasny Ostrow)
Derazhno
Halicz (Galich)
Odessa
Solkhat (Stary-Krym)
Eupatoria(Yevpatoriya)
Feodosiya
Sevastopol
Chufut-Kale (Bakhchisarai)
Danube R.
CASPIAN SEA
BLACK SEA
Adrianople
Constantinople
Nicomedia (Izmit)
Euphrates R.
Tigris R.
Nehavend
Isfahan
Baghdad
Qumis
Cyprus
Damascus
MED. SEA
Ramleh
Jerusalem
Ashdod
Basra
Maẓli'aḥ
Ofakim
Cairo (Fostat)
RED SEA
Nile R.
Principal Areas of Karaite Settlement:
7th–11th century
12th–16th century
17th–18th century
19th–20th century
Main Centers in:
7th–11th century
12th–16th century
17th–18th century
19th–20th century

Principal areas of Karaite settlement and main centers, 7th–20th centuries.

dition. As a matter of fact, the Karaites also developed a tradition of their own, described by them as *sevel ha-yerushah* ("burden of inheritance"), consisting of doctrines and usages which, although not found in the Bible, were accepted as binding by the entire community (the *qibbuẓ* or *ʿedah*, corresponding to the Muslim term *ijmāʿ*, "consensus"). According to the Karaite view, a large number of these had come down from the Jews who had returned from the Babylonian exile (those designated as the "good figs," Jer. 24:5). The Karaite alternative tradition has developed over the centuries, and in some areas has come quite close to rabbinic tradition.

Karaism and the Dead Sea Scrolls

The discovery of the documents of the Dead Sea Sect has given rise to much speculation as to the possible influence of that sect and its literature upon the early schismatics who later merged into the Karaite sect. Assuming, with the overwhelming majority of students of the Dead Sea Scrolls, that they date from about the time of Jesus and that the Dead Sea sectarians went out of existence by the second century C.E., the problem may be considered under several aspects. The chronological aspect demands an explanation of the gap of some seven hundred years between the disappearance of the Dead Sea sectarians and the rise of the early Karaite schismatics. To account for it, several ancient notices of the finding of Jewish manuscripts in caves (by Origen, c. 217 C.E., Timotheus, c. 800 C.E., and by al-*Kirkisānī, c. 937 C.E.) are cited. Origen records the discovery of a Greek biblical manuscript and does not identify the contents of the other manuscripts found with it. al-Kirkisānī describes the manuscripts found in a cave as belonging to the literature of the pre-Christian sect of the Magharians, whose books, with two exceptions, he dismisses as "merely… idle tales." The testimony of Timotheus, Nestorian catholicos of Elam (south-western Iran), is perhaps more substantial. He tells of a letter that reached him from Jerusalem, reporting on scrolls found in a cave near Jericho that contained Hebrew texts resembling the Psalms. He requested that Jerusalem send him copies, but we do not know whether his request was ever fulfilled. A different case is the fragments of the so-called Damascus Document (medieval copies of which had been discovered in the Cairo *Genizah*) which were found among the Dead Sea documents. This provides substantial evidence that some Dead Sea documents did surface in the early Middle Ages. It can be argued, though, that this indicates only that the Damascus Document was known in Jewish circles, not necessarily Karaite alone, in Cairo early in the second millennium C.E. Nowhere in early Karaite literature so far known is there mention of the discovery of pre-Karaite documents confirming the righteousness of the Karaite teachings.

With respect to links between Dead Sea sects and the Karaites, there are several considerations for and against the theory that there was a connection of some kind between the two groups. A number of close parallels between Dead Sea and Karaite doctrines have been pointed out – for example, the emphasis on searching Scripture for right guidance, the implied rejection of oral tradition, the pressing and impatient messianism with its concomitant search in Scripture for hidden forecasts of the "end," when the Messiah will come to redeem Israel, and the tendency to regard biblical events not as accounts of past happenings but as prognostications of present-day situations. The similarity is not only in doctrines but also in terminology. Added to all this is, of course, the common conviction that this is the true Mosaic faith, and that those who believe otherwise are misled into error. In addition they have in common the ritual rigor, with respect to the laws of purity and Sabbath. These similarities must be weighed against an at least equally substantial series of dissimilarities, which cannot be reconciled with historical Karaism: the dualism of the Dead Sea Sect which divided the world into two opposing camps of good and evil ("light and darkness") subject to a predestined and immutable fate, and the rigid and absolute monastic hierarchy. Recent studies have suggested that there are significant parallels between Second Temple period controversies, including especially the Qumranites, and medieval controversies between Karaites and Rabbanites. In addition, the discussion of this question should differentiate between various pre-cursors of Karaism or its sub-groups. Some of those, like Mishawayh al-ʿUkbari, show perhaps more affinity to the Dead Sea Scrolls. The conclusion that may be drawn from all these considerations would therefore be the following: There is, at the present state of knowledge of the literature of both sects, no tangible evidence that the early Karaites had any direct contact with the Dead Sea writings, though some of them may have reached them. If they were influenced by them to any recognizable extent, this influence had little effect in the long run.

Historical Development

EMERGENCE OF THE SECT. The name "Karaites" was not applied to the sect until the ninth century; the precursor of the sect was known as "Ananites," from the name of its founder, *ʿAnan b. David. The sect appears to have come into being as the result of a combination of factors: the amalgamation of various heterodox trends in Babylonian-Persian Jewry, which clashed with the efforts of the heads of the Babylonian yeshivot to consolidate their position as the exclusive and central authority of Jewish law; the tremendous religious, political, and economic fermentation in the entire East, resulting from the Arab conquests and the collision of Islam with world religions. The Karaite sect absorbed both such Jewish sects as the Isawites (adherents of *Abu ʿIsā al-Iṣfahānī) and *Yudghanites, who were influenced by East-Islamic tendencies, and other anti-traditional movements.

The Karaites themselves, however, trace their origin to the first split among the Jewish people, at the time of *Jeroboam; the true law had subsequently been preserved by the descendants of Ẓadok, who had discovered a portion of the truth. The process of this discovery of the truth was then continued by the exilarch ʿAnan (thus al-Kirkisānī and others). The unhistorical, fanciful, and biased Karaite sources also influenced the reports of Arab authors. Rabbanite sources, on the other hand, give their own one-sided version of the emergence of the Karaite schism, ascribing it exclusively to ʿAnan's personal ambition and the injury his pride suffered when his younger brother Hananiah was elected exilarch.

The absorption by ʿAnan's movement of many elements of an older, extra-talmudic tradition was pointed out particularly by A. Geiger and R. Mahler. As a matter of fact, ʿAnan's system included many laws that are quoted from old rabbinic authorities in the Mishna, the Talmud and other tannaitic and targumic sources but were not accepted (e.g., the *lex talionis*, i.e., the literal interpretation of "an eye for an eye" principle in the criminal law). Anan cannot, however, be described as a "reformer" of Judaism in the modern sense; far from easing the "yoke" of traditional law, he made it more difficult to bear:

he did not recognize the minimum quantities (*shi'urim*) of forbidden foods fixed by the rabbis; he introduced more complicated regulations for the circumcision ceremony; he added to the number of fast days; he interpreted the prohibition of work on the Sabbath in stricter terms; etc. He was particularly severe with regard to the laws on marriage between relatives, ritual cleanliness, and relations with non-Jews. In his interpretation of Scripture, he made use of the 13 hermeneutic principles of R. *Ishmael b. Elisha, adding to them the principle of analogy (*hekkesh*, Ar. *qiyās*; the latter, perhaps, under the influence of Abu Ḥanīfah, the founder of the Ḥanafite school of Muslim jurisprudence).

The dictum quoted in Anan's name by *Japheth b. Ýeli (commentary on Zech. 5:8), "Search well in the Torah and do not rely on my opinion," is composed of two clauses: the first in Aramaic, and the second in Hebrew. The second clause, though, is not found in the oldest MS of Japheth's commentary and seems to reflect a somewhat later development. The first half was possibly designed to uphold the Holy Scriptures as the sole source of the law through a process of thorough investigation; notwithstanding, the fragments of Anan's Book of Precepts contain several references to the definitive authority of Anan's own interpretations of Biblical verses. In the wake of Anan's activity, numerous groups and parties were formed, mainly in the eastern parts of the Caliphate. Some of them shared the designation "Karaites," and soon, as related by Kirkisānī, it became impossible to find two Karaites who held the same opinions on all religious issues. Anan's adherents, in the stricter sense, called themselves Ananites (Arabic *ʿanāniyya*, sometimes applied by Muslim authors to Karaites in general) and remained few in number (in Iraq, Syria and Spain). They seem to have disappeared some time during the 11th century. Anan's descendants, who, like Anan before them, were given the honorific title of *nasi* ("prince") by their contemporaries, lived first in Jerusalem, and then, from the early 11th century, for the most part in Egypt. The names of his son, *Saul b. Anan, and his grandson, Josiah b. Saul b. Anan, are known from the prayer for the dead in the Karaite Sabbath and festival liturgy; neither seems to have had any role in the further development of the sect. Saul is also mentioned in *Sefer ha-Kabbalah*, by Abraham ibn Daud, and Josiah in *Eshkol ha-Kofer*, by Judah Hadassi, and in *Gan Eden*, by Aaron b. Elijah the Younger of Nicomedia. Karaite traditions about Anan's emigration to Jerusalem and his settlement there refer possibly to his great-grandson, whose name was Anan.

As the non-Rabbanite, proto-Karaite movement did not recognize any single leader, it was not long before many groups arose in its midst, in opposition to the Ananites. Thus, in the first half of the ninth century, the ʿUkbarites, whose founder was *Ishmael of ʿUkbara, came into being in ʿUkbara, near Baghdad, at the time of the caliph al-Muʿtaṣim (833–842). Ishmael was violently opposed to Anan, "often denouncing him as a fool and an ass." Nothing of Ishmael's writing has been preserved, and the little known about him and his school derives almost exclusively from the reports of al-Kirkisānī, at whose time (second half of the tenth century) the group was probably no longer in existence. In his teaching, Ishmael rejects, *inter alia*, the masoretic variants (*keri* and *ketiv*, the reading of certain words in the Bible in a manner that differs from their spelling).

The same town, ʿUkbara, was also the place of origin of another group, founded in the second half of the ninth century by Mīshawayh al-ʿukbarī. Characteristic of this sect is the principle that in all disputed matters (such as the day of the New Year Festival and the determination of the new moon), the Rabbanite practice was to be followed ("all coins are counterfeit, so one might as well use the one at hand," i.e., observe the holidays with the "whole," the Rabbanites). Among Mīshawayh's innovations is his opinion that the day, in the religious sense, begins at sunrise and comes to an end at the following sunrise (whereas according to the Rabbanites, and most other Jewish groups and movements, the day commences and ends at sunset). Another proto-Karaite sect was founded by a contemporary of Mīshawayh, Mūsā (Moses) al-Zaʿfarānī, a resident of Tiflis (Tbilisi, Georgia); also known as Abu ʿImrān *al-Tiflīsī, he was probably a native of Zaʿfarān, a district of Baghdad. The report by al-Kirkisānī (perhaps the earliest mention of Jewish settlement in the Caucasus) states that al-Tiflīsī was a disciple of Ishmael of ʿUkbara, and the author of a treatise sanctioning the consumption of meat (whereas many sects, including the earliest Karaite authorities, regarded the eating of meat as prohibited as long as Zion was in ruins and Israel in exile). Mūsā was also mentioned by the Karaite authors Japheth b. Eli (10th century) and Judah Hadassi, and by *Saadiah Gaon; the latter, in his commentary on the Pentateuch, cites the opinion held by al-Tiflīsī and his supporters that the new month always commences at the moment when the new moon first makes its appearance, so that the day of the new moon is already a part of the new month (commentary to Gen. 1:14–18). Another sect, closely related to that of al-Tiflīsī and its contemporary, was created at Ramleh in Ereẓ Israel by *Mālik al-Ramlī. According to al-Kirkisānī, Mālik declared on oath on the Temple site in Jerusalem that chickens had been sacrificed at the Temple altar; by this oath, Mālik sought to strengthen his view – as reported by the Karaite author *Jacob b. *Reuben in his commentary on Leviticus – that the *torim* mentioned in Leviticus 1:14, which were used as Temple sacrifices, were chickens, thereby contradicting Anan and his successors, who translated the term *dukhifat* ("the hoopoe") in Leviticus 11:19, as hen, and accordingly classified the chicken as an impure, prohibited bird.

It follows that in the 9th century and the beginning of the 10th, the Karaite movement was a conglomeration of various anti-Rabbanite groups, some of which had sprung up after Anan's death. Al-Kirkisānī gives a vivid description of the countless differences on questions of religious ritual obtaining among the various Karaite groups, some of which still existed in al-Kirkisānī's time. In order to counter the Rabbanite arguments in polemics with the Karaites, based upon these heterogeneous views, al-Kirkisānī concludes his description with a characteristic observation: the Karaite readers of his work, he states, had no reason for concern, for in this respect there was a great difference between them and the Rabbanites: "They [i.e., the Rabbanites] believe that their laws and regulations have been transmitted by the prophets; if that was the case, there ought not to exist any differences of opinion among, them and the fact that such differences of opinion do exist refutes their presumptuous belief. We, on the other hand, arrive at our views by our reason, and reason can lead to various results."

The many sects which had come upon the proto-Karaite or early Karaite scene after Anan disappeared as fast as they had sprung up, without leaving any noticeable trace upon the movement. By their gradual self-liquidation, however, they prepared the ground for the consolidation of a well-defined, uniform doctrine which has subsisted to this very day as Karaism. The outstanding representative of the new movement in the ninth century was Benjamin b. Moses *Nahāwendī (from Nehavend, Persia; c. 830–860), who laid the groundwork for the new development of Karaite doctrine and was also the first Karaite writer to employ, according to some sources, the term *Kara'im* (*Benei Mikra*). Rabbanite scholars, such as Saadiah Gaon and Judah Halevi, regard Anan and Benjamin as the fathers and founders of the Karaite sect; Arabic and Karaite authors also refer to Karaites as *Aṣḥāb ʿAnān wa-Binyāmīn* (i.e., followers of Anan and Benjamin). The Karaites themselves put Benjamin almost on the same level as Anan, and in the memorial prayer (*zikhronot*) Benjamin's name follows immediately upon those of Anan, Saul, and Josiah. It was Benjamin, in particular, who turned the free and independent individual study of the Scriptures into a basic principle of Karaism. In theory it became possible for Karaism to tolerate differing interpretations of the Bible. Benjamin also differed from Anan in making no special efforts to maintain a hostile attitude to the Rabbanites and stress a fundamental opposition to them. He sought to base each law upon the Bible (without differentiating between the Pentateuch, the Prophets, and the Hagiographa) and freely borrowed from the Rabbanites (although he declared such regulations as not binding upon Karaites). Furthermore, he advised his coreligionists to adopt the Rabbanite view in cases where the Bible did not provide a clear prescription. Benjamin is also the first Karaite to whom Karaite sources ascribe statements concerning dogmas and religious philosophy. Seeking to remove all taint of anthropomorphism from the conception of God, he embraced in his exegesis of the Bible ideas that are reminiscent of *Philo's theory of the Logos (which he may have known in Arabic translation or by the way of the *Maghāriyya* – the cave dweller – sect, mentioned by al-Kirkisānī; see also *Sects, Minor). Accordingly, the creator of the world, its builder, and its guide, was an angel created by God to represent His will; it was this angel who performed the miracles, revealed the Law, etc., and it is to this angel that the anthropomorphic passages in the Bible refer.

*Daniel b. Moses al-Qūmisī, who lived toward the end of the ninth century, seems to have been the first eminent Karaite scholar to settle in Jerusalem. He was the first to make the "mourning in Zion" a basic tenet and a hallmark of Karaism. In an epistle ascribed to him he fervently urged Karaites in the Diaspora to immigrate to Ereẓ Israel. In the same epistle he also expounded his particular positions on halakhic issues and, perhaps for the first time in Jewish history, proposed a set of normative, binding beliefs ("articles of faith"). He opposed Benjamin's method of Bible exegesis and denied the existence of angels, interpreting the term *malakhim* as natural forces employed by God to serve as His emissaries (cf. Psalms 78:49; 104:4). Opposing also Benjamin's leaning toward Rabbinic *halakhah*, he called for strict adherence to the literal sense of the Scriptures. This may also explain his fight against Anan, whom he had at first revered as "first among the sages" ("*rosh ha-maskilim*"), only to denounce him later as "first among the fools" ("*rosh ha-kesilim*"). Yet in his commentaries there are cases of alternative and homiletic interpretations. It may be assumed that it was his attitude to Anan that caused al-Qūmisī's exclusion from the Karaite memorial prayer, in spite of the great respect in which he was held by later Karaite writers. al-Qūmisī wrote commentaries on several books of the Bible, but of his commentaries only the one on Minor Prophets survived almost complete. He also taught that, in case of doubt, the more rigorous interpretation of the law should be accepted.

CONSOLIDATION: LATE NINTH TO 12TH CENTURIES. In the tenth century, when Karaism was already fairly consolidated, the movement adopted an aggressive attitude, designed to spread its doctrine. This was also the golden age of Karaite literature (with most of the Karaite works of this period being written in Arabic). Karaite attempts to gain mass support for their beliefs among the Rabbanites (which, however, seem to have attracted only a few converts of no particular distinction) brought forth, on both sides, an apologetic and polemic literature. There were in this period (ninth and tenth centuries) a considerable number of outstanding Karaite theologians, religious teachers, grammarians, lexicographers, and biblical exegetes. Rejection of secular sciences, which Anan had advocated, was not followed by all Karaites. Some Karaite scholars became active participants in the flourishing Arabic culture. Others (e.g. al-Qūmisī, Salmon ben YeruÎim) prohibited any engagement in "foreign" books and sciences as leading to heresy. In view of the special significance attached by Karaism to the study of the Bible, the Karaites dedicated themselves with great zeal to massoretic and grammatical exegetic studies and must have had a stimulating influence upon Rabbanite scholars. The view of Jewish historians (such as J. Fuerst, S. Pinsker, H. Graetz) that some of the first and most appreciated Jewish massoretes and grammarians (notably Aharon ben Asher), and biblical exegetes had been Karaites, has been discussed again in recent research and probably proven correct.

Karaite missionary activity, while hardly successful, forced the Rabbanites to take note of their existence and combat them. The first prominent Rabbanite to attack the

Karaites was Saadiah Gaon, who at the age of 23 wrote a book (in Hebrew [rhymed] and Arabic versions) attacking Anan. On both sides the battle was waged with great ardor and often with a lack of objectivity; it remained in the main a war of words, but occasionally degenerated into physical violence, or resorted to harsh social measures (excommunication) or intervention by the Muslim authorities. The main targets of Karaite attacks were the anthropomorphisms of the *aggadah* and of Jewish mystical literature and the Rabbanite claims to divine origin of the Oral Law. Karaite literature flourished in most of the areas under Muslim rule – in Egypt, North Africa, and particularly in Ereẓ Israel, in addition to Babylonia and Persia, where Karaism had come into being.

The greatest Karaite mind of the tenth century was Abu Yūsuf Yaʿqūb al-Kirkisānī, whose work on religious law, *Kitāb al-Anwār wa-al-Marāqib*, particularly its opening chapter, represents one of the foremost sources for the history of the Karaite sect. *David b. Boaz, a descendant of Anan, attained great repute as a biblical commentator, and is also said to have composed a work (in Arabic) on the basic doctrines of religion. In the second half of the tenth century, David b. Abraham *Alfasi, a native of Fez (Morocco) who emigrated to Ereẓ Israel, became known as a lexicographer and biblical exegete. At the end of the century *Japheth b. Eli in Jerusalem translated the entire Hebrew Bible into Arabic and added his extensive commentary, becoming the most important Karaite Bible commentator. Japheth's son, Levi b. *Japheth, in addition to Bible commentary, also wrote an important book of precepts (extensive fragments of the Arabic original and the medieval Hebrew translation survived). One of the most active opponents of Rabbanism, and especially of Saadiah Gaon, was *Salmon b. Yeruḥim (mid-tenth century). In a similar vein was the work of *Sahl b. Maṣliaḥ ha-Kohen, a skillful and eloquent Karaite missionary who wrote a commentary on the Pentateuch and was a religious teacher; his Hebrew introduction to his Arabic-language book of precepts contains important information on the Karaite community in Jerusalem.

At that time Jerusalem was the outstanding spiritual centers of Karaism. Among the scholars residing there at the end of the tenth century was *Joseph b. Noah, who gained fame as the head of a religious academy, biblical commentator, and Hebrew grammarian. His pupil, *Abu al-Faraj Hārūn (Aaron b. Jeshua), who lived in the first half of the 11th century, was also a noted grammarian ("the grammarian of Jerusalem"), lexicographer, and biblical exegete. A contemporary scholar was *Nissi b. Noah, a resident of Persia, author of a philosophical commentary on the Ten Commandments. The outstanding Karaite theologian and religious philosopher of the 11th century was Joseph b. Abraham ha-Kohen ha-Ro'eh *al-Baṣīr (Heb. "ha-Ro'eh," euphemistically for "the Blind"), who had also been a disciple of Joseph b. Noah. Al-Baṣīr's religious philosophy was decisively influenced by the teachings of *Kalām; he denounced the extremist interpretations of forbidden marriages (the so-called *rikkuv* theory). His pupil *Jeshua b. Judah (Arabic name: Abu al-Faraj Furqān ibn Asad), the most prolific Karaite writer in the 11th century, became known as a religious teacher and philosopher, as well as a translator of the Bible and an exegete (in the latter capacity he earned the admiration of Abraham *Ibn Ezra). Like his teacher, Jeshua was also an adherent of the philosophy of Kalām, and his opposition to the extension of the categories of forbidden marriages was even greater, and more decisive, than that of Joseph. Jeshua was the last important Karaite scholar in Ereẓ Israel. At the end of the 11th century Karaite literary and scientific work in Ereẓ Israel came to an abrupt end as the result of the First Crusade (1099). When the invading army, under Godfrey of Bouillon, took Jerusalem, some of the members of the Karaite community, with the Rabbanites, were driven into a synagogue and burned alive, while others were taken prisoners and ransomed expensively later. This marked the destruction of the first Karaite community in Jerusalem. Like the Rabbanites, the Karaites returned to Jerusalem after the city had come again under Muslim rule. In the 15th and 16th centuries the community had grown, and for some time even gained control over Samuel's tomb (al-Nabī Samwīl), which had become a very popular site of pilgrimage for Jews and Muslims alike. In 1642, according to the report of the Jewish traveler *Samuel b. David, there were only 27 Karaites living in Jerusalem. In the beginning of the 18th century the Karaites had to leave their residence in Jerusalem for a while, because they had been unable to pay their debts to Rabbanite Jews. In 1744 Samuel ben Abraham, a descendant of a Jerusalemite family, returned with several families from Damascus to the city and renewed the Karaite presence in the Old City. The ever-shrinking community endured until 1948. After 1967 a number of Karaites of Egyptian origin settled in Jerusalem. They maintain the synagogue that is said to have been established by Anan, the old Karaite courtyard in the Old City, and the cemetery in Abu Tor started by Samuel ben Abraham in the 18th century.

12TH TO 16TH CENTURIES: BYZANTIUM AND TURKEY. The decline of Karaism in the East began in the 12th century. No original writer of any significance came to the fore there after the first half of that century, even in the field of religious law. The only exception was in Egypt, where the Karaite communities (mainly in Cairo and Alexandria) still numbered members who possessed considerable financial means and had good political connections, or belonged to the intellectual or professional elite. When *Maimonides took up residence in Cairo their influence, social and religious, decreased, as well as their public standing. Notwithstanding, the Karaite community in Egypt remained the largest in the Islamic east until modern times. Also living in Egypt at this period was Moses b. Abraham *Darʿī, the outstanding Karaite poet of his time. Other Karaite writers who lived in Egypt (mainly in Cairo) in the 12th to 15th centuries, such as *Japheth al-Barqamānī, Japheth ibn Ñaghīr, *Israel ha-Ma'aravi, and *Samuel b. Moses *al-Maghribī, played no independent role in the further development of Karaism. But the Karaites in Egypt, and to a lesser extent in Syria, Erez Israel, Iraq, and Persia continued to collect and study the writings of the Golden Age and to produce new copies. This may explain the very large book collections amassed in Karaite synagogues in these centers.

At the end of the 11th century, the center of Karaite intellectual activity shifted to Europe. This was largely the work of the many European disciples of Jeshua b. Judah, who, upon returning to their homes from Jerusalem, acted as the emissaries of Karaite doctrine. One such propagator of Karaism was Sīdī ibn *al-Tarās, who was active in Spain in strengthening the Karaite, or Ananite presence (which had been there already for about two centuries), and whose wife continued his missionary work after his death. According to the description of Abraham ibn Da'ud in his *Sefer ha-Kabbalah*, after a short while the Castilian government, influenced by the Rabbanites, turned against the Karaites and extirpated the movement in Spain. However, the concentrated polemic of several Spanish writers in the 12th century (e.g., Abraham ibn Da'ud, Judah Ha-Levi, Abraham Ibn Ezra) against Karaism seems to testify that in that time the Karaites were still considered a threat to the Rabbanite hegemony.

In the Byzantine Empire, on the other hand, Karaism succeeded in gaining a firm foothold. A massive Karaite literature of translation came into being here, produced mainly by former disciples of Jeshua b. Judah who, for the most part, were residents of Constantinople. The most eminent among them was *Tobias b. Moses ha-Avel (known as "ha-Oved" [the worshiper] and also as "ha-Maʿtik" [the translator]) whose major work was the translation of the Arabic writings of Jeshua, as well as of Joseph b. Abraham al-Baṣīr. He also wrote a commentary on the Pentateuch, *Oẓar Neḥmad*, based primarily upon the works of David b. Boaz and Japheth b. Ali. The only other name to be preserved is that of *Jacob b. Simeon, one of the most prominent Karaite translators of this period. To this period belongs also the work on Hebrew linguistics entitled *Me'or ʿAyin*, by an anonymous author. It seems to have been based on Arabic works of the Golden Age. It survived in a single MS, copied in 1208 (published by M. Zislin, 1990). Prominent religious scholars and biblical exegetes active in Byzantium in the 12th century were Jacob b. Reuben, author of a Bible commentary, *Sefer ha-Osher*, which consists largely of excerpts from Hebrew translations of works of earlier Karaite authors, especially those of Japheth b. Ali (part of the commentary on the Prophets and the entire commentary on the Writings was printed at the end of the edition of *Mivḥar Yesharim* by Aaron ben Joseph, 1836); Aaron b. Judah *Kusdini (from Constantinople), of whose works there survives only a responsum on marriage laws; and Judah b. Elijah *Hadassi, author of *Eshkol ha-Kofer*, an encyclopedic summary of Karaite theology, one of the most important works of Karaite literature and, undoubtedly, the outstanding Karaite work in Hebrew. Most Byzantine Karaite translations and original works of that period contain a considerable number of Greek glosses, or other phrases, which constitute very important evidence of early Medieval Judeo-Greek.

In the second half of the 13th century, Karaism in the Byzantine Empire entered a period of spiritual florescence. It was in this period that *Aaron b. Joseph ha-Rofe ("Aaron the Elder"), one of the most important Karaite biblical exegetes, was active; highly revered by his coreligionists, he was given the title of "ha-Kadosh" ("the Saint"), most probably for his work in arranging the hitherto unstable Karaite liturgy into an organized ritual, valid to this day. His commentary on the Bible, *Sefer ha-Mivḥar*, is regarded as the classic Karaite work in Bible exegesis; it shows the influence of Abraham ibn Ezra's commentary. *Aaron b. Elijah of Nicomedia ("the Last Aaron"), a codifier, biblical exegete, and religious philosopher who lived in the first half of the 14th century, was regarded by the Karaites as the "Karaite Maimonides"; he was the author of *Gan Eden*, a systematic code of Karaite law and belief, corresponding in its significance for Karaism to the *Turim* by R. *Jacob b. Asher; of *Keter Torah*, a Bible commentary which has enjoyed, for many centuries now, a status and prestige comparable to that of Rashi's commentary among Rabbanites; and of *Eẓ Ḥayyim*, which attempts to refute the Aristotelian views of Maimonides by a religious philosophy, which, while familiar with Aristotelian terminology and concepts, is basically committed to Muʿtazilite Kalām. To the same century belongs *Moses b. Samuel of Damascus, a native of Safed in Ereẓ Israel who moved to Damascus and obtained an appointment as manager of the emir's private estates. In 1354 he was compelled, under threat of execution for allegedly blaspheming Islam, to become a Muslim and to accompany the emir on a pilgrimage to Mecca. What he saw of the pilgrimage rites moved him to flee to Egypt, where he found a kindlier superior in the vizier's office, and he returned to Judaism. Among his poetical works is a description of his forced conversion and pilgrimage.

The conquest of the Byzantine Empire by the Turks in 1453 was followed by a change in the relationship between Rabbanite and Karaite Jews. Some Jews expelled from Spain in 1492 were granted asylum in Turkey, where they were well treated, especially during the reign of *Suleiman the Magnificent. Jewish intellectual life rose to new heights. Jewish schools, synagogues, and printing presses were established, and Jewish scholars no longer confined themselves exclusively to talmudic studies, devoting themselves also to secular sciences – physics, astronomy, mathematics, and medicine. In the 15th and 16th centuries a rapprochement took place between the Karaite and Rabbanite Jews; Rabbanite scholars guided Karaites in the study of Jewish literature and secular sciences, and some, such as *Shemariah b. Elijah Ikriti, Mordecai b. Eliezer *Comtino, and Elijah b. Abraham *Mizraḥi, even accepted Karaites as their students. One of the Karaite students of Comtino was Elijah b. Moses *Bashyazi, the most celebrated Karaite scholar of his time, whom the Karaites regard as "the final decider" *(ha-posek ha-aḥaron)*. His code of law, *Adderet Eliyahu*, became the Karaite counterpart of the rabbinic Shulḥan Arukh. His pupil and brother-in-law, Caleb b. Elijah *Afendopolo, adapted *Adderet Eliyahu* and completed it; a versatile scholar, he himself also composed works on theological and liturgical themes and on secular subjects (mathematics, astronomy, law, philosophy), as well as religious and secular poems, some of which contain references to the expulsion from Spain and from Lithuania and Kiev (1495). A great-grandson of Elijah Bashyazi, Moses b. Elijah *Bashyazi, was the last outstanding Karaite author of this period, and his death also ended the Byzantine chapter in Karaite history (end of the 16th century). His works contain important Arabic quotations from the writings of the earliest Karaite authors, which he had discovered in manuscript in the course of his travels, especially in Egypt. The Byzantine-Turkish Karaite communities, similar to their brethren in Babylonia, Persia, and Egypt, gradually fell into a state of decline, and the center shifted once again to another area.

17TH TO 18TH CENTURIES: KARAITES IN CRIMEA AND LITHUANIA. In the 17th and 18th centuries, Karaite activity shifted to the Crimea and Lithuania, and Karaites in these areas assumed leadership of the sect. The existence of individual Karaites in the Crimea is traced back to the 12th century; *Pethahiah of Regensburg mentions meeting several sectarians among the Turkish nomads occupying parts of southern Russia, who observed the Sabbath in the dark and regarded even the cutting of bread as prohibited on that day. In the 13th century, at the time of the Tatar "Golden Horde," a considerable number of Karaites settled in the Crimea, mainly from the Byzantine Empire, perhaps also from Persia. At the end of the 14th century, according to a Karaite tradition, Grand Duke Witold of Lithuania, after defeating the Tatars (1392), carried a large group of Tatar prisoners, including some Karaite families, to *Troki (near Vilna), *Lutsk, and *Halicz, and settled them there. It seems more probable that the Karaites were brought or invited by Witold to Troki to help him develop the economy, rather than as prisoners, and that Karaites arrived in Lutsk and Halicz from Troki or somewhere else, early in the 15th century. From there the Karaites spread to other towns in Lithuania, Volhynia, and Podolia. Polish-Lithuanian Karaites continued to speak "Tatar" (actually a few different Turkish dialects) and translated the prayers into their language.

East European Karaites established firm contacts with their Byzantine coreligionists. Thus, letters have been preserved which were exchanged between the Karaites in Lutsk and Troki, and Elijah Bashyazi in Constantinople; the latter also had Lithuanian Karaites among his pupils. The Karaites living in the Crimea under Tatar rule were unable to engage in any intellectual and scientific activities; but their brethren in Lithuania benefited from their contact with the Rabbanite Jews in that area, which in the second half of the 16th century entered a period of spiritual renaissance. The first important Karaite author in Lithuania was Isaac b. Abraham *Troki (1533–1594), who wrote an anti-Christian treatise, *Ḥizzuk Emunah* (first published, with Latin translation, by Wagenseil in his work *Tela ignea Satanae*, in 1681). The final compilation of the book was the work of Isaac Troki's pupil, Joseph b. Mordecai *Malinovski, who also wrote several works of his own. Joseph's brother, Zephaniah Malinovski, wrote a treatise on the calendar. A contemporary of the Malinovski brothers, *Zerah b. Nathan of Troki, was well versed in both the natural sciences and rabbinic literature; in his letters to Joseph *Delmedigo, he raised 70 questions, mainly of mathematical-astronomical content, and this prompted Delmedigo to write *Elim* and *Iggeret Aḥuz*. At the time of the *Chmielnicki massacres in 1648, the Karaites, for the most part, suffered the same fate as the Rabbanite Jews; in general the relations between the two groups were quite good in this period. One effect of the persecution of the Jews and Karaites was to arouse interest in the Karaite sect among Christian scholars; another was the creation of an apologetic historiography on the part of Lithuanian Karaites. Among the Christian works on the Karaites that appeared in this period were *Epistola de Karaitarum rebus in Lithuania* (1691), by Gustav Peringer, a professor at Upsala; *Diatribe de Secta Karaeorum* (1703), by Jacob Trigland in Holland; and *Notitia Karaeorum* (1721), by Johann Christoph Wolf of Hamburg. Around 1700, at the request of two Swedish scholars, the Karaite scholar *Solomon b. Aaron Troki wrote a treatise on Karaism and its major differences with Rabbanite Judaism, under the title of *Appiryon Asah Lo*. The same author also composed polemics against Rabbanite Judaism and Christianity. In 1699, Mordecai b. Nisan *Kukizow wrote two treatises on Karaism; one, entitled *Dod Mordekhai*, was written in reply to inquiries submitted to him by Trigland, while the second, a smaller work, entitled *Levush Mordekhai*, sought to answer questions posed by King Charles XII of Sweden. In writing *Dod Mordekhai*, Mordecai b. Nisan was assisted by *Joseph b. Samuel ha-Mashbir, a relative; the latter also wrote many other works, including *Porat Yosef*, a valuable book on grammar. Born in Lithuania, Joseph became *ḥakham* of Halicz, Galicia, in about 1700 (thereby starting a dynasty of *ḥakhamim* and *ḥazzanim*) and was instrumental in raising the cultural standard of the Karaites in the area.

In the second half of the 18th century, the Crimean Karaites also entered upon a period of literary and scientific activity, profiting from a close connection with Lithuanian Karaites and the immigration of a group of Karaite scholars from Lutsk (Volhynia). Hitherto Crimean Karaites, who maintained fairly large communities in four major cities of the peninsula and were living under favorable economic conditions, had suffered from a lack of religious leaders and teachers (*ḥakhamim*, *ḥazzanim*, and *melammedim*). Outstanding among the group from Lutsk was Simḥah Isaac b. Moses *Luzki, a prolific author, who settled in *Chufut-Kale in 1750. Two of his numerous works appeared in print in the 18th and 19th centuries: *Or ha-Ḥayyim*, a philosophical commentary on *Eẓ Ḥayyim* by Aaron b. Elijah of Nicomedia (together with the text, Eupatoria, 1847) and *Oraḥ Ẓaddikim*, a history of Karaism with an apologist tendency, which also contains the first attempt at a Karaite bibliography (together with *Dod Mordekhai* by Mordecai b. Nisan Kukizow, Vienna, 1830). Several other works have appeared in recent years.

UNDER RUSSIAN RULE: LEGAL SEPARATION FROM RABBANITES. A new epoch in the history of the Karaites was opened by the incorporation of Lithuania and Crimea (1793 and 1783, respectively) into Russia. Until then, the external history of the Karaites had been similar, and parallel, to that of the Rabbanite Jews; both considered each other as Jews and regarded even the most violent polemics between them as an internal Jewish quarrel. Wherever the Karaites had taken up residence, they had been treated as Jews. For example, a decree issued by Grand Duke Witold in 1388 describes the Karaites of Troki as "Judaei Trocenses" and grants them the same special legal status as that accorded to Jews of Brest-Litovsk and other Lithuanian communities. The decree was reconfirmed by King Sigismund I of Poland in 1507, for both Karaite and Rabbanite Jews in Lithuania. In 1495, Grand Duke Alexander expelled both Jews and Karaites from Lithuania, and both were admitted into Poland by his brother, King John Albert. John's successor, Alexander, in turn permitted the return of both Jews and Karaites to Lithuania. During the Chmielnicki persecutions, hardly any difference was made between the two groups. In Lithuania, Poland, and Volhynia, the state taxes payable by Jews and Karaites had to be remitted in a lump sum; the Karaites would hand their taxes over to the Rabbanite Jews, and these would add their own taxes and transmit the whole sum to the government. Under the Tatar khans and the Ottoman Turks, Rabbanite Jews and Karaites in the Crimea also had the same legal status. It was only at the end of the 18th century, when Russia conquered the Crimea, that a difference in status was made between Rabbanite Jews and Karaites under the law. In 1795, Empress Catherine II relieved the Karaites of the double tax imposed upon the Jews, and also permitted them to acquire land. Thus the 1795 law created a wall of separation between Jews and Karaites, each group enjoying civil rights to a different degree (although legislative decrees continued to refer to Karaites as "Jews").

Inequality before the law of the two groups was further expanded in 1827, when the Crimean Karaites, like the Crimean Tatars, were exempted from the general military draft law enacted by Czar Nicholas I, a privilege that was not extended to the Jews. In 1828, exemption from military service was also granted to the Karaites of Lithuania and Volhynia. In their attempts to improve their legal status, Russian Karaite leaders had at first refrained from resorting to attacks upon Rabbanite Jews; this policy was changed in 1835, when the Karaites, in appeals and memoranda to the Russian government, began to stress their fundamental difference from other Jews, namely their refusal to accept the validity of the Talmud. They also claimed to possess qualities which distinguished them from other Jews: that, contrary to the Rabbanites, they were industrious people, honest in their behavior and loyal to the throne. In 1835 they succeeded in having the Rabbanite Jews of Troki expelled from the town, on the basis of ancient Lithuanian privileges which granted them the sole right of settlement there. They also achieved a change in their official designation; instead of "Jews-Karaites" they first came to be called "Russian Karaites of the Old Testament Faith," and eventually simply "Karaites." The special legal status accorded to Karaites, as compared with the other Jews, was also influenced by the difference in their social and economic situation. Whereas the Jews in the Crimea were mainly peddlers and artisans, the Karaites were wealthy landowners, deriving their income from tobacco plantations, orchards, and salt mines, and maintaining good relations with the authorities. In 1840 the Karaites were put on an equal footing with the Muslims, and were granted an independent church statute. Two dioceses were established, each headed by a *ḥakham*, with residences at *Feodosiya (Crimea) and Troki respectively; the *ḥakhamim* were laymen, elected by delegates from all Karaite communities. Each community also elected its *ḥazzan*, who performed religious functions and served as an assistant to the *ḥakham*. Finally, in 1863, the Karaites were given rights equal to those of the native Russian population.

The last Karaite spiritual leader under Tatar rule was Benjamin b. Samuel *Aga (d. 1824), who continued to hold his post – albeit unofficially – under Russian rule. A contemporary, Isaac b. *Solomon of Chufut-Kale, attempted to introduce a reform of the Karaite calendar and wrote a treatise on the subject, *Or ha-Levanah* (1872); he was also the author of *Iggeret Pinnat Yikrat* (1834, 1872), a treatise on the Karaite dogmas, and composed liturgical poems. Simḥah *Babovich, the first Karaite *ḥakham* to be recognized as such by the Russian government, played a major role in the political history of Russian Karaism and in the drafting of its statute as an autonomous congregation. In 1827 he was a member of the two-man delegation of Crimean Karaites (the other member being the Karaite scholar Joseph Solomon b. Moses *Luzki), which succeeded in persuading the Russian government in St. Petersburg to exempt Karaites from military service. Luzki wrote many works dealing with *halakhah*, the most important of which was a commentary on *Sefer ha-Mivḥar* by Aaron b. Joseph, published under the title *Ṭirat Kesef* (1835). Luzki's views were opposed by David b. Mordecai *Kukizow (1777–1855), a great-grandson of Mordecai b. Nisan, who was the author of *Ẓemaḥ David*, a theological work (1897). Mordecai b. Joseph *Sultansky, a versatile writer, composed works on theology, history, and grammar; one of his pupils was the *ḥakham* and writer Solomon b. Abraham *Beim.

The most eminent Karaite scholar of the 19th century, however, and the most active champion of the Karaite struggle for civil rights, was Abraham b. Samuel *Firkovich (1787–1874) whose advent upon the scene opened a new chapter in Karaite historiography. Notwithstanding the numerous forgeries, tendentious quasi-discoveries, and unfounded hypotheses which mar Firkovich's writings (later to be refuted by Jewish scholars), Karaite historical studies, as well as Jewish studies, undoubtedly owe him a great debt of gratitude. During his travels in the Crimea, the Caucasus, Ereẓ Israel, Syria, and Egypt, he discovered many works of Rabbanite and Karaite literature which had been presumed lost. His collection of valuable Jewish manuscripts is the largest in the world of its kind. After his death his heirs sold it to the then Imperial Library, presently Russian National Library in St. Petersburg. Firkovich was the last Karaite writer of any importance; after his death, Karaite learning declined. Mention should be made, however, of several authors who exerted influence on Karaite spiritual life, writing in Hebrew, Tatar, and Russian: Samuel Pigit, *ḥazzan* in Yekaterinoslav (1849 – 1911), who composed homilies and poems in Hebrew (*Iggeret Niddeḥei Shemuel*, 1894) and a book of sermons in Tatar (*Davar Davur*, 1904); Elijah *Kazaz of Eupatoria (1832–1912), author of a Hebrew textbook, in Tatar (*Regel ha-Yeladim*) and translator of French philosophical works into Hebrew (Janet, Vigouroux, and others); Isaac Sinani, author of a biased history of Karaism, in Russian (2 vols, 1888–89); and Judah *Kukizow who wrote several works in Russian.

NUMBERS OF KARAITES. Toward the end of the 19th century the number of Karaites did not increase significantly. In 1783, when the Crimea was conquered by the Russians, there were 2,400 Karaites in Russia; according to official figures, their number (including all areas of former Poland and Lithuania) had grown to 9,725 in 1879, 12,894 in 1897, and 12,907 in 1910. In 1932 the number of Karaites in Russia (mainly in the Crimea) was estimated at 10,000. In 1910 a Karaite synod, held in Eupatoria, made an attempt to relax the Karaite marriage laws, which, however, was unsuccessful, as it was opposed by Karaite clerics in Troki, Constantinople, and Cairo. In 1911 Karaite students at the University of Moscow sought to inaugurate a Karaite renaissance and founded a Karaite monthly, in Russian, named *Karaimskaya Zhizn*; it had to close down before the year was over. In 1913–14 a Russian-language Karaite periodical, *Karaimskoye Slovo*, was published in Vienna, and in 1924 a Polish-language periodical, *Myśl Karaimska*, was founded, also in Vienna, which contained scholarly articles and reports on Karaite life.

In 1932 the number of Karaites outside Russia, in Poland (Halicz, Troki, Vilna), Constantinople, Jerusalem, Cairo, and Hit (on the Euphrates), was estimated at 2,000 (but this number seems to low, considering the fact that in 1877 their number in Egypt alone was recorded at 2,000). The total number of Karaites in the world was approximately 12,000. After World War I Vilna became a new center of Karaite life, and it was there that attempts were made at a reorganization of the Karaite sect. In 1932, the Polish Ministry of Culture and Education gave its provisional approval to the election of Serayah *Shapshal, a former senior Russian official, as *ḥakham* of Troki and spiritual leader of the Polish Karaites. On Jan. 9, 1939, the German Ministry of the Interior expressly stipulated that the Karaites did not belong to the Jewish religious community; their "racial psychology" was considered non-Jewish. This decision was subsequently applied to France. In Eastern Europe the Nazi *Einsatzgruppen* during World War II received orders to spare the Karaites, who enjoyed favorable treatment and were given positions of trust and authority with the German occupation authorities. On Oct. 6, 1942, the ruling of Jan. 9, 1939, was extended to the Crimea and the Ukraine, where the majority of Karaites lived. The Karaite question continued to be debated by the German authorities who queried the Rabbanite scholars Zelig *Kalmanovitch, Meir S. *Balaban, and Itzhak *Schipper on the origin of the Karaites. In order to save them, all three gave the opinion that the Karaites were not of Jewish origin. The behavior of the Karaites during the Holocaust period vacillated between indifference to the Jewish cause and some cases of actual collaboration with the Germans. No adequate study, however, has been made on this subject. In the Arab countries, on the other hand, the persecution of Jews which followed upon the establishment of the State of Israel caused the Karaites in Egypt and Iraq to settle in Israel, where they were welcomed and enabled to settle in compact groups, and were given government assistance in establishing themselves economically and in providing for their religious and educational needs.

CONTEMPORARY KARAITE LIFE. The Karaites came to Israel essentially in two waves: following the Suez Canal crisis (Operation Kadesh) in 1956 and in 1962. They first settled mainly in the Ramleh area and from there spread to other areas. Presently they live mostly in the following areas: Ashdod (the largest community), Ramleh district (the seat of the "World Center" and the central library and archives), Bat-Yam, Kiryat Gat, Ofakim, Rannen, Beersheba, and Acre. From the 1970s, the Karaite community in Israel has grown in numbers and has seen the consolidation of its institutions. According to their own estimate there are 30,000 Karaites in Israel. The actual number is probably lower. The major force behind this Karaite strengthening was Chief Rabbi Haim Hallevi of Ashdod. For many years, Hallevi had been acting chief rabbi of the Israeli Karaites, becoming chief rabbi in title, as well as in fact, with the death of Chief Rabbi David ben Moses Yerushalmi, in 1987. (Yerushalmi became chief rabbi in 1976, having succeeded the late Shelomo ben Shabbetai Nono.) Since 1991 Elijah Marzouk from Ofakim has been chief rabbi of the Karaites in Israel. In addition to the chief rabbi, lsrael's Karaites are served by 15 other rabbis and a larger number of *hazzanim*. Some of the rabbis function also as ritual slaughterers and circumcisers. There are additional slaughterers and circumcisers, although Rabbanite practitioners are often called in. Many books for their use have been published recently, including a complete prayer book, Bashyazi's *Adderet Eliyahu*, and Aaron ben Elijah's *Keter Torah*.

The majority of Israeli Karaites are of Egyptian origin. A small number came from Hit (Iraq). After the breakup of the Soviet Union an unknown number of Karaites emigrated from there to Israel. Not all of them identify as Karaites. Israeli Karaites have had difficulty maintaining their religious customs and their independent identity since immigrating to Israel, mostly in the 1950s. There are two basic problems. On the one hand, they have encountered many of the same phenomena of secularization as have confronted other traditional Jewish groups from Islamic countries. On the other hand, there are strong forces of assimilation into the general Rabbanite Jewish community. For instance, since the Karaite holidays do not always coincide with those of most Israeli Jews, demands of work, army, and school make it difficult for many Karaites to continue their own customs. While Ḥanukkah is not considered a religious holiday by Karaites, it is often observed anyway as an Israeli national holiday. Though Karaism has its own laws of ritual slaughter, many Karaites are satisfied with the meat produced under Rabbanite supervision, which is more easily available. Some Karaites try to avoid any possibility of stigmatization by severing their ties with the Karaite community completely.

The Karaite leadership in Israel has tried to maintain the loyalty of their faithful by promoting various religious, cultural, and educational activities. Children participate in after school classes (there are no independent Karaite public schools) and summer camps. It is still too early to determine how successful these measures are. Some of the questions of Karaite assimilation and acculturation have been investigated by Emanuela Trevisan Semi, especially in her *Gli ebrei caraiti tra etnia e religione*, 1984 (which also deals with non-Israeli Karaites), and by Sumi E. Colligan in her dissertation, *Religion, Nationalism, and Ethnicity in Israel: The Case of the Karaite Jews*, 1980.

Although the Karaites are not fully recognized by Israeli law as a separate community, due to a decision by the Supreme Court (1995) their separate *bet din* is binding on members of the community in matters of marriage and divorce. According to Karaite legal usage in recent times, they disapprove of intermarriage with the rest of the Jewish population. According to the current usage in Rabbinic courts in Israel, the Karaites are permitted to intermarry with the rest of the Jewish population on condition that the Karaite member of the couple is willing formally to accept Rabbanism. Not all Rabbanite rabbis, however, are prepared to accept such intermarriages because of the problems of *mamzerut* (see **mamzer*). Karaites maintain de facto, but not de jure, authority over intra-Karaite marriage and uncontested divorce. These issues are discussed by Michael Corinaldi in his *The Personal Status of the Karaites in Israel*, 1984; Y. Shapira, in: *Meḥkerei Mishpat*, 19:1 (2002), 285–361 (both Heb.).

In 1983, the Karaite Jews of America were incorporated as a religious organization. Karaites claim that there are at least 1,200, and perhaps as many as 10,000, Karaite Jews of Egyptian origin in the United States, most of whom live in the San Francisco Bay Area of California. The Karaites in that region conduct services, either in private homes or monthly at a Conservative synagogue in Foster City. Other small concentrations of American Karaites are found in the New York and Chicago areas. There appears to be strong evidence of Americanization of this community.

The Karaites of Turkey are grouped particularly in Istanbul, but their deep religious attachment has led many to Israel in order to find Karaite mates to marry. Those who marry non-Karaite Jews or partners from other communities are automatically segregated from the community and constitute a loss for the Istanbul community, which numbers 50–60 families.

In recent years, many young Karaites have studied medicine, while others have tended towards craftsmanship such as jewelry. In some cases the jewelry artisanship is handed down from father to son and practiced in the Covered Bazaar in Istanbul. One Covered Bazaar street is called "The Street of the Karaites." Similarly, an important business center of Istanbul has retained its name – "Karaköy."

Following the destruction by fire of the great Karaite Synagogue, the Karaites have been using the Hasky Karaite Synagogue. This is the last available and usable Karaite sanctuary. Because their dwellings (Moda, Şişli, Nişantaşl, Gayrettepe, etc.) are far away from the synagogue, Karaites are not able to attend as frequently as previously. The synagogue, led by Yusuf Sadik, never witnesses three generations attending together. Only during rare religious holidays do a few Karaites, usually elderly, come to pray. Nevertheless, the Karaites continue to survive and strive to maintain their numbers.

There are still a few Karaites in Cairo, mostly older people who look after the Karaite synagogue and precious manuscripts.

In 1970, 4,571 Karaites were reported to be in the Soviet Union. Following the breakup of the Soviet bloc and the Soviet Union, some awakening of Karaite identity and activity took place in these countries. According to a report by Mourad El-Qodsi (resident of Rochester, N.Y., originally from Egypt), who visited the Karaite communities of Eastern Europe in 1991, the overall number of Karaites there was approximately 1,400, with 800 of them living in the Crimea, and the rest in Poland (in Warsaw, Gdansk and Wroclaw), Lithuania (in Vilna, Poniewiez and Troki), Halicz (Ukraine) and Moscow. In Russia there appeared a "Karaite National Movement," which also attempted to achieve an autonomous political status for Russian Karaites. Similar attempts have been made by Crimean Karaites. The majority of the latter also developed the ideas of Seraya *Shapshal to unprecedented extremes, severing all links to Judaism (which was also accepted in Western Europe by Simon *Szyszman), and tracing their ethnic origin to Mongol-Turkic roots and their religion to Turkish pagan practices and the cult of the Turkic deity Tengri. Most of the minority of Crimean Karaites who did not share this line emigrated to Israel, as did Karaites from other eastern European communities, which brought a further decrease in their numbers.

Scholarship on Karaism and the Karaites

The Israeli Karaite community has been active in editing previously unpublished Karaite works or reissuing unavailable classics. These works included among others Aaron ben Elijah's *Keter Torah* and *Gan Eden* (both reissued, 1972), Isaac Troki's *Hizzuk Emunah* (1975), Caleb Afendopolo's *Patshegen Ketav ha-Dat* (1977). All these were semi-critical editions. A major Karaite project of publishing semi-critical editions of tens of works by medieval and early modern Karaite authors has been undertaken in recent years by the Institute Tif'eret Yosef headed by Rabbi Yosef Algamil. The latter also published a multi-volume work on Karaite history and life. The first two volumes discuss in general the history of Karaism and Karaites, and the third volume is devoted to the Karaite community of Egypt. While characterized by a partisan Karaite interpretation of Karaite origins and history, these books contain much material about Karaism unavailable elsewhere. The personal accounts of Karaite communities and the many illustrations are especially important. Another recent one-sided exposition of Karaism is by the Paris-based Polish Karaite Simon *Szyszman, *Le Karaïsme*, 1980 (German tr. *Das Karäertum,* 1983). Szyszman has also begun a journal entitled *Bulletin d'Études Karaïtes.*

Leon *Nemoy continued to publish in the 1970s until the early 1990s on the subject almost 60 years after his first article on Kirkisani. His many publications during these years, ranging from early Karaism (and Kirkisani studies) to contemporary Karaism, have contributed greatly to Karaite studies. In honor of Nemoy's eightieth birthday, two Festschriften were published (*Studies in Judaica, Karaitica, and Islamica*, 1983, and *Jewish Quarterly Review* 73:2, October 1982), both with articles about many aspects of Karaism.

Georges *Vajda (d. 1981), in addition to his many publications in all fields of Jewish and Islamic thought, took special interest in early Karaite philosophy, law, and exegesis (see below).

The one question of Karaite studies which continues to intrigue scholars more than any other is the issue of Karaite origins and the possible relation between medieval sectarianism and Jewish groups of the Second Temple period. The issue, simply put, is whether Karaism was founded in the eighth century by *Anan ben David, or whether Anan merely reorganized and consolidated non-Rabbinic groups which had existed for hundreds of years. The discovery in 1947 of the *Dead Sea Scrolls, with certain obvious parallels to Karaite literature, occasioned a flurry of research comparing the ancient scrolls with medieval writings. While more and more parallels have been adduced between apocryphal and Qumranian literature, on the one hand, and Karaism, on the other, there is yet no decisive proof that an organic connection can be shown between Second Temple groups and Karaites. N. Wieder's *The Judean Scrolls and Karaism* appeared in 2005 in a revised expanded edition. A recent comprehensive contribution on the subject is Y. Erder, *The Karaite Mourners of Zion and the Qumran Scrolls*, (2004, Heb.). The latter work is representative of a revival of Karaite studies, especially in Israel, since the early 1970s. Studies have addressed a wide range of subjects related to Karaites and Karaism. Most scholars no longer accept the simplistic Rabbanite view of Karaism as a schismatic heresy begun by a single disgruntled individual, Anan. Some of the scholars who have addressed themselves recently to these issues are Haggai Ben-Shammai, Daniel Lasker, Yoram Erder, and Moshe Gil (who has also published *The Tustaris, Family and Sect*, 1981, about a sub-group of Karaites).

A large scale survey of "the state of the art" of Karaite studies is Meira Polliack (ed.), *Karaite Judaism: A Guide to Its History and Literary Sources*, (2003).

Research in Karaite exegesis and religious thought in recent decades included Georges Vajda, *Deux commentaires karaïtes sur l'Ecclésiaste* (1971) and his edition of Joseph *al-Baṣīr's *Kitāb al-MuÎtawī* (edited by David R. Blumenthal). The book includes an edition of the original Arabic text and French translations or paraphrases, accompanied by extensive commentaries showing al-Baṣīr's dependence on contemporary Muslim Kalām, especially the works of ʿAbd al-Jabbār. Uriel Simon, *Four Approaches to the Book of Psalms*, 1982, based his discussion of the Karaite approach upon the opinions of Salmon and Japheth. Haggai Ben-Shammai presented Japheth's (and Kirkisani's) philosophy in his dissertation, *The Doctrines of Religious Thought of Abû Yûsuf Yaʿqûb al-Qirqisânî and Yefet ben ʿElî*, 1977. Moshe Sokolow's dissertation, *The Commentary of Yefet ben Ali on Deuteronomy xxxii*, 1974, provides an Arabic edition and Hebrew translation of part of Japheth's Torah commentary. Mention should be made of the studies of Bruno Chiesa, notably Bruno Chiesa and Wilfrid Lockwood, *Yaʿqub al-Qirqisani on Jewish Sects and Christianity* (1984). Mention should be made also of Daniel Franks contributions: his Ph.D. thesis "The religious philosophy of the Karaite Aaron ben Elijah: the problem of divine justice" (1991), and *Search Scripture Well: Karaite Exegetes and the Origins of the Jewish Bible Commentary in the Islamic East* (2004).

In the area of Karaite Arabic Bible translations, M. Polliack dedicated a monograph to *The Karaite Tradition of Arabic Bible Translation* (1997). Further, in the area of exegesis and linguistics, mention should be made of the works of Geoffrey Khan, who published *The Early Karaite Tradition of Hebrew grammatical thought: including a critical edition, translation and analysis of the Diqduq of 'Abu Ya'qub Yusuf ibn Nuh on the Hagiographa* (2000) as well as the grammatical compendium of Abu 'l-Faraj Hārūn, *al-Kitāb al-Kāfī* (together with M. Angeles Gallego, J. Olszowy-Schlanger, 2003), and the studies of Aharon Maman.

Haggai ben-Shammai's and David Sklare's publications concerning early Karaite authors and their philosophies (Daniel ben Moses *al-Qūmisī, Kirkisani, Japheth ben Ali, *Jeshua ben Judah) have also shown the Kalamic milieu of these Karaite thinkers. Daniel J. Lasker's studies of late Karaite philosophy (Judah *Hadassi, *Aaron ben Elijah, Elijah *Bashyazi) have challenged the widely held assumption that Karaites invariably remained loyal to the early Karaite Kalamic thought. In fact, Aaron ben Elijah was greatly influenced by Aristotelianism, and Bashyazi was a follower of Maimonides. Mention should also be made of Sarah Stroumsa's dissertation edition of David *al-Mukammis' *ʿIshrūn Maqāla*, 1983, though it is unclear if the latter was indeed a Karaite.

Two large scale projects of Karaite studies have been undertaken at the Ben-Zvi Institute for the Study of Jewish

Communities in the East: (a) The most comprehensive bibliography ever compiled on Karaites and Karaism, including texts and studies, was prepared by B. Walfish (containing over 7,000 entries) and is scheduled to appear in 2006. (b) In the Center for the Study of Judeo-Arabic Culture and Literature, the cataloguing of the Judeo-Arabic manuscripts of the Firkovich Collection (over 9,000 items) has been under way. So far several thousand manuscripts have been catalogued and two printed catalogues have appeared, of manuscripts of writings by al-Baṣīr (1997), and of Japheth ben Eli's commentary on Genesis (2000).

Karaite ethnomusicology has been investigated extensively by Jehoash Hirshberg, who has compared the changes that have taken place in Egyptian Karaite musical traditions in Israel and in the United States. Rachel Kollender has specialized in Karaite liturgical music. Both authors have noted the role music has played in preserving Karaite identity.

The fate of Karaites during the Holocaust has been discussed recently by Warren P. Green and Shmuel Spector. All evidence seems to point to the conclusion that, while individual groups of Karaites were murdered, generally the Nazis regarded European Karaites as a Tataric group similar to other Crimeans.

Other scholars who have been engaged in Karaite research include the late Alexander Scheiber, Philip E. Miller, Giuliano Tamami, William Brinner, and Jonathan Shunari.

A major desideratum of Karaite studies is an intensified effort towards the publication of critical editions of Karaite texts, many of which remain either in manuscript or in inferior printed editions.

[Daniel J. Lasker and Eli Citonne / Haggai Ben-Shammai (2nd ed.)]

Karaite Doctrine

PRINCIPLES OF HERMENEUTICS AND LEGAL THOUGHT. In principle, the Bible in its entirety is the sole source of Karaite creed and law. All religious precepts must derive directly from the Bible, based upon the literal meaning of the text, the customary use of the words and the context. Tradition is accepted, provided it is indispensable for the application of precepts contained in the text, for the clarification of ambiguities, or to make up for deficiencies in the concrete details of precepts; it must not be at variance, explicit or implicit, with any Biblical statement, and it must have the general consensus of the (Karaite) community; even so, however, its role remains restricted and subordinate. Certain rabbinic laws are accepted, not as valid components of the Oral Law transmitted by the Rabbanites, but as clarifying prescriptions, indicated in the text and reinforced by custom and tradition (*sevel ha-yerushah*, "yoke of inheritance"; *ha'akah*. "transmission"). For the rest, every scholar must study Scripture for himself, and, if urged to do so by his own knowledge and conscience, alter earlier opinions. Thus, Karaite doctrine is characterized, on the one hand, by rigidity and immutability of tradition, and, on the other hand, by an absence of restrictions on individual understanding of the Scriptures.

In the initial period of the development of Karaism (ninth century), it was the individualist trend that predominated, resulting in an almost anarchic state of affairs. This situation in Karaism of an infinite variety of opinions, as it existed until the middle of the tenth century, is reported on by al-Kirkisānī, who also attempts to explain and justify it by the principle of a free conception of Scriptures based on human reason (see above). Eventually, Karaite doctrine underwent a process of systemization and unification and an alternative tradition(s) to the Rabbanite one (as was Anan's tradition in the beginning); in its essentials, this process was developed at the time of Judah Hadassi (middle of the 12th century), achieving its final form at the time of Elijah Bashyazi (end of 15th century).

The following principles were established as norms for the determination of the law:

(1) the literal meaning of the biblical text (*ketav, mishma*, Arabic *samʿ*);

(2) the consensus of the community (*ʿedah, kibbuẓ*, Arabic *ijmāʿ*);

(3) the conclusions derived from Scripture by the method of logical analogy (*hekkesh*, Arabic *qiyās*);

(4) knowledge based on human reason and intelligence (*ḥokhmat ha-daʿat*, Arabic *ʿaql*); this latter principle, however, was not universally accepted by Karaite scholars. The principle of logical analogy was applied in its broadest sense and encompassed inference based upon analogy of words (*gezerah shavah*), upon induction (*hekkesh ha-ḥippus*), and upon analogy of notions (e.g., in respect of the prohibition of *kil'ayim*, and others). Judah Hadassi established not less than 80 different hermeneutical rules, including those applied by the Talmud (*Eshkol ha-Kofer*, nos. 114, 168–73). The hermeneutical rules most widely applied (especially with regard to marriage laws and degrees of consanguinity) are:

(1) analogous interpretation of juxtaposed words and passages (*semukhin*);

(2) inferences drawn a fortiori (*kal va-ḥomer*);

(3) interpreting a general principle on the basis of individual examples (*kelal u-ferat*; *perat u-khelal*; *kelal u-ferat u-khelal*), as well as all kinds of subsumption under a general principle (*binyan av*, etc.);

(4) extensive interpretation of a notion (*hagbarah*);

(5) a variety of rules for the interpretation of special words and grammatical peculiarities (e.g., the hermeneutical interpretation of the particles *et* and *kol* in the expansive sense, and of *akh*, *rak*, and *min* in the restrictive sense).

CREED. Apart from its fundamental stand on the Oral Law, Karaite creed does not differ in its essentials from that of Rabbanite Judaism. In its early stages normative beliefs had been formulated already by Daniel al-Qumisi, and reflect Kalam-oriented theology. Later creeds in Arabic and Hebrew were also based on the same principles. A list of ten articles of faith was formulated by Judah Hadassi (mid-12th century). In the late Middle Ages the philosophical foundation of Karaite creed was established in *Eẓ Ḥayyim*, the work of Aaron b. Elijah of Nicomedia, which the Karaites recognized as authoritative. Elijah Bashyazi and his pupil Caleb Afendopolo formulated the philosophy of the Karaite creed in ten principles (which are somewhat different from those of Hadassi):

(1) God created the whole physical and spiritual world in time, out of nothing;

(2) He is a creator who Himself was not created;

(3) He is formless, One in every respect, incomparable to anything, incorporeal, unique, and absolutely unitary;

(4) He sent our teacher Moses (this presumes belief in the Prophets);

(5) He sent us the Torah through Moses which contains the perfect truth (which cannot be complemented or altered by any other law, specifically not by the Oral Law recognized by the Rabbanites);

(6) every believer must learn to know the Torah in its original language and with its proper meaning (*mikra* and *perush*);

(7) God also revealed Himself to the other Prophets (although their gift of prophecy was less than that of Moses);

(8) God will resurrect the dead on the day of judgment;

(9) God rewards every man according to his way of life and his actions (individual providence, freedom of will, immortality of the soul, and just reward in the hereafter);

(10) God does not despise those living in exile; on the contrary, He desires to purify them through their sufferings, and they may hope for His help every day and for redemption by Him through the Messiah of the seed of David. (In some earlier Karaite creeds, e.g., Hadassi, the doctrine of the Messiah is omitted.)

LAW. Unlike Rabbanite Judaism, Karaism has no fixed number of commandments (of commission or omission). Karaite legal doctrine does not, of course, even approach rabbinic Judaism in its multi-faceted development. The calendar (including Sabbath and holidays), laws of marriage, dietary laws, and precepts on ritual purity have received the most intensive treatment in Karaism, usually in a strictly literal sense and with a tendency toward greater severity.

CALENDAR AND HOLIDAYS. The calendar was the subject by which the Karaites distinguished themselves from the Rabbanites. It was also the subject of much dispute among the Karaites. In principle the calculation of the Karaite calendar was based on lunar observation, and observation of the barley for the purpose of intercalation. By the middle of the 19th century the use of mathematical calculation, in addition to visual observation of the new moon, was accepted, following the lead of *Isaac ben Solomon, at least by the majority of the Crimean Karaites. Like the Rabbanite calendar, the Karaite calendar is based on the calculation of the new moon. Karaites also recognize the 19-year cycle with seven leap months of 29 days each; determination of the beginning of the month, however, in addition to being based upon the calculation of the moment of the appearance of the new moon (*molad*) and its location in accordance with special tables, also depends upon direct observation of the new moon. Thus, if direct lunar observation is made on the eve of the 30th day of the month, the following day becomes the day of the new moon; otherwise, the 31st day becomes the day of the new moon and the preceding month is determined to have had 30 days. The month of Nisan is regarded as the first month of the calendar year. In practice, however, following the tables of Bashyazi, the calendar is calculated in advance, by approximation (*haqrava*), as though the new moon was observed. In Israel, in order to emphasize this "approximation," observations are conducted in advance, in the spring, and accordingly the calendar of the following year (starting in the month of Tishri) is printed. Rabbi Samuel Magdi has been trying for several years to introduce mathematical calculation in principle, so far without success.

In determining the date of the holy days, Karaites deviate from Rabbanite usage in the following manner: the New Year Festival may begin on any day of the week (contrary to the Rabbanite rule, which provides for the postponement of the day of the New Year in three specific cases); as a result, the Karaite Day of Atonement does not always coincide with the Rabbanite; Passover and Sukkot (Feast of Tabernacles) are observed everywhere in the world for seven days only; the Feast of Weeks (Shavuot) falls on the 50th day following the Saturday of the Passover week (in accordance with the literal interpretation of Lev. 23:11, which the Talmud interprets in a different manner), and is therefore always on a Sunday; Ḥanukkah is not recognized, but Purim is, although the Fast of Esther is not; the Fast of Gedaliah is observed on the 24th of Tishri (as it was by the exiles returning from Babylon). Other fast days, with the exception of the Tenth of Tevet, are also observed on dates that differ from the rabbinic fast days (Karaites relate the fast days to the destruction of the First Temple, not the Second Temple).

Special rules apply to the sanctification of the Sabbath. Prohibition of work extends, beyond the 39 actions proscribed by Rabbanite Judaism, to any action not forming part of the prayer service or not absolutely necessary for nourishment or the satisfaction of other physical human needs. The earlier Karaite teachers (up to Jeshua b. Judah), like the *Samaritans and the *Beta Israel, prohibited the kindling of lights on Friday for use on the Sabbath (see *Eshkol ha-Kofer*, no. 146), and even taught that a light already lit had to be extinguished on the Sabbath; Jeshua b. Judah and his successors, however, taught that light on the Sabbath was permitted as an indispensable need and for the joy of the Sabbath (see *Adderet Eliyahu*, 1835, 31a). To this day, however, Karaites are either "friends of light" or "enemies of light," depending on whether or not they use artificial light on the Sabbath. Sexual intercourse is also prohibited on the Sabbath, and Karaites also oppose a number of alleviations of Sabbath precepts sanctioned by the rabbis.

CIRCUMCISION AND DIETARY LAWS. Certain rabbinical precepts pertaining to circumcision (*peri'ah* and *meẓiẓah*) are rejected by the Karaites. They also differ on the detailed regulations of ritual slaughter and therefore regard the meat of animals slaughtered according to Rabbanite regulations as prohibited. An important difference is the rejection of the "minimal quantities" (*shi'urim*) fixed by the Talmud in connection with dietary laws and the laws of purity. The prohibition contained in the Bible (Ex. 23:19; 34:26; Deut. 14:21) of boiling "a kid in its mother's milk" is also accepted by the Karaites as forbidding the consumption of the meat of cattle (not of fowl) with milk or butter; they do not, however, accept the additional restrictions enacted by the rabbis. They also strictly prohibit the consumption of the meat of an animal taken alive from the womb of its slaughtered mother (*ben pequ'ah*). Karaites permit the consumption of the meat of those animals only that are enumerated in the Bible, and reject the criteria for permitted mammals and birds as formulated in the Talmud. Many Karaite scholars hold that, ever since the destruction of the Temple, any consumption of meat is prohibited.

MARRIAGE LAWS AND LAWS ON RITUAL PURITY. Karaite laws on marriage and the prohibited degrees of consanguinity are of special severity. In the early period, even the farthest removed degree of consanguinity was regarded as prohibited, with the result that by the 11th century the Karaite community was running the danger of extinction. The Karaite scholars of that period established the so-called *rikkuv* theory. Historically it was based on the adoption of Anan's views on this subject in their entirety. Exegetically and logically it was based on the assumption that man and wife form a unity of flesh (according to Gen. 2:24), from which it follows that persons related by marriage are also blood relations (*she'er*). In arriving at this conclusion, they made use not only of direct analogy (*hekkesh*) but also of derivative analogy (*hekkesh ha-hekkesh*), of the second, or even a higher degree. In this manner, the most distant relatives came to be included in the biblical term *she'er.*

This extreme theory of incest was rejected by Joseph b. Abraham ha-Kohen ha-Ro'eh al-Baṣīr and his pupil Jeshua b. Judah and was replaced by a less stringent law consisting of a set of six regulations (five, according to Joseph ha-Ro'eh). The reforms were not accepted by all Karaites immediately, and the debates about it continued for several centuries. The first regulation states that, according to the Bible and tradition, "blood relatives" (*she'er*) for a man are father and mother, brother and sister and their blood relatives; i.e., the father's or the mother's sister, the son's daughter and the daughter's daughter (in accordance with Lev. 18:10, 12, 13) and – by analogy – the brother's daughter and the sister's daughter. The corresponding relatives are regarded as prohibited for a woman (this is the second regulation). The third regulation prohibits the wife's blood relatives (based on Lev. 18:17). The fourth prohibits blood relatives of the wife's blood relatives. The fifth forbids marriage between two blood relatives and two blood relatives, e.g., two brothers marrying a mother and her daughter, respectively, or two sisters a father and his son, respectively (based on Lev. 18:11). The sixth regulation prohibits marriage between two blood relatives and two blood relatives once removed (thus Jeshua b. Judah, on the basis of an extensive interpretation of Lev. 18:14). Furthermore, any prohibition applying to one person also applies to all his blood relatives in the ascending and descending line, ad infinitum (but only to a limited degree as far as lateral lines are concerned).

In respect of ritual impurity, especially the impurity of the menstruation period (*niddah*), Karaite regulations are far stricter than the ones fixed by the rabbis. Notwithstanding, Karaite women are not required to immerse in a *mikveh*. Instead, they are required to pour water on the body with a vessel, from the head over the back, downwards. Rabbanite women in 12th century Egypt adapted this custom, causing Maimonides to stage a public campaign against it, which resulted in the promulgation of specific regulations reiterating the obligation of Jewish women to immerse in a *mikveh.*

LITURGY, ẒIẒIT, AND TEFILLIN. Karaite liturgy – which originally consisted solely of biblical psalmody – has the least similarity with its Rabbanite counterpart. There are two prayer services a day, mornings and evenings; on the Sabbath and holy days the *Musaf* prayer and other non-obligatory prayers are added. Originally, the *Ma'amadot* (prayers referring to the Temple sacrifices) formed the main basis of the Karaite rite. A prayer may be short or long, but must consist of seven parts (*shevaḥim*, *hoda'ah*, *vidduy*, *bakkashah*, *teḥinnah*, *ẓe'akah*, *keri'ah*) and the confession of faith. The prayers consist mainly of passages from the Bible (with the emphasis on Psalms) and partly also of prayer-poems, unknown to the Rabbanite rite. The *Shema* prayer is included in the Karaite rite, but the *Shemoneh-Esreh* (daily prayer consisting of 18 benedictions, and their equivalents for Sabbath and holidays, consisting of seven benedictions) is not known. The yearly cycle of weekly reading-portions from the Torah is almost identical with that of the Rabbanites. Until the end of the Middle Ages they used to begin the cycle in the spring, but changed it later, to begin in the fall, after Sukkot. The *haftarot* selection used by the Karaites differs from the Rabbanite one. During the prayer service, Karaites wear *ẓiẓit* (a fringed garment), the *ẓiẓit* including a light-blue thread. The biblical prescriptions concerning *mezuzah* and *tefillin* are regarded by the Karaites as having a figurative and symbolic meaning, and they reject the rabbinical regulations based upon them.

[Joseph Elijah Heller / Leon Nemoy]

Attempts at Reconciliation between Karaism and Rabbanism

The basic disagreement between the Karaites and the Rabbanites over the authority of the post-biblical oral tradition, and the unshakable conviction of the Karaites that their teaching represented the pure original Mosaic faith, free of Rabbanite distortion and corruption, made attempts at reconciliation anything but hopeful. The finality of Saadiah's proscription of the Karaites as complete heretics, and the resultant extreme bitterness of his Karaite opponents, made any rapprochement impossible in the tenth century, while the Karaite propensity to repeat over and over again the dicta of their great scholars of the golden age extended this bitterness into later centuries. At the same time, in 11th–12th centuries Egypt, relations seem to have been much improved, as is attested, among others, by several marriage contracts between members of the highest social layers, in which one party was Rabbanite and the other Karaite. Eventually, however, feelings calmed down on both sides. No less an authority than Elijah Bashyazi quotes his predecessors approvingly to the effect that "most of the Mishnah and the Talmud comprise genuine utterances of our fathers, and… our people are obligated to study the Mishnah and the Talmud." On the Rabbanite side Maimonides states his view that the Karaites "should be treated with respect, honor, kindness, and humility, as long as they… do not… slander the authorities of the Mishnah and the Talmud. They may be associated with, and one may enter their homes, circumcise their children, bury their dead, and comfort their mourners." Two medieval efforts to heal the breach are noteworthy. The first, an Arabic tract on the differences between the two camps, was composed some time before 1284 by Saʿd ibn Kammūna, a Rabbanite physician and philosopher in Iraq. He cites the mutual accusations proffered by each side against the other, and offers his own replies to them, silently implying that both sides have sinned against each other and that the ancient split has long lost its pertinence. Half a century later, an Italian Rabbanite scholar who settled on the island of Crete, Shemariah b. Elijah of Negropont, surnamed Ikriti (the Cretan), wrote on the same theme, calling upon both camps to come together, "so that all Israel might once more become one union of brethren." The fact that in the 16th century Egyptian rabbis contested the agreement between Sephardi codifiers (Shulḥan Arukh) and Ashkenazi ones (Rabbi Moses Isserles) on the prohibition of mixed marriages, because of possible *mamzerut* (see **mamzer*), testifies to the correct relations between the two communities in Egypt at the time.

In modern times, the policy of the Karaite leaders in Russia and Poland in the 19th and 20th centuries, in completely dissociating themselves from their Rabbanite cousins, in order to escape the crushing disabilities and persecutions imposed on Jews there, led to a quiet but profound estrangement, although scholars in both camps continued to maintain an amicable dialogue in the course of their research into Karaite history and literature. (On the situation in Israel, see above.)

Karaite Printing

Unlike the Rabbanites, who produced a flood of Jewish printed books from the 1470s to the present day, the Karaites ignored the printing press down to the 18th century, and the very few Karaite books printed earlier were the work of Rabbanite printers. The earliest Karaite printed work is an edition of the liturgy, set up in 1528/29 by Rabbanite typesetters at the press of Daniel Bomberg in Venice. The next Karaite book to come off the press, Bashyazi's *Adderet Eliyahu*, was produced Constantinople in 1530/31 by Gershom b. Moses, a member of the great Rabbanite family of master printers, the Soncinos. Two more works, Aaron the Elder's *Kelil Yofi* and Judah Fuki's *Shaʿar Yehudah*, were published in 1581 and 1582, respectively, likewise at Constantinople, by unnamed, but no doubt Rabbanite, printers. In the 17th century only one Karaite work, Joseph Malinovski's *Ha-Elef Lekha*, was published, at Amsterdam in 1643 by the press of *Manasseh b. Israel.

The first Karaite printers were the brothers Afdah (Afidah) and Shabbetai Yeraqa, who issued a few sample sheets of the liturgy in Constantinople, in 1733, under the auspices of the Crimean Karaite leader Isaac Sinani. They then moved to Chufut-Kale, in the Crimea, and there produced in 1734 a larger sample of their work, an edition of the *haftarot*. This was followed by an edition of the entire liturgy in 1737 and a booklet of benedictions in 1741; an edition of the Rabbanite liturgy according to the rite of Feodosiya and Karasubazar (in the Crimea) was also issued in 1735. The press apparently went out of business soon after 1741, although why Isaac Sinani, who lived on until 1756, permitted it to expire, is not known. In 1804, several years after the Crimea was annexed to Russia, a new Karaite press was organized, likewise at Chufut-Kale, and between 1804 and 1806 it produced four works – revised editions of the liturgy and the benedictions, and two tracts on the calendar. Then it too went out of existence, and the few Karaite books printed later came from non-Karaite presses in Vienna and Ortākoy (near Constantinople). The first more or less successful Karaite press was established in 1833 in Eupatoria and published some important texts. (See above, the section "Scholarship on Karaism and the Karaites").

The reason for this paucity of Karaite printing can only be conjectured. Presumably it was their traditional rigid conservatism and dislike of innovations, however beneficial, and the small demand for books, which made printing for the Karaite market an unprofitable undertaking.

[Leon Nemoy]

Musical Tradition

The musical tradition of the Karaite community has been mainly determined by two factors: their ethnic-historical heterogeneity, and their religious-conceptual homogeneity. It is reasonable to assume that the Karaites were not completely isolated from their surroundings, and that it ought to be possible to find traces of Byzantine, Sephardi, Tatar, Slavic, and Arabic traditions in their music. However, the only living tradition in Karaite music today is the one derived mainly from Egypt, which is almost entirely centered in Israel. This tradition finds expression in the recitation of prayers, partic-

Example 1

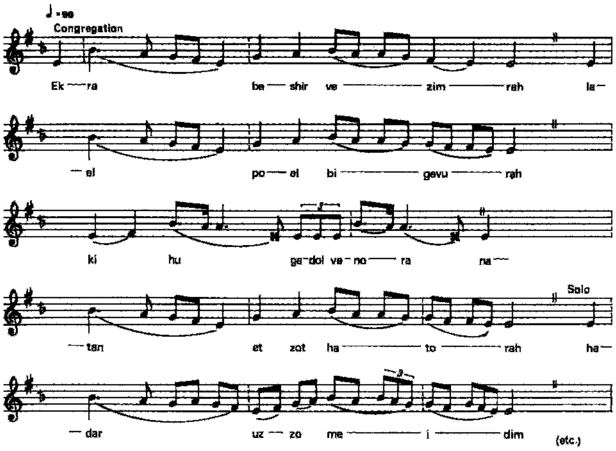
♩= 88
Congregation
Ek — ra be — shir ve — zim — rah la —
— el po — el bi — gevu — rah
ki hu ga-dol ve-no — ra na —
— tan et zot ha — to — rah ha —
Solo
— dar uz — zo me — i — dim
(etc.)

Example 2

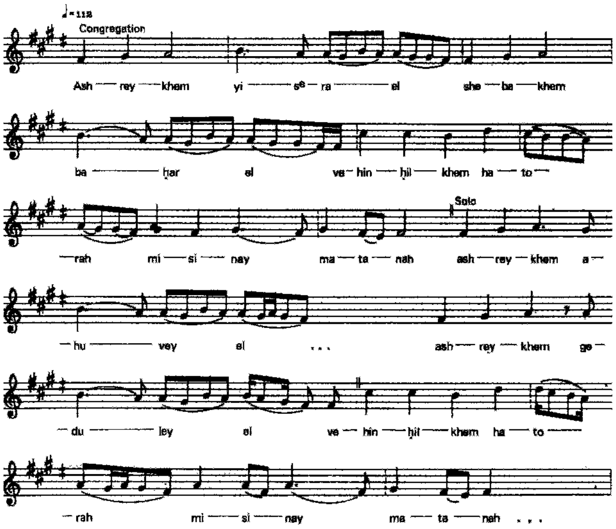
♩= 112
Congregation
Ash — rey — khem yi — sᵉ — ra — el she — ba — khem
ba — ḥar el ve — hin — ḥil — khem ha — to —
— rah mi — si — nay ma — ta — nah ash — rey — khem a —
Solo
— hu vey el . . . ash — rey — khem ge —
— du — ley el ve — hin — ḥil — khem ha — to —
— rah mi — si — nay ma — ta — nah . . .

Example 3

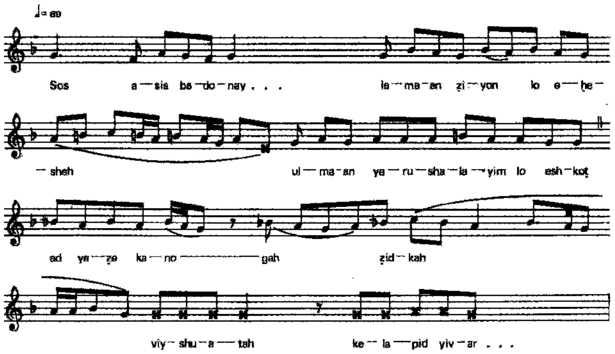
♩= 88
Sos a — sis ba — do — nay . . . le — ma — an ẓi — yon lo e — ḥe —
— sheh ul — ma — an ye — ru — sha — la — yim lo esh — kot
ad ye — ẓe ka — no — gah ẓid — kah
viy — shu — a — tah ke — la — pid yiv — ar . . .

Example 4

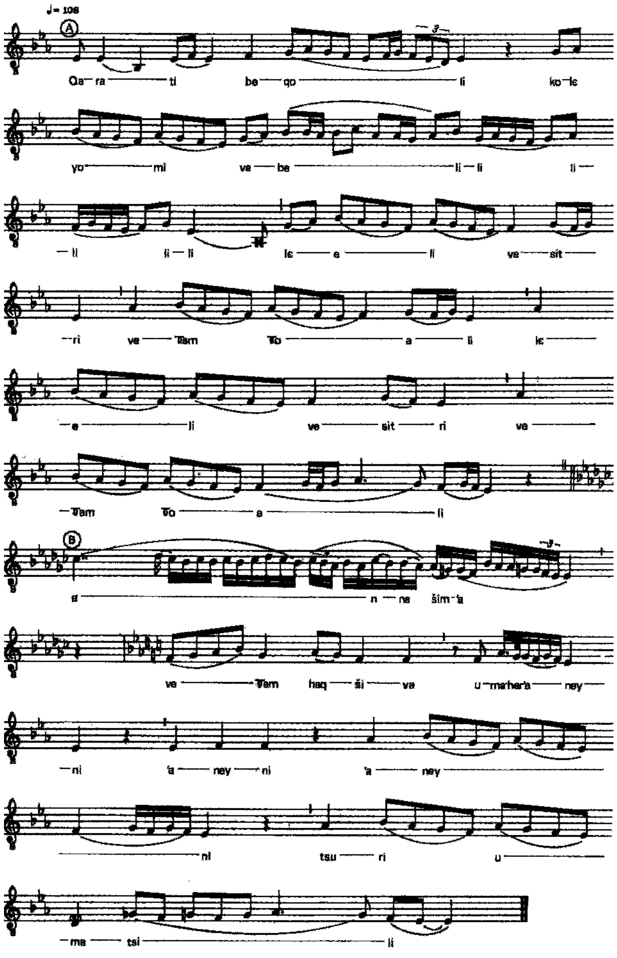
♩= 108
A
Qa — ra — ti be — qo — li ko — le
yo — mi ve — be — li — li li —
— li li — li le — e — li ve — sit —
— ri ve — ʿam ʿo — a — li le —
— e — li ve — sit — ri ve —
— ʿam ʿo — a — li
B
a — n — ne šim — ʿa
ve — ʿam haq — ši — va u — ma-her'a — ney —
— ni ʿa — ney — ni ʿa — ney —
— ni tsu — ri u —
— ma — tsi — li

Example 1. Ekra be-Shir ve-Zimrah, *hymn for the* ḥatan *Simḥat Torah (*Sefer Moʿadim, *part 2, p. 252). Recorded in Israel and transcribed by S. Hofman.*

Example 2. Ashreikhem Yisrael, *hymn for the Simḥat Torah (*Sefer Moʿadim, *part 2, p. 250). Recorded in Israel and transcribed by S. Hofman.*

Example 3. Haftarah *reading, Isaiah 62:1, Recorded in Israel and transcribed by S. Hofman.*

Example 4. Karati be-Koli. Piyyut *(*Siddur Mekuẓẓar, *p. 141). Melody by David Ḥusni. Recorded in Israel and transcribed by S. Hofman.*

ularly on Sabbaths, festivals, and life-cycle celebrations, and in the reading of the Torah and *haftarot*. The four volumes of the *Siddur ha-Tefillot ke-Minhag ha-Yehudim ha-Kara'im* ("Prayer Books of the Karaite Ritual") are richly endowed with psalms, *piyyutim*, and songs by Karaite poets, such as Samuel ha-Ḥazzan, Mordecai of Troki, Moses ha-Levi ha-Katan of the Sages of Kedar, and also by Rabbanite poets like *Judah Halevi and Judah al-Ḥarizi, who were greatly esteemed by the Karaites. These *piyyutim* are recited by the Karaites in an animated intonation somewhat resembling both cantillation and singing. In the prayer books there are many musical directions, such as ברון גרון בהלל שיר וזמרה "with note of throat in praising song and chant." Based on a center tone, the Karaite prayers are generally recited in a fairly flat melodic curve, which ranges from a second to a third, and almost never exceeds the range of a fourth. On festivals, especially Simḥat Torah, the chants are far richer, both melodically and rhythmically. An example is the *piyyut Ekra be-shir ve-zimrah*, in which the range is a fifth and the *maqām is *nihāwand*. The *piyyut* is recited alternately by the cantor and the congregation, the congregation repeating the refrain, while the cantor sings the several stanzas with improvised rhythmic variants. However, a *piyyut* such as *Ashreikhem Yisrael*, which is also in *maqām nihāwand*, has the range of a seventh, and is somewhat dance-like in style. The Karaites read the Torah in *maqām sīkāh* (similar to the Rabbanite Near Eastern communities), even though their reading is not always faithful to the *maqām*. They distinguish 21 cantillation accents, ignoring the *shalshelet*, *merkha kefulah*, *telisha ketannah*, *yare'aḥ ben yomo*, and *munnaḥ le-garmei*. While the *etnaḥ* lacks a clear melodic motive and tends to be expressed as a descending speech intonation, the *pazer gadol* ranges through a seventh, and the *revi'a* an octave (with about 20 notes). In the cantillation of the *haftarah*, the Karaites observe only eight accents. The reader ignores the remaining accents, "drawing" the other parts of the text into the eight motives. The outstanding characteristic of the reading of the *haftarah* is the frequency of actual motives amid a kind of dramatic recitation. The melodically richest songs are those sung at weddings and circumcisions. However, the loftiest musical expression is found in the songs of an artistic character, such as *Karati be-koli*, whose melody is attributed to David Ḥusni, a Karaite musician who lived and worked in Egypt during the first half of the 20th century. This song, in *maqām rāst* and in the ABA form, is common among the Karaites and enjoys special popularity. Section B of the song is in the Arab *mawāl* style. Although among the Egyptian Karaites it is still possible to find a musician who plays the *qānūn*, violin, drum, or even, nowadays, the accordion, the community as a whole does not like instrumental music. As with the cultures of all other communities in the Israel melting pot, the future of the Karaite tradition now hangs in a precarious balance.

[Shlomo Hofman]

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KARAN, DONNA (1948–), U.S. fashion designer. Karan (born Donna Faske) was raised in the Forest Hills neighborhood of Queens, N.Y., to parents already immersed in the fashion business. Her father, Gabby Faske, who died when she was 3, was a custom tailor in New York City. Her mother, Helen, was a showroom model and sales representative. Karan – who got her surname from her first husband, Mark Karan – would become one of the best-known businesswomen in the U.S., head of a publicly owned company, her name on everything from apparel to accessories, from fragrances to furnishings. She designed her first collection while still in high school and staged her first fashion show while an undergraduate at Parsons School of Design in New York City. In 1968, she dropped out of school to become an assistant to Anne *Klein, a popular women's sportswear designer known for skirts, blouses, sweaters, and jackets that could easily be mixed and matched. Klein, who had become Karan's mentor, unexpectedly died of cancer in 1974. The 26-year-old Karan, who had given birth to a daughter only two days earlier, took over the line with co-designer Louis Dell'Olio and built it into a highly successful business.

In 1984, Karan, who had been divorced a year earlier, launched Donna Karan Co., her own business, in partnership with her second husband, sculptor Stephan Weiss, and Takihyo, a Japanese company that owned the Anne Klein firm. Her approach to dressing was geared more to practicality than to "fashion." Just as Klein had promulgated a wardrobe of interchangeable parts, so did Karan. She identified with urban women who worked for a living and did not necessarily look like runway models or wealthy matrons, and they identified with her. Her design concept was based on a handful of interchangeable items that created a complete wardrobe able to flow from day to evening, and from weekday to weekend. It was distinguished by its use of black cashmere, leather, stretch fabrics and molded fabrics, and silhouettes that wrapped and sculpted the body. In short, clothes that were comfortable, flattering, and easy to organize. Karan called the jacket the foundation of a woman's wardrobe, and advocated versatile blazers that were equally appropriate for home, business, or leisure. She took the concept a step further in 1985, when she launched DKNY, a subsidiary label that was a less expensive version of the Donna Karan collection. With its nod to city life, DKNY emphasized bodysuits and active sportswear, often accompanied by loose, easy garments. Karan also returned to school at that time, earning a B.F.A. from Parsons in 1987. By the early 1990s, she had branched into men's wear and introduced a fragrance and a skin-care line. In 1996, the company made a heavily anticipated public offering, becoming one of the few firms on the New York Stock Exchange to be headed by a woman. It opened its first DKNY store in 1996, on New York's Madison Avenue. Karan's husband, Stephan, died in 2001, the same year her company was acquired by LVMH Möet Hennessy Louis Vuitton, a Paris-based fashion conglomerate, for $243 million. Karan remained as artistic director, in control of all creative aspects. By 2004, the company – since renamed Donna Karan International – boasted 70 company-owned and licensed Donna Karan Collection and DKNY stores worldwide, including units in London, Manchester, and Tokyo. In 2004, it generated some $1.4 billion in retail sales and employed 1,600 workers.

Karan was named Designer of the Year by the Council of Fashion Designers of America in 1985, 1990, and 1996, and men's wear Designer of the Year in 1992. The Fragrance Foundation saluted her for Best Fragrance of the Year in 1993.

That same year, she was honored for humanitarian efforts by the Design Industries Foundation for AIDS. In 1996, she won a Fashion Critics Award from Parsons. Karan was named Intimate Apparel Designer of the Year in 1999 and in 2003 she became the first American designer to receive a Superstar Award from Fashion Group International. She was presented with a Lifetime Achievement Award from the CFDA in 2004, the same year she got an honorary doctorate from Parsons. As a board member of the CFDA, Karan headed its Seventh on Sale fundraiser for AIDS awareness and education. She was a co-chair of New York's annual "Kids for Kids" events for the Elizabeth Glaser Pediatric AIDS Foundation, and co-chaired an annual flea market and barbecue to benefit Ovarian Cancer research. In 1999, she and her husband established the Karan Weiss Foundation to benefit children's causes, medical research, and the arts.

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[Mort Sheinman (2nd ed.)]

KARASU, ALBERT (1885–1982), journalist. Karasu was born in Salonica. After studying political science in Switzerland, in 1918 he established the French language newspaper *Le Journal d'Orient*. In 1922–23 he covered the Lausanne Treaty negotiations. The newspaper was closed down in 1971.

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[Rifat Bali (2nd ed.)]

KARASUBAZAR (from 1945 **Belogorsk**), city in Crimea oblast, Ukraine, the main community of the Crimean Jews (Krimchaks). In 1595, Selameth-Girey Khan granted the Jews of Karasubazar a privilege according them far-reaching concessions with regard to taxes and customs duties. This privilege was confirmed many times by the succeeding khans (for the last time in 1728). A collection of ancient *Sifrei Torah* and manuscripts was removed from the Karasubazar synagogue in 1839 by Abraham *Firkovich without the consent of the community; he later handed them over to the Imperial Library in St. Petersburg. From 1,969 in 1847 the number of Jews in the town increased to 3,144 by 1897 (total population 13,000), the overwhelming majority of them Krimchaks, who spoke the Tatar language among themselves and prayed according to the Crimean rite (*minhag Kaffa*). There were also 47 Karaites living in the town. From 1866 to 1899 R. Ḥayyim Hezekiah *Medini, chief rabbi of the Crimean Jews, had his seat in Karasubazar. He was able to use his considerable influence to raise the religious and spiritual standards of his communities. The Jews of Karasubazar engaged in crafts, market gardening, and petty trade. During the Civil War, the community decreased in numbers as a result of famine and disease. In 1939 the number of Jews dropped to 429. In 1932 there were in the environs three Jewish farm settlements with 149 families. The Germans occupied Karasubazar on November 1, 1941. On December 10 they killed 76 Jews, and on January 17, 1942, using mobile vans, they gassed 468 Krinchak Jews from the town and surrounding settlements. The few remaining Jews (probably needed artisans) were shot later.

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[Yehuda Slutsky / Shmuel Spector (2nd ed.)]

KARAVAN, DANI (1930–), Israeli painter, sculptor, and architect. Karavan was born in Tel Aviv when it was still full of orchards and plantations. One of his first artistic memories is of the sand dunes where, as a boy, he first sculpted forms in play. These sand structures, which involve building and digging, can be seen to anticipate his mature style. Karavan studied art in the Bezalel Academy of Art and Design in Jerusalem under Mordecai *Ardon. He remained a kibbutz member until 1950 for ideological reasons. This orientation could be seen later in his public art. Karavan continued his art studies in Florence, where he learned fresco techniques at the Accademia Della Belle Arti. In 1960–73 he created stage sets for Israeli theaters and for Israeli ballets. This can be seen as the beginning of his spatial work.

Karavan was known for his environmental sculptures and installations. He won the Israel Prize in 1977. While he moved between Tel Aviv, Paris, and Florence his works were shown all over the world.

Karavan's artistic language contained a limited number of forms. The basic form was taken from the architectural world. The dome, the pyramid, and the stair were integral components of his art. The location of these forms in the environment and in a sculptural space created a link between them. In spite of the repetitive style, each work looked different because the artist created a clear connection between the work and the chosen environment. Karavan emphasized the difference between sculptures, for example, by the selection of the material. In the desert near Beersheba he used bare concrete, in Jerusalem he used chiseled stone, and in Tel Aviv he used white concrete. (*Negev Monument*, 1963–68, Beersheba; *Environment Sculpture*, 1980, Givat Ram, Jerusalem; *White Square*, 1977–88, Tel Aviv). Another material used as a popular symbol in Karavan's works was the olive tree that grew between walls or above them. In some works the tree grew upside down. The sea also became a part of his works, especially in his impressive *Passages*, *The Memorial to Walter Benjamin* (1994, Portbou, Spain).

Karavan's most famous piece of art in Israel is the wall relief in the Knesset Assembly Hall, in Jerusalem (*Jerusalem City of Peace*, 1966). The location of the wall behind the speaker's podium made it a component of the visual forms that constitute the Israeli collective identity. One of Karavan's largest permanent works is three kilometers long. (*Exe Majeur*, 1980–86, Cergy Pontoise, France).

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[Ronit Steinberg (2nd ed.)]

KAR-BEN/LERNER, U.S. publisher. Kar-Ben Publishing, a division of Lerner Publishing Group, is the largest publisher of Jewish children's books in North America. Founded in 1975 by Judyth Groner and Madeline Wikler, the imprint's first title was a self-published children's *Haggadah*, which had more than 2 million copies in print in the early 21st century. Over the next 27 years the company published more than 200 books for children and their families, the creative work of 60 authors and illustrators. In 2003, Groner and Wikler received the Sydney Taylor Body of Work Award from the Association of Jewish Libraries in recognition of their contribution to Jewish children's literature by creating Kar-Ben.

Kar-Ben's titles include such subjects as Jewish holidays, Bible, crafts, cooking, folktales, Holocaust, life-cycle events, and contemporary stories. Kar-Ben, which was purchased by Lerner Publishing Group in 2001, publishes 12–15 new titles a year, and celebrated its 30th anniversary in 2005.

Established in 1959, Lerner Publishing Group is based in Minneapolis, Minnesota. With more than 2,500 titles in print, Lerner Publishing Group is one of the largest independent educational children's book publishers in North America. Its titles include biographies, social studies, science, geography, sports, picture books, activity books, multicultural issues, and fiction. Company founder Harry J. Lerner also helped establish the Minnesota Book Publishers' Roundtable, the Minnesota Center for Book Arts, and the Jewish Historical Society of the Upper Midwest. He served as chief executive officer of Lerner Publishing Group; his son, Adam Lerner, became publisher and president.

[Joanna Sussman (2nd ed.)]

KARDINER, ABRAM (1891–1981), U.S. psychoanalyst. Born and educated in New York City, Kardiner studied with *Freud from 1921 to 1922. In 1949 he was appointed clinical professor of psychiatry at Columbia University and in 1955 director of the psychoanalytic clinic. He conducted joint seminars at Columbia University on the interplay of individual personality and culture in diverse societies. Various patterns of child rearing, the biography of adult behavior, and institutional structure were subjected to psychodynamic analysis. Inferences about the personality produced in the culture were drawn and checked by actual psychological tests. The findings were documented in Kardiner's *The Individual and His Society* (1939) and his *Psychological Frontiers of Society* (1945).

Kardiner, and those following his lead, believed it possible to elicit a "basic personality structure" – a set of trends entering into the characters of all individuals reared in the same culture. This structure was the product of "primary institutions" such as child training methods in dealing with aggression and sex and the family organization. The basic personality expressed itself unconsciously in secondary institutions such as folklore, art, and religion. It was from these cultural institutions, therefore, that the basic personality expected in the culture could be inferred.

Kardiner's theoretical procedure involved analyses of the social frustration of adult neurotics and "normal" individuals within the Western culture. From his conclusions he established how groups in any culture would react to similar social frustration.

Kardiner was one of the founders of the Association for Psychoanalytic Medicine (APM) and of the Columbia University Center for Psychoanalytic Training and Research. In recognition of his role as a renowned pioneer in the application of psychoanalysis to the study of culture, the APM established the Abram Kardiner Lectureship on Psychoanalysis and Culture in 1978.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Kardiner co-authored with Lionel Ovesey *Mark of Oppression* (1951), which explored the impact of social pressures on the African-American personality. Other works by Kardiner include *The Traumatic Neuroses of War* (1941), *Sex and Morality* (1954), *They Studied Man* (1961), and *My Analysis with Freud: Reminiscences* (1977). **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** W. Manson, *The Psychodynamics of Culture: Abram Kardiner and Neo-Freudian Anthropology* (1988).

[Ephraim Fischoff and Louis Miller / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

KARDOS, ALBERT (1861–1945), literary scholar and historian. Headmaster of the Debrecen Jewish high school, Kardos was an expert on 16th-century Hungarian literature. Even in his eighties, victimized by the Nazis, he continued his literary work. Two important products of his research were *A XVI század lírai költészete* ("Lyric Poetry of the 16th Century," 1883) and a history of Hungarian literature (1892). He died after deportation.

KARDOS, LÁSZLÓ (1898–1987), Hungarian literary scholar and translator. Kardos became a teacher at the Jewish high school in his native Debrecen. After World War II he worked in the Hungarian Ministry of Education until 1950, when he was appointed professor of world literature at Budapest University. Kardos made his name as a skilled translator from many languages. In addition to Greek and Latin authors he translated English, French, German, Czech, Polish, Romanian, and Russian classics into Hungarian. His literary sensitivity enabled him to translate even from languages which he did not know fluently. With the help of expert assistants he produced, for example, an anthology of Hebrew poetry, *Héber költők antológiaja* (1942). Kardos also edited a Hungarian periodical devoted to world literature, *Nagyvilág*. His works include *Ay huszonegyéves Ady Endre* (1922), *Karinthy, Frigyes* (1946), *Válogatott műforditások* (1953), and *Toth Árpád* (1955).

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[Baruch Yaron]

KAREH, SOLOMON (**Soleiman**; 1804–1885), chief rabbi in San'a (Yemen). Kareh was an eminent scholar of Torah and Kabbalah. Upon the death of his father, R. Joseph, he was elected to succeed him as *av bet din*. After some years he was elevated to the position of chief rabbi of Yemenite Jewry, which he occupied for 40 years. His period was one of disorder and rebellions, when much suffering was endured by the community of San'a. In 1859, the year of Jacob *Saphir's visit to Yemen, he fled from San'a out of fear of the authorities and took refuge in Ḳaryat al-Ḳābil. With the Turkish occupation in 1872, he returned to the capital and the new Turkish governor appointed him *ḥakham bashi*. Under Turkish rule, he was given ceremonial honors, and by the authority of his office and his personal influence he protected his coreligionists from the authorities and succeeded in nullifying persecutory decrees which threatened his community.

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[Yehuda Ratzaby]

KAREL, RUDOLPH (1880–1945), composer. Born in Pilsen, Czechoslovakia, Karel was the last pupil of Dvorak. He taught for a time in Russia, and returned to Prague in 1920, where he taught at the Prague Conservatory from 1923 to 1941. In 1943 he was arrested and died at the *Theresienstadt concentration camp. His compositions include stage works, four symphonies, and chamber music.

KARELITZ, AVRAHAM YESHAYAHU (1878–1953), outstanding talmudic scholar and one of the most prominent halakhic authorities of the 20th century, known from his work as the "Ḥazon Ish." Karelitz received his education from his father, head of the *bet din* at Kossow; from an early age he manifested unusual talent and diligence. He devoted his life to the study of the Torah, although also learning such sciences as astronomy, anatomy, mathematics, and botany, since he felt that knowledge of them was necessary for a full understanding of various aspects of Jewish law and practice. After his marriage he continued to lead an extremely modest life, his wife providing for their needs while he spent day and night in study. His first work, on *Oraḥ Ḥayyim* and other parts of the Shulḥan Arukh, was published anonymously in Vilna in 1911 under the title *Ḥazon Ish*, the name by which Karelitz became almost exclusively known. It created a deep impression in the rabbinic world because of its vast knowledge and extreme profundity. He went on to write and publish dozens of volumes on numerous tractates of the Talmud, every section of the Shulḥan Arukh, the *Mishneh Torah* of Maimonides, and various specific halakhic topics. His collected letters were published in three volumes in 1990. When he moved to Vilna about 1920, he came to the notice of R. Ḥayyim Ozer Grodzinski who, henceforth, used to consult him in all religious and communal matters. Even though he lived in relative anonymity, his reputation for saintliness and knowledge was known and people from all walks of life would frequent his home, for scholarly discussions or to seek advice on religious, business or personal problems, or simply to receive his blessing. When in 1933 he settled in Ereẓ Israel, his house in Bene-Berak became the address for thousands who sought his guidance. Karelitz was an example of a personality, holding no official position, who nevertheless became a recognized worldwide authority on all matters relating to Jewish law and life. He did not head any yeshivah, yet he was teacher and guide to thousands of students. He was not a communal leader, yet he exerted an enormous influence on the life and institutions of religious Jewry. He did not publish many responsa, but became the supreme authority on *halakhah*. On one occasion, he was consulted by David Ben-Gurion, the prime minister of Israel, on the question of conscription of young women into the Israel army. He was a lover of Zion, yet did not adhere to the official Zionist movement. He was neither a Ḥasid nor an extremist, but was intimate with both these groups. He considered man's duty in life to be the constant and meticulous study of Jewish law aiming at the attainment of a maximum degree of perfection in religious observance. Although essentially a talmudic scholar, he applied himself to practical problems, devoting much effort to the strengthening of religious life and institutions. His rulings on the use of the milking machine on Sabbath (to overcome the prohibition of milking in the usual way) and on cultivation by hydroponics during the sabbatical year (when he challenged the validity of the permission to cultivate the land given by the chief rabbinate) are two illustrations of his practical approach. He wrote over 40 books which are models of lucidity and are written in a simple style.

Karelitz's theology was an attempt to adjust Maimonidean rationalism to a more Lithuanian, "mitnaggedic" set of values that corresponds to the tenets of *halakhah*. According to Karelitz, divine wisdom was transmitted directly to man by God through prophecy until the time of the Sages. Beginning with them, all that man could do was to reveal the hidden truths using his intellect. "There is no wisdom in our world unless it is delivered through the soul of a living wise man." Thus, the goal of Jewish life is to be a living wise man, i.e., a *talmid ḥakham*. The Ḥazon Ish also asserted that trust in God does not mean that God will always do what is best for the individual. Rather we can trust that God will always do what He thinks best.

Karelitz's theology stemmed from the world of *halakhah*. Even Jewish ethics are based on concrete laws, not on abstract principles. Indeed, Karelitz taught that the practice of *halakhah* trains a person in the right values.

Since the Ḥazon Ish did not study in any of the standard Lithuanian *yeshivot*, he developed his own method of Talmud study and halakhic decision-making. He rejected the cold analytical approach of Brisk and instead, integrated a human dimension into his interpretation. He maintained that the sages did not rely on abstract concepts. Rather, they often took into account social or psychological considerations. Contrary to Brisker thinking, where the Torah is the divine "word" detached from earthly reality, Karelitz grounded his interpretations in the real world. Thus, halakhic definitions should be based on the "natural senses" without involving scientific methods or social conventions. His approach was not a systematic methodology. As a result he could be contradictory. On the one hand he rejected critical readings of the talmudic text, yet on occasion he himself amended the text. He regarded the medieval and renaissance sages (the *rishonim*) as the main interpreters of the Talmud, yet he often disagreed with their comments. For the Ḥazon Ish, it was the individual scholar's own perusal and personal encounter with the text that was significant. Such an encounter was not limited to the words of the text, but also included the spirit of the text.

While he lived in an ultra-Orthodox world in Bene Berak, Karelitz did not follow the *ḥaredi* mainstream; he forged his own path. He had a tendency to be overly strict (*maḥmir*) in his halakhic rulings. He was not at all politically involved and criticized the religious Zionist camp for becoming politically involved, thus subjecting religious values to the interests of the Zionist enterprise. He rejected all public commemorations of the Holocaust.

Karelitz's efforts in the social sphere were aimed at building a strong *ḥaredi* community through the building of more yeshivot, more synagogues, and more *mikva'ot*. By 1942 he had gained a wide reputation in rabbinic circles because of his participation in halakhic debates. By 1948 he was already recognized as the foremost arbiter of *halakhah* in Israel. The Ḥazon Ish did not intend to create a revolutionary new *ḥaredi* society in Israel, but his teachings, his strongly held views, and his very life served as the foundation for the thriving ultra-Orthodox community in today's modern Israel.

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[Mordechai Hacohen / David Derovan (2nd ed.)]

KARET (Heb. כָּרֵת; "Extirpation"), a punishment at the hands of heaven mentioned in the Bible as the penalty for a considerable number of sins committed deliberately such as: idolatry, desecration of the Sabbath, the eating of leaven on Passover, incest and adultery; and for some forbidden foods. No previous warning need be given in these cases. The *halakhah* explains *karet* as premature death (Sifra, *Emor*, 14:4), and a *baraita* (MK 28a; TJ, Bik. 2:1, 64b) more explicitly as: "death at the age of 50," but some *amoraim* hold that it refers to "death between the ages of 50 and 60." The word *karet* is also used to indicate the degree of severity of a transgression, and serves as a "standard" for many other *halakhot*. The Mishnah (Ker. 1:1) enumerates the 36 transgressions mentioned in the Torah for which the penalty is *karet*, and lays down (*ibid*., 1:2) that only where there is *karet* for the deliberate act is there a sin-offering for the act committed inadvertently. Since the punishment is divine, and the fact that it is deliberate is known only to God, it does not require witnesses or previous warning. The *halakhah* also lays it down that only the offspring of a union for which the penalty is *karet* have the status of **mamzerim* (Yev. 4:13).

There is a dispute between *tannaim* whether or not the penalty of *karet* exempts the transgressor from *flogging, which is the automatic punishment for most prohibitions of the Torah of which one is guilty after having been duly warned (Mak. 13a–b); according to the view that it does not exempt from flagellation, the flagellation itself exempts from *karet* (Mak. 23a–b). Repentance however has the effect of annulling *karet* (*ibid.*), and, with the exception of Neḥunya b. HaKanah, all agree that *karet* does not absolve the guilty person from civil claims arising out of his action (Ket. 30a).

Every attempt toward a general rationale of this punishment involves serious halakhic and philosophical difficulties, and the problem greatly exercised the early authorities; although the *halakhah* itself makes a distinction between *karet* and "death by the hand of heaven" (MK 28a), the difference between them is not clear. Some *rishonim* hold that "natural" death takes place at the age of 60 (or later), when the *karet* period has ended, and that "death by the hand of heaven" has no fixed time, save that one's span of life is curtailed. Others hold, in accordance with the Jerusalem Talmud (Bik. 2:1), that *karet* comes at the age of 50, "death by the hand of heaven" at 60, and natural death between 60 and 70. The connection between the punishment of "*ariri*" and *karet* and the real nature of the former is also not clear. In the Bible the punishments of *karet* and *ariri* are frequently found together. Some *rishonim* hold that the minor children of a sinner are also punished through the father's *karet*, and in their view this also constitutes the difference between *karet* and "death by the hand of heaven" (Rashi, Ket. 30b, et al.). Others, however, differ (Tos. to Shab. 25a). With regard to *karet* in the case of the old, it is laid down that the punishment lies in the manner of death, since "one dying in either one, two, or three days has suffered *karet*."

The punishment of *karet* raised difficulties in the theory of reward and punishment current among medieval scholars, and constituted part of the polemic around Maimonides and his views on this subject. Basing himself upon the statement (Sanh. 90b): "*Hikkaret tikkaret: 'hikkaret'* in this world, *'tikkaret'* in the world to come," Maimonides (Yad, Teshuvah 8:1) lays down that: "The punishment of the wicked is that they are not vouchsafed this life [of the world to come], but they suffer *karet* and die… and this is the *karet* written in the Torah…" This constitutes a maximal punishment, since ordinary sinners, after being punished in *Gehinnom according to their sin, live again in the world to come (*ibid.* 8:3, 5). In the opinion of *Naḥmanides (in the *Sha'ar ha-Gemul*), the soul can never perish and be annihilated and he therefore holds that those liable to *karet* are also punished in the world to come according to their sin, and he divides sinners into three categories: those who have been guilty only once of a transgression involving the penalty of *karet*; those whose wicked deeds exceed their good in addition to this transgression; and lastly the blasphemers and idolaters. Only the last are punished both by *karet* of the body and of the soul in this world and in the next (Comm. to Lev. 18:29 and in *Sha'ar ha-Gemul*). *Karet* of the soul, according to Naḥmanides, does not mean absolute perishing; it means only a degradation, in a way of metamorphosis, and absolute negation of spiritual pleasures awaiting the souls of the righteous.

In the opinion of some *Karaites *karet* was death at the hand of man (*Eshkol ha-Kofer*, no. 267), and this too seems to have been the view of Philo and of Josephus (Ant. 3:12, 1).

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[Israel Moses Ta-Shma]

KARFF, MONA MAY (1912–1998), seven-time winner of the U.S. women's chess championship and one of the first four Americans to be named an international woman master by the International Chess Federation (1950). Born in Bessarabia, Karff learned chess from her father, Aviv Ratner, a Zionist who later became a real estate magnate in Israel. Karff, an intensely private person who was always mysterious about her background, came to the United States in the 1930s. She was married briefly to a cousin, Abe Karff, a Boston lawyer. Between 1938, when she won her first national title at the second U.S. women's championship, to 1974, when she achieved her seventh national championship, Karff was in the forefront of women's chess in the United States. Less consistently successful in top international competitions, she placed sixth representing Palestine in the women's world championships in Stockholm in 1937 and came in fifth representing the United States at the 1939 world championships in Buenos Aires. Karff, who remained involved in the world of competitive chess throughout her life, had a long-term romantic relationship with Dr. Edward Lasker (d. 1981), a five-time winner of the U.S. Chess Open.

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[Judith R. Baskin (2nd ed.)]

KARFUNKEL, AARON BEN JUDAH LEIB HA-KOHEN (d. 1816), rabbi and author. Karfunkel was born in Kalisz after his father had died, and his mother died in childbirth. As a result he was brought up in the home of his brother, Israel. According to his own statement he served as rabbi in different Polish communities, for example in Lask as *av bet din* – though his name is not mentioned in the list of rabbis of the Lask burial society – and in Daspirshi (a community otherwise unknown). He complains bitterly about his economic position in these communities, stating that he faced starvation until he was compelled to leave his wife and children, who were maintained by his father-in-law. In 1801 he was appointed rabbi of Nachod in Bohemia and in 1807 as deputy to Levin Saul Frankel, whom he later succeeded as regional rabbi of Silesia. Karfunkel was the author of the *Sheiltot Avyah* (being the acronym from his given names), notes and novellae on the Talmud in the form of responsa to questions which he himself posed. The work comprises 12 parts, each of which is named after one of the stones of the *ephod. Two parts only, *Nofekh* and *Bareket*, were published (Berlin, 1806), with one commentary entitled *Millu'at Even*, and another entitled *Meshu'aḥ Milḥamah* on difficulties in the views of the *rishonim*. His other works, *Avnei Zikkaron*, responsa, and *Ẓanif Tahor*, on the Book of Ecclesiastes, are still in manuscript in the British Museum. He also wrote the introduction to the constitution of the Nachod burial society and rabbinate.

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[Itzhak Alfassi]

KARGAU, MENAHEM MENDEL BEN NAPHTALI HIRSCH (1772–1842), German rabbi and author. Kargau was born in Prostibor (Bohemia) and studied under Nathan *Adler and Phinehas *Horowitz in Frankfurt, Ezekiel *Landau in Prague, Joseph Yoske in Posen, and Herz Scheuer in Mainz. For some time he engaged in commerce in Paris, later returning to Germany and settling in Fuerth, where he devoted himself to the study of Talmud. He became friendly with Abraham Benjamin Wolf *Hamburg, in whose works *Simlat Binyamin* (Fuerth, 1841) and *Sha'ar ha-Zekenim* (*ibid.*, 1830), many of his halakhic statements are quoted. Kargau wrote hymns and poems, including a hymn in Hebrew to celebrate Napoleon's coronation (*Shir u-Mizmor* (Paris, 1805) with a free translation into French by Michel Berr). In 1840 he commemorated Moses *Montefiore's return from Damascus in another Hebrew hymn. Kargau died in Fuerth. His commentary on Shulḥan Arukh, *Yoreh De'ah*, 201 (dealing with the laws of the *mikveh*) together with 41 of his halakhic responsa, was published after his death by his pupil Jonah Rosenbaum and by Asher Anschel Stern, later chief rabbi of Hamburg, under the title *Giddulei Tohorah* (Fuerth, 1845).

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[Joseph Elijah Heller]

KARINTHY, FERENC (1921–1992), Hungarian author and playwright. Raised as a non-Jew, Karinthy neither denied nor emphasized his Jewish roots but does not deal with Jewish subjects in his writings. His *Budapesti tavasz* ("Springtime in Budapest," 1953), while bowing to the requirements of the era, gives nevertheless a vivid picture of postwar Budapest.

[Eva Kondor]

KARIV, AVRAHAM YIZḤAK (1900–1976), Hebrew literary critic, poet, and translator. Born in Slobodka, he made his way to the Ukraine and Crimea during World War I and entered the Tarbut Teachers' Seminary in Odessa, where he studied under Bialik and Klausner. In 1923 he went to Moscow and completed his studies in mathematics and physics. In 1934 he went to Palestine, where, after a short period of teaching, he took up editorial posts. Kariv began his literary career while studying in Odessa, and his first poems were warmly received by Bialik. In the ensuing years, until his arrival in Palestine, his poetry was published in Hebrew journals that appeared in Soviet Russia and elsewhere. After he settled in Palestine, he became a regular contributor to the Hebrew press, with essays and articles of literary criticism becoming his major endeavor and overshadowing his poetry. He wrote scathing criticism of the works of classic modern Hebrew authors, such as *Mendele Mokher Seforim, J.L. *Gordon, D. *Frischmann, J.Ḥ. *Brenner, and others. His collection of essays *Adabberah va-Yirvaḥ Li* (1961) made a deep impression with its reevaluation of prevalent negative attitudes toward Jewish life in the Diaspora. The writers of the Haskalah, he claimed, accepted the false premises of an antisemitic European culture and overlooked the moral grandeur of Jewish life in Eastern Europe. He published several collections of essays, a volume of poetry, *Kol u-Vat Kol* (1962), a book on the Bible, *Shivat Ammudei ha-Tanakh* (1968), and numerous translations from Russian and Yiddish literature. For English translations see Goell, Bibliography, 920–1.

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[Getzel Kressel]

KARIYAH, AL- (**Qarʿiyya, al-**), a Jewish sect which existed in *Egypt (near Cairo) until the middle of the 19th century. David Alfasi in his *Agron* (s.v. *kar*) maintains that they were descendants of the sons of Kareah (Jer. 40:8ff.), who led a remnant of the Judeans into Egypt after the murder of Gedaliah. Another, more likely, explanation is that of Judah *Hadassi in his *Eshkol ha-Kofer* and *Kirkisānī in his *Kitāb al-Anwār* (chapter 9) which derives the name from the Arabic *qarʿ* (cf. the talmudic קרא), meaning "pumpkin, gourd," since the sect, for reasons of ritual purity, used only vessels made of pumpkin shells. These writers report that the al-Kariyah would not employ hired labor and rested on Sunday. Kirkisānī quotes David al-Mukammis, who regards them as a pre-Christian sect later influenced by Christianity. Harkavy is inclined to agree with this theory, as they may have been one of the many Essene sects in Hellenistic Egypt; this would explain their ascetic life and opposition to hired labor. If Sunday rest was not adopted by them later under Christian influence, there may be some confusion due to the strictness of Sabbath observance which the al-Kariyah extended to the festivals as well. This is reported by Hadassi, who does not mention Sunday rest at all.

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KARKAR (**Qarqar**), city on the Orontes, S. of Hamath and within its territory, now Khirbat Qarqur (the name signifies "flat (valley-earth) formation" (cf. Heb. קרקור, Judg. 8:10; Akk. *Qaqqaru*; cf. also קרקע). Karkar is famous as the site of a battle between Shalmaneser III of Assyria and a coalition of kings who came to the aid of Irḫuleni king of Hamath. It is described on the monolith of Shalmaneser III found at Kurkh, some 20 miles south of Diyarbakir in Turkey (now in the British Museum), and mentioned in his various other inscriptions. The Assyrian king gives a detailed description of the forces of the 12 kings allied against him. The list, arranged in three groups – chariots, cavalry, and foot soldiers – is as follows (Monolith from Kurkh, col. 2, lines 90ff.):

> 1,200 chariots; 1,200 riding horses [i.e., cavalrymen]; 20,000 [foot-]soldiers of Adad-idri [Hadadezer = "Ben-Hadad II"] from Damascus [Imērišu]; 700 chariots; 700 riding horses [i.e., cavalrymen]; 10,000 [foot-] soldiers of Irḫuleni [Erḫuleni] from Hamath [Amatai(a/u)]; 2,000 chariots; 10,000 [foot-] soldiers of Ahab the Israelite [Aḫabbu (māt) Sir-ʾi-la-aii(u/a),

> Sirʾilajj(u/a)]; 500 [foot-] soldiers from Gu [bal] [Gebal, Byblos; not: Guaiia, Que; see Tadmor, in bibl.]; 1,000 [foot-]soldiers from Egypt [Muṣrajj(u/a); not the northern land of Muṣri; see Tadmor, in bibl.]; 10 chariots; 10,000 [foot-]soldiers from Arqa [= (māt) Er-qa-na-ta-aiiu/a; cf. ha-ʿArqi, Gen. 10:17]; 200 [foot-]soldiers of Mattan-Baʿal [Ma-ti-nu Ba-aḫ-li] of Arvad [Armadajju/a]; 200 [foot-]soldiers of the State of Usnû [Usanatajju/a]; 30 chariots; 10,000 [foot-]soldiers of Aduna-Baʿal [Adōni-Baʿal] from Shiānu (cf. ha-Sini, Gen. 10:17); 1,000 camel [-soldiers?] [*gammalū*] of Gindibuʾ the Arabean [(māt) Arbajju/a];… (erased) 100/1,000 [foot-]soldiers of Baʾasa (Baasa) son of Ruḫubi [Ben Rehob, i.e., the Beth-Rehobite] the Ammonite [or, far better: "from the mount of Amanah" ((har ha)-Amanah, Song 4:8); cf. Aram Beth Rehob, II Sam. 10:6; see *Aram].

The battle was joined in the sixth year of Shalmaneser III (853 B.C.E.). The inscription thus supplies the first extra-biblical confirmation of biblical chronology. The fact of *Ahab's participation in the battle of Karkar (side by side with his inveterate foes, the Arameans of Damascus, but see Ahab; *Ben-Hadad) is not mentioned in the Bible. The coalition was established to counter the growing Assyrian menace; although Shalmaneser gives a glowing account of the slaughter he wrought and of the capture of Karkar, the fact is that the battle ended in a stalemate and the Assyrian advance was halted (see *Jehu; *Mesopotamia, History). The great number of Ahab's chariots finds corroboration in the redating of the stables found at Megiddo (strata IV–V) to the period of Ahab instead of Solomon (see Yadin and Malamat in bibl.).

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[Michael Avi-Yonah and Pinhas Artzi]

KARLE, JEROME (1918–), U.S. physicist and Nobel Laureate. He was born in New York City and educated at Abraham Lincoln High School before graduating with a B.S. from City College, New York (1933), an M.A. in biology from Harvard (1938), and a Ph.D. in chemistry from the University of Michigan. After working on the Manhattan Project at the University of Chicago (1944), he joined the Naval Research Laboratory, Washington (1946) as head of the Electron Diffraction Section (1946–68) and subsequently as chief scientist in the Laboratory for the Structure of Matter. He was also professor at the University of Maryland (1951–70). His research interests are crystallography and the structure of a broad range of macromolecules. Karle won the Nobel Prize in chemistry (1985) jointly with Herbert *Hauptman for his contributions to determining the structure of complex molecules by mathematical analysis of crystallographic observations. His later work analyzed the application of quantum crystallography to analyzing organic molecules. He served as chairman of the National Research Council (1973–75) and president of the International Union of Crystallography (1981–84). He was a member of the U.S. National Academy of Sciences. He had a special interest in social issues of scientific research and ecological problems. He worked collaboratively with Isabella Lugoski, whom he married in 1942.

[Michael Denman (2nd ed.)]

KARLIN, a dynasty of *ẓaddikim* (family name **Perlov**), named after the town of Karlin. Its founder was AARON BEN JACOB, referred to in ḥasidic circles as "Aaron the Great" (1736–1772), the pioneer of Ḥasidism in Lithuania. He was a disciple of *Dov Baer the Maggid of Mezhirech. During the lifetime of his teacher, in the early 1760s, he founded the first ḥasidic *minyan in Karlin, from where he spread Ḥasidism throughout Lithuania. In contemporary sources "Karliner" became a synonym for "Ḥasid" in Lithuania. The spread of "Karliner" *minyanim* there was one of the causes of the campaign against Ḥasidism; in Karlin's sister town, *Pinsk, it was directed against Aaron personally. Aaron's activity showed his concern with social problems. He helped to enforce the *takkanot* issued in 1769 at Nesvizh, abolishing an unusual and heavy tax affecting the poor, using his personal authority and imposing a *ḥerem*. His *azharot* ("Warnings"), a letter, and a testament have been preserved (in manuscript). Inclined toward asceticism, Aaron fasted frequently and even demanded of his disciples: "seclusion, one day every week in a special room, spent in fasting, repentance, and study of the Torah." But he warned against extremes in such practices. In his *azharot* he cautioned "to beware of pride and anger, even if over the observance of a precept, and all the more so over disputes." He instructed his Ḥasidim to study the Mishnah daily and to be versed in the Bible. He regarded melancholy as "the lowest abyss," while joy stems from sanctity. The Jew who does not rejoice in being a Jew is ungrateful to Heaven. Aaron composed a hymn for Sabbath: *Yah ekhsof no'am Shabbat* ("Oh God, I yearn for the Sabbath's delight"), which is included in several *siddurim* and is sung every Sabbath by the Ḥasidim of Karlin and those related to them. The Ḥasidim of Karlin have about 20 melodies for this hymn, one having become renowned as *Ha-Niggun ha-Kadosh*. Aaron was succeeded by his disciple Solomon (see below) but the leadership later returned to Aaron's son, ASHER (d. 1826), a disciple of Solomon; before 1784 he went from Karlin with his teacher to Lodomeria (Vladimir-Volynskiy). Asher studied a short while under *Baruch of Medzibezh and Israel of *Kozienice, and was for a short time rabbi in Zelechow (Poland). He then settled in the townlet of *Stolin, near Karlin. Henceforward the Karlin Ḥasidim also became known as the Ḥasidim of Stolin. Asher supported *Abraham of Kalisk in opposition to *Shneur Zalman of Lyady. He was among leading Karlinists who were imprisoned in 1798. Subsequently he returned to Karlin. In his *Divrei Torah* he stresses the human and religious value of productive work, and teaches that a man "should not be lazy in any occupation, lest his [religious] study should also be performed in laziness." He criticized Jews who exploited the labor of non-Jewish workers.

He was succeeded by his son, AARON THE SECOND (d. 1872), under whose leadership Karlin Ḥasidism reached the height of its influence in Polesie and in Volhynia. Groups of Karlin Ḥasidim settled in Tiberias and Jerusalem, supported from the center in Karlin. It was Aaron's custom to write "Words of Encouragement" to his Ḥasidim before Passover, which were particularly important as a solace during the oppressive reign of Czar Nicholas I. The celebrated Karlin ḥasidic melodies were composed during his leadership. In his *Beit Aharon* (1875) he emphasizes sincerity. He taught that "prayers should be followed by study… every day. God does not count the pages but the hours." He advised that "repentance comes essentially out of joy and delight." Regular daily life should also be considered Divine Worship, as both lead to the attainment of perfection, as a result of which redemption and the messianic era can be brought closer. Aaron also left Karlin before 1864 for Stolin, where he remained until his death. He died in the townlet of Mlinow, Volhynia, while on a journey, and was buried there.

He was succeeded by his son, ASHER THE SECOND (d. 1873), who emphasized the value of ritual immersion "which purifies the body and promotes sanctity." He was buried in Drohobycz (Drogobych), Galicia. Asher left a four-year-old son named ISRAEL; he was immediately recognized by Karlin Ḥasidim as successor to the leadership and hence known as the "Yenuka mi-Stolin" ("Babe of Stolin"). However, he also retained the loyalty of the thousands of his followers when grown up as well as gaining respect among the *Mitnaggedim* thanks to his devoted and able leadership. In his two testaments – to his family and to his Ḥasidim – he recommended study also of "language… and secular studies which are necessary"; he stressed the necessity of care for "the education of girls, because the foundation of Judaism depends on this." His son MOSES became rabbi of Stolin. A second son, ABRAHAM ELIMELECH, settled in Karlin as rabbi, a third JOHANAN (d. 1955), in Lutsk, Volhynia, and a fourth, JACOB, became rabbi of the Karlin Ḥasidim in the United States. Moses and Abraham Elimelech founded yeshivot and maintained contacts with Ereẓ Israel. Both perished with their followers in the Holocaust. Johanan went to Ereẓ Israel after the Holocaust; from there he emigrated to the United States where he died. In 1957 his body was taken to Tiberias for burial. He left a small grandson, and those of his Ḥasidim who have remained loyal to the dynasty undertook his education as its continuator, while a small number chose the *ẓaddik* of *Lelov as their leader. SOLOMON BEN MEIR HA-LEVI OF KARLIN (1738–1792), ḥasidic *ẓaddik*, a disciple of Dov Baer, Maggid of Mezhirech, and of Aaron the Great of Karlin, headed the Karlin Ḥasidim after Aaron's death in 1772 (see above). He left no written works, but many of his sayings have been quoted and tales about him have been recorded. Almost all the subsequent *ẓaddikim* in Lithuania were his disciples or the disciples of his disciples.

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[Wolf Zeev Rabinowitsch]

KARLINER, BARUCH (c. 1810–1871 or 1879), *ḥazzan*. Taking his name from the Russian town of Karlin where he first became a *ḥazzan*, Karliner also served other communities including Pinsk and Brisk. He had neither a particularly tuneful voice nor any musical knowledge, but would compose "when the spirit came upon him," even if this occurred during a part of the service which was not usually sung. His choir was accustomed to his sudden digressions from the rehearsed repertoire and when these occurred would continue to accompany him in his own style. His compositions, notable for their power and bold modulations, were written down by members of his choir and had a great influence on the following generations of *ḥazzanim*.

KARLSRUHE, city in Germany, formerly capital of *Baden. Jews settled there shortly after its foundation in 1715. By 1725 the community had a synagogue, bathhouse, infirmary, and cemetery. Nathan Uri Kahn served as rabbi of Karlsruhe from 1720 until his death in 1749. According to the 1752 Jewry ordinance Jews were forbidden to leave the city on Sundays and Christian holidays, or to go out of their houses during church services; but they were exempted from service by court summonses on Sabbaths. They could sell wine only in inns owned by Jews and graze their cattle, not on the commons, but on the wayside only. Business records had to be kept in German. The community officials, including two to three unmarried teachers, were exempted from tax. They exercised civic jurisdiction and could commit members of the community to the municipal prison for Jews. A *ḥevra kaddisha* was founded in 1726; the cemetery, also used by Jews of other towns, was enlarged in 1756 and 1794. There were nine Jewish families living in Karlsruhe in 1720, 50 in 1733, 80 in 1770, and 502 persons in 1802. Nethanel *Weil, who became chief rabbi of the two Baden margravates (1750–69), was succeeded by his son Jedidiah (Tiah) Weil (1770–1815).

Nethanel Weil's commentary on *Asheri, Korban Netanel* (on tractates *Mo'ed* and *Nashim*), was printed in 1755 in Karlsruhe by L.J. Held, a successor to old and well-known Augsburg printers. His successors, F.W. Lotter and M. Macklott, continued publishing Hebrew works, including some by Jonathan *Eybeschuetz (printed 1762–82) and the *Torat Shabbat* of Jacob *Weil (1839). The firm continued printing until 1899, mainly liturgical items, Judeo-German circulars, and popular stories. D.R. Marx, licensed in 1814, printed in 1836 a Hebrew Bible (1845^2), edited on behalf of the Jewish authorities (*Oberrat*) by a group of rabbis, among them Jacob *Ettlinger. Altogether some 60 Hebrew books were printed in Karlsruhe.

Karlsruhe was the seat of the central council (*Oberrat*) of Baden Jewry, according to the articles of the 1809 edict which granted them partial emancipation. Asher Loew, a participant in the Paris *Sanhedrin, was appointed rabbi of Baden and Karlsruhe in 1809; he was succeeded in 1837 by Elias Willstaedter. A new synagogue with organ was consecrated in 1875; the Orthodox faction seceded in 1878 and built its own synagogue in 1881.

From the 1820s Jews were permitted to practice law and medicine. After attaining complete emancipation in 1862, Jews were elected to the city council and the Baden parliament, and from 1890 were appointed judges.

The Jewish population numbered 670 in 1815, 1,080 in 1862 (3.6% of the total), 2,200 in 1892, 3,058 in 1913 (2.73%), 3,386 in 1925 (2.37%), 3,199 in June 1933 (2.01%), and 1,368 in May 1939. The Jews in Karlsruhe suffered from persecution during the *Hep! Hep! riots in 1819. Anti-Jewish demonstrations took place in 1843 and 1848, and in the 1880s the antisemitic movement of Adolf *Stoecker had its repercussions in Karlsruhe. The community maintained a variety of cultural and educational institutions. A *Lehrhaus* (school for adults) was founded in 1928.

During the first years of the Nazi regime the community continued to function and particularly to prepare Jews for emigration. An agricultural training school was founded and a biweekly newspaper (founded as a bulletin in 1840) was published. On Oct. 22, 1938, all male Polish Jews living in Karlsruhe were deported to Poland. The synagogues were destroyed on *Kristallnacht*, November 1938; most of the men were arrested and sent to *Dachau concentration camp, but were released after they had furnished proof that they intended to emigrate. In October 1940, 895 Jews were expelled and interned by the French Vichy authorities in *Gurs in southern France, most of whom were deported from there to *Auschwitz in November 1942. The 429 remaining Jews and non-Aryans were deported to the east between 1941 and 1944. There were 90 Jews living in Karlsruhe in May 1945, 63 in 1946, and 246 in 1968. An organized community was formed in 1945, and the Baden Central Jewish Council was reorganized in 1948. A new synagogue was consecrated in 1971. The Jewish community numbered 323 in 1989 and around 800 in 2004 after the immigration of Jews from the former Soviet Union.

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[Toni Oelsner]

KÁRMÁN (formerly **Kleinman**), **MÓR** (1843–1915), Hungarian educator. Born at Szeged, he was probably the first Jew to take his doctorate at the University of Budapest (1866), where he became a lecturer in pedagogy, ethics, and psychology in 1872, and professor in 1909. In 1869 he was sent to Leipzig by the minister of religion and education, Baron Joseph Eötvös, to study methods of training teachers for secondary schools. There, he was entrusted with the writing of a curriculum for the training of teachers at the model elementary school and later served as director of education at the model secondary school in Budapest. He reorganized and expanded the national secondary school system. According to Kármán, religious education was a sound basis for morals and ethics. When, in 1873, the Hungarian government decided to underwrite the teaching of religion in public schools, Kármán was asked to administer the Jewish educational needs in the public schools. He edited a Hungarian educational journal, and participated in the publishing of school textbooks. Apart from his own scholarly contributions, Kármán translated numerous works into Hungarian. He devoted much of his energies to Jewish affairs, and issued the appeal which led to the foundation of IMIT – the Jewish-Hungarian Literary Society.

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[Shnayer Z. Leiman]

KÁRMÁN, THEODORE VON (1881–1963), aerodynamicist. Von Kármán was born in Hungary and studied in Budapest and Goettingen. During World War I he was a lieutenant in the Austro-Hungarian aviation corps. He invented a helicopter with two counter-rotating propellers, a type never developed by industry. After the war he became a consultant to many airplane companies. He first toured the U.S. in 1926 under the auspices of the Guggenheim Fund and settled permanently in 1930 as head of the Guggenheim Aeronautical Laboratory at the California Institute of Technology. Von Kármán published many papers on aerodynamics, hydrodynamics, elasticity, strength of materials, and vibration phenomena. "Karman Vortex Trail" and "Karman Similarity Theory of Turbulence" are now standard terms in scientific literature. The *Collected Works of Theodore von Kármán* was published in four volumes (1956). The development of high speed aircraft owes much to the influence of Von Kármán. He investigated (1938) the possibility of using supersonic wind tunnels in ballistic research. He formed the Aerojet Engineering Corporation to manufacture rockets after unsuccessful attempts to interest American industry in this venture. During World War II he was in charge of all jet propulsion research in the U.S. Von Kármán was chairman of the U.S. Air Force's scientific advisory board (1944) and of the Aeronautical Research and Development Committee of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (1951).

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[Barry Spain]

KARMAZIN, MEL (1943–), U.S. media executive. Melvin Alan Karmazin was born and grew up in Long Island City, Queens, New York. His mother worked in a factory while his father drove a taxi. During high school Karmazin was a typist at an advertising agency in Manhattan. He attended Pace University at night while working as an advertising salesman by day. His first job at the Columbia Broadcasting System was selling ads for the radio division. In the late 1960s, when his commission exceeded $70,000, his boss objected to his earnings, so Karmazin left to work for the giant broadcasting company Metromedia. At Metromedia from 1970 to 1981, Karmazin was general manager of WNEW-AM and FM, two well-known stations in New York City. One disc jockey who worked there at the time wrote that Karmazin "had no interest in music, news, sports, books, theater. It mattered not what a station proffered, only how it profited." That attitude served Karmazin well in broadcasting. In 1981 he was hired to run Infinity Broadcasting, an owner of radio stations. Over the next 15 years, by dint of tight operating control and a string of shrewd acquisitions, he built Infinity into one of the largest radio networks in the nation. His most brilliant managerial stroke came in the late 1980s when he hired Howard Stern, a foul-mouthed talk-show host who had been fired by another station. Stern began earning millions for himself and for the station. Karmazin took Infinity public in 1992 for $17.50 a share, then sold it in 1996, when it owned 44 radio stations, to CBS for $170 a share, securing his reputation on Wall Street. In 1996, using a business strategy that became his trademark, Karmazin approached CBS, which had merged with Westinghouse in 1995, and proposed that Infinity buy the company. Instead, CBS acquired Infinity for $4.9 billion, and Karmazin came aboard to run the combined radio operations of Infinity, Westinghouse, and CBS along with its outdoor advertising business. Intent on making his stamp on the company, Karmazin was instrumental in persuading Westinghouse to dump its industrial manufacturing assets and to refashion the company under the CBS name. The chairman and chief executive of CBS named Karmazin head of CBS's station division and in October 1998 Karmazin forced his superior's resignation. He became chief executive in 1999. One of his first acts at CBS was to buy broadcast rights for National Football League games from 1998 to 2006 for $4 billion. He also invested $30 million to $50 million in an early morning show, but that project was unsuccessful. In 2000 Karmazin became the chief operating officer of Viacom-CBS, one of the world's largest producers of news and entertainment and became the presumptive heir to Sumner M. *Redstone, Viacom's chief executive, who was then 76 years old. Karmazin's relationship with Redstone was testy. He refused to conform to Redstone's more traditional conception of an entertainment mogul. Karmazin kept a close eye on expenses, a discipline anathema to many in entertainment. And Karmazin did not like the high-risk, potentially high-reward game of making blockbuster movies. For him the entertainment business was about controlling costs, selling ads, and watching pennies, not laying daring bets or dating starlets. In 2004, when he decided that he would not be succeeding the crusty octogenarian Redstone, Karmazin resigned as Viacom's president and chief operating officer, giving up his stewardship of CBS, MTV, Paramount, Simon & Schuster, and Infinity Broadcasting. He left with a severance agreement worth $30 million. Later that year, Karmazin took the reins of Sirius Satellite Radio as chief executive. The announcement came a month after Sirius had signed Howard Stern to bring his show to the satellite airwaves from commercial radio.

[Stewart Kampel (2nd ed.)]

KARMEL, ILONA (1925–2000), Holocaust survivor and author. Born in Cracow, Poland, to Hirsch and Mita (Rosenbaum) Karmel, Ilona Karmel was taken to the Cracow ghetto in November 1942. Later that year, Karmel, her mother, and her older sister, Henryka, were deported to the nearby slave labor camp in Plaszow. In 1943, they were transported to Starzysko Kamienna, a labor camp near Leipzig, and then to the Buchenwald concentration camp. Karmel attributes her own and her sister's survival to their mother's pro-active protection at critical moments. In the final days of the war, a German military vehicle ran over Karmel and her mother, apparently deliberately. Karmel's mother died from her injuries, and Karmel's legs were crushed so severely that she spent two years convalescing in a Swedish hospital.

While in the camps, the Karmel sisters composed poetry on stolen paper. In 1947, they published a volume of these poems, *Spiew za Drutami* ("Song Behind the Wire"), depicting the inner life of slave laborers and their struggle against dehumanization. In Sweden, Karmel studied English by correspondence course and began writing fiction in English. Upon reaching New York in 1948, Karmel enrolled in Hunter College and continued writing. One story, "Fru Holm," was awarded the 1950 prize for college fiction by *Mademoiselle* magazine. Karmel transferred to Radcliffe College, graduating with honors in 1952 under the mentorship of the poet Archibald MacLeish. Her first novel, *Stephania* (1953) emerged from her experiences in the Swedish hospital.

Karmel's masterpiece, *An Estate of Memory* (1969), was the product of a 10-year immersion in wartime memories. Set within a labor camp resembling Starzysko, the novel depicts the physical and psychological pressures on four women who form a surrogate family. Three of the women dedicate themselves to sustaining the secret pregnancy of the fourth. The novel explores their moral struggles and fear of degenerating. One character reflects, "Two kinds of evil … were at work here. The first came from outside … lurking in hunger, in typhus and the bitter dust. The other evil was new. It came from within" (121).

Karmel, who remained close to her sister, Henia Karmel-Wolfe, also a novelist, married physicist Francis Zucker, who had immigrated to the U.S. from Germany in 1938. The couple lived in Belmont, Massachusetts, taking frequent trips to Germany for Zucker's work. Karmel taught creative writing at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, where she received the Dean's Award for Distinguished Service in 1994. M.I.T. further recognized Karmel by establishing the Ilona Karmel Writing Prizes to mark her retirement in 1995. Karmel died from leukemia.

[Sara Horowitz (2nd ed.)]

KARMI (**Crémieux**), French rabbinic family of the 18th century, consisting of Mordecai and Solomon Ḥayyim, the sons of Abraham, a learned merchant, and Moses, son of Solomon Ḥayyim and son-in-law of Mordecai. MORDECAI KARMI (1749–1825) was born in Carpentras. When Ḥ.J.D. Azulai was there in 1777 as an emissary of the Ereẓ Israel community, he became friendly with the Karmi family. Toward the end of his life Mordecai served as rabbi in Aix-en-Provence. He is the same Mordecai Crémieux who financed the edition of *Seder ha-Tamid*, the first prayer book of daily and Sabbath prayers according to the Provençal rite. He wrote *Ma'amar Mordekhai*, in two parts (Leghorn, 1784–86), an extensive commentary on the Shulḥan Arukh, *Oraḥ Ḥayyim*. At the beginning of the work there is a poem by the author's father in honor of his son and prefaces by his brother Solomon Ḥayyim and Solomon's son Moses. The work also contains *hassagot* ("criticisms") on Azulai's *Birkei Yosef*. This gave rise to a sharp rejoinder by Azulai in his *Maḥazik Berakhah* (Leghorn, 1785), in which he remarked that it was not fitting that he should reply and was doing so only out of fear that his silence would be taken as a justification of Karmi's strictures. Karmi again replied in a special work entitled *Divrei Mordekhai* (Leghorn, 1787). His brother SOLOMON ḤAYYIM was born in the middle of the 18th century in Carpentras, where he served as rabbi after the death of his father. At the age of 18 he compiled *Ḥeshek Shelomo*, a supercommentary on Rashi's commentary to the Pentateuch. Solomon Ḥayyim's son MOSES (1766–1837) was born in Carpentras, but in 1790, together with his father and his uncle, moved to Aix, where he was appointed rabbi. He wrote *Ho'il Moshe Be'er*, a supercommentary in 12 volumes to Abraham ibn Ezra's commentary to some of the books of the Pentateuch and to Proverbs, Job, and the Five *Scrolls (only vols. 1–6 and 12 were printed; Aix, 1833–36). He also published, under the same title, a commentary to the prayer book according to the Provençal rite (six volumes, Aix, 1829–35).

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[Yehoshua Horowitz]

KARMI, DOV (1905–1962), Israel architect. Karmi was born in Russia and went to Palestine in 1921. He studied art in Jerusalem and architecture in Ghent. He began work as an independent architect in the early 1930s, mainly in Tel Aviv. Karmi belonged to the first generation of architects of the new Jewish settlement in Ereẓ Israel. He occupied an important place in the creation of a modern architectural style for the country and in creating prototypes, especially in domestic and commercial building styles. He was one of a group of architects who developed a unique Bauhaus style for Tel Aviv, later recognized by UNESCO as a world heritage site. He emphasized simplicity and functionalism. Karmi designed and built many public buildings and offices, including the Histadrut building in Tel Aviv, the Sherman (Administration) Building and the Wise Auditorium of the Hebrew University in Jerusalem, the El Al Building in Tel Aviv, the two buildings of the Tel Aviv Cameri Theater, and, together with Z. *Rechter, Tel Aviv's Heikhal ha-Tarbut (Mann Auditorium). In 1957 he was awarded the Israel Prize for architecture.

[Abraham Erlik / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

KARMI'EL (Heb. כַּרְמִיאֵל; "Vineyard of God," alluding to the Bet ha-Kerem Valley and neighboring Majd al-Kurūm), town in Israel, 14 mi. (22 km.) E. of Acre. Its construction as a development town, in connection with the Central Galilee Development Project, began in 1963, and the first inhabitants arrived in 1964. In 1969, Karmi'el had 1,740 inhabitants, comprised of about 40% veteran Israelis, 40% immigrants from Eastern Europe (mainly Romania), and 20% immigrants from North Africa and North and South America. Anticipated to serve as an urban center for existing Arab villages of a fairly wide periphery and Jewish villages to be founded in the area, Karmi'el hardly exercised these functions in its initial years. On the other hand, its economic development was satisfactory, with 75% of its manpower employed in local industrial enterprises and workshops. In 1984 Karmi'el received municipal status. By the mid-1990s its population had risen to approximately 30,800, further increasing to 42,400 in 2002, including 17,000 new immigrants. Commensurate with its population increase, Karmi'el underwent vast expansion, with seven new neighborhoods created and a municipal area extending over 10 sq. mi. (26 sq. km.). ORT's Braude College of Engineering, with approximately 3,500 students, is located in the city. Every summer Karmi'el hosts an international folk dancing festival.

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[Efraim Orni /Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

KARMINSKI, HANNAH (1897–1942), German social worker. Born in Berlin, she taught at a Jewish kindergarten. After moving to Frankfurt, she took charge of a club for young girls. Here she met famous Jewish personalities who had a decisive influence on her future development. She made the acquaintance of Franz *Rosenzweig and Bertha *Pappenheim who persuaded her to work for the Juedische Frauenbund ("Jewish Women's Organization"). Hannah Karminski was appointed secretary general of this organization, which developed rapidly under her leadership. From 1924 she edited the Frauenbund's monthly journal, *Die Blaetter des juedischen Frauenbundes*. When Hitler's Gestapo ordered the organization to terminate its activities, Hannah Karminski became a leading figure in the work of the *Reichsvertretung (later Reichsvereinigung) der Juden in Deutschland, a body set up by the Nazis to represent the Jewish community and to manage its affairs. Hannah Karminski continued working until 1942 under incredibly difficult conditions. She was arrested while seriously ill and died on the way to a concentration camp in the East.

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[Giora Lotan]

KARMINSKI, SIR SEYMOUR EDWARD (1902–1974), English judge. Born in London, Karminski was admitted to the bar in 1925 and specialized in divorce cases. During World War II he served in the Royal Navy, becoming lieutenant commander in 1943. In 1945 he was made a king's counsel and in 1951 was appointed judge of the divorce division of the High Court of Justice. He was senior judge of the divorce division for several years until his promotion to lord justice of appeal in 1969. Karminski was an active figure in the Jewish community as chairman of the London Jewish Board of Guardians (later the Jewish Welfare Board). He was a prominent member of the West London Reform Synagogue. In 1967 Karminski became a member of the privy council.

[Israel Finestein]

KARMIYYAH (Heb. כַּרְמִיָּה), kibbutz in the southern Coastal Plain of Israel, near the Gaza Strip, about 5 mi. (9 km.) S.W. of Ashkelon, affiliated to Ha-Kibbutz ha-Arẓi Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir. It was founded in 1950 by a group of pioneers from France and Tunisia. Newcomers from Argentina later made up the majority of the members. Field crops, citrus groves, and dairy cattle constituted the principal farm branches. The kibbutz also started up a textile and leather factory. In 2002 the population was 326. Nearby is the Shikmah Dam, a pilot water storage plant where winter floodwaters of Naḥal Shikmah are filtered through porous sand dunes and stored underground. Thus protected from evaporation losses, they are recovered through wells for use in summer. The name Karmiyyah, which is derived from the Hebrew *kerem* ("vineyard"), also refers to the Hebrew form of Adolphe *Crémieux's name.

[Efraim Orni]

KARMON, ISRAEL (1915–1982), cantor and opera administrator. Karmon was a native of Vilna where he sang in the choir of the Vilna Great Synagogue with the cantor Gershon Sirota. He immigrated to Palestine in 1936 and studied at the Hebrew University, Jerusalem, in the department of fine arts. He was a cantor in Tel Aviv and also administrator of the Israel National Opera Company. From 1954 until his death in 1982 he was cantor of the Jewish community in Basle. He appeared in concerts in Europe and made records of cantorial music.

[Akiva Zimmerman (2nd ed.)]

KARNAIM (Heb. קַרְנַיִם), city of Bashan, associated with *Ashteroth in Genesis 14:5; in the Book of Jubilees, it is mentioned as one of the cities of the *Rephaim (29:11). Amos probably alludes to the capture of Karnaim by Jeroboam II (6:13). After the destruction of Ashteroth by Tiglath-Pileser, Karnaim became the capital of Bashan and gave its name to the Assyrian district of Qarnini. Judah Maccabee conquered the city in his campaign to Gilead (I Macc. 5:43; the Karnion mentioned in II Macc. 12:21 seems to be a different locality). It appears in Midrash *Ruth Rabbah* 2:10 as Kiryanos (קרינוס). Eusebius identifies Karnaim with the village of Karnaia in Arabia, "where the house of Job is shown" (Onom. 112:3ff.). This would place the ancient site at Sheikh Saʿad in Bashan, 3¾ mi. (6 km.) south of Nawā, where neo-Hittite sculpture and a stele of Ramses II (known locally as "Job's Stone") have been found.

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[Michael Avi-Yonah]

KARNEI SHOMRON (Heb. קרני שומרון), urban community in Samaria. The settlement is located 13 mi. (20 km.) east of *Kefar Sava, in the Samarian foothills, and occupies an area of 3 sq. mi. (7.5 sq. km.). Karnei Shomron was founded in 1977 by a group of young families. The first settlers lived in temporary houses, until their permanent homes were built. The town received municipal council status in 1991. In 2002 its population was 6,100, including 200 immigrant families from English-speaking countries. An industrial zone near the settlement houses workshops. During the second Intifada, the settlement was attacked by terrorists: a women was killed in 2001 and three teenagers in 2002.

[Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

KARNI (Volovelski), YEHUDA (1884–1949), Hebrew poet. Born in Pinsk, his first Hebrew poem was printed in *Ha-Ẓefirah* when he was 12. In 1921 he settled in Palestine and from 1923 until his death was on the editorial board of the daily *Haaretz*.

Karni's early poetry, influenced by *Bialik and *Tchernichowsky, was individualistic, romantic, and abstract. His settling in Palestine brought about a radical change in his creative spirit. He was one of the first Hebrew poets who abandoned the Ashkenazi accentuation and shifted to the new Sephardi accent thus bringing his diction closer to rhythms of spoken Hebrew. His poetry became more concrete, reflecting the new landscape and his personal struggle for identity against the backdrop of the complex political, cultural, and economic issues which agitated the small Jewish community of mandatory Palestine. Particularly distinctive is his volume *Shirei Yerushalayim* (1948). Jerusalem in this volume looms as the eternal symbol of the people and its destiny. Although he encounters a city in apparently hopeless stagnation and decay, he senses the deeper, historical levels of consciousness of eternal Jerusalem. At the same time, he captures the concrete beauty of the Jerusalem landscape. In his last years Karni lamented the victims of the Holocaust. The poet's characteristics as moralist, lamenter, and artist were also evident in the articles and essays that appeared almost daily in *Haaretz* for 25 years. His other poetic works include *She'arim* (1923), *Bi-She'arayikh Moledet* (1935), *Shir ve-Dema* (1948), *Bimah Ketannah*, selected poetry and prose (1951), *Yalkut Shirim shel Yehuda Karni*, with introduction by Y. Ogen (1966). A collection of his poems (*Shirim*) with an introduction by Dan Miron appeared in 1992. A list of his works translated into English appears in Goell, Bibliography, 31, 100.

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[Yitzhak Ogen]

KARNIOL, ALTER YEHIEL (1855–1929), *ḥazzan*. Born in 1855 in Dzialoszyce, Kielce province, Poland, he sang with several *ḥazzanim* in Hungary and then officiated in various congregations. In 1886 he was appointed *ḥazzan* for life by the congregation of Pecs, in Hungary, but resigned after seven years to go to the Ohab Zedek synagogue of New York. In 1898 he returned to Russia as *ḥazzan* of the Great Synagogue of Odessa. He refused then an invitation to join the Odessa Opera. When the pogroms broke out in 1905 he returned to the United States and was ultimately re-engaged as *ḥazzan* of Ohab Zedek. Karniol was noted for the extraordinary quality of his tenor which could also reach to the bass register. His style, intensely emotional, is conveyed only imperfectly in the recordings which he made in the U.S.

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[Joshua Leib Ne'eman]

KARP, ABRAHAM J. (1921–2003), U.S. Conservative rabbi and scholar. Karp, who was born in Amidur, Poland, was taken to the United States in 1930. He was educated at Yeshiva University (B.A. 1942) and the Jewish Theological Seminary, where he was ordained in 1945. For a time he served as assistant director of the Seminary College and director of the Metropolitan New York Region of the United Synagogue of America. He then held pulpits in Swampscott, Mass. (1948–1951), and Kansas City, Mo. (1951–1956) working with Gerson Hadas. From 1956 he was rabbi of Temple Beth El of Rochester, N.Y. He was also active in the Rabbinical Assembly serving as a member of the Cabinet, the Executive Council and on the editorial committee of the Joint Prayer Book Commission and of *Conservative Judaism.* While serving at Beth El, Karp became well known as an important scholar of American Judaism. He was a visiting professor at Dartmouth College (1967) and at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem; he taught American Jewish history at the Jewish Theological Seminary (1967–71, 1976). He left his rabbinic duties in 1972 and was the Philip Bernstein Professor of Jewish Studies at the University of Rochester retiring in 1991.

Karp served as president of the American Jewish Historical Society from 1972 to 1975, receiving the society's Lee M. Friedman Medal for distinguished service, and was named fellow of the Jewish Academy of Arts and Science in 1984.

Karp was what one admirer called the "greatest grass-roots collector of Judaica in modern history." Rarely spending more than five or ten dollars he combed flea markets and basements, dumpsters and library sales. In the end he amassed a collection of some 3,500 items of Americana Judaica which he gave to the Jewish Theological Seminary in 1990. Prof. Arthur Kiron, curator of Judaica Collections at the University of Pennsylvania Library, called Karp's Americana material "perhaps the finest private collection of its kind ever assembled." In addition to books and manuscripts, the collection included ritual and ceremonial objects, paintings, synagogue records, newspapers, and diaries.

Karp is the author of *New York Chooses a Chief Rabbi* (1955), *Jewish Way of Life* (1962), and *History of the United Synagogue of America* (1964), all of which appeared in issues of the *Publication of the American Jewish Historical Society; Conservative Judaism – The Heritage of Solomon Schechter* (1963); and edited *Jewish Experience in America* (5 vols., 1969). He assisted in the Library of Congress's major exhibition of its Judaic treasures and wrote *From the Ends of the Earth: Judaic Treasures of the Library of Congress* (1991). He also wrote, *Jewish Perceptions of America: From Melting Pot to Mosaic* (1976), *Jewish Continuity in America: Creative Survival in a Free Society* (1998) and *To Give Life: UJA in the Shaping of the American Jewish Community* (1981).

[Jack Reimer / Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

KARP, MAX and **SOPHIE**, Yiddish actors. Max Karp (1856–1898) joined A. *Goldfaden's company in Odessa. In 1883 he went to London where he married Sophie (Sarah) Goldstein, also a member of the Goldfaden company, the first professional Yiddish actress. After appearances in England, the Karps went to New York in 1888, and appeared in operettas and melodramas. Karp organized the Schiller Dramatic Society (1890). A collection of his poetry was published under the title *Fun Oriental Teater.* Sophie Karp popularized Hurwitz and Sandler's song, "Eli, Eli."

KARPEL, HERMAN (1864–1942), French trade unionist. Karpel emigrated from Russia to France and in 1896 was co-founder of the cap-makers' union, the first Jewish trade union in France. Until 1914 Karpel played an active part in the Jewish labor movement in France. At the height of the *Dreyfus Affair in 1898, Karpel published a pamphlet entitled: *"Le Proletariat Juif. Lettre des ouvriers Juifs de Paris au Parti Socialiste Français,"* which was an appeal by French Jewish workers to their non-Jewish comrades to join the fight against antisemitism. The pamphlet also pointed out the danger of ignoring antisemitism and the mistake in the belief that the Jewish people consisted entirely of capitalists.

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KARPELES, GUSTAV (**Gershon**; 1848–1909), literary historian. Karpeles, who was born in Einwanowitz, Moravia, devoted himself to literary research in German and Jewish literature. One of his first studies was a biographical sketch, published anonymously, of Azriel *Hildesheimer (1870). In 1870 he became editor of the weekly *Juedische Presse*, founded by the latter, and at the same time of the German literary journal *Auf der Hoehe*. Karpeles edited the literary supplement of the *Breslauer Zeitung* and from 1878 to 1883 the influential *Westermanns Monatshefte*. In 1890 he became editor of the *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judentums*, and in 1898 editor of the *Jahrbuch fuer juedische Geschichte und Literatur.* This publication was a sequel to the founding of the Berlin Verein fuer juedische Geschichte und Literatur, by Karpeles, in association with others, an example soon followed by many other communities in Germany. These were eventually united, under his leadership, into the Verband der Vereine fuer juedische Geschichte und Literatur (1893). Karpeles published five books on *Heine, and four editions of his work. His writings include *Goethe in Polen* (1890), *Allgemeine Geschichte der Literatur…* (2 vols., 1891), and *Litterarisches Wanderbuch* (1898). His most important contribution to Jewish scholarship was the two-volume *Geschichte der juedischen Literatur* (1886, 1920–21^3; partial tr. *History of Jewish Literature*, n.d.). Smaller works in this field are his *Die Frauen der juedischen Literatur* (1871); *Zionsharfe*, a German anthology of medieval Hebrew poetry (1889); and *Sechs Vortraege ueber die Geschichte der Juden* (1896; *A Sketch of Jewish History*, 1897). Also in English appeared *Jews and Judaism in the 19th Century* (1905). Karpeles was not an original or profound scholar, but he did much to popularize Jewish literature and history.

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[Sol Liptzin]

KARPF, MAURICE JOSEPH (1891–1964), U.S. psychologist, social worker, and marriage counselor. Karpf, who was born in Austria, was brought to the U.S. as a boy, and studied sociology and psychology at Columbia University. After being employed as a psychologist in the Chicago school system (1912–14, 1916–18), he was superintendent of the Jewish Social Service Bureau, Chicago (1919–25), director and president of the faculty of the graduate school of Jewish Social Work in New York (1924–42), and executive director of the Federation of Jewish Welfare Organizations in Los Angeles (1942–47). Active in Jewish affairs, he served as president of the National Conference of Jewish Welfare (1930–32), chairman of the International Conference of Jewish Social Work (1932–35), and non-Zionist member of the Executive of the Jewish Agency for Palestine (1930–45). His works include: *The Scientific Basis of Social Work* (1931) and *Jewish Community Organization in the United States* (1938).

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KARPINOVITSH, AVROM (1918–2004), Yiddish writer. Born in Vilna, he studied at the Vilna Realgymnasium where his teachers included the poet M. *Kulbak and the literary historian Max *Erik. He left Vilna in 1937 for Birobidjan, returning in 1944. Intercepted by the British in 1947 as an illegal immigrant to Palestine, he was interned in Cyprus, reached Israel in 1949, and settled in Tel Aviv, where he became the administrator of the Israel Philharmonic Orchestra. Throughout his career his writing remained focused on the life of Vilna's Jews. His collections *Af Vilner Gasn* ("On Vilna Streets," 1981), *Vilne, Mayn Vilne* ("Vilna, My Vilna," 1993), *Geven, Geven Amol Vilne* ("Once, Once There Was Vilna," 1997), among others, recapture the atmosphere of prewar Vilna Jewish society – not the city of high culture but the colorful Jewish underworld. He evokes its characters with humor, affection, and humanity, in an expressive Lithuanian Yiddish. His friend, poet Avrom *Sutskever, said that apart from Chaim *Grade no one could write about Vilna as well as Karpinovitsh. A passionate supporter of Yiddish culture, he co-edited the second *Almanakh fun di Yidishe Shrayber in Yisroel* (1967) and was a frequent contributor to the quarterly *Di Goldene Keyt* and the newspaper *Letste Nayes*.

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[Israel Ch. Biletzky / Heather Valencia (2nd ed.)]

KARPLUS, HEINRICH (1905–1988), Israeli pathologist and founder of forensic medicine in Israel. Born in Vienna, he was the son of Johan Paul Karplus, known Viennese experimental neurophysiologist. Karplus graduated from the medical faculty of Vienna in 1930 and was a pupil of the Jewish pathologist Jakob Erdheim. He established the Institute of Pathology at the Hadassah Tel Aviv Municipal Hospital and directed it from 1936 to 1945, and became involved in forensic medicine. Trained in forensic medicine at Stockholm University (1945–49), he returned to Israel as advisor to the IDF and director of the department of pathology of the newly established Tel Hashomer army hospital. He established and directed the National Leopold Greenberg Institute of Forensic Medicine in Abu-Kabir from 1955 to 1974. He was known for his academic independence and uncompromising adherence to truth and moral principles. He initiated the first regional Traumatology CPC conferences in 1966 which improved the care of patients with multiple injuries. He was professor of forensic medicine at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem and at Tel Aviv University, and educated generations of physicians, lawyers, and criminologists. After his retirement he devoted himself to the study of ethics and the history of medicine.

[Bracha Rager (2nd ed.)]

KARS (originally **Karpeles**), **JIŘÍ** (1882–1945), painter and graphic artist. Kars was born into a German family in Kralupy, Bohemia. After travels in Spain and Portugal he settled in Paris in 1907. After the Nazi occupation in 1940, he escaped to Switzerland. Kars experimented in formalistic constructivism, but after 1918 turned to figurative paintings of classical composition. His work was characterized by deep lyricism and intense sorrow, occasionally overcome by explosions of brilliant color. His life work was honored by one of the first large-scale postwar exhibitions held in Prague. Shortly afterward, Kars fell victim to a depression resulting from his war experiences and committed suicide.

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[Avigdor Dagan]

KARSEN, FRITZ (1885–1951), educator. Born in Breslau, Germany, Karsen began his educational career in Berlin as a secondary school teacher. In 1920, at the national school conference he presented the Einheitsschule (unified primary school) idea, which aimed at the mixing of social classes. His major achievement during this period was the organization and direction, 1921–33, of a school complex (from kindergarten through secondary school), the Karl Marx School in Berlin-Neukoelln. He introduced various new procedures in these schools, such as individualized instruction, pupil government, and activity method. Karsen undertook study trips to the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. His plans for an elaboration of his school organization to include young people aged 18 to 19 were halted by the advent of the Nazis. In 1933 Karsen left Germany and settled permanently in New York, where he served as professor of German at City College and professor of education at Brooklyn College. From 1946 to 1948, Karsen served as higher education specialist in the U.S. military government in Germany. The recognition of his educational work in Germany was commemorated by the establishment of the Fritz Karsen School in Berlin. Karsen's main writings include *Die Schule der werdenden Gesellschaft* (1921), *Deutsche Versuchsschulen der Gegenwart und ihre Probleme* (1923), and *Die neue Schulen in Deutschland* (1924), which he edited. He died in Guayaquil (Ecuador).

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[William W. Brickman]

KARSKI, JAN (1914–2000), member of the Polish underground in World War II; Righteous Among the Nations. Born Jan Kozielewski, before the war Karski studied law and diplomatic sciences at Jan Kazimierz University in Lwow (Lvov), and in late 1939, after the German occupation, he joined the Polish underground. Because of his knowledge of languages and foreign countries, he served as a courier between the government-in-exile and the underground. In this capacity, he made several secret trips to France and England. On the eve of one of these trips, in the summer of 1942, he was asked to meet two Jewish leaders of the Warsaw ghetto (Menachem Kirschenbaum and Leon Feiner) to transmit a message to the Polish government-in-exile in London concerning the extermination of the Jewish population then taking place. They spelled out to him the utter hopelessness of their predicament – this was the end of the Jewish people on Polish soil. As they told him: "You other Poles are fortunate. You are suffering too. Many of you will die, but at least your nation goes on living. After the war Poland will be resurrected. Your cities will be rebuilt and your wounds will slowly heal. From this ocean of tears, pain, rage, and humiliation your country will emerge again but the Polish Jews will no longer exist. We will be dead. Hitler will lose his war against the human, the just, and the good, but he will win his war against the Polish Jews. No – it will not be a victory; the Jewish people will be murdered." They urged Karski to call upon the Jewish leaders in the free world to stage a hunger strike in front of the offices of the English and American authorities, to move them to action. Fearing that his report on the fate of the Jews would be received with skepticism, Karski asked to be smuggled inside the Warsaw ghetto to be able to say that his report was based on what he saw with his own eyes. Still not satisfied with this, Karski asked to be smuggled into one of the camps. Dressed as one of the Latvian camp guards, Karski again witnessed, from a safe distance, the brutality which accompanied the unloading of Jews from the deportation wagons. Later, in London, he met the Bund representative Samuel *Zygelbojm, to whom Karski relayed the appeal by the Warsaw ghetto to Jewish leaders. Zygelbojm, who later committed suicide, felt that this approach would not produce any results. Shaken but resolved to carry the message of Polish Jewry to the United States, Karski arrived there in 1943 and personally reported to President *Roosevelt and other high American officials. Roosevelt listened attentively to the relation of events inside Poland, but when it came to the Jewish part, Karski felt that what he said fell on deaf ears. Karski emphasized: "The Jewish leaders are totally helpless. The Poles can save only individuals, they cannot stop extermination. Only the powerful Allied leaders can do that." Roosevelt closed the 90-minute meeting with assurances that the Poles had a friend in the White House; that those guilty would be punished, and that justice and freedom would prevail. Karski also met with American Jewish leader and Supreme Court justice Felix *Frankfurter. When Karski finished, Frankfurter said: "I am unable to believe you." Karski continued to address audiences, and plead for the rescue of the Jews. His book *Story of a Secret State* became a Book-of-the-Month Club selection. But frustration soon set in, as he realized that all he was getting was applause, not action. Settling in the United States, he earned a doctorate from Georgetown University, where he taught political science. After a long period of silence, he was persuaded by Elie *Wiesel in 1980 to speak up again, and subsequently appeared in public on numerous occasions. He was especially pained at the silence of the world's leaders about the massacre of the Jews. "All those great individuals, presidents, ambassadors, cardinals, who said they were shocked; they lied. They knew or didn't want to know. This shocked me." In 1982, on a visit to Yad Vashem, he was declared a Righteous Among the Nations.

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[Mordecai Paldiel (2nd ed.)]

KARTELL-CONVENT DER VERBINDUNGEN DEUTSCHER STUDENTEN JUEDISCHEN GLAUBENS (KC), an umbrella organization of German Jewish student fraternities, founded in 1896. Fraternities of Jewish students were established (the first founded in Breslau, Oct. 23, 1886) in reaction to the mounting wave of antisemitism and the exclusion of Jews from German student fraternities. They adopted from their German counterparts not only the student rituals but also dress, manners, and all their activities. In this way they attempted to establish their equality by outdrinking and outfighting them. Special emphasis was put on Jewish honor in the face of antisemitism, especially the question of "*Satisfaktionsfaehigkeit*," the right and capability of a Jew to be considered an opponent in a duel. The critical attitude of the KC toward the Jewish nationalist movement and political Zionism led students with differing views, particularly those from Eastern Europe, to found their own organizations, first the two branches of Bund Juedischer Corporationen and the Kartell Zionistischer Verbindungen, later amalgamating into the *Kartell Juedischer Verbindungen (KJV), which focused on the enhancement of Jewish consciousness and Jewish nationalism. Many prominent figures were members of the KC, such as Ludwig *Hollaender, leader of the *Central-Verein. The KC was an association of fraternities at numerous German universities such as Heidelberg, Berlin, Munich, Freiburg, Leipzig, Frankfurt, and others. Membership of the KC increased from 836 in 1913 to approximately 2,100 in 1933. The KC published the *KC-Blaetter* from 1910 until 1933, when Hitler assumed power and the fraternities were dissolved. Its alumni, the so-called *Alte Herren* ("Old Boys"), were organized in separate organizations which continued to exist outside Germany after World War II.

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[Miriam Ruerup (2nd ed.)]

KARTELL JUEDISCHER VERBINDUNGEN (KJV), an umbrella organization of Jewish university student fraternities in Germany. It was a fusion of two groups. One of them, the Bund juedischer Corporationen (BJC), was formed in 1901 and was composed of the Jewish student fraternity, Verein Juedischer Studenten (VJST), founded in Berlin in 1895, and similar groups in Leipzig, Breslau and Munich. In the following years the BJC established new groups in Strasbourg, Freiburg, Koenigsberg. Marburg, Bonn, Heidelberg, and Frankfurt. The BJC formulated its aims as follows: "… to function as the meeting center of all Jewish students who consciously feel themselves Jews and are willing to collaborate in the development of living Judaism." The second group, Kartell Zionistischer Verbindungen (KZV), was formed in 1906 by Hasmonaea, the first explicitly Zionist students' fraternity (founded in Berlin in 1902), and Jordania (Munich, 1905). A year later the Ivria (Freiburg i. Br.) joined the association. Gradually the BJC adopted an increasingly Zionist program. Thus in July 1914 both groups united in the KJV, which was dedicated to educate its members to strive for "national unity of the Jewish community" and for a "renewal in Ereẓ-Israel."

After World War I the Zionist orientation dominated the organization: the German students' habits such as fencing and beer drinking were no longer compulsory but only optional, differing from university to university. Instead more emphasis was put on *ḥaluẓiyyut* – whose aims were settling in Palestine and studying Hebrew. One group within the KJV was dissatisfied with this development and after a central convention (Kartelltag) of the KJV in 1919 established the Bund Zionistischer Korporationen (BZK), consisting primarily of the *Alte*

Herren ("Old Boys") and university students in Berlin, Breslau, and Frankfurt, insisting on purely Zionist work. The BZK rejoined the KJV in 1929, however, when the latter officially adopted the *Basle Program as the basis of its activities. In the 1920s the KJV had a short period of cooperation with the *Blau-Weiss; fusion between the two groups was only temporary. Already in 1924 the KJV established a branch in Palestine. The KJV was active until 1933, when Hitler assumed power. By that time the organization had some 2,000 members, of whom over 1,200 so-called *Alte Herren* had entered professional life after their university studies. The Alte Herren were organized into 14 district associations and conducted local Zionist activities. By 1933 the KJV had branches at 20 German universities. Its organs were *Der juedische Student* (Berlin, 1902–33), and *Der juedische Wille* (1918–20, revived in 1933, and existed till 1937 as continuation of *Der juedische Student*). The KJV groups in Palestine, operating in Jerusalem, Tel Aviv, and Haifa, continued to meet for the next few decades. But the KJV itself was not reactivated after World War II.

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[Oskar K. Rabinowicz / Miriam Ruerup (2nd ed.)]

KARU (Krupnik), BARUCH (1899–1972), Hebrew writer, journalist, editor, and translator. Born in Chernevtsy (Podolia), Karu lived in Warsaw until World War I. He spent the war years in Berne, and subsequently settled in Berlin where he served on the editorial board of the German *Encyclopaedia Judaica* and the Hebrew encyclopedia *Eshkol*. In 1932 he moved to Tel Aviv, where he joined the staff of the daily newspaper **Haaretz*. From 1942 until his retirement in 1962 he served on the editorial board of the daily *Ha-Boker*. He first began publishing in **Ha-Shilo'aḥ* in 1911 and contributed articles regularly on literature, science, and other topics to the Hebrew press. His many publications include a talmudic dictionary *Millon Shimmushi la-Talmud* (1927), a literary encyclopedia *Enẓiklopedyah le-Sifrut Yisre'elit u-Khelalit* (1942–61), an Aramaic dictionary, *Millon ha-Aramit ha-Ḥayyah ba-Ivrit she-bi-Khetav u-ve-Dibbur* (1967), and many translations into Hebrew.

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[Getzel Kressel]

KASABI, JOSEPH BEN NISSIM (17th century), Turkish rabbi. Kasabi was a pupil of Joseph *Trani and was regarded as one of the outstanding halakhists of Constantinople. Problems were addressed to him from Bosnia, Belgrade, Salonika, Bucharest, and elsewhere, and among his halakhic correspondents were Abraham *Rosanes, Moses *Benveniste, and Jacob *Alfandari. Kasabi migrated to Adrianople but subsequently returned to Constantinople. Most of his sermons were lost in the great fire of 1669. Some of his halakhic rulings are cited in the *Penei Moshe* of Moses Benveniste, some in the *Dat ve-Din* of his pupil, Eliezer ibn Shangi, and others in his own *Rav Yosef* which was published by his grandson Moses Kasabi, together with the *Muẓẓal me-Esh* of Jacob and Ḥayyim Alfandari.

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[Simon Marcus]

KASDAN, LAWRENCE EDWARD (1949–), U.S. director, screenwriter, producer. A University of Michigan graduate with a master's degree in education, Kasdan originally worked as an advertising copywriter and submitted his screenplays on the side. In 1976 he sold his first screenplay, *The Bodyguard*, but it was not produced until 1992. His big break came when Steven Spielberg took notice of his 1980 screenplay *Continental Divide* and introduced him to George Lucas. He joined Leigh Brackett to co-write *The Empire Strikes Back* (1980). Spielberg then recruited him to write the first Indiana Jones movie, *Raiders of the Lost Ark* (1981). Kasdan returned to the world of lightsabers in 1983 to pen *Return of the Jedi* (1983) with Lucas. Kasdan stepped behind the camera for the first time in 1981 with his directorial debut of *Body Heat*, which he also wrote. *The Big Chill* (1983) was written, produced, and directed by Kasdan and earned his first Academy Award nomination for Best Original Screenplay. In 1985, he acted in the first of a handful of small roles, portraying the detective #2 in John Landis' *Into the Night*. Kasdan wrote, produced, and directed *The Accidental Tourist* (1988), which was nominated for an Academy Award for Best Picture. He and his wife, Meg Kasdan, co-wrote the Academy Award nominee for Best Original Screenplay *Grand Canyon* (1991), and he directed and produced the movie as well. In 1992, *The Bodyguard* was finally brought to life, but with Kevin Costner as the lead, not Steve McQueen, as Kasdan had originally imagined. It was a huge box-office hit. Other well-known Kasdan projects include *Wyatt Earp* (1994), *Mumford* (1999), and *Dreamcatcher* (2003), based on Stephen King's novel. Kasdan has two sons, Jacob and Jonathan Kasdan, both of whom have followed in their father's footsteps by screenwriting, directing, producing, and acting.

[Susannah Howland (2nd ed.)]

KASEJOVICE (Ger. **Kassowitz**, **Kasselowitz**), small town in S.E. Bohemia, Czech Republic. One Jewish family is mentioned in Kasejovice in 1570. By the 17th century there was a small community and a cemetery was consecrated in 1669. That same year a conference of notables confirmed the statutes of the Boehmische *Landesjudenschaft in Kasejovice. The community comprised 24 families in 1721, but a synagogue was not built until 1818. Only 28 Jews lived in Kasejovice in 1930. In 1942 all the Jews in the town were deported to the Nazi extermination camps, and the synagogue furniture was sent to the Central Jewish Museum in Prague. The community was not reestablished after World War II, and the synagogue building was used as a local museum. Kasejovice was the first community in which Filip *Bondy preached in Czech.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: B. Mandl, in: JGGJČ, 3 (1931), 275–82; J. Kára, in: H. Gold (ed.), *Juden und Judengemeinden Boehmens* (1934), 261–4.

[Jan Herman]

KASHAN, city in the central part of Iran. Its industrious people made Kashan prosperous, which also benefited the Jewish inhabitants. The beginning of Jewish settlement in Kashan is unknown but the dialect spoken by the Jews points to their antiquity. The earliest reference to the existence of a Jewish community in Kashan may be found in the colophon of a book of prose written in the year 1805; however, there is no doubt that their earliest presence far predated the 15th century. We know that Kashan was a flourishing city before the *Mongol invasion (early 13th century) and, although seriously damaged during the invasion, seems to have been rebuilt. Unlike many cities and towns across Persia populated by Sunni Muslims, Kashan was for the most part Shi'ite. As a result, it did not suffer from the establishment of the Shi'ite Safavid dynasty in the early 16th century, as did other Sunni cities and towns.

However, despite the beauty and prosperity of Kashan, its Jews suffered persecutions. There were several waves of forced conversion in the city. We know of these events from the account by *Babai ibn Lutf, who described the suffering of the Persian Jews between the years just before 1613 and early in 1662. The reign of Shah *Abbas II was particularly hard. From the beginning of 1657 to the beginning of 1662, Jews throughout the country (including 7,000 Jews of Kashan) were forced to convert to Islam. After seven years of apostasy, the Jews of Kashan were allowed to return to Judaism, thanks to the intervention of a Shi'ite priest, learned Sufi, and great poet Mohammad ibn Morteză Mohsen Fayz (d. 1680), as well as substantial payments to the ruling authorities in Kashan and *Isfahan and a change in local municipal government. According to *Babai ben Farhād, Jews of Kashan suffered persecutions around 1730.

Kashan is reputed for its Jewish poets and scholars such as Judah ben Eleazar, Babai ibn Lutf, Babai ibn Farhād, Samuel Pir Ahmad, Sarmad the Sufi (who later embraced Islam), *Amina, and others. The missionary Stern was twice in Kashan, in 1850 and 1852. He wrote that there lived in Kashan 150 Jewish families in the midst of 30,000 Muslim inhabitants and, due to the prosperity of the town the general condition of the Jews in Kashan was much better than those of Isfahan. On the other hand, *Benjamin II, who was in Kashan about the same time as Stern, claimed that 180 Jewish families lived there in fear. According to Castleman the Jewish community of Kashan consisted of 100 families and most of them were poor. Neumark (1884), who did not visit Kashan, heard that the "plague of Bahaism which afflicted the Jews of Hamadan infected also the Kashani Jews."

According to BAIU (1906) there lived in Kashan 2,000 Jews in 130 houses among 50,000 Muslim inhabitants. A Jewish school was founded in Kashan in 1910 by a local philanthropist named Jekutiel. There were 1,380 Jews living in Kashan in 1943 (*'Ālam-e Yahud*, pp. 379, 472–73). Many of these Jews left Kashan to live in Teheran, London, and Israel. Lord David Alliance, a native of Kashan (b. 1932), who immigrated to London at the age of 17, became one of the greatest textile industrialists in England. At the end of the 20th century, Kashan, which once was called "the Little Jerusalem," ceased to be a dwelling place of Jews.

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[Amnon Netzer (2nd ed.)]

KASHANI, ELIEZER (1923–1947), Jew executed by the British in Palestine. Kashani was born in Petaḥ Tikvah to a poor family with many children. In his youth he was a member of the Maccabi sports organization in which he distinguished himself. Arrested on suspicion of belonging to the underground movement, he was exiled to Eritrea, and in the internment camp joined IẒL. On his release and return to Ereẓ Israel, he became active in the movement, was arrested together with Drezner and Alkaḥi, sentenced to death, and hanged with them.

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KASHDAN, ISAAC (1905–1985), U.S. chess master. Born in New York, Kashdan spent 1929–32 in Europe and established himself there with Salo *Flohr as a likely successor to world champion Alexander Alekhine. Although he was one of the strongest players in the world in the early 1930s, Kashdan could not support his family with his chess career, so he became an insurance agent and administrator to earn a living.

Kashdan was a member of the men's U.S. chess team in the 1928, 1930, 1931, 1933, and 1937 Chess Olympiads. He won three gold and one silver medal and 52 games overall, losing only five. He had many notable achievements in non-Olympic tournaments as well. In 1930 he won first prizes in the tournaments in Berlin, Stockholm, and Gyor. He placed second in New York in 1931, and tied for fourth the same year. In 1932 he tied for second in Pasadena, tied for first prize in Mexico City, and tied for second in Hastings. He tied for first place in the 1942 U.S. Championship but lost the playoff against Samuel *Reshevsky. After the war, Kashdan maintained his ties to chess by organizing and directing tournaments. In 1933, he and Al Horowitz and Fred Reinfeld co-founded the monthly *Chess Review,* which he edited for a year. In 1969 the magazine merged with *Chess Life* to become *Chess Life and Review.* From 1955 to 1982 Kashdan served as editor of the chess column of the *Los Angeles Times*.

In 1950 he was awarded the IM (International Master) title; in 1954 the GM (Grand Master) title; and in 1960 the IA (International Arbiter) title. Kashdan edited two books: *First Piatigorsky Cup* (1965) and *Second Piatigorsky Cup* (1968).

[Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

KASHER, or **KOSHER** (Heb. כָּשֵׁר), term originally used in the Bible in the sense of "fit" or "proper" (e.g., Esth. 8:5; Eccles. 10:10; 11:6), and later in rabbinic literature exclusively for objects that are ritually correct and faultless. Most often it denotes food that is permitted in contrast to that which is non-kasher, or **terefah*. It is also used to indicate that scrolls of the Torah, *tefillin*, and *mezuzot* are properly written, that *ẓiẓit* are correctly spun, and that a *mikveh* is properly constructed. Witnesses competent to testify in accordance with talmudic jurisprudence are also described as *kasher.* Recently, this word has been used popularly in Anglo-Saxon countries to indicate that which is proper and within the law.

KASHER, MENAHEM (1895–1983), rabbi and halakhist, distinguished for his research in talmudic and rabbinic literature. Kasher, born in Warsaw, studied under the greatest Polish rabbis of his time, and was primarily influenced in his method of study by Abraham Bornstein. He was ordained by Meir Dan *Plotzki in 1915 and went to Ereẓ Israel in 1925 as an emissary of Abraham Mordecai Alter, the head of the ḥasidic Gur dynasty, on whose behalf he founded in Jerusalem the yeshivah Sefat Emet, which he directed and managed for two years. Despite his communal work and his religious activity, Kasher never held any official appointment, and his reputation derives mainly from his literary work. This consists for the most part of varied anthologies, encyclopedic in character, which he not only initiated and wrote, but also took the responsibility for financing. His *Torah Shelemah* is an encyclopedia of the Talmud and Midrash, in which all relevant material in the oral law, both published and in manuscript, is collected according to the Scriptural verse to which it applies together with notes, expositions, and supplements. Thirty-three volumes, covering Genesis–Leviticus 24:23 had been published by 1981 (the first volume appeared in 1927). For this work, Kasher was awarded the Israel Prize in 1962. *Gemara Shelemah* (1960) deals with the first nine pages of the tractate *Pesaḥim*, with variant readings from all the known manuscripts and with all the relevant comments of the *rishonim*, together with notes and expositions by Barukh Naeh edited by Kasher – the beginning of a long-term project toward a scientific edition of the entire Talmud. *Haggadah Shelemah* (1956^{3}) comprises the Passover *Haggadah* with variant readings, notes, and expositions, to which are added a selection of relevant homiletic comments. *Sarei ha-Elef* (1959) consists of a list of Hebrew books whose authors lived between 500 and 1500, edited and arranged in conjunction with J. Mandelbaum. These compilations are basic reference works for all research in talmudic and rabbinic literature. In 1950 Kasher founded, in Jerusalem and in New York, the Torah Shelemah Institute for research and publication.

In 1956 Kasher discovered an extensive collection of writings by Joseph *Rozin, author of *Ẓafenat Pa'ne'aḥ*. In order to edit and publish this material he founded, together with the *Yeshiva University in New York, the Ẓafenat Pa'ne'aḥ Institute, which by 1970 had issued 12 volumes. Aside from these projects, Kasher published many works on varied subjects: *Mefa'ne'aḥ Ẓefunot* (1959), elucidating the halakhic terms and concepts used by Rozin in the above-mentioned book; *Sefer ha-Rambam ve-ha-Mekhilta de-Rabbi Shimon b. Yoḥai* (1943), clarifications of the sources of Maimonides; *Shabbat Bereshit ve-Shabbat Sinai*, in *Talpiyoth*, 1 (1944), and *Ha-Shabbat u-Mizraḥ ha-Olam*, in *Ha-Pardes*, 28 (1954), elucidations of the problem of the International Date Line prompted by the dilemma of the Jewish war refugees in Japan; a small collection of responsa by Rashi (1925); *Targum Yerushalmi ha-Shalem* from a Rome manuscript, and others. Kasher also devoted himself to the clarification of contemporary halakhic problems, and to comparisons of the views of the sages with modern concepts. These appear mostly in the annual publication *No'am* (1958–) which Kasher founded and which he edited. The halakhic aspects of such problems as artificial insemination and autopsies are dealt with in this publication. Kasher also wrote an extensive article to prove the antiquity of the Zohar, and published many articles on the importance of manuscripts for a complete and correct understanding of the Talmud. He instituted an *eruv for Manhattan in New York which gave rise to considerable controversy. In 1968 there appeared his *Ha-Tekufah ha-Gedolah* in which he maintained that the establishment of the State of Israel is the beginning of the Redemption foretold by the prophets, and its development its progressive realization. A hitherto unknown work on a similar theme by R. Hillel Shklover, a disciple of Elijah Gaon of Vilna, is appended to the work with a commentary by Kasher.

[Israel Moses Ta-Shma]

His son Shimon (1914–1968) was a Hebrew poet and writer. He was born in Warsaw and went to Palestine with his family in 1925. His first poems were published in the literary journal *Gilyonot*. His poetry (which included a number of deeply religious poems), stories, and articles appeared in various publications. His volumes of poetry included: *Sullamot la-Rom* ("Ladders Heavenward," 1938), *La-Boker Rinnah* ("Song to the Morning," 1941), *Karmelit* (1949), and *Ha-Kol Ẓafui* ("All Is Foreseen," 1964).

[Getzel Kressel]

KASHMIR, region in S. central Asia. The association of Kashmir with Jews was first alluded to by the 11th-century Muslim scholar Al-Bīrūnī in his "India-Book": "In former times the inhabitants of Kashmir used to allow one or two foreigners to enter their country, particularly Jews, but at present they do not allow any Hindus whom they do not know personally to enter, much less other people." In the time of the Moghul emperor Akbar (1556–1605), the question of the association of Jews with Kashmir and the Jewish descent of the Kashmiris was raised by the Jesuit Monserrate, who regarded the old inhabitants of this region as Jews by race and custom in view of their appearance, physique, style of dress, and manner of conducting trade. As early as the 17th century François Bernier, the scholar and traveler, who was in India from 1656 to 1668, was asked by Melchissedec Thevenot (1620–1692), a traveler and publisher, to discover if Jews had long been resident in Kashmir. Bernier reported that Jews had once lived here, but that they had converted to Islam. Nonetheless, as he put it:

> There are many signs of Judaism to be found in this country. On entering the kingdom after crossing the Pire-penjale mountains the inhabitants in the frontier villages struck me as resembling Jews. Their countenance and manner and that indescribable peculiarity which enables a traveler to distinguish the inhabitants of different nations all seemed to belong to that ancient people. You are not to ascribe what I say to mere fancy, the *Jewish* appearance of these villagers having been remarked by our Jesuit Fathers, and by several other Europeans, long before I visited Kashmir. A second sign is the prevalence of the name of Mousa, which means Moses, among the inhabitants of this city, notwithstanding they are Mahometans. A third is the tradition that Solomon visited this country and that it was he who opened a passage for the waters by cutting the mountain of Baramoulé. A fourth, the belief that Moses died in the city of Kashmir, and that his tomb is within a league of it. And a fifth may be found in the generally received opinion that the small and extremely ancient edifice seen on one of the high hills was built by Solomon; and it is therefore called the *throne of Solomon* to this day.

The claim to be of Israelite extraction is still widespread among Kashmiris, who point to the similarity of place names which appear to reflect biblical names like Mamre, Pisgah, and Mt. Nevo. The Internet is not deficient in web pages which purport to show historical connections between India and the Jews, India and Jesus (who is said to have gone there), the identical nature of Hebrew and Sanskrit, and so forth.

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[Walter Joseph Fischel / Tudor Parfitt (2nd ed.)]

KASKEL (originally **Kaskele**), 17th-century family of German Court Jews and bankers, who went from Poland and settled in Dresden, Saxony, during one of the Polish-Saxonian unions. They became court bankers to the royal house of Saxony and Poland, bankers to the government, and founders of the Dresdner Bank, one of Germany's leading commercial banks. The first prominent member of the family was JACOB KASKELE (d. 1778), who in 1772 was appointed court agent. Several of his eight children, too, served as court agents in Warsaw and Dresden. One member of the family became a commissioned officer in the Austrian army in 1813. MICHAEL KASKEL (b. 1775) continued the family's banking business; he also acted as a purveyor to the Saxonian army and the mint, in addition to wider-ranging trading activities.

Michael's son KARL (1798–1874) acquired citizenship in Dresden in 1830, rose to be privy councilor, consul general for Sweden and Norway, and in 1867 obtained Austrian nobility. He converted to Christianity. At the initiative of Eugen Gutmann, Karl Kaskel in cooperation with the Rothschilds of Frankfurt, Oppenheims of Cologne, and Bleichroeder of Berlin, incorporated his banking firm and formed the Dresdner Bank.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Aus der Geschichte der Dresdner Bank* (1969); J.F. Kaskel, in: *Zeitschrift fuer Unternehmensgeschichte*, 28 (1983), 159–87; C. Buergelt, in: *Der alte juedische Friedhof in Dresden* (2002), 196–201.

[Joachim O. Ronall]

KASOVSKY, CHAYIM YEHOSHUA (1873–1960), Israeli rabbinical scholar. Kasovsky received his early education at the Eẓ Ḥayyim Talmud Torah in Jerusalem where his father Abraham Abele Kasovsky was an instructor. At the age of 20, he was contributing articles to various periodicals on such subjects as Hebrew language and grammar, geometry, and talmudic themes.

Kasovsky's reputation rests upon the concordances which he compiled of the Mishnah, the Tosefta, Targum Onkelos, and the Babylonian Talmud (the last of which he was unable to complete). He undertook this task alone and under difficult conditions. He finally evolved a scheme which served as the "key" to the compilation of the concordances. Unable to afford a publisher, Kasovsky acquired a primitive press and set and printed the first volume of the concordance of the Mishnah himself. Its appearance in 1914 caused a sensation in the scholarly world. A committee was established to provide the necessary means to enable Kasovsky to continue his work: the four-volume *Oẓar Leshon ha-Mishnah* (1957–60); the six-volume Tosefta concordance (1933–61); and the four-volume Onkelos (1933–40). Kasovsky's works subsequently became indispensable to all scholars in those fields. His Talmud concordance (1954–) consisted of 24 volumes by 1970, up to the letter *Mem*. After his death, his youngest son Benjamin continued the work (from vol. 10, 1962). His oldest son, Moshe, prepared a concordance of the Jerusalem Talmud under the auspices of the Israel Academy for Sciences and Humanities and the Jewish Theological Seminary of America. Kasovsky was active in the religious Zionist movement.

[Mordechai Hacohen]

The continuation of the *Talmudic Concordance* of Kasovsky by his son Benjamin, mentioned in the original article, reached volume 39 up to the letter ש, before Benjamin's death in 1978. In 1981 the concordance was completed with the publication of volume 40. The remainder of the concordance of the names in the Talmud of which 3 volumes have appeared, from Abba to Othniel (א to ע), has yet to be published.

Benjamin also published a concordance to the *Mekhilta* (4 vols., 5725–6), the *Sifra* (4 vols., 5726–9), and the *Sifrei* (5 vols., 5731–5).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Y. Werfel (Raphael), in: *Sinai*, 12 (1943), 3–9; Y. Raphael, *Rishonim ve-Aḥaronim* (1957), 421ff.; I. Goldschlag, in: *Shanah be-Shanah 5721* (1960), 366–8; *Aresheth*, 3 (1961), 430–2.

KASPAROV, GARY (1963–), Russian chess master. Kasparov, whose father was Jewish and whose mother was an Armenian, was born in Baku. He was taught the basic rules of chess by his father, Kim Vainstein, an engineer who was killed in an accident (1970) when Kasparov was seven years of age. As his career in chess developed, he adopted his mother's maiden name – apparently at the behest of the Soviet authorities. After his exceptionally great talent for chess was discovered he was taught intensively by the former world champion Mikhail *Botvinnik, who clearly understood the great potential which Kasparov had in the field of chess. His career was meteoric: in 1980 he earned the title of grand master and won the World Junior Chess Championship; in 1981 he became chess champion of the Soviet Union. His path to the world championship was paved by his victory in the Moscow interdistrict competition. He then won matches against the grand masters Alexander Blaiavsky and Viktor Korchnoi as well as defeating former world champion Vasili Smislov. The height of his achievement came after three dramatic duels against his immediate predecessor as holder of the world title, the Russian Anatoly Karpov. The first duel was called to a halt at the end of 1984 after 48 games because of the physical and mental fatigue of Karpov. Kasparov did not refrain from accusing FIDE (the World Chess Federation) and the Russian chess establishment of trying to aid his opponent. In the second battle, which was limited to 24 games and which ended in November 1985, Kasparov was the victor, the result being 13:11. He thus became the youngest person ever to hold the title of world champion. In the rematch which took place in London and Leningrad in 1986 Kasparov retained the title of world champion by a score of 12.5:11.5. As world champion he also played against – and defeated – some of the greatest players in the West, including among them Olaf Anderson of Sweden, Jan Timmam of the Netherlands, and Anthony Miles of Great Britain.

Kasparov's style of playing is deep, original, and devious. He tends to make bold moves and take chances to assume the offensive role. Kasparov puts great weight on the psychological aspects of the game and particularly on the ability to rebound after losses. He applied this in the 1986 match with Karpov after suffering three losses in a row. In 1990 he defeated Karpov again in the final meeting of a 24-game contest. He won 4, lost 3, and drew 17. In 1993 he retained his title, defeating Nigel Short of Britain.

Kasparov battled computer chess programs. In February 1966 IBM's Deep Blue defeated Kasparov in one game – the first time a computer had bested a world champion – using normal time controls, but Kasparov won the match by gaining 3 wins and playing to 2 draws. In November 2003 he played against the X3D Fritz computer program using a virtual board, 3D glasses, and a speech recognition system in a four-game match. The first game ended in a draw, XD3 won the second, Kasparov the third, and the final game ended in a draw.

Kasparov wrote a number of books which deal with the theory of openings of games and an analysis of a selection of his games.

[Yisrael Shrenzel]

KASPI, ANDRÉ (1937–), French historian teaching the history of North America at the Sorbonne. Kaspi was born in Béziers (Hérault). Among his books are *L'indépendance américaine* (1976), *Le Watergate* (1983), *La guerre de Sécession* (1992), *Kennedy, les mille jours d'un président* (1993), *Les Américains: Les États-Unis de 1607 à nos jours* (2 vols., 1998), and *La peine de mort aux États-Unis* (2003). His two doctoral dissertations were published as *La mission de Jean Monnet à Alger, mars-octobre 1943* (1969) and *Le concours américain à la France, 1917–1918* (1976). In addition to his work on American civilization, Kaspi is a pioneer of Jewish historiography in France. In the 1970s he founded the first seminar on the Holocaust and the history of the Vichy government and published several books on these topics: *La Deuxième Guerre mondiale, chronologie commentée* (1990); *Les Juifs pendant l'Occupation* (1991); and *La libération de la France* (1994); as well as a biography, *Jules Isaac ou la passion de la vérité* (2002).

[Anne Grynberg (2nd ed.)]

KASPI, JOSEPH BEN ABBA MARI IBN (**En Bonafoux del'Argentière**; 1279–1340?), philosopher, biblical commentator, and grammarian. Motivated by an intense desire for wisdom and knowledge, and being a wealthy man, Kaspi spent most of his days traveling from one country to another, living successively in Arles, Tarascon, Aragon, Catalonia, and on the island of Majorca. Because of his admiration for *Maimonides, he left for Egypt in 1314 in order to hear explanations on the latter's *Guide of the Perplexed* from the author's grandchildren. He was, however, disappointed in his expectations and came to realize that the grandchildren of Maimonides were indeed "all righteous, but they did not occupy themselves with the study of the sciences." When he heard that the *Guide* was being studied in the Muslim philosophical schools of Fez, he left for that town (in 1332) in order to observe their method of study. At the time of the *Pastoureaux (Shepherds' Persecutions, 1320), he was in mortal danger and his life was saved only by great fortune.

Kaspi was a prolific writer. He began to write his works when 17 years old and composed over 30 books during his lifetime. These books dealt with a variety of subjects: logic, linguistics, ethics, theology, biblical exegesis, and super-commentaries to Abraham Ibn Ezra and Maimonides. Despite their variety, all have essentially the same purpose: to demonstrate that a correct understanding of Scripture accords with the conclusions of philosophy. In his philosophic system he followed *Aristotle and *Averroes. On more than one occasion, however, he expressed contradictory opinions. Kaspi rejected the viewpoint that Maimonides had supposedly refuted the theory of the eternity of the world. He raised the importance of reason to the level of God, "because reason is God and God is reason." In spite of these ideas which border on heresy, Kaspi wrote that "after our God, blessed be He, we have no need for Plato, Aristotle, and their ilk, even if they dispute this fact."

At the same time, since the true meaning of Scripture, the opinions of the Greek philosophers and the views of Maimonides are identical regarding the creation of the world, Kaspi did not affirm the traditional belief in creation. On the other hand, since he was not only a philosopher, and his Bible commentary dealt with the plain or literal meaning (*peshat*) of Scripture, he was influenced to a great extent by the exegetical approach of Abraham ibn Ezra. Accordingly, he declared that "all the words of the Torah and the Bible are in my opinion to be accepted in their plain meaning, like the books on logic and nature of Aristotle" and, in his view, there was not "in the wonders of the prophets any action which departed from nature." He defines his aim as "not to be a fool who believes in everything, but only in that which can be verified by proof… and not to be of the second unthinking category which disbelieves from the start of its inquiry," since "certain things must be accepted by tradition, because they cannot be proven."

This complicated method adopted by Kaspi aroused violent criticism against him on the part of Jewish scholars. In referring to his first work, *Sefer ha-Sod* ("Book of the Secret"), his critics not only attacked his unorthodox opinions, but also accused him of inconsistency: "At times he is meticulous with groats and, on other occasions, he disregards golden coins." They also protested against his abuse of the masses, whom he had referred to as "animals," and accused him of having insulted the Jewish people. Kaspi was very offended by his critics and wrote of them with bitterness: "I know that if I had murdered and taken possession of ten guilders and presented them with these, they would have said that there is no man on earth like me for honesty and righteousness." He severely criticized "the great of our people." With sharp irony, he described them as "idling away all their days with unfounded arguments and lengthy discussions on the laws of uncleanliness and purity which no longer apply." With the same scorn he wrote of the wealthy, whose "body is fat and whose neck is thick" and the whole of their wisdom lies in that they know how to "lend and extract [their] debts."

Kaspi's anger did not silence his opponents, and 150 years after his death Jewish scholars still differed over the evaluation of his personality and his works. Simeon b. Ẓemaḥ *Duran and Isaac *Abrabanel considered him a dangerous heretic. On the other hand, Johanan Alemanno and Moses *Rieti praised his works and considered him among the most illustrious Jewish scholars.

Kaspi attempted to educate his children toward perfect virtues. He accustomed them to "meditate after every meal, morning and evening, on the ethics of the philosophers." Before one of his journeys, he wrote the work *Ha-Musar* ("Ethics") for his son Solomon, "lest the wind of God carries me off to a distant land or death overtake me… and perhaps these ethics will serve for [his son's] understanding and the instruction of many of the inhabitants of the country." In this work, which includes the fundamentals of his faith, he teaches his son that "truth should neither be cowardly nor bashful." This work also serves as a testament, since in it Kaspi hands down to his son a detailed program and guide of his system of learning: "and if he will act in this way, he will be a man who will combine wisdom with understanding."

Kaspi was the first to declare of the return of Israel to its country and the establishment of the Jewish state: "it becomes every intelligent person to believe in this by logic and reason, so that the promises of the Scriptures will not be required at all." After a comprehensive political survey of the changes and events of his time, he reached the conclusion that the return of Israel to its country could, without any difficulty, find its place within the framework of normal political events.

Kaspi's Works

Many of the titles of Kaspi's works include the word *kesef* ("silver"), a play on his name.

1. *Adnei Kesef* or *Sefer ha-Mashal*, commentary on the Prophetic books, ed. I.H. Last, pt. I, London 1911; pt. II, London 1912. The text is also being published anew in *Mikra'ot Gedolot 'Haketer'*, ed. Menachem Hacohen, Jerusalem 1992ff.
2. *Amudei Kesef*, exoteric commentary on *The Guide of the Perplexed*, in: *Amudei Kesef u-Maskiyyot Kesef*, ed. S.A. Werbloner, Frankfurt a/M 1848.
3. Commentaries on the book of Job (two versions), in: *Asarah Kelei Kesef*, ed. I.H. Last, vol. I, Presburg 1903.
4. Commentaries on the book of Proverbs (two versions), in: *Asarah Kelei Kesef*, ed. I.H. Last, vol. I, Presburg 1903.
5. Commentary on Ibn Janaḥ's *Sefer ha-Rikmah*, lost.
6. Commentary on Maimonides' *Milot ha-Higayyon*, Ms. Vatican 429.
7. Commentary on the Song of Songs, in: *Asarah Kelei Kesef*, ed. I.H. Last, vol. I, Presburg 1903.
8. *Gelilei Kesef*, commentary on the book of Esther, in: *Asarah Kelei Kesef*, ed. I.H. Last, vol. II, Presburg 1903.
9. *Gevi'a ha-Kesef*, treatise on esoteric topics in the book of Genesis, with English translation, ed. B.E. Herring, New York 1982.
10. *Ḥagorat Kesef*, commentary on the books of Ezra, Nehemiah, and Chronicles, in: *Asarah Kelei Kesef*, ed. I.H. Last, vol. II, Presburg 1903.
11. *Ḥaẓoẓerot Kesef*, commentary on the book of Ecclesiastes, in: *Asarah Kelei Kesef*, ed. I.H. Last, vol. I, Presburg 1903.
12. *Kappot Kesef*, commentaries on the books of Ruth and Lamentations, in: *Asarah Kelei Kesef*, ed. I.H. Last, vol. II, Presburg 1903.

13. *Ke'arot Kesef*, commentary on the book of Daniel, lost.

14. *Kesef Sigim*, 110 questions on the Bible, lost.

15. *Kevuẓat Kesef* (two versions): Version A, in: *Asarah Kelei Kesef*, ed. I.H. Last, vol. I, Presburg 1903; Version B, in E. Renan, *Les écrivains juifs français du XIVe siècle*, Paris 1983, pp. 131–201.

16. *Kippurei Kesef*, critique of earlier Bible commentaries, lost.

17. *Maskiyyot Kesef*, esoteric commentary on *The Guide of the Perplexed*, in: *Amudei Kesef u-Maskiyyot Kesef*, ed. S.A. Werbloner, Frankfurt a/M 1848.

18. *Menorat Kesef*, in: *Asarah Kelei Kesef*, ed. I.H. Last, vol. II, Presburg 1903.

19. *Mezamerot Kesef*, commentary on the book of Psalms, lost.

20. *Maẓref la-Kesef*, systematic commentary on the Torah, ed. I.H. Last, Krakow 1906.

21. *Mitot Kesef*, treatise on the intentions of the Bible, lost.

22. *Mizrak la-Kesef*, treatise on Creation, lost.

23. *Parashat Kesef*, supercommentary on Ibn Ezra, unpublished, Ms. Vatican 151.

24. *Retukot Kesef*, principles of linguistics, Ms. Rome-Angelica 60.

25. *Sharshot Kesef*, dictionary of Hebrew roots, Ms. Rome-Angelica. Part published by I.H. Last, *JQR* 1907, pp. 651–687.

26. *Shulḥan Kesef*, five exegetical and theological essays, ed. H. Kasher, Jerusalem 1996.

27. *Tam ha-Kesef*, eight theological essays, ed. I.H. Last, London 1913.

28. *Terumat Kesef*, brief treatise on ethics and politics, Ms. Wien 161. Part published by E.Z. Berman, *The Hebrew Versions of the Fourth Book of Averroes' Middle Commentary on the Nicomedean Ethics*, Jerusalem 1981 (Hebrew).

29. *Tirat Kesef* or *Sefer ha-Sod*, brief commentary on the Torah, ed. I.H. Last, Presburg 1905.

30. *Yoreh De'ah*, ethical treatise, with English translation, in: I. Abrahams (ed.), *Hebrew Ethical wills*, Philadelphia 1926, vol. I, pp. 127–161.

31. *Ẓeror ha-Kesef*, Brief treatise on logic, unpublished, Ms. Vatican 183. Part published by S. Rosenberg in *Iyyun*, 32 (1984), pp. 275–295.

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[Ephraim Kupfer / Hannah Kasher (2nd ed.)]

KASPI, NETHANEL BEN NEHEMIAH (15th century), author of religious-philosophical works. Kaspi was a disciple of Frat Maimon (Solomon b. Menahem). He composed the following works: (1) commentary on the *Kuzari*, completed in 1424, for which he made use of the Hebrew translations by Judah ibn Tibbon and Judah Cardinal; (2) commentary on the anonymous philosophical work *Ru'aḥ Ḥen*; (3) commentary on Maimonides' *Shemonah Perakim*. All three commentaries appear to be primarily a record of Frat Maimon's oral explanations. All three are contained in a Parma manuscript (no. 395), copied by Abraham Farissol in Ferrara in 1520. (4) *Lekutot* ("selections"), consisting of comments on passages in the Pentateuch, and polemical remarks against Christianity including, in the main, the arguments used by French rabbis in their debates with Christians, such as may be found in the writings of Joseph b. Nathan ha-Mekanne. Kaspi also copied works, among them *Levi b. Gershom's commentary on the Pentateuch, in Avignon in 1429. He also copied *Alfasi's *Halakhot* (in 1454) and other rabbinical works.

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[Bernard Suler]

KASRILS, RONNIE (1938–), South African resistance leader and politician. Kasrils was a member of the banned South African Communist Party (SACP) and was active in the armed wing of the African National Congress, Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK), from its creation. He was in MK's Natal regional command and personally carried out acts of sabotage and organized a major operation to provide it with dynamite. In 1962, he received a five-year banning order and narrowly escaped arrest under new security legislation. He remained on the run from the security police until October 1963, when he went abroad for military training. After several years in the ANC office in Dar es Salaam, Kasrils moved to London, where he worked with other exiled South African activists like Joe Slovo in establishing underground MK units in South Africa. In 1977, he held various senior positions within the resistance movements in Southern Africa, including Angola, Mozambique, and Zambia. He was chief of military intelligence in 1983–88 and was a coopted member of the ANC National Executive Committee from 1987. He was also a member of the SACP Central Committee and Politburo. With the onset of the reform process, he returned to South Africa in 1990. Following the transition to nonracial democracy in 1994, he served terms as deputy minister of defense (1994–99) and minister of water affairs and forestry (1999–2004). During the latter period, he took the lead in promoting local Jewish opposition to the policies of the State of Israel. He was appointed minister of intelligence in 2004. He wrote an autobiography called *Armed and Dangerous; My Undercover Struggle Against Apartheid* (1993).

[David Saks (2nd ed.)]

KASSEL, city in Germany, former capital of the state of *Hesse-Kassel. A record of 1293 maintains that a Jewess had been in possession of some property in Kassel at an earlier date. A Jews' street was in existence in 1318. During the *Black Death persecutions (1348–49) the Jews suffered, but some managed to escape and were living in Frankfurt (1360) and Erfurt. By 1398 there was an organized community, with a synagogue and cemetery in Kassel. The Jews' street is mentioned again in 1455 and 1486 and the "Jews' well" may date from this period. In 1513 Master Falke contributed to the construction of a local bridge; in 1520 he paid the rent for the cemetery, as did his widow in 1526. Landgrave Philip of Hesse expelled the Jews from Hesse-Kassel in 1524. However, in 1530 he admitted Michel Jud of Derenburg as court agent for ten years, and in 1532 issued a Jewry toleration law, amplified in 1539. Though restrictive and ordering Jews to attend Christian sermons, it was less severe than the extreme anti-Jewish proposals of the Reformation theologian Martin *Butzer. Only a few Jews were allowed in Kassel in the period, namely a physician and several silk knitters; in 1602 the *Court Jew Hayum was admitted as mint master.

During the Thirty Years' War the Jews were compelled to leave Kassel. However the Court Jew Benedict Goldschmidt received a residence privilege in 1635, extended in 1647 to include his two sons. From 1650 to 1715 private services were held in the Goldschmidts' house, led by the rabbi of the nearby village of Brettenhausen (later part of Kassel), where a cemetery was acquired in 1621. In 1714 a synagogue building was erected and enlarged in 1755; the community had grown by then to approximately 200 persons. A *Memorbuch was begun in 1720, and a *ḥevra kaddisha* founded in 1773. In 1772 the rabbinate was tranferred from Witzenhausen, seat of the yeshivah, to Kassel.

In 1577 Landgrave William the Wise had initiated Hesse-Kassel Jewry assemblies, first held in Kassel. The *kehillah* Hebrew constitution papers, begun in 1633, and a *pinkas* (records and decisions) were ordered to be translated into German in 1734–40. Hesse-Kassel Jewry was under the civic jurisdiction of the *Fulda rabbinate until 1625, and that of *Friedberg until 1656.

From 1807 to 1813 Kassel was the capital of the short-lived kingdom of Westphalia. The emancipation law of 1808 granted civil rights to Jews and made possible the influx of Jews from other areas. A *consistory headed by Israel *Jacobson introduced synagogue and educational reforms. The government of the reestablished principality of Hesse-Kassel issued a more restrictive Jewry ordinance in 1823, which remained in force until 1866, when Kassel came under Prussian rule and Prussian emancipation laws prevailed. In 1836–39 a new synagogue was built, accommodating around 1,000 persons. An Orthodox faction separated after 1872 and built its own synagogue in 1898. The main synagogue was rebuilt in 1890–1907. The Hesse-Kassel yeshivah was transferred to Kassel as a teachers' seminary and elementary school. The community had a library of Judaica and Hebraica, and in the *Landesmuseum* a display of ceremonial objects as well as arts and crafts, which was restored after 1945. It also possessed an orphanage and an old age home. In 1905, 2,445 Jews lived in Kassel, 2,750 (1.62% of the total) in 1925, and 2,301 (1.31%) in June 1933.

On November 7, 1938, two days before the start of Kristallnacht, the main synagogue was set on fire, but the local firemen extinguished the blaze, something that they were explicitly instructed not to do on *Kristallnacht*. Two days later, the Liberal synagogue was burned down and the Orthodox synagogue destroyed, and a completed manuscript of the second volume of the history of the Jews in Kassel, prepared under community auspices, was destroyed, as later were all records on emigration and deportation. Three hundred Jews including the rabbi were sent to Buchenwald and 560 Jews emigrated over the next year. As to the remaining Jews, 470 were deported to Riga in 1941, 99 to Majdanek in 1942, and 323 to Theresienstadt that year. In 1945–46, 200 Jews (mainly Displaced Persons) lived in Kassel, 102 in 1955, 73 in 1959, and 106 in 1970. With municipal aid a synagogue with a community center was built in 1965. The Jewish community numbered about 1,220 in 2004 after the immigration of Jews from the former Soviet Union in the 1990s. Since the synagogue became too small it was pulled down and the architect Alfred Jacoby designed a new one with a community center, which was consecrated in 2000. It was financed by the Jewish community of Kassel, the Association of Jewish Communities in Hesse, the Federal state (Land) of Hesse, and the city of Kassel.

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[Toni Oelsner]

KASSEL, DAVID (pseudonym of **Dovid Kisel**; 1881–1935), Yiddish writer. Born in Minsk, he was influenced by the *Bund, in whose publications his first poems appeared. After marrying the poet Sarah Reisen, sister of Abraham *Reisen, he settled in Warsaw and attracted attention with his short stories and novels, *In Dorf* ("In the Village," 1912); *Unter a Vaysn Forhang* ("Behind a White Curtain," 1922), and *On an Oysveg* ("No Way Out," 1922). He also wrote a series of popular textbooks, prose anthologies, and translations of Tolstoy, Lermontov, and Jules Verne. His autobiographical novella *Moysheles Kinderyorn* ("Moyshele's Childhood," 1921) was a pioneering work in Yiddish children's literature.

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[Moshe Starkman]

KASSIL, LEV ABRAMOVICH (1905–1970), Soviet Russian author. Probably the most important Soviet writer for juveniles since the beginning of the 1930s, Kassil is known to tens of millions of young Russians for his novels about adolescents. *Konduit* ("Conduit," 1930) and *Shvambraniya* (1933; *The Land of Shvambraniya*, 1935) describe the author's own childhood in a pre-revolutionary town on the Volga. *Vratar respubliki* ("The Goal-Keeper of the Republic"; 1939), *Cheremysh, brat geroya* (1938; *Brother of a Hero*, 1968), and *Khod beloy korolevy* ("The Gambit of the White Queen"; 1958) are about Soviet sportsmen. *Dorogiye moi malchiski* ("My Dear Kids"; 1944) shows children engaged in doing physical work during World War II, and *Ulitsa mladshego syna* ("The Street of the Younger Son"; 1949) describes the adventures of those youngsters who participated in the anti-Nazi underground. Kassil's works contain few Jewish themes or protagonists. One of the exceptions is his autobiographical *Shvambraniya*, which includes a scene in which Kassil, angry at the nasty antisemitic passages in Gogol's *Taras Bulba*, refuses to read the classic aloud in school. The scene was omitted from postwar editions of the book.

[Maurice Friedberg]

KASTEIN, JOSEF (pen name of **Julius Katzenstein**, 1890–1946), German writer and biographer. Kastein was born in Bremen to an assimilated family. He was an ardent Zionist from a young age and took part in the Tenth Zionist Congress in Basel. Kastein abandoned his legal career during the 1920s and devoted himself to Jewish historical studies. In 1927 he left Germany and settled in Switzerland, where he worked as a writer. He immigrated to Palestine in 1935 and lived in Tel Aviv for the rest of his life. Beginning with his well-known *Eine Geschichte der Juden* (1931; *History and Destiny of the Jews*, 1933), Kastein published a steady stream of original presentations of both the broad sweep of Jewish history and of particular historical figures and themes. His monographs include *Sabbatai Zewi, der Messias von Ismir* (1930; *The Messiah of Ismir*, 1931), *Uriel da Costa* (1932), *Suesskind von Trimberg* (1934), *Theodor Herzl* (1935), *Herodes* (1936), and *Jeremias* (1938). Among other works that appeared before the outbreak of World War II were *Jews in Germany* (1934; *Juden in Deutschland*, 1935), first published in English; *Das Geschichterlebnis des Juden* (1936), an indictment of Jewish assimilationism; and *Jerusalem; die Geschichte eines Landes* (1937). Though without pretensions to original scholarship, Kastein's books were written in a passionate style, expressing the author's faith in the mission and destiny of the Jewish people. Two works of a different type were the early verse collection *Logos und Pan* (1918) and *Eine palaestinensische Novelle* (1942). Toward the end of his life Kastein also wrote a collection of Hebrew essays, which appeared posthumously as *Middot va-Arakhim* (1947).

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[Rudolf Kayser / Noam Zadoff (2nd ed.)]

KASTORIA (**Castoria**), town and area of Macedonia, Greece, W. of Salonika. There was a Jewish settlement in the Kastoria fortress town during the reign of Justinian (527–565). In the 11th century, the community was headed by Tobias b. Eliezer, the author of *Lekaḥ Tov.* One of his disciples was Meir of Kastoria, author of *Me'or Einayim*, a midrashic exegesis on the Torah. In the 11th century, many Jewish refugees settled in the city, in particular Jews from Hungary who escaped the pillage of the Crusaders. Noteworthy was the 14th century *Ḥakham* Leon Judah ben Moses Moskoni, who wrote on the Torah commentary of Rabbi Avraham Ibn Ezra, and the *paytan* David ben Eliezer, who composed the *Maḥzor Kastoria*. When the Ottomans conquered the city in 1385, the Jewish community was known as a Greek-speaking Romaniot culture. After the conquest of Constantinople in 1453, most of the Jews of Kastoria moved to the capital and formed a congregation in the Balat Quarter. In the 16th century Jewish refugees from Spain settled here, but most of the town's Jews came from Apulia, southern Italy. A Sicilian congregation was also formed in the 16th century. Despite the numerous Jewish immigrants from Apulia and Sicily, the Italian Jews after a generation assimilated into the Sephardi culture and lost their special Italian customs. From the 16th century onward, the Jewish merchants were active in the fur trade, and eventually gained a worldwide reputation in this field. There were also Jewish peddlers, artisans, and tax collectors. In the mid-17th century, there was an active Shabbatean following, including Rabbi Shemayah ben Moses Mayo, who in the end remained loyal to Jewish law. *Nathan of Gaza, the main disciple of the false messiah *Shabbetai Ẓevi spent time in Kastoria and wrote his work *Sefer ha-Beri'ah* there. Ali Pasha, governor of the region from 1788 to 1822, imposed oppressive taxes on the Jewish population of Kastoria. In 1828, the synagogue that was built in the mid-18th century was destroyed, and in 1830, in its place, the Aragon Synagogue was donated by the famous local philanthropist Isaac Beḥor Moses Rousso, nicknamed "Senor Shako." The Castorian Jewish community, whether in Castoria, Israel, or the U.S., has continually commemorated the annual date of the passing of this renowned 19th century benefactor. At the beginning of the 19th century the local rabbi was Moses Isaac ha-Levi, the author of *Ma'aseh Moshe*, a halakhic and aggadic index to the Talmud. A Jewish school was established in 1873. The community suffered blood libels in 1879 and 1908. The Spanish-Jewish dialect used by Kastoria Jews was of a special character. Beginning with the first decade of the 20th century, at the end of the Ottoman period, emigration from Kastoria to New York ensued. The city was annexed to Greece in 1912–13 after the Balkan Wars and Monastir Jews migrated to Castoria after World War I. In 1928 the Jewish community numbered 900. In the 1920s and 1930s, the youth of the community had an active Judeo-Spanish theater group. In the 1930s, graduates of the local AJJ (Agudat Jeunes Juives) youth movement founded by the Jewish school principal Jacob Jak Ashkenazi formed the nucleus of the *garin*, the agricultural settlement group, that in 1937 established Moshav Ẓur Moshe, one of the *Stockade and Watchtower settlements erected overnight in Ereẓ Israel to evade the British prohibition against forming new Jewish settlements. In late March 1944, 763 Jews from Kastoria were arrested and deported to Auschwitz. In 1948 there were 35 Jews living in the town, and by 1965 their number had dwindled to 22.

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[Simon Marcus / Yitzchak Kerem (2nd ed.)]

KASZTNER, REZSŐ RUDOLF (**Israel**; 1906–1957), journalist, lawyer, and a leader of the Zionist movement in Romania and Hungary. Born in Cluj, Transylvania (then part of Romania), Kasztner studied law. From 1925 to 1940 he worked on the Hungarian-language Zionist daily *Uj Kelet* in Cluj, and served as its political correspondent in *Bucharest from 1929 to 1931. During this period he was also the secretary of the parliamentary faction of the National Jewish Party. A leader of Aviva-Barissia, a Zionist youth movement (which eventually joined up with Ha-Iḥud ha-Olami), he edited its periodical *No'ar* (in Hungarian) from 1926 to 1928. After Transylvania was annexed by Hungary (1940), *Uj Kelet* was closed down by the authorities; Kasztner then moved to *Budapest (1942), and joined the local *Keren Hayesod office. He was also active in the national headquarters of Ha-Iḥud ha-Olami, and from 1943 to 1945 was deputy chairman of the small Hungarian Zionist Organization. As soon as he arrived in Budapest, Kasztner joined the Zionists' organized rescue efforts on behalf of the Jewish refugees from *Poland and Slovakia (see *Czechoslovakia). First in charge of semi-clandestine political work and later head of the rescue operations, Kasztner conducted negotiations with the Hungarian authorities and political leaders, including members of the opposition. He also maintained contact with the Hungarian military intelligence and the German intelligence (called Abwehr) which had come to Hungary even before its occupation by the Germans. After the German occupation of Hungary (March 19, 1944), rescue operations were stepped up and the Zionist contacts also came to include the officers of RSHA (Reich Security Main Office) who, headed by Adolf *Eichmann, arrived in Hungary to apply the "Final Solution" (see *Holocaust, General Survey). Kasztner conducted the rescue work jointly with Joel *Brand, who initially served as the main contact with the Germans. As a relatively unknown "foreigner" he could not have been effective with Hungarian politicians and officials so his area of contacts was with the Germans. The very idea of negotiating with the Germans was controversial both during the war and afterwards. The Nazis were imposing "The Final Solution;" they were clearly the enemy bent on destruction. Yet, they also were the only address if rescue was to be effectuated. The prime subject under discussion with the various German offices was the "*Blut fuer Ware*" ("Blood for Goods") plan by which Germany would receive quantities of supplies for the German war effort from neutral countries with the help of international Jewish bodies in exchange for the survival of the Jewish population and their transfer from German-occupied territories to safety abroad, especially to Palestine. By 1944, the German military situation was clearly deteriorating and their purposes were hardly humanitarian, but if they could improve their military situation, then the partial postponement of the murder of Jews in one sector of operation – postponement not cancellation – was a price they might be willing to pay. In connection with this plan Kasztner became the chief contact with Eichmann in place of Joel Brand, whom Eichmann had sent to Istanbul to open negotiations with Jewish leaders abroad. In the period of Aug. 21, 1944–April 1945 he visited Germany a number of times, and also went five times to Switzerland, in order to meet representatives of the *American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee and the *Jewish Agency on the rescue plan, and particularly to arrange its financing by Jewish organizations. These activities resulted in the Germans' transfer to Switzerland of two transports, first of 318 and later of 1,368 Jews from *Bergen-Belsen, most of them of Hungarian and Transylvanian origin (on Aug. 18 and Dec. 6, 1944). Among the people on the Kaszner train were the Satmar Rebbe, Joel

*Teitelbaum, and his entourage – saved by a Zionist – along with members of Kasztner's own family and wealthy Jews whose support was essential to financing the operation. This was later to be a source of controversy. Kasztner's negotiations with the Germans were also designed to ensure the survival of the Jews in the Budapest ghetto.

The postwar situation of Kasztner put him at the center of a storm. After the war Kasztner settled in Israel and was given a government post, becoming active in the *Mapai Party. He edited Mapai's Hungarian-language weekly *A Jövó* and subsequently rejoined the editorial staff of *Uj Kelet*, reestablished in Tel Aviv in 1948. In 1953, an old Jew Malkiel Gruenwald of Jerusalem published a mimeographed leaflet in which he accused Kasztner of having collaborated with the German Nazis thereby hastening the destruction of Hungarian Jewry. He also alleged that at the Nuremberg trial of Kurt Becher, an SS officer, Kasztner had testified on his behalf and thereby helped in acquitting a war criminal. In view of the fact that the person being slandered was a government official, the Israel attorney general issued a writ of indictment against Gruenwald. The trial was a media sensation. A brilliant young right-wing attorney, Shmuel *Tamir, turned the defense of Gruenwald into an indictment of Kasztner and in turn of the Israeli government and the Zionist movement.

On June 22, 1955, the judge, Benjamin Halevy, who later was one of the judges at the Eichmann trial, gave his decision in the case, in which he accepted most of Gruenwald's accusations and in a sharply worded judgment accused Kasztner of "selling his soul to Satan." Halevy said that only the accusation that Kasztner has personally profited remained unproven and thus found for the plaintiff but awarded him a pittance. The Israel Cabinet instructed the attorney general to lodge an appeal, a decision which caused a cabinet crisis when the *General Zionists refused to support the government on a nonconfidence motion. The Kasztner case thus became a major issue in the election campaign of 1955. The appeal, however, was submitted and on Jan. 17, 1958, the Supreme Court overturned the lower court's decision, finding Gruenwald guilty on most points of the slander charge and thereby clearing Kasztner's name. Kasztner himself was no longer alive; on March 3, 1957, a young man from Tel Aviv, Ze'ev Eckstein, influenced by the political atmosphere created by the lower court's verdict, shot Kasztner in the street. He succumbed nine days later. The story of Kasztner served as the model for a novel by Robert St. John, *The Man who Played God* (1962). It is a featured part of both right-wing and post-Zionist critiques of Zionist activities during the Holocaust.

The accusations against Kasztner include the argument that he should have informed Hungarian Jews of the "Final Solution." He had been privy to the Vr'ba-Wetzler report and "knew" that Jews were being killed in massive numbers. Hungarian Jews should have been warned of their fate, that he had favored privileged rather than ordinary Jews in his rescue efforts, and that he saved his own family at the expense of others. His negotiations with the Germans were by their very nature unequal; they had power, he did not. They could open the gates; he could not, at least not without their approval. So his situation was compromised from the start. Kasztner defenders argue on his behalf that information about the "Final Solution" was available to Hungarian Jews from many sources, but such information was not accepted as credible and therefore could not serve as a basis for action. Furthermore, the support of wealthy Jews was essential to financing the rescue operation. Without their participation for humanitarian or self-interested reasons no possible rescue could have been achieved, and the rescue of his family was quite natural. Even in death, the controversy endures. It remains the subject of books, journalistic pieces, and even television shows and films. Kasztner remains a useful target for those who wish to attack the Zionist establishment of the Yishuv and the early years of statehood, and his circumstances reveal the utter powerlessness of Jews under German occupation once the "Final Solution" was German policy. Hero or villain or both, the debate over Kasztner will endure though quite often the discussion has less to do with him than with contemporary issues.

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[Yehouda Marton / Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

Kibbutz Nir David (also known as Tel Amal) was established in 1936 at the foot of Mount Gilboa. It is known as the first Jewish settlement to be built in those years in the form of a "Stockade and Watchtower" outpost. *Photo: The Central Zionist Archive, Jerusalem.*

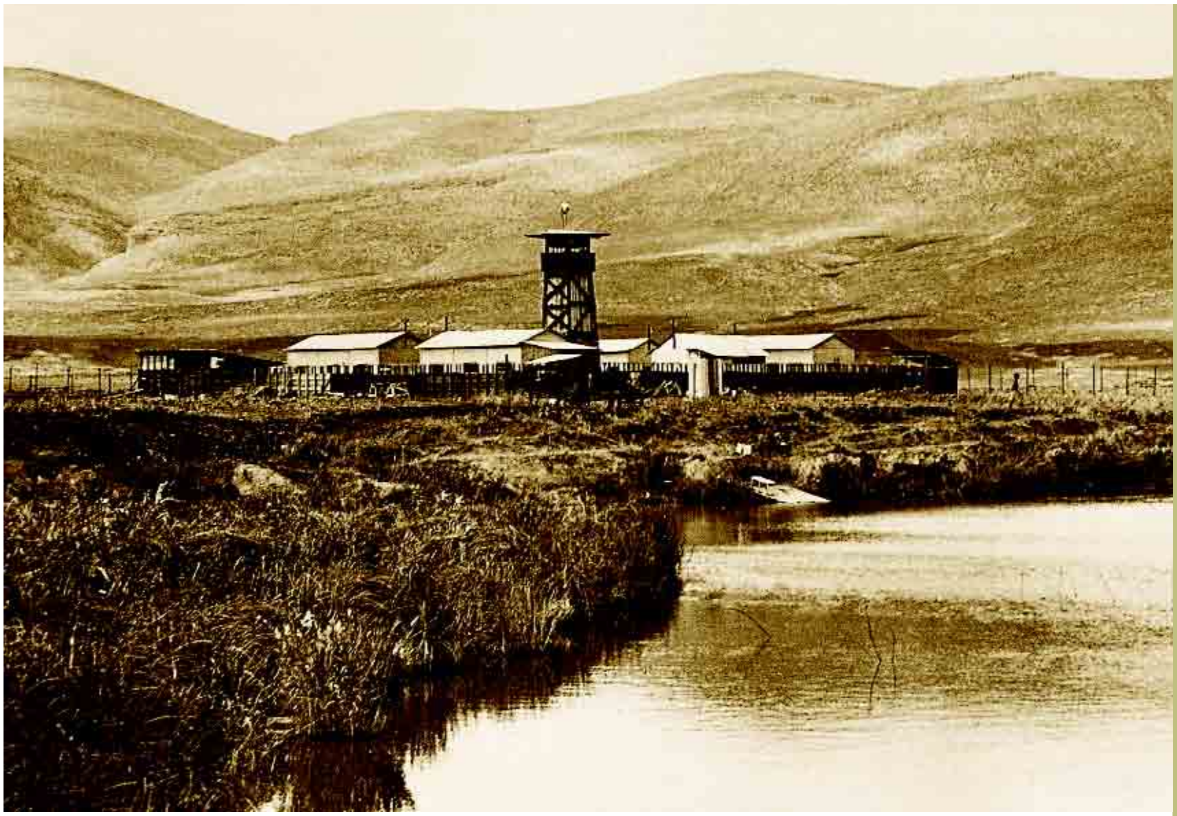

The term Zionism first appeared at the end of the 19th century to denote the movement to reestablish the Jewish homeland in Ereẓ Israel. Over the past century, the nation of Israel has experienced one of the most miraculous transformations in human history. Nowhere is this more clearly revealed than in the vast developments in Israel's architecture and urban landscape. Offered here are some stunning before-and-after views of the growth of Israel as well as some of the faces of Israel's citizens, who hail from more than one hundred countries.

ZIONISM

Nir David in 1997. *Photo: Albatross Aerial Photography.*

TOP: **En Harod was first established in 1921 as a kibbutz on the southern side of the Harod valley, near the Harod spring at the foot of Mount Gilboa.** *Photo: The Central Zionist Archive, Jerusalem.*

BOTTOM: **In the early years of the 21st century En Harod consists of two prospering kibbutzim, each with its own political affiliation. The split occurred in 1951 as a result of a political rift.** *Photo: Albatross Aerial Photography.*

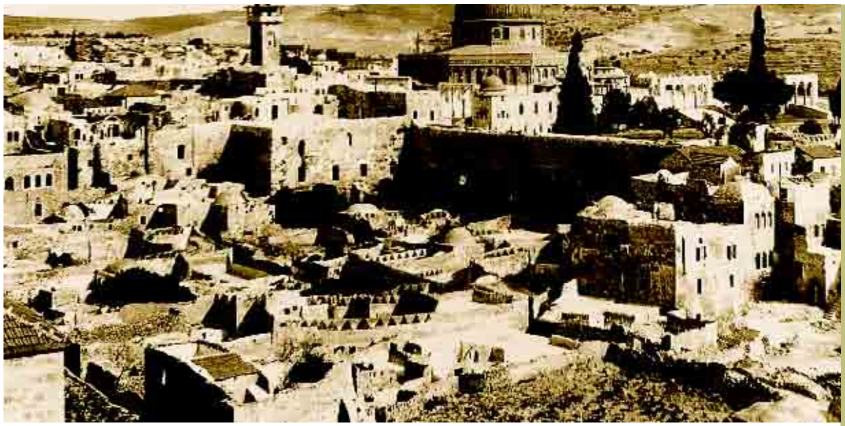

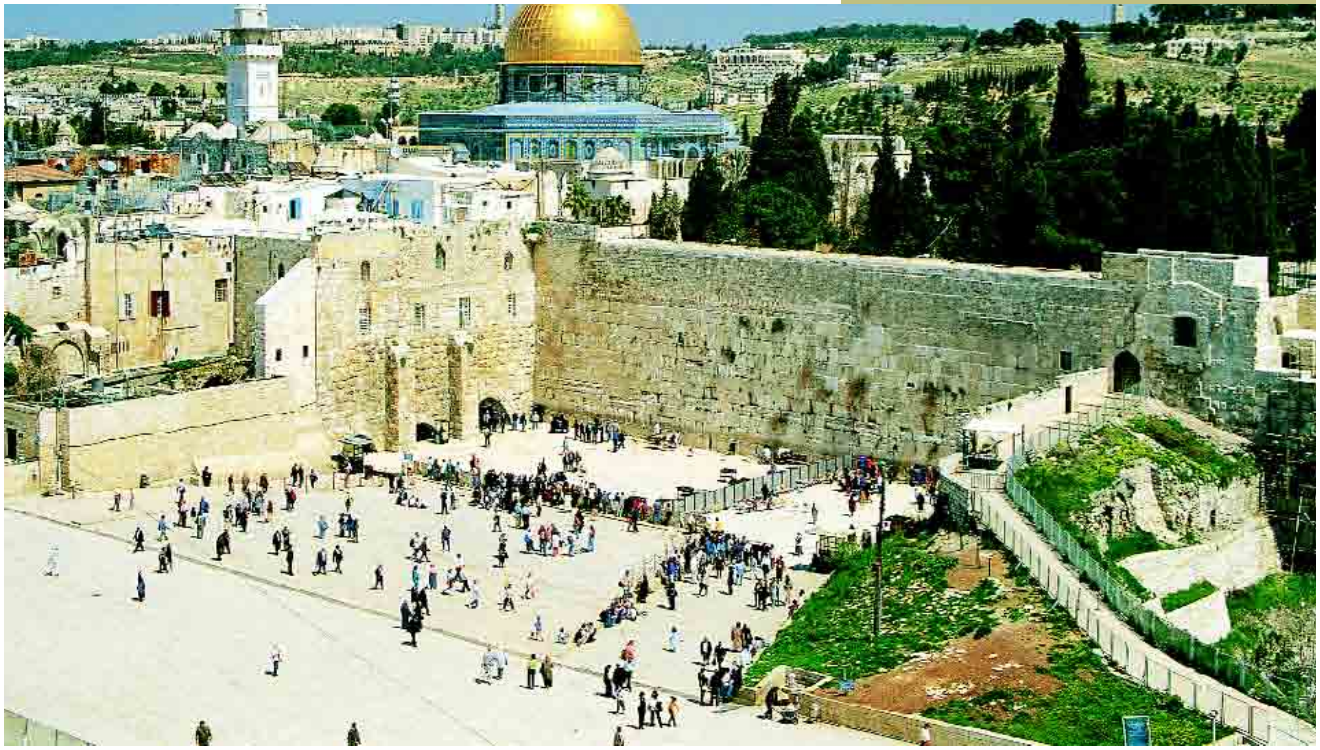

TOP: **In the early 20th century the area adjacent to the Western Wall, near the Jewish Quarter of Old Jerusalem, was occupied by the small Mughrabi neighborhood, built in the middle of the 19th century. The far background is dominated by Mount Scopus, still without buildings or trees. On the far left is the Augusta Victoria compound built by German Emperor Wilhelm II.** *Photo: The Central Zionist Archive, Jerusalem.*

BOTTOM: **A view of the area adjacent to the Western Wall at the end of the 20th century (1997). A large plaza was built in front of the Western Wall to serve the many visitors and the pilgrims who frequent it. The Hebrew University campus is seen on Mount Scopus along the far skyline, behind the Dome of the Rock.** *Photo: Albatross Aerial Photography*

Israel has brought together Jews from all over the world – as here, old men from Iraq and Yemen.
Photo: Albatross Aerial Photography.

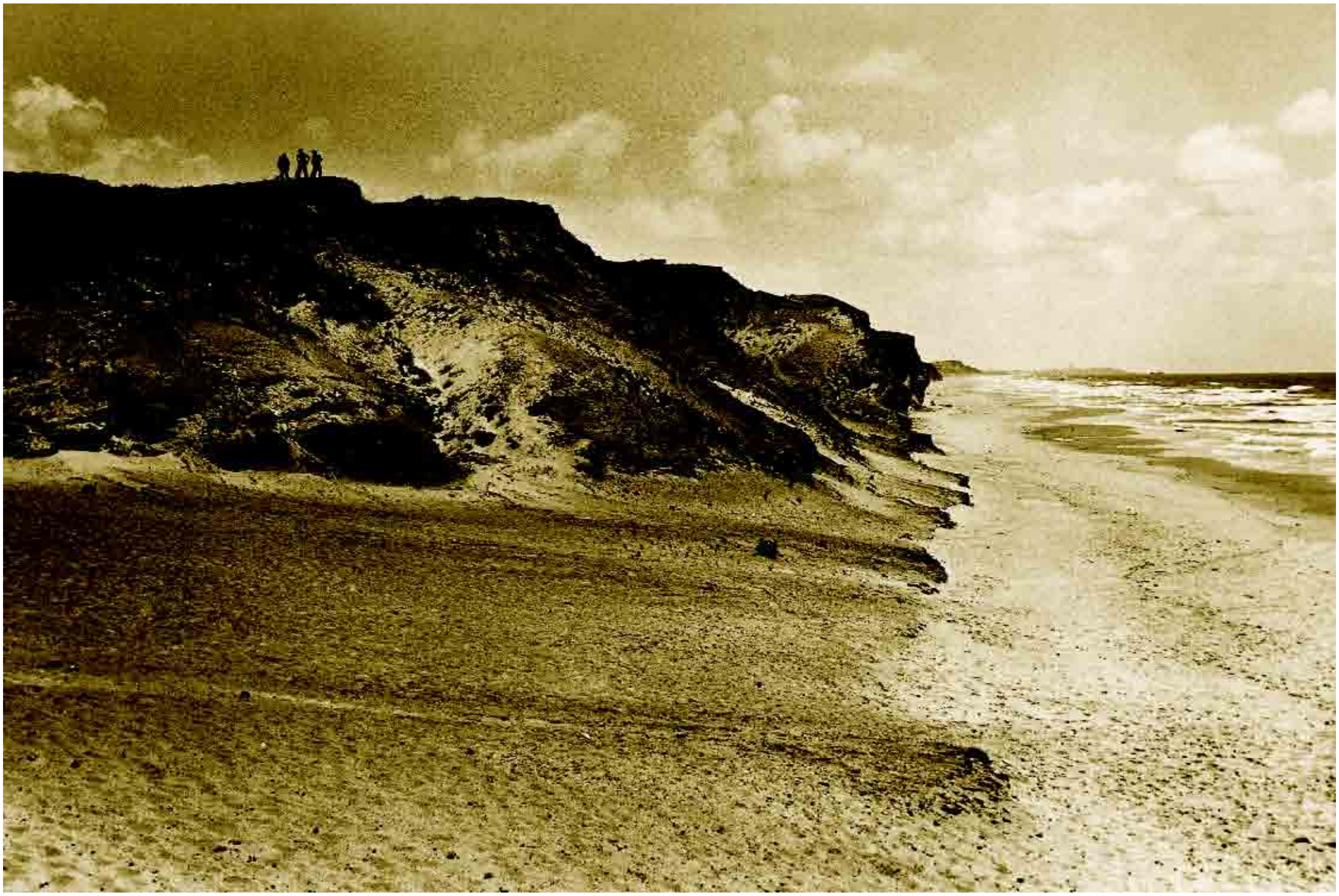

ABOVE: **The cliffs along the shoreline in the west of Herzliyyah in the early 1930s** *Photo: The Central Zionist Archive, Jerusalem.*

(opposite page): **Hotels, restaurants and other installations of a modern resort area line the shore of Herzliyyah in 1997. The western edge of the city is now one of the most developed tourist areas in the country.** *Photo: Albatross Aerial Photography.*

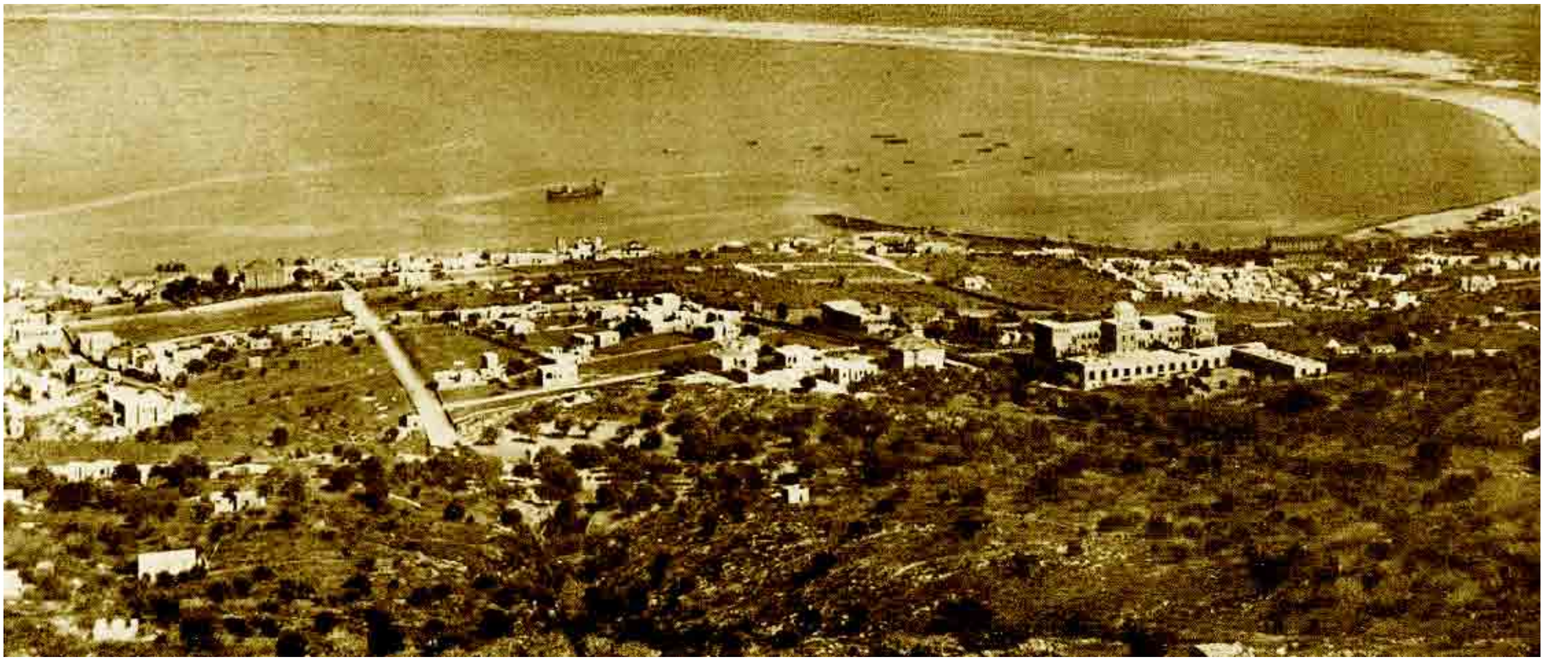

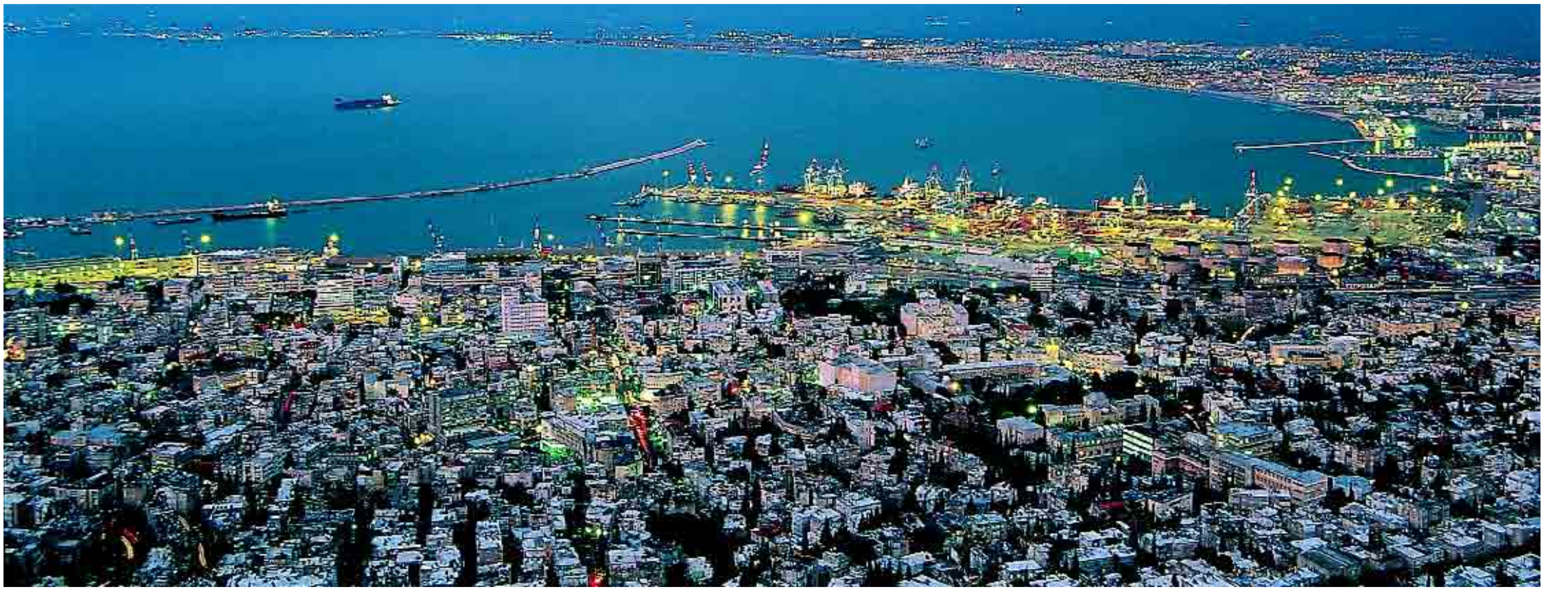

TOP: The town and bay of Haifa in the late 1920s after construction there by the British authorities of a modern port and a long jetty. The large building in the foreground is the Technion, the institute of technology established in 1925 in the Jewish district of Hadar ha-Karmel. *Photo: The Central Zionist Archive, Jerusalem.*

BOTTOM: Haifa and its bay in the 1990s. The city now extends over the entire slope of Mount Carmel. The old Herzliyya neighborhood, later known as Hadar ha-Karmel, is now the core of a large city. *Photo: Albatross Aerial Photography.*

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Initial letter "K" for Karolus (Charlemagne), from the opening of Book 25 of Vincent of Beauvais, Speculum Historiale, *Metten, S. Germany, 1332. Munich Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cod. lat. 8201c, fol. 9v.*

KAT-KZ

KATCHEN, JULIUS (1926–1969), pianist. Born in New Jersey, Katchen studied with David Saperton in New York. He made his first public appearance at the age of ten and his debut with the Philadelphia Orchestra in 1937. He played with the New York Philharmonic and at the age of 12 gave his first New York recital. Katchen gave up his promising career to study philosophy and English literature at Haverford College. Subsequently awarded a French government fellowship (1945), he settled in Paris, which became his home for the rest of his life. He became a major figure on the international music scene, noted for his powerful musical intelligence and a virtuoso technique, and toured as a soloist, recitalist, and chamber music artist. He was well known for his chamber music collaborations with violinist Joseph Suk and cellist Janos Starker. Katchen maintained a broad repertoire extending from the Classical era to contemporary music, but was most closely associated with Brahms. His death from cancer at the age of 42 robbed the world of a pianist who could convey the feeling that music is the richest and most inclusive reflection of human experience.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Grove online; MGG^2; *Baker's Biographical Dictionary* (1997); N. Rorem. *Critical Affairs – A Composer's Journal* (1970); C. Meher-Homji, "A Life on the Edge (Julius Katchen)," in: *International Piano Quarterly,* 3 (Autumn 1999), 38–42.

[Naama Ramot (2nd ed.)]

°KATKOV, MIKHAIL NIKIFOROVICH (1818–1887), journalist, publicist, and editor of the influential newspaper *Moskovskiya Vedomosti*. In his youth, Katkov was associated with the revolutionary circles of Herzen and Bakunin. From the 1840s, he was attracted by the ideas of British liberalism, but after the Polish revolt (1863), he joined the camp of the extremist Conservatives. He nevertheless remained faithful to his liberal principles with respect to the Jewish problem. At the height of the anti-Jewish riots (1881–82), he condemned the "sudden mobilization against the Jews" which was due to "malicious devisers of evil" who deliberately sought to confuse the consciousness of the nation and encourage it to solve the Jewish problem, not by reasoning and enquiry, but with the assistance of "upraised fists."

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Nedelnaya Khronika Voskhoda*, no. 30 (1887).

[Yehuda Slutsky]

KATOWICE (Ger. **Kattowitz**), capital of Katowice province Silesia, part of Prussia until 1921. Information regarding Jewish communities in the vicinity of Katowice goes back to 1733. At the end of the 18th century certain Jews leased the iron foundries in the suburb in Bogucice (Ger. Bogutschuetz). The Jews were expelled from the nearby localities in 1781, but they were permitted to return in 1787. In 1840 there were 12 Jews in the city. Following the industrial development of the city, Jews played an increasing role in its economic life. The Jewish population numbered 102 in 1855, and in 1867, when Katowice was declared a city, 624; it numbered 2,216 in 1899, 2,979 in 1910, and 9,000 in 1932. The non-Jewish population grew at a much faster rate, rising from 14,000 in 1888 to 130,645 in 1930.

An independent community was organized in 1866. From 1850 religious services were held in prayer-houses. The first synagogue was built in 1862 (expanded in 1880) and a new one was built in 1900. A cemetery was opened in 1868, and the first community rabbi was appointed in 1872. Communal activities expanded as the community grew. The Ḥovevei Zion conference was held in Katowice in 1884 (see *Kattowitz Conference). The Jewish communal organization developed considerably after World War I when Bruno Altmann headed the community from 1919. A new community building was inaugurated in 1937 which served as a center for cultural and organizational activities. The community paid much attention to Jewish education, maintaining a school, named after Berek *Joselewicz, and a Hebrew school, established in 1935.

Antisemitic agitation in Katowice increased during the 1930s. In 1937 there were pogroms, and bombs were thrown into shops owned by Jews. As most of the Jews there were tradesmen, their economic position suffered severely as a result of the anti-Jewish *boycott. The Polish artisans' organizations introduced "Aryan" articles into their regulations, and the Jewish artisans were expelled: the barbers' association introduced an Aryan article in 1937, and the tailors' association and others introduced similar articles in 1938. As a result of antisemitism many Jews left Katowice, and by 1939, 8,587 remained (6.3% of the total population). Rabbis Kalman Chameides and Mordechai Vogelmann served the community from 1928 until just before the Holocaust. In 1937 Rabbi Chameides was appointed adviser on Jewish affairs at the municipal law courts.

[Shimshon Leib Kirshenboim]

Holocaust Period and Modern Period

The Germans entered the city on September 3, 1939, and found a refugee-swelled Jewish population of 11,000–12,000 there. With many fleeing, 3,500 remained in October. Further flight and expulsions left 900 at the end of the year. These were expelled to other localities in May-June 1940, mostly to Chrzanow, and shared the fate of the local Jews

After World War II about 1,500 Jews (almost all of whom were from other parts of Poland and had spent the war years in the Soviet Union) settled in Katowice, and a Jewish Commitee for Upper Silesia was established there. A chapter of the Communist-led Jewish Cultural and Social Society was active until 1967, when the Polish authorities launched their antisemitic campaign. As a result of official hostility, almost all the Jews in Katowice left Poland.

[Stefan Krakowski]

BIBLIOGRAPHY: J. Cohn, *Geschichte der Synagogen-Gemeinde Kattowitz…* (1900); A. Szefer, *Miejsca stracen Ludnscicywilnej wojewodztwa katowickiego, 1939–1945* (1969); Yad Vashem Archives. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** P. Maser et al., *Juden in Oberschlesien 1* (1992), 107–21; W. Majowski (ed.), *100 Jahre Stadt Kattowitz 1865–1965*.

KATSH (Katz), ABRAHAM ISAAC (1908–1998), U.S. educator, author, and archivist. Katsh was born in Indura (Amdur), Poland, and immigrated to the United States in 1925. He received a B.S. from New York University in mathematics in 1931 and a J.D. from the law school in 1936. In 1933, he persuaded NYU to allow him to offer a course in modern Hebrew, the first such course at a U.S. university. There, he founded the Jewish Culture Foundation, the Department of Hebrew Language and Education, and the Institute of Hebrew Studies. A chair in his name was established at NYU's Hebrew studies department in 1957. Katsh received a Ph.D. from *Dropsie College in 1942 and, in 1967, was elected president of Dropsie College (later University).

Katsh was a wide-ranging scholar. As a student, he translated Einstein's theory of relativity into Hebrew. In 1954 he published *Judaism in Islam*, an analysis of biblical and talmudic backgrounds of the Koran and its commentaries. During a visit to the Soviet Union and Hungary in 1956, Katsh discovered what he called a "bibliophile's paradise," many thousands of Hebrew manuscripts that were being stored in various libraries. He arranged for the microfilming of several thousand manuscripts that had been hidden from Western view since the Russian Revolution of 1917. One of the collections contained medieval manuscripts on all aspects of Judaica, including biblical commentaries, law, poetry, and liturgy. Another collection consisted of a quarter of a million pages and scraps of paper from the Cairo *Genizah*. Among them were 427 fragments of Talmud manuscripts – dating from the 7th through the 11th centuries – that corrected some inaccurate interpretations of talmudic material. During trips in the late 1950s and 1960s, during the height of the Cold War, he persuaded the Soviet authorities to microfilm additional manuscripts in libraries in Moscow and Leningrad, on the basis of which he published *Catalogue of Hebrew Manuscripts Preserved… (On Microfilm) in the U.S.S.R.* (2 vols., 1957–58); *The Antonin Genizah in Leningrad* (1963); *Ginze Mishnah* (1971), a study of 149 *Genizah* fragments dating from the 9th to the 12th centuries; *Ginze Talmud Bavli*, a companion volume of 178 fragments from the Antonin Collection (1975, 1979). He also published a collection of 50 Hebrew poems of the Spanish period. For his works on the *Genizah*, Katsh was awarded the Rabbi Kaniel Prize of the Municipality of Haifa in June 1979.

In 1963, Katsh learned of a diary written by a Hebrew school principal, Chaim Aron *Kaplan in the Warsaw ghetto that had been smuggled out of the ghetto and had been hidden for more than two decades. Katsh translated the diary, obtained missing volumes, and published it as *Scroll of Agony: The Warsaw Diary of Chaim A. Kaplan* (1965).

Katsh published a number of essays on Hebrew and Jewish studies in U.S. universities. In 1957 he founded the National Association of Professors of Hebrew in American Universities. In addition to the books listed above, Katsh edited an anthology, *Bar Mitzvah, Illustrated* (1955), and *Biblical Heritage of American Democracy* was published in 1979. He retired from his posts at Dropsie and NYU in 1976.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: T. Naamani et al. (eds.), *Dōrōn; Hebraic Studies (Essays in Honor of Abraham I. Katsh*; 1965); Y. Ben-Josef (ed.), *Sefer Avraham Yiẓḥak Katsh* (1969); J. Komlosh, in: *Bitzaron*, 60 (1969), 158–64.

[Ethan Katsch (2nd ed.)]

KATTAN, NAÏM (1928–), writer and critic. Naïm Kattan was born into a low-income family in *Baghdad, Iraq. He studied at a Jewish elementary school and then at a Muslim secondary school. His mother tongue was Arabic, and his first literary efforts were in that language. He also learned Hebrew, English, and French. In 1946, he left for Paris, where he enrolled in literature courses at the Sorbonne. In 1954, he moved to Montreal ("My third 'birthplace'… a city that contains all the others, where all nationalities, religions, and languages exist, but which needs a common tongue – French – for people to communicate with each other.") French then became his main vehicle of literary expression. Kattan published numerous books: essays, novels, plays, and short-story collections. *Adieu, Babylone* (1975), *Les Fruits arrachés* (1977), and *La Fiancée promise* (1983) are transposed autobiographical novels centered, respectively, in each of Kattan's three "birthplaces." In the first, he uses the name "Babylone" to designate the ancient state where Jews, originally captives, lived for more than 2,000 years, but from which virtually all eventually left. Kattan's writing is concerned with explaining differences between Oriental and Occidental societies, inter-ethnic relations, migration, and integration. He believes that the various components of his own hetero-cultural identity all have validity and importance. Kattan quickly became part of the majority Francophone cultural milieu after moving to Montreal a half-century ago. He founded the *Bulletin du Cercle juif*, the first French-language Jewish publication in Quebec. He was a book reviewer for the Montreal daily, *Le Devoir*, for many decades, often discussing books on Arabic culture. In 1967, he was named first director of the literature section of the Canada Council for the Arts. After leaving that post in 1991, he became associate professor at the Université du Québec à Montréal. Kattan won many distinctions. He is a member of the Order of Canada, of the Académie des lettres du Québec and a fellow of the Royal Society of Canada. He won the Prix Québec Paris for *Le Réel et le théâtral* (1971). In 1989, he was named Officier de l'Ordre des arts et lettres de France, and in 1990, Chevalier national du Québec. In 2004, Kattan was given Quebec's highest literary honor, the Prix Athanase-David, for the corpus of his work. From 1994, he presided over the jury of Le Grand Prix de la Ville de Montréal.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Voix et images* (Montréal) 41:1 (Fall 1985), 7–54.

[Ben-Zion Shek (2nd ed.)]

KATTINA, JACOB (second half of 19th century), rabbi and author. Kattina served as *dayyan* in Huszt, Carpathian Russia, in the *bet din* of Moses *Schick (1849–79). Kattina wrote two works which he published anonymously. The first, *Raḥamei ha-Av*, was first published in Czernowitz in 1865 and has been frequently reprinted. In 1936 it was published in Marghita, Transylvania, with the notes of Solomon Zalman Ehrenreich (2nd ed. Jerusalem, 1950 and 1958), and in 1939, in Djerba, with the Judeo-Arabic translation of Ḥayyim Houri. The work has 58 chapters on moral improvement and in the introduction, the author says: "I called this booklet *Raḥamei ha-Av* ["Mercy of the Father"] for it is true mercy for a man to chasten his child to lead him in the ways of God, this being the sole purpose of man." The second work, *Korban he-Ani*, homilies on the Pentateuch in a kabbalistic and ḥasidic vein, was published in Lemberg in 1872 and 1882.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: J.J.(L.) Greenwald (Grunwald), *Zikkaron la-Rishonim* (1909), 19; J. Cohen, in: KS, 33 (1957/58), 136.

[Naphtali Ben-Menahem]

KATTOWITZ CONFERENCE, a convention of *Ḥibbat Zion societies from various countries held in Kattowitz (i.e. *Katowice, then in Germany) in 1884. With the activation of the movement to settle Ereẓ Israel in the early 1880s and the establishment of Ḥibbat Zion societies in various countries, the need to create a unifying and coordinating center for the early Zionist activities was expressed. The only country in which a central committee functioned was Romania. An attempt to found a central committee for Russia, made at a small conference in Bialystok in 1883, produced no results; other attempts also failed. In the end L. *Pinsker, M.L. *Lilienblum, H. Ẓ. *Schapira, M. *Mandelstamm, and others took the initiative to convene a conference. Following the suggestion of David *Gordon, Kattowitz was selected as the site for the conference. Its date was fixed for Oct. 27, 1884, the 100th anniversary of the birth of Moses *Montefiore, at the suggestion of the Warsaw society. The conference was intended primarily for the Ḥibbat Zion societies in Russia, as the movement in Romania had greatly weakened and there were very few Ḥibbat Zion societies in other countries. As delegates from Russia encountered difficulties in arriving at the appointed time, the opening of the conference was postponed until November 6.

Twenty-two delegates came to the conference from Russia and ten from other countries (one from France, one from Romania, two from England, and the rest from Germany). At the request of the Warsaw society, many other groups submitted proposals for organization and action. Schapira, who could not attend, sent a telegram to point out the importance of establishing financial institutions, including a general Jewish fund, whose primary task would be to redeem land in Ereẓ Israel. In his newspaper, *Ha-Ẓefirah*, N. *Sokolow published concrete proposals for activities and stressed the necessity to develop not only agriculture, but commerce, the trades, and industry in Ereẓ Israel. Pinsker was elected chairman of the conference; S. *Mohilewer, honorary chairman; A. *Zederbaum, the editor of *Ha-Meliẓ*, deputy chairman; S.P. *Rabbinowitz, Hebrew secretary.

In his opening address, Pinsker stressed the necessity for the Jews to return to work on the land, but he did not mention the striving for national renascence and political independence, with a view to winning over the Jews of Western Europe, who opposed the concept of Jewish nationalism. At the proposal of Pinsker the conference established an institution named Agudat Montefiore to promote farming among the Jews and support Jewish settlement in Ereẓ Israel. A decision was reached to send immediately 10,000 francs to *Petaḥ Tikvah and 2,000 rubles for *Yesud ha-Ma'alah. It was also decided to send a reliable emissary to Ereẓ Israel to investigate the standing of the colonies there. Nineteen members were elected to the central committee, including Pinsker, Mohilewer, K.Z. *Wissotzky, J.L. *Kalischer (the son of Ẓevi Hirsch *Kalischer), M. Mandelstamm, Ch. Wollrauch, and others. At the first meeting of the central committee, which took place at the time of the conference, it was decided that two committees, one in Odessa and the other in Warsaw, should temporarily manage the affairs of the organization. The central committee, to be headed by Pinsker, was to reside temporarily in Odessa, and a subcommittee was to be established in Warsaw, subject to the authority of Pinsker. Kalischer announced his presentation of land acquired by his father near Rachel's Tomb to the central committee.

Incomplete versions of the proceedings were published in German and in Hebrew. S.P. Rabbinowitz, who was responsible for the Hebrew text, permitted himself to add from memory or to alter the text out of his desire to bestow a nationalistic flavor on the proceedings. The press that was opposed to the movement found discrepancies between the two sessions and Pinsker made Rabbinowitz publish an apology in *Ha-Meliẓ* (no. 13, 1885). The Kattowitz Conference laid the foundations for the organization of the Ḥibbat Zion societies, especially in Russia. The few Ḥibbat Zion societies outside Russia, especially in Serbia, London, Germany, Paris, and New York, considered the leadership chosen in Kattowitz the center of the movement and maintained steady contact with it.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Road to Freedom, Writings and Addresses by Leo Pinsker* (1944); N. Sokolow, *Hibbath Zion* (Eng., 1935), index; A. Druyanow, *Ketavim le-Toledot Ḥibbat Ẓiyyon ve-Yishuv Ereẓ Yisrael*, 1 (1919), 269–318; L. Taubes, *Asefat Kattowitz* (1920); J.L. Apel, *Be-Tokh Reshit ha-Teḥiyyah* (1936), 171–95; I. Klausner, *Be-Hitorer Am* (1962), index; M. Yoeli (ed.), *J.L. Pinsker Mevasser ha-Teḥiyyah ha-Le'ummit* (1960), 107–12.

[Israel Klausner]

KATZ, ALBERT (Heb. pseudonym א״ך איש הרוח); (1858–1923), writer, journalist, and Zionist. Katz, who was born in Lodz, served as teacher and preacher at Fuerstenwalde, near Berlin (1883–86). Katz and W. *Bambus founded the periodical *Serubabel* (1886–88), which advocated colonization in Ereẓ Israel. In 1890 Katz joined the editorial staff of the **Allgemeine Zeitung des Judentums* and eventually succeeded G. Karpeles and L. Geiger as chief editor. He was co-founder and secretary of the Verband der Vereine fuer Juedische Geschichte und Literatur and edited its *Jahrbuch* (JJGL) with Karpeles. Katz's published books include: *Der Jude und das Land seiner Vaeter* (also published in Hebrew; 1883); *Der Wahre Talmudjude* (against *Rohling, 1893, 1928^4); *Die Juden im Kaukasus* (1894); *Die Juden in China* (1900); and *Christen und Juden als Foerderer der hebraeischen Sprache* (1907). He also wrote some short stories and translated I.B. *Levinsohn's *Efes Damim* (against the blood *libel) into German as *Die Blutluege* (1892).

[Nathan Michael Gelber]

KATZ, ALEPH (pseudonym of **Morris Abraham Katz**; 1898–1969), Yiddish poet. Born in Mlyniv (Mlinov, Volhynia), Katz attended a Russian school before immigrating to the U.S. in 1913. He worked at various jobs while attending City College (New York). His first poems were in Hebrew, but in 1917 he published his first Yiddish poem in *Der Groyser Kundes*. Encouraged by Jacob *Glatstein, he published his Yiddish lyrics in organs of the *In-Zikh movement and in the journal, *Zangen*, which he founded and edited in 1920, as well as in dozens of other journals. His first two volumes, *A Mayse fun Yam* ("A Tale of the Sea," 1925) and *Akertsayt* ("Plowing Time," 1929), were influenced by the American Imagists and the Yiddish Inzikhists. Following his first pamphlet, *Dos Telerl fun Himl* ("Heavenly Saucer," 1934), he found his own original tone in the lyrics of *Amol Iz Geven a Mayse* ("Once There Was a Story," 1944), written under the impact of the Holocaust, and in his play *Gut Morgn Alef* ("Good Morning, Aleph," 1950), which had as its *dramatis personae* the scattered but indestructible letters of the Hebrew alphabet. Katz reaffirmed his links with the Jewish people by writing for the children of Yiddish schools. Under the influence of *Naḥman of Bratslav's narrative approach, Katz often hints at a reality beyond observed phenomena, at a mystic realm which can be best expressed in allegorical symbols. His works also include *Di Emese Khasene* ("The True Wedding," 1967), *Der Morgnshtern* ("The Morning Star," 1975), and children's books such as *Kholem Aleykhem* ("Dreams Be with You," 1958). Katz was also a Yiddish editor of the Jewish Telegraphic Agency for more than forty years.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: LNYL, 4 (1961), 344–7; B. Rivkin, *Yidishe Dikhter in Amerike* (1959), 295–302; J. Glatstein, *In Tokh Genumen* (1960), 335–9; S. Bickel, *Shrayber fun Mayn Dor* (1965), 95–9.

[Sol Liptzin / Jerold C. Frakes (2nd ed.)]

KATZ, ALEX (1927–), U.S. painter, sculptor, and printmaker. Katz primarily painted in the traditional mode of portraiture, often eschewing perspective and the psychological interpretation of his models, while flattening bright colors. Born in Brooklyn to newly immigrated parents from Eastern Europe, Katz joined the Navy a month before the end of World War II. After a year in the Pacific he returned home and began his art studies, initially at the Cooper Union Art School (1946–49) training to be a commercial artist. This early exposure to the style of billboards, magazine advertisements, and comic strips would affect his later artistic production. Katz decided to focus on the fine arts in his last year, at which time he studied with, among others, the Jewish painter Morris Kantor. He also took summer art classes at the Skowhegan School of Painting and Sculpture in Maine (1949, 1950), honing his skills and his interest in working from nature. During 1950–51 Katz painted many landscapes in a loose, sketchy style encouraged by Jackson Pollock's allover canvases.

In the late 1950s Katz began painting his wife, Ada, as he started to develop his mature style and to discover his overriding interest in portraiture. The following year he also made his first cut-outs – freestanding, double-sided figures painted on aluminum or wood. By the early 1960s Katz's canonical style of large-scale, cropped portraits painted with sharp, crisp contours and employing strident colors began to evolve (e.g., *The Red Smile*, 1963, Whitney Museum of American Art). Painted with thinned-out oil paint, Katz explored form and color much as the Fauvist Henri Matisse did in the earlier part of the century. Unlike social realist painters of a generation earlier – including Raphael, Moses, and Isaac *Soyer – who emphasized their humanist intentions, Katz repeatedly asserts that these works and others are more about style than content.

While continuing to paint portraits, Katz also made a series of enlarged flower paintings that press to the front of the picture plane, filling up the canvas (1966–67). Beginning in 1960, Katz designed sets and costumes for choreographer Paul Taylor's dance performances in addition to sets for other productions. His set for Kenneth Koch's off-Broadway play *George Washington Crossing the Delaware* incorporated around 20 almost life-size wood cutouts, including Washington in his rowboat, army officers, and props such as a cherry tree all rendered in Katz's straightforward style. Starting in 1965, Katz began making prints, some of which were executed as illustrations for published books of poetry by leading writers such as John Ashbery.

Over the years Katz experimented with including background details omitted in earlier canvas portraits, painting group portraits often of family and friends in social situations, and landscapes.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: N.P. Maravell, *Alex Katz: The Complete Prints* (1983); R. Marshall, *Alex Katz* (1986); S. Hunter, *Alex Katz* (1992); I. Sandler, *Alex Katz: A Retrospective* (1998).

[Samantha Baskind (2nd ed.)]

KATZ, BENZION (1875–1958), Hebrew journalist and writer. Born in Daugi (Vilna district), Katz began to contribute to *Ha-Ẓefirah* at an early age. At the invitation of Baron David *Guenzburg, he went to St. Petersburg in order to engage in talmudic research, the results of which he later published in the journal *Ha-Shilo'aḥ*. He also conducted much research in the history of Polish and Russian Jewry, in light of halakhic and responsa literature; part of this work was published under the title *Le-Korot ha-Yehudim be-Rusyah u-Polin ve-Lita ba-Me'ot ha-Shesh-Esreh ve-ha-Sheva-Esreh* ("History of the Jews in Russia, Poland, and Lithuania in the 16th and 17th centuries," 1898). Katz's contributions to the Hebrew press inspired him to publish his own periodicals, and in 1903 in St. Petersburg he founded a newspaper and a quarterly, both under the name *Ha-Zeman*; a monthly, bearing the same name, was also published by him in Vilna (1905–06). At the end of 1916 Katz began to publish a Hebrew weekly, *Ha-Am*, in Moscow, which became a daily at the outbreak of the 1917 Revolution. The newspaper was critical of the Communist Revolution and was closed down in 1918. In 1920 he left Russia and after a short stay in Kovno, moved to Berlin, residing there until he settled in Ereẓ Israel in 1931. He was a regular contributor to *Haaretz* and *Ha-Boker,* and for a few years, also resumed publication of an independent daily, *Ha-Zeman*. Toward the end of his life Katz published chapters of his memoirs, afterward collected in *Zikhronot* (1963). In 1953 he founded *He-Avar,* a journal devoted to Russian Jewish history. The results of his historical researches appear in his books *Perushim, Ẓedukim, Kanna'im, Noẓerim* ("Pharisees, Sadducees, Zealots, Christians," 1948) and *Rabbanut, Ḥasidut, Haskalah* ("Rabbinism, Ḥasidism, Enlightenment," 1956–59).

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[Getzel Kressel and Yehuda Slutsky]

KATZ (Benshalom), BENZION (1907–1968), Hebrew translator, literary critic, and educator. He was the brother of Juliusz *Katz-Suchy. Born in Sanok, Galicia, he studied at the University of Cracow, taught Hebrew language there (1929–39), and lectured at the Warsaw Institute of Jewish Studies (1937–39). In 1940 he immigrated to Palestine, and from 1941 to 1963 was director of the Jewish Agency's Youth and He-Ḥalutz Department. He also lectured on classical literature at the Tel Aviv University, where he was appointed rector in 1964. Katz's books include *Mishkalav shel Ḥ.N. Bialik* ("Metrics in Bialik's Poetry," 1942); *Ha-Sifrut ha-Ivrit Bein Shetei Milḥamot Olam* (1943; *Hebrew Literature between the Two World Wars*, 1953); *Sheki'ot Yerushalayim* ("Jerusalem Sunsets," poems, 1965); and *Orḥot Yeẓirah* ("Creative Paths," literary essays, 1966). He translated into Hebrew selections from the Persian epic *Shahnama* by Firdausi and the *Rubáiyát* of Omar Khayyam, as well as several classical Greek works.

[Getzel Kressel]

KATZ, SIR BERNARD (1911–2003), British physiologist and Nobel Prize laureate. Katz was born in Leipzig, Germany. He studied medicine at the University of Leipzig, 1929–34; he received the Siegfried Garten Prize for physiological research in 1933 and obtained his M.D. in 1934. He left Germany in 1935 and finished his education in London, where he settled. He received a Ph.D. from London University in 1938 and in 1942, he was awarded the degree of Doctor of Science. In 1939 Katz joined J.C. Eccles' laboratory at Sydney Hospital, Australia, as a Carnegie Research Fellow. He collaborated with J.C. Eccles and S.W. Kuffler in neuromuscular research. In 1942, after naturalization in 1941, he joined the Royal Australian Air Force, and served as a radar officer in the Southwest Pacific until the end of the war. In 1946, he returned from Australia to University College, London. In 1952 he became professor and head of the biophysics department at University College, a position he held until his death. He received many awards and was made a fellow of the Royal Society of which, in 1965, he was elected vice president, and a fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences in 1969. He was knighted in 1969. He was a member of the Agricultural Research Council from 1967 and the Biological Secretary of the Royal Society from 1968. In 1970 he was awarded the Nobel Prize in medicine. Katz demonstrated the relationship between neural transmission and acetylcholine release in quantitative terms, and clarified the action of calcium in the propagation of the nerve impulse. His main research was in the field of the nature of both the nerve impulse and nerve-muscle connections. He wrote *Electric Excitation of Nerve* (1939) and *Nerve, Muscle, and Synapse* (1966).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Lex pris Nobel/Nobel Lectures.

[George H. Fried / Ruth Rossing (2nd ed.)]

KATZ, DANIEL (1903–1998), U.S. psychologist. Born in Trenton, New Jersey, Katz was the world's first recipient of a doctorate in a formal program of study in social psychology, which he received from Syracuse University in 1928. Conducting some of the earliest empirical research on stereotyping, his studies at Princeton with Kenneth Braly on the nature of ethnic stereotypes eventually became models for subsequent generations of research on prejudice. He was appointed instructor at Princeton in 1924 and in 1940 became associate professor. In 1943 he became chair of Brooklyn College's newly formed department of psychology.

Katz joined the Office of War Information in 1943 as a research director. After the war, he joined the staff of the University of Michigan's Survey Research Center, which subsequently became a branch of the Institute for Social Research. Katz was later appointed to the university's psychology department as well. Katz served as president of the Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues and earned a number of career awards for his contributions to social psychology.

A leader in social psychology and public-opinion research, Katz served on the editorial boards of many journals in his field. He co-authored *Social Psychology* (with R.L. Schanck, 1938), *Research Methods in the Behavioral Sciences* (with L. Festinger, 1953), *The Social Psychology of Organizations* (with R. Kahn, 1966), *Bureaucratic Encounters* (with the University of Michigan, 1975), and *The Study of Organizations* (with R. Kahn and J. Adams, 1980).

[Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

KATZ, DAVID (1884–1953), German psychologist. Born in Kassel, Katz studied at various universities including Goettingen, where he worked under Georg Elias Mueller and taught until the outbreak of World War I, when he served in the army. In 1919 Katz was appointed to the newly established chair of psychology and pedagogy at the University of Rostock which, under his direction, became one of the leading centers for psychological research in Germany. In 1933 he was dismissed by the Nazis, and for four years he was supported as a refugee scientist in England, first in Manchester and then in London. In 1937 he was appointed to the chair of psychology and pedagogy in Stockholm, where he developed a productive psychological laboratory.

He was one of the pioneers in experimental phenomenology. As Katz presented it, it was an attempt to bring under experimental control all the phenomena of experience. He is best known for the distinction he made between surface colors and film colors, and his work on touch paralleled his work on color. His interests ranged widely and he is also remembered for his contributions to animal psychology, child psychology, the psychology of thinking, and psychological instrumentation. Among his many publications, the most important are *Der Aufbau der Farbwelt* (1930; *The World of Colour*, 1935), originally published in 1911 in: *Zeitschrift fuer Psychologie und Physiologie*, as "Die Erscheinungsweisen der Farben"; *Der Aufbau des Tastwelt* (1925); together with Rosa Katz, *Gespraeche mit Kindern* (1928; *Conversations with Children*, 1936); *Animals and Men* (1937, 1953^2); and *Gestaltpsychologie* (1944; *Gestalt Psychology*, 1950).

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[Robert B. MacLeod]

KATZ, DAVID S. (1953–), Israeli historian of British Jewry. Educated at Columbia University and at Oxford, Katz became professor of English history at the University of Tel Aviv. He is considered one of the foremost authorities on the Anglo-Jewish community in the early modern period. His work *The Jews in the History of England, 1485–1850* (1994) is regarded as one of the most sophisticated treatments of a period previously examined by relatively few academic historians. He also wrote *Philo-Semitism and the Readmission of the Jews to England, 1603–1655* (1982) and is the author or editor of many other works.

[William D. Rubinstein (2nd ed.)]

KATZ, DOVID (**Heershadovid Menkes**; 1956–), Yiddish linguist, author, and educator. Born in New York, son of Menke *Katz, he developed, while studying at Columbia University (1974–78), the idea of direct links between the Aramaic and Yiddish periods of Jewish linguistic history; at the University of London he specialized in historical phonology and dialectology (Ph.D. 1982). He founded and directed Yiddish Studies at Oxford University (1978–96), at the Oxford Centre for Postgraduate Hebrew Studies (1978–94), and was fellow at St. Antony's College (1986–97), founding the *Winter Studies in Yiddish* series (4 vols. 1987–91), and the *Oksforder Yídish* series (3 vols. 1990–95), initiating and editing the literary monthly *Yiddish Pen* (1994–96). He founded the Oxford Summer Programme in Yiddish Language and Literature (1982), which he later moved to Vilnius, Lithuania (from 1998). Following a visiting professorship at Yale University (1998–99), he took up a new chair in Yiddish at Vilnius University. After directing the new Center for Stateless Cultures (1999–2001), he helped establish the university's Vilnius Yiddish Institute (2001). He initiated Yiddish teachers' courses at Oxford (1996) and in Vilnius (2005), publishing *Grammar of the Yiddish Language* (1987) and *Tíkney Takones: Fragn fun Yidisher Stilistik* ("Amended Amendments: Issues in Yiddish Stylistics," 1993). He became known for his ardently descriptivist stance, challenging the "purist" school that developed in postwar New York; he also championed the more traditionalist version of modern Yiddish orthography in *Klal-takones fun Yidishn Oysleyg* ("Code of Yiddish Spelling," 1992). As Heershadovid Menkes he published three volumes of fiction: *Eldra Don* (1992), *Der Flakher Shpits* ("The Flat Peak," 1993) and *Misnagdishe Mayses fun Vilner Gubernye* ("Tales of the Misnagdim of Vilna Province," 1996). After experimenting with modern settings, he settled on pre-WWI Lithuanian Jewish settings, which earned critical acclaim. He became a regular contributor to *Yidishe Kultur*, *Forverts* and the *Algemeyner Zhurnal*. From 1990, he carried out expeditions to record the last native Yiddish in Lithuania, Latvia, northeastern Poland, and especially Belarus, collecting materials for a future atlas of Northeastern Yiddish. His *Lithuanian Jewish Culture* (2004) traces the cultural history of Lithuanian Jewry from its origins to the present. He co-edited the collected translations of his father's works (*Menke: The Complete Yiddish Works in English Translation*, 2005). A prolific scholar and writer, Katz published numerous studies on the historical sociology of Yiddish, the structure of Ashkenazi Hebrew and Aramaic, medieval rabbinic history, the history of Yiddish studies, and methodology in historical linguistics, with emphasis throughout on the history of ideas. For a more general readership, he published *Words on Fire: The Unfinished Story of Yiddish* (2004). Katz was awarded the 1979 Marshak Award in Yiddish Literature (Montreal), the 1995 Chaim Grade Award in Yiddish Culture (New York), the 1996 Zhitlovsky Prize in Yiddish Literature (New York), the 1997 Manger Prize in Yiddish Literature (Tel Aviv) and a Guggenheim Fellowship (2001–2).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: B.Z. Goldberg, *Algemeyner Zhurnal* (Sept. 1, 1972), 18; P. Slobodjans'kyj, *Language*, 64:4 (1988), 761–6; 67:1 (1991), 114; R.F. Shepard, *New York Times* (Apr. 6, 1991), 17; A. Karpinovich, *Letste Nayes* (Aug. 21, 1992), 8–14; *ibid.* (Aug. 6, 1993), 5; *Lebns-fragn*, 525–6 (1996), 16; S. Vorzoger, *Letste Nayes* (Nov. 13, 1992), 8; *ibid.* (May 7, 1993), 8–14; *Tsukunft*, 100/1 (1996), 19–22; L. Prager, *Mendele Review*, 08.010/149 (Oct. 29, 2004); J. Sherman, *Times Literary Supplement* (May 27, 2005), 22–3. **WEBSITE**: www.dovidkatz.net (bibl.).

[Dov-Ber Kerler (2nd ed.)]

KATZ, ELIHU (1926–), professor of sociology and communications. Born in New York, Katz received his doctorate from Colombia University in 1956. In 1963 he immigrated to Israel and joined the Guttman Institute for Applied Social Research of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. During the 1960s he took time out from his academic career and headed the task force charged with the introduction of television broadcasting in Israel. He founded the Communications Institute at the Hebrew University in 1966, heading it until 1980. In the mid-1970s he and Daniel Dayan initiated a series of live broadcasts of recreated historic events inspired by the peace process with Egypt. He was a professor of sociology and communications at the Hebrew University until 1991, when he retired. He also served as professor at the Annenberg School of Communication at the University of Southern California. With his colleagues in Jerusalem and California he published 10 books and over 90 articles, among them: *Personal Influence: The Part Played by People in the Flow of Mass Communications* (with Lazarsfeld, 1955); *Medical Innovation: A Diffusion Study* (with Coleman and Menzel, 1966); *The Secularization of Leisure: Culture and Communication in Israel* (with Gurevitch, 1976); *The Export of Meaning: Cross-Cultural Readings of "Dallas"* (with Liebes, 1990); *Media Events: The Live Broadcasting of History* (with Dayan, 1992); and *Canonic Texts in Media Research: Are There Any? Should There Be? How About These?* (with Peters, Liebes, and Orloff, eds., 2003). In 1989 he was awarded the Israel Prize for social sciences. He also received the UNESCO-CANADA McLuhan Prize and Burda Prize (in media research).

WEBSITE: www.asc.upenn.edu/ascfaculty/facultyBioDetails.asp?txtUserID=ekatz#research.

[Fern Lee Seckbach / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

KATZ, HANNS LUDWIG (1892–1940), German painter and graphic artist. Katz was born in Karlsruhe. After leaving school he made a short sojourn in Paris at the atelier of Henri Matisse. From 1913 to 1918 Katz studied painting, history of art, and architecture in Karlsruhe, Heidelberg, and Munich. He married the pianist Franziska Ehrenreich and they moved to Frankfurt-on-the-Main in 1920, after he had published a series of expressionist lithographs entitled *Danse macabre* which alluded to the revolution in 1919. In Frankfurt, Katz became known as a painter of portraits, cityscapes, and still lifes, which revealed the influence of Max Beckmann and the Neue Sachlichkeit. But despite the success and the support of the art critic Max Osborn, he had to become a partner in a whitewashing company in 1923 in order to make a living. One of his portraits in the style of the Neue Sachlichkeit shows the artist at work. After getting his master craftman's certificate, he worked in the business until 1936. After the Nazi takeover in 1933, Katz took an active part in the Frankfurt section of the Juedischer Kulturbund, and in 1935, one year after his wife died, he planned to establish a semiautonomous Jewish settlement in Yugoslavia. After his endeavors failed he immigrated to South Africa in 1936. Before leaving Frankfurt, Katz married

Ruth Wolf, who followed him into exile. Thus he was able to escape before one of his best expressionist portraits, of Gustav Landauer (1919–20, private collection, Kapstadt), was publicly denounced in *Degenerate Art* in 1938. Despite becoming deeply involved in painting the landscapes of his new homeland, Katz was unable to make headway in the South African art scene and died in Johannesburg.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Heuberger, H. Krohn (ed.), *Hanns Ludwig Katz* (1992).

[Philipp Zschommler (2nd ed.)]

KATZ, ISRAEL (1917–2003), U.S. aeronautical engineer. Katz was born in New York and graduated from the Boston Trade School. He earned a B.S. in mechanical engineering from Northeastern University, Boston (1941); a naval architecture and marine engineering degree from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, a degree sponsored by the U.S. Navy (1942); and a master's degree in mechanical engineering from Cornell University (1944). He was a staff member of Cornell (1944–57) where he became associate professor and was head of the aircraft power unit. He worked in the advanced electronic center of the General Electric Company in Ithaca, N.Y. (1957–63) but returned to Northeastern University (1967–88), where he became professor of mechanical engineering and held senior academic appointments, including dean of the Center for Continuing Education, before retiring as emeritus professor. Katz worked on submarine and aircraft propulsion and submarine launched missile systems. He was a consultant for the U.S. Department of Defense and the Pratt and Whitney Aircraft Company. He was an outstanding teacher of basic and advanced teaching courses in engineering, and his books on aircraft propulsion and mechanical engineering in industry became standard texts. He received the New England Award in engineering (1993). He was an active supporter of Temple Beth El and Temple Ohabei Shalom in Boston.

[Michael Denman (2nd ed.)]

KATZ, ISRAEL (1927–), Israeli social scientist and politician. Katz was born in Vienna and came to Ereẓ Israel under the *Youth Aliyah scheme in 1937. He studied physics and chemistry at The Hebrew University and, after completing his military service, studied social work at Columbia University, New York. Returning to Israel in 1953, he was appointed director of a home for emotionally disturbed children and from 1955 to 1959 was educational supervisor of Youth Aliyah. He returned to the United States to continue his studies and received his doctorate in social work administration from the Western Reserve University, Cleveland, Ohio. On his return to Israel he was appointed director of the Paul Baerwald School of Social Work of The Hebrew University, also serving as director-general of the National Insurance Institute and director of the Brookdale Gerontological Institute. In 1982 he received a Ph.D. from The Hebrew University of Jerusalem and subsequently became a senior lecturer in the department of sociology and anthropology.

He joined the Democratic Movement for Change in 1977 and, when his party joined the coalition in October 1977, was appointed minister of labor and social betterment, serving until August 1981.

KATZ, ISRAEL (Joseph; 1930–), U.S. ethnomusicologist. Katz graduated from UCLA (B.A., 1956) and later spent two years (1959–61) in Jerusalem, where he studied privately with Edith *Gerson-Kiwi and undertook field research among the Sephardic communities of Israel. He returned to UCLA and took his doctorate in 1967 with a dissertation on Judeo-Spanish ballads, comparing the stylistic features of traditional ballads from Jerusalem with those preserved among the Sephardim of Turkey, Greece, and Morocco. Among other places, he taught at McGill University (Montreal, 1968–74); Columbia University (1974–75); York College (CUNY), chairing the Department of Fine and Performing Arts; and Hebrew Union College as a visiting lecturer. He conducted research in Spain on a Guggenheim Fellowship (1975–76) and again as a Fulbright scholar (1985–86). In 1982, he became associated with the University of California, Santa Cruz (1982–89) and Davis (1989–2004), collaborating as an associate researcher with the renowned hispanists Samuel G. Armistead and Joseph H. Silverman (d. 1989) on the series *Folk Literature of the Sephardic Jews*. Katz served as editor of *Ethnomusicology* (1970–72); for the *Yearbook of the International Folk Music Council*, he was editor (1977–70), coeditor (with Albert Weisser, 1976–82), editor (1983–88), and coeditor with Arbie Orenstein (2001–). He was a founding member of the American Society for Jewish Music (1974) and served as chairman of the board (until 1988).

Katz concentrated his studies on the Sephardic and Oriental Jewish communities of the Mediterranean region, and on the traditional folk music of Spain, with special studies on the 13th-century *Cantigas de Santa Maria.* He collected traditional ballads in Morocco (summer 1961), Spain (summer 1978) and Portugal (summer 1988), where he followed the footsteps of Kurt *Schindler. Transcription and analytical techniques as well as comparative tune scholarship are basic to his researches. He wrote the books *Judeo-Spanish Traditional Ballads from Jerusalem: An Ethnomusicological Study* (1972–1975) and, with S.G. Armistead and J.H. Silverman, the six-volume *Judeo-Spanish Ballads from Oral Tradition* (1986–2005). He was also editor of many important studies and wrote numerous articles.

[Amnon Shiloah (2nd ed.)]

KATZ, JACOB (1904–1998), Israeli historian. Born in Magyargencs, Hungary, Katz studied at various yeshivot and at the university of Frankfurt. From 1936 to 1950 he taught at religious schools and the Mizrachi Teachers' Seminary in Jerusalem. From 1950 he taught at the Hebrew University, becoming professor of Jewish social and educational history in 1962. In 1969 he was appointed rector of the Hebrew University. Katz's published works include *Toledot Yisrael ve-he-Ammim* ("Israel and the Nations," several editions, 1941–62); *Maso-*

ret u-Mashber (1958; *Tradition and Crisis*, 1961); *Exclusiveness and Tolerance* (1961); *Freemasons and Jews* (1970); *Emancipation and Assimilation: Studies in Modern Jewish History* (1972); *Out of the Ghetto: The Social Background of Jewish Emancipation, 1770–1870* (1973); *Toward Modernity: The European Jewish Models* (1987). His work is significant for the understanding of the intricate relationships between Jews and gentiles and offers insights into Jewish sociology in medieval and modern times. For his studies he utilized rabbinical sources which had been usually unexplored for historical-sociological research. In 1980 he was awarded the Israel Prize for studies in Jewish history.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: J.M. Harris, *The Pride of Jacob: Essays on Jacob Katz and His Work* (2002).

KATZ, JOSEPH BEN ELIJAH (17th century), writer of ethical works. Little is known about his life, except that he was *av bet din* in Zaslavl in the beginning of the 17th century. Joseph wrote *Rekhev Eliyahu* (Cracow, 1638). The book, which follows the order of Mishnah *Avot,* uses the Mishnah as a starting point for discussing ethical subjects such as reward and punishment, ethical behavior in commerce, and *teshuvah* (see *Repentance). Joseph draws upon various subjects from the Kabbalah and he mentions some kabbalistic and ethical works, such as *Sefer Ḥasidim, Sefer ha-Zohar, Tola'at Ya'akov* (by R. Meir ibn Gabbai), *Tomer Devorah* (R. Moses ben Jacob Cordovero), *Reshit Ḥokhmah* (Elijah ben Moses De-Vidas), *Beit Ha-Shem* (R. Solomon Alkabez), and also cites R. Isaac Luria Ashkenazi (Ha-Ari).

[Esty Eisenmann (2nd ed.)]

KATZ, LABEL A. (1918–1975), U.S. attorney, realtor, and community leader. Katz, who was born in New Orleans, Louisiana, practiced law but concentrated on the home-construction industry and investment, and from 1951 was president of Label A. Katz Investment Co., Inc. He was president of the Communal Hebrew School of New Orleans (1943–48), and served in various district and national offices of the B'nai B'rith Hillel Foundation. He served as president of B'nai B'rith International for two terms (1959–65). At the age of 41, he had the distinction of being the youngest international president in the history of the organization. Katz was particularly concerned with Jewish education and with international affairs, notably the position of Soviet Jewry; in 1964 he helped organize the American Jewish Conference on Soviet Jewry, which encompassed 24 organizations. He also served as chairman of the Presidents' Conference of Major American Jewish Organizations (1960–61). In Louisiana he served on the New Orleans Mayor's Citizens' Committee on Housing Improvement (1953), as vice president of the Urban League of Greater New Orleans, and as chairman of the board of Sophie Newcomb College of Tulane University.

In his honor, B'nai B'rith International established the Label Katz Young Leadership Award, which honors members under the age of 40 who display distinguished leadership skills.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: E.E. Grusd, *B'nai B'rith, Story of a Covenant* (1966), index.

KATZ (Wannfried), MENAHEM, also known as **Menahem Prossnitz** (c. 1800–1891), Hungarian rabbi. The name Wannfried indicates his family's origin in Hesse-Nassau. Born in Prostejov (Prossnitz), Moravia, Katz was one of the outstanding disciples of R. Moses *Sofer. He was head of the yeshivah in his native town. Elected rabbi of Rajka (Ragendorf), Hungary, he was later appointed rabbi of *Deutschkreutz (Ẓelem), one of the "Seven Communities" of *Burgenland, where he served for over 50 years. Here too, he headed an important yeshivah. Katz is best known for his activity on behalf of the Orthodox faction at the Congress of Hungarian Jewry (1868). After the schism in Hungarian Jewry, he was a member of the delegation of rabbis which obtained independent rights for the Orthodox organization from Emperor *Francis Joseph I. In 1870 he also convened a meeting of Orthodox rabbis which served as the basis for the separate organization.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: S. Sofer, in: *Iggerot Soferim* (1929), 9; J.J.(L.) Greenwald (Grunwald), *Li-Felagot Yisrael be-Hungaryah* (1929), 78.

[Baruch Yaron]

KATZ, MENKE (1906–1991), Yiddish and English poet. Known as Menke (*Méyn-keh*) in Yiddish literature, he was born in Svintsyan (now Švenčionys, Lithuania) and spent World War I in Micháleshik (Michalishki, Belarus) before immigrating to New York in 1920. He made his poetic debut with "Bowery" in the avant-garde *Sparták*, coedited by A. *Pomerantz and Russian poet V. Mayakovsky, and joined the leftist writers' group that coalesced into Proletpen, from which he was expelled (1932) for publishing his first book, *Dray Shvester* ("Three Sisters"), a mystical and erotic poetic drama in four acts. His two-volume World War I epic, *Brenendik Shtetl* ("Burning Village," 1938) brought a new storm for its longing, lyrical descriptions of *shtetl* life and its failure to indulge socialist realism. Katz replied with "Der Braver Pakhdn" ("The Brave Coward"), a manifesto for a Yiddish poetry free of the shackles of politics, including the line "I will not lead by poem into battle." His book, *S'hot dos Vort mayn Bobe Moyne* ("Grandmother Mona Takes the Floor," 1939), is written in the voice of his *shtetl* grandmother who mercilessly takes on the New York Yiddish literary-political establishment. In 1944, he coedited the literary journal *Mir.* In midlife he turned to universal themes, particularly in the book *Inmitn Tog* ("Midday," 1954). Due to political squabbling in the Yiddish literary establishment, he turned to writing English as well, and made his debut with "A Patched Window" (*Commentary*, Feb. 1956), and soon began to publish in the *Atlantic, The New York Times, Midwest Quarterly, Poet Lore*, and other English outlets. His first English book, *Land of Manna* (1965), synthesized motifs from the Lithuanian *shtetl* and the American metropolis. In English he became known for his opposition to rhyme and his experimentation with novel forms, including the twin narrative chant royal; the unrhymed unrefrained chant royal; and most famously, the "Menke Sonnet," whose increasing or decreasing number of syllables per line forms graphic triangles.

Major works in English include *Rockrose* (1970), *Burning Village* (1972; not a translation of the 1938 text), *A Chair for Elijah* (1985), and *Nearby Eden* (1990). In all, he published 18 books of verse, nine in each language. His "World of Old Abe" won the 1974 Stephen Vincent Benet Award and he was nominated for a Pulitzer Prize for *Burning Village*. He edited the poetry magazine *Bitterroot* (1962–91), which became known for seeking out unknown talent and inspiring poetic experimentation. His collection of folktales from Micháleshik, *Forever and Ever and a Wednesday*, appeared in 1980. Translations of his work have appeared in book form in French (1972), Greek (1968), Hebrew (1973), Italian (1972), Japanese (1967), Kannada (1968) and Lithuanian (2006). A compendium of translations in 21 languages of "On the Death of a Day Old Child" appeared in 1973. A near-complete collection of his Yiddish works in English translation by Benjamin and Barbara *Harshav appeared in 2005. He worked as a Yiddish teacher for much of his life. In 1985 he completed a collection of Yiddish folksongs, including many unknown variants from his native Lithuanian villages (unpublished, as is his 1951–2 diary to his brother Yeiske). He is the father of Dovid Katz and Troim Katz Handler.

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[Dovid Katz (2nd ed.)]

KATZ, MICKEY (1909–1985), U.S. musician, comic. Known for his unusual blend of *klezmer* music and Borscht Belt humor, Katz began playing the clarinet as a young child in his hometown of Cleveland, Ohio. He was performing with local bands by the time he was in high school. After he began to incorporate comic routines into his musical act, he gained the attention of Spike Jones, who invited Katz to become a member of his City Slickers band in 1946. Katz can be heard on a number of classic Spike Jones recordings including "Hawaiian War Chant," in which he provides the "glug-glug-glug" sound effect. It wasn't long before Katz pitched his own solo act to Spike Jones' label RCA and got a record deal of his own, performing popular American tunes with a Yiddish interpretation, adding Yiddish lyrics and instrumentation to the well-known songs as well as a comically exaggerated Jewish accent. After his RCA singles met with success, Katz went on the road, doing a tour he called the "Borscht Capades." Katz's son, later to be known in his own right as actor Joel *Grey, was included in the cast of Katz's road show. Katz eventually left RCA for Capital Records, where he remained until his retirement in the 1960s. However, this was not to be the last that the American public heard from Mickey Katz, who went on to publish his autobiography, *Papa Play for Me*, in 1977. Katz's legacy received another boost with the 1993 release of *Don Byron plays the Music of Mickey Katz* by the noted African-American jazz artist. In addition to being the father of Joel *Grey, Katz is the grandfather of *Dirty Dancing* dynamo Jennifer Grey.

[Casey Schwartz (2nd ed.)]

KATZ, MINDRU (1925–1978), Romanian-born Israeli pianist. Born in Bucharest and recognized as a child prodigy by **George Enescu**, Katz was recommended to Floria Musicescu, with whom he studied at the Royal Academy of Music in Bucharest. Katz made his debut with the Bucharest Philharmonic Orchestra (1947), won prizes at international competitions, and the state prize, first class, of the Romanian Republic (1954). Between 1947 and 1959 he went on concert tours in Eastern Europe, and made his debuts in Paris (1957) and in London (1958). In 1959 he gave his first Festival Hall recital, recorded Khachaturian's concerto and Prokofiev's First Piano Concerto, and settled in Israel. He first played with the Israel Philharmonic under Martinon and continued to make extensive tours in Western Europe, Africa, the Far East, and the Americas. He performed with leading orchestras and illustrious conductors such as Sir John Barbirolli, Antal Dorati, and Joseph Krips. Katz was appointed lecturer at the Rubin Academy of Music at Tel Aviv University and a professor in 1972. He had great impact on the level of piano culture in Israel. His piano playing managed to be both technically brilliant and full of poetry. His repertoire ranged from Bach to Prokofiev but he was most acclaimed in Beethoven, Chopin, and Brahms. He died during a recital.

ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY: *New Grove Dictionary* (1980).

[Naama Ramot (2nd ed.)]

KATZ, MOSES (1885–1960), Yiddish journalist. Born near Minsk, he received a traditional Jewish and secular education. He was arrested in 1903 for participating in an illegal Zionist education group. After the Kishinev pogrom he joined the Socialist-Zionists and took part in self-defense activities. After a two-year stay in Palestine (1908–10), he returned to Russia and then went to the U.S. in 1913. Katz started his career as a writer in Russian in 1904, but from 1905 contributed to Yiddish journals. In the U.S. he joined Chaim *Zhitlowsky's journal *Dos Naye Lebn* and served as a correspondent for foreign publications in Yiddish and Russian. He returned to Russia in 1917 after the February Revolution. Between 1917 and 1920 Katz held various editorial posts in Russia, helped to found the Ukrainian *Kultur-Lige*, and managed the Jewish Division of the State Publishing House in Kiev. After his return to America in 1922, he worked on the Yiddish Communist daily *Frayhayt* (later *Morgn Frayhayt*) and also contributed to many leftist journals. He wrote numerous articles on travel as well as popular discussions of history and of Marxism, often using pseudonyms. He translated Ivan Franko, Heine, and Kipling into Yiddish and edited a six-volume edition of Lenin in Yiddish (Moscow, 1933). Among his works are *Nikolay Lenin* (1920), *Di Ershte Yidishe Oytonomye* ("The First Jewish Autonomy," 1934), and *A Dor Vos Hot Farloyrn di Moyre* ("A Generation that Lost its Fear," 1956).

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[Henry J. Tobias]

KATZ, NAPHTALI BEN ISAAC (Ha-Kohen; 1645–1719), rabbi and kabbalist. Katz was born in Stepan (Volhynia), where his father was rabbi. In his youth he was taken captive by the Tatars but managed to escape. He succeeded his father as *av bet din* of Stepan and then served as rabbi of Ostrow (1680–89), Posen (1690–1704), and Frankfurt on the Main (1704–11). In the latter year a fire broke out in his house, destroying the whole Jewish quarter of Frankfurt. After he had been maliciously charged with preventing the extinguishing of the fire because he wanted to test his amulets – in the use of which he was expert – he was imprisoned and compelled to resign his post. He went to Prague, staying in the house of David *Oppenheim, where he met Nehemiah *Ḥayon and even gave approbation to his book *Oz le-Elohim* (also called *Meheimnuta de-Kalla*; Berlin, 1713). From 1713 to 1715 he lived in Breslau, where together with Ẓevi Hirsch *Ashkenazi he excommunicated Ḥayon after realizing his true character. In 1715, after King Augustus of Poland had rejected his application to be restored to his post as rabbi of Posen, he returned to Ostrow where his son Bezalel was rabbi. While journeying to Ereẓ Israel he was taken ill in Constantinople and died there.

Among his works are *Pi Yesharim* (Frankfurt, 1702), kabbalistic comments to the word *bereshit* ("in the beginning"); *Birkat ha-Shem* (2 pts., *ibid.*, 1704–06), including *Semikhat Ḥakhamim*, consisting of *hadranim* (see *Hadran) and *Kedushah u-Verakhah*, novellae to the tractate *Berakhot*; and *Sha'ar Naftali*, poems and *piyyutim* (Bruenn, 1757). Several works are still in manuscript. Katz was one of the important halakhic authorities of his generation and one of the greatest kabbalists of Poland. His image persisted in the memory of the people, and many legends and wondrous tales about him circulated for many generations. He conducted his rabbinate high-handedly and as a result met much opposition from the leaders of the communities, which was apparently the cause of his frequent wanderings. Despite this he had a sensitive soul which found expression in his poems, *piyyutim*, and prayers which have been published in various places. His well-known ethical will (1729?) contains profound thoughts and moral instruction and some see in it one of the first sparks of practical *Ḥasidism.

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[Yehoshua Horowitz]

KATZ, REUVEN (1880–1963), talmudist. After studying in various yeshivot, Katz went to Vilna to study under Ḥayyim Ozer *Grodzinski. He became known as the *Illui* ("prodigy") of Olshany. He married the daughter of Abraham *Maskileison. After holding appointments in a number of towns, including Minsk in 1905, Indura in 1909, and Stawiski in 1923, he joined a delegation visiting the United States and remained there as rabbi of Bayonne, New Jersey. In 1932 he was appointed chief rabbi of Petaḥ Tikvah where he also headed the Lomza Yeshivah, founded by the heads of the Lithuanian yeshivah of the same name. Katz headed a variety of communal organizations, including the aid committee for Grodno Jewry and the Aguddat ha-Rabbanim of Poland. He was vice president of Aguddat ha-Rabbanim of America and in Israel he was president of Aguddat Rabbanei Yehudah ve-ha-Sharon and an associate of the Council of the Chief Rabbinate and of the Va'ad ha-Yeshivot. Among his published works are the responsa *Degel Re'uven* (3 pts., 1923–49); *Duda'ei Re'uven* (1928; 2nd ed. 2 pts., 1954) on the Pentateuch; and *Sha'ar Re'uven* (1952), a collection of essays on topical and practical problems. Of his sons, Aaron succeeded him as *rosh yeshivah* in Petaḥ Tikvah, Simeon served on the *bet din* there, Michael and Leon taught at Yeshiva *University, while a fifth son, Abraham *Katsh, became president of Dropsie University.

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[Itzhak Alfassi]

KATZ, RUTH (1927–) Israeli musicologist. Born in Germany, Katz emigrated to Palestine in 1934. She studied piano with E. Rudiakoff and music theory with P. *Ben-Haim in Tel Aviv, and earned her Ph.D. in 1963 at Columbia University. She joined the newly established department of musicology at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem in 1965 where she became professor of musicology in 1984 and emeritus since 1995. Ruth Katz was head of the School of Graduate Studies (1983–86) at the Hebrew University and fellow at the Institute of Advanced Studies in Berlin (1986–87).

Her fields of interest encompass a wide scope of research: aesthetics, philosophy and sociology of music, historical musicology, study of non-western traditions, musicological and ethnomusicological methods, and cognitive science of music. She distinguished herself with her broad interdisciplinary approach and methodological creativity.

In 1957 Katz developed, together with D. Cohen, the melograph – an instrument for the continuous graphic representation of melody (or any monophonic vocal expression with definite pitch). The melograph is used for analyzing melodic elements that cannot be expressed exactly in traditional Western notation, e.g., those based on other intonation systems, microtonal intervals, contours of glissandi, attack and decay of notes, vibrato, or the relation of pitch to loudness. This method has been applied to studies on the music of the Samaritans:

"Explorations in the Music of the Samaritans: An Illustration of the Utility of Graphic Notation" (with D. Cohen), *Ethnomusicology*, 4 (1960), and also to the music of Syrian (Aleppo) Jews, Palestinian Arabs (secular and sacred), and Israeli folksongs. Unlike similar *apparati* developed independently at the same time (in Los Angeles and Norway), the Katz-Cohen melograph set the basic methodology and interpretative approach still used today. Other ethnomusicological interests concern latent vs. manifest theory (with D. Cohen) and historical continuity vs. change in oral traditions.

Her research on Western tradition includes the history and theory of notation; the origins of opera as collective problem-solving, analogous to science; eighteenth-century music and aesthetic theory; the relationship of language to music (her work on this subject was an example of the "cognitive turn" in epistemology and was an early contribution to cognitive science); music in philosophical writings (with C. Dahlhaus); and the relationship among stylistic change, aesthetic judgment, and historical process, examined through the case of the institutionalization and diffusion of opera (early 17th c.). Among her major books are *Divining the Powers of Music: Aesthetic Theory and the Origins of Opera* (1986); *Contemplating Music: Source Readings in the Aesthetics of Music* (4 vols.; with C. Dahlhaus, 1988–1992); *Tuning the Mind: Connecting Aesthetics to Cognitive Science* (with R. Ha-Cohen, 2003); *The Lachmann Problem: An Unsung Chapter in Comparative Musicology* (2003); and *Palestinian Arab Music: A Maqam Tradition in Practice* (with D. Cohen, 2005).

[Elisheva Rigbi (2nd ed.)]

KATZ, SHMUEL (1914–), Israeli publicist. Katz was born in South Africa and came to Eretz Israel in 1936 as secretary to the Honorary South African Consul, Michael Haskel. He was active in the *Irgun Ẓeva'i Leummi, then under the leadership of David *Raziel. At the request of Ze'ev Jabotinsky he came to London in 1940, where he launched and edited a weekly Revisionist magazine. On his return in 1946 he resumed his activity in the Irgun and was a member of its High Command until it dissolved. He then took over the responsibility for the branch of the Irgun which remained in Jerusalem during the final phase of fighting in the War of Independence.

Katz was elected to the First Knesset, but left public life in 1951 and set up a publishing house. After the Six-Day War he became active in the Land of Israel Movement, carrying on propaganda on its behalf in the United States. After the victory of the Likud in March 1977, Menaḥem Begin appointed him adviser on information abroad, but he resigned in January 1978 as he found himself in disagreement with the policy of the prime minister and joined the Ḥerut group which opposed Begin's peace negotiations. Later on, he retired from Ḥerut politics.

Katz published five books, *Days of Fire*, *Battleground: Fact and Fantasy in Palestine*, *No Courage, No Splendor*, *Zabo*, and *The Wild East*. In addition, he translated works of Jabotinsky, and Menaḥem Begin's *Revolt*, into English.

KATZ, SHOLOM (1919–1982), *ḥazzan*. Born in Oradea, Romania, Katz studied voice in Budapest and Vienna and was *ḥazzan* in Kishinev, Bessarabia, until he was deported in 1941. At the Bralow, Ukraine, concentration camp, he was taken out to be shot but requested permission to sing the prayer for the dead. The officer in charge was so impressed by his voice that he spared him and allowed him to escape. In 1947 he emigrated to the U.S. and became *ḥazzan* of the Beth Sholom Congregation in Washington, D.C. A powerful tenor with an extensive range and exceptional voice control, Katz developed an individualistic, unhurried and dramatic style.

KATZ, SOLOMON (1909–1990), U.S. historian. Born in Buffalo, New York, Katz was hired in 1936 as an instructor by the history department of the University of Washington, where he remained for 53 years. In 1950 he was appointed professor of history. Katz's main scholarly interest was the period of the decline of the Roman Empire and the emergence of the medieval world. His doctoral dissertation, "The Jews in the Visigothic and Frankish Kingdoms of Spain and Gaul" (1937), combined Jewish sources with Roman and Germanic sources to illustrate the status and organization of the Jews. Katz developed such an interest in the history of the late Roman Empire, or Byzantine history, that he began to offer courses in the subject in 1940, making the UW one of the few institutions to offer such classes at the time. He served in the U.S. Army Air Force (1942–46). During his tenure at the university, Katz also served as chair of the history department, dean of the College of Arts and Sciences, provost, and vice president for academic affairs.

His book *The Decline of Rome and the Rise of Medieval Europe* (1955) is a brief popular survey. He also published in Jewish and general scholarly journals. Katz was a member of the Commission on Academic Affairs of the American Council on Education (1967); president of the Pacific Coast Branch of the American Historical Association (1967–68); and a member of the Commission on Students and Faculty of the Association of American Colleges (1969). An avid supporter of the arts and humanities in the Northwest, he served as a member of numerous arts, civic, and educational boards as well, including the Seattle Repertory Theater, the Seattle Art Museum, the Seattle Symphony, and Lakeside School. In 1978 he received the Seattle Mayor's Public Service Award in the Arts. That year, the UW established the Solomon Katz Distinguished Lectureship Series in the Humanities and, later on, an endowed professorship was created in his honor. In addition, the Solomon Katz Distinguished Lectures in the Humanities Series was established by private donors to recognize distinguished scholars in the humanities. In 1983 Katz was presented with the University of Washington's Outstanding Public Service Award.

[Irwin L. Merker / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

KATZ, STEVEN T. (1944–), U.S. scholar and philosopher. Katz was born in Jersey City, New Jersey. He earned his B.A. degree from Rutgers University (1966), his M.A. degree from

New York University (1967), and his Ph.D. from Cambridge University (1972). He served on the faculties of Cambridge University (1971–72); Dartmouth College (1972–84); and Cornell University (1984–96). In 1995 he was named as director of the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum but when a controversy developed, he resigned without serving. He served as director of the Elie Wiesel Center for Judaic Studies and professor of religion, comparative mysticism, and Judaica (Holocaust) at Boston University (from 1996).

Katz published articles and books on Shoah history and theology, including *Post-Holocaust Dialogues: Critical Studies in Modern Jewish Thought* (1983) and *Historicism, the Holocaust, and Zionism: Critical Studies in Modern Jewish Thought and History* (1992). His stellar contribution on the singularity of the Shoah evolved in 1979 when Katz proposed his agenda on why the Shoah is unmatched in history. He expanded on the topic in *The Holocaust in Historical Context. Volume 1: The Holocaust and Mass Death Before the Modern Age* (1994) in which he discusses other horrific events deemed parallel to the Shoah. With dedicated persistence, he tackles a plethora of literature and scholarship and maintains that the issue at hand is not essentially a problem of economics, history, politics, religion, sociology, or theology but one of intentionality, that is Nazism's *Weltanschaung*, the total genocidal intent against the Jewish people for being and becoming. A similar point is made in his essay "Children in Auschwitz and the Gulag: Alternative Realities" (in R.L. Millen, ed., *New Perspectives on the Holocaust: A Guide for Teachers and Scholars* (1996)), which documents that only in the brutal environment of Auschwitz *all* children were marked for extermination by the fiat of Nazi racial ideology. His edited volume, *The Impact of the Holocaust on Jewish Theology* (2005), brings together an array of international scholars who wrestle with profound post-Shoah religious and theological problems, including, how our belief in a providential all-good Creator has changed in the wake of the Holocaust.

Katz contributed and edited several acclaimed works on mysticism: *Mysticism and Philosophical Analysis* (1978), *Mysticism and Religious Traditions* (1983), *Mysticism and Language* (1992), *Mysticism and Sacred Scriptures* (2000), and *Comparative Mysticism: An Anthology of Original Sources* (2005), which argue against others that the mediated experience is not peripheral but highly philosophical and historical to religious traditions. His scholarly works in the field of Judaica include *Jewish Philosophers: A History* (1975), *Jewish Ideas and Concepts* (1977), *Antisemitism in Times of Crises* (1991 with Sandor L. Gillman), *Jacob Agus, American Rabbi* (1997), and *The Essential Agus* (1997). For B'nai B'rith Books, he edited two volumes of original essays, *Frontiers of Modern Jewish Thought* (1992) and *Interpreters of Judaism in the Late Twentieth Century* (1993).

Katz served as general editor of several series: *Jewish Philosophy, Mysticism, and the History of Ideas: Classics of Continental Thought* (1979–80, 65 volumes); *Judaica Festschrift zu Hermann Cohens Siebzigstem Geburtstage* (1979, a reprint series); Judaica Series, and *Modern Jewish Masters* (periodic monograph series, New York University Press). Finally, Katz founded and continued to serve as the editor of the award-winning journal, *Modern Judaism* (from 1981).

[Zev Garber (2nd ed.)]

KATZAV, MOSHE (1945–), eighth president of the State of Israel, member of the Ninth to Fifteenth Knessets. Katzav was born in Yazd in Iran. At the age of one Katzav's family moved to Teheran, and five years later the family immigrated to Israel; after a short sojourn in the Sha'ar ha-Aliyah immigration center in Haifa, the family was sent to the Kastina *ma'barah* near Be'er Toviyyah – today Kiryat Malakhi. In the floods of 1951 Katzav was moved to Kefar Bilu, without his family's knowledge. The family's housing conditions gradually improved from a tent to a hut, and finally to a small apartment. As a boy Katzav visited the residence of President Yitzhak *Ben-Zvi, together with other children from *ma'barot* who excelled in reading.

Katzav studied at the youth village of Ben-Shemen and later went to high school at Be'er Toviyyah.

During his military service in the Communications Corps, he helped support his family in construction jobs. After completing his military service he worked as a clerk in Bank Hapoalim, and as an assistant in the Vulcani Institute for Agricultural Research. At the same time he started to work as a reporter for *Yedioth Aḥaronoth* and served as president of B'nai B'rith Youth.

He was the first student from Kiryat Malakhi at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem, where he started to study in 1968, after saving money to finance his studies. At the university he was head of the *Gaḥal students cell. He received his B.A. in economics and history in 1971. While still a student he began teaching history and mathematics at high school, and in 1969, at the age of 24, was elected head of the local council of Kiryat Malakhi, at the head of a coalition that included Gaḥal and the *National Religious Party. However, after several months repeat elections were held, and he lost his majority in the Council. He was reelected head of the local council on behalf of the Likud and served in this position in the 1976–81 term – in the first two years on the basis of a rotation agreement with the Alignment.

Katzav served as a reservist in both the Six-Day War and the Yom Kippur War.

In 1977 he was elected to the Ninth Knesset on behalf of the Likud, and served in the Knesset until he was elected president of the State in 2003. In the course of the Ninth Knesset, before the rise of the Ayatollah Homeini to power, he was sent twice on missions on behalf of Prime Minister Menaḥem *Begin to Iran, to encourage the Jews to immigrate to Israel. In the Tenth Knesset he served as deputy minister of construction and housing, responsible on behalf of the government for *Project Renewal. In the National Unity Government of 1984–88 he served as minister of labor and welfare, and in 1988–92 as minister of transportation. In the opposition in 1992–96 he served as chairman of the Likud parliamentary group, and in the government formed by Binyamin *Netanyahu he served as deputy prime minister and minister of tourism in 1996–99.

Among the various public posts he filled over the years was chairman of the roof organization of the immigrants from Iran, chairman of the Committee to Determine Salaries in Institutions for Higher Education, and member of the Board of Trustees of Ben-Gurion University. After Ezer *Weizman resigned as president in 2000, Katzav contended for the position opposite Shimon *Peres, and against all odds was elected as Israel's eighth president. He was the second Sephardi to be elected to the post (Itzhak *Navon had been the first), and the first president to have been born in a Muslim state.

As president, Katzav did his best to serve as a moderating and unifying figure, and unlike his predecessor avoided provocative statements. He has paid numerous state visits abroad and received several honorary doctorates.

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[Susan Hattis Rolef (2nd ed.)]

KATZBURG, DAVID ẒEVI (1856–1937), talmudic scholar, author, and editor. Katzburg was born in Vác near Budapest to a rabbinic family originating in Moravia. He studied under the most distinguished rabbis of Hungary, including Hezekiah Feivel Plaut of Surány and Simḥah Bunim Sofer of Pressburg. After completing his studies he engaged in business for a short time and also served as rabbi in several communities. In 1892 he returned to Vác, and that same year he began the publication of *Tel Talpiot*, the first rabbinical periodical in Hungary. It was devoted chiefly to *halakhah*, both theoretical and practical, and among other things it clarified halakhic problems that had arisen because of contemporary conditions, such as the use of electricity on the Sabbath, machine baking of matzah, civil marriages, and problems of religion during World War I. These discussions had considerable repercussions in the rabbinical world. *Tel Talpiot* also included articles on homiletics, *aggadah*, and exegesis, as well as on communal problems. Of considerable historical importance are the discussions on Zionism among the Orthodox that arose as a result of the emergence of political Zionism in 1896 and with the first world congress of the Mizrachi in 1904. Katzburg took up a positive attitude to settlement in Ereẓ Israel. The contributors to *Tel Talpiot* were mostly from Hungary but also included scholars from Russia, Germany, Holland, and the United States. It appeared at first as a biweekly and after World War I as a monthly. An index to the first 45 volumes appeared in 1967.

Katzburg was the author of: *Zer Ẓedek* (1878), sermons on and expositions of the Bible and rabbinic dicta; *Mevasser Ẓedek* (1911), on *Avot; Mevasser Ẓedek* (1922), sermons; *Iggeret Ẓedek Olamim* (1918), on socialism in the light of Torah and Judaism; *Yalkut ha-Meliẓot*, 2 vols. (1931–36), homilies on the Pentateuch; *Raz Hadek* (1938), religious philosophy; *Pirḥei Kehunnah* (1940), talmudic novellae; and *Sheloshah Sefarim Niftaḥim* (1942), on *halakhah* and on Zionist topics.

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KATZENBERG, JEFFREY (1950–), U.S. film industry executive. Born and raised in Manhattan, Katzenberg volunteered to work on John V. Lindsay's New York City mayoral campaign in 1964, when just 14. He worked for the mayor for the next seven years, until he attained the position of controller of Lindsay's Democratic presidential nomination campaign. By 1977 he had moved to California to be vice president of programming at Paramount television. Senior vice president of production in the company's movie division from 1980 to 1982, Katzenberg became president of production for motion pictures and television in 1982, a position he held until 1984.

When Paramount president Michael Eisner became company chairman at Disney Films in 1984, he took Katzenberg with him; the latter, as chairman of Walt Disney Studios, helped mastermind the strategy of diversification and increased production that saw Disney move from least successful to first place among Hollywood's nine major distributors. Under Katzenberg's guidance, Disney's animated features were highly successful, with movies such as *Beauty and the Beast* (1991), *Aladdin* (1992), and *The Lion King* (1994) netting record grosses at the box office. By 1994, Disney was the most profitable studio in the world.

In that year, however, Katzenberg was involved in a rancorous split from Disney after Eisner denied him the promotion to company president. In October 1994 Katzenberg, Steven *Spielberg, and David *Geffen announced the formation of DreamWorks, the first major new studio to be launched since Disney's own creation 60 years previously. Its program was live-action films overseen by Spielberg, animated features handled by Katzenberg, record albums produced by Geffen, and multimedia products in cooperation with Microsoft's Bill Gates.

Under Katzenberg's leadership, the company's animation division developed into a high-quality computer-generated animation studio with production locations on several continents. As an executive producer, Katzenberg brought to the screen such popular animated feature films as *The Prince of Egypt* (1998), *The Road to El Dorado* (2000), *Chicken Run* (2000), *Joseph: King of Dreams* (2000), *Shrek* (producer, 2001), *Spirit* (producer, 2002), *Shrek 4-D* (producer, 2003), *Sinbad* (producer, 2003), *Shrek 2* (2004), and *Shark Tale* (2004).

In 2002, *Shrek* won the Academy Award for Best Animated Feature, making it the first full-length animated film in history to win an Oscar. In 2004 Katzenberg published *Animation Art: From Pencil to Pixel*, which he co-authored with Jerry Beck and Bill Plympton.

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[Rohan Saxena / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

KATZENELENBOGEN, URIAH (1885–1980), Yiddish writer, journalist, and translator. Born in Vilna (Vilnius), Lithuania, he early became a member of the *Bund. His play *Kraft un Libe* ("Power and Love," 1904) was one of the first examples of Yiddish literary modernism in Vilna. In 1913 he organized a group of the Jewish intelligentsia that stood for closer Jewish political and cultural contacts with other national groups in Lithuania. He edited the Yiddish cultural almanac *Lite* (1914–22) and the Russian weekly *Nash Kraj* (1914), where he advocated the multicultural coexistence of Lithuanian Jews and non-Jews. He left Europe in 1927 and taught in Yiddish schools in various cities in North America. He translated numerous works of Lithuanian, Belorussian, and Latvian literature into Yiddish. His major work was a unique collection of 600 Baltic folksongs in Yiddish translation, *Daynes: Litvishe and Letishe Folkslider* ("Daynes: Lithuanian and Latvian Folksongs," 1930, 1936^2). He edited the massive *yizkor*-book of Lithuania, *Lite* (1951).

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[Mindaugas Kvietkauskas (2nd ed.)]

KATZENELLENBOGEN, family widely dispersed throughout Eastern and Central Europe. It originated in the town of Katzenelnbogen in Hesse, the birthplace of Meir ben Isaac *Katzenellenbogen (1473–1565), head of the Padua yeshivah. His son, SAMUEL JUDAH (1521–1597), inherited his father's position; Samuel Judah's son was Saul *Wahl (c. 1541–1617), the Polish Court Jew and legendary "king for a day." Saul had six sons and five daughters, who married into the leading families of East European Jewry. Such was the fame of the family that men who married women members took their wives' family name, as did R. Joel Ashkenazi who married R. Samuel's daughter. There are at least 12 variant Hebrew spellings of the name as well as derivative forms such as Ellenbogen, Elbogen, Bogen, and Katzenelson. One of Saul's sons, MEYER, an influential member of the *Councils of the Lands, was recorded as Kaẓin Elin Bogen (Heb. *kaẓin*, "officer," "leader"). The family was widely dispersed, but its unity was maintained through meticulously kept family records. Members of the family intermarried with other prominent Jewish families (Te'omim, Heilprin, *Fraenkel, etc.) and produced many rabbis. Especially notable were David Tevel *Katzenellenbogen, rabbi of St. Petersburg, and Ẓevi Hirsch Katzenellenbogen, Vilna communal leader. Ezekiel ben Abraham Katzenellenbogen was rabbi of Hamburg, Altona, and Wandsbeck (1714–49); his grandson, ABRAHAM BEN DAVID, rabbi in Slutsk and Brest-Litovsk, was an opponent of Ḥasidism who conducted polemics with *Levi Isaac of Berdichev. Gabriel *Riesser, leader of German Jewry's struggle for emancipation, was a descendant of the family through his father, ELIEZER (LAZARUS RIESSER). NAPHTALI HIRSCH BEN MOSES KATZENELLENBOGEN (c. 1715–1800), *Landrabbiner* of the Palatinate (1763), was the first to head the famous Mannheim *Klaus* (1768). His namesake, NAPHTALI HIRSCH BEN ELIEZER KATZENELLENBOGEN (d. 1823), rabbi of Bamberg and Haguenau, participated in Napoleon's *Sanhedrin.

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[Reuven Michael]

KATZENELLENBOGEN, DAVID TEVEL (1850–1930), rabbi and talmudic scholar in Russia. Born in Taurage, Lithuania, he was appointed rabbi in Virbalis, Lithuania, in 1876, serving there until 1908, when he became rabbi of St. Petersburg, where he remained until his death. He gained the respect of the czarist authorities and was able to have the ban on *sheḥitah* in force in Finland canceled. In 1915 he headed the religious committee for the supply of *kasher* food to the Jewish soldiers in the Russian army. On his initiative a fund was established in the U.S. for the support of Russian refugees. Katzenellenbogen, whose notes to the Jerusalem Talmud first appeared in the Krotoschin edition of 1871, was the author of *Ma'yan Mei Nefto'aḥ* (1923) and *Divrei David* (1927).

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KATZENELLENBOGEN, MEIR BEN ISAAC (known as **Maharam** (acronym of **M**orenu **H**a-**R**av **M**eir) **of Padua**; 1473–1565), one of the greatest Italian rabbis and halakhists of his time. Meir's father was the son-in-law of Jehiel *Luria, the first rabbi of Brest-Litovsk (Brisk). Meir was born in Prague where together with Shalom *Shakhna he studied under Jacob *Pollak. From Prague he went to Padua, where he studied under Judah b. Eliezer ha-Levi *Minz, marrying his granddaughter, Hannah, daughter of Abraham b. Judah ha-Levi *Minz. In 1525, after his father-in-law's death, he was appointed rabbi of the Ashkenazi synagogue of Padua, serving there until his death. Meir was also head of the council of regional rabbis in Venice and he took an active part in their meetings despite his many other responsibilities. Many rabbis, including Moses *Isserles, addressed him in their responsa as the "*av bet din* of the republic of Venice." He also represented the Padua region at Venice meetings in matters of a general nature, not only in religious affairs. On June 21, 1554 the heads of seven Italian communities (Venice, Rome, Bologna, Ferrara, Mantua, Reggio, and Modena) assembled in Ferrara and enacted *takkanot* for the benefit of the population. Katzenellenbogen presided and headed the list of signatories in the capacity of "delegate of representations of the republic of Venice." He was renowned for his modesty, his benign disposition, and the fatherly interest he took in the students in his yeshivah of Padua, to which aspiring scholars streamed from near and far. The great esteem in which he was held by his contemporaries found expression in a tablet affixed to his seat in the Ashkenazi synagogue which read, "No man [has] sat there till this day," as testified by Isaac Ḥayyim

Kohen, a cantor who saw the tablet 120 years after Meir's death. In 1555 Joshua *Soncino of Constantinople appealed to him to intervene against the boycott by the Jews of the port of *Ancona, a boycott supported by Don Joseph *Nasi, his mother-in-law Gracia Mendes *Nasi, and the greatest rabbis of Turkey. It is not known, however, whether Meir took any action. In 1558 he signed two bans against the study of Kabbalah. The great scholars of the generation, including Samuel di *Modena, Isaac *Foa, Joseph *Katz, Solomon *Luria, Moses Isserles, Obadiah *Sforno, and Moses *Alashkar, were in halakhic correspondence with him.

His son Samuel Judah succeeded him after his death. Katzenellenbogen published the responsa of Mahari Mintz and Maharam Padua (Venice, 1553), including 16 responsa of Judah Minz salvaged from his writings, followed by the *Seder Gittin va-Ḥaliẓah* of Abraham Minz, completed by Katzenellenbogen, and finally 90 of his own responsa, and Maimonides' *Mishneh Torah* (Venice, 1550–51), with his own glosses and novellae. The publication of the *Mishneh Torah*, with an abridgment of Katzenellenbogen's commentary and without Katzenellenbogen's knowledge, by Marcantonio Justinian, rival of Katzenellenbogen's co-publisher, the non-Jewish printer Bragadin, gave rise to a quarrel and recriminations and led finally to the burning of the Talmud in 1554 by order of the pope. Moses Isserles placed a ban on Justinian's *Mishneh Torah*. In 1563 Katzenellenbogen, together with his partner, Ezra b. Isaac of Fano, published in Mantua the *Midrash Tanḥuma*. In 1546 he published in Heddernheim, Germany, *seliḥot* (penitential prayers) with omissions and changes dictated by censorship. S.I. Mulder (see bibliography) claims that the first portrait to be painted of a Jew was that of Katzenellenbogen, which was made without his knowledge.

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[Shlomo Tal]

KATZENELLENBOGEN, ẒEVI HIRSH (**Naphtali**; 1796–1868), one of the early *maskilim* in Vilna, Hebrew author, and educator. In his youth, he wrote *Netivot Olam*, a commentary on the *Baraita of the 32 Rules* (Vilna, 1822). He also wrote poetry and eulogies, among them a eulogy of R. Ḥayyim of *Volozhin, "*Naḥal Dimah*" ("A Stream of Tears," 1821). He was popular both with the old generation in Vilna and with the *maskilim*, and contributed to the periodicals *Pirḥei Ẓafon* and *Ha-Karmel*. When the government rabbinical school was founded in Vilna in 1847, he became director of Hebrew studies despite the opposition of the Orthodox, and served for 18 years. Upon his retirement his son Ḥayyim succeeded him.

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[Yehuda Slutsky]

KATZENELSON, BARUCH (1900–1968), Hebrew and Yiddish poet. Born in Slutsk, Belorussia, Katzenelson moved in 1922 to the U.S., where he studied and taught Hebrew. In 1934 he settled in Israel, where he lived in Kefar Sava and taught high school from 1939 to 1965. From the age of 13, he wrote in both Yiddish and Hebrew. Between 1919 and 1926 Katzenelson published poetry and literary criticism in Yiddish. From 1925 on his Hebrew poetry again appeared, and was published in most of the literary forums in the United States and Israel. His books of poetry are: *Le-Or ha-Ner* (1930), *Be-Kur Demamah* (1948), and *Mi-Lev el Lev* (1954). Yehudah Ereẓ and Avraham M. Koler edited his letters in two volumes (1970).

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[Getzel Kressel]

KATZENELSON, ITZHAK (1886–1944), poet and dramatist in Hebrew and in Yiddish. Born in Korelichi, near Novogrudok, in Russia, he received his early education from his father, the Hebrew writer Jacob Benjamin Katzenelson. He later lived in Lodz, where he opened a Hebrew secular school of which he was principal until the outbreak of World War II. During this period he visited Palestine a number of times but did not realize his dream of settling there. During the early years of the war he was in the Warsaw ghetto where he witnessed the methodic annihilation of the Jewish community of Warsaw, including his wife and two of his sons, and where he joined the Jewish partisan organization Deror. In possession of a Honduran passport, he was transferred to the Vittel concentration camp in France, in May 1943. In April 1944, however, he was deported to Auschwitz, where he and his surviving son perished on May 3, 1944.

Katzenelson began his literary career in 1904, writing in Yiddish for Mordecai *Spector's *Yidishe Folkstsaytung* and *Peretz' *Yidishe Bibliotek*, and in Hebrew for *Frischmann's *Ha-Dor.* During the Holocaust he wrote prolifically in both Hebrew and Yiddish, and kept a Hebrew diary which is a moving eyewitness account of the period. His poem, *Dos Lid fun Oysgehargetn Yidishn Folk* ("Poem of the Murdered Jewish People," 1945) which he began in October 1943 and completed at Vittel in 1944, is one of the greatest literary expressions of the tragedy of the Holocaust. Written after he witnessed the extermination of the Jews, this poem gives a shattering account of what he saw and expresses his horror and grief, his protest and helplessness. While Katzenelson's songs and poems for children and his light verse gained him a reputation as a poet who wrote about youth and the joy of life, he also wrote sad, ironic, and sentimental songs about tragic aspects of life. He was greatly influenced by Heine, whose poems he translated into Hebrew. His poems, with their original style and rhythm, combine lightness with a deep elegiac tone.

Many of Katzenelson's poems were set to music and became favorite children's songs and Israeli folk songs. These include: *Mah Yafim ha-Leylot bi-Khena'an; Raḥel Amdah al ha-Ayin; Ḥad Gadya; Heidad, Heidad; Ginnah Ketannah; Gillu ha-Gelilim; Ḥamesh Shanim al Mikha'el*; and the Ḥanukkah play song *Antiochus*. In his Hebrew prose poem "*Bi-Gevulot Lita*" ("In Lithuania's Borders," 1909), he writes with depth and emotion about both the spiritual and the earthly. The major problem and purpose of existence is treated by Katzenelson in his dramatic poem "*Ha-Navi*" ("The Prophet," 1922), which he considered his greatest work. A number of Katzenelson's plays have been produced. His Hebrew works appeared in three volumes (1938); *Ketavim Aḥaronim* ("Final Works," 1947) was published posthumously. In 1950, an institute for research of the Holocaust, which bears his name, was established at Kibbutz Loḥamei ha-Getta'ot in Israel. Katzenelson's biblical play *Al Neharot Bavel* was published in 1995. An English translation of his Vittel Diary (May 1943–September 1943) was published in 1964. A translation of *Dos Lid fun Oysgehargetn Yidishn Folk* appeared as *The Song of the Murdered Jewish People* in 1980. Katzenelson's *Ketavim* appeared in 1982, followed by Yeḥiel Szeintuch's edition of *Ketavim she-Niẓlu mi-Geto Varshah* (1990).

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[Elias Schulman]

KATZENELSON, JUDAH LEIB BENJAMIN (pseudonym **Buki ben Yogli**; 1846–1917), physician, writer, and scholar. Born in Chernigov, he studied at the yeshivot of Bobruisk but became attracted to the Haskalah, and attended the government rabbinical seminary at Zhitomir. He later studied medicine at the Military Medical Academy at St. Petersburg, where he practiced medicine. Katzenelson wrote both in Hebrew and in Russian and from 1879 to 1884 he was a correspondent for the Russian-Jewish newspaper, *Russki Yevrey*, using it as a means through which he called on the Russian-Jewish intelligentsia to help their persecuted brethren. Katzenelson believed that the Haskalah with its particular emphasis on trades and agricultural work would solve the problems of Russian Jewry. In 1891 he published a series of articles in *Ha-Meliẓ* in which he called for a return to the soil. He became a member of the Central Committee of the *Jewish Colonization Association, which was established for this purpose. Katzenelson was also active in Ḥevrat Mefiẓei ha-Haskalah ("The Society for the Dissemination of Enlightenment") and was chairman of Agudat Ḥovevei Sefat Ever ("Society of Friends of the Hebrew Language") in Russia. A lecturer at the Institute of Jewish Studies established by Baron David *Guenzburg in St. Petersburg, he headed the school after the death of its founder. In 1909 Katzenelson visited Palestine and returned to Russia full of enthusiasm for Jewish agriculture and the renaissance of the Hebrew language.

In 1905, the first and only volume of *Kol Kitvei J.L. Katzenelson*, entitled *Ḥezyonot ve-Hirhurim*, was published. His studies on early Jewish history were mostly written in Russian; he was also one of the editors of the Jewish-Russian encyclopedia *Yevreyskaya Entsiklopediya*. Among his literary endeavors, his best-known work is *Shirat ha-Zamir* ("The Song of the Nightingale," 1895), a novel whose protagonist is a rabbinical student yearning for agricultural life. The motif recurs in *Adnei ha-Sadeh*, an allegorical legend in which a wanderer comes upon a race of men who are tied to the soil by a living cord. His envy and longing also to be bound to the land echoes that of the student in *Shirat ha-Zamir.* A collection of Katzenelson's legends and stories were published posthumously in 1918, and in 1944 Jacob *Fichmann edited an anthology of his stories entitled *Shirat ha-Zamir* (the main work included in it), to which he wrote an introduction on the life of the author.

[Yehuda Slutsky]

Since he was well versed in rabbinical and general literature as well as in medicine, Katzenelson was able to make significant contributions to the study of ancient Hebrew medicine. His medical historical articles, first published in the Hebrew journal *Ha-Yom* and later in book form under the title *Remaḥ Evarim* (St. Petersburg, 1888), considerably enriched the medical terminology of the Hebrew language. His chief work, *Ha-Talmud ve-Ḥokhmat ha-Refu'ah* ("Talmud and Medicine"), published posthumously in Berlin (1928), includes studies on talmudic osteology, pathologic anatomy, and hemophilia. His other medical historical contributions concern nomenclature of skin diseases in the Bible, ritual cleanliness in the Bible and Talmud, and anatomy in the Talmud.

[Suessmann Muntner]

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KATZENELSON, NISSAN (1862–1923), Russian Zionist. Born in Bobruisk, Belorussia, he completed his studies in physics in Berlin. He settled in Libau (Liepaja), where he worked in his father's timber business. Joining the Zionist movement at its inception, at the Third Congress (1899) he was elected a director of the *Jewish Colonial Trust. He was one of *Herzl's close aides and made the preparations for his Russian journey, on which he accompanied him (1903). Herzl appointed Katzenelson as his personal representative in all negotiations with the Russian authorities. In 1905 he was elected chairman of the board of the Jewish Colonial Trust. He participated in the activities of the League for Equal Rights for Jews in Russia. Elected to the First Duma (1906), Katzenelson joined the Russian liberal Kadet party, and as its spokesman took part in the work of the Duma finance committee. When the First Duma was dissolved, he was among the signatories of the manifesto calling for civil disobedience and the nonpayment of taxes ("The Vyborg Manifesto"), for which he was sentenced to six months' imprisonment. After his release, he concentrated on local communal work and was chairman of the committee for Jewish emigration in Libau, one of the chief Baltic ports of Jewish emigration from Russia. In World War I he moved to Petrograd and helped in relief work for Jewish refugees, returning to Libau in 1918.

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[Yehuda Slutsky]

KATZENELSON, YOSEF (1896–1940), *Revisionist leader. Born in Bobruisk, Belorussia, Katzenelson went to Palestine in 1924. He was active in the Revisionist movement in Palestine and the *Irgun Ẓeva'i Le'ummi. In 1938 he was sent on a mission to Europe where he headed the "illegal" immigration operations of the New Zionist Organization until the outbreak of World War II. In January 1940, he fell ill and died in Nazi-occupied Warsaw. His remains were brought to Jerusalem in 1957.

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[David Niv]

KATZIR (Katchalski), AHARON (1913–1972), Israeli biochemist and biophysicist. Born in Kiev, Russia, he immigrated to Ereẓ Israel in 1925 with his family, which included his brother Ephraim, who later became the fourth president of the State of Israel (see *Katzir, Ephraim). He studied biology and chemistry at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem and completed his doctorate with honors. To complement his studies in life sciences he also studied mathematics and philosophy and began working at the university as an assistant in the Department of Theoretical Organic and Macromolecular Chemistry. At the invitation of Prof. Chaim *Weizmann he joined the Weizmann Institute of Science in 1948, where he established and chaired the Department of Polymer Research until his death. To strengthen the ties between basic and industrial research he also established the institute's Department of Plastics. In his scientific research Katzir sought to understand the molecular basis of the processes of life. His discoveries in the study of polyelectrolytes led to a new field of study of energy exchange, known as mechanochemistry. The contemporary developments in the field of nanotechnology, such as molecular robots, are based on mechanochemistry. His interest in thermodynamics led him to develop a mathematical approach to exact research on the permeability of biological membranes. His mathematical theory, summarized in his *Non-Equilibrium Thermodynamics in Biophysics*, was accepted and applied by scientists worldwide. As a result of this research he was awarded the Israel Prize in natural science together with Ora *Kedem in 1961 and many more important prizes. Katzir was instrumental in founding the Israel Academy of Sciences in 1959 and was its vice president from 1960 to 1962 and president from 1962 to 1968. Among his many other activities, he played an active role in founding Ben-Gurion University of the Negev. Katzir was involved in military defense, both as a member of the *Haganah and as one of the founders of Hemed, the scientific corps of the Israel Defense Forces. He was also an extraordinarily gifted lecturer and was considered one of the fathers of popular science in Israel. Over the years he published numerous popular articles and books such as *The Crucible of Scientific Revolution* (1971), and lectured in nonscientific forums. He was committed to humanity in general and to Israeli society in particular, and was very much involved in day-to-day affairs such as education, community action, and defense. On May 30, 1972, Aharon Katzir was murdered while waiting for his luggage during a terrorist attack at Ben-Gurion Airport.

[Bracha Rager (2nd ed.)]

KATZIR (Katchalski), EPHRAIM (1916–), fourth president of the State of Israel (1973–78); biochemist and biophysicist. Born in Kiev, Russia, Katchalski was taken to Ereẓ Israel in 1925. He studied life sciences at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem and completed his doctorate under the supervision of Prof. Max Frankel, head of the Department of Theoretical and Macromolecular Chemistry at the University (1941–45). He joined the Weizmann Institute of Science, Rehovot, Israel (1948), and served as head of the Department of Biophysics (1949–73). He was chief scientist of the Ministry of Defense (1966–68), and was instrumental in establishing the office of Chief Scientist in the major government ministries as well as in the promotion of high-tech industry and the establishment of the biotechnology industry in Israel. He was influential in advancing education in the country. His research dealt mainly with the synthesis and study of the physicochemical and biological properties of polyamino acids as protein models and the synthetic polyamino acids synthesized, such as polyglycine, polylysine, polyglutamic acid, and polyproline.

Katchalski wrote extensively on proteins and natural products such as nucleic acids. He was a member of many national and international societies and in 1966 was the first Israeli to be elected to the U.S. National Academy of Sciences. Katchalski was a brother of Aharon *Katzir, the polymer chemist. In the early days of the State of Israel, together with his brother and Prof E.D. *Bergmann, he was among the founders of the research, development, and production of novel weapons for the Israeli army.

Upon assuming the presidency, Katchalski adopted the name Katzir, which had previously been adopted by his brother Aharon, who was murdered at Ben-Gurion Airport in 1972 by a Japanese terrorist in the service of the Palestinians. As president he hosted President *Sadat of Egypt during his historic 1977 visit to Jerusalem.

[Bracha Rager (2nd ed.)]

KATZIR, JUDITH (1963–), Israeli writer. Katzir was born in Haifa. She studied general literature and cinema at Tel Aviv University and began publishing her stories in the Israeli press in the 1980s. Her first book, *Sogrim et ha-Yam* ("Closing the Sea," 1992), a collection of four novellas, appeared in 1990. The opening story, "Schlafstunde," recounts the first love experience of the narrator and her cousin, and interweaves moments of sexual excitement with the story of death in the family. It is already in this novella that Katzir's rich language and powerful, sensual descriptions are evident. Another story, "Fellini's Shoes," tells of a hotel waitress who dreams of becoming a movie star with the help of a failed film director who apparently had once met Fellini. "Disneyel" is a moving monologue of a daughter to her unconscious mother, and "Closing the Sea" recounts a disillusioned friendship. Katzir's first novel, *Le-Matisse Yesh et ha-Shemesh ba-Beten* ("Matisse Has the Sun in his Belly," 1995), is the story of a passionate liaison between a young woman and an older man, ending when the woman emancipates herself and goes her own way. Three novellas make up Katzir's collection *Migdalorim shel Yabasha* ("Inland Lighthouses," 1999) and all three have in common the sense of resignation and the acceptance of a stable life in lieu of passionate intensity.

In her second novel, *Hineh Ani Mathilah* ("Here I Begin," 2003), Katzir tells the story of Rivi, an imaginative and talented schoolgirl and her intense, erotic relationship with Michaela, her teacher of literature. The story oscillates between past experiences recorded by Rivi as a girl who is writing diary-letters to Anne Frank, and her new role as wife and mother, who nonetheless remains in touch with the teacher in New York. Friendship and physical attraction of women open a window on a subject rarely touched upon in Hebrew literature. Katzir also wrote books for children and a play about the writer Devorah *Baron. She occasionally taught courses in creative writing and worked as editor for Hakibbutz Hameuchad Publishing House. All her books were bestsellers, and she received the Platinum and the Golden Book Prizes. In 1996 she was awarded the Prime Minister's Prize for literature. Her books were translated into a number of languages (including German, Dutch, and French). "Schlafstunde" is included in G. Abramson (ed.), *The Oxford Book of Hebrew Short Stories* (1996). Further information concerning translations are available at the ITHL website at www.ithl.org.il.

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[Anat Feinberg (2nd ed.)]

KATZMAN, SAM (1901–1973), U.S. motion picture producer. Born in New York, Katzman entered the film industry as a prop boy at age 13 and worked his way up, learning virtually every aspect of film production before becoming a producer himself. A prolific producer, his more than 230 films (between 1934 and 1974) ran the gamut as well, starting with action/adventure serials and proceeding to cover such genres as westerns, science fiction, teenage musicals, and hippie/biker films. Many of his serials were based on comic strip and radio characters.

Chiefly a producer for low-budget films, Katzman's movies include the *Jungle Jim* series; *Brenda Starr, Reporter* (1945); the first live-action *Superman* (1948); *Batman and Robin* (1949); *Captain Video* (1951); *The Lost Planet* (1953); *Drums of Tahiti* (1954); *The Gun That Won the West* (1955); *Rock around the Clock* (1956); *The Werewolf* (1956); *Escape from San Quentin* (1957); *Let's Twist Again* (1962); *Kissin' Cousins* (1964); *When the Boys Meet the Girls* (1965); *Get Yourself a College Girl* (1965); *The Fastest Guitar Alive* (1967); *The Young Runaways* (1968); and *The Loners* (1972).

[Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

°KATZMANN, FRIEDRICH (**Fritz**; 1906–1957), Nazi official, SS and police leader in the Radom district of the General Government from 1939 to 1941 (see *Poland, Holocaust Period). He joined the party in 1928 and the SS in 1930. In 1941 he was appointed SS and Police Leader in the newly occupied district of Galicia. In this capacity Katzmann brutally and ruthlessly organized the destruction of its local Jewry. According to Katzmann's report (Nuremberg document L-18), 434,329 Jews were deported (*ausgesiedelt*) by June 30, 1943, and 21,156 were placed in 21 labor camps, but this number was being steadily "reduced." After the war Katzmann lived under the assumed name of Bruno Albrecht but confessed his true identity before his death in Darmstadt.

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[Yehuda Reshef]

KATZNELSON, BERL (**Beeri**; 1887–1944), central figure of the Second Aliyah, a leader of the Zionist Labor movement, educator, and writer. Born in Bobruisk, Belorussia, son of a merchant, *maskil*, and a member of Ḥovevei Zion, Katznelson was a frail child. He attended *ḥeder* irregularly and was taught by private tutors, with his father's well-stocked Hebrew, Yiddish, and Russian library serving as a constant source of instruction and knowledge. A passionate reader with an exceptional memory and keen interest in current problems, he mastered Hebrew literature and Russian revolutionary and scientific writing, took the requisite state examinations, and served for some time as tutor in a rural family.

In 1902, as an usher at the Russian Zionist Conference in Minsk, Katznelson was deeply impressed by Ḥ.D. *Horowitz's lecture on the abnormality of the Jewish economic structure. While still young, he had already developed a reputation as an acute and independent-minded debater on theoretical problems of nationalism and socialism. In his own neighborhood, as well as in Kiev and Odessa, he took part in public discussions with leaders of the various movements, including Ber *Borochov. Although he first joined *Po'alei Zion, Katznelson shifted his allegiance to the *Zionist-Socialists, whose leaders, Naḥman *Syrkin, Jacob *Lestschinsky, and Nahum *Shtif, were convinced by their study of contemporary Jewish life that the future of the Diaspora would be dark and uncertain. For a short time Katznelson joined the ranks of Ha-Teḥiyyah, attracted by its national spirit, revolutionary anti-Czarist ardor, and devotion to Jewish self-defense, including such terrorist acts as the attempted assassination of Krushevan, the organizer of the Kishinev pogrom. He was repelled, however, by its lack of interest in actual settlement in Ereẓ Israel, as well as its negative attitude toward the revival of Hebrew.

In Bobruisk, Katznelson took a post in a school for poor girls, subsidized by the Jewish Society for the Propagation of Enlightenment (Mefiẓei Haskalah), where he taught Hebrew literature and Jewish history, both in Yiddish, and sent to the society's headquarters reports that were published in its monthly pedagogic journal. He also served as librarian in the Hebrew-Yiddish public library that had been established in Bobruisk to counter the municipality's Russian library. Beloved by the young people who came to him for books, he became their guide and teacher.

In 1908, Katznelson wrote in one of his letters: "What I want is to go to Ereẓ Israel, to do something worthwhile, to light a little spark. I am drawn to the stubborn, hard-working few who have abandoned everything they had here to begin a new life and free themselves of Exile." This had been his goal since childhood. In order to achieve it and to be able to bring his family after him, he decided to learn a trade. At first he worked for a tinsmith; then went to the "Trud" Trade School in Odessa, where he was an iron engraver; and finally he became a laborer in a Bobruisk foundry. Lacking dexterity, he found these efforts enormously difficult and became deeply depressed. In the fall of 1908, after having been rejected for military service and suffering from a severe illness, he was able to sail from Odessa with his pay from the Hebrew library and a prize from the Society for the Propagation of Enlightenment.

Katznelson felt that the Zionist movement had begun by summoning the Jewish people to greatness, but only a decade later its leaders were lost in trifles, playing with superficial nationalism and elections to parliaments in the countries of the Diaspora. Even Labor Zionism, initially inspired by messianic hopes for the Jewish people and the world, had become the "servant of alien revolutions." His own comrades were opposed to his *aliyah*, and he kept his departure a secret from virtually all of them. Though he met disillusioned young people returning to Europe from Ereẓ Israel both in Odessa and in Jaffa, he was undismayed by their scorn for Zionism and for the "naive newcomers misled by Zionist propagandists." When he landed at Jaffa, making his way among the crowds of Arabs on the shore, he felt certain that this was his "final destination" and that he had broken completely with the past. His only friend in Ereẓ Israel, whom he knew from home, was the poet David Shimonovitz (*Shimoni), who had left a few months before Katznelson and had become a watchman in the vineyards of Judea.

Katznelson found work at Bahria, about an hour by foot from *Petaḥ Tikvah. He shared a room in *Ein Gannim with A.D. *Gordon and Joseph Ḥayyim *Brenner, who quickly became his closest friends. As he was employed only intermittently, he spent much time wandering about the country. His observations led him to question the value of "the conquest of labor" in the Jewish villages, although this was then the principal goal of the labor movement. He was depressed by the poverty and dependence of the workers in those villages; by the Jewish overseers armed with whips; and by the farmers' eagerness to employ Arabs. He envisaged instead free settlement of self-employed workers on the nationally owned land of the *Jewish National Fund (JNF). His devotion to the principles of the JNF led him to conceive the idea of the smallholders' cooperative (later called *moshav ovedim), while his pursuit of equality in work and life led him to the concept of the kevuẓah. When the Kinneret Farm was established by the *Palestine Office of the Zionist Organization, Katznelson made his way there. Along with the other workers, he was in a constant state of conflict with the administration. When the head of the Palestine Office, Arthur *Ruppin, was finally asked to come to Kinneret to settle matters, Katznelson was chosen to present the workers' case, demanding that the workers themselves be allowed to manage their affairs.

Katznelson became secretary of the Council of Galilean Farm Workers, which was founded during his stay at Kinneret. A year later, when he returned to Petaḥ Tikvah, the first workers' conference in Judea (1911) elected him secretary of the Council of Judean Farm Workers. His first essay, "*Mi-Bifnim*" ("From Within"), published in *Ha-Po'el ha-Ẓa'ir* (Autumn 1911) described his disillusionment with the Zionist and even the Ẓe'irei Zion and Po'alei Zion movements for trying to influence life in Ereẓ Israel though their members remained in the Diaspora: "We workers here are not simply a small fraction of the Jewish working class, but a completely unique group – self-reliant, self-supporting – something whole…. If ever we, as an organized group, enter into connection with a movement abroad, it will have to be a movement not merely 'interested' in Ereẓ Israel, but dedicated to the ideal of personal *aliyah*, to a life of labor and liberation of the personality."

Returning to Kinneret in the World War I period of hunger and want, Katznelson, together with Meir Rotberg, proposed the establishment of consumer cooperatives, to which he gave the name "Hamashbir" (see *Hamashbir Hamerkazi). To meet the health problems of the workers, almost all of whom were unmarried and without families or homes, he helped initiate Kuppat Ḥolim (the Sick Fund). He also began to develop a network of cultural activities – lectures, libraries, adult education, translations of world classics, and book publishing. When news of *He-Ḥalutz reached Katznelson during World War I, he wrote a memorable epistle to the *ḥalutz* movement (1917), setting forth a program of agricultural and cultural training to be followed by its members until it became possible for them to come to Ereẓ Israel. In "Toward the Future," an address delivered at the seventh conference of agricultural workers on Purim, 1918 – when only a small number of Jews had managed to remain in Judea, and Galilee was cut off entirely – Katznelson called on the labor parties to unite in order to establish a self-reliant working community. Influenced by reading this address, David *Ben-Gurion, then in the ranks of the *Jewish Legion (with which he had returned to Palestine), enthusiastically agreed with the call for labor unity. Katznelson joined the Jewish Legion as a volunteer in 1918, serving until 1920. In the Legion Ben-Gurion met Katznelson, whom he had hardly known before. The two addressed an assembly of legionnaires in the Tell-al-Kabīr Camp, and from that moment on the movement for labor unity began to gain adherents. A committee was established representing Po'alei Zion, Ha-Po'el ha-Ẓa'ir and nonpartisans. In the three centers of the Agricultural Workers' Union – Judea, Samaria, and Galilee – a committee was elected to work toward the unification of the three area councils and to investigate the feasibility of a general union of workers.

Katznelson was asked to compose and publish a program for working-class unity in Ereẓ Israel ("*Aḥdut ha-Avodah"), which was to be affiliated with the Zionist movement and the world socialist movement. Through large-scale immigration, the program was to recreate Jewish national life in Ereẓ Israel in the form of a labor society, based on freedom and equality, self-reliance, control over its property, and self-determination in matters of economy and culture. The means toward this end would be national ownership of the soil and of natural resources; public-owned capital; a pioneering *aliyah*; and dissemination of the Hebrew language and culture among all Jews.

In the spring of 1919, the conference of agricultural workers convened at Petaḥ Tikvah to vote on the issue of labor unity. The lecturer on this issue was Katznelson, and his program was adopted, with Ha-Po'el ha-Ẓa'ir abstaining. The conference defined the aim of Zionism as the establishment of a free Jewish state in Ereẓ Israel. Katznelson was chosen to edit *Kunteres*, the newly created weekly that voiced Aḥdut ha-Avodah's ideas. Labor unity was still incomplete, with the majority of Ha-Po'el ha-Ẓa'ir remaining outside the new framework. In 1920, in accordance with the proposal made by Joseph *Trumpeldor, a General Federation of Jewish Labor (the *Histadrut) was established at a conference in Haifa. Ha-Po'el ha-Ẓa'ir and Aḥdut ha-Avodah still continued to exist independently, and Katznelson and his colleagues on *Kunteres* continued to urge that the two merge, first in Ereẓ Israel and then abroad. The union was eventually achieved in 1930, when a united labor party – *Mapai – was founded.

A decision to found a labor daily followed the establishment of the Histadrut. Katznelson insisted that the editor be elected by the national conference of the Histadrut and thus derive his authority directly from it, as did the members of the Histadrut Executive. In addition, the editor was to be free to choose the members of his staff. After protracted discussion and debate, the first edition of *Davar* was published in 1925 according to Katznelson's terms. He was selected as the editor and chose a staff of five. His moral authority and the influence he exercised over his colleagues attracted many attentive readers to the paper, even outside its own movement, and made it a spiritual guide for the labor class and many of the intelligentsia. Katznelson was a member of the delegation sent to the United States in 1921 to muster support among American Jewish workers for the Workers' Bank (Bank ha-Po'alim), established by the Histadrut. This journey marked the beginning of the close relationship between labor in Ereẓ Israel and the American Jewish trade unions, which had been far removed from Zionism up to that time. Thereafter, annual delegations from the Histadrut came to America to work with the *Gewerkschaften* (Trade Union) Campaign for the Histadrut and brought "Labor Palestine" close to masses of Jews in the United States and Canada.

Katznelson believed that the JNF was the most important Zionist factor in the building of a labor society. He was appointed a director of the Fund by the Zionist Organization and was devoted to it until his death; however, he refused to join either the Zionist executive or the executive of the Va'ad Le'ummi. In order to understand the attitudes of the younger generation, he would sometimes visit groups abroad anonymously, and he invested all his ardor and talent in youth seminars at Reḥovot, on the Carmel, and at Ben Shemen. A large part of the 12 volumes of his collected works consists of his lectures at seminars and conferences which he reworked into essays.

All his life Katznelson was acutely aware of the importance of fostering the relationship between the *yishuv* and the Diaspora; viewing Labor Zionism as the Jewish revolution, equal to the revolutions of other nations; maintaining the influence of eternal Jewish values and of Hebrew literature in the movement; and thoroughly imbuing the younger generation with the age-old culture of the Jewish people. He would never compromise with his principles, even when he stood virtually alone. His was one of the few voices in labor circles to press for observance of the Sabbath and festivals, dietary laws in Histadrut kitchens, and circumcision in the kibbutzim. He showed special concern for the religiously observant members of the Histadrut and the attitude of educational institutions toward the hallowed traditions of Judaism. He was convinced that not compulsion, but the inculcation of affection and understanding for tradition, would bring young people to respect and appreciate the Jewish religious heritage.

Katznelson differed from Weizmann and Ben-Gurion in his opposition to the partition of Palestine into a Jewish state and an Arab state, as proposed by the Peel Commission in 1939. When Great Britain became increasingly hostile, he urged active struggle against the Mandatory power. Both at Zionist Congresses and within the *yishuv*, he pressed for "illegal" immigration, stating: "From now on, not the pioneer but the refugee will lead us." Under his guidance, his disciples parachuted into Nazi-held territory to try to aid Jewish survivors.

At the very beginning of World War II, Katznelson prophesied that the Jews would have to emerge from the war with a Jewish state. Ultimately he reluctantly accepted the idea of partition for the sake of free Jewish immigration, which otherwise would not have been feasible. The last stage of his activity before his death was the establishment and successful direction of the Histadrut's publishing house, Am Oved, as editor in chief. On Aug. 15, 1944, Berl Katznelson died in Jerusalem. He was buried in the cemetery of Kevuẓat Kinneret. Bet Berl at Ẓofit, Oholo on Lake Kinneret, and Kibbutz *Be'eri are all monuments to his memory.

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[Shneur Zalman Shazar]

KATZNELSON (Shazar), RAḤEL (1888–1975), leader of the working women's movement in Ereẓ Israel, Hebrew writer, editor, and wife of the third president of the State of Israel, Zalman *Shazar. Born in Bobruisk, Belorussia, she studied in Russia and Germany and was active in Jewish working women's circles. She settled in Ereẓ Israel in 1912 and worked in agriculture in the Jezreel Valley and Galilee. Raḥel Shazar was active in the women's labor movement during the Second Aliyah and was the principal speaker during the first women workers' conventions. With the establishment of *Aḥdut ha-Avodah (A), she became the cultural coordinator of the movement and fulfilled the same post in the Histadrut from its establishment in 1920. In 1920 she married Zalman Shazar. Throughout her life she was active in the women workers' movement and carried out various missions abroad on its behalf and for the Histadrut. She edited the central journal of the women's movement, *Devar ha-Po'elet* (1934–59), and an anthology on its 25th anniversary, *Im Pa'amei ha-Dor,* 2 vols. (1964). After her husband's inauguration as president of the state, she shared his work in participating in the various study circles that met in their home. Raḥel Shazar published her first essays in 1918 and from then contributed to the labor press in Ereẓ Israel. Her articles were collected in two works, *Massot u-Reshimot* ("Essays and Articles," 1946) and *Al Admat ha-Ivrit* ("On the Soil of Hebrew," 1966). She also published *Tenu'at ha-Po'elet, Mifaleha u-She'ifoteha* ("The Projects and Aspirations of the Women Workers' Movement," 1941) and *She-Livvuni ve-Einan*, essays on women active in public life (1969).

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[Getzel Kressel]

KATZNELSON, REUBEN (1890–1977), Ereẓ Israel pioneer in medical services, brother of Raḥel (Shazar) *Katznelson. Born in Bobruisk, Belorussia, Katznelson was wounded in 1905 in a pogrom while on duty in the Jewish self-defense organization. In 1906 he was a member of the territorialist movement called the "Zionist Socialists (SS)" and later joined the Zionist student society He-Ḥaver in Kiev. At the outbreak of World War I he was in Ereẓ Israel and worked in Tel Aviv in building and as an agricultural laborer in Reḥovot, where he served as chairman of the workers' council. Deported by the Turks at the beginning of World War I he went to Alexandria, where he joined Joseph *Trumpeldor in the Zion Mule Corps; at the time the corps was disbanded, he had achieved the rank of sergeant major. In 1920 Katznelson was appointed director of the department of statistics of the Hadassah Medical Organization and in 1922–30 served as assistant director of Hadassah. In 1931 he established a medical organization for the Jewish villages (moshavot) in Palestine and became the director of Kuppat Ḥolim Ammamit (see State of Israel: *Health Services). In the same year he joined the General Zionists, later serving as a member of its national council. He was also the chairman of the Organization of Demobilized Soldiers. His son SHMUEL *TAMIR (1923–1987) was an Israeli politician and lawyer.

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KATZNELSON, SHULAMIT (1919–1999), Ulpan founder and director. Katznelson was born in Geneva, Switzerland, and at the age of two came to Eretz Israel. Her father, Dr. Shmuel Katznelson, was a pioneer of public health care and social work in Israel. Her mother, Batsheva Katznelson, was an educator and member of the Second Knesset. Katznelson studied social work and received her master's degree from the University of Michigan in Ann Arbor. In 1951 she founded one of the first three *ulpanim* (intensive Hebrew-language courses) in Israel. As founder and director of Ulpan Akiva in Netanyah, she was cited as an outstanding example of Hebrew humanism in adult education. Katznelson managed Ulpan Akiva until 1996. From the outset, Ulpan Akiva was open not only to Jewish immigrants (*ollim*) but to the non-Jewish population as well. Subsequently, Ulpan Akiva included the teaching of spoken Arabic. In 1983 Katznelson was awarded the Knesset's Speaker's Prize for quality of life. In 1986 she was awarded the Israel Prize for her pioneering work in adult education and in the teaching of spoken Hebrew and Arabic. Katznelson was nominated for the Nobel Prize twice, in 1992 and 1993.

KATZ-SUCHY, JULIUSZ (1912–1971), Polish statesman. Born in Warsaw, Katz-Suchy joined the illegal Polish Communist Party and was the editor of several socialist publications between 1934 and 1938. He was forced to leave Poland in 1938 and made his way via Czechoslovakia to England. Katz-Suchy was the representative of the Polish Press Agency in London from 1940 to 1945 and after the war became press attaché at the Polish embassy there. Later he became department director of the Polish Foreign Ministry. From 1946 to 1951 and from 1953 to 1954 he was Poland's delegate to the United Nations. Subsequently he was Poland's representative to the European Economic Commission, representative to the International Conference of Atomic Energy (1955), and ambassador to India (1957–62). He was also director of the Polish Institute for International Affairs, and after his return from India, professor of international law at the University of Warsaw. During the antisemitic campaign in Poland following the *Six-Day War of 1967 he was removed from that position. In 1970 he went to Denmark to teach at the University of Aarhus. His brother was Benzion *Katz, rector of Tel Aviv University.

[Abraham Wein]

KAUDER, SAMUEL JUDAH BEN DAVID (**Shmuel Loeb Kauders**; 1766–1838), Bohemian rabbi. Born in *Bechyne, Bohemia, Kauder studied in the yeshivah of Eleazar Kallir in Kolin (where he made the acquaintance of Bezalel *Ranschburg, his lifelong friend and correspondent), and in Prague under Michael Bachrach. He settled in Prague where he officiated in the Altschul, and took an active part in the affairs of the *ḥevra kaddisha* and other communal institutions. In 1817 he was appointed to the rabbinate of the district of Budweis and Tabor with his seat in Kalladay. In 1834 he succeeded Samuel *Landau in the post of *Oberjurist* (*av bet din*; chief rabbi de facto, but not in name) of Prague. He was the last native Bohemian to hold this position, and was succeeded by the Galician *maskil* S.L. *Rapoport. His son Moses succeeded him as rabbi of the Altschul. His published works are: *Olat Shemu'el*, consisting of 111 responsa to *Oraḥ Ḥayyim* (Prague, 1823); *Ahavat Emet* (part 1, 1828), 18 homilies and sermons; and appended to it *Pe'ullat Emet*, seven halakhic discourses; and *Zikkaron ba-Sefer* (1937), a short commentary on tractate *Megillah*.

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[Abraham Schischa]

KAUFFMANN, ISAAC (1805–1884), founder of the Kauffmann Jewish publishing house in Germany. Kauffmann, who was born in Bouxwiller, Alsace, in 1832 went to Frankfurt where he set up a bookshop. In 1850 he established the publishing house J. Kauffmann. The first book published by the firm was *Buch vom rechten Lebenswandel* (1850), his own translation of the ethical treatise of Zerahiah ha-Yevani *Sefer ha-Yashar*. Kauffmann published the works of S.R. *Hirsch, among others.

Isaac's son IGNATZ KAUFFMANN (1849–1913) succeeded to the direction of the firm; under his aegis it published for the first time works by adherents of the *Wissenschaft des Judentums, including Moritz *Steinschneider, Leopold *Zunz, Abraham *Geiger, Abraham *Berliner, and David *Kaufmann. In 1900 Ignatz Kauffmann took over the printing house of M. Lehrberger and Co., successor to Wolf *Heidenheim's Hebrew publishing house.

From 1909 to 1936 Ignatz' son FELIX KAUFFMANN (d. 1953) directed the firm; in 1913 he became sole owner. He continued to publish works in all fields of modern Jewish scholarship, textbooks, juvenile literature, and books on Jewish art and music. Among important writers and scholars published in this later period were Hermann *Cohen, Leo *Baeck, and Franz *Rosenzweig. The 1936 catalog, the last of nearly 100 issued, contained close to 1,000 items published by the firm. Felix Kauffmann remained active in the book trade after his emigration to the United States in the Nazi era.

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KAUFMAN, ANDY (1949–1984), U.S. comic actor. Andrew Geoffrey Kaufman was born in New York and grew up in suburban Long Island. He graduated in 1971 from the now defunct Grahm Junior College in Boston, where he studied television. Kaufman lived in a hazy borderland between comedy and performance art. After appearing on the inaugural telecast of *Saturday Night Live* in 1975, he became famous as a comedian who provoked nervous laughter, if any at all. He was believed to be the first person to publicly, and repeatedly, perform in the garb and persona of Elvis Presley, and his impersonation was believed to be a Presley favorite. His comedy act often caused his audience to become rowdy or to simply walk out in the middle of his show. He would read *The Great Gatsby* to the audience in its entirety, sing all verses of "100 Bottles of Beer on the Wall," or impersonate a fictitious Las Vegas lounge singer named Tony Clifton. In 1978, Kaufman began playing the part of Latka Gravas on the ABC television network show *Taxi*. Latka was an immigrant auto mechanic in the taxi garage who spoke in a high-pitched accent that Kaufman concocted, and indulged in a bewildering array of personality changes. On *Saturday Night Live*, he affected what he called a Puerto Rican accent, recited nonsensical verse, and got the audience to imitate barnyard animals while he sang "Old MacDonald Had a Farm." Kaufman outraged feminists with a character he called the Intergender World Wrestling Champion, in which guise Kaufman offered $1,000 to any woman who could pin him in a match. More than 60 women accepted the challenge, and Kaufman claimed that he never lost, although he fought some to a draw. Kaufman suffered neck and back injuries in a bout with a professional male wrestler, Jerry Lawler, who was reportedly angered by Kaufman's disparaging on-air remarks about "professional" wrestling, and challenged him. Kaufman died of lung cancer, although he was not a smoker, and countless fans doubted his death, thinking he had staged it as the ultimate Andy Kaufman stunt. In 1992 the actor Jim Carrey starred in a film about Kaufman, *Man on the Moon*.

[Stewart Kampel (2nd ed.)]

KAUFMAN, AVRAHAM YOSIFOVICH (1885–1971), Jewish public figure, head of Jewish communities in the Far East. He was born in Mglin, Chernigov province, into a family of Ḥasidim and, on his mother's side, he was great grandson of the founder of this movement, *Shneur Zalman of Lyady. In 1903 Kaufman graduated from high school in Perm where he became an enthusiastic Zionist. From 1904 to 1908, he studied medicine at Berne University in Switzerland where he was vice chairman of the Union of Jewish Students. In 1908 Kaufman returned to Russia where, at the initiative of Jehiel *Tschlenow, he visited the cities of the Volga and Ural regions to disseminate Zionism. He was a delegate to three Zionist Congresses.

In 1912 Kaufman moved to *Harbin in Manchuria where he became involved in communal and Zionist activity. In late 1918 he was elected vice chairman of the National Council of Jews of Siberia and the Urals (the chairman was Moshe *Novomeysky). From 1919 to 1931 and 1933 to 1945 Kaufman was chairman of the Harbin Jewish community. During that period he was representative in China of the *Jewish National Fund and *Keren Hayesod, and official representative of the *World Zionist Organization and the *Jewish Agency, chairman of the Zionist Organization of China and head of almost all the cultural and social institutions of the Jews of Harbin. From 1921 to 1943 he was editor of the Russian language weekly *Yevreyskaya zhizn* ("Jewish Life"). At the same time he worked as chief physician at the Jewish hospital in Harbin which he had founded. From 1937 he was chairman of the National Council of Jews of East Asia (i.e., the Far East).

Kaufman was a brilliant orator and publicist and was very knowledgeable about Judaism. He devoted considerable efforts to Jewish education. Recognized as the spiritual leader of Chinese Jewry, he staunchly opposed antisemitic tendencies among the Russian emigrés in Harbin which became particularly strong after the Japanese occupation of Manchuria in 1931. Due to his indefatigable energy and personal charm, he was able to establish direct contact with the Japanese authorities in Tokyo and succeeded in having countermanded the orders issued at Hitler's urging for concentrating the Jews of China under Japanese occupation into camps specially established for that purpose.

When the Soviet Army occupied Harbin in August 1945, Kaufman was among the many arrested and taken to the Soviet Union. He was accused of spying and Zionist activities and sentenced to 25 years' imprisonment. He spent 11 years in confinement (three years in a solitary cell in Moscow and eight years in prison camp). He was released in 1956 with his criminal record erased and sent to Karaganda in Kazakhstan. During his five-year stay there he endeavored to reach Israel and succeeded in 1961. For the rest of his life he worked as a physician in an ambulatory care clinic in Ramat Gan. He also wrote his memoirs as well as a history of the Jewish communities in the Far East. He vividly described his life in the Soviet Union in his book *Lagerniy vrach* ("Camp Physician," Hebrew, 1971; Russian, Tel Aviv, 1973).

[The Shorter Jewish Encyclopaedia in Russian (2nd ed.)]

KAUFMAN, BEL (1911–), U.S. author. Born in Berlin, Kaufman was the granddaughter of the Yiddish writer *Shalom Aleichem. *Up the Down Staircase* (1965), an amusing book based on her experiences as a teacher in New York City, was made into a motion picture. She also wrote short stories and published translations from the Russian.

KAUFMAN, BORIS (1906–1980), motion picture cameraman. Kaufman was born in Bialystok, Poland. He immigrated to France in 1927, where he became the cameraman on all of Jean Vigo's films, such as *L'Atalante* (1934), as well as those of other French directors. After serving in the French army, he went to New York in 1942. He worked for American war propaganda productions and became one of America's foremost cameramen. Renowned for his exquisite black-and-white photography, Kaufman won an Academy Award and a Golden Globe in 1955 for Best Black/White Cinematography for *On the Waterfront*. Other films he worked on include *Baby Doll* (Oscar nomination for Best Cinematography, 1956), *Twelve Angry Men* (1957), *The Fugitive Kind* (1959), *Splendor in the Grass* (1961), *Long Day's Journey into Night* (1962), *The Pawnbroker* (1964), *The World of Henry Orient* (1964), *The Group* (1966), *Bye Bye Braverman* (1968), *The Brotherhood* (1969), and *Tell Me That You Love Me, Junie Moon* (1970).

Kaufman was the brother of Soviet directors Dziga Vertov (1896–1954) and Mikhail Kaufman (1897–1980).

[Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

KAUFMAN, GEORGE SIMON (1889–1961), U.S. playwright and stage director. Born in Pittsburgh, Kaufman began his career as a journalist, but in 1918 turned to writing for the stage. His name is linked with over 30 hits, almost all his plays having been written in collaboration with others, such as Marc Connelly, Edna Ferber, Morrie Ryskind, and Moss Hart. For each year from 1921 to 1941, Kaufman, as either writer or director, had at least one hit Broadway show. He was an acknowledged master of stage technique and comedy, and plays such as *Once in a Lifetime* (1930), *You Can't Take it With You* (1937, Pulitzer Prize), and *The Man Who Came to Dinner* (1939) have found their way into many anthologies. In 1946 he wrote his dramatic version of *The Late George Apley*, the novel by J.P. Marquand, an admirable example of his skill in adapting from one artistic medium to another. Kaufman's versatility was shown in the musicals *The Coconuts* (1925) and *Animal Crackers* (1928), written for the Marx Brothers; *Strike up the Band* (1930); *The Band Wagon* (1931); and *Of Thee I Sing* (1932, Pulitzer Prize). Perhaps his most serious play, inspired by the prejudices and hatreds of the Hitler era, was *The American Way* (1939). Other successes by Kaufman include *Dinner at Eight* (1932), *Stage Door* (1936), *George Washington Slept Here* (1940), and *The Solid Gold Cadillac* (1951). He directed such stage hits as *Front Page* (1928), *Of Mice and Men* (1937), and *Guys and Dolls* (1950). Kaufman's early experience as a columnist and as a dramatic critic on New York newspapers developed his sensitivity to language and the demands of the theater. His plays made exciting entertainment and his satirical flashes poked fun at weaknesses in American life.

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[Joseph Mersand / Robert L. DelBane (2nd ed.)]

KAUFMAN, SIR GERALD (1930–), British politician. Originally a journalist, Kaufman served as a staff writer for the London *Daily Mirror* (1955–64) and the *New Statesman* (1964–65) as well as parliamentary press officer for the Labour Party (1965–70) before becoming a Labour Member of Parliament for a Manchester seat in 1970. He held junior ministerial posts in Labour's 1974–79 government. During Labour's long period in opposition (1979–97) Kaufman held senior posts in the shadow cabinet and was shadow home secretary (1983–87) and shadow foreign secretary (1987–92). Originally on the left of the party, in the 1980s he was increasingly attacked by Labour's militant extreme left. In latter years Kaufman was outspokenly critical of Israel's policies toward the Palestinians, especially after the fall of the Barak government, for which he was heavily criticized by the Manchester Jewish community. Kaufman was also one of the leading critics of the "dumbing down" of the BBC, and is the author or editor of several books. A backbench member of Parliament since Labour's return to power in 1997, he was recognized as a respected elder statesman and received a knighthood in 2004.

[William D. Rubinstein (2nd ed.)]

KAUFMAN, IRVING R. (1910–1992), U.S. judge who presided over the trial of Ethel and Julius Rosenberg. Born in New York City, Kaufman was educated at Fordham University, graduating from Fordham Law School in 1931 at the age of 20. He worked in the law offices of Louis Rosenberg (who was not related to Julius Rosenberg), and afterward as an assistant United States attorney. In 1949 he was appointed a judge of the U.S. District Court for the Southern District of New York; President John F. Kennedy appointed him to the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Second Circuit in 1961. Kaufman was chief judge of the Manhattan circuit court for seven years, from 1973 to 1980. Formally retiring in 1987, he was designated a senior judge and remained active on the court until the illness that preceded his death in 1992.

Much to Kaufman's frustration, his reputation was forever linked to the trial of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg in 1951. The Rosenbergs, charged with espionage for conspiring to deliver nuclear secrets to the Soviet Union, were found guilty. Kaufman sentenced them to death in the electric chair, calling their crime "worse than murder." Despite a worldwide campaign on their behalf, seven appeals of the verdict were denied, and two pleas for executive clemency (first to President Harry S. Truman in 1952 and then to President Dwight D. Eisenhower in 1953) were dismissed. On June 19, 1953, the Rosenbergs became the first American civilians to be put to death for espionage in the United States. Even after their death, debate about the case continued. Some contended that the conviction and sentence were influenced by the wave of anti-Communism fostered by Senator Joseph McCarthy and the House Un-American Activities Committee. Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) documents released in the 1970s disclosed that Judge Kaufman had conducted private discussions about the sentence with the prosecution and that he had called the FBI to request that the executions be expedited. Though discussions with one side in a case under trial are usually considered a violation of judicial ethics, a subcommittee of the American Bar Association exonerated Kaufman, reporting that the FBI memos did not cast doubt on the propriety of the proceedings or the judge's conduct.

Kaufman's subsequent judicial career was marked by liberal rulings. Kaufman issued the first judicial order to desegregate an elementary school in the North in *Taylor v. Board of Education* (1961). In 1971 he was the lone dissenter in the case of *United States v. The New York Time*s, when the court ruled not to allow publication of the Pentagon Papers; the Supreme Court later overturned that ruling. Many of his decisions involved First Amendment rights, including *Edwards v. The National Audubon Society* (1977), *Herbert v. Lando* (1977), and *Reeves v. ABC* (1983). His widely cited decision in *Berkey v. Kodak* (1979) is considered a landmark in antitrust law.

In 1983 Kaufman was appointed chairman of the President's Commission on Organized Crime, and he received the Presidential Medal of Freedom in 1987.

[Dorothy Bauhoff (2nd ed.)]

KAUFMAN, JOYCE JACOBSON (1929–), U.S. chemist. Born in New York City but raised and educated in Baltimore, Maryland, Kaufman earned her B.S. with honors in chemistry from Johns Hopkins University in 1949, soon after her marriage to Stanley Kaufman, an engineer. After graduation, she worked as a technical librarian and then a research chemist at the Army Chemical Center before returning to Johns Hopkins in 1952 as a researcher in the physical chemistry lab of her former professor, Walter S. Koski, who was later to become her second husband. With Koski as her advisor and mentor, she received her M.A. in 1959 and then her Ph.D. in physical chemistry in 1960. In 1962, accompanied by her mother and her young daughter, she went to Paris, where she became a visiting scientist, receiving a doctoral degree in theoretical physics from the Sorbonne the following year.

After working in industry as a staff scientist and later as leader of the quantum chemistry group at the Research Institute for Advanced Studies of the Martin Marietta Company, Kaufman rejoined Koski's research group at Johns Hopkins as a principal research scientist, a position which she held until her retirement. She also held a joint appointment in the Johns Hopkins School of Medicine as associate professor of anesthesiology and later of plastic surgery, but she never received tenure or promotion to full professor, perhaps due to discrimination against her as a woman. In addition to working with doctoral students, postdoctoral associates, and visiting scientists, she also served as mentor to many undergraduates.

The author of more than 300 scientific publications, Kaufman conducted groundbreaking research in a variety of fields, including pharmacology, drug design, theoretical quantum chemistry, experimental physical chemistry, chemical physics of energetic compounds, biochemical research, and superconductors. She served on numerous editorial advisory boards for scientific books and journals and as consultant to many scientific organizations. In 1965 Kaufman was elected fellow of the American Institute of Chemists and, the following year, of the American Physical Society; in 1969, she was named Dame Chevalière de France; in 1973, she received the Garvan Medical Award of the American Chemical Society; and in 1981, she was elected corresponding member of the European Academy of Science, Arts, and Letters. In 1974, the Jewish National Fund honored her with a Woman of Achievement Award as one of the ten outstanding women in Maryland. Her daughter, JAN CARYL KAUFMAN (1955–), was one of the first three women admitted to the Conservative rabbinate.

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[Harriet Pass Freidenreich (2nd ed.)]

KAUFMAN, PHILIP (1936–), U.S. director-screenwriter. Born in Chicago, Ill., Kaufman graduated from the University of Chicago in 1958 with honors and returned a year later after leaving Harvard Law School to complete a master's degree in history. Kaufman married screenwriter Rose Fisher in 1959. In 1960, he moved to San Francisco and then to Europe, where he taught in Greece and Italy, and then to work on an Israeli kibbutz while attempting to write a novel. In 1962, Kaufman and his family returned to Chicago, where his unpublished novel, with the help of Benjamin Manaster, became the film *Goldstein* (1965), loosely based on one of Martin Buber's *Tales of the Hassidim*. For it, Goldstein shared the Prix de La Nouvelle Critique at the Cannes Film Festival. *Fearless Frank* (1967), which he wrote and directed, failed to find a distributor until its star, Jon Voight, became an overnight success with *Midnight Cowboy* (1969), earning Kaufman an invitation to the Universal Studios Young Directors Program. His first film for Universal was *The Great Northfield Minnesota Raid*, (1972), followed by an adaptation of the James Houston novel, *The White Dawn* (1974) for Paramount. Kaufman co-wrote the script for and agreed to direct Clint Eastwood in *The Outlaw Josey Wales* (1976), but two weeks into the film Eastwood took over the direction. Kaufman's remake of *Invasion of the Body Snatchers* (1978), however, became a huge hit. He followed this up with a successful adaptation of Richard Price's *The Wanderers* (1979), a writing credit for *Raiders of the Lost Ark* (1983), and a major critical success in adapting and directing Tom Wolfe's bestselling book about the U.S. space program, *The Right Stuff* (1983). In 1988, Kaufman received an adapted screenplay Oscar nomination for his work on Milan Kundera's *The Unbearable Lightness of Being*. His next film, *Henry and June* (1990), a film about the erotic relationship of Anaïs Nin and Henry Miller, was the first film to earn the MPAA's NC-17 rating. Kaufman's later work included an adaptation of the Michael Crichton book *Rising Sun* (1993); *Quills* (2000), a tale about the notorious French writer Marquis de Sade; and *Twisted* (2004), a police thriller set in San Francisco.

[Adam Wills (2nd ed.)]

KAUFMANN, DAVID (1852–1899), Austrian scholar. Kaufmann was born in Kojetein, Moravia, and received his first instruction in Talmud from Jakob *Bruell. From 1867 to 1877 he attended the rabbinical seminary in Breslau and also studied at the university there. In 1874 he received his doctorate at Leipzig, for a dissertation concerning Sa'adiah's philosophy of religion, which he subsequently published as a part of his *Attributenlehre* (1877; repr. 1967, 1982). He began teaching Jewish history, religious philosophy, and homiletics at the new rabbinical seminary in Budapest, where he remained until his death.

Kaufmann was a scholar of unusually wide and thorough knowledge and produced an astonishingly large number of works in his short life – almost 30 books and over 500 smaller essays and book reviews. His work was distinguished also for its literary style. A complete bibliography was compiled by M. Brann, in *Gedenkbuch zur Erinnerung an David Kaufmann* (ed. M. Brann and F. Rosenthal, 1900; repr. 1980). Though Kaufmann dealt with every area of Jewish scholarship, he contributed especially to history, medieval Jewish philosophy, history of religion, and the history of Jewish art. His most important works are: "Die Theologie des Bachia Ibn Pakuda" (in *Sitzungsberichte der Wiener Akademie der Wissenschaften*, 1874); *Geschichte der Attributenlehre in der juedischen Religionsphilosophie des Mittelalters von Sa'adja bis Maimuni* (1877; repr. 1967, 1982), Kaufmann's major work; *Jehuda Halevy. Versuch einer Charakteristik* (1877); and *Die Spuren al-Bat-*

lajusi's in der juedischen Religionsphilosophie (in *Jahresbericht der Landes-Rabbinerschule in Budapest*, 3, 1880; also in Hungarian; repr. 1967). Kaufmann's comprehensive schooling in the natural sciences and philology is attested by his study *Die Sinne; Beitraege zur Geschichte der Physiologie und Psychologie im Mittelalter aus hebraeischen und arabischen Quellen (ibid.*, 7, 1884; repr. 1972, 1980). To the last year of his life belongs his *Studien ueber Salomon Ibn Gabirol* (1899; repr. 1972, 1980).

His historical and genealogical monographs include *Samson Wertheimer, der Oberhoffaktor und Landesrabbiner 1658–1724 und seine Kinder* (1888), *Urkundliches aus dem Leben Samson Wertheimers* (1891), and *R. Jair Chajjim Bacharach (1638–1702) und seine Ahnen* (1894). *Die letzte Vertreibung der Juden aus Wien und Niederoesterreich, ihre Vorgeschichte (1625 bis 1670) und ihre Opfer* (1889), and *Die Erstuermung Ofens und ihre Vorgeschichte nach dem Berichte Isaak Schulhofs (1650–1732)* (1895), together with *Megillat Ofen*, deal with the history of the Jews in the Austrian and Hungarian capitals. The history of the Italian Jews is dealt with, among others, in *Dr. Israel Conegliano und seine Verdienste um die Republik Venedig bis nach dem Frieden von Carlowitz* (1895) and *Die Chronik des Achimaaz von Oria* (1896). David Kaufmann edited the autobiography (*zikhronot*) of Glueckel von Hameln in its original Yiddish version (1896), which is considered one of the most valuable sources for the history of the Jews in Early Modern Times. In the last years of his life, Kaufmann turned to investigations in the history of Jewish art, in which field he was a pioneer. He co-founded the Gesellschaft fuer Sammlung und Konservierung von Kunst- und historischen Denkmaelern des Judentums in Wien.

Kaufmann took an active stand against attacks on the Jewish community and the Jewish religion. To this category of writings belong *Paul de Lagarde's juedische Gelehrsamkeit; eine Erwiderung* (1887), in which Kaufmann indicates Lagarde's gross errors in the field of Jewish studies, and particularly rejects the derogatory manner in which this German Orientalist had spoken of the accomplishments of Zunz and other Jewish scholars, and *Ein Wort im Vertrauen an Herrn Hofprediger Stoecker* (1880). On the other hand, Kaufmann wrote an enthusiastic review of *Daniel Deronda* by George Eliot, in which the concept of national Judaism is extolled (in MGWJ, 26, 1877) In association with M. Brann, Kaufmann published the new series of the *Monatsschrift fuer Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums* (1892–99) and cooperated on this and many other Jewish scholarly and Oriental publications. M. Brann published a selection of Kaufmann's essays and shorter writings in three volumes, *David Kaufmann, Gesammelte Schriften* (1908–15; repr. 1980). A collection of his essays appeared in Hebrew translation, *Meḥkarim ba-Sifrut ha-Ivrit shel Yemei ha-Beinayim* (1962). Kaufmann's rich library (cataloged by M. Weisz, 1906), which contained many valuable manuscripts, incunabula, and *genizah* fragments, is now owned by the Hungarian Academy of Sciences (see *Microcard Catalogue of the Rare Hebrew Codices… in the Kaufmann Collection* (1959), with an introduction by Ignaz *Goldziher).

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[Moshe Nahum Zobel]

KAUFMANN, FELIX (1895–1949), philosopher and methodologist. Kaufmann, who was born in Vienna, immigrated to the U.S. when the Nazis took over Austria in 1938. From then until his death he was a member of the graduate faculty at the New School for Social Research in New York City. Although Kaufmann was greatly influenced by Moritz Schlick, and was himself involved in the early discussions of the Vienna Circle, he never rigidly adopted the main principles of logical positivism. This was perhaps more a matter of interest than ideology, his main concerns being to discriminate between the methodology of the social sciences, and the methodology of the physical sciences. His view was that the rules which social scientists adopt differ both in their purposes and in their applications from those found in the physical sciences, especially being directed toward the clarification of knowledge rather than its acquisition. His most important book in this connection is *Methodenlehre der Sozialwissenschaften* (1936), translated in 1944 into English as *Methodology of the Social Sciences.*

[Avrum Stroll]

KAUFMANN, FRITZ (1891–1958), philosopher. He was born in Leipzig, became *Husserl's assistant at Freiburg, remaining there until 1936, when he joined the Hochschule fuer die Wissenschaft des Judentums in Berlin. He left Nazi Germany for America, where he taught at Northwestern University and the University of Buffalo. He was a leading exponent of Husserl's phenomenology, which he helped to make known in the United States, and wrote extensively on phenomenology, aesthetics, and literary themes. His major works are *Die Philosophie des Grafen Paul Yorck von Wartenburg* (1928); a posthumous volume, *Das Reich des Schoenen – Bausteine zu einer Philosophie der Kunst* (1960); and articles on Buber, Cassirer, Thomas Mann, Nietzsche, Rilke, Goethe, Flaubert, and Husserl.

[Richard H. Popkin]

KAUFMANN, FRITZ MORDECAI (1888–1921), German essayist and writer on Yiddish culture. Born in Eschweiler, Kaufmann studied medicine and history in Geneva, Munich and Leipzig. He joined a Zionist student group in Leipzig and came into contact with East European Jews. Their culture fascinated him and he began to study Yiddish. Here, he also came to know Nathan *Birnbaum, and was profoundly influenced by the latter's zeal for the organic culture of unassimilated Jewry, however much more with its socialistic aspects than Birnbaum's new-Orthodox tendency. Kaufmann's first essays appeared in the *Juedische Rundschau* in 1912. In the following year, moving to Berlin, he founded his own periodical, *Die Freistatt* (1913–14), which he symbolically subtitled *Alljuedische Revue*, thus affirming his faith in Jewish national unity, however, herein following Birnbaum, not in his Zionist sense. Although he accepted Jewish nationalism, Kaufmann opposed Zionism's emphasis on Palestine and its negation of the Diaspora. He believed in *Alljudentum*, the strengthening of Jewish culture everywhere, especially in the Yiddish-speaking communities. There, in his opinion, Jewish life had not degenerated as it had among the Central and Western European intellectuals who had lost their Jewish roots. Kaufmann sought particularly to instill in his Western-Jewish readers a love for the Eastern-Jewish culture, i.e. Yiddish language, literature, folklore, and customs. After having served as an officer in the war and being disabled by typhus in 1915, he resumed writing for the Jewish press in 1916, specifying this position. Some of his essays were published after the war in *Vier Essais ueber ostjuedische Dichtung und Kultur* (1919) and in the collection *Die Einwanderung der Ostjuden* (1920). He also published the pamphlet *Das juedische Volkslied* (1919) and the anthology *Die schoensten Lieder der Ostjuden* (1920) while working as secretary general of the *Arbeiterfürsorgeamt der jüdischen Organisationen Deutschlands*. He also began a German translation of the Yiddish works of Mendele Mokher Seforim, but committed suicide before it was completed.

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[Sol Liptzin / Andreas Kilcher (2nd ed.)]

KAUFMANN, HANNE (1926–1997), Danish author. Born in Frankfurt, she was taken by her family to Denmark in 1933 and ten years later found temporary refuge in Sweden as a result of Danish rescue operations. Her works, which reflect her experience of these events, include *Kathedral* (1964), on the Holocaust, and *Hvorfor er denne nat anderledes end alle andre naetter?* ("Why is this Night Different from All Other Nights?," 1968), on the flight to Sweden. In 1970 she wrote her book *Alle disse skæbner* about the Polish refugees who fled to Denmark during this period.

KAUFMANN, ISIDOR (1853–1921), Hungarian painter. He was born in Arad, Hungary. At 14 he started to work and in the evening he drew, decorating his room with his own pictures. A head of Moses, displayed in his uncle's store, attracted the attention of connoisseurs who arranged for the young man to study art, first in Budapest, and then in Vienna. Kaufmann's earliest works – historical paintings – are of no real importance. He achieved originality and strength only after discovering the *shtetl*. He traveled in Galicia, Poland, and the Ukraine from one village to another, making sketches. He had a meteoric career. Emperor Franz Josef bought *The Rabbi's Visit* and presented it to Vienna's Museum of Fine Art. Honors were bestowed upon the artist by the German emperor, and even the Russian czar. After his death his reputation declined. Kaufmann did not intend to open up new avenues of aesthetic perception; rather he wanted to tell stories or illustrate subjects of everyday Jewish life. His small genre paintings have definite charm, and his numerous portraits were executed with taste and skill. At the same time, his pictures are of considerable historical value, as they document the folkloristic aspects of the *shtetl*, and the *shtibl* (small synagogue) with ritual objects. Beyond this, he can be appreciated as a cultured observer who, with his sensitive brush, sought to reproduce every nuance of the people and objects he portrayed. His son PHILIP KAUFMANN (1888–1969), who emigrated from Vienna to England in 1938, also achieved a reputation as a painter.

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[Alfred Werner]

KAUFMANN, OSKAR (1873–1956), German theatrical architect, born in Neu St. Anna/Pancota, now Romania. He studied music in Budapest and architecture in Karlsruhe. In 1900 he settled in Berlin and built the Hebbel Theater (1907), the Stadttheater and Museum, Bremerhaven (1909), the Volksbuehne (1914), the Kroll Opera (1923), the Komoedie Theater (1924), and the Renaissance theaters (1927). Kaufmann played an important part in creating the design of the modern theater. He believed that a theater should reflect the social status of its users. Thus the proletarian Volksbuehne was decorated with wood paneling, while the fashionable Komoedie has delicately colored frescoes. He immigrated in 1933 to Palestine and built the Hebrew theater Habimah.

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[Bjoern Siegel (2d ed.)]

KAUFMANN, RICHARD (1877–1958), Israeli architect. Kaufmann was born in Frankfurt and studied in Munich. He worked as an architect and town planner in Germany and Norway before settling in Palestine in 1920. There he entered the service of the Zionist Executive. A large proportion of the agricultural settlements established from the early 1920s were built according to his plans, and he laid down the general design of cooperative agricultural settlements (moshavim). In Nahalal, he created an architectural model for the *moshav ovedim. Kaufmann also designed many urban settlements and neighborhoods, including Afulah, Kiryat Ḥayyim near Haifa, and Reḥavyah, Talpiot, and Bet ha-Kerem in Jerusalem. He built many apartment houses in Jerusalem and Tel Aviv, and also at the Dead Sea Works and in the Jordan Valley. These last two undertakings were noteworthy for their efficient solutions to cooling problems in the difficult climate of these areas. He was one of the first modern architects in Palestine, and in his buildings achieved the new aims of European architecture of the 1920s.

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[Abraham Erlik]

KAUFMANN, WALTER (1921–1980), U.S. philosopher. Born in Freiburg, Germany, Kaufmann was raised as a Lutheran but returned to Judaism. He went to the U.S. in 1939 and studied at Williams College and Harvard University, where he received his B.A. from the former (1941) and his Ph.D. from the latter (1947). From 1944 to 1946, he served in the United States Army Air Forces and Military Intelligence Service.

Kaufmann began teaching philosophy at Princeton in 1947 and became a full professor in 1962. He remained at Princeton throughout his career. His main interests were philosophy of religion, social philosophy, and the history of ideas since the 19th century. Kaufmann was a vigorous opponent of arguments for religion. He made an attack on theology of all kinds and favored a naturalistic, humanistic approach.

His best-known writings include *Nietzsche: Philosopher, Psychologist, Anti-Christ* (1950), *Critique of Religion and Philosophy* (1958), *The Owl and the Nightingale: From Shakespeare to Existentialism* (1959), *The Faith of a Heretic* (1961), *Hegel: Reinterpretation, Texts and Commentary* (1965), *Tragedy and Philosophy* (1968), *Religions in Four Dimensions* (1976), *Man's Lot* (3 vols., 1979), and *Discovering the Mind* (Trilogy, 1980). He translated (with R.J. Hollingdale) Nietzsche's *Will to Power* (1967), as well as several of his other works. He also translated Goethe's *Faust* and Martin Buber's *I and Thou*. His *Existentialism from Dostoyevsky to Sartre* (1956), a selection of texts which he edited and introduced, helped popularize existentialist philosophy in the United States.

[Richard H. Popkin / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

KAUFMANN, YEḤEZKEL (1889–1963), biblical scholar, thinker, and essayist. Born in the Podolia region of the Ukraine, Kaufmann studied in the modern yeshivah of Ch. *Tchernowitz (Rav Ẓa'ir) in Odessa and at the advanced courses of Baron David Guenzburg in Petrograd (Leningrad). He received a Ph.D. from the University of Berne in 1918. After World War I he lived in Berlin, where he began to work on his scholarly writings. In 1928 he migrated to Ereẓ Israel and taught in the Re'ali School in Haifa. In 1949 he was appointed professor of Bible at the Hebrew University, a post he held until his death. Of his many writings, two monumental works stand out: *Golah ve-Nekhar*, "Exile and the Alien Land" (4 vols. in 2, 1929–30), a sociological study on the fate of the Jewish people from ancient times to the modern period; and *Toledot ha-Emunah ha-Yisre'elit*, "The History of Israelite Faith" (8 vols. in 4, 1937–57), a history of Israelite religion from ancient times to the end of the Second Temple. The first seven volumes were condensed and translated into English by M. Greenberg under the title *The Religion of Israel* (1960). The beginning of volume 8 was translated into English by C.W. Efroymson under the title *The Babylonian Captivity and Deutero-Isaiah* (1970). His other works include: *Ha-Sippur ha-Mikra'i al Kibbush ha-Areẓ* (1956), of which an English version had been published previously (*The Biblical Account of the Conquest of Palestine*, 1953); *Be-Ḥevlei ha-Zeman* (1936), "In Troubled Times," a collection of articles and studies on contemporary problems; commentaries on the Book of Joshua (1959) and the Book of Judges (1962); and *Mi-Kivshonah shel ha-Yeẓirah ha-Mikra'it* (1966), "From the Crucible of Biblical Creativity," a posthumous collection of studies on the Bible. His essay on "The Biblical Age" appeared in *Great Ages and Ideas of the Jewish People* (edited by L.W. Schwarz, 1956).

Biblical Period

Kaufmann's main contribution to the study of biblical religion was his thesis that Israel's monotheism was not a gradual evolutionary development from paganism but an entirely new beginning, *sui generis*, in religious history. From its beginnings, Kaufmann asserted, the Israelite monotheistic structure was devoid of any element of polytheistic mythology. Kaufmann claimed that nowhere in the Bible is there any trace of mythical elements – no battles among gods or birth of gods – and that theogony is totally absent. He suggested that this is due to the fact that the battle with myth had been waged and won long before the Bible was compiled. Israelite monotheism for Kaufmann began with Moses.

To bridge the gap between the concept of the one God of all humankind, on the one hand, and on the other, the fact that God's grace and works were known for 1,000 years only to Israel, Kaufmann developed the principle of theoretical (or ideational) universalism. So long as Israel was in its native land, this was expressed in the wish that all nations would some day acknowledge the one God, just as, according to Genesis, all humankind in the beginning knew only one God. In the exilic period, Israel began to move the monotheistic teaching beyond its territorial borders.

On Kaufmann's reading, the Bible was so fundamentally the product of a monotheistic world view that it claimed that all humans were originally monotheistic; it was human rebelliousness that produced the religious retrogression of paganism. Kaufmann went so far as to argue that Israelites of the biblical period had no understanding of polytheism. Ancient Israelites did not even know how to worship gods other than Yahweh and assumed that their neighbors worshipped fetishes of wood and stone. Most Bible scholars, in the main Protestant, tended to paraphrase the biblical accounts of Israelite idolatry, and conclude that there was a vast difference between the official religion, which was either monolatrous or monotheistic, and the popular religion, which was polytheistic. In contrast, Kaufmann maintained that there was no fundamental difference between "popular" and "official" religion with regard to monotheism. The prophetic denunciations of Israelite "idolatry" were the rhetoric of zealots who equated low-level superstition with full-blown apostasy from Yahweh. Much of the prophetic critique, argued Kaufmann, was due to the demands of theodicy; the prophets needed to account for Israel's frequent reversals. What were in reality minor superstitious lapses were transformed by the prophets into apostasy.

Kaufmann's general approach to the Bible was conservative. Although he accepted the Documentary Hypothesis of the sources of the Penateuch and the multiple authorship of Isaiah and Hosea, he resisted the tendency to analyze books into increasingly smaller units. In a similar vein, he maintained that the Book of Joshua provides an accurate account of the conquest of the land. The banishment of the Canaanites was not a nationalist necessity but a religious one, whose purpose was the purification of the land that was to serve as the locale for Israel's monotheism. For Kaufmann, Isaiah is a watershed in the prophetic tradition. He is the creator of visionary universalism, which envisages the end of paganism and the establishment of eternal peace. According to Isaiah, Israel's "chosenness" as the bearer of monotheism will then disappear and God's name will be acknowledged by all. Jeremiah brought this concept to its logical conclusion by stressing that idolatry was a sin for nations as well as for individuals. Whereas Isaiah prophesied that "a man" would cast away his gold and silver idols (Isa. 2:20), Jeremiah said that "the nations shall come from the ends of the earth" to worship the one God (Jer. 16:19). With the preaching of Deutero-Isaiah monotheism came to the gentiles.

Because Kaufmann wrote in *Ivrit* (Modern Israeli Hebrew) at a time when few gentile scholars were competent in the language, Kaufmann's influence was largely confined to Israelis and Jewish religious moderates. (He was too radical for Jewish fundamentalists.) One reason for Kaufmann's popularity in these circles was his early dating of the Priestly Code (P). In the classic scheme of *Graf and *Wellhausen, the post-exilic P had encased monotheism in a legalism leading finally to a Pharisaic notion of salvation through works, so stifling that it required no less a figure than Jesus to overturn it. Naturally, most Jews regarded this analysis as Christian suppressionism in scholarly garb. Tacitly accepting the Wellhausenian claim that earlier was better, Kaufmann attempted to demonstrate that P was pre-exilic in origin, rather than the product of later debased Jewish legalism. Another reason for Kaufmann's popularity among Jewish religious moderates was that although Kaufmann was a secularist, his argument that monotheism was an original Israelite institution that had originated with Moses could be read as an empirical validation of the theological assertion of divine revelation. Through the efforts of H.L.*Ginsberg and Moshe *Greenberg, Kaufmann's work was very influential at the Jewish Theological Seminary of America (JTS) in New York City, a religiously moderate institution, at which several generations of Jewish Bible scholars were introduced to the serious study of the Bible. Oddly, Kaufmann was never invited to teach or lecture there (Schorsch).

[Emanuel Green / S. David Sperling (2nd ed.)]

Post-Biblical Period

About the time of the Hasmonean era Judaism created a proselytization ceremony that was unique in the ancient world. It was a revolutionary innovation that obliterated all racial distinctions and converted the foreigner as if he were born a Jew in every respect. Religious conversion is one of the great revelations of Judaism as a universal, supra-racial religion. The movement for conversion was especially strengthened during the Hasmonean period, when the monotheistic nation attained statehood and served as a powerful instrument of Jewish religious propaganda. During that era Judaism spread by means of religious conversion to all parts of the known world to which Jews came.

Kaufmann says that had Israel succeeded in maintaining a large state, its faith would have spread among many peoples, to such an extent that the Jewish people would have later become absorbed among the Judaized masses. Its subsequent political weakness and decadence, the destruction of Jerusalem and the Temple, and the exile, prevented this from happening. The other nations were unable to accept the faith of a subjugated people. After cutting themselves off from Judaism, Christianity and Islam continued the Jewish mission of eradicating idolatry.

Kaufmann regarded Christianity as a monotheistic religion in which a revolutionary change occurred, in contrast to the Eastern mystery religions and Hellenistic paganism. Judaism rejected the new sacred symbols of Christianity concerning the status of Jesus as a redeemer, messiah, and son of God. Jesus and Muhammad were rejected as bearers of divine revelation, and with them everything connected with their name. "The quarrel between Judaism and Christianity and Islam is a quarrel of covenants" ("*Golah ve-Nekhar*," pt. I, 322).

Israel persisted in its national religious stance and alone preserved the inherited religion of its ancestors. Kaufmann saw Judaism as the enemy of Greek paganism and science; the war of Judaism with idolatry was also a war against intellectual idolatry, against the belief that intellectual knowledge will redeem man. Man will be redeemed only by moral goodness and not by intellectual power. Judaism believes that man holds the key of his redemption in his own hands. The prophetic answer has not become dated. The hope of man lies in the prophetic pathos and the light of Isaiah's vision.

Kaufmann's basic conception is that individual Israelites can become assimilated, but that the fundamental conclusion to be drawn from the whole of Jewish history is that the Jewish people will continue to exist. "The battle of the exile will not cease," however, "and in consequence the Jewish nation cannot achieve redemption from its exile by assimilation among other peoples. The end of being an alien and of the battle of the exile can only come through national redemption, by the conquest of the national heritage" (*ibid.* II, 264). Kaufmann stressed that the Jewish people always preferred to live in ghettos in the midst of existing towns and countries and did not, in the course of its history, seek to obtain a national territory. Kaufmann, who wrote his book in Berlin, in the 1920s, believed that, in addition to rebuilding Ereẓ Israel, its ancient birthplace, the Jewish people should establish for itself additional territory in one of the empty spaces of the world. Research into the problem of the exile and the alien condition of Israel, coupled with analysis of problems of the past and the present, gave Kaufmann the status of an outstanding researcher in the sociology and thought of Judaism. In his effort to prove his outlook on the history of Israel as a monotheistic people, with its beginning in the time of Moses, Kaufmann shed light upon all the sectors and accomplishments of the book of the Bible.

[Haim M.I. Gevaryahu]

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KAULLA, family of German Court Jews and bankers. The family became prominent with CHAILA (CAROLINE) RAPHAEL KAULLA (1739–1809) who, as "Madame Kaulla," was one of the few woman court agents in German principalities. Born in Buchau, Wuerttemberg, she married Akiba Auerbach in 1757, a Jewish scholar who left business activities to his wife. She served the princes of Donaueschingen, Hechingen, and Wuerttemberg, as well as the Imperial Court in Vienna, as a banker, jeweler, and army contractor. Her brother, JACOB RAPHAEL KAULLA (c. 1750–1810), who was also born in Buchau, a court banker, was among the members of the Kaulla family who were granted citizenship rights in Wuerttemberg by King Frederick for their services to the country in critical periods. The family later settled in Stuttgart. During the first decade of the 19th century the Kaullas were said to be financially stronger than most contemporary German-Jewish banking houses. Their most significant achievement was the 1802 establishment, in cooperation with the Duke of Wuerttemberg, of the Wuerttembergische Hofbank which, until the arrival of modern corporate banking, was the country's leading credit institution; it was eventually absorbed by the Deutsche Bank. The family contributed generously to Jewish and general community projects. JOSEPH WOLF KAULLA (1805–1876), Madame Kaulla's grandson, was ennobled in 1841 by the prince of Hechingen after the king of Wuerttemberg had refused a request to that effect. Among the Kaullas were a number of high-ranking economic and financial officials; many of them left the Jewish faith. ALFRED VON KAULLA (1833–1899), manager of the Wuerttembergische Vereinsbank, another Kaulla affiliation, counted among its clients the Mauser rifle factory, a leading German arms manufacturer. When negotiating contracts for the Ottoman army he became interested in Turkish railway projects including the Baghdad railway and was successful in securing the participation of the Deutsche Bank in that famous plan.

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[Joachim O. Ronall]

KAUNAS (Pol. **Kowno**; Rus. **Kovno**; Ger. under Nazi occupation, **Kauen**), city in Lithuania situated at the confluence of the rivers Viliya and Neman. Formerly in Poland-Lithuania, it passed to Russia in 1795, was occupied by Germany in World War I (1915–18), and became capital of the independent Lithuanian Republic from 1920 to 1939. In World War II it was under Soviet rule from June 1940 to June 1941 and subsequently under Nazi occupation to July 1944. Jews took part in the trade between Kaunas and Danzig in the 16th century. Their competition aroused opposition from the Christian merchants, and through their influence Jews were prohibited from Kaunas on numerous occasions. However, the ban was not strictly enforced, and gradually a small group of Jews settled in Kaunas. The ban was renewed in 1682, and Jews were not permitted to settle in Kaunas and engage in trade until the 18th century when they were permitted to reside in two streets. In 1753 they were expelled from land belonging to the municipality. The Jews were again expelled in 1761, when there were anti-Jewish riots. They found refuge in the suburb of *Slobodka (Vilijampole) on the other side of the River Viliya, where a Jewish settlement had existed long before that of Kaunas. In 1782 the expelled Jews were permitted to return to Kaunas.

After the partition of Poland in 1795 Kaunas became part of Russia. In 1797 the Christians in Kaunas again demanded the expulsion of the Jews, but the authorities in 1798 ordered that they should be left alone, and not be prevented from engaging in commerce and crafts. Restrictions on Jewish settlement there were again introduced in 1845 but abolished in 1858. The Jewish population increased as the town expanded. There were 2,013 Jews living in Kovno (Kaunas) and Slobodka in 1847; 16,540 in 1864; 25,441 in 1897 (30% of the total population); and 32,628 in 1908 (40%).

From the second half of the 19th century, Kovno became a center of Jewish cultural activity in Lithuania. Prominent there were Isaac Elhanan *Spektor (the "Kovner Rav,"; officiated 1864–96), Abraham *Mapu, one of the first modern Hebrew writers, and the literary critic *Ba'al Makhshoves (Israel Isidor Elyashev). The yeshivot of Slobodka became celebrated, in particular the Or Ḥayyim yeshivah, founded by Ẓevi Levitan about 1863, which attracted students from other countries. It was headed by noted scholars. Nathan Ẓevi *Finkel introduced **musar* ideals there; from 1881 it was known as the Slobodka yeshivah. Subsequently there was opposition among the students to the *musar* method, and in 1897 the yeshivah was divided into two: the followers of *musar* established the Keneset Israel yeshivah, named after Israel *Lipkin (Salanter), while its opponents founded the Keneset Bet Yiẓḥak yeshivah, named after Isaac Elhanan Spektor. In May 1869 a conference was convened at Kovno to help Jewish refugees from northwestern Russia where the failure of the crops had led to famine and an outbreak of typhus. Another was held in November 1909 to work out a proposal for a law to establish Jewish community councils in Russia. The Kovno community maintained numerous *ḥadarim*, schools, and libraries. It returned Jewish deputies to the first and second *Duma (L. *Bramson and Sh. *Abramson). The Jews in Kovno underwent many vicissitudes during World War I. In May 1915 an edict was issued by the czarist government expelling the Jews from the entire province. When later the city was occupied by the Germans, about 9,000 Jews returned, and communal life was revived with the help of Jews in Germany. Many who had been expelled to the Russian interior returned after the 1917 Revolution.

After Kaunas became capital of independent Lithuania its community grew in importance. There were 25,044 Jews living in Kaunas according to the census of 1923 (over 25% of the total population) and 38,000 in 1933 (30%). The most important Jewish commercial and industrial enterprises in independent Lithuania were in the capital. Other Jewish institutions included a central Jewish cooperative bank, part of the share capital being held by the Jewish people's banks, which numbered 81 in 1930, and were directed from Kaunas. During the period when Jewish national cultural autonomy was authorized in Lithuania, at the beginning of the 1920s, Kaunas was the seat of the Ministry for Jewish Affairs, the Jewish National Council, and other central Lithuanian Jewish institutions and organizations. At the beginning of the 1930s five Jewish daily newspapers were published in Kaunas, the oldest being the Zionist daily *Yidishe Shtime*, founded in 1919. The network of Hebrew schools included kindergartens, elementary and high schools, and teachers' seminaries. There were also schools where the language of instruction was Yiddish. Many of the youth belonged to the Zionist associations and *He-Ḥalutz. Under Soviet rule from June 1940 to June 1941, the Jewish institutions were closed down. A Yiddish newspaper *Kovner Emes* was published.

Holocaust Period

During World War II, after the outbreak of the German-Soviet war and even before the Germans occupied the city (June 24, 1941), Jews were killed in Kaunas by Lithuanian Fascists. Immediately after the German occupation, large-scale anti-Jewish pogroms took place affecting some 35,000 Jews. At the instigation of Einsatzgruppe A, Lithuanian "partisans" carried out a pogrom in Slobodka (Vilijampole), in which 800 Jews were killed. Jews were also arrested in various parts of the city and taken to the Seventh Fort, a part of the old fortress, where between 6,000 and 7,000 of them were murdered in the beginning of July. An order issued on July 11, 1941, stipulated that between July 15 and August 15 all the Jews in the city and its suburbs were to move into a ghetto to be set up in Slobodka. This was followed by other anti-Jewish measures. On Aug. 7, 1941, 1,200 Jewish men were picked up in the streets and about 1,000 put to death. In these pogroms, as in the later persecution and *Aktionen*, the Lithuanians again took a very active part.

The Slobodka ghetto contained 29,760 people. Following an *Aktion* there, 9,200 Jews were killed at the Ninth Fort situated near Slobodka on October 29, 1941. Another 20,000 with their belongings were sent there from Germany, Austria, France, and other European countries – for "resettlement in the East" – and murdered. Another 4,000 ghetto residents were murdered in various other *Aktionen* between August and December 1941. Two "resettlement actions" took place in 1942 in which Jews from Kaunas ghetto were transferred to *Riga. On Oct. 26, 1943, approximately 3,000 Jews were deported to concentration camps in Estonia. The ghetto was then turned into "concentration camp Kauen." At this time the united Jewish underground, which had been operating in the ghetto from the end of 1941 and had 800 members, began sending people to the Augustova forests (74 mi. (120 km.) south of Kaunas) to join the partisan resistance against the Germans. Through lack of experience and the hostility of the local population many of the members of the underground were killed or captured. A group of them, who were employed by the *Gestapo in burning the corpses of the victims in the Ninth Fort, managed to escape on Christmas Eve of 1943. They were then sent by the ghetto underground to the forests of Rudnicka (about 90 mi. (150 km.) east of Kaunas) and were absorbed into the Soviet partisan units, which comprised various national groups. From the fall of 1943 to the spring of 1944, the underground, aided by members of the *Aeltestenrat* (see *Judenrat), especially its chairman, Elhanan *Elkes, and the Jewish ghetto police, managed to send about 250 armed fighters to Rudnicka and other forests, where more than one-third were killed in action against the Germans. The leader of the underground, Chaim Yelin, was captured and killed by the Gestapo. A group of Jewish partisans died in a clash with Gestapo forces on the outskirts of Kaunas in April 1944. On March 27–28, 1944, another special *Aktion* took place in which 2,000 children, elderly and sick persons were hunted down. When the Soviet attack began in July 1944, the Germans liquidated the Kaunas ghetto and concentration camps in the area, using grenades and explosives, to kill the Jews hiding in the bunkers. In this *Aktion* about 8,000 Jews and others were sent to Germany. The men were sent to *Dachau and the women to *Stutthof, and over 80% of them died in these camps before liberation. Kaunas was taken by Soviet forces on Aug. 1, 1944. Most of the Jewish survivors did not return to Lithuania, but chose to remain in the *Displaced Persons' camps, where they were later joined by other Jews from Kaunas who had left Lithuania after its liberation.

Contemporary Period

Most of the survivors from Kaunas eventually settled in Israel. Jews settled there from other places, however. The Jewish population numbered 4,792 (2.24% of the total) in 1959. There was a synagogue. In 1961 a Jewish amateur theater troupe (Yidisher Selbsttetigkeyt Kolektiv), consisting of a drama group, choir, orchestra, and dance group, was organized in Kaunas, holding public performances from time to time. In 1963 the Jewish cemetery was plowed up and Jews were ordered to bury their dead in the general cemetery. However, at their request, they were permitted a separate Jewish section. Several incidents in which Jews were beaten up in the streets were reported in 1968. In independent Lithuania (from 1991), the Kaunas Jewish community made efforts to reconstitute itself, renovating the synagogue and opening a museum. Around 500 Jews remained there.

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[Joseph Gar]

KAUSHANY (Rom. **Căuşani**), small town in Bessarabia, S.E. Moldova. A number of tombstones in the ancient Jewish cemetery in Kaushany, thought to date from the 16th century, indicate that there may have been Jews living in the place in this period. However, it is certain that there was a Jewish settlement in Kaushany by the beginning of the 18th century, when it was the center of the Tatar rule in southern Bessarabia. By 1817 it numbered 53 Jewish families. The community increased with the large Jewish immigration into Bessarabia in the 19th century, and in 1897 numbered 1,675 persons (45% of the total population). In 1853 over 80 families of Jewish farmers in Kaushany were granted landholdings by the state, and were reclassified as "state farmers." Due to difficult economic conditions, they were permitted to return in 1864 to the category of townsmen. A number of Jews in Kaushany continued in agricultural occupations, however, among whom there were large cattle and sheep farmers: in 1849 two Jewish farmers owned between them approximately one thousand head of cattle and three thousand sheep and goats. The Jews in Kaushany numbered 1,872 in 1930 (35.1% of the total population).

[Eliyahu Feldman]

Holocaust Period

After Kaushany passed to Soviet control in 1940, the new authorities immediately arrested the Zionist leaders and exiled them to Siberia, where they all perished. All but one of the synagogues in the town were closed down. When war broke out in the summer of 1941, the Soviet authorities lent their help to all who wanted to escape. Some Jews went to Odessa on foot and continued from there into the interior of the U.S.S.R. Others were handed over to the Germans by local collaborators. All those who remained, as well as those who had been caught while attempting to escape, were taken to the cemetery. The Germans, after removing their gold teeth and rings, poured petrol over them and burned them to death. Local Romanians and Ukrainians assisted in the massacre.

Only three families returned to Kaushany after the war. All the Jewish houses were in ruins and the Jewish cemetery had been desecrated and destroyed. The community was not revived after the war.

[Jean Ancel]

°KAUTZSCH, EMIL FRIEDRICH (1841–1910), German Protestant Bible critic and Semitist who as editor of a number of works on Bible and Semitic philology helped educate a generation of German theologians and biblicists. Born in Plauen, Saxony, he taught in Leipzig (until 1872), Basle (1872–80), Tuebingen (1880–88), and Halle (from 1888). Kautsch visited Ottoman Palestine in 1876 and 1904, which led him in 1877 to participate in founding the Deutscher Palästina Verein. From 1888 he was one of the editors of the influential *Theologische Studien und Kritiken*. In the area of Bible studies Kautzsch published a translation and commentary on the Book of Psalms (1893) and a dissertation on biblical poetry (1902). In collaboration with other scholars he wrote about the sources of Genesis (1888, with A. Solchin), the books of the Bible (1894), and Proverbs in the Polychrome Bible (1901, with A. Mueller). He helped edit *Die Apokryphen und Pseudepigraphen des Alten Testaments…* (1899) and *Textbibel des Alten und Neuen Testaments* (1900, 1911^3). On the subject of Hebrew and Aramaic philology he edited the second to eighth editions of H. Scholz' *Abriss der hebraeischen Laut-und Formenlehre* (1874–99), and the 22nd to 28th editions of *Gesenius' *Hebrew Grammar* (1878–1908), and a valuable grammar of biblical Aramaic in 1902, based on a similar work of 1888. Kautzsch's literary activity also includes a study on the apostle Paul (1869), a history of the Moabites (1876, with A. Solchin), and the editorship of the tenth and 11th editions of K.R. Hagenbach's *Encyklopädie und Methodologie* (1880–84). Kautzsch was an involved church member who attempted to bring the results of biblical scholarship to the wider German Protestant community.

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[Zev Garber]

KAUVAR, CHARLES ELIEZER HILLEL (1879–1971), U.S. rabbi, communal leader, and educator. Few rabbis leave an imprint on a community as did Kauvar during the 69 years he served in *Denver, Colorado, from 1902 to 1971, as active rabbi at the Beth HaMedrosh Hagadol Congregation for 50 years and as rabbi emeritus for 19 years. Born in Vilna, Lithuania, he came to New York in 1881 at the age of two, received a B.A. from City College of New York and was ordained at the Jewish Theological Seminary in 1902, where he also earned a D.H.L. in 1909.

Kauvar brought Conservative Judaism to Denver at a time when it was predominantly Reform on the East Side of the city, with an Orthodox enclave growing on the West Side. He became an active communal leader, helping to found the Jewish Consumptive Relief Society in 1904 to aid traditional Jews who came to Denver for a cure of their tuberculosis. He was president of the Central Jewish Council from 1912 to 1920 and aided in the establishment of the *Intermountain Jewish News*. He was a life-long Zionist, a founder of Mizrachi in Denver, and has a colored stained glass window dedicated in his honor in the Beit Medrash of the Heichal Shlomo in Jerusalem.

Although Kauvar helped found the United Synagogue of America (Conservative), serving as its first vice president from 1912 to 1914, and becoming the first president of the Midwest Region of the Rabbinical Assembly (Conservative) in 1923, he felt that by the 1950s the Conservative movement had lost its traditional moorings, and he was instrumental in having his congregation disaffiliate with the movement in 1955. In 1956, the BMH Congregation, as it was known, elected its first Orthodox rabbi to the pulpit, and it became a member of the Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations in 1972. Kauvar was one of the earliest professors of Judaic studies at universities in the United States, having joined the faculty at the University of Denver, a private institution established by the Methodist Church, in 1920, where he taught until 1966. An endowed Charles Eliezer Hillel Kauvar Publications Fund was established at the later formed university's Center for Judaic Studies in his honor in recognition of his intellectual contributions to the University and community.

Among his published works are *Pirkei Aboth Comments* (1929), *What Is Judaism?* (1933), *Religion, the Hope of the World* (1949) and *Torah Comments* (1952).

[Stanley M. Wagner (2nd ed.)]

KAVALLA, city in Macedonia, Greece. After the capture of Budapest by the Turks in 1526 Hungarian Jews were brought first to Sofia, and in 1529 to Kavalla. Eventually both Sephardi and Ashkenazi Jews settled there. Eventually, the Sephardi community influenced the Ashkenazim in matters of *halakhah*, and they assimilated into the general Sephardi community. In the 16th century, there were four synagogues and a total of 500 Jews in the community. In 1676 the Jews comprised a third of the general population. By 1740 the Jewish population had dwindled to barely enough families for a *minyan*. The city developed in the first half of the 19th century due to the presence of local relatives of Mohammed Ali, who was born in Kavalla and as Egypt's ruler contributed greatly to local growth. In the mid-19th century, as the port developed, several affluent Jewish families from Salonika moved to Kavalla. In 1880, the Jewish community numbered only 24 families, half of them from Salonika and Serres. The city's synagogue, Beth El, was built in 1885. In the 19th century the Jewish community was augmented by an influx of tobacco merchants. A Jewish boys' school was founded in 1889 and in 1905 a coed Alliance Israélite Universelle school was established. Blood libel accusations circulated against local Jews in 1894, 1900, and even 1926 under Greek rule. In the latter incident, the Jews were falsely blamed for the murder of a girl, and Greek-Orthodox rioters destroyed Jewish property in the ensuing riots.

By 1900, the local Jewish community had grown to 230 families, comprising 1,000 to 1,300 people. About half the Jews worked in the tobacco industry and most of the others were storekeepers. There was also a group of poor Jews. In 1913 the Jewish population numbered 2,500, 3,200 in 1923, and 2,200 in 1940. Many Jews worked in the tobacco warehouses. As the Jewish community grew, so did Jewish poverty. In 1900, the Jewish community had several welfare societies: Ozer Dalim, Ezra be-Ẓarrot, Ahavat Re'im, and a soup kitchen for children called Melo ha-Peh Leḥem.

In the First Balkan War, in November 1912, Bulgaria captured the city, and seven prominent Jews were arrested on suspicion of collaborating with the Turks. The Jews suffered, like the rest of the population, from neglect, and in the winter 120 families received food and coal for heating from the Chief Rabbinate of Bulgaria, the Alliance Israélite Universelle in Paris, and donors from among Hungarian Jewry. The Greeks took over the city on July 6, 1913, and brought relief to the residents of the city. In 1916, the Bulgarians recaptured the city, and the Jews, like the other residents of the city, suffered from starvation. Many were affected by the bombings. Many were recruited for forced labor by the Bulgarians, and again suspicions of treason circulated. Greek rule returned on October 19, 1918. That same month, 120 Jews and Muslims were mobilized for forced labor to repair war damages. Jews also had to do such menial work as cleaning the streets and Greek-Orthodox homes. The Jewish community complained to the French government via the Alliance Israélite Universelle and after six days the Jews were relieved from this burden.

In 1913 the local Zionist Or Zion society was established. Judah Ḥayyim Perahia edited its weekly Judeo-Spanish newspaper, *Ha-Ẓiyyonut*.

In the 1920s, two-thirds of the Jews worked in the tobacco industry and a hundred were shopkeepers or worked for merchants. As early as 1921, there were accounts of the Greek government forcing Jews to work on the Sabbath and taking Sunday as their day of rest. In Kavalla, as opposed to many other cities where the Jews protested, many Jews opened their businesses, including the president of the Jewish community himself. The community suffered greatly from the worldwide depression in the 1930s. In 1931, there were 200 unemployed Jewish tobacco workers. Throughout the 1930s, the local Jews received financial assistance from the Salonikan Jewish community.

In 1941 Kavalla came under Bulgarian occupation. The Jews were pressured to assist the Bulgarians against the Greeks but they resisted. In retaliation the Bulgarians, guided by the Nazis, applied the racial laws in 1942 (see *Bulgaria, Holocaust). In the summer of 1942 many hundreds of Jews were put to forced labor in Kavalla and a few months later in early 1943 another group was sent to Bulgaria to work. On March

3, 1943, 1,800 Jews were arrested and later deported to the Treblinka death camp in Poland. Part of the Kavallan Jewish community was on the *Karageorge* when the Bulgarians shot passengers on the Danube River. The Jewish population in 1948 numbered 42; according to the 1967 census there were 47 Jews living in Kavalla. By the beginning of the 21st century, the last elders of the three remaining families had passed away and no more Jews resided in the city. There still remains a Jewish cemetery intact.

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[Simon Marcus / Yitzchak Kerem (2nd ed.)]

KAVERIN, BENJAMIN ALEKSANDROVICH (pseudonym of **Benjamin A. Zilberg**; 1902–1990), Soviet Russian author. The son of a musician, Kaverin was born in Pskov. His training as a historian and specialist in Oriental languages left a strong imprint on his choice of literary themes. Several of his books have foreign settings, both eastern and western. Thus the plot of *The Great Game* (1926) involves both Englishmen and Ethiopians. Others deal with historical subjects, such as *Baron Brambeus* (1929), a scholarly biography of Osip Senkovski, one of the most picturesque figures in 19th-century Russian literature. At the same time Kaverin was one of the few Russian detective-story writers, and some of his stories – especially those published in the permissive atmosphere of the 1920s – make good use of many of the devices of the genre. One of the most notable is *Konets khazy* ("The End of the Gang," 1926), a captivating account of the Leningrad underworld.

Kaverin's most significant novel, *Khudozhnik neizvesten* (1931; *The Unknown Artist*, 1947), was a plea for the maintenance of the dignity of the individual in a collectivist society and for the preservation of beauty in a utilitarian age. *Ispolneniye zhelaniy* (1935; *The Larger View*, 1938) dealt with the problems of adjustment facing an intellectual in Soviet society. His long novel *Dva kapitana* (1946; *Two Captains*, 1957) was a great favorite with Russian youngsters when it was originally serialized between 1938 and 1944. He received the Stalin Prize for it in 1946. Aside from introducing Jewish allusions in some of his works, he wrote, for the *Jewish Antifascist Committee, a biography of Hero of the Soviet Union Fisanovich, and "The Uprising in Sobibor" together with P. Antokolski. In post-Stalinist Russia Kaverin was among the leading exponents of liberalization, frequently incurring the wrath of the Stalinist establishment. His later works include *Sem par nechistykh* ("Seven Pairs of the Unclean," 1962), which describes inmates of a Soviet concentration camp fighting for the right to defend their homeland in the ranks of the Soviet army, and speeches published by Samizdat in 1967.

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[Maurice Friedberg]

KAVNER, JULIE (1951–), U.S. actress. Born in Los Angeles, California, Kavner is best known for her roles as Rhoda's sister, Brenda Morgenstern, on the television show *Rhoda* – one of the first television shows to feature an openly Jewish lead character – and as the voice of Marge Simpson on the animated show *The Simpsons*. On *The Simpsons*, Kavner also provided the voices for Patty, Selma, Jacqueline, and Gladys Bouvier. Kavner's most notable on-screen film role was her portrayal of a divorced Jewish woman struggling to reconcile her aspirations as a stand-up comedian with her responsibilities to her children in Nora Ephron's *This Is My Life* (1992). In addition to appearing as Treva in *New York Stories* (1989), Eleanor Costello in *Awakenings* (1990), and Lucy in *Forget Paris* (1995), Kavner worked extensively with Woody Allen, appearing in a number of his films, including the role of Allen's mother in the comedy *Radio Days* (1987), Alma in *Shadows and Fog* (1992), Nan Muhanney in *I'll Do Anything* and Grace in *Deconstructing Harry* (1997).

[Walter Driver (2nd ed.)]

KAVVANAH (Heb. כַּוָּנָה; lit. "directed intention"), the phrase used in rabbinic literature to denote a state of mental concentration and devotion at prayer and during the performance of *mitzvot*. Although the demand for *kavvanah* as an obligatory component of religious prayer and action is not explicitly mentioned in the Pentateuch, it is clearly referred to by the prophets. Isaiah, for instance, condemns those who "with their mouth and with their lips do honor Me, but have removed their heart far from Me" (Isa. 29:13).

Kavvanah in Prayer

The Talmud attaches considerable importance to *kavvanah* in prayer. The Mishnah quotes R. Simeon's dictum: "Do not regard your prayer as a fixed mechanical device, but as an appeal for mercy and grace before the All-Present" (Avot 2:13). It is, furthermore, related that the early *ḥasidim* used to wait an hour before and after prayer to achieve a state of *kavvanah* and emerge from it (Ber. 5:1). However, from the discussion in the Mishnah and the *Gemara* (Ber. 32b), it is clear that the rabbis, keenly aware of the "problem" of prayer were by no means unanimous in their interpretation of what proper *kavvanah* should be. Later medieval authors distinguished between the preparation for *kavvanah* which precedes prayer and the achievement of *kavvanah* during prayer itself (e.g., Kuzari, 3:5 and 17), while repeatedly stressing the importance of both. Maimonides ruled as a matter of *halakhah* (which was not, however, agreed with by later codifiers) that "since prayer without *kavvanah* is no prayer at all, if one has prayed without *kavvanah* he has to pray again with *kavvanah*. Should one feel preoccupied or overburdened, or should one have just returned from a voyage, one must delay one's prayer until one can once again pray with *kavvanah*… True *kavvanah* implies freedom from all strange thoughts, and complete awareness of the fact that one stands before the Divine Presence" (Yad, Tefillah, 4:15, 16). The Shulḥan Arukh states "better a little supplication with *kavvanah*, than a lot without it" (OH 1:4).

Many talmudic decisions relating to *kavvanah* were modified in the course of time. Thus, although the Mishnah (Ber. 2:5) states that a bridegroom is not required to read the **Shema* on his wedding night (because he would not be able to achieve a proper degree of concentration), it was later ruled that "since nowadays we do not pray with proper attention in any case" he must do so (Sh. Ar., OH 60:3). Similarly, "even if one did not recite the *Amidah* with *kavvanah*, it is not necessary to repeat it," since it is assumed that the *kavvanah* of the repetition would be no better (*ibid*., 101:1, and see Isserles, ad loc.).

In the Kabbalah *kavvanot* (the plural of *kavvanah*) denotes the special thoughts one should have at the recitation of key words in prayer. Very often these thoughts are divorced from the contextual meaning of the words and are of a mystical, esoteric nature. Some kabbalists were thus known as *mekhavvenim* (i.e., those who have *kavvanot*) and guides to *kavvanot* were written (cf. Emmanuel Ḥai Ricchi's *Mafte'aḥ ha-Kavvanot*, Amsterdam, 1740).

Kavvanah in Mitzvot

This is defined as the intention of the person performing the action to do so with the explicit intention of fulfilling the religious injunction which commands the action. One example of a lack of *kavvanah* quoted in the Mishnah (Ber. 2:1) is the case of one who reads the *Shema* during the morning (or evening), for the purpose of study and not fulfillment of the *mitzvah*; another is the case of one who hears the *shofar* on Rosh Ha-Shanah accidentally and thus does not have *kavvanah* for the *mitzvah* (RH 3:7). All authorities agree that due *kavvanah* to perform such *mitzvot* is desirable. There is, however, a difference of opinion as to whether *mitzvot* performed without *kavvanah* are valid, or whether they must be repeated (cf. Ber. 13a; RH 28a; Sh. Ar., OH 60:4).

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[H. Elchanan Blumenthal]

KAWKABĀN, important mountain stronghold during the Ottoman occupation of the lower regions of *Yemen, northwest of San'a. Kawkabān is about one hour's walk from Shibām. Although the exact date of the city's origin is not precisely known, the existing ruins and artifacts of the city give us a clue to its ancient existence from the Himyari period. Recorded history goes back 950 years and speaks of Kawkabān as a depository for grain. Kawkabān is known from the description of Jacob *Saphir, who stayed in these places in 1858 during his travels. The Jewish quarter of Kawkabān, in which some 60 families lived during the last generation before the emigration from there to Israel, was considerably distant from the Arab town; one had to descend into a wadi and climb a slope on the opposite side in order to reach the Jewish section. There was one synagogue. Most of the Jews made their living in pottery; others were shoemakers and tailors, especially of leather jackets.

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[Yosef Tobi (2nd ed.)]

KAY, BARRY (1932–1985), stage designer. Kay was born in Melbourne, Australia, but studied in Switzerland and at the Académie Julien, Paris. He moved to London in 1956 and began designing for the Western Theater Ballet and the Aldeburgh and Edinburgh Festivals. His first complete production was for Shakespeare's *Measure for Measure* at the Old Vic Theatre in 1957. He designed productions for the Théatre de la Monnaie, Brussels, the Royal Shakespeare Company, England, the Royal Ballet Company, Covent Garden, the Staatsoper, Berlin, and the Stuttgart Ballet. His principal work was for ballet, notably in association with the choreographer Kenneth Macmillan for the ballets *The Sleeping Beauty* and *Anastasia*. Kay designed a number of ballets for Rudolph Nureyev including *Raymonda* and *Don Quixote*, which was also filmed with the Australian Ballet Company. His work is noted for brilliant decorative invention as well as remarkable psychological interpretation of the themes and subjects involved. He held a number of exhibitions of his stage designs in London, Berlin, Australia, and New York. Kay was noted for his pioneering use of three-dimensional sets in the 1960s. His work is in important museum collections, including the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, the National Gallery of Western Australia, and the National-Bibliothek, Vienna.

[Charles Samuel Spencer (2nd ed.)]

KAYE, DANNY (**David Daniel Kaminsky**; 1913–1987), U.S. actor and entertainer. The son of a tailor, Kaye was born and brought up in Brooklyn, New York. He turned to entertaining after a brief career as an insurance agent and, starting in the Catskill Mountains, was a great success on the "Borscht Circuit." In 1939 he played ten weeks on Broadway in *The Straw Hat Revue*, a show partly devised by Sylvia Fine, whom he married and who continued to write material for him. His spectacular rise to stardom began in 1941, when Moss *Hart saw him at a New York night club and decided to write a part for him in the musical *Lady in the Dark*, in which Kaye scored an immediate success. His other Broadway performances were in *Let's Face It* (1941–43); *Danny Kaye Revue* (Tony Award, 1953 and 1963); and, later in his career, *Two by Two* (1970).

He became a favorite on both sides of the Atlantic, with appearances on stage and screen. His versatile gifts were fully displayed in the film version of James Thurber's short story *The Secret Life of Walter Mitty* (1947). His other films include

The Kid from Brooklyn (1946), *A Song Is Born* (1948), *The Inspector General* (1949), *On the Riviera* (Golden Globe for Best Actor, 1951), *Hans Christian Andersen* (1952), *White Christmas* (1954), *The Court Jester* (1956), *Merry Andrew* (1958), *Me and the Colonel* (Golden Globe for Best Actor, 1958), *The Five Pennies* (1959), *On the Double* (1961), and *The Madwoman of Chaillot* (1969).

Kaye developed a highly individual style that relied on mime, song, irony, and a sunny personality. His specialty was reciting tongue-twisting songs and monologues. Those powers were perhaps seen at their best in the theater, where he could hold an audience with an hour-long act of song and patter.

In 1960, he began doing specials on television, which led to his own TV series, *The Danny Kaye Show* (1963 to 1967). He won an Emmy for his variety show in 1964. In 1955 he won an honorary Academy Award for his unique talents, and in 1982 he was honored with the Jean Hersholt Humanitarian Award.

He retired from show business in 1967, serving as ambassador-at-large for the United Nations International Children's Fund (UNICEF) and conducting symphony orchestras in fund-raising concerts. He was a frequent visitor to Israel and wrote *Around the World Story Book* (1960).

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[Jo Ranson / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

KAYE, SIR EMMANUEL (1914–1999), British industrialist. Born in Russia, Emmanuel Kaye came to England as a small child and was educated at Twickenham Technical College. In 1940, he founded J.E. Shay Ltd., precision gauge tool and instrument makers; in 1943 he took over Lansing Bagnall, making it the largest manufacturers of electric fork lift trucks in Europe. He supplied the Royal Household and won the Queen's Award for exports and for technological innovation. Kaye served as chairman of the Kaye Organization and of Lansing Bagnall, and allied companies in Switzerland and Germany, and of many other companies. At its peak in the 1970s, Lansing Bagnall employed 3,500 people and was the largest manufacturer of fork lift equipment in Europe. His public activities included the Confederation of British Industry and membership of the Reviewing Committee on the Export of Works of Art. He was a trustee of the Glyndebourne Opera from 1979 to 1984. He was knighted in 1974. Kaye left a fortune of £46.3 million at his death.

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[Vivian David Lipman / Willian D. Rubinstein (2nd ed.)]

KAYE, JUDITH S. (1938–), first woman to serve as chief judge of the State of New York . Kaye was born in Monticello, N.Y., to Lena and Benjamin Smith. She attended Barnard College (B.A., 1958) and New York Law School (LL.B., 1962) and married attorney Stephen Rackow Kaye. Kaye and her family were long-time members of Sephardi Congregation Shearith Israel in New York City. Her meteoric career began as a litigation associate at the New York law firm of Olwine, Connelly, Chase, O'Donnell, and Weyher (1969–83), where she became the firm's first woman partner. Recognizing Kaye's accomplishments as a trial lawyer and her efforts on behalf of the Bar Association, and looking to diversify the court system, Governor Mario Cuomo appointed her as the first female associate judge of the New York State Court of Appeals in 1983, and chief judge in 1993, a position that makes her head of the state judiciary as well as of the Court of Appeals. As chief judge she promoted jury reform and streamlined the court system by creating special courts throughout the state to deal with drug abuse, domestic violence, and family dysfunction. Her reanalysis of traditional legal roles and partnering of specialized courts with outside agencies led to improved results and more public trust and became a model for other U.S. states. Kaye was also active in improving the status of women and children and in addressing domestic violence; in 1993, she convened the state's first Matrimonial Commission to reform New York's divorce custody system, and in 2004 she created a new 32-member panel State Matrimonial Commission to examine excessive costs in child custody divorce battles. She was a founding member and honorary chair of the Judges and Lawyers Breast Cancer Alert, co-chair of the Permanent Judicial Commission on Justice for Children, and a member of the American Bar Association Commission on Domestic Violence. Her publications address domestic issues and legal process, state constitutional law, women in law, professional ethics, and problem solving. Kaye's many honors include the American Bar Association Commission on Women in the Profession's Margaret Brent Women Lawyers of Achievement Award, the National Center for State Courts' William H. Rehnquist Award for Judicial Excellence, New York University Law School's Vanderbilt Medal, and the Barnard Medal of Distinction.

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[Judith Friedman Rosen (2nd ed.)]

KAYE, NORA (1920–1987), U.S. dramatic ballerina. She began her ballet training when she was eight, and at 15 joined the corps of the Metropolitan Opera Ballet. When Ballet Theater was founded in 1939, she entered the corps de ballet and quickly rose to prima ballerina status. She starred in classical repertory and in many contemporary ballets, but she was primarily identified with the English choreographer, Antony Tudor. Her characterization of Hagar in *Pillar of Fire* (1942) was regarded as a great example of tragic acting. Others of Tudor's works in which she appeared were *Lilac Garden, Dark Elegies*, and *Dim Lustre*. In 1951 Nora Kaye left Ballet Theater for the New York City Ballet, where she created the role of the novice in Jerome Robbins' *The Cage*. Returning to Ballet Theater in 1954, she danced in the works of Herbert Ross, whom she married in 1959. After a brief tour with a company organized by herself and Ross, Ballets of Two Worlds, she retired from dancing in 1960.

[Marcia B. Siegel]

KAYFETZ, BEN (1916–2002), Canadian Jewish public servant, journalist, broadcaster, human rights activist, Yiddishist. Kayfetz was born in Toronto's immigrant community. In 1939 he graduated from the University of Toronto with a B.A. in modern languages and, after a short stint as a high school teacher, he worked for the Canadian Wartime Information Board, then for the Canadian Control Commission in postwar Germany. After visiting Holocaust survivors in Displaced Person's Camps and attending the 1946 Zionist Conference in Basle, Kayfetz returned to Canada as director of public relations for the Canadian Jewish Congress (CJC). He worked in the Central Region CJC for the next 37 years, becoming director of the Joint Community Relations Committee in 1955 and executive director of the CJC Central Region in 1973. During that time he was involved with numerous issues, including international affairs, Soviet Jewry, Yiddish, *kashrut* and Israel advocacy. He retired in 1985, but continued to advise CJC leadership until his death in 2002.

Kayfetz is remembered for his important work advancing human rights in postwar Canada. He was instrumental in organizing successful campaigns for passage of legislation banning discrimination in employment and housing, removing nonsectarian teaching from Ontario public schools, and enactment of federal anti-hate legislation and legislation dealing with war crimes. He remained a backbone of the Canadian Jewish community's struggle against antisemites, Holocaust deniers, and racists, often organizing the secret infiltration of hate groups.

While Kayfetz insisted that he was not a professional historian, he had an encyclopedic knowledge of the Canadian Jewish community and the Toronto community in particular. He published many popular and scholarly articles on the Canadian Jewish community and freely shared his knowledge with scholars and students alike. Kayfetz was a founder and president of the Toronto Jewish Historical Society; he wrote *Toronto Jewry 60 Years Ago* and edited Canadian content entries in the first edition of *Encyclopaedia Judaica*. He was also a frequent contributor to the *Globe and Mail*, the Canadian *Jewish Standard* (under the pseudonym of Gershon B. Newman), *The American Jewish Yearbook*, *The Jewish Chronicle* of London, and the Jewish Telegraphic Agency. In his last years, he was a radio commentator in Toronto.

In 1985 Kayfetz was honored with membership in the Order of Canada in 1985 in recognition of his efforts in securing human rights.

[Frank Bialystok (2nd ed.)]

KAYSER, RUDOLF (1889–1964), German author and literary journalist. After studying in Berlin, Munich, and Wuerzburg, Kayser was for several years a teacher in Berlin. In 1919 he joined the editorial staff of the S. Fischer publishing house and became editor in chief of the literary periodical *Die Neue Rundschau* in 1924. Kayser was dismissed from these posts by the Nazis in 1933, settled in the U.S. two years later, and held the chair of German and European literatures at Brandeis University from 1951 to 1957. His Jewish interests found expression in the essays and reviews that he contributed to Jewish periodicals, which included the *Neue Juedische Monatshefte, Der Jude*, and *Historia Judaica*, and in books such as *Moses Tod. Legende* (1921), *Spinoza, Bildnis eines geistigen Helden* (1932), and *The Life and Time of Jehuda Halevi* (1949). His biographical studies also include *Stendhal, oder das Leben eines Egotisten* (1928), and *Kant* (1934). In his biographies he was less interested in discovering new facts about his subjects than in revealing their mental outlook and their *Weltanschauung*. He was especially influential in pre-Nazi Germany, discovering and encouraging literary talent not only through *Verkuendigung* (1921), his anthology of young lyricists, but also as editor of the *Neue Rundschau*, one of the most authoritative literary organs of the era.

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[Sol Liptzin]

KAYSERLING, MEYER (**Moritz**; 1829–1905), German rabbi and historian. Kayserling, born in Hanover, studied with S.R. Hirsch in Nikolsburg, S.J. Rapoport in Prague, and S.B. Bamberger in Wuerzburg and at Halle University. From 1861 to 1870 he was rabbi at Endingen, Switzerland, where he fought strenuously for Jewish rights; thereafter he was rabbi and preacher in Budapest.

Kayserling published a large number of works on various aspects of Jewish history, literature, and religion, mostly in German, which were very popular in their day, including *Moses Mendelssohn: sein Leben und seine Werke* (1862, 1888^2); *Bibliothek juedischer Kanzelredner* (2 vols., 1870–72); *Die juedischen Frauen in der Geschichte*… (1879); and a popular Jewish history, *Lehrbuch der juedischen Geschichte und Literatur* (1874); which ultimately went through ten editions. He also contributed the section on modern Jewish literature to Winter and Wuensche's handbook on post-biblical Jewish literature, *Juedische Literatur seit dem Abschluss des Kanons*… (vol. 3, 1896).

But Kayserling's reputation rests on his long series of pioneering publications on the history of Spanish Jewry and the Marranos, based to a great degree on original and, in some cases manuscript, sources. His *Geschichte der Juden in Spanien und Portugal*, which in fact covered mainly Navarre and the Balearic Islands (vol. 1, 1861) and Portugal (vol. 2, 1867), was the first work in which Hebrew sources were consistently used. His works on Marrano history and literature put the study on a new footing and were the basis of all subsequent treatments. They include *Sephardim: Romanische Poesien der Juden in Spanien* (1859); *Menasseh ben Israel* (1861); *Christoph Columbus und der Anteil der Juden an den spanischen und portugiesischen Entdeckungen* (1894; *Christopher Columbus and the Participation of the Jews in the Spanish and Portuguese Discoveries*, 1894, repr. 1968), written at the request of the Spanish government on the occasion of the 400th anniversary of the discovery of America; and his great bibliography of Marrano literature *Bibliotheca española-portugueza-judaica* (Fr., 1890, repr. 1962 and 1971). In addition, the articles he contributed to the *Jewish Encyclopedia* on these subjects have retained their importance. Many of his works were translated into English and some into Hebrew. More than 100 of his articles on Jewish history and literature published before 1900 are listed in M. Schwab's *Répertoire des articles relatifs à l'histoire et à la littérature juives…* (1914–23).

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[Cecil Roth]

KAZAKEVICH, EMMANUIL GENRIKHOVICH (1913–1962), Soviet Russian author. Born in the Ukrainian town of Kremenchug, Kazakevich grew up in a Yiddish-speaking milieu. As a young man he went to *Birobidzhan, capital of the autonomous Jewish region in the Soviet Far East, where he worked in a variety of jobs: managing a collective farm, directing a theater, and writing for a Yiddish newspaper. From 1938 he lived in Moscow. In the 1930s Kazakevich was considered one of the most promising young poets in Soviet Yiddish literature. Much of his original Yiddish verse is to be found in the antholoy *Di Groyse Velt* ("The Great World," 1939). He was also known for his Yiddish translations of prerevolutionary and Soviet Russian writers, including Pushkin, Lermontov, and Mayakovsky.

During World War II Kazakevich served in the Red Army and was wounded four times. He rose from ordinary scout to the rank of deputy commander of an army reconnaissance unit. Most of his later writings were inspired by his wartime experiences. After the war he began to write exclusively in Russian. Indeed, his former career as a Yiddish poet appears to have caused him some embarrassment. His first Russian novel, *Zvezda* (1947; *The Star*, 1950), was followed by *Dvoye v stepi* ("Two on a Steppe," 1948) and *Vesna na Odere* (1949; *The Spring on the Oder*, 1953). He was severely criticized for these works, because he emphasized the problems of honor and free choice. Although Kazakevich, twice a Stalin prize-winner, escaped the tragic fate of many Soviet Jewish intellectuals during the virulently antisemitic purges of Stalin's last years, he was undoubtedly aware of the constant danger to his life during that period. This may explain his novel *Dom na ploshchadi* (1956; *The House on the Square*, 1960), published at the height of the post-Stalin "thaw." The book describes the atmosphere of morbid suspicion prevalent in the Soviet army during the early postwar years. The 1962 novella *Vragi* ("The Enemies"), a thinly veiled appeal for tolerance, even toward political dissenters, depicted Lenin's magnanimity to his Menshevik opponents. The work was severely criticized as politically dangerous. Some of his works remained unpublished, such as "The Call for Help," about a ghetto seen through the eyes of a Russian officer. In the 1950s he went back to writing in Yiddish, and his articles were published in the Yiddish press in Warsaw, Poland.

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[Maurice Friedberg]

KAZAKHSTAN, former Soviet republic in Central Asia, and from 1991 an independent republic of the CIS. It numbered 19,240 Jews (0.3% of the total) in 1939. In 1979 its Jewish population totaled 23,500 and in 1989, 19,900. By the early 2000s the figure had dropped to around 4,000 after the mass emigrations of the 1990s.

The Jewish community is very assimilated. In 1987 47.2% of children born to Jewish mothers had non-Jewish fathers. Nonetheless a Jewish educational system and synagogue were operating in Alma-Ata in 2006 under Rabbi Menachem Gershovich and a rabbi was also installed in Kavaganda.

[Michael Beizer (2nd ed.)]

KAZAN, capital of Tatarstan autonomous republic, in the Russian Federation, an important commercial and industrial center, mainly of the oil industry. Until the 1917 Revolution, Kazan was outside the Jewish *Pale of Settlement. In 1861, 184 Jews lived in the city, most of them veterans of the army of Nicholas I. By 1897, their numbers had increased to 1,467 (1.1% of the total population). Pogroms broke out in the city in October 1905. During World War I many exiles from the battle areas and from Lithuania arrived in Kazan. In 1926, there were 4,156 Jews in the city (2.3% of the population), which grew to 5,278 (1.33% of the total) in 1939. During the subsequent years, under the Soviet regime there was no possibility of developing any Jewish communal life. During WWII many refugees reached the city and remained there after the war. The Jewish population of Kazan was estimated at about 8,000 in 1970. One synagogue existed until 1962, when it was closed down by the authorities. Jews prayed in private houses (*minyanim*), even though this was prohibited. The Jewish cemetery was still in use in 1970.

[Yehuda Slutsky / Shmuel Spector (2nd ed.)]

KAZAN, LAINIE (**Levine**; 1940–), U.S. singer, actress. A Brooklyn native, Kazan has achieved considerable success as an actress in film, television, and the stage and as a singer in both musicals and nightclub acts. Her big break came as Barbra *Streisand's understudy in the Broadway production of *Funny Girl*, replacing Streisand for two shows and earning rave reviews. Kazan began starring in nightclub acts and musicals before making the jump into film and television. In 1982, she received a Golden Globe nomination for her portrayal of Jewish mother Belle Carroca in *My Favorite Year* (1982). She would later receive a Tony award nomination for her reprisal of the same role in the Broadway musical adaptation. Kazan's other notable film credits include a role in fellow Hofstra alumnus Francis Ford Coppola's *One From the Heart* (1982) and such films as *Lust in the Dust* (1985), *Harry and the Hendersons* (1987), *Beaches* (1988), *The Cemetery Club* (1993), *My Big Fat Greek Wedding* (2002), and *Gigli* (2003). Kazan has made many television appearances over a period of four decades, receiving an Emmy nomination for her guest role on *St. Elsewhere*, appearing in repeat roles on *The Nanny, Veronica's Closet, Beverly Hills 90210*, and *My Big Fat Greek Life* as well as making guest appearances on shows such as *The Paper Chase, Touched By An Angel*, and *Will and Grace*.

[Walter Driver (2nd ed.)]

KAZARNOVSKI, ISAAC ABRAMOVICH (1890–?), Russian inorganic chemist. Kazarnovski studied in Switzerland and received his doctorate in Zurich in 1914 and in 1922 he joined the Karpov Physico-chemical Institute of the University of Moscow. He became a corresponding member of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences in 1939 and was awarded the Stalin Prize in 1941. Kazarnovski wrote on chlorides and peroxides of metals, the production of anhydrous aluminum chloride from clays, and of sodium peroxide, and methods for regenerating air. He discovered sodium dioxide $Na\text{-}O_2$ and potassium ozonide KO_3.

[Samuel Aaron Miller]

KAZATIN, city in Vinnitsa district, Ukraine, an important railroad junction. A Jewish community developed in the late 19th century, numbering 1,731 (20% of the total population) in 1897. During the civil war (1917–20) the Jews suffered greatly at the hands of the various armies passing through the town. In 1926 the Jewish population reached 3,012 (20%). During the Soviet period many Jews worked in a sugar refinery, on the railroad, and in two Jewish kolkhozes. Most of the children studied in a Yiddish school. In 1939 there were 2,648 Jews (15.8% of the total). The Germans entered Kazatin on July 14, 1941. They set up a ghetto. On June 4, 1942, they killed 508 Jews and another 250 in early July. In August they murdered 183, and the last 30 in December 1942. Jews returned after the war but their last synagogue was closed by the authorities in 1960. In 1970 the Jewish population was estimated at about 300 families. Most left in the emigration of the 1990s

[Yehuda Slutsky / Shmuel Spector (2nd ed.)]

KAZAZ, ELIJAH BEN ELIJAH (1832–1912), important Karaite public figure and pedagogue, a member of the Haskalah. Born in Armyansk, Crimea, he studied there in a *bet midrash*, moved to Evpatoria, and became the disciple of Abraham ben Yosef *Lutski (Aben Yashar). He started writing poems in Hebrew at an early age. He lived for a while in Kherson, where he studied secular subjects with a priest and was on friendly terms with Yekuti'el Berman, a member of the Haskalah, who introduced him to the world of modern Jewish literature. He studied at St. Petersburg University, at the faculty of Oriental Studies. After graduating, he founded in 1859 a Karaite school in Odessa. In the 1860s he taught general history and Latin in Simferopol. In 1886 he became director of the Tatar pedagogical college in Simferopol. In 1895, when the officials, after his endeavors, opened the Alexander III School for Karaite teachers and *ḥazzanim,* Kazaz became its director, holding the position until 1908.

He published numerous poems in Hebrew periodicals. The collections of poems appearing in book form, *Shirim Aḥadim* (1857) and *Yeled Sha'ashu'im* (1910, Ashdod 2002), are among the few Karaite contributions to secular Hebrew literature. Later, influenced by the teachings advocated by Abraham *Firkovich, he tried to sever all connection between the *Karaites and the mainstream of Jewry. He asserted that the Karaites were not Semites, but a Tatar or *Khazar tribe which had become converted to the Jewish faith. His works include a Hebrew textbook in Tatar, *Le-Regel ha-Yeladim* (1868–69), intended for the Karaite youth speaking the Tatar language; *Torat ha-Adam* (1889), an adaptation of *Eléments de morale* by P. Janet (1870); *Kivshono shel Olam* (1889), after *La religion naturelle* by J. Simon (1856); *Emet me-Ereẓ* (1908), a shortened version of F. Vigouroux's *La Bible et les découvertes modernes en Palestine…* (1879); *Cicero, Ẓiyyur Biografi* (a biographical sketch; 1908). He also translated the Karaite prayer book entitled *Ketoret Tamid* into Russian (1905). The Russian authorities regarded him as the official Karaite representative.

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[Isaak Dov Ber Markon / Golda Akhiezer (2nd ed.)]

KAZDAN, ḤAYYIM SOLOMON (**Shlomo**; 1883–1979), Yiddish educator, editor, and essayist. A teacher in Yiddish schools in Eastern Europe, Kazdan began his career in 1902 as a teacher in the Girls' Professional School in his native Kherson (Ukraine). As contributor to pedagogical journals, textbook writer, supervisor of schools and classroom teacher, he advanced the teaching of Yiddish language and literature. Kazdan was active in Jewish Socialist circles in Kherson, Kiev, and Warsaw. In the 1930s, he was the director of C.Y.S.O. (Central Yiddish School Organization) in Warsaw. He was a key figure among those educators who believed that Yiddish was not only an educational means but also an end in itself. Fleeing the Nazis, Kazdan arrived in the U.S. in 1941, where for more than a decade he was instructor at the Workmen's Circle high school ("mitlshul"), and from 1955 professor of Yiddish language and literature at the Jewish Teachers Seminary.

The author of many books and monographs, his major works are: *In di Teg fun Revolutsye* ("In the Days of the Revolution," 1928); *In Eyner a Shtot* ("Once in a City," 1928); *Di Geshikhte fun Yidishn Shulvezn in Umophengikn Poyln* ("The History of the Jewish School System in Independent Poland," 1947); and *Fun Kheyder un Shkoles biz Tsisho* ("From Kheyder and Shkoles to Tsisho," 1956).

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[Judah Pilch]

KAZIMIERZ (**Kuzhmir**), ḥasidic dynasty, especially known for their development of ḥasidic melody. Its founder, EZEKIEL BEN ẒEVI-HIRSCH TAUB OF KAZIMIERZ (d. 1856), was the disciple of *Jacob Isaac ha-Ḥozeh of Lublin and of other ḥasidic leaders. He began as a merchant in his home town of Plonsk, and eventually settled in Kazimierz, where he established himself as a *ẓaddik*. He became celebrated for his musical gifts, and composed numerous ḥasidic melodies characterized by joyful lyricism. He used to say: "I do not feel the delight of Sabbath without a new melody." His sermons were collected in *Neḥmad mi-Zahav* (1909).

DAVID ẒEVI OF NEUSTADT (d. 1882) Ezekiel's eldest son, and one of the outstanding disciples of Menahem Mendel Morgenstern of Kotsk, founded the ḥasidic dynasty of Yablonov. His sermons are collected in *Ḥemdat Dodo* (1930). His grandson EZEKIEL OF YABLONOV founded the Naḥalat Ya'akov society in 1924, and in the following year settled in Ereẓ Israel at the head of a group of Ḥasidim. They established an agricultural settlement, Naḥalat Ya'akov, at the western approaches to the Jezreel Valley (later part of *Kefar Ḥasidim).

SAMUEL ELIJAH TAUB OF ZWOLEN (d. 1888), also a son of Ezekiel, like his father had musical gifts, but as a *ẓaddik* suppressed this bent and led the prayers only on rare occasions. He said: "In every melody there is a soul, and a spirit is breathed into it by the singer-creator; within the melody there is both youth and old age; it is like a living being, and therefore whoever subtracts a note from or adds to it is as though he harms, as it were, the 248 organs of the human body." His son, MOSES AARON TAUB OF NOWY DWOR (d. 1918), succeeded his father, first at Zwolen and later at Nowy Dwor near Warsaw. ḤAYYIM JERAHMEEL TAUB (d. 1942), son of Moses Aaron, lived in Zwolen, Mlawa, and finally Warsaw; he headed a ḥasidic community and composed ḥasidic melodies. He perished in *Treblinka. ELEAZAR SOLOMON BEN EPHRAIM TAUB (d. 1938), of Wolomin, the grandson of the first Ezekiel, moved to Warsaw during World War I. He also possessed musical gifts.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: M.S. Geshuri, *Neginah ve-Ḥasidut* (1952).

[Avraham Rubinstein]

KAZIN, ALFRED (1915–1998), U.S. author, critic, and editor. Born to immigrants and educated in New York, Kazin pointed out that he was temperamentally drawn to the idea of revolution and social transformation. Kazin first made his reputation as a book reviewer for the *New York Herald Tribune* and as an editor for *The New Republic* and other newspapers and periodicals. His first and best-known work, *On Native Grounds* (1942), was an explication of modern American literature, studying the estrangement of the American writer from American culture. His critical articles and reviews have been collected in a number of books, including *Contemporaries* (1962). His autobiographical reflections can be found in *A Walker in the City* (1951), *Starting Out in the Thirties* (1965), and *New York Jew* (1978). They are also descriptions of the generation which grew up in the depression years and matured under the impact of the Spanish Civil War and Nazism. *A Lifetime Burning Every Moment* (1996) consists of selections from his journals. In his *Writing Was Everything* (1995), Kazin reflected on his literary heritage and life. Kazin also edited works by William Blake (1946), and others on Dreiser and Emerson. Together with A. Birstein he edited *The Works of Anne Frank* (1959).

ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY: T. Solotaroff (ed.), *Alfred Kazin's America: Critical and Personal Writings* (2003).

[Milton Henry Hindus / Lewis Fried (2nd ed.)]

KAẒIN, JUDAH BEN YOM TOV (1708–1783), rabbi and halakhic authority of *Aleppo, whose rabbinical office he filled for many years. Kaẓin was involved in the controversy which broke out among the rabbis of Aleppo over the imposition of the authority of the local rabbis on the "Francos" (Jewish merchants of Western European origin who arrived in Aleppo during the late 17th century). The chief rabbi Raphael Solomon *Laniado demanded that the local customs be imposed on them, while the rabbis of Aleppo, led by Kaẓin, were opposed to this. During his last years he wrote *Maḥaneh Yehudah* (Leghorn, 1803), which includes his arguments concerning this controversy and the approbations of the rabbis of Aleppo and *Jerusalem. It appears that with the deaths of Laniado and Kaẓin at the end of the 18th century the dispute subsided. Kaẓin also wrote responsa, which form the first part of the work *Ro'ei Yisrael* (1904), and sermons, *Ve-Zot li-Yhudah* (still in Ms.).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: M.D. Gaon, *Yehudei ha-Mizraḥ be-Ereẓ Yisrael*, 2 (1937), 630; D.Z. Laniado, *Li-Kedoshim Asher ba-Areẓ*, 1 (1952), 32; A. Lutzky, in: *Zion*, 6 (1940/41), 73–79.

[Abraham David]

KAẒIN, RAPHAEL BEN ELIJAH (1818–1871), rabbi of Baghdad. Kaẓin was born in Aleppo. On the death of his father he left his birthplace, visiting Ereẓ Israel and Persia, and in 1846 went to Baghdad as a "self-appointed emissary." He was an outstanding scholar and accomplished speaker. At that time the *av bet din* in Baghdad was Elijah Obadiah b. Abraham ha-Levi, who had come from Ereẓ Israel. With the arrival of Kaẓin a violent controversy arose which split the community. Most of the wealthy men sought to depose Obadiah and appoint Kaẓin in his place, while most of the rabbis supported Obadiah. So deep-seated was the animosity that was engendered between the rival factions that for many years they did not even intermarry. Finally the supporters of Obadiah triumphed and in 1847 Kaẓin left Baghdad. He went to Constantinople where he succeeded in obtaining a firman from the sultan appointing him *ḥakham bashi* ("chief rabbi") of Baghdad, an office that previously did not exist. He filled this office from 1849 to 1852, and according to *Benjamin II he exercised his authority with firmness. Four soldiers were stationed as guards at the entrance of his house and when he went out he was preceded by five Jews in uniform carrying scepters in their hands, as was the custom for nobles at that time. In 1852 the "Obadiah faction" rose to power and Kaẓin was compelled to return to Aleppo. There is no information available on the activities of Kaẓin after his return to Aleppo. Three of his seven works have been published: *Iggeret Maggid Meẓarim* (1837), an appeal to the Jews of Europe to come to the aid of the Jews of Persia, and two polemics against Christianity, *Derekh ha-Ḥayyim* (1848) and *Likkutei Amarim* (second ed. 1855, with a Ladino translation). His other works, including a third polemic on Christianity, *Derekh Emet*, are in manuscript.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: A. Ben-Jacob, *Yehudei Bavel* (1965), 156–61.

[Abraham Ben-Yaacob]

KAẒIR ḤARISH (Heb. קָצִיר חָרִישׁ), urban community in northern Israel. Kaẓir Ḥarish is located in the eastern hills of Wadi ʿArra, and is an amalgamation of two settlements, with an area of 2.3 sq. mi. (6 sq. km.). Kaẓir was established as a community in 1982 by a group *Hitaḥdut ha-Ikkarim (Farmers Association) settlers, with assistance from the *Jewish Agency. Ḥarish was established as a kibbutz by Ha-Kibbutz ha-Artzi, also with the assistance of the Jewish Agency, southwest of Kaẓir. Neither settlement succeeded in expanding as expected. In the beginning of the 1990s, Kaẓir numbered just 30 families, while Ḥarish was abandoned by its founders in 1993. But with the mass immigration of the 1990s, Kaẓir and Ḥarish were selected to be included in the "star plan" aimed at populating settlements bordering on Judea and Samaria. In 1992 the government decided to unite the two settlements in a single municipal council. In 2002 its population was 3,500. The majority of the residents work outside the settlement, mainly in Ḥaderah, Haifa, and Tel Aviv.

WEBSITE: www.cityindex.co.il.

[Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

KAZNELSON, SIEGMUND (1893–1959), publisher and editor. Born in Warsaw, Kaznelson completed his studies at the German University in Prague. During his student days, he began publication of articles on Jewish and Zionist subjects in *Die Welt* and *Selbstwehr*, the Zionist periodical of Prague which he edited during World War I. After the war, he moved to Berlin, where he first worked on the editorial staff of M. *Buber's monthly, *Der Jude*. From 1920 he managed the Juedischer Verlag publishing house, which he developed into the largest publishing house of German Jewry. Under his management it published Herzl's diary, Dubnow's history, the *Juedisches Lexikon*, the works of Aḥad ha-Am, and other important Jewish works. In 1937 Kaznelson immigrated to Ereẓ Israel and took up residence in Jerusalem. While still in Germany he began his scientific-literary project on the role of the Jews in German culture. Part of this work was published during his lifetime; the rest was published posthumously as *Juden im deutschen Kulturbereich* (1962^{3}), *Beethovens ferne und unsterbliche Geliebte* (1954); *Juedisches Schicksal in deutschen Geschichten* (anthology, 1959); *The Palestine Problem and its Solution* (1946); and *Zionismus und Voelkerbund* (1922).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: F. Weltsch, in: *Haaretz* (April 3, 1959); idem, in: MB (Mar. 26, 1954); Juedischer Verlag, *Almanach: 1902–1964* (1964).

[Getzel Kressel]

KAẒRIN (Heb. קַצְרִין), urban community in the *Golan Heights. Kaẓrin was established in 1977 following the government's decision to settle and populate the Golan Heights. In 1979 the town received municipal status. It was planned as an urban center that would provide a variety of services to the rural communities and military bases scattered throughout the Golan. At the end of 2002 the population of Kaẓrin was 6,280, among them 30% immigrants from the former Soviet Union. The town has an area of 4.7 sq. mi. (12.2 sq. km.). Its industrial area includes the Golan Heights Wineries and the Eden natural mineral water bottling plants, making it "the city of water and wine." In addition, Kaẓrin's industries include dairy, plastic, and electronics factories. The town has an academic center, which includes the Ohalo Teachers Training College, a branch of Haifa University, and a branch of the Open University. The Museum of Golan Antiquities exhibits archeological finds. The town's name is derived from the ancient talmudic village of Qasrin, which was destroyed in an earthquake 1,300 years ago. The remains of the ancient synagogue and other buildings are open to the public.

WEBSITE: www.qatzrin.muni.il.

[Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

KAZVIN, a town situated between *Teheran and the Caspian Sea. The name of the town is probably related to the word "Caspian." *Benjamin of Tudela (1167) mentions the existence of Jews in mountains and areas adjacent to Kazvin. The local tradition relates that in the "Imām mosque" in Kazvin are buried the biblical friends of the prophet Daniel, namely Hananiah, Mishael, and Azariah. Kazvin for some time was the capital city of the first Safavids. Later, Shah *Abbās I made *Isfahan the capital (1588). However, Jews continued to live in Kazvin, and it is known that around 1746 Nāder Shah transferred many Jews from the city and its neighborhood to the northeast of *Iran. According to Levy at the beginning of the 19th century there were 6,000 Jews in Kazvin. According to Neumark some Jewish families of Kabul in *Afghanistan originated from Kazvin. He avers that there were no Jews living in Kazvin in his time (1884). According to the unpublished memoirs of Solayman Cohen-Sedeq, a prominent Iranian Jew, reported by Levy (p. 1029), there were in 1876 in Kazvin 11 Jewish families who had two synagogues. Most of them were immigrants from *Kashan and *Hamadan. Israeli contracting firms were active in Iran, particularly in reconstruction and development works in the area of Kazvin, which suffered heavily from an earthquake in 1962. It has been reported that Kazvin ceased to be a dwelling place of Jewish families some time during the 20th century.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: M.D. Adler (ed.), *The Itinerary of Benjamin of Tudela* (1907); H. Levy, *History of the Jews of Iran*, 3 (1960); E. Neumark, *Massa be-Ereẓ ha-Kedem*, ed. by A. Ya'ari, 1947.

[Amnon Netzer (2nd ed.)]

KAZYONNY RAVVIN (Rus. "an official rabbi"; Heb. expression, *rav mi-ta'am*), title of the officials elected by the communities of Russia between 1857 and 1917 in accordance with the instructions of the government. Their official function was "to supervise public prayers and religious ceremonies so that the permanent regulations be respected; to regularize the laws of the Jews and clarify the problems connected with them; to educate them in the true spirit of the law." In practice the "official rabbis" represented their communities before the authorities. They delivered patriotic speeches, mostly in Russian, on festivals and on the birthdays of the czars. They supervised Jewish government schools, administered the oath to those who had been enlisted into the Russian army, and kept the records of births, marriages, and deaths in their communities. The institution of *kazyonny ravvin* was linked with the attempts of the Russian government to influence and control Jewish communal activities. As early as in the "Jewish constitution" of 1804 it was stated that, as from 1812, only those who could read and write Russian, Polish, or German would be authorized to officiate as rabbis. In the "Jewish legislation" of 1835, the rabbis' functions were defined as "to guide the Jews in the fulfillment of their moral duties, the observance of the state's laws, and obedience to the authorities." The rabbi was to officiate at circumcision, marriage, and burial ceremonies, and keep the records of births and deaths. In 1836, when the government decided to censor the books of the Jews, the task was imposed on the rabbis of the large communities, to whom books were presented for inspection by their owners.

With the growth of the Haskalah movement, the *maskilim* began to call for the appointment of rabbis who had a general education also. Projects were advanced for the establishment of a body of official rabbis after the example of the *Consistory in France. It soon became evident, however, that there were no men suitable for such positions among the Russian Jews. The suggestion of inviting "enlightened" rabbis from Western Europe was rejected on political grounds. As an exception, the election of "enlightened" rabbis was approved for Riga (Abraham Neumann, 1854) and Odessa (Simeon Aryeh *Schwabacher, 1860). In 1847 two government seminaries for the training of rabbis in the spirit of Haskalah were established in Vilna and Zhitomir, financed from the revenues of the *candle tax. In 1857, on the occasion of the graduation of the first classes of these institutions, a law was passed which declared that henceforward the Jewish communities were only to "appoint such rabbis who had completed their studies in the government seminaries, and the government Jewish schools of the second grade, the general schools, high, secondary, or district schools."

The application of the law encountered opposition from the communities. Poor salaries were granted to the rabbis thus appointed, and since they were dependent on reelection by their communities every few years their influence was insignificant. The *maskilim* called on the government to impose the election of such rabbis on the communities or to appoint them itself and pay their salaries so that they should be independent of their congregants. These demands, which were at times supported by the local authorities, were rejected by the central government with the argument that they contradicted the fundamental right of the Jewish communities to elect their own rabbis. The government rabbinical seminaries did not achieve their objective, and in 1873 were closed down and converted into government schools for Jewish teachers. In practice, every Jew who had completed six, or even four classes of a Russian secondary school could present his candidature for the post of *kazyonny ravvin*.

The Jewish communities generally regarded the institution of official rabbis with hostility and endeavored to restrict their activities as far as possible. On many occasions, men without any knowledge of Judaism and its contents were appointed to this position, which they merely considered a sinecure. At times, even the moral conduct of the incumbents of this office was doubtful. The true religious influence within the communities continued to be wielded by the rabbis of the traditional style whom the Russian government recognized, though not officially, under the title of "spiritual rabbis." Jewish folklore abounds in descriptions of the official rabbi as covetous, an ignoramus, and one who despises the values of the Jewish religion. Their connections with the authorities, and at times even with secret police, occasionally led them to be suspected as informers. At the same time, the official rabbinate became a source of livelihood for many Jewish *maskilim*, some of whom elevated this function to the level of a valuable public service (Z.S. Minor, in Minsk and later in Moscow; A.A. Pumpianski, in Riga; J.L. *Kantor, in Libava (Liepaja), Vilna, and Riga; J. *Mazeh, in Moscow; H.Y. Katzenelson, in Oriol; I.B. *Levner, in Lugansk; S.Z. Luria, in Kiev; and also *Shalom Aleichem, in Lubny, 1880–83).

With the growth of nationalism and Zionism, Zionist circles, with the slogan "Conquest of the Communities," attempted to convert the function of *kazyonny ravvin* into a channel for nationalist influence, and in many communities leaders and activists of the movement were elected to this office through the influence of the Zionists. They attempted to influence their communities in a nationalist direction, to strengthen Jewish education, and to educate the youth and bring it nearer to Judaism. This was a thankless function, however, and its incumbents were compelled to tread a tightrope between the czarist authorities and their nationalist conscience. Rabbis of this category included Vladimir *Tiomkin (Yekaterinoslav), Shemariah *Levin (Grodno, Yekaterinoslav), Menahem *Sheinkin (Balta, 1901–05), Y.N. Vilenski (Nikolayev, 1903–05), and Mordecai Rabinsohn (Bobruisk). J. Mazeh, Shemariah Levin, Y.N. Vilenski, A.I. Freudenberg (Kremenchug), and Isaac *Schneersohn (Chernigov) described their public activities as official rabbis in their memoirs.

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[Yehuda Slutsky]

KECSKEMET (Hung. **Kecskemét**), city in central Hungary. The first Jews arrived there when the area was under Turkish domination in the 16th to 17th centuries. Subsequently the city came under Austrian rule. In 1715 the municipal council was requested to order the Jews attending the fairs there to do their business separately from the other merchants. In 1746 four Jewish families from Obuda (Alt-Ofen) settled in the city. At first the Jews mainly engaged in the trade of hides and feathers. Later, they organized the internationally celebrated trade of the region in cattle, poultry, preserves, alcoholic liquor, and wine.

A community was established in 1801, and in 1814 the Jews were authorized to use a house which they had purchased as a synagogue. The Jews in Kecskemet were attacked during the revolution of 1848 and their shops were looted. The community was declared neologist (see *Neology) in 1868. A magnificent synagogue was erected in 1871; it was destroyed by an earthquake in 1911 but was rebuilt in 1913. A separate Orthodox community was founded in 1917. After the end of World War I, following the collapse of the brief Communist regime, the White Terror fomented pogroms in the town and eight Jewish victims lost their lives.

Rabbis of Kecskemet included Simeon Fischmann, Armin Perls, later rabbi of *Pecs, Joseph Bárány, Joseph Borsodi (1916–42), and Joseph Schindler (1942–50) who, after his return from the concentration camps, continued to hold rabbinical office in the city. There was a Jewish school in the city from 1844 to 1870.

In the wake of the growing antisemitism after 1930 there was an increase in Zionist activity, particularly after 1939. The Jewish population numbered 47 in 1785, 441 in 1840, 1,514 in 1869, 1,984 in 1900, 1,860 in 1920, 1,567 in 1930, and 1,346 in 1941.

Holocaust Period

In May 1944, after the German invasion of Hungary (March 19, 1944), the Jews in Kecskemet were rounded up and treated with exceptional brutality by members of the SS from among the Hungarian Volksdeutsche. Their suffering was so great that 70 of them committed suicide by taking poison; 13 people were smuggled out at the last minute with the aid of forged documents. At the end of June, the 940 remaining Jews in the ghetto were sent to Auschwitz, from which only 150 returned.

Between 1945 and 1947, there were 410 Jews living in Kecskemet, including refugees from the siege in Budapest. The Jewish population numbered 221 in 1949, 84 in 1954, and 40 in 1970.

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[Alexander Scheiber]

KECSKEMÉTI, ÁRMIN (1874–1944), Hungarian rabbi and scholar. Kecskeméti was born in Kecskemet, Hungary. He studied in Budapest at the rabbinical seminary and the university. He served as rabbi in Mako, Hungary, from 1898 to 1944 and also lectured on Jewish history at Szeged University. He died in the Strasshof concentration camp. For his studies Kecskeméti was able to use the rich library of Immanuel *Loew. Kecskeméti's works, which were mainly popular, include *A zsidó irodalom története* ("History of Jewish Literature," 2 vols., 1908–09); *Azsidók egyetemes története* ("Universal History of the Jews," 2 vols., 1927); *Izrael története a bibliai korban* ("History of Israel in Biblical Times," 1942); and *A csanádmegyei zsidók története* ("History of the Jews in the District of Csanád," 1929), which discusses his own community, Mako.

[Alexander Scheiber]

KECSKEMÉTI, GYŐRGY (1901–1944), Hungarian journalist, born in Makó, the son of Rabbi A. Kecskeméti. From 1929 to 1936 Kecskeméti taught at the Jewish secondary school of Budapest and in 1931 joined the staff of the government's German newspaper *Pester Lloyd*. From 1936 he was editor in chief, and held the position in spite of anti-Jewish legislation until the Nazi occupation. He wrote a book of poems *Változatok hat témára* ("Variations on Six Themes"), and contributed to periodicals. When the Germans occupied Hungary, he was among the journalists deported to Auschwitz, where he died. He left several manuscripts.

KECSKEMÉTI, LIPÓT (1865–1936), Hungarian rabbi and scholar. Kecskeméti was born in Kecskemét. He studied at the rabbinical seminary and the University of Budapest and at the Lehranstalt fuer die Wissenschaft des Judentums in Berlin. He served as rabbi of Nagyvárad from 1890 to his death. Kecskeméti, a magnificent orator and a highly respected leader, was a convinced anti-Zionist and assimilationist and a Hungarian patriot, courageously resisting attempts to Romanianize Nagyvárad and the other Hungarian regions transferred to Romania after World War I. He founded a Jewish high school there. Among his published works are *Zsidó költőkből* ("By Jewish Poets," 1887), an anthology of medieval Jewish poetry; his Ph.D. thesis, *A pokol a középkori zsidó költészetben* ("Hell in Medieval Jewish Poetry," 1888); *Egy zsidó vallás van-e, több-e?* ("Is There One Jewish Religion or More?" 1913); *Az* *izraelita vallás története* (“History of Jewish Religion,” 4 vols., 1932); *Jeremiás próféta és kora* (“The Prophet Jeremiah and His Age,” 3 vols., 1932); *Ezsajás* (“Isaiah,” 3 vols., 1935); and many articles in Hungarian-Jewish periodicals. He also translated the Prophets for a Hungarian edition of the Bible.

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[Alexander Scheiber]

KEDAINIAI (Rus. **Keidany**; Yid. **Kaidan**), town in central Lithuania, founded during the 14th century. From 1490 the locality was ruled by the Kishkis family, which invited Jewish merchants to settle there. The town became a Calvinist center in 1560 under the rule of the princes Radziwill, and the Jews were granted civic rights and religious freedom. Jews there engaged in the import and export trades, winemaking, and moneylending. Jewish craftsmen, ritual slaughterers, butchers, and cattle dealers were organized in guilds. The community played an important economic and social role in the Council of Lithuania (see *Councils of the Lands). There were 501 Jewish poll-tax payers in the town in 1766. The rabbis of the *Katzenellenbogen family made Kedainiai a center of Jewish learning. After Kedainiai passed to Russia in 1795, the Jews there lost their specific rights. The community, which numbered 4,987 in 1847, decreased by emigration during the 1880s, and by 1897 numbered 3,733 (64% of the population). During World War I, in May 1915, the Jews were expelled from Kedainiai to the interior of Russia, but some returned after the war. There were 2,500 Jews living in Kedainiai in 1923 (33% of the population), of whom approximately 15% were engaged in the cultivation and marketing of vegetables and agricultural exports. In 1939 Jewish refugees from Poland including the scholars of the yeshivah of *Mir settled in Kedainiai. On June 24, 1941, the Germans occupied the town, executing around 325 Jews in the forests by July, and on Aug. 28, 1941, with the cooperation of the Lithuanians, the rest of the Jewish population – including 1,000 from surrounding towns – was massacred at the Smilaga Creek. Senior *Sachs and M.L. *Lilienblum were born in Kedainiai.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: B.H. Kasel, *Kaidan* (1930).

[Dov Levin]

KEDAR (Heb. קֵדָר), a nomadic tribe or league of tribes in the Arabian Desert. Kedar is mentioned in Genesis 25:3 and I Chronicles 1:29 among “the sons of Ishmael,” the latter being tribes of Arabs known from the eighth century B.C.E. onward in the desert tracts surrounding Palestine (see *Ishmaelites). The mode of life of the Kedarites, as reflected in the Bible, was associated with the rearing of sheep and camels (Isa. 60:7; Jer. 49:28–29, 32; Ezek. 27:21), and with dwelling in tents (Jer. 49:29; Ps. 120:5; Song 1:5) and in unfortified villages and camps (Isa. 42:11; Jer. 49:31).

Biblical information on their locality and history is extremely scant, but many details about these are known from other sources, in particular from inscriptions of Assyrian kings. The earliest document which refers to the Kedarites is the inscription of Tiglath-Pileser III found in Iran (unpublished). In it they are mentioned together with other nations in the west of the Fertile Crescent who surrendered to the Assyrian king and whose rulers paid him tribute in 738 B.C.E. From parallel inscriptions of Ashurbanipal it is evident that Hazail, king of the Arabs, against whom Senacherib's army fought between 691 and 689 B.C.E. in the region of Duma (Jawf) in Wadi Sirḥān, and who surrendered to Esarhaddon, was the king of Kedar. Close to 652 B.C.E. the Kedarites under Uateʾ the son of Hazail, who broke his oath of allegiance to Ashurbanipal, raided the frontier regions on the western border of the Assyrian empire, but were repulsed and defeated by King Kamashtalta of Moab and by units of the Assyrian army stationed along the border from the Valley of Lebanon to Edom.

Another leader who took part in these raids and is likewise described as “king of Kedar” in the inscriptions of Ashurbanipal was Ammuladi(n). Following the defeat of Uateʾ the leadership of the Kedarites passed to Abiateʾ the son of Teʾri, who in 652 B.C.E. sent soldiers to Babylon to help Shamash-shum-ukin king of Babylonia in his war against his brother Ashurbanipal. In the period of the intensive military operations of the Assyrian army in Babylonia and Elam (652–646 B.C.E.), the Kedarites under Abiateʾ and Aamu sons of Teʾri were among other units of nomads that exerted pressure on the inhabited area along the frontier of the desert, from the region of Jebel Bishrī to the vicinity of Damascus. The grave situation resulting from the pressure of the nomads compelled the king of Assyria to launch an extensive campaign against them mostly in the desert and under difficult conditions (Ashurbanipal's ninth campaign). The information in Jeremiah 49:28ff. combined with that in the Babylonian Chronicle (BM 21946 rev. 9–10) shows that in 599 B.C.E. units of Nebuchadnezzar's army raided the encampments of the Kedarites in the western region of the Syrian desert.

With the ending of the political existence of the Transjordanian kingdoms in the first half of the sixth century B.C.E., the Kedarites together with other units of “the children of the east” penetrated to the settled country whose borders were breached. The dimensions of their expansion and the area of their operations in the west are attested by the votive inscription “זי קרב קיני בר גשם מלך קדר להנאלת” on a silver bowl originating from the temple of the Arab goddess Han-Ilat at Tell al-Maskhūṭa (in the neighborhood of Ismailia) at the eastern approach of Egypt. On the basis of paleographical and archaeological considerations, the bowl and the inscription have been dated to the fifth century B.C.E. Accordingly, some hold that Geshem king of Kedar is the Arab Geshem, Nehemiah's enemy (Neh. 2:19; 6:1ff.). However the data for this identification are inconclusive.

Later references to the Kedarites occur not only in inscriptions dating from the centuries close to the Common Era and found in a temple at Maʿīn in southern Arabia but also in

Pliny (*Historia Naturalis*, 5:65), who mentions them among the peoples of northern Arabia, alongside the Nabateans.

The wide dispersion of the Kedarites, extending as it did from the region of Duma (Jawf) in Wadi Sirḥān to Palmyrene and to the eastern port of the Nile Delta, lends probability to their having been a union of various sub-units. Evidence of the existence of such a social organization occurs in the inscriptions of Ashurbanipal, according to which Uate' son of Hazail and Ammuladi(n) flourished at the same time and in which both are referred to as "king of Kedar." Similarly Ezekiel 27:21 refers to "Arabia, and all the princes of Kedar."

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[Israel Eph'al]

KEDEM, ORA (1924–), physical chemist. Kedem was born in Vienna and immigrated to Ereẓ Israel in 1940 as an "illegal" immigrant on the ill-fated *Patria*. She graduated from the Hebrew University and received her doctorate from the Weizmann Institute in 1953. Together with Prof. Aharon *Katzir she initiated the analysis of biomembrane processes in terms of nonequilibrium thermodynamics, defining the energy conversion in active transport and muscle action. In the 1960s and early 1970s she helped to found Ben-Gurion University (the University of the Negev). She founded and chaired the Department of Membrane Research at the Weizmann Institute and was scientific director of membrane products there and then of RPR). She contributed to the understanding and development of membrane processes for desalination and other separation technologies. In 1965 she was appointed associate professor in the Department of Polymer Research at the Institute and full professor in 1970. She was awarded the Israel Prize for science in 1961.

[Bracha Rager (2nd ed.)]

KEDEMITES OR EASTERNERS (Heb. בְּנֵי קֶדֶם (*benei kedem*, *bene qedem*), adjective *qadmoni*, קַדְמֹנִי; Gen. 15:19) is a general designation for the peoples living on the eastern border of Syria and Palestine, from as far north as Haran (Gen. 29:1–4) to as far south as the northern end of the Red Sea (Gen. 25:1–6). In Israelite ethnology, all these peoples, and the Ishmaelites as well, who ranged from the border of Egypt to Assyria (i.e., the Middle Euphrates), and who included the inhabitants of Tema and Dumah (Gen. 25:12–18), were all related. Their center of dispersion was the Middle Euphrates region – called Aram-Naharaim (Gen. 24:10; Deut. 23:5), Paddan-Aram (Gen. 28:2, 5, 6, 7; 31:18 (or Paddan, Gen. 48:7)), "the country Aram" (Hos. 12:13), or simply Aram (Num. 23:7). From here Abraham and Lot moved to Canaan (Gen. 12:5). Lot eventually moved to Transjordan and became the ancestor of Moab and Ammon (Gen. 19:30ff.), while Abraham became the ancestor of all the other Kedemites, including the Ishmaelites, and of the Israelites as well. His son Isaac and the latter's son Jacob-Israel married wives from Abraham's original homeland, where Jacob even lived for 20 years. Hence the confession, "My father was a wandering/ fugitive Aramean who migrated to Egypt" (Deut. 26:5). The Israelites acknowledged all those peoples as their kin in contrast to the Canaanites. The Kedemites enjoyed among the Israelites a great reputation for wisdom. Not only does David quote a Kedemite proverb which he characterizes as such, but the wisdom of the Kedemites is rated only lower than Solomon's though higher than that of the Egyptians (I Kings 5:10), and Isaiah represents the Egyptian king's wise men as seeking to impress him by claiming descent from sages of Kedem (this, not "of old," is the meaning of *qedem* in Isa. 19:11). A wise instruction by the mother of a Kedemite king, *Lemuel, to her royal son is preserved, according to the superscription, in Proverbs 31:1–9; for Massa is the name of an Ishmaelite tribe (Gen. 25:14; on the Aramaizing diction, see *Job). *Agur son of Jakeh was doubtless of the same nationality as Lemuel, according to Proverbs 30:1, where *ha-massa'i*, "the Massaite," is to be read. The reputed wisdom of the Edomites (included among the Kedemites in Isa. 11:14) is alluded to in Jeremiah 49:7; Obadiah 7 end, 8.

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[Harold Louis Ginsberg]

KEDEMOTH (Heb. קְדֵמוֹת, קְדֵמֹת), city and desert E. of the Jordan. It was from the wilderness of Kedemoth that Moses sent messengers to Sihon, the Amorite king of Heshbon, asking for peaceful passage through his lands, and was refused. The city of Kedemoth is mentioned among the cities of the tribe of Reuben together with Jahaz and Mephaath (Josh. 13:18); "Kedemoth with the open land about it" was a levitical city of the tribe (I Chron. 6:64).

The identification proposed for the wilderness of Kedemoth is the desert east of the settled area of Moab where the Arnon River begins. The city of Kedemoth has been identified with one of the tells in the adjoining cultivated area, either Qaṣr al-Za'farān or Khirbat al-Rumayl. Both mounds have upper Nabatean levels followed by Early Iron Age strata; Khirbat al-Rumayl also contains the remains of a large Moabite fortress.

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[Michael Avi-Yonah]

KEDUSHAH (Heb. קְדֻשָּׁה). The biblical term for holiness is *kodesh*; mishnaic Hebrew, *kedushah*, and that which is regarded as holy is called *kadosh*. Jewish exegetes, following early rabbinic interpretation (*Sifra*) of Leviticus 19:2: "You shall be holy, for I the Lord your God am holy," have consistently taken the verb *kadesh* to mean "distinguished, set apart." The *Sifra* paraphrases the command with the words "You shall be set apart" (Heb. *perushim*). The traditional interpretation coincides with the findings of modern phenomenologists of religion who describe the holy as "the wholly other" and as that which is suffused with a numinous quality. The latter is both majestic and fearsome (*The Idea of the Holy*, Rudolph Otto, 1923, ch. 8) or to use the term Otto popularized, "the mysterium tremendum."

General Considerations

The concept of holiness, because of its centrality in the Bible, affords an excellent illustration of how the biblical authors, under the dominance of the monotheistic idea, radically refashioned, in whole or part, notions of the sacred in the religions of the Near East. In primitive Semitic religions, as in primitive religions generally, the holy is considered an intrinsic, impersonal, neutral quality inherent in objects, persons, rites, and sites, a power charged with contagious efficacy and, therefore, taboo. Seldom is the quality of holiness ascribed to the deity. In biblical religion, on the contrary, holiness expresses the very nature of God and it is He who is its ultimate source and is denominated the Holy One. Objects, persons, sites, and activities that are employed in the service of God derive their sacred character from that relationship. The extrinsic character of the holy is reflected in the fact that by consecrating objects, sites, and persons to God, man renders them holy. Further, since holiness is conceived as the very essence of God, biblical religion, in both the priestly and prophetic writings, incorporates moral perfection as an essential aspect of holiness, though by no means its total content. Therefore, unlike contemporary ancient Near East religions, biblical Judaism does not confine the sacred to the sphere of the cult. God's moral perfection and purpose is not in static terms alone but in its redemptive acts in history. Indeed, holiness, since it is derived from God, is related to the realm of nature, history, human experience and conduct as well as to the election of Israel and the covenant. "The energy with which from the time of Moses onward the person of the divine Lord concentrates all religious thought and activity upon himself gives even the statements about holiness an essentially different background from that which they possess in the rest of the Near East" (*Theology of the Old Testament*, Walther Eichrodt, 1961, vol. 1, p. 271). Finally, since pagan religions regard holiness as a mysterious intrinsic power with which certain things, persons, locales, and acts are charged, the division between the realms of the holy and the profane are permanently, unalterably fixed. In fact, the latter represents an ever-present danger to the former. By contrast, biblical religion looks forward to the universal extension of the realm of the holy in the end of days so as to embrace the totality of things and persons.

While biblical religion recognizes an area of the profane ("impure") as capable of defiling and polluting the sacred, nowhere does it regard the former as possessing a threatening dangerous potency. The following elements of the concept of holiness are, however, held by the Bible in common with other ancient Near Eastern religions:

(1) the concept of the mortal danger involved in unauthorized approach to or contact with the sacred;

(2) the notion of various degrees of holiness; and

(3) the contagious, communicable character of the sacred. In the words of Eichrodt: "The whole system of taboo is pressed into the service of a loftier idea of God" (*ibid.*, p. 274).

The following sections offer specific and varied biblical illustrations of the general considerations set forth above.

The Holiness of God

Seeking to express the ineffable holiness of God, an ultimate category, the biblical authors drew on a vast and varied series of predicates. With the single exception of God's moral perfection and action, they all fall within the scope of the "mysterium tremendum." The most frequent is "fearsome," "awesome," (Heb. *nora*; Ps. 89:7, 8; 99:3; 111:9). A site at which a theophany has been experienced is described as "awesome" and induces in the visioner a state of fear (Gen. 28:17). God's works are called "fearful" (Ex. 15:11; 34:10; Ps. 66:3, 5). This aspect of the divine holiness and man's attitude toward it are perhaps best summed up in the verse (I Sam. 6:20), "Who is able to stand before the Lord, the Holy God?" In several passages, e.g., Joshua 24:19, God's fearful, unapproachable holiness is equated with His jealousy, His unrelenting demand for exclusive virtue.

The fearful aspect of the divine holiness is reflected in the warning to keep one's distance from the outward manifestation of the divine presence (Ex. 3:5; 19:12, 13, 23; Num. 18:3; Josh. 5:15). To gaze directly upon the divine manifestation or even upon the sacred vessels when the latter are not in actual use may cause death (Ex. 33:20; Num. 4:20; 18:13; Judg. 13:22; I Kings 19:13). God is "glorious in holiness" (Ex. 15:11); His holiness is unique (I Sam. 2:2); His "way" is that of holiness (Ps. 77:14).

Preeminently, it is the divine name which is characterized as holy since the name of God expresses His essence (Lev. 20:3; 22:2, 32; Ps. 103:1; 105:3; 145:21; I Chron. 16:10). Noteworthy is Ezekiel's repeated use of the phrase "My Holy Name." To Isaiah, we owe the appellation of God as the "Holy One of Israel" (Isa. 1:4; 5:19, 24; 10:20; 12:6; 17:7; 29:23; 30:12, 15; 31:1; 37:23). The term is employed even more consistently by Deutero-Isaiah (Isa. 41:14; 43:3, 14; 45:11; 47:4; 48:15; 49:7; 54:5; 60:14). It appears once in Jeremiah (50:29) and in Psalms (71:22). Isaiah's tendency to characterize God as the "Holy One of Israel" may be assumed to derive from the divine call to the prophet (ch. 6) in which he hears the dramatic thrice-repeated proclamation of the seraphim (the trisagion) of "Holy, holy, holy, the Lord of Hosts, the whole earth is full of His glory" (6:3). In this encounter, in the presence of the absolute holiness of God – the apparent intention of the dramatic repetition – the prophet is overcome by an acute sense of his own sinfulness and that of the people among whom he dwells (v. 5). The passage clearly implies, and indeed emphasizes, the moral aspect of God's holiness.

However, it is erroneous to assert, as is frequently done, that the interpretation of the divine holiness as essentially an expression of God's moral perfection is the unique contribution of the prophets. Distinctly priestly writers associate God's holiness with moral qualities. This is to be seen in the so-called Holiness Code (Lev. 17–26). In priestly law (Lev. 19) the purely ritualistic aspects of holiness are combined with distinctly moral injunctions. Priestly liturgy (Ps. 15; 24:3–6) stresses that only he who "has clean hands and a pure heart" can stand on God's holy mountain (Ps. 24:3, 4). The prophets deepen and broaden the moral dimension of the divine holiness. For Amos (2:7) oppression of the poor and sexual profligacy are tantamount to the profanation of God's holy name. For Hosea, divine compassion constitutes a basic element in God's holiness (Hos. 11:8 f.), and the prophet insists on purity of heart and a radical break with moral offense as preconditions for any intimacy with the holy God. For Isaiah, it is righteousness that sanctifies the holy God (5:16). Deutero-Isaiah conceives of God's holiness as active in the realm of history as a redemptive power. The "Holy One of Israel" is the redeemer of Israel (Isa. 41:14; 43:3, 14; 47:4; 48:17; 49:7; 54:15). Divine holiness is thus conceived less as a state of being than as an expression of the fulfillment of divine purpose. It manifests itself in divine judgment and destruction (Isa. 1:4–9; 5:13, 16; 30:8–14; Ezek. 28:22; 36:20–32) as well as in divine mercy and salvation (Isa. 10:20–23; 12:6; 17:7–9; 29:19–21). For Ezekiel, God manifests His holiness in the sight of the nations (20:31; 28:25; 36:23; 38:23), when He vindicates Himself as supreme Lord of the world.

Fire as Symbol of God's Holiness

Perhaps the ambivalent effects of fire, at once warming and creative yet consuming and destructive, suggested it as an apt symbol of the divine holiness, itself conceived as essentially polar in effect (see below). Whatever the origin of fire as a symbol for the sacred, its employment in the Bible is as vast as it is varied. Only some of the passages in which it is associated with holiness can be cited here (Ex. 3:2, 3; 19:18; 24:17; Deut. 4:12, 24; 5:22–27; 9:3; Ezek. 1:4–28; Hab. 3:3, 4). Repeatedly in the laws and practices of the cult, fire imagery is used in those passages that emphasize holiness (Lev. 2:3, 9, 10; 6:16–18; 7:3–5).

The Transitive Effects of God's Holiness

As stated above, whatever or whoever is engaged in the service of God and therefore stands in intimate relationship with Him becomes endowed with holiness. Essentially, that which brings man or things or locales into the realm of the holy is God's own activity or express command. The nation is sanctified and commanded to be holy since it has entered into a covenant relationship with the holy God (Ex. 19:6; Lev. 11:44 ff.; 19:2; 20:7; Deut. 7:6; 26:19). The *Ark of the Covenant is holy since it is regarded as the throne of the invisible God. Though the phrase "Holy Ark" (Heb. *Aron Kodesh*) is not found in the Bible, numerous contexts indicate that it was regarded as sacred as were all the vessels employed in the *tabernacle, as well, of course, as the sanctuary itself. The prophet, having been summoned and consecrated to God's service, is looked upon as a holy man (II Kings 4:9). Initially, it is God who ordains the holy seasons and places – "And God blessed the seventh day and declared it holy" (Gen. 2:3). But the Sabbath, having been declared holy, must be sanctified by Israel (Ex. 20:8; Deut. 5:12; Jer. 17:22; Neh. 13:22). In the case of the *festivals, the divine declaration is joined with the injunction that they should be proclaimed: "These are my fixed times, the fixed time of the Lord, which you shall proclaim as sacred occasions" (Lev. 23:21). Likewise, it is God who sanctifies the Tent of Meeting, the altar, Aaron and his sons (Ex. 29:43) but each of these undergoes rites of consecration performed by humans (see Ex. 29 for the description of the elaborate rites of consecration of Aaron and his sons).

War, since it is carried out under the aegis of God as "Man of War" (Ex. 13:3), is service rendered to Him. In his martial activity, the warrior enters the sphere of the holy and becomes subject to the particular prohibitions incumbent upon those directly involved in that sphere (I Sam. 21:5–7; II Sam. 11:11). This concept serves as the basis for the verbal usage "to consecrate war" (Heb. *kiddesh milḥamah*; Micah 3:5; Jer. 6:4). Frequently, the enemy's goods and chattels are declared banned (Heb. *ḥerem*); that is to say, banned from human use. For the priestly biblical authors, the concept of holiness, as might be expected, finds its focus in the realm of the cult and everything involved in it. Accordingly, there is mention of "holy garments" (Ex. 28:2, 4; 29:21; 31:10); "holy offerings" (Ex. 28:36; Lev. 19:8); the "holy priestly crown" (Ex. 29:6; 39:30); "holy flesh" (Ex. 29:37); "holy anointing oil" (Ex. 30:31–37); the "holy tabernacle" and its furnishings (Ex. 40:9); "holy fruit" (Lev. 19:24); and "holy food" (Lev. 22:14).

The Polarity of Holiness

As has been noted, the concept of God's holiness is rooted in a basic polarity; the quality of holiness is majestic and hence attractive, and yet it remains fearsome. It is, therefore, no cause for wonder that this polarity finds expression in both the rituals and objects of holiness. In the law of the "red heifer," whereby the ashes of the sacrificial victim are used in a rite to purify one who has become defiled through contact with a corpse, the priest who ministers the rite becomes defiled (Num. 19:8–10; Lev. 16:26–28). This polarity is to be discerned in several biblical episodes describing an improper entrance into the inner precincts of the sanctuary. Here, in the holy of holies, the ritual of expiation is carried out. Yet, when *Nadab and *Abihu, the sons of Aaron, bring "strange fire" into the inner sanctuary, they are consumed by divine fire (Lev. 10:1–11; cf. Num. 16–17; II Sam. 6:6; cf. the warning in Ex. 19:10 ff.).

The idea that holiness can be conveyed by mere touch or intimate approach is illustrated in various biblical passages. Those, for instance, who come in physical contact with the altar automatically become holy (Ex. 29:37; 30:29; Lev. 6:11, 20). The notion is likewise reflected in the divine command that the vessels used by *Korah and his company were to be added to the altar as an outer covering because, once having been brought "into God's presence," they had become holy (Num. 17:2).

Holiness and Glory

Glory (Heb. *kavod*) is intimately associated with God's holiness and signifies the self-manifesting presence of God, whereas holiness (Heb. *kodesh*) is expressive of God's transcendence (Ex. 14:4 f.; Lev. 10:3; Num. 20:13; Ezek. 20:41), though the polar concepts of holiness and glory are strikingly joined by Isaiah – "Holy, holy, holy, the Lord of Hosts, His glory fills the whole earth" (6:3). The hope that the divine glory will fill the whole earth takes on a messianic tinge in Numbers 14:21. The latter is conceptually linked with Zechariah 14:20, 21. There, in a messianic prophecy, Zechariah anticipates the day when even the bells of the horses will be engraved with the legend "Holy unto the Lord" as well as every pot in Jerusalem and Judah. The ultimate extension of the sphere of the holy so that it will embrace even the mundane and profane underscores the biblical concept of holiness not as a natural, inherent quality, but rather as a quality conferred both by God and man. This aspect of holiness in the messianic age is reflected in the prophet Joel's promise that prophecy – an endowment of holiness – will become a gift possessed by young and old, by servants and handmaids (3:1,2).

[Theodore Friedman]

Comparative Considerations

The derivation of the common Semitic root *q-d-š* is still uncertain. It has been suggested that it means "pure, brilliant, dazzling," or the like, but this is questionable, tempting though it is, and no theory as to the character of holiness may legitimately be based on this alleged meaning. More important than etymology, is the actual history of the terms "holiness," and "holy." The comparative evidence suggests that nominal and adjectival forms of the root *q-d-š* were first used in professional titles given to various types of priests and priestesses. Usage was subsequently expanded to apply to divine beings, holy persons, sacred places, cultic objects, and to rites and celebrations. Finite verbal forms were used to convey the process of consecration by which holiness could be attributed; especially *kiddesh* (*qiddesh*), "to consecrate," and its derivatives, in biblical Hebrew.

Beginning in the Old Babylonian period the title *qadištu* (Heb. *kedeshah* (*qedeshah*)) designates a class of priestesses. It should be noted, however, that the same term, both in Akkadian and in Hebrew, can mean "prostitute, harlot," in contexts where no cultic associations are overtly evident (cf. Gen. 38:16, 21–22, where *kedeshah* (*qedeshah*) alternates with *zonah*, "harlot"). This connotation probably relates to the institution of temple prostitution, or at least to the orgiastic rites often associated with fertility cults. In Deuteronomy 23:18 and Hosea 4:14 the term *kedeshah* (*qedeshah*) is clearly related to the cult.

The masculine plural *qdšm*, "priests, cultic servitors," occurs in Ugaritic administrative lists, so that there are precursors to both *kadesh* (*qadesh*), the masculine, as well as *kedeshah* (*qedeshah*), the feminine, in biblical Hebrew. Ugaritic yields additional relevant evidence: the Ugaritic *mqdšt* parallels the Hebrew *mikdash* (*miqdash*, "temple, sanctuary"), and the Ugaritic *qdš*, like the Hebrew *kodesh* (*qodesh*), means "holiness; sanctuary." There can be little doubt, therefore, that the biblical *kadesh* (*qadesh, qedeshim*) designates a cultic function, as the biblical evidence itself strongly indicates (cf. Deut. 23:18; I Kings 14:24; 15:12; 22:47; II Kings 23:7). Another line of comparative inquiry relates to the Ugaritic designation *bn qdš* ("son (s) of holiness," i.e., "deities, divine beings"), which occurs in parallelism with *ilm* ("gods"). In this connection Aramaic yields *qdšm*, "gods," and *bʿl qdšn*, "chief of the gods." The connotation "deity, divine being" is preserved in usages of the Hebrew *kadosh* (*qadosh*) which, in addition to serving as an adjective, may be a substantive. Thus in Hosea 11:9, *kadosh* (*qadosh*) is parallel to *eʾl* ("deity"), and Job 5:1 reads: "Pray – call out! Is there any who answers you? And, to whom of the divine beings (Heb. *kedoshim* (*qedoshim*)) may you turn?" (cf. Isa. 10:17; 43:15, Ezek. 39:7; Hab. 1:12(?); 3:3; Ps. 16:3; Job 15:15, according to the *keri*, and possibly Deut. 33:3, a cryptic passage). It is this connotation which underlies the frequent epithet *Kedosh Yisrael* (*Qedosh Yisrael*), "the holy one (deity) of Israel" (frequently in Isaiah, in II Kings 19:22; Jer. 51:5; Ps. 71:22, et al.). All of this is in addition to the adjective *kadosh* (*qadosh*) that designates an attribute of God, of holy persons, places, objects, etc. Isaiah 6:3 contains the well-known liturgy proclaiming God's holiness in the dramatic repetition: *Kadosh, Kadosh, Kadosh* (*Qadosh, Qadosh, Qadosh*).

Mention should be made of the Syrian goddess *Qudšu*, who is known in Ugaritic literature, and whose cult was imported into Egypt during the New Kingdom, along with those of other Syrian and Canaanite deities. From literary references and graphic representations of *Qudšu* it appears that this goddess was at times known as "the queen of heaven, mistress of all the gods," and that she was identified with the Egyptian goddess Hathor. It is difficult to ascertain exactly how the evidence concerning *Qudšu* relates to the Semitic root *q-d-š* and its associated phenomena. It would be unwarranted to conclude that the priests and priestesses known as *kadesh* (*qadesh*) and *kedeshah* (*qedeshah*) were so called because they were devoted to the cult of *Qudšu*, although this might have been true in certain cases. It is more likely that such priestly functionaries were devoted to various goddesses of fertility, one of whom was probably *Qudšu*. Biblical traditions are consistent in their abhorrence of such cultic servitors, and it may be deduced from various allusions that the objection was at least partially based on their sexual practices, characteristic of idolatrous cults (cf. Deut. 23:19; Jer. 2:20; Micah 1:7, et al.; and probably the use of the verb *zanah* "to commit harlotry" as a way of characterizing idolatry, as in Hos. 9:1, et al.). It is not certain, however, whether the particular vocalizations of *kadesh* (*qadesh*) and *kedeshah* (*qedeshah*) represent a tendentious change from the model of *kadosh* (*qadosh*), so as to express abhorrence, or whether these vocalizations actually reflect earlier vocalizations in Semitic, such as *qadištu* in Akkadian, and the probable *qadīšūma* in Ugaritic (cf. contemporary *qadîšîm/ĭn* in Aramaic).

[Baruch A. Levine]

In Rabbinic Literature

In rabbinic theology, holiness is repeatedly defined as separateness. The Sifra (Lev. 19:2) paraphrases the verse (Lev. 19:2) "Ye shall be holy" by "You shall be separated." While separation

(Heb. *perishut*) is frequently equated with abstinence from illegitimate sexual relations as well as from lewdness generally and he who abstains from such practices is called holy (TJ, Yev. 2:4, 3; cf. Lev. R. 24:6; Ber. 10b), the concept of holiness is by no means restricted to the connotation of sexual purity despite the emphasis placed on the latter meaning. An examination of a variety of contexts in which "separateness" (equated with holiness) appears yields the following distinct meanings:

(1) Strict abstention from all practices even remotely related to idolatry, e.g., attending circuses or cutting one's hair in the heathen fashion (Sifra, Kedoshim, Perek 9:2, Aḥarei, Perek 13:9; Sif. Deut. 85). Separation from the nations and their "abominations" (idolatrous practices) is tantamount to holiness. Accordingly, R. Nahum b. Simai is called a holy man because he never looked at the figure of the emperor engraved on a coin (TJ, Av. Zar. 3:1, 42c). (Presumably, his refusal to do so was based on emperor worship prevalent in his time.)

(2) Separation from everything that is impure and thus defiling. This is suggested by the context of the verse (Lev. 11:44), one among several, on the basis of which the Sifra equates separateness with holiness.

(3) Abstention from meat and wine (BB 60b; Tosef. Sot. 15:11. See also Ta'an. 11a where the biblical designation of the Nazirite as holy is attributed to the latter's abstention from wine).

(4) Moderation or complete abstention from marital intercourse (Sot. 3:4; Shah. 87a; Gen. R. 35:1).

The connotation of sexual modesty and restraint is reflected in the reason given (Shab. 118b) for the appellation of R. Judah ha-Nasi as "Our Holy Master" (Heb. *Rabbenu ha-Kadosh*). It is probably the latter meaning of holiness that R. Phinehas b. Jair had in mind when he described some of the rungs of the ladder of virtue as "separateness leads to purity, purity leads to holiness" (Mid. Tannaim to Deut. 23:15; Av. Zar. 20b; TJ, Shek. 3:4, 47c). However, in the case of other *tannaim* who earned the epithet holy (R. Meir-TJ, Ber. 2:75b; Gen. R. 100:7 and R. Ḥiyya Gen. R. 33:3), the respective contexts indicate that the epithet bears no particular or especial reference to sexual matters. In this connection, it may be noted that in keeping with rabbinic thought, the human body too could be regarded as holy since sin defiles the body as well the soul. The rabbis state (Gen. R. 45:3) that Sarah declared to Hagar: "Happy art thou, that thou clingest to a holy body" (i.e., that of Abraham).

Holiness is considered God's very essence and the "Holy One, Blessed be He" (Heb. *Ha-Kadosh Barukh Hu*) is the most frequent name of God found in rabbinic literature. God's holiness is incommensurate with that of man and is permanently beyond human attainment (Gen. R. 90:2). "For God is holy in all manner of holiness" (Tanḥ. B. Kedoshim 3). Even though the divine holiness is absolute, Israel sanctifies God (Ex. R. 15:24) just as God sanctifies Israel (*ibid.*), "As much as to say, if you make yourselves holy, I impute it to you as though you hallowed Me; and if you do not make yourselves holy, I impute it to you as though you did not hallow Me. Can the meaning be, if you make Me holy, I am holy, and if not, I am not made holy? Scripture, however, teaches: 'For I am holy.' I abide in My holiness whether you hallow Me or not." (Sifra Kedoshim Parashah 1:1.) Unlike God's holiness, that of Israel is not inherent. It is contingent upon its sanctification through the performance of the commandments. Their fulfillment lends holiness to Israel. The latter concept originated with the *tannaim*. Preeminent among the commandments whose observance sanctifies Israel are the Sabbath (Mekh. Shabbat 1) and the ritual fringes (Sif. Num. 115). This notion is expressed in the formula of the traditional benediction "… who has sanctified us by His commandments," the benediction recited on the performance of a commandment. It has been suggested that in this way rabbinic thought sought to strip the material objects involved in the performance of various commandments of any inherent holiness magico-mythical thought ascribed to them. Clearly implied is the notion that the observance of a commandment endows the observer with sanctity and that the object is merely a means thereto (Heb. *tashmish kedushah*). Material objects such as a Scroll of the Torah, phylacteries, and *mezuzah* possess sanctity only if they have been prepared by someone who is legally bound to perform the commandment involved and for the purpose for which they were originally intended (Git. 45b). The Mishnah (Kel. 1:6–9) enumerates ten ascending degrees of holiness beginning with the Land of Israel and concluding with the Holy of Holies. The notion of ascending degrees of holiness is reflected in the halakhic principle that sacred objects or, more precisely, objects that serve a sacred purpose should only be sold or exchanged for objects that possess a higher sanctity (Meg. 9b).

The epithet holy as applied to man is used sparingly in rabbinic literature. The angels, the Midrash declares, upon seeing Adam at the time of his creation wanted to sing and praise him as a holy being. But when God cast sleep upon him, they realized that he was a mere mortal and they refrained (Gen. R. 8:10). The Patriarchs, according to the Midrash (Yalkut Job 907), were not called holy until after their death. But here, as elsewhere in rabbinic thought, there is no dogmatic consistency. Thus, the Talmud declares (Yev. 20a) that he who fulfills the words of the sages is called holy. Man has it in his power to sanctify himself and, if he does so, even in small measure, he is greatly sanctified from above (Yoma 39a). Man is bidden to sanctify himself by voluntarily refraining from those things permitted to him by the Law (Yev. 20a). Nor is it abstemiousness alone that wins sanctity for man. When men fulfill the requirements of justice and thus exalt God, God causes His holiness to dwell among them (Deut. R; 5:6). The sanctity of man's deeds invokes God's aid (Lev. R. 24:4). An extraordinary act of charity is deemed a sanctification of the name of God (PdRK 146b). It is supremely hallowed when men are prepared to lay down their lives rather than abandon their religion or violate the law of God. Such an act is known as "sanctification of the Name" (Heb. **kiddush ha-Shem*). It may fairly be said to embody the highest ideal of rabbinic Judaism (Ber. 61b). Solomon Schechter wrote "Holiness is the highest achievement of the Law and its deepest experience as well as the realization of righteousness. It is a composite of various aspects not easily definable, and, at times, seemingly contradictory" (*Some Aspects of Rabbinic Theology*, 199).

In Jewish Philosophy

Medieval Jewish philosophers rarely use the term "holiness" as a technical term. When they do use this term, it appears, as a rule, in connection with quotations from Scripture or from the sages, and its explication derives from these sources. Thus, "holiness" describes the distinction between spirit and flesh, between the eternal and temporal, and between the absolute and changing. God is holy, for He has been "hallowed [distinguished] from any like Him" and He is "aloof and above all change." The people of Israel is holy, because it separated itself from worldly pursuits and turned to the worship of God. The Sabbath is holy, since it is devoted to spiritual matters rather than worldly affairs (Abraham b. Ḥiyya, *Meditation of the Sad Soul*, passim). There is, therefore, a close connection between the notions of "holiness" and "uniqueness" in the sphere of theology, and "holiness" and "separation" in the sphere of ethics, though the term "holiness," in its primary meaning refers to the realm of ritual.

Maimonides

*Maimonides associates holiness with the idea of distinction and uniqueness, giving it an extreme intellectual interpretation. God is holy for He is absolutely different from creation. He is not similar to it in any of His attributes, and is independent from its being (Yad, Yesodei ha-Torah, 1:3). The angels are holy, for they are separate from any body (*ibid.*, 4:12), and the heavenly spheres are holy, for their body can neither be destroyed nor changed (*ibid.*, 3:9). Sanctification, therefore, means separation from the body. A place, name, or object are holy only insofar as they have been set aside from the outset to divine worship (*ibid.*, 6 passim). Sanctification through the precepts of the Torah also implies uniqueness and separation. There are three ways, according to Maimonides, of sanctification through the precepts (*Guide of the Perplexed*, 3:47):

(1) sanctification by virtue, i.e., the restraint of physical desires and their satisfaction only up to the limits of necessity, in order to devote oneself wholly to God;

(2) the fulfillment of those precepts which remove man from concern with this world and its errors, and prepare him for the attainment of truth;

(3) the holiness of worship, which means observance of the laws of pollution and purity, which are not of primary importance in the doctrine of Maimonides.

A man who has attained the highest degree of sanctification, as did the Patriarchs or Moses, is freed from his dependence upon his flesh, and thus he imitates God, for he too acts without being involved in creation (*ibid.*, 3:33).

Judah Halevi

*Judah Halevi also states that God is holy because He is of the spirit, aloof from the defects which inhere in matter, and governs creation without being dependent on it (*Kuzari*, 4:3). Nevertheless, Halevi is far from the intellectual and distinctive conception of Maimonides. Holiness, according to Judah Halevi, is a power that engulfs the soul which unfolds toward it. This is a living spiritual power flowing from God and present in everybody who worships Him (*ibid.*; see also 1:103). The people of Israel is called holy, for such a power, manifested mainly in prophecy, inspires the people, the Hebrew language, in the Land of Israel, and the Temple. There is some notion of separation in Judah Halevi's conception of holiness. The prophet and the worshiper must purify themselves from sin, from negative emotions, from sorrow and weariness, exactly as they have to be pure from vice and wicked acts; but this does not mean separation from the world. Nor is the purpose of purification the attainment of truth; it is rather a preparation for the proper performance of the commandments and rituals prescribed by the Torah. The consecrating person has to separate himself from the polluted, but not from the living flesh; he has to overcome dullness, tiredness, frustration and stupidity, but not to remove himself from the life of the senses and emotions.

Nachman Krochmal

The discussion of the term "holiness" in modern Jewish philosophy is associated with medieval ideas, but has undergone changes under the influence of various secular systems. Nachman *Krochmal, influenced by *Hegel, defines the holy as a static and lasting spiritual attribute, whose opposite is profane, which is dynamic and variable (*Moreh Nevukhei ha-Zeman* (1824), ch. 6). The holy is a symbol of the spiritual, i.e., it arouses spiritual thoughts. The precepts sanctify, for their fulfillment reflects perception and enforces it. Objects are pure insofar as the idea embodied in them can be perceived clearly, i.e., they are capable of receiving holiness, while the polluted is the body which is impenetrable to reason, i.e., a barrier to holiness (*ibid.*). This appears to be an integration of elements from both Maimonides and Judah Halevi, but actually, contrary to them, Krochmal conceived the spiritual as innate in nature and history, identifying it with reason. Sanctification, therefore, is not withdrawal from the world, but the self-realization of reason within existence itself.

Moritz Lazarus

Under the influence of neo-Kantianism, a change took place. Moritz *Lazarus identified the holy with conduct, according to the pure moral postulates of reason, which is free from causal necessity existing in nature. According to this system, God is identified with the idea of moral conduct. He has no reality beyond this ideal and only in this respect is He holy. Divine worship is, therefore, identical with ethics (the ritual is only a symbol of pure ethics). Thus, one is holy through moral conduct, and society is sanctified by subordinating it to the categorical imperative (*Ethik des Judentums*, 1 (1904), 311ff.), although, according to Lazarus, this can never be achieved.

Hermann Cohen

Hermann *Cohen, similarly, defines the holy as the sphere of ethical activity, the meeting place between human and divine reason. God is holy because the ideal of ethics is inherent in Him; but only man can accomplish this ideal, with God's help, thus consecrating himself and society by his conduct (*Religion der Vernunft* (1929), 116–29). Thus, according to him, holiness is the sphere where the human and the divine meet to perfect each other.

Franz Rosenzweig

A diametrically opposite view is to be found in the existentialist doctrine of Franz *Rozenzweig. He returns to the emphasis of the "otherness" or separation contained in holiness. God is placed opposite the world. He is holy, for He is eternal and, therefore, exists beyond the world. The world attains holiness only through revelation, which is the grace of God granted to man. Facing God, man is freed from the temporal and transient, and becomes associated with the eternal. This is the function of the biblical commandments, which consecrate the life of the Jew within the framework of his community (*Der Stern der Erloesung*, 3 (1954), passim). It should be pointed out that new trends have emerged, which derive directly from the *Kabbalah philosophy of the Middle Ages. Outstanding among them is the doctrine of R. Abraham I. *Kook, who interpreted holiness, in the spirit of the Kabbalah, as the all-embracing existence of the divine in its absolute unity.

[Eliezer Schweid]

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KEDUSHAH (Heb. קְדֻשָּׁה; lit. "holiness"), the third blessing of the *Amidah. The blessing's full appellation is *Kedushat ha-Shem* (Sanctification of the Name) to distinguish it from *Kedushat ha-Yom* (Sanctification of the Day), the central blessing of the Sabbath and festival *Amidah* (RH 32a). Popularly, however, the term *Kedushah* refers to the additions and responses recited by the cantor and congregation in the third benediction during the repetition of the *Amidah*. The word *kadosh* (קָדוֹשׁ, "holy") is the main theme of this doxology, hence the name *Kedushah*.

During public worship, the *Kedushah* is inserted at the start of the third benediction when the reader repeats the *Amidah*. It is recited only when a quorum of ten men (**minyan*) is present, since it is written: "I will be hallowed among the children of Israel" (Lev. 22:32), which is interpreted to infer that at least ten children of Israel must be present (Bet. 21). The nucleus of the different forms of the *Kedushah* consists of the following three biblical passages: "Holy, holy, holy, is the Lord of hosts; The whole earth is full of His glory" (Isa. 6:3); "Blessed be the glory of the Lord from His place" (Ezek. 3:12); "The Lord will reign for ever, Thy God, O Zion, unto all generations, Halleluyah" (Ps. 146:10).

To these sentences various additions were made during the first millennium C.E. Some of the changes were adopted in all liturgies, while others remained solely part of one or two local rites. The actual text of the basic *Kedushah* is not cited in the Talmud, although the prayer is mentioned (Ber. 21; Sot. 49a). It may be that the essential *Kedushah* text was already standardized during the tannaitic period, if not earlier. *Natronai Gaon (second half of the ninth century) opposed any change in the *Kedushah* text because "We do not change our usage from that which the scholars of the Talmud taught" (*Seder Rabbi Amram*, ed. by D. Hedegård, 1 (1951), no. 57; J. Heinemann, *Ha-Tefillah bi-Tekufat ha-Tanna'im ve-ha-Amora'im* (1966^2), 23, 141).

The following is the most common form of the short *Kedushah*, incorporating the three basic texts, and recited daily during the morning and afternoon services and during the afternoon service on Sabbath and festivals:

> Reader – We will sanctify Thy Name in the world even as they sanctify it in the highest heavens, as it is written by the hand of thy prophet:
> And they called one unto the other and said,
>
> Cong. – Holy, Holy, Holy is the Lord of Hosts: the whole earth is full of His glory.
>
> Reader – Those over against them say, Blessed –
>
> Cong. – Blessed be the glory of the Lord from his place.
>
> Reader – And in Thy Holy Words it is written, saying
>
> Cong. – The Lord shall reign for ever, thy God, O Zion, unto all generations, Praise ye the Lord (Hertz, Prayer, 135–7).

There are three different introductions to the *Kedushah* which are preserved in the various rituals and recited on different occasions: (1) *Na'arizkha ve-Nakdishkha* – "We will reverence and sanctify thee according to the mystic utterance of the holy Seraphim, who sanctify thy Name in holiness, as it is written by the hand of thy prophet…" (Sof. 16:72). This introduction is retained in the Sephardi, the later Italian, the Persian, and the Yemenite rituals. It is based on Isaiah 29:23 and is utilized by these rituals for weekday, Sabbath, and festival **Shaḥarit* and **Minḥah Kedushot*. The Ashkenazi and Egyptian rituals use this introduction for the *Kedushah*. (2) *Keter yittenu lekha* –

"Unto Thee, O Lord our God, shall the heavenly angels above, with Thy people Israel assembled beneath, ascribe a crown; all shall repeat thrice with one accord the holy praise unto Thee, according to the word spoken by Thy prophets…" (see Ḥul 91b). The Sephardi, Italian (originally also for *Shaḥarit*), Romanian, Yemenite, and most ḥasidic rituals (following *Nusaḥ Ari*) have this introduction for the *Musaf Kedushah*. (3) *Nekaddesh* – "We will sanctify Thy Name in the world…," introduces the *Kedushot* in Ashkenazi rite in both the *Shaḥarit* and *Minḥah* services on weekdays, Sabbaths, and festivals.

Additional changes in the body of the various daily, Sabbath, and festival *Kedushot* have been inserted. The most important of these insertions is the *Shema* –"Hear, O Israel" (Deut. 6:4) in the *Musaf Kedushah* – which dates from the sixth century C.E., when the Jewish communities of the Byzantine Empire attempted to circumvent a prohibition against its recitation in the synagogue. The Jews thought that its presence in the *Kedushah* of the *Musaf* service would not be suspected by the authorities (Baer, Seder, 237). *Saadiah and *Maimonides later abrogated the recitation of the *Shema* during the *Musaf* service, and as a result the Yemenite and Persian rituals do not retain the insertion. All other rituals continue the tradition of reciting the *Shema*.

The *Kedushah* recited during the repetition of the *Amidah* is called *Kedushah de-Amidah* (*Kedushah* recited while standing), since it may be recited only when standing. An abridged form of the *Kedushah*, called *Kedushah de-yeshivah* (*Kedushah* recited while seated), is recited after **Barekhu* during the *Shaḥarit* service. It is permissible to recite this *Kedushah* when seated since it is essentially descriptive of the angels' acknowledgment of God's sovereignty as related in Isaiah 6:3 and Ezekiel 3:12. A third *Kedushah, Kedushah de-Sidra* (*Kedushah* recited at the conclusion of study), is also recited daily toward the end of the morning service for those who missed the previously recited *Kedushah* during the repetition of the *Amidah*. The collection of verses composing this *Kedushah* begin with "And a redeemer shall come to Zion" (Hertz, Prayer, 202), and also includes the passages from Isaiah 6:3 and Ezekiel 3:12, and their Aramaic translations. The *Kedushah de-Sidra* probably derives its name from the Babylonian custom of having rabbinical discourses after the morning service. Along with a prayer for the observance of the Torah, this *Kedushah* would be recited upon the conclusion of the lecture. The *Kedushah de-Sidra* is also recited before the reading of the Torah during the *Minḥah* services on Sabbath and festivals, and after reading Psalm 91 at the conclusion of the Sabbath. "The world is maintained by the *Kedushah*" (Sot. 49a) refers to the *Kedushah de-Sidra*.

Musical Rendition

The *Kedushah* has no standard melodic pattern of its own. In the East European Ashkenazi tradition there is a tendency to render the first *Kedushah* in a minor and the second in a major key, and on the High Holidays it follows the intonation of the *Shema Israel and *Ve-ha-kohanim*. In general, the *Kedushah* is considered a vehicle for the *ḥazzan* or synagogal composer to give it a suitably brilliant yet solemn rendition. The early cantorial manuals contain many examples of especially ornate settings of *Na'arizkha* (such as the "more than forty" settings in the so-called "Hanoverian Compendium" of 1744 described by Nadel). Solomon de *Rossi's *Kedushah* for four voices, in his *Ha-Shirim asher li-Shelomo* (Venice 1622/23, no. 7), follows the Sephardi version (*Keter*). However, S. *Naumbourg, in his 1877 edition of the *Shirim*, substituted for this the Ashkenazi version (*Na'arizkha*). Because of the mystical connotations of the *Kedushah*, controversies arose in the 17th century about the repetitions of the Divine name and the word *keter* in artistic compositions, since these were thought to contain the dangerous implication of "two authorities" (*shetei rashuyyot*), i.e., a negation of the unity of God.

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[Bathja Bayer]

KEFAR AKKO (Heb. כְּפַר עַכּוֹ), village mentioned in the Tosefta as the seat of R. Judah b. Agra (Kil. 1:12) and in the Babylonian Talmud as a place from which 1,500 people made a pilgrimage to Jerusalem (Ta'an. 21a). Some scholars have identified it with the Caphareccho appearing in one version of Josephus' writings (Wars, 2:573). If, however, the location of Kefar Akko at Tell al-Fukhkār outside Acre is accepted, it cannot correspond to the locality mentioned by Josephus since the latter is included in the list of his fortifications and Josephus would hardly have fortified a suburb of Acre, the headquarters of his enemy Vespasian.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Saarisalo, in: JPOS, 9 (1929), 27ff.; Avi-Yonah, in: IEJ, 3 (1953), 96–97.

[Michael Avi-Yonah]

KEFAR AZAR (Heb. כְּפַר אֲזַ״ר), moshav in central Israel, about 6 mi. (10 km.) E. of Tel Aviv, affiliated to Tenu'at ha-Moshavim, and founded in 1932 by veteran agricultural laborers of the Second and Third Aliyah. Engaged in suburban truck farming from the outset, Kefar Azar principally raised vegetables, dairy cattle, and poultry. In the largely urbanized surrounding area, the moshav preserved to an extent its character of a rural "island." Kefar Azar is named after the writer Alexander Siskind *Rabinovitz (abbr. "Azar"). In 1968 its population was 330, rising to 460 in the mid-1990s and 539 inhabitants in 2002 after expansion.

[Efraim Orni / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

KEFAR BARAM (Heb. כְּפַר בַּרְעָם), locality in Upper Galilee, 7 mi. (11 km.) N.W. of Safed. Its Jewish settlement is mentioned only in the Middle Ages (by R. Samuel b. Samson, 1210, and R. Jacob, mid-13th century). Later travelers (including R. Moses Basola, 1522) mention two synagogues there. In 1762 Kefar Baram was destroyed; Maronites resettled the village in the

19th century. The remains of a synagogue from the third century C.E. were found, built on the highest point of the village. It measures 59 ft. (18 m.) by 43 ft. (13 m.). In front of the main building stands a porch with a row of six columns, of which one has survived *in situ*. The building, entered through three ornate doorways, contains two rows of columns joined by one transverse row. Traces of stairs leading to an upper (women's) gallery have been found in the northwestern corner. The lintels of the doors and the window pediments are elaborately decorated with floral ornaments; two angels holding a wreath above the main entrance have been hammered away. An inscription below a window mentions the builder as Eleazar b. Judan. The synagogue has been partly restored by the Israel Department of Antiquities. Kibbutz Baram, affiliated to Ha-Kibbutz ha-Me'uḥad, was founded near the ruins of Kefar Baram in 1949 by former members of the *Palmaḥ. The main farming branches included fruit orchards, poultry, dairy cattle, and field crops. The kibbutz owns a plastics factory producing medical equipment. Its tourist attractions include a spa and alternative medicine center. A small museum with a Judaica collection is located in the kibbutz. In 2002 the population of Kibbutz Baram was 488.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: H. Kohl and C. Watzinger, *Antike Synagogen in Galilaea* (1916), 89ff. **WEBSITE:** www.galil-elion.org.il.

[Michael Avi-Yonah / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

KEFAR BARUKH (Heb. כְּפַר בָּרוּךְ), moshav near the Kishon reservoir of the National Water Carrier in the Jezreel Valley, Israel, affiliated to Tenu'at ha-Moshavim. It was founded in 1926 by settlers from Kurdistan, Iraq, Romania, Poland, Germany, and also "Mountain Jews" from the Caucasus. In its initial years, Kefar Barukh suffered from a lack of water and difficulty of access (although it was a station on the then-existing Jezreel Valley narrow-gauge railway). Its field crops, dairy cattle, and fruit orchards constituted prominent farming branches. Later on, other farming branches such as flowers, poultry, fishery, and goose fattening were added. The moshav is named after Baruch Kahana of Ploesti, Romania, who dedicated his wealth to the *Jewish National Fund. In 1968 its population was 202; in 2002, 261.

[Efraim Orni / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

KEFAR BIALIK (Heb. כְּפַר בְּיַאלִיק), moshav in Haifa Bay, Israel, affiliated to Ha-Iḥud ha-Ḥakla'i, and founded in 1934 by immigrants from Germany who were later joined by settlers of different origin. Kefar Bialik, separate from the nearby Kiryat Bialik suburb, preserved its agricultural character and moshav form. Nevertheless, in the late 1960s housing estates were built within its confines. Kefar Bialik, named after the poet Ḥ.N. *Bialik, had 610 inhabitants in 1968. The population maintained its size through the-mid-1990s and rose to 768 in 2002.

[Efraim Orni]

KEFAR BILU (Heb. כְּפַר בִּיל"ו), moshav in the Coastal Plain of Israel, near Reḥovot. Affiliated to Tenu'at ha-Moshavim, it was founded in 1932 in the framework of the "Thousand Families Settlement Scheme." The village was partly based on intensive farming, but due to the limited farm area at the village's disposal, many settlers held jobs in Reḥovot or in the Tel Aviv area. The village is named after the *Bilu movement. In 1968 its population was 370, rising to 450 in the mid-1990s and 978 in 2002 after residential expansion.

[Efraim Orni / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

KEFAR BLUM (Heb. כְּפַר בְּלוּם), kibbutz in the Ḥuleh Valley, Israel, affiliated to Iḥud ha-Kevuẓot ve-ha-Kibbutzim. It was founded in 1943 on the edge of the malarial swamps existing at the time, by the so-called "Anglo-Baltic" kibbutz, composed of pioneers from the Baltic countries and the first group of the *Iḥud Habonim movement of England. The settlers endeavored to make their kibbutz a focal point for pioneers from English-speaking countries. The kibbutz engaged in intensive farming, including field crops, orchards, poultry, and dairy cattle, and has developed several industrial enterprises, with factories manufacturing automatic irrigation equipment and electric grids. The kibbutz has a large guesthouse, kayaking, and a cultural center. In 2002 its population was 527. The American Nationaler Arbeter Farband (Farband Labor Zionist Order) contributed toward the establishment of Kefar Blum and named it in honor of the French Jewish statesman and socialist leader Leon *Blum.

[Efraim Orni / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

KEFAR DAROM (Heb. כְּפַר דָּרוֹם), locality in the southern coastal plain of Philistia. It is first mentioned in the Talmud as the seat of R. Eleazar b. Isaac (Sot. 20b). It was captured by the Arabs in 634 and in Crusader times it was a fortress called Dārūm. Taken by Saladin in 1188, it was destroyed in 1192 by Richard the Lionhearted and later rebuilt by the Ayyubids. Arab writers describe it as one hour distant from Gaza (whose southern gate was known as Bāb al-Dārūm) on the border of the desert in an area famous for its vines. It is generally identified with the village of Dayr al-Balaḥ, 10 mi. (16 km.) south of Gaza. The village contains an ancient mound and the ruins of an old mosque. Kefar Darom was also the name of a modern kibbutz founded in 1946 which fell to the Egyptians in the Israel War of Independence (1948–49). Settlers from Kefar Darom then moved to a new site which they called Benei *Darom. In 1970 a *Naḥal group moved back to the original site of kibbutz Kefar Darom, making it the first settlement in the *Gush Katif area. In 1973 it became a civilian settlement and served as a training farm for *Gush Emunim settlers. A few years later, it was abandoned, until 1989, when new inhabitants settled there. From the 1990s, Kefar Darom came under terror attacks. In the mid-1990s the population was approximately 150 and at the end of 2002 the population of Kefar Darom increased to 324 residents. In August 2005 Kefar Darom was evacuated along with the other settlements of Gush Katif as part of the government's disengagement plan. Resistance was particularly strong, with settlers barricading themselves inside the synagogue and on its roof before being forcibly removed by the police and army.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Abel, in: RB, 49 (1940), 67ff.

[Michael Avi-Yonah /Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

KEFAR EẒYON (Heb. כְּפַר עֶצְיוֹן), kibbutz in the Hebron Hills about 14 mi. (23 km.) S. of Jerusalem, affiliated to *Ha Kibbutz ha-Dati. A first attempt at settlement there was made by religious Jews from Iraq who established Migdal Eder (1926/27; the place is not identical with the biblical site of that name). The site was abandoned in the 1929 Arab riots. In 1935, a Jewish citrus grove owner, S.Z. Holzmann, acquired the land, prepared it for setting up a mountain village and country resort, and named it Kefar Eẓyon, a translation of his own name. His work was brought to a standstill by the 1936–39 Arab rebellion. In 1943, Kevuẓat Avraham of Ha-Kibbutz ha-Dati, whose members hailed from Poland, founded Kefar Eẓyon, the first of the four villages constituting the Eẓyon Bloc (the others were *Massu'ot Yiẓḥak, *Ein Ẓurim, and *Revadim). The kibbutz members worked in afforestation and developed farm branches. From the end of 1947 the kibbutz repelled frequent Arab attacks. It also improved its strategic position and harassed Arab communications sent to reinforce Arab forces on the Jerusalem front. A unit of 35 men (remembered in Hebrew as "Ha-Lamed-He") of *Palmaḥ and *Haganah members from Jerusalem making its way on foot from Hartuv to reinforce the Eẓyon Bloc was intercepted by Arabs and all its members killed (Jan. 16, 1948). A relief convoy suffered severe losses on March 27. On May 12, the Arab Legion and vast numbers of Arab irregulars mounted the final assault on the Bloc, which two days later succumbed against overwhelming odds. Most of the defenders of Kefar Eẓyon, men and women, were massacred by an Arab mob after having capitulated to the Arab Legion. The Arabs totally obliterated all traces of the Jewish villages and an Arab Legion camp was set up on the site. The Bloc area, together with the Hebron Hills, was taken by the Israel Army in the *Six-Day War on June 7, 1967. In September 1967, kibbutz Kefar Eẓyon was renewed by a group of Ha-Kibbutz ha-Dati which included children of the original settlers massacred in 1948. The new kibbutz set up industrial branches along with farming. Its farming was based on poultry, turkeys, and orchards. Industry included the Mofet ballistic armor plant. Kefar Eẓyon operates a guest house and has a nature preserve. In 2002 its population was 408.

WEBSITE: www.kfar-etzion.co.il.

[Efraim Orni]

KEFAR GAMALA (Heb. כְּפַר גַּמְלָא), ancient village in the territory of Jerusalem. It is mentioned in Byzantine sources as the place where the tomb of R. *Gamaliel, the grandson of Hillel the Elder, the teacher of the apostle *Paul, was discovered following a dream by Lucian the local priest (PL 41:807, 809). Interred together with the Jewish sage were the remains of his two sons and of St. Stephen the deacon, the first Christian martyr. The distance of Kefar Gamala from Jerusalem is given as 20 miles. After the discovery of the tomb, the body of the saint was exposed in Jerusalem and then transferred to Constantinople in 415. Kefar Gamala is generally placed at Jammāla, a ruin 7 mi. (11 km.) west of Ramallah and this identification is supported by the fact that Kefar Gamala is mentioned in the sources together with Arimathea (Rantis) and Selemia (Khirbat Salamiyya) in the vicinity. From 1851 it was proposed to identify it with Beit Jimāl, 16 mi. (26 km.) southwest of Jerusalem, but this village was outside the territory of Jerusalem in Byzantine times.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Abel, in: RB, 33 (1924), 235ff. 306; Beyer, in: ZDPV, 51 (1931), 225–6; A. Sacchetti, *Studi Stephaniani* (1934).

[Michael Avi-Yonah]

KEFAR GIDEON (Heb. כְּפַר גִּדְעוֹן), moshav in the Jezreel Valley, Israel, 1.2 mi. (3 km.) N. of Afulah, affiliated to *Agudat Israel, and founded in 1923 by religious Jews from Romania. An insufficient water supply at first deterred the moshav's progress, but in the 1940s ample groundwater reserves were discovered. After 1948, new immigrants were absorbed into the moshav, which engaged mainly in field crops and dairy cattle. The moshav is named after the biblical figure of Gideon. In 1968 its population was 140; in 2002, 198.

[Efraim Orni]

KEFAR GILADI (Heb. כְּפַר גִּלְעָדִי), kibbutz in N. Israel, on the N.W. rim of the Ḥuleh Valley, affiliated to Iḥud ha-Kevuẓot ve-ha-Kibbutzim. Founded in 1916 on *Jewish Colonization Association (ICA) land, Kefar Giladi was established by *Ha-Shomer (Guardsmen Association) to guard outlying Jewish land in the area during World War I and to increase the food supply to the starving *yishuv*. By 1919 two more small outposts, one of them *Tel Ḥai, were established in the vicinity. When the area was marked for inclusion in the French Mandate territory of Syria, Arabs revolting against the French in 1920 attacked these Jewish settlements. Kefar Giladi had to be temporarily abandoned, but the settlers returned 10 months later. In 1926 the settlements of Kefar Giladi and Tel Ḥai merged. During World War II (1941), Kefar Giladi, together with *Metullah, guarded the country's northern border against an invasion of Vichy French troops. In 1946 Kefar Giladi suffered casualties when British forces besieged and searched the kibbutz, known for its assistance in organizing "illegal" Jewish immigration across the nearby border. In 1952 Kefar Giladi decided to join Iḥud ha-Kevuẓot ve-ha-Kibbutzim after the split in Ha-Kibbutz ha-Me'uḥad movement. In 1968 the kibbutz had 680 inhabitants, in the mid-1990s the population was approximately 710, but by 2002 it had dropped to 559. Its economy is based mainly on irrigated field crops, deciduous fruit orchards, dairy cattle, and fishery. Kefar Giladi also runs a quarry, plant nursery, and rest home. The kibbutz is named after Israel *Giladi, one of the founders of Ha-Shomer.

[Efraim Orni]

KEFAR GLICKSON (Heb. כְּפַר גְּלִיקְסוֹן), kibbutz in the N. Sharon, Israel, on the rim of the Manasseh Hills, affiliated to Ha-Oved ha-Ẓiyyoni. It was founded in 1939 on *Palestine Jewish Colonization Association (PICA) land. The founding settlers, from Romania, erected a permanent village only in 1945. In 1969 Kefar Glickson's economy was based on intensive farming and on a factory processing lime. Later on it set up guest rooms and a youth hostel. The kibbutz was linked to a neighboring youth village, *Allonei Yiẓḥak, and is named after the journalist and General Zionist leader Moshe *Gluecksohn (Glickson). Its population in 1968 was 250; in 2002, 284.

WEBSITE: www.glikson.co.il.

[Efraim Orni]

KEFAR ḤABAD (Heb. כְּפַר חַבָּ"ד), village in central Israel near the Lydda–Tel Aviv railway, established by Ḥabad Ḥasidim in 1949. Founded on the initiative of the Lubavitch rabbi Joseph Isaac Shneersohn, Kefar Ḥabad was initially intended for Ḥabad immigrants from Russia. The original settlers were later augmented by families from North Africa. At the end of 1969, it had 1,540 inhabitants, in the mid-1990s the population was approximately 3,460, and in 2002 it was 4,220. It became a center for Ḥabad Ḥasidim in Israel and the location of many religious and educational institutions. In addition to its yeshivot and a teachers' seminary for girls, Kefar Ḥabad also sponsored institutions for vocational education including a printing school dedicated in memory of the five children and their teacher murdered in the village in 1955 by *fedayeen* raiders while at evening prayers. Kefar Ḥabad is the focal point for Ḥabad celebrations, such as Yod-Tet Kislev, the anniversary of the release of the founder of Ḥabad, Rabbi *Shneur Zalman of Lyady, from a Czarist prison in 1798. A community center known as the "House of the President," in honor of President Zalman *Shazar, serves as a meeting place for the youth of Kefar Ḥabad and its neighboring settlements. In 1970, an absorption center for new immigrants was opened there. Many of the settlers engage in farming of field crops, poultry, and dairy cattle.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Challenge: An Encounter with Lubavitch-Chabad* (1970), 136–50.

[Aaron Rothkoff]

KEFAR HA-ḤORESH (Heb. כְּפַר הַחוֹרֵשׁ; "Woodland Village"), kibbutz in Lower Galilee, Israel, W. of Nazareth, affiliated to Iḥud ha-Kevuẓot ve-ha-Kibbutzim. It was founded in 1933 by a group from the *Gordonia youth movement in Poland. In the initial years, the settlers were employed in planting forests in the neighborhood, notably the King George V Forest. Citrus groves, poultry, and field crops constituted prominent farming branches. The kibbutz also operated a margarine factory. In 1969 Kefar ha-Ḥoresh had 244 inhabitants. In 2002 its population was 421.

[Efraim Orni / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

KEFAR HA-MACCABI (Heb. כְּפַר הַמַּכַּבִּי), kibbutz in the Haifa Bay area, Israel, affiliated to Iḥud ha-Kevuẓot ve-ha-Kibbutzim. It was founded in 1936 by pioneers from Austria, Czechoslovakia, and Germany, who were members of the *Maccabi Sports Organization and the Maccabi ha-Ẓa'ir youth movement. Some of them had come to participate in the *Maccabiah which took place in the country that year, and stayed on "illegally" (see *Immigration, "Illegal"). The kibbutz developed intensive, irrigated farming based on field crops, avocado orchards, dairy cattle, poultry, and fishery; it also went into partnership in a food factory with the neighboring kibbutz, *Ramat Yoḥanan. In 1969 it had 310 inhabitants; in 2002, 291. Kefar ha-Maccabi is named after the Maccabi Organization which contributed funds toward the purchase of its land.

[Efraim Orni / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

KEFAR ḤANANYAH (Heb. כְּפַר חֲנַנְיָה), ancient Jewish village, situated, according to the Mishnah, on the border between Upper and Lower Galilee (Shev. 9:2). It was known as a village of potters, who utilized the black (Tosef., BM 6:3) or white soil (BM 74a) found there. Vessels of special forms produced in the potters' workshops of Kefar Ḥananyah are mentioned in the Jerusalem Talmud (Pe'ah 7:4, 20a) and the Midrash (Lam. Zuta 1:5). Hawkers living there visited four or five villages in the vicinity, returning home to sleep (TJ, Ma'as. 2:3, 49d). At least one rabbi, Abba Ḥalafta, lived there (BM 94a). Cattle and goats were raised in the vicinity.

Kefar Ḥananyah is usually identified with Kafr ʿAnān, 6 mi. (c. 9½ km.) southwest of Safed. In 1522, according to R. Moses Basola, there were 50 priestly Jewish families and a synagogue in Kafr ʿAnān. This community is also mentioned in the middle of the 16th century by R. Samuel b. Judah and it seems to have endured until the end of the 17th century. Remains of an ancient synagogue and tomb caves of talmudic times have been found on the site.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Braslavski, in: BJPES, 1 (1933), 18ff.

[Michael Avi-Yonah]

KEFAR HA-NASI (Heb. כְּפַר הַנָּשִׂיא), kibbutz in Upper Galilee, Israel, S. of the Ḥuleh Valley, affiliated to Iḥud ha-Kevuẓot ve-ha-Kibbutzim. It was founded on July 2, 1948, during the Israeli War of Independence, just when the Syrians established their bridgehead at nearby *Mishmar ha-Yarden in an attempt to cut off the whole of Upper Galilee. When fighting was renewed a week later to contain and reduce the bridgehead, the kibbutz found itself in the middle of battle. The settlers were graduates of the *Iḥud Habonim youth movement of England, Australia, and other English-speaking countries. Its economy was based on intensive farming (orchards, citrus groves, field crops, a plant nursery, and poultry), a factory producing industrial valves, a small hydroelectric plant, and guest rooms. The communal system was gradually phased out, with members receiving salaries or working outside the kibbutz and covering their own expenses. In 2002 the population of Kefar ha-Nasi was 489. Its name (President's Village) commemorates Chaim *Weizmann.

WEBSITE: www.villageinn.co.il.

[Efraim Orni / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

KEFAR HA-RO'EH (Heb. כְּפַר הָרֹאֶ"ה), moshav in the Ḥefer Plain, Israel, affiliated to Ha-Po'el ha-Mizrachi Moshavim Association, founded in 1934 by pioneers from Eastern Europe. It became a spiritual center for the religious moshavim in the country. In 1968, Kefar ha-Ro'eh had 860 inhabitants including the students in its yeshivah, which was the study institute of the *Bnei Akiva youth movement. Its population rose to approximately 1,050 in the mid-1990s and 1,430 in 2002. Its economy was based on intensive farming, such as poultry, dairy cattle, citrus (mainly citrons), and flowers. The moshav's name is composed of the initials of Rabbi Avraham ha-Kohen *Kook.

[Efraim Orni / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

KEFAR ḤASIDIM (Heb. כְּפַר חֲסִידִים), moshav and suburban area in the Zebulun Valley, 7½ mi. (12 km.) S.E. of Haifa, Israel. The moshav, affiliated to Ha-Po'el ha-Mizrachi Moshavim Association, was founded in 1924 by two groups of Ḥasidim from Poland who, together with their leaders, the rabbis of Kozienice and Yablonov, initially settled on two sites further east, on the Jezreel Valley border. In 1927 they together established a permanent village at Kefar Ḥasidim and with great dedication drained the malarial swamps and developed farming there. In 1937 an agricultural school, Kefar ha-No'ar ha-Dati, was established near the moshav.

In 1950 a second religious village, Kefar Ḥasidim Bet, was set up (unaffiliated to a country-wide organization). Simultaneously, two large *ma'barot* (transitory immigrant camps) were established nearby, whose inhabitants were later gradually transferred to the suburban religious community of Rekhasim whose construction began in 1951. In 1968 Rekhasim had 2,540 inhabitants, while Kefar Ḥasidim and Kefar Ḥasidim Bet together had 675, and Kefar ha-No'ar ha-Dati, 590. In the mid-1990s Kefar Ḥasidim and Kefar Ḥasidim Bet together had approximately 650 residents, and Kefar ha-No'ar ha-Dati dropped to approximately 484. At the end of 2002 the population of Kefar Ḥasidim was 508 residents and the population of Kefar Ḥasidim Bet was 188, while Rekhasim's population was 7,750.

[Efraim Orni / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

KEFAR ḤATTIN, **Hittaya** (Heb. כְּפַר חִטַּיָּא), village in Galilee, the seat of R. Jacob (Ḥag. 5b) and R. Azariah (PdRK 54). It had a synagogue (Gen. R. 65:16) and served as a refuge for R. Simeon b. Lakish, who escaped from the wrath of the patriarch Judah II (TJ, Sanh. 2:1, 19d). According to the Jerusalem Talmud (Meg. 1:1, 70a), it was identified with the Ziddim-Zer of Joshua 19:35. The name of the village ("Grain Village") indicates its fertile surroundings. It is identified with the Arab village of Ḥiṭṭīn or Ḥaṭṭīn al-Qadīm ("ancient Ḥattin"), which gave its name to the Horns of Hittin, where the Crusaders were defeated by Saladin in 1187. In this village, the Druze venerate the tomb of al-Nabī Shuʿayb, who is identified with Jethro, Moses' father-in-law, and hold an annual festival. Building remains and ancient tombs have been found there.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: S. Klein (ed.), *Sefer ha-Yishuv* (1939), s.v.; G. Dalman, *Sacred Sites and Ways* (1935), index, s.v. *Ḥaṭṭin.*

[Michael Avi-Yonah]

KEFAR ḤAYYIM (Heb. כְּפַר חַיִּים), moshav in the Ḥefer Plain, central Israel, affiliated to Tenu'at ha-Moshavim. Kefar Ḥayyim was one of the first settlements established in the region (1933), founded by two groups of veteran pioneers – Third Aliyah immigrants from Russia, of which one had attempted settlement in the Negev as early as the 1920s and had defended *Ḥuldah in the 1929 riots. Citrus groves and dairy cattle were prominent farming branches. The kibbutz name commemorates Chaim *Arlosoroff. In 1968 its population was 360, increasing to 468 in 2002.

[Efraim Orni]

KEFAR HESS (Heb. כְּפַר הֶס), moshav in the southern Sharon, Israel, affiliated to Tenu'at ha-Moshavim, founded in 1933 by settlers from Eastern Europe. After 1948, the moshav was enlarged by newcomers from Hungary. Its economy was based on intensive farming: citrus groves, field crops, poultry, flowers, and beehives. In 1967 its population was 410, rising to around 650 in the mid-1990s and 971 in 2002 after additional expansion. Kefar Hess is named after Moses *Hess.

[Efraim Orni / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

KEFAR ḤITTIM (Heb. כְּפַר חִטִּים), moshav shittufi northwest of Tiberias. After earlier attempts at settlement failed, the settlement was renewed in 1924 by a Ha-Po'el ha-Mizrachi moshav group, which was replaced in 1932 by a group of Sephardi Jews who left two years later. In 1936 the immigrant group "Ha-Koẓer" from Bulgaria permanently established the first moshav shittufi in the country there. Farming was based on field and garden crops, deciduous and other fruit trees, dairy cattle, and poultry. In the mid-1990s the population was approximately 290, rising to 330 in 2002.

[Efraim Orni]

KEFAR JAWITZ (Heb. כְּפַר יַעְבֶּץ; **Kefar Ya'bez**), moshav in the southern Sharon, Israel, near Tel Mond, affiliated to Ha-Po'el ha-Mizrachi moshavim association. First founded as a moshav in 1932, it suffered from insufficient cultivable land and, situated on what was then the eastern rim of the Jewish settlement zone, it came under frequent attacks in the 1936–39 Arab riots. In the 1948 *War of Independence, Kefar Jawitz was in the line of battle. That year, it was taken over by kibbutz Neẓer Yissakhar, which later became a moshav shittufi but eventually dispersed. In 1953, a moshav of immigrants from Yemen was established and developed intensive farming (citrus groves, cattle, poultry, flowers, and vegetables). In 1969 there were 360 inhabitants, rising to 496 in 2002 due to expansion. The village is named after the historian Zeev *Jawitz.

[Efraim Orni]

KEFAR KANNA (**Kenna**; Ar. **Kafr Kanna**), a village in Galilee, 4 mi. (6½ km.) N.E. of Nazareth. Owing to its convenient position on the main Nazareth-Tiberias road, it has been identified since Byzantine times with the *Kanah of the Gospels. A mosaic inscription found in the present church of the village indicates that it stands on the ruins of a Byzantine synagogue whose mosaic pavement, according to the inscription, was made by Yose, the son of Tanḥum, and his sons. A Jewish settlement existed in Kefar Kanna in the 15th–16th centuries; in 1481 there were 80 families there and in 1522, 40 families (as attested by the travelers Obadiah of *Bertinoro and Moses b. Mordecai *Basola). Since its identification with the Kana of the Gospels was firmly established by Quaresmius in the 17th century, several churches were erected in the village and it has been included in the itineraries of pilgrims. It has recently been proposed to identify it with Garis (Jos., Wars, 3:129; 5:474; Life, 395, 412). In 1968, the village numbered 4,550 inhabitants, the majority Christian (Greek-Orthodox, Roman, and Greek Catholic), and the rest Muslim. Over the years, the ratio between Christians and Muslims has been reversed, so that by the end of 2002 the majority of Kefar Kanna's population (16,100 residents) were Muslims. The population growth rate is a high 2.7% per year. Income in 2000 was about half the national average. In 1968 Kefar Kanna received municipal council status. Its jurisdiction extends over 4.1 sq. mi. (10.7 sq. km.). In the vicinity of Kefar Kanna there is a large industrial area employing workers from all over the region and including cinder block and tire factories.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Clermont-Ganneau, in: PEFQS, 43 (1901), 374ff.; P.D. Baldi, *Enchiridien Locorum Sanctorum* (1955), 205ff.; Abel, Geog, 2 (1938), 291–2.

[Michael Avi-Yonah]

KEFAR KISCH (Heb. כְּפַר קִישׁ), moshav in eastern Lower Galilee, Israel, about 2½ mi. (4 km.) E. of Kefar Tavor, affiliated to Tenu'at ha-Moshavim. It was founded in 1946 by demobilized soldiers who in World War II served with the Royal Engineer Corps and other units. The original settlers established a moshav shittufi, but most of them left in the ensuing years, and in 1953, Kefar Kisch was renewed, this time as a moshav, by immigrants from Poland, Romania, and Hungary. Its principal farming branches were field crops, fruit orchards, and dairy cattle. In 1969 there were 189 inhabitants in Kefar Kisch and in 2002 around 300. The moshav is named after Frederick H. *Kisch.

[Efraim Orni]

KEFAR MALAL (Heb. כְּפַר מַלָ״ל), moshav in the southern Sharon, Israel, affiliated to Tenu'at ha-Moshavim, first founded on privately owned land in 1911 and named Ein Ḥai. It was destroyed in the battles of World War I. Renewed by a laborers' group after the war, it was again destroyed in the 1921 Arab riots, but was rebuilt as a moshav in 1922, when the land became *Jewish National Fund property. In the 1929 Arab riots, Kefar Malal successfully repelled several attacks. Its settlers hail from Eastern Europe. Citrus groves and dairy cattle constituted the principal farming branches. Kefar Malal's name is composed of the initials of Moses *Lilienblum. In 1967 its population was 270, rising to 443 in 2002.

[Efraim Orni]

KEFAR MANDI (Heb. כְּפַר מַנְדִּי), village in Galilee, the seat of R. Issachar (TJ, RH 1: 3, 57a). A document found in the Cairo **Genizah* indicates that in 1065 Jews lived there, in particular one Abraham b. David al-Kafrmandi. Later travelers located the tombs of *Akavyah b. Mahalalel, and Rabban *Simeon b. Gamaliel, in the village. Arab sources, confusing Mandi with Midian, located there the tomb of Ṣaffūra (*Zipporah), the wife of Moses, and the well from which he rolled the stone, which was shown to travelers. The tombs of Athīr (*Asher) and *Naphtali, sons of Jacob, were also placed there. The present-day Arab village Kafr Mandā, with an area of 4.1 sq. mi. (10.7 sq. km.), is situated between Tiberias and Acre, 8 mi. (c. 13 km.) north of Nazareth. In 1964 it received municipal council status. In 1968, it had 3,180 inhabitants, increasing to 13,800 in 2002. Olive and other fruit trees, field crops, sheep, and cattle have constituted its principal farming branches.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Assaf, in: *Tarbiz*, 9 (1937/38), 201; A.-S. Mannardji, *Textes Géographiques Arabes*… (1951), 175–6.

[Michael Avi-Yonah]

KEFAR MASARYK (Heb. כְּפַר מַסַּרְיק), kibbutz in the Haifa Bay area, Israel, S. of Acre, affiliated to Kibbutz Arẓi ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir. It was founded as a *stockade and tower settlement in 1938 by pioneers from Czechoslovakia. The partly brackish swamps near the Na'aman Stream mouth required, in the first years of the settlement, concentrated reclamation and drainage work. Beside intensive farming branches (field crops, orchards, fishery, dairy cattle, and poultry), the kibbutz has also developed industrial enterprises such as a plant producing printed cartons, a company servicing satellite equipment, and an R&D plant for electronic devices. Its population was 480 in 1967 and 592 in 2002. It is named after Tomáš G. Masaryk, first president of Czechoslovakia.

WEBSITE: www.kfar-masaryk.org.il.

[Efraim Orni / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

KEFAR MENAḤEM (Heb. כְּפַר מְנַחֵם), kibbutz in the southern Coastal Plain of Israel, about 9 mi. (14 km.) S.E. of Gederah, affiliated to Kibbutz Arẓi Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir. The original settlers set up a moshav on the site in 1936, but the local soil and security conditions were inimical to the smallholder type of settlement, and the moshav group moved west to found *Kefar Warburg. In 1937, the village was refounded as a kibbutz by a group composed of pioneers from North America, Germany, and Poland. The kibbutz developed intensive farming (field crops, poultry, and dairy cattle) and industrial enterprises (a quarry, ceramics plant, and metal plant). In 1968, it had 555 inhabitants, rising to 600 in the mid-1990s but then dropping to 460 in 2002. The kibbutz is named after Menaḥem Mendel *Ussishkin.

WEBSITE: www.kfar-menachem.org.il.

[Efraim Orni / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

KEFAR MONASH (Heb. כְּפַר מוֹנַשׁ), moshav in the central Sharon (Ḥefer Plain), Israel, affiliated to Tenu'at ha-Moshavim, founded in 1946 by demobilized soldiers who had served with the British Royal Engineer Corps in World War II. They were later joined by settlers from South Africa and other countries. Kefar Monash was initially a moshav shittufi and engaged in farming and maintained a photolithographic printing plant. Later it became a moshav based exclusively on farming. The main farming branches included citrus groves, flowers, and turkeys. The moshav is named after the Australian Sir John *Monash. The land on which the moshav was founded is part of Wadi Kabani in the eastern *Ḥefer Plain, acquired through contributions of Australian Jewry. In 1967 it had 320 inhabitants. In the mid-1990s the population was approximately 450, further increasing to 690 in 2002 after expansion.

[Efraim Orni / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

KEFAR MORDEKHAI (Heb. כְּפַר מָרְדְּכַי), moshav in the Coastal Plain of Israel, W. of Gederah, affiliated to Ha-Iḥud ha-Ḥakla'i (middle-class settlers' association), founded in 1950 by pioneers from England. It was later joined by newcomers from Australia and other English-speaking countries, and by Israeli-born settlers. Citrus groves and dairy cattle constituted its principal farming branches. Kefar Mordekhai is named after Mordecai *Eliash, Israel's first minister in Great Britain. Its population in 1968 was 230 rising to 305 in the mid-1990s and 476 in 2002.

[Efraim Orni]

KEFAR NEBURAYA (**Nibborayya**; Heb. כְּפַר נִבּוֹרַיָּה), village in Upper Galilee, the home of Jacob of Kefar Neburaya, a popular preacher of the third century C.E., who was often in conflict with the rabbinical authorities and was suspected of heresy (TJ, Yev. 2:5). It has been identified with Khirbat al-Nabratayn, a ruin 2.5 mi. (4 km.) north of Safed. Here were found the remains of an ancient synagogue measuring 55 by 39 ft. (17 × 12 m.) whose facade is oriented toward Jerusalem. Inside are two rows of four columns. The limestone lintel is decorated with a laurel garland and a menorah within a wreath. An inscription added to the lintel in 564 C.E. records the reconstruction of the building by Ḥanina son of Lezer (Eliezer) and Luliana (Julianos) son of Judah. A sculptured figure of a lion was also found there.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: H. Kohl and C. Watzinger, *Antike Synagogen in Galilaea* (1916), 101ff.; Alt, in: PJB, 21 (1925), 37; Avigad, in: BRF, 3 (1960), 49ff.

[Michael Avi-Yonah]

KEFAR NETTER (Heb. כְּפַר נֶטֶר), moshav in the southern Sharon, Israel, about 4 mi. (7 km.) S. of Netanyah, initially a member of Tenu'at ha-Moshavim, but later unaffiliated. It was founded in 1939 by graduates of the *Mikveh Israel agricultural school. After 1948, Kefar Netter was enlarged when new immigrants from Poland settled there. Its farming was highly intensive, but subsequently only citrus groves and avocado plantations have remained. In 1967 the population was around 420; in 2002, 510. The moshav is named after the founder of Mikveh Israel, Charles *Netter.

WEBSITE: www.kfar-neter.co.il.

[Efraim Orni / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

KEFAR OTNAY (**Otnai**; Heb. כְּפַר עוֹתְנָאִי), ancient village, 24 Roman mi. from Caesarea, 24 from Scythopolis (Beth-Shean), and 16 from Sepphoris. It is defined in talmudic sources as the farthest limit of Galilee in the direction of Judah and anyone passing it was considered to have left Galilee (Git. 7:7). It was the hometown of R. Shemaiah, a pupil of R. Johanan b. Zakkai, and the patriarch Gamaliel occasionally visited there. Samaritans living in the vicinity (Git. 1:5) cultivated vegetables on the land of the village (Tosef., Dem. 5:23). In the time of Hadrian, Kefar Otnay (Gr. Caparcotnei – Καπαρκοτνεί) was chosen as the camp of the sixth legion and renamed *Legio. Previously proposed identifications with Kafr Dān or Kafr Qūd are no longer accepted.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Ramsay, in: JRS, 6 (1916), 129; Alt, in: ZDPV, 68 (1951), 57ff.

[Michael Avi-Yonah]

KEFAR PINES (Heb. כְּפַר פִּינֶס), moshav in the northern Sharon, Israel, affiliated to Ha-Po'el ha-Mizrachi moshavim association. The settlers, from Poland, Germany, and other countries, founded Kefar Pines in 1933. Citrus orchards, dairy cattle, and poultry constituted its principal farm branches. The moshav is named after Yehiel Michael *Pines. In 1967 its population was 400, increasing to 730 in the mid-1990s and 972 in 2002 after expansion.

[Efraim Orni]

KEFAR ROSH HA-NIKRAH (Heb. כְּפַר רֹאשׁ הַנִּקְרָה), kibbutz in the Acre Plain, Israel, near the Lebanese border, on the slope of the Rosh ha-Nikrah-Ḥanitah ridge, affiliated to Iḥud ha-Kevuẓot ve-ha-Kibbutzim. It was founded in 1949 by a group of Israeli-born youth. In addition to highly intensive farming (field crops, bananas, avocado orchards, citrus groves, poultry, dairy cattle, fruit trees) the kibbutz operated a cafe on top of the Rosh ha-Nikrah Cape (which forms part of Sullam Ẓor, the Ladder of *Tyre separating the Acre and Tyre plains), near the police frontier post, and a cable car leading down to the sea grottoes of the cape. In addition, the kibbutz had a holiday village with a spa. Below Rosh ha-Nikrah Cape, to the south, was the Israel Police Force rest resort. In 1969 Kefar Rosh ha-Nikrah had 318 inhabitants. In the mid-1990s the population was approximately 560, while in 2002 it decreased to 491. The name Rosh ha-Nikrah ("Headland of the Cleft") is derived from the Arabic name for the spot Ra's al-Nāqūra.

WEBSITE: www.kfar-rosh-hanikra.co.il.

[Efraim Orni / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

KEFAR RUPPIN (Heb. כְּפַר רוּפִּין), kibbutz in the Beth-Shean Valley, near the Jordan River; founded in 1938 as a *stockade and watchtower settlement by pioneers from Germany, Czechoslovakia, and Hungary, later joined by immigrants from other countries. From 1967, Kefar Ruppin, situated within close firing range of the Jordanian positions beyond the river, endured frequent shelling and sniping. The kibbutz engaged in intensive farming, including branches adapted to the local hot climate, e.g., date palms, which withstand soil salinity, and field crops, fishery and ornamental fish, poultry, and dairy cattle. In addition, the kibbutz operated the Palkar Co. for fencing and storage facilities. For a time, the kibbutz was a center for nutria fur production. An international birdwatching center is located in the kibbutz. Its population rose from 310 in 1967 to 448 in 2002, with families becoming economically independent. The kibbutz is named after Arthur *Ruppin.

WEBSITE: www.kfar-ruppin.org.il.

[Efraim Orni / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

KEFAR SAVA (Heb. כְּפַר סָבָא), town in central Israel, in the southern Sharon, near the Arab village Kafr Sābā. Ḥibbat Zion bought the holdings in 1892, but settlement began in 1896 when the land was taken over by Baron Edmond de *Rothschild, who invested considerable sums in an abortive experiment to raise plants for perfume. In 1903 part of the land was bought by *Petaḥ Tikvah farmers for farmsteads for their sons, and almond orchards became the principal farming branch. The Turkish authorities, however, did not issue permits to build houses, so the place remained largely empty until 1912, when permits were finally granted. A eucalyptus grove was planted in the place where about 1,000 inhabitants of Tel Aviv set up camp in 1917 after the Turks expelled them from their homes; the following year, several hundred died there in a typhus epidemic. In September 1918 Kefar Sava, which lay in the front line of battle between the Turko-German and Allied armies, was entirely destroyed. The settlers soon returned and rebuilt their houses, but Kefar Sava was again laid waste in the 1921 Arab riots. In the following years, local abundant groundwater resources were discovered and the developing citrus branch attracted investors and provided a solid foundation for Kefar Sava's economy. From the end of the 1920s, the struggle for Jewish labor on Jewish farms focused on Kefar Sava and became more violent in the 1930s when a number of kibbutzim set up their temporary camps there prior to their permanent settlement in other parts of the country. The number of Kefar Sava's inhabitants grew from 450 in 1927 to 3,500 in 1941. From the end of the 1930s, immigrant housing quarters were built and partly provided with auxiliary farms. During World War II industrial plants were established, primarily for citrus preserves, as fresh fruit could not be exported at the time. In the Israeli *War of Independence (1948) Kefar Sava lay again in the front line facing the "Arab triangle" of Samaria; fighting died down only after the neighboring Arab village Kafr Sābā was taken by Jewish forces and abandoned by its inhabitants. After 1948 Kefar Sava's population rapidly grew, approaching 20,000 when it received city status in 1962. In 1969 Kefar Sava had 23,000 inhabitants. By the mid-1990s the population had risen to approximately 65,800, and in 2002 it was 77,800. The municipal area is 5.8 sq. mi. (15 sq. km.). Kefar Sava serves as an administrative, commercial, and health-service center for the south Sharon region. The large Me'ir Hospital (which, in its initial years, specialized in lung diseases) and Bet Berl, a teachers college, seminary, and study center, are located there. The city also has a large industrial area.

WEBSITE: www.kfar-saba.muni.il.

[Efraim Orni / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

KEFAR SHEMARYAHU (Heb. כְּפַר שְׁמַרְיָהוּ), semi-rural Israeli settlement with municipal council status in the southern Sharon. Kefar Shemaryahu is named after Shemaryahu *Levin. Founded in 1937 as a middle-class moshav by immigrants from Germany, from the outset it was based on intensive farm branches, primarily poultry breeding, with its farmers belonging to the Ha-Mo'aẓah ha-Ḥakla'it association. From the 1950s, its proximity to the *Herzliyyah beach and the extension of the Tel Aviv conurbation caused its gradual transformation into a middle-class garden suburb, which has also developed as a recreation and entertainment center. A writers' and artists' house was opened there. Besides smaller industrial enterprises, it housed the Tene-Nogah central dairy. In 1969, the village numbered 1,260 inhabitants, becoming an upscale community. In 2002 its population was 1,790 residents, occupying a square mile (2.5 sq. km.)

WEBSITE: www.kfar.org.il

[Efraim Orni / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

KEFAR SHIḤLAYIM (Heb. כְּפַר שִׁיחְלַיִים), village in Idumea, probably identical with the Sallis in which the Jewish general Niger took refuge after an unsuccessful assault on Ashkelon (Jos., Wars, 3:20). According to talmudic sources, Kefar Shiḥlayim was a large village, which was destroyed either in the First Jewish War against Rome or in the war of Bar Kokhba (Lam. R. 2:2, no. 4). The inhabitants of the village grew cress (*shiḥlah*). A man from the village appeared before R. Tarfon in the early second century (TJ, Jer. 16:5, 15d). The location of the village of Saleim, mentioned by Eusebius (Onom. 160:9–10) as lying seven Roman miles west of Eleutheropolis (Bet Guvrin), seems to correspond to that of Kefar Shiḥlayim. This would place the ancient site of Khirbat Shaḥla, 2 mi. (3.2 km.) east of ʿIrāq al-Manshiyya. The suggested identification with the biblical Shilhim (Josh. 15:32) is doubtful.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Loew, Flora, 1 (1924), 50 ff.; P. Romanoff, *Onomasticon of Palestine* (1937), 215 ff.

[Michael Avi-Yonah]

KEFAR SYRKIN (Heb. כְּפַר סִירְקִין), moshav in the Coastal Plain of Israel, E. of Petaḥ Tikvah; affiliated to Tenu'at ha-Moshavim; founded in 1936 by veteran agricultural laborers, who were soon joined by immigrants from Germany and other countries. In 1968, Kefar Syrkin had 570 inhabitants, rising to 931 in 2002. The settlers engaged in various farming branches, such as fruit orchards, poultry, and the operation of a horse ranch. The moshav is named after the Zionist labor leader Nachman *Syrkin.

[Efraim Orni]

KEFAR SZOLD (Heb. כְּפַר סאֹלְד), kibbutz on the eastern outskirts of the Ḥuleh Valley, Israel, affiliated to Ha-Kibbutz ha-Me'uḥad. It was founded in 1942 by pioneers from Hungary, Austria, and Germany, later joined by new members from South America and other countries. Until the *Six-Day War (June 1967) Kefar Szold was a constant target for the Syrian artillery position on the Golan slopes. Its farming was intensive, based on field crops, apple orchards, citrus groves, poultry, and cattle. The kibbutz also operated a factory producing batteries and rented guest rooms. In 2002 its population was 455. The kibbutz is named after Henrietta *Szold.

[Efraim Orni]

KEFAR TAVOR (Heb. כְּפַר תָּבוֹר; initially better known by its Arab name **Meshah**), moshavah at the foot of Mt. Tabor, Israel, 10½ mi. (17 km.) N.E. of Afulah, founded in 1901 by the *Jewish Colonization Association as one of the villages based on the settlers' own labor, with grain cultivation as a principal branch. Until World War I, Kefar Tavor was a center for the activity of *Ha-Shomer, the first armed Jewish defense organization in Ereẓ Israel. Lack of water impeded the village's economic progress for many years. Later field and fruit crops have constituted its main farming branches. In 1968 its population was 315. In the mid-1990s the population was approximately 1,140 and by the end of 2002 it had doubled to 2,290 owing to the expansion of the moshavah, with the majority of residents no longer farmers and income well above the national average. The village extends over an area of 4 sq. mi. (10.6 sq. km.).

[Efraim Orni / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

KEFAR TRUMAN (Heb. כְּפַר טְרוּמַן), moshav in the Coastal Plain of Israel, N.E. of Lydda, affiliated to Tenu'at ha-Moshavim, founded in 1949 by immigrants from Poland. Its economy was based on intensive farming. It is named after the former U.S. president Harry S. Truman. In 1968 its population was 251, rising to about 330 in the mid-1990s and 483 in 2002.

[Efraim Orni]

KEFAR URIYYAH (Heb. כְּפַר אוּרִיָּה), moshav in the Judean Foothills, Israel, 6 mi. (10 km.) N.E. of Bet-Shemesh, affiliated to Tenu'at ha-Moshavim. The land at Kefar Uriyyah was purchased by individuals in 1909, and a workers' group established a farm there in 1912. After World War I, some of the proprietors went to settle, but progress was slow, due to lack of water and difficulty of access. In the 1929 Arab riots, the village was abandoned. A group of Kurdish Jews, who had previously worked as stonecutters in Jerusalem, settled there in 1943. The isolated village came under frequent attacks from its Arab neighbors in the War of Independence and had to be evacuated (1948). In 1949, a moshav was set up there by immigrants from Bulgaria when the new road connecting Tel Aviv and Jerusalem provided access to the site. The initial difficulties confronting the moshav resulted in a frequent turnover of settlers. In the 1950s, ample groundwater resources were discovered and these eventually supplied the bulk of Jerusalem's water needs. The name is based on the Arabic Kafrūriyya, which may have its root in an ancient Hebrew name, perhaps Kefar Aryeh – "Lion's Village" (a nearby site was called in Arabic Khirbat al-Asad – "Lion's Ruin"). Remnants of ancient buildings and tombs were found there. Its population in 1968 was 255, rising to 315 in the mid-1990s and 416 in 2002.

[Efraim Orni]

KEFAR VERADIM (Heb. כְּפַר וְרָדִים), town in northern Israel. Kefar Veradim lies on the northern slopes of Mt. Eshkar in western *Galilee, 2,100 ft. (641 m.) above sea level, 11 mi. (18 km.) east of *Nahariyyah. The municipal area extends over 1.8 sq. mi (4.7 sq. km.). The settlement was founded in 1982 on the initiative of the industrialist Steff *Wertheimer. The establishment of the settlement was part of a plan to develop the region industrially and attract new settlers by creating an attractive upscale urban setting. In 1993 Kefar Veradim received municipal council status. By the end of 2002 the population had reached 5,030 inhabitants, with a high annual growth rate of 3.1%.

WEBSITE: www.kvol.co.il.

[Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

KEFAR VITKIN (Heb. כְּפַר וִיתְקִין), moshav in the central Sharon (Ḥefer Plain), Israel, affiliated to Tenu'at ha-Moshavim. It was founded in 1933 by a group of veteran agricultural workers who were the first to come to the Ḥefer Plain (early 1930) and reclaim its wastes. Kefar Vitkin became the largest moshav in the country with over 1,100 inhabitants in the late 1940s and 845 in 1968. Orange groves, dairy cattle, poultry, orchards, and flowers were the mainstays of its intensive farming. By 2002 the moshav's population had risen to 1,480 due to expansion. Several central regional institutions were situated in Kefar Vitkin, which is named after Joseph *Vitkin.

[Efraim Orni]

KEFAR WARBURG (Heb. כְּפַר וַרְבּוּרְג), moshav in the southern Coastal Plain of Israel, near Be'er Toviyyah, affiliated to Tenu'at ha-Moshavim. It was founded in 1939 by a group of experienced agricultural laborers, joined by immigrants from different countries. They had previously settled at *Kefar Menaḥem and defended it in the 1936–39 Arab riots, but moved to the present site which appeared better suited to the moshav type of settlement. Its farming is highly intensive. In 1968 Kefar Warburg had 500 inhabitants, rising to 745 in 2002. The moshav is named after Felix *Warburg.

[Efraim Orni]

KEFAR YASIF (Heb. כְּפַר יָסִיף), a large village at the foot of the mountains of Upper Galilee, about 7 mi. (10 km.) N.E. of Acre. The antiquity of the name Kefar Yasif is alluded to in the Septuagint, which instead of "Hosah," the portion of Asher (Josh. 19:29), reads ʾΙασιφ. The Jewish antiquity of the locality is evident from the stone door of a burial cave which is preserved at the Louvre in Paris. On it appear reliefs of a candelabrum and an ark. A stone tablet which is affixed over the door of one of the houses of the village bears reliefs of a candelabrum, a *shofar* (ram's horn), and a *lulav* (palm branch). In Crusader times it was a village called Cafersi in the territory of *Acre. As a result of the revival of Acre at the beginning of the 16th century, the Jewish settlement of Kefar Yasif was also renewed. It is reflected in the responsa of the rabbis of Safed and in the tax lists of the Ottoman archives of Istanbul. As one of the ten 16th-century Jewish village settlements in Galilee, its inhabitants also engaged in agriculture. Taxes were paid from the cotton crops.

With the renewed impetus of Jewish settlement in Acre during the first half of the 18th century, a new Jewish settlement was created in Kefar Yasif. This settlement also engaged in agriculture and observed the laws applicable to the Land of Israel. The community left in 1707 as a result of an attack of locusts, but was renewed by the kabbalist R. Solomon Abbadi in 1747 who sought, under the protection of Sheikh Dhaher el-ʾAmr, the ruler of Galilee, to establish a Torah center. The last settlement ceased to exist at the end of the first half of the 19th century (1841). The number of Jewish settlers fluctuated from 10 families in 1702, to 20 in 1764, to 15 in 1827. The present inhabitants of the village point to a "Jewish quarter." With the revival of the Jewish settlement in Kefar Yasif during the 18th century, the village became the burial site for the Jews of Acre (and not during the 13th–14th centuries as generally thought) because, according to the *halakhah*, it is doubtful whether Acre forms part of Ereẓ Israel or not. Upon their death, the wealthy of Acre were borne to Kefar Yasif on the shoulders of their pallbearers. Others preferred to be buried near the sacred tomb of "*Hushai the Archite" in the Druze village of Yirkah (3 mi. (5 km.) to the east of Kefar Yasif). The poor were buried on the eastern side of the walls of Acre. The custom of burial in Kefar Yasif was abolished either after the riots of 1929 or those of 1936.

[Joseph Braslavi (Braslavski)]

Kefar Yasif is now an Arab village with 7,820 inhabitants in 2002 (up from 3,470 in 1968), the majority Greek Catholic and Greek Orthodox and the rest Muslim (57% Christians, 43% Muslims). Kefar Yasif has been governed by a municipal council since 1925. Its jurisdiction extends over an area of 2.6 mi. (6.7 sq. km.), with the village economy historically based on olive plantations, tobacco, and livestock as well as some intensive mixed farming, workshops, and small factories. In 2000 income was about half the national average.

[Efraim Orni]

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KEFAR YEḤEZKEL (Heb. כְּפַר יְחֶזְקֵאל), moshav in the Harod Valley, Israel, N.W. of *En-Harod, affiliated to Tenu'at ha-Moshavim. It was founded in 1921 as one of the first settlements in the valleys of Jezreel and Harod, by a group of pioneers of the Second and Third Aliyah. Farming at Kefar Yeḥezkel was intensive, diversified, and fully irrigated. The moshav operates a tourist center that features a robotic dairy. The moshav is named after Yeḥezkel *Sassoon, whose contribution aided the Jewish National Fund in financing the purchase of the Jezreel and Harod valley lands. In 1968 it had a population of 440. In the mid-1990s the population was approximately 591; in 2002, 610, with expansion underway.

WEBSITE: www.kfar-y.co.il.

[Efraim Orni / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

KEFAR YEHOSHU'A (Heb. כְּפַר יְהוֹשֻׁעַ), moshav in the western Jezreel Valley, Israel, affiliated to Tenu'at ha-Moshavim. It was founded in 1927 by a pioneer group, mostly from Russia, many of whom had been members of *Gedud ha-Avodah. In 1968 Kefar Yehoshu'a had 645 inhabitants; in 2002, 674. Like its neighbor *Nahalal, it was laid out in a circular pattern on the architect Richard *Kaufmann's blueprints. A mosaic in honor of Kaufmann is located in the center of the moshav. The moshav has a regional museum principally displaying the history of settlement in the Jezreel Valley. At the entrance to the moshav is a reconstruction of the historic Ha-Emek train station on the line that once linked Haifa to Damascus. It is named after Yehoshua *Hankin, who was instrumental in purchasing the Jezreel Valley lands.

[Efraim Orni / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

KEFAR YONAH (Heb. כְּפַר יוֹנָה), rural settlement, possessing municipal council status, in central Israel, about 4 mi. (7 km.) E. of Netanyah, founded in 1932 by veteran farm workers from Nes Ẓiyyonah, followed soon afterwards by other settlers. The village's establishment was aided by the Belgian Zionist Jean Fischer Fund. Based mainly on citriculture, the village expanded and introduced small industrial enterprises during World War II to take the place of citrus which no longer had export outlets. With the mass immigration to Israel beginning in 1948, Kefar Yonah grew considerably when a large immigrant camp (*ma'barah) in the vicinity, Shevut Am (Bet Lid), later transferred part of its inhabitants to permanent housing in Kefar Yonah. In 1968, the settlement had 2,650 inhabitants. In the mid-1990s the population was approximately 5,650, and by the end of 2002 it had nearly doubled to 10,900, attracting city dwellers seeking a rural environment. The settlement's area is about 5 sq. mi. (12.7 sq. km.). Its name commemorates Jean (Yonah) *Fischer.

[Ephraim Orni / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

KEHIMKAR, ḤAYIM SAMUEL (1830–1909), historian of the *Bene Israel community in Bombay (Mumbai). Born in Alibag on the Konkan coast like many in his community he became a civil servant in Bombay. In 1853 he founded the Bombay Bene Israel Benevolent Society. In 1875 he and his two brothers opened a school in Bombay which taught both Marathi and Hebrew. He was the editor of the periodical *Israel*, which appeared until 1885, and his work *Sketch of the History of the Beni-Israel and an Appeal for Their Education* was published in 1892. On his death, he left in manuscript his "History of the Bene-Israel of India," a mine of information on the history and customs of the Bene Israel community, which was published in Tel Aviv in 1937 on the initiative of Immanuel *Olsvanger.

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[Walter Joseph Fischel]

°**KEIL, KARL FRIEDRICH** (1807–1888), German Bible critic, born in Lauterbach, Saxony. Keil was appointed to the theological faculty of Dorpat in Estonia where he taught Bible, New Testament exegesis, and Oriental languages. In 1859 he was called to serve the Lutheran church in Leipzig. In 1887 he moved to Rödletz, where he died. Keil was a conservative critic who reacted strongly against the scientific biblical criticism of his day. He strongly supported Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch. He maintained the validity of the historico-critical investigation of the Bible only if it proved the existence of New Testament revelation in the Scriptures. To this aim he edited (with Franz *Delitzsch) his principal work, a commentary on the Bible, *Biblischer Kommentar über das Alte Testament* (5 vols., 1866–82; *Biblical Commentary on the Old Testament*, 5 vols., 1872–77). The work remains his most enduring contribution to biblical studies. He also published commentaries on Maccabees and New Testament literature.

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[Zev Garber]

KEILAH (Heb. קְעִילָה), city of Judah, in the fourth district of the kingdom, together with Achzib and Mareshah (Josh. 15:44; cf. I Chron. 4:19). It is first mentioned in the *el-Amarna letters, in connection with disputes between the king of Jerusalem and the kings of the Shephelah (nos. 279, 280, 287, 289, 290). In I Samuel 23:7 it is described as a town with gates and bars, threshing floors, and cattle. Attacked by the Philistines, it was defended by David, then a fugitive outlaw. When, after the defeat of the enemy, Saul approached the town intending to capture David with the help of the inhabitants, who were ready to betray him, David escaped into the desert. In post-Exilic times, Keilah served as the headquarters of a district divided into two parts (Neh. 3:17, 18). The Keilah whose fig-cakes are mentioned in talmudic literature (TJ, Bik. 3:3, 65c) may be another place on the other side of the Jordan River. Eusebius refers to Keilah as a village 8 mi. (12¾ km.) from Eleutheropolis (Bet Guvrin) on the way to Hebron (Onom. 114:15ff.). A tomb of Habakkuk is located near the village in *Onomasticon* 88:27 and by Sozomenus (*Historia Ecclesiastica* 7:2). Keilah is identified with Khirbat Qīlā, 10 mi. (16 km.) northwest of Hebron.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Alt, in: PJB, 21 (1925), 21–22; 24 (1928), 26–27; Albright, in: BASOR, 15 (1924), 4; Beyer, in: ZDPU, 54 (1931), 222, n. 5; Aharoni, Land, index.

[Michael Avi-Yonah]

KEITEL, HARVEY (1939–), U.S. actor, producer. The son of a Polish mother and Romanian father, Keitel was born and raised in Brooklyn, New York. He enlisted in the U.S. Marine Corps at the age of 16 and served in Lebanon. Following his return to the U.S., he worked as a court reporter before being accepted at the New York Actors Studio, where he studied under legendary teachers such as Lee *Strasberg, Stella *Adler, and Frank Corsaro. In 1967, Keitel began his long relationship with director Martin Scorcese, as the two made their respective feature film debuts in *Who's That Knocking at My Door.* Five years later, Keitel and Scorcese made their breakthrough with *Mean Streets* (1973). Keitel's relationship with Scorcese continued throughout his career in acclaimed films such as *Taxi Driver* (1976), *Alice Doesn't Live Here Anymore* (1974), and *The Last Temptation of Christ* (1988). Keitel continued to work with distinctive directors on such breakthough films as Ridley Scott's *The Duellists* (1977), James Toback's *Fingers* (1978), Paul Schrader's *Blue Collar* (1978), and Betrand Tavernier's *La Mort en direct* (1980). Keitel's stature as an actor grew with his 1991 portrayal of gangster Mickey Cohen in *Bugsy*, for which he was nominated for an Oscar, and continued with his role as a detective in *Thelma and Louise* (1991). In 1992, Keitel's performance as Mr. White in Quentin Tarantino's *Reservoir Dogs* sustained his successful run, followed by important roles in such films as Abel Ferrara's *The Bad Lieutenant* (1992) and Jane Campion's *The Piano* (1993). Later work includes *Smoke* (1995), *From Dusk Till Dawn* (1996), *U-571* (2000), *Little Nicky* (2000), *Red Dragon* (2002), and *National Treasure* (2004).

[Walter Driver (2nd ed.)]

KELAL YISRAEL (Heb. כְּלָל יִשְׂרָאֵל; "Jewish community as a whole"), a term employed when discussing the common responsibility, destiny, and kinship of all members of the Jewish community. The rabbis declared that "all Israel are sureties one for another" (Shevu. 39a); and sinners must be rebuked because the entire community is ultimately responsible for their wrongdoings. Nevertheless, the rabbis recognized that a community will always possess some sinners and the Midrash interpreted the *Four Species as symbolizing four categories of Jews ranging from those who possess both Torah and good works to those who possess neither (Lev. R. 30:12). The unity of the Jewish nation was considered an historic and spiritual concept, in addition to being a social reality. All subsequent generations of Jews (including proselytes) were viewed as having been present at Mount Sinai and sharing in the responsibilities of the covenant with God (Shevu. 39a). Likewise, the righteous of all generations will be reunited at the time of the resurrection of the dead during the messianic period (Maim., Commentary to Mishnah, Sanh. 10:1). This concept of community and shared fate is a more concrete version of the aggadic notion, often found in the Midrash, of **keneset Yisrael*, i.e., "the community of Israel" as a spiritual and even mystical entity. The term *keneset Yisrael* is often used in aggadic literature as a personification of Israel in its dialogue with God and its faithfulness to Him. It praises the Almighty who in turn praises *keneset Yisrael* (Tanḥ., Ki-Tissa 18). The latter is also described as the mother of every Jew; the father is the Almighty Himself (Ber. 35b). *Keneset Yisrael* also boasts that "never did it enter the theaters and circuses of the heathen peoples to make merry and rejoice" (Lam. R., introd., p. 6). In the Zohar, God and *keneset Yisrael* are one when together in Ereẓ Israel. The community of Israel in exile is not united with God until it emerges from captivity and returns to its land (Zohar, Lev. 93b).

In modern times the concept of *kelal Yisrael* was further developed and utilized by Solomon *Schechter in defining change and development within Jewish law. Schechter held that the collective conscience of "catholic" Israel as embodied in the "universal synagogue" was the only true guide for determining contemporary *halakhah*. His viewpoint was an elaboration upon the talmudic principle "Go forth and see how the public is accustomed to act" (Ber. 45a).

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KELEN, IMRE (**Emery** or **Emerich**; 1895–), cartoonist. Kelen, who was born in Győr and won the Hungarian Military Cross in World War I, made his name with his caricatures of the statesmen at the Paris Peace Conference in 1919. Not long afterward he went to live in Switzerland, where in 1922 he began his collaboration with another Hungarian Jew, Aloysius Derso (1888–1964). Together the two men attended the League of Nations and major international conferences, and the Kelen-Derso cartoons appeared in many European newspapers over the next 15 years. In 1938 they emigrated to the United States, where they continued their collaboration until 1950. Collections of their work include *Guignol and Lausanne* (1922), *Indian Round Table Conference* (1930), *Le Testament de Genève* (1931), *Pages Glorieuses* (1932), *The League at Lunch* (1936), and *Peace in Their Time* (1963). Kelen also wrote children's books. From 1948 to 1957 he was adviser to and then director of the United Nations Television Service in New York, and in 1966 published a biography of the former secretary-general of the UN, Dag Hammarskjöld.

KELETI, AGNES (**Klein**; 1921–), Hungarian gymnast, the most successful Jewish female Olympian in history, winner of 11 medals including five gold, four silver, and two bronze, member of the International Gymnastics Hall of Fame and the Hungarian Sports Hall of Fame. Keleti began to study gymnastics at the age of four in Budapest, winning her first national title at 16, the first of 10 national titles in her career. She began focusing on the 1940 Olympics, but World War II caused the cancellation of the Games. At the beginning of the war Keleti's father was sent to Auschwitz, while her mother and sister were saved by Swedish diplomat Raoul *Wallenberg. Keleti purchased the papers of a Christian girl and escaped to a small Hungarian village, where she worked as a maid. After the war, she learned that her mother and sister had survived the concentration camps, but that her father and all her other relatives had been murdered at Auschwitz.

Keleti made the 1948 Hungarian gymnastic team, but an injury caused her to miss Olympic competition. She was nonetheless awarded a silver medal when Hungary finished second in team competition. At the 1952 Helsinki Olympics, Keleti – by now an "old" 31 – won a gold medal in the Floor Exercises, silver in the Combined Team competition, and a bronze in both Team Hand Apparatus and Uneven Parallel Bars. She also finished fourth in the Balance Beam, and sixth in the Individual All-Around.

In 1954, Keleti captured the World Championship in Uneven Bars, and her Hungarian team won the silver medal in Team Exercises (portable apparatus). She also took the bronze medal in the Balance Beam, and finished fourth in the Floor Exercise. Keleti won the All-Around Hungarian Championships 10 straight times from 1947 to 1956.

At the 1956 Melbourne Olympics, Keleti – now at the advanced age of 35 – won gold medals in the Free-Standing Exercise, Balance Beam, Parallel Bars, and Team Combined Exercise (portable apparatus), and silver medals in the individual all-around and team all-around competitions.

Four weeks before the opening of the Games the Hungarian Revolution began, with the Soviet Union sending troops into Hungary to quash a revolution aimed at ending the country's Communist domination. Two weeks after the revolt, Keleti and the rest of the Hungarian team left for the Melbourne Olympics and, once there, Keleti refused to return home, defecting to the West. She was able to get her mother and sister out of Hungary, and in 1957 they settled in Israel, where Keleti became an instructor in physical education at the *Wingate Institute, where she developed a number of national gymnastic teams.

Keleti's total of 10 Olympic medals ranks third all-time among women athletes, and her five gold medals rank fourth all-time for individual winner of Olympic gold medals. Keleti was inducted into the Hungarian Sports Hall of Fame in 1991 and the International Gymnastics Hall of Fame in 2002.

[Elli Wohlgelernter (2nd ed.)]

KELIM (Heb. כֵּלִים; "vessels"), first tractate of the Mishnah order of *Tohorot*. Including vessels of all kinds, the term also embraces clothing, furniture, and weapons – indeed any artifact, utensil, or implement. This tractate deals in 30 chapters with the law of ritual purity affecting the different kinds of *kelim*: the scriptural basis is in Leviticus 11:29–35; 15:4–6, 9–12, 19–27; Numbers 19:14–16, 31:19–24. Being the first, the longest, and the most important tractate of the order *Tohorot*, this tractate was itself sometimes referred to as *Tohorot* (e.g., in the commentary to *Tohorot* ascribed to Rav Hai Gaon, ed. Epstein). Because of its inordinate length this tractate was divided into three parts, of ten chapters each, respectively designated *Bava Kamma*, *Bava Meẓia*, and *Bava Batra* (the first, middle, and last gate), but this nomenclature survived only in the Tosefta.

The first chapter, which is a kind of introduction, sets out the various degrees of impurity and sanctity. Chapters 2–10 deal with earthen vessels, including ovens (Lev. 11:35), and vessels with a close-bond covering (Num. 19:15). Chapters 11–14 cover metal vessels, 15–19 vessels of wood, leather, bone, etc. Chapter 20 discusses the problem of *midras*, indicated in Leviticus 15:26. Chapters 21–25 deal with artifacts composed of various parts and pieces, e.g., plow, saw, table, riding equipment, etc., and chapters 26–28 deal with leatherware and garments, etc. Chapter 29 deals with the incidental parts of garments and vessels, like cords, handles, etc., and chapter 30 deals with glassware. The last halakhic statement in the tractate is that an *afarkas* of glass (*clepsydra*, or waterclock) does not receive impurity; it thus ends on a note of cleanness, which makes R. Yose exclaim: "Blessed art thou, O *Kelim*, for thou didst enter in uncleanness, but art gone forth in cleanness." This shows that an early version of this tractate, with the same name, existed prior to the Mishnah of Judah ha-Nasi. There is in addition some evidence that many anonymous parts of the tractate are according to him. Certain other characteristics of *Kelim* are also in accordance with Yose's usages. Rich in valuable detail on daily life, *Kelim* contributes much to knowledge of the material culture of the tannaitic period. It has also preserved many Greek, Latin, and other words, which were then in popular use. Though there is no Talmud to *Kelim*, all the sayings concerning it which can be found in various Babylonian tractates were collected and arranged in the form of the usual *Gemara* by R. Gershon Ḥanokh Leiner, and printed by him, with his commentaries in *Sidrei Tohorah* (1873), a work of cardinal importance to the understanding of this complicated tractate. J.N. Epstein has written a short but important commentary on *Kelim* which sheds much light for the modern student (Tanna'im, 479–94). Mishnah *Kelim* was translated into English by H. Danby (*The Mishnah*, 1933), and J. Neusner published a translation of both the Mishnah (1991) and the Tosefta (2002) of *Tohorot*.

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[Arnost Zvi Ehrman]

KELLER, MORTON (1929–), U.S. historian. Born in New York, Keller received his B.A. from the University of Rochester (1950) and his M.A. (1952) and his Ph.D. from Harvard University (1953). He taught at the North Carolina and Pennsylvania universities, and in 1964 became chairman of the history department at Brandeis University. Specializing in late 19th- and 20th-century American history, he lectured at Harvard and at the University of Sussex, England. After retiring from teaching, Keller became the Spector Professor of History emeritus at Brandeis and a visiting fellow at the Hoover Institution. In 1999 he was named resident scholar at Rockefeller Center at Bellagio and librarian of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences.

He is the author of *In Defense of Yesterday: James M. Beck and the Politics of Conservatism, 1861–1936* (1958), *The Life Insurance Enterprises, 1885–1910* (1963), *The Art and Politics of Thomas Nast* (1968), *Affairs of State* (1977), *Regulating a New Society* (1990), *Regulating a New Economy* (1990), and *Making Harvard Modern* (with P. Keller, 2001). He edited *The New Deal: What Was It?* (1963) and *Theodore Roosevelt* (1967); and co-edited *Taking Stock: American Government in the 20th Century* (1999).

[Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

KELLERMAN, FAYE (1952–), U.S. mystery writer. Born in St. Louis, Mo., Kellerman grew up in Los Angeles. She earned a bachelor's degree in mathematics and a D.D.S., both from the University of California at Los Angeles. She never practiced dentistry, however, and was a full-time mother of four before publishing her first novel, *The Ritual Bath* (1986), in which she introduced a series with a Los Angeles police officer, Sgt. Peter Decker, and Rina Lazarus. In the book, Decker is called to investigate a rape charge in an isolated Orthodox Jewish community. Lazarus, a young widow who found the victim, guides Decker through her suspicious community as all the signs point to the rapist's first crime not being his last. Kellerman's writing frequently deals with Jewish themes and characters, incorporating them into the framework of the traditional mystery. Her debut novel won the 1987 Macavity Award for best first mystery. Since then, she has published more than 15 mysteries, with titles like *Milk and Honey*, *Day of Atonement*, *False Prophet*, *Grievous Sin*, *Sanctuary*, *Prayers for the Dead,* and *The Stone Kiss.* Kellerman is a practicing Orthodox Jew, as is her husband, the novelist Jonathan *Kellerman. They are believed to be the only married couple ever to appear on the *New York Times* bestseller list simultaneously (for two different books). "Religion is a major factor in my life," Faye Kellerman said in an interview in 1999. "I consider myself a modern Orthodox Jewish woman with attachments to my synagogue, my children's religious school, and the community at large." In another interview, she explained: "The religion in the books comes from personal experience. I have a great deal of love for my religion. I felt that maybe I could transmit some of that feeling and emotion. Also, I felt that people would enjoy learning about the rites and rituals of Orthodox Jewry the same way I enjoy learning about other cultures and religions."

[Stewart Kampel (2nd ed.)]

KELLERMAN, JONATHAN (1949–), U.S. mystery writer, psychologist. Kellerman, who was born in New York City and grew up in Los Angeles, received a bachelor's degree in psychology from the University of California at Los Angeles and a doctorate in psychology from the University of Southern California, where he became clinical professor of pediatrics at the School of Medicine. His internship and postdoctoral fellowship were at the Children's Hospital/School of Medicine, where he became founding director of the Psychosocial Program, Division of Hematology-Oncology. He is the author of numerous articles in the scientific and popular press, three books on psychology, including *Psychological Aspects of Childhood Cancer* and *Helping the Fearful Child*, two children's books, *Daddy, Daddy, Can You Touch the Sky?* and *Jonathan Kellerman's ABC of Weird Creatures*, which he also illustrated, and about 20 consecutive bestselling novels. After a decade of nonsuccess in his writing career, his first published work, *When the Bough Breaks* (1985), sold more than a million copies and kick-started his career. He has continued at a rate of about one a year since. Most of the books feature a pair of friends, Dr. Alex Delaware, a sensitive child psychologist, and the more macho Milo Sturgis of the Los Angeles Police Department, who happens to be a homosexual. Some of his novels, like *Dr. Death*, about a self-styled euthanasia champion, seem to have been inspired by people in the news or by then-current news events. All are considered fast-paced, intense, and edgy. Like his wife, Faye *Kellerman, he is a practicing Orthodox Jew.

[Stewart Kampel (2nd ed.)]

KELLERMANN, BENZION (1869–1923), rabbi and author. Born in Gerolzhofen, Bavaria, he served as instructor in religion in Berlin, Frankfurt, and Konitz, and in 1917 was appointed rabbi of the Berlin community. A disciple of Hermann *Cohen, he based his religious philosophy and his rational concept of Judaism as ethical monotheism on the teachings of that German-Jewish philosopher. Kellermann was the author of the following works: *Kritische Beitraege zur Enstehungsgeschichte des Christentums* (1906); *Liberales Judentum* (1907); *Der wissenschaftliche Idealismus und die Religion* (1908); *Der ethische Monotheismus der Propheten und seine soziologische Wuerdigung* (1917); *Das Ideal im System der Kantischen Philosophie* (1920); and *Die Ethik Spinozas, ueber Gott und Geist* (1922). He also translated the major part of the medieval philosophical work *Milḥamot Adonai (Die Kaempfe Gottes)* by *Levi b. Gershom (introduction and four tractates, with extensive commentary 1914–16). There was much controversy over the translation, due to the fact that some passages contain an inaccurate rendering of the thoughts expressed in the original text (see S. Rubin, in: MGWJ, 63 (1919), 71–74).

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[Bernard Suler]

KELLNER, LEON (1859–1928), professor of English literature and one of Herzl's early friends and advisers. Teaching in various schools, and after a scholarship at the British Museum in London (1887), he became a lecturer in English literature at the University of Vienna in 1890. Besides his employment at a high school in Vienna he continued his lectures at the University in 1894–1904. From 1904 to 1914 he was a professor at the University of Czernowitz, where he was active in public life as a representative of the Jewish-national list to the *Landtag* (local parliament). When World War I broke out, Kellner flew to Vienna. After the war he served as an English expert in the office of the president of the Austrian Republic (Praesidentenkanzlei). He gave lectures at the Technical University and at the adult college in Vienna. From the publication of his first article (1884), he was active in scholarly writing, mainly in the research of English literature. He published critical editions of English texts, grammar books, an English-German, German-English dictionary, a dictionary of Shakespeare, and a history of English and American literature. His works were highly successful and were published in several editions because of their attractive style, even in purely academic subjects. He also published articles, stories, and feuilletons in newspapers and periodicals in English and German.

In 1896 he made the acquaintance of Herzl and was invited by him to edit the Zionist organ *Die *Welt*, but did not accept. He contributed to *Die Welt* from its first issue (at first under his own signature and later under the signature Leo Rafaels), and in 1900 edited the paper. Kellner assisted Herzl by opening many locked doors in England and was one of his closest associates. Herzl wrote of him in his diary: "Kellner, my best and dearest friend, whose visits are rays of light in the murk of all these worries" (March 26, 1898), "he knows more than anybody about my intentions" (May 27, 1898); Herzl even requested that Kellner publish his diary. Kellner fulfilled his request by publishing a selection of Herzl's writings in two volumes (*Theodor Herzl's Zionistische Schriften*, 1908), by aiding the publication of the diaries, and beginning to write a comprehensive biography of Herzl, of which only the first part *Theodor Herzl's Lehrjahre* was published (1920).

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[Getzel Kressel / Archiv Bibliographia Judaica (2nd ed.)]

KELMAN, WOLFE (1923–1990), U.S. rabbi and administrator. Born in Vienna, the scion of a Ḥasidic dynasty, Kelman's family moved to Toronto, Ontario, where he was educated in the public schools. He served in the Royal Canadian Air Force during World War II and earned a B.A. from the University of Toronto in 1946 and then entered the Jewish Theological Seminary, from which he was ordained in 1950.

At the urging of Chancellor Louis Finkelstein, Kelman became the director of the Rabbinical Assembly in 1951, a position that was variously called executive secretary, executive director, and finally as executive vice president. The titles changed but not the job. Under his leadership the Rabbinical Assembly grew from 300 rabbis to 1,200 in 12 countries. For the first 15 years of his tenure he served as the head of the Joint Placement Commission during a time of the most rapid expansion of the Conservative Movement, and thus became a matchmaker between rabbis and their congregations. He facilitated the placement of non-seminary graduates from Yeshiva University and even Torah Vadaat along with the seminary graduates. In total, he placed more than 1,500 rabbis in their positions.

Kelman's greatest contribution to the rabbinate was to ensure rabbis were paid a professional salary and that they and their families were treated with dignity. In one instance, Kelman threatened to stage a march of one hundred rabbis for the media if a particular congregation dared to cast a widow and her children out of the parish home without providing for them.

Kelman was a confidante of his teacher Abraham Joshua *Heschel throughout Heschel's and Rabbi Joseph Baer *Soloveitchik's negotiations with the Vatican and Pope Paul VI regarding *Nostra Aetate*. He also marched with Heschel in Montgomery and pleaded with him to make major addresses to White House Conferences on Education and Aging. Kelman mentored Elie *Wiesel when he was a young and relatively unknown rabbi.

Colleagues in other movements praised Kelman. The Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion awarded him an honorary doctorate shortly before his death. Under his leadership the Rabbinical Assembly became economically viable, most especially from its publishing division. Toward the end of his career, he led the admission of women into the hitherto all male rabbinate.

From 1986 he served as the chairman of the American section of the World Jewish Congress. He was also the director of the Louis Finkelstein Institute for Religious and Social Studies. The son of an Orthodox rabbi and the son-in-law of a Reform rabbi, Kelman was an early believer in religious pluralism. His own son Levi led a neo-Ḥasidic Reform Congregation in Jerusalem.

[Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

KELME (Lithuanian **Kelmė**; Rus. **Kelmy**; Yid. **Kelm**), town in W. central Lithuania. It became known as a center of the *musar movement in Lithuania. The Jewish community there may have been in existence for several hundred years; its synagogue was said to be 300 years old, and there was a tradition that its reconstruction had been financed by a Polish landlord, Graszewsky. The Jewish population numbered 759 in 1847, and 2,710 (69% of the total) in 1897. The town became associated with the "Kelmer Maggid" Moses Isaac Darshan. According to the 1923 census there were 1,599 Jews living in Kelme. Most were occupied as small shopkeepers and artisans, but there were also grain and timber merchants, and owners of brush factories and tanneries. Communal institutions included two Jewish elementary schools (*Tarbut and Yavneh), a Jewish preparatory school, and a bank, among others. A number of prominent scholars served as rabbis in the town, among them Eliezer *Gordon, later rabbi of Telsiai. A *musar* yeshivah in Kelme was established by Simḥah Zissel *Broida, which also attracted students from other places; it existed until World War II.

During World War II, Kelme was occupied by the Germans shortly after the outbreak of the war between Germany and Soviet Russia. Most of the Jews were murdered in July and August 1941.

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[Joseph Gar]

KELSEN, HANS (1881–1973), jurist, whose "pure theory of law" made him one of the most famous legal theoreticians of the 20th century. Born in Prague, Kelsen was taken to Vienna when he was 14. He studied at the universities of Vienna, Heidelberg, and Berlin, and was professor of constitutional and administrative law and of legal philosophy at the University of Vienna from 1919 to 1929. In 1920 he drafted the constitution of the Austrian Republic and was a judge of the supreme court of Austria from 1920 to 1929. Kelsen was professor of law at Cologne University from 1929 until 1933, when, although baptized, he was compelled to resign his post. He taught at the Institut des Hautes Etudes Internationales in Geneva until 1940 and at the University of Prague before he immigrated to the United States. He became professor of political science at the University of California in 1944.

The breakdown of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, and the interwar tragedy of frustrated democracy in Austria, led him to a theory of law transcending nations and states. While he was professor of law at Vienna University, Kelsen founded the so-called Vienna school of jurisprudence, which preached the "pure theory of law." Originally developed 20 years earlier in his *Hauptprobleme der Staatsrechtslehre* (1911), the "pure theory" is a logical analysis of the law considered as a system of norms. A "basic norm" (*Grundnorm*) stands at the head of the system: this gives validity to the whole of the legal order and all the legal rules in the order may be ultimately referred to it. The "pure theory of law" was the result of a vigorous campaign by Kelsen to treat law as a science free from sociological and political elements, even though he recognized that each country's legal system must be determined by the state. This approach brought him into open conflict with communist doctrines, which subjected law to the political structure of the state, and with sociological jurisprudence, which regarded law as reflecting the society in which it existed. The climax of Kelsen's theory was a vision of the unification of legal systems within a framework of international law which would establish a universal legal order. Although his "pure theory of law" has been subject to widespread criticism and rejected by most schools of jurisprudence, Kelsen has greatly influenced legal thinking in the 20th century. Kelsen was a prolific writer and his works have been translated into almost every European language (Russian being a noteworthy exception).

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[Josef J. Lador-Lederer]

°**KEMAL MUSTAFA** (**Ataturk**; 1881–1938), Turkish general and statesman, founder of the Republic of Turkey and its first president (1923–38). Endowed with far-sighted vision and boundless energy, he was responsible, after the defeat of the *Ottoman Empire in World War I and its dismemberment, in leading the remnants of the Ottoman army to victory. No less significantly, he shaped Turkey into a state with institutions modeled on West-European patterns, aiming to achieve a modern society. What was noteworthy in his reforms was the comprehensiveness of his approach and his drive to institute change in practically all walks of life, from the roots up. His most important reforms in modernization and secularization (he limited, intentionally, the influence of *Islam) were the following:

The creation of a modern republican state structure with a constitution (proclaimed in 1924), a freely elected parliament (for which women could vote), the founding of a political party (as an agent of modernization), recruitment of a modern bureaucracy, building a new capital in Ankara, disestablishment of religion by secularizing education and the courts, emancipation of women both politically (by giving them the right to vote) and socially (by instituting monogamy and discouraging the veil), adoption of the Latin instead of the Arabic alphabet, and reformation of the Turkish language.

Mustafa Kemal set out to change the mentality of his people in order to induce them to adopt and support his reforms. He never tired of lecturing them on their proud past (and insisted on a patriotic school curriculum in history as well as on historical research at the universities). He insisted on symbols that would enhance love for the fatherland and increase national solidarity for nation-building. The single party he headed was mobilized for these ends and for promoting the reforms within parliament and outside it. While Turkey's economy did not improve visibly, other aspects covered by the reforms did, largely carried out due to his impressive charisma.

Jews and other religious groups were freed from all limitations imposed by the late Ottoman Empire and considered equal citizens. Of course, equality had some drawbacks such as the laws instituting Turkish as the language of instruction (instead of minority languages) in the entire school system. However, Mustafa Kemal should be remembered, also, for his magnanimous and far-sighted decision to invite about 300 professors, physicians, and lawyers, most of them Jewish, from Germany, during the 1930s (along with their extended families), thus rescuing them from Nazi persecution (and worse) and raising the level of teaching and research in Turkey's universities, where many were offered academic appointments.

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[Jacob M. Landau (2nd ed.)]

KEMELMAN, HARRY (1908–1996), U.S. author. Kemelman wrote entertaining novels of detective fiction in which the hero is a rabbi-sleuth, David Small. They include *Friday the Rabbi Slept Late* (1964), *Saturday the Rabbi Went Hungry* (1966), and *Sunday the Rabbi Stayed Home* (1969). He also published *The Nine Mile Walk* (1967), a collection of stories originally published in *Ellery Queen's Magazine*.

KEMÉNY, SIMON (1882–1945), Hungarian poet and editor. In his emotional impressionist poetry, he overcame his tendency to religiosity. Kemény, a converted Jew, was murdered during the last days of the siege of Budapest by Hungarian Nazis. His main work is *Lamentàciok* ("Lamentations," 1909).

KEMPEN, town in the Rhineland, Germany. The first settlement of Jews in Kempen must have taken place sometime before 1288, when persecutions claimed 17 victims, among whom was a Torah scribe, Isaac, and a young boy, Abraham, who was burned to death. In the 14th century Jews originating from Kempen are found in *Cologne. Kempen Jews were allowed to deal in meat, and to slaughter both for themselves and for non-Jews, but they had to use the public scales and pay a fee to the weight master. In 1330, in return for a loan of 8,000 marks, the archbishop of Kempen granted the Jews of Kempen protection and citizenship. However, in 1347 another persecution drove a number of Jews from the town, and this was followed soon after by the *Black Death persecutions in which Jews also suffered. In 1385 Jews are recorded as living in a *Judengasse* northeast of the market. There are no further traces of permanent Jewish settlement in the city until 1807, when under French rule there were 32 Jews in Kempen under the authority of the Krefeld consistory. A synagogue was consecrated in 1849; in 1854 there were 125 Jewish families affiliated to it, 26 of them (92 persons) living in the town of Kempen. From 1854 to 1922 the community had its own elementary school. In 1895 the number of Jews in the city of Kempen was 103 (1.5%), in 1925; 80 with another 500 or so living in the county. At the beginning of the 1930s there were 150 Jewish families in the county, and 23 of them (70 persons) dwelling in the town. The synagogue was destroyed in 1938. On July 25, 1942, about 200 Jews were deported from Kempen, mainly to *Theresienstadt.

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KEMPF, FRANZ MOSHE (1926–), Australian artist and printmaker. Born in Melbourne, Kempf studied different subjects, among them art at the National Gallery School in Australia. In 1956 he went to Italy and studied with Oskar Kokoschka in Salzburg in 1957. He focused not only on art but also on illustration and technological design and became a lecturer in printmaking. As president of the Contemporary Art Society of South Australia, he lectured in graphic art at the South Australian School of Art, becoming head of the department in 1969. During the same time he was also chairman of the Australian Jewish Art Group. Kempf, from an absolutely assimilated background, turned to the ḥasidic path of Chabad and became a strictly observant Jew. His work reflects his deep involvement with Judaism. Both his paintings and his prints contain biblical and ḥasidic themes, ranging from the *shtetl* to the messianic portrayal.

Kempf's style tends towards the semiabstract, but his statements are definite. His painting unites profundity of theme with subtlety of expression. *The End of Days* (by S. Gorr, 1968) was illustrated by Kempf with four original etchings composed specially for the text. His works have been acquired by the city galleries of all the Australian state capitals, by the National Gallery in Canberra, and others in the U.K. and Israel. He has also had exhibitions in the U.K., U.S., Europe, and Israel. Kempf's publications are "Art in Israel," in *Broadsheet* (Contemporary Art Society, 1965); "Polish Printmakers 1972," in *Art and Australia* (1973); "Sculpture in South Australia," in *Art and Australia* (1974); and *Contemporary Australian Printmakers* (1976).

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KEMPINSKY, AHARON (1939–1994), Israeli archaeologist. Brought up in Nahariyyah, Kempinsky participated as a teenager in 1952–53 in P. *Delougaz's excavations at Bet Yeraḥ. His academic studies were undertaken at the Hebrew University and it was there that he acquired his M.A. and eventually his Ph.D. In time he became a professor of archaeology at the Institute of Archaeology, Tel Aviv University, and taught at Ben-Gurion University in Beersheba as well. As a student at the Hebrew University, Kempinsky worked as Professor Nahman *Avigad's assistant at Makhmish. Many archaeological excavations followed, some of which he directed, at Palmaḥim (1961), Hazor (1965–66), Megiddo (1965), and Bet ha-Emek (1973). In 1972–75, and again in 1979, Kempinsky (with V. Fritz) uncovered an important early Iron Age village at Tel Masos, not far from Beersheba. In 1975 Kempinsky made a short excavation at Tel Kabri, which was followed by an intensive project there (conducted together with W.D. Niemeyer) from 1986 to 1993. At Kabri a Middle Bronze Age building (perhaps a palace) was exposed, with wall and floor paintings resembling those from Thera (Santorini). Kempinsky was an insatiable reader with an encyclopedic mind; he also traveled all over the world and was a visiting scholar at various universities and colleges, notably at Tuebingen University in 1975. Kempinsky was a prolific writer and wrote many research papers on a diverse number of subjects. Important publications include *The Architecture of Ancient Israel from the Prehistoric to the Persian Periods*, which he co-edited with Ronny Reich, and the final reports on the Tel Masos and Kabri excavations. Kempinsky was a mentor for many of the younger generation of archaeologists in Israel.

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[Shimon Gibson (2nd ed.)]

KEMPNER, AVIVA (1946–), U.S. director-writer. Kempner was born in Berlin, Germany, to Chaim Kempner and Helen (née Ciesla). Kempner's Lithuanian father, an immigrant to the United States who served in the U.S. Army during World War II, met Kempner's Polish mother after liberation. Kempner's family moved to Detroit, Mich., in 1950. She graduated from the University of Michigan in 1969 with a bachelor's degree in psychology and in 1971 earned her master's in urban planning. In 1976, she earned her law degree from the Antioch School of Law. Inspired by her own family's Holocaust legacy, Kempner turned to Josh Waletzky for help in writing and directing *Partisans of Vilna* (1986), a film about Jewish resistance against the Nazis which was produced by The Ciesla Foundation, a nonprofit organization that Kempner established in 1981 to produce and distribute films about social and public interest issues. Kempner wrote the narration for *Promises to Keep* (1988), an Oscar-nominated documentary about homelessness. A resident of Washington, D.C., Kempner started the Washington Jewish Film Festival in 1989. In 1998, she wrote and directed *The Life and Times of Hank Greenberg*, a documentary about the Jewish baseball star that won the George Peabody Award. In 2002, she released *Today I Vote for My Joey*, a comic short inspired by the 2000 election and the candidacy for vice president of Sen. Joseph *Lieberman, which she wrote for AFI's Directing Workshop for Women. Kempner then went on to work on *Gertrude Berg: America's Molly Goldberg*, about the creator, writer, and star of *The Goldbergs*, a popular 1930s radio show about a Jewish family that went on to become a television series. Kempner reviewed films for *The Boston Globe, The Forward, Washington Jewish Week*, and *The Washington Post*, among others, and contributed chapters to the books *Daughters of Absence* and *What Israel Means to Me*.

[Adam Wills (2nd ed.)]

KEMPNER, HARRIS (1837–1894), U.S. financier. Kempner, who was born in Russia, emigrated to the United States at the age of 17. He worked for two years in New York City and then moved to Cold Springs, Texas (1856), where he opened a general store. After fighting for the Confederacy during the Civil War, Kempner returned to his Texas store. He moved to Galveston in 1870 and opened a wholesale grocery business that soon became the largest in the South. This business provided Kempner with the initial capital to move into the railroad, commodities, and banking fields. He provided funds for the building of the Gulf, Colorado, and Santa Fe Railroad, and led the fight that resulted in the line's subsequent merger with the Topeka and Santa Fe Railroad. In 1885 Kempner became president of the Island City (Texas) Savings Bank. He soon became a major figure in Texas banking, controlling several big Texas banks. The cotton brokerage firm which Kempner founded in Galveston in 1886, with offices in major European capitals, soon became one of the biggest in the South.

His eldest son, ISAAC HERBERT KEMPNER (1873–1967), was a businessman, banker, and public servant. An early advocate of the commission form of city government, Kempner served as Galveston city treasurer (1899), city finance commissioner (1901–15), and mayor (1917–19).

KEMPNER, ROBERT MAX WASILII (1899–1993), lawyer and historian. Born in Freiburg, Germany, Kempner became an assistant to the state attorney in Berlin (1926) and later a judge. From 1926 to 1933 he was a senior government adviser in the Prussian Ministry of Interior in Berlin. In this period he demanded that Hitler be tried for perjury and treason. He also officially called for disbanding the Nazi Party and Hitler's deportation as an undesirable alien. Removed from office on Hitler's rise to power, he was arrested by the Gestapo, and after his release went to Italy, where he taught until 1939. From there he immigrated to the U.S., where he became a research associate at the University of Pennsylvania and, among other government appointments, worked on President Roosevelt's Manhattan Project. From 1945 to 1946 he was a U.S. prosecutor and from 1946 until 1949 chief prosecutor of Nazi political leaders at the Nuremberg Trials. From 1949 he engaged in special research on the Nazi Holocaust of European Jewry. As a consultant to the Israel government, he helped assemble evidence for the *Eichmann trial (1960–61). Subsequently he fought against the Statute of Limitations in West Germany. Kempner practiced law in Frankfurt on the Main in the 1960s. He then moved back to Philadelphia.

He wrote numerous books and articles on the Nazi era and related post-war topics, notably *Eichmann und Komplizen* (1961), containing a description of Eichmann's activities based on original documents; *SS im Kreuzverhoer* (1964), based on protocols of war-crime trials; and *Edith Stein und Anne Frank, Zwei von Hunderttausend* (1968). Kempner's wife, Ruth Lydia, assembled archives of documents and other materials on Nazi crimes against the churches throughout Europe.

[B. Mordechai Ansbacher]

KENAANI, DAVID (1912–1982), Hebrew essayist and editor. Born in Warsaw, Kenaani was an active member of Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir. He settled in Ereẓ Israel in 1934 and joined kibbutz Merḥavyah. He began his literary career in the journal *Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir* in Warsaw in 1932, and wrote extensively on social and literary subjects in the Israel press from a left socialist-Zionist point of view. His books include: *Le-Nogah Eẓ Rakav*, an examination of U.Z. Greenberg's poetry (1950); *Beinam le-Vein Zemannam*, essays on modern Hebrew literature (1955); and *Battei Middot*, essays on communal life (1960). He edited, among other publications, a historical atlas (1954); an anthology of Hebrew and Yiddish literature in the past 100 years (1954); an anthology on Soviet Jewry (with A. Shimri, 1957), and the Hebrew edition of *Zinberg's *History of Jewish Literature* (6 vols., 1955–60). He was principal editor of an encyclopedia of the social sciences *Enẓiklopedyah le-Madda'ei ha-Ḥevrah* (5 vols., 1962–70).

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[Getzel Kressel]

KENAN, AMOS (1927–), Hebrew writer. Kenan was born in Tel Aviv. He was a member of the anti-British military underground movement, and he became known during the 1950s as the author of the satirical column "*Uzi ve-Shut*" in the daily *Haaretz*. During the following decade he wrote a number of plays which were close in spirit and expression to the Theater of the Absurd, much in vogue in those days, and published his first novella *Ba-Taḥanah* ("At the Station") in 1963. Eschewing realistic narrative, Kenan's stories resist the familiar pattern of plot and character in favor of an episodic texture which evokes a particular atmosphere and communicates sharp images. Kenan, who voiced "dovish" political views soon after the War of Independence and was co-founder of the Israeli-Palestinian Council in the 1970s, vented subversive political ideas in both his fiction and essay writing. *Ha-*

Derekh le-Ein Ḥarod (1984; *The Road to Ein Harod*, 1988) is a fantastic, historiosophical novel, a wild dystopia, the story of an Israeli who, having killed someone, flees for his life towards Ein Ḥarod in the Jezreel Valley. On the way he meets the Arab Mahmud, who becomes a friend on a bizarre voyage which ends with the realization that the ideas of freedom and decency are no longer to be found in that exemplary kibbutz. The collection *Block 23 / Mikhtavim mi-Nes Ẓiyyonah* (1996) contains two apocalyptic novellas which portray a grim picture of future Israel. "Block 23" depicts Tel Aviv after a disastrous war, with its inhabitants living in camps, overshadowed by daily executions and spreading leprosy. Satire and parody are fused with poetic, lyrical descriptions. *Shoshanat Yeriḥo* ("The Rose of Jericho," 1998) is a collection of essays describing landscapes and places in Ereẓ Israel, nature, sounds and flavors, while recollecting biblical episodes and confronting history and shattered dreams. Kenan, known also as painter, sculptor, and Tel Aviv bon vivant, published among others *Ha-Delet ha-Keḥulah* ("The Blue Door," 1972), *Et Waheb be-Sufah* ("Waheb in Sufah," 1988), and the poems collected under *Keẓ Idan ha-Zoḥalim* ("End of Reptile Era," 1999). For translation see the ITHL website at www.ithl.org.il.

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[Anat Feinberg (2nd ed.)]

KENATH (Heb. קְנָת), ancient city of the *Hauran. Kenath is possibly the city mentioned as Qen in the Egyptian Execration texts (19th/18th centuries B.C.E.), Qanu in the list of cities conquered by Thutmosis III (c. 1469 B.C.E.), and Qana in the el-Amarna Letters (no. 204). It was captured by the tribe of Manasseh and named after its leader Nobah; the Arameans later took it from Israel (Num. 32:42; I Chron. 2:23). It was probably taken by Tiglath-Pileser III during his expedition in 733/2 B.C.E. and appears in his inscriptions as [Qa-]ni-te on the border of Aram-Damascus. Kenath, called Canatha in Hellenistic-Roman times, was the site of a battle between Herod and the Nabatean Arabs and in 23 B.C.E. it was given to Herod by the emperor Augustus (Jos., Ant., 15:112; Wars, 1:366). It was a city of the Decapolis (Pliny, *Historia Naturalis* 5:18; Ptolemeus, 5:14, 18) and apparently the earliest urban unit in the Hauran. Its founding by Pompey is commemorated in its date (64 B.C.E.); its name Gabiniana recalls its building by Gabinius. In the time of Claudius coins were struck there with the images of Tyche, Athena, and Zeus. Septimus Severus made it a colony called Septimia Canotha. It continued to be an episcopal see into Byzantine times (Hierocles, *Synecdemus* 723:4; Georgius Cyprius 1075). It is the present-day Druze town of al-Qanawāt in Syria.

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[Michael Avi-Yonah]

KENAZ, YEHOSHUA (1937–), Hebrew prose writer. Kenaz was born in Petaḥ Tikvah. He studied philosophy and Romance languages at the Hebrew University and French Literature at the Sorbonne. Kenaz worked for many years on the editorial staff of the daily *Haaretz*, and is known also for his masterly translations of French literature into Hebrew. One of Israel's most prominent prose writers, Kenaz published his first novel, *Aḥarei ha-Ḥagim* ("After the Holidays," 1987), in 1964, the story of the Weiss family in Petaḥ Tikvah of the Mandate period. Avoiding sentimentality and nostalgia, Kenaz portrays the tense, neurotic relationships between the parents and their two daughters in a dilapidated house which is indeed a metonymy for the disintegration of the family. Hatred, envy, and madness mark the atmosphere in this narrative about the first moshavah in Ereẓ Israel, with strange people, Jews and Arabs alike, frustrated passions, and unfulfilled dreams. Kenaz debunks the idealized and idealistic Zionist project, yet avoids addressing directly the traditional central themes of Hebrew writing. Neither warriors nor kibbutz members are his concern. Instead, he depicts the life of individuals against a prosaic, desolate urban setting, oscillating between the pathetic and the grotesque. Indeed, the unpoetic and the mundane fuel his poetic world. At the heart of his prose is not the heroic, successful, or thriving Israeli, but old, deranged people, losers of sorts, frustrated lovers. The "*condition humaine*" in a nutshell, set in an urban apartment house, a pattern recurring in Kenaz's prose, appears for the first time in his second novel *Ha-Ishah ha-Gedolah min ha-Ḥalomot* ("The Great Woman of the Dreams," 1973): The story of the sado-masochistic marriage of Shmulik and Malka and the unhappy relationship of Levanah and Zion is interwoven with the fates of a childless German-Jewish couple, a lonely Hungarian bachelor, and the blind, hypersensitive, and sensual Rosa. Similar in approach are *Ha-Derekh el ha-Ḥatulim* (1991; *The Way to the Cats*, 1994) and *Maḥzir Ahavot Kodmot* (1997; *Returning Lost Loves*, 2001). *The Way to the Cats* focuses on bodily decrepitude and mental deterioration as well as the loneliness of old people, primarily Yolanda Moskovich, who leaves an old age home and returns to her flat, yet cannot get rid of her paranoia and anxieties. The tragic and the comic, empathy and resentment mark the changing tone in *Returning Lost Loves*, in which, once again, several plots run in parallel. The central plot revolves around the liaison between a woman past her prime and a married man and is closely related to the story of unrequited love, rape, and murder taking place in the same building. Other episodes unfold the tortuous relationship between a father and his son, an army deserter. In 1980 *Moment Musikali* (*Musical Moment*, 1995) appeared, four stories which delineate the end of innocence and rites of manhood. Suffused with sensuality and passion, Kenaz depicts the painful process of maturing and self-awareness. Two novellas entitled *Nof im*

Sheloshah Eẓim ("Landscape with Three Trees") appeared in 2000. Undoubtedly one of Kenaz's finest accomplishments is his novel *Hitganvut Yeḥidim* (1986; *Infiltration,* 2003), the story of a platoon of recruits with minor physical disabilities during their basic training at an army camp sometime in the 1950s. Kenaz offers an impressive Israeli polyphony representing various ethnic and social groups and at the same time a rich texture of unique personal fates. This microcosmos of Israeli life reveals in an imposing, albeit disconcerting, manner the changes which have taken place in Israeli society, and in particular the shifting attitudes to the extolled paradigm of the Sabra, to politics, and to army life. Kenaz was awarded many literary prizes, including the Agnon Prize (1993) and the Bialik Prize (1995). His books have been translated into many languages, and information about translations is available at the ITHL website under www.ithl.org.il.

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[Anat Feinberg (2nd ed.)]

KENESET YISRAEL (Heb. כְּנֶסֶת יִשְׂרָאֵל; "the community of Israel"), a phrase found frequently in rabbinic literature referring to the totality of the Jewish community. Largely identical with **kelal Yisrael*, it is used as the personification of the Jewish community in its dialogue with the Almighty. In modern times this title was adopted by the official Jewish community in Ereẓ Israel when it was organized as a corporate entity in 1927 (see *Israel, State of: History 1880–1948). *Keneset Yisrael* was also the name of a literary and historical annual which appeared in Warsaw, 1886–88.

KENITE (Heb. קֵינִי), a large group of nomadic clans engaged chiefly in metal working. The root *qyn* has the same meaning in cognate Semitic languages, e.g., in Arabic *qayna*, "tinsmith," "craftsman"; in Syriac and Aramaic *qyn'h, qyny*, "metalsmith." In the Bible the word *kayin* (*qayin*) also means a weapon made of metal, probably a spear (II Sam. 21:16); and the proper noun "Tubal-Cain, who forged all the implements of copper and iron" (Gen. 4:22) is a compound name in which the second noun indicates the trade. There is a connection between this trade and the story of *Cain who wandered from place to place and was protected by a special sign: "Therefore, if anyone kills Cain, sevenfold vengeance shall be taken on him" (Gen. 4:15). Among primitive tribes to the present day there are clans of coppersmiths and tinsmiths whom it is considered a grave offense to harm.

The Kenites came from the south: Midian, Edom, and the Arabah. Hobab (*Jethro), son of Reuel the Midianite, who aided the Israelites in the desert and served as their pathfinder (Num. 10:29–32), was also known as the Kenite (Judg. 1:16; 4:11). Enoch, son of Cain (Gen. 4:17), is also mentioned among the Midianites (Gen. 25:4; I Chron. 1:33). Balaam's prophecy about the Kenites, "Though your abode be secure, and your nest be set among cliffs" (Num. 24:21) appears to be a reference to the mountains of Midian and Edom (cf. Obad. 3–4), and Sela ("cliffs") designates perhaps the Edomite mountain-fortress Sela (today al-Saʿl near Baṣrah) around which rich copper deposits were located. The house of Rechab, which had preserved traditions of the time of the Exodus, was related to the Kenites (I Chron. 2:55), and apparently also to Ir-Nahash and Ge-Harashim (I Chron. 4:12–14), modern Khirbet Naḥās ("copper ruin," or "ruin of the copper city") in the Arabah, a copper mining center.

The Kenites were enumerated among the early peoples of Canaan, together with the Kenizzites and the Kadmonites (Gen. 15:19). Relations between the Israelites and the Kenites were good, but B. Stade and others argued for Kenite influence on Moses and the religion of Israel. This "Kenite hypothesis" (updated by Halpern and by van der Toorn) holds that YHWH was not originally the God of the Hebrews and was not even known to the Hebrews. He was originally a Kenite tribal god who became known to Moses through his Kenite father-in-law, Jethro. Moses then made YHWH known to the Hebrews, who accepted Him as their God. As observed by van der Toorn, the Kenite hypothesis nicely accounts for the absence of Yahweh from earlier pantheons, Yahweh's link with Edom (Deut. 33:2), the Kenite connection of Moses, and the Bible's positive attitude to Kenites. The major problem comes from the current scholarly view that the majority of Israelites originated in Canaan and did not trek through the desert encountering Kenites all the way as the Bible would have it. The historical role of Moses is likewise problematic. Nonetheless, the important role of the Kenites in early Israelite worship has been emphasized by the discovery of an Israelite sanctuary at *Arad. This explains the note of Judges 1:16 about the Kenite family related to Moses (according to the Septuagint descendants, this venerated family served as priests in the sanctuary). They entered the region from the "city of palm trees," which cannot here indicate Jericho, but more likely refers to Zoar or Tamar in the northern part of the Arabah. Also, Heber, the Kenite husband or clan of Jael, who was at the time of the Deborah battle in northern Ereẓ Israel near Mount Tabor belonged to the Hobab family (Judg. 4:11). It is hardly incidental that they pitched their tent at the oak (Heb. *eʾlon*) in Zaanaim or Zaananim, evidently a holy tree. Their connection with early Yahwistic worship does not exclude the assumption that for a good part they made their livelihood as metal craftsmen (Judg. 5:26).

Other Kenite families evidently occupied the region in the south, centering around Arad. This is the Negev of the Kenites and the cities of the Kenites referred to in the stories from the time of David (I Sam. 27:10; 30:29). These settlements apparently included Kinah near Arad (Josh. 15:22), and possibly Kain on the border of the wilderness of Judah (15:57). In the same region were also found the Amalekites, who wandered in Edom, Sinai, and the Negev, and among whom the Kenites lived. According to the Septuagint, Judges 1:16 should read "and dwelt among the Amalekites" (MT, "among the people (*ʿam*)"). In view of the kindness the Kenites had shown to Israel during the Exodus (I Sam. 15:6), Saul gave them friendly warning before attacking the Amalekites.

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[Yohanan Aharoni / S.D. Sperling (2nd ed.)]

°**KENNEDY, JOHN FITZGERALD** (1917–1963), 35th president of the United States. John F. Kennedy's grandfathers were both sons of Irish immigrants who rose to success in Boston Democratic politics. His father, Joseph Patrick Kennedy, was a multimillionaire businessman and an early supporter of President Franklin D. Roosevelt, who in 1937 appointed him ambassador to England. Joseph Kennedy was rumored to have expressed antisemitic views, but this was untrue. In any case, his son repudiated all such opinions.

After outstanding service in the Navy during World War II, he served the U.S. House of Representatives as a Democrat for the 11th Congressional District in Massachusetts (1946–52). In 1952 Kennedy was elected to the U.S. Senate from Massachusetts and was reelected in 1958. In 1957 Kennedy proposed two bills affecting Jewish immigration, one that included the admission of Middle Eastern Jews to the United States and the other with a clause insuring nonquota status to about 10,000 Jewish refugees from the United Arab Republic. In the pamphlet *A Nation of Immigrants* (1959) he reviews the role of immigration in U.S. history.

In 1960, when he was elected president, Kennedy had the support of an estimated 80 percent of Jewish voters. As president he demonstrated friendship for Israel by tripling the amount of American financial assistance to Israel and by selling the country ground-to-air Hawk missiles in 1962 for protection against air attack. He alerted the U.S. Sixth Fleet in the Mediterranean when subversion in Jordan by the United Arab Republic threatened to undermine the stability of the entire area. He increased the shipments of military supplies when Soviet weapons sent to the Arab states appeared to be giving them arms superiority. He promised United States assistance in the development of a desalination plant to expand Israel's water and power resources.

President Kennedy launched two unsuccessful initiatives aimed at bringing peace to the Middle East. First, he sent personal letters to the heads of all the Arab governments offering the services of the United States government as an "honest broker" in bringing them together with Israel "to find an honorable and humanitarian solution to the disputes, which waste precious energies in the Middle East countries and defer the economic progress which all free peoples truly want to enjoy." He also sent emissaries to seek a solution to one of the key obstacles to peace, the refugee problem. Some of his speeches and statements on foreign policy are collected in Allan Nevins (ed.), *Strategy of Peace* (1960); J.W. Gardner (ed.) *To Turn the Tide* (1962); and E.E. Barbarash (compiler), *John F. Kennedy on Israel, Zionism, and Jewish Issues* (1965).

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[Myer Feldman]

KENT, ALLEGRA (1938–), U.S. dancer. Kent was born in Santa Monica, California. Her mother, born in Wisznice, Poland, steered the family toward Christian Science and changed their last name from Cohen to Kent. Inspired by George Balanchine's *Night Shadow*, Kent studied with Bronislava and Irina Nijinska, and with Carmelita Maracci, and at the School of American Ballet. She joined the New York City Ballet in 1953 and was promoted to principal dancer in 1957, creating roles in such Balanchine ballets as *Ivesiana* (1954), *Agon* (1957), *Bugaku* (1963), and *Brahms-Schoenberg Quartet* (1966), as well as in *Dances at a Gathering* (1969) and *Dumbarton Oaks* (1972) for Jerome *Robbins. In 1962 she made a highly successful tour in the U.S.S.R., dancing in the Kremlin. During her nearly 30 years with the New York City Ballet, she interrupted her career three times to have children. She retired in 1981 to work as a teacher. In 1997 she published her autobiography, *Once a Dancer*.

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KENT, ROMAN R. (1925–), Holocaust survivor and activist. Born in Lodz, Kent was the son of a textile manufacturer. He was confined to the Lodz ghetto with his family in 1939, deported to Auschwitz, transferred to Gross-Rosen and its satellite camps and Flossenberg, and liberated by the Third Army while on a death march. He immigrated to the United States in 1946, under the Orphaned Children's Quota, as a ward of the U.S. government.

Kent and his younger brother, Leon, were sent to live in Atlanta, Georgia, where Kent graduated from Henry Grady High School with honors and went on to take liberal arts courses at Emory University. He began his successful business as a merchant from the trunk of his car to sharecropper families in the boondocks. He eventually expanded his business and moved to the Empire State Building in New York City and sold houseware on the QVC Network.

An active and important leader of the Holocaust survivor movement, Kent worked on a number of major survivor events, including the *American Gathering of Jewish Holocaust Survivors in Washington, D.C., in 1983. Kent also produced a movie called *Children of the Holocaust* in 1980, which won the International Film Festival Award in New York City. The film was narrated by Academy Award-winning actress Liv Ullman.

Kent also served as a negotiator for the *Conference on Material Claims Against Germany (the Claims Conference), where he was also the treasurer and a member of the executive board. He was also chairman of the American Gathering of Jewish Holocaust Survivors, Inc., the umbrella organization for survivors in North America. He was vice president of the Jewish Foundation for the Righteous, an organization that supports non-Jews who helped save Jewish lives during the Holocaust.

As a member of the Claims Conference, Kent was one of 12 commissioners of the International Commission on Holocaust Era Insurance Claims created by President Bill Clinton. The commission is chaired by former Secretary of State Lawrence Eagleburger.

Kent was also a member of the Presidential Advisory Commission on Holocaust Assets in the United States that settled the claims of the Hungarian Gold Train suit filed by survivors against the United States government.

Kent was always known for his outspoken criticism of those who do not understand the urgent needs of impoverished Holocaust survivors living in the United States, Israel, and the rest of the world. He is concerned about monies being misdirected at a time when survivors, he says, "Need to die with dignity." He has also been a vocal and visible advocate of Holocaust and tolerance education around the world and a supporter of humanitarian causes for all.

He wrote a memoir called *Strictly Business: Ruminations from Auschwitz to Atlanta, New York and Berlin* and a children's book called *Lala: The True Story of a Boy and His Dog during the Holocaust*.

[Jeanette Friedman (2nd ed.)]

KENTNER, LOUIS (**Lajos Philip**, 1905–1987), British pianist and composer of Hungarian birth. Born in Karwin, Kentner entered the Budapest Royal Academy of Music at the age of six. He studied piano under Szekely and Leo *Weiner, and composition with Kodaly. After his concert debut in 1918, he started a tour throughout Europe. Kentner settled in England in 1935 and was naturalized in 1946. In 1956, he made his U.S. debut in New York. Kentner was notable for his pianistic elegance, bel canto phrasing, and comprehensive technical mastery. He was praised for his interpretation of works by Mozart, Beethoven, and Chopin. An admired exponent of Liszt, he founded the British Liszt Society and performed his works with authority, eloquence, and color. Kentner also specialized in playing Kodaly and Bartók. He gave the first Hungarian performance of Bartók's Second Piano Concerto (Budapest, 1933), the European performance of his Third in London (1945), and the British première of the Scherzo, Op. 2 in 1962. As regards British contemporary music, he played the first performances of works by Tippett, Walton, Bliss, and others. As a chamber musician, his long partnership with his brother-in-law Yehudi *Menuhin was noteworthy. His compositions include works for piano as well as songs and orchestral and chamber music. Kentner was made a Commander of the Order of the British Empire in 1978. He is the author of *Piano* (2nd ed., 1991), and a tribute to him by students and admirers (*Kentner: A Symposium*) was published in 1987.

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[Max Loppert / Naama Ramot (2nd ed.)]

KENTRIDGE, MORRIS (1881–1964), South African lawyer and politician. Born in Lithuania, he was the son of W. Kantrovich, minister of the Vryheid Hebrew Congregation. He joined the South African Labour Party, was elected to Parliament, and from 1920 until his retirement in 1958 represented a Johannesburg division. Kentridge boldly championed the workers' cause in the strikes of 1922 and spent some time under detention in consequence. He remained a leading representative of the Labour Party until it lost its influence after the pact with the Nationalists. In 1932 he joined Smuts' United Party and while on the government front bench helped to frame a considerable volume of progressive industrial legislation. One of the leading Jewish spokesmen in Parliament, he opposed Hertzog's anti-Jewish immigration laws of the 1930s. During the Hitler period he fought the activities of the South African pro-Nazi agitators. His memoirs, *I Recall*, were published in 1959.

[Lewis Sowden]

KENTRIDGE, SIR SYDNEY (1922–), South African and British lawyer who won international fame for his work in the human rights field. Born in Johannesburg, he was admitted to the Johannesburg Bar in 1949 and in 1965 was appointed senior counsel. He was called to the English Bar in 1977 and appointed queen's counsel in 1984. From 1981 to 1986, he served as judge of appeal in Botswana and from 1988 to 1982 he was judge of appeal of Jersey and Guernsey. In his early days at the Bar in South Africa, Kentridge appeared in a number of cases of historical and political significance, during which he represented opponents of South Africa's race laws that helped entrench white minority rule. He was a leading member of the defense team that successfully defended 30 leading political activists, including future President Nelson Mandela, against charges of treason in the 1958–61 Treason Trial. He subsequently appeared as counsel for the local community and the bishop of Johannesburg, Ambrose Reeves, at the inquiry into the shooting at Sharpeville, 1961, and for the family of Steve Biko at the inquest into his death in 1977. Further afield, he appeared for Stella Madzimabuto in both the then Rhodesia and the Privy Council in her challenge to the legality of the white minority regime of Ian Smith in Rhodesia. Widely regarded as one of the world's most eminent advocates, he was knighted in 1999 for his international human rights work over the years. Kentridge's father, Morris *Kentridge, was a long-serving Member of Parliament in the Union of South Africa, representing first the Labour Party, and after 1934 the United Party. His son is the artist William Kentridge.

[David Saks (2nd ed.)]

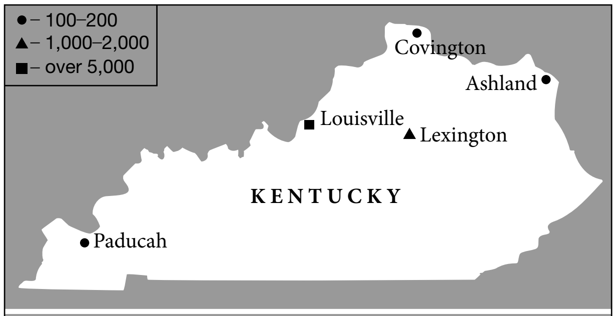

Total Jewish population of Kentucky	11,500
% of Jews in general population of Kentucky	0.30
% of Kentucky Jews in Jewish population of U.S.	0.19

Jewish communities in Kentucky. Population figures for 2001.

KENTUCKY, state in the south central United States. A receipt with a Yiddish notation surviving from 1781 reveals that the firm of Cohen and Isaacs in Richmond, Virginia, paid Daniel Boone for surveying land on its behalf in Kentucky, and other evidence of early Jewish involvement in the area exists as well. The first Jewish settlers in Kentucky arrived at the very beginning of the 19th century, but they were unable to maintain a Jewish life on the frontier. The Baltimore-born John Jacob was apparently resident near Louisville as early as 1802, and Benjamin *Gratz, scion of the famous Philadelphia merchant family, settled in Lexington in 1819; both married gentile women not once, but twice.

Jewish communal life began in Kentucky in the 1830s, first in *Louisville and a little later elsewhere. Communal organizations appeared in Owensboro and Paducah, both on the Ohio River, in the late 1850s, and in Lexington just after the Civil War. By the 1870s there were lodges of B'nai B'rith in Louisville, Owensboro, Paducah, and Lexington. In 1880, four synagogue buildings stood in Louisville, one in Owensboro, one in Paducah, and one in Henderson, and the Jewish population of Kentucky was reported to be 3,600, with 2,500 Jews in Louisville, 213 in Owensboro, 203 in Paducah, 140 in Lexington, and the rest in other small towns. By the turn of the 19th century, aside from Congregation Adas Israel in Henderson, Congregation Adath Israel in Owensboro, Temple Israel in Paducah, and a variety of Jewish institutions in Louisville, there was a multi-purpose Spinoza Society in Lexington (founded 1873) as well as Jewish social clubs in Henderson (the Harmony club, founded 1873), Owensboro (the Standard Club, founded 1889), Shelbyville (the Jewish Literary and Social Club, founded 1895), and Paducah (the Standard Club, founded 1903).

East European Jews arriving in Kentucky around the turn of the 19th century reinforced existing communities and also established additional Jewish centers. These immigrants founded Congregation Agudath Achim in Ashland in 1896, the United Hebrew Congregation in Newport in 1897, and congregations in Covington, Hopkinsville, and Harlan in the early part of the 20th century. By the time of World War I, Lexington had two congregations: the Reform Adath Israel (founded 1904) and the Orthodox Ohavay Zion (founded 1912).

Immigrants established new ethnic and cultural institutions in several small towns as well. In Newport, for example, the Jewish community had created a Free Hebrew School offering programs for both children and adults as early as 1907. By that year, Newport's Jews also were supporting a branch of the Zionist Po'alei Zion and a Jewish Protective League, demanding better police protection for their community. In Lexington, the poet Israel Jacob *Schwartz (1885–1971) completed his epic Yiddish poem cycle *Kentucky* in 1922. In 1927, Kentucky's Jewish population was reported to be 19,500, with 12,500 Jews in Louisville and triple-digit communities in Ashland, Covington, Lexington, Newport, and Paducah. Henderson, Hopkinsville, Owensboro, and the area around Harlan each was home to between 65 and 90 Jewish individuals.

Throughout the 19th century and into the 20th, Jews were involved in civic affairs not only in Louisville, but also elsewhere. For example, Abraham *Jonas (1801–1864), brother of Joseph *Jonas, settled in Williamstown in 1827 and was elected several times to the state legislature. Meyer Weil (1830–91) served as mayor of Paducah between 1871 and 1881, and at about the same time the presiding officers of both chambers of the Lexington town council were Jews. Morris Weintraub of Newport (1909–96) was speaker of the Kentucky House of Representatives in the 1950s.

In the second half of the 20th century, Kentucky's Jewish population declined and, as elsewhere in the U.S., many small-town Jewish communities deteriorated. By the end of the century, fully functioning congregations and communal institutions could be found only in Louisville and Lexington, although tiny congregations holding occasional services still existed in Owensboro and Paducah. Kentucky's Jewish population was reported as 11,000 in 1960, 13,000 in 1984, and 11,500 at the turn of the 20th century.

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[Lee Shai Weissbach (2nd ed.)]

KENYA. Jewish settlement in East Africa started at the turn of the 20th century, when the first Jewish families settled in Nairobi, then a labor camp and minor administrative center of the Uganda Railways. The area proposed to Herzl for Jewish settlement by the British colonial secretary Joseph Chamberlain in 1903 (the "*Uganda Scheme") is in present-day Kenya. By 1913 there were 20 Jewish families in Nairobi and the first synagogue was built. World War II brought in its wake an influx of Jewish immigrants from Europe, many of them former inmates of Nazi camps. By 1945 the Jewish community in Kenya numbered about 150 families, the majority settling in Nairobi. Most Jews engaged in commerce or the free professions, and some were absorbed in the colonial administration. A landmark in the community's history was the arrival from Palestine in March 1947 of a trainload of detainees, members of the *Irgun Ẓeva'i Le'ummi and *Loḥamei Ḥerut Israel, who were placed in a detention camp in Gilgil. The Jewish community greatly assisted in improving their conditions. The new synagogue of the community, consecrated in 1955, is located in downtown Nairobi. By 1957 the community had reached a peak membership of 165 families. The president of the Board of Kenya Jewry, Israel Somen, was elected Nairobi's mayor. From 1957 the community decreased steadily and in 1968 totaled 113 families. The Nairobi congregation maintained a full-time rabbi who was also responsible for Jewish education. In 1968 the community maintained a Hebrew Aid Society and the *ḥevra kaddisha* ("burial society"). It had a Zionist organization from 1909, and a WIZO branch from 1944. In the early 21st century the community numbered around 400, with a Chabad rabbi officiating at the Nairobi synagogue.

[Ze'ev Levin]

Relations with Israel

From its independence, at the end of 1963, the government of Kenya and its leader Jomo Kenyatta displayed a friendly attitude toward Israel. Full diplomatic relations were established between the two countries. Israel maintains an embassy in Nairobi, while Kenya's diplomatic mission in Israel is handled by a nonresident ambassador. In 1966 the two countries signed an agreement for technical and scientific cooperation. Israel extended aid in the establishment, direction, and teaching of the Machakos School for Social Workers up to the stage at which the Kenyan government could take it over. Kenyan trainees participated in courses in Israel on agriculture, labor and cooperation, community development, and training of military officers and air cadets. In 1969 Israel exported $2,947,000 to Kenya and imported $793,000 worth of goods. Israel corporations expended $14,800,000 on highways, water-supply projects, housing, and office buildings through 1969. They also invested in small-scale industry, and El Al was a partner in the Hilton Hotel in Nairobi. Kenya has acted as a moderating factor in Israel issues within African forums.

Though Kenya broke off relations with Israel after the Yom Kippur War of 1973, trainees continued arriving, and during the Entebbe rescue operation in 1976, the Kenyan government allowed Israeli planes to refuel in its territory. Relations were resumed in 1988. In 2002 terrorists bombed the Israeli-owned Paradise Hotel in Kikambala, killing 15, and then fired rockets at an El-Al plane taking off from Mombassa International Airport. The hotel was reopened in 2004 after a joint Kenyan-Israeli cleanup effort

[Yoav Biran]

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°KENYON, DAME KATHLEEN MARY (1906–1978), British archaeologist; daughter of biblical scholar and director of the British Museum, Sir Frederic Kenyon. Early in her career she took part in excavations at Zimbabwe (1929), St Albans/Verulamium (1930–35), and Samaria (1931–34). From 1935 to 1951 she directed excavations at various Roman sites in England and at Sabratha, Tripolitania (1948–49, 1951). At the University of London Institute of Archaeology Kathleen Kenyon served as secretary (1935–48), acting director (1942–46), and lecturer in Palestinian archaeology (1948–62). While acting as director of the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem (1951–66), she conducted excavations at Jericho (1952–58) and Jerusalem (1961–67). W.G. Dever summed up her character as follows: "her gruff manner often obscured her gentler personal qualities, and she showed obvious impatience with excavators who did not possess an immediate and intuitive grasp of stratigraphical complexities, in which she reveled and excelled." From 1962 she was principal of St. Hugh's College, Oxford. Her publications include *Beginning in Archaeology* (2nd rev. ed. 1953); *Digging up Jericho* (1957); *Samaria-Sebaste*, 3 vols. (with J.W. and G.M. Crowfoot; 1942–57); *Excavations at Jericho*, 1 (1960); *Archaeology in the Holy Land* (1965^2); *Jerusalem. Excavating 3000 Years of History* (1967); and *Digging up Jerusalem* (1974). Her major excavations remained largely unpublished until after her death, with the work being undertaken by T. Holland, A.D. Tushingham, H. Franken, M. Steiner, K. Prag, and others.

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Joukowsky (eds.), *Breaking Ground: Pioneering Women Archaeologists* (2004), 525–53.

[Michael Avi-Yonah / Shimon Gibson (2nd ed.)]

KERAK or **CHARAX**, the place to which the Jews under Judah Maccabee in his expedition to Gilead advanced after their victory at Caspin (II Macc. 12ff. as Charax). It was located 750 stadia (c. 100 mi.) from Caspin and while inhabited by the Jews was known as Tubieni (II Macc. 12:17). A land called Tob appears in the list of cities conquered by Thutmosis III and in the Bible in connection with Jephthah (Judg. 11:3, 5) and as allies of the Ammonites (II Sam. 10:6, 8). It is identified with the region around al-Ṭayyiba, between Bostra and Edrain in the Bashan in northern Transjordan. In the vicinity is the village of al-Karak, a name which corresponds to the Greek name Charax (meaning "fortification"). The distance from Kerak to Caspin is only half the distance mentioned in II Maccabees, but the text does not necessarily refer to a straight line.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: F.M. Abel, *Les Livres des Maccabées* (1948), index, s.v. *Charax.*

[Michael Avi-Yonah]

KERCH (in antiquity, **Panticapaeum**), port at the eastern extremity of Crimea, Ukraine. A Jewish settlement appears to have existed on this spot during the period of the independent kingdom of Bosphorus (fifth century B.C.E.) but the earliest extant evidence dates from the time that the town was under the dominion of the Roman Empire. A Greek inscription of 81 C.E. concerning the liberation of a Jewish slave reveals that a Jewish community existed in the town at that period and that there was also a synagogue. Non-Jewish inscriptions belonging to the first centuries of the Christian era bear numerous Jewish symbols. During the second half of the ninth century the patriarch Photius wrote to Archbishop Antony of Kerch thanking him for his efforts to convert the Jews of the city. In his letter to *Ḥisdai ibn Shaprut the *Khazar king Joseph mentions Kark (Kerch) among the cities of his kingdom, and it may be assumed that the Jewish community flourished there during the eighth and ninth centuries under the Khazar kings, who became converts to Judaism. As a result of the wars between the Khazars and the Russians during the second half of the tenth century and the wars between the Russians and the Greeks at the close of the 11th century, the Jews abandoned Kerch, so that when *Pethahiah of Regensburg visited the city in 1175 he found a community of *Karaites only.

During the 17th century the Turks built a fortress in the city and a site was granted to the Karaites for a cemetery. After the city had been captured by the Russians in 1771, a new community of local and Russian Jews was established but it was destroyed during the Crimean War (1854–56). After a number of years, the Jewish settlement was reconstituted, and in 1897 numbered 4,774 persons (14% of the city's population), including *Krimchaks and Karaites. Most of them earned their livelihood in the dried fish and salt industries and in the oil refineries, but also in petty trade and crafts. There were several synagogues in Kerch, including one built in the 1830s, another in 1875, a separate Krimchak synagogue, and a Karaite one. In 1859 the *talmud torah* had 160 pupils, and there were schools for boys and girls, and a number of charitable institutions. On July 31, 1905, several Kerch Jews were killed in a pogrom; the Jews there organized *self-defense. There were 3,067 Jews in Kerch (8.9% of the city's population) in 1926, and their numbers had risen by 1939 to 5,573 (total population 104,443), including about 500 Krimchaks. A few Jewish schools were probably opened in the 1920s. The Germans occupied Kerch on November 16, 1941. On December 1–3 they killed about 2,500 Jews, and the rest of them were murdered by the end of the month. On December 30, 1941, the town was taken by the Soviet army, but by May 23, 1942, it was retaken by the Germans, who killed the few remaining Jews, mostly Krimchaks. Together some 7,000 Jews from Kerch and surroundings were murdered. The city was liberated on April 11, 1944. In 1970 the Jewish population of Kerch was estimated at about 5,000, but there was no organized religious life. Most left in the mass emigration of the 1990s.

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[Shmuel Spector (2nd ed.)]

KEREM ḤEMED (Heb. כֶּרֶם חֶמֶד; "vineyard of delight"), Hebrew annual of the Galician *Haskalah. Published in Vienna, Prague, and Berlin from 1833 to 1856, *Kerem Ḥemed* served as a central forum for Eastern and Western Jewish scholars and authors. The publisher and nominal editor, Samuel Leib *Goldenberg, was a prominent Galician *maskil* who founded it to take the place of **Bikkurei ha-Ittim*, which ceased publication in 1831. *Kerem Ḥemed* differed from its predecessor in that it did not print *belles lettres* and was concerned mainly with scholarly research in Judaism and Jewish literature. In accordance with a literary convention in 18th-century Italy and Germany, the studies were published in the form of letters exchanged by scholars in Eastern Europe (mainly Galicia) and those in the West (first Italy and then other countries). In addition to the talmudic and medieval literary studies, editions of ancient manuscripts and treatises were published with notes and prefaces. The annual reflected Jewish preoccupations during the first half of the 19th century, namely the various facets of the Haskalah: humanistic and scientific studies, revival of the Hebrew language, and opposition to Ḥasidism and to mystical movements generally. *Kerem Ḥemed* also published Samuel David *Luzzatto's criticism of medieval Jewish rationalism (Maimonides, Abraham ibn Ezra) and his commendation of Rashi's conservative and traditional approach.

Kerem Ḥemed published the first works of the philosopher Nachman *Krochmal (mostly unsigned or under a pseudonym), the anti-ḥasidic essays of Josef *Perl and Isaac

*Erter, and the controversy between Tobias *Feder and Jakob Samuel *Bick regarding the use of Yiddish, the first such controversy to be carried on in Hebrew. The acting editor of the third and subsequent volumes was Solomon Judah *Rapoport, who, in addition to his studies and commentaries, annotated the works of others. The number of contributors grew from year to year and included writers from Russia, Germany, Hungary and in the last annuals, such figures as L. Zunz, A. Geiger, and the astronomers H.Z. Slonimsky and H.M. Pineles. After Goldenberg's death publication of the annuals ceased until it was revived by Senior Sachs who published the last two annuals in a style similar to their predecessors. Altogether nine volumes appeared, seven edited by Goldenberg and Rapoport, and two by Sachs. An index to all the volumes appears in the first part of *Die hebraische Publizistik in Wien* (1930), compiled by B. Wachstein whose preface to the index includes an extensive monograph on *Kerem Ḥemed*.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Klausner, Sifrut, 2 (1952^2), 37f.

[Getzel Kressel]

KEREN HAYESOD (Palestine Foundation Fund), the financial arm of the *World Zionist Organization, founded at the Zionist conference held in London in July 1920. Two basic views were expressed on the problem of how the World Zionist Organization should finance its work in Palestine after the important political gains made at the end of World War I. One group favored the establishment of a company run on banking lines to promote undertakings solely on a business basis. The other emphasized the need to preserve the pioneering character of the Zionist effort by mobilizing national capital through donations from the Jewish masses. There was also a proposal, which won little support, to float a national loan. The conference adopted a compromise combining the first and second proposals. The Keren Hayesod was to appeal to Zionists and non-Zionists alike for funds to finance on a nonprofit basis immigration and colonization in Palestine in order to lay the foundations of the Jewish National Home, as well as to encourage business enterprise in close cooperation with private capital. Contributions were to constitute an annual voluntary tax, with a certain minimum level.

Keren Hayesod was registered on March 23, 1921, as a British limited company. Its members (limited to no more than 50), together with the chairman of the board of directors, were chosen by the executive of the Zionist Organization. The head office was in London until 1926 when it was transferred to Jerusalem. When the enlarged *Jewish Agency for Palestine was founded in 1929, with equal representation for non-Zionists, Keren Hayesod continued to be the main instrument for financing the Zionist budget. From 1925, the fund operated in the United States as the United Palestine Appeal (which was a partnership of Keren Hayesod and the Jewish National Fund) which combined in 1939 with the American Jewish *Joint Distribution Committee and the National Refugee Service to form the *United Jewish Appeal. The UJA operates in the United States, while the Keren Hayesod head office in Jerusalem coordinates operations in other countries including the State of Israel, where it is a joint fund of the Keren Hayesod and JNF The Keren Hayesod has cooperated with the *Jewish National Fund, *Youth Aliyah, constructive funds associated with Zionist parties, and other officially Zionist-connected institutions. In 1956 it was incorporated in Israel under the Keren Hayesod Law adopted by the *Knesset.

Keren Hayesod and the United Jewish Appeal in the United States are based mainly on the work of volunteers. In almost every country with a Jewish population there is a central committee to collect contributions. There is also a committee in each city with a large Jewish community, as well as divisions for business, trade, professional, and women's groups. In Belgium and Switzerland there are central committees for each language section of the population. The chairman of Keren Hayesod is responsible for its operations in all countries except the United States. There are departments for Latin America, the English speaking countries, and Europe, as well as for special projects in Israel, wills and legacies, information, reception of guests, administration and finance.

The emergency campaign initiated just before the Six-Day War, 1967, increased twelvefold Keren Hayesod's normal annual income from countries other than the United States. This was achieved by an increase in both the size of individual contributions and the number of donors, which rose from 200,000 to 400,000. The income rose from $15m in 1966 to $150m in 1967. A second emergency campaign in 1968 raised $42,300,000 in cash and $13,200,000 in additional pledges.(See Table: Keren Hayesod.)

Among the founders of Keren Hayesod were Chaim *Weizmann, Aharon Barth, and Isaac *Naidich. The first directors were Berthold *Feiwel (also managing director), George Halpern, Vladimir *Jabotinsky (also director of propaganda), Shelomoh *Kaplansky, Shemaryahu *Levin, Isaac Naidich, Israel M. *Sieff (later Lord Sieff) and Hillel Zlatapolsky. When the head office of Keren Hayesod was moved to Jerusalem in 1926 the managing directors were Arthur *Hantke and Leib *Jaffe (who was killed in March 1948 by a bomb explosion in the Jewish Agency courtyard), Kurt *Blumenfeld joined them in 1934. Since the establishment of the State of Israel, the following served as chairmen: Arthur Hantke, Zvi Hermann, Eliahu *Dobkin, Israel *Goldstein and Ezra *Shapiro. Administrative heads were Leo *Hermann, as secretary-general, who was succeeded by Yehudah *Yaari. M. Ussoskin, and Shimshon Y. Kreutner (from 1968) were directors-general. Treasurers included Abraham Ulitzer and Moshe Ussoskin.

Funds collected through the Keren Hayesod United Israel Appeal (the second half of the name was adopted in 1948 to cover united operations of primary Zionist funds) have helped to establish and develop 820 villages and towns in Israel since 1921, and to help finance such important enterprises as the General Mortgage Bank, Israel Land Development Corporation, Mekorot Water Company, Rassco (Rural and Suburban Settlement Company), Solel Boneh (the Histadrut's building and contracting company), the Palestine (Israel) Electric

Corporation, the Palestine Potash Works (Dead Sea Works), the Anglo-Palestine Bank (now Bank Leumi), Amidar Housing Corporation, Zim Navigation Company, El Al Airlines, and many others.

[Israel Goldstein]

Later Developments

In the early 1990s Keren Hayesod achieved unprecedented results from its fund-raising campaigns in 47 countries (and 90 cities) on five continents. With no increase in staff, and citing both the Exodus of Russian Jews to Israel and above all the Gulf War and Scud attacks on Israel, it was able to raise in 1990/91 some quarter of a billion dollars of which 201 million were transferred to the Jewish Agency, mainly for immigration and absorption purposes. The massive flow of Russian Jews to Israel, coupled with the dramatic rescue of Ethiopian Jews in Operation Solomon (May 1991), captured the imagination of the contributors and their leaders were able to capitalize on tens of thousands of volunteers, recruited and trained over the years by Keren Hayesod staff from Jerusalem, and its many emissaries overseas.

But the great euphoria of 1990–1991 soon waned and the campaign results showed a drop in income. The reasons for this were not hard to discern. From 1993, and mainly after the signing of the Oslo Agreement between Israel and the PLO, and the Israel-Jordan Peace Treaty, the impression was created that Israel was now launched on the road to peace, and there was less need for Jewish contributions. As Israel's economy showed signs of healthy growth, and highly positive and praising articles appeared in the world's media, more contributors wondered if the time had not come to deal with the plight of their own communities.

As the process of assimilation and intermarriage continued unabated, stronger voices were heard in the Diaspora communities calling for the need to retain more funds at home for local needs, mainly in the area of education and welfare, rather than to send them to Israel, some of whose leaders were openly saying there was no longer need for them. A debate erupted in Israel in 1993 between Deputy Foreign Minister Yossi Beilin, who called on Jews to strengthen their communities and Prime Minister Rabin who rejected this approach calling on Jews to continue to help Israel deal with the massive immigration.

The drama of the immigration also waned, when the

Keren Hayesod United Israel Appeal, 1920–1970

	1920–1948	1948–1970
Immigration and Absorption	487,000 immigrants, including 28,700 children brought to Palestine by Youth Aliyah, settled and absorbed in the country.	1,400,000 immigrants, including 95,800 children brought to Israel by Youth Aliyah. (Many of the children came with parents and Youth Aliyah accepted them as its wards.)
Agricultural Settlement. Development Towns and Housing	257 agricultural settlements were established with a population of 90,000 working some 700,000 dunams (175,000 acres) of land.	525 new agricultural settlements and 27 development towns built; 175,000 new housing units provided permanent homes for nearly 1,400,000 new immigrants
Total Funds Raised	$ 143,000,000 – 70% from the United States through United Jewish Appeal. – 30% from other countries through Keren Hayesod.	$ 1,990,000,000 – 65% from the United States through United Jewish Appeal – 35% from 71 other countries through Keren Hayesod.
Total expenditures of the Jewish Agency 1948–1970	Immigration and Absorption	$573,900,000
	Health Services	$77,100,000
	Education	$74,600,000
	Youth Aliyah	$156,200,000
	Immigrant Housing	$432,500,000
	Agricultural Settlement	$945,800,000
	Educational Activities	$294,200,000
	Overseas Operations	$160,500,000
	Various Activities	$301,000,000
	Total	$3,015,800,000
Grand Total Funds Raised	1920–1948	$143,000,000
	1948–1970	$1,990,000,000
	Total	$2,133,000,000[1]

[1] The balance of the expenditures not covered by the income of Keren Hayesod United Israel Appeal and the United Jewish Appeal came from additional sources, such as German reparations and heirless property, collections on account of the repayment of loans from Jewish Agency-Keren Hayesod funds; the realization of property; special Youth Aliyah campaigns; participation by the Government of Israel in agricultural settlement and long and medium term loans.

numbers settled into 65,000–75,000 a year. It was difficult to keep the momentum and the interest alive. By 1991 the funds Keren Hayesod transferred to Jerusalem were 185 million dollars. A year later it dropped to 150 and by 1995, 115 million dollars.

Keren Heyesod began to focus attention on new sources of income, focusing mainly on wills and bequests, which yielded a growing income. One such bequest in Europe was worth over 100 million German marks. Efforts were also directed at retaining the coming generation and maintaining a high level of educational, motivational, and inspirational programs centering on visits to Israel and to Jewish communities in the former Soviet Union. In the countries where it operates, Keren Hayesod continues to be a major link between Israel and the Diaspora.

By the turn of the century, in addition to helping create over 800 settlements in Israel, Keren Hayesod had helped to rehabilitate 90 disadvantaged neighborhoods and developments towns through *Project Renewal, to educate 300,000 youngsters in Youth Aliyah, and to bring 175,000 young people to Israel in "Israel Experience" programs.

[Meron Medzini (2nd ed.)]

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KERET, ETGAR (1967–), Israeli author. Keret, often referred to as Israel's hippest young artist, is one of the most popular writers among Israeli youth. Critic Nissim Calderon wrote that Keret is "the Amos Oz of his generation." Keret's books have all been bestsellers and each of them was awarded the Platinum Prize for selling more than 40,000 copies. Born in Tel Aviv, Keret published his first collection of 56 short stories, *Ẓinorot* ("Pipelines"), in 1992, followed two years later by *Ga'aguai le-Kissinger*, which was enthusiastically received by critics and readers alike. The mini-narratives, often only two or three pages long, are compact stories, postmodernistic texts in the fashion of video-clips, depicting an episode, portraying a certain situation, opening thereby a window on a surreal world and on strange inner lives. As in the work of the American writer Raymond Carver, an important influence on many young writers in Israel, the unexpected often springs from what seems to be the common and everyday. In the spirit of postmodernism, there is no dichotomy between low and high, pop and classic culture, real and imaginary; comic moments coalesce with melancholy ones, sentimental episodes with serious reflections and the grotesque. Having been deserted by his girlfriend, Meir meets four dwarfs who try to help him overcome his sorrow; a young man has to prove to his girlfriend that he really loves her by literally tearing his heart out; Israeli soldiers discover that the terrorists who attacked them were just a bunch of Hebrew-speaking rabbits. Nonsense conceals biting criticism. Indeed, the argument that Keret is one of the seminal voices of a "private generation" in Hebrew literature is misleading: Politics come in through the back door, as it were, between the lines, or, as in the case of "Cocked and Locked" (included in E. Ben Ezer's English anthology *Sleepwalkers*, 1999) with a cynical twist. Like Orly *Castel-Bloom, Keret too plays with language, probes metaphors and clichés, underlines the inadequacy of words and at times creates his own vocabulary. In 1996 Keret published his first "Comics" (with Rutu Modan) entitled *Lo Banu Lehenot*, followed a year later by *Simte'ot ha-Za'am* ("Streets of Rage"; with illustrator Asaf Hanuka). *Ha-Kaytana shel Kneller* ("Kneller's Happy Campers") appeared in 1998, containing a novella and stories. Ḥayyim, the antihero of the novella, commits suicide and lives on in a world remarkably similar to the real one, with one major difference: the ability to perform miracles. In the surreal world, he meets his beloved Desirée as well as the Messiah, and although the dream of happiness is soon shattered, he remains optimistic. *Anihu*, a collection of stories, followed in 2004, and the same year also saw the publication of *Pizzeria Kamikaze*, a comics version (with illustrations by Asaf Hanuka) of Keret's bestselling novella *Kneller's Happy Campers*. Keret's creative output does not restrict itself to comics and prose, it includes newspaper columns, a book for children, films and comedy. Keret, whose movie *Skin Deep* won the Israeli Oscar as well as first prize at several international film festivals, lectures at Tel Aviv University Film School and was invited to Berlin in winter 2003 as Samuel Fischer Guest Professor. He received the Prime Minister's Prize for literature and the Ministry of Culture Cinema Prize. His works have been translated into many languages. Available in English translation are *Selected Stories* (1998); *How to Make a Good Script Great* (1996); *Jetlag* (1998); *Kneller's Happy Campers* (2001); *Anihu* (2004); as well as the collection *Gaza Blues* with Palestinian author Samir el-Youssef (2004), and the children's book *Dad Runs Away with the Circus* (2004). For further information about translations see the ITHL website at www.ithl.org.il.

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[Anat Feinberg (2nd ed.)]

KERI'AH (Heb. קְרִיעָה), rending of the garments as a sign of grief. *Keri'ah* is a traditional Jewish mourning custom, based on Genesis 37:34 and Job 1:20. At the death of one of the seven relatives for whom mourning is decreed (father, mother, children (at least 30 days old), brother (a half-brother), sister (a half-sister), husband, wife), a rent, at least four inches long, is made in the lapel of an outer garment prior to the funeral. For parents, the *keri'ah* is made in all clothes, save the undershirt. For parents, the *keri'ah* is made on the left side; for other relatives, on the right. A member of the **ḥevra kaddisha* usually makes the incision with a knife and the mourner tears it to the required length and pronounces the blessing: "Blessed be Thou, O Lord, the righteous Judge." According to the Talmud (MK 25a) *keri'ah* should be done at the moment of death. Present practice is to defer *keri'ah* until just before the funeral service or prior to interment. It should be performed in a standing position. The *keri'ah* is exposed during the whole mourning period. It may, however, be roughly stitched together after the "seven-day mourning period" and completely sewn up after 30 days. When mourning for parents, it may be stitched only after 30 days and may never be sewn up. Women may stitch it together immediately. During *ḥol ha-mo'ed* (intermediate festival days) the *keri'ah* rite is delayed and is performed after the festival, except in many communities in the case of mourning for parents. The custom is also practiced on seeing a Torah Scroll destroyed by fire. In talmudic times, it was customary to express grief by *keri'ah* at the death of the **nasi* (president of the Sanhedrin), or of a great scholar (MK 22b), or upon seeing Jerusalem and the temple mount in ruins. In the U.S. Conservative and Reform practice a torn black ribbon can be worn on the lapel for 30 days. Some Orthodox Jews follow this custom, others tear a tie, and some adhere to the tradition as above.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Sh. Ar., YD 340; Maim. Yad, Evel, 8–90; Eisenstein, Dinim, 376; H. Rabinowicz, *Guide to Life* (1964), 34–37.

KERITOT (Heb. כְּרִיתוֹת), tractate of the order *Kodashim* in the Mishnah, Tosefta, and Babylonian Talmud, which derives its name from the 36 sins for which the Torah gives the punishment of **karet*. The Mishnah consists of six chapters dealing with the conditions that necessitate the bringing of the sin-offering (*ḥattat*) or a guilt offering (*asham*, or *asham talui*) to be brought only in case of the inadvertent or doubtful commission of sins which if committed intentionally would entail *karet*. After enumerating these sins in its first Mishnah, the rest of the first chapter deals with the unusual "sin offering" required of women after childbirth (Lev. 12:6). The second chapter lays down the rules stating exactly who is obliged to bring the respective offerings, and specifies if one or more offerings must be brought when there has been manifold transgression. The third chapter gives the rules applicable to the inadvertent commission of a sin requiring a sin offering. The fourth chapter deals in detail with cases of doubtful commission of a sin requiring a guilt offering. The fifth chapter first defines and classifies the types of forbidden blood which if consumed require a sin offering, and then discusses the doubtful commission of sacrilege. The sixth chapter deals with the question of what is to happen to the animal designated as a sacrifice if, before or after it has been slaughtered, it becomes clear that no sin was committed. The tractate ends with a discussion as to who has priority of honor, father or mother, and concludes that the honor due to one's teacher has priority over that to one's father.

The statement that *Keritot* is according to the opinion of R. Akiva (Ker. 3b: but see Sanh. 65a) does not apply to the entire tractate (Albeck, *Mavo la-Mishnah* (1959) 87), as various strata can be discerned there, but refers to the fact that it contains the rulings of R. Akiva, as recorded by his disciple Meir (Epstein, *Tanna'im*, 82). Thus Albeck claims that Mishnah 2:6 is a gloss to Mishnah 2:4 taken from other tannaitic sources and placed at the end of the chapter. Mishnah 6:2, 3 was taken from the *mishnayot* of Judah b. Ilai. The order of the paragraphs in the Tosefta does not correspond fully to that in the Mishnah. Chapter 3 contains a group of laws each of which begins with the word *ḥatikhah* ("a piece"). An interesting passage debates the role of the *asham talui* (a sacrifice for uncertain sins) which some rabbis call *asham ḥasidim* ("guilt offering of the pious"), holding that its purpose is to atone for every unknown sin. As an extreme example the Tosefta cites the case of Bava b. Buta who offered this sacrifice every day. Other rabbis, however, limit it to a certain category of grave sins. The Tosefta concludes with an aggadic saying to the effect that the patriarchs were equal to one another, as was Aaron to Moses and Joshua to Caleb.

The language of *Keritot* in terminology, style, and grammar resembles that of **Nedarim*,**Nazir*, **Temurah*, and **Me'ilah*, their language representing a dialect different from the rest of the Talmud and close to the language of the Targum (J.N. Epstein, *Dikduk Aramit Bavlit* (1960), 14–16). *Keritot* did not pass through the stages of development of the other tractates since it was not (like the other above-mentioned tractates) taught in the academies of the *geonim* (see *Halakhot Pesukot* Mss. Adler no. 2639; A. Marmorstein, in: MGWJ, 67 (1923), 134f.). Despite this, it resembles other tractates in content, in names of its *amoraim*, and in its internal construction (see A. Weiss, *Hithavvut ha-Talmud bi-Shelemuto* (1943), 57f.). The Babylonian *Gemara* gives the ingredients of the incense in the Temple (6a; see *Pittum ha-Ketoret*). Among aggadic passages of interest in *Keritot* are a number which deal with education. The Mishnah and Talmud were translated into English in the Soncino edition by I. Porush (1948).

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[Arnost Zvi Ehrman]

KERLER, DOV-BER (1958–), Yiddish scholar and poet. Kerler was born in Moscow (son of the Yiddish dissident poet Josef Kerler). Raised in an environment steeped in Yiddish culture that included summers spent among traditionally religious communities in the Carpathian Mountains of western Ukraine, he immigrated with his parents to Jerusalem in 1971. After completing his B.A. in Yiddish literature and Indo-European linguistics in Jerusalem (1983), he became Oxford

University's first doctoral candidate in Yiddish Studies in 1984, teaching there from 1984, as fellow at Lincoln College 1989–2000. His doctoral thesis on the origins of modern (East European-based) literary Yiddish (1988) moved the accepted dating back to the 18th century, forming the basis of his *Origins of Modern Literary Yiddish* (1999). He edited *The History of Yiddish Studies* (1991), *The Politics of Yiddish* (1998), and became editor-in-chief of *Yerusholaymer Almanakh* in 2003 (after serving as co-editor from 1993). Also an accomplished Yiddish poet, publishing under the pen name Boris Karloff, his books of verse include *Vu mit an Alef* ("Vu with an Aleph," 1996), and a collection of his and his father's works, *Shpigl Ksav* ("Mirror Writing," 1996). Relocated to the U.S. in 2000 to take up the chair in Yiddish Studies at Indiana University, from 2002 he led the Yiddish Ethnographic Project (YEP) to film expeditions to elderly Yiddish speakers in the Ukraine and other parts of Eastern Europe. He created and edits a number of major Yiddish culture websites (http://www.geocities.com/berkale/index.html; http://members.aol.com/_ht_a/kerlerdovber/myhomepage/business.html?mtbrand=ol_us; http://elabrek.blogspot.com). Kerler was awarded the Hofstein Prize for Yiddish literature (1997), the Modern Language Association's Leviant Prize for Yiddish scholarship (2004), and a National Endowment for the Humanities grant for ethnographic expeditions to Eastern Europe (2005–6).

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[Dovid Katz (2nd ed.)]

KERLER, YOYSEF (1918–2000), Yiddish poet and editor. Kerler was born in Haysin (Gaisin, Ukraine). When he was seven his family moved to a Jewish kolkhoz (Mayfeld, Crimea). He studied at a Yiddish technical school in Odessa (1934–37), began to study Yiddish literature, and debuted with a poem in the *Odeser Arbeter* (1935). He studied at the Yiddish Drama School of the Moscow State Yiddish Theater (GOSET, 1937–41). At the outbreak of World War II he enlisted in the Red Army and was wounded three times. His war poems constituted his first book, *Far Mayn Erd* ("Fighting for My Earth," 1944). Further poems and articles appeared in *Der Emes*, *Eynikayt*, *Heymland*, *Shtern* (Kiev), and *Folks-Shtime* (Warsaw). In 1947 he moved to Birobidjan, worked for *Birobidzhaner Shtern*, and openly protested the official policy to stop teaching Yiddish in schools. After returning to Moscow, he was arrested (April 1950) and sentenced to 10 years for "anti-Soviet nationalistic activity." In the Vorkuta Gulag, he wrote and later smuggled out several poem cycles, some of which were included under the guise of "songs of the [Nazi] ghetto" in his second book, appearing in authorized Russian translation only (*Vinogradnik Moego Otsa* / "My Father's Vineyard," 1957), and a few also in his third book *Khochu byt' dobrym* ("I'd Love to be Good-Natured," 1965). During the continued lack of Yiddish publishing in the early post-Stalinist period, he collaborated with many Yiddish performers as lyricist, author of short plays, and artistic consultant. Many of his poems were arranged and set to music, several of which became popular, some even acquiring the status of "folksongs" ("A Glezele Yash," "Der Tam-Ganeydevdiker Nign," "Am Yisroel Khay"). Many of his gulag and protest poems appeared in the *Forverts* (1969) and *Di Goldene Keyt* (1970). Together with his wife, Anya Kerler, he became one of the first long-term *refuseniks and open campaigners for free Jewish emigration. After a six-year struggle with the Soviet authorities, he was finally permitted to immigrate to Israel with his family, settling in Jerusalem (1971). Just before his arrival there he was awarded the honorary Itzik Manger Prize, followed in ensuing years by numerous other literary prizes in Israel and abroad. In addition to publications in periodicals throughout the world, six volumes of his poetry appeared in Israel: *Dos Gezang Tsvishn Tseyn* ("The Song through Clenched Teeth," 1971; Heb. tr. *Zemer ben ha-Shinayim*, 2000); *Zet Ir Dokh* ("Despite All Odds," 1972); *Di Ershte Zibn Yor* ("The First Seven Years," 1986); *Himlshaft* ("Heaven Above," 1986); *Abi Gezunt* ("For Health's Sake," 1993); *Shpigl-Ksav* ("Words in the Mirror," 1996), and two prose collections: *12 Oygust 1952* ("12 August 1952," 1977) and *Geklibene Proze* ("Selected Prose," 1991). He was instrumental in organizing the Jerusalem branch of the Israeli Yiddish Writers and Journalists Association, campaigned to institute perennial public commemoration of the Yiddish writers, actors, and intellectuals murdered by the Stalinist regime in 1937 and 1952, edited a number of collections, and founded the acclaimed organ for Yiddish literature and culture, *Yerusholaymer Almanakh* (26 vols., 1973–98). His poems have been widely translated and anthologized.

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[Dov-Ber Kerler (2nd ed.)]

KERMAN, city located in the province with the same name in the southeast of *Iran. A popular Kermani saying considers Kerman "the heart of the world," a great exaggeration. The origin of Kerman itself goes back to the Sasanian period, but, as far as we know, the Jewish community there is relatively new. Oral tradition indicates that because of severe famine in Yazd/Yezd about 150 years ago, several Jews of that city immigrated southward and eventually settled in Kerman. Historically this may be true, because the Jews of Kerman are not mentioned in the two Jewish chronicles, that of *Bābāi ben Lutf (17th century) – except for a mention of "ignorant

Yezdi-Kermani people" who extracted money from the Jews of Yezd – and that of *Bābāi ben Farhād (about 1730), nor are they referred to in other Jewish and non-Jewish travelogues from the first half of the 19th century. The Yezdi origin of the Jews of Kerman is attested by a linguistic investigation of their Jewish dialects. Neumark, who did not visit Kerman, said in 1884: "Not far from there (Yezd) there is the city of Kerman where a number of 30 Jews live".

One does not know of any important Jewish event, significant literary productions, or personalities concerning the Jewish community of Kerman. Like Yezd, Kerman too is a dwelling place of a substantial numbers of Zoroastrians. Several disastrous events befell the city of Kerman, culminating in 1794, when for the support given to the Zand monarch by the Kermanis, his foe, Muhammad Khan of Qajar, wreaked a terrible revenge on the Kermanis by allowing his men to pillage the town for three months, selling 20,000 of the inhabitants into slavery and blinding the same number of its men. With its population decimated and most of its buildings in ruins, it is hard to believe that Kerman attracted any Jews to settle there. Kerman did not regain its prosperity until after 1860 and most probably this is the time when Jews of Yezd found it appropriate to immigrate to Kerman and settle there. Neumark in the above-mentioned report confirms this assumption. At the beginning of the 20th century it was reported that 2,000 Jews were living in Kerman In course of time many immigrated to *Teheran and to Israel. Just before the Islamic Revolution 500 Jews were in Kerman. They had one elementary school and one synagogue. By the end of the 20th century fewer than 10 Jewish families remained in Kerman.

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[Amnon Netzer (2nd ed.)]

KERMANSHAH (called **Qirmisin** by Arab geographers), city located in the west of *Iran close to the border of *Iraq, on a commercial route between the two countries. The earliest mention of the city as a dwelling place of the Jews occurs in *Nathan ha-Bavli's report from the 10th century. Surprisingly, the Jewish community of Kermanshah is not mentioned in the chronicle of *Bābāi ben Lutf though it is almost certain that Jews lived in the city during the Safavid period (1501–1736). Rabbi *David de-Beth Hillel (around 1827) reports that there were 300 Jewish families living among 80,000 Muslim inhabitants. Most of the Jews were poor. *Benjamin II (about 1850) counted 40 Jewish families in Kermanshah. Rabbi Castleman reported in 1860 that there were few Jews in Kermanshah, and that "they are not God fearing people." According to Neumark, in 1884 there were 250 Jewish families. He says, "Muslims hate the Jews." Several Jewish families in Kermanshah embraced the Christian or Bahai faith in the last half of the 19th and the first half of the 20th centuries. In March 1909 there was a terrible pogrom against the Jews which resulted in killing, wounding, and looting of their property.

An important figure of Kermanshah was Shmuel Haim (1891?–1931), who became editor in chief of a Judeo-Persian weekly paper, *Ha-Ḥaim* (established in June 1922) and was president of the Iranian Zionist Organization and the Jewish representative in the Majles (1923–26). In 1926 he was accused of having joined a group of officers to overthrow the Shah (Reza Shah). He was tried in a military court and put to death on December 15, 1931, although the charge against him was never proved. In 1948 the Jews of Kermanshah numbered 2,864 persons, including a few Jewish families from Iraq, living among 80,000 Muslims They had five synagogues, one bath-house, and one school (Alliance) that had opened in 1904 and went up to ninth grade. According to a report, at the end of the 20th century about 20 Jewish families lived in Kermanshah.

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[Amnon Netzer (2nd ed.)]

KERN, JEROME DAVID (1885–1945), U.S. composer of popular music. Born in New York, Kern published his first song, "At the Casino," in 1902. In 1903, while working in London, he had his first real success – a political song "Mr. Chamberlain" with lyrics by P.G. Wodehouse, who later contributed lyrics to many of Kern's musicals. Returning to the U.S., he wrote songs that were used in musical productions, particularly in operettas coming from Europe, such as *La Belle Paree* (1911) and *The Red Petticoat* (1912), which was followed by *Oh I Say* (1913). From then on, his musicals appeared regularly on Broadway, the most important being *Very Good, Eddie* (1915), *Oh Boy!* (1917), *Oh Lady, Lady* (1918), *Sally* (1920), and *Sunny* (1925). His greatest success was *Show Boat* (1927) with libretto and lyrics by Oscar *Hammerstein. It was followed by *Sweet Adeline* (1929), *The Cat and the Fiddle* (1931), and *Roberta* (1933). In later years, Kern lived in Beverly Hills, California, and wrote scores for a great number of films, many of them adaptations of his most successful musicals. In all he wrote more than 1,000 songs, for 104 stage shows and films, and many of them proved to have a lasting popularity (e.g., "Ol' Man River," "Smoke Gets in Your Eyes"). In 1946 his life story was filmed under the title *Till the Clouds Roll By.*

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KEROVAH (Heb. קרובא), name for various types of **piyyutim* in the *Amidah prayer. The reader who chanted the prayer was called *karova* (Aram. קרובא; in Hebrew it would be *karov* קרוב). The *kerovah* intended for the *Amidah* in which *Kedushah was recited, i.e., for the *Shaḥarit Amidah*, according to the early usage of Ereẓ Israel, was designated *kedushta* while that for the *Musaf Amidah, where it was not customary to recite a *Kedushah*, was called *shivata* or *shivah*. The subject matter of the *kedushta* is fixed, being pertinent to the day on which it is recited, i.e., the weekly portion of the Torah, the *haftarah*, or the theme of a festival. But the *shivata* allowed for varied topics open to the choice and discretion of the *paytan*. The *kedushta* contains *piyyutim* for the first three blessings of the *Amidah*, those for the third blessing being numerous. The *shivata* contains seven equal sections corresponding to the number of blessings in the *Amidah*, except on festivals when the fourth blessing containing "the sanctity of the day" is made longer.

The following are the sections of the early *kedushta*: (1) *Magen*, generally speaking a *piyyut* with an acrostic from *alef* to *lamed*, ending with an allusion to the first blessing of the *Amidah, Magen Avraham* (Shield of Abraham); (2) *Meḥayyeh*, a continuation of the previous acrostic with the conclusion alluding to the second blessing, *Meḥayyeh ha-metim* ("Who revives the dead"); (3) a *piyyut* with an acrostic of the author's name; (4) a *piyyut* without an acrostic that ends with the word *kadosh* (holy); (5) a *piyyut* whose acrostic is from *alef* to *yod*, which in early manuscripts was called *asiriyyah* (group of ten); (6) an alphabetical acrostic based on the theme or subject of the day, its parts being connected with one another by the pertinent scriptural verses; (7) various *piyyutim* of an unfixed nature; (8) *silluk*, a long *piyyut* without an acrostic, containing a description of the importance of the subject matter of the day according to the midrashim. Just as it concluded the arrangement of the day's *piyyutim*, so it also served as a kind of preliminary to the *Kedushah*; (9) *Kedushah*, which is a hymn to God.

Among the sections of the *kerovah* were intertwined, as has been mentioned, scriptural verses appropriate to the topic; but beginning in the 16th century the verses no longer appeared in the prayer books. The *kerovot* for the *Amidah* of 18 blessings are similar in structure to the *shivata*, but their *piyyutim* are in general shorter and they are interwoven in all the blessings. Many of the *kerovot* also have *reshut* (prelude) which leads into the *kerovah* itself. In the course of time, slight changes were introduced into the early *kerovah*, but its essence was preserved. The *kerovot* for Rosh Ha-Shanah and the Day of Atonement received various additions, such as the *teki'ot* and the **Avodah*. In the *kerovot*, there is no scope for individuality of composition, although there are *kerovot* for bridegrooms, for the death of important men, and for various events. The earliest known author of *piyyutim* to write *kerovot* was *Yannai, followed by Eleazar *Kallir, *Joshua, and *Phinehas b. Jacob ha-Kohen (Kafra). These *paytanim*, who lived and worked in Ereẓ Israel, influenced the writers of Babylon, Spain, Italy, France, and Germany.

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[Abraham Meir Habermann]

KERR, ALFRED (pen name of **Alfred Kempner**; 1867–1948), German literary and theater critic and author. Kerr was born in Breslau and studied there and in Berlin. He became drama critic for the Berlin newspaper *Der Tag* and later for the *Berliner Tageblatt*. Together with Paul Cassirer and Wilhelm Herzog, Kerr founded the theater magazine *Pan*, which was published from 1900 until World War I. Because of his public warning against national socialism, he immediately had to leave Germany in February 1933. Together with his second wife and his two children he fled to Prague, and subsequently to Switzerland, Paris, and London, where the family settled and lived in poverty. He worked for various newspapers and the BBC and became correspondent of the Munich newspaper *Neue Zeitung* in 1945. During his first visit to Germany after World War II he became severely ill and put an end to his life soon afterwards. Perhaps the leading impressionistic critic in modern German literature, Kerr considered criticism an art, and based his judgments on personal impressions. He believed that criticism should aim to "illuminate" a literary work, its author, and the author's attitude to life. He wished to be considered an interpreter rather than a literary "lawgiver." He was especially prominent as a champion of Hauptmann and Ibsen.

Kerr's *Gesammelte Schriften* fill seven volumes. The first five, *Die Welt im Drama*, appeared in 1917; the last two were published as *Die Welt im Licht* in 1920. A new edition in eight volumes was published from 1989 to 2001, *Werke in Einzelbänden*, as well as a collection of early letters, *Wo liegt Berlin? Briefe aus der Reichshauptstadt 1895–1900* (1998). His travels included a journey to Palestine in 1903, which he recorded with poetic enthusiasm in "Jeruschalajim," one of the chapters in *Die Welt im Licht*. Kerr devoted one of his studies to the ill-fated German-Jewish statesman Walter *Rathenau (1935). Some of Kerr's poems were set to music by Richard Strauss and a posthumous volume of his verse appeared in 1955. Though inclining to mannerism in his later years, Kerr had an incomparable literary style. His choice of language shows the influence of Heine and Nietzsche.

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[Rudolf Kayser / Mirjam Triendl (2nd ed.)]

KERSH, GERALD (1911–1968), English author and journalist of the "tough" school. Kersh was born in Teddington, near London, and began to write stories as a child. He was a war correspondent for the Sunday newspaper *The People*, and an

MGM screenwriter. His works, notable for their fantasy and bohemianism, include the controversial *Jews Without Jehovah* (1934); *They Die with Their Boots Clean* (1941); *The Thousand Deaths of Mr. Small* (1950), a novel of Anglo-Jewish Life; and *The Best of Gerald Kersh* (1960). His novels about Soho's low-life, like *Harry Fabian: Night and the City* (1938) still have a cult following. In his last years he lived in upstate New York.

KERTESZ, ANDRE (1894–1985), photographer. One of the most influential photographers of the 20th century, Kertesz was born in Budapest, Hungary. He attended the Academy of Commerce there but had little interest in business. He served in World War I and was wounded. At 18 he bought his first camera, one that made 4.5 × 6-centimeter glass negatives. This early work, prints not much bigger than a postage stamp, included cityscapes, landscapes, portraits, and outdoor studies of the artist's brother capering about nude. In 1925 Kertesz moved to Paris, changed his given name from Andor to Andre, and met and photographed some of the most glamorous personalities of the time, including Chagall, Colette, Sergei Eisenstein, and Mondrian. One black and white photograph, which became his most famous, shows the austerely luminous image of the door and vestibule of Mondrian's studio, but the work, *Chez Mondrian*, became better known for its subject than for its creator. Kertesz's work, praised by critics, appeared in the most fashionable magazines of the day. Many of his pictures capture the incongruities of time and space. In *Meudon*, from 1928, the view down a narrow street opens up to a high aqueduct, across which charges a locomotive belching smoke. In the foreground, a man in a dark suit with eyes shadowed by his low hat brim approaches, carrying a large flat package. Buoyed by his success in Paris, Kertesz took a job as a fashion photographer in New York and he and his wife sailed to America in 1936. The new job did not work out and his efforts were not warmly embraced. He made a living making pictures of celebrity homes for *House & Garden* magazine but others, including his fellow Hungarian Brassai and Henri Cartier-Bresson, became famous. Kertesz felt that those photographers had appropriated his innovations. But in his late sixties, Kertesz, a pioneer in the use of small, 35-mm. cameras, began to receive recognition. He was included in exhibitions at the Museum of Modern Art and a new generation of photographers began rediscovering him, and he continued photographing into his nineties.

[Stewart Kampel (2nd ed.)]

KERTÉSZ, IMRE (1929–), Hungarian novelist and translator. Kertész was born in Budapest and deported to Auschwitz in 1944, and from there to Buchenwald, where he was liberated in 1945. In postwar Budapest he worked as a journalist and translator, publishing his first novel in 1975. *Sorstalanság* (*Fateless*, 1992), deals with his experience as a teenager in Auschwitz, as does his *Kaddis a meg nem született gyermekért* (1990; *Kaddish for a Child not Born*, 1997), which shares much of Primo Levi's pessimism regarding the human condition and explores the dubious blessing of survival and the price paid for that survival. In 2003 he published *Felszámolás* (*Liquidation*, 2004), a novel about a Holocaust survivor with echoes of Kafka and Beckett. His collected lectures and essays include *A holocaust mint kultúra* ("The Holocaust as Culture," 1993).

In 2002, Kertész was awarded the Nobel Prize for literature "for writing that upholds the fragile experience of the individual against the barbaric arbitrariness of history." The citation read: "In his writing Imre Kertész explores the possibility of continuing to live and think as an individual in an era in which the subjection of human beings to social forces has become increasingly complete…. For him Auschwitz is not an exceptional occurrence that like an alien body subsists outside the normal history of Western Europe. It is the ultimate truth about human degradation in modern existence."

KERTESZ, ISTVAN (1929–1973), conductor. Born in Budapest, Kertesz studied the violin at the Liszt Academy, whose student orchestra he later conducted, and in Rome. After becoming a conductor at Györ (1953–55), he was appointed junior conductor at the Budapest Opera, but left Hungary during the 1956 uprising. From 1958 he was music director at the Augsburg Opera and from 1964 until his death, at the Cologne Opera. From 1965 to 1968 he was principal conductor of the London Symphony Orchestra, with which he made many recordings. A leading conductor of the younger generation, he was admired for his conducting of the works of Schubert, Dvorák, Bruckner, Bartok, and – his greatest love – Mozart. Kertesz made frequent guest appearances at leading opera houses and with important orchestras, notably the Vienna Philharmonic and the Israel Philharmonic with which he was engaged at the time of his death. He died by drowning, while swimming off the coast of Herzliyyah.

[Max Loppert (2nd ed.)]

KESHET, YESHURUN (**Koplewitz, Jacob**; 1893–1977), Hebrew poet, literary critic, and translator. Born in Minsk Mazowiecki, near Warsaw, he first went to Palestine in 1911. He left in 1920 to study in Europe, and also taught in Marijampole, Lithuania. In 1926 he returned to Palestine, and after a short period of teaching devoted himself to writing and translation work. His first poems were published in *Ha-Aḥdut* and *Revivim* (1913), and he then contributed poetry, essays, and literary criticism to most Hebrew newspapers and periodicals. His volumes of poetry include *Ha-Helekh ba-Areẓ* (1932), *Elegyot* (1944), and *Ha-Ḥayyim ha-Genuzim* (1959). Keshet's poems are deeply influenced by European, particularly French, decadent poetry. Their lyricism converts what might have been the poet's despair and *Angst* into an elegiac melancholy. His tendency to use more traditional forms also mitigates their harshness. Many of his poems reflect preoccupation with aesthetic and philosophical problems. His monograph on *Berdyczewski (1958) is a significant contribution to Hebrew literary criticism. His prose works include *Ha-Derekh ha-Ne'elamah* (1941); diary (1919–39); *Be-Doro shel Bialik* (1943);

Be-Dor Oleh (1950); *Maskiyyot* (1953), literary criticism; *Shirat ha-Mikra* (1945); *Ruḥot ha-Ma'arav* (1960), on European writers; *Havdalot* (1962); *Keren Ḥazut* (1966), essays in national self-criticism; *Maḥarozot* (1967); *Bein ha-Armon ve-ha-Lilakh* (1967), an autobiography; and *Rashuyyot* (1968), essays of evaluation on Israel writers. He also translated numerous books into Hebrew, many of which were classics of European literature. His collected poems, entitled *Ha-Oẓar ha-Avud*, were published in 1996. A list of his books and translations appears in his *Keren Ḥazut* (1966), 381f.

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[Getzel Kressel]

KESSAR, ISRAEL (1931–), Israeli political and union leader, member of the Eleventh to Thirteenth Knessets. Born in San'a, Yemen, Kessar was brought to Israel at the age of two. He went to school in Jerusalem. Before and after the War of Independence he studied and worked at the Youth Center for New Immigrants. In 1956 he received a B.A. in sociology and economics at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. In 1960–61 he was employed as assistant and advisor to the minister of labor, Giora Josephtal, and in 1961–66 he served as head of the Department for Rehabilitation and Professional Direction in the Ministry of Labor. In 1966 he began his career in the *Histadrut, serving until 1971 as chairman of the Youth and Sports Department. In this period he was also appointed chairman of the Manpower Department of the Histadrut. He resumed his studies, and in 1972 completed an M.A. in Labor Studies at Tel Aviv University. In 1972–77 Kessar served as treasurer of the Histadrut, and in the latter year joined the Labor Party Secretariat. In the years 1977–84 he headed the Trade Union Section, and served as deputy secretary general of the Histadrut, under Yeruham Meshel. In 1984 he was elected on behalf of the Labor Party as secretary general of the Histadrut, and was elected to the Eleventh Knesset on the Alignment list. He supported the government economic stabilization plan when Shimon *Peres served as prime minister, and Yitzhak *Modai as minister of finance, but struggled to prevent a steep fall in real wages and an increase in unemployment.

Kessar participated in the contest for the Labor Party leadership in 1992 against Yitzhak *Rabin, Peres and Ora *Namir, receiving close to 20% of the votes. Peres' supporters argued that had Kessar withdrawn from the leadership contest, Peres, who received 34% of the vote, might have beaten Rabin, who received just over 40%. In the Labor government of 1992–96 Kessar served as minister of transportation. He did not run in the elections to the Fourteenth Knesset owing to his wife's poor health.

[Susan Hattis Rolef (2nd ed.)]

KESSEL, BARNEY (1923–2004), U.S. guitarist. Kessel grew up on the same Oklahoma plains that nurtured Charlie Christian, the first great electric guitarist, and it was to Christian that Kessel first looked as an influence. Kessel bought his first guitar at age 12 with money he had saved from his paper route and taught himself to play by listening to radio broadcasts and imitating what he heard. Within two years, he was playing in a local band, the only white musician in an all-black unit. In 1938 he spent a long weekend playing and jamming with Christian and his musical style was changed forever. Ironically, it was playing with Christian in a jam session that led him to pursue his own style. He told The *New York Times*, "I realized that I had been methodically lifting his ideas from records. What was I going to play? All I knew was his stuff…. I knew I had to find myself." With Christian's encouragement, Kessel moved to Los Angeles and in 1942 took a job with Chico Marx's band. He rapidly made a name for himself as a talented and versatile guitarist, playing with Benny *Goodman, Artie *Shaw, and Charlie Barnet. He became a mainstay of Norman *Granz's Jazz at the Philharmonic troupe, appearing in the acclaimed 1944 short film *Jammin' the Blues*, and finally hooking up with the Oscar Peterson Trio in the early 1950s. It was this last gig that earned him his most significant reputation as a jazz guitarist, but he also began spending a lot of time playing studio jobs for the movies, television, and commercials, as well as on records. Kessel can be heard on an astonishing range of recordings from the 1950s and 1960s, from Liberace to the Beach Boys, Frank Sinatra to Gene Autry. He continued to play jazz too, joining with fellow guitarists Herb Ellis and Charlie Byrd in the 1970s to form the group Great Guitars. Kessel was silenced in 1992 by a stroke from which he never recovered and died of brain cancer.

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[George Robinson (2nd ed.)]

KESSEL, JOSEPH (1898–1979), French author. Kessel was born in Clara, one of the Jewish agricultural settlements in Argentina, where his father was physician. The family returned to Russia and, when Joseph was ten years old, settled in France. By 1915 he was already writing for the *Journal des Débats*, and he also began training as an actor. The following year, however, he volunteered for war service and became an officer in the air force. Between the two world wars Kessel built up a considerable reputation as a novelist, journalist, and writer of screenplays. When World War II broke out he became a war correspondent. After the fall of France he escaped to England and spent the rest of the war in a Free French air force squadron, flying special missions to occupied France. He received French, British, and American decorations.

Two of Kessel's earliest books were *La Steppe rouge* (1922), a collection of travel sketches, and *L'Equipage* (1923), the first novel about French aviation, based on his experiences in World War I. Three other novels of this period were *Nuits de princes* (1927; *Princes of the Night*, 1928), a story with a Russian background; *Belle de jour* (1928), translated into English in 1962 and later filmed; and *Vent de sable* (1929). During the late 1920s and throughout the 1930s Kessel traveled extensively in the U.S. and in the Near and Far East. His lively reaction to people and events made him a compelling storyteller, and his books were easily adapted to the screen. His World War II story, *Le bataillon du ciel* (1947), was an aviation epic. *Les mains du miracle* (1960; *The Magic Touch*, 1961) is a biography of Felix Kersten, *Himmler's Finnish physiotherapist, who saved many Jews from the Nazis. Kessel's prize-winning book, *Les coeurs purs* (1927; *The Pure in Heart*, 1928), contained the story "*Makhno et sa juive*," while *Terre d'amour* (1927) examined the Zionist experiment, but he was remote from Jewish life. The birth of the State of Israel, however, fired his imagination and *Terre de feu*, first published in 1948 and revised and enlarged many years later under the title *Terre d'amour et de feu; Israël 1925–1948–1961* (1965), attests to his belief that Israel is one of the noblest enterprises of the 20th century. In his address upon his acceptance into the Académie Française in 1964 he spoke about his pride in being a Jew.

Kessel's works include a collection of essays, *L'armée des ombres* (1944; *Army of Shadows*, 1944), and the autobiographical *Témoin parmi les hommes* (1956). Among his novels are *Le Tour du malheur* (1950), *Le Lion* (1958; *The Lion*, 1959), *Avec les alcooliques anonymes* (1960; *The Enemy in the Mouth*, Brit. ed. 1961; *The Road Back*, U.S. ed. 1962); *Le Coup de grâce* (1953) and *Les cavaliers* (1967; *The Horsemen*, 1968).

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[Moshe Catane]

KESSLER, DAVID (1860–1920), Yiddish actor. He was one of the leading actor-managers of the New York Yiddish theater during its heyday early in the twentieth century. Born in Kishinev, at the age of 20 he joined the troupe of Judel Goldfaden (brother of Abraham Goldfaden) and together they toured the towns of south Russia. When Yiddish theater was prohibited by the czar in 1883, he toured with S. *Mogulesco in Romania, went to London in 1886, and to New York in 1890. There he acted under Jacob *Adler in Jacob Gordin's first play *Siberia* (1891), and soon made his name. He subsequently appeared in other plays by Gordin, enjoying great success in *God, Man, and Devil*. Others of his outstanding roles were in Sholem Asch's *God of Vengeance*, David Pinski's *Yankel the Smith*, and Leon Kobrin's *Yankel Boile*. In 1913 he established the David Kessler Theater, which ranked with Adler's and Thomashefsky's theaters, and produced many plays by the leading Yiddish writers.

[Joseph Leftwich]

KESSLER, LEOPOLD (1864–1944), engineer and one of Herzl's early aides. Born in Tarnowice, Upper Silesia, Kessler completed his studies and went to South Africa, where he was a consulting mining engineer. He was influenced by Zionism when Herzl's *Der Judenstaat* was published, and from the Second Zionist Congress was one of Herzl's loyal aides and a member of the Zionist General Council. He headed the scientific delegation to *El-Arish in 1903 and submitted its report on March 26. Later he was chairman of the Jewish National Fund in England. During World War I he became a member of the committee that helped Chaim Weizmann during the negotiations with the British government which led to the *Balfour Declaration. He also was chairman of the Zionist Federation of England (1922). From 1907 he served as a director of the *Jewish Chronicle*, assumed controlling editorship, and became its chairman in 1932. From 1939 Kessler lived in the United States, where he was active in the Freeland League, a territorialist association (see *Territorialism). His son, DAVID FRANCIS KESSLER (b. Pretoria, 1906), became managing director of the *Jewish Chronicle* in 1936 and chairman in 1958.

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[Getzel Kressel]

KESTEN, HERMANN (1900–1996), German novelist. In 1927 Kesten became literary adviser to the Berlin publishing house of Kiepenheuer. He had to leave Germany in 1933 and was active in European refugee circles, but fled to the U.S.A. after the outbreak of World War II. He lived in New York for several years, but after the collapse of Fascism in Italy made his home in Rome. Kesten's first novel, *Josef sucht die Freiheit* (1927), was translated into seven languages. *Glueckliche Menschen* (1931) and *Der Scharlatan* (1932) both deal with life in Berlin. During his exile, Kesten completed *Ferdinand und Isabella* (1936; U.S. ed. 1946; U.K. ed. *Spanish Fire*, 1946), a historical novel which recreates the period of the Jewish expulsion from Spain; and *Koenig Philipp der Zweite* (1938), which deals with Ferdinand and Isabella's successor on the Spanish throne.

Die Kinder von Gernika (1939) was written under the impact of the Spanish Civil War and portrays the tragic history of the Basques. *Die fremden Goetter* (1949) portrays the return to Judaism of a father and daughter during the Hitler era. Kesten's many other works included biographies of Copernicus (1945; *Copernicus and His World*, 1946) and Casanova (1952), and various plays and essays. His writing is remarkable for its good-natured humor alternating with sardonic irony in a manner reminiscent of Heine. Although he depicts man's inhumanity, Kesten also reveals his own faith in man and his love of freedom is combined with a sense of responsibility and duty.

[Sol Liptzin]

KESTENBERG, LEO (1882–1962), pianist and music educator. Born in Rózsahegy (Rosenberg), Hungary, the son of a *ḥazzan*, Kestenberg studied the piano in Berlin with

G. Albrecht, F. Kullak, and Ferruccio Busoni whose personality exercised a lasting influence on his career. Attaining early fame as a concert pianist, he at the same time joined the young Social-Democratic movement, and began to work toward his major ideal, the social integration of musical life. From 1905, Kestenberg organized the performances of the Freie Volksbuehne (Popular Theater) – folk choirs, concerts, and meetings. Especially after his appointment in 1918 as the music adviser, and in 1927, as the music counselor, at the Prussian Ministry of Culture, he turned to the thorough reform of musical education known today as the "Kestenberg-Reform." His yearly educational decrees extended to music teachers in academies, seminaries, conservatories, schools, and kindergartens. In 1933, Kestenberg fled to Prague where he founded, under the sponsorship of the Czech Ministry of Education, the International Society for Music Education, which held three major international congresses. Arriving in Ereẓ Israel in 1938, he became the general manager of the Palestine Orchestra (later the Israel Philharmonic Orchestra). In 1945 Kestenberg founded the Music Teachers' Training College in Tel Aviv, which he headed for over 15 years and regarded it as the fulfillment of his musical mission. At the college he realized for a third time his ideas on the role of music in the life of a nation. As professor at the Tel Aviv Academy of Music, he educated a number of well-known Israeli pianists. Among his publications are: *Musikerziehung und Musikpflege* (1921); *Jahrbuch der deutschen Musikorganisation* (1929); *Kunst und Technik* (1930); *Bewegte Zeiten* (autobiography, 1961); and he was the editor of *Musikpaedagogische Bibliothek*.

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[Edith Gerson-Kiwi]

KESTLEMAN, MORRIS (often spelled **Kestelman**; 1905–1998), painter. Born in the East End of London, he became head of the Fine Art Department of the Central School of Art. He was influenced by his teacher Bernard *Meninsky, and also by Van Gogh and Gauguin. Two Anglo-Jewish artists also influenced his career, the painter and illustrator Barnett *Freedman and the print-maker Michael Rothenstein. He developed an interest in theater design and made a distinguished contribution in this field. He became a member, and secretary, of the London Group, was later vice chairman of the United Kingdom branch of the International Association of Art, and was a fellow of the Royal Academy. His mature work was influenced by Matisse, Braque, and Picasso, and his emotional character was thus tempered by controlled and elegant design; the English critic Bryan Robertson once remarked, "Kestleman cannot be judged as an English painter; he is a Continental artist who happens to reside here." He belonged to the "second generation" of Anglo-Jewish artists, following the major figures of David *Bomberg, Mark *Gertler, etc. His daughter Sarah Kestelman is a well-known actress, painter, and poet in London.

[Charles Samuel Spencer]

KESZI (**Kramer**), **IMRE** (1910–1974), author and literary and music critic. A pupil of the composer Zoltán Kodály, Keszi wrote on Jewish themes and his World War II experiences. Among his books are *A várakozók lakomája* ("The Feast of Those Waiting," 1944^1; 1969^2), stories and meditations on the Passover Seder; and two works on the Holocaust, *Elysium* (1958) and *Szőlőből bor* ("Wine from the Grape," 1961).

KETER PUBLISHING HOUSE, Israeli publisher. Keter operates its own independent book marketing and distribution network and is also a key provider of print services and book production for the Israeli market and export through its industrial division.

Keter has been the most prominent publisher of contemporary Hebrew literature in Israel for many years, and its publishing activities cover a wide range of genres, including translated fiction and non-fiction, albums, guides and general trade books, children's books, and multi-volume encyclopedias. Among the many contemporary Israeli writers Keter publishes are Aharon *Appelfeld, Amos *Oz, Alona Kimhi, Sayed Kashua, Savyon *Liebrecht, Uri *Orlev, and Zeruya *Shalev. Keter has published many translated works, including those of Douglas Adams, Paul Auster, Paolo Coelho, Sandor Marai, Haruki Murakami, Boris Pasternak, Philip Pulman, Salman Rushdie, W.G. Sebald, Susan Sontag, Donna Tartt, and Mario Vargas-Llosa. Keter is the publisher of the first edition of the *Encyclopedia Judaica* and is a co-publisher of the *Junior Britannica*.

Operating from Jerusalem, the company was first established and owned by the Israeli government under the auspices of the Prime Minister's Office in 1959 at the initiative of Teddy *Kollek, Jerusalem's mayor (1965–93). Originally named The Israel Program for Scientific Translations (IPST), the company engaged in the translation and publishing of scientific and technical manuscripts from Russian into English, primarily for the National Science Foundation of the United States. During the 1960s the company began to diversify its publishing activities in English under the Israel Universities Press (IUP) and Keter Books imprints. The company was purchased from the government by Meniv Israel Investment Company in 1966 and subsequently sold to Clal Israel in 1969. At this time the company name was changed to Keter Publishing House, with key objectives to expand the publishing of titles concerned with Judaica and Israel for export, to publish the recently acquired *Encyclopedia Judaica* (published in 1972), and to establish an independent printing and bindery division (Keterpress Enterprises). During the late 1970s Keter consolidated its position as a leading publisher in Hebrew in all categories.

Keter has been a public company since 1987. Controlling interest in the company was briefly held by Robert *Maxwell, through Macmillan, at the beginning of the 1990s, and thereafter by Arledan, a Jerusalem based investment company. Keter has provided the managerial infrastructure for Sifriat Maariv, the *Maariv* daily newspaper's imprint, since 2003. In 2005 Keter and the Steimatzky Group joined forces to form a new publishing and distribution partnership "Keter-Books" for titles published in Hebrew. The second edition of the *Encyclopedia Judaica* is now published by Thomson Gale, under license from Keter.

KETI'A BAR SHALOM (first century C.E.), Roman councillor or senator who sacrificed his life to save the Jews of the Roman Empire from extermination (or persecution), probably toward the end of *Domitian's reign (c. 96 C.E.). According to the main source (Av. Zar. 10b), an emperor who hated the Jews – presumably Domitian – consulted his councillors as to whether a sore on the foot should be cut away, i.e., whether the Jews should be exterminated, or be left alone to cause pain. The councillors favored "radical" treatment, but Keti'a b. Shalom pointed out that the Jews, scattered as they were all over the world, could not be exterminated anyway; that the world could not exist without Israel; and that the empire would be crippled without the Jews. The emperor agreed with the soundness of Keti'a's reasoning, but nevertheless ordered him to be put to death. Advised by a Roman matron who exclaimed, "Pity the ship that sails without paying the tax," Keti'a circumcised himself, so that he should enter paradise as a Jew. Just before his execution he willed all his property to R. Akiva (cf. Ned. 50b) and his colleagues who were in Rome at the time.

In a similar story told in *Deuteronomy Rabbah* 2:24, an unnamed senator commits suicide (after having himself circumcised) in order to annul a Senate decree to exterminate the Jews within 30 days. Graetz plausibly identifies Keti'a with Flavius *Clemens, Domitian's nephew, who was executed for "atheism," i.e., for Judaizing tendencies. Keti'a b. Shalom is a fictitious name meaning "through circumcision he obtained salvation" (so J.Z. Lauterbach, quoted by Braude) or, more probably, "the circumcised one, may he rest in peace."

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[Moses Aberbach]

KETUBBAH (Heb. כְּתֻבָּה), a document recording the financial obligations which the husband undertakes toward his wife in respect of, and consequent to, their marriage, obligations which in principle are imposed on him by law. For the *ketubbah* of a betrothed woman (*arusah*) see *Marriage.

The Concept

In talmudic times in certain places it was customary to dispense with the writing of a *ketubbah* deed, relying on the fact that the said obligations are in any event imposed by law (Ket. 16b), but the *halakhah* was decided to the effect that a *ketubbah* deed must always be written, since it is forbidden for the bridegroom to cohabit with his bride until he has written and delivered the *ketubbah* to her (Maim. Yad, Ishut 10:7; Sh. Ar., EH 66:1). On the other hand, they are allowed to cohabit only when they are married, and so the *ketubbah* deed must be ready for delivery to the bride when the betrothal blessings (*berakhot ha-erusin*) are recited and before the recital of the marriage blessings (*berakhot ha-nissu'in*; see *Marriage). Since in modern times it is customary in practically all communities to celebrate the *kiddushin* and *nissu'in* at the same time, the deed must be ready at the commencement of the recital of the *berakhot ha-erusin*. At the present time a standard form of *ketubbah* deed is normally used, which is read before the bridegroom and the witnesses and signed by them (for a standard *ketubbah* deed, see A.A. Rodner, *Mishpetei Ishut*, 179f.).

The *ketubbah* was instituted for the purpose of protecting the woman, "so that he shall not regard it as easy to divorce her" (Ket. 11a; Yev. 89a; Maim. loc. cit.), i.e., in order to render it difficult for the husband to divorce his wife by obliging him to pay her, in the event of a *divorce, the sum mentioned in the *ketubbah*, which generally exceeded the sum due to her according to law. As this is the object of the *ketubbah*, some scholars are of the opinion that since the *ḥerem* of Rabbenu *Gershom, which prohibited the divorce of a wife against her will, the same object is achieved in any event; it is therefore argued – on the analogy of *Ketubbot* 54a concerning the ravished woman who is thereafter married by her ravisher and, according to pentateuchal law, cannot be divorced – that there is no longer any need for a *ketubbah* to be written. However it has remained the *halakhah* that a *ketubbah* is to be written (*Rema* EH 66:3, concl.).

The amounts specified in the *ketubbah* deed are those of the "main" *ketubbah* and its increment (*ikkar ketubbah* and *tosefet ketubbah*) and those of the *dowry and its increment, which amounts the wife is entitled to receive upon divorce or the death of her husband (Sh. Ar., EH 93:1).

The "Main" Ketubbah and its Increment

The "main" *ketubbah* specifies the amount determined by law as the minimum that the wife is entitled to receive from her husband or his estate on the dissolution of the marriage (Sh. Ar., loc. cit.). According to some scholars the liability to pay the main *ketubbah* is pentateuchal law (Ex. 22:15–16 and Rashi thereto; Mekh. Nezikin 17; Ket. 10a and Rashi thereto), but the *halakhah* is that the *ketubbah* is rabbinical law (Ket. loc. cit; Yad, Ishut 10:7; *Ḥelkat Meḥokek* 66, n. 26). The minimum amount, as laid down in the Talmud, is 200 *zuz* in the case of a virgin and 100 *zuz* in all other cases (Ket. 10b; Sh. Ar., EH 66:6). Since in all matters concerning the *ketubbah* local custom is followed, the equivalent of the main *ketubbah* is fixed in accordance with custom and with the kind and value of the currency prevailing at the respective place (Ket. 66b; Yad, Ishut 23:12; Sh. Ar., EH 66:6, *Rema* EH 66:11). The said minimum amount is an obligation imposed on the husband by virtue of a rabbinical regulation (*takkanat bet din*), i.e., he is liable to pay this even when a lesser amount has been fixed in the *ketubbah* or no deed at all has been written (Ket. 51a). The authorities were at pains to safeguard the woman's rights in this respect, condemning cohabitation as tantamount to prostitution if the amount fixed as the main *ketubbah* is less than the said legal minimum (R. Meir, Ket. 54b; Sh. Ar., EH 66:9). The only circumstances in which the husband is exempted from meeting his obligations under the *ketubbah* are those in which the wife forfeits her *ketubbah* according to law (see *Divorce).

If the husband so wishes, he may add to the minimum amount of the *ketubbah*, an increment known as the *tosefet ketubbah*. Here, too, local custom prevails: i.e., if by virtue of local custom or rabbinical regulation it is customary for an increment to be made, the husband will be bound by this and cannot stipulate less (Sh. Ar., EH 66:9–11). The general custom at the present time is to grant the increment, and this is also reflected in the standard form of the *ketubbah* deed. It is not required that the two amounts be separately stated in the deed; they may be fixed as an aggregate amount, provided that this is not less than the minimum locally determined for the main *ketubbah* (*Rema* EH 66:7). In 1953 it was laid down by the chief rabbinate of the State of Israel that the minimum amount of the *ketubbah* – i.e., for the main *ketubbah* and its increment – must not be less than IL200 for a virgin and IL100 for a widow or divorcee. The law regarding the increment is generally the same as that regarding the main *ketubbah*, unless the *halakhah* expressly stipulates otherwise (Maim. Yad, Ishut 10:7; Sh. Ar., EH 66:7).

Dowry (Aram. נְדוּנְיָא, *nedunya*)

In addition to the above-mentioned amounts, there is also fixed in the *ketubbah* deed the amount which the husband – of his own free will and by virtue of his undertaking under the *ketubbah* deed – renders himself liable to return to his wife, when he pays her the *ketubbah*, as the equivalent of her dowry (within the restricted meaning of term). This amount is called *nedunya*, and the husband's liability to return it becomes a monetary debt and a charge upon his estate (*Rema* EH 66:11). The question of whether, in the event of a fluctuation in currency values, the wife is entitled to recover the dowry to the amount specified in the *ketubbah* deed or according to its equivalent at the time of the recovery is greatly influenced by local law and custom concerning the repayment of a regular debt in such circumstances (Resp. *Ḥatam Sofer*, EH 1:126). Since the husband is permitted by law to trade with the dowry, it is the accepted custom for him to undertake liability for an increment to the dowry, i.e., to pay his wife an additional amount over and above the amount specified as the dowry; this is known as the dowry increment (*tosefet nedunya*), and all laws of the dowry are applicable to it. The usual custom, from early times, is to fix this increment at one-half of the sum specified as the dowry. As in all matters concerning the *ketubbah,* local custom is followed, this custom has become obligatory on the bridegroom; thus he undertakes in the *ketubbah* deed to pay the main *ketubbah* and the dowry, together with their increments (Sh. Ar., EH 66:11).

The Custom Concerning Consolidation of all the Ketubbah Amounts

As it is not required that the component amounts of the *ketubbah* be stated separately, an aggregate amount may be fixed, but it is also customary in some countries to enumerate them first separately and then state the aggregate amount (for the custom in Israel, see Rodner op. cit.). If, therefore, separate amounts for the component portions are not expressly stated, they are deemed to be included in the aggregate amount specified in the deed (*Rema* EH 66:7, concl.). Since, generally speaking, the possibility of divorcing a wife without her consent is precluded by the *ḥerem* of Rabbenu Gershom, and in practice she may make her consent conditional on the satisfaction of her pecuniary claims, it is customary in many countries of the Diaspora to specify a nominal amount only for each or all of the *ketubbah* components (e.g., 200 *zekukim kesef ẓaruf*: see *Baḥ* EH 66). If, however, the wife is able to establish that the amount was written as a mere formality and not with the intention of limiting her rights, and that in fact the value of the property brought by her to the marriage exceeded the amount specified in the *ketubbah* deed, there is no legal obstacle to her obtaining satisfaction of her claims as far as she may prove them due to her. In the State of Israel it is the custom to specify in the *ketubbah* a realistic amount according to the specific respective facts.

In cases where the wife "forfeits" her *ketubbah,* the effect, in general, is that the husband is released from his liability to pay her those portions of the *ketubbah* which had to come out of his own pocket, i.e., the main *ketubbah* and its increment; in the absence of any express halakhic rule to the contrary, the wife does not forfeit the dowry or its equivalent, which is regarded as her own property, even when she is obliged to accept a bill of divorce with forfeiture of her *ketubbah* (see, e.g., Sh. Ar., EH 115:5).

The Ketubbah Conditions (Heb. תְּנָאֵי כְּתֻבָּה)

The financial obligations imposed on the husband by law (see *Husband and Wife) and specified in the *ketubbah* – in addition to the amount the wife is entitled to receive on divorce or the death of her husband – are called the "*ketubbah* conditions" (Maim. Yad, Ishut 12:2). The rule is that "the *ketubbah* conditions follow the law applying to the *ketubbah* itself" (Yev. 89a); i.e., insofar as the wife is entitled to the main *ketubbah*, she is also entitled to the rights due to her under the *ketubbah* conditions. On the other hand, her forfeiture of the right to the main *ketubbah* also carries with it the loss of her rights under the *ketubbah* conditions, such as her maintenance (Yev. loc. cit.; Rashi and Asheri thereto; see also Sh. Ar., EH 115:5).

Loss of the Ketubbah Deed

Just as the bridegroom is forbidden to cohabit with his bride after marriage unless he has written and delivered the *ketub-*

bah to her, so the husband is forbidden to live with his wife for even one hour if she has no main *ketubbah* deed. Therefore, in the case of loss or destruction of the deed, the husband is obliged to write a new one, and, since the loss of the original deed does not relieve the husband of his obligations under it, the new deed must ensure the rights that the wife was entitled to under the original one (Sh. Ar., EH 66:3; *Ḥelkat Meḥokek* 66, no. 14; for an example of such a deed (כתבה דאירכסא) see Tur, EH after 66). For the same reason, the wife's waiver of her *ketubbah* is of no effect in respect to the main *ketubbah,* and in such an event the husband is also obliged to write a new deed for her, but here only in respect of the main *ketubbah* (Sh. Ar., loc. cit.; for an example of such a *ketubbah*, see Tur, loc. cit.).

For recovery of the *ketubbah*, see *Divorce, *Widow, and *Limitation of Actions.

In the State of Israel

The wife's rights under the *ketubbah* are unaffected by the laws of the State of Israel. However, according to the Succession Law 5725/1965, whatever she receives on the strength of her *ketubbah* must be taken into account against her rights of inheritance or of maintenance from the estate of her deceased husband (sec. 11 (c); 59).

[Ben-Zion (Benno) Schereschewsky]

Status of the Ketubbah in Modern Times

POLICY OF THE RABBINICAL COURTS. In general, when a divorce suit reaches the rabbinical courts, the court recommends to the couple that they arrive at a consensual agreement regarding the division of their joint property, and only afterwards does the court transact their *get* (bill of divorcement). In most cases, division of property involves, inter alia, the wife foregoing all rights entailed in the *ketubbah* deed. The courts tend not to enforce the commitments included in the *ketubbah* owing to their concern that enforcing the additional debts included in the *ketubbah*'s increment (*tosefet ketubbah*) would trigger additional disputes between the husband and wife. As a result, the husband might find himself in the position of being forced to give the *get*, and the *get* would thus become a *get me'useh*, a coerced *get*. Moreover, the reason for the *ketubbah*'s enactment – "so that he shall not regard it as easy to divorce her" (Ket. 39b) – has lost much of its significance, given that Rabbenu Gershom's enactment prohibits a man divorcing his wife against her will. In most cases, therefore, the parties come to an agreement on monetary matters before the divorce, in order to expedite their agreement on the divorce *per se.*

THE KETUBBAH'S PRACTICAL RELEVANCE. In some, albeit not many, cases, a *ketubbah* has practical legal relevance, and the rabbinical courts, and even the civil courts, do obligate the husband to pay the *ketubbah*. Alternatively, they may impose a different obligation, while relying on the sum recorded in the *ketubbah*. It should be noted that Israeli law recognizes the *ketubbah* as a binding document (Section 17 of the Monetary Relations (Spouses) Law 1973; as well as in various sections of the Succession Law, 1965).

For this reason, in recent years prominent halakhic authorities have exhorted the public not to ridicule the sum recorded in the *ketubbah*, not to fix exaggerated sums for the *ketubbah* and the increment, and not to treat it as a purely ceremonial document (Resp. Iggerot Moshe, EH 4:92). This is the legal situation in the State of Israel.

By contrast, in civil courts in the United States, the *ketubbah* is related to as a purely ceremonial document, with no legal force attaching to it. The commitment of civil courts in Israel to the *ketubbah* and its laws is similarly limited. Inter alia, this matter finds expression with respect to imposing a lien on the property to secure the *ketubbah*. In a recent case, a husband transferred title on his apartment to his father's name before his own death. The rabbinical court ruled that, as there was no other property from which to collect on the *ketubbah*, the wife was entitled to collect from the apartment that had been transferred to her father-in-law's name. Yet the Supreme Court annulled this ruling, since the rabbinical courts lacked the authority to adjudicate the case between the wife and her late husband's father, who did not consent to the rabbinical court's adjudication of the case (HC 2621, *Levi v. Rabbinical Court*, 54 (3) PD 809).

Recently, a number of halakhic authorities have related to the *ketubbah* as a document designed to provide a woman with minimum sustenance during the initial period following divorce. The background to this is as follows: the Sages fixed the sum of the *ketubbah* as an amount that in their times was considered sufficient to support a person for a year, even if this was not the main purpose underlying its institution. Therefore, today, in wake of our above comments, we should view this as its primary purpose. Accordingly, rabbinical courts occasionally rule that the debt owed by force of the *ketubbah* be treated as a debt for the non-payment of alimony, i.e., *mezonot* after the *get*. In terms of Israeli law, the significance of this distinction is that, in execution proceedings, a debt for *mezonot* has priority over all other debt, and in contradistinction to a regular debt, the debtor can even be imprisoned for failure to pay a *mezonot* debt. In this manner the *ketubbah* can be utilized for collecting payments from a husband who attempts to evade payment.

The *ketubbah* may also be resorted to in cases of recalcitrant husbands who refuse to give a *get*. When the rabbinical court rules that the man is obligated to give a *get*, he can be compelled to pay the *ketubbah* and to return the dowry even before the giving of the *get*. If the ground for divorce is the husband's behavior, then even the *ketubbah*'s increment can be included in this sum. These means can also serve to pressure a recalcitrant husband into giving the *get* (Resp. Ketav Sofer, EH 100; Resp. Even Yekarah no. 53). The Rabbinical Court of Appeals recently ruled that payment of both the *ketubbah* and its increment may be imposed independent of the completion of the divorce proceedings. (See *Divorce).

THE SUM OF THE KETUBBAH. In the regulations enacted by the Chief Rabbinate of Ereẓ Israel in 1944, a minimum sum was fixed for the *ketubbah*. In today's terms, that sum sufficed to fulfill the Sages' intent of preventing the husband from viewing divorce lightly. This sum was increased in regulations enacted in 1953. Obviously today, after so many years, and extensive inflation, these sums are meaningless, and each couple decides on a generic amount when the *ketubbah* is written.

In some cases, pressure exerted by family members, or the couple's excitement over their approaching wedding, leads to the stipulation of exaggerated sums in the *ketubbah*. In such cases, rabbinic authorities and *dayyanim* are divided over whether these sums are binding. One view is that, so long as the groom does not swear to the amount of the sum when signing the *ketubbah*, it should not be given binding force. Rather, the husband should be obligated to pay the primary sum of the *ketubbah* (*ikkar ha-kettubah*) without the increment, i.e., the value of two hundred zuz. This view regards the original undertaking solely as an *asmakhta* (see **Asmakhta*), i.e., the person assumed an obligation without really intending to be bound thereby, but was only exaggerating, or operated on the belief that the obligation would never actually take effect.

Another view is that, in principle, even a large sum binds the husband, in accordance with the ruling of *Keẓot ha-Hoshen* (264:4) that a person cannot claim "I was only joking with you," provided that he either swears or shakes hands on the agreement (see *Undertaking), and also because the undertakings included in the *ketubbah* are considered as essential preconditions for marital life.

Nevertheless, when a manifestly "astronomical" sum is involved, to the extent that it is obvious that neither party ever contemplated the possibility of the sum being binding, the husband cannot be compelled to pay it. In such a case, even according to the second view, the husband should be required to pay a *ketubbah* and increment "in accordance with accepted practice and the family's social level, whatever is accepted amongst families of that ethnic community in our day."

A third opinion is that, fundamentally, the husband is obligated by any amount he undertook, even if exorbitant. The mere fact of his having undertaken to pay that amount is tantamount to an acknowledgment that he has the sum at his disposal and, accordingly, the law of *asmakhta* does not apply to the sum of his *ketubbah*. In a ruling by the Rabbinical Court of Appeals (2128/48 PDR 15, 211), the majority of *dayyanim* ruled in accordance with the second opinion.

In 2000, the Chief Rabbinate issued a proclamation that there is no minimum sum for the *ketubbah*, but that the maximum sum of the *ketubbah*'s increment is NIS 1,000,000.

Furthermore, when the sum stipulated in the *ketubbah* is only an expression of respect for the proceedings, or symbolic in some other way, the question of *asmakhta* also arises. Regarding cases in which the sum is not exorbitant, the Rabbinical Court of Appeals rejected the husband's claim that the sum has no binding significance, ruling that it is legally binding.

The husband's argument that he did not understand the *ketubbah*'s wording, or the implications of specifying such a large sum when he signed it, is unacceptable. After all, there is also the testimony of the witnesses who are signed on the *ketubbah*, and "for it is presumed that they did not sign without their first having orally testified (i.e., orally explained the document they were signing) in his presence, for without this presumption, there would be no possibility of obliging the ignorant … to comply with their obligation under the *kettubah* … for they would all raise this claim" (Resp. Rashba 1:629; Rema, Sh. Ar. EH 66:13).

REVALUATING THE KETUBBAH AMOUNT. When the *bet din* or the court rules on the husband's obligation to pay the *ketubbah*, the question arises as to how to revaluate the *ketubbah*. This is particularly relevant during inflationary periods, when there is liable to be an immense discrepancy between its value at the time it was signed and its value at the time of divorce or the husband's death. The Israeli rabbinical courts have adopted various methods for revaluating the *ketubbah*. The *ketubbah* cannot be reassessed unless it explicitly states how it should be reassessed. The possibilities for revaluation include linking it to the American dollar; linking it to the consumer price index; leaving the original sum but obligating the husband in accordance with the currency used at the time of payment; arbitration (*Takkanat Ra'anaḥ* – i.e., the Enactment of Rabbi Eliyahu ben Ḥayyim; see Resp. Maharit EH 2); linkage to the silver standard; reevaluation of the sum so that it does not fall below the amount needed to support the wife for a year.

PRENUPTIAL AGREEMENTS. Given that in most instances the *ketubbah* does not actually fulfill its purpose of regulating the couple's financial relationship at the time of the divorce, in recent years there has been a growing tendency to use prenuptial financial agreements between the couple for that purpose. Besides serving a monetary role similar to that of the *ketubbah*, these agreements also assist in preventing refusal to grant a *get*, as within the framework of these agreements both parties undertake a legal or financial commitment which spurs them into giving a *get* in the event of the marriage failing and one of the parties desiring to terminate it. These agreements raise a number of problems in the context of the laws of divorce, such as the risk of a "coerced *get*" (*get me'useh*), questions with which halakhic authorities have dealt extensively in recent years (see Bibliography; see *Divorce).

DIVORCE COMPENSATION. In addition to the wife's *ketubbah* rights, the rabbinical court sometimes rules that the husband must pay her compensation. The roots of this compensation award are found in a number of responsa from the last few hundred years, and in the mid-20th century the matter became a binding *minhag*, conferring on the wife a right to receive part of the joint property. This compensation, which can be viewed as a quasi "equitable right," is similar in purpose and source to the joint property presumption (see *Matrimonial Property).

It serves to provide the woman with part of the property created during the years of marriage, through the couple's joint efforts. In addition, it provides the wife with economic stability during the period following the divorce.

Originally, the Israel Supreme Court distinguished between divorce compensation and the joint property rule, explaining that the latter is based on the legal presumption that, when the couple wed, their intent was that their property be shared between them equally. By contrast, the law of divorce compensation does not derive from any presumption. Rather, "its source lies in the principle of justice and fairness, for it is fitting for the wife to be compensated in accordance with her efforts in raising and nurturing the family unit … in order to enable her reasonable subsistence after the divorce" (CA 630/70, *Lieberman v. Lieberman*, PD 35(4), 373, per Justice Menachem Elon). However, in recent years the Supreme Court's justification for the joint property rule has changed, and it is now similarly regarded as deriving from principles of justice and fairness, and a number of halakhic authorities have noted the similarity of the logic behind the presumption regarding joint property and the logic guiding a Rabbinical court to award divorce compensation. (For an elaboration on this point, see *Matrimonial Property).

Some halakhic authorities, however, oppose giving the wife divorce compensation, because it has no halakhic basis. In their view, such compensation can only be awarded as a means of effecting a divorce when a problem arises in attaining the wife's consent.

In recent years, in accordance with the decision of the Supreme Court, even rabbinical courts are obligated to divide the property up equally in accordance with the joint property rule (regarding the way the *halakhah* relates to this, see **Dina de-Malkhuta Dina*). This division of property does not apply to obligations deriving from the *ketubbah*. Hence, the Rabbinic courts need to proceed with caution, lest a situation be created in which a woman receives double rights.

[Menachem Elon (2nd ed.)]

Conservative and Reform

To meet and resolve the problem presented in Jewish law by the **Agunah*, the Rabbinical Assembly of America (Conservative) in 1953 adopted a *takkanah* ("enactment") proposed by Saul *Lieberman. The enactment went into effect in 1954 and the modified form of the *ketubbah* into which it was incorporated is currently widely used by Conservative Rabbis. The additional clause in both the Aramaic and English versions of the *ketubbah* provides that both bride and bridegroom "agree to recognize the Beth Din of the Rabbinical Assembly and the Jewish Theological Seminary of America … as having authority … to summon either party at the request of the other in order to enable the party so requesting to live in accordance with the laws of Jewish marriage …." By mutual agreement, the "Beth Din" is authorized to impose such terms of compensation as it may see fit for failure to respond to its summons or to carry out its decision. The clause is aimed to compel a recalcitrant husband or wife divorced by civil law to agree to the writing and acceptance of the traditional *get*. At the time of marriage, the *ketubbah* is filled out in duplicate by the officiating rabbi and the copy is forwarded for filing at the marriage registry established by the Rabbinical Assembly.

Reform Judaism has dropped the use of the traditional *ketubbah*. Instead, most Reform rabbis issue a marriage certificate drawn up by the Central Conference of American Rabbis (Reform). The certificate makes no reference to the halakhic formulations of the traditional *ketubbah*.

[Theodore Friedman]

Illuminated Ketubbot

Most Jewish communities have followed the custom of decorating the *ketubbah*. An Ashkenazi *ketubbah* from Krems. Austria, dated 1392, shows that illumination was usual among Ashkenazi communities during the Middle Ages. However, the best-known illuminated *ketubbot*, which date from the 16th century onward, were from Italy, certain Sephardi communities, and from Near and Far Eastern Jewry.

EUROPEAN KETUBBOT. Richly illuminated *ketubbot*, which date from the 17th and 18th centuries, are from Italy, Corfu, the Balkans, and Gibraltar. They are written on parchment and the text is usually bordered by an illuminated frame, depicting a variety of decorative themes in many bright colors. The frame, which is sometimes divided into a diptych, is often illustrated with biblical or mythological motifs, portraits of the bride and groom in contemporary costume, family coats of arms, symbols representing conjugal bliss, and even nude figures. Typical Jewish symbols were used, such as the hands forming the priestly blessing, a sign that the groom was from a family of *kohanim*, or a ewer and basin indicating a levite. Sometimes, the biblical figures represented in the *ketubbah* symbolize the bride or groom's name; thus a scene from the life of Joseph might mean that the groom's name was Joseph, a scene from the Book of Ruth that the bride's name was Ruth.

Dutch Sephardi *ketubbot* of the same period are distinguished by their delicate ornamental engraving. They were mainly executed on parchment and are in the best Dutch copper-engraving tradition. An outstanding example is a 1658 Rotterdam *ketubbah*, executed by Shalom Italia, a copper engraver from Mantua who emigrated to Holland. This *ketubbah* is rich in biblical motifs. Another famous copper-engraved *ketubbah*, dating from the late 17th century, is decorated with flowers and allegorical figures in the typical Dutch-Jewish contemporary manner. The border contains the date 1693, commemorating the year of the death of the renowned Amsterdam rabbi, Isaac *Aboab de Fonseca.

EASTERN KETUBBOT. *Ketubbot* from the Near East and countries bordering Israel are decorated in a manner different from the European ones. They are mostly on paper and are decorated with plant motifs, mainly flowers, or geometric patterns similar to carpet patterns. The best-known examples are from the Persian community of *Isfahan, which also feature the national emblems of Persia, the lion, a half-sun with a face, and sometimes a sword. Other noteworthy Persian *ketubbot* are from Hamadan. The decorations of these *ketubbot* sometimes include wood-block prints. The *ketubbot* from the Teheran community were made in the form of small booklets. Their pages are illuminated in typical Persian style. Other interesting Persian *ketubbot* are from *Meshed. In 1839, the Jews of Meshed were forcibly converted to Islam. They thus prepared two *ketubbot* for the marriage ceremony: one in Arabic and Persian in order to prove that the couple were Muslim, and an "illegal" one in Hebrew and Aramaic, in the Jewish form. These *ketubbot* were decorated with an abundance of colored flowers. *Ketubbot* from the *Herat community in Afghanistan are noteworthy for the delicate composition of garlands and wreaths of colored flowers surmounting the text. One interesting feature of Persian and Afghan *ketubbot* is that the signature of the illuminator sometimes appears on the bottom margin.

Although the Yemenite *ketubbot* were mostly undecorated, an occasional gaily-colored example is to be found. Human forms, as well as flower motifs, appear in the *San'a ketubbah* of 1793 in the Israel Museum. *Ketubbot* from North Africa are illuminated with multicolored decorations, but are mainly distinguished by the exquisitely written text. Sometimes the frame is decorated with black-white arabesques. Indian *ketubbot*, from Calcutta and Bombay, are written on parchment and decorated with colored ornamentation. These *ketubbot* are heavily influenced by Indian art motifs, such as gateways and animals. Those from *Cochin bore above the text a circle with verses of good omen, the whole in a floral border. The typical 19th-century Jerusalem *ketubbah*, although belonging geographically to the Arab countries, shows no evidence of this in its decorative style. The most commonly used ornamentation is a garland of flowers over the text, with palm or cypress trees on either side.

[David Davidovitch]

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KETUBBOT (Heb. כְּתֻבּוֹת; "Marriage Contracts"), second tractate in the order *Nashim*, dealing with rights and duties arising out of the contract of marriage. *Ketubbah*, literally, "that which is written," denotes in this tractate not so much the marriage document itself (see **Ketubbah*) as the obligations statutorily contained in it. In fact, according to Mishnah 4:7–12, the usual terms of a *ketubbah* are binding upon husband and wife even if no document has been drawn up. The word *ketubbah* came to be identified with the most important provision in the marriage contract from the point of view of the *halakhah*, namely the sum of money due to the wife if she is divorced or widowed. Thus, throughout this tractate, phrases like "the *ketubbah* is so-and-so many zuzim," or "she is entitled to the *ketubbah*" refer to the amount due to the wife according to the *ketubbah*. The *ketubbah* of a virgin was fixed at 200 zuzim while that of a non-virgin, by rabbinical enactment, at 100 zuzim. This distinction between virgin and non-virgin as it relates to the amount of the *ketubbah* takes up much of the first two chapters of this tractate. In this context the proof of *virginity is widely discussed, with digressions, for most of the second chapter, into general questions of trustworthiness and evidence. Chapter 3 deals with fines payable in cases of rape and seduction (Ex. 22:15; Deut. 22:29). Chapter 4, after stating that fines for seduction to a girl go to her father, mentions other rights of the father vis-à-vis his daughter; the chapter also includes duties incumbent upon the husband even if not written in the *ketubbah*. Chapters 5–6 deal mostly with the mutual rights and duties of husband and wife in marital and material respects, and also touches on the question of a daughter's dowry.

Chapter 7 deals with circumstances in which a woman can demand divorce and receive her statutory *ketubbah* money, and gives instances in which a man can divorce a woman without being liable to pay the *ketubbah*. Chapters 8–9 deal with the rights of the woman to her own property and with her claims upon her husband's property after his death. Chapter 10, in the context of polygamy, deals with the problem of adjudicating the conflicting claims of several wives. Chapters 11 and 12 deal with the rights of the widow and the duties of heirs toward her (whether she is their mother or stepmother), and the position of the stepdaughter. Chapter 13 has a distinctive character, quoting various *halakhot* of earlier authorities (Adom and Hanan). The last Mishnah speaks of the great merit of living in the land of Israel (especially in Jerusalem), with the halakhic consequence that if a man wishes to go to live in Israel and a woman refuses to go with him, he can divorce her without payment of the *ketubbah*, and if she wishes to do so and he refuses, she is entitled to divorce with *ketubbah*.

According to Epstein (*Tann'aim*, passim), Mishnah 10:4 belongs to the Mishnah of R. Nathan (Ket. 93a), while 3:1; 7:10; 8:3, 7 belong to that of R. Meir, and 1:5 to that of R. Judah b. Ilai. The Tosefta has 12 chapters. Interesting differences between the marriage customs of Judea and Galilee are mentioned in 1:4. There are several independent passages of ancient origin, one of which, 4:1–3, contrasts the respective rights of the father, husband, and levir of a woman. Another, 4:9–14, lists a series of laws each beginning with the phrase, "Rabbi [so and so] expounded." A. Weiss discerned three major strata in the Babylonian Talmud to *Ketubbot*: The most ancient contains the opinions of Rav and Samuel and the teachings of the academy of *Pumbedita. The second stratum is that of Abbaye and Rava, who also lived in Pumbedita, but part of Rava's sayings originate from other academies. The third stratum is Papa's, and hails from his academy in Naresh. These three strata do not receive equal representation in the *Gemara*. Thus, although chapter 7 is replete with the opinion of Samuel on almost every Mishnah (cf. 77a, where R. Assi testified to Samuel's having delved deeply into the chapter), chapter 3 contains almost no material of this stratum and is dominated by the viewpoints of rabbis of the second and third strata. This pattern of chapter 3 is also seen in chapters 5, 9, 10, 11, 12, and 13 (*Hithavvut ha-Talmud bi-Shelemuto* (1943), 6–27).

Both the Jerusalem and the Babylonian Talmuds maintain that the Roman governor insisted on the *jus primae noctis*. According to the Jerusalem Talmud, in order to prevent this it became customary for the groom to have intercourse with his bride while she was still in her father's house, a custom which remained in effect even after the decree was no longer enforced (1:5; 25c). Another saying is that God valued the *mitzvah* of procreation over that of the construction of the Temple (5:7; 30a,b). The entire passage of 12:3, 35a–b is devoted to aggadic discussion, and contains biographical details about Judah ha-Nasi and his nephew Ḥiyya, and, like the Babylonian Talmud, expatiates on the virtues of Ereẓ Israel. In the Babylonian Talmud the discussions of *miggo* which play a significant role in the Jewish law of *evidence (chapter 2) are of particular halakhic interest, as are the references to the *takkanot* of Usha (49b–50a). Some of the aggadic passages to the Babylonian *Gemara* are of great beauty. They include accounts of rabbis dancing and singing at wedding festivities in fulfillment of the precept of gladdening bride and bridegroom (16b–17a; see also Ber. 6b); of the romance of R. Akiva (then a shepherd) with the daughter of Kalba Savua (62b–63a); Rabban Gamaliel's example of simplicity in burial (8b); and the description of Judah ha-Nasi's death and burial (103b–104a). Taking up the last Mishnah's allusion to the superiority of Ereẓ Israel, the concluding portion of the tractate is dedicated to praise of that land. The aggadic portion starts with the saying (110b) that one should live in Israel, even in a town with a heathen majority, rather than in the Diaspora, even if it be a place abounding with Jews; its concluding sentence expounds Joel 2:22, stating that in Israel even the barren trees will bear fruit.

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[Arnost Zvi Ehrman]

KETURAH (Heb. קְטוּרָה), a wife (Gen. 25:1) or concubine of Abraham (cf. 25:6; I Chron. 1:32). She bore him six sons (Gen. 25:2; I Chron. 1:32), the most prominent of these being *Midian. All these names are eponyms of peoples and locales. These children complete the fulfillment of the promise that Abraham would be the father of many nations (Gen. 17:5). Abraham is said to have given them gifts and to have sent them away from his son Isaac eastward, to the land of the East (Gen. 25:6). The text emphasizes that Abraham was still living when he sent Keturah's sons away in order to show that they had no claims to rival Isaac. The peoples and locales Sheba, Dedan, Ephah, Midian, and Medan are mentioned in connection with ancient international trade, especially in spices, gold, and precious stones which were brought from southern Arabia (Isa. 60:6; Ezek. 27:15, 20, 22; cf. Gen. 37:25, 28, 36). Given that these locales were on the incense route, it is probable that the writer of the account named Abraham's wife Keturah to connect her with the word *ketoret* (*qeṭoret*, קְטֹרֶת, "incense"), of which a by-form *ketorah* (*qeṭorah*, קְטוֹרָה) occurs in Deuteronomy 33:10.

[Israel Eph'al / S. David Sperling (2nd ed.)]

In the Aggadah

Keturah is identified with Hagar. The connection with incense (see above) is that her good deeds gave off a fragrance like incense; or that she combined (*kitrah*) in herself piety and nobility (Gen. R. 61:4). She was a daughter of Japheth (Yal. Reub. Gen. 26:2, 36c).

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KEVER AVOT (Heb. קֶבֶר אָבוֹת; "grave of the fathers"), the custom of visiting the graveside of parents or close relatives and praying there. The theme of the prayers is peaceful eternal rest for the departed and an invocation for God's aid to the living on the basis of the pious deeds of the dead performed in their lifetime.

Judaism did not encourage "praying to the dead" and the custom of *kever avot* was, therefore, limited to special occasions; the day of the *Yahrzeit, the eve of Rosh Ḥodesh especially that of the month of Elul, and in various Ashkenazi communities also the Ninth of *Av in the afternoon (Isserles to Sh. Ar., OḤ 459:10 and 481:4).

It was also customary to visit the graveside of pious individuals so that "the departed will intercede for mercy on behalf of the living" (Ta'an. 16a). It was related that Caleb visited Hebron and prostrated himself upon the graves of the patriarchs, saying to them, "My fathers, pray on my behalf that I may be delivered from the plan of the spies" (Sot. 34b). According to the Midrash, Jacob buried Rachel on the way to Ephrath near Bethlehem so that she could later pray for her children as they passed by her grave on the way to the Babylonian exile (Gen. 35:19; Jer. 31:15).

This practice was particularly stressed by the Ḥasidim who considered the earth above the final resting places of their rabbis as holy as the Land of Israel. Rooms known as *ohalim* were constructed above their graves, and Ḥasidim gathered there to pray on the *Yahrzeit* or whenever they desired the heavenly intervention of the departed rabbis. Those who opposed the Ḥasidim, however, discouraged these practices. It was related that R. *Elijah b. Solomon of Vilna even regretted the one time he visited his mother's grave. R. Ḥayyim *Volozhin reportedly left instructions that his disciples were not to visit his final resting place. Likewise, R. Ḥayyim *Soloveichik of Brest-Litovsk never visited the graves of his parents.

See: *Av the Ninth, *Cemetery, **Hillula*, *Holy Places, *Lag ba-Omer, *Mourning Customs.

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KEYSERLING, LEON H. (1908–1987), U.S. economist. Born in Charleston (South Carolina), after a short period of teaching at Columbia University Keyserling became, in 1933, Legislative Assistant to Senator Robert F. Wagner. He then served as a consultant to numerous Senate committees on banking, taxation, monetary policy, public works, housing, labor relations, social security, and employment. Under the Truman administration he was chairman of the President's Council of Economic Advisers. He was frequently consulted by Israel government agencies. Keyserling's main economic interests were the fields of employment and production, and his numerous publications included *The Federal Budget and the General Welfare* (1959); *Food and Freedom* (1960); *Poverty and Deprivation in the United States* (1962); *Progress and Poverty* (1964); and *Role of Wages in a Great Society* (1966). His wife, MARY DUBLIN KEYSERLING (1900–1997), who was born in New York City, was a professional economist, connected with federal agencies in the United States.

[Joachim O. Ronall]

KEẒAẒAH (Heb. קְצָצָה; "a severing of connections," lit. "cutting-off"), a technical term used in the Talmud for a ceremony, whereby a family severs its connection with one of its members who marries a person beneath his social rank (Ket. 28b), or when one sells part of his estate (TJ, Kid. 1:5, 60c). In both of these instances the *keẓaẓah* acts as a kind of publicity for the act done. It would seem from the Jerusalem Talmud that the *keẓaẓah* was at one time a form of *kinyan* ("act of possession"), but even in early times it fell, as such, into disuse. The Talmud gives the following description of the *keẓaẓah*. "How is the *keẓaẓah* performed? If one of the brothers married a woman unsuitable for him, members of the family come and bring a barrel filled with fruit and break it in the town square, saying, 'O brethren of the House of Israel, give ear, our brother so-and-so has married an unsuitable woman and we are afraid lest his seed mingle with our seed. Come and take yourselves a sign for the generations [which are to come], that his seed mingle not with our seed'" (Ket. 28b). A similar *keẓaẓah* took place when the renegade divorced his unsuitable mate, or when the estate which had been sold was repurchased (TJ, *ibid.*).

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[Abraham Hirsch Rabinowitz]

KHALAẒ, JUDAH BEN ABRAHAM (d. before 1537), rabbi and kabbalist from Castile, Spain. In 1477 Judah fled from anti-Jewish excesses in his native town and went to Granada, where he remained for five years, acting as a teacher. From there he proceeded to Malaga, where he spent another four years in a similar capacity. In 1486 he arrived in Honain, from where he proceeded to Tlemcen, Algeria, where he was resident tutor to the son of the wealthy Joseph b. Sidon. There he wrote *Mesi'aḥ Illemim*, on Rashi's Bible commentary and *Sefer ha-Musar* (also called *Sefer ha-Mefo'ar*, Constantinople, 1537), an ethical work with both rational and kabbalistic expositions, which is essentially an adaptation of the *Menorat ha-Ma'or* of Israel *Al-Nakawa. In his work, Judah interprets kabbalistic explanations of the commandments and prayers by his relative Moses b. Eleazar Khalaẓ. Judah is probably the author of *Maggid Mishneh* (a commentary on the laws of *sheḥitah* of *Maimonides) published in *Zevaḥim Shelamim* by Abraham Ankawa (Leghorn, 1858). He also wrote an introduction to the Talmud, containing 58 rules of talmudic methodology (published by M. Herschler, in: *Sinai*, 55 (1964), 25–36). A work on the Exodus, *Pi Yehudah*, is still in manuscript. JUDAH BEN ABRAHAM HA-KOHEN KHALAZ, who lived in the 16th–17th century, was a member of the same family and according to some the grandson of Judah. He studied under Solomon b. Ẓemaḥ Duran II, to whom he dedicated a laudatory poem published in Duran's *Ḥeshek Shelomo* (Venice, 1623).

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[Abraham David]

KHALYASTRE (Yid. "The Gang"), post-World War I Warsaw group of Yiddish expressionist and futurist poets. It received its title from Hillel *Zeitlin, editor of the influential Warsaw daily *Moment*, who used the term in a derogatory sense because the slogans and practices of the group's members outraged public opinion in their struggle against realism in art. These writers were led by Peretz *Markish, Uri Zvi *Greenberg, and Melech *Ravitch. Accepting Zeitlin's designation as a badge of honor, they termed their short-lived literary review *Khalyastre*. The first issue appeared in Warsaw in 1922 under the editorship of Markish and I.J. *Singer. The second, final, issue appeared in Paris two years later, under the editorship of Markish and O. *Warszawski, with illustrations by Marc *Chagall. Contributors also included D. *Hofstein, I. *Kipnis, M. Khashchevatsky, and Israel Stern. Not all of these writers were in sympathy with the flamboyant futurism of the *Khalyastre*, but they were impressed by the irrepressible vitality of the lyric triumvirate. Ravitch's *Nakete Lider* ("Naked Songs," 1921), Greenberg's *Mefisto* (1922), and Markish's *Di Kupe* ("The Mound," 1922) were among the best products of the *Khalyastre*. The climax of the group's striving was reached in the issues of *Albatros* (edited by Greenberg in Warsaw, 1922, and in Berlin, 1923), a periodical which proclaimed itself as the organ of extreme individualism in poetry. It advocated exaltation, renovation, and revolution of the spirit. It set out to fragment the language of the classical masters and to rebuild Yiddish anew. It preferred rhythmic tautness and explosiveness to rounded, melodious verses. *Khalyastre* came to an end with the dispersal of many of its leading figures: Markish to Soviet Russia, Greenberg to Ereẓ Israel in 1925, and Ravitch to Australia. The journal was endowed with a kind of second life with the publication of a French translation of its two issues, including the original illustrations and an exhaustive critical apparatus: Rachel Ertel, *Khaliastra: La Bande* (1989).

[Sol Liptzin / Alan Astro (2nd ed.)]

KHANAQIN (**Khaniqin**, **Khanikin**), town in Diyāla province of E. Iraq; on the ancient Baghdad-Hamadan road, N.E. of Baghdad. In the middle of the 19th century there were about 20 Jewish families residing in Khanaqin; a century later the Jewish community numbered 700 people, most of whom were Arabic-speaking – about a quarter of them spoke Mountain Aramaic. The Jews were cloth and iron merchants, shopkeepers, itinerant money changers, innkeepers, etc. In 1911 the *Alliance Israélite Universelle established a coeducational school in the town which had an attendance of 181 pupils. In the 1920s Zionist activities were introduced. In August 1949, the police arrested the head of the community, accusing him of organizing an illegal Zionist organization; many other Jews were arrested at the same time. In the early 1950s the community left Khanaqin for Israel.

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[Abraham Haim]

KHĀN YŪNIS, town 14 mi. (23 km.) S.W. of Gaza. This may be the town ʾΙήνυσος which Herodotus lists among the Philistine towns (3:5). During the period of *Mamluk rule, Khān Yūnis served as an important market for the caravan trade between Ereẓ Israel and *Egypt. At that time the sultan Barqūq ordered an inn (*khān*) to be built there. There are remnants of this inn with Arabic transcriptions and architectural fragments. Almost all the population was Muslim, except for 316 Christians. The 1931 census indicated 3,811 inhabitants in Khān Yūnis (and another 3,440 then living in its vicinity); among these were three Jews and 40 Christians. In 1944, the population figure stood at 11,220. Before 1948, Jewish institutions and private persons repeatedly attempted to buy holdings, particularly *Jiftlik* (i.e., lands in public ownership), but legal difficulties precluded the final transfer. In 1948, the town was in the Gaza Strip, which remained under Egyptian rule. It was briefly in Israeli hands after the Sinai Campaign in 1956 and again from the Six-Day War of 1967. In 1994 it was transferred to the jurisdiction of the *Palestinian Authority. Its economy was based almost exclusively on farming (citrus groves, date palms, other fruits, vegetables, and irrigated and unirrigated field crops). In 1967 its population was 52,997 inhabitants, nearly half (23,475) living in refugee camps. By 1997 its population had reached 123,056, nearly two-thirds of whom were refugees. A stronghold of the Hamas terrorist organization, Khān Yūnis was hit by Israeli forces during the al-Aqsa Intifada (see *Israel, State of: Historical Survey) and buildings have been razed after providing cover for terrorists firing at Israeli settlements in *Gush Katif.

[Efraim Orni]

KHARĀJ AND JIZYA, Arabic-Turkish for tribute or remuneration in general which later came to mean land tax and poll tax, respectively. According to the constitution of the Muslim state, as conceived by the legislators, the payment of the poll tax by the non-Muslim gives him the right to live within the state. Many times the *jizya* is named *jilya* or *aljavali*. Although the *jizya* is mentioned in the *Koran (Sura 9:29), the poll tax probably was a continuation of the policies of the Persian and Byzantine empires. In Sassanid *Persia all subjects, with the exception of the aristocracy, had to pay a poll tax according to their wealth. The poll tax in the various provinces of the Byzantine empire was not collected in the same way and when the Arabs conquered the lands of the Fertile Crescent, they concluded treaties with certain towns and districts, determining lump sums to be paid to them and to be collected by local notables. Therefore, the sources of the early period of Muslim rule reveal a bewildering confusion. *Kharāj* (Sura 23:74) and *jizya* were apparently used interchangeably in various regions, reflecting the lack of uniform fiscal systems. Under the later *Umayyads, from Omar II (717–720), the authorities began to distinguish between the *kharāj*, the land tax to be paid by most landholders, and the *jizya*, the poll tax to be paid by non-Muslims. Under the first *Abbasids, at the end of the eighth century, the Muslim lawyers fixed the rules of the *jizya*. According to the precepts of Abū Ḥanīfa, which were taken over by most jurists, the poor had to pay one dinar per year; the middle class, two; and the rich, four. Women, children, old men, the sick, the mentally ill, and those without any income were to be exempt. They also established that the tax should be paid at the beginning of the lunar (Muslim) year. The majority of the Muslim jurists thought jizya as a punishment, a means to degrade the non-Muslims.

Both Arabic reports referring to the period of the Umayyad and Abbasid caliphs, and Judeo-Arabic documents from the 11th century show that the authorities used very harsh methods in collecting the *jizya*, imposing it even on those exempt from paying by virtue of the *sharīʿa* (the canon law of Islam). Under the first caliphs the punishment of those who had not paid the *jizya* consisted of pouring oil on their heads and exposing them to the sun. Many extant **Genizah* letters state that the collectors imposed the tax on children and demanded it for the dead. As the family was held responsible for the payment of the *jizya* by all its members, it sometimes became a burden and many went into hiding in order to escape imprisonment. For example there is a *Responsum* by *Maimonides from another document, written in 1095, about a father paying the *jizya* for his two sons, 13 and 17 years old. From another document, written around 1095, it seems that the tax was due from the age of nine. Even foreigners and transients were compelled to pay the poll tax; hence, nobody dared travel without a certificate of payment (*barāʾa*). Everyone paid where he was registered as resident. These documents also prove that the non-Muslims had to pay the *jizya* in advance (i.e., some time before the beginning of the Muslim year). The Jews in the Muslim territories did not try to ask exemption from the *jizya*, because they wanted to be protected. The stability of this tax gave the Jews stable security. There is a famous legend from the tenth century about the Jewish banker *Natira, who objected to the idea of an Abbasid caliph to exempt the Jews from paying *jizya*. The leaders of Egypt in the *Fatimid period were requested many times by poor people to help them out of difficulties incurred with the Muslim *jizya* collectors. Since the payment of the *jizya* was considered a sign of humiliation, Muslim lawyers insisted that it be paid in person. Such was the practice in 12th- and 13th-century Iraq and in Fatimid and *Ayyubid *Egypt. Sometimes the authorities made agreements with local communities, fixing a lump sum to be paid regardless of the number of taxpayers. Several extant *Genizah* letters point to the fact that the Jews in *Jerusalem in the 11th century paid the *jizya* as a fixed sum; the Italian rabbi Obadiah di *Bertinoro presents a similar situation in Jerusalem in the second half of the 15th century. In Ottoman Turkey the method of collecting the *jizya* (called *kharāj*) underwent several changes. At the end of the 15th century it was paid individually, but in later agreements, communities apparently would pay a lump sum (*maḳṭūʿ*). A letter written c. 1500 points out that the Jews of *Aleppo were arrested by the *Mamluk ruler because they could not pay the high *jizya* following a very difficult winter in which their economic life had declined.

In the second half of the 16th century the Jews of Jerusalem, like the local Christians, paid personal *jizya* through the community. The community had to pay the Ottoman authorities a sum of money for *jizya* according to a list of Jews which was prepared during the censuses. That list was the basis for the annual *jizya* payment, and everyone paid it for the male members of his family (*hane*). A law promulgated in 1691 provided for the reestablishment of the old system of individual payment. The new law was acted upon in Ereẓ Israel. In any case, it is clear that the leaders of Jewish communities in various Muslim lands (or in the confederations of the communities) were not responsible for the payment of the *jizya*. The rates of the *jizya* varied throughout and usually did not correspond to those fixed by the *sharīʿa* law. Generally, Jews from poor communities paid a low rate of *jizya*. In Egypt during the reign of the caliphs, all non-Muslims paid two dinars per year. Ibn Mammātī stated that under the *Ayyubids the **dhimmīs* paid according to three rates; the rich paid 4.16 dinar; the middle class, 2.08; and the poor, 1.59. At the beginning of *Mamluk rule the rate of the poll tax was doubled. At the end of the 14th century, however, the highest rate amounted to one dinar and the lowest to 0.4 dinar. In 1412 the Egyptian government once more decided to levy the poll tax according to the rates fixed in the *sharīʿa* law, i.e., 1, 2, and 4 dinars. The accounts of Italian Jews who visited or settled in Ereẓ Israel in the late 15th century indicate a lower rate. According to their reports the (uniform) rate of the *jizya* would have been between one and two ducats. In Ottoman Turkey the rate was relatively low, in comparison with the rates fixed in the *sharīʿa*. In most provinces during the 17th century it was collected at a uniform rate, from 25 to 50 *akçe*, whereas in the provinces conquered from the Mamluks it reached up to 80 *akçe* (60–70 *akçe* equaled the value of one silver piece). In addition to these rates, all non-Muslims had to pay a collection fee. In the 18th century the Jews continued to pay *jizya* individually. In the *Ottoman Empire men paid the *jizya* until they were 60 or 65 years old. In the list of *jizya* taxpayers in Ruschuk in the year 1831, many children 12 years old and even younger were included. After the conquest of *Istanbul in 1453 the Ottomans determined a total assessment for the Jewish community as a whole and submitted it to the community representative. In the 16th century the secular leaders of every congregation apportioned its share among its individual members. In the second half of the 16th century all Jews paid the *jizya* according to the lowest rate: 80–90 akçe. The tax was sent to the Central Treasury in Istanbul, but the *jizya* of 85 Jews was sent to the Wakf of the Dome of the Rock. Throughout this century the government explored the *jizya* lists and requested the *Jerusalem community to pay the real *jizya*. The Jews often complained about these lists, especially in times when the community was in steep decline. They also complained frequently about the authorities oppressing them and forcing them to pay a high rate of the poll tax. In addition, there were many complaints about forcing the Jewish pilgrims to pay this tax. The Grand Vezir Sinan Pasha issued an order in 1586/7 to examine the subject of the *jizya* of the Jews and to bring him a list of Jews who had to pay this tax. A special official was sent from Istanbul to make enquiries about the Jews evading the *Jizya*. In the Muslim court of Jerusalem and in the responsa literature many documents deal with these difficulties. Few lists of poll tax taxpayers in Jerusalem and *Hebron have survived. These together cover the course of 400 years. For example, we can point to a list of 400 Jerusalem Jews who paid the *jizya* during 1760–1763. In the year 1762 only 31 persons paid the high rate (*evla*) of *jizya*, 123 persons paid the medium rate (*evsat*), and 195 persons paid the low rate (*edna*). Women were exempted from this tax, but rich widows who had inherited land from their husbands were listed and paid the *jizya*. In the 18th century Rabbi Raphael Shelomo Laniado of Aleppo wrote a halakhic decision that persons who could not pay the *jizya* could pay it from their charity money (*maʿaser kesafim*), "because it is like a ransom *mitzvah*." He meant that everyone who did not pay the poll tax was arrested by the Ottoman authorities. Until the 19th century this tax in Aleppo was personal, but it was the duty of the community to collect the money from its members, and the leaders of the community were responsible for the sum of the requested tax. In 1672, 380 Jewish residents of Aleppo paid *jizya*. Under the Safavid government in *Persia the *nasi* of *Isfahan was responsible for collecting the *jizya* and delivering it to the local officials. Under *Reza Shah this tax was cancelled. In Ruschuk the *jizya* was collective. In 1831/2, 15 Jews paid a total of 420 grossos, 53 paid 1,272 grossos and 36 paid together 432 grossos. Under the reign of Sultan Bayezid II in 1510–1511 the Ottomans used the monies raised by the poll tax in *Salonika and its environs for the purchase of textiles to outfit the Janissary corps. The Ottoman registry books from the reign of *Suleiman the Magnificent indicate tax payments according to the congregations of the community. But the tax total shown in the registry books was a tally for all the Jews of Salonika, without an itemization by congregation. Rabbi Moses Almosnino wrote in 1568 that he had succeeded in his mission to Istanbul in modifying the poll-tax procedures for the Jews of Salonika.

Undoubtedly the poll tax was a burden to the poor for more than one thousand years. Therefore, the Jewish communities collectively raised money to pay the tax, the poor contributing only a small amount. Many documents referring to these drives are extant in the Cairo *Genizah*. These drives helped prevent the compulsory payment of the poll tax from becoming a reason for conversion to *Islam, as it had been for Christians. In urgent cases the local leaders of the communities regarded the payment of the *jizya* for the poor as a holy obligation and a pious deed. For example, there are letters given by the *nagid* Abraham Maimonides dealing with the payments in place of the poor living in Fustat. The poll tax continued to be levied in the Ottoman Empire until the *hatti-sherif* (the order of the Sultan) in 1856, when the *jizya* was abolished by law and non-Muslims were required to pay a tax exempting them from military service (*bedel i-askeri*). This tax continued to be levied until the Young Turk Revolution, when military service was imposed upon non-Muslims (1909). In Egypt the *jizya* was abolished by the Napoleonic regime that briefly ruled in Egypt and later in 1855 by Saʿid Pasha. During the Ottoman era it was stipulated that the communities must guarantee the *jizya* payment for merchants away from the town. In many Jewish communities the family (*hane)* paid the *jizya*. There are numerous censuses from the Ottoman period which give the number of the families and the number of bachelors who paid this tax in many communities. The *jizya* taxpayers were males aged 15–60. We have many documents from the Ottoman period dealing with disputes between rich and poor, in the communities where the *jizya* was collective. In other communities the *jizy*a was personal. The community of Istanbul in 1771/2 had a list of taxes paid by it to the state; it suggests that the community had to pay the *jizya* for 1,200 impoverished taxpayers who could not meet their tax obligations to the government. In Ottoman Egypt the government demanded the *jizya* from the Jewish community collectively and the Jewish leaders collected the money from the taxpayers according to their economic status, It is possible that in the later years of the 17th century Egyptian communities changed this system and adopted a new *jizya* that was personal and not collective. In the 18th century the rich Jews in Egypt paid 440 para every year, the middle class community members paid 220 para, and the poor paid 110 para. Other documents give other rates of *jizya*: 420, 270 and 100 paras, respectively. In Ottoman Egypt the *jizya* money was sent by the Ottoman government to the Ulema and other pious Muslims in Egypt. In some cities, such as Hebron, the revenues of the *jizya* were earmarked for Muslim religious institutions. The 17th-century historian Joseph *Sambari writes that "…in the time of Mehmed Gazi Pasha the Oriental Jews, named al-Masharika, began to pay the *kharāj* to the Sherif Ali Savis, because [until that time] they had an old order from the Sultan of that time exempting them and their descendants from *kharāj*, and that *minhag has been cancelled*."

The Jews did not object to the *jizya*, but there were certain Jews under Islam who were granted exemption from the *jizya*. A few such cases occur in **Genizah* letters related to Egypt, and there are documents about Jewish communities that paid the tax burden for their scholarly officials. This was an internal arrangement. There seem to have been special arrangements in the Ottoman communities exempting Torah scholars holding recognized positions from all tax obligations, including the *jizya*. The communities undertook these payments. Scholars who had no recognized positions were obliged to make *jizya* payments during most of the 16th century, in spite of the regulation of the **nagid* R. Issac Hacohen Solal in Jerusalem at the beginning of that century, which was also adopted in *Safed. But from 1535 until the end of the 16th century the scholars in Safed paid it gradually. While in Jerusalem during the 16th century the payments were fixed and uniform, in Safed they were progressive until the mid-1560s, a fact which caused many Jews to settle in Safed, and from then on they were apparently made in full. About 1560 Rabbi David Ibn Zimra (Radbaz) decided to demand *jizya* from the community scholars of Jerusalem. At the end of the 16th century Rabbi Moshe Alshekh urged the establishment of yearly support from the communities of *Venice and Istanbul for paying the *jizya* of 25 Safed Jewish residents.

In Egypt Rabbi Mordechai Halevi and the other spiritual leaders of Cairo in the 17th century issued a regulation exempting scholars who did not work but rather studied Torah all day from paying *jizya*. The Jewish communities in the Ottoman Empire tried to prevent new *jizya* censuses as well as government inquiries about this tax. Many Jews left the city and hid when Ottoman officials came to write new lists of *jizya* taxpayers. Generally, the number of persons in the *jizya* lists is incorrect and probably the real number of community members was higher. Many communities arranged special *jizya* record books. Sometimes there were congregations (synagogues, *kehalim*) in the community that paid the Ottoman authorities the *jizya* of their members by themselves and were listed in the Ottoman records as independent communities. Such registration existed in 16th century in Salonika and Safed. The *francos* active especially in the great communities of the Ottoman empire were exempted from *jizya*, but there were *francos* who had been settled in the Ottoman Empire for 10 years and were compelled to pay the *jizya* according to the Ottoman law.

In Africa, especially in Arab sources, the term *jāliya* (plur: *jawālī*) is used many times in place of the term *jizya*. The meaning of *jaliya* is exile. We know nothing concerning its collection, but we may suppose that it was collected by the Jewish authorities together with other taxes and charges to which the members of the community were liable, the amounts due to the government being set apart from the general collection. The Tunisian constitution of 1857 contains a reference to the *jizya*. Exemption from personal taxes is mentioned in the *capitulations concluded in the second half of the 19th century between *Morocco and European countries; therefore, the poll tax must have remained in force there. In the emirate of *Bukhara the *jizya* was collected from the Jews, but not from the Russian Christians. This and other forms of discrimination continued even after Bukhara had become a Russian protectorate. Complaints about the existence of a poll tax do not occur but at times the collection methods were a source of hardship to the non-Muslim populations. The Jews of *Tripoli (Libya) paid the *bedeli-askari* until the year 1901.

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[Eliyahu Ashtor / Leah Bornstein-Makovetsky (2nd ed.)]

KHARASCH, MORRIS SELIG (1895–1957), organic chemist. Kharasch was born in Kremenets, Ukraine, and educated in the U.S. He was professor at the University of Maryland (1922–28) and at the University of Chicago from 1930; he was also a consultant to the U.S. Department of Agriculture from 1926. His field of research included the electronic structure and physical properties of organic compounds, free radicals, chain reactions, hydro-peroxides, and ergot.

KHARIK, IZI (**Yitskhok**; 1898–1937), Soviet Yiddish poet. Born in Zembin, Belorussia, he began publishing Yiddish poetry in 1920. His talent and dedication to building socialism earned him an invitation to Moscow to study the arts. His literary career skyrocketed after he published his s*htetl* poems in the literary magazine *Shtrom* and his epic poem, "*Minsker Blotes*" ("Minsk Swamps"), which appeared in *Nayerd* (1925) and portrays the transformation of a *shtetl* during the Revolution. It was heralded as one of the first Yiddish works to depict Jewish life, as opposed to death, during the Civil War. After returning to Belorussia, Kharik published his first major collection of poems, *Af der erd* ("On the Land," 1926), marking him as the Yiddish poet who best expressed the ambiguous relationship between Jewish tradition and modernity, between memory and imagination. He also began editing for the Minsk newspaper, *Oktober.* His most important contribution to Soviet Jewish literature, the pessimistic narrative poem "*Mit Layb un Lebn*" ("With Body and Soul," 1928), portrays the life of the Soviet Jewish intelligentsia through the eyes of a young Jewish teacher whose grand hopes for rebuilding the *shtetl* are ultimately dashed. Reviewers nonetheless lauded Kharik for portraying "real Soviet life" and showing the remaking of Soviet society. In the 1930s, he became a member of the prestigious Belorussian Academy of Sciences, and his colleagues celebrated him in poetry readings, special book dedications, and other rites that conferred importance on Soviet writers. He became editor of the Minsk literary journal *Shtern* and, in 1932, put out his third important collection of poetry, *Kaylekhdike Vokhn* ("Week After Week"). In June 1937, at the peak of his career, he was arrested, and killed later that year, as part of the Great Purges that decimated the Soviet cultural elite. His work was not republished until the late 1950s after his rehabilitation following Stalin's death.

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[Elias Schulman / David Shneer (2nd ed.)]

KHARKOV, city in Ukraine. It was built as a fortress against the invasions of Crimean Tartars in the 16th century, and it was the headquarters of a Cossack brigade in the 18th. Kharkov was outside the *Pale of Settlement. Jewish merchants often attended the large fairs held there from the second half of the 18th century, however, and individual Jews even settled there without hindrance. In 1821 the authorities forbade Jews to enter the town, but, on the complaint of the local authorities that the order was harmful to the business of the fairs, Jewish merchants were again admitted in 1835. From 1859 Jews who were allowed to live outside the Pale of Settlement began to settle in Kharkov. In 1868 they were permitted to build a synagogue and nominate a community council. There were then 35 families of merchants and craftsmen. In that period there were 26 Jewish pupils studying at the local secondary school and university and 68 Jewish soldiers. By 1878 Jews numbered 2,625 (total population 83,507). When the fairs were held, some 3,000 Jews would visit the town. In the mid-1800s there was a Karaite community of 525 persons with a synagogue and cemetery. They dealt mostly in tobacco.

Toward the end of the 19th century, many Jewish youths from the provinces of the Pale began to attend the University of Kharkov, and in 1886 the 414 Jewish students formed 28.3% of the student body. A *Bilu society was founded among the Jewish students there. The community numbered 11,013 (6.3% of the total population) in 1897. At that time there were three large Jewish banks, and many wholesale businesses with many trade connections abroad. Others lived from petty trade and crafts. The community opened a hospital and a soup kitchen for the needy. In 1880 the Goldfaden theatrical group performed there for a month. During World War I and the Civil War (1918–20) many Jews, expelled from their places of residence or escaping from the fighting zone or pogroms, took refuge in Kharkov. The pedagogic seminary of *Grodno and its teachers and pupils were transferred to Kharkov in this period. Kharkov became an important Jewish center. A Hebrew secondary school and popular Jewish university were established, and books and newspapers in Yiddish and Hebrew were published there. The conferences of He-Ḥalutz (1920, 1922), the Socialist-Zionist Party (1920), and Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir (1923) were held in the town. A group of Hebrew writers was also active there. The consolidation of the Soviet regime marked the end of organized Jewish life, but the choice of Kharkov as capital of Ukraine from 1919 to 1934 and its general development resulted in a rapid increase in the Jewish population, which numbered 65,007 (17.2% of the total) in 1923, 81,138 in 1926, 115,811 in 1935, and 130,250 (total population 832,913) in 1939. The town was the center of the *Yevsektsiya's activities in Ukraine. Several Yiddish Communist newspapers, including the daily *Der Shtern* (1925–41), and the journals *Di Roite Welt* ("The Red World") and *Sovetishe Literatur* were published there. In 1925 the All-Ukrainian Jewish State Theater was opened, performing there until it was moved with the capital to Kiev in 1934. The Jewish State Theatre, Kharkov took its place. In the 1920s there existed Jewish sections in the court of law, the militia sectors, and the municipality. At the end of the 1920s there were four Yiddish schools with about 1,900 pupils, a teachers' college, a vocational school for machine production (over 400 pupils), and a Jewish section at the journalism school.

Holocaust and Modern Periods

The Germans occupied Kharkov on October 24, 1941. Most of the city's Jews succeeded in evacuating or fleeing the town. The commander of the 6th Army (quartered there and led by General von Paulus) ordered hostages taken, most of them Jews, and they were shot for every breach of martial law. In mid-November buildings in which German headquarters and organizations were housed were blown up, and 1,000 hostages, mostly Jews, were taken and executed. On December 14, 1941, the Jews were ordered to move in two days to barracks that housed workers of a machine and tractor factory in the city's district 10. The barracks were without windows and doors and had no heating. No food was allowed and water only during limited hours. Many died of diseases and starvation. At the end of December 100 were killed. Between January 2 and 8 the ghetto was liquidated, and the Jews were murdered nearby in the Drobitski Yar (about 8 km. from town) – according to the Soviet Commission to Investigate Nazi Crimes, about 15,000 persons. Together with the hostages and Jews from hospitals and old-age homes, the number of victims was 21,685 Jews, according to German sources. Kharkov was liberated on August 23, 1943. Jewish settlement was renewed in Kharkov, and the Jewish population numbered 81,500 (9% of the total) in 1959, dropping to 62,800 in 1970. The last synagogue was closed down by the authorities in 1948–49. All subsequent attempts to obtain permission to organize a synagogue were unsuccessful, and the former synagogue was converted into a sports gymnasium. In 1957, 1958, and 1959 private prayer groups were dispersed on the High Holidays (*New York Times*, May 21, 1959). Several Torah scrolls were confiscated. In 1960 the *minyanim* were again dispersed and Jews were arrested for baking *maẓẓah*. In 1967 Jews attending private services on the High Holidays were beaten by the militia. The old cemetery was converted into a park. In 1970 Jews had their own section in the general cemetery, and *kasher* poultry was available. In the 1990s many Jews immigrated to Israel and the West.

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[Yehuda Slutsky / Shmuel Spector (2nd ed.)]

KHARKOV CONFERENCE, a consultation of the leading Zionists from the various parts of Russia convened at the beginning of November 1903 in order to organize the opposition to the *Uganda Scheme. When the Sixth Zionist Congress adopted *Herzl's proposal to send a commission to investigate whether Uganda was suitable for Jewish settlement, a storm of protest was aroused in the Zionist Movement, especially among the Russian Zionists – the overwhelming majority of those who voted "no." Menahem *Ussishkin, who did not attend the Congress because he was in Ereẓ Israel at the time, was the head of the opposition movement. Upon his return to Russia, he published a sharp open letter in the Zionist press against the Congress' decision and the "diplomacy and exaggerated politization" of the Zionist Movement, stressing that the Congress had no right to adopt a resolution that constituted the abandonment of Zion. In reaction to this letter, Herzl accused Ussishkin (in the official Zionist *Die *Welt*, Oct. 30, 1903) of a breach of discipline and severely criticized his activities in Ereẓ Israel.

At the beginning of November of that year, the Russian members of the Zionist General Council and their deputies (together numbering 15) met in Kharkov on the initiative of Ussishkin, who was the moving force at the conference, and demanded a condemnation of Herzl. The conference decided to oppose the Uganda scheme as a contradiction of the *Basle Program and to present Herzl with an ultimatum under which he was to commit himself in writing to the following demands: not to propose in the future any territorial programs other than the settlement of Syria and Ereẓ Israel; to withdraw and dissolve the Uganda Scheme entirely by no later than the Seventh Congress, and to convene a special session of the General Council to discuss the matter prior to the dispatch of the commission to Uganda; and to embark immediately on practical settlement work in Ereẓ Israel.

Should Herzl reject the ultimatum, another consultation would be convened to devise measures of opposition to the Zionist leadership, including withholding contributions to the Zionist Executive in Vienna, a publicity campaign, the dispatch of opposition propagandists to all Zionist centers in Europe and America, a convention of the opposition prior to the Seventh Zionist Congress, establishing an independent Zionist organization, appealing to world public opinion and before a British court against the rights of the "East African majority" (supporters of the Uganda Scheme) to the finances of the Zionist Organization-the *Jewish Colonial Trust and the *Jewish National Fund. *Z. Belkowsky, *V. Tiomkin, and *S. Rosenbaum were chosen as members of the delegation to present the ultimatum to Herzl with *J. Bernstein-Kogan as an alternate member. It was also decided that the transfer of funds to the Zionist treasury in Vienna should be suspended until the conclusion of negotiations with Herzl and that the money should be kept temporarily in Russia.

The delegation arrived in Vienna on Dec. 31, 1903, but Herzl, who was gravely offended by the aggressive tone of the Kharkov resolutions, refused to receive it officially. He agreed, however, to meet with each of its members privately and invited them to attend the meeting of the Executive as guests after they had declared for the record that they did not come as emissaries and that they did not intend to deliver any ultimatum. In the meantime, the British government, under pressure from the English settlers in Uganda, withdrew its offer to the Zionist movement. As a result, a reconciliation took place between Herzl and the Russian Zionists on April 11, 1904.

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[Yitzhak Maor]

KHAYBAR, the largest Jewish settlement in *Arabia in the time of *Muhammad, approximately 60 mi. (97 km.) from Medina. Khaybar is located on a very high mountainous plateau entirely composed of lava deposits, containing very fertile valleys that are, however, covered by malarial swamps; the Jews of Khaybar were thus forced toward the mountains, only going down into the valleys (during the day) in order to work their lands. They cultivated dates, grapes, vegetables, and grain, and raised sheep, cattle, camels, horses, and donkeys. They also engaged in spinning, weaving, and the manufacture of silk clothing, garments which were well-known in the entire Hejaz, and benefited from the caravan trade between Arabia, *Syria, and *Iraq and traded with Syria. The Arabs were not at that time capable of producing for themselves the tools, the weapons, the textiles, and the jewelry which they needed or coveted, and the Jews, being skillful artisans and drawn towards commerce, were in a position to supply these objects because they understood the art of manufacturing them or the means of importing them. The Jews provided the capital for commercial activities while the Arabs acted as intermediaries between them and the tribes of the interior. The Jews of Khaybar were well known for their diligence, wealth, and hospitality. During the night they would place beacons in the towers of their castles, guiding those who were lost to their houses, which remained open all night. The Jewish Banū *Naḍīr of *Medina, who claimed to be descendants of Aaron the priest, owned lands in Khaybar and had castles, fortresses, and their own weapons there. After Muhammad expelled them from Medina in 625, their leaders moved to their estates in Khaybar in order to prepare for war against Muhammad and to recruit the aid of Arab tribes. In fact, they led those who fought against Muhammad, and the men of Khaybar, who had intermarried with them, treated them with respect and obeyed them. The settlements of Khaybar were concentrated around three centers – Naṭāt, Shiqq, and Katība – scattered over a wide area. The settlers engaged in the manufacture of metal implements for work and weapons such as battering rams and catapults, which they stored in their castles and even lent to Arab tribes. According to the sources, most of them written by Arabic chroniclers, they had 10,000 warriors but this number is probably very exaggerated.

Muhammad's war against the Jews of Khaybar (628) was very harsh. At first he sent disguised guests to the homes of the leaders of Banū Naḍīr who then killed their hosts. Muhammad's victory over the Jews of Khaybar, some of whom were held in esteem by the enemy, was also aided by the distance of the settlements and their castles from one another, the absence of coordination between the fighting forces, the death of the leader Sallām ibn Mishkam, and the treachery of a Jew who showed the Muslims the secret entrances to one of the fortresses. The castles of Khaybar had tunnels and passages which in wartime enabled the besieged to reach water sources outside the castles. Muhammad treated the Jews of Khaybar with cruelty, murdering Ḥuyayy ibn Akhṭab, head of Banū Naḍīr, in Medina. He ordered the son of the leader and the husband of his daughter Ṣafiyya killed in Khaybar. He married Ṣafiyya, who herself was taken captive, on the way from Khaybar to Medina. The sources emphasize her beauty, her faithfulness to Muhammad, and her privileges, which included the inheritance of her property by a relative and his uncle in Khaybar.

Concerned that Khaybar would remain desolate and would not continue supplying its agricultural produce to the Hejaz, Muhammad and the Jews signed an agreement which allowed many of its inhabitants to remain on their lands, even though the payment of half their crops to the conquerors undermined the economic position of the Jews of Khaybar. From a legal point of view the pact was defective, since it did not define the situation of the Jews and did not say whether they were to remain the owners of the soil which they were to cultivate. In later years Muslim jurists defined this settlement as land tenure with rent paid in produce. One version of this agreement was copied by Joseph *Sambari in the 17th century. According to Muslim sources, Muhammad returned to the Jews copies of the Torah seized during the siege, since he opposed desecrating them. After captives of war and slaves from other countries were brought to Khaybar and the people of Hejaz became more accustomed to agriculture, the caliph *Omar decided to expel the Jews of Khaybar in 642 under the pretense that before his death Muhammad had commanded that two religions could not exist simultaneously in the Hejaz. Contrary to the statements of Graetz, Dubnow, and others, however, not all the Jews of Khaybar were expelled by Omar. Those who had made special treaties and covenants with Muhammad, especially the members of the family of his wife Ṣafiyya, were allowed to remain. Graetz's theory about the wanderings of the Jews of Khaybar to Kufa on the Euphrates, where they influenced the center of the gaonate in Babylonia and served as an ethnic background for the growth of Karaism there, is basically incorrect. Some of the Jews of Khaybar settled in Wadi al-Qurā and *Tayma, but most of them settled in *Jericho. Among those exiled to Jericho was the son of the chief warrior of Khaybar, Ḥārith, who was the father of Zaynab, the woman credited with the attempt to poison Muhammad in revenge for the slaughter of her people. The Jews of Khaybar apparently spread out from Jericho along the Jordan Valley, reaching the Sānūr Valley in northern Samaria. This is indicated by the names Tell-Khaybar and Khirbat-Khaybar in that valley and an ancient Arab tradition about a Jewish king and princess who lived in these places. An Arabic source published by I. *Goldziher (REJ, 28 (1894), 83) quotes an Arabic account in which the Muslims express their astonishment that the Jewish women of Khaybar put on their most beautiful jewelry on the Day of Atonement.

The Jews of Khaybar, like Jews in other parts of the Hejaz, are mentioned hundreds of years after the expulsion of some of them by Omar. At the end of the 11th century they still had possessions, lands, fields, and castles in the region of Katība, which was a region of Banū Naḍīr in the time of Muhammad. The Jews of Wadi al-Qurā addressed questions about the cultivation of dates to R. Sherira and Hai Gaon in Babylonia. *Benjamin of Tudela (12th century) heard rumors, which are exaggerated, about the power of the Jews of Khaybar and Tayma, who were still addressing questions to the exilarchs in *Baghdad. He noted that the Jews of Khaybar were descendants of the Re'uben, Gad, and Menashe tribes and that they numbered 50,000, including scholars and war heroes who fought against their enemies. In the 11th and 12th centuries the Jews of Khaybar are mentioned in Egypt and Babylonia. In a letter from the *gaon* Solomon b. Judah written in Jerusalem around 1020, a certain Isaac from Wadi al-Qura is mentioned. This man deserted his family for four years, traveled to Egypt and returned "to his land," that is, to Wadi al-Qura. Two *Genizah documents attest the settlement of Khaybar Jews in Tiberias during that period. According to Muslim tradition, the Jews of Khyabar were expelled in the days of Omar. They claimed in Tiberias to be Khayberis, and therefore exempt from tax,

Great attention has been devoted by scholars to a letter from the Cairo *Genizah*, written in Arabic in Hebrew letters, to "Ḥanina (or Ḥabiba) and the people of Khaybar and Maqnā," showering numerous privileges on them and promising their safety from harm by the Muslims for the sake of their cousin Ṣafiyya; the letter, which is written on paper, is probably copied from one which had been written on leather, as was the case with the letters and treaties of Muhammad. Arabic sources attest that correspondence to Jews in the time of Muhammad was in Arabic in Hebrew letters. The letter, however, has been recognized by most scholars as a forgery, although there is disagreement as to whether its details are drawn from authentic treaties and historical facts and are copies of these sources. In any event, the letter was composed at the time of the caliph Al-Ḥākim bi-Amr Allah (ca. 1010) as a defense against persecutions, expropriation of property, and coercion to accept the Muslim faith in his time, not only in Egypt but in other parts of his rule and including Khaybar itself. An Arabic source explicitly states that "Khaybar Jews" are exempt from the decrees. A *Genizah* letter tells about the poet Yakhin who fled from *al-Mahalla (Egypt) when he was requested to pay the poll tax. The letter supposes that Yakhin was entitled to tax exemption because he was a Khayberi. In other *Genizah* letters from the 11th century there are references to persons called Ibn al-Khayberi. It seems to *Goitein that a distinction should be made between Jews who really emigrated from north Arabia and were called Hizajis, and the Khaybaris, who probably came to the West via Iraq and had no real connection with Khaibar. Gil also doubts whether those Jews claiming exemption and special status were in fact Khayberis.

From the 16th century onward, when European travelers began to visit Arabia, rumors were spread about the presence of the Jews of Khaybar in the Hejaz, their bravery, their control of the roads to Mecca, and their collection of road taxes from pilgrims. Varthema, who traveled in Arabia during the early years of the 16th century, noted that in a locality between *Damascus and *Medina there lived between 4,000 and 5,000 Jews, but the orientalist Pirenne doubts this. David Hareuveni claimed in 1524 in Italy that he was the army general of the king Solomon from Habur (Khaybar) desert. During the 19th century these rumors encouraged some hardy, imaginative Jews to go out into the wilderness of Arabia in search of the "Sons of Rehab" (Khaybar) and the "Sons of Moses, Dan, and Asher." Some of them died on the way and were not heard of again. Pirenne writes that in the mid-19th century, the Jews were in considerable numbers in that area. According to rumors, a few Khaybar Jews arrived in Palestine and appeared in synagogues. Of special interest is the Muḥamara family in the village of Yutah in the mountains south of Hebron, which traces its lineage to the Jews of Khaybar, as well as the family of the head of the deserted village of Hūj, near kibbutz Dorot, who was related to the descendants from Khaybar in Yutah. The old father of the Muḥamara family settled in Yutah in the second half of the 18th century. G.M. Kressel wrote (in 2001) about the symbolic meaning amongst the Negev Bedouin population of Muhammad's war against the Jews of Khaybar.

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[Joseph Braslavi (Braslavski) /
Leah Bornstein-Makovetsky (2nd ed.)]

KHAZARS, a national group of general Turkic type, independent and sovereign in Eastern Europe between the seventh and tenth centuries C.E. During part of this time the leading Khazars professed Judaism. The name is frequently pronounced with an a-vowel, as in the Greek Χάξαροι and Arabic Khazar (*Ḥazar*), but there are traces of a different pronunciation in Hebrew (*Kuzari*, pl. *Kuzarim*), Greek (Χότξιροι), and Chinese (*K'o-sa*). The name has been explained as having derived from Turkish *qazmak* ("to wander," "nomadize (?)"), or from *quz* ("side of mountain exposed to the north"). The latter etymology would account for the o/u-vowel in some forms of the name, for which no satisfactory explanation has been given.

The Origin of the Khazars

The Khazars, of Turkic stock, originally nomadic, reached the Volga-Caucasus region from farther east at some time not easily determinable. They may have belonged to the empire of the Huns (fifth century C.E.) as the Akatzirs, mentioned by Priscus. This name is said to be equivalent to Aq-Khazar, i.e., White Khazars, as opposed to the Qara-Khazar or Black Khazars mentioned by al-Iṣṭakhrī (see below). The Khazars probably belonged to the West Turkish Empire (from 552 C.E.), and they may have marched with Sinjibū (Istämi), the first khāqān of the West Turks, against the Sassanid (Persian) fortress of Ṣul or Darband.

In the time of Procopius (sixth century) the region immediately north of the Caucasus was held by the Sabirs, who are referred to by Jordanes as one of the two great branches of the Huns (*Getica*, ed. Mommsen, 63). Masʿūdī (tenth century C.E.) says that the Khazars are called in Turkish, Sabīr (*Tanbīh*, ed. Cairo, 1938, 72).

In 627 (Theophanes, *Chronographia*, ed. De Boor, 1 (1883), 315) "the Turks from the East whom they call Khazars" under their chief, Ziebel, passed the Caspian Gates (Darband) and joined Heraclius at the siege of Tiflis. In view of what is known of a dual kingship among the Khazars (see below), it would be natural to assume that Ziebel, described by Theophanes as "second in rank to the khāqān," was the subordinate Khazar king or beg. However, there are grounds for thinking that Ziebel stands for *yabgu*, a Turkish title – in the parallel Armenian account (Moses of Kalankatuk, trans. Dowsett, 87) he is called Jebu Khāqān – and that he is T'ung-ye-hu, Ye-hu Khagan of the Chinese sources, i.e., T'ung Yabgu, Yabgu Khāqān, the paramount ruler of the West Turks, who is represented as second in rank to "the King of the North, the lord of the whole world," i.e., the supreme khāqān of the Turks. In the narratives of Theophanes and Moses of Kalankatuk respectively, the Khazars are also called Turks and Huns. From 681 C.E., we hear much in the latter author of the Huns of Varachʿan (Warathān), north of Darband, who evidently formed part of a Khazar confederation or empire. Their prince Alp Ilutver was often in attendance on the Khazar khāqān and was converted to Christianity by an Albanian bishop.

It will be seen that the question of the precise racial affinities of the Khazars is not readily solved (see also below). There appears to be insufficient evidence to warrant the conclusion of K. Czeglédy that the Khazars were of Sabīr origin and distinct from the Caucasian Huns and West Turks ("Bemerkungen zur Geschichte der Chazaren," *Acta Orientalia… Hungariae*, 13 (1961), 245), since it is not known how far these ethnic names mean the same thing.

Consolidation of the Khazar State

According to Theophanes (*ibid.*, 358), the ruler of the Bulgars in the region of the Kuban River (West Caucasus) died c. 650 C.E., leaving five sons of whom only the eldest remained in his inheritance, while the others moved further west, as far as the Danube. On this, the Khazars, described as a "great nation … from the interior of Berzilia in the First Sarmatia," emerged and took possession of the territory as far as the Black Sea. The change of position was completed by 679, when one of the brothers crossed the Danube and conquered present-day Bulgaria. Earlier than this, in 576 C.E., a West Turkish force had been present at the siege of Bosporus (Kerch) in the Crimea (Menander Protector, ed. Bonn, 404), but hitherto there is no mention of the Khazars as such so far to the west. The advance of the Khazars to the Black Sea and Crimea area appears to be mentioned also in the Reply of Joseph (see below, Khazar Correspondence), where a great Khazar victory over the W-n-nt-r is referred to. A people north of the Khazars called W-n-nd-r is mentioned in the *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam* (*Regions of the World*, trans. by V. Minorsky (1937), 162). Both names are best explained as corresponding to Onogundur, an old name in Greek sources for the Bulgars. The advent of the Khazars on the Black Sea was clearly of great consequence for the future, for they now came within the sphere of Greek political and cultural influence. By 700 C.E. or earlier there were Khazar officials in Bosporus and Phanagoria. Henceforth the Crimea, as well as the Volga and the Caucasus, came to be specially associated with the Khazars, and a further way westward was opened for them toward both Kiev and the Slav lands via the Dnieper (see below).

Arabs and Khazars had already been in conflict on the line of the Caucasus (first Arab-Khazar war, 642–52 C.E.). *Bāb al-Abwāb at the eastern end of the range was occupied by the Arabs in 22 A.H. (643). In the same year the caliph Omar sent instructions to advance northward. Though the Arabs attacked *Balanjar repeatedly, they were unable to take it. The defeat and death of the Arab general at Balanjar in 32 A.H. (653) practically marks the end of the war and the close of the first phase of Arab-Khazar relations. According to Musʿūdī, the Khazar capital was at this time moved from *Samandar to *Atil, but he says elsewhere that Balanjar was the former capital.

Further Relations with Byzantium and the Arabs

After the exile of Justinian II to the Crimea in 695, the Khazars on several occasions played an important, even determining, part in Byzantine politics. Toward 704 the khāqān helped the emperor at a crucial moment and gave him his sister Theodora in marriage. Justinian returned to Constantinople to reign a second time. His successor Bardanes (711–13) was likewise indebted to the khāqān. In 732 the emperor Leo the Isaurian married his son, the future Constantine V, to a Khazar princess called in the sources Irene. The child of this marriage was Leo IV, the Khazar (775–80). It is to be understood that Irene and Theodora above are baptismal, i.e., not Khazar, names.

The second Arab-Khazar war began in 722 or earlier, and ended in 737 with the defeat of the Khazars by Marwān b. Muhammad (later Marwān II). The Khazar khāqān is said at this time to have professed Islam. If so, we hear no more about it. Later the khāqān was a Jew, as we know from the Arabic geographers Ibn Rustah (c. 290/903), Iṣṭakhrī (c. 320/932), Ibn Ḥauqal (367/977), etc., and it is implied in the Reply of Joseph that the beginnings of Khazar Judaism dated as far back as 112/730, when the Khazars defeated the Arabs south of the Caucasus, and from the spoils consecrated a tabernacle on the Mosaic model. The conversion of the leading Khazars to Judaism perhaps took place toward 740 C.E. (see below). It seems at all events certain that the Khazars successfully resisted the Arabs for several decades, and that they were reduced only with difficulty and at a time when the internal situation of the caliphate prevented the Arabs from exploiting their victory: Marwān was called away to become the last *Umayyad Caliph (744) and to struggle against ever-growing opposition, until

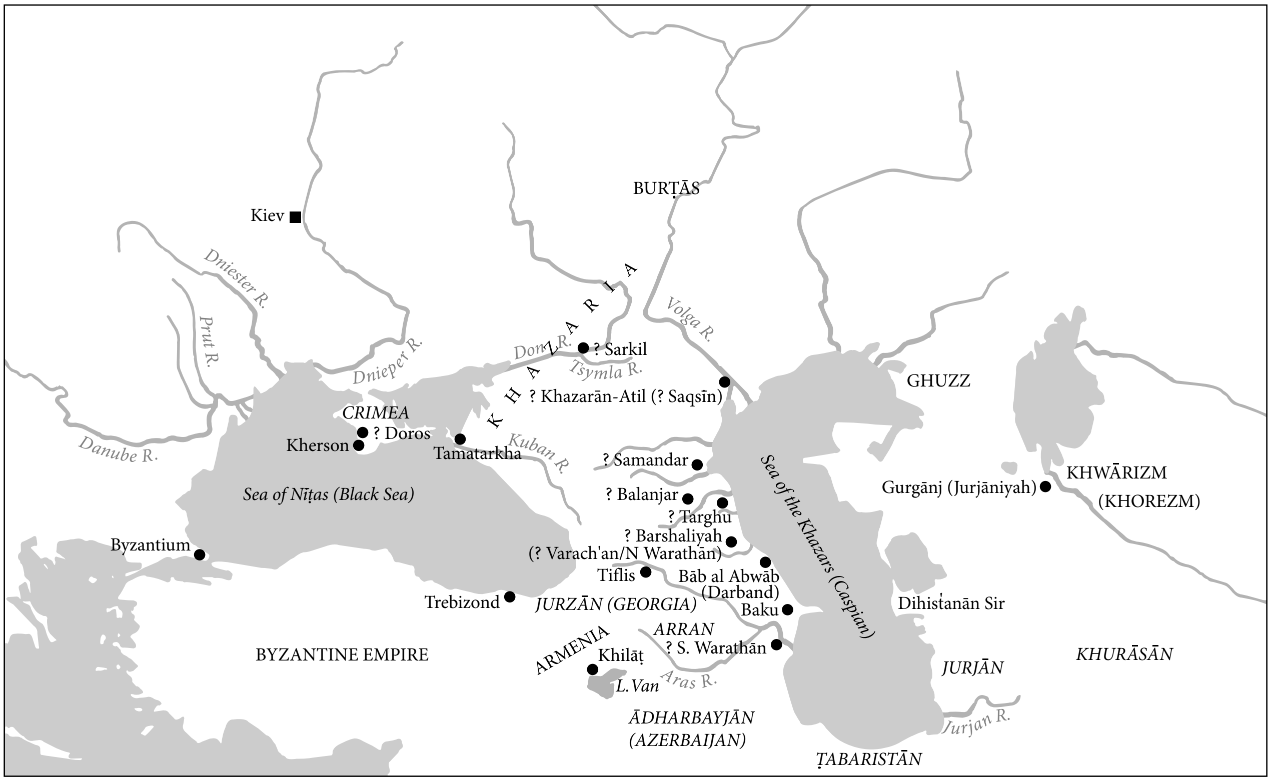
BURṬĀS
Kiev
Dniester R.
Prut R.
Dnieper R.
Don R.
K H A Z A R I A
? Sarkil
Tsymla R.
Volga R.
? Khazarān-Atil (? Saqsīn)
GHUZZ
CRIMEA
? Doros
Kherson
Tamatarkha
Kuban R.
Danube R.
? Samandar
Sea of Nīṭas (Black Sea)
? Balanjar
? Targhu
? Barshaliyah
(? Varach'an/N Warathān)
Byzantium
Tiflis
Bāb al Abwāb
(Darband)
Baku
Trebizond
JURZĀN (GEORGIA)
ARRAN
? S. Warathān
ARMENIA
Khilāṭ
L. Van
Aras R.
BYZANTINE EMPIRE
ĀDHARBAYJĀN
(AZERBAIJAN)
Sea of the Khazars (Caspian)
Gurgānj (Jurjāniyah)
KHWĀRIZM
(KHOREZM)
Dihistanān Sir
JURJĀN
KHURĀSĀN
Jurjan R.
ṬABARISTĀN

The Khazar kingdom, c. seventh–tenth century. From D.M. Dunlop, History of the Jewish Khazars*, New York, 1967.*

his death in 750 at the hands of *Abbasid soldiers in Egypt. The dynastic crisis probably saved Khazaria. At the same time the situation had wider implications, for if Marwān had been able to hold the Khazar territory permanently, the history of Eastern Europe might have been very different.

The Khazar Double Kingship

This was a phenomenon found among other Turkic peoples, e.g., the Qara-Khanids, and not unknown elsewhere; compare the double kingship at Sparta in antiquity, and the shogun and mikado of medieval Japan. How far back the institution goes among the Khazars cannot be exactly determined. Yaʿqūbī (ninth century) speaks of the Khazar khāqān and his representative (*khalīfa*) apparently in the sixth century (*Historiae*, ed. by M.T. Houtsma, 1 (1883), 203; cf. above for Ziebel Jebu Khāqān in 627). Arab accounts, in Ṭabarī, Ibn al-Athīr, etc., of the Arab-Khazar wars (see above) afford no precise evidence of the dual kingship, yet the Arab geographers regularly mention it. The account of al-Iṣṭakhrī, written c. 320/932, is as follows (*Viae regnorum*, ed. by M.J. De Goeje (1927), 223 ff.): "As to their politics and system of government, their chief is called khāqān of the Khazars. He is greater than the king of the Khazars [elsewhere called by al-Iṣṭakhrī the *bak* or *bāk*, i.e., beg], except that the king of the Khazars appoints him. When they wish to appoint this khāqān, they bring him and throttle him with a piece of silk, till, when his breath is nearly cut off, they say to him, 'How long do you wish to reign?' and he says, 'So-and-so many years.' If he dies short of them, well and good. If not, he is killed when he reaches that year. The khaqanate is valid among them only in a house of notables. He possesses no right of command nor of veto but he is honored, and people prostrate themselves when they enter his presence.… The khaqanate is in a group of notables who possess neither sovereignty nor riches. When the chief place comes to one of them, they appoint him, and do not consider his condition. I have been informed by a reliable person that he had seen a young man selling bread in one of the *sūqs*. People said that when their khāqān died, there was none more deserving of the khaqanate than he, except that he was a Muslim, and the khaqanate is not conferred on any but a Jew."

A remarkable parallel to the inauguration ceremony described by Iṣṭakhrī is found in a Chinese source on the Turks in the sixth century C.E., the Chou Shu (trans. by Liu Mau-Tsai, *Die chinesischen Nachrichten zur Geschichte der Ost-Tuerken*, 1 (1958), 8). Recently the theory of A. Alföldi that the double kingship among nomadic peoples corresponds to leadership of the two wings of the horde ("Türklerde çift krallik," *Ikinci Türk Tarih Kongresi*, Istanbul, 1943, 507–19) has won wide acceptance, but does not apply particularly well to the Khazars. Masʿūdī had already suspected that the Khazar khāqān represented a dynasty which had been superseded (*Murūj al-Dhahab*, ed. by B. de Maynard and P. de Courteille, 2 (1878), 13). K. Czeglédy (op. cit.) has suggested that the khāqān was the representative at the Khazar capital, Atil, of the West Turks, whom he thinks of as in control of Khazaria. This is not likely to have been the situation except for a very short time, since the Khazar capital was not transferred to Atil before the time of the first Arab-Khazar war (642–52) and the destruction of the West Turkish power took place in 652–57. Yet the Khazar khāqān may in fact have represented the West Turk ruling dynasty. This seems to be the view of the tenth-century Persian work, *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam* (trans. Minorsky, 162), according to which the khāqān of the Khazars was "of the descendants of Ansā," apparently corresponding to Asnā, or Achena, well-known as the ruling family among the Turks. *Ko-sa* (different from *Kʿo-sa* above), the name in Chinese of a subtribe of the Uigurs, is often taken as the equivalent of Khazars. We know that the destruction of the West Turks was brought about by a coalition of which the Uigurs formed part. It may therefore be that the convulsions which attended the breakup of the West Turkish Empire brought forward this section of the Uigurs, so that, while the khāqān represented the old ruling family, the Khazar beg, i.e., the effective king, was their representative.

Date of the Khazar Conversion to Judaism

This has already been referred to above (see *Būlān and below Khazar Correspondence). The date c. 740 C.E. is suggested by converging considerations, namely, the circumstances of the reported conversion to Islam in 737 and the dating given by *Judah Halevi in the *Kūzari* (*Cosri*). The absence of distinct references to the Judaism of the Khazars in the biographies of St. Abo of Tiflis, who was in Khazaria c. 780 C.E. and of Constantine (Cyril), who was there c. 860, should not be pressed as proof that the conversion to Judaism took place only later (cf. also M.I. Artamonov, *Istoriya Khazar*, 332–3). Masʿūdī states positively that the king of the Khazars became a Jew in the caliphate of Hārūn al-Rashīd (786–809 C.E.). This may well refer to the reformation c. 800 under *Obadiah of which the Reply of Joseph speaks. S.P. Tolstov has sought to explain the Khazar conversion to Judaism as a result of the conquest of Khwārizm (*Khorezm) by the Arab general Muslim ibn Qutayba in 712.

The Khazar Empire

The extent of the territory ruled by the Khazars has been variously estimated. Thus B.A. Ribakov ("K voprosu o roli khazarskogo kaganata v istorii Rusi," *Sovetskaya Arkheologiya*, 18 (1953), 128–50) makes Khazaria a small territory on the lower courses of the Volga and Don, to include Sarkil (see below) and the Khazar capital (assigning separate localities to Atil, Khamlīj, and al-Bayḍā', usually taken to be the same place). This is based principally on the data in the world map of Idrīsī, which offers a somewhat misleading picture of Khazaria (see K. Miller, *Mappae Arabicae*, 1 (1926), Heft 2). On the other hand, S.P. Tolstov envisages a Khazaria united with Khwārizm under one ruler to form a single state, a view for which the evidence is slight.

It must be allowed, however, that at one time Khazar rule extended westward a long way beyond the Crimea-Caucasus-Volga region which for the Greek and Arabic sources is Khazaria. *The Russian Primary Chronicle* ((1953), 58–59; Chronicle of Nestor, *Povest vremennykh let*) reports that at an unspecified date the Polians south of the Middle Dnieper paid tribute to the Khazars of a sword per hearth, and that in 859 C.E. the Polians, Severians, and Viatichians paid them a white squirrel skin per hearth (trans. Cross and Sherbowitz-Wetzor, 58, 59). Later these payments in kind ceased to be made, being evidently replaced by money payments; e.g., the Radimichians paid the Khazars a shilling or dirham apiece until 885 C.E., according to the Chronicle (61), and the Viatichians until 964, the same per plowshare (*ibid.*, 84). All these peoples were exposed to attack by any strong forces coming up the valleys of the Don and Donets from the Khazar territory. Kiev itself was occupied by the Khazars for some period before 862, but presumably was not built by or for them (*ibid.*, 60, cf. 54), unlike Sarkel or *Sarkil on the Don, which on the application of the khāqān and beg to Emperor Theophilus was constructed by Byzantine workmen in 833 C.E. All of these territories were to be taken from the Khazars, some already in the ninth century, by the advancing Russians.

East of the Volga, in the direction of Khwārizm, the situation is obscure. Al-Iṣṭakhrī tells of caravans passing between Khwārizm and Khazaria, mentioning specifically Slav, Khazar, and Turkish slaves and all kinds of furs among the principal merchandise of Khwārizm. On the other hand, he says that Khwārizm has the nomad Turks (Ghuzz) on its northern and western frontier, not the Khazars. According to Tolstov, a "royal road" led from Khorezm to the Volga, traces of which may be seen from the air, and he finds in it an indication of the emergence of a great Khorezmian-Khazar state in the tenth and beginning of the 11th century (cf. above).

The Extent of Khazar Judaism

While the Khazars were generally known to their neighbors as Jews (cf. notably the narrative of Ibn Faḍlān), they seem to have had little or no contact with the central Jewish organization in Iraq, and they tend to be mentioned less by Rabbanite than by Karaite authors. This is not to say that the Khazars were Karaites, a view which has not lacked defenders, at least since the time of A. *Firkovich. Yet such contemporary or nearly contemporary documents as we possess offer no evidence of the Karaism of the Khazars. On the other hand, it would seem that the lack of interest in the Khazars on the part of the Jewish authorities, as reflected in the literary works at our disposal, was due at least partly to their imperfect adherence to Judaism. This is illustrated notably in their retention of a number of pagan (shamanist) customs, dating back to their Turkic past, which are duly noted by the Arab geographers.

We may here consider the position of H. Baratz that in the oldest Russian writings of a legal character there are Hebrew, mostly biblical-talmudic, elements, and that these go back to Khazar times. Thus the fact that early Russian codes, including the *Zakon sudni liudem* ("Law for the Judging of the People"), contain traces of Mosaic and talmudic legislation, is due not to contact with the Catholic West, as has also been maintained, but to the influence of the Jewish Khazars. This view has been characterized by a Russian academician (I.V. Yagich) as "a scarlet thread for everyone to walk by." Yet the chance of Khazar influence on Russian codes, in the form of the introduction of Mosaic and talmudic elements, clearly becomes less if it is demonstrable, as seems to be the case, that Khazar Judaism was never very strong. (For Baratz's view see his *Collection of Works on the Question of Hebrew Elements in Ancient Russian Literature* – in Russian – Vol. I, Paris, 1926–27, Vol. II, Berlin, 1924; also Léon Baratz, *Sur les origines étrangères de la plupart des lois civiles russes*, Publications de l'Institut de Droit Comparé de l'Université de Paris (lère Série), 52, Appendice.)

The Downfall of Khazaria

The Reply of Joseph mentions that the Khazars guarded the mouth of the Volga before 961 C.E. and prevented the Russians from reaching the Caspian. On several occasions, notably c. 913 and again in 943, the Russians made raids down the Volga, passing through Atil. Later, apparently in 965, Khazaria was the object of a great Russian attack, which was aimed at the Khazar capital and reached as far as Samandar, as we know from Ibn Ḥawqal. From this disaster the Khazars appear to have recovered only partially. Again at this time (cf. above) we hear of a Khazar khāqān adopting Islam. His motive is said to have been to secure the help of the people of Khwārizm (Miskawayh, ed. Amedroz, II, 209; Ibn al-Athīr, VIII, 196).

After 965 the Khazars are still mentioned occasionally, but scarcely for long as an independent people. We cannot use the Cairo *Genizah* document published by J. Mann, concerning a messianic movement supposedly in Khazaria in the time of al-Afḍal, the great Fatimid vizier who ruled 1094–1121 (REJ, 71 (1920), 89–93; 89 (1930), 257–8), as proof of continued Khazar existence until this time, since it has been shown that the movement in question took place in Kurdistan (see S.D. Goitein, "Obadyah, a Norman Proselyte," in JJS, 4 (1953), 74ff.). Furthermore, Oleg, the same who, according to the Russian Chronicle, established himself in Tmutorokan in 1083, is called in a seal of the 11th–12th century "archon of all Khazaria" (N. Bănescu in *Bulletin of the Romanian Academy*, Hist. Sect. 22 (1941), cited by A.V. Soloviev, *For Roman Jakobson* (1956), 478). Whatever is precisely indicated here by "Khazaria" – e.g., the Khazar country in the Crimea – such a claim could not have been made prior to 965. We must therefore see the Khazar state as having subsisted until the second half of the tenth century, or the 11th century at the latest. By the 12th century the Qipchaqs or Cumans (identified also with the Polovtsi) appeared in the steppes once ruled by the Khazars. At the time of the Mongol invasions in the 13th century, it was they, not the Khazars, who were in possession.

The Khazar Correspondence

This name is usually given to what appears as an interchange of letters in Hebrew between *Ḥisdai ibn Shaprut, a well-known personality of Muslim Spain in the tenth century, and *Joseph, king of the Khazars. M.I. Artamonov (*Istoriya Khazar*, 12) includes the Cambridge Document as well as the Letter of Ḥisdai and the Reply of Joseph in the Khazar Correspondence, but this would seem to be contrary to general usage. The Reply is available in a Long Version and a Short Version (LV and SV). The Correspondence involves serious critical difficulties, and its authenticity has been much debated.

The Letter of Ḥisdai begins with a *piyyut* containing an acrostic which gives his own name and that of Menaḥem b. Saruq, the latter presumably acting as Ḥisdai's secretary and being the author of the *piyyut*. The prose part, after compliments, refers to the geographical situation of al-Andalus and Khazaria and describes the natural wealth of al-Andalus and Ḥisdai's own position there. It seems that his interest has been aroused by his having heard repeatedly that the Khazars are Jews. The Letter mentions attempts made by Ḥisdai to get in touch with the Khazar king. He was finally successful through the instrumentality of two Jews, Mar Saul and Mar Joseph, who accompanied an embassy which arrived at Cordoba from the "king of the G-b-līm, who are the Ṣaqlab" (see below). The Letter of Ḥisdai was conveyed to the East by their means, i.e., overland, and eventually was put into the hands of the Khazar king, according to the Reply, by a certain Jacob or (LV) Isaac b. Eliezer, a Central European Jew. The tone of the Letter of Ḥisdai is mostly one of enquiry, and it invites an answer to questions which range over a variety of topics: Is there a Jewish kingdom anywhere on earth? How did the Jews come to Khazaria? In what way did the conversion of the Khazars take place? Where does the king live? To what tribe does he belong? What is his method of procession to his place of worship? Does war abrogate the Sabbath? Has the Khazar king any information about the possible end of the world? Ḥisdai mentions that ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III al-Nāṣir is the reigning king of al-Andalus. This gives 961 as the *terminus ad quem* for the Letter, with 953–55 as a possible *terminus a quo*, for in those years Cordoba was visited by John of Gorz, as envoy of the German emperor Otto I, who may be the "king of the G-b-līm, who are the Ṣaqlab" already referred to.

The Reply of Joseph begins by referring to the principal contents of the Letter and recapitulates a number of its questions. It then relates the early history of the Khazars, and proceeds to deal at length with the conversion to Judaism under Būlān. The conversion is initiated by a dream of Būlān, which he communicates to a certain general among them (LV), apparently the beg. From the spoils of a Khazar attack on Ardabil, south of the Caucasus, for which we have the synchronism 730 in the Arabic sources, a tabernacle on the biblical model is set up. A religious debate between representatives of Judaism, Christianity, and Islam is held, after which Būlān and the principal Khazars accept the religion of Israel. Under a later king, Obadiah, there was a reform of religion. Synagogues and schools were built, and the Khazars became familiar with Torah, Mishnah, Talmud, and the liturgy, i.e., rabbinic Judaism was introduced. Joseph then traces his descent from Obadiah and gives a description of his country and capital. He refers to Ḥisdai's question concerning the end of the age in a somewhat noncommittal fashion, and finally expresses his desire that Ḥisdai may come to Khazaria, which, if a notice in a map of Ibn Ḥawqal can be trusted, he actually did.

The correspondence has been available since the appearance of the work *Kol Mevasser* of Isaac Akrish in or after 1577, and more generally since the two letters were published by the younger *Buxtorf in his edition of the book *Cosri* (*Kūzārī*) of Judah Halevi in 1660. It is not known what manuscript source was used by Isaac Akrish; Buxtorf depended on *Kol Mevasser*. The only known manuscript of the Correspondence as a whole, containing the Letter of Ḥisdai and the Reply of Joseph (SV), is in the library of Christ Church, Oxford. This manuscript is very similar to the printed text, which, it has been suggested, is a transcript. There appear to be no special grounds for this opinion, though the manuscript, which is undated, has no claims to great antiquity. Nothing is sure about its provenance, but it is thought to have belonged originally to the celebrated Dr. Fell (1625–1686).

A longer version of the Reply of Joseph was published by A. *Harkavy in 1874, from a manuscript of the Second Firkovich Collection in the Leningrad Public Library. The Long Version bears no indication of any alterations or additions, and is supposed to date from the 13th century. Harkavy, in spite of his very critical attitude to Firkovich, regarded it as the undoubted original of the Short Version.

It appears impossible to suppose that the Khazar Correspondence is a fabrication of the 16th century in view of a reference to it, with the citation of part of the Reply of Joseph, agreeing in general with the Long Version, in the *Sefer ha-Ittim* of Judah b. Barzillai al-Bargeloni, dated between 1090 and 1105, and a similar reference in the *Sefer ha-Kabbalah* of Abraham *Ibn Daud in the 12th century. It cannot be admitted that these works were interpolated in the 16th century or later, to support the authenticity. Nor does it appear at all plausible that the letters forming the Khazar Correspondence were forgeries of the tenth century, composed with a view to informing the Jews about the Khazars. It is demonstrable that the literary style of the Letter of Ḥisdai differs from that of the Reply of Joseph in a marked manner. The classical Hebrew construction of *vav* conversive with the imperfect to express the past tense is freely used in the Letter of Ḥisdai, actually 48 times as against 14 times when the past tense is rendered by simple *vav* with the perfect. In the Reply (LV), on the other hand, *vav* conversive with the imperfect occurs not more than once or twice, while the past is expressed by the perfect and simple *vav* nearly 100 times. Further, in the Short Version of the Reply the *vav* conversive with the imperfect to express the past, instead of simple *vav* with the perfect, occurs in a number of passages where the wording is different from the Long Version. There is a new proportion of *vav* conversive with the imperfect to simple *vav* with the perfect: 37 to 50. It may therefore be affirmed that there is a separate authorship for the Letter and the Reply, and assumed that the Long Version of the Reply, or something very like it, has been worked over by a third hand to produce the Short Version. There are grounds for thinking that the Reply originally was written in a non-Arabic-speaking environment. Most people would agree with Kokovtsov's cautious statement that as basis for both versions there is the same original text, in general better preserved in the Long Version. B.A. Ribakov supposed that an authentic letter of King Joseph was worked over in Tmutorokan toward the end of the 11th century ("about 1083"), which resulted in the Long Version, and that some time afterward the text of the Long Version was modified by Jews of Barcelona to produce the Short Version of the Reply.

[Douglas Morton Dunlop]

Khazar Jews After the Fall of the Kingdom

The artifacts of the Khazars appear to be scant. A number of sites have been excavated, and though details of the archaeological activity in Russia are difficult to obtain (the Russians hold a monopoly on digs in ancient Khazaria), it appears that there have not been any sensational discoveries to date. No royal burial sites have been unearthed – hardly surprising since, according to Ibn Faḍlān, the khāqāns were buried under a stream – and no inscriptions, public or private.

Prior to 1914 archaeological excavations were conducted in successive years, especially at Verkhniĭ Saltov on the Donets. Since then, scholars have been divided on whether or not Saltov is a Khazar site. Additional work has been done at Bulghār and at the neighboring town of Suwār, which was mentioned in al-Iṣṭakhrī. A tenth-century two-storied palace, in which many coins were found, was discovered at the latter site, but this, the only building of a public character which has come to light, might possibly be Bulgar rather than Khazar.

Belaya (Bela) Vezha, the ancient Sarkil, near the village of Tsimlyanskaya on the left bank of the lower Don, has been the site which has attracted the most interest in recent years. Though not the Khazar capital, as had been erroneously attested, it was an important settlement. Nothing specifically Jewish has been found there. Nevertheless, discoveries analogous to the culture of Saltov and Mayatskoe Gorodishche, both at least presumed Khazar sites, were unearthed, as well as ceramics engraved with markings of the type found in the Don inscriptions. No traces of the fortress constructed by the Greeks for the Khazars have been found.

In spite of the negligible information of an archaeological nature, the presence of Jewish groups and the impact of Jewish ideas in Eastern Europe are considerable during the Middle Ages. Groups have been mentioned as migrating to Central Europe from the East or have been referred to as Khazars, thus making it impossible to overlook the possibility that they originated from within the former Khazar Empire. Even though the 12th-century traveler Benjamin of Tudela did not mention Khazaria as such he did refer to Khazars in Constantinople and Alexandria. Aside from the Kabars (Khazars) who migrated earlier to Hungary, the Hungarian duke Taksony (tenth century) is said to have invited the Khazars to settle in his lands. In about 1117 Khazars appear to have come to Vladimir Monomakh, Prince of Kiev, after fleeing from the Cumans, building a town they named Bela Vezha (near Chernigov). If this assumption is correct, these Khazars previously lived in Bela Vezha (Sarkil) and then settled near Chernigov. Prior to this time Jews who were possibly Khazars were introduced by Svyatopolk into Kiev. The Khalisioi in the 12th century, who were mentioned as fighting against Manuel I Comnenus, retained, according to John Cinnamus, "the Mosaic laws but not in their pure form" (see bibl.). As late as 1309 a council of the Hungarian clergy (at Pressburg) forbade Catholics to marry those people who were at that time described as Khazars; papal confirmation of this decision was given in 1346.

Both the Mountain Jews and the Karachais seem to be connected with the Khazars of the Caucasus region. It is also possible that there were Khazar Jews in the Crimea, which was known to the Italians in the late Middle Ages and perhaps still later as Gazaria. The Turkish-speaking Karaites of the Crimea, Poland, and elsewhere have affirmed a connection with the Khazars, which is perhaps confirmed by evidence from folklore and anthropology as well as language. There seems to be a considerable amount of evidence attesting to the continued presence in Europe of descendants of the Khazars.

The story of the conversion of the Khazar king to Judaism formed the basis for Judah Halevi's famous philosophical dialogue, *Kūzārī* (see *Judah Halevi).

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KHERSON, city in Nikolayev district, Ukraine. The town was founded in 1778 and Jews began to settle there a few years later. In 1799 there were 39 Jewish merchants in Kherson and 180 Jewish townsmen. A Jewish hospital was built in 1827. Like other communities in New Russia, that of Kherson grew rapidly during the 19th century, as a result of the settlement of the whole area by Jewish emigrants who left the northwestern provinces of the *Pale of Settlement for the southern provinces which were developing in this period. The number of Jews increased from 3,832 in 1847 to 17,755 (30% of the total) in 1897. Jews played an important role in the development of the town, and in 1862 the governor of Kherson province even recommended that one of the Jewish merchants be elected mayor, claiming that there were no suitable Christian candidates. He added that since many of the Jewish merchants owned properties and were educated, the election of one of them to the mayoralty would result in tangible benefits to the town. Although also supported by the governor-general of New Russia, this recommendation was not approved. In 1884, of 150 merchants, 73 were Jews; 8 factories out of 53 and 55 shops out of 123 belonged to them. At the end of the 19th century, Kherson became an active center of Zionism: the Biluists Ya'akov Shertok and Ze'ev Smilansky were then active. When Eliezer Paper was appointed director of the *talmud torah* in 1896, he introduced the "*Ivrit-be-Ivrit*" method, teaching Hebrew through the medium of Hebrew. Jewish pupils constituted a majority in the secondary schools. From the beginning of the 20th century there operated a mutual fund bank for petty merchants and artisans. In 1909 it had 1,093 members and a capital of 13,880 rubles. The Jews of Kherson suffered during the pogroms which swept the Ukraine in 1905 and during the civil war. *Denikin's soldiers carried out pogroms in April 1919. In the beginning of the Soviet regime, in the years 1921–22, there was great hunger, and many died of starvation (in December 1921, 39; in February 1922, 189). In the 1920s there was a court of law in which proceedings were held in Yiddish, and a Jewish elementary school with an enrollment of 220 in 1925, out of 1,200 children of school age. There were also an industrial school and Jewish departments in the local university. An underground Chabad yeshivah existed at the beginning of the 1930s. Early in the 1930s many Jews worked in factories, and in the biggest – the Petrovski plant – there were 1,500 Jews out of 4,500 workers. There were 14,837 Jews (19% of the total population) in the town in 1926, and 16,145 (of a total population of 96,988) in 1939. The Germans occupied Kherson on August 19, 1941. On August 29 they killed 100 Jews and in early September, 110. On September 7, a ghetto was established, and a Judenrat and Jewish police were organized. On September 24–25 *Einsatzkommando* 11a murdered 8,000 Jews. Later Jews found hiding were executed, and in February 1942 some 400 children of mixed marriages were killed. In 1959, there were 9,500 Jews (6% of the total population) living in Kherson. The last synagogue was closed by the authorities in 1959 but was returned to the community in 1991 as Jewish life revived despite the emigration of most of the Jews.

Province of Kherson

The province (gubernia) of Kherson was until the 1917 Revolution among the provinces of New Russia, and during the 19th century one of the main areas attracting Jews from other parts of Russia. The number of Jews in the province grew from 11,870 in 1818 to 339,910 in 1897, one of the highest rates of increase in the Pale of Settlement. The majority of the Jews lived in the towns: 70.89% in 1897, as against 10.18% in the townlets and 18.93% in the villages. A considerable part of the Jewish population was concentrated in the large urban centers, especially *Odessa. Other large communities at the end of the 19th century were Yelizavetgrad (*Kirovograd), *Nikolayev, and Kherson. The province of Kherson was the principal center for government-sponsored Jewish agricultural settlement in Russia, and the largest relative concentration of Jewish farmers in the country was found there (7.15% of the Jewish population of the province in 1897). From the economic point of view, the Jews of the Kherson province were among the wealthiest and most stable in the Pale of Settlement. Like the Jews of the other southern provinces of Russia, those of Kherson were mainly engaged in commerce (41.36% in 1897), particularly trading in grain and other agricultural products; 20.52% of the Jews of the region earned their livelihood from this trade in 1897. General education and modification in the traditional way of life made greater progress among the Jews of Kherson province than in the other regions of the Pale of Settlement; 45.1% of the Jewish men and 24.6% of the Jewish women in the province were able to read Russian in 1897. After the 1917 Revolution, the province was divided up into several separate administrative units.

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[Yehuda Slutsky]

KHMELNIK (**Humielnik**, **Khmelnik** until 1772), town in the Vinnitsa district, Ukraine. A Jewish community is mentioned there as early as 1565; it possessed five houses. In 1606 the local Christian merchants and artisans complained about Jewish competition. It can be assumed that the community suffered during the *Chmielnicki massacres, but it slowly recovered, mainly during the Turkish occupation, 1672–99. In the first half of the 18th century the Jews suffered from the *Haidamacks' attacks. In 1789 there were 38 Jewish shopkeepers, 53 innkeepers, and 43 artisans, most of them tailors. From 1,417 persons in 1765 (in Khmelnik and environs), the number of Jews had risen to 3,137 in 1847, and to 5,977 in 1897 (of a total population of 11,657). On the eve of World War I most of the shops – in some trades, all of them – belonged to Jews. On May 5, 1919, Jewish *self-defense in Khmelnik was organized. It fought successfully for three months against the bands of Ataman Shepil and Volyniets, killing many of them and taking their arms. In 1926 Khmelnik had 6,011 Jews (of a total population of 10,792), their number dropping to 4,793 (of 7,513) in 1939. In the 1920s artisans' cooperatives were organized, and in 1927 an agricultural cooperative of former merchants, which numbered 100 Jewish families in 1935, had 60 *desyatines*, a large number of livestock, and agricultural machines. In the 1920s there was a local Jewish council that conducted its deliberations in Yiddish. In 1934 the Jewish school had 600 pupils (most of the children of the town). The German forces occupied the town on July 17, 1941, and most of the Jews stayed, because the local Party boss was against evacuation. The Jews were ordered to establish a Judenrat of four, to wear a white armband with a blue *Magen David*, to do slave labor, and to turn over all radios, sewing machines, bicycles, etc. On August 12, 1941 *Einsatzkommando* 5 murdered 387 men. On January 5, 1942, a ghetto was established, swelled by refugees. On January 9, 5,800 Jews were killed, leaving skilled workers with families and the many who hid. Another 1,240 were gathered and executed on January 18. On June 12 Ukrainian policemen along with Hungarian soldiers killed 360 Jews. On March 3, 1943, the ghetto was liquidated and 1,300 were murdered. Another 132 were executed on June 26, 1943, while 85 Jews escaped. The last 14 escaped in December 1943. Some of them joined Soviet partisan units. Khmelnik was liberated on March 18, 1944. In 1959 over 1,000 Jews (8.5%) lived there. In 1979 they numbered about 500. Most of them left for Israel and the West in the 1990s.

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[Shmuel Spector (2nd ed.)]

KHODASEVICH, VLADISLAV FELITSIANOVICH (1886–1939), Russian poet, son of a Russified Pole and of the daughter of J. *Brafman. Khodasevich began to publish verse in 1905, and his first anthology appeared in 1908. Born in Moscow, he emigrated from the U.S.S.R. in 1922 and settled in Paris, where he lived destitute and in poor health. A highly gifted lyric poet in his own right, Khodasevich is also remembered as a translator of Polish, Armenian, and modern Hebrew verse. His appreciation of *Bialik (1934) is probably the best brief essay on the Hebrew poet ever written in Russian. Khodasevich translated many Hebrew poets, most notably Saul *Tchernichowsky, and he published a volume of these translations, *Iz yevreyskikh poetov* (1921, 1923^2). He was also coeditor, with L.B. Jaffe, of *Yevreyskaya antologiya*, an anthology of Hebrew writing brought out in Russia in 1918 by the Safrut publishing house. The foremost Russian émigré poet, Khodasevich remained unknown in the U.S.S.R., where none of his books or translations was allowed to appear or to circulate in the U.S.S.R. after his departure for the West. *Literaturnye stati i vospominaniya*, a volume of essays and recollections, appeared in New York in 1954, and a modern edition of his poetry in 1961.

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[Maurice Friedberg]

KHODORKOVSKY, MIKHAIL BORISOVICH (1963–), Russian "oligarch." Born in Moscow to a Jewish father who was a factory worker, Khodorkovsky graduated from the Mendeleev Institute of Chemical Technology, where he studied economics, and served as deputy head of the Communist Youth League, the Komsomol. With several partners from the Komsomol he opened a private coffee house in 1986, expanding to import and sell such goods as brandy and computers. By 1988 he had built up an import-export business that brought in $10 million a year. In 1989 he and his partners opened Bank Menatep, one of Russia's first privately owned banks. Highly successful, Menatep was the first Russian enterprise to issue stocks to the public since the Russian Revolution (1917). Its clients included many government services and ministries. Meanwhile, Khodorkovsky continued to expand his import-export empire. In 1995 Menatep won the bid to acquire a controlling interest in the state-owned oil company Yukos.

When the ruble collapsed in 1998 Menatep went under as well, losing its banking license and its shares in Yukos. By 2000 Khodorkovsky was back on his feet, and back in control of Menatep and Yukos. In 2003 Yukos merged with the Sibneft oil company. With 19.5 billion barrels of oil and gas, the corporation owned the second-largest oil and gas reserves in the world, after Exxon Mobil. That year, Khodorkovsky ranked #26 on the list of the World's Richest People and #1 as the wealthiest man in Russia.

On October 23, 2003, the billionaire Khodorkovsky was arrested on charges of fraud and tax evasion. His dramatic arrest was carried out by 15 masked federal operatives and dozens of armed agents. In May 2005 he was sentenced to nine years' imprisonment. In October 2005, he was sent to a labor camp.

The Russian crackdown on the economic crimes of the so-called oligarchs – a few dozen Jews and non-Jews controlling a quarter of Russia's national product and worth over $100 billion – has been perceived by many as tinged with antisemitism.

[Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

°**KHOMEINI, AYATOLLAH** (1902–1989), Iranian religious leader. He was born in the small town of Khomein situated in the central part of *Iran and died in *Teheran. He lost his father when he was an infant and later his mother when he was 15. He studied Islamic theology in Arāk, a town in central Iran, and years later completed his studies in the holy city of Qomm.

In 1961 and 1963 Khomeini showed strong opposition to Mohammad Reza Shah's reforms, leading demonstrations and riots against the Shah. He consistently blamed the U.S. and Israel for all the corruption and backwardness in Iran. On June 3, 1963, he gave a provocative speech mainly against what he called the dependence of the Shah's regime upon the U.S. and Israel. Two days later he was arrested, which resulted in anti-Shah demonstrations in Qomm and in other cities of Iran. The slogan "Death to the Shah, Death to America, and Death to Israel" was seen and heard almost everywhere. The demonstrations were crushed by the Shah's troops; many were killed or wounded. On November 4, 1963, Khomeini was sent into exile, first to *Turkey and then to *Iraq where he resided in the Shi'i holy city of Najaf.

Anti-regime demonstrations motivated by Khomeini's speeches, recorded on cassettes and pamphlets in Najaf, continued however to arrive in Iran. The unrest and commotions culminated in 1977/78. The shah requested the Iraqi Government to expel Khomeini from Iraq. Khomeini chose to go to France (October 5, 1978). His frequent speeches from there, too, agitated the people against the Shah, the U.S. and Israel. The future of the Jewish community in Iran was in jeopardy. Several thousand Jews in Teheran, headed by some well-known social and religious personalities were "advised" to take part in demonstrations, which they did (December 11, 1978). Finally the Shah left Iran on January 16, 1979, and two weeks later Khomeini entered the country, being welcomed by millions of people; the Jews of Teheran once again were "advised" to join the demonstration to welcome Khomeini's arrival (February 13, 1979). Soon afterwards, an Islamic Republic was formed with a new Islamic constitution. Though it contained many discriminatory provisions against non-Muslims, it still granted second-class citizenship rights to Jews and other religious minorities, as protected non-Muslim monotheists – with the exception of the Bahais who were persecuted and over 200 of them were massacred all over Iran. The treatment of the Jews was ambivalent.

In the first two to three years of the Islamic Republic of Iran (IRI), about one-third of Iran's 80,000 Jews left for Israel, Europe, and the U.S. IRI broke its relations with Israel. The regime adapted a pro-Palestinian policy declaring that Israel and Zionism must be destroyed. IRI also encouraged the foundation of Hizbollah in Lebanon by supporting it with money, arms, and military advisers. Any tie with Israel was considered war against Islam. Though upon his return from Paris Khomeini met with the heads of the Jewish community, declaring that Jews were to be protected by Islamic law, some 200 Jews were arrested and jailed. During his rule, about 20 Jews were executed by the Revolutionary Courts, among them the former head of the Jewish Organization, the industrialist millionaire Habib Elghanaian (May 9, 1979). Many were deprived of their administrative, university, and high business positions. Jewish property on a large scale, amounting to more than one billion dollars, was confiscated by the regime. In recent years the IRI has tried to demonstrate some "friendly relations" with the remaining Jews of Iran who were led by the former Tudeh Party member, Parviz (Haroon) Yeshayai, the head of the Jewish Central Organization in Teheran. Nevertheless, events, such the arrest of 13 Jews in the last decade of the 20th century, allegedly spying for Israel, show the true face of these relations. As long as the hatred against Israel and Zionism and the support of terrorist organizations such as Hizbollah continue to fuel the foreign policy of Iran, the situation of Jews in IRI will remain precarious.

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[Amnon Netzer (2nd ed.)]

KHOREZM (Ar. **Khwarizm**), formerly also called Khīva, district in N.W. Uzbekistan, on the lower course of the Amu Darya River (Oxus), S. of the Aral Sea. From references in the Chronicles of the Arab historian al-Ṭabarī (838–923) to the Arab conquest of Khorezm, and from related passages in the Cambridge Document (see *Khazars), S.P. Tolstov concluded that the religion of the people of Khorezm before the Arab conquest was a peculiar syncretistic form of Judaism and that this was imported to Khazaria by survivors from the Judaizing circles from Khorezm (i.e., around 712 C.E.). The refugees were responsible not only for the Khazar conversion to Judaism but also, through setting aside the original Khazar khāqān and making their chief, *Būlān, the real ruler of Khazaria, responsible for the establishment of the Khazar dual kingship. However, no firm evidence exists for these conclusions and some of Tolstov's details are manifestly incorrect: e.g., that R. Isaac Sangari, traditionally credited with playing an important part in the Khazars' conversion to Judaism, should be identified with Khāmjird (presumed = Khangiri, a name found on some Khorezmian coins), who is mentioned by al-Ṭabarī. Yet in al-Ṭabarī's account Khāmjird is evidently the name of a region and not of a person. Tolstov further held that at one time, apparently in the eighth century, Khazaria and Khorezm formed a single state. However, his evidence, based largely on coins, is again far from conclusive. Similarly doubtful is his projected second union between Khazaria and Khorezm in the 10th and 11th centuries.

Nevertheless it is clear that some relations existed between Khorezm and Khazaria. Caravans passed between the two countries, and a corps of some thousands of men who had originally come "from the neighborhood of Khwārizm" were stationed at the Khazar capital, *Atil, in the tenth century (according to the contemporary Arab historian, al-Masʿūdī).

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KHOROL, city in Poltava district, Ukraine. Jews first settled in Khorol in the early 19th century; from only 78 in 1847 their number grew to 2,056 (25% of the total population) in 1897. The Jews of Khorol constituted a typical community of *Chabad Ḥasidim, described by B. *Dinur, a native of Khorol, in his memoirs *Be-Olam she-Shaka* (1958). Dinur's grandfather, Abraham Madeyevski, was rabbi of Khorol in the second half of the 19th century. There were schools for boys and girls as well as *ḥadarim*. In October 1905 a pogrom occurred, and in 1919 another pogrom was organized by soldiers of General Denikin. In 1926 the Jewish population numbered 2,089 (19.7%), but dropped to 701 (6.4% of the total population) in 1939. The Germans occupied Khorol on September 13, 1941, and in October they murdered the 460 remaining Jews.

[Yehuda Slutsky]

KHOTIN (**Hotin** in Romanian; **Khocim** in Polish), town in Bessarabia, today Moldova. Jewish merchants traveling from Constantinople to Lvov in the 15th and 16th centuries used to pass through Khotin, then an important customs station on the Polish-Moldavian border on the commercial route between Turkey and Poland. Similarly, Jewish merchants from Poland used to visit Khotin for the fairs held there, evidence for which dates from 1541. However, the residence of Jews in Khotin is first mentioned in documents in 1741. When the Frankist movement arose in nearby Podolia in the 18th century (see Jacob *Frank and Frankists), Khotin, then under direct Turkish rule, served as a refuge for Frank and his followers when they were forced to leave Poland. In this period it also served as a refuge for *Judaizers who fled from Russia, and the community even sent emissaries to Germany to collect contributions for their maintenance. The Jews of Khotin then maintained a flourishing trade with the Ukraine and other regions of Bessarabia, and they also leased the management of estates and various branches of the farm economy. There were 340 Jewish families in 1808.

After the incorporation of Bessarabia into Russia in 1812 the community grew as a result of the large Jewish immigration into the region. The community numbered 6,342 in 1864 and 9,227 (50.2% of the total population) in 1897. A Jewish government school was established in 1847 which encouraged the growth of Haskalah; a private school for girls was opened in 1857. The Jews in Khotin were subject to the restrictions on Jewish residence in the border zones, and suffered, mainly at the end of the 19th century, from persecution by the authorities, who expelled them from Khotin on the grounds that they had no rights of residence in the city. In the first half of the 19th century, Isaiah Schorr, one of the most important rabbis in Bessarabia in the period, officiated in Khotin. After Bessarabia was incorporated into Romania in 1918 the community led an active cultural and communal life. Before World War II its institutions included a hospital (founded in 1865), an old-age home, a soup kitchen, a *talmud torah*, and a *Tarbut elementary school. It numbered 5,786 (37.7% of the total population) in 1930.

[Eliyahu Feldman]

Holocaust Period

In 1940, after Khotin was incorporated into Soviet Russia, it had a Jewish population of 15,000, including some Russian Jews who had settled there. When war broke out with Germany a number of Jews managed to escape to other parts of the Soviet Union. The city was captured by German-Romanian forces on July 7, 1941. The Jews were ordered to stay indoors, and detachments of soldiers, commanded by SS officers, went from house to house and arrested some 2,000 of them who were taken to the city square and shot. A few days later the remaining Jewish population was ordered to assemble in the Jewish school, and all those found hiding were shot on the spot. At night the soldiers removed women and girls from the school and assaulted them, sometimes killing them afterward. After a few days spent without food or water, hundreds of Jews died, especially the sick, the old, and the very young. On the fifth day German troops, commanded by an SS officer, picked out Rabbi Twersky and 57 professional men among the detainees (lawyers, doctors, and teachers), took them to the outskirts, and killed them all. Meanwhile, the Jewish houses were looted by the local population. On August 1, the surviving Jews were taken to the village of Barnova, east of the town, where some of them were forced by the Romanian soldiers to dig their own graves, in which they were buried alive. The rest were sent to the concentration camp at Secureni (Sekiryany). The 3,800 Jews now left in the city of Khotin were marched to *Ataki, where many succumbed to an epidemic that broke out there. The survivors were sent back to Secureni, where hundreds more died of typhus and other diseases. Finally, the rest were deported to *Transnistria, from which only a few returned. Of the prewar Jewish community, only 500 Jews were left in 1945.

In 1970 the Jewish population was estimated at about 1,000. The Jews had their own cemetery, but there was no synagogue.

[Jean Ancel]

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KHOURI, MAKRAM (1945–), Israeli actor. Khouri, an Israeli Arab, was born in Jerusalem and raised in Acre. He performed with the Cameri Theater and then with the Haifa Municipal Theater. He appeared frequently on Arabic and Hebrew general Israeli television as well as on educational television and played in films. In 1987 he was awarded the Israel Prize for theater, cinema, and television arts. In addition, Khouri was awarded the Moshe ha-Levi prize and the Kinnor David as the theater actor of the year in 1984. He was also awarded the Israeli Oscar as a film actor. Among his films are *Wedding in Galilee* (1987) and *The Syrian Bride* (2005). In 2004 he was selected to play the Palestinian president in the TV series *West Wing*.

[Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)

KHOUSHI (Schneller), ABBA (1898–1969), Israeli labor leader and mayor of Haifa. Born in Turka, Eastern Galicia, he was active in *He-Ḥalutz and Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir in Galicia. He settled in Palestine in 1920 and participated in the founding conference of the *Histadrut. In his first years in the country he worked in road construction, and also in the drainage of swamps in Nahalal and the Jezreel Valley. He was one of the founders of kibbutz Beit Alfa, where he engaged in agriculture. Khoushi gained a proficient knowledge of Arabic, and had numerous Arab acquaintances. In 1927 he settled in Haifa, where he organized dock workers in a trade union within the framework of the Histadrut, and helped to bring 500 Jewish dock workers to Palestine from Salonika. In 1931–51 Khoushi was the secretary of the Haifa Labor Council. On "Black Saturday," June 29, 1946, he managed to avoid detention. He was a member of Aḥdut ha-Avodah, and later of Mapai. He was elected to the First Knesset on the Mapai list, but resigned in 1951 to be elected mayor of Haifa, against the background of the violent seamen's strike that had broken out in Zim ships. Though Mapai objected to the seamen's strike that was supported by Mapam and the Communists, and the police in Haifa participated in the efforts to break up the strike, Khoushi was known for his support of the workers in their industrial struggles, frequently demonstrating his contempt for the "bourgeoisie" of Mount Carmel. As mayor he invested great efforts in developing Haifa, which remained the only city in Israel in which there is public transportation on Saturday, and constructed an underground funicular – the Carmelit – that connected Mount Carmel with the downtown area. He also promoted the creation of parks and places of recreation in the city, and was instrumental in helping establish the University of Haifa. He actively promoted good neighborly relations with the Arab residents of Haifa, and with the Druze settlements of Usfiyya and Dāliyat al-Karmil on the outskirts of Haifa.

He wrote *Be-Veit Po'alei Ereẓ Yisrael* ("In the Home of the Workers in Ereẓ Yisrael," 1943).

[Benjamin Jaffe / Susan Hattis Rolef (2nd ed.)]

KHURASAN (also **Khorasan**), province of N.E. *Persia. The earliest mention of Jews living in Khurasan in the early fourth century appears in the Babylonian Talmud (Avodah Zarah 31b), where the present city of Merv is written in its older form MRGW'N. The Tang-e Azao inscription written in Hebrew script indicates the date 1064 Seleucid era/753–4 C.E. It was found in the Gur region in eastern Khurasan. In the same period a commercial note, also written in Hebrew script, was also found in eastern Khurasan in the place called Dandan Uiliq. In the Middle Ages Khurasan also included *Afghanistan, Turkestan, and Transoxiana. Jewish history has a long association with Khurasan, which in some Hebrew sources was believed to be the dwelling place of the *Ten Lost Tribes. Reliable rabbinical, *Karaite, and Muslim sources testify to a widely spread Jewish settlement in Khurasan. The caliph Omar II (717–720) ordered his governor in the province "not to destroy any synagogues, but also not to allow new ones to be erected." Muslim sources also speak of Jewish jewelers and poets from Khurasan in the period of the *Abbasid caliphate (750–1258). An interesting Jewish figure from the ninth century known as *Hiwi al-Balkhi was the resident of the city of Balkh situated in the far eastern part of then Khurasan. The Arab geographer al-Maqdisī (985) stated, "There are in Khurasan many Jews and only a few Christians." The Hebrew chronicle of *Nathan b. Isaac ha-Kohen ha-Bavli (10th century) and the parallel version of *Seder Olam Zuta* deal with a dispute between the head of the academy in *Pumbedita and the exilarch *Ukba concerning jurisdiction over the Jews in Khurasan. The Jewish authorities in *Baghdad used Khurasan as a place of exile for undesirables. Geonic literature speaks of a special Khurasan custom in matters of the calendar, marriage laws, and other halakhic subjects, but the Jews of Khurasan were enjoined by the Jewish authorities in Babylonia to comply with the Babylonian *minhag*. According to *Benjamin of Tudela in the 12th century the authority of the Exilarch in Baghdad extended over the communities of Khurasan. The Jews lived in the cities of Sistan, *Nishapur, *Merv, Kabul, Kandahar, Ghazni (see *Afghanistan), *Balkh, and the region east of *Herat. During the 16th century, Jews from Khurasan arrived in *India. They settled mainly in Old Delhi, Lahore, Kashmir, Agra, and Fatehpur. Many Jewish communities in Afghanistan and Turkestan were later augmented by Jews from *Meshed fleeing after the forced conversion of 1839.

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[Walter Joseph Fischel / Amnon Netzer (2nd ed.)]

KHUST (Czech **Chust** or **Husté**; Hung. **Huszt**), city in Subcarpathian Ruthenia (Transcarpathian district), Ukraine. The Jewish community established in the middle of the 18th century numbered 14 families in 1792. Jacob of Zhidachov was appointed as the first rabbi in 1812. In the mid-19th century, the community became one of the largest and most important in northern Hungary, mainly through the authority of the Orthodox leader, Moses *Schick, rabbi of Khust from 1861 to 1879. Most of the Orthodox rabbis in Hungary were trained in his yeshivah, which had some 400 students. His successors, Amram *Blum and Moses *Grunwald (1893–1912), prevented the development of Ḥasidism in the community. Under Czechoslovakian rule (1920–38), Khust had an active Jewish life: five town councillors represented a United Jewish Party in 1923. The rabbi of the city from 1921 to 1933 was Joseph *Duschinsky, later rabbi of the separatist Orthodox community of Jerusalem. The number of Jews living in the town was 3,391 in 1921, 4,821 in 1930, and 6,023 (of a total population of 21,118) in 1941. Most of the businesses and artisan shops in the town belonged to Jews, among them three banks, factories, and flour mills. Among professionals were seven doctors, three pharmacists, and officials. The Jews of Khust were among the first to suffer when the area came under Hungarian rule in March 1939. Jewish men of military service age were forced into the labor battalions, some were sent to the Eastern front, where they perished. Hundreds without Hungarian citizenship were deported to Ukraine, and were murdered there. In 1942 there were approximately 100–130 yeshivah students in Khust. In March 1944 there were 5,351 Jews in Khust, and a ghetto and a Judenrat were set up. Another 5,000 Jews from the area were brought into the ghetto. In late May and early June, all ghetto inhabitants were deported in four transports to Auschwitz, where most of them were sent to gas chambers. In June 1944 the town was declared "**judenrein*." A few dozen Jews volunteered for the Czechoslovakian army, which fought together with the Soviet army. After World War II the community was revived. In the late 1960s the authorities permitted a synagogue to open in Khust, the only one in the district, and the community had a *shoḥet*. At the time the number of Jewish families in the town was estimated at 400.

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[Meir Lamed]

KIBBUTZ FESTIVALS. Kibbutz celebrations originated in the 1920s and 1930s as an attempt to recapture the "ancient Hebrew" – mainly the agricultural – character of Jewish holidays. (See Table: List of Published Texts of Kibbutz Festivals and Special Occasions.) Over the years they acquired a tradition of their own, as nearly two generations of kibbutz children grew up celebrating them. When the first kindergarten and school were established in each kibbutz, the settlers became aware of a need for festive occasions, both as an educational experience for the children and to relieve the monotony of daily life. The traditional Jewish festivals thus served as the basis for a revival enriched by biblical and mishnaic sources.

Passover

Passover (*Pesaḥ*) was the first festival to be revived in its seasonal context, as it is both the Spring Festival and the Festival of Freedom. The kibbutz **Haggadah* – the *Haggadah* compiled at kibbutz Yagur was the prototype – was based on the theme of the Exodus from Egypt, but included events of a similar nature pertinent to modern Jewish history and kibbutz life, as well as appropriate passages from modern Hebrew literature. The **seder* was held in public and became an elaborate function, with music and dancing, for members, children, and guests. The 1985 *Haggadah* of the Kibbutz ha-Me'uḥad movement reflected a tendency to return to traditional materials.

The Counting of the Omer

The counting of the Omer (*Sefirat ha-Omer*). An **omer* festival based on biblical and mishnaic sources was inaugurated, symbolizing the harvesting of the first ripe grain. On the eve of the first day of Passover, kibbutz members and their children formed a procession and went singing and dancing to the fields. A number of ears of grain were ceremonially cut, to be placed in the communal dining hall as part of the Passover decorations.

The Festival of the First Fruits

The Festival of the First Fruits (*Ḥagigat ha-Bikkurim*) takes place during the Feast of Weeks (Shavuot) and marks the peak of the first grain harvest and the first ripe fruits. The seven species mentioned in the Bible (wheat, barley, vines, pomegranates, olive trees, fig trees, and honey; Deut. 8:8) are represented graphically and through song and dance. There were also mass rallies to bring offerings of first fruits to the *Jewish National Fund.

The Sheepshearing Festival

The Sheepshearing Festival (*Ḥagigat ha-Gez*) originated in the 1920s in the Valley of Jezreel, and is based on biblical sources. It was celebrated only in kibbutzim that own flocks, and symbolizes the joy of the shepherd when the shearing is finished. The last sheep is ceremonially sheared to the accompaniment of singing and dancing. Short plays are performed, usually on the theme of I Samuel 25 (the story of Abigail and Nabal), and displays of woolen goods and art on pastoral themes are held.

The Festival of the Vineyards

The Festival of the Vineyards (*Ḥagigat ha-Keramim*). Several attempts were made to revive this festival, mentioned in the Mishnah (Ta'an. 4:8) and held on the 15th of Av. Festivities combined music, choreography, poetry, and love songs.

The Harvest Festival

The Harvest Festival (*Ḥagigat ha-Asif*), which was added in the 1950s to Tabernacles (Sukkot), has as its themes the gathering of the second grain crop and the autumn fruit, the start of the agricultural year, and the first rains. Based on the Water-Drawing (*Bet ha-Sho'evah*) Festival (Mish. Suk. 5:1–4), it is celebrated in some kibbutzim at night around the swimming pool.

Anniversaries of events important in the history of a particular kibbutz inspire many pageants, acted by the members and their children. Marriage and bar mitzvah ceremonies are celebrated, as are Children's Day, and the day on which the young people of the kibbutz become members. Martyrs and Heroes Day on the anniversary of the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising (the 27th of Nisan) commemorates the victims of the Holocaust and is marked by memorial ceremonies and dramas on the subject of the Warsaw Ghetto and other Jewish resistance. Other festivals, such as the 15th of Shevat, Hanukkah, and Israel Independence Day (the 5th of Iyyar) are celebrated, but they do not take a form peculiar to the kibbutz. Kibbutz festivals symbolize the new life and farming background of the settlers, and are a rich treasure of Jewish folklore and culture. Providing outlets for the talents of those kibbutz members who are artists, poets, composers, producers, and choreographers, the festivals are a distinct contribution to Israel culture. An archive housed in Kibbutz Beit ha-Shitah contains extensive information about kibbutz festivals and cultural life.

List of Published Texts of Kibbutz Festivals and Special Occasions

Name of Work	Author	Composer	Publisher
Yagur Haggadah (for Passover)	Yehudah Sharett (ed.)	Yehudah Sharett	The Center for Education and Culture of the Histadrut
Zikhron Hava'at ha-Omer (Omer Celebration)		Shalom Postolsky	*Mo'adim* series, "Pesah," (5.3.1946) JNF and *Ommanut* magazine (M. Lipson, ed.)
Hava'at ha-Omer (Omer Celebration)	Matityahu Shelem	Matityahu Shelem	The Center for Education and Culture of the Histadrut
Massekhet ha-Omer (Omer Celebration)	Anadad Eldan	Avraham Daus	Reprint, Kibbutz Hefẓi-bah
Bi-Sedeh Koẓerim (pageant for the First Fruits Festival)	Ḥanan Shadmi	Yekutiel Shor	The Center for Education and Culture of the Histadrut
Koveẓ Ḥag ha-Gez (Sheepshearing Festival)	Matityahu Shelem (ed.)	Matityahu Shelem	Aguddat ha-Nokedim be-Israel
Shirim le-Tu be-Av (15 of Av)	Dov Shay	Yiẓhar Yaron	in Y. Yaron, *Rinnot*, the Center for Education and Culture of the Histadrut
Shirim u-Meḥolot le-Tu be-Av (pageant) (15 of Av)	Efrayim ben Ḥayyim		Reprint, Kibbutz Kiryat Anavim
Simḥat Beit ha-Sho'evah u-Mo'adei ha-Mayim (Water Festival)		Yehudah Sharett	*Onot*, no. 4, Ha-Kibbutz ha-Me'uḥad
Simḥat Beit ha-Sho'evah (pageant for Water Festival)	Yiẓḥak Asher	Karel Salmon	Kibbutz ha-Dati (1958)
Tekes Ḥag ha-Asif (Harvest Festival)	Anadad Eldan	David Zahavi	The Center for Education and Culture of the Histadrut
Yalkut Bar Mitzvah (bar mitzvah ceremony, anthology)	Yehudah Sharett	Yehudah Sharett	Aryeh Ben-Gurion (ed.), Va'adat ha-Ḥaggim ha-Bein-kibbutzit
Massekhet ha-Sho'ah ve-ha-Gevurah (anthology for Holocaust Memorial Day)			Va'adat ha-Ḥaggim ha-Bein-kibbutzit
Kovez "B" le-Yom ha-Zikkaron, "Ha-Sho'ah ve-ha-Mered" (Holocaust Memorial Day)	Ẓevi Shua, Israel Guttman		Va'adat ha-Ḥaggim ha-Bein-kibbutzit and *Moreshet* (1968)
"Kelulot" (for kibbutz weddings)	Matityahu Shelem		Ha-Va'adah ha-Bein-kibbutzit le-Havvai u-Mo'ed (1968)
Kibbutz festivals for Israel's 20th anniversary:			
"Yerushalayim" (choreographic play)	Leah Yisre'eli	David Ori	Ha-Musikah ha-Yisra'elit, Ltd. (1968)
"La-Ḥag Mizmor" (Cantata for choir and orchestra)	Yehudah Engel	Yehudah Engel	Ha-Merkaz le-Tarbut u-le-Ḥinnukh (1968)
Songs for Miscellaneous Festivals			The Music Committee of Kibbutz Arẓi – ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir
Anniversary celebrations (playlets)			Various kibbutzim

[Matityahu Shelem]

WEBSITE: www.chagim.org.il

KIBBUTZ MOVEMENT. The kibbutz, or kevuẓah (plural: kibbutzim, kevuẓot) is a voluntary collective community, mainly agricultural, in which there is no private wealth and which is responsible for all the needs of the members and their families. The kibbutz movement in Israel in 1969 numbered 93,000 people in 231 kibbutzim and kevuẓot organized in several federations according to social, political, and religious outlook. Since that time the kibbutz has undergone enormous changes, distancing itself from the classic model (see below) and becoming what its founders never dreamed it would become.

The first kevuẓah was founded in 1909 at *Deganyah by a group of pioneers, who, after working at first as employees of the Palestine Land Development Company, undertook collective responsibility for the working of the farm. Another group, which started work at *Kinneret in the same year, became an independent kevuẓah in 1913. By 1914 there were 11 kevuẓot established on Jewish National Fund land under the responsibility of the Zionist Organization, and the number grew to 29 by the end of 1918. The early kevuẓot had small memberships based upon the idea that the community should be small enough to constitute a kind of enlarged family. During the Third Aliyah, after World War I, when larger numbers of pioneering settlers (*ḥalutzim*) arrived, Shelomo *Lavi and others proposed the establishment of large, self-sufficient villages, combining agriculture with industry, for which the name "kibbutz" was used. The first of this type was *En Harod, founded in 1921, and many others followed. Later, however, the distinction between the two terms almost disappeared. The kibbutzim and kevuẓot combined to establish federations in accordance with their social character, political affiliations, or religious outlook: Ḥever ha-Kevuẓot, founded in 1925 (later merged in Iḥud ha-Kevuẓot ve-ha-Kibbutzim); Ha-Kibbutz ha-Arẓi ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir, and Ha-Kibbutz ha-Me'uḥad, both founded in 1927; and Ha-Kibbutz ha-Dati, founded in 1935. In 1979 the two kibbutz organizations, Kibbutz Ha-Meuḥad and Iḥud Ha-Kevutzot ve-ha-Kibbutzim reunited after 28 years of separation to form the Ha-Tenuah ha-Kibbuẓit ha-Meuḥedet (TaKaM). (For separate accounts, see below.)

The kibbutzim received their manpower mainly from the pioneering youth movements abroad and, in their turn, provided the movements with a practical ideal of pioneering settlement on the land in order to make a major contribution to the building of the Jewish National Home and create a model and a basis for the socialist society of the future. They played an important part in expanding the map of Jewish settlement and safeguarding the growing community. In the late 1930s many were set up overnight on the *Tower and Stockade plan so as to forestall official obstruction and Arab attack. The kibbutzim served as bases for the *Haganah defense force and later the *Palmaḥ, its commando section. Most of the new villages established under emergency conditions during and immediately after World War II, especially in the Negev, were kibbutzim. By the establishment of independence, they numbered 149 out of the 291 Jewish villages in the country.

In 1948 and 1949 the momentum of kibbutz expansion continued: out of 175 new villages founded during the two years, 79 were kibbutzim. The Jews from Muslim countries and survivors of the Holocaust who arrived in enormous numbers during the early years of the state were not favorably disposed to the kibbutz idea, however, and most of them preferred to settle in *moshavim. Youngsters born or brought up in Israel, including the second or third generation from older kibbutzim and graduates of *Youth Aliyah and Israel youth movements, became more prominent among the founders of new kibbutzim, especially in the Negev and, after the Six-Day War (1967), in the Golan Heights.

The Original Character of the Kibbutz

The kibbutz was a unique product of the Zionist labor movement and the Jewish national revival. It was not conceived theoretically as an escapist or utopian project; it was developed by Jewish workers inspired by ideas of social justice as an integral part of the Zionist effort to resettle the homeland. From its inception, the kibbutz movement played a pioneering role in the economic, political, cultural, and security activities required to carry out that purpose. The movement was composed of people from different countries and backgrounds, and of varying political beliefs. Some communities were inspired by A.D. *Gordon's ethical Jewish identification with nature and of physical labor as the supreme human value. Others cherished the tradition of the *Gedud ha-Avodah of the early 1920s, which regarded itself as a militant constructive task force. Others, again, do not regard themselves as a part of the socialist movement, while a number of kibbutzim (mostly organized in Ha-Kibbutz ha-Dati) have been established by religious Jews and combine communal life with the fulfillment of the laws of the Torah.

In the early 1950s differences of opinion over Marxist theory and support for pro-Soviet policies led to a split in Ha-Kibbutz ha-Me'uḥad, and one section joined with Ḥever ha-Kevuẓot to form Iḥud ha-Kevuẓot ve-ha-Kibbutzim. Ha-Kibbutz ha-Arẓi Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir, believing that the kibbutz as an economic unit could not be divorced from its political ideals, regarded itself as a political unit as well. Over the years, each of the federations was associated to a greater or lesser degree with one of the Israel parties. With the passage of time, many of the initial differences between one type of kibbutz and another disappeared. Most of the small, purely agricultural ones grew and established industries, and the differences between the small kevuẓah and the large kibbutz vanished. With the intensification of Soviet hostility to Israel, the attitude to the U.S.S.R. ceased, to all intents and purposes, to be a dividing factor, especially since the Six-Day War. There was an increasing trend toward inter-kibbutz activity and cooperation in all spheres, ranging from education to the economy.

The movement was supported from its inception by Zionist and Israel government agencies with long-term leases of national land, technical advice, development projects, and long-term financing. Through a special corps, *Naḥal, composed of youth movement graduates, the Israel Defense Forces trained nuclei of future kibbutzim and helped in their establishment. Sites for new kibbutzim were chosen in the light of national settlement and defense policy, often at the expense of economic viability. Many of them were in border areas and played an important part in the regional defense system.

Organization

In the classic model, the basis of kibbutz administration was a weekly general meeting of the membership, which formulated policy, elected officers, and superviseed the overall working of the community. Candidates for membership were usually accepted after a year's probation. Kibbutzim were incorporated cooperative enterprises, and generally speaking members transferred all assets, other than personal effects, to the kibbutz. If a member decided to leave he was entitled to his personal effects and, in line with a later decision of the movement, to a cash grant proportional to the time he had been in the kibbutz. Uniform national bylaws governing individual rights in the kibbutz were approved.

Affairs of the kibbutz were conducted by elected committees, the principal one being the secretariat, which usually consisted of a secretary, treasurer, chairmen of some of the key committees, the production manager, and others. There were committees in charge of education, cultural activities, questions of principle and personal problems of members, economic planning, coordination of work, and nominations. Elective positions, including managerial ones, were rotated every year or two.

The kibbutz federations provided financial assistance to their member villages through independent loan funds and national negotiation with financial and governmental institutions. They offered technical advisory services ranging from economic analysis to the planning of communal kitchens and laundries. Central purchasing and marketing services cut costs for individual kibbutzim and a special department dealt with kibbutz-based industry. They operated their own psychological clinics for children (including a school for disturbed children) and, in cooperation with institutions of higher learning, offered courses in specific branches of technology, agriculture, and kibbutz management. Cultural activities ranged from movement-wide choirs and amateur orchestras to regional schools for adult education on a non-university and university level. The kibbutz federations were joined together in Berit ha-Tenu'ah ha-Kibbutzit ("Kibbutz Movement Alliance"), which coordinated their activities in the many areas in which they cooperated. The three major ones jointly operated Israel's largest teachers' training college – Seminar ha-Kibbutzim.

Each federation operated an ideological center, where seminars were conducted, and published bulletins and journals of letters and opinion. Berit ha-Tenu'ah ha-Kibbutzit established a company for the production of television material on kibbutz topics. Each federation negotiated with its kibbutzim for manpower for general movement activity, not only within the movement itself but in the Zionist and labor movements and in government service. There was an increasing degree of regional cooperation cutting across federation boundaries. This included regional secondary schools, youth and cultural activity, and large regional economic and industrial complexes – including plants for canning, poultry slaughtering and dressing, packing and fodder preparation, cotton gins and large silos, trucking and hauling cooperatives, and large regional garages.

Social and Educational Aspects

The kibbutz movement believed in personal labor and placed equal value on all kinds of work. In the course of time people took up more or less permanent jobs, but there was a great deal of work mobility. With economic expansion and the increasing technical complexity of the kibbutz economy, it became necessary in many instances to hire outside labor in contradiction to the movement's socialist principles. It was hoped to solve this problem in the course of time with increased population and efficiency. Another problem which the movement tried to solve was the absorption of the increasing proportion of members who pursued academic or professional careers, often outside the kibbutz, while retaining their membership.

The kibbutz provided a complete spectrum of services to its members, ranging from razor blades to housing and from honeymoons to financial aid for dependents living outside, with complete medical coverage. Each kibbutz had a communal dining hall, laundry, and tailor shop. With the rise in the standard of living, increasing allowance was made for individual tastes and for spending in accordance with personal inclination on clothing, furnishings, cultural activities, hobbies, vacations, and so forth.

Up to 1970, in all but some dozen kibbutzim children lived in children's houses, which included sleeping quarters and play and study rooms, where community living was taught from the very earliest age. They were part of an organized children's community, living, eating, and studying together; in some ways they constituted a miniature kibbutz, conducting their own affairs, with the advice of teachers and group leaders, and in many kibbutzim operating their own small farms. Children "graduated" from one house to another as they advanced in age. Mothers – especially, of course, when nursing – visited their children frequently during the day, and after work the children were with their parents. People working with children were trained in kibbutz-sponsored courses, ranging from intensive three-month seminars to full-fledged kindergarten and teacher training. The kibbutz school differed from the city school in its emphasis on agriculture and on work as an integral part of the curriculum. It was considered an extension of the children's society, so that the teacher-pupil relationship was close and informal. All kibbutz children continued through secondary school; the increasing number who intended to go on to higher education were prepared for the matriculation examinations. A number of kibbutzim, principally among those belonging to the Iḥud, changed the system to provide for children sleeping in the homes of their parents.

Advocates of the change believed that it enhanced the psychological security of the child, as well as improving the position of the woman and the family in the kibbutz. The effect of the kibbutz and its educational system on its children has been extensively studied. Research has not shown significant indications of maternal deprivation, though some psychologists have found some signs of this at the younger ages. They feel, however, that this was overcome at a later age by the powerful supporting environment.

There were some kibbutzim in which the third, and in a few even the fourth, generation had reached maturity, and a goodly number in which the kibbutz-born had become the dominant group. Through 1970 over 75% of the latter remained in the kibbutz, despite the attraction of the cities. Though only 4% of the total population of Israel, their percentage among army officers was three or four times as high. A quarter of all the casualties in the Six-Day War were soldiers from kibbutzim. More direct and practical than their parents, and less given to hairsplitting ideology, it was the young people who were the principal force pushing toward the ultimate unification of the movement.

Some sociological studies have shown that although there was no material basis for social stratification, elements of such stratification did exist on the basis of social prestige or kinds of work. There were some differences in personal possessions as well, due to outside sources of income such as gifts, reparations from Germany, or inheritances, which were not always handed in to the kibbutz in their entirety, though very large sums of money received by beneficiaries of reparations were handed over to the kibbutzim. Women were disappointed at times in their relationship with the kibbutz community. The idea of freeing women from household chores so that they could work at other tasks was one of the prime aims of the movement, but this became increasingly difficult as a kibbutz grew older and pressure was generated for increased work in child care and household services. Kibbutzim attempted to improve the personal and family status of women by improving physical conditions of work in the services, by raising the work level of a profession through training and study, and, in some cases, by reducing working hours for women with families.

The kibbutz movement was a major factor in the activities of the Zionist movement and the State of Israel. Its influence was both moral and practical, ranging from settlement and security functions (including settling new areas after the Six-Day War), to the absorption of immigrants and Youth Aliyah children, and the provision of leading personnel for Zionist and government service. The number of kibbutz members in the Knesset and among army officers was far beyond their proportion in the population. This influence is indicated by such diverse statistics as the fact that in 1970 its production accounted for 12% of Israel's gross national product, and that more than 20 members of the Knesset were kibbutz members. In the late 1960s the movement was increasing in size at the rate of about 2–3% a year. Although it had become an established institution, it was still demonstrating a capacity for changing with the times.

Iḥud ha-Kevuzot ve-ha-Kibbutzim

Iḥud ha-Kevutzot ve-ha- Kibbutzim (Heb. "Union of Collective Settlements") was founded in 1951 through the unification of Ḥever ha-Kevuẓot and Iḥud ha-Kibbutzim, which had split off from Ha-Kibbutz ha-Me'uḥad (see below). In 1969 it comprised 81 communities, with a total population of about 30,000. Ḥever ha-Kevuẓot was the federation of the smaller, purely agricultural collective settlements, many of whose members believed in the ethical socialist concepts of A.D. *Gordon, and most of whom belonged to *Mapai, the Israel Labor Party; it included such long-established villages as *Deganyah and *Geva. The Iḥud ha-Kibbutzim settlements also leaned toward Mapai. The Iḥud was considered the most liberal of the three major kibbutz federations, allowing for more diversity and imposing less social or political discipline. In 1970, for example, children slept in the parents' homes in more than a dozen of its villages, though most of the other kibbutzim regard the dormitory system as a part of the movement's educational methods. A number of Iḥud kibbutzim also allowed for more latitude in the spending of personal funds. In 1953, the non-socialist kibbutzim of *Ha-No'ar ha-Ẓiyyoni, associated with the Independent Liberal Party, joined the Iḥud on condition of educational and political autonomy.

Each kibbutz elected its representatives to the national executive, and the national secretariat consisted of members drafted from the kibbutzim. The movement operated a loan fund, purchasing services, and departments for economic planning and assistance, social and ideological problems, education, youth work, military security, manpower, and immigrant absorption. It delegated members for work in youth movements both in Israel and abroad, in Zionist and political affairs, in the labor movement, and in government service. It conducted a variety of seminars and courses in cultural and technical subjects. It cooperated with the other kibbutz federations in operating Seminar ha-Kibbutzim for training teachers, and at its convention in 1969 it decided actively to encourage university education for members. The kibbutzim conducted their own elementary schools and regional secondary schools, attended in some areas by children from moshavim and Kibbutz ha-Me'uḥad communities as well.

The movement published a weekly bulletin, *Iggeret la-Ḥaverim* (from 1951); a quarterly journal, *Niv ha-Kevuẓah* (from 1930); a bimonthly journal of opinion, *Shedemot* (from 1948); and a periodical for educators, *Iggeret le-Ḥinnukh* (from 1952). It organized regional and national cultural activities, such as discussion circles and the federation's choir. The youth of the movement was affiliated as a group to *Ha-No'ar ha-Oved, the Histadrut's youth section. The Iḥud had a special relationship with a number of youth movements in Israel and abroad, sending youth workers to them and receiving reinforcements from them. Among these are Ha-No'ar ha-Oved, Ha-Ẓofim (see *Scouts), *Iḥud ha-Bonim, and La-Merḥav.

[Moshe Kerem]

Ha-Kibbutz ha-Arzi-ha-Shomer ha-Za'ir

Founded in 1927, comprised 73 kibbutzim and two *Naḥal outposts in 1969. Its ideological basis was a belief in the kibbutz as an instrument for fulfilling the Zionist ideal, furthering the class struggle, and building a Socialist society. Its founding members, who belonged to the *Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir ("Young Guard") youth movement, came from Poland and Galicia in 1919, and in 1920 established the movement's first kibbutz, which settled at *Bet Alfa in 1922. By 1927 there were six Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir kibbutzim, four of which founded Ha-Kibbutz ha-Arẓi. In the 40 years that followed, the population of its villages grew from 249 members and 19 children to over 31,000 persons, of whom some 16,000 were members and 10,000 children.

Ha-Kibbutz ha-Arẓi ("The National Kibbutz [Movement]") regarded the kibbutz as an autonomous unit of social life, comprehending all spheres of economic, social, cultural, political, and educational activity, which were developed on principles laid down by the movement as a whole – both as an instrument for the realization of Zionism, the class struggle and the building of Socialism, and as an end in itself: the archetype of the Socialist society. Through continual democracy in all fields, the movement strove to develop a common outlook on life that united all its members (the so-called "ideological collectivism"). Its ideology was founded on pioneering Zionism paving the way for mass *aliyah*, the kibbutz way of life, integration of settlement work with political activity, Jewish political independence combined with Jewish-Arab cooperation, and the defense of Israel's security coupled with unremitting efforts to achieve peace.

From the start, Ha-Kibbutz ha-Arẓi favored a union of all workers, including those in the cities, based on Zionist pioneering and Socialist principles. Since such a union failed to materialize, a Socialist League was formed in 1936 as its political partner. In 1946 they combined to form the Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir party, which, in turn, joined with two other groups in 1948 to found *Mapam, the United Workers' Party, of which Ha-Kibbutz ha-Arẓi with its constituent kibbutzim was an integral part.

Members of Ha-Kibbutz ha-Arẓi played a prominent part in the struggle for Jewish independence. They formed the first Tower and Stockade settlement, Tel Amal (Nir David) in 1936; many of them joined the supernumerary police, the Jewish units in the British army, and the Jewish Brigade; and they made an important contribution to Aliyah Bet (*"illegal immigration") and the founding of the *Palmaḥ.

Ha-Kibbutz ha-Arẓi regarded the education of its members' children as a matter of central importance. It trained them for active and creative participation in collective life, employing youth movement traditions and progressive educational methods. There were independent children's communities, covering the first six years of schooling, in almost every kibbutz, as well as 25 schools serving the kibbutzim, with youth communities covering the 7th–12th school years,and a teachers' training seminar at Givat Ḥavivah. The aim of the movement's educational institutions was to inculcate a general philosophy of life, and not mere booklearning. Some 4,800 of their alumni became kibbutz members and in 1967 the first group aiming at the formation of a new kibbutz was founded. Members of the older kibbutzim served an additional year in newer kibbutzim after completing their army service.

Although Ha-Kibbutz ha-Arẓi had as its primary objective the development of agriculture, most kibbutzim started up industrial plants. In 1968, the movement's agricultural output was valued at IL 168,000,000 ($48,000,000), or 9.9% of agricultural output in the country, and the industrial output at IL 98,500,000 ($28,000,000). Ha-Kibbutz ha-Arẓi published various periodicals for its members. It maintained a publishing house, Sifriat ha-Poalim, founded in 1931, which had issued about 1,000 books by 1970, and the Moreshet Institute for research on the Holocaust, established in 1962. The highest authority in Ha-Kibbutz ha-Arẓi was the triennial convention, which had committees that meet annually. The convention chose an executive council, which appointed a secretariat. Younger members had their own sectional organization.

[Yaakov Arie Hazan]

Ha-Kibbutz ha-Me'uhad

Founded in 1927, Ha-Kibbutz ha-Me'uḥad ("The United Kibbutz [Movement]") was a national organization of kibbutzim united by a common concept of the kibbutz and a common approach to the building of a labor society in the Land of Israel. The ideology of the movement was based on the following principles: the kibbutz should be a large settlement, with no predetermined limit to the number of members; it should be open to all comers and should not restrict itself to the graduates of any particular youth movement; it should engage in all forms of essential production, both agricultural and industrial; it should play a role in the integration of newcomers to the country by aiming at a membership representing a wide range of geographic origin. The first kibbutz with these aims was En Harod (founded in 1921 by *Gedud ha-Avodah, "the Labor Legion") and when the Kibbutz Me'uḥad movement was founded, at a conference in Petaḥ Tikvah in 1927, it was based on En Harod, groups of newcomers, and local youth from the moshavot. Other kibbutzim joined in 1929, and a second conference, held at Yagur in 1936, further elaborated the movement's principles. It exercises authority over the kibbutzim of the movement in matters of ideology, each kibbutz being autonomous in administration and finance. From its foundation, it regarded Yiẓhak *Tabenkin of En Harod as its spiritual and ideological leader. During the Mandatory regime Ha-Kibbutz ha-Me'uḥad played a large part in the defense of the *yishuv*, the organization of "illegal" immigration, and the struggle for independence, with a special role in the creation and maintenance of the Palmaḥ. The movement's kibbutzim were scattered all over Israel, and it prided itself that their location had always been determined by the country's pioneering needs. Thus the first Jewish settlement to be established on the Golan Heights after the Six-Day War was founded by Ha-Kibbutz ha-Me'uḥad, conforming to the principle, adopted at the 1955 conference held at Givat Brenner, that "the natural borders of Ereẓ Israel are those of the historic homeland of the Jewish people, and this is the area for *aliyah*, settlement, and the realization of the Zionist program."

Most of the movement's members belonged in the 1940s to the left-wing faction of Mapai. When the latter split in 1944, Ha-Kibbutz ha-Me'uḥad was the nucleus of the newly formed Si'ah Bet (B Faction), later *Aḥdut ha-Avodah, which joined with Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir in 1945 to form Mapam, though a minority remained in Mapai. Owing to the fact that its members came from a variety of youth movements, there was never a dearth of internal political and social controversy in the movement and its kibbutzim. Differences came to a head as a result of the growing intensity of the struggle between Mapai and Mapam and the decision of the Mapai minority to set up its own cultural and educational institutions. At a meeting of the movement's council, held at Na'an in 1951, kibbutzim with a Mapai majority seceded and formed Iḥud ha-Kibbutzim, which joined with Ḥever ha-Kevuẓot to form Iḥud ha-Kibbutzim ve-ha Kevuẓot. Four kibbutzim (one of them En Harod itself), which were evenly divided between Mapai and Mapam, were each split into two separate settlements.

Members of Ha-Kibbutz ha-Me'uḥad have figured prominently among the founders and leaders of the Israel labor movement and the Haganah, officers in the Israel forces in the War of Independence, authors and artists, Knesset members and cabinet ministers. Always a strong advocate of the unification of the labor movement, it supported the formation of the Israel Labor Party, which was joined by practically all its members. Ha-Kibbutz ha-Me'uḥad had a chain of economic enterprises and cultural and social institutions: Keren ha-Kibbutz and Mishkei ha-Kibbutz, its major financial and economic instruments; Efal, a center for higher education and leadership training; *Mi-Bifnim* ("From Within"), an ideological quarterly; and *Ba-Kibbutz*, a weekly. It also published periodicals for youth and others dealing with education, culture, etc. Ha-Kibbutz ha-Me'uḥad publishing house issued 700 original works up to 1968. The movement maintained a museum and research center for the study of the history of the Holocaust, Beit Yiẓḥak Katznelson, at Kibbutz *Loḥamei ha-Getta'ot, and an art museum, Ha-Mishkan le-Ommanut, at En Harod.

In 1968 it comprised 58 settlements, with a population of some 25,000. One of these, Givat Brenner (population 1,604), was the largest kibbutz in the country. In the 1960s the population of the settlements grew by an average of 3.5% per year. The area under cultivation was 12,500 acres (50,000 dunams), and the number of industrial enterprises was 45, with a turnover of about IL50,000,000.

[Shlomo Derech]

Ha-Kibbutz ha-Dati

Ha-Kibbutz ha-Dati (Heb. "The Religious Kibbutz"), the union of *Ha-Po'el ha-Mizrachi kibbutzim, was established in 1935 by four religious pioneer groups consisting of members of Baḥad (see *Mizrachi)-Ha-Po'el Ha-Mizrachi from Germany and the Mizrachi Pioneers from Poland. Most of its development took place before Israel's independence. Seven pioneer groups were founded before 1940 and another nine before 1948. Ten groups were able to establish kibbutzim: three in the Beth-Shean valley (Tirat Ẓevi, Sedeh Eliyahu, En ha-Naẓiv), three in the Hebron hills (Gush Eẓyon), three in the neighborhood of Gaza (Be'erot Yiẓḥak, Sa'ad and Kefar Darom), and Yavneh. Two more were founded in 1948 – Sheluḥot in the Beth-Shean Valley and Lavi in Lower Galilee. Six of the villages, which were situated at the edge of the Jewish area in a completely Arab district, were totally destroyed during the War of Independence and many of the adult population were killed. They were reestablished later, three of them as *moshavim shittufiyyim. After a lengthy period of stagnation, most of the religious kibbutzim recovered in the 1960s and numbered among the most flourishing in the country. One new kibbutz, Alummim, was founded in 1966, and at the end of 1967 Ha-Kibbutz ha-Dati had 11 member settlements with a total population of 4,000, including Naḥal outposts on Mount Gilboa and at Kefar Eẓyon.

PRINCIPLES. Ha-Kibbutz ha-Dati was based, from the beginning, on the idea of combining religious practice with labor – *Torah va-Avodah*. Its founders believed that the best means to this end is the communal group, within the framework of which the community can carry out religious precepts in daily life; this attitude was in contrast to the general view of Ha-Poel Ha-Mizrachi of the time. While implementing the general kibbutz principles of communal production and consumption, equality, self-labor, and pioneering, it also emphasized the importance of Jewish religious tradition. Its religious socialism was founded on prophetic concepts of social justice and talmudic principles of human relations and good government; as regards their attitude to contemporary problems, its way was that of religious socialism. It regarded democracy as a basic value of the kibbutz, and not merely as a corollary of equality. In its view, communal ownership was important not only for economic reasons but as an expression of religious and human attitudes.

PUBLIC ACTIVITIES. Ha-Kibbutz ha-Dati aimed at establishing a self-contained religious society as a major instrument for bringing about religious renewal under present conditions of national renascence and the resettlement of Ereẓ Israel. It developed an approach of its own to the celebration of Independence Day, army service for girls, public prayer, *shemittah*, and so forth. It aimed at establishing groups of kibbutzim in the same area, with a view to developing regional activities in education and economy in accordance with its principles.

Ha-Kibbutz ha-Dati influenced public life in Israel in various ways: it was among the founders of *Youth Aliyah and of various religious youth villages, yeshivot, and other educational institutions, and it provided help and guidance for the *Bnei Akiva youth movement. Politically, it expressed its independent view within the frameworks of Ha-Po'el ha-Mizrachi and the *National Religious Party, having been instrumental in the establishment of La-Mifneh, the left-wing faction in these movements. The association published a journal, *Ammudim* (called *Alonim* 1938–49, *Yedi'ot ha-Kibbutz ha-Dati* 1951–56), which appeared monthly and was devoted to questions of the religious public and the state, apart from purely internal affairs.

[Moshe Unna]

The Beginnings of Change

The period commencing in 1977 was particularly significant because of a series of events that had unusual importance for the kibbutz movement. The first event was the political upheaval of 1977, in which the Labor Alignment – to which the decisive majority of kibbutzim belonged – lost control of the government, which it had held in various coalitions since the establishment of the state. The change in the political conditions had far-reaching effects in many areas of the kibbutz: these were felt only several years later. In an apparent paradox, the years of the Likud government, 1977–1984, were a period of rapid economic growth and development in the kibbutz movement. However, at the end of this period an economic crisis began, with social consequences within the kibbutzim themselves. According to some analyses, the sources of their subsequent problems are to be found in the long-term consequences of the economic policies carried out by the Likud government. The political changes also sped up the processes of change in the structure of the kibbutz movement, which culminated in the unification of the Iḥud ha-Kibbutzim and the Kibbutz ha-Me'uḥad movements in the United Kibbutz Movement (UKM *Takam* in Hebrew). One of the main justifications for the unification was the necessity for the creation of a large and united kibbutz body which would aid in renewing the labor movement and in influencing the general Israeli society.

As a basis for understanding these events, three structural developments, which had previously taken place within the kibbutzim, must be noted:

(1) The kibbutzim were no longer small, rural, communal farms, but were now large settlements, with a varied economic base, with several generations born and living there, plus new members from all over the world.

(2) There was a transformation from almost complete dependence on agriculture as a source of income to a complex economic formation, integrating agriculture, industries of many kinds, educational and service systems, and connections to large and powerful local and national economic and financial institutions, both in and outside of the kibbutz movement itself.

(3) A noticeable rise occurred in the standard of living in the kibbutzim, which made possible the meeting of more varied material and personal needs, even as it raised expectations in those areas.

More than in the past, this period posed the question of whether and how it was possible to realize the communal and egalitarian values upheld by the kibbutz in the conditions of a large and complex society which had become increasingly heterogeneous and more similar to the surrounding nonkibbutz society.

GROWTH PATTERNS. During this period there was relatively fast growth in the kibbutz population. Between 1976 and 1986, it grew from 98,800 to 126,700 people. This was an increase of 28.2%, which was much greater than the rate of growth during other periods after the establishment of the state (from 1950–1960 the growth was 16.4%; between 1960 and 1970, 7.7%; and from 1970 to 1976, 7.9%). The rate of growth of the kibbutz population in this period was greater than that of the rate of growth of the Israeli population as a whole (21.1%), and even more so when compared to the rate of the Jewish population (17.9%). This was a change from the pattern which had existed from after the establishment of the state, where the rate of growth of the Jewish population was much greater than that of the kibbutzim. This change was mainly a result of the large waves of immigration in the 1950s and 1960s, which caused the share of the kibbutz within the total Jewish population to fall from its height of 7.4% in 1947 to only 3.3% in 1970. The turnaround of this tendency in the 1980s was reflected in the small, but significant rise in the kibbutz share of the Jewish population to 3.6%.

The rate of growth of the kibbutz population was also much faster during this period than that of the moshavim, which grew only by 10%. The moshavim – the second major form of cooperative settlement – grew much more quickly than the kibbutz after the establishment of the state, because the vast majority of the mass immigrations which were sent to agricultural settlements were directed to them. The moshav has been traditionally based largely on individual agricultural holdings worked by a single family as its source of income, while maintaining some limited forms of communal, social, and economic cooperation. This form of settlement was considered more suitable for absorbing the waves of immigrants who came from North Africa and the Middle East in the 1950s.

The growth of the kibbutz population slowed in 1986. Apparently this was connected with the economic crisis that had overtaken the kibbutz movement and whose effects were especially felt at the end of the period.

The vast majority of the kibbutz population (more than 85%) were members of the kibbutzim and their children. In addition there were children from outside and youth groups who were being educated in the kibbutz; groups of young people receiving training prior to their joining the kibbutz or setting up a new one; students at special schools for learning Hebrew and groups of young men and women from abroad working in the kibbutz in order to learn about its way of life.

The sources for the growth in membership of the kibbutzim have changed during the different stages of development of the kibbutz movement. Before the 1960s few of the children of the kibbutz had reached the age at which they might join the kibbutz as members – this would be in their early twenties, after finishing their army service. Most of the members of the kibbutzim were immigrants, mostly from Europe, and a few who were born in Israel or had come from North or South Africa or from Middle Eastern countries. From the 1960s the proportion of kibbutz-born children rose significantly among those joining the kibbutz. Among those coming from outside the kibbutz, from the 1970s an increase occurred in the proportion of young people who applied for membership without having gone through the traditional path of the youth groups connected to the kibbutz movements. These youth movements originally developed independently, principally in Eastern Europe, and continued with the guidance and help of the kibbutz movements, which saw in them a major source for growth.

According to figures from one kibbutz movement (Kibbutz Arẓi), during the decade of 1970–1980, kibbutz-born individuals made up 38% of those joining the kibbutz, and young people who came out of the youth movement or who were educated in the kibbutz made up 26%, while those who came from outside the kibbutz, but were not in the youth movement, were the largest source of growth comprising 44%. Statistics from the other kibbutz movements were not available. However, there is reason to believe that the situation was similar.

The proportionate weight of different groups in the growth of the kibbutz was dependent not only on their weight among the joiners, but also on the rate of those now leaving the kibbutz. Each of the groups had a different rate of leaving the kibbutz. The highest relative leaving rate was that of people coming out of the youth movement, particularly the Israeli branch. As a consequence the proportion of the three different groups in the net growth of the kibbutz in this decade was as follows: children born in the kibbutz – 43%; graduates of the youth movement – 13%; and absorbees without movement background – 44%.

The group of absorbees without movement background was not homogeneous in its make-up or motivation for joining. They joined in large part through marriage to people born in the kibbutz, and they were thereby connected indirectly with internal sources of growth of the kibbutz. (Boys and girls from the same kibbutz tended not to marry among themselves; the majority of marriages were with people from outside the kibbutz movement.) Another group of those without movement background were graduates of the ulpanim for learning Hebrew or volunteers from abroad. There were also young families from the city who chose the kibbutz way of life. Unlike the past, the kibbutz movements made special efforts in the 1980s to encourage absorption from among the latter element by means of advertisements in the mass media or by special programs aimed at certain communities.

Evidence of the rise in the importance of internal growth may be seen from a comparison between the natural growth and the "migration balance" (the ratio between those staying and leaving among those who came from outside the kibbutz) as factors in the increase in the total kibbutz population. During the entire period from 1950 until 1975, natural increase was the only source of growth, while the migration balance was negative; the number of those who left was greater than those who joined the kibbutz from the general society. Of course, some of the kibbutz children left and some of the absorbees stayed on, but the latter were so few as to be unable to account for any significant part of the population growth. The relatively low percentage of absorbees staying reflects the process of selection and choice involved in joining a cooperative society whose way of life is essentially different from that on the outside.

Starting in 1975 this pattern changed, and, in most years through the 1980s, the number of those joining from the outside was greater than that of those leaving. However, in this period, too, natural increase remained the main source of growth. This was despite the higher rate of death in these years due to the relative aging of the kibbutz population. The large share of internal sources in the growth of the kibbutz stems also from the relatively higher rate of birth in the kibbutz compared to other sectors of the Jewish-Israeli society, which will be dealt with below.

The kibbutz population was originally younger than the general population, since it was established by homogeneous groups of young people. Within this decade, in the older kibbutzim which were founded in the 1920s and 1930s, large groups of the founders passed the age of 70, or even of 80 and 90. In some of these kibbutzim the members over 65 make up a quarter or more of the population. However, in the total population of the kibbutzim the percent of this stratum reached only 9.2%, and this was slightly lower than that of the Jewish population in Israel, 10.1%. The percent of the kibbutz population in the younger age groups was also greater than is found in the general Jewish population (in the age group from 0–14, it is 30.3% in the kibbutz vs. 19.9% in the city; and for the age group 15–24, it is 19.1% vs. 16%, respectively). In general, then, the kibbutz population was younger than that of surrounding Jewish society. There was, nevertheless, importance in the age distribution in the individual kibbutz. In some kibbutzim the existence of a large group of aged created problems that demanded new solutions.

When the first members in the older kibbutzim reached the age of retirement, they came to a decision, which was later taken in all the kibbutz movements, that these older members would not stop working at this fixed age. Later on, a decision was reached that specified a gradual reduction in the daily norm of work hours (the standard was eight hours per day), starting at the age of 50 for women and at 55 for men – down to four hours a day, at the age of 60 for women and 65 for men. Most of the oldsters worked until a very old age, and research findings show that there was a positive influence on their mental health from the continuing activity. The kibbutz took care to develop suitable places of work, appropriate for the skills and capacities of the older members, yet many continued to work in their previous work places. In general the work of the older people made an economic contribution of real significance.

The extended family, with children and grandchildren in the same community, was an important supporting element in the process of aging, along with the development of welfare institutions and services which dealt with health and rehabilitation problems (cases of members being sent to old people's homes were very rare). These conditions led to a much longer life expectancy in the kibbutz than in other societies. At the age of 50 life expectancy for men in Israel was an additional 25.7 years, while in the kibbutz 28.3 and for women in Israel 27.9 and in the kibbutz 31. The average in 64 other countries in 1980 was 23.5 for men and 27.3 for women. It seems that in addition to the social support within the family a major factor was the contribution of the communal framework. Furthermore, it has been noted that in the kibbutz there is no difference in the death-rates for married and unmarried people, while in other societies there is a higher death rate for unmarried people.

Different age-structures as found among various kibbutzim was only one of the many differences among them in the area of demographic characteristics. One crucial difference between kibbutzim resulted from the different sizes of their population, connected in many cases with when they were established.

While in 39 kibbutzim, most of them young, the number of members was less than 100, in the 16 largest kibbutzim the number of members was over 500. However, in only four of these large kibbutzim were there more than 700 members, and in only one did the number approach 1,000. The total population in a single kibbutz community that includes in addition to adult members also children and temporary groups varies between less than 100 and more than 1,500.

Patterns of growth occurred in almost all the kibbutzim in this decade, but the rate of growth was higher in the younger settlements than in the older kibbutzim. In the older kibbutzim the internal growth was augmented by absorbees from the outside, who did not come from a movement background. In contrast the growth of the younger kibbutzim was based more on graduates from the youth movement and to a certain degree also on young people who had left the older kibbutzim where they had been born.

From 1967 to the late 1980s, around 50 new kibbutzim were set up, mostly in the Galilee and Negev areas, continuing the traditional trend of settlement distant from the metropolitan center (51% of kibbutzim were concentrated in the north and 20% in the south of Israel).

As a result of government policy that favored settlement in the West Bank over that in other areas, the settlement activity of the kibbutz movement ran into difficulties during the decade and had to be partly financed by the movements themselves. Some of the newer settlements did not achieve social stability. Up to this period almost all the new settlements had been set up by graduates from the youth movements who went to them immediately after their army service.

CHANGES IN THE ROLE OF THE FAMILY. During the period under discussion the process of the strengthening of the family continued within the social structure of the kibbutz. In addition, there were other tendencies that appeared. The beginnings of the process of enhanced importance of the family date back to the 1950s and 1960s. and found expression in the kibbutz's demographic patterns: a rise in the birth rate, low rates of divorce, and a low marriage age.

There were also effects in the social and institutional areas. At the social level there appeared the extended family of several generations: in the same community would be found, besides the parents of the older stratum, the families of their children, and in the senior kibbutzim, the families of their grandchildren. In the oldest kibbutz therefore, four generations of the same family might be living together in the same community. This phenomenon was in contrast to the pattern outside the kibbutz of intergenerational mobility, geographic, occupational, and social.

In the institutional area, expression of the strengthening of the family took the form of demands which arose in different kibbutzim for a transfer of authority in both the educational and consumption fields from the kibbutz institutions to the individual families. The most obvious example was the demand that the children spend the night in their parents' homes, and not in the children's houses as was standard in the past. This issue raised stormy arguments in many kibbutzim before the final decision was taken.

Until the early 1970s only one kibbutz movement (the former "Iḥud") gave legitimacy to this change. However, during the 1980s, the changeover was completed in almost all of the kibbutzim of the United Kibbutz Movement. The demand to have the children sleep in their parents' homes also came up in the kibbutz movement which had always opposed this move. As a result of pressure from members/parents, approximately one-quarter of this movement's kibbutzim were already in different stages of the changeover during the 1980s.

The process of the changeover to having children sleeping at home developed in parallel with other symptoms of the strengthened status of the family, mainly in the area of consumption. At the same time efforts were made to strengthen the cohesion of other groups (work groups, age groups) besides the extended family.

The growing importance of the family in the kibbutz contradicted prevailing tendencies within Western society to weaken its status. On the other hand patterns similar to the more general direction began to appear in some areas of kibbutz demography.

With larger groups of kibbutz-born children reaching the stage of parenthood in the 1960s, there appeared a significant rise in the rate of birth in the kibbutzim and for the first time they surpassed the rates prevalent in the general Jewish population. During the period from 1965 to 1975, the birthrate of the kibbutzim was 26.8 per thousand, compared to 23.4 per thousand for the total Jewish population. From 1974 onwards a sharp change appeared in this pattern, and the birthrate went down from 28.6 to 22% in 1984, which was only slightly higher than that of the general Jewish population (21.6 per thousand).

A movement in the opposite direction appeared in regard to the divorce rate. From 1965 until 1975, there were lower rates of divorce in the kibbutz than in the past, and they were similar to those in the general Jewish society (less than one percent). From 1975 the rate went up from less than one percent to 1.4, which was greater than that prevailing in the society at large. There was also a rise in the age of marriage. While in the early 1970s many young adults married close to the end of their military service, it now became more popular to marry after a long trip abroad or after studies.

In any event, the family continued to play a more central role in the area of social relationships and this despite the fact that it had no economic function and its educational authority was relatively limited, even after the children began to sleep at home. The family did not have a defined formal status in the kibbutz since kibbutz membership was individual. The strengthening of the family resulted from the weakening of the overall social bonds in the kibbutz, with the growth and differentiation of the population. Furthermore, the family provided a kind of personal refuge from the intense communal life. These familial tendencies also expressed a desire for privacy and, sometimes, individualistic tendencies. On the other hand it would seem that the family appeared also as a framework bound up with obligations that might limit the freedom of the individual. This was evidently the significance of the rise in the divorce rate and the delaying of the marriage age.

CHANGES IN THE ECONOMIC AND OCCUPATIONAL STRUCTURE. The economy of the kibbutz went through many rapid changes in the 1980s. The process of industrialization, which began to accelerate in the 1960s, continued at a fast pace, and in most of the kibbutzim industrial operations employed more workers than agriculture and the income from industry was greater than that from agriculture. In 1986, 25.5% of the kibbutz's active population worked in agriculture versus 5.2% of Israel's active population; 22.7% versus 24.6% worked in industry. Nevertheless, the agricultural output continued to rise during this period, but at a rate slower than the growth of the industrial output. The agricultural output of the kibbutz movement grew by 30.8% and in 1986 accounted for 39.7% of the Israeli total, while the industrial output grew by 73.4% and made up 6.8% of the total Israeli product.

The relative increase in the role of kibbutz agriculture in overall Israeli output took place during a period in which many crises hit the agricultural sector. Besides a deterioration in the export conditions and for various agricultural products, such as cotton, flowers, and citrus fruits, the change in the government's policy had a negative effect on Israeli agriculture as a whole. In some periods the agricultural planning was drastically curtailed and surpluses were formed, causing a fall in prices which badly hurt many farmers and certain branches of agriculture. The conditions under which credit and loans were given were made more difficult, with extremely high interest rates, far above the norm in the West, and research and development activities were limited.

Kibbutz agriculture was affected relatively less than other sectors of agriculture partly due to professional and organizational advantages which accrued to the large kibbutz farming operation and partly due to capacity to balance the damage to agricultural income by means of the income from other branches, particularly industry. The data from the agricultural census of 1981 give evidence of the more efficient use of labor and capital in the kibbutz, especially as compared to the moshav.

Kibbutz agriculture continued to concentrate on those crops which demanded less manual labor and progressed in its process of modernization by introducing computers in different areas, for example, control of the field crop's irrigation and of the nutrition of dairy cows. Those branches in which the majority of production was in the hands of the kibbutzim were cotton, apples and bananas, fish ponds, potatoes, and the raising of cattle for meat and milk.

However, the principal economic efforts concentrated on the development of kibbutz industry. In contrast to their dominant position in agriculture, the kibbutz enterprises made up a relatively small sector within Israeli industry in the mid-1980s: 5.8% of the workers, 4.8% of the plants, and 6.8% of the production. From this it can be seen that the average number of workers per plant was greater in the kibbutz. However, about half of those employed in Israeli industry worked in plants with more than 300 workers, while in the kibbutzim, most workers were concentrated in plants with fewer than 100 workers.

The smaller size of kibbutz plants stemmed from the tendency to base operation principally on kibbutz members alone. In the early stages of kibbutz industrialization, it was thought that, in order to succeed in the competition of the larger market, the number of workers could not be limited to just those who were available from the kibbutz workforce, and some kibbutz industries hired a relatively large number of workers from the outside. Most kibbutzim opposed this tendency and decided to avoid setting up plants which were labor-intensive; they specialized in plants that were relatively capital-intensive and with a high level of modern technology. An example of this type of operation was the plastics branch of the kibbutz industries, whose production made up 45% of the total Israeli output. Other areas in which the kibbutz sector constituted more than the average of kibbuẓ industries were wood and furniture (18.3%) and metalworking (10.6%). The avoidance of hired labor and the focus on industrial branches based on high technology became the general direction of kibbutz industry in the 1980s, in which a relatively large number of new plants were set up (73 of the 335 total). At the same time, there was a constant decline in the proportion of hired workers within the kibbutz industry workforce from 43% in 1975 to 28% in 1986.

In the 1980s the introduction of advanced technology became a rapid process, including the use of computerized numerical control (CNC) and the use of industrial robots. It seems that the introduction of advanced technology in kibbutz industry was significantly faster than was the case in similar industries in the general Israeli society. This is supported by the fact that 60% of all the industrial robots in Israel were to be found in kibbutz enterprises.

The capital and technological intensity of the kibbutz industries and its special organization and social structure seem able to explain the difference in the accomplishments in various areas between kibbutz industry and the other sectors of Israeli industry. For example, between 1976 and 1986 the index of exports grew in the kibbutz industries from a base of 100 to 364 in contrast to the growth of Israeli industry as a whole to an index level of 224. The index of sales per worker was 20% more for the kibbutz than in the general industrial sector, and, in the plastics branch, this index was 25% higher than in Israeli plastics industry overall. The capital investment per worker was also higher in the kibbutz industries, and, with the advent of the economic difficulties that appeared after 1983, criticisms were voiced asserting that the investments in industry were too high given their decreasing rate of return.

There were other problems in regard to the direction of the development of kibbutz industry which arose with the economic crisis. Some critics asserted that the relatively small size of the kibbutz plants limited their capacities for research and development and for proper marketing operations and that there was a lack of the necessary experts in the technological professions.

Efforts were made to build up systems of research and development and those for marketing to be shared by kibbutz industrial plants in the same production branch, and steps was taken to improve and encourage technological education and training.

Throughout the decade there was a remarkable rise in the level of education of kibbutz members, especially the younger ones. In 1972, only 20.4% of kibbutz members had post-secondary education, while in 1985, the rate had risen to 32.3% of the kibbutz members. This was considerably higher than the level of the general Jewish population in Israel, which stood at 24.4%. There was an important difference in the distribution of the level of higher education, however. In the kibbutz there were fewer people with higher degrees, while the percentage of people with post-secondary training in the fields of education, technology, and social services was much higher than that of the overall Jewish population of Israel. The difference in regard to holders of higher university degrees (i.e., M.A. and doctorate) stemmed from the fact that only in the 1970s did the kibbutz movement free itself of ideological opposition to the acquisition of university degrees and begin to encourage academic studies. Thus in the 1980s the proportion of holders of academic degrees grew at the same time that the representation of kibbutz members on the teaching and research faculties of the institutions of higher learning also increased.

Along with the contribution made by people with academic degrees to the economic and social capacities of the kibbutz, problems caused by the unsuitability of the kibbutz work structure, based on work in agriculture, industry, and the services, to the academic qualifications of its members arose. Most of the jobs simply did not demand the high level of education acquired by college graduates, and this created conflicts with their expectations and desires for professional advancement.

A labor market did not exist in the kibbutz because there were neither the wages nor economic incentives or sanctions which operate in the general society to direct people into the different occupations in some relation to supply and demand. This made the coordination between the changing needs of kibbutz society and economy and, on the other hand, the professional and academic aspirations of the members more complicated than ever before. Decisions about the economic structure were made democratically at the general assemblies and in the committees and were thereby influenced by the preferences of the members. The other side of this relationship was that the professional plans of the members were themselves influenced by the present and/or expected occupational structure, although increasing numbers of young and old members chose courses of academic studies which seem to have no direct connection to the kibbutz's expressed economic and educational needs.

The 1980s saw changes as a result of the rising level of education and of the rapid technological advances, but the economic crisis of the kibbutz movement also had very important effects in this period. Different factors contributed to the development of the crisis, expressed principally by the formation of a large debt accompanied by high interest payments, which weighed heavily on ongoing economic activities. This occurred despite the successes in the fields of both industry and agriculture. The major cause of the crisis was the lack of economic stability that characterized the Begin years and was most obviously reflected in the rates of hyperinflation which ran rampant from the late 1970s until the mid-1980s. From 1978 to 1984, the rate of inflation jumped from 51% a year to 445%! As a result of the government's economic program in the mid-1980s, there was a sharp drop to an approximately 20% rate of inflation per year, which was accompanied by an even steeper rise in the cost of money, i.e., the interest rate, which rose from 11.8% in 1983 to 89% in 1985.

Besides these outside factors, financial mistakes were made by the kibbutz movements and by individual kibbutzim, which invested in unsuccessful business ventures, in speculative stocks, or in consumption projects. The economic crisis was especially damaging to those kibbutzim that had not been successful in their attempt to balance the decline in the profitability of agriculture with an increase in their industrial activity. This had the added effect of exacerbating the inequality among the kibbutzim. For example, in the United Kibbutz

Movement, the group of 19 kibbutzim in the most difficulties had to use 38% of their yearly income just to pay the interest on their debt, while another group of 38 kibbutzim had to earmark 25% of their income for interest payments; the majority of the kibbutzim, 83 in number, had to earmark only 6.6% of their yearly income for interest payments.

In an attempt to overcome the crisis and to make possible the continuation of production operations, the United Kibbutz Movement asked the government for help, not for grants but to restructure its loan repayment schedules. This request made the issue of help to the kibbutzim the focus of a political debate, where representatives of the Likud took advantage of this situation to criticize the kibbutz movement while putting pressure on the Labor party, to which the UKM is affiliated.

Kibbutz ha-Arẓi, which also was in need of additional sources of funding, preferred to mobilize capital on a commercial basis, essentially without government intervention, by means of bonds issues, which avoided dependence on the political system. The requests of the UKM for aid were only approved in part, after many delays and after a public political campaign by the kibbutz and moshav movements. Even before the public aid could come, the kibbutzim strengthened their apparatus of mutual support. The kibbutzim which were economically stronger were helping the weaker ones both by giving them loans from the movement's trust funds, which were funded by means of a progressive tax on the kibbutzim, and by providing guarantees for loans taken out by the weaker kibbutzim.

At the same time all the kibbutzim decided to lower their standard of living, regardless of their economic situation. This took various forms, such as not allowing trips abroad or kibbutz-financed vacations, lower spending on food in the communal dining room, and reducing the number of members sent to study, etc. All of these cutbacks were even more harsh in those kibbutzim in the worst shape, where even their autonomy in day-to-day expenses was severely curtailed. Parallel to these moves, cutbacks in capital spending, particularly in such area as apartments and public buildings, were made.

EQUALITY AND DEMOCRACY. The cutbacks in spending, including the member's personal yearly budget, gave rise to demands in some kibbutzim for a larger share of the kibbutz's total budget to be given to the individual member and his/her family (such as clothing, shoes, furniture, and vacation allowances). This would have entailed a corresponding cutback in public spending, such as for communal dining, education, health, etc. For the first time suggestions were made to allow members to increase their budgetary income by working extra hours in branches that suffered from a manpower shortage.

In a similar vein, a far-reaching demand was made by a new settlement group, Si'on, which had recently joined the UKM and was heading for Kibbutz Bet Oren, which was on the verge of dissolution after passing through an extended social crisis. The group proposed that they would work five days a week in the framework of the kibbutz work regimen, but that on the sixth day each member would decide whether to work and make extra money which could be used as one pleased or to take the day off. All proposals linking extra work to additional income had met with firm opposition by the movement's institutions, and this was the fate of Si'on's proposal: they were told that they would have to give up their plan as a condition for being accepted into the kibbutz federation. The reason for such severe opposition to these kinds of proposals was the principle of separation between the obligation of the kibbutz to satisfy the needs of each member and the amount and quality of the work done by that member. It is precisely this principle which distinguishes the kibbutz from other forms of communal living.

The absence of a link between the function a member fulfills in work or public activity and his or her standard of living and opportunities made it possible to prevent or, at least, to limit the processes of social stratification and polarization. These processes had occurred all too often in egalitarian organizations and had caused the dissolution of cooperative communities in the past.

The simultaneous processes of industrial development, economic expansion, differentiation in levels of education and administration, and the increased importance of the family in the kibbutz social structure created conditions that would appear to encourage stratification. Various studies had shown the existence of differences among members in regard to their influence on kibbutz life and in regard to the esteem in which they were held within the community. At the material level, some members had access to private sources of income from outside the kibbutz, as a result of inheritances, presents from family, and so forth. Nevertheless, one could not point to the crystallization of groups benefiting from special rights or privileges in contrast to other groups who were relatively discriminated against or disadvantaged as a unit. Another important factor in minimizing stratification was the maintenance of the pattern of rotation of leadership and management functions among the membership of the kibbutz and the movement as a whole. The continued operation of the rotation principle was aided by the fact that, although those holding managerial positions have greater power to influence issues during their term, they do not achieve a higher standard of living. In addition they must deal with many difficulties in fulfilling the responsibilities of their positions, due to which they were generally unwilling to continue in their demanding jobs for long periods of time.

In addition there were many members active on the various committees which were responsible for the organization of diverse areas of kibbutz life. In most kibbutzim there was a general assembly every week, although in some cases it was held every two weeks. There were great differences between the kibbutzim in regard to the number of people participating in kibbutz discussions. There seemed to be more participation in those kibbutzim with a higher level of social cohesion and in which the democratic idea was more highly regarded. However, even in kibbutzim where the general assembly was not so highly esteemed as an institution, proposals to replace it with some form of elected council were met with opposition.

In one kibbutz it was actually decided to stop convening the kibbutz assembly, but after a year and a half its meetings were reinstituted. The reason for this is probably that, in a society in which so many of the vital issues in one's private life, such as educational opportunities, personal consumption, and living arrangements, were determined by the community, members were unwilling to give up their right to participate in making such decisions, even if they do not often make use of this right. The kibbutz assembly still had the supreme authority in determining policy in the kibbutz, even though many specific decisions were reached in the committees and only brought before the assembly for ratification. However, the assembly had the authority to overturn any decision of a committee, and each member had the right to bring up any issue for discussion in the assembly. Some aspects of the running of the assembly had changed, and certain issues, especially regarding individuals and families, were voted upon by secret ballot, and in the larger kibbutzim, referenda were conducted outside the kibbutz assembly.

The existence of participatory democracy in all areas of life, together with the maintenance of cooperative consumption, which made possible the separation of the needs of members from their contribution at work or in other activities, had forestalled the emergence of elite social strata. Nevertheless, this was not enough to prevent the continued existence of a certain degree of gender inequality, whose roots were in the division of labor according to sex. Most of those working in the productive branches are men, while in the services and in education mostly women are employed. This inequality exists despite the fact that there is complete economic equality, and membership in the kibbutz is on an individual basis, not familial, as is the case in the moshav. In the past this inequality had expressed itself by the fact that the productive branches had a higher status than the service branches, which were discriminated against from the point of view of budgets and manpower. Later the inequality took the form of the more limited opportunities for women to choose the work that they prefer, which stems from an assumption that work in the services and in education is the main responsibility of women.

Women's lack of experience in economic management, which was usually acquired in those productive branches from which women were largely excluded, was a factor in their low level of representation in managerial positions, such as economic manager, treasurer, or industrial plant manager, all of which are positions with much authority in the running of the kibbutz. In the 1980s, the awareness of women of the existing inequality was heightened, although in earlier periods inequality was also considered a deviation from the values of the kibbutz. In both Kibbutz ha-Arẓi and in the United Kibbutz Movement departments for "Sexual Equality" were set up and worked to increase awareness of the issue, to encourage women to enter professions commonly defined as "for men only," and, conversely, to encourage men to go into those areas of education and services traditionally the domain of women. Overall, there was some progress in the proportion of women fulfilling public positions like secretary of the kibbutz or head of a committee, and the number of women working in industry rose, but there was no meaningful improvement in other areas, particularly those having to do with economic management.

CHANGES IN KIBBUTZ EDUCATION. The greater importance of the family in the kibbutz, the increased involvement in the system of higher education, and the changes in technology and occupational structure caused fundamental changes in the kibbutz educational system.

The greatest change, which was accompanied by much debate, was the changeover to having children sleep at home instead of the children's houses. A few kibbutzim made this change in the 1950s and the 1960s, and it became a legitimate way of life in the former Iḥud ha-Kibbutzim movement. However, only in the 1980s did most of the kibbutzim of the United Kibbutz Movement (which includes the above Iḥud with the former Kibbutz ha-Meuḥad) adopt the new system, while in Kibbutz ha-Arẓi it was given only limited and conditional legitimacy. In the past sleeping in the children's houses was seen as an integral part of the education, where the children's house served as an all-encompassing center for the child, while the parents' home had only a supplementary function. Gradually awareness of the crucial role played by the parents in the educational process grew, and the proponents of home sleeping arrangements saw the changeover as another step in this direction, which, first and foremost, expressed the desire of parents.

In contrast to this approach, those who opposed having the children sleep in their parents' homes asserted that the change in sleeping arrangements would affect the all-embracing character of kibbutz education, which would turn the children's house into merely a "day care center" and would curtail the responsibility of the educators. Other justifications for maintaining the old system were voiced: The change would exacerbate sexual inequality because additional burdens and responsibilities would be placed on mothers. This would in turn have a negative effect on their kibbutz jobs, limit their opportunities for further study, and especially limit their participation in community activities, whether administrative or social.

The growing number of kibbutz-educated children applying for higher academic studies raised the issue of changing the policy of the kibbutz movements, which had previously opposed the high school matriculation tests necessary for entry into Israeli universities. The opposition to these tests was directed at the achievement orientation and competitive factor of the tests, and, in some kibbutzim, the opposition was connected to an unwillingness to introduce graded tests. The opposing view wanted to keep the emphasis on the development of internal motivation to study, on supportive peer opinion as a source of motivation, and on the development of the capacity for independent study in each child.

At first an arrangement was reached with the universities in which a graduate of a kibbutz high school would have to do a preparatory course, usually about a year long, before entering the university. However, due to the difficulties involved in this arrangement, which was only designed to be a temporary solution, almost all the kibbutz schools started to prepare their students for the matriculation certificate, if the students wanted one. In conjunction with the change, efforts were made to preserve the special social foundations of the kibbutz high school by means of an increased emphasis on values and socialization.

Almost all the kibbutz high schools were regional institutions, taking in students from several kibbutzim and sometimes from moshavim and also other children sent there for various reasons. In Kibbutz ha-Arẓi the high schools were also boarding schools (several days of the week) in order to achieve an all-embracing secondary school framework. On the other hand, the primary schools were, until the mid 1980s, based in each individual kibbutz, integrated into the life of the community. However, due to the relatively small size of these schools and as part of the policy of the Ministry of Education, a process began of joining together the primary schools of neighboring kibbutzim and making one area day school. The establishment of the area schools, both primary and especially secondary levels, raised anew the question of the integration of the kibbutz schools with those of the surroundings, the development towns and the moshavim.

Despite the desire of the kibbutzim to maintain their independent framework, which was needed in their opinion in order to educate their children to their special values and way of life, some move in the direction of inter-community integration occurred. A number of schools were set up with the participation of moshavim, arrangements for cooperation with schools in development towns were made, and the absorption of youth groups, often from deprived backgrounds, within the kibbutz schools, continued and were even expanded. Nevertheless, the argument continued between those who favored greater integration to break down the barriers between kibbutz children and other sectors of the population and those who demanded the maintenance of the independent kibbutz framework.

As part of the effort to strengthen the commitment to education for kibbutz and movement values of both youth and adults, the 1980s saw an energetic expansion and utilization of the kibbutz institutions for higher education, which were intended for high school students and for academic studies and research. In the first centers, Efal and Givat Ḥavivah, the range of courses of study were broadened, and research departments were established. The Ruppin Institute, for the training of agricultural and industrial workers and managers, and Oranim, the school for training teachers, and the Kibbutz Seminar in Tel Aviv reached various forms of academic recognition. At the University of Haifa, there was the Institute for Research on the Kibbutz and the Cooperative Idea, which also ran a large number of courses in kibbutz studies in coordination with the Sociology and Anthropology departments. In some areas, at the initiative of the kibbutzim, local colleges were set up to provide academic level studies for the members of the surrounding kibbutzim and moshavim. These were usually connected to universities and the course credits went towards earning a college degree.

THE KIBBUTZ AND ISRAELI SOCIETY. The question of regional cooperation and integration in the field of education was only one aspect of the complex relationships between the kibbutzim and the surrounding settlements, mainly developmental towns and moshavim. The major issue in these relations was their economic connections where the kibbutz-owned regional enterprises had an important function in the area's pattern of employment. These plants whose major task was to process the agricultural produce of the local kibbutzim, employed many hired workers from among the area residents. However, most of the administrative and managerial posts were held by members of kibbutzim. In most areas the moshavim had their own separate regional enterprises. The speed of the development of the area enterprises can be seen from the growth of the number of employees from 5,000 in 1977 to 7,300 in 1982. Afterwards, the rate of growth slowed, partially because of the crisis that hit agriculture all over Israel and also due to a decline in investments, which had already begun during the first period of fast development.

In some areas, e.g., Bet Shean and Kiryat Shemonah, the regional plants became a focus for tensions between some of the hired laborers from the development towns and the kibbutzim, which were exploited for political purposes. Particularly during election campaigns, fierce attacks on the kibbutz movement appeared in the local and national media, which in turn produced widespread effects and responses in Israeli society. Subsequently, all the sides involved made efforts to improve their relations. The local residents were interested in the continued activity and development of the area enterprises as a source of employment, whose importance increased as unemployment rose. From the point of view of the kibbutzim, steps were taken to improve labor relations, to expand the possibilities for advancement for the hired workers, and to push for their participation in profits and in management. Through the initiative of the Histadrut, a program for regional cooperation was developed, which included the encouragement of social and personal connections and joint cultural activities among all the residents of the area.

The relations between the kibbutz and development towns were only one part of the striking changes in the status of the kibbutz within Israeli society as a whole in the 1980s. The most significant change was in the political sphere, when the Likud won the elections for the first time in 1977, and the Alignment (the Labor Party and Mapam), to whom the kibbutz movements were tied, entered the opposition. The quantitative expression of the decline of the political status of the kibbutz movements was in the sharp fall in the number of kibbutz members elected to the Knesset, who usually got there via the

Alignment. Their number dropped from 20 in the First Knesset, to 16 in the Eighth Knesset, which was elected in 1973, and down to eight in the elections of 1977, which brought the great change in Israeli politics. This situation did not change in the Tenth Knesset, despite the improvement in the Alignment's number of seats, and in the Eleventh Knesset there were nine kibbutz members, three from Mapam, four from the Labor party, one in the Citizens' Rights Movement, and one in the Teḥiyyah party on the right.

The decline in status of the kibbutz representatives in the Knesset, as part of the general weakening of the workers' parties, was also reflected in the makeup of the government. Until the upheaval of 1977, there were always a number of ministers who were members of kibbutzim, some of them in central positions, like Yigal Allon and Yisrael Galili, Haim Gvati and Shlomo Rosen. There were no kibbutz members in the Likud governments and only one in the National Unity government. This decline in the power and representation of the kibbutz movement was to be found also in other national frameworks. However, the proportion of kibbutz members in certain areas of national leadership, such as the higher levels of command in the army, in leadership of the Histadrut, and in its Ḥevrat Ovedim economic operations, was still much higher than their proportion of the general Jewish Israeli population.

The kibbutz movement also had an influence in various social and cultural areas beyond its numerical weight. The major youth movements, such as Ha-No'ar ha-Oved ve-ha-Lomed, the Scouts, Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓair, etc., were all connected to and supported by the kibbutz movements. There were also various cultural projects, like the Tzavta clubs and various publishing enterprises which were aimed at the general public of the cities and towns.

Despite these achievements there was a definite decline in the status and prestige of the kibbutz in the eyes of the general Israeli public and a corresponding lowered self-image on the part of kibbutz members in regard to the kibbutz's contribution and role on the national level. It seemed that, in contrast to the clearly high status of the kibbutz before the establishment of the state and in its first years, there arose a lack of consensus about the role which the kibbutz was to fulfill in Israeli society and the state. In the beginning the kibbutz was seen as a pioneering body which fulfilled central tasks in the building up of the people and of the state, such as settlement, defense, and the organization and absorption of immigration, both legal and "illegal." The first changes in this role occurred with the establishment of the State of Israel when many functions previously undertaken by the kibbutzim were transferred to the responsibility of government bodies. In the period after the war of 1967, there seemed to be renewed importance in the kibbutz movement's settlement role, but, after the ascendancy of the Likud, there was an increasing tension between the Likud government's policy of almost exclusive priority to settlements in areas of Judea and Samaria with a dense Arab population and the policy of the kibbutz movements which preferred settlement within the pre-1967 area of Israel.

Certain pronouncements and actions of the Begin-led Likud governments contributed to the creation of an image for the kibbutz movement as just another special-interest group seeking to preserve and strengthen its economic and social positions. The right-wing of Israeli politics sought to minimize the defense, settlement, and social functions which the kibbutzim continued to fulfill. This negative image was reinforced as a result of the kibbutz movement's financial speculations and failures and the economic crisis which caused the United Kibbutz Movement to apply for government aid in restructuring its debts.

In addition, within the kibbutz movement itself tendencies towards isolation were pronounced in regard to activities and relations with the surrounding society, at both the regional and national level. In regard to relations with the neighboring communities, this was the response to the sometimes virulent attacks made during the elections. In the face of a weakened self-image as a pioneering leader of society and the growing perception of the kibbutz as an element that first and foremost takes care of its own needs and interests, a third direction began to take shape.

The new direction placed its emphasis on the continuing connection between the kibbutz and other sectors of Israeli society in order to strengthen the influence of egalitarian and cooperative principles which the kibbutz upheld. Some examples were the following projects, initiated and/or supported by the kibbutz movement: the establishment of "urban kibbutzim," the plan to set up a cooperative city in the Negev, efforts to reform the producer and consumer cooperatives in the city, and the attempt to support the Histadrut's program for participation of workers in the management of its industrial and commercial plants and firms. Only some of these projects bore fruit, but they were an indication of an ongoing commitment of the kibbutz to be involved in Israeli society in ways which were compatible and supportive of its own values. The "urban kibbutzim," in cities and development towns, aimed to taking part in the educational and cultural activities of the residents. The first of these attempts, Kibbutz Reshit ("Beginning") was located in the Bukhara neighborhood of Jerusalem, and its members were active in various aspects of their community's life. There were also two more urban communes, in Bet Shemesh and in Sederot.

The changes in society's view of the kibbutz and the lack of consensus about both its public and self-image were reflected in opinion polls. Between 1978 and 1983 the percent of those polled who expressed a positive attitude towards the kibbutz declined from 62% to 52%. This was not matched by a rise in those who opposed the kibbutz movement, which remained stable at 8% of those polled, but it reflected a rise in those who were indifferent to it. There was a more positive view of the kibbutz among those born in Europe or America, among the more educated and those who were older. The more those polled knew about the kibbutz, the more positive were their attitudes: however, only 44% said that they were well acquainted with the kibbutz, while 40% had never visited a kibbutz even once.

These figures demonstrated the gap between the kibbutz and large segments of the public whose views were largely based on what was said about the kibbutz in the mass media, rather than on first-hand experience. In later, unpublished polls, it seemed that positive attitudes towards the kibbutz were influenced more by people's attitudes towards the egalitarian and cooperative values embodied by the kibbutz than by the demographic characteristics described above. The changes in the attitude of Israeli society towards the kibbutz as well as the changes in the political system influenced the kibbutz movement's actions and policies.

THE KIBBUTZ MOVEMENTS. From the beginning of the kibbutz movement there have been many splits and amalgamations in the movement's organizational forms. Before the establishment of the state, the reasons for the existence of separate movements were mainly the different ideological, social, and economic positions regarding the desired structure of the kibbutz. With the sharpening of the political struggles over the shaping of the state's character after its establishment, the exacerbation of the political debate within the kibbutz movement caused a bitter and painful split in the largest movement at that time, Kibbutz ha-Me'uḥad. A substantial minority of members and kibbutzim split off from Kibbutz ha-Me'uḥad and formed, with another movement, Ḥever ha-Kevuẓot, a new movement, Iḥud ha-Kibbutzim. This split occurred in 1951, and it involved in some cases the physical splitting up into two separate kibbutzim where there had previously been one large settlement. The two separate movements also were connected to different political parties until the parties' unification and the two kibbutz movements formally became united in 1979 as the United Kibbutz Movement (UKM).

The UKM contained within it 167 kibbutzim as of 1987, with a population of 76,560. For the first time in the history of the movement there were only two large kibbutz movements, the second one being Kibbutz ha-Arẓi – Hashomer ha-Ẓa'ir. Kibbutz ha-Arẓi had 83 kibbutzim with a population of 41,500. The smaller religious kibbutz movement, Ha-kibbutz ha-Dati, had 17 kibbutzim and a population of 7,300.

In general the differences that separated the kibbutz movements in the past were decreasing, although there was still some importance attached to traditions of the past. Despite this tendency, Kibbutz ha-Arẓi maintained its own identity and organization. This was due in part to the fact that this movement went through very few splits in the first 50 years of its existence and was relatively more homogeneous. The movement's connection to its political party, the United Workers' Party (Mapam), is collective, and not personal, as in the UKM. Further, Kibbutz ha-Arẓi placed more emphasis on what it saw as the preservation of the original kibbutz values and ways of life. It more strictly opposed hired labor in the kibbutzim, resisted the transfer of various responsibilities from the kibbutz institutions to the family and upheld special educational approaches, e.g., a regional boarding school during the stage of high school education. Kibbutz ha-Arẓi invested more efforts in internal and external, i.e., ideological, activity, and officially supported the *Peace Now extra-parliamentary movement. This movement also maintained a tighter framework for mutual aid, through a "movement tax" among its kibbutzim and for direction of the individual kibbutz's activities by the movement. Although some of the differences became less marked during the 1980s, there did not seem to be any tendencies towards the surrendering of the independent existence of Kibbutz ha-Arẓi. This was reinforced by the breakup of the 20-year-old Alignment between the Labor Party and Mapam after the formation of the 1984 National Unity government, as a result of which Mapam tried to reestablish itself as an independent party in the opposition.

The two large kibbutz movements, along with the smaller religious kibbutz movement, maintained close cooperation in the framework of the Confederation of the Kibbutz Movements, which represented the kibbutz movement as a whole to outside authorities. There were also national and regional frameworks within which joint activities, economic and cultural, took place. This strengthening of cooperation among the kibbutz movements should have contributed to weakening the separate organizational movement frameworks. But with the onset of the economic crisis in the 1980s, the influence of the national movements was greatly strengthened because they were the link between the external financial sources, whether private or governmental, and the individual kibbutzim. The national movements were the means by which most funds were transferred, and, even when an individual kibbutz arranged some of its own financing, it was the financial guarantees of the movement that induced private institutions to give these loans. Finally, it was by means of the national movements that mutual aid was carried out, whereby the weaker and debt-ridden kibbutzim received help from the better-off kibbutzim or from the debt-restructuring program.

It would seem that at this stage inter-movement cooperation based more on ideological and political issues was more significant than regional inter-movement cooperation based more on pragmatic, lower-level economic and social issues.

In the 1980s there was widespread interest in the kibbutz experiment on the part of people and institutions outside of Israel. The beginning of this interest started with the rise of new forms of cooperative and communal living and work in various countries around the world in the late 1960s and the 1970s. This interest was expressed in the convening in Israel of conferences representing cooperative communities and enterprises from around the world, the exchange of delegations between the kibbutz and these different groups. There was cooperation in research on egalitarian communities in Israel and abroad, as well as on cooperative, worker-owned industrial or agricultural enterprises. A special project was established for the study of the kibbutz under the auspices of Harvard University in the U.S. There were attempts to learn from the experience of the kibbutz in its response to the challenges of the technological revolution as it might be applied in smaller productive frameworks while maintaining a priority on the quality of the working life and on environmental protection, along with participatory democracy.

The interest in the kibbutz experience from the viewpoint of its Jewish significance became another focus of interest. On the one hand the kibbutz had created a value-oriented Jewish way of life which was essentially non-religious and, on the other hand, it formed a bridge between Jewish youth in the Diaspora and Israel. Research has shown that the time spent by young people in a kibbutz contributes more to their connection to Israel than their experiences with other aspects of Israeli society. Based on these findings, new forms of short-term programs on kibbutzim for young Jews from abroad were developed, in addition to existing kibbutz ulpanim for the study of Hebrew, visits by youth groups for short periods, or programs of study in kibbutz high schools for Jewish teenagers from Europe and the Americas.

In sum, the 1980s were a period of many changes in the development of the kibbutz movement. Beginning with an accelerated growth of population and economic progress, a crisis arose in the political and economic situation facing the kibbutzim, which now found themselves in serious economic straits, which had a negative effect on many other areas of the communities' way of life.

[Menahem Rosner]

The New Kibbutz

The severe economic crisis faced by the kibbutzim continued into the 1990s. The reasons for the crisis were many: some linked it to changes in Israeli society and the shift from collectivism to individualism; others pointed to internal problems, such as inefficiency and old-fashioned industries and farming techniques, segregation from the wider population, and demographic decline. However, the visible mark of the crisis was the difficulty individual kibbutzim and the kibbutz organizations had in paying their debts. As a consequence, money owed to the banks increased significantly, especially after the government raised interest rates to curb inflation. Despite the government's agreement to restructure the debt, many kibbutzim faced difficulties that led to a momentous change in their way of life.

Many of the kibbutzim instituted changes that distanced them from the traditional kibbutz model but helped them survive the crisis. Among those changes was the separation of industry from the kibbutz, provision of services to the non-kibbutz population (such as swimming pool facilities, apartments to let, etc.), encouraging members to find work outside the kibbutz, hiring nonkibbutz workers, differential salaries among kibbutz members, privatization of services (utilities, food, rent, etc.), new neighborhoods for nonmembers built by private contractors on kibbutz land, and less centralized administration. All these changes moved the kibbutzim from the traditional model to something resembling ordinary community life. Almost all the kibbutzim adopted some of these changes. Today there are three categories of kibbutzim: the collective kibbutz including around 30 kibbutzim that chose to preserve the traditional model; the community kibbutz including kibbutzim that instituted differential salaries; and a third group including kibbutzim still undergoing change.

The economic and social changes in many of the secular kibbutzim, which blurred political differences between the movements, led to the reunification of the United Kibbutz Movement (*UKM*) and Ha-Kibbutz ha-Arẓi ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir into the Kibbutz Movement in 2000. The new Kibbutz Movement represents 260 kibbutzim. Its aims include protecting the rights of the kibbutzim, assisting kibbutzim under change, and remaining involved in the larger Israeli society.

DEMOGRAPHIC PATTERNS. During the 1990s the kibbutzim faced for the first time a decline in population. In 2002 the kibbutz population comprised 1.5 percent of the overall population in Israel. From 1997 to 2002 population figures declined by 2 percent. The permanent population declined by 9%, but this figure was compensated for by temporary residents who rent apartments in the kibbutzim. This decline was reversed in 2003, when for the first time after 19 years the kibbutz population began to grow again. This growth is related to the new way of life in the kibbutzim today, which is more private and less collective. Other reasons relate to the fact that many Israelis prefer to live in a rural community with good educational facilities, so that the new kibbutz neighborhoods are an attractive option.

The decline in population was also due to the aging of the kibbutz population and a sharp decline in birth rates. From 1998 to 2002 there was drop in the number of kibbutz children from 28,606 to 24,055. While in 1998 there were 1,142 births in the kibbutzim, the figure dropped to only 730 in 2002. A major reason for this can be found in the fact that many kibbutz youngsters had left the kibbutz after their army service. Another reason has to do with the general trend toward smaller families out of economic and social considerations, enabling parents to give their children more attention and material benefits.

The decline in the child population directs attention to the main problem of the kibbutzim, namely the aging of the population. The average age of the adult kibbutz population was 55 in 2003 (it was calculated as the mean from 30 up, since most of the population under 30 are temporary residents), compared to the national average of 52. The 25–45 age group in the kibbutzim is proportionately smaller than in the overall population, while the 45+ group is proportionately higher. This means that a small group of working people is responsible for a larger group of older people. This situation is a cause of concern in the kibbutz movement and the kibbutzim invest much effort to attract younger people, e.g., by building the new neighborhood for non-members who wish to live in rural settlements.

The average kibbutz varies from 300 to 400 residents. There have been voices calling for the creation of larger communities of 1,000 to 1,500 residents. These communities will come about by uniting neighboring kibbutzim or by the absorption of newcomers.

ECONOMIC ACTIVITY. Kibbutz agriculture is based on field crops, fruit plantations, dairy cattle, poultry, and fishery. The revenue from agriculture was quite stable between 1997 and 2002, amounting to IS 5 billion in 2002, representing about a third of national farm revenue. Kibbutz agriculture accounted for 70 percent of field crops, 40 percent of livestock, and 20 percent of plantations.

Kibbutz industry includes the following: rubber and plastics; food; metal and machinery; textiles and leather; printing, paper and cardboard; electronics and electricity; construction materials; wood and furniture; and other branches. Kibbutz industry had a 7.5 percent share of the country's industry in 2002, five times its share in the population. The contribution of kibbutz industry to the GDP was 6.5 percent in 2002. The kibbutz plastics industry had a 51% share of the industry as a whole.

Industrial revenues constituted 70 percent of total kibbutz income. In 2002, kibbutz industry operated 333 factories, employing 27,600 workers and recording sales of IS 17.344 billion, up 7.7% 21101. In 1997 gross profit was IS 690 million, dropping to IS 434 million in 1999 but rising to IS 900 million in 2002.

A new source of income, in addition to agriculture and industry, was salaried work outside the kibbutz, with individuals bringing in about IS 1 million in 1997 and IS 1.5 million in 2002.

In 2002 75 kibbutzim earned more than IS 100 million compared with 108 kibbutzim earning less than IS 50 million. Thus, 30% of the kibbutzim were responsible for 47% of total kibbutz income. This demonstrates the differences between kibbutzim, some being quite wealthy while others face bankruptcy.

Figures for the last decade indicate an improvement in the economic situation of the kibbutzim. The total debt decreased from IS 28 billion in 1996 to IS 17 billion in 2002. The improvement can be attributed to the write-off of part of the debt by the government and the economic and social changes that many kibbutzim underwent. Nonetheless, kibbutz per capita income remained lower than the national average.

A CHANGING WAY OF LIFE. Since the 1990s the kibbutzim have undergone vast changes in their way of life. The main cause of the changes was the enormous debt of the kibbutzim to the banks. The changes can be summarized under four heads: changes in the personal budgets of kibbutz members; separation of the sources of livelihood from the community; professional management; external committees.

DIFFERENTIAL SALARIES. Many kibbutzim adopted a system of differential salaries in place of equal budgets for its members. The new system gives each member a salary based on hours worked, education, experience, etc. The majority of the kibbutzim adopted the "security" model, in which pensioners and the elderly receive fixed salaries from the kibbutz, while the working population is responsible for making its own living. A different system, "the combined model," is based on quasi-differential distribution that takes into account number of years in the kibbutz and hours worked. The latter system seeks to distribute income in a more equal way. It is worth noting that 93 kibbutzim chose to maintain the traditional model, in which members receive an equal budget.

SEPARATION BETWEEN SOURCES OF LIVELIHOOD AND THE COMMUNITY. In this system kibbutz members become shareholders in kibbutz businesses, which are managed outside the community framework, like private enterprises anywhere.

PROFESSIONAL MANAGEMENT. Until the 1990s the kibbutzim were managed by an elected secretariat composed of kibbutz members. In recent years this has changed. Many kibbutzim failed to find suitable candidates from among their members and hired professionals from outside the kibbutz. The manager's job is to lead the kibbutz into a new era and successfully implement changes. Two-thirds of the kibbutzim were already operating under such management in the first years of the 21st century.

EXTERNAL COMMITTEES. A small group of kibbutzim (28) were managed by external committees, given authority to manage the kibbutz when it faced severe crises. The external committee manages the kibbutz for up to a year in order to enable kibbutz members to assume responsibility again.

[Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

Into the 21st Century

The kibbutz at the outset of the 21st century, which had once represented for many the essence of Israel, was thus far removed from what it had once been, just as Israeli society was. Stripped of ideology, losing its special qualities, it was rapidly becoming another habitat in an environment geared to satisfy personal ambition. Its place, however, in the history of Zionist settlement was assured. Not only did it contribute the sheer muscle power that reclaimed the land, it had also created the ethos that sustained the nation. Without it the Zionist enterprise could hardly have succeeded.

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KIBEL, WOLF (1903–1938), South African painter. Son of a cantor of Godzisk near Warsaw, Kibel was orphaned in boyhood but his artistic talent attracted the attention of a visiting artist who befriended him. In 1926 he went to Vienna, lived in poverty, but was helped by patrons to obtain some formal training and enabled to go to Palestine where he came under the influence of modern expressionism. In 1929 he emigrated to Cape Town, South Africa. There the strength and individuality of his style and his artistic integrity received quick recognition from fellow artists, but it was only toward the end of his life that his paintings in various media began to find their way into public galleries and private collections. Tinged with the melancholy of his own suffering and the tragedy of his people, Kibel's work was also marked by a sensitive humanity and joy in the common things of life. His life was a constant struggle against poverty and ill health, and he died in Cape Town of tuberculosis brought on by years of malnutrition.

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[Louis Hotz]

KI-BUKH ("Book of Cows"), anonymous 16th-century Yiddish fable collection. First mentioned in the *Mayse-Bukh* (1602) as a morally corrupting book, the collection comprises 35 tales (each accompanied by an explicitly framed "moral of the story"), deriving from two fable traditions: the Aesopic (the sources of which were *Berechiah ben Natronai ha-Nakdan's late 12th- or early 13th-century Hebrew *Mishlei Shu'alim* and Ulrich Boner's *Edelstein* (1461)) and the Arabic *maqama*. Most of the fables in the *Ki-Bukh* are longer than their sources and tend toward humor, earthiness, and an interest in the details of Jewish daily life of the time, while emanating the comparatively liberal tonality characteristic of 16th-century Yiddish literature composed in Northern Italy. The collection provides corroborative evidence of the persistent popularity of didactic fable in the Jewish literary tradition during the period. The condemnation of the book as morally corrupting so soon after its initial publication indicates its great popularity. While the date of the first edition remains unclear (1555?), the first extant edition is Verona 1595. The number of woodcuts included in the book is little less than astonishing: 83 in 67 folios. With some relatively minor omissions and (anti-liberal) revisions, Moses b. Menassah Eliezer b. Moses Wallich's *Seyfer Mesholim* (1697) is a reprint of the *Ki-Bukh*.

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[Jerold C. Frakes (2nd ed.)]

KIDD, MICHAEL (born **Milton Greenwald**) (1919–), U.S. dancer and stage and film choreographer. Kidd studied at the school of the American Ballet in New York. His debut as dancer was in *The Eternal Road* (1937). He was a member of the American Ballet and toured with Lincoln *Kirstein's Ballet Caravan and as a soloist and assistant director of Dance Players before joining Ballet Theater in 1942. He was noted for comic and character roles in Eugene Loring's *Billy the Kid* and Jerome Robbins' *Fancy Free*. He choreographed his first ballet, *On Stage!*, in 1945. Over five decades Kidd created winsome and imaginative dances for the Broadway stage and Hollywood musicals. He also choreographed for television, including the television special *Baryshnikov in Hollywood* (1982). For the movies Kidd choreographed *Where's Charley* (1949), *Seven Brides for Seven Brothers* (1954), and *Hello, Dolly* (1969).

As he approached his sixtieth birthday Kidd capped a vital career in the theater with superb performances as a comic actor.

Kidd received Antoinette Perry Awards for the choreography in the musicals *Finian's Rainbow* (1947), *Guys and Dolls* (1951), *Can-Can* (1953), *Li'l Abner* (1956), and *Destry Rides Again* (1959).

[Amnon Shiloah (2nd ed.)]

KIDDUSH (Heb. קִדּוּשׁ, lit. "sanctification," derived from *kaddesh* (קַדֵּשׁ; lit. "to sanctify")), prayer recited over a cup of wine in the home and the synagogue to consecrate the Sabbath or festival in fulfillment of the biblical commandment to "Remember the Sabbath day, to keep it holy" (Ex. 20:8; Pes. 106a). Although women are exempt from performing positive precepts whose execution is bound to a specific time, they are obliged to observe the sanctification of the Sabbath because the Talmud maintains that the phrases "Remember the Sabbath" (Ex. 20:8) and "Observe the Sabbath" (Deut. 5:12) include women. "Whoever has to 'observe' has to 'remember'; and since the women have to 'observe' [by performing no work] they also have to 'remember'" (Ber. 20b). The primary *Kiddush* is recited on the eve of the Sabbath or festival before the start of the meal, since it is forbidden to eat on these occasions until *Kiddush* has been recited (Pes. 105a).

The text of the current Sabbath *Kiddush* consists of an introductory paragraph from Genesis 1:31 and 2:1–3; the blessing over wine; and the blessing for the sanctification of the day which concludes with "Blessed art Thou, O Lord, Who hallowest the Sabbath" (Hertz, Prayer, 409). The introductory scriptural passage is omitted on festivals and only the blessings over wine and over the sanctification of the day are recited. The blessing sanctifying the day for a festival concludes with "Blessed art Thou, O Lord, Who hallowest Israel and the festive seasons" (Hertz, Prayer, 811). The schools of Shammai and Hillel differed as to whether the benediction over the sanctity of the day or that over the wine is recited first (Ber. 8:1). On all full festivals, except for the last days of Passover, the *She-Heḥeyanu* blessing, thanking God for having "kept us in life… and enabling us to reach this season" is recited at the conclusion of the *Kiddush*. When a festival immediately follows the Sabbath, a special benediction celebrating the termination of the Sabbath (**Havdalah*) is added. While it is preferable to chant the evening *Kiddush* over wine (Pes. 107a), two loaves of bread may be used where wine is not obtainable (Sh. Ar., OḤ 272:9).

Although there can be no proper recitation of the *Kiddush* except prior to the meal and at the place the meal will be eaten, the custom of also reciting the prayer at the conclusion of the Sabbath evening services in the synagogue gradually evolved. Despite the opposition of some rabbis, the practice was defended on the ground that at one time travelers were housed and fed in a room adjoining the synagogue. The travelers therefore discharged their obligation to sanctify the Sabbath through the public recitation of the *Kiddush* (Pes. 101a). Reciting the *Kiddush* in the synagogue has been retained only in the Ashkenazi ritual, except in Israel where the *Kiddush* is no longer recited as part of any synagogal rite.

Along with the principal evening *Kiddush*, the rabbis instituted a minor *Kiddush*, euphemistically called the "Great *Kiddush*" (Pes. 106a), to be recited on the morning of the Sabbath or festival before the first meal. This *Kiddush* consists of the recitation of some biblical verses referring to the Sabbath or festival, followed by the benediction over wine (Hertz, Prayer, 565). When no beverage is available, the prayer is recited over two loaves of bread (Sh. Ar., OḤ 289:1–2 and *Magen Avraham* ad loc.). Strong drink other than wine also may be used for the morning *Kiddush*, as may any beverage which is considered *ḥemer ha-medinah* ("national beverage").

For the development of the *Kiddush* text during the talmudic period see J. Heinemann, *Ha-Tefillah bi-Tekufat ha-Tanna'im ve-ha-Amora'im*, 37ff., 62.

The *Kiddush* ceremony, an integral part of Orthodox and Conservative practice, has also been retained by Reform Judaism. The Saturday morning *Kiddush* has often assumed new importance in the modern synagogue since it is often sponsored by the congregation and also serves as a communal social hour.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Abrahams, Companion, 139–41, 169f., 194; Idelsohn, Liturgy, 132f., 154; Eisenstein, Dinim, 355f.

[Aaron Rothkoff]

KIDDUSH HA-ḤAYYIM ("sanctification of life"), term first attributed to Rabbi Isaac *Nissenbaum, a Zionist rabbi in the Warsaw ghetto, which sought to differentiate between the classical response of Jewish martyrdom, **kiddush ha-Shem*, the sanctification of the Divine Name, and the imperative of the hour, to spiritually resist the Nazis and their intention of annihilating the Jewish people by remaining alive. Nissenbaum wrote: "In the past our enemies demanded our soul and the Jew sacrificed his body in sanctifying God's name. Now the enemy demands the body of the Jew. That makes it imperative for the Jew to defend it and protect it."

Primo *Levi, the great Italian Jewish writer and survivor of Auschwitz, argued that had the lagers lasted longer they would have had to invent a vocabulary of their own, new words to describe an unprecedented situation. "Our language lacks words to express this offense, the demolition of a man." That was true not only for life inside the camps but for the unprecedented circumstances of Jews in German-occupied Europe during the time when the "Final Solution" was the operative German policy. Literary students of the Holocaust Lawrence Langer and Terrence Des Pres invented new words to describe what the perpetrators did to their victims. For Langer, the term was "choiceless choices" and for Des Pres "excremental assault." These were the circumstances in which Jews were placed by the killers. But how were Jews to respond?

Two such concepts developed by which the Jews described their own behavior, their own choice of response. *Iberleben*, the determination to outlive the enemy, to survive and to endure and to deny the Nazis the victory of one more Jew's demise. For Nissenbaum, the language he chose was religious. He understood that the circumstances were unprecedented and therefore the response required was also unprecedented. It demanded a language all its own. Other rabbis pushed for the same response, but saw it in continuity with the previous tradition of *kiddush ha-Shem*. Thus, Rabbi Abraham Isaac Goldberg of Zelichowo admonished his Jews: "every Jew that remains alive sanctifies the name of God among many [*ba-rabbim*]." Nissenbaum chose a new language, in part to stress the uniqueness of the Nazi's murderous intention. They did not want the conversion of the Jews nor their expulsion, but their annihilation and thus life itself was a form of defiance of their ultimate wish. Israeli Holocaust scholar Shaul Esh termed this "The Dignity of the Destroyed" in an article of that title.

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[Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

KIDDUSH HA-SHEM AND ḤILLUL HA-SHEM (Heb. קִדּוּשׁ הַשֵּׁם וְחִלּוּל הַשֵּׁם). The antithetical terms *kiddush ha-Shem* ("sanctification of the [Divine] Name") and *ḥillul ha-Shem* ("defamation of the [Divine] Name") are complementary antonyms and denote the two aspects of one of the most significant concepts in Judaism. They imply, respectively, the glorification of the God of Israel and the diminution of His honor. The specific terms are rabbinic; the concepts themselves, however, are biblical in origin and are included among the 613 commandments: "Ye shall keep My commandments and do them: I am the Lord. Ye shall not profane My holy Name; but I will be hallowed among the children of Israel; I am the Lord who hallow you" (Lev. 22:31, 32). The entire people was subject to these principles, although the priests were especially cautioned to avoid *ḥillul ha-Shem* (Lev. 21:6; 22:2).

In the Bible

Two patterns of thought are discernible in the biblical conception of *kiddush ha-Shem* and *ḥillul ha-Shem*. One considers God as the primary actor, while Israel remains passive; the other regards the Israelites as the initiators of either the sanctification or the desecration of God's Name. The first is fully crystallized in Ezekiel (chs. 20, 36, 39), for whom the sanctification of the Name is essentially an act of the Lord bestowed upon Israel before the onlooking nations of the world. The Name is sanctified when God wondrously redeems Israel and the gentiles behold the vindication of the divine promise and are moved to worship Him. Inversely, if the Lord visits privation or exile upon Israel, or suffers the people to remain in captivity, the nations question God's strength or faithfulness, and the Name is thus defamed. This general rubric holds true for Ezekiel (with the exception of 20:39) and for most instances of *kiddush ha-Shem* in the Pentateuch.

According to the second view, man is responsible for God's honor in the eyes of the world. Moses and Aaron were punished because of their failure to sanctify God's Name (Num. 20:12; Deut. 32:51). God's Name must be sanctified not only before the gentiles but in the eyes of Israel as well (*ibid.*, and Lev. 22:32). Jeremiah accuses his countrymen of profaning God's Name when they circumvent the law and emancipate their slaves only to capture and enslave them again (34:16). Amos condemned extortion from the poor and immorality as *ḥillul ha-Shem* (2.7).

Rabbinic Literature

The rabbinic tradition laid more emphasis on the personal-ethical than on the national-redemptive significance of the concept. It developed especially the second view of the biblical theme: human initiative, and a wider designation so as to include Jews as well as non-Jews. It could even be performed in private with no one present, as in the case of Joseph who, by restraining himself in the face of temptation, fulfilled the sanctification of God's Name (Sot. 36b). This does not mean that the rabbis entirely ignored *kiddush ha-Shem* and *ḥillul ha-Shem* as divine acts. When God decided to visit destruction indiscriminately on both the righteous and the wicked of Sodom, Abraham protested that this would be *ḥillul ha-Shem* (Gen. R. 49:9). Were God to have permitted Absalom to slay his father David, His Name would have been publicly profaned (Sanh. 107a). The punishment of the righteous for their sins, relative to their own high standards, is divine *kiddush ha-Shem* (Sifra to Shemini 45d; Zev. 115b).

The sanctification of God's Name before gentiles was always a potent element in the folk understanding of the concept. The rabbis, however, for the most part, concerned themselves with the active role of man in the drama of bestowing glory upon, or detracting from, the honor of God. This human initiative in *kiddush ha-Shem* could be consummated in three different ways: martyrdom, exemplary ethical conduct, and prayer.

MARTYRDOM. The readiness to sanctify God's Name has its most dramatic expression in the willingness to die a martyr, and since tannaitic times the term *kiddush ha-Shem* also denotes martyrdom (see below Historical Aspects). When a person willingly suffers death rather than violate one of three specific commandments (see below) he achieves *kiddush ha-Shem*; if he fails to do so in these cases, or in other instances where the *halakhah* demands martyrdom, he is guilty of *ḥillul ha-Shem* (Av. Zar. 27b; Sanh. 74a, b). On the verses, "Ye shall not profane My holy Name,… I am the Lord who hallow you, brought you out of the land of Egypt, to be your God: I am the Lord" (Lev. 22:32, 33), the rabbis taught: "On this condition did I bring you out of the land of Egypt that you submit yourselves to sanctify My Name, that I be your God even by force; I the Lord am faithful to grant you your reward" (Sifra, Emor, Perek 9). Since the second century, "to die for the sanctification of the Name" has been the accepted idiom for dying a martyr's death. A martyr was, appropriately, called a *kadosh*, one who is holy. In time, this honorific was extended and applied as well to those who died solely because they were Jewish even without their consciously offering up their lives for religious purposes (Moshe Lamm, *Darkah shel ha-Yahadut be-Mavet u-ve-Avelut* (2005), 221–222.) A child, growing up in the Jewish tradition, was exposed to the concept of martyrdom as an ideal. From his earliest youth he was taught stories about martyrs, e.g., *Hannah and her seven sons, R. *Akiva and the other of the *ten martyrs; the latter in the form of a lamentation is part of the synagogue service on the *Day of Atonement and on the Ninth of *Av. Hananiah, Mishael, and Azariah (Dan. 3) are held up by the rabbis as models of conduct in the sanctification of the Name (Pes. 53b).

At the famous rabbinical council in *Lydda (second century), the laws of martyrdom were formulated. *Kiddush ha-Shem* was declared obligatory in the case of three commandments and a person had to suffer death rather than violate them: idolatry, unchastity (*gillui arayot*: including incest, adultery, and, under certain circumstances, any infraction of the code of sexual morality), and murder (Sanh. 74a). One should violate all other commandments rather than suffer death. Should a Jew, however, in the presence of ten other Jews, be coerced into transgressing these other laws in order to demonstrate his apostasy, he must sanctify God's Name and choose death. If ten Jews are not present, he should transgress rather than be killed. These rules hold for "normal" times. In times of religious persecution of the entire community, however, one must choose to die for *kiddush ha-Shem* even if no other Israelites are present, and one must not violate any commandment, including minor customs which are distinctively Jewish (Maim. Yad, Yesodei ha-Torah, 5:3). Martyrdom rather than violation, when transgression is permissible, became a point of discussion; the *halakhah* had to decide between two opposing principles – that of sanctifying God's Name versus that of preserving life ("and he shall live by them" (Lev. 18:5), i.e., the commandments). According to Maimonides, a person who chose *kiddush ha-Shem* where the law decides for life is culpable (Maim. *ibid.*, 5:1); others consider such voluntary martyrdom praiseworthy (Tos. Av. Zar. 27b). The Ashkenazi talmudists were instinctual rather than rationalistic in their attitude to martyrdom – an attitude characteristic of most of medieval German Jewry. The tosafists reacted negatively to the problem as it is viewed in the *halakhah*. They recoiled – "Heaven forbid!" – from such formal halakhic reasoning that does not require martyrdom of a person forced to worship an idol in private, and they demanded obligatory *kiddush ha-Shem* (Tos. Av. Zar. 54a).

Among modern halakhic authorities, the question whether an individual should sacrifice his life in order to save the entire community is a point of contention. Rabbi A.I. Kook considered it obligatory as an emergency measure (*Mishpat Kohen* (1966^2), no. 143). Others regarded such action as meritorious but not mandatory (J.J. Weinberg, *Seridei Esh*, 1 (1961), 303–16). The problem arose often during the Holocaust in Europe. In one typical responsum of this period, the question was asked whether (considering the danger to the emissary who might be imprisoned and killed) a particular rabbi should accept his mission of approaching the Lithuanian henchmen of the Nazi authorities in Kovno in 1941 in order to release certain Jews. The answer was that he may not be ordered to accept the mission but he should do so as an act of piety; he did, and subsequently survived (E. Oshry, *Mi-Ma'amakim*, 2 (1963), responsum no. 1). The same work also includes a discussion on a contemporaneous practical problem: the wording of the blessing to be recited upon being martyred for the sanctification of God's Name (*ibid.*, no. 4). The question was first raised by R. Isaiah ha-Levi *Horowitz (16th–17th centuries) who initially was reluctant to sanction a blessing over the *mitzvah* of martyrdom because one should not seek out a situation which would require him to surrender his life. Later, however, he agreed to the blessing over *kiddush ha-Shem*.

The sages of the Talmud were divided in their opinions as to whether gentiles are required to sanctify God's Name. *Abbaye held that a non-Jew who is forced to violate one of the seven Noachide laws is not obligated to suffer *kiddush ha-Shem*; *Rava maintained that he is (Sanh. 74b). The accepted ruling is that non-Jews are not required to sanctify the Name (TJ, Shev. 4:3, 35b; Maim. Yad, Melakhim, 10:2). According to some authorities, however, a gentile must perform *kiddush ha-Shem* rather than be forced to commit murder (*Mishneh le-Melekh*, to Yad, *ibid.*).

ETHICAL CONDUCT. The ideal of man's initiative in sanctifying God's Name beyond the strict requirements of the law was developed by rabbinic tradition in the area of ethical conduct. When *Simeon b. *Shetaḥ bought an ass from an Arab and his servants were delighted at finding a jewel hanging from its neck, he at once returned the gem to its owner, who cried out, "Blessed be the God of the Jews Who renders His people so scrupulous in their dealings with other men" (TJ, BM., 2:5, 8c). His supererogatory conduct is considered *kiddush ha-Shem.* Joshua kept his oath to the Gibeonites, though they exacted it from him by fraud (Git. 46a). Moral acts such as Joseph's restraint in the face of temptation and Judah's public confession of his relations with Tamar are also considered *kiddush ha-Shem* (Sot. 10b).

The designation of an unethical act as *ḥillul ha-Shem* proved a powerful deterrent. The punishment for such is immediate, even if the sin was unintentional (Shab. 33a); it is the most heinous of all sins (TJ, Ned. 3:14, 38b) and only death can atone for it (Yoma 86a). According to R. Akiva, there is no forgiveness at all for it (ARN^1 39).

In the Talmud, the concepts of *kiddush ha-Shem* and *ḥillul ha-Shem* are discussed with reference to stealing from a non-Jew (BK 113a–b). According to R. Akiva, the law itself prohibits this, and thus protects all property, whether of a Jew or non-Jew. R. Ishmael, however, holds that biblical law applies formally only to the relation of Jews with fellow Jews. The protection of non-Jews, therefore, requires a supplementary principle, that of *kiddush ha-Shem*. Hence, ethical perfection beyond the minimum standards of the law itself becomes law, that of sanctifying the Name: reflecting honor upon God and the Torah by striving for moral excellence. Although medieval talmudists almost unanimously decided in favor of R. Akiva, they had to use the themes of *kiddush ha-Shem* and *ḥillul ha-Shem* to plug occasional loopholes in the formal law. They often cited the Tosefta (BK 10:15) that stealing from a non-Jew is a worse crime than stealing from a Jew, since the former includes *ḥillul ha-Shem* as well as "ye shall not steal."

Kiddush ha-Shem imposes special and exacting standards of conduct on the scholar. He must, for instance, pay his debts promptly, never cause embarrassment to his colleagues, not walk four cubits without *tallit* or *tefillin*, and not overindulge in merrymaking (Yoma 86a; Av. Zar. 28a; Maim. Yad, Yesodei ha-Torah, 5:11).

While the ethical moment is quite strong in *kiddush ha-Shem*, the latter should not be interpreted exclusively as moral behavior toward others. *Kiddush ha-Shem* includes martyrdom for any of a number of reasons: refusing to worship an idol, under certain conditions circumcising one's son or studying Torah or abiding by the dietary laws. In all these cases, it is not necessarily a question of performance in the presence of non-Jews. The *halakhah* considers any consciously rebellious act against God as *ḥillul ha-Shem* (Maim. *ibid.*, 5:10). The principal motif of *kiddush ha-Shem* is religious and this includes the ethical dimension; the aim of the latter is not so much to teach the world morality as to increase the respect of the world for the morality of Judaism (H.G. Friedman, see bibliography). Principally, *kiddush ha-Shem* seeks to demonstrate to Jew and non-Jew alike the power of the Jewish commitment to God and to Torah.

PRAYER. *Kiddush ha-Shem* also found expression in prayer. This took two forms. One was in a liturgical declaration of readiness to accept martyrdom if necessary: "'Nay, but for Thy sake are we killed all the day; we are accounted as sheep for the slaughter' (Ps. 44:23). Is it then possible to be 'killed all the day?' When one takes upon himself to sanctify His great Name every day, he is accounted as 'sheep for the slaughter'" (Sif. Deut. 6:5). Similarly, when reciting the *Shema*, a person must spiritually intend the readiness to offer himself for *kiddush ha-Shem* (Zohar, Num. 195b). Second, the recital of the prayer is itself regarded as an act of sanctification of God's Name. A number of such liturgical expressions of *kiddush ha-Shem* have been found in the Merkabah literature (G. Scholem, *Jewish Gnosticism, Merkabah Mysticism, and Talmudic Tradition* (1965^2), Appendix C).

Two formal prayers stand out in this respect: the *Kedushah* and the *Kaddish*. The *Kedushah* is based on the Song of the Seraphim in Isaiah 6:1–3. The more esoteric *Kedushah*, recited before the *Shema*, refers to the praise of God by the angels, while the *Kedushah* of the *Amidah* prayer speaks of Israel sanctifying God's Name. The more esoteric *Kedushah*, recited before the *Shema*, refers to the praise of God by the angels, while the *Kedushah* of the Amidah prayer speaks of Israel sanctifying God's Name. The latter is parallel to and perhaps surpasses the *Kedushah* of the angels, adding a cosmic element to the theme of *kiddush ha-Shem*. The Zohar (Lev. 93a) considers the key verse "I will be hallowed among the children of Israel" (Lev. 22:32) as the source and warrant for the *Kedushah*.

In the *Kaddish*, the key parts refer quite literally to the "sanctification" of the "Name." At a comparatively early period, the *Kaddish* was already ascribed to the biblical source of *kiddush ha-Shem* (Zedekiah b. Abraham ha-Rofe, *Shibbolei ha-Leket*, ed. S.K. Mirsky (1966), 149–50). The absence of any specific Divine Name in this prayer, and the emphasis on the "Name" as such, has been thought by some scholars to have been deliberate, in order to emphasize its idiomatic affinity to the biblical "*kiddush ha-Shem.*" It has been suggested that the *Kaddish* was originally recited by martyrs who, at the threshold of death, declared the sanctification of God's Name and consoled the bereaved onlookers by speaking of the redemption and the Messiah "in your lifetime and in your days" (J. Kaufman, *Midreshei Ge'ullah* (1954^2), 58 n. 12, quoting Ḥ.N. Bialik). S.Y. Agnon's interpretation carries the impact of poetic truth, if not historic accuracy: the orphan's recitation of the *Kaddish* (*Samukh ve-Nireh, "Petiḥah le-Kaddish"*), is a kind of consolation to God who sustained a double *ḥillul ha-Shem* – His Name both diminished and desecrated by the loss of even a single soldier (who as a human being is irreplaceable) in the legions of the Almighty; hence, the prayer that the injured Name be *magnified* and *sanctified.* R. Joseph B. *Soloveitchik writes movingly that "through the *Kaddish* we hurl defiance at death and its fiendish conspiracy against man. [The mourner] declares more or less the following: no matter how powerful death is … no matter how black one's despair is … we declare and profess publicly and solemnly that we are not giving up, that we are not surrendering, that we will carry on the work of our ancestors as if nothing had happened, that we will be satisfied with nothing less than the full realization of the ultimate goal – the establishment of God's kingdom ("Aninut and Avelut," in: David Shatz, B. Wolowelsky, and Reuven Ziegler (eds.),*Out of the Whirlwind: Essays on Morality, Suffering, and the Human Condition* (2003), p. 5).

[Norman Lamm]

Kiddush Hashem: Historical Aspects

The concept of *kiddush ha-Shem* has thus always been implicit in the Judaic faith and view of life. Its first explicit expression occurred during the confrontation of Judaism with *Hellenism, the first pagan culture with "missionary" and synthesizing tendencies. The Book of Daniel tells about the three "Jewish men" – Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed-Nego – who disobeyed a royal command to worship an idol and endangered their lives. Under *Antiochus Epiphanes Hellenization employed violent and coercive methods in regard to Jews. After the victorious revolt of the Hasmoneans, a Jew in the Hellenistic Diaspora recorded the martyrdom of an old man, little children, and their mother who had died for their faith:

> Eleazar, one of the principal scribes,… of a noble countenance, was compelled to eat swine's flesh … Now those in charge of that forbidden sacrificial feast took the man aside, for the sake of old acquaintance, and privately urged him to bring some flesh of his own providing, such as he was lawfully allowed to use, and to pretend he was really eating of the sacrifice which the king had ordered, so that in this way he might escape death and be kindly treated for the sake of their old friendship. But he with a high resolve, worthy of his years and of the dignity of his descent … and, still more, of the holy laws divinely ordained, spoke his mind accordingly:… "It ill becomes our years to dissemble," said he, "and thus lead many younger persons to imagine that Eleazar in his ninetieth year has gone over to a heathenish religion … for the mere sake of enjoying this brief and momentary life … Even were I for the moment to evade the punishment of men, I should not escape the hands of the Almighty in life or in death … I will … leave behind me a noble example to the young how to die willingly and nobly on behalf of our reverend and holy laws." With these words he stepped forward at once to the instrument of torture, while those who a moment before had been friendly turned against him, deeming his language to be that of a sheer madman…. Under the strokes of torture, he groaned out: "The Lord who has holy knowledge understandeth that, although I might have been freed from death, I endure cruel pains in my body from scourging and suffer this gladly in my soul, because I fear Him" (II Macc. 6:18–30; Charles, Apocrypha, 140).

The basic ideals motivating *kiddush ha-Shem* are thus set out at this early stage: personal nobility and courage, a categorical refusal to employ any form of dissimulation or live an undercover existence, and readiness to undergo bodily and spiritual torture in the full knowledge that this behavior may appear sheer madness to those who inflict it. Hannah, "the mother of the Maccabees" according to Christian tradition, exhorts her seven sons in a similar way not to be afraid of either hangmen or death. These figures became the prototypes for and symbols of martyrdom and martyrs in both Judaism and Christianity. The Fourth Book of Maccabees is almost entirely a philosophical sermon on the meaning and glory of *kiddush ha-Shem* in Hellenistic times.

Whereas in the Christian and Muslim interpretation the Jewish *kiddush ha-Shem* became an act of mainly individual martyrdom, the lot of saints chosen by God for their individual path of suffering – and (in Christianity) their participation in the mystery of Crucifixion, the martyred saints following Christ on the cross – in Judaism *kiddush ha-Shem* remained a task set for each and every Jew to fulfill if the appropriate moment came. It found logical expression in the readiness to die as a son of the Chosen People. In the war against Rome of 66–70/73, whole communities committed suicide as a culmination of their fight against alien power. Thus, in the many trials of revolt and war in which Jews were tested, from the wars of liberation of the Maccabees up to the failure of the revolts against the Romans both in Ereẓ Israel and the Diaspora, *kiddush ha-Shem* acted as a motivating force giving meaning to the struggle of the Jewish warriors, strength of endurance under cruel torture by victors, and offering suicide as a way out of submission and slavery. The famous mass suicide at *Masada was inspired more by the conception of *kiddush ha-Shem* as a commandment, and a proud refusal to submit to the Roman enemy, than by the philosophical argumentations that Josephus, an arch enemy of the self-sacrificing *Zealots, put in the mouths of the defenders of Masada.

As if referring to an everyday, ordinary incident, one of the *tannaim* describes "those who dwell in the land of Israel and risk their lives for the sake of the commandments: 'Why are you being led out to be decapitated?' 'Because I circumcised my son to be an Israelite.' 'Why are you being led out to be burned?' 'Because I read the Torah.' 'Why are you being led out to be crucified?' 'Because I ate the unleavened bread.' 'Why are you getting a hundred lashes?' 'Because I performed the ceremony of the *lulav*.' These wounds caused me to be beloved of my Father in heaven" (Mekh. Ba-Ḥodesh, 6). They were conscious that this behavior appeared strange to the gentiles who asked the Jews: What is the nature of your God that "you are so ready to die for Him, and so ready to let yourselves be killed for Him … you are handsome, you are mighty, come and intermingle with us" (Mekh. Shirata, 3). *Samaritans also chose the Jewish path of *kiddush ha-Shem* in the course of their revolts and sufferings for the Torah and its truth as they conceived it.

MIDDLE AGES. The ideology of *kiddush ha-Shem* and devotion to it as crystallized in antiquity continued and strengthened in the Middle Ages. Christian persecution and the humiliation meted out to Jews intensified the underlying wish to safeguard individuality, and fortified the ethic of *kiddush ha-Shem* in the struggle to preserve their national identity and freedom to profess their faith. For Jews living in the lands of their enemies *kiddush ha-Shem* became the only convincing way of asserting when faced with Christian missionary coercion that if they were not to be permitted to live openly as Jews they chose not to live at all. Surrounded by feudal warriors and the feudal mode of fighting, torn from their country and appearing as aliens everywhere, for Jews *suicide as *kiddush ha-Shem* was in many cases the only way in which they could exemplify and give expression to human courage. When confronted by brute force, Jews tried to defend themselves wherever and however they could; however, since they often failed, as was inevitable in the case of a small minority, readiness to die was the only way of maintaining a lofty exemplar for Jewish existence. Where Christian knights ruled through their warrior techniques and conformed to their specific knightly scale of values, Jews, influenced involuntarily by this spirit, could hold their own – both in point of physical survival and more importantly from the spiritual and psychological aspect – only through ultimate readiness to face the supreme sacrifice.

In the 11th century the conception of holy war became predominant in Western Christian thought. Popular religious feeling in the West became more fanatical and was often connected with social unrest. Even before the beginning of the *crusades, cases of suicide to avoid forced conversion to Christianity are recorded. The suicide of Jews in the tenth century in southern Italy for the sake of their faith is described by contemporaries as "pure total burnt offering" (*olah temimah*). In the spring of 1096 many of the participants in the First Crusade conceived that their armed pilgrimage to free the sepulcher of Jesus logically demanded either the extinction of the Jewish religion in Christian countries or the annihilation of those Jews who would not accept Christianity. In the atmosphere of holy war many Jews believed that the glory of the Lord and the honor of their Law would be debased if they did not bear witness for them by open and public proclamation of their abiding truth in a chivalrous manner. Thus, through the curious workings of historic irony the Christian crusading venture and Jewish martyrdom by *kiddush ha-Shem* each became in its own particular way expressions of a holy war waged for the glory of God.

During the crusading onslaught on them in 1096 the communities of the Rhine district sacrificed themselves for their faith in this spirit. Those who remained alive related the sacrifices of the martyrs in the same spirit. Thousands of Jews lost their lives in the course of those terrible months; a few of the victims fell in direct battle, and the majority perished through suicides of whole families. In the chronicles of the massacres of the First Crusade and the threnodies composed on the martyrs the ideology of *kiddush ha-Shem* is reformulated. A mother in Mainz is related as having said that she killed her children as sacrifices to God to fulfill His commandment to be "whole with him" (*liheyot temimim immo*) (A.M. Habermann (ed.), *Sefer Gezerot Ashkenaz ve-Ẓarefat* (1945), 34), thus tacitly framing a condemnation of forced converts leading a halfhearted underground existence as **anusim*. The writings about these acts employ the ancient symbols of aggadic literature – **Akedah*, *Abraham's bosom, and the divine light which will be vouchsafed to the martyrs, and stress the open challenge offered to the crusaders by the Jews who proclaimed the superiority of their faith over Christianity. The silence of the sources sometimes bears eloquent testimony to the conception of *kiddush ha-Shem* as the Jewish way of waging the holy war: the pillage and robbery, loss of property and homes that accompanied the attacks are only hinted at, while the motives of the crusaders are formulated in a way that conveys their Christian religious determinants only (see *ibid.*, pp. 24, 26, 27, 72, 93, 94). Wherever possible, in these attacks Jews tried to fight off their assailants at the gates and at the entrances to houses (*ibid.*, pp. 30–31a, 33, 97, 99–100), but when their endeavors at defense failed they killed themselves and took special care to slay their children first to prevent them from being carried off and brought up as Christians. Such sources describe these events for future generations not as acts committed out of desperation but from the feeling that these Jews had chosen to die in this way so that the remnant of the nation should be able to continue its existence with pride. The community of *Xanten is remembered for having added to their last communal benediction after food, just before the mass suicide, the following prayer: "The merciful One will avenge in the days of those who will remain after us, before their eyes the blood shed by your servants and the blood that is to be shed" (*ibid.*, p. 49).

After the wholesale burning of Jews at the stake in *Blois in 1171 a Jewish sage signing his name "Ovadiah" summed up something like a set of rules for Jewish behavior under enemy sovereignty, speaking as if from the mouths of the martyred: "For the saints have proclaimed … if the rulers decree … as to taxation … it is permissible … to plead to ease the burden … but … when they take it into their evil hearts … to blandish, to terrorize, to make them impure [through apostasy] … the chosen ones shall answer … we shall pay no heed to your lies … we shall remain true" [to the Jewish faith] (see S. Spiegel, in: *Sefer ha-Yovel… Mordekhai Menaḥem Kaplan* (1953), 286). This steadfastness continued to fortify Jews throughout the tribulations, libels, and massacres to which they were subjected in these centuries. When the Nordhausen community was led to be burned on the pyre during the *Black Death massacres in 1349 they obtained permission to hire musicians, and went singing and dancing to their deaths. Medieval Jewish prayer books include, in addition to the benedictions for bread and drink, a benediction to be recited by a Jew before killing himself and his children. Special memorial lists were compiled to preserve the memory of those who had sacrificed themselves for *kiddush ha-Shem* (see **Memorbuch*). As the victims of the blood *libel, Host *desecration libel, and other calumnies were subjected to continuous torture intended to extort "confessions," endurance under excruciating pain or suicide to avoid making a false confession came to be considered a true manifestation of *kiddush ha-Shem*.

Among the Jews of Christian Spain *kiddush ha-Shem* was recognized both as a phenomenon distinguishing Ashkenazi Jewry and a problem to be reckoned with in their own existence, as the writings of Judah Halevi and Naḥmanides show for the 12th and 13th centuries. From the end of the 14th century *kiddush ha-Shem* became part of the fate and sufferings of Spanish Jewry, whether upheld through massacres, persecutions, or libels as Jews openly professing their faith, or under the fire and torture of the *Inquisition chambers and tribunals as *anusim*. *Abraham b. Eliezer ha-Levi applied the ancient Maccabean tradition and theory of *kiddush ha-Shem* to the victim of the torture chambers and at the auto-da-fé:

> Whoever firmly resolves to devote himself to the honor of His name … such a man, being exposed to cruel tortures and sorely tormented, as was the case with the holy martyrs in the Land, those marvelous young men, the sons of saintly Hannah, in the days when the priests could come near the Presence of God; they were the heroes who fought God's battles – if such a man will but concentrate and put between his eyes the "awe-inspiring and great Name," resolve to undergo martyrdom, and his eyes will incline towards the Holy One of Israel … then he may be sure that he will withstand the test … nor feel any pain, blows or torments … And these things are worthy to be made known to His people Israel for the generation is one of religious persecution, and no Israelite should go in ignorance of this principle … And it may well be that it was to such a saintly person, who, albeit his soul is given over completely to God and rejoices in His love, is yet buried together with the wicked and consumed by fire, the wise Solomon alluded when he said (Song 8:5), "Who is that coming up from the wilderness, Leaning upon her beloved?" For the promise of the Lord proves true: she [the soul] leans and falls, limb by limb and piece by piece; but of such a saintly soul the righteous who dwell in the innermost mansion of the King, where joy resides, expound: Who is that coming up from the terrestrial world, which is like unto a wilderness?… Out of love for her beloved her body falls part by part; because of the trials she undergoes, her flesh pierced by tongs or cut to pieces by the sword; and the King, to Whom all peace belongs, for Whose love she suffers so, looks down from His abode and proclaims as she ascends to Him: "Behold thou are upright and pure, today have I begotten thee" (Ps. 2:7), and "under the apple tree I awakened thee" (Song. 8:5) (as quoted in Baer, Spain, 2 (1966), 430–1).

In this early 16th-century summation the wheel has turned full circle: the motives which inspired individuals to choose the path of *kiddush ha-Shem* at the time of the clash with Hellenism merge with the sufferings of the tortured body of the individual Jew in his pain and fire-wracked isolation looking from his physical breakdown to his meeting with the loving God in heaven.

MODERN TIMES. In early modern times the general trends of enlightenment and abatement of medieval religious pressures were accompanied by growing secularization in

Jewish life and thought, leanings toward assimilation, and striving for emancipation, all factors which both separately and in combination conduced to disintegration in Jewish society and abandonment of specifically Jewish values. Thus, while the necessity to uphold *kiddush ha-Shem* diminished in fact, the concept also lost actuality and significance.

With the awakening of Jewish national feeling in later modern times, as expressed by the formation of political parties like the *Bund, the organization of *self-defense against pogroms, and Zionism, the principle of *kiddush ha-Shem* reasserted its influence, consciously or subconsciously, manifested in new ideological frames for the defense of Jewish dignity and in modes of response by Jews to social and spiritual challenge. Jewish revolutionary attitudes bear its imprint in the courage and readiness to struggle and self-sacrifice for the sake of humanity even when there is no immediate prospect of victory on the horizon. In the same way, the fight and death of the rebels in the Nazi ghettos was ultimately inspired by this ancient Jewish tradition.

Kiddush ha-Shem is an original contribution by the Jewish faith and culture to the whole monotheistic world. Through it was expressed for the first time in human history the readiness of simple people to die for their faith and opinions. It is an ultimate prop of individual expression when all other physical supports have been withdrawn.

Kiddush ha-Shem has played a central and formative role in Jewish history, both through the reality of the sacrifices made to uphold it as well as through the spiritual images and attitudes by which it has been activated. It is a powerful and valid expression of human courage and readiness for supreme sacrifice. In a large measure due to the principle of *kiddush ha-Shem* Jews have escaped spiritual degradation throughout the long **galut* ("Diaspora"), thus failing to justify the hopes and views of their enemies and detractors. Through it courage and the spirit to resist have been continuously kept alive in Jewish hearts and transmitted to posterity from the days of Daniel to the present. Individual exemplary behavior and collective enthusiasm have sustained it in changing situations and forms.

The valor and heroism shown in defense of the State of Israel in the 20th century can be seen as the direct inheritance of chivalrous courage which Jews from generation to generation have transmitted in upholding the principle of *kiddush ha-Shem*.

[Haim Hillel Ben-Sasson]

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KIDDUSHIN (Heb. קִדּוּשִׁין), the last tractate in the order *Nashim* in the Mishnah, Tosefta, and both Talmuds. It deals with matrimonial matters. Its position at the end of the order is due to the fact that the order of the tractates is determined by their size and *Kiddushin* has only four chapters, less than all other tractates of *Nashim*. There is no corresponding word for *kiddushin* in English. It is more than an "engagement" in the current sense, as it can be dissolved only by divorce, and moreover the law of adultery, carrying the biblical death penalty, applies from the moment of *kiddushin*. On the other hand *kiddushin* is like "betrothal" in the sense that it represents a formal stage preliminary to marriage proper (*nissu'in*), the latter term referring to the induction of the wife into the husband's house, symbolized by the *ḥuppah*. Chapter 1, applying to *kiddushin* the term acquisition (*kinyan*), opens with the modes of *kiddushin*: by money, by writ, and by intercourse. The rest of the chapter deals with the acquisition of slaves and animals, of land and chattels, and with other extraneous matters. The chapter concludes with aggadic sayings. Chapter 2 deals mainly with *kiddushin* by proxy. Chapter 3 examines "*kiddushin* on condition" and "doubtful *kiddushin*," leading up to the problem of blemished descent. Chapter 4 deals mainly with questions of genealogy and bastardy. As usual, the tractate ends with homiletic material, on education, and after deliberating at length which craft to teach one's sons, reaches the conclusion that Torah study is the best vocation. In the Tosefta, this tractate is divided into five chapters.

Important masoretic observations are made in the Babylonian Talmud. It states that the scribes were called *soferim* because they counted (*safar*) the letters of the Torah; exact indications are then given as to the number of letters, words, and verses in the Pentateuch and in other parts of the Bible, and as to which letter, word, or verse mark the middle of the Pentateuch, the Psalms, or the Chronicles respectively (30a). Interesting is the characterization of various nations: Rome is credited with welfare, Persia with courage, Babylon is said to be poor and ignorant, and Arabia immoral. Elam is characterized by hypocrisy and arrogance (49b). Historically important is the account of the struggle between the Pharisees and John Hyrcanus (66a). According to the letter of R. Sherira Gaon, a considerable section of the beginning of the *Gemara* text (up to "*Ve-ein davar aḥer kortah*"; 3b) is of savoraic origin.

The first chapter of tractate *Kiddushin* belongs to an ancient collection of *mishnayot*. The manner in which the halakhic material is arranged in this chapter suggests that it might originally have been a separate tractate, on *kinyanim*, later perhaps prefixed to the tractate *Kiddushin* because it happened to start with the "acquisition" of the wife. In fact, in the Babylonian Talmud this chapter comprises half of the tractate. Its language is slightly archaic, and the conclusion of the first chapter: "whoever performs a single precept is well rewarded, his days are prolonged, and he inherits the land" similarly testifies to an early date. To the same category belong also the end of the third and the fourth chapter of the tractate, which contain early *halakhot* on forbidden marriages (cf. the end of ch.

1 of Mishnah *Ḥagigah*). The influence of Pumbedita is clearly perceptible in the editing of the Talmud of *Kiddushin*, even though it is possible to discern the large share of Ravina and R. Ashi in its final editing. In the Soncino Talmud, *Kiddushin* was translated into English by H. Freedman (1936).

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[Arnost Zvi Ehrman]

KIDRON (Heb. קִדְרוֹן), valley to the N. and E. of Jerusalem, separating the city from the Mount of Olives. The name derived from the root *kdr* ("dark," "shady"), refers to its depth. The valley begins near the Sanhedria saddle, northwest of Jerusalem, at a height of 2,585 ft. (788 m.), close to the watershed. It continues eastward for about 1½ mi. (2½ km.) as Naḥal Egozim (Wadi Jauz). At a height of 2,346 ft. (715 m.) the valley turns south. Several valleys converge with the Kidron as it runs southward: the Bethzeita Valley, which traverses the northeast corner of the Old City, at 2,260 ft. (686 m.) from the west; the Tyropoeon Valley, which bisects the Old City, at 2,035 ft. (617 m.); the Ben-Hinnom Valley, which passes the Old City on the west, at 2,000 ft. (606 m.). The Kidron then continues in a southeasterly direction, the banks becoming steeper and more craggy. It passes the monastery of Mar Saba and issues into the Dead Sea 2 mi. (c. 3 km.) south of Ra's al-Fashkha.

The great importance of the Kidron for Jerusalem lies in the fact that it and its confluents determined the orographical shape of the area on which the city was built. The valley protected the City of David and its northern continuation, the Temple Mount, on the east. The Gihon, Jerusalem's only spring, issued from its west slope. Only toward the end of the Second Temple period, when Agrippa I built the Third Wall there, was the westward bend of the Kidron utilized for protection of the city. Situated on the leeward side of the city and presenting rock surfaces suitable for the cutting of tomb caves, the valley served from early times as a necropolis of Jerusalem, the early tombs culminating in the magnificent rock-cut monuments along the eastern slope.

The first biblical reference to the "brook" Kidron occurs in connection with David's flight before Absalom (II Sam. 15:23). In the time of the divided monarchy, the reforming kings of Judah, Asa, Hezekiah, and Josiah, cast away and burnt the various idols which defiled Jerusalem there (I Kings 15:13; II Kings 23:4, 6, 12; II Chron. 15:16; 29:16). Jeremiah included the Kidron within the area holy to the Lord (31:39–40). In later times the central part of the valley was called the Valley of Jehoshaphat and was assumed to be the place where the dead were resurrected. In this legend, as adapted by the Muslims, all men had to cross the valley on a sword suspended over it.

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[Michael Avi-Yonah]

KIEL, city in *Schleswig-Holstein, Germany. In the 17th century, Jews went to Kiel for the annual fair (*Kieler Umschlag*). Permission to settle in the city was given in 1690 to the Sephardi Court Jew Jacob Musaphia, followed in 1728 by Samson Lewin, another Court Jew. Together they laid the foundations for the small Jewish community. In 1766 Kiel had six Jewish families engaged in small businesses and moneylending. Although Schleswig-Holstein was annexed by Denmark in 1733, the legal status of the Jews in the duchy was not ameliorated. The community had a prayer hall and buried their dead at Rendsburg. In 1803 Jewish students were admitted to the University of Kiel. There were then 29 Jews in the city; the numbers grew to 75 in 1845 and 156 in 1855. A cemetery was consecrated in 1852; the community was officially organized in 1867 and two years later a synagogue was erected, to be replaced by a new one in 1910. In 1900 the community numbered 338 persons, 526 in 1910, 600 in 1925, and 522 in 1933. Kiel rabbis included Emil *Cohn (1907–12) and A. Posner (1912–33). On the Nazi rise to power, the community was exposed to severe repression and persecution: Jewish professors were dismissed from the university and the works of 28 Jewish authors – mainly lecturers in Kiel University – were removed from the library of the university. Anti-Jewish boycott meetings were held all over the city. As all Jewish children were removed from the city's public school system, the community opened its own grade school. A total of 586 Jews left the city during the Nazi era. Of those who remained 85 were deportees and 12 committed suicide. On Nov. 10, 1938, the synagogue was burned down and Jewish homes and stores were looted. After the war 11 Jews returned to Kiel; the bombed Jewish cemetery was later restored.

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[Chasia Turtel]

KIEL, YEHUDA (1917–), Israel educationist. Born in Petrograd, as a child he lived in Lithuania and Latvia. Arriving in Palestine in 1935, he helped develop the state religious education system and was its national supervisor of elementary and secondary education. In 1992 he was awarded the Israel Prize for Jewish studies in recognition of his commentary on books of the Bible, particularly his wide-ranging ones on First and Second Chronicles.

KIELCE, capital of Kielce province, S.E. Poland. Jews were excluded from Kielce by a royal "privilege" granted to the city in 1535. Kielce belonged to the estates of the bishops of Cracow until 1818, and thus the prohibition on Jewish settlement remained in force. In 1833 a small number of Jews settled in Kielce. They were expelled in 1847 but returned shortly afterward. In 1852 there were 101 Jews in Kielce and the congregation was affiliated to the neighboring community at Checiny.

It became a separate community in 1868, and a cemetery was established. The Jewish population increased from 974 in 1873 to 2,659 in 1882, 6,399 in 1897, and 11,206 in 1909, mainly by immigration from the adjacent small towns. A pogrom in 1918 did not prevent the growth of the community, which by 1921 numbered 15,530 (37.6% of the total population), and by 1931, 18,083. Jews pioneered in exploiting the natural resources of the region and developed industries, commerce, and crafts; among enterprises established by Jews were several banks. Jewish organizations included associations of Jewish merchants and artisans, an old-age home, and an orphanage, as well as a library, a high school, and a number of religious and secular Jewish schools. A Yiddish weekly was published jointly for the Kielce and *Radom communities.

[William Glicksman]

Holocaust Period

In 1939 about 25,000 Jews lived in Kielce. The German army entered the city on Sept. 4, 1939, and the Jews became the subject of terror and persecution. During the first months of 1940 about 3,000 Jews from Cracow as well as Jews from Lodz and Lalisz and its vicinity were deported to Kielce, whose Jewish population swelled to about 28,000. On March 31, 1941, after 7,500 Jews arrived from Vienna, a decree was issued to establish a ghetto. On the eve of Passover the ghetto was sealed off from the outside world. A *Judenrat was appointed, chaired by Moshe Pelc, who was eventually arrested and deported to *Auschwitz for resisting German orders. His place was filled by Herman Levi, who tended toward collaboration with the Germans. The situation of the population in the ghetto rapidly deteriorated. About 4,000 people died during a typhus epidemic in 1941. In the course of three days (Aug. 20–24, 1942), about 21,000 Jews were deported to *Treblinka and exterminated. The ghetto was virtually liquidated. The remaining 2,000 Jews were concentrated in a newly established slave labor camp. Preparations in the camp for an armed rising, conducted by an underground organization headed by David Barwiner and Gershon Levkowicz, did not succeed. In 1943 a number of deportations from the labor camp took place of about 1,000 people for slave labor camps in *Skarzysko-Kamienna, Blizyna, and Pionki, where only a handful survived. The last deportation took place in August 1944, when all the remaining Jewish prisoners were sent to Auschwitz and Buchenwald. Kielce became officially *judenrein*. Leon Rodal of Kielce was one of the commanders of the *Warsaw Ghetto uprising.

Postwar Period

After the war about 200 Jews went to Kielce; some were survivors of Nazi camps, or had hidden in the district, and others had come back from the interior of the U.S.S.R. Their reconstruction of the former organized Jewish community aroused anger among Polish antisemites, who opened a vituperous campaign against the existence of a renewed Jewish community in Kielce. The campaign culminated in an armed pogrom against the Jews – mostly by Polish nationalists and including a few Communists (July 4, 1946). The Jews had no adequate means for self-defense since the police had confiscated the few pistols among them just one day previously. In this pogrom, the largest attack on Jews following the Nazi era, 60–70 Jews were murdered, including children and pregnant women, and around 100 were injured. The pogrom gave impetus to the Jews in Kielce and to the other Jewish survivors of the *Holocaust in Poland, including those who had returned from the Soviet Union, to leave Poland en masse for the West. They reached the *displaced persons camps and joined the massive **Beriḥah* movement to Ereẓ Israel. A monument was erected in the Kielce Jewish cemetery to perpetuate the memory of the victims of the Kielce pogrom. Organizations of former Kielce residents exist in Israel, the U.S., Canada, Argentina, and France.

[Stefan Krakowski]

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KIERA (also **Kyra**, **Kira**, **Chiera**), a Greek title meaning "lady," given to women who handled the relations of the wives in the Ottoman sultan's royal harem in various external matters. In general these women were Jewish. They acted as commercial intermediaries between the women in the harem and the world beyond it and thereby gained the former's trust. It appears that there were at least two women with the name of Esther who held this position. One was mentioned during the first half of the 16th century, as confidant of the mother of Selim II. Information is available on the activities of three kieras, and probably there are other Jewish women who filled the same position, but did not receive the title. The first known kiera was Strongilah (after her conversion her name was changed to Fatma (Fatima)) Kadin, who was apparently a Karaite from the Crimea. She was a daughter of Eliyah Gibor. She rendered various services to the ladies of the harem and became very close to Hafsa Sultan, the mother of *Suleiman the Magnificent, and died in 1548 after adopting Islam. When Suleiman ascended to the throne his mother managed to obtain for Strongilah and her descendants an exemption from taxes and permission to own non-Muslim slaves, The exemption, originally given in 1520/21, was reconfirmed in 1612, 1624/25, 1691/92, 1791/92, 1839/40 and 1867/68. Some of her children remained Jewish and appeared as a separate group in the poll tax registers with the designation "sons of Kurd" (one of her grandchildren).

The second kiera was Esther, the wife of the Jewish merchant Elijah *Handali, probably a Sephardi; she supplied jewelry to the women of the harem and rapidly became the confidant of Nur Banu, the favorite concubine of *Selim II and the mother of Murad III (1574–95), and died in about 1590.

She was certainly active before 1566. She exerted a decisive influence in court and state affairs during the second half of the 16th century. She attained powerful influence and special status. Her activity reached its climax with the settlement of a diplomatic conflict between the Ottomans and the Venetians during the 1580s and in the arrangement which granted several commercial privileges to the Venetians. In appreciation of this the Venetian government authorized her to organize a lottery in the city. In internal affairs of state, Esther assisted several individuals in purchasing honorific titles and positions – a trend which began to develop toward the close of the 16th century. She thus gained many friends for herself in the upper Ottoman circles, but also some enemies. In the Jewish community she was renowned for her generosity and extensive support of scholars and authors (e.g., the physician Samuel Sullam and R. Isaac *Akrish); she assisted Jewish merchants when the government sought to conspire against them; she even intervened in order to prevent the enforcement of Sultan Murad III's decree to destroy the Jewish community throughout the empire. After the great fire of 1569, she gave shelter and aid for a long period to many of the survivors. Samuel Sullam, who published a book she sponsored, wrote in the introduction that she had spent her entire fortune on charity. Through their mother her sons also amassed great wealth and obtained special privileges, mainly in the form of exemptions from taxes. The eldest leased the customs duties of the capital, *Istanbul, and enjoyed a special status among both the Jewish and foreign merchants.

The third kiera was Esperanza *Malchi (or Malkhi), who served as agent for Safiye, the consort of Murad III and the mother of Mehmed III (1595–1603). She played some part in a correspondence between Safiye and Queen Elizabeth I of England. She addressed at least one letter, in Italian, to Elizabeth in 1599, in which she identified herself as a Jewess. In this letter she dealt with the exchange of gifts between the two queens and suggested that in the future Elizabeth should not send jewels but rather cosmetics and fine cloths of silk and wool and advised Elizabeth to deliver these items for the Queen Mother only by her own hand. It is difficult to distinguish Handali from Malki except in a few documents in which their full names appear. It seems that the kiera was murdered on April 1, 1600, at the hands of rebellious, sword-wielding soldiers on the staircase of the house of Halil Pasha, the *kaimakam* of Istanbul. Enormous wealth was confiscated from Malki's estate after her death. Her fall occurred suddenly in 1600, and according to various testimonies it made a depressing impact on the Jewish community of Istanbul. It was due to several simultaneous factors: the rapid devaluation of the Ottoman currency which, among other things, was the cause of great discontent within the army; the extensive wealth of the family which attracted the attention of Sultan Mehmet III, who was in need of money; and the desire in various army and government circles to undermine the influence of the sultan's mother. The immediate cause of Malki's downfall was her intervention in a military appointment – she proposed a candidate of her own for a position which had been promised to someone else. The sipahis (cavalry) of the sultan, who sought to undermine the influence of the sultan's mother, rebelled on this occasion and demanded that Malki be handed over to them. The sultan gave his consent. The sipahis subsequently seized Esther and her eldest son and executed them. The second son disappeared and the third converted to Islam. All of the family's property was confiscated by the sultan's treasury.

Jewish kieras must have continued to serve the ladies of the imperial harem in the 17th century. In 1622, an unnamed Jewish woman with connections to the sister of Sultan Osman II (1618–22) was mentioned as having been involved in promoting the candidacy of Locadello to the office of governor of Moldavia. In 1709, another unnamed woman was believed to have helped the Jewish physician Daniel de *Fonseca pass on information to the mother of Sultan Ahmed III (1703–30) in order to bring about an Ottoman-Swedish alliance against Russia.

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[Cecil Roth and Aryeh Shmuelevitz /
Leah Bornstein-Makovetsky (2nd ed.)]

KIESLER, FREDERICK JOHN (1896–1965), U.S. architect and scenic designer. Born in Vienna, Kiesler worked first as an architect, but by the mid-1920s had gained a European reputation as an avant-garde stage designer, promoting such innovations as theater in the round. He settled in New York in 1926 and from 1933 to 1957 was scenic director for the Juilliard School of Music. His revolutionary method of hanging pictures in the Museum of Modern Art (1942) gave rise to the term "environmental sculpture." Kiesler was joint designer of the "Shrine of the Book" at the Israel Museum, Jerusalem, to house the Dead Sea Scrolls.

KIEV (**Kiov**), capital of Ukraine.

The Jewish Community before 1667

Kiev's central position on the River Dnieper at the commercial crossroads of Western Europe and the Orient attracted Jewish settlers (*Rabbanites and *Karaites) from the foundation of the town in the eighth century C.E. At first most of them were transient merchants from both east and west. According to letters dated 930 from the Cairo *_Genizah_ there were Jews in Kiev at this time. Ancient Russian chronicles relate that some Jews from *Khazaria visited Vladimir, the prince of Kiev, to try to convert him to Judaism (986). About that time a Jewish community already existed in the city. Jewish merchants from the West (Radanites) took part in the trade of the city, and were called in Hebrew sources "goers to Russia." The abbot of Kiev, Theodosius the Blessed (11th century), is said to have visited Jewish homes at night and to have held disputations with the householders. There were two Jewish suburbs of Kiev, Kozary and Zhidove. A "Gate of the Jews" is mentioned at the time of the riots which broke out on the death of Prince Svyatopolk (1113), when the populace also attacked Jewish houses and burned them. *Benjamin of Tudela mentions "Kiov, the great city," and *Pethahiah of Regensburg visited the town on his way to the Orient (12th century). At the end of the 12th century two Jews, Ephraim son of Moses and Anabel Jasin, served in the court of the prince Andrey Bogoliubski. During the same century *Moses of Kiev lived in the town. He corresponded with Jacob b. Meir *Tam in the west and the _gaon_ *Samuel b. Ali in Baghdad. Under Tatar rule (1240–1320) the Jews had been protected, earning them the hatred of the Christian population. With the annexation of Kiev to the principality of Lithuania (1320), the Jews were granted certain rights ensuring the safety of their lives and property. Several of them (such as Simkha, Riabichka, Danilovich, and Shan in 1488) leased the collection of taxes and amassed fortunes. As the Jewish community increased in numbers so did the number of scholars, although the statement found in several sources, "from Kiev emanate Torah and light," is an exaggeration. During the 15th century *Moses (b. Jacob Ashkenazi the Exile) of Kiev II wrote commentaries on the _Sefer Yeẓirah_, on the Pentateuch commentaries of Abraham *Ibn Ezra and others, and held disputations with the Karaites. In the Tatar raid on Kiev (1482) many Jews were taken captive. In 1470 Zekharia, whom Russian sources link to the beginning of the Zhidovstvuyushchiye movement (Jewish heresy), left Kiev for Novgorod.

Like the rest of the Jews in the principality of Lithuania, the Kiev community was expelled in 1495. When the decree was revoked (1503), the community was reestablished. However, in 1619 the Christian merchants obtained from King Sigismund III a prohibition on permanent settlement of Jews or their acquisition of real estate in the town. They were allowed to come into Kiev for trading purposes alone and might remain one day only in an inn assigned to them. In spite of this, many Jews continued to live in the town under the protection of the Vojevoda (district governor) and noblemen in their properties in town (who saw them as a source of income). Russian sources relate that Jews were killed in Kiev during the *Chmielnicki massacres (1648). On the demand of the citizens, John II Casimir of Poland and Czar Alexis renewed the prohibition on Jewish settlement (1654). This became final with the annexation of Kiev to Russia (1667). The Russian Orthodox academy there fomented hatred of the Jews and its students attacked any Jew they found trading in the town.

From 1793

After a break of about 150 years the community of Kiev was reestablished in 1793, after the second partition of Poland. In 1798 the community acquired land for a cemetery. The earlier conflict between the Christian citizens and the Jews began once more. While the Jews struggled for settlement in Kiev, the economic and commercial center of the southwestern region of Russia, the citizens persistently endeavored to expel them, basing their claim on the status quo since Sigismund III and adding that "holy" Kiev was "profaned" by the presence of the Jews.

In spite of this in 1809 there were 452 Jews in Kiev (of about 20,000 total population), and their numbers rose by 1815 to about 1,500 (not including transients), with two synagogues and other communal institutions. The citizens proceeded with the demand to expel the Jews but owing to the negative stand of the governor, Czar Alexander I ordered them to leave the city. Eventually Cẓar *Nicholas I acceded to the demands of the citizens and at the end of 1827 residence in Kiev was forbidden to Jews. In part due to representations by state officials, who pointed out that the expulsion would worsen economic conditions in the town, the execution of the decree was twice deferred. In 1835, however, on the expiry of the last postponement, the Jews left the town, and the Jewish community facilities ceased to function. Despite this, they still played an important part in its economic life, for Jewish merchants came in their hundreds to the large annual fairs held from 1797 in Kiev in January. With their assistants and servants, they made up 50–60% of the fairs' participants. In 1843 Jewish temporary visitors were officially permitted, provided that they resided and bought food in two specially appointed inns. These were leased by the municipality to Christian agents, who were empowered to deliver to the police any Jew who did not stay in them. At the beginning of the reign of Alexander II these inns were abolished (1858), and instead a special payment to the municipality was levied upon the Jews as compensation for the losses caused by the abolishment of the inns. In 1861 two suburbs, Lyebed and Podol, were assigned to those Jews entitled to reside in Kiev (wealthy merchants and industrialists and their employees, members of the free professions, and craftsmen). The number of Jews in Kiev increased to 3,013 (3% of the total population) in 1863 and to 13,803 (11.8%) in 1872.

In May 1881 a pogrom raged in the streets of the city, supported and encouraged by the governor-general, General Drenteln. Jewish houses and shops were looted, and many people were injured; 762 families were completely ruined. The damage caused was evaluated at 1,750,000 roubles. From that date the authorities began sporadically to investigate the residence rights of the Jews in Kiev. Until 1917 the city became notorious for the police "_oblavy_" ("hunt attacks") for Jews without residence rights. For example, expelled in 1883 were 1,179 persons, in 1884 1,254, in 1885 1,368, and in the first half of 1886 2,076. The night searches and expulsions continued almost until WWI. In 1891 the authorities ordered that a considerable portion of the income of the Jewish community be allotted to the police to cover the cost of their measures to prevent Jews' entering the town. In spite of all these persecutions, the number of Jews in Kiev continued to increase. From 31,801 (12.8%) in 1897, it rose to 50,792 (10.8%) in 1910 and 81,256 (13%) at the end of 1913. In fact the number of Jews was greater, since a large number evaded the census. Many Jews also lived in the suburbs and townlets around Kiev and only came into the city daily on business. There were some wealthy Jewish families in Kiev, who included many of the magnates of the southwestern Russian sugar industry (the *Brodsky and Zaitsev families). Many Jews were employed in their factories in the town and the vicinity. There was a very active branch of the Society for Enlightenment of Russian Jews, which maintained 21 Jewish schools in the town and the district, as well as a library of 6,500 books. The city also had many Jewish physicians, lawyers, and other members of the liberal professions. Kiev University attracted Jewish youth; in 1886 Jewish students numbered 236 and in 1911, 888 (17% of the total number of students), the largest concentration of Jewish students in a Russian university. In Kiev were born Golda Meir (Mabovich), who became prime minister of Israel, the writer Ilya *Ehrenburg, and some Hebrew writers, notably J. Kaminer, J.L. *Levin (Yehalel), M. Kamionski, I.J. Weissberg, E. *Schulman, and A.A. Friedman. *Shalom Aleichem, who lived in Kiev for some time, described the town in his account of life in Yehupets. According to the 1897 census, 29,937 Jews (out of 31,801) declared Yiddish as their mother language. There were 12,317 who earned incomes, divided into three main groups: artisans (42%), merchants (24%), and army service (10%). The artisans were mainly occupied as follows: the clothing industry (54%), metal works (11%), woodworking (9%), and printing (6%). The main occupations of traders were in farm products (34%), textiles and clothing (16%), and building materials (7%). The Jewish merchants constituted 44% of all the merchants in Kiev.

In the wake of Jewish revolutionary activity, a large-scale pogrom occurred on Oct. 18, 1905. Neither army nor police controlled the rioters, who ran amok unhindered for three days. Indeed, soldiers protected the hooligans from the Jewish *self-defense organization. The rioters attacked the houses of the wealthy, but their attacks were mainly directed against the poor suburbs. However, the pogrom did not interrupt the development of the community, which became one of the wealthiest in Russia as well as one of the most diversified socially. In 1910 there were 4,896 Jewish merchants in the town, 42% of all the merchants there, but nevertheless 25% of the community had to apply for Passover alms during that same year. The community was officially recognized in 1906 as the "Jewish Representation for Charity Affairs at the Municipal Council." Its income from the meat tax (see *korobka*) and other sources amounted to 300,000 rubles annually. A Jewish hospital for the poor which served the whole of Ukraine was opened in 1862, followed by a hospital specializing in surgery, a clinic for eye diseases (under the direction of M. *Mandelstamm), and other welfare institutions. In 1898 a magnificent central synagogue was built by means of a donation from L. *Brodsky. From 1906 to 1921 S. *Aronson was rabbi of Kiev; notable as *kazyonny ravvin* ("government-appointed rabbi") were Joshua Zuckerman, the first to be appointed to this office, and S.Z. Luria. Between 1911 and 1913 Kiev was the site of the notorious *Beilis blood libel trial and the town was then racked by the agitation of the members of the *Union of Russian People ("Black Hundreds"). In 1911, after the assassination of prime minister Stolypin by a Jew in Kiev, severe pogroms were on the point of breaking out there, but the authorities decided to restrain the rioters.

During World War I, residence restrictions in the town were lifted for Jewish refugees from the battle areas. The years 1917–20 were years of upheaval for the Jews of Kiev. With the February 1917 Revolution, all the residence restrictions were abolished and Jews at once began to stream into the town. In the census at the end of 1917, 87,246 Jews (19% of the total population) were registered. A democratic community was established, led by the Zionist Moses Nahum *Syrkin. Meetings and congresses of Russian and Ukrainian Jews were held in Kiev, the central institutions of Ukrainian Jewry were set up there, and Jewish writers and communal workers of every shade of opinion and party became active in the town. Books and newspapers were published and cultural institutions, led by the Hebrew *Tarbut and the Yiddish Kultur Lige, engaged in a variety of activities. In the spring of 1919, the number of Jews had grown to 114,524 (21%).

With the first conquest of the town by the Red Army, which lasted from February to August 1919, Kiev became a haven for refugees from the pogroms sweeping the provincial towns of Ukraine. The running of the Jewish community was handed over to the *Yevsektsiya, and the systematic destruction of communal institutions, traditional Jewish culture, and national parties began. With the retreat of the Red Army, an attempt was made to form a Jewish self-defense unit. When *Petlyura's forces entered the city they arrested the members of the self-defense unit and 36 of them were executed. A month after Kiev was occupied by *Denikin's "Volunteer Army," thugs initiated a period of pillage, rape, and murder of the Jews which lasted until the "Volunteers" were driven out by the Red Army (December 1919). The Jews in Kiev suffered heavily during the famine and typhus outbreak of 1920. In the August 1920 census they constituted one third of the town's population. In 1923 Kiev had 128,041 Jews (32%), 140,256 (27.3%) in 1926, and in 1939, 224,236 (of a total population of 845,726).

In the years 1920–22 the famine and typhus epidemic ravaged Kiev and took a heavy toll on the Jewish population. OZE, the JDC, and other relief organizations from abroad organized food and medical help. The Jews went through a process of proletarianization, engaging in physical labor or crafts; later in the second half of the 1920s half of them were government employees. In 1926, 16,690 Jews were members of trade unions (out of 77,257). The number of Jews in heavy industry grew to 4,080 in 1932. In 1931 they constituted 80% of the 3,300 workers of the shoe factory.

During the first 20 years of the Soviet regime, Kiev became a major center of the officially fostered Yiddish culture, with a school system catering to many thousands of pupils and students, culminating in institutes of higher education and learning, such as the department for Jewish culture at the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences (1926) which in 1930 became the "Institute of Proletarian Jewish Culture" under the direction of Joseph Liberberg. This state-sponsored activity attracted even Jewish writers and scholars from the west, such as Meir *Wiener and others. Some valuable research works on Yiddish language and literature were published there. Many Yiddish poets and writers, among them David *Hofstein and Itzik *Feffer, lived and wrote in Kiev. There were also the All-Ukrainian Jewish State Theater, a Yiddish children's theater, Yiddish newspapers, journals, and publishing houses. In the early 1930s Liberberg and some of his associates headed a group of Yiddish intellectuals who went to the newly established Jewish autonomous region in *Birobidzhan to organize Jewish educational and cultural work there in conjunction with the Jewish academic institute in Kiev. Several years later, with the forcible liquidation of all Jewish institutions, including libraries and archives in Kiev, one of the most important centers of Soviet Yiddish culture ceased to exist.

[Yehuda Slutsky]

Holocaust Period

The fall of the city to the Germans on Sept. 19, 1941 marked the end of Kiev Jewry. A considerable part of the Jews living in Kiev in 1939 were among the 335,000 evacuees; some managed to flee eastward to central Russia, just before the Nazi occupation. Between September 20–24 buildings in the Khreshchatik area where headquarters of German military units were housed blew up, and many German soldiers and officers were killed. Thousands of hostages, among them many Jews, were taken and executed. On September 26 the city commander convened a meeting in which participated Friedrich Jaeckeln, commander of police and SS on the Southern Front; Dr. Otto Rash, head of *Einsatzgruppe* C; and SS Colonel Paul Blobel, commander of *Einsatzkommando* 4a. It was decided to annihilate all the Jews of Kiev. Blobel was in charge of the execution, with the help of units of the German Police and Ukrainian Auxiliary Police. On September 28 (Tishri 7) 2,000 notices in German, Ukrainian, and Russian were posted in Kiev, announcing that "All the Zhids (Jews) of Kiev and the suburbs are to appear on Monday, September 29, 1941, at 8:00 A.M. on the corner of Melnikovskaya and Decktiarovska streets [near the cemeteries]. They are to bring their documents, money, other valuables and warm clothes, linen, etc. Any Zhid found disobeying these orders will be shot. Citizens breaking into flats left by the Jews and taking possession of their belongings will be shot." (For Jew the derogatory word "*zhid*" was used and not the usual *evrei*.) Since the location was near the Petrovski goods railway station, and owing to the rumors about evacuation of the Jews to other towns or camps, nobody suspected what was coming. On the morning of September 29, tens of thousands of Jews concentrated there were led through Melnik Street to the Jewish cemetery in the Babi Yar ravine, stripped naked, and led in groups to the edge of the ravine, where they were machine-gunned, their bodies falling into the ravine. At the end of the day heaps of earth were thrown over the bodies, burying both dead and wounded. According to the official report of the S.S. unit in charge of the mass extermination, 33,771 Jews were murdered in Babi Yar on Sept. 29–30, 1941. A later report said that about 36,000 Jews were killed then.

Babi Yar continued to be a mass execution ground throughout the German occupation. On October 1–3 *Einsatzkommando* 5 murdered in Babi Yar 2,500–3,000 Jews, including 308 mentally ill. All the time Jewish prisoners of war, mostly from Darnitsa camp, were executed. Hiding in the city were many Jews, some in mixed marriages. Many of them were denounced by local Ukrainians, caught, and shot. From spring 1942, Jews who were caught were sent to labor camps in the city, such as that on Kerosinnaya Street (5,000 prisoners of war and 3,000 Jews), Pecherskaya Street, and Institutskaya Street. The number of inmates diminished due to selections, starvation, and daily killings. In May 1942 the Syretsk camp (near Babi Yar) was opened, and in December it housed 2,000 inmates, more than a third of them Jews. The regime was very cruel – prisoners were shot for the smallest infraction or for not being able to work. On August 18, 1943, 100 prisoners from Syretsk were taken to Babi Yar, and soon the group was enlarged to 321 inmates. Their task was to eradicate any sign of the mass graves in the ravine. A bonfire was made from railway ties, and excavators opened the graves. The prisoners, whose legs were in chains, took the bodies, searched them for valuables and gold teeth and fillings, and threw them into the bonfire; any bones remaining were ground, and the ashes spread around and leveled. A garden was planted on the site. The prisoners lived in two bunkers dug into the wall of the ravine, kept closed by an iron grate that was shut for the night; opposite them was a machine gun position. The Russian Fedor Yershov, a senior KGB officer, organized an escape group. They managed to find a key to the grates, a wire cutter to cut the chains, and a few knives. On September 28, 1943, they learned through the interpreter (a Jewish prisoner) Yakov Steyuk (Stein) that their work was finished and that the following day they were to be shot and cremated. At about 3 A.M. on September 29, they cut the chains, opened the grates, and escaped under the cover of fog. Many were machine-gunned, among them the leader Yershov, and only 15 succeeded in remaining alive until the liberation of Kiev on November 6, 1943 – among them nine Jews. The State Commission to Investigate Nazi Crimes in Kiev could not locate graves to exhume in Babi Yar, so they set the approximate number at 100,0000. According to Steyuk, who reported daily to the Germans on the numbers of burned bodies, an estimated 45,000 belonged to Jews. To this number we may add figures attained from other exhumed mass graves, such as Syretsk, Darnitsa, and reach an approximate number of 60,000 Jewish victims. Jews were active in the city's underground, including Shimon Bruz, one of the underground city party committee who died in a fight with the Gestapo, and Tania Markus, who carried out various sabotage acts and was caught and executed in summer 1942.

In the struggle against *antisemitism in the Soviet Union, Babi Yar became a symbol of pro-Jewish support, crystallized in the poem *Babi Yar* by Yevgenii *Yevtushenko. Despite recurring requests by Soviet intellectuals, including Yevtushenko and Viktor Nekrasov, the Soviet authorities refused to erect a monument to those massacred there. Jewish survivors made attempts to hold a memorial day each year, circumspectly choosing the eve of the Day of Atonement. When in early 1959 the ravine was filled with earth, and Babi Yar was turned into a new residential area, there were protests from Jews and non-Jews alike. In 1961 a flood swept away the earth and destroyed the houses; many people were drowned. At the end of the 1960s, the ravine of Babi Yar remained a desolate wasteland. "In Babi Yar there is neither monument nor memorial" (Yevtushenko). It was only in 1976 that a stone with an inscription was put there, but it mentioned Soviet citizens, not Jews.

[Benjamin West / Shmuel Spector (2nd ed.)]

After World War II

At the end of World War II, when thousands of Jews began to return to liberated Kiev, they often encountered a hostile attitude on the part of the Ukrainian population, many of whom had been given, or had taken, the dwellings and jobs of the absent Jews. There were even isolated physical clashes between Jews and Ukrainians. In the 1959 census, their number was 154,000 (13.9% of the total population). Nearly 15% of them declared Yiddish to be their mother tongue. Out of about 14,000 Jews living in the smaller towns of the Kiev district, around 33% declared Yiddish to be their mother tongue. In 1979 there were 132,000 Jews in the city.

The only synagogue in Kiev, with room for about 1,000 persons, was situated downtown in the Podol quarter. On holidays, particularly on the Day of Atonement, also the memorial day of the Babi Yar massacre, several thousands attended the service, overflowing into the courtyard and the street. A number of services (**minyanim*) were held in private homes, but when their existence was discovered, they were closed and the owners severely punished. A *mikveh*, a place for the ritual slaughtering of poultry, and a *maẓẓah* bakery were attached to the synagogue. From 1960 until 1966 the baking of *maẓẓah* was prohibited and several Jews were punished for baking them illegally in their homes. The last rabbi to officiate in Kiev was Rabbi Panets, who retired in 1960 and died in 1968; a new rabbi was not appointed. Until 1960 the synagogue board's chairman was Bardakh; the atmosphere was relatively relaxed, and visitors from abroad, who arrived in increasing numbers from the late 1950s, were cordially received. The situation changed abruptly in 1961, when a new board, headed by Gendelman, was appointed. Gendelman, in an aggressive manner, implemented meticulously the instructions of the Soviet authorities, harassed members of the congregation, and prevented any contact between them and foreign visitors. He was eventually forced to resign in 1967 because of the growing tension between him and the congregation.

In 1959, on the 100th anniversary of the birth of *Shalom Aleichem, a plaque was affixed to the house where he lived before World War I, bearing the text: "Here lived the famous Jewish writer Shalom Aleichem (Rabinovich)." Shortly afterward the plaque was replaced by a new one on which the words "famous Jewish" and "Rabinovich" were omitted. In May 1966 a group of Kiev Jews went to Moscow and submitted a petition to Mikhailova of the Central Committee of the Communist Party, about the establishment of a Yiddish theater in Kiev. The petition stressed the fact that 82 Jewish actors were ready to participate. M. Goldblat, one of the survivors of the Yiddish theater in the U.S.S.R. and the last director of the Yiddish theater in Kiev, declared his readiness to organize the new Yiddish theater. The petition also included a list of plays by Jewish Soviet and classic writers for the repertoire. The petition was rejected.

In 1957 four elderly Jews were sentenced in Kiev to several years of imprisonment for "Zionist activity." One of them was Baruch Mordekhai Weissman, whose Hebrew written diary about the "black years" was smuggled out and published anonymously in Israel, under the title "To my Brother in the State of Israel" (1957). At the trial Weissman was not accused of smuggling out his manuscript, but of keeping Hebrew newspapers and participating in a "Zionist circle."

In 1959 the Kiev municipality opened a new Jewish cemetery and decided to close the old one at Lukyanovka, near Babi Yar, which had been desecrated and partly destroyed during the Nazi occupation. Local and foreign Jews were allowed to transfer the remains of their relatives to the new cemetery if they defrayed the expenses involved. American rabbis arranged for the transfer of the remains of the ḥasidic rabbis of the Twersky family, and the president of Israel, Iẓḥak Ben-Zvi, received permission from the Soviet head of state to transfer to Israel the remains and the tombstone of his friend Ber *Borochov (1963).

Kiev continued to be a center of Yiddish writers, many of whom had served terms of imprisonment under Stalin. Among them were Itzik Kipnis, Hirsh Polyanker, Nathan Zbara, Eli Schechtman, and Yehiel Falikman. Several books in Yiddish and translations in Russian and Ukrainian were published between 1960 and 1970. The Ukrainian authorities usually prevented Jewish cultural events from being held in the city.

During the campaigns against "economic crimes" two Jews, B. Mirski and Shtifzin, who worked in a Kiev publishing house for art books, were sentenced to death (1962). At that time the local Ukrainian press indulged in almost undisguised antisemitic incitement. This campaign culminated in the publication of T. Kichko's notorious "Judaism without Embellishment" by the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian Republic (1963). Though the book was later censured by the ideological commission of the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party in Moscow, Kichko reappeared in 1968 with a new anti-Jewish book, "Judaism and Zionism," and was rewarded by the authorities for his achievements in "anti-religious education."

The refusal of the municipal authorities to erect a memorial in Babi Yar, after an exhibition of models for such a memorial was officially arranged in 1965, was ascribed to the popular antisemitic atmosphere prevailing in the city. Protests against this omission were voiced by Russian and Ukrainian writers (e.g., Y. Yevtushenko, V. Nekrasov, Ivan Dzyuba, and others).

When an international poultry exhibition took place in Kiev in 1966, and Israel was represented by a stand equipped with exhibits and explanatory literature, tens of thousands of Jews from Kiev and all over the Ukraine streamed there. After the Six-Day War (1967), Jewish national feeling reemerged publicly in Kiev. The anniversary of Babi Yar became a rallying day for Jews, most of them young, who came not only to recite *Kaddish* but also to express their Jewish identification. Wreaths bearing inscriptions in Yiddish and Hebrew were laid and there were occasional attempts to make speeches, but on every such occasion the police intervened to remove the wreaths and silence the speakers. After one such gathering a young Jewish engineer, Boris Kochubiyevski, was arrested in 1968 on the charge of "spreading slander against the Soviet regime," after he and his non-Jewish wife Larissa had applied for an exit permit to Israel. In May 1969 he was sentenced to three years' imprisonment with hard labor. At his trial Kochubiyevski made a passionate speech, declaring his Zionist credo. In summer 1970 an open letter was published abroad, addressed to the prime minister of Israel, Golda Meir, to UN Secretary General U Thant, and to various international institutions, signed by ten Jews from Kiev who claimed the right to settle in Israel. In August 1970 the same ten persons wrote a second letter to President Shazar, making it known that, after having been refused exit permits, they had renounced their Soviet citizenship and asked to become citizens of Israel.

Though most of Kiev's Jews emigrated in the 1990s, Jewish life revived at the community level as the city became the seat of the Ukrainian chief rabbinate and a Jewish day school was opened.

[Zvi Ofer]

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KIEVAL, HAYYIM (Herman) (1920–1991), Conservative rabbi and scholar of Jewish liturgy. Kieval was born and raised in Baltimore where he studied with Dr. Louis *Kaplan at Baltimore Hebrew College and with Prof. William F. *Albright at Johns Hopkins. He received an M.H.L. and was ordained as a rabbi by the *Jewish Theological Seminary (JTS) in 1942.

Kieval served as a congregational rabbi for over 40 years, including 31 years at Temple Israel in Albany, New York. The congregation created its own day school as well as a Hebrew-speaking day camp called Camp Givah. It also produced scholars of international renown such as Robert Alter and Robert Chazin as well as numerous rabbis. He was heavily involved in ecumenical work, teaching at Notre Dame University, Princeton Theological Seminary, and Siena College, where he founded and directed the Institute for Jewish-Christian Studies.

Kieval's main academic interest was Jewish liturgy. From 1958 to 1980 he served as visiting associate professor of liturgy in the Cantorial School of the Jewish Theological Seminary. He also served as committee member or advisor for Conservative prayer books (1961–85) and published a series of scholarly articles about Jewish liturgy. His *magnum opus* is *The High Holy Days: A Commentary on the Prayerbook of Rosh Hashanah and Yom Kippur*. Book One on Rosh Hashanah was published in 1959. It was republished together with Book Two: *Kol Nidre Night* in 2004. The text is aimed at laypeople while the footnotes are intended for rabbis and scholars. It is considered by many to be the best English-language commentary on the High Holiday Mahzor.

[David Golinkin (2nd ed.)]

KIKOINE, MICHEL (1891–1968), French painter, born in Gomel, Russia, and a member of the School of Paris. As a Jew he was not permitted to study art at the Royal Academy in St. Petersburg, and therefore moved to Paris in 1912 where he joined the Académie des Beaux Arts and associated with his fellow Russian Jews, *Soutine and Kremègne. Kikoine visited Israel in 1950 and 1953. In 1956 he executed a series of colored lithographs titled *Children of Israel*.

Primarily a colorist, Kikoine claimed to be influenced by Courbet, with his feeling for the organic life of nature. His paintings of figures and landscape are subtle and poetic, making a slow impact.

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KILAYIM (Heb. כִּלְאַיִם), the name of a tractate in the Mishnah, Tosefta and Jerusalem Talmud dealing with several biblical prohibitions of mixed species.

The Torah (Lev. 19:19; Deut. 22:9–11) lists a number of different examples of mixtures that are prohibited as mixed species. The *halakhah* reflected in the Mishnah and related works classifies the prohibitions under at least five categories: (1) interbreeding of animals (Ch. 8); (2) planting mixed seeds (Chs. 2 and 3), understood to include the grafting of trees (1:4, 7–8); (3) *sha'atnez*: mixing wool and linen in garments (Ch. 9); (4) planting grain or greens in a vineyard (Chs. 4–7); (5) ploughing or doing other work with two different species of animal (8:2–4). In its ten chapters, the Mishnah *Kilayim* deals with the regulations governing all five. In contrast to the assumption of the rabbinic *halakhah*, mixed seeds was not accepted as a separate biblical prohibition by some early traditions, who applied the relevant scriptural expression to the prohibition of grain in a vineyard. Although the *kil'a'im* laws themselves were derived from a relatively straightforward reading of the Torah, the details discussed in the tractate were deduced through the exercise of logic, analogies with other areas of law, or by application of the general rules to specific objects and situations. Jewish thinkers through the ages have speculated about the rationale for this prohibition, or have classified it as an unexplained or mysterious ordinance; however, the Mishnah and talmudic works deal with the technicalities of deriving and applying the law and not with its purpose.

Because the prohibitions only apply to the mixing of distinct species, but not to variants of a single species, Mishnah 1:1–6 deals with the botanical or biological classifications of seeds, trees or animals with a view to determining which are or are not separate species. There is evidence that the earlier stratum of *halakhah*, as represented by Beit Shammai, held to a stricter position that forbade even the mixing of sub-species (see Tosefta and Jerusalem Talmud 1:4). The rabbis' interpretations can be better understood when compared with ancient naturalists, as well as with the agricultural realia of Israel. Important contributions to the elucidation of *kilayim* from those perspectives have been made by I.E. Loew, S. Lieberman, and J. Feliks. On the whole, the halakhic classifications seem to owe more to popular usage and terminology than to scientific biology.

Questions dealt with in the Mishnah include the amount or proportion of the prohibited species that renders the field prohibited; separation of different species by visible barriers or distances (Ch. 3); procedures for changing a field over from one crop to another without leaving forbidden traces of the previous crop (3:6–7). Suggestions are offered on how to grow several species of greens of legumes in a small patch by separating them into distinct geometric patterns (3:1 etc.).

The prohibition of *kilayim* in the vineyard is spelled out very clearly in the Torah, along with the explicit penalty "lest the fruit of your seed which you have sown, and the fruit of your vineyard, be defiled"; hence it is treated more stringently, and the produce of such a mixture does not become permitted after the fact, as would occur in the case of mixed seeds.

The sages cited in the Mishnah *Kilayim* cover all the generations of tannaitic activity, from the days of the Temple (Eliezer ben Jacob) through to the scholars of Jabneh, Rabbi Akiva and his principal disciples. The Jerusalem Talmud, in addition to its commentary on the laws of the Mishnah and Tosefta, contains an aggadic digression (9:3, 32b) with biographical and hagiographical stories about Rabbi *Judah ha-Nasi and his contemporaries, material that was reworked in a less authentic version in TB, BM 83bff.).

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[Stephen G. Wald (2nd ed.)]

KILIYA (Rom. **Chilia-Nouă**), city in Izmail district, Bessarabia, today Moldova. Jews are first mentioned there in 1545. In the latter part of the century Jewish merchants from Constantinople used to pass through Kiliya on their way to Lvov. Information on a Jewish community is available only from the early 18th century (1713; 1715). There were 27 Jewish families (out of a total of 478) in 1808, and 249 persons in 1827. The community grew as a result of Jewish immigration into Bessarabia during the 19th century, and numbered 2,153 (18.5% of the total) in 1897. In 1930 there were 1,969 Jews (11.3% of the total). Before World War II the communal institutions included two old-age homes and a *Tarbut school and kindergarten. In 1940 it was annexed by the Soviet Union and incorporated in the Moldavian SSR. The Jews were transferred to Bolgrad and killed there by the German and Romanian armies when they entered Bessarabia in July 1941.

[Eliyahu Feldman]

KIMBERLEY, city in the Western Province of the Cape Province, South Africa, center of the South African diamond industry. Jews flocked to Kimberley on the discovery of diamonds there in 1870, and as early as 1871 a congregation, named the Griqualand West Hebrew Congregation, was formed, and the first synagogue was built in 1876. Among the early settlers were Barney *Barnato, his brother Harry, and his cousin David (later Sir David) *Harris. The first temporary minister was the Rev. Joel *Rabinowitz who returned to South Africa from England after his retirement. The first permanent minister was Meyer Mendelsohn. Until the founding of Johannesburg in 1886, Kimberley was home to the second largest Jewish community in South Africa, numbering over 2,000 souls at its peak. No fewer than five Jews have served as mayors of Kimberley: William Sagar (1906–08), Ernest (later Sir Ernest)

Oppenheimer (1913–15), Bernard Cohen (1931–32), Gustave Haberfeld (1953–55, 1966–67), Lionel Jawno (1959–61), and C. Sussman (1964–65). Sir David Harris, who also commanded the Kimberley Town Guard during the famous Boer siege of the town in the Anglo-Boer War, was MP for Kimberley and Griqualand West from 1897–1929. The discovery of gold on the Rand drew many Jews from Kimberley to Johannesburg. By 1970, the Jewish population of Kimberley had dropped to about 600 and by 2005, fewer than 50 Jews remained.

[Louis Isaac Rabinowitz / David Saks (2nd ed.)]

KIMCHE, JON (1909–1994), British editor and author. Born in Switzerland, he was educated in England where he took up journalism and specialized in Middle East affairs. From 1942 to 1946 he was editor of the Labour weekly *Tribune*. Kimche was a close friend of George Orwell, whom he first met in 1934 when they both worked as assistants in a bookshop in Hampstead, London. Kimche edited the *Jewish Observer and Middle East Review*, published by the British Zionist Federation, from 1952 to 1967. From 1968 he edited the monthly *New Middle East*. He wrote several books on the Middle East, including *Both Sides of the Hill* (1960), an account of the Israeli War of Liberation, written with his brother David Kimche; *Seven Fallen Pillars* (1953); and *The Unromantics* (1968), dealing with the Balfour Declaration.

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KIMḤI, DAVID (known as **Radak** from the acronym of **R**abbi **D**avid **K**imḥi; **Maistre Petit**; 1160?–1235?), grammarian and exegete of Narbonne, Provence. The son of Joseph *Kimḥi and brother and pupil of Moses *Kimḥi, David was a teacher in his native town and was active in public causes. He is known to have participated in the judgment (between 1205 and 1218) of several contentious persons from Barcelona who dishonored the memory of Rashi. During the Maimonidean controversy of 1232, he undertook a journey to Toledo to gain the support of Judah *Ibn Alfakhar for the Maimonideans. He was prevented from reaching his destination because of illness but his strong defense of Maimonides and the latter's followers together with Ibn Alfakhar's critique of Kimḥi have been preserved in the correspondence between them (in *Kovez Teshuvot ha-Rambam*, Leipzig, 1859, pt. 3).

Philology

Kimḥi's first work was his philological treatise, the *Mikhlol*, written in two sections; the grammatical portion (*Ḥelek ha-Dikduk*) which itself came to be known as the *Mikhlol* (Constantinople, 1532), and the lexicon (*Ḥelek ha-Inyan*) known independently as the *Sefer ha-Shorashim* (before 1480). Kimḥi's purpose in composing the *Mikhlol* was to provide a middle ground between the lengthy and detailed treatises of Jonah *Ibn Janaḥ and Judah b. David *Ḥayyuj and the extreme brevity and concision of Abraham *Ibn Ezra and the elder Kimḥis. His chief contribution in grammar lies in the arrangement of the material and the popularization of the innovations of his father and brother. These include the division of the vowels into five long and five short, the treatment of the *nifal* as the passive of the *kal*, the recognition of the *dagesh lene*, etc. Seeing himself only as a "gleaner after the reapers," Kimḥi nevertheless made some original contributions, including his distinguishing of the *vav* consecutive (*vav ha-sherut*) from the *vav* conjunctive and his concern for the continued development of the language through the recognition of the legitimacy of post-biblical forms. In point of fact, Kimḥi was criticized for being highly unconventional as a grammarian by such figures as Joseph ibn *Kaspi, Profiat *Duran, David b. Solomon *Ibn Yaḥya, and Abraham de *Balmes. He found advocates, however, in the *Magen David* of Abraham b. Elisha b. Mattathias, the *Mikhlol Yofi* of Solomon ibn Melekh, and the writings of Elijah *Levita, and it was due to the *Mikhlol* and the *Shorashim* that most of the works of his predecessors sank into oblivion. In Jewish circles, the phrase "If there is no flour [*kemaḥ*, etymon of Kimḥi], there is no Torah" (Avot 3:17) was applied to him, while his influence on the Christian Hebraists of the Renaissance was profound. *Reuchlin's *Rudimenta Linguae Hebraicae* and *Lexicon Hebraicum* (1506) and Santes Pagninus' *Institutiones* (1520) and *Thesaurus* (1529) are basically reworkings of Kimḥi, while Sebastian *Muenster's writings betray his influence heavily.

Masorah

Much of the material in the *Mikhlol* was abridged in the *Et Sofer* (Lyck, 1864), a manual for copyists of the Bible, necessitated by widespread ignorance among scribes and the proliferation of biblical manuscript traditions in the 12th century. In it he treats in detail such problems as the *keri* and the *ketiv* and the accents. His interest in masorah was not limited to this treatise, for numerous observations in this area are recorded in the commentaries. Especially noteworthy is his theory that the *keri* and the *ketiv* developed out of a confusion of readings in the time of the men of the *Great Synagogue who, according to him, established the text ("Introduction to Joshua"). His concern for the establishment of the correct text is attested to by his travels in pursuit of old manuscripts.

Exegesis

Kimḥi began his exegetical activity with a commentary to the Book of Chronicles (in Rabbinic Bible, Venice, 1548) written in response to the request of a student of his father's for an exegesis of that book in accordance with the plain sense or *derekh ha-peshat* in contrast to the homiletic commentaries which were then prevalent. This was followed by commentaries to Genesis (ed. by R.L. Kirchheim, 1842), all the prophetic books (Guadalajara, 1482), and Psalms (1477). In all of these, Kimḥi endeavored to utilize the methodology of Ibn Ezra and the elder Kimḥis, stressing scientific philological analysis and de-emphasizing homiletical digression. Unlike these predecessors, however, Kimḥi relied heavily on rabbinic literature, distinguishing between *perush* or interpretation which conformed to his standards of *peshat*, and purely homiletical interpretations or *derashot*, many of which he included nonetheless for added interest. In his exegesis too, Kimḥi strove for clarity and readibility in an attempt to depart from the compression and obscurity of his predecessors.

Philosophical Interests

Kimḥi read widely in philosophic and scientific literature and was strongly influenced by the rationalism of Ibn Ezra and Maimonides. He frequently alluded to philosophical matters as an aid to exegesis on the one hand and in an attempt to popularize such studies on the other. He was no original philosopher and his theories are adaptations of those of his predecessors. Thus his theory of prophecy parallels that of Maimonides in the discussion of the prerequisites for and the levels of prophecy, although Kimḥi goes farther in recognizing the possibility of the prophethood of a gentile. He follows Maimonides too on the problem of providence in saying that individual providence is subject to intellectual attainment, although he expresses the somewhat independent view that animals may be subject to individual providence in the event that their actions benefit or harm a human being. Kimḥi generally attempted to explain miracles naturalistically or to underplay them. There is considerable discussion of the classification of the commandments with reliance principally on pre-Maimonidean terminology and conceptions, but there is little actual analysis of the "reasons for the commandments" (*ta'amei ha-mitzvot*) since he did not write on the legal portions of the Pentateuch. Using the material in Maimonides' *Guide of the Perplexed* as a model, Kimḥi wrote two very detailed "esoteric" (*nistar*) commentaries to Genesis 2:7–5:1 (see bibliography) and to the first chapter of Ezekiel (in the Rabbinical Bible, Warsaw, 1902).

Kimḥi's dissemination of philosophic material in the commentaries, intended to whet the appetite of the general reader, came under severe censure from a number of authorities, including Judah ibn Alfakhar, Jacob *Emden, and *David b. Solomon ibn Abi Zimra, despite the fact that, with the exception of the two philosophical commentaries, his rationalistic material was cited with considerable discretion. Ironically, Kimḥi's commentaries were considered deficient in their rationalism by *Immanuel b. Solomon of Rome who himself was given to allegorical interpretation.

Polemics

The commentaries contain a considerable amount of polemical material, much of it based on the *Sefer ha-Berit* of Joseph Kimḥi. He attacks a number of christological interpretations by demonstrating Christian "corruption" of the text (Isa. 2:22; Ps. 22:17; 110:1, etc.) or the inapplicability (Isa. 7:14; Ezra 44:2) or irrationality (Ps. 87, end; 110, end, etc.) of the interpretation. He inveighs frequently against the allegorical mode of the Christian interpreters (Ps. 19:10; 119 passim, etc.). Certain basic questions in the Jewish-Christian controversy, chief among which is the identity of the "true Israel," were frequently raised. Kimḥi wards off the attempt of Christian theologians to claim the name of Israel or other biblical names of the Jewish people for the Church and lays great stress on the superior morality and religiosity of the Jews. He defends the taking of interest from a gentile "for in general they hate Israel" but discourages exacting it from a righteous gentile (Ps. 22:23). Although very much aware of Israel's tribulations in exile, Kimḥi believed in a special providence for the Jewish people which paralleled the special providence of the sage, in that Israel is a nation of sages "who meditated on My deeds and confessed My unity" (Isa. 43:7). Never explaining how this providence is manifested, he limited himself to frequent references to the future redemption in the messianic age. The polemic material in the Psalms commentary was collected and printed separately as *Teshuvot la-Noẓerim* in the Altdorf (1644) edition of Lipmann Muehlhausen's *Sefer ha-Nizzaḥon*. The so-called "*Vikku'aḥ ha-RaDaK*," printed in the *Milḥemet Ḥovah* (Constantinople, 1710), has been shown to be falsely attributed to Kimḥi.

Spurious Writings

Several other works have been wrongly ascribed to Kimḥi, including a commentary to *Ethics of the Fathers* (Turin *Siddur*, 1525); the commentaries on part of the *Guide* and the creed of Maimonides; the commentary on *Pittum ha-Ketoret (Koveẓ Devarim Neḥmadim*, 1902); the *Perush Sheḥitah* (H.B. Levy, *Mikdash Me'at*, Ms. 152, 4); a commentary on Ruth (published by J. Mercier, Paris, 1563). There are several medieval testimonies to commentaries on the remaining four books of the Pentateuch and on Proverbs but these, like the Job commentary in I. Schwartz's *Tikvat Enosh* (1868), may have been culled from his philological writings.

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[Frank Talmage]

KIMḤI, DOV (originally **Meller**, **Berish**; 1889–1961), Hebrew author, translator, and editor. Born in Jaslo, Galicia, Kimḥi became an ardent Zionist in his youth and immigrated to Palestine in 1908. He settled in Jerusalem, and from 1912 until his retirement taught at the Reḥaviah Gymnasium, Jerusalem. He made his literary debut in the journal *Ha-Mizpeh* in 1905, under his original name Berish Meller. After his arrival in Jerusalem he began writing novels, short stories, and essays, and also engaged extensively in translation work. His fiction covers a wide range of settings from his native Galicia, through Western Europe, to Ereẓ Israel. In addition to several works on the Bible, two collections of essays, and numerous translations, he published anthologies of world literature and of Israel stories. His other works include *Ma'barot* (1923); *Sefer ha-Ki-*

lyonot (1926); *Ha-Kufsah ha-Keḥullah* (1926); *Emesh* (1927); and *Ẓiyyurim me-Olam Nishkaḥ* (1943). His novel *Beit Ḥefeẓ* (1951), a "European novel" (Menahem Peri) of love intrigues and betrayals set against the background of Jerusalem on the eve of World War I, gained much attention upon its "rediscovery" and publication by Peri in 1993.

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[Getzel Kressel (2nd ed.)]

KIMḤI, JACOB BEN SAMUEL (c. 1720–1800), talmudist and author in London. Jacob Kimḥi was born in Constantinople where his father Samuel, whose responsa are mentioned in the *Masat Moshe* of Moses *Israel (ḤM nos. 50–51; Constantinople, 1734), was rabbi. At an early age Kimḥi undertook journeys through Europe, finally arriving in London, where he remained until his death. There he engaged in business but became well known through his extensive knowledge of Talmud. Ḥ.J.D. *Azulai made his acquaintance in London and describes him as "an acute and erudite" scholar. He was the author of *Shoshannat Ya'akov* (Sulzbach, 1748), novellae to tractates *Beẓah* and *Ta'anit*. He states that his aim was "to avoid casuistry and hairsplitting and establish the plain meaning of the Talmud in order to arrive at the law"; he sought to answer difficulties raised against the statements of Rashi and the tosafists. His *She'elah u-Teshuvah be-Inyan Bedikat ha-Re'ah ve-ha-Sheḥitah u-Vedikah be-London* ("A Responsum on the Subject of the Slaughtering of Cattle and the Examination of their Lungs in London"; Altona, 1760) was occasioned by a dispute that broke out in London between 1755 and 1766 in connection with **sheḥitah*, which led to a schism between the Ashkenazi and Sephardi communities, in consequence of the accusations of the Sephardi *shoḥet* Ḥayyim Albahali (1755) that the slaughterers did not sufficiently supervise the examination of the meat after *sheḥitah*. Kimḥi published his work, in which he supported the view of Albahali, when the dispute was at its height.

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[Yehoshua Horowitz]

KIMḤI, JOSEPH (also known as **Maistre Petit**; **Rikam**, from the acronym of **R**abbi **J**oseph **Kimḥi**; c. 1105–c. 1170), grammarian, exegete, translator, and polemist. Kimḥi migrated from Spain in the wake of the Almohad persecutions and settled permanently in Narbonne. Overshadowed by his more prominent sons, Moses and David *Kimḥi, he nevertheless performed a major function as a pioneer scholar by helping to introduce the learning and methodology of Spanish Jewry into Christian Europe. In this respect, his activities paralleled those of Abraham Ibn Ezra, whom Kimḥi probably knew personally and who cited him in his writings. He had several disciples, including his son Moses, Menahem b. Simeon of Posquières, R. Solomon b. Isaac ha-Nesiah, and Joseph ibn Zabara. He composed works for the benefit of his countrymen who could not read the grammars written in Arabic, especially those of *Ḥayyuj and *Ibn Janaḥ, whom he generally followed. In the *Sefer ha-Zikkaron* (published by W. Bacher, 1888), he introduced the concept of five long and five short vowels, presented the *pi'el* and the *hofal* as distinct conjugations, and provided a list of nominal forms. In addition to its influence on the grammars written by his sons, the *Zikkaron* was used by Elijah Levita and Abraham de Balmes. His second grammatical treatise, the *Sefer ha-Galui* (published by H.J. Mathews, 1887), consists of two parts; a critique of R. Jacob *Tam's *Hakhra'ot* on the *Maḥberet* of *Menahem b. Jacob ibn Saruq and a compilation of Kimḥi's own critical remarks on points in the *Maḥberet* left untouched by Tam. A defense of the latter by Benjamin of Canterbury has been incorporated into the text of the *Sefer ha-Galui*.

As an exegete, Kimḥi stressed the "plain sense" or *peshat* of Scripture in contrast to the homiletical school of exegesis prevalent in the Provence of his day. In addition to the exegetical material in his grammars, he composed the following commentaries: *Sefer ha-Torah* on the Pentateuch (published by H. Gad, in *Ḥamishah Me'orot Gedolim*, 1953); *Sefer ha-Miknah* on the Prophets (no longer extant); on Proverbs (entitled *Sefer Ḥikkah* by the publisher, 1868); on Job (published incompletely by I. Schwarz in *Tikvat Enosh*, 1868); on Song of Songs (in Ms.). An unknown commentary *Ḥibbur ha-Leket* was ascribed to him by his son David. Much of Kimḥi's exegesis influenced and was cited in the commentaries of his sons, of Menahem b. Simeon, and of Jacob b. Asher. Kimḥi prepared a translation of Baḥya ibn Paquda's *Ḥovot ha-Levavot* (fragment published in the I.A. Benjacob edition (1846) of Ibn Tibbon's translation). He was the author too of the *Shekel ha-Kodesh*, extant in two recensions (one of which was published by H. Gollancz in 1919), a rhymed collection of gnomic sayings based upon the *Mivḥar ha-Peninim* of Solomon ibn *Gabirol. Kimḥi himself composed a number of liturgical works which found their way into the prayer books of several communities. His polemical treatise, the *Sefer ha-Berit* (Constantinople, 1710), vies with Jacob b. Reuben's *Milḥamot ha-Shem* for the honor of being the first anti-Christian polemical work written in Europe. Cast as a dialogue between the "believer" (*ma'amin*) and the "heretic" (*min*), the work attacks certain basic christological interpretations of scriptural passages, in addition to such doctrines as original sin, the incarnation, and the relative morality of Jews and Christians including the question of lending money on interest. The *Sefer ha-Berit* especially influenced the polemics of Kimḥi's son David and of Naḥmanides.

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[Frank Talmage]

KIMḤI, MORDECAI (second half of 13th century), a Provençal rabbi and halakhic authority of Carpentras, grandson of David *Kimḥi. Urbach's opinion that he was the maternal grandfather of *Perez b. Elijah cannot be accepted since Mordecai was an older contemporary of Solomon b. Abraham *Adret, and around 1305 wrote a moderate and tolerant responsum in reply to *Abba Mari b. Moses' request for his opinion on the ban on the study of philosophy (Abba Mari b. Moses, *Minḥat Kena'ot*, no. 9), whereas Perez had died some 10 years earlier. Various collections of his responsa are extant, one of which was published by A. Sofer in *Teshuvot Ḥakhmei Provinẓyah* (1967). His son, ISAAC (or Maistre Petit de Nions, as he was known in French), also a well-known scholar, appears to have lived in Narbonne, and it is possible that he married there into the family of *David b. Levi, author of *Sefer ha-Mikhtam*, since he refers to him as "my relation." Isaac was in close correspondence with Solomon b. Abraham Adret, many of whose responsa are addressed to him. A collection of his responsa was published together with those of his father in the above-mentioned work. Isaac also wrote commentaries, novellae, and halakhic rulings on most of the Talmud and on other branches of scholarship (Isaac de Lattes, *Sha'arei Ẓiyyon*, ed. by S. Buber (1885), 47), and one of his responsa was published with those of Isaac de Lattes (1860). Six of his *azharot* for the afternoon service of the Feast of Shavuot appear in the *Maḥzor Carpentras* (ed. Amsterdam, 1759).

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[Israel Moses Ta-Shma]

KIMḤI, MOSES (known by the acronym **Remak,** i.e., **R**abbi **M**oses **K**imḥi; d. c. 1190), grammarian and exegete of Narbonne, Provence; son of Joseph *Kimḥi and brother of David *Kimḥi. As a grammarian, he generally followed his father, although his work shows traces of the influence of Abraham *Ibn Ezra, especially in terminology. He was little concerned with phonology and stressed the morphology of the verb. In the *Mahalakh Shevilei ha-Da'at* (Pesaro, 1508), Moses introduced the use of the root *pkd* (פקד) in paradigms and, considering *nifal* the passive of *kal*, arranged the conjugations in the order: *kal, nifal, pi'el, pu'al, hifil, hofal, po'el, hitpa'el*. These innovations became common in later grammars. The *Mahalakh* was glossed both by Elijah Levita and Shabbetai b. Isaac of Przemysl and was translated into Latin by Sebastian Muenster under the title *Liber viarum linguae sacrae* (Paris, 1520). Moses also wrote *Sekhel Tov* (published by D. Castelli, in REJ, 28 (1894), 212–27; 29 (1894), 100–10), a brief supplementary treatise dealing principally with the theoretical classification of nouns, particles, and verbs. A *Sefer Taḥboshet*, apparently dealing with anomalous grammatical forms, is no longer extant.

In his exegesis, Moses followed the method of literal interpretation employed by his father and Ibn Ezra. Preferring to comment on generally neglected books of the Bible, he composed commentaries on Proverbs, Ezra, and Nehemiah – which have been printed in rabbinic Bibles but ascribed to Abraham Ibn Ezra – and a commentary on Job (published by I. Schwarz in *Tikvat Enosh*, 1868). *Ta'anug Nefesh*, an ethical work, has also been attributed to him. Moses Kimḥi exercised considerable influence on his brother David, who referred to him as "my brother, my teacher." Through Muenster's translation, his *Mahalakh* became one of the most popular grammars used by the 16th-century Christian Hebraists and was reprinted many times.

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[Frank Talmage]

KIMḤI, RAPHAEL ISRAEL BEN JOSEPH (first half of 18th century), emissary of Safed. Kimḥi was born in Constantinople where he studied under Ḥayyim b. Isaac Raphael *Alfandari. When his teacher moved to Ereẓ Israel in 1713 he followed him and settled in Safed, where he studied under Jacob Vilna Ashkenazi. In 1728 he traveled to Italy as an emissary of the Safed community and was in Mantua in 1729. In Padua he was a guest of the father of Moses Ḥayyim *Luzzatto, where he immersed himself in Luzzatto's works and in the polemic (of 1730) which raged about them, justifying Luzzatto's views. A responsum written by him to Raphael *Meldola during this visit – in Venice 1730 – on the laws of writing a **Sefer Torah* is included in *Mayim Rabbim* (1737). From Venice, Kimḥi sent a letter to Corfu (1730) in which he complained of discrimination against Safed in the matter of contributions assigned to Ereẓ Israel. In his letter he stresses the critical situation of the Safed community and demands greater interest in the lot of his town as against the other "holy towns." Kimḥi was requested by the Safed community to go to Corfu, but the Venetian rabbis persuaded him to delay this journey because of the state of his health and promised to undertake the task themselves in Corfu. He died during his mission, apparently before 1737. In that year his brother Abraham published from his literary remains the *Avodat Yisrael* on the order of the Temple service on the Day of Atonement. Comments on this work are to be found in the *Shifat Revivim* (1788) of David *Pardo, who also mentions it in his *Shoshannim le-David* (1752). Besides this Kimḥi left a commentary in manuscript called *Einei Yisrael* on the *Sefer Mitzvot Katan* which was seen by Ḥ.J.D. Azulai.

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[Yehoshua Horowitz]

KIMḤI, SOLOMON BEN NISSIM JOSEPH DAVID (mid-19th century), talmudist of Constantinople. Solomon's father, who died in 1836, was rabbi in Constantinople; Solomon himself was at the height of his activity in 1861 and was still alive in 1870. He wrote *Melekhet Shelomo* (1862) consisting of responsa, novellae to various tractates, and sermons; *Yakhil Shelomo* (1865), novellae to the four parts of Jacob b. Asher's Tur; *Yemei Shelomo* (1874), novellae to Maimonides' *Mishneh Torah*. The *Melekhet Shelomo* (YD no. 4, p. 8b) includes his interesting reply to the question whether a Jew may teach the Oral Law to Karaites. He takes up a consistent and extreme attitude, insisting that Karaites of his day are to be regarded as non-Jews and that, as their intention is undoubtedly merely to embarrass Jewish scholars, such teaching is forbidden. This ruling gave rise to considerable controversy and the Karaites reacted strongly in an article in the *Journal Israélite* (no. 513/14, December 1866) demanding that Yakir Gheron, the chief rabbi of Constantinople, intervene in the matter. The latter in fact ordered the burning of all copies of the book that could be found and severely censured the author. In accordance with his view of the status of the Karaites, Kimḥi laid down that one may use milk drawn by a Karaite on a day which is a Jewish festival but not according to the Karaite calendar (*Yakhil Shelomo*, 35:b).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Frankl, in: MGWJ, 33 (1884), 553f., 557f.; A. Galante, *Histoire des Juifs d'Istanbul*, 1 (1941), 133.

[Yehoshua Horowitz]

KIMḤIT, high priestly family in the last years of the Second Temple. Although the Talmud states: "Kimḥit had seven sons, each of whom served as high priest" (TJ, Meg. 1:12, 72a; Yoma 47a), the only members of the family known as such were: SIMEON son of Kimḥit, high priest in 17–18 C.E., also known as Ishmael. He was appointed by the procurator Valerius Gratus and deposed after a year when the high priesthood was given to Joseph *Caiaphas (Jos., Ant., 18:34). The Talmud relates that on the Day of Atonement he fell into conversation with an Arab ruler and inadvertently became unclean. His brother Yeshovav was substituted for him so that their mother saw both her sons high priests on the same day. JOSEPH son of Kimḥit, high priest 44–47 C.E., probably brother of the above. After the emperor Claudius granted *Herod, king of Chalcis, the right to appoint high priests the latter removed Elionaeus (or Cantheras; see Jos., Ant., 20:16n.) and appointed Joseph to the post. JOSEPH son of Simeon, high priest 61–62 C.E., appointed by Agrippa II in succession to *Ishmael b. Phiabi. He was among the group of priests who escaped to the Roman camp in 70 C.E., after the fall of the fortress *Antonia. Josephus refers to him as "Joseph, son of the high priest Simeon, called Kabi" (Ant., 20:196). This has led some scholars to believe that he was a member of the Boethus family, but it is more probable that he was a member of the Kimḥit family (see Schuerer, Gesch, 2:275). The Talmud praises the members of this family: "all flour [*kemaḥim*] is good but the flour of Kimḥit is of the best [*solet*]" (TJ, Meg. 1:12, 72a).

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[Edna Elazary]

KIMMEL, SIDNEY (1928–), U.S. businessman, philanthropist. The son of a Philadelphia cab driver, Kimmel, a self-made man, became not only a leading apparel manufacturer but possibly the biggest individual donor to cancer research in the U.S. Although he had virtually no religious education as a child, he became committed to Jewish causes and was a bar mitzvah at the age of 73. A college dropout from Temple University between two tours of duty in the U.S. Army, Kimmel was born and raised in Philadelphia. His first job, setting up pins in a bowling alley, paid $2 a day. He started working in a knitting mill in the 1950s, then was hired by Villager, a Philadelphia sportswear company. Kimmel supervised the knitwear line, Villager's fastest-growing unit, becoming the company's president in 1968. The following year, he left to run the Jones apparel division of the conglomerate W.R. Grace. He was joined by designer Rena Rowan, who remained with him for the next 33 years. With a new label, Jones New York, the company produced modestly priced sportswear and suits with a designer look. Kimmel and a partner bought the Jones New York name from Grace in 1975, and Kimmel became chairman. In the 1980s, overexpansion and a problematic licensing deal almost bankrupted him. In 1989, Jones returned to profitability and in 1991 Kimmel took the company public. It became one of the world's top designers and marketers of branded apparel, footwear, and accessories, boasting such global brands as Jones New York, Lauren by Ralph Lauren, Polo Jeans, Nine West, Evan-Picone, and Gloria Vanderbilt. In 2002, Kimmel stepped down as chief executive officer of Jones Apparel Group, but remained chairman. His other business interests included the Miami Heat basketball team, the Harry Cipriani international restaurant chain, and a movie company, Sidney Kimmel Entertainment. In 1993, Kimmel, who married late in life and has no children, created the Sidney Kimmel Foundation and its subsidiary, the Sidney Kimmel Foundation for Cancer Research. He funded Kimmel Cancer Centers in San Diego, Calif., at Thomas Jefferson University Hospital in Philadelphia, at Baltimore's Johns Hopkins University, and at New York's Memorial Sloan-Kettering. His Kimmel Scholars program provides grants to promising young cancer researchers, and he was the top individual donor to the Kimmel Center for the Performing Arts in Philadelphia. Kimmel, together with Rowan, gave $5 million in 1995 for a special exhibitions hall at the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington, D.C. In 2001, he pledged two $20 million endowments, one to the Jewish Federation of Greater Philadelphia, the other to the Raymond and Ruth Perelman Jewish Day School, to be given after his death. He said he would give both institutions $1 million each every year for the rest of his life. He also pledged $25 million to the National Museum for American Jewish History's new building being planned for Philadelphia. Among his many honors are the American Jewish Committee's National Human Relations Award, the Award for Excellence in Corporate Leadership from the Society of Memorial Sloan-Kettering Cancer Center, the American Cancer Society's Humanitarian Award, and Temple University's Musser Award for Excellence in Leadership.

[Mort Sheinman (2nd ed.)]

KINAH (Heb. קִינָה; pl. קִינוֹת, *kinot*), poem expressing mourning, pain, and sorrow. One of the earliest poetic forms, it is also termed **hesped* (lamentation), from which developed, in the course of time, the customary prose eulogy over the dead (called *martiyyah* in the Spanish-Arabic communities). Spoken first over important dead of the family or nation (e.g., Gen. 23:2, Jer. 22:18; Zech. 12:10), *kinot* were subsequently recited over calamities which befell the nation or the country, as well as over oppressive edicts decreed upon the community or upon the people. Professional female (Heb. *mekonenot*, see Jer. 9:16 and 19) and male mourners (Heb. *sofedim*, Eccl. 12:5) recited the *kinot*, some of which they composed themselves. Several ancient *kinot* are recorded in the Bible, such as David's *kinah* over Saul and Jonathan (II Sam. 1:19–27), and the Book of Lamentations – also called "the scroll [or book] of *kinot*" – a collection of *kinot* in alphabetical order on the destruction of Jerusalem and the Exile of Israel. The Talmud preserves a number of whole *kinot* and fragments of *kinot* (MK 25b). In the Middle Ages, many *kinot* were composed for various calamities, such as the earthquake in the Sabbatical year (*ra'ash shevi'i*) in Tiberias and other cities of Israel (YMHSI, 3 (1936), 153–63), the *kinah* of Solomon ibn *Gabirol on the death of *Jekuthiel (Davidson, Oẓar, 2 (1929), 23 no. 525); and the *kinah* of *Eleazar b. Judah, author of *Sefer ha-Roke'aḥ*, on the murder of his wife and two daughters (A.M. Habermann (ed.), *Gezerot Ashkenaz ve-Ẓarefat* (1946), 165–7). Those composed over the restrictive edicts of the Middle Ages were usually appended to the *kinot* recited on the Ninth of *Av (*Megillat Eikhah* and the *kinot* of Eleazar ha-Kallir), and other fast days.

In popular parlance the term *kinot* is generally used for those recited on the Ninth of Av. Many *kinot* written for that day start with the word Zion and are thus known as Zionides (see Jerusalem in **Piyyut*).

Some *kinot* are without any acrostic; others have an alphabetical acrostic, or one indicating the name of the author, or both; some are also rhymed. Since the first publication of the group of *kinot* according to the Ashkenazi rite (Cracow, 1585), hundreds of editions have appeared, both with and without commentaries. A scientific edition was published by D. Goldschmidt (1968). The *kinot* of the Sephardi Jews were published in *Seder Arba Ta'aniyyot* (Venice, 1590). Many of the *kinot* of the Middle Ages, however, have not yet been published.

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[Abraham Meir Habermann]

KINDERFREUND, ARYEH LEIB (1788–1837), Galician Haskalah poet. Born in Zamosc (Poland), the son of a well-to-do family, he received a broad Jewish and secular education. His family's fortunes declined, and he moved to Galicia and became a teacher. For a time he taught in Tarnopol, in the Hebrew school established by J. *Perl; later he moved to Jaroslaw, and finally to Brody. He published one collection of poems, *Shirim Shonim* (Lemberg, 1834), which includes occasional lyric poems and pastoral odes. He left in manuscript form a study of the Hebrew language (he attempted to prove that it is the mother of all tongues), in which he also deals with tonal poetic meter in Hebrew, in which he was a pioneer, using examples from his own works.

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[Getzel Kressel]

KINDERTRANSPORT, the movement of German and Austrian Jewish children to England in advance of World War II. On November 15, 1938, a few days after **Kristallnacht*, a delegation of British Jewish leaders appealed in person to British Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain. Among other measures, they requested that the British government permit the temporary admission of children and teenagers, who would later re-emigrate. The Jewish community promised to put up guarantees for the refugee children.

The next day, the British cabinet debated the issue. The home secretary, Sir Samuel Hoare, said that the country could not admit more refugees without provoking a backlash, but the foreign secretary, Lord Halifax, suggested that an act of generosity might have the benefit of prompting the United States to accept additional immigrants. The cabinet committee on refugees subsequently decided that the nation would accept unaccompanied children ranging from infants to teenagers under the age of 17. No limit to the number of refugees was ever publicly announced.

The home secretary announced the program to the assembled members of Parliament at the House of Commons, who broadly welcomed the initiative that would come to be known as the *Kindertransport*.

Within a very short time, the Movement for the Care of Children from Germany, later known as the Refugee Children's Movement (RCM), sent representatives to Germany and Austria to establish the systems for choosing, organizing, and transporting the children. On November 25, British citizens heard an appeal for foster homes on the BBC Home Service radio program. Soon there were 500 offers. They did not insist that prospective homes for Jewish children should be Jewish homes. Nor did they probe too carefully into the motives and character of the families: it was sufficient for the houses to look clean and the families to seem respectable.

In Germany, a network of organizers was established, and these volunteers worked around the clock to make priority lists of those most imperiled: teenagers who were in concentration camps or in danger of arrest, Polish children or teenagers threatened with deportation, children in Jewish orphanages, those whose parents were too impoverished to keep them, or those with parents in a concentration camp.

The first *Kindertransport* from Berlin departed on December 1, 1938, the first from Vienna on December 10. For the first three months, the children came mainly from Germany, and then the emphasis shifted to Austria. In March 1939, after the German army entered Czechoslovakia, transports from Prague were hastily organized. Trains of Polish Jewish children were also arranged in February and August 1939.

The last group of children from Germany departed on September 1, 1939, the day the German army invaded Poland and provoked Great Britain, France, and other countries to declare war. The last known transport of *Kinder* from the Netherlands left on May 14, 1940, the day the Dutch army surrendered to Germany. Tragically, hundreds of *Kinder* were caught in Belgium and the Netherlands during the German invasion, making them subject once more to the Nazi regime and its collaborators.

Upon arrival at port in Great Britain, *Kinder* without prearranged foster families were sheltered at temporary holding centers located at summer holiday camps on the cold windy coast of East Anglia – Dovercourt near Harwich – and, for a short period, Pakefield near Lowestoft. Finding foster families was not always easy, and being chosen for a home was not necessarily the end of discomfort or distress. Some families took in teenage girls as a way of acquiring a maidservant. There was little sensitivity toward the cultural and religious needs of the children, and, for some, their heritage was all but erased. A few, mainly the youngest, were given new names, new identities, and even a new religion. In the end, many of the children for whom no home could be found were placed on farms or in hostels run by the RCM.

From the moment of their arrival, the children struggled to maintain contact with their parents. At first, letters between parents and children flowed fairly easily, and many were filled with hopes and plans for reunion. The beginning of the war in 1939 meant the end of this dream. In addition, the German government restricted the delivery of mail to and from Jews, forcing parents and children to rely on intermediaries or the Red Cross. In 1942 many stopped receiving letters for reasons they could not understand until later.

Older children suffered a different hardship when, in 1940, the British government ordered the internment of 16- to 70-year-old refugees from enemy countries – so-called "enemy aliens." Approximately 1,000 of the *Kinder* were held in makeshift internment camps, and around 400 were transported overseas to Canada and Australia. Those shipped to Australia on the *HMT Dunera* were mistreated during the long voyage, and a scandal that followed revelations about the mishandling of internment led to a program of releases in late 1940. Men in particular were offered the chance to do war work or to enter the Alien Pioneer Corps. About 1,000 German and Austrian teenagers served in the British armed forces, including combat units. Several dozen joined elite formations such as the Special Forces where their language skills could be put to good use.

Most of the *Kinder* survived the war, and some were reunited with parents who had either spent the war in hiding or endured the Nazi camps. Reunions were not always happy as children had grown and changed and their parents were also changed by what they had undergone. The majority of children, however, had to face the reality that home and family were lost forever.

In all, the *Kindertransport* rescue operation brought approximately 10,000 children to the relative safety of Great Britain – a large-scale act of mercy unique in a tragic historical period marked by brutality and widespread indifference.

[Deborah Oppenheimer, Scott Chamberlin, Gretchen Skidmore, and David Cesarani (2nd ed.)]

°KINDĪ, ABU YŪSUF YAʿQŪB IBN ISḤAQ AL- (805–873), most notable "philosopher of the Arabs." Al-Kindī is known to have written more than 270 works. His writings, many of them short treatises, deal with arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, astrology, pharmacology, meteorology, chemistry, medicine, optics, divination, music, and polemics. Through condensed writing, redundant passages, and repetitive arguments, Al-Kindī developed ideas and terminology from the philosophical works originally written in Greek and Syriac, and dressed the classical philosophic ideas in a popular style. For this purpose Al-Kindī oversaw the work of important early translators, such as Ustath, translator of Aristotle's *Metaphysics*; Yaḥya b. al-Biṭrīq, translator of Aristotle's *De Caelo*; and Ibn Naʿīma al-Ḥimsī, who translated logical works of Aristotle and parts of the *Enneads* of Plotinus known as the *Theology of Aristotle*. He was also involved in the translation of Proclus' *Elements of Theology*, named in Arabic *Book on the Pure Good* and called in Latin *Liber de Causis*.

Al-Kindī's works on philosophical topics are his treatise *On First Philosophy* (*Fī al-Falsafa al-Ūlā*) and the treatise *On the Definitions of Things and Their Descriptions* (*Fī Ḥudūd al-A'shyā' wa-Rusūmihā*); his treatise on the unity of God, *On the Oneness of God and the Limitation of the Body of the World* (*Fī Waḥdaniyat Allah wa-Tunahiy Jirm al-ʾAlām*); and a scientific work, dealing with *The Quantity of the Books of Aristotle and What Is Required for the Acquisition of Philosophy* (*Fi Kammiyat Kutub Aristutalis wa ma Yaḥtāj ilahi fi Taḥsīl al-Falsafa*). Among his ethical writings the best known is the treatise *On the Art of Averting Sorrows* (*Risālah fi al-hīlah li-Dafʿ al-Aḥzān*). Almost all of his works in Arabic, aside from translations into Hebrew and Latin, were lost until the mid-20th century, when 24 works of different size and varying importance were published in Cairo (1950, 1953) from an Istanbul manuscript.

Al-Kindī was born in *Kufa and served the *Abbasid caliphs al-Ma'mūn and al-Muʿaṣṣim. He fell from favor in the time of the caliph al-Mutawakkil. His status under the patronage of the Muʿtazilah-oriented Abbasid caliphs has naturally connected Al-Kindī with Mu'tazilite ideology, but in spite of external similarities (such as perceiving the unity of God as involving no attributes, predicates, or characteristics), Al-Kindī avoids characteristic Muʿazilite themes (such as God's unity and justice) and typical Muʿtazilite argumentation (such as the proofs for the creation of the world, and the supremacy of the revealed truth to all knowledge).

Al-Kindī based his philosophical views on an incomplete acquaintance with the teachings of Plato and Aristotle and other popular late Greek and Hellenistic authors. He contributed greatly to the formation of the philosophical-theological body of knowledge, enthusiastically embraced by Arabic philosophers who came after him. Much of the philosophical and scientific information reached Al-Kindī through oral transmission of paraphrases and commentaries and through secondary sources, such as encyclopedias and doxographies. Al-Kindī was the first to use systematically the science of philosophy to support faith. He deserves to be called the "First Arabic Philosopher," not only because of his ethnic origin but also because of his courageous and pioneering stand in favor of the superiority of philosophy to Arabic sciences and traditional Koranic studies. His distinction between logical, demonstrative information, and revealed, spontaneous knowledge is correlative to the distinction between objective nature and subjective self and between particulars and universals.

His unawareness of systematical differences between Aristotelianism and Neoplatonism is especially remarkable in Al-Kindī's perception of God as the True One in relation to the world and in his perception of the divine intellect as reflected in the human soul. While Aristotle bases the notion of the True One on its simplicity, uniqueness, and self-containment, in Neoplatonism these qualities are considered as deriving from the exaltedness of God. In his treatise on the soul, Al-Kindī also combines Platonic moral philosophy and the Platonic trichotomy of the soul with Aristotelian philosophy. He mentions the four platonic cardinal virtues but recommends observance of the Aristotelian golden mean. In his remarks on the intellect, Al-Kindī anticipates later mature theories of intellection, which explain the working of the human intellect as a minimized and imperfect imitation of the universal intellect. He alludes to the existence of a divine cosmic intellect, which is always in actuality in comparison to human intellect, which must overcome its state of potentiality in order to acquire knowledge. The status of the individual soul and its enduring life is still embryonic in Al-Kindī's full concept of the human soul, but here too Al-Kindī prefers to talk about interior serenity in current life rather than discuss eschatological topics common to theological literature, such as the resurrection of the dead, the end of days, the final judgment, and the nature of reward in the hereafter.

When describing the universe as composite and corruptible while arguing for its createdness, Al-Kindī follows John Philoponus' proofs of creation based on the impossibility of an infinite number, by using them as proofs for the finiteness of time and bodies.

Influence on Jewish Philosophy

Al-Kindī was one of the two main sources used by Isaac *Israeli (855–c. 955), the first Jewish Neoplatonist, in his philosophic writings. Whether Israeli read Al-Kindī's works, or acquired his knowledge through personal contact with Al-Kindī's disciples, is not known.

*Saadiah Gaon (882–942), in his *Book of Doctrines and Beliefs*, makes extensive use of arguments posited by Al-Kindī in his *On First Philosophy* and other treatises in favor of the finiteness of the world.

*Kalonymus b. Kalonymus translated three of Al-Kindī's minor treatises on astronomy and meteorology into Hebrew. Al-Kindī was mostly known in Hebrew literature as an astrologer, and *Abraham Ibn Ezra quotes him in this connection.

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[Amira Eran (2nd ed.)]

KING, ALAN (**Irwin Alan Kniberg**; 1927–2004), comedian, actor, producer, author. Born in Brooklyn to poor Russian-immigrant parents, King parlayed a borscht-belt sense of humor into a varied show business career that spanned over half a century, including countless appearances on national television shows. His political activism on behalf of civil rights (he marched with the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.), his campaigning for John F. Kennedy and Robert F. Kennedy, and his philanthropic contributions to Jewish causes in the United States and Israel (he founded the Alan King Diagnostic Medical Center in Jerusalem) made him one of the best-known figures in entertainment.

An unabashed wisecracking New Yorker, King honed his skills in the Jewish hotels of the Catskill Mountains after being expelled from high school at the age of 17. He got his first big break in 1949 when he headlined at New York's Paramount Theater. Seven years later he opened for Judy Garland at the Palace, and he accompanied the actress-singer when she performed in London. From there his career took off, leading to comedy, television, movies, theater and film production and five best-selling books. He took on the persona of a swaggering crank – part impatient executive, part put-upon husband and father – complete with elegant haberdashery, a fine cigar, and a sour expression

On stage, he mocked life in suburbia and criticized everything from airline food to marriage. He also appeared in almost 30 films (often as a rabbi, an agent, or a gangster), including *Bonfire of the Vanities*, *Bye, Bye Braverman*, and *Enemies, a Love Story*. As a Broadway producer, his credits included *The Impossible Years*, in which he also starred, *The Lion in Winter,* and Tyrone Guthrie's revival of *Dinner at Eight*.

In Israel, he also established a nonsectarian scholarship fund for American students at the Hebrew University and an Albert Einstein scholarship fund. He conducted fundraising efforts for the Nassau (L.I.) Center for Emotionally Disturbed Children and established a chair in dramatic arts at Brandeis University. He was a member of the board of the North Shore Medical Center.

His books include his autobiography, *Name Dropping: The Life and Lies of Alan King, Anyone Who Owns His Own Home Deserves It, Help! I'm a Prisoner in a Chinese Bakery, Is Salami and Eggs Better Than Sex?*, and *The Alan King Great Jewish Joke Book*.

In 1998, the National Foundation for Jewish Culture bestowed on King its first award for American Jewish humor. After that, the award carried King's name. On the New York stage in 2002, he portrayed the film tycoon Samuel *Goldwyn as a man of chutzpah and brass very much like himself, the *New York Times* said.

[Stewart Kampel (2nd ed.)]

KING, CAROLE (**Carole Klein**; 1942–), U.S. singer and songwriter. Born in Brooklyn, New York, King entered into a songwriting partnership with her husband Gerry Goffin (from whom she was divorced in 1968), and became part of one of the most successful songwriting teams of pop music of the early 1960s. They wrote such hit songs as "Will You Still Love Me Tomorrow?" (1960) for the Shirelles, "He's a Rebel" (1960) for the Chiffons, "The Locomotion" (1961) for Little Eva, "Go Away, Little Girl" (1962) for Steve Lawrence, "Up on the Roof" (1962) for the Drifters, "Take Good Care of My Baby" (1963) for Bobby Vee, "I'm into Something Good" (1964) for Herman's Hermits, "Natural Woman" (1965) for Aretha Franklin, and "Pleasant Valley Sunday" (1967) for the Monkees. She herself had a top-twenty hit during this period as well, "It Might As Well Rain until September" (1961), also co-written with Goffin.

Soon after her divorce, King started a solo career as a recording artist. Her album *Tapestry* (1970) was one of the biggest-selling albums in pop music annals, with recorded worldwide sales of 20,000,000. It won a Grammy as Album of the Year, while one of its tracks, "It's Too Late," was voted Record of the Year; and another, "You've Got a Friend," was named Song of the Year; and she won the Grammy for Best Pop Vocal Performance – Female. King was the only woman to win all four awards. She went on to write and record such hit songs as "I Feel the Earth Move" (1971), "So Far Away" (1971), and "One Fine Day" (1980).

King recorded more than 20 albums, as well as songs for such films as *Head* (1968), *Pocket Money* (1972), *Murphy's Romance* (1985), and *A League of Their Own* (Grammy nomination for Best Song, "Now and Forever," 1992). For television, she wrote the music for the TV special *Really Rosie* (1975); the theme for the series *The Trials of Rosie O'Neill* (1990–92); the title song for the TV movie *Freedom Song* (Emmy nomination for Outstanding Music and Lyrics, 2000); and she sang her song "Where You Lead," the opening theme of the series *Gilmore Girls* (2000). On Broadway, three original musical revues have featured her songs: *Rock 'n Roll! The First 5,000 Years* (1982); *Andre De Shield's Haarlem Nocturne* (1984); and *Uptown… It's Hot!* (1986). She also performed in the musical *Blood Brothers* (1993).

In 1990, King (with Gerry Goffin) was elected to the Rock and Roll Hall of Fame. In 2001 she was one of three recipients of the New York chapter of the Recording Academy's New York Heroes Award. And in 2004, King and Goffin were awarded the Grammy's Trustees Award for their contributions to the music industry.

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[Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

KING, KINGSHIP (Heb. מֶלֶךְ, מַלְכוּת).

In the Bible

The term "king" in the biblical frame of reference and that of the Ancient Near East generally designates a governor and ruler, usually the sole authority over his subjects. This term is used to designate the rulers of great empires such as Egypt, Assyria, and Persia; rulers of nation-kingdoms such as Moab, Edom, and Israel; and the rulers of city-states, such as Tyre, Hazor, and Jericho. Occasionally the term "king" is used to designate a tribal chief, or the chief of a group of tribes, e.g., "The kings of Midian" (Num. 31:8), and "the king of Kedar," mentioned in an Aramaic inscription of the Persian era.

Concept of Monarchy

The status of the monarchy and the concept of monarchy are not identical in the various cultures of the Ancient Near East. The distinctions in the concept of monarchy are sometimes the differences between the ruler of a vast empire, and a city-state king who is in effect a vassal, and sometimes the differences among the cultures. The status of monarchy in Egypt is not the same as in Mesopotamia, and it differs again from its status in the Hittite and the Canaanite cultural spheres. Nevertheless, the general notions of the nature of monarchy and of the figure of the king in the various cultures of the Ancient Near East have much in common. All shared the view that there was a direct relationship between the king and the deity – whether the king was actually considered divine or son of a god, or the god's representative on earth who makes known the god's will, or as the god's chosen servant. The king's power over his subjects – which was usually supreme and absolute – was not regarded as arbitrarily arrogated but as an embodiment of the god's will and as a gracious gift of the god to humanity. In many of the Ancient Near Eastern cultures the monarch was seen as part of the eternal order. In Egypt the monarchy was regarded as an essential element in the order of creation. The monarchy was divine, as the natural order of things is divine. In Mesopotamia, in the view that finds expression in the Sumerian kings list, the monarchy was introduced from heaven, although the Sumerian kings themselves were generally not divine. There are few sources concerning the character of monarchy in Canaan and the immediate vicinity, but there too it appears to have been considered elemental.

Origins of Kingship in Israel

The kingdom of Israel, both in the features it shared with other Ancient Near Eastern cultures and in its unique features, was affected by the circumstances in which the monarchy was established. Unlike the situation in Mesopotamia and Egypt, we have no royal inscriptions or surviving royal annals from ancient Israel or Judah. Much of our information must be gleaned from the Bible. The Torah, which reached its final form in the post-exilic period, ignores the king almost entirely, referring to him in only two passages; the law of the king in Deuteronomy 17:14–20 and the mention of the king going into exile along with the people who set him on the throne in the curses section of Deuteronomy 28 (v. 36). The law of the king treats kingship as an initiative of the people motivated by the desire to act "like all the nations" (*ke-kol ha-goyim*; Deut. 17:14), a term with distinctly negative overtones (cf. I Sam. 8:5–6, 20). The law says nothing about the obligation of the people to obey the king in contrast to the laws about obeying the priests and judges immediately preceding (Deut. 17: 8–13), or the laws about obeying the prophet (Deut. 18:15, 19). Instead, the law emphasizes the king's limitations. He is to be chosen by God, i.e., a priest or prophet, and he must not be a foreigner, e.g., the leader of a military coup, or an adventurer (Tigay, 167). He should not have too many horses or wives or silver and gold. He is commanded to write, or have written for him, a copy of the Torah, which he is to read all the days of his life so that he may be pious, god-fearing, and humble. Within the biblical narrative, the monarchy was not regarded as a fixed feature of creation but rather as a later development in the history of the nation. In Israelite tradition the earliest era of the people's history, namely, the period of the desert wanderings, and the conquest of Canaan, was regarded as the period of a superior social order and of the Lord's rule through his servants Moses and Joshua. The Book of Judges vests authority in the non-dynastic leaders upon whom God calls to rescue his people in times of trouble. Indeed, the clan and tribal society persisted in Israel for a long time after the rise of the nation, in contrast to the biblical account that the kindred peoples Edom, Moab, and Ammon had established monarchies shortly after settling in their lands (Gen. 36:31ff.; Num. 21:26 et al.). The persistence of the tribal order in Israel was no doubt due to an opposition to the idea of a monarchy, which was part of the tribal tradition and had assumed a religious significance. (Among modern scholars, Mendenhall goes so far as to characterize the monarchy as a reversion "to the Old Bronze age paganism.") In practical terms, the Israelite tribal system was not sufficiently strong to withstand the growing strength of the national kingdoms of Moab and Ammon, and the increasing pressure of these and of the cities of the Philistine league of city-states, with its feudal-military organization. And, indeed, in the beginning an Israelite monarchy originated as a conferral of hereditary authority upon a judge who had successfully delivered the people from their enemies. Such was the case of *Gideon (Judg. 8:22), and his son *Abimelech, and according to the tradition recounted in II Samuel, Saul was made king under similar conditions.

In the biblical stories regarding the early attempts made in the age of Gideon and his son Abimelech to establish hereditary rule, and in the stories about the crowning of Saul, there is evidence that the establishment of a monarchy was regarded by some as a contradiction of the idea of the direct rule of the Lord over His people (Judg. 8:22–23; I Sam. 8:7 et al.). These references appear to represent an actual opposition to monarchy on the part of segments who were particularly attached to the traditions of the tribal society. Needless to say, within the tribal society those who advocated direct divine rule would have been those who claimed direct access to the divine ruler, among them judges, prophets, and priests at local or tribal shrines. This opposition has left some traces in the later Israelite attitude toward the monarchy (Machinist). Monarchy in Israel combined the tribal tradition with the influence of the general political environment. Israel adopted not merely the royal trappings, the institutions of authority, of its Canaanite environment, but also certain of the traits of the Canaanite monarchy which, in turn, reflected the influence of the great civilizations of Egypt and Mesopotamia. As can be seen from I Samuel 8, the Israelites acquired their conception of monarchy from their neighbors in Canaan. The rule of the king, as described in this text, closely resembles the forms of rule in Canaan, and Ugarit in Syria, in the period prior to the settlement. This close resemblance suggests that this description of monarchical rule was well established and was based on a reality with which the Israelites had been acquainted before the establishment of their own monarchy. Royal rule involved the sacrifice of certain personal freedoms, military service, and taxation. Nevertheless, Saul's kingdom and, to some extent, subsequent royal rule in Israel, were based on the Covenant of the Kingship (see below), with the king in the position of national leader, and not upon the hereditary rights of an absolute monarch. In any event, the acceptance of monarchy entailed the transfer of much tribal authority, especially in regard to military decision making, into the hands of the king. Even in Saul's day, there were already certain appurtenances of kingship, with an officialdom owing personal loyalty to the king, but it was only David and Solomon who adopted all the appurtenances of monarchy and established a ramified administrative apparatus.

CORONATION OF THE KING. The status and the trappings of monarchy and all that they entailed were clearly expressed in the coronation ceremonies which were customary in Israel. Detailed descriptions of two such ceremonies are given in the Bible. The descriptions of the coronations of King *Solomon (I Kings 1:33–48) and of *Joash (II Kings 11:10–20) were given because of the unusual circumstances surrounding them, but nevertheless they do provide a picture of the ceremony; it seems reasonable to assume that the description of the coronation of Joash reflects the established custom in Judah. The two principal features of the coronation were the anointing of the king with oil by a priest in the Temple, and his seating himself on the throne in the royal palace. The ceremony began in the Temple and was conducted with great pomp, with the royal guard standing around. During this ceremony the future king was given the insignia of the monarchy, i.e., the crown and the *edut* (II Kings 11:12). The crown was the symbol of the kingdom and is one of the commonest of royal symbols (II Sam. 1:10; Ps. 89:40; 132:18). The word *edut* is used in the Bible to denote covenant, law, and statute (see Ex. 31:18; II Kings 17:15; Ps. 19:8; 132:12 et al.).Some scholars translate *edut* as "testimony," which they then posit was a document that listed the conditions of the royal covenant, and by which the king had to abide during his reign. According to Von Rad, the testimony was not a written covenant, but a species of divine authorization, in which were listed the titles of the king as God's son and His anointed, his appointment to be ruler of his people, his royal name, etc. (see below); in effect, a kind of Egyptian *nhb.t*, namely, the document which listed all of Pharaoh's names and titles. However, it is doubtful if there is much substance to Von Rad's theory of a document of divine authorization of the king. It is possible though that in the course of the coronation the king was handed the covenant of the kingdom, or "the book of the manner of the kingdom" which was kept in the Temple (see I Sam. 10:25). Another possibility is that *edut* is related to *ʿdh,* "bedeck," and refers to royal garb (Kimḥi a.l.) or jewels associated with the royal office (Cogan and Tadmor, 128). After this the king was anointed with oil by a priest and/or a prophet and thereby became the reigning monarch, YHWH's Anointed (*Meshi'aḥ YHWH*). The anointment, which represented the change in status as well as the sanctification and appointment to the post, was a sacral act, not confined to kings. The anointing of kings is mentioned in the descriptions of the coronations of Solomon and Joash, as well as David (II Sam. 5:1ff.) and Jehoahaz (II Kings 23:30). The sacral character of the anointment is seen in the stories of the secret anointing of the future kings Saul (I Sam. 9:1ff.) and David (I Sam. 16:13). They were, according to these stories, secretly anointed by Samuel and were immediately inspired by the spirit of God. Something of that nature is also related in the story about Jehu (II Kings 9:1ff.). The anointment bestowed upon the king the status "YHWH's anointed," the ruler chosen by YHWH.

At present there is only indirect evidence regarding this custom in coronation ceremonies in the Ancient Near East. A Hittite account of a mock coronation, which seems to be a close imitation of a real induction ceremony, lists the following features: anointment with the royal oil, bestowal of a royal name, and investment with the royal robes and crown. In Assyria the king would place anointing oil before the deity in the course of the ceremony. In Egypt anointment was an important part of the ritual, and it is known that vassal kings were anointed. It appears, therefore, that this was not specifically an Israelite custom, but was prevalent in the Ancient Near East. It is possible that the Israelites adopted this custom along with other ceremonies of king inductions from their neighbors. Indeed, *Jotham's fable, which is apparently based on Canaanite custom, opens with the words: "The trees went forth on a time to anoint a king over them…" (Judg. 9:8). Once the king was anointed the people present shouted "Long live the king!" (I Sam. 10:24; II Sam. 15:10; I Kings 1:39; II Kings 9:13, 11:12). This acclamation was part of the ceremony and expressed the recognition of the new monarch and the acceptance of his rule (cf. II Sam. 16:16). In the description of the induction of Joash there is also a mention of a covenant between God, the king, and the people (II Kings 11:17); but there is no way of determining whether such a covenant was made every time a new king was crowned, or whether this was a renewal of the covenant because of the special circumstances of Joash's induction. After the anointing of the king before God, he was led ceremoniously to the royal palace, followed by the people, and there he sat on the throne (I Kings 1:45–46; II Kings 11:19), which was the symbol of kingly authority. The words of Pharaoh to Joseph in Genesis express the import of this concept: "Only in the throne will I be greater than you" (Gen. 41:40). Phrases such as "as soon as he sat on his throne" (I Kings 16:11) mean, when he became king (cf. II Sam. 3:10; I Kings 2:4; Ps. 132:12 et al.). The Book of Psalms contains much more material about royalty than does the Torah. Many scholars accept Gunkel's theory that Psalms 20, 101, and 110 are hymns which were traditionally sung at the investiture of the king, and some scholars have even attempted to learn something about the nature of the ceremony of induction from these texts. But in all probability these and other hymns, such as Psalms 18, 72, 89, and 132 were royal hymns which were sung at various ceremonies on various royal occasions. It is not possible to isolate with any degree of certainty those hymns which were sung at the induction, much less learn about the nature of that ceremony from cryptic references in the hymns. It is known that in Egypt there was a practice of giving a royal name to the new monarch, and by indirect evidence (see above) also in the Hittite kingdom. In Israel the changing of a monarch's name on his accession is attested only toward the end of the kingdom of Judah (II Kings 23:34; 24:17), and there under special circumstances; but some writers believe it was the regular practice in Judah. Also, although it is not recorded that any other kings were given new names when they were crowned, there were kings who apparently had two names: Abijam (I Kings 15:1) was also known as Abijah (I Chron. 3:10); Jehoahaz (II Kings 23:30) was also called Shallum (Jer. 22:11), etc.; possibly this also accounts for the two names of Solomon-Jedidiah (II Sam. 12:24–25). But these few cases are not sufficient evidence that it was customary to change the king's name upon his accession, certainly not as a matter of practice.

SUCCESSION OF KINGS. The Israelite monarchy was, from its inception, hereditary in principle.

In the Northern Kingdom there were frequent changes of dynasty, brought about by rebellion. In Judah, in contrast, the monarchy remained in the House of David, and although there were frequent regicides, when a monarch was killed his heir ascended the throne (see II Kings 11:4ff.; 12:21ff.; 14:5–6; 21:23ff.). Some scholars have theorized that there was, to begin with, an element of election in transferring authority from king to king, and that he was elected who was considered favored by God. Indeed, Saul was elected before God at Mizpah (I Sam. 10:17ff.). The elders of Israel accepted David's reign in Hebron (II Sam. 5:1–3) and even Rehoboam went to Shechem in order to be crowned by all of Israel (I Kings 12:1ff.). A. Alt maintained that the principle of the divine choice of kings persisted in the Northern Kingdom and accounts for the frequent changes of dynasty; but this theory presents problems. The monarchy throughout the Ancient Near East was based on the hereditary principle: in Egypt, Babylon, Assyria, the Hittite kingdom, at Ugarit in Phoenicia, the Aramean kingdom in Syria, and even southern Arabia. All these kingdoms experienced revolts and changes in succession, but the general concept remained hereditary. It is therefore unlikely that the dynastic principle was not accepted in Israel, when the very concept of monarchical rule is that of hereditary rule. During Saul's reign his son Jonathan was regarded as the heir to the throne (I Sam. 20:30–31). After Solomon's death the people did not question Rehoboam's right to reign, but wished to be rid of his tyranny. In the Kingdom of Israel, too, the monarchy passed from father to son, unless there was a revolt which brought about a change of dynasty. The confirmation of the king in his kingship was an act of religious significance and did not imply a renewed popular election. In Mesopotamia, Canaan, and the Aramean kingdoms the hereditary principle of the monarchy was highly regarded. (Compare Kulamūwa (Kilamuwa in earlier publications) inscription (COS II, 147–48); Bar- Rakib inscription (COS II, 160–61).) Nevertheless, a king could boast of having attained the throne by his own efforts – not by hereditary privilege, but by divine grace. This was especially the case if the king was a usurper, or of non-royal lineage. Thus Zakkur, king of Hamath and Lʿsh, boasted that he was a poor man but the god Baalshamain loved him and made him king (Inscription of Zakkur (COS II, 155), lines 2–3). The situation in Israel was similar. On the one hand there was the principle of legitimacy, i.e., a monarch occupying his father's throne (see I Kings 2:12; II Kings 10:3; Isa. 9:6; et al.), and on the other hand, the kingship was by God's choice. This view also manifested itself in dynastic changes in the kingdom of Israel (I Kings 16:1ff.; II Kings 9:1ff.), and as a general principle of all monarchies, including non-Israelite ones (Hazael – II Kings 8:7ff.; Cyrus – Isa. 45:1ff.). The succession in Israel was generally from father to son, but sometimes special circumstances such as the death of a king who left no sons, or the intervention of a foreign ruler, a brother of the king (e.g., Jehoram son of Ahab; Jehoiakim) or his uncle (Zedekiah) succeeded him. The daughters of a king did not succeed him. Athaliah, the dowager queen who reigned in Judah after her son Ahaziah's death, seized the throne by force. Normally the eldest son was expected to succeed, but the king had the right to choose his heir. Solomon was crowned by his father David in preference to his elder brothers, and Abijah was chosen by Rehoboam to succeed him, although he had older sons (II Chron. 11:18ff.). Similarly, one finds that in Assyria in the seventh century B.C.E. neither Esarhaddon nor Asurbanipal were eldest sons, but were both chosen by their fathers to be king. The passing of a king and the transfer of power to his son always entailed danger to the dynasty. In Egypt at certain periods the succession was assured by co-regency, namely, the heir to the throne shared the rule and the regal status with his father. The same method was regularly used in the kingdoms of Sheba and Maan in southern Arabia. In Assyria and the kingdom of the Chaldeans in Babylon, the continuity of the dynasty was assured by giving the heir a special status and his own palace – *bît riduti*. In the Hittite kingdom, too, the heir to the throne had a special status. This concern for the continuity of the succession was also expressed in a special clause which was introduced into international agreements, in which it was stated that members of the pact, or the vassal, were obliged to come to the aid of the heir in the event of revolt. Such clauses were incorporated into Hittite pacts with Egypt and with vassal states, and at a later period also in an Aramean pact and in Esarhaddon's treaties with vassal kings.

In Israel the heir to the throne seems to have held a special position among his brothers. Rehoboam made Abijah "the chief, to be ruler among his brethren, for he thought to make him king" (II Chron. 11:22). Jotham ruled in his father's lifetime (II Kings 15:5); the regal trappings displayed by Absalom and Adonijah (II Sam. 15:1ff.; I Kings 1:5–6) were, no doubt, privileges of the heir to the throne, even though they behaved in this manner without David's consent. Solomon was anointed in his father's lifetime in order to ensure his succession. It can be assumed that the method of co-regency was also used by other kings of Judah, as becomes evident from a study of the figures for the lengths of the reigns; they cannot be made to tally unless it is assumed that the reigns of some kings overlapped those of their predecessors, namely, that they ruled as co-regents (see *Chronology).

BIBLICAL VIEWS OF KING AND KINGSHIP. As has been seen, the biblical concept of the monarchy was based upon the monarchical concept of the Ancient Near East, which was the cultural environment in which Israel developed from a tribal society into a kingdom. Nevertheless, in view of the fact that the monarchy was established in Israel in historical times, kingship was not in itself regarded as a gift of God to humankind, and was not regarded as a permanent feature of human life (this is especially noticeable in the books of the early prophets and in the "King Law," Deut. 17:14ff, above). Nevertheless, the monarchy was not entirely an earthly institution. The king was the Lord's chosen and anointed and carried a certain sanctity in virtue of this status. The concept of divine choice was expressed even when the attitude toward monarchy was reserved, e.g., in Deuteronomy (17:15) and in the story of Saul's ascension. The king, the Lord's "prince over His inheritance" (I Sam. 10:1), was chosen to be prince over Israel (II Sam. 7:8); he is the shepherd (II Sam. 5:2; Ezek. 34:23; Micah 5:3; Ps. 78:71). The title "The Shepherd" or "The Faithful Shepherd" is one of the commonest titles of the sovereigns of Mesopotamia. The king is God's anointed, and God's spirit is upon him, and he is therefore sanctified, so that whoever harms him shall be punished (I Sam. 24:7; II Sam. 7:14; 19:20–25 et al.). This status of the king as the Lord's anointed is evidenced also in the oath sworn "before the Lord, and before His anointed" (I Sam. 12:3). The idea that the king, the Lord's Anointed, protects the people and that their fate is part of his fate, is expressed in Lamentations 4:20, which transfers the ancient Egyptian concept that the breath of the Pharaoh is life-giving (EA 147) as well as that of the Mesopotamian notion of the protective shadow of the king (Oppenheim) to the king of Judah: "The breath of our nostrils, the anointed of the Lord,… of whom we said: 'Under his shadow we shall live among the nations…'" Whereas the anointing of kings was an accepted practice among the Ancient Near Eastern civilizations, there seems to be no other culture in which the term *mashi'aḥ* ("anointed," "Messiah") is used to describe the king, with all the implications of the term, except in Israel.

One of the chief traits of the king in the biblical view is his capacity to judge justly. The list of David's ministers opens with the words "… and David executed justice and righteousness unto all his people" (II Sam. 8:15). And Solomon asks God to "Give Thy servant… an understanding heart to judge Thy people…" (I Kings 3:9). The idea that the king was endowed with the ability to do justice is common to all Ancient Near Eastern cultures. In Mesopotamia the king was regarded as the judge who convicts the evildoers and protects the weak (see Code of Hammurapi, prologue, 1, lines 27ff.; 5, line 15ff.). In Canaan the good king is the just and honest one, who does justice unto the widows and the orphans (Kirta [Keret in earlier publications], Tablet 2, lines 39–54 (COS I, 342); and acts as father and mother to all (Kulamuwa lines 10–13 (COS II, 148)). And indeed, in the story of the beginning of the monarchy in Israel, the people ask Samuel to "make us a king to judge us like all the nations" (I Sam. 8:5). This is clearly an essential element of the monarchical concept. The king is the supreme judge in the land, and the people come to him in search of justice (see II Sam. 15:2, etc.). At the same time, the Bible does not view the king as the source of the law, and law and justice are not regarded as royal edicts. The source of the law is the Law of the Lord, which was given to Moses. The "King Law" of Deuteronomy 17 does not entitle the king to pass new laws; on the contrary the kingship obligates the king to observe the laws and rules of the Lord.

In Ancient Near Eastern kingdoms the kings were usually also priests of the deities. In Egypt the king was "the priest," and all the priests served in the king's name. In the Hittite kingdom the sovereign was the "high priest." In Mesopotamia the kings referred to themselves as priests from the earliest days of the monarchy, and in theory were supposed to perform various priestly duties. A priestly dynasty ruled in Sidon. And, in a story set in the days of Abraham, the Bible mentions a king of Jerusalem in the era prior to the settlement who was "Priest of God the Most High" (Gen. 14:18). In Psalms 110:4 it says, "Thou art a priest for ever, after the manner of Melchizedek"; this early hymn probably refers to the tradition of the sovereign-priest of Jerusalem, the psalmist associating the kingdom of David in Jerusalem with the tradition of Melchizedek king of Shalem, priest of God the Most High. The king had certain sacral privileges in the Temple and in the ritual, and often played various priestly roles. David "offered burnt offerings" dressed in a linen ephod, which was a priestly garment, when the Ark was brought up to Jerusalem (II Sam. 6:14–18). David's sons were priests (II Sam. 8:18). Solomon offered burnt offerings and burned incense before God when worship began in the Temple (I Kings 9:25 et al.). The king blessed the people both in the tent and in the Temple (David – II Sam. 6:18; Solomon – I Kings 8:55ff.), a function which, according to Numbers 6:23–27, is reserved for Aaron and his sons. There is no protest against this royal custom of offering sacrifices, burning incense, and blessing the people in the books of the prophets, which antedate the Aaronide priestly legislation of the Torah. The temples in Jerusalem and Beth-El (and apparently also the temple in Dan), in the Northern Kingdom, were considered to be royal temples. The Torah's depiction of a priesthood that was well defined and completely apart from the monarchy is a product of the post-exilic period.

The relationship between the king and the deity is expressed in various biblical texts as that of father and son. In Nathan's vision concerning David and his dynasty, the prophet, speaking in the name of the Lord, says about each of the future kings of David's line, "I will be to him for a father, and he shall be to me for a son" (II Sam. 7:14; and similarly in Psalms 89:27–28, and in other texts based on Nathan's vision). This idea is expressed with great clarity in Psalms 2:7–8: "Thou art my son, this day have I begotten thee," etc. In line with this are Psalms 110:1, "The Lord saith unto my Lord, Sit thou at My right hand," and Psalms 45:7, "Thy throne, O God, is forever and ever; a scepter of equity is the scepter of thy kingdom." It is on the basis of these texts that scholars of the myth and ritual school maintain that the religious concept in biblical Israel regarded the king as a son of God, as a divine figure; and some have gone so far as to state that the king participated in ritual acts which reflected his divine status.

These scholars base their theory upon a "cultic pattern" of this type, which allegedly prevailed in the Ancient Near East, and of which biblical literature deliberately suppressed all evidence. But this assumption rests on false premises. In Egypt the monarch had divine status and in the Hittite kingdom the king became a god after his death. But in Mesopotamia the kings were not regarded as divine beings, and only at a certain period (particularly that of the Eridu dynasty and the Ur III dynasty) did they add divine epithets to their names, and this was an isolated phenomenon and was not constant, even in this period. In an Ugaritic text Kirta/Keret is indeed described as son of El, but he is nevertheless a mortal. There is nothing in Babylonian ritual or the Ugarit texts, upon which these scholars have attempted to base their cultic pattern of the divinity of the monarch, to substantiate this theory; all attempts to prove the divine status of the king and the existence of such ritual are based upon an improper interpretation of the texts. Accordingly, the concept of the divinity of kings is absent not only from the Bible, but from the Canaanite and the Mesopotamian cultural spheres. Even the few texts in which the king is called son of God, etc., do not prove the king's supposed divinity, but rather the courtly style of hyperbolizing the sovereign's glory, which the Israelite poet shared with his cultural environment. Thus, the poet's words in Psalms 45:7 are no more than a concise simile to suggest "Your throne is like that of God" (compare I Chron. 29:23), meaning, a throne founded upon law and justice (see Ps. 89:15; and others). Even the poetic image of the king as God's son does not imply more than God's protection of the king, and the particular relationship between monarch and God. This poetic image can be found in Mesopotamia and in the Ugaritic texts, and here, too, the king is not viewed as a divinity, but as a mortal. It is possible that this term suggests that God adopts the king on the day of his anointing and crowning, as suggested by Gunkel, and that the phrase in Psalms 2:7 "Thou art My son, this day have I begotten thee" was a formula for adoption.

A detailed description of the king's prerogatives over his subjects is given in Samuel's speech concerning the "manner of the King" (I Sam. 8:11–17). These are based essentially upon the general practice of monarchy in Canaan, and were no doubt also accepted in Israel.

In the story of the choosing of Saul for the kingship before God, it is stated that Samuel wrote "the manner of the kingdom" in a book and deposited it before the Lord (I Sam. 10:25). This "manner of the kingdom" is perhaps not equivalent to the "manner of the king" presented in I Samuel 8:11ff. Instead, Samuel's "manner of the kingdom" may have embodied certain limitations concerning the king's privileges, and in particular, stressed the king's duty to follow the Lord and obey His laws, as the Lord's chosen and anointed and as prince of His people.

THE COVENANT OF MONARCHY. An important element in the concept of monarchy in Israel was the covenant of monarchy. One learns about the covenant between the king and the people, who accept the king's authority, in the account of David being made king of Israel. A pact between the elders of Israel and David before the Lord preceded the anointing of David as king over all Israel (II Sam. 5:3). A more detailed description of the covenant of the kingship is found in the story of the proclamation of Joash as king of Judah. The covenant was made "between the Lord (on the one hand) and the king and the people (on the other); and also between the king and the people." This covenant does not represent an election of the king, nor a limitation of his rule by the elders and captains of the people. It is essentially a religious covenant, and the limitation of the king's authority consists of the king's duty to observe the Law of the Lord (Deut. 17:19ff.; cf. I Kings 3:14, etc.). The king is not responsible to the people and does not have to account for his actions – he is responsible only to God. Only God can punish for breaking the covenant, by removing the king from his favor and by ending the dynasty, though not necessarily the rule of the king himself (I Sam. 13:13; I Kings 14:7ff., etc.).

The concept of a covenant of kingship is clearly expressed in Psalms 132: "The Lord swore unto David in truth; He will not turn back from it: 'Of the fruit of thy body will I set upon thy throne. If thy children keep My covenant and My testimony that I shall teach them, their children also forever shall sit upon thy throne'" (Ps. 132:11–12). This is an eternal covenant which is undoubtedly based on Nathan's vision in II Samuel 7:8–9, which is in the nature of a promise that the kingship will remain in the House of David forever. And indeed the monarchy in Israel is essentially a dynastic one, and the divine choice lay in appointing the king and his descendants to sit on God's throne in Israel (I Chron. 28:5; 29:23; II Chron. 9:8). The concept of a commitment to a dynasty is not exclusive to Judah and the House of David. Only circumstances caused the fall of the House of Saul and the change in succession (cf. the commitment to Jeroboam in I Kings 11:38: "… if thou wilt hearken unto all that I command thee… and do that which is right in Mine eyes, to keep My statutes and My commandments… that I will be with thee and will build a sure house…"). This principle was kept in practice in Judah, where the throne remained in the House of David until the end of the kingdom. Prophecies of the future declare that "in the last days" it will again be a descendant of David who will reign (Isa. 11:1ff.; Jer. 23:5; Ezek. 37:24, etc.). This stems from the association between the image of the future king and the concept and symbols which prevailed during the monarchy of the First Temple era, namely, the House of David. These prophecies describe the ideal future king as a shepherd whom God will send to lead Israel (Micah 5:3; Jer. 23:4; Ezek. 37:24;

cf. II Sam. 5:2). The future king or the ideal ruler, as seen in biblical writings, would be a king of justice, a suppressor of iniquity (Isa. 9:6; 11:3–5; Jer. 23:5); "His dominion shall be from sea to sea, and from the river to the ends of the earth" (Zech. 9:10). This simile is also a regular element in the description of the ideal king (Ps. 72:8ff. et al.), as well as the peace and abundance of the future kingdom (Isa. 9:5–6; Zech. 9:10; cf. I Kings 5:5; Ps. 72:2ff. et al.).

[Jacob Liver / S. David Sperling (2nd ed.)]

In Rabbinic Literature

Two problems faced the talmudic sages with regard to the institution of monarchy. The first was the apparent contradiction between the positive command to establish the monarchy (Deut. 17:14–20) and the opposition by Samuel to the demand of the people to appoint a king (I Sam. 8:4–22). The second was the legitimacy of the kings of the seceded Northern Kingdom of Israel. On the one hand the monarchy was regarded as belonging solely to the House of David and on the other many of the kings of the Northern Kingdom were appointed by a prophet (cf. the appointment of Jeroboam by Ahijah the Shilonite: I Kings 11:29–39). Since the restoration of Jewish monarchy – which in Jewish tradition will apply only to the Davidic dynasty – is regarded as belonging to the "messianic age," the laws appertaining to the monarchy are not found in the majority of the codes, since they limit themselves to laws which had a practical application in their times. The only exception is Maimonides, whose code embraces the whole of Jewish law, and the pertinent laws are fully detailed there (see bibl.). The following details are substantially taken from it.

It is a positive divine commandment to appoint a king; the opposition of Samuel was due to the fact that the people asked for it "in a querulous spirit" and their main purpose was to rid themselves of the authority of Samuel. The monarchy was to be hereditary in the House of David, and it was confined to males. Even where the possibility of a king of non-Davidic descent was envisaged (e.g., the Hasmonean kings) he had to be of pure Jewish descent. The greatest respect had to be shown to the king, and it was forbidden to marry his widow or divorced wife. He had the power of inflicting the death penalty, of confiscating the property of rebellious subjects which accrued to his estate, of imposing taxes, of conscripting for the army, and of imposing forced labor both on men and women, providing he paid them their wages. He had the power to declare a "religious war" (*milḥemet mitzvah*), which Maimonides defines as "the war against the seven nations, that against Amalek, and a war to deliver Israel from the enemy atacking him" (Yad, Melakhim 5:1) without obtaining the previous sanction of the Sanhedrin. For an optional war, however ("to extend the borders of Israel and to enhance his glory and prestige," *ibid.*), the decision of the Great Sanhedrin of 71 was necessary.

The kings of non-Davidic descent were deemed legitimate monarchs provided they were appointed by a prophet, fought the battles of the land, and conducted themselves in accordance with the precepts of the Torah. Whereas kings of Davidic descent were anointed (where their right to succession was in dispute) with olive oil, the others were *anointed with balsam oil, and there are various other distinctions. The extensive and almost standard parables based upon the difference between the mortal "king of flesh and blood" and the "Supreme King of Kings, the Holy One blessed be He," with which the Talmud, and especially the Midrash are replete (cf. especially Ber. 28b where Johanan b. Zakkai appears to refer to the feelings which filled him when he appeared before Vespasian), as well as such injunctions as that "to pray for the welfare of the monarchy" (Avot 3:2) are in the main directed against Roman rule, and to this certainly belongs the phrase *shi'bud malkhut* ("subjection to monarchy"), the removal of which the *amora* Samuel declares as marking the advent of the messianic age (Sanh. 91b).

The constant emphasis in the liturgy and in Jewish thought on the restoration of the Davidic dynasty (see *David in Liturgy) and the conception of God as king, which is central to that liturgy, has resulted in a strong monarchical tradition in Judaism, and in both talmudic and medieval literature the institution and legitimacy of the monarchy is generally accepted as a halakhic norm. However, there is also an ongoing uneasiness among medieval scholars concerning monarchy, which echoed Rav Nehorai's saying that monarchy is a disgrace to Israel. This tendency can be found in *Saadiah Gaon, *Samuel ben Hophni, *Samuel ben Ali, *Rashi, *Baḥya ben Asher, Joseph ibn *Kaspi, and others. It culminated with Isaac *Abrabanel, who although, or because, he spent his life in royal service, came out strongly in favor of republicanism, both for the Jewish people and for other nations. Abrabanel was influenced here by his experience with some republican city-states of the Italian Renaissance. Mostly, however, he viewed human monarchy as a revolt against the kingdom of heaven.

[Louis Isaac Rabinowitz / Avraham Melamed (2nd ed.)]

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KING, LARRY (**Lawrence Zeiger**; 1933–), U.S. radio and television talk-show host. Born in Brooklyn, New York, the son of Russian immigrants to the U.S., King began in radio as a disc jockey on WAHR-Radio in Miami, Florida. He moved on to host shows on a number of Miami radio stations and wrote newspaper columns for the *Miami Herald*, the *Miami News*, and the *Miami Beach Sun-Reporter.* But his career suffered a setback in 1971 when he faced grand larceny charges because of his alleged misappropriation of funds given into his keeping. The charges were dropped with the expiry of the statute of limitations, and from 1972 to 1975 King worked as a sportscaster and freelance writer.

In 1975 King returned to WIOD-Radio, Miami. *The Larry King Show* was launched in 1978 on the Mutual Broadcasting System, Arlington, Virginia, and by the early 1980s the show was syndicated to some 250 radio stations in all 50 states. His television talk show, *Larry King Live*, on Cable News Network (CNN), started in 1985, became a leading talk show combining in-depth interviews with public figures and media personalities with viewers' telephone calls. King thus became the first American talk show host to have a worldwide audience. The program reached more than 200 countries, with a potential audience of 150 million.

Said to have interviewed more than 30,000 people during his career, King was listed in the 1989 *Guinness Book of World Records* as having logged more hours on national radio than any other talk show personality in history. Among his many honors and awards, King received the Peabody Award in 1982; the National Association of Broadcasters' Radio award; and the Jack Anderson Investigative Reporting award in 1985. He was named Broadcaster of the Year by the International Radio and TV Society in 1989; was named the American Heart Association's Man of the Year in 1992; and was inducted into the Radio Hall of Fame in 1989 and the Broadcaster's Hall of Fame in 1992.

As a result of his bout with heart disease, King established the Larry King Cardiac Foundation, whose aim is to provide funding for life-saving cardiac procedures for individuals who cannot afford to pay for such treatment on their own.

From 1982 to 2001 King had a regular column in the magazine *USA Today.* He also wrote *Larry King* (1982), *Mr. King, You're Having a Heart Attack* (1989), *Tell It to the King* (with P. Occhiofrosso, 1989), *Tell Me More* (1990), *How to Talk to Anyone, Anytime, Anywhere* (1994), *Daddy Day, Daughter Day* (with C. King, 1997), *Powerful Prayers* (with Rabbi I. Katsof, 1998), *Future Talk* (with P. Piper, 1998), and *Anything Goes* (2000).

[Rohan Saxena / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

KINGS, BOOK OF, biblical book divided into two roughly equal parts, beginning with an account of the end of *David's reign, Solomon's succession and reign, and the disruption of the kingdom at his death, and continuing with the parallel histories of the kingdoms of Judah and Israel until the end of the latter in 723 B.C.E. and of the former in 586 B.C.E. The last event mentioned is the alleviation of the lot of King *Jehoiachin on the accession of *Evil-Merodach to the throne in Babylon in 561 B.C.E. (See Table: Book of Kings- Contents.) Kings is the fourth part of the Former Prophets, its connection with the preceding book – that of Samuel – being indicated by the fact that I Kings 1–2 brings the life of David to a close. The Jewish classification of Joshua, Judges, Samuel, and Kings as "the Former Prophets" accurately indicates that the work, though using historical sources, is not secular or objective history but a theological interpretation of Israel's past. Since M. Noth's *Ueberlieferungsgeschichtliche Studien* (1943, 1957^2), it has been designated "the Deuteronomistic History." For fuller details of the period see *History.

First Part

The account of Solomon's accession (I Kings 1–2:46) bridges the reigns of David and Solomon. David had risen to the throne through talent and cunning. He was aided by the convenient deaths of Saul, Jonathan, Abner, and *Ish-Bosheth. Solomon was aided by the talent and cunning of his mother and the prophet *Nathan (Cogan). On his own he brought about, the demotion of *Abiathar (2:26–27), the elimination of Joab (2:28–35) and Shimei (2:36–46a), and the death of *Adonijah (2:13–25).

The account of Solomon's reign (3:1–11:43) is composed of miscellaneous matter from the public archives, royal annals, and possibly a Solomon saga. A source explicitly cited is "the Acts of Solomon" (11:41), but it is not known whether this refers to annals or a saga.

The section begins (3:1–15) with the account of Solomon's dream at *Gibeon, in which God offered him a gift, and his choice of wisdom (*ḥokhmah*), probably meaning primarily practical administrative ability. This is to emphasize Solomon's special endowment, to rule according to the tradition of charismatic authority in Israel, thus supplementing the tradition of the Davidic covenant in authenticating dynastic succession. The authentication of novel measures by a dream-oracle at a shrine is attested in Egypt (so S. Hermann, in: *Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Karl Marx Universitaet Leipzig*, 3 (1953–54), 51–62). This may have been incorporated in a Solomon saga, particularly since wealth and political preeminence were associated with wisdom (3:13), in what may be a secondary development of the original tradition of 3:1–15, like the story of the judgment of Solomon between the two harlots (3:16–28). The popular character of this story is indicated by Gressmann's citation of 22 versions of the same theme from various parts of the world.

The account of Solomon's reign in 4:1–10:29 amplifies the theme of the wisdom of the king. The nature of the subject matter and the sources drawn upon varies according to the interpretation of Solomon's "wisdom" as administrative or academic, some sections interpreting it as the former, others as the latter.

The greatness of Solomon's administration is described

BOOK OF KINGS – CONTENTS

I Kings	**1:1–11:43**	**The Monarchy under David and Solomon.**
	1:1–2:46	The end of David's reign and Solomon's accession.
	3:1–10:29	The reign of Solomon.
	11:1–43	The troubles of Solomon's reign and its end.
I Kings	**12:1–II Kings 17:41**	**The Divided Kingdom.**
	12:1–24	The disruption of the Kingdom.
	12.25–32	Significant events of the reign of Jeroboam I of Israel.
	12:33–14:18	A prophetic tradition of the reign of Jeroboam.
	14:19–16:34	Synchronistic history of Israel and Judah.
	17:1–II Kings 10:31	The reign of Ahab and the fall of the House of Omri.
	10:32–17:41	Synchronistic history of Israel and Judah.
II Kings	**18:1–25:21**	**Judah alone.**
	18:1–20:21	The reign of Hezekiah.
	21:1–26	The reigns of Manasseh and Amon.
	22:1–23:30	The reign and reformation of Josiah.
	23:31–35	The reign and removal of Jehoahaz.
	23:36–25:21	The end of the Kingdom of Judah.
II Kings	**25:22–30**	**Appendixes.**
	25:22–26	The Mizpah incident.
	25:27–30	The captive King Jehoiachin.

as a consequence of his administrative wisdom in the lists of ministers of state (4:1–6) and of fiscal officials and their districts (4:7–19) and the note on the provisions they supplied for the palace (5:7–8 [4:27–28]), which significantly follows 4:19 in the Septuagint. The fact that the aim of these passages is to illustrate the greatness of his administrative wisdom, suggests that 4:20–5:6, describing Solomon's realm "beyond the river" (i.e., west of the *Euphrates), from Tiphsah, the ford of the Euphrates, to Gaza (5:4), together with the specification of the quantities of daily provisions for the palace (5:2–3 [4:22–23]) and the obviously exaggerated note of 40,000 horses (5:6 [4:26], cf. 12,000 in 10:26 and the much more realistic 4,000 in II Chron. 9:25) are less reliable accretions. The note of his agreement with *Hiram of Tyre (in 9:11–14, excluding the popular etymology of Cabul in verses 12–13), and the explanation of Solomon's corvée (9:15a, 20–23) and the public works in the kingdom and in Jerusalem for which it was levied (9:15b–19) also belong to the account of Solomon's administration. This material was probably derived from archives, but was freely composed in retrospect. The note on the occupation of the palace which Solomon had built for Pharaoh's daughter and the building of the *millo*ʾ (Millo; 9:24), possibly the terrace- and buttress-work on the steep east slope of Jerusalem (so K.M. Kenyon), and the statement concerning the naval enterprises from Ezion-Geber (9:26–28) also derive from state archives.

The incident of the Queen of *Sheba is part of the legend of Solomon's academic wisdom and his magnificence (10:1b, 3–13). To this source, possibly a Solomon saga, may be assigned 5:9–14 [4:29–32], which states that Solomon's wisdom surpassed that of all the men of the East and of Egypt, and was expressed in 3,000 proverbs and 1,005 songs (5:12 [4:32]) and a mass of encyclopedic lore or sayings concerning natural phenomena (5:13 [4:33]). This is not strange inasmuch as ancient Near Eastern kings prided themselves on their wisdom. *Hammurapi claims to have mastered all wisdom as does Ashurbanipal a millennium later.

The theme that occupies the bulk of the account of Solomon's reign is the building of the *Temple, which also marks a period in the Deuteronomistic history as a whole, signifying the culmination of God's grace to Israel and of his confirmation of the Davidic dynasty, foreshadowed in the elaboration of *Nathan's oracle on the Davidic covenant in II Samuel 7:4ff. Together with the account of the building of the Temple (I Kings 6) and its furnishings (7:13ff.) there are notes on the construction of the palace and public buildings that were connected with it (7:1–12). The marked contrast between the detail in which the Temple and its fittings are described and the vagueness regarding the palace complex suggests that the writer was more familiar with, or more interested in, the Temple, and was probably a priest. Noting that the focus of attention is on measurements (6:2, 3, 6a, 10a, 16a, 17a, 20a, 23b, 24–26), materials (6:7, 9b, 10b, 15, 16a, 20b, 21b, 23a, 31a, 32a, 33, 34a, 35b, 36), and technique (7:9b, 10b, 29a, 32b, 35b, 36), rather than on the more generally interesting and important details concerning the site, orientation, foundations, thickness of walls, method of roofing, and general appearance, and noting also that this material is largely arranged according to materials used, Noth (*Koenige*, *Biblischer Kommentar*, 1964–) suggests that the account of the Temple in I Kings 6 was based on the oral tradition of instructions to the various craftsmen, which was eventually included in the annals of Solomon's reign in the general form in which the Deuteronomistic historian has included it in I Kings 6 and 7. This suggestion would account for the obviously incomplete source-material and the many technical terms that, it is conjectured, have been often misunderstood by the compiler and later glossators, and would account for the fact that the statement concerning the foundation and actual building of the Temple comes at the end (6:37–38), after which 6:1 has been adapted by the compiler as an introduction. The account of the furnishing of the Temple (7:13–50) shows a similar construction. The source which we have assumed for this material may have been incorporated in a priestly history of the Temple, which included notes, rather out of proportion to the context, concerning matters intimately touching the Temple, i.e., war indemnities from the Temple treasure by Rehoboam (14:26–28), Asa (15:18), Jehoash (II Kings 12:19 [18]), Amaziah (II Kings 14:14), and Hezekiah (II Kings 18:15) and the spoilation of the Temple by the Babylonians (II Kings 24:13; 25:13–17). The special notice given to Joash's reform of Temple finance (II Kings

12:4–16) and the cultic innovations of *Ahaz (II Kings 16:10–18) may belong to such a Temple history. The obscurity of much information in the source and the interest in the Temple may have occasioned later accretions.

The compiler has concentrated Solomon's troubles in the end of his account of his reign, though actually the insubordination of Edom (I Kings 11:21) and Damascus (11:25) was earlier. This arrangement exemplifies his theme of the operation of the word of God in the history of Israel through blessing and curse (cf. Deuteronomy 28:1–14 and 15 ff.). Thus Solomon's marriages with alien women and his toleration of alien cults are noted with censure, and his political troubles, external and internal (11:14–40), are described as a consequence of this behavior. In this section verses 1–13 are the compiler's resumé, while verses 14–40, the account of the escape and insurrection of Hadad of Edom (14–22; 25b, reading *Edom* for MT Aram after LXX and Pesh.) and of the rise of Rezon of Damascus (23–25a), are quite free from Deuteronomistic language and comment and were evidently based upon a reliable historical source which was not modified. There is apparently a conflation of two accounts of Hadad's rising, one of which briefly records his refuge in Egypt and his eventual return with Egyptian support, and the other, his refuge with supporters in Midian (al-Ḥismā) in the early days of his exile. The latter might have been drawn from Edomite annals available to a Judean writer during the reign of Jehoshaphat (co-regent, 870–867 B.C.E., king, 867–846 B.C.E.), when Edom was subject to Judah (22:48). The account of the aborted revolt of Jeroboam (11:26–40), prefaced by a note on his origins, probably comes ultimately from the annals of Israel. However, the digression on the role of *Ahijah the prophet of Shiloh in support of Jeroboam (29–32) may be from a prophetic legend, like the story of Ahijah's encounter with Jeroboam's wife (14:1–18). Then follows the compiler's expansion of Ahijah's oracle, elaborating on the defection of the northern tribes as retribution for Solomon's religious laxity (11:33–9). Since the permanence of the Davidic house is assumed in this section (36), it must be part of the compilation in its first stage before the collapse of the monarchy in 586 B.C.E.

The section ends with the standard editorial obituary (41–43), with which the compiler punctuates his work. The decisive phase in the history of Israel signalized by the building and dedication of the Temple complex (8:1–21, 62–66) is marked, like all such crises in the Deuteronomic history, by a formal address, here the prayer of Solomon (8:22–61), which is both retrospective and anticipatory. The main lines along which the tradition of the dedication at the great autumn festival is described are doubtless reliable. This section possibly stems from a priestly history in somewhat free narrative. The prayer of Solomon, however, exhibits traces of the pre-Exilic compiler in its phraseology, in the characteristic theological notions of the divine presence in "the Name" (e.g., 16, 18, 19, 20, 29), of God's transcendence (e.g., 27, 30, 32, 34, 36, 39, 43, 45, 49), and the somewhat mechanical doctrine of sin and retribution (e.g., 34, 46, 47). In references to exile there are probably also evidences of the hand which finished the work after 586 B.C.E. until the definitive redaction around 550 B.C.E.

Second Part

In the second part of Kings (I Kings 12:1–II Kings 17:41), the compiler is mainly concerned with the calamities of the Northern Kingdom as an illustration of the operation of the word of God in the curse which was a consequence of the tolerance of the ancient calf cult and various deviations from the sole worship of Yahweh. He consistently refers to this in his obituaries and particularly in his lengthy treatment of the reign of Ahab and his house (I Kings 16:29–II Kings 10:31). This matter is kept in historical perspective in the synchronistic history of Israel and Judah, especially in I Kings 14:19–16:34 and II Kings 10:32–17:41, with its notices of the accession and death of the various kings with synchronistic chronology. The compiler has drawn this matter selectively from the annalistic sources, the chronicles of the kings of Israel and Judah, to which he repeatedly refers for fuller information on secular history, a sure indication that the nature of his work is a theological interpretation of the history.

The disruption of the kingdom is communicated in a self-contained narrative concerning the rejection of Rehoboam at Shechem (I Kings 12:1, 3b–19 and possibly 20), with practically no editorial comment except verse 15, which connects the event with the prophecy of Ahijah (11:30 ff.). The sequel, after an editorial accretion on the suspension of civil war between Rehoboam and the Northern tribes (21–24) and an annalistic note on Jeroboam's fortifications (25), continues with a resume of his organization and staffing of the cult at Beth-El (26–32), followed by a prophetic denunciation of the Beth-El cult in 12:33–13:10. Significant differences in detail in 13:2–3a; 43 and 12:24 between the Masoretic Text and the Septuagint are important for an understanding of the details of Jeroboam's return from Egypt, where Septuagint may have preserved the genuine Israelite tradition.

The account of the reign of Jeroboam in 12:33–14:18 rests on prophetic traditions of varying worth. The denunciation of the cult at Beth-El by a prophet from Judah (12:33–13:10), in which the reference to Josiah's reformation in 13:2 is a later insertion, is part of an ancient prophetic legend, which forms a unity with the story of the death of that prophet because of his unintentional disobedience to his prophetic commission (11–32; so Fichtner, Klopfenstein, Noth). This passage has secondary elements both in the embellishment of prophetic legend by the miraculous (e.g., 4 ff.) and in the editorial comment (e.g., 2, 32). The denunciation of Jeroboam and his house (14:1–18), occasioned by his wife's enquiry of Ahijah about their sick son, is an important source for the history of Israel being part of the prophetic adaptation of generally historical narratives (e.g., 16:1–4; 20:1–43; 21:1–19; 22:1–38, II Kings 9:1–10:28) to express severe criticism of the monarchy in Israel. (It is likely that Ahijah as a Shilonite would have hoped, mistakenly, that in Jeroboam he had found a leader who would restore Shiloh to its ancient cultic prominence.) In I Kings 20:1–43 and 22:1–38 it was probably this prophetic reworking of historical data which introduced Ahab as the king of Israel, the account of whose violent death in verse 37 is apparently contradicted by Ahab's obituary in 22:40.

The rule of the dynasty of Omri from Ahab's succession in Jehu's revolt (I Kings 17:1–II Kings 10:31) is treated at disproportionate length because of the prophetic traditions of *Elijah and *Elisha and their relevance to the criticism of the liberal religious policy of this dynasty, which probably reflected a contemporary crisis, on which the Deuteronomistic compiler animadverts at length in pursuance of his general theme, the operation of the word of God in the history of Israel. The material is of various character and historical worth.

Certain passages, e.g., I Kings 18 (the ordeal on Carmel), 19 (Elijah at Horeb), 21 (Naboth's vineyard), II Kings 8:7–15 (Elisha and the coup d'état of Hazael) and 9:1ff. (Elisha and the coup d'état of Jehu), show a sound sense of history and are generally reliable, their critical attitude to the monarchy indicating prophetic authority. The traditions of this type concerning Elijah may rest on the authority of Elisha at the beginning of the eighth century B.C.E., while those concerning Elisha and possibly II Kings 6:24–7:20 (Elisha in the siege of Samaria) and 13:14–19 (Elisha's encouragement of the king on his deathbed) may rest on the authority of a responsible prophetic circle associated with Elisha, probably in Samaria.

Of less historical value are traditions of Elijah and Elisha of a more personal nature that are not primarily related to historical crises, in which miracles abound, e.g., I Kings 17 (Elijah fed in famine), II Kings 1 (Elijah calls down fire upon the emissaries of Ahaziah), II Kings 2:19–22 (Elisha and the water of Jericho); 2:23–25 (Elisha and the rude boys of Beth-El); 4:1–7 (Elisha and the widow's oil); 4:8–37 (Elisha and the Shunammite's son); 4:38–41 (death in the pot); 4:42–44 (Elisha and the multiplication of food); 6:1–7 (Elisha and the floating axe); 6:8–23 (Elisha and the blinding of the Syrians); and perhaps 5 (the healing of Naaman). This matter may owe its inclusion in the Deuteronomistic history to its popularity and its association with Elijah and Elisha; but the compiler, having decided to draw on it, may have used it to emphasize the control over nature exerted by the prophet of YHWH in opposition to the prophet of Baal, as in the ordeal on Carmel in I Kings 18 (so L. Bronnen, *The Stories of Elijah and Elisha*, 1968).

In the sections devoted to the reign of Ahab and his successors there are rather full historical narratives, e.g., I Kings 20 (the Syrian attack on Samaria with a prophetic anecdote) and 22 (the death of the King of Israel at *Ramoth-Gilead), II Kings 3:4ff. (the Moabite campaign of Jehoram), II Kings 6:24–7:20 (the famine in Samaria and the defeat of Benhadad), II Kings 9:1–10:27 (*Jehu's coup d'état) and II Kings 13:14–19 (the last meeting of Elisha and King Joash). In these sections the prophet is the central figure, except in the passages concerning the revolt of Jehu, although even this section is introduced by the anointing of Jehu by an emissary of Elisha as the agent of the doom that was proclaimed by Elijah on the house of Ahab. The critical attitude of the prophet to the house of Omri and the phraseology of the oracle of doom on Ahab recalls the prophet Jehu's oracle against Baasha (I Kings 16:1–4), and may belong to the same prophetic adaptation of historical narrative (so Noth, *Könige*). This source accorded so well with the theme of the Deuteronomic compiler that it needed little adaptation.

In the synchronistic history the general annalistic style, which reflects archival sources, is varied by fuller historical narrative dealing with Athaliah's usurpation of the throne and her suppression of the rise of Joash (II Kings 11) and Joash's reform of Temple finance (II Kings 12:4–16). Certain discrepancies in the former in form and substance suggest a compilation of two sources, a priestly tradition (11:1–12, 18b–20) and a popular one (13–18a). The treatment reflects the compiler's interest in the Temple and his sense of the political and religious crisis precipitated by Athaliah. The excursus on Ahaz' innovations in the Temple (II Kings 16:10–18) reflects the same interest in the Temple on the part of the compiler. With the fall of Samaria in 723 B.C.E. (II Kings 17) the synchronistic history of Israel and Judah comes to an end. The account of the end of the Kingdom of Israel is based on both Israelite and Judean annals, with comment by the compiler in verses 18 and 21–23, and by the redactor in 7–17 and 19–20, emphasizing the principle of sin and retribution in the history of Israel, familiar in the Deuteronomistic history. There is also an addendum on the Assyrian resettlement of Beth-El (24–28) with expansion on the religion of the province of Samaria (29–33; 34–40 and 41).

Third Part

The third part of Kings, concerning Judah alone, is much more full and detailed, but still limited by the theological nature of the compilation. Thus, despite the significant role played by *Hezekiah in stimulating resistance to Assyria for most of the first 14 years of his reign, the compiler proceeds, after a statement concerning his religious reforms (II Kings 18:3–6), almost directly to the Assyrian campaign in his 14th year (18:13–19:37). Here, after a short statement on the beginning and end of the campaign (18:13–16), the narrative suddenly expands, describing embassies from *Sennacherib's field headquarters to demand Hezekiah's surrender (19:1–5, 14–19), the encouraging oracles of Isaiah (19:6–7, 20–34; verses 21–31 being secondary), and the fulfillment of the oracle in 19:6–7, in 19:35–37. This is followed by passages from prophetic tradition concerning Isaiah's relations with Hezekiah during the period of his illness (20:1–11) and the Babylonian delegation (20:12–19). Here 18:13, 17–20:19 is closely, if not completely, parallel to Isaiah 36:39. II Kings 18:17–19:37 evidently consists of two parallel versions of the same incident, 18:17–19:9a, 36–37 and 19:9b–35. These, unlike the annalistic note in 18:13–16, cannot be categorized as history, but are rather popular anecdotal traditions centering on the prophet Isaiah and "the good king Hezekiah" and the theme of God's vindication of his honor and inviolability of his seat on Zion. The prophetic story is probably from the periphery of the tradition of Isaiah, though the actual oracles (19:20, 21–28, 29–31, 32–33, 34) may well be genuine. Assyrian documents concerning the siege of Babylon around 731 B.C.E. support the historicity of the account of the approach of the Assyrian delegation in 18:17–19:7, 36 (so B.S. Childs, *Isaiah and the Assyrian Crisis*, 1967). The second version (19:9b–35), which summarizes the arguments of the Assyrian envoys in 18:17–19:36 from a theological standpoint and emphasizes Hezekiah's piety in prayer (19:15–19) and Isaiah's assurance that he has been heard, in support of which oracles are cited (21–28, 29–31, 32–33, 34), is an edifying tale concerning the good king Hezekiah. The episode closes with a midrash concerning the oracles (35) and a historical comment on the oracle dealing with Sennacherib's withdrawal and violent death in his homeland (37).

Hezekiah's traditional piety is further dealt with by the compiler in the two oracles of Isaiah delivered during the period of the king's sickness, 20:1–11, composed of verses 1–7, with the simple reassuring oracle (5–6), and the sign of the receding shadow (9–11), which may be a secondary development in prophetic tradition of some saying or token which was more rationally intelligible.

The account of Hezekiah's reign closes with Isaiah's rebuking him for his too cordial welcome of the Babylonian delegates (20:12–19). This may be from an account based on a historical tradition. The incident owes its prominence and perhaps its position, probably out of its real chronological context, to the forthcoming Babylonian Exile. The reigns of Manasseh and Amon (21:1–26) are largely summarized in narrative style by the compiler and the redactor in anticipation of the decline and fall of Judah.

The account of Josiah's reign and reformation (22:1–23:30) comes within 25 years of what we believe to be the completion of the first stage of the compilation of the Deuteronomistic history, so that this may well be a free narrative from the compiler himself of matters in which he had been personally involved or which he might have heard from eyewitnesses. This section is composed of historical narrative from the compiler describing the finding of the lawbook, the covenant and the great Passover (22:3–23:3, 21–25), and the reforms of Josiah (23:4–20), which is based on the annals of Judah. Both have received redactional supplements in the response of the prophetess Huldah (22:16–20), in the elaboration of the incident of the desecration of Bethel (23:16–20), and in the note on the rejection of Jerusalem (23:16–27).

From the death of Josiah until the revolt against Babylon in the reign of Jehoiakim (23:30–24:1) the compiler used the annals of Judah which he freely glossed, the whole being further glossed by the later redactor, who continued in the style and tenor of the pre-Exilic compiler until the fall of Jerusalem in 586 and the deportation under *Nebuchadnezzar (25:21), the work ending with two appendices in historical narrative. The appendix concerning the Mizpah incident and its sequel (25:22–26) is the summary of a fuller historical account in Jeremiah 40:7–41:18, and the one concerning the alleviation of the lot of the captive Jehoiachin (25:27–30) seems to betray the hand of the redactor in Babylon, since it reveals intimate knowledge of local conditions there, illustrated by fiscal dockets from the palace of Nebuchadnezzar concerning rations to Jehoiachin.

Compilation and Redaction

The extant Books of Kings must postdate the accession of Evil-Merodach to the throne of Babylon in 561 B.C.E. (II Kings 25:27–30). Hoelscher (*Gunkel-Eucharisterion*, 1 (1923), 158ff.) proposed a date around 500, but it is unlikely that there would have been no mention of the fall of Babylon in 539 B.C.E. and the new prospect for the Jews under Cyrus the Great. Traces of a later hand after this date detected by Noth and Jepsen (*Die Quellen des Koenigsbuches*, 1953) are associated with the Priestly interest, as in the final compilation of the Pentateuch. It is to be questioned, however, if this amounted to a full-scale redaction of the Deuteronomistic history. At any rate, the Priestly element is certainly at a minimum in Kings. There remains the probability that the main redaction was made around 550 B.C.E. and it has been held (e.g., by M. Noth) that the whole compilation dates from then. There is a certain amount of evidence, however, for a pre-Exilic compilation before this definite Exilic redaction. This is indicated by the persistence throughout Kings of the promise of the permanence of the Davidic dynasty according to the divine covenant with David and by the fact that such references to the final disaster and Exile as do occur (e.g., I Kings 9:6–9; II Kings 17:19–20; 23:26–27) are obvious intrusions in the context.

Among the views concerning the compilation and subsequent redaction of Kings, Jepsen (op. cit.) contends for a compilation written by a Priestly compiler about the end of the Kingdom of Judah based on the synchronistic chronicle of Israel and Judah to which were added excerpts from the annals of both kingdoms and an Exilic redaction, incorporating especially prophetic traditions together with traditions from Solomon's reign and the Davidic succession story (I Kings 1–2). This according to Jepsen was the definitive Deuteronomistic redaction, the theology of which was normative for the whole work. Like Noth, Jepsen maintains that there were later adjustments, which he terms "the levitical redaction," which we have seen reason to limit. Contending for the first stage of the main compilation before the Exile and a subsequent continuation of the work till a final redaction around 550, Fohrer (*Introduction to the Old Testament* (1968), 248) marks the break before the death of King Josiah in 609, since II Kings 23:30 is apparently contrary to the report of the prophecy of Huldah that Josiah will be gathered to his grave "in peace." This, however, may refer to the state of the kingdom rather than to the personal circumstances of Josiah's death. Evidence of a break in the compilation might be detected in the confused and scanty notice of the end of Jehoiakim's reign in 598 (II Kings 23:36–37) and in the revolt against Babylon (24:1–7), and of the short reign of Jehoiachin in the Babylonian siege in 597 (24:8, 10–12; 24:15). The work could have been continued, perhaps by different hands though in the same style, until a final redaction of the whole soon after 561, which inserted references to the Exile into the earlier compilation. Some scholars have argued for an initial redaction as early as Hezekiah. F. Cross and R. Nelson argue that under Josiah a first pre-exilic Deuteronomistic edition of Kings was produced, which then underwent an exilic/post-exilic redaction. The question has not yet been resolved.

Aims and Purposes

Appreciation of the purpose of Kings depends upon the recognition that it belongs to the Deuteronomistic history as an illustration of the operation of the word of God in the history of Israel, adumbrated in *Deuteronomy 28. After the collapse of the Northern Kingdom and the subsequent deportation, with a similar fate imminent in Judah and realized after 586, doubts of God's purpose for Israel according to the Covenant assurances must have been current. Those are fairly rebutted in the Deuteronomistic history by recalling the consequences of Israel's endorsement of the covenantal obligations under solemn adjuration (Deut. 27:15–26), which are amplified in the final harangue to the assembly of the Covenant community in Deuteronomy 28. For the author of the Deuteronomistic history, as for Deutero-Isaiah, the great disasters, which seemed to some to dissolve the Covenant-association, far from impugning the purpose of God, betokened the consistency and firmness of His purpose. Moreover, in the framework of Judges and in Solomon's prayer at the dedication of the Temple the renewal of God's grace to the contrite is emphasized, and from His consistency in grace as well as in judgment new hope is drawn. To construe the national disasters as consistent with the positive purpose of God as declared in the sacrament of the Covenant, to rally the people in contrition to fidelity to the fundamental religious and ethical demands of the Covenant, and to quicken a sober hope on the basis of the traditional experience of renewed grace was the purpose of the Deuteronomistic historian.

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[John Gray]

KINGSLEY (originally **Kirschner**), **SIDNEY** (1906–1995), U.S. playwright. His first success was *Men in White* (produced by the Group Theater in 1933), a play with a background of hospital life which won a Pulitzer Prize in 1934, and was made into a motion picture. A meticulous researcher, always careful to preserve authentic detail, Kingsley gained a reputation as a "tough" writer, specializing in dramas dealing with social tensions. Slum life in his native New York inspired the theme of *Dead End*, first staged in 1935 and also filmed. His other plays include *Ten Million Ghosts* (1936); *The World We Make* (1939); the farce *Lunatics and Lovers* (1955); and *Night Life* (1962), a play about racketeering. *The Patriots* (1942), a study of early American democracy based on the conflict between Jefferson and Hamilton, was written in collaboration with his wife, Madge Evans. *Detective Story* (1949) was a "documentary" set in a police station. His dramatization of Arthur *Koestler's novel, *Darkness at Noon* (1951), won various awards.

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[Samuel L. Sumberg]

KING'S LYNN (or **Lynn**), port on the east coast of Norfolk, England. It had a Jewish community in the 12th century. As the result of the massacre in February 1189, the whole community was exterminated. Jews later resettled there and in 1238 were ordered to maintain one of the royal crossbow-men. A diminutive community was established in 1747 which survived approximately a century. At the outset of the 21st century, it had no organized Jewish community.

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[Cecil Roth]

KINNAROT, VALLEY OF (Heb. בִּקְעַת כִּנֶּרוֹת), the level plain surrounding the Sea of Galilee (Lake *Kinneret) on all sides. The Valley of Kinnarot includes the Plain of Ginnosar northwest of the sea; the Buṭayḥa Valley at the Jordan's outlet into the sea in the north; the Jordan Valley south of the sea called the Negev ("south") Kinnarot; and the narrow coastal strip surrounding the sea on its other sides. The valley forms part of the Jordan rift which is itself part of the great Syrian-African Rift. The unusual feature of the valley is that it encompasses the Sea of Galilee inside the rift.

The valley was settled in very early prehistoric times; remains of early man have been discovered on the lands of ʿUbaydiyya near kibbutz Afikim. Much later prehistoric remains have been found in the caves in Naḥal Ammud which is drained by the Gennesareth Plain and the Sea of Galilee, as well as along the eastern shore of the sea near Ein Gev, and on the banks of the Yarmuk near Sha'ar ha-Golan. The area reached a peak of prosperity in the early historical periods (Canaanite and Israelite) when large cities were established there: Bet Yeraḥ (in the early Canaanite period) in the south; Kinneret (Tell ʿUrayma) in the north in the late Canaanite and

Israelite periods, and others. The valley also flourished in the Hellenistic-Roman, Byzantine, and early Arab periods. Great new cities were built on the shore of the sea (Tiberias, Migdal Taricheae, etc.) and the old cities returned to their former prosperity (Bet Yeraḥ, etc.). The valley began to decline during the Crusader wars, when Tiberias and many other settlements were destroyed (the famous battle between Saladin and the combined Christian armies took place nearby at Hattin). It deteriorated further with the Mongolian invasion and reached its lowest point in the last centuries of the Middle Ages when it was overrun by Bedouin tribes from the Arabian peninsula. The revival of Jewish settlement in the valley in the early 20th century brought with it a new wave of prosperity.

The valley, situated about 660 ft. (c. 200 m.) below sea level and surrounded by mountains, contains an abundance of water (Sea of Galilee, Jordan River, and Yarmuk River) and its unique climate is characterized by high temperatures and rapid rises in temperature as winter turns into summer. The area is intensively cultivated today. The combination of abundant water and hot climate makes it especially suitable for growing bananas and other crops which require the early ripening found in this area.

[Yehoshoua Ben-Arieh]

KINNERET (Heb. כִּנֶּרֶת), second oldest kibbutz in Israel, just S.E. of Lake Kinneret, affiliated to Iḥud ha-Kevuẓot ve-ha-Kibbutzim. Its land (Dalayqā-Umm Jūnī) was among the first holdings acquired in the country by the *Jewish National Fund. In 1908, Arthur *Ruppin, director of the Zionist Organization's Palestine Office, decided not to renew the temporary lease to Arab tenants, and set up a training farm there for Jewish laborers. Tensions arose as the farm administrator, M. Bermann, was inclined to regard the Jewish workers, who were Second Aliyah pioneers from Russia, as wage earners rather than trainees and preferred the cheaper, more experienced, and more pliable Arab laborers. After a strike broke out, Ruppin suggested allocating to a group of seven workers the Umm Jūnī lands east of the Jordan, where they then founded *Deganyah. A second strike, led by Berl *Katznelson, ended in a change of both the administrator and the workers. In May 1912, a girls' agricultural-training farm was added to Kinneret, directed by Hannah Maisel-Shoḥat. That month, Jewish pioneers from America, members of Ha-Ikkar ha-Ẓa'ir, came to Kinneret under Eliezer *Joffe's leadership. He worked out the idea of the *moshav form of settlement, and among the majority of the Kinneret laborers, the idea of the "large kevuẓah" (later called kibbutz) was developed (as opposed to the "small kevuẓah" on the Deganyah model). Outstanding leaders of the *yishuv* and labor movement, e.g., David *Ben-Gurion, Shelomo *Lavi, Yiẓḥak *Tabenkin, Shemuel *Dayan, and Ben Zion *Yisreeli all worked at Kinneret prior to and during World War I. The kibbutz cemetery is known for the famous figures buried there: Berl *Katznelson, Naḥman Sirkin, Moses *Hess, Ber *Borochov, Avraham *Harzfeld, and others. The grave of the young poet *Rachel is in Kinneret, where she lived; a date palm grove, which first served to propagate the date species in Israel, was planted nearby and named "Gan Raḥel." Naomi *Shemer, who was born in the kibbutz, was buried there in 2004.

After the war, Kinneret absorbed pioneer immigrants of the Third Aliyah, and also served as a camp for members of *Gedud ha-Avodah (labor legion) employed in the construction of the Ẓemaḥ-Tiberias road. The Ha-Kibbutz ha-Me'uḥad movement crystallized at Kinneret. The settlement developed exemplary, fully irrigated, mixed and highly intensive farming. It served as one of the spiritual centers of the *Ha-Po'el ha-Ẓa'ir movement and *Mapai. With the split in Ha-Kibbutz ha-Me'uḥad, in 1951, Kinneret joined Iḥud ha-Kevuẓot ve-ha-Kibbutzim. In 1968, it had 700 inhabitants, dropping to 612 in 2002. The main economic branches are farming (field crops, orchards, citrus groves, and dairy cattle), tourism, industry, and a quarry.

The *Bet Yeraḥ excavations and the seminary and convention buildings of Oholo lie within Kinneret's boundaries. A mound near the northwest corner of the lake was identified as the site of biblical Kinneret (*Chinnereth).

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[Efraim Orni / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

KINNERET (Heb. כִּנֶּרֶת), moshavah in northern Israel, near the S.W. corner of Lake Kinneret, founded on Jewish Colonization Association (ICA) land in 1909 by settlers from Eastern Europe. The village developed at a slow pace, as the settlers frequently differed with the ICA (later *PICA) administration. The land was transferred to the settlers only in 1944. After that their progress accelerated somewhat. In 1959 the moshavah received municipal council status. In 1968 it numbered 195 inhabitants, rising to 335 in the mid-1990s and 497 in 2002. In addition to intensive farming (mainly orchards), Kinneret set up a small hotel, a restaurant, and other tourist enterprises. The first experiments in lake fishing were made by Jewish fishermen on the shore by the moshavah. In the nearby "Kinneret Courtyard," where the *kevuẓah* *Kinneret was founded previously, several nuclei of kibbutz settlements had their temporary camp before establishing their own villages in the region, e.g., *Afikim, *Ein Gev, and Ma'agan. In the moshavah's graveyard, shared with nearby Kibbutz Kinneret, lie the remains of Berl *Katznelson, Naḥman Sirkin, Moses *Hess, Ber *Borochov, Avraham *Harzfeld, the poet *Rachel, and Naomi *Shemer.

[Efraim Orni]

KINNERET, LAKE (Heb. יָם כִּנֶּרֶת, **Yam Kinneret**, or יָם כִּנְּרוֹת, **Yam Kinnerot**), freshwater lake in N.E. Israel. The Jordan enters it from the north and flows out from the south. Several names have been applied to the lake in the past, including "Sea of Chinneroth" or "Chinnereth" (Josh. 13:27; 12:3), "Water of

Gennesar" (I Macc. 11:67), and "Lake of Gennesareth" (Jos., Wars, 3:506), while in the New Testament it is called "the Sea of Galilee" or simply "the Sea" (Matt. 4:18; 17:27; John 6:1; etc.), and sometimes "the sea of Gennesareth" or "the sea of Tiberias" (Luke 5:1; John 6:1; 21:1). In talmudic sources it is usually called *yammah shel Teveryah* ("sea of Tiberias," Tosef. Suk. 3:9, etc.). The Arabs also called it Baḥr al-Ṭabariya. In Israel the biblical name *Yam Kinneret* has been revived.

Physical Data

The lake occupies a section of the central Jordan Rift Valley. It covers an area of 64 sq. mi. (165 sq. km.). The level of the water surface, which varies considerably with the shift from rainy to drought years, averages 696 ft. (213 m.) below Mediterranean sea level. The water is deepest, 144 ft. (44 m.) on the average, northeast of the lake's center.

The region of Lake Kinneret has a seismic character, borne out by hot mineral springs on its bottom and on its circumference. The lake was created in its present form when, in the recent geologic past, its bottom subsided more strongly than the area south of it, where diagonally posed young rock strata testify to an uplift which created a sill preventing the drainage of Jordan and other waters coming in from the north. Whereas the lake is thought to have originally been more or less rectangular, streams entering it, in addition to the Jordan itself, deposited alluvial material thus creating the Ginnesar Valley in the northwest and the Bethsaida (Buṭayḥa) Valley in the northeast and rounding off the north shore. At the same time, erosion at the Jordan's outflow in the south contributed to give the lake its present pear-like shape, with a north-south length of 15 mi. (23 km.) and a maximum east-west width of 10 mi. (16 km.). Alluvium deposited by the Yarmuk River in the south blocked the inflow of this watercourse into the lake and displaced the Jordan outflow to the southwest corner of the lake.

Although the waters entering the lake are fresh, brackish springs at the lake bottom and near its shore raise its water salinity; strong evaporation in the region's hot climate further increases the water's salt content. Measurements taken in the 1950s and 1960s show oscillations in salinity ranging from 250 to 400 mm/liter chlorine content, again to be attributed to the varying amount of water entering the lake; the more water fills the lake, the better the saline bottom springs are plugged by its weight, causing a further reduction in salinity.

History

Owing to its abundant water supply, warm climate, the fertile land in its vicinity, and the numerous fish in the lake, Lake Kinneret has attracted man since prehistoric times; in fact, the most ancient human remains and artifacts found in Ereẓ Israel come from ʿUbaydiyya not far from its shores. In Neolithic times the inhabitants of the Yarmuk valley adjoining the lake engaged in agricultural activities ("hoe" agriculture). In the Early Bronze Age some of the largest cities in Canaan were founded there, in particular, *Bet Yeraḥ, a site of some 60 acres (250 dunams). The *Via Maris* (Maritime Route) which passed its shores contributed to the wealth of the riparian cities. Egyptian documents (Papyrus Anastasi I) mention the hot springs on its shores and their beneficent effects. In the Bible, Kinneret serves as a prominent boundary mark: it was the border of Sihon king of the Amorites (Deut. 3:17); its western shores were in the possession of Naphtali, whose cities of Hammath, Rakkath, and *Chinnereth were situated along its banks; most of the eastern shore belonged to Manasseh, and the tribe of Gad extended up to its southern end (Josh. 12:3; 13:27). In the time of David, Geshur held part of its northeastern coastline, and after the division of the monarchy the kings of Israel had to engage in combat with Aram for control of its eastern shore; in this the Omrid dynasty was most successful. In 732 B.C.E. Tiglath-Pileser III captured the area from Israel and assigned the western shore to the Assyrian province of Megiddo and the eastern to Karnaim (II Kings 15:29). The lands west of the lake were a royal estate in the Persian and Hellenistic periods. The Ptolemies established one of their administrative centers (Philoteria) along its shore. Part of the territory of the city of Susitha (Hippus) bordered on its eastern shore. Under the Hasmoneans the entire area was Jewish. In 30 B.C.E. Herod received Hippus and in 20 B.C.E. the Gaulan. His sons Antipas and Philip founded the cities of *Tiberias and Julias (*Bethsaida) on the seashore. In the time of Herod Antipas the area around the sea was a main center of *Jesus' activities. Under Roman rule the western shore (Tiberias) and part of the eastern (Gaulan) were Jewish while the rest was gentile. The entire lake was later included in the province of Palaestina Secunda; in Byzantine times many churches were built on its shores (e.g., Heptapegon, Capernaum, etc.). After the Arab conquest it remained in the same province which was renamed Jund al-Urdun (Jordan). The crusaders kept a firm hold on the western shore and fought repeatedly to gain control of the eastern (the Terre de Sueth). The Mamluks included the lake in the *mamlaka* (province) of Safed, and the Turks in the pashalik of Acre.

Beginning from the first decade of the 20th century, Jewish settlements were founded on and near the lake's west and south shore (*Migdal, *Kinneret, *Deganyah, etc.). The frontier drawn between the British Mandate over Palestine and the French Mandate over Syria included the entire lake in the former territory, together with a 1.1–2.2 mi. (1.8–3.5 km.) broad strip on the southern half of the east coast and a tiny 32.8 ft. (10 m.) broad strip along the Bethsaida Valley in the northeast. Under the Mandate, the settlement chain was strengthened in the west and south, and the kibbutz *Ein Gev set up in the east. It engaged, together with two other kibbutzim, in lake fishing and the development of pleasure-boat trips and tourism on the lake and in the area. After the 1948 War of Independence, the Israel-Syrian border remained unchanged, although the Ein Gev strip was declared a demilitarized area. More Jewish settlements (Ma'agan, *Ha-On, *Tel Kaẓir in the south and east, *Almagor in the north) were added in the statehood period. Lake Kinneret was chosen as the National Water Carrier's principal reservoir, completed in 1964; the water was lifted from the lake by the huge Eshed Kinnarot pumping station in its northwest corner. As the main source of water in Israel, the Kinneret's levels are of public interest. Its low level is 698 ft. (213 m.) below sea level, while its high level is 685 ft. (208.9 m.) below sea level. In dry years, when the low level is reached, pumping is stopped. In contrast, in rainy years, when the high level is reached the Deganyah dam is opened. After years of relative drought the abundant rains of 2003/2004 again brought the level to the high-water mark.

Growing Syrian aggressiveness (attempts at setting up military positions on Israel territory near Ein Gev and in the Chorazin area, harassing of Israel fishermen, etc.) became one of the sources of friction building up the tension which led to the Six-Day War. The occupation of the dominating *Golan Heights by Israel in this war moved the border with Syria away from Lake Kinneret, which became an inland lake of Israel. The settlements around the Kinneret are mainly rural, while Tiberias serves as the urban center of the region. In 2003 the population of the Kinneret region was 96,000.

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[Michael Avi-Yonah and Efraim Orni / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

KINNIM (Heb. קִנִּים), the 11th and last tractate in the *Mishnah order of *Kodashim*. The term means "nest" or "birds in a nest," and it designates the pair of sacrificial "birds," "two turtledoves" or "two young pigeons," which were obligatory offerings in certain cases and voluntary in others (Lev. 1:14–16; 5:1–10; 12; see Shek. 6:5). In the case of "obligatory offerings" one of the two birds is a burnt offering and the other is a sin offering, while in the case of "voluntary offerings" both are burnt offerings. This distinction plays a significant role in the discussions of this tractate. Equally important is the distinction between *ken meforeshet*, meaning that the offerer has decided which of the two birds is to be the burnt offering and which the sin offering, and *ken setumah*, where no such decision has been taken and the designation is left to the priest. *Kinnim* is not concerned with the laws of bird sacrifices in general (dealt with in Zev. 6:4ff.) but with the special problem of "confusion of birds"; e.g., birds assigned as sin offerings mixed up with those assigned as burnt offerings. The problem arising in such a case is indicated in the opening paragraph of the first chapter. The blood of a sin offering is sprinkled on the lower part of the altar (under the "red line"), while that of a burnt offering on the upper part; if the actions were performed in the reverse fashion the sacrifice would be invalid. Subtle differences arise if the confused birds belong to one or to several persons, and the confusion of birds of the same sacrificial species belonging to one person also has some consequence.

The second chapter elaborates on the distinction between *ken meforeshet* and *ken setumah*. It mentions incidentally that a turtledove and young pigeon do not constitute a *ken*, and concludes, somewhat out of context, with the qualified ruling on the duty of an heir to supply the sin offering for a woman who died in childbirth. The third chapter enlarges on points already discussed in the two previous chapters and ends with the adage that the stupidity of an ignoramus, like the wisdom of a scholar, increases with age. English versions are to be found in the Mishnah translation of Danby (1933) and Blackman (1951).

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[Arnost Zvi Ehrman]

KINROSS, ALBERT (1870–1929), British journalist and author. Born in Russia, he became London correspondent of the Boston *Evening Transcript* (1896–98) and dramatic critic of the *Morning Post* (1901–03). In 1904 he returned to Russia as special correspondent during the Russo-Japanese War and the Russian Revolution of 1905. He served throughout World War I in the British army, started the *Balkan News* for British Salonica Force and for several months edited the *Palestine News*. He left journalism in 1907 to become a full-time writer of short stories, which were published in leading magazines in Britain and America, returning to journalism during World War I.

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KINSKY, GEORG LUDWIG (1882–1951), musicologist. Born in Marienwerder, Kinsky, who was entirely self-taught in musicology, became curator and director of the Heyer Museum of Musical History in Cologne (1909–26) and lecturer at the University of Cologne (1921–32), where he obtained his doctorate in 1925. After 1933 he was able for some time to pursue his research privately and to lecture in the *Kulturbund, but in 1942 he was deported and worked as a slave laborer until 1945. His last years were spent in near destitution in Berlin. In his fields of research – music bibliography and the study of musical instruments – Kinsky made several major contributions to modern musicology. He prepared a bibliographical index to Beethoven's works, *Das Werk Beethovens* (completed by A. Halm and published 1955). His other publications include *Geschichte der Musik in Bildern* (1929, and several subsequent editions in German and English), an unfinished series of catalogs of the Heyer collection, and about 150 studies in periodicals.

KIPEN, ALEKSANDR ABRAMOVICH (1870–1938), Russian writer. In 1894 he graduated from the National School of Agriculture in Montpellier, France. In the 1910s he taught agriculture in St. Petersburg and in 1920 became a professor at the Odessa Agricultural Institute. He wrote a number of scientific works on viticulture, mainly on vine growing in the southern areas of the Ukraine. Kipen's literary activity began in 1903. He mainly published in collections and journals of Marxist and populist orientation but also in Russian-Jewish periodicals. He depicted the life of the working classes of southern Russia, and was interested in events connected with the Revolution of 1905. He is familiar with the internal and external aspects of Jewish life. His documentary tale *V octyabre* ("In October [1905]," in the collection *Znanie*, no. 11, 1906) is an impassioned eye-witness account of an outbreak during a pogrom in Odessa, including the brutal murder of women and children who were flung from their balconies; Cossacks shooting unarmed civilians, Jewish self-defense, soldiers aiming machine-guns and cannons at Jewish homes, Zionists defending the honor of their people, and the moral vacuousness of Jewish apostates. The hero of the story "Liverant" (published in *Evreyskiy mir* in 1910) rejects the idea of converting to Christianity as an escape from frustration of Jewish lack of rights. In his story "Gangrena" ("Gangrene") Kipen suggests that the solution to the Jewish problem should be the overthrow of autocracy and the elimination of all limitations of rights throughout the Russian empire.

Kipen conveyed in a masterful way the nuance of southern Russian folk speech, including the hybrid Russian-Jewish way of speaking which to some degree characterized the language of the Odessa school of Russian literature.

His brother GRIGORIY ABRAMOVICH KIPEN (1881–?), was an economist and active member of the Russian revolutionary movement. After February 1917 he was deputy chairman of the Moscow Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies and co-editor of the newspaper *Izvestia* of the Moscow Soviet. From late 1917 until 1920 he was secretary of the Moscow Menshevik organization. In the 1920s he taught at higher educational institutions in Moscow. From 1930 to 1933 he was kept in political isolation in the town of Verkhneuralsk. Subsequently he was sent to Tomsk where he presumably perished.

[Mark Kipnis / *The Shorter Jewish Encyclopaedia in Russian*]

KIPNIS, ALEXANDER (1891–1978), bass-baritone. Born in Zhitomir, Kipnis began his career in Germany, and was a member of the Berlin State Opera until the Nazis came to power. He performed at Bayreuth and Salzburg, at Covent Garden and Glyndebourne in England, and at the Metropolitan Opera, New York. A singer of great range and flexibility, he excelled in lieder as well as in opera and oratorio. His son Igor (1930–) was a well-known harpsichord player.

KIPNIS, ITZIK (1896–1974), Yiddish novelist. Born in Volhynia into a maskilic family, Kipnis worked as a tanner before being sent by his union to Kiev to study (1920). There he befriended David *Hofstein, associated with the Kiev Group, and debuted in the Kiev children's monthly *Freyd* (1922), becoming one of the finest Yiddish children's writers. He published a book of poetry, *Oksn* ("Oxen," 1923), but soon found prose to be his medium. His narrative *Khadoshim un Teg* ("Months and Days," 1926), depicting the pogroms of 1919–21 and idealizing his native *shtetl*, won acclaim from readers and critics. S. *Niger and David *Bergelson hailed him as a successor to *Sholem Aleichem, but Soviet critics, while recognizing his great narrative talent, attacked him for the apolitical and petit bourgeois character of his lyricism and idyllic melancholy. He was expelled several times from the Soviet Writers' Union for resisting Party pressure. Evacuated from Kiev during World War II, he returned in 1944 and penned his moving sketch *Babi-Yar,* commemorating the German massacre of Kiev's Jews (1941) and calling for Jewish revival. In 1948, he was arrested as a Jewish nationalist and imprisoned in a remote labor camp. His rehabilitation following Stalin's death did not permit residence in a large city, so he lived in Boyarka, famed as Sholem Aleichem's Boiberik. In 1958 he returned to Kiev and published in the sole (revived) Soviet Yiddish literary periodical, *Sovetish Heymland*; a volume of his stories, *Tsum Lebn* ("To Life") was published in Moscow in 1969. In his works, published in Israel in the 1970s, he instructed the editors to restore his texts crippled by Soviet censorship.

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[Sol Liptzin / Eugene V. Orenstein (2nd ed.)]

KIPNIS, LEVIN (1894–1990), author of children's Hebrew literature. Born in Ushomir, Volhynia, he went to Ereẓ Israel in 1913, studied at the Bezalel School of Arts, and taught in a kindergarten. After a period of study in Germany in 1923 he joined the staff of the Lewinsky Teachers' Seminary in Tel Aviv. One of the first children's authors in Ereẓ Israel, his numerous storybooks included *Pa'am Aḥat* (1931), *Yeladim ba-Maḥteret* (1946), *Ḥaggai* (1949), *Alef* (1955), *Bet* (1956), *Gimmel* (1957), *Ẓivonim* (1967), and *Ḥidon ha-Torah li-Yladim* (1968). Later he also wrote children's stories in Yiddish and published, in 1961, *Untern Taytelboym*. He also edited the journals for kindergarten teachers, *Gannenu* (1919–20) and *Hed ha-Gan* (1938–59). In 1978 he was the recipient of the Israel Prize for children's literature. A collection of essays examining the influence of Kipnis on Hebrew children's literature was published under *Iyyunim bi-Yẓirat Levin Kipnis* in 1982. A list of his works translated into English appears in Goell, Bibliography, 105 (index).

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[Getzel Kressel]

KIPNIS, MENAHEM (1878–1942), singer, folklore collector, and writer. Born in Ushomir, Ukraine, Kipnis came from a family of ḥasidic rabbis and *ḥazzanim*. As a boy he sang in the choirs of Nissan *Spivak ("Nissi Belzer") and Jacob Samuel *Morogowsky ("Zeidel Rovner"). In 1901 he went to Warsaw where he completed his musical education, sang in the chorus of the opera, and began to publish articles on various aspects of Jewish music in the major Hebrew and Yiddish newspapers. From 1912 to 1932 he toured Poland, Germany, and France, appearing in concert with his wife and former pupil, Zimra Seligsfeld, in combined lecture-performances of the Jewish folk songs which he had collected and studied. These he published successively in 1918 (*60 Folkslider*), 1923 (*80 Folkslider*), and a combined edition in 1931 (*140 Folkslider*), with a parallel edition of 25 tunes with piano accompaniment which appeared between 1924 and 1926. He also published three collections of songs for children, and was active in the Polish cantors organization.

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[Haim Bar-Dayan]

KIPPER (Heb. כִּפֵּר).

Etymology

The customary rendering of *kipper* is "to atone for," or "expiate" but in most cases this is, at best, imprecise. In poetry its parallel synonym is *maḥah* ("to wipe away"; Jer. 18:23), or *hesir* ("to remove"; Isa. 27:9, cf. the passive, *ibid.* 6:7), suggesting that *kipper* means "to purge." Also, ritual texts regularly couple *kipper* with *ṭiher* ("to purify"), and *ḥiṭṭe*ʾ ("to decontaminate"; Lev. 14:48, 52, 53). However, other poetic passages use in parallel *kissah* ("to cover"; Neh.3:37; cf. Jer. 18:23), as if *kipper* connotes smearing on a new substance rather than effacing an existent one. Linguists have been divided as to which is the basic meaning since evidence from Semitic cognates can be cited in support of both, mainly from the Arabic for "to cover" and from the Akkadian for "to wipe." But perhaps both these meanings go back to an original common notion of rubbing. Since a substance may either be "rubbed on" or "rubbed off," the derived meanings "to wipe" and "to cover" may be complementary rather than contradictory. This is especially clear in Akkadian where both usages are attested in medical/ritual texts and where "the step between 'rubbing off' and 'rubbing on' is so short that one cannot distinguish between cleaning and treatment" (B. Landsberger). Akkadian *kuppuru* includes within its semantic range the purification of temples and other ritual cleansing (CAD K, 179).

Ritual Kipper as "Cover"

It must be admitted, however, that while there can be no doubt that blood is "rubbed onto" the evidence of the house as an apotropaic in the *Pesaḥ* ritual (cf. the verb *pasaḥ*, "protect," in Exodus 12:23 (I will *pasaḥ* over the entrance and will not let the destroyer into your house), 27; Isa. 31:5), the evidence that *kipper* can have this connotation is confined to Numbers 17:11, where it is not decisive.

Ritual Kipper as "Purge"

In Israel, however, it is important to note that the meaning "to rub off" predominates in the ritual texts, whereas that of "to cover" probably never occurs. This is best illustrated by the blood of the *ḥaṭṭaʾt*, the purification offering (see *Sacrifice). Its use is restricted to the sanctuary: it is never used on a person. The rites for the healed leper and for the consecration of the priest call for a *ḥaṭṭaʾt*, but the blood daubed on them does not come from the *ḥaṭṭaʾt* but from other animal sacrifices. Moreover, a study of the syntax of the *kipper* prepositions is decisive. It reveals that: (1) A non-human object of *kipper* is either direct or indirect through one preposition, *ʿal* or *be*, the direct object being that which is purged and the prepositional object that "on" which or "in" which purgation takes place and (2) a human object is never governed by *kipper* directly but only through either *ʿal* or *beʿad*, both signifying "in behalf of." This means that a human is not only the object but the beneficiary of the rite which is performed for him by a priest. There is an object, but it is the object that is sprinkled or smeared with the *ḥaṭṭaʾt* blood, and this is done not to the human beneficiary, but to the sanctuary and its sancta. By placing the blood upon the altar horns or bringing it inside the sanctuary (e.g., Lev. 16:14–19) the priest thereby purges the most sacred areas in behalf of the person(s) who caused their contamination either by physical impurity (Lev. 12–15) or by inadvertent misdemeanor against God (Lev. 4). Deliberate sins and impurities, however, cannot be purged by the offender's own *ḥaṭṭaʾt* (Num. 15:30–31) but must await the annual rite of purgation for the sanctuary and the nation (*Day of Atonement). *Kipper* undergoes further qualification in the context of the sacrificial system.

The Theology

The net result of these deductions from the function of sacrificial *kipper* is that there is sufficient evidence to reconstruct the missing priestly doctrine of theodicy. It presumes that sin is a miasma which wherever committed is attracted to the sanctuary. There it adheres and accumulates until God will no longer abide in it. Hence, it is forever incumbent upon Israel, through the indispensable medium of its priesthood, to purge the sanctuary regularly of its impurities lest God abandon it and the people to their doom. Thus, evil is never unheeded by God, even when the individual evildoer is not immediately punished, but accumulates in the sanctuary until the point of no return: the sum of individual sin leads inexorably to the destruction of the community.

This priestly theology of *kipper* is easily traceable to older non-Israelite analogues, for the ancient Near East shared a common obsession with temple purification. Impurity is inherently dangerous to divinities and humans. The *kipper* rite effectively removes that danger.

Remaining Kipper Cases

The agents of ritual *kipper*, exclusive of the *ḥaṭṭaʾt* blood, which have not yet been discussed are: the scapegoat (Lev. 16:10, 21–22); the broken-necked heifer (Deut. 21:1–9); the money for the military census (Ex. 30:16); the levites (Num. 8:19); the human deaths by plague for people's idolatry (Num. 25:1–15); the priest whose death frees the homicide from exile (Num. 35:32–33); and finally, the blood of sacrifices other than *ḥaṭṭaʾt*. Their elucidation will establish a new meaning for *kipper.*

Kipper as "To Represent" or "To Transfer"
It has been noticed in Mesopotamian magic that "the dirt called *kupirtu* or *takpirtu* is absorbed by a medium, mostly dough which is thrown away, buried or carried away" (B. Landsberger). This leads to the phenomenon of "the representative," "carrier," or "transfer agent," the substance to which the evil is transferred and thereupon eliminated.

This notion of *kipper*-carrier is clearly represented in the Bible by the rituals of the scapegoat (*Azazel) and the heifer whose neck is broken, as shown by extra-biblical parallels (see *Day of Atonement). Though such evidence is not available for the remaining cases, the representative principle is nonetheless operative. The common denominator of all these cases is their avowed goal: to avert the wrath of God from the entire community (cf. respectively: Ex. 30:16; Num. 8:19; Num. 25:13; II Sam. 21:1,3). This *kipper* must be sharply distinguished from that of the sanctuary. In the latter case, the impurities are purged lest they cause the indwelling God to leave; in this instance, however, *kipper* has the immediate goal of preventing the divine anger from incinerating innocent and guilty alike. Furthermore, in the case of the census money, *lekhapper ʿal nafshoteikhem* is related to *kofer nafsho* (Ex. 30:12, 15–16); the same combination is again found in the homicide law (Num. 35:31–33). The verb *kipper* is thus tied by the context to its *kal* (*qal*) noun *kofer* whose meaning is undisputed (i.e., "ransom"; Ex. 21:30). Therefore, there exists a strong possibility that all texts which assign to *kipper* the function of averting God's wrath have *kofer* in mind: innocent lives spared by their substitution by the guilty parties or their representative (already noted by Ibn Ezra for the levites of Num. 18:9). Thus, the above-mentioned cases are elucidated as follows: though no substitute is allowed for a deliberate murder, the accidental homicide is ransomed by the natural death of the high priest; similarly, the census money ransoms each counted soldier; and the levite guards supplant the Israelites when one of the latter encroaches upon the sancta (Num. 1:53; 8:19; 18:22–23).

Kipper as "To Expiate"
The final stage in the evolution of the root *kipper* yields the abstract, figurative notion, "expiate." Having begun as an action which eliminates dangerous impurity by absorbing it through direct contact (rubbing) or indirect (transference), it eventuates into the process of expiation in general. Thus, the *kipper* role of all other sacrifices – whose blood is not daubed on the altar's horns like the *ḥaṭṭaʾt* but is dashed on its sides – is to expiate sin. This is one of the functions of the *ʿolah* (Lev. 1:4) and the *minḥah* (Lev. 14:20), and the sole function of the *aʾsham* (Lev. 5:16, 18, 26; for details, see *Sacrifice). So with the *kapporet* placed over the Tabernacle Ark (Ex. 25:17–22); being a feminine abstract noun from *kipper*, it probably means "that which expiates" or "the expiatory." And since it also designates the place where Moses "would hear the Voice addressing him" (Num. 7:89), it is the expiatory, par excellence.

Kipper Blood
One more ritual *kipper* remains: the crux of Leviticus 17:11. This verse states explicitly that the function of the altar blood is "to expiate for your lives," and it has been construed as a generalization defining the purpose of all sacrificial blood. But *shelamim* have nothing to do with sin and neither have votive and thanksgiving offerings (Lev. 22:17ff.; Ps. 116:17–18). The key to the nature of the "expiation" of Leviticus 17:11 is the context. Leviticus chapter 17 concentrates on the prohibition of ingesting blood, and therefore deals nearly exclusively with the *shelamim*. For the *shelamim* (of which the thanksgiving offering is a special variety) is the one sacrifice whose flesh is permitted to the laic and the consuming of flesh itself requires expiation. That is why Leviticus 17:4 makes the killing of sacrificeable animals except at the sanctuary tantamount to murder. The sanctuary altar, in the priestly code, legitimates animal slaughter by being the divinely appointed instrument which restores the life of the animal, symbolized by the blood, to God. Thus Leviticus 17:11 is to be translated: "And I have assigned it [the *shelamim* blood] to you upon the altar, to expiate for your lives; for it is the blood, as life, that can expiate." Of course Leviticus 17:3ff. is not unique in forbidding the consumption of blood (cf. Gen. 9:3–4; Lev. 3:17; 7:20–21 – all P), whereby animal flesh is conceded by God on condition that the blood is not consumed. It is not even the only source that requires slaughter at an altar for domestic cattle (I Samuel 14:32–35), though it is the only one that requires a sacrifice. (For the Deuteronomic change see Deut. 12:13–28.)

Ritual Atonement without Kipper
Whenever a sacrifice concludes the purification ritual for physical impurity it is always a *ḥaṭṭaʾt*, and its purpose is to *kipper* or purge the contaminated sanctuary. It is of interest that when a prophet or a psalmist resorts to a ritualistic metaphor in his call for moral purification, he never uses the term *kipper* but one which signifies lustration with water (e.g., Isa. 1:16; Ezek. 36:25; Zech. 13:1; Ps. 51:4,9).

Of the sources just cited, Isaiah 1 (cf. in addition to v. 16, vs. 19–20, and v. 27 ("Those in Zion who repent")) demands repentance as the proper atonement for moral wrongdoing, and so do many other non-ritual passages (see below). But the indispensability of repentance is a stipulation of the ritual texts as well. To begin with, the possibility of sacrificial atonement is explicitly denied to the individual who presumptuously violates God's law (Num. 15:30–31). This, however, does not mean, as many critics aver, that sacrificial atonement is possible only for involuntary wrongdoers. To cite but one exception, the *asham* offering is prescribed for that premeditated crime called by the rabbis *asham gezelot* (Lev. 5:20ff.; Num. 5:5–8). A more correct assertion, then, would be that the priestly system prohibits sacrificial atonement to the unrepentant sinner, for the one who "acts defiantly… it is the Lord he reviles" (Num. 15:30). This is an explicit postulate of post-biblical literature: "the *ḥaṭṭaʾt*, the *ʾasham*, and death do not atone except with repentance" (Tosef., Yoma 5:9; cf. Yoma

8:8). That it is also explicitly demanded by the ritual texts of the Bible can only be sketchily demonstrated here as follows: The phrase *ve*(*we*)-*ʾashem*, the leitmotiv of the two exclusive expiatory sacrifices, the *ḥaṭṭaʾt* and the *ʾasham* (Lev. 4:13, 22, 27; 5:2, 3, 4, 17, 23), can be shown to mean: "when he feels guilty" or "when he is guilt-stricken." Contrition, therefore, is an explicit *sine qua non* for expiation by sacrifice. Furthermore, it is precisely when the sin is deliberate, not accidental, that another penitential requirement is added, namely that the contrition must be openly declared; it must be supplemented by confession (*we-hitwaddah*; Lev. 5:5; Num. 5:7; cf. Lev. 16:21; 26:40). Even the annual purification rite for the sanctuary and nation requires that the high priest confess the deliberate sins of the Israelites (Lev. 16:21), while the latter demonstrate their penitence, not by coming to the Temple – from which deliberate sinners are barred – but by fasting and other acts of self-denial (Lev. 16:29; 23:27–32; Num. 29:7). Thus, contrition for involuntary sin and confession for deliberate sin are indispensable to the atonement produced by the sacrificial system, and they differ in no way from the call to repentance formulated by the prophets. Finally, the prescriptions of the *asham* offering ordained for cases of calculable loss to the deity stipulate that restitution must be made to the wronged party (man or sanctuary) before atonement by sacrifice is permitted. Indeed, the prophetic insistence that repentance is not an end in itself, but must lead to rectification of the wrongdoing (e.g., Isa. 1:13–17; 58:6–12; Micah 6:6–8), is only the articulation of a basic postulate of the sacrificial system.

Non-Ritual Kipper for Sin

Outside the sanctuary, *kipper* undergoes a vast change that is at once made apparent by its new grammatical syntax. Whereas in ritual, the subject of *kipper* is invariably a priest, and the direct object is a contaminated thing, in the non-ritual literature, usually the subject is the deity and the direct object is a sin (e.g., Jer. 18:8; Ezek. 16:63; Ps. 65:4; 78:38; 79:9). Actually, this represents no rupture with ritual *kipper*; on the contrary, it gives voice to its implicit meaning. As for the object, though the cult concentrates on the purging mainly of sanctuary impurity, it, too, recognizes that its source is human sin. The subject implies even less change: though the priest performs the rituals, it is only due to the grace of God that the ritual is efficacious. Thus, non-ritual exhortations, requiring no priestly mediation, uncompromisingly turn to God, the sole dispenser of expiation. True, there are a few *kipper* passages with man as subject (e.g., II Sam. 21:3; Isa. 47:11; Prov. 16:14), but all these exceptions are explicable by the representative *kipper*, i.e., man is required to provide the necessary ransom. The exceptional *akhapperah panav* (Gen. 32:20) is capable of similar interpretation, but the unique object "face" may go back to another facet of the Akkadian cognate, meaning "polish" (an aspect of "rub on"), hence "polish the face" or "propitiate," "appease." If rituals stipulate repentance as a precondition for atonement, moral exhortation will place a greater value upon repentance – and its vehicle, prayer – than upon ritual and sacrifice (e.g., Lev. 26: 40–41; Deut. 4:29; I Kings 8:28–30, 33, 35, 47–48; Ps. 51:19; 141:2; see also *Prayer).

Forgiveness

It has been maintained that early Israel knew no forgiveness of sin because both *kipper* and *salaḥ* ("forgive") are mainly found in post-Exilic texts and because the pre-Exilic literature speaks exclusively of *ve-niḥam al ha-raʿah* and *avar le*, implying that "God overlooks mild sins but does not obliterate them" (K. Koch). At once, a statistical objection should be raised against the arbitrary assignment of all cultic passages (where *kipper* would chiefly occur) and all consolatory prophetic passages (where *salaḥ* would predominate) to the post-Exilic period. Moreover, this view suffers from a more serious fault: it blurs the distinction between two stages in the process of divine pardoning common to all the biblical sources. The first, involving the above-mentioned idioms, never occurs when God is just contemplating punishment but only when He has actually decided upon it. The consequence is that before the guilty can implore God for forgiveness, they must prevail on Him to revoke His decree. This fundamental distinction is the touchstone that splits the story of Moses' intercession for the Israelites when they sinned with the golden calf (Ex. 32–34) into plausible divisions. His initial plea (32:11–13) fulfills the first stage: "God renounced the punishment He had declared He would bring upon His people" (32:14). Moses, however, is not content with the cancelation of the divine decree. After slaying many, presumably the most guilty, he presses for the complete obliteration of Israel's sin (32:30–32). This God does not grant (32:33–34), but when He reveals to Moses that His mercy can supersede His justice (34:6–7a), whenever He desires (33:19b), an opening is provided Moses whereby he can explicitly ask for forgiveness (*salaḥ*, 34:9).

That the renunciation of punishment must be distinguished from forgiveness of sin is also clear from another instance of prophetic intercession (Amos 7:1–8; 8:1–2). Amos wants forgiveness (7:2); God only concedes the cancellation of punishment (7:3, 6). Even this He will not do more than twice (7:8), and finally Israel's sins drive Him to declare "the end has come" (8:2). With Amos as with Moses, the language is crucial: God concedes partially to the prophet's plea; he suspends punishment but does not grant the complete remission of sin.

Finally, it should be noted that the idiom *nasaʾ ḥetʾ ʿavon* (*ʿawon*) *peshʿa* can have the meaning "remove sin," implying forgiveness. Moreover, it is used synonymously with *maḥah* and *kipper, heʿevir ʿawon* (Job 7:21), and *salaḥ* itself (Num. 14:18–19). So many early sources illustrate this usage (e.g., Ex. 34:7; I Sam. 15:25; Isa. 33:24; Hos. 14:3; Micah 7:18; Ps. 32:5) that it cannot be denied that the consciousness and absolution of sin were moral realities in all periods of Israel's history.

NON-RITUAL KIPPER FOR THE LAND. The holiness of the sanctuary is complemented in the Priestly Source by the notion of the holiness of the Land of Israel. Correspondingly, the land too is capable of defilement (e.g., Lev. 18:25, 28, for sexual misconduct; Num. 35:33–34, for murder; cf. also Ezek. 36:17 and Deut. 21:23), and just as the sanctuary needs *kipper* so does the land (expressly, Num. 35:33). Furthermore, the implications are likewise identical: defilement of the land will vomit out Israel as it vomited out its previous inhabitants (Lev. 18:28; 20:22) for God can no longer abide in it (Sif. Num. 161). In this case, however, the parallels end, for there is no ceremony by which the land is purged; *kipper*, therefore, is not used ritually, but refers to general moral expiation. Atonement for the land becomes a more important concept in post-biblical times (e.g., LXX, Deut. 32:43; Jub. 6:2ff., where it is sacrificial!). The Dead Sea sectarians believed that their consecrated life was an atonement not just for themselves but also for the entire land (1QS 8:6, 10; 9:4).

KIPPER-INTERCESSION. Another postulate of the biblical doctrine of atonement is that God will spare the community by virtue of the merit of its just, e.g., Abraham's intervention on behalf of Sodom and Gomorrah (Gen. 18:16–33). However, intercession is chiefly the vocation of the prophet. The Psalmist eulogizes Moses for interceding on behalf of the worshipers of the golden calf (see Ex. 32:9–10) in these words: "He said He would destroy them had not Moses, His chosen one, stood in the breach before Him" (Ps. 106:23). To intercede at the risk of one's life is to "stand in the breach." (It should be recalled that though there are gentile analogues to the prophet as the deity's messenger to humans (see *Mari, *Prophets), there is still none which demonstrates that the prophet is also man's intercessor to the deity.)

It has been thought that Ezekiel refutes this doctrine of the atonement by the righteous, for he does say repeatedly and forcefully that the righteous will not save his generation, but that each man will be judged according to his sins (Ezek. 18:3–4). This is not so. Ezekiel, a priest as well as a prophet, is expatiating on a corollary of the priestly theology of the Temple (above). The reason why God abandons His sanctuary is that the level of impurity rises to a point beyond toleration. Beyond this point, God will neither seek man's repentance nor allow the prophet to intercede for him: the decree of doom becomes irrevocable. This postulate is found beyond the confines of the Priestly Source; it informs all biblical teaching on evil: the hardening of Pharaoh's heart (Ex. 7:3, 14; 8:11, 15, 28, etc.); Isaiah's harsh commission (Isa. 6:10); and the prohibition placed on the prophet to intercede (Jer. 14:11; 15:1–2). This latter Jeremian passage illuminates Ezekiel's message as well, for both prophets experienced the destruction of Judah, and both had taught that their generation was doomed. However, Ezekiel never abandoned his belief in the efficacy of prophetic intercession, as demonstrated by his wistful comment on the Psalmist's allusion to Moses' self-sacrifice: "I sought a man who would plug up the wall and *stand in the breach before Me* on behalf of the land that I should not destroy it; but I found none" (22:30).

The concept of atonement developed among the Dead Sea sectarians takes a unique turn. Without the Temple, they were forced to concentrate upon non-sacrificial expiation (e.g., 1QS 9:4–5), and they developed a lofty spiritual doctrine which taught that purity of thought and deed were necessary preconditions of all ritual acts and that the virtuous life of the individual effects atonement for others. However, the circle of the latter was restricted to members of the sect (perhaps also the like-minded, 1QS 5:5–7), and the rest of Israel was uniformly excluded. This insularity is not surprising in view of the teaching of Jeremiah and Ezekiel. Like these prophets, the sect also felt that universal doom was at hand, from which the righteous would save only themselves. This will also help explain the sectarians' insistence that their atonement also extended to the land (see above). Since they envisaged for themselves no additional exile (1QM 1:2f.; CD 4:2f.; 7:13f.) – as did the prophets – the Land of Israel was therefore in need of atonement so that the righteous survivors of the impending cataclysm could settle on it immediately (1QSa 1:3).

The atoning power of the righteous reaches out not only horizontally to the community but also vertically to posterity. This principle undergirds all of God's covenants with Israel: with the Fathers for offspring and the Promised Land (Gen. 15; 17:1–8; 22:17–18; 25:23; 35:9–12; Ex. 32:13); with Phinehas for a priestly line (Num. 25:13); and with David for a royal dynasty (II Sam. 7:12–16).

In the wisdom literature the suffering of the righteous is rationalized into a theological postulate: suffering is a test whereby God enables the righteous to merit an even greater reward (e.g., Ps. 66:9–12; Job 5:17–18; 33:9–12; 36:8–10). This idea also informs the narratives of the Wilderness (Ex. 16:4; Deut. 8:2, 16) and of the Fathers (e.g., Gen. 22:1, 16–18). A logical extension of this theodicy is that suffering can serve as an atonement for society. However, it is not an explicit biblical doctrine, for nowhere do the innocent suffer to atone for the guilty. It may be adumbrated by the final Servant poems (Isa. 50:4ff.; 53), but its unfolding is realized in post-biblical times (see Deutero-Isaiah in *Isaiah).

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[Jacob Milgrom]

KIRBY, JACK (**Jacob Kurtzberg**; 1917–1994), U.S. comic book creator. Kirby was born in New York City and began work in the comics industry in the 1930s. By 1940 he had teamed with Joe Simon, his partner for the next 15 years. They created the character Captain America in 1941 and it instantly became an American icon and the country's morale-boosting anti-Nazi hero. The following year they produced the Boy Commandos comics, stories about young soldiers, which sold a million copies an issue. After World War II the team created popular-romance comics. In 1958 Kirby went to work for Marvel Comics, where he collaborated with the dialogue writer and editor Stan *Lee. They created such characters as Mighty Thor and the Incredible Hulk, among many superheroes with human characteristics. In a 50-year career, Kirby produced many of the comics' most successful concepts and was considered responsible for more comic book sales than any other artist, writer, or editor.

[Stewart Kampel (2nd ed.)]

KIRCHHEIM, RAPHAEL (1804–1889), German scholar and author. Kirchheim was born in Frankfurt. He served as *shoḥet* in Frankfurt and later became a partner in a banking house, which allowed him to devote most of his time to scholarly pursuits. He was at first an opponent of Reform and severely criticized the radicalism of the 1845 rabbinical assemblies of Brunswick and Frankfurt, as in his edition of S.J. Rapoport, *Tokhaḥat Megullah* (Heb. and Ger., 1845) and his open letter to A.J. Adler of Worms (1845). Under the influence of Abraham *Geiger, however, he became a proponent of Reform. Kirchheim edited Geiger's Hebrew writings under the title *Kevuẓat Ma'amarim* (1877). Among Kirchheim's published works are the annotations to the section "*Va'ad la-Ḥakhamim*" and a biography of Ḥ.J.D. *Azulai in the annotated edition of Azulai's biobibliographical lexicon *Shem ha-Gedolim* prepared by Kirchheim in association with A. Fuld and others (1847); *Karmei Shomron* (1851), a study of the history, religion, and literature of the Samaritans; an edition with commentary of the seven minor Palestinian tractates, *Sheva Massekhtot Ketannot Yerushalmiyyot* (1851, repr. 1966); an edition of Eliezer Ashkenazi's *Ta'am Zekenim* (1854); an edition of *Perush al Divrei ha-Yamim*, a tenth-century commentary on Chronicles (1874); the introduction to B. Goldberg's 1856 edition of Ibn Janaḥ's *Sefer ha-Rikmah*; and a number of other introductions. In his *Neue Exegetenschule* (1867) he severely criticized S.R. Hirsch's Pentateuch commentary, particularly his extravagant etymologies. Kirchheim's library passed to the Religious School of the Frankfurt community and later to the National and University Library, Jerusalem.

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KIRCHHEIMER, OTTO (1905–1965), political scientist. Born in Germany, Kirchheimer was admitted to the German bar and was active in the social democratic movement. He lectured at German trade union schools and published a number of essays on the political and legal problems of the Weimar Republic. After the advent of Nazism, he went first to Paris and in 1937 to the U.S. From 1944 to 1951 Kirchheimer worked in the Office of Strategic Services and later in the State Department. He taught at various universities and from 1960 to his death was professor of political science at Columbia University in New York. In his major work, *Political Justice* (1961), he pointed out how the misuse of justice can lead to the destruction of democracy.

[Edwin Emanuel Gutmann]

KIRCHNER, LEON (1919–), U.S. composer, and pianist. Born in Brooklyn, Kirchner studied piano and began to compose at an early age. When he was nine, the family moved to Los Angeles, where he studied under Ernst *Toch, and later Arnold *Schoenberg. In 1938–39 he studied at Berkeley with Elkus and Strickland. After a year of graduate work at the University of California in Los Angeles, he returned to Berkeley, where he came under the influence of Ernest *Bloch. In 1942 he studied with Roger Sessions in New York and was awarded the George Ladd Prix de Paris. After his military service (1943–46), he was appointed lecturer in music at Berkeley. In 1954 he became professor of music at Mills College in Oakland and in 1961 was appointed to the Walter Bigelow Rosen Chair of Music at Harvard (until 1989). Kirchner was a distinguished pianist who gave the first performances of many of his own works, notably the *First Piano Concerto* in 1953, when it won the Naumberg Foundation Award. Other prize-winning works include the *First and Second String Quartets* (New York Music Critics' Circle Award for Chamber Music), the *Third String Quartet* (Pulitzer Prize, 1967), and *Music for Cello and Orchestra* (the Friedheim Award, 1992). He received awards from institutions such as the Guggenheim Foundation, the American Academy of Arts and Letters (1962), the American Academy of Arts and Sciences (1963), and the Center for Advanced Study of Behavioral Sciences (1974). His music, complex in idiom, is nevertheless strongly passionate, even romantic, in feeling and always crafted with masterly technical skill. His other works include, *Sinfonia* for orchestra (1951); *Toccata* for strings, wind, and percussion (1955); the *Second Piano Concerto* (first performance 1963, soloist Leon *Fleisher); *Music for Orchestra* (1969); *Piano Sonata* (1948); *Little Suite* for piano (1949); the opera *Lily* (1973–76); *Music for Flute and Orchestra* (1978); *5 Pieces for Piano* (1984); *Music for Orchestra II* (1989); *Trio* for violin, cello, and piano (1993); *Of Things Exactly as They Are*, for soprano, bass, chorus and orchestra (1997); *Interlude II* for piano (2003).

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[Max Loppert / Israela Stein (2nd ed.)]

KIR-HARESETH (Heb., קִיר־חֲרֶשֶׂת, קִיר־חֶרֶשׂ, קִיר־מוֹאָב, Kir Heres; Kir of Moab), ancient capital of *Moab situated on the high plateau east of the Dead Sea and south of the Arnon River. In the days of *Mesha, king of Moab in the mid-ninth century B.C.E., Kir-Hareseth was besieged by Jehoram of Israel and Jehoshaphat of Judah; their failure to capture the city ended in a disastrous retreat for their armies (II Kings 3). It is mentioned as a Moabite city in the "burdens of Moab" which foretell its destruction (Isa. 15:1; 16:7,11; Jer. 48:31,36). In post-biblical times it was known as Charachmoba, a city striking coins under Heliogabalus (Ptolemaeus, 5:16, 4). Impressions of seals of municipal authorities with zodiac signs and the names of Nabatean months (in Greek) were discovered at Maurpsis. It was the seat of a bishop in Byzantine times (Hierocles, *Synecdemus*, 721:5). The Greek *Charach*, "palisade," corresponds to *Kir* in Hebrew. On the Madaba Map it is represented as a walled fortress with a gate flanked by towers on the south. Within the walls are colonnaded streets and two churches. Kir-Hareseth is now known as Karak, a name which is mentioned by Arab geographers in about 1225. In Crusader times Payen le Bouteiller transferred his residence to Karak in 1140 and built a famous fortress there. Held from 1177 to 1187 by Renauld de Chatillon, it was the principal stronghold of this baron; from there he attacked Muslim caravans. Saladin failed to take Karak in 1183; it fell only in 1188 after a year-long siege. The fortress is c. 800 m. (2,600 ft.) long and 100 m. (330 ft.) wide, with a fosse 30 m. (100 ft.) deep. It was later held by al-Malik al-Ayubi. It was the scene of revolts against Turkish rule in 1893 and 1910. Karak in 1970 was a district town in Jordan, with about 15,000 inhabitants.

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[Michael Avi-Yonah]

KIRIATH-JEARIM (Heb. קִרְיַת יְעָרִים), city of the Hivites belonging to the Gibeonite confederation (Josh. 9:17). Its original name was Kiriath-Ba'al or Baalah. Kiriath-Jearim was situated on the border of Judah and Benjamin (Josh. 15:9, 60; 18:14, 15) and was connected with the family of *Caleb (I Chron. 2:50, 52, 53). The tribe of Dan camped in its vicinity for some time (Judg. 18:12). When the Ark was rescued from the Philistines, it was placed in the house of Abinadab in Kiriath-Jearim (I Sam. 6:21; 7:1, 2) until eventually brought by David to Jerusalem (II Sam. 6:2ff.; I Chron. 13:5, 6; II Chron. 1:4). It was the home town of *Uriah, the son of the prophet Shemaiah, who fled to Egypt and was caught and executed by the king Jehoiakim (Jer. 26:20). The inhabitants of Kiriath-Jearim were among those who returned from Babylonian exile (Ezra 2:25; Neh. 7:29). According to Eusebius, the place was a station 9 or 10 mi. from Jerusalem on the road to Diospolis (Lod; Onom. 48:22; 114:23). The identification of Kiriath-Jearim with Tell/Deir (Dayr) al-ʿAzār about 8 mi. (13 km.) west of Jerusalem in the village of *Abu Ghosh is generally accepted. The Crusaders considered this site to be the ancient Emmaus, also calling it Fontenoid because of the springs below the tell.

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[Michael Avi-Yonah]

KIRIMI, ABRAHAM (14th century), Crimean rabbi and Bible commentator. One of the first Jewish scholars in the Crimea, Abraham was named Kirimi after the town of Eski-Krym (Solkhat). He wrote a commentary to the Pentateuch entitled *Sefat Emet*. In a poem which precedes the introduction he mentions the year 1358, but it is not clear whether he is referring to the date of his birth or to the composition of the work. In the introduction he gives as his reasons for compiling the work the urging of his contemporaries, particularly his "friend and pupil," Hezekiah b. Elchanan "Ish Kara'i," a phrase apparently meaning "the Karaite." Deinard's opinion, however, is that Hezekiah was not a Karaite and that the words mean "versed in the bible," as it seems incredible that Abraham was urged by a Karaite to write an anti-Karaite work. It is nevertheless possible that Hezekiah asked Abraham for a Bible commentary, and the latter wrote one in keeping with his outlook. Apparently Abraham was a pupil of the biblical exegete *Shemariah b. Elijah Ikriti, whom he quotes in numerous passages in the *Sefat Emet*, and who exercised great influence over him. The book reveals Abraham as a literal commentator who explains the text according to the plain meaning of the words and the rules of grammar. In accordance with this approach, he on one occasion criticizes Rashi despite the great respect in which he held him, and praises Abraham Ibn Ezra and, above all, Maimonides. The spirit of the *Guide of the Perplexed* infuses the whole of the *Sefat Emet*, but occasionally Abraham even goes beyond the rationalism of Maimonides. He attempts to give a rational interpretation to the miracles of the Bible. He explains the visit of the three angels to Abraham and the burning bush of Moses as dream visions, and in explaining the paschal lamb he mentions the Egyptian cult of the bull. Despite these views he was highly regarded among the Jews of the Crimea, and in their memorial prayers he is mentioned immediately after Abraham Ibn Ezra. It is possible that the high regard in which he was held was the result of his opposition to Karaite Bible exegesis and his support of the traditional view.

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[Isaak Dov Ber Markon]

KIRJATH SEPHER, Hebrew bibliographical quarterly. *Kirjath Sepher* was founded in 1924 as a publication of the Jewish National and University Library in Jerusalem. The bibliographical section consists of three major divisions: Israel publications; Hebraica and Judaica (published outside of Israel); and periodical articles on Judaica and Hebraica. The last served as basis for the publication of index volumes of articles on Jewish studies, *Reshimat ha-Ma'amarim be-Madda'ei ha-Yahadut* (ed. by I. Joel, 1–2 [1966–67]). A special section is devoted to articles on Jewish, particularly bibliographical, subjects. These include, apart from bibliographies of the works of individual authors and of special subjects, an annual bibliography of medieval Hebrew poetry (ed., H. Schirmann) and studies on the history of Hebrew printing in places to which previously little attention had been paid. An important section of *Kirjath Sepher* is reserved for book reviews; Hebrew University faculty and others contribute detailed criticisms of current Jewish literature. From time to time larger studies appear as special supplements (cf. "Index to Volumes 1–40" [supplement to vol. 41, 1966/67], 105). The first editors of *Kirjath Sepher* were S.H. *Bergmann and H. *Pick, in association with S. *Assaf, B. *Dinur, A. Tauber, L.A. *Mayer, and G. *Scholem. From 1927 to 1968 the editor was I. Joel who was succeeded by G.Y. Ormann.

[Baruch Yaron]

KIRKISĀNĪ, JACOB AL- (**Abu Yusuf Yaqub ibn Ishaq ibn Samʿawayh al-Qirqisani**; first half of tenth century), Karaite scholar. His surname has been variously derived from Qirqīsīyā, the ancient Circesium, in the Midrash (Lam. R. 1:18, no. 53), Kirkesyon, in Upper Mesopotamia, and from Qarqasān, a small town in the vicinity of Baghdad. The sequence of his names implies that he was called Jacob, his father Isaac, and his son Joseph, reproducing the sequence of the biblical patriarchs. Later Karaite authors thought erroneously that his forename was Joseph and confused him with the Karaite scholar Joseph b. Abraham ha-Roʾeh (Yūsuf *al-Baṣīr) who lived a century later.

Nothing is known of al-Kirkisānī's personal life beyond what may be inferred from his own works. He was thoroughly acquainted with the contemporary Arabic theological, philosophical, and scientific literature, and had a substantial knowledge of the Mishnah, the *Gemara*, some midrashic works, and the *Rabbanite liturgy. He also read the New Testament and the Koran, and perhaps some of the Christian patristic literature. Of his non-Karaite associates he mentions the Rabbanite scholar *Jacob b. Ephraim and the Christian "bishop," or rather deacon, Yasʿu Sekhā, with both of whom he was on terms of personal friendship. Unlike some Karaite fanatics, he avoided personal vituperation in his anti-Rabbanite polemics. Al-Kirkisānī let the logic of his thought and the range of his learning speak for themselves, so that he was by far the most formidable champion of Karaism of his age. Since he was a firm believer in the use of reason and intelligence in theology and jurisprudence, his views in this field are characterized by common sense and moderation, although he did not hesitate to ally himself with the partisans of such rigoristic laws as the catenary (*rikkuv*) theory of forbidden marriages.

Al-Kirkisānī's principal work is divided into two parts, of which the first, entitled *Kitāb al-Anwār wa-al-Marāqib* ("Book of Lights and Watch-Towers"), is a systematic code of Karaite law, while the second part, entitled *Kitāb al-Riyāḍ wa-al-Ḥadāʾiq* ("Book of Gardens and Parks"), is a commentary on the nonlegal parts of the Torah, prefaced by a detailed discourse on the methods of biblical exegesis. The "Book of Lights" is divided into 13 discourses:

(1) history of the Jewish sects;

(2) on the validity of the application of rational investigation to theology and jurisprudence;

(3) refutation of the doctrines of the various sects, including Christianity and Islam;

(4) treatise on the methods of interpretation of the law;

(5) on circumcision and Sabbath;

(6) on commandments, other than the Sabbath, including a detailed treatise on the liturgy;

(7) on new moons;

(8) on the Feast of Weeks;

(9) on the remaining holy days;

(10) on cleanness and uncleanness;

(11) on incest;

(12) on dietary law;

(13) on inheritance.

Throughout Kirkisānī makes constant reference to the views of other Karaite jurists, particularly Anan and Benjamin b. Moses *Nahawendi, as well as those of the Rabbanites. Its erudition, detail, and excursuses on various subjects (e.g., on dialectics, witchcraft, the psychopathology of sleep and dreams, suicide, the varying pronunciation of Hebrew words) give the "Book of Lights" permanent importance as a source book.

Several smaller works of al-Kirkisānī, now untraceable, are cited in the "Book of Lights." They include (1) extensive philosophic-exegetical commentaries on Genesis, Job, and Ecclesiastes; (2) a tract in refutation of Muhammad's claim to prophecy *Kitāb fī Ifsād Nubūwat Muḥammad*; (3) an essay on the art of interpretation, *Al-Qawl ʿalā al-Tafīr wa-Sharḥ al-Maʿānī*; (4) an essay on the art of translation, *Al-Qawl ʿalā al-Tarjamah*; (5) a treatise on the principles of faith (literally, "on the oneness of God") *Kitāb al Tawḥīd*, perhaps intended as a Karaite reply to Saadiah's *Emunot ve-Deʾot*.

The *Kitāb al-Anwār* is the only work of Kirkisānī which has been published in its entirety (by L. Nemoy, 5 vols., 1939–43). The first discourse was translated into English by L. Nemoy (HUCA, (1930), 317ff.), who also translated several chapters from other discourses (for example in JBL, 57 (1938), 411ff.; 59 (1940), 159ff.). An abridgement of it (*Mukhtaṣar al-Anwār*) is extant in manuscript. The introduction to the *Kitāb al-Riyāḍ* was published by H. Hirschfeld (*Qirqisānī Studies*, 1918). A revised translation of part of the first discourse and of Hirschfeld's text is found in L. Nemoy, *Karaite Anthology* (1952), 42ff.

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[Leon Nemoy]

°KIRKPATRICK, ALEXANDER FRANCIS (1849–1940), English Bible critic who as general editor of the Bible and Apocrypha sections of the semi-popular *Cambridge Bible for Schools and Colleges* championed a series of commentaries which attempted to show how textual, linguistic, historical, and higher criticism compel readers to reverse many of their traditional ideas in regard to the Bible. Kirkpatrick taught at Cambridge and in 1882 at the early age of 33 was appointed Regius Professor of Hebrew and canon of Ely. He later served as master of Selwyn College, Cambridge (1898–1927), and dean of Ely (1906–36). Kirkpatrick was a popular lecturer and administrator who helped educate a conservative English clergy and laity to the merits of biblical criticism, which seeks to confirm, correct, and supplement the history and narrative of Holy Scriptures. The most important of his books are: *The Divine Library of the Old Testament…* (1891), *The Doctrine of the Prophets* (1892, 1958^2), and commentaries on Psalms (1902), and Samuel (1930). These last two were published in the Cambridge Bible series.

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[Zev Garber]

KIRKUK, town in N. Iraq. The first known Jewish settlement in Kirkuk dates from the 17th century. There is information available on local Jews who traded mainly with Baghdad during the 18th century. Various travelers – Jewish and non-Jewish – of the 19th and early 20th centuries report on the existence of a Jewish community numbering about 200 families which lived in a separate quarter in the town. In May 1918 the town was captured by the British with the assistance of its Christian and Jewish inhabitants. After two weeks the town was retaken by the Turks, who persecuted the Jews who had not succeeded in leaving. After the war the number of Jews in Kirkuk increased, especially after it became a center of the petroleum industry. In 1947, 2,350 Jews were counted in a census. The Jews engaged in commerce, hawking, and handicrafts. In 1913 an elementary school was opened by the Alliance Israélite Universelle, but it closed with the outbreak of World War I. It was only in 1934 that a Jewish school was founded in the town by the philanthropist Ellis *Kadoorie. Social progress was slow, and it was only during the 1940s that some of the youth who graduated from the government secondary school acquired an academic education. Some individuals now left the closed quarter in order to build houses outside it. The attitude toward the Jews by the population, which was mostly Turkish, was generally hostile. In 1888 a Jewish child was abducted by a maidservant and taken to a mosque, the Muslims refusing to return him. There were, however, no anti-Jewish riots as elsewhere in *Iraq, not even in 1941. All the Jews of the town immigrated to Israel in 1950–51.

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[Haim J. Cohen]

KIROVOGRAD (until 1924 **Yelizavetgrad**, from 1924 to 1936 **Zinovyevsk**, and from 1936 to 1939 **Kirovo**), district capital in Ukraine. Jews began to settle in Kirovograd in 1769 together with other nationalities. In 1799 they numbered 398 persons (out of 4,327 total population), and in 1803 there were 574 Jews listed in the municipal register. The Jewish population of Kirovograd increased rapidly during the 19th century as a result of the settlement of the New Russia provinces by Jewish emigrants from the northern provinces of the *Pale of Settlement. In 1861 there were 8,073 Jews in the city, while in 1897 their numbers had increased to 23,967 (39% of the total population). In 1879 there were 120 large-scale Jewish merchants among 160; 650 petty traders among the 900; 280 Jewish craftsmen and 368 Christians; and 46 Jewish landowners. From the mid-19th century there were an old-age home for 25 people, about 50 *ḥadarim*, two first-level state Jewish schools, two *talmudei torah*, and 17 private schools, mostly for girls. In 1882 a Reform anti-talmudic society called the Bible Brotherhood (*Bibleitzy*) was founded by Jacob *Gordin. Severe riots broke out in Kirovograd on April 15–17, 1881, marking the beginning of the spate of pogroms which struck the Jews of southern Russia during the 1880s. The damage from robbery and destruction of shops and houses was estimated at 1.9 million rubles. In 1887 there were 12 Jewish city council members out of 67. At the end of the 19th century there were signs of powerful tendencies toward assimilation and russification among the Jews of Kirovograd, but at the same time the nationalist and Zionist movement under the leadership of V. *Tiomkin also gained adherents. The Jews played an important role in the town. The majority of the flour mills and the spirit and tobacco factories were under their control, and the commerce in grain was also concentrated in their hands. On October 18–19, 1905, a state-sponsored pogrom occurred, 11 Jews were murdered, 150 wounded, and the police forbade the mutual Christian-Jewish self-defense to intervene. In the course of World War I about 3,000 deported Jews reached Kirovograd. Among them was the Lida yeshivah with 96 pupils. During the Civil War there were three pogroms in 1919: the first, on February 4–5, claimed the lives of 13 Jewish self-defenders; the second, on May 15–17, resulted in 1,926 killed; and the third, on August 11, claimed about 1,000 victims. The last two pogroms were staged by the Grigoryev gang. With the establishment of the Soviet regime, Jewish institutions were closed down and Jewish communal life was suppressed. In 1926, 18,358 Jews (27.6% of the total population) lived in Kirovograd, with the number dropping to 14,641 (14.6%) by 1939. During the 1920s trade was liquidated, and some Jewish merchants went to work in factories, while 142 families settled on land. In 1925 there were 2,500 Jewish artisans, and they composed the vast majority in some trade unions, such as 99% in the tailors' union and 75% in the printers' union. In 1929 most of the workers in the textile industry were Jews, and among 6,000 workers of the farm machinery factory – 900 were Jews. In the 1920s there were several Yiddish schools, but due to the pressure of the authorities and the russified parents most of them closed in the 1930s. The Germans occupied the town on August 14, 1941. The registration by nationality showed a bit more than 5,000 Jews in town. On August 23 and in mid-September *Einsatzkommando* 4b murdered a few hundred Jews. Several hundreds of men were taken to a camp and killed after a while. On September 30, 1941, all Jews were gathered together, taken to anti-tank ditches about 3 km. from town, and murdered there. Anyone hiding who was caught was executed in prison. Only about ten Jews survived. In 1970 the Jewish population was estimated at about 10,000. The synagogue was closed by the authorities in 1957 but returned to the community in 1991 as Jewish life revived despite large-scale emigration.

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[Yehuda Slutsky / Shmuel Spector (2nd ed.)]

KIRSANOV, SEMYON ISAAKOVICH (1906–1972), Russian poet. Kirsanov was born in Odessa as the son of a tailor and graduated there from the philological faculty in 1925. He became a disciple of the Soviet writer Vladimir Mayakovsky. He continued that poet's tradition of brash, masculine verse with unconventional imagery and metrics and unexpected verbal acrobatics. Kirsanov was one of the very few Soviet poets to build on the foundations laid by the futurist movement. He favored social and political subjects. Much of his poetry is declamatory in form and propagandistic in content. Though outwardly similar to much of mediocre Soviet verse, it is redeemed by its hyperbolic quality which imparts to it a myth-like quality. Among his more noteworthy collections are *Stikhi v stroyu* ("Verses in Military Formation," 1932), and *Mys zhelaniya* ("The Cape of Desire," 1938). The best of his longer poems include *Tovarishch Marks* ("Comrade Marx," 1933), *Poema o robote* ("A Poem About the Automaton," 1935), and *Noch pod Novy vek* ("New Century's Eve," 1937). During World War II Kirsanov wrote much anti-Nazi verse. He also produced rhymed ditties for propaganda posters, and was the creator of *Zavetnoye slovo Fomy Smyslova* ("Mark the Words of Foma Smyslov"), an anti-Nazi comic strip serialized in Soviet army newspapers. His marked fondness for biblical imagery may be connected with memories of childhood in the intensely Jewish milieu of Odessa. Thus, a poem written in the late 1940s is entitled *Edem* ("Paradise") – an unusual instance of a biblical word used as a title for a Russian poem. Kirsanov's best-known post-Stalin poetic work – and one of the most important of the "thaw" – was *Sem dney nedeli* ("Seven Days of the Week," 1957). This long narrative poem, modeled after the account of the creation in Genesis, states that the Soviet system has been successful in creating material objects, but that real man, free of cowardice and greed, is yet to be created. The poem was violently denounced as anti-Soviet slander, but Kirsanov succeeded in weathering the storm.

[Maurice Friedberg]

KIRSCHBAUM, ELIEZER SINAI (1798–1870), physician and author; leader of the *Haskalah in Galicia; born in Sieniawa, Poland. In 1816 he went to Berlin to study medicine and later practiced in Cracow, where he distinguished himself during the cholera epidemic in 1831. In appreciation, the senate of the Republic of Cracow awarded him a building plot. As ownership of land was forbidden to Jews, Kirschbaum took out a certificate of baptism, but he nevertheless remained faithful to Judaism. From his student days he was in contact with David *Friedlaender and Leopold *Zunz. He was a member of the *Verein fuer Kultur und Wissenschaft des Judentums and in 1821 presented it with a memorandum in which he adopted a positive attitude toward the idea of a Jewish state, identified himself with the program of Mordecai Manuel *Noah, but advocated Ethiopia instead of the United States as the transitional territory to Ereẓ Israel. His works include *Leket Shirim u-Meliẓot* (1820, Heb. and Ger.), a collection of poems and proverbs; *Hilkhot Yemot ha-Mashi'aḥ* (1822), in which he interpreted messianism as the political, non-miraculous redemption of the Jewish people; *Maimonides Specimen Diacteticum* (1822); *Vorschlaege betreffend einige gesellschaftliche Institutionen* (1842), lectures on social institutions; *Aufsaetze im Gebiete der Religion und des sozialen Lebens* (1843), essays relating to religion and socialism; and *Es ist noch heute oder Der Familie Apotheose* (1858).

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[Moshe Landau]

KIRSCHBRAUN, ELIJAH (1882–1931), leader of *Agudat Israel in Poland. Kirschbraun, who was born in Warsaw into a religious family and was a notable scholar, formed an independent religious organization in Warsaw in 1911, and in 1912 took part in the founding convention of Agudat Israel in Katowice. After World War I, when the Jewish communities were constituted in independent Poland, he was elected chairman of the Jewish community council in Warsaw and representative of religious Jewry on the Warsaw municipal council. Between 1922 and 1931 Kirschbraun was member of the Polish parliament (Sejm) and member of its security committee. He was chairman of the Agudat Israel faction in parliament, and vice president of the "Jewish club" ("Koło") in 1926. His personal integrity and efforts for the benefit of the public won appreciation among all sectors of Jewry and Polish government circles. In the 1922 elections he recommended that his party join the *minority bloc led by Y. *Gruenbaum, but after Pilsudski's coup (May 1926) he abandoned Gruenbaum's policy and supported the *Sanacja* regime. His last act, on his deathbed, was to send a letter to Pilsudski, which both the Jewish public and Polish leaders regarded as a testament, urging full and just rights for the Jews in independent Poland.

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[Yitzchak Arad]

KIRSCHENBAUM, MORDECHAI (Motti; 1939–), Israeli television producer and broadcaster. A graduate of the University of California in theater, cinema, and television, Kirschenbaum was among the founders of Israeli television. Producer in the 1970s of a hugely popular weekly satirical show called

Niku'i Rosh ("Cleaning the Head"), in 1976 he won the Israel Prize for radio, film, and television arts. The program was not without its critics and was subject to political pressure. Kirschenbaum's tenure as head of Hebrew programming at Israel Television, including the drama department, was not renewed in 1979 by Tommy *Lapid, the Likud-appointed Broadcasting Authority director-general. In 1993 he was appointed the Authority's director-general by Shulamit *Aloni, the Meretz communications minister. Kirschenbaum's period as director-general, until 1998, was characterized by strict impartiality in editorial decision-making, despite his generally leftist outlook, as well as protection of broadcasters from political pressure. Yet he failed in financial management, and the Broadcasting Authority ran into a heavy deficit. Moreover, ratings dropped with the creation of a second, privately run and more commercially oriented second channel (Channel 2). In 2001 Kirschenbaum headed the television production company that won the tender for Channel 10 television, another commercial station. Subsequently he also co-hosted Channel 10's popular and free-wheeling *London and Kirschenbaum* talk show with Yaron London.

[Yoel Cohen (2nd ed.)]

KIRSCHNER, EMANUEL (1857–1938), German *ḥazzan* and composer. Born in Upper Silesia, Kirschner became a music student at the Jewish Teachers' Training College, Berlin, in 1874. In 1877 he taught in the Berlin Jewish community's school and was appointed assistant *ḥazzan* in its new synagogue. Four years later he was appointed chief cantor at the Great Synagogue of Munich and teacher in the synagogue school. His principal work *Tehillot le-El Elyon* ("Praises to the Almighty," 1896) for cantor, choir, and organ, written in four parts, gave prominence to traditional melodies. Kirschner also published studies on various aspects of synagogue music. He died shortly after the destruction of his synagogue by the Nazis.

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[Joshua Leib Ne'eman]

KIRSCHSTEIN, MORITZ (1826–1900), pedagogue, active in Reform Judaism. Born in Chodziez (Poznan), he received his talmudic education in Glogau and, under the guidance of Israel b. Gedaliah *Lipschuetz, in Danzig (Gdansk). After studying philosophy in Berlin, where he also studied under L. *Zunz, he taught religion at the Jewish community's boys' school, and from 1866 he was director of the first Jewish religious school in Berlin. He was a member of the commission that compiled the Reform prayer book for the Berlin community and was entrusted by Abraham *Geiger with editing the German text of the prayers. Kirschstein published *Der Unterricht in der Religion und im Hebraeischen* (1863), on teaching religion and Hebrew; and *Der Unterricht in der biblischen Geschichte* (1871), on the teaching of biblical history. A collection of scientific treatises, lectures, speeches, and sermons, among them *Avnei Zikkaron* (*Predigten*; 1902), was published after his death.

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[*Encyclopaedia Judaica* (Germany)]

KIRSCHSTEIN, SALLI (1869–1935), German writer and art collector. Kirschstein, who was born in Kolmar, Poland, became a prominent merchant in Berlin. He was active in Jewish affairs and as director of the Juedischer Volksverein did much to help foreign Jews living in Germany during World War I. Kirschstein was an expert on Jewish art and wrote articles on the subject for many publications. His main work in this field was a study of Jewish engravers, *Juedische Graphiker aus der Zeit von 1625–1825* (1918). He amassed an important collection of Jewish art and cult objects, the catalog of which appeared as *Die Judaica Sammlung* (1932). Most of his collection was bequeathed to the Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati. By collecting Judaica, Kirschstein wished to emphasize that Judaism had its own cultural traditions. Like his contemporaries Max Grunwald and Heinrich Frauberger, Kirschstein created a concept of presenting Jewish art as based on tradition and history.

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KIRSHBLUM, MORDECAI (1910–1993), rabbi and Zionist leader. One of the most prominent leaders of religious Zionism in the United States during the 20th century, Kirshblum was born in Bialistok, Poland, and immigrated to America at the age of 13. He received his Orthodox rabbinic ordination in 1931 at the Isaac Elchanan Theological Seminary, which was a division of what later became the Yeshiva University. He accepted a pulpit at the Jewish Community House in 1944, one of the only institutions associated with the Jewish Center Movement in the United States that also housed a synagogue. He held this position for more than 20 years, serving the Bensonhurst Jewish community in Brooklyn, New York. Because of his extraordinary oratorical skills in English, Yiddish, and Hebrew, he addressed many other audiences throughout the city. When he became president of the Mizrachi Organization of America in 1952, he traveled throughout the country on its behalf, forging it into a powerful force within American Zionism, during the five years he held the office. As a member of the Jewish Agency Executive, to which he was appointed in 1956, he served as director of the Agency's Torah Education and Culture Department and of the Aliyah Department of the American Section. In 1968, Kirshblum settled in Israel and became head of the Agency's Aliyah and Absorption

Department in Jerusalem. His fervent advocacy of religious Zionism attracted many disciples who ultimately served the movement both in the United States and Israel. His brother I. Usher Kirshblum was for many years the rabbi of the Conservative Kew Gardens Hills Jewish Center.

[Stanley M. Wagner (2nd ed.)]

KIRSHON, VLADIMIR MIKHAILOVICH (1902–1938), Soviet playwright. Kirshon was trained by the Communist Party as a lecturer and propagandist, and in 1925 became secretary of the Association of Proletarian Writers in Moscow. During the Stalinist purges he was expelled from the Communist Party 1937, arrested, and executed for "bureaucratic attitudes" and "Trotskyism". His writings were banned until 1956, when he was "rehabilitated." In 1962 the Soviet Union took official note of the 60th anniversary of his birth.

Kirshon's plays generally deal with contemporary Communist themes, and are strongly propagandist. His first play was "Red Dust," about the degeneration of a revolutionary during the years of the New Economic Policy. Then came *Konstantin Terekhin* (1926), written in collaboration with A. Uspenski, that deals with the moral dissolution of a young Communist and the reaction of loyal Communist youth. *Relsy gudyat* ("The Rails Are Humming," 1928) portrays the clash between a Soviet Communist factory administrator and the engineering experts of the old regime, still employed in Soviet industry. The play "Bread" (1930) dealt with the accumulation of private property in the kolkhozes. His last play, *Bolshoy den* ("The Great Day," 1936) predicted the outbreak of war between the U.S.S.R. and Nazi Germany. Kirshon's work has been translated into many languages.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: E.J. Brown, *The Proletarian Episode in Russian Literature, 1928–1932* (1953), 229ff., 265; L. Tamashin, *Vladimir Kirshon* (Rus., 1965).

[Yitzhak Maor]

KIRSTEIN, LINCOLN (1907–1996), U.S. impresario, arts patron, and dance historian. Born in Rochester, New York, he became interested in dance while at Harvard and soon emerged as one of the creative personalities in modern American ballet. He persuaded Russian-born choreographer George Balanchine, whom he met in London in 1933, to go to the United States, where the great master's artistic vision would evolve in freedom for almost 50 years. In 1934, with Balanchine and Edward Warburg, Kirstein cofounded the American Ballet, which acted as the official ballet of the Metropolitan Opera from 1935 to 1938. In 1936 Kirstein founded Ballet Caravan to present American works. Among its productions was Eugene Loring's *Billy the Kid*, for which Kirstein wrote the libretto. Ballet Caravan and the American Ballet merged and disbanded in 1941. Kirstein, after serving with the U.S. Army during World War II, formed a new company, Ballet Society. In 1948 this group, with Kirstein as general director and Balanchine as artistic director, was invited to become the resident company of the New York City Center of Music and Drama, and changed its name to the New York City Ballet. Kirstein was also the sponsor of Japanese theater in the U.S., including Gagaku (dancers and musicians) and Kabuki (classic dramatic theatre). Kirstein did considerable research and was a leading dance historian. He founded and edited the scholarly periodical *Dance Index* (1942–48) and published books on Fokine (New York, 1935); Nijinsky (New York, 1974); and the New York City Ballet (New York, 1973). Among his awards are the Order of the Sacred Treasure (Japanese government, 1960); the Benjamin Franklin Medal of the Royal Society of the Arts (1981), and the National Medal of Arts (1985).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: IED, 4:26–30

[Marcia B. Siegel / Amnon Shiloah (2nd ed.)]

KIRSTEIN, LOUIS EDWARD (1867–1942), U.S. department store executive and public worker. Kirstein was born in Rochester, New York. Leaving home at 16, he spent seven years as a traveling salesman. In 1912 he joined Filenes, the Boston department store, as vice president, subsequently becoming a director of the other stores in the Federated Group. Kirstein did much to develop Filenes and to advance employee relationships. He played an important part in the public life of Boston, serving as president of the public library and chairman of the port authority. Within the Jewish community his most significant contribution was as president of the Federation of Jewish Charities, where he first assumed leadership in 1919, enlarging its activities and encouraging it to cope with the responsibilities of the depression period. He was also president of the Beth Israel Hospital and chairman of the General Committee of the American Jewish Committee.

[Sefton D. Temkin]

KIRSZENBAUM, JESEKIEL DAVID (1900–1954), painter, draftsman, and etcher. His work is a synthesis of abstract and representational painting. Kirszenbaum was born in Staszow, Poland, and began his career by painting signs for the local tradesmen. At the age of 17 he went to Germany, where he studied for a short period at the Bauhaus in Weimar. Later he moved to Berlin where he worked for newspapers as an illustrator and cartoonist under the pseudonym Duvdevani. In 1933 he settled in Paris. His paintings of this period include biblical themes. During the German occupation he went into hiding; his studio was looted and his wife deported and murdered. After World War II he returned to Paris. His work is characterized by its nostalgic evocation of the past, particularly of the world of his childhood. This is especially true of his postwar paintings. On a journey to Brazil in 1948 he witnessed the carnival at Rio de Janeiro with its fantastic figures. His paintings of this subject, which evoke the Jewish festivities he had known as a child, express an element of East European mysticism.

[Elisheva Cohen]

KIRSZENSTEIN-SZEWINSKA, IRENA (1946–), Polish track and field athlete, winner of seven Olympic medals and

10 European Championship medals; member of the International Women's Sports Hall of Fame. Kirszenstein-Szewinska was born in Leningrad (now St. Petersburg), Russia, but her parents soon moved the family back to their native Poland, for which Kirszenstein-Szewinska made her Olympic debut as an 18-year-old at the 1964 Tokyo Olympics. There she won a gold medal as a member of Poland's world record-setting 4 × 100m. relay team (43.6) and silver medals in the long jump with a leap of 21′ 7¾″, as well as the 200 m., with her mark of 23.1 setting the European event record. Four years later at the Mexico City Olympics, Kirszenstein-Szewinska won the 200 m. event in 22.5, breaking her own world record set three years earlier, and won a bronze medal in the 100 m. event (11.19).

At the 1971 European Championships, Kirszenstein-Szewinska won a bronze medal in the 200 m. sprint, and then won the bronze in the same event the following year at the 1972 Olympics (22.74). In 1973, Kirszenstein-Szewinska switched to the 400 m. event, and the following year became the first woman to break 50 seconds at that distance. At the 1976 Olympics in Montreal two years later, she set a world record (49.29) in winning the 400 m. gold medal. Kirszenstein-Szewinska participated in the Moscow Olympics in 1980, but pulled a muscle in the semifinals of the 400 m. and was eliminated.

Overall, Kirszenstein-Szewinska won three Olympic gold medals, two silver, and two bronze – tying the record for most medals won by a woman in Olympic athletic competition – and five gold, one silver and four bronze medals in the European Championships. Between 1973 and 1975 she won 38 consecutive 200 m. races, and between 1973 and 1978 she won 36 straight 400 m. races – both being the longest winning streaks in these events in history. Other highlights of her career include tying the 100 m. world record in 1965 (11.1); being the first woman to hold world records in the 100 m., 200 m., and 400 m. at the same time; lowering her own world record in the 200 m. (22.0) in 1974; and lowering her 400 m. world mark (49.0) at the World Championships in Duesseldorf in 1977.

Kirszenstein-Szewinska was named Poland's Athlete of the Year in 1965 as well as Outstanding Woman Athlete in the World by Tass, the official Soviet press agency. In 1966 she was named *World Sport Magazine's* Sportswoman of the Year, and in 1974 United Press International's (UPI) Sportswoman of the Year and *Track & Field News* Woman Athlete of the Year. She was elected to the International Women's Sports Hall of Fame in 1992 and was named a member of the International Olympic Committee in 1998.

[Elli Wohlgelernter (2nd ed.)]

KIRYAS JOEL, an incorporated ḥasidic village 60 miles (90 km.) northwest of New York City, just outside the village of Monroe. It was settled in 1974 on property purchased by Kahel Yatev Lev, a Brooklyn-based congregation, representing the Satmar ḥasidic group.

The village was the fulfillment of a long standing aspiration of the Satmar Rebbe, Rabbi Joel *Teitelbaum (1888–1979). The *rebbe*, a Holocaust survivor, arrived in New York in 1947 and settled in the Williamsburg section of Brooklyn. He was a prominent Orthodox leader in Hungary of the 1930s and gathered a large following of Ḥasidic Jews throughout his first decades in America. He stressed ultra-Orthodox religious standards and showed fierce opposition to Zionism and the State of Israel.

Teitelbaum often spoke of his desire to fulfill the Maimodean imperative (Yad, De'ot 6:8) to "forsake the cities of evil doers." He further emphasized that he desired a settlement free of any Zionist influences. However, provided prospective villagers adhered to these standards, he did not seek to limit their ranks to his own followers. In addition, he wanted the village to be close enough to sources of livelihood.

Despite the opposition of some influential Satmar communal leaders, who feared fragmentation of the group, the *rebbe* promised that he would divide his time between the proposed village and those Ḥasidim remaining in Williamsburg. Over two decades beginning in the early 1960s, assorted plans to purchase properties in Staten Island, northern New Jersey, Congers, New York, and other sites came to naught.

It was in the early 1970s, when the *rebbe* appointed Leibush Lefkowitz, the president of Congregation Yatev Lev and a wealthy businessman, to the task of seeing the project to fruition that matters moved towards a conclusion.

In the fall of 1974 the first families settled in Kiryas Joel. Among Teitelbaum's stated demands of the village's residents was that women dress modestly, secular literature be avoided, and, in keeping with his anti-Zionist stance, no Hebrew be spoken.

In 1977 the community's large synagogue was opened. Eventually the village, which incorporated in 1977, would feature over 50 prayer groups in assorted synagogues. This was reflective of the village's rapid growth and tolerance of differing orientations within ultra-Orthodoxy. The 2005 population was estimated at over 15,000.

After the *rebbe*'s passing in 1979 and the succession of his nephew Rabbi Moshe Teitelbaum (1915–2006), the community was plagued by a series of controversies. In the late 1980s a dissident group, who opposed the appointment of Moshe's son Aaron to various rabbinic positions in Kiryas Joel, founded a rival congregation, Bnei Yoel. This group would eventually establish its own synagogues and educational network in the village.

A further split took place in recent years with Moshe in ill health, as followers of Aaron and his brother, Zalmen Leib, battled for communal leadership. In struggles that have at times become violent and have also been played out in the courts, the two factions have largely established rival congregations, each claiming be the legitimate representative of the community. Their rival viewpoints are represented in competing Yiddish newspapers with *Der Yid* speaking for Zalmen Leib's contingent and *Der Blatt* for Aaron's.

In the 1990s the village established a public school for its developmentally disabled children This move was challenged in the courts as a violation of church-state separation and was still pending in 2006.

Interestingly, right-wing dissidents, in Kiryas Joel and throughout the ultra-Orthodox world, also criticized the school, which they viewed as conforming to religiously prohibited standards of secularization.

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KIRYAT ANAVIM (Heb. קִרְיַת עֲנָבִים; "Vineyard City"), kibbutz in the Judean Hills, 8 mi. (12 km.) W. of Jerusalem, affiliated with Iḥud ha-Kevuẓot ve-ha-Kibbutzim, founded in 1920 by Third Aliyah agricultural workers from Eastern Europe, who were later joined by immigrants from other countries. The initiative for founding a kibbutz at this spot came from Akiva *Ettinger, who wished to work out methods for modern hill farming, land reclamation, and afforestation. As the Zionist institutions had insufficient means to aid the settlers, who in the initial years suffered severe hardships, they proposed transferring the kibbutz to a better site in the Jezreel Valley, but the settlers insisted on staying on until their hill farm would become established. The development of deciduous fruit orchards, vineyards, and dairy cattle made Kiryat Anavim an important supplier to the population of Jerusalem. In the *Israeli War of Independence (1948), the kibbutz defended a highly endangered position and served as a base for Operations Naḥshon and Makkabi – the first steps in opening the Jerusalem Corridor. In addition to field crops, the kibbutz operated factories manufacturing insulation and silicone products and ran a resort for which the woodland in the vicinity formed a suitable setting. Its population was 301 in 1968 and 314 in 2002.

WEBSITE: www.kiryatanavim.homestead.com.

[Efraim Orni]

KIRYAT ATA (Heb. קִרְיַת אָתָא), town with municipal council status in northern Israel, 9 mi. (14 km.) N.E. of Haifa. It was founded in 1925 as a rural settlement. Abandoned after the 1929 Arab riots, it was renewed in 1934 when one of the country's largest textile plants was erected there. In 1948, the town had 2,300 inhabitants and expanded quickly after the Israeli *War of Independence (1948), when the immigrant camp (*ma'barah*) Gilam was included in the municipal area and its inhabitants transferred to permanent dwellings. In 1967 Kiryat Ata received municipal status. The population steadily grew to 25,000 in 1969, 41,800 in the mid-1990s, and 48,800 in 2002. The municipal area is about 8 sq. mi. (20 sq. km.). Residents earn their living in local industry, commerce, and services or commute to work. The Ata textile plant closed down in 1985.

The name Kiryat Ata, originally Kefar Ata, is based on the Arabic denomination of the site (Kufrattā), which in turn is assumed to have its origin in Aramaic. Remnants of buildings, mosaic floors, and tombs of the late Roman and early Muslim period have been found.

[Efraim Orni / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

KIRYAT BIALIK (Heb. קִרְיַת בְּיַאלִיק; named after Ḥayyim Naḥman Bialik), urban community with municipal council status (since 1950) in northern Israel, in the Haifa Bay area, founded in 1934 as part of the residential zone north of the industrial Bay area. The first settlers, 160 families, originated from Germany. In the ensuing years they were joined by immigrants from European, African, and Asian countries. Kiryat Bialik had 900 inhabitants in 1944 and grew to 13,100 by 1969. In 1976 Kiryat Bialik received city status. In the mid-1990s the population was approximately 35,300, and at the end of 2002 the population of Kiryat Bialik was 37,100 residents.

Until the early 1950s, "Ahavah," a Youth *Aliyah center for children with educational problems, was located at Kiryat Bialik. Initially a purely residential quarter with one- and two-family houses with gardens, Kiryat Bialik's municipal area was enlarged northward on the east side of the Haifa-Acre highway, multistory houses were built, public gardens planted, and a new industrial area developed in the northernmost part, including one of the country's important textile factories. Today the city's area consists of 7,200 dunams, with a large immigrant population, including Russians, Ethiopians, and Latin Americans.

[Efraim Orni / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

KIRYAT EKRON (Heb. קִרְיַת עֶקְרוֹן), semi-urban community, with municipal council status (since 1963), in the Coastal Plain of Israel, 2 mi. (3 km.) S.E. of Reḥovot. The town's area is 0.8 sq. mi. (2.2 sq. km.). Immigrants from Bulgaria and Iraq were housed soon after the Israeli *War of Independence (1948) in the former Arab village of ʿAqir, abandoned in 1948. The site grew into a modern agglomeration which in 1969 had 4,100 inhabitants, some of whom worked in local plants (e.g., a cotton gin), in farm work, and various enterprises in Reḥovot and elsewhere. In the mid-1990s the population was approximately 5,350, increasing to 9,600 in 2002, with four new neighborhoods created in the expanding community.

[Efraim Orni / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

KIRYAT GAT (Heb. קִרְיַת גַּת), town with municipal status (from 1972) in the southern Coastal Plain of Israel. Kiryat Gat was founded in 1955 near the tell then held to be the site of Philistine *Gath. West of the present municipal area lay the village Fālūja, which was abandoned in 1948. It was destroyed after the "Ten Plagues" Operation in the *War of Independence, when Israeli forces laid siege to a large contingent of Egyptian forces there. Kiryat Gat, planned to serve as the urban center of the *Lachish Development Region, expanded quickly, rising from 4,400 inhabitants in 1958, to 17,000 in 1969. Of the adult population (1968), about 50% were immigrants from Mediterranean countries, mainly North Africa, 20% from Eastern Europe, mainly Romania, and 15% from Western Europe and North and South America, while the rest were Israeli-born or veteran Israelis. In the mid-1990s the population was approximately 38,300, increasing to 48,200 in 2002, with a municipal area of around 4 sq. mi. (10 sq. km.).

The development of the town's economy began with services rendered to the Lachish Region's rural settlements and with industries based on farming produce, e.g., cotton ginneries. These were soon followed by large cotton and wool spinning and weaving plants, clothes factories, and a sugar factory. In the later 1960s other enterprises developed. The local labor demand made it necessary to attract additional population by stepping up apartment building. The industrial area, to the southwest of the town, was twice enlarged to make room for new enterprises, while the commercial region in the center was replanned and a municipal park laid out. At the end of the 1990s Intel Industries opened a microprocessor factory in Kiryat Gat. The plant employed 3,700 workers. Another 400 workers were employed in nearby factories servicing the Intel plant. Average income in the city was considerably below the national average.

[Efraim Orni / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

KIRYAT ḤAROSHET (Heb. קִרְיַת חֲרֹשֶׁת), village in northern Israel, between Mount Carmel and the Tivon Hills, founded in 1935 by workers from the Haifa industrial zone. It became the object of frequent attacks during the 1936–39 Arab riots and some of its first settlers were murdered. Although planned as an urban community, Kiryat Ḥaroshet remained a small hamlet (with 217 inhabitants in 1969), as it was overshadowed by nearby *Kiryat Tivon and other centers. The name, literally translated as "City of Industry," is in fact an allusion to biblical Harosheth-Goiim mentioned in the report of Deborah's victory over the Canaanites (Judges 4) and assumed to have been located near this site. In 1979 Kiryat Ḥaroshet was united with *Kiryat Tivon.

[Efraim Orni / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

KIRYAT MALAKHI (Heb. קִרְיַת מַלְאָכִי), development town in southern Israel, 12 mi. (20 km.) N.E. of Ashkelon. Its name is the Hebrew for Los Angeles, whose Jews financed its first housing scheme.

Kiryat Malakhi was founded in 1950 as a **ma'barah* (immigrant transit camp). It gradually became a center based on the variegated produce of the quickly developing agricultural hinterland. In 1965 Kiryat Malakhi received municipal council status and in 1998 city status. Its area is around 2 sq. mi. (5 sq. km.). In 1968 it had 7,500 inhabitants, 50% of whom were from Asian and African countries, 35% were Israeli-born or veteran Israelis, and 15% from Eastern Europe. A large poultry slaughterhouse and packing plant, an ice-cream factory, and factories for textiles, cardboard, plastics, leatherwear, and metal were located in the town. In 2002 the population was 19,100, including about 3,000 Ethiopian Jews, with income about half the national average. Israel's president, Moshe *Katzav, was a former mayor of the town.

[Efraim Orni / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

KIRYAT MOTZKIN (Heb. קִרְיַת מוֹצְקִין), urban community in the Haifa Bay area in Israel, founded in 1934 as part of the residential zone north of the Bay area allocated for industry. Its name commemorates Leo *Motzkin.

The first settlers, the majority of whom came from Eastern Europe, lived in one- and two-family houses with gardens. Kiryat Motzkin's layout was gradually superseded by large apartment houses as the population grew from a few hundred at the end of the 1930s to 3,700 in 1948, reaching 13,800 in 1969. In 1976 Kiryat Motzkin received city status; its area was expanded to 1.2 sq. mi. (3.1 sq. km.). In the mid-1990s the population was approximately 33,400, increasing to 39,400 in 2002. Kiryat Motzkin is the commercial center of the "Kerayot" area.

WEBSITE: www.kiriat-motzkin.muni.il.

[Efraim Orni / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

KIRYAT ONO (Heb. קִרְיַת אוֹנוֹ), an urban settlement in central Israel, 5 mi. (8 km.) east of Tel Aviv. Founded in 1939 as a moshav by immigrants from European countries, Kiryat Ono (originally Kefar Ono) is named after the ancient site of *Ono, which is assumed to have been a few kilometers further south. The 40 founder families initially lived together with Arab Bedouins. The settlement, which numbered 377 inhabitants in 1948, expanded quickly when new immigrants, many of whom had entered the country on "illegal" ships, were housed in it. There were 6,530 inhabitants in 1951, 8,363 in 1961, and 14,200 in 1969. In 1992 Kiryat Ono received city status with an area of about 2 sq. mi. (5 sq. km.). In 2002 the population was 23,900. Kiryat Ono is principally a residential area on the border of the Tel Aviv conurbation, and economically dependent on the large city.

[Shlomo Hasson / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

KIRYAT SHEMONAH (Heb. קִרְיַת שְׁמוֹנָה; "City of Eight"), town in northern Israel, in the Ḥuleh Valley, founded in 1950 when a local camp for new immigrants (**ma'barah*) was transformed into a permanent residential area. In 1953 it received municipal council status and in 1974 it become a city, with an area of about 4 sq. mi. (10 sq. km.). The name Kiryat Shemonah commemorates Joseph *Trumpeldor and seven others who fell in 1920 in the defense of neighboring Tel Ḥai (*Kefar Giladi) against an attack led by notables of Khāliṣa village, which stood until 1948 on the site of what would later become Kiryat Shemonah. The town grew from 3,300 inhabitants in 1954 to 6,000 in 1956 and 10,000 in 1959, although the lack of solid economic foundations caused a much larger turnover of population in that period. The population then reached 15,300 in 1969 and stabilized somewhat. The oldest part of the town, in the valley between the narrow basalt ridge (the "Snake Head"), had small houses with adjoining auxiliary farms. Later, the main part of the town developed with multistory houses on the mountain slope to the west. In the mid-1990s the population was approximately 19,000, and by the end of 2002 it had risen slightly to 21,600, of whom 18% were new immigrants; 30% of the city's population was younger than 17. In 1969 local industry began to develop, e.g., a spinning mill (the largest enterprise), a fruit-packing plant and other plants based on the region's farming produce, and textile factories. Some of the enterprises were initiated by the Upper Galilee (i.e., Ḥuleh Valley) Regional Council, which has its seat at Kiryat Shemonah. In the initial years most of Kiryat Shemonah's workers were employed as hired farm laborers in the vicinity. This type of employment diminished in the 1960s, although the Ḥuleh Valley settlements, including kibbutz factories, were still important sources of employment for Kiryat Shemonah inhabitants. The beginning of settlement of the *Golan after the *Six-Day War furthered the town's development, though the city continued to suffer from severe economic problems, with income considerably below the national average. The city served as an urban center for the rural settlements around it.

From 1968 Kiryat Shemonah became the object of repeated shelling from beyond the nearby Lebanese frontier. The escalation of attacks on the city at the end of the 1970s and the beginning of the 1980s led to the *Lebanon War. During these years the economic situation worsened and many residents left the city. The shelling – mainly by the Hizballah organization – continued after the end of the war, but to a lesser extent. Up to May 2000, when Israel withdrew its troops from Lebanon, the city was hit by 4,000 shells, causing 24 casualties and wrecking nearly 7,000 apartments and 250 cars. Since the withdrawal the Upper Galilee area, including Kiryat Shemonah, has enjoyed relative quiet.

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[Efraim Orni / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

KIRYAT TIVON (Heb. קִרְיַת טִבְעוֹן), town with municipal council status (since 1958) in northern Israel, between the Jezreel and Zebulun valleys. A workers' suburb, Kiryat Amal ("City of Toil"), was founded there during the Arab riots in 1937 and expanded after World War II. Its inhabitants were employed partly in Haifa and partly in auxiliary and full-fledged farms. In 1947, "Keret," an investment company formed by British Zionists, established a second suburb, Tivon, north of Kiryat Amal, which after the Israeli *War of Independence (1948) became an important holiday resort. In 1957, Tivon, which had 4,850 inhabitants, and Kiryat Amal with about 4,000 merged into Kiryat Tivon together with El-Ro'i, a moshavah founded in 1935 by immigrants from Kurdistan. In 1969 it had a population of 9,700, rising to 13,300 in 2002, including the population of *Kiryat Ḥaroshet, which merged with Kiryat Tivon in 1979. The municipal area is 3.5 sq. mi. (9 sq. km.).The foremost economic branch continued to be the recreation and tourist trade, but by the beginning of the 21st century, Kiryat Tivon was no longer a tourist center. The town's residents mostly commuted to work in nearby Haifa, Jokneam, and Afulah.

Large natural oak and pine forests are located in the vicinity, and the *Bet She'arim antiquities lie within Kiryat Tivon's muncipal area. The home of *shomer* (guardsman) Alexander *Zeid has been transformed into a youth hostel. Basmat Tabʿūn, a Bedouin housing project, adjoins Kiryat Tivon in the northwest. The Oranim academic college, with 5,500 students, founded by the kibbutzim movement, is located in the town.

[Efraim Orni / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

KIRYAT YAM (Heb. קִרְיַת יָם; "City of the Sea"), urban community in northern Israel, in the Kerayot residential zone near the Haifa Bay shore. Kiryat Yam was founded in 1946, after beginnings in construction had already been made in 1939 but were interrupted with the outbreak of World War II. The settlement, with 650 inhabitants in 1948, expanded rapidly, reaching 16,000 in 1969 and 38,700 residents in 2002, with a municipal area of 2.7 sq. mi. (7 sq. km.). One- and two-family homes were gradually superseded by apartment houses. Inside the municipal area there was little industry, with most of the inhabitants employed in Haifa. Income was considerably below the national average.

[Efraim Orni / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

KIRZHNITZ, ABRAHAM (1888–?), Soviet bibliographer. Kirzhnitz, who was born in Bobruisk, was among the directors of the well-known Jewish library there, and published articles on the problem of founding Jewish popular libraries. A member of the *Bund until 1920, he, like most of the members of his party, then joined the Communist Party. He was the author of *Di Yidishe Prese in der Gevezener Ruslendisher Imperye 1823–1916* (1930); *Di Yidishe Prese in Ratnfarband 1917–1927* (1928), and *Di Yidishe Prese in Vaysrusland* (1925), pioneering works on the Jewish press in Eastern Europe. He edited the collection *Der Yidisher Arbeter* (4 vols., 1925–28), and a collection of documents (in Russian) on Jewish participation in the 1905 Revolution (1928). Containing valuable material on the history of the Jewish workers' movement in Russia, these collections stress the central role of the Bund. Kirzhnitz disappeared at the end of the 1930s at the time of the great purges.

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[Yehuda Slutsky]

KIŠ, DANILO (1935–1989), Yugoslav author and translator. Born in Subotica, Kis survived the Holocaust and after the war completed high school in Cetinje, Montenegro. He received his B.A. from the Faculty of Philosophy at the University of Belgrade. He was a freelance writer, dramaturge in the Belgrade Atelier 212 Theater, and lecturer on Serbo-Croat at various French universities. Kis wrote short stories, novels, essays, dramas, and television screenplays, translated poetry from French and Hungarian. He published *The Mansard, Psalm 44* (1962), but made his name with the meditative novel *Garden, Ashes* (1965 and 1978) in which the fascinating image of his

Jewish father who was killed in Auschwitz in 1944 appears for the first time. He went on to publish *Early Griefs* (1968) and *Hourglass* (1969) for which he was awarded the 1972 Belgrade NIN magazine prize for the best novel in Yugoslavia.

A master of style, modern in expression, and an outstanding talent, Kis was attacked for his anti-Stalinist book, *A Tomb for Boris Davidovich* (1976), by a group of Belgrade writers and journalists. His reply was the polemic treatise *The Anatomy Lesson* (1978). He lived in isolation in Paris, away from public life, but surrounded by friends. In Paris he wrote *The Encyclopedia of the Dead* (1983). In 1984 he was awarded the Ivo Andrić Prize in Belgrade and in 1989 received the Bruno Schulz Prize in New York. He was a member of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts and a Chevalier des arts et lettres (Paris, 1986). His works have been translated into English, French, German, Russian, Hungarian, Hebrew, and other languages.

His mother was Montenegrine of the Orthodox faith. When he was five, his mother had him baptized in a Serbian Orthodox Church. His writings are deeply influenced by the Holocaust and his own family's struggle for survival. Despite his use of dialect, his personal inclinations are decidedly cosmopolitan. He visited Israel and was impressed by it, but resented having apparently been described by someone as a non-Jew.

In accordance with his will, he was buried ceremoniously in Saborna Crkva, the primary Serbian Orthodox Church of Belgrade.

[Eugen Werber / Zvi Loker (2nd ed.)]

KISCH, prominent family in Prague. The name derived from the village of Chyse (Chiesch) in western Bohemia, from where the family came in the 17th century. For about 200 years it held the license for the only pharmacy in the Jewish quarter of Prague. One of its members was the physician ABRAHAM KISCH (1725–1803), the first Prague Jew to receive a doctorate in medicine (at Halle University in 1749). The founder of the Jewish hospital in Breslau (Wroclaw), he was head of the Prague community's hospital. Abraham Kisch taught Latin to Moses *Mendelssohn and championed the admission of Jewish students to the universities. JOSEPH KISCH opened the first modern private school in the Jewish quarter. His son ENOCH HEINRICH (1841–1918), a physician, specialized in balneology and was active in the development of the Bohemian spas, especially Marienbad, where he also directed the Jewish hospice. His memoirs, *Erlebtes und Erstrebtes* (1914), are an important source for the history of Jewish Prague after the 1848 Revolution. When the Jews were expelled from Prague by Maria Theresa (1744), members of the family went to Holland and from there to England, where they founded other branches of the family (see *Kisch (British family)).

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[Meir Lamed]

KISCH, family of British government officials descended from the *Kisch family of Prague. HERMANN MICHAEL KISCH (1850–1942) entered the Indian civil service in 1873 and rose to become a deputy secretary to the government of India, postmaster-general of Bengal, and director-general of the Indian post office and represented India at four international postal congresses. He returned to England in 1904 and was active in Jewish affairs. His letters, *A Young Victorian in India*, were edited by his daughter Ethel A. Waley Cohen and published in 1957. Both of Kisch's sons followed their father into government service. Frederick Hermann *Kisch was a British delegate to the Versailles peace conference. His elder brother, SIR CECIL KISCH (1884–1961), joined the Indian civil service in 1909 and in 1917 went to India with Edwin *Montagu, the secretary of state for India, as his private secretary. In 1921 he became secretary of the Indian finance department and promoted numerous monetary reforms including the establishment of the Reserve Bank of India. Kisch represented India at the monetary conference at Geneva in 1933 and later served on the supervisory finance committee of the League of Nations. From 1933 to 1942 he was assistant under-secretary of state for India and from 1942 to 1943 deputy under-secretary. A man of wide-ranging interests, Kisch translated Russian poetry into English, published a standard work (with W.W.A. Elkin) on central banking, *Central Banks – a Study of the Constitution of Banks of Issue* (1928, 1932^4), and wrote *The Portuguese Bank Note Case* (1932), the story of a famous fraud of the 1920s. He was knighted in 1932. Another member of the family, DANIEL MONTAGU KISCH (1840–1898), English traveler, voyaged to Australia and from there went to Mauritius and South Africa, where he settled. He became manager of a Natal sugar estate and later joined an expedition to Matabeleland where he was chief adviser to King Lobengula. From 1874 Kisch lived in Pretoria and was auditor-general of the Transvaal during the British annexation from 1877 to 1881. He campaigned for civic equality for the Jews in Transvaal.

[Joachim O. Ronall]

KISCH, ALEXANDER (1848–1917), Austrian rabbi and scholar. Born in Prague, Kisch studied at the Breslau Jewish theological seminary, and at various universities. In Paris he became a tutor in Baron Horace *Guenzburg's house. He served as rabbi in Bruex (Most), Bohemia (1874–77); in Zurich, Switzerland (1877–81); in Jungbunzlau (Mlada Beleslav), Bohemia (1881–86); and at the Meisels Synagogue in Prague (1886–1917). While serving in Zurich, Kisch founded and published (1878–80) the first Swiss-Jewish weekly, *Neue Israelitische Zeitung*. In 1899, Franz Joseph I awarded Kisch a gold medal for 25 years' service as a military chaplain; at the audience, Kisch persuaded the monarch to strongly condemn antisemitism, which was then assuming alarming proportions after the *Hilsner trial for ritual murder. Kisch was the first and only rabbi in Austria to be appointed a government professor of religion (1900) and an inspector of religious education (1909). Among Kisch's published works are: *Papst Gregor*

des Neunten Anklageartikel gegen den Talmud (1847), *Hillel der Alte* (1889), *Das Testament Mardochai Meysels mitgetheilt und … beleuchtet: Festschrift zum 300-jaehrigen Jubilaeum der Meyselssynagogue* (1893), *Das mosaisch-talmudische Eherecht von R. Ezechiel Landau* (1900), and *Versuch einer neuen Erklaerung der in der Alkuinhandschrift Nr. 795 der Hofbibliothek Wien enthaltenen gotischen Fragmente* (1902).

Bruno *Kisch and Guido *Kisch were his sons.

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[Oskar K. Rabinowicz]

KISCH, BRUNO ZECHARIAS (1890–1966), medical authority and Jewish scholar. Kisch was born in Prague, the son of Alexander *Kisch and brother of Guido *Kisch. He was one of the founders of the Juedisches Lehrhaus in Cologne and taught experimental medicine, physiology, and biochemistry at the university there until 1936, when he was forced to leave Nazi Germany. During that time, he made particular studies on reflexes and discovered the law of irradiation of autonomic reflex, proving that each reflex in the field of autonomic nerves influences the tone of the entire autonomic nervous system. Subsequently, he taught at Yale and Yeshiva universities in the United States.

Kisch combined interests in several fields. He published several books on the relationship of religion and science, including *Naturwissenschaft und Weltanschauung* (1931), *Wege zum Glauben* (1935), and *Gottesglaube und Naturerkenntnis* (1936). He was a well-known authority on medical science, his special fields being biochemistry, cardiology, and electron microscopy. He was a founder and president of the American College of Cardiology and contributed a great deal to the progress of medicine. He made significant contributions to the study of biochemistry and the study of enzymes and described the presence of procain-esterase in blood and tissues, and of the enzyme aminodehydrase in certain parts of the kidney. He also introduced a test for toxic goiter. Among his works on medicine is *Electron Microscopy of the Cardiovascular System* (1960). Kisch was also interested in Jewish numismatics, publishing "Shekel Medals and False Shekels" (in *Historia Judaica*, 3 (1941), 67–101) and *Scales and Weights* (1965). He wrote an autobiography, *Wanderungen und Wandlungen* (1966).

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[Alexander Tobias / Suessmann Muntner]

KISCH, EGON ERWIN (1885–1948), German author and journalist. He was born in Prague, where he was active in Czech-Jewish literary circles. Kisch joined the staff of the *Berliner Tageblatt* in 1913 and had an adventurous career as a leftist writer and politician. In 1918, Kisch led the Communist "Red Guard" in Vienna and a year later was sentenced to three months' imprisonment and expelled from Austria. He returned to Berlin and, after the Reichstag Fire in 1933, was arrested and deported to Czechoslovakia. Refused admission to Australia as an "undesirable alien" in 1934, Kisch caused a sensation by throwing himself overboard in Perth harbor. He was sentenced to six months' imprisonment and was deported. Kisch fought in the Spanish Republican Army in 1937–38, emigrated to New York in 1939, and eventually settled in Mexico. He returned to Prague in 1946, and became honorary president of the Prague Jewish community. His books reflect the times in which he lived and his own tumultuous journeys through many different lands (including the U.S.S.R. and China) and cultures. Always an exponent of the ideals of the "good European," he opposed all forms of nationalism. His most successful book was *Der rasende Reporter* ("The Rushing Reporter," 1924). After the Communist coup d'etat of February 1948 Kisch was appointed by the authorities to the "Action Committee," which supervised the activity of the Council of Jewish Religious Congregations in Bohemia and Moravia. His works include books about Prague and World War I, the anthology *Klassischer Journalismus* (1923), *Hetzjagd durch die Zeit* (1925), *Zaren, Popen, Bolschewiken* (1927), and *Paradies Amerika* (1930). He also wrote *Prager Pitaval* (1931), an account of Czech scandals, lawsuits, and the Prague underworld; books on Prague Jewish life, such as *Geschichten aus sieben Ghettos* (1934; *Tales from Seven Ghettos*, 1948); and the autobiographical *Marktplatz der Sensationen* (1945; originally published as *Sensation Fair,* 1941). Collections of Kisch's writing appeared in Czech (3 vols., 1947–49) and in German (8 vols., from 1960). A last book appeared in Czech as *Karel Marx v Karlových Varech* ("Karl Marx in Karlsbad," 1949).

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[Rudolf Kayser]

KISCH, FREDERICK HERMANN (1888–1943), military engineer and Zionist leader. Born in Darjeeling, India, where his father, Hermann, was in the Indian Civil Service, Kisch finished in second place at the Royal Military Academy, Woolwich, joined the Indian Army, and was posted to Baluchistan in World War I. He was wounded in France and again in Mesopotamia; the second wound prevented further active service. He was then appointed to the Directorate of Military Intelligence at the War Office in the section covering Russia, Persia, China, and Japan. He was a member of the British delegation at the Paris Peace Conference (1919–21), and headed the military intelligence section. Although he was a lieutenant colonel by that time, he nevertheless failed to obtain a nomination to the Staff College. He resigned from the army and in 1923 accepted *Weizmann's invitation to become a member of the Zionist Executive in Jerusalem and head of its Political Department. Later he became chairman of the Jerusalem Executive, where his main task was to interpret the Jews to the Mandatory government and vice versa. Kisch's problems were compounded by his inevitable English orientation, so that while he and the British understood but did not agree with one another, he and the Jews agreed but did not understand one another. Anxious to find common ground with the Arabs, he met King Hussein of Hejaz (1924 and 1931), the emir Abdullah of Transjordan in Amman (1924), and Egyptian leaders in Cairo. He left the *Jewish Agency Executive in 1931 and engaged in private business in Haifa, at the same time advising the *yishuv* on security matters. His experiences are recounted in his book, *Palestine Diary* (1938).

On the outbreak of World War II he returned to active service in the British Army and was sent to Egypt, where by 1941 he was chief engineer, Eighth Army, with rank of brigadier. He was responsible throughout all North Africa for maintaining the water supply lines for military construction during the advances and demolition during the retreats, and for designing mine fields and devising anti-mine measures. Almost at the end of the fighting he was killed while inspecting a German mine field and was buried in Tunisia. He was decorated by the British and French governments. Kefar Kisch and the Kisch Memorial Forest in Lower Galilee are named after him.

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[Semah Cecil Hyman]

KISCH, GUIDO (1889–1986), historian of law and of the legal status of Jews. Kisch, the son of Alexander *Kisch, was born in Prague. He was educated in Prague and taught the theory and history of law at Leipzig, Koenigsberg, Halle, and Prague universities. Dismissed by the Nazis in 1933, for a time he taught Jewish history at the Breslau *Juedisch-Theologisches Seminar. In 1935 he immigrated to the United States and taught history at the Jewish Institute of Religion in New York. In 1949 he served as visiting professor at the University of Lund in Sweden. In 1953 he began to teach at the University of Basel, and settled in Switzerland in 1962. His main interest was the investigation of the legal position of the Jews as reflected in non-Jewish legal sources.

Apart from many publications on medieval German law, Kisch wrote *Juedische Aerzte im alten Prag* (1934), *Die Prager Universitaet und die Juden 1348–1848* (1935), *Jewry-Law in Medieval Germany* (1941), *Sachsenspiegel and Bible* (1941), *In Search of Freedom, a History of American Jews from Czechoslovakia* (1949), *Jews in Medieval Germany* (1949), *Forschungen zur Rechts-und Sozialgeschichte der Juden in Deutschland waehrend des Mittelalters* (1955), *Recht und Gerechtigkeit in der Medaillenkunst* (1955), *Gestalten und Probleme aus Humanismus und Jurisprudenz* (1969), *An Innovator of Hagaddah Illustration – Cyril Kutlik* (1971), *Studies in Medallic History* (1975), and his autobiography, *Der Lebensweg eines Rechtshistorikers: Erinnerungen* (1975). He also prepared a new edition of Pseudo-Philo's *Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum* (1949; cf. HJ, 12 (1950), 153ff.; and HUCA, 23 (1950/51), pt. 2, 81ff.). Kisch was the founder and editor of the periodical *Historia Judaica* (1938–61), amalgamated in 1962 with the *Revue des Etudes Juives*; and continued as associate editor with the *Revue*. He edited the volume memorializing the Breslau seminary (1963).

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KISH (Heb. קִישׁ), Benjaminite from Gibeah, father of King Saul. He is variously described as the son of Abiel (I Sam. 9:1), Jeiel (I Chron. 9:35), and Ner (I Chron. 8:33; 9:39). In I Chronicles 9:35 Jeiel is the *keri* for the *ketiv* Jeuel, the latter having the same vowel points as Abiel, indicating either Jeiel or Abiel. The correct reading is probably Abiel (cf. I Sam. 9:1). According to I Samuel 14:50–51, Ner is not the father of Kish but his brother, which agrees with I Chronicles 9:36 where Kish is mentioned before Ner, implying that Kish was the older brother of Ner. The Bible does not say very much about Kish, except that he was a man of wealth, possessing servants and asses (I Sam. 9:1–3). Saul is mentioned as "the son of Kish" in I Samuel 10:11, among other places. The sepulcher of Kish was at Zela, in the country of Benjamin (II Sam. 21:14), which was probably the landed property of his family. Both Saul and his son Jonathan were to be buried at this place (II Sam. 21:14).

The Akkadian adjective *qīšu*, "given as a present," "granted" (derived from the verb *qâšu*, "to deed," "grant") is attested in Akkadian personal names and provides a good etymology for the biblical name.

ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY: CAD K, 280; D. Edelman, in: ABD, 4:85–87.

KISHINEV (Rom. **Chişinău**), capital of Moldova, formerly within Bessarabia. A Jewish cemetery is known to have existed in a village near Kishinev during the 18th century. In 1774, a *ḥevra kaddisha* was founded in the town with a membership of 144. When Kishinev became the capital of Bessarabia under Russian rule (1818) it developed rapidly, becoming a commercial and industrial center, and many Jews moved there from other places in Russia. The first rabbi of Kishinev was Zalman b. Mordecai Shargorodski. In 1816, R. *Ḥayyim b. Solomon Tyrer of Czernowitz laid the foundation stone of the Great Synagogue and in 1838, in the wake of the authorities' efforts to hasten the assimilation of the Jews, the first Jewish secular school was opened. In time two other government schools were opened. The poet J. *Eichenbaum and the scholar J. *Goldenthal taught there. The *Haskalah movement won few adherents among the Jews of Kishinev.

From 10,509 (12.2% of the total population) in 1847, the numbers of Jews in the city grew to 18,327 (21.8%) in 1867 and 50,237 (46%) in 1897. At the close of the 19th century most of the Jews were engaged in commerce, handicrafts, and industry. About 20,000 Jews were in miscellaneous occupations, in particular in the garment and timber industries and in the manufacture and trade of agricultural products, for which the region was noted. Jews owned many flour mills and plants for curing tobacco and drying fruit, and wine cellars. In 1898, 29 of the 38 factories of all kinds in Kishinev were owned by Jews. Large commercial houses and printing presses were also owned by Jews and employed thousands of Jewish workers. Because of the policy of the Russian authorities, who deliberately fostered antisemitism and passed legislation restricting the sources of livelihood open to Jews, Kishinev had a particularly large number of poor and destitute who were supported by various charitable institutions. In 1898, the separate welfare organizations amalgamated to form the Society in Aid of the Poor of Kishinev. Until World War I, the framework of Jewish life remained unchanged.

Kishinev was the seat of the Bessarabian headquarters of several Jewish institutions, which included the *Jewish Colonization Association (ICA), the *American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (after World War I), and the American Joint Reconstruction Foundation. Judah Leib *Zirelson, the chief rabbi of Kishinev and Bessarabian Jewry (from 1909), founded a yeshivah here. There were also Jewish schools with instruction in Yiddish and Hebrew, and a *Tarbut school. In 1898 there were 16 Jewish schools in Kishinev with 2,100 pupils; 700 Jewish pupils attended general schools.

Persecutions and Pogroms

The name of Kishinev became known to the world at large as a result of two pogroms. The first, initiated and organized by the local and central authorities, took place during Easter on April 6–7, 1903. Agents of the Ministry of the Interior and high Russian officials of the Bessarabian administration were involved in its preparation, evidently with the backing of the minister of the interior, V. *Plehve. The pogrom was preceded by a poisonous anti-Jewish campaign led by P. *Krushevan, director of the Bessarabian newspaper *Bessarabets*, who incited the population through a constant stream of vicious articles. One of the authors of the most virulent articles was the local police chief, Levendall. In such a heated atmosphere any incident could have dire consequences, and when the body of a Christian child was found, and a young Christian woman patient committed suicide in the Jewish hospital, the mob became violent. A *blood libel, circulated by the *Bessarabets*, spread like wildfire. (It was later proved that the child was murdered by his relatives and that the suicide of the young woman was in no way connected with the Jews.) According to official statistics, 49 Jews lost their lives and more than 500 were injured, some of them seriously; 700 houses were looted and destroyed and 600 businesses and shops were looted. The material loss amounted to 2,500,000 gold rubles, and about 2,000 families were left homeless. Both Russians and Romanians joined in the riots. Russians were sent in from other towns and the students of the theological seminaries and the secondary schools and colleges played a leading role. The garrison of 5,000 soldiers stationed in the city, which could easily have held back the mob, took no action. Public outcry throughout the world was aroused by the incident and protest meetings were organized in London, Paris, and New York. A letter of protest written in the United States was handed over to President Theodore Roosevelt to be delivered to the czar, who refused to accept it. Under the pressure of public opinion, some of the perpetrators of the pogrom were brought to justice but they received very lenient sentences. L.N. Tolstoy expressed his sympathy for the victims, condemning the czarist authorities as responsible for the pogrom. The Russian writer Vladimir *Korolenko described the pogrom in his story "House No. 13" as did Ḥ.N. Bialik in his poem "*Be-Ir ha-Haregah*" ("In the Town of Death").

On Oct. 19–20, 1905, riots broke out once more. They began as a protest demonstration by the "patriots" against the czar's declaration of Aug. 19, 1905, and deteriorated into an attack on the Jewish quarter in which 19 Jews were killed, 56 were injured, and houses and shops were looted and destroyed: damages amounted to 300,000 rubles. On this occasion, some of the Jewish youth organized itself into *self-defense units. The two pogroms had a profound effect on the Jews of Kishinev. Between 1902 and 1905 their numbers dropped from around 60,000 to 53,243, many immigrating to the United States and the Americas, while many more left after the second attack. The economic development of the town was brought to a standstill.

1914–1939

During World War I, when Russian units retreated from the Romanian front in 1917–18, they looted Jewish houses on their homeward journey. When the Romanian army entered the town soon afterward, it proved no less savage in its treatment of the Jews. Romanian rule, which lasted for 22 years (1918–40), made no improvement in the condition of the Jews, who were still harassed by official and unofficial antisemitism. However, their numbers increased through the arrival of waves of refugees from the pogroms in the Ukraine during the Russian Civil War. As in the past, the local agitators were led by students, especially from the theological seminary and the faculty of agriculture. The local press was once more in the fore in propagating antisemitism; most prominent were the official organ *Romānia Nouā* ("New Romania"), *Cuvântul Moldovenesc* ("The Moldavian Word"), and especially the *Scutul Nātional* ("The National Defender," published from 1921) which declared from the start its aim of fighting "against the Jew-boys, the speculators, the parasites, and the corrupt." There was also an antisemitic periodical, *Gîndul Neamului*. When the authorities deprived many of the Jews of Kishinev (and Bessarabia in general) of their citizenship in 1924, they lost their very means of livelihood. Hardly a year went by without demonstrations, riots, looting, and threats against the Jews. In these activities, members of the antisemitic organization "National and Christian Defense League," headed by A.C. *Cuza, played a leading role; they organized frequent "parades" with the intention of terrorizing the Jews and fomenting riots against them. In addition, the authorities took official measures, such as the closure of Jewish institutions, schools, newspapers, and cultural organizations. Many Jewish youth left for Ereẓ Israel or America. In 1938 the Jews were further hit by the antisemitic laws of the Cuza government, and more of them lost their civic rights.

Many Zionist movements were active in Kishinev, especially under Romanian rule; almost all trends of Zionism were represented, including a strong *He-Ḥalutz movement. Zionists and Yiddishists waged a sharp struggle to determine the character of the Jewish schools. The Yiddishists at first gained the upper hand. For political reasons – in order to weaken the influence of Russian culture – the Romanian authorities at first encouraged the development of independent Jewish education. Education in Hebrew made steady progress; outstanding among the leading Hebrew schools was the Magen David secondary school, founded in 1923. The authorities later tried to restrict Jewish education but it continued until Russian annexation in June 1940. Among the noteworthy achievements was the Hebrew kindergarten (1918) of the Yavneh society, the institute for the training of kindergarten teachers (1921), and the cultural center, which published its own monthly, *Min ha-Ẓad*. Sportsmen from Kishinev participated in the First and Second *Maccabiahs which were held in Ereẓ Israel in 1932 and 1935; many of them remained in the country.

From the close of the 19th century, a large number of Hebrew books were published in the town. Rabbinical works, as well as a variety of textbooks for the Hebrew and Yiddish schools, were also published. In 1912 there was a Russian Zionist weekly, *Yevreyskaya Khronika*. Many Yiddish newspapers appeared but they were shortlived (*Dos Bessaraber Leben*, *Der Morgen*, *Der Yid*, the weekly *Erd und Arbet* (1920–35) of the Ẓe'irei Zion party). *Unzer Tseit*, an important daily, was published between 1922 and 1938, with a few brief interruptions, under the direction of the lawyer Michael Landau.

By German-Russian agreement, in June 1940 Russia annexed Bessarabia. During the year of Russian domination (until July 1941), all Jewish institutions were closed down and the Zionist movement outlawed. In May 1941 the authorities arrested and exiled to Siberia all who were defined as enemies of the regime: these included the activists of the various Jewish movements and the wealthy Jews.

There were 70,000 Jews in the town on the eve of the Holocaust.

[Jean Ancel]

Holocaust Period

On July 17, 1941, Kishinev was occupied by German and Romanian units, who entered it together with units of *Einsatzgruppe* D. The massacre of Kishinev's Jews began immediately under the auspices of the *Einsatzgruppe*, and by the time the concentration of Jews into a ghetto was completed, about 10,000 had been slaughtered. The order to establish a ghetto and to wear the yellow badge was issued by the *Einsatzkommando* unit 11a, which from time to time took a number of people out of the ghetto and killed them. The Romanian gendarmerie acted similarly; German and Romanian reports mention three such operations. On August 1, 411 persons were killed by the Germans. The 39 survivors, who buried the dead, were returned to the ghetto to inform its inhabitants of the deed. On August 7, Unit 11a liquidated 551 Jews on the pretext of their being communist agents. On August 8, Romanian gendarmes removed 500 men and 25 women from the ghetto for forced labor. A week later, 200 of them were returned, as unfit for work, while the rest disappeared. Although documentation is available only on these three operations, it appears from eyewitness accounts that the method was more frequently employed.

On Oct. 4, 1941, deportations began to *Transnistria, the first group containing 1,600 persons. After this, between 700 and 1,000 Jews were deported daily, the last group leaving on October 31. Many of the deportees were robbed and murdered on the way to the Dniester River, while mass murder took place on the banks of the river, carried out by the Romanian gendarmes and German soldiers. In Transnistria Jews were sent to various camps and ghettos, where two-thirds of them died from epidemics, hunger, and exposure. The exact number of dead is not known, but taking into account the proportion of those killed in Bessarabia from the time of the Romanian and German conquest until the deportations to Transnistria on the one hand, and the number of those who died in Transnistria on the other, it may be estimated that of the 65,000 Jewish inhabitants in Kishinev in 1941, 53,000 perished.

Contemporary Period

In 1947 there were 5,500 Jews in Kishinev. In November 1956 Rabbi Greenberg of Kishinev was compelled to sign a government-organized protest against the Sinai Campaign which was published in *Izvestiya*. Restrictive measures were imposed on the Jewish community in the 1960s. The bar-mitzvah ceremony was forbidden in 1961; all synagogues but one were closed in 1964; and *mohalim* were repeatedly warned to cease performing circumcisions; the baking of matzah, however, was permitted in 1965. The Jewish cemetery, halved in area to make room for development, was completely closed in the 1960s and tombstones were damaged and destroyed, although the new cemetery was kept in order. Thirty-one Jews were arrested for "economic crimes" in 1962. In 1967 several Jewish students were expelled from the university when they refused to make a public denunciation of Israel's "aggression." A Jewish dramatic society established in 1966 with about 100 members put on a performance of *Hershele Ostropoler.* The official census of 1959 reported 42,934 Jews in Kishinev; in 1970 the Jewish population was estimated at approximately 60,000; and in 1998 it was put at around 21, 000.

[Theodor Lavi]

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KISHON (Heb. קִישׁוֹן), river which drains the Jezreel Valley. The upper reaches are dry in summer and torrential in winter. Numerous small streams branching out from the hill of Moreh, the Jenin Valley, and elsewhere in the Jezreel Valley converge on the river. In the middle of its course, the Kishon has for the most part been drained. From Sha'ar ha-Amakim, between the Jezreel Valley and the plain of Acre–Haifa, it becomes a perennial river, flowing the last 6 mi. (10 km.) of its total length of 25 mi. (40 km.) along the Carmel and issuing into the Mediterranean approximately 2 mi. (3 km.) northeast of Haifa. Just before it runs into the sea, it reaches a width of 65 ft. (20 m.) Due to its swampy character, the Kishon was a serious obstacle to transport in early times. The irregular flow of the river gave rise to the Arabic name "The Cut River" (Nahr al-Muqattʿa).

The Kishon appears in connection with the defeat of Sisera by Barak and Deborah in the battle of Mt. Tabor (Judg. 4, 5), in which the Canaanite chariots mired in the swamps of the Kishon basin fell prey to the Israelite attack. As a result, the river is praised in the Song of Deborah (Judg. 5:21). The victory is also commemorated in Psalms 83:10. The prophets of Baal, defeated by Elijah on Mt. Carmel, were slaughtered on the banks of the river (1 Kings 18:40). Some scholars ascribe various paraphrases in the Bible to the Kishon: "the brook that is before Jokneam" (Josh. 19:11) and "the waters of Megiddo" (Judg. 5:19). The assumption by some scholars that the biblical Kishon is Wadi al-Bīra, which flows eastward from Mt. Tabor, on the basis of the nearby city of Kishion in the territory of Issachar, is usually rejected. The Kishon is called Pacida by Pliny (*Historia Naturalis* 5:19) and Cyson or Flum de Cayphas ("River of Haifa") by the Crusaders. Arab authors also refer to it as Nahr Hayfā. In the last decade, the issue of the river was deepened and a channel 984 ft. (300 m.) long, 164 ft. (50 m.) wide and 13 ft. (4 m.) deep was excavated to form an auxiliary harbor to Haifa, serving as a fishing harbor and depot.

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[Michael Avi-Yonah]

KISHON, EPHRAIM (formerly **Ferenc-Kishont**; 1924–2005), Israeli satirist, playwright, film writer, and director. Born in Budapest as Ferenc Hoffman, Kishon studied sculpture and painting. After the Nazi invasion of Hungary, he was deported to a concentration camp and managed to escape and survive in hiding in Budapest. "They made a mistake – they left one satirist alive," he wrote in his book "The Scapegoat." Kishon began publishing humorous essays and writing for the stage in post-war Communist Hungary. He immigrated to Israel in 1949 and acquired a mastery of Hebrew with remarkable speed, starting a regular satirical column in the easy-Hebrew daily, *Omer*, after only two years in the country. From 1952, he wrote a column (called "*Ḥad Gadya*") which became one of the most popular in the country. It appeared in the daily *Ma'ariv*, and was devoted largely to political and social satire but included essays of pure humor. His extraordinary inventiveness, both in the use of language and the creation of character, was applied also to the writing of innumerable sketches for theatrical revues. His full-length play, *Ha-Ketubbah*, "The Marriage Contract," had one of the longest runs in the Israeli Theater, while his feature films, *Sallah Shabbati* and *Blaumilch Canal*, which he wrote, directed, and produced, enjoyed international distribution. His sketches and plays have been performed, in translation, on the stages and television networks of several countries. Many titles and various collections of his humorous writings have appeared in Hebrew as well as in translation, the English translations including *Look Back Mrs. Lot* (1960), *Noah's Ark*, *Tourist Class* (1962), *The Sea-sick Whale* (1965), and two books on the Six-Day War and its aftermath, *So Sorry We Won* (1967), and *Woe to the Victors* (1969). Two collections of his plays have also appeared in Hebrew, *Shemo Holekh Lefanav* (1953) and *Ma'arkhonim* (1959). In many ways, Kishon, an immigrant who never got rid of his Hungarian accent, shaped the notion of "Israeliness." An ardent Israeli patriot, he was one of Israel's best unofficial ambassadors abroad, and spent the last years of his life in Switzerland and Tel Aviv. Kishon published the Hebrew novel "The Bald Truth" in 1998; a collection of articles, "Picasso's Sweet Revenge," in 2002; and many books for children. In 2002 he was awarded the Israel Prize for his lifetime achievement and for his contribution to society and state.

By 2005, 43 million copies of Kishon's books had appeared in translation worldwide, 33 million in Germany alone. In fact, Kishon's books played an important role in shaping the image of Israel and the Israeli in postwar Germany and kindled the interest of many readers and publishers in Israel and its modern literature. In 1978 he was honored with the Aachen "Carnival Society Against Deadly Seriousness" award, the most distinguished award in West Germany for humorous works.

For a list of Kishon's works in English translation, see Goell, Bibliography, and the ITHL website at www.ithl.org.il.

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[Getzel Kressel / Anat Feinberg (2nd ed.)]

KISLEV (Heb. כִּסְלֵו), the post-Exilic name of the ninth month of the Jewish year. The name occurs in Assyrian inscriptions, in biblical records (Zech. 7:1; Neh. 1:1), and frequently in the Apocrypha and in rabbinic literature (e.g., *Megillat Ta'anit*) with variants in Assyrian and Palmyrian inscriptions and Greek transcriptions. The etymology of the term has not yet been satisfactorily elucidated. Like *Marḥeshvan, it consists of 29 or 30 days, in either common or *leap years. The 1st of Kislev never falls on the Sabbath. In the 20th century, Kislev, in its earliest occurrence, extended from November 4th to December 3rd (4th), and, in its latest, from December 3rd to 31st (January 1st).

Historic days in Kislev comprise: (1) 1st of Kislev, the announcement of a series of public fasts in Judea in the intercession for rain in years of drought (Ta'an. 1:5); (2) 3rd of Kislev, the anniversary of a Hasmonean victory over the Greeks (Meg. Ta'an. 339); (3) 7th of Kislev, the anniversary of the death of Herod (*ibid.*); (4) 21st of Kislev, "the day of Gerizim," commemorating the decision by Alexander the Great in favor of the Temple of Jerusalem against the rival Samaritan claim for the Temple on Mount *Gerizim (Meg. Ta'an 339–40, with variance of the date in Yoma 69a and parallels); (5) 25th of Kislev to 2nd (3rd) of *Tevet, the festival of *Ḥanukkah.

[Ephraim Jehudah Wiesenberg]

KISLING, MOISE (1891–1953), French painter. Kisling was born in Cracow, where he studied at the Academy of Fine Arts. In 1910 he went to Paris and lived there in poverty until an anonymous benefactor, on the recommendation of the novelist Sholem *Asch, offered him a year's allowance. Influenced by Cézanne, Kisling painted sober, chromatically restrained landscapes of Britanny and the Pyrenees, and by 1914 was selling well. On the outbreak of World War I he enlisted in the French Legion, but after being wounded in action resumed his career in Paris. He became a close friend of *Modigliani, with whom he shared his studio. From 1941 to 1946 Kisling found refuge from the Nazis in the U.S., where he painted many portraits, including one of the pianist Artur Rubinstein. Kisling's serene and calm paintings reveal his character. Their hint of melancholy is a characteristic shared with nearly all the artists of Jewish origin who worked in Paris between the two world wars. Strongly outlined and painted carefully in cool, restrained colors, his figures have much in common with those of Picasso's early "Blue Period," but his work has perhaps a closer affinity to certain works of the New Objectivity school that flourished in the Weimar Republic. Kisling was fully immersed in the centuries-old *belle peinture* of classical France. His paintings, mostly landscapes, flower still lifes, and nudes, are characterized by his particular sensitivity.

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[Alfred Werner]

KISS, JÓZSEF (1843–1921), Hungarian poet. Kiss, one of Hungary's greatest literary figures, was born in Mezőcsát. His father was a shopkeeper, his mother the daughter of a Lithuanian cantor. The boy was sent first to the yeshivah of Miskolc and later to other Hungarian yeshivot, but he ran away. When he was 19 his mother died and his father failed in business, and he was compelled to become an itinerant *melammed* (Hebrew tutor). For three years he wandered through the Hungarian provinces – an experience on which he was later to draw for material about Magyar and Jewish peasant life. In 1867 Kiss tried unsuccessfully to persuade the Pest Jewish community to sponsor the publication of his first collection of verse. He, therefore, had it published privately, under the title *Zsidó dalok* ("Jewish Poems," 1868), but it was a failure. He then worked as a proofreader in a printing firm. In 1870 he became editor of the magazine *Képes világ* ("Picture World"), but it ceased publication in 1873. Under the pseudonym "Rudolf Szentesi" he then wrote a series of eight popular detective novels inspired by the works of Eugène Sue and entitled *Budapesti rejtelmek* ("Secrets of Budapest," 1874). From 1875 to 1876 he was an editor of *Zsidó Évkönyv*, Hungarian Jewish Yearbook.

Kiss first made an impact as a poet in 1875, when a public performance of his ballad *Simon Judit* ("Judith Simeon") was given good reviews by Ferenc Toldy and other Hungarian critics. This recognition, however, did nothing to alleviate his financial plight and he accordingly left Budapest for Temesvár, where he became secretary to the Jewish community (1876–82). After his arrival there another volume of his poetry was published, and as a result he was elected a member of the distinguished Petőfi literary society in 1877. By 1882 he had become a celebrity. His *Ünnepnapok* ("Holy Days," 1888) was commissioned by the Pest Jewish community, but repudiated by it because of its unacceptable religious views. He had a job for some time in an insurance company but in 1890, with the backing of some friends, launched a successful literary journal, *A Hét* ("The Week"). As its editor he gained a reputation as the leading figure in Hungarian literature. He reached the pinnacle of his fame with the publication of a bibliophile edition of his collected poems, and on his 70th birthday was honored with election to the exclusive Kisfaludy literary society.

József Kiss's early poems followed the tradition of 19th-century Hungarian verse, although their heroes were Jews on the road to assimilation rather than Hungarian nobles and peasants. The first professing Jew to achieve fame as a Hungarian writer, he broke new ground with poems about social change, moral degeneration, and the breakdown of traditional Jewish family life (*Szép Batoné*, 1877; *Simon Judit*, 1875; *Jehovah*, 1884). In other poems he describes the cruelty of economic life in the city: *Mese a varrógépről* ("Song of the Sewing Machine," 1884), and *De Profundis* (1876). The theme of antisemitism recurs in all his poems. During *Tisza-Eszlar and other blood libels he wrote *Az ár ellen* ("Against the Tide," 1882) and the pogroms in Russia occasioned *Uj Ahasvér* ("The New Ahasuerus," 1875) and *Odessza* (1905). In all these works he expressed a love for the Jew which has no equal among Hungarian Jewish poets. Echoes of the 1905 Russian Revolution and the idea of world revolution found their way into his poems *Knyaz Potemkin* (1906) and *Tüzek* ("Flames"). He commemorated his Lithuanian grandfather in the poem *Legendák* *a nagyapámról* ("Legends of My Grandfather," 1888). His later poems are "pearls" of Hungarian lyrics, examples of which are *Ó mért oly későn* ("Why So Late") and *Borongás* ("Brooding"). Important collections of his verse include *Kiss József összes költeményei* ("Collected Poems of Joseph Kiss," 1930), *Levelek hullása* ("When the Leaves Fall," 1908), *Esteledik, Alkonyodik* ("Nightfall, Twilight," 1920). English translations of his poems appear in W.N. Loew's *Modern Magyar Lyrics* (1926).

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[Baruch Yaron]

KISS AND KISSING. Although frequently mentioned in the Bible, kissing was regarded by the rabbis (Gen. R. 70:12) as obscene except in three instances: as a sign of respect – Samuel kissed Saul after he was anointed king (I Sam. 10:1); as a salutation if meeting after a long interval – Aaron kissed Moses (Ex. 4:27); and in farewell – Orpah kissed her mother-in-law Naomi (Ruth 1:14). R. Tanḥuma stated that kissing is also permissible between close relatives: Jacob kissed Rachel even before their marriage (Gen. 29:11). Kissing on the mouth was regarded as unhygienic and the custom of the Medes to kiss only the hand was praised by R. *Akiva (Ber. 8b).

According to the Talmud (BB 17a) the patriarchs and Aaron, Moses, and Miriam died from a kiss of God (*mitah bi-neshikah*). This was considered the highest privilege and was reserved for the pious (Ber. 8a; Maimonides, *Guide of the Perplexed*, part 3, 51 end).

In later rabbinical literature, it is stated that a man should avoid kissing women because this leads to lewdness. Leviticus 18:6 "None of you shall approach to any that is near of kin to him to uncover their nakedness" is interpreted by Maimonides to refer "not only to sexual relations but to embracing and kissing too" (*Sefer ha-Mitzvot*, Negative Commandment, no. 353). A husband should not kiss his wife during menstruation and after she has given birth (see **Niddah*); these periods last until the termination of the woman's "uncleanness" and her immersion in a *ritual bath. To kiss a woman other than one's mother, wife, daughter, or sister was regarded as indecent and was forbidden.

To kiss religious objects is a sign of reverence and is a traditional custom popularly observed by Orthodox Jews: when putting on the *tallit*, the fringes are kissed; so are the *tefillin*; the *mezuzah* on the doorpost is kissed when leaving or entering a room, as is the Torah scroll when it is carried in a procession in the synagogue. It is also customary to kiss a Bible or prayer book if it falls on the floor. In some communities, children kiss the hand of their father on Friday eve before receiving the parental blessing at the commencement of the Sabbath (**Kabbalat Shabbat*). Ḥasidic Jews kiss the hand of their *rebbe* and pious Jews the stones of the *Western Wall.

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KISSIN, HARRY, BARON (1912–1997), financier and patron of the arts. Kissin was born in Danzig of Russian-Jewish parents. After living in Switzerland he settled in England in 1933, and devoted himself to finance, becoming executive chairman of the Guinness Peat Group Ltd., merchant bankers, and chairman and director of other city companies. He was appointed chairman of the Institute of Contemporary Arts in 1969, and in 1973 director of the Royal Opera House, Covent Garden, and chairman of the Royal Opera Trust. Kissin was a longtime friend of Harold Wilson, who frequently consulted him on trade matters; in the 1950s, when Wilson's Labour Party was in opposition, Kissin used Wilson as a consultant. In 1974 Kissin was given a life peerage by Wilson. Kissin was a generous supporter of Jewish and Israeli causes and was a governor of the Hebrew University.

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[Michael Wallach / William D. Rubinstein (2nd ed.)]

KISSINGEN (Bad Kissingen), town in Bavaria, Germany. The presence of Jews in Kissingen during the 13th century is attested by Jewish victims of the *Rindfleisch massacres (1298). Nothing more is heard of them until 1650, when local butchers complained that Jews were illegally practicing their trade. Complaints against their growing number were lodged in 1798. In 1801 a cemetery was established; a synagogue was built in 1852 and another in 1902. The community numbered 181 (17% of the total population) in 1816; it then fluctuated between 300 and 350, reaching a temporary peak of 504 in 1925. In 1933 there were 344 (4%) Jews living in Kissingen; their number had been reduced to 63 through emigration by Dec. 17, 1939. Bad Kissingen was an important health resort and the catering and hotel business was largely in Jewish hands. Seckel Bamberger, the district rabbi (1902–32), established a large children's sanatorium in 1905; in 1919 and 1927 wards for women and the aged were added.

On Nov. 10, 1938, the synagogue was burned down, and numerous shops and hotels were looted. The rabbi's sons were bound together, paraded through the town, and forced to dig up sacred objects consigned to the *genizah* in the community's cemetery. In April 1942, 23 of the remaining 43 Jews were transported to *Izbica near *Lublin and others to Theresienstadt. The city possesses the *pinkas kahal* (1770–1820) and maintains the cemetery.

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KISSINGER, HENRY ALFRED (1923–), U.S. secretary of state, winner of the Nobel Peace Prize. Born into an Orthodox Jewish family in the Bavarian town of Furth, and named

Heinz Alfred, Kissinger immigrated to New York in 1938. He attended high school at night, working during the day at a shaving brush company. He went to the City College of New York at night for a degree in accounting, which was his father's occupation. In 1943 his schooling was interrupted when he was drafted into the Army. While serving at Camp Claiborne, La., Kissinger met and came under the influence of Fritz Kraemer, a German refugee who was 35 and had European doctorates in law and political science. For many years, Kraemer, a conservative of a Central European background, was Kissinger's guide and mentor, and helped forge his fundamental political beliefs. After getting out of the Army, Kissinger, on Kraemer's recommendation, enrolled at Harvard University, where he wrote an appreciative dissertation on the diplomacy of the 19th-century Austrian statesman Prince Metternich, who was famous for his policy of suppressing any movement threatening the existing dynastic order. Kissinger's academic years, in which he helped set up the Harvard International Seminar, provided a base for his career in world politics. The seminar brought aspiring younger leaders to Harvard for a summer of study under his direction and provided him with a network of contacts around the world in years to come. He headed the seminar from 1951 to 1969. He also founded and edited a quarterly magazine on foreign affairs, *Confluence*, which lasted six years.

While still at Harvard, he obtained an appointment as staff director of a study group on nuclear weapons and foreign policy at the Council on Foreign Relations in New York. His first book, *Nuclear Weapons and Foreign Policy*, published in 1957, argued against the doctrine of massive retaliation, which implied full-scale nuclear war, and in favor of a "limited nuclear war" that would not escalate into total destruction. The book became a bestseller. The council received all the royalties, Kissinger all the credit. Kissinger then became the director of a Special Studies Project to define the nation's critical choices. The project was sponsored by Nelson Rockefeller. In the report that emerged from the study, *International Security: The Military Aspect*, in 1958, Kissinger lent his name to the doctrine that it was necessary to develop tactical nuclear weapons in order to prepare to fight a limited nuclear war. Kissinger later backed away from that view, and in 1961, in *The Necessity for Choice*, he declared that a limited nuclear war was untenable in practice, and he supported a doctrine of conventional warfare, with the use of nuclear weapons as a last resort. Kissinger received tenure at Harvard in 1959 and the rank of full professor of government in 1962. Although he was a Democrat, he also served as a part-time consultant to Rockefeller, a Republican, who in 1959 had become governor of New York. Kissinger had a small role in the administration of John F. Kennedy as a part-time consultant, but when Rockefeller sought the Republican presidential nomination in 1964, Kissinger worked as an adviser.

In 1965, Ambassador Henry Cabot Lodge asked him to visit South Vietnam as a consultant. For the United States, the Vietnam War was in an early stage. Although Kissinger came away deeply pessimistic, he supported the war anyway. He believed the United States could not win, but neither could it withdraw. It was necessary, he believed, to negotiate a way out. Kissinger did not say how that was to be accomplished. As the war proceeded, poorly for the United States, Kissinger became increasingly critical, and he called it a "disaster," but he urged only an assessment of the procedures and concepts that had gotten the United States involved. In 1968, the president-elect, Richard M. Nixon, unexpectedly chose Kissinger to be his national security adviser. At the time, the two did not know each other. Kissinger was an ally of Rockefeller, who was disdainful of Nixon. There are several conflicting views, including Kissinger's own account, Nixon's, and those of other biographers, of how the two hooked up. The net result is that Kissinger became knowledgeable in the ways of Washington and soon had complete access to the Oval Office. Lawrence Eagleburger, a long-time close aide to Kissinger and acting secretary of state, told a Kissinger biographer: "Kissinger and Nixon both had degrees of paranoia. It led them to worry about each other, but it also led them to make common cause on perceived mutual enemies. They developed a conspiratorial approach to foreign policy management."

In 1973 Nixon appointed Kissinger secretary of state, the first Jew and the first person not of American birth to get such an appointment. He took the oath of office on a Saturday with his hand on a Christian Bible, a matter to which the Jewish community paid considerable attention. With the conclusion of the Vietnam War, Kissinger played a leading role in trying to solve the thorny problems of the Middle East, especially after the Yom Kippur War. For a period of 72 hours, the fate of Israel during the Yom Kippur War depended on an American president who was pro-Israel but who had frequently expressed antisemitic views, an American secretary of defense, James Schlesinger, who had become a Christian while at Harvard, and the first American secretary of state of Jewish origin, to use a term common then. Kissinger used the incomplete victory of Israel as an opportunity to defuse the Arab-Israeli conflict and establish a countervailing American presence in the Arab world that would serve as a check on, and ultimately a diminution of, Soviet influence in the area. He succeeded in bringing the fighting to a halt by means of a six-point cease-fire plan, face-to-face negotiations between Egypt and Israel, a peace conference in Geneva, and the reestablishment of diplomatic relations between Cairo and Washington.

Kissinger retained Nixon's loyalty, by most accounts, by being obsequious to the president. Kissinger wrote that it was "almost suicidal" to challenge Nixon and that "Nixon's favor depended on the readiness to fall in with the paranoid cult of the tough guy." In his memoirs, Kissinger explained that Nixon had a "powerful tendency to see himself surrounded by a conspiracy reaching even among his Cabinet colleagues." One Kissinger biographer, Walter Isaacson, told of how Nixon and Kissinger conspired to exclude, humiliate, or deceive Secretary of State William Rogers, Secretary of Defense Melvin Laird, and others. Nixon's presidency was pathological, Isaacson said, and his book shows that Kissinger was part of that pathology. The wiretaps of colleagues and friends that were secretly authorized or abetted by Nixon and Kissinger "ultimately led to the plumbers, which led to Watergate," Isaacson said. And Watergate, the break-in at the Democratic campaign headquarters and the cover-up orchestrated by the White House and top Cabinet officials, led Nixon to resign in 1974 before he would have been impeached. During that crucial period in the White House, Nixon got on his knees to pray, and Kissinger joined him.

Kissinger played a key role in all the foreign policy events of the Nixon administration: the negotiations with North Vietnam in Paris to end the war, the opening of China to the West, the overthrow of the regime of Salvador Allende Gossens in Chile, the invasion and secret bombing of Cambodia, the arms control agreements, and the 1973 Yom Kippur War.

In the early 1970s, Kissinger became involved in negotiations in Paris with Xuan Thuy and Le Duc Tho of North Vietnam to end the war in Vietnam that had dragged on for years. To the North Vietnamese, the goal was to get the United States to withdraw its forces from Vietnam while the North Vietnamese kept their forces in the South. The main achievement of the negotiations was effective capitulation to the North Vietnamese terms. To achieve this deal, Isaacson wrote, it was necessary to engineer the "appalling betrayal" of the South Vietnamese regime. When Nguyen Van Thieu, the South Vietnamese leader, refused to go along with his own political suicide and upset the deal, Kissinger advocated bombing North Vietnam to get amendments to the agreement that would appease the South Vietnamese. As Isaacson wrote: "Hanoi was bombed in order to force changes in a treaty that the U.S. had already seen fit to accept. The modifications for which these lives were lost were so minor that neither Nixon nor Kissinger would adequately remember what they were." The months and years of the negotiations, carried out in secrecy, were Kissinger's way of cutting out the State Department and the rest of the United States government from the negotiations, Isaacson said.

Later, Kissinger declared that the Watergate scandal had so weakened the Nixon presidency that it could not effectively continue the war for as long as he thought might be necessary. In 1973 Kissinger and Tho were awarded the Nobel Peace Prize. The award was so fatuous that Kissinger, in *Years of Upheaval*, the second volume of his memoirs, felt "ill at ease," he wrote, when he learned of it.

After Nixon was driven from office and Gerald Ford took his place, Kissinger urged the United States to become re-engaged in Vietnam, despite a vote in Congress to stop all aid. In 1975, when Ford brought the war to an official end, he concealed his public announcement from Kissinger, then still secretary of state. Nixon and Kissinger also engaged in elaborate secrecy in their negotiations with China. While the foreign ministries of China, Pakistan, Romania, and the Soviet Union all knew about the American initiative, the U.S. State Department did not.

In 1970 Chile elected a leftist, Allende, as president. Kissinger actively participated in plans to prevent him from taking office. Before the election, Kissinger had told the American ambassador "to reinforce with the [Chilean] military the serious consequences of an Allende presidency" and to "reiterate the assurances of continued American military assistance" if the military moved against him. Allende was the victim of a bloody military coup, after which a right-wing dictatorship under Gen. Augusto Pinochet seized power. Kissinger denied any responsibility for the coup on the ground that the Chilean military leaders had not consulted the United States in advance.

Kissinger hoped his cultivation of Soviet and Chinese leaders would pay off in greater success in handling regional crises, but this did not happen. The Communist regimes had no intention of reining in their Third World allies, and their continued aggression gradually undermined Kissinger's credibility. By 1976 he had become an electoral liability for President Ford, who had to fight accusations from both left and right that his secretary of state was pursuing an immoral foreign policy.

Kissinger also had a knack for cultivating the press and frequently granted exclusive or off-the-record interviews to favored journalists and columnists. He appeared on the cover of *Time* magazine 21 times during his heyday. In 1973 he came out first in a Gallup Poll of the most-admired Americans. That same year the contestants in the Miss Universe Pageant voted him "the greatest person in the world today."

After leaving Washington and returning to New York in 1977, Kissinger formed Kissinger Associates and gave advice on foreign policy to private corporations. He and the company undertook diplomatic assignments for clients like American Express, the Chase bank, Coca-Cola, and others and served as a foreign policy adviser to their chairmen. He also served as an eminence-gris for foreign affairs specialists. All of the more than two dozen national security advisers after Kissinger either worked for him or worked directly for someone who did, and by the early years of the 21st century Kissinger's followers had essentially become the modern foreign policy establishment.

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[Stewart Kampel (2nd ed.)]

KISSUFIM (Heb. כִּסּוּפִים; "Longings"), kibbutz in N.W. Negev, Israel, affiliated to Ha-Kibbutz ha-Me'uḥad, and founded in 1951 by settlers from South America. Later, immigrants from the United States and Canada, together with Israeli-born youth, made up the majority of members. Kissufim's agriculture was based on field crops, citrus groves, avocado plantations, dairy cattle, poultry, and organic farming. It also ran a guest house. Prior to the *Sinai Campaign (1956), and again before the *Six-Day War (1967), Kissufim played an important security role as an outpost opposite the Gaza Strip. In the mid-1990s the population was approximately 350, declining to 202 in 2002.

WEBSITE: www.kissufim.org.il.

[Efraim Orni]

KISTARCSA, transit camp 9 mi. (15 km.) N.W. of *Budapest, where Hungarian Jews were detained during World War II. In the 1930s opponents of Horthy's regime and left-wing political prisoners, including many Jews, were interned there. When Hungary was occupied by the Germans (March 19, 1944), a large number of Jews were immediately arrested and shipped to the *SS-run Kistarcsa camp administered by the Hungarian police. The camp commandant, Istvan Vasdenyei, behaved well and cooperated with Jewish organizations. A trainload of 1,800 Jewish prisoners was dispatched from Kistarcsa to *Auschwitz on April 29, 1944, followed by another 18 trainloads of similar size with Budapest's Jews. Information about the Auschwitz extermination center and the unbearable living conditions of its inmates had reached Hungary during the German invasion. The camp became more particularly known when *Eichmann and his assistants attempted various deceptions after Regent Horthy decided (June 26, 1944) to halt the deportations. Eichmann would not accept the Hungarian order for cessation and on July 14, he made an attempt to ship 1,500 Jews from Kistarcsa. His move was revealed to leaders of the Jewish Council in Budapest, who succeeded in alerting Horthy. On Horthy's intervention, the trainload was turned back before it could cross the border. Eichmann considered this move as a heavy blow to his extermination program and ordered a new transport. It was organized by *SS-Hauptsturmfuehrer* Franz Novak and his men, specially sent to Kistarcsa (July 19, 1944) to order the Hungarian camp commander to round up the 1,500 persons released from the previous transport for reshipment. They contended that "Eichmann will not stand for the flouting of his orders, not even by the Regent." This transport (of 1,200) reached Auschwitz. To prevent the Jewish leaders from again getting Horthy's intervention, Eichmann called them to his office, where his assistants Otto Hunsche and Hermann Krumey detained them all until the train crossed the border. About 1,000 Jews remained in the camp until it was dismantled on September 27, 1944, which coincided with Yom Kippur, and they were then sent to other labor camps. Eichmann's role was raised at his trial in Jerusalem as evidence of Eichmann's intransigence on matters of persecution of the Jews. On Feb. 3, 1965, Krumey and Hunsche were sentenced but released, as it was deemed they had already served sentence through previous custody. On July 11, 1968, Hunsche and Krumey were brought for retrial in Frankfurt. On August 29, 1969, the defendants were found guilty and sentenced: Krumey to life imprisonment with hard labor and Hunsche to 12 years imprisonment.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: G. Hausner, *Justice in Jerusalem* (1967), index; J. Lévai, *Black Book on the Martyrdom of Hungarian Jewry* (1964), passim; E. Landau (ed.), *Der Kastner-Bericht*… (1961), index. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** R. Braham, *The Politics of Genocide: The Holocaust in Hungary* (1981).

[Yehouda Marton]

KISTER, MEIR J. (1914–), Israel scholar of Arabic. Born in Mosciska, Poland, Kister received his Ph.D. from the Hebrew University of Jerusalem in 1964, from which year he was senior lecturer there. He became full professor in 1970. His scholarly endeavors dealt with the traditions of the tribes of the pre-Islamic period in the Arab peninsula, the *sira* of Muhammad, and the early *hadith* and its compilations. He was a member of the Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities. In 1981 he was awarded the Israel Prize in Arabic literature and Oriental studies.

KISVARDA (Hung. **Kisvárda**; Yid. **Kleinwardein**), town in N.E. Hungary. The Jewish community was organized in 1796; at first it was subordinate to the community of Nagykallo, but became independent in 1843 when Isaiah *Banet was appointed to the rabbinate. In the main, the members of the community were leaseholders, petty tradesmen, and peddlers. The synagogue was erected in 1801. The Jewish population rose from 118 in 1784 to 500 in 1840, and to 1,483 in 1860. The first rabbi of Kisvarda was Moses Mikhaelowitz (1818–24), who was succeeded by Moses b. Amram *Grunwald. Also among the rabbis of Kisvarda was Moses Ḥayyim Segal (1896–1942). Kisvarda had many *ḥadarim* and a yeshivah. From 1932 the Zionist movement had an active following. Dov Gruner, a member of the *Irgun Ẓev'ai Le'ummi executed by the Mandatory government in Palestine, was born in Kisvarda. The Jewish population numbered 3,454 in 1920, 3,658 in 1930, and 3,770 in 1941. In the revolution of 1918 the Jewish inhabitants were persecuted. From then on antisemitism increased: an armed mob attacked the Jews in 1938. In 1940 the Jews were enlisted into forced labor gangs and in 1942 they were deported to the front. After the German occupation (Spring 1944), a ghetto was set up and 7,000 Jews from the town and the neighboring villages were concentrated there. On May 25 and 27 the Jews were deported to the gas chambers of Auschwitz. After World War II, the community was reorganized. The Jewish population dwindled from 804 in 1946 to 650 in 1948 and 355 in 1953.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Y. Komlós, in: BJCE.

[Baruch Yaron]

KITAJ, R.B. (1932–), U.S. painter and printmaker. Born in Cleveland as Ronald Brooks, Kitaj took his surname from his stepfather, a Viennese refugee from the Nazi regime. From 1956 to 1958 he served in the Army as an illustrator, immediately after which he moved to England to study under the G.I. Bill at the Ruskin School of Art (1958–59). Before this time Kitaj received art training at the Cooper Union in New York (1950) and at the Academy of Fine Arts in Vienna (1951–52). In 1959 Kitaj transferred to the Royal College of Art in London. During this early period he experimented with a number of styles, including Surrealism and Abstract Expressionism, while taking life-drawing classes. His work often included collage elements and also a sense of collage through the painted juxtaposition of diverse subjects. In 1963 he had his first one-person exhibition at the Marlborough Gallery in London, the same year he began printmaking.

From the 1970s Kitaj painted highly personal subjects in an expressionistic manner, often of a Jewish nature. The recurrent figure of Joe Singer, the archetypal wandering Jew and a figure with strong autobiographical associations for the artist, appears for the first time in *The Jew, Etc.* (1976–79, collection of the artist). The exilic condition indeed preoccupies Kitaj, who wrote a book on the subject, *The First Diasporist Manifesto.*

In the early 1980s, Kitaj explored visual responses to the Holocaust. Seeking a symbol for the Jews akin to the Christian cross, in 1985 Kitaj began to utilize a chimney in reference to the ovens in which Nazis burned Jews. The eight pictures in the series that explored this iconography bear the overarching title *Passion*. One of the best-known *Passion* images, a picture of a train passenger titled *The Jewish Rider* (1984–85, Astrup Fearnley Museum of Modern Art, Oslo, Norway), plays on Kitaj's knowledge of art history; the canvas is based partly on *The Polish Rider* (c. 1655, Frick Collection, New York), a work once attributed to Rembrandt. Other works by Kitaj that adapt an artistic precedent and explore Jewish identity include *The Jewish School* (*Drawing a Golem*) (1980, private collection, Monte Carlo), a painting derived from a 19th-century antisemitic German engraving titled *Die Judenschule*.

Following scathing reviews of his 1994 retrospective at the Tate Gallery, London, and the death of his wife soon after, Kitaj left England and moved to Los Angeles in 1997. Among Kitaj's many impressive accolades, in 1985 he became the first American since John Singer Sargent to be elected to the Royal Academy in London.

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[Samantha Baskind (2nd ed.)]

KITE (Heb. דָּאָה *da'ah*, דַּיָּה *dayyah*; AV, vulture; JPS "kite"), a bird of prey of the genus *Milvus*, of which two species inhabit Israel: the *M. milvus* which in limited numbers winters in the country, and the dark brown *M. migrans* which is indigenous to Israel. The kite is found in various places in the country, in particular near refuse: it feeds on carcasses, and preys on mice and even hares. The Pentateuch enumerates among the birds prohibited as food the *da'ah, dayyah, ra'ah*, and *ayyah* (Lev. 11:14; Deut. 14:13). On these the Talmud quotes two opinions, the one that all four are synonyms for a single genus of birds, the other that the first two are identical (Ḥul. 63b). The name *dayyah* or *da'ah* refers to the gliding flight of the kite as it searches for prey or a carcass. The Talmud speaks of a *dayyah* that snatched meat from the market or from a person's hands (BM 24b; TJ, Shek. 7:3, 50c). The presence of flocks of kites where there are corpses and refuse is mentioned by Isaiah (34:15).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Lewysohn, Zool, 167 f., no. 196; J. Feliks, *The Animal World of the Bible* (1962), 67.

[Jehuda Feliks]

KITEL (Yid. "gown"), white garment worn in some Ashkenazi rites by worshipers during the prayer service on the High Holidays (*Rosh Ha-Shanah and the *Day of Atonement), and by the *ḥazzan* at the *Musaf* service on *Shemini Aẓeret*, the eighth day of *Sukkot (when the prayer for rain is recited) and the first day of *Passover (when the prayer for dew is recited). It is also worn, in some rites, by the person conducting the *seder on Passover eve and by the groom during the *marriage ceremony. Formerly a white garment was worn every Sabbath and on all solemn occasions (TJ, RH 1:3). The association of the color white with the notion of purity (and hence also forgiveness of sins) and solemn joy contributed to the special use of the *kitel* on all these occasions. The day of marriage is considered a day of atonement for the groom and the bride, and the idea of atonement and penitence is also associated with that of death. The white *kitel* is therefore also part of the raiment in which the dead are clothed for burial. In some communities, the *kitel* is also called *sargenes*, either because it was made of a material called *serge* or *sericum* (see: Rashi to Shab. 77b), or because its origin from the German word *Sarg* (coffin) denotes a garment of death.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Eisenstein, Dinim, 364.

KITRÓN (Kostrinsky), MOSHE (1909–1972), Argentinean Zionist leader and educator. Kitrón was born in Pinsk, Belarus, and immigrated to Argentina in 1927. There he became a teacher in Jewish schools and was the secretary of the Zionist Po'alei Zion Party, dealing especially with its relations with the Argentinean Socialist Party. Having given up an academic career for ideological reasons, he became an intellectual on the political scene; Kitrón published a large number of articles in party periodicals and in other publications in a number of languages and countries. He also translated David Ben-Gurion's writings into Spanish and contributed to encyclopedias. In 1934 he founded the Zionist pioneer youth movement Dror and was its ideological leader. The members of the movement founded kibbutz Mefallesim in Israel in 1949. In the same year Kitrón made *aliyah* with his family. In Israel, Kitrón was secretary of Mapai in Tel Aviv and an official member of its inner circle, heading its department for Oriental Jews – a highly sensitive position during the 1950s waves of immigration. Kitrón also served as a liaison between immigrants from Latin America and the Israeli milieu. He served as director of the Educational and Cultural Center of the Histadrut ha-Ovedim ha-Kelalit (Workers Union), creating contacts with Latin American worker's organizations. His career declined during the 1960s, as he failed to find his place in Israel as an ideologist and intellectual. His wife, Ruth Gold, was an outstanding teacher and leader in the Jewish schools of Argentina.

[Efraim Zadoff (2nd ed.)]

KITSEE, ISADOR (1845–1931), U.S. inventor. Born in Vienna, Kitsee went to the U.S. in 1867 and became city chemist in Cincinnati, Ohio. In 1886 he moved to Philadelphia. Kitsee's inventions approach 2,000 in number. They include Philadelphia's first trolley streetcar, a refrigerator car, railroad signals, coal breaker, underground telegraph, phonograph disc, color motion pictures, improvements in sulfuric acid manufacture, and methods of extracting gold from its ores. In 1889 he sold a wireless patent to Marconi and in 1912 patented a device for the use of speech with motion pictures.

°**KITTEL, RUDOLF** (1853–1929), German Bible scholar. Kittel taught Bible and theology at the universities of Tübingen (1879–81), Stuttgart (1881–88), Breslau (1888–98), and Leipzig (1898–1924). He was the father of the New Testament scholar Gerhard Kittel (1853–1929). Rudolph Kittel demonstrated antisemitic tendencies in private and popular expression, but these did not affect his scholarship. One of his closest aides in the preparation of *Biblia Hebraica* (see below) was Isser Kahn, an observant Lithuanian Jew. Kittel considered himself a follower of the *Wellhausen School but departed from its teachings in various aspects. In his monographs on biblical history and religion Kittel helped establish the importance of supplementing the results of internal criticism with extrabiblical evidence. In his *Geschichte des Volkes Israel* (3 vols., 1922–28), a second edition of *Geschichte der Hebräer* (2 vols., 1888–92; *A History of the Hebrews*, 2 vols., 1895–96), he stated that Israel's unique religious expression resulted from the tension between a strict Yahweh oriented minority fashioned by Moses and a Yahweh cult assimilated to the Baal worship of the Canaanites and supported by the mass of the people who were unable to grasp the full implications of the Sinaitic covenant. The Mosaic religion was kept alive in certain circles until it became the official national expression through the triumphant teachings of the prophets.

Kittel published commentaries on Kings (1902), Chronicles (1902), Psalms (1929), and Isaiah 1–39 (with A. Dillman, 1898). He wrote on the contributions of the Hellenistic mystery religions to Hebrew wisdom literature (1924), on warfare in biblical times (1918), and on biblical theology (1899). He also edited *Beitraege zur Wissenschaft vom Alten [und Neuen] Testament* from 1908 to 1920. He is remembered as the originator of the *Biblia Hebraica*, a work which presents the Masoretic Text of the Bible along with the variants of the versions and other manuscripts; it has become a classic text book used in seminaries and universities. First and second editions of the *Biblia Hebraica* (1905–06 and 1912) provide the *textus receptus* of *Jacob ben Ḥayyim ibn Adonijah's edition of 1525–26 in the Second Rabbinical Bible. The third edition of *Biblia Hebraica*, published posthumously in 1937 and edited together with P. *Kahle, is based upon the older and more reliable Ben Asher codex of Leningrad. This was followed by the *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia* (1967–77). The *Biblia Hebraica Quinta* has begun to appear under the auspices of the Deutsche Bibelgesellschat (2004ff).

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[Zev Garber / S. David Sperling (2nd ed.)]

KITTIM (Heb. כִּתִּים, כִּתִּיִּים, the final *mem* possibly a suffix and not a plural ending), the name of a place and its inhabitants. In the table of nations Kittim is mentioned among the sons of Javan and the brothers of *Elishah (Gen. 10:4). Josephus (Ant. 1:128) identified Kittim with Kition, or Kitti, a Phoenician city on the island of *Cyprus near present-day Larnaca, an identification accepted by most scholars. Many scholars identify Elishah with Cyprus, or with part of it, and in Ezekiel 27:6–7, Elishah is mentioned along with Kittim as a place which traded with Tyre. Kittim is used in connection with Tyre and Sidon in Isaiah 23:1, 12. In these verses Kittim refers not only to a city but also to a land (Isa. 23:1) and to islands (Ezek. 27:6). Jeremiah 2:10 mentions isles of Kittim as the symbol of the western extremity of the world. Apparently the Israelites used the name Kittim to include the islands of the Aegean Sea and even the coastal areas of the Mediterranean Sea (Jos., Ant., 1:128). There is no foundation for the opinion of some scholars that ancient Kittim is in Asia Minor, but various passages in the Bible indicate a connection between Kittim and Assyria. There is an obscure verse in the prophecies of Balaam, which seems to say: "Ships come from the quarter of Kittim; they subject Ashur, subject Eber. They, too, shall perish forever" (Num. 24:24). The proximity of Kittim to Assyria in this verse seems to have been the cause of an alteration in the text of Ezekiel 27:6. The phrase *bat-Ashurim* in the masoretic text of this verse probably originally read *bi-t'ashurim* "with cypress(?) wood" (cf. Isa. 41:19; 60:13), and it is this wood that Ezekiel describes as brought "from the coastlands of Kittim." The very obscure statement of Isaiah 23:12–13 seems to say that Assyria conquered Kittim. In fact, Sargon II of Assyria had a stele erected at Larnaca in Cyprus and received tributes from its kings. (For an interpretation of Isa. 23:12–13 see Duhm in bibl., and the standard commentaries.) It is evident that Daniel's prediction, "But ships of Kittim shall come against him…" (11:30), is based upon a midrash on Baalam's words which identifies the Kittim with the Romans and Assyria with the Seleucid dynasty of Syria. The identification of Kittim with the Romans was accepted by the Jews in later generations (Targ. Onk., Num. 24:24 "Romans") and served as a basis for eschatological thought in succeeding generations. In I Maccabees 1:1, Macedonia is called Kittim (cf. 8:5), and apparently even this appellation is derived from the Midrashim on Balaam’s utterances that are mentioned above.

[Amos Hakham]

(1) The War of the Kittim

In a number of Qumran texts the Kittim appear as the last gentile world power to oppress the people of God. In the *Habakkuk Commentary* from Cave 1 the prophet’s “Chaldeans” are understood to be the Kittim, sent by God to execute His judgment on the godless rulers in Judea but destined, because of their unconscionable rapacity, to be the objects of His judgment in their turn. In a fragmentary commentary on Isaiah from Cave 4, the advance and downfall of the Assyrians (Isa. 10:22ff.) is interpreted as the “war of the Kittim”; an invader who marches from Acre to the precincts of Jerusalem is probably the leader of the Kittim. The “war of the Kittim” is described in detail in the War Scroll; early in this document the sons of light take the field against “the bands of the Kittim of Asshur and with them as helpers those who deal wickedly against the covenant” (1 QM 1:2) and after dealing with them proceed against “the [king] of the Kittim in Egypt” (1 QM 1:4; see *War Scroll). While the word “king” in this last quotation is the conjectural restoration of a lacuna in the text, the context suggests that this is an interpretation of “the king of the south” of Daniel 11:40. Later in the scroll, in what may be an annex to the main work, the fighting men “encamp against the king of the Kittim and the whole host of Belial” (1 QM 15:2). The “Kittim of Asshur” probably had their base in Syria; but Kittim and Asshur seem to be used interchangeably in the scroll: thus, when the sons of Belial are destroyed, “Asshur shall come to his end; none shall help him [a quotation from Dan. 11:45] and the dominion of the Kittim shall pass away, that wickedness may be brought low with no survivor and that there may be no deliverance for all the sons of darkness” (1 QM. 1:6ff.). In such a passage Asshur (Assyria), as in Isaiah, is probably a term to denote the gentile oppressor of Israel, whereas Kittim indicates more precisely where this oppressor comes from. If the arms and tactics specified in the War Scroll are of Roman type, as Y. Yadin argues, the Kittim would be the Romans, as in Daniel 11:30. Likewise, in the *Nahum Commentary*, Jerusalem remains uncaptured by the kings of Greece “from Antiochus (VII) to the rise of the rulers of the Kittim,” who are most probably the Romans.

(2) In the Habakkuk Commentary

The same conclusion is probably indicated by the evidence of the *Habakkuk Commentary*. There the Kittim are a world power, pursuing a career of conquest and empire from the west. In their irresistible advance they overwhelm all who stand in their way and bring them under their own rule. They take possession of many lands and plunder the cities of the earth; they carry on negotiations with other nations in a spirit of cunning and deceit; they lay their subversive plans in advance and tolerate no opposition in carrying them into execution. Their lust for conquest is insatiable; they mock at kings and rulers; fortress after fortress falls before them. Their leaders follow one another in quick succession: “they come one after another to destroy the earth.” This rapid replacement happens “by the counsel of a guilty house.” They exact tribute so heavy as to improverish the lands which have to pay it; their methods of warfare do not spare men, women, or the tiniest children. The prophet’s description of the Chaldeans as catching men like fish and then paying divine honors to their nets is said to denote the Kittim’s practice of offering sacrifice to their standards and worshiping their weapons. This last feature of the Kittim is reminiscent of the fact that Roman military standards were treated as sacred objects, particularly the eagle, the legionary standard, which was kept in a special shrine in the camp and was regarded as affording sanctuary. Titus’ victorious legionaries in 70 C.E. offered sacrifice to their eagles against the East Gate of the Temple; but this action was not necessarily an innovation. The successors of Alexander the Great may have had a similar practice, but the evidence in their case is scanty and ambiguous as compared with that for the Romans. While features in the commentator’s account of the Kittim could describe other imperial conquerors, the overall impression is particularly appropriate to the Romans. This conclusion is the more confirmed when comparing the commentator’s description of the Kittim with the anti-Roman propaganda disseminated throughout the Middle East between 88 and 63 B.C.E. by Mithridates VI of Pontus, of which a sample is provided in his letter to Arsaces XII of Parthia preserved in a fragment of Sallust’s *Histories*. The relevant section of the *Habakkuk Commentary* is almost an echo of this.

[Frederick Fyvie Bruce]

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KITTSEE, ḤAYYIM BEN ISAAC (c. 1772–1850), Hungarian rabbi whose family name was originally Schlesinger. He was born in Alt-Ofen (Óbuda) where his father, his main teacher, was head of the *bet din*. He also studied under Moses *Mintz, the local rabbi. He served as a *dayyan* in Veszprém, and from about 1824 as rabbi of Albertirsa, near Budapest. He vigorously opposed the religious reforms which were advocated in his time. He took part in the rabbinical conference at Paks (see *Hungary) in 1844 and was among the signatories to the protest against the Brunswick Conference held in that year. Kittsee was regarded as one of the greatest contemporary Hungarian talmudists and left 60 works in manuscript on all branches of talmudic lore. Of these, *Oẓar Ḥayyim* (pt. 1, 1913; pt. 2, 1962), responsa on Shulḥan Arukh, *Oraḥ Ḥayyim* and *Yoreh De’ah*, and talmudic novellae and expositions have been published.

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[Nathaniel Katzburg]

KITTSEE, JEHIEL MICHAEL BEN SAMUEL (c. 1775–1845), Hungarian talmudic scholar. His family name was originally Figdor, an abbreviation of Avigdor, the name of the founder of the family who lived in the small town of Kittsee near Pressburg, after which he came to be called. He studied under Mordecai *Banet. He was a businessman, well known for his generosity, but spent most of his time in study. His contemporary, Moses *Sofer, described him as "one of the leading notables of our community whom God has greatly blessed and filled with his bounty … despite which his preoccupation all his life has been with the Torah, business being secondary" (quoted in *Shalmei Nedavah*, pt. 1 (1838), 2a). Kittsee is the author of *Shalmei Nedavah*: part 1 (Pressburg, 1838), talmudic novellae; part 2 (*ibid.*, 1842), novellae on the Talmud, on the Shulḥan Arukh, *Yoreh De'ah* and *Even ha-Ezer*, and aggadic sayings. Kittsee married the daughter of Mendel Jacob, known as Kopel Teven, a leader of Hungarian Jewry in the 18th century.

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[Nathaniel Katzburg]

KITZINGEN, city in Bavaria, Germany. In 1147 the local Jewish community was subordinate to that of *Wuerzburg, but soon after, it attained independent status. Eleven Jews were tortured and killed following a *blood libel in 1243; 15 died during the *Rindfleisch massacres (1298); in 1336 many lost their lives in the *Armleder uprising; the *Black Death persecutions (1349) finally annihilated the community. In 1490, 1529, and 1538, returning Jews were granted letters of protection and a synagogue was built in the 16th century (demolished in a World War II air raid). Expulsion was narrowly averted in 1516 and 1608. In 1641 there were 63 Jews living in Kitzingen, but they were subject to severe restrictions and exactions. A number of renowned scholars and rabbis bore the city's name. Persecutions in 1778 were followed by total expulsion in 1798. After the emancipation (1861) Jewish wine and cattle merchants resettled in the city; the community numbered 57 in 1867, 337 (4.8% of the total population) in 1880, and 478 in 1910. Rabbi E. Adler (1868–1911) was also district rabbi (from 1871). He was followed in office by R. Joseph Wohlgemuth (1914–35). Fourteen social, religious, and cultural organizations were active in the strictly Orthodox community.

On *Kristallnacht* (Nov. 10, 1938), the second synagogue (consecrated in 1883) was desecrated and the scrolls burned; many homes were ransacked. Of the 360 Jews in the city in 1933, 192 emigrated, including 84 to the U.S. and 52 to Palestine, and 111 left for other German cities. Of those in the city in 1942, 76 were deported to *Izbica Lubelska and 19 to *Theresienstadt.

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KLABIN, Brazilian family. The founder, MAURÍCIO (1860–1923), born in Posvol, Lithuania, established himself in São Paulo in 1887. His brothers and other members of the family (named by marriage Lafer and Kadischevitz) followed later. In 1890 the firm Klabin Irmãos & Cia. was founded. The family began with a small paper factory (1906), followed by Cia. Fabricadora de Papel (1909) and in the paper and cellulose manufacturing line by Indústria Klabin do Paraná de Celulose S/A, in Monte Alegre (1941), the largest newsprint plant in Latin America. A factory specializing in corrugated cardboard opened in 1950, and, as a result of basic research in available raw material, the Papel & Celulose Catarinense plant followed in 1961. The family pioneered in the field of floriculture, planting eucalyptus and American pines, and also raised cattle. A small factory, Manufatura Nacional de Porcelana (acquired 1931), producing china and small insulators, became one of Latin America's largest tile-producing factories. In the synthetic textile field, the group acquired control of Cia. Brasileira de Sintéticos in São Paulo. Members of the family also pioneered in Jewish life. Mauricio was head of the budding Jewish community of São Paulo. Considered the first Zionist in the city, he was also the first Brazilian to sponsor a Jewish National Fund forest in Palestine. Together with his family, he donated the first modern synagogue to the community (Beth El), generally called the "Russian temple" or the "Klabin synagogue," and the first Jewish cemetery in the suburb of Vila Mariana, where the family had extensive land holdings. His wife, BERTA, was a founder of the first Jewish women's organization in São Paulo, Sociedade Beneficente das Damas Israelitas, in 1915. WOLFF KADISCHEVITZ-KLABIN developed many new sectors of the Klabin group and was active in Jewish activities in Rio de Janeiro. MIGUEL LAFER founded the Jewish school and college Renascença.

[Alfred Hirschberg]

KLACZKO, JULIAN (**Judah**; 1825–1906), Polish author, critic, and historian. Klaczko was raised in the atmosphere of the Lithuanian Haskalah and displayed his precocious talent as a poet with *Duda'im…* (1842), a volume of Hebrew poems, mainly translations and pastiches. He also wrote Hebrew versions of two poems by *Mickiewicz, whose correspondence he later edited. In 1840 Klaczko moved to Germany and then settled in Paris, where he contributed to the *Revue des deux mondes* and conducted an increasingly violent anti-Prussian campaign in support of Polish nationalism. By this time Klaczko had converted to Catholicism. He remained in France from 1849 until 1869, when he accepted an official appointment in Vienna, later serving in the Galician and Imperial Austrian parliaments. There he advocated a Franco-Austrian alliance against Prussian expansionism. From 1888 Klaczko lived in Cracow, associating with the conservative writers and politicians. Although he edited the influential émigré periodical *Wiadomości polskie* in Paris (1858–60) and published a collection of his Polish works (1865), Klaczko wrote mainly in French. He is best remembered for three historical studies, *Lex deux chanceliers: Gortschakoff et Bismarck* (1876), *Quatre causeries florentines* (1880), and *Rome et la Renaissance* (1903).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: S. Tarnowski, *Julian Klaczko* (Pol., 1908); R. Brandstaetter, *Tragedja Juliana Klaczki* (1933).

[Moshe Altbauer]

KLAGENFURT, capital of Carinthia, S. Austria. A *Judendorf* now within the bounds of the city was mentioned in 1162, and in 1279 a Jewish quarter outside a city gate was recorded. In 1335, 36 Klagenfurt Jews were listed as taxpayers. When in 1496 the Carinthian estates reimbursed *Maximilian I for the loss of Jewish taxes after the expulsion of the Jews from the region, the city contributed its share. A street was called *Judengasse* until 1829. In 1783 an imperial decree permitted Jews to attend the fairs at Klagenfurt and they resettled in the city in the second half of the 19th century. A **Kultusverein* was founded in 1886 and a *ḥevra kaddisha* in 1888. A Jewish cemetery was consecrated in 1895 (enlarged in 1930) and an existing building was converted into a synagogue in 1905. The congregation was under the jurisdiction of the *Graz community and a separate community was not constituted until 1922. In 1869, 16 Jews lived in the city, increasing to 90 in 1880, 126 in 1899 (0.6% of the total population), 180 in 1934, and after the Anschluss (1938) 116 families. Many then left for Vienna. On *Kristallnacht* (Nov. 10, 1938), the interior of the synagogue and several Jewish homes were destroyed. By this time the Jewish shops had already been "Aryanized." Forty Jews were arrested and sent to *Dachau concentration camp. The Jews remaining in the city were deported to the Nazi extermination camps. The few Jews living in Klagenfurt after World War II (ten in 1968) were affiliated to the Graz community. The synagogue was reopened in 1961. The oldest gravestone in the Danube region, that of Shabbetai ha-Parnas, was placed in the Klagenfurt museum. Joseph Babad, rabbi of the community until the Anschluss, published several historical essays, including one on the history of Carinthian Jewry (in HJ, 7 (1945), 13–28, 193–204).

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[Meir Lamed]

KLANG, HEINRICH (1875–1954), Austrian judge and jurist. Born in Vienna, Klang was an expert on Austrian civil law and the editor of *Kommentar zum Allgemeinen Buergerlichen Gesetzbuch* (2 vols. in 4, 1931–35), the last complete commentary on the Austrian civil code. He was also the author of works on the laws of landlord and tenant. Following the Anschluss of 1938, Klang was pensioned and in 1942 was deported to Theresienstadt. On his release in 1945 he returned to Vienna where he was chairman of one of the divisions of the supreme court and honorary professor at the University of Vienna.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Neue oesterreichische Biographie*, vol. 14, 178–86. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** NDB, vol. 11 (1977), 705 f.

[Josef J. Lador-Lederer]

KLAPPER, PAUL (1885–1952), U.S. educator and administrator. Born in Jassy, Romania, he was brought to the United States at the age of seven. From 1907 he taught education at City College of New York, where he rose to the rank of full professor in 1921 and dean of its School of Education, 1921–37. In 1937 Klapper became the first president of Queens College which developed rapidly under his direction. The college library is named for him. Upon his retirement in 1948 he became dean of teacher education of the Board of Higher Education of New York. Klapper's philosophy of education and theories of pedagogy influenced educational practices in schools across the nation. He was widely known as a firm opponent of formal curricula and traditional modes of discipline. He was concerned with raising the economic status of teachers and giving them the dignity that he felt the profession deserved. Klapper's publications include: *College Teaching* (1920); *Principles of Educational Practice* (1912); *Teaching Children to Read* (1946); *Teaching English in Elementary and Junior High Schools* (1925); *Contemporary Education…* (1929); *Childhood Readers* (1939).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *New York Times*, March 26, 1952, 29; *ibid.* (March 27, 1952), 28; *ibid.* (May 18, 1952), 11.

[Ernest Schwarcz]

KLAR, BENJAMIN MENAḤEM (1901–1948), Israeli Hebrew scholar. Klar, born in Linets, Ukraine, was educated at the university and the Jewish Theological Seminary in Vienna. In 1936 he emigrated to Palestine and taught at the Mizrachi Teachers' Seminary in Jerusalem, and from 1944 he taught Hebrew language and grammar at the Hebrew University. He was among those killed by Arabs in the convoy to Mount Scopus on April 13, 1948.

Klar's main interest was in medieval and modern Hebrew poetry. In 1936 he published a book on Bialik in German, *Bialik, Leben fuer ein Volk*. A volume of studies, *Meḥkarim ve-Iyyunim be-Lashon, be-Safah u-ve-Sifrut* ("Researches and Studies in Language and Literature"), published posthumously in 1954, contained parts of an autobiography. Other works by Klar include editions of the chronicle of *Aḥimaaz, *Megillat Aḥima'az* (1944–45), and early Hebrew poetry in Italy; of Moses b. Isaac's *Sefer ha-Shoham* (1947); and letters and documents relating to Ḥayyim ibn *Attar, *Rabbi Ḥayyim ibn Attar* (1950). Klar completed and issued with an introduction S. Ginzburg's edition of M.Ḥ. Luzzatto's poetry, *Sefer ha-Shirim* (1945); he published Z. Jawitz's letters, *Leket Ketavim li-Ze'ev Jawitz* (1943), and D. Yellin's history of Hebrew grammar, *Toledot Hitpatteḥut ha-Dikduk ha-Ivri* (1945). He also translated selected poems of Goethe, *Mi-Shirei Goethe*, and the commentary on Genesis from J.H. Hertz's English edition of the Pentateuch, *Targum Perusho ha-Angli shel R. Yosef Ẓevi Hertz* (1942).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: M. Zulay, in: KS, 24 (1947/48), 243ff. (bibliography); R. Avinoam (ed.), *Gevilei Esh*, 2 (1958), 178ff., 634; Kressel, Leksikon, 2 (1967), 756f.

KLARMAN, YOSEF (1909–1985), Zionist leader. Klarman was born in Busko Zdroj, Russian Poland, and was active in the Revisionist movement from his youth. In 1934 he was elected to its Executive and was secretary-general and editor of its journal *Unzer Welt.*

Settling in Ereẓ Israel in 1940, he was appointed Revisionist representative on the Presidium of the Jewish Agency's Rescue Committee for European Jews, and was active in Turkey in 1943–44. In 1947 he helped to organize the departure from Romania of the ships *Pan York* and *Pan Crescent*.

He was for many years chairman of the World Executive of Ḥerut ha-Ẓohar. In 1965 he was appointed a member of the Executive of the Jewish Agency and in 1968, head of its Youth Aliyah Department, holding the position until 1977.

°**KLARSFELD, BEATE AUGUSTE** (née **Kunzel**; 1939–), anti-Nazi, Nazi hunter responsible for bringing Klaus *Barbie to justice, pro-Israel activist. Beate Klarsfeld was born in Berlin to a Protestant family, her father had served in the Wehrmacht. She began her working career as a secretary. In 1960 she went to Paris, where in 1963 she married a Jewish lawyer, Serge *Klarsfeld, a Holocaust survivor.

Beate Klarsfeld took a deep interest in the Holocaust and into the efforts necessary to locate Nazi war criminals and bring them to justice. Together with her husband she wrote in 1967 a series of articles in the newspaper *Combat* in which they attacked Chancellor Kurt Kiesinger of Germany for his Nazi past. For this series Beate was dismissed by the French-German Youth Office.

In November 1968, at a Christian Democrat party rally, she went to the podium and slapped the chancellor, calling him a "Nazi criminal." For this act Mrs. Klarsfeld was sentenced to one year in prison. She successfully fought against the appointment of a former Nazi diplomat, Ernst Aschenbach, to the Commission of the European Economic Community as representative of the German Federal Republic and led a four-year campaign in which she succeeded in having the Bundestag ratify the Franco-German judicial convention of 1971, authorizing the trial in Germany of directors of the Nazi police system who had been active in France. Beate Klarsfeld devoted other efforts toward the bringing to justice of Kurt Lischka, one of the persons responsible for the deportation of the Jews of France; he was convicted in 1980 and sentenced to a long prison term.

As a Nazi hunter she had three tasks: to locate the war criminal, to convince the country in which he resided to deport him, and to convince the appropriate country to try them. Beate Klarsfeld carried her endeavors to South America, where she worked undauntedly even in the face of dictatorships: in 1972 in Bolivia, where she located Klaus Barbie; in 1977 in Argentina and Uruguay, where she protested repressive measures and the use of torture; and in 1984 in Chile and 1985 in Paraguay. In 1986 she campaigned vociferously against Kurt Waldheim's candidacy for president of Austria because of his Nazi past. She was arrested in Warsaw in 1970 and in Prague in 1971 for protesting against antisemitism and repression.

Klarsfeld also held personal protests in Middle Eastern countries. She went to Damascus after the Six-Day War to obtain a list of the Israeli prisoners held by the Syrians and to protest the conditions of the Syrian Jews, and in 1974 was arrested in Rabat at the October summit meeting of the Arab countries for distributing tracts calling for peace between Israel and the Arab states. In early 1986 she spent a month in west Beirut, offering to substitute herself for the Lebanese Jewish hostages held by terrorists.

Beate and Serge Klarsfeld were the targets of a much publicized car bombing at their home in France on July 9, 1979. No one was in the car when the bomb went off and no one was injured in the blast. The ODESSA organization took credit for the attack and demanded that they stop pursuing Nazis.

The Klarsfelds' anti-Nazi campaign was dramatized in a 1986 film titled *Nazi Hunter: The Beate Klarsfeld Story* starring Farrah Fawcett as Beate and Tom Conti as Serge. She and her husband have been the recipients of numerous prestigious awards in recognition of the importance of their activities.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: B. Karsfeld: *A Portrait in the First Person* (video recording, 1994).

KLARSFELD, SERGE (1932–), lawyer, historian, Nazi-hunter, and documenter of the Holocaust. Klarsfeld was born in Bucharest and moved with his family to France as a child. While he, his mother, and sister remained in hiding in Nice, his father Arno allowed himself to be discovered so his family, which was hiding behind a wall, would not be found. Arrested there in 1943, he was deported to Auschwitz where he died. His son never forgot cowering behind a wall, unable to defend himself, defend his family, or protect his father. Klarsfeld has a varied academic background with a degree in history from the Sorbonne, a law degree from the Paris Faculty of Law, and a diploma from the Institute of Political Science in Paris. While a student he met his wife, Beate *Klarsfeld.

In the middle part of his career Klarsfeld devoted himself to seeking out Nazi criminals who were successful in evading punishment and seeing that they were brought to justice. Working as a team, he and his wife, a German non-Jew whose father had served in the Wehrmacht, focused on Kurt Lischka, Klaus *Barbie, and several others. He located Alois *Brunner in Syria and traveled there to seek Brunner's extradition; in this instance, he was not successful.

The Klarsfelds were instrumental in locating Klaus Barbie in Bolivia in 1972 and continued their struggle to have him brought to trial in France for more than ten years. At the

1987 trial, Serge Klarsfeld was the first of many private prosecution lawyers testifying against Barbie, who was ultimately sentenced to life imprisonment.

Klarsfeld published a number of works, including *Vichy – Auschwitz – The Role of Vichy in the Final Solution to the Jewish Question in France* (1983); *Memorial to the Jews Deported from France, 1942–1944* (1978), which includes the names and vital statistics of the 75,721 Jews deported from France to extermination camps in Eastern Europe; and *The Holocaust and the Neo-Nazi Mythomania* (1978). He commissioned an important work on the gas chambers by Jean Claude Presaac to deny any intellectual legitimacy to the challenges of Holocaust deniers. He presented Lili Jacob's *Auschwitz Album* in France and David Olere's testimony as a **Sonderkommando*. He also wrote of the *Children of Izieu*.

Klarsfeld protested the execution of Jewish community leaders in Teheran in 1979 by going there to intercede on behalf of those members of the community still in prison, and in February 1986 he went to Beirut to express his condemnation of the execution of Lebanese Jews who had been taken hostage. He protested against Karazdic and Mladic in the Serb Republic of Bosnia in 1996. Serge Klarsfeld was president of the Association of Sons and Daughters of the Jews Deported from France. He led and initiated the Bousquet, Leguay, Papon, and Touvier cases. He revealed to the French public the crimes of Vichy and is seen as the inspiration of President Jacques Chirac's declaration that officially recognizes the responsibility of France during World War II. Klarsfeld has been vehement in his defense of Israel and his condemnation of antisemitism is France. Both his supporters and his adversaries regard him as formidable and a man to be reckoned with.

[Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

KLARWEIN, JOSEPH (1893–1970), Israeli architect. Klarwein, who was born in Warsaw, worked in Hamburg, Germany, until 1933, when he immigrated to Palestine. He became architectural adviser on official buildings to the Israel government, his best-known building being the Knesset (Parliament) in Jerusalem (1967). His other works in Jerusalem include the memorial to Theodor Herzl at Mount Herzl, the stadium and law faculty at the Hebrew University, and the *kiryah* (government compound). He also designed the town center in Nahariyyah and the Dagon silo and Bet ha-Keranot in Haifa.

KLATOVY (Ger. **Klattau**), town in S.W. Bohemia, Czech Republic. One Jewess is mentioned in Klatovy in the early 14th century; although no further documentary evidence exists, it is assumed that there was a community there until the 16th century. In the 18th century the seat of the Klatovy district rabbinate was in *Pobezovice (Ronsperg). After 1867, Jews mainly from nearby Strazov, Janovice, and Svihov established a congregation in Klatovy, opened a cemetery, and dedicated a synagogue in 1873. There were 1,345 Jews living in the district in 1869 and 1,305 in 1881. In the town itself the community numbered 724 (108 families) in 1893, with Jews in 14 villages affiliated to it. At the end of the 19th century Jews established more than three-quarters of the town's factories. Antisemitic riots occurred on three occasions: in connection with the *Hilsner blood-libel trial in 1899; when a Jewish youth was accused of defiling the statue of a saint; and later in 1919. Between the world wars Klatovy's Jewish population fluctuated; while the town continued to attract Jews from the countryside, many others moved to the larger cities. In 1930 the community numbered 344 (2.4% of the total population). At the time of the Sudeten crisis (Fall 1938), many Jews from the southwestern Bohemian border found refuge in Klatovy. The synagogue was plundered by Czech Fascists on July 15, 1941. The mayor had the attackers arrested and intended to bring them to trial, but they were released as a result of German pressure. The synagogue building was put at the disposal of the local museum. In the fall of 1942 the Germans deported all Jews from Klatovy and district to the extermination camps and none returned. The synagogue equipment was sent to the Central Jewish Museum in Prague. Both the cemetery and synagogue existed in the early 1970s. The Czech-language author František *Gottlieb originated from Klatovy. The chief rabbi of Bohemia-Moravia, Gustav Sicher (1880–1960), was born there, as was the Czech-Jewish poet Karel Fleischmann (1897–1944) who perished in Birkenau. A memorial for Nazi victims was dedicated in the cemetery in 1989.

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[Jan Herman]

KLATZKIN, ELIJAH BEN NAPHTALI HERZ (1852–1932), rabbi and author. Klatzkin's father (1823–1894) was rabbi of Ushpol (1851–58), where Elijah was born, and later of Schoemberg (Courland). Elijah was known in his childhood as the *Shklover Illui* ("child prodigy of Shklov"). He is said to have mastered the Talmud at the age of 12, and when he was only 23, R. Meir *Malbim pronounced him without equal in his generation. He also acquired a profound knowledge of medicine, pharmacology, chemistry, history, geography, and mathematics, and was acquainted with a number of European languages. Elijah served as rabbi of several communities, being appointed in 1881 to Bereza Kartuskaya in the province of Grodno, in 1884 to Mariampol in the province of Suwalki, and in 1910 to the famous community of Lublin, hence his title the "Lubliner Rav." In 1928 he settled in Ereẓ Israel where he spent his remaining years. He was an outstanding talmudic authority and queries were directed to him from distant places. He was well known for his tendency to leniency in questions of ritual law. Most famous for his efforts on behalf of *agunot*, he even proposed a formula that would (in most cases) annul these marriages retroactively. Elijah's works are *Even ha-Roshah* (1887), *Imrei Shefer* (1896), *Even Pinnah* (1930^2), *Devar Eliyahu* (1915), *Devar Halakhah* (1921) and its complement *Millu'im* (1923), *Millu'ei Even* (1925), *Ḥibbat ha-Kodesh* (1926), and *Devarim Aḥadim* (1929). Also by Elijah is a collection of lectures and papers in Russian. Some of his responsa were published in the *Sedei Ḥemed* (1896–1911) by Ḥayyim Hezekiah *Medini.

Elijah had an elder brother ISRAEL ISSAR (1844–1921), many of whose responsa and novellae appear in *Devar Eliyahu* and in *Ammudei Shesh* published by Moses Ẓevi Hirsch Klatzkin (as appendix to *Ayyalah Sheluḥah*, 1912). *Devar Eliyahu* also contains novellae by Israel's son JOSHUA MORDECAI (1862–1925), who was head of a yeshivah in Slobodka and later rabbi of Libau (Libawa), where he died. Elijah was the father of Jacob *Klatzkin.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: J. Klatzkin, in: L. Jung (ed.), *Jewish Leaders* (1953), 317–41; *Yahadut Lita*, 3 (1967), 84f.

[Shlomo Eidelberg]

KLATZKIN, JACOB (1882–1948), author, philosopher, and Zionist. Klatzkin was born in Bereza Kartuska, Brest-Litovsk district, today Belarus. The son of Elijah *Klatzkin, a prominent rabbinical scholar, who gave him a thorough education in all branches of traditional Jewish studies. At the age of 18, Klatzkin went to Germany, first to Frankfurt on the Main and then to Marburg, where he studied philosophy under Hermann *Cohen. He received his doctorate from the University of Berne in 1912. In the following years Klatzkin was active in Germany as a writer for Hebrew periodicals, including *Ha-Zeman*, *Ha-Shilo'aḥ*, and *Ha-Tekufah*, and as editor of *Die *Welt*, the organ of the Zionist Organization (1909–11), and later in Heidelberg, of the *Freie Zionistische Blaetter.* From 1912 to 1915 he was director of the Jewish National Fund in Cologne. From 1915 to 1919 he edited the Swiss *Bulletin Juif,* which covered world events of special relevance to Jews during World War I and established the publishing firm Al ha-Mishmar, which issued a series of books on Jewish problems in French and German. In Berlin Klatzkin founded another publishing house, Eshkol, and continued writing for the Jewish press. In 1924 he and his lifelong friend Nahum *Goldmann initiated the *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, of which ten volumes (to the article "Lyra") appeared between 1928 and 1934. Two volumes of a parallel Hebrew edition, *Enẓiklopedyah Yisre'elit*, were issued in 1929–32. Klatzkin acted as editor in chief in cooperation with leading Jewish scholars. Although the advent of Hitler prevented the publication of the remaining volumes, what was published continues to be an important reference work. After the curtailment of the publication of the encyclopedia, Klatzkin took refuge first in Switzerland and then in the U.S., where he lectured at the College of Jewish Studies in Chicago. In 1947, after a further period in New York, he returned to Switzerland.

Klatzkin was a student of philosophy as well as a brilliant Hebrew essayist. In philosophy Klatzkin opposed his teacher Cohen, whose philosophy and interpretation of Judaism he submitted to searching criticism in the monograph *Hermann Cohen* (1921^2; Heb., 1923). He also devoted a critical study to Spinoza, *Baruch Spinoza* (Heb., 1923, 1954^3), in which he stressed the Jewish influences in his intellectual background and style; he translated Spinoza's *Ethics* from the Latin to Hebrew as *Torat ha-Middot* (1924; last reprinted, 1967). Klatzkin developed his own philosophy, which may be described as vitalistic, emphasizing the biological, instinctive aspect of life rather than the intellectual one, in *Sheki'at ha-Ḥayyim* ("Decline of Life," 1925), and in *Der Erkenntnistrieb als Lebens und Todesprinzip* (1935). It comprises epistemology, ethics, aesthetics, and a "metaphysic of human impulses." According to Klatzkin, the constantly increasing cognitive impulse leads to the weakening of man's vitality. Spirit, the culture-creating force in man, tends to change from a life-creating to a life-negating process. History is the arena in which this conflict develops, and self-preservation demands a reaction against the over-intellectualization of life. Within this framework culture, religion, and art are expressions and functions of the life process. Klatzkin's philosophical system is not "pure" philosophy but is, rather, a philosophy of culture and art; and as such, to his distress, it was ignored by academic philosophers. His Jewish-nationalist ideology was based on his general philosophy and is presented in *Probleme des modernen Judentums* (1918; second edition, *Krisis und Entscheidung im Judentum*, 1921). In his view the impulse of self-preservation among Jews in modern times created a revolutionary situation, in which the Jewish people turned away from over-intellectualization and spiritualization to the resumption of national life in its own country, with its own language. A country and a language, according to Klatzkin, determine the life of a nation, not abstract religious or cultural ideas. This nationalistic and secularist theory was as much opposed to Hermann Cohen's assimilationist concept of the messianic role of the Jews in the Diaspora as to the spiritual nationalism of *Aḥad Ha-Am, who advocated Ereẓ Israel merely as a spiritual center. Klatzkin's miscellaneous writings were published in a number of collections of essays: *Kera'im* (1924), *Zutot* (1925), *Teḥumim* (1928), and the posthumously published *Ketavim* (1953), and *Yalkut Massot* (1965; ed. by J. Schachter with introduction, notes, bibliography, 1965). A volume in English, *In Praise of Wisdom*, appeared in 1943. A major contribution to Jewish scholarship as well as to Hebrew revival was his and M. Zobel's edition of *Thesaurus Philosophicus Linguae Hebraicae*, which includes a dictionary of Jewish philosophical writers; *Antologyah shel ha-Pilosofyah ha-Ivrit* (1926); and a philosophical dictionary, *Oẓar ha-munnaḥim ha-Pilosofiyyim* (4 vols., 1928–33), which contains the terminology of medieval religious philosophers. Klatzkin also published a Hebrew anthology of aphorisms and fragments from classical philosophy, *Mishnat Rishonim* (1925) and *Mishnat Aḥaronim* (posthumous, 1952), the latter covering the period from Montaigne to modern times. A first installment of an autobiography, *Zikhronot* (*1899–1901*), appeared in 1902. Despite his unusual talents and achievements in several areas, Klatzkin was not accepted as a scholar by academicians and, to his great disappointment, was not invited to teach philosophy at the Hebrew University.

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[Moshe Zeev Sole and Samuel Scheps]

KLATZKO (Melzer), MORDECAI BEN ASHER (1797–1883), Lithuanian rabbi and author. Klatzko was born in Vilna where he studied under *Ḥayyim of Volozhin. He married the daughter of R. Loeb Malzer (Melzer), later adopting his surname. In 1840 he was appointed head of the R. Meilis yeshivah in Vilna, succeeding Israel *Salanter who had headed it for a short period. From 1865 Klatzko served as rabbi in Lida until his death. At an advanced age he became a follower of the ḥasidic movement and led an ascetic life, devoting much attention to the needs of his fellow men. Some of his responsa and talmudic novellae were published by his pupil Abba Joseph Triwusch, together with a biographical introduction, under the title *Tekhelet Mordekhai* (1889).

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[Samuel Abba Horodezky]

KLAUSNER, ABRAHAM (d. 1407/8), Austrian talmudist. Klausner was a pupil of Moses of Znaim. In 1380 he was living in Vienna where he served as rabbi together with Meir Halevy, by whom he was apparently ordained with the title "*morenu.*" He was a brother-in-law of the martyr, *Aaron of Neustadt (Blumlein), one of the great scholars of Austria and the uncle and teacher of Israel *Isserlein. Jacob *Moellin (the *Maharil*) studied under him and he was the main teacher of Isaac *Tyrnau. Klausner's responsa are mentioned in the responsa of Isserlein and Israel *Bruna. His main reputation, however, rests upon his *Sefer ha-Minhagim* (Riva di Trento, 1558). This was already known to his contemporaries and is mentioned by Moellin and by Isserlein. It is the first extant work in the field of local religious customs (see *Minhagim Books), to which insufficient attention was paid by the **posekim* until his time. Klausner adapted the **minhagim* of Ḥayyim Paltiel, a contemporary of Meir of Rothenburg (part of which has been published by D. Goldschmidt from a manuscript of 1305 (see bibl.)), adding explanations in the margins, which were incorporated by the printer in the text and made to appear as one work. The customs in the printed edition are dealt with at greater length than in the manuscript and arranged differently. It was printed with errors, omissions, and repetitions. A new edition based upon the Riva di Trento edition with introduction, notes, and sources was published by C.J. Ehrenreich in 1929.

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[David Tamar]

KLAUSNER, ABRAHAM J. (1915–), U.S. rabbi and activist. Born in Memphis, TN, raised in Denver, CO, Klausner received an M.A. from the University of Denver in 1938 and a Master of Hebrew Letters and ordination from Hebrew Union College in 1943. In June 1944 he volunteered as a chaplain in the U.S. Army.

Klausner arrived in Europe in late 1944 and in mid-1945 was assigned to the 116th Evacuation Hospital, a mobile unit. He arrived in Dachau within three weeks of its April 29, 1945, liberation. Klausner's responsibility was to American Jewish troops, not the survivors, but he felt duty bound as a rabbi and as a Jew to come to the aid of Jews. He worked on creating separate DP camps for Jews; evacuated Jewish patients from outlying areas and consolidated them in hospitals where they could be treated by Jewish, not German, doctors; and played a key role in the establishment of the Central Committee of Liberated Jews in Bavaria – so that the Jews could assume responsibility for their own fate.

His unauthorized June 24, 1945, report "A Detailed Report on the Liberated Jew As He Now Suffers His Period of Liberation" was sent to the leadership of the American Jewish community.

Klausner's – and other – contemporaneous reports prompted Earl G. Harrison, former U.S. Commissioner of Immigration and U.S. representative on the Intergovernmental Committee, to go on a fact-finding mission as the representative of President Harry S. Truman. His mandate was to determine whether or not Holocaust survivors' needs were being met by military, government, and private organizations. Harrison's trip was pre-arranged by the Army to cover areas that were less than problematic.

Col. Milton Richmond, a Jewish officer who headed a special military unit out of Dachau, saw the schedule and asked Klausner to intervene. Klausner met with Harrison and as a result, Harrison's itinerary was changed, and Klausner was asked to accompany him on his inspection tour of the camps.

Harrison's report resulted in the creation of a post for an advisor on Jewish affairs who would report on issues affecting Jewish Displaced Persons (DPs) to the commanding general in the European theater of operations.

Klausner was honorably discharged in 1946. With the help of Robert A. Taft, the senator from Ohio, he returned to Germany in 1947 to work with the DPs.

When Klausner returned to the U.S. in 1948, he accepted the position of senior rabbi of Temple Israel in Boston, MA, until 1953. In 1954 he became the rabbi of Temple Emanu-El in Yonkers, New York, where he served for more than 35 years, retiring in 1989. He subsequently wrote his autobiography, *A Letter to My Children from the Edge of the Holocaust* (2002).

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[Alex Grobman (2nd ed.)]

KLAUSNER, ISRAEL (1905–1981), Hebrew writer and historian. Born in Troki (Lithuania), Klausner, a cousin of Joseph *Klausner, settled in Palestine in 1936. He joined the staff of the Zionist Archives in Jerusalem, where he served as assistant director from 1956. His writings on the history of the Jews in Vilna include *Korot Beit ha-Almin ha-Yashan be-Vilna* (1935), and *Toledot ha-Kehillah ha-Ivrit be-Vilna* (1938). Among his works on Zionist history are *Ḥibbat Ẓiyyon be-Romanyah* (1958), *Oppoziẓyah le-Herzl* (1960), and *Mi-Katoviẓ ad Basel* (2 vols., 1965).

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[Getzel Kressel]

KLAUSNER, JOSEPH GEDALIAH (1874–1958), literary critic, historian, and Zionist. Klausner was born in Olkienik, near Vilna, but in 1885 his family moved to Odessa where he attended a Hebrew day school. Already in his earliest years he evinced a passion for the Hebrew language, which was to be one of the main interests of his life. He was the youngest member of the *Sefatenu Ittanu*, a society for the revival of Hebrew as a spoken language, established in Odessa in 1891 and with his friends, who included Nahum *Slouschz and Saul *Tchernichowsky, he spoke only Hebrew. In 1897 he proceeded to Germany, where he studied Semitic and modern languages, history, and philosophy at Heidelberg. In the same year he participated in the discussion in the Jewish press in Russia with regard to the forthcoming Zionist Congress to be convened in Basle, strongly urging participation, and he attended this First Congress. At the age of 28 he moved to Warsaw to succeed Aḥad Ha-Am as editor of **Ha-Shilo'aḥ* a position he held for 23 years (together with H.N. *Bialik for volumes 13–21 and with Jacob Fichman for volumes 45–46). In Warsaw he became friendly with I.L. *Peretz and up-and-coming writers such as Z. Shneour, Itzhak Katzenelson, Jacob Steinberg, and Y.D. Berkowitz, who would meet regularly in his home on Saturdays, and to whom he extended every encouragement and guidance. *Ha-Shilo'aḥ*, which had ceased publication in 1904 was revived in Odessa in 1907 and Klausner moved there. He lectured on Jewish history at the modern yeshivah in Odessa. After the Revolution in February 1917, he was invited to lecture at Odessa University, but following the Bolshevik Revolution in October he immigrated to Palestine, settling in Jerusalem in 1919. He took an active part in the Va'ad ha-Lashon, the *Academy of the Hebrew Language, first as scientific secretary, then as editor of its proceedings, and later as president. He continued to act as editor of *Ha-Shilo'aḥ* when it was revived in Ereẓ Israel, from 1921–26. When the Hebrew University was established, to his disappointment he was not appointed to the chair of Jewish history, as his views were considered too secular, but was appointed to the chair of Hebrew literature. It was only in 1944, at the age of 70, that he was appointed to the chair of the History of the Second Temple, endowed by his friends and admirers. From 1950 until shortly before his death he acted as editor in chief of the *Encyclopaedia Hebraica* and was responsible for volumes 2–5 and 7–8. He published his autobiography in 1946 (enlarged edition 1955). Klausner was active as a literary critic and philologist, as a historian, and as a Zionist.

Literary Criticism and Philology

Klausner's essays on criticism, appearing first in 1894, took the form of literary exegesis of contemporary works in which he also discussed the tasks of Hebrew literature in the age of national renaissance. He supported the expansion of the Hebrew language and its use as a living language, both by reviving words from the ancient sources and by coining new words, but he took a moderate stand vis-à-vis both radical innovators and purists. Many of the new words coined by Klausner were criticized by the latter. Klausner insisted on the significance of the Haskalah which he enunciated in the detailed work, *Ruḥot Menashevot* (1896), by stressing its strong links with the national movement, indicating that, notwithstanding the essential difference between the two movements, the national movement and its literature derived from the Haskalah. His essays on Aḥad Ha-Am, Bialik, Tchernichowsky, Shneour, Ya'akov Cahan, David Shimoni, Shalom Yankev *Abramovitsh (Mendele Mokher Seforim), and Peretz, published in various periodicals, were collected in his three-volume *Yoẓerim u-Vonim* (1925–28). They reveal an even-handed treatment of diverse authors, and a high regard for detail and biographical data. He believed that Hebrew culture should be open to the influences of European literature. In this respect he represented the moderate line that advocated the synthesis of Judaism and humanism. Klausner believed that poetry was a spiritual force whose influence on the Jewish people should be increased. At the same time he continuously stressed the need for a synthesis between national and universal ideas in the intellectual and literary spheres. He believed that it was not enough for Hebrew literature to reflect and depict reality; it was a fundamental and essential part of the movement of national revival and that it therefore must also take an active part in molding the young generation and in guiding Jewish society. While defending the need for the freedom and autonomy of literature, he also insisted that authors must be alert to public affairs and committed to the national idea. This approach was combined with his militant partisanship on behalf of the Hebrew language and literature as expressed during the debate over whether Hebrew or Yiddish should be considered the national language of Russian Jewry. *Ha-Shilo'aḥ*, under Klausner, published the best poetry, fiction, and criticism of the early 20th century, including works by Mendele Mokher Seforim, Bialik, Tchernichowsky, and Brenner.

In Ereẓ Israel, too, he argued that authors must strive to create a literature which would help determine the new existence, stressing that Jewish spiritual trends had always been influenced by the contemporary Hebrew literature. Often he used the work under discussion to advance his own ideological and emotional views. His strength in criticism resides in emphasizing a work's conceptual framework, while his evaluation of its aesthetic, poetic, and formal qualities are only of a general nature.

Literary History

Many of the above characteristics also mark his work as a historian of modern Hebrew literature. As early as 1907 he revealed his dream of writing a comprehensive history of modern Hebrew literature. He had published a short history of modern Hebrew literature in Russian in 1900 and in Hebrew in 1920 (*Toledot ha-Sifrut ha-Ivrit ha-Ḥadashah*). His principal scholarly achievement in this field, based on his university lectures, is the important *Historyah shel ha-Sifrut ha-Ivrit ha-Ḥadashah* (6 vols., 1930–50; second revised edition 1952–59; translated by H. Danby as *History of Modern Hebrew Literature*, 1932; 1972). His earlier evaluations of Haskalah authors, e.g., Mapu, A.D. Lebensohn, and Mendele, are here almost fully preserved. The *History* also evinces Klausner's interest in such contemporary considerations as the writer's contribution to the revival and expansion of the Hebrew language, to the idea of Jewish nationalism, and to the love of Ereẓ Israel before the Zionist period. He also stresses the relationship between Hebrew literature and the general trends in world literature. Klausner adheres strictly to the historical-biographical method to advance his didactic-explanatory approach.

The *History* consists of separate monographs connected by general surveys. Striving toward a chronological and objective historical perspective, he only brought his study up to 1880 (from 1784) to avoid dealing with contemporary literature in which he was subjectively involved. Klausner devoted much attention to the discussion of periodization. He rejected the view that the history of modern Hebrew literature began with Moses Ḥayyim *Luzzatto, since his writings were neither modern nor secular, regarding it as having begun with the Haskalah literature in Germany in 1787. Klausner saw the starting point of the new period in the political and cultural development of German and Austrian Jewry. Taking into consideration the interrelationship of secular and religious trends, he divided literary history into three periods: the first – a defensive war of Haskalah against religion (Germany, end of 18th century); the second – reconciliation of Haskalah and religion (Galicia and Italy, first half of 19th century); and the third – the attack of Haskalah against religion (Russia and Poland, mainly from 1860 to 1870). Klausner restricted his concept of Hebrew literature to the secular genres, intentionally disregarding traditional and ḥasidic literature, although they were reflected in his discussion of the satiric works of Haskalah authors. On the other hand he dealt extensively with literary genres, discussing not only belles lettres, but also Jewish studies and essays on philosophy, history, ethics, and science. He virtually ignored important Yiddish works because of his active involvement in the "language controversy" between Hebrew and Yiddish. As a result he did not fully understand the complexity of bilingual phenomena in the works of authors such as M. *Levin, J. *Perl, A. *Gottlober, and Mendele Mokher Seforim.

Some of Klausner's observations regarding the impact of world literature are useful as a starting point for the comparative study of modern Hebrew literature. His approach to literary research is based on methods that were current among 19th-century positivist literary scholars such as Taine – who stressed the influence of time, place, and national character on the spiritual and artistic life – and Georg *Brandes who gave primacy to the writer's biography as the effective and even determining factor in shaping his creative personality. In assessing an author Klausner used social-national criteria, which were standards also current in 19th-century Russian criticism. Despite his own methodological deficiencies and the fact that great progress has since been made in methods of literary criticism, Klausner's work remains a notable landmark in modern Hebrew literary criticism. His works in this field also include: *Be'ayot shel Sifrut u-Madda* (1956); *Yoẓerei Tekufah u-Mamshikhei Tekufah* (1956); *Meshorerei Dorenu* (1956); *Mi-Gedolei ha-Sifrut ha-Olamit* (1954).

[Samuel Werses]

Revival of Hebrew

Klausner's research in the Hebrew language was not merely an abstract diversion, but rather an activity with the practical goal of transforming Hebrew into a spoken tongue capable of meeting all the linguistic demands of modern life. He believed this undertaking, which he called "practical philology" as distinguished from "scientific philology," would aid in the national rebirth of the people. To achieve his goal, Klausner saw the necessity for studying the development of post-biblical Hebrew and, equally important, other semitic languages in regard to vocabulary, morphology, style, and syntax. Consequently he analyzed lexical material from the Book of Ben Sira, the Mishnah, and the Talmud, and published his major findings and opinions in *Sefat Ever Safah Ḥayyah* (Cracow 1914–15; rev. ed., *Ha-Lashon ha-Ivrit Lashon Ḥayyah*, Jerusalem 1948–49). Here and in articles collected in the anthology, *Ha-Ivrit ha-Ḥadashah u-Ve'ayoteha* (Tel Aviv, 1952), Klausner expressed his preference for mishnaic and talmudic usage over biblical usage on the grounds that modern Hebrew must continue the process of linguistic development, even at the expense of foregoing biblical forms. Similarly, he opposed the use of Aramaisms, contending that the vocabulary should be enlarged by creating new words based on Hebrew morphological constructions, by borrowing from related languages, and by adopting words of Greek or Roman origin that have attained international currency. These opinions aroused criticism and opposition among purists. In the style of expression, Klausner advocated clarity and simplicity rather than the traditional rhetorical forms. For practical reasons he deemed it necessary to standardize orthography (*ketiv male*) and to adopt a system of punctuation.

[Meir Medan]

History of Christianity

Of special importance are Klausner's studies of *Jesus and the beginnings of Christianity. These works represent the first comprehensive books on these subjects written in Hebrew by a modern Jewish scholar in Ereẓ Israel. His *Yeshu ha-Noẓeri, Zemanno, Ḥayyav ve-Torato* was published in Jerusalem in 1922 and has been translated into many European languages (Eng. transl. by H. Danby, *Jesus of Nazareth*, 1925). Klausner had first-hand knowledge of the Jewish sources, especially the rabbinic literature, which enabled him to portray Jesus as he lived among his contemporaries. In contrast to Klausner's Jewish predecessors who had written about Jesus from the liberal point of view, he described the background of Jesus' life and activity in rediscovering the original meaning of many of Jesus' sayings. He stresses the Jewishness of Jesus, claiming that he was a proud Jew and never abandoned Judaism, and that he regarded himself as the Jewish messiah. Klausner holds that Jesus' humanistic message, though sometimes more extreme and impracticable than similar contemporary Jewish doctrines, fitted the Judaism of the time. Nevertheless, certain of Jesus' utopian and individualistic doctrines are seen as extending beyond the frame of Judaism and in tragic opposition to Judaism's strong sense of national unity. The work, based on extensive Jewish learning, was welcomed by Christian scholars and readers as a Jewish witness of a new positive evaluation of Jesus and has contributed to a better understanding of Jesus as a wholly Jewish figure. He also shows that Jesus was not executed by Jews but by Pilate the Roman.

In his other book on Christianity, *Mi-Yeshu ad Paulus* (1939; Eng. transl. by W.F. Stinespring, *From Jesus to Paul*, 1943), he traces the development of Christianity from Jesus to Paul. He began collecting the material as early as 1907. The work deals mainly with Paul who is depicted in the light of his Jewish and Hellenistic background. He stressed that had there been no Jesus there would have been no Paul and no Christians; but it was due to Paul that Christianity became a world religion.

[David Flusser]

As a Historian

A period of 40 years separates Klausner's two historical works. In 1909 he published *Historyah Yisre'elit*, consisting of the lectures which he gave in Odessa, covering the period from the conquest of Canaan to the Maccabean period. In 1949 his historical magnum opus *Ha-Historyah shel ha-Bayit ha-Sheni* appeared in five volumes, covering the period from the destruction of the First Temple to the destruction of the Second. It was based on the lectures he delivered at the Hebrew University. Its exhaustive treatment of all the available sources, and his essentially Jewish approach makes it a major contribution to the subject. A fervent nationalist, however, Klausner makes no secret of the fact that his approach is a subjective one. In his introduction (which appears in the fifth volume) he states frankly, "It is permitted – and even a duty imposed on us… to compare the past with the present no less than the present with the past. Only he who sees the important incidents of his time as part of the universal historical process and views them *sub specie historitatis* is permitted to write the history of the past… there is no question but that he who writes the history of the past writes at the same time the history of his own time, evaluating the past in the light of the values of the present… the revolutionary events of the last 50 years have disclosed historical causes and factors which operated in previous generations as they do in this."

In an appendix to the third edition (1952) he added an appendix on the Dead Sea Scrolls and the Qumran sect, in which he was the first to suggest that these sectarians were Zealots (a view which was adopted by Cecil Roth and Sir Godfrey Driver).

As a Zionist

Klausner was an active Zionist and a fervent nationalist throughout his life, and his Zionist views color all his work. A delegate to the First Congress, he was greatly influenced by the political ideas of Herzl, although his cultural approach remained that of the Ḥovevei Zion and Aḥad Ha-Am. He attended nearly every subsequent Congress until the eleventh, contributing surveys on them to *Ha-Shilo'aḥ*. From 1930 he began to identify himself more and more with the policy of Jabotinsky and was regarded by the Revisionist Party, and later by its successor, Ḥerut, as the ideologist of the movement. He edited the monthly *Beitar* (together with B. Netanyahu) from 1932–33 and came out vigorously, both in speech and in writing, in support of the ideals of the right-wing nationalists. In 1949 they put his name forward as their candidate for the first president of the State of Israel in opposition to Chaim Weizmann. Amos Oz describes Joseph Klausner, who was the brother of his grandfather, in the autobiographical novel *Sippur al Ahavah ve-Ḥoshekh* (2002; *A Tale of Love and Darkness*, 2004).

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KLAUSNER, ẒEVI HIRSCH (1802–1887), rabbi and author. Klausner received his education from his father, ZE'EV WOLF OF RAWICZ (1761–1861), a scholar, who from 1804 to 1811 was rabbi of Oborniki, and from 1811 until his death, of Exin (Kcynia), where he was head of a yeshivah. One of four children, Ẓevi Hirsch suffered greatly during his lifetime, wandering from place to place. After the successive deaths of two wives, he married a third time and settled in the small town of Mechisko. There, isolated from all intellectual contact, he published his works. *Raẓ le-Mishnah* (1857), on the commentators to the Mishnah, attempts in particular to resolve the well-known difficulties in the Mishnah raised by Akiva Eger, and has a moving introduction by Klausner to explain his "impertinence." He added supplements to this work, one entitled *Ta ha-Raẓim* (1864), and two poems by his brothers, MORDECAI ISAAC and JACOB. The books received approbations, particularly from the rabbis of Germany.

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[Itzhak Alfassi]

KLAVAN, ISRAEL (1915–1980), U.S. Orthodox rabbi. Klavan, who was born in Zazkevich, Lithuania, was raised in Burlington, Vermont, where his father was a rabbi. He was ordained at Yeshiva University (1940). Klavan served as rabbi of congregations in Fitchburg, Massachusetts (1940–42), Williamsport, Pennsylvania (1942–46), and Mount Vernon, New York (1946–53). He became executive secretary of the Rabbinical Council of America in 1950 and later executive vice president.

[Louis Bernstein]

KLEE, ALFRED (1875–1943), Zionist leader in Germany. He practiced law in his native Berlin, acting notably in cases defending Jewish honor (such as the case against **The Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, etc.). With Herzl's appearance he became a foremost propagandist for Zionism in Germany. He was especially active in "the conquest of the communities," and after World War I he established the Juedische Volkspartei, a coalition of Zionist parties in Berlin; similar parties were also established in other cities. Representatives of the party "conquered" Jewish communities that until that time, and especially from 1926 to 1930, had been in the hands of the anti-Zionist liberals. At the party's initiative a Jewish national educational network was established, social work was improved, and the cultural institutions in Palestine were assisted. Klee served briefly as chairman of the Zionist Federation in Germany and represented the German Jewish community in the management of the *Jewish Colonization Association. With the rise of the Nazis he was active in representing German Jewry before the authorities. In 1938 he left for Holland, where he continued his activities until his internment in Westerbork concentration camp where he died in 1943. He was the father-in-law of Hans *Gosslar and Simon *Rawidowicz.

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[Getzel Kressel]

KLEEREKOPER, ASSER BENJAMIN (1880–1943), Dutch journalist and politician, first a Zionist, then a Socialist. He was a grandson of the well-known Rabbi Isaiah Kleerekoper of Amsterdam. Being one of the first Zionists and modern Hebraists in Holland, he translated *"*Ha-Tikvah*" into Dutch and was an early editor of the Dutch Zionist periodical *De Joodsche Wachter*. In 1907 he delivered the welcoming speech at the Eighth Zionist World Congress in the Hague, and recorded his impressions of the congress in his *Zionistisch Schetsboek*. However, Kleerekoper became increasingly critical of social inequality and an advocate of the proletariat. This brought him into conflict with the Dutch Zionist establishment. In 1909 he exchanged his Zionist mantle for Socialist commitment and placed his highly developed oratorical and propagandistic talents in the service of the Sociaal-Democratische Arbeiders Partij (SDAP), the Dutch Labor Party. Kleerekoper became a prominent Socialist, serving as a member of the Amsterdam municipal council and of the Second Chamber of Parliament, 1914–32. He never went back to the Zionists, but his Socialism was colored by Jewish solidarity. He spoke out in favor of a large-scale settlement in Palestine for the Jewish East European masses: "It is not a question of Capital looking for expansion, but of Labor looking for bread." In his "Oproerige Krabbels," a widely read column in the socialist daily *Het Volk* appearing almost daily between 1915 and 1940, he lambasted national-socialism and antisemitism as few others did. After a long period of illness Kleerekoper was buried in April 1943 in an Amsterdam from which most Jews had been already deported.

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[Evelien Gans (2nd ed.)]

KLEIN, ABRAHAM MOSES (1909–1972), poet, novelist, journalist. Klein was the first Canadian Jewish writer to gain wide influence in English. Conversant in Hebrew and Yiddish, he brought the influence of these languages into his poetry, fiction, and journalism. A remarkable aspect of Klein's career was his willingness to assert himself in a wide array of fields. Trained as a lawyer at the Université de Montréal, he was a practicing lawyer; as editor of the English-language *Cana-*

dian Jewish Chronicle between 1938 and 1955 he played a major journalistic role in Montreal; running unsuccessfully for the left-leaning CCF party he presented himself as a would-be progressive politician; and, in his strangest role, Klein wrote a variety of public speeches and ephemeral material for the liquor baron and community leader Samuel *Bronfman. The latter role caused Klein private embarrassment, and his willingness to stretch himself across such broad professional boundaries may suggest the precariousness of literary life in Canada in the 1940s and 1950s, as well as Klein's own middle-class aspirations.

Klein's initial literary forays took place when he was an undergraduate at Montreal's McGill University. He became an influential member of the city's nascent modernist small press and magazine culture, acting as a model and mentor to younger poets. His first published poems appeared in important American journals, and he was associated with such key early Canadian magazines as *Preview* and *First Statement*. From the earliest stages of his output, Klein mused about the precarious role of the poet in modern society while making subtle plays on Jewish types, street life, history, and ritual. Unlike younger poets, who would either abandon or view the old Jewish world with impatience, Klein's poetry is dedicated to a detailed, often nostalgic portrayal of what he viewed as the pathos and intimacy of Jewish family and communal life.

Alongside Klein's Jewish-themed work are a substantial number of poems devoted to marrying the English and French spirit of Montreal. In a 1948 chapbook, Klein writes of his effort to create in his work "un 'langage bilingue'" – a poetic language built of French and English words in such a way that it could be enjoyed by native speakers of either language. The best example of this effort can be found in "Parade of St. Jean Baptiste": "Bannered, and ranked, and at its stances fixed/the enfilade and vestment colors the air./Roll now the batons of the tambours round/ruminant with commencement …." Klein's love of Montreal's Frenchness, his willingness to embrace it and convey the city's multilinguality, reveal the existence of his multicultural tendencies long before Canadians were conscious of the possibility of describing their country in these terms.

Klein's lone novel, *The Second Scroll* (1951), was published in the United States to critical acclaim, but the book did not receive the readership Klein had hoped for. A difficult modernist narrative built of disparate pieces of prose, poetry, drama, and liturgical writing, it is an early effort to come to terms with the Holocaust in a literary context. Klein's meditation on 20th-century evil leads him to a consideration of messianism, mysticism, and the meaning of national regeneration in the newly established State of Israel. The book reveals a dividedness, which Klein also expressed in his private journals, over the status of diasporic Jewish culture in light of the new state. Ultimately, Klein was deeply rooted in and loved diaspora Jewishness, though he recognized the value of a Jewish state in the wake of the Holocaust.

In his final years, Klein withdrew from public and literary life. In recent years, his status as a role model for younger Jewish writers has gained greater prominence in Canada. His literary output has been well documented by the University of Toronto press, which has published the *Complete Poems*, including his translations (2 vols, ed. Z. Pollock, 1990); a selection of his essays and editorials *Beyond Sambation* (ed. M.W. Steinberg and U. Caplan, 1982); *Short Stories* (ed. M.W. Steinberg); and *Notebooks: Selections from the A.M. Klein Papers* (ed. Z. Pollock and U. Caplan).

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[Norman Ravvin (2nd ed.)]

KLEIN, ALBERTO (1897–1983), Argentinian engineer. Klein was born and educated in the Argentine. He was professor of mechanics at the National University of Technology at Buenos Aires from 1923 to 1960. He was prominent in Jewish communal work. Klein wrote several books, among them *Technical Rules for Metallic Structures and Reinforced Concrete* (1935) and *Elements of Mechanics* (1944–60), and he was coauthor of *Building Code for the City of Buenos Aires* (1944, 1949, 1959).

KLEIN, ANNE (1923–1974), U.S. fashion designer. Born Hannah Golofsky in Brooklyn, the daughter of Russian immigrants, Klein became one of the most influential fashion designers in the U.S. Known for clothing that was casual, but elegant and feminine, she was acknowledged to be ahead of her time. "Clothes aren't going to change the world," she said in 1969, just as the women's movement was getting under way. "The women who wear them will." She was also the mentor of Donna *Karan, who was hired by Klein right out of school and became an internationally renowned designer. While in high school, studying fine arts and design, Klein won a scholarship to Traphagen School of Fashion in New York City and, at 15, began her career as a freelance sketcher. Her first regular job was at Varden Petites. She married a garment manufacturer named Ben Klein and in 1948 they launched Junior Sophisticates, a highly successful company that applied a youthful spirit to traditional apparel. She divorced Klein in the early 1960s but continued working with him until 1965. By that time, she had remarried and, in 1968, she and her second husband, Matthew "Chip" Rubinstein, formed Anne Klein & Co. The first collection under her own name revolutionized American fashion: a mix-and-match wardrobe of jackets, pants, and related pieces for working women that was equally appropriate at the office, at night, and on weekends. A short while later, Saks Fifth Avenue gave Klein her own in-store boutique, the start of a new approach to retailing. She became the first designer to win two Neiman Marcus awards for fashion leadership, in 1959 and 1969. She also won two Coty Awards and was named to the Coty American Fashion Awards Hall of Fame in 1971. Two years later, she became an international presence by taking on new investors, Takihyo Co. Ltd. of Japan.

In 1973, she was one of five U.S. designers selected to participate, along with five French houses, in a landmark fashion show at Versailles.

[Mort Sheinman (2nd ed.)]

KLEIN, CALVIN RICHARD (1942–), U.S. fashion designer. Born and reared in a middle-class Bronx community of first- and second-generation American Jews, Calvin Klein – the son of a Hungarian immigrant who owned a neighborhood grocery store – became one of the world's best-known designers. The Calvin Klein label became familiar from Broadway to Beijing and Klein himself made headlines, some of them scandalous, with his provocative advertising campaigns as well as an unconventional lifestyle. His name appeared on everything from jeans to jewelry, from evening gowns to eyewear, and his Eternity and Obsession fragrances are among the world's most popular. By the time he sold his privately owned company in 2003, his products were generating retail sales of $5 billion a year. As a designer, Klein created a particularly American style that was accepted everywhere. Its components: clean, spare sportswear in luxurious fabrics; soft, sensuous evening clothes; layering; and multiple uses for jackets and sweaters.

Displaying a passion for fashion that was evident when he was still a boy, Klein was raised in the same neighborhood that nurtured Ralph *Lauren, the designer who would become his fiercest rival. Klein attended the High School of Industrial Art in New York City, then majored in apparel design at the Fashion Institute of Technology. For the next few years, he took various jobs in the garment industry, including a four-month stint as a copy boy at *Women's Wear Daily*, the trade newspaper that would write about him for decades to come. In 1968, when Klein was 26, he wanted to open his own business. He went to Barry Schwartz, whom he had known since the age of five, and asked for a loan of $10,000. Schwartz, six months older than Klein, was working at his family's supermarket in Harlem. He loaned Klein the money and two months later, following the assassination of Martin Luther King Jr. and the ensuing Harlem riots, Schwartz walked away from the food business and became Klein's partner. Almost immediately, Klein was championed by Bonwit Teller, one of the country's most prestigious department stores. At first, Klein's firm made only coats and dresses, but in 1973 expanded into sportswear. By then, his designs had begun making regular appearances in the major fashion magazines, but it was around that time that Klein really took off with that most basic item of the American wardrobe: jeans. Calvin Klein jeans, snug-fitting and with the designer's name emblazoned on the back pocket, created an international sensation. Promoted by a now legendary series of television commercials, they were made by Puritan Fashions Corporation, headed by Carl *Rosen. In 1983, Klein acquired Puritan for $68 million, but also inherited a mountain of debt. During the 1980s, Klein expanded his business to include the first successful designer underwear for men and women, and entered the fragrance market with Obsession and Eternity. In 1992, facing serious financial difficulties, Klein was rescued by his friend David Geffen, who purchased all the company's outstanding debt securities. Klein also added a less expensive line of casual apparel and accessories under the CK brand and moved into the home decor and cosmetics markets.

In 1994, he sold the jeans business for $50 million and his underwear business for $64 million, but retained royalty rights in each. He also opened a business in Japan. In 2000, he became embroiled in a contentious trademark infringement suit against The Warnaco Group, the company then licensed to make Calvin Klein jeans. Klein said Warnaco was damaging his reputation and his brand by changing his designs, exercising poor quality control, and selling the jeans to cheap discount stores. A settlement was reached. In 2003, Klein and Schwartz, who had remained his partner since the day the company was born, sold their business to the publicly owned Phillips-Van Heusen Corp. for $430 million, plus other considerations, including a 4.4 percent stake in PVH for both men. Klein agreed to stay on as a creative consultant.

Twice divorced and treated for substance abuse, Klein was frequently fodder for the tabloids. In 1978, his daughter, Marci – then 11 – was kidnapped and held for $100,000 ransom before being released unharmed the following day. And his ad campaigns, from the teenage Brooke Shields provocatively purring, "Nothing comes between me and my Calvins," to his overtly suggestive underwear billboards, to the sexual ambiguity of his fragrance commercials, have achieved their own notoriety. At the same time, he has been lauded by the industry. In 1973, he became the youngest designer to win a Coty Award. He won two more in 1974 and 1975. He garnered awards for his men's and women's fashions from the Council of Fashion Designers of America in 1982, 1983, and 1986, and in 1993 the CFDA picked him as Designer of the Year.

[Mort Sheinman (2nd ed.)]

KLEIN, EDWARD E. (1913–1985), U.S. Reform rabbi. Klein was born in Newark, New Jersey. Upon ordination from the Jewish Institute of Religion in New York in 1940, Klein served as assistant rabbi and director of education at the Free Synagogue, New York, for two years. He was director of the B'nai B'rith Hillel Foundation at the University of California at Berkeley. Upon the death of Stephen S. Wise in 1949, Klein succeeded him as rabbi of the Free Synagogue. Noted for involvement in community action, Klein supported causes for peace, civil liberties, civil rights, and civic reform as well as the security of the State of Israel. In 1962 he became a member of New York City's Fair Housing Practices Panel. He was chairman of the Church-State Committee of the Central Conference of American Rabbis, and the Social Action Committee of the New York Board of Rabbis. Klein was a fellow of the National Council on Religion in Higher Education (1970).

[Myron E. Schoen]

KLEIN, GEORGE (1925–), Swedish medical research scientist. Klein was born in Budapest, Hungary where he started his university education before immigrating to Sweden (1947) and earning his M.D. degree from the Karolinska Institute in Stockholm (1951). He was on the staff of that institute from 1947, initially as a research fellow and then progressing to professor and head of the Department of Tumor Biology (1957–93) and research group leader in the Microbiology and Tumor Biology Center from 1993. He was visiting professor at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem (1973–93). His research interests concerned the biology and clinical problems of cancer, and he made outstanding original contributions to defining and investigating many key issues, notably the role of anti-tumor immunity, the contribution of viral infections and in particular herpes virus infections to human cancer, and the influence of genetic abnormalities on the growth of malignant cells. These observations have had a major influence on our understanding of cancer and its control. Many of his influential scientific papers were written with his scientist wife, Eva Klein, and with collaborators in the Hebrew University. His many honors including the Harvey Prize from the Haifa Technion (1975), the Gairdner Award (1976), honorary doctorates from the Hebrew University of Jerusalem (1989) and Tel Aviv University (1994), membership in the Royal Swedish Academy of Sciences, election as foreign associate of the U.S. National Academy of Sciences, and the Robert Koch Gold Medal (1998). He was a noted thinker on broader aspects of science, memorably set out in his books *The Atheist and the Holy City* (1994), *Pieta* (1992), and *Holy City* (1994).

[Michael Denman (2nd ed.)]

KLEIN, GERDA WEISSMANN (1924–) and **KURT** (1920–2002). Holocaust survivor Gerda Klein, author, speaker, and humanitarian, is a testament to the power of hope. She and her husband, Kurt Klein, took tragedy and turned it into triumph – along the way inspiring millions of people to overcome their own personal battles.

Gerda Weissmann was only 15 years old in 1939 when Germans took over her hometown of Bielsko, Poland. She, along with her parents and brother, Artur, had led a happy and comfortable life. It was not long before the Nazis took Artur away. In 1942, Gerda was separated from her parents and sent to work in slave labor camps for three years. Her parents, brother, and entire extended family died in the Holocaust. Gerda was subject to starvation and torture, yet she never stopped praying that liberation day would come. On May 7, 1945, after a five-month death march through Eastern Europe, U.S. Army soldiers liberated Gerda Weissmann and a handful of other survivors. The first soldier on the scene was Lt. Kurt Klein.

Kurt Klein was born and raised in Waldorf, Germany. When Hitler ascended to power, Klein's parents realized Jewish people had no future in Germany. They sent 17-year-old Kurt and their other children to safety in the United States. During the **Kristallnacht* attacks on German Jews, the Kleins' home was vandalized and Kurt's parents were deported to Eastern Europe. They ultimately perished at Auschwitz. Kurt Klein was drafted in 1942 and served in the U.S. Army as an intelligence officer. In May 1945, he stumbled upon an abandoned factory in Volary, Czechoslovakia, where about 120 girls, all victims of Nazi concentration camps, were near death. One of the girls guided Lt. Klein to her fellow prisoners, most of whom lay sick and dying on the ground. With her hand, she made a sweeping gesture and quoted the German poet Goethe: "Noble be man, merciful, and good." Perhaps it was her irony – or her composure – or her compassion amidst the tragedy that struck Kurt Klein. Whatever it was, a great love affair began.

Gerda and Kurt Klein married in Paris on June 18, 1946, and settled in Buffalo, New York. He started a business in printing and editing. She wrote her autobiography, *All But My Life*, in 1957. They raised three children. But their collective experiences during their early lives motivated them to educate others about the dangers of intolerance and hatred. They traveled the world together speaking to diverse groups about the power of the human spirit and the importance of addressing the needs of the hungry.

Gerda was the subject of the Emmy- and Oscar-winning HBO documentary, *One Survivor Remembers*, based on *All But My Life*, which is now in its 57th printing. Both Kleins are part of the Testimony film, which is shown as a permanent exhibit at the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington, D.C. Gerda Klein appeared on *The Oprah Winfrey Show*, *CBS Sunday Morning*, and *60 Minutes*. She was also the subject of a *Nightline* broadcast that highlighted her work with Columbine High School students following the 1999 massacre at the school. Gerda and Kurt Klein helped survivors at the school cope with their feelings and empowered them to begin the healing process. The story of Kurt's indefatigable but ultimately unsuccessful efforts to save his parents was chronicled in the award-winning PBS program *America and the Holocaust: Deceit and Indifference,* part of The American Experience series.

In 2000, the Kleins wrote a book together called *The Hours After: Letters of Love and Longing*. It is a compilation of Gerda and Kurt's loving exchange of letters during their one-year separation after the Holocaust. Over the years Gerda also wrote *Promise of a New Spring*, *The Blue Rose*, *Peregrinations*, *A Passion for Sharing*, and, most recently, *A Boring Evening At Home*.

Because of the war, Gerda's formal education stopped at age 15. But her humanitarian work has earned her numerous honorary doctorates. In 2001, Gerda and Kurt received joint doctorates from Chapman University for their collective work fighting racism and intolerance.

[Julie Simon Loftsgaarden (2nd ed.)]

KLEIN, GOTTLIEB (1852–1914), rabbi and historian of religion. Klein was born in Homonna, Slovakia (then in Hungary), and received a traditional Jewish education, although he later adopted Reform Judaism. He studied at several universities, the Berlin rabbinical seminary, and later the Hochschule fuer die Wissenschaft des Judentums. After serving as rabbi at Schuettenhofen (Bohemia) and Elbing (East Prussia), in 1883 Klein became chief rabbi of Stockholm, a position he held until his death. He was an outstanding preacher, lecturer, and scholar, and his influence extended far beyond his congregation to leading liberal Swedish theologians, with many of whom he enjoyed close friendships. He also delivered discourses before King Oscar II.

Klein's main scholarly interest was early Christianity in the light of biblical and talmudic sources. Some of his works in this field are *Fader Var* (1905, "The Lord's Prayer"), *Den foersta kristna katekesen* (1908, Ger. 1910, "First Christian Catechism"), and *Studien ueber Paulus* (edited by Archbishop Nathan Soederblom, 1918). Klein also wrote "Ueber das Buch Judith" (in: *Transactions of the Eighth International Congress of Orientalists*, 1889), and *Steht die Moral des Alten Testaments wirklich auf der Stufe der Barbaren?* (1892).

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[Hugo Mauritz Valentin]

KLEIN, HYMAN (1908–1958), English talmudic scholar. Klein was born in London, where he attended the Etz Chaim yeshivah and Cambridge University, where he received honors in mathematics. He was principal of Aria College, Southsea, 1938–44, and headed the Liverpool Talmudical College, 1944–50. Thereafter he was in London for a short period and spent his last years in Jerusalem. Klein wrote many papers on the literary composition of the Babylonian Talmud, which were published from 1933 onwards (in: JQR, 23 (1932/33), 211–31; 28 (1937/38), 189–216). They constitute an important contribution to the analysis of the talmudic *sugya* (cf. JQR, 38 (1947/48), 67–91; 43 (1952/53), 341–63; 50 (1959/60), 124–46; *Journal of Semitic Studies*, 3 (1958), 363–72; *Tarbiz*, 31 (1961/62), 23–42). Among his other works are annotated editions of the Mishnah *Rosh Ha-Shanah* (1938), *Berakhot* (1948), and *Megillah* (1952); a Talmud correspondence course; *Introduction to the Aramaic of the Babylonian Talmud* (1943); and translations into English of Maimonides, *The Code of Maimonides, Book Eleven: Book of Torts* (1954) and of Kasher's *Encyclopaedia of Biblical Interpretation* (vol. 4, 1958). He edited and co-translated with A. Black *Maimonides' Laws of Inheritance* (1950) and revised Gandz's translation of *The Code of Maimonides, Book Three: The Book of Seasons* (1961). He was also co-translator of tractate *Nazir* (Soncino, 1936).

KLEIN, ISAAC (1905–1979), Conservative rabbi, leader, and *posek* (halakhic authority). Klein was born and raised in the town of Palanka in Ruthenia, Hungary. In 1921, he and his family immigrated to New York to join his father, who had moved there before World War I. Klein received a B.A. from City College in 1931. He began to study at *Yeshiva University, but transferred to the *Jewish Theological Seminary (JTS) where he was ordained in 1934. After ordination, he continued to study Talmud and Codes. In 1948, Klein received a Ph.D. from Harvard University.

During the 45 years of his rabbinate, Rabbi Klein served as a pulpit rabbi, army chaplain, and visiting professor at two rabbinical schools. His pulpits were in Springfield, Mass. (1934–53) and Buffalo, N.Y. (1953–72). Klein also served as a U.S. Army chaplain during World War II (1942–46) and as President *Truman's adviser on Jewish Religious Affairs to the U.S. High Commissioner of Germany (1949–50), helping to resettle displaced persons and reorganize Jewish communities in Germany after the *Shoah*.

Beginning in 1959, Klein served as visiting associate professor of Jewish Law at JTS, where he taught Practical *Halakhah* (Jewish Law). When he retired from the pulpit in 1972, he wintered in Los Angeles where he taught Jewish Law at the University of Judaism.

Klein was also a leader of the Conservative Movement, serving as president of the *Rabbinical Assembly (1958–60). He was an active member of the Committee on Jewish Law and Standards (1935–79) and served on the Joint *Bet Din* of the Conservative Movement.

Klein published a total of nine books, which can conveniently be divided into three categories: translations of three of the fourteen volumes of the Yale Judaica Series; three books relating his experiences as an army chaplain and pulpit rabbi; and three halakhic works. The third of these is his magnum opus, *A Guide to Jewish Religious Practice* (1979), which is based on the course he taught for many years at JTS. It combines a survey of most aspects of practical *halakhah* together with introductions explaining *ta'amei ha-mitzvot*, the reasons for the commandments, based on a wide range of rabbinic, medieval, and modern sources.

At the end of his 1968 article on "The *Shulḥan Arukh* after 400 Years," Rabbi Klein explains that there is a need to update the Shulḥan Arukh "at least for the Conservative Movement, and hopes that it will be helpful to *kelal Yisrael* (the collective Jewish People)." He goes on to say that the person who writes such a code must possess scholarship, saintliness, humility, and a deep awareness of and sympathy for the needs of the Jewish community. Rabbi Klein was such a person and that is why his *Guide* has become a veritable *Kiẓẓur Shulḥan Arukh* for Conservative Jews.

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[David Golinkin (2nd ed.)]

KLEIN, JULIUS (1901–1984), U.S. soldier and leader of the Jewish War Veterans. Born in Chicago, Klein served in World War I as a war correspondent and a spy in Germany. He then returned to journalism and public relations. He worked as a criminal reporter for the *State Herald* in Chicago and initiated the first German-language radio broadcasts in the United States. In 1933 he joined the Illinois National Guard, becoming a lieutenant colonel in 1941. That year, he formulated a military plan called Combat Public Relations, which encompassed such techniques as propaganda and psychological warfare. During World War II he served in the Philippines and the South Pacific, where he heroically saved many lives during an explosion in New Caledonia. Klein was in charge of public relations for Generals Douglas MacArthur and Robert Richardson. In that capacity, he originated the South Pacific edition of the *Stars and Stripes* military newspaper. In 1946 he was appointed special assistant to the secretary of war. Klein was given command of the 109th Anti-Aircraft Artillery Brigade. After the war, he lent his expertise to the attempt to improve relations between Germany and the United States, and Germany and Israel. In 1954 he ran for the US Senate.

Klein retired in 1961 with the rank of major general. He was one of the leaders of the Jewish War Veterans of the U.S. and its national commander from 1947 to 1948. Under his leadership, the war veterans played an important part in the fight against antisemitism and in other Jewish activities. For example, on April 4, 1948, he staged an impressive show of support for the establishment of the State of Israel by organizing a Jewish War Veterans parade down New York's Fifth Avenue.

To honor Klein's military achievements, a permanent exhibition entitled "Major General Julius Klein: His Life and Work" has been installed at the National Museum of Jewish Military History in Washington, D.C.

[Mordechai Kaplan / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

KLEIN, JULIUS LEOPOLD (1810–1876), playwright and literary historian who wrote in German. Born in Miskolc, Hungary, Klein took a medical degree at Berlin University, but never practiced his profession. He edited *Baltische Blaetter* at Wismar (1838), and then settled in Berlin, where he became a member of the circle of K.A. Varnhagen von Ense. There he began his career as a dramatist with the publication of his tragedy *Concini* (1841), the title of which was later changed to *Maria von Medici*. Klein's later tragedy *Kavalier und Arbeiter* (1850), inspired by the revolt of the Silesian Weavers in 1844, was the first serious attempt in German drama to portray the proletariat and the new problems created by the Industrial Revolution. Like his other plays, it has a complicated plot, lacks unity, and tends to pile horror upon horror. Klein's real claim to fame is based on his monumental *Geschichte des Dramas* (1865–76), a history of drama up to Shakespeare, of which 13 volumes were completed, but not including the history of German drama. His letters were published as *Briefe von Klein an Varnhagen von Ense*, ed. J. Trostler, in: *Ungarische Rundschau* (1914).

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[Sol Liptzin]

KLEIN, LAWRENCE ROBERT (1920–), U.S. economist, Nobel Prize laureate. Klein was born in Omaha, Nebraska, and received his doctorate from MIT in 1944. He served on the faculties of the University of Chicago (1944–47) and the University of Michigan (1949–54). During those periods, he was research associate at the National Bureau of Economic Research (1948–50) and the Survey Research Center (1949–54). From 1954 to 1958 he was a member of the Oxford Institute of Statistics. In 1958 he was appointed professor at the University of Pennsylvania. In 1968 he began to serve as a professor of economics and finance at the university's Wharton School. There he built the Wharton model of the U.S. economy, which contains more than a thousand simultaneous equations that are solved by computers. From 1963 to 1972 he was principal investigator for the econometric model project at the Brookings Institute. In 1977 he served as president of the American Economic Association. Klein lectured at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem and was a board member of the Falk Institute for Research in Economics.

Klein received the Nobel Prize in economics in 1980 for "the creation of economic models and their application to the analysis of economic fluctuations and economic policies." After retiring from teaching, he was named Benjamin Franklin Professor Emeritus of Economics at the University of Pennsylvania.

Among his works are *The Keynesian Revolution* (1947), *Textbook of Econometrics* (1953), *An Econometric Forecasting Model* (1967), *Essay on the Theory of Economic Production* (1968), *A Textbook of Econometrics* (1974), *The Brookings Model* (with G. Fromm, 1975), *An Introduction to Econometric Forecasting Models* (with R. Young, 1980), *The Economics of Supply and Demand* (1983), *Economics in Theory and Practice* (1990), *A Quest for a More Stable World Economic System* (1993), and *Modeling Global Change* (with F. Lo, 1995).

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[Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

KLEIN, MANNIE (**Emmanuel**; 1908–1994), U.S. trumpeter. One of the most prolific freelance musicians of the Broadway, big-band, and Hollywood studio era, the New York-born Klein began playing trumpet as a child. Three of his brothers (trumpeter Dave, violinist Sol, and bassist Merrill) were professional musicians, and he eagerly followed their path, performing with B.F. Keith's Boys' Band and the New York Police Junior Band before turning pro in his late teens. A list of the groups with whom he worked is a veritable Who's Who of the era: Red Nichols, Roger Wolfe Kahn, Benny *Goodman, Matty Malneck, the Dorsey Brothers, Lionel Hampton. He dubbed trumpet parts for Montgomery Clift in *From Here to Eternity* and an ailing Ziggy *Elman in *The Benny Goodman Story*. In the 1950s he was a mainstay of Mickey Katz's comic klezmer band.

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[George Robinson (2nd ed.)]

KLEIN, MELANIE REIZES (1882–1960), British psychoanalyst. Born Melanie Reizes in Vienna, she settled in Budapest after her marriage to businessman Arthur Klein. There she became interested in psychoanalysis and was analyzed by Sándor Ferenzi. In 1919 she read her first paper on child development before the Budapest Psychoanalytical Society, and was subsequently invited by Karl *Abraham to practice in Berlin. Melanie Klein then began the therapy of children, interpreting their play as symbolic of fantasies and feelings of anxiety and guilt, in a manner similar to Sigmund *Freud's interpretation of dreams. On the invitation of Ernest Jones, in 1926 she moved to London, where she developed the technique of play analysis, and from 1930 began to analyze adults. Her findings aroused much controversy, but drew the support of a group of the British Psychoanalytical Society known as the "Kleinians." She expounded her main ideas in *Die Psychoanalyse des Kindes* (1932; *The Psychoanalysis of Children*, 1932, 1950^3), which dealt with the child's love-hate relationship with the mother and with introjection. Her monograph, *Love, Guilt and Reparation* (in *Love, Hate and Reparation*, written with Joan Riviere, 1937), stressed that the instinctual urges of the child are experienced as unconscious fantasy. Her study of these processes was an important contribution to the understanding of infantile development. Melanie Klein remains one of the best-known psychoanalysts of her time; her theories remain both influential and controversial.

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[Louis Miller]

KLEIN, MORITZ (1842–1915), Hungarian rabbi and scholar. Klein, born in Miskolc, was a pupil of S.J. *Rapoport in Prague and studied at the university there. He served in Miskolc, Ungvar, Papa, and Nagybecskerek as a Liberal preacher and rabbi. In addition to publishing many sermons in Hungarian and German, he published a Hungarian translation of Maimonides' *Guide of the Perplexed, A tévelygők útmutatója* (3 vols., 1878–91), and a version in Hungarian of Jedaiah Bedersi's *Beḥinat Olam, A lélek tragédiája* (1901). A translation into Hungarian of Judah Halevi's *Kuzari* remained unfinished.

KLEIN, MORTON (1947–), president of *Zionist Organization of America. Klein revived a moribund Zionist Organization of America (ZOA) in the 1990s and made it one of the most outspoken – and often controversial – organizations on the American Jewish scene. Klein has periodically angered governments in Israel because of his vehement opposition to their policies and upset the pro-Israel lobby groups he has challenged with his own aggressive lobbying on Capitol Hill. However, he has also made ZOA one of the most visible Jewish organizations in the United States; his crusade to focus U.S. policy on American victims of Palestinian terrorism was widely credited as a success.

Klein was born in Gunzberg, Germany, in a displaced persons camp; his family immigrated to the U.S. in 1950 and settled in Philadelphia. Klein received an undergraduate degree and an M.B.A. from Temple University. In a varied career, he worked as a high school math teacher, a government economist on health policy issues, and a biostatistician for the Linus Pauling Institute of Science and Medicine.

Klein became active in Jewish life in 1990, first as an activist with the local chapter of CAMERA, a pro-Israel media watchdog group. In 1992, he was elected president of the Philadelphia chapter of ZOA and in 1993 as national president. In the campaign, Klein, an opponent of the Oslo peace agreement signed earlier that year, argued that the group should not refrain from criticizing the policies of the government of Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin; longstanding ZOA policy discouraged criticism of Israeli governments.

In 1994, Klein organized opposition to the appointment of former *Time* magazine columnist Strobe Talbott as deputy secretary of state because of what the new ZOA leader claimed were the anti-Israel views expressed in some Talbott columns. Two years later Klein led an opposition to scholar John K. Roth as first director of the Center for Advanced Holocaust Studies for very similar reasons.

Early in his tenure, Klein also challenged the dominance of the *American Israel Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC) in lobbying Congress for pro-Israel causes, objecting to AIPAC's support for the Oslo agreement. The issue of lobbying against Israeli government policies was a factor in the decision by several local ZOA chapters, including Baltimore and Pittsburgh, to disaffiliate from the national group. In 1994, Klein created a Peace Accord Monitoring Group in Congress to focus on Yasser Arafat's violations of the Oslo Accords.

Klein was particularly effective in highlighting the issue of Americans killed by Palestinian terrorists, pressing for a more active State Department role in investigating and prosecuting such crimes and legislation spotlighting the issue.

After President George W. Bush put U.S. policy behind creation of a Palestinian state in 2002, Klein's ZOA began a vigorous campaign of documenting Yasser Arafat's violations of the conditions the president had set for statehood.

While most major Jewish and pro-Israel groups supported Israel's withdrawal from Gaza under Prime Minister Ariel Sharon, Klein and ZOA waged an extensive campaign against the unilateral action in Israel and in the United States.

Under Klein's presidency, ZOA president term length limits were removed. Also ZOA opened a Washington office in 1996 and a division for campus activities in 2001. The group also created a Center for Law and Justice, which uses the courts to force implementation of pro-Israel provisions in the law.

[James D. Besser (2nd ed.)]

KLEIN, PHILIP (1849–1926), U.S. Orthodox rabbi. Klein, who was born in Baracs, Hungary, was ordained by the Hildesheimer Rabbinical Seminary of Berlin in 1871. Klein served as rabbi in Kiev (1874–80) and Libau, Latvia (1880–91). Russian antisemitism, exacerbated by the policies of Alexander III, caused Klein to leave Russia for the U.S. in 1891. He served as rabbi of the First Hungarian Congregation Ohab Zedek, New York City, from 1891 until 1926, was a leader of the war-relief drive (1914) in the U.S., and was serving as president of the U.S. Agudat Israel movement at the time of his death. Extremely active in New York City's Orthodox religious life, Klein was one of the very few such rabbis with middle-class acculturated congregations.

KLEIN, PHILIP (1890–), U.S. social worker. Klein was born in Hungary and immigrated to the United States in 1902. After receiving his training in social sciences in New York City, he directed many large-scale research projects, including a national survey of unemployment (1921–22) and a social study of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania (1938). From 1923 to 1926 he served as the executive director of the American Association of Social Workers, and from 1927 to 1953 he was first director of research and later professor of research, New York School of Social Work. He was research director, White House Conference on Children in a Democracy (1939–40). Klein served as consultant to the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee in planning the Paul Baerwald School of Social Work, Versailles, France (1948–50), and on social work manpower needs in Israel (1954–56). He was a United Nations expert assigned to the Israel Ministry of Social Welfare in 1959. Later he was a consultant to the Department of Welfare of the State of Pennsylvania. During the 1930s and 1940s he led a minority group of social work educators who favored greater emphasis on the social action functions of social workers rather than the clinical or treatment emphasis. Klein proposed broad governmental social welfare programs and wrote widely on the subject.

His works include *Prison Methods in New York State* (1920); *The Burden of Unemployment* (1923); articles in the *Encyclopaedia of Social Sciences* (1930–35); *A Social Study of Pittsburgh* (1938); *Next Steps in Dealing with Delinquency* (1945); and *From Philanthropy to Social Welfare* (1968).

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[Jacob Neusner]

KLEIN, RALPH (1931–), Israeli basketball coach. Klein was the first coach to lead an Israeli basketball team, Macabbi Tel Aviv, to a European championship. Klein, a German-born Holocaust survivor, arrived in Israel after the end of the war. During the 1960s he played for Maccabi Tel Aviv under Coach Yehoshua *Rosen. After his retirement, he became Rosen's assistant coach and then head coach in 1969. He took the team to 11 national championships and 10 national cups. The summit of his career came in 1977, when Maccabi Tel Aviv won the European championship, defeating Italy's Mobil Girgi 78–77 in the final. On the way there Maccabi also defeated CSKA Moskow in a historic match played on a neutral court in view of the Soviet Union's break with Israel after the Six-Day War. Klein led the team to another three European finals. As coach of Israel's national team as well, he took it to a second-place finish in the European championships of 1979. In 1984, as coach of the German national team, he appeared at the Olympic Games in Los Angeles. From 1973 he taught basketball coaching at the Wingate Institute. On Israel's 50th anniversary he was awarded the Jubilee Prize for his achievements, and in 2004 was selected as a torch bearer on Independence Day. Although in his seventies and fighting cancer, he coached a girls team that won a school championship in 2004. In 2006 he received the Israel Prize.

WEBSITES: www.most.gov.il; www.tzahevet.co.il.

[Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

KLEIN, SALOMON WOLF (1814–1867), French rabbi. Born in Bischheim near Strasbourg into a family of chiropodists, he began his secular studies at the age of 18 and, in a few years, he acquired an extensive knowledge which included Latin and Greek. He then graduated from the rabbinical seminary of Metz (1839), and served as rabbi successively at Bischheim, Durmenach, and Rixheim (Haut-Rhin). Klein distinguished himself by numerous publications and by his indefatigable struggle against every attempt at reform. He became the leader of French Orthodoxy, but was unsuccessful in his candidacy for the office of chief rabbi of Paris. In 1850 Klein was appointed chief rabbi of the consistory of the Haut-Rhin department at Colmar, and for a long time was also its president. Here he came under attack following a change in composition of the consistory through the accession of liberal elements. His main works are *Nouvelle grammaire hébraïque raisonnée et comparée* (1846), *Guide du traducteur du Pentateuque* (2 vols. 1852–53), *Le Judaïsme ou la Vérité sur le Talmud* (1859), *Recueil de lettres pastorales et de discours d'inauguration* (1863). He also published some pamphlets in Hebrew, among them *Ma'aneh Rakh al Ḥazut Kashah* (1846), *Mi-Penei Koshet* against Zacharias *Frankel (1861), and *Ha-Emet ve-ha-Shalom Ehavu* (1861), on the position of S.J. *Rapoport vis-à-vis Frankel.

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[Moshe Catane]

KLEIN, SAMUEL (1886–1940), historian and geographer of Ereẓ Israel. Born in Szilas Balhas, Hungary, Klein studied at the Berlin Rabbinical Seminary, where Hirsch *Hildesheimer aroused his interest in the geography of Ereẓ Israel, and at German universities. From 1909 to 1913 he served as rabbi in Dolnja Tuzla, Bosnia, and 1913–28 at Ersekujvar (Nove Zamky, Slovakia), serving as a military chaplain in World War I. His first visit to Palestine took place in 1908 with the aid of a grant from the Gesellschaft zur Foerderung der Wissenschaft des Judentums, and in 1924 he was appointed lecturer at the Institute of Jewish Studies in Jerusalem (incorporated in the Hebrew

University in 1925), while continuing until 1928 his rabbinical work in his community, and even lecturing at the Vienna Seminary. From 1929 Klein was professor of historical topography of Ereẓ Israel at the Hebrew University. For eight years he was president of the Jewish Palestine Exploration Society and was active in the Va'ad ha-Lashon as well as many other educational ventures.

Klein's great contribution to the study of the history and geography of Ereẓ Israel was his research into Talmud and Midrash as a primary source for the country's topography and the history of its settlement ("*Siedlungsgeschichte*"). He branched out into biblical and apocryphal geography, using also Hellenistic (Josephus) and patristic (Eusebius, etc.) sources, and making important contributions to Jewish epigraphy. Apart from numerous articles in the leading learned periodicals and his thesis (*Beitraege zur Geographie und Geschichte Galilaeas*, 1909), his major works include *Juedisch-palaestinisches Corpus Inscriptionum* (1920); *Ever ha-Yarden ha-Yehudi* (1925); *Toledot ha-Yishuv ha-Yehudi be-Ereẓ Yisrael…* (1935); *Toledot Ḥakirat Ereẓ Yisrael…* (1937); *Ereẓ Yehudah* (1939); and *Ereẓ ha-Galil* (1946). Klein also edited *Sefer ha-Yishuv* (vol. 1, 1939), and contributed most of the articles on Ereẓ Israel in the German *Encyclopaedia Judaica* and the *Juedisches Lexikon*.

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[Michael Avi-Yonah]

KLEIN, SAMUEL SHMELKA (d. 1875), Hungarian rabbi. Klein was a disciple of Shalom Ulman Ḥarif of Lakenbach. After serving in Balkany, he was appointed rabbi of Huszt (Mármaros region), a large city which had authority over half the district. There he founded a great yeshivah. In 1860 he moved to Szöllős, although it was a much smaller town. In Szöllős Klein became very well known, many Hungarian rabbis turning to him with their difficulties. Because he inclined to Ḥasidism, his admirers began to relate extraordinary stories about him. He was the author of *Ẓeror ha-Ḥayyim* (1876), novellae on the Talmud. His sons were Jacob, rabbi of Técső and Bilke; Moses, rabbi of Csev; Shalom, rabbi of Halmi; and Phinehas Ḥayyim who succeeded him in Szöllős.

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[Itzhak Alfassi]

KLEIN, THEODORE (**Theo**; 1920–), French lawyer and Jewish communal leader, Klein was born in Paris and completed his studies in law and political science there. He was actively involved in the Jewish Resistance during WWII. A successful business lawyer, he worked in France, Africa, and Israel (as a member of the Israel Lawyers' Association since 1970). Both a French and Israeli citizen, he was also extremely active in Jewish communal affairs: he was president of CRIF, the political representative body of French Jewish institutions (1983–89), and president of the European Jewish Congress, (1986–91), which he helped found and headed in critical periods, such as the first visit of Arafat in Paris. His term as leader of the French Jewish community coincided with an increase in the influence of the community during the tenure of President Mitterrand, who was a personal friend of Klein. Klein is also close to the leaders of the French Socialist Party and the Israeli Labor Party. He took a leading role in the negotiations to remove the Carmelite convent from Auschwitz (*L'affaire du carmel d'Auschwitz*, 1991). Among his books are *Libérez la Torah, Moïse, l'homme et la loi: une relecture* (2001), where he calls upon the Jews to go directly to the text of the Bible and to free themselves from centuries of commentary. He was also president of the *Musée d'Art et d'Histoire du Judaïsme in Paris from 2001.

[Gideon Kouts / Nelly Hansson (2nd ed.)]

KLEIN, WILHELM (1850–1924), classical archaeologist. Born in Karansebes, Hungary, Klein taught at the German University of Prague. He made field trips to Greece and Italy on behalf of the Austrian government primarily to study Greek vase painting. He published a book on Euphronios (1879) who was one of the outstanding Attic red-figure vase painters active between 515 and 500 B.C.E. It was the first comprehensive study of the Athenian ceramists and their great potters' workshops. In 1898–99 he published two books on Praxiteles. Here he tried to reconstruct from existing Roman copies the work of the leading sculptors of the Greek classical period whose work had been lost or destroyed. In his last publication, *Vom antiken Rokoko* (1921), Klein distinguishes between two stylistic trends, the baroque and the rococo, within the development of Hellenistic sculpture.

[Penuel P. Kahane]

KLEIN, YVES (1928–1962), painter and judo expert. Klein was born in Nice. He first became a jazz musician and then went to Paris to study judo in which he became an expert. In Paris he met the French artists Arman and Pascal, and as a result began experimenting with painting and collage techniques. He traveled extensively, became a teacher at the National Spanish Judo Federation, Madrid, and opened his own judo school in Paris in 1955. By this time Klein was established as one of the most eclectic and daring younger European artists. In 1956 he figured in the "Festival of Avant-Garde Art" in Marseilles alongside Agam, Soto, and Tinguely. The following year he inaugurated his famous "blue period," in which both paintings and sculptures were only in this color. Klein was one of the most brilliant and influential members of the post-war school of "anti-art" protagonists. His ideas and philosophy stemmed directly from the informality and gestural "magic" which originated with Marcel Duchamp. He sought to bring back excitement and freedom into art, and at the same time to make it more "real," and more meaningful to ordinary people. In addition to his preference for monochrome canvases, he used live nude figures, daubed with paint, to make impressions on a flat space; he also introduced photographic conceptualism and everyday objects in the art statement. He was one of the founders of the "New Realism" movement which included artists like Arman, Rauschenberg, Tinguely. Since his death Klein has been rediscovered and reclaimed as one of the major artists of the century.

[Charles Samuel Spencer]

KLEINMANN, MOSHE (1870–1948), Hebrew and Yiddish author and editor. Born in Holptchinitz, Podolia, Kleinmann was an active Zionist from a young age, and at the end of the 1890s he published his own and other writers' popular pamphlets in Yiddish on Jewish history, the Jewish people, and Zionism. He began his career in journalism in *Ha-Shilo'aḥ* in 1896 with criticisms of *Aḥad Ha-Am's ideology. After the February Revolution in 1917 in Russia, he was one of the editors of the short-lived Hebrew daily *Ha-Am*. In 1921 he settled in Berlin, and became a member of the editorial board of the central organ of the Zionist organization, *Ha-Olam, and from 1923 until his last days he was its editor in chief. Along with the paper, he moved to London in 1924 and then to Jerusalem in 1936. A selection of his journalism was gathered in three books: *Be-Hitorer Am* (1943), *Le'om ba-Nekhar* (1944), and *Bein Lehavot* (1944). Other of his works are *Demuyyot ve-Komot* (essays on Hebrew literature, 1928), monographs on Theodor Herzl (1944), on Chaim Weizmann (1945), on Ḥibbat Zion (1940), and the General Zionists (1945). He edited a Hebrew Zionist Encyclopedia *(Enẓiklopedyah le-Ẓiyyonut)*, but succeeded in publishing only one volume before his death (1947).

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[Getzel Kressel]

KLEMPERER, GUTMANN (**Gumpel**; 1815–1884), Bohemian rabbi and historian. A member of an old Prague family formerly named Klopper, he attended the yeshivot of Nehemiah *Trebitsch in Prague and Moses *Sofer in Pressburg. While studying at Prague University, he was also a pupil of Solomon Judah *Rapoport. From 1843 until his death, Klemperer was rabbi of *Tabor, and in 1868 took charge of the district rabbinate formerly located in *Koloděje (Kaladei). His moderately reformed divine service influenced other Bohemian communities. In 1858 he published *Ḥayyei Yehonatan*, a biography of Jonathan *Eybeschuetz and an apologia of the latter's stand in his controversy with Jacob Emden. From 1861 until his death, 16 of his articles on talmudic subjects appeared in *Pascheles' almanac. His articles on *Judah b. Bezalel and other Prague rabbis, which appeared from 1873 until 1884, were published in an English translation by Guido Kisch in *Historia Judaica* (vol. 12, 1950). Klemperer also published a series of articles on the Kabbalah (1875–79) and planned to write a history of Bohemian Jewry. Excerpts from parts of his German translation of David *Gans' *Ẓemaḥ David* were published after his death by Moritz Gruenwald (1890). Fifty-two letters to his friend Simon *Hock, expressing his optimistic views on the Jewry of his time, are preserved in the Jewish State Museum in Prague.

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[Meir Lamed]

KLEMPERER, OTTO (1885–1973), conductor and composer. Born in Breslau, Klemperer studied in Frankfurt and Berlin. In 1905 he met *Mahler, who exercised a decisive influence on his career. On Mahler's recommendation he was appointed chorus master and conductor in Prague (1907) and then in Hamburg (1910–12). His next appointments were in Cologne (1917–24) and Wiesbaden (1924–27). He conducted a wide range of contemporary music and offered a less overtly emotional interpretation of the classics than had been common among older conductors. His period as conductor of the Kroll Opera in Berlin (1927–31) was of crucial importance in the development of opera in the first half of the 20th century. He introduced new works by Janaček, *Schoenberg, Stravinsky, and Hindemith. From 1931 he conducted in Berlin, but in 1933 was compelled to immigrate to the U.S. Klemperer became director of the Los Angeles Philharmonic, reorganized the Pittsburgh Symphony Orchestra, and undertook tours to various countries. Illness and accidents interrupted his career, but he returned to the podium in spite of increasing physical handicaps. His next engagements were at the Hungarian State Opera (1947–50) and the newly formed Philharmonia Orchestra in London. In 1970 he conducted in Jerusalem and accepted Israeli citizenship. Klemperer was considered the last of the great conductors in the grand German tradition. His performances were notable above all for their heroic dimensions and his architectural grasp. He was admired for his interpretations of Bruckner, Beethoven, and Mahler. Klemperer studied composition with Schoenberg in the mid-1930s. His output includes several operas, about 100 lieder, string quartets, and symphonies. Among his publications are *Erinnerungen an Gustav Mahler* (1960) and *Klemperer on Music* (ed. M. Andersen, 1986).

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[Uri (Erich) Toeplitz / Naama Ramot (2nd ed.)]

KLEMPERER, PAUL (1887–1964), U.S. pathologist. Born in Vienna, Klemperer studied law but transferred to medicine. In 1923 he went to the New York Postgraduate School of Medicine and three years later was appointed pathologist to New York's Mount Sinai Hospital. Klemperer's careful research into microscopic patterns led to the understanding of several diseases. His research was in lymphomas and the structure of the spleen. With co-workers, he described the pathology of malignant nephrosclerosis and a variety of newly recognized diseases of blood vessels, alimentary tract, and the hematopoietic system. The culmination of his research was the recognition of the significance of altered intermediate substances in systemic connective tissue disease.

[Fred Rosner]

KLEMPERER, VICTOR (1881–1960), German professor of Romance languages and literature. Klemperer was born in Landsberg (Warthe) as the ninth child in his family. He was the son of a Reform rabbi, and a cousin of the famous conductor Otto *Klemperer and brother of the surgeon Georg Klemperer, who was a physician to Lenin. Klemperer moved to Berlin at the age of nine and studied German, French literature, and theater in Munich, Geneva, Paris, and Berlin. In 1906 he married Eva Schlemmer and converted to Protestantism. In 1913 he was awarded a Ph.D. for his dissertation on *Die Zeitromane Friedrich Spielhagens und ihre Wurzeln* (1913). He then specialized in French literature and wrote his professorial dissertation on *Montesquieu* (2 vols. 1914/15). He held his first chair of French literature and history of literature at the University of Dresden. During his tenure at the university he published various academic articles and monographs; among them his *Idealistische Literaturgeschichte* (1929) in which he expressed his notion of the symbiosis between language and cultural history.

When the Nazis came to power in 1933 Klemperer was deprived of his academic position and isolated. Nonetheless, he continued to express his feelings as a German patriot. He survived with the help of his non-Jewish wife and fled Dresden for the last few months of the war. Klemperer returned to Dresden after the war and joined the Communist Party in 1945 but distanced himself from its ideas. Living in the former GDR, Klemperer was allowed by the party to pursue his career ambitiously. His most important book, *LTI. Notizbuch eines Philologen* (1947), focused on the speech and language of Nazism. The LTI stood for Lingua Tertii Imperii, the language of the Third Reich with its barrage of abbreviations and euphemisms and its exploitation of humanity. Klemperer became a significant cultural figure in East Germany, teaching at the universities of Greifswald and Halle. He even became a delegate of the Cultural Union in the GDR parliament. However, he despaired of the political situation and called the prevailing language of the Communists during the Cold War Lingua Quartii Imperii. This language in Klemperer's opinion closely resembled the LTI but he himself also used it when polemicizing against West Germany. Klemperer's desire for recognition was not satisfied. Obtaining a chair at the famous Humboldt University and the national award of the former GDR seemed not to be honorable enough.

In West Germany Klemperer remained unknown until his diaries written during the Nazi persecution were published in the 1990s. They became a national bestseller and the basis of a TV series. His first diary, covering the years 1918 to 1933, was published under the title *Leben sammeln, nicht fragen wozu und warum* (1996). His personal notes from 1933 to 1945, *Ich will Zeugnis ablegen bis zum letzten* (1995), became a means to cope with his desolate situation and were meant to be a cultural history of the time and a testimony of daily tyranny. It was followed by the publication of his diaries from June through December 1945, *Und alles ist so schwankend* (1996). His ambivalence between official political assimilation and his personal liberal thinking during that time can be retraced in his publication of personal notes between 1945 and 1959, *So sitze ich zwischen den Stuehlen* (1999).

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[Ann-Kristin Koch (2nd ed.)]

KLENICKI, LEON (1930–), rabbi and interfaith leader. Klenicki was born in Buenos Aires, Argentina, and attended the University of Buenos Aires. He received his B.A. from the University of Cincinnati in 1963 and his M.H.L. and ordination from the *Hebrew Union College in 1967. In 1992, HUC-JIR awarded him an honorary Ph.D. Immediately after ordination, he returned to Buenos Aires to serve as director of the Latin American Office of the *World Union for Progressive Judaism. In 1969, he was appointed rabbi of Congregation Emanu-El in Buenos Aires. While in Argentina, Klenicki edited and published Spanish and Hebrew versions of a new Reform **siddur*, a Passover **Haggadah* and (together with Roberto Graetz) a High Holiday **mahzor*. He also launched a life-long career in interfaith relations when he addressed the first Latin American meeting of Jews and Catholics in Bogotá, Colombia. This historic conclave, organized by the *Anti-Defamation League and CELAM (Latin American Episcopal Conference) and held during the visit of Pope Paul VI to the continent, paved the way for future dialogue and interreligious work. Klenicki was authorized by CELAM and the Argentine Council of Jews and Christians to undertake a study of catechisms and Catholic religious texts, the first of its kind to be done in South America. His final recommendations were presented to the Bishops Conference in Argentina for a revision of the depiction of Jews and Judaism in Catholic texts. He traveled to Rome on behalf of the Council of Jews and Christians for study sessions at the Vatican. He also served as an advisor on interfaith affairs for the DAIA, the central Jewish organization in Argentina.

In 1973, Klenicki moved to the national headquarters of the Anti-Defamation League in New York City as head of its Jewish-Catholic Relations Department. In 1984, he became director of ADL's Department of Interfaith Affairs and the organization's co-representative to the Vatican, holding both these positions until his retirement in 2001 and his elevation to director emeritus, Interfaith Affairs. While at ADL he initiated programs with Christian organizations, seminaries and churches to revise and improve the depiction of Jews in their teaching, publications, preaching and liturgy, and lectured throughout the world. He also advised ADL on programs and activities involving Jewish-Christian relations in Latin America. Publications he initiated and edited during his tenure at ADL include: *The Passover Celebration*, a Passover *Haggadah* for an interfaith service published by ADL and the Archdiocese of Chicago, the text of which has been translated into Portuguese and Spanish; *Face to Face: An Interreligious Bulletin*; *Du'Siach*, a rabbinical interreligious bulletin; *In Dialogue, Interfaith Focus*; and *Nuestro Encuentro*, a Spanish-language bulletin directed at the Hispanic community in the United States.

In 2002, Klenicki was appointed the first Hugo Gryn Fellow at The Centre for Jewish-Christian Relations, Cambridge University, England, where he lectured and taught. Concurrently, he was selected as a scholar-at-large at the Graymoor Ecumenical & Interreligious Institute and was a visiting professor of Jewish Theology at Leuven Catholic University in Belgium. He has also taught at Immaculate Conception Seminary, Huntington, N.Y., and was appointed by the government of Argentina as a member scholar of CEANA, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs Commission that investigated Nazi activities in Argentina from 1933 to 1945. He was a founding member of the Interfaith Theological Forum, established at the Pope John Paul II Center in Washington D.C. in 2004. In 2001, the International Catholic-Jewish Liaison Committee honored him for his "outstanding contributions to the work of reconciliation between the Catholic Church and the Jewish people."

Klenicki has written or edited many published works on Jewish religious thought and interreligious dialogue. Among the most notable are *A Dictionary of the Christian-Jewish Dialogue* (co-edited with Geoffrey Wigoder, 2004); *In Our Time: The Flowering of Jewish-Catholic Dialogue* (with Dr. Eugene J. Fisher, National Conference of Catholic Bishops, 1990); *A Challenge Long Delayed: The Diplomatic Exchange Between the Holy See and the State of Israel* (1996, documenting the Vatican's historic recognition of Israel); *Believing Today: Jew and Christian in Conversation* (with Rev. Richard John Neuhaus and Father Peter Stravinskas, 1989); and *Toward a Theological Encounter: Jewish Understandings of Christianity* (1991).

[Bezalel Gordon]

KLEPFISH, SAMUEL ZANVIL (1820–1902), Polish rabbi. Born in Nemirov, Klepfish studied under Moses Judah Leib, *av bet din* of Kutno, who in his old age immigrated to Ereẓ Israel, and who implanted in Klepfish the love of Ereẓ Israel. Klepfish, who belonged to the family of Motele the Ḥasid, one of the first *dayyanim* of Warsaw, was already as a youth appointed to decide halakhic questions in Warsaw. With Jacob *Gesundheit's resignation from the position of rabbi of Warsaw, the post was abolished and Klepfish was appointed (1875) to succeed him, but given the title of *av bet din* only. Regarded as one of the outstanding halakhic authorities of his time, he received queries from all over the world. In 1888 Klepfish investigated the problem of the sabbatical year in connection with the new agricultural settlements in Ereẓ Israel. A consultation of Polish rabbis took place in his house and, with his colleagues Samuel *Mohilever and Joshua Kutner, he issued the permission to work during the sabbatical year 1889, upon which the present-day permission is based. Well known as a communal worker and interested in all Jewish problems, both in Poland and abroad, he was in contact with communal leaders in Kovno, St. Petersburg, and London. Despite the fact that he was a *Mitnagged* of the school of *Ḥayyim b. Isaac of Volozhin, Klepfish was highly respected and esteemed by the Ḥasidim of Warsaw who submitted to him all matters of *halakhah*, and he was equally accepted by the *maskilim*, who were influential in Warsaw. His son, Motele, and sons-in-law Samuel David Kahana and Ḥayyim Leib Yadkovski, were appointed rabbis of Warsaw during his lifetime and sat together with him at the consultations of rabbis of the community. His third son-in-law, Alba Ḥayyim Miklishansky, served as preacher in the large Nozik synagogue of Warsaw. Another son-in-law, Ḥayyim Fein, was rabbi of Radzyn.

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KLEPFISZ, IRENA (1941–), U.S. poet, essayist, Yiddishist, and political activist. Born in the Warsaw ghetto, Klepfisz is the daughter of Michal Klepfisz, a ghetto hero who died early in the uprising, and Rose Perczykow Klepfisz, who survived the Holocaust by passing as a Pole. Klepfisz spent the war in a Polish orphanage and was reunited with her mother after liberation. After a short stay in Sweden, they entered the United States in 1949, where Klepfisz learned English and also studied Yiddish at Workmen's Circle Yiddish schools. She earned her B.A. at the City College of New York and her Ph.D. at the University of Chicago.

Self-described as a Jew, a survivor of the Holocaust, a lesbian, a poet, a teacher, and an activist, Klepfisz's poems and essays reflected her commitment to socialist secular Judaism and to the challenge of living Jewishly as a lesbian feminist. As in her signature poem, "Bashert," her work often blended Yiddish with English. Klepfisz founded a feminist magazine, *Conditions*, co-edited *A Tribe of Dina: A Jewish Woman's Anthology* (1986), and *A Jewish Woman's Call for Peace: A Handbook for Jewish Women on the Israeli/Palestinian Conflict* (1990). Her collections of poetry include *Periods of Stress* (1977); *Keeper of Accounts* (1982); *A Few Words in the Mother Tongue: Poems Selected and New (1971–1990)* (1991); and *Dreams of an Insomniac: Jewish Feminist Essays, Speeches, and Diatribes* (1990), which also contains prose pieces.

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[Myrna Goldenberg (2nd ed.)]

KLETSK (Pol. **Kleck**), town in Minsk district, Belarus, formerly within Poland. A document of 1529 confirms the existence of a community in the town. At that time, Isaac *Jozefowicz of Brest held various leases in Kletsk. In 1552 living there were four Jewish families, who owned their houses and land outside town. Tax assessments of 1556 and 1563 indicate that the community was regarded as one of the most important in Lithuania. According to the regulations of the *Council of Lithuania of 1623, the Kletsk community was under the jurisdiction of the Pinsk community.

The old synagogue (*bet ha-midrash*) of the community was built during the late 17th century, and several years later a Jewish cemetery was opened. Construction of the Great Synagogue was completed in 1796, by the town owner, Count Radziwill. There were 29 Jewish poll tax payers in 1766. Noted rabbis of Kletsk during the 18th century were Michael Eisenstadt and his son Moses. The philosopher Solomon *Maimon lived in the neighborhood of Kletsk for several years. R. Meir Berlin (Bar-Ilan; 1880–1949), who was the leader of the Mizrachi movement, was born and raised there. In 1811 there were 662 Jewish male inhabitants in Kletsk and its surroundings, of whom 65 were craftsmen (33 tailors) and 40 lived in the villages. The community numbered 2,138 persons in 1847. In 1885 a considerable part of the town was destroyed by fire. In the 19th and 20th centuries Jews lived mainly from trade in farm products, though some dealt in crafts. The economic crisis which ensued compelled many Jews to emigrate from the town. The authors Yehoshua *Barzillai and Benzion *Eisenstadt lived in Kletsk. Jews from Kletsk also immigrated to Ereẓ Israel during the Second and Third Aliyah. In 1897 there were 3,415 Jews (73% of the total population) living in Kletsk.

In the first democratic elections to the municipality of Kletsk, held in 1918, 17 of the 24 delegates elected to the municipal council were Jews, one of whom was appointed vice-mayor. In 1932, when the Jewish delegates opposed the arbitrary limitation of their number in the municipal council, the authorities made an abortive attempt to accuse them of having violated the regulations concerning foreign currency and the trade in gold. In 1921 there were 4,190 Jews (74%) in Kletsk, of whom 40% were occupied in crafts and 30% in shopkeeping; the wealthiest engaged in the horse and cattle trade and the lease of orchards. In 1921, the Slutsk yeshivah in Kletsk was headed by Aaron *Kotler, who was one of the leading yeshivah heads of his time. There were also a reformed *ḥeder* (founded in 1903), a Hebrew *Tarbut school (from 1924), and a Beth Jacob school in Kletsk. The Zionist parties, particularly the *He-Ḥalutz organization, were strong in the community.

[Arthur Cygielman]

1939–1941

In the fall of 1939 Kletsk came under Soviet rule and Jews from the western parts of Poland found refuge there. Under the Soviet regime, large apartments and enterprises were nationalized, and the yeshivah building was requisitioned for a municipal club (the Jewish population declined at first to attend). The three Jewish high schools were merged into one school. The language of instruction was Yiddish until 1940–41, when the school became Russian.

Under the Nazis

On June 25, 1941, Kletsk fell to German troops. A Belorussian police force was set up and began attacking the Jewish population. On Oct. 24, 1941, 35 Jews were arrested on charges of Communism and were shot and buried near the Catholic cemetery. A Judenrat was set up by the German authorities, headed by Itzhak Czerkowicz. On Oct. 30, 1941, the Jews were ordered to assemble in the marketplace, where they were surrounded by Germans and Lithuanians. They were divided into two separate groups. About 1,400 persons were led to the Great Synagogue and kept alive; the second group of 3,880 were murdered near the Catholic cemetery. The *Aktion* was commanded by *Einsatzkommando* 8. On July 21, 1942, the Germans came to liquidate the ghetto. Upon a sign from the underground headed by Moshe Fish, its members set fire to the ghetto houses. Some were burned alive, others shot, and about 400 tried to escape, but only a few dozen succeeded in reaching the forests. Some of them were the founders of the Jewish partisan unit which operated under the command of Lyova Gilchik in the Kopil woods. In summer of 1944, after Kletsk was liberated, some 25 survivors, most of them partisans, returned to the town but soon left for the West.

[Aharon Weiss / Shmuel Spector (2nd ed.)]

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KLETZKI, PAUL (1900–1973), conductor. Born in Lodz, Poland, Kletzki was a violinist in the Lodz Philharmonic Orchestra, took up conducting in Berlin, and in 1931 was invited by Wilhelm Furtwaengler to conduct the Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra. Compelled to leave Germany in 1933, he settled in Switzerland. After World War II, he conducted in various countries, shared the Israel Philharmonic Orchestra's 1955 European tour with Paul Paray, and in 1958 was appointed conductor of the Dallas Symphony Orchestra in Texas. In 1967, Kletzki was appointed conductor of the Suisse Romande Orchestra of Geneva. He excelled in romantic music, but also promoted contemporary works.

KLEY, EDUARD (**Israel**; 1789–1867), German pedagogue and Reform preacher. Orphaned at an early age, Kley studied Talmud at Breslau and then became tutor to the Beer family of Berlin. There he preached in Israel *Jacobson's private temple and associated with L. *Zunz, Auerbach, and other reformers. In 1817–18 he and C.S. Ginsburg published in Berlin *Die deutsche Synagoge*, which proposed a complete liturgy in German. Moving to *Hamburg as director of the Jewish free school there, Kley preached in the Hamburg Temple, delivering sermons on Sunday and introducing the organ and a choir. He composed numerous hymns imbued with prevalent Romantic themes. Considered one of the leading preachers of his day, Kley published many collections of his hymns and sermons, which were indebted to F. *Schleiermacher and other Protestant preachers. His catechism, published in 1814, influenced Isaac *Leeser, the American reformer. Kley stressed the devotional aspect of religion in his sermons and held that the essence of Judaism was exemplified in the three fundamental principles of Joseph *Albo – belief in the existence of God, belief in revelation, and belief in divine retribution.

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KLIGLER, ISRAEL JACOB (1889–1944), bacteriologist. Kligler was born in Kamenets-Podolski, Ukraine, and was taken to the U.S. in 1901. He went to Ereẓ Israel in 1920 and worked with the *Hadassah Medical Organization. In 1921–22 he undertook a year's experimental fieldwork on malaria on the basis of a special grant he received from Justice Louis D. *Brandeis. From 1923 to 1926 he was director of the malaria research unit financed by the American Joint Distribution Committee, and from 1926 until his death was director of the department of hygiene at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem.

Kligler was a leading personality in public health, preventive medicine and malaria control in the mandatory era in Palestine. He was chairman of the health department of the Va'ad Le'ummi, adviser on malaria to the *Jewish National Fund, and consultant to the Hadassah Medical Organization. He founded the Microbiological Society and the Malaria Research Station at Rosh Pinnah. Kligler's scientific papers covered bacteriology, virology, immunology, hygiene, nutrition, epidemiology, and the control of infectious diseases. His main interest, however, was malaria, and his *Epidemiology and Control of Malaria in Palestine* (1930) dealt with the disease as it existed in the country at that time, giving a detailed epidemiology, prophylaxis, treatment, and control of the disease, and a description of the biology and bionomy of the local anopheline vectors. He published over 100 scientific studies.

[Zvi Saliternik]

KLÍMA, IVAN (1931–), Czech writer, playwright, and publicist. Born in Prague, Klima spent three and a half years in the Theresienstadt concentration camp. After finishing his studies at the Faculty of Philosophy at Charles University in Prague (Czech language and literary criticism), he worked as an editor in a publishing house and in many literary magazines until they were banned by the Communist regime. After his return in 1970 from a year's teaching in the U.S. at the University of Michigan, he was expelled from all literary organizations, lost his job, and the publication of his books was prohibited. Until 1990, his works appeared only abroad or in *samizdat*. He served as president of the Czech Pen Club (1989–1993) and, from 1993, as its vice president. He was a member of the Club of Rome. Klíma lived in Prague.

Klíma's novels, short stories, plays, and essays have been translated into 29 languages. His published work includes the novels *An Hour of Silence* (1963); *The Ship Named Hope* (1970);*The Summer Affair* (1987); *Judge on,Trial* (1991); *Waiting for the Dark, Waiting for the Light* (1994); *Love and Garbage* (1990);*The Ultimate Intimacy* (1998); *Neither Saints nor Angels* (2001); and the plays *The Castle* (1964); *The Master* (1967); *Sweetshop Miriam* (1968); and *The Jury* (1968), *Franz and Felice* (1985), *America* (the dramatization of a novel [with P. Kohout]) – all three inspired by Franz *Kafka.

Klíma's Jewish origin, his experience in Theresienstadt, feelings of responsibility of an individual for the collective, the loss of trust in God, problems of injustice, alienation and feeling like a social outcast are reflected in his literary characters. He was awarded the Egon Hostovský Prize and the Franz Kafka Prize.

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[Milos Pojar (2nd ed.)]

KLINE, FRANZ (1910–1962), U.S. painter. Kline was born in Wilkes-Barre, PA., but grew up in Philadelphia, and attended the School of Fine and Applied Arts at Boston University from 1931 to 1935 and Heatherly's Art School, London (1937–38). He settled in New York in 1938, by which time his later colleagues in the Abstract-Expressionist movement were already installed in the city, moving toward the distinctly American form of art. Until the late 1940s Kline concentrated on urban landscapes, influenced by the great overwhelming structures of the metropolis, notably the linear skeletons of railways and bridges. Gradually, however, the nature of his brush-strokes took over so that huge drawings in black enamel, a quick-drying house paint, became abstract ideograms. As in the case of his contemporary, Mark Tobey, these seem to have their origin in Oriental calligraphy. Kline's work became increasingly abstract, although always with a strong representational background, so that one is tempted to "read" his work. The restriction to black and white was one of the characteristics of the newly emergent American school, but Kline's work was best suited to the monochrome limitation. Even at its most abstract, the great sweeps of the brushstroke across the canvas and the conglomeration of linear intersections seem to describe heavy, industrial cityscapes. Later Kline introduced color, so that the explosive energy and vitality of his brush strokes were allied with denser, more closed, definitions of space. Kline had considerable influence on a number of distinguished younger painters, among them Philip *Guston, Jack *Tworkov, and Milton Resnick. Kline's first one-man exhibition was at the Egan Gallery, New York, in 1950; his work has since been exhibited in most parts of the world and is represented in major American exhibitions and important collections of modern art in Europe.

[Charles Samuel Spencer]

KLINE, NATHAN S. (1916–1982), U.S. psychiatrist and psychopharmacologist. Kline was born in Philadelphia. He graduated in medicine from New York College of Medicine in 1943 and founded the Rockland Psychiatric Center in 1952, which became the Rockland Research Institute in 1975 and was later named after him following his death. By utilizing serendipitous clinical observations, Kline pioneered the introduction of anti-psychotic and anti-depressant drugs in psychiatric practice. He discovered the anti-psychotic effects of reserpine and was the first to use the monoamine-oxidase inhibitor iproniazid to treat severe depression. The Rockland Institute's work introduced psychopharmacology to psychiatric practice and collated data on clinical trials and drug safety, including the application of new computer systems. Kline assisted in establishing mental health clinics worldwide. He was deeply involved in lay education on mental diseases and founded and directed the International Committee against Mental Illness. He was twice awarded the Lasker Prize for clinical medical research (1957 and 1964).

[Michael Denman (2nd ed.)]

KLINTSY, city in Oriol district, Russian Federation. Jews settled there at the turn of the 18th century. Before the 1917 Revolution, Klintsy belonged to Chernigov province and was included in the *Pale of Settlement. In 1897 the Jewish community numbered 2,605 (21% of the total population). In pogroms instigated by local government officials in October 1905 two Jews were killed and Jewish homes looted. The Jewish population numbered 5,248 (23.4%) in 1926, and grew to 6,505 (16% of the total) by 1939. There was a Yiddish elementary school and an evening school for adults. The Germans occupied the town on August 20, 1941, and they set up a ghetto. Some 150 skilled workers were taken to an unknown destination and were probably killed. In early December 1941, the Germans murdered the remaining 3,000 Jews. Jews returned after World War II and one synagogue still existed in 1970.

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[Yehuda Slutsky / Shmuel Spector (2nd ed.)]

KLODAWA (Pol. **Klodawa**), town in Poznan province, central Poland. A Jewish settlement existed there in 1487, when the Jewish poll tax was levied by Jan Chelmski. At the beginning of the 19th century, it was argued that Jewish residence in Klodawa had been excluded by a privilege *de non tolerandis Judaeis* dated 1647, allegedly granted to the town by "King Augustus." However in privileges issued to the town of 1720 and 1739, confirming those granted by kings Ladislas Jagello (1386–1434) and Sigismund II Augustus (1548–72), there is no mention of a prohibition on Jewish residence in Klodawa. This was first forbidden in 1755 and is also mentioned in a privilege given to the guilds by King Michael Wisnowiecki (1660–73). All these restrictions were abolished at the end of the 18th century. According to a 1789 census, a number of Jews in Klodawa engaged in crafts. Under Prussian rule the growing Jewish population was assigned to a special residential quarter (Dziadowice); they numbered 221 (22% of the total population) in 1808. After 1815 the town was within Congress Poland. In 1860 the old wooden synagogue, located in the Dziadowice quarter, was replaced by a stone building. The community numbered 443 in 1827, 585 in 1857, 874 in 1897, 1,148 (29.4%) in 1921, and 1,350 in 1939.

[*Encyclopaedia Judaica* (Germany)]

Holocaust Period

Before World War II about 1,350 Jews lived in Klodawa. Under the German occupation Klodawa came within the Hohensalza district. In December 1940 there were 1,186 Jews, including 108 refugees from localities in the region. Nearly 300 Jews must have fled from Klodawa or were deported by the Nazis to the General Government in the first two years of the occupation (1939–40). On Jan. 2–4, 1942, 46 Jews from Klodawa were killed in the Kazimierzow forest near the town of Zagorow. From Jan. 9–12, 1942, the remainder were deported to the nearby *Chelmno death camp.

[Danuta Dombrowska]

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KLOSTERNEUBURG, town in Lower Austria (until 1298 combined with Neuburg rechts der Donau). In 1187 a nobleman granted his annual income from a Jew to the monastery in Klosterneuberg, but it is not known if the Jew was living in the town. One of the monastery's vineyards was pawned to a Jewess in 1275, and from 1295 the sources mention other Jews functioning as moneylenders. A community is first mentioned in accounts of persecutions in 1302, 1334, 1338, and 1341. Several Jews owned houses in the town in 1339, among them David *Steuss. The community had a richly adorned synagogue, first mentioned in 1371. A member of the city council who was **iudex Judaeorum* is recorded in 1330, and records of numerous moneylending activities exist. The Klosterneuburg community, which had close ties with that of Vienna, ceased to exist in 1420 after the **Wiener Gesera* expulsions.

In 1845 a Jewish peddler who had been plying his trade in the neighboring villages was allowed to settle in the town after reporting a theft from a church. A congregation, consisting of 16 families, was established in 1852 and a cemetery was consecrated in 1874 (enlarged in 1906). The community, in which the congregation of Tulln was included, was recognized in 1892 and in 1900 numbered 280 persons. Approximately 60 Jewish families lived in Klosterneuburg in 1938. The interior of the new synagogue (erected in 1914) was wrecked on *Kristallnacht*, Nov. 10, 1938. Emigration, largely to Vienna, emptied the town of its Jewish inhabitants. After the war the synagogue building was used as a municipal storehouse.

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[Henry Wasserman]

KLOTZ, LOUIS-LUCIEN (1868–1930), French politician and journalist. Born in Paris, Klotz, who was trained as a lawyer, began his journalistic career at the age of 20 by founding the illustrated journal, *Vie Franco-Russe*. He became editor of the *Voltaire* in 1892, and in 1895 founded the *Français Quotidien*. He served in various municipal and other offices, and in 1898 was elected to the Chamber of Deputies for the Somme department as a Radical Socialist. He remained a member of the chamber for 30 years, and between 1910 and 1920 was minister of finance in six administrations and once minister of the interior. In 1919 he was one of the French delegates to the Versailles Peace Conference and was a signatory of the Treaty. In 1928 Klotz was appointed to the Senate, but at the end of that year he was charged with fraud and sentenced to two years' imprisonment. Because of illness, however, he was released after serving only two months. Klotz was much interested in military and defense affairs, and his writings include *De la guerre à la paix* (1906) and *L'armée en 1906* (1906).

[Shulamith Catane]

KLUG, AARON (1926–), British biochemist and Nobel laureate. Born in Lithuania, Klug was taken by his parents to South Africa at the age of two. As a youngster, he was a member of the Habonim Zionist youth movement. In 1949, after attending the University of Witwatersrand and the University of Cape Town, he moved to Cambridge, England. He began as a medical student, transferred to science, earning his Ph.D. at the Cavendish laboratory and Trinity College, Cambridge University. From 1954 to 1958 he pursued his academic career with Rosalind Franklin, at Birkbeck College of the University of London studying the structure of the tobacco mosaic virus, and in 1958 he became director of the Virus Structure Research Group there. In 1962 he joined the Medical Research Council Laboratory of Molecular Biology in Cambridge, became joint head of the Structural Studies Division in 1978, and he was director of the Laboratory from 1986 to 1996.

Klug was awarded the Nobel Prize in chemistry in 1982 for his contribution to the advancement of science through his study of the three-dimensional structure of the combinations of nucleic acids and proteins. He developed techniques which enabled the study of both crystalline and non-crystalline material and led to "crystallographic electron microscopy." He demonstrated that a combination of a series of electron micrographs taken at different angles can provide a three-dimensional image of particles, a method which is of use in studying protein complexes and viruses. His work later formed the basis of X-ray CT scanner. His subsequent research was on the structure of DNA and RNA binding proteins which regulate gene expression and in particular on the interaction with the zinc finger family of transcription factors which he discovered.

Klug was president of the Royal Society (1995–2000), a member of the Order of Merit, a foreign associate of the U.S. National Academy of Sciences and the French Academy of Sciences, and received many honorary degrees. He also made important contributions in biotechnology and was involved in the creation of the Sanger Center in Cambridge, which was responsible for sequencing one-third of the human genome. Klug was a very active supporter of Ben-Gurion University in Israel and from 2004 was the chairman of its Institute of Biotechnology.

[Michael Denman (2nd ed.)]

KLUGER, SOLOMON BEN JUDAH AARON (1785–1869), talmudist and halakhist. Kluger became known as the *Maggid* of Brody and as **MaHaRSHaK** (**M**orenu **ha-R**av **Sh**elomo **K**luger). He received his early education from his father, the rabbi of Komarov, who died during Solomon's boyhood. At 13 he went to Zamosc where he studied under Mordecai Reuben and Jacob *Kranz, the famous *maggid* of Dubno. He soon became known as an *illui* ("prodigy"). For a time he lived in Rava where he became a shopkeeper, but failed. He was then prevailed upon to accept the post of rabbi at Kolki; from there he went to Josefov and in 1820 to Brody, where he remained for about 50 years.

Kluger had a great reputation which still endures. A prolific writer, he wrote hundreds of responsa. He is said to have written 375 books, the numerical equivalent of his name Solomon; the list of his known works comprises no less then 174, of which 15 were published during his life and 15 posthumously. Kluger was an extremist in his orthodoxy, vehemently opposing the *maskilim*, whose influence was already making itself felt in Brody, and fighting against every endeavor to change the least important of religious customs prevalent in Eastern Europe. He led the opposition to the use of machine-baked unleavened bread for Passover, but in this he was motivated mainly by social considerations, claiming that it would rob many poor people of a much needed source of income on Passover. He was succeeded in Brody by his son, Abraham Benjamin.

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[Mordechai Hacohen]

KLUGMAN, JACK (1922–), U.S. actor. Born in South Philadelphia, Klugman rose from a working-class background to become a fixture in American television during the 1970s. He is perhaps best known for his portrayal of disheveled sportswriter Oscar Madison in the television series *The Odd Couple*, based on Neil Simon's play of the same title, a role which earned him two Emmy Awards. Following his years on *The Odd Couple* from 1970 to 1975, Klugman continued his success on the small-screen during a seven-year stint as the crime-solving medical examiner Dr. R. Quincy on the television show *Quincy* (1976–83). Klugman was trained as an actor at Carnegie Mellon University and then at New York's American Theater Wing. He gained respect as an actor in "the golden age" of live television drama, performing in programs for the U.S. Steel Hour, Kraft Television Theater, Studio One, and Playhouse 90, most notably in Reginald Rose's *Twelve Angry Men* (1957) and Rod Serling's *Velvet Alley* (1959). Klugman also appeared in four episodes of Rod Serling's *Twilight Zone* as well as in many films, including *Cry Terror* (1958), *Days of Wine and Roses* (1962), *Act One* (1963), *The Detective* (1968), *Goodbye, Columbus* (1969), and *Two Minute Warning* (1976). Klugman has battled oral cancer since 1974, a condition that necessitated the removal of one of his vocal chords in 1989 and threatened to permanently keep him from speaking, yet Klugman has continued to perform and received the American Speech and Hearing Association's International Media Award in recognition of his struggle to regain his speech.

[Walter Driver (2nd ed.)]

KLUMEL, MEIR (1875–1936), Zionist leader in Poland. Born in Widze (now Vidzy) near Vilna, Klumel completed his studies in Semitic linguistics at the University of Strasbourg in 1902 with the publication of a scientific edition of a Samaritan commentary on Exodus 22 written in Arabic by Yaʿqūb al-Sāmirī. He lived in Warsaw and became active in the Zionist movement, serving as chairman of the Zionist Organization in Poland from 1917 to 1924, in "*Tarbut," *Keren Hayesod, various economic institutions, etc. In 1932 he moved to Palestine and until his last days was active in the association of Polish immigrants, the Berit Ivrit Olamit, and other organizations.

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[Getzel Kressel]

KLUTZNICK, PHILIP MORRIS (1907–1999), U.S. community planner, diplomat, and communal leader. Klutznick was born in Kansas City, Missouri. While in high school, he was vice president of the local YMCA's Hi-Y Boys Club; but, as a Jew, he was not permitted to become president. This prompted him to establish the second chapter of the Aleph Zadik Aleph (AZA) youth branch of B'nai B'rith.

Klutznick received his law degree from Creighton University law school in Omaha, Nebraska. He was admitted to the bar (1930) and, as assistant corporation counsel for the city of Omaha, brought a federal housing development to that city. His success as a community planner in the posts of special assistant on housing to the U.S. attorney general (1935–36) and general counsel for the Omaha Housing Authority, which he was instrumental in creating (1938–41), led to his appointment as federal housing commissioner (1944–46) by presidents Roosevelt and Truman. He also served as assistant administrator of the National Housing Agency. Among his many innovative actions, he arranged for hundreds of houses to be dismantled in some parts of the country and shipped to other parts to be rebuilt for defense factory workers who needed them.

As board chairman of American Community Builders, Inc., Klutznick developed the model middle-income community of 30,000 of Park Forest (1947). A satellite city located 27 miles out of Chicago, it was designed for returning war veterans. Klutznick served as board chairman and director of banking, insurance, and utilities corporations, and was senior partner of Klutznick Enterprises. He extended his pioneering efforts in community development to Israel as co-founder of the modern seaport of *Ashdod. He was appointed to the U.S. delegation to the United Nations in 1957 by President Eisenhower. In 1961–63 he served as ambassador to the United Nations Economic and Social Council.

Klutznick was one of the foremost figures in postwar American Jewish life. He was international president of B'nai B'rith (1953–59), general chairman of the United Jewish Appeal, president of the American Friends of the Hebrew University, vice president of the Jewish Welfare Board, a board member of the *Conference on Jewish Material Claims Against Germany, and helped to establish the *Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations. In 1956 he went to Morocco to secure the release of 8,500 Moroccan Jews. In these capacities he spoke out against religious and cultural genocide and for the observance of human and civil rights. In his *No Easy Answers* (1961), he was critical of disunity among Jewish religious groups.

In 1974 he undertook the development of the 74-story Water Tower Place complex in Chicago. In 1975, President Ford appointed him to serve on an advisory committee that facilitated resettlement of Vietnamese and Cambodians in the United States.

[Maurice Bisgyer]

Klutznick received the 1976 Liberty Award of the United States and was elected president of the *World Jewish Congress in November 1977, in succession to Nahum *Goldmann. In November 1979 he was nominated as secretary of commerce by President Carter and received the unanimous approval of the U.S. Senate; at age 72, he became the oldest member of Carter's cabinet. He oversaw the 1980 U.S. Census and established the Office for Productivity, Technology, and Innovation. He served until the Carter administration ended in January 1981 and returned to Chicago.

In 1986, he and his wife established the Philip M. and Ethel Klutznick Chair in Jewish Civilization at the College of Arts and Sciences at Chicago's Northwestern University. In the following year they established the Klutznick Endowed Chair in Jewish Civilization at Creighton University.

The B'nai B'rith Klutznick National Museum is located in Washington, D.C. and Creighton University's law library also bears his name. Klutznick's *Angles of Vision: A Memoir of My Lives* (with S. Hyman) was published in 1991.

[Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY: M. Berger, *They Built Chicago: Entrepreneurs Who Shaped a Great City's Architecture* (1992); M. Baer, *Dealing in Futures: The Story of a Jewish Youth Movement* (1983).

KNEFLER, FREDERICK (1833–1901), U.S. army officer. Born in Hungary, Knefler immigrated to the United States in 1859 and volunteered for the Union army in 1861 on the outbreak of the Civil War. He rose from the rank of private to captain in the 11th Indiana regiment within a year and from captain to colonel in the 79th Indiana within another year. He fought in all the great battles in the west, taking part in the assault on Missionary Ridge at Chattanooga and Sherman's Atlanta campaign, and was promoted to brevet brigadier general in 1865 shortly before the end of the war. In the late 1870s he was appointed by President Hayes to head the Pension Bureau.

KNESSET (Heb. כְּנֶסֶת; "Assembly"), the parliament and legislature of the State of Israel. The name of the assembly and the number of its members were both adopted from *the Knesset ha-Gedolah* – the Great Assembly of the fifth century B.C.E.

The Knesset is unicameral, and consists of 120 members. Its basic functions are to legislate, supervise the government, represent the various points of view prevalent in the society regarding the main issues on the national agenda, and elect the president of the State and the state comptroller. The government cannot operate without the confidence of the Knesset, which means that it requires the support of at least 61 members of the Knesset.

Basic Laws passed by the Knesset

Law	Date of enactment	Knesset	Current status
Basic Law: The Knesset	February 12, 1958	Third	In force
Basic Law: Lands of Israel	July 25, 1960	Fourth	In force
Basic Law: The President of the State	June 16, 1964	Fifth	In force
Basic Law: The Government (first version)	August 13, 1968	Sixth	Replaced
Basic Law: The State Economy	July 21, 1971	Seventh	In force
Basic Law: The Military	March 31, 1976	Eighth	In force
Basic Law: Jerusalem the Capital of Israel	December 13, 1980	Ninth	In force
Basic Law: The Judiciary	February 28, 1984	Tenth	In force
Basic Law: The State Comptroller	February 15, 1988	Eleventh	In force
Basic Law: Freedom of Occupation (first version)	March 12, 1992	Twelfth	Replaced
Basic Law: Human Dignity and Freedom	March 17, 1992	Twelfth	In force
Basic Law: The Government (second version)	March 18, 1992*	Twelfth	Replaced
Basic Law: Freedom of Occupation (second version)	March 9, 1994	Thirteenth	In force
Basic Law: The Government (third version)	March 7, 2001**	Fifteenth	In force

* Went into force toward the elections to the Fourteenth Knesset in 1996.
** Went into force toward the elections to the Sixteenth Knesset in 2002.

The Provisional State Council, which exercised legislative authority in the State of Israel after the Proclamation of Independence, adopted, on November 18, 1948, an ordinance providing for the election of a Constituent Assembly, to which general elections were held two months later. Soon after its election the Constituent Assembly changed its name to "Knesset" and adopted basic constitutional arrangements for the running of the country. However, it was unable to adopt a full constitution, due to political constraints, and in June 1950, decided that the preparation of a constitution would take the form of Basic Laws, each dealing with another element in the system of government. The idea was that after being enacted, all the Basic Laws together would constitute the State's Constitution. The first basic law, Basic Law: the Knesset, was passed on February 12, 1958. By the beginning of the 21st century, the task had not yet been completed.

The main laws governing the Knesset and its work are (in chronological order): The Knesset Members Immunity Law, 1951; Basic Law: the Knesset (passed in 1958); The Knesset Building and Compound Law, 1968; The Knesset Law, 1994 (which deals with certain issues not dealt with in Basic Law: the Knesset). All these laws have been amended since being passed.

Elections

The rules by which Israel's electoral system operates are stipulated in the Election Law, 1969. The Central Elections Committee is responsible for its implementation.

Elections to the Knesset are general, national, direct, equal, secret, and proportional. Every citizen from the age of 18 who is in Israel at the time of election, unless he is on a diplomatic mission abroad or a seaman at sea, is eligible to vote, regardless of sex, race, or religion. Candidates for election must be at least 21 years of age. Civil servants, judges, army officers in active service, rabbis paid from state funds, and holders of certain other state offices are not eligible as candidates. As a rule, elections are held every four years, but early elections may be called at the request of the prime minister, or upon a resolution of the Knesset to dissolve itself. The Knesset may serve for over four years if elected in early elections, or should the Knesset resolve to delay the date of elections (as occurred on the occasion of the *Yom Kippur War in 1973).

The contestants in the elections are lists, where each list must consist of at least one party, registered with the Party Registrar on the basis of the Parties Law, 1992. A list may consist of more than one registered party, and in practice can include bodies that are not registered parties, though this was more prevalent in the past than it is today.

Each list that gets elected receives a number of seats proportional to the valid votes it received. Originally there was a 1% qualifying threshold, which was raised to 1.5% towards the elections to the Thirteenth Knesset. In May 2004 the qualifying threshold was raised to 2%. The reason for raising

Knesset elections and date of first sitting

Knesset	Date of election	Date of first sitting	Length of term
First	January 25, 1949	February 14, 1949	2 years and 6 months
Second	July 30, 1951	September 20, 1951	4 years
Third	July 6, 1955	August 15, 1955	4 years and 4 months
Fourth	November 3, 1959	November 30, 1959	1 year and 9 months
Fifth	August 15, 1961	September 9, 1961	4 years and 2 months
Sixth	November 2, 1965	November 22, 1965	4 years
Seventh	October 28, 1969	November 17, 1969	4 years and 2 months
Eighth	December 31, 1973	January 21, 1974	3 years and 5 months
Ninth	May 17, 1977	June 13, 1977	4 years and 1 month
Tenth	June 30, 1981	July 20, 1981	3 years and 1 month
Eleventh	July 23, 1984	August 13, 1984	4 years and 3 months
Twelfth	November 1, 1988	November 21, 1988	3 years and 8 months
Thirteenth	June 23, 1992	July 13, 1992	3 years and 11 months
Fourteenth	May 29, 1996	June 17, 1996	3 years
Fifteenth	May 17, 1999	June 7, 1999	3 years and 8 months
Sixteenth	January 28, 2003	February 17, 2003	3 years and 2 months
Seventeenth	March 28, 2006	April 17, 2006	

the qualifying threshold has been to prevent one- and even two-person lists from being elected. Nevertheless, the basic concept is that all parts of Israel's heterogeneous population should have the opportunity to be represented to the Knesset. The relatively extreme application of the proportional representation system has resulted in ten to fifteen lists being elected to each Knesset.

All efforts over the years to reform the electoral system to a mixed system, whereby half the members would be elected in multi-member constituencies, and the other half on the basis of proportional representation, failed. The only major change in the electoral system that was adopted introduced the direct election of the prime minister side by side with the election of the Knesset. This change was adopted through the amendment of Basic Law: the Government, and accompanying laws, in March 1992. It was canceled nine years later because it had led to greater political fragmentation, did not strengthen the status of the prime minister, and weakened the two major political parties.

Members of the Knesset and Parliamentary Groups

As noted above, members of the Knesset are not elected directly, but as members of lists. Each party has its own method of putting together its list. In the past "arrangement committees" were customary, where the leaders of the party were those who decided who should run on the party's list. Some, like the *Israel Labor Party since the elections to the Thirteenth Knesset, hold closed primaries among the registered party members, in which representatives from national lists and district lists are elected. In others, like the *Likud in recent elections, it is the party Central Committee that elects the representatives to the list. In the *haredi* (ultra-Orthodox religious) parties it is the spiritual leaders who decide who will be on the list.

The candidates on the lists who pass the qualifying threshold enter the Knesset according to the order in which their names appear on the list. Should a party receive 12 seats, it is the first 12 persons whose names appear on the list who enter the Knesset. After entering the Knesset, the lists are referred to as "parliamentary groups," and in the course of each Knesset parliamentary groups are able to split or merge, or the number of their seats might change due to individual Knesset members, or groups of members, moving from one parliamentary group to another. Except for the Third Knesset, the number of parliamentary groups at the end of the term of each Knesset has been larger than at its start. No list has ever won a majority of the Knesset seats. The most any list ever received was the 56 seats received by the Alignment (Labor-*Mapam coalition) in the elections to the Seventh Knesset. All of Israel's governments have been coalitions, made up of at least three parliamentary groups, but usually more.

Though the members of the outgoing Knesset continue to serve until the first sitting of the new Knesset, the newly elected members enjoy parliamentary immunity, and start receiving a salary as members, from the moment the results of the elections are announced. In the past it was customary to consider someone a member of the Knesset only from the moment that he or she declared his or her allegiance to the Knesset. However, today the rule is that newly elected members are considered full members from the first sitting of the new Knesset, while in the event of a member's passing away or resigning from the Knesset in mid-term, the next person on the list becomes a member immediately upon the death or resignation.

Though there is a law that describes the legal obligations and immunities of members of the Knesset, and the Rules of Procedure *inter alia* deal with issues of discipline and the Rules of Ethics with ethical questions, there is no document that describes the official duties of a member. However, as representatives of the constituencies that elected them, members are expected to attend the House regularly, fulfill any specific post to which they have been elected within the Knesset, participate in the sittings of the plenum, attend the meetings of the committees of which they are members, propose bills, table motions, ask questions, and take part in debates. In important votes the coalition and the parliamentary groups impose discipline, though voting discipline has greatly weakened since the early 1990s. Members of the Knesset are expected to conduct themselves with dignity and represent it with honor.

It should be noted that Israel has a parliamentary system; since the establishment of the state, between 12 to 29 members of the Knesset have simultaneously also served as ministers in the Government, and additional members as deputy ministers.

The Knesset is entitled to lift the immunity of a member of the Knesset against whom there are criminal charges. It is the state attorney who requests that the immunity be lifted, and should the House Committee decide to comply with the request, the plenum must approve the decision as well.

For many years the number of women elected to the Knesset was relatively small, running from seven in the Twelfth Knesset to 12 in the Third. However, since the Fifteenth Knesset the numbers have risen, and in the Sixteenth Knesset 17 were elected. Since the First Knesset the number of members born in Israel has risen from a mere 17 in the First Knesset (of whom three were members of minorities) to an overwhelming majority in the Sixteenth Knesset. The number of Arabs and Druze in the Knesset has also risen significantly since the First Knesset.

Work of the Knesset

The work of the Knesset is divided into parliamentary work, performed by the members of the Knesset with the help of the Knesset staff, and administrative and maintenance work, performed by the Knesset employees and contract workers. The speaker, usually elected at the first sitting of each new Knesset, or soon thereafter, is the head of the parliamentary hierarchy, while the secretary general of the Knesset – appointed by the speaker – is head of the administration. The speaker, assisted by his deputies, runs the sittings of the plenum.

The Knesset's annual session is divided into a winter session and a summer session. When the Knesset is in session, it usually sits in plenum on Monday and Tuesday afternoons and evenings, and on Wednesday morning. The rest of the time on Mondays, Tuesdays, and Wednesdays, and frequently Sundays and Thursdays, is devoted to committee meetings.

The Knesset's agenda is determined by the speaker and his deputies. Mondays and Tuesdays are usually devoted to government business, while Wednesdays are devoted to members' motions for the agenda and private members' bills.

The work of the Knesset is divided between the plenum and the committees. The most important activities in the plenum are the debating and passing of bills, the debating and approval or rejection of motions for the agenda and motions of no-confidence in the government, questions to ministers, general debates, one-minute speeches, and the election of the president of the State and the state comptroller. On occasion, visiting foreign heads of state or of international organizations are invited to speak before the Knesset plenum.

Since 1989 the plenum has had an electronic voting system. Before the electronic voting most votes were taken by show of hands. On important issues votes are taken by roll call, and on some issues, such as the election of the president of the State and the state comptroller, the vote is by secret ballot.

Speakers of the Knesset

	Name and party affiliation of speaker	Date of election	End of term
1.	Yosef Sprinzak (Mapai)	February 14, 1949	January 28, 1959
2.	Naḥum Nir (Aḥdut ha-Avodah)	March 2, 1959	November 30, 1959
3.	Kaddish Luz (Mapai, Alignment)	November 30, 1959	November 17, 1969
4.	Reuven Barkatt (Alignment)	November 17, 1969	April 5, 1972
5.	Israel Yeshayahu (Alignment)	May 9, 1972	June 13, 1977
6.	Yitzḥak Shamir (Likud)	June 13, 1977	March 10, 1980
7.	Yitzḥak Berman (Likud)	March 12, 1980	July 20, 1981
8.	Menaḥem Savidor (Likud)	July 20, 1981	August 13, 1984
9.	Shelomo Hillel (Alignment)	September 11, 1984	November 20, 1988
10.	Dov Shilansky (Likud)	November 21, 1988	July 13, 1992
11.	Shevaḥ Weiss (Labor Party)	July 13, 1992	June 24, 1996
12.	Dan Tikhon (Likud)	June 24, 1996	June 7, 1999
13.	Avraham Burg (Labor Party)	July 6, 1999	February 17, 2003
14.	Reuven Rivlin (Likud)	February 19, 2003	May 4, 2006
15.	Dalia Itzik (Kadimah)	May 4, 2006	

Most of the work of preparing bills, before they turn into law, is performed in the committees, each of which has its own staff, a legal advisor, help from research assistants provided by the Knesset's Research and Information Center (established in 2000), and the occasional assistance of external experts.

However, it is the plenum that approves the bills. Government bills and committee bills go through first, second, and third readings. Private members' bills must also go through preliminary reading. Since the Twelfth Knesset many thousands of bills have been proposed by private members, but most of them never pass preliminary reading. Nevertheless, the majority of bills passed into law by the Knesset are private members' bills, a phenomenon unique in Western democracies.

There are 12 permanent (statutory) committees with specific terms of reference, and the Knesset is entitled to appoint additional temporary committees on specific issues. The 12 permanent committees are:

The Constitution, Law, and Justice Committee
The Economics Committee
The Education and Culture Committee
The Finance Committee
The Foreign Affairs and Security Committee

The House Committee
The Immigration, Absorption, and Dispersions Committee
The Internal Affairs and Environment Committee
The Labor, Welfare, and Health Committee
The Science and Technology Committee
The State Control Committee
The Committee on the Status of Women

Many of the Committees have subcommittees, and there are several joint committees.

The permanent committees and the committees on specific issues do not only deal with bills. They also deliberate motions for the agenda passed on to them by the plenum, and raise issues for deliberation. Occasionally they venture out of the House for tours, in connection with the issues they are dealing with. Committees are entitled to call upon ministers, civil servants, and members of the armed forces to appear before them and provide information, and usually invite specialists, experts, and representatives of interest groups to participate in their meetings. There are numerous lobbies and lobbyists operating in the Knesset corridors, in an attempt to influence legislation and Knesset resolutions. The Knesset may also appoint parliamentary committees of inquiry, to investigate specific issues or events.

Each Knesset selects an Ethics Committee and an Interpretations Committee (in the event of differences of opinion regarding the Rules of Procedure).

There is a special Knesset TV channel that is funded by the Knesset. The TV channel broadcasts all the meetings of the plenum, important committee meetings, interviews and talk shows with current and past members of the Knesset, programs about parliaments in other countries, etc. In addition all the various branches of the media in Israel have reporters in the Knesset, and on occasion the foreign media are also present.

The agendas and the minutes of the plenum are published in print and on the Knesset's website. The minutes of committee meetings that are not secret are also published on the website. The website, which includes a good deal of information on the history of the Knesset, its work, the laws it passes, background papers and studies prepared for the committees and individual members by the Research and Information Center, etc., includes sections in English and Arabic.

On the basis of the Freedom of Information Law, the Knesset provides the public with information about the Knesset and its work.

The Knesset's Relations with the Government and the Judiciary

The relations between the Knesset and the government is complex, and a strict separation of powers does not exist. Most of the ministers and all the deputy ministers are members of the Knesset, and have the right to vote in the plenum. Ministers and deputy ministers cannot be members of committees, though they appear before them as representatives of the Executive.

No government can start to function unless it is approved by the Knesset, and if new ministers are added to the government, their appointment must be approved by the Knesset as well. A government can be brought down by a vote of no-confidence. In the past an ordinary majority of the members could bring a government down, but today a government can only be brought down if at least 61 members of the Knesset vote for a motion of no-confidence, and propose the name of an alternative prime minister.

One of the tasks of the Knesset is to supervise the government. It does this by having the last word on all government bills, by means of motions for the agenda and questions. The ministers are also called upon to report to the Knesset on the activities of their ministries. Another means of supervision is by means of deliberations in the State Control Committee on the annual and occasional reports of the state comptroller, who reviews the functioning of the ministries and other government bodies that are under his supervision.

Most of the important laws passed by the Knesset are initiated by the government, and the government is obliged to act in accordance with the laws that the Knesset passes. However, due to the inflation of private legislation, it was necessary to place limitations on the passing of private members' bills involving expenditure. The inflation of private legislation has also resulted in many laws not being implemented, either partially or in full, frequently due to the technical inability of the government to implement them.

The government has found a way of amending laws without close Knesset supervision, by means of the Arrangements Law (*ḥok ha-hesderim*), which is attached to the annual Budget Law.

The relationship between the Knesset and the judiciary is also complicated. The judiciary judges on the basis of the laws passed by the Knesset, and the deliberations of the Knesset on bills – whether in the plenum or in the Committee – constitute part of the evidence concerning "the intention of the legislator." Members of the Knesset are appointed to the various committees that elect judges, both for the secular and the various religious courts. In the absence of a constitution, the Supreme Court, sitting as the High Court of Justice, is frequently called upon to decide on constitutional matters, and has on occasion declared a certain law, or part of a law, to be unconstitutional because it is in conflict with a Basic Law. This phenomenon has caused great tension between the Knesset and the Court. Some Knesset members who are dissatisfied with the activism of the Supreme Court, especially after Chief Justice Aharon Barak became its president in 1995, have called for the establishment of an independent Constitutional Court. It should be noted that among those petitioning the High Court of Justice there have been many members of the Knesset.

The Knesset Building and Compound

After its first sitting in the Jewish Agency building in Jerusalem on February 14, 1949 (*Tu bi-Shevat* of the Jewish year

5719), for 10 months the Knesset held its sittings in various locations in Tel Aviv before moving back to Jerusalem. Until its new building was inaugurated on August 30, 1966, the Knesset met in the Arazi-Frumin building on King George Street, which had originally been planned as a bank. In 1956 a competition was held for the construction of the permanent building. The winner of the competition was the architect Joseph Klarwein, but several other senior and junior architects – including Shimon Powsner, Ze'ev Rabina, Yohanan *Ratner, Dov *Karmi and his son Ram *Karmi, the British William Gillitt, and the Swiss Hans Ruegg – were involved in the deliberations about the building, its planning and construction.

The building that finally emerged – in Late International Style, with much use of bare concrete and some reddish stone from Galilee to comply with the municipal laws of Jerusalem – hardly resembles the one originally planned by Klarwein. The exterior of the building, which is a square structure, with ten rectangular pillars on each side, and an overhanging roof, resembles the U.S. Embassy in Athens, planned by Walter Gropius and completed in 1961.

The interior of the Knesset building was done by the interior decorator Dora *Gad, who made much use of wooden panels and soft pastel colors. Some elements in the internal architecture resemble the work of Finnish architect Alvar Alto. The building is adorned by numerous works of art made especially for the Knesset. Among these are the iron gates to the Knesset compound, created by the sculptor David *Palombo, the stone front wall of the plenary hall, created by sculptor Danny *Karavan, three tapestries, 12 floor mosaics and one wall mosaic created by the artist Marc*Chagall for the State Hall (commonly known as the Chagall Hall), two paintings by artist Reuven *Rubin, which hang in the Government meeting room and the Speaker's bureau, and a bronze relief created by sculptor Buki *Shwartz. Outside the gates of the Knesset is a large seven-branched **menorah* depicting scenes from Jewish history. The *menorah* was created by the German-born British sculptor Benno *Elkan, and presented to the Knesset by the British Parliament in 1956.

Most of the cost of the original building was covered by money bequeathed by James de *Rothschild in his will.

A new wing, including 48 rooms for members of the Knesset, an auditorium, several committee rooms, a gym, and storage rooms, was constructed in 1991. Due to the growing number of staff and visitors regularly present in the building, the construction of a major addition to the building was begun in 2002.

The foreground to the Knesset building is occasionally used for official ceremonies, with the participation of the Knesset Guard, which was established in 1959. At the front of the Knesset building there is an eternal flame to commemorate all those who fell in defense of the country.

The immunity of the Knesset building and its compound is protected by a special law, which lays down that the writ of the ordinary police does not apply. Within this area, no demonstration or assembly may take place without the speaker's permission, no person can be arrested without his leave, and no person may bear arms unless licensed by him. The Knesset Guard, headed by the serjeant-at-arms who is directly responsible to the speaker, is in charge of maintaining peace and order in and around the building.

See also *Israel, State of: Governance; Political Life and Parties.

WEBSITE: www.knesset.gov.il.

[Susan Hattis Rolef (2nd ed.)]

KNIEŽA, EMIL (originally **Fuerst**; 1920–1990), Slovak writer and publicist. Knieža was born in Nacina Ves, Slovakia. A partisan fighter during World War II, he later described the horrors of the Nazi occupation in his novels and stories, *Šiestý prápor na stráž!* ("The Sixth Battalion on Guard!," 1964), *Kóšer rota* ("The Kosher Battalion," 1966), and *Mušketieri žltej hviezdy* ("Musketeers of the Yellow Star," 1967), while other works broke new ground with their accounts of Jewish forced labor units under the fascist regime. Knieža left Czechoslovakia for Switzerland after 1968 where he lived until his death. During his exile he visited Israel many times. He also published Slovak translations from the Yiddish (Shalom Aleichem).

[Avigdor Dagan / Milos Pojar (2nd ed.)]

KNOPF, ALFRED A. (**Abraham**; 1892–1984), U.S. book publisher. Born in New York City, Knopf graduated from Columbia College in 1912. He started his own publishing firm in 1915 after working for Doubleday, Page Publishing, and Mitchell Kennerley. Owner of a Russian wolfhound, he labeled his publications Borzoi Books. His insistence on excellent design and craftsmanship helped to raise book production standards in the United States and to attract many new authors to his ever-expanding list. His wife, Blanche Wolf *Knopf (1894–1966), active in the firm from the beginning, discovered many talented European writers. Alfred A. Knopf Inc. published translations of these works and specialized in producing books that were distinctive in their high-quality printing, binding, and design. Knopf paid close attention to the content of the books as well, tending to publish books with subject matter that interested him, such as history, sociology, and music. In addition to the foreign authors, Knopf published the works of many modern American writers, including James Baldwin, Dashiell Hammett, and Langston Hughes. Over time, 26 of Knopf's authors – including Willa Cather, John Updike, John Cheever, Wallace Stevens, and Richard Hofstadter – won Pulitzer Prizes, more than any other American publishing house. The company also boasted 16 Nobel laureates, among them Thomas Mann and T.S. Eliot. For about a decade from 1924, Knopf published the monthly *American Mercury,* edited by H.L. Mencken and George Jean Nathan. By 1965 his firm had issued more than 5,000 titles.

In 1959 his only son, Alfred A. Knopf, Jr., who had been with the firm for many years, became a founder-partner of Atheneum Publishers. In 1960 Knopf sold the company to

Random House, which was owned by his friend and Columbia schoolmate Bennett Cerf.

[Israel Soifer / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

KNOPF, BLANCHE WOLF (1894–1966), U.S. publisher known for discovering and nurturing literary excellence. Knopf was born in New York City. Her education at the Gardner School was supplemented by tutors in French and German. She met her husband, Alfred A. *Knopf, in 1911 and, as their relationship grew closer, encouraged his dream of starting a publishing house, which he did a year before their 1916 marriage.

Blanche Wolf Knopf began her career in publishing with her husband at a time when neither women nor Jews were welcome as leaders in the field. She skillfully used her natural and acquired assets to make a lasting contribution to both American and world letters. Not the least of her contributions was the selection of the *borzoi* or Russian wolfhound as the Knopf logo. She became vice president of Alfred A. Knopf Inc. in 1921, and its president in 1957, when her husband became chairman of the company.

Blanche Knopf's fluency in French and German, bolstered by her intellectual interests and social sensibilities, helped persuade European authors, such as de Beauvoir, Shokolov, and Freud to join Knopf's list. Her reach extended beyond Europe to Latin America and the Far East, while including American writers such as Fannie Hurst and H.L. Mencken. In recognition of her support and dissemination of French literature, the French government named her a Chevalier in the Legion of Honor (1949) and awarded her the Cross of Officer (1960). An elegant figure dedicated to music, Knopf maintained a busy social life while being actively involved in the affairs of Alfred A. Knopf Publishing. Shortly after the Knopfs' only child, Alfred A. Knopf, Jr., decided to leave his parents' firm and venture out to found his own publishing house (Athaneum Publishers) in 1959, they sold their business to Random House while continuing to run it as a Random House division.

[Anne Lapidus Lerner (2nd ed.)]

KNOPFLER, MARK (1949–), British singer, songwriter, and producer. Knopfler was born in Glasgow, Scotland. After working as a journalist, he formed the rock group Dire Straits, which established itself as a serious force to be reckoned with in the late 1970s. The song "Sultans of Swing" from the album *Dire Straits* (1978) was critically lionized and shot out of nowhere to the top of the charts. Knopfler followed this smash debut with four more hit Dire Straits albums, *Communiqué* (1979), *Making Movies* (1980), *Love over Gold* (1982), which included the single "Private Investigations," and *Alchemy-Live* (1984). During this time Knopfler also became recognized as an outstanding guitarist. In 1985, he released Dire Straits' *Brothers in Arms*, which dwarfed every other record in its wake and became one of the biggest-selling albums in the history of the music industry. The album included the U.S. No. 1 single "Money for Nothing." Knopfler was then acknowledged (with Paul McCartney and David Bowie) as one of the three richest recording artists in the U.K. Knopfler waited six years before issuing a sixth Dire Straits album, *On Every Street* (1991), which became an instant No. 1 on the album charts, but only briefly. The band's last album was the live recording *On the Night*. He also produced high-quality albums for Bob *Dylan (*Infidels*, 1983) and Randi *Newman (*Land of Dreams*, 1988). Knopfler had another band, the Notting Hillbillies.

Knopfler wrote the soundtracks for a number of films as well, such as *Local Hero* (1983), *Cal* (1984), *Comfort and Joy* (1984), *The Princess Bride* (1987), *Last Exit to Brooklyn* (1989), *Tishina* (1991), *Wag the Dog* (1997), and *A Shot at Glory* (2000).

In 1999 he was named an Officer of the Order of British Empire (O.B.E.) by Queen Elizabeth. In 2002 he released the solo album *The Ragpicker's Dream*, and in 2004 he released *Shangri-la*.

[Jonathan Licht / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

°KNORR VON ROSENROTH, CHRISTIAN (1636–1689), Protestant theosophist and Kabbalah scholar. The son of a Protestant minister in Silesia, he traveled around Western Europe for several years. During his travels he came in contact with circles interested in mysticism, and was deeply influenced by the writings of Jacob Boehme. On his return, he settled in Sulzbach, in northern Bavaria, and from 1668 until his death was a close adviser and senior official in the service of Prince Christian August, who shared his mystical leanings. Knorr became known as an inspired poet, some of his poems being regarded among the finest in German religious poetry. While in Holland, he acquired an interest in Kabbalah, becoming engrossed in the study of the source material in the original. For some time he studied with rabbis such as Meir Stern in Amsterdam, and acquired manuscript copies of the writings of Isaac *Luria, coupling these inquiries with his interest in Christian mysticism. He was in close touch with the Cambridge philosopher Henry More and the Belgian mystic Franciscus (Frans) Mercurius van Helmont, who were likewise interested in Kabbalah as a theosophical system of great significance to philosophy and theology alike. In his lifetime Knorr was reputed to be the most profound Christian scholar of Kabbalah. His studies were summarized in the two bulky volumes of his main work, *Kabbala Denudata*: "The Kabbalah Uncovered, or, The Transcendental, Metaphysical, and Theological Teachings of the Jews" (Sulzbach, Latin, 1677–84). This work, which had a widespread influence, was superior to anything that had been published on Kabbalah in a language other than Hebrew. It gave non-Jewish readers a broad view of the first sources to be translated into Latin, and these were accompanied by explanatory notes. Here, too, appeared long disquisitions by More and Van Helmont on kabbalistic subjects (some of them anonymously), with Knorr's replies to them. In his translations Knorr aimed at precision, sometimes to the extent that the meaning is obscure to those not familiar with the original. Although the book contains many errors and mistranslations, particularly of difficult Zoharic passages, there is no justification for the contemporary Jewish claims that the author misrepresented the Kabbalah.

His book, which served as the principal source for all non-Jewish literature on Kabbalah until the end of the 19th century, opens with a "Key to the Divine Names of the Kabbalah," an extensive glossary of kabbalistic symbolism according to the *Zohar, *Sha'arey Orah, Pardes Rimmonim*, and some of the writings of Isaac Luria. He also made use of an Italian work on *alchemy and Kabbalah, *Esh ha-Meẓaref*, whose Hebrew original is no longer extant and is preserved only in the extracts translated by Knorr. This was followed by translations of some of Luria's writings, of the chapter on the soul in *Cordovero's *Pardes Rimmonim*, and selections from Naphtali *Bacharach's *Emek ha-Melekh*, an abridged translation of *Sha'ar ha-Shamayim* by Abraham Kohen de *Herrera, and a detailed explanation of the kabbalistic "Tree" according to the teachings of Luria, after the manner of Israel *Sarug. The "Tree" itself (which he possessed in manuscript form) he printed separately in 16 pages. To this were added several disquisitions by Henry More. The first part of the second volume opens with a translation of *Mareh Kohen* by *Issachar Berman b. Naphtali ha-Kohen (Amsterdam, 1673), followed by a translation of the first 25 leaves of *Emek ha-Melekh*, on the doctrine of *ẓimẓum* and the primordial world of chaos *(tohu)*, as "an introduction to a better understanding of the Zohar." The second part includes translations of the *Idrot* of the Zohar, *Sifra di-Ẓeni'uta* and the commentary on it by Ḥayyim *Vital taken from a manuscript, the chapters on angelology and demonology from *Beit Elohim* of Abraham Kohen de Herrera, and a translation of *Sefer ha-Gilgulim* from a manuscript "of the writings of Isaac Luria." This manuscript includes precisely what was published in the same year, 1684, by David Gruenhaut in Frankfurt on the Main. The volume closes with a separate work – *Adumbratio Kabbalae Christianae* – a summary of Christian Kabbalah; although it was published anonymously, the author was Van Helmont. Apart from the translation from *Beit Elohim*, all the texts in the second part of the second volume have been translated into English or French: the *Idrot* and *Sifra di-Ẓeni'uta* by S.L.M. Mathers (*The Kabbalah Unveiled*, 1887, 5th repr. 1962), *Sefer ha-Gilgulim* by E. Jégut (Paris, 1905), and the *Adumbratio* by Gilly de Givry (Paris, 1899). Knorr's major anthology to a great extent determined the image of Kabbalah in the eyes of historians of philosophy until the close of the 19th century. The philosopher Leibnitz, impressed by Knorr's publication, visited him in 1687 and discussed kabbalistic subjects with him.

Late in life Knorr worked on a major book on the childhood of *Jesus, based on rabbinical and kabbalistic sources. The manuscript reached his friend Van Helmont, who promised to have it published in Amsterdam; the project, however, was not realized, and this lengthy work, *Messias Puer*, was lost. During his lifetime Knorr helped to establish a Hebrew publishing house at Sulzbach, and he had a hand in the edition of the Zohar that appeared in 1684. It includes a Latin dedication to Prince Christian August, the anonymous author of which was doubtless Knorr. He likewise played a role in the publication of *Ḥesed le-Avraham* by Abraham *Azulai (Amsterdam, 1685) which is mainly a summary of the Kabbalah of Cordovero.

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[Gershom Scholem]

KNUT, DOVID (pseudonym of **David Mironovich Fichman** 1900–1955), Russian poet. Knut was born in Kishinev into a merchant family and made his literary debut in the Kishinev press: in 1918 he edited the *Journal Molodaya mysl'* ("Young Thought"). In 1920 he emigrated to Paris where he participated in circles of Russian-language poets, and organized the group of poets "Palata poetov" ("Palace of Poets"). He published in emigré journals and edited *Noviy dom* (1925–27), the Russian-language Jewish newspaper **Razsvet*, and other publications. In 1925 he published *Moikh tysyacheletiy* ("My Millennia") which included many poems infused with biblical motifs and allusions, and with consideration of the historical fate of the Jewish people. In subsequent collections, *Vtoraya kniga stikhov* ("Second Book of Verses," 1928); *Parizhskie nochi* ("Parisian Nights," 1932); *Nasushchnaya lyubov'* ("True Love," 1938) the predominant themes are love, loneliness, death, rejection of the city, the oppression of life, and unrealizability of hopes. Knut dedicated a cycle of poems to his visit to Palestine in the mid-1930s; this was called "Prarodina" ("Original Homeland," published in periodicals from 1938 to 1948 and partially included in *Izbrannyestikhi* ("Selected Poetry," 1949)). Initially Knut's poetry was close to that of the Acmeists. His outstanding talents as a publicist were demonstrated in his essays (*"Al'bom puteshestvennika"* in *Zh. Russkiye Zapiski*, 1938).

In August 1940 Knut joined the Jewish resistance movement (L'Armée juive) in France whose activity he described in "Contribution to the History of the Jewish Resistance in France, 1940–1944" (in French, 1947). In 1949 he moved to Israel and settled in Tel Aviv, where he continued his literary activity and began to write poems in Hebrew.

Knut's wife, ARIADNA (Sarah after her conversion to Judaism; 1905–44), daughter of the composer Scriabin, was a Russian poet. Her book *Stikhi* ("Poem S," 1924) contains a poem on the biblical Joshua. While an active participant in the Jewish Combat Organization she transported a group of Jewish refugees to Switzerland. Killed in July 1944 in Toulouse in a clash with policemen collaborating with the Nazis, she was posthumously awarded the first French "military cross" and "medal of resistance."

[Mark Kipnis / *The Shorter Jewish Encyclopaedia in Russian* (2nd ed.)]

°**KOBAYASHI, MASAYUKI** (1906–?), Japanese specialist on Jewish and modern European history. Born in Iida, Japan, he taught at Waseda University from 1945. In the course of his studies on modern European history, especially into the problems of minorities, he developed a lasting interest in Jewish affairs. In the late 1930s he published "Frederick the Great's Policy Toward the Jews" and "Problems of the Jews during the French Revolution," pioneering studies in Japanese historical scholarship. After World War II he was a prime mover in Japan for the promotion of scholarship and education on Jewish history and culture and in fostering understanding of the reborn State of Israel. Kobayashi translated into Japanese Norman Bentwich's *Israel* (1960) and Harry Orlinsky's *Ancient Israel* (1961).

[Hyman Kublin]

KOBE, port on Osaka Bay, Japan. Before World War I a small number of Jews, mainly from the Middle East and Europe, carried on their business activities in Kobe; the Jewish community increased slightly with the advent of refugees from the Bolshevik Revolution. The Sephardi and Ashkenazi congregations in Kobe maintained synagogues and a community center. With the rise of Nazism in Europe, and particularly after the outbreak of World War II, hundreds of Jews from Eastern Europe fled across Siberia to Japan, which served as a transit point for their journeys to more or less permanent homes elsewhere. Many of them made their way to Kobe in 1940–41 where they were given emergency assistance by the local Jewish community, Jewish international relief organizations, and some sympathetic Japanese. Notable among the refugees who passed through Kobe at this time were teachers and students from the famous *Mir yeshivah in Lithuania who, lacking the necessary visas, were sent on to Shanghai. After World War II, a small Jewish community, augmented at times by American and European businessmen and professionals, continued to live in Kobe.

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[Hyman Kublin]

KOBER, ADOLF (1879–1958), Reform rabbi and historian. Kober was born in Beuthen, Upper Silesia, and he studied at the Jewish Theological Seminary and the University of Breslau. He served as rabbi at Wiesbaden (1908–18) and Cologne (1906–08, 1918–39). As historian of Rhenish Jewry, he organized the Jewish section for the exhibition celebrating the Rhineland's 1,000-year association with the German Reich in Cologne in 1925. With Bruno *Kisch, Kober was responsible for establishing the Juedisches Lehrhaus in Cologne in 1928; he also lectured on Jewish history at the Volkshochschule ("People's University") and the University of Cologne. In 1939 he emigrated to the United States, where in New York he formed a congregation of emigrants from Germany in association with the B'nai Jeshurun synagogue. Kober specialized in German-Jewish history and, in particular, the history of the Rhenish and Cologne Jews, basing his research on the scrupulous study of archival material. He wrote numerous studies on the history of the Jews in the Rhineland, among them *Grundbuch des Koelner Judenviertels* (1920) and *Cologne* (Eng. trans. by S. Grayzel, 1940). He also published many articles in this field. In the U.S. he worked as a research fellow of the American Academy of Jewish Research.

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KOBER, ARTHUR (1900– 1975), U.S. humorist and playwright. Born in Brody, Galicia, Kober was raised in New York, which forms the scene of his amusing books about Jewish life, including *Thunder over the Bronx* (1935), *My Dear Bella* (1941; published in England as *Parm Me*, 1945), *Bella, Bella, Kissed a Fella* (1951), and *Ooh, What You Said!* (1958). He wrote the comedy *Having a Wonderful Time* (1937), and collaborated on *Wish You Were Here* (1952) and *A Mighty Man Is He* (1960). Kober also wrote screenplays and sketches of Hollywood life.

°**KOBIELSKI, FRANCISZEK ANTONI** (1679–1755), Polish priest. In 1735 he became the confessor and chancellor to Queen Maria Josephine, the wife of Augustus III; in 1736 he was appointed bishop of Kamenets-Podolski, and in 1739 bishop of Lutsk. He was zealous in missionary activities among the Jews of Podolia, sometimes preaching in the synagogues, as well as engaging in a disputation with the rabbis of Brody (1742–43). Upon its conclusion, he instructed the local clergy to pursue their missionary activities with more energy, and in 1746 he published a collection of sermons, *Światło na oświecenie narodu niewiernego* ("Light on the Enlightenment of the Infidel People"). At the same time Bishop Kobielski imposed various anti-Jewish restrictions. These included a restriction prohibiting Christian servants to sleep in the houses of their Jewish employers; public masquerades on Purim; and the lighting of synagogues at night was also prohibited. At the Sejm (diet) of Warsaw, in 1748, he sought to reduce the taxes levied upon the Jews and accused the rabbis of exploiting the poorer classes of the Jewish population. In 1752 he published a circular on the attitude of the clergy toward the Jews, *Wszystkiemu duchowieństwu na zdrowie* ("Greetings to All the Clergy"), and an essay, *Proces tykający Żydów* ("A Trial Concerning the Jews").

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[Arthur Cygielman]

KOBLENZ, city in Germany. Jews are first mentioned in a customs toll of 1104; an individual Jew, Vives of Koblenz, is noted as living in Cologne about 1135; the community is mentioned in *Benjamin of Tudela's *Itinerary* (c. 1172). A 1209 toll register set a discriminatory fee for Jews but the Mainz Nuremberg **Memorbuch* credits "Isaac and his wife Bela" with its removal. The Jew Suesskind granted a loan against the security of a mortgage on a house to Archbishop Theodore of *Trier, which the latter had redeemed by 1238. In 1265 Archbishop Henry granted the Jews a privilege of protection, yet on April 2, 1265, some 20 Jews were slain. A father who had martyred his wife and four sons but was himself saved from committing suicide by gentiles asked *Meir of Rothenburg if he had to do penance and was given a lenient reply, referring to earlier such events.

Archbishop Henry's peace treaty with the city, signed in 1285, after a revolt, stipulated that violation of Jewish life and property should be punished. In 1307 the Jewish community (*universitas Judeorum*), headed by a magistrate, received the rights of joint citizenship from the municipality. Jewish houses and properties are mentioned in sources dating from 1275 to 1333, the Jews' gate in 1282, the cemetery in 1303, and the nursing home in 1356. The main Jewish quarter was near the Old Town. R. *Asher b. Jehiel moved to Koblenz (c. 1282) and his older brother Ḥayyim functioned there as rabbi. The scribe Eliezer b. Samuel ha-Levi wrote a parchment Bible in 1344. The names of three Jews who died as martyrs in 1287 or 1288 have been preserved. From 1279 to 1346 Jews appear as moneylenders to the city council, the archbishop of Trier, and the local nobility: the Moselle bridge tolls were frequently farmed to them. The Jews were persecuted again in 1337, and most severely during the *Black Death in 1348–49. Their property was sold by Archbishop Boemund, but they were again living in Koblenz from 1351 on under the archbishop's protection. The city law, codified some time before 1424, excluded Jews, along with clerics and servants, from jury service in the courts. Added sections concluded in 1515 contain a Jewish oath formula with threatening clauses in case of perjury characteristic of the 15th century and later. The Jews were expelled from Koblenz in 1418.

Almost 100 years later (1512–18) a new community came into being with the admission of five families, who obtained a charter. The Trier bishopric issued successive Jewry regulations from 1555 to 1771, restricting the Jews to pawnbrokerage and certain kinds of trade. In 1723 they were ordered to live on a Jews' street (renamed Mint Street in 1886), and to refrain from wearing bright, costly clothes. The rabbinical synods of the Trier bishopric frequently met in Koblenz, concerning themselves with education and communal welfare. The authority of the local rabbi extended over the entire region. A welfare organization was founded in 1772. The *Memorbuch* begun in 1610 (continued until 1850) lists the names of the community leaders, many of whom were talmudic scholars and physicians, foremost among them the *Wallich family.

In 1794 the Jews' gate was broken down and emancipation came to Koblenz in 1797. The Rhine and Moselle district Jewish assembly was held in Koblenz in 1808. In 1811 the bank of Leopold Seligmann was founded, and in 1815 that of R.J. Goldschmidt. Antisemitic Hep! *Hep! riots occurred in 1819. A synagogue was built in 1826 and a new one in 1851. Mutual aid and welfare agencies were founded (1827–30) and a school in 1840. In 1808, 342 Jews lived in Koblenz; the number fell to 242 in 1836, but rose to 400 in 1849, 558 in 1880, 709 (1.8% of the total population) in 1925, 800 in 1929, and dropped to 669 in 1933; in May 1939 there were only 308. The figures reflect the restrictive laws in the early 19th century, their later removal, and emigration from 1933 on. Beginning in 1933 the Nazi boycott of Jewish stores began and Jews were harassed in other ways. The synagogue was burned in November 1938. From 1942 to 1943, 177 Jews were deported to the East, and 544 from the Bendorf-Sain-Koblenz district, where a Jewish mental hospital was located. Twenty-two Koblenz Jews survived the Holocaust. The city erected a memorial to the Jewish victims. In 1948 the burial hall was converted into a synagogue, also used by Jews of nearby towns. The Jewish population of the whole area was 68 in 1945/46, 78 in 1948, and 94 in 1963, and in Koblenz itself it was 35 in 1961 and around 100 in 1987.

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[Toni Oelsner]

KOBLER, FRANZ (1882–1965), lawyer, pacifist, and writer. Kobler, who was born in Vienna, edited *Der Strahl*, the Austrian pacifist publication in Vienna, wrote extensively on legal problems and pacifism (*Gewalt und Gewaltlosigkeit*, 1928), and practiced law there from 1914 to 1938. In 1938 Kobler left Austria and subsequently took refuge in Switzerland, England, and finally in the U.S. Kobler's contribution to Jewish scholarship consisted of his pioneering anthologies of Jewish letters: *Juden und Judentum in deutschen Briefen…* (1935); *Juedische Geschichte in Briefen… aus Ost und West* (1938); and the two-volume *Letters of Jews Through the Ages* (1952; published in the U.S. as *A Treasury of Jewish Letters*, 1953). Kobler also contributed to Jewish periodicals, and published Napoleon Bonaparte's 1799 proclamation to the Jews, which he had discovered (*New Judaea*, 16 (1939/40), 189–90; 17 (1940/41), 18–19; 36–37; 69–70).

KÓBOR, TAMÁS (originally **Adolf Bermann**; 1867–1942), Hungarian author and journalist. Kóbor was born in Pressburg and raised amid the poverty of its ghetto district. He worked in a bank and began to write for the Budapest daily press and for *A Hét*, the literary periodical edited by his brother-in-law József Kiss. For several years he helped to edit the liberal newspaper *Az Újság* for which he himself wrote articles on topical and political issues, including Jewish rights. Having grown up at a time when the drift from Judaism was already under way, Kóbor had no hesitation in advocating assimilation, although he remained sentimentally attached to Jewish culture. His concern with the problem of maintaining Jewish loyalties while supporting the Hungarian national cause is the central issue in the novel *Ki a gettóból* ("Out of the Ghetto," 1911). His many novels and short stories include *Budapest* (1901), *A Halál* ("Death," 1918), *Pók Ádám hetvenhét élete* ("The Seventy-Seven Lives of Adam Pók," 1923), and *Hamlet az irodában* ("A Hamlet in the Office," 1934).

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[Baruch Yaron]

KOBRIN (Pol. **Kobryń**), city in Brest district, Belarus, formerly in Poland. The earliest information on the Jewish community there is found in a document of 1511 in which King Sigismund I, among others, ratified its privileges. In the 1563 census the names of 23 Jews are mentioned as holding 25 houses, as well as about 20 orchards and vegetable gardens, and a synagogue. In 1589, when Kobrin received rights of a town, the Jews were accorded equal rights with the other inhabitants. In the frame of the Council of Lithuania Land, the Kobrin community was under jurisdiction of the Brest-Litovsk community. The Jews of Kobrin mainly earned their livelihood from local and interurban trade with Lublin, the leasing of inns, and the collection of custom duties. During the *Chmielnicki massacres of 1648–49, some Jews suffered from the Cossacks, and a number of Jews from the Ukraine took refuge in Kobrin. In the first half of the 18th century, owing to the wars with the Swedes, plagues, and fires, the city became impoverished, the economic situation of the Jews also deteriorated, and the community incurred considerable debts. Most of the local Jews in this period were engaged in peddling and various crafts, while a wealthy minority continued to trade in salt, cereals, and timber. In 1766 there were 946 Jews in Kobrin and the surrounding villages who paid a poll tax. Spiritual leaders of Kobrin included *Bezalel b. Solomon of Kobryn (d. 1678), and Jacob b. David Shapira (d. 1718), author of *Ohel Ya'akov* (Frankfurt on the Oder, 1729), *av bet din* of Kobrin, who founded a yeshivah.

In the beginning of Russian rule, the town was granted by the czar to the famous army commander Suvorov, and also proclaimed as a county capital. All these helped the development of the town, and the Jewish population of Kobrin and the surrounding townlets increased. There were 4,184 (total population 6,500) Jews living in Kobrin in 1847. In 1882 Jews were prohibited from leasing farms and rural buildings. The introduction of the government monopoly on liquor distilling in 1897 severely affected Jewish economic activity in Kobrin. Many emigrated, especially to America. The Jewish population numbered 6,687 in 1897 (69% of the total). During the 19th century, Ḥasidism, led by the dynasty of *Kobrin, founded by R. Moshe Rabinovich, was influential in the community, and lasted until the Holocaust. One of his grandchildren was the poet Yehuda Leib Lilenblum (YHL"L). Ḥayyim Berlin (the son of Naphtali Ẓevi Judah *Berlin) served as rabbi there. Zionism at first encountered violent opposition from the local Orthodox circles. After the revolution of 1905 Jewish workers, mainly organized in the *Bund and later the *Po'alei Zion, took an active part in the struggle for political, social, and cultural rights. The community had modernized *ḥadarim*, as well as a religious school, a *Tarbut school, a Yiddish school of the Central Yiddish School Organization (CYSHO), and a yeshivah. The community numbered 5,431 (c. 66% of the total) in 1921, and 5,617 in 1931. Most of them were employed in construction, linen manufacture, embroidering, porterage, haulage, shopkeeping, and retail trade in agricultural produce.

[Arthur Cygielman]

Holocaust Period

Soon after the outbreak of World War II, on Sept. 20, 1939, the Soviets took the city. The Zionist youth there tried to reach Vilna which was then in independent Lithuania, whence many of them continued on to Palestine. Many refugees from western Poland arrived in Kobrin, and by 1941 the Jewish population reached 8,000. On June 23, 1941, the Germans occupied Kobrin. Soon after the occupation, they established a Judenrat, instituted forced labor, and murdered about 170 Jews not far from the village of Patryki. In August 1941 the Germans imposed a fine of 6 kg of gold and 12 kg of silver on the Jews. In November 1941 a ghetto was set up, into which about 8,000 Jews were crowded. It was divided into two sections: part A for skilled workers and families, and part B for the others. Jews from the neighboring towns of Hajnówka and Bialowieza were also brought to the ghetto, which was greatly overcrowded. On July 27, 1942, ghetto B was surrounded, and about 3,000 Jews were shipped to Brona Gora, and murdered there. The youth organized and began to collect ammunition. On Oct. 14, 1942, another *Aktion* took place about 2.5 mi. (4 km.) from Kobrin on the road to Dywin. The Jews attempted active self-defense, the Germans were attacked, and attempts were made to take their arms. A group of about 500 persons managed to escape, but only 100 reached the forests and joined the partisans. They were active in the Voroshilov and Suvorov partisan units. A group of Jewish craftsmen was held in Kobrin until the summer of 1943 and then murdered in the prison courtyard. After the war, the community was not revived. A few survivors left Kobrin for Poland and then continued to Israel or other countries.

[Aharon Weiss]

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KOBRIN, LEON (1872–1946), Yiddish dramatist and novelist. Kobrin was born in Vitebsk, Russia, where he began writing in Russian. Only after immigrating to Philadelphia in 1892 did he develop an interest in Yiddish literature. After translating stories from Russian into Yiddish, his first original story was "*A Merder Oys Libe*" ("A Murderer for Love," 1894) in the *Filadelfyer Shtot-Tsaytung*. Further sketches published in the *Ovntblat* won him a permanent position on the newspaper and he moved to New York. His writing was strongly influenced by Jacob *Gordin and Russian and French realism. The majority of his plays and stories depict the social and emotional problems of adaptation to life in urban sweatshops and tenements. Occasionally, with varying degrees of nostalgia, he returned to an East European setting, as in *Yankl Boyle* (1898) a story in which he portrays the tragic love of a Jewish fisherman for a peasant girl. In this and other works, the innovative presentation of raw eroticism invites comparison with David *Pinski's *Yankl der Shmid* ("Yankl the Smith," 1906). Kobrin's dramatized version of *Yankl Boyle* was successfully performed in 1913 in both the U.S. and Europe, and was revived in New York in 1963. His debut as a playwright had come with *Mine* (1899), which was controversially rewritten and staged by Gordin, the original text appearing, however, later the same year. Kobrin wrote several novels and more than 30 plays, not all of which were published, but most were staged. They deal predominantly with problems of nationalism, assimilation, and inter-generational conflict in the U.S. He also translated and adapted for the stage *Shakespeare's *Hamlet*, *Goethe's *Faust*, and Israel *Zangwill's *Children of the Ghetto*, as well as plays by Tolstoy and Chirikov. Among his major works are *Di Imigrantn* ("The Immigrants," 1909), *Di Dervakhung* ("The Awakening," 1920), and *Ore di Bord* ("Ore the Beard," 1918), a novel dealing with the life of a religious Jew during a real estate boom in New York. His memoirs appeared as *Derinerungen fun a Yidishn Dramaturg* ("Memories of a Yiddish Playwright," 1925) and *Mayne Fuftsik Yor in Amerike* ("My Fifty Years in America," 1955, 1966). A collection of short stories, *A Lithuanian Village* (1928), appeared in English, and further translations have appeared in a number of anthologies. Together with his wife, Pauline Segal, Kobrin translated into Yiddish from Artsibashev, Chekhov, Turgenev, and Zola, as well as the collected works of du Maupassant.

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[Elias Schulman / Hugh Denman (2nd ed.)]

KOBRIN, MOSES BEN ISRAEL POLIER OF (1784–1858), ḥasidic rabbi. He was a disciple of the *ẓaddikim* Mordecai and Noah of *Lachowicze (Lyakhovichi); on the latter's death he became rabbi of the ḥasidic community in *Kobrin and its vicinity. Moses was particularly known for his virtues of truthfulness, humility, and the bearing of suffering with love. He did not insist on fasts and ascetic practices. His sayings were short and to the point, and he influenced and educated his congregation of Ḥasidim by proverbs and examples. He placed great importance on the personal link between the Ḥasid and the *ẓaddik*, who is "like a branch to a tree," but "the *ẓaddik* will be answerable for every single step that the ḥasid makes in his direction." He wrote his Ḥasidim letters of encouragement when they were in distress. He had adherents in Ereẓ Israel among the Ḥasidim of *kolel* Lyakhovichi. His sayings are collected in *Amarot Tehorot* (1910).

His successor in Kobrin was his grandson NOAH NAPHTALI (d. 1889); his sayings and maxims entitled *Ma'amarim Tehorim* are published with the sayings of his grandfather in *Amarot Tehorot* (1910). Kobrin Ḥasidism declined in his day owing to competition from the growing adherence to *Slonim Ḥasidim. Noah Naphtali was succeeded by his sons DAVID SOLOMON (d. 1918), who remained ḥasidic rabbi in Kobrin, and AARON (d. 1907), who settled in the townlet Domachevo. The son of David Solomon, MOSES AARON, led the Ḥasidim of Kobrin until the Holocaust, in which he perished in 1942. David Solomon's son-in-law, BARUCH JOSEPH ZAK (d. 1949), the last to hold the title of "Rabbi of Kobrin," led a group of Kobrin Ḥasidim who emigrated to the United States.

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[Wolf Zeev Rabinowitsch]

KOBRIN, SOLOMON (1910–1996), U.S. criminologist. Born in Chicago, Kobrin received his bachelor's and master's degrees from the University of Chicago and a Ph.D. from the University of Southern California (USC). He pioneered ecological studies of juvenile delinquency at the Chicago Institute for Juvenile Research and contributed significantly to the development of modern theories on delinquency and rehabilitation. His research focused on the sociology of street gangs; the study of deviant behavior; and methods to evaluate programs for crime control, delinquency prevention, and juvenile justice.

During the 1940s he helped to organize an innovative project at the Illinois Institute for Juvenile Research that worked to mobilize community residents to provide recreational and other constructive activities for youths in Chicago neighborhoods with high delinquency rates. Kobrin headed the institute's Division of Social Systems Analysis. He later served as a member of the President's Committee on Law Enforcement and the Administration of Justice (1955–56).

In 1967 he joined the sociology faculty of USC's College of Letters, Arts, and Sciences. He also worked as a senior research associate at USC's Social Science Research Institute. In the 1970s he was a consultant to the U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. He served on an advisory board to evaluate addict-treatment centers for the U.S. Office of Economic Opportunity (1971); was a consultant to the California Council on Criminal Justice (1972); and chaired the HEW Task Force on Youth Development and Delinquency Prevention Administration (1973).

After he retired from teaching and received emeritus status in 1975, he continued his research activities at the institute. In 1977, he received the American Society of Criminology's Edwin H. Sutherland Award for his outstanding research achievements.

He was president of the Illinois Academy of Criminology (1958) and the California Association for Criminal Justice Research (1975).

Kobrin wrote several influential books on delinquency prevention and crime control, including *Interaction between Neighborhood Change and Criminal Activity* (with L. Schuerman, 1988) and *Community Treatment of Juvenile Offenders* (with M. Klein, 1983).

[Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

KOCH, ADELHEID LUCY (1896–1980), first psychoanalyst recognized by the International Psychoanalytic Association (IPA) in Brazil and founder of Sociedade Brasileira de Psicanálise de São Paulo, the first official Brazilian psychoanalytic society. Born in Germany, Adelheid graduated in medicine from the University of Berlin in 1924. She was psychoanalyzed by Otto Fenichel and became a member of Berlin's Psychoanalytic Society in 1935. As a refugee from the Nazi regime, Adelheid and her husband Ernst immigrated to Brazil in 1936, settled in São Paulo and took part in the foundation of the Congregação Israelita Paulista (1936), which was created by Jewish refugees from Germany. Adelheid worked as a volunteer in the Congregação's youth programs (and Ernst was the president of the organization between 1956 and 1967). After she settled down in São Paulo, Adelheid was officially recognized by Ernest Jones, president of IPA, and became the first authorized "training analyst" in Brazil. She was mentor (with Durval Marcondes) of the founding group of Grupo Psicanalítico de São Paulo (1944), which later became the Sociedade Brasileira de Psicanálise de São Paulo (1951). From then on, psychoanalytic treatments and concepts developed considerably in Brazil (as well as in Argentina). There was an important presence of Jewish professionals and intellectuals among the Brazilian psychoanalysts in the early 21st century.

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[Roney Cytrynowicz (2nd ed.)]

KOCH, EDWARD IRVING (1924–), U.S. politician. Born in the Bronx, New York, Koch attended the City College of New York from 1941 to 1943. In his last year of college, he was drafted into the army, where he served with the 104th Infantry Division. He received two battle stars and was honorably discharged in 1946 with the rank of sergeant. He graduated from New York University School of Law in 1948 and began to practice law. Deeply committed to the service of his native city, he entered public life in 1963, when he replaced Carmine de Sapio, the long-time Tammany Hall district leader in Greenwich Village. He was reelected in the following two years. Koch was elected to the New York City Council in 1966 and was the first Democrat to represent his district in more than 30 years. Two years later he was elected to Congress, where he served for nine years. He led the fight for urban-orientation and was instrumental in having the mass transit operating subsidy bill passed in 1974. He has strongly supported measures aimed at furthering equal opportunity, human rights, health care, and the arts. In 1976 he was voted "the most effective Congressman from New York" by his congressional colleagues from New York City.

In November 1977 he was elected the 105th mayor of New York, assuming office on January 1, 1978, and was overwhelmingly reelected in 1981. His rallying cry "How'm I doing?" was best answered by the fact that he held the position for three terms, until 1989. Among his many achievements as mayor, Koch succeeded in restoring financial stability to New York City and placed the Big Apple on a balanced budget. He ran for a fourth term but was defeated in the Democratic primary.

Koch then became a partner in the law firm of Robinson, Silverman, Pearce, Aronsohn & Berman. He also wrote political columns; was a commentator for Bloomberg Television; hosted a radio talk show; and wrote movie, book, and restaurant reviews, as well as a weekly column for *Newsday*.

Among Koch's books are *How'm I Doing? The Wit and Wisdom of Ed Koch* (with M. Shestack and R. Sayre, 1981), *Mayor* (1984), *Politics* (1985), *His Eminence and Hizzoner* (1989), *All The Best: Letters from a Feisty Mayor* (1990), *Citizen Koch* (1992), *Ed Koch on Everything* (1994), *Giuliani: Nasty Man* (1999), and *I'm Not Done Yet: Remaining Relevant* (with D. Paisner, 2000).

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[Rohan Saxen and Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

KOCH, KENNETH (1925–2002), U.S. poet. Koch was born in Cincinnati, Ohio, and as a young man, fought in the U.S. Army in the Pacific during World War II. He later studied at Harvard, and one of his teachers was the poet Delmore Schwartz. He received an M.A. from Columbia University as well as a Ph.D. Along with Frank O'Hara and John Ashbery, he was one of the major figures of the "New York School" of poetry. He was also part of a group that included the painter Larry Rivers. His own poetry, which makes free and exuberant use of the absurd, the non sequitur, and the juxtaposition of incongruous images, exerted wide influence among younger poets. Among his published volumes are *Ko, or A Season on Earth* (1959), *Thank You, and Other Poems* (1962), *The Art of Love* (1975) and *The Duplications* (1977). Koch taught poetry at Columbia University beginning in 1959. Koch also became well-known for teaching poetry to school children as well as to the elderly. His *Rose, Where Did You Get That Red? Teaching Great Poetry to Children* (1973) is considered one of the landmarks in teaching creative writing. *The Collected Fiction of Kenneth Koch* and his *Collected Poems* were published in 2005.

[Lewis Fried (2nd ed.)]

KOCHAN, LIONEL (1922–), British historian. Kochan was educated at Cambridge and London Universities and was Bearsted reader in Jewish History at Warwick and East Anglia Universities. He wrote widely on modern Russian and modern German history as well as on modern Jewish history. Kochan was the editor of *The Jews in Soviet Russia since 1917* (1970; rev. ed. 1978), *The Jew in His History* (1977), *Jewish Idols and Messiahs – The Challenge From History* (1990), and many other works. With his wife, Miriam, he contributed for many years the annual survey of Jewish life in Great Britain to *The American Jewish Year Book.*

[William D. Rubinstein (2nd ed.)]

KOCHI (formerly known as **Cochin**, "the Queen of the Arabian Sea"), port city on the southwest coast of India, famous for its excellent natural harbor. Its population is 1,600,000 (2005) and it is regarded as the commercial and industrial capital of Kerala, one of the most prosperous and literate states in India. The municipality was created in 1967 out of Fort Kochi, Mattanchery, Ernakulam, Willingdon Island, and a number of nearby villages.

Kochi is also the name of the princely state that was absorbed into the Union of India upon independence in 1947. Prior to that time, the State of Cochin was ruled by a rajah and enjoyed at least nominal independence despite domination by Portuguese (1498–1663), Dutch (1663–1795), and British (1797–1947) colonial powers. In 1957, the former princely states of Cochin, Travancore, and Malabar were merged into the State of Kerala.

Kochi attained dominance as southwest India's premier port after a flood silted up the harbor at nearby Kodugallur (known to the British as Cranganore, to the Romans as Muziris, and to the Jews as Shingly) and simultaneously created Kochi's harbor. The local royal family, along with its leading families and institutions, migrated 20 miles (30 km.) south and reestablished themselves at Kochi.

The Origin of Kochiís Jews

Kochi is home to the oldest Jewish community east of Persia. According to local historical traditions, when the Romans destroyed Jerusalem in 70 C.E., a number of Jews set sail on recently discovered monsoon shipping lanes. They reached Shingly, which was known to them as the source of spices and other luxury items since the time of King Solomon. They were welcomed by the local king, who gave them land for synagogues and for coconut estates. Another king, called Cheraman Perumal, had two copper plates inscribed with a charter for the community, granting the Jews material rights and the symbolic trappings of royalty, which he presented to the Jewish leader, Joseph Rabban. Thereafter, Cheraman Perumal and Joseph Rabban became archetypes of the cordial lord-vassal relationship between Hindus and Jews in Kochi. The copper plates are stored in the ark of the Cochin Synagogue.

Communal discord foreshadowed the 1341 flood that led to the migration of the Jews from Cranganore to Kochi, where another rajah welcomed them and granted them land immediately adjacent to his palace and personal Hindu temple for their synagogue and their settlement at Mattanchery, which came to be known as Jew Town. In 1568 they built the beautiful Paradesi, or Foreignersí, synagogue, in use to this day.

Shingly and the Early Jewish Settlements

That Shingly and its Jewish prince remain for Kochi Jews the paramount symbols of their pleasant life in India is clear. What is less clear is the history of the settlements, migration patterns, or even reliable accounts of daily life in Shingly. Indigenous historians and medieval travelers report Jewish settlements in the area at Paalur, Mount Deli, Chendamangalam, Parur, Calicut, Cannanore, Quilon, and elsewhere; Shingly does not necessarily seem to be preeminent, even if it was the oldest. Jews came from ancient Israel, Yemen, Persia, the Middle East, and even Europe.

In Shingly, Jews were a substantial minority, a privileged and respected community, close to the king and enjoying religious liberty. They built synagogues and composed liturgical songs in Hebrew and Malayalam, the local language. They evolved a unique *minhag* that bears evidence of waves of immigration as well as indigenous, Indian influences. Recently discovered documents confirm that many of the traditions of Kochi have their origin in Shingly. It is believed that the great medieval religious figures *Judah Halevi and Abraham *Ibn Ezra, visited Shingly, and some believe that the latter is buried there.

In pluralistic Shingly, Jews were merchants, petty traders, agriculturalists, and soldiers, but they are best known as international spice merchants, especially in the lucrative pepper trade.

Migration to Kochi and the Arrival of the Portuguese

A combination of factors – internal strife, a rivalry with Muslim competitors that was exacerbated by the arrival of the Portuguese, and the 1341 flood – prompted a migration from Shingly to Kochi, where the Jews built their first synagogue in 1344. Satellite communities sprung up in Malah, Cranganore, Parur, Ernakulam, and Chendamangalam.

Whatever battles the Jews may have had with their Muslim, Christian, and even Hindu neighbors, their greatest tormentors were, without doubt, the Portuguese. Vasco da Gama, the Portuguese adventurer and explorer, landed in Kochi in 1498, and in 1503 built the first Catholic church in India and in the same year the first European fortress, located at today's Fort Kochi.

The Portuguese injected themselves into the rivalry between the Muslim Zamorin of Calicut and the Hindu Rajah of Kochi, first taking one side, then the other. Through the

Portuguese, Kochi rose in importance as a seaport and her Jews were placed in direct contact with their co-religionists in Western Europe for the first time. But the Portuguese were as intolerant in India as they had been at home. Not only did they establish an Office of the Inquisition at Goa in 1560, they also burned and sacked Jew Town some years later. The Rajah of Kochi refused demands from the King of Portugal to collaborate in the persecution of his Jewish subjects, an expression of sympathy that earned him the contempt of the Portuguese, who derisively called him the King of the Jews.

The Dutch Era

During Portuguese rule, the Jews suffered many persecutions, but the era had its achievements as well. It was under Portuguese rule that the Jews managed to establish themselves at Kochi, when they built most of their beautiful synagogues, and they began a novel system of self-government known at the mudaliar system.

The leaders of the Jewish community came to be known by the Tamil/ Malayalam term mudaliar, meaning simple "headman." First appointed by the Rajah of Kochi, the mudaliars had the authority to enforce punishments and impose and collect fines and taxes, but deferred to the rajah in capital cases. Not only that, the mudaliars became the rajah's closest and most trusted advisors, and one, Ezekiel *Rahabi, became prime minister to the rajah. The institution lasted until British rule during the 19th century.

The Dutch became involved in Kochi due in part to native dissatisfaction with the Portuguese. An expeditionary force in 1662 was repelled by the Portuguese garrison, who blamed the Jews and carried out ferocious reprisals. They burned the synagogue, including all of the Torah scrolls, holy books, and historical records, and sacked Jew Town. The Jews fled to the hills, where they remained for the better part of a year until the Dutch finally defeated the Portuguese and established their rule in 1663.

Under the tolerant, commercially minded Dutch, the Jews experienced a flowering of commerce and culture to rival the glory days at Shingly. Not only did their economic fortunes rise sharply, but the Kochi Jews were put into contact with Jews from Holland and throughout the Dutch empire, from Indonesia to New York. On November 21, 1686, they received a delegation from Amsterdam led by the Portuguese reconverso Moses Pereyra de Paiva. De Paiva arranged for the Kochi Jews to obtain replacements for their Torah scrolls and holy books, and the Jews arranged to have their own traditions enshrined in *maḥzorim* (festival prayer books) published by Proops, the well-known Dutch Hebrew press. The Jews also narrated their history to de Paiva, who published their account in Portuguese.

The most famous family of Kochi was the Rahabis. Their fame was due, in part, to their prominence in trade and diplomacy, and also to the many authors and scholars in the family. David Rahabi was the head of the family at the time of de Paiva's visit, and was very influential with the royal family. He was able to smooth over a festering succession dispute, earning the family an even more intimate role in the affairs of state. David's son, Ezekiel, assumed his father's role as "Joods Koopman," or Jewish agent for the Dutch East India Company, and at the same time accepted the role of prime minister to the rajah.

Ezekiel towered over the Malabarí pepper trade. His home became a salon for the high and mighty of Kochi and beyond, and he was considered one of the best-informed people of his day, with a wealth of information about commodity prices, currency fluctuations, troop and naval movements, and the lines of succession in Europe's royal families. He undertook a number of diplomatic missions on behalf of both the rajah and the Dutch, negotiating peace accords among rival states. He was a philanthropist, supporting an impoverished local Christian community, and building a church at Cranganore and a Carmelite center in Travancore. He commanded a fleet of sailing ships that plied the waters from the Red Sea to the South China Sea, mainsails emblazoned with Stars of David. He was also considered a military genius, all the while adhering strictly to Jewish law.

Ezekiel's son, David, also achieved his share of success. He was able to effect the release from Sultan Haidar Ali's prison of Samuel Ezekiel Divekar, a *Bene Israel soldier who later built Mumbai's first synagogue, inspired by the fine edifice in Kochi. David also visited Bene Israel villages in the Konkan, spurring their "first awakening" of Jewish identity. David was also an author of note, best known for his "Letter of 1798" in which he detailed the historical traditions of Kochi's Jews.

The Dutch "second golden age" saw a flourishing of literature and mysticism. It was during this secure and prosperous time that many lovely Hebrew songs and poems were composed in Jew Town by such poets as Eliahu Adeni, the kabbalist Nehemiah Mota, Levi Belilah, Ephraim Saala, Solomon B. Nissim, and Joseph Zakkai. Their songs became part of the unique Cochini *minhag* and were anthologized in later liturgical books, along with the songs of such Sephardi liturgists as Judah Halevi, Moses ibn Ezra, Solomon ibn Gabirol, and Israel Najara.

British Raj

The first British ships visited Malabar in 1615, but it was not until 1797 that they replaced the Dutch as overlords of Kochi. Never, however, was Kochi placed directly under the British Crown. The British raj extended to the northern half of Malabar, but Kochi and Travancore remained autonomous "princely states," nominally ruled by the rajah with the guidance of the British resident, or dewan.

The retention of Kochi's autonomy in the face of the economic, military, and political juggernaut that was the British Empire, which had consumed most of India, had positive and negative effects for the Jews. On the positive side, they continued to receive the rajah's protection and privileges, to which they had become accustomed. On the negative side, however, was British neglect of Kochi, leading to the deterioration of its economy. At first they favored Calicut, which was within the boundary of British Malabar, as a trading center, and eventually Mumbai emerged as the supreme west Indian port.

Four 19th century Jewish travelers – Rabbi David DeBeth Hillel during the 1820s, I.J. Benjamin around 1850, Shlomo Reinman during the 1850s, and Jacob Sapir during the 1860s – wrote about their visits to Kochi, from which an accurate and detailed composite portrait of life in Jew Town during the British era may be culled. These visitors recorded many of the unique religious observances of Kochi, and mentioned the very high level of Hebrew and Jewish learning in the community. Their magnificent synagogue, spacious houses, and tasty cuisine, as well as the modesty, hospitality, and erudition of their women, were lavishly praised.

The Kochi Minhag

Drawing as it does from the many cultures from which Jews migrated to Kochi – ancient Israel, Syria, Turkey, Iraq, Yemen, Persia, Afghanistan, as well as Italy and Poland – and influenced by local Indian culture, the system of observant Judaism, or *minhag*, in Kochi is both rich and unique.

In the most general terms, Kochi's Jews were able to adopt certain Indian cultural patterns in their religious life while remaining faithful to normative Judaic observance as codified in *halakhah*. Living in a culture in which antisemitism was unknown, Kochi's Jews felt no defensiveness about their religious practices. By the norms of Indian society, religiousness per se is valued, so the Jews there were entirely free to celebrate their religion.

Indian culture has two sources of power and prestige: the royal and the priestly-ascetic. Jewish observance in Kochi reflected these two poles.

For example, Simḥat Torah is considered Kochi's most distinctive festival. Circumambulations (*hakkafot*) are added during the afternoon service, accompanied by unique Hebrew songs. Torah scrolls are displayed on a temporary ark especially constructed in front of the *aron ka-kodesh*, the scrolls are carried out of the synagogue and into the street, and the temporary ark is ritually demolished at the conclusion of the festival. All of these activities are attributable to rites found in nearby Hindu temples. All reflect the symbols of Hindu royalty. But none of these practices is in violation of any halakhic principle. Similarly, Kochi's elaborate wedding rites parallel those of their Hindu neighbors, which also embody the symbols of royalty, but with no compromise of *halakhah*.

The ascetical tendencies inherent in the Hindu priestly ideal find expression, for example, in the community's fastidious Passover preparations. Avoidance of gentiles mirrors avoidance of low-born Hindus; annual repainting of houses parallels Hindu practice; and activities and jokes pertaining to the festival's stringent dietary concerns resonates well in a culture in which hierarchy is closely connected with diet.

Social Structure

Jews in Kerala occupied a high rung on India's strict hierarchy known as the caste system. Furthermore, Jews divided themselves into subcastes, which is typical of Indian castes, and now that their numbers have been so severely reduced, these subcastes have been amalgamated in group behavior also found among attenuated Hindu groups.

The Kochi Jews evolved a pattern of social organization that reflected Indian values. Some of the Kochi Jews joined a liberal rabbi from South Africa in contemptuously describing this social system as "Jewish Apartheid," after the system of racial oppression in South Africa.

From as early as the beginning of the 16th century and perhaps before then, a rivalry emerged within the Jewish community based on who had attestable Jewish descent (*yiḥus*, those with *yiḥus* being known as *meyuḥasim*) and who did not (the *meshuḥrarim*, those in possession of a *shiḥrur*, a bill of manumission from slavery). In other words, one group of Kochi Jews considered themselves to descend from Israel, and they considered their rival group to be descendants of slaves. As early as 1520, Kochi Jews sought rabbinical adjudication of their rivalry and, when the response was not to their liking, ignored it.

The arrival of the Portuguese injected race into the equation, and the newly arrived Sephardi Jews, together with some of the *meyuḥasim*, were considered "white," while those of longer residence in Malabar were considered "black," and descendents of the white slaves were labeled "brown." To further complicate the picture, among the Malabari Jews, the *meshuḥrarim* were known by the Malayalam word, "orumakers." Depending on how one counts, the Jews proliferated three or four subcastes, and over time they refused to marry outside their group, would not count one another for the prayer quorum, and would not eat meat slaughtered in the rival community. In all of these features, their behavior reflected Hindu caste behavior. It also contravened *halakhah.*

Predictably, members of the less-favored group tried to redress their grievances. There was a 19th-century rebellion led by one Avo, who led a breakaway faction in establishing their own prayer hall in Fort Kochi. The rebellion ended unceremoniously in a cholera epidemic.

Avo's grandson, A.B. Salem, the first Kochi Jew to attend law school and a disciple of Mahatma *Gandhi, led his faction in a series of civil disobedience exercises in the synagogue, and lobbied so articulately on their behalf that he eventually prevailed, and religious rights were gradually restored to the *meshuḥrarim*.

Women's Malayalam Songs

Kochi's Jewish women are strikingly well educated in Hebrew and generally exhibit autonomy and freedom beyond what might be expected in a traditional Jewish community. This cultural theme reflects the values of the local Hindu culture, in which the matrilineal Nayar caste is dominant.

Another avenue for women's participation in religious life is through their Malayalam-language folk songs. These songs, copied into notebooks and passed on from generation to generation, often narrate biblical themes in a richly tropical setting, replete with elephants, parrots, and palanquins. Other songs praise the archetype of Hindu-Jewish amity, Cheraman Perumal and Joseph Rabban. These songs are sung on festivals and at circumcisions, weddings, and other joyous occasions. They have become identity markers for Cochinim resettled in Israel, where groups of women gather monthly to sing and transmit these songs to the next generation.

The 20th Century

The 20th century in Jew Town was marked by four unprecedented events. The first was Indian Independence in 1947, enthusiastically welcomed by the Jews. Second was the establishment of the State of Israel in 1948, cause of another joyous celebration in Jew Town. Third was the gala celebration of the 400th anniversary of the Cochin Synagogue, as the Paradesi Synagogue has come to be known. The fourth event was painful: one Sabbath during July 1987, for the first time in its glorious history, there were no formal prayers in the synagogue; the prayer quorum could no longer be mustered, symbolically noting the death of communal life in Kochi.

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[Nathan Katz (2nd ed.)]

KOCK (**Kotsk**), town in the province of Lublin, E. Poland. Jews first settled in Kock at the beginning of the 17th century; an organized community existed from the middle of the century. One of the sons of Moses b. Isaac Judah *Lima (author of *Ḥelkat Meḥokek*) served as rabbi in Kock from 1670. In 1699 the Jews were granted unrestricted rights to settle by the owner of the town. According to the census of 1765, there were 793 Jews in the community and the surrounding villages, 489 of them in the town itself. Of the 108 Jewish families of Kock, 62 owned the houses that they occupied. By 1827 the number of Jews in the town had risen to 645 (36% of the total population), by 1857 to 1,480 (56%), and by 1897 to 3,014 (64%). About half of the Jews earned their livelihood from tailoring, hat-making, and shoemaking. Others were tanners, carpenters, potmakers, and locksmiths. In 1809 Berek *Joselewicz fell in a battle which was fought on the outskirts of the town. He was buried there.

When the "court" of the *ẓaddik* Menahem Mendel of *Kotsk was established in 1829, Kock became an important center of *Ḥasidism. In 1913 a yeshivah was founded in the town. The Jewish workers of Kock began to organize themselves into labor unions from 1905. Zionist organizations, particularly the *General Zionists and *Po'alei Zion, were active in Kock, as were the *Bund and *Agudat Israel. In 1926 nine of the 12 members of the municipal council were Jews. According to the 1921 census, the Jewish population of the town numbered 2,092 (54%); in 1927 there were 2,529 (68%). The last rabbi of Kock (from 1924) was R. Joseph Morgenstern, a *ẓaddik* from 1929; he perished in the Holocaust. The Ḥasidim of Kock are described by J. *Opatoshu in his book *In Polish Woods* (1938). About 3,000 Jews were in Kock after the German occupation in September 1939 and the arrival of refugees. In August 1942 around 100 Jewish families were deported to Parczew en route to Treblinka. Others were sent to Treblinka via Lukow. No Jews returned to the town after World War II.

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[Arthur Cygielman]

KODASHIM (Heb. קָדָשִׁים), the fifth of the six orders of the Mishnah. The title *Kodashim* ("sacred things") is apparently an abbreviation of *Sheḥitat Kodashim* ("the slaughter of sacred animals") since its main subject is sacrifices. It has been suggested that since **Zevaḥim*, the first tractate of the order, had also once been called *Sheḥitat Kodashim*, the name was applied to the order as a whole, as is the case with the order **Nezikin*. However, the subjects dealt with in the order are chiefly the sacrifices of animals, birds, and meal offerings and also the laws of those obligated to bring a sacrifice, such as the sin offering and the guilt offering, and the laws of misappropriation of sacred property. In addition it contains a description of the Second Temple (tractate *Middot*) and of the morning service in the Temple until the completion of the offering of the daily sacrifice (*Tamid*). As well as the tractates discussing sacred things, the order includes the tractate *Sheḥitat Ḥullin* (in short, **Ḥullin*) which deals not only with the slaughter of animals for human consumption, but other germane dietary laws applying to meat and animal products. The order contains 11 tractates, arranged, like most of the orders of the Mishnah, in descending sequence according to the number of chapters. They are: (1) *Zevaḥim*, 14 chapters; (2) *Menaḥot*, 13; (3) *Ḥullin*, 12; (4) *Bekhorot*, 9; (5) *Arakhin*, 9; (6) *Temurah*, 7; (7) *Keritot*, 6; (8) *Me'ilah*, 6; (9) *Tamid*, 6 (this was the number originally); (10) *Middot*, 5; and (11) *Kinnim*, 3–90 chapters in all. In the *Tosefta, *Zevaḥim* has 12 chapters, *Ḥullin* 10, *Menaḥot* 13, *Bekhorot* 7, *Arakhin* 5, *Temurah* 4, *Me'ilah* 3, and *Keritot* 4, while for *Tamid, Middot*, and *Kinnim* there is no Tosefta. There is no Jerusalem Talmud on any of *Kodashim* and in the Babylonian Talmud there is no *Gemara* to *Middot* and *Kinnim*.

The study of the order *Kodashim* was neglected for many generations, and even talmudic scholars, with a few outstanding exceptions, ignored it. In the time of Maimonides many justified this neglect by claiming that the laws appertaining to the sacrifices were of no practical benefit. Maimonides disagreed and in his commentary on the Mishnah, at the end of tractate *Menaḥot*, he states: "This is the law of the burnt offering, of the meal offering [Lev. 7:37]… everyone occupying himself with the law is as if he had offered a burnt offering, and a meal offering, and a sin offering. And the sages said: 'Scholars who occupy themselves with the *halakhot* of the Temple service are regarded by Scripture as if the Temple had been rebuilt in their time.' Consequently it is proper for a person to occupy himself with matters concerning the sacrifices and to discuss them." In recent years, largely under the influence of the Ḥafeẓ Ḥayyim, there has been a considerable revival of interest in the study of this order, and in many *kolelim* it is the particular subject of study. This revival is partly connected with the hope that the Temple will be rebuilt.

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[Abraham Arzi]

KODER, SAMUEL SHABDAI (1869–1941), merchant and leader of the community of White Jews in Cochin (*Kochi). From 1903 until his death, he was a warden of the Pardesi synagogue. He was the first Jewish councilor on the municipal council of Cochin and its chairman from 1920 to 1924. He organized the water supply from Alwaye to the town of Mattancheri, and was managing director of the ferry and transport service of the port conservancy and the Cochin electricity company. Deeply concerned with the welfare of his people, he made generous contributions to Jewish and other charities, and through his efforts Jewish students were granted exemption from sitting for examinations on the Sabbath and Jewish holidays. He was the recipient of many honors in recognition of his public services. After his death, his son, Shabdai Samuel *Koder (1907–1994), became the leader of the Jewish communities in southern India.

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[Walter Joseph Fischel]

KODER, SHABDAI SAMUEL (1907–1994), Jewish communal leader in Cochin (*Kochi). He was educated in Cochin and at Madras University, after which he entered the family business. For 12 years he represented the Jews of Cochin in the Cochin Legislative Assembly. He was honorary consul for the Netherlands and on his retirement received a knighthood of the Order of Nassau. Koder held high office in Rotary International and the Freemasons. In 1968 he presided at the 400th anniversary of Cochin's famous Paradeis synagogue, which was attended by Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi. Koder was the author of a number of articles on the history of Cochin Jewry. He succeeded his father, Samuel Shabdai *Koder, as leader of the community and president of the South India Jewish Association.

ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY: N. Katz and E.S. Goldberg, *The Last Jews of Cochin: Jewish Identity in Hindu India* (1993).

[Percy S. Gourgey / Tudor Parfitt (2nd ed.)]

KOEBNER, RICHARD (1885–1958), historian. Koebner was born in Breslau and studied at the universities of Berlin, Breslau, and Geneva between 1903 and 1910. In 1920 he began teaching at Breslau University and in 1924 he was appointed professor of medieval and modern history. His primary interest at this time was urban development and German expansion eastward. His books in these fields included his dissertation *Die Eheauffassung des ausgehenden deutschen Mittelalters* (1911); *Venantius Fortunatus, seine Persoenlichkeit und Stellung in der geistigen Kultur des Merowinger-Reiches* (1915); *Die Anfaenge des Gemeinwesens der Stadt Koeln* (1922); and *Staatsbildung und Staedtewesen im deutschen Osten* (1931).

Removed from his post by the Nazis, Koebner settled in Jerusalem in 1934 and was appointed professor of modern history at the recently founded Hebrew University, where he established, together with Victor *Tcherikover and Yitzhak *Baer, the History Department. From then until his retirement in 1955 he influenced the character of the department and set its guidelines. During those years his research concentrated, among other subjects, on the changing concepts of "empire" and "imperialism." His *Empire* (1961) dealt with the evolution of the meaning of the term from Roman to Napoleonic times. Koebner's voluminous notes were used by one of his former students, H.D. Schmidt, for a book published in their joint names, *Imperialism, The Story and Significance of a Political World, 1840–1960* (1965). In 1990 a collection of studies from Koebner's archive was compiled and published under the title *Geschichte, Geschichtsbewusstsein und Zeitwende*.

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[Oscar Isaiah Janowsky / Noam Zadoff (2nd ed.)]

KOENIG, GHISHA (1922–1993), English sculptor, born in London, the daughter of the Yiddish writer and art critic Leo *Koenig. She studied under Henry Moore, and became a gifted portraitist, especially of children. Living in an industrial area, she visited local factories to study men and women at work. She then made bronze or terracotta bas-reliefs of the subject. These are characterized by a humanist sense of involvement and a classical feeling in the modeling and grouping. She and her husband, Dr. Manny Tuckman, were left-wing political activists, her political beliefs being reflected in some of her work.

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KOENIG, LEO (pseudonym of **Arye-Leyb Yaffe**; 1889–1970), Yiddish critic and journalist. Raised in Odessa, Koenig published his first story at age 16: "Der Ekstern" ("The Extern") in *Der Veg*. He studied art in Jerusalem (at the Bezalel School, 1907–10), where he also wrote stories under the name Arye Yaffe, and in Munich (1910–12) and Paris (1912–14), where he was close to Marc *Chagall and, under the name Leo Koenig, wrote art criticism for leading Yiddish periodicals – the first serious work of this kind in Yiddish. From 1914 to 1952, in which year he settled in Haifa, Koenig lived in London, working for the Yiddish press in England and abroad. In 1920 he edited Anglo-Yiddish literary journals. In Israel he was a frequent contributor to the newspaper *Davar*. Only a fraction of his writing has appeared in book form: *Shrayber un Verk* ("Writers and Works," 1929); *Vu Haltn Mir in der Velt* ("Where Are We in the World," 1933); *A Vokh nokhn Lebn* (*A Week After Life,* trans. Joseph Leftwich, 1934); *Geto oder Melukhe* ("Ghetto or State," 1939); *Folk un Literatur* ("Folk and Literature," 1947); and *Dos Bukh fun Lesterungen* ("The Book of Blasphemies," 1948).

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[Leonard Prager]

KOENIGSBERG (Rus. **Kaliningrad**), former capital of East Prussia, now an outpost of Russia. Two Jewish physicians lived in Koenigsberg in 1540, but sizable Jewish settlement did not begin until the latter half of the 17th century when Jewish merchants from Lithuania and Poland began attending the Koenigsberg fairs and in 1680 were allowed to open a prayer room for the duration of the fairs. A *ḥevra kaddisha* was founded and a cemetery consecrated in 1704; a rabbi was appointed three years later. By 1716 there were 38 Jewish families in Koenigsberg; the first synagogue was constructed in 1756, when the community numbered around 300 persons. A steady stream of immigrants from Russia gradually swelled this figure to 1,027 in 1817, 5,082 (3.6% of the total) in 1880, and 4,049 in 1925, later declining to 3,200 persons (1%) by 1933.

Along with *Berlin, Koenigsberg became the center of Jewish Enlightenment. Here, too, affluent Jewish families gained access to Christian society, the most prominent being the family of H.J. Friedlaender, textile entrepreneurs, to which David *Friedlaender belonged. Jews began attending the university, mainly as students of medicine, in 1712; one of them was Marcus *Herz. Among *Kant's pupils were a number of Jews. In 1783 Isaac Abraham *Euchel and Menahem Mendel Breslau, influenced by the ideas of Mendelssohn, founded an association "for the fostering of the Hebrew language," and began to publish a Hebrew periodical, *Ha-Me'assef,* which first appeared in Koenigsberg. A number of Hebrew printers were active in Koenigsberg in the 18th and 19th centuries. For a number of reasons, among which may have been import and censorship difficulties, some works printed in Koenigsberg bear a different imprint or no imprint at all.

The community had no school until 1820, when Isaac Asher Francolm came as religious teacher and preacher. A follower of the Reform movement, he set about establishing a school for religious instruction. However, his efforts failed when the Orthodox majority of the community, resenting his holding a confirmation ceremony for boys and girls, protested to the authorities who, already suspicious of all innovation, prohibited the opening of his institution. When Francolm settled in Breslau, Joseph Lewin *Saalschuetz continued his work. In 1847 Saalschuetz taught archaeology of the Hebrews at Koenigsberg University, publishing several important treatises in this field, although, as a Jew, he could not be appointed to a professorship. Also active in the community at this time was the radical politician, Johann *Jacoby, who published a memorandum (1847) in defense of Jewish emancipation. Jacob Z. Mecklenburg was rabbi at Koenigsberg from 1830 to 1865, succeeded by Isaac Bamberger (1865–96). Orthodox circles established their own congregation in 1870, which later rejoined the communal union. Significant for the community were the years from 1897 to 1920, when Hermann *Vogelstein served as its spiritual leader. He was one of the most important leaders of liberal Jewry in Germany. Felix *Perles, his contemporary, was rewarded for his scientific research in Bible and linguistics by his appointment in 1924 as honorary professor of modern Hebrew and Aramaic literature at the university. The 20th century also saw Jews playing a significant role in the faculty of medicine, among them Ludwig Lichtheim, Julius Schreiber, Max Jaffe, and Alfred Ellinger. In 1925 there were five different synagogues in the city as well as a variety of social and welfare institutions.

The Jewish population was 3,170 in 1933. The onset of Nazism drove Jewish professors from the university, many seeking asylum in the United States and Ereẓ Israel (including Willy Wolflein and Frieda Reichmann). After the prohibition against Jewish children attending the public schools, a successful Jewish school was founded in 1935. By October 1938, after emigration and flight, 2,036 remained. On Nov. 10, 1938, the main synagogue was burned down. The ḥasidic, Polish, and Orthodox ones were similarly destroyed. The inhabitants of the orphanage and the home for the aged were thrown out on the streets. The men were arrested, mistreated, and imprisoned for two and a half months. A year later only 1,585 Jews remained. Mass deportations to Minsk and Theresienstadt in 1942 claimed at least 1,000 Jewish lives, leaving around 45 families in mixed marriages in the city. From 1943 Polish Jews were brought to the city for forced labor. About 3,700 participated in the death march to the Palmicken near the Baltic in January 1945. The Jews who remained in Koenigsberg after the war were expelled by the Russians in 1948 together with the Germans.

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[Reuven Michael]

KOENIGSBERG, DAVID (1889/1891? –1942?), Yiddish poet. One of the earliest Yiddish sonneteers, Koenigsberg was born in Busk (Galicia). His first book was *Lider* ("Poems," 1912), followed by his sonnets, *Soneten* (1913), and *Hundert Soneten* ("One Hundred Sonnets," 1921), which abound in romantic imagery of damsels, knights, and nightingales. While translating Heine into Yiddish, he was captivated by that poet's sentimental *Weltschmerz*; but he lost a sense of immediacy and intimacy by forcing his feelings into the artificial form of sonnets. He was at his best when he wrote of Jewish nationalism. He felt that the Balfour Declaration would enable Jews to escape their age-old woe by returning to Zion. He spoke of himself as a bridge over which others could cross into the Promised Land. When the Russians marched into Lvov (Lemberg) in 1939, he was put at the head of the Yiddish Authors' Society, and when the Nazis ousted the Russians, he was taken to the Yanove extermination camp and killed.

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[Sol Liptzin]

KOENIGSBERG, MOSES (1878–1945), U.S. editor and publisher. He organized the King Features syndicate as well as other news and feature services. Koenigsberg was born in New Orleans and at the age of thirteen he became a reporter for the *San Antonio* (Texas) *Times*. By 1903, he was managing editor of the *Chicago American* and in 1908 publisher of the *Boston American*. He formed King Features in 1916 and was also president of the International News Service and Universal Service. His books include *Southern Martyrs* (1898), *The Elk and the Elephant* (1899), and an autobiography, *King News* (1941).

[Lawrence H. Feigenbaum]

KOENIGSBERGER, BERNHARD (**Barukh**; 1866–1927), rabbi and scholar. Koenigsberger, who was born in Kattowitz, Upper Silesia, studied with B.H. *Auerbach in Halberstadt and at the Berlin Rabbinical Seminary. From 1895 he served as rabbi in Pasewalk, Pomerania; from 1898 in Pleschen (Pleszew), Poznania, and from 1912 in Berlin. He edited the *Monatsblaetter fuer die Vergangenheit und Gegenwart des Judentums* (4 vols., 1890–91), and the weekly *Jeschurun* (1901–04). Apart from numerous contributions to Jewish and general periodicals, Koenigsberger's publications include *Quellen der Halachah* (1890); *Hiobstudien* (1896); *Fremdsprachliche Glossen bei juedischen Commentatoren* (1896); a Passover *Haggadah* with German translation (1916); *R. Ismael b. R. Jose* (1902); and *Oneg Shabbat* (1913), notes on Bible and Talmud in Hebrew; he edited *Sifrei Zuta* (1894).

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[Joseph Elijah Heller]

KOENIGSWARTER, family of European bankers and philanthropists. The founder of the family, JONAS HIRSCH KOENIGSWARTER (d. 1805), was born in Kynzvart (Koenigswart), Bohemia, and moved to the German city of Fuerth, where he opened a successful banking house. His eldest son, SIMON KOENIGSWARTER (d. 1854), carried on his father's business. Simon was succeeded by his son, KARL WILHELM KOENIGSWARTER (1809–1887), who became an honorary freeman of Fuerth. He distinguished himself by his philanthropies for charitable institutions in Fuerth and in Merano, Italy, where he spent the latter part of his life. Jonas Hirsch's son MARCUS KOENIGSWARTER (1770–1854) settled in Frankfurt and established a bank there. A third son, MORITZ KOENIGSWARTER (1780–1829), opened a bank in Vienna. He received legal privileges from the government, and played an important role in Viennese Jewish communal life. Marcus' son JONAS FREIHERR VON KOENIGSWARTER (1807–1871) went to Vienna, where he married his uncle Moritz's daughter Josephine, and eventually succeeded him as head of the bank. He formed the Vienna banking firm of Koenigswarter and Todasco, and in 1850 became a director of the Austrian National Bank. He was associated with the *Rothschilds in establishing Austria's largest bank, the Creditanstalt, in 1855. He helped to develop the Austrian railroads, was active in the affairs of the Jewish community and was its president from 1868 to 1871. He was ennobled by Franz Joseph I and appointed to the Upper House (1870). Jonas Freiherr von Koenigswarter's son MORITZ BARON VON KOENIGSWARTER (1837–1893) was one of the most important banking and financial figures in Vienna, and continued his father's expansion of the Austrian railroad system. In 1879 he was appointed to Austria's upper legislative house as a Liberal, and there in 1890 represented the united Jewish community in negotiations to secure a law regulating the community's external relations. He founded Vienna's Institute for the Jewish Blind and was a co-founder and director of the Israelitisch-Theologische Lehranstalt. Jonas' son HERMANN FREIHERR VON KOENIGSWARTER (d. 1915) converted to Christianity and gave to charity the million gulder specified in his father's will as a penalty for any male descendant leaving the Jewish faith. He maintained racing stables but died destitute.

A fourth son of the original Jonas Hirsch Koenigswater went to Holland and founded a bank in Amsterdam. His sons settled in Paris. The elder, LOUIS JEAN KOENIGSWARTER (1814–1878), became a legal historian. In 1851 he was named a member of the Académie des Sciences Morales et Politiques. He was the author of several books on French legal history and established the Koenigswarter prize for the best work in this field. He was also active in Jewish affairs and was president of the council of the *Alliance Israélite Universelle (1860–63). His brother, MAXIMILIAN KOENIGSWARTER (1817–1878), became a banker in Paris. In 1851 he was elected to the French parliament and supported Napoleon III, but their warm relations cooled when in 1859 Koenigswarter opposed the war against Austria. The two were reconciled in 1861, but Koenigswarter lost his deputy's seat in 1863 to a republican candidate. In that year Napoleon made him a baron. Other distinguished members of the Koenigswarter family, both grandsons of Jonas Hirsch, were LEOPOLD KOENIGSWARTER, another Paris banker, who played an important part in the construction of railroads in Holland and Belgium; and HEINRICH KOENIGSWARTER, who was the resident minister of Coburg-Gotha in Paris, and was created a baron in 1870.

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[Joachim O. Ronall]

KOERNER, MOSES BEN ELIEZER PHOEBUS (1766–1836), rabbi and author. He was rabbi at Rendsburg (Schleswig), Shklov, and Grodno. In his later years he traveled extensively in Europe soliciting aid for the publication of his works. Koerner subsequently settled in Breslau where he died. His published works are: *Torat Moshe* (Nowy Dwor, 1786), containing homilies on obscure passages in Bible and Midrash, and also novellae, partly by Ẓevi Hirsch b. Abraham, of Posen; *Zera Kodesh* (Berlin, 1798), a commentary on the **Sifra* with homiletic discourses; *Ke-Or Nogah* (Breslau, 1816), an attempt to synthesize Kabbalah and Jewish philosophy, the **Zohar* and Maimonides' *Guide of the Perplexed; Iggeret Rishfei Keshet* (Hanover, 1831), an account of his wanderings and tribulations, including a rebuttal of his detractors; *Megillat Eivah* (Breslau, 1837), the autobiography of his ancestor Yom Tov Lipmann *Heller, with Koerner's notes and a German translation by Miro; and *Birkat Moshe* (Berlin, 1834).

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[Jacob Hirsch Haberman]

KOESTLER, ARTHUR (1905–1983), author. Born in Budapest and educated in Austria and Germany, Koestler was probably the most cosmopolitan of 20th-century European writers, changing his language from Hungarian to German at the age of 17, and from German to English at the age of 35. In 1926 Koestler went to Palestine, where for three years he was correspondent for a German publisher and a foreign correspondent for German newspapers. He then returned to Europe and in 1931 was the only journalist on board the "Graf Zeppelin" during its Arctic expedition. He joined the Communist Party in the same year and visited the U.S.S.R. during 1932–33, but abandoned the party at the height of the Stalinist purges of 1936–38. This disillusionment was described in a contribution to *The God That Failed* (1949).

Koestler's revulsion against the inhuman judicial processes of the age was expressed in the novel *Darkness at Noon* (1940), generally regarded as his best work and as one of the great political novels of the 20th century; it was later adapted for the stage. It tells the story of an old Bolshevik, Rubashov, who is arrested by the Soviet secret police and forced to confess to crimes which he did not commit. The strange psychological inversion which causes the victim to accept and acknowledge the justice of the charges leveled against him, while knowing that the evidence produced is false, provides the core of the novel's interest. During the Spanish Civil War Koestler was in Spain, and in 1937, while reporting the war for the London *News Chronicle*, he was captured and his *Spanish Testament* (1937) describes his hundred days in Franco's jails and the commutation of his death sentence to a term of imprisonment. In 1940 he volunteered for the French army and, after the collapse of France, escaped to England and fought with the British.

An interest in the problems of the Jews in Mandatory Palestine was a natural outcome of Koestler's years there during the 1920s. His novel *Thieves in the Night* (1946) documents the Arab-Jewish conflict during the period before the British withdrawal, when the Jewish underground movements incurred official wrath for their involvement in "illegal immigration" and "terrorism." Though obviously sympathetic to the Zionist cause, Koestler directs a streak of irony at the mixture of religious mysticism and practical socialism which, to his mind, animated the settlers in the kibbutzim. Koestler returned to Ereẓ Israel for a brief visit during the War of Independence in 1948, and his *Promise and Fulfillment: Palestine, 1917–49* (1949) surveys the era of the Mandate and the emergence of the State of Israel. After the establishment of the State, Koestler maintained that the Jews in the Diaspora were left with two choices: immigration to Israel, or total assimilation. He himself opted for the latter.

Koestler's works range from novels on political and ethical problems to polemical essays and autobiography. His rejection of various ideologies, the outcome of a disappointed idealism, led him to probe the workings of modern society and the rise of totalitarian movements, which enslaved men, repressed their individualism, and threatened to destroy the striving for a nobler social and metaphysical order. His books include: the novel *Arrival and Departure* (1943); *The Yogi and the Commissar* (1945), a volume of essays; *The Age of Longing* (1951), a political novel; two volumes of autobiography entitled *Arrow in the Blue* (1952) and *The Invisible Writing* (1954); *The Sleepwalkers* (1959), a history of man's changing vision of the universe; *The Lotus and the Robot* (1960); *The Act of Creation* (1964) and a philosophical work, *The Ghost in the Machine* (1967), both of which constituted a philosophical attack upon the theory of determinism; and *Scum of the Earth* (1968). In *The Thirteenth Tribe* (1976), he suggested that European Jewry was largely descended from the *Khazars.

Koestler and his wife committed suicide together.

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[Harold Harel Fisch]

KOF (**Qof**; Heb. ק; קוף), the nineteenth letter of the Hebrew alphabet; its numerical value is 100. In the Proto-Sinaitic inscriptions its form was 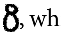, which later, in the linear Phoenician script turned into . In the eighth and seventh centuries B.C.E. the *kof* developed as follows: the circle was opened , it turned into two half-circles , and then the left one was drawn with the downstroke without lifting the pen . The last form was preserved in the Hebrew script, while in other scripts the head of the *kof* formed an S, as in Phoenician ( ), Samaritan ( ), and Aramaic ( ). The later Aramaic and Jewish *kof* reduced the left curve of its head . The Nabatean script went further and the letter was written as follows: . This developed into , until it became similar to the *pe* ( ). In the Arabic script it was necessary to add diacritic marks in order to distinguish between *pe* ( ) and *kof* ( ). See *Alphabet, Hebrew.

[Joseph Naveh]

KOFFKA, KURT (1886–1941), U.S. psychologist; one of the founders of Gestalt psychology. He was born and educated in Berlin. Working as an assistant at Frankfurt, he came under the influence of Max *Wertheimer and served as a subject in the first studies of apparent movement that became the starting point of the Gestalt school of psychology. Gestalt theory rejected the notion that consciousness is built up of separate elements and substituted the view that experience was organized in whole patterns (i.e., *Gestalten*). Appointed in 1911 to Giessen, Koffka tried to deal with the problem of development, publishing *Growth of the Mind* (1925). With the aid of his "convergence theory," similar to the views of William *Stern, he tried to show that every capacity is the result of the convergence of inner capacities and outer conditions of development. Goals are seen as an attempt to bring about closure. Insight replaces trial and error learning. In 1921 he founded the journal *Psychologische Forschung*, together with Wertheimer, Koehler, Goldstein, and Gruhle, to publish the results of the new school, to which most American psychologists were introduced by his article: "Perception: An Introduction to the Gestalt-Theory" in *Psychological Bulletin*, 19 (1922), 531–85. Unfortunately this article had the effect of making Gestalt psychology appear to be only a perceptual theory. Koffka went to the United States in 1924, and in 1927 took up permanent residence as professor at Smith College. In 1932 he joined an expedition to Uzbekistan in Central Asia. In his own words, "the official task of the expedition was to study the dependence of the mental functions of a people upon the historico-economic conditions of their country."

On his return he embarked on his monumental *Principles of Gestalt Psychology* (1935). In this work Koffka attempted a comprehensive Gestalt theory covering learning, memory, emotion, and personality. He introduced the concept of the organismic field, the total field of interacting forces governing behavior. He distinguished the environment as it appears to an individual, the "behavioral environment," from the real environment. The Gestalt principles of organization explain why the behavioral environment corresponds as well as it does to the real environment.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: S.H. MacColl, *Comparative Study of the Systems of Lewin and Koffka…* (1939).

KOFFLER, MURRAY (1924–), Canadian pharmacist, entrepreneur, philanthropist. Koffler was born in Toronto. His Romanian-born parents married in Toronto in 1921 where his father, Leon, eventually operated two pharmacies, one in the downtown Jewish neighborhood. Murray Koffler inherited the stores after his father's death and in 1946 graduated from the Ontario College of Pharmacy at the University of Toronto. With a keen business sense, he recognized the opportunities offered in meeting the drugstore needs of expanding suburban communities and the drawing power of an inviting self-service shopping format. The Shopper's Drug Mart chain took shape. By the time he sold his interest in Shopper's Drug Mart, Koffler had overseen a public company of more than 500 licensed and franchised drugstores across Canada. Koffler's business interests also extended beyond drugstores. In addition, he was a founding partner in the successful up-market Four Seasons Hotel chain.

Together with his wife Marvelle, Koffler shared his success with the Jewish and larger community. A member or director of many charitable organizations, he remained a strong supporter of the arts, education, and medicine, the founder of the annual Toronto Outdoor Art Exhibition, and a moving force behind incorporation of the Koffler Centre for the Arts into the large Toronto Jewish Community Centre complex. His generous contributions to the University of Toronto include the Koffler Student Centre and the Institute for the Study of Pharmacy Management. Active in the Toronto Jewish community, he was a major contributor to the Mount Sinai Hospital in Toronto and the Baycrest Centre Jewish Home for the Aged. A champion of Israel, Koffler was a patron of the Weizmann Institute for Science, where his financial initiatives enabled construction of the Koffler Accelerator Tower, the centerpiece of the Institute's Canada Centre for Nuclear Physics.

Murray Koffler was honored with the Order of Canada and in 1997 Murray and Marvelle Koffler were named Outstanding Philanthropists by the National Society of Fund Raising Executives.

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[Harold Troper (2nd ed.)]

KOGAN, ABRAHAM (1921–), Israeli physicist. Kogan was born in Kishinev in the former U.S.S.R. (now Chisinau, Moldova). He received his M.Sc. from the Hebrew University of Jerusalem (1950) and Ph.D. from Princeton University (1956). From 1952 he was a member of the aeronautics faculty of the Haifa Technion where he became professor (1963). Since 1989 he has been emeritus professor at the Technion and visiting scientist at the Weizmann Institute. His main research interest was fluid mechanics and its application to efficient systems for desalinizing seawater. More recently he analyzed the effects of solar heat on water and the practical implications for utilizing solar power. His achievements were recognized by many honors including the Rothschild Prize (1966) and election to the Israel Academy of Sciences.

[Michael Denman (2nd ed.)]

KOGAN, LEONID BORISSOVICH (1924–1982), Russian violinist. Kogan, who was born in Dniepropetrovsk, played the violin from the age of seven. He achieved great technical mastery, winning the first prize at the international competitions in Prague in 1947 and the Queen Elizabeth competitions in Brussels in 1951. His foreign tours included appearances with orchestras in the U.S.A. With the pianist Emil *Gilels and the cellist Rostropovich, Kogan organized a concert trio, and also gave recitals with his wife, the violinist, Elizabeth (née Gilels). Later he appeared with his son, Pavel. The Soviet composers A. Khachaturian, T. Khrennikov, and M. Weinberg wrote violin works for him. He was awarded the Lenin Prize in 1965.

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[Michael Goldstein]

KOGAN, MOYSE (1879–1942), sculptor. Born in Bessarabia, he became a chemist, but went to Munich in 1903 to devote himself to art, although he had had no previous training. To maintain himself, he designed embroideries and other objects, and also created medallions. As a member of the New Artists' Association in Munich, he participated in the group's exhibitions in 1910 and 1911. In 1910 he moved to Paris where he received encouragement from Maillol, whose work greatly influenced him. In 1925 Kogan was elected vice president of the Salon d'Automne, an unusual honor for one who was not a Frenchman. When France was overrun by the Germans, he was arrested, deported, and killed. His best works are terracotta figurines and delicate heads, carved in limestone, marble, or wood. He was also a master of print in wood and linoleum cuts as well as lithographs.

[Alfred Werner]

KOGEN, (Chaim) DAVID (1919–2005), teacher and administrator in the Conservative movement. Born in Rutki, Poland, Kogen came to the United States in 1928 at the age of nine and was raised in Cleveland, Ohio. After earning his bachelor's degree at the University of Chicago in 1942, he was ordained a rabbi at the Jewish Theological Seminary in 1946.

Although Kogen spent the bulk of his career in education and administration, the beginning of his career was in the rabbinate serving as a congregational leader. He moved to Vancouver, British Columbia, upon receiving his rabbinical ordination. There, he founded and directed the B'nai Brith Hillel Foundation at the University of British Columbia while simultaneously serving as the spiritual leader of Congregation Beth Israel. After returning to New York City in 1956, Kogen served as the visiting rabbi at the Park Avenue Synagogue until 1957, temporarily replacing the recently deceased Milton *Steinberg, after which he spent one year at Temple Ansche Chesed.

He devoted the first 10 years of his rabbinical career to Jewish and general community leadership in Canada. He was involved in many local community service organizations, including the Jewish Family Welfare Bureau and the Institute for Church and Social Service Workers.

After spending 12 years as a congregational rabbi, Kogen directed his energies towards leadership of the Conservative movement itself. In the United Synagogue of America, Kogen served as a member of the Committee on Congregational Standards and as director of community activities. In the Rabbinical Assembly, he served temporarily as executive vice president during Rabbi Wolfe Kelman's sabbatical. He was also a member of the RA's Executive Council and the Membership Committee.

In 1958, Kogen joined the faculty of Jewish Theological Seminary. He was assistant to the vice chancellor until 1966, after which time he became the administrative vice chancellor himself. He was a director and teacher of liturgy in the Cantors Institute-Seminary College of Jewish Music. He also taught a practical rabbinics class on the ritual and administrative skills of congregational life. He was chairman of the department of professional skills, and director of the Graduate School of Humanities.

[Aaron Shub (2nd ed.)]

KOHATH (Heb. קְהָת) **AND KOHATHITES**. Kohath was the second son of Levi and grandfather of *Moses, *Aaron, and *Miriam (Num. 26:58–59). Few personal details about him are recorded. He is invariably listed between his brothers Gershon and Merari (Gen. 46:11; Ex. 6:16; Num. 3:17; I Chron. 5:27). He lived for 133 years and had four sons: Amram, Izhar, Hebron, and Uzziel (Ex. 6:18). The information about his descendants is more detailed, since the Kohathites were among the most important levitical clans. Their story is interwoven with four periods in biblical history – the Wilderness Wanderings, the Settlement, the Monarchy, and the Return to Zion. In the census taken in the wilderness the Kohathites numbered 8,600 males (LXX, 8,300) aged above one month, including 2,750 males between 30 and 50 years old (Num. 3:28; 4:1–3, 34–37). They were subject to service for work relating to the Tent of Meeting. They camped along the south side of the Tabernacle and were in charge of the most sacred objects, the Ark, the table, the lampstand, the altars, the sacred utensils, and the screen, all of which they carried on their shoulders. The sons of Kohath were granted a privilege greater than that awarded to the other clans of the Levites, the Gershonites and the Merarites, in that they bore their burden on staves, unlike others who carried them on ox wagons (Num. 3:29, 31; 4:2, 7:8–9). Another episode which relates to the wilderness period was the rebellion by *Koraḥ, grandson of Kohath, against the leadership of Moses and Aaron (Num. 16:1ff.). The details about the allotted settlements of the Kohathites are given in Joshua (21:4–5, 9–26) and I Chronicles (6:39–46). Those descended from Aaron received 13 towns within the tribal territories of Judah, Simon, and Benjamin. The remaining Kohathites received ten additional towns from the tribes of Ephraim, Dan, and half of Manasseh. Their allotted lands were thus mainly in the southern and central parts of the country. In the Chronicler's reconstruction of the period of the monarchy the Kohathites are mentioned in connection with the four kings – David, Hezekiah, Jehoshaphat, and Josiah, always in relation to service in the Tabernacle or the Temple. According to Chronicles, it was during David's reign, that the family of Heman the Kohathite was among the levites assigned to direct the singing in the Tabernacle (I Chron. 6:16–23; cf. Ps. 88:1). Led by Uriel "the Chief," 120 Kohathites participated in the installation of the Ark in Jerusalem (I Chron. 15:5), and the family is again listed in the census of levites and their organization in divisions is undertaken by David (I Chron. 23:1–6, 12). Another tradition in Chronicles reports that in the days of King Jehoshaphat, during the invasion of Judah by the Moabites and Ammonites, it was the Kohathites who led the congregation in praise of God at the service of intercession (II Chron. 20:19). They also participated in the cleansing of the Temple in the time of Hezekiah (II Chron. 29:12), and two of their men supervised the work of renovating the Temple undertaken by King Josiah (II Chron. 34:12). In the era of the return to Zion, the time of Ezra and Nehemiah, when functions were determined in the Temple, several of the sons of Kohath were put in charge of the changing of the showbread (I Chron. 9:32).

[Nili Shupak]

In the Aggadah

Kohath was one of the seven righteous men who helped bring the *Shekhinah*, the Divine Presence, back to earth, after it had ascended to heaven because of the sins of previous generations (PdRK, I, 22). Because of the superiority of the family of Kohath among the families of the tribe of Levi they were given the privilege of carrying the Ark in the wilderness. The diminution in numbers which this caused the family of Kohath (cf. Num. 4:18–19) was due to the fact that a fire emerged from the Ark, which occasionally destroyed those who carried it, and from the deaths which occurred as a result of the frantic desire of members of the family to be granted the privilege (Gen. R. 5:1). Their humility is praised. "Although the family of Kohath were aristocrats, when they came to carry the ark, they assumed the demeanor of ordinary slaves"; they carried the ark on their shoulders, while walking backward, as a sign of respect (*ibid.* 5:8).

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KOHELETH MUSSAR (Heb. "The Moral Ecclesiastes"), a collection of moralistic Hebrew literature published in Berlin by Moses *Mendelssohn and Tobias Bock sometime during the 1750s. Considered by many to be the first modern Hebrew periodical, *Koheleth Mussar* was the publication in which Mendelssohn's lucid, biblically influenced Hebrew style first appeared. Mendelssohn composed descriptions of nature as well as didactic exhortations to a moral way of life, and praises of the neglected Hebrew tongue. Citing the example of other peoples who had begun to revive and develop their languages, Mendelssohn asked, "Why are we dreaming and inert; why do we not apply their example to our language which is most eminent and ancient?" Only two issues appeared, each four pages in length and comprising six chapters. Precise data about the author(s), publishers, place, and year of publication are lacking. There have been many conjectures as to the year of publication, which range from 1750 to 1758. Until World War I three copies of the first issue were known to be extant (one in the British Museum), and only one copy of the second issue (Leipzig University Library). It was reprinted with a preface by J. Edelstein in the *Festschrift zum 50 jaehrigen Bestehen der Franz-Josef-Landesrabbinerschule in Budapest* ((1927), Heb. pt. (55–76)) and in an amended version in volume 14 of the complete works of Moses Mendelssohn, edited by Borodianski (Bar-Dayyan (d. 1978); Berlin, 1939, the last Hebrew book printed in Nazi Germany; the only extant copy is preserved by the editor in Jerusalem).

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[Getzel Kressel]

KOHEN, first major family of Hebrew printers in Prague and all of Central Europe. Hebrew printing began in Prague – before anywhere else in Central or Eastern Europe – no later than 1512, when four craftsmen and two backers produced a prayer book. By 1514 the group had been joined by GERSHOM BEN SOLOMON KOHEN (d. 1544), who was evidently a man of means and destined to dominate the group, and two others. From then until 1522 they issued four works of prayers and a handsome Pentateuch.

Kohen's importance and dominance in the group is indicated by two facts: in all these works, the colophons list him first; and an ornamental border on the opening page of the Pentateuch, used again in the 1522 *maḥzor,* shows a pair of hands held in position for the priestly blessing – a symbol for him, since he was a *kohen*. He was to use this as his printer's mark in later works also, with his name added.

After 1522 the group broke up in order to open several Hebrew printing shops in Prague. Together with his brother GRONEM KOHEN, Gershom produced a Passover *Haggadah* (1526). Set in large, handsome type and lavishly illustrated with over 60 woodcuts (mostly by Hayyim Shahor, a fellow printer), this earliest printed, illustrated *Haggadah* is a masterpiece. Each double page has a harmonious unity and balance of its own. A facsimile edition appeared in Berlin in 1926 (but by error the order of facing pages was not kept), and two others in the latter 1960s – one (Shulsinger, New York) a faithful, splendid replica, the other (Universitas, Jerusalem) in colors.

In 1526 Ferdinand I became king of Bohemia, and Kohen applied to him for a *privilegium* (royal decree), to make him the exclusive Hebrew printer in Bohemia. This was granted him in 1527 and his competitors had to close their shops. He engaged Meir Michtam, the typographer of the original group of printers of 1512, as his assistant to instruct his sons in the craft. With his sons SOLOMON and MORDECAI (d. 1592) Kohen produced a steady stream of prayer books and Pentateuchs, as well as learned and talmudic works. In time his sons MOSES (d. 1549) and JUDAH (d. 1593) also joined the firm. Printing more volumes than the Prague community could absorb, the Kohen family appointed the *Halicz brothers of Cracow as its agents in Poland; in 1535 Mordecai Kohen, the strongest and most talented businessman among Kohen's sons, went to the Frankfurt trade fair to arrange for distribution there.

The 1540s was an unsettled time for Prague's Jews. An edict of expulsion left only 15 families in the city, until the decree was lifted in 1543. In 1544 the resulting economic difficulties forced Mordecai Kohen to travel about in an attempt to sell some of the stock. Toward the end of the year Gershom Kohen died, and shortly afterward his son Moses Kohen applied to Ferdinand I for the same *privilegium* that his father had enjoyed. In 1545 his request was granted. In the 1550s, however, life for all Prague Jewry was unusually difficult. Fire ravaged the ghetto and expulsion threatened. Beset in any case by competition from Hebrew works imported from Italy, Mordecai Kohen left printing and devoted himself to the communal welfare, acting as *shtadlan*. His brother Moses Kohen died, and for years no volumes were issued from the Kohen family press, except for a small prayer book (afternoon and evening services) printed by Judah Kohen. In 1566, however, Mordecai Kohen resumed the craft with his five sons. Yet conditions brought another interruption of activity for seven years (1571–77), after which Mordecai's sons continued, while he himself remained immersed in communal affairs until his death. The firm was then named in his memory. In 1589 Kohen's son Bezalel died. In 1590 his son Solomon requested, and received, yet another royal *privilegium*, enabling the Kohen firm to remain the sole Hebrew printers in Prague until the very early 1600s.

From 1592 the firm was managed by Solomon Kohen and his son MOSES (d. 1659). Afterward, Moses continued alone for over 50 years, personally supervising proofreading and corrections. The Thirty-Years' War, however, brought the press to a standstill when Moses was already old; when he died, his grandsons ISRAEL and MOSES continued under the firm name of "the Grandsons of Moses Katz" (= *kohen ẓedek*, "the righteous *kohen*"). They were succeeded in time by this latter Kohen's son AARON (d. 1701), who managed the press until his death. After 1701 Aaron Kohen's son DAVID carried on, until 1735, under the firm name of "the descendants of Moses Katz." The press continued sporadically thereafter, until economic conditions moved the Kohen family to merge with the *Bak firm in 1784, thus bringing its long course of independent printing to an end.

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[Charles Wengrov]

KOHEN, ALBERT (1885–1949), Turkish journalist, educator, community leader. Born in *Istanbul, Kohen studied at the Alliance Israélite school. At the age of 18 he became involved in community affairs in Hasköy and then established the Hinukh Yeladim school, where he taught the children Hebrew, Jewish history, and culture. Starting in 1910, he became the president of the Jewish community of Sirkeci. From 1940 he was a member of the Secular Council of the Chief Rabbinate and also a member of the board of the Or Ahayim Jewish Hospital. He began publishing in 1922 in *El Telegrafo* and then in *La Boz de Oriente.* In 1939 he founded *La Boz de Türkiye,* a biweekly journal published in Turkish, French, and Ladino. He was Turkey's correspondent of the *Jewish Telegraphic Agency until his death. As his journalistic activities did not bring in material remuneration, he worked in the Banque de Salonique until 1947. His published works include *Maimonides Su Vida Y Sus Obras* (1935); *La Evolución de la Mujer y el Rolo de La Mujer Judia en la Historia de Israel* (1936); *La Signification de Kippour* (1936); *La Vertud de Kippour* (1937); *Abraham Elmaleh Quelques Traits de Sa Vie: Publié à l'Occasion du 60ème Anniversaire de sa Naissance* (1945).

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[Rifat Bali (2nd ed.)]

KOHEN, ELEAZAR BEN ZE'EV WOLF (d. 1883), Polish rabbi and author. Kohen was the son-in-law of Jacob *Lorbeerbaum. He served as rabbi in Makow, Pultusk, Plock, and finally in Sochaczew. Among his pupils were Aaron *Walden, author of *Shem ha-Gedolim he-Ḥadash* (1864), to which he gave an approbation. Kohen wrote *Zikhron Nifla'ot*, a commentary on the Passover *Haggadah* (1880) and a commentary on *Avot* (1889). His novellae on the Shulḥan Arukh, the Talmud, and Maimonides were published by his son Joshua under the title *Ḥiddushei Maharakh* (2 vols., 1897–1913). He published a number of eulogies on contemporary rabbis, among them *Zekher Ẓaddik Yesod Olam* (1866) on Isaac Meir Alter.

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[Samuel Abba Horodezky]

KOHEN, RAPHAEL BEN JEKUTHIEL SUESSKIND (1722–1803), rabbi and author. Raphael was born in Livonia and in his youth studied in Minsk at the yeshivah of his relative, Aryeh b. Asher *Gunzberg, author of the *Sha'agat Aryeh*. In 1742 Raphael was appointed head of the yeshivah, and between 1745 and 1776 he served successively as rabbi of the communities of Minsk, Rakov, Wilkomir, and Pinsk. In 1771, while he was in Berlin in connection with the printing of his *Torat Yekuti'el*, he was received by the scholars of the city with enthusiasm and was offered the rabbinate, but he refused and returned to Pinsk. From 1773 he served as rabbi of Posen and in 1776 was appointed to the combined communities of Altona, Hamburg, and Wandsbeck. In 1799 he planned to settle in Ereẓ Israel but did not succeed in fulfilling that desire because of the war in Europe, where he remained until his death. He did, however, resign from the rabbinate in 1799 and became a private citizen. The king of Denmark, in whose territory the communities were, sent him a letter of appreciation for the services he had rendered to the community. Kohen strongly opposed the Haskalah and Mendelssohn's German translation of the Pentateuch. When Kohen published his *Torat Yekutiel* (Berlin, 1772), glosses on the first three chapters of the Shulḥan Arukh, *Yoreh De'ah*, Saul *Berlin criticized it mercilessly in his *Mizpeh Yokte'el* (*ibid.*, 1789), charging that the work contained mistakes and errors, forgeries and plagiarisms. A stormy controversy ensued. Kohen's colleagues on the *bet din* of Altona decided to excommunicate Berlin. Various rabbis – among them Mordecai *Banet – intervened in the quarrel and protested against Berlin's accusations. His other works include *Ve-Shav ha-Kohen* (Altona, 1792), 101 responsa; *She'elat ha-Kohanim Torah* (*ibid.*, 1792), novellae and expositions on seven tractates of the order *Kodashim; Marpe Lashon* (*ibid.*, 1790), divided into six "pillars," containing expositions of rabbinic *aggadot* and ethics; and *Da'at Kedoshim* (*ibid.*, 1797), 12 sermons in *halakhah* and *aggadah*. The last two sermons he delivered in 1799 were published in the *Zekher Ẓaddik* (*ibid.*, 1805) of his son-in-law Eliezer Leiser Katzenellenbogen-Reiser, which also includes a biography of Kohen entitled *Ma'alelei Ish* and the eulogies delivered on him. According to his son-in-law, Kohen sought to determine the plain sense of the Talmud and the language of the early halakhic authorities in order to trace every *halakhah* back to its source. He was opposed to those who relied almost entirely on the Codes for halakhic decisions without examining the early authorities, and he insisted on the need to delve into the origin and source of each law. He rejected the "casuistic method which does not accord with the *halakhah*"; he frequently emphasized his trepidation and hesitation in laying down the law, referring to himself as *mi-yirei hora'ah* ("one who fears to state the *halakhah*"), a pun on *moreh halakhah* ("a teacher of *halakhah*"). In a problem concerning the permission of an *agunah* to remarry, he states that if "two more renowned halakhic authorities will agree with me, then I too will join them, but if not, then my words are null and void and I do not wish my decision to be relied upon" (responsa 3 in the appendix to *Torat Yekutiel*). Kohen cites Torah novellae of his son, Ẓevi Hirsch, the *av bet din* of Krotoschin (Krotoszyn), and of his father-in-law, Ẓevi Hirsch b. Abraham, the *av bet din* of Posen and Fuerth.

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[Yehoshua Horowitz]

KOHEN, SAMI (1928–), Turkish journalist. Born in Istanbul, the son of journalist and community leader Albert *Kohen, Sami Kohen's first articles were published in his father's journal, *La Boz de Türkiye*. After his father's death he published a weekly newspaper in Turkish, *Türkiyenin Sesi*, between November 1949 and May 1950. He attended Istanbul University's School of Journalism and was also trained in the U.S. He started his own career in 1950 in the newspaper *Yeni Istanbul* and two years later moved to *Istanbul Ekspres*, working in the foreign news department. In 1954 he joined *Milliyet* as foreign news editor. In 1982 he started writing a regular daily column on international affairs and Turkey's foreign policy which was highly regarded in Turkey and abroad. As a senior editor with more than 40 years of service, he is considered the dean of Turkish journalists specializing in foreign affairs. He is an active correspondent for *Newsweek* and *Christian Science Monitor.* Between 1950 and 2002 he was the Turkish correspondent for *Maariv* and from 1949 the Turkish correspondent for *The Jewish Chronicle*. His published works are *Bugünkü Japonya* (1982) and *Değişen Çin* (1982).

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[Rifat Bali (2nd ed.)]

KOHEN-ZEDEK, JOSEPH (1827–1903), Hebrew poet, writer, and publicist. Kohen-Zedek, who was born in Lvov, studied rabbinics with Solomon *Kluger in Brody and S.J. Nathanson in Lvov. He first engaged – unsuccessfully – in business and then turned to literature and journalism. He published a number of collections of his patriotic poetry in honor of the Austro-Hungarian emperor – from whom he received a gold medal for art and science in 1851 – and an anthology of contemporary poetry dedicated to Moses Montefiore, *Neveh Kehillah* (1864). Kohen-Zedek edited a number of more or less short-lived Hebrew periodicals: *Meged Yeraḥim* (4 issues, 1855–59), *Oẓar Ḥokhmah* (3 issues, 1859–65), *Ha-Yehudi ha-Niẓḥi* (4 issues, 1866), and *Or Torah* (4 issues, 1874). His weekly *Ha-Mevasser*, which included a literary supplement, *Ha-Nesher*, was the first Hebrew paper in Galicia (1861–66); some of the best Hebrew writers and scholars contributed to it. He himself wrote in a lively and original *meliẓah* style. Following a dispute with one of his associates which led to a denunciation, Kohen-Zedek had to leave Austria in 1868. He went first to Frankfurt on the Main, and in 1875 to London, where he served as preacher to immigrant congregations. In London he wrote a number of mainly homiletic works, including *Elef Alfin*, a thousand-word eulogy on Chief Rabbi Nathan Adler, each word beginning with *alef.* Of some scholarly importance are his *Sefat Emet* (1879), a polemic against Michael *Rodkinson; *Ohole Shem: Tents of Shem, Being an Account of the Trial of Jacob and Isaac of the City of Madrid in the Year 5202* (1883), on blood libels; *Divrei ha-Yamim le-Mal-*

khei Ẓarefat (1859), an edition of *Joseph ha-Kohen's chronicle with Kohen-Zedek's introduction; and *Even Boḥan* (1865), an annotated edition of Kalonymus b. Kalonymus' satirical work. His *Biographical Sketches of Eminent Jewish Families* (1897) is in English. Kohen-Zedek maintained a lively correspondence with the leading rabbis and scholars of his time. He has been called "the last publicist of the Galician Haskalah."

BIBLIOGRAPHY: G. Bader, *Medinah va-Ḥakhamehah* (1934), 119–21; N. Sokolow, *Ishim* (1958^2), 205–13.

[Getzel Kressel]

KOHEN-ẒEDEK BAR IVOMAI (or **Ikhumai**; 9th century), *gaon* of Sura from 838–48, succeeding R. Mesharshiya (or Moshe) Kahana after an interregnum of two years. Kohen-Ẓedek's responsa, usually in Hebrew (rather than the Aramaic common to most of the *geonim* before him) and couched in succinct terms, encompass all aspects of *halakhah*, particularly laws of blessings and texts of the liturgy. He apparently devoted a whole work to the Passover *seder.* It is assumed that Kohen-Ẓedek was the first (even before *Natronai b. Hilai) to compose a prayer book. He was very careful not to force upon communities who turned to him for advice the customs which prevailed in the Babylonian academies.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Abramson, Merkazim, 14; H. Tykoczynski, *Takanot Ha-Geonim* (1959), passim; M. Havazelet, *Ha-Rambam ve-ha-Geonim* (1967), 162; Baron, Social^2, 5 (1957), 30; 6 (1958), 446; Weiss, Dor, 4 (1904^4), 38.

[Meir Havazelet]

KOHEN ẒEDEK OF PUMBEDITA (10th century), *gaon* of Pumbedita from 917 to 936. Kohen Ẓedek was active in raising the spiritual and material status of his academy, striving to make it the equal of *Sura. Before his time Pumbedita received only a third of the donations collected for the academies and Sura two-thirds. As a result of his efforts they were divided equally. His appointment as head of the academy was fraught with controversy. After the death of Judah b. Samuel in 917, the scholars of the yeshivah, with the support of the court banker Aaron b. Amram, chose Mevasser Kahana b. Kimoi as head of the academy, while the exilarch David b. Zakkai selected Kohen Ẓedek. After their reconciliation and until the death of Mevasser in 922 or 925, both scholars served as *geonim* of Pumbedita, each in a separate academy. Kohen Ẓedek then served as the sole head of the yeshivah until his death. *Saadiah ben Joseph (Gaon), a member of his academy, received the title **alluf* from Kohen Ẓedek. No responsa of Kohen Ẓedek are extant and nothing is known of his teachings.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: B.M. Levin (ed.), *Iggeret Sherira Ga'on* (1921), 119–20; Neubauer, Chronicles, 2 (1895), 78–80; L. Ginzberg, *Geonica*, 1 (1909), 35, 38–66; H. Malter, *Saadia Gaon* (Eng. 1921), 104; Mann, in: *Tarbiz*, 5 (1933/34), 148–61.

[Eliezer Bashan (Sternberg)]

KOHL, HERBERT (1935–), U.S. senator and owner of Milwaukee Bucks basketball team. Kohl was born in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, to Max and Mary, both immigrants (Max from Poland, Mary from Russia). He graduated from the University of Wisconsin and was president of his Jewish fraternity Phi Lambda Phi, then earned an MBA at Harvard Business School. He served in the United States Army Reserves from 1958 to 1964.

Kohl, the third of four children, watched his father keep an exhausting schedule at the family's small grocery. His parents instilled a pride and emphasis on education in the children as well as the importance of charity and helping others, both driving factors in the senator's life. His parents also hired an Orthodox rabbi to come to the family home daily for nearly ten years to instruct the children in the Torah and the Hebrew language. His Jewish background and culture remain an inspiration for much of his work for charity and in the Senate.

Kohl got his start in business with his family's retail operation, which he watched grow from his father's small grocery on Milwaukee's south side to larger department stores and entire shopping centers. In 1972 the family sold 80 percent of the company's stock to a British retailer, though Herb ran Kohl Corporation until 1979 when the remaining stock was sold. He purchased the Milwaukee Bucks after the sale of Kohl Corporation and began to support more philanthropic pursuits.

A respected businessman, Kohl ventured into politics in the 1970s when he became chairman of the Wisconsin State Democratic Party from 1975 to 1977. In 1988, he spent nearly $7 million of his own funds running for the U.S. Senate seat vacated by retiring William Proxmire.

In the Senate, Kohl was known for his attention to children's issues, supporting issues relating to working parents and child nutrition. Kohl worked to pass the Child Care Infrastructure Act, a law signed in 2001 that encourages private companies to create child care options for their employees by way of on-site or near-site day care centers. Other causes to which Kohl was dedicated are Wisconsin farming, anti-crime legislation, and particularly laws that protect children from criminal acts.

Senator Kohl served on three committees. His Senate Appropriations Committee appointment allowed him to work on several subcommittees, including those that benefited education and human services initiatives in his home state. His work on the Special Committee on Aging included introducing a Nursing Home Safety Bill that would hold caregivers accountable in the case of abuse of a resident. On the Senate Judiciary Committee, Kohl's focus was on crime prevention programs, consumer protection issues, and confirmation of the most qualified federal judges.

It is estimated that Kohl has donated more than $1 million each year, often with no recognition, and his own fortunes fund the Herb Kohl Foundation, which awards educational scholarships and grants.

[Lisa Deshantz-Cook (2nd ed.)]

KOHLBACH, BERTALAN (1866–1944), Hungarian Liberal rabbi and scholar of Jewish-Hungarian folklore. Kohlbach was born in Liptoszentmiklos, Hungary, into a family of rabbis. In 1890, he became rabbi of the Conservative community of Temesvar. Six years later, he resigned as a result of opposition to his Reform views, and he taught secondary school in various Hungarian cities. Kohlbach was one of the pioneers in folklore research in Hungary. Of his writings on Jewish folklore, only extracts were published in German and Hebrew periodicals. He also wrote on the Jewish archaeological material in the Hungarian Museum; he described the Hasmonean coins of the Jewish Museum of Budapest, of which he was a founder; and he wrote on classical philology, archaeology, and general education.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: A. Scheiber, in: *Az Országos Rabbi Egyesület Értesitője* (Dec. 1948), 15–19.

[Baruch Yaron]

KOHLER, KAUFMANN (1843–1926), U.S. Reform rabbi and president of Hebrew Union College. Kaufmann Kohler was born in Fuerth, Bavaria, long known as a center of rabbinic learning, and was himself descended from rabbinic stock. He pursued rabbinical studies from an early age and in 1862 entered the gymnasium at Frankfurt. While in that city he came under the influence of Samson Raphael *Hirsch, champion of Neo-Orthodoxy, and, though later diverging sharply from his viewpoint, never ceased to pay tribute to his influence. Kohler pursued his university studies at Berlin and Erlangen, receiving a doctorate in 1867. His university studies had shattered Kohler's Orthodoxy and his doctoral thesis, *Der Segen Jacobs* (1867), took such a radical viewpoint that no rabbinic position was open to him. For a time he continued his studies at Leipzig with a view to entering the academic world, but, warmly recommended by the German Reform leader Abraham *Geiger, Kohler accepted the office of rabbi of Congregation Beth El, Detroit (1869). In 1871 he moved to Sinai Congregation, Chicago (where he introduced Sunday services in 1874), and in 1879 he succeeded his father-in-law, David *Einhorn, at Temple Beth El, New York.

Kohler emerged as a national champion of Reform Judaism in 1885 when, replying to attacks by Alexander *Kohut, he published a series of sermons entitled *Backward or Forward* (1885). The outcome was his convening of the Pittsburgh Conference of Reform Rabbis and its adoption of a radical program on the basis of Kohler's draft. In 1903 Kohler was appointed president of *Hebrew Union College and set about immediately to improve the curriculum and to bring fresh talent to the faculty. His dealings were not always diplomatic, and he was soon involved in a clash with several members of the faculty on the subject of Zionism, which he opposed. He became the chief spokesman for classical Reform. His major theological work was *Jewish Theology Systematically and Historically Considered* (1918; repub. 1968), which traces Jewish thought from the perspective of 19th-century Reform Judaism. He revamped the curriculum, introduced biblical criticism and reduced the time spent on Talmud, but also held daily services and taught reverence through study. Under his presidency the College moved to a new, spacious setting. Upon his retirement, Kohler received the title of president emeritus (1921) and returned to New York.

Throughout his career Kohler showed wide scholarly interests and prodigious industry as a researcher and writer. When *Studies in Jewish Literature Issued in Honor of Professor Kaufmann Kohler on the Occasion of his 70th Birthday* was published in 1913, 801 of his articles were listed in the bibliography. He was editor of the department of philosophy and theology of the *Jewish Encyclopedia*, to which he contributed 300 articles, and a member of the board of editors of the JPS English translation of the Bible. His *Studies, Addresses and Personal Papers* (1931) was published posthumously.

Kohler was an active member of the Central Conference of American Rabbis and his learning and position enabled him to exercise a significant influence on the trend of American Reform Judaism in his day. He was an unusual combination of rationalist and believer. The evolutionary theory of Charles Darwin exercised an important influence on his thinking. Man, Kohler declared in 1874 "… is driven by the creative forces farther and farther away from his root, away from his natural origin, toward the higher, the infinite; away from the transient shell towards the eternal … everything that stamps man as man … our entire culture has grown from rude beginnings into ever higher perfection." With this he combined a strong belief that the task of the Jew was to lead the world to a universal religion and that the Messianic era was approaching in his own day.

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[Sefton D. Temkin / Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

KOHLER, MAX JAMES (1871–1934), U.S. attorney, specialist in immigration and naturalization law, and communal leader. Kohler, the son of Kaufmann *Kohler, was born in Detroit. He served as assistant U.S. district attorney in the southern district of New York from 1894 to 1898. He then entered private law practice as defender of the legal and public rights of immigrants, naturalized citizens, and aliens, taking up test cases and hardship cases particularly and arguing them in appeals to the highest courts, including the U.S. Supreme Court. In his quest to define and extend these rights and to clarify the law, he represented various national Jewish organizations at legislative and executive agency hearings on issues in naturalization and immigration law, and publicized the problems of new citizens and aliens in pamphlets and educational articles for the press. In these tasks he was associated with Oscar S. *Straus, Louis *Marshall, and Simon *Wolf.

Kohler was concomitantly a dedicated student of history and contributed articles to the *Jewish Encyclopedia* and *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society* on early American Jewish history and the struggle for Jewish emancipation, particularly as carried on at postwar congresses in Europe in the 19th and early 20th centuries. His *Immigration and Aliens in the United States: Studies of American Immigration Laws and the Legal Status of Aliens in the United States* was published in 1936. Kohler served on the commission on Ellis Island and Immigrant Relief in 1933. He was a member of and held office in many Jewish organizations, including the American Jewish Historical Society (to which he bequeathed his unpublished writings, his library, and his law briefs).

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[Isidore S. Meyer]

KOHN, ABRAHAM (1807–1848), Austrian rabbi and *maskil*. Born in Zálužany, Bohemia, he became a disciple of Naphtali Herz *Homberg in Prague. After serving as rabbi in Hohenems, in 1844 he became a preacher in Lemberg (Lvov), where he was known as an extremist *maskil* in his conduct and religious outlook. Appointed district rabbi, Kohn headed the *Reform movement and propagated its ideas throughout Galicia. Kohn also attempted to influence the authorities to prohibit Jews from wearing their traditional dress and observing traditional customs, and, in particular, to act against the existence of the *ḥadarim*. He founded a modern Jewish school in Lvov modeled on German Haskalah lines. In 1846, he founded a Reform temple, thus aggravating the dissension of the Orthodox sector whose representatives opposed him unremittingly. Kohn gave the impetus to press for abolition of the *kasher* meat tax and *candle tax, in connection with which he traveled with a special delegation to Vienna in order to submit a petition to the emperor. His leading opponent, Jacob Naphtali Herz *Bernstein, tried to obtain Kohn's dismissal from the office of district rabbi. A number of attempts were made to humiliate him and also to assault him. After Kohn and his son died from food poisoning, murder was suspected. An investigation was ordered by the authorities, and the leaders of the Orthodox sector, Bernstein and Hirsh Orenstein, were arrested. After a time, both were released for lack of evidence. Kohn published textbooks; his sermons were published by his son Jacob (in *Jeshurun*, 1856).

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[Moshe Landau]

KOHN, EUGENE (1887–1977), U.S. Reconstructionist rabbi and editor. Kohn, who was born in Newark, New Jersey, earned his B.A. from New York University (1907) and was ordained by the Jewish Theological Seminary in 1912. He occupied pulpits, perhaps not quite successfully, in Baltimore, Maryland (1912–18); Perth Amboy, New Jersey (1921–23); Milwaukee, Wisconsin (1923–26); Youngstown, Ohio (1926–29); Bayonne, New Jersey (1929–34); and St. Albans, New York (1936–39); and served on the staff of Young Judea. Associated with the Reconstructionist movement from its inception, he played an important role in its development as the first managing editor of its magazine *Reconstructionist* from 1938 until his retirement in 1963. During the 1930s and 1940s, *The Resonstructionist* attracted some of the leading religious thinkers of the era; it was provocative, stimulating, and quite controversial. Kohn also edited the Reconstructionist Press, as resident administrator and ideologist. He edited *Shir Ḥadash* (1939), a book of readings and prayers; *The New Haggadah* (1941); *The Reconstructionist Prayer Book* (1948; with M.M. Kaplan and I. Eisenstein); *Faith of America* (1951), a book of readings for the celebration of American holidays (with M. M. Kaplan and Paul Williams); *American Jewry – The Tercentennary and After* (1955); and co-edited *Mordecai M. Kaplan: An Evaluation* (1952). Kohn wrote: *A Manual for Teaching Biblical History* (1917); *The Future of Judaism in America* (1934); *Religion and Humanity* (1953); and *Good to be a Jew* (1959). He also wrote *The Future of Judaism in America* (1934) and *Religious Humanism* (1953), which was a staunch defense of Reconstructionism.

[Jack Reimer / Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

KOHN, HANS (1891–1971), U.S. historian and political scientist. Born in Prague, Kohn was an active member of *Bar Kochba, the Zionist student group led by Hugo (Shemu'el) *Bergmann. He joined the Austrian army at the outbreak of World War I and was taken prisoner by the Russians in 1915. He remained in captivity in Samarkand and later in Siberia, and returned to Prague in 1920. Kohn was secretary to the Comité des Délégations Juives at the Paris Peace Conference in 1920–21 and from 1921 to 1925 lived mainly in London, working for the *Keren Hayesod. He was in Jerusalem from 1925 to 1929 when he returned to Europe, and in 1931 went to the U.S.A. From 1934 to 1949 he was professor of history at Smith College, and from 1949 to 1962 at the City College of New York. Kohn was a prolific writer with more than 30 books to his credit. He was one of the major scholars of modern nationalism to which he was first drawn in the last years of the Austrian Empire and also by the Zionist movement, but later he differed on the Arab question. His major work is *The Idea of Nationalism* (1944), later continued by *The Age of Nationalism* (1962), and *Prelude to Nation-States* (1967), and he wrote on modern history and historiography. Kohn was the author of works on Martin Buber, Heinrich Heine, and Zionist ideology and politics; he edited writings by Aḥad Ha-Am (*Nationalism and the Jewish Ethic*, 1962). In 1921 Kohn translated the second edition of J. Klausner's *History of Modern Hebrew Literature* into German. His autobiography (*Living in a World Revolution*) was published in 1964. It contains a list of his publications (pp. 357–60).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Orbis*, 10 (winter 1967), special issue dedicated to Hans Kohn, incl. bibl.; S.J. Kunitz (ed.), *Twentieth Century Authors* (1955), first suppl.; *Times Literary Supplement* (London, Oct. 19, 1946).

[Edwin Emanuel Gutmann]

KOHN, JACOB (1881–1968), U.S. Conservative rabbi, scholar, and educator. Kohn was born in Newark, New Jersey, and was ordained at the Jewish Theological Seminary (1907). He earned a doctor of Hebrew letters at the Seminary in 1917. After leading the Adath Jeshurun Congregation in Syracuse, New York (1908), Rabbi Kohn served Ansche Chesed Congregation in Manhattan, New York (1911–31). Located on the West Side, his congregation introduced decorum, mixed seating, and a choir. Many a student at the Jewish Theological Seminary would attend these services as part of their rabbinic experience, contrasting Kohn with Mordecai *Kaplan. Among those, whose career in the rabbinate Kohn guided, was Milton *Steinberg. In 1931 he moved to Los Angeles, which was then growing into a Jewish community of substance, to begin at the ripe age of 50 a long career as rabbi of Sinai Temple. Learned and scholarly, Kohn became associated with the newly founded *University of Judaism (1947), where he was dean of the graduate school and professor of theology until his death. He was president of the Alumni Association of the Jewish Theological Seminary, the precursor of the Rabbinical Assembly. He helped edit the Conservative Movement's *Festival Prayer Book* and was a member of the commission that prepared its *Sabbath and Festival Prayerbook* in 1946. Kohn wrote *Modern Problems of Jewish Parents* (1932), and later in his career he wrote *Moral Life of Man – Its Philosophical Foundations* (1956) and *Evolution as Revelation* (1963). Kohn also contributed many articles to philosophical journals and to periodicals dealing with Jewish life and thought. In addition to his scholarly interests, he was active in the affairs of the Jewish community, serving on the Overseas Committee of the Jewish Welfare Board in leadership positions during World War I, and in the Rabbinical Assembly, the Los Angeles Zionist District, and the Jewish Community Council and its affiliated organizations. He was a leading voice of Conservative Judaism in Los Angeles when the modern day Los Angeles Jewish community was being formed in the prewar and immediate postwar years.

[Max Vorspan / Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

KOHN, JINDŘICH (1874–1935), Czech political writer and philosopher. A lawyer by profession, Kohn was the author of scores of essays and articles on political, sociological, historical, and philosophical subjects. Only a few of his studies, such as *Politika a právo* ("Politics and Law," 1910) and *Co jest a co není právo sebeurčení* ("What is and what is not the Right of Self-determination," 1919), were published in book form during his lifetime. The originality of his thought and breadth of his interests became fully appreciated only when his essays and lectures were collected and published posthumously in 1936 as *Asimilace a věky* ("Assimilation and the Ages"). Kohn developed a philosophy of assimilation as a permanent process of progressive adaptation of man to changing conditions. Adapting his philosophy to the Jewish question, Kohn became the leading ideologist of Jewish assimilation in Czechoslovakia without ever becoming a militant opponent of Zionism. He gave a summary of his assimilationist historiography in JGGJČ, 2 (1930), 1–16 ("*Soziologische Einfuehrungsskizzae in die Geschichtsschreibung des Judentums in der čechoslovakischen Republik*").

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[Avigdor Dagan]

KOHN, LEO (**Yehudah Pinḥas**; 1894–1961), Israeli scholar and diplomat. Born in Frankfurt, Germany, Kohn settled in Palestine in 1921. For 27 years he was at the center of Zionist and Israeli diplomatic activity. In 1932 he went to Dublin where he wrote a study of the constitution of the Irish Free State. From 1934 he was political secretary of the Jewish Agency and from 1948 to 1952 political adviser to Chaim Weizmann. From the establishment of the State (1948) until his death, Kohn served as political adviser to the Ministry for Foreign Affairs. In recognition of his services he was given the personal rank of ambassador in 1958. From 1953 he also held the chair of international relations at the Hebrew University. His draft constitution for Israel was adopted as the basis for the deliberations of the Constitution Commission of the State Council in 1948. Kohn's draft constitution stipulated Israel's historical claim to Ereẓ Israel, followed Jewish teachings on the sanctity of human life and the dignity of man, and rejected the death penalty and all forms of degrading punishment. However, the *Knesset decided to legislate a series of Basic Laws that would eventually be consolidated into a written constitution.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: J.G. Mc-Donald, *My Mission in Israel* (1951); D. Horowitz, *State in the Making* (1953); M. Davis (ed.), *Israel, its Role in Civilization* (1955); M. Sharett, *Yoman Medini 1936* (1968).

[Shmuel Bendor]

KOHN, MAIER (1802–1875), German cantor and teacher. Born in Schwabach, Bavaria, Kohn opened a school for Jewish girls in Munich in 1825 and in 1832 was a member of a committee organizing a choir "for improving the standard of the divine service." He became assistant cantor in Munich, and in 1839 the choir committee of the Munich synagogue published his book, *Vollstaendiger Jahrgang von Terzett- und Chorgesaengen der Synagoge in Muenchen*, containing his own compositions and others for a choir of three or four voices. This was the first modern collection of synagogue melodies and included many traditional songs. Kohn also left a manuscript dated 1870, *Der Vorbeter in der Synagoge von Muenchen*, dealing with weekday, Sabbath, and festival prayers in which he expressed his intention of collecting ancient forms of *ḥazzanut* without modernizing them. Both his published work and his

1870 manuscript were used by *Idelsohn as source material for volume seven of his *Melodienschatz*.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Idelsohn, Melodien, vol. 7; id., *Music*, index; Friedmann, Lebensbilder, 2 (1921), 43–48; Sendrey, Music, index; *Di Geshikhte fun Khazones* (1924), 209.

[Joshua Leib Ne'eman]

KOHN, PINCHAS (1867–1942), Orthodox leader. A pupil of Azriel *Hildesheimer, Kohn served as district rabbi at Ansbach, Bavaria, from 1896 to 1916. During World War I he became an adviser on Jewish affairs to the military government established by Germany in occupied Poland. When working in Warsaw under Ludwig *Haas, Kohn was largely responsible for instituting the Polish Jewish community statutes which remained in force until 1939. His activities were violently opposed by Zionists in Poland and Germany. From 1919 to 1938 Kohn directed the office of the *Agudat Israel World Organization in Vienna, subsequently settling in Jerusalem. Apart from contributing regularly to the Orthodox press, Kohn was, from 1913 to 1920, coeditor with S. *Breuer of the Orthodox *Juedische Monatshefte* (דּוֹרֵשׁ טוֹב לְעַמּוֹ), and wrote two novels, *Joël Gern; der Werdegang eines juedischen Mannes* (1912; under the pseudonym Kopi), and *Kosbi Salonaë* (1932; under the pseudonym Sanon). He also published a volume of memoirs.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: J. Rosenheim, *Zikhronot* (1955), 87, 216–20; A. Carlebach, *Adass Yeshurun of Cologne* (1964), 55ff.; idem, in: LBYB, 6 (1961), 60–121; H. Schwab, *Chachme Ashkenaz* (Eng., 1964), 86.

KOHN, SALOMON (1825–1904), Prague German-language novelist. Despite their illogical plots, his books were avidly read, frequently reprinted, and translated into many languages. As he signed his books S.K. only, he later had difficulty in establishing his copyright. His first short story, *Kaddisch vor Kol Nidre*, was published in Wolf *Pascheles' *Sippurim* in 1847. His most famous work was the novel *Gabriel* (1854^{1}), set in the period of the Thirty-Years War. His *Prager Ghettobilder* (1884^{1}) and *Neue Ghettobilder* (1886^{1}) are valuable documents on Jewish life in 18th- and 19th-century Prague. A strictly observant Jew, he was a member of the board of the Prague community for 40 years.

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KOHN, SAMUEL (1841–1920), Hungarian rabbi and scholar. Kohn, born in Baja, Hungary, was the grandson of Eliakim *Goetz-Schwerin. He studied at A. *Hildesheimer's yeshivah in Eisenstadt and later at the Jewish Theological Seminary of Breslau and at the University of Breslau. He served as rabbi in Budapest from 1866 to 1905, when he was appointed chief rabbi. As an influential member of the 1868–69 Jewish Congress of Hungary, he was one of those responsible for the establishment of the Jewish Theological Seminary in Budapest. In his research Kohn dealt first with the Samaritans, but his major and lasting contribution was his work on the history of Jews in Hungary, *Héber kútforrások és adatok Magyarország történetéhez* ("Hebrew Sources and Data Relating to the History of Hungary," 1881) and, especially, *A zsidók története Magyarországon…* ("History of the Jews in Hungary," 1884). Kohn prepared material for a second volume treating the period after 1526, but this remained unpublished. Kohn also cataloged the Hebrew manuscripts in the Hungarian National Library (see MWJ, 4 (1877), 76–104; also in *Magyar Könyvszemle*; repr. separately in both Ger. and Hung.) and wrote an important study, *Mordechai ben Hillel, sein Leben und seine Schriften* (1878), on the life of the 13th-century codifier and martyr. He was one of the first rabbis in Budapest to give sermons in Hungarian. He edited a collection of sermons entitled *Zsinagógai szónoklatok* (1875).

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[Alexander Scheiber]

KOHN, THEODOR (1845–1915), prince-archbishop of *Olomouc (1892–1904). Kohn's father, a peasant in a Moravian village, had been baptized at the age of three. Entering the priesthood in 1871, Kohn subsequently became a professor of canon law, publishing many articles in his field. From 1883 he was chancellor of the bishopric of Olomouc and in 1892 became prince-archbishop. In 1893, commenting on blood libels at Holesov and Kojetin, he called antisemitism a "sickly condition that only time can heal." After anonymous attacks on him in a Czech newspaper (1903), he was accused of trying to discover the identity of the author by violating the secrecy of the confessional. Kohn, who himself had expressed the anti-Jewish views then prevalent in the Catholic Church, became the object of an unrestrained campaign of racial antisemitism and his palace was raided. As a result he was forced to retire. He willed his fortune to the newly founded Czech university in Brno. Anecdotes featuring Kohn were very popular in the Hapsburg lands.

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[Meir Lamed]

KOHN, WALTER (1923–), U.S. physicist and Nobel laureate. Kohn was born in Vienna where he attended the Akademische Gymnasium. He moved to the Jewish Chajes Gymnasium where he received exceptional teaching in mathematics from Dr. Victor Sabbath and in physics from Dr. Emil Nohel, both of whom perished in the Holocaust. After the Nazi annexation of Austria, he reached England on the **Kindertransport* in August 1939 but left for Canada in July 1940. After periods of internment in both countries of refuge he graduated and next received his master's degree in mathematics and physics at the University of Toronto in shortened courses interrupted by service in the Canadian Army (1941–46). He gained his Ph.D. from Harvard University for work on variational principles under the guidance of Julian Schwinger (1948). He was a fellow in Schwinger's department (1948–50) followed by an initial period at the Carnegie Institute of Technology in Pittsburgh (1949–51) before he went as a visiting research worker to Niels Bohr's laboratory at the Institute of Experimental Physics in Copenhagen on a National Research Council Fellowship (1951–52). He returned as professor to the Carnegie and regular collaboration with Bell Laboratories (1952–60) before moving to the University of California at San Diego (1960–79). He then moved to the University of California at Santa Barbara, initially to direct the National Science Foundation's Institute for Theoretical Physics (1979–84) and subsequently as professor of physics (1984–91), where he became emeritus research professor. Kohn developed mathematical models and computational techniques for applying quantum mechanics to chemistry. His density functional theory based on electrons' spatial distribution made it possible to describe the bonding of atoms and thereby to study the structure and function of complex molecules. These principles are now used universally. He remained active in that field. He was awarded the Nobel Prize for chemistry (1998) jointly with John Pople. His other honors include the National Medal of Science (1988), the UNESCO Gold Medal (1998), fellowship of the U.S. Academy of Sciences, and foreign membership of the Royal Society of London. He was a visiting professor at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem (1970) and a member of the Board of Governors of the Weizmann Institute from 1996. He also had a sustained interest in the Pugwash organization and in other world issues such as population pressure on resources. The father of his second wife, Mara, was Roman Vishniac, the noted photographer of Eastern Europe.

[Michael Denman (2nd ed.)]

KOHS, SAMUEL CALMIN (1890–1984), U.S. social worker and psychologist. Kohs was born in New York City. He began his career as a psychologist with the Portland, Oregon, Court of Domestic Relations (1919–24). In 1925 he founded the Oakland, California, Placement and Guidance Service. He taught at a number of colleges, including Reed College (1918–22) and the University of Oregon extension division (1919–22) and in 1929 returned to New York to serve as chairman of the Department of Social Technology at the Graduate School of Jewish Social Work, a post he held for ten years. In 1929 Kohs also became editor of the *Jewish Social Service Quarterly.* He served as chairman of the board of directors of *YIVO in 1937–40, and from 1938 to 1940 he was director of the Resettlement Division of the National Refugee Service in New York City. In 1940 Kohs was appointed director of the Refugee Service Committee in Los Angeles, where he also did war statistical work for the Jewish Welfare Board. He was the administrative field secretary of its western states section (1941–56), evolving the "distinctive Jewish names" method of identifying Jewish populations for his *Jewish War Records of World War II* (1946). Kohs was active in Jewish charity work on the East and West coasts, serving as director of the Jewish Welfare Federation of Oakland, California (1924–26), initiating the first national Jewish welfare fund in 1926, and serving as director of the Federation of Jewish Charities in Brooklyn, New York (1928–33). From 1956 on he served as a consultant in psychological and social services. Kohs' authoritative work ranges over the philosophy of social work, ethnic differentials and value systems, the non-verbal measurement of intelligence and non-verbal manifestations of mental development, and the psychology and education of mentally retarded and physically handicapped children. His Block Design Test, which he introduced in 1918, is incorporated into the Wechsler-Bellevue, one of the most widely used U.S. tests of intelligence, and is employed in testing the blind and determining brain injury. The term "Kohs blocks" has been coined to denote the set of small colored blocks that are used to form test patterns in psychodiagnostic examinations. In 1923 his book *Intelligence Measurement: A Psychological and Statistical Study Based Upon the Block-Design Tests* was published. Kohs also designed the IQ Slide Rule, a device that eliminates the arithmetic computation of the intelligence quotient from chronological and mental age scales.

His *Roots of Social Work* (1966) emphasizes "the deficiencies of an exclusively secular approach" to social work and suggests that, as the group is the source of values, sectarian differences in approach may contribute to the practice of casework.

KOHUT, Hungarian-American family. ALEXANDER KOHUT (1842–1894) was a rabbi and scholar. He was born in Felegyhaza (Kiskunfelegyhaza, Hungary). He earned his doctorate in Oriental languages at the University of Leipzig in 1865, and was ordained at the Breslau Seminary in 1867. After graduation he served as rabbi in Stuhlweissenburg (Szekesfehervar, Hungary). While there he was county superintendent of schools, the first Jew to hold this position. At Budapest in 1868, the Congress of Jewish Notables elected Kohut secretary. In 1872 he became chief rabbi of Fuenfkirchen (Pecs, Hungary), where he remained for eight years. He was appointed to the Hungarian parliament by the prime minister as representative of the Jews, but shortly thereafter (1885) he left for the United States to serve as rabbi of Congregation Ahabath Chesed in New York.

Kohut's reputation as rabbi and scholar had preceded him and he was warmly welcomed. He became involved in the struggle between the traditionalists and Reform. Out of this controversy came his *Ethics of the Fathers* (1885, 1920^2), which established the traditionalists' position. Kohut played a major role in the establishment of the Jewish Theological Seminary and taught Midrash and talmudic methodology there. He was one of the first scholars to write about the Yemenite Midrashim, in his *Notes on…Commentary to the Pentateuch…by Aboo Manzûr al-Dhamâri…* (1892).

His greatest work was the *Arukh ha-Shalem* (8 vols., 1878–92), a lexicon of talmudic terms which Solomon *Schechter called "the greatest and finest specimen of Hebrew learning ever produced by a Jew on this continent." In form it is a new scholarly edition of the *Arukh* of *Nathan b. Jehiel of Rome, but in fact it is a path-finding contribution to talmudic philology in which Kohut offers etymologies and additional sources which exhibit his wide knowledge of Oriental and classical languages. In his introduction he investigated the sources of the *Arukh*, the biographies of its author's teachers, and the quotations therefrom mentioned in the works of early and late commentators. With every entry in the *Arukh ha-Shalem*, there is a German translation of the title, as well as an etymological explanation of the words. This was followed by proofs and a discussion on the different versions found in the manuscripts. Kohut shows a special preference for Persian and he enlarges on the etymological presentations from that language. A volume of supplementary comments, *Tosefet Arukh ha-Shalem* (1937), was prepared by Samuel Krauss, Bernhard Geiger, Louis Ginzberg, Immanuel Loew, and Benjamin Murmelstein. In the *Tosefet Arukh ha-Shalem*, some of the exaggerated presentations of the *Arukh ha-Shalem* were corrected by B. Geiger (for example, in the entry *anbag*, which Kohut derives from the Persian, Geiger notes that this is etymologically inadmissible). The derivations from the Greek were also corrected in many cases by the editors of the *Tosefet*…. In arranging the entries, Kohut did not show a consistency in the spelling of words, and this is at times a source of difficulty in finding required entries. His etymological work in another field consisted of a critical discussion on the translation of the Torah into Persian by Jacob b. Joseph Tavus (Leipzig, 1871).

Alexander's second wife, REBECCA (1864–1951), was an educator, vocational expert, and community leader. Born in Kaschau (Kosice, Slovakia), she was the daughter of Rabbi Albert *Bettelheim. Rebecca was taken by her family to the United States in 1867. In 1887 she married Alexander, who had recently lost his first wife and had eight children to care for. When Alexander died seven years later, she undertook to support the family by giving a series of lectures on Jewish topics, held at the home of Mrs. Jacob H. *Schiff. In 1899 she founded the short-lived Kohut School for Girls; later she became a director of the Columbia Grammar School. She was president of the New York Council of Jewish Women from 1897 to 1901, and in 1914 headed the Young Women's Hebrew Association's employment bureau. Recognized for special competence in the problems of the unemployed, she was appointed to the Federal Employment Clearing House in 1917, and in 1931 to the New York State Employment Service Advisory Commission. She served in 1932 on the State Joint Legislative Commission on Unemployment. In 1942 she became president of the World Congress of Jewish Women; she also played a leading role in the American Women's Association, the Vocational Service for Juniors, and the Bureau of Jewish Social Research. Her books include the autobiographical *My Portion* (1925) and *More Yesterdays* (1950), and *George Alexander Kohut: His Memoir* (1936).

GEORGE ALEXANDER (1874–1933), one of Alexander's sons, was also an educator. He was born at Szekesfehervar and went to New York with his father in 1885. When his father died he returned to Europe for three years to study at the Hochschule fuer die Wissenschaft des Judentums and at the university in Berlin. He was ordained in the United States in 1897 by Bernard *Felsenthal and served as rabbi for three years in Dallas, Texas. Desiring a broader role as an educator, Kohut left for New York City, where he was a teacher and for a time assistant librarian at the Jewish Theological Seminary. From 1902 to 1912 he served as school principal at Temple Emanu-El. He founded the Kohut School for Boys and was its head in 1909–18; he also headed Camp Kohut (1907–26), the Children's University School and the Dalton High School (1924–26), and the Columbia Grammar School (1920–33).

Kohut sought to encourage Jewish scholarship in a number of ways. Through the Alexander Kohut Memorial Foundation, which he set up in 1915, he helped sponsor the publication of important works. In 1919 he presented the 8,000-volume Alexander Kohut Memorial Collection to Yale University library. His own 4,000-volume library was bequeathed to the American Jewish Historical Society, the Kohut Memorial Collection at Yale, and the Jewish Institute of Religion, where he was a trustee. He compiled the Italian index to his father's *Arukh ha-Shalem*, edited *Semitic Studies in Memory of Alexander Kohut* (1897), and published *Morituri: A Reminiscence of My Father* (1907). His many scholarly and popular essays reflect his interest in the prose and poetry of Hebrew, Hungarian, English, French, German, and Spanish, and in the bibliography and history of Jewish life and literature and Hebrew learning in the Americas.

Alexander's brother ADOLF (1848–1917) was a journalist, author, and biographer. He was born in Mindszent (Hungary). He studied briefly at the Jewish Theological Seminary in Breslau and wrote critically of his experiences in his *Memoiren eines juedischen Seminaristen* (1870). Kohut was the editor of several important German papers. In 1884, when he was the editor of *Berliner Zeitung*, he was expelled from Prussia for writing articles attacking Chancellor Bismarck; five years later Kohut was pardoned. He was a prolific writer, producing several hundred articles, monographs, and books on subjects ranging from studies of Heine, Herder, Feuerbach, Van Humboldt, and Frederick the Great to music and theater reviews, to the history of the Jews in Germany, including *Moses Mendelssohn und seine Familie* (1886), *Geschichte des deutschen Juden* (1899), and *Beruehmte israelitische Maenner und Frauen* (2 vols., 1901). He married the prima donna of the Dresden opera, Elizabeth Manstein. In 1892 he was knighted by Emperor Francis Joseph for contributions to literature.

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[Jack Reimer and Menahem Zevi Kaddari]

KOI or **Kevi** (Heb. כְּוִי, כּוֹי), an animal referred to in the Talmud. The Mishnah, *Bikkurim* 2:8 states: "The *koi* is in some ways like a wild animal (*ḥayyah*); in some ways like both wild animals and cattle; and in some ways like neither wild animals nor cattle." The *mishnayot* which follow give the details. This enigmatic creature is further discussed in *Ḥullin* 79b–80a where there occurs a controversy between *tannaim* on its nature and status: "A *koi* is a wild goat. Others are of the opinion that it is a cross between a goat and a gazelle. R. Yose states: 'A *koi* is a distinct species and the rabbis did not decide whether it belongs to the genus of cattle or of wild animals'" (cf. TJ, Bik. 2:8, 65b). Rabban Simeon b. Gamaliel states that it is of the genus of cattle, and adds that Bet Dushai (or Reshai) used to raise them in herds. Thus already in early tannaitic times it was not clearly known what a *koi* was, nor its halakhic status. Several attempts have been made to identify the *koi* in modern times. The commonest view is that it is some kind of bearded deer or antelope (Jastrow, Dict. 1 (1950), 618f., s.v.; Levy, Woerterbuch, 2 (1924), 303, s.v.), perhaps identical with the Greek *tragelaphos*, "a goat-stag, a fantastic animal, represented on eastern carpets and the like" (H.G. Liddell and R. Scott, *Greek-English Lexicon*, 2 (1940^{9}), 1809a, s.v.).

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[Daniel Sperber]

KOIDANOV (**Koidanovo**), ḥasidic dynasty in *Koidanovo. Koidanov Ḥasidism was a branch of the *Karlin trend of Ḥasidism and the continuation of *Lachowicze Ḥasidism. Its founder was SOLOMON ḤAYYIM (Perlow) OF KOIDANOV (1797–1862), grandson of the *ẓaddikim* Asher of *Stolin and Mordecai of Lachowicze (Lyakhovichi); he was educated in the former's home. Solomon Ḥayyim apparently first served as a rabbi in Stolin and Turov in Polesye province. On the death of his uncle the *ẓaddik* Noah of Lachowicze in 1832, Solomon Ḥayyim was chosen by many of Noah's followers as *admor* and took up residence in Koidanovo. His influence spread to the northern part of Polesye and beyond into Belorussia (Minsk). He left no written works. The Koidanov prayer book *Or ha-Yashar*, published after his death (1877; 1903^{2}, 1928^{3}), contains a special supplement relating the customs of Solomon Ḥayyim and details about his life. During his life the *kolel* Koidanov was founded in Ereẓ Israel, in Tiberias.

His son and successor, BARUCH MORDECAI (1818–1870), was active on behalf of the *kolel*. Another son, Noah (d. 1904), was *admor* in Gorodishche near Novogrudok. The third son was ABRAHAM AARON OF PUKHOVICHI (Marina Gorka). The dynasty was continued by AARON (d. 1897), son of Baruch Mordecai, whose personality and wide knowledge of Kabbalah and Ḥasidism helped to strengthen Koidanov Ḥasidism. In 1866 he appealed to the Koidanov Ḥasidim to support the *kolel*. He published *Or Ne'erav* by Moses *Cordovero, to which he added a supplement *Nireh Or* (Vilna, 1899), and *Sefat Emet* by Moses *Ḥagiz with a collection of teachings on the value of Ereẓ Israel in kabbalistic and ḥasidic works (1876). On the title page of the Koidanov prayer book he added eight principles to be observed in order to achieve perfection.

His brother SHALOM (1850–1925) served as rabbi in Bragin and edited and published the teachings of the Koidanov rabbis and genealogical details on the dynasty. His most important works are *Divrei Shalom* (1882), and *Mishmeret Shalom* (1912, 1959?). The successor in the dynasty was Aaron's son JOSEPH (1854–1915), a scholar who founded a yeshivah which became an important educational institution in the Koidanovo area. In 1890 he wrote an introduction to the Koidanov prayer book. During his lifetime Koidanovo remained a center of Ḥasidism. The Koidanov Ḥasidim had synagogues also in Vilna, and the United States. NEHEMIAH (1860–1927), the brother of Joseph, headed the Ḥasidim remaining in Poland and lived in Baranovichi. His son and successor in Baranovichi, SHALOM ALTER (b. 1906), perished in Vilna in 1941 during the Holocaust.

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[Wolf Zeev Rabinowitsch]

KOIDANOVO (or **Kaidanovo**; from 1935 **Dzerzhinsk**), town in Minsk district, Belarus. There were 560 Jews paying poll tax in 1765. From 1833 it became a ḥasidic center. The community numbered 2,497 in 1847 and 3,156 in 1897 (67% of the total population); many Jews were occupied in the bristle industry. During World War I the town suffered severely. On July 10–12, 1920 it was set on fire during the retreat of the Polish army and there was general looting of Jewish property. The Jewish population numbered 1,788 in 1926 (32.5% of the total), and 1,314 (15% of the total population) in 1939. In 1924 a Yiddish school was opened and named after the locally born poet Avraham *Reisen. About 150 Jews worked in agriculture. The Germans occupied the town on June 26, 1941, and murdered 1,000 Jews on October 20 or 21, 1941. In March 1942, 1,300 Jews – probably from Minsk – were killed at the local railway station. Jewish partisan units which had joined the general partisan movement were active in forests in the vicinity. The 1959 census contained no data on the Jewish population. The U.S. trade unionist Joseph *Schlossberg was born in Koidanovo.

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[Yehuda Slutsky / Shmuel Spector (2nd ed.)]

KOIDONOVER (Kaidanover), AARON SAMUEL BEN ISRAEL (c. 1614–1676), talmudic scholar and preacher. Koidonover took his name from Koidanovo near Minsk, where he was born. He was known also by the abbreviation *Maharshak* (**M**orenu **H**a-**R**av **Sh**emu'el **K**aidanover). In his youth he studied in Brest-Litovsk under R. Jacob and his son Joshua Heschel of Lublin. Following the Chmielnicki pogroms of 1648 he fled to Vilna where he became a member of the *bet din* of Moses Lima, author of the *Ḥelkat Meḥokek*, the other members being *Shabbetai b. Meir ha-Kohen (the *Shakh*), and Ephraim Katz, author of the *Sha'ar Efrayim*. In 1656 during the war between Russia and Sweden in Poland he took refuge in Kurow near Lublin, where he served as rabbi, and there his two daughters were killed by Cossacks. He went to Austria, where he became a rabbi in a small town, and from there to Moravia where he became rabbi of Nikolsburg. Subsequently he was rabbi and *av bet din* of important communities, including Fuerth, Reischer, Brest-Litovsk, and Frankfurt. He stayed some six months in the sister communities of Altona, Hamburg, and Wandsbeck in 1669 where he enacted many **takkanot* which were included in the regulations of Altona. Toward the end of his life he returned to Poland and was appointed *av bet din* of Cracow. He died in Chmielnik.

Koidonover wrote many important halakhic and homiletical works. In his learning he sought to return to the primary sources of the *halakhah* and refrained from relying upon the *aḥaronim*. He also wrote responsa, largely on the permissibility of **agunot* to remarry, which had become an urgent question as a result of the massacres. His sermons contain in popular form the ideas of the kabbalists of Safed and Poland. His main work is the *Birkat ha-Zevaḥ* (Amsterdam, 1669), novellae and glosses to most of the order of *Kodashim*, with an autobiographical introduction. Three more of his works were published by his son Ẓevi Hirsch: *Birkat Shemu'el* (Frankfurt, 1682), sermons partially kabbalistic in content; *Emunat Shemu'el* (*ibid.*, 1683), responsa; and *Tiferet Shemu'el* (*ibid.*, 1696), novellae on the Talmud, glosses and novellae to the *Piskei ha-Rosh* of Asher b. Jehiel, to the *Turim* and *Beit Yosef*, and **hassagot* on the novellae of Samuel Edels. Koidonover also compiled a book on the procedure to be followed in executing divorces and *ḥaliẓah*, which is in manuscript in the Bodleian Library, Oxford.

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[David Tamar]

KOIDONOVER (Kaidanover), ẒEVI HIRSCH (d. 1712), rabbi and ethical writer (his name derived from Koidanovo, a town near Minsk). Koidonover was born in Vilna and spent his childhood in Kurow near Lublin until 1658 when his father's house was pillaged and his two sisters killed. The rest of the family escaped to Austria, and subsequently settled in Nikolsburg, where his father, Aaron Samuel, was appointed rabbi. Koidonover received his religious education from his father and from Joseph b. Judah, rabbi of Minsk and Dubnow, author of the moralistic treatise, *Yesod Yosef*.

In Frankfurt, where his father became rabbi in 1667, Koidonover married the daughter of Isaac Ganz. A few years later he returned to Vilna, where he prospered in business and achieved prominence in the community. He was imprisoned, however, on a false charge, and on his release, returned with his family to Frankfurt. There he published *Kav ha-Yashar* (1705), a work he had written in Vilna (*Kav* equivalent to 102, the number of chapters in the book, *ha-Yashar* an acrostic of Hirsch). *Kav ha-Yashar* holds the torments of hell over the heads of those who do not mend their ways and fulfill God's commandments. The book is replete with wondrous tales (incidentally of great folkloric value) depicting the punishment of the evil and the reward of the righteous. The book reflects the suffering and persecution of European Jewry, and the despair wrought by the Shabbatean disillusionment. It also reveals aspects of the communal life of this time – the economic struggle, oppression by leaders of the community, and disregard of religious rituals by Jewish tax collectors whose business brought them into contact with Christian government officials and noblemen. Most of Koidonover's ideas were borrowed from *Yesod Yosef*; his main contribution lies in his engaging style, which made the *Kav ha-Yashar* popular with the masses, and rapidly gained a reputation for it among European Jewry. It has been frequently reprinted (see Friedberg, Eked, 3, 882). Koidonover prepared a popular Yiddish translation (Frankfurt, 1709), and a Ladino translation appeared in Constantinople (1724). Koidonover also published the halakhic work of his father.

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[Shlomo Eidelberg]

KOIGEN, DAVID (1879–1933), philosopher and sociologist. He was born in Wachniaki, Ukraine, and studied in European universities. He lived in Germany until 1912, then returned to Russia, and in 1921 was appointed professor of philosophy and sociology at the Ukrainian University in Kiev. He wrote an autobiographical work, *Der apokalyptische Reiter* (1925), about these years in Russia. He returned to Germany, working mainly on Jewish problems and cultural sociology. From 1925 to 1927 he edited the quarterly *Ethos*. His first writings were on socialism, beginning with his thesis on the Young Hegelians (1901), followed by *Die Kulturanschauung des Sozialismus* (1903). He further developed his cultural-sociological approach in *Ideen zur Philosophic der Kultur* (1910) and *Die Kultur der Demokratie* (1912). In 1922 he published *Der moralische Gott*, a study of the relationship of religion and culture, and in 1929 his main work on sociology, *Der Aufbau der sozi-*

alen Welt im Zeitalter der Wissenschaft. After his death, some of his Jewish writings appeared, entitled *Heimat Israels* (1939). Koigen tried to delineate the peculiarity of Jewish experience in history and culture, pointing to the difficulty the Jew has in gaining normal historical experience. Using methods like Max *Weber's, he attempted to specify the elements involved in Jewish existence in historical processes.

[Richard H. Popkin]

KOILA (or **Kales**; Turk. **Kilye**), Byzantine city in the Gallipoli Peninsula. There was a Jewish quarter there in the 12th century. In 1136 the revenues of whole markets (*emporia*) of the Jewish quarter in Koila and the tithe on the wines were assigned to the Monastery of Christ Pantokrator in Istanbul. *Benjamin of Tudela, who visited the city as it was on his way back home after Gallipoli, speaks of 50 Jews, with R. Jacob and R. Judah at their head. There remain no traces of this community.

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[M. Mustafa Kulu (2nd ed.)]

KOJETIN (Czech **Kojetín**; Ger. **Kojetein**; Heb. גויט"ן, גוט"ן), town in central Moravia, Czech Republic. Jews apparently lived in Kojetin from the 13th century, but their first documented mention dates from 1566, when 52 families lived in the *Judengasse*. The consecration of a cemetery is recorded in 1574. The synagogue, then seating 300, was renovated in 1614 (and restored again in 1718). In 1657 only 16 houses were owned by Jews, but the community absorbed many refugees from the *Chmielnicki massacres (1648) and some of those expelled from Vienna (1670). The *Minhag Polin*, the Polish prayer rite, was introduced in Kojetin in 1648. When the Jews were segregated in a special sector of the town in 1727, 500 of them lived in 40 houses. Kojetin was then in the possession of the Prague archbishop, who treated the Jewish community fairly. There was a scandal in Kojetin, echoed in rabbinical literature of the period, when a *Frankist was accused of making the sign of the cross when blessing the community. The *Familiants Law allotted 76 Jewish families to Kojetin in 1798. In 1829 there were 443 Jews in the town, living in 45 houses. The community flourished in the 19th century but began to decline after 1860 when many of its members were attracted to the larger cities. It numbered 162 in 1869.

Only 72 Jews (1.1% of the total population), 30 of them of declared Jewish nationality, were left in the town in 1930. The remnant of the community was deported to Nazi extermination camps in 1942 and the synagogue equipment transferred to the Central Jewish Museum in Prague. A small congregation, affiliated with *Olomouc, was established after World War II. The burial hall in the cemetery was still standing in 1970.

Among the rabbis who officiated in Kojetin were Eleazer *Fleckeles (1779–83), Jacob *Bruell (1843–89), and Richard *Feder (1903–06). Several Jewish families – Goitein, Guttein, Kojeteiner, etc. – took their names from the town. The scholar David *Kaufmann was a native of Kojetin.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Steiner, in: H. Gold (ed.), *Juden und Judengemeinden Maehrens* (1929), 279–87.

[Meir Lamed]

KOJÈVE, ALEXANDRE (1902–1968), philosopher. Born in Russia, after the 1917 Revolution he studied in Berlin, and in the early 1930s moved to Paris. From 1933 to 1939 he taught at the École Pratique des Hautes Études. Kojève is best known for his book, *Introduction à la lecture de Hegel* (1962^2), which consists of the notes from his course compiled by the novelist Raymond Queneau, one of his students. It is considered one of the best studies of Hegel's phenomenology. Kojève is also the author of *Tyrannie et Sagesse* (1954), part of a debate on tyranny with Leo *Strauss, the political theorist. From shortly after the end of World War II, Kojève worked in the French Ministry of Economic Affairs and was one of the chief planners for the European Common Market.

[Myriam M. Malinovich]

KOKAND, city in Fergana district, Uzbekistan; before the 1917 Revolution, a county town in the Fergana province. There were a few Jews living in the town, which was formerly capital of the Kokand khanate, before its capture by the Russians in 1876. They engaged in dyeing and petty trade, and, as unbelievers, suffered from oppression by the Muslim rulers. After the Russian conquest, many Jews migrated from the emirate of *Bukhara to Kokand. They contributed to the development of the town and engaged in the cotton, wool, and silk trade. The community numbered 1,029 in 1897 (1.25% of the total population), and 2,000 before the outbreak of World War I. During the civil war in Russian Central Asia (1918), the rebel Uzbeks and Kazakhs rioted in Kokand, destroyed the community, and looted Jewish property. By 1926, only 746 Bukharan Jews remained in Kokand; their number reached 3,196 (4% of the total population) in 1939. In 1970 the Jewish population was estimated at about 1,500. Most left in the 1990s. One synagogue existed and the Jewish cemetery was well kept.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Z.L. Amitin-Shapiro, *Ocherki sotsialisticheskogo stroitelstva sredi sredne-aziatskikh yevreyev* (1933).

[Yehuda Slutsky]

KOKESCH, OZER (1860–1905), Austrian Zionist and Herzl's aide. Born in Brody, Galicia, Kokesch practiced law in Vienna. From the early 1880s he was active in the Jewish national movement and was one of the founders of the Jewish students' association *Kadimah. When Herzl appeared on the Zionist scene, Kokesch joined him, becoming the secretary of the committee that made preparations for the First Zionist Congress (he was unable to participate because of an accident). He became a member of the Zionist Executive and laid the foundation for the World and the Austrian Zionist Organizations' structure. Kokesch opposed the *Uganda Scheme and was an active supporter of agricultural settlement in Ereẓ Israel.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: A. Bein, *Theodore Herzl* (Eng., 1962²), index; T. Herzl, *Complete Diaries*, ed. by R. Patai, 5 vols. (1960), index.

[Getzel Kressel]

KOKHAVI (Estella), DAVID BEN SAMUEL (c. 1300), Provençal talmudist, active in Avignon. No biographical details are known of him. His signature occurs on two responsa included in the responsa of Isaac di Lattes (Vienna, 1860) in connection with an incident which occurred in 1305. He wrote many works, of which, however, only fragments have been published. His main work, *Sefer ha-Battim*, also called *Kiryat Sefer,* consists of halakhic rulings. It is based upon, and follows, Maimonides' *Mishneh Torah*, with regard to arrangement and style, but gives additional rulings, clarification of halakhic problems, and decides between conflicting views. A fragment of the introduction was published by Neubauer and additional fragments by M. Herschler (Moriah 1 and 2 (1969), *Sinai*, 62, 1968, 199–228). The whole work is extant in various libraries in manuscript (Oxford, Escorial (Spain), and elsewhere). There is also extant a manuscript of his, *Migdal David*, which deals with philosophical topics. It is likewise based on Maimonides (Mss. Moscow, Guenzburg Collection, no. 234).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Neubauer, in: REJ, 9 (1884), 214–28; Neubauer, Chronicles, 2 (1895), 239f.; Gross, Gal Jud, 54; Renan, *Ecrivains*, 471–7; Shatzmiller, in: *Sefunot*, 10 (1966), 20f., 36; Isaac de Lattes, *Sha'arei Zion* (ed. S. Buber; 1881); Albeck (ed.), in: Abraham b. Isaac of Narbonne, *Sefer ha-Eshkol* (1935), 25.

[Shlomoh Zalman Havlin]

KOKHAV YAIR (Heb. כוכב יאיר), urban community in central Israel, east of *Kefar Sava. In 1981, 15 families settled in temporary houses, and two years later the first permanent foundations were laid. Between 1986 and 1996, about 800 families joined the settlement. In 2002 its population was 4,840, occupying an area of 0.65 sq. mi. (1.7 sq. km.). The settlement's population is mixed, secular and religious, Israeli-born and new immigrants. Among them are 100 immigrant families from South Africa. In 2003 the local council of Kokhav Yair was united with that of *Ẓur Yigal. The settlement is named after Avraham *Stern (known as "Ya'ir"), the Lehi underground leader.

WEBSITE: www.kyair.org.il.

[Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

°**KOKOVTSOV, PAUL KONSTANTINOVICH** (1861–1942), Russian Orientalist. Kokovtsov, who was born in Pavlovsk, near Leningrad, came from a noble family of distinguished engineers. In his school days he developed a deep interest in Hebrew which widened in his university studies at St. Petersburg (completed in 1884) into mastery of the various branches of Semitics and included Turkic and Sanskrit philology and Near Eastern history and literature. His thesis, a capital work of great and meticulous learning, was devoted to Ibn Barun's 11th–12th century Arabic work comparing Hebrew with Arabic; published as *Kniga sravneniya yevreyskogo yazyka s arabskim* ("Book of Comparison of Hebrew with Arabic," 1893), it formed the first volume of a series on the history of medieval Hebrew philology and Judeo-Arabic literature. Kokovtsov's *Novye materialy dlya kharakteristiki Iekhūdy Khayūdzha, Samuila Nagida i nekotorykh drugikh predstaviteley yevreyskoy filologicheskoy nauki v x, xi i xii veke* ("New Materials for the Characterization of Judah Ḥayyuj, Samuel Nagid and Other Representatives of Jewish Philological Scholarship in the 10th–12th Centuries," 1916) was published as the second volume in the same series.

Kokovtsov succeeded his own teacher, Daniel *Chwolson, as professor of Hebrew at St. Petersburg University in 1894. His influence as a teacher was enormous; most Russian Semitists during his tenure of about 50 years were his disciples. He began publishing in 1885, and most of his publications, scattered in journals and collections, deal with Aramaic, Syriac, Turkic, and Ethiopic manuscripts and epigraphic material. Kokovtsov worked on Moses Ibn Ezra's Arabic book on Hebrew poetry (in *Vostochnye Zametki*, 1895); the commentary of Tanḥūm on Jonah (in *Sbornik statey uchenikov… V.R. Rosena*, 1897); Hebrew volumes in the Imperial Academy of Sciences' Asiatic Museum (*Notitia codicum hebraicarum…*, 1905), and on Baḥya's lifetime (in Eng., in *Livre d'hommage à… S. Poznański*, 1927). His edition of the 10th-century Jewish Khazar correspondence (*Yevreysko-khazarskaya perepiska v X veke*, 1932) is outstanding. Kokovtsov was elected a full member of the Academy of Sciences in 1909. In 1913, as expert in the blood-libel trial of Mendel *Beilis, Kokovtsov helped to expose the ignorance of the prosecution. This gave him deep satisfaction; he annually reread the proceedings of the trial.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: N.V. Pigulevskaya, in: *Vestnik Leningradskogo Universiteta*, 2 (1947), 106–18; I. Yu. Krachkovski, *Izbrannye sochineniya*, 5 (1958), 416–27; idem (I.J. Kratschkowski), *Die russische Arabistik* (1957), passim; *Palestinskiy sbornik*, 74 (1964), 170–81 (incl. bibl.).

[Moshe Perlmann]

KOL (Kolodny), MOSHE (1911–1989), Israeli politician, member of the Second and Fourth to Eighth Knessets. Born in Pinsk, Russia, he was a leader of the Zionist youth movement Ha-No'ar ha-Ẓiyyoni in Poland, and settled in Palestine in 1932. He became the representative of his movement's workers faction (which later assumed the name Ha-Oved ha-Ẓiyyoni) in the *Histadrut Executive. He was elected a deputy member of the *Jewish Agency Executive in 1946, and became a full member in 1948, when he was appointed head of the *Youth Aliyah Department, a post he held until 1964. In 1948, after the establishment of the State of Israel, he was one of the founders and leaders of the Progressive Party and served on the Provisional State Council in 1948. He was first elected to the Second Knesset in 1951. In the years 1961–65 the Progressive Party formed part of the *Israel Liberal Party, but in 1965 broke away from the Liberal Party when the latter joined Gaḥal, assuming the name "the Independent Liberal Party," of which Kol became the leader. In 1966–69 he served as minister of tourism and development and in 1969–77 as minister of tourism. In the Second Knesset, and again in the Sixth, Seventh, and Eighth Knessets, from which he soon resigned to enable the next in line on his party list to enter the Knesset.

Among his writings are *Masekhet Aliyyat ha-No'ar* (1961) and *Aliyyat ha-No'ar* (1966), both on Youth Aliyah; *Morim ve-Ḥaverim* ("Teachers and Friends," 1968); and *Ba-Ma'avak le-Shittuf Yehudi-Aravi be-Yisrael* ("On the Struggle for Jewish-Arab Cooperation in Israel," 1979).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Nafatali Zahar, *Moshe Kol le-Yom Huladeto ha-75; Me'at Mikhtavim mi-Ymei Meẓukah ve-Tikvah* (1986).

[Susan Hattis Rolef (2nd ed.)]

KOLAROVGRAD (since 1956, **Shumen**), town in eastern Bulgaria. Jews first settled in Kolarovgrad in the 18th century, in what became a special Jewish quarter. The first school to be established by the Alliance Israélite Universelle in Bulgaria (1869), a girls' school, was situated at Kolarovgrad. In 1878 there was a Jewish population of 1,100, in 1910 of 1,200. In 1943 the Jews were threatened with deportation, but the 1943 decree of expulsion from Bulgaria was not carried out. In 2004 there was a small community of around 40 Jews affiliated to the local branch of the nationwide Shalom organization.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: S. Mézan, *Les Juifs espagnols en Bulgarie* (1925), passim.

[Simon Marcus / Emil Kalo (2nd ed.)]

KOLATCH, ALFRED JACOB (1916–), U.S. rabbi, author, and publisher. Kolatch was born in Seattle, Washington, and received his B.A. from Yeshiva College in 1937 and his ordination from the Jewish Theological Seminary in 1941. After two years as rabbi of the House of Peace (later Beth Sholom) Congregation in Columbia, South Carolina (1941–43), he enlisted as a chaplain in the U.S. Army and was discharged in 1946 with the rank of captain. From 1946 to 1948, he served as rabbi of the Kew Gardens Jewish Center in Queens, New York.

In 1948, Kolatch and his wife, Thelma, founded Jonathan David Co., named for their two sons, and Jonathan David Publishers, specializing in Judaica book publishing and distribution. After decades of growth at several Manhattan locations, the company relocated to expanded quarters in Middle Village, New York, where Kolatch continued to serve as its president and editor-in-chief. Over the years, some 700 Judaica titles have appeared under the Jonathan David imprint, including such classics as *The Jewish Way in Death and Mourning* by Maurice Lamm; *God, Man and History* by Eliezer Berkovits; *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Humor*, by Henry D. Spalding; and the *Great Jews* volumes by Robert and Elinor Slater and Darryl Lyman.

Kolatch himself is the author of more than 50 books, most notably the *Jewish Book of Why* series, comprising *The Jewish Book of Why* (1981); *The Second Jewish Book of Why* (2004); *The Jewish Child's First Book of Why* (1995); *The Jewish Book of Why: The Torah* (2004) and *The Jewish Mourner's Book of Why* (1993). These titles alone have cumulatively sold more than 1.5 million copies in English, French, Spanish, German, and Portuguese. Recognized as one of the world's leading authorities on Hebrew and English nomenclature, Kolatch also wrote *These Are the Names* (1948), *The Name Dictionary* (1967); *The Jonathan David Dictionary of First Names* (1980); *The New Name Dictionary* (1989); *Best Baby Names for Jewish Children* (1986); *The Complete Dictionary of English and Hebrew First Names* (1984), and *The Comprehensive Dictionary of English and Hebrew First Names* (2005). Other works by Kolatch include *Who's Who in the Talmud* (1964); *Masters of the Talmud: Their Lives and Views* (2003); *Our Religion: The Torah* (1951); *The Family Seder* and *The Concise Family Seder* (1987); *A Child's First Book of Jewish Holidays* (1997); *Great Jewish Quotations: By Jews and About Jews* (1996, 1998); *A Handbook for the Jewish Home* (2005); *The Presidents of the United States and the Jews* (with David Dalin, 2000); and *What Jews Say About God* (1999).

In the 1960s, Kolatch served as president of the Association of Jewish Chaplains of the Armed Forces and as vice president of the interdenominational Military Chaplains Association of the United States. In 1966, he was awarded a Doctor of Divinity degree, *honoris causa*, by the Jewish Theological Seminary.

[Bezalel Gordon (2nd ed.)]

KOLB, LEON (1890–1977), physician, art collector, and bibliophile. Kolb was born in Czernowitz, Austria. A physician by profession, he was awarded the Iron Cross and the Order of Franz Josef I during World War I, and after settling in the United States was appointed associate clinical professor of pharmacology and therapeutics at Stanford University Medical School in 1954.

Kolb began to collect rare books and art in 1908 in Vienna, specializing in graphics. He immigrated to Palestine in 1935 and moved to the U.S. in 1937, settling in San Francisco. After his retirement he devoted himself entirely to art. He presented parts of his large collection to various American and Israeli institutions. The majority of the rare books, Bibles, and art objects were given to the Hebrew University; the music collection to the Haifa Music Museum; and other gifts to Stanford and Brandeis universities and to local institutions in California.

Kolb established a Jewish Museum at Temple Emanuel in San Francisco in 1957 and gave his Jewish library, with Israeli art and archaeological artifacts from Israel, to the Kolb Library in Congregation Rodef Shalom of San Rafael, California.

Among his published works are the novel *Moses, The Near Easterner* (1956), *The Vienna Jewish Museum*, and *The Sabbath Princess*. He also edited *The Woodcuts of Jacob Steinhardt* (1959).

His main literary and historical interest, however, was in *Berenice, on whom he published a trilogy of novels: *Berenice,* *Princess of Judea* (1959), *Mission to Claudius* (1963), and *The Sage, Father of Generations to Come* (1965).

He married Chanah, the daughter of Max *Grunwald and granddaughter of Samuel Joseph Bloch.

KOLBERG (Pol. **Kołobrzeg**), city in Pomerania, Poland. The first evidence of Jews in Kolberg dates from 1261. After the expulsion of 1492/93 some Jews who converted to Christianity remained in the town. Jewish wool merchants were again to be found in Kolberg in the 17th century. In 1702 Hirschel Salomon and Aaron Moses were refused permission to settle there after protests by Christian merchants. In 1785–88 three *Schutzjuden* ("protected Jews") were contractors for obtaining amber. After 1812 Jews were legally allowed to reside in Kolberg, and in that year a cemetery was consecrated. There were 40 persons in the community in 1816 and 440 in 1895. A convalescent home was dedicated in 1899 by Salomon Goldschmidt, who served as rabbi until 1925. In 1933, 197 Jews remained, maintaining a school, cemetery, synagogue, and teacher who was also cantor. The community came to an end in World War II and was not subsequently reconstituted.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: U. Grotefend, *Geschichte und rechtliche Stellung der Juden in Pommern von den Aufaengen bis zum Tode Friedrichs des Grossen* (1931 = *Baltische Studien*, vol. 32, 1930); PK Germanyah; FJW (1932–33), 77.

KOL BO (Heb. כָּל בּוֹ; "everything within"), an anonymous work containing both halakhic rulings as well as, at times, explanations of *halakhot*, arranged in accordance with the subject matter. The book was written at the end of the 13th or the beginning of the 14th century. The identity of its author and its relation to the *Orḥot Ḥayyim* (on OḤ, Florence, 1750–51; on YD, ed. by M. Schlesinger, 1899–1902) of *Aaron b. Jacob ha–Kohen of Lunel are very complicated problems that have not yet been resolved. The fact that both books cover the same material but that the *Orḥot Ḥayyim* contains additional and more abundant halakhic material than the *Kol Bo* has given rise to the view that the *Kol Bo* is a later abridgment of the *Orḥot Ḥayyim* (thus Joseph Caro, Ḥ.J.D. Azulai, and others). However, the arrangement of the material in the two books does not support this view. The *Orḥot Ḥayyim* is much more systematic than the *Kol Bo* and it is difficult to explain the latter's arrangements in its present form; nor can any reasonable explanation be given for the manner of its abridgment, if it is indeed such. M. Schlesinger, who edited the second part of the *Orḥot Ḥayyim*, also subscribed to the above view (see his introduction) and added nothing new to previous arguments. An attempt has been made to identify the author with Shemariah b. Simḥah, the grandson of Samuel Schlettstadt (see his pamphlet published in I.A. Benjacob's *Devarim Attikin*, 2 (1846), which Zunz followed), but for this opinion, too, there is no basis, and the author remains unknown. The view of Benjacob and S.D. Luzzatto appears to be close to the truth, namely, that the *Kol Bo* is the first edition of the *Orḥot Ḥayyim* and is by the same author, Aaron b. Jacob ha-Kohen. In any event, the *Kol Bo* in the extant text undoubtedly preceded the *Orḥot Ḥayyim*. It is probable that it represents the first stages of the text of the *Orḥot Ḥayyim* and is earlier than the versions in the three known manuscripts of the *Orḥot Ḥayyim* (the Ms. from which Part II was published, Jews' College, London, and Ms. Moscow, Guenzburg).

Kol Bo contains 148 sections embracing the following subjects: blessings, prayer, the synagogue, the meal, Sabbath and festivals, marriage, monetary matters, **niddah*, vows and oaths, *halakhot* relevant to Ereẓ Israel, forbidden foods and **issur ve-hetter, mezuzah*, the redemption of the first-born son and the firstborn of an ass, visiting the sick, mourning, the *takkanot* of R. *Gershom and others. Included in this anthology were also collections of laws from various works such as the *Even ha-Roshah* of *Eliezer b. Nathan; laws from the *Tashbeẓ* of Simeon b. Ẓemaḥ *Duran; from the *Sefer Mitzvot Katan* of *Isaac b. Joseph of Corbeil; from *Perez b. Elijah of Corbeil; Isaac, author of the *Sefer ha-Menahel*; *Baruch b. Isaac of Worms, author of the *Sefer ha-Terumah*; and various responsa. The book is chiefly based upon *Maimonides' *Mishneh Torah*, combined with and having additions from the rulings of the scholars of Germany, France, and Provence. Few of the rulings of Spanish scholars are cited (as against the *Orḥot Ḥayyim* which adds many statements of such Spanish scholars as *Naḥmanides, Solomon b. Abraham *Adret, Yom Tov b. Abraham *Ishbili, and others). The anthology contains much material from various books, not all of which are extant today. With the discovery and publication of the *Sefer ha-Mikhtam* (ed. by A. Sofer, 1959) of *David b. Levi of Narbonne, the *Sefer ha-Maḥkim* (ed. by J. Freimann in *Ha-Eshkol*, 6 (1909)) of Nathan b. Judah, and the *Sefer ha-Minhagot* (in S. Assaf, *Sifram shel Rishonim* (1935)) of *Asher b. Saul of Lunel, it has become evident that a large part of the *Kol Bo* was taken from them, even though this fact is not indicated there. It is possible to conjecture that the original material in the *Kol Bo* is negligible, and that almost all of it was taken from various sources. It was first printed in Naples in 1490–91. The one known manuscript of it in the Guenzburg Collection, Moscow, may well be a copy of the printed edition.

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[Shlomoh Zalman Havlin]

KOLDYCHEVO CAMP (**Koldyczewo**), forced labor camp in Belorussia, located 11 miles from Baranovichi, established by the Germans in late 1941. In November 1942 a crematorium was constructed in which some 600 people were incinerated. It later became an extermination camp in which Russians and Polish underground members were interned along with the Jews transferred from the surrounding ghettos of Baranovichi, *Nowogrodek, *Slonim, and others. Jews were separated from the other prisoners and the camp in the stables of what had once been a farm. Prior to the camp's liquidation on June 29, 1944, more than 22,000 inmates were murdered and buried in 38 mass graves in and around the camp. A prisoner, Dr. Zelik Levinbrook, supplied medicine to the partisans with the help of a former patient. An active Jewish resistance, headed by Shlomo Kushnir, a former shoemaker, existed in Koldychevo. Its arms supply was meager: two guns, four grenades, and some acid. On the night of March 17, 1944, it succeeded in leading almost all the Jewish inmates out of the camp after killing ten Nazi guards and poisoning the guard dogs. Kushnir committed suicide when he was caught with 25 others. Seventy five prisoners survived. The rest joined the partisans in the forest.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Foxman, in: Y. Suhl (ed.), *They Fought Back* (1967), 172–5; *Ha-Partizanim ha-Yehudim*, 1 (1958), 453. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** *Barnowicze Memorial Book* (1953); S. Cholawski, "Koldichevo," in: Y. Gutman (ed.), *The Holocaust Encyclopedia* (1990).

[Joseph M. Foxman / Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

KOLEL (Heb. כּוֹלֵל; literally "comprehensive," "embracing all"), a word used in comparatively recent times to describe two entirely different groups. (1) It refers to a group of Ashkenazi Jews in Ereẓ Israel all originally from one country or from one district, the members of which received allocations from the funds collected in their countries of origin for their support. From a passage in the *Megillat Sefer* of Jacob *Emden (pp. 14–15) it would appear that the word originally referred to the organization in the country which collected the funds, and only later was applied to those who received them (for details see *Ḥalukkah*). (2) The word *kolel* was subsequently also applied to institutions for advanced talmudic studies which were for married students, since the yeshivot were confined to unmarried students. This name was coined by R. Israel *Lipkin (Salanter). In 1878 he persuaded a wealthy donor in Berlin (who insisted on anonymity, but whose name was later revealed as Lachman) to devote a large sum of money to establish a yeshivah for young married men, to which he gave the name *kolel perushim, perushim* ("separatists") referring to those who separated themselves in order to devote themselves to study. In his stirring appeal to the Jewish communities for further support (*Eẓ Peri*, Vilna 1881), however, he does not use this name. The *kolel*, which continued to exist for a long time after his death, concentrated on the study of Lipkin's doctrine of *musar. In later years, however, and particularly in the State of Israel, it was applied to all institutions of higher talmudic studies for married students. The members of the *kolel* receive a monthly stipend sufficient for bare livelihood. In recent years the number of *kolelim* in Israel has grown to a considerable extent.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: L. Ginzberg, *Students, Scholars and Saints* (1928), 161–3.

KOLIN (Czech **Kolín**; Ger. **Kolin**, in older sources **Neukollin**), city in central Bohemia, Czech Republic. Its Jewish community was one of the four communities known by the abbreviation Karban (Heb. קרב״ן), Kolin, Roudnice, Bumsla, Nachod), second in importance only to Prague. Town records of 1376–1401 mention 16 Jewish households; a gravestone from 1492 was preserved; a synagogue is mentioned as being old in 1512. Expelled in 1541, the Jews returned in 1557, to be expelled once more in 1561 and return again in 1564. The community numbered 33 families in 1574. There were 37 Jewish houses in Kolin in 1623. A synagogue with an ark donated by Samuel *Oppenheimer was dedicated in 1696. In a fire in 1796, 43 Jewish houses, housing 205 families, were burned down. In 1848, 30 Jews were members of a unit of the national guard sent to aid the revolution in Prague, but later they were forced out of the national guard. Kolin was known for its yeshivah, which in the 19th century became modernized and was called "Beth Hamidrash-Anstalt" (i.e., institution). Moses *Montefiore was impressed by it during his visit in 1855 and endowed a foundation for students there. In 1913 a young Roman Catholic priest, Hrachovsky, tried to implicate the Jews in a *blood libel charge following the death of a girl who had committed suicide because she was pregnant by him.

Between the two world wars Kolin was a stronghold of the Czecho-Jewish movement (see *Čechů-židů, Svaz). In October 1938 many refugees from Sudetenland sought refuge in Kolin. From March 1939 *kasher* meat for Prague was supplied from the town. About 600 Jews organized themselves for collective emigration and were offered the support of the French government in establishing a settlement in New Caledonia, but with the outbreak of World War II the project could not be realized. In January 1940 Jewish shops were confiscated, three months sooner than in the rest of the German protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia. Jewish women were forced to work in a local soap factory. The cemetery was damaged by aircraft bombardment during World War II. From June 10, 1942, 2,202 Jews from Kolin and other places were deported in three transports from Kolin to *Theresienstadt and 2,098 died in Nazi extermination camps. Of these, 475 were members of the Kolin community. The synagogue equipment was sent to the Prague Central Jewish Museum. A small community was reestablished in 1945 and a memorial to the Nazi victims erected in 1950.

Among the noted rabbis who officiated in Kolin were Jacob *Illowy (1746–81), Eleazar b. Eleazar *Kallir (1781–1802), and Daniel Frank (1839–60). The last rabbi was Richard *Feder. The town was the birthplace of the Viennese philosopher, Joseph *Popper-Lynkeus; the Jewish national politician, Ludwig Singer; the Czech poet and literary critic, Otakar *Fischer; and the economists, Isidor, Julius, and Ignaz *Petschek.

From 1,347 Jews (16.1% of the total population) in Kolin in 1857, the number declined to 1,148 in 1881 (9.8%), and 430 in 1930 (2.3%). Most of the Jews were sent to Theresienstadt on June 13, 1942, and from there to the death camps of Poland. In 1948 there were 98 members of the community and 118 nonconfessing Jews living in the town. The congregation in Kolin in 1969 was affiliated with the Prague community. Two cemeteries (one dating from the 15th century and the other from 1887) were still in existence. The synagogue was used occasionally. Virtually no Jews lived there by the end of the century.

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[Jan Herman and Meir Lamed]

KOLIN (Kelin), SAMUEL BEN NATHAN HA-LEVI (1720–1806), rabbi and *posek*. Kolin took his name from his birthplace, Kolin, in Bohemia, where he received his talmudic education, and was considered a child prodigy. After his marriage he settled in Boskovice and his material needs were provided by his wife, who managed a wool business, leaving him free for study. Although he never held an official rabbinic appointment, for over 60 years he conducted a yeshivah which attracted many pupils. Kolin achieved fame through his comprehensive work, *Maḥaẓit ha-Shekel*, a commentary on the Shulḥan Arukh, *Oraḥ Ḥayyim* and *Yoreh De'ah*. The section on *Oraḥ Ḥayyim* (Vienna, 1807–08) is in fact a supercommentary on the *Magen Avraham* of A.A. *Gombiner. Its main purpose is to give the actual wording of the sources to which Gombiner alludes, or which he abbreviates, and to simplify his rather difficult language. Only portions of the commentary to the *Yoreh De'ah*, part 1, and on the laws of *niddah* were published (1858–60). The *Maḥaẓit ha-Shekel* achieved wide popularity among scholars who depended on it in arriving at halakhic decisions. It was published separately a number of times, and in later editions together with the text of the Shulḥan Arukh. Kolin's sermons (1906) and his commentaries to *Bava Batra* and *Avodah Zarah* (1958) were also published under the same title.

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KOLISCH, IGNAZ VON (1837–1889), Austrian chess player. Von Kolisch drew a match with Louis Paulsen (1861). He won several tournaments, notably at Cambridge (1860) and Paris (1867) ahead of Wilhelm *Steinitz. Kolisch became a successful banker with the aid of the Vienna Rothschilds and was later made a baron. He then became patron of many players and organizers of tournaments and owned the *Wiener Allgemeine Zeitung* in Vienna (until 1888).

ADD. BIBLIGRAPHY: *Oesterreichisches Biographisches Lexikon*, vol. 4, 82.

KOLISCH, RUDOLF (1896–1978), violinist. Born in Klamm, Austria, Kolisch studied at Vienna with Otakar Ševčik (violin) and Arnold *Schoenberg (composition), and in 1922 founded the Kolisch String Quartet, which existed until 1939 and was the first such group to perform from memory. He promoted the works of modern composers, particularly those of Schoenberg and his circle. Kolisch emigrated to the United States in 1940 and in 1942 became the leader of the Pro Arte Quartet. He was one of the few left-handed concert violinists. His sister Gertrud was Schoenberg's second wife.

KOLISCHER, HEINRICH (1853–1932), politician in Galicia and a leading spokesman of its assimilationist and anti-Zionist groups. Born in Lemberg, Kolischer studied medicine at Goettingen and agriculture at the University of Vienna. He also acquired a wide knowledge of economics. From 1907 to 1918 Kolischer was a member of the Austrian parliament, and one of the most prominent members of its "Polish Club" as an economic expert. His paper mill was the largest of its kind in Galicia. In his support of Polish national orientation, Kolischer firmly opposed the establishment of an independent Jewish "curia" (electoral body) in Bukovina. His lack of contact with the Jewish masses made it difficult for Kolischer to compete with the Zionist candidates. On the dissolution of the Hapsburg Empire after World War I, Kolischer automatically became a member of the Polish Sejm of 1918–22. During this period he joined the conservative faction, known as the "Club for Drafting the Constitution," *Klub Pracy Konstytucyjnej*, in which he was prominent as an expert on financial matters. His advocacy of assimilation created a rift between him and the Jewish national delegates who were fighting to ensure the vital interests of Polish Jewry in its struggle for survival. After a time he returned to Vienna.

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[Joseph Kaplan]

KOLLEK, TEDDY (**Theodore**, 1911–2007), Israeli public figure, mayor of Jerusalem 1965–93. Kollek was born in Vienna, and as a youth was a member of the Blau-Weiss Zionist youth movement. In 1931–34 he was active in the Ḥalutz movement in Czechoslovakia, Germany, and Great Britain. He settled in Palestine in 1934, and was one of the founders of kibbutz Ein-Gev in 1936. In 1938–39 he was involved in Europe in Zionist educational activities, and in 1939 met with Adolf *Eichmann to negotiate the release of 3,000 Jewish youths from concentration camps and arrange their transfer to Great Britain for agricultural training. From 1940 to 1947 he served in the Jewish Agency Political Department and was stationed in its Istanbul office as a contact with the Jewish underground in Europe, trying to rescue Jews, acting as a liaison with British and U.S. intelligence in Cairo. After World War II he was involved in the organization of *"illegal" immigration to Palestine. In 1947–48 he represented the *Haganah in the United States, and was inter alia involved in illicit purchases of military equipment. In 1947–48 Kollek was Israel's minister plenipotentiary in Washington. Upon his return to Israel he was appointed director general of the Prime Minister's Office, a job that he held until 1964. In that period he was one of Prime Minister David Ben-Gurion's confidants. In this capacity he initiated the Government Tourist Corporation, of which he was chairman in 1956–65, and various cultural activities, such as the Israel Festival. He assisted in raising the funds for the *Israel Museum in Jerusalem, and served as the museum's chairman from 1964 until being elected mayor of Jerusalem the following year. Kollek left Mapai, of which he had been a member since arriving in the country, together with Ben-Gurion, and was one of the founding members of *Rafi. He was elected mayor with the support of Rafi. After the 1967 Six-Day War Kollek, now representing the *Israel Labor Party, was responsible for the actual reunification of Jerusalem, and he came to personify the united Jerusalem. During his 28 years as mayor he managed to raise a great deal of money to develop the city, and he established the Jerusalem Fund for this purpose. However, despite his liberal policy toward the Arabs of East Jerusalem, many of whom supported him in the early years after the Six-Day War, he was not successful in bringing about a real integration and the services in the Arab part of the city never reached the standard of those in the Jewish part.

Even though Kollek had considered not to run in the municipal elections in 1993, he was finally convinced to run and was defeated by the Likud candidate Ehud *Olmert, despite the Labor victory in the general elections the previous year. He nevertheless continued to raise funds for the city. In 1988 he was awarded the Israel Prize for exemplary lifelong service to society and the State.

His writings focus on Jerusalem: *Yerushalayim Aḥat: Sippur Ḥayyim* (1979) and with Dov Goldstein, *Yerushalayim Shel Teddy* (1994).

Biographies on him have been published: R. Kolodany-Baki, *Zehu Teddy: Biografyah mi-Pi Ḥaverim* (1995) and B. Amikam (ed.), *Kenes Hitpatteḥut Yerushalayim bi-Tekufat Teddy Kollek 1965–1993* (2001).

[Susan Hattis Rolef (2nd ed.)]

KOLLER, CARL (1857–1944), ophthalmologist. Koller, who was born in Bohemia, settled in New York in 1888 as a practicing oculist. He was ophthalmic surgeon in Mount Sinai and other New York hospitals. His most significant contribution to medicine was his introduction of cocaine as a local anesthetic in the treatment and surgery of eye afflictions. This method was later applied to various other branches of medicine and surgery. He also invented the system of lighting used in the electric ophthalmoscope. He wrote various treatises on biology and ophthalmology, especially on astigmatism and on the origin of the mesoderma.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: S.R. Kagan, *Jewish Medicine* (1952), 521.

[Suessmann Muntner]

°**KOLLONITSCH, LEOPOLD** (1631–1707), Austrian bishop, moving spirit behind the expulsion of the *Vienna community in 1670. Until 1659 he was with the Knights of Malta. When bishop of Wiener Neustadt, he gained a strong influence over *Leopold I, whom he incited to expel the Jews from Vienna. As a member of the commission of inquiry into the dubious financial activities of Meyer Hirschel, he was instrumental in turning this into a commission preparing the expulsion of the Viennese community. The dedication of the church installed in the Viennese synagogue after the expulsion was delayed because of a conflict on precedence between Kollonitsch and the bishop of Vienna. In his sermon on that occasion he compared the emperor with Abraham, who expelled Hagar and Ishmael, i.e., the synagogue and her children. Kollonitsch became head of the imperial treasury in 1692, and in that capacity he had frequent contact with Samuel *Oppenheimer, Leopold's agent. After first attempting, without success, to oust Oppenheimer, he played a leading role in the agent's imprisonment; among the charges against Oppenheimer was that he was trying to take Kollonitsch's place as president of the court chamber. Kollonitsch is still venerated in Austria today (his statue stands in front of the town hall in Vienna) for his activities during the Turkish siege of Vienna (1683).

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[Meir Lamed]

KOLMAN, ARNOŠT (Ernest; 1892–1979), Czech philosopher and mathematician. Born in Prague, he studied mathematics and electrical engineering, and in 1913 began working as computing assistant at the observatory in Prague. In World War I, he fought in the Austrian Army, was taken prisoner by the Russians, was arrested for socialist propaganda and liberated after the October Revolution. In 1918 he joined the Communist Party. From 1918 to 1920 he fought on many fronts in the Red Army. Among his party activities was illegal work in Germany (1921–22, 1926), work at the Marx-Engels Institute and the Communist Academy in Moscow, and editorial work on the periodical *Pod znamenem marksizma* (1929–43). From 1939 to 1945 he was in the department for dialectical materialism at the Philosophical Institute of the Academy of Sciences of the U.S.S.R. During World War II he was in the political department of the General Staff of the Soviet armies. From 1945 to 1948 he taught at the University of Prague. Imprisoned from 1948 to 1952, he returned fully rehabilitated. He was then professor of mathematics at the Institute for the History of Science and Technology in Moscow (1952–59). Back in Prague, he was director of the Institute of Philosophy of the Czechoslovakian Academy of Sciences (1959–62).

Among his many writings are *N.I. Lobachevski* (Rus., 1958^2), *Bernard Bolzano* (Rus., 1955; Ger., 1963); *Istoriya* *matematiki v drevnosti* (1961); and *Zanimatelnaya logika* (with O. Zich, 1966).

[Dirk Jan Struik]

KOLMAR, GERTRUD (pseudonym of **Gertrud Chodziesner**; 1894–1943), German poet. The daughter of an assimilated lawyer and the cousin of Walter Benjamin, Kolmar was for some years a translator and interpreter attached to the German Foreign Office and later taught handicapped children. Her first book of verse, *Gedichte* (1917), attracted little attention. However, in 1930 some of her poems were published in the *Insel-Almanach*. A gentle, self-effacing writer, Gertrud Kolmar devoted many of her poems (e.g., "Die Juedin," "Wir Juden," and "Judith") to Jewish themes; in others, she delved into history, art, and animal lore. Her poetry is serious, conservative, and disciplined, yet visionary, rich in imagery, and linguistically beautiful. In 1930/31 she wrote the novel *Eine jüdische Mutter*, which was not published until 1965, then again in 1999; she also wrote some plays in the 1930s. After Hitler's rise to power, Kolmar chose to remain in Germany with her aged father. Her *Preussische Wappen* (1934, written in 1927/28), a poetic attempt to distill the history and genius of Germany from the Prussian coats of arms, had especial poignancy in its time. Her last volume to appear was *Die Frau und die Tiere*, which was produced in 1938 by the Jewish publishing house Erwin Loewe and destroyed soon afterward. After the outbreak of World War II, she was conscripted for forced labor in a cardboard factory, while she continued writing poetry (the poems *Welten*, written in 1937, published in 1947) and the novel *Susanna* (written in 1939/40 and published in 1959). In her last years she studied Hebrew and even wrote some Hebrew verse. After her father's death in Theresienstadt in February 1943, she was sent to an East European extermination camp (probably Auschwitz), where she is believed to have perished. Her work was discovered and published after the war first through the efforts of Elisabeth Langgaesser and Hermann Kasack. Her complete poetry was published in 2003 (*Das lyrische Werk*), her plays in 2005 (*Dramen*) by Regina Nörtemann.

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[Harry Zohn / Andreas Kilcher (2nd ed.)]

KOL MEVASSER ("The Voice which Brings Tidings"; cf. Isa. 52:7), pioneering Yiddish periodical founded in Odessa in 1862 by Alexander *Zederbaum as a supplement of the Hebrew weekly *Ha-Meliẓ*, and issued from 1869 to 1872 as a separate publication. It was first edited by Zederbaum and his son-in-law Aaron Isaac Goldenblum (1827–1912), who was later joined by Moses Leib *Lilienblum and M. *Beilinson. While Ḥasidim opposed the journal on the grounds that it furthered unbelief and weakened Orthodoxy, *maskilim* attacked it on the grounds that it furthered Jewish separatism in Russia and hindered the Russification of Jews. Throughout the paper's life, Zederbaum's objective was to fight ignorance, superstition, and the mismanagement of Jewish public institutions, and to strengthen Jewishness against the fanatical extremists of both Ḥasidism and Haskalah. This first modern Yiddish journal helped to raise the prestige of the folk vernacular then despised as "jargon." It began the process of standardizing Yiddish spelling, and enriched Yiddish vocabulary with many neologisms. Reporting on Jewish life in communities throughout the world, but especially in Eastern Europe, it also surveyed the contemporary scene from the Jewish viewpoint, with articles on science, education, history, and literature. By bringing to public attention earlier Yiddish writers, such as Solomon *Ettinger, Israel *Axenfeld, and Abraham *Gottlober, and introducing new writers, such as the lexicographer S.M. Lifshitz, I.J. *Linetzky, Abraham *Goldfaden, and Sholem Yankev *Abramovitsh, *Kol Mevasser* may be said to have paved the way for the Yiddish classical renaissance, and the advent of modern Yiddish journalism.

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[Sol Liptzin / Jack S. Berger (2nd ed.)]

KOL NIDREI (Aram. כָּל נִדְרֵי; "All Vows"), a declaration of annulment of *vows with which the evening service of the *Day of Atonement commences. The worshipers proclaim that all personal vows, oaths, etc., that they made unwittingly, rashly, or unknowingly (and that, consequently, cannot be fulfilled) during the year should be considered null and void. The recitation must begin while it is still daylight and must be prolonged until sunset. It is the custom to repeat *Kol Nidrei* three times in order to accommodate latecomers. In *Kol Nidrei* only vows affecting the self, i.e., vows made between man and God (*Tosafot*, R. Nissim and R. Asher b. Jehiel to Ned. 23b; Sh. Ar., YD 211:4) are comprehended. Not formally a prayer, *Kol Nidrei* nevertheless became the most beloved ritual of the Day of Atonement. It alleviated anxiety which was especially intense in the *Rosh Ha-Shanah season because of possible violation of the sanctity of pledges (cf. Deut. 23:22–24). Sensitive to inherent juridical and ethical difficulties, the rabbis set definite conditions and restrictions on the annulment procedure. Vows could only be abrogated by a *bet din* or by an expert scholar, after careful investigation of their nature and bearing (Bek. 36b; Tur, YD 228:1). The Mishnah (Naz. 5:3; Ned. 3:1; cf. Ned. 23b) permits the nullification of the vows of an individual; its extension to an entire community, however, taxed the ingenuity of later authorities and aroused bitter controversy.

The origins of *Kol Nidrei* are unknown; none of the many theories is conclusive. The first reference to *Kol Nidrei* as a collective declaration is found in the responsa of the Babylonian *geonim* (beginning in the eighth century). It is stated that *Kol Nidrei* was familiar to them from "other lands"; but the *geonim* (especially of Sura) sharply condemned it for many generations. The "other lands" are not identified. An obvious possibility is Palestine, yet none of the extant sources of the old

Palestinian liturgy has *Kol Nidrei*. The scholars S. Poznański, S. Krauss, and J. Mann nevertheless contended that congregational recitation of *Kol Nidrei* originated in Palestine, as a reaction to *Karaite attacks on the *Rabbanite practice. S. Baron suggested that the *geonim* opposed *Kol Nidrei* because of possible innovations by mystical circles for whom it assuaged a magic fear of vows that might have been unwittingly broken. C.H. Gordon, citing parallel Aramaic formulas found inscribed on incantation bowls from the time of talmudic Babylonia, proposed that the original function of *Kol Nidrei* had been "the annulment of curses or oaths… that touch off evil forces in the community."

The *geonim* of Pumbedita were more lenient than those of Sura, probably in response to popular demand. About the time of Hai Gaon (c. 1000 C.E.), general acceptance had been gained for a *Kol Nidrei* formula; it invoked divine "pardon, forgiveness, and atonement" for the sin of failing to keep a solemn vow (or, possibly, for having vowed at all). The period envisioned was "from the previous Day of Atonement until this Day of Atonement." The tosafists of 12th-century France and Germany, notably R. Meir b. Samuel and his son Jacob (known as Rabbenu Tam), did not accept the geonic version but reworded *Kol Nidrei* as an annulment of vows which may possibly be made "from this Day of Atonement until the next Day of Atonement." Rabbenu Tam's (Aramaic) version has remained standard for *Ashkenazim. The geonic (Hebrew) version was adopted by the Romanian and Italian rites. Western *Sephardim recite only the geonic text referring to vows of the past year, while Oriental Sephardim and Yemenites add Rabbenu Tam's version.

Antisemites have frequently taken *Kol Nidrei* as evidence that the oath of a Jew is worthless. In the Disputation in Paris in 1240 it was attacked by Nicholas Donin and defended by R. Jehiel b. Joseph. Suspicion about the effects of *Kol Nidrei* on testimony given by Jews influenced the wording of the *more judaico*. It appeared too in the attacks of antisemitic writers such as *Eisenmenger, *Buxtorf, and *Wagenseil. To counteract these accusations, Jewish apologists have cited the severe limitations that the *halakhah* has imposed on *Kol Nidrei*. In 1860 a Hebrew introduction to *Kol Nidrei* was included in prayer books in Russia on the recommendation of a rabbinic commission. It explained that *Kol Nidrei* was not meant to apply to oaths taken before courts of law. In Germany in 1844, a synod of the Reform movement recommended that *Kol Nidrei* be expunged from the liturgy; later Reformers, however, offered substitute versions. The 1961 edition of the Reform Union Prayer Book (U.S.) restored the full Aramaic text. *Kol Nidrei*'s persistent popularity is partly attributed to emotional factors, especially its association with Jewish martyrdom. In 1917, Joseph S. Bloch propounded a dramatic, though unsubstantiated, theory that *Kol Nidrei* arose as a reaction to forced Jewish conversions to Christianity by the Visigoths in seventh-century Spain, to persecutions in the Byzantine Empire (700–850), and in Spain to persecutions by the Inquisition (1391–1492).

[Herman Kieval]

Musical Rendition

The standard Ashkenazi melody for *Kol Nidrei* is deservedly famous as a superior example of the musical tradition of the Diaspora, and, with much justification, of "Jewish music" as such. It is not a melody in the conventional sense, but an artistic concatenation of motives, stylistically related to the general melodic conventions of the High Holy Days. The motives alternate between solemn syllabic "proclamations" as in the opening, intensely devotional wave-like phrases, and virtuoso vocal runs. It may even be asked whether the musical rendition of *Kol Nidrei* was shaped by the solemnity of the liturgical and ideological status of the prayer, or whether the latter did not come about in a great measure, at least during the last two centuries, through the extraordinary effect of the melody.

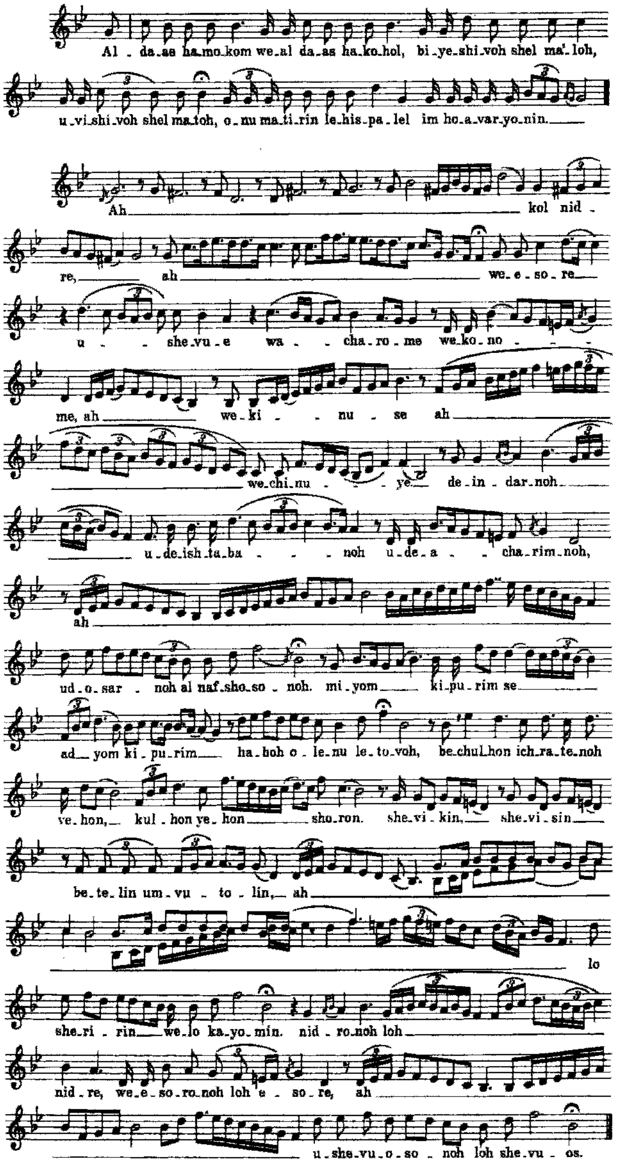
Al - da.as ha.mo.kom we.al da.as ha.ko.hol, bi.ye.shi.voh shel ma'.loh,
u.vi.shi.voh shel ma.toh, o.nu ma.ti.rin le.his.pa.lel im ho.a.var.yo.nin
Ah kol nid -
re, ah we.e.so.re
u - she.vu.e wa - cha.ro.me we.ko.no -
me, ah we.ki - nu - se ah
we.chi.nu - ye de.in - dar.noh
u.de.ish.ta.ba - - noh u.de.a - - cha.rim.noh,
ah
ud.o.sar - noh al naf.sho.so - noh. mi.yom ki.pu.rim se
ad yom ki.pu.rim ha.boh o - le.nu le.to.voh, be.chul.hon ich.ra.te.noh
ve.hon, kul - hon ye - hon sho.ron. she.vi - kin, she.vi - sin
be.te.lin um.vu - to - lin, ah
lo
she.ri - rin we.lo ka.yo.min. nid - ro.noh loh
nid.re, we.e.so.ro.noh loh e - so.re, ah
u.she.vu.o.so - noh loh she.vu - os.

Eastern Ashkenazi version of Kol Nidrei, *with its introduction,* Al da'at ha-Makom. *From Idelsohn,* Melodien 8, *1932.*

The source of the melody is still a subject of research, and the frequent attempts to relate it to Sephardi traditions (because of the presumed connections of the text with the Spanish *Marranos) are highly hypothetical. In the Sephardi traditions *Kol Nidrei* is rendered by the entire congregation, which alternates with the *ḥazzan*, and the rendition is, therefore, more syllabic in character; there seems to be no standard melody common to the entire Sephardi Diaspora. In the *Carpentras (Provençal rite) the *Kol Nidrei* is said in a whisper and therefore has no melody.

The Ashkenazi version of *Kol Nidrei* was arranged in 1880 by the non-Jewish composer Max Bruch for cello and orchestra, on commission from the Jewish community of Liverpool, and it became his most popular work. Arnold *Schoenberg's *Kol Nidrei* for speaker, chorus, and orchestra, opus 39 (1938) is based on a text by Jacob Sonderling, and some of the traditional motives are reworked there in Schoenberg's twelve-tone technique. The text itself, written in close collaboration with the composer, is a personal philosophic reinterpretation of the prayer.

[Bathja Bayer]

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KOLNIK, ARTHUR (1890–1972), French painter and printmaker. Kolnik was a native of Stanislavov, Galicia, and studied at the School of Fine Arts in Cracow. He fought as an officer in the Austro-Hungarian Army in World War I, and was wounded. After the war, he went to Czernowitz (then Romania), where he took part in the intellectual life of the city, and became a close friend of the Yiddish poet, Itzik *Manger. In 1921, with Reuven *Rubin, he went to the United States where they had a joint exhibition under the sponsorship of Prince Bibesco, the Romanian minister. Kolnik returned to Czernowitz, where he made woodcuts. Among the books he illustrated was one of fables by Eliezer Steinbarg. In 1931 he settled in Paris. As a printmaker and painter, Kolnik depicted the ghetto dwellers of Eastern Europe. He presented them with sympathy and understanding, the human forms being very sharply outlined and the whole space freely divided into patterns of geometric planes.

[Alfred Werner]

KOLO (Pol. **Koło**; Yid. **Koil**), town in Poznan district, central Poland, near the River Varta; passed to Prussia in 1793, and restored to Poland in 1919. Jews were living there in the 15th century, and in 1564 they received the right of residence from King Sigismund II Augustus. In 1611 there were 24 Jewish-owned houses in Kolo. A synagogue was built in 1763–65. During the 19th century, Jews played an important role in the economic development of the town. They owned factories for colored cloths, bricks, porcelain ware, agricultural machinery, and oil, as well as various workshops. In 1897, 52% of the Jews of the town were engaged in commerce. The community numbered 1,184 (37.2% of the total population) in 1827; 4,013 (42.8%) in 1897; 5,154 (45%) in 1921; approximately 6,000 (44%) in 1931; and 5,000 (41.6%) in 1939. Between the two world wars, the Jews continued active in economic life, and, in 1938 37.7% of the workshops in the town were Jewish-owned. Antisemitism in the economic sphere during the 1930s forced them out of several occupations. There were eight Jews among the 24 members elected to the municipal council in 1924 and ten in 1929. The Jewish community administration elected in 1931 consisted of three members for the General Zionists, five for Poalei Zion-Right, four for Poalei Zion-Left, and one for Agudat Israel. Its last chairman was Joseph Schwarz, and the last rabbi of Kolo was Hayyim David Zilber Margalioth (d. 1941), who officiated there for about 50 years.

[Shimshon Leib Kirshenboim]

Holocaust Period

The town was occupied by the Germans on Sept. 15, 1939 (the second day of Rosh Ha-Shanah). On the following day a German raid was made on Jewish homes, and all the men were forced to assemble in the market place. The men were sent to do repair work on the Warta River bridges which had been blown up by the Polish army when hostilities began. The Germans set fire to the synagogue, accused the Jews of arson, and extorted a large sum of money from them. The Jewish intelligentsia was arrested and anyone caught hiding executed. Two hostages were taken every day. In December 1939, 1,139 Jews were forced out of their homes and kept starving and freezing for weeks in barracks. They were eventually deported to the *Lublin district. Their homes were then turned over to Volksdeutsche brought there from the Baltic regions. Almost a year later 150 Jewish families were expelled from Kolo, and a ghetto was established for the remainder of the Jewish population. Contacts and trade with the non-Jewish side continued, and helped to alleviate the ghetto conditions. Its inhabitants were decimated by a typhoid epidemic and the conscription of able-bodied persons for slave labor. In June 1941 all the Jewish males were deported to the labor camp near *Poznan. In August about 100 girls were sent to a labor camp in Breslau. The final liquidation of the Kolo ghetto took place early in December 1941 when the remaining 2,300 Jews were assembled in front of the Judenrat building, placed on trucks, and sent to the death camp at *Chelmno.

[Danuta Dombrowska]

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KOLODEJE NAD LUZICI (Czech **Koloděje nad Lužicí**; Ger. **Kaladei**; **Kalladay**), village in S. Bohemia, Czech Republic. Its Jewish community, known as ק'ק'ק, was founded by Jews expelled from nearby Tyn nad Vltavou (Moldautein) in 1681 because it was alleged that they had spread the plague. The local lord built a synagogue (dedicated in 1697) and ten dwelling houses for them. The members of the community were mainly peddlers, some of them trading in Upper Austria, where they remained for months. The seat of the district rabbi for the district of Ceske Budejovice and Tabor was in Kolodeje. R. Samuel *Kauder officiated there (1817–34) before becoming chief rabbi of Prague. In 1721 the community numbered 154 persons; in 1869 there were 258 tax-paying members and 40 children attending the Jewish elementary school. From 153 in 1886, it shrank to 35 in 1904 and eight in 1932, coming to an end soon after. The smaller community in nearby Nezdášov (104 members in 1869) had a similar origin and history; its synagogue collapsed in the late 1920s.

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[Meir Lamed]

KOLODIN, IRVING (1908–1988), U.S. music critic. Born in New York City, Kolodin was raised in Newark, New Jersey, where he began to study music at an early age. From 1927 to 1931 he attended the Institute of Musical Art in New York. Beginning his career as assistant music critic to W.J. Henderson at the New York *Sun*, he eventually became the newspaper's chief critic, leaving there in 1950. He was also a critic of recordings and published a number of books of record reviews: *A Guide to Recorded Music* (1941), *Mozart on Records* (1942), *The Saturday Review Home Book of Recorded Music and Sound Reproduction* (1952; revised 1956), and *Orchestral Music* (1955). In 1970 he chose the classical music that was included in the first official White House music library. He taught criticism at the Juilliard School from 1968 to 1986.

Kolodin was well known as a historian of the New York Metropolitan Opera, publishing *The Metropolitan Opera: 1883–1935* (1936); a second edition, *The Story of the Metropolitan Opera, 1883–1950*, appeared in 1953 and was again updated in 1966.

Among his other works are *The Interior Beethoven* (1975), *The Opera Omnibus* (1976), and *In Quest of Music* (1980).

KOLOMYYA (Pol. **Kołomyja**; Ger. **Kolomea**), city on the Prut River in the Ukraine; under Polish rule until 1772, Austrian rule until the end of World War I, and then again under Poland until 1939, and then annexed to the Ukrainian S.S.R. There was a flourishing Jewish community in Kolomyya as early as the 16th century. They paid two-thirds of the city taxes and received various trading rights; they were allowed to take part in the election of the mayor and other city officials. During the *Chmielnicki massacres (1648/49) the community was destroyed and some 300 Jews murdered; however, it soon recovered. After 1772 it shared the fate and status of all Polish communities under Austrian rule (see *Austria-Hungary, *Galicia, *Joseph II). The Jews of Kolomyya engaged in a wide range of economic activities, including the retail trade, the leasing of forests, and the wholesale trade in wood; they benefited from Kolomyya's new ties with Walachia and Moldavia, which became even more profitable when Kolomyya became an important railway junction on the Lvov-Chernovtsy-Jassy line. In the beginning of the 18th century there was some influence of the *Shabbetai Ẓevi movement in the city and its environs; preachers such as Ḥayyim Malakh, Moses Meir from Zholkiev, and Elisha Shor from Rohatyn visited there. Besides the many *ḥadarim*, a Jewish elementary school was established by the government in 1788 (see Naphtali Herz *Homberg). The number of Jews in the town rose from 1,057 in 1765 to 2,033 in 1812; 8,232 (almost 50% of the total population) in 1869; 12,002 in 1880; and 16,568 (again almost 50%) in 1900. From the beginning of the movement Ḥasidism gained adherents in the town, becoming predominant in the community and thus ensuring its extreme Orthodox character until the second half of the 19th century. In 1886 a Jewish elementary school was founded by the *Israelitische Allianz zu Wien. During the elections to the town council in 1878, Jews obtained the majority of seats and a Jew, Dr. Maximilian Trachtenberg, was elected mayor. In 1873 a Jew, Dr. Oscar Henigsman, was elected to represent Kolomyya in the Austrian parliament. Hillel *Lichtenstein, rabbi from 1863 to 1891, strengthened Orthodoxy in the community. At the end of the 19th century almost all craftsmen were Jews, and Jewish industrialists owned most of the clothing factories and some of the oil refineries; there was a factory for prayer shawls. All transportation by carts was in Jewish hands.

From 1918 Kolomyya suffered economically as a result of the loss of the Moldavian and Walachian markets and the Jews were further hit by the anti-Jewish economic policies of modern Poland. The number of Jews in the town began to decline, from 18,930 in 1919 to 14,544 (total population 31,708) in 1921, and 14,332 in 1931. In 1921, 499 industrial premises (mostly small ones) belonged to Jews, and they employed 1,362 Jewish workers (90% of all employed), 557 of them in textile and clothing production. In 1930 they suffered from aggressive competition from Polish and Ukrainian cooperatives, which led to economic decline and the need for the community to organize relief for many of the local Jews. The social and cultural life in the Jewish community was marked by the activities of the different parties. Especially active among the Zionist organizations were the Ha-Shomer Ha-Ẓa'ir youth groups, the Hitaḥadut, and the *He-Ḥalutz. The first group of *ḥalutzim* left Kolomyya for Ereẓ Israel in 1920. *Hakhsharah* groups, which prepared their members for life in Ereẓ Israel, operated in the town. *Betar organized a group called "the national soldier" which led paramilitary activities. Two Zionist newspapers appeared in Kolomyya: the *Nasz Glos* in Polish and the *Unser Shtime* in Yiddish. In 1930 a coalition of *Agudat Israel and *Mizrachi parties elected the politically active Joseph Lau as rabbi.

[Shimshon Leib Kirshenboim / Shmuel Spector (2nd ed.)]

Holocaust Period

After the Soviet occupation of the town on Sept. 17, 1939, all organized Jewish life ceased. Jewish economic life was affected by the nationalization of factories and wholesale and petty trade. A sizable number of Jewish pupils studied in government schools where Yiddish was the language of instruction. When the Soviet-German war broke out in June 1941, Kolomyya Jews were drafted into the Soviet army. Many young Jews volunteered, as did Jewish doctors and nurses. On July 4 the city was captured by the German-allied Hungarian army. On August 18 the Ukrainians dragged out some 2,000 Jews in the nearby forest to be killed, but the Hungarian governor intervened and prevented their execution. During the following weeks Jewish refugees from Hungary who did not have Hungarian citizenship were sheltered by the Jewish community in Kolomyya. In September 1941 the town came under direct German administration, resulting in mass murder, extortion of large sums of money, and the kidnapping of Jews for slave labor. The head of the *Judenrat, Mordecai Horowitz, committed suicide in November 1942.

The Jewish community of Kolomyya was liquidated in the following *Aktions*: Nov. 15, 1941 – 500 Jews were murdered on the excuse that a Jewish leader who had been active during the Soviet occupation was hiding on their street; Jan. 24, 1942 – attacks were directed against the Jewish intelligentsia; March 24, 1942 – three separate ghettos were established, each surrounded with barbed wire; April 2, 1942 – 1,000 Jews were sent to *Belzec; Sept. 7, 1942 – 8,700 Jews were sent to Belzec; Oct. 3, 1942 – 4,500–5,000 Jews were sent to Belzec. All the remaining Jews, some 1,500 in number, were concentrated in one ghetto and were subsequently taken to Szeparowce forest nearby and executed (February 1943). When the Soviet army liberated Kolomyya in early August 1944, only a handful of Jews remained alive. They were joined by another small group of Jews who returned from the Soviet Union. They stayed in the town for a short period to mark out and enclose the sites of the Jewish mass graves, and soon left for Poland and for overseas. Kolomyya societies exist in Israel and New York. A memorial book, *Pinkas Kolomei*, was published in 1957. The Jewish population in Kolomyya in 1957 was estimated at about 200 families and at about 350 persons (70 families) in 1969.

[Aharon Weiss]

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KOLTANOWSKI, GEORGE (1903–2000), U.S. chess master. Born in Antwerp, Belgium, Koltanowski won the Belgian championship six times and prizes in international tournaments. Endowed with a magnificent memory, he concentrated on simultaneous blindfold play, sharing supremacy with Miguel *Najdorf. In 1937 in Edinburgh he set the world record for blindfold chess, where the player commits the game to memory and does not look at the board or touch the pieces while opponents play in the normal way. Koltanowski played 34 opponents simultaneously while blindfolded without losing a game, making headlines around the world. His record still stands in the *Guinness Book of Records*.

When World War II broke out, he was in Guatemala on a chess tour of South America, so he remained there. In 1940, the United States consul in Cuba saw him giving a chess exhibition in Havana and granted him a U.S. visa. In 1947 Koltanowski moved to San Francisco, where in 1948 he became the chess columnist for the *San Francisco Chronicle*. It carried his syndicated chess column every day for the next 52 years. Publishing an estimated total of 19,000 columns, Koltanowski wrote the only daily newspaper chess column in the world and the longest-running daily chess column in history.

In 1950, in San Francisco, he played 50 games in an event lasting nine hours, winning 43, drawing five, and losing two. He turned most of his attention to touring, teaching chess, writing books and articles, and directing tournaments. Although he played in at least 25 international tournaments, Koltanowski became better known for touring and giving simultaneous exhibitions and blindfold displays. In 1960 in San Francisco he set another world record when he played 56 opponents consecutively while blindfolded and did not lose a single game. He also gave hundreds of charitable performances worldwide, particularly for schoolchildren. In the 1960s, he hosted *Koltanowski on Chess*, a series of half-hour broadcasts about chess, aired nationally on public television. It was the first such program of its kind. In the 1970s he seized upon the chess mania inspired by Bobby *Fischer and established chess clubs in countless schools, community centers, and at San Quentin Prison.

He served as president of the United States Chess Federation 1975–78 and was awarded the title of International Master in 1950 on the basis of his prewar results; in 1960 he was awarded the title of International Arbiter; and in 1988 he was given an honorary Grand Master title by the FIDE (World Chess Federation). He was one of the three original inductees into the U.S. Chess Hall of Fame (1986).

Koltanowski spoke eight languages. The books he wrote in English include *Practical Chess* (1947), *Adventures of a Chess Master* (1955), *TV Chess* (1968), *With the Chess Masters* (1972), *Checkmate* (with M. Finkelstein, 1978), and *Chessnicdotes* (1978). He also wrote books in Flemish, French, and Spanish.

[Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

KOLTHOFF, IZAAK MAURITS (1894–1993), chemist. Kolthoff was born in Almelo in the Netherlands, graduated in pharmacy in 1915, and obtained his Ph.D. in chemistry at the University of Utrecht. In 1927 he started a one-year appointment as professor and head of the Analytical Division of the School of Chemistry of the University of Minnesota, where he remained for the rest of his career. Kolthoff's main achievement was to apply the principles of physical chemistry and biochemistry to analytical chemistry, thereby transforming it from a largely pragmatic and descriptive branch of science into an intellectually rigorous discipline. His insights led him to explore a diverse range of basic and applied problems. One important practical application in World War II concerned the production of synthetic rubber. His continuous output of 944 truly original papers as well as monographs between 1915 and 1993 was prodigious, and his co-edited *Treatise on Analytical Chemistry* is a majestic testimony to his preeminence in this field. His many honors included election to the U.S. Academy of Sciences in 1958. He was greatly concerned with social issues and highly influential in relocating victims of Nazi persecution in the U.S. in the 1930s.

[Michael Denman (2nd ed.)]

KOL'TSOV, MIKHAIL (pseudonym of **Mikhail Yefimovich Fridland**; 1898–1940), Soviet publicist and social activist. Kol'tsov was born in Kiev and in 1915 he entered the Petrograd Psychoneurological Institute. He took part in the February and October Revolutions in Petrograd (1917) and in the Civil War, the subject of a series of sketches in his books *Petlyurovshcina* ("The Petlyura Terror," 1922), *Sotvrorenie mia* ("Creation of the World," 1928), and others. In 1920 he began working in Moscow in the press department of the People's Commissariat of Foreign Affairs. From 1922 he worked for *Pravda*, publishing almost daily a topical feuilleton on domestic and foreign policy. His keen observation, inexhaustible humor, and biting sarcasm, as well as the ability to manipulate facts, together with a keen political sensitivity allowed Kol'tsov to follow every fluctuation of Soviet policy, thanks to which he became one of the most authoritative and popular Soviet journalists of the 1920s and 1930s. Enjoying the confidence and support of the "authorities," he was editor of the journal *Ogoniok*, which he founded in 1923, editor of the satirical journals *Chudak* (1928–30) and *Krokodil* (1934–38), co-editor (with Maxim Gorky) of the journal *Za rubezhom* (1932–38); member of the editorial board of *Pravda*; he headed the cooperative publishing house of the *Ogoniok* society (1926–31), the journal and newspaper association (1931–38), the foreign commission of the Union of Writers (1934–38), and represented the Soviet Union at international congresses of writers (Paris, 1935; Madrid and Valencia, 1937, when he headed the Soviet delegation).

In 1936, when the Spanish Civil War broke out, Kol'tsov became not only *Pravda* correspondent there (his articles were included in his book *Ispanskiy dnevnik* ("Spanish Diary," 1938)), but also political adviser – with a direct link to Stalin – to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Spain and the Republican government. In the latter role Kol'tsov is depicted under the name Karkov in Ernest Hemingway's novel *For Whom the Bell Tolls* (1940). In November 1937 he was called back to Moscow and awarded the Order of the Red Banner. In 1938 he was elected a corresponding member of the Academy of Sciences of the U.S.S.R. and deputy of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation (RSFSR), but in December of the same year he was arrested. He was shot to death in Lefortovo prison in Moscow in 1940, and was rehabilitated in 1954.

Jointly with A. Barginym, Kol'tsov wrote the propaganda brochure *Sud'ba evreyskikh mass v Sovetskom soyuze* ("The Fate of the Jewish Masses in the Soviet Union," 1924). From 1927 to 1937 he was a member of the editorial board of the monthly of the OZET society, *Tribuna evreyskoy sovetskoy obshchestvennosti*.

Kol'tsov's brother, BORIS EFIMOVICH EFIMOV (1900–), caricaturist, corresponding member of the Academy of Arts of the U.S.S.R. (1954), People's Artist of the U.S.S.R. (1967). In 1922 he began working for *Pravda* and *Izvestia*, and the magazine *Krokodil*. In 1966 he became editor-in-chief of the Agitplakat organization. He was awarded the Stalin Prize (1950, 1951) and the State Prize (1972). He created cartoons on international themes (often with considerable satirical commentary and explanatory captions). In depicting Jewish political figures out of favor with the Soviet rulers or in cartoons critical of Israel and Zionism, he grotesquely exaggerated so-called Jewish national features.

[Mark Kipnis / *The Shorter Jewish Encyclopaedia in Russian*]

KOMARNO (Slovak **Komárno**; Hung. **Komárom**; Ger. **Komorn**), fortress town in S. Slovakia. Until 1992 Czechoslovak Republic, since 1993 Slovak Republic. The Trianon peace treaty (1920) divided Komárno between Czechoslovakia and Hungary. The Jewish community of Komárno was considered one of the oldest in the Danube region, as traditionally there were Jews in the town at the Magyar conquest (end of the ninth century). In 1440 and 1583 Jews worked as Ottoman agents; in 1600 they were moneylenders. In 1788 there was a case of blood libel. In 1791 there were 250 Jews, who were permitted to form a congregation. In 1803 the first synagogue was built. In 1851 Jewish entrepreneurship was liberalized, thanks to a royal order permitting Jews to join guilds.

During the Hungarian revolution of 1848/49, many Jews joined the Magyar army. A subsequent cholera epidemic claimed many lives. In 1848, a fire destroyed the Jewish communal buildings, including the archive. In an effort to rebuild, the community created a cemetery in 1858 and built a synagogue in 1863. In 1890 there were 1,925 Jews; in 1900, there were 2,296. In 1895 the community built an edifice for social activities. There was a matzah bakery, a *ḥevra kaddisha*, a women's club, Bikkur Ḥolim organizations to help the sick, an Ahavat Achim social circle, and a youth club.

The community split following the Jewish Congress of 1868, the majority choosing the *Neolog path. In 1889 an Orthodox congregation was established; it built a synagogue in 1907. Another small synagogue was built in 1896, together with a building for orphans and the needy. This synagogue served the congregation into the 21st century. During World War I, many enlisted in the army. The riots and looting that characterized the end of the war in Slovakia did not take place in Komárno; however, the city was a battleground for the Hungarian Commune of 1919. Following the Trianon treaty, the southern part of the Danube coast became Hungarian, and in it some 25 Jewish families. (During the Hungarian conquest of 1938–1945, Komárno and its congregation were united.) The Czechoslovak period was quiet. Several Zionist movements were active in the city, including Hashomer (later Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir), Maccabee ha-Ẓa'ir, a Zionist branch, and Young Agudat Israel. In 1930 the community built a house for social institutions. The Orthodox congregation had a small yeshivah.

In November 1938 southern Slovakia came under Hungarian rule, including Komárno. The anti-Jewish legislation, already in existence in Hungary, was applied to the conquered territory as well. In Komárno, Jews were forced to leave certain streets; in January 1942, they were forbidden to work.

On March 19, 1944, German troops entered Hungary. Along with them were local collaborators, the infamous gendarmerie, and a unit of Nyilas (*Arrow Cross Fascist party) from Szabolcs. A part of Komárno was made into a ghetto, where the Jews were forced to live. On June 12–16, the inhabitants of the ghetto, as well as neighboring Jews, were deported. The director of the Komárno city museum, witnessing the desecration of the three synagogues, gathered 12 Torah scrolls and other ritual items and hid them in the museum. After the war, he returned the sacred items to the Jewish congregation. On October 15, 1944, the Nyilas party took Hungary by force. In Komárno the Szabolcs unit was responsible for many outrages. After the war, some were caught and put on trial. On September 26, 1945, some 114 Nyilas victims were buried in a mass grave in the Jewish cemetery. In 1947 there were 314 Jews in Komárno.

The community tried to rebuild its religious life and the public buildings. In March 1948, a memorial to the victims of the Holocaust was erected. In 1949–50, 343 Jews immigrated, most to Israel. Those who were left, and those who moved to Komárno, preserved religious life. The depleted community was forced to sell its land. In 1972 a large part of the cemetery was expropriated to build a highway. In 1990 there were 45 Jews in the city. The tombstones and memorials of defunct neighboring villages and congregations were deposited in the local cemetery.

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[Meir Lamed / Yeshayahu Jelinek (2nd ed.)]

KOMARNO, town in Lvov district, Ukraine. When the town was granted municipal status in 1555, Jews settled there. Construction of the synagogue was begun in 1620, and the cemetery was established in 1644. During the 1648 Cossack uprising of *Chmielnicki, the Jews of Komarno and the townspeople together successfully defended the town against them. The rabbi in 1666 was Isaiah Segal, the son of the author of *Turei Zahav.* In 1686, Eliakim b. Jacob Melammed of Komarno published a Hebrew grammar, *Leshon Limmudim*. During the rabbinate of Saul Margalioth (1754–73), the influence of Ḥasidism was felt in the community. In 1765 there were 686 poll-tax paying Jews in the town and 844 in the neighboring villages. Their main sources of livelihood were tailoring, shopkeeping, trade in livestock and wood, the leasing of estates, and brandy distillation. Toward the end of the 18th century, a second synagogue was erected. At the beginning of the 19th century, the "court" of the *ẓaddik* R. Alexander, a disciple of *Jacob Isaac Horowitz ha-Ḥozeh of Lublin, was established in Komarno. The dynasty of *ẓaddikim* of the *Safrin family remained in the town until the Holocaust (the last *ẓaddik*, R. Baruch Safrin, perished in the Holocaust). As a result of the development of crafts and the trade in agricultural produce, the Jewish population of Komarno increased in the 19th century; in 1880 it numbered 2,161 (40% of the total population) and in 1910, 2,716 (44%). During World War I the Russian invasion brought sufferings; 17 Jews were murdered, and 50 were taken hostage. After 1918 and for a number of years, the municipal council was headed by a Jew. According to the Polish census of 1921, there were 2,004 Jews (25% of the population) in the town, and 2,387 in 1931. In the interwar years, Zionist organizations were active and Jewish educational and cultural institutions functioned in the town. The U.S. Yiddish writer, Kalman Heisler, was born in Komarno.

[Aharon Weiss]

Holocaust Period

Before the outbreak of World War II there were 2,500 Jews in Komarno. The German army entered the town on Sept. 17, 1939, but, according to the German-Soviet agreement, it withdrew after two weeks when the Red Army entered. With the Soviet regime, all Jewish communal life stopped, and shops and industrial premises were nationalized. The town was again captured by the Germans on June 30, 1941, and a ghetto and a Judenrat were established there. The first *Aktion* took place on Oct. 24, 1941, when hundreds of prominent Jews were killed. During the winter of 1941/1942 about 400 Jews died of hunger. The second *Aktion* took place on Nov. 6, 1942, when about a thousand Jews were deported to the *Belzec death camp. The remaining few hundred were crowded into a few small houses, and in December 1942 deported to Rudki ghetto, and were killed there, together with the Jews of Rudki, on April 9, 1943. After the war, the Jewish community of Komarno was not reconstituted.

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°**KOMÁROMI CSIPKÉS, GYÖRGY** (1628–1678), Calvinist Bible translator, born in Komárom (Komarno), Hungary.

After studying at Utrecht and other places, Komáromi was professor of Hebrew at the reformed academy in Debrecen, Hungary. He published an *Oratio Hebraea* (Utrecht, 1653) and a Hebrew grammar (1654), but his main significance is as reviser of the translation of the Bible into Hungarian. He completed this version in 1675, although it was not published earlier than 1718. His *Catalogus operum…Comoronii* (Claudiopolis (Ger. Klausenburg; Hung. Kolozsvár), 1677), gives a list of his own works.

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[Robert Dan]

KOMAROVSKY, MIRRA (1905–1999), U.S. sociologist. Born in Akkerman, Russia, Komarovsky fled to the U.S. with her family in 1921. She was a professor of sociology at Barnard College of Columbia University in New York and specialized in the sociology of the family.

When she majored in economics and sociology at Barnard College as an undergraduate, one of her professors, sociologist William Ogburn, warned her that her goal of teaching sociology was unrealistic, saying: "You are a woman, foreign born, and Jewish. I would recommend some other occupation." Undeterred, she was granted a one-year graduate fellowship, was elected to Phi Beta Kappa, graduated in 1926, and earned an M.A. in 1927 under Ogburn's direction.

In 1935 Komarovsky joined New York's Institute for Social Research. In 1940 she wrote *The Unemployed Man and His Family.* Through her research and theoretical views, she contributed to an understanding of the part played by women in modern society. In her 1946 paper "Cultural Contradictions and Sex Roles," she sees the role conflict in women as a result of cultural contradictions. Feminine roles traceable to traditional views contradict the modern roles that stem from equalitarian expectations. Her paper "Functional Analysis of Sex Roles" (1950) provides a general analysis of the social factors that define women's roles.

In 1948 she was promoted from instructor at Barnard to associate professor; in 1954 she became a full professor. Komarovsky urged that all students be prepared for careers, that good nursery schools be made universally available, and that men accept their fair share of domestic work.

In 1970 Komarovsky retired from Barnard and was named professor emeritus, continuing to teach part time until 1992. In 1973, in recognition of her pioneering challenge to the functionalist approach in sociology, the American Sociological Association elected her president, an honor previously accorded only one other woman: Dorothy S. Thomas. In 1978–79 she served as chair of the newly created Women's Studies program at Barnard. In 1991 she received the Distinguished Career Award from the American Sociological Association.

Other books by Komarovsky include *Women in the Modern World* (1953), *Common Frontiers of the Social Sciences* (1957), *Blue-Collar Marriage* (with J.H. Philips, 1964), *Sociology and Public Policy* (1975), *Dilemmas of Masculinity* (1976), *Common Frontiers of the Social Sciences* (1978), and *Women in College* (1985).

[Louis Miller / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

KOMLÓS (originally **Kredens**), **ALADÁR** (1892–1980), Hungarian poet, author, and literary scholar. Komlós was born at Alsósztregova. After the 1918–19 revolution he went to Vienna and for a time was on the editorial boards of the radical newspapers *Bécsi Magyar Ujság* and *Jövő*. Between the world wars, Komlós taught at the Jewish high school in Budapest. In World War II he was saved from arrest by the Gestapo by joining the group associated with Rudolf *Kasztner. He was in the Bergen-Belsen concentration camp, from where he was sent to Switzerland, and then returned to Hungary. After the war he became a lecturer at Budapest University, but was removed from his post in 1950. The university later appointed him a professor, and he was also chairman of the Hungarian Literary Society. Komlós' first book of verse was *Voltam poéta én is* ("I too was a poet," 1921), and this was followed by two other volumes, *A néma őrült arca* ("The Face of the Silent Madman," 1931) and *Himnusz a mosolyhoz* ("Hymn to the Smile," 1941). He was mainly distinguished, however, as a literary scholar and critic, particularly as the author of a monumental work on modern poetry, *Az új magyar lira* ("The New Hungarian Lyrics," 1928). His essays, which appeared in important periodicals, are delicate and systematic analyses of contemporary works, and masterpieces of scholarship. Most noteworthy are his books *Irók és elvek* ("Authors and Principles," 1937) and *Táguló irodalom* ("Expanding Literature," 1967). In addition to his work as a scholar, Komlós continued to write prose. He published two novels of an exceptionally high standard: *Római kaland* ("Adventure in Rome," 1933), and *Néro és a VII^a* ("Nero and the Seventh Grade," 1935). Komlós never concealed his opinions on general and Jewish matters. During the Hungarian "White Terror," his book *Zsidók a válaszuton* ("Jews at the Crossroads," 1920) attacked assimilationist Jewish leaders. In his essays, Komlós analyzes with keen perception the works and attitude to Judaism of Jewish authors such as Sándor *Bródy, M. Földi, and Béla *Zsolt. In his penetrating and logical investigation of the Jewish soul, *A zsidó lélek* (1927) – or the Jewish joke – *A zsidó vicc* (1934) – he claimed that the Jew must equate himself with the world and his surroundings, but foremost with himself. Several of his poems are on Jewish themes. He also edited an anthology of Jewish poetry and the Hungarian Jewish yearbook, *Ararat* (1939–44). He began writing a history of Hungarian-Jewish literature, but only excerpts have been published.

[Baruch Yaron]

KOMOLY (originally **Kohn**), **OTTÓ** (1892–1945), Hungarian Zionist leader. Born in Budapest, he studied engineering. He was wounded in World War I and received military awards. Afterward a member in the reserves, he rose to the rank of captain, an unusual achievement for a Jew at that time. He published two books on Zionist matters: under the name Kohn, O., *A zsidó nép jövője* ("The Future of the Jewish People," 1919) and under Komoly, O., *Cionista életszemlélet* ("Zionist View of Life," 1942). He also wrote a book dealing with problems in construction engineering. In 1940, Komoly was elected deputy chairman of the Zionist federation of Hungary, becoming its chairman in 1941.

In 1943 he was elected chairman of the underground Relief and Rescue Committee. His deputy was Rezső (Israel) *Kasztner. Komoly attempted to rouse the progressive and humanitarian individuals in Hungarian society to protest against the Nazi extermination program against the Jews. For this purpose he formed ties with church leaders, diplomats, members of parliament, and even with the regent Miklós Horthy's son, who passed information on to his father. Komoly helped organize the rescue train which led 1,686 Jews to safety outside Hungary. When Ferenc *Szálasi took over rule, Komoly continued his work under the auspices of the International Red Cross, which made him their representative in Hungary. However, *Arrow Cross leaders abducted him, and killed him. After the liberation, Komoly was posthumously awarded Hungary's highest distinction – the "Hungarian Freedom Order." In Israel, Komoly's Hebrew name was given to moshav Yad Natan in the Adullam Region.

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[Yehouda Marton]

KOMOR, ANDRAS (1898–1944), Hungarian poet and author. Komor's verse collections, notably *Allomás* ("Station," 1925) and *Jane and Johnny* (1928), dealt with the self-doubting intellectual and were influenced by Claudel. His stories, such as *Fischmann S. utódai* ("The heirs of S. Fischmann," 1929) and *A varázsló* ("The Magician," 1927), dealt either with Jewish middle-class life or with the world of children. He committed suicide when threatened with deportation to a Nazi labor camp.

KOMPERT, LEOPOLD (1822–1886), Austrian writer, celebrated in his days mainly for Bohemian Ghetto-Tales. A native of Muenchengraetz (Mnichovo Hradiště, Bohemia), he moved in 1837 to Prague and in 1839 to Vienna to study philosophy and medicine but had to interrupt his studies to earn his living as a private tutor (Hofmeister). In 1840 he traveled through Hungary, and then stayed in Pressburg as a journalist, publishing in *Pressburger Zeitung* and the German-language literary periodical *Pannonia*, in which he published his first articles on Hungarian life (*Reisebilder aus Ungarn*, 1841). In 1843 he returned to Hungary as a tutor and published his novel *Roman der Puszta*. Ludwig August *Frankl asked him to write for the Vienna *Sonntagsblaetter*, in which he published his first picture of Jewish life, "Die Schnorrer," 1846. His first collection of Ghetto-Tales, *Aus dem Ghetto*, was published in 1848 and became a big success (1850^2, 1859^3). Joining the *Oesterreichisches Central-Organ für Glaubensfreiheit, Cultur, Geschichte und Literatur der Juden* in 1848, he campaigned for "right, not rights" *(Recht, nicht Rechte)* for the Jews, particularly the poor and uneducated ones. Although Kompert acclaimed its democratic and social aims, he was deeply disappointed by the anti-Jewish riots in Prague (from April until June 1848) which accompanied the revolution there; therefore he wrote an article urging the suppressed and plundered Jews to emigrate to the United States (*Österr. Central-Organ*, May 6, 1848, reprinted by Kisch, AJHSP 38:98–201).

In 1848 Kompert settled in Vienna as a journalist (*Oesterreichischer Lloyd*, 1848–52); in the following years he published a number of collections of Ghetto-Tales, such as *Boehmische Juden* (1851), *Neue Geschichten aus dem Ghetto* (2 vols., 1860), and *Geschichten einer Gasse* (2 vols., 1865), which established his international reputation. Some of them were translated into English, *Scenes from the Ghetto* (1882), *The Silent Woman* (1890), and *Christian and Leah: Other Ghetto Stories* (1895). His stories were based on personal observation, childhood memories, and incidents related by his elders. In a romantic vein, they were intended for the assimilated Western Jewish but also gentile readers; some of them are nostalgic, some deal with the confrontation of Jews and gentiles. In many of them Kompert deals with mixed marriage, which is the central problem of his novel *Zwischen Ruinen* (3 vols., 1875). His novel *Am Pflug* (2 vols., 1855) intended to encourage the Jews to take up agriculture and made a strong impression on Jewish youth in Eastern Europe at the time of the Second and Third Aliyah (in the first two decades of the 20th century) in the original and the Hebrew translation. His last work, the novel *Franzi und Heini: Geschichte zweier Wiener Kinder* (2 vols., 1881), deals with non-Jewish schoolchildren, but a Jewish woman peddler is a major figure. Kompert was coeditor of the *Jahrbuch fuer Israeliten* (1859–65). He also co-edited the **Neuzeit* with Simon Szánto. In his later years he was active in Jewish affairs and in Viennese civic life, taking an especial interest in education and the welfare of orphans. Two editions of his collected writings were published, in 1882–83, reprinted in 1887 and in 1906. New editions in German are *Ghetto-Geschichten* (1988); *Der Dorfgeher* (1997); and *Die Kinder des Randars* (1998).

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[Sol Liptzin / Archiv Bibliographia Judaica (2nd ed.)]

KOMROFF, MANUEL (1890–1974), U.S. journalist, editor, and author. He enjoyed a varied career in the arts and journalism, writing musical scores for motion pictures and working for the China Press in Shanghai. Among his works are a volume of short stories, *A Grace of Lambs* (1925), a volume entitled *Oriental Romances* (1930), and the novel *Coronet* (1929). He also published his autobiographical reminiscences, *Big City, Little Boy* (1953).

KOMZET, committee for the agricultural settlement of Jews under the auspices of the Presidium of the Nationality Council, of the Central Executive Committee of the U.S.S.R. (VTSIK). Komzet was established on August 29, 1924, with the aim of productivizing the Jewish population primarily by engaging it in agricultural labor. This followed the massive impoverishment of the Soviet Jewish population which had been hard hit by pogroms, government requisitioning of property during the Military Communism period (beginning of the 1920s), the general economic disaster in the country, and the heavy burden of taxes. Among the Jews the number of persons classified as "without definite occupation," such as merchants, religious functionaries, etc., deprived of voting and other civil rights, such as state schooling, or state medical help (*lishentsy*), reached massive proportions, amounting in 1926–27 to 30% (reaching 40% in the *shtetls*) of the recognized laboring population among the Jews of the Ukraine.

The Komzet was empowered to organize Jewish settlement and regions, recruit Jewish settlers, and care for them on their journeys and until they became established in their new locations. Komzet had departments with a special recruiting office attached to the central executive committees of the Soviet Union's republics. It received significant assistance from Jewish philanthropic organizations abroad such as Agro-Joint (see *American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee), the Jewish Colonization Association, and *ORT.

As early as 1924 Komzet began establishing new Jewish villages in the Ukraine. Poor *shtetl* Jews were resettled on uncultivated land while the allocation of land was intended to unite the previously Jewish agricultural settlements destroyed in the Civil War into a compact area populated by Jews. Thus in the late 1920s three Jewish national regions were established in the Ukraine: *Kalinindorf, *Novo-Zlatopol, and *Stalindorf. By 1936 Jewish collective farms occupied 175,000 hectares in the Ukraine.

In the mid-1920s Komzet proposed large-scale Jewish agricultural settlement as the only way to solve the Jewish problem in the Soviet Union and as an alternative to Zionism. The area initially allocated for this purpose was the uninhabited and agriculturally quite inappropriate northern and northwestern steppe region of the Crimea. Komzet hoped to cover the preliminary expenses for preparing the land by receiving funds and farm machinery from abroad. Of the 22.5 million rubles expended before 1929 on settling Jews on the land in the U.S.S.R., 16.7 million rubles (74.2%) came from abroad. In the Crimea the Jewish settlers were allocated 342,000 hectares mainly in the Yevpatoria and Dzhankoysk regions of which, in 1930, 240,000 were allocated to the (Fraydorf) Jewish National Region. In 1927 a plan was proposed for massive Jewish settlement in one of the Amur regions; due to the tensions in this area, close to the Chinese border, it was considered of paramount political and strategic importance and its settlement was of top priority for the Soviet government. In the spring of 1927 Komzet decided to send to the *Birsko-Bidzhan of the Far Eastern Territory a scientific expedition to explore the possibilities for resettling large numbers of people there. Despite the less than enthusiastic report of the expedition and the objections of some of the leaders of the *Yevsektsiya (the Jewish section of the Communist Party), the presidium of the Central Executive Committee of the U.S.S.R. on March 28, 1928, resolved to charge Komzet with responsibility for settling the Birobidzhan region, and in the event of favorable results, to have the possibility of establishing a national administrative-territorial region. From that time all of Komzet's activity was basically connected with the Birobidzhan project. On January 10 and 26, 1928, the Central Executive Committee of the U.S.S.R. lifted the deprivations of rights for the Jews who settled in the framework of the Komzet.

Komzet also operated, on a smaller scale, in Belorussia (where the Jewish population was allocated 22,000 hectares), in the Smolensk area, and also among the Soviet Asian Jewish communities. In the last context, ten collective farms of Bukharan Jews were established in Uzbekistan, 15 collective farms of Georgian Jews were established in Georgia, and collective farms of Mountain Jews were established in Daghestan, Azarbaijan, the northern Caucasus, and in the Crimea.

In 1928 Komzet drew up a five-year plan for the restructuring of the social composition of the Jewish population of the U.S.S.R. The plan projected that by 1933, 250,000 Jews (compared with 100,000 in 1927–28) would be employed in agriculture, that 70,000 scholarship students (vs. 30,000 in 1929/30) would be sent to technical schools, and that artisans cooperatives would be formed which would number only 200,000 (vs. 293,000 in 1929/30). A long-range plan of Komzet envisaged half a million Jews in agricultural labor but this was never realized. In 1936 there were slightly more than 200,000 Jewish agricultural workers farming approximately 250,000 hectares. The heads of the Komzet were non-Jews, P. Smodovich (1924–35) and S. Chutskayev (1935–38), and their deputies were Jewish Yevsektsiya activists, A. Merezhin and B. Troitski. During the period of mass repression in the mid-1930s the activities of Komzet were practically halted. In the summer of 1938, it was liquidated.

[Mark Kipnis / *The Shorter Jewish Encyclopaedia in Russian*]

KON, FELIKS (1864–1941), Communist politician and journalist. Born in Warsaw, Kon was arrested in 1884 and sentenced to 11 years' hard labor as a revolutionary. In Siberia he conducted ethnographic and anthropological research, and met Russian revolutionary leaders, including Lenin. Returning to Warsaw in 1904, Kon became a leader of the Polish Socialist Party's left wing. Arrested again in 1906, he was exiled to Galicia (then in Austria), where he published *Historja ruchu rewolucyjnego w Rosji* ("History of the Revolutionary Movement in Russia," 1908) and *Sądy wojenne w Królestwie Polskim* ("Military Courts in Congress Poland," 1909). After the February Revolution (1917) he went to Russia and was active in Polish affairs there. He joined the Communist Party, serving as a member of its Polish bureau. Kon was also a member of the Provisional Polish Revolutionary Committee established in Bialystok during the Russo-Polish War of 1920–21. His writings include *Sovremennaya Polsha* ("Contemporary Poland," 1924) and *Natsionalny vopros v Polshe* ("The National Question in Poland," 1927). He also published a biography of F. Dzierżyński (1936), and a bio-bibliographical dictionary of leading revolutionaries entitled *Deyateli revolyutsionnogo dvizheniya* (5 vols., 1927–33). He was a leading political journalist in the U.S.S.R., editing *Krasnaya Zvezda* (1925–28), *Rabochaya Gazeta* (1928–30), and *Nasha Strana* (1937–41). During the Stalinist "purges" he fell into disfavor, but on the outbreak of war between Germany and the U.S.S.R. (1941), he participated in Polish broadcasts from Moscow. His memoirs, *Za pyatdesyat let*, appeared in four volumes in 1932–34.

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KONFINO, ŽAK (1892–1975), physician and author. Konfino, who was born in Leskovac (Serbia), practiced as a physician until World War II and only began to write at the age of 40. Two of his early works were books of short stories: *Moji opštinari* ("Members of My Community," 1934) and *Lica i naličja* ("Heads and Tails," 1936). Serving in the Yugoslav army in the war, he was captured by the Italians in 1941 and sent to a POW camp, from which he managed to escape to Switzerland. He returned to Belgrade in 1944 and became a full-time writer, coming to be regarded as one of Yugoslavia's outstanding satirists. Two themes are especially important in his works: the day-to-day life of Sephardi Jews in Serbia and the psychological relationship between doctor and patient. His books include the novel *Moje jedinče* ("My Only Child," 1952) and two collections of short stories: *Lekareve priče* ("The Doctor's Tales," 1953) and *Nove humoreske* ("New Humoristic Tales," 1960). His plays for stage, radio, and television include the comedies, *Siroto moje pametno dete* ("My Poor, Clever Child," 1957) and *Eksperiment* (1962). The latter was staged in Warsaw, and his works appeared in translation in many countries. He translated *Shalom Aleichem's *Marienbad* into Serbo-Croat. He also wrote the novel *Jesi li Ti razapeo Hrista* ("Did You Crucify Jesus?" 1968).

In the post-World War II era, he was member of the Board of the Jewish Federation. In a letter to his colleagues on the Board dated June 29, 1946, he stressed the special character and near totality of Jewish losses in the Holocaust. Only two of his short stories appeared in Hebrew translation.

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[Zdenko Lowenthal]

KONIG, LEA, Israeli actress. Born in Poland, Konig moved to Romania after World War II. She studied acting at the Romanian Academy of Art in Bucharest and from the age of 17 appeared with the National Jewish Theater. After immigrating to Israel in 1961 she studied Hebrew and continued her acting career. In 1987 she was awarded the Israel Prize for theater, cinema, and television arts. In 1997 she was awarded the Rosenblum Prize for theater. She has appeared in more than 50 roles, ranging from the classical repertoire to the modern and has always maintained her connection to Yiddish theater. At an advanced age, she continued performing in various plays at the Habimah Theater.

KONIN, town in the province of Poznan, central Poland. The Jewish settlement there was among the first 12 to be established in Poland. The earliest information on the Jews of Konin dates from 1397. At the close of the 15th century approximately 150 Jews lived in the town, inhabiting 12 wooden houses, and engaged in moneylending, commerce, and crafts. After a great fire there, the number of Jews decreased considerably. During the early years of the 18th century the Jewish settlement again began to grow. According to the census of 1765, 30 Jewish families, comprising 133 individuals who were liable to poll tax, lived in Konin. Between 1580 and 1764 the local Jews were affiliated with the community of *Kalisz. A magnificent synagogue was erected in Konin (1763–66), later (1829) decorated by the Jewish artist Zanvel Barash of Kepno.

After Konin passed to Russia (in 1815, becoming part of Congress Poland), it became an important center for trade with Germany, and the Jewish population increased. It numbered 369 in 1807, 872 (24% of the total) in 1827, 2,006 (39%) in 1857, 2,502 in 1897. Wealthy Jews engaged in the wholesale trade of salt and timber and established flour mills and a textile industry. From 1810 to 1849, the rabbi of Konin was Ẓevi Amsterdam. He was succeeded by Ẓevi Auerbach of Leszno. The last rabbi of Konin, Jacob Lipshitz, officiated from 1906 until the annihilation of the community in 1941.

During World War I, Jewish political organizations became active. A Zionist society was formed, consisting of about 200 members in 1915. The *Bund and *Po'alei Zion were also active, and a *Maccabi sports group was established. A Jewish wine merchant, Bernard Danziger, was appointed mayor of the town. According to the Polish census of 1921, there were

2,902 Jews in Konin (29% of the total population). Between 1920 and 1929, a Jewish secondary school functioned which was attended by 200 pupils. Its directors included the physicist Leopold *Infeld. A Jewish library was opened in 1902. In 1933, a training kibbutz of *He-Ḥalutz was organized.

[Arthur Cygielman]

Holocaust Period

There were approximately 3,000 Jews living in Konin in 1939. After the occupation of Konin by the Germans they took Jewish hostages, some of whom were executed in the market place on the Day of Atonement. On the following day the rabbi of Konin and other Jewish leaders were forced to clean the streets and to perform other humiliating tasks. A few days later many Jewish families were forced to evacuate their homes within ten minutes, and 1,100 evicted Jews were deported to the Kielce district. In the middle of July 1940 the Jewish community of Konin was liquidated when the local Jews with Jewish refugees who had arrived there were expelled to ghettos in central Poland and the rest were murdered in the forests. A small Jewish labor camp with about 1,000 persons existed near Konin until August 1943.

[Danuta Dombrowska]

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KONITZ (Pol. **Chojnice**), town in Poland, until 1918 in Germany, scene of a 20th-century *blood libel. Although a few Jews probably lived and traded in Konitz from the middle of the 15th century, the first Jewish resident is mentioned in 1767. After *Hardenberg's decree of 1812, a steady stream of Jewish emigrants came to the town (80 attained citizenship in 1813–50), and in 1856 the Jewish population totaled 429. On March 15, 1900, the dismembered body of Ernst Winter, aged 19, was found in the river. The police charged a number of Jews on flimsy and insubstantial grounds. The first defendant, Israelski, was acquitted, but the crime was defined as ritual murder. Antisemites accused the authorities of shielding Jewish suspects and anti-Jewish riots broke out; the synagogue was attacked, and widespread agitation and unrest shocked the world. Adolf Lewy and his son Moritz, butchers, were accused of the ritual murder of Winter on the prefabricated evidence of a petty thief, B. Masloff. Moritz was acquitted of the murder charge but sentenced to four years' imprisonment for denying that he was acquainted with the victim. The jury awarded Masloff the minimal sentence, one year, for perjury, and petitioned for his pardon. However, William II granted a pardon to Moritz but refused to give one to Masloff. The Jewish population of Konitz subsequently declined (many were economically ruined) to 257 in 1913. After World War I, when the town was annexed to Poland, the number of Jews declined further, to 110 in 1920. Jews have not lived there since World War II.

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KONITZ, LEE (1927–), U.S. alto and soprano saxophonist. With his coolly geometric lines and lightly breathy tone with just the faintest hint of vibrato, Konitz's playing is instantly recognizable; his creativity and longevity have allowed him to bestride post-World War II jazz like a colossus. Konitz was the first major voice on alto to emerge after Charlie Parker, a disciple of pianist-composer Lennie Tristano whose improvisations reflected his mentor's cerebral approach to the music. Born in Chicago and originally trained as a clarinetist, Konitz played locally before joining Jerry Wald and then Claude Thornhill. While in Thornhill's band, he met arranger Gil Evans, which led to Konitz's participation in the pivotal Miles Davis "Birth of the Cool" sessions in 1949–50. After a stint in the Stan Kenton Orchestra, he joined forces with Tristano, being paired with tenor player Warne Marsh, with whom he would play frequently over the next five decades. After leaving Tristano towards the end of the 1950s, Konitz would experiment with a wide range of jazz contexts, a practice he continued throughout his career. Konitz has said, "The concentration involved and the ability to play spontaneously and with other people, that's an extreme challenge that I welcome every time." His openness to that challenge and to new developments in the music resulted in a fruitful and prolific discography totaling well over a hundred recordings. He was awarded the Jazzpar Prize for career achievement in 1992.

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[George Robinson (2nd ed.)]

KONOTOP, Sumy district in Ukraine. At the beginning of the 19th century, only about 80 Jews lived in Konotop, but by 1847 the number had grown to 521. Jewish life in the town during the 19th century is described in her memoirs by Pauline *Wengeroff, who lived there for some years. The numbers increased considerably during the second half of the 19th century as a result of the movement of Jews from the northwestern provinces of the *Pale of Settlement to the southeastern ones, reaching 4,426 (23.5% of the total population) in 1897. On April 29, 1881, the Jews of Konotop suffered from a pogrom which left one dead, and many destroyed houses. They were again attacked during the Civil War by the volunteer army of General *Denikin on September 19, 1919; six were killed, ten injured, women were raped, and houses robbed. With the establishment of the Soviet regime, about 500 artisans were organized in cooperatives and had a savings and loan fund. Komzet sent 83 Jewish families from Konotop to farm in the Kherson Jewish colonies. In 1926 there were 5,763 Jews (17.2% of the population) in Konotop, dropping to 3,941 (8.6% of the total population) in 1939. The Germans occupied the town on September 9, 1941; in the first few days they killed 123 Jews. Later registration showed 1,000 Jews in Konotop, and they were ordered to wear the yellow badge and report for forced labor. In early November they were concentrated mostly in the local prison, and shortly thereafter all were murdered. Jews returned there after the war. In 1959 there were 1,900 Jews, and in 1970 their number was estimated at about 250 (50 families).

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[Yehuda Slutsky / Shmuel Spector (2nd ed.)]

KONRÁD, GYÖRGY (1933–), Hungarian author and sociologist. Konrad's first novel, *A látogató* (1969; Eng., *The Case Worker*, 1987), and a later one, *A városalapitó* (1977; Eng., *The City Builder*, 1987), caused considerable outcry in official circles, and – until 1987 – publication of most of his works was prohibited in Hungary.

[Eva Kondor]

KONSKIE (Pol. **Końskie**; Rus. **Konsk**), town in the province of Kielce, E. central Poland. In 1588 the Jews of Konskie were granted a privilege by King Sigismund III Vasa allowing them to buy without hindrance food and other goods in all the cities, towns, and villages of the kingdom. In 1635 King Ladislas IV ratified these rights, also granting the Jews permission to build houses in Konskie and to engage in trade. After 1748, when Konskie was granted the status of a town, the number of Jews increased; in 1796 there were 2,534 Jews (62% of the total population). The town developed in the 19th century and 4,450 Jews (54.7% of the total population) lived there in 1897. By 1921 the number had risen to 5,037 (61.2%). In independent Poland after World War I, the Jews in Konskie had an active communal life. The main Jewish parties were represented in the municipality, headed by the *Bund. In an effort to increase its influence on the community administration in 1931, *Agudat Israel used its prerogative to deny right of election to nonreligious Jews. With the increasing antisemitism in Poland in the 1930s, attempts were made to oust the Jews from economic life; there were anti-Jewish attacks in 1931, and in 1937 pogroms accompanied by an economic boycott.

[Shimshon Leib Kirshenboim]

Holocaust Period

In 1939, 6,500 Jews lived in Konskie. The German army entered the town on Sept. 6, 1939. In February 1941 about 1,200 Jews from *Plock were expelled to Konskie. The following month a ghetto, consisting of two sections, was established in the town. On Dec. 10, 1941, a decree was issued carrying the death penalty for anyone crossing the ghetto boundary. During the summer of 1942 about 1,500 Jews from the smaller towns nearby were deported to Konskie, and the ghetto population swelled to about 9,000. On November 3–9, 1942, the Germans carried out an *Aktion* in which almost the entire Jewish population was deported to the *Treblinka death camp via *Szydlowiec. On January 13, 1943, the remaining Jews were also sent to Trebkinka. After the war the Jewish community in Konskie was not rebuilt.

[Stefan Krakowski]

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KONSKOWOLA (Pol. **Końskawola**), small town near Pulawy, Lublin province, Poland. In 1712 the lady of the manor, Helena Czartoryska, permitted Jews to settle and to acquire real estate. In 1765 the Jewish community numbered 643 poll tax payers, 569 in the township and 74 in 11 villages. In 1776, during the census of Jewish books, 519 books were taxed in Konskowola. In 1816, 40 Jewish families applied to Prince Czartoryski requesting agricultural land for settlement. The Jewish population numbered 872 (44% of the total) in 1827, 1,536 (59%) in 1857, 1,453 (52%) in 1897, and 876 (53.6%) in 1921. Before the outbreak of World War II there were about 1,100 Jews in Konskowola. At the end of 1940 a ghetto was established there. On May 8, 1942, 1,600 of the 2,000 Jews in the ghetto (including refugees) were sent to Sobibor, to be replaced by about 3,000 Jews from Slovakia and additional refugees. Around 3,000 of them were sent to labor camps and in October 1942, 1,000 "unproductive" Jews, including women and children, were executed outside the town. The labor camps were liquidated in May 1943. No Jewish community was subsequently reconstituted in Konskowola.

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[Stefan Krakowski]

KONVITZ, JOSEPH (1878–1944), Ereẓ Israel and U.S. rabbi. Konvitz was born in Kaisiadorys, Kovno province, Lithuania. He joined the Kneset Israel Yeshivah in Slobodka at the age of 12, and was already recognized for his scholarly ability when he was 19. He was one of the ten students at the yeshivah selected to form the nucleus of the new yeshivah at Slutsk founded by Rabbi Jacob David *Willowski (the Ridbaz), whose daughter he subsequently married. After serving as rabbi of Shadov (Seduva) from 1902 to 1903 and of Kowarsk from 1903, both in the province of Kovno, he immigrated to Ereẓ Israel in 1906, settling in Safed, where the Ridbaz had established a yeshivah, and serving as *rosh yeshivah* and rabbi there until 1914. In that year he was visiting the United States on behalf of the Safed yeshivah when the outbreak of World War I made it impossible for him to return to his home. He settled in the United States and was appointed rabbi of the united Orthodox congregations of Elizabeth, N.J. (1915–19), Trenton, N.J. (1919–24), and several leading congregations in Newark, N.J. (1924–44). Konvitz was soon recognized as a leading Orthodox rabbi, both on account of his scholarship and of his ability to mediate and settle communal disputes. He was president of the Union of Orthodox Rabbis of the United States and Canada (Agudat Harabbonim) from 1933 to 1939, and honorary president until his death. He was closely identified with Orthodox institutions in Jerusalem and with the rescue of rabbis and scholars from Europe and the transfer of yeshivot from Europe to Israel during World War II. In addition to his halakhic contributions to rabbinical periodicals, his selected responsa, novellae, and sermons, *Divrei Yosef*, have been published (vol. 1, 1947, vol. 2, 1948). After his death, the Yeshivah Rabbi Joseph Konvitz, an all-day modern Orthodox school on New York's East Side, was established in his memory.

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KONVITZ, MILTON RIDVAS (1908–2003), U.S. legal scholar. His father and maternal grandfather were distinguished rabbis. He was born in Safed in Ereẓ Israel and taken to the United States in 1915. He received his B.A. (1929) and law degree (1930) from New York University and his Ph.D. in philosophy from Cornell University (1933). He practiced law for a number of years in New Jersey as general counsel for the Newark and New Jersey housing authorities; he was also staff counsel of the American Civil Liberties Union, and assistant counsel of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). After teaching law and public administration at New York University, he joined the Cornell faculty in 1946 as an associate professor in the New York State School of Industrial and Labor Relations, was made full professor in 1949, and was appointed professor in the law school in 1956. He retired from Cornell in 1973 and was named professor emeritus.

At Cornell, Konvitz was a founder of the university's Department of Near Eastern Studies and Program of Jewish Studies. He also helped to initiate Young Israel House, where Orthodox Jewish students could reside, have kosher meals, conduct daily prayer services, and study religious texts. Konvitz was renowned for his two-semester American Ideals course, which introduced students to the great thinkers and philosophers throughout history whose writings had shaped those ideals. In teaching the course to more than 8,000 students during his career, he is said to never have delivered the same lecture twice.

His article "Judaism and the Democratic Ideal" appeared in *The Jews: Their History, Culture, and Religion* (ed. by L. Finkelstein (1960^3), 1430–51). In the article he points out that although Judaism has often had to accommodate itself to the accidents of time and place, the spirit and energy of democracy are at the very heart of Judaism; the Torah is its constitution; and, as elaborated in the Bible and by the rabbis, Judaism has as one of its fundamental precepts the equality of all men before God.

Konvitz was director of the project that drew up the official body of statutory law now used in Liberia. In 1959 he went there to advise the government on new labor legislation. The Liberian government honored him with the Grand Band of the Order of the Star of Africa, the highest award given to foreigners. In 1998 Cornell established the Milton R. Konvitz Professorship of Jewish and Near Eastern Studies in the university's Jewish Studies program.

Konvitz wrote a number of articles and books dealing with civil rights. He was co-founder of the periodicals *Midstream, Judaism,* and *Journal of Law and Religion*. He also served as the *Encyclopaedia Judaica* departmental editor (first edition) on law and on socialism in the United States. Among his books are *The Constitution and Civil Rights* (1947), *Fundamental Liberties of a Free People* (1957), *A Century of Civil Rights* (1961), *Expanding Liberties* (1966), *Religious Liberty and Conscience* (1968), *A Century of Civil Rights* (1983), *Torah and Constitution* (1998), and *Judaism and Human Rights* (2001^2). He also edited *Bill of Rights Reader* (1968^4), *First Amendment Freedoms* (1963), and *Aspects of Liberty* (with C. Rossiter, 1958).

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[Charles Reznikoff / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

KOOK (**Kuk**), **ABRAHAM ISAAC** (1865–1935), rabbinical authority and thinker; first Ashkenazi chief rabbi of modern Ereẓ Israel. Born in Greiva (now Griva), Latvia, Kook received the type of Jewish education that was customary in 19th-century Eastern Europe. At a very early age he showed independence of mind and far-reaching curiosity. Desirous to supplement his traditional education which was restricted to the study of Talmud, he undertook the study of the Bible, Hebrew language, Jewish and general philosophy, and mysticism. In 1888 he was appointed rabbi of Zaumel, and in 1895 became rabbi of Bausk (now Bauska). In 1904 he immigrated to Ereẓ Israel, where he served as rabbi of Jaffa and the surrounding towns. There he fostered close ties with people of all shades of opinion and belief. He identified with the Zionist movement, thus antagonizing the rabbinical establishment, and at the same time, engaged in a vigorous debate with the irreligious pioneers and laid the foundations for a Religious Zionism that did not settle for the political pragmatism of the *Mizrachi (the Religious Zionist Movement) or that of Binyamin Ze'ev Theodor *Herzl, the founder of the Zionist Movement, but sought to view Zionism as a process of redemption, of repentance, and of an overall Jewish renaissance. Rabbi Kook was a man of complexity whose persona unified opposing spiritual worlds: the Lithuanian Torah scholarship with the ḥasidic spiritual experience, a commitment to *halakhah* and Jewish tradition with a modern worldview and Western culture and philosophy, a tendency towards spirituality and mysticism with full involvement in the practical matters of rabbinic and public leadership. In his effort to urge traditional Jews to fulfill the Zionist ideal, he traveled to Europe in 1914 to participate in a conference of *Agudat Israel. Unable to return to Ereẓ Israel because of the outbreak of World War I, Kook spent the war years 1914–18 in Switzerland and accepted a temporary position as the rabbi of the Maḥzikei ha-Dat congregation in London, where he was very active in trying to influence the Jews of England to back Zionist political activity. Upon returning to Palestine after the war, Kook was appointed chief rabbi of Jerusalem, and with the formation of the chief rabbinate in 1921 he was elected the first Ashkenazi chief rabbi of Palestine.

Kook developed his own views on the role of *Zionism in Jewish history. He held that the return to Ereẓ Israel marked the beginning of divine redemption (*atḥalta di-ge'ullah*), and that the *Balfour Declaration of 1917 had ushered in a new era in the renewal of the Jewish people. However, in his view, the existing Zionist movement was incomplete insofar as it had taken up only the revival of the secular and material needs of the Jewish people. In the beginning of 1918 he published an open letter, in which he called upon Jews the world over to help in setting up the Degel Yerushalayim movement, which was to emphasize the spiritual aspects of the national revival. For a short while Kook's movement created some interest. However, this interest soon spent itself, and before long, the movement was entirely forgotten.

Kook was often misunderstood by the irreligious and despised by religious extremists. His relations with the religious Zionist party, *Mizrachi, were ambivalent. He made it clear that, while he was glad of its existence, he viewed it as a political party which was out to safeguard purely practical religious interests. He was also continually at odds with the rabbis. While Kook thought of the chief rabbinate in Palestine as the first step toward the revival of the Sanhedrin, the majority of the rabbis were concerned with the preservation of the traditional patterns of rabbinical authority.

Kook also formulated a new program for yeshivah education. Critical of the yeshivot of his time for excluding secular subjects from the curriculum, Kook dreamed of establishing a yeshivah which would present to the student an integrated program of higher Jewish education. Students would be chosen not only on the basis of proficiency in Talmud but also on the basis of their knowledge of Bible. Emphasis would be placed on the development of a lucid style in both writing and speaking, for Kook hoped that the graduates would become teachers and spiritual leaders in their communities. While this ambitious program was never put into practice, Kook did, in 1924, set up a yeshivah in Jerusalem which was unique among yeshivot in its religious philosophy and its positive attitude to Zionism. This yeshivah became known as Merkaz ha-Rav.

In the last years of his life, Kook took up an extremely unpopular stance in defense of Stavsky, who was accused of the murder of *Arlosoroff, placing himself in the painful position of fighting the Zionist Labor movement. At the same time the *Neturei Karta zealots kept up their unrelenting campaign of vilification against him. Through out all this, Kook never gave up his love for the whole of the Jewish people, and not surprisingly, this love has been requited by the Jewish masses.

Mysticism

Kook is an example of a rare 20th-century phenomenon – the deeply religious mystic who takes an active interest in human affairs. Rabbi Kook's thought is based on a mystical intuition and on a radically monistic perception. He views reality as an absolute unity whose source is the divine infinity and is expressed in all dimensions of existence: in the cosmic, natural, and physical dimension, in the historical-political and in the cultural dimension. All reality is a revelation or manifestation of the divine. This view led, in turn, to his tolerant and pluralistic outlook, according to which all cultures, each worldview and every ideology, are partial expressions of the divine truth. Despite Kook's basic assumption that no single philosophical or kabbalistic theory can contain the multiple dimensions of existence, and that, therefore, each theory is partial and relative, he nonetheless usually formulated his ideas within a Neoplatonic mystical framework, using concepts borrowed sometimes from the Kabbalah and sometimes from the idealistic European philosophy of the 19th century. He did not regard the Kabbalah simply as an ancient tradition, but also as a discipline of free thought and creativity, which springs from the depths of a person's spirit, and deciphers the secrets of Torah. His contemplative works were, for the most part, not written in a systematic fashion; his writing was automatic and spontaneous, and in general he did not later edit and arrange these writings in book form. His student and friend Rabbi David Cohen ("Ha-Nazir"), who edited a large portion of his works, arranged them in the book called "Lights of Holiness" according to the major topics of philosophical inquiry: epistemology, ontology, and anthropology (including ethics and morality). His nationalist thought is mostly to be found in several essays which were collected in the book "Lights," which was edited by his son, Rabbi Ẓevi Yehudah *Kook.

There existed in Kook's personality a harmonious blending of mystical speculation and practical activities, which led to a synthesis of these two elements in his thought. Most mystical systems insist that man divest himself of the restraints of physical life in order to enable his soul to unite with the ineffable, i.e., to achieve the *unio mystica*. In Kook's system, however, the mystical urge for unity was meant to combine the communicable with the ineffable – to infuse the physical life of man with a religious purpose. There was no stress on self-abnegation in his mysticism.

Kook's personal religious experience moved him to be deeply concerned about the contemporary opposition to religion, and throughout his life he carried on a relentless search for the meaning of religion in the modern world. While identifying with the Zionist movement, he felt that it was a great tragedy that Zionism had sprung up toward the end of the 19th century, at a time when there was a general decline of all religions, including Judaism. Zionism, in his view, was a movement of rebellion, which attracted many of the young Jewish intellectuals who had shaken off their religious faith. He believed that the movement of return to the national homeland should be an essentially religious movement, for it was only in the Land of Israel that the Jewish people could work out its full religious life.

Modern Challenges to Religion

In Jewish life the beginning of the 20th century witnessed the most corroding assimilation and the most exhilarating national revival. Kook, who thoroughly understood his age, characterized his generation in dialectical terms as consisting of clashing opposites: "Ours is a wonderful generation… It consists of opposites, darkness and light exist in confusion."

Kook was convinced that in spite of the decline of religion, humanity had moved to a higher stage in cultural growth. The tragedy of modern man was that he had made tremendous progress in everything but religion, so that religion appeared to have stood still. In Kook's eyes, the secular Zionist undertaking was to be neither ignored nor discounted; it mandated confrontation with the attitudes and philosophical methods pervading contemporary literature and setting the wheels of that generation's social and scientific revolution in motion. Kook could not but remark the progress, the blessing, and the promise brought by these events. In his eyes, the sincerity, search for truth and hatred of fraud expressed in the great rebellion of his era were commendable, and he shared the sense of freedom that characterized it. He felt compelled to find religious meaning for the central processes and spiritual cultural phenomena that deemed religion, at the very least, to be superfluous and completely irrelevant.

Against this background, Kook's thought is revolutionary as well in the realm of Jewish religious thought, as a general philosophy seeking to propose an alternative to all existing systems by reinterpreting reality, human nature, and religion itself. Historical and social reality yields no direct revelation of the religious meaning it contains, and even the classical sources of religious literature do not speak in a language disclosing their "true" meaning in modern concepts. Both reality and religion, therefore, must be interpreted if they are to be understood, enabling one to respond to the divine summons issuing from them. If the most virulent contention of Nietzsche's thought consists in his biting criticism of morality, with its hypocrisy and falsehood, in order to build a new morality on its ruins, we can say that Kook sought to wage war against the religiosity of his age, against the hypocrisy and lies infecting it, not to create a new religion but rather to develop renewed understanding of the meaning of religion. Only through a reinterpretation of religion could one engage in combat on the battlefield of general culture and theology and emerge victorious. What is mandated is by no means a mere apologetics but rather an essential reorientation. His message was addressed first and foremost to observant Jews and to the Jewish people as a whole, and only afterward was it meant to spread further.

Social Philosophy

While criticizing social ideologies that limit their interest to material conditions, Kook at the same time criticized religious people who were not interested in social questions, lashing out against "any ideology that ignores the need of improving the state of the world… and instead hovers in a rarefied atmosphere and boasts of the perfection of the soul."

It is interesting, in this context, to note the surprising resemblance between Kook's reaction to European cogitation and that of another philosopher and theologian of his time, propelled as well by profound religious and moral motives, whose theological formation was also greatly influenced by 19th century philosophy. The man in question is Albert Schweitzer, whose thought is also characterized as "ethical mysticism" and in it a concept of self-perfection is central as well.

The similarity, in other aspects, between Kook and Leonard Ragaz and Teilhard de Chardin has already been pointed out. For Schweitzer and Ragaz, as for Kook, the interest of freedom is primordial. In Ragaz's view, the church and theology would like to imprison God within the narrow confines of ecclesiastical thought, while the holy spirit in fact finds true expression out in the wide word. The kingdom of heaven, which is in effect the kingdom of justice, freedom, and social equality, comes into being wherever God's will is realized in human freedom. These views resemble those expressed by Kook. He addressed the subject directly in one of his letters. "We would not regret it if some quality of cultural justice could be built without any spark or mention of God, for we know that the very aspiration to justice, in any light, is itself the more luminous divine influence" (*Iggerot Rayah*, vol. 1, p. 45).

The Sacred and the Profane

Regarding the idea of holiness, in accordance with his harmonistic view of man and of the world, Kook refused to see a sharp dichotomy between the sacred and the profane, maintaining that all that was essential to human life was potentially sacred. All the advances that men achieved in science were part of the intellectual growth of mankind, and if these advances appeared to undermine religion, this was no reason to suspect their intrinsic value. What was wrong, Kook argued, was not the progress of science but the fact that religious thinking did not progress intellectually at an equal rate.

The physical concerns of man are inseparable from his spiritual aspirations. Kook wrote: "The sacred and the profane together influence the spirit of man and he becomes enriched through absorbing from each of them whatever is suitable." In order for holiness to be achieved, the sacred and profane must be synthesized. The activation of the intellect is a prerequisite for the attainment of holiness, and only the man who is physically healthy can activate his intellect. Using the metaphor of ascending a ladder to describe the process of attaining holiness, Kook compared the physical needs of man to the lowest rungs of the ladder. Just as the lower rungs of the ladder must be climbed before the higher rungs can be reached, so man must satisfy his physical needs before he can attain spiritual perfection.

The interpretation of holiness as being in continuous relation to the profane is "the natural view of holiness." The opposite view of holiness as a state of pure spirituality was criticized by Kook for its one-sidedness and lack of balance. He maintained that this view of holiness became prevalent among the Jewish people in the course of their dispersion, when they were cut off from a normal existence in their homeland and, therefore, called this "the holiness of the exile." The renaissance of a normal Jewish life in the national homeland should bring about the return to the ideal of "normal" holiness.

Science

In an address delivered at the opening ceremony of the Hebrew University in Jerusalem in 1925, Kook advocated the synthesis of religious and secular studies. He maintained that the study of the secular sciences should be complementary to the study of Torah, but warned that the exclusive preoccupation with scientific research would alienate man from ultimate religious values.

Kook was critical of the modern predilection for pure scientific research that deliberately ignores ultimate objectives and consequences. Although pure science can explain much about the things that exist, it cannot "create" their meaning and significance, nor can it give shape and direction to man's life. Contrasting the biblical account of man's origin with the Darwinian theory of the origin of the species, Kook wrote: "It is absolutely immaterial to us whether there was in fact in antiquity a golden age when man enjoyed an abundance of material and spiritual wealth, or whether life began from the bottom and rose from the lowest rung of existence toward a higher, and that it continues upwards. What we must recognize is that it is distinctly possible that man, even after he has risen high, can forfeit everything by wickedness, and that he is likely to harm himself and generations to come. This is what we should learn from the story of Adam in paradise." Rejecting the literal exegesis of the second chapter of Genesis, he maintained that the creation chapters required a profound mystical interpretation. While many people regarded the concept of evolution as a threat to religion, Kook considered evolution congenial to the deeper insights of Jewish mysticism which has always viewed the world as continuously evolving toward the goal of ultimate perfection. Unlike Bergson, who regarded evolution as the product of a blind and undirected *élan vital*, Kook maintained that there was a passionate purpose and direction in evolution – the overwhelming longing of man to cleave to God, which can be attained only through the progressive effort of generations, each moving closer to the goal of holiness.

Universalism and Nationalism

Kook believed that the world is continually evolving toward universalism, which is at present only an ideal toward which man must be educated within individual national units. Nationality is, accordingly, an essential step in the divine scheme of evolution toward universalism. In this scheme Jewish nationality is marked by the concept of "chosenness": the Jews are a people who were designated to "work and toil with the utmost devotion" to further the divine goal of human perfection and universalism. According to Kook, God imposed a divine task upon the Jewish nation, but it is up to the Jews to accept upon themselves and carry out this divine task. Kook's approach to the Zionist Movement was based both on his "historiosophical" religious and metaphysical worldview and on his personal experiences of direct contact with the pioneers of the Second Aliyah. In his eyes, Zionism was an opportunity for an overall Jewish renaissance, and he yearned to witness a far-reaching renewal, not only of the Hebrew language and the Jewish settlement in Israel, but also of Jewish literature, Torah scholarship, and the creative arts, as well as an expansion of the meaning of the Torah itself. All of these changes, he believed, would bring about the establishment of the State of Israel in the Land of Israel, an ideal state that would actualize in all dimensions of its existence the noble ideals of Judaism and thus reveal the kingship of God in the world. He valued the Zionist movement as a practical-political instrument whose function was to realize this vision. He also admired and loved the pioneers, in whom he saw unadulterated idealism and innate moral values. However, he also voiced harsh criticism of both wings of the Zionist Movement, the religious and the secular for their narrow understanding of their role. Kook was actively involved in the Zionist public life and the British Mandate related to him as one of the representatives of the Zionist leadership.

Works

Kook was a prolific writer, who, according to his students, wrote out of the constant urge to create. He never attempted to construct a comprehensive system, and his style mirrors the quality of his personal insights and mystical reflections. Kook's extensive writings traverse a wide range of literary styles and forms. He wrote contemplative compositions, halakhic books, ideological articles and essays, a commentary to the Talmud, poetry, and many letters. His language and style reflect the complex nature of his spiritual world. The unique synthesis found in his writings between mystical concepts and kabbalistic ideas on the one hand, and philosophical thought and his bold and novel interpretation of the meaning of Judaism on the other, as well as the personal and original nature of his thought, required the creation of a new mystical language.

Kook's speculative writings are contained in the following works: *Orot ha-Kodesh*, 4 vols. (1963–64^2); *Iggerot ha-Re'ayah*, 3 vols. (1962–65^2); *Orot* (1961^2); *Orot ha-Teshuvah* (1955^2), translated into English as *Rabbi Kook's Philosophy of Repentance* (1968); *Ereẓ Ḥefeẓ* (1930); *Eder ha-Yekar ve-Ikvei ha-Ẓon* (1967^2); and E. Kalmanson (ed.), *Ha-Maḥashavah ha-Yisre'elit* (1920). The following are among his halahkhic works: *Shabbat ha-Areẓ* (1937^2); *Da'at Kohen* (1942); and *Mishpat Kohen* (1966^2).

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[Zvi Zinger (Yaron) / Benjamin Ish-Shalom (2nd ed.)]

KOOK, HILLEL (1915–2001), political activist in World War II. As a teenager in British Mandatory Palestine in the 1930s, Kook became active in the *Irgun Ẓeva'i Le'ummi, the Jewish underground militia associated with Revisionist Zionist leader Vladimir Ze'ev *Jabotinsky. The Irgun sent Kook to Poland in 1937 to help organize Jewish immigration to Palestine. In 1940, Jabotinsky dispatched Kook and other Irgun emissaries to the United States for fundraising and political activity.

After Jabotinsky's death that year, Kook – using the pseudonym Peter Bergson – and several colleagues created the Committee for a Jewish Army of Stateless and Palestinian Jews, which campaigned for the establishment of a Jewish armed force to fight the Nazis. Their rallies and newspaper advertisements attracted the support of celebrities, intellectuals, and many representatives of Congress. This public pressure, supplemented by the quiet lobbying efforts of major Jewish organizations, ultimately persuaded the British to create the Jewish Brigade.

When news of the Nazi genocide was confirmed by the Allies in late 1942, Bergson shifted his focus and established a new group, the Emergency Committee to Save the Jewish People of Europe. It lobbied Congress, sponsored more than 200 newspaper advertisements, and organized public rallies, including a march of 400 rabbis in Washington. Bergson's campaign culminated in the introduction of a Congressional resolution urging creation of a government agency to rescue Jewish refugees. The Congressional hearings on the resolution, combined with pressure from Treasury Secretary Henry Morgenthau, Jr., convinced President Roosevelt to establish the *War Refugee Board. The Board played a major role in the rescue of more than 200,000 Jews from Hitler.

In 1943–44, Bergson established the American League for Free Palestine, to rally American public support for Jewish statehood, and the Hebrew Committee of National Liberation, to serve as a government-in-exile for the future Jewish state. Through newspaper ads, Congressional lobbying, and theatrical productions, they sought to increase the pressure on the British to withdraw from Palestine.

Bergson's efforts were opposed by some mainstream Jewish leaders, who feared his unorthodox tactics would provoke antisemitism or usurp their positions of leadership in the community. The clashes between the Bergson group and Jewish leaders undermined both sides' political effectiveness.

Reassuming his real name, Kook moved to the newly established State of Israel in 1948, and served a term in the Knesset as a representative of Menaḥem Begin's *Ḥerut Party.

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[Rafael Medoff (2nd ed.)]

KOOK, SAUL ḤONE BEN SOLOMON ZALMAN (1879–1955), Israeli Hebrew writer and scholar. Kook, who was born in Grajewe (Poland), was a younger brother of Rabbi Abraham Isaac *Kook. He studied in yeshivot and with his brother, whom he followed, settled first in Jaffa in 1904, and later in Tel Aviv. Here he engaged in business, and was active in the city's various cultural and educational organizations and institutions. At the same time, he contributed many valuable studies to various journals and periodicals relating to all fields of Jewish scholarship, including Bible, Hebrew linguistics, apocryphal, midrashic and talmudic, geonic and rabbinic literature, folklore, the history of the Jewish settlement in Ereẓ Israel, Hebrew liturgy, and other subjects. His studies were collected and published posthumously in two volumes as *Iyyunim u-Meḥkarim* (1959–63).

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KOOK, ẒEVI JUDAH BEN ABRAHAM ISAAC HA-KOHEN (1891–1982), Israeli *rosh yeshivah*. Born in Zimel, Kovno region, Ẓevi Judah was the only son of A.I. *Kook. In 1904 he settled in Ereẓ Israel with his parents and studied in the yeshivah Eẓ Ḥayyim in Jerusalem. He helped his father with the administration of the central yeshivah of Israel, Yeshivat Merkaz ha-Rav, and after his father's death in 1935, succeeded him as its head, together with his brother-in-law, Shalom Nathan-Ra'anan (d. 1972). Continuing his father's thought and method in education, he succeeded in educating thousands of pupils from all sections of the population. His positive attitude toward the State of Israel influenced the yeshivah. He published innumerable articles, mainly dealing with the halakhic attitude to topical events, and some were collected in the work *Li-Netivot Yisrael* (1967). He also devoted himself to editing and publishing his father's writings with source references and notes.

Following the Six-Day War the aged Rabbi Kook achieved considerable prominence as the spiritual father of Gush Emunim, and generally adopted an extreme nationalistic view, strenuously advocating the right of the Jews to the whole of Ereẓ Israel and opposing any withdrawal.

KOPELMAN, ARIE LEONARD (1938–), U.S. businessman. Born in Brookline, Mass., and brought up in Boston, Kopelman spent the first part of his professional life as a highly accomplished advertising executive, then achieved even greater success at Chanel, the Paris-based fashion and fragrance house. Although he was nominally in charge of Chanel's U.S. business, Kopelman's influence was international. He majored in art history at Johns Hopkins University before graduating in 1960, then earned an M.B.A. at Columbia Business School in 1962. He began his career at Procter & Gamble, marketing Ivory soap, and in 1965 he joined the advertising agency Doyle Dane Bernbach, becoming vice chairman and general manager. His work on the Chanel account led to a friendship with Chanel chairman Alain Wertheimer, who hired him in 1985 as vice chairman and chief operating officer of the company's U.S. subsidiary. Within a few years, Kopelman was president. He remained at Chanel Inc. for 19 years, retiring in 2004 after leading the company to $2.2 billion in worldwide sales. "If you have the right product, you can have a very good business," he once said, "but if you have the right product backed by the right marketing, you can have a great business." When Kopelman arrived, Chanel was just beginning to open its own stores. When he stepped down, Chanel had 16 of its own stores in the U.S., eight fine jewelry boutiques, and more than 90 retail accounts. He is credited with building strong relationships with retailers and magazine publishers; maintaining Chanel's reputation for sophistication, taste, and elegance; and broadening its product range. A philanthropist and supporter of the arts, he served on the boards of many organizations, including the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum. He became a fixture as chairman of the Winter Antiques Show in New York and was a director of the Municipal Art Society, the New York City Ballet, and the Nantucket Historical Society. He was also a director of the Heinz Awards, named for the late U.S. Senator John Heinz, with whom he developed a close friendship.

[Mort Sheinman (2nd ed.)]

KOPELOWITZ, LIONEL (1926–), British communal leader. Kopelowitz was born in Newcastle-upon-Tyne and lived there much of his life. He was educated at Clifton and Cambridge and practiced as a physician, serving on the council of the British Medical Association. From the 1970s he held numerous senior positions in Anglo-Jewish life. He was president of the Board of Deputies of British Jews in 1985–91 and was also president of the National Council for Soviet Jewry in the same period.

[William D. Rubinstein (2nd ed.)]

KOPELSON, ẒEMAḤ (pseudonyms: **Timofey**; **Timoshin**; **Grishin**; **Polyakevich**; 1869–1933), leading pioneer of the *Bund. Born in a merchant family in Vilna, while still a student in high school in Panevezys (Ponevezh) he formed a socialist youth study circle. In 1887 he belonged to the Narodnaya Volya (Populist) circle in Vilna which also included L. Axelrod and Charles *Rappoport. He then turned to Marxism, and with L. *Jogiches began to organize Social Democratic groups of workers and intelligentsia in Vilna, in 1889–90 serving as their chief instructor. Subsequently Kopelson studied dentistry in Warsaw. Imprisoned for a time for political activities, on his return to Vilna he made use of the experience he had gained in the struggle of the Polish workers' movement. In 1895 he left the country and lived in Switzerland and Berlin. Kopelson was active on behalf of the Bund in the "Union of Russian Social Democrats Abroad" and acted as its secretary. In it he became involved in the ideological controversy between the "youth" and the "economists" with Plekhanov and P. *Axelrod, and later with the "Iskra" (Lenin; *Martov), being more in sympathy with the former. At the fifth congress of the Bund (1903) he dissented from its national Jewish program. He was a member of the "Committee Abroad" of the Bund until 1905, when he returned to Russia secretly and took charge of the Bund publishing house Die Velt. In 1908 he immigrated to the United States. He contributed to the Yiddish and Russian socialist press, and also served on the executive of the Jewish Socialist Federation of America. After the 1917 Revolution he returned to Russia and joined the Communist party, although he was not active in public affairs. His important memoirs of the period preceding the founding of the Bund were published in the *Arbeter Luekh* ("Workers' Calendar," 1922), and in greater detail in the collection *Revolyutsionnoye dvizheniye sredi yevreyev*, edited by S. Dimanstein (1930). He died in a road accident in Moscow.

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[Moshe Mishkinsky]

KOPF, MAXIM (1892–1958), painter. Born in Vienna, he studied art in Prague and Dresden. During World War I, he served in the Austrian army and was severely wounded. In 1922 he had his first exhibition, showing the painting *Pilgrims* (1920). In 1927 he married his partner Mary Durasová but divorced her in 1933. He became the leader of a group of followers of German expressionism, known under the name "Prager Sezession." Like other artists of his time, Kopf flirted with esotericism and mysticism which became obvious in his works with crystalline elements (*Budha*, 1920; *Varieté*, 1920). Akin to Gauguin spiritually and artistically, Kopf traveled through the Pacific Islands in 1925, creating a large number of canvases, especially of Tahiti. The artistic harvest of this trip was shown in a highly successful exhibition in 1927. Later Kopf settled in Paris, and after the fall of France he moved to New York. He married the American journalist and political writer Dorothy Thompson and built his reputation as an artist through many exhibitions. At his death his last painting, a monumental crucifixion, was left unfinished.

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[Avigdor Dagan / Sonja Beyer (2nd ed.)]

KOPIT, ARTHUR (1937–), U.S. playwright. Arthur Lee Koenig (his mother, Maxine, was divorced when Arthur was young and married George Kopit, a jewelry salesman) was born in New York City but grew up in an affluent Long Island suburb.

He became excited by theater when he took a modern drama workshop at Harvard and began writing short plays with outlandish titles. In 1959, the summer he graduated with a degree in engineering, he entered a playwriting contest. In five days he wrote a wacky one-act tragicomedy about an elegantly monstrous woman who keeps her husband's coffin at her bedside and her grown son attached to her apron strings at all times. He finished the play, *Oh Dad, Poor Dad, Mamma's Hung You in the Closet and I'm Feelin' So Bad*, while he was in Europe, where he was traveling on a fellowship. He won the $250 first prize and a production of the play at Harvard. *Oh Dad* was staged Off Broadway by Jerome *Robbins in 1960, ran for more than a year, toured for 11 weeks, and ended with a six-week run on Broadway. Kopit received awards for best new play of 1962. His next play, *Indians*, a depiction of American hypocrisy and violence during the 19th century, had scenes from the lives of Sitting Bull and Buffalo Bill Cody juxtaposed in a scathing, symbolic attack on American genocide. It was first produced by the Royal Shakespeare Company in London in 1968. Next came *Wings* (1979), a drama about the recovery of a stroke victim, with innovative staging techniques used to replicate the healing process. In 1984, Kopit's *End of the World* explored the corrupting forces in American life. A playwright becomes a private investigator and exposes the parties responsible for nuclear proliferation. Kopit used black humor to explore this troubling subject and showed how easily even his good characters can be caught up in the momentum toward destruction.

[Stewart Kampel (2nd ed.)]

KOPLIK, HENRY (1858–1927), U.S. pediatrician. Koplik, who was born in New York, became assistant professor of pediatrics at Bellevue Medical College as well as consulting physician to other New York hospitals. Koplik is known as the discoverer of the diagnostic spots of measles, known as "Koplik's spots," which are bluish-white spots surrounded by red areas found inside the mouth. He founded the first milk depot in the United States which supplied pasteurized milk free of charge to the needy. He wrote *Diseases of Infancy and Childhood* (1902) and was the author of several other publications on pediatrics.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: S.R. Kagan, *Jewish Medicine* (1952), 361.

[Suessmann Muntner]

KOPPEL, HEINZ (1919–1980), painter. Koppel was born in Berlin, and went to London at the age of 16. He studied under the painter Martin *Bloch, who remained the principal influence in his work. After working intermittently in Czechoslovakia, Italy, and Belgium, he taught in art schools in England and in Wales, where he lived from 1944 to 1956 and again later in his life. His depictions of the Welsh landscape have a strongly mystical note, bordering on fantasy. German expressionism played its part in Koppel's art but his work, notably portraiture, is marked by great delicacy. His recent work includes experiments with different material, such as fiber glass and resin. He died in Dyfed.

[Charles Samuel Spencer]

KOPPEL, TED (1940–), U.S. television journalist. Koppel was born in Lancashire, England, where his parents fled to escape from the Nazis. His father, Erwin Koppel, was the owner of a major tire factory in Germany and immigrated to England in 1936. His mother followed two years later. Koppel spent his first 13 years in England, where he attended boarding school. He and his family moved to the United States and he graduated from Syracuse University with a bachelor's degree and from Stanford University with a master's in mass communications research and political science. Koppel started working in journalism at a New York City radio station and joined the American Broadcasting Company news division as a full-time general assignment correspondent at the age of 23. In a four-decade career at ABC, Koppel had a major reporting role in every presidential campaign beginning in 1964. In 1968 he became Miami bureau chief, where his assignments included covering Latin America. From 1969 to 1971, as Hong Kong bureau chief, he covered stories from Vietnam to Australia. He served as ABC's chief diplomatic correspondent from 1971 to 1980, a period that included traveling more than a quarter of a million miles for coverage of Secretary of State Henry A. *Kissinger's "shuttle diplomacy." During the time he was on the State Department beat, Koppel co-wrote the bestseller *In the National Interest*, with his friend and colleague, Marvin *Kalb, then with CBS News.

Koppel came to national prominence with the seizure by Iranians of the American Embassy in Teheran in 1979. Four days after the takeover, ABC News aired a program called *The Iran Crisis: America Held Hostage*. The president of the network decided that the program would continue until the hostage crisis was over, and that it would eventually become a regular late-night newscast. After about five months, *The Iran Crisis* became *Nightline*, and Koppel, who had anchored the show several times, became the permanent anchor. From 1980 onward, it was difficult to separate Koppel from the show. It was television's first late-night network news program, and Koppel was also the program's managing editor. On the air, Koppel interviewed key political figures and others who were working to free the hostages, and broadcast biographies of those in custody in Iran. Over the years, Koppel won every major broadcasting award, including 37 Emmy awards, six George Foster Peabody awards, ten duPont-Columbia awards, nine Overseas Press Club awards and others. A member of the Broadcasting Hall of Fame, Koppel in 1994 was named a Chevalier de l'Ordre des Arts et des Lettres by the Republic of France. He speaks fluent German, Russian, and French. In 2003 Koppel was embedded with the U.S. Army's 3d Infantry Division as it marched toward Baghdad during the U.S. invasion of Iraq. Koppel, a feisty interviewer, made news with occasionally blunt comments delivered off the air. *Nightline* earned its highest ratings for a broadcast in 1987 featuring the scandalized television evangelist Jim Bakker and his wife Tammy Faye Bakker. In 1988 Koppel went to the Middle East to report on Arab-Israeli problems and held a town meeting attended by hundreds of Israeli and Arab citizens. Koppel is also the author, with Kyle Gibson, of *Nightline: History in the Making and the Making of Television* (1996). According to one website, he considers his family Torah his most prized possession. His daughter Andrea is a reporter with CNN.

[Stewart Kampel (2nd ed.)]

KOPPELMAN, JACOB BEN SAMUEL BUNIM (1555–1594), talmudic scholar distinguished for his broad erudition and interest in secular sciences. Jacob was born in Freiburg and studied under Mordecai *Jaffe. Early in his life he embarked upon mathematical and astronomical studies, in addition to intensive occupation with traditional Jewish learning. He is the author of *Omek Halakhah* (Cracow, 1593). In it he elucidates the laws appertaining to *Kilayim, Eruvin*, etc., with the aid of diagrams and models; discusses the talmudic references to mathematics, botany, engineering, and geography; establishes the various weights and measures of the Talmud; and draws the site of the Temple, the candelabrum, the table of showbread, revealing considerable knowledge in all of these fields. On the title page of *Ohel Ya'akov* (Freiburg, 1584), a commentary on Joseph *Albo's *Ikkarim* dealing with the elucidation of difficult passages compiled by Jacob in Frankfurt in 1583, he is described as "the encyclopedic scholar and divine philosopher." Jacob also translated into rhymed Yiddish the Targum of the five scrolls, the *Targum Sheni* to Esther (Freiburg, c. 1584), and the *Mishlei Shu'alim* of *Berechiah ha-Nakdan (*ibid.*, 1588; Vilna, 1825).

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[Abram Juda Goldrat]

KOPPETT, LEONARD (**Kopeliovitch**; 1923–2003), U.S. sportswriter; only writer elected to both the baseball and basketball halls of fame. Born in Moscow, Koppett moved to New York at age five, living a block from Yankee Stadium. The family then moved to Brooklyn, where Koppett went to high school at Poly Prep, and then to Columbia College, where he wrote for the undergraduate *Columbia Spectator*. Through his job at the university's publicity office, Koppett eventually became the campus sports correspondent for *The New York Times* and the *New York Herald Tribune*. After graduating in 1944 and serving in the Army, Koppett landed his first full-time job with the *Tribune*, where he worked from 1948 to 1954, and subsequently at the *New York Post* from 1954 to 1963 and *The New York Times* beginning in 1963, covering the Yankees, the Giants, the Dodgers, the Knicks, and the Mets. In 1973, he became the *Times*' first West Coast sports correspondent, but tired of traveling, he quit in 1978. A year later, he was hired by *The Peninsula Times Tribune* of Palo Alto, California, serving as sports editor, editor in chief, and editor emeritus until the paper folded in 1993. He also wrote a general-interest column, which fed perfectly into his encyclopedic knowledge of astronomy, history, literature, music, art, theater, language, geography, culture as well as sports. Koppett, or "Koppy" as he was known, freelanced extensively, writing a column for *The Sporting News* from 1965 to 1984 as well as for *The Oakland Tribune, San Francisco Chronicle, San Mateo County Times*, and later *The Seattle Post-Intelligencer.* He also wrote for numerous national magazines, such as *Sports Illustrated*, the *Saturday Evening Post, Penthouse*, and several specialty sports and airline magazines. Koppett was acknowledged for his analytical approach to sports that went beyond the frenzy of the moment, and for exploring issues that were not confined to events on the field. Koppett was the author of 16 books, most notably *The Thinking Man's Guide to Baseball* (1967), a benchmark work that introduced to the general public the basic concepts of looking at baseball performance in a new way. He also authored *24 Seconds to Shoot: An Informal History of the National Basketball Association*, (1968), *The New York Times Guide to Spectator Sports* (1971), *The Essence of the Game Is Deception: Thinking About Basketball* (1973), *Sports Illusion, Sports Reality: A Reporter's View of Sports, Journalism, and Society* (1981), *The Man in the Dugout: Baseball's Top Managers and How They Got That Way* (1993), *Koppett's Concise History of Major League Baseball* (1998), and *The Rise and Fall of the Press Box* (2003). Koppett was elected to the writers' wing of the Baseball Hall of Fame in 1992 and the Basketball Hall of Fame in 1994.

[Elli Wohlgelernter (2nd ed.)]

KOPPLE, BARBARA (1946–), U.S. director-producer. Born in New York City and raised in Scarsdale, New York, Kopple graduated with a degree in psychology from Northeastern University. She began her career by working for documentary filmmakers Albert and David Maysles as an assistant editor. She then co-directed *Winter Soldier* (1972), a documentary about U.S. soldiers in Vietnam. Her first solo project, *Harlan County, U.S.A.* (1976), which documented a 1973 coal miners' strike against the Eastover Mining Company in Harlan County, Kentucky, earned Kopple an Academy Award for a feature-length documentary. In 1981, she directed the made-for-television film *Keeping On*, a fictional story built around a labor dispute in a Southern town. Kopple's *American Dream* (1991), the story of the Hormel Food strike in the mid-1980s, earned her a second Academy Award and a Directors Guild of America award for outstanding directorial achievement in documentaries. In 1993, she received her second Directors Guild of America award for *Fallen Champ: The Untold Story of Mike Tyson*. For *Wild Man Blues* (1997), Kopple followed Woody *Allen around Europe as he toured with his jazz band. In 1998, she released *Woodstock '94* and followed up with *My Generation* (2000), a documentary that explored the differences and similarities of the youth cultures present at the different Woodstock concerts. In 2005, Kopple's *Bearing Witness* looked at female journalists working in combat zones.

[Adam Wills (2nd ed.)]

KOPPLEMANN, HERMAN PAUL (1880–1957), U.S. politician and civic leader. Kopplemann, who was born in Odessa, Russia, was brought to Hartford, Connecticut, by his parents at the age of two. He established the H.P. Kopplemann Agency for the distribution of newspapers and magazines, which subsequently became the largest in the state. In 1904 Kopplemann was elected to the Hartford City Council where he served four consecutive terms. He was elected to the Connecticut House of Representatives in 1913 and to the Connecticut Senate in 1917. From 1929 to 1957 he served as a member of the Metropolitan District Commission. In 1932 Kopplemann became the first Jew to be elected to Congress from Connecticut. He served four terms and consistently supported the New Deal. Kopplemann was also extremely active in Jewish affairs, and his posts included chairman of the United Jewish Appeal; vice president of the United Synagogue of America; and secretary of the Board of Overseers of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America.

[Morris Silverman]

KOPS, BERNARD (1926–), English playwright, born in the East End of London. His searingly frank autobiography, *The World Is a Wedding* (1963), portrays his early home life. After World War II, he held a succession of menial jobs in factories and hotels and made first, tentative attempts at acting and writing songs and verse. Under the influence of the postwar Bohemian society of Soho, he finally began his literary career. He received an award from the Arts Council for his first notable play, *The Hamlet of Stepney Green* (1959). Often grouped with the "angry young men" in English literature after World War II, Kops had a special lyrical pathos of his own, as in his portrayal of the dying fathers who are the central characters in two of his best-known works, *Hamlet…* and *Yes from No-Man's Land* (1965). In the latter, a novel describing a London Jewish family with East End roots, virtually the entire gamut of modern Jewish experience is touched upon, from memories of the Holocaust and personal involvement with Israel, to intermarriage and alienation. His *By the Waters of Whitechapel* (1969) had its setting in the residual Jewish community of London's East End. Kops was resident dramatist at the Old Vic in 1958. His plays include *The Dream of Peter Mann* (1960) and *Enter Solly Gold* (1961). Both his style and his social philosophy are reminiscent of Berthold Brecht, and like him, he is given to fantasy and extravagance. Kops's poetry includes the volume *Erica, Let Me Read You Something* (1967). In addition to *The World Is a Wedding,* he wrote several other volumes of autobiography, including *Shalom Bomb* (2000).

[Shulamit Nardi]

KOPYTMAN, MARK RUVIMOVICH (1929–), Israeli composer, teacher and musicologist. Kopytman was born in Kamenets-Podolski, U.S.S.R. He graduated from the Chernovtsy Music School in piano in 1950 and from the Lvov Conservatory in composition and music theory in 1955. He received a Ph.D. from the Moscow Conservatory (where he studied from 1956 to 1958 in the class of Professor S. Bogatyrev) and also graduated from the Chernovtsy Medical Institute in 1952. He taught composition and music theory at the Alma Ata Conservatory from 1958 to 1963 and the Kishinev Institute of Arts from 1963 to 1972. In 1972 he immigrated to Israel and became a professor at the Rubin Academy of Music and the Hebrew University, both in Jerusalem. His master classes, as well as his participation in composers' competition juries, are highly esteemed all over the world. His honors include the Koussevitsky International Record Critics Award (1986) and the ACUM lifetime achievement award from Israel (1992).

Kopytman's early works show the influence of Prokofiev and Bartok (his symphony of 1956; his choral cycle *Distance beyond Distance* based on the poem by Tvardovsky, 1960; his vocal cycle based on the poems of S. Kaputikyan (*Songs of Anguished Love*, 1964)). Kopytman's interest in the folklore of various peoples was reflected in his first quartet of 1962, where he used themes from Kazakh folklore, while Moldavian folklore and traditional images of Moldavia are reflected in his 1965 *Songs of the Woods* oratorio with text by V. Teleuke, and his opera *Casa Mare* (1966), based on the play by I. Drutze. Kopytman's second quartet (1966) and the re-orchestration for cello and string orchestra (1981) which he entitled *Kaddish* can be considered in some ways close to the "Jewish line" in the work of Shostakovich.

From the late 1960s Kopytman began to use contemporary avant-garde means of composition (aleatory music, sonoristics, etc.), employing them creatively and sometimes combining them with traditional elements (the long development of melodic lines, polytonality, with free use of Eastern, including Jewish, folklore). Kopytman's works from the 1970s on were characterized by the use of heterophony, a blending of some simultaneously sounding layers, which are the variants of the same melodic line. Such musical textures characterize Kopytman's *October Sun* (1974) for mezzo-soprano, piano, flute, and percussion with text by the Israeli poet Yehuda *Amichai about the tragedy and heroism of the Yom Kippur War; *Rotations*, a piece for mezzo-soprano and orchestra (1979); *Cantus II* (1980) for string trio; *Memory* (1982) for singer and orchestra; *Letters of Creation* (1986) for voice and string orchestra, and so on. In many of his works since the 1980s, the deeply imbued stratum of Jewish historical memory is present. His chamber opera *Susskind von Trimberg* (1982–83), with libretto by Recha *Freier (premiered in Jerusalem in 1983), is based on the tragic story a of Jewish musician in medieval Germany. Usually, Kopytman preferred to avoid citations while revealing the national nature of a piece first of all through its melodic atmosphere. However, in *Memory*, Kopytman introduced a Yemenite Jewish melody, being inspired by the voice and performance of the authentic Yemenite singer Gila Bachari. In his recent vocal cycle *If There Are Seven Heavens* (2001, on the metaphoric text of E. Jabes), the composer touched on the subject of the Holocaust. Among Kopytman's works on music theory are *Muzykal'nye formy i zhanry* ("Musical Forms and Genres," 1959); O *polifonii* ("On Polyphony," 1961); and *Khorovoe pis' mo* ("Choral Composition," 1971).

ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY: NG²; MGG²; Y. Kreinin (ed.), *Mark Kopytman: Voices of Memories,* Essays and Dialogues (2004).

[Yaakov Soroker / *The Shorter Jewish Encylopaedia in Russian* / Yulia Kreinin (2nd ed.)]

KORAH (Heb. קֹרַח), son of Izhar, son of Kohath, son of Levi. Korah is the central figure in the story of the revolt against the authority and status of Moses at the time of the wanderings in the wilderness (Num. 16). According to the story in its present form, *Dathan and Abiram of the tribe of Reuben, together with 250 chieftains of the community, also took part in this revolt. Behind the uprising were Korah's complaint against the religious authority of Moses and Aaron, and the complaint of Dathan and Abiram against the leadership of Moses in general, charging that he had brought Israel out of Egypt to lord it over them and to have them die in the wilderness. In punishment for their rebellion, Korah, together with Dathan and Abiram and their people, was swallowed up by the earth, while the 250 chieftains, whose complaint against Moses and Aaron was in the domain of holy privileges, were consumed by the fire of the Lord after they had offered incense before him.

The story is referred to with minor or major variations in other passages (Num. 26:9–10; 27:3; Deut. 11:6; Ps. 106:16–18). Our present text offers what Levine calls "braided" accounts of strife in the wilderness. At the very least we can distinguish two literary strata, each with its own theme. The JE account did not involve Levites at all, but told of a rebellion against Moses led by the Reubenites Dathan and Abiram. The P(riestly) writers, who had access to JE, added the element of a protest led by the Levite Korah against the exclusive right of the Levite line of Aaron to the priesthood (Levine). As is true of most of the Torah's narratives, the stories here are given a fictitious setting in the desert prior to the rise of Israel in its own land. However, the actual historical circumstances that underlie them are to be sought in later periods. The Reubenite element in the story is probably related to territorial disputes in Transjordan in the pre-monarchic or early monarchic period. The other element is the quarrel of Korah the Levite with the sacral status of Moses and Aaron the priest. The background would be the consolidation of the temple hierarchy during the period of the Second Temple. According to the Torah (Ex. 28:1; P), Aaron and his descendants were first chosen for the priesthood during the wanderings in the wilderness. Yet scholars have long observed that Aaron is never identified as a priest in the prophetic literature of the pre-exilic period. Ezekiel, a priest and prophet of the sixth century, devotes much attention to priestly conduct and ritual. Yet he does not mention Aaron, but considers the legitimate priestly line to run through Zadok (Ezek. 44:15–16). Outside of the Torah, it is only in the books Ezra-Nehemiah and Chronicles, universally dated to the Persian period (539–331), that the Aaronide priesthood is depicted as the only legitimate priestly line. This is in harmony with the excavations at Arad, which unearthed a mention of *bny qrḥ*, "sons of Korah," who were apparently cultic personnel by the eighth century B.C.E., if not earlier. It is to these "sons of Korah" that many biblical Psalms (below) are ascribed. During the first half of the first millennium B.C.E. the existence of two distinct Israelite states with numerous shrines in each meant that no single family or clan had a monopoly on the priesthood. In contrast, the temple rebuilt in Yehud, the former Judah, in the late sixth century adhered to the principle of centralization associated with the reform of *Josiah in being the single sacrificial temple in the land. The result was that far fewer people could become priests. The restriction of the priesthood to the "sons of Aaron" must have resulted from a compromise among many competing factions. One of the factions unhappy with the compromise was the "sons of Korah," who were being demoted to "performing the sanctuary's labor" (Num. 16:9–10). The Torah's story of their unsuccessful challenge to Aaron, which resulted in their being swallowed up without a trace (Num. 16: 31–5), was meant to illustrate the fate in store for all who would challenge the new order (Num. 17:5).

The Bible provides other notices about the status of the sons of Korah as a levitical family in the census list of Numbers 26:58, and in the detailed genealogies in, e.g., Exodus 6:24. That the Korahites, or part of them, functioned as choristers in the Temple, is clear from the heading "For the sons of Korah" found at the beginning of many Psalms (42–49; 84–85; 87–88). According to the genealogical list of the levites in I Chronicles 6, the chorister Heman, too, is connected with Korah (6:18–23). With this must be associated the report of II Chronicles 20:19 concerning levitical *Kohathite families and the Korahites who rose to praise the Lord, i.e., who acted as choristers. At the same time, Chronicles numbers the Korahites among the families of gatekeepers (I Chron. 9:19ff.; 26:1ff.). According to I Chronicles 9 they were also in charge of the treasures and vessels, of making the flat cakes, and of carrying out other similar functions. Although the simplest reading of Numbers 16:31–4 indicates that Korah left no survivors, the author of Numbers 26:11 wrote that "the sons of Korah did not die," apparently to account for the Psalms of the sons of Korah, and other cultic traditions about them.

[Jacob Liver / S. David Sperling (2nd ed.)]

In the Aggadah

Many reasons are given for Korah's opposition to Moses and Aaron. In Egypt, Korah had been Pharoah's treasurer, and he amassed so much wealth that 300 mules were required to carry the keys of his treasures; his pride in his wealth brought about his subsequent downfall (Pes. 119a). He resented Moses for appointing his cousin (Elizaphan b. Uzziel; Num. 3:30) as head of the levite division of Kohathites, maintaining that this office belonged to him (Num. R. 18:2). He did not doubt the ultimate success of his challenge since he foresaw that Samuel, whose importance would equal that of Moses and Aaron (cf. Ps. 99:6), would descend from him, and felt that God would not permit the forefather of such a man to perish (Num. R. 18:8). Korah's wife also encouraged him in his insurrection (Num. R. 18:4). Korah is regarded as the arch-detractor of the Torah.

He negated its laws and sought to demonstrate the injustice of the laws instituted by Moses by telling the following tale to the masses: A widow, the mother of two young daughters, started to plow her solitary field whose yield was just sufficient to keep body and soul together. Moses told her that it was forbidden to plow with an ox and an ass together (Deut. 22:10). When she began to sow, Moses told her not to sow with diverse seeds (Lev. 19:19). When the first fruits appeared, Moses demanded that she give them to the priests (Deut. 26:2), and when she began to harvest the field, Moses reminded her to leave the gleanings and the corner of the field for the poor (Lev. 23:22). When she was about to thresh the grain, Moses demanded the separations for the priests and levites (Num. 18:8, 21). Unable to maintain herself from the field under such conditions, she sold it and purchased ewes. Once again, she knew no peace. When the firstling of the sheep was born, Aaron demanded it for the priests (Num. 18:15). When she began to shear the sheep, Aaron claimed the initial shearings (Deut. 18:4). The widow thereupon decided to slaughter the sheep. This time Aaron came for the priestly portions (Deut. 18:3). The widow then vehemently cried out: "If you persist in your demands, I consecrate the flesh to the Lord." "If so," Aaron replied, "the whole belongs to me" (Num. 18:14). Aaron then took away all the meat, leaving the widow and her two daughters entirely unprovided for (Mid. Ps. to 1:15).

Korah tried to make Moses appear ridiculous in the eyes of the people. He appeared with his 250 followers, all dressed in garments of *tekhelet*, requesting a ruling from Moses on whether they were obliged to attach fringes to such garments. On Moses' affirmative response, Korah mocked him by declaring, "If one fringe of blue suffices to fulfill this commandment when the garment is entirely white, should not a garment which is entirely blue meet the requirements of this commandment even without the addition of fringes." Likewise, they asked Moses about the necessity of affixing a *mezuzah* to the entrance of a house filled with sacred scrolls. Once again they decried Moses' answer that such a doorpost also needed a *mezuzah* despite the fact that its passages are included in the scrolls (TJ, Sanh. 10:1, 27d–28a). In this and similar *aggadot*, Korah is presented as the prototype of the opponents of the Torah and of the authority of the rabbis.

Moses desperately attempted to appease Korah and his followers, but they insisted on opposing him (Num. R. 18:4). Finally, Moses had to make a public stand against them, realizing that the integrity of the Torah was at stake when they proclaimed that "the Torah was not given by God, Moses is not a prophet, and Aaron is not the high priest" (TJ, Sanh. 10:1, 28a). At the time of Korah's engulfment, the earth became like a funnel, and everything that belonged to him, even clothes at the laundry and needles borrowed by neighbors, rolled until they fell into the gap (Num. R. 18:13). Korah himself suffered the double punishment of being burned and swallowed up alive by the earth (Num. R. 18:19), while his repentant sons were spared and became the progenitors of Samuel (Num. R. 18:8). Later, a place was set aside for them in the netherworld, where they sit and sing praises to God (Sanh. 110a). Rabbah b. Bar Ḥuna related that he saw the place of Korah's engulfment and heard voices crying, "Moses and his Torah are true, and we are liars" (BB 74a).

[Aaron Rothkoff]

In Islam

One of the world's wealthiest men, he prided himself on his wealth and, therefore, the earth swallowed him up (Sura 28:76–82). Along with Firʿawn (*Pharaoh) and *Hāmān, Qārūn (Korah) ranks among the proud (29:38), and with them he proposed the counsel to kill all the sons born to the people of Israel (40:25). Muslim legend emphasized the familial relationship between Qārūn and Moses (Ar. Mūsā). The jealousy of the former increased as the greatness of Moses grew. One of the explanations of the source of his treasures is that his wife was the sister of Moses, who taught her the art of "alchemy," and that Qārūn, in turn, learned the method of making and amassing gold from her. Qārūn built one house after another and constructed the walls of his palace from silver and gold (see bibl. Thaʿlabī, Kisāʾī). These and similar tales come from Jewish legends which spoke of the fabulous "treasures of Korah." The stories of the haughtiness of Qārūn and his associates also are derived from Jewish sources.

[Haïm Z'ew Hirschberg]

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KORAḤ, AMRAM BEN YIḤYE (1871–1953), writer and leader of Yemenite Jewry. Born in *Sanʿa, he immigrated to Israel in 1950 and died in Jerusalem. His father, R. Yiḥye *Koraḥ (1840–1881), was – although a kabbalist – the first enlightened Jewish scholar in *Yemen whose works took into account rationalist considerations. They reflect on one hand the wish to improve the social and spiritual conditions of the Jewish community in Yemen, and on the other hand the encounter with modern rabbinical and scholarly works in order to prove the correctness and genuineness of Yemenite traditions. On his death, the young son Amram was maintained by R. Yiḥye Qāfiḥ, his father's student and young colleague. His education by R. Qāfiḥ is well documented in his works, strongly colored with the latter's enlightened attitude toward Jewish studies, both religious and secular. However, when the Jewish community was thrown into a bitter disagreement about *Kabbalah, he sided with R. Yiḥye Yiẓḥak, the leader of the followers of the Kabbalah and the main opponent of R. Qāfiḥ. Owing to his excellent knowledge of Arabic, an indispensable component in the education of R. Qāfiḥ's students, he acted as secretary to the *bet din* of Sanʿa and took care of inheritances, community funds, taxes, and charitable trusts, as well as accounts of private firms and businessmen, and functioned as the community scribe in the correspondence with Muslim authorities. From 1905 he was part of the communal leadership of the Jewish community of Sanʿa and after the death of R. Yiḥye Abyaḍ (1939?) he was nominated as chief rabbi of the Jews of Yemen, a position he held until his immigration to the State of Israel. His best-known work is *Saʿarat Teman* ("The Tempest of Yemen," 1954), the first to bring a comprehensive history and description of the ways of life of the Jews of Yemen, based on both Jewish and Muslim sources (books and documents). In this book he included a zealous Zionist manifesto expressing the ultimate hope of the State of Israel to be the National Home of the Jewish people. Another significant work of his is *Alamot Shir* (1964), the first scholarly compilation of the Yemenite *Diwān* including some 200 poems, mostly by Yosef ben Israel and Shalom Shabazī, accompanied with outstanding brief and simple exegesis. In addition, he wrote *Neveh Shalom*, establishing and explaining the correct version of *Saadiah Gaon's *Tafsīr* ("exegesis") to the Bible.

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[Yosef Tobi (2nd ed.)]

KORAḤ, ḤAYYIM BEN JOSEPH (1824–1914), Yemenite scholar, preacher, and kabbalist, born in *Sanʿa. Many of the Yemenite scholars were among the disciples of his *bet ha-midrash*. Queries in the fields of Torah and *halakhah* were addressed to him from all parts of Yemen. His sermons – a combination of Torah and *halakhah*, Midrash, and Kabbalah – enthralled the masses. He was deeply involved in mystical studies, and acts and miracles wrought by practical Kabbalah are attributed to him. He left three works extant in manuscript, one of which is a collection of responsa arranged according to the order of the Shulḥan Arukh.

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[Yehuda Ratzaby]

KORAḤ, SHALOM BEN YIḤYE (1873–1953), author and educator, from *Sanʿa, *Yemen. By profession Koraḥ was a copyist of books and a talented teacher who taught many pupils. An active participant in the communal life of Sanʿa and respected by the community, he acted as the community secretary and drafted the texts of many letters in its name, many of them kept in public archives in Israel, such as the Central Zionist Archives, as well as in private collections and which are a very helpful source for the 20th century history of the Jews of Yemen. He was considered the spokesman and writer of the Dor Deʿah movement, with two of which most distinguished leaders he studied: R. Yiḥye Qāfiḥ and R. Yiḥye Abyaḍ. In latter years he himself became a prominent leader of this movement. One of his works, *Iggeret Bokhim* (1963), is a monograph on R. Yiḥye Qāfiḥ and the eulogies which were delivered upon his death. Another book reflecting his tendency to historical documentation of his Jewish Yemenite community is *Rogez Teman*, separate chapters on the modern history of the Jews of Yemen, most of them published after his death. One of his most important works is *Tiklāl Qadmonim* (The Prayer Book of the First Generation), in which he documented the ancient version of the Yemenite rite in liturgy and everything connected to it in an annual and life cycles. He wrote the book in 1938, when still in Yemen, responding to a request of Yosef Ḥubārah, a Yemenite activist who had already immigrated to the Holy Land. This *Tiklāl*, published in a facsimile edition with introductory articles by some scholars (1964), is based on ancient copies of the Yemenite *Tiklāls* and constitutes trustworthy evidence for the old liturgical and halakhic Yemenite traditions. The remainder of his works, including many poems, is extant in manuscript and part of it has been recently published by his grandson R. Pinḥas Qorah. Near the end of his life he went to Israel in the mass immigration from Yemen. His son R. Yosef (1913–1990), who was counted with the leaders of the Jewish Sanʿani community in the 1940s, was a teacher in the modern girls' school in Sanʿa and took part in the organization of the mass *aliyah* to the State of Israel. R. Yosef continued his activity in Israel in education, especially to transmit the original Yemenite traditions to the young Yemenite generation, as well as his literary work.

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[Yosef Tobi (2nd ed.)]

KORAḤ, YIḤYE (Yaḥya) BEN SHALOM (1840–1881), scholar and kabbalist, in *San'a, *Yemen. Koraḥ's works are concerned with *masorah*, the Targum Onkelos, grammar, explanations on the Pentateuch, and exegesis on Yemenite poetry. In two fields, those of Targum Onkelos and Yemenite poetry, he was a pioneer researcher in Yemen. His works are distinguished by their sharp-wittedness and originality. The most important of them is *Marpe Lashon*, a linguistic and textual study on the Targum Onkelos of the Pentateuch, which is based on ancient Yemenite manuscripts (published in *Keter Torah*, 1960). An essay entitled "*Berit ha-Lashon*" ("Covenant of the Tongue") precedes the work and deals with the Yemenite Jewish pronunciation and the principles of the upper (Babylonian) vocalization. His work on the Pentateuch, *Maskil Doresh* (1964), consists of new commentaries (*ḥiddushim*), explanations of words in the way of *notarikon* and mystic style.

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KORAN (Ar. **Qur'ān**), the holy scripture of the Muslims. The name signifies "recital," "recitation." Islamic tradition holds that the Koran was sent down to *Muhammad with the angel Gabriel. Gabriel revealed the book to Muhammad in an ongoing process which lasted 20 years: It began in Mecca when Muhammad was 40, and went on for 10 years till Muhammad's emigration to *Medina, where Gabriel continued the process of revelation till Muhammad's death at the age of 60.

Chronology of Revelation

Muslim tradition is able to tell when each passage of the Koran was revealed, and in present day printed copies of the Koran one finds at the heading of each chapter (in Arabic: *sūra*) details telling whether the chapter was revealed in Mecca (before the *hijra*) or in Medina. However, in many "Meccan" chapters, "Medinan" verses are singled out, and vice versa. The overall framework was nevertheless adopted by modern scholars who reconstructed the history of revelation according to Islamic tradition (especially Th. Nöldeke and many of his followers). There have been also more skeptical scholars who rejected the traditional views concerning the authenticity of the Koran as a collection of Muhammad's own prophecies. They were not even sure that the Koran originated in *Arabia and not in *Syria. Some of them suggested that the Koran was created decades after Muhammad, while others held that this scripture contains passages which predate Muhammad (for details see G. Böwering s.v. "Chronology and the Koran," *The Encyclopaedia of the Koran* (2001). Muslim tradition tells us also how the Koran was written down by companions of the prophet and how the entire canon was compiled decades after Muhammad's death from the different fragments preserved by the companions. Tradition also contains reports about variant readings (in Arabic: *qirā'āt*) of the Koran prevalent in the different regions of the Islamic world. The standard version today is based on the reading of Ḥafṣ from ʿĀṣim (d. 745).

The collection is not arranged according to contents or literary forms, nor according to the time in which the separate parts were revealed. It rather consists of 114 chapters which generally follow one another according to the principle of decreasing length, but with many exceptions to the rule. The whole book is composed in rhymed prose.

The Koran as Scripture among Scriptures

According to koranic terminology, revelation took place in a process of sending down (Arabic: *anzala*) messages. The sending down of the *kitāb*, i.e., its revelation, is described as part of a universal process that has included the revelation of other scriptures, namely "the Torah and the Gospel" (Koran 3:3–4). This implies that all monotheistic scriptures are perceived as representing the same divine revelation. All revealed scriptures originate in the pre-existent divine Book in which the pre-ordained Law of God has been recorded. This is, at any rate, how Muslim exegetes explain the locution "Book of God" in Koran 33:6 (also Koran 30:56), which, they hold, is identical with the "Guarded Tablet" (*lawḥ maḥfūẓ*) mentioned in Koran 85:22. The Koran is said to have formed part of this Tablet (Koran 85:21), so that this revealed scripture is actually a reflection of a celestial universal text. The original celestial version of all scriptures is *umm al-kitāb* ("mother of the Book") mentioned in Koran 43:4. Because all books come from the same celestial origin, they share the same message, and therefore Muhammad's own revealed scripture (= the Koran) is perceived as "verifying" (*muṣaddiq*) what was revealed before it (e.g., Koran 3:3–4).

One substantial difference between Muhammad's *kitāb* and previous ones is the language. Since Muhammad's audience is Arabian, the language of his *kitāb* must be Arabic, but it remains nonetheless "verifying" with respect to the previous *kitāb*s (Koran 46:12).

Monotheism

The main purpose of Muhammad's prophetic mission is to spread monotheism among the polytheists (Arabic: *mushrikūn*). The Arab polytheists are accused of worshipping idols whom they consider God's partners, or even His offspring, as is the case with the three Goddesses, Allāt, Manāt, and al-ʿUzzā (Koran 53:19–20). The one God is Allāh who is also named *rabb* ("Lord"), or *raḥmān* ("compassionate"). Koranic polemics against polytheism include not only Arabs worshipping idols but also Jews who believe that ʿUzayr (Ezra) was the son of God and Christians who believe that Jesus was His son (Koran 9:30).

The Prophets

Just as the Koran sees itself as a scripture among scriptures, the prophet Muhammad is seen as the final link in the universal line of prophethood ("Seal of the Prophets" (Koran 33:40)). God started sending prophets after humankind became separated, when the initial state of righteousness was replaced by moral corruption. This is at least how the exegetes explain Koran 2:213 in which it is stated: "The people were (united in) one nation (*umma wāḥida*), then (they became divided, and) God sent the prophets to bear good tidings and to warn…." The prophets represent a divinely chosen pedigree (Koran 3:33–34), and their divine election provides them with abilities not shared by ordinary humans. They possess knowledge of the unseen (Koran 72:26–27; 3:179), and are immune to misbehavior of any kind (3:161). Some prophets possess unique traits that mark their singular status among the rest of the prophets. *Abraham is described in Koran 4:125 as one whom God took as a friend (*khalīl*). *Moses is described as pure (*mukhlaṣ*) (Koran 19:51), and as one whom God brought near in communion (*najiyyan*) (Koran 19:52), and with whom God spoke (*kallama*) (Koran 4:164). The prophets are sent each to his own nation (Koran 10:47; 16:36), preaching to them in their own language (Koran 14:4). This is an appropriate precedent for Muhammad, the Arabian prophet who has brought to his nation an Arabic Koran (e.g., Koran 12:2). But unlike the previous prophets, Muhammad appears in some other passages as a universal prophet whose mission goes beyond ethnic boundaries and encompasses all humankind (Koran 4:79;

21:107) as well as the jinn (Koran 46:30). Apart from general declarations about the prophets, the Koran provides stories about individual ones. Many of the stories draw on biblical themes. Some stories appear in a condensed form, other stories, such as those of Abraham, Moses, and Jesus, are given in elaborate detail and even with subtle revisions of the biblical accounts. Elements unknown in the Bible appear mainly in the Punishment Stories. The Koran itself is aware of the affinity between the stories about the prophets and the biblical literature, for which reason the Jews and the Christians are called upon to confirm the truth of the koranic allusions to the previous prophets. This is at least how Muslim exegetes explain the meaning of Koran 16:43 (see also Koran 21:7) which says: "And We did not send before you any but humans to whom We sent revelation, so ask the People of the Reminder if you do not know." The exegetes say that the "People of the Reminder" (*ahl al-dhikr*) are scholars well versed in the Torah and the Gospel, which means that they know best about the history of the prophets from their own scriptures. Narratives about the prophets are related to Muhammad "to strengthen your heart therewith" (Koran 11:120), as well as to teach the audience the bitter lesson of disobedience which already led ancient towns to destruction (Koran 7:101; 9:70). But the listeners are not responsive as expected, and they discard the koranic message as "tales of the ancients" (Koran 16:24). The nations to whom prophets have been sent were expected to receive them with consent and obedience, but the prophets were received with anything but obedience. They were mocked (Koran 15:11, etc.) and called liars (e.g., Koran 3:184; 22:42; 23:44; 35:25, etc.), and their message was denied (Koran 11:59), and denounced as "medleys of dreams" (Koran 21:5). The prophets were rejected mainly on account of their being ordinary human beings (*bashar*) (e.g., Koran 14:10; 17:94; 36:15; 64:6), and were accused of being mere poets, magicians (*sāḥir*) and madmen (*majnūn*) (e.g., Koran 21:5; 51:52). Some of them were received with skeptical questions (Koran 2:108), and above all, their audience expressed devotion to the pagan tradition of the ancestors (Koran 43:23). The prophets have also suffered actual persecution, such as the threat of expulsion (e.g., Koran 14:13), and also death at the hand of their own peoples, as was the fate of the Israelite prophets (e.g., Koran 2:61, 91, etc.). Rejection is met with retribution, which is the direct result of the fact that God has promised to protect the prophets (Koran 14:47), and is defined as God's *sunna* with respect to those who persecute the prophets (Koran 17:76–77). Destruction is never arbitrary or unjust, and is only inflicted on towns that have been warned in advance by their prophets (Koran 17:15; 28:59). The prophets and their close entourage are always saved from the collective disaster (Koran 10:103, etc.). Apart from warnings from the past, the Koran elaborates on the reward awaiting believers and unbelievers in the world to come. Many passages insist on the idea of resurrection which was denied by the infidels, and describe the last Judgment and the fate of believers and unbelievers in paradise and hell, respectively.

Jews and Judaism

The Koran expects the Jews to believe in the concrete Islamic message as represented in the Koran. While a minority of them did believe in Muhammad, most of them rejected him, and the koranic attack on them is shaped according to models encountered in the New Testament. Already in the latter, the Jews are accused of having persecuted and murdered their own prophets (Matthew 5:12, 23:30–1; Luke 11:47). These are said to have foretold the coming of Jesus (Acts 7:52), and the Jews are said to have persecuted Jesus himself, plotting to kill him (John 7:1; 18:12; Acts 9:29). They are also described as stirring up the Gentiles against Jesus' apostles, and as conspiring to kill them too (Acts, 13:50; 14: 2; 20:3; 26:2). The Jews are also accused of not keeping the laws of the Torah which had been given to them (Acts 7:53). The conviction of the Jews that they were God's chosen people is also refuted, and it is stressed that God is not only of the Jews but also of the Gentiles (Romans 3:29). On the other hand, a group of Jews who have believed in the message of the apostles is also mentioned (Acts 14:1). All these elements recur in the koranic attack on the Jews. To begin with, the Jewish arrogance stemming from the conviction that the people of Israel were God's chosen nation is reproved in various ways. In Koran 2:111, the Jews, as well as the Christians, are challenged to prove their claim that they alone will enter paradise. In Koran 5:18 the koranic prophet is requested to refute the idea that the Jews and the Christians were no less than "the sons of God and His beloved ones." The koranic prophet is requested to tell them that if this were so, God would not have punished them as He did. The arrogant Jews seem also to be referred to in Koran 4:49, which speaks about people who consider themselves pure, while only God decides whom to purify. Elsewhere (Koran 62:6) it is maintained that if the Jews are really God's favorites, to the exclusion of other people, they had better die soon. This is a sarcastic response to their unfounded conviction that Paradise is in store for them (see also Koran 2:94).The Jews have lost their right to be considered a chosen people mainly because of their insubordination and disbelief. The Koran imputes to them the blame of persecuting and killing their own prophets (Koran 3:181, 183), a sin that is usually mentioned with reference to the Children of Israel (Koran 2:61, 87, 91; 4:155; 5:70). The Christians too share some of the blame, because they have rejected the prophets sent to the Jews. This is implied in Koran 2:113 where the Jews and the Christians reject each other's religion as a false one. This they do in spite of the fact that they read "the Book" which testifies to the relevance of all the prophets sent by God. Likewise, the Koran condemns in Koran 4:150–1 unbelievers (*kāfirin*) who have only believed in some prophets while rejecting the others. It seems that the rift between Jews and Christians is also referred to in Koran 23:53 (cf. Koran 15:90–1) which condemns those who cut off their religion into sects (*zubur*).

Apart from persecuting the prophets, the Jews are blamed for failing to keep the laws of their own Torah. In Koran 62:5, those who have been given the Torah but do not carry it out are likened to an ass carrying books. The Torah, it is said elsewhere, contains guidance and light by which the prophets and the rabbis judged the Jews, but those who do not judge by what God has revealed are unbelievers (Koran 5:44). Elsewhere they are said to have believed only in parts of the Book and to have disbelieved in its other parts (Koran 2:85). The Christians too are suspect of ignoring their own law, as is implied in Koran 5:68, in which the People of the Book are warned against failing to observe the Torah and the Gospel (*Injīl*). In fact, a party of the People of the Book is accused of deliberate rejection of the scriptures given to them by their prophets. They have cast them behind their backs, yet they expect to be praised for their assumed devotion to the Torah (Koran 2:101; 3:187–8). The Koran is also aware of the wrath of God, which resulted in various hardships that the Jews suffered in the course of their history. Their rigid dietary laws, for example, which the Koran adopts in a passage mentioned above, are interpreted elsewhere in the Koran as a punishment from God inflicted on the Jews for oppressing the poor and for taking usury (Koran 4:160–1; 6:146; 16:118). The Koran further claims that these restrictions were not yet prescribed in the Torah, in which all kinds of food were still permitted except for that which Jacob prohibited (Koran 3:93). Apart from the dietary restrictions, the state of internal friction and discord which divided the Jews into sects was also seen as the sign of God's vengeance (Koran 5:64). God has also punished some Jews who have violated the Sabbath by transforming them into apes (Koran 2:65; 7:163–66). The sins committed by the Jews with respect to their own scriptures have continued into Islamic times, and bear serious anti-Islamic implications. These come out in passages imputing to the Jews the distortion (*taḥrīf*) of the original text of their own sacred scriptures (Koran 4:46; 5:13, 41–3. Cf. Koran 2:75). This seems to be dealt with indirectly also in Koran 2:79, which denounces those "who write the Book with their own hands claiming that it is of God, in order to sell it at a small price…." It is probably implied here that the Jews sold to the believers forged copies of their scriptures. In one verse (Koran 3:78), the act of forging is oral. It is performed by people who "twist" the Book with their tongues, claiming that this is the true form of the Book, although it is not. In this context, the Jews are also accused of playing with (Hebrew?) words that bear a mischievous sense (Koran 4:46. Cf. Koran 2:104). All this is designed to mislead and offend the Muslims and their prophet.

The distortion of the Torah goes hand in hand with the Jewish sin of rejecting those rulings of the koranic prophet which corresponded to their own laws. They refused to follow his verdict, after having made him a judge, and the Koran blames them for preferring the legal advice of others (Koran 5:41–3). The Jews are also said to have plotted to conceal from the Muslim believers what God has revealed to them, so as not to give the believers arguments which they might use against them (Koran 2:76. Cf. Koran 4:37; 2:42). The sin of concealment is imputed mainly to the People of the Book (Koran 2:146; 3:71). They are said to have made their scriptures into separate writings (*qarāṭīs*) of which they concealed much (Koran 6:91). The message of the koranic prophet is said to have reintroduced those parts of the previous scriptures, which the People of the Book attempted to conceal (Koran 5:15). The Koran promises the sinners guilty of concealment a severe curse from God (Koran 2:159), which is the fire of hell (Koran 2:174). It seems that when accusing the Jews of concealing the Torah, the Koran refers to those parts in their scriptures which foretold the emergence of Muhammad. This is supported by koranic verses asserting that the description of the Islamic prophet was recorded in the Torah and the Gospel as the "Gentile" (*ummī*) Prophet (Koran 7:157), and that Jesus knew him as Aḥmad (Koran 61:6). The Jews, or rather the People of the Book, are also accused of rejecting the authenticity of the Koran as the true Word of God. On one occasion, they demand that the Prophet produce a book from heaven (Koran 4:153), and they seem to have in mind the written Torah of Moses. Their demand seems to be designed to annoy the Prophet who only receives sporadic oral revelations. It implies that the People of the Book do not believe he is a true prophet. This goes hand in hand with the accusation that Muhammad learned the Koran from a non-Arab (Koran 16:103). The gravest aspect of the Jewish anti-Islamic sin is the hostility towards the Muslim believers. In this respect, the Koran differentiates between them and the Christians. This comes out in Koran 5:82, which states that the Jews as well as the polytheists bear the strongest enmity against the believers, while the Christian priests and hermits are the closest in love to the believers. In some passages the Koran offers a concrete substitute for the Jewish evil ways, namely, the religion of Abraham (e.g., Koran 2:135). The latter is said to have been a *ḥanīf*, i.e., a non-Jewish and a non-Christian monotheist. The particularistic insistence on Abraham's non-Jewish and non-Christian identity comes out in explicit statements, as, for example, in Koran 2:140, where Abraham, as well as Ishmael, Jacob and the Tribes (i.e., Jacob's sons) are said to have been neither Jews nor Christians (Koran 2:140). But elsewhere the non-Jewish/Christian identity is stated concerning Abraham in particular, with the assertion that the Torah and the Gospel were only revealed after his time (Q 3:65). This statement is addressed to the People of the Book, probably with the intention of refuting their own aspirations concerning Abraham, whose religious heritage they were probably claiming to have preserved. In other words, the image of Abraham has been appropriated from the Jews and the Christians and was turned into the prototype of the non-Jewish and non-Christian model of Islam. This is also the context of Koran 3:67–8, which asserts that the people nearest to Abraham are the Muslim believers. Some passages refer to military clashes between Muhammad and the Jews. In one passage (Koran 5:64) it is stated that whenever the Jews light the fire of war, God puts it out. But in other passages, the Jews are the party that comes under the Islamic military pressure, and their military weaknesses are exposed. In Koran 59:14, for example, it is observed that the People of the Book never fight the believers in one solid formation, but only in sporadic groups, hiding behind the walls of their fortresses. They are divided among themselves and fight each other vehemently. The People of the Book have suffered actual defeat, which is mentioned in Koran 59:1–4. Here they are driven out of their houses, although they thought that their fortresses would defend them against God. Apart from the military defeat of the People of the Book, the Koran also refers very briefly to their social status under Islamic domination. They must be killed unless they pay the tribute called **jizya*, but even then, they remain socially inferior to the believers (Koran 9:29).

Pillars of Islam and the Koran

SHAHĀDA. The declaration that there is no God but Allāh and that Muhammad is His messenger does not appear in the Koran as an independent unit, but separate elements of it are found in several passages. The declaration about God is found, for example, in Koran 40:65, and the one about Muḥammad is found in Koran 48:29.

PRAYER. Prayer is a basic element of Islamic ritual, and the believers are urged to pray day and night, although the exact times are not specified. Perhaps the most specific formulation is provided in Koran 30:17–18: "Therefore glory be to God when you enter upon the time of the evening and when you enter upon the time of the morning, and to Him belongs praise in the heavens and the earth, and at nightfall and when you are at midday." Muslim exegetes have read into this passage the idea of the five daily prayers. The direction of prayer (*qibla*) is the sacred Mosque (in Mecca) (Koran 2:144), but Islamic tradition knows of an earlier direction which was abandoned: Jerusalem. Ritual ablution before prayer is prescribed in Koran 5:6.

Friday prayer is prescribed in Koran 62:9–10.

ZAKĀT (ALMS GIVING). In many verses, prayer goes hand in hand with alms giving (e.g., Koran 2:43. etc.). The collection of the latter is prescribed in Koran 9:103, and the criteria for its distribution among the needy are provided in Koran 9:60.

FASTING. Fasting during the month of Ramaḍān is prescribed in Koran 2:183–87 and replaces previous rulings (according to the exegetes: Jewish ones) of fasting during a few days only. Ramaḍān is said in these verses to have been the month during which the Koran started to be sent down from heaven, and some exegetes say that Laylat al-Qadr, which according to another verse marked the beginning of the koranic revelation (Koran 97:1), occurred in Ramaḍān.

PILGRIMAGE. The koranic duty of pilgrimage is closely associated with Abraham. According to Koran 22:27, God commanded Abraham to proclaim the duty of pilgrimage to Mecca. It was Abraham and Ishmael who have raised the foundations of the "house," i.e., the Ka‘ba (Koran 2: 127), and they purified it for the pilgrims (Koran 2:125). The obligation to keep the sanctity of the sacred months during which pilgrimage takes place is ordained in Koran 5:2. The lesser pilgrimage, i.e., the *u'umra*, is mentioned in Koran 2:196.

HOLY WAR (*JIHĀD). Holy war was regarded by some scholars as the sixth pillar of Islam. In the Koran (9:5) it is called by the exegetes: "the sword verse," and it declares total war against the infidels. Many exegetes hold that this verse repeals any other verse implying tolerance towards the unbelievers.

AMONG THE RITUAL COMMANDMENTS, THOSE PERTAINING TO DRINKING OF WINE ARE SAID TO HAVE BEEN GIVEN BY DEGREES. While the most explicit condemnation of wine drinking is given in Koran 5:90 (together with gambling and other pagan activities), other verses give the impression that intoxication is still not entirely prohibited (Koran 16:67; 4:43). Eating of carrion, blood, flesh of swine, and that which was sacrificed to idols, is prohibited in Koran 2:173. Regulations of marriage, divorce and inheritance are provided in various chapters, especially in Sura 2 and 4. Moral commandments, such as prohibition of extramarital sexual intercourse, the commandment to honor one's parents, the condemnation of bribery, false measurements, damaging lies, are provided in various chapters.

Hebrew Translations of the Koran

Early Hebrew translations of the Koran have been preserved in unpublished manuscripts. One in Oxford (Bodleian, MS Michael 113 [Ol. 50]), from the 17th century, and the other in the British Library (Or. 6636), probably written in India in the 18th century. They both contain a translation done in the 17th century by Jacob b. Israel Halevi. He used an Italian translation of the Koran published in Venice in 1547. The latter was done from a Latin version. A third manuscript is found in the Library of Congress, based on a Dutch version of the Koran (see Myron M. Weinstein, "A Hebrew Qur'ān Manuscript," in Thomas A. Timberg, *Jews in India* (1986), 205–47). Hebrew translations of the Koran done directly from the Arabic are by Z.H. Reckendorf (1857), J.J. Rivlin (1933–36), A. Ben Shemesh (1971), and U. Rubin (2005).

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[Uri Rubin (2nd ed.)]

KORCHNOY, VIKTOR (1931–), Russian chess master. Korchnoy was one of the top prizewinners in international tournaments and was three-time champion of U.S.S.R. In 1970 he defected to the United States, after he lost a match to Anatoly Karpov. He claimed that he was forced to lose by pressure of the Soviets, because Karpov was their favorite, and because he was a Jew. In 2001 he settled in Switzerland, was awarded citizenship, and represented the country in international chess tournaments.

KORCZAK, JANUSZ (**Henryk Goldszmidt**; 1878 or 1879–1942), Polish author, educator, and social worker. Korczak, who was born into a wealthy and assimilated Warsaw family, qualified as a physician and soon became interested in the poor, working as a volunteer in summer camps for underprivileged children. His social concern was first revealed in *Dzieci ulicy* ("Children of the Street," 1901), which described the horrifying plight of homeless orphans in the cities, living on their wits and stealing to survive, yet retaining their sense of right and wrong. *Dziecko salonu* ("A Child of the Salon," 1906) painted a contrasting picture of a pampered middle-class boy whose existence depends on the dictatorship of money. Both books aroused discussion and controversy, especially among the reactionary elements subjected to Korczak's incisive criticism. In 1911 the writer became the head of a new Jewish orphanage in Warsaw and retained the post for the rest of his life, apart from his World War I service as a Polish medical officer. Korczak's educational approach, revolutionary in its time, gave children a system of self-government and the opportunity of producing their own newspaper, *Mały Przegląd* ("Little Journal"), which appeared as a weekly supplement to the Zionist daily *Nasz Przegląd* (1920–39). His success prompted the authorities to secure his aid in establishing a parallel non-Jewish orphanage near Warsaw. Korczak also became a probation officer, a lecturer at the Free Polish University and the Jewish teachers' institute, and a frequent broadcaster on topics relating to children and adults.

On the basis of his experiences Korczak published theoretical works, such as *Jak kochać dziecko* ("How to Love a Child," 1920–21) and *Prawo dziecka do szacunku* ("The Child's Right to Respect," 1929). Two early children's books were *Mośki*, *Jośki*, *Srule* (1910), the story of three Jewish boys, and *Józki, Jaśki, and Franki* (1911). In later years, in his small bare room in the Jewish orphanage, Korczak wrote many others, including *Sam na sam z Bogiem* ("Alone with God," 1922), on prayer; *Kiedy znów będę mały* ("When I Am Small Again," 1925); *Król Maciuś Pierwszy* ("Matthew the Young King," 1928); and *Kajtuś czarodziej* ("Kajtuś the Magician," 1934). These were translated into several languages, including Hebrew, and later became especially popular in Israel. His last works include *Uparty chłopiec* ("A Stubborn Boy," 1937) about Pasteur; *Ludzie są dobrzy* ("People as Good," 1938); and *Refleksje* ("Reflections," 1938).

With the rise of Hitler and the spread of antisemitism Korczak's Jewish consciousness deepened and he became Poland's non-Zionist representative on the Jewish Agency. In 1934 and again in 1936 he visited Palestine, where he met many of his old pupils who had become *ḥaluẓim*, spending some time at kibbutz Ein Ḥarod. The educational and social philosophy of the kibbutz movement greatly impressed Korczak, who would undoubtedly have settled in Ereẓ Israel, had this not meant deserting his orphans in Warsaw. After the Nazi invasion of Poland, he strove to protect the orphanage in the Warsaw Ghetto, to which it had been transferred in 1940, and rescued many other hapless youngsters. When the Nazi deportation order was served in 1942, Korczak, suppressing the truth, told his children that they were going on a picnic in the country. When he, his assistant, and some 200 orphans at last reached the cattle trucks waiting to ship them to Treblinka, Korczak refused a last-minute offer of his freedom in return for abandoning his charges and went with them to his death. Korczak's heroism and martyrdom created a legend and invested him with the glory of a saint. His achievements have inspired various studies and Erwin Sylvanus' German drama *Korczak und die Kinder* (1958; *Dr. Korczak and the Children*, 1958). Commemorative postage stamps were issued on the 20th anniversary of his death in both Poland and Israel.

Korczak committees have been formed in Poland, Israel and West Germany. The Warsaw Committee was established in 1946, but because of the Stalinist regime in Poland at the time it did not become active until 1956, when it undertook the publication of his works, the assembly of archives, lectures on his works, etc. Much of its activity was related to the fact that many of its members – including for a time the chairman – were Jews. After the Six-Day War, however, the Jewish members were gradually weeded out and a Pole, who was prepared to suppress Korczak's Jewish origin and his positive approach to Ereẓ Israel, was appointed chairman.

The Israel Committee was established in 1957 and the West German Korczak Society in 1977.

In 1972 the Warsaw Committee was awarded the annual Frankfurt Book Fair Peace Prize by the German Booksellers' and Publishers' Association. The citation, however, referred to Korczak only as "a Pole [who] from 1917 directed a Jewish orphanage in Warsaw [and] lived and died with the children entrusted to him in the Warsaw Ghetto on the death march in Treblinka." The Israel Korczak Committee protested against the failure to mention that Korczak was a Jew, and against giving the prize to Poland, on the grounds that it was an antisemitic country. As a result of these protests the West German government agreed to grant an equal amount to the Israel Korczak Committee, but the committee decided not to accept it unless it received an official prize in the same way as the Polish Committee had.

In 1972 there appeared *Min ha-Getto*, which includes Korczak's ghetto diary, documents, and a chapter on his life and activities in the ghetto. The first volume of the collected works of Korczak *Im ha-Yeled* ("With the Child") consisting of three works published before the end of World War I, translated into Hebrew from the original Polish by Ẓevi Arad, appeared in 1974. In 1976 there appeared a volume of his writings translated into Hebrew under the title *Yaldut shel Kavod*, and in 1978 another similar volume *Dat ha-Yeled*.

The centenary of the birth of Korczak was widely celebrated, and the Polish Government took the initiative in having 1978 proclaimed the Janusz Korczak Celebration Year. In Israel an International Conference was held under the auspices of UNESCO, from April 12–17, with sessions held in Jerusalem, Haifa and Tel Aviv, where a permanent Janusz Korczak Exhibition was opened and a special medallion struck by the Bet Loḥamei Ha-Getta'ot. In Jerusalem a school was named in his honor. An official representative of the Polish government attended the celebration.

A monument by a Russian immigrant sculptor, Baruch Saktsier, showing Korczak with a protective hand round some of his wards at the Warsaw Jewish orphanage, was unveiled in the Memorial Garden in Yad Vashem dedicated to Jewish children who perished in the Holocaust.

The Polish celebration, to which Israeli representatives were officially invited, took place in Warsaw in October. The original date fixed for the celebration, October 11, was postponed to the following day at the request of the Israel Committee since the original date fell on Yom Kippur.

No less than 70 schools have been named after him in Poland.

I. Perlis has revealed the Jewish background of Korczak and his positive attitude to Israel.

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KORCZAK-MARLA, ROZKA (1921–1988), Zionist youth movement and underground leader, partisan. Korczak-Marla grew up in Plock, Poland, and was a member of the Zionist youth movement Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir. With the start of World War II she fled to Vilna, then under Soviet control, and became a leader of the local Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir group. At the time of the German invasion in the summer of 1941, she remained in the Vilna area where within six months the Einsatzgruppen along with Lithuanian collaborators killed about 40,000 Jews. At a meeting of Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir activists in a convent just outside of Vilna to discuss the Jewish response, Abba *Kovner proposed that the remaining Jews of Vilna should ready themselves to resist the occupiers with arms. Korczak-Marla published the minutes of the ensuing discussion in her memoir of the period, *Lehavot ba-Efer* ("Flames in the Ashes," 1964). The protocol of the discussion is an important source for understanding the concerns and motivations of Zionist youth at the time.

Korczak-Marla was a member of the Fareinkte Partizaner Organizatsie (FPO; United Partisan Organization), which was created as a result of the meeting. She escaped from the ghetto to the Rudninkai Forest shortly after the suicide of the FPO leader Yiẓḥak Wittenberg, in July 1943. In the forest she took part in the establishment of Jewish partisan units. In July 1944, after the liberation of Vilna, Korczak-Marla returned to the city. At the end of 1944 she left for Palestine, where she joined kibbutz Eilon. After a while she moved to kibbutz Ein-Ḥoresh, along with other former partisans, including Abba Kovner. Korczak-Marla took part in the creation of Moreshet, the museum Bet Loḥamei ha-Getta'ot, the Givat Ḥavivah Holocaust study center, and the museum and study center at Yad Mordekhai.

[Robert Rozette]

KORDA, SIR ALEXANDER (1893–1956), film producer. Born Sandor Laszlo Kellner in Hungary, Korda worked for Hungarian newspapers, but in 1915 became a stagehand in a Budapest film studio and went on to writing and directing. After World War I he moved to Vienna, Rome, the UFA studios in Berlin, and then to Hollywood. Korda settled in London in 1929 and sprang to fame when he made *The Private Life of Henry VIII* in 1933, an enormously successful film that introduced Charles Laughton and Merle Oberon (who became Korda's second wife). He founded London Film Productions Ltd. in 1932, became a director of United Artists in 1935, and founded Alexander Korda Film Productions in 1939. During the 1930s, he produced a number of memorable movies including *Catherine the Great* (1934), *The Scarlet Pimpernel* (1935), and *Rembrandt* (1936). In 1942 he sold his interest in United Artists and became manager of Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer's London operators. Later films include *The Thief of Baghdad* (1940); *The Third Man* (1950), perhaps his most famous film; and *Richard III* (1955). Korda produced 112 films. He was knighted for his services to the British film industry in 1942. Korda was one of the most famous of British film producers during British cinema's "golden age," and probably the one most like the legendary producers of Hollywood.

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[Mark Perlgut]

KOREFF, DAVID FERDINAND (1783–1851), German author and physician. Koreff was the son of a physician in Breslau and became known for his use of unorthodox medical techniques (mesmerism) and the treatment of mental cases. He cured scores of patients after other physicians had abandoned hope of their recovery.

He was a member of the *Nordsternbund*, a circle of young romantic poets (Varnhagen v. Ense, A. v. Chamisso, W. Neumann, L. Robert) in Berlin and displayed considerable literary ability, translating Hippocrates, Plautus, and Tibullus, and composing several original romantic poems. In Prussia his friends were Rahel Levin (*Varnhagen), L.Tieck, J.E. Hitzig, E.T.A. Hoffmann, F. de la Motte Fouqué, and H. v. Pueckler-Muskau. From 1807 to 1811 he lived in Paris and combined the practice of medicine with a literary career. His patients included the family of Emperor Napoleon and a number of diplomats. In 1814 he served as a physician in the Prussian army and participated in the last battle against Napoleon for which he received the decoration "Eisernes Kreuz." After being appointed after 1815 as physician in ordinary of the Prussian king, Frederick William III, and the Prussian chancellor, Prince von Hardenberg, he received a full professorship at Berlin, but as a Jew he had no right to occupy such a post and the chancellor immediately ensured that he underwent baptism in the Lutheran Church (Aug. 13, 1816, in Meissen). His main literary work was *Lyrische Gedichte* (1815). He also wrote the text for *Aucassin und Nicolette*, an opera performed in Berlin in 1822, and was instrumental in founding the University of Bonn in 1818. In 1822, after the death of Hardenberg, he moved to Paris again, where he resumed his practice of medicine. Koreff's circle in the French capital included the painter Delacroix, the philosopher Victor Cousin, and such writers as Stendhal, Mérimée, Musset, Hugo, and Dumas; he also befriended Heine (whom he treated) and Meyerbeer. As an intermediary between the leading French and German literary groups, Koreff was a personality of considerable significance.

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[Sol Liptzin / Archiv Bibliographia Judaica (2nd ed.)]

KORÈNE, VERA (1901–1996), French actress. Born in Paris, Vera Korène starred in Marcel Pagnol's play *Topaz* (1928) and joined the Comédie Française, playing mostly classical roles in Racine, Molière, and Shakespeare. She also appeared in films from 1933. In 1940 the Vichy government deprived her of French citizenship and she had to flee the country. She returned to the Comédie Française as actress and director after the war and retired in 1956.

KORETS (Pol. **Korzec**), town in Rovno district, Ukraine. The community in Korets was one of the oldest in Poland. Jews were living there in the 16th century. During the *Chmielnicki massacres in 1648/49 the community was almost annihilated, and only ten Jewish houses were left. The community recovered soon afterward to become the largest and most influential in the Council of Volhynia Land. A textile factory established by Joseph Czartoryski in Korets in 1786 employed 60 Jewish workers, and another textile factory founded in 1787 by Pinkhas Israel employed only Jews. In 1765, 937 Jews lived there but the number dropped in 1787 to 364 persons. Between 1766 and 1819 there were four Hebrew printing presses in Korets, some of them associated with those in Shklov, Nowy Dwor, and Ostrog. They printed nearly 100 books, mostly works of Kabbalah and Ḥasidism, which contributed considerably to the spread of Ḥasidism in Poland and adjoining countries. Works by *Jacob Joseph of Polonnoye and *Dov Baer of Mezhirech were first printed there. Korets was a center of Ḥasidism. Dov Baer the Maggid of Mezhirech and Phinehas Shapiro were active there. The Jewish population grew in the 19th century, to 3,832 in 1847 and 4,608 (76% of the total population) in 1897. Additional factories were founded, such as tanneries and a large sugar refinery, all owned by Jews. In the beginning of the 20th century a modern *talmud torah*, a private Hebrew school, and a large library existed in Korets. During World War I and the Civil War, pogroms were averted due to the intervention of the Ukrainian town mayor and the self-defense unit, and only two Jews were killed. The Jewish population diminished during World War I, and amounted to 3,888 (83%) in 1921, increasing to 4,695 in December 1937. The first democratic elections to the community administration were held in 1917. Elections were held again, under Polish rule, in 1927, and Nehemiah Herschengon (d. 1923) was rabbi of the community for 67 years. In 1924 many Jews were elected to the City Council. One of them served as a vice-mayor. Apart from the *talmud torah*, there were a Hebrew Tarbut school and a Yiddish school, and in 1920 the Zvihil yeshivah from Novograd-Volynsk, headed by R. Joel Shurin (the Poltava *Illui* ("prodigy")), moved to Korets.

Holocaust Period

Soviet forces entered Korets on Sept. 17, 1939. Jewish institutions and political parties were disbanded, and Jews whose means of livelihood had been taken away attempted to settle into new occupations. Cooperatives for artisans and craftsmen were set up. The Tarbut school was closed, and the communal charitable bodies were forced to stop their activities, although they managed to continue some operations, especially in aiding Jewish refugees. Religious life as such was not disturbed. When war broke out between Germany and the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941, over 500 Jews managed to escape from Korets to Russia. German troops entered on July 2, 1941. On Aug. 8, 1941, Jewish men were called up for forced labor. The 112 who appeared were murdered on the outskirts of the city. On Aug. 20, 1941, another 350 Jewish men were murdered there, and on August 25 a fine of 100,000 marks (a million rubles) was levied against the Jews. In the winter that followed, the community suffered from hunger and epidemics, and many were conscripted for labor camps. On May 21, 1942, 2,200 Jews were killed near the village of Kozak. The survivors in the community, about 1,000, were subsequently concentrated in a ghetto. A Judenrat was established under Moshe Krasnostawski. The Judenrat maintained contacts with the Jewish underground headed by Misha Gildenman and his son Simkha, and a resistance group of 20 members was formed in the ghetto, armed with one pistol and knives. On September 25, 1942, when the final liquidation of Korets Jews came, Krasnostawski set fire to the ghetto houses (he died in the flames), and under the cover of fire and smoke many escaped, among them 11 persons, led by Gildenman to the forests north of the town. Gildenman built up a partisan unit, connected later with the partisan division of General Saburov, and became one of the outstanding partisan leaders of the region. About 500 survivors returned there after the liberation on January 13, 1944, but most left for Israel and the West. The Jewish population in 1970 was estimated to be only a few families. During Passover 1959 a *minyan* conducting services in private was dispersed by militia.

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[Aharon Weiss / Shmuel Spector (2nd ed.)]

KORETS, PHINEHAS BEN ABRAHAM ABBA SHAPIRO OF (1726–1791), ḥasidic rabbi. Born in Shklov, he later lived in Korets, but because of differences of opinion with the followers of Dov *Baer, the Maggid of Mezhirech, he left the town around 1770. He moved to Ostrog, later settling in Shepetovka where he died. His plans to emigrate to Ereẓ Israel were never fulfilled.

Having studied Maimonides' *Guide of the Perplexed* as a young man, Phinehas later gave primacy to the study of the *Zohar which he considered a means of strengthening faith. He was active in small circles, and his disciples included *Jacob Samson of Shepetovka, *Ze'ev Wolf of Zhitomir, *Aaron Samuel b. Naphtali Hertz ha-Kohen, and *Raphael of Bershad. His sermons were published in various collections: *Midrash Pinḥas* (Bilgoray, 1931), *Pe'er la-Yesharim* (Jerusalem, 1921), *Nofet Ẓufim* (Lemberg, 1864), *Ge'ullat Yisrael* (Lemberg, 1864), and *Likkutei Shoshannim* (Czernowitz, 1857). They appeared also in the works of his disciples: *Benei Yissakhar* (Zolkiew, 1850), *Ve-Ẓivvah ha-Kohen* (Belaya Tserkov, 1823), and *Kodesh Hillulim* (1864). Extant manuscripts of his works are preserved in Jerusalem, Cincinnati, and in private collections. A great number of his sayings are given in brief, in the original Yiddish.

Although Phinehas met *Israel b. Eliezer, the Ba'al Shem Tov, he should not be considered his disciple in the full sense of the word. He opposed many teachings of the Maggid of Mezhirech, mainly on the question of *devekut* ("devotion"). Phinehas, who represents the enthusiastic trend in Ḥasidism, prayed with particular *devekut*. He emphasized the special value of prayer and its influence on the upper worlds. Unlike other Ḥasidim, Phinehas held that the *mitzvot* should be performed for their own sake, believing that when a man observes a *mitzvah*, he raises the world to its highest point of origin, i.e., he abolishes its material presence. Expressing a measure of opposition to praying according to the prayer book of the "Ari" (Isaac *Luria) with *kavvanot* ("meditations"), he stated that this evades the main issue: "To unite the heart to God in truth." Thus Phinehas opposed contemplative prayer, stating that man should pray explicitly for human needs, believing that God would fulfill his request. He thus opposed the custom of delaying the time of prayer, which had become widespread among the Ḥasidim. It is related that Phinehas praised highly the writings of *Jacob Joseph of Polonnoye. He advised his followers not to take part in disputes with the **Mitnaggedim*.

In Phinehas' thought, the substance of the world derives from the life force which God continuously renews and causes to flow into its midst, but we must be wary of interpreting his words as expressing pantheistic ideas. On the face of it, it is possible that this conception negates the existence of the world, but it does not render it identical with God. The Sabbath in particular is considered a day of elevating the wordly sphere, to the extent that man does not see the need to eat on that day. Because of this it is also impossible to make special preparations for the Sabbath, because "it comes from Heaven and no one knows how and what is given to it." He also emphasized the use of melodies as a means of religious expression. In matters of morals, Phinehas emphasized the importance of truth and modesty. He advocated fasting as a way to overcome evil impulses.

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[Moshe Hallamish]

KORETZ, ZVI (1894–1945), rabbi in Greece. Koretz was born in Galicia. He studied in a yeshivah and after World War I went to Vienna to study in the university. After receiving his doctorate, he went to the Vienna Rabbinical Seminary, the Hamburg Institute for Oriental Sciences, and the Berlin Hochschule fuer die Wissenschaft des Judentums.

In 1933 he was appointed chief rabbi of Salonika. After three months he delivered his first sermons in Greek and Judeo-Spanish.

Shortly after the beginning of the German invasion of Greece on April 15, 1941, Koretz and the community president, Dr. Halevi, were arrested by the Germans in Athens. Koretz was exiled to a prison in Vienna on the pretext that he had cabled the Jewish communities of Palestine, Egypt, England, and the United States, protesting the Italian air bombing of the Saint Sophia church in Salonika.

In February 1942 he was freed from imprisonment in Vienna, but was imprisoned again in June 1942 in Salonika. He was the sole Jew taken, along with 600 Greek Orthodox. On August 2, 1942, he was freed, along with the other prisoners.

He was then forced by the Germans to fill several positions which affected his image among the Jews. Koretz was installed as liaison with the Germans. In the course of the next few months, as a member of the Jewish Community Committee, Koretz had an active and leading role in negotiating with the German Command for the ransom of thousands of Jews sent to forced labor. When the German commander of Salonika, Max Merten, changed the ransom fee from an agreed two billion drachmas to three and a half billion drachmas, the Committee had great difficulties in raising the money. As one of the Committee members the rabbi was present when they were compelled to hand over the 500-year-old cemetery for its desecration in exchange for the deduction of one billion drachmas from the ransom fee. Koretz endured great difficulties in raising money from the wealthier members of the community. This was one of several factors in the community's failure in contributing the necessary funds.

On December 11, 1942, Koretz was appointed president of the Jewish community. He made his acceptance conditional upon the agreement that six members of the committee and he would bear collective responsibility to the German authorities.

As head of the community, Koretz bore much of the brunt of complying with the orders issued by Eichmann's representatives, Alois *Brunner and Dieter *Wisliceny, who instigated a constant state of terror. The preliminary steps taken to prepare the expulsion of the Jews were the establishment of ghettos, curfews, and the collection of money in a special account. Koretz had the responsibility of transmitting these and other harsh German orders to the members of the Jewish community.

On March 10, 1943, five days before the first transport, Koretz tried to defer the deportations by offering the Germans one half of the property of the Jews in the form of real estate. The high command in Berlin refused the offer. Koretz arranged a meeting with Greek Prime Minister Rallis on April 9, 1942. He requested that the latter mediate with the Germans to prevent the expulsion of the ancient Jewish community of Salonika. Rallis replied evasively. Koretz was imprisoned, and sent to a camp and then deported, with his family, to Bergen-Belsen. In the camp Koretz was forced to do hard labor and eventually caught typhus after he was transferred to Theresienstadt. Three months after the liberation by the Russians he died in the small town of Trebitz, 45 miles (70 km.) from Dresden.

[Yitzhak Kerem]

KORIAT, ASHER (1939–), Israeli cognitive psychologist. Born in Morocco, Koriat immigrated to Israel in 1949. In 1965 he received his M.A. degree in psychology from the Hebrew University of Jerusalem and in 1970 he received his Ph.D. from University of California, Berkeley. From 1970 until 1976 he taught in the department of psychology at the Hebrew University. From 1976 he lectured at Haifa University and from 1981 until 1984 he was the head of the department of psychology there. In 1990 he became a professor. He was also a visiting professor in universities and research centers in the U.S., Canada, and Germany. He was head of the Center for Decision Making and Information Processing and the Minerva Center for Cognitive Processes and Human Performances as well as a member of various boards and societies. Among his research interests are memory organization; psychology of reading; spatial representation and transformation; metacognition; monitoring and control processes in learning and remembering; subjective experience; and memory accuracy and distortion. In 2002 he was awarded the Israel Prize for psychology.

[Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

KORINE, EZRA (1906–1976), Israeli physician. Born in Iraq where he was active in Jewish and Zionist educational institutions, he graduated from the Medical School in Beirut, after which he immigrated to Israel in 1951. He served as a specialist in ear, nose and throat diseases at the Tel ha-Shomer Hospital, and he devoted himself particularly to the rehabilitation of deaf children and to the advancement of children from Iraq. He also undertook research into the history of the Jewish community of Iraq. He was awarded the Israel Prize in 1976 for special contributions in social and national fields.

KORKIS, ABRAHAM ADOLF (1865–1921), Polish Zionist. Born in Kamionka Strumiłowa, Galicia, Korkis studied law at the University of Lemberg, and was the chief clerk of the government Commerce and Industry Office for the province of Galicia. He began his Jewish Zionist activity as a student. When the first organization uniting all the nationalist associations and groups for settlement in Ereẓ Israel was established in Galicia (1892) and the first national organ in Polish, *Przyszłość* ("The Future") was founded, Korkis became head of the organization (intermittently until 1903) and editor of *Przyszlosc*. He participated in the First Zionist Congress and was elected to the Zionist General Council. He also published studies on economic matters. In 1918 he was among the founders of the Polish Zionist daily *Chwila*, published in Lwow.

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[Getzel Kressel]

KORMAN, EDWARD R. (1942–), U.S. District Court judge. Born in New York City, Korman received a bachelor's degree from Brooklyn College in 1963, an LL.B. degree from Brooklyn Law School in 1966, and an LL.M. from New York University in 1971. He served as law clerk to Judge Kenneth B. Keating of the New York Court of Appeals from 1966 to 1968 and was an associate in the firm of Paul, Weiss, Rifkind, Wharton, and Garrison from 1968 to 1970. Korman served as assistant U.S. attorney for the Eastern District of New York from 1970 to 1972 and as assistant to the solicitor general of the United States from 1972 to 1974. He returned to the U.S. attorney's office for the Eastern District, serving as chief assistant U.S. attorney from 1974 to 1978 and as U.S. attorney from 1978 to 1982. He joined the law firm of Stroock and Stroock and Lavan as partner from 1982 to 1984 and as counsel from 1984 to 1985.

A professor of law at Brooklyn Law School from 1984 to 1985, Korman also served as a member of the Temporary Commission of Investigation of the State of New York and was chairman of the Mayor's Committee on New York City Marshals from 1983 to 1985. In 1985 he was appointed U.S. District Judge for the Eastern District of New York.

Judge Korman authored several significant opinions. In 1989 he ordered the extradition of a member of the Abu Nidal organization to Israel to stand trial for a terrorist attack on a bus traveling between the West Bank and Tel Aviv, rejecting the argument that "any atrocity, if politically motivated," falls under the political offense exception to extradition. He ruled in 1996 that the New York State Republican Party's presidential primary election ballot access rules imposed an unconstitutional burden on the right to vote, ordering that the party put Steve Forbes and other candidates on the primary presidential ballot statewide.

Perhaps the most noteworthy case to come before him was the class-action lawsuit on behalf of more than half a million plaintiffs against Swiss banks. The suit was filed by Holocaust victims who had deposited money in Swiss banks but were unable to claim it after the war. The plaintiffs claimed that, among other obstacles, some bankers demanded the death certificates of people who had been killed in Nazi concentration camps – obviously impossible to obtain. Korman approved a $1.25 billion settlement between the banks and the plaintiffs in 2000, and later approved a distribution plan for the settlement. Elan Steinberg, executive director of the World Jewish Congress, praised Korman's ruling as a "belated victory" that achieved a measure of justice "for the victims of the greatest crime of the century." Though the distribution plan, which placed emphasis on compensating needy Holocaust victims in the former Soviet Union, was challenged, Judge Jose Cabranes of the Second U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals upheld Judge Korman's decision, stating that Korman approached every step of the litigation with "thoughtful analysis and scrupulous fairness."

[Dorothy Bauhoff (2nd ed.)]

KÖRMENDI, FERENC (1900–1972), Hungarian novelist. Born and educated in Budapest, Körmendi became a journalist and music critic. In 1932 he rose to sudden fame with the publication of *Budapesti kaland*, a novel that won an international publishers' competition and was translated into many languages (*Escape to Life*, 1933). The books that followed reflect the situation of bourgeois Budapest between the world wars, and of the doubts and sense of isolation of Hungarian Jewish intellectuals. These popular novels included *Ind. 715 Via Bodenbach* (1932; *Via Bodenbach*, 1935); *A boldog emberöltő* (1934; *The Happy Generation*, 1945); *Bűnösök* (1935; *The Sinners*, 1948), and *Találkozás és búcsú* ("To Meet and Say Goodbye," 1937). In 1938 Körmendi fled to London, where he joined the Hungarian section of the BBC. Except for a few years in South America, he continued to live in England. His principal work of Jewish interest is the novel *Júniusi hétköznap* (1943; *Weekday in June*, 1946). Based on fact, this tells the tragic story of an assimilated Hungarian Jew who, on the eve of emigration, is killed when a local Nazi throws a bomb in front of a synagogue.

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[Baruch Yaron]

KORMIS, FRED (1897–1986), sculptor. Kormis was born in Frankfurt on the Main, served in the Austrian army during World War I, and was a prisoner-of-war in Siberia from 1915 to 1920. He lived in Germany until 1933 and then moved to Paris before settling in England in 1934. He studied sculpture in Germany and exhibited in Europe before his regular exhibitions in London, including a group of his medals acquired by the British Museum. His public commissions include works for various local authorities in Britain. In later years he created a large group dedicated "To Those who Died in Captivity," at Gladstone Park, London, in memory of "Prisoners of War and Victims of Concentration Camps 1914–1945." It includes five large bronze figures, of which a number of maquettes are in the Imperial War Museum, London.

[Charles Samuel Spencer]

KORN, ARTHUR (1870–1945), electrophysicist and inventor. Born in Breslau, Korn lectured at the Technische Hochschule in Munich (1895–1914) and in Berlin (1914–35). He fled to the U.S. and in 1940 joined the Institute of Technology, Hoboken, New Jersey. Korn specialized in radio photography, and his system for transmitting photographs electrically was first used by a French magazine in 1906. In 1928 his wireless method was used for transmitting pictures from Italy to the U.S. and by the German police. In America he elaborated a method for transmitting maps from aircraft to the ground and another for reproducing textile designs on cloth. His books include: *Elektrische Fernphotographie* (1904) and *Bildtelegraphie* (1923).

KORN, BERTRAM WALLACE (1918–1979), U.S. Reform rabbi, author, and historian. Korn, who was born in Philadelphia, was educated at the University of Pennsylvania and Cornell, earning his degree at the University of Cincinnati in 1939. He was ordained at Hebrew Union College in 1943. He earned his DDL in American Jewish History at HUC in 1949. He was a leading U.S. Jewish historian, particularly in the area of 19th-century studies. He served as a rabbi in Mobile, Alabama (1943–44) before entering the Chaplaincy and serving in China. He then went to Mansfield, Ohio (1946–48) while he pursued his doctorate at HUC. Having completed his doctorate he assumed the pulpit of Keneseth Israel, Philadelphia, in 1949. Each summer he continued his work as a navy chaplain. He was promoted to rear-admiral, the first Jewish chaplain to achieve this rank. He retired in 1978. He served as chairman of the Jewish Welfare Board's Chaplaincy Commission. Korn was an active scholar and teacher, a visiting professor at HUC-JIR in New York and at Dropsie College in Philadelphia.

Korn chaired the Central Conference of American Rabbis' Commission on History (1953–57), and was president of the American Jewish Historical Society (1959–61) and earned its Lee M. Friedman Gold Medal. He also edited the Yearbooks of the Central Conference of American Rabbis for many years. His books include: *The American Reaction to the Mortara Case* (1957); *American Jewry and the Civil War* (1951, 19612); *The Early Jews of New Orleans* (1969); and *The Middle Year of American Jewish History* (Heb., 1970).

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KORN, RACHEL HÄRING (1898–1982), Yiddish poet. Korn was born on the farming estate of "Sucha Gora" (Dry Mountain) near Podliski, East Galicia, the eldest of three children and an only daughter. Her family on both sides had owned and managed farmland for several generations. Growing up on an isolated farm in an area with very few Jewish families, she peopled her world with the living things around her and began to write poetry. Her elementary education was mainly in Polish, the language of her household. When World War I broke out, her family fled to Vienna. They returned to live in Przemysl from 1918 to 1941.

Korn's first publications were in Polish in 1918, in *Nowy Dziennik*, a Zionist newspaper, and in *Glos Przemyski*, a socialist journal, but she switched to Yiddish in the wake of pogroms in Poland after the war. She had been taught to speak, read, and write Yiddish by her husband, Hersh Korn, a Left Labor Zionist. In 1919 she published her first Yiddish poem in the *Lemberger Tageblatt* and was a steady contributor to Yiddish literary journals and newspapers over the next two decades. With the publication of her early volumes of poetry, *Dorf* ("Village," 1928) and *Royter mon* ("Red Poppies," 1937), and her first collection of stories, *Erd* ("Land," 1936), she was recognized as an accomplished and original writer. The profusion and directness of her nature imagery, the dramatic confrontations of village life as she pictured it, and the intensity of her love poetry were all new to Yiddish literature.

When the Germans invaded eastern Galicia in June 1941, Korn and her daughter escaped into the Soviet Union. Korn's husband, her mother, her brothers and their families all perished in the war. Korn fled to Uzbekistan, then until the war ended lived in Moscow, where the leading figures in the world of Soviet Yiddish culture (Bergelson, Markish, Mikhoels, Der Nister) welcomed her as a colleague. Korn and her daughter returned to postwar Poland in 1946, but took refuge in Sweden and in 1948 immigrated to Canada and settled in Montreal.

The dislocation, loss, and anguish of those years are evident in her first postwar collection of poems, *Heym un heymlozikayt* ("Home and Homelessness," 1948). In her earlier work she spoke for the helpless and neglected. She now saw herself as an eternal debtor, with the obligation to speak for the Jewish people who perished in the war. In later volumes, like *Fun Yener Zayt Lid* ("On the Other Side of the Poem," 1962), she wrote of a new dependence on the "the word," on the poem itself, which supplanted the home she lost. She also moved on from narrative to a tighter, meditative lyric. This change in style enabled her to generalize her own experience of loss, to use it as a symbol of Jewish experience.

In all, Korn published eight volumes of poetry and two collections of fiction. She was awarded numerous prizes, among them the Manger Prize of the State of Israel (1974). Some of her work is available in translation, in I. Howe, R. Wisse, Kh. Shmeruk, *The Penguin Book of Modern Yiddish Verse*; S. Levitan, *Paper Roses*; S. Mayne and R. Augenfeld, *Generations*; S. Meltzer, *Shirim ve-Adamah*.

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[Seymour Levitan (2nd ed.)]

KORNBERG, ARTHUR (1918–), U.S. biochemist and Nobel laureate. Born in Brooklyn, N.Y., Kornberg received his B.Sc. at City College, New York, in 1937 and his M.D. at the University of Rochester in 1937. After medical posts including an appointment with the U.S. Coast Guard, he started his scientific career in the Nutrition Section of the National Institutes of Health at Bethesda, followed by appointments at New York University with Prof. Severo Ochoa, Washington School of Medicine with Prof. Carl and Gerty Cori, and the University of California with Prof. H.A. Barker before becoming chief of the Enzyme and Metabolism Section at NIH. In 1953–59 he was head of the Department of Microbiology at Washington University School of Medicine, St Louis, Missouri, and subsequently head of the Department of Biochemistry at Stanford University School of Medicine, Palo Alto, California. He had a major career interest in enzymes, substances which increase the rate of biochemical reactions, and nucleic acid control of heredity. Crick and Watson's work strongly indicated that DNA contains the genetic blueprint which is copied in newly formed, complementary DNA sequences through the process of base pairing. Kornberg and his colleagues verified this concept experimentally and discovered the first of the enzymes, polymerase I, which controls the process of DNA copying. These enzymes play a crucial role in modern biotechnology. For this work he received the Nobel Prize for medicine in 1959 with Severo Ochoa. Later he investigated the role of inorganic polyphosphates and their contribution to the evolution of life forms. His many honors include membership in the U.S. National Academy of Sciences and fellowship in the Royal Society. He had a profound interest in training scientists and in the application of science to medicine.

[Michael Denman (2nd ed.)]

KORNBERG, SIR HANS LEO (1928–), U.K. biochemist. Kornberg was born in Herford, Germany, and came to England as a refugee from the Nazis (1939). Encouraged by Hans Krebs, after working initially as a laboratory assistant, he gained his B.Sc. (1949) and Ph.D. (1953) from the University of Sheffield before joining Efraim Racker at Yale University and at the Public Health Institute, New York, as a Commonwealth Fund Fellow (1953–55). He returned to the U.K. to join the scientific staff of Sir Hans Krebs' Medical Research Council Cell

Metabolism Research Unit at Oxford University (1955–60). He was appointed the first professor and head of the University of Leicester's new biochemistry department (1960–75) before becoming Sir William Dunn Professor of Biochemistry (1975–95) and Master of Christ's College (1982–95) at the University of Cambridge. After statutory retirement, he took up an appointment as professor of biology at Boston University. Kornberg's research focuses on microbial metabolism, mainly on elucidating the "anaplerotic" pathways that enable single cell organisms to derive both energy and the precursors of cell constituents from defined nutrients. Later his research concerned identifying the proteins which span the cell membrane and enable nutrients to be taken up by the cell. His findings have helped to understand how cells respond to chemical signals and have important implications for understanding the regulation of vital processes in health and disease. His honors include election to the Royal Society of London (1965) and to numerous worldwide scientific academies and societies, and a knighthood (1978).

[Michael Denman (2nd ed.)]

KORNEUBURG, town in Lower Austria. According to 15th-century legends, Korneuburg was the capital of *Judaesaptan in pre-Christian times. Though the earliest documentary evidence for the presence of Jews dates from the beginning of the 14th century, a Jewish settlement already existed in the 13th century. On the Day of Atonement, 1297 or 1298, it was alleged that a bleeding Host was found near the home of a Jew; ten members of the community, men and women, were subsequently burned at the stake (see Desecration of the *Host). The Host was interred in the church, where it reputedly performed a number of miracles. When the bishop of Passau ordered an investigation to be opened in 1305, it was discovered that the affair was the result of gross deceptions, but in spite of this the story was popularized in paintings and engravings.

The Jews were expelled from Korneuburg in 1420. The synagogue that had been built in the 14th century was given to the city by Frederick III in 1460. In the 17th century Jews were allowed to frequent the annual fairs but not the weekly ones. A number of complaints were lodged against Jewish peddlers and merchants. Only in 1848 did Jews settle again in Korneuburg. In 1869 there were 819 Jews in the district of Korneuburg (63 in the town itself), and 1,118 in 1880. In 1933 the ancient synagogue was still standing. There were 80 Jews in the town and there was a small congregation that held services in a prayer room. The dead were buried in a part of the municipal cemetery. After the *Anschluss* (1938), Korneuburg Jews moved to Vienna.

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KORNFELD, AARON BEN MORDECAI BAER (1795–1881), last *rosh yeshivah* of Bohemia. Kornfeld's father, Mordecai Baer, turned an old distillery in *Golcuv Jenikov into a modern factory, and his uncle Salman supplied potash to glass factories and founded a tannery. The wealth they thus gained was used for the upkeep of a yeshivah, headed first by Mordecai Baer and, on his death, by Aaron, who was then only 18 years old. Becoming renowned throughout the Jewish world as Aaron Jennikau, Kornfeld was strictly Orthodox in his teaching, yet he conceded the necessity for secular studies. Up to 80 students attended his yeshivah, among them Ignaz *Kuranda and Simon *Szanto. On his return from his intervention in the *Damascus Affair, Moses *Montefiore stopped at Golcuv Jenikov to make Kornfeld's acquaintance. Kornfeld published in 1847 a dialogue between an Orthodox father and a Liberal son in the *Shomer Ẓiyyon ha-Ne'eman*, and in 1865 *Ẓiyyunim le-Divrei ha-Kabbalah*, a collection of judgments alluded to through **gematria*. These he compiled from memory while preparing to undergo an eye operation. With Aaron's death, his yeshivah, the last in Bohemia, was closed. Kornfeld's brother-in-law, MEIR ALTAR HA-LEVI (1812–after 1865), was an early protagonist of *Haskalah in Bohemia and contributed to **Bikkurei ha-Ittim*. Among his works was a translation of the Psalms into Greek. In 1850 Kornfeld and Altar were members of a committee formulating a curriculum for a rabbinical seminary to be established in Prague. Members of the same family include SIGMUND KORNFELD, the Vienna psychiatrist and philosopher, a friend of Theodor *Herzl, Joseph *Popper-Lynkeus, and Zsigmond *Kornfeld, the Budapest banker. The German expressionist writer Paul *Kornfeld was Aaron's great-grandson.

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[Meir Lamed]

KORNFELD, JOSEPH SAUL (1876–1943), U.S. rabbi and diplomat. Born in Austria-Hungary, Kornfeld went to the United States as a child and received his rabbinical ordination at Hebrew Union College in 1899. After serving congregations in Pine Bluff, Arkansas, and Montreal, Canada, he was appointed to Temple B'nai Israel, Columbus, Ohio, in 1907. In Columbus he became active in civic affairs, being elected to the Charter Commission (1913) and the Board of Education (1914–19). He was on friendly terms with the leading Ohio politicians and campaigned for Warren G. Harding in the 1920 presidential election. In 1921 Harding appointed him U.S. ambassador to Persia, where he was called upon at various times to intervene at the court of the Shah in favor of his coreligionists. His presence in Teheran had a beneficial effect on the Jews. Kornfeld returned to the United States in 1925 and became rabbi of the Collingwood Avenue Temple, Toledo, Ohio, remaining there until 1934. Thereafter he devoted himself to lecturing. At the time of his death he was acting rabbi of Holy Blossom Temple, Toronto, Canada.

[Walter Joseph Fischel]

KORNFELD, PAUL (1889–1942), German playwright and novelist. Born and raised in Prague in the circle of the young Franz *Werfel, Ernst Deutsch, Willy *Haas, Franz *Kafka and Max *Brod, Kornfeld moved to Frankfurt in 1914 working as a drama adviser while publishing his first tragedy, *Die Verführung* (1916), which won him a reputation as an important expressionist playwright. Kornfeld's technique may be described as symbolic realism. His aim was to avoid any imitation of physical reality, and he urged the actors in his plays to refrain from any suggestion of realism. Soon he became known for the stories "Legende" (1917) and "Die Begegnung" (1917) as well as for the important programmatic expressionist essay "Der beseelte und der psychologische Mensch" (1918), a fundamental critique of psychology and at the same time the foundation of his anti-mimetic program of acting. After the less successful tragedy *Himmel und Hölle* (1919) Kornfeld turned towards comedy in the 1920s, writing *Der ewige Traum* (1922), *Palme oder Der Gekraenkte* (1924), *Kilian oder Die gelbe Rose* (1926), *Smither kauft Europa* (1930) and, after moving to Berlin in 1928, the important historical drama *Jud Suess* (1930), dealing with the problem of assimilation and antisemitism. In Berlin, Kornfeld also wrote essays and criticism for Leopold Schwarzschild's *Das Tage-Buch*. In 1932, he returned to his native Prague, was captured by the Nazis in 1941, and deported to the Lodz ghetto, where he died soon after. In his last years he wrote the novel *Blanche oder Das Atelier im Garten*, a comédie humaine far removed from expressionism, which was published posthumously in 1957 and ever since has been considered his most important work.

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[Rudolf Kayser / Andreas Kilcher (2nd ed.)]

KORNFELD, ZSIGMOND (1852–1909), banker and politician; born in Golcuv Jenikov, Bohemia. He joined the Hungarian General Credit Bank in Budapest, becoming its general director in 1900. As such, he had a considerable influence on Hungarian financial policy and the encouragement of private enterprises. He successfully effected the conversion of shares for the strengthening of state credit, and promoted the 1894 currency reform. In 1902 Kornfeld was decorated by the king, and became a member of the Chamber of Magnates of the Hungarian Parliament. His activities included the founding of the Hungarian River and Maritime Navigation Company, and presidency of the Budapest Stock Exchange (from 1899). He was created a baron in 1909.

When, on the eve of the Russo-Japanese War he represented the Austro-Hungarian government in negotiating an extensive loan for the czarist empire, he refused the decoration offered him by the Russians. He told the czar's ambassador that in his capacity as a banker he had conducted the negotiations at the request of his government, but being a Jew, he could not accept favors from a country where Jews were persecuted and even massacred. He refused to accept remuneration for his part in the transaction. He took part in Jewish community life, and in 1893 became deputy president of the *kehillah* of Budapest.

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[Jeno Zsoldos]

KORNGOLD, ERICH WOLFGANG (1897–1957), composer. Born in Brno, Czechoslovakia, Korngold was the son of the Viennese music critic Julius Korngold (1860–1945), who was also his first music teacher. Hailed as a child prodigy when his first large-scale work, *Der Schneemann*, a pantomime, was performed in 1908, he went from success to success with instrumental and operatic works. His short operas *Violanta* and *Der Ring des Polykrates* were performed when he was only 19 and his best-known opera, *Die Tote Stadt*, had its premiere in 1920. In 1934 Korngold settled in Hollywood, where he arranged Mendelssohn's *Midsummer Night's Dream* music for Max *Reinhardt's film version of the play. His music was that of a conservative modernist, being colorful, melodious, and sensuous. Korngold's instrumental works include symphonic overtures, a sinfonietta, chamber music, a piano concerto for left hand, and a violin concerto. His later operas, *Das Wunder der Heliane* (1927), *Kathrin* (1939), and *Die stumme Serenade* (1954), did not attain the success of the earlier *Die Tote Stadt*.

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[Peter Emanuel Gradenwitz]

KORNHEISER, TONY (**Anthony Irwin**; 1948–), U.S. sportswriter, radio talk show host, newspaper columnist. Kornheiser grew up in Lynbrook, N.Y., on Long Island. He celebrated his bar mitzvah in a Conservative synagogue, and the Kornheisers celebrated the Jewish holidays. Kornheiser graduated from Harpur College in upstate New York, now part of SUNY-Binghamton, in 1970, and taught elementary school for a year. He then went to work as a feature writer for *New York Newsday*, covering general-interest stories and writing a weekly column on rock music. In 1976, he left *Newsday* to join the sports section of *The New York Times* and was hired by *The Washington Post* in 1979, becoming a sports columnist there in 1984. Kornheiser hosted a radio show on WTEM-AM in Washington, D.C., beginning in 1992, and joined ESPN Radio in November 1997 as host of *The Tony Kornheiser Show*, which premiered January 5, 1998. Kornheiser then began working at ESPN television, co-hosting the popular *Pardon the Interruption* (PTI) show, which debuted on September 22, 2001. His Satellite Radio show debuted on February 28, 2005, on XM

Channel 152. Kornheiser is the author of a non-sports book, *The Baby Chase* (1983), about infertility and adopting a child, and three compilations of his newspaper columns: *Pumping Irony: Working Out the Angst of a Lifetime* (1995), *Bald As I Wanna Be* (1997), and *I'm Back for More Cash: A Tony Kornheiser Collection (Because You Can't Take Two Hundred Newspapers into the Bathroom)* (2003).

[Elli Wohlgelernter (2nd ed.)]

KORNIK (Pol. **Kórnik**; Ger. **Kurnik**), town in Poznan province, W. Poland. Documentary evidence points to the presence of Jews in the town from 1618. In 1687 and 1713 the *Great Poland Council convened in Kornik. A privilege granted by the local nobleman allowed the Jews permanent residence and the right to trade in cloth, livestock, etc. against payment of special taxes. Communal records, beginning from the early 18th century, existed until World War II and included the special statutes of the tailors' guild, which was founded in 1754 with 44 members and still had 51 members in 1853. A small wooden synagogue was erected in 1736, and a larger one in 1767. According to the 1765 census, there were 367 Jews in Kornik, some of whom owned houses outside the Jewish quarter. After the Prussian occupation a provincial assembly met in Kornik in 1817 with the aim of submitting to the government suggestions for improving the lot of Poznan Jewry. Among Kornik rabbis was R. Israel Moses b. Aryeh *Loeb who served from 1781. A schoolhouse was built in 1846. During the 1848 revolution the Jews were attacked by the rebels. In 1808 the Jewish community numbered 566 (36% of the total population), increasing to 1,170 (43%) in 1840. From then on their number continually diminished due to migration to larger cities, falling to 399 (15%) in 1871, 220 (9%) in 1895, 111 (4.4%) in 1905, 92 (3.6%) in 1910, 57 (2.6%) in 1921, and only 36 in 1939. They were expelled by the Germans to Lodz and Kalisz in December 1939, sharing the fate of the local Jews.

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[*Encyclopaedia Judaica* (Germany)]

KORNIK (Kurnik), MEIR BEN MOSES (d. 1826), rabbi. Kornik was born in Glogau (Silesia), where he later served as rabbi. He wrote the following books: *Ezrat ha-Sofer* (Amsterdam, 1796), the Book of Esther, with the masoretic rules for writing this scroll; *Hadrei Kodesh* (Dyrhenfurth, 1817), commentary on parts of *Sefer Yeẓirah* and on parts of the Zohar which are included in *Tikkun Leil Shavuot* and in *Tikkun Hoshana Rabba; Davar be-Itto* (Breslau, 1817), on the Jewish calendar with a refutation of Lazarus Bendavid's *Zur Berechnung und Geschichte des juedischen Kalenders* and some glosses by M.B. Friedenthal; and *System der Zeitrechnung in chronologischen Tabellen* (Berlin, 1825), a complete guide to the Julian, Gregorian, Jewish, and Muslim calendars. Kornik corresponded with R. Moses Sofer and R. Akiva Eger on Jewish calendar problems.

[Salomon Wolf]

KORNITZER, LEON (1875–1947), *ḥazzan* and composer. Born in Vienna, the son and grandson of *ḥazzanim*, Kornitzer served the communities of Klattau, Saaz, and Prague before being called to the Hamburg Tempelverein in 1913. His imaginative and skillful compositions, published in *Romemot El* (1928), are in the tradition of *Sulzer and *Lewandowski, but they also evince the influence of Emanuel *Kirschner's 19th-century German romantic style. Kornitzer was the editor of *Der Juedische Kantor* for ten years from its inception in 1927 and edited a collection of liturgical songs and instrumental compositions, *Juedische Klaenge* (1933). After his emigration to Ereẓ Israel in 1939 he continued to compose and was conductor of the choir at the Central Synagogue in Haifa.

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[David M.L. Olivestone]

KOROBKA (deriving from Rus. basket, "box"; Yid. *takse*), a tax imposed on consumption items, mainly on *kasher* meat. It was introduced among the communities of *Poland-Lithuania in the 17th century to assist individual communities in paying their debts, as well as a means of achieving the independence of the individual community from the hegemony of the *Councils of the Lands. In Russia, from the end of the 18th century, one of the aims of the *korobka* also was to help cover the taxation quota which the Jewish communities had to pay in continuation of the collective debt of the Councils of the Lands. In the 19th century, the *korobka* mainly served to pay for the salaries of rabbis and other religious officials and the support of educational and charitable institutions in the individual communities.

The Russian government, however, turned the *korobka* into an instrument for additional exaction of money from the Jews. It was generally leased for collection for a period of four years to individual Jews, who paid fixed sums to the regional government treasuries. The sums were apportioned according to a list submitted by the municipal council (on which the Jews were seldom consulted). Surpluses were deposited with the State Treasury. Regulations for the *korobka* were drawn up in 1839. They restricted the tax to meat alone and it became a compulsory tax levied upon all the Jewish communities in the *Pale of Settlement, with the exception of the provinces of Russian Poland. In 1844, when the Jewish *kahal* autonomy was officially abolished, new regulations were issued concerning the meat tax. In them, the *korobka* was allocated for the Jewish communal requirements, in the first place to assure payment of the government taxation quota and of the debts of the community, and the remainder for the maintenance of Jewish schools, the support of Jewish agricultural settlement, and the requirements of charitable enterprises. The apportionment of the taxation tariff, the methods of its collection, and supervision over the funds was assigned to the non-Jewish municipal administration, in consultation with "wealthy Jews and permanent residents." Authority was granted to the tax lessees to prevent the ritual slaughter of animals without paying the tax, and the police were called upon to assist them in this task. Soldiers and graduates of high schools were exempted from the payment of this tax.

In the provinces of Russian Poland, a tax on *kasher* meat, which was directly transferred to the State Treasury, was introduced in 1809, in addition to the tax on meat for the requirements of the community. The Jews derived no benefit from it; this tax was abolished in 1863.

The system of leasing the meat tax encouraged exploitation and corruption by the lessees, who raised the price of *kasher* meat in order to increase their incomes. The *maskilim* condemned such practices in their periodicals and writings, and the *ba'al-takse*, as the lessee was called, became a frequent target of their attacks. (The comedy by Mendele Mokher Seforim, *Di Takse* (1869), is based on such incidents in the community of Berdichev.) The *korobka* system also gave rise to illegal *sheḥitah* to evade its payment and make possible cheaper prices for *kasher* meat.

The meat tax was sharply criticized by governmental as well as Jewish circles. Its opponents argued that it was unjust to impose a tax based on the necessity of carrying out a religious observance (*kashrut*) and this was a typical indirect tax whose brunt fell on the poorer classes. The exemption of the Jewish intelligentsia from its payment, and the fact that with the spread of Haskalah many Jews (especially in the provinces of southern Russia) did not observe *kashrut*, only aggravated the burden on the observant Jewish masses. While poverty and dearth were felt throughout the Jewish communities, millions of surplus rubles from the *korobka* funds were being deposited in the government bank (in January 1887, these surpluses totaled over 3,000,000 rubles, and in the year 1905, for the provinces of Kiev, Podolia, and Volhynia alone, there were reserves of over 1,500,000 rubles). It was only in exceptional cases, such as fire or flood, or to support the establishment of a large institution (a hospital, a school, or the like), that allocations were granted for the communities from these "surpluses." On the other hand, many allocations were granted for state purposes, such as the construction of general schools, to which the admission of Jews was restricted, payments to the special police of various towns, for street paving, road construction, and sanitation purposes. The Jews, who shared the burden of general tax payment, were thus compelled in addition to contribute a special Jewish tax. For continuation of the *korobka* system, it was argued that the tax was easily collected and that its abolition would remove the financial basis of the Jewish community budgets.

The first public debate in a Jewish forum took place at the conference of Jewish community leaders held at Kovno in 1909. The expert on the *korobka*, H.B. *Sliozberg considered it a fine for the observance of a religious precept and called for its conversion into a progressive income tax which the government should recognize as compulsory.

The scope of the *korobka* system is indicated by the annual payments made by the lessees shortly before World War I. The annual payment for the lease then amounted to 370,000 rubles in Odessa, 147,000 in Vilna, 100,000 in Riga, over 50,000 in Berdichev, 42,000 in Dvinsk, 325,000 rubles in the whole of the province of Volhynia, and 108,000 rubles in the whole of the province of Kovno. During this period, several communities introduced a community-sponsored collection of the tax, without the intermediary of lessees. In Vilna, for example, its collection was delegated to a special commission appointed by the community and all profits were handed over to the charitable institutions of the town.

After the outbreak of World War I, when restrictions were introduced against the consumption of meat ("meatless days," etc.) and the price of meat rose, the decline in *korobka* revenues fell sharply, and the financial resources of many communities collapsed. In a large number of communities, the meat tax was then replaced by a progressively assessed tax which was determined by a variety of data (amount of rent paid, size of living quarters, etc.). Following the 1917 Revolution, the meat tax was abolished with the rest of the anti-Jewish legislation.

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[Yehuda Slutsky]

°**KOROLENKO, VLADIMIR GALAKTIONOVICH** (1853–1921), Russian writer. One of the most illustrious representatives of the liberal Russian intelligentsia of the turn of the century, Korolenko was very active in many humanitarian causes, and was also among the most vocal opponents of antisemitism in Russia. He began by publicly condemning the pogroms of 1881–82. In his *Skazaniye o flore, Agrippe i Menakheme, syn Yegudy* ("Tale of Florius, Agrippa and Menahem ben Judah" (1886), in: *Ocherki i Razskazy* (vol. 3, 1894^2)) he not only condemns persecution of the Jews, but has his Jewish protagonist voice the view that the Jews will achieve equality through armed struggle, and only then will human brotherhood prevail. Antisemitic prejudice is mocked in gentle tones in *Sudny den* ("The Day of Atonement"), in *Ocherki i Razskazy*, 1888–94^2 (Brit. ed. *The Murmuring Forest*; 1916) and in *Makar's Dream*, a fantastic tale in the Gogolian tradition, while *Dom Nomer 13* ("House No. 13," 1903) is an angry denunciation of the murderous pogrom in *Kishinev. Korolenko's prolific journalistic writings include numerous articles about the notorious blood-libel trial of Mendel *Beilis in 1913.

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[Maurice Friedberg]

KORONE (**Coron**), town and port located on the southwest Peloponnesus, Greece. The 12th-century traveler Benjamin of Tudela found 300 Jews in Korone. After the expulsion from Spain a number of Jews settled in Korone. During the 14th and 15th centuries the Jews were engaged in maritime commerce. Under Venetian rule they suffered oppression and degradation. When Andrea Dorea attacked Turkish-held Greece in 1532, Jewish property was plundered, and some of the Jews taken captive. During the Venetian assault on Korone in 1646 Jews were carried off to Malta as slaves. With the conquest of Korone in 1685 by Venice the Jewish community dispersed. It was not reorganized after the Peloponnesus peninsula again became a part of the Ottoman Empire in 1715.

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[Simon Marcus]

KOROSTEN (or **Iskorost**), Zhitomir district, Ukraine. Although a Jewish leaseholder is mentioned in 1618, the Jewish community began to develop only in the 19th century with the increase of traffic through the railroad junction. The 331 Jews in Korosten in 1847 had grown to 1,299 (49% of the population) in 1897. When convoys of troops passed through the town in 1919, the Jews suffered severely and in that same year they were the victims of a pogrom perpetrated by the forces of Simon *Petlyura in February 1919, and by the Red Army on March 13, 1919. In 1926, 6,089 Jews (50.7% of the population) lived in Korosten. In October 1926 a gathering of 90 Ukrainian rabbis and 1,500 guests was held there, headed by R. Shlomo Zevin (later a well-known rabbi in Jerusalem). Jewish workers were employed in an iron foundry, and furniture and porcelain factories. They also worked on the railroad and in nine artisan cooperatives. There were two Yiddish schools with an enrollment of 1,000 in 1934. In 1939 Jews numbered 10,991 (35.7% of the total population). The Germans occupied the town on August 8, 1941. Most of the Jews were evacuated or fled. The Germans murdered 770 Jews in September 1941 and about 1,000 in March 1942. After the war, when the town was rebuilt and enlarged, many Jews took up residence there and in 1959 they numbered 6,800 (17.9% of the population). Most left in the 1990s, but a yeshivah and day school were active.

[Yehuda Slutsky / Shmuel Spector (2nd ed.)]

KORSUN-SHEVCHENKOVSKI, city in Kiev district, Ukraine. A Jewish community existed in Korsun from the 17th century. When the Cossack armies defeated the Polish army near Korsun in May 1648 this sparked off the revolt throughout Ukraine which resulted in the destruction of Ukrainian Jewry (see *Chmielnicki massacres). In 1702 the town suffered heavily in an attack by the *Haidamacks and only a quarter of them survived. In 1734 the Haidamacks killed 27 Jews and stole much Jewish property. The number of poll-tax paying Jews in Korsun in 1785 was 187. With the Russian annexation (1793), the community increased in number, growing from 1,456 Jews in 1847 to 3,800 (46.3% of the total population) in 1897. In 1881 a yeshivah was opened, where Russian and arithmetic were also taught. On March 1, 1918, Bolsheviks murdered several community leaders, including the rabbi, in a riot. In the summer of 1919 the Cossacks of *Denikin's army rioted in Korsun, killed 16, with the result that many Jews left the town. There were 2,449 Jews (50.1% of the population) living there in 1926, and the number dropped to 1,329 (14.2% of the total population) in 1939. A Jewish council was active in the 1920s. The Germans occupied the city on July 30, 1941. In September they killed 226 Jews, and probably the rest of them in November.

[Yehuda Slutsky / Shmuel Spector (2nd ed.)]

KORTNER, FRITZ (1892–1970), Austrian actor. Born in Vienna, he made his debut in 1910 in Mannheim and performed in Vienna, Dresden, and Hamburg before working with Leopold *Jessner at the Staatstheater Berlin (in 1919–23 and 1926–30) as the leading actor of Jessner´s highly influential theatrical style. With his stentorian voice and his physical power he excelled in the classical repertoire (as Richard III, Othello, Hamlet, Macbeth) as well as in modern roles. Against the background of the increasing antisemitic spirit of Nazism in Germany he often played Jewish characters threatened by their surroundings, such as Shylock and Professor Bernhardi (A. Schnitzler). He fled Germany in 1933 and settled first in London and later in the United States (1938). He returned to Germany in 1947 and developed a second career as a controversial but soon highly esteemed director. His autobiography, *Aller Tage Abend* (1959), is a brilliant and fascinating book.

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[Jens Malte Fischer (2nd ed.)]

KOS (**Cos**), the second largest of the Greek Dodecanese Islands in the Aegean Sea off the shores of Asia Minor. Despite the absence of any direct reference to Jewish settlement, it is assumed that Jews lived there during the Second Temple period. Josephus (Ant., 14:111–3) quotes Strabo to the effect that the Jews deposited 800 talents of silver on Kos for security, for fear of its being seized by King Mithridates, who, however, succeeded in taking the money. Kos is also mentioned in an obscure passage in I Maccabees 15:16–23. Herod bestowed some gifts on the islanders (Jos., Wars, 1:423) and his family maintained relations with the local population after his death, and Jewish emissaries were said to have passed through the island (Jos., Ant., 14:233). Romaniot Greek-speaking Jews lived on the island during the rule of the Knights of St. John (1315–1523) and according to one source they numbered 1,500. The Jews were exiled to Nice (1502) by the Grand Master of the Order of St. John at Rhodes. When the island was captured by the Turks in 1522, Jews again settled on it. In the 16th century, several noted Italian Jewish families, such as Romano, Finzi, and Capeluto, resided on the island. The first known rabbi was Isaac Katan, who headed the community in 1700. A small synagogue was built in 1747. In 1850 a *blood libel was perpetrated on the island, but the instigators were punished. In 1861, The small community of Kos was subordinate to the community at Rhodes until 1870. In the second half of the 19th century, 40 Jewish families lived on Kos, but there were only 20 in 1880, ten in 1901, and three or four families in 1910. The Italians captured the island in 1912 and annexed it in 1923 under the Lausanne Treaty. During World War I and the Greco-Turkish wars (1918–23), there was an influx of Jews from Anatolia and Rhodes, and the community reached 160 persons. The old cemetery was at Cape Sable but disappeared by the early 20th century, and a newer cemetery was used. About 100 Jews were buried there between the two world wars and the oldest grave dated from 1715. The Baron Edmond de Rothschild visited the community in 1903 and financed a wall for the cemetery. The earthquake of 1933 killed five Jews and destroyed the synagogue, which had stood on a hill for centuries. In 1934 a new synagogue, Kahal Shalom, was built near the port and the Italian government financed half of the construction expenses. The Jews exported raisins and grapes to Egypt and Europe and traded in cloth, iron, and other goods. The 1938 Italian anti-Jewish racial laws were imposed on the Jews of the island. On the eve of the Holocaust, the community numbered 20 families. After the Germans captured the island on October 3, 1943, eight families succeeded in fleeing to Turkey. Following the German occupation of the Dodecanese in World War II, about 100 Jews from Kos were deported to Auschwitz, together with those from Rhodes (July, 1944). Twelve of the Jews deported survived the death camps. Four Jews were exempt due to their neutral Turkish citizenship and survived. In the 1960s only one Jewish family remained on Kos. After the last local Jew, Michel Menashe, died in 1995, the synagogue closed and became a cultural center and library.

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[Uriel Rappaport /Simon Marcus / Yitzchak Kerem (2nd ed.)]

°**KOŚCIUSZKO, TADEUSZ** (1746–1817), Polish military commander and freedom fighter. In 1775 he left Poland for America, where he joined the army of George Washington (1776), distinguishing himself at the siege of Saratoga, where he was impressed by the Jewish volunteers who participated in the fighting. Returning to Poland in 1784, he was attracted by the movement for political reforms there, and after a period of voluntary exile returned in 1794 to organize armed resistance against Russia and Prussia, then menacing the independence of Poland. In the official *Gazeta Rządowa* (Sept. 17, 1794) he declared that the liberation of Poland from foreign yoke would also improve the status of the Jews in the country. He praised the initiative of Berek *Joselewicz and others in organizing a cavalry regiment for the war against Poland's enemies. Even at the beginning of the rebellion many Jewish craftsmen in Warsaw took part in fighting the Russian units stationed in the town. Kościuszko was eventually wounded in 1794 and imprisoned in St. Petersburg. After two years he was set free and in 1798 arrived in Paris. He spent the last years of his life in Switzerland.

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[Arthur Cygielman]

KOSHETZ, NINA (1894–1965), soprano singer. Born in Kiev, Koshetz entered the Moscow Conservatory to study piano at the age of 11 and singing at 16. She toured Russia with the conductor *Koussevitzky and also gave many concerts with Rakhmaninov, of whose songs she was a famous interpreter. In 1921, she made her American debut, following which she appeared with many American and European orchestras. She also gave numerous recitals featuring Russian songs. In 1941, she settled in Hollywood, where she taught singing until her death.

[Max Loppert (2nd ed.)]

KOSICE (Slovak **Košice**; Hung. **Kassa**; Ger. **Kaschau**), city in S.E. Slovakia. Until 1992 Czechoslovak Republic, since 1993 Slovak Republic. Documentation testifies to Jewish appearances in Kosice in 1484 and 1524, but they were not permitted to live in the city or to belong to the guilds. In 1765 Jews doing business in Kosice settled in the nearby village of Rozhanovce (Hung. Roygony, Yiddish Rozdewisz) and Velka Ida (Hung. Nafty Ida). Municipal and professional institutions fought against Jewish activity in the city. In 1840 the Hungarian parliament allowed Jews to settle freely in Hungary, including Kosice. Jewish inhabitants of Rozhanovce moved there in 1840–42. The next year 17 families were permitted to live there; in 1844 some 40 families were registered. In 1851 there were 721 Jews; in 1853 there were 752; and in 1857 about 1,500. In 1865 there were 2,178; in 1880 there were 2, 846; in 1890 they numbered 4,988; in 1910 there were 6,723 Jews. At the first Czechoslovak census of 1921 there were 8,762 Jews in Kosice. In 1938 the community numbered 11,420.

When Rozhanovce Jewry settled in Kosice, they developed community life. The *ḥevra kaddisha* was founded in 1844, and a cemetery was sanctified. The congregation erected an imposing synagogue, had a *mikveh*, kosher slaughterhouse, and other Jewish institutions. After the 1868 Congress of Hungarian Jewry, the congregation chose the *Neolog path, and the Orthodox founded its own congregation. Both had their own *ḥevra kaddisha*, women's clubs, and social institutions.

Poor Jews from Carpathian Ruthenia and Galicia settled in several streets of Kosice, giving them a particular Jewish character. Several ḥasidic *admors* kept their court in these streets. When World War I started, several hundred Kosice Jews enlisted in the army. In 1918 the war ended, the Austro-Hungarian Empire collapsed, and the returning soldiers and POWs were fired by revolutionary zeal. Leftist Jewish leaders gained prominence. In 1919, the Magyar commune was created, soon engulfing Kosice. Many leaders of the commune were Jewish. After the retreat of the Bolsheviks and the defeat of the commune, many Jewish Communists remained in Kosice.

The new Czechoslovak republic imposed its rule over Kosice, which augured well for the Jews. The end of the fighting left many Jews impoverished. Kosice became the eastern Slovakian center of the *American Joint Distribution Committee. One of its main undertakings was an orphanage. Vocational schools were added, and a bank providing small loans to rebuild businesses. Irene Matzner, a local resident, was the leading figure in the resurrection effort.

The Zionist movement existed in Kosice before the war. After the war, its influence expanded. The Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir, Bnei Akiva, and Betar youth movements had strong branches in the city, and Kosice served as their temporary Slovakian headquarters.

Jews participated in political life outside of Jewish parties. Assimilationist Jews supported parties for Magyar independence. The Social Democrats and the Communists also found Jewish support. Many members of the community were wealthy industrialists, landowners, and prosperous lawyers and physicians.

In November 1938 Kosice was annexed to Hungary, following the Viennese arbitration of November 2, 1938. Soon the antisemitic laws of Hungary were imposed on the conquered territories. Jews lacking Hungarian citizenship were imprisoned, and some sent to the no man's land on the Slovakian-Hungarian borders. Slovakia proclaimed autonomy in October 1938, and Jews lacking Slovakian citizenship were sent to the Slovakian-Hungarian borders.

Antisemitic legislation hit the Jewish community hard. Jews were deprived of jobs and their property. On January 1, 1940, Jewish males were sent into forced military service. In 1941 the Hungarian authorities deported thousands of Jews for alleged lack of citizenship to the region of Kamenets-Podolski and other places, where they were killed. In 1942 deportation of Jews to Poland started, and hundreds tried to find safety by illegally crossing the Hungarian border. The Kosice community summoned its inner resources to assist the refugees.

Persecution in Hungary and Kosice increased, even against those Jews who had been active in patriotic Magyar organizations. They lost income and property and were denied civil and human rights.

On March 19, 1944, German forces occupied Hungary. Wealthy Jews were imprisoned by the Magyar agencies and tortured to reveal where their property and possessions were. On April 27, 1944, all Jews were ordered to assemble in the three major synagogues; from there they were transferred to two brickwork factories on the outskirts of the city. Jews who escaped from Slovakia made strenuous efforts to return, along with some Hungarian Jews. Kosice was one of the centers of escape. There were 10,590 Jews in the brickworks, and several hundred in a ghetto in the city. On April 30, 1944, there were 13,253 Jews in Kosice; about 3,000 were not inhabitants of Kosice proper. On May 16, 1944, the deportation of the interned Jews to Auschwitz began. Some 15,707 Jews were deported. On October 15, 1944, the Nylas (Arrow Cross) fascist party took over the government in Hungary and established a reign of terror.

Shortly after the liberation, a Jewish committee to assist the returning Jews was organized in Kosice, supported by UNRAA and later the Joint. A committee to manage the congregation's affairs was also organized. This committee, with a few Orthodox on its staff, was criticized severely. The attempt to stamp the entire congregation Orthodox caused tension. For the High Holydays of 1945, an Orthodox and a Neolog synagogue were restored for prayer. A new *ḥevra kaddisha* was established and other Jewish institutions resurrected. Communal Jewish life was restored, and Kosice became the center of Jewish life for eastern Slovakia.

In 1947 there were 2,542 Jews in Kosice. Zionist youth movements were revived, and Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir established a home for future immigrants to Palestine. With the proclamation of the State of Israel on May 14, 1948, the community began to feverishly collect money for Israel and recruit volunteers for the Israeli army.

Between 1949 and 1950, more than 1,000 Jews left for Israel, and others emigrated overseas; consequently, the congregation was largely depleted. Other waves of emigration took place in 1964, 1968–1970, and after the Velvet Revolution of 1989. Following the Communist takeover of Czechoslovakia and the first wave of emigration, the Kosice community had to adjust to the new conditions. The yeshivah, founded in late 1940, was closed. The major tasks of the community were to preserve the prayers in the synagogue, to supply kosher meat, and to provide children with basic Jewish education. A council existed, which had to be approved by the Communist authorities. The municipal authorities tried to stop the ritual slaughter and to interfere with the activity of the kosher restaurant. Jewish informers plagued patrons of the restaurant and participants in the prayers. Occasionally tensions rose between the Federation of Jewish Religious Congregations, located in Bratislava, and the Kosice council. However, schooling continued, Hanukkah and Purim parties for the children were held, and the Kosice congregation supplied at least minimal services for Jews of eastern Slovakia, where congregations no longer existed. For most of 1949–1989, a rabbi or a qualified replacement resided in Kosice.

The Jewish community was revitalized after 1989. It pulsed with social and cultural activity, the Zionist movement returned to the city, and it established close ties with Jewish organizations and with Israel.

In 2005 there were 240 members in the congregation. There was a kosher restaurant. The congregation has published several books devoted to the Holocaust and the story of the congregation. A group of Israeli students study veterinary medicine at the local university.

[Erich Kulka / Yeshayahu Jelinek (2nd ed.)]

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KOSICE, GYULA (**Fernando Falik**; 1924–), Argentine sculptor. Born in Kosice, Czechoslovakia, he was taken to Buenos Aires in 1928 and became an Argentine citizen. Kosice published many works on the plastic arts. He was cofounder of the revues *Arturo* in 1944 and *Invention* in 1945. Kosice was one of the early promotors of abstract constructivism and kinetic art in Latin America. In 1946 he founded the group "Art Madi." From this time Kosice began to work in Plexiglas and to create sculpture in which light and movement became essential elements. In 1957, Kosice went to Paris where he had the first exhibition of hydraulic sculpture. In 1963 he organized the exhibition "L'Art Argentin Actuel" at the Museum of Modern Art in Paris, where an entire room was devoted to kinetic art.

[Gunter Bohm]

KOSINSKI, JERZY (1933–1991), U.S. novelist. Born the son of Mieczyslaw and Elzbieta Lewinkopf in Lodz, Poland, Kosinski's early years were shaped under Hitler's regime. The only full biography (*Jerzy Kosinski* by James Park Sloan, 1996) reports that the Jewish family survived as Catholic "Kosinskis," avoiding the camps. Postwar schooling resulted in two master's degrees (social science and history) and notoriety as a photographer before Kosinski emigrated to the U.S. in 1957 as a doctoral student.

There, Kosinski soon attained success as a writer. Under the pseudonym Joseph Novak, he completed *The Future Is Ours, Comrade* (1960) and *No Third Path* (1962). After these non-fictional works, Kosinski coined the term "autofiction," blurring the boundary between autobiography and literature, and confusing critics and interviewers. He wrote nine novels, two of which were revised and reissued. *The Painted Bird* (1965), banned in Poland, earned the Prix du Meilleur Livre Etranger in France and received public and critical acclaim. Often claiming that portions were autobiographical, Kosinski also insisted that *The Painted Bird* was a work of fiction. It remains a classic of Holocaust literature, combining historical realities – not his own experience – with myth and fairy tales. Thereafter, Kosinski considered enduring themes: identity, technology, consumerism, sexuality, politics, and violence. His experiments with stylistic and narrative structures garnered both acclaim and criticism. *Steps* (1968) received the National Book Award and *Being There* (1970) was adapted by the author for a film, starring Peter Sellers (1979), which won the British Film Critics Award and an American Oscar. Other novels include *The Devil Tree* (1973, rev. ed. 1981), *Cockpit* (1975), *Blind Date* (1977), *Passion Play* (1979), *Pinball* (1982), and *The Hermit of 69th Street* (1988, rev. ed. 1991). A collection of his essays, *Passing By* (1992), was published after his death.

As a writer and performer (as Zinoviev in Warren Beatty's film *Reds* (1981), the voice of Chaim Rumkowski in the documentary *The Lodz Ghetto* (1989), and a guest on TV talk shows), Kosinski continued to interest both European and American scholars/artists. Kosinski was president of the American chapter of PEN (poets, playwrights, publishers, essayists, and novelists), from 1973 to 1975, and served on United Nations committees. He received the B'rith Shalom Humanitarian Freedom Award for his efforts in behalf of jailed writers. Kosinski also obtained a Guggenheim Fellowship (1967) and taught writing at Princeton, Wesleyan, and Yale. Charges launched by the *Village Voice* in 1982 that Kosinski relied heavily on collaborators/ghost writers have been largely dismissed by scholars, but the damage to his reputation was significant. He committed suicide in New York City, his home since 1957, in 1991.

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[Mary Lazar (2nd ed.)]

KOSMIN, BARRY (1946–), British sociologist and demographer. One of the best-known contemporary Jewish sociologists and demographers, Kosmin was born in London and served as executive director of the Research Unit of the Board of Deputies of British Jews from 1974 to 1986. He then became a professor (1986–96) at the City University of New York before becoming executive director of Jewish Policy Research, the successor body to the Institute of Jewish Affairs, which conducts research and undertakes policy studies about contemporary Jewish life. Kosmin was director of the well-known 1990 U.S. National Jewish Policy Survey and wrote extensively on Jewish demography, contemporary religious identity, and antisemitism.

[William D. Rubinstein (2nd ed.)]

KOSNER, EDWARD A. (1937–), U.S. editor. New York-born and bred, Kosner graduated from the City College of New York, where he had also served as the campus correspondent of the *New York Times*. After graduation in 1958, Kosner became a reporter for the *New York Post*, and later worked as a series writer and assistant city editor. In 1963 he joined *Newsweek* magazine as a national affairs writer, and over the next 16 years held all the top editorial positions, serving as editor from 1975 to 1979. During his tenure, Kosner wrote more than 20 cover stories on politics and urban affairs, and produced major projects, including "The Negro in America: What Must Be Done," "Poverty in America," and "Justice on Trial," which won the Robert F. Kennedy Journalism award and the American Bar Association's Silver Gavel award. Kosner also directed *Newsweek*'s award-winning coverage of the Watergate scandal, which resulted in more than 40 cover stories. In 1980, Kosner became editor of *New York* magazine, and later held the titles of editor and publisher and editor and president. During 13 years at *New York*, the magazine set records in advertising and circulation and won four National Magazine Association awards. From 1993 to 1997 he was editor in chief of *Esquire* magazine, but the magazine's circulation and advertising faltered during a weak economic period. He served as president of the American Society of Magazine Editors and was a long-time member of its board of directors. In November 1998, Kosner joined the staff of the *Daily News* of New York as Sunday editor and set about revamping that edition. In March 2000 Kosner became editor in chief of the paper, which became involved in a nasty fight for circulation and advertising revenue with New York City's other principal tabloid, the *New York Post*. During Kosner's tenure the paper gave extensive coverage to the attack of September 11, the New York Mets-New York Yankees subway World Series, and published many exclusive investigative stories. The *News* was twice a finalist for the Pulitzer Prize. Kosner announced in July 2003 that he would be retiring when his contract with the *News* ended in March 2004, but he left the paper several months early.

[Stewart Kampel (2nd ed.)]

KOSOV (Pol. **Kosów**), town in Ivano-Frankovsk (formerly Stanislavov) district, Ukraine; within Poland until 1772 when it passed to Austria; reverted to Poland between 1919 and 1939. Although Jews are mentioned in 1635, the organized community formed at the beginning of the 18th century. During the 1730s *Israel b. Eliezer, the Ba'al Shem Tov, stayed in the vicinity of Kosov with his family. During the middle and the second half of the 18th century, *Naḥman of Kosov, a disciple of the Ba'al Shem Tov, and *Baruch b. Abraham of Kosov (d. 1795) were active there. A branch of the ḥasidic dynasty of the Hager family was founded there during the last decade of the 18th century. The descendants of R. Jacob Koppel Ḥasid (d. 1787) served as rabbis of the town for 150 years: his son Menahem Mendel between 1790 and 1827; his son Ḥayyim, until 1854; Jacob Samson until 1880; his son Moses, until 1925; and Ḥayyim, who perished in the Holocaust in 1942. According to the census of 1764, the community of Kosov (including villagers from the surrounding area) numbered 343 families. They earned their livelihood in small trade, forestry, crafts, transportation, tailoring, and the leasing of inns. During the 19th century the Jews of Kosov also traded in cereals (particularly from Bukovina) and livestock, and were occupied in crafts such as carpentry, locksmithery, wood-carving, and carpet weaving. In 1847 Ḥasidim from Kosov built a synagogue in Safed. The community numbered 2,179 persons (78% of the total population) in 1880, 2,563 (82%) in 1900, 2,950 (53%) in 1910, and 2,166 (51%) in 1921. A vocational school was established in the town in 1898 with the assistance of the fund of Baron Maurice de *Hirsch. The local Agudat Zion, organized in 1898, established the Safah Berurah Hebrew school in 1909. In 1928, 40 carpet weavers formed a cooperative. A Jewish cooperative bank was founded in the town in 1929. All Zionist parties were active in the interwar period. A fortnightly newspaper, *Kosover Shtime*, was published there between 1934 and 1936. Half of the members of the municipal council elected in 1928 were Jews. In 1929 Jacob Gertner was elected as mayor. He resigned in 1934 as a result of government pressure. A railway that reached the town added tourism (Carpathian foothills) to the Jewish livehoods.

After the outbreak of World War II many Jews from western Poland took refuge in Kosov, and the Jewish population had increased to 4,000 by 1941. Under Soviet rule (1939–41) the community institutions and political parties were disbanded. The widely known local carpet industry largely ceased.

[Arthur Cygielman]

Holocaust Period

When the war between Germany and the Soviet Union broke out in June 1941, small groups of young Jews joined the retreating Soviet army and later fought against the Germans. Kosov was captured by the Hungarian Axis forces in early July. A local Jewish emergency committee was set up comprising the community leaders who had been active before September 1939. Acting under and in conjunction with the Hungarian military administration, it prevented groups of Ukrainian nationalists from attacking Jews and Jewish property. Jewish refugees from Subcarpathian Ruthenia, recently annexed by Hungary, who were not recognized as Hungarian citizens, sought shelter in Kosov, and the committee, with the cooperation of the local Jews, gave them assistance and medical care. In September 1941 the Germans took over the town's administration. In an *Aktion* on Oct. 16–17, 2,200 Jews, about half of the community, were taken to the hill behind the Moskalowka bridge and murdered. That winter the Jews struggled against starvation and epidemics. The Judenrat established soup kitchens and other aid. On April 24, 1942, 600 Jews without working papers were sent to Kolomyya. As the extermination campaign heightened, more attempts were made by Jews to cross the border to Romania. In early May 1942 a ghetto was established. On Sept. 7, 1942, another *Aktion* was carried out. The Jews were rounded up in the square and the German and Ukrainian police searched the houses and killed about 150 persons who had disobeyed the order to assemble. About 600 Jews were marched to Kolomyya and from there sent to *Belzec death camp. A number of able-bodied men were sent to the Janowska Street camp in Lvov. Only a few persons managed to go into hiding. On Sept. 28, 1942, the Germans announced that persons in hiding could now come out and remain, but all those who appeared were killed. On Nov. 4, 1942, the last suvivors of the Kosov community were sent to Kolomyya and the city was declared *judenrein*. In the following months the Germans and Ukrainians continued to track down and murder Jews who had taken refuge in the forests and in the city.

[Aharon Weiss]

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KOSOVÁ HORA (Ger. **Amschelberg**), small town in central Bohemia. In 1570 two Jews were mentioned in Kosová Hora. By 1724 there were 22 families there, who were increased to 44 by the *Familiants Law of 1726. Twenty-one Jewish houses were recorded in 1781. The community comprised half of the town in 1870, when it numbered almost 400 persons. The number fell from 268 (31% of the total population) in 1876 to only 32 (4%) in 1931. In the 19th century Kosová was a prosperous community, and many of its members were leaseholders in the surrounding district. In the stories of Vojtech *Rakous, Kosová Hora represents the affluent society, in contrast to his heroes, who were mainly poor village Jews. However, during the 19th century the Jews were increasingly attracted to the large cities. Consequently the Jewish congregation was abolished c. 1893, and its members joined the nearby Sedlcany religious congregation. The synagogue, built in 1741 after a fire, and the cemetery, containing gravestones from the same date, were in existence in 1970. Many Jewish families named Amschelberg, after this community, changed their names to the German surnames Amman, Ahrens, etc. Under Nazi occupation the community was annihilated. A few Jews lived in the town after the war.

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[Jan Herman]

KOSSOFF, DAVID (1919–2005), British actor. Kossoff started as an interior designer and studied for the stage privately. He performed in shows in the London shelters and for the troops during World War II. His first professional appearance was at the Unity Theater, London. Kossoff then became a film actor, typically playing stage Central Europeans, such as Professor Kokinitz in *The Mouse That Roared* (1959). He subsequently gained a reputation for his manner of telling, with modern emphasis, Bible stories for children on radio and television. He played in *The Bespoke Overcoat* (1953), *Tobias and the Angel* (1953), and *The World of Sholem Aleichem* (1955). Kossoff became a well-known anti-drug campaigner after a son died of drug abuse.

[William D. Rubinstein (2nd ed.)]

KOSSOFF, LEON (1926–), English painter. Born in London, Kossoff studied art under David Bomberg. Kossoff taught at the Royal College of Art, London, and St. Martin's School of Art. His portraits are treated with a deeply sympathetic point of view. His style is clearly expressionistic and emotional. His work has attracted much interest and he has been the subject of several studies.

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KOSSOVSKI, VLADIMIR (pseudonym of **Nahum Mendel Levinsohn**; 1867–1941), most outstanding theorist and publicist among the early leaders of the *Bund, born in Dvinsk (Daugavpils), Latvia. His father, a wealthy and educated businessman, came from a rabbinical family. While a student at the secondary school in Kovno, Kossovski joined a revolutionary circle influenced by the Narodnaya Volya, the Russian terrorist organization. While being hunted by the police, he wandered through various cities. From about 1895 he was in Vilna and active in the group of Jewish Social Democrats, supporting himself by tutoring. Kossovski subsequently participated in founding the Bund (September 1897) and was elected a member of its first central committee. For several years he edited its principal organs (*Arbeiter Shtime*), and wrote a number of its publications. Imprisoned for a time for revolutionary activities, he escaped from Russia in 1900. He subsequently served as a member of the Committee Abroad of the Bund. Kossovski played a decisive part in publicizing the Bund's right to exist, opposing the Polish Socialist Party (PPS) and the Iskra group in the Russian Social Democratic Party by challenging their demands for Jewish assimilation. A leading proponent of the Bund's program of national-cultural autonomy, Kossovski opposed the idea of "neutralism," then predominating in Bundist circles, concerning the future of the Jewish people. In 1905 he returned to Russia and was editor-in-chief of the Bunds' organ, *Folkstsaytung*. In 1911 he became associated with *Zukunft*, the socialist periodical in New York, and continued to write in the Bundist and international socialist publications. From 1920 he lived in Switzerland, later moving to Berlin. In 1930 he settled in Warsaw and again worked for the *Folkstsaytung*. During World War II he managed to evade the German invasion of Warsaw in 1939, and imprisonment by the Soviets, and in 1941 reached New York, where he soon passed away.

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[Moshe Mishkinsky]

°**KOSSUTH, LAJOS** (1802–1894), Hungarian statesman and patriot who headed the struggle for Hungarian independence from Austria. After the outbreak of the 1848 Revolution he became minister of finance in the revolutionary government and president of the committee of national defense. Subsequently he was elected regent.

Kossuth favored the cause of Jewish emancipation in Hungary, although he held that the Jews were not yet ready for equality. With the outbreak of the Revolution, the question of Jewish equality came up for discussion in the national assembly, but Kossuth declared the times inopportune. In reference to the anti-Jewish riots which had broken out in several places, he declared that "legislation on the Jewish question now would be equivalent to delivering many of them up to the wrath of their enemies." Only with the final collapse of the struggle, and the withdrawal of the revolutionary government to Szeged, was the proposed legislation granting equality to the Jews passed, strongly influenced by the part taken by Jews in the struggle and the heroism they had displayed. After the Hapsburg reversal Kossuth left Hungary never to return.

While in exile Kossuth made two important declarations regarding Jewish matters. During the *Tisza-Eszlar blood libel in 1882 he came out strongly against the nonsensical accusations, and during the struggle for legislation conferring religious equality on the Jews, he influenced the opposition Hungarian Independence Party in favor of supporting the proposed law.

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KOSTELANETZ, ANDRÉ (1901–1980), conductor, pianist, and composer. Born in St. Petersburg, Russia, Kostelanetz gave his first piano recital at the age of five. In 1920 he became assistant conductor and choirmaster of the Petrograd Grand Opera. He left Russia for the United States in 1922, and served as an operatic coach and accompanist. Later, Kostelanetz entered commercial broadcasting, and from 1931 became renowned for his arrangements of light classical and popular compositions, performed by his own orchestra. He married the soprano Lily Pons.

°**KOSTOMAROV, NIKOLAI IVANOVICH** (1817–1885), historian, writer, and one of the founders of Ukrainian nationalism. Professor of Russian history in Kiev and St. Petersburg, he edited the monthly *Osnova* (1861–62), in which he discussed the national problems of the Ukraine, including the Jewish problem. Although in favor of granting civic rights to the Jews, he attacked their attitude of separatism toward the Christians and their supposed domination of entire branches of the economy and public services, concluding "rights should be granted to the Jews, but the Christians should be encouraged in their economic struggle so that they will be capable of regaining those positions which the Jews have seized." In his research on Ukrainian history, and in particular on the *Chmielnicki revolt (1648), Kostomarov emphasized the role of the Jews, alleging that they had not only leased the estates of the Polish landowners but also the Orthodox churches, imposed taxes on the baptism of children, etc., thus arousing the anger of the Ukrainian masses. He appeared as an "expert" at the blood libel trial of *Saratov (1853), and in his historical articles he left open the question of the truth of such accusations. Kostomarov's works had a great influence on the development of the Ukrainian nationalist movement and its attitude toward the Jews.

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[Yehuda Slutsky]

KÖSZEG (Ger. **Guens**), town in W. Hungary, near the Austrian border. In 1395 King Sigismund authorized the owner of the castle in Köszeg to admit Jews to the town. During the battle against the Turks in 1532, the Jews were apparently compelled to flee from Köszeg. At the time of the revolt of Count Rákóczi in the 17th century, the whole town was destroyed by fire and Jews did not return to the rebuilt town until early in the 18th century. The first to attempt to settle was M. Schlesinger (1735–37). When endeavors by the townspeople were made to expel him, he appealed to the king, who issued a decision in his favor. A descendant of this family was Akiva *Eger, who added the name of the town – Guens – to his name. Previously under the jurisdiction of the Rechnitz (Rohonc) community, the Köszeg community became independent in 1821. Jews contributed to the development of the town, especially the philanthropist, Philipp Schey, who financed the building of the synagogue in 1860. There was a yeshivah in Köszeg from 1835 to 1881. Prominent rabbis were Jacob Gruenwald (until 1862), Markus Wiener (1892–1915), and the last rabbi, Isaac Linksz (1923–44), who was deported with the members of his community in the Holocaust. The Jewish population numbered 50 in 1789, 91 in 1840 (1.4% of the total), 266 in 1910 (3.2%), 131 in 1930 (1.5%), and 109 in 1941 (1.1%).

Holocaust Period

From 1940 the Jewish men were conscripted into forced labor groups. After the German occupation (March 19, 1944), the Jews were first confined in a narrow ghetto (May 14, 1944), and later were forced to lodge in an open barn. On June 18 all were transported to the central ghetto of the region, in the town of *Szombathely. There they were tortured to induce them to hand over their property. The 117 Jews from Köszeg were deported to *Auschwitz on July 4, 1944; only 15 returned. Under the regime of the Fascist *Arrow Cross Party, a labor camp was set up outside the town in which 5,000 Jews, including women who had been brought there on a death march, were imprisoned. By March 1945 some 3,000 Jews had died of hunger, disease, or torture, or had been executed. The survivors were then marched to *Mauthausen and Wells; those who were unable to walk were either gassed or shot.

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[Laszlo Harsanyi]

KOTARBIŃSKA, JANINA (b. **Dina Sztejnbarg**; 1901–1997), Polish philosopher. Kotarbińska was born in Warsaw, and at Warsaw University became the closest pupil of the foremost Polish philosopher, Tadeusz Kotarbiński, whom she married after World War II. In prewar Poland she was one of the few Jewish scholars to obtain even a modest academic post; in 1934 she received the status of a privatdocent and worked as a senior assistant in the philosophy department at Warsaw University. Her prewar work was devoted to the methodology of empirical sciences, her main published study dealing with the problem of indeterminism in physics, biology, and the humanities (1932–33). She survived both the German prison in Warsaw and Auschwitz. Immediately after the war she was appointed associate – and eventually full – professor of logic and methodology of science at Warsaw. Her later work was devoted mainly to the theory of definition, especially ostensive definition, and to semantics, in which she made an extensive study of the concept of sign. During the 1960s she served as dean of the Faculty of Humanities and chairman of the Department of Logic at Warsaw University.

[Edward I.J. Poznanski]

KOTIK, YEKHESKL (**Ezekiel**; 1847–1921), Yiddish author. Born in Kamieniec Litewski (Kamenets-Litovsk), near Grodno, Belorussia, of a prosperous ḥasidic family, Kotik settled in Kiev in his late twenties and fled to Warsaw after the 1881 pogroms. There he founded a *kheyder* (**ḥeder*) and later opened a coffeehouse which became a rendezvous of Jewish writers and labor activists. A lifelong communal worker, Kotik founded numerous welfare societies. In the Haskalah tradition, he published brochures in Hebrew and Yiddish, among them a plan whereby tenants could become home owners (*Di Lokatoren mit di Virtslayt* ("The Tenants and the Landlords," 1909). Kotik's fame rests on his two-volume memoirs, *Mayne Zikhroynes* ("My Memories," Warsaw 1913–14; Berlin 1922), in which he describes numerous facets of 19th-century Russian Jewish daily life (mainly in and around Kamieniec, but in the second volume also in Kiev and Moscow). These are important not only as social history (his descriptions of ḥasidic life are especially noteworthy), but as a significant contribution to Yiddish letters. Kotik's impact on *Sholem Aleichem may be seen not only in that writer's letters to Kotik but in his use of Kotik as a character in the last series of *Menakhm Mendl*.

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[Leonard Prager]

KOTLER, AARON (1892–1962), prominent yeshivah head. A descendant of renowned rabbis, he received his early education from his father R. Shneur Zalman Pines, the rabbi of Sislowitz, and from R. Zalman Sender Shapiro of Krinik, to whose yeshivah he was admitted before he reached the age of 13 since he possessed exceptional talents. At 14 he entered the Slobodka yeshivah and soon gained prominence as one of its most outstanding students. He married the daughter of R. Isser Zalman *Meltzer, head of the yeshivah Eẓ Ḥayyim in Slutsk, and became his assistant (1914). After the yeshivah's forced transfer to Kletsk (1921) and his father-in-law's immigration to Ereẓ Israel, Kotler directed the yeshivah for 20 years. Kotler's original teaching methods attracted many students from all over the world. He also distinguished himself as a forceful communal leader, particularly in the sphere of Jewish education, becoming one of the pillars of *Agudat Israel in this area. On a visit to the U.S. on behalf of his yeshivah, he established an institute of higher rabbinical learning at Spring Valley, New York. During World War II Kotler fled with a number of his students from country to country, finally reaching Japan. Kotler went to the U.S., where he established the Va'ad Haẓẓalah (Rescue Committee) of the Agudat ha-Rabbanim in aid of the war refugees. Kotler established in Lakewood, New Jersey, the Beth Medrash Govoha, a school for advanced, nonprofessional talmudic study, with an enrollment of ten students, which grew to 250 students at his death. Its name was changed to the Rabbi Aaron Kotler Institute for Advanced Studies in 1964. Kotler became president of the Supreme Council of Agudat Israel in 1954 and held this post until his death. He was the leader of the right-wing, yeshivah-based American independent Orthodoxy, a member of the presidium of the Union of Orthodox Rabbis, and a founder of Israel's independent Orthodox (Ḥinnukh Aẓma'i) educational system. On his father-in-law's death, Kotler was nominally appointed his successor as head of the Eẓ Ḥayyim yeshivah in Jerusalem. His responsibilities in the United States, however, permitted him to pay only occasional visits there which became major events for the scholars of Jerusalem. Kotler died in the United States and was buried in Jerusalem. He was succeeded at Lakewood by his son Shneur.

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[Mordechai Hacohen]

KOTOVSKOYE, Russian rural settlement, Odessa district. It was founded as a Jewish colony in the early 1920s and had 100 farms and 485 persons in 1929. There was a Yiddish school. The few Jews who remained under German occupation in August 1941 were probably killed.

KOTOVSKOYE (Rom. **Hâncești**; until 1944 called in Russian **Gancheshty**), a small town 18 mi. (36 km.) S.W. of Kishinev (Chișinău), in Bessarabia, Moldova. Kotovskoye developed from a village into a town during the first half of the 19th century as a result of the settlement of the Jews who then came in large numbers to Bessarabia. In 1847, 372 Jews were registered in Kotovskoye, and in 1897 the Jewish population numbered 2,228 (44% of the total). The Jews were mainly merchants but also engaged in crafts and some in agriculture. Of the 390 members registered in the local loan society in 1925, 203 were merchants, 94 artisans, and 21 farmers. There were 1,521 Jews living in Kotovskoye (24% of the total) in 1930.

[Eliyahu Feldman]

Holocaust Period

When the war broke out in June 1941, German and Romanian forces advanced toward Kishinev along two axes, one passing through Sculeni (Skulyany) and the other through Kotovskoye. In both places the Jewish population was slaughtered and not a single Jew appears to have escaped.

[Jean Ancel]

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KOTSK, MENAHEM MENDEL (Morgenstern) OF (1787–1859), one of the outstanding and most original leaders of the ḥasidic movement. Menahem Mendel was born in Bilgoraj, Poland, to a rabbinic family. After his marriage he was exposed to Ḥasidism and traveled to Lublin to see R. *Jacob Isaac ha-Ḥozeh but only when he met R. Jacob Isaac ("The Holy Jew") of *Przysucha (Pshishka), did he know that he had found himself a *rebbe*. After R. Jacob Isaac's death in 1814, he followed R. *Simḥah Bunem of Przysucha until his death (1827). An elite group of R. Simḥah Bunem's ḥasidim accepted R. Menahem Mendel as a *rebbe*. He moved to Tomaszow with his followers, who left their families to live in a commune, led by him in the search for perfection in his extreme, intensive way. His contempt for conventions, social or religious, was more radical than his teachers' and it showed itself bluntly in the behavior of his *ḥasidim*. The hostility toward him grew and so too the number of those who where attracted to him. After two years he moved to Kotsk, gradually becoming more and more saturnine and remote from his disciples. Disagreeing with R. Menahem Mendel's approach, his disciple and old friend R. Mordecai Joseph of Izbica left Kotsk to establish an alternative leadership as the dispute between them broke out dramatically on Simḥat Torah 1839. R. Mordecai Joseph, who taught the complexity of the God's demands, and who was supportive in his relations with his disciples, challenged R. Menahem Mendel's absolute truth and his harshness toward his followers. Soon after, he closeted himself in a room next to the *bet midrash*, rarely leaving it for the last 20 years of his life. Only his family and a small number of disciples were allowed to enter. When he did enter the *bet midrash* he terrified those who saw him by his mere appearance. Before his death he made sure that all of his writings had been destroyed.

His prominent disciples, who faithfully followed him until his death, were R. Isaac Meir Alter, his brother-in-law, who became the *rebbe* of Gur after his death, his son-in-law R. Abraham Bornstein, who was to become the *rebbe* of *Sochaczew, and R. *Ḥanokh of Aleksandrow, who succeeded R. Isaac Meir Alter after his death.

Teachings

R. Menahem Mendel's originality as well as his influence and legendary place in the ḥasidic tradition should be attributed to his singular personality and to the way Pshishka's heritage was refracted through the prism of his unique character. In his intense life he expressed his great teachers' ideas as he carried them to extremes. He exemplified the well-known phenomenon of religious innovation embodied more in the very life of the person behind it than in the originality of his thought.

He had a strong, charismatic personality which was feared yet admired by his disciples. The main idea of his religiosity was the sincere quest for truth. This idea was well founded in the teachings of "the Holy Jew" and R. Simḥah Bunem, but R. Menahem Mendel gave it a different shade. The demands on the individual became total. He searched for the source of religiosity, striving persistently for the pure origins of the religious movement before its contamination by social conventions and the petty interests of everyday life. His laconic style is strongly connected to a striving for depth rooted in simplicity.

A dark skeptical tone characterizes his search for truth. For a short period, when he began leading his disciples in Tomaszow, he was more optimistic, but as time passed he recognized his loneliness, as there were very few who could bear the burden he demanded. His pessimistic approach is of one who is aware of the infinite chasm between godly demands and human abilities, but at the same time had deep-seated beliefs that created a strong sense of tragic duty to overcome what cannot be overcome. Recognizing how little human beings can achieve, and understanding the effort demanded in any true achievement, he understood that the value of one's deeds is related to one's effort and not to one's spiritual level. He believed that by the very performance of the *mitzvot* one could elevate oneself far beyond one's spiritual level. The sincere person should see himself as one who did not achieve anything, making the pretentious person despicable. Thus, R. Menahem Mendel's profound seriousness went hand in hand with disregard for himself, and for others.

The burdensome duty of bridging the chasm between man and God is above all a human responsibility. The way to God is not to be found in mystical speculation but rather in purifying one's intentions so that they bear no false echoes. Menahem Mendel's frame of reference was mainly the talmudic literature, as its prosaic nature suited the task that he had set for himself, seeing in the study of Torah the primary vehicle for getting closer to God. Unlike "the Holy Jew," his ascetic nature was not a mystical ecstatic one. His asceticism derived from the demand to give up anything that keeps a person from being attuned to his true self, which was the reason for his condemnation of social institutions, especially money and status.

God's way is hard and involves effort and suffering. Accordingly R. Menahem Mendel understood that the role of the *rebbe* is to help his followers meet the challenge, mercilessly exposing any hint of falsehood. The ultimate demand cannot be alleviated since there is no possible compromise with the truth.

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[Yehuda Ben-Dor (2nd ed.)]

KOTSUJI, SETSUZO (**Abraham**; 1899–1973), Japanese Hebraist. Kotsuji was born in Kyoto, Japan, into a family claiming descent from a long line of Shinto priests. Converted to Christianity when a youngster, he attended the American Presbyterian College in Tokyo from 1916 to 1923. After serving as a minister for several years, he went to the United States in 1927 and studied at Auburn Theological Seminary in New York and then at the Pacific School of Religion in Berkeley, California. There he received his B.D. degree in 1931. His thesis, "The Origin and Evolution of the Semitic Alphabet," was published several years later in Tokyo. Returning to his homeland, he taught the Old Testament and Hebrew at the Theological Seminary of Aoyama Gakuin University. In 1937 he wrote a Hebrew grammar and for a brief while struggled to organize the Institute of Biblical Research in Tokyo. Shortly before Japan's involvement in World War II, Kotsuji exerted himself in assisting numerous East European Jews who found temporary haven in Kobe. In his volume, *Yudaya-jin no Sugata* (1943), he sought to familiarize his countrymen with the history and life of the Jewish people. Kotsuji continued his Hebraic and biblical studies in the postwar period, and in 1959 journeyed to Israel where taking the name Abraham, he formally became a Jew. In the next few years he lectured before Jewish audiences in the United States. In his autobiography, *From Tokyo to Jerusalem* (New York, 1964), Kotsuji recounted the central theme of his life – the quest for spiritual satisfaction, which he ultimately found in Judaism.

[Hyman Kublin]

KOTTLER, MOSES (c. 1892–1977), South African sculptor. Born in Joniskis, Lithuania, probably in 1892 but possibly up to four years later, Kottler went to South Africa in 1912 and except for a period of study in Europe and Jerusalem after World War I, spent the rest of his life there. Kottler's qualities, among them a vein of poetic simplicity, were apparent in his early portraiture and modeling. His life-size wood carving, *Meidjie*, a portrayal of girlhood, marked the beginning of his reputation. His bronze group of Sir Quentin Brand and Sir Pierre van Ryneveld, commemorating their flight from London to Cape Town in 1920, is at the Johannesburg airport. His architectural figures for the Johannesburg Public Library aroused controversy but won acceptance for their monumental strength. Still more acute controversy followed the installation of his nude group at the Population Register Building in Pretoria and led to its removal. Kottler was also commissioned to provide ornamental sculpture for Johannesburg mining houses and in 1967 to do a war memorial for the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. Kottler's many portraits include busts of Smuts and the shah of Persia. He was often inspired by biblical subjects, such as Jacob and the Angel, and David and the Shunammite.

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[Lewis Sowden]

KOUCHNER, BERNARD (1939–), French humanitarian. Born in Avignon, the son of a doctor, Kouchner qualified as a physician and specialized in digestive endoscopy. From 1968, he was sent on specialized missions to many parts of the Third World. In 1971, he founded the organization "Doctors without Frontiers" which he headed until 1979 and which sent doctors and nurses to disaster areas throughout the world, and in 1980 founded "Doctors of the World" which he headed until 1988. He also originated the "Boat for Vietnam" project which brought succor and hospitalization to thousands of refugees in the China Seas area. Other projects in which he was involved included "A plane for Salvadorian refugees" and "International Committee against Piracy."

He was secretary of state in the Ministry of Social Affairs and Employment in the first government of Michel Rocard; in 1988 he was appointed secretary of state for humanitarian action in the Prime Minister's Office; in 1991, secretary of state in the Foreign Ministry; and in 1992–93 was minister of health and humanitarian action in the Socialist government. As a minister, he was personally involved in the operations to aid the victims of the wars in Yugoslavia (flying into besieged Dubrovnik to negotiate the cessation of its destruction), Somalia, and Kurdistan. He achieved an international reputation for his bold initiatives, and his view of "the right of intervention" of the international community in humanitarian matters was approved by a UN decision.

Kouchner is the author of many books, among them *Le devoir d'ingérence* and *Le Malheur des Autres*, and has received many awards including the Prix Europa for his activities on behalf of human rights.

[Gideon Kouts]

KOUFAX, SANDY (**Sanford Braun**; 1935–), U.S. baseball player, one of the greatest pitchers in its history, and with

Hank *Greenberg one of only two Jewish players elected to the Baseball Hall of Fame. Koufax was born in the Borough Park section of Brooklyn to Jack Braun, a salesman, and Evelyn (Lichtenstein), a CPA. His parents divorced when he was three. When he was nine, his mother married Irving Koufax, a neighborhood lawyer, and though Irving never legally adopted Koufax, his stepson always referred to Irving as his father, and took his last name. After graduating Lafayette High School, Koufax accepted a basketball scholarship to the University of Cincinnati in the fall of 1953, and averaged 9.7 points on the 12–2 freshman team. Koufax then joined the varsity baseball team, and on December 14, 1954, two weeks before his 19th birthday, signed with his hometown Brooklyn Dodgers as a $14,000 bonus baby.

Koufax made his debut on June 24, 1955, and played with the Dodgers from 1955 to 1966, first in Brooklyn and then Los Angeles. His first seven years were ordinary, with a wild fastball resulting in a 54–53 record. In 1961, Koufax went 18–13 and led the NL in strikeouts with 269, breaking by two the 58-year-old NL record in a remarkable 255 innings.

But beginning in 1962, when the team moved to spacious Dodger Stadium, Koufax put together what some consider the most dominant five-year stretch in history: a 111–34 record while leading the National League in ERA all five years. Along the way, Koufax tied the then-ML record by striking out 18 players in nine innings on April 24, 1962; pitched a no-hitter each season from 1962 to 1965, the first major leaguer to pitch more than three no-hitters, with the last one a 1–0 perfect game against the Cubs on September 9, 1965; struck out 382 batters in 1965 to set a ML record, as well as going 26–8 with a 2.04 ERA, eight shutouts, 27 complete games, and setting the ML record for most innings pitched (323) without hitting a batter; and led the Dodgers to pennants in 1963, 1965, and 1966, winning the NL Cy Young Award each of the years as well as the MVP in 1963 following his 25–5 season. Koufax led the league in wins three times, strikeouts four times, shutouts three times, and in 57 innings in eight World Series games he posted a 0.95 ERA. He won the first game of the 1963 World Series while striking out 15 Yankees, then the World Series record, and won the fourth game as well, earning him the World Series MVP.

In 1965, the first game of the World Series fell on Yom Kippur, a day on which Koufax never pitched. As *Greenberg had done 31 years before, Koufax instead went to synagogue, emerging as the Jewish sports icon. "By refusing to pitch, Koufax defined himself as a man of principle who placed faith above craft," Jane Leavy wrote in her biography of Koufax. "He became inextricably linked with the American Jewish experience. As John Goodman put it in the movie *The Big Lebowski*: "Three thousand years of beautiful tradition – from Moses to Sandy Koufax." Koufax pitched the next day and lost, but he shut out the Minnesota Twins in Games 5 and 7 – the last game on two days' rest – giving the Dodgers the Series and Koufax his second World Series MVP.

Arthritis forced Koufax into premature retirement at the end of the 1966 season while still at his peak. In a 12-season career, Koufax compiled a 165–87 record with a 2.76 ERA, 2,396 strikeouts in 2,324⅓ innings, 167 complete games, 40 shutouts, was selected to seven All-Star teams, and is fifth all-time in strikeouts per nine innings pitched (9.28). In 1972 at age 36, Koufax became the youngest player voted into the Hall of Fame. He wrote his autobiography *Koufax* (1966) with Ed Linn, and is the subject of *Sandy Koufax: Strikeout King* (1964) by Arnold Hano, *The Baseball Life of Sandy Koufax* (1968) by George Vecsey, *Koufax* (2000) by Ed Gruver, and the bestselling *Sandy Koufax, A Lefty's Legacy* (2002) by Jane Leavy.

[Elli Wohlgelernter (2nd ed.)]

KOUSSEVITZKY (frequently spelled **Kusevitsky**)**, MOSHE** (1899–1966), *ḥazzan*. Born in Smorgon, near Vilna, Koussevitzky became *ḥazzan* in the Great Synagogue of Vilna in 1924. He succeeded Gershon *Sirota at the Tlomackie Street synagogue in Warsaw in 1927. At the outbreak of World War II he escaped to Russia where he sang in Russian, Polish, and Yiddish and appeared in opera. He emigrated to the U.S. in 1947, toured widely in America, South Africa, and Israel and in 1952 became *ḥazzan* in Temple Beth El, Brooklyn. His public appearances in synagogues and concert halls and his recordings brought him renown as a graceful and powerful lyric tenor with a particularly fine upper register. Koussevitzky was popularly regarded as the greatest *ḥazzan* of his time. He died in the U.S. but his body was taken to Jerusalem for burial. His three brothers were all notable *ḥazzanim*: JACOB (1903–1959) held positions in Lvov, London, Winnipeg, and New York; SIMCHA (1905–1998) officiated in Rovno, Glasgow, London, Johannesburg and, from 1952, in Cape Town; DAVID (1911–1985) was *ḥazzan* in Rovno, London where he also lectured in *ḥazzanut* at Jews' College, and, from 1949, in Temple Emanu-El, Boro Park, Brooklyn, New York. Moshe's only son, ALEXANDER (1927–), also became a *ḥazzan*.

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[Joshua Leib Ne'eman]

KOUSSEVITZKY, SERGE (1874–1951), conductor. Born in Tver, Russia, he went to Moscow at the age of 17 and entered the double-bass class at the Conservatory because instruction in this instrument was free. He became a virtuoso player, arranged classical works, and wrote solos to augment the double-bass repertoire. After his marriage into a rich family, he went to Berlin, and in 1908 made his first public appearance as a conductor. In 1909 he established the publishing firm of Editions Russes de Musique, which became the pioneer publisher of modern Russian composers, whose works, especially those of Scriabin, he championed in his concerts. Koussevitzky organized an orchestra, gave concerts in Moscow and St. Petersburg, and made summer tours on the Volga River in a specially chartered steamer. After the war he settled in Paris, founded the Concerts Koussevitzky which gave the first performances of many important works, including the orchestration of Moussorgsky's *Pictures at an Exhibition* (1922) which he had commissioned from Ravel. Koussevitzky attained his greatest fame when he went to the U.S. to become musical director of the Boston Symphony Orchestra in 1925. During the ensuing 25 years of his directorship he made the orchestra one of the great orchestras of the world. It became a focus for new music, European and American, overriding the objections of his hitherto conservative subscribers. From 1935 the orchestra gave summer concerts at Tanglewood, Massachusetts, augmented from 1940 by a permanent institution of summer courses, the Berkshire Music Center, of which Koussevitzky was president and which became an important center of American musical life.

In 1950 Koussevitzky was persuaded by his pupil, Leonard Bernstein, to go to Israel and conduct the *Israel Philharmonic Orchestra in a series of concerts. With Bernstein he also became director of the Israeli orchestra's first American tour in 1950/51. The Koussevitzky Music Foundation was established in 1943 in memory of his first wife, Natalie, to commission new works by composers of all nationalities. It was later directed by her niece Olga who became Koussevitzky's second wife. Among the works commissioned by the foundation were: Bartók's *Concerto for Orchestra* and Stravinsky's *Symphony of Psalms*.

Koussevitzky's conducting style was distinguished by its nobility and emotional power, especially in works of the late 19th and 20th centuries; his interpretations of the classical masters were sometimes criticized for what could be described as "personal intervention." He donated his large library of musical scores to the Koussevitzky Collection, which was established at the Hebrew University, Jerusalem.

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[Uri (Erich) Toeplitz]

KOVADLOFF, SANTIAGO (1942–), Argentine poet, essayist, and cultural critic. Born in Buenos Aires, he received a degree in philosophy from the University of Buenos Aires. Kovadloff was also an accomplished translator of Brazilian and Portuguese literature into Spanish. He was the author of numerous volumes of poetry, including *Zonas e indagaciones* (1978), *Canto abierto* (1979), *Ben David* (1988), *La vida es siempre más o menos* (1994), and *Hombre en la tarde* (1997). *Ben David* is the collection that most overtly undertakes an examination of identity. In addition to his poetry, Kovadloff published short stories in *Mundo menor* (1986). While a skillful poet, he was most recognized for his insightful and keenly critical essays. Along with Marcos Aguinis, Kovadloff was one of the most visible and widely respected cultural critics in Argentina. He contributed regularly to newspapers and periodicals in Argentina and abroad. Kovadloff published several volumes of influential essays on a wide variety of subjects. His early volumes – *Una cultura de catacumbas* (1982), *Argentina, oscuro país* (1983), *Por un futuro imperfecto* (1987) – dealt almost exclusively with the political violence and repression that seized Argentina during the military dictatorship (1976–1983). Essays from these volumes, in addition to new ones, were gathered in *La nueva ignorancia* (1992). Many of Kovadloff's essays specifically address Jewish issues within the context of Argentine society. A constant theme in his essays is the need for greater cultural pluralism in Argentina. In more recent volumes, Kovadloff takes on topics as diverse as the multiple meanings of silence in *El silencio primordial* (1993), Moses and Judaism in *Lo irremediable: Moisés y el espíritu trágico del judaísmo* (1996), the difficulty of everyday life in *Sentido y riesgo de la vida cotidiana* (1998), and the search for personal spirituality in *Ensayos de intimidad* (2002). In 1992, Kovadloff received the National Literary Award for his essays. In 1998 he became a member of the Argentine Academy of Letters and in 2000 he was awarded first prize for poetry from the city of Buenos Aires.

[Darrell B. Lockhart (2nd ed.)]

KOVEL, town in Volhynia district, Ukraine; within Poland until the end of the 18th century, passed to Russia until 1918, and within Poland again until 1939. A Jewish community is known to have existed there from 1536, when Kovel received Magdeburgian rights (city rights). In 1540, representatives of Kovel Jews, together with other Volhynian Jews, participated in a delegation to King Sigismund I, to respond to the accusation of kidnapping or buying Christian children, converting them to Judaism, and smuggling them to Turkey. The owner of the town, Queen Bona, usually made the rights of the Jews there equal to those of other citiziens. In 1609 Jews took part in fortifying the town and defending it against invaders. Kovel suffered severely during the *Chmielnicki massacres of 1648–49 when most of the poor Jews there, as well as Christians, were murdered; some were drowned in the river. The community was reconstituted in Kovel under the protection of King John II Casimir in 1650. Around the 1680s the Kovel community became a main community in the Volhynian Land. From the end of the century a Kovel representative was elected to the Four Lands Council, and even represented this body.

In 1765 the Jews of Kovel numbered 827. Under Russian rule in 1799 there were 11 merchants, all Jews, and 811 Jewish citizens, as against 1,308 Christians. The Russian authorities permitted the Jews of Kovel to select the deputy mayor. Kovel became a commercial center during the 19th century. The Jewish population numbered 2,647 and grew to 8,521 in 1897 (48%). In 1857 a fire destroyed many Jewish houses and most of the synagogues, but the town was quickly restored. Among others, the Russian soldiers stationed in Kovel were an important source of livelihood. At the end of World War I, the Jews suffered severely at the hands of *Haller's Polish army which killed two Jews. In 1921 there were 12,758 Jews (61.2%)

in Kovel. They predominated in light industry, in the production of such commodities as beer and leather, in building construction, and ownership of workshops. They were also active in the wholesale and retail trade. Half of the members of the municipal council were Jews. There was a Hebrew high school, and two primary Hebrew schools with Hebrew kindergartens, all affiliated to *Tarbut. There was also a Yiddish CYSHO-affiliated primary school.

Among the rabbis of Kovel in the 17th century was Judah Idl, son of Moses Idl, a descendant of *Judah Loew b. Bezalel. Its last rabbi, Nahum *Twersky, perished in the Holocaust. Between the two world wars, the *Bund organized trade unions and had a significant influence on Jewish life in Kovel. Among the Zionist parties, the Ereẓ Israel Workers' Front gained the majority during the elections held in Kovel in 1939 for the 21st Zionist Congress. In the municipality elections in 1939 the Jews obtained ten seats (eight Zionists, and two members of the Bund). The Yiddish periodicals *Di Kovler Shtime* and *Unzer Lebn* were published in Kovel in the 1930s. A dramatic circle was also a focus of literary activities. The Jewish population in 1939 numbered approximately 17,000 (out of 33,000).

[Shimshon Leib Kirshenboim / Shmuel Spector (2nd ed.)]

Holocaust and Postwar Periods

Soon after the Soviet occupation of Kovel in September 1939, organized Jewish public life was discontinued. Factories were nationalized, private commerce almost ceased to exist, and craftsmen were organized into cooperatives. However, the Jewish high school, elementary schools, and four kindergartens, whose language of instruction was Yiddish, continued to function, and the teachers clandestinely continued to give a Jewish national character to their educational work.

Kovel was occupied by the Germans on June 28, 1941, on which day 60 to 80 Jews belonging to the intelligentsia were shot. During the first month of occupation some 1,000 Jews were executed. A few weeks later the Germans collected some 200 Torah scrolls from all the synagogues and burned them. Under most difficult conditions the Judenrat endeavored to assuage the suffering of the Jewish population. By the end of 1941, thousands of Jews had been murdered in the nearby forest of Czerewacha. By German order the ghetto was established on May 25, 1942, in two sections: one within the city limits and the other in the suburb of Piaski. The Germans separated the able-bodied (about 8,000) from the elderly, the sick, and the children (about 6,000), and the latter were earmarked for immediate annihilation. The Jewish population in both ghettos numbered approximately 24,000, including refugees from the neighboring small towns and villages. On June 2, 1942 the city section of the disabled was liquidated, and the inhabitants were taken to the Bykhava quarries and killed there. On August 19, 1942, the liquidation of the ghetto of the able-bodied began in the Bykhava village. About 1,000 Jews tried to escape, but most of them were captured and kept in the Great Synagogue, whence they were taken to their death. Many of them wrote their names and wills on the walls calling to be avenged. The inscriptions were found after the liberation and were copied, but later were painted over. The liquidation lasted until October 6, 1942. In May 1942 the Kovel ghetto was visited by two messengers of the Jewish resistance in Warsaw – Frumka Plotnicka and Temi Shneiderman. Kovel Jews belonged to partisan units which were active in the Cuman forests, most of them in the Linkov division, and helped carry out acts of sabotage and retaliation against the Nazis and their collaborators among the local population. The Soviet army reentered Kovel on July 6, 1944, and in the following months about 40 Jewish survivors returned to the city. Jewish life there was not reestablished and the survivors soon left for Israel and other countries. In 1959 plans were announced to convert the Jewish cemetery into a site for an industrial plant. In 1970 the Jewish population was estimated at about 250 (50 families).

[Aharon Weiss / Shmuel Spector (2nd ed.)]

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KOVNER, ABBA (1918–1987), Lithuanian resistance fighter and Israeli Hebrew poet. Born in Sevastopol, Russia, Kovner grew up in Vilna. He was active in the *Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir movement and prepared to immigrate to Ereẓ Israel but the outbreak of World War II prevented him from doing so. During the German occupation of Vilna, he remained in the city, first under the protection of nuns in a convent, and later in the ghetto. Kovner, one of the commanders of the Vilna ghetto, helped to organize the armed revolt and issued a manifesto urging Jews not to go like sheep to the slaughter. He continued to fight the Germans as leader of Jewish partisan groups in the Vilna forests. After the war Kovner was among the organizers of the *Beriḥah*, responsible for bringing hundreds of thousands of Jews to Ereẓ Israel. In 1945 he went to Ereẓ Israel; but when he attempted to return to Europe to continue Jewish rescue work he was caught by the British secret police and imprisoned in Egypt. During his imprisonment he wrote the poem "*Ad Lo Or*" ("Until There is no More Light," 1947). After his return from Egypt he joined kibbutz Ein ha-Ḥoresh. At the beginning of the War of Independence, he enlisted in the Givati Brigade and wrote a daily *Battle Sheet* which brought news of the war to the troops.

Early in World War II, Kovner's first poems, both in Hebrew and Yiddish, were published in Vilna in the organs of the Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir, including *Ma'amakim*. In 1943 his Hebrew poetry was published for the first time in Ereẓ Israel. The poem, which was signed Uri, was printed in the newspaper *Haaretz* after having been transmitted by the partisan post. His books of poetry include *Ad Lo Or* (1947); *Preidah me-ha-Darom* (1949); *Admat ha-Ḥol* (1961); and *Mi-Kol ha-Ahavot* (1965), which includes the poem "*Ha-Mafte'aḥ Ẓalal*." first printed in *Yevul* (1950). Kovner's poetry, unique in its rhythm, oscillates in theme between the horrors of the Holocaust and the struggles in Ereẓ Israel. His poems also treat of a religious experience in Brazil, encountered in 1955 while he was on a mission in Latin America. Experiences during the War of Independence gave rise in 1953–55 to his prose trilogy *Panim el Panim*, *She'at ha-Efes* (1954), and *Ha-Ẓomet* (1955). The trilogy, with its diverse characters, both sabras and former partisans, is a monument to the Givati Brigade. In 1972 Kovner's poem *Lahakat ha-Keẓev Mofi'ah al Har Gerizim* ("The Pop Orchestra Appears on Mt. Gerizim") was published. Dan Miron edited *Kol Shirei Abba Kovner* (The Collected Poems) 1996–2003, and volume five includes an index and comments by R. Frenkel. In 1973 a selection of his poems, translated into English by Shirley Kaufman and others, was published by Pittsburgh University under the title *A Canopy in the Desert*. It includes an introductory essay on Kovner by the translator. His *Scrolls of Fire* appeared in 1981. The English collection *My Little Sister and Selected Poems* was published in 1986, followed in 2001 by *Scrolls of Testimony* in 2001 and *Sloan Kettering: Poems* (2002).

In 1970 he was awarded the Israel Prize and in the same year he was elected chairman of the Hebrew Writers' Association of Israel. Kovner was responsible for the scheme adopted for the Beth Hatefutsoth.

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[Getzel Kressel]

KOVNER, ABRAHAM URI (1842–1909), Hebrew writer and pioneer of modern Hebrew literary criticism. Born in Vilna, Kovner studied at various yeshivot in Lithuania and was ultimately attracted to secular studies. He was married at the age of 18, but left his wife in order to pursue his studies of Russian and the sciences. He was influenced in particular by the Russian radical writers. In 1862 he began publishing articles in the Hebrew press, and two essays, "*Davar el Soferei Yisrael*" and "*Lo Shalom ve-Lo Emet*" on Hebrew literature, appeared in *Ha-Meliẓ*. In these he takes the Hebrew authors of his day to task for writing inconsequential poetry and calls on them to write novels and works dealing with science and history. In 1865 he published a collection of essays, *Ḥeker Davar*, in which he attacked the narrow, romantic confines of the Haskalah literature. Kovner contends that the Haskalah Hebrew literature is devoid of any contact with contemporary life, has no readers, and deals with irrelevancies of the ancient past or with meaningless phraseology. Translations of scientific works are made, he avers, by men who are ignorant of science or of the language in which the work was written. Belles lettres and literary criticism, which are the mainstays of other literatures, are completely lacking in Hebrew. A small number of writers are exceptions to the rule, such as I.B. *Levinsohn, I.S. *Reggio, H.S. *Slonimski, and A. *Mapu whose novel *Ayit Ẓavu'a* (1857) depicts contemporary life. Unaware that J. *Perl is the author of *Megalleh Temirin* (1819) and *Boḥen Ẓaddik* (1838), he nevertheless praises these anti-ḥasidic satires. In the final essay he attacks the Hebrew press for concentrating on antiquities and ignoring contemporary life. His sharpest criticism comes at the end of the book, where he declares that all of Hebrew and Yiddish literature is merely a transitional phase and that in Russia, as in the West, Jewish literature "will be written in the language of the country and will flourish in it."

Ḥeker Davar aroused bitter controversy, and A.B. *Gottlober, *Mendele Mokher Seforim, and others took issue with Kovner. They did not enter into a substantive debate but simply called him a "nihilist" and accused him of sacrilege. Kovner reacted with great vehemence, and denounced *Ha-Meliẓ* to the Russian authorities, charging that it supported the Ḥasidim and plotted to buy Palestine in order to establish a monarchy under the House of Rothschild. In subsequent articles, which he published in *Ha-Meliẓ* and *Ha-Karmel*, Kovner became increasingly extremist, predicting the imminent demise of Hebrew literature. His last Hebrew work, *Ẓeror Peraḥim*, appeared in 1868, and then he began writing in Russian. He published articles in the Odessa Jewish weekly *Den* between 1869 and 1871, in which he urged the closing down of yeshivot and replacing them with a modern rabbinical college, and repeated many of the views expressed in his Hebrew writings. He contends that the Jewish problem is essentially economic and will disappear as the general condition of society is improved. His last comment on Hebrew literature was in an article on contemporary Hebrew literature which he wrote for the yearbook *Yevreyskaya Biblioteka* (vol. 4, 1873) and in which, among other things, he examines P. *Smolenskin's *Ha-To'eh be-Darkhei ha-Ḥayyim* and J.L. *Gordon's *Olam ke-Minhago.*

In 1871 Kovner moved to St. Petersburg, where he worked as a minor bank official and wrote for the Russian press. In 1875 he was arrested on charges of forging a check for a large sum of money and was sentenced to four years of hard labor in Siberia. After his release he settled in Siberia, converted to Christianity, and married a gentile woman. Later he was permitted to return to the European part of Russia and he settled in Lomza, where he worked as a government official. He continued to take an interest in Jewish affairs, carried on a correspondence with some of the leading Russian writers, including Dostoevski and Tolstoi, on the subject of the Jewish problem, and in 1908 he published anonymously a pamphlet on the self-isolation of the Jews. In 1903 he published his memoirs in the St. Petersburg journal *Istoricheskiy Vestnik*. An edition of his collected writings (incomplete) appeared in Tel Aviv (1947).

While Kovner's basic thesis predicting the inevitable decline of Hebrew literature proved to be entirely unfounded, through his unsparing attacks on the writers of his day he forged the first genuine literary criticism in the Hebrew language, and thus had a profound effect on the future development of modern Hebrew literature.

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[Yehuda Slutsky]

KOWALSKI, MAX (1882–1956), composer. Born in Poland, but in his infancy the family emigrated to Germany. By profession, he was a lawyer in Frankfurt, but he studied voice and composition, the latter under Bernard Sekles. His early songs, published in 1913, included the *Pierrot Lunaire Lieder:* he continued writing songs until 1934 and his works were sung by many famous singers. Sent to Buchenwald concentration camp in 1938, he was released in March 1939 and settled in London, where he continued composing songs for voice and piano. Seventeen of his works have been published, while many have remained in manuscript. He died in London.

KOWALSKY, JUDAH LEIB (1862–1925), rabbi and Mizrachi leader in Poland. Born in a suburb of Warsaw, Kowalsky was an ordained rabbi who also acquired a general education. He served in the rabbinate in Grabow, Chorzele, and Wloclawek. He joined the Zionist movement as a youth and preached on its behalf in synagogues and meetings, in spite of the opposition of other rabbis. Kowalsky participated in the conference that established the Mizrachi movement in Vilna and worked on behalf of the movement throughout Poland. In 1919 he was elected president of Mizrachi in Poland and did much to develop the network of religious education there. He visited Palestine during the 1921 riots, and on his return he called on Diaspora Jewry to aid the *yishuv* and went on tours on behalf of the Zionist funds. From 1923 he was a member of the Polish senate. As a leader of the association of rabbis in Poland, he participated in consultations and decisions in halakhic matters. Kowalsky left many volumes of responsa on *halakhah* which were lost in the Holocaust. He published articles in the Yiddish and Hebrew press in Poland. He died in Breslau and was buried in Wloclawek.

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[Yitzchak Raphael]

KOZAKOV, MIKHAIL EMMANUILOVICH (1897–1954), Soviet Russian author. Born in the Ukraine, Kozakov studied medicine and law. His most ambitious work was the novel *Krusheniye imperii* ("The Fall of the Empire," 1956), a much enlarged version of his *Devyat tochek* ("Nine Points," 4 brochures, 1931–39; serialized from 1929). It deals with the last years of Imperial Russia and with the Revolution, and portrays numerous historical figures. Some of Kozakov's early tales, such as *Abram Nashatyr* (1927), depict life in a Jewish shtetl of the old Pale of Settlement, similar to the one Kozakov remembered from his own childhood. He wrote the novella *Chelovek, padayushchiy nits* ("The Man Who Prostrates Himself"), one of the very few frank portrayals of antisemitism under Soviet conditions to appear in the U.S.S.R. (1929, 1932).

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[Maurice Friedberg]

KOZER, JOSÉ (1940–), Cuban poet, essayist, and translator, born in La Havana of Jewish East European parents. He left Cuba in 1960, lived in the U.S. and Spain, and ultimately settled in Florida. He taught Spanish and Latin American literatures for 32 years at Queens College, N.Y. His poetry centers on his existential condition as a Jew and an exile, from which he strives towards a universal spiritual unity for the individual and mankind as a whole. It includes references to his ancestors and Jewish tradition as well as Christian and Oriental religious imagery. Kozer's poetry has been translated into English, Portuguese, French, Italian, German, Hebrew, and Greek and has been widely anthologized. Among his books are *La rueca de los semblantes* ("The Spinning Wheel of Faces," 1980); *Bajo este cien* ("Under This One-Hundred," 1983); *La garza sin sombras* ("The Shadeless Heron," 1985); *Carece de causa* ("Lacking a Cause," 1988); *De donde oscilan los seres en sus proporciones* ("From Where Beings Oscillate in Their Proportions," 1990); *et mutabile* ("and mutating," 1995); *Dípticos* ("Diptychs," 1998); *Farándula* ("Show Business," 1999); *Mezcla para dos tiempos* ("Mixture for Two Times," prose, 1999); *No buscan reflejarse* ("They Do Not Try To Be Reflected," 2001); *Ánima* ("Soul," 2002).

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[Florinda F. Goldberg (2nd ed.)]

KOZIENICE (Rus. **Kozenitsy**), town in Kielce province, E. central Poland. In 1661 the Jews of Kozienice referred to a privilege dated 1616, which probably was the oldest granted to the community. In 1661 five Jewish house owners lived in Kozienice, while ten other families resided in rented dwellings. In 1722 the Jews paid a poll tax of 354 zlotys; this was increased to 630 zlotys in 1726. In the 1780s, through Jewish initiative, a soap factory was established in the town. From 1791 the Jews of Kozienice also engaged in the production of stockings. At the beginning of the 19th century the *Maggid* Israel b. Shabbetai Hapstein, one of the most influential *ẓaddikim*, lived in Kozienice (see *Kozienice, Israel, below). The community numbered 1,365 in 1765, 1,185 (59% of the total population) in 1827, 1,980 (65%) in 1857, 3,764 (59%) in 1897, 3,811 (55%) in 1921, and 4,780 in 1939. Between the world wars the Jews were shopkeepers and artisans and the town remained a ḥasidic center. The Germans entered the city on September 9, 1939, and burned the synagogue. A ghetto was sealed off in late 1940, its population doubling with the arrival of refugees. On September 2, 1942, around 8,000 Jews were deported to Treblinka.

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[*Encyclopaedia Judaica* (Germany)]

KOZIENICE, ISRAEL BEN SHABBETAI HAPSTEIN (1733–1814), ḥasidic *ẓaddik* and preacher, born in Apta; one of the first propagators of Ḥasidism in Congress Poland. His teachers were Samuel Shmelke *Horowitz of Nikolsburg, *Dov Baer the Maggid of Mezhirech, *Elimelech of Lyzhansk, and *Levi Isaac of Berdichev, with whom he was on friendly terms. In his early years, Israel withdrew from society and became an ascetic. After the death of his father, a poor bookbinder, he moved to Przysucha where he earned his living as a teacher (*melammed*). He then settled in Kozienice where his eloquent preaching gained him the appellation the "*Maggid* of Kozienice." Israel's homilies were notable for their elegant structure and lucid exposition, even though they included much kabbalistic symbolism, and had a great impact on his listeners. He would admonish them "with pleasing and sweet persuasion and not with hard words" (*Avodat Yisrael, Avot*). On the role of the preacher he taught: "He who reproves people and teaches them the Law and the word of God must have insight into the heart of every single one of them, even of the very wicked."

However, Israel became noted mainly for his activity as a *ẓaddik*. Many followed him because of his whole-hearted approach to the worship of God and his ecstatic mode of prayer through **Devekut*.

According to Israel, the principal duty of the *ẓaddik* was to give spiritual guidance to his followers and assist them in divine worship. The devotion to God by the *ẓaddik* is a dynamic action through which those under his protection also attain devotion to God. Thus the *ẓaddik* elevates the spirit of the average man and brings him nearer to the Creator, which is the aim of Ḥasidism. However, the simple man will never attain the heights which the *ẓaddik* himself reaches. As a "practical *ẓaddik*" Israel gained great popularity, actively assisting his followers apart from his duties of spiritual guidance. He thus cared for the welfare, children, and livelihood of his Ḥasidim and even distributed remedies and amulets. The *Mitnaggedim* sharply criticized him for this activity while the Ḥasidim justified it, explaining that the amulets contained his name only. Israel's fame also reached high-ranking Poles, and he apparently had connections with the family of the Polish prince Czariorski. He was alive to public affairs and during the period of the grand duchy of Warsaw was to have participated in a convention of delegates of the Polish communities convening in Warsaw mainly to discuss the heavy taxes imposed on the Jews. Israel took steps against the opponents of Ḥasidism and tried, unsuccessfully, to prevent the printing of anti-ḥasidic works appearing in Warsaw in the late 18th century. A man of the people, he spiced his discourse with proverbs. With his friend *Jacob Isaac ha-Ḥozeh of Lublin he was among the principal disseminators of Ḥasidism of the school of *Israel b. Eliezer Ba'al Shem Tov in the interior of Poland. He had a profound knowledge of both traditional and esoteric learning, and participated with the greatest scholars of his time in a halakhic discussion on the question of the *agunah*. His principal halakhic work is *Beit Yisrael* (Warsaw, 1864). His tractates on the Kabbalah testify to his great esoteric knowledge. A ḥasidic story relates "that before he traveled to the Maggid of Mezhirech he studied 800 books on Kabbalah and after all that when he came to the holy Maggid of blessed memory he realized that he had not yet learned anything" (*Toledot Adam le-Shabbat Ḥanukkah*); however, his writings on Kabbalah (*Or Yisrael*, Czernowitz, 1862; *Ner Yisrael*, Vilna, 1822; and others) do not contain original interpretations of his own. His principal work on Ḥasidism is *Avodat Yisrael* (Yozepof, 1842).

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[Aaron Rothkoff]

KOZINKSI, ALEX (1950–), U.S. Court of Appeals judge. Born in Bucharest, Romania, Kozinski immigrated to the United States in 1962 with his parents, both Holocaust survivors. He attended public schools and received his bachelor's degree from the University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA), in 1972. He graduated from UCLA Law School in 1975 and was admitted to the California bar that year. From 1975 to 1976 Kozinski served as clerk for Anthony Kennedy, a judge on the Ninth Circuit of the U.S. Court of Appeals, who later became a Supreme Court justice. In 1976 Kozinski clerked for Chief Justice Warren Burger, then in 1977 he entered private practice in Los Angeles. In 1978 he was admitted to the District of Columbia bar, and in 1979 he joined the firm of Covington and Burling as an associate. He was named deputy counsel to the office of president-elect Ronald Reagan in 1980; after Reagan took office in January 1981, Kozinski became assistant counsel in the Office of Counsel to the President. He was appointed special counsel of the Merit Systems Protection Board later that year. In 1982 he was named chief judge on the U.S. Court of Claims. In 1985 President Reagan appointed Kozinski to the Ninth Circuit of the U.S. Court of Appeals.

Though considered a conservative jurist, Kozinski gained attention in 2001 for his stand against electronic surveillance in the workplace. The Administrative Office (AO) of the federal judiciary had installed a monitoring system designed to identify federal court workers who were engaging in unauthorized use of the Internet; Kozinski and some of his colleagues protested its use in the Ninth Circuit. In an interview with *Newsweek*, Kozinski stated that he considered such a surveillance system a violation of court employee's civil rights.

In addition to workplace privacy, Kozinski was involved in other issues, including commercial speech. In a 1990 article, coauthored by law professor Stuart Banner, in the *Virginia Law Review*, he argued against allowing commercial speech a lower level of protection, warning that existing doctrine "gives government a powerful weapon to suppress or control speech by classifying it as merely commercial."

[Dorothy Bauhoff (2nd ed.)]

KOZLE (**Kosel**; **Cosel**), town in Silesia, Poland. Jews lived in Kozle long before the first documentary evidence of their presence in 1373. In 1563 Emperor *Ferdinand I decreed, on the urging of the municipality, that none might reside there any longer. According to an imperial decree of 1713, Jewish merchants were prohibited from even entering the town, although in 1750 two merchants were recorded as living there. The number of Jews in the town increased from 30 in 1766 to 112 in 1782. In 1820 a community was organized and a school opened, and five years later a private home was converted into a synagogue. A new synagogue was consecrated in 1884 when the community numbered 236 persons (4.7% of the total population). The community subsequently declined to 119 in 1910 and 80 in 1932. By 1939 only 24 remained. The community was destroyed during World War II and not reestablished since.

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KRACAUER, ISIDOR (1852–1923), gymnasium teacher, historian of Frankfurt Jewry. Kracauer was born in Sagan, Germany, studied philology and history at the University of Breslau, receiving a doctorate, and from 1876 taught at the Philanthropin school at Frankfurt on the Main as a teacher of history. He published numerous studies on the history of Frankfurt Jews. His chief works are *Urkundenbuch zur Geschichte der Juden in Frankfurt am Main von 1150–1400*, (1914); the two-volume *Geschichte der Juden in Frankfurt a. M., 1150–1824* (1925–27), and (with A. Freimann) *Frankfurt* (translated from the German ms. by Bertha Szold Levin, Philadelphia 1929). For a list of his works see M. Brann, *Geschichte des Juedisch-theologischen Seminars… in Breslau* (1904), 175.

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[Archiv Bibliographia Judaica (2nd ed.)]

KRACAUER, SIEGFRIED (1889–1966), sociologist, philosopher, film critic, and novelist. Born in Frankfurt, the sole son in a Jewish family, he studied architecture (1911–14) and in 1921 became an editor of Germany's leading liberal newspaper, the *Frankfurter Zeitung*. As head of the Berlin feuilleton section (1930–33), he tried to raise public awareness of the encroaching Third Reich by observing and describing cultural and social symptoms of change. In March 1933 he emigrated to France, settled in Paris and had henceforth to make his living as a freelance journalist and author. Encouraged by the success of his novel *Ginster* (1928) and his sociological study *Die Angestellten* (1930), he wrote another novel, *Georg* (1934, unpublished until 1973), and portrayed French society of the mid-19th century in *Jacques Offenbach and the Paris of His Time* (1937). After being temporarily interned, he managed in spring 1941 to flee from Marseille via Lisbon to New York. He started to work on the impact of mass media propaganda and drafted a study on "Propaganda and the Nazi War Film" (1942), on behalf of the Film Library at the Museum of Modern Art. Further essays, such as "National Types as Hollywood Presents Them" (*Public Opinion Quarterly,* 1949) and "The Challenge of Qualitative Content Analysis" (*Public Opinion Quarterly*, 1952–53), followed. Support from the Rockefeller Foundation and the Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation enabled him to complete his renowned book, *From Caligari to Hitler: A Psychological History of the German Film*, published in 1947. After 20 years of writing and rewriting, he managed in 1959 to finish his second film book, *Theory of Film: The Redemption of Physical Reality* (published in 1960). In the early 1950s Kracauer began to win international recognition: he became research director at Columbia University's Bureau of Applied Social Research and an adviser to the Bollington Foundation. He edited a compilation of his articles written for the *Frankfurter Zeitung* and republished them as *Das Ornament der Masse* (1963) and *Strassen in Berlin und anderswo* (1964). Kracauer died before completing his work on *History: The Last Things before the Last*. The book was published in 1969, edited by the historian Paul Oskar Kristeller in cooperation with Kracauer's widow, Lili.

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[Werner J. Cahnman / MirjamWenzel (2nd ed.)]

KRAFT, LOUIS (1891–1975), U.S. social worker. Kraft, who was born in Moscow, Russia, was educated in New York. From 1914 to 1917 he served as executive director of the Bronx YM & YWHA. He served as executive director of the *National Jewish Welfare Board (1917–20) and consultant on community organization in Europe for the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee and the Conference on Jewish Material Claims Against Germany. As secretary of the World Federation of YMHAs and Jewish Community Centers, he established the YM & YWHA in Jerusalem in 1948. Kraft was president of the National Conference of Jewish Communal Service (1943) and honorary president of the National Association of Jewish Center Workers (1947). A founder of the United Service Organizations (USO), he was on its executive committee in World War II. From 1961 until 1974, Kraft served as voluntary executive secretary of the Association of Jewish Center Workers.

Kraft wrote *Century of the Jewish Community Center Movement (1854–1954)* (1953); *Social Agency Administration* (1967); and *The Development of the Jewish Community Center* (1968); he co-authored *Change and Challenge: A History of 50 Years of JWB* (1966) and edited, with C.S. Bernheimer, *Aspects of the Jewish Community Center* (1954). Recognized as "the architect of the Jewish community center movement," he received many academic and professional honors.

In 2002, the World Confederation of Jewish Community Centers established the Louis Kraft Memorial Lecture and the Louis Kraft Maor Award, given to exemplary Jewish community centers in the former Soviet Union.

[Philip Goodman / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

KRAFT, ROBERT K. (1942–), owner of the National Football League's New England Patriots as well as Major League Soccer's New England Revolution. Kraft, who grew up in Brookline, Mass., graduated from Columbia College in 1963, and received his MBA from Harvard Business School in 1965. Kraft began his business career with the Rand-Whitney Group, Inc. of Worcester, Mass., a company he later acquired. In 1972, he founded International Forest Products, a trader of paper commodities that does business in more than 80 countries. Rand-Whitney and International Forest Products comprise one of the largest privately owned paper and packaging companies in the United States. In 1998, he founded the Kraft Group to serve as the holding company for the family's varied business interests, including the Rand-Whitney Group, Rand-Whitney Containerboard, International Forest Products, the New England Revolution, as well as a portfolio of more than 30 private equity investments.

In 1985, Kraft took out a 10-year option on the 300 acres surrounding Foxboro Stadium, where the New England Patriots played, which gave him access to all stadium parking. By 1988 he had bought the stadium, and then six years later he purchased the team for $172 million, then the highest price for a sports franchise in history. He built a new stadium to replace Foxboro, with $325 million of his own money invested in the state-of-the-art Gillette Stadium. Kraft was heavily criticized for offering a first-round draft choice to acquire head coach Bill Belichick in 2000, but he was vindicated with three Super Bowl Championships in the ensuing four years. Since taking ownership in 1994, no NFL team has won as many conference championships or more Super Bowl championships than the Patriots.

Kraft is also heavily involved in numerous philanthropic endeavors, both in the United States and Israel. He and his wife, Myra, are ardent supporters of Jewish education in the Boston area, and also donated the $11 million to build the Kraft Center for Jewish Student Life at Columbia University. They also created the Kraft-Hiatt Fund, a joint endowment fund through which gifts to Holy Cross and Brandeis University are used to encourage greater understanding between Christians and Jews.

Kraft is the primary shareholder of the $40-million Carmel Container Systems in Caesarea, Israel, the largest export packaging plant in the country. In 1999, he built the Kraft Family Stadium in Jerusalem, which became home field for American Flag Football in Israel.

[Elli Wohlgelernter (2nd ed.)]

KRAFT, WERNER (1896–1991), Israeli author writing in German. Kraft was born in Brunswick, and worked in the Leipzig and Hanover State Libraries. He maintained his deep involvement with the classical and humanist German traditions, even after making his home in Ereẓ Israel in 1934. He was profoundly influenced by Karl Kraus, Franz Kafka, and Rudolf Borchardt (all three of Jewish origin), particularly in his uncompromising attitude toward the moral obligations of a writer and his language. He wrote major works on all three authors, including two books on Kraus: *Karl Kraus – Beitraege zum Verstaendnis seines Werks* (1956) and *Das Ja des Neinsagers* (1974).

Kraft also wrote important essays on Friedrich Hoelderlin, J.G. Seume, and the otherwise completely forgotten Carl Gustav Jochmann. He edited a volume of previously unknown writings by Else *Lasker-Schueler, which were found after her death in Jerusalem in 1945. He published two volumes of his own lyrical poems in German and a novel, *Der Wirrwarr*, which refers to the fate of Jewish youngsters seeking their identity in the years of distress after 1933.

Kraft's memoirs, *Spiegelung der Jugend* (1973), deal with his life before his arrival in Jerusalem. In Jerusalem he was in close contact with Martin *Buber and published an account of his discussions with him after the philosopher's death in 1965.

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[Erich Gottgetreu]

KRAKAUER, LEOPOLD (1890–1954), Israel architect and designer. Krakauer was born in Vienna, where he studied architecture and engineering. In 1920–21 he helped to design the parliament building in Belgrade, Yugoslavia. He immigrated to Palestine in 1924, and settled in Jerusalem. Krakauer was primarily an architect, and it was only later that he concentrated on drawing. He designed several public buildings and private houses, which, with their harmonious, simple lines, often close to Bauhaus ideas, remain among the best examples of the second phase of Palestinian architecture. They include kibbutz dining halls at Bet Alfa (1930) and Tel Yosef (1933), and the Megiddo Hotel, Haifa (1935). From 1948 he concentrated on town planning, and designed the Katamon Gimmel quarter of Jerusalem (1952) and several new immigrant villages. His charcoal and brown-wash drawings are detailed studies of the countryside round Jerusalem. After World War I, his work was expressionist, but his vision became more and more objective, and his line stronger and more precise. His work conveyed the subtleties and stark harmonies of the mountains, terraces, and lone cypresses. His unadorned, sober style is exceptional in Israel art.

His wife, GRETE KRAKAUER-WOLF (d. 1970), was born in Vienna, where she also studied. An abstract painter in her youth, she painted landscapes and portraits after settling in Ereẓ Israel, and in later years imaginative compositions featuring rocks, plants, and fossils.

[Yona Fischer]

KRAMER, JACOB (1892–1962), British painter. Kramer was born at Klintsy, in the Ukraine. His father, Max Kramer (d. 1915), was a painter and his uncle Sion was a court painter who exhibited at the Chicago Exhibition of 1893. The Kramer family immigrated to England in 1900 and settled in Leeds, where Jacob lived most of his life. At school the eight-year-old Jacob was recognized as being artistically talented and in 1907 entered the Leeds School of Art. With the assistance of the Jewish Education Aid Society he studied at the Slade School of Art in London in 1912. A gifted and sensitive draughtsman, Kramer never quite lived up to his early promise. His masterpiece is undoubtedly the powerful *The Day of Atonement* (1919) now in the Leeds City Art Gallery, together with the equally impressive *Hear Our Voice, O Lord Our God* (1919). Kramer illustrated Israel Cohen's *A Ghetto Gallery* (1931). He spent most of his life in Leeds and taught at the Leeds and Bradford colleges of art.

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[Charles Samuel Spencer]

KRAMER, LARRY (1935–), U.S. writer and social activist. Born in Bridgeport, Conn., Kramer earned a B.A. degree from Yale University in 1957. Entering British films, he produced and wrote dialogue for *Here We Go Round the Mulberrry Bush* in 1967. Three years later he adapted the D.H. Lawrence novel *Women in Love* and produced the Ken Russell film. His adaptation won four Oscar nominations, including best screenplay. He also wrote the screenplay for the 1973 remake of *Lost Horizon*, which Kramer called "the only thing in life I am ashamed of." Nevertheless, the film was a financial success for him. In 1978 his sexually audacious novel *Faggots* appeared, and it remained in print for more than 20 years. The book was an indictment of a homosexual lifestyle on Fire Island, N.Y., that equated promiscuity with liberation. His 1985 play about AIDS, *The Normal Heart*, had more than 600 productions worldwide.

Kramer was among the early public figures to identify and publicize the disease AIDS and became one of the leaders in the decades-long history of AIDS advocacy in the United States. He responded to the spread of the disease among homosexual men by founding the Gay Men's Health Crisis in New York City, the first and largest AIDS service organization in the world, and later, frustrated by what he saw as the medical community's inadequate response to the epidemic, he founded ACT UP, the international AIDS advocacy and protest organization. The latter organization used guerrilla-style protests and extensive negotiations to accelerate the development of treatments for the disease. He caused scenes on several television programs, identifying homosexuals who were hiding their sexual identity, in an effort to call attention and jolt public action into finding a cure for a disease that had been a scourge since its identification in 1981. He himself contracted HIV and hepatitis B some time in the 1970s, he said, but the treatments for the disease damaged his liver. In 2001, after a change in policy by several transplant centers, Kramer received a new liver. He then began agitating for changes in the organ-donor system to make more organs available.

He published a collection of essays, *Reports From the Holocaust: The Making of an AIDS Activist* (1989); a short play, *Just Say No* (1988); and *The Furniture of Home* (1989). *The Destiny of Me,* which had its premiere in 1993, continued the story of the main character in *The Normal Heart*.

In 2001 Kramer donated his papers to Yale for the creation of a Larry Kramer Initiative for Lesbian and Gay Studies. Kramer's brother, Arthur, also a Yale graduate, gave $1 million to set up the study program.

[Stewart Kampel (2nd ed.)]

KRAMER, MOSES BEN DAVID, OF VILNA (d. 1688), talmudist and rabbinic leader. Kramer was born in Cracow. He was called Kramer (shopkeeper) because he obtained his livelihood from a shop managed by his wife, refusing to accept a salary from the community. After serving for a time as *dayyan* in Brest-Litovsk, he was appointed as head of the Vilna *bet din* in 1673. He was regarded as one of the main Jewish spokesmen of his time and participated in the meetings of the *Council of Four Lands. His name appears among the signatories to the resolutions adopted at the "assembly of Selts," at the "assembly of Leaders," and, together with other Lithuanian rabbis, at the "assembly of Khomsk." Kramer was an erudite scholar but no works written by him are known. However his son-in-law, Joseph b. Jacob of Pinczow, included some of his statements in his *Rosh Yosef* (Amsterdam, 1707). In the introduction he states, "I have included many things which I myself heard from my father-in-law, Moses. As is well known he excelled in many directions, both in the revealed law and in esoteric lore. He would almost seem to have been divinely inspired and wondrous deeds were accomplished by him…. He directed great yeshivot." His extant statements indeed reveal brilliance and profundity. Many of his novellae are quoted in the *Derash Shemu'el* of Samuel Feibush (Duerenfurth, 1694). Many great scholars and leaders of Vilna were descended from him, including Elijah of Vilna.

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[Abram Juda Goldrat]

KRAMER, SAMUEL NOAH (1897–1990), U.S. Sumerologist. Born in Russia, Kramer was taken to the United States in 1906. His early years were spent in Philadelphia. He first embarked on a career in education. He then studied at Dropsie College (1926–27) and the University of Pennsylvania in 1929, writing his doctoral dissertation on an aspect of the then newly discovered *Nuzi texts (cf. Kramer, in: AASOR, 11 (1929–30), 62–119). In 1930–31 he was in the field in Iraq and excavated at Tell Billah, Tepe Gawra, and Fara (cf. Kramer, in JAOS, 52 (1932), 110–32). From 1932 to 1942 he was on the staff of the Oriental Institute, University of Chicago, specializing in the Sumerian language. His publications during this period include *The Sumerian Prefix Forms be-and bi-in the Time of the Earlier Princes of Lagash* (1936), *Gilgamesh and the Ḥuluppu Tree* (1938), and *Lamentation over the Destruction of Ur* (1940). In 1937–38 he copied Sumerian literary tablets in Istanbul, which were published in *Sumerian Literary Texts from Nippur in the Museum of the Ancient Orient at Istanbul* (1944). Kramer returned to study the Istanbul collection in 1946–47 and 1951–52. From 1942 to 1968 he was associated with the University of Pennsylvania, as research associate in the Babylonian collection of the University Museum in 1942–43, associate curator of the tablet collection from 1943 to 1947, and curator of the tablet collection and Clark Research Professor of Assyriology from 1948 to 1968. In 1968–69 Kramer was at the University of Indiana where he gave the Patton Lectures (cf. *The Sacred Marriage Rite*, 1969). In 1970 he was appointed to the department of religious sciences at the Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes in Paris. Kramer's research and extensive travels in search of Sumerian literary texts have been fundamental in the reconstruction of Sumerian literature. Kramer continued working intensively after his official retirement in 1968 until the time of his death at the age of 93. A member of the American Oriental Society, the Society of Biblical Literature, and the American Philosophical Society, he also received several honorary degrees. When the University Museum marked his ninetieth birthday with a public symposium, "History Begins at Sumer," in his honor, most of the world's Sumerian scholars attended. His basic research has resulted in several volumes of texts, some edited by Kramer himself and some in collaboration with other scholars who were able to benefit from his experience. He is also the author of numerous studies, including works on comparative aspects of Sumerian literature, society, and religion; editions of Sumerian compositions of various types; as well as several more popular works, *Sumerian Mythology* (1961); *From the Tablets of Sumer* (1956), revised as *History Begins at Sumer* (1958, 1961^2); and *The Sumerians* (1963). In his work Kramer made numerous comparisons between Sumerian literature and the Bible.

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[Aaron Shaeffer / Rohan Saxena (2nd ed.)]

KRAMER, STANLEY E. (1913–2001), U.S. film producer and director. Born in Manhattan, New York, Kramer graduated from New York University and set off for Hollywood at the age of 19. He became known for his handling of sensitive and controversial subjects. He worked in Hollywood from 1933 as a writer and film editor, but in 1949 won wide attention as a producer with *Home of the Brave*, a pioneering film on racial prejudice in the army. He handled racial themes again in *The Defiant Ones* (1958), which dealt with two escaped convicts, one white and one black, chained together (Oscar nomination for Best Picture); and in *Guess Who's Coming to Dinner* (Oscar nomination for Best Picture, 1967), a story about interracial marriage.

Kramer's *On the Beach* (1959), about survival in the atomic age, provoked controversy in U.S. government circles, where it was felt that the movie alarmed the public unduly. In 1961, Kramer produced and directed *Judgement at Nuremberg*, dealing with the trial of German judges for war crimes (Oscar nomination for Best Picture and Best Director). His other major pictures include *Champion* (1949), *The Men* (1950), *Cyrano de Bergerac* (1950), *Death of a Salesman* (1951), *The Caine Mutiny* (Oscar nomination for Best Picture, 1954), *The Wild One* (1954), *Not as a Stranger* (1955), *Inherit the Wind* (1960), *It's a Mad, Mad, Mad, Mad World* (1963), and *Ship of Fools* (Oscar nomination for Best Picture, 1965).

In 1962 the Academy of Motion Picture Arts and Sciences honored Kramer with the Irving G. Thalberg Memorial Award, which is presented to a creative producer who has been responsible for a consistently high quality of motion picture production.

After a string of less successful films, such as *The Secret of Santa Vittoria* (1969) and *Bless the Beast and the Children* (1971), Kramer retired in 1980 and moved to Seattle, where he taught and wrote a newspaper column.

Kramer wrote *Dining In – Seattle* (with E. Lotzkar and R. Abbott, 1980), and his autobiographical *A Mad, Mad, Mad, Mad World: A Life in Hollywood* (with T. Coffey, 1997).

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[Paul Freireich / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

KRAMER, THEODOR (1897–1958), Austrian poet. Kramer was born in Niederhollabrunn, Lower Austria. After being seriously wounded in World War I he tried his hand at various trades before devoting himself to poetry. Much of his verse has a clinical frankness derived from his memories as the son of a country doctor and from his own hospital experience. Kramer wished to be the voice of the underprivileged outcasts of society – tramps, cripples, alcoholics, prostitutes, beggars, and peasants – and his poetry is notable for a realism bordering on coarseness. His collection *Die Gaunerzinke* (1929) was awarded the City of Vienna's poetry prize. Later volumes include *Kalendarium* (1930); *Wir lagen in Wolhynien im Morast* (1931), inspired by war experiences; and *Mit der Ziehharmonika* (1936). After the *Anschluss*, Kramer sought refuge in England and, after a period of internment, worked as a librarian at the Guildford Technical College. The collections of verse he wrote in exile were the haunting *Verbannt aus Oesterreich, Neue Gedichte* (1943); *Die untere Schenke* (1946); *Wien 1938* (1946); *Die gruenen Kader* (1946); and *Lob der Verzweiflung* (1946), much of which remained unpublished. *Vom schwarzen Wein* (1956) was the last collection published in Kramer's lifetime. Despite the recognition accorded him in later years, Kramer could not bear his joyless exile and became a hypochondriac. He died within six months of his return to Vienna.

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[Harry Zohn]

KRAMM, JOSEPH (1907–1991), U.S. playwright. Beginning his career as an actor on Broadway and in London, Kramm turned to writing and directing. He won the Pulitzer Prize for *The Shrike* (1952), a drama about an unhappy marriage, and also wrote *Giants, Son of Giants* (1962).

KRANTZ, JUDITH (1928–), U.S. novelist. After growing up in New York City, and graduating from Wellesley College, Judith Tarcher Krantz raised two sons with her husband, a film and television producer. In 1976, after her husband took flying lessons, she decided to face her fear of flying and took lessons as well. When she overcame that fear, she supposedly looked for other fears to conquer, and so decided to write fiction. Nine months later, she produced her first novel, *Scruples*, about the lives and steamy loves of people who work and shop in a Beverly Hills, Calif., boutique named Scruples. It was published in 1978, the year she turned 50, and reached No. 1 on the *New York Times* bestseller list. Her byline was familiar to readers of women's magazines such as *Good Housekeeping* and *Cosmopolitan* before she turned to fiction, but in the romance genre she produced bestseller after bestseller, more than ten of them, including *Princess Daisy*, set in the splendor of St. Petersburg and Venice; *I'll Take Manhattan*, a drama of power, sexual obsession, betrayal, and true love played out in the arena of magazine publishing; *Mistral's Daughter*, the story of an artist, Julien Mistral, and his relationship with three raven-haired women; and *Lovers*, the sequel to *Scruples* and *Scruples Two*, a tale of love, money, talent, ambition, and passion. All the books display a scrupulous knowledge of the fashion business and often the art, antiques, and jewelry trades, with intricate plots jammed with industry details while providing an inside look at high-octane glamour. A Judith Krantz heroine, according to an article in the *Times*, is "beautiful (of course) but also smart, smart, smart." Her books sold more than 100 million copies in 52 languages and some of her books were made into television series. Her memoir *Sex and Shopping: The Confessions of a Nice Jewish Girl* appeared in 2000.

[Stewart Kampel (2nd ed.)]

KRANTZ, PHILIP (pseudonym of **Jacob Barukhovitsh Rombro**; 1858–1922), Yiddish journalist. Born in Rodok (Ukraine), Krantz developed early ties to revolutionary causes, and fled to Paris and later England because of his connections with the assassins of Alexander II. In 1889 he was a delegate to the first congress of the Socialist Second International. He first contributed to Russian-Jewish periodicals but became a major Yiddish journalist in England during the 1880s. In 1890 he immigrated to the U.S., where he edited and contributed theoretical articles on socialism and translations of popular fiction to the *Arbeter Tsaytung*. In 1892, he edited *Di *Tsukunft*, and, from 1894 to 1899, *Dos Abend Blatt*, the first U.S. socialist Yiddish daily. In Poland in 1906–8 he edited *Di Proletarishe Velt* for the Polish Socialist Party. In the course of his long career he contributed as correspondent, editor, and organizer of dozens of primarily socialist and anarchist newspapers and periodicals in several countries, also publishing dozens of popularizing books on history, biography, science, and politics.

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[Henry J. Tobias / Jerold C. Frakes (2nd ed.)]

KRANZ, JACOB BEN WOLF (known as the **Maggid of Dubno**; 1741–1804), preacher. Born in Zietil, in the province of Vilna, Kranz demonstrated his homiletical skill at an early age and was known as preacher to his fellow yeshivah students especially in Mezhirech, where he received his halakhic, and probably his kabbalistic, education. He was barely 20 years old when he became **Darshan* in his city. From there he wandered through several other cities, holding the post of preacher in Zilkiew, Wlodawa near Lublin, Kalisz, and Zamosc. But he achieved his fame as preacher in Dubno, where he served for 18 years. As his reputation spread, he came into contact with some of the most prominent rabbis of his time, such as *Elijah b. Solomon Zalman (the Gaon of Vilna). It is told that when Elijah was too ill to study, he asked Kranz to visit his bedside and read him his homiletical interpretations, stories, and parables.

All of Kranz's works were printed posthumously by his son, Isaac, and his pupil, Baer Plahm. His major homiletical work, *Ohel Ya'akov* ("The Tent of Jacob"), was printed in four parts (Genesis, Yosepov, 1830; Exodus, Zolkiew, 1837; the third and fourth parts in Vienna, 1859–63). In addition, his homilies on the five scrolls, *Kol Ya'akov* ("The Voice of Jacob"), were printed in Warsaw in 1819. Among his other published homiletical works are an exegesis of the Passover *Haggadah* (Zolkiew, 1836) and a collection of homilies called *Haftarot* (Warsaw, 1872).

Baer Plahm edited Kranz's *Sefer ha-Middot* ("The Book of Ethics," Vilna, 1860), a work consciously modeled after the 11th-century *Ḥovot ha-Levavot* by Baḥya ibn Paquda. In describing the attitude required of the Jew in his spiritual relationship with God, as well as the observances required in his practical relationship, Kranz discusses such subjects as the fear of God, love of God, knowledge of God, and prayer.

Although he made use of the vast treasure of Jewish ethical, homiletical, halakhic, and kabbalistic material, Kranz succeeded in composing homilies which the Jewish layman could readily understand. The inclusion of many parables, fables, stories, and epigrams captivated the hearts of less scholarly listeners. Yet the homilies are not simplistic, but represent the highest achievement of Hebrew homiletical art at that time. That Kranz integrated folkloristic material into his homilies without vulgarizing them was a significant achievement. His parables were culled from his works and printed separately as *Mishlei Ya'akov* ("The Parables of Jacob," Cracow, 1886). However, taken out of their homiletical context, the parables lose most of their artistic effect.

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KRASLAVA (Rus. **Kreslavka**), town in Latgale district, Latvia. The Jewish community was established in 1764 by families from Vilna, and numbered 733 in 1772 when the Russians annexed the town. It grew rapidly from 1,483 persons in 1847 to 4,051 Jews living in Kraslava (51% of the total population) in 1897. Kraslava became noted in the history of the Jewish labor movement in Russia through the events connected with the bristle factories there, whose owners and most of the workers were Jews, 200 in the factory and 300 in the home bristlemaking industry. As a result of the harsh working conditions and low wages, the workers organized the *Bund, and also *Po'alei Zion and the *Independent Jewish Workers' Party; there were a number of strikes which had widespread publicity and influence. It earned them better conditions in the 1890s, mainly an eight-hour working day. After the Kishinev pogrom (1903) the Bund and Po'alei Zion formed a defense group of 250 members. During World War I, in 1915, the Jews were expelled from the town by the Russian army, only some of them returning after the war. Because of the end of trade with the hinterland in Russia and Poland, the bristle industry did not reopen. The Jews in Kraslava numbered 1,446 (40.5%) in 1920, 1,550 (36.19%) in 1930, and 1,444 (33.77%) in 1935. Until 1934 Jews served as the town's mayors. The Jewish economy improved in the 1930s, and 183 trade establishments out of 372 belonged to Jews. In 1927, 230 pupils attended the Jewish municipal school. The Jews in Kraslava were mainly occupied in commerce and crafts and trade in agricultural products of the area; they also figured considerably in the professions there. Naum *Aronson, the sculptor, and Abel *Pann, the painter, were born in Kraslava.

Holocaust Period

During World War II, shortly after the outbreak of war between Germany and Soviet Russia, 200 Jews left with the Soviets. Kraslava was occupied by the German army in late June 1941. During the first half of July dozens of Jews were killed by the Latvians. On July 29, 1941, they were brought to the Daugavpils (Dvinsk) ghetto, and were shortly thereafter murdered in the Pogulianka forest with Jews from other towns. Some 30 families were left in Kraslava and were executed in September 1941. After the war 40 Jewish families lived there, but they left for Riga in the 1950s and for Israel in the 1970s.

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[Joseph Gar / Shmuel Spector (2nd ed.)]

KRASNA, NORMAN (1909–1984), U.S. film producer and playwright. Born in Queens, New York, Krasna attended New York University, Columbia University, and Brooklyn Law

School. He started as a clerk, worked as a film and theater critic in New York, and ultimately rose to earn $100,000 for writing and directing a single motion picture in Hollywood.

Among his Broadway plays were *Louder, Please* (1931), *Small Miracle* (1934), *Dear Ruth* (1944), *John Loves Mary* (1947), *Time for Elizabeth* (1948, which he co-wrote with Groucho Marx), *Kind Sir* (1953), *Who Was That Lady I Saw with You?* (1958), *Sunday in New York* (1961), *Love in E Flat* (1967), and *We Interrupt This Program* (1975).

In the film industry, Krasna was known as the master of the wisecrack, peppering his comedies with crisp dialogue and sharp one-liners. His dramatic films were very well scripted as well. The many screenplays that Krasna wrote – or contributed to – include *Hollywood Speaks* (1932); *That's My Boy* (1932); *Bombshell* (1933); *The Richest Girl in the World* (Oscar nomination for Best Story, 1934); *Four Hours to Kill* (1935); *Hands Across the Table* (1935); *Wife vs. Secretary* (1936); *Fury* (Oscar nomination for Best Story, 1936); *The King and the Chorus Girl* (1937); *Bachelor Mother* (1939); *It's a Date* (1940); *Mr. and Mrs. Smith* (1941); *It Started with Eve* (1941); *The Devil and Miss Jones* (Oscar nomination for Best Screenplay, 1941), which he also directed; *Practically Yours* (1944); *White Christmas* (1954); *Princess O'Rourke* (Academy Award for Best Screenplay, 1943), which he also directed; *Bundle of Joy* (1956); *The Ambassador's Daughter* (1956), which he also directed; *Indiscreet* (1958); *Who Was That Lady?* (1960); *Let's Make Love* (1960); *Sunday in New York* (1961); *My Geisha* (1962); and *I'd Rather Be Rich* (1964).

In 1960, Krasna received the Laurel Award from the Writers Guild of America for Writing Achievement.

[Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

KRASNER, LEE (1908–1984), U.S. painter. Born Lena Krassner in Brooklyn, New York, to Orthodox, Russian immigrant parents, early on she studied art at the Women's Art School at Cooper Union (1922–25), Art Students League (1928), and National Academy of Design in New York (1929–32). Beginning in 1935 she worked as a Works Progress Administration artist. Although she designed one mural, for the WNYC radio station building, which was never executed, Krasner did work as an assistant to the muralist Max Spivak. During the 1930s she experimented with various styles and forms, including Social Realism and Giorgio de Chirico's mysterious perspectives.

Resuming her art studies in 1937 with the avant-garde, German expatriate Hans Hofmann, Krasner absorbed aspects of Pablo Picasso's Cubism and Henri Matisse's color. She showed her Cubist inspired still-lifes, semi-abstracted from nature, in the annual group exhibitions of the American Abstract Artists from 1940 to 1943.

In 1941 Krasner met Jackson Pollock, soon to be recognized as the pioneer abstract expressionist, when the pair were asked to show their work in a group exhibition. She and Pollock married in 1945. Throughout their relationship, Krasner and Pollock engaged in an aesthetic dialogue as Krasner schooled Pollock in European modernism while she adopted Pollock's synthesis of abstraction and automatism. Her Little Image paintings (1946–49) employed and reinterpreted Pollock's allover technique. The Hieroglyphs, one of the three cycles of Little Image paintings, have been interpreted by some scholars as influenced by Hebrew script.

Throughout the years Krasner engaged collage techniques, sometimes on a large scale. In *Black and White Collage* (1953, Hans Namuth Estate, New York), Krasner utilized her own cut up drawings rearranged in the new, abstract work. In the mid-1950s she also cut up several of Pollock's discarded canvases and used them in collages. Her collage paintings first showed at New York's Stable Gallery in 1955 to acclaim.

After Pollock's death in a car accident in 1956 Krasner began her Earth Green series (1957–59), a colorful and rhythmic group of images exploring growth and nature; and the gloomier Night Journey series (1959–62; also known as the Umber series), the latter promoted by her turbulent state and also bouts of insomnia. In these paintings she reduced her palette to gradations of blacks, whites, and browns so that the artificial light she was working in would not undermine her color choices. Throughout her career, Krasner continued to reinvent herself and her style. She consistently reacted to the current trends in the art world, absorbing and modifying the work of artists such as Morris *Louis, Philip *Guston, and Frank Stella, much as she had done with Pollock's example. Indeed, in the 1970s Krasner eschewed her spontaneous working method, instead creating hard edge paintings in the vein of Stella.

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[Samantha Baskind (2nd ed.)]

KRASNIK (Pol. **Kraśnik**), town in Lublin province, E. Poland. Jews are first mentioned in 1531 as merchants trading with *Gdansk and visiting the Lublin fairs. In 1587 they were granted the right of residence by the ruler of the town, Prince Alexander Slucki. The steady increase in the Jewish population caused the lord of the manor to decree in 1654 that Jews were to reside only in the street where the synagogue was being built. In the 18th century the Krasnik community always provided one of the three elders for the *councils of the Lublin province. The community numbered 1,353 persons in 1765 (921 in the town itself). The majority of the Jewish artisans were tailors. The Krasnik community numbered 1,778 (55% of the total population) in 1857, 3,261 (49%) in 1897, and 4,200 (51%) in 1921.

Holocaust Period

Over 5,000 Jews lived in Krasnik before the outbreak of World War II. The German army entered the town in September 1939 and established a ghetto in August 1940. On April 12, 1942, around 2,000 Jews were deported to Belzec. The next deportations to Belzec took place on November 1, when another 2,700 were sent to Belzec. Others were employed in local labor camps. A few hundred fled into the forests, but most of them were shot by Germans. In the vicinity of Krasnik, a few Jewish guerilla units were organized, including the unit under the command of Abraham Braun ("Adolf") and the unit called "Berek Joselewicz" under the command of Eduard Forst.

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[Stefan Krakowski]

KRASNODAR (formerly **Yekaterinodar**), capital of Krasnodar Territory (N. Caucasus), Russia. Until 1917 the city was outside the *Pale of Settlement, and only demobilized soldiers, professionals, highly skilled artisans, and wealthy merchants were allowed to settle in the city, so in 1897 only 562 Jews (0.8% of the total population) lived there. By 1926 their numbers had increased to 1,740 (1.1%), and by 1939 to about 5,818 persons in the entire territory except for the Adygei Autonomous District. Probably most of them lived in Krasnodar. Apparently the majority of the Jews succeeded in escaping before the town was occupied by the Germans on August 12, 1942. Those remaining, about 500 persons, were executed on August 21–22, 1942, at a kolkhoz outside the city. The Jewish population was estimated at 1,500 (300 families) in 1970. The only synagogue was closed by the authorities in the 1950s and there was no Jewish cemetery.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Special Committee for Documentation and Research of German-Fascist Crimes…, *Dokumenty obvinyayut* (1945).

[Yehuda Slutsky / Shmuel Spector (2nd ed.)]

KRASNOYE, village in Vinnitsa district, Ukraine. Jews are first mentioned in 1648, when the uprising Cossacks of Chmielnicki neared the town; the Jews fled to Bar and were massacred there. The community was renewed, and numbered 466 in 1765, and it grew after the Russian annexation to 1,747 in 1847, and 2,590 (92% of the total population) in 1897. Most of the shops in town and most of the craftsmen were Jewish. In 1926 there were 2,002 (96%) Jews, though their number dropped to only hundreds on the eve of World War II. Between the wars a Jewish town council and a Yiddish school operated there. Krasnoye was occupied by Germans on July 19, 1941. After it was annexed to Romanian Transnistria, a ghetto was established for the few hundred local Jews and about 1,000 deportees from Bessarabia and Bukovina. The Jews who lived in the ghetto were compelled to do forced labor. With the assistance of the Jewish aid committee in Bucharest a hospital run single-handedly by a physician who had been deported to Krasnoye was established. When Krasnoye was liberated on March 30, 1944, a few hundred Jews remained there.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: H. Cohen, in: *Nedelnaya Khronika Voskhoda*, 15 (1895), 1350–51; PK Romanyah, 1 (1970), 507.

[Yehuda Slutsky / Shmuel Spector (2nd ed.)]

KRASNYSTAW (Rus. **Krasnostav**), town in Lublin province, E. Poland. The customs records of the town for 1548 show that Jews were living in Krasnystaw then. In 1554 Jews were prohibited from owning dwelling houses in the town and suburbs, and in 1584 they were allowed to reside in the suburbs only. In 1761 three Jews from Wojslawice and one from Czarnoloz were convicted in a *blood libel trial in Krasnystaw; another accused, the rabbi of Wojslawice, committed suicide in prison. In the first half of the 19th century there was a bitter struggle between the Jews and the townsmen, who wished to keep their privilege of *de non tolerandis Judaeis*. In 1824, Jews were permitted to reside temporarily in several villages near the town, but the last restrictions on Jewish residence in Krasnystaw were not abolished until 1862. From 11 Jews residing in the suburbs in 1827, the community grew to 151 (4% of the total population) in 1857, and 1,176 (25% of the total) in 1897. At that time four-fifths of the local trade was in Jewish hands. In 1921 the 1,754 Jews still constituted 20% of the town's population. In the whole district, including the town, there were 10,494 Jews (9% of the total population). The old synagogue, which still stood at the beginning of the 20th century, retained 14th- and 15th-century architectural features (probably relics of a building which had formerly served another purpose). The Germans set up a ghetto for around 2,000 Jews including refugees in August 1942. All were deported to Izbica and from there mostly to the *Belzec death camp.

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KRASUCKI, HENRI (1924–2003), French labor leader. Krasucki was born in a suburb of Warsaw to a family of textile workers who were members of the Communist Party. In 1926 the family settled in Paris, where Krasucki joined the Jewish Communist Youth movement at the age of 14. In 1940 he became a leader of this group in the underground and in 1941 also became a leader of a Resistance group made up of foreign Communist workers. In 1943 his father was arrested and deported to Auschwitz, where he was murdered. He was arrested along with his mother and sent to Auschwitz; from there he was transferred to Buchenwald. After the Liberation he returned to France and started working in the Renault auto works, advancing at the same time within the Communist Party. In 1960 he became the publisher of *La Vie Ouvrière,* the weekly of the CGT, the Communist-affiliated trade union, and in 1961 he joined the latter's Bureau. In 1964 he was elected to the Political Bureau of the Communist Party. Krasucki was secretary-general of the CGT between 1982 and 1992, in a period during which leftist governments had to deal with the consequences of the economic crisis for the working class. He wrote *Syndicats et lutte de classe* (1969), *Syndicats et socialisme* (1972), and *Syndicats et unité* (1980)

[Gideon Kouts / René Sirat (2nd ed.)]

KRAUS, ADOLF (1850–1928), U.S. lawyer, and civic and communal leader. Born in Bohemia, Kraus emigrated to the United States in 1865 and worked as a clerk in small-town Ohio stores for several years. In 1871 he went to Chicago, studied law, and was admitted to the bar (1877). Highly successful in his legal practice, Kraus became involved in civic affairs and local politics. He served in Chicago as a member (1881–87) and president (1884–86) of the Board of Education, as corporation counsel (1893), and as president of the Civil Service Commission (1897–98). He was also, briefly, publisher and editor of the *Chicago Times* (1894). Active in Jewish affairs, Kraus was international president of B'nai B'rith from 1905 to 1925 and helped establish its Anti-Defamation League. He was a staunch conservative and a leading member of the dominant Jewish elite during the early decades of the 20th century.

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[Morton Rosenstock]

KRAUS, FRANTIŠEK R. (1903–1967), Czech novelist, publicist, and radio editor. Born in Prague, Kraus started to work very early in Bohemia and contributed to the newspapers *Prager Tagblatt*, *Prager Presse,* and *Tribuna*. His tutor and friend was Egon Erwin *Kisch, who introduced him to writers and journalists from the Prague Circle, such as Franz *Kafka, Max *Brod, Franz *Werfel, Otto *Pick, and Johannes *Urzidil. At *Tribuna* he met Karel *Poláček, and Karel and Josef Čapek. By the end of the 1920s Kraus had become an editor at *Mluven· noviny* and for Czech Radio. In his radio reports, he warned the Czech public of growing Nazism in the Sudetenland's German minority. He survived the Holocaust, having escaped from the Theresienstadt, Auschwitz, Glivic, and Blechhammer concentration camps. He lost his job at Czech Radio in 1952, where he had been working since 1945. He freelanced until his death.

Kraus' work is either connected with Holocaust themes or with the problems of Czech's frontier regions. Just after the war he published one of the first testimonies about Auschwitz *Plyn, plyn… pak oheň* ("Gas, Gas… and Then Fire," 1945), followed by an autobiographical report "And Bring Back Our Dispersed" (1946) about the reasons for and consequences of the Jewish tragedy. His first novel was to be dedicated to Jan Masaryk and was titled "Shemarjahu Looks for God." It was published as "David Shall Live" (1949) after changes forced by the publisher. It is the story of a Jewish physician from Theresienstadt and Auschwitz. In his next novel *Proměněn země* ("The Changed Country," 1957), Kraus returned to the problems of his beloved north Bohemia. A classic work of postwar Czech literature, *Kat beze stenu* ("Hangman without Shadow") appeared semi-legally in 1984 and then in 2000. Two novels and a short story for children remain unpublished.

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[Avigdor Dagan / Milos Pojar (2nd ed.)

KRAUS, GERTRUD (1901–1977), dancer, pianist, and choreographer. Kraus was born in Vienna, where she studied the piano and also worked as a pianist. She became a dancer and choreographer in the 1920s known for expressionist dances such as *The Town Is Waiting* and *Dream of a Musician*. Kraus performed in Europe and created a dance school in Vienna. In 1930 she established a dance company that performed at the Munich International Congress. In 1935 she settled in Tel Aviv, where she performed as a soloist in a program comprising six of her dances and worked at the Opera (1941–47) and at the Habimah and Ohel theaters. Despite her success as a dancer she did not succeed in creating a new dance company, so she opened a private ballet school and created, with her students, works in close cooperation with composer Mark Lavri but they did not receive favorable public reception. During the 1940s she created works for the Israel Philharmonic called "Tune and Dance." In 1948 she was invited to the U.S. and was exposed to the modern dance of the time. Her meeting with Agnes de Mille, Martha Graham, and Anthony Tudor influenced her immensely. In her previous works, her style had been experimental and abstract, emphasizing personal movement and body language. In the new phase she became more aware of the importance of technique. In the 1950s she created for the musical theater and the Israeli Ballet Theater, and from the 1960s on she concentrated on sculpture, painting, and teaching in her studio, at the Rubin Music Academy, and at the Israeli Ballet and Kibbutz Dance Company. In 1968 she was awarded the Israel Prize.

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[Bina Shiloah (2nd ed.)]

KRAUS, IVAN (1939–), Czech writer. Kraus was born in Prague into a Czech-Jewish family. His father, Oto Kraus (see *Kulka, Erich), survived Auschwitz. Kraus studied at the School of International Economic Relations. As an actor he performed in many Czech plays and lived in exile in France and Germany from 1971. In his literary works he worked in the tradition of Czech and Anglo-American humor, focusing on family relations with rich comedy and irony, often displaying the absurdity of socialist life. His stories were published abroad until 1990 as well as by the exiled Czech publishing house Konfrontace in Zurich. He lived in Baden Baden and Paris.

After 1990 his works include *To na tobě doschne* ("It Will Get Dry on You," 1991); *Prosím tě, neblázni* ("I Beg You, Don't Be Crazy," 1992); *Číslo do nebe* ("Number to the Heaven," 1994); these appeared together in Prague as *Má rodina a jiná zemětřesení* ("My Family and Other Earthquakes," 1998). He also published *Rodinný sjezd* ("The Family Reunion," 1996, 2000); *Muž za vlastním rohem* ("The Man behind the Corner," 1999); and *Medová léta* ("Honey Years," 2001).

[Milos Pojar (2nd ed.)]

KRAUS, KARL (1874–1936), Austrian satirist and poet. Born in Bohemia as the last of nine children to Jacob Kraus, a paper manufacturer, and his wife Ernestine née Kantor, Kraus was one of the greatest stylists in the German language and a vitriolic critic of the liberal culture of pre-Nazi Austria. In 1877 the family moved to Vienna; in 1892 Kraus enrolled in the university there to study law, philosophy, and German literature but never completed a degree. Though at first associated with the well-known *Jung-Wien* circle of writers, which included Arthur Schnitzler, Hugo von Hofmannsthal, and Stefan Zweig, he distanced himself from them in 1897 with the publication of *Die demolierte Literatur*, a political satire of the groups' activities. In 1899 he founded *Die Fackel*, an aggressively satirical magazine, which he wrote single-handedly beginning in 1911 and edited until his death. At times Kraus was a conservative moralist who tirelessly attacked hypocrisy and the permissive intellectual atmosphere fostered by Austrian liberalism; however, he also advocated more liberal attitudes toward sex in Viennese society. He yearned for a return to the aristocratic government of an earlier, more disciplined era. His greatest venom and most pungent wit were, however, reserved for corrupters of the language. Kraus, who left the Jewish religious community in 1899, was baptized in 1911, and then left the Catholic Church in 1922, had few kind things to say about Judaism. He blamed Jews themselves and the "Jewish press" (particularly the *Neue Freie Press*) for the existence of antisemitism. His pamphlet *Eine Krone fuer Zion* (1898) mocks Zionism, while *Heine und die Folgen* (1910) gives a disparaging estimate of the German-Jewish poet. Kraus' many essays were collected in six volumes (1908–37) and four volumes of epigrams and aphorisms appeared between 1909 and 1927. His most important drama is the lengthy *Die letzten Tage der Menschheit* (1919). This play, which if performed in its entirety would take ten evenings, is a massive diatribe on the collapse of civilization in World War I, consisting largely of verbatim extracts from the newspapers of the period. Kraus' *Untergang der Welt durch schwarze Magie* was published in 1922. His lyric poetry, in which he displays a scrupulous form, appeared between 1916 and 1930 in nine volumes titled *Worte in Versen*. It was not until Hitler turned his attention to Austria that Kraus brought his satire to bear on the evils of Nazism, but to the last day his battles were fought mainly against the Viennese liberal and socialist press. *Auswahl aus dem Werk*, containing selections from 11 of Kraus's works, was published in 1961.

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[Harry Zohn / Lisa Silverman (2nd ed.)]

KRAUS, LILI (1903–1986), pianist born in Budapest. She was admitted as a talented child to the Royal Academy of Music and studied with Kodály and Bartók. After graduating in 1922, she studied at the Vienna conservatory with Steuermann and was appointed a full professor there (1925–31). She also studied with *Schnabel in Berlin. During the 1930s she lived in Italy and embarked on a world concert tour and rapidly established herself as a successful soloist. From 1935 to 1940 she toured with the violinist Szymon *Goldberg, with whom she made the first recording of Mozart's piano and violin sonatas (1939). At the start of another tour (1942) she was taken prisoner by the Japanese in Java, and for three years was interned with her family. After the war she toured Australia and New Zealand, and for her "unrelenting efforts in the aid of countries in need" was granted New Zealand citizenship. She resumed her international career touring widely, giving recitals and playing with leading orchestras. Kraus played all the Mozart piano concertos in a single series (New York, 1966–7); and the next season the complete Mozart sonatas. In 1967 she made her home in America and served as artist-in-residence at Texas Christian University (1968–83). Kraus was one of the most extraordinary musicians of the 20th century. Nobility, grace, refinement, and virtuosity distinguished her playing. A sophisticated champion of the Viennese classics, she was esteemed for her interpretations of Mozart and Schubert and for her valuable recordings of Haydn and Beethoven. She published "Master Class" in *Clavier,* 19:7 (1980), 26–29.

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[Naama Ramot (2nd ed.)]

KRAUS, MICHAEL (1901–?), U.S. historian. Born in New York, Kraus taught at City College from 1925. His main area was intellectual history, with emphasis on the cultural interplay between Europe and America. He explored the common culture of the Atlantic world in his seminal works, which include *The Atlantic Civilization: Eighteenth-Century Origins* (1949). After he retired from teaching, he was named professor emeritus of history at City College, City University of New York. Kraus made significant contributions to American historiography, notably in *A History of American History* (1937), *The Writing of American History* (1953), *The United States to 1865* (1959), *Family Album for Americans* (with V. Edelstadt, 1961), and *Immigration, the American Mosaic* (1966).

[Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

KRAUS, MOSHE (1923–), *ḥazzan.* Kraus is a native of Ungvar in Czechoslovakia. He learned cantorial liturgy from his ḥassidic father, and together they sang in the synagogue. He studied in yeshivot, was ordained as rabbi, and went to Vienna to study under the well-known cantor Yehuda Leib Miller. Kraus served as cantor in Marmoresh, Szeged, and Budapest. During the Holocaust he was imprisoned in extermination camps, but miraculously survived. He joined Tito's partisans and after the war went to Bucharest where he was appointed cantor to the Malbim synagogue. From 1946 to 1949 he served as cantor and rabbi in Germany and in 1949 moved to Israel, joining the Israel Defense Forces, where he became the first chief cantor. He appeared in concerts and led prayers in the main Jewish centers of Europe. He served as cantor in the Oxford Street synagogue in Johannesburg, South Africa, and also officiated in Mexico, Venezuela, and Canada, finally making Ottawa his residence. He made records of cantorial liturgy and ḥasidic tunes and also composed prayer-tunes and ḥassidic melodies.

[Akiva Zimmerman]

KRAUS, OSKAR (1872–1942), author and philosopher. Kraus was born in Prague, where he became a student of the philosopher Anton Maurus Marty. In 1902 he joined the faculty of the German University at Prague, and later became professor of philosophy. Kraus coedited his mentor's *Gesammelte Schriften* (2 vols., 1916–20), and *Raum und Zeit* (1916), a treatment of time and space. In addition, Kraus undertook an evaluation of Marty's impact in his book, *Anton Marty; sein Leben und seine Werke* (1916). The personality of Albert Schweitzer had a strong attraction for Kraus, and the two men corresponded. In 1926 Kraus published a character study of Schweitzer which described him as an ethical personality and philosophic mystic. This work appeared posthumously in English and was entitled *Albert Schweitzer, his Work and his Philosophy* (1944). Another personality compelling Kraus' attention was Franz Clemens Brentano. Five of Brentano's philosophic works edited by Kraus were published between 1926 and 1930. Previously Kraus had written *Franz Brentano, zur Kenntnis seines Lebens und seiner Lehre* (1919). Kraus' own philosophy was early characterized by a satirical pessimism, which he elaborated in *Wege und Abwege der Philosophie* (1934) and *Werttheorien; Geschichte und Kritik* (1937). He ventured into disciplines beyond the realm of technical philosophy, studying the general implications of Albert Einstein's theory of relativity. These ideas on the relativity theory appear in his letters to Einstein, *Offene Briefe an Albert Einstein und Max V. Laue ueber die gedanklichen Grundlagen der speziellen und allgemeinen Relativitaetstheorie* (1925). In a foray into the principles of international law, Kraus edited *Jeremy Benthams Grundsaetze fuer ein kuenftiges Voelkerrecht um einen dauernden Frieden* (1915). About 1938 Kraus was detained in a concentration camp. Paradoxically, the harsh new realities of camp life turned him from his critical pessimistic outlook toward a positivistic mysticism. During the period of his confinement he devoted himself to a consideration of Brentano's proof for the existence of God, a proof in which Kraus had early detected a flaw, and which he was now moved to improving. Before the outbreak of the war he was released and managed to escape to England. Kraus settled in Cambridge, and became active as a public lecturer.

KRAUS, OTA B. (1921–2000), Czech writer. Born in Prague, Kraus spent World War II in the concentration camps of Theresienstadt, Auschwitz, and Schwarzheide. After 1945 he started his studies of philosophy and literature at Charles University. In 1949 he immigrated to Israel and lived on a kibbutz. His first novel, *Země bez boha* ("Land without God,"1948, 1992), was published in Czechoslovakia. It describes life in the Auschwitz-Birkenau concentration camp, as does his novel *The Diary* published as *Můj bratr dým* (1993) in the Czech Republic. His other works, *Dream Merchant and other Galilean Stories* (1991) and a best-selling novel *Vítr z hor* ("Mountain Wind," 1991), reflect kibbutz life.

[Milos Pojar (2nd ed.)]

KRAUS, PAUL ELIEZER (1904–1944), Orientalist and historian of science. Born in Prague, Kraus went in 1922 to Ereẓ Israel. After a time on a kibbutz, he studied at the newly founded School of Oriental Studies of the Hebrew University. In 1927 he went to Berlin University and obtained a doctorate for an edition of *Altbabylonische Briefe aus der vorderasiatischen Abteilung der Preussischen Staatsmuseen zu Berlin (Mitteilungen der vorderasiatischaegyptischen Gesellschaft*, 35–36, 1931–32). At the same time he published "Ausgrabungen und Funde" in the German *Encyclopaedia Judaica* (vol. 3 (1929), 701–34). Appointed assistant to the Forschungsinstitut fuer Geschichte der Naturwissenschaften in Berlin in 1929, he made the major discovery that the corpus of writings attributed to the Arab alchemist Jābir ibn Ḥayyān (eighth century) was in fact the work of a group of Isma'ili sectarians of the tenth century who supported the rise of the *Fatimid dynasty of Egypt. In 1933 Kraus went to Paris and cooperated with L. Massignon in the latter's research into the mystic martyr al-Ḥallāj (executed 922). In 1935 he published a collection of Jābir texts in Arabic. The following year he accepted a post in Cairo, though a lectureship at the Hebrew University was simultaneously offered to him. In Cairo he published two volumes of his magnum opus: *Jābir ibn Ḥayyān, contribution à l'histoire des idées scientifiques dans l'Islam* (*Mémoires de l'Institut d'Egypte*, 44–45, 1942–43); the third volume, which was to deal with the place of Jābir in Islamic religious thought, remained unwritten, owing to the author's death by suicide. Kraus's work caused a revolution not only in the history of alchemy, but in that of Islamic science in general. Other works of his were: *Abū Bakr ar-Rāzī, Opera philosophica*, 1 (1939); *Das Kitāb az-Zumurrud des Ibn ar-Rāwendī (Rivista degli Studi Orientali*, 14, 1934); *Galenus; Compendium Timaei Platonis* (with R. Walzer, 1951); *Galenus, kitāb al-akhlāq (de moribus)*, 1939; *Epître de Bērūnī contenant le répertoire des ouvrages de Muḥammad b. Zakarīyā al-Rāzī* (1936).

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KRAUSE, ELIYAHU (1876–1962), agronomist and pioneer in Ereẓ Israel. Born in Berdyansk, Russia, Krause in 1892 went to the *Mikveh Israel Agricultural School in Ereẓ Israel. After further study at the Ecole Supérieure Agricole in France, he was employed by the *Jewish Colonization Association (ICA) and founded the Or Yehudah Agricultural School in Smyrna, Turkey. When ICA took over the management of the Jewish settlements in Ereẓ Israel from Baron Edmond de *Rothschild, it founded the *Sejera farm in Galilee for the training of settlers, and Krause was appointed farm manager (1901). At Sejera he met members of the Second Aliyah for the first time. His brother-in-law, Yehoshua *Hankin, persuaded him to accept Mania *Wilbushewitch-Shochat's proposal to hand over the farming of the land in Sejera for a year to a group of workers on their collective responsibility. This was the first step of collective agricultural labor in Ereẓ Israel. Early in 1914 he was appointed director of the Mikveh Israel Agricultural School. Many of these workers, in addition to the students, received agricultural training at Mikveh Israel and some of them went on to found moshavim and kibbutzim. In World War I Krause carefully protected the interests of his school. Subsequently he introduced Hebrew (instead of French) as the language of instruction and introduced Jewish labor and watch duty throughout the farm. From the 1930s Mikveh Israel was a center for training Youth Aliyah wards. His daughter, Judith (1907–1936), archaeologist, was born at Sejera. She took part in *Garstang's excavations at Jericho and from 1933 to 1935 directed the excavations at et-Tell (*Ai). Her description, *Les Fouilles de Ay, 1933–1935*, was published posthumously in 1949.

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[Israel Klausner]

KRAUSKOPF, JOSEPH (1858–1923), U.S. Reform rabbi. Krauskopf was born in Ostrowo, Prussia. He settled in the U.S. in 1872. He emigrated to join his brother who was killed on the day before his arrival. He only learned of Hebrew Union College by reading a book from a library, ostensibly to improve his English, and enrolled in 1875 in the first class of Hebrew Union College, receiving his ordination in 1883. At the College he wrote a periodical for Jewish youth entitled the Sabbath Visitor and three textbooks for religious education. After serving a congregation in Kansas City, Missouri, in 1887 Krauskopf became rabbi of the Reform Congregation Kenesseth Israel, Philadelphia, which he served for the remainder of his life. Krauskopf became a leader of radical Reform, introducing Sunday services and compiling a *Service Ritual* (1888, 1902^4). A leading figure in the national organizations of Reform Judaism, he served as a vice president of the conference which adopted the Pittsburgh Platform in 1885, the conference which he first proposed to Kohler, and president of the Central Conference of American Rabbis (1903–05). He was active in work for the poor, arguing for increased sanitation and better living conditions. He proposed a program of direct contact between successful and poor Jews, an unsuccessful forerunner of Big Brother programs. A man of forceful energy, he paid attention to the need for Jewish literature, and the outcome was the foundation in 1888 of the Jewish Publication Society of America, of which he was the first honorary secretary. Impressed during a visit to Russia in 1894 by the zeal with which Jews engaged in agriculture where the Russian government allowed, he established the National Farm School at Doylestown, Pennsylvania, in 1896 "as one of the best means of securing safety and happiness to the sorely afflicted of our people." In 1917 he was appointed to direct food conservation among Jews for the U.S. Food Administration. At first an anti-Zionist, Krauskopf modified his attitude as a result of the labors of Jewish agriculturalists in Palestine. There too he was impressed with their agricultural work and soon found himself a defender of Zionism against anti-Zionists.

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[Sefton D. Temkin]

KRAUSS, FRIEDRICH SALAMO (pseudonym, **Suljo Serhatlya**; 1859–1938), Austrian ethnographer and folklorist. Born at Pozega, Slavonia, Krauss studied classical philology but soon turned his attention to ethnography and folklore. He specialized in the southern Slavs, being the first to make a scientific investigation of these groups. A commission from the archduke Rudolph to study the folklore of the various Slavic provinces of the then Austro-Hungarian Empire – Bosnia, Herzegovina, Slavonia, Croatia, and Dalmatia – led to the writing of *Sagen und Maerchen der Suedslaven* (1883–84), *Sitte und Brauch der Suedslaven* (1885), and others. At the same time he discovered much Slavic and Moslem folk music and popular poetry, including the epic poem of the Bosnian Muslims, *Smailagić Meho*, which he published in 1886. A German translation appeared in 1890 under the title *Mehmeds Brautfahrt*. Krauss edited the monthly folklore journal *Der Urquell*, and wrote many important works on folklore, some of which have become classics. One of these was *Allgemeine Methodik der Volkskunde* (jointly with Lucien Scherman). Krauss developed a special interest in human sexuality as reflected in folkways, beliefs, and law, and in the evolution of sexual morality (*Das Geschlechtsleben im Glauben, Sitte, Brauch und Gewohnheitsrecht der Japaner*, 1911). He also did some creative writing, in particular a popular play, *Kuenstlerblut*. He was active in Jewish communal affairs in Vienna, and was for some years secretary of the Israelitische Allianz.

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[Ezra Fleischer]

KRAUSS, JUDAH HA-KOHEN (1858–1939), Hungarian rabbi, halakhist, and preacher. Krauss was ordained by his teacher Moses *Schick and by Moses Pollak, the *av bet din* of Bonyhád and by Eliezer Susman of Paks. In 1885 he was appointed rabbi of Lackenbach where he served for 50 years. The community was one of the seven oldest in Hungary and had a long tradition of learning. Here Krauss founded a yeshivah which attracted many students, and his fame spread. He was an outstanding preacher. At the request of Moses Schick, he published homiletical and aggadic works in German written in Hebrew characters. He also published and edited in six volumes *Davar be-Itto* (1909–13), a religious homiletical journal which became a source book for preachers and lecturers in German-speaking countries. Krauss paid especial attention to the education of youth. In 1935 he immigrated to Jerusalem where he devoted himself to study.

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[Adonijahu Krauss]

KRAUSS, SAMUEL (1866–1948), historian, philologist, and talmudic scholar. Born in Ukk, Hungary, Krauss studied at Papa Yeshivah and at the Budapest rabbinical seminary and university. From 1894 to 1906 Krauss taught Bible and Hebrew at the Jewish teachers' seminary in Budapest. In 1906 he began to teach Bible, history, and liturgy at the *Israelitisch-Theologische Lehranstalt in Vienna. It was due to his efforts that the college did not succumb to financial difficulties after World War I. He traveled widely for his archaeological and historical research. Krauss was appointed head of the seminary in 1932 and rector in 1937. Krauss founded the Vienna Verein fuer juedische Geschichte und Literatur, and was active in many communal institutions. During the *Kristallnacht* in November 1938, the Nazis destroyed his valuable library and papers, and he fled to England, joining his daughter in Cambridge, where he remained until his death.

Works

Krauss wrote over 1,300 articles and monographs, many of them major works, ranging widely in Judaica, philology, history, Bible, Talmud, Christianity, and medieval Hebrew literature. In philology, one of Krauss's early works, *Griechische und lateinische Lehnwoerter im Talmud, Midrasch und Targum* (2 vols., 1898–99; repr. 1964), was of major importance. The first volume of this standard work deals with the problems of phonetics, grammar, and transcription; the second is a dictionary of loan words. Scholars have found much to criticize in this work, particularly the "proclivity to find Latin and Greek in words indisputably Semitic" (M. Jastrow), and Immanuel *Loew made many corrections in Krauss's notes, which the author willingly incorporated. He also prepared a volume of additions and corrections to A. Kohut's *Arukh* titled *Tosefot ha-Arukh ha-Shalem* (1936, repr. 1955). Among Krauss's historical studies was *Antoninus und Rabbi* (1910), in which he offered his solution to the problem of the identity of the talmudic *Antoninus, the friend of Judah ha-Nasi. According to Krauss, he was Avidius Lassius, the Roman legate in Syria (164 C.E.) who in 175 usurped the title of emperor. On the then little-known Byzantine period in Jewish history, Krauss contributed "Studien zur byzantinisch-juedischen Geschichte" (in *Jahresbericht der Israelitisch-Theologischen Lehranstalt*, vol. 21, 1914). He also explored the *aliyah* of the Polish Ḥasidim in the 18th century (in *Abhandlungen… Chajes* (1933, 51–95), and Viennese and Austrian Jewish history in *Die Wiener Geserah vom Jahre 1421* (1920), in *Geschichte der israelitischen Armenanstalt* (1922), and in *Joachim Edler von Popper* (1926). His *Vier Jahrtausende juedischen Palaestinas* (1922) is a popular survey of the history of Ereẓ Israel, Zionist in inspiration, demonstrating the unbroken record of a Jewish presence in the Holy Land. Krauss contributed to A. Kahana's edition of the Hebrew Bible a modern commentary of Isaiah (1905). He also cooperated in the Hungarian Bible translation edited by Bacher and Bánóczi, *Szentirás* (1898–1907). Krauss's greatest work is his *Talmudische Archaeologie* (3 vols, 1910–12; repr. 1966, 1979), a classic description of every aspect of life reflected in talmudic and midrashic literature. Despite its shortcomings, it is still a rich source on the daily life and economic and social conditions of the period. A similar work in Hebrew (not a translation) is his unfinished *Kadmoniyyot ha-Talmud* (2 vols., 1914–23). The history of the synagogue is described in his *Synagogale Altertuemer* (1922, repr. 1966). His last work, *Korot Battei ha-Tefillah be-Yisrael*, ed. by A.R. Malachi (1955), was an extension and continuation of this work. His "Griechen und Roemer" (in *Monumenta hebraica: Monumenta Talmudica*, 5 pt. 1, 1914) and *Paras ve-Romi ba-Talmud u-va-Midrashim* (1948) also deal with the talmudic period. Krauss contributed the German translation and commentary on *Sanhedrin* and *Makkot* to the Beer-Holzmann edition of the Mishnah (1933), and prepared an English translation of *Sanhedrin* with introduction and notes (1909), as well as a popular description of the Mishnah, *Die Mischna* (1913), and a Hungarian translation of the minor talmudic tractate *Derekh Ereẓ*. Though most Jewish scholars shied away from the subject of Christianity, Krauss tackled it with his usual vigor in his *Das Leben Jesu nach juedischen Quellen* (1902) and in several articles. He also wrote a series of articles titled "Jews in the Works of the Church Fathers" (in JQR, vols. 5–6, 1892–94). Krauss deals with the geonic period in a number of articles. His interest in Hebrew poetry of the Spanish period is reflected in his *Givat Sha'ul* (1923), his edition of the commentaries of Saul Abdallah *Joseph of Hong Kong on Judah Halevi; and in his *Mishbeẓet ha-Tarshish* (1926), on Moses Ibn Ezra. His *Geschichte der juedischen Aerzte* (1930) is a description of the work and status of Jewish physicians of the Middle Ages. Krauss turned to the contemporary problem of the use of the organ in the synagogue in *Zur Orgelfrage* (1919), in which he adopts a Conservative stance. He contributed articles and book reviews to newspapers and learned periodicals in half a dozen languages, hundreds of articles to the *Jewish Encyclopedia*, the *Encyclopaedia Judaica* (German), and the *Juedisches Lexikon*, and wrote for or edited many *Festschriften*. He wrote biographies of his teachers Wilhelm *Bacher, David *Kaufmann, and Alexander *Kohut.

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KRAUSZ, ZSIGMOND (1815–1874), journalist and Orthodox communal worker. Born in Györ, Hungary, he later settled in Körösladany. From his youth he was a spokesman for the Orthodox community, and in 1867 was among the founders of the Shomer Hadas, the nucleus of the national Orthodox organization of Hungary. He was a delegate at the general congress of the Jews of Hungary held in Budapest (1868–69). After the schism in Hungarian Jewry, he demanded complete autonomy for the communities without any form of centralism. On the establishment of the national Orthodox organization, he was made a member of the executive. Krausz was editor of the Hungarian-language weekly, *Magyar Zsidó* (1868–69). As well as polemics against antisemites, he published a series of articles (in 1857) on the Jewish religion and the Talmud in the largest Hungarian daily, *Pesti Napló*. He maintained a lively correspondence on Jewish subjects and halakhic questions with leading contemporary personalities and did much to foster the friendly attitude of some Hungarian statesmen toward Orthodox aspirations for independence.

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[Baruch Yaron]

KRAVIS, HENRY R. (1944–), U.S. financier. Born in Tulsa, Okla., the son of an oil engineer and a former oil-business partner of Joseph P. Kennedy, Kravis went to Claremont College in California and earned a master's degree in business from Columbia University in 1969. That year he joined Bear Stearns, the Wall Street firm, along with his cousin, George R. Roberts. Both worked under Jerome Kohlberg Jr., the corporate finance manager. Kohlberg sought out undervalued small companies, or undervalued operations within larger companies, and helped the management of these companies borrow the capital to buy the businesses themselves. In 1976, when Bear Stearns would not appropriate the funds for these projects, Kohlberg resigned and took his two young associates with him. Together they founded the investment banking concern Kohlberg Kravis Roberts & Co. For the next six years, KKR created a series of limited partnerships to acquire companies, reorganize them, sell off some assets or subsidiaries, and resell the company. Typically, KKR put up 10 percent of the buyout price and borrowed the rest from investors by issuing so-called "junk bonds." In the 1980s these bonds were usually underwritten by the investment bank Drexel Burnham Lambert, led by Michael *Milken. These so-called leveraged buyouts in the late 1970s and early 1980s were wildly successful for KKR. Houdaille Industries was the first major company listed on the New York Stock Exchange to be taken over in a leveraged buyout. In those years, KKR averaged $50 million a year for itself and earned a 36 percent return on investment for its limited partners.

In 1984 KKR pulled off its first billion-dollar buy-out: Wometco Enterprises. In the same year the firm introduced the public tender offer. The firm and its partners paid $465 for the sugar refiner Amstar and sold it in 1986 for $700 million. In 1987, after other well-publicized takeover attempts, Kohlberg resigned from the firm and Kravis succeeded him as senior partner. The following year the firm won a five-week bidding war to control RJR Nabisco, the 19th largest corporation in the United States. This giant food and tobacco conglomerate owned such familiar brands as Camel, Winston and Salem cigarettes, Wheat Thins and Ritz Crackers, Oreo and Fig Newton, Del Monte vegetables, Planter's Peanuts and LifeSavers. Kravis and his group bought the company for $25 billion, nearly double the previous record sale price of a commercial enterprise. Since its inception, KKR has spent more than $73 billion, acquiring more than 45 companies. It divested its holdings in RJR Nabisco in 1995.

The publicity surrounding the RJR Nabisco deal led to the story being dramatized in a book and film, *Barbarians at the Gate*. Kravis was the model for the lead male character, Edward Lewis, in the 1990 romantic comedy film *Pretty Woman*, a love story about two people from opposite ends of the social spectrum who meet and fall in love. Julia Roberts, played a prostitute opposite Richard Gere, portraying a wealthy and ruthless businessman who makes a living as a corporate takeover specialist.

In addition to his business activities, Kravis contributed more than $10 million to New York's Mount Sinai Hospital and the Metropolitan Museum of Art. He served on the board of trustees of the Metropolitan and of the New York City Ballet and was chairman of the board of New York City's public television station. A supporter of right-wing politics, Kravis joined with Edgar *Bronfman Sr. and Lewis Eisenberg to establish the Republican Leadership Council. Kravis was New York State co-chairman of the failed presidential re-election campaign of George H.W. Bush in 1992. Kravis funded the Henry Kravis Leadership Institute at his alma mater, Claremont McKenna College, and the Henry Kravis Internships for Teachers of Color. As trustees of Mount Sinai Medical Center, Kravis and his wife donated $15 million to establish the Center for Cardiovascular Health and financed a professorship.

[Stewart Kampel (2nd ed.)]

KRAVITCH, PHYLLIS (1920–), senior judge on the U.S. Court of Appeals. Born in Savannah, Georgia, Kravitch received her bachelor's degree from Goucher College in 1941 and her LL.B. degree from the University of Pennsylvania Law School, where she served on the editorial board of the Law Review, in 1943. Though she graduated near the top of her class, she was unable to obtain a federal clerkship – or even an interview for a position with a law firm – because of her gender. She returned to Savannah to practice law with her father, Aaron Kravitch, at a time when there were very few female lawyers.

Kravitch engaged in a general trial practice from 1944 to 1976 and was active in civil rights litigation. As a member of the Chatham County Board of Education from 1949 to 1955, she fought to eradicate sex- and race-based salary inequalities and the use of substandard buildings for minority schools. She helped establish the Savannah Area Family Emergency Shelter for battered women and the Savannah Rape Crisis Center. She served on the selection committees for Rhodes Scholars, White House Fellows, and Truman Scholars.

In 1975 Kravitch was elected the first female president of the Savannah Bar Association. In 1976 she was the first woman to be elected a superior court judge in the state of Georgia. When President Jimmy Carter appointed her to the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit in 1979, she became the first woman to be appointed to the federal bench in the Southeast and the third woman in the nation to be appointed to the U.S. Court of Appeals. In 1981 the Eleventh Circuit was created from the Fifth Circuit; Kravitch, one of the 12 original judges of the Eleventh Circuit, was designated a senior judge in 1996 at the age of 76, having remained on active status long after she was eligible for senior status.

Kravitch authored many noteworthy rulings, including the decision in *Sparks v. Pilot Freight Carriers* (1987) that a sexual harassment plaintiff in a Title VII action was not required to demonstrate an employer's liability for a supervisor's actions. She ruled in *United States v. Evans* (1990) that passive acceptance of a benefit by a public official would be sufficient to form the basis of a Hobbs Act violation if the official knew that he was being offered payment in exchange for an exercise of official power.

Considered a pioneer in a judiciary long dominated by men, Kravitch received many honors, including the National Council of Jewish Women's Hannah G. Solomon Award in 1978, the American Bar Association's Margaret Brent Women Lawyers of Achievement Award in 1991, the James Wilson Award from the University of Pennsylvania Law School in 1992, and an honorary degree from Emory University in 1998.

[Dorothy Bauhoff (2nd ed.)]

KRAYN, HUGO (1885–1919), German painter. He was born in Berlin, where he studied print making and book design. Success came to him early. His health was delicate and, after a long period of overwork, he sought recuperation in Davos, Switzerland, where he painted many landscapes. On his return to Berlin, he received wide recognition. In 1915 he became a member of the Berlin *Sezession*. He died in the 1919 influenza epidemic. He was a post-impressionist, bordering on expressionism. Much of his work concentrates on rendering, powerfully and unmercifully, the hard life of the industrial workers, and the drab atmosphere of the slums in the German capital.

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[Alfred Werner]

KRAYZELBURG, LENNY (1975–), U.S. swimmer, winner of four Olympic gold medals. Krayzelburg was born in Odessa, Russia, to Oleg, who owned a coffee shop, and Yelena, an accountant. He started swimming at age five, and by 10 had won the silver medal in his age group in the All-Soviet championships. But Krayzelburg's parents felt there would be limited opportunities for their Jewish family, and were also afraid their son would be drafted into the army, so Krayzelburg immigrated to the U.S. with his parents and sister in 1989, settling in Los Angeles. Krayzelburg joined the swimming team at the Westside Jewish Community Center, learning English while also working there as a lifeguard. After graduating from Fairfax High School in 1993, Krayzelburg attended Santa Monica City College for one year, winning the 1994 junior college state title in the 200 m. backstroke in 1:47.91. Krayzelburg then transferred to USC, where he began to win national and world titles. After becoming a U.S. citizen in 1995, Krayzelburg burst onto the national scene at the Olympic trials in 1996, where he had the second-best time in the heats of the 200 m. backstroke, but missed making the team when he finished fifth in the final race.

Krayzelburg won gold medals in the 100 m. and 200 m. backstroke at the 1998 World Championships, and then broke an unprecedented three world records in the 50 m. (24:99), 100 m. (53:60), and 200 m. (1:55:87) backstroke while winning three gold medals at the Pan American Pacific Championships in August 1999. Krayzelburg was subsequently voted U.S. Swimmer of the Year.

At the Sydney Olympics in 2000, Krayzelburg won a gold medal in the 100 m. backstroke, while smashing the Olympic record with a time of 53.72. Krayzelburg then broke the Olympic record in the 200 m. backstroke in the semifinals with a time of 1:57.27. In the finals of the 200 m. backstroke he took another gold medal, again breaking the Olympic record with a mark of 1:56.76. Krayzelburg won his third gold medal in the 4x100-meter medley relay by swimming the opening (backstroke) leg in 53.87. The American team, following his pace, set the world record with a time of 3:33.73. He was again named U.S. Swimmer of the Year as well as one of *People* magazine's 50 Most Beautiful People.

In the summer of 2001, Krayzelburg decided not to compete at the World Championships, opting instead to participate at the Maccabiah Games, where he shattered the Maccabiah record in the 100 m. backstroke with a time of 55.24 (the old record was 58.08). He injured his shoulder and was unable to compete in either the 100 m. freestyle or 200 m. backstroke, and was sidelined the rest of the year. His decision to forgo the World Championships earned Krayzelburg the honor of being named captain of the U.S. Maccabiah team for the 2005 Maccabiah.

Krayzelburg returned to form in 2002 and by the end of the year was ranked No. 2 in the U.S. in the 200 m. backstroke (1:58.67) and No. 3 in the 100 m. backstroke (54.48). In 2003, he won the 100 m. backstroke at the U.S. Open Swimming Championships, and finished second in the 200 m.

At the 2004 Athens Olympics, Krayzelburg missed a medal in the 100 m. backstroke final by 2/100ths of a second, finishing fourth in 54.38. He swam the opening leg in the men's 4 × 100 medley relay team heat, and though he did not swim in the final, he was awarded a gold medal as the U.S. took first place and smashed the world record.

Krayzelburg formed the Lenny Krayzelburg Foundation to support swimming in the inner city, and in June 2005 donated $100,000 to renovate the facility at his first swimming home, the Westside Jewish Community Center.

[Elli Wohlgelernter (2nd ed.)]

KREBS, SIR HANS ADOLF (1900–1981), British biochemist and Nobel Prize winner. Krebs was born in Hildesheim, Germany, and pursued research with Otto Heinrich *Warburg at the Kaiser Wilhelm Institute for Biology in Berlin for four years, subsequently working at Professor Thannhauser's clinic at Freiburg. He worked out the cyclic process for urea synthesis in the liver. Forced to leave Germany with the advent of Hitler, Krebs became a research fellow in the department of biochemistry at Cambridge. In 1935 he joined Sheffield University, where he became professor of biochemistry in 1945. In 1954 he was appointed professor of biochemistry at Oxford University. In 1953 Krebs received the Nobel Prize for medicine and physiology (which he shared with Fritz *Lipmann) for his discovery of the citric acid cycle. This is the sequence of processes by which foodstuffs are converted in the living cell into carbon dioxide, water, and energy. The "Krebs cycle" was first elucidated for pigeon-breast muscle, but is known to apply to most living cells of aerobic organisms. Krebs was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society in 1947 and was knighted in 1958.

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[Samuel Aaron Miller]

KREFELD, city in N. Rhine-Westphalia, Germany. The first Jew living in Krefeld was mentioned in 1617, and in 1728 there were five Jewish families settled in the town. By Prussian royal decree (1743), the city council refused admittance to Jews, except for those who received special permission. Nevertheless, by 1756 the number of Jewish families in Krefeld had increased to ten.

A community was organized in 1764 and a cemetery consecrated. After 1795, under French rule, the community began to expand, numbering 160 persons in 1806. On March 17, 1808, a Napoleonic decree introduced the consistorial system; the consistory of Roerdepartement, comprising 20 Jewish communities extending from Cologne to Brussels, had its seat in Krefeld. In March 1809, a conference of 25 notables representing 12 communities elected Judah Loeb Carlburg (Karlsburg; d. 1835) as chief rabbi of Krefeld Consistory. When the Rhine province was incorporated into Prussia in 1814, the consistorial system was retained. Chief rabbi in Krefeld from 1836 until 1843 was Leo Ullmann, who translated the Koran into German. In 1847, during the term of office of his successor, Loeb Bodenheimer (1844–68), the consistorial system was abolished. Successive rabbis were Jacob Horowitz (1868–1904), Joseph Levi (retired 1927), and Arthur Bluhm.

During the 19th century most of the community's cultural, social, and benevolent institutions came into being. A synagogue was built in 1851. From the first quarter of the 19th century the community developed rapidly from 308 in 1840 to 1,088 in 1875, and 2,000 (1.9% of the population) in 1895; it subsequently declined to 1,626 in 1925.

In the years after World War I the community was beset by severe antisemitism. The Jews were vilified in the local press; in 1927 the cemetery was desecrated; in 1928 windows of the synagogue were smashed and the main entrance defiled with swastikas. Posters urging townspeople not to patronize Jewish business establishments were displayed prominently in 1930. When the Nazis seized power in 1933, there were 1,481 Jews in Krefeld. On the night of February 5/6 of that year the synagogue windows were smashed again. Nevertheless the community's elementary school continued to function. Efforts to emigrate were intensified and by 1937 about 500 had left the town. The economic boycott by the Nazis resulted in all Jewish firms being taken over by gentiles. During *Kristallnacht*, SS men broke into the synagogue, removing the scrolls and burning it to the ground. Two other communal buildings were also burned down. Emigration was now speeded up and by May 17, 1939, 800 Jews remained in the city, many of them newcomers from the countryside. Between 1939 and 1945, 67 were killed and 11 committed suicide. Of the 1,374 Jews deported from Krefeld to the East, the majority to *Theresienstadt, 626 were natives of Krefeld. Fifty-six Jews were living in Krefeld in 1946 and 111 in 1964 when a community center and synagogue were opened.

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[Chasia Turtel]

KREIN, ALEXANDER ABRAMOVICH (1883–1951), composer. After Krein completed his studies at the Moscow Conservatory in 1908 (cello and composition), he was named professor at the same institution (1912–17). He was also secretary of the Russian Board of Education (1918–20), and member of the board of the State Publishing Department (1918–27). He became one of the leaders of the Jewish musical movement and was an active member of the Moscow branch of the *Society for Jewish Folk Music. His very lyrical music is in an impressionistic style mingled with Jewish traditional folk motifs, creating a strongly personal Jewish style. His brother GRIGORI (1880–1955), composer and violinist, studied in Moscow with Hrimaly, Juon, and Glière, and later in Leipzig with Reger (1905–08). He also lived in Paris (1926–34) and in Tashkent (1941–43). His modern music is intellectual and occasionally has Jewish content. Grigori's son JULIAN (1913–1996), composer and pianist, studied at the Ecole Normale de Musique in Paris with Dukas (1926–33). He wrote technically brilliant music and occasionally employed Jewish motifs.

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[Claude Abravanel]

KREININ, MEIR (1866–1939), civic leader, born in Bykhov, Belorussia. In 1905 he was a member of the central committee of the League for Equal Rights for Jews in Russia. Together with S. *Dubnow, in 1907 he founded the Jewish *Folkspartei in Russia. From 1914 he acted as vice chairman for the *Society for the Promotion of Culture among Jews of Russia (OPE). Vice chairman of the Jewish communities in Russia from 1918, he was active in relief work on behalf of the Jewish population. Leaving Russia in 1921, he went first to Berlin and in 1927 to Paris. He was chairman of Emigdirect (United Committee for Jewish Emigration) and from 1927 one of the three directors of HICEM. In 1934 he settled in Palestine and died in Jerusalem.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: B. Dinur, *Benei Dori* (1963), 207–8.

KREISEL, HENRY (1922–1991), Canadian author. Kreisel is among the few influential Jewish Canadian writers whose working life was spent in the country's western provinces. Born in Vienna, he escaped with his parents to London shortly before World War II. He and his father were arrested by the British as "enemy aliens," and interned, through 1940 and 1941, near Fredericton, New Brunswick. There, Kreisel was influenced by numerous compatriots who would go on to become important Canadian musicians, philosophers, and academics after the war. An important contribution to our understanding of wartime Canada is his little-known "Diary of an Internment," written during 1940 and 1941. In Kreisel's view the internees were treated reasonably, and when they did work, the Canadian landscape presented them with respite. The diary provides us with a prelude to the appearance of one of the first Jewish voices in mainstream Canadian fiction.

Kreisel attended the University of Toronto upon his release from internment, (B.A., 1946; M.A., 1947) and began work on his first novel, *The Rich Man*, which appeared in 1948. It is among the first major works by a Jewish writer on Jewish themes to appear from a mainstream Canadian publisher. *The Rich Man*'s action begins in the College and Spadina neighborhood where Kreisel lived upon settling in Toronto. It portrays the Spadina-area streetscapes and sweatshop work, and paints a rather downbeat portrait of the Jewish immigrant experience. The novel's startling narrative leap takes shape as the novel's main character – an immigrant from Vienna who works in a local factory – decides to make a return trip, at great cost, to see his family. The bulk of the novel then captures the creeping state of dread and helplessness experienced by Viennese Jews shortly before the war. The returnee from the *goldene medine* is mistaken for a rich man, and awkwardly allows his European relatives to believe he has made a great success of himself in Canada.

Kreisel did not publish another novel until the 1964 appearance of *The Betrayal,* which again takes up themes of doubled lives created by the challenge of immigration and exile. By then, he had earned a Ph.D. from the University of London in 1954. He devoted much of his energy to a long and productive scholarly and administrative career at the University of Alberta, which began in 1947. He was founder of the University of Alberta's pioneering Canadian literature program, and retired from university work in 1987.

As an Edmontonian, Kreisel's writing embraced the particularity of the prairie landscape, though prewar Europe and the Holocaust continued to haunt his fiction and memoiristic writing. Kreisel's short stories were collected in *The Almost Meeting* (1981).

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[Norman Ravvin (2nd ed.)]

KREISER, JACOB GRIGORYEVICH (1905–1969), Jewish general in the Soviet army and one of the most famous Jewish fighters in the Russian campaign against Nazi Germany in

World War II. Born in Voroniezh, the son of a former *Cantonist and a small merchant, he joined the Red Army in 1921. In 1923 he graduated from the Voronezh Infantry Officers' School, and in 1931 he finished the Higher Officers' School. From 1923 to 1941 he served in the Moscow Proletarian Division, where he was promoted from company commander to commander of the division. In 1941 he graduated from courses at the Frunze War Academy. When war broke out he commanded the Moscow Proletarian Infantry Division, distinguishing himself in the defense of the approaches to Moscow, for which he was made a Hero of the Soviet Union. Shortly after, Kreiser was appointed commander of the Third Army, responsible for directing operations on the Kalinin front (1941). Later he commanded the Third Army on the Yelets front; he was appointed commander of the Second Army, and then of the 51st, which fought fiercely on the Rostov and Donbass fronts. He took part in the Melitopol campaign and helped to destroy German forces in western Ukraine and later to liberate Crimea and the Baltic States. During the war he was a member of the Jewish Anti-fascist Committee. In 1953 he refused, like *Ehrenburg and the singer Reisen, to sign a petition inspired by the authorities asking to execute the accused in the Doctors' Trials. In July 1945 Kreiser was promoted to the rank of colonel-general and in April 1962 to the rank of general of the army. In 1962 he was elected deputy to the U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet and continued to serve in the army, becoming commander of several military districts, among them the Far East region with headquarters at Vladivostok, and from May 15, 1969, he served as supervisor and adviser in the Defense Ministry. He died in Moscow on November 29, 1969.

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[Mordechai Kaplan / Shmuel Spector (2nd ed.)]

KREISKY, BRUNO (1911–1990), Austrian statesman and the first Jew to become chancellor of Austria. Born in Vienna, Kreisky was the son of a rich textile manufacturer. He joined the Socialist Workers Youth Association at the age of 15 and became head of its education department. After the Fascist seizure of power in 1934, Kreisky was active in the clandestine Socialist Party and was arrested in 1935. He spent nearly two years in prison and after the Nazi Anschluss in 1938, immigrated to Sweden.

Kreisky returned to Austria in 1946 and joined the diplomatic service. He was personal assistant to the Socialist president of Austria, Theodor Koerner, and in 1953 became undersecretary for foreign affairs in the coalition government of the People's Party and Socialist Party. He participated in the negotiations with the Soviet Union which led to the Austrian Treaty of 1955 and from 1959 to 1966 was foreign minister of Austria. Following the Socialist defeat in the 1966 elections, Kreisky was made leader of the Socialist Party. He succeeded in creating a new image for the party by the formulation of new economic, social, and cultural policies and with the Socialist victory in the general election of 1970 – with a relative majority – he became chancellor of Austria. In 1971 – after early elections – the Socialist Party achieved an absolute majority. In 1975 and 1979 these victories were repeated. After the next elections in 1983, when the party failed to get a majority, Kreisky resigned as chancellor and as head of the Socialist Party.

Contrary to frequent assertions Kreisky never denied his Jewish origin. But he came from an assimilated background and left the Jewish community in his youth. He never committed himself (until the 1980s) to the unsatisfactory restitution of Austria's Jews.

In 1970 Simon *Wiesenthal informed the German magazine *Der Spiegel* that Kreisky's government included no fewer than four former members of the Nazi Party. Kreisky defended his cabinet members and reacted furiously against Wiesenthal. The secretary of the Socialist Party Leopold Gratz called Wiesenthal's work private policing which operated outside the law and asked whether Austria needed this organization.

But in 1975 the conflict between Kreisky and Wiesenthal became much more bitter. In that year, Wiesenthal discovered that Friedrich Peter, the head of the Freedom Party, Kreisky's intended coalition partner, had been a member of an SS brigade, whose explicit duty was the killing of civilians. Peter declared that he was never personally involved in atrocities and Kreisky said he believed him. Accordingly, he attacked Wiesenthal for his "mafia-like" methods, hinted that he was a collaborator of the Gestapo, and said that he wanted to stop Wiesenthal's work in Austria. The end of the affair was a compromise. Because of Kreisky's parliamentary immunity Wiesenthal withdrew his legal action; the Socialist Party's threat of a parliamentary inquiry committee was withdrawn. Kreisky said in Parliament that he never accused Wiesenthal of collaboration with the Nazis. Later, after Kreisky was no longer legally immune as a parliamentarian, Wiesenthal took legal action against Kreisky, who in 1989 was required to pay a fine of 270,000 ATS. During this trial Kreisky hinted at alleged intelligence reports from Communist countries at Wiesenthal, which were never revealed, and he tried in vain to get the former Nazi and later federal German politician Theodor Oberländer to appear as a court witness.

Kreisky's vicious attacks on Wiesenthal caused antisemitic comments in the Austrian press.

During the 1970s Austria became the most important transit point for 270,000 Jews from Russia. In 1973 two Arab terrorists took three Russian Jewish hostages on a train in Austria. They demanded the closing of the transit camp in the castle of Schoenau. Kreisky negotiated with the terrorists, who released the hostages, and closed the castle. Israel's Prime Minister Golda *Meir flew to Austria and asked Kreisky in vain to change his decision. With the help of the Red Cross other transit camps were opened and the emigration process through Austria continued. In her memoirs Golda Meir conceded that

Kreisky's decision "was not altogether unreasonable" and that Schoenau "had become far too well known."

Chancellor Kreisky consistently adopted a pro-Arab and anti-Israel position. However, he arranged two meetings in 1978 between Shimon *Peres, Israel Labor Party leader, and President *Sadat, under the auspices of the Socialist International, of which he then was a vice president as well as chairman of its permanent fact-finding mission for the Middle East. The first took place in Salzburg in February and the second in Vienna in July, which led to a statement to the effect that there was a "negotiating potential" between Israel and Egypt.

In September 1978, in an interview which he gave to the Dutch daily *Trouv*, Kreisky made an unprecedented vitriolic attack upon Israel and Menaḥem *Begin, referring to him in the most abusive terms, calling him a small political peddler. It roused a storm of protest, and caused the resignations of Leopold Gottesmann, honorary consul general of Austria in Israel, Elimelech Rimalt, co-chairman of the Israel-Austria friendship league, and Otto Probst, a veteran member of the Socialist Party and co-chairman of the Israel-Austria friendship league. A few days later Kreisky stated that he was "prepared to apologize," but he did not do so. After the signing of the Camp David agreement, however, in congratulating all three leaders for their efforts, he formally apologized to Begin, still maintaining, however, that there would be no peace without a solution of the Palestinian problem and without an agreement with Syria.

In July 1979 Kreisky officially received Yasser *Arafat in Vienna, and in November, during what was ostensibly a private visit to the United States in connection with the U.S. tour of the Vienna Opera, he appealed to the United States to recognize the PLO as the sole legitimate representative of the Arabs and made a similar plea in his address to the General Assembly of the United Nations, proposing that as a first step toward peace, Israel should likewise accept the PLO.

Kreisky's complex personality and his efforts to advance the Middle East peace process were recognized by his Israeli friends. Shimon Peres wrote in his memoirs: "Judged by his political pronouncements, he was Israel's most implacable adversary among European leaders. And yet, when judged by actions rather than words, he was one of our staunchest friends."

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[Evelyn Adunka (2nd ed.)]

KREISLER, FRITZ (1875–1962), violinist and composer. Born in Vienna and a child prodigy, Kreisler gained admission to the Musikverein Konservatorium at the age of seven. His principal teachers were Hellmesberger (violin) and Bruckner (theory). He first performed when he was nine and was awarded the Konservatorium's gold medal at ten. Later he studied at the Paris Conservatoire with Massart and Delibes. Kreisler's rise to fame was interrupted by medical and art studies and a period of military service. His debut with the Berlin Philharmonic (1899) launched his international career. He was presented with the Philharmonic Society's gold medal (1904) and gave the premiere of Elgar's *Violin Concerto*, a work dedicated to him (1910). At the outbreak of World War I he joined his former regiment, but upon being quickly wounded he was discharged and went to the U.S. He returned to Europe in 1924, living first in Berlin, then in France. In 1939 he settled permanently in the U.S., becoming a citizen in 1943. Kreisler was one of the greatest masters of the violin. His remarkable sweet and expressive tone, graceful phrasing, and vitality of rhythm match his brilliant technique. He developed personal methods of bowing, fingering, and vibrato. Among the works he wrote as a gifted composer are a string quartet, operettas, short compositions (such as *Caprice viennois*, *Liebeslied,* and *Liebesfreud*), and a series of pieces he attributed to lesser known 18th-century composers but which were in fact his own. He also prepared cadenzas for the Beethoven and Brahms violin concertos and published music arrangements.

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[Naama Ramot (2nd ed.)]

KREITMAN, BENJAMIN ZVI (1920–), U.S. Conservative rabbi and organization executive. Kreitman was born in Warsaw, Poland, and immigrated to the United States in 1924. He received his B.A. from *Yeshiva University in 1940 and ordination from the *Jewish Theological Seminary in 1942, as the seminary accelerated ordination of rabbinical candidates in order to meet the wartime need for chaplains. Kreitman enlisted immediately and served as a chaplain in the United States Navy until 1946, when he became assistant rabbi of Kehillath Israel in Brookline, Massachusetts. His next pulpit was Beth El Synagogue in New London, Connecticut (1948–52), followed by 16 years at Brooklyn Jewish Center, where he worked with Rabbi Israel *Levinthal. Kreitman developed innovative adult education programs for this very large Conservative urban synagogue center, including the Mishnah Fellowship, Great Books Seminar, and Great Jewish Books Seminar. In 1968, he became rabbi of Congregation Shaare Torah in Flatbush (Brooklyn), where he was elected rabbi emeritus in 1976.

During his nearly three decades as a congregational rabbi in Brooklyn, Kreitman served as president of the Brooklyn Jewish Community Council (1970–73), chairman of the Brooklyn Borough Human Rights Commission (1960–67) and as the only non-medical member of the New York City Board of Health. He also lectured at Brooklyn College (1974) and the Jewish Theological Seminary (1975). In addition, he was chairman of the Brooklyn Region of the *Rabbinical Assembly and vice chairman of the Metropolitan Region of the RA. More influentially, as chairman of the organization's Committee on Jewish Law and Standards (1966–72), Kreitman – who believed that Jewish law "must concern itself with and accommodate itself to the needs of the day" – took bold leadership positions that shaped key halakhic rulings of the Conservative movement in the areas of *kashrut* and freeing the **agunah* (a married woman denied a divorce by a missing or recalcitrant husband). His committee also sanctioned the abolition of the widely ignored second day of festivals outside of Israel.

In 1976, Kreitman left the practicing rabbinate to become executive vice president of the *United Synagogue, succeeding Rabbi Bernard *Segal. He spearheaded the development of new programs and publications for a Conservative movement that was now catering to multi-generational member families. He was also instrumental in strengthening the movement's relationship with Israel, leading a reorganization of the World Council of Synagogues that paved the way for its joining the *World Zionist Organization and establishing **aliyah* and absorption desks in New York and Israel to encourage Conservative Jews to immigrate to Israel.

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[Bezalel Gordon (2nd ed.)]

KRÉMÈGNE, PINCHAS (1890–1981), sculptor and painter. Krémègne was born in Vilna, and went in 1912 to Paris, with Chaim *Soutine, in the movement of East-European Jewish artists that evolved into the *Paris School of Art. He first exhibited as a sculptor, but from 1915 onward only painted. At first influenced by Matisse and Fauvism, Krémègne developed a more relaxed style in which masterly composition is matched by delightful color. He painted a considerable number of still lifes, studio interiors and portraits, but in addition a considerable group of landscapes of France, Corsica, Sweden, and Israel. Highly considered in Paris, Krémègne's work was described by the critic Maximilien Gauthier as "Judaic disenchantment." This unusual phrase possibly suggests the detachment in Krémègne's oeuvre, in contrast to the paintings of Chagall and Soutine. There is, in fact, far less "Jewish" content to his work, except for the warm humanity of his subject matter and treatment. Krémègne's work is represented in leading French museums and also in the Tretyakov Gallery, Moscow.

[Charles Samuel Spencer]

KREMENCHUG, Poltava district, in Ukraine. The earliest information on Jewish settlement in Kremenchug dates from 1782; 454 Jews were registered as poll-tax payers in the district of Kremenchug in 1801. In accordance with the policy "of directing the Jews toward productive professions," the Russian government opened a weaving mill in the city in 1809, designed to teach this craft to Jews who lacked a profession. The number of Jews employed in the mill in 1810, together with the members of their families, amounted to 232. After this date the Jews began to leave the mill because of the difficult conditions there, and in 1817 it closed down. Later in the 19th century, the Jewish population increased rapidly, as a result of emigration from the northwestern provinces of Russia to the southeastern ones. In 1847 there were 3,475 Jews registered in the community of Kremenchug, while by 1897 there was a large Jewish population of 29,869 persons (47% of the total population). The Jews played a most important role in the economic development of the town, especially in the grain and timber trades and the manufacture of tobacco. They owned ten sawmills and several tobacco factories. Early in the 19th century a Jewish hospital was opened, and in 1844 a Chabad yeshivah was established. By the end of the century, there were two *talmudei torah*, one with carpentry and metalworking classes, and Jewish private schools for boys and girls. During World War I, the yeshivot of *Lubavich and *Slobodka (from Kovno) were transferred to Kremenchug. Pogroms were staged in October 1905, in April 1918 by armed bands of Grigoryev, and in August 1919 by the soldiers of the "Volunteer Army" of General *Denikin. In the 1920s the Jews made up 50% of the workers in the factories, and about 75% in tobacco production, shoes, and carpentry. In the 1930s there were two Jewish schools and an electro-mechanical college. In 1926 there were 28,969 Jews (49.2% of the total) living in the town, with the number dropping by 1939 to 19,880 (22% of the total population). The Germans occupied Kremenchug on September 9, 1941, and they soon – together with the Ukrainian police – pillaged the Jews, ordered them to wear the yellow star, and forbade them to buy food in the stores. On September 27, 1941, they were ordered to register and to move into ghetto barracks in the Novo-Ivanovka suburb; all their belongings were taken from them. From September 27 to November 7 about 8,000 Jews were murdered by the Germans. The small group of professionals, such as doctors and nurses, who were left were killed in January 1942. Hundreds of Jewish soldiers from the Soviet army, from the local prisoner of war camp, were also murdered. In 1959 the Jewish population numbered about 5,200 (6% of the total) and in 1970 it was estimated at about 1,000. Of the 60 synagogues in 1917, only one remained open in 1959, only to be closed down in the early 1960s. The old "Great" synagogue, destroyed by the Nazis, was still standing, roofless. Most Jews left in the 1990s but community life revived, with both educational and religious services being offered. Natives of Kremenchug included the Zionist leader J. *Tschlenow and the painter Mané *Katz. The poet A. *Shlonsky was born in Kryukov, a suburb of Kremenchug, as was the Jewish Soviet army officer Alexander Pecherski who headed the uprising in the Sobibor death camp in 1943.

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[Yehuda Slutsky / Shmuel Spector (2nd ed.)]

KREMENETS (Pol. **Krzemieniec**), town in Tarnopol district, Ukraine, from 1344; under Lithuania until 1569; Poland-Lithuania until 1793; Russia until 1918; and again under Poland until 1939. Jews are first mentioned there in 1438, when they were granted a charter by the Lithuanian grand duke Svidrigailo. They were expelled in 1495 along with all other Jews in Lithuania, returning in 1503. The number of Jews in the town rose from 240 (10.6% of the total population) in 1552 to 500 in 1578 and 845 (15% of the total) in 1629. The community developed and prospered in the 16th and 17th centuries, up to 1648. It was a center of **Arenda* activity and the related trade. Among the rabbis of that period were Mordecai b. Abraham Jaffe and Samson b. Bezalel, brother of Judah Loew b. Bezalel of Prague. The representatives of the community participated in the work of the Volhynian Council, and in the work of the Council of Four Lands. Outstanding among the scholars of the yeshivah at the beginning of the 17th century was *Joseph b. Moses of Kremenets. In the *Chmielnicki massacres (1648–49) and the Russian and Swedish wars soon after, many Jews were savagely murdered and many others fled. Subsequently the community was unable to regain its former importance. In 1765 only 649 Jews lived there. The Jews were prohibited from rebuilding the houses burned down in the frequent fires that broke out in the town. At the beginning of Russian rule Kremenets was an impoverished community of petty traders and craftsmen.

Kremenets was within the range of 50 versts from the Russian border, which was prohibited to Jews, but the authorities did not apply this prohibition to the town. The number of Jews increased from 3,791 in 1847 to 6,539 (37% of the total population) in 1897. At the end of the 19th century they played an important role in the economy of the town, in particular the paper industry, and the Jewish carpenters and cobblers of Kremenets exported their goods to other towns in Poland and Russia. There was an active cultural life in the community with the Haskalah and Ḥasidism competing for influence. The Haskalah writer Isaac Baer *Levinsohn lived there, as did the Ḥasid R. Mordecai, father-in-law of Nahum Twersky of Chernobyl. In 1918–20 Kremenets suffered from the attacks of marauding bands in the Ukraine. In 1921, 6,619 Jews lived there, and 7,256 in 1931. In modern Poland the Jews faced both the need for reorganization of their markets, as they were cut off from Russia, and the anti-Jewish policies of Polish society and state. Cultural life continued, influenced mostly by Zionism. Two periodicals in Yiddish, which appeared at the beginning of the 1930s, merged in 1933 into one weekly newspaper, *Kremenitser Lebn*. Until 1939 there operated in town a Hebrew Tarbut school, as well as a Hebrew nursery, a *talmud torah*, and an ORT vocational school. A local drama circle and a string orchestra gave public performances. The violonist Isaac *Stern took his first steps in music there.

[Shimshon Leib Kirshenboim]

Holocaust Period

The Soviet authorities took over the town on Sept. 22, 1939. In the spring of 1940 the refugees from western Poland were obliged to register with the authorities and to declare whether they wished to take up Soviet citizenship or return to their former homes, now under German occupation. For family reasons, many refugees declared that they preferred to return; that summer they were exiled to the Soviet interior. All Jewish communal life was forbidden, and Zionist leaders moved to other cities to keep their past activities from the knowledge of the authorities. By 1941 the Jewish population had increased to over 10,000, including about 4,000 refugees.

Kremenets was occupied by the Germans on July 1, 1941. Hundreds of young Jews managed to flee to the Soviet Union. A pogrom broke out on July 2, 1941, when Ukrainian police, aided by Germans, concentrated 800 Jewish men, women, and children, made them open graves of Ukrainian prisoners – killed by the Soviet NKVD before retreating – and accused the Jews of being to blame, and murdered all of them. In the beginning of August 1941 the *Gestapo ordered all Jews with academic status to report for registration. All those who did so were murdered, and thus the Jewish community's leadership was destroyed. That month the Germans bombed the main synagogue and exacted a fine of 11 kg. of gold from the community. They also imposed a *Judenrat, headed by Benjamin Katz, but he was murdered for his refusal to collaborate with the Nazis. Eventually the Judenrat consisted of a number of people whose influence was detrimental. On March 1, 1942, a ghetto was imposed and 9,340 Jews were crowded there. The inmates endured great hardship, such as starvation and diseases, and there was a serious shortage of water. Each day 10–12 persons died. On Aug. 10, 1942, the Germans initiated an *Aktion* to annihilate the inmates. Fifteen hundred able-bodied persons were dispatched to slave labor in Bialokrynica, where they met their death on August 18, 1942. The vast majority of the ghetto inhabitants rounded up in the *Aktion* were taken in groups and murdered over trenches dug near the railway station, near a former army camp. The local Zionist leader Benjamin Landsberg committed suicide at this time. There existed a Jewish underground in the ghetto, which acquired arms and false Aryan documents with the help of Poles. The *Aktion* surprised them while they were still organizing themselves. They initiated sporadic fighting, inflicting some casualties on the enemy, and also set fire to ghetto houses. Only 14 of the Kremenets community survived the Holocaust.

[Aharon Weiss / Shmuel Spector (2nd ed.)]

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KREMENETZKY, JOHANN (1850–1934), engineer and industrialist; first head of the *Jewish National Fund (JNF). Born in Odessa, Kremenetzky settled in Vienna in 1880 and built the first factory in Austria for electric bulbs, which soon grew into one of the largest enterprises in Europe. In 1920 he built a factory for electric appliances and, together with Boris *Goldberg, the "Silikat" factory in Tel Aviv. Kremenetzky joined Herzl after the publication of *Der Judenstaat* (1896) and became one of his close friends and admirers. He was elected to the Zionist Executive at the First Zionist Congress and remained a member until 1905. At the subsequent Congresses (1905–13) he was elected to the Zionist General Council. On the basis of a memorandum drafted by Kremenetzky and read in his absence to the Fifth Zionist Congress (1901) by Isidor *Schalit, the JNF was officially established. He became head of the JNF until its headquarters were moved to Cologne from Vienna in 1907, and his activities laid the foundations for this popular Zionist institution. Herzl nominated him as one of the executors of his will. Together with M. Reichenfeld he founded the Herzl Archive. He was made an honorary citizen of Vienna (1930).

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[Oskar K. Rabinowicz]

KREMER, ARKADI (**Aaron**, "**Alexander**"; 1865–1935), central figure in the Jewish labor movement in Russia in the 1890s, described as "the father of the *Bund." The son of an enlightened Hebrew teacher in Svencionys (Sventsyany) in the province of Vilna, Kremer received little traditional Jewish education. His persuasive and unifying influence as a propagandist and an organizer made him the moving spirit in the Jewish Social Democratic Group in Vilna between 1891 and 1897. His pamphlet *Ob agitatsü* ("On Agitation," 1893/94) influenced the transition of the labor movement in Vilna, and many other cities in Russia, from closed circles of socialist propaganda to action among the masses adapted to their actual economic requirements. Kremer was among the founders of the Bund in the fall of 1897, and of the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party in 1898, and a member of their central committees. After a term in prison for revolutionary activities he escaped abroad in 1900. There, and from 1905 again in Russia, he continued his activities in the Bund. In 1908 he abandoned political life, studied and worked from 1912 to 1921 as an electrical engineer in France. He later returned to Vilna and taught there. In 1928 he resumed his activities in the local branch of the Bund, but was a moral and political authority of the Bund in Poland. His wife, "PATI" KREMER (Matla Srednicki; 1867–1943), a dentist, was also a Bundist, and one of the few leaders of the Jewish Social Democrats in Vilna in the 1890s capable of writing Yiddish. She died in the Vilna ghetto.

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[Moshe Mishkinsky]

KREMER, ISA (1887–1956), international balladist, possibly the first woman to bring Yiddish song to the concert stage. Born in Beltz, Bessarabia, Kremer started her career at 15 by writing revolutionary poetry which was published in an Odessa newspaper. After meeting Isa, the newspaper's editor, Israel Heifetz, helped send her to Milan to study singing with Polonia Ronzi. She had her operatic debut in 1902 in *La Bohème*. When she returned to Odessa, Kremer and Heifetz married. Their daughter, Toussia, was born in 1917.

Kremer joined a group of intellectuals that included Mark *Warshawski, *Sholom Aleichem, and Sholem Yankev *Abramovitsh (Mendele Moykher Sforim), who introduced her to the Hebrew poet Ḥayyim Naḥman *Bialik. She credited Bialik with challenging her to give voice to her own people and to sing in Yiddish. Kremer continued touring with opera companies, performing in *Madam Butterfly, Eugene Onegin,* and *Manon* to great acclaim. She also began collecting Yiddish folk songs with the hope of performing them as art songs on the concert stage. During the Russian Revolution, her husband was jailed while she was on tour in Constantinople. In 1919, she managed to get her child and finally her husband out of Russia and they settled in Paris. In 1922, on tour in Poland, Kremer, who was scheduled to sing Jewish songs in Warsaw, was the object of an antisemitic riot. This led the family to relocate to America, where her reputation preceded her. Represented by Sol *Hurok, Kremer made her American debut at Carnegie Hall in 1922. Kremer brought glamour and charisma to the stage, singing artistically arranged folk songs in Yiddish, Russian, Italian, Polish, French, German, and English. She began singing on the Orpheum vaudeville circuit in 1927 with tremendous success, reaching a weekly audience of 35,000.

Touring Argentina in the late 1930s, Kremer met Gregorio Bermann, a psychiatrist. They were together for years, although they never married. During WWII, Kremer's husband was arrested and died in a concentration camp. In 1943, Bermann was arrested in Argentina, where the couple was living. Kremer was blacklisted and went into bankruptcy. In 1946, Kremer visited Palestine, and sang there in Yiddish, although many were opposed to her use of the language. She told the crowd, "I sang in Yiddish in Nazi Germany, I'll sing in Yiddish in Israel." Even as late as 1951, Isa still concertized for loyal fans in European cities, but by 1956 she was ill with stomach cancer; she died in Córdoba, Argentina, in 1956. Her papers were donated to the Jewish Center in Buenos Aires, where they survived the terrorist attack of 1994.

[Judith S. Pinnolis (2nd ed.)]

KREMNITZER, JOHANAN BEN MEIR (17th century), Polish talmudist. Kremnitzer came from Kalisz. He was a *dayyan* in Mezhirech and subsequently proofreader for the Talmud edition of Frankfurt on the Oder, where he stayed for three years (1697–99) at the expense of Issachar Bermann (see Behrend *Lehmann). He was responsible for the *Ein Mishpat* to the tractate *Nedarim*, which gives the references to the *halakhah* in the standard code. Kremnitzer was the author of *Oraḥ Mishor* (Sulzbach, 1692), a supercommentary on the *Darkhei Moshe* to *Yoreh De'ah* by Moses Isserles. Despite Kremnitzer's scholarship his commentary did not achieve great popularity. He also wrote *Oraḥ Mishor* (Berlin, 1723–24) to the tractate

Nazir and Hilkhot Nazir in Maimonides' *Mishneh Torah*, appended to which were supplements and additions to his commentary on the *Darkhei Moshe*. This was republished in the 1884 edition of the Romm-Vilna Talmud; to it he appended a reply to the criticism of Simeon b. Jacob Reischer incited by Kremnitzer's critical remarks on the *Minḥat Ya'akov* of Simeon's father. Kremnitzer's *Zer Zahav*, mentioned in his *Oraḥ Mishor,* remained unpublished.

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[Samuel Abba Horodezky]

KREMS, city in Lower Austria. Jews are first mentioned in Krems in 1136 when "Ernustus Judeus" witnessed a legal transaction. In 1293 two Jews were broken on the wheel following a *blood libel; the rest of the community was forced to pay the local nobility for their protection. In the 13th and 14th centuries the Krems community was one of the most important in Austria. The Jews were moneylenders and they were not restricted to dwellings in any one quarter of the city. Persecutions occurred in 1337 and 1347. On Sept. 29, 1349, inflamed by rumors that the Jews had caused the *Black Death, the populace of Krems and the nearby villages massacred most of the Jews and plundered their homes. A few escaped to the fortress. Duke Albrecht V ordered his soldiers to punish the attackers, laid penalties on the city, and sentenced three of the ringleaders to death. In 1355 Jews are recorded as living in Krems, owning houses all over the city, but in 1422 a Jewish street is mentioned. There was a local Jewish oath, recorded in 1416. The gravestone of a rabbi, Naḥlifa or Nehemiah, forms part of the outer wall of the 15th-century parish church. Other personages of note from Krems include R. Israel (great-grandfather of R. Israel *Isserlein) who may have been appointed chief rabbi of the Jews in all the German communities, and R. Aaron Blumlein, a colleague of R. Jacob *Moellin (Maharil), who died a martyr in Vienna. The Vienna archives preserve a *ketubbah* of 1391/92 from Krems, and the Krems municipal archives contain fragments of a *Megillat Esther* used in the cover of a tithe book of 1431.

In 1421 the Jews were expelled from Krems. Individual Jewish hide, fur, and feather merchants did business in the local markets in the 17th century. In 1638, every Jew visiting the market paid one reichsthaler. By 1652 there were 12 Jewish families in Krems. R. Samuel Koidonover wrote his *Naftali Ẓevi* there in 1656–59. In reprisal for a sentence passed against a Jew accused of theft, Moldavian Jews boycotted the Krems market in 1701. The community was reestablished in the middle of the 19th century. A cemetery was opened in 1853, another in 1880. A synagogue was consecrated in 1894. The community numbered 179 in 1869, 595 in 1880, and about 200 in 1932. In September 1938 the synagogue was seized, ostensibly to serve as a shelter for Sudeten refugees. Doors and windows were smashed on *Kristallnacht* (Nov. 10, 1938) and the 92 remaining Jews fled to Vienna soon after. The synagogue building still existed in 1970 but was no longer in use.

The neighboring locality of Langenlois had a Jewish settlement in 1245, a synagogue and a Jewish street, and in nearby Spitz and Stein an der Donau there were also important medieval communities.

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KRENGEL, MENAHEM MENDEL (1847–1930), Polish rabbinical author and bibliographer. Krengel was a pupil of Simon Schreiber-*Sofer of Cracow. His important contribution to Jewish scholarship is his edition of Ḥ.J.D. *Azulai's dictionary of scholars and their works, *Shem ha-Gedolim ha-Shalem*, which he enlarged and provided with a biography of the author, a bibliography of his works, and extensive annotations (vol. 1, 1905; vol. 2, 1930; new ed., 3 vols., 1958); among other additions are the names of Cracow scholars that Azulai had omitted. Krengel also published commentaries on the Song of Songs, *Tirat Kesef* (1897), the Pentateuch, *Devash ve-Ḥalav* (1911), and the *Haggadah* (1896), to which he also appended the commentary of *Isaiah di Trani, the Elder, *Sha'arei Ge'ullah*, his own commentary being entitled *Zekher le-Fesaḥ*. His account of the heated controversy with H.A. Horowitz, Cracow's rabbi, over the latter's *eruv* arrangements in the town appears in *Torat Eruvim* (1888).

[Itzhak Alfassi]

KRESSEL, GETZEL (1911–1986), bibliographer and Hebrew writer. Born in Zabłotów, eastern Galicia, Kressel settled in Ereẓ Israel in 1930. From 1945 to 1951 he was one of the editors of *Davar* and of the Am Oved publications. He founded Genazim, the Biobibliographical Institute of the Association of Israel Writers, and was its director (1951–60), enriching its collection of manuscripts and letters. A methodical researcher, his most important work is *Leksikon ha-Sifrut ha-Ivrit ba-Dorot ha-Aḥaronim* ("Lexicon of Hebrew Literature in Recent Times," 1965–67). He also published *Toledot ha-Ittonut ha-Ivrit be-Ereẓ Yisrael* (1964), a history of journalism in Ereẓ Israel; various works on Zionism and on the history of the *Yishuv*, including *Ereẓ Yisrael ve-Toledoteha* (1943); and *Em ha-Moshavot – Petaḥ Tikvah* (1954). He was editor of the Zionism division of the *Encyclopaedia Judaica* (first edition).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Tolkes, in: *Bitzaron*, 44 (1961), 109–12; idem, *Sifrei G. Kressel* (1968), bibliography; Orlan, in: *Hadoar*, 45 (1966), 153.

[Shimon Oren]

KRESSYN, MIRIAM (1911–1996), actress in Yiddish theater and film, singer and songwriter, radio personality, and historian of the Yiddish theater; known as the "First Lady of Yiddish Theater." Born in Bialystok, Poland, the seventh child of Mashe and Yankev Kressyn, she immigrated to Boston in 1923. A voice student at the New England Conservatory of Music, she eventually joined a Yiddish theater troupe and began a successful career on the Yiddish stage. She toured in North and South America and throughout Europe. In 1937 she starred in *Der Purimshpiler*, produced in Warsaw, her only film role. With her husband, Seymour Rexsite, Kressyn recorded numerous albums; for more than 40 years she and her husband broadcast their radio program, *Memories of the Yiddish Theater*, on New York's WEVD radio. From the late 1980s until her death, Kressyn was a professor of drama at Queens College in New York City.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: M. Rosenfeld. "Kressyn, Miriam," in: P.E. Hyman and D.D. Moore (eds.), *Jewish Women in America*, vol. 1 (1998), 760–61; N. Sandrow. *Vagabond Stars: A World History of Yiddish Theater* (1977).

[Judith R. Baskin (2nd ed.)]

KRESTIN, LAZAR (1868–1938), Austrian painter. Born in Kovno, Krestin studied in Vienna and Munich. He specialized in landscape paintings, reflecting the style of the great French impressionists. His work also contains many portraits and genre scenes of East European Jewish life. His subjects were similar to those of Isidor *Kaufmann, but Krestin did not attain a similar level of success.

From 1904 he was a member of the Wiener Kuenstlerhaus, the association of Austrian artists founded in 1861.

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[Jihan Radjai-Ordoubadi (2nd ed.)]

KRETINGA (Ger. **Krottingen**), town in W. Lithuania, 13 mi. (20 km.) N.E. of Memel (Klaipeda). Jews first settled there during the 17th century. The Jewish leader in the Polish uprising of 1794, Berek *Joselewicz, was born and brought up in Kretinga. The community numbered 1,738 in 1847, 1,203 (35% of the total population) in 1897, approximately 1,000 in 1921, and approximately 800 in 1939. The Jews mainly derived their livelihood from commerce with East Prussia, the manufacture of amber jewelry, and the provision of services to vacationers at the nearby Baltic resort of Palanga (Ger. Polangen). During the period under independent Lithuania (1918–40) the community institutions included a *Tarbut school, a Bikkur Ḥolim society, a benevolent society, and a people's bank (with 233 members in 1932). The youth was organized in Zionist societies and the "Tiferet Baḥurim" society. The last rabbi, Benjamin Perski, was murdered along with the rest of the community after the town was occupied by the Germans on June 22, 1941.

[Dov Levin]

KREUZNACH (**Bad Kreuznach**), city in Germany. Some Jews lived in the city from the second half of the 13th century. Under unknown circumstances a Jew was martyred on March 31, 1283. Individual Jewish moneylenders are mentioned at the beginning of the 14th century; an organized community is known only from 1336. The Jews were victims of the *Black Death persecutions of 1348–49, but Jewish life revived not long after. In 1414 a local Jew, named Gottschalk of Kreuznach, was taken under the protection of Elector Rupert III of the Palatinate. In 1464 and 1466 two other Jews were granted privileges for a ten-year period of residence in Kreuznach. A special decree of 1525 regulated Jewish business activities, and permitted the consecration of a cemetery. In 1548 these regulations were renewed with additional provision for a schoolmaster. A Rabbi Liebman of Creutzonach is mentioned in 1554–55. Until 1739, when a synagogue was erected, services were held in a private home. The number of Jewish families in Kreuznach increased from 17 in 1715 to 22 in 1722. From the first decade of the 19th century the community developed steadily, from 286 persons in 1808 to 461 in 1840 and 601 in 1880. At the turn of the century there were 657 Jews in Kreuznach. In 1920 a sanatorium for children was established which had 600 beds in 1928. In 1933, Kreuznach's Jewish community of 713 persons had a synagogue, cemetery, four charitable and benevolent institutions, and three sociocultural societies. For over 40 years Rabbi Tawrogi (1857–1929) was spiritual head of the community and chief rabbi of the entire district. Two hundred Jews left almost immediately, and by May 1939 the number of Jews in Kreuznach had dwindled to 199 under the impact of Nazi persecution and the resulting organized emigration. Those remaining in 1942 were deported to the East. There is no record of Jews returning to Kreuznach after World War II; the cemetery was cared for by the city council.

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[Chasia Turtel]

KREYMBORG, ALFRED (1883–1966), U.S. poet and playwright. Kreymborg's verse collections include *Mushrooms* (1916), *Manhattan Men* (1929), *Prologue in Hell* (1930), *The Little World, 1914 and After* (1932), and *No More War* (1950). As editor of the experimental periodicals *Globe* and *Broom*, he stimulated young poets, but reached a wider public with *Lyric America* (1930) and *American Caravan* (1927–36), an anthology of experimental writing of which he was coeditor. In the late 1930s he wrote verse plays for radio, including *The Planets* (1938), a pacifist allegory. His other works include the novel *I'm No Hero* (1933).

KRICHEV, town in Mogilev district, Belarus. Jews are mentioned in 1494 as having leased the customs dues of Krichev. In 1667 the Jew Eliash Issakovich leased the town from its owner, Duke Radziwill, and contributed to the towns' economy. During the Voschilo persecutions (1743–44), rebels drove the Jews out of the town and their property was stolen and destroyed. In 1766 there were 424 poll-tax paying Jews in Krichev and the vicinity. The number of Jews rose to 1,255 in 1847, and 2,566 (39% of the total population) in 1897, but had decreased to 1,546 (24.5%) by 1926. In 1928 a Jewish kolkhoz with 18 families began to operate and many Jews also worked in the local cement factory. There was a Yiddish elementary school. The number of Jews in 1939 was 1,362 (8.5% of the total population). The Germans occupied Krichev on July 17, 1941, and most of the Jews fled from town. In October they were confined to a ghetto and taken to do forced labor. Two months later they were taken to the vicinity of the cement factory and killed there. The number of Jews among the 19,000 inhabitants registered in the 1959 census is unknown.

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[Yehuda Slutsky / Shmuel Spector (2nd ed.)]

KRIEGEL, ANNIE (1926–1995), French sociologist and historian of communism, socialism, and workers' movements. Kriegel was born in Paris. From 1944, she was a leader of the underground Jewish Communist Youth in the region of Grenoble and after the war she was an official of the French Communist Party active among Parisian intellectuals until her break with the party in 1956. She was professor and head of the department of sociology at the University of Paris X-Nanterre. She made her name with her writings on the history of communism, socialism, and workers' movements. She also studied the situation of Judaism and the Jews in the modern period, and published a number of pro-Zionist essays ideologically oriented to the right. She was an eminent figure in the French academic world and journalism and served as senior commentator for *Le Figaro*, as a columnist for the Jewish monthly *L'Arche,* and as editor of the journals *Communisme* and *Pardes*, and was a member of the editorial board of *Commentaire* and *Mouvement Social.* In 1981 she undertook the presidency of the central group for Zionist thinking in France, sponsored by the World Zionist Organization. Among her many works are *Les internationales ouvrières* (1964, 1983^3; *Les juifs et le monde moderne* (1977), *Israel est-il coupable?* (1982), *Le systeme communiste mondial* (1984), *Reflexion sur les questions juives* (1984), and an autobiography, *Ce que j'ai cru comprendre* (1991).

[Gideon Kouts (2nd ed.)]

KRIEGEL-VALRIMONT, MAURICE (1914–), French Communist politician. Born in Strasbourg, he became in World War II, under the assumed name of Valrimont, one of the three members of the Action Committee of the French Resistance. After the liberation of France, he was a member of the Communist Party's Central Committee. He sat in the National Assembly from 1944 to 1958, when he was expelled from the party as a revisionist. His wife, Annie Besse *Kriegel, at one time an active Communist, later wrote several books criticizing the evolution of Marxism.

KRIEGER, LEONARD (1918–1990), U.S. historian. Born in Newark, New Jersey, Krieger was educated at Rutgers and Yale University, where he did graduate research for the Office of Strategic Services on the German system of domination in Eastern Europe. He joined the Yale history department, and was appointed professor in 1961. The following year he moved to the University of Chicago. As a historian, his overall objective was to bring historical experience to light through the individual's own intellectual process and to explore how ideas – including those of the historian – have a role in shaping history. For Krieger, intellectual history meant connecting the dots between ideas and events rather than merely collating and recounting facts and historical episodes.

Krieger's main works are *The German Idea of Freedom: History of a Political Tradition* (1957) and *Politics of Discretion: Pufendorf and the Acceptance of Natural Law* (1965), which examined the problem of a "trimmer." He also wrote *Kings and Philosophers, 1689–1789* (1970), *The German Revolutions* (with F. Engels, 1970), *Ranke: The Meaning of History* (1977), and *Time's Reasons* (1989). He was co-author of *History* (1965), and co-editor of *Responsibility of Power* (1968).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: M. Brick (ed.), *Ideas and Events: Professing History* (1992).

[Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

KRIM, MATHILDE (1926–), U.S. medical researcher and philanthropist. Born in Italy to an Austrian Catholic mother and a Swiss Calvinist father, Mathilde Gallard was raised and educated in Geneva, Switzerland, and received her Ph.D. in biology from the University of Geneva in 1953 for her research in electron micrography. A convert to Judaism, in 1948 she married a Jewish medical student, David Danon, and together they worked on behalf of the *Irgun. After the couple moved to Israel with their daughter in 1953, Mathilde Danon became a research assistant at the Weizmann Institute in Reḥovot. She was soon promoted to junior scientist and then research associate, co-authoring several research papers, including "The Diagnosis of Sex Before Birth Using Cells from the Amniotic Fluid" (*Bulletin of the Research Council of Israel 5B*, 1955), which paved the way for the prenatal diagnostic technique known as amniocentesis. In 1958, after marrying a wealthy American, Arthur Krim, who was president of United Artists and also a prominent fundraiser for the Democratic Party, she moved to New York, where she became a researcher in virology, first at Cornell University Medical School and, after 1962, at Sloan-Kettering. Mathilde Krim's research and publications focused first on cancer-inducing agents, then on interferon, and finally on AIDS. From 1975 to 1985, she served as research scientist and director of the interferon laboratory at the Sloan-Kettering Institute for Cancer Research in New York. Thereafter, she held an adjunct position as associate research scientist in the Columbia University School of Public Health, but devoted most of her energy to AIDS-related fundraising, supervisory, and lobbying activities.

Beginning in the early 1980s, Mathilde Krim was extremely active in the fight against AIDS. In 1983, she founded the AIDS Medical Foundation (AMF), which merged in 1985 with another California-based group to form the American Foundation for AIDS Research (amFAR), the preeminent national nonprofit AIDS research and advocacy organization. Krim chaired amFAR's Board of Directors from its founding. She was also an active board member of the American Committee for the Weizmann Institute, the National Biomedical Research Foundation, the Committee of 100 for National Health Insurance, the Federation of Parents and Friends of Lesbians and Gays, and the African-American Institute.

In recognition of her research contributions and her highly successful lobbying and fundraising efforts over the years, Krim received 13 honorary degrees and numerous other honors and distinctions. She served on the President's Committee on Mental Retardation (1966–69), the congressional advisory commission on the war against cancer (1970–71), and the President's Commission for the Study of Ethical Problems in Medicine and Biomedical and Behavioral Research (1979–81). In August 2000, Mathilde Krim was awarded the Presidential Medal of Freedom, the highest civilian honor in the United States, in recognition of her "extraordinary compassion and commitment."

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[Harriet Pass Freidenreich (2nd ed.)]

KRIMCHAK LANGUAGE (or dialect). The spoken and written language of the Krimchaks, which is close to the Crimean-Tatar language or basically a variant of the latter. However, it is today considered an independent language belonging to the Kipchak group of Turkic languages.

Of the total population of approximately 2,000 Krimchaks today, several members of the older generation still know the Krimchak language.

A distinguishing feature of the language is a broad lexical stratum of Hebrew-Aramaic origin, e.g. *adoni* – sir, *hodesh* – month, *mazon* – food, *nes* – miracle.

In the Krimchak language, written in the Hebrew script, Hebrew words undergo phonetic adaption; the letter *ṣade* (צ) is pronounced "ch" (e.g., *rachon* – wish, will), the Hebrew *tav* without a *dagesh* (ת) as "s" as in Yiddish and Ashkenazi pronunciation (e.g., *akosev*, from *ha-Kotev*, the writer). Krimchak appears in two variations: the spoken language, and the literary language (the language of the Bible translation). Almost all printed works in Krimchak consist of religious literature translated from Hebrew published in the early 20th century in Russia and in Ereẓ Israel. A number of these translations contain Hebrew-Krimchak glossaries. Transcriptions of the rich Krimchak folklore has partially been published in scientific editions. The Krimchak language also had a connection to Yiddish as well as to Ladino, or Judeo-Spanish (for example, the word *pastel*, a kind of pastry, in all likelihood derives from Judeo-Spanish).

[Wolf Moskovitz / *The Shorter Jewish Encylopaedia in Russian*]

KRIMCHAKS (inhabitants of the *Crimea), Jewish ethnic and linguistic community. Prior to World War II Krimchaks lived mainly in the Crimean peninsula. Before the Russian invasion of 1783 they called themselves *Yehudi* (Jew) or *srel balalary* (sons of Israel). Only at a relatively late period – in the end of the 19th–beginning of the 20th century – did they begin to call themselves *Kirymchakh* from the Russian *Krymchak*. The name *Krimchaks* (the Crimean Jews) first appeared in official Russian sources in 1859. Evidently the term was coined to distinguish the Rabbanite Jews in the Crimea from the *Karaites who lived in the same region, and also from the *Ashkenazi Jews who had moved there. In the documents issued by the Crimean rulers before the peninsula was captured by Russia the members of the community were called *yehudiler*, i.e., the Jews, which was the name also given to the Karaites. Neither the documents of the European colonies in the Crimea nor the writing of European travelers visiting the region in the Middle Ages differentiated between the two. The Crimean Tatars called the Krimchaks colloquially *zuluflu chufutlar* (Jews with earlocks), while they called the Karaites *zulufsuz chufutlar* (Jews without earlocks). The Krimchak language is akin to the Crimean-Tatar languages.

Demography

In the 14th–16th centuries the Rabbanite Jews had their main center in the town of Kaffa, now Feodosiya. However, already by the end of the 18th century, the majority of Jews lived in Karasu-Bazar, now Belogorsk, which remained the main center of the Krimchaks up to the middle of the 1920s when the majority of them moved to Simferopol.

According to the census conducted by the Turks during the rule of Sultan Suleiman I (1520–66), 92 Jewish families and one single Jew lived in Kaffa, which according to the demographic notions of the time denoted a total of about 460 people. The total number of Krimchaks at the time was 500–700 people.

In 1847 the population of Rabbanite Jews in the Crimea numbered 2,837, the majority of them being Krimchaks. The census of 1897 listed 3,345 Krimchaks in the Crimea.

From the end of the 19th century Krimchaks who had previously lived in Karasu-Bazar began to move to the other towns in the Crimea. A small number might have moved to Ereẓ Israel in the late 19th century or early 20th century.

By 1912 the number of Krimchaks had reached 7,500; 2,487 of them lived in Karasu-Bazar, about the same number in Simferopol, 750 in Feodosiya, 500 in Kerch, 400 in Sevastopol, while the rest were scattered among 28 other towns of the Crimea and the Caucasus.

The Soviet census of 1926 showed a decrease in the number throughout the country: the total was now 6,383 Krimchaks among 42,000 Jews (without the Karaites). The number of Jews in Crimea rose in 1939 to 47,387 (8% of the total population) and it can be assumed that the number of the Krimchaks increased only slightly. The drop in the Krimchak population was due to the Civil War and the famine of 1921–22 which led to the death of 700 members of the community; about 200 members immigrated to Palestine, and 400 to the U.S. According to the 1926 census, 98.4 percent of the Krimchaks lived in towns, and 74.1 percent declared the Krimchak language their mother tongue. Simferopol was now their main center, where about 2,500 persons lived.

Prior to the German attack on the U.S.S.R. in 1941, the Krimchaks numbered about 9,000. The majority perished during the Nazi occupation of their regions in 1941–42. In 1948 in the whole Crimea only 700–750 Krimchaks could be found. After World War II not more than 1,000–1,500 remained alive throughout the Soviet Union. The Nazis destroyed about 75 percent of the community; about 1,000 lived in Palestine and in the U.S.

According to the Soviet census of 1959, only 189 of the 1,500 Krimchaks declared *Krimchak* their native tongue. In the 1970s–1980s the number of the Krimchaks, according to available data, dropped not less than 15 percent, decreasing to 900. However other estimates put their number at about 2,000 in 1982. Nevertheless the remnants of the community were rapidly assimilating among the surrounding Russian and Ukrainian population.

At the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th centuries, those Krimchaks in Ereẓ Israel adopted the Sephardi prayer rite. A Krimchak synagogue existed in Tel Aviv up to 1981. In Israel the Krimchak population intermingled with other Jewish settlers, and did not found a separate community. Those who immigrated to the U.S. assimilated with the Ashkenazi Jews and did not retain a separate identity.

Although already in the 13th century some of the Crimean Jews spoke Turkish, and the final crystallization of the Krimchaks into a separate ethnic and linguistic group occurred in the 14th–16th centuries, a number of historians – Simon *Dubnow included – thought that the Krimchak community descended from the ancient Jewry of the Crimea.

History

BOSPHORUS PERIOD. The appearance of the Jews in the Crimea was connected with the Greek colonization of the shores of the Black Sea in the second–first centuries B.C.E. although it is possible that they had reached the Crimea from the Caucasus through the Taman peninsula already at the time of the Assyrian and Babylonian invasions (seventh–sixth centuries B.C.E.).

The first mention of the Crimean Jews is from the 1st century C.E. They are found in documents concerning the liberation of the slaves by their Jewish owners and epitaphs discovered mainly in the southeastern part of the Crimea and on the Taman peninsula.

The documents concerning the slaves refer to the obligations imposed on them to visit regularly the synagogue under the supervision of the Jewish community. Thus, the Hellenized Jewish communities of the Bosphorus Kingdom, never having suffered from persecutions or limitations of any kind, grew – thanks to the conversion of the liberated slaves to Judaism. Moreover, the so-called *Sebomenoi*, non-Jews partially observing Jewish law, also tended to join the Jewish communities. A fourth-century inscription has been found on the construction of the synagogue in Panthikapei, now Kerch.

Little is known about the occupations of the Crimean Jews of the period. They must have dealt mostly in trades and crafts. The Jews also occupied state positions and served in the army, as evidenced by a first-century tombstone found in Taman. The tombstones of the third and fourth centuries preserve, besides Greek inscriptions, a Hebrew inscription, as well as Hebrew names and symbols.

In the second and third centuries, the Jews moved along the southern coast of the Crimea. In 300, the Jews are mentioned in Kherson, in southwestern Crimea, in connection with the rebellion of the local population protesting the introduction of Christianity.

In the late fourth century, *Jerome wrote about Jews in the Bosphorus Kingdom. Traditionally they included descendants of families who had been exiled by the Assyrians and the Babylonians as well as of imprisoned warriors of Bar Kokhba.

The invasion of Huns in the 370s destroyed the Bosphorus Kingdom, and another state rose on its ruins – the Alan-Hun, which ceased to exist in the early sixth century. Those events contributed to the further dehellenization of the Crimean Jews, evidenced by the tombstones of the period, usually without inscriptions of names but with Jewish symbols such as the seven-branched candelabrum.

At the beginning of the sixth century the territory was invaded by the Byzantine Empire, and Byzantine chroniclers mention Jews in the area. In the Taman region, Jewish tombstones of the sixth–eighth centuries have been excavated.

THE KHAZAR PERIOD. In the middle of the seventh century *Khazars occupied most of the Crimean territory.

The Jewish population might have played a decisive role in the process of establishing Judaism among the Khazars, who adopted Judaism as their religion in the late eighth–early ninth century.

The Jewish population also grew as a result of the influx of Jewish refugees coming mostly from the Byzantine Empire where Jews were periodically persecuted (843, 873–874, and 943). Judaism in the Crimea was greatly influenced by the Jewish refugees from the Byzantine Empire and by constant contacts with Byzantine Jewry. Under this influence the so-called Crimean Rite was elaborated. The most ancient of all known synagogues on Russian territory was built in 909 in Kaffa (Feodosiya). Several sources mention authors of religious hymns (**piyyutim*) in the region, such as Abraham ben Simḥah ha-Sefaradi (died 1027). Silk processing, fabric-dyeing, and trade were the main occupations of the Jews.

From the mid-ninth century the power of the Khazars in the Crimea weakened as a result of invasions and also because of renewed wars with the Byzantine Empire. In 940–41 the Kiev princedom at the instigation of the Byzantines, waged war against the Khazar state, resulting in the victory of the Khazars who recaptured the southern and southwestern parts of the Crimea up to Kherson. Attempts by the Byzantine Church to convert the Crimean Jews to Christianity failed.

The Khazar ruler Joseph wrote to *Ḥisdai ibn Shaprut, in approximately 960, stating that he ruled over many other areas besides the 12 settlements in the Crimea and in Taman. The most numerous Jewish communities existing at the time were in the towns of Samkush or Samkersh (Tmutarakan), Mangup (Doros), and Sudak. Large Jewish communities were known in the towns of Solkhat (presently Stariy Kryn), Kaffa (presently Feodosiya), and Kherson, where already in 861 Cyril, a preacher of Christianity, found a Jewish community of long standing including Khazars converted to Judaism. The decline of the Khazar kingdom began after Prince Svyatoslav defeated the Khazars in 965.

In 1096 the Byzantine emperor Alexei I ordered that all Jews should be driven from Kherson and their property confiscated. The exiles from Kherson must have settled in those regions of the Crimea where the Byzantines did not reach. However 60 to 70 years later the Jews were still living in the Byzantine part too as *Benjamin of Tudela in the 1160s reported on the existence of a community of Rabbanite Jews in the town of Sogdia (presently Sudak), which was a significant Crimean port. At that time the Jews of the Crimea comprised a provincial part of the Romaniot community, whose members spoke Greek.

Khazars observing Judaism must have assimilated among the Jewish population of the Crimea. Some of the immigrant Jews were Karaites. In approximately 1175, the traveler Pethahiah of Regensburg confirmed the existence of Jewish groups in the region of the Azov Sea, whose customs were identical to those of the Karaites. The Jews of the Crimea continued to maintain contact with the Jews of the Byzantine Empire and of Islamic countries.

THE TATAR PERIOD. In 1239 the steppe area of the Crimea was occupied by the Tatars and Mongols. Along the southern coast, the colonies of Genoa entrenched themselves. Thanks to the Genoese colonies, the Crimea became an important trading center attracting numerous Jewish emigrants from the eastern countries (Persia, Asia Minor, Egypt) as well as from the West (Italy, and later, Spain).

The economic flourishing of the Jewish communities contributed to their cultural development. *Se at Emet* ("Language of Truth"), a rationalistic commentary on the Pentateuch by Avraham Kirimi (i.e., of Crimea), written in 1315, is the first known original work by a Crimean Jew. Several sources point to the town of Solkhat (where Kirimi was born and lived), as an important center of Jewish rationalism at the time.

From the 14th century on, the Karaite communities were centered in Chufut-Kale and in Mangup. Most Rabbanite Jews settled in Solkhat, and later in Karasu-Bazar. However Kaffa was the largest Jewish community in the Crimea with both Rabbanite and Karaite Jews.

The Genoese authorities endeavored to calm the tensions between various ethnic and religious groups in their colonies related, in particular, to the forced conversions of the Jews to Christianity and the plunder of property. In 1449 they issued a decree for the Black Sea colonies, which included a confirmation of the rights of all peoples and groups including the Jews to observe their own religion. Later decrees from the Genoese ordered that the Jews be free from interference in their affairs, so that the Jews enjoyed freedom until the conquest of Kaffa by the Turkish troops in 1475.

Already prior to 1475, some Jews living in Kaffa had established contacts with the court of the Crimean Khans in Solkhat. One of these Jews, Khozya Kokos, a merchant, mediated in 1472–86 the negotiations between the Grand Duke of Moscow, Ivan III, and the Crimean Khan, Mengly-Girei, a part of the correspondence being written in Hebrew.

Centuries of Tatar rule resulted in a considerable Orientalization of the Crimean Jews: to a great extent they adopted the language, customs, and mores of the Moslem Tatars. Already in the 13th century some of the Crimean Jews spoke Turkish. The Bible was translated into Krimchak. The decline of trade led to the increased share of crafts and agriculture in the occupations of the Crimean Jews. Many Jews in Mangup and Chufut-Kale engaged in leather tanning, mountain vegetable gardening, and viticulture. The Jewish merchants obtained credentials from the ruler to protect themselves and their property from the encroachment of local feudal lords.

Throughout their history the Krimchaks absorbed Jews coming from other communities: the Byzantine Empire, Babylonia and the Khazar kingdom, Italy, and the Caucasus, as well as Ashkenazi Jews brought to the Crimea as prisoners of the Tatars, or those who fled from pogroms and later moved to the Crimea for economic reasons.

Prior to the conquest of the Crimea by Russia, all Rabbanite Jews in the Crimea merged with the Krimchak community, and it was only in the 19th–early 20th century that a separate Ashkenazi community emerged. The merger of the various communities resulted in a special prayer rite incorporating elements of different communities (*minhag Kaffa*). Various trends of Jewish mysticism made their impact on Krimchak tradition: *Ḥasidei Ashkenaz, the Kabbalah of the Zohar, Isaac *Luria, and especially, practical Kabbalah. Rabbi Moses ben Jacob, who went to the Crimea from Kiev, reconciled the different traditions and elaborated the single rite compiling the prayer book *Maḥzor Minhag Kaffa*; he also established rules for guiding community life.

THE RUSSIAN PERIOD. The successful struggle of Karaites to be exempted from the anti-Jewish laws of the Russian Empire and their move from the dilapidated town-fortresses to other regions of the Crimea for economic reasons led to a complete break in relations between the Karaites and the Krimchaks.

From 1866 to 1899 Ḥayyim Hezekiah *Medini (born in Jerusalem in 1832, and died in 1904) was chief rabbi of Karasu-Bazar. He raised the spiritual and cultural level of the Krimchaks, increasing the Sephardi influence. He introduced changes in the community's customs, and founded several schools, and a yeshivah.

In his monumental multi-volume *Sedei Hemed* Medini described at length Krimchak traditions and elaborated his own regulations (**takkanot*). In 1899 Medini returned to Ereẓ Israel to publish religious literature with translations into Krimchak.

Polygamy among the Krimchaks disappeared early in the 19th century. Girls married at an early age, and marriages between close relatives, such as an uncle and his niece, were permitted. Widows could never remarry because a husband and wife were considered inseparable also after death.

The everyday life of the Krimchaks was influenced by that of the Crimean Tatars. The patriarchal nature of the family was preserved up to the end of the 19th century. The practice of good deeds was regarded to be of great significance. They carried out charity extensively, caring for widows and orphans; no beggars were found in their midst, and the poor received firewood, flour, and candles at the community's expense.

In the 19th century the Krimchaks lived in small poor communities almost untouched by the European enlightenment. Most of them were craftsmen, and the minority was engaged in agriculture, gardening, and vine-growing, with only a few in trade.

In 1840 the Krimchaks founded an agricultural settlement, Rogatlikoy, with 140 members. However, in 1859 the Krimchak peasants received the status of middle-class citizens of the town of Karasu-Bazar, and their lands were transferred to Russian Christian settlers. Count A. Stroganov, governor-general of Novorossijsk, interceded for the Jews who wanted to acquire property in the Crimea and as a result the transfer decree failed to be ratified by the czarist government in 1861. The attitude of the Russian authorities to the "Talmudic Jews" in the Crimea was relatively favorable: the community enjoyed several privileges in the fields of taxation and conscription.

The Krimchaks created a rich folklore: collections of legends, songs, riddles, and proverbs, written by hand in Hebrew letters and passed from one generation to another. Samples of their folklore were published in the original with translations into Russian, Yiddish, and Hebrew. Literature in Krimchak consisted, apart from folklore, mainly in translations of religious texts.

Drawn into Russian culture from the beginning of the 20th century, some of the Krimchaks participated in revolutionary movements and a considerable part of them joined Zionist organizations.

After the Revolution of 1917, the Krimchaks were subject to the same social and demographic processes as all the other Jewish ethnic and linguistic groups. The considerable increase in their educational level led to a decline in everyday traditional life. Many Krimchaks who had received professional education as physicians, engineers, and teachers severed contacts with their native community.

The German occupation of Crimea started with the city of Perekop on October 30, 1941, and was finalized on November 16 with the conquering of Kerch. Sevastopol was under German siege until July 3, 1942. Although 50% of Crimean Jews succeeded in evacuating themselves, it can be assumed that the escape of the Krimchaks was less. *Einsatzgruppe D* established its headquarters in Simferopol on November 12, 1941, having previously asked for guidance from the Main Reichs' Security Office in Berlin on how to treat the Krimchaks. The reply was to include them like all Jews in the "Final Solution." That is, they should be destroyed with the rest of the Jewish population.

During the main period of killings by subunits of the *Einsatzgruppe D*, November 16 to December 15, 1941, they reported the murder of 17,645 Jews and 2,504 Krimchaks. These numbers are not final, because those in hiding were hunted and many were caught and executed. The Krimchaks who spoke the same language as the native Tatars tried to hide among them. But since the Tatars cooperated with the Germans, the Jews were denounced and turned over to the killers. Some 1,500 Krimchaks from Simferopol were executed on December 9 near the village of Mazanka. The Krimchaks of Feodosiya were among the 1,052 Jews who met their death on December 15, the 7,000 Jews of Kerch, including the Krimchaks, were murdered on December 1–3, 1941, and the Krimchaks of Karasu-Bazar met their death on November 15; the 90 Krimchaks of Bakhchisarai were killed on December 13, 1941, and about 1,052 Jews, among them Krimchaks, from Feodosiya were murdered on November 17, 1941, in gas vans. Krimchaks fought in the Soviet army and in partisan detachments. Many perished, including the poet Ya. I. Chapichev (1909–1945), who received the posthumous title of Hero of the Soviet Union.

After the war there were about 1,500 Krimchaks, with fewer than 500 living in Simferopol. At present, any remaining Krimchaks are being rapidly assimilated, and their culture inadequately preserved. In the post-war period, they were officially defined in the Soviet Union as a special nationality of mixed ethnic origin, mostly non-Jewish. In the 1990s most of them left for Israel.

[Michael Zand / Dan Kharuv / *The Shorter Jewish Encyclopaedia in Russian* / Shmuel Spector (2nd ed.)]

KRINITZI, AVRAHAM (1886–1969), Israeli public figure. Born in Grodno, Krinitzi began working as a carpenter from his youth. Krinitzi went to Ereẓ Israel in 1905, but returned to Russia to serve in the army. In 1908 he settled in Ereẓ Israel, establishing a furniture factory in Jaffa which was the first in the country to use modern machinery. Active in *yishuv* defense, he was arrested several times. He was one of the founders of the Naḥalat Binyamin quarter of Tel Aviv and headed a Tel Aviv watchmen's committee. During World War I, the Turkish authorities placed him in charge of fuel supplies for the railways in Palestine and Syria, and he later ran a factory for repairing cannons in Damascus. In 1947 Krinitzi was arrested by the Mandatory authorities together with other public figures, and imprisoned in Latrun.

From 1926 he headed Ramat Gan's local government, first as chairman of its local council and from 1950 as its mayor. In his term of office, Ramat Gan was transformed from its small beginnings, with 750 inhabitants, to a town of over 100,000 citizens. From the 1920s he was a leading member of the General Zionist (later the *Liberal) Party. His autobiography is entitled *Be-Kho'aḥ ha-Ma'aseh* (1961^4; *Going My Own Way*, 1963, tr. I.M. Lask).

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[Abraham Aharoni]

KRIPKE, SAUL AARON (1940–), U.S. philosopher interested in metaphysics, philosophy of language, epistemology, philosophy of mind, and philosophy of logic and mathematics. Kripke helped advance understanding in modal logic, intuitionistic logic, and set theory. Formerly the McCosh Professor of Philosophy at Princeton University (where he became professor emeritus) and professor of philosophy at CUNY Graduate Center, Kripke was the winner of the 2001 Schock Prize in Logic and Philosophy, and author of several seminal works, including *Naming and Necessity* (1980), based on a series of lectures he delivered at Princeton in 1970; a never-published but much circulated tome, based on lectures at Oxford in 1973, called *Reference and Existence*; and a controversial study called *Wittgenstein on Rules and Private Language*.

Kripke was born in Bay Shore, New York, one of three children of a rabbi, Myer Kripke, and Dorothy Kripke, a teacher and writer of Jewish educational books for children. The family moved to Omaha, Nebraska, where Rabbi Kripke stewarded the Beth El synagogue, the city's only Conservative congregation. After graduating from Omaha Central High School in 1958, Kripke demonstrated an early and precocious interest in philosophy – at 15, he developed a semantics for quantified modal logic that would debut in *The Journal of Symbolic Logic* during his freshman year at Harvard. There, Kripke shared a dormitory room with constitutional law scholar Laurence *Tribe and, briefly, with Theodore Kaczynski, who would gain notoriety as "The Unabomber." After receiving a B.A. in mathematics in 1962, Kripke was appointed to the Harvard Society of Fellows.

Kripke began his academic career lecturing at Princeton and Harvard before joining the philosophy department at Rockefeller University in New York City, where he remained as professor of philosophy until leaving for Princeton in 1977. He was the youngest person ever to be asked to present the John Locke lectures at Oxford. Kripke married and subsequently divorced Margaret Gilbert, sister of British historian Martin *Gilbert.

Kripke devoted his earliest professional attention to the problems of naming, identity and possible (or counterfactual) worlds, arguing that identity is the necessary function of a relationship between a thing and itself, and never between a thing and something else. This argument, which he presented at his Princeton lectures and collected in *Naming and Necessity*, caused great consternation when published, standing analytic philosophy, according to the London Review of Books, "on its ears" and, according to others, making "metaphysics respectable again." In *Reference and Existence*, which circulates in *Samizdat* form and whose own existence may not, per Kripke's instructions, be referenced or quoted without permission, he addressed issues related to fictional names and perceptions. Kripke's analysis of the later Wittgenstein, presented in *Wittgenstein on Rules and Private Language*: *An Elementary Exposition* (1982) proved no less controversial than his other works, not least for arguments purportedly at variance with positions on meaning held by the historical Wittgenstein.

[Sheldon Teitelbaum (2nd ed.)]

KRIPS, JOSEF (1902–1974), conductor. Born in Vienna, Krips studied at the Vienna Academy with E. Mandyczewski and Weingartner and made his opera debut in 1921. He joined the Vienna Volksoper as chorus master and répétiteur and in 1924 was appointed head of the opera department at Aussig/Elbe. From 1925 to 1926 he was at Dortmund and then at Karlsruhe as music director (1926–33). Between 1933 and 1938 he conducted at the Vienna State Opera, losing his position after the Nazi annexation of Austria. During the war his musical activities were suspended; from 1945, he conducted at the Salzburg Festival and in various European countries. A visit to England in 1947 to conduct Mozart operas at Covent Garden led to his appointment as chief conductor of the London Symphony Orchestra in 1950. Later he moved to the United States and was a guest conductor at the Chicago Lyric Opera from 1959, the Metropolitan from 1967, and the Deutsche Oper, Berlin, from 1970.

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[Israela Stein (2nd ed.)]

KRIS, ERNST (1900–1957), art historian and psychoanalyst. Kris was a junior keeper at the Kunsthistorisches Museum in his native Vienna when in 1924 he met *Freud, who sought his help with his collection of intaglios, and by 1927 had become an associate member of the Vienna Institute of Psychoanalysis. In 1933, at Freud's request, he gave up his medical studies and assumed the editorship of the journal *Imago*. In 1929 he wrote the standard work on the art of stone cutting. After the Austrian *Anschluss* in 1938, Kris and his wife Marianne (née Rie; 1900–1980), also a psychoanalyst, followed Freud to England. Shortly after the outbreak of World War II he organized a government department for the analysis of enemy broadcasts. He was sent to Canada and then to the United States to perform a similar task. In America his interest in psychoanalysis predominated over his profession of art history which, however, continued to influence his work.

Kris's first important analytic writing, "A Psychotic Sculptor of the Eighteenth Century" (1933), was the beginning of a series of papers applying analysis to art. He pioneered group research in psychoanalysis and made many contributions together with Heinz *Hartmann and Rudolph *Loewenstein. The work in which the three men collaborated, which included *Comments on the Formation of Psychic Structure* (1946) and *Some Psychoanalytic Comments on Culture and Personality* (1951), extended and integrated the newer developments of psychoanalytic theory. In 1950 Kris formulated some of the ideas underlying the interdisciplinary child study project at Yale University in which he participated under the aegis of Milton Senn.

In 1952 he collected his papers in *Psychoanalytic Explorations in Art*. In these essays he stressed the contribution of the study of the creative process to psychoanalytic psychology, to communication, and to the understanding of the ego development of the child.

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[Louis Miller]

KRISPIN (Krespin), JOSHUA ABRAHAM (d. 1855), rabbi of Smyrna. Krispin was the author of *Avraham ba-Maḥazeh* (1869), sermons and eulogies delivered between 1793 and 1851; *Va-Yeshev Avraham* (1893), responsa, and novellae on tractates of the Talmud in alphabetical order. This was published by his son ISAAC who included it in his own *Shemo Yiẓḥak*, consisting of 27 sermons and eulogies. Another son, AARON, was the author of *Beit Aharon* (1863) on the Shulḥan ʿArukh, *Oraḥ Ḥayyim, Yoreh De'ah* and *Even ha-ʿEzer,* arranged in alphabetical order, and on the writing of names in bills of divorce.

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[Simon Marcus]

KRISS, GRIGORI (1940–), Soviet fencer, winner of four Olympic medals. Born in Kiev, Kriss represented the Soviet Union at three Olympics: At the Tokyo Games in 1964 he won the gold in Team Epée and finished fourth in individual epée; in Mexico City in 1968 he won the silver in Individual Epée, losing to Gyozo Kulcsar of Hungary, and silver in team competition; and he won a bronze in Team Epée in Munich in 1972. Kriss also won the silver medal in 1967 and the gold medal in 1971 in the individual epée at the World Championships, and bronze in 1965, silver in 1966, gold in 1967 and 1969, and silver in 1971 in Team Epée at those World Championships. He subsequently coached the Ukrainian Olympic fencing team, which won four gold medals at the 1996 Atlanta Olympics.

[Elli Wohlgelernter (2nd ed.)]

KRISTALLNACHT (Ger. "Night of the Broken Glass"), known in Germany and elsewhere as the November pogroms. Nazi anti-Jewish pogroms throughout the country committed on November 9–10, 1938. The events of the November pogroms were ostensibly provoked by the assassination of Ernst vom Rath, third secretary of the German embassy in Paris, by Herschel *Grynszpan, the son of Polish-Jewish parents living in Germany until their deportation to the Polish-German frontier in Zbaszyn in October 1938. Grynszpan received a postcard from his distraught sister and wanted revenge. On November 7 he went to German embassy in Paris, where he shot vom Rath, who died in the afternoon of November 9. In the meantime, attempts were made to persuade the British government to use its influence with the German government to suspend apparently imminent measures of retaliation against German Jewry. Thus, amid the Germans' deliberately engineered atmosphere of tension, widespread attacks on Jews, Jewish-owned property, and synagogues were made throughout Germany and Austria, which had been part of the Reich since March 1938, on the night of November 9–10.

Just before midnight on November 9, Gestapo Chief Heinrich Mueller sent a telegram to all police units telling them that "in shortest order, actions against Jews and especially their synagogues will take place in all Germany. These are not to be interfered with." Rather, the police were to arrest the victims. Fire companies stood by synagogues in flames with explicit instructions to let the buildings burn. They were to intervene only if a fire threatened adjacent Aryan properties. Thus, synagogues that were part of larger structures were spared in order not to damage those structures.

Within 48 hours, more than 1,000 synagogues were burned, along with their Torah scrolls, Bibles, and prayer books. Around 7,500 Jewish business establishments were trashed and looted, 91 Jews were killed, and Jewish cemeteries, hospitals, schools, and homes were destroyed. Often, the attackers were not strangers but neighbors. Around 30,000 Jewish men age 16–60 were arrested. To accommodate so many new prisoners, the concentration camps of *Dachau, *Buchenwald, and *Sachsenhausen were expanded and now contained a majority of Jews, often for the first time.

When the fury subsided, the pogrom was given a fancy name: *Kristallnacht* – crystal night, or night of broken glass. It came to stand for the final shattering of Jewish existence in Germany. In the aftermath of *Kristallnacht*, the regime made sure that Jews could no longer survive in the country.

The cost of the broken glass alone came to 5 million marks, the equivalent of well over $2 million. Any compensation claims paid to Jews by insurance companies were confiscated by the Reich. The rubble of ruined synagogues had to be cleared by the Jewish community. Jews of German nationality, unlike Jewish-owned corporations from abroad, could not file for damages. A fine of one billion Reichmarks ($400 million) was imposed collectively on the Jewish community. After assessing the fine, Goering, who had assumed control in the aftermath from Goebbels, said: "I would not like to be a Jew in Germany." Harsher decrees followed immediately thereafter.

On November 15, Jews were barred from schools. Two weeks later, local authorities were given the right to impose a curfew, and by December Jews were denied access to most public places. All remaining Jewish businesses were "Aryanized."

The November pogrom shattered all Jewish illusions. Life in the Reich was no longer possible. There was another wave of suicides. Most tried desperately to leave. It shattered some German illusions as well. Violence thereafter in Germany would be planned and executed with precision and aforethought.

The events had occurred in public and thus the world could see what had happened. The U.S. recalled its ambassador in protest, but diplomatic ties were not broken.

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[Lionel Kochan / Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

KRISTELLER, PAUL OSKAR (1905–1999), scholar of Renaissance thought. Kristeller was born in Berlin and received his Ph.D. from the University of Heidelberg (1928). In 1934 he left Germany for Italy, where he taught in Florence and Pisa. When the antisemitic laws were passed, Kristeller fled to the U.S., and taught at Columbia (from 1939; professor, 1956–76). He served as president of the Renaissance Society of America and of the Medieval Academy of America. After he retired from teaching, he continued his scholarly endeavors as Columbia University's F.J.E. Woodbridge Professor of Philosophy Emeritus.

Regarded by many as the foremost authority on Renaissance thought and philosophy, Kristeller did his major work in the study and interpretation of Italian humanistic thought of the Renaissance, and in locating and cataloging the available published and manuscript sources of the period. He played an important role in encouraging and directing basic research into Renaissance thought. His own studies have been of great significance in reinterpreting the thinkers and movements of the time. His bibliographical work on the source materials is invaluable. On Jewish subjects, Kristeller wrote on *Steinschneider, on *Pico della Mirandola's Jewish interests, and was concerned with questions about Judah *Abrabanel.

In 1984, at age 78, he was named a MacArthur Fellow – the second oldest recipient of the award at that time. In 1989, he received the American Historical Association's Award for Scholarly Distinction. In 1995, Columbia commended his lifelong scholarly achievements with the Nicholas Murray Butler Cold Medal, which is given every five years to an individual who has made a distinguished contribution in philosophy or education.

Among Kristeller's important publications are *The Philosophy of Marsilio Ficino* (1943), *Studies in Renaissance Thought and Letters* (1956), *Latin Manuscript Books before 1600* (1960), *Renaissance Thought* (2 vols., 1961–65), *Iter Italicum, A Finding List of Uncatalogued or Incompletely Catalogued Humanistic Manuscripts of the Renaissance in Italian and other Libraries* (2 vols., 1965–67), *History: The Last Things before the Last* (with S. Kracauer, 1969), *Medieval Aspects of Renaissance Learning* (1974), *Renaissance Thought and Its Sources* (1979), *Renaissance Thought and the Arts* (1990), and *Greek Philosophers of the Hellenistic Age* (1993).

[Richard H. Popkin / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

KRISTELLER, SAMUEL (1820–1900), obstetrician and gynecologist. Kristeller, who was born in Posen, served as medical director of the obstetrical and gynecological departments in the Charité Hospital, Berlin. His main contribution to obstetrics was the introduction of a method to hasten and ease the ejection of the placenta after birth by special located pressure on the abdomen. This technique, called "Kristeller's method," is still used. He also described a new method of grafting mucous membrane.

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[Suessmann Muntner]

KRISTIANPOLLER, family of Polish rabbis. The first of the family to adopt this name was MEIR BEN ẒEVI HIRSH (1740–1815) after he became rabbi of Kristianpol in East Galicia. He studied under his father, who was rabbi of Bialy-Kamien near Brody and later *av bet din* in Lemberg, and subsequently under Samuel ha-Levi *Horowitz of Nikolsburg. The author of *Yad ha-Me'ir* (Warsaw, 1874), novellae on various talmudic tractates, he engaged in halakhic correspondence with the rabbis of his time and R. Ezekiel Landau praised him highly. Ephraim Zalman *Margolioth wrote a lengthy eulogy on him at the end of his work *Beit Efrayim*. He was also eulogized by R. Ẓevi Hirsch *Horowitz of Frankfurt in his *Laḥmei Todah*. He served as rabbi of Brody from 1785 until his death. His son JEHIEL MICHAEL (d. 1863) acted as rabbi of Brody in 1831, but his appointment was not officially recognized by the Austrian government until 1846 because he did not possess the required educational standard. Jehiel Michael was admired in his community, but his relatively liberal rabbinical policy made him the object of sharp attacks from many quarters, especially from R. Solomon *Kluger. On his death Jehiel Michael was succeeded as rabbi of Brody by his son MEIR (1816–1886). Meir's grandson, ALEXANDER (1884–1942), was rabbi of Linz, Austria, and later, 1932–38, professor at the Israelitisch-theologische Lehranstalt, Vienna. He was the editor of *Traum und Traumdeutung im Talmud* (*Monumenta Talmudica* 4, 2 (1922) and *Die hebraeische Publizistik in Wien* (1930). He was deported to the Minsk ghetto in 1942 and died there.

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[Itzhak Alfassi]

KRISTOL, IRVING (1920–), founder of neoconservatism. A gifted polemicist and savvy intellectual operator, Kristol exemplifies the intellectual odyssey from radicalism to liberalism to neoconservatism that took place among a number of New York Jewish intellectuals in the 20th century. As the husband of Gertrude *Himmelfarb, the historian who focused on Victorian morality, and the father of William *Kristol, a prominent second-generation neoconservative and editor of the *Weekly Standard*, he created the milieu in which the neoconservative movement has flourished.

Kristol grew up on New York's Lower East Side. He attended the City College of New York, where he devoted more energy to radical politics than his coursework. Kristol earned his B.A. in 1940 and went on to serve as a staff sergeant in the armored infantry in Europe in World War II.

Kristol shed his belief in radicalism during the war and in 1947 he began to work for a new magazine founded by the American Jewish Committee called *Commentary.* From 1953 to 1958 Kristol lived in London to co-edit the monthly *Encounter*, which was sponsored by the Congress for Cultural Freedom. From 1961 to 1969 he served as executive vice president of Basic Books before becoming a professor of social thought at the New York University Graduate School of Business.

In 1965, disconcerted by the renewed prominence of radical ideas in the United States, Kristol and his childhood friend Daniel *Bell launched a small quarterly called *The Public Interest,* a moderately liberal journal, and focused on social science. But as the Vietnam War further radicalized debates and black radicals attacked Israel's right to exist, Kristol kept moving to the right and by 1972 raised eyebrows in New York's intellectual community by voting for Richard Nixon. The socialist Michael Harrington dubbed Kristol and others "neoconservatives" – a term of opprobrium that Kristol soon embraced.

Neoconservatives such as Kristol did not oppose the welfare state, as did traditional conservatives, but believed that radicals were attempting to expand it into an American version of a socialist state. Kristol was an important advocate of the implementation of supply-side economic policy during the Reagan administration.

In the 1990s Kristol's unwavering support for Israel and concern about morality in the United States itself prompted him to espouse an alliance with Protestant evangelical leaders such as the Reverend Pat Robertson. Kristol and other neoconservatives believed that traditional Jewish apprehensions about evangelicals were grossly exaggerated. In their view, the true threat to the United States and Israel came from American liberals who were equivocal about using U.S. military power and overly eager to reach peace agreements with the Palestinians. Kristol sees the United States as imperiled by liberal impulses and in 1995 defended fundamentalists by noting that "their motivation has been primarily defensive – a reaction against the popular counter-culture, against the doctrinaire secularism of the Supreme Court, and against a government that taxes them heavily while removing all traces of morality and religion from public education…."

With the cessation of the *Public Interest* in 2005, Kristol largely retired from the intellectual battles that he fought for decades. But now that a new generation led by his son William is expanding the neoconservative crusade, Kristol's influence will likely remain undiminished.

[Jacob Heilbrunn (2nd ed.)]

KRISTOL, WILLIAM (1952–), U.S. lobbyist. Kristol, the son of Irving *Kristol and Gertrude *Himmelfarb, was the leader of a new neoconservative generation that focused its efforts on foreign policy. As the editor of the *Weekly Standard* and a commentator for Fox News, Kristol was a shrewd political operative who wielded considerable influence in the Republican Party. Kristol ensured that neoconservatism, whose demise had been predicted after the Soviet Union collapsed, remained a potent intellectual and political force. Where the older generation of neoconservatives focused on writing essays and books, Kristol was the first neoconservative media star.

Kristol, who was born in New York, did not experience the political conversion of his elders from liberalism to neoconservatism. He attended the Collegiate School for Boys in Manhattan before entering Harvard in 1970 where he studied under disciples of the German émigré philosopher Leo *Strauss, who emphasized the enduring wisdom of the ancient philosophers rather than what he viewed as facile doctrines of progress. At Harvard, Kristol drew on Strauss to denounce what he saw as left-wing relativism and passivity in the face of communist totalitarianism in Vietnam and elsewhere. Kristol went on to earn a Ph.D. in political science in 1979 at Harvard.

Upon graduation, Kristol taught at the University of Pennsylvania and Harvard's Kennedy School of Government, but his true love was politics. In 1972, he had organized the Harvard-Radcliffe Students for Senator Henry "Scoop" Jackson's abortive run for the presidency and in 1985 he served as chief of staff to Education Secretary William J. Bennett in the Reagan administration.

Kristol first came to public prominence when he served as vice president Dan Quayle's chief of staff in the first Bush administration and became known as "Quayle's Brain." Never himself a candidate for political office, Kristol was following the Straussian precept of serving as an intellectual advisor to the prince.

Kristol solidified his political base in 1995 when he met with the media mogul Rupert Murdoch, whose holdings include Fox Networks, and persuaded him to fund a magazine called the *Weekly Standard*. The magazine did not hit its stride until it focused on foreign policy. The shift toward foreign affairs began when Kristol and prominent neoconservative Robert Kagan insisted in a controversial 1997 *Foreign Affairs* essay upon a return to Ronald Reagan's aggressive foreign policy in order to achieve a U.S. "benevolent hegemony." It was a theme that would resound in the *Weekly Standard*, which viewed itself as the keeper of the Reagan flame. At the same time, Kristol and Kagan founded the Project for a New American Century (PNAC), which served as the braintrust for George W. Bush's crusading foreign policy doctrine.

Though Kristol had backed Senator John McCain during the 2000 GOP primary, he supported Bush wholeheartedly after the September 11 terrorist attacks. *The Weekly Standard* became the leading neoconservative voice explicitly endorsing the creation of an American empire. In essence, Bush, who had entered office as a cautious realist who shunned nation-building, seemed to espouse this neoconservative view as he launched the war in Iraq.

Whatever the outcome of the war, Kristol's will remain a leading voice in Republican debates about domestic and foreign affairs in coming decades. More than any other neoconservative, he has succeeded in wedding ideas to actual policies and aggressively promoting them in articles and on television.

[Jacob Heilbrunn (2nd ed.)]

KRIVOI-ROG, city in Dnepropetrovsk district, Ukraine. Jews settled there after the status of Krivoi-Rog was changed in 1860 from a village to a town. In the 1870s fine iron ores were found, and by 1900, 79 mines were operative. An iron foundry was built, the largest in Russia, and beside metallurgical industries, there also developed food and other factories. All these attracted many Jews, and they numbered 2,672 persons (17.9% of the population) in the town in 1897. The city was included in the Yekaterinoslav gubernia (region) which was also an important area of Jewish agricultural settlements. There were pogroms in October 1883 and on October 26, 1905, when four Jews lost their lives. By 1889 there was a synagogue, a *talmud torah*, and a school for girls, and in 1910, five Jewish public schools and four private. With the establishment of the Soviet regime, the community institutions were liquidated and Jewish communal life suppressed. In 1926 the Jewish population numbered 5,730 (18.3% of the population), doubling by 1939 to 12,745 (197,546 total population). Again in the 1920s the area served as one of the main regions of Jewish agricultural settlements. In 1929 beside the eight old Jewish colonies, there were 78 new settlements with a population of 28,000 persons and 21 Yiddish schools with 800 pupils. In 1924 there were 350 Jewish artisans, some of whom were organized in cooperatives, such as shoemakers, carpenters, bakers, and others. In the second half of the 1930s many Jews were absorbed as workers and clerks in the city industries. In the 1920s a Yiddish school existed but owing to negligence it was apparently closed. It was opened again in 1933 as a seven-year school, later to become a ten-year high school. In 1935 there were 220 pupils, 75 of them from the farms in the county. The Germans occupied Krivoi-Rog on August 14, 1941; many Jews escaped or were evacuated before then. The Jews were ordered to give up all their valuables and to pay a heavy ransom. At the end of August *Einsatzkommando* 6 killed 105 Jews. In the first 21 days of September another 86 were killed by the same unit. On October 14 about 4,000 Jews and 800 Soviet prisoners of war were gathered, taken to mine number 6, and murdered there, while infants were thrown alive into the mine. This was done by a unit from the 1st SS Infantry Brigade. According to official Soviet sources, 6,419 civilians were murdered. Krivoi-Rog was liberated on February 22–24, 1944. Many Jews returned to the city. The synagogue was closed in 1959. In 1970 the Jewish population was estimated at about 15,000. Most left in the 1990s but Jewish life revived.

[Yehuda Slutsky / Shmuel Spector (2nd ed.)]

KRIVOYE OZERO, in Odessa district, Ukraine. Only nine Jews were found there in 1765, but a Jewish community was established during the first half of the 19th century that numbered 1,116 in 1847 and 5,478 (70% of the total population) in 1897. At this time most of the stores in the town belonged to Jews, and the majority of artisans were also Jewish. Two Jewish colonies were in the vicinity. The Jews of Krivoye Ozero suffered severely in pogroms during the Civil War. On May 24, 1919, the area was attacked by a band of Ukrainians, who killed 300 Jews within several hours. In the same year, the soldiers of the Volunteer Army of General *Denikin struck twice, the first time killing 280 Jews and the second (end of December 1919) a few hundred more. The townlet was then abandoned by the majority of its inhabitants, who returned after the Soviets took the town in 1920. In 1926, there were 3,917 Jews (c. 94% of the population), and in the late 1930s dropped to 1,447. Many Jews worked in cooperatives and in a butter factory. There was a Yiddish school with 300 pupils, and a library with a large Yiddish collection. Instead of the colonies, a Jewish kolkhoz with 180 members operated until World War II. The Germans entered the town on September 2, 1941, and three days later 52 Jews were murdered. After the town was included in Romanian Transnistria, some hundreds of Jews were brought from Bukovina. In December they were confined within a ghetto; 184 Jews were killed in October, and 228 local Jews were murdered in January 1942. In late 1943 there were still 624 Jews in Krivoye-Ozero who probably remained alive until the liberation on March 29, 1944.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: M. Maidanik, in: *Reshumot*, 3 (1923), 264–310; PK *Romanyah*, 1 (1969), 507–8.

[Yehuda Slutsky / Shmuel Spector (2nd ed.)]

KROCH, JACOB LEIB BEN SHEMAIAH (1819–1898), talmudic scholar descended from a distinguished Prague family whose name was Korch. Kroch was born in Rawicz in Prussia (now Poland). In his youth he studied at the local yeshivah under Aaron Joshua Elijah b. Solomon who had been previously rabbi of Glogau and was rabbi of Rawicz from 1814 to 1846. At the age of 15, Kroch proceeded to the yeshivah of Jacob Judah *Falk in Dyernfurth. In 1837 Falk sent him to Akiva *Eger in Posen. The latter was exceptionally friendly to him and on his advice Kroch married Falk's elder daughter. While in his father-in-law's house, Kroch devoted all his time to study and continued to do so even after the latter moved to Breslau, although he used to spend an hour a day on business. In his studies Kroch specialized in particular on the subject of the conflict between *ḥazakah* ("presumption") and *rov* ("following the majority"). Later he went with his son Shemaiah, who had prospered in business, to Leipzig where he died. He was buried in Berlin.

Kroch published nothing during his lifetime. The mass of writing which he left behind was handed by his grandsons to R. Phinehas Jacob Kohn who managed to publish 11 volumes under the title *Ḥazakah Rabbah* (1927–61). The last volume (1963) as well as three volumes of the *Halakhah Rabbah* (1964–67) were published in Jerusalem by A. Krauss. The *Ḥazakah Rabbah* comprises no less than 1,170 *halakhot* on topics of *ḥazakah* and *rov* in the order of the Shulḥan Arukh. Two hundred and sixty principles of *ḥazakah* as well as other talmudic subjects were published in the *Halakhah Rabbah*. The whole series is amazing for its remarkable erudition as well as for its profundity.

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[Adonijahu Krauss]

KROCHMAL, ABRAHAM (d. 1888), Galician-born scholar and writer. Very little is known of Krochmal's life. His birthdate is put between 1818 and 1823 and his birthplace identified as Brody or Zolkiew. He studied Jewish and rabbinic subjects with his father Nachman *Krochmal, with Solomon *Kluger of Brody, and with Ẓevi Hirsch *Chajes in Zolkiew and received a general education as well. He led a rather unsettled life, living precariously in Lemberg, Brody, Odessa, and finally in Frankfurt on the Main. In Galicia and Odessa he moved in Haskalah circles and was friendly with Peretz *Smolenskin and Moses Leib *Lilienblum.

Krochmal's scholarly interests encompassed Bible, Talmud, and philosophy. He regularly contributed to **He-Ḥalutz, Ha-Meliẓ, Ha-Maggid*, and other Hebrew periodicals; his articles are collected in *Aguddat Ma'amarim* (1885). His *Da'at Elohim ba-Areẓ* (1863) is a philosophy of history showing the influence of his father's writings and of the German idealistic philosophy of the 19th century; *Iyyun Tefillah* (1885) is a historical study on the God-man relationship; *Yerushalayim ha-Benuyah* (1867) contains interpretations of sayings of the Jerusalem Talmud; his *Ha-Ketav ve-ha-Mikhtav* (1873) is a collection of textual conjectures on the Bible, with a German translation; and *Theologie der Zukunft* (1872) is a critical-philosophical tractate on the justification of religious consciousness. Krochmal was a radical and rather unsystematic thinker. Strongly influenced by Spinoza, to whom he devoted his *Even ha-Roshah* (1871), by Kant, and, above all by his father, he saw in Judaism an ethico-cultural idea which had undergone a long historical development. The loss of statehood and diasporal existence was an important element in this development; but fundamental ethical and religious principles, such as the belief in one God, the love of one's neighbor, and the self-perfection of man, were preserved. Krochmal rejected the dogmatism of the medieval religious philosophers but recognized the sanctity of ritual and commandments as a means of moral education. At the same time he pleaded for reform. In his Bible and Talmud studies, too, he adopted a critical stance. He was the first to recognize Spinoza as the fountainhead of textual criticism of the Bible.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Klausner, Sifrut, 4 (1954), 78–103; Waxman, Literature, 3 (1960^2), 573ff.

[Getzel Kressel]

KROCHMAL, MENAHEM MENDEL BEN ABRAHAM (c. 1600–1661), chief rabbi of Moravia. A native of Cracow and pupil of Joel *Sirkes, in his youth he was already the leader of a circle of scholars which included Gershon *Ashkenazi (Uli), who later became his son-in-law and succeeded him as *Landesrabbiner,* and Menahem Mendel *Auerbach. From 1630 he attended the *Council of Four Lands and in 1636 became rabbi of Kromeriz (Kremsier). In 1646 he was in Cracow but became rabbi of Prostejov (Prossnitz) in the same year. Two years later he was elected rabbi of Mikulov (Nikolsburg), and *Landesrabbiner* of Moravia in 1650, an appointment he held until his death. Krochmal presided over several synods of Moravian Jewry and formulated the *Shai Takkanot* which regulated the organization of the Moravian communities until the 1848 revolution. His responsa *Ẓemaḥ Ẓedek* throw light on Jewish suffering during the Thirty Years' War (1618–1648), especially those dealing with **agunot* (nos. 42, 45, 57, 58, 59, 70, 78, 88, 101, 103, 106, 123, 127). Several responsa dealing with organizational problems in the communities (nos. 1, 2, 16, 18, 19, 24, 28, 34, 37, 109) reveal his independent attitude vis-à-vis plutocratic communal leadership and his sympathy with the poorer classes. A commentary on the Pentateuch, *Pi Ẓaddik* (Warsaw, 1884), is attributed to him. His son ARYEH JUDAH LOEB (d. 1684) became rabbi of Trebic (Trebitsch) at an early age in about 1660 and *Landesrabbiner* of Moravia in 1672. He was head of a large yeshivah in Mikulov. Aryeh had his father's responsa printed in Amsterdam in 1675 with his own additions.

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[Meir Lamed]

KROCHMAL, NACHMAN (**ReNaK**; 1785–1840), philosopher, historian, one of the founders of the "science of Judaism" (*Wissenschaft des Judentums), and a leader of the *Haskalah movement in Eastern Europe. Krochmal was born in the town of Brody, Galicia. His father Shalom Krochmalnik maintained contact with Haskalah circles in Germany, particularly with

M. *Mendelssohn and D. *Friedlaender, and Krochmal himself attracted the luminaries of the Haskalah – S.J. Rapoport, I. Erter, S. Bloch, H.M. Pineles, J.H. Schorr, M.H. Letteris, and Z.H. Chajes – to the town of Zolkiew in Galicia, where he spent most of his life. He returned to Brody after his wife's death in 1836 and later settled in Tarnopol, where he died after a long illness.

Krochmal acquired his extensive education completely on his own. He devoted himself largely to philosophy and history. His chief inspiration in Jewish thought came from *Maimonides and Abraham *Ibn Ezra, and in general philosophy from Kant, Schelling, and Hegel. His interest in philosophy and history, however, was subservient to the central preoccupation of Krochmal's life, namely, the understanding of Judaism in its historical manifestation. This was summed up in his Hebrew *Moreh Nevukhei ha-Zeman* ("Guide of the Perplexed of the Time"), which was edited by L. Zunz and published posthumously in 1851 (critical edition by S. Rawidowicz, 1924; revised edition, 1961). Krochmal believed that his chief contribution should be made through teaching and discussion. Through verbal communication he exerted a decisive influence on his associates, and it was only at the insistence of his friends that he set down his views in writing.

Philosophy

Krochmal's lifework, *Moreh Nevukhei ha-Zeman*, was only partially devoted to pure philosophic speculation. Consisting of 17 chapters, the work may be divided into four sections: chapters 1–7 deal with issues in philosophy of religion and philosophy of history; chapters 8–11 provide a summary of Jewish history; chapters 12–15 contain an analysis of Hebrew literature by means of the critical-historical method; and chapters 16–17 present the nucleus of Krochmal's philosophy, which was never fully developed. Despite the absence of a systematic philosophical presentation, the direction of Krochmal's thought is evident. He belonged to the school of idealist philosophers (Schelling, Hegel), who regarded philosophic speculation as the proper vehicle for the final understanding of the nature of reality. Following *Hegel, he defined reality in itself as *ha-Ruḥani ha-Muḥlat*, "the Absolute Spirit," which in his opinion, corresponded to the concept of God in religious tradition. Krochmal speaks of the Absolute Being as "a power equal to every latent and potential form within itself," and this being he identifies with God. This definition reflects the tendency of post-Kantian idealistic philosophy to identify the Absolute Being with total acting power, whose essential nature is pure, unqualified cognition. The transition from the Absolute Reality to the generated reality of finite things, which for Krochmal corresponds to the religious concept of the creation of the world out of nothing, is explained by him as an infinite process of God's self-confinement, which must be described as a voluntary contingent act. Krochmal's exposition reflects the kabbalistic notion that the world is created by divine self-confinement, and by identifying the "nothing" out of which the world was created with God, as did the kabbalists, Krochmal draws the conclusion that God created the world out of Himself.

In contrast to the major idealistic philosophers Schelling and Hegel, Krochmal was not content with accounting for the overall derivation of finite reality from the Absolute. He concentrated on determining the relationship of religion and philosophy in respect to their relationship to the Absolute Spirit. Krochmal based his religious philosophy on the premise that the Absolute Spirit is the exclusive subject of human knowledge. Religion by its very nature is knowledge, no less than philosophic knowledge. Therefore, the difference between philosophy and religion is not one of essence but merely of form or degree. Religious belief and philosophic understanding are different degrees of comprehending the Spirit. The first is the level of "ideas of incipient thought," or the understanding of reality by means of images, whereas the second is the level of the "ideas of mind and intellect," or the understanding of reality by means of concepts and ideas. Since the intellectual understanding is more general than that of images, philosophy imparts to religion (religious belief) a greater and more complete value. Krochmal assumed that in presenting philosophy as the higher means of understanding religious truth, he was continuing the view accepted by medieval philosophers, especially Maimonides, that the Torah encourages philosophic speculation, and contains within itself, at least potentially, philosophic truth. All religious faith is based upon the Spirit, and thus there is no essential difference between the various faiths. Nevertheless the biblical faith is unique in its purity and the universality of its imagery.

Philosophy of History

Krochmal's philosophy of history is based on the assumption that history, like all products of human civilization, depends upon its spiritual content. Each nation has its own spiritual principle which is the foundation of its existence, and its life and continuity is determined by the extent to which it directs itself toward that principle. In order to understand the internal, concrete structure of the history of nations, Krochmal turned to the evolutionary method of the philosophy of history of Vico and Herder, according to which the history of every nation can be divided into three periods: growth and development, vigor and enterprise, and decline and annihilation. The various factors – economic, intellectual, and cultural – determining the life of a nation must be analyzed in the light of these periods. However, Krochmal being an idealist, subjects these factors – without adequate clarification – to the metaphysical principle of the Spirit: "The substance of a nation lies not in its being a nation, but in the substance of the Spirit therein."

Krochmal attempted, by thorough historical analysis, to establish as an empirical fact that the history of the people of Israel has the same threefold structure as that of other peoples. The Jewish people differs from all other nations, whose existences are transitory, in being eternal. Krochmal explains that this eternity is caused by a special relation existing between the Jewish people and God, the Absolute Spirit, and that this is lacking in the case of other nations. This relation was at its strongest in the revelation on Mt. Sinai and in Israelite prophecy. In spite of its special character, Krochmal does not believe that the people of Israel transcend history; its eternity is assured by a continuous renewal of national life. With this concept of the earthly and metaphysical elements of Israel and the belief in the necessity of renewing the creative national forces following a period of spiritual stagnation, Krochmal became the forerunner of modern nationalist-Zionist philosophy of history.

Contribution to the "Science of Judaism"

Krochmal was one of the first scholars investigating Judaism to propose the method of historical investigation "for the purpose of recognizing our essence and our nature." With this he helped to lay the foundation of "the science of Judaism." While his method differed from that of the historical school represented by L. Zunz, A. *Geiger, and H. *Graetz, because he maintained that only philosophy can reveal the "ultimate purpose" of history, he also insisted that historical analysis must apply the evolutionary method in studying Judaism.

Halakhah

Krochmal's particular, and perhaps most important, contribution lies in his application of this method to the study of Hebrew literature. Especially noteworthy is his study of *halakhah* (*Moreh*, ch. 13) and *aggadah*. In his study of *halakhah* Krochmal had two basic aims: the interpretation of the Oral Law by establishing its origin in antiquity and the description of its development from its beginnings until its codification and publication by the sages of the Talmud. In reference to the antiquity of the Oral Law, Krochmal's position held that the fact that the Law was given to an entire nation required that its specific laws and customs be expounded only in a general way. The central theme of the evolution of *halakhah* is interpretation, namely, the systematic and logical development of the content of the Written Law. This approach determined Krochmal's position on the overall nature of the *halakhah*. Since only the fundamental laws were given verbally to Moses on Mt. Sinai, there can be no essential difference between the subsequent three phases of *halakhah*, which are the direct transmission of tradition from person to person, the deduction of new laws, and the formulation of ordinances, strictures, and customs (*takkanot, gezerot, minhagim*). But despite the unity of the *halakhah*, it is nonetheless possible to discern the stages of its development. Thus, Krochmal systematically studied the development of the *halakhah* from the *soferim*, who were chiefly concerned with interpreting the written law in response to religious questions, through the *shonei ha-halakhot*, who expanded the Oral Law by means of exegetical rules, to the final phase of the organization and editing of the *halakhah* by the late *tannaim*. While Krochmal owed much to various other scholars, he emerged as the mentor to later talmudic scholars, for example, Z.H. Chajes, A.H. *Weiss, and I. *Halevy.

Aggadah

Krochmal also applied the evolutionary method to his study of *aggadah*, although without the systematic approach of his study of *halakhah*. *Aggadah* grew out of the moral-didactic need to bring biblical ideas to the people. Its chief concern lies in the thought content of the Bible, but it does not attempt to interpret it conceptually. *Aggadah* is popular philosophy, and the parables that deal explicitly with God, the world, man, history, and Israel are its best exponents. The intellectual substructure of *aggadah*, not its stylistic exterior, reveals the essential ideas of Jewish philosophy, which, in turn, are nothing but the conceptual interpretation of the truths contained in the Torah. According to Krochmal, the development of Jewish thought from Philo to Mendelssohn is an integral process, a *philosophia perennis*, subdivided into various periods according to degree of conceptual purity.

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[Moshe Schwarcz]

KROCK, ARTHUR (1886–1974), U.S. journalist and newspaper editor. As a Washington columnist, Krock knew and reported on every president from William Howard Taft to Lyndon Johnson. Born in Glasgow, Kentucky, he first went to Washington in 1909 to report for the *Louisville Times* and the *Louisville Courier-Journal*. In 1915 he became editorial director of both newspapers and served as editor in chief of the former from 1919 to 1923. In 1918–19 his articles on the Versailles Peace Conference were widely syndicated, and he played an important role in persuading the conference to hold meetings in public. In 1927 Krock began a 40-year association with the *New York Times*, first as a member of its board of editors, then from 1932 to 1953 as its Washington correspondent, and from 1953 to 1967 as a Washington commentator. He wrote the column "In the Nation" for 32 years before he retired from the *New York Times* in 1966.

His memoirs, entitled *60 Years on the Firing Line*, were published in 1968. His early recollections, *Myself When Young: Growing Up in the 1890s*, came out in 1973. A keen observer of the national scene, he won two Pulitzer Prizes for outstanding reporting (1935, 1938), a special Pulitzer commendation (1951), and a special Pulitzer citation (1955). Regarded as one of the most influential American journalists of his time, Krock was awarded the Medal of Freedom by President Nixon in 1970, the highest civilian honor in the United States.

Other books by Krock include *In the Nation: 1932–1966* (1966); *Memoirs: Intimate Recollections of Twelve American Presidents from Theodore Roosevelt to Richard Nixon* (1970); and *The Consent of the Governed, and Other Deceits* (1971).

[Irving Rosenthal / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

KROJANKER, GUSTAV (1891–1945), German author and Zionist editor. Born in Berlin, Krojanker studied economics in the universities of Berlin and Munich. Under the direction of the economist Lujo Brentano he published his dissertation *Die Entwicklung des Koalitionsrechts in England* in 1914. He began his Zionist activity at the age of 18 among Jewish students, editing a collection of essays *Der zionistische Student* (1912) and their paper *Der juedische Wille* (1918–19). After serving in the German army in World War I he was active in the German Zionist movement as a writer, publisher, editor, and translator. Taking a liberal Zionist position, he participated in the controversial debate on the role of the Jews in German culture and literature by editing an important work titled *Juden in der deutschen Literatur* (1922, repr. 1926), including essays on the young generation of German-Jewish writers from Paul *Adler and Albert *Ehrenstein up to Franz *Kafka, Else *Lasker-Schüler and Arnold *Zweig. In 1920 he became the literary director of the Zionist publishing house Welt-Verlag, later also working for the *Juedischer Verlag and co-editing the papers *Der Jude*, *Juedische Rundschau*, and *Juedische Revue*. Krojanker studied Hebrew and began to publish essays on Hebrew literature, first in German and later in Hebrew. He also traveled to Poland to research the problems of East European Jewry. He was among the first to recognize the danger to the Jews and Zionism posed by the post-liberal nationalism, as he argued in his widely discussed essay "Zum Problem des neuen deutschen Nationalismus; eine zionistische Orientierung gegenueber den nationalistischen Stroemungen unserer Zeit" (1932). Krojanker settled in Palestine in 1932; was active in the Aliyah Ḥadashah Party, established by immigrants from Germany; and contributed essays on Hebrew literature to *Haaretz* (particularly on the works of Shemuel Yosef Agnon and Joseph Ḥayyim Brenner) and to the Hebrew newspaper of the Aliyah Ḥadashah *Ammudim*, which he also edited. At the same time he translated Hebrew literature into German (S. Ben Zion, *Die Bilu auf dem Wege* and *Die Bilu am Ziel*, 1935); collected and wrote an introduction to the speeches of Chaim Weizmann from 1901 to 1936, *Reden und Aufsaetze* (1937); and published a number of pamphlets in German and Hebrew on the question of *aliyah* from Germany, *Aliyah ve-Yeridah ba-Yahadut ha-Germanit* (1937), and *Ha'avarah, The Transfer* (1936; capital transfer of immigrants from Nazi Germany to Palestine).

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[Getzel Kressel / Andreas Kilcher (2nd ed.)]

KROMERIZ (Czech **Kroměříž**; Ger. **Kremsier**), town in central Moravia, Czech Republic. The Jewish community of Kromeriz was among the oldest in Europe. In 1322 the bishop of *Olomouc (Olmuetz) was permitted to allow one Jew to settle in the town, exempt from servitude to the royal chamber (*servi camerae regis). A community under the protection of the bishop grew up soon after; it remained under the protection of the successive bishops until 1848, and the synagogue and community house displayed the episcopal coat of arms, with a cross and cardinal's hat. In the 1340s a Jew sued a gentile before the town court. In 1546, the Jews moved to another part of the town because of conflicts with their neighbors. In 1642, during the Thirty Years' War, the community was destroyed by the Swedes, an event mourned in several contemporary *seliḥot*. Kromeriz absorbed many refugees from the *Chmielnicki massacres (1648) and eight families expelled from Vienna settled there under the bishop's protection (1670). In 1676, 27 Jewish families lived in the town. In 1689 Kromeriz was considered the most important and most affluent Moravian community after *Mikulov (Nikolsburg) and from then until 1697 it was the seat of the country rabbinate. However, during the 18th century the community became impoverished and many left. After protracted legal proceedings (begun in 1785) the community had to give up the site of its old cemetery in 1882; a new one had been opened in 1850. Following a *blood libel there was unrest in the town in 1889 and again in 1896. In 1910 a new synagogue was dedicated. In Kromeriz, under the *Familiants Law there were 106 families (546 persons) in 1829; 783 Jews lived there in 1880, 611 in 1900, and 390 in 1921. In 1930 the community numbered 382 (12% of the total population). After the Nazi occupation (1939) *sheḥitah* was forbidden. The Czech population paid little attention to the antisemitic laws promulgated in 1940. However, the Nazis attempted to blow up the synagogue; the community was deported in 1942, and the synagogue equipment sent to the Central Jewish Museum in Prague. After the Holocaust a small congregation was reestablished, affiliated to *Kyjov. A total of 268 Jews perished in the Holocaust.

The scholars Joseph Weiss and Emanuel *Baumgarten were natives of Kromeriz. Among rabbis who served there were Menahem Mendel *Krochmal (1636–42), Issachar Berush *Eskeles (1710–19), and the historian Adolf *Frankl-Gruen (1877–1911).

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[Meir Lamed]

KRONECKER, HUGO (1839–1914), Swiss physiologist, pioneer in the study of blood pressure. Born in Silesia, Kronecker was a pupil of the famous pathologist Ludwig Traube and the physicist Helmut Helmholtz. This influenced his approach to the field of physiology, in particular his work on reflex action and animal heat. In his studies of the cardiac muscle, Kronecker discovered the coordinating center of the heart and the importance of inorganic salts for the heartbeat. His experiments led him to the invention of appliances for blood transfusion, a perfusion cannula, the phrenograph, the frog-heart manometer, and other equipment. After his conversion to Christianity Kronecker was appointed professor of physiology at the University of Berne, Switzerland, in 1884. His dynamic personality and his keen powers of observation and dissertation justly gave him the reputation of one of the leading physiologists of his time. Among his publications were *Beitraege zur Anatomie und Physiologie* (1874) and *Haller Redivivus* (1902). From 1881 to 1884 he was editor of *Centralblatt fuer die medizinischen Wissenschaften*.

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[Suessmann Muntner]

KRONECKER, LEOPOLD (1823–1891), German mathematician. He was born in Liegnitz, brother of Hugo *Kronecker. Following the death of his uncle, a successful banker, Kronecker entered the business world. He prospered and was able to retire after eight years and devote the remainder of his life to the study of mathematics. In 1883 he was appointed professor at Berlin. Kronecker insisted that the concept of "continuity" was meaningless and mathematics can only discuss discrete quantities. He is reputed to have said "God made the integers, all the rest is the work of man." Despite his friendship with the famous mathematician K.T.W. Weierstrass, Kronecker attacked him for including the concept of irrationals in his development of analysis. He became imbued with enthusiasm for Christian theology and was converted to Christianity in the last year of his life. Kronecker's main contributions were in number theory, elliptic functions, and algebraic numbers. His theory of algebraic magnitudes made a fundamental contribution to the modern theory of commutative fields. Kronecker's entire work was edited by K. Hensel in five volumes (1895–1931).

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[Barry Spain]

KRONENBERG, wealthy banking family of Jewish origin in Warsaw. The founder SAMUEL LEIZER (d. 1825), who left Wyszograd for Warsaw when the latter was still under Prussian rule, was at first a successful money changer. In 1822 he founded a bank, managed by his widow after his death. While giving his son a traditional education, he also sent him to a Catholic school for his general education. His son LEOPOLD (Leibel, 1812–1878) was prominent in the assimilationist circle of the Warsaw community. An ambitious man, he sought power both in economic life and in politics. To this end, he first became connected with the Polish "Red" group which supported revolution to bring about the revival of Poland; later, with the intention of becoming reconciled with the Russian authorities, he turned to the moderate "White" group. Although he apostasized in 1846, he did not break off relations with Jewish society and continued to intercede on behalf of the Jews with the authorities, who regarded him as the perfect assimilationist. The scope of his manifold activities was extensive and he succeeded in gathering around him a wide circle of financiers, industrialists, merchants, scholars, and political and public figures, among whom Jews were prominent as his closest advisers. An astute merchant, he succeeded, by granting loans and developing the monopoly of the tobacco industry, in attracting the allegiance of both Jews and Poles, who considered his achievements as steps toward the independence of Poland. The Russian authorities also regarded him as one of their supporters, believing that his practical awareness would prevent him from becoming involved in revolution.

Kronenberg leased government factories and organized the distribution of their goods. He established sugar factories, and developed the glass industry, tube-rolling works, coal mines, and a shipping company. By means of a consortium of Jewish bankers and Polish aristocrats, in 1869 he defeated his rivals and won the concession to extend the existing railroad network between Warsaw and Vienna in the direction of Germany and of Russia. Chairman of the merchants' union and president of the stock exchange commission, in 1870 he participated in the founding of the Commercial Bank of Warsaw. In 1859 he played an active role in the Warsaw affair known as the "Jewish War," the expression of the struggle of antisemitic circles (through the channels of the newspaper *Gazeta Warszawska*) against the influence of assimilationist Jews on Polish culture and art. Kronenberg founded a rival newspaper, *Gazeta Polska*, and he invited the famous Polish author, Kraszewski, an antisemite, to become its editor. Although the new newspaper made no serious contribution to the improvement of the relations between Jews and Poles, it prejudiced the status of the rival antisemitic organ. As a result of his initiative and investments, the Higher School for Commerce was founded in Warsaw in 1875. According to his will, the institution was committed to admitting pupils without any distinction of religion. During his last years, Kronenberg was prominent as an exponent of positivism.

His eldest son STANISLAW (1846–1894) enlisted in the French army during the Franco-Prussian War (1870). He became president of the Commercial Bank and secured the official establishment of the Scientific Fund, the first institution of its kind in Poland. For a while, he published the weekly *Nowiny*, which showed little sympathy toward the Jews. Leopold's second son, Baron JULIUS (1849–1930), was a composer and a member of the Russian Senate, in which he represented the curia of Polish nobility. He liquidated his father's bank. A third son, WLADYSLAW (d. 1892), was an engineer and industrialist.

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[Moshe Landau]

KRONENBERGER, LOUIS (1904–1980), U.S. dramatic and literary critic and author. Kronenberger, who was born and educated in Cincinnati, Ohio, was a relative of Isaac Mayer *Wise, the founder of American Reform Judaism. He first worked in publishing in New York, joined the editorial staff of *Fortune* magazine in the mid-30s, and from 1938 to 1961 was drama critic of *Time* magazine. In 1953 he became professor of theater arts at Brandeis University, where he also served as librarian for a time. Kronenberger's books include *Marlborough's Duchess* (1958); a study of English stage comedy, *The Thread of Laughter* (1952); *The Republic of Letters* (1955); and critical essays on American society, notably *Company Manners* (1954) and *The Cart and the Horse* (1964). He also wrote the novels *The Grand Manner* (1929) and *A Month of Sundays* (1961). He compiled several prose and verse anthologies and edited a number of English classics as well as a series of plays, great letters, and masters of world literature. His best-known work is *Kings and Desperate Men* (1942), a study of life in 18th-century England. Kronenberger's reflections about his career can be found in his *No Whippings, No Gold Watches; The Saga of a Writer and His Jobs* (1970).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: S.J. Kunitz (ed.), *Twentieth Century Authors*, first supplement (1955), incl. bibl; *Contemporary Authors*, first revision (1967), incl. bibl.

[Milton Henry Hindus]

KRONER, RICHARD (1884–1974), German philosopher. He was professor at Dresden, Kiel, and Frankfurt universities. After Hitler's rise to power, he emigrated to the U.S., and became professor at the (Protestant) Union Theological Seminary in New York, and later at the theological school of Temple University. Kroner was editor of the philosophical quarterly *Logos* from 1910 to 1938. He revived interest in Hegel's philosophy, which was unknown and even scorned at the time. His book *Von Kant bis Hegel* (2 vols., 1921–24) was a brilliant analysis of German idealism, which in Kroner's opinion had reached its peak in Hegel. Kroner was the initiator and chairman of the First International Hegel Congress at The Hague in 1931. Kroner's *Die Selbstverwirklichung des Geistes* (1928; *Culture and Faith*, 1951) attempted to explain the structure of human culture in one comprehensive system. He also wrote *The Primacy of Faith* (1943), *How Do We Know God?* (1943), *Selbstbesinnung* (1958), and *Speculation and Revelation in the History of Philosophy,* 3 vols. (1956–61).

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[Samuel Hugo Bergman]

KRONER, THEODOR (1845–1923), German rabbi and teacher. Kroner, who was born in Dyhernfurth, was rabbi in Muenster (1869); director (1872) of the Jewish Teachers' Seminary at Muenster; *Landesrabbiner* of Saxony-Weimar (1883); rabbi of Erfurt; and rabbi of Stuttgart (1893). He was active in Jewish educational and welfare activities and founded the Verein israelitischer Kultusbeamten Mitteldeutschlands. His publications include *Geschichte der Juden in Erfurt* (1884); *Geschichte der Juden von Esra bis zur Jetztzeit* (1899); *Die Juden in Wuerttemberg* (1899); and *De Abrahami Bedaresii vita et operibus* (1868). He also edited several popular and pedagogical journals. On his 70th birthday, his colleagues published a *Festschrift* in his honor (1917).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Israelitisches Familienblatt*, 17:18 (May 6, 1915), 3.

[Jacob Hirsch Haberman]

KRONIK (Kornik, Karnik), MOSES BEN AKIVA (first half of 19th century), rabbi and author. He wrote *Tefillah ve-Todah* (Breslau, 1814), a collection of hymns and prayers for the Jewish community of Glogau, Lower Silesia, to commemorate the lifting of a siege on April 24, 1814. This was published both in Hebrew and in Meyer Neumark's German translation. Kronik's most important book is *Yemin Moshe* (Breslau, 1824), a homiletic work of 17 *she'arim* ("gates," chapters), each of which opens with a poem suggesting the themes to be treated. The themes, ethical and religious, include the love of God, *teshuvah* ("repentance"), and slander. In the concluding chapters Kronik deals with the problem of philosophic and scientific research and faith, holding that the results of such research must be compatible with faith. Moreover, he believed that everything discoverable by research can be found in the Torah. *Evel Yaḥid*, an elegy on the death of Abraham Tiktin, the rabbi of Glogau, appears in the appendix of the work.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: S. Wiener, *Kohelet Moshe*, 15 (1904), 600, no. 4889.

KRONISH, LEON (1917–1996), U.S. Reform rabbi and Zionist leader. Kronish was born in New York and received his B.A. from Brooklyn College in 1936. He studied under Mordecai *Kaplan at the Jewish Theological Seminary (1937–38) and then attended the Jewish Institute of Religion (JIR), where he was ordained by Stephen *Wise in 1942. HUC-JIR awarded him an honorary D.D. degree in 1967. He served as an associate rabbi at Huntington Jewish Center, Long Island, New York (1941–44) before moving to Miami Beach on a self-proclaimed mission to bring a Zionist and Jewish presence to "the American Negev." He realigned a 40-member storefront Conservative congregation, the Beth Sholom Center, with Reform Judaism, renamed it Temple Beth Sholom, and it grew into a leading center of Jewish worship and culture in the South, with a membership exceeding 1,200 families. Kronish actively campaigned to weaken discriminatory practices and change laws throughout south Florida that were antisemitic and racially biased. He also campaigned for the separation of church and state in Miami's public schools and challenged Miami Beach residents, nearly three-quarters Jewish, to adopt a policy of permitting the busing of African-American children from black neighborhoods to Miami Beach schools.

The *Six-Day War was a watershed for Kronish, who expounded his ideas in two articles: "*Yisrael Goralenu*"("Israel is Our Destiny," 1968) and "The Zionist Mitzvot" ("The [Ten] Zionist Commandments," 1977). Under his motto "Bring Israel to America and America to Israel," he became the personality most identified with the "Israelization" of Reform Judaism. Kronish was a founding member of the *Association of Reform Zionists of America (ARZA) in 1977 and was instrumental in creating permanent committees on Israel for the *Central Conference of American Rabbis – which he also chaired – and for the *Union of American Hebrew Congregations (UAHC). He advocated that individual congregations establish Israel committees and supported the launching of Reform kibbutzim. He called on Jews to visit Israel, to link with Israeli families, and respond politically when Israel is in need. He endorsed a policy that required entering rabbinical students to spend their first year in Israel and lobbied for the resolution that the CCAR would host conventions in Israel. In south Florida, Kronish led the effort for El Al to fly to Miami and for the Israeli government to open a consulate there. He initiated a national program for students to study in Israel for a semester and receive American educational credits. All during this time (1970–85), Kronish also served on the Board of Governors of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem.

Through leadership roles in the *Labor Zionist movement and the State of Israel Bonds Organization, Kronish forged close relationships with Israeli leaders Golda Meir, Abba Eban, and Yitzhak Rabin. He assisted in the founding of the Histadrut Foundation of the United States (1965), and served Israel Bonds as chairman of its rabbinic cabinet in the 1970s and national chairman in the early 1980s. In recognition of his fundraising, Kronish was awarded the Prime Minister's Anniversary Medal on the occasion of Israel's silver anniversary in 1973. Kronish Plaza in Miami Beach and the Leon Kronish Memorial Lecture sponsored by HUC-JIR in Jerusalem honor his myriad contributions.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: H.A. Green, *Gesher Vakesher, Bridges and Bonds: The Life of Leon Kronish* (1995).

[Bezalel Gordon (2nd ed.)]

KROOK (Gilead), DOROTHEA (1920–1989), English literary scholar. Krook was born in Riga, Latvia, but immigrated to South Africa with her parents in 1928. After graduating in English literature at Cape Town University, she attended Newnham College, Cambridge, and spent 14 years in Cambridge as a lecturer. Her most famous student was Sylvia Plath, the iconic American-born poet; Plath regarded Krook as one of her most significant role models. In 1960 Krook immigrated to Israel, where she taught at the Hebrew University and was appointed associate professor in 1963. In 1971, she was appointed full professor of English literature at Tel Aviv University. Krook is the author of *The Ordeal of Consciousness in Henry James* (1962), and she is regarded as an authority on the author. In 1969, she published The *Elements of Tragedy* (Hebrew ed. translated by A. Yavin, 1971), in which she portrays the Aristotelian vision of tragedy which she traces in the works of Ibsen and Chekhov, and it is particularly for this work that she was awarded the Israel Prize in 1973, and in 1974 was elected a member of the Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities. Krook wrote an essay-length introduction to the first Hebrew translation of *The Portrait of a Lady* by Henry James (*Diyuknah shel Geveret*, Mosad Bialik, 1978), entitled "*El P'nei Goral Savukh*" ("Facing a Complex Fate"). Her "Recollections of Sylvia Plath" appeared in *Edward Butscher (ed.), Sylvia Plath: The Woman and Her Work* (1977). In 1968 she married the Hebrew poet Zerubavel *Gilead, and was a member of Kibbutz En-Ḥarod.

KROSHNER, MIKHAIL YEFIMOVICH (1900–1942), composer. Born in Kiev, Kroshner studied piano from 1918 to 1921 in Kiev (with Blumenfeld), Moscow, and Sverdlovsk. From 1931 he studied composition with Zolotaryev, with whom he moved to Minsk in 1933, graduating from the Minsk conservatory in 1937. Kroshner collected Belorussian folklore and used folk tunes in his compositions. His ballet *The Nightingale* (1939) was the first Belorussian national ballet and was successfully staged in Minsk, Moscow, and Odessa. Unable to escape from Minsk before the German occupation in 1941, he perished there a year later. Among his major works are the cantata *The Drowned Man, Symphonic Dances*, a string quartet, songs, and arrangements of Jewish folk songs for voice and piano.

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[Marina Rizarev (2nd ed.)]

KROSNO, town in Rzeszow province, S.E. Poland. Jewish presence in Krosno is mentioned before 1434. In spite of the privilege *de non tolerandis Judaeis* granted to the town by King Sigismund II Augustus (1548–72), Jews were allowed to settle there as tenants of taverns, leading to a complaint by the inhabitants to the authorities in 1655. As Jews from the neighboring towns of *Rymanow and Dukla visited the annual fairs of Krosno, disregarding the prevailing prohibition, the municipal council issued an order that the robbing and even the murder of a Rymanow Jew was to go unpunished. The restrictions on Jewish residence in the town were not abolished until 1860. With the development of the oil and petroleum industry, there was increased economic activity in the town and vicinity. In 1880 the Jewish community of Krosno numbered 327 (12% of the total population), while there were 4,612 Jews (6.6%) in the whole district; in 1900 there were 961 (22%) in the town and 5,839 (7.2%) in the district, rising to 1,559 (28%) in the town and 6,253 (7.2%) in the district in 1910, and 1,725 (27%) in the town and 4,861 (6%) in the district in 1921. At that time there were 55 Jewish workshops in Krosno. Between the two world wars Krosno Jews were engaged in petty trade, weaving, tailoring, and shoemaking. During this period antisemitism increased and economic boycotts were common. Before World War II 2,500 Jews lived in Krosno with another 5,870 in nearby smaller places.

Holocaust Period

The Germans arrived on September 9, 1941. In August 1942 they executed the sick and old and then deported 1,000 Jews to the Belzec death camp. Another 300–600 were put in a ghetto and sent to work in the nearby airfield and quarries. On December 4 they were deported to *Rzeszow, where they shared the fate of the local Jews.

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[Stefan Krakowski]

KROSS, ANNA (née **Moscowitz**; 1889–1979), U.S. lawyer, penologist, and penal administrator. Born in Nesheves, Russia, she studied law at New York University. As a student, she became interested in prisoners and penal reform, and volunteered for work visiting prisons. In 1933 she was appointed to the bench in New York City as a magistrate, the first woman judge in the city magistrate court. She was reappointed in 1940 and again in 1950. In 1946 she organized and became the first presiding magistrate of the Home Term Court of the Borough of Manhattan, an experimental social court dealing with the problems of troubled families. She initiated the development of psychiatric and guidance services to assist the court in dealing with severely disturbed families. During her 20 years in court, Kross fought the injustice of the bail system, by which suspects, some of them innocent, were kept under arrest because they could not afford bail or the bondsman's fee. In 1954 she was appointed commissioner of correction of the City of New York, serving until her retirement in 1966 at the age of 75. During her 12 years in this office, she endeavored to apply progressive ideas in correctional treatment in the system she administered. She conceived, planned, and established the reception and classification center on Rikers Island. This became the focus of a system designed to rehabilitate offenders by social casework, psychotherapeutic treatment, constructive recreational activities, academic and vocational education, guidance, and aftercare. She founded Friendly Visitors, Inc., a group of volunteers at the New York City House of Detention for Women dedicated to helping released prisoners adjust to life outside prison through vocational and educational programs and to help promote community acceptance of former inmates.

ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY: M. Wylie, *400 Miles from Harlem: Courts, Crime, and Correction* (1972).

[Zvi Hermon / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

KROTO, SIR HAROLD WALTER (1939–), U.K. chemist and Nobel laureate. He was born in Wisbech, Cambridgeshire, the son of refugees from Nazi Germany. When he was one year old, his family moved to Bolton, Lancashire, where he was educated at Bolton School. He graduated with a B.Sc. (1961) from the University of Sheffield where he also gained his Ph.D. with a thesis on the spectroscopy of free radicals under the supervision of Richard Dixon (1964). After postdoctoral research with the National Research Council of Canada in Ottawa (1964–66) and Bell Laboratories, Murray Hill, New Jersey (1966–67), he joined the department of chemistry of the University of Sussex where he became professor (1985–91) and Royal Society Research Professor (1991). He later worked in the department of physics, chemistry, and environmental science of the University of Sussex. His main research interest was spectroscopy and its application to the study of carbon molecules in many research areas. He and his colleagues founded the field of fullerene science after their discovery that some carbon molecules (C_{60}) self-assemble spontaneously at high temperatures into spheres resembling the Geodisic Dome designed by Buckminster Fuller. The crucial collaborative work was completed over ten days in 1985. The appearance and symmetrical composition of these macromolecules are aesthetically appealing to organic chemists and laymen alike. His later research involved the rapidly expanding field of fullerenes, radioastronomy, the evolution of carbon-based molecules, and the implications for virology, biological systems, and the origins of life on Earth and possibly elsewhere in the universe. Kroto was awarded the Nobel Prize in chemistry (1996) with Robert Curl and Richard Smalley. Subsequently Kroto and his colleagues established the University of Sussex as a major center in the growing field of nanotechnology that seeks to analyze and simulate the microarchitecture of biological structures. Kroto had a deep interest in science education in schools and universities and was the founding co-chairperson of the Vega Trust, a non-profit organization for producing programs for scientific education. His many honors included election to the Royal Society of London, the Longstaff Medal of the Royal Society of Chemistry (1993), the Royal Society's Copley Medal (2004), and a knighthood. Krota also had a great interest in graphic design and his awards in this field included winner of the *Sunday Times* book jacket design competition (1994) and the Louis Vuitton Science pour l'Art Prize (1994). Krota was a humanist and a strong supporter of human rights and organizations such as Amnesty International.

[Michael Denman (2nd ed.)]

KROTOSZYN (Ger. **Krotoschin**), town in the province of Poznan, Poland. The Jewish community was established in the 14th century, and by virtue of an ancient privilege allowing the Jews to trade, engage in crafts, and build houses, the community prospered. The privilege was reissued in 1638 by the owners of the town, and ratified and extended in 1648 and in 1673. In the course of the wars which ravaged Poland in the 17th century, the Jews suffered severely. Polish troops headed by the hetman *Czarniecky murdered 350 Jewish families out of 400 in Krotoszyn in 1656 during the war against the Swedes. Later the Jewish community recovered and its representatives filled important functions in the *Councils of Four Lands. Especially notable were Avigdor b. Abraham Katz, who in 1671 took part in the negotiations with Cristof Bressler of Breslau concerning the debt owed him by the Polish Jews, and Leibel b. Mordecai, who was one of the representatives of Polish Jewry in 1691. Riots broke out in 1704 and Jewish property was looted. A fire in 1774 destroyed the Jewish quarter, including the 16th-century synagogue, the *bet midrash*, and the library. Before the fire the Jews numbered 1,384 (37.5% of the total population). In the 18th century there were wealthy Jews of the town who traded with Germany and attended the fairs in Breslau, Leipzig, and Frankfurt on the Oder. A permanent representative of Krotoszyn, Leibel b. Baruch, stayed in Breslau at the beginning of the century to manage the business of the Jewish merchants during the fairs. The community regulations were fixed in 1728 by decree of the provincial governor, Potocki. The annexation of Krotoszyn to Prussia on the 1793 partition of Poland had critical results for the town's economy: the large Polish market was lost when the other parts of Poland were annexed to Austria and Russia. However, the Jews managed to thrive until the mid-19th century. A new synagogue was built in 1846. In 1849 the Jewish population numbered 2,327 (about 30% of the total). From then on the numbers of Jews declined and in 1910 only 411 (about 3%) remained. Jews from Krotoszyn settled in other places in Germany. Jewish public life in Krotoszyn ceased completely when the town passed to independent Poland after World War I. The number of Jews diminished to 112 (less than 1%) in 1921 and 50 in 1939.

Krotoszyn was known as a center of Jewish learning and scholarship. Shabbetai *Bass, the rabbis Menahem Mendel b. Meshullam Auerbach, author of *Ateret Zekenim*, Moses Jekutiel Kaufmann, author of *Leḥem ha-Panim*, and Benjamin b. Saul Katzenelbogen were active there. In the 19th century the scholars David *Joel and Eduard *Baneth served as rabbis in Krotoszyn.

[Shimshon Leib Kirshenboim]

Hebrew Printing

In 1833 Dov Baer (Baer Loeb) Monash (1801–1876) set up a press in Krotoszyn which was active until 1901. Monash had learned the trade (and obtained the Hebrew type) from *Dyhernfurth. The most important books printed by him were a five-volume Pentateuch with Onkelos, Rashi, *haftarot*, and German translation by Johlson (1837); a 12-volume Bible with Onkelos, Rashi, and German translation (1839–43); and a *maḥzor* (*Minḥah Ḥadashah*, 1838). The Hebrew press in Krotoszyn was known through its edition of the Jerusalem Talmud which has become standard (1866–67). The most beautiful production of this press was Isaac *Aboab's *Menorat ha-Ma'or*, with German translation by Fuerstenthal and Behrend (1845–48). Here also were printed – though not in Hebrew – 17 volumes of the **Monatsschrift fuer Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums* (1869ff.).

Holocaust Period

Before the outbreak of World War II Krotoszyn had only 17 Jews. Under Nazi occupation, the town belonged to the district of Posen of the Warthegau. On November 21, 1939, the remaining Jews were deported to the Lodz ghetto.

[Danuta Dombrowska]

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°KRUG, WILHELM TRAUGOTT (1770–1842), German philosopher. While professor of philosophy at Leipzig University, Krug supported the complete *emancipation of German Jewry; indeed, the term itself became common through his *Ueber das Verhaeltnis verschiedener Religionsparteien zum Staate und ueber die Emanzipation der Juden* (1828). In his next work, *Die Politik der Christen und die Politik der Juden in mehr als tausendjaehrigem Kampfe* (1832), he demanded that freedom of occupation, mixed marriages, and instruction in common be permitted as a means of ending the eternal feud between Jews and Christians. Krug, who also demanded full equality for Catholics and all sectarians, striving for the fusion of all religions, actively sponsored his proposals in the Saxonian Diet and encouraged Bernhard *Beer and other leaders in their demands for emanicipation.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: V. Eichstaedt, *Bibliographie zur Judenfrage* (1938), index.

KRUGER, BARBARA (1945–), U.S. conceptual artist. Born in Newark, New Jersey, Kruger studied at Syracuse University (1964–65) and the Parsons School of Design (1965–66), where her teachers included the photographer Diane *Arbus and Marvin Israel, a graphic designer and an art director of *Harper's Bazaar* in the early 1960s. After a year Kruger stopped taking classes and began to work as a designer at *Mademoiselle* magazine. Kruger's early forays into the artworld included experimentation with fiber art and then painting large abstract canvases. The mid-1970s were an important period of transition when she became interested in feminist criticism and theoretical writings by such authors as Roland Barthes. She also began writing poetry, reviewing films, and taking photographs. In 1978 Kruger published *Picture/Readings* (1978), a book of photographs of California residential buildings accompanied by narratives describing her imaginings of the inhabitants' thoughts and activities. This interest in photographs and text initiated the works for which she is best known.

Her experience as a graphic designer influences her economy of means and the direct confrontation of her signature style: a format of glossy black and white found photographs, cropped and enlarged, overlaid with catchy phrases and surrounded by a red metal frame. Indeed, through a juxtaposition of text and image Kruger uses photographs to examine, question, and exploit power relations – frequently gender and consumer – in such works as the photo-montage *Untitled (Your Gaze Hits the Side of My Face)* (1981, private collection). The black and white words of the work's title are glued on the left side of this appropriated image of a woman's profile. The terse caption employs an accusatory tone directed at the masculine viewer (Your) who has objectified the woman (My) for centuries. Starting in 1985 Kruger also created lenticular images.

By placing two photographs behind a lenticular lens screen the images shift depending on the viewer's angle, allowing Kruger to make works that employ two messages and to create an illusion of three-dimensionality. Kruger's political messages can be found in traditional gallery spaces as well as in the more general public domain, including postcards, posters, t-shirts, and billboards.

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[Samantha Baskind (2nd ed.)]

KRULEWITCH, MELVIN LEVIN (1895–1978), U.S. soldier. Born in New York City, Krulewitch was a sergeant in the U.S. army in France during World War I. After practicing law for several years he returned to the army when the Japanese attacked Pearl Harbor, rejoining the Marine Corps as an officer. During World War II Krulewitch was the first to fly the American flag on Japanese territory. He was decorated for meritorious service at Iwo Jima. He was awarded the Bronze Star with Clusters; the Purple Heart; a Presidential Unit Citation; and the Naval Unit Citation. He also received a Special Commendation Ribbon of the secretary of the Navy.

He was a military observer in Israel in 1948 and in Korea in 1950. He retired in 1956 with the rank of major general, the highest-ranking Jewish officer in the U.S. Marine Corps. He was one of the founders of the World Boxing Council (1963) and served as chairman of the New York State Athletic Commission.

Krulewitch wrote *Now That You Mention It: Memoirs from the Halls of Montezuma to the Madison Square Garden Ring by Way of Old New York and the State of Israel* (1973).

[Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

°**KRUSHEVAN, PAVOLAKI** (1860–1909), Russian journalist who became notorious in connection with the *Kishinev pogroms of April 1903. Krushevan began to publish the newspaper *Bessarabets* in 1897 in Kishinev, the capital of the province of Bessarabia. Though at first liberal, the newspaper soon became the mouthpiece of the province's reactionary circles, the Russian landowners and merchants, and received support from the government. The publication of all other newspapers was prohibited in Bessarabia. The newspaper conducted a violent campaign against the Jews, accusing them of exploiting the Christian masses and encouraging revolution. After the bankruptcy of the *Bessarabets*, Krushevan, assisted by friends, published a new paper *Drug*, which had a similar policy. In February 1903 he headed a group of agitators trying to whip up a *blood libel around the death of a Christian child of *Dubossary who in fact was murdered by a gentile. The bloody pogroms in Kishinev on Passover 1903 broke out as a direct consequence of his inflammatory articles. Continuing his agitation with even greater vehemence, he rapidly became a central figure in antisemitic circles and began to publish the newspaper *Znamya* in St. Petersburg. His series of articles on "The Program for the Conquest of the World by the Jews" formed the nucleus of the Protocols of the Learned *Elders of Zion. In June 1903 Krushevan was stabbed by the Zionist student Pinḥas *Dashewski but was only slightly wounded. Elected to the Second Duma in 1907 as a delegate of the *Union of the Russian People, he had an undistinguished parliamentary career.

[Yehuda Slutsky]

KRUSTPILS (Ger. **Kreuzburg**), town in Latgale district, Latvia; until World War I in the Vitebsk province. The community, which was first in Latgale district, was organized in the late 17th century. There were 2,156 poll-tax payers living in Krustpils and the communities under its jurisdiction in 1765. The Jewish population numbered 1,090 in 1847, 3,164 (76.31% of the total) in 1897. During World War I the town was almost destroyed, and the Jewish population dropped to 1,149 (35.76%) in 1930, and 1,043 (28.52%) in 1935. Most were occupied in commerce and crafts. The "old synagogue" was noted for its mural decoration. In 1925 Jews ceased to be a majority on the city council, and in 1930 lost the position of town mayor. There was a Jewish school, attended by 206 children in 1928. During World War II, shortly after the German attack on the Soviet Union in June 1941, a few hundred Jews succeeded in escaping to the interior of the Soviet Union. The Germans, with the collaboration of Latvian auxiliary police, murdered the Jews in Krustpils and the vicinity during the fall of 1941. In 1966 a monument was erected to the memory of the Jewish martyrs in the Holocaust. The Jewish population was estimated at approximately 100 in 1970.

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[Joseph Gar / Shmuel Spector (2nd ed.)]

KRYGIER, RIVON (1957–), French rabbi. Born in Brussels, Krygier was active in the Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir youth movement until his *aliyah* to Jerusalem in 1977. There he was a student at the Hebrew University and at the Ma'ayanot Institute of Jewish Studies led by the nonconformist French rabbi Leon Askenazi. Krygier was the first French-speaking rabbi to graduate from the Schechter Institute, the Jerusalem branch of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America. In 1991 he became the rabbi of the first *masorti* (Conservative) congregation in France, the Adath Shalom synagogue in Paris. With a doctorate from the Sorbonne in religious sciences, he became an important figure in Jewish intellectual debate in France through his lectures and writings, notably in *La loi juive à l'aube du XXIème siècle* (preface by Charles Mopsik, 1995), a collection of responsa published in Hebrew by Conservative rabbis on issues of modern life and translated into French for the first time; *À la limite de Dieu: l'énigme de l'omnniscience divine et du libre-arbitre humain dans la pensée juive* (his doctoral thesis, 1998); *Epitre de l'amour* (an adaptation of Rabbi Eliot Dorff's study of human sexuality as perceived in Jewish sources, 2000), *Epitre de la vie* (an adaptation of Rabbi Jonathan Wittenberg's study of Jewish attitudes towards mourning).

[Philippe Boukara (2nd ed.)]

KRYMOV, YURI (**Yuri Solomonovich Beklemishev**; 1908–1941), Russian author. The son of a publisher, Krymov was an industrial engineer. His novel *The Tanker "Derbent"* (1938; Eng., 1944), which was set in the Caspian region, was one of the very few successful Soviet works describing labor heroism. Critics praised its ideological message, while ordinary readers welcomed its believable characters and their human foibles. Krymov, who also wrote *Inzhener* ("The Engineer," 1941), was killed in action early in World War II.

KRYNKI (also **Krinki**), town in the province of Bialystok, N.E. Poland. Jews settled in the town during the first half of the 17th century, and by the middle of the century there was already an organized community in Krynki, subordinate to that of Grodno. The royal charter granted to the Jews of Krynki in 1662 authorized them to erect a synagogue, maintain a bathhouse and cemetery, and gave them the right to purchase municipal building plots, houses, and to plow land, own inns, and distill brandy. Such a liberal charter aroused the opposition of the townspeople, but by a compromise of 1669, they agreed to recognize the status of the local Jews, and these documents were confirmed by King Augustus III in 1745. In order to encourage Jewish commerce, the king ordered the market day to be changed from Saturday to Thursday. In 1680 the Jews paid 150 zlotys in poll tax. The Council of the Land of Lithuania convened in Krynki in 1687. The 1765 census recorded 1,285 poll-tax paying Jews in the town and the surrounding villages.

In 1827 Jewish contractors opened a heavy-wool textile factory, which gave employment to many Jewish workers. There were 1,846 Jews living in the town in 1847. As a result of a succession of fires in 1879, 1882, and 1887, many Jews were ruined and compelled to emigrate. In 1864 Jewish contractors opened tanning workshops and in the 1890s expanded their trade to markets in central Russia (also supplying for the army), Poland, and Germany. About 400 tannery workers founded the Po'alei Ẓedek Union, one of the first Jewish labor unions in Russia, in 1894. In 1897 the Jewish population numbered 3,542 (71% of the total). Just before and during the 1905 Revolution, several political parties were active in the town: the *Bund (c. 250 members), the Social Revolutionaries, and the Anarchists, and from 1905 the *Po'alei Zion. A Jewish worker from Krynki, Sikorski, took part in the attempt on the life of the Russian minister of the interior, V.K. von *Plehve. When the disorders of the 1905 Revolution subsided, the Jewish factory owners and merchants of Krynki organized the Aguddat Aḥim, which led the struggle against the local labor movement. From 1903 an Aguddat Zion group was active in the town, and in 1908 a Ẓe'irei Zion circle was established. During the intermediary period which followed the departure of the German military authorities (autumn 1918), a Jewish revolutionary workers' council seized power in the town. In 1921, the Jewish population of Krynki numbered 3,495 (67% of the total population), of whom about 800 workers were employed in local tanning factories. Jewish delegates constituted a majority in the municipal council, one holding the office of deputy mayor. From 1919 a Hebrew *Tarbut school and a CYSHO school functioned in the town, and from 1923 a private Hebrew secondary school, and there were also *Maccabi and *Bar Kochba sports clubs. Between the two world wars, branches of all the Jewish parties were to be found in the town; the most powerful were the Bundist circles, the Po'alei Zion, the *Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir, and the *Agudat Israel.

[Arthur Cygielman]

Holocaust Period

There were around 4,000 Jews in Krynki in 1939. During the period of Soviet rule (1939–41), Jewish life changed considerably: the community institutions were dispersed and petty trade was severely restricted, although the Jews continued to play an important role in the leather factory that supplied the whole of Soviet Belorussia. Jewish refugees from German-occupied western Poland found refuge in the city, but most of them were deported to the Soviet interior in the summer of 1940. Krynki was captured by the Germans on June 28, 1941, and on the same day about 30 Jews were shot outside the city. On July 1, 1941, the synagogues were set aflame and burned down with the Torah scrolls still inside. A ghetto was established in December, and disease and starvation claimed many lives. In the spring 1,200 Jews arrived from Brzostowica Wielka, causing a second outbreak of typhoid in the overcrowded ghetto. On November 2, 1942, the Jews were transferred to the Kelbasin transit camp and from there to Treblinka. A group of craftsmen was concentrated in a work camp and was deported to *Auschwitz in June 1943. The last rabbi of Krynki, Hezekiah Joseph Myszkinski, who was elected in 1922, perished in the Holocaust.

[Aharon Weiss]

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KRZEPICE, town in Kielce province, S. Poland. Jewish presence in Krzepice is attested to as early as 1633. In 1730 a synagogue was built. The 1765 census recorded 116 Jewish poll tax payers in Krzepice and vicinity. A separate Jewish quarter, Nowokrzepice (New Krzepice), was founded in 1795 and a synagogue established. Between 1823 and 1862 the Russian authorities restricted Jewish emigration from the interior of the country into Krzepice since the town was located on the Prussian border. The synagogue, which existed until World War II, was built in pseudo-classical style with frontal columns. The community numbered 322 (21% of the total population) in 1808, increasing to 876 (43%) in 1827, and 1,057 (49%) in 1857. In 1897 their number had grown to 1,395 (43%) and in 1921 to 1,772 (43%). Apart from shopkeeping, the Jews made their living as tailors, hatters, carpenters, and locksmiths.

[*Encyclopaedia Judaica* (Germany)]

Holocaust Period

The Germans captured Krzepice on Sept. 1, 1939, and within a few weeks a fine ("contribution") of 20,000 zlotys was imposed upon the Jewish community; the confiscation of Jewish property also began. In March 1940 the transport of Jewish youth to forced-labor camps began and continued at an accelerated rate throughout 1941. In June 1942 the large majority of the Jews were transported to *Auschwitz. Some tried to escape and found temporary refuge in the Czestochowa ghetto. After the deportation of June 1942, only a few families of artisans remained in the city, and they were later transferred to the Sosnowiec ghetto.

[Aharon Weiss]

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KUBA, city in N.E. Azerbaijan. From the 17th century, there was an important community of *Mountain Jews in Kuba. In 1734, during the military expedition of *Nadir Shah from Persia, many communities in the vicinity of Kuba were destroyed and many Jews were compelled to adopt Islam. The rest settled in Kuba where they were under the protection of Gussein, the ruler of the town. Large numbers of Jews fled to Kuba from *Baku when a *blood libel was raised there in 1814. For many years the Jews in Kuba maintained separate communities, constituted according to their towns of origin. Many of the Jews were engaged in agriculture. There were 5,492 Jews in the town in 1837, 6,662 (43.5% of the total population) in 1897, and 5,200 in 1926. During the Civil War (1918–20) in the north Caucasus the Jewish community suffered greatly. It is probable that the greater majority of the 8,357 Jewish inhabitants of Azerbaijan who declared Tat as their mother tongue in the 1959 census were living in Kuba. In 1970 it was estimated that about 10,000 Tat Jews lived in the town. Most left in the 1990s.

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[Yehuda Slutsky]

KUBIE, LAWRENCE (1896–1973), U.S. psychiatrist and psychoanalyst. Kubie graduated from Harvard in 1916 and received his M.D. from Johns Hopkins University in 1921. Later he received a National Council research fellowship in neurology in London. From 1930 to 1959 he practiced psychoanalysis in New York, at the same time serving on the faculties of various institutions, including the College of Physicians and Surgeons, the New York Psychoanalytic Society, Columbia University, the Yale School of Medicine, the Neurological Institute, and Mount Sinai Hospital in New York. At the time of his death he was emeritus lecturer in psychiatry at Johns Hopkins University and a consultant in psychiatric research and training at Sheppard and Enoch Pratt Hospital in Towson.

Kubie's first published work was *Practical and Theoretical Aspects of Psychoanalysis* (1936) and his later studies include *Neurotic Distortion of the Creative Process*. In addition, he served for a period as editor of the *Journal of Nervous and Mental Disorders* and published a large number of papers dealing with the employment of hypnotic trance as a treatment and diagnostic method (with Milton H. Erickson) and (with S.G. Margolin) with psychotherapy aided by sedative drugs. In 1965, he called for a total reversal of the training of psychiatry, which should begin with the study of the child. Kubie was described by his colleagues as an orthodox Freudian analyst who constantly challenged orthodoxies, including his own. It was conceded, nevertheless, that his heterodox views, originally scorned, have now been incorporated into analytic theory. However, he deplored trends in psychiatry that distracted the psychiatrist from direct therapeutic care of the patient.

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[Louis Miller (2nd ed.)]

KUBLIN, HYMAN (1919–), U.S. historian. Born in Boston, Kublin was professor of history at Brooklyn College, N.Y., from 1961, and associate dean of Graduate Studies (1966–69) at the City University of New York. A specialist in Far Eastern history, notably that of modern Japan, Kublin made important contributions to this field. These include *Meiji Rode Undo-shi No Hito-Koma; Takano Fusataro No Shogai to Shiso*, a study of Fusataro Takano, the founder of the Japanese trade-union movement; and *Asian Revolutionary: The Life of Sen Katayama* (1964) on an architect of modern Japan's socialist and communist movements. Kublin was consultant on Asian affairs to various universities, foundations, government agencies, and cultural groups. He was actively identified with Jewish affairs as chairman of the American Student Program to Israel and participation in many other bodies. Kublin served as *Encyclopaedia Judaica* departmental editor for the history of Jews in Japan.

Other books by Kublin include *India: Regional Study* (1973) and *The Middle East (World Regional Studies)* (with D. Peretz, 1989). In the Regional Study series he also wrote about Africa, Russia, China, and Japan. He edited *Jews in Old China: Some Western Views* (1971).

[Oscar Isaiah Janowsky / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

KUBOVY (Kubowitzki), ARYEH LEON (1896–1966), Zionist leader, Israel diplomat, and writer. Born in Kurshany, Lithuania, Kubovy received a traditional Jewish education in his native town, and a secular education in Belgium, where he settled with his parents in his childhood. He became a prominent lawyer and leader of Belgian Jewry up to the outbreak of World War II. He was a leading figure in the anti-Nazi *boycott movement in the 1930s. When Nazi Germany occupied Belgium in 1940, Kubovy went to the U.S. and from there directed the *World Jewish Congress rescue work for European Jewry, later becoming WJC secretary-general. He submitted rescue plans to the allied governments and to the pope. In 1948 he went to Israel and became its minister to Poland and Czechoslovakia. He served there during the difficult years of the early 1950s, when both countries followed the Soviet antisemitic policy, and was declared *persona non grata* during the *Slansky trial. He was Israel minister (later ambassador) to Argentina and minister to Chile and Paraguay in 1953–58. In 1959 he was elected chairman of the *Yad Vashem Remembrance Authority, the leading institution in research on the Holocaust, and served in this capacity until his death in Jerusalem. Kubovy was the author of several books, among them the history of the World Jewish Congress, *Unity in Dispersion*. A Festschrift in his honor *Im Eshkaḥekh ha-Sho'ah; Ne'umim ve-Harẓa'ot* appeared in 1967.

His wife MIRIAM (née Goldstein; 1898–?) was a writer. She was active in women's organizations and wrote in French and Hebrew.

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[Alexander Tobias]

KUBRICK, STANLEY (1928–1999), U.S. film producer and director. Born in the Bronx, New York, Kubrick worked as an apprentice photographer at *Look Magazine* at the age of 17. He made his first feature film, *Fear and Desire*, in 1953, and his first moneymaking film, *The Killing*, in 1956. He aroused much controversy with films such as *Paths of Glory* (1958), on the stupidity of war, and *Spartacus* (1960). In the early 1960s he moved to England, where he led a reclusive life, co-founded the Directors Guild of Great Britain, and made all his subsequent films. These included the provocative film *Lolita* (1962); *Dr. Strangelove* (Oscar nomination for Best Picture, 1963), an anti-military establishment movie; the sci-fi film *2001: A Space Odyssey* (1968), which was widely considered to be a major work; the disturbing and very violent *A Clockwork Orange* (Oscar nomination for Best Picture, 1971); the period piece *Barry Lyndon* (Oscar nomination for Best Picture, 1975); *The Shining* (1980); the Vietnam war film *Full Metal Jacket* (1987); and the erotic thriller *Eyes Wide Shut* (1999). In 1993 Kubrick began work on the futuristic film *Artificial Intelligence: AI* but died before he could complete it. Steven Spielberg finished the film, which was released, ironically, in 2001.

Voted the 23rd Greatest Director of All Time by *Entertainment Weekly,* Kubrick was the least prolific of the lot. However, although he made only 16 films during his 48-year career, his impact on the film industry and on his audiences was profound. Kubrick's films are characterized by a common theme of dehumanization and a demonstration of the dark side of human nature. All his films except his first two (*Fear and Desire* and *Killer's Kiss*, 1955) were adapted from novels. He produced, directed, and wrote the screenplay for the majority of them. Among his countless awards, Kubrick won an Oscar for Best Visual Effects for *2001: A Space Odyssey* and was nominated for 12 other Academy Awards for writing, producing, and/or directing.

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[Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

KUDROW, LISA (1963–), U.S. actress. Born in Encino, Calif., Kudrow graduated from Vassar College with a bachelor of science degree in biology. She began her acting career after studying improvisational comedy beginning in 1987 with a theater company in Los Angeles called the Groundlings. She got small parts on several television series before being cast as an absent-minded, eccentrically silly waitress named Ursula Buffay in the series *Mad About You*. This led to a starring role in 1995 on the television series *Friends* as Phoebe Buffay, Ursula's ditzy twin and bitter rival who was also a waitress and folk singer. Kudrow's was one of several major characters, including one played by David *Schwimmer, in the most successful comedy series of that period. Kudrow, who won an Emmy award for best supporting actress in a comedy series in 1998, has had a number of serious film roles as well as comedic ones. Among her films are *Romy and Michele's High School Reunion* (1997), *The Opposite of Sex* (1998), and *Analyze This* (1999). In addition, in 2005 she was co-creator, executive producer, and writer of *The Comeback*, in which she portrayed Valerie Cherish, a former television star trying to make a comeback.

[Stewart Kampel (2nd ed.)]

KUENEN, ABRAHAM (1828–1891), Netherlands theologian and biblical critic. Although Julius *Wellhausen is generally acclaimed as the chief exponent of the so-called literary-critical school, earliest scientific espousal of its essential theses must be ascribed to Kuenen, along with Karl H. *Graf. Graf's contribution is little known because of his early death. Kuenen's work went unrecognized because most of it remained untranslated from Dutch. The central proposition of the Kuenen-Graf-Wellhausen school is that the religion of the early Hebrews developed along slow evolutionary lines, from patriarchal totemism to prophetic and priestly monotheism. This depends on the documentary hypothesis concerning the composition of the Hexateuch which assigns its material, in respective chronological order, to the Jahwistic (J), Elohistic (E), Deuteronomistic (D), and Priestly (P) documents. Earlier in the nineteenth century, the last of these documents (combined with E) had been held to be the first chronologically; the revolutionary insight of Graf and Kuenen was that P was post-Exilic. Kuenen's work, *De Godsdienst van Israël* (2 vols., 1869–70; *The Religion of Israel to the Fall of the Jewish State*, 1873), was the earliest full-length, scientific exposition of this thesis. Although later biblical critics made improvements and modifications in this scheme, its essential outlines are still widely accepted. Born in Haarlem, Kuenen became professor of New Testament, Ethics, and Old Testament Interpretation at Leiden. Strongly opposed to Calvinist orthodoxy and supernatural revelation, he was one of the influential leaders of the rising modernist movement, whose vigorous anti-traditionalism was strongly motivated by the dominant rationalism and empiricism of the nineteenth century. Kuenen produced an impressive list of scientific articles, monographs, and reviews. In addition to *The Religion of Israel*, his major works were *De Profeten en de Profetie onder Israël* (1875; *Prophets and Prophecy in Israel* 1877), *Volksgodsdienst en wereldgodsdienst* (1882), and *Historisch-kritisch onderzoek naar het ontstaan en de verzameling van de Boeken des Ouden Verbonds* (3 vols., 1861–65; *An Historico-Critical Inquiry into the Origin and Composition of the Hexateuch*…, 1886).

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[Simon J. De Vries]

KUFA (**Al-Kūfa**), town on the banks of the Euphrates in central *Iraq, founded by the Muslims in 638. Kufa was at first a military camp, but rapidly became an important Muslim religious and cultural center, especially from the time of the reign of Caliph Alī ibn Abū Ṭālib. From the ninth century onward a decline gradually set in so that only a few ruins remain. During the geonic period there was a large Jewish community, among whose members were the teacher Solomon b. Joseph ha-Kohen and Mūsā ibn Isrāʾīl (Moses b. Israel) al-Ṭabīb ("the physician") al-Kūfī. This community is also mentioned in the letters of R. *Samuel b. Ali. Benjamin of Tudela, the 12th-century traveler, found about 7,000 Jews living there. After this time there is no further confirmation of the presence of Jews in the town. According to ancient Jewish traditions, the tomb of King Jehoiachin was situated in Kufa. A large construction stood over the tomb and a synagogue alongside of it.

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[Abraham Haim]

KUGEL, ḤAYYIM (1897–1966), Czechoslovakian pioneer of Hebrew education. Born into a *Ḥovevei Zion family in Minsk (Belorussia), Kugel was sent for his secondary education to the Tel Aviv Gymnasium, Herzlia. The outbreak of World War I (1914) prevented his return to Tel Aviv; he continued his studies in Russia and from 1920 at Prague University. In Prague he founded a club called Ivriyyah which later became part of the Tarbut organization, and pioneered the teaching of living Hebrew and founding of Hebrew schools in Czechoslovakia. After completing his studies, he moved to Mukachevo where in 1924 he founded the Hebrew high school Ha-Gimnasyah ha-Ivrit. In 1935 Kugel was elected along with Angelo *Goldstein to the Czechoslovak parliament on behalf of the Židovská strana (Jewish party). He served as the principal of the school until his emigration to Palestine in 1938. In the school he supported a Jewish national and Zionist spirit, and was therefore reviled by Orthodox Jews and the Magyars. He escaped with his family before the arrival of the Hungarian army, and indeed the Hungarian Secret Service began to look for him as soon as the city was occupied. In Palestine he was among the founders of the city of Ḥolon. In 1940 he became head of the Ḥolon town council and from 1950 to his death was its mayor. He was active in organizations of Jews from Czechoslovakia.

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[Meir Lamed / Yeshayahu Jelinek (2nd ed.)]

KUGEL, JAMES L. (1945–), U.S. scholar of biblical studies and comparative literature. Kugel was born in New York City. He earned his B.A. degree in European poetry at Yale University in 1968 and his Ph.D. from the City University of New York Graduate Center's Comparative Literature Program in 1977. He worked as translator, journalist, and poetry editor at *Harper's* magazine (1973–75). Following three years as assistant professor of religious studies and comparative literature at Yale University, he joined the faculty at Harvard University (1982–2004). During his tenure, he was Harry Starr Professor of Classical and Modern Jewish and Hebrew Literature, professor of Comparative Literature, director of the Center for Jewish Studies, and a member of the Divinity School. He later became professor of Bible at Bar-Ilan University in Israel.

Kugel's significant contributions to biblical scholarship are his studies on ancient Bible interpretation and its role in shaping text-based religious communities. In *The Idea of Biblical Poetry: Parallelism and its History* (1981, 1998), he coined the term "omnisignificance" to describe rabbinic exegesis of scriptures. The volume offers a new approach to biblical poetry and prose that is less dependent on the Greek model and more in concert with the rabbinic framework of thinking. Kugel also wrote *The Great Poems of the Bible: A Reader's Companion with New Translations* (1999) and *In Potiphar's House: The Interpretive Life of Biblical Texts in Early Judaism and Christianity* (1990; 1994).

Kugel's most important work on the earliest interpretations of the Torah is his *The Bible As It Was: Biblical Traditions of Late Antiquity* (1997), for which he was awarded the prestigious Grawemeyer Award in religion in 2001. Focusing primarily on well-known Torah narratives, he postulates that four basic assumptions governed the earliest exegesis: Scripture requires trained interpreters, the interpretation is harmonious in all its parts and meaningful in all its details, the insights gained are deeply relevant to people's lives, and the interpretive process is divinely inspired. A complementary volume, *Traditions of the Bible: A Guide to the Bible as It Was at the Start of the Common Era* (1998), provides additional interpretive material, more detailed explanation of motifs, and a survey of relevant scholarship for each motif.

Kugel's other books include *The Ladder of Jacob: Biblical Interpretation in the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha* (2004), *The Ladder of Jacob: Ancient Interpretations of the Biblical Story of Jacob and His Children* (2006), and several edited volumes that encompass studies in poetry and prophecy. His venture into theology and religion are reflected in *The God of Old: Inside the Lost World of the Bible* (2003), and in *On Being a Jew* (1990, 1998), a self-revealing advocacy for traditionalist Judaism, told in an engaging dialogue between a Syrian Jewish banker and an American graduate school student. *The Idea of Biblical Interpretation: Essays in Honor of James L. Kugel* (2004) honors Kugel's influence and accomplishments to the branch of Bible studies suggested by the title.

[Zev Garber (2nd ed.)]

KUH, ANTON (1890–1941), German journalist and essayist. Coming from a Prague Jewish family of journalists – his grandfather David Kuh was the founder of the *Tagesboten in Boehmen*, his father, Emil Kuh, the chief of the *Neue Wiener Tagblatt* – Kuh began his career as a journalist in 1912. From then on, living in Vienna, Prague, and (after 1925) Berlin, he wrote more than 1,000 critical and satirical articles, essays, and reviews on cultural and political issues for many German papers such as the *Prager Tagblatt* (1912–37), *Der Friede* (1918–19), *Das Tagebuch* (1922–26), *Die Stunde* (1923–26), *Der Querschnitt* (1924–33), *Die Weltbuehne* (1928–32), *Die Neue Weltbühne* (1934–38), and, after emigrating to New York, *Der Aufbau* (1939–41). Some of his articles were collected in the volumes *Von Goethe abwärts* (1922), *Der unsterbliche Oesterreicher* (1931), and *Physiognomik* (1931), and more recently in *Luftlinien* (ed. R.Greuner, 1981), *Zeitgeist im Literatur-Café* (ed. U. Lehner, 1983), and *Sekundentriumph und Katzenjammer* (ed. T. Krischke, 1994). Kuh also made himself known for his controversial contribution to the debate on Judaism in speeches, which he made between 1918 and 1920 in Prague, Bruenn, and Berlin (published under the title *Juden und Deutsche*, 1921). Criticizing at the same time assimilation and Zionism as ultimately non-Jewish concepts, Kuh defended the Diaspora as offering a free, non-bourgeois, and genuinely Jewish mode of existence. He negated the institutions of family, state, and religion, using arguments from the psychoanalyst Otto Gross and the anarchist Krapotkin as well as from Nietzsche and Boerne, a selection of whose writings he edited (*Boerne der Zeitgenosse*, 1922). Already attacked for *Juden und Deutsche* (among others by Max *Brod, Robert *Weltsch, Berthold Viertel, and Johannes Urzidil), Kuh was involved in another debate with Karl *Kraus, whom he criticized in a speech in October 1925 (published under the title *Der Affe Zarathustras*, 1925). In 1933, Kuh returned to Vienna, and in 1938 went to Prague and New York, writing mostly against the Nazi ideology until his death of a heart attack.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: U. Lehner, in: J. Spalek (ed.), *Deutschsprachige Exilliteratur seit 1933*, vol. 4 (1994), 1019–49; A. Kilcher, *Juden und Deutsche* (2003), 7–65.

[Andreas Kilcher (2nd ed.)]

KUH, DAVID (1818–1879), Bohemian politician and journalist. Born in Prague, Kuh studied medicine and law in Vienna and advocated Jewish integration with the Slavs. He argued that the Jews should assist the Slavs in winning their rightful place in Europe and become the middle class in Slav society. Kuh went to Budapest as a journalist and supported the revolutionary forces of Louis *Kossuth in 1848. After the failure of the Hungarian Revolution, he was imprisoned. He was released in 1849 and returned to Prague where he founded the German-language newspapers *Prager Zeitschrift fuer Literatur* and *Tagesbote von Boehmen*. Kuh was elected to the Bohemian Diet in 1862 and in complete contrast to his former beliefs, opposed the Czech nationalists in their conflict with the Germans. His influence on German-language journalism in the Hapsburg dominions was considerable, and he was described by Egon Erwin *Kisch as the "father of the Viennese press."

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Shatsky, in: *Freedom and Reason, essays in memory of Morris Raphael Cohen* (1951), 420–1; AZDJ (1844), 195–7, 207–9, 219–20; F. Mauthner, *Prager Jugendjahre* (1969²), 180–4 and passim.

KUH, EPHRAIM MOSES (1731–1790), German poet. After a traditional Jewish education, Kuh successfully resisted his father's efforts to prepare him for the rabbinate and left his native Breslau in 1763 to seek his fortune in Berlin with a wealthy relative, Veitel Ephraim, the banker of Frederick the Great. Kuh's interest in literature was stimulated by his acquaintance with Moses *Mendelssohn, Gotthold Ephraim *Lessing, and the Berlin rationalists. Having neglected his business activities and spent his money on books, Kuh spent the years 1768–70 traveling in Europe. He then returned to Breslau, where he suffered six years of mental illness. However, he recovered sufficiently to continue writing poetry. After his death, about 5,000 of his unpublished poems were turned over to his friend and fellow-poet, Karl Wilhelm Ramler, who published a selection, *Hinterlassene Gedichte* (2 vols., 1792), together with a biographical sketch by Moses Hirschel. Kuh's poetical works were strongly influenced by classical writers. He is the hero of Berthold *Auerbach's novel *Dichter und Kaufmann* (1839).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: M. Kayserling, *Der Dichter Ephraim Kuh* (1864); H. Rhotest, *E.M. Kuh* (Ger., 1927).

[Sol Liptzin]

KUḤAYL, SHUKR BEN SĀLIM, two false messiahs with this name who appeared in *Yemen in the 19th century. The first was active between 1859 and 1863 and the other between 1868 and 1870. The first was born in Bayt Radam, a small place not far from *San'a, to where he moved and made his humble living by repairing leather buckets and shoes. He is depicted as a religious erudite, expert in the Bible, Zohar, and Kabbalah; an innocent and humble person, believing himself a messiah. For that reason he divorced his wife, increased his prayers and fasts, refused donations, and in 1859 went through villages and towns, heralding the forthcoming of salvation and redemption and urging the Jews to repent. After two years he settled on Mount Tiyyāl, where he was later killed by the messengers of the Imam. Since he had some Muslim adherents, his story and death were documented by contemporary Muslim chroniclers in Yemen, but almost nothing was reported about him in Jewish sources out of Yemen. Conversely, the second Shukr Kuḥayl was a con man who presented himself as a transfiguration of the former. He is depicted as a conspirator, arrogant and greedy, strongly attracted by worldly, materialistic pleasures. He sent emissaries and letters throughout Yemen and even to *Aden, *Egypt, the Holy Land, and *India, where he acquired many zealous followers. He compelled his local adherents to pay him a tithe of their revenues and established a wide network of fundraising to finance his profligate habits. His fame reached far beyond the boundaries of Yemen, particularly owing to the reports of Jacob *Saphir in the Jewish journal *Ha-Levanon* published in Paris by his son in-law J. Brill. In 1873 Saphir published his *Iggeret Teiman ha-Shenit*, in which he attacked Kuḥayl, but this unintentionally contributed to enhancing his name and influence. Thus, for example, the Italian Hebrew poetess Rachel *Morpurgo wrote a poem about the false messiah. But eventually he got into trouble over money and as a result of the complaint by the heads of the Jewish community of San'a to the Turkish governor he was arrested and sent to Izmir. After some years he returned to San'a where he died in solitude in 1878. It should be noted that, although both religious and temporal leaders of the Jewish community in San'a rejected the false claims of Shukr Kuḥayl the first and the second, the treacherous political and economic situation in Yemen, from which the Jews suffered more than any other segment of the population, brought not a few of them to support him and to follow him. The character of the second false messiah is well represented in the modern novel *Ha-Mashi'aḥ mi-Teiman* by Shalom Medinah (1977).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: A. Yaari, in *Shevut Teiman* (1945), 124–48 (incl. bibl.); A. Qoraḥ, *Sa'arat Teiman* (1954), 36–39; Y. Tobi, *Yehudei Teiman ba-Me'ah ha-Yod Tet* (1976), 62–68; Y. Nini, *The Jews of Yemen 1800–1914* (1991), 136–53; B. Klorman-Eraqi, *The Jews of Yemen in the Nineteenth Century* (1993), 104–58.

[Yosef Tobi (2nd ed.)]

KUHN, THOMAS S. (1922–1996), U.S. historian and philosopher of science. Born in Cincinnati, Ohio, Kuhn was educated at Harvard University, earning his bachelor's degree in 1943, his master's degree in physics in 1946, and his Ph.D. in the history of science in 1949. He remained at Harvard as a junior fellow, becoming an assistant professor of general education and the history of science in 1952. He taught at the University of California at Berkeley from 1956 to 1964, and at Princeton University from 1964 to 1979. Kuhn was named professor of the philosophy and history of science at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology in 1979, becoming professor emeritus in 1984.

Kuhn's first book, *The Copernican Revolution* (1957), was a study of the development of the heliocentric theory of the solar system. His second work, *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions* (1962), has become one of the most influential books in the philosophy of science, the social sciences, and the humanities. In this work, Kuhn argued against the conventional view of science as a gradual acquisition of knowledge, based on experimental data, which develops over time. Instead, Kuhn maintained that scientific theory has been defined by "paradigms," or worldviews, which consist of both theories and experimental methods. The acceptance of a paradigm by scientists influences all subsequent experimental work as scientists seek to refine its theories; the paradigm determines not only the type of experiments performed but also the interpretation of their results. Puzzling results are considered to result from flawed methodology. Eventually, however, an accumulation of difficult results and insoluble problems may cause a crisis that must be resolved by an intellectual revolution – in other words, by the creation of a new paradigm. Though initial reviews of the work were mixed, it was later considered to have revolutionized its field. Its influence has been considerable in areas beyond the history and philosophy of science, as Kuhn's concept of paradigm shifts was extended to political science, sociology, economics, and other fields.

Kuhn received many honors during his lifetime. He was a Guggenheim Fellow in 1954 and a fellow of the Center for Advanced Studies in Behavioral Science from 1958 to 1959. He served as director of the project Sources for the History of Quantum Physics, sponsored by the American Physical Society and the American Philosophical Society, from 1961 to 1964. He was a member of the Institute for Advanced Study at Princeton from 1972 to 1979. He received the Howard T. Behrman Award from Princeton in 1977, the George Sarton Medal from the History of Science Society in 1982, and the Bernal Award from the Society for Social Studies of Science in 1983.

[Dorothy Bauhoff (2nd ed.)]

KUHN-LOEB, U.S. immigrant dry-goods and clothing merchants in Cincinnati, who later became prominent investment bankers in New York. The firm Kuhn, Loeb and Co. was founded in 1867 by the brothers-in-law ABRAHAM KUHN (1819–1892) and SOLOMON LOEB (1828–1913) and included four other members of the family as partners. After Kuhn returned to Germany, Loeb became joint head of the firm with his son-in-law Jacob H. *Schiff. Schiff's business acumen and negotiating ability brought great prosperity to the bank. He persuaded Kuhn, Loeb and Co. to provide financial aid to Japan but refused to lend money to the czarist government because of its treatment of the Jews. His successors followed his example and supported Jewish causes, such as the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee, the American Jewish Committee and, after World War I, the Jewish Agency. Another of Loeb's sons-in-law, Paul M. *Warburg, entered Kuhn, Loeb and Co. in 1902 to join his brother Felix M. *Warburg, Schiff's son-in-law, who had become a member of the firm five years previously and was later to become senior partner. Although after 1911 Kuhn, Loeb and Co. accepted partners from outside the family, over half a century later the senior partners, John M. Schiff and Frederick M. Warburg, were both grandsons and great-grandsons of Jacob *Schiff and of Solomon Loeb. A fifth-generation member of the firm, David T. Schiff, joined Kuhn, Loeb and Co. in 1967. Other members of the family were Dorothy *Schiff (1903–1989), newspaper publisher; and James P. *Warburg (1896–1969), economist and political analyst. Otto H. *Kahn (1867–1934), who was a member of the firm, became a patron of the arts. Kahn wrote the pamphlet *The War and Business* (1917).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Kuhn, Loeb and Co., *Investment Banking through Four Generations* (1955).

[Hanns G. Reissner]

KUIBYSHEV (until 1935 and after 1991 **Samara**), city in the Russian Federation. In the czarist period, Kuibyshev was beyond the *Pale of Settlement. During the second half of the 19th century, Jews in the categories authorized to live outside the Pale began to settle in the town. In 1875 there were between 25 and 30 Jewish families there. As a consequence of the railroad which passed through the town, the Jewish population increased during the last quarter of the 19th century. The town's first synagogue was built in 1880, and in 1895 the existence of the local Jewish community was officially confirmed. A great synagogue was erected in 1908. From 1,327 (1.5% of the total population) in 1897, the number of Jews increased considerably during World War I and later so that in 1926 they numbered 6,981 (4% of the total), and 7,722 (2% of the total population) in 1939. During World War II, many refugees from the German-occupied regions arrived in Kuibyshev. The Soviet Government moved there when the Germans neared Moscow. The headquarters of the Jewish *Anti-Fascist Committee was in the town for some time, and from 1942 to 1943, the organ of the committee, **Eynikeyt*, was published there. The community was still in existence in 1970 when there was a rabbi, a *shoḥet*, and an estimated Jewish population of about 25,000. Although a local paper published articles against the synagogue in 1961 and 1962, the synagogue was not closed down.

[Yehuda Slutsky]

KUKIZOW, Karaite family name, originating from the name of the town Kukiziw (Krasny Ostrow), in Galicia. The founder of this dynasty was MORDECHAI BEN NISAN (d. 1709), prominent Karaite scholar, disciple of *Joseph ben Samuel ha-Mashbir from *Halicz and of *Solomon ben Aaron from Troki. Mordechai was born and lived in Troki, but in 1688, upon the order of King Jan III Sobieski, Mordechai and some Karaite families were forced to settle in Kukizow, a private possession of the Sobieskis, where he suffered from isolation and seclusion. In Kukizow he served as *ḥazzan* of the small community. He and his son Nisan were murdered on their way from Eastern Galicia to the Crimea.

Mordechai was the first Karaite author in Eastern Europe who wrote treatises on Karaite historiography and influenced the following generations of authors. However, his works are important mainly for the history of the historiographic genre in Karaite literature, rather than for their historical material. On the instructions of Charles XII of Sweden, several Swedish scholars asked Kukizow for information on the origins of Karaism and the difference between them and the Rabbanites, in the belief that the Karaites were in some ways similar to the Protestants. Kukizow's answer, contained in *Levush Malkhut* completed in 1698, (published by A. Neubauer, *Aus der Peterburger Bibliothek*, Leipzig (1866), 30–66) discusses the antiquity of Karaism and gives a brief description of Karaite doctrine. His most important composition, *Dod Mordechai*, completed in 1699 (Hamburg, 1714, with Latin translation by J.L. Wolf; reprinted without translation, Vienna, 1830; Ramla 1966), was written as responses to questions by the Protestant professor Jacob Trigland of Leiden, Holland, mainly concerning the split between Karaites and Rabbanites. Without any critical approach Mordechai introduces the traditional apologetical Karaite claim that the split between Rabbanism and Karaism began in the Second Temple period. He cited many previous Karaite authors as well as Rabbanite literature, including the Talmud, trying to prove the concept of the early appearance of Karaism and that the Karaites originated from *Judah ben Tabbai, and the Rabbanites – from *Simeon ben Shetaḥ. He also wrote: *Kelalim Yafim* (Bodl. MS Opp. Add. Qu. 117), a grammatical work; *Ma'amar Mordekhai* (several mss. at the St. Petersburg Institute of Oriental Studies of the Russian Academy), a supercommentary on the *Sefer ha-Mivḥar* by the Karaite *Aaron b. Joseph; *Derekh Yam* (several mss. at the St. Petersburg Institute of Oriental Studies of the Russian Academy), commentary on the weekly portion of Noaḥ in *Sefer ha-Mivḥar*; *Imrei Binah* (Bodl., MS Reggio 22), treatise on Kabbalah. He also wrote liturgical poems, incorporated in the Karaite *siddur*.

His grandson, also named MORDECHAI BEN NISAN (the second). He was *ḥakham* of Kukizow's community. He studied Torah with Rabbanite teachers and taught himself astronomy from Latin and Polish books. He wrote a book, *Yad ha-Shem* (St. Petersburg Institute of Oriental Studies of the Russian Academy), in 1774 on Kabbalah.

His son DAVID BEN MORDECAI (1777–1855) was born in Kukizow, served as *ḥazzan* of its community and took the family name Mordkovich. He moved to Evpatoria in 1822 and changed his name to Kukizow. In 1825 was appointed *ḥazzan* and later *shoḥet* in Evpatoria by Joseph ben Solomon *Luzki. He knew German and Polish and was involved in community affairs. He served as a proofreader of Karaite books in the printing press where he also managed publishing and printing works in 1835–45. In 1834 he reprinted the *Adderet Eliyahu* of Elijah *Bashyazi, adding to the section dealing with the new moon two treatises, *Yemot Olam* and *Halikhot Olam*. He also wrote *Kevi'ot Rashei Ḥodashim u-Tekufot ke-Minhag ha-Kara'im* and *Ma'amar be-Kiddush ha-Ḥodesh* (Eupatoria, 1840), on calendation and the calculation of the new moon. His main work *Ẓemaḥ David*, completed in 1848, but published posthumously (St. Petersburg, 1897; Ashdod, 2004), contains essays on the laws concerning Sabbath, abstinence, determination of the new moon, etc., and poems and elegies, as well as annotations to biblical passages, the obligations of a man before God, resurrection of the dead, and so on. Still in Kukizow he learned rabbinic literature and was friendly with Nachman *Krochmal. In 1854 he left the Crimea because of the Crimean War and moved to Nickolaev, where his sons dwelled and spent the rest of his life there. He died in Nickolaev of cholera.

He had five sons, Mordechai, Joseph, Moses, Judah, and Nisan. His most famous son, JUDAH (1840–1917), lived in the Crimea and St. Petersburg. His works include two treatises on calendation; *Binah la-Ittim* (parts 1–2, Odessa, 1878–79), and *Halikhot Olam* (part 1, Odessa, 1880); an edition with Russian translation of the Passover *Haggadah* according to the Karaite rite (Odessa, 1883; St. Petersburg, 1889); and two works in Russian "A Short Sketch of the History of the Karaites" (St. Petersburg, 1900) and "Forty-Four Epitaphs from the Karaite Cemetery at Chufut-Qaleh" (*ibid.*, 1910), where he tried to refute the accusations about *Firkovich's falsifications of the dates on tomb inscriptions. Judah disappeared after he left his house in Petrograd during the events of the Bolshevik revolution in October 1917.

David Kukozow, possibly the grandson of David ben Mordechai, was a member of the Haskalah. He wrote a number of articles in the Karaite journal in Russian "Karaite Life" (*Karaimskaja zhizn*) in 1911–12 about Karaite national identity, the importance of the study of Russian language and secular sciences by Karaite youth, and the importance of modernization of the curriculum in Karaite school.

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[Isaak Dov Ber Markon / Golda Akhiezer (2nd ed.)]

KULBAK, MOYSHE (1896–1940), Yiddish poet, novelist, and dramatist. Kulbak was born in Smorgon near Vilna. He wrote first in Hebrew but soon changed to Yiddish and published his first book of poems *Shirim* ("Poems," 1920) while teaching in Vilna's Yiddish schools. His early poetry was under the influence of Neo-Romanticism and Symbolism. He spent the years 1920–23 in Berlin, where he was exposed to the latest literary trends, especially Expressionism, the influences of which were apparent in his poetry, in the messianic drama *Yakov Frank* (1923), and in the grotesque short novel *Meshiekh ben Efroyim* (1924). In 1923 he returned to Vilna, taught modern Yiddish literature at the famous "Real-Gimnazye" and at the Yiddish Teachers' Seminary, and published the long poem "Vilna" (1926) and the apocalyptic novel *Montog* ("Monday," 1926), among other works. A collection of his works in three volumes appeared in 1929 in Vilna. Kulbak was interested in theater and with his students performed Yiddish plays. In 1928, disappointed with the literary atmosphere in Poland, he cast his lot with the Minsk Group of Soviet Yiddish writers. As a modernist, decadent, and pessimistic writer, it was hard for Kulbak to conform to the dictates of socialist-realism and Soviet utopianism. His major work from this period is *Zelmenyaner* (1931; Heb. 1940), a novel that narrates with lively colors and black humor the story of a Soviet-era Jewish family in Minsk. In his comic epic, *Disner Tshayld Harold* (1933; modeled after Lord Byron's work), his satiric barbs were directed against the decadent German bourgeoisie. In 1937, while he was at the height of his popularity and his last play, *Boytre* (1936), was being performed in Moscow, the secret police arrested him, forbidding further performances of his plays and all mention of his books. He was imprisoned as a slave laborer until his death in 1940. He was posthumously rehabilitated in 1956.

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[Sol Liptzin / Itay B Zutra (2nd ed)]

KULISHER, family of scholars and communal workers in Russia. Its founder, MOSES KULISHER, went to Russian Volhynia from Galicia at the beginning of the 19th century. An adherent of *Haskalah, he engaged in agriculture.

His son REUBEN (1828–1896) was a physician and communal worker. After completing his studies at the Medico-Surgical Academy of St. Petersburg in 1856, he became an army physician and was sent by the government to Western Europe to specialize in the fields of military hygiene and sanitation, on which he later wrote studies and articles. Reuben was a friend and disciple of I.B. *Levinsohn. He also wrote scientific articles in Hebrew ("*Al ha-Koḥot ha-Po'alim ba-Beri'ah*" (after Helmholtz), in *Ha-Ẓefirah*, 1862, and "*Mah Hi ha-Ẓara'at*" in *Gan Peraḥim*, 1891). His memoirs, *Itogi* (1896), originally published in the Russian Jewish periodical *Voskhod* from 1891 to 1894, contain important material on the history of the education of the Jews in Russia; the author describes "the hopes and expectations of Russian Jewry over the last 50 years, 1838–88."

Moses' grandson MICHAEL (1847–1919), a historian, ethnographer, and communal worker, studied at the rabbinical seminary of Zhitomir and at the law faculty of the University of St. Petersburg. From 1869 to 1871 he was on the editorial board of the Russian Jewish newspaper *Den*. Proceeding to study scientific subjects in Western Europe, he published numerous articles in Russian and German periodicals, as well as several books, including *Das Leben Jesu – Eine Sage* (1876), in which he was one of the first to claim that the stories of the New Testament were only legends. He also attacked the blood libel. Michael Kulisher was a committee member of the *Society for the Promotion of Culture among the Jews of Russia and the *Jewish Colonization Association (ICA) as well as one of the founders of the *Jewish Society for History and Ethnography, in whose quarterly he published several articles. His basic contention in these studies on the Jews in Poland and Russia is that the fate of the Jews in the Diaspora depends on the economic situation of the various host countries. Michael Kulisher was among the founders of the "Jewish Democratic Group," established in 1906 under the leadership of M. *Vinaver, which considered that the future of the Jews was bound up with the establishment of a liberal regime in Russia.

JOSEPH (1878–1934), son of Michael, was a noted economic historian, author of important studies in Russian and German on the economy of Russia and Western Europe. In the field of Jewish history, he wrote on the economic situation of the Jews during the Middle Ages (in *Voskhod*, 21:9 (1901), 30–50; no. 10 (1901), 120–142) and on the Jews in Prussian silk production in the 18th century (in *Yevreyskaya Starina*, 11 (1924), 129–61). Another of Michael's sons, EUGENE (1881–1956), jurist and legal historian, moved to Germany after the Communist Revolution and lectured on Russian law at the University of Berlin. He later moved to France and then to the United States. His works include *Europe on the Move: War and Population Changes 1917–1947* (1948). A third son, ALEXANDER (1890–1942), jurist and sociologist, settled in Paris after the 1917 Revolution. There he became one of the leading contributors to the newspaper of the liberal Russian emigrants, *Posledniya Novosti*. He lost his life in the Holocaust in France.

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[Yehuda Slutsky]

KULKA, ERICH (originally **Schön**; 1922–1995), Czech author, publicist, and historian. Born in Vsetín, Moravia, Kulka spent 1939–1945 in concentration camps; from 1942 he was in Auschwitz. He escaped in January 1945 with his son Otto. In 1968 he immigrated to Israel, where he worked at the Institute of Contemporary History at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. In his writing, Kulka drew on events from World War II and the Holocaust. He published many articles, studies, and books on these themes in Czechoslovakia, Israel, and many other countries.

His works include *Továrna na smrt* (1946, "The Death Factory") with Otto Kraus; *Noc a mlha* ("Night and Mist," 1958) with Otto Kraus; *Frankfurtský proces* ("The Frankfurt Trial," 1964); *Útěk z tábora smrti* ("Escape from a Death Camp," 1966); *Soudcové, žalobci a obhájci* ("Judges, Prosecutors, Defenders," 1966); *Židé ve Svobodově armádě* ("Jews in the Czechoslovak Svoboda Army," 1979, 1990); *Židé v československém vojsku na Západě* ("Jews in the Czechoslovak Western Army," 1992).

Of his three sons, Otto Dov Kulka is an Israeli historian; Dan Kulka is an Israeli sculptor; Tomáš Kulka is an Israeli-Czech philosopher and esthetician living in Prague.

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[Milos Pojar (2nd ed.)]

KULTUR-LIGE ("Culture League"), a Yiddish organization, created in Kiev in January 1918, when the Ukraine enjoyed its short-lived independence, with national-personal autonomy declared for the country's Russian, Jewish, and Polish population. The league was conceived as a supraparty body whose aim was to construct and promote a new Jewish culture, based on Yiddish and secular democratic values. Among its founders were the Kiev Yiddish activists Dovid *Bergelson, Yekhezkel *Dobrushin, Moshe *Litvakov, and Nakhman *Mayzel. The league epitomized the idea of Jewish national-cum-cultural survival as an extraterritorial, autonomous Yiddish-speaking nation. The league was headed by its Central Committee and realized its trend-setting projects through the following sections: educational, publishing, library, musical, theatrical, literary, artistic, archival, and statistical. Thanks to scores of its local branches, it monopolized virtually all Yiddish cultural activities in the Ukraine and continued opening its chapters in other countries. In December 1920, the league's Central Committee was liquidated by a decree of the Kiev Province Revolutionary Committee. In its place there was appointed an Executive Committee dominated by communists. In the Soviet environment, the league's numerous successful programs were gradually reduced to activities of a publishing house, which existed until 1931. In December 1921 an attempt was made to reregister the league as an organization with headquarters in Moscow and "chief committees" in Kiev and Minsk. The (aborted) application was signed by Litvakov, Maria *Frumkin (alias Esther), Mikhl Levitan, Aleksei Granovskii, and Josef Bregman. Outside the Soviet Union, culture leagues were opened in such towns as Warsaw, Vilna, Bialystok, Grodno, Paris, Amsterdam, and Berlin, some of which survived as significant Yiddish cultural and educational institutions until the beginning of World War II.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: H. Kazovsky, *The Artists of the Kultur-Lige* (2003); G. Estraikh, *In Harness* (2005), index.

[Gennady Estraikh (2nd ed.)]

KULTUSVEREIN (Ger. "religious union"), an organizational form of Jewish communal life in the Hapsburg *monarchy between 1848 and 1890. The founding of new Jewish communities had been forbidden from 1779, but after 1848, when Jews were allowed to settle in localities previously prohibited to them, they organized their communal life into associations of this kind, although continuing to be members of their communities of origin and bound to pay taxes to them. In 1869 there were 69 such societies in Bohemia and six in Moravia. In time some of these congregations were acknowledged as communities (*Kultusgemeinde*) by the authorities, although old communities, losing their members and their dues, went to any lengths to prevent this (e.g., the *Udlice community tried to prevent recognition of the *Chomutov congregation and the *Kromeriz community tried to take legal action to force its members who had settled in *Brno to continue paying taxes). The problem was solved by the law of March 21, 1890 which set up a new organizational status for Jewish communities.

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[Meir Lamed]

KUN, BÉLA (1886–1938), communist who was dictator of Hungary for a short period in 1919. Born in Szilagycseh, Kun joined the Social Democratic Party when only 16 and became secretary of the Workers' Sick Fund in Klausenburg. He fought in the Austro-Hungarian army during World War I and was captured by the Russians. He spread revolutionary ideas among his fellow prisoners in Tomsk and in February 1918 became a member of the Tomsk committee of the Bolshevik Party. He was released following the armistice in November 1918. Kun returned to Hungary shortly after the outbreak of the Hungarian revolution. He founded the Communist newspaper *Vörös Ujság* (Red Newspaper) and attempted to overthrow the moderate government in Hungary and replace it by an extreme revolutionary regime as in Russia. Arrested and imprisoned for incitement to violence in February 1919, Kun was released a month later when the government fell and he was made a member of a new cabinet of Socialists and Bolsheviks. Within a short period the moderate elements were removed from the government, Hungary was proclaimed a Soviet republic, and Kun became commissar for foreign affairs and dictator.

Kun was inspired by fanaticism and tremendous energy. His extremism led to growing discontent among the landed classes while he failed to receive the promised Russian aid from Lenin, with whom he was in regular contact. In August 1919, after the failure of the counteroffensive against the Romanian army invading Hungary, Kun fled to Vienna and then to Moscow. He was made political commissar of the Red Army of the South, and after 1920 promoted communism in Germany and Hungary through the Communist International of which he was a member of the executive. In the 1930s *Stalin turned against the supporters of international revolution as advocated by *Trotsky. Kun was discredited and disgraced and was executed on August 29, 1938. The Soviet Communist Party announced that he was tried during the Stalinist purges on charges of being "a Trotskyite conspirator, plotting to undermine the Communist International," and executed several hours after being sentenced to death. He was rehabilitated in 1955. Kun was completely alienated from Judaism.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: R.L. Tőkés, *Béla Kun and the Hungarian Soviet Republic* (1967), incl. bibl.

KUNFI (Kohn), ZSIGMOND (1879–1929), Hungarian socialist. Born in Nagykanizsa, Kunfi joined the radical Sociological Society and wrote for its political organ *Twentieth Century*. His anti-religious views led him to leave his post as secondary school teacher and join the Social Democratic Party, becoming editor of its newspaper *Népszava*.

When the revolution of 1918 overthrew the Hungarian regime, Kunfi was made minister of social welfare and later minister of education. He was commissar of education during the Communist dictatorship of Béla *Kun but resigned soon afterward in protest against Kun's extremist policies. In August 1919, when the counterrevolutionaries seized power in Hungary, he immigrated to Austria. He became editor of the socialist *Arbeiter Zeitung* and also of *Vilagossag*, an emigrant socialist paper in Hungarian. He taught at the People's University of Vienna, where he preached against the danger of Communism and even criticized his own role in the Hungarian revolution.

Kunfi was a brilliant essayist, a convincing orator, and a sociologist of distinction. He translated the works of Marx, Kautsky, *Lassalle, Anatole France, and *Zola into Hungarian and, although he officially left the Jewish community, he wrote a penetrating study of the Jewish problem in Hungary. He committed suicide in 1929.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: UJE, 6 (1942), 488; *Magyar Irodalmi Lexikon*, 1 (1963), 721; E. Fischer, *Erinnerungen und Reflexionen* (1969), index.

[Baruch Yaron]

KUNIN, MADELEINE MAY (1933–), U.S. politician, governor of Vermont. Kunin was born in Zurich, Switzerland. Her mother was Swiss and her father, who died when Kunin was three, was born in Germany. Amid the rising threat of Nazism and fear of a German invasion, Kunin's mother was able to obtain United States visas for her children and herself and the family arrived in New York City in June 1940. Kunin graduated from the University of Massachusetts in 1956 with a B.A. in history and went on to receive an M.S. from the Columbia University School of Journalism. In the 1950s Kunin worked as a journalist in Burlington, Vermont, and as a tour guide at the United States Pavilion at the Brussels World Fair. During the 1960s, Kunin was a homemaker with an active volunteer life in the fields of health, child welfare, and Democratic Party politics. Inspired by the women's movement, Kunin sought public office and was elected to the Vermont House of Representatives in 1972. During a second

House term, Kunin became minority whip, the first woman elected to a legislative leadership position in Vermont. Kunin was elected lieutenant governor in 1978 and became the leader of Vermont's Democrats in 1980; she became Vermont's first female governor in 1984. As governor, Kunin promoted environmental programs, the establishment of a family court, and land-use planning legislation. She strongly supported women's reproductive rights and encouraged young women to enter politics. Kunin always stressed her status as an immigrant and a Jew. In her autobiography, *Living a Political Life*, she wrote, "On some level that I do not yet fully understand, I believe I transformed my sense of the Holocaust into personal political activism. This was the source of my political courage. I could do what the victims could not: oppose evil whenever I recognized it. The United States of America would protect me. I lived in a time and place when it was safe for a Jew to be a political person, to speak, to oppose, to stand up." In 1993, Kunin, who had declined to run for a fourth term as governor, was appointed deputy secretary of education in the first Clinton term. She became United States ambassador to Switzerland, the country of her birth, in 1996. Kunin returned to Vermont in 2000; in 2003 she was named distinguished visiting professor at the University of Vermont. Her books include *The Big Green Book: A Four Season Guide to Vermont* (1976) and *Living a Political Life* (1994).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Current Biography Yearbook* (1987); *Who's Who of American Women* (2003); *Working Woman* (July 1986).

[Libby White (2nd ed.)]

KUNITZ, STANLEY JASSPON (1905–), U.S. poet and editor. Born in Worcester, Massachusetts, of Russian parents Kunitz applied himself to mastering the English language while still a child, and the acquisition of new words became his hobby. Educated at Harvard, he taught poetry at the New School for Social Research and at Brandeis and Columbia universities. His first verse collection, *Intellectual Things* (1930) was well received, as was his second, *Passport to the War* (1944). His *Selected Poems 1928–1958* (1958), received the Pulitzer Prize and other awards. Kunitz's *The Poems of Stanley Kunitz 1928–1978* was published in Boston (1979) and was awarded the Leonore Marshall Poetry Prize in 1980.

Of special note are his *A Kind of Order, A Kind of Folly: Essays and Conversations* (1975); *Collected Poems* (2000), and *The Wild Braid: A Poet Reflects on a Century within the Garden* (2005). With Howard Haycraft, Kunitz also gained distinction as the editor of reference works on literature, for some of which he used the pen name "Dilly Tante." Works of this kind include: *Authors Today and Yesterday* (1933); *American Authors 1600–1900* (1938); and *Twentieth Century Authors* (1942; *First Supplement*, 1955).

ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY: M. Henault, *Stanley Kunitz* (1980); G. Orr, *Stanley Kunitz: An Introduction to his poetry* (1985).

[Milton Henry Hindus / Lewis Fried (2nd ed.)]

KUNSTADT, ISAAC (Ignáz) BEN ELIEZER LIPMAN (1838–1909), Hungarian rabbi. Kunstadt was born in Pressburg and studied under Abraham Samuel Benjamin *Sofer (Schreiber), and afterward proceeded to Vienna. He was rabbi of Nagyabony (Hungary) from 1862 to 1882, and of the "status quo" community (i.e., the moderates who stood between the Orthodox and the Neolog communities) of Nagyvárad (Grosswardein) from 1882 to 1884. In the latter year he was appointed chief rabbi of Radautz (Radauti, in Bukovina). He possessed a good knowledge of German and was a fluent preacher in that language, but his ignorance of Hungarian, which was then rapidly becoming the vernacular of Hungarian Jewry, was a stumbling block. He is the author of *Lu'aḥ Ereẓ* (2 pts., 1885–87), consisting of talmudic novellae and scriptural interpretations; *Lu'aḥ Ereẓ he-Ḥadash*, a second edition with additions, was published in Vienna in 1915. Many of the sermons he preached on special occasions were published as separate pamphlets.

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[Nathaniel Katzburg]

KUNSTLER, WILLIAM (1919–1995), U.S. lawyer. Kunstler was born in New York. He majored in French at Yale University, where he was elected to Phi Beta Kappa, and graduated in 1941. He served with the Army Signal Corps in the Pacific in World War II, rising to the rank of major and earning a Bronze Star. After the war, he attended Columbia Law School, graduating in 1949. In the mid-1950s, Kunstler represented a State Department employee whose passport had been confiscated when he traveled to China as a freelance reporter. By the early 1960s he was doing work with the American Civil Liberties Union and representing the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. and his allies in the civil rights cause, and his course was set: he became one of the best-known lawyers in the United States, championing left-of-center clients and unpopular causes. He not only made a career but also a life out of representing people and movements that were often despised. His clients' "popularity" seemed to inspire him, and he earned praise as a brilliant lawyer and a skillful and courageous litigator, but also scorn as a showoff and publicity seeker. He represented Dr. King as he battled segregation in Georgia; Representative Adam Clayton Powell Jr., who contended that his skin color made him unpopular with Congressional colleagues, and Stokely Carmichael, who popularized the "black power" rallying cry. Among his notorious clients was a man who shot six people to death on a Long Island Rail Road train, and he had a role in the defense of suspects in the 1993 bombing of the World Trade Center. One of his notable victories was winning acquittal of El Sayyid Nosair on murder charges in the 1990 death of Rabbi Meir *Kahane, despite eyewitnesses who said they had seen the defendant slay the militant leader of the Jewish Defense League. Nosair was convicted of gun possession and other lesser charges. Perhaps his best-known case involved the so-called Chicago Seven, who were tried on charges that they conspired to incite riots that made a tumult of the Democratic National Convention in 1968 in Chicago. His clients in the trial were people whose names were constantly linked to the turbulence of that era: Jerry Rubin, Tom Hayden, Rennie Davis, David Dellinger, Abbie Hoffman, John R. Froines, and Lee Weiner. Bobby Seale, a member of the militant Black Panther party, was originally included in the group but his case was tried separately. The infamous trial, in which the defendants mocked the judge, ended with the acquittal of all on conspiracy charges, although five were found guilty of crossing state lines with intent to riot. For his many sharp exchanges with the judge, Julius J. Hoffman, Kunstler got a contempt-of-court sentence of 4 years 13 days. But all the convictions in the trial, including Kunstler's, were overturned on appeal. Kunstler wrote several books, including *Beyond a Reasonable Doubt?: The Original Trial of Caryl Chessman*, a 1961 account of a convict in California executed after more than a decade on death row, and *The Case for Courage: The Stories of Ten Famous American Attorneys Who Risked Their Careers in the Cause of Justice*, published in 1962.

[Stewart Kampel (2nd ed.)]

KUNTERES (Heb. קֻנְטְרֵס), a written sheet, a notebook, or (later) a pamphlet. Various suggestions have been put forward as to the derivation of the word. L. Zunz regarded it as an abbreviation, or corruption, of the Latin word *commentarius*. Although in *Yalkut Shimoni* Psalms 749, the reading is "He took a blank *kunteres* and handed it to the judge," the parallel passage in *Midrash Tehillim* to 45:5 reads "he took a קרטס," and on this basis it has been suggested that it is a corruption of the Greek Χάρτης ("a card, or sheet"). Elijah Levita, on the other hand (Tishbi s.v.), connects it with the Latin *quinterno* or *quaterno* ("a notebook"). The essence of the *kunteres* was that it consisted of individual sheets bound together, in contrast to the continuous scroll. Rashi (to Shab. 98b) explains the word *atba* ("a clasp"; Men. 32a; Shab. 98a) to refer to "the clasp which held together the pages of a *kunteres*," and he himself refers to the "*kunteres* of my old teacher" (Git. 82a). It seems certain that these *kunteresim* for talmudic works originated in the geonic period, from the fact that those who received answers to the questions addressed to the *geonim* collected them in bound volumes, arranging them either in accordance with their contents, or in the order of the tractates, or joining together all the responsa emanating from one *Gaon* (see S. Abramson, *Sinai – Sefer Yovel* (1958), 404ff., and especially idem in *Jubilee Volume in Honor of Harry Wolfson* (1965), 1–23). In this respect the *kunteresim* played a significant role in the emergence of the Hebrew book. The most common use of the word, however, is as the common designation used by the tosafists for Rashi's commentary to the Talmud (although Rashi himself as well as his pupils refer to his Bible commentary by this name), probably because it was written on separate sheets and bound together. In later ages, however, authors of rabbinic works used the word *kunteres* for a pamphlet which was usually in the form of an appendix to the main work, and from this the word came to be used for any pamphlet or booklet.

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[Louis Isaac Rabinowitz]

KUNZ, JOSEF LAURENZ (1890–1970), international lawyer. Born in Vienna, Kunz lectured in international law at the University of Vienna from 1927–32, when he emigrated to the United States. From 1934, Kunz was professor at the Toledo college of law in Ohio. He lectured at various universities in Europe and America including The Hague Academy of International Law. Kunz wrote numerous books and articles on international law including *Die Voelkerrechtliche Option* (2 vols., 1925–28), *Kriegsrecht und Neutralitaetsrecht* (1935), *The Mexican Expropriations* (1940), and the introduction to *Latin-American Legal Philosophy* (1948). *The Changing Law of Nations* (1968) contains Kunz's principal writings on international law.

[Josef J. Lador-Lederer]

KUPER, JACK (1932–), graphic designer, actor, dramatist, filmmaker, and author. Kuper was born in Poland, and during World War II, at the age of nine, he was separated from his family and then spent four years hiding in the Polish countryside. His mother and brother were murdered in the Sobibor death camp. In 1947, Kuper arrived in Toronto as part of the Canadian-sponsored War Orphans Project which resettled several thousand child Holocaust survivors in Canada. He went to school in Toronto, where he studied commercial art. During the 1950s he worked as a graphic designer and actor with CBC television and began to write and produce radio and television dramas. In 1966 Kuper published an account of his wartime experiences, *Child of the Holocaust*. Widely praised, the book was translated into numerous languages and remains a staple of Holocaust testimony. A second autobiographical volume published in 1994, *After the Smoke Cleared*, chronicles Kuper's postwar life in Canada and his reunification with his father, who survived the war in Siberia. Kuper eventually turned his talents to documentary film. His most controversial documentary, *Who Was Jerzy Kosinski* (1996), examines the enigma of the author of *The Painted Bird*, ostensibly an autobiography, but a fabrication of a story very similar to that of Kuper. Kuper's other notable films include *A Day in the Warsaw Ghetto: A Birthday Trip in Hell* (1991), based on the photos of a Wehrmacht soldier; *Shtetl* (1995), documenting the paintings of folk artist Mayer Kirshenblatt and his memories of prewar Poland; *Children of the Storm* (2000), on the postwar Jewish orphans who found refuge in Canada; and *The Fear of Felix Nussbaum* (2000), about an artist who was killed in Auschwitz.

[Frank Bialystok (2nd ed.)]

KUPER, SIMON MEYER (1906–1963), South African Supreme Court judge. Kuper was appointed King's Counsel in 1946 and raised to the bench in 1955. He was chairman of the South African Jewish Board of Deputies (1944–49) and the South African Zionist Federation (1950–55). He gave evidence on behalf of South African Jewry before the Anglo-American Commission of Inquiry on Palestine (1946). Kuper died of a shot fired through the window of his house by an unknown assassin.

KUPERNIK, ABRAHAM (1821–1892), Russian communal worker and writer. After studying at the yeshivah of Volozhin, he was attracted by the Haskalah movement and studied languages and sciences. From 1851 he was employed as a clerk in J.Y. Guenzburg's brandy-distilling monopolies and was appointed director of the Kiev province monopoly in 1858. Opening a private bank in Kiev, he became one of the wealthiest men in the city and a leader of the Jewish community. He also participated in the general public affairs of the city and was decorated by the Russian government. One of the founders of the *Society for the Promotion of Culture among the Jews of Russia (1863), he also joined the Ḥovevei Ẓion and was one of the contributors to **Ha-Meliẓ*. In his short work, *Le-Korot Benei Yisrael be-Kiev* ("History of the Jews in Kiev," 1891), he reprinted extracts from the register of the *ḥevra kaddisha* of Kiev.

His son LEV (1845–1905), one of the most prominent advocates in Russia, converted in order to marry a Christian woman. Renowned throughout southern Russia as the defender of the ordinary man from the arbitrariness of the law, he contributed to the liberal Russian press, especially the *Zaria* of Kiev, publishing sharp contributions which included attacks on the antisemitic press. Lev Kupernik attained fame among the Jews for his defense of the accused in the blood libel trial of Kutais (1879) and of the members of the Jewish *self-defense in *Gomel (1904).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Aḥi'asaf*, 1 (1893), 292–3; *Ha-Asif*, 6 (1893), 160–1; A. Ginsberg, *Meshumodim in Tsarishn Rusland* (1946), 264–78.

[Yehuda Slutsky]

KUPFERMAN, MOSHE (1926–2003), Israeli painter. Kupferman was born in Jaroslav, Poland, and received a Jewish education. On October 10, 1939, the German army entered his town. The Kupferman family was expelled together with the other 10,000 Jews of Jaroslav to a small village in the region of Krasnofimsk. His mother died in 1942 and his father in 1944. He and his sister returned to Poland after the war, but his sister died. In 1948 Kupferman immigrated to Israel. In the spring of 1949 he was one of the founders of Kibbutz Loḥamei ha-Getta'ot, where he lived for the rest of his life.

He studied art in various frameworks – private lessons, art seminars, and a kibbutz class. He was in contact with other kibbutz artists such as Haim Atar and Shimon Avni. In 1961 he traveled to Europe and visited all the famous museums. From 1964 Kupferman worked at his studio in the kibbutz, referring to his painting as one of the kibbutz occupations. Kupferman's art was exhibited in Europe and United States. In 1987, his one-man show, "Paintings, Works on Paper," was held at the Musée national d'Art moderne of the Georges Pompidou Center.

Kupferman's style was Abstract. His artistic language was quite Minimalist and had a repetitive character. The color scale went from gray to smokey purple. His lines were straight, precise, and dense. Much was written about these lines in an attempt to understand them. Some connected them to Holocaust images; others suggested that the lines expressed the influence of his occupation in the first years of the kibbutz as a form maker in the building trade. Kupferman himself did not confirm any of these suppositions.

Kupferman's method of artistic creation was by layers. He would start with one color, usually green, and then layer by layer add other colors, some of which he removed during the process and then, after they were mixed on his palette with other colors, put back on the canvas. This was his special way of creating his unique purple.

Most of Kupferman's paintings are untitled. Nevertheless a few series do have titles: *With Beirut-After Beirut-With Beirut* (1982); *Yitzhak Rabin in Memoriam* (1996) *The Rift in Time – Di Kriye* (1999). Although Kupferman's art was not symbolic, it seems that the term "time" in his art referred to the Holocaust.

Kupferman's art fascinated the Israeli art world. Some writers made a connection between his Abstraction and the abstractness of the Jewish God.

In 2000 Kupferman received the Israel Prize.

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[Ronit Steinberg (2nd ed.)]

KUPISKIS (Lith. **Kupiškis**, **Kupiškiai**; Yid. **Kupishok**; Rus. **Kupishki**), town in N.E. Lithuania. Tombstones from the 17th century have been found in the local Jewish cemetery. There were 1,350 Jews living in Kupiskis in 1847 and 2,661 (71% of the population) in 1897. During World War I, in May 1915, the Jews were expelled from Kupiskis, and only part of the Jewish population returned there after the war. The community numbered 1,444 (54%) in 1923, and continued to decrease in the interwar period, many of the youth immigrating to South Africa and Ereẓ Israel. The Jewish people's bank there had 369 members in 1929. As Kupiskis was one of the few towns in Lithuania with a considerable community of Ḥasidim, there were two officiating rabbis. The community had three synagogues, a yeshivah, a *talmud torah*, and three schools (Yavneh, *Tarbut, and a Yiddish school). After the German occupation the community was annihilated. In all, including Jews from the vicinity, around 3,000 were murdered.

[Dov Levin]

KURANDA, IGNAZ (1812–1884), liberal politician and Jewish communal leader in Austria. Born in Prague into a family of second-hand book dealers, Kuranda considered himself of Hussite origin. He studied for a time at Aaron *Kornfeld's yeshivah in Golcuv Jenikov. Moving to Vienna in 1834, he concentrated on writing, and one of his plays was performed. After living in Stuttgart and Paris, he went to Brussels, where he lectured on German literature and became popular with the anti-French Flemish movement, which admired everything German. In 1841 he founded the periodical *Die Grenzboten* in Brussels. It served as an organ of the pre-1848 German liberal opposition which criticized Austrian internal policy while upholding the supremacy of Austria over Germany. An outcome of his Brussels stay was his book *Belgien seit seiner Revolution* (1846). In 1842 he transferred *Die Grenzboten* to Leipzig, where he was once more mainly occupied with Austrian affairs and smuggling his periodical into that country. Jewish writers, including Moritz *Hartmann, were among his collaborators, and Kuranda helped Joseph von *Wertheimer to publish *Die Juden Oesterreichs* (1842). Returning to Vienna at the time of the 1848 revolution, he was elected to the German National Assembly in Frankfurt. Kuranda became the focus of the Czech nationalist hatred of the Jews, whom they identified with the Germans. A popular song advocated sending Kuranda to Frankfurt, urging that all the useless Jews in Bohemia be sent after him. Nevertheless, Kuranda headed the unsuccessful delegation sent by the National Assembly to Prague to persuade Czech politicians to attend the assembly. On the occasion of his wedding in Kolin (Bohemia) in the same year, anti-Jewish rioting broke out and he had to flee the town. In Vienna he established the *Ostdeutsche Post* (discontinued in 1866). After the failure of the 1848 revolution, he was kept under police supervision. After forcing the antisemite S. *Brunner to sue him for libel in 1860, Kuranda was acquitted, thereby gaining popularity among East European Jewry. Kuranda was elected to the Diet of Lower Austria in 1861, retaining his seat for 20 years. An ardent supporter of Centralism and German supremacy in Austria, he opposed the declaration of war against Prussia in 1866. A leader of the German liberal party for 23 years, he represented it on the Vienna city council.

At the same time, he devoted himself to Jewish affairs. From 1860 he was on the board of the Vienna community, serving as its president from 1872. He caused a crisis in the community through his attempt to introduce liturgical reforms, but a split was averted when a compromise was found. A supporter of Jewish studies, he was also vice president of the *Israelitische Allianz. He assisted Joseph *Bloch in his action against August *Rohling. Toward the end of his life, Kuranda's hopes of identifying the Jews with German policy in Austria began to decline. In 1882 he said, "I fear that tomorrow will destroy what has been created today."

His son CAMILLO (1851–1919), a civil servant, was a specialist in classical Roman law, publishing several books in the field, but was never admitted to the deputies' club because he was a Jew. He was also on the board of the Israelitische Allianz.

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[Meir Lamed]

KURDISTAN, region in the Middle East, divided among three countries: *Turkey, *Iraq, and *Iran. The majority of the Muslim population of Kurdistan lives in Turkey, another part in Iran, and the smallest part in Iraq. In contrast, the Jews of Kurdistan – until their great exodus in 1950–51 – lived mainly in the Iraqi region (146 communities), some in the Iranian region (19 communities), and only a few in Turkey (11 communities). There were also a few Jews in the Syrian region and other places (11 communities). There are no accurate statistics on the Jews of Kurdistan. It has been estimated that before the establishment of the State of Israel there were between 20,000 and 30,000 Jews living there. Kurdish Jews also lived in the Diyala province of Iraq, especially in the town of *Khanaqin, the number of Jews varying between 1,689 in 1920; 2,252, 1932; and 2,851, 1947. The Jews of Mosul speak Arabic and some also understand Turkish and Kurdish. For this reason, some scholars do not reckon them among the Kurdish Jews, even though they resemble them somewhat in their way of life. They form a separate unit known by the name *Miṣlawim*.

In Iraq

HISTORY. An ancient tradition relates that the Jews of Kurdistan are the descendants of the Ten Tribes from the time of the Assyrian exile. The first to mention this was R. *Benjamin of Tudela, the 12th-century traveler who visited Kurdistan in about 1170 and found more than 100 Jewish communities. In the town of *Amadiya alone, there were 25,000 Jews who spoke the language of the Targum (Aramaic) and whose numbers included scholars. The traveler *Benjamin the Second, who visited Kurdistan in 1848, also mentioned this tradition and added that the Nestorian (Assyrian) tribes were also descendants of the Ten Tribes and that they practiced Jewish customs. According to his assumption, they were descendants of Dan and Naphtali. There is no doubt that Halah and Ḥabor (modern Khabur), the river of Gozan (II Kings 17:6) – the places to which Shalmaneser, the king of Assyria, exiled the tribes – are in the vicinity of Kurdistan. During the Second Temple era the kingdom of *Adiabene was situated in this region; its inhabitants, together with their king, Monobaz, and his mother Helena, converted to Judaism in the middle of the first century. It may be presumed that there are descendants of these proselytes among the Jews of Kurdistan. *Onkelos translated *Harei Ararat* as "the mountains of Kardu" (Gen. 8:4); he also translated *Mamlekhot Ararat* as "the Kingdom of the land of Kardu" (Jer. 51:27). Josephus mentions the "mountains of Kurdukhim" (Ant. 1:93). In the Talmud it is related that "one accepts proselytes from the Kardus" (Yev. 16a).

An ancient popular tradition states that among the Assyrians of northern Iraq there were many families of Jewish origin and these were forcibly converted to Christianity more than 500 years ago. They still observe special Jewish customs, have not assimilated among the Christians, marry among themselves, and are afraid of revealing their origin in front of the Christians. Another popular tradition states that many of the descendants of the Ten Tribes who were exiled to this region by the kings of Assyria converted to Christianity. In 38 villages of Iraqi Kurdistan there were hundreds of Jews who claimed descent from the tribe of Benjamin and who possessed a holy book in Kurdish. They lived in the provinces of Mosul, Kirkuk, and Khanaqin. Some of them emigrated to *Afghanistan and the Caucasus. During the middle of the seventh century – at the time of the Arab conquest – the treaty of conquest was signed in the town of Dabil, on the Armenian border, with the "Magians [Zoroastrians] and the Jews" (according to al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ al-Buldān* (1318 A.H.), 280; Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, s.v. Dabīl). From this it is ascertained that there was another Jewish community in addition to that of Mosul and possibly that of Irbil.

During the 12th century two messianic movements arose in the neighborhood of the town of Amadiya: that of Menahem b. Solomon ibn Ruḥi (or Dugi) and that of David *Alroy. Some scholars regard these as one movement. There is no clear information available on the situation of the Jews during the 13th–15th centuries. From the beginning of the 16th century, however, information gradually becomes more available. The statistics provided by various travelers of different periods indicate great fluctuations over short periods of time in the Jewish population of every town and village. At times, the Jewish population increased or decreased by several hundred within four or five years. The cause for this was the instability of their economic and security situation; consequently, they often migrated from the smaller villages to the larger ones and from there to the large towns. Every pogrom caused the local Jews to flee to neighboring communities – for long or short periods – until the danger was past. In the 20th century the use of motor vehicles was an important reason for the removal of commerce from the smaller centers to the larger ones. Since there were no official statistics, the travelers relied solely on estimates.

ECONOMIC CONDITIONS. The economic situation of the Jews was difficult; many of them lived in poverty and distress. The urban Jews were essentially engaged in commerce and crafts. Several of them owned estates with peasants and agricultural laborers. In eastern Kurdistan the number of merchants was greater than that of craftsmen. These tradesmen could be divided into wholesalers, shopkeepers, and peddlers. The craftsmen were weavers, gold- and silversmiths, dyers, carpenters, tanners, cobblers, and unskilled workers. There were no bankers among the Jews, this occupation being in the hands of the feudal lords. The Jewish farmers cultivated mainly wheat, barley, rice, sesame, lentils, and tobacco. They owned orchards, vineyards, flocks of sheep, and herds of cattle. There were also agricultural villages, all of whose inhabitants were Jews (e.g., Sindur). Jewish peasants were found mainly in *Ruwandiz, Tel-Kabar, Barazan, *Dehok, Aqrah, Shandukha, Bitanura, Bashkala, Koi-Sanjaq, Mirawa, Karada, and Girzengal. As a result of droughts, famines broke out in several places (1880, 1888, 1889, etc.) and their inhabitants were compelled to migrate to other places. Many fled to Baghdad, where they found employment in various occupations. The Jews of Kurdistan are known for their strength and sturdiness.

INSTABILITY OF LIVING CONDITIONS. The lives of the Jews of Kurdistan were subject to anarchy. Political and economic factors determined their places of residence and their migrations from one place to another. They were scattered in many villages and lived among various Muslim and Christian sects. Robbery and murder were common occurrences. Because of their isolation from the outside world, no concern was shown for them; their persons and belongings were enslaved to feudal rulers. In order to safeguard their lives, they were compelled to seek the protection of the powerful Agha, to whom they paid a special tax. He was a kind of tribal chief who traveled about accompanied by groups of armed servants. The Jews subordinated themselves to him and fulfilled his orders. Some of the Aghas sold Jews or gave them away as presents; this servitude continued until the beginning of the 20th century. In 1912, 12 Jews were murdered in Kurdistan. For them this was the sign to liquidate their affairs and sell their fields and houses at a low price in order to emigrate to Palestine. The anti-Zionist propaganda which began in Iraq in 1925 adversely affected the position of the Jews of Kurdistan. The persecutions gained in intensity from day to day and reached their height at the time of the revolt of Rashīd ʿĀlī (1941). With establishment of the State of Israel, most of them traveled to Baghdad and from there flew to Israel in the "Operation Ezra and Nehemiah." In 1970 a small number of Kurdish Jews remained in the regions of Iran, Turkey, and Syria.

THE ORGANIZATION OF THE COMMUNITIES AND THEIR SPIRITUAL FOUNDATION. Prior to the 19th century the large communities were headed by *nesi'im* who imposed their authority on the public and collected special taxes. The *nasi* was also called *shoter* ("officer of the law") or *sar* ("minister"). The *ḥakhamim* were also subordinated to them. This position was abolished during the 19th century. From the beginning of the 16th century, there were several rabbis of the Adoni (or *Barazani), Mizraḥi, Duga, and Ḥariri families. Some of them practiced practical Kabbalah and various legends were woven around them. About 30 Kurdish *paytanim* are known from among the inhabitants of Barazan, Mosul, Amadiya, Ḥarīr, Naṣībīn, *Zākho, and other places. They wrote religious and secular poems in Hebrew and in Aramaic; 54 of them were published by Abraham Ben-Jacob in his book *Kehillot Yehudei Kurdistan* (1961). The most important of these poets were R. Samuel b. Nethanel ha-Levi *Barazani, who was also a *rosh yeshivah* in Mosul during the 17th century, and his daughter Asenath; R. Phineas b. R. Isaac Ḥariri and his son R. Ḥayyim; R. Simeon b. Jonah Mizraḥi; R. Gershon b. Raḥamim; R. Simeon b. Benjamin Abidani; R. Moses b. Isaac Bajulnaya; R. Samuel b. Simeon ʿAjamiya; R. Baruch b. Samuel Mizraḥi, the author of *Shirei Zimrah*; and others.

Each community was headed by the *ḥakham*, who was also a *ḥazzan, mohel, shoḥet*, and *bodek* ("examiner of slaughtered animals"), treasurer, teacher, scribe, and writer of amulets. The smaller communities were subordinated to the larger ones; in all religious and legal matters they turned to the rabbis of Baghdad. Religious and spiritual life was centered around the synagogue and the *talmud torah*. In the large communities there were several synagogues, some of which were very old. One was built in 1210 (in Mosul) and a second in 1228 (in Amadiya). The Alliance Israélite Universelle opened schools only in the towns of Mosul (1900 and 1906) and Kirkuk (in 1912).

KURDISH LANGUAGE. The Jews of Kurdistan spoke an Aramaic with insertions of Turkish, Persian, Kurdish, Arabic, and Hebrew words. They called it the "language of the Targum" or *Lishna Yehudiyya* ("language of the Jews"), as well as *Lashon ha-Galut*. The Arabs called it *jabalī*, i.e., "of the mountains," because it was essentially spoken by the inhabitants of the mountains. They called themselves *Anshei Targum* ("People of [the language of] the Targum"). A.J. Maclean found four dialects in the language; J.J. *Rivlin found only three dialects. The Nestorian Christians who live in this region also speak Aramaic, which they refer to as "Syrian." This language is also spoken by the Sabeans, who live along the banks of the Lower Euphrates, around the town of Nāṣiriyya, and along the banks of the Lower Tigris in the region of Amadiya. In about 1930 it was estimated that 9,837 persons spoke *Aramaic in Iraqi Kurdistan; they were to be found in the following provinces (*qaḍāʾ*): Zakho (1,471), Amadiya (1,821), Zibar (100), Ruwandiz (250), Dehok (843), ʿAqrah (1,000), Irbil (250), Matuk (1,900), Koi-Sanjaq (302), Sulaimaniya (900), Halabja (400), and in others (500). In addition to the above, Aramaic was also spoken in Persian and Turkish Kurdistan and in Israel. It is estimated that between 15,000 and 20,000 people speak Aramaic.

ALIYYOT TO PALESTINE. Dozens of emissaries from Palestine visited Kurdistan; they noted the Jews' sympathy for and contributions to the Holy Land. The *aliyah* to Palestine already began during the 16th century. The first immigrants lived in Safed. Between 1920 and 1926, 1,900 Kurdish Jews emigrated to Palestine. In 1935, 2,500 Jews emigrated. With the establishment of the State of Israel almost all the Jews of Iraqi Kurdistan (see *Iraq, Kurdish Jews), and many from other places, emigrated there. In Israel they formed committees, according to the provinces and towns where they had lived in Kurdistan, and are scattered in many towns and settlements, with a large proportion living in and around Jerusalem.

[Abraham Ben-Yaacob]

In Iran

The Jewish Kurds of Iran have traditionally been living in Iran since 722 B.C., when according to II Kings (17:6; 18: 9–12) they were deported from Samaria and brought to the cities of the Medes, which roughly correspond to the present provinces of *Azerbaijan, Kurdistan, and the western part of *Gilān. Jewish Kurds are mentioned by Benjamin of Tudela. The Jewish Kurds of Iran speak their own language, which linguistically is classified as a Neo-Judeo-Aramaic language. They have produced their own literature in this language. It is close to the present language of the Assyrians (Ashuri). If their language is an indication of their ethnic identity, one may say they do not live only in the province of Kurdistan but also in the cities and villages of Azerbaijan and territories adjacent to Gilān, *Hamadan, *Kermanshah, and their vicinity. As such, it is safe to say that in the 20th century they lived in more than 45 towns and villages in north and northwest Iran.

There are no coherent historical records of their past except some scattered information gathered from Jewish and non-Jewish travelogues. Rabbi David d'Beth Hillel visited the following settlements of the Iranian Jewish Kurds around 1827/28: Bāneh, where ten Jewish families lived together with 1,000 Muslim families; they were poor and possessed one synagogue. Fifteen Jewish families lived in Saqqez which had 1,000 Muslim families. They had one synagogue and some of them were wealthy. Sāvoj-Bulāgh (today called Mahābād) was a large city, having 25 Jewish families and a fine synagogue. They were generally rich and lived among 15,000 Muslim families. R. David mentions a village where 10 Jewish families lived but he does not give its name (most probably the village was Tāzeh-Qal`eh). In Urmiah (name changed to Rezāiyeh) 200 Jewish families lived among 60,000 Muslims who, according to the traveler, were "wicked" and spoke Persian, Turkish, and Kurdish. Jews had three synagogues and most of them lived comfortably. The rabbi of the Jewish community was a rich man. The Christians there were more mistreated than the Jews. The "beautiful city" of Salmās (changed to Shāhpur) had 100 Jewish and 400 Christian families and 10,000 Muslim inhabitants. Most of the Jews were rich. They had one fine synagogue. In the city of Bāsh-Qalʿeh there lived 20 Jewish, 100 Christian, and 2,000 Muslim families. Most of the Jews were rich and they had one small synagogue. In the small town of Miyāndoab there were 15 Jewish families among 4,000 Muslims. The town had no Christians. In 1801 a violent pogrom befell the Jews of the city as a result of a blood libel. The town of Garus had 25 Jewish families living among 3,000 Muslim families. Some of the Jews were rich. There were no Christians in the town. In the big city of Seneh (name changed to Sanandaj) there were 300 Jewish families among 50,000 Muslim families. They had two synagogues and some were rich merchants. In the small town of Qoslān five

Jewish families lived among 1,000 Muslims. No Christians lived there.

There is no doubt that there were several dozen towns and villages where Jewish Kurds lived. Reports about some of them came before their immigration to the State of Israel. In addition to what has been mentioned above, we hear of towns and villages such as Bijār, Bukān, Gahvāreh, Marivān, Naqdeh, Oshnoviyeh, Qorveh, Sardasht, Shāhin-Dez, Soldoz, Takāb, and others. In 1948, the Jewish Agency in Teheran estimated the total number of Jewish Kurds in Iran, Iraq, and Turkey at about 50,000, of which about 15,000 lived in Iran. It is possible that the real figures were higher. Almost all of them were preparing themselves for *aliyah* to the Jewish State. In general, relative to other Jewish communities across Iran, Jewish Kurds had correct relations with the Muslims, particularly with the Sunnis. The Israel-Arab conflict aggravated their fragile relations, however. By the end of the 20th century a small number of Jews were reported to have been living in large cities of Kurdistan such as Sanandaj and Mahābād. In Israel, the Jewish Kurds of Iran separated themselves from those of other countries. They have their separate organizations and even plan their feast on the last day of Passover on different days and under different names: Seyrānah for the Kurds of Iran and Sahrānah for other Jewish Kurds. Their common periodical in Israel is called *Hitḥadshut*.

[Amnon Netzer (2nd ed.)]

Musical Tradition

The style of Jewish music in Kurdistan is conditioned by the multinational and multilingual character of the country which in its long history scarcely ever aimed at a cultural centralization and thus helped to preserve the musical dialects of the Iraqi, Iranian, Syrian, and Turkish regions of the area. The foremost feature of Jewish song in Kurdistan is the unique melodic style of the renditions of Aramaic texts (which is distinct from the general "Oriental Sephardi" style used for Hebrew texts). Connected with liturgical or spiritual texts, this melodic style is basically determined by the speech-melody of the Aramaic language, with a tendency to proceed over long stretches in a litany or parlando style, especially if the text is of a narrative nature (as in the chanting of the biblical books in the local Aramaic version, or the Zohar). If the contents are of a poetical or meditative-kabbalistic nature, the words may be interrupted by long and drawn-out melismatic insertions produced in a slow and deep vibrato, often with a curious change of voice timbre.

A further factor for the formation of Jewish song in Kurdistan is the contact with Arab music, which since the early days of Islam had gradually replaced the older musical idiom of the Mesopotamian area, especially in the sphere of artistic urban music. Equally important for the formation of the Jewish-Kurdish style of synagogue song were the bonds with the major tradition of Jewish music, foremost – cantillation and *ḥazzanut* styles. These were brought in and taught by emissaries from the spiritual centers of Near-Eastern Judaism, in the "Oriental Sephardi" idiom which was in itself already a synthesis, and which is different from the indigenous "mountain" (*jabalī*) idiom. The Kurdish cantors thus tended to be musically bilingual. However, time works against the continuation of the indigenous tradition.

Still another factor is the Kurdish folk song proper, in the Kurmanji language, with its epics, ballads, and dances, which has been widely accepted by the Jews, and synthesized with their other singing styles. The fact that Kurdish Jews lived as free peasants side by side with their Muslim neighbors is a rare instance in the history of Diaspora life, and has doubtlessly contributed to the acceptance of the host culture's lore and song.

Summarizing the distribution of languages and musical structures, which exists even within the boundaries of the one (and main) region of Iraqi Kurdistan, the following divisions become apparent in which the distinction of language is congruent with the distinctiveness of musical style: (1) Hebrew, for the liturgical music of the synagogue; (2) "Targum," i.e., Aramaic, for the religious and paraliturgical music of the *ḥeder*, yeshivah, and some rituals, serving for the study, vernacularization, and paraphrasing of the sacred texts; (3) Arabic, for the secular songs taken over from popular and artistic urban music, serving for purely social gatherings; and (4) Kurdish (*Kurmanji*), for the folk tradition of heroic epics, ballads, and dances of the rural milieu. The Hebrew and Aramaic idioms belong to the cycle of the liturgical year and the religious life cycle, and the Arabic and Kurdish idioms belong to the social folk level functions.

In this abundance of structures some main classes of music deserve particular attention. First is the chanting of the Bible, which has always been the nucleus of all creative imagination in Jewish music and its main contribution to the world's music culture. One of its basic forms is the chanting of the Psalms in a kind of speech-melody oscillating around an (imaginary) tone axis, which closely follows the poetical structure of the two half-verses, marking the main divisive points with definite and distinct melodic turns. The elaborate system of the masoretic accents is not utilized, and it is likely that an earlier version has been preserved here. Similar archaic trends can be observed in the melodic patterns of the cantillation of the biblical prose books, which suggest a pre- or extra-masoretic *jabalī* tradition for the "mode of the Prophets." The most ingenious part of Kurdish-Jewish song tradition is the paraphrasing of biblical stories in epic form, in the Aramaic vernacular. Its melodic frame reveals many common traits with the cantillation of the Pentateuch.

[Edith Gerson-Kiwi]

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KURREIN, MAX (1878–1966), Israeli engineer. Born in Austria, Kurrein worked in Birmingham (England) and in Duesseldorf, and from 1921 to 1934 was professor at the Technische Hochschule in Berlin. In 1934 he went to Palestine and was professor of industrial engineering at the Technion, Haifa, until 1958. Kurrein wrote many books, including *Cutting Tools for Metal Machining* (with F.C. Lea, 1940, second edition, 1947) and *Plasticity of Metals* (1964).

KURSHEEDT, ISRAEL BAER (1766–1852), U.S. merchant, broker, and communal leader. Kursheedt, who was born in Germany, studied under Rabbi Nathan *Adler in Frankfurt. After finishing his studies, he went into business as a contractor supplying the Prussian Army, an undertaking which proved successful. In 1796 he immigrated to the United States. After a short stay in Boston, Kursheedt settled in New York City, became active in Jewish affairs there, and was eventually chosen president of the Shearith Israel Congregation. During this period, he married the daughter of the Sephardi rabbi Gershom Mendes *Seixas. In 1812 he moved to Richmond, Virginia, where he remained for 12 years and was a member of the city's Beth Shalom synagogue. Upon returning to New York, he joined in founding the B'nai Jeshurun Congregation in 1825. In 1834 he organized the Hebrath Terumath Hakodesh, a charity dedicated to aiding the Jewish community in Palestine. Kursheedt was also president during this period of the Hebrew Mutual Benefit Society. When U.S. Jews organized themselves in protest over the *Damascus Affair (1840), Kursheedt was elected chairman of the action committee. In this capacity, he wrote to President Van Buren requesting that the American consul in Alexandria use his influence to obtain a fair trial for the persecuted Syrian Jews.

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[Leo Hershkowitz]

KURSK, capital of Kursk district, Russian Federation. Before the 1917 Revolution, Kursk was outside the *Pale of Settlement. In 1858 there were 458 Jews in the entire province (gubernia), most of them army veterans. The numbers for the province had risen to 4,355 in 1897, 1,689 of them (2.2% of the total population) in the city itself. The Kursk community was under the jurisdiction of the rabbi of Konotop. A pogrom occurred on October 20, 1905. In 1926, the Jewish population in the city was 4,154 (4.2%) and 4,914 (4.1%) in 1939. A Yiddish school existed from the early 1920s. The Germans occupied Kursk on November 2, 1941, and it seems that most of the town's Jews managed to escape. Nine Jews were killed a week later, 150 by February 1941, and a 100 in June or July 1942. In November 1956, after the *Sinai Campaign, the local Jews were compelled to sign an anti-Israel declaration published in *Izvestiya*. The only synagogue left in Kursk was closed by the authorities in the late 1960s. In 1970 the Jewish population of Kursk was estimated at about 9,000. In the early 2000s fewer than 1,000 remained but Jewish life had revived.

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[Yehuda Slutsky / Shmuel Spector (2nd ed.)]

KURSKY, FRANZ (pseudonym of **Samuel Kahan**; 1874–1950), early Bundist, born in Courland. He was one of a large family which produced many revolutionaries, inspired by the memory of a grandfather in St. Petersburg who had fought against the anti-Jewish legislation. Kursky became a member of the Polish Social Democrats in the 1890s in Warsaw, and in 1899 joined the *Bund. He subsequently went abroad where for many years he directed the Bundist conspiratorial contacts with Russia. From 1906 he supervised the Bund archives in Geneva, later installed in New York and named after him. Kursky represented the Bund in the bureau of the Second Socialist International, and contributed to the international socialist press. After many years of activity in Berlin and Paris, he was, from 1941, active in Bundist groups in New York. His writings on the history of the Jewish labor movement, including his own part in it (see pp. 407–13), are included in his *Gezamlte Shriftn* (1952).

[Moshe Mishkinsky]

KURTH, ERNST (1886–1946), musicologist. Born in Vienna, Kurth studied there and from 1912 taught at the University of Bern. His *Grundlagen des linearen Kontrapunkts; Bach's melodische Polyphonie* (1917) established his reputation. It also influenced the younger generation of composers, and stimulated the study of Bach and the teaching of counterpoint. This work was followed by *Romantische Harmonik und ihre Krise in Wagner's Tristan* (1920), an account of romantic harmony down to Debussy. In his biographical study *Bruckner* (1925) Kurth propounded a theory of musical form. He summarized his conclusions in *Musikpsychologie* (1931).

KURTZ, AARON (1891–1964), Yiddish poet and editor. Born in Vitebsk, he wandered in Russia for five years as a wigmaker's apprentice and immigrated to the United States in 1911. In 1916 he began to publish Yiddish lyrics; at first he was attracted to the *In-Zikh movement and participated in its annuals, but he later joined the Association of Yiddish Proletarian Writers. In his third volume of verse, *Plakatn* ("Placards," 1927), he introduced a new form of poetry, which he called "placard style," which sought to reproduce the kaleidoscopic metropolis. The volumes *Di Goldene Shtot* ("The Golden City," 1935), *¡No Pasaran!* (1938), and *Mark Shagal* (1946) dealt, respectively, with New York, the Spanish republicans, and the painter, whose soul like his own was rooted in Jewish Vitebsk and who continued to seek a world of justice and pure love.

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[Sol Liptzin]

KURTZ, VERNON H. (1951–), U.S. Conservative rabbi. Kurtz was born in Toronto, Canada, where he earned his B.A. from York University in 1971. In 1973 he received his M.A. from the *Jewish Theological Seminary, where he was ordained in 1976. He received his doctor of ministry degree from Chicago Theological Seminary in 1981. He served as rabbi of Congregation Rodfei Zedek in Chicago from 1976 to 1988, when he moved to the north suburban synagogue Beth El in Highland Park, Ill. He was also appointed adjunct assistant professor of Rabbinic Literature at the Spertus Institute and adjunct lecturer in Jewish Studies at the Chicago Theological Seminary. In addition, he was a monthly Torah commentator for the *Chicago Jewish News.*

Kurtz served in numerous leadership positions in the areas of Jewish communal and interfaith activities. He was president of the Chicago Board of Rabbis (1995–97), president of the Council of Religious Leaders of Metropolitan Chicago (1997–99), chairman of the *United Jewish Appeal Rabbinic Cabinet (1995–97), and a member of the Board of Trustees and of the Executive Committee of the United Jewish Communities (1998–2004). He was a member of board of The Jewish Federation of Metropolitan Chicago and chairman of its Overseas Committee as well as a member of the board of governors of the *Jewish Agency for Israel.

In 2000 Kurtz was elected president of the *Rabbinical Assembly (RA), in which capacity he established a Women's Task Force, expanded the global focus of the RA with the center being in Israel, and worked to improve lay-professional relations with the drafting of a model rabbinic contract. Following his term of office, Kurtz was elected president of Mercaz USA (in 2002) and Mercaz Olami (in 2005), the American chapter and international arm of the Zionist Organization of the Conservative movement. By virtue of this succession of presidencies, he was a member of the *Presidents' Conference of Major American Jewish Organizations long enough to be appointed its membership chairman. He also returned to the RA's Committee on Jewish Law and Standards and was named to the Leadership Council of Conservative Judaism.

Kurtz received numerous awards from local and national Jewish organizations, including the Council of Jewish Federations and the State of Israel Bonds Organization, culminating in the Rabbi Simon Greenberg Rabbinic Achievement Award bestowed upon him by the Jewish Theological Seminary in 1998. He was awarded an honorary doctorate from JTS in 2003.

[Bezalel Gordon (2nd ed.)]

KURTZER, DANIEL CHARLES (1949–), U.S. diplomat. Kurtzer was born in 1949 and raised as an Orthodox Jew in Elizabeth, New Jersey. He received his B.A. from Yeshiva University and two M.A.s and his Ph.D. in political science from Columbia University. He has remained an Orthodox Jew, embodying the twin values of Torah U-Mada that characterized his alma mater during his generation.

Kurtzer began his career in the Foreign Service in 1976, within the Bureau of International Organizational Affairs where he worked on UN political, economic, humanitarian, and developmental issues. Later, he left the State Department and became the youngest dean of Yeshiva College in New York. In 1979 Kurtzer was re-appointed to the Foreign Service and assigned as second secretary for political affairs at the American Embassy in Cairo. Then in 1982 he was appointed first secretary for political affairs at the American Embassy in Tel Aviv. He returned to Washington in 1986 and served as deputy director of Egyptian affairs and later as a speechwriter and a member of the secretary's policy planning staff. While in Tel Aviv, he won the Director General of the Foreign Service Award for reporting. In 1989 Kurtzer was appointed as deputy assistant secretary for Near Eastern affairs. After this, he served as principal deputy assistant secretary for intelligence and research, and then became acting assistant secretary in May 1997. President Bill Clinton named him U.S. ambassador to Egypt, the first Jew assigned as an American ambassador to an Arab country.

His appointment to Cairo raised considerable discomfort in the Egyptian capital, but over time Kurtzer impressed his Egyptian counterparts with the depth of his knowledge and his sheer professionalism. His appointment as U.S. ambassador to Israel by President George W. Bush was no less controversial. The Zionist Organization attacked his appointment, fearing that Kurtzer would be unduly harsh on the Israelis and unduly partisan toward the Arabs.

An anomaly as an Orthodox Jew working for the American government who negotiated with both Arabs and Israelis, Kurtzer was one of several Jews in the Clinton and the George W. Bush administrations responsible for Middle Eastern policy, along with Dennis *Ross, Martin *Indyk, and Eliot *Abrams. Each had a deep Jewish identity; Ross, Indyk, and Kurtzer were strong supporters of the Israeli peace process, and therefore doubly suspect by the right wing in Israel and the United States.

Kurtzer also faced antisemitism in Israel when Knesset member Zvi Hendel of the right-wing National Union Party attacked Kurtzer, calling him a "*yehudon*" ("little Jew") on the floor of the Knesset and charging Kurtzer with "interfering in [Israel's] internal affairs."

In Israel as well, Kurtzer conducted himself with professionalism and credibility. He was passed over for the presidency of Yeshiva University, where he had served as a dean, because he was too dovish for contemporary Orthodox life, but upon retiring from the Foreign Service in 2005 he returned to academia.

[Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

KURTZMAN, HARVEY (1924–1993), U.S. comic book creator. A cartoonist, writer, and editor with enormous influence on several generations of cartoonists and readers, Kurtzman was born in New York City and grew up with comic books. He was drawing a regular strip called *Ikey and Mikey* in chalk on neighborhood streets before he was in his teens. He had his first drawing published in 1939 in an issue of *Tip Top Comics.* He broke into the world of the commercial comic book market in 1939. After service in the army, Kurtzman found a job with Stan *Lee at Timely Comics, the precursor of modern-day Marvel. His first work was collected in the 1992 book *Hey Look!*, one-shot comic fillers he wrote, drew, and lettered. In the early 1950s, he created the ground-breaking and fabulously successful *Mad*, first as a wild color comic book, then as a black and white magazine. Under Kurtzman the magazine vigorously and fearlessly lampooned American institutions, including other comic strips and television, a medium then in its infancy. It was a publication aimed at adults. Kurtzman rediscovered and developed the character Alfred E. Neuman, *Mad*'s moronic gap-toothed mascot, created the distinctive logos, drew many early covers, and wrote most of the material for the historic first 28 issues. He left abruptly in a bitter dispute over equity with the magazine's publisher, William M. *Gaines. In 1957 Kutzman created *Trump*, a glossy high-budget satire magazine for Hugh Hefner, publisher of *Playboy*, who ceased publishing the magazine after two issues. In 1957, with other cartoonists, Kurtzman created *Humbug*, an innovative publication that lasted 11 issues. On his own, in 1959 he started his first pocketbook of all-new comics, *Jungle Book*. Its impact was profound but it too was commercially unsuccessful. He then partnered with James Warren to create his final satirical publication, *Help!* There, in the early 1960s, Kurtzman discovered and gave the first national exposure to a number of young cartoonists, including R. *Crumb, who later became integral to the "underground" comix movement. A Kurtzman assistant was Gloria *Steinem, who contributed to the magazine and who later was a founder of the magazine *Ms*. She was replaced by a college dropout, Terry Gilliam, who became one of the founders of Monty Python's Flying Circus. While at *Help!*, which relied a lot on photography (old movie stills were fitted out with new captions and complex and zany scenarios were depicted in a comic-book-like format), Kurtzman created a hilarious Candide-like feature called *Goodman Beaver* with Will *Elder. Kurtzman took the concept to a more financially secure Hugh Hefner, who approved a sex change in the character. The resulting *Little Annie Fanny*, starting in *Playboy* in 1962, was the most lavish comic strip ever created, and it continued as a *Playboy* mainstay until 1988. Such was the respect for Kurtzman and his contribution to the comic medium that the comics industry's oldest and most respected awards, The Harveys, are named for him.

[Stewart Kampel (2nd ed.)]

KURZ, SELMA (1874–1933), soprano singer. Kurz was born in Biala, Galicia, and made her debut in Hamburg as a mezzosoprano in 1895. Four years later, she was engaged by Gustav *Mahler for the Vienna Court Opera, where she appeared as a lyric-dramatic, then a coloratura, soprano, and where she remained on the roster until 1927. Her technique was brilliant enough to arouse, during her London appearances (1904–07), the jealousy of Melba, who subsequently kept her out of Covent Garden until 1927. Notable among her many Viennese successes was the creation of Zerbinetta in the revised version of Richard Strauss's *Ariadne auf Naxos* (1916), which displayed to advantage her gift of coloratura agility and her remarkable trill.

[Max Loppert (2nd ed.)]

KURZWEIL, BARUCH (**Benedict**; 1907–1972), Israeli literary critic, author, and educator. Born to a family of rabbis in Moravia, Kurzweil received his higher education in Germany and was ordained a rabbi. Immigrating to Palestine in 1939, he taught at Ḥugim High School in Haifa. In 1955 he was appointed professor of Hebrew literature at Bar-Ilan University. Kurzweil represents the New Criticism in modern Hebrew literature with its stress on close reading of the literary text itself and its internal structural and conceptual authenticity. Yet he also formulated a unified ideological framework for modern Hebrew literature, based on the assumption that its secularism breaks with the religious tradition which underlay all previous Jewish literature. As a result, the meaning of Jewish history is ignored, and modern Hebrew literature is in danger of losing its roots and, aesthetically, its depth. Kurzweil's work also opposes the secular concepts of *Aḥad Ha-Am, as well as *Scholem's assumption that the Shabbatean movement marks the beginning of modern Jewish history and paves the way, in part, for modern Hebrew literature. He considered the Shabbatean movement as an unhealthy deviation from normative Judaism.

Kurzweil's studies of *Agnon's writings led to a new and deeper appraisal of this writer's work. He gave a close reading of Agnon's stories, analyzing the symbols and explaining them within the framework of his total achievement. In his view Agnon was a novelist of epic proportions whose work depicts all the problems of a Jewish world that has broken with normative Judaism. He explained *Bialik's achievement along similar lines, believing that Bialik ultimately despaired of the Aḥad Ha-Amist attempt to give a secularist reading of the Jewish past, this despair being reflected in the death motif that dominates Bialik's later poems. In Uri Ẓevi *Greenberg, Kurzweil found a poet who by a leap of faith was able to reassert the mystique of Israel's unique connection with God and the complete "otherness" of the Jewish people.

First and foremost a cultural historian, Kurzweil also dealt with sociological phenomena. He thus analyzed the ideology of the movement and showed how it grew out of certain secular assumptions made by modern Hebrew authors. A contributor to *Haaretz and other Israel periodicals, his style, often polemical, was imbued with irony and wit. While his philosophical and historical views were controversial, Kurzweil was a significant commentator on the great artistic works of Hebrew literature. He also made a great contribution to the understanding in Israel of important European writers, such as Goethe, Kafka, and Thomas Mann.

His main works are *Massekhet ha-Roman* ("On the Novel," 1953), *Sifrutenu ha-Ḥadashah – Hemshekh o Mahpekhah*? ("Our New Literature; Continuation or Revolution?" 1965^2), *Bialik ve-Tchernichovsky* (1961); *Massot al Sippurei S.Y. Agnon* (1966^2); and *Bein Ḥazon le-Vein ha-Absurdi* ("Between the Vision and the Absurd," 1966). The Hebrew works of B. Kurzweil were edited (with a bibliography) by J. Barzilay (1963–65). The correspondence between S.Y. Agnon and B. Kurzweil was edited by L. Dabi-Guri (1987); a collection of essays and satires, *Miḥuẓ la-Teḥum*, appeared in 1998. Essays by Kurzweil in English translations include "Is There Such Thing as Biblical Tragedy?" in: *An Anthology of Hebrew Essays*, ed. by I. Cohen and B. Michali, 1 (1966), 97–116; "Job and the Possibility of Biblical Tragedy," in: *Arguments and Doctrines* (1970), 325–344; and "Notes on Hebrew Literature," in: *What is Jewish Literature?* (1994), 78–87. For other works in English see Goell, p. 88.

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[Hillel Barzel]

KUSHNER, ALEKSANDER SEMENOVICH (1936–), Russian poet and translator. Kushner was born in Leningrad. In 1959 he graduated from the philological faculty of Leningrad's Herzen Pedagogical Institute and until 1970 worked as an evening school teacher. He began publishing poetry in 1957. His first collections of verse, *Pervoe vpechatlenie* ("First Impression," 1962) and *Nochnoy dozor* ("Night Watch," 1966), reflect to some degree the influence of V. *Khodasevich. Starting with the collection *Primety* ("Omens," 1969), Kushner can be linked with the tradition of the Acmeists (particularly with O. *Mandelshtam). His verse is distinguished, however, by considerable semantic simplicity and restraint in the choice of metaphor, which imparts an electric tension to his poetry. Kushner's poetry is written in classical meter, in strophes with a precise, somewhat subdued, rhythm. Basic motifs in his poetry are the inevitability of death, suffering, and persecution as necessary conditions for happiness; external lack of freedom as the source of internal freedom; solitude; and the metaphysical exile of the individual. His philosophical lyrics are based on rejection of the perceptible reality of daily life, of the urban scene, on precise and concrete observation, and filled with associations, reminiscences, and veiled allusions to the cultural symbols of all times and peoples (excluding, however, allusions to the Hebrew Bible). From the late 1960s, both Kushner and his poetry were criticized, and after an attack by the secretary of the Leningrad Party provincial committee of the Communist Party, he was not published for a while.

He became well known with the publication of his collections *Pis'mo* ("Letter," 1974) and *Pryamaya rech'* ("Direct Speech," 1975). The appearance of his collection *Golos* ("Voice," 1978) coincided with a raging argument, encompassing the Soviet *samizdat* (underground press) and émigré press, about the place and significance of his poetry which some considered the most outstanding in contemporary Russian literature. His book of selected poems *Kanva* ("Canvas," 1981) was succeeded by the collections *Tavricheskiy sad* ("Tauride Garden," 1984) and *Dnevnie sny* ("Day Dreams," 1986). Aleksander Kushner also published books of poems for children: *Zavetnoe zhelanie* ("Secret Wish," 1973), *Gorod v podarok* ("City as Gift," 1976), and *Velosiped* ("Bicycle," 1979).

In Kushner's poetry Jewish motifs appear only in references or allusions. An exception is the poem "Kogda tot pol' skiy pedadog…" ("When That Polish Pedadogue") about the educator and writer Janusz *Korczak. Upholding the principle of not leaving the Soviet Union and of not expressing an attitude about the Soviet regime, Kushner reacted to the mass emigration of other Jews from the Soviet Union with poems such as "The Next Time Too I Want To Live in Russia."

[Yuri Kulker / *The Shorter Jewish Encyclopaedia in Russian*]

KUSHNER, HAROLD S. (1935–), U.S. Conservative rabbi, bestselling author. Kushner was born in Brooklyn, N.Y., and received his B.A. from Columbia University in 1955. He was ordained at the Jewish Theological Seminary in 1960 and earned a Doctor of Hebrew Letters there in 1972. After serving as a U.S. Army chaplain at Fort Sill, Oklahoma (1960–62), he became assistant rabbi to Mordecai *Waxman at Temple Israel in Great Neck, N.Y. (1962–66) and then rabbi of Temple Israel in Natick, Mass., where he was named rabbi laureate in 1991. He also taught at Clark University as well as at the Jewish Theological Seminary. In the Conservative movement, Kushner was president of the New England Region of the Rabbinical Assembly (1972–74), editor of the quarterly *Conservative Judaism* (1980–84), and a member of the editorial committee that compiled the Rabbinical Assembly's prayer books *Likrat Shabbat* and *Mahzor Hadash*.

Kushner gained international fame with the publication of his third book, *When Bad Things Happen to Good People* (1981), a philosophical reflection on the death of his 14-year-old son that became a national bestseller, was translated into a dozen languages, and was named by Book of the Month Club as one of the most influential books of its time. In it he expressed the theology that not everything that happens to people is necessarily part of God's master plan; and when tragedy does strike, religion and faith can serve as sources of strength and comfort for the individual in pain. Kushner's next book, *When All You Ever Wanted Isn't Enough*: *The Search for a Life That Matters* (1986), was equally well received: his exploration of human aspiration was awarded a Christopher Medal for its "contribution to the exaltation of the human spirit."

Kushner continued to write books that invariably made the bestseller lists, including *Who Needs God* (1989); *To Life!: A Celebration of Jewish Being and Thinking* (1994); and *How Good Do We Have to Be?: A New Understanding of Guilt and Forgiveness* (1996); *Living a Life That Matters: Resolving the Conflict Between Conscience and Success* (2001); *The Lord Is My Shepherd: Healing Wisdom of the Twenty-third Psalm* (2003); and *Overcoming Life's Disappointments* (2006) – all the while serving the pastoral needs of his congregation. Many of Kushner's works – as well as seminars he had given based on his writings – have been recorded as audiobooks.

In 1995, Kushner was honored by the Christophers as one of 50 individuals who made the world a better place in the second half of the 20th century. His earlier books are *When Children Ask About God* (1971) and *Commanded to Live* (1973).

[Bezalel Gordon (2nd ed.)]

KUSHNER, LAWRENCE (1943–), U.S. Reform rabbi, theologian, author. Kushner was born in Detroit, Mich., and earned his B.A. from the University of Cincinnati in 1965. He was ordained at *Hebrew Union College in 1969, whereupon he became rabbinic fellow-in-residence at Congregation SOLEL in Highland Park, Ill. He also taught at Lake Forest College and the University of Kentucky. In 1971, he assumed the pulpit of Congregation Beth El in Sudbury, Mass., where he led his congregants to publish their own Sabbath and Festival Prayerbook, *V'taher Libenu* (*Purify Our Hearts*), the first gender-neutral Jewish liturgy ever written (1979). He also established a Tzedaka Collective, wherein members anonymously contribute 2% of their gross income to a common fund and determine its disbursement. In addition, Kushner was a visiting professor at Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion in New York City (1986–2000), where he remained an adjunct member of the faculty. In 2002, Kushner was appointed scholar in residence at the Congregation Emanu-El of San Francisco, where he teaches and writes about institutional and individual spiritual renewal. He also serves as visiting professor of Jewish Spirituality at the Graduate Theological University in Berkeley.

Kushner is credited with originating the concept of synagogue havurot – small family fellowship groups that draw on the resources of the larger congregation – a phenomenon that spread throughout the Reform movement and into Conservative Judaism. As the first rabbinic chairman of the *Union of American Hebrew Congregations-*Central Conference of American Rabbis' Commission on Religious Living (1987–93), he designed the summer *kalla* for Spiritual Renewal and has since conducted numerous adult and family *kalla* weekends for personal religious growth. He also co-directed the Conference on Jewish-Christian Spirituality (1987) and served on the UAHC Board of Trustees.

Widely regarded as one of the most creative religious writers in America, Kushner has been a commentator on National Public Radio (1966–68). His articles have been published in many periodicals, and he has contributed to more than 20 books (including collaborating with Lawrence *Hoffman on *Siddur Ami: My People's Prayerbook*). He has co-authored six books and written 10, translated into six languages. They include *God Was in This Place and I Did Not Know: Finding Self, Spirituality and Ultimate Meaning* (1991); *Sparks Beneath the Surface: A Spiritual Commentary on the Torah* (with Kerry Olitzky, 1993); *The Book of Words: Talking Spiritual Life, Living Spiritual Talk* (1994); *Invisible Lines of Connection: Sacred Stories of the Ordinary* (1996); *The Book of Miracles: A Young Person's Guide to Jewish Spirituality* (1997); *Eyes Remade for Wonder: A Lawrence Kushner Reader* (1998); *Kabbalah: The Way of Light* (1999); *Because Nothing Looks Like God* (with Karen Kushner, 2000); *The Way Into Jewish Mystical Tradition* (2001); *Jewish Spirituality: A Brief Introduction for Christians* (2001); *Five Cities of Refuge: Weekly Reflections on Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers and Deuteronomy* (with David Mamet, 2003); *Filling Words With Light: Ḥasidic and Spiritual Refractions of Jewish Prayer* (with Nehemiah Polen, 2004); *In God's Hands* (with Gary Schmidt, 2005); and *Kabbalah: A Love Story* (2006).

[Bezalel Gordon (2nd ed.)]

KUSHNER, TONY (1956–), U.S. playwright. Born in New York City, Kushner grew up in Lake Charles, Louisiana, where his father inherited the family lumber business. He attended Columbia University, where he earned a degree in medieval studies, and New York University, where he completed a master of fine arts degree in 1984. His first plays, starting with *The Age of Assassins* (1982), *Yes, Yes, No, No* (1985), and *A Bright Room Called Day* (1987), about Hitler's rise and contemporary America, attracted little notice. But in 1991 and 1992, his *Angels in America*, a two-part, seven-hour drama about life in the age of AIDS, burst upon the theatrical scene and became one of the most widely admired works of the late 20th century. The play mingles the political, personal, and universal in its treatment of such apparently disparate elements as homosexual and traditional relationships, Mormonism, Roy M. Cohn, Ethel Rosenberg, disease, love, and death. The play follows the lives of two couples and their friends, relatives, and visionary visitors as they struggle to come to terms with the realities of the late 20th century. One character, Prior

Walter, has AIDS. Unable to cope, his lover, Louis, leaves him and begins an affair with Joe, a Mormon lawyer who is about to leave his wife. Abandoned and dying, Prior begins to have visions of an angel. At the same time, Joe is drawn into the orbit of Cohn, an unscrupulous lawyer and political operator who is himself dying of AIDS. Kushner was hailed as a major talent, intelligent, witty, and humane. *Angels in America* won the Pulitzer Prize for drama, the Tony award for best play, best actor, and best direction, among other honors. A television miniseries version, directed by Mike *Nichols in 2003 and starring Al Pacino, Meryl Streep, and Emma Thompson, swept the national television awards, the Emmys, winning 11 prizes. In 1998 London's National Theater selected *Angels in America* as one of the 10 best plays of the 20th century.

Overall, Kushner intends his plays to be part of a greater political movement. His work is concerned with moral responsibility during politically repressive times, and he brought the lofty into the approachable by creating everyday characters who collide both comically and tragically on stage.

Kushner's other works include *Slavs!* (1995) and *Homebody/Kabul*, a play about Afghanistan that opened shortly after the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001. He also wrote adaptations of Corneille's *The Illusion*, S.Y. Ansky's *The Dybbuk*, and Brecht's *The Person of Sezuan*. *Caroline or Change*, a musical he wrote with the composer Jeanine Tesori, had its debut in 2004. He also wrote an original screenplay for a 2005 film directed by Steven *Spielberg that chronicles the events of the 1972 Munich Olympics, in which 11 members of the Israeli team were murdered, and the plan by the secret Mossad squad to track down and kill the assassins.

His books include *Brundibar* (2003), a book for children with illustrations by Maurice *Sendak, and *Wrestling With Zion: Progressive Jewish-American Responses to the Palestinian-Israeli Conflict* (2003), co-edited with Alisa Solomon. Among his honors were an Arts Award from the American Academy of Arts and Letters, a Spirit of Justice Award from the Gay and Lesbian Advocates and Defenders, and a Cultural Achievement Award from the National Foundation for Jewish Culture.

[Stewart Kampel (2nd ed.)]

KUSHNER, TONY (1960–), British historian. Tony Kushner, Marcus Sieff Professor of Jewish history at Southampton University, wrote widely on antisemitism and the immigrant experience, especially in Britain, and on the Holocaust. His very prolific writings emphasized the ambiguity of the Jewish experience and discerned, often from a left-wing perspective, more antisemitism in British society than some previous historians. Kushner linked this with British liberalism, which often could not accommodate the specific situation of the Jews and had difficulties in imagining the unprecedented evil of the Holocaust. He is the author of *The Persistence of Prejudice: Antisemitism in British Society During the Second World War* (1989) and *The Holocaust and the Liberal Imagination* (1994). He was also the editor or co-editor of more than a dozen collections of original essays, such as *Refugees in an Age of Genocide* (1999).

[William D. Rubinstein (2nd ed.)]

KUSHNIROV, AARON (1890–1949), Soviet Yiddish poet, prose writer, and dramatist. Born near Kiev, Kushnirov published his first poem in 1920, while serving in the Red Army, followed by his first collection of poems, *Vent* ("Walls," 1921). In 1922 he settled in Moscow and joined *Shtrom*, the last independent Yiddish journal in the Soviet Union. He attempted to launch an alternative periodical, *Ekran*, as a forum of proletarian writers. In 1925 he became a leading member of the Yiddish group at the Moscow Association of Proletarian Writers. In a classical style, containing elements of imagism, Kushnirov wrote both about the joy of the Revolution and of his despair at the pogroms in Ukraine. His poem "Azkore" ("In Memoriam," 1923) attracted wide attention. His second collection of poems, *Broyz* ("Rage," 1928), which combines classical and expressionist forms, continues the revolutionary motif. His collection of short stories, *Kinder fun Eyn Folk* ("Children of One People," 1928), was hailed in Russia as a model of good Soviet prose. Kushnirov also composed the verse dramas *Der Urteyl Kumt* ("Judgment Arrives") and *Hirsh Lekert* (1929), the latter of which was successfully staged in Minsk, describing the Bundist worker's attempt to assassinate the governor of Vilna in 1902. Ironically, it was an anti-Bundist play. *Geklibene Werk*, a selection of his works, was published in Moscow in 1947. After serving in World War II, where he was decorated twice for bravery, he was editor of the Moscow bimonthly *Heymland* (1947–1948). He died soon after the disbanding (as part of Stalinist repression of Jewish culture) of the Yiddish section at the Writers' Union.

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[Elias Schulman / Gennady Estraikh (2nd ed.)]

KUTNO, town in the province of Lodz, central Poland. Jews lived in the town from its beginnings in the 15th century and are mentioned in an official document of 1513. Between 1728 and 1738 the Jews paid 1,500 to 1,800 zlotys in poll tax. In 1753 a fire destroyed the town, and all Jewish documents, including the community minute book (*pinkas*), were burned so that no sources remain which would throw light on Jewish activity there. The extent of the commercial activities of the Jews there may be indicated by the surnames Kutnis or Kutnes found among Jews in the 17th and 18th centuries in western Germany and in Amsterdam. After 1753 the town was soon rebuilt and the Jews reestablished their institutions. The *pinkas* of the *ḥevra kaddisha* contains records from 1755. Various institutions were built only at the beginning of the 19th century, e.g., the *ḥevrah kaddisha* hospital, erected after 1808. Jews from Kutno attended the fairs at Leipzig and Frankfurt on the Oder in 1793. The number of Jews in Kutno increased from 928 in 1765 to 1,376 (70.2% of the total population) in 1800 and 8,978 (63.1%) in 1908, but fell to 6,784 (42.4%) in 1921 and 6,440 (27.5%) in 1931. Kutno was a center of Torah study and Haskalah; the most famous of its rabbis was Israel Joshua *Trunk.

[Shimshon Leib Kirshenboim]

Holocaust and Postwar Periods

In 1939 Kutno had 6,700 Jewish inhabitants out of a total population of 27,000. The Germans took Kutno on Sept. 15, 1939, and immediately rounded up a few score Jewish men and sent them to forced labor camps or *Leczyca and/or Piatek. The synagogue was burned and Jewish property plundered. The head of the Gestapo especially indulged in beating up Jewish women, jailing members of the *Judenrat, and extorting precious gifts. In February 1940 a group of *Volksdeutsche* arrived and took possession of about 70–80% of Jewish property. For a while the Jews were able to engage in "illegal" trade with the areas of the General Government. In June 1940 the Jews were transferred to a ghetto on the site of a destroyed sugar refinery. Close to 7,000 persons were crowded into this small area without fuel, with three lavatories, and one water pump. Typhoid broke out and 280 died. The only medical care was at first provided by a single Polish doctor, who did not even reside in the ghetto, and no medication was available. The Judenrat managed to bring in two Jewish doctors from other localities. Extra provisions were brought into the ghetto by guards. The situation deteriorated in the latter half of 1941 when the ghetto was sealed off because of renewed epidemics. Despite the gravity of the situation, the Judenrat took care of refugees from other localities, arranged a public kitchen, and even provided some educational facilities for the children. At the end of March 1942 the entire Jewish population was rounded up and sent to the *Chelmno death camp.

[Danuta Dombrowska]

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KUTSCHER, EDWARD YECHEZKEL (1909–1971), Hebraist. Kutscher studied in his native Slovakia, in Frankfurt on the Main, and then in Jerusalem. After teaching for some time in schools in Tel Aviv and Jerusalem, he was appointed secretary of the Hebrew Language Academy (1942), lecturer in Hebrew at the Hebrew University (1949), and professor (1960). From 1958 he also lectured at Bar-Ilan University. Kutscher's published work includes a study of the linguistic background of the Dead Sea Isaiah Scroll (Heb. and Eng., 1959); *Millim ve-Toledoteihen* (1961), with a summary in English; and *Language of the "Genesis Apocryphon"* (1967). He was editor of *Leshonenu* (the organ of the Hebrew Language Academy) from 1965. Kutscher also translated into Hebrew the German text of a number of art books, such as J. Bab's work on Rembrandt (1952), and works by others on V. Van Gogh (1953), and A. Rodin (1948). A collection of Kutscher's research work in Hebrew and Aramaic edited by Ze'ev Ben Ḥayyim, Aharon Dotan, and Gad Ben Ami Zarfaty, was published posthumously in 1977.

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KUTY (Yid. **Kitev**), town in Ivano-Frankovsk district, Ukraine, formerly in Stanislawów province, Poland. The town was founded by its owner, the Kiev governor Józef Potocki (18th century), and in the founding law the Jews received full town rights and permission to construct a synagogue, which was to be free from taxation in perpetuity. The Jewish population over the age of one year numbered 972 in 1765. In the 19th century the Jews of Kuty engaged in the timber trade, carpet weaving, and petty commerce. The community numbered 2,966 (47% of the total population) in 1880, 3,197 in 1900, and 2,605 (47.5%) in 1921. There was a strong ḥasidic element, and one of them, Rabbi Avraham-Gershon Kitover, was the brother in-law of the Baal-Shem Tov, and is mentioned frequently in the ḥasidic literature. Between the two world wars, the town was connected to the railway, and electricity was installed there. Jewish livelihoods were from trade and crafts, carpet weaving, and summer resort for guests. The girls studied in state schools, and from 1930 also in a Beth Jacob school; the boys learned in a *talmud torah* as well as in a supplementary Hebrew School. Under Soviet rule (September 1939–41) the Jewish community institutions were closed down, and all independent political activity was prohibited. The Hebrew education network was disbanded and active Zionists were arrested.

[*Encyclopaedia Judaica* (Germany) / Shmuel Spector (2nd ed.)]

Holocaust Period

In early July 1941, after the outbreak of the German-Soviet war, Kuty was taken by Romanian and Hungarian Axis forces. The Romanian troops moved on, leaving the city solely under Hungarian control for the next two months. At the end of August 1941 Jews who were expelled from the territories newly annexed to Hungary, on the contention that they were not Hungarian citizens, found refuge in Kuty. The local Jewish community took them in. A *Judenrat was set up, headed by Menashe Mandel, but when he refused to submit to German orders, he was replaced by Zygmund Tilinger. The regional Judenrat in *Kolomyya held authority over that in Kuty. With the annihilation of the Jewish communities in the vicinity, the Jews of Kuty began preparing hideouts. Many of the groups who tried to flee to Romania were caught and killed by Ukrainian peasants on the way. On April 10, 1942, the Germans carried out an *Aktion*, igniting the houses of the Jews to draw them out of hiding. About 950 Jews were killed in this attack. On April 24 an order was given for all the Jews who did not have work certificates to evacuate to the ghetto in Kolomyya. Many of them died in the death march on the way. On September 7, in a second German mass raid, over 800 persons were dispatched to Kolomyya. Of the 18 craftsmen permitted to remain in Kuty, 16 were killed two months later; the two others escaped. The evacuees sent to Kolomyya were dispatched to the *Belzec death camp, but one group of young people was sent to the Janowska Street camp in *Lvov. The hunt for Jews in hiding proceeded over the next months, until liberation on April 2, 1944. The few survivors who returned soon left, and no Jew remained in Kuty.

[Aharon Weiss]

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KUWEITI, SALAH (1910–1986), Iraqi Jewish composer, violinist, and singer. He was born in Kuwait, of Iraqi parents who returned to Iraq with him at the age of 17. While in Kuwait he studied music as an autodidact by listening to records. Kuweiti, who rapidly rose to prominence in Baghdad, belonged to the category of artists endowed with a natural disposition for music, combining creative power as composer and a great ability as performer. The many-sidedness of his talent found expression in his ability to modify his musical style, masterfully passing from one type of music to another. He used to sing, to his own accompaniment on the violin, traditional Jewish religious poems and folk songs, as well as the intricate classical repertoire of the Iraqi *maqam* and the songs he himself composed. Among the latter was a widely acclaimed one which had been sung by the celebrated Oriental vocalist, the legendary Umm Kulthum. His songs were included in an anthology of Iraqi songs published in 1933.

In 1936, when the official Iraqi broadcasting station was opened, Salah was summoned to start up the music ensemble, of which his brother Da'ud, a fine *'ud* player and composer, was a member. Salah acted as the director and conductor of the ensemble and composed the music performed by it. The music they played was in the mainstream style, which subsequently had a great influence on the new music in Iraq. He introduced innovative styles and added musical instruments from the West unknown in the Oriental music, such as the cello.

Although he reportedly performed mainstream and other Middle Eastern styles, Salah preferred the Iraqi style. All the members of this ensemble, except one, were Jewish and all of them including the Kuweiti Brothers immigrated to Israel in 1951 and continued their musical activity in the framework of the Israel Broadcasting Authority.

[Amnon Shiloah (2nd ed.)]

KUZKOVSKI, JOSEPH (1902–1970), Russian Jewish artist. Kuzkovski was born in Mogilev, Belorussia. In 1920 he enrolled at the Kiev Academy of Art, where in 1941 he held a one-man exhibition. He was selected as a member of a group of Russian representative artists at an exhibition in Oslo, Norway. During World War II he lived in Uzbekistan, and it was during this period that he began to use Jewish themes and characters in a series of works which were lost. After the war he took up residence in Riga and devoted himself to themes connected with the Holocaust. His greatest work, *The Last Way*, on Jews being led to their death at *Babi Yar, first exhibited in 1964, was acquired by the Knesset, where it is on permanent exhibition.

Kuzkovski and his wife immigrated to Israel in 1969. He was engaged on what he called a sequel to *The Last Way – Masada Shall Not Fall Again* – the theme of which was to be hope instead of despair, but died before it was completed. An album of his works was published in 1971.

KUZNETS, SIMON (1901–1985), U.S. economist, Nobel laureate. Born in Russia, Kuznets was educated in the U.S. He was assistant professor and then full professor of economics at the University of Pennsylvania (1936–54), and in 1960 was appointed professor of economics at Harvard. Kuznets' research in quantitative economics and his contribution to the understanding of modern economic growth encouraged new studies of the economic growth of nations. He sponsored the annual Conference of Research in Income and Wealth, organized from 1935 by the National Bureau of Economic Research, and he was among the founders in 1947 of the International Association for Research in Income and Wealth. From 1954 to 1964 he was chairman of the United States-based advisory committee of the Falk Project for Economic Research in Israel, and from 1964 he was a member of the board of trustees of its successor, the Maurice Falk Institute for Economic Research in Israel.

Kuznets' research may be divided into three periods. Between 1926 and 1930 he concentrated on analyzing economic change, examining movements in production and prices, cyclical fluctuations, and seasonal variations in industry and trade. During the following two decades his work centered on measuring national income with emphasis on capital formation. After 1950 he focused on explaining the comparative economic growth of nations. He was also particularly concerned with the practical application of his research, and during World War II his national account framework served to study the feasibility of the war production program and to control it. Kuznets stressed the link between the social and economic framework of society that is apparent not only in the history of nations but also in minority groups like the Jews. In the Diaspora they congregated in urban areas where they entered the professions or specialized in finance and trade. Their frequent displacements affected their economic development. Jews have been conditioned to accept economic change and to enter occupations and industries with growth potential where there have been opportunities for economic advancement. This significantly influenced the level of income and wealth of Jewish minorities as compared with their gentile surroundings.

Kuznets retired from Harvard in 1971 and was given the title of George F. Baker Professor Emeritus of Economics. In 1971 he was awarded the Nobel Prize in economics for his "empirically founded interpretation of economic growth which has led to new and deepened insight into economic and social structure and process of development."

Kuznets' publications include *National Income and its Composition 1919–1938* (1941), *Shares of Upper Income Groups in Income and Savings* (1953), *Capital in the American Economy: Its Formation and Financing* (1961), and *Modern Economic Growth* (1966), *Economic Growth of Nations* (1971), *Quantitative Economic Research* (1972), *Population, Capital, and Growth* (1973), *National Income* (1975), and *Commodity Flow and Capital Formation* (1975).

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[Rachel Floersheim / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

KVITKO, LEIB (1890–1952), Yiddish poet and novelist. Born in the Ukraine, he was orphaned while very young and had to earn his living from the age of ten, working in various Ukrainian cities as a dyer, shoemaker, porter, and stevedore. Along with David *Hofstein and Peretz *Markish, he made up the Ukrainian lyric triumvirate. His first poems, published in 1918 in the group's almanac, *Eygns*, edited by David *Bergelson, won him immediate recognition. His first two books, *Trit* ("Steps," 1919) and *Royter Shturm* ("Red Storm," 1919), are full of pathos and enthusiasm for the Revolution. In 1920 Kvitko settled in Germany and joined the Communist Party. In 1922 he published *Grin Groz* ("Green Grass") and *1919*, the latter lamenting the 1919 Ukrainian pogroms. His narrative *Riogrander Fel* ("Rio Grande Furs," 1928) was based on his experiences among Hamburg dock workers. In 1925 Kvitko returned to the Soviet Union, living in Kharkov (until 1933), Kiev, and Moscow. He edited journals and wrote poems and stories, becoming one of the greatest masters of Soviet children's verse, widely known as Lev Kvitko. Kvitko's works were translated into many of the languages of the Soviet Union, and millions of copies were printed. In 1939 he was awarded the Order of Red Banner for Labor. Arrested in the Stalinist purges early in 1949, Kvitko was murdered on August 12, 1952, among a group of leading members of the Jewish Antifascist Committee.

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[Elias Schulman]

KWARTIN, ZAVEL (**Zevulun**; 1874–1953), *ḥazzan* and composer. Born in Novoarkhangelsk, Ukraine, Kwartin worked in his father's business while studying music and singing in a synagogue choir. He first officiated as a *ḥazzan* in 1896, on the Sabbath preceding his marriage in Yelizavetgrad. After spending some time in Odessa and studying the *ḥazzanut* of *Sulzer in Vienna, he was *ḥazzan* at synagogues in Vienna and St. Petersburg, and for ten years at the Tabak Temple in Budapest. In 1919 Kwartin emigrated to the United States and was appointed *ḥazzan* at Temple Emanuel of Borough Park, Brooklyn. There he became known for the richness and fervor of his lyric baritone, and he made many recordings. In 1926 he moved to Ereẓ Israel, where he conducted services and gave concerts, acquiring property near Safed. Eleven years later, in 1937, Kwartin returned to the U.S. and accepted a position as cantor in Newark, New Jersey. His compositions, recorded as traditional improvisations, were transcribed and published as *Zemirot Zevulun* (2 vols., 1928). A supplementary volume, *Tefillot Zevulun* (1938), appeared with an autobiographical introduction. He also published his memoirs, *Mayn Lebn* (1952).

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[Joshua Leib Ne'eman]

KYBARTAI (Pol. and Rus. **Kibarty**; in Jewish sources, קיבארט), town in S. Lithuania; on the German border until 1941. Through its position on the Kovno-Koenigsberg railroad, opposite the German town of Eydtkuhnen, Kybartai developed into an important commercial center in the 19th century. There were 533 Jews living in the town in 1897 (approximately half of the total population). The town was destroyed during the retreat of the Russian army in 1914 and rebuilt after the war. The community numbered 1,253 (20%) in 1923. For many years the Kybartai community remained linked with the nearby community in Wirballen (Virbalis), being under its rabbinical jurisdiction, and using the same cemetery. Kybartai was the birthplace of the painter, Isaac *Levitan. Around 350 Jews remained when the Germans arrived in June 1941. The men were executed in July, the others in the Verbalis ghetto in September.

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[Yehuda Slutsky]

KYJOV (Ger. **Gaya**; Heb. גאיי, גא״י), town in S. Moravia, Czech Republic, the only one of the royal cities in which Jews were allowed to dwell. The rights of the Jews were protected by a charter of 1613. The community had existed long before then, the ancient synagogue (demolished in 1851) having been built in 1506. Jews remained in Kyjov in 1650 when all communities which had not been in existence before 1618 were expelled. There were 12 Jewish houses in Kyjov in 1688. The burghers petitioned several times for their expulsion, but the royal charter was adhered to. In 1651 a compromise was signed, which included a clause permitting the Jews to distill spirits. In 1727 the Jews were segregated. After 1848 the Jewish quarter remained a **politische Gemeinde* until 1918. The number of Jewish families permitted by the *Familiants Law was 74. The community grew from 427 in 1830 to 510 in 1848, and 884 in 1869, and declined to 820 in 1890 and 620 in 1900. In 1930 the community numbered 319 (7% of the total population). During World War I a large refugee camp near Kyjov was administered by the community. After the end of the war, the Czechoslovak central authorities prevented the local authorities from expelling its inhabitants. In 1938 the camp was reopened for 670 refugees from the Sudeten area and for refugees from Vienna. The Nazis used the camp to assemble all the Jews from the town and the surrounding district; early in 1943, 2,852 persons were deported in three transports from this camp to *Theresienstadt, and from there to Auschwitz later in the year. The synagogue equipment was sent to the Central Jewish Museum in Prague. After the Holocaust Kyjov became the central community for the region, with jurisdiction over the congregations of Hodonin, Holesov, Kromeriz, Uhersky Brod, and Vsetin, which all together numbered about 300 individuals in 1959. In 1956 a memorial to the victims of the Holocaust was dedicated in the cemetery. The community of Kyjov also cared for the community of Bzenec and opened a prayer room there in 1956.

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[Meir Lamed]

KYRGYZSTAN (formerly **Kirghizia**), a member of the Commonwealth of Independent States, bordered on the north and northwest by Kazakhstan, to the southwest by Uzbekistan, and on the south by Tadzhikistan, with a population of some 4,500,000 people. In 1939 there lived in Kirgizian S.S.S.R. 1,578 Jews (0.58% of the total population), most of them, 1,031 (1.1%), in the capital Frunze. In the beginning of World War II many Jews were evacuated there. In 1979 Kirghizia had a Jewish population of 6,900, with 5,700 living in the capital Frunze which in 1991 was renamed Bishkek. In 1989 the Jewish population of the republic was 6,000 (with 5,200 in the capital); 178 Jews emigrated in 1989. In 1990, 1,170 Jews from Kyrgyzstan immigrated to Israel, 1,111 of them from Frunze. In 1991, the year the republic gained independence, the corresponding figures were 696 and 629.

One Jew was elected to the Supreme Soviet of the republic in 1990. The government of the republic expressed its opposition to Islamic fundamentalism. In 1992 Kyrgyzstan passed a law making knowledge of the Kirghiz language a prerequisite for high government positions. This latter condition effectively barred most Jews from holding high government offices.

[Michael Beizer]

There were an estimated 3,300 Jews in Kyrgyzstan at the end of 1993. In 1992, 250 people left Kyrgyzstan for Israel, and 449 in 1993. Around 800 remained in the early 2000s.

Three summer camps for the young were opened in the Kyrgyz highland in 1993: in Tioplyie Kliuchi, 60 km. from Bishkek (Orthodox, sponsored by Jewish organizations of Belgium); another one, run by Bnei Akiva – 30 km. from Bishkek; and a third, on the shore of Issyk-Kul lake. The camps were intended for Jewish children and teenagers from the whole C.I.S.

Anti-Jewish articles appeared in some newspapers in 1993–94. The Russian-language newspaper *Svobodnyie gory* ("Free Mountains") in February 1994 condemned the immigration to Israel and blamed Jews for the problems of the country.

[Daniel Romanowski (2nd ed.)]

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KYUSTENDIL, town in W. Bulgaria. In the 16th century this town had a small Jewish community. In 1878 when Bulgaria gained its independence, the community numbered 853 and grew steadily. They were artisans, merchants, porters, etc. The merchants among them dealt in plums, wool, butter, and tobacco. The local synagogue was built in 1863. In 1874 a *blood libel against the Jews spread, when a Christian child was missing; there were also anti-Jewish riots in 1901 for the same reason. The 1935 census gave the number of Jews as 853, while the 1943 census listed 980 Jews. The community did not suffer severely during World War II. The 1943 expulsion decree from Bulgaria was not carried out. In 2004 there was a community of around 90 Jews affiliated with the local branch of the nationwide Shalom organization.

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[Simon Marcus / Emil Kalo (2nd ed.)]

K. ZETNIK (pseudonym of **Jehiel Dinur**, originally **Feiner**; 1917?–2001), author. Much about the life of Jehiel Dinur is shrouded in mystery. He seems to have wanted it that way. An Israeli scholar claims that Dinur was born eight years earlier than his announced date of birth. Born into a ḥasidic family in Sosnowiec, Poland, he was active in the Orthodox youth movement of the Agudat Israel in Poland. He first published his poems in Yiddish in the Agudat Israel newspapers. At the age of 22, just before the outbreak of World War II, he published a book of Yiddish poems entitled *Tsvai un tsvantsik* (1931; "Twenty-Two Years – Twenty Two Poems"). Suffering all the torments and tortures of the Holocaust, he was one of the few survivors of Zagłembia, Poland. He was an inmate of Auschwitz, arriving with the last transports from Sosnowiew in August 1943 and incarcerated there for a year and a half. In 1945 he immigrated to Ereẓ Israel and settled in Tel Aviv.

A writer whose themes relate to the Holocaust, K. Zetnik held that he had survived for the sole purpose of telling future generations the horrors of the Holocaust and to be the spokesman for its millions of victims. When testifying at the Eichmann trial in 1961, he collapsed after saying "If today I can stand before your honors, the judges, and relate the events of the 'planet' called Auschwitz, then it is for the sake of 'its inhabitants' whom I now see and they are looking at me…." When asked in court why he called himself "K. Zetnik" (a term referring to a concentration camp inmate), he replied: "This is not a literary name. I must continue with it as long as the nation has not aroused itself following the crucifixion of the nation to erase this evil." His work belongs to the first generation of Holocaust survivor writing, stressing the cruelty of the perpetrators and the anguish of their Jewish victims. Like several other survivors, he referred to Auschwitz as "planet Auschwitz," echoing the sense that the world of the *Lager* was not our world. He described the evil of the perpetrator without regard to the sensibilities of his readers and touched on issues such as forced sexual enslavement that others would have preferred be forgotten. His style was terse, almost clinical, leaving it to the readers to impose their harsh judgment. His works, dealing with different aspects of the horrors of the Holocaust, written in Yiddish and Hebrew, include: *Salamandra* (1946), *Bet ha-Bubbot* (1953; *House of Dolls*, 1956) about Nazi degradation of Jewish women; *Ha-Sha'on asher me'al ha-Rosh* (1960), stories about the Holocaust; *Kare'u Lo Pipel* (1961; *Piepel*, 1961), a story about the terror of Auschwitz, especially relating to children; *Kokhav ha-Efer (Star of Ashes*, in Hebrew, English, and Yiddish, 1967); and *Ḥol me-Efer* (1966; *Phoenix over the Galilee*, 1969), a novel containing autobiographical material, describing a Holocaust refugee's painful integration into life in Israel. His books have been translated into more than 20 languages. In keeping with the mystery of his life, he instructed his children not to make public his death.

[Getzel Kressel / Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

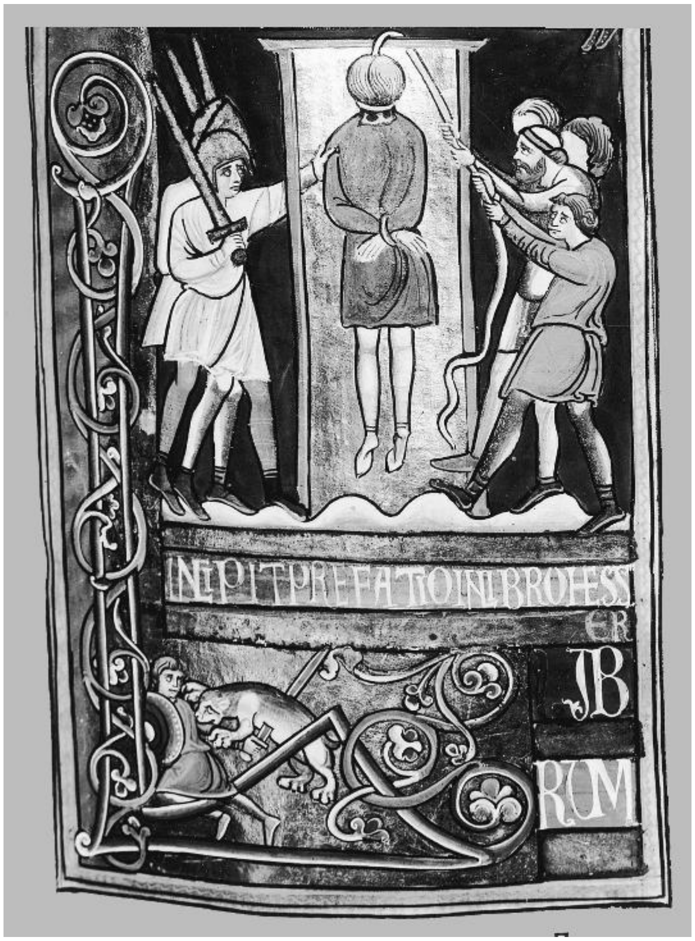
INCIPIT PREFATIO IN LIBRO HESS
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Initial letter "L" for Librum*, showing Haman being hanged, from the beginning of the Book of Esther in the* Moulins Bible*, a 12th-century Latin manuscript from France. Moulins, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. 1, fol. 284. Courtesy Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.*

LA-LIE

LA'AZ, a foreign-language gloss in Hebrew transliteration. *La'az* (plural *le'azim*) originally meant a foreign language into which a Hebrew text, especially a sacred text, was translated (Meg. 2:1; Tosef., Meg. 2:6; Ber. 18a; Sot. 49b; TJ, Sot. 7:1). Somehow, *la'az* became identified with Latin and its meaning was later restricted to liturgical translations in any of the Romance languages into which Latin evolved. Thus, the biblical *lo'ez* (Ps. 114:1) is rendered in the medieval Jewish translations by *latinar* (Italy), *ladinar* (Provence), *ladinar* or *romançar* (Spain), and *aromancer* (northern France). Italian Jews were known as *Lo'azim*. When the French *roman* came to signify "a novel," the Jews called it *la'az*.

Medieval rabbinical texts written in Romance-speaking countries were interspersed with vernacular words to clinch an argument or specify an object. More often than not, these glosses were preceded by the formula *be-La'az* ("in Romance"), even when they did not refer to the biblical translation. The overwhelming ascendancy of *Rashi's commentaries, with their 1,300 glosses on the Bible and 3,500 on the Talmud, further restricted the meaning of *la'az* to "a gloss in Old French." Like any other grammatical term in Jewish manuscripts, בְּלעז was superscribed by a circumflex; בלעׂז was, therefore, later mistaken for an abbreviation of בְּלְשׁוֹן עַם זָר ("in a foreign tongue").

A distinction must be made between the *le'azim* in biblical commentaries and those in other rabbinical writings. The latter are valuable because they often carry Old Romance words, whose meaning is circumscribed by the Hebrew context, while they are seldom found in literary texts. Those of Rashi and of the *Arukh* of *Nathan b. Jehiel of Rome go back to the 11th century, a period from which very few Romance texts are extant. Since the manuscripts are of a later date, it took the brilliant intellect of David *Blondheim to present a reliable scientific edition of these glosses. Likewise, there are glosses in all French rabbinical writings of the Middle Ages; Provençal *le'azim* in the *Ittur* of *Isaac b. Abba Mari of Marseilles; and Catalan glosses in Aaron Hakohen's **Orḥot Ḥayyim*.

The *le'azim* in the biblical commentaries are of greater importance. These refer to complete vernacular translations of the Bible, called *la'az ha-am* or *la'az ha-olam*. Such versions are extant in Spanish and in Italian; of those in French Provençal and Catalan, there exists (apart from some prayer books and hymns) only indirect evidence: the glossaries. There are printed glossaries in Italian (*Makrei Dardeki*, Naples, 1488; *Galut Yehudah*, Venice, 1612) and in *Ladino (*Ḥeshek Shelomo*, Venice, 1588). In France, by the time the printing press came into existence, Jewish communities were no longer in existence. After two or three generations in exile, French Jews must have discarded these glossaries. Nevertheless, six of them more or less complete, and fragments of nine more, mostly of the 13th century, have survived. They are at the same time commentaries, *Sifrei Pitronot*. They lack most of the midrashic material of, for example, Rashi, but have a much wider range, one of them presenting over 12,000 *le'azim* for part of the Prophets alone. The *Sefer ha-Pitronot mi-Leipzig* was published in three volumes in 1996. In addition to these glossaries, there are innumerable *le'azim* jotted down as marginal annotations in biblical manuscripts. These throw light on the real meaning of the *le'azim* in Rashi, as well as of those in the 11th-century commentaries of the Pseudo-Gershom, of *Menaḥem ben Ḥelbo, and of Joseph *Kara. Scholarly discussion centered in the vernacular version, already in existence at that early period. In the same way, the *le'azim* found in the *Ḥizkuni*, the *Ḥadar Zekenim, Minḥat Yehudah*, and the commentaries of *Eliezer of Beaugency, *Samuel b. Meir (Rashbam), and others were all designed to correct the Old French translation. This is one of the reasons for the frequent appearance in the glossaries of two, and sometimes even three or four, *le'azim* for one biblical term. The second reason is not exegetical but linguistic: with the passage of the centuries, some words became obsolete and had to be replaced, but they were still given as examples out of respect for tradition. If for no other reason, the reference to the vernacular version is substantiated by the contextual aspect of the *la'az: néant* ("nothing") for כל and דבר in negative sentences; the addition of prepositions called for in French syntax, but not in Hebrew; the use of the subjunctive in accordance with the rules of French grammar; and adjectives agreeing in gender with the French noun, though not mentioned in the glossary.

In addition to glossaries, the Jews of France and Provence composed alphabetical Bible dictionaries. The *le'azim* in *Kimḥi, *Levi b. Gershom, Joseph *Kaspi, and the Sassoon Codex (no. 368) would also imply the existence of a Provençal version.

See also *Judeo-French, *Judeo-Italian, *Judeo-Provençal.

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[Menahem Banitt]

LABAN (Heb. לָבָן; "white"), son of *Bethuel son of Nahor and the brother of Rebekah, wife of *Isaac; the father of Leah and Rachel, the wives of *Jacob. Laban was a breeder of sheep and goats. He is first mentioned as having taken a leading role in the negotiations between Abraham's servant and the family of Bethuel in connection with the marriage of Rebekah to Isaac (Gen. 24). Possibly, Laban's prominence in this story reflects a fratriarchal society (cf. 24:60; 25:20). Later, when Jacob fled from his brother Esau to Mesopotamia, he found refuge with Laban in the city of Haran (27:43; 29:4–5), where he was cordially received (29:13–14). A month later Laban offered Jacob employment for wages. Jacob agreed to tend his uncle's flocks for seven years as a bride-price for Laban's daughter Rachel. At the end of the seven years, however, Laban cheated Jacob, substituting his oldest daughter Leah for Rachel, as Jacob discovered the following morning. Thus he compelled Jacob to work, though not to wait, for another seven years for Rachel (29:18–20). After that time Laban prevailed upon him to work in exchange for all the kids and lambs of a certain description dropped by mature females in the flock (30:25–34). As a result of folkloristic prenatal influences, well applied by Jacob (30:37ff.), most of the prime lambs that were dropped fitted just that description (see *Biology), and Jacob became wealthier than his employer. Apparently, Laban also deceived his son-in-law in the matter of wages (31:7), thus straining relations between the two to such an extent that Jacob and his family fled Haran, pursued by Laban and his kinsmen, who overtook him in Gilead in Transjordan (31:23). The two sides were eventually reconciled and a peace pact was made between them (31:44–54). Both in the negotiations over Rebekah's marriage and his relationship with Jacob, Laban emerges as a greedy and crafty man (cf. 24:30; 31:7).

Laban's native land is sometimes referred to as Paddan Aram (25:20; 28:2, 5, 6; 33:18; cf. 48:7) or "the country of Aram" (Hos. 12:13). In the description of Jacob's flight from him and his pursuit of and eventual reconciliation with the former, the epithet "the Aramean" is added to his name (Gen. 31:20) and he is represented as speaking Aramaic (31:47). The covenant between Laban and Jacob serves as an etiology for an ancient agreement between Aram and Israel, establishing the cairn of Gal-ed (31:47; pun on Gilad) as the boundary mark between the two lands (31:52). Indeed, the tales of relations between Laban and Jacob serve as allegories of relations between Israelites and Arameans in the earlier first millennium B.C.E.

[Bustanay Oded]

In the Aggadah

Laban is identified with Beor, the father of Balaam (Num. 22:5); with Cushan-Rishathaim, the king of Aram-Naharaim (Judg. 3:8; Sanh. 105a); and with Kemuel, the father of Aram

(Gen. 22:21; Gen. R. 57:4). The name Laban is interpreted as meaning that he shone with wickedness (לָבָן; lit. "exceedingly white"; Gen. R. 60:7) and the epithet *Arammi* (אֲרַמִּי) is taken as the anagram of *rammai* (רַמַּאי, "cheater"; Gen. R. 70:19). When he saw the jewels on Rebekah, Laban hastened to Eliezer in order to slay him and take possession of his goods. However, when Laban noticed Eliezer's physical strength (Mid. Hag. to Gen. 24:30) and his resemblance to Abraham, he thought that he was Abraham and invited him to enter his house (Gen. R. 60:7). Laban's answering Eliezer's request before his father is indicative of his impudence (Mid. Lek. Tov to Gen. 24:50). His promptness in greeting *Jacob was due to his desire for wealth, since he reasoned that Abraham's grandson would bring with him even greater riches than had Eliezer. Seeing Jacob without camels, he thought that he had money and gems concealed in his garments or mouth, and for this reason he embraced and kissed him. Disappointed at not finding any valuables, Laban consulted his *terafim* and was advised to employ Jacob and give him his daughters in marriage (Yal. Reub. to Gen. 29:15).

His countrymen agreed that Laban should substitute *Leah for *Rachel so that Jacob would continue to work for him, because their land had been blessed with an abundance of water since Jacob's arrival. After receiving securities from them that they would not reveal his scheme, Laban deceived them and used their pledges for the purchase of wine, oil, and meat for the wedding feast. The citizens attempted to inform Jacob of the chicanery by singing, "*Hi Leah, hi Leah*" (lit. "it is Leah"), but Jacob did not understand their hints (Gen. R. 70:19). After being informed of Jacob's flight, Laban assembled all the local warriors to pursue him. His intention was to kill him, but the archangel Michael appeared and forbade him to harm Jacob or he himself would be killed (PdRE 36). His kissing and blessing his daughters and grandchildren after making the covenant with Jacob did not come from the heart. Laban sent a message to Esau, informing him of Jacob's imminent return and urging him to avenge himself on Jacob (Yashar, *Va-Yeẓe*, 105–6). During his pursuit of Jacob, robbers broke into Laban's home and stole all his possessions (Gen. R. 74:16).

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LABAND, PAUL (1838–1918), German jurist. Born in Breslau, Laband lectured in law at the University of Koenigsberg from 1864 to 1872, when he became professor of public law at the University of Strasbourg. He was a member of the Alsace state council from 1879 to 1911, and sat in the *Landtag* of Alsace-Lorraine from 1911 until his death. An authority on constitutional law, Laband was the author of *Deutsches Reichsstaatsrecht* (3 vols., 1876–82), which became a standard work and had a great influence on German public lawyers. He argued that constitutional law must be a pure science excluding political and moral considerations. He rejected the concept of the sovereignty of the people, holding that state and government are identical and that administrative acts of the government are not subject to challenge in any way. Though his views were heavily criticized for ignoring the political basis of constitutional law, Laband became the outstanding jurist of the German Empire. He was also the author of several works on civil law, including property law, commercial law, and the law of agency, and wrote a detailed commentary on the ancient German legal codes. In 1918 he published his memoirs "Lebenserinnerungen von Dr. P. Laband."

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[B. Mordechai Ansbacher / Bjoern Siegel (2nd ed.)]

LABANOS (**Labanowski**), leading *Karaite family of *Troki, Lithuania. The post of *shofet* (judge and communal leader) of the community became hereditary in the family. In 1665 ABRAHAM BEN SAMUEL LABANOS was elected as *gabbai* of Troki and later became *shofet* of the Karaites of Troki (1671–88). The Karaite scholar M. *Sultansky describes him as a learned man, much favored by King Jan III Sobieski, who appointed him to the leadership of all the Karaites in Lithuania. In 1688, at the king's order, Abraham and some Karaite families were forced to settle in Kukizow (Krasny Ostrow), a private possession of the Sobieskis. During his years of office in Troki, the community was involved in difficult negotiations with the Council of Lithuanian Jewry (see *Councils of the Lands) regarding the poll tax which the Karaites were to pay. Abraham often took part in the deliberations of the council and endeavored to obtain relief for his community. His son SAMUEL succeeded him as *shofet* in Troki, serving from 1719–45/6?. He was a disciple of the Karaite scholar *Solomon b. Aaron and married his sister in 1738. Samuel was in conflict with the members of his community, who revolted against his leadership because of the high taxes.

Samuel's son, ABRAHAM BEN SAMUEL (II) LABANOS (d. 1776), was in turn *shofet* of the Troki Karaite community in 1746–76. He was a nephew and disciple of the Karaite scholar Solomon b. Aaron, who wrote *Rakh va-Tov*, a grammatical treatise, in his honor. Being pressed by gentile creditors, he went to the Crimea to obtain some monetary aid for the community in 1756 with letters of recommendation from both the rabbinical court of Vilna and the rabbis and communal officials of Brest-Litowsk and Lutsk. He endeavored to defend the interests of his community, but he frequently encountered the opposition of some of its members, who held him responsible for their economic difficulties. He is mentioned in documents as having lodged charges against some

Polish noblemen, which instigated an attack on the Karaite quarter in 1772.

His son SAMUEL (d. 1805/6?) was *shofet* of the community in 1776–93. To enforce obedience to his rules he twice turned to the aid of the *wojewoda* (governor) of Troki.

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[Mark Wischnitzer / Golda Akhiezer (2nd ed.)]

LABI, SIMEON (16th century), Moroccan kabbalist of Spanish origin. He grew up in *Fez. In 1549, on his way to Ereẓ Israel, he reached *Tripoli in North Africa where, finding the Jewish community completely ignorant of Torah, he stayed as a teacher. The Jews of Tripoli always considered him as their greatest scholar. According to a tradition of Spanish kabbalists, Labi wrote in the middle of the 16th century a detailed commentary to the *Zohar on Genesis and Exodus. Only the commentary *Ketem Paz* on Zohar Genesis was published (Leghorn, 1795). It includes, at the end, several of Labi's *piyyutim*. His poem "*Bar Yoḥai Nimshaḥta Ashrekha*" in honor of *Simeon b. Yoḥai the alleged author of the Zohar has become the most popular kabbalistic poem and is still sung by Oriental Jews on the Sabbath eve and on *Lag ba-Omer, at the tomb of Bar Yoḥai in Meron, in Galilee. Many kabbalists imitated this song, which was also adopted by the Ḥasidim. For the Tripoli community, Labi also wrote "*Seder Tikkunei Kallah*" for Shavuot eve (Venice, 1680). His "*Be'ur Millot Zarot she-be-Sefer ha-Zohar*" was published in the collection *Yad Ne'man* of Abraham Miranda (Salonika, 1804). Labi's commentary on the Zohar was taken to Venice by Joseph *Ḥamiẓ and was the basis for Ḥamiẓ' own book on the Zohar *Yodei Binah* (Venice, 1663). According to *Malkhei Rabbanan*, Labi died in 1585, but Abraham Ḥalfon, one of the scholars of Tripoli, dates his death at 1580 (*Ma'asei Ẓaddikim*, manuscript in the Ben-Zvi Institute, 1807, fol. 9b).

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[Gershom Scholem]

LABI, SOLOMON (Salomon) (Ibn; second half of 14th century), scholar and translator. Labi, who lived probably in Aragon, translated Abraham *Ibn Daud's philosophical work "The Noble Faith" from Arabic to Hebrew under the title *Ha-Emunah ha-Ramah* (published with German translation and notes by S. Weil, 1852). His translation, extant in many manuscripts, replaced the earlier one by Samuel *Ibn Motot titled *Emunah Nissa'ah*. There is an anonymous commentary to Labi's translation, but it is not certain that he was its author. Labi is perhaps identical with Don Solomon b. Labi of Ixar, mentioned in *Isaac b. Sheshet's responsa (1878, p. 246 no. 395 and p. 272 no. 435), and with the royal tax farmer of the same name in Saragossa, mentioned in documents in the years 1361–86.

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[Bernard Suler]

LA BOÉTIE, ETIENNE DE (1530–1563), French humanist. Born in Sarlat, la Boétie studied law and became counselor to the *parlement* of Bordeaux. He tried to carry out the tolerant religious policies of the chancellor, Michel de l'Hôpital. La Boétie was apparently a Marrano. In the letter by his closest friend, Montaigne (*Works*, tr. by D. Frame (1958), 1054), describing his death la Boétie said to the priest who was giving him the last rites, "I protest that as I have been baptized as I have lived, so I want to die in the faith and religion which Moses first planted in Egypt, which the patriarchs then received in Judea, and which, from hand to hand, in the progress of time, has been brought into France," clearly indicating that he wanted to die a Jew.

La Boétie's most important writing is his *Discours de la servitude volontaire*, written when he was 16 or 18, first published in a collection entitled *Memoires de l'Estat de France* (1576), and later together with Montaigne's *Essays*. It is a plea for human freedom and dignity against the tyranny of rulers, and is the first modern statement of nonviolence as the means of protest. An English translation appeared in 1942 as *Anti-dictator*. La Boétie was also an important translator of the classics (Plutarch and Xenophon) and one of the first major poets of the French Renaissance, connected with the members of the Pléiade.

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[Richard H. Popkin]

LABOR.

In the Bible and Apocrypha

The Bible regards labor as human destiny and an aspect of the order of heaven and earth and all therein. According to Genesis 2:5, a condition of the creation of plant life was the presence of a human being to cultivate it; Adam's role was to till and keep the Garden of Eden (Gen. 2:15). Similarly, the visions of the prophets take the continuation of human labor for granted (cf. Isa. 2:4, "… into plowshares… pruning hooks"), the blessedness of the times being manifest in the abundance of produce ("The plower shall overtake the reaper, and the treader of grapes the one who sows seed," Amos 9:13). The curse entailed by Adam's sin was not labor but the sweaty toil required henceforth to wrest bread from a thorny and thistly earth (Gen. 3:17 ff.).

Labor was considered so much a part of creation that God Himself is depicted as a worker. He "founded" the earth, and the heavens are his "handi- (or "finger-") work" (Ps. 8:4;

102:26); He is the "fashioner" (*yoẓer*) of everything (Jer. 10:16); man is clay and God the potter (*yoẓer*; Isa. 64:7, based on Gen. 2:7). He worked six days at creating the world and rested (so Ex. 20:11; in Gen. 2:2–3 "ceased") on the seventh; wherefore the Israelites must do the same (Ex. 20:8ff.; cf. the lesson of the manna, Ex. 16; cf. *Sabbath). It is not remarkable, therefore, that many of Israel's heroes were workers, or began as such: Moses (Ex. 3:1), Gideon (Judg. 6:11), Saul (I Sam. 11:5), David (17:34), Elisha (I Kings 19:19), and Amos (1:1; 7:14).

The sapiential literature lauds work and condemns sloth and idleness: "One who is slack in his work is brother to him who is a destroyer" (Prov. 18:9). The sluggard is sent to the provident ant for a lesson in industry (6:6ff.; cf. 20:4). Work is better than words (14:23), for "he that tills his ground shall have plenty of bread, but he who pursues vain things shall have plenty of poverty" (28:19; cf. 10:4; 12:24). The efficient, hardworking woman (*'eshet ḥayil*) no less than her male counterpart (*'ish mahir bi-melakhto*) is extolled (22:29; 31:10ff.). Contentment is the lot of the honest laborer:

> When you eat the fruit of your own labors
> You shall be happy and contented (Ps. 128:2);
> Sweet is the sleep of the laborer,
> Whether he eat little or much (Eccles. 5:11).

Success is not, however, an automatic outcome of work: "Unless the Lord builds the house, its builders will have toiled in vain" (Ps. 127:1); hence the customary felicitation with which one greeted workers, "The blessing of the Lord be upon you!" (Ps. 129:8; cf. Judg. 6:12; Ruth 2:4). Ecclesiastes, the late writer, concluded after long brooding and observation that even enjoyment of one's acquisitions was entirely a matter of luck – a gift of God to those who pleased him (for inscrutable reasons; Eccles. 2:18–26; 3:12–13; 5:12–6:2, etc.).

The Torah is solicitous of the wage earner. An employer must pay his day laborer "on the same day, before the sun sets, for he is needy and urgently depends on it; else he will cry to the Lord against you and you will incur guilt" (Deut. 24:15; cf. Lev. 19:13; on the length of the workday, from sunrise to sunset, cf. Ps. 104:23). This ruling applies equally to Israelite and foreign laborers (Deut. 24:14). Violations of this injunction are denounced by prophets (Jer. 22:13; Mal. 3:5). The laws concerning debts and debtors and the Jubilee had as their object the protection of laborers and farmers.

The Israelites did not take kindly to the conscription of labor for service to their kings (see *Corvée). Samuel warned them of its hardships (I Sam. 8:11–12) – perhaps on the basis of Canaanite royal practice – and under Solomon its rigors were such (I Kings 5:27–28) that they led to the rebellion and secession of the North (I Kings 12). (By royal privilege a citizen or family might be exempt (*ḥofshi*) from such service; I Sam. 17:25.) A glimpse of life among such conscripts is afforded by a letter dating to the seventh century B.C.E. recovered from a fortress near Yavneh recording the complaint of a laborer against his superior for seizing his cloak (Pritchard, Texts[3], 568).

For the most part, the literature that has been preserved from the Second Temple period expresses this plebeian outlook. "Hate not laborious work or husbandry," urges Ben Sira, "for it was ordained by God" (7:15). Issachar is the ideal figure of a God-fearing, chaste, industrious farmer in the Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs. Injunctions to treat hired labor kindly and not keep back their pay appear in Tobit 4:14; Ben Sira 7:20; 34:22. Horror of a beggar's life is expressed in Ben Sira 40:28ff.

A new note (anticipated in an Egyptian "Satire on the Trades" a millennium earlier (Pritchard, Texts, 43ff.)) is sounded in Ben Sira 38:24–34. Here the superiority of the learned scribe over the laborer and artisan is forcefully stated. The latter are, admittedly, necessary, but their horizons are bounded strictly by the requirements of their craft.

> Without them a city cannot be inhabited,
> And wherever they dwell they hunger not.
> But they shall not be inquired of for public council.
> And in the assembly they enjoy no precedence.
> On the seat of the judge they do not sit,
> And law and justice they understand not.
> They do not expound the instruction of wisdom,
> Nor understand the proverbs of the wise.
> They understand the work of the world,
> And their thought is on the practice of their craft (38:32–34).

A learned patrician speaks here, heralding a clash in values that would shortly ripen into sectarian conflict (see *Pharisees, *Sadducees).

[Moshe Greenberg]

In the Talmud

Out of the many references to labor in the talmudic literature a clear picture emerges of the rabbinic attitude to labor. The need for having an occupation was raised to the level of a positive biblical commandment. The first half of Exodus 20:9, "six days shalt thou labor," was regarded as a separate injunction and not merely as an introduction to the prohibition of work on the Sabbath. Rabbi (Judah ha-Nasi) said, "These words constitute a separate commandment. In the same way as Israel was commanded concerning the Sabbath, so were they commanded concerning work" (Mekh. SbY to 20:9; cf. ARN[1] 11:44 and Gen. R. 16:8). The virtue of work is continually extolled: "Man should love toil and not hate it." Adam did not partake of anything until he had worked, as it is said, "to dress it and to keep it"; the **Shekhinah* descended upon the children of Israel only after they had worked, as it is said, "and they shall make Me a sanctuary and I shall dwell in their midst" (ARN[1] loc. cit.).

Two reasons were given for the duty of being gainfully employed. One was the need for economic independence. No work was degrading if it achieved this: "Make thy Sabbath as a weekday (in respect to forgoing the added special meal) rather than be dependent on others" (Shab. 118a); "Flay a carcass in the street and earn a wage, and say not, 'I am a great man and degrading work is not for me'" (BB 110a); and "He who enjoys the work of his hands is greater than the man who fears heaven" (Ber. 8a). When R. Judah went to the *bet midrash* he would carry a pitcher on his shoulder, declaring, "Great is labor for it honors the person who does it" (Ned. 49b). "Great is work. Even the high priest, if he were to enter the Holy of Holies on the Day of Atonement other than during the **Avodah*, is liable to death; yet for labor in it even those ritually unclean or blemished were permitted to enter" (Mekh. SbY to 20:9).

No less important, however, was the consideration of the social evil of idleness, irrespective of economic needs: "Idleness leads to unchastity" or "to degeneration" (Ket. 5:5) and "no man dies except from idleness" (ARN *ibid.*). "If a man has no work to perform, what shall he do? If he has a neglected courtyard or field let him go and work in it" (*ibid*). "He who does not teach his son a trade is as though he taught him to be a robber" (Kid. 29a). "Whosoever has a craft is like a vineyard surrounded with a protective hedge" (Tosef., Kid. 1:11). The therapeutic value of work is also stressed (Git. 67b). Nevertheless, one should, as far as possible, be selective in choosing one's occupation. There were "clean and easy trades" such as perfume-making and needlework, and there were mean occupations such as "ass drivers, wagoners, shepherds, and shopkeepers," the trade of butchery being regarded as of an especially mean character. People were enjoined to choose the former and avoid the latter. Similarly, trades which brought men into undesirable contact with women, such as jewelers, carders of wool, barbers, launderers, and bath attendants, should be avoided (Kid. 82a–b).

The dignity of labor was stressed: "Those engaged in work are not required to stand before a scholar while they are engaged in their tasks" (Kid. 33a), and it was emphasized that laborers also are "the children of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob" (BM 7:1).

Nevertheless, this view of the supreme importance of labor per se is diminished by the consideration that the highest ideal is to be free from all worldly occupation in order to be able to devote oneself entirely to spiritual pursuits, to the study of Torah, or generally, "in order to serve one's Maker." According to this view, labor is a punishment inflicted upon man: "Simeon b. Eleazar said, 'Hast thou ever seen a wild animal or bird practicing a craft? Yet they find their sustenance without trouble, though they were created only to serve me. But I was created to serve my Maker; how much more so should I receive my sustenance without trouble? But I have wrought evil and so forfeited my right'" (Kid. 4:14). This view is emphasized by Simeon b. Yoḥai: "If a man has to plow in the plowing season, sow in the sowing season, reap… thresh… and winnow, what will become of the Torah? But when Israel fulfills the will of the Omnipresent their work is done for them by others and when they do not fulfill the will of the Omnipresent not only have they to carry out their work themselves, but they have to do the work of others" (Ber. 35b; cf. ARN[1] 11:44). Its highest expression is in the statement of Nehorai: "I would ignore all the crafts in the world and teach my son only Torah," since unlike manual toil it guards him both in old age and sickness and in the world to come (Kid. 4:14).

The compromise between these two extreme views is found in the ideal which was followed by most of the rabbis, in the combination of study with a worldly occupation. It is stated by Ishmael in explicit contradiction to the above-mentioned view of Simeon b. Yoḥai, and the maxim of Rabban Gamaliel in *Avot* (2:2) is "excellent is the study of the Torah combined with a worldly occupation for the toil involved in both makes sin to be forgotten. All study of the Torah without work is futile and is the cause of sin." This ideal is especially advocated by *Meir, who, however, in addition to his many maxims extolling the value of manual labor urges that one should diminish one's worldly occupation as far as possible in order to be free for the study of the Torah (Avot 4:10). "The former generations made study their main concern and their work subsidiary to it, and they prospered in both; the later generations did the opposite and prospered in neither" (Ber. 35b).

Laborers and Employers

As mentioned, the dignity of labor and concern for the rights of laborers is emphasized. The biblical injunction to pay the laborer in time (Lev. 19:13) is expanded to the effect that "he who withholds an employee's wages is as though he had taken his life" (BM 112a), and in disputes between employees and workers the rights of the latter were given preference over those of the former (BM 77a). Especially significant is the rule laid down that the laborer has the right to withdraw his labor at any time, as an expression of his freedom from servitude to his fellowman (BK 116b; BM 10a). The extent to which the employer was liable for the laborer's food (BM 7:1) and the prerequisites to which the laborer was entitled are carefully laid down (BK 119a–b).

A constant anxiety is nevertheless expressed at the tendency toward idleness and the exploitation of their employers on the part of laborers. "The laborers are sluggish," stated by Tarfon metaphorically about the service of God (Avot 2:15), seems to reflect actual conditions. "A laborer usually works faithfully for the first two or three hours of the day only, after which he becomes lazy" (Gen. R. 70:20). "He who has been left a large fortune by his father and wishes to squander it, let him hire workers and not work together with them" (BM 29b). The law that a laborer could recite the **Shema* while on a tree or on the scaffolding of a building (Ber. 2:4) or curtail the Grace After Meals (Ber. 46a) was designed not in the laborer's interests but in that of his employer's time. For reciting the **Amidah*, however, which is prayer proper, they had to descend to the ground. It was regarded as praiseworthy to follow a hereditary trade (Ar. 16b).

[Louis Isaac Rabinowitz]

Later Rabbinic Writings and Modern Trends

Manual labor and social justice were often stressed in rabbinic writings. Labor was considered a blessing in itself, and it was held that the Bible required the state to concern itself with its citizens during unemployment, old age, and illness. These benefits were to be granted as a matter of legal right and in a manner which was not offensive to the recipients' sense of dignity (Simon Federbush, *The Jewish Concept of Labor* (1956), 50–51; Z. Warhaftig (ed.), *Osef Piskei Din Rabbaniyyim*, 45). The workers' right to organize into unions was upheld by the rabbis, and it was viewed as an extension of the dictum that "townspeople may inflict penalties for breach of their regulations" (BB 8b; Rabbi Abraham Isaac Kook cited in Katriel Tchorsh, *Keter Efrayim* (1967), 160–171; cf. Moshe Feinstein, *Iggerot Moshe: Ḥoshen Mishpat*, 108–9). The workers' right to strike was justified (Shillem Warhaftig, bibl., 982, 984; *Iggerot Moshe*, 110–111), although one opinion would not permit work-stoppages in the disputes of workers engaged in providing health services, electricity, and education (*Keter Efrayim*, 171). Another viewpoint was that all strikes were only permitted if the employers refused the workers' request to arbitrate their differences (Raphael Katzenellenbogen, *Ha-Ma'yan* (Tishrei 1965), 9–14).

Labor Ideology in Europe

In modern times, from the *Haskalah period in the 19th century, the alienation of the Jews in the *galut* from manual labor, particularly from agricultural production, was increasingly regarded as the root of evil in the "Jewish problem," while "Jewish parasitism" became a key word in modern antisemitism. The famous Yiddish term "*luftmenshen*," i.e., people who willy-nilly make a living from all kinds of petty, superfluous, mediating occupations, instead of useful work, emerged in the peculiar atmosphere of the Russian *Pale of Settlement, which in the late 19th and early 20th centuries was a kind of huge "reservation" consisting of a network of towns and townlets in which masses of Jews were compelled to live "on air." The reaction in Jewish society to this condition took many social and political forms, including the mass emigration from Russia to the West (see below) and the yearning for a "return to the soil," particularly in Ereẓ Israel. There were also attempts at "productivization" in Russia itself, as, e.g., in the Jewish agricultural settlements in southern Russia, the fostering of *crafts and artisanship among Jewish youth, etc. Most of these trends were linked to elaborate ideologies, which, according to their originator's basic concepts, were either religious (as, e.g., Shemuel Ḥayyim *Landau, the founder of Ha-Po'el ha-Mizrachi, and his followers), or socialist (see *Socialism, Jewish; *Bund), or Zionist and Zionist-Socialist (*Bilu; Naḥman *Syrkin; Ber *Borochov). In the early stages of the pioneering movement in Ereẓ Israel, the ideology of labor was elevated to a basic philosophy of the reborn Jew rooted in the soil of his homeland (A.D. *Gordon; Second *Aliyah; *Israel, State of, Labor). This philosophy was largely instrumental in reversing in the Land of Israel the social structure of the "nonproductive" Jewish population in the European Diaspora. The ideology of productivization was also the motive force of endeavors of Jewish settlement on the land in *Argentina, *Brazil, and, in the 1930s, in Soviet *Birobidzhan.

In the United States

The mass East European emigration which began during the 1880s and continued through the 1920s brought great numbers of Jewish workers to the United States. Continuing their European socialist orientation, many of them became active in the American labor movement which began to develop during this period. They organized the United Garment Workers of America (1891); the women afterwards left this union and formed the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union (1900); and the majority of the male clothing workers later parted with the original group and formed the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America (1914). In 1888 several small Jewish labor organizations formed the United Hebrew Trades as their central body. This group later comprised a majority of the Jewish workers in the United States (see *Socialism, Jewish). The most prominent early Jewish trade unionist was Samuel *Gompers who helped establish the American Federation of Labor in 1886, and served as its president for 38 years. Rabbis early became active in labor mediation in the United States, serving on both general and Jewish mediation boards. The *kehillah*, the official community of New York Jewry (1908–22), formed a "committee on conciliation." Its members included Moses *Margolies and Philip *Klein of New York's Ohab Zedek Congregation. Among this committee's activities were the prevention of a threatened strike of poultry *shoḥetim* in 1909, and the arbitration of complaints of Sabbath-observing cloakmakers against their union (Arthur Goren, *New York Jews and the Quest for Community*, 1970, 198–9, 301). Morris *Adler of Detroit served as the chairman of the Public Review Board of the United Auto Workers (1957–66). The rapid deproletarization of American Jews in the second and particularly the third generation can be regarded as a corollary of both the technological revolution of Western civilization from the middle of the 20th century as well as of the general trend to the professions characteristic of Jewish society in all Diaspora countries, while a Jewish farming population and proletariat continued to exist almost solely in Israel.

[Baruch Yaron]

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LABOR LAW.

In Scripture

Two fundamental principles relating to the laws of the hired servant are enjoined in the Pentateuch. Firstly, the master's duty to pay the wages of his servant on time: "The wages of a laborer shall not remain with you until morning"; "You must pay him his wages on the same day, before the sun sets" (Lev. 19:13; Deut. 24:15); and secondly, the servant's right to eat from the produce of the field while he is working: "When you enter your neighbor's vineyard, you may, if you desire, eat your fill of the grapes.… When you find yourself amid your neighbor's standing grain, you may pluck ears with your hand" (Deut.

23:25, 26). So too the liberal pentateuchal laws concerning the Hebrew bondsman served as an important source for the development of labor law in later times. Other scriptural passages, even if not specifically related to the matter of master and servant, have also been relied upon by the scholars in support of labor laws, especially the enjoinder, "For it is to Me that the children of Israel are servants" (Lev. 25:55).

Hired Servant and Independent Contractor

The distinction between a hired servant and an independent contractor is one of principle: Whereas the former is hired for a specific period, the latter is hired for a specific task (*Maggid Mishneh*, Sekhirut, 9:4; cf. the Roman law distinction between *locatio conductio operarum* and *locatio conductio operis*). The time factor in the hire of a servant has the effect of tying him to his work for fixed hours during which he cannot choose not to work, whereas the independent contractor may work as and when it pleases him (Resp. Maharam of Rothenburg, ed. Prague, no. 477). Hence an element of slavery attaches to a hired servant, while a contractor "is not a slave except unto himself" (Rashi, BM 77a).

The Contract of Hired Service

The contractual tie in an agreement for the hire of personal services is effected through one of the recognized modes of *acquisition, such as *kinyan sudar*. Typically, however, the tie is effected by commencement of the work (BM 76b; Nov. Ramban thereto) or by the master pulling (*meshikhah*) the servant's tool of trade (R. Tam, Tos. to BM 48a; see also *Contract). When the master is a public body the contract requires no *kinyan* and a verbal agreement suffices (*Mordekhai*, BM nos. 457, 458). A service contract is not susceptible to specific performance, i.e., the party in breach cannot be compelled to carry out his undertaking. The master cannot be compelled to employ the servant against his will, since only the master's property (*mamon*) and not his person becomes subjected in the servant's favor (Resp. Mahari'az no. 15). The servant, on the other hand, cannot be compelled to work against his will, since the law is that a worker may withdraw from the employment even in the middle of the day (BM 10a; see also below); even if his withdrawal should involve irretrievable loss to his master (see below), he will not be compelled to work, but the loss may be recovered out of his property (*Ḥazon Ish*, BK no. 23:6). This is also the position with an independent contractor, who cannot be compelled to carry out his undertaken task (Mahariḥ to *Piskei ha-Rosh*, BM 77a). In the circumstances, the tie between the parties to a service contract is a loose one in its legal consequences (TJ, BM 6:2), with the result that it became customary for such parties to bind themselves to each other in various ways aimed at precluding the possibility of withdrawal, e.g., by *oath, handshake, or imposition of a fine upon the retracting party.

Personal Nature of the Service Contract

A service contract falls into the category of agreements of a personal nature. Therefore, if the master has engaged the servant to work in his field, he cannot compel him to work in a neighbor's field, even if the work there is lighter (Tosef., BM 7:6). Similarly, the servant is not entitled to substitute another worker for himself if the master should want his particular services (Resp. Maharit, vol. 2, YD no. 50). Generally, however, it will be presumed that the master is not particular about the matter, save as regards a position of a public nature which the holder cannot pass on to another without the consent of the public (*Mordekhai*, BK no. 108).

The master may change the nature of the servant's work except if the servant has been hired for a specific task, in which case it cannot be changed against the servant's will, whether for lighter or heavier work (Nov. Ramban, BM 77a). If the task for which the servant has been hired is completed before expiry of the hire period, his master may keep him engaged on some other but not heavier labor (Tosef., BM 7:6; BM 77a); in the opinion of some scholars he may be given heavier labor than before but with an increase in remuneration (Maharam of Rothenburg, in: *Mordekhai*, BM no. 346, ḤM 335:1; Ramakh, in *Shitah Mekubbeẓet*, BM 76b). In similar circumstances the servant may not, however, in the absence of prior stipulation, demand that he be retained on some other labor (Tosef., BM 7:6) but only claim the wages of an unemployed worker (*sekhar po'el batel*) or the full stipulated wage until expiry of the period of his hire (see below).

Remuneration

In the absence of express agreement, it will be presumed that the parties intended a contract of service for remuneration, on the assumption that a person does not work for nothing, and the measure of remuneration will be determined in accordance with local *custom (see **minhag*; *Mordekhai* loc. cit.); in a place where laborers are hired at different rates, remuneration will be according to the lowest, since people generally have in mind the cheapest possible rate (Alfasi to BM 76a).

Obligations of the Parties

It is the servant's duty to do his work in a faithful manner, hence he may not absent himself from work without adequate cause lest he become liable to dismissal as well as loss of remuneration for the period he has not worked. For the same reason he has to work with all his strength (Yad, Sekhirut 13:7) and may not go hungry or otherwise afflict himself, nor engage in any additional work, whether inside or outside his original working hours (Tosef., BM 8:2). If he should do so without his master's authority, the latter may demand a refund of his earnings (Resp. Rashba, vol. 71, no. 1042). The prohibition against additional work is only applicable, apparently, to a servant obliged – by agreement or custom – to work a full day for his master (see below). The servant must furthermore comply with his master's instructions insofar as these do not deviate from their agreement or local custom (*Tanna de-Vei Eliyahu Raza* 15:5; Resp. Israel of Bruna, no. 242).

The master's main obligation is to pay the servant's wages on time, i.e., at the end of the day or month as the case may be, since "the hire is only payable at the end" (BM 65a), unless otherwise agreed upon by the parties or decreed by custom (*Mordekhai*, BB, no. 468). The duty to pay the servant's wages on time is a positive command and delay in payment also amounts to transgression of a negative command (see above). Wage delay (*halanat sakhar*) is constituted when payment has been withheld for more than 12 hours after it is due (BM 111a). The prohibition is not transgressed, nor is the master in default, unless and until the servant has demanded the payment of his wage (Sifra, Kedoshim 2:9–12) and the master has the ready cash to make it (BM 112a), or has chattels which he can sell without loss and fails to do so (Nov. Ritba, BM 111b). Here too the parties may contract out of the law with regard to the time of wage payment (Sif. Deut. 279), and they may also stipulate that the master shall not be in transgression of the prohibition against wage delay if he should fail to pay on time (*Sefer Ḥasidim*, no. 1066). According to some scholars, wage delay entitles the servant to claim compensation for what he could have earned from his wages if he had been paid on time, but this is prohibited by most scholars as tantamount to interest (*Or Zaru'a*, BM no. 181).

The servant must be paid in cash and not chattels (BM 118a), although there is an opinion that payment may be made in commodities (foodstuffs) which the servant is in need of (Maharam of Rothenburg, in: *Mordekhai* BK 1), and the latter may also waive his right to payment in cash. In case of dispute over whether or not the master has made payment of the servant's wages, the servant will be entitled to payment thereof upon delivering an oath – this is a rabbinical enactment in favor of the servant (Shev. 45a). The master is generally not obliged to provide his servant with food, save as otherwise agreed between them or decreed by custom (BM 83a), in which event the master may choose to provide an allowance instead of food (Resp. Maharsham, pt. 3, no. 54). So far as a servant working in the field is concerned, he is entitled to eat from the produce, but only while he is working (see above; BM 87a).

The master may not employ his servant outside lawful working hours, which – in the absence of an agreement between the parties – are determined by local custom (BM 83a; Nov. Ritba thereto). Scripture hints at the ancient custom of regarding a working day as lasting from sunrise until the appearance of the stars (Ps. 104:19–23), and this is known in the Talmud as a workday of a worker – *de-oraita* (BM 83b).

Period of Service

If not explicitly agreed upon between the parties, the duration of the service period is determined by custom (*Divrei Malkiel*, pt. 3, no. 151), and in the absence of such this is a matter within the judges' discretion (*Ḥazon Ish*, BK, sec. 23). Cancellation of the service contract is subject to prior notice within a reasonable time in accordance with local custom and conditions (*Ḥazon Ish*, loc. cit.). In the case of certain public appointments it was the custom to regard an appointment without a fixed period as one for life (Ḥatam Sofer, Resp. OḤ no. 206).

When the service contract is for a specified period, it will terminate on the date specified without need for any prior notice. In the case of public appointments there is an opinion that the servant cannot be dismissed, notwithstanding stipulation on the duration of the appointment, unless this is in accordance with local custom or an express agreement between the parties (Ḥatam Sofer, Resp. loc. cit.; *Ḥemdat Shelomo*, OḤ no. 7); another opinion is that the continued employment of a public servant after the specified date for termination of his service must be regarded as an implied agreement to employ him for an additional period equal to that originally agreed upon (*Mishpat Ẓedek*, vol. 2, no. 77). A public servant who has grown old has the right to avail himself of an assistant (*mesayye'a*) at the public expense (Resp. Rashba, vol. 1, no. 300). There is also a custom that a public position passes through inheritance to the holder's son, if he is worthy of it, in order that the widow's existence may be secured (*Sho'el u-Meshiv*, vol. 3, pt. 1, no. 154; *Imrei Yosher*, vol. 1, no. 169). A service contract may be terminated at any time by mutual consent of the parties. According to some scholars, a formal act, such as the signing of a deed, is required for this purpose (Resp. Maharam of Rothenburg, ed. Prague, no. 77), while others hold that word of mouth alone suffices (Resp. Radbaz, pt. 1, no. 88).

Withdrawal by the Master

Justifiable grounds for the master's withdrawal from the contract are the servant's neglect, i.e., his failure to discharge his duties in a proper manner; his unfitness; and improper conduct on the servant's part, even outside his employment. If on account of the improper discharge of his duties or his unfitness the servant should cause or be likely to cause his master irretrievable loss, the latter may dismiss him without any prior warning (BM 109a). Circumstances amounting to improper conduct on the servant's part and warranting his dismissal – even if not directly related to his employment – include the fact that he is a reputed thief or under suspicion of committing theft (Rema ḤM 42:6) or an offense against morality (Hai Gaon, in: *Sha'arei Teshuvah* no. 51).

The master's withdrawal is not justified on the grounds that it is possible for him to find another worker who costs less (BM 76a and Rashi thereto) or a better one (Rosh Resp. no. 104:4), or because of the existence of enmity which is not attributable to the servant; nor is his withdrawal justified on the ground that from the beginning he had no need of the worker's service (BM 76b), or because he has completed his work prior to the termination of the contracted period of employment (BM 77a). In the latter case there is neglect on the master's part since he ought to have foreseen that he would not be in need of the worker's services.

If the master interrupts the employment without justifiable cause, he is liable for the full wages of the servant until the contracted period of service has expired (BM 76b and Rashi thereto). At the same time, however, a worker who sits idle after the master has retracted is only entitled to the remuneration of an "unemployed worker," since it is presumed that the worker himself prefers not to work and to receive less rather than to work and receive his stipulated wage. The wage of an "unemployed worker" is half his stipulated wage (Rashi Resp. no. 239). If the worker is the kind of person to whom idleness is a greater trial than doing his work, the master will be obliged to pay his full wage (BM 77a). Liability for the servant's wage in the event of the master retracting, as described above, is only imposed on the master if the servant is unable to find alternative employment (Nov. Naḥmanides, BM 76b). In the event of the master retracting on account of inevitable accident (see *Ones*) affecting either himself or the work, he will not be liable to pay the servant for the period of his idleness, not even the wages due to an unemployed worker, unless the mishap is of a general, statewide nature (BM 77a and *Piskei ha-Rosh* thereto; Rema ḤM 321:1).

Compensation on Dismissal or Severance Pay

On dismissing his servant, even after the expiry of the contracted period, the master is obliged to pay him compensation. This law, based on the pentateuchal enjoinder of **ha'anakah* (i.e., the grant payable by the master to his Hebrew bound servant), began to evolve in the post-talmudic period and in recent decades has achieved full legal recognition, particularly in the decisions of the rabbinical courts of the State of Israel.

Withdrawal by the Servant

In the event of the servant's withdrawal from the contract in the midst of his employment, it is necessary to distinguish between the case where this will not result in irretrievable loss – i.e., the master can afford a delay in the work until he is able to find another worker on the same terms – and the case where delay in the work will cause the master irretrievable loss. There is a tannaitic dispute concerning the case where the servant's withdrawal does not involve irretrievable loss but the master wishes to avoid delay and immediately hires other workers at a higher wage; the general opinion is that the master must pay the servant for the work already done on a pro rata basis, and R. Dosa holds that the master may deduct from what the servant has so far earned the loss he has incurred through hiring a new worker at a higher wage (BM 76b). The *amora* Rav ruled that the *halakhah* followed Dosa in the case of a contractor and the sages in the case of a hired servant (BM 77a). For since a hired servant is to some degree a slave (see above) he may withdraw his labor even in the middle of the day, as it is written (Lev. 25:55): "For unto Me, the children of Israel are servants," and not the servants of servants (BM 10a). In this case too the hired servant may waive his right to withdraw his labor (*Zera Emet*, vol. 2, YD no. 97).

If the servant's withdrawal involves irretrievable loss, the master will be entitled to hire another worker to complete the work and to deduct from the servant's earnings the wage increment payable to the new worker; in this case it is also permissible for him to "mislead" (*lehatot*) the servant – i.e., to promise him an increased wage as an inducement to continue the work, yet remain liable only for the wage originally agreed upon (BM 76b). According to the original law, the master was entitled to hire workers against the servant "up to 40 or 50 *zuz*," i.e., to recoup from the retracting servant several times his stipulated wages; but in order to limit the servant's liability, it was laid down by R. Naḥman that the master might only recoup an amount not exceeding his servant's wages (BM 78a), i.e., wages due to the servant for work done until his withdrawal (Rashi thereto); if the master is in possession of the servant's bundle, he will be able to recoup from it the total amount of the increment. A worker retracting on account of *ones* does not lose his wages for the period he has worked, even where his withdrawal has resulted in irretrievable loss (BM 77b).

The Servant's Liability to His Master

The servant's liability for pecuniary loss caused to his master is equivalent to that of a *bailee for reward, whether in respect of theft and loss or any other kind of damage (BM 80b, 82b). His liability is greater than that of a tort-feasor, since the latter is only liable in the case of relative *ones* (which is like *avedah*, i.e., loss) and exempt as regards absolute *ones* (which is like theft), while the servant is liable in both cases (Tos. to BK 27b; see also *Torts). The servant is liable for damage resulting from his departure from custom or the terms of his employment (BK 100b; Tosef., BK 10:29), from his failure to take proper care (BK 98b), and from his lack of familiarity with the work (BK 99b). The servant is also liable for damage caused in the course of his work to the chattels of his master, even unintentionally (BK 99b). As regards breakages in the transportation of goods by porters, R. Meir regulated that the servant be exempted from liability upon delivery of an oath that these were not intentionally caused by him (BM 82b). A servant causing his master damage not only has to pay for this, but also forfeits his remuneration (BM 58a).

The sages of the Talmud were at pains to modulate the severity of the servant's liability, and with reference to damage negligently caused by porters Rav decided that the latter should not only be exempt from liability but also entitled to payment of their hire – this in reliance on Proverbs 2:20 and the equitable rule of *li-fenim mi-shurat ha-din* (BM 83a and Rashi).

The Master's Liability to the Servant

The master's liability for damage suffered by the servant flows from a breach of agreement or custom, or from the general law of tort. Thus a master who burdens his servant to "carry on his shoulder" a heavier load than that agreed upon or customary will be liable for any resulting harm suffered by the latter (Tosef., BM 7:10; *Beit ha-Beḥirah*, BM 80b).

As for the master's liability to his servant in tort, it will be necessary to distinguish whether the harm suffered by the servant directly is attributable to the master or not. Thus if the master causes harm to the person or property of the servant, e.g., damage suffered by an agent as a result of the sale of his principal's defective goods, the master will be liable therefor (*Tashbeẓ*, 4:2, 17; see also Resp. Mabit, vol. 2, pt. 2, no. 156); if, however, harm is suffered by the servant within the course of his employment which is not caused by the master, the latter will be exempt from liability for the damage done, whether to the servant's person or property, as happens, for example, when a spark flies from under a forger's hammer and sets alight his heap (*Sefer Teshuvot ha-Rashba ha-Meyuḥasot le-ha-Ramban* no. 20). Similarly, the principal is not obliged to ransom his paid agent when he is taken captive en route (Resp. Mabit, vol. 2, pt. 2, no. 156), nor is there any obligation in respect of an agent killed while he is on his master's business but not because of the latter. In the latter case, however, the *posekim* laid down that the master, because of his connection with the occurrence of such a disaster, should be obliged to take upon himself an expiation and to compensate the heirs of the deceased as a matter of equity (Resp. Maharyu no. 125).

In the State of Israel

Labor legislation in force in the State of Israel is a composite of three statutory sources:

(1) Ottoman: a number of paragraphs dealing with labor law are included under the chapter "Hire" in the Ottoman Civil Code (Mejelle);

(2) Mandatory: in particular the Safety at Work Ordinance (New Version 5730–1970);

(3) Legislation of the Knesset, replacing most of the Mandatory legislation on the subject with original laws, of which the following are the most important: Annual Leave Law, 1952; Hours of Work and Rest Law, 1951; Wage Protection Law, 1958; Apprenticeship Law, 1953; Youth Labor Law, 1953; Employment of Women Law, 1954; National Insurance Law, 1953; Collective Agreements Law, 1957; Settlement of Labor Disputes Law, 1957; Employment Service Law, 1959; Severance Pay Law, 1963; Male and Female Workers (Equal Pay) Law, 1964; Labor Courts Law, 1969. In addition, labor law in Israel has been further interpreted and evolved in the case law precedents of the Supreme Court. These, like the above Knesset laws, reflect the substantial influence of Jewish law, noticeable particularly in the Wage Protection Law, 1958 and Severance Pay Law, 1963 (see Elon, bibl.).

The Labor Courts Law sets up a special judicial hierarchy, at both regional and national levels, for airing disputes between master and servant, without right of appeal to the regular courts. The existence of a special judicial machinery in labor matters is also to be found in the history of Jewish law. In the European Jewish communities of the late Middle Ages, and within the framework of the various artisans' and traders' associations, special courts were elected in accordance with articles approved by the communal rabbis.

[Shillem Warhaftig]

LABOR LAW DECISIONS IN ISRAEL. As stated, the State of Israel has a labor court system with jurisdiction over labor-related matters. Some of the most important labor legislation in the State of Israel, such as the Wage Protection Law, 5718–1958, is based on Jewish law, and the labor courts rely on principles from Jewish law in deciding labor issues brought before them. This article presents several cases brought before the Israeli Labor Courts and the Israel Supreme Court which were adjudicated having consideration for the position of Jewish law.

The Prohibition on Delayed Wage Payments for Contracted Labor and the Distinction between a Sales Contract and a Service Contract (Ḥozei Kablanut). In *Zikit v. Eldit*, the Israeli Supreme Court (CA 368/77, *Zikit v. Eldit*, 32(3) PD 487) was required to examine this issue. In that case, a company provided a quantity of cloth for printing patterns on cloth to be used for bathing suits. The printing was defective, and as a result the company that owned the material was injured. The Court was required to decide if the transaction was a sale, in other words whether the printing company sold a product, in which case the provisions of the Sales Law, 5728–1968, would apply; or was the printing company under contract for services (*kablanut*, hereinafter "contractorship agreement") and as such the Contract for Services Law, 5734–1974 would apply. The court (per Justice Menachem Elon) pointed out that "when we engage in the interpretation of sales and contractor law, enacted by the State, we must first and foremost examine the position of the Jewish law regarding the problems brought before us" (*ibid.*, p. 493).

The Court cited the responsum of Rabbi Aharon Sasson (Resp. Torat Emet, 119), which considered whether the commission of work to a craftsman (in that case – ordering a *ketubbah* (marriage contract) from a scribe) should fall under sales or contract law principles, which would affect the application of the prohibition against delaying wage payment. The prohibition of delaying the wage payment is not limited to client commissioned work, but also applies to contractorship agreements: "Inasmuch as contractorship is like hiring [a worker] and it obligates him to pay him on time" (Maim., Yad, Sekhirut 11:3).

Rabbi Aharon Sasson did not consider the scribe from whom the *ketubbah* was ordered a contractor, because "the contractor receives the object from the one who orders the work and prepares accordingly; this does not confer any rights or ownership in the object, and he is therefore referred to as a contractor [one engaged in providing services to a client's object]." In contrast, when the workman also supplies the materials, their agreement may be considered a sales contract and not a contractorship agreement. In such a case, the non-payment is not a delay in the payment of wages, but a debt for which there is an obligation to pay, but the law of delay in payment of wages does not apply (*Zikit* decision, p. 494).

The court goes on to discuss the responsibility of the hired craftsman to pay for damages caused to an object given to him for repair (Yad, Sekhirut 10:4; *Zikit* decision pp. 496–497).

Employer's Responsibility to Protect the Well-Being and Safety of His Employees. Punishing a person who indirectly or accidentally caused another's death to exile in a city of refuge (see *City of Refuge) is not applicable today, yet the responsa literature deals with situations of an employee's or an agent's death while employed or under contract. A talmudic *aggadah*

(Sanh. 95a) relates that King David was punished because his actions, albeit indirectly, resulted in the deaths of the priests of Nov, Doeg, Ahitophel, Saul, and his three sons. David did not perform any active deed to cause these deaths, and the decisors (*posekim*) infer from this *aggadah*, by the rule of *a fortiori,* that an employer whose employee is injured while performing duties, is not liable under tort law, but he is required to atone and repent (*kapparah* and *teshuvah*), and is even to give charity to the orphans of the victim or to other indigents (Responsa Mahari Weil, 125; Resp. Rabbi Akiva Eiger, Tanina ed., 3; see *Divine Punishment). Other halakhic decisors distinguished between a paid employee, for whom the employer is not obligated to atone for the bodily injuries, and the unpaid worker (Responsa *Ẓemaḥ Ẓedek*, 6). Rabbi Ouziel (Resp. *Mishpatei Ouziel*, 4 – ḤM, no. 43), rules that indeed by law, when a worker is injured or killed, the client is not liable for his worker's damages or death, but only obligated to atone, and there is no legal recourse for receiving monetary compensation from the employer. However, Rabbi Ouziel emphasizes that in our times, owing to industrial development there are many more dangers for workers and the current situation requires far more caution; "the employer is cautioned by the Torah to do all that is possible to protect his workers from the risk of death or injury, as it is written: 'And you shall make a parapet for your roof that you shall not bring blood upon your house' (Deut. 22:8), which includes any hazard that is likely to harm, such as a dangerous dog and a shaky ladder, etc. (BK 15, and Sh. Ar., ḤM 327:5). Thus, it is the obligation of the employer or the contractor, to take all precautions to ensure that the work environment and conditions are free of hazard or danger that may cause any sort of disaster." Rabbi Ouziel adds that in our times, when it is accepted practice to insure employees against injury, an employer would be halakhically required to insure his employees.

These statements regarding the employer's responsibility for the safety of his employees, were cited in the decision of the Israeli Supreme Court in the *Pinkas* case (Crim. A 478/72 *Pinkas v. The State of Israel*, 27(2) 617, pp. 627–629; per Justice Kister), as inspiration for the criminal liability of an employer who sent his worker to carry out a job in a dangerous and negligent manner as a result of which the worker was killed.

Dismissing an Employee Suspected of Stealing. Rabbi Moses Isserles, in his glosses on Shulḥan Arukh (ḤM 421:6), rules that an employer who suspects that his worker may have stolen from him is entitled to dismiss him, provided that he has proven grounds for his suspicions before a court, or if the employer has solid proof of such theft, or if the worker has the reputation of being a thief (Resp. Divrei Malkhiel, III, 151–152). In the Resp. *Divrei Ḥayyim* (1, YD, 11), it was held that mere suspicion is not sufficient, and only where there are witnesses to a theft is it possible to dismiss the worker. These rulings indicate that the employer's concerns and suspicions do not constitute sufficient grounds for dismissing a worker; however, when these misgivings are substantiated by evidence, they are grounds for dismissal.

The Regional Labor Court of Tel Aviv Jaffa (LF 32309/98, *Yitzchak v. The Aircraft Industries*; Judge Tennenbaum) adjudicated a case where a worker was dismissed after being suspected of stealing. The worker filed a claim for the entire amount of his severance pay, and the question of his employer's justification for dismissal was raised. The court based its decision on principles of Jewish law, and examined the degree to which the robbery had to be proved to constitute grounds for dismissal and the extent of his entitlement to severance pay.

Employee Disclosure of Trade Secrets. Jewish law's approach to business competition is based on the principle that, with the exception of some specific cases, free competition should not be interfered with (see: *Business Ethics).

Nevertheless, even under Jewish law, an employee who during his employ was privy to privileged information and then leaves his employ may not divulge such information, even where his employment contract does not specifically stipulate this; Rav Samuel Wozner states the following (Resp. *Shevet ha-Levi*, 4:220): "It is clear to me that a worker who works in a place where they work with secret things, or use instruments that are still considered secret, or even in an activity related to an invention, is prohibited from making a copy for himself or for others and this falls into the legal category of stealing, even when there was no special contractual stipulation, because such matters are self-understood and one should be very careful about revealing them."

According to another approach, a worker is permitted to use his employer's trade secrets, provided that he paid the employer for their value; and if he has not paid him the value of the secret he is interested in using, he is forbidden to use it.

The Regional Labor Court in Haifa (Lab. App. 2999/03, *Carmel v. Ben Shimon*; per Judge Werbener) cited these rulings when adjudicating a case where an employee's former employers requested a court injunction against a competing business to prevent it from employing the said employee, because of their concern that he would disclose their trade secrets.

Firing an Employee When His Term of Employ Has Not Been Extended. The responsa of Rabbi Moses Feinstein deal with this subject in detail. Rabbi Feinstein holds that even if the employee is hired for only one year in a place where one usually annually renews employment contracts every year, and he continues to work there, even without a renewed contract, it is still not permissible, absent of other grounds, to dismiss him (Resp. *Iggerot Moshe*, ḤM 1:76). In another responsum Rabbi Feinstein deals with the question of an employee for whom no extension of his term of employment was established and whether it was permissible to fire him without grounds. Rabbi Feinstein answers that it is not permissible to fire an employee without clear cause, even when the policy at the specific place of employment regarding the hiring of employees for an unlimited period of time is unclear (*ibid.*, 75).

The Regional Labor Court in Tel Aviv-Jaffa (LF 8338/00 *Krigsman v. Reshet ha-Ganim shel Agudat Yisrael*; per Judge Tannenbaum) dealt with this subject, and quoted extensively from these rulings of Rabbi Feinstein.

The Possibility of Limiting the Employee's Work Hours. The basic approach of Jewish law to this question is set forth in the Tosefta (BM 8b) which states: "A worker is not permitted to do his work in the night and to hire himself out during the day…." The rationale for this edict is explained by Maimonides (Yad, Sekhirut 13:6; Rema, ḤM 337:19): "… Such behavior would constitute stealing from the employer, for his [the employee's] strength will give out and his mind will be weakened and he would not do his work with energy."

Teachers and teaching hours have received special treatment in this matter from both the Maharam of Rothenburg in his responsa, and the Rashba (Responsa Maharam of Rothenburg, 667; Resp. Rashba, 7:516). They emphasize that teachers can be prevented from contracting in supplementary work, if such work would hamper their ability to teach in an appropriate manner.

The Talmud (BB 21a), when discussing the community's responsibility to organize an educational system, explicitly limits the number of students allowed for each teacher. Raba rules that one teacher should not teach more than 25 children. When there are more than 25 students – up to 40 – an additional person is seated with the teacher to assist him and when there are more than 40 students, the community must provide two teachers (Yad, Talmud Torah 2:5). Such limitations insure the proper fulfillment of the community's duty to procure enough teachers, for an appropriate, functioning educational system, and are not aimed at limiting the teachers' employment opportunities. However, other community regulations establish limitations and prohibitions regarding the number of students a teacher may accept (regarding these regulations, see Bibliography, Shchipinsky).

In this context, the Regional Labor Court of Tel Aviv-Jaffa (LF 913517/99 *Asher v. The State of Israel*; per Judge Tannenbaum), was requested to invalidate a provision in the collective labor agreement applicable that limited the number of instruction hours a teacher was permitted to work to 140% of a full-time position.

Dismissing a Worker Who Has Reached Retirement Age. The basic approach of Jewish law regarding employment in public positions is that a person should not be removed without good cause (Resp. Rashba v. 283). Rabbi Joseph Caro (Sh. Ar., OḤ 53:25) ruled as such regarding a cantor. Rabbi Israel Meir of Radin stated that this ruling applies to all positions, "so that they [the employees] should not suspect that some defect was discovered in them" (*Mishnah Berurah*, ad loc. subsection 73).

Rabbi Yehiel Michal Epstein deals with the appointment of various community officials, and ruled as follows (*Arukh ha-Shulḥan*, ḤM 2:333.15):

"… This was the custom in all of the Jewish Diaspora that from his appointment (in the letter of appointment to the Rabbinate) the rabbi is employed for the city's benefit, this was done so that the rabbi would not change his mind [and resign from his position] over the time … but the people of the city can never change their mind, unless some taint was found in him. This is also the law regarding a cantor and a sexton and all kinds of other public appointments – that as long as he is not found wanting, he has a lifetime position. And this is the custom …"

The principle applies not only to those of community related positions, such as a rabbi and a cantor, but also those of any public position; one who holds a position has a presumptive right to it (Rabbi A.I. Kook, Resp. *Oraḥ Mishpat*, ḤM, 20).

In the responsa of Rabbi Ezekiel *Landau, there is explicit reference to the chronological age of retirement (Resp. *Noda Bi-Yehudah*, YD, Tanina ed., 1). Rabbi Landau was asked about the law regarding a ritual slaughterer whose "hands shook," in other words, someone physically incapable of fulfilling his responsibilities. In his response, Rabbi Landau ruled that such a person must be removed from his position, yet he refused to apply this ruling retroactively – i.e., he did not disqualify the meat this ritual slaughterer had slaughtered. In his discussion Rabbi Landau rejects disqualifying *shoḥetim* at the fixed age of 80, exclusively on the basis of their having reached that age.

These rulings demonstrate that Jewish law rejects mandatory retirement based exclusively on age. A person's age is only significant to the extent of imposing a duty to examine the employee's functioning at an age at which might be assumed that his age affects his functioning. However, where the retirement policy obligates a person to retire after a specified period of time, that custom mandates one in such a position to leave his job when he reaches that specified time (Resp. Rashba, 5.283).

The Regional Labor Court in Tel Aviv (LF (Tel Aviv) 912492/99 *Meor v. The Open University;* per Judge Tannenbaum) thus adjudicated in an action filed by an employee who had been dismissed upon reaching the age of 65.

The Obligation to Provide an Employee Work. The Talmud (BM 77a) establishes that an employer who hires a worker for a fixed period of time, and does not provide him work for part of that period of time, is still obligated to pay him [for the entire period]. The exception to the rule is when the worker, upon accepting the job, knew that circumstances might arise that would prevent the employer from providing him work. In such a case, if in fact the employer failed to provide him work for the entire period, the worker is not entitled to full wages. If the work is terminated during that period and the employer is no longer able to employ him, if he is able to provide him with work, no more difficult than the work for which he was originally employed, the employer should allow the employee to perform such work. If there is no work available, the *halakhah* depends upon the type of worker: if the worker is accustomed to hard work and the absence of work will weaken his body, not working is tantamount to damage, and the employer must pay him his full wages. If the worker is not such a worker and he enjoys the "holiday," even if it is forced upon him, the employer must only compensate him for his loss of time.

The halakhic literature provides definitions of workers for whom not working causes distress and for those who enjoy being unemployed. Regarding teachers, it was ruled that unemployment is a source of distress (Resp. Rashba attributed to Naḥmanides, 1). It was ruled that when a rabbi is hired to deliver Sabbath sermons in the synagogue, which brings him joy and fulfillment, being unemployed distresses him. In contrast, a rabbinical judge or regular judge who rules in matters of ritual law (*issur ve-heter*) because his work is difficult and exhausting does not enjoy his work (Resp. ha-Rama, 50).

In one unusual case, specific performance of the employment contract was imposed on the employer, such that it obligated him to continue providing work for the employee, and not suffice by paying of his wages while leaving the employee with nothing to do (Resp. *Mikhtam le-David*, ḤM, 17; 18th century).

The Israeli National Labor Court considered the question of whether an employer was obligated to pay the full salary (with social benefits) or just the basic salary without these added elements in a case when he told his employee that he would continue to pay him a salary, but that he should stay home and not come to work (DBA 4–21/51 *The Histadrut v. Tahel*, 23 PDA 3; per Judge Steve Adler).

The court referred to Jewish law sources cited above and pursuant to the provisions of the Foundations of Law Act, 5740–1980, and dealt with whether and how an employer is required to compensate the employee who is not actively working for him. Based on the aforementioned cases, the Court based its ruling on the tremendous importance placed by Jewish law on the effect of idleness on an employee.

An Individual's Obligation to Earn a Living from His Efforts. A positive approach to the value of work is found in the earliest sources, i.e., the Bible. The purpose of Adam in the Garden of Eden immediately after his creation is stated as "to work it and keep it [the Garden of Eden]" (Genesis 2:15). The Book of Proverbs expresses praise for the laborer: "He who works his land shall have plenty of bread …" (Proverbs 28:19), "Go to the ant, sluggard; consider her ways and be wise" (Proverbs 6:6). Talmudic literature, refers to labor of the six days of the week as a duty that complements the proscription of working on the Sabbath: "'Six days shall you work' – Rabbi says this is a complementary commandment (to the commandment regarding the prohibition of working on the Sabbath) for Israel; parallel to the positive commandment of the Sabbath, Israel was commanded regarding doing work" (*Mekhilta d'Rabbi Simeon bar Yoḥai* 20:9). In the continuation of this *derashah*, extolling the virtue of work, the Tosefta (Kid. 1:11; Kid. 29a) states that the father is obliged to teach his son a trade; Rabbi Judah adds that "he who does not teach his son a trade – in the end, will teach him to be a robber." Notwithstanding, Midrashim also present the approach that work is a default option, and the optimal situation is, "when Israel does the will of God … their work is done by others" (*Mekhilta d' Rabbi Ishmael*, *V'Yikahel*, 1; TB Ber. 35b). There are differences of opinion regarding the preferred balance between Torah study and work. Rabbi Ishmael sees the performance of work as an obligation, to preclude a person's dependence on others: "Do with them as is the custom among people." In contrast, Rabbi Simeon bar Yoḥai expresses his concern that engaging in labor would completely marginalize Torah study, and therefore recommends learning Torah and relying on the work being performed by others. The *amora* Abbaye testifies that those who adopted the path of Rabbi Ishmael "succeeded," and those who adopted the path of Rabbi Simeon bar Yoḥai – "did not succeed" (Ber. *ibid.*). Many other teachings of *tannaim*, cited in *Avot de-Rabbi Nathan*, speak in praise of performing work because it averts poverty, rescues from sin, rescues from boredom, and rescues a person from being suspected by others, etc.

Halakhic literature does not formally adopt the Talmudic opinions regarding the obligation to work and to teach one's son a trade, but there are clear statements in praise of work and disparaging reliance on the kindness of others. Maimonides writes as follows: "…they say 'make your Sabbath a weekday and do not become dependent on others.' And even if a learned and respected person becomes impoverished, he should go and work, even menial labor rather than depend on others. It is preferable to skin dead animals than to tell people: 'I am a very learned man, I am a *kohen* – support me!' … Among the greatest sages there were woodcutters, loggers, and those who pumped water for gardens, ironworkers and coal choppers who did not ask for support from the public" (Yad, Mattanot Aniyyim 10:18). Maimonides writes the following about the relation between Torah study and work: "Anyone who decides to study Torah and does not engage in labor and is supported by charity, commits a desecration of God's name, and causes dishonor for the Torah, extinguishes the light of religion, causes harm to himself, and precludes his life in the world to come … and they have further commanded and said: 'Love labor and hate the authorities,' and any Torah [study] that is not accompanied by labor is destined to come to naught and to bring about sin, and the end of such a man will be as a thief" (Yad, Talmud Torah 3:10). However, later *posekim* disagreed with these words of Maimonides. Rabbi Simeon ben Ẓemaḥ Duran (Resp. *Tashbeẓ* 1,147) states that only in the first generations, in the period of the *tannaim* and the *amoraim*, could sages both study Torah and earn their living from labor. In our days, "the generations are less worthy" and this cannot be done, and therefore learned men may rely on the community funds. The statements in praise of labor and in condemnation of laziness were cited by the National Labor Court (AB 9100002/98 *Barnea v. The Employment Service*; per Judge Rabinowitz), to support its ruling that "one who wishes to be supported from public funds, must first make a reasonable effort to work and to support himself." Accordingly, the court upheld the decision of the Employment Service to deny unemployment compensation to any unemployed person who refuses positions offered to him.

LEGISLATION IN THE STATE OF ISRAEL. In addition to the laws mentioned above, a number of new laws that deal with labor law should be mentioned:

The Contract for Services Law, 5744–1974, codified the contractual obligations between one who orders work done and a contractor, including liability for defects and the right to withhold the property that is the object of the work until wage payment has been made.

The Minimum Wage Law, 5747–1987, codified the obligation to pay a specified minimum wage. This law also obligates monetary compensation when lower than the minimum wages were paid, and the criminal liability of the employer who pays less than the minimum wage.

The Prior Notice of Dismissal or Resignation Law, 5761–2001, establishes the obligation of giving prior notice of a prescribed term before terminating a person's employment (and correspondingly the worker's obligation to notify his employer a certain time in advance of his resignation). This law establishes the employer's duty to give an employee prior notice of his/her impending dismissal within a certain prescribed period of time, as well as the employee's duty to give his employer prior notice a certain period of time prior to resigning. The law also provides that an employer dismissing an employee without such prior notice is required to pay the employee an amount equivalent to his regular salary for the period of time prescribed, and that an employee who resigned without prior notice must pay his employer a penalty for the period during which the notice was not given (see *Ha'anakah*).

[Menachem Elon (2nd ed.)]

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LABOR ZIONIST ALLIANCE (from 2004 **Ameinu**; originally **Po'alei Zion**), U.S. Zionist organization. Socialist Zionist circles existed in the U.S. as early as 1903, but it was only at a convention in Baltimore on December 23–25, 1905 that the national organization of Po'alei Zion was founded. During the first decade the organization waged struggles on three fronts: against the socialist-territorialists who advocated Jewish statehood in a country other than Palestine; against the assimilationism of Jewish labor leaders who denied the legitimacy of Po'alei Zion as a trend in socialism; and for recognition as an integral part of the Zionist movement. By the time World War I broke out, the fight had been largely successful in all aspects.

In 1910 Po'alei Zion introduced a new trend in North American Jewish education by establishing secular Jewish afternoon schools. In 1912 Po'alei Zion founded the Jewish National Workers Alliance. In 1914 it launched a movement to establish a democratic and representative body to deal, on behalf of U.S. Jewry, with Jewish problems growing out of the war. The movement succeeded in bringing into being the first American Jewish Congress.

During the 1920s Po'alei Zion organized the Histadrut Campaign (National Committee for Labor Israel) and supported the establishment of Pioneer Women (now Na'amat U.S.A.). The 1930s and 1940s were spent in combating Nazism and Fascism, aiding the victims of Hitlerian savagery, and fighting for Jewish statehood. A wide program of action on the American Jewish scene was developed at the same time and over the next few decades a number of other groups merged with Po'alei Zion. In 1971 Po'alei Zion joined with *Farband and the American *Habonim Association to form the Labor Zionist Alliance. Since the establishment of the State of Israel, efforts of the Labor Zionist Alliance have been concentrated on supporting Israel and contributing to its growth. Many members have settled in Israel, where they have established kibbutzim, moshavim, and urban cooperatives; pioneered in the development of Israel experience programs for American Jewish youth; led the effort to found the Association of Americans and Canadians in Israel as a nonpartisan framework for North Americans living in Israel; and participated actively in the campaign for religious pluralism.

In 2000 the organization adopted a new ideological statement. Among the priorities in that statement are innovative formal and informal Jewish education; pluralism and egalitarianism in Jewish life; the mutual recognition by the State of Israel and the Palestinian people of each other's self-determination; promotion of *aliyah*; and the elimination of poverty worldwide. In 2004 the Labor Zionist Alliance adopted a strategic plan, including the name change to Ameinu and new programs designed to increase communal impact and attract younger members. Ameinu, whose name is followed by the tag line "Liberal Values, Progressive Israel," sponsors missions to the volunteer and cooperative sectors of Israel, speaking tours to the United States by leaders of Israel's labor and peace movement, and – in partnership with several like-minded organizations – the Union of Progressive Zionists on college campuses.

Local Ameinu affiliates belong to Jewish community relations councils, federations, boards of Jewish education, and other umbrella organizations in their respective cities. Since 1934 the organization has published the *Jewish Frontier*, now a quarterly. Among the most influential ideological and political personalities in the century-long history of Ameinu were Nachman Syrkin, Baruch Zuckerman, and Hayim Greenberg.

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[Daniel Mann (2nd ed.)]

LA CHAUX-DE-FONDS, town in the canton of Neuchâtel, W. Switzerland. The first official evidence of Jews dates from 1772; they attempted to establish residence there in 1777 but were refused by the authorities. In 1782 they were permitted to remain and trade within the city area for extended periods of time but in 1790 this permission was revoked. In 1818 six families, all of them of Alsatian origin, settled in La Chaux-de-Fonds and by 1844 the number of Jews had grown to 65. A community was organized in 1833 and the first synagogue building acquired in 1853. Since other Swiss municipal authorities were reluctant to grant Jews permission to settle, liberal city authorities helped La Chaux-de-Fonds in housing the biggest Jewish community in Switzerland in 1850. This was the period of the flourishing Swiss watch industry, in which Jews, too, were active. The Alsatian rabbi Jules Wolff, a student of the rabbinical seminary of Paris, was elected rabbi there in 1896 and served until 1955. In 1895 a beautiful new synagogue in Byzantine cupola-style was erected, which is still in use today and was recently renovated. Until 1945 La Chaux-de-Fonds had a distinctly Alsatian-Jewish character. With the decline of the watch industry, the city and the community had great economic problems. In 2004 the Jewish community of La Chaux-de-Fonds had 107 members.

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[Uri Kaufmann (2nd ed.)]

LACHISH (Heb. לָכִישׁ), Canaanite and Israelite city, identified with a prominent mound (Ar. Tell ed-Duweir) situated to the southeast of Bet Guvrin. The mound was excavated from 1932 to 1938 under the direction of James L. Starkey (with the results published by Olga Tufnell), with the discovery of remains from many different periods, mainly from the Middle Bronze and Iron Ages. The excavations were continued in 1966 and 1968 by Y. Aharoni, who excavated the solar shrine area. Large-scale excavations were renewed at the site by David Ussishkin in 1973 and work lasted there until 1994.

The earliest archaeological remains found belong to the Neolithic, Chalcolithic, and Early Bronze Ages. A small settlement and cemetery of shaft tombs from the Intermediate Bronze Age are known on a ridge to the northwest of the site. Lachish appears to have been an important city-state during the Middle Bronze II-III. The city had glacis ramparts with a fosse below. On top of the mound was a large building (palace?) with massive mud-brick walls. Destroyed by fire, the building was subsequently reused for domestic and industrial purposes. A cult place from this period was also investigated, with many finds of votive vessels and animal bones. Outside the site were numerous tombs containing rich finds.

A decline set in during the Late Bronze Age following the destruction of the Middle Bronze Age city, with the settlement decreasing in size and becoming unfortified. However, the settlement rapidly made a recovery, and it eventually became one of the significant city-states of Canaan. Lachish is mentioned in a papyrus from the time of the Egyptian pharaoh Amenhotep II (1453–1419 B.C.E.). Among the *El-Amarna tablets from Egypt are several tablets written in cuneiform which were sent by the rulers of Lachish to the pharaohs Amenhotep III and Amenhotep IV. Yet another tablet discovered by Bliss at Tell el-Hesi was apparently sent there from Lachish. A temple was discovered in the fosse to the northwest of the mound, with rich finds, pits, and offerings. Tombs were also found. Level VI consists of the remains of a prosperous Canaanite city that had strong ties with Egypt, particularly at the time of Rameses III (1182–1151 B.C.E.). An acropolis temple was uncovered consisting of an antechamber, a main hall, and a cella, with architectural similarities to temples in Egypt. One of the unique finds is that of a gold plaque portraying a naked goddess. Other finds from this level include a cache of bronze objects, one with the cartouche of Rameses III, and a handful of inscriptions written in Canaanite alphabetic script. The city was destroyed by fire (c. 1130 B.C.E.?) – perhaps by the Sea Peoples who were settling in the region or by the Israelites (cf. Josh. 10:31–32). The king of Lachish, Japhia, is mentioned as having joined the Amorite coalition against Joshua (Josh. 10:3, 5); he was defeated at Aijalon and killed at Makkedah, the city falling to the Israelites (Josh. 10:32). In any case, the site was thereafter abandoned until the tenth century.

Level V represents the renewal of the city at the time of the United Monarchy. Small domestic rooms were uncovered and one of the rooms in the solar shrine contained cultic vessels. It was apparently destroyed at the time of Pharaoh Shishak (Sheshonq) in c. 925 B.C.E.

Level IV was a large city; its massive fortifications may have been erected by King Rehoboam (928–911 B.C.E.; see I Chron. 11:5–12, 23), but this is uncertain. Other candidates are Asa (908–867 B.C.E.) or Jehoshaphat (870–846 B.C.E.). The city gate to the southwest consisted of an outer gate, a roadway, a six-chambered gate, and an outer revetment. A large fortified residence – perhaps a palace – was built in the center of the site. Water for the city was obtained from a well to the northeast. Starkey may have uncovered a rock-hewn water system to the east, but more work needs to be done to clarify this further. Lachish gave shelter to King Amaziah (798–769 B.C.E.) when he fled a rebellion against him in Jerusalem (II Kings 14:19; II Chron. 25:27). What caused the end of Lachish IV is unclear, but it is possible that this was the result of an earthquake in 760 B.C.E., at the time of Uzziah (Amos 1:1; Zech. 14:5).

Lachish III represents a rebuild of the former city and it is surmised that it also saw an increase in population at this time. The palace-fort compound at the center of the site was expanded and the southern annex was modified. This city was destroyed violently in 701 B.C.E. by the Assyrian ruler, Sennacherib, who established a camp nearby (II Kings 18:14, 17; Isa. 36:2; 37:8; II Chron. 32:9). The conquest of Lachish was graphically depicted on reliefs adorning the palace of Sennacherib at Nineveh (kept in the British Museum in London). Remnants of weapons and a mass burial of 1,500 individuals were discovered at the site. Its inhabitants were subsequently deported. Well-dated ceramic assemblages belong to this level, and 403 royal *lmlk* stamped handles and 63 personal stamps were found.

Lachish II represents the rebuilding of the city following a short period of abandonment, perhaps at the time of Josiah (639–609 B.C.E.). A smaller gate replaced the previous large gate. The Lachish letters – most of which were sent to an army commander at Lachish – were found by Starkey inside this gate. The city was more crowded and less prosperous compared to the previous city. Jeremiah (34:7) referred to the stronghold of Lachish. It was subsequently destroyed by the Babylonian king, Nebuchadrezzar, in 588/586 B.C.E. Level I represents remains from the Babylonian, Persian, and Hellenistic periods.

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[Shimon Gibson (2nd ed.)]

LACHISH OSTRACA, a collection of inscribed sherds discovered at *Lachish by J.L. *Starkey. Eighteen were discovered in 1935 in a room adjacent to the city gate, among the ruins of stratum II, which was destroyed by Nebuchadnezzar of Babylonia, and in 1938, three more sherds were found. With the exception of two lists of names (nos. 1 and 19) and a docket (no. 20), the sherds are letters which were sent to Ya'ush, an army commander stationed at Lachish and responsible for the southwestern Shephelah. His correspondent was Hoshaiah, apparently an officer under Ya'ush in command of a garrison stationed in one of the towns between Lachish and Jerusalem. Ya'ush had accused Hoshaiah of reading secret documents sent from Jerusalem to the commander at Lachish and of revealing their contents to others. Hoshaiah denies the charge, humbly appealing to his superior. The usual opening salutation ("May the Lord cause my lord to hear tidings of peace!"; no. 2) is sometimes followed by the self-demeaning question "Who is your servant, a dog that…" (nos. 2, 5, and 6; cf. II Sam. 9:8; II Kings 8:13).

Another recurrent theme concerns the activities of a certain prophet, which were detrimental to the soldiers. Letter no. 3 appears to deal with this prophet: "The army commander, Coniah the son of Elnathan, has gone down to Egypt…" This incident strongly resembles the incident of the king Jehoiakim and the prophet *Uriah from Kiriath-Jearim (Jer. 26); according to H. Torczyner (Tur-Sinai), the same event was recorded in both the ostracon and the Bible. In no. 4, Hoshaiah informs Ya'ush that he has carried out his orders, reporting what was done at his command and ending "We are watching for the fire signals of Lachish, according to all the signs my lord gave, because we do not see Azekah" (Tel Zakariyyeh (Tel ʿAzeqah), at the entrance to the Elah Valley, north of Lachish). Hoshaiah's message that he does not see Azekah (or reading **אות** for **את**, the signal of Azekah has not been approved) may mean that the letter was sent after the fall of Azekah, in line with the situation described in Jeremiah 34:7: "…When the king of Babylon's army fought against Jerusalem, and against all the cities of Judah that were left, against Lachish and against Azekah; for these alone remained of the cities of Judah as fortified cities." A less dramatic interpretation, that visibility conditions were unfavorable, is also possible.

These ostraca constitute the latest corpus of Hebrew documents from the time of the First Temple. They are of great importance for linguistic and orthographic research and for the study of ancient Hebrew script. The biblical style of the letters resembles the prose of the books of Kings and Jeremiah, although terminology and usages otherwise unknown also occur: **בית הרפד** (no. 4) is probably a lodging house; **תסבה** (no. 4) is a circling movement, an encirclement, a patrol (cf. Song 3:3 [2]; 5:7). The use of vowel letters **א, ה, ו, י** is generally found only in final position in the ostraca, but the name Ya'ush is always spelled **יאוש**; the word *ish*, **איש** (3:9–10); and in no. 20 we read "**בתשעית ביו[ם]**" (contrast "**בשת התשעת**" in the Samaria ostraca). The Lachish Letters are written in a cursive script, the most developed form of the Paleo-Hebraic (ancient Hebrew) script, whose use was very much restricted after the destruction of the First Temple.

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[Joseph Naveh]

LACHISH REGION, development region in southern Israel, comprising an area of approximately 275 sq. mi. (750 sq. km.). Stretching from the Mediterranean Coast between Niẓẓanim and the Gaza Strip eastward to the pre-1967 armistice line, the region includes three different geographical and farming areas: the western part, belonging to the Coastal Plain, with mostly light soils and well suited for citrus cultivation; the central part, also the Coastal Plain, with heavier soils where intensive field crops are preponderant; and the eastern part, belonging to the foothills (Shephelah) and reaching at its northeastern extremity into the Hebron Hills, characterized by fruit orchards, tobacco, and sheep pasture along with field crops. In the western part outpost settlements were established in the 1939–47 period (including Negbah and Gevaram) and after 1948 a network of 31 moshavim and kibbutzim came into being there. Development in the central and eastern parts, however, was held up by lack of water. With the construction of the Yarkon-Negev conduit in 1954, the Lachish Development Project came into being and became the prototype of regional planning for Israel and also for other developing countries. The scheme aimed at combining optimal exploitation of local natural features with the speedy absorption of a maximum number of immigrant settlers in productive employment, comply-

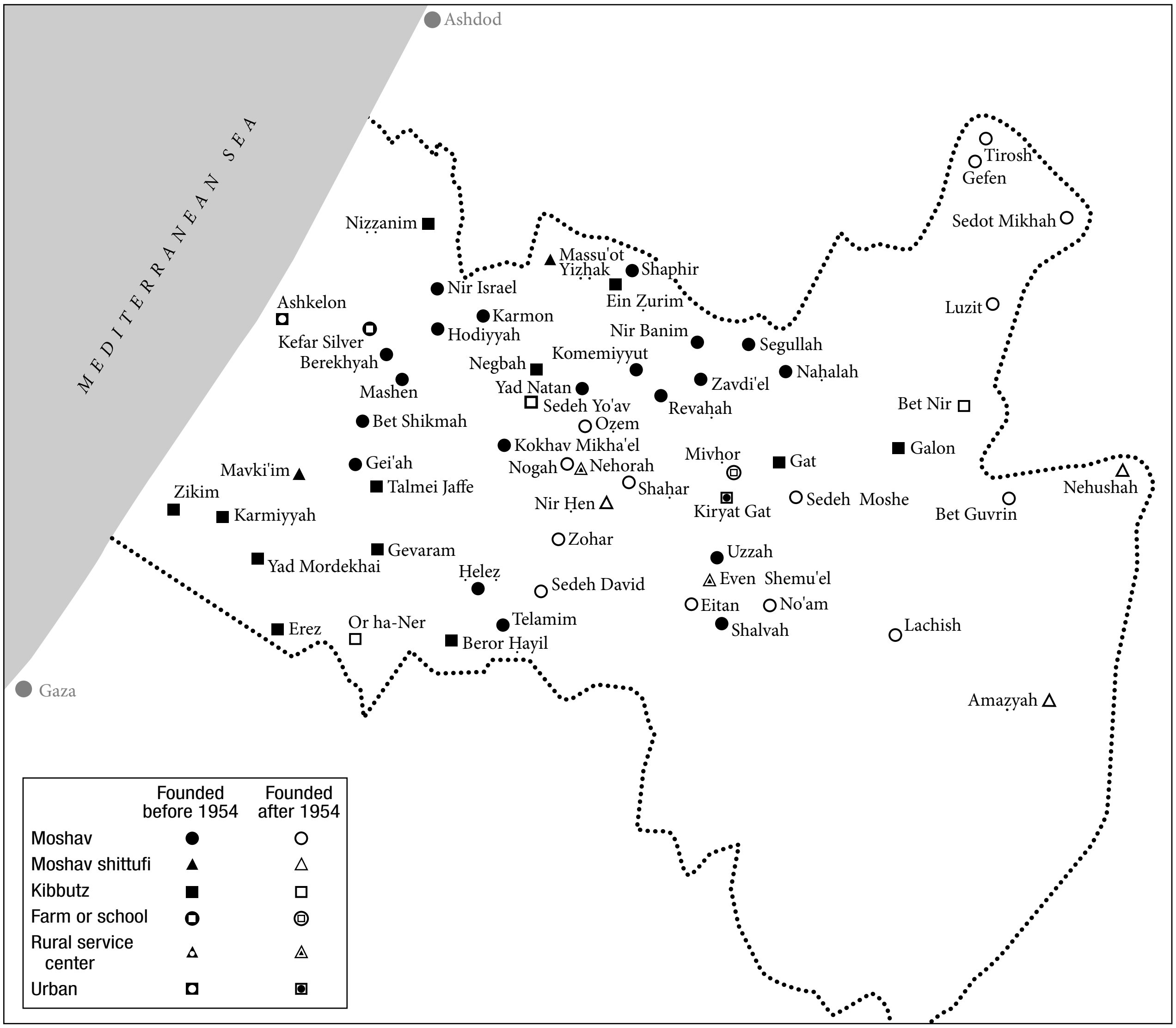
Ashdod
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
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Sedot Mikhah
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Nir Israel
Ein Ẓurim
Ashkelon
Karmon
Luzit
Kefar Silver
Hodiyyah
Nir Banim
Segullah
Berekhyah
Negbah
Komemiyyut
Naḥalah
Mashen
Yad Natan
Zavdi'el
Sedeh Yo'av
Revaḥah
Bet Nir
Oẓem
Bet Shikmah
Kokhav Mikha'el
Mivḥor
Gat
Galon
Mavki'im
Gei'ah
Nogah
Nehorah
Nehushah
Zikim
Talmei Jaffe
Shaḥar
Sedeh Moshe
Bet Guvrin
Karmiyyah
Nir Ḥen
Kiryat Gat
Zohar
Uzzah
Gevaram
Yad Mordekhai
Ḥeleẓ
Sedeh David
Even Shemu'el
Eitan
No'am
Or ha-Ner
Telamim
Shalvah
Lachish
Erez
Beror Ḥayil
Gaza
Amaẓyah
Founded before 1954
Founded after 1954
Moshav ● ○
Moshav shittufi ▲ △
Kibbutz ■ □
Farm or school ◘ ◎
Rural service center △ △
Urban ◘ ▣

The Lachish development region, 1971.

ing with defense requirements at the same time. It provided for the establishment of clusters of four or five farming villages, each having from 40 to 100 settler families and grouped around "rural centers." Most of the 23 villages erected in the Lachish region since 1954 were moshavim, but there were also a few kibbutzim and administered farms. The three rural centers were *Nehorah, Even Shemu'el, and Vardon (Menuḥah); for the older village clusters, no such centers were set up, and they were directly dependent on the next regional town (see below). Whereas the villages proper had local services (e.g., kindergarten and, sometimes, the lower elementary school classes, grocery, and a synagogue), the rural center offered most services, e.g., a school, a clinic, a tractor and machine shop, a dairy plant, packing and sorting sheds, storehouses, a central grocery, and cultural institutions. While in the individual villages settlers having a similar background were concentrated, the rural center served as a meeting ground for immigrants from different countries and continents, thereby furthering their mutual integration and distributing service costs over several hundred families. The rural centers and their dependent villages were in turn connected with the regional town which provided economic, social, and cultural services of a higher order (e.g., factories based on agricultural raw materials, banks, regional administration, and secondary schools). *Kiryat Gat functioned as the Lachish region's urban center, but a number of villages in the western part were more closely linked to *Ashkelon and *Kiryat Malakhi which are within easier reach. The road network linked villages to their rural centers, and these to the regional town. In 1970 the Lachish region's rural population numbered 17,500 persons, as the *Adullam region in the northeast had meanwhile become a separate development area. In the 1990s and the 2000s farming declined, leading many settlers to find their source of livelihood outside their settlements. However, the region is still known for its extensive vineyards and a number of other farming branches are still active. At the end of 2003 the Lachish region numbered 6,300 inhabitants.

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[Avshalom Rokach and Elisha Efrat / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

LACHMANN, SIR PETER JULIUS (1931–), British immunologist. Lachmann was born in Berlin, immigrated to the U.K. in December 1938, and was educated at Christ's College, Finchley, in North London. He graduated in natural sciences (1952) and in medicine at Trinity College, Cambridge (1957), after clinical training at University College Hospital, University of London, and gained his Ph.D. from the University of Cambridge (1962) under the supervision of Robin Coombs and Henry Kunkel. He was a research fellow (1962–64) and assistant director of research in immunology at the University of Cambridge (1964–71), which included a formative period for his interests when he was a visiting investigator with Hans Mueller-Eberhard at the Scripps Clinic, La Jolla, California. He was appointed professor of immunology at the Royal Postgraduate Medical School, London (1971–75) and Sheila Joan Smith Professor of Immunology, University of Cambridge (1977–99), where he was also director of the Medical Research Council's Molecular Immunopathology Unit (1980–97). He was subsequently emeritus professor of immunology. Lachmann made fundamental research contributions to our understanding of the complement system which plays a crucial role in defense against infection but also contributes adversely to many immunological diseases. His later research interests centered more broadly on anti-microbial immunity. His clinical research was especially directed at understanding the immune disease systemic lupus erythematosus ("lupus"). He played a prominent role in planning research strategy and in immunological and scientific education nationally and internationally; he had a particular interest in educating the general public about issues of popular concern such as stem cell research and genetically modified food. His achievements have been recognized by his many national and international honors and awards, which include election as a fellow of the Royal Society of London (1982), member of the UNESCO International Bioethics Committee (1993–98), gold medalist of the European Complement Network (1997), founder president of the UK Academy of Medical Sciences (1998–2002), and Knight Bachelor (2002). In 1989 he was Mayerhoff Visiting Professor at the Weizmann Institute, Reḥovot. Lachmann's wife, elder son, and daughter are physicians. His younger son is a TV producer with the BBC.

[Michael Denman (2nd ed.)]

LACHMANN, ROBERT (1892–1939), ethnomusicologist who was born in Berlin. He studied English, French, and Arabic at the universities of Berlin and London. His first contact with non-Western (especially Arab) music took place during World War I when he was sent to the Wünsdorf POW camp to collect folklore and traditional music from prisoners; there he met Arab soldiers and made his first attempts at transcribing their songs. This work was encouraged by Erich von Hornbostel and Curt *Sachs, then members of the Berlin Phonogrammarchiv. After 1918 he studied musicology under Johannes Wolf and Carl Stumpf and Semitic languages under Eugen Mittwoch at Berlin University, taking his doctorate in 1922 with a dissertation on urban music in Tunisia based on his own field recordings. In 1924 he joined the Berlin Staatsbibliothek and studied librarianship. After a year in Kiel (1926) he returned to the Berlin Staatsbibliothek to take up a post in the music department under Wolf. Meanwhile he continued to study Near Eastern music, mainly during several recording expeditions in North Africa. In 1925 he visited Tripoli, and in 1926 and 1929 was again in Tunisia recording *fellahin* and Bedouin music, as well as the songs of the Jewish community on the Isle of Djerba where he made the first recordings of the local Jewish community. These provided the material for his last work, *Jewish Cantillation and Song in the Isle of Djerba*, which was published posthumously in Jerusalem in 1940 and is regarded as a major contribution to Jewish and comparative ethnomusicology. At his instigation the Gesellschaft zur Erforschung der Musik des Orients was founded in 1930, and he edited its quarterly journal, *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Musikwissenschaft*, throughout the three years of its lifetime (1933–5). Being Jewish, Lachmann lost his job at the Berlin Staatsbibliothek under the Nazi government. In 1935, the Hebrew University of Jerusalem invited him to open a Phonogram Archive for Oriental Music. His research during his last four years in Jerusalem (1935–9) marked the start of modern ethnomusicology in Israel. He brought with him his earlier recordings of Arab music (about 500 items recorded in North Africa) and made 1,000 more recordings, which brought to light a number of oral liturgies preserved by Middle Eastern Jewish communities in Jerusalem but originating elsewhere. In Jerusalem Lachmann tried a new approach to the complexities of Jewish music, and in *Jewish Cantillation and Song in the Isle of Djerba* (1940) finally evolved a way of describing a community comprehensively through a detailed structural analysis of the recorded materials. His aim was to set the picture of North African Jewish music against the larger background of Islamic music civilizations, thus demonstrating that the music of an independent religious community could be influenced by neighboring cultures. Lachmann was one of the finest exponents of the early European school of comparative musicology, stressing comparative analysis of musical forms and their morphological qualities as well as the variants and parallels of one single type (e.g., women's laments, folk epics, ritual songs) around the world. He deepened insight into the worldwide relationships of such basic forms. Another of his achievements was to enlarge the understanding of the intricate forms of ornamental variation and improvisation in Arab music. His archives are held by the Music Department (Mus. 26) of the Jewish National and University Library, Jerusalem. His original recordings, especially those made on tin records, were unavailable until only recently, when, through new technologies, they were rerecorded by the Sound Archives of the National Library.

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[Edith Gerson-Kiwi / Gila Flam (2nd ed.)]

LACHOWER, YERUḤAM FISHEL (1883–1947), critic and historian of modern Hebrew literature. Born in Chorzele, Poland, he began his career as a critic in 1904. In 1908 he moved to Warsaw serving as editor of various literary publications. After World War I he was appointed editor of **Ha-Tekufah* and of the Stybel Publishing House. During the early 1920s Lachower lived in Germany and in 1927 settled in Ereẓ Israel. In Tel Aviv he was an editor of *Moznayim*, the literary organ of the Hebrew Writers Association, and of *Keneset* (1928), an annual periodical dedicated to studies on Ḥ.N. *Bialik.

Lachower's approach to literature is both critical and scholarly. He studies the literary method and conceptual framework of the author, quoting copiously from the work under discussion. But he also probes the author's motives, stressing the different and often contradictory trends in his work and personality. Lachower's own writing, at times, alternates between an objective, matter-of-fact, somewhat dry style and impressionistic musings couched in metaphorical, often ornate, language. During the early period he discusses contemporary authors of the modern national renaissance, e.g., S. Tchernichowsky, Ḥ.N. Bialik, Z. Shneur, U.N. Gnessin, and others. His detailed discussion of D. *Frischmann and M.J. *Berdyczewski shows a certain affinity in outlook between him and these two authors. He shunned the social-national approach to literature then current among his contemporaries. Instead of interpreting a work in the light of social conditions, he attempted to expound its intrinsic meaning. Besides the aesthetic aspects of literature, he was deeply interested in its philosophical and conceptual presuppositions.

In Ereẓ Israel Lachower devoted himself mainly to scholarly activity. *Toledot ha-Sifrut ha-Ivrit ha-Ḥadashah* ("History of Modern Hebrew Literature," 4 vols., 1947–48) is an important contribution to the historiography of modern Hebrew literature. Ranging over a 200-year period – from M.Ḥ. Luzzatto to Bialik – the book is not uniform in character. Intended for secondary schools, the text is extensively illustrated with excerpts from the works under study. Its further value lies in the fact that it contains some information about little-known authors as well as bibliographical addenda. Lachower in his periodization of modern Hebrew literature supported the view that Moshe Ḥayyim *Luzzatto is the father of modern Hebrew literature both because of the new poetical character of his dramatic works and because he had exercised a profound influence on later authors, particularly on Abraham *Mapu. Although Lachower did not disregard the effect world literature had on Hebrew literary writing, he stressed the internal developments of Hebrew literature showing its uninterrupted continuity. The historical continuity of Hebrew literature and the cultural links which connect one period to the next preoccupied Lachower in his subsequent writings where he examined the problem more profoundly. Some of his later studies substantiate his views that mystical and kabbalistic themes had influenced modern Hebrew literature in the 18th century (for example – Luzzatto's plays). On the other hand, in some of his essays he points out the influence of Maimonides, Spinoza, and Goethe on Haskalah literature. His deep interest in the achievements of 19th-century Judaic studies in Hebrew

(*Ḥokhmat Yisrael*) led to his detailed analysis of Nachman *Krochmal's philosophy of history.

Lachower's scholarly work on Bialik was a major contribution to the study of the poet. He was the first to publish certain of Bialik's writings – early versions of his poems and stories – and he compiled a five-volume collection of Bialik's letters (1935–39) – which was but a preliminary to his extensive but incomplete biography, *Ḥ.N. Bialik, Ḥayyav vi-Yẓirato* ("Ḥ.N. Bialik, his Life and Works," 3 vols., 1943–47). The work discusses in great detail the genesis of Bialik's poems and the Jewish and European sources which influenced them. Combining meticulous biographical-historical research and a genetic examination of the text, Lachower also attempted an aesthetic evaluation of the poet's works.

Many of his essays have been collected in book form: *Meḥkarim ve-Nisyonot* ("Studies and Experiments," Warsaw, 1925); *Rishonim va-Aḥaronim* (1934–35, 1965^2), a collection of critical essays on authors from Moses Mendelssohn to the 1940s; *Al Gevul ha-Yashan ve-he-Ḥadash* ("Between Old and New," 1951); *Ba-Teḥum u-mi-Ḥuẓ la-Teḥum* ("Within and Without the Pale," 1953); and *Shirah u-Maḥashavah* ("Poetry and Thought," 1953).

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[Samuel Werses]

LACHOWICZE (Lyakhovichi), MORDECAI BEN NOAH OF (1742–1810), ḥasidic *ẓaddik*. Mordecai was a disciple of Solomon b. Meir ha-Levi of *Karlin (with whom he went into exile from Lithuania because of persecutions by the *Mitnaggedim*) and for a short time of *Baruch b. Jehiel of Medzibezh. In 1793 he returned to Lithuania and established a dynasty of *ẓaddikim* in Lachowicze, which became one of the important centers of Ḥasidism in northeastern Lithuania on the border of Belorussia. His activities to spread Ḥasidism aroused opposition from the *Mitnaggedim* who started to persecute him. Through their influence he was imprisoned in 1798; the day of his liberation – the fifth day of Ḥanukkah – was celebrated as a holiday among his Ḥasidim. Mordecai was among the main collectors of funds for the Ḥasidim of Ereẓ Israel. In the dispute between *Shneur Zalman of Lyady and *Abraham b. Alexander Katz of Kalisk, he supported the latter. He attached great importance to the role of the *ẓaddik* in helping his Ḥasidim in material as well as spiritual matters.

Mordecai's connections by marriage with the *ẓaddik* Asher of *Stolin led to the establishment of the *Koidanov dynasty of *ẓaddikim*. Mordecai's successor, his son, Noah (1774–1832), was known for his fatherly attitude toward ordinary people. In 1821 he made an appeal for the benefit of the Ḥasidim of Ereẓ Israel. *Torat Avot* (1961) contains the teachings and sayings attributed by the Ḥasidim to Mordecai and Noah on the Torah and festivals. After Noah's death some of his Ḥasidim chose his son-in-law MORDECAI (II) as successor, while others chose his brother's son SOLOMON ḤAYYIM of Koidanov. This split and the rise of the Koidanov and *Kobrin Ḥasidism at that time led to the weakening of Lachowicze Ḥasidism and under Mordecai II Lachowicze Ḥasidism was to a certain extent led by the *ẓaddik* Aaron (II) of *Karlin. During the time of the successor of Mordecai II, Aaron (d. 1881), Lachowicze Ḥasidism regained its independence, but, in particular during the time of his son, NOAH (II; d. 1920), it was again weakened through the spread of the Haskalah. Noah (II) strongly opposed the Zionist movement and supported the Lachowicze **kolel* in Ereẓ Israel. His son, JOHANAN, perished with many of his Ḥasidim during the Holocaust. Some of the teachings of the Lachowicze dynasty appear in *Divrei Shalom* (1882), by Shalom (Perlow) of Koidanov.

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[Wolf Zeev Rabinowitsch]

LACHS, MANFRED (1914–1993), Polish jurist and authority on international law. Lachs went to England during World War II and acted as secretary to Isaac *Schwarzbart, who was the Jewish member of the Polish National Council in exile. He returned to Poland and from 1947 was director of the legal department of the foreign ministry. From 1949 until 1952, he was professor of political science in Warsaw. Lachs was a member of the Polish Academy of Sciences and head of the Institute of Jurisprudence. On several occasions, he was a member of the Polish delegation to the United Nations and in 1957 and 1964 lectured at the Hague Academy of International Law. In 1967 he served as a judge at the International Court, and in 1973, Lachs was elected its president, to hold office for a period of three years. Among his publications are *War Crimes. An Attempt to Define the Issue* (1945), *La frontière polono-allemande* (1964), and *Human Rights; Can They be Guaranteed?* (1946). Two courses of Lach's lectures at the Hague Academy of International Law *Les Développements et Fonctions des Traités Multilatéraux* (1957) and *The Law of Outer Space* (1964; another book by him with the same title appeared in 1972) were published in the Recueil des Cours of the Academy.

[Israel (Ignacy) Isserles]

LACHVA (Pol. **Lachwa**), a town in Polesie district, Belarus. From the middle of the 16th century it was owned by the Princess Radziwill. An organized Jewish community probably began after the *Chmelnicki uprising (1648–1650), and it was under the jurisdiction of Pinsk. It numbered 157 Jewish poll-tax payers in 1795, and the majority of the inhabitants were Jews. The local Jews engaged in retailing and traded in fish and agricultural produce. At the close of the 18th century the Jews of Lachva became involved in the struggle between Ḥasidism and its opponents. In 1817, in addition to the above occupations, the Jews engaged in tailoring, wax making, carting, and butchering. With the construction of the railroad Vilna-Luniniets-Rovno in the 1880s, the economy improved, and there developed export of lumber and farm products, and a furniture factory opened. Abraham Dov Berkowicz and his son Isaac officiated as rabbis of Lachva at the close of the 19th century. In 1897 the community of Lachva numbered 1,057 (c. 44% of the total population). At the beginning of the 20th century and especially between the two world wars, the Zionist parties and organizations were active in the town. There was also a Hebrew *Tarbut school, a *Maccabi society, and a drama circle. In 1921 the 1,126 Jews of the town formed 33% of the population, and their number increased to about 2,000 by 1941. Until 1939 there was a Hebrew religious school and a large Tarbut library. The last rabbi of Lachva was R. Eliezer Lichtenstein.

[Arthur Cygielman / Shmuel Spector (2nd ed.)]

Holocaust Period

The town was occupied by Soviet troops on Sept. 17, 1939, as a result of which all Jewish organizations virtually ceased to function. The Germans occupied the town on July 8, 1941. Many young Jews escaped into the Soviet interior, while others were drafted into the Soviet army. The *Judenrat was headed by the former Zionist leader, Dov Lopatin, aided by dedicated leaders. A ghetto was established on April 1, 1942, where 2,350 Jews were crowded in 45 small houses. In the months August–September about 30 young Jews were organized in the underground, headed by Itshak Rokhchin, but could acquire only nonlethal weapons. In August 1942 the community discovered that ditches were being dug on the outskirts of the city and realized the implications. The Jews of Lachva decided to resist. On the night of September 2–3, 1942, the Germans surrounded the ghetto. Dov Lopatin and the underground chose to fight. When the Nazis broke into the ghetto, the entire community took part in the struggle, some equipped only with axes or sticks. Lopatin set fire to the Judenrat house, and others set fire to the rest of ghetto. Six German policemen and six Belorussian policemen were killed. Between 600 to 700 Jews were killed fighting, enabling 600 to reach the nearby forests. Many of them perished, but 120 in the Gryczyn marshes founded a Jewish partisan unit or joined other partisan units. They participated in military operations against the Nazis, including sabotage and other acts of revenge and retaliation. The Jewish revolt at Lachva was an outstanding example of mass resistance against the Nazis and was one of the first Polish ghetto revolts. After the war, the remnants of the community did not rebuild their homes. The approximately 90 survivors settled in Israel and other countries.

[Aharon Weiss / Shmuel Spector (2nd ed.)]

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°LACRETELLE, JACQUES DE (1888–1985), French novelist. As a schoolboy, he experienced the tensions produced by the *Dreyfus case and his masterpiece, *Silbermann* (1922; English version in: L. Lewisohn (ed.), *Among the Nations*, 1948), is the story of a young Jew persecuted by his schoolmates at the time of the trial. A passionate lover of French culture, Silbermann dreams of a fruitful intermingling of the French and Jewish genius, but his idealism is misunderstood and he is cruelly ostracized and eventually forced to leave the school. Lacretelle's tragic hero, a portrait partly inspired by his friend, the poet Henri *Franck, set a pattern in French literature: Montherlant (in a short story) and Duhamel (in *The Pasquier Chronicles*) both created Jewish heroes not unlike Silbermann. Lacretelle presents a far less favorable picture of his hero in *Le retour de Silbermann* (1929), a sequel to the earlier novel. Here he traces the decadence of the Jew who, having sought his fortune in America, fails in every endeavor. In spite of his brilliance, Silbermann is plagued by what the author calls a "typically Jewish" urge for self-destruction, which leads to his death.

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[Denise R. Goitein]

LACY, STEVE (**Steven Lackritz**; 1934–2004), U.S. soprano saxophonist. Before Steve Lacy reinvented it, the only major jazz musician to play soprano saxophone as a solo instrument was Sidney Bechet. Lacy would not only bring the instrument, admittedly a difficult one to master, to the forefront of jazz but, along with John Coltrane, whom he inspired, would turn it into a major voice in contemporary improvisational music.

Lacy was born in New York and raised on the city's Upper West Side. Like Bechet before him, he began his musical career as a clarinetist but after hearing the older man's 1941 recording of Duke Ellington's "The Mooche" on soprano, he took up the horn himself. By the mid-1950s, he was engaged in a most unusual balancing act, playing traditional New Orleans jazz with the likes of Buck Clayton, Pee Wee Russell, and Henry "Red" Allen, and the most difficult of avant-garde music with pianist Cecil Taylor. Lacy would spend six years with Taylor and always said that the combination of two such radically different musical experiences was the best possible training a musician could have. It certainly prepared him for the next phase of his career, playing with Thelonious Monk, then leading a band that played nothing but Monk's compositions.

Lacy's astringent tone and dry wit combined with his deceptively simple melodies with their sudden swerving lines to make him the perfect horn player to interpret Monk. He said of Monk's music, "[It's] not too high, not too low, not easy, not at all overplayed and most of all, full of interesting technical problems." Monk's compositional techniques clearly influenced Lacy's own writing; his own compositions, like many of his mentor's, are deceptively simple-sounding but freighted with harmonic and melodic surprises.

The audience for avant-garde jazz, never large in America, had dried up by the mid-1960s and Lacy went into exile looking for an artistic outlet. After false starts in Buenos

Aires and Rome, he settled in Paris, where he would spend the next three decades. There he found a core group of sympathetic musicians with whom he would perform in various permutations: cellist-vocalist Irene Aebi (his wife), pianists Mal Waldron and Bobby Few, bassist Steve Potts, and drummer Jean-Jacques Avenel. He recorded prolifically, his output covering well over 300 albums, including more than 20 solo sessions, but he returned repeatedly to Monk, Ellington, and Charles Mingus as well as his own seemingly endless flow of inventive composition. "He developed his saxophone tone to be as attenuated as a Hemingway sentence, and his improvised lines as succinct," Ben Ratliff wrote in the *New York Times* when Lacy died. At the time of his death, Lacy had returned to the U.S. and was teaching at the New England Conservatory of Music, giving birth to yet another generation of soprano saxophonists.

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[George Robinson (2nd ed.)]

LADEJINSKY, WOLF ISAAC (1899–1975), U.S. agronomist. Born in Russia, he went to the U.S. in 1922. In 1935 he began his career as a specialist in Asian agricultural problems with the United States Department of Agriculture. In 1945 General Douglas MacArthur called him to Japan to oversee the land reform designed to replace the traditional Japanese feudalism by a modern democratic society. Ladejinsky became the driving force behind that program, which affected over 5 million acres and became one of the decisive factors in modernizing Japan's political, social, and economic structure. He also advised other governments in Asia on land reform, which he saw as the alternative to communism. He worked in China, Taiwan, India, Burma, Vietnam, Nepal, Malaysia, Indonesia, and Korea. During the Eisenhower administration Ladejinsky through an error in identity was classified as a security risk. This administrative error created a wide controversy and initiated a reform of the administration's security clearance procedures. During 1954–56 he served as agricultural attaché in various Far-Eastern territories, and during 1955–61 he worked on land reform and refugee settlement projects in South Vietnam. From 1964 on he was an adviser to the World Bank, and spent most of his time in India. He became one of the prophets of the "Green Revolution," but his high moral objectives were always permeated with a sense of the possible and the practical. He wrote widely on agricultural policy. He left his collection of Asian art to the Israel Museum in Jerusalem.

[Joachim O. Ronall]

LADENBURG, family prominent in Baden and Mainz. The founder of the line was MOSES HIRSCHEL, the richest Jew in Ladenburg in the mid-18th century. His son MAYER moved to Mainz and married into the Homburg family of *Court Jews. Another son, HAYUM MOSES HIRSCH (c. 1710–1781), settled in Mannheim where he became wealthy and was a leader of the community. Hayum's son, WOLF HAYUM LADENBURG (1765–1851), founded the bank bearing his name which his descendants continued to manage. He was well known for his philanthropic activities. Leopold Ladenburg, his youngest son, was a politician as well as a militant supporter of Reform Judaism. Wolf's grandson, KARL (1827–1909), managed the family firm and was elected to the Baden parliament, becoming a spokesman on economic and financial questions. Karl's daughter married E. Bassermann, a leading German politician of his day. Virtually all of Wolf Hayum's descendants were baptized.

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[Bjoern Siegel (2nd ed.)]

LADENBURG, ALBERT (1842–1911), German organic chemist. Born in Mannheim, Ladenburg became professor of chemistry at the University of Kiel in 1874, and from 1889 to 1909 was at the University of Breslau. His research established that the six hydrogen atoms of benzene were equivalent, determined the atomic weight of iodine, and the molecular weight of ozone. He worked on stereo-chemistry, alkaloids, and pyridine and its derivatives. Among Ladenburg's books were *Handwoerterbuch der Chemie* (13 vols., 1882–95); *Vortraege ueber die Entwicklungsgeschichte der Chemie in den letzten 100 Jahren* (1902, *Lectures on the History of the Development of Chemistry Since the Time of Lavoisier*, 1905); *Die Entwicklung der Chemie in den letzten 20 Jahren* (1900); and *Lebenserinnerungen* (1912).

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[Samuel Aaron Miller]

LADINO (**Latino**), or Judeo-Spanish, the spoken and written Hispanic language of Jews of Spanish origin. It has no connection with the Rheto-Romance dialect (Ladin) spoken in the Italian Tyrol. Over the centuries, various names have been given to this language composed of ancient Spanish dialects: *Romance, Ğudezmo, Spaniolish.*

Origins

The widespread view that the term "Ladino" is only applicable to the "sacred" language of Bible translations and prayers, whereas the other names are reserved solely for the spoken language, seems hardly tenable. Moreover, the theory that Ladino originated as a specifically Jewish language (as distinct from the dialects spoken in Spain) as early as the 13th or 14th century still lacks serious and sufficient proof. There is no doubt that Jews interspersed their dialects with words or expressions borrowed from Hebrew (particularly terms and concepts connected with religion and ethics), and that they preserved archaic words and obsolescent forms longer than other people. However, it was only after the Spanish Expulsion of 1492 that Ladino began to be a specifically Jewish language. Although the Jews had been ejected from the Iberian Peninsula and thus cut off from its language while this was still in the process of evolution, they preserved the Spanish and Hispanic dialects that had been spoken and written before Cervantes and the Golden Age, and which basically reflected the phonetics, morphology, and syntax of the 14th and 15th centuries. A gap, wider or narrower according to the country to which the refugees fled, began to appear between the written and spoken language on the one hand and the language of secular and rabbinical literature on the other. The language of Bible translations and prayers, which remained more resistant to the words, expressions, and syntactic patterns of the local tongue, became, in the course of the centuries, less and less comprehensible to the masses.

[Moshe Lazar]

The Topography of Ladino

The lack of contact between the Sephardim and Spain after 1492 led to a situation in which the Sephardim did not make use of the standardized norm of Spanish and allowed for the conservation of many rustic and popular forms, rejected by the Castilian norm, as well as an extraordinary geographical and social linguistic variation. This, added to the confluence of Sephardim of different regional and social origins, allowed the development of independent koinés in Salonika and Istanbul – supposedly also in Safed – evident from the end of the 17th century (i.e., the formative period of Judeo-Spanish). The result was – as the texts of the 18th century suggest – that the Judeo-Spanish dialectal mixture was not dominated exclusively by variants of a single region. Although Castilian features were selected rather more frequently than non-Castilian, perhaps reflecting the already higher prestige associated with Castilian variants in the late 15th century, selection of features typical of the other peninsular regions was frequent. In the communities of the Ottoman Empire, the linguistic contact with the local languages, especially with Turkish and Italian, led to the adoption of numerous loans. From the 16th century the influence exercised by Hebrew intensified on Judeo-Spanish and gave rise to the adoption of many words and expressions. This influence is also reflected in some syntactic structures. Finally, Judeo-Spanish shows a considerable degree of innovation, especially in phonology and lexis. This view contradicts the conventional opinion that Judeo-Spanish is intensely conservative in nature, although it does not deny that Judeo-Spanish preserves some features of 15th-century Spanish which have disappeared everywhere else (i.e., the Classical period or Golden century of Judeo-Spanish). As of 1839 Western culture – and France in particular – were the main model of modernization in the Ottoman Empire, and the Sephardi communities began to undergo westernization and secularization. The influence of French through the Alliance Israélite Universelle from 1865, and to a lesser extent of Italian and modern Spanish, caused many Sephardi intellectuals to adopt a purist attitude to their language expressed by replacing Turkish and Hebrew elements by others of Romance origin, and giving rise to what is called New-Judeo-Spanish.

In the Amsterdam and London communities, Jews continued to speak Castilian and Portuguese, which were constantly enriched by contact with the literature of the Iberian Peninsula and the contribution of *Marranos who returned to Judaism. In Italy, too, Castilian generally resisted tendencies to obsolescence and to massive linguistic borrowings from other languages, such as Hebrew or Italian.

Leaving aside the differences between the dialects, one finds that, between the 16th and 21st centuries, Judeo-Spanish continued to be a Spanish language, which had incorporated an important number of elements of Hebrew and other languages of contact. Owing to another factor, namely, that Judeo-Spanish was used in territories in which completely different languages are spoken, the Sephardim's pre-1492 Judaized Spanish turned into a full Jewish language.

PHONETICS. All the varieties of Judeo-Spanish have inherited the Castilian vowel system. The following important characteristics need to be emphasized for the consonants:

a) Innovations:

1. A certain tendency for word-initial *e-* to drop when followed by *s* + consonant: *sfuenyo* (*esfuenyo* < *sueño* = sleep, dream), *spalda* (*espalda* = shoulder), *skova* (*escoba* = broom), *strečo* (*estrecho* = narrow).

2. Alternance between the conservation of the labiodental fricative *f-* and its aspiration when preceding the diphthong *we*: *fuego* / *huego* (fire), *fuerte/huerte* (strong), *yo fue* / *yo hue* (I was, I went).

3. The articulation of /ʎ/ (both initial and median) has merged to /j/ and the *yeismo* has become universal in Judeo-Spanish: *yorar* (*llorar* = to cry), *yave* (*llave* = key), *kavayeros* (*caballeros* = men), and then /j/ tended to disappear entirely when adjacent to the front tonic vowels *e* and *i*: *anío (anillo* = ring), *kaveo* (*cabello* = hair), *gaína* (*gallina* = chicken), *manías* (*manillas* = bracelets). Etymological -li- underwent the same development: *famía* (*familia* = family).

4. The phoneme /rr/ has merged to /r/: *pero* (*perro* = dog), *tyera* (*tierra* = earth), *yo syero* (*yo cierro* = I close) in most varieties.

5. Initial consonant *n-* in front of the diphthong *we* changes to *m-: muestro* (*nuestro* = our), *muevo (nuevo* = new), *muez* (*nuez* = nut).

6. Almost all varieties of Judeo-Spanish merge [ɲ] and [nj]: *anyo* (*año* = year), *panyo* (*paño* = knit).

7. Second-plural ending of the verb has come to be marked by /š/, as a result of assimilation between earlier final /s/ and de preceding off-glide [i]: *kantaš* (*cantáis* = you sing). This marker was then extended to verbal endings where there had been no off-glide: *kantareš* (*cantaréis* = you will sing), *savreš* (*sabréis* = you will know), *direš* (*diréis* = you will say).

8. The initial group *sue-* often changed to *esfue-*: *esfuegra* (*suegra* = sister-in-law), *esfuenyo* (*sueño* = sleep, dream).

9. The metathesis *d-r* instead of *r-d* is extremely common, except in the Bosnian, Croatian, and West-Macedonian dialects: *vedre* (verde = green), *sodro* (*sordo* = deaf), *pedrido* (*perdido* = lost), *guadrar* (*guardar* = to keep), *por modre* (*por amor de* = for love of).

b) Conservations:

1. Retention of the opposition /b/ and /v/, with articulation of the second like labiodentals, but with change in the context they appear: *boka* (*boca* = mouth), *baka* (*vaca* = cow), *alava* (*alaba* = he praises), *kantava* (*cantaba* = he sang), *bivir* (*vivir* = to live).

2. Retention of syllable-final /b/ with articulation of the second like labiodentals, in process of vocalizing to [u̯] in late medieval Spanish: *sivdad* (*ciudad* = city), *vivda* (*viuda* = widow), *devda* (*deuda* = debt).

3. Retention of the contrast between voiceless and voiced units of the Old-Spanish system of sibilant phonemes, but the followed development differs from that of the rest of the Spanish-speaking world: (a) The pre-palatal fricative pair /š/ and /ž/ was retained: *kaša* (O.Sp. *caxa* = box), *mužer* (O.Sp. *muger* = woman), (b) The apical-alveolar fricative pair /s/ and /z/ (< /ʦ/ and /ʣ/) has merged to the dental fricative pair /s(/ and /z(/: *paso* (O.Sp. *passo* = step), *kaza* (O.Sp. *casa* = house); *alsar* (O.Sp. *alçar* = to raise), *dezir* (O.Sp. *dezir* = say).

4. As in the popular speech, syllable-final /s/ is palatalized to /š/ before velar [k]: *moška*, *buškar*, *kaška* (fly, search for, rind).

5. Retention of the reinforced diphthong-initial [gu̯e], restricted to rural use in Spain: *guevo*, *gueso* (*huevo*, *hueso* = egg, bone).

6. As in the popular speech, metathesis *-ld-* instead of *-dl-* in the second and third persons of imperative followed by personal pronouns: *dalde* (*dadle* = give him/her), *dizilde* (*decidle* = say him/her), *yamalde* (*llamadle* = call him/her).

7. As in the popular speech, apocopated by the tonic object personal pronouns of the first and second person when these appear followed by an atonic personal pronoun: *mo lo dišo* (*nos lo dijo* = he/she said us it), *mo la dites* (*nos la diste* = you gave us it), *vo lo digo* (*os lo digo* = I say you it), *vo los do* (*os los doy* = I give you them), *vo se tiene de contar* (*os lo hay que contar* = it is necessary to tell you), *la kaza mo la estan fraguando* (*nos están construyendo la casa* = they are building us the house).

c) Non-Castilian features:

1. The variants selected in Judeo-Spanish did not always conform to the Castilian diphthongized pattern: *ponte* (*puente* = bridge), *sorte* (*suerte* 'clase' = kind), *porto* (*puerto* = haven), *tutano* (*tuétano* = marrow), *preto* (*prieto* 'negro' = black), *grego* (*griego* = Greek), *governo* (*gobierno* = govern).

2. Maximal differentiation of the three vowels /i/, /a/, /u/ found in unstressed syllable in those varieties of Judeo-Spanish spoken in Bosnia, Serbia, Macedonia and West Bulgaria: *prizenti* (*presente* 'regalo' = gift), *kazada* (*casada* = married), *puderozu* (*poderoso* = powerful).

3. Retention of the opposition /b/ and /v/: *haver* (= partner, associate, from Heb. חבר), *haber* (= news, from Turk. *haber*).

4. Retention of initial labiodentals /f/ in the West Judeo-Spanish varieties, as is also the case in Portuguese, Galician, Leonese, Aragonose, and Catalan: *fijo* (*hijo* = son), *forno* (*horno* = oven), *fuyir* (*huir* = flee).

5. Retention of pre-palatal fricative pair /š/ and /ž/.

6. Adoption of *seseo*: *kasar* (*cazar* = to hunt), *(f)azer* (*hacer* = to do), *mosa* (*moza* = servant, maiden).

7. Judeo-Spanish mst frequently inherits the string /mb/ as in Portuguese and Catalan, contrary to Castilian preserved /m/: *lombo* (*lomo* = back), *palomba* (*paloma* = dove), *lamber* (*lamer* = to lick).

MORPHOLOGY. The following distinctive characteristics are of note:

a) Innovations:

1. Certain nouns in which the gender was not determined in Old-Spanish become feminine: *la vientre* (stomach), *la azeyte* (oil), *la honor* (honor), *la alma* (soul).

2. The third-person possessive *su* is marked for the number of the possessor: *su livro* (*su libro* = his book), *sus livro* (*su libro* = their book).

3. Creation of numerous verbal periphrases and their subsequent lexicalization. It is necessary to distinguish the following constructions:

(a) Romance constructions: *ser demenester* (to be necessary), *dar crédito* (think to be true), *darse rižo* (to be not deprived of any thing).

(b) Hybrid constructions:

(1) Castilian verb + Hebrew complement: *dezir tefilá* (to pray), *azer ḥesed* (to practice charity), *hazer milá* (to circumcise), *kortar din* (to sentence), *entrar la dimión* (to have a slight suspicion), *dar gemer* (to decide), *azer eḥreaḥ* (to be necessary), *salir de ḥová* (complying an obligation), *repozarse el daat* (to become tranquil), *dar kavod* (treating with respect), *dar ḥaftaná* (to manage).

(2) Castilian verb *ser* (to be) + Hebrew participle: *ser patur* (remaining free), *ser meḥalel* (to profane), *ser muḥaḥ* (to be compelled), *ser mekadeš* (to sanctify), *ser maskim* (to accept, to agree, to consent), *ser soḥe* (to deserve).

(3) Castilian verb + Turkish complement: *azerse buz* (to freeze), *azer dikat* (to putting attention or to take into account or consideration), *ir al dip* (to examine thoroughly), *estar dirdir* (to speak without interruption), *azer ğefá* (to refuse), *ečar lakirdí* (to chatter), *azer ḥatir* (to satisfy), *bever tutun* (to smoke).

b) Retentions:

1. Conservation of the ordinal numerals from the number four ending with *–eno*: *kuarteno* (= 4th), *sinkeno* (5th), *seženo* (6th), *seteno* (7th), *očeno* (8th), *noveno* (9th), *dezeno* (10th), *onzeno* (11th), *dozeno* (12th), *trezeno* (13th), *katorzeno* (14th), *kinzeno* (15th).

2. Conservation of second person forms of polite address: *vos* (with second-person plural verb), *el/eya*, *su mersed*

(with third-person plural verb) instead of the more modern Castilian *usted* (you).

3. The non-standard pronominal forms of the Castilian *kon mi* (with me), *kon ti* (with you), *kon si* (with himself) were preserved instead of the cult forms: *conmigo, contigo, consigo.*

These tonic forms appear even in the apodosis of the comparative sentences: *es mas grande de mi* (*es más grande que yo* = he is higher than I), *el es mas riko de ti* (*él es már rico que tú* = he is richer than you).

4. The reflexive pronoun *-se*, which is elsewhere unmarked for number, has the form *-sen* when its referent is plural as in rural Castilian: *viendosen*, *yamandosen* (*viéndose*, *llamándose* = being seen, being called).

5. The first-person singular present indicative of the verbs *estar*, *ser*, *dar*, *ir* was preserved: (*e*)*stó*, *so*, *do*, *vo* (*estoy*, *soy*, *doy*, *voy* = I am, I give, and I go).

6. Conservation of the Old-Castilian future verbal forms with metathesis *–rn* (< *-n'r*): *terná* (he/she will have), *vernemos* (he/she will come).

7. Conservation of the non-standard forms of the Castilian imperative plural without final /d/: *mostrá, keré, avrí.*

8. Almost unique preservation of the affectionate diminutive formed with the suffix *–iko*: *kazika*, *gatiko* (*casita*, *gatito* = a small house, a small/young cat).

c) Non-Castilian features:

1. Hypercharacterization of gender is frequent in the case of adjectives as in the eastern languages of Spain: *popular, -a* (popular), *spesial*, *-a* (special), *nasyonal*, *-a* (national), *maternal, -a* (maternal).

2. The use of Spanish dialectal *kualo, kuala* as in Leonese and Aragonese, instead of Castilian *cual.*

3. First person preterit forms of *-ar* verbs have developed the ending /–i/, /-imos/ (/-é/, /-emos/ in Aragonese): *avlí*, *avlimos* (*hablé*, *hablamos* = I/we spoke).

SYNTAX. a) Innovations:

1. Duplication of the direct and indirect post-verbal complement through pronominal clitics placing before the verb: *lo sakó a el ḥamor del pozo* (*sacó al burro del pozo* = he removed the donkey from the well), *lo mira a Ḥanan* (*mira a Janán* = he looks to Hanna), *lo vemos al Rabi Asriel asentado* (*vemos al rabino Asriel sentado* = we see the rabbi Asriel seated), …*avisimos ke vino a vižitarlo a Avram* (*ya informamos que vinó a visitar a Abraham* = we report that he came to visit Abraham).

2. The gerund *siendo* has been converted into a causal conjunction (= since, seeing that): *i siendo no topo, tomo él un papel* (and since he did not find him, he took he a role), *i sierto el ikar es de tener kargo de los proves, siendo no tienen modo de reğirsen* (certainly the essential thing is to lend aid to the poor, since they do not have possibilities to do for themselves).

3. The preposition *a* was imposed on all direct-objects noun phrases instead of the Castilian use in which the contrast between personal direct object is marked by the preposition *a*, and non-personal direct objects are marked by absence of preposition: *yo le rogo a mi amigo viežo, a ke mi pedrone el pekado* (*yo le ruego a mi viejo amigo que me perdone el pecado* = I request from my old friend that he forgive me for the sin), *Moširo ve a la skola* (*Moisés ve la escuela* = Moses sees the school).

b) Retentions:

1. In sentences with two atonic clitics, one in the function of direct complement (first or second persons) and the other as indirect complement (third person *se*), they appear immediately before the verb as in popular Old-Castilian: *Este livro me se pedrio tres vezes* (*este libro se me perdió tres veces* = this book was lost [by] me three times); *Tu vas azer todo lo ke te se dize* (*harás todo lo que se te dice* = you will do everything that [he] tells you).

2: For the existential *haber* Judeo-Spanish preserved the agreement of number between verb and complement, which is then constructed as the verbal subject: *uvo una fortuna en la mar /uvieron dos fortunas en la mar* (*hubo una / dos tormenta(s) en la mar* = there was a storm/there were two storms in the sea).

We can say that foreign influences have increasingly affected word order and sentence structure, so that Judeo-Spanish took on its own personality more distant from Spanish than its other varieties.

VOCABULARY. Aside from dialectal differences in vocabulary, which are in fact slight – several phenomena are characteristic of the language as a whole:

a) The preservation of hundreds of archaic Spanish words, some of which have disappeared from use in modern Spanish: *dekolgar* (to depend), *ladinar* (to translate), *akonantar* (taking precedence), *akavidarse* (to take precautions), *abolar* (to die), *feúzia* (confidence), *barragan* (hero), *dias de kútio* (days of the week), *ainda* (still), *atemar* (to weaken), *enmentar* (to mention, to remember), and others of which have changed their meaning among the Sephardim: *ambezar* (*avezar* 'be accustomed to' = to study), *eskapar* ('to flee' = to finish), *estağar* ('creak' = to separate), *kara* ('face' = cheek), *karruča* ('pulley' = wheel).

b) The substitution of several Castilian words by parallel terms borrowed from the other Ibero-Romance languages (Aragonese, Leonese, Catalan, or Portuguese) during the processes of koinéization in 16th and 17th centuries: *demandar* (*pregunta* = to ask), *abokarse* (*doblarse* = to bow), *solombra* (*sombra* = shadow), *kazal* (*aldea* = village), *lonso* (*oso* = bear), *fortuna* (*tormenta* = storm), *melsa* (*bazo* = spleen), *defender* (*prohibir* = to forbid), *desmersar* (*hacer las compras* = to go shopping), *avantaže* (ventaja = advantage), *koğeta* (*colecta* = collect), *demudarse* (*palidecer* = to turn pale), *enguyo* (*náusea* = nausea), *mešerikear* (*murmurar* = to gossip), *feder* (*oler mal* = to stink), *bafo* (*aliento, soplo* = breath), *monturo* (*basurero* = rubbish dump), *fado* (*destino*, *suerte* = destiny), *resfolgo* (*descanso* = rest).

c) Specialized terminology and special forms of the Spanish Jews from non-Hebrew and Aramaic origin have been preserved over the centuries: *meldar* (Old Gr. verb *meletáō*), means 'to study the Bible,' 'to read the Bible,' and, by extension, simply 'to read,' *Ayifto* (Gr. *Aígyptos* = Egypt), *alḥad* (first day, Sunday) was borrowed from Arabic instead of Spanish *domingo* (lat. (*dies*) *dominicus* 'the Lord's Day'); *el Dió* (God), instead of *Dios* with its feeling of a plural, *serkusir* (*circuncidar* = to circumcise), *podestar* (*regir, gobernar, tener el poder* = to govern), *alemunyarse* (Heb. *ʾalman* = to become a widower, to mourn) from which are also derived *lemunyoso, lemunyo*, (*a*)*kunyadar* (Sp. *cuñada* = to fulfill the command of levirate).

d) Also Hebrew and Aramaic words and expressions that are preserved, many of them changed their original meaning: *vatran* (ותרן = generous), *ḥaḥam* (חכם 'wise' = wise, but also rabbi), *penuyah* (פנויה 'free' = prostitute), *kal* (קהל 'gathering, congregation' = synagogue), *ḥamin* (חמין 'warm' = meat and vegetable stew cooked overnight and eaten for Sabbath), *ma'alah-matah* (מעלה ומטה 'up-down' = approximately, more or less). The use of Hebrew and Aramaic words and expressions in Judeo-Spanish increased specially after the beginning of the 18th century following the attempt of the rabbis to draw the people near to Jewish knowledge.

e) The substitution of hundreds of Spanish words, either unknown or forgotten over the centuries, by parallel terms borrowed from the local languages with which the Sephardim came in contact. However, it should be emphasized that certain terms were transferred from one community to another, by way of commercial or cultural relations, whereas others remained peculiar to particular communities. These foreign words derive mainly from Turkish: *merak* (depression, anxiety), *merakli* (melancholy), *šaka* (*şaka* = joke), *yardan* (*yerdan* = necklace), *čanta* (*çanta* = bag), *pačas* (*paça* = legs), *diz* (knee), *kolay* (easy); French: *randevu* (*rendez-vous* = appointment), *apremidi* (*après-midi* = afternoon), *surpriz* (*surprise* = surprise), *kuartier* (*quartier* = district), *afer* (*affaire* = matter, business); and Italian: *kapo* (*capo* = chief), *dover* (*dovere* = duty), *perikolo* (*pericolo* = danger), *senso* (*sense*), *dopio* (*doppio* = double), *dunke* (*dunque* = since, because, then); and to a lesser extent from Greek, Bulgarian, Serbo-Croatian, or German. Moreover in the Judeo-Spanish spoken in Israel, several words have been borrowed from Local Arabic, some from Yiddish, and in the last 150 years from Modern Hebrew.

Many of the borrowed words have been totally integrated in the Judeo-Spanish linguistic system: e.g., from Hebrew: *darsar* (דרש = preach), *badkar* (בדק = examine), *diburear* (דיבור = to talk gloomy), *desmazalado* (מזל = unlucky), *mazalozo* (= lucky), *sekanozo* (סכנה = dangerous), *ḥenozo* (חן = graceful), *seḥeludo* (שכל = intelligent), *ḥanupozo* (חנופה = flattering), *garonudo* (גרון = gluttonous); from Turkish *bitirear* (*bitir* {*mek*} = to finish), *burear* (*bur* {*mak*} = to cause an acrid feeling in the mouth), *čekinear* (*çekin* {*mek*} = to hesitate), *berekyat* (*bereket* = plentifulness), *dayanear* (*dayan* {*mak*} = to bear, to support), *kulanear* (*kolla* {*mak*} = to use, to employ), *merekearse* (*merak* = have a falling out), *merekiozo* (depressed), *tenekyero* (*teneke* = tinsmith), (*z*)*ulufias* (*zülüf* = sidelocks); or from French: *dezirar* (*désirer* = desire, want), *korijar* (*corriger* = to correct), *devuarse* (*se dévouer* = to dedicate oneself), *foburgo* (<*faubourg* = suburb), *malorozo* (*malheureux* = unhappy), *buto* (*but* = aim), *moyenes* (*moyens* = means).

f) Conversely, some Hebrew and Turkish suffixes are borrowed to create new words: *ladronim* (Sp. *ladrón* + *-im* = robbers), *ermanim* (Sp. *hermano* + *im* = brother), *balderim* (Turk. *balır* + *im* = departure, flight, retreat), *serenlik* (Sp. *sereno* + *lik* = serenity), *benadamlik* (בו אדם + *lik* = human quality), *ḥaḥam bašilik* (חכם + Turk. *baş* 'head, chief' + *lik* = chief rabbinate), *sekanalik* (סכנה + *lik* = danger), *zonuluk* (זנות + *luk* = debauchery, prostitution), *safekli* (ספק + *li* = doubtful, suspicious), *sekanali* (סכנה + *li* = dangerous), *goralği* (גרל + *ci* = fortune-teller).

DIALECTS. However, phonetic and lexical differences – less morphological and syntactic – bear witness to the following dialectal areas:

a) Phonetic areas: *Central area* (Turkey and Greece communities) with a stronger linguistic norm; and Peripheral area more flexible with the *European area* (Bulgaria, Romania, Croatia, Serbia, and Bosnia communities), and the *Israelian Judeo-Spanish* influenced by the Hebrew spoken by Oriental and Maghrebian Jews and Local Arabic.

b) Lexical areas: *East Area* (communities in Turkey, Israel, and West-Bulgaria) developed from de Istanbul koine; *Central area* (with Salonika and the communities situated in East-Bulgaria, Romania, Serbia, and Macedonia) developed from de Salonician koine; and *West area* (communities in the Adriatic coast and in Croatia and Bosnia) more influenced by Portuguese and Italian loans.

The development of the dialectal areas in Judeo-Spanish took place from the 16th century and does not have a relation with the regional origin of its speakers.

SYSTEM OF WRITING. For several centuries the Hebrew alphabet has been in general use for the writing of Judeo-Spanish. The unvocalized Rashi script was most often used both for religious texts and secular literature, and was also the basis of the cursive script. However, from the 16th century onward, many books were printed in square lettering and were completely vocalized. Few books were printed in Latin characters, and it was only in the 20th century that the use of the Latin alphabet increased, particularly in journalism, without however affecting the circulation of newspapers and books in Rashi script. In the early 21st century an official spelling does not exist to write the Judeo-Spanish with the Latin alphabet, and its speakers usually use the system of the national language of their respective countries. In Israel, especially after the constitution of the National Authority of the Ladino and its Culture in 1997, the one phonetic spelling is that of the magazine *Aki Yerushalayim* (AY) that enjoyed popularity. Also the Sephardim of Anglo-Saxon countries make use of this spelling. Yet, some Spanish researchers, especially those affiliated with the *Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas* (CSIC), favoring the integration of the Sephardi variety in the Hispanic world, prefer a Spanish spelling, to which they add diacritic signs to mark the differences of pronunciation between the two varieties, in order to transcribe the Rashi script:

AY's spelling: *i se kijo azer djudio, i antes de azerse djudio kijo informarse a saver kuala uma es la ke es estimada en el otro mundo… i fue dito Onkelos kon echiseria i lo izo alevantar a Tutus arasha…*

CSIC's system of transcription: *y se quis̀o haćer ĵudió, y antes de haćerse ĵudió quis̀o informarse a saber cuála umá es la que es estimada en el otro mundo… y fue dito Onquelos con hechićería y lo hiźo alevantar a Titus ha Rašáÿ…*

When the Nazis exterminated many communities in which Judeo-Spanish had been the principal means of communication, Judeo-Spanish became almost irrevocably condemned to gradual disappearance. Judeo-Spanish–speaking Jews who immigrated to Israel and other Western countries adopted the language of the country and for their children Judeo-Spanish became only a residual language. Nevertheless, recent years have seen something of a Sephardic vernacular renaissance. Altogether some 200,000 people still speak or understand it.

The interest of linguists in the study of the Judeo-Spanish language began in the late 19th century, but it was only in the 20th century that most serious and detailed researches were undertaken. In the last two decades the study of Judeo-Spanish in the universities, especially in Israel and Germany, became more important to the point of becoming a university discipline.

[Aldina Quintana (2nd ed.)]

A *Dictionnaire de Judéo-Espagnol* by Joseph Nehama and Jesus Cantera was publishd by the Instituto Benito Arias Montano, of the Estudios Hebraicos Sefardies y de Oriente Proximo (Madrid, 1977).

Ladino Literature

The literature written in Ladino is not to be confused with that produced in Spanish by the western Sephardi communities, mainly that of Amsterdam. In contrast to the vast majority of the observant Spanish Jews who were exiled to North Africa and the Ottoman Empire in the 15th century, the *Marranos, assimilated into Spanish culture and more integrated within Christian society, left Spain gradually during the 16th and even the 17th and 18th centuries, many of them settling in Western Europe. These elements maintained direct contact with the civilization of their old country. Not only are their religious, philosophical, scientific, and literary works not written in Ladino, but they express an entirely different spirit from that found among the "Oriental" Sephardi thinkers and writers.

RELIGIOUS LITERATURE. In contrast to secular literature which, with the exception of the *romancero*, began to flourish in Ladino only in the 19th century, Ladino religious literature had its origins in pre-expulsion Spain. It was only in exile, however, that it really developed.

The religious literary tradition began between the 13th and 15th centuries with a series of Bible translations, of which a few unique specimens have been preserved as manuscripts in Spain (such as the Mss. I-J-3, I-J-4, and J-II-19 of the Escorial Library). All these texts are, however, written in Latin characters. This tradition was revived successfully after the expulsion, particularly in Constantinople and Salonika, and the translations produced in these centers were adopted, and later revised here and there in the Sephardi Diaspora (Venice, Leghorn, Pisa, Amsterdam, Vienna). These translations, written in Hebrew characters and having their own vocabulary and syntax, are clearly distinguishable from the Spanish Bibles produced by Christians. Over the centuries, they helped to mold the written language of the Sephardim. The major original translations include the Book of Psalms (Constantinople, 1540); the Pentateuch (Constantinople, 1547); the Prophets (Salonika, 1572); and a complete translation of the Bible by Abraham ben Isaac Assa (Constantinople, 1739–45), which became the most popular text among the Sephardi communities of the East. To these translations should be added the anonymous glossary known as *Ḥeshek Shelomo* (Venice, 1588).

Within Ladino religious literature a separate subdivision is constituted by a series of works adapted from Hebrew: books of biblical interpretation and of ethics, together with manuals of religious ritual and prayer books. These include *Baḥya ibn Paquda's *Ḥovot ha-Levavot*, Isaac *Aboab's *Menorat ha-Ma'or*, Joseph *Caro's Shulḥan Arukh, and *Elijah b. Benjamin ha-Levi's *Shevet Musar*. The original works *Reğimiento de la Vida* by Moses *Almosnino (1564) and *Ẓorkhei Ẓibbur* by Abraham Assa (1739) come into the same category. Thus, two centuries after the expulsion, Ladino literature comprised a very rich collection of adapted and original works in all spheres of creative activity, among them poetry, mysticism, biblical exegesis, history, medicine, and ethics. From the 18th century onward, the number of these original works increased steadily, but only part of the output has been preserved. The masterpiece of this ethical-religious literature, and one which has had a profound influence on the masses to the present day, is the **Me-Am Lo'ez*, an encyclopedic work begun by Jacob *Culi in 1730 and continued by other writers after his death. This thesaurus of Sephardi knowledge draws its inspiration from the traditional sources of Jewish thought: Mishnah, Talmud, Midrash, and Kabbalah.

Ladino Poetry

Original poetic works in Ladino are extremely limited, and there is no doubt that this art was not as popular among the Levantine Sephardim as it was among the Sephardim of the West. However, some poetic tradition did exist, exemplified preeminently by two important works: the 14th-century *Proverbios morales* of Shem Tov (*Santob) de Carrion and the *Poema de Yoçef*, comprising some 300 quatrains, which must have been composed at the beginning of the 15th century. The latter poem, of which there is a fragmentary manuscript in Cambridge, England, and a complete version in the Vatican, is an adaptation from the Midrash and the *Sefer ha-Yashar* of the story of Joseph and his brethren. This is written in a strophic and metric form which points to a merging of a medieval Spanish structure (the "*cuaderna via*") and that of the Hebrew *piyyutim*. In Ladino poetry the *Poema de Yoçef* has no less importance and literary value than the *Poema de Yuçuf* written in Spanish in Arabic characters, which is today an integral part of Spanish literature. A better-known and more popular Ladino poem on the same subject is *Coplas de Yoçef Ha-Ẓaddik*, written by Abraham de Toledo in 1732. This work, which comprises some 400 quatrains, had its own special melody and was sung on the festival of Purim. Two quite distinct versions have been preserved: one from Constantinople (1732), and another from Belgrade (1861) composed on the lines of the Salonika version (1755) which is now lost. Among minor poetic works there are various songs and poems, very variable in quality, devoted especially to Jewish festival themes. Many of them are connected with Purim, and these compositions, both serious and humorous, are to be found scattered in collections and almanacs under the title *Coplas de Purim*. The genre flourished in the 19th century.

THE ROMANCERO. The Ladino *romancero* occupies a place of its own in the literature and everyday life of the Sephardim. When they left Spain, the Jews retained in their oral tradition innumerable "romances" – popular and traditional Spanish ballads – which had been widely diffused throughout the country in the course of the 14th and 15th centuries. (For musical tradition in the *romancero*, see below.) The melodies that accompanied these romances and made them easier to memorize also contributed to their preservation and to their transmission, from the 16th to 20th centuries, through all the communities of the eastern Sephardim and North Africa. Since the *romancero* was a "popular" genre, it hardly existed in western Sephardi centers. The Ladino *romancero* is largely a continuation and an adaptation of the Spanish *romancero* of both the Middle Ages and the Renaissance. It includes some romances which are still to be found in collections of Spanish poetry and others which did not survive in the Iberian Peninsula or which are variations or adaptations, as well as many original romances and songs of later composition. The general subject matter of the Ladino *romancero* has sometimes been enriched by new Spanish romances composed in the late 15th and 16th centuries. The subject matter varies according to the distance of a given Sephardi community from Spain; thus the romances of North Africa differ considerably from those of the Ottoman Empire. The common characteristic, however, is what may be called the "dechristianization" of the traditional *romancero.* Jews tended to eliminate from the romances any elements which implied adherence to Christian beliefs and ceremonies. Only a few North African romances imported from the Peninsula at a much later date still retain specifically Christian motifs or images. Lapses of memory or interpolations sometimes resulted in either a muddled or amplified version of a traditional romance. The newly composed *romanceros* are on the whole looser in form and inferior in quality to the traditional romances. Since the romances were transmitted orally, the Ladino *romancero* has only comparatively recently acquired a written form which is still far from complete. However, it already represents a very rich and valuable corpus of poetry and folklore.

OTHER SECULAR WORKS. Apart from the *romancero*, Ladino secular literature from the 19th century onward is characterized by a preponderance of translations or adaptations of plays and novels from world – and especially French – literature. These translations stimulated Sephardi writers to produce a considerable output of original plays, love stories, historical novels, and other works in Ladino. The literary quality of the later Ladino works is on the whole mediocre and most of them have been completely forgotten.

Ladino folktales and proverbs, capable of filling several volumes, have not yet been collected or adequately studied.

[Moshe Lazar]

In the 19th and 20th Centuries

With the decline of learning in the mid-19th century among the Jews in the Ottoman Empire, secular works in Ladino started to appear. The first secular works in Ladino were of a didactic character, consisting mostly of historical works, biographies, and travel books.

With the liberalization and secularization of Jewish society in the Ottoman Empire in the second half of the 19th century, together with the general broadening of culture there and the marked influence of Western culture upon the Jews especially through the medium of the *Alliance Israélite Universelle, the need was felt for the emergence of a secular literature in Ladino in all literary genres. The first attempt to fill this vacuum was the creation of Ladino *newspapers. These intensified the demand for such a literature.

With the aim of propagating Western culture among Jews, young educated people undertook to translate and adapt plays and novels from general and especially French literature. The first translated novels were published in the 1880s and their number grew rapidly, only very few original novels being written. Between 1901 and 1938 over 150 novels were translated. These translations were mostly from classical and modern authors as well as from Hebrew and Yiddish writers such as Shalom Aleichem, I.L. Peretz, and Shalom Asch. These novels, often adapted rather than translated, were usually first published as feuilletons in the Ladino press. Although the original intention of their publishers was educational, they commonly produced love stories and chapbooks, usually appearing without mention of their author or translator. The chief translators were Isaac Gabai, David Fresco, Victor Levy, Alexander ibn Ghirat, Jean Florian, and Elijah Carmona, who revived the Ladino language by creating its modern literary style. They also published original works, mostly novels and biographies of Jewish philanthropists and historical personages, as well as many popular books on historical or scientific subjects (e.g., *Historia Judia Universal* in 13 vols., and *Tesoro del Judaesmo* by H.Y. Chaki). With the emergence of the Zionist movement, nationalistic themes began to appear in Ladino literature, expressed in original novels and plays on purely Jewish themes (especially by Jacques Luria), and often depicting Jewish life and types on the model of Shalom Aleichem and Mendele Mokher Seforim.

Ladino dramatic literature also appeared as a new genre at the close of the 19th century. Unlike the fiction it developed essentially around Jewish themes, though plays by Molière and Shakespeare were also translated. Those who distinguished themselves especially as playwrights were Jacques Luria, Yakim Behor, Joseph Djaen, Bahor Azario, and Abraham Capon. Of special interest are the books and pamphlets published in Ladino by the Protestant mission in the Ottoman Empire. Most of them deal with the New Testament or criticize Judaism and the Talmud. For a few years (from 1825) the mission even published an illustrated magazine in pure Spanish written in Hebrew characters, featuring articles on scientific and historical subjects, including Judaism. With the decline of Ladino as a spoken language and its replacement by Turkish and other tongues, Ladino became devoid of any use as a literary medium and was hence discarded as such. The virtual liquidation of the Sephardi communities of the Mediterranean area, partly through Nazi persecution (apart from Turkey) and partly through immigration to Ereẓ Israel and elsewhere, has contributed to the virtual extinction of Ladino literature, though newspapers in Ladino still appear in Turkey.

[Henri Guttel]

The Musical Tradition of the Judeo-Spanish *Romancero*

Sephardi secular life has always been richly imbued with traditional songs and paraliturgical hymns to celebrate the varied phases of the life cycle, social functions, and ceremonial gatherings. Among the traditional songs are the cherished and orally transmitted Castilian Romances ("ballads") which Sephardi women, in particular, sang at every occasion, and even during their daily household and infant-rearing chores.

The importance of the *romancero* or ballad tradition rests primarily on its retention of archaic linguistic features and preservation of themes that had long become extinct on the Iberian Peninsula. The postulation of a musical link between the extant Judeo-Spanish and the much older Peninsula ballad traditions on the basis of their strong textual ties, which gave rise to many scholarly and even romanticized notions concerning their melodic connections with 15th- and 16th-century Spanish cancioneros and vihuelista manuals, has proven nothing more than speculative.

Within decades after the Expulsion of the Jews from Spain (1492) and from Portugal (1497), contacts with the Peninsula became increasingly sporadic, especially in the Eastern Mediterranean region where relations among the widely scattered Sephardim communities slackened, resulting in the isolation of particular communities which increasingly absorbed the musical influences of their new environments.

From about 1700, the stylistic differences between the Eastern (Turkish, Greek, and Balkan) and Western (North African, mainly Moroccan) repertoires had probably begun to develop. Because of Morocco's proximity to Spain, the flow of peninsular ballads was almost uninterrupted, whereas, in the Eastern tradition, ballad repertoires suffered greater isolation. In mid-20th century Israel, where the earlier Eastern Sephardim community had already constituted an amalgam of former Ottoman centers prior to 1947, the musical and thematic contrasts between its collective ballad repertoire and that of the North African Sephardi settlers, who arrived after 1947, continued to be reflected in their respective traditions.

Interest in the Judeo-Spanish *romancero* owes its impetus to R. Menéndez Pidal's (1869–1968) famous *Catálogo del romancero judio-español*, which listed over 140 ballad incipit (representing themes) then known to be extant in the Sephardim tradition. M. Manrique de Lara (1868–1929), who worked closely with Menéndez Pidal, was the first serious collector of the Sephardim musical tradition who traveled to the major Sephardim communities in the Eastern Mediterranean (from the latter part of 1910 to the early part of 1911), and later, during his military expeditions in northern Morocco (during the summers of 1915 and 1916). S.G. Armistead's three-volume catalog, published in 1978, which supersedes the earlier *Catálogo*, not only identified each item from Manrique's massive manuscript collection – housed at the Menéndez Pidal Archive in Madrid – but added additional themes. In the United States, S.G. Armistead and Joseph H. Silverman began recording ballads in Los Angeles (in 1958) among the Sephardi Jewish community from Rhodes, and a year later were joined by Israel J. Katz, who collected ballads in Israel (1959–61). The team's continued collaborative fieldwork in the United States, Morocco, and Israel has yielded more than 1,500 items, which form the basis of their multi-volume *Judeo-Spanish Ballads from Oral Tradition* (1986–), five volumes of which have been issued to date. Katz's earlier *Judeo-Spanish Traditional Ballads from Jerusalem* (1975–76) documents the musicological researches undertaken until the late 1960s. Since then important collections and studies, together with recordings, have been made by Judith R. Cohen, Eleanora Noga Alberti-Kleinbort, Isaac J. Levy, Ankica Petrovic, Amnon Shiloah, and Susana Weich-Shahak (whose occasional collaborators include Judith Etzion and Edwin Seroussi).

[Israel J. Katz]

For the Judeo-Spanish of North Africa, see *Haketia.

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LAEMEL (Laemmel), SIMON VON (1766–1845), Austrian manufacturer, merchant, and functionary. In 1787 Von Laemel founded a wholesale firm in Prague and devoted himself to the wool industry, improving flocks and methods of wool processing. He later moved to Vienna where he was granted the right of residence. His real importance, however, dates from the beginning of the Napoleonic wars, when he and other traders secured part of the Danube merchant fleet by buying it back from the French, from whom they also purchased captured Austrian army food stores (1801) and artillery equipment. He loaned the government his entire fortune in 1809 in order to bring about the withdrawal of Napoleon's troops from Vienna. In 1809 he also volunteered for service with the militia. In spite of this, when he petitioned in 1811 for the right to purchase a house in Vienna, Francis I rejected his plea; in the same year, after long deliberations by the authorities, he was ennobled. In 1813 he became a commissioner to the army.

Von Laemel upheld Jewish tradition, supported scholars, and was active on behalf of Bohemian and Viennese Jewry as a *shtadlan*, mainly using his connections with the emperor's brother, the archbishop of Olomouc (Olmuetz), and Prince Anthony of Saxony. At the time of the Congress of *Vienna (1815) he signed with Nathan von *Arnstein, Lazar *Auspitz, Bernhard von *Eskeles, and Leopold von *Herz a petition requesting emancipation. In 1817 he secured the reduction of the Bohemian Jewish tax. He also helped arrange the abrogation of the body tax (*Leibzoll*) in Saxony. In 1842, in cooperation with the Vienna rabbi Lazar *Horowitz, he initiated action for the suspension of the *oath *more judaico*. In 1812 in Carlsbad Von Laemel made the acquaintance of Goethe, who was later his guest on several occasions.

Von Laemel's son LEOPOLD (1790–1867) was one of the most important financiers of the Hapsburg monarchy. He resided in Prague where he headed the savings bank from 1825, was on the board of the Elbe-Elbeschiffahrtsgesellschaft (navigation society) and, with Moritz *Koenigswarter, was among the founders of the Bohemian Western railway (*Boehmische Westbahn*). He granted the government a loan of 20,000,000 florins in 1831. He was knighted in 1856. Among the founders of the Vienna Creditanstalt, he was also active in Bohemian political life. As member of the Diet he supported the German liberals. In 1848 he was a member of the national committee and was on its delegation when the city surrendered after Windisch-Graetz's siege. Active in Jewish affairs, he was on the board of the society which had leased the Jewish tax, and was among the initiators of the *Verein fuer geregelten Gottesdienst* (Association for Orderly Divine Services). He was also among the founders of the *Teplice-Sanov (Teplitz) Jewish hospice. In 1832 he helped organize relief work during the cholera epidemic. He also corresponded with Goethe. His daughters were married to non-Jews and were baptized.

In 1856 Von Laemel's daughter ELISA HERZ sent the Viennese poet Ludwig August *Frankl to Jerusalem to found the Laemel School in memory of her father. She was an active philanthropist, establishing among others a foundation for students from her father's native Toužkov (Tuschkau, western Bohemia).

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[Meir Lamed]

LAEMMLE, CARL (1867–1939), U.S. film producer and founder of Universal Studios. Born in Laupheim, Germany, Laemmle immigrated to the United States at the age of 17. In 1906 he bought a makeshift theater in Chicago, which made huge profits and Laemmle used this money to buy up a dozen other theaters. But films came to Chicago only intermittently, so Laemmle organized a wholesale motion-picture exchange business. The exchange grew in power and Laemmle organized similar ventures in other cities. When the need for fresh films became apparent, Laemmle established a company to produce features. His first film appeared in 1909, *Hiawatha*. Later Laemmle began to hire well-known actors like Mary Pickford to appear in his films. He gave them a listing in the credits, thereby inaugurating the star system. In 1912 Laemmle and several others organized the Universal Film Manufacturing company, which later became Universal Studios. He purchased the site of Universal City in California and developed it into one of the largest motion-picture studios in the world. Laemmle produced the first full-length feature picture, *Traffic in Souls*, a five-reeler that cost $5,000 to make. Despite misgivings about its length it earned $500,000. In 1935, Laemmle sold Universal City and retired. He spent much time and money aiding refugees driven from Nazi Germany.

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[Stewart Kampel]

°LAETUS (**La'itos**), dating probably from the Hellenistic period. According to the second-century Christian apologist, Tatian, Laetus translated into Greek the historical works of three Phoenician historians: Theodotus, Hypsicrates, and Mochus, who included in their works an account of King Hiram, who gave his daughter in marriage to King Solomon (so also Menander of Pergamum; whereas I Kings 11:1 states merely that Solomon married Sidonian women) and donated all kinds of timber for the construction of the Temple.

LAFER, HORACIO (1893–1965), Brazilian politician. Born in São Paulo, Lafer studied economics, philosophy, and law. He published several works including *Contemporary Philosophic Tendencies* (1929) and *Credit and the National Banking System* (1948). He was related to the *Klabin group, pioneering in the paper, pulp, and tile industries. Lafer was appointed Brazilian delegate to the League of Nations in 1928. He was founder of the Brazilian National Economic Development Bank, a governor of the World Bank, and presided at the International Monetary Fund conference in 1952.

In 1934, Lafer was elected to the Federal Chamber of Deputies where he remained for nearly 30 years. He was majority leader under President Dutra, and in 1951 became minister of finance under President Vargas. From 1959 to 1961 he served President Kubitschek as foreign minister.

He was active in Jewish affairs, especially with the Hebrew high school "Renascença," and was influential both in easing Brazil's immigration policy toward Jews and Brazil's vote at the UN Assembly on Palestine, in 1947. He also fought against Nazi propaganda in Brazil.

Lafer was posthumously honored in a special session of the Federal Parliament; a school and a street were named in his honor.

[Alfred Hirschberg]

°LAGARDE, PAUL DE (**Paul Anton de Boetticher**; 1827–1891), German Protestant Orientalist and public intellectual. An abrasive personality, Lagarde was thwarted in his academic career and further embittered by a long wait for the professorship he finally obtained at Göttingen University in 1869. He was especially interested in biblical textual criticism and began work on a critical edition of the Septuagint (which was never completed). Wholly out of tune with the times, he thundered against the political, religious, and educational life of the newly founded German Empire, especially the pernicious influence of Jews which he saw everywhere. As carriers of a soullessly liberal and international modernism, and thus anathema to his own nostalgic medieval Teutonism, Jews were "a repulsive burden, with no historical use" (Mitteilungen, vol. 2, 331). Lagarde was not strictly speaking a racist because he thought "sincere" assimilation was a way of overcoming repellent Jewish traits; yet his antisemitism could be recklessly extreme, comparing Jews to bacilli, with the clear implication that they ought to be exterminated. His *Deutsche Schriften* (1878), reissued several times up to 1945, became a classic, exercising enduring influence on generations of antisemites in Germany and elsewhere.

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[Richard S. Levy (2nd ed.)]

LAG BA-OMER (Heb. לַ״ג בָּעֹמֶר), the 33rd (Heb. לַ״ג) day of the counting of the **Omer*, which is reckoned from the second day of *Passover until *Shavuot. It occurs on the 18th day of *Iyyar and has been celebrated as a semiholiday since the time of the **geonim* (B.M. Lewin, *Oẓar ha-Ge'onim*, 7 (1936), 140–1). On Lag ba-Omer the traditional mourning customs of abstention kept during the *Omer* period are lifted: haircutting and shaving are permitted, marriages are celebrated, and other sorts of entertainment, e.g., music, enjoyed (Isserles to Sh. Ar., OḤ 493:2). The Sephardi ritual permits haircuts and shaving only on the day following Lag ba-Omer, i.e., the 34th of *Omer* (Sh. Ar., *ibid.*).

According to talmudic and midrashic sources, 24,000 disciples of R. *Akiva died of a plague during the period between Passover and Shavuot because they did not sufficiently honor one another (Yev. 62b; Gen. R. 61:3; Eccles. R. 11:6). Some emended texts read that the students died *ad peros ha-Aẓeret* ("until close to Shavuot"). The plague ceased on the day of Lag ba-Omer which, consequently, became a holiday, especially for rabbinical students in the Middle Ages (the "Scholar's festival"). It was customary to rejoice on that day through various kinds of merrymaking.

According to the homiletic exegesis of Exodus 16, the manna began to fall on Lag ba-Omer (Moses Sofer, *Ḥatam Sofer*, YD (1841), no. 233), giving another reason for the holiday. The liturgy for this day is the regular prayer service for weekdays, except that the **Taḥanun* prayer is omitted. The kabbalists attach particular significance to Lag ba-Omer. They hold this date to be the anniversary of the death of *Simeon b. Yoḥai, regarded by them as the author of the *Zohar. Called *Hillula de-Rabbi Shimon bar Yoḥai*, it is celebrated in Israel in the village of Meron (near Safed) where Simeon b. Yoḥai is traditionally buried. The celebrations are carried out with songs and dances by the thousands who gather there. A special hymn, *Bar Yoḥai … Ashrekha*, consisting of ten stanzas corresponding to the ten **Sefirot* in the Kabbalah, is sung on this occasion. Three-year-old boys are given their first haircut (*ḥalakah*) while their parents distribute wine and sweets. The same rites are observed at the grave of *Simeon the Just, in Jerusalem.

The custom of children playing with a bow (Heb. *keshet*) and arrows on Lag ba-Omer is traced, by certain scholars, to the legend that the rainbow (Heb. *keshet*), a symbol of peace (Gen. 9:11–17), did not appear during the lifetime of Simeon b. Yoḥai, because he was such a saintly man. Others associate this custom with the above-mentioned story about the students of R. Akiva who, it is suggested, actually fell fighting against the Romans in the revolt led by *Bar Kokhba. Lag ba-Omer in modern Israel is a school holiday. Youngsters light bonfires in open spaces in towns and villages and Students' Day is celebrated on the campuses of the different universities. The scores of weddings held on Lag ba-Omer add to the festive character of this semiholiday.

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[Meir Ydit]

LAGOS, principal port city of Algarve province, S. Portugal. During the period when Algarve was a separate kingdom – founded in 1253 by King Afonso III – and into the 1400s, the Jewish inhabitants were organized into an official community (*kehillah*) which was empowered to regulate and represent them in every way. The *kehillah* paid an annual tax to the crown which covered the entire Jewish population. Lagos was the most important Jewish center in the western half of Algarve. From there Henry the Navigator (1394–1460) launched his African expeditions, and a number of Lagos Jews were among his geographers and navigators. After the expulsion of the Jews from Portugal, Lagos remained a center for *Conversos. The city was destroyed by an earthquake in 1755. In nearby Loulé, the principal Jewish center in eastern Algarve, Jews were restricted to a quarter known as the *Val de Judeo.*

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[Aaron Lichtenstein]

LA GUARDIA, FIORELLO HENRY (1882–1947), U.S. congressman and mayor of New York City. La Guardia, who was born in New York City to a mother of Jewish descent and an Italian father, was raised as a Protestant. At the age of 20, La Guardia was appointed U.S. consul in Fiume. He resigned in 1907 and returned to the U.S., where he worked as an interpreter at the Ellis Island immigrant reception center while attending New York University Law School. He was thus intimately acquainted with the needs and feelings of immigrants and spoke their languages, Yiddish included. His career was built upon their support.

Elected to Congress on the Republican and Progressive tickets in 1916, La Guardia represented a Manhattan district composed primarily of Jews and Italians. He resigned his seat in 1917 to enlist in the army. Upon his discharge, La Guardia resumed his duties in Congress in 1918. There he sponsored a resolution calling on the U.S. to protest antisemitic outbreaks in Poland and Eastern Europe at the Paris Peace Conference. In 1919 La Guardia was elected president of the New York Board of Aldermen on the Republican ticket, and in 1922 he was again elected to Congress as a Republican. His party allegiance was nominal, for his reelection in 1924 was on the Socialist and Progressive tickets. Until his defeat in 1932, La Guardia was a consistent supporter of progressive causes and of legislation benefiting the urban poor.

La Guardia was elected to three terms as mayor of New York City on a Republican-Fusion American Labor Party ticket in 1933, 1937, and 1941. During his mayoralty, he became celebrated as the "Little Flower" for the vigor, earthiness, and flamboyance of his manner. He fought Tammany Hall and corruption-tainted politics, and greatly improved the honesty and scope of municipal services. The city was improved by a vast new network of parks, bridges, schools, and highways. In his urban New Deal, La Guardia drew massive Jewish support away from the Democratic Party. He effectively courted the Jewish voter with a combination of liberal policies, appointment of qualified Jews as officials, and personal style. He did not hesitate to create international incidents in this connection. A 1937 speech which depicted Hitler as a fanatic who deserved a place in the "World's Fair Chamber of Horrors" brought official complaints from the German embassy in Washington and official State Department apologies.

La Guardia's service in 1946 as director general of the UN Relief and Rehabilitation Administration was marked by a sympathetic disposition toward Jewish DP's and by controversy, which ended when he resigned in December of the same year. He wrote *The Making of an Insurgent, an Autobiography, 1882–1919* (1948).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: C. Garrett, *La Guardia Years, Machine and Reform Politics in New York City* (1961); A. Mann, *La Guardia, A Fighter Against His Times* (1959); H. Zinn, *La Guardia in Congress* (1959).

LA GUARDIA, HOLY CHILD OF, subject of a *blood libel who became revered as a saint by the Spanish populace. Six Conversos and two Jews, inhabitants of La Guardia, Tembleque, and Zamora, were tried in connection with this libel in an irregular Inquisition trial which began on Dec. 17, 1490, and was concluded on Nov. 14, 1491, when the accused were burned at the stake in the town of Ávila. The Jews accused were Yuce Franco of Tembleque and Moses Abenamias of Zamora; the Conversos were Alonso, Juan, García, and Lope, all of the Franco family, and Juan de Oraña, all inhabitants of La Guardia, in the province of Toledo. The depositions and confessions extracted under torture reveal that they were accused of two things: the profanation of a Host, which the accused Conversos had purchased and which was found in the bag of Benito García, in order to perform acts of sorcery; and the murder of a Christian child (whose body was never found) on Good Friday and the extraction of his heart for acts of sorcery. The beginnings of the trial have never been clarified, but during the proceedings its motivations became evident. *Torquemada himself had intended to preside over the trial, but possibly under the influence of Abraham *Seneor, whom they at first attempted to involve in the accusation, the trial was transferred from Segovia, where it was to have been held initially, to Ávila.

A special tribunal was thus set up, formed by carefully chosen judges. The judges and the investigators who assisted them resorted to provocatory methods to extract evidence in prison and were even compelled, in order to reconcile the contradictions between the various "statements," to bring together the accused and force them to relate in each other's presence details of the "deed" so that a tale of at least some coherence could be contrived. The judges even sat on a special panel (*Consulta-de-fé*) in Salamanca, with the participation of the celebrated monk Antonio de la Peña, the associate of Fernando de Santo Domingo in his anti-Jewish activities. There is also no doubt that the Inquisition wanted to prepare public opinion for the expulsion of the Jews from Spain by creating a background of an alleged Jewish-Converso conspiracy to bring about the annihilation of both Christianity and the Inquisition. Even so, the recorded statements of the Conversos are a profound expression of their belief in the Law of Moses, their readiness to die as martyrs, and their contemptuous attitude toward Christianity and its way of life. Torquemada was referred to by one of the accused as the "arch antichrist" (*antecristo mayor*).

The verdict was made public and circulated throughout Spain, and the worship of the "Holy Child" was rapidly instituted. For fear of riots, the Jews of Ávila felt compelled to request a document of protection (granted on Dec. 9, 1491). With time, details were added to the story until it assumed impressive proportions in works and plays which were presented on the subject. In 1583 Fray Rodrigo de Yepes wrote a book entitled *Historia de la muerte y glorioso martirio del Sancto Inocente, que llaman de La Guardia*, which during the 17th century served as the basis of a play by Lope de Vega, *El Niño Inocente de la Guardia*. Lope's play is based on a text in his work *Octava parte* (1617) which is not entirely reliable. The intention of Lope is purely anti-Jewish. The martyrdom of the Santo Niño is compared to the Passion. Lope leaves no doubt as to his sympathy with the Inquisition and his dislike of those it prosecuted. The tale was newly adapted during the 18th century by Jose de Cañizares under the title *La Viva Imagen de Cristo*. These works were republished in 1943, during World War II, by Manuel Romero de Castilla under the title *Singular suceso en el reinado de los Reyes Católicos*, in an attempt to revive the "holy" ideas of the writings of his predecessors.

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[Haim Beinart]

LAGUNA, DANIEL ISRAEL LOPEZ (c. 1653–c. 1730), Portuguese-born poet of Marrano parentage. As a child, Laguna was taken to Peyrehorade in the south of France. Later he went to study in Spain, where he was arrested by the Inquisition. On his eventual release, presumably after reconciliation to the Church, he settled in Jamaica; there he openly professed Judaism and was naturalized in 1693. About 1720 he went to London where with the help of Mordecai Nuñes de Almeyda, his patron, he published a paraphrase of the Psalms in a variety of Spanish verse forms. He dedicated the work, titled *Espejo* *fiel de Vidas que contiene los Palmos de David in Verso* (London, 1720), to De Almeyda. The book had been planned in prison and was the fruit of 23 years' labor. In a number of places, the author makes allusions to the Inquisition and its persecutions. The volume is prefaced by commendatory poems by some 20 persons, including women, in Hebrew, Latin, Spanish, Portuguese, and English. Laguna later returned to Jamaica, to his wife and three sons David, Jacob, and Isaac, and died there.

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[Cecil Roth]

°**LAHARANNE, ERNEST**, 19th-century French writer and precursor of Zionism. Laharanne wrote political pamphlets and, during the reign of Napoleon III, edited a republican newspaper, *L'Etat*, which supported free trade. Beyond this, little is known of him. It is probable that he came from the south of France, was a left-wing Roman Catholic, and belonged to the Emperor's secretariat. He wrote a pamphlet entitled *La Nouvelle Question d'Orient: Empires d'Egypte et d'Arabie: reconstitution de la nationalité juive* (1860), in which he proposed establishing a Jewish state in Palestine extending from Suez to Smyrna. He championed his idea with a romantic ardor, conforming to the principle of nations so dear to Napoleon III. Moses *Hess published large portions of the work in his *Rome and Jerusalem* (Letter 11).

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[Moshe Catane]

LAHAT, SHLOMO (**Chich**; 1927–), Israeli military commander and mayor of Tel Aviv. Lahat was born in Berlin and brought to Ereẓ Yisrael by his parents in 1933. In 1941 he joined the Haganah. In the War of Independence he fought in the Givati brigade. While serving in the IDF, he studied law at the Hebrew University, and in 1956 was the first Israeli officer to be sent to the U.S. Army Command and General Staff College at Fort Leavenworth in Kansas. Upon his return Lahat was appointed an instructor in the IDF Command and Staff School. In 1959 he was appointed head of the Operations Branch in the General Staff Operations Department. In 1962 he transferred to the Armor, and in 1966 was appointed deputy commander of the Armor units. In the Six-Day War he was appointed governor of East Jerusalem, and at the end of the war was appointed head of the Central Command Staff with the rank of brigadier general. In 1969 he was appointed commander of the Armored Forces in Sinai, and during the War of Attrition was commander of the operations along the Suez Canal until June 1970, being promoted to the rank of major general. In 1970 he was appointed chief of the army's Manpower Division. Lahat left active military service in March 1973 with the rank of major general.

In November 1973 Lahat was elected mayor of Tel Aviv at the head of the Likud list. He served as mayor for 20 years. As mayor he was responsible for major administrative and operational changes in the city, investing heavily in communal, cultural, health, and education facilities, and rehabilitating the city's coast and beaches. It was with his active support that the Suzanne Dalal Center for Dance and Theater, the Tel Aviv Cinémateque, the new Opera House, and many other cultural enterprises were realized. While he was mayor the city absorbed 40,000 immigrants from the former Soviet Union, and the steady decline in the population of the city was reversed. The municipality adopted the Gesher theater, whose original cast was made up entirely of new immigrants from Russia. A special unit was established in the municipality for the conservation of buildings in the Bauhaus and International styles. Lahat was replaced as mayor by Roni *Milo in 1993.

After leaving city hall Lahat entered private business and served in various public functions including president of the Council for Peace and Security, which was among the organizers of the peace demonstration on November 4, 1995, at which Prime Minister Yitzhak *Rabin was assassinated; chairman of the Yad Vashem Fund; chairman of the friends association of the Loḥamei ha-Getta'ot Museum; chairman of the Rabin Association; chairman of the board of directors of the Yiddish theater; and member of the Board of Governors of Tel Aviv University, the college in Jaffa, and other public institutions. He was chairman of the Diaspora Museum, Beth Hatefutsoth.

[Susan Hattis Rolef (2nd ed.)]

LAHAVOT HA-BASHAN (Heb. לַהֲבוֹת הַבָּשָׁן, "Flames of the Bashan"), kibbutz in northern Israel, on the eastern rim of the *Ḥuleh Valley, affiliated with Ha-Kibbutz Ha-Arẓi Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir. It was founded in 1945 by a group of *Youth Aliyah graduates from Germany and Israeli-born youth, as one of the settlements in the defense chain at the foot of the *Golan Heights. During Israel's *War of Independence (1948) the kibbutz was exposed to a heavy attack from Syrian forces. Farming at Lahavot ha-Bashan was based on field and fodder crops, fruit orchards, dairy cattle, and carp ponds. The kibbutz had a factory specializing in spraying and fire-extinguishing apparatus. In 2002 its population was 423.

[Efraim Orni]

LAHR, BERT (**Irving Lahrheim**; 1895–1967), U.S. actor, comedian. Born in New York of German immigrants, Lahr began his career at 15, became the "boy wonder" of burlesque, and had his first Broadway success in *Hold Everything* (1928). He then appeared in a series of Broadway shows, worked with road companies, and returned to Broadway, playing comedies of Shakespeare and Aristophanes. His Broadway performances include *Flying High* (1930), *Life Begins at 8:40* (1934), *The Show Is On* (1937), *DuBarry Was a Lady* (1940), *Burlesque* (1947), *Two on the Aisle* (1951), *Waiting for Godot* (1956), *Hotel Paradiso* (1957), and *The Girls against the Boys* (1959). He won a Tony Award in 1964 for Best Actor in the musical *Foxy* and in 1963 he was nominated for a Best Actor Tony for his role in the drama *The Beauty Part*.

Lahr appeared in more than a dozen films between 1931 and 1939 but was best known for his role as the cowardly lion in the highly successful musical *The Wizard of Oz* (1939). However, as he later commented, "After *The Wizard of Oz* I was typecast as a lion, but there just weren't that many parts for lions." He appeared in *Sing Your Worries Away* (1942), *Ship Ahoy* (1942), *Meet the People* (1944), *Always Leave Them Laughing* (1949), *Mr. Universe* (1951), *Rose Marie* (1954), *The Second Greatest Sex* (1955), and *The Night They Raided Minsky's* (1968). He also appeared on television, as a guest on variety shows and early TV playhouse dramas, as well as the TV movies *The Great Waltz* (1955) and *The Secret World of Eddie Hodges* (1960), and the short comedy *Thompson's Ghost* (1966).

His son John Lahr, a drama critic with *The New Yorker,* wrote a biography about his father, *Notes on a Cowardly Lion* (1969), which became a bestseller.

[Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

LAJSA. Founded in 1982, the Latin American Jewish Studies Association (LAJSA) promotes scholarly research on Latin American Jewry as a branch of Jewish Diaspora studies and as an element in the study of ethnicity in Latin America. LAJSA provides a forum for the scholarly exchange of ideas and research through conferences, publications, the development of courses offered at institutions of higher learning, and outreach to the general public.

LAJSA's network brings together scholars who are at work on related themes but who are geographically distant from one another. Members involved in a variety of academic disciplines such as history, literature, languages, economics, and anthropology are able to interact with one another across disciplinary boundaries through a membership directory, the semiannual *Latin American Jewish Studies* (reports of professional activities, critical reviews of scholarly work, and bibliography), and an electronic listserv (current news from Latin American Jewish communities, new publications, and announcements of upcoming events).

LAJSA is incorporated as a non-profit organization in the United States, in the state of Michigan. The association itself has no geographic base; its conferences have been hosted by American Jewish Archives-JIR (1982), University of New Mexico (1984), AMILAT – Research Association of Latin American Jewry in Israel and the World Union of Jewish Studies, Jerusalem (1985), University of Florida, Gainesville (1987), Universidad de Buenos Aires and AMIA – Ashkenazi Community of Buenos Aires (1988); University of Maryland, College Park (1991), Jerusalem Center for Public Affairs in Philadelphia (1993), Universidad Autónoma de Mexico and the Jewish communities of Mexico City (1995), Harvard University (1997), Princeton University (1999), Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro (2002), and Dartmouth College (2004). Publication of books and articles originally presented at these conferences established Latin American Jewish studies as an academic discipline and LAJSA as its representative within academia. Members of LAJSA and subscribers to its publications include major research libraries, as well as individual scholars, communal officials, and others with expertise in the field. LAJSA maintains fraternal relations with AMILAT, whose members are affiliated with LAJSA.

LAJSA was organized by Judith Laikin Elkin and a group of interested persons including Robert M. Levine, Saul Sosnowski, Jacobo Kovadloff, and Richard D. Woods. Elkin served as president until 1995 and as newsletter editor until her retirement in 1998. Scholars in 20 countries are now among LAJSA's members. In recent years, board members have been elected from the United States, Mexico, Brazil, and Israel. Officers in 2005 include president Leo Spitzer (Dartmouth), treasurer Darrell Lockhart (University of Nevada, Reno), manager of electronic list and archive Naomi Lindstrom (University of Texas, Austin), and newsletter editor Kenya C. Dworkin (Carnegie Mellon University). LAJSA maintains its website at www.acad.swarthmore.edu/lajsa.

[Judith Laikin Elkin (2nd ed.)]

LAJTA, BÉLA (1873–1920), Hungarian architect. Considered an outstanding representative of Hungarian architecture, Lajta was influenced by Ö. Lechner and used folkloristic motifs and ornaments in his early projects. Later, however, he was among the first to turn from Secession to straight lines. His works, among them the Rózsavölgyi-house and the gas works (both in 1911–12), are protected historical monuments in Budapest.

[Eva Kondor]

LAKATOS, IMRE (1922–1974), British philosopher of science. Lakatos was Born Imre Lipsitz in Debrecen, Hungary, and educated at the local university. Lakatos survived World War II in hiding in Transylvania and, as a convinced Marxist, organized Communist cells. He took the name "Lakatos" because it sounded more "working class." After the war he became an influential member of the new Communist ruling elite in Hungary, but was expelled from the Party in 1950 and fled to England after the 1956 Revolution. From 1960 he was a lecturer at the London School of Economics, where he served as professor of logic from 1970 until his death. In Britain, Lakatos became one of the most influential of recent philosophers of science. Abandoning Marxism, he became a neo-Popperian (although also indebted to Thomas Kuhn), arguing that science is best viewed as consisting of discrete "research programs" with their own "hard core" of central assumptions. By the time of his death he had shifted to the political right and was a vigorous opponent of student radicalism. He died at the age of 51 after suffering a heart attack. Many of his essays were printed in *Proofs and Refutation* (1976, edited by John Worrall and Elie Zahar).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: ODNB online.

[William D. Rubinstein (2nd ed.)]

LAKATOS, LÁSZLÓ (1882–1944), Hungarian author and journalist. Born in Budapest, Lakatos displayed an early talent for journalism and for a brief period edited the liberal daily *Világ*. He was an able satirist, fond of aphorisms and paradoxes. Lakatos wrote on Jewish themes, choosing his subjects mainly from topical issues and the Budapest middle classes. A number of his plays were extremely successful outside Hungary and include *Négy frakk* ("Four Cutaways," 1923), *Pajtásházasság* ("Companionate Marriage," 1928), and *Helyet az ifjúságnak* ("Make Way for Youth," 1934). He also wrote novels, notably *Egy pesti lány története* ("The Story of a Budapest Girl," 1913). At the outbreak of World War II Lakatos was forced to immigrate to Paris but had to flee from the Nazi invaders and died in Nice.

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[Baruch Yaron]

LAKEWOOD, city in central New Jersey (Ocean County), 2005 population close to 40,000. The city was a popular resort destination throughout the 20th century. Jews frequented many of its vacation facilities. Some eventually settled there, establishing a small community and the local hotels were also at least a temporary home to Jews. It is now the home to a large and influential ultra-Orthodox community because of the dramatic rise of its yeshivah-affiliated population. Unlike *Kiryas Joel or *New Square, it is not a community set apart by the purchase of rural property and incorporation of a town, but one that owing to its large numbers is dominant in a city.

In 1943 Rabbi Aaron *Kotler, a leading yeshivah dean formerly of *Kletsk, Lithuania, founded an advanced yeshivah, Beth Medrash Govoha, in Lakewood. The initial student body consisted of 13 students, some of whom had studied with him in Europe. Kotler's goal was to re-establish in America the high standards of talmudic learning that had been a part of the Eastern European Jewish world. His ideal was that Torah should be "studied for its own sake" and, although one might choose the professional rabbinate or teaching as a career, this would be a result rather than the goal of one's studies.

Kotler strongly opposed higher secular education, seeing it as a danger due to the many conflicts between the university environment and its secular world view and those of Orthodox Judaism. He also viewed higher secular learning as a squandering of time better spent in Torah study.

Following Kotler's passing in 1962 he was succeeded as dean by his son, Rabbi Schneur Kotler (1918–1982). Schneur Kotler in turn has been followed by a team of deans, his son Rabbi Aryeh Malkiel and Rabbis Dovid Schustal, Yisroel Neuman, and Yeruchim Olshin.

The studies pursued in the Beth Medrash Govoha framework are primarily focused on Talmud and Codes of Law. Students begin the program after high school and, at times, after a period spent in a preparatory yeshivah either in America or Israel. They attend Beth Medrash Govoha until marriage, whereupon some continue their studies in the school's *kolel* division (as of mid-2005 the student body of the yeshivah and *kolel* was 4,482), where they receive a small stipend.

The growing Orthodox yeshivah community in Lakewood is a result of many students choosing to settle there after concluding their studies. Many of them eventually find livelihoods outside the religious employment sector. Some seek to remain *kolel* students for many years, which, at times, has created an economic strain on the community.

Many graduates have gone on to serve as rabbis, teachers, and authors throughout the United States and the world. Satellite Lakewood *kolelim* have been established in dozens of cities throughout North America, where their fellows combine talmudic studies with teaching in the local community.

Lakewood students, under the auspices of Torah Umesorah's Seed Program, often spend their summers in Jewish communities across the country, where they teach, counsel, and interact with the surrounding Jewish community.

In 2005 the yeshivah community in Lakewood was serviced by a network of 23 elementary and 13 secondary schools, all committed to the vision of Rabbi Kotler. The housing needs of this growing population has caused its borders to expand rapidly, creating a housing boom with continually rising prices as well as generating an extensive small business infrastructure to serve its needs.

The non-Orthodox and Modern Orthodox communities in Lakewood have significantly declined in numbers in recent decades, and there have been tensions between the yeshivah community and its non-Orthodox and non-Jewish neighbors. Members of the yeshivah community have participated in local politics including work with the school board, and there have been attempts at accommodation in the political sphere.

The yeshivah seeks to maintain and spread the world view colloquially known as *yeshivish*, continuing the non-ḥasidic, traditional Orthodoxy of the Lithuanian yeshivah world. Its philosophy is to be found, on the journalistic level, in the weekly newspaper, *Yated Ne'eman*.

[Mayer Schiller (2nd ed.)]

LAKNER, YEHOSHUA (1924–2003), Israeli composer. Born in Czechoslovakia, he immigrated to Eretz Israel in 1941. After living in kibbutz Merḥavyah, he moved to Tel Aviv, where he studied the piano with Frank Pelleg and composition with *Partos and *Boscovitch. Later, he studied in the United States with *Copland at Tanglewood, and electronic music with Karlheinz Stockhausen and Mauricio Kagel in Cologne and Darmstadt. He returned to Israel in 1948 to teach at the Rubin Academy of Music, Tel Aviv. From 1963, he lived in Zurich, Switzerland, where he taught music theory at the Zurich Conservatory (1974–87). He wrote incidental music for Maria von Ostfelden's productions (1965–71) and "concrete music" for plays, including Ionesco's *Chairs* and Brecht's *Turandot* (1969). During the 1980s he began to use the computer as his main instrument, creating Audio-Visual Time Structures – musical and visual configurations which developed in poetic forms that could be manipulated during performance. His awards include the Engel Prize (Tel Aviv, 1958), the Salomon David Steinberg Foundation music prize (Zurich and Jerusalem, 1970), and the city of Zurich's composition award (1986–87). His works include *Toccata* for orchestra (1958); *Hexachords* for orchestra (1960); the ballet *Dmujoth* for cello, piano, percussion, and tape (1962); *Theater an der Winkelwieses* for tape (1981); *Tanz der Akzente*, for two computers (1996); *BX mit Variationen* for two computers (1997); chamber music including Sonata for flute and piano (1948); *Five Birthdays* for piano (1965); *Kreise und Signale* for two pianos (1985); *Alef-Beth-Gimel* for piano (1991); and *The Dream of Muhammad*, for choir, orchestra, and electronic music (1968), commissioned by the Jerusalem Testimonium.

ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY: Grove online; MGG^2.

[Uri (Erich) Toeplitz / Yohanan Boehm / Israela Stein (2nd ed.)]

LAMARR, HEDY (**Hedwig Eva Maria Kiesler**; 1914–2000), actor, inventor. Born in Vienna, Austria, Lamarr attended Max *Reinhardt's famous acting school in Berlin as a teenager. She made her film debut in the 1933 Czech picture *Extase* (*Ecstasy*), for which she earned international notoriety as the first woman to appear naked in a feature film. The movie was extensively edited before it was shown in American theaters; its leading lady, arriving in Hollywood in 1937, was renamed and signed by MGM's Louis B. *Mayer. Lamarr had an extensive career as a movie actress, appearing in such films as *Algiers* (1938), *Ziegfeld Girl* (1941), *White Cargo* (1942), and, most notably, as Delilah in *Samson and Delilah* (1948). Professionally, Lamarr also played a much different role, that of inventor. From 1933 to 1937, as the wife of Fritz Mandal, a manufacturer of military aircraft, Lamarr was first exposed to the field of control systems. She pursued her interest in radio control long after her marriage – the first of six – had ended. In 1940, Lamarr presented her concept of "frequency hopping" to her Hollywood neighbor, the avant-garde composer George Antheil, who is best known for his revolutionary *Ballet Méanique*. Lamarr was working on a way to protect radio signals from being heard or interfered with by outside parties; Antheil proposed a design based on the player-piano, by which the radio signal would travel at 88 constantly shifting frequencies. Lamarr and Antheil received a patent in 1942, but their ideas were not put to significant use until the Cuban missile crisis of 1962, when they were used to provide secure communications among American ships. Lamarr's "frequency hopping" is the basis for today's "spread spectrum," a design now applied to such mainstream technology as the cellular phone.

[Casey Schwartz (2nd ed.)]

LAMBERT, AIMÉ (1825–1896), French army officer. Born in Nancy, Lambert volunteered for the National Guard in 1848 and took part in suppressing the Paris rising of that year. Twice wounded, he was decorated for bravery. During the Franco-Prussian War he was made town commander of Versailles. In 1877, Lambert was promoted to brigadier general and made commander of Paris. In 1878 he was commander in chief of the French Occupation Army in *Tunisia. An outstanding administrator, Lambert was given several honorary appointments, including that of military commander of the Palace of the Elysée. He received numerous honors and retired with the rank of lieutenant general in 1889. Lambert was a conscious Jew and repeatedly refused to convert to Christianity despite pressure from his fellow officers in the high command.

[Mordechai Kaplan]

LAMBERT, MAYER (1863–1930), French Oriental scholar and Hebraist. Lambert was born in Metz, the descendant of a long line of rabbis: his grandfather Lion Mayer (1787–1862) and his great-grandfather Aaron Worms (1754–1836) had served as chief rabbis in Metz. He studied first at Metz, then at the Ecole Rabbinique (Séminaire Israélite) and Sorbonne University in Paris. From 1887 he lectured on Arabic and Syriac and later on Hebrew at the Ecole Rabbinique and taught Hebrew at the Ecole Normale Orientale (Teachers' Training College) of the Alliance Israélite Universelle. In 1903 Lambert began teaching Hebrew and Syriac at the Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes. He worked in close association with Joseph *Derenbourg.

Among Lambert's many published works in addition to numerous contributions to the *Revue des Etudes Juives*, the *Journal Asiatique*, and other periodicals are *Eléments de Grammaire Hébraique* (1890); *Commentaire sur le Séfer Yesira; ou livre de la Création par Saadiah* (1891); Saadiah's version of and commentary on Proverbs, text and French translation (with J. Derenbourg), *Oeuvres complètes de Saadia. Traduction des Proverbes* (1894); and *Glossaire hébreu-français du XIIIme siècle* (with L. Brandin, 1905). He contributed to the publication of *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum* and also participated in the French translation of the Bible issued by the French rabbinate. Three parts of his major work *Traité de Grammaire Hébraïque* were published posthumously (1931–38).

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LAMBERT, PHYLLIS (1927–), Canadian architect and urban renewal advocate; she is the daughter of Sam (the industrialist and founder of Seagrams) and Saidye *Bronfman. Lambert was born in Montreal. She studied fine art at Vassar and at the Institute of Fine Arts of New York University. In 1963 she earned a degree in architecture from the Illinois Institute of Technology. While still in her twenties and before earning her architectural degree, Sam Bronfman entrusted his daughter to direct construction of the landmark Seagram Building in New York. Ensuring the building would be an architectural showcase, she selected world-renowned Mies van der Rohe to be the project's architect. As an architect in her own right Lambert's designs include the Saidye Bronfman Center in Montreal.

Phyllis Lambert has been recognized for her tireless advocacy of modern architecture, concern for urban conservation, and for advancing the role of architecture in the public realm. She founded and directed the Canadian Centre for Architecture in Montreal, a leading museum and study center devoted to architecture past, present, and future. She was also deeply committed to advancing cooperative housing and urban renovation. Among her restoration projects is the ninth-century Ben Ezra Synogogue in Cairo known for its document-rich storeroom, or *Genizah. The synagogue had fallen into abject disrepair until this project begun in 1980; completed in 1991 it restored the building to a grandeur worthy of medieval Cairo.

Phyllis Lambert received many awards for her work, including the Order of Canada, the highest honor Canada can bestow on a citizen.

[Harold Troper (2nd ed.)]

LAMBERT, RAYMOND RAOUL (1894–1943), community leader in France under the Vichy regime. Born in Montmorency, Lambert served in both world wars and was awarded the Croix de Guerre. He acted as secretary-general of the Comité d'Assistance aux Réfugiés (CAR) and was chief editor of *Univers Israélite*. In 1941 he was nominated director-general of the *Union Générale des Israélites de France (UGIF) in the then unoccupied zone. Lambert afterward became chief of the UGIF for the whole of France. He clandestinely made contact with Jewish underground resistance groups and with Catholic circles that helped Jews to avoid the persecutions. He was arrested on Aug. 20, 1943, after having protested to Pierre *Laval against the excesses of the German and French Nazis in confiscating Jewish property. He, his wife, their four children, and his mother-in-law were immediately deported to *Auschwitz and gassed on arrival.

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[Yehuda Reshef]

LAMDAN, YIẒḤAK (1899–1954), Hebrew poet and editor. Born in Mlinov, Ukraine, Lamdan received a traditional and secular education. During World War I he was cut off from his family and wandered through southern Russia with his brother, who was later killed in a pogrom. These grim experiences made Lamdan rally to the Communist cause and he volunteered for the Red Army at the outbreak of the Russian Revolution. Disillusionment, however, soon set in because as a Jew he could not feel at home in the revolutionary movement. He left the army and returned to Mlinov, which had been annexed to Poland. There he became a teacher at the local Hebrew school and published his first poem in *Ha-Shilo'aḥ* (1918). Immigrating to Ereẓ Israel in 1920, he spent his first years as a *ḥalutz*, building roads and working on farms. His poetry, now imbued with a *ḥalutz* spirit that grew out of his experience, was published in various literary journals in Ereẓ Israel and aroused great interest since it reflected the hopes and despair of the Third Aliyah and also the struggles and inner conflicts of the individual *ḥalutz*. He later gave up physical labor and devoted himself exclusively to literary work, from 1934 until his death publishing and editing his own literary monthly *Gilyonot*. He was a member of the central committee of the Hebrew Writers Association for many years.

Lamdan's magnum opus, *Massadah* (1927), an epic poem in blank verse of six cantos, comprising 35 poems, established his reputation. The poem reflects the spirit of the young pioneers of the 1920s who had left behind them not only the memory of the brutal senseless murders of defenseless Jews, but also their shattered illusions about the possibility of establishing a free, revolutionary society in Eastern Europe. Massadah, the last fortress which continued to hold out against the Romans even after the fall of Jerusalem in 70 C.E., in Lamdan's poem symbolizes Ereẓ Israel, the last stronghold of the destroyed Eastern European Jewish communities.

The voice throughout the poem is the "I" of the poet who embodies both the horror experienced by his generation and its vision for a new future. In the first canto (the prologue) the poet, standing in the midst of the ruins of his home, at the height of the Russian Revolution, receives a message about Massadah: "face of the adverse fate of generations" the sons of Massadah have thrust out their "breasts in revolt and roared 'Enough!'" He sets out for the Promised Land in order to join them. His path to Massadah is obstructed by three friends who symbolize the various anti-Zionist or Diaspora-oriented ideologies and who try to turn him back. By an overwhelming act of will, the speaker frees himself from his friends and scales the barriers blocking access to Israel's stronghold. The second canto is a series of short poems in which the different Jewish refugees who came to Massadah describe their tragic experiences.

Cantos three, four, and five are movements from joyful hope to despair. Night, "in which the air is heavy with blood," transforms into a time for kindling fires, dancing, and the renewal of faith. Night thus becomes a symbol of strength and hope while day is a time of despair and disillusionment. The fortress itself weeps for her listless sons. The ecstasy of the early movement is passed, the verve of pioneering among the weaker is spent and they fall to the wayside. Fewer and fewer of those imbued with the spirit of freedom throng to Massadah, and peddlers, longing to engage in commerce, increase. Not only the fires but also the "flames of revolt" brought to Massadah as "holy Sabbath candles in the twilight of the worlds" flicker faintly, yet they are not extinguished. There are always those who stand guard over Massadah watching "every cloud rising somewhere over the horizon." In the sixth canto the poet turns to these sturdy souls, calling out to them that their sacrifice is not in vain and that all roads trodden by the Jewish people lead to Massadah, none lead away.

The poet's "I" of the first canto, with its clear biographical references, later merges into the collective consciousness of the Jewish people, but even in Canto I it is not intrinsically individual. A symbolic poem of moods and situations, rather than heroes and plot, *Massadah* is rich in expressionistic images and rings with the cadence of biblical rhetoric.

The poems published after *Massadah* had far less of an impact on the reading public. Some were collected in *Ba-Ritmah ha-Meshulleshet* ("Triple Harness," 1930) and *Be-Ma'aleh Akrabbim* ("On Scorpions' Pass," 1945); others appeared in literary journals. In these later works, though more individualistic and less rhetorical, Lamdan remains fervently nationalistic and adamant in his belief that the individual must serve the cause of national rebirth. The poet-narrator assumes the role of man of destiny and denounces those who refuse to hearken to his message of redemption. Lamdan's poetry remained social poetry in which the poet's rhetorical rather than lyrical skill predominates. His sincerity and idealism to some degree cover this artistic flaw, of which he was aware. His later works carry a note of personal tragedy. The poet is fully conscious of the fact that his devotion to the national renascence is at the expense of his art as a poet. In the preface to his series of poems *Mi-Shirai she-me-Ever la-Daf* ("My Songs on the Other Side of the Page," in *Gilyonot*, 25 [1951]), the conflict is starkly exposed with the poet apologizing for his inner urges and drives not rooted in the national consciousness. He declared that his conscience, which has totally surrendered itself to the nation, prevents him from retreating into purely individualistic poetry; underlying the statement, however, is an almost imperceptible sadness and yearning at an inevitable loss.

The same integrity manifested itself in his editorship of *Gilyonot*, a literary periodical which he founded and which propounded his national ideals. Lamdan insisted on the independence of his periodical, and refused to allow it to be controlled even by political groups whose ideology he shared. During the 1930s and 1940s, *Gilyonot* was one of Ereẓ Israel's leading periodicals.

[Gideon Katznelson]

Kol Shirei Yiẓḥak Lamdan, the collected poems of Lamdan, including hitherto unpublished poems, with an introduction by S. Halkin, was issued by Mosad Bialik in 1973. A. Lipsker edited (with an introduction) Lamdan's letters (1998).

For Eng. trans. of Lamdan, see Goell, 974–1000.

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LAMECH (Heb. לֶמֶךְ), one of the antediluvian patriarchs in Genesis. According to the list recounting the lineage of Cain (Gen. 4:17–24 – ascribed to the J tradition), Lamech was the son of Methushael (4:18) and the father of three sons, *Jabal, *Jubal, and *Tubal-Cain, and a daughter, Naamah (4:20–22). His wives were *Adah and Zillah (4:19). He was thus the first polygynist and the father of the founders of nomadism, the musical arts, and metalworking. He is also the author of a song (4:23–24), which is structurally and linguistically an example of early Hebrew poetry. Significantly, Lamech is the seventh human generation, and in his song the typological numbers 7 and 77 appear (4:24). Another genealogy of Lamech (assigned to the P tradition) is presented in a list of the descendants of Seth (5:25–31; I Chron. 1:3). In this list, Lamech is the son of Methuselah and the father of Noah. He was 182 years old when Noah was born, and he subsequently had other sons and daughters (Gen. 5:30). He is the seventh generation from Enosh. In this there is a numerical and structural parallel to the other tradition insofar as Enosh is a generic term for man, alongside Adam. Significantly, here, too, the number seven appears, for Lamech lived 777 years (5:31). The relationship between the two lists presents a problem. On the basis of related number typologies, parallel historical frameworks, the reduplication of names (e.g. Enoch; Lamech), and other resemblances, they would seem to derive from a common source, the first probably being the earlier since it records seven generations, while the second counts ten. It is presumed that the latter is an expansion of the former.

The origin and meaning of the name is not clear. An Akkadian noun *lumakku*, sometimes suggested for comparison, refers to a junior priest attested only in lexical lists (CAD L, 244–45). Alternatively, an Arabic etymology would explain this name as "mighty youth," an epithet suitable to Lamech's character.

[Michael Fishbane]

In the Apocrypha

The story of Cain's death at the hand of Lamech, his descendant, is apparently unknown in the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha (but see *Lamech, Book of). It may be referred to in the Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs, Benjamin 7:4 which brings together the "Song of Lamech" and the curse laid upon Cain. In the best manuscript of the Testament, however, Cain's death is said to have been due to the Flood. Lamech, the father of Noah, is mentioned in the Apocrypha in Jubilees 4:27–28 and I Enoch 10:1, and in Jubilees 7:38 some emphasis is put on the fact that it was he who transmitted the teaching of Enoch to Noah. Moreover, the Noah fragment in I Enoch 106 contains the story of the birth of Noah as a wondrous, shining child. Lamech fears that this baby is not his own child, but the offspring of the Watchers and goes to ask his father Methusaleh to inquire of his father Enoch. He is reassured by Enoch. This story also occurs, with some variants, in the second column of the Genesis Apocryphon from Qumran. There, the name of Enoch's wife is Batenosh, as in Jubilees 4:27 (Bêtênôs). The same story is also evidently reflected in the fragmentary text 1Q19, the so-called "Book of Noah."

[Michael E. Stone]

In the *Aggadah*

Most of the legends about Lamech, the grandson of Cain, center around his killing of his grandfather. He was blind and when he went hunting, he was led by his young son Tubal-Cain, who would tell his father when game came in sight, so that Lamech could shoot at it with his bow and arrow. Once he aimed at some horned creature which Tubal-Cain thought to be a beast. In fact it was Cain, the "sign of Cain" being a horn in the forehead, and he killed him. In despair, Lamech smote his hands together inadvertently killing Tubal-Cain. After this incident his wives, Adah and Zillah, wanted to leave him on the ground that Cain's descendants were doomed to annihilation. But Lamech argued, "If Cain who committed murder with malice aforethought, was punished only in the seventh generation, then, I who have killed inadvertently may hope that retribution will be postponed for 77 generations" (cf. Gen. 4:23). Lamech and his wives put their case to Adam who decided the case in favor of Lamech (Tanh. Gen. 11). According to another tradition, Lamech's wives refused to have intercourse with him because they knew that a flood was to come and therefore they did not want to bear children. Whereupon Lamech answered "Cain was guilty of murder, yet judgment was suspended in his case for seven generations; for me who am guiltless of this crime, surely judgment will wait 77 generations" (Gen. R. 23:4). Lamech took one wife solely for sexual gratification, and the other for procreation (*ibid.* 23:2).

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LAMECH, BOOK OF, apocryphal book referred to in the List of Sixty Books, a Christian list of canonical and uncanonical books apparently dating from the fifth or sixth century. No definite quotation or fragment of an ancient Book of Lamech is known to exist, and the question arises whether the book relates to Lamech, Noah's father (Gen. 5:25–31), or Lamech, Cain's descendant (Gen. 4:18–24). M.R. James suggests that the book deals with the legend, unknown in Second Temple period sources, that Cain was killed by his own descendant, Lamech. In view, however, of the extensive early witnesses to the story concerning Lamech's role on the occasion of Noah's birth (Gen. Apocryphon col. 2; 1 En. 106, and the Latin fragment "The Book of *Noah" from Qumran (1Q 19), it is distinctly possible that the Book of Lamech dealt with this and related material. Such a view is supported, and perhaps a new dimension added, by the emphasis placed in Jubilees 7:38, on Lamech's part in the transmission of esoteric traditions first revealed to Enoch. James refers to a Slavonic work telling the story of Lamech's killing of Cain. The Qumran Genesis Apocryphon was mistakenly named by its first investigators "The Book of Lamech."

BIBLIOGRAPHY: M.R. James, *Lost Apocrypha of the Old Testament* (1920), 10–11.

[Michael E. Stone]

LAMED (Heb. ל; לָמֶד), the 12th letter of the Hebrew alphabet; its numerical value is 30. The earliest representation of this letter is a pictograph of an ox-goad , . The Phoenician script in the 11th century B.C.E. fixed the stance of the *lamed,* so that the curve was drawn as the base . In the later Phoenician, as well as in the Hebrew and Aramaic, scripts there was a tendency to sharpen the curve into an angle . The diagonal upper stroke began at a higher point than the other letters of the alphabet, while the rightward base was drawn just beneath the ceiling line. In the fifth-century B.C.E. Phoenician *lamed,* a leftward bar resembling a tail was added at the right extremity of its base . A similar development occurred in the fourth-century Aramaic script. As the Aramaic *lamed* of this period consisted of a high vertical downstroke, curving under the ceiling line to the right , the new form with the tail easily turned in the Aramaic cursive into a wavy line . (The Hebrew as well as the Samaritan *lamed* never developed such a tail.) The Hebrew script preserved the tail of the Aramaic *lamed,* and it became a main part of the letter . The Arabic script adopted the Nabatean cursive *lamed* , which is a descendant of the Aramaic wavy line form. The modern Hebrew cursive *lamed,* which developed from the Hebrew book-hand shape of this letter, is essentially also some variation of a wavy line: → . See *Alphabet, Hebrew.

[Joseph Naveh]

LAMED VAV ẒADDIKIM (Heb. ל״ו צַדִּיקִים, "36 righteous men"), the minimal number of anonymous righteous men living in the world in every generation. They are privileged to see the Divine Presence, and the world exists on their merit. The origin of this tradition, found in the Babylonian Talmud, is handed down in the name of the *amora* Abbaye: "there are not less than 36 righteous men in the world who receive the Divine Presence" (Sanh. 97b; Suk. 45b). This number has become renowned in fiction and in folklore, especially in Kabbalah and ḥasidic legends. Many suggestions have been made in the study of the origin of this number and its meaning. The majority are of the opinion that the origin is not Jewish. According to G. Scholem, it is drawn from the astrological belief in 36 celestial decans (see *Astrology), each of which rules ten days of the year and, thus, ten degrees of the constellations. This belief was also widespread in Western-Hellenistic culture and in Oriental teachings. Other conjectures have also been raised, but the subject remains unclear. It should be noted that the number 36 is not exclusively mentioned in the *aggadah* in this connection. The *tanna* R. Simeon b. Yoḥai believed that "the world never lacks 30 righteous" (Gen. R. 35:2, in J. Theodor's edition, 1 (1965^2), 330 and parallels) while it is said in the name of R. Simeon b. R. Jehozadak (third century) that "the world exists by the merit of 45 righteous" (Ḥul. 92a). This count, however, is also internally divided into 30 and 15, representing the number of righteous to be found in Ereẓ Israel in contrast to those abroad (i.e., Babylonia; *ibid.*, see also Mid. Ps. 5:5). According to Rav Judah, the number 30 represents the number of "righteous among the nations of the world" (Ḥul. 92a). The widespread dissemination of the number 36 specifically can be attributed to the later Kabbalah, which adopted it.

[*Encyclopaedia Hebraica*]

According to Jewish folklore the hidden saints, called in Yiddish *lamedvovniks*, were responsible for the fate of the world and one of them is considered to be the Messiah. The idea is not found among Oriental Jews. The *lamedvovnik* was unnoticed by other men because of his humble nature and vocation. *Lamedvovniks* figured in kabbalistic folk legend of the 16th–17th centuries and in ḥasidic lore from the end of the 18th century. At times of great peril, however, the *lamedvovnik* makes a dramatic appearance, using his hidden powers to defeat the enemies of Israel, after which he returns, as mysteriously as he came, to his wonted obscurity. A tale in one of the Yiddish chapbooks relates how in Safed one such hidden saint was aided by the *Ari ha-Kadosh* (R. Isaac *Luria) disguised as a certain "Rabbi Nissim." The *lamedvovnik* theme may well have inspired the "Legend of the Three Nephites" in the *Book of Mormon*. In the 20th century, the Jewish tradition was reworked by the French writer André *Schwarz-Bart in his novel *Le dernier des justes* (1959; *The Last of the Just*, 1960), but in a way totally alien to the Jewish spirit, suggesting that the 36 saints were a long and tragic dynasty and that each *lamedvovnik* was "privileged" to become a martyr.

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LAMEGO, Marrano family, prominent in Hamburg and London. Among its members may be mentioned ISAAC LAMEGO, one of the most substantial merchants in the City of London in the middle of the 18th century; and MOSES LAMEGO, who in 1757, in commemoration of the death of his only son, presented the Sephardi congregation with £5,000 as an endowment for its orphanage and educational institutions. He is probably identical with the "Mr. Lamego" who was a prominent racehorse owner in England in the mid-18th century.

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[Cecil Roth]

LAMENTATIONS, BOOK OF, one of the Five *Scrolls in the Hagiographa section of the Bible, consisting of five poetic chapters, probably lamenting the destruction of Jerusalem in 587 B.C.E. and its aftermath. (The English title, like the Greek (θρηνοι), Latin (*Lamentationes*), and Syriac (אוליתא) titles, is a translation of the Hebrew קִינוֹת (*Kinot* (*qinot*)), BB 14b; cf. *Sefer Kinot*, Ḥag. 5b; *Megillat Kinot*, TJ, Shab. 16:15c; and in Jerome's *Prologus Galeatus: Cinoth*.) The title more frequently used in Hebrew manuscripts and printings is *Eikhah* (Heb. איכה) after the book's opening word. Its location in the canon is bound up with the larger issue of the order of the Hagiographa (see *Bible: Canon). *Bava Batra* 14b, which does not list the Five Scrolls as a unit (see *Job), places Lamentations seventh in this section of the Bible. Some manuscripts that group the *megillot* together, including the Leningrad manuscript of 1009 C.E. and the Aleppo Codex, as well as the Masoretic work *Adat Devorim*, arrange the group chronologically, placing Lamentations fourth. The standard order followed in most printed Hebrew Bibles, which follows the order in which the *megillot* are read in the Ashkenazi liturgical calendar (starting with Passover), places Lamentations third, corresponding to its recitation on the Ninth of *Av (a custom already presupposed by Sof. 14:1). In the Septuagint, Peshitta, and Vulgate it is located after the Book of Jeremiah – Jeremiah being its supposed author – forming an appendix thereto (the two are connected in the present text of LXX by a statement introducing Lamentations: "And it came to pass, after Israel was taken captive and Jerusalem made desolate, that Jeremiah sat weeping and lamented this lamentation over Jerusalem, and said…"). This connection is not likely to have existed when the Septuagint translations of these books were first made, since the two were translated by different translators, as was demonstrated by T. Noeldeke.

Contents and Ideology

Although the individual chapters do not generally develop particular themes systematically, certain themes do stand out in the various chapters. Chapter 1 refers to Jerusalem as lonely and defiled, abused and abandoned by her former allies, her inhabitants in Exile. Chapter 2 stresses God's role in the disaster, with particular reference to the destruction of various parts of the city, such as the Temple, walls, and gates. Chapter 4, in contrast, stresses the suffering of the city's inhabitants. Chapter 5 describes the distress of those who remained after the destruction.

The ideological core of the book is Chapter 3, in which the poet describes and reflects on his own suffering. The interpretation of this chapter, however, has been the subject of much controversy in recent scholarship. According to the more common interpretation, in chapter 3, the sufferer finally grasps "a necessary relationship between the ordeal thrust upon him and his own actions" (Mintz in Bibl., 12). Although God undoubtedly is the cause of his grievous suffering (3:2–16, 37–38), he takes hope in the realization that God's kindness and mercy have not ended (reading *lo' tammu* in verse 22a)

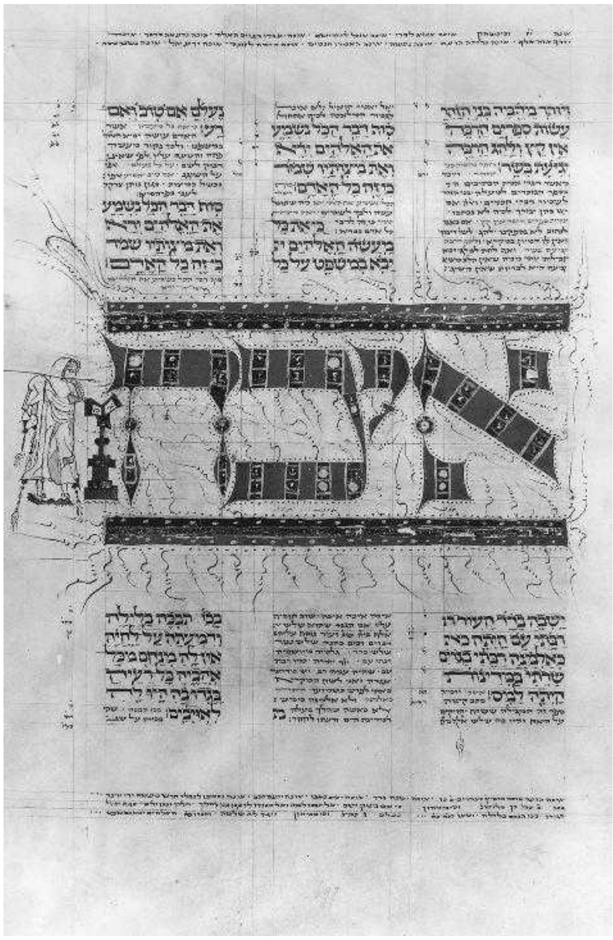

Opening page of Lamentations, with decorated initial word panel, from a Hebrew illuminated manuscript known as the De Castro Pentatuech*, southern Germany, 1344. Letchworth, England, Sassoon Ms. 506, p.697.*

but are renewed every morning (3:21–23). Furthermore, God is good to those who trust Him and seek Him; it is good to accept one's suffering and wait in silence for God's deliverance – in fact it is good for a man, when young, to bear a yoke (3:25–30), for the Lord does not reject forever, but ultimately pardons, for He does not afflict man willfully (3:31–36). Since God does not afflict willfully (Lam. 3:33–36), the ultimate cause can only be the sufferer's own sin (3:39). Now the poet shifts to the first person plural as he draws the practical inference of his observations: "Let us search and examine our ways, and turn back to the Lord…" (3:40–41), frankly admitting our guilt (3:42). The poem then reverts to the lamentation form with which it began, concluding with a plea to God for deliverance and vengeance (3:43–66).

In this reading, the poet proffers the view that Israel's destruction was caused by its own guilt. The punishment was earned, not arbitrary (3:33–39), and only submission could bring it to an end (3:40–41). The theory of suffering expressed in verses 25–36, then, is that of the wisdom tradition; many of its features are expressed in certain psalms, in Proverbs, Ben Sira, and in the arguments of Job's friends. Like Lamentations 3:27, this tradition holds that suffering can benefit a person. The classic expression of this view is Proverbs 3:11–12: "My son, reject not the Lord's discipline; Abhor not His chastisement. For the Lord chastises him whom He loves, As a father does the son he favors" (cf. Ps. 94:12–15; Job 5:17). Lamentations adapts this theory in order to explain the suffering not only of an individual but also of an entire nation.

In the alternative reading (see Dobbs-Alsopp, Linafelt, O'Connor, and Cooper in Bibl.), the sufferer does not acquiesce so readily to a wisdom-based theodicy. He is less concerned with explaining his suffering than with finding a way of putting an end to it. In his desperate quest for relief, he will try anything – even turn the other cheek (3:30), or profess an absurd faith in divine goodness that is at odds with his own experience (3:31–36). The hopeful possibilities turn out to be illusory: after that bit of soul-searching, the situation is no less desperate than before. The poet's call for self-examination in 3:40 has no apparent effect: God refuses to forgive (3:42), murders pitilessly, and blocks out prayer (3:42–46). The chapter opens with the details of the sufferer's gruesome victimization (3:2–16); the dominant theme is a parody of Psalm 23: "the Lord is a shepherd who misleads, a ruler who oppresses and imprisons" (Hillers in Bibl., 124). That description is complemented by the conclusion of the poem (3:52–66), which includes a parody of a thanksgiving psalm (3:52–61), a description of the speaker's suffering at the hands of his enemies, and a plea for revenge (3:62–66). The beginning of the poem is linked to the end by forms of the root *shuv*: "God has turned against *me*" (*bi yashuv*, 3:3) is transformed into "Take vengeance against *them*" (*tashiv lahem gemul*, 3:64). In chapter 4, God represents nothing to the poet except wrath and destruction.

The source of this bleak alternative reading of chapter 3 is not wisdom theology, but the widespread "personal religion" of the ancient Near East. Personal religion is a "religious attitude in which the religious individual sees himself as standing in a close personal relationship to the divine, expecting help and guidance in his personal life and personal affairs, expecting divine punishment if he sins, but also profoundly trusting to divine compassion, forgiveness, and love for him if he sincerely repents" (T. Jacobsen in Bibl., 147). The sufferer in chapter 3 recognizes God as the source of his suffering, and acknowledges his sinfulness in a general way, as part of being human, but he does not see his suffering as just punishment for his sin. Rather, he finds the extent of God's anger incomprehensible; his only hope is that crying out in his wretchedness will evoke God's compassion.

Aside from the possible affinity with the wisdom tradition noted above, the book generally reflects the ideology of popular religion (Y. Kaufmann). In particular, ideological affinities with classical prophecy are lacking. The book describes the demise of those institutions in which nations customarily place their trust, and the tone of the description shows the author to have shared this trust: he grieves over the spoliation and destruction of the Temple and its cult (1:4, 10; 2:1, 6, 7), the fate of priests and prophets (1:4, 19; 2:6, 9, 20; 4:16), king and princes, warriors, and officers (1:6, 15; 2:2, 6, 9; 4:7–8, 20; 5:12), the failure of the city's fortifications (4:12), and her defensive alliances (1:2; 4:17). Prior to the disaster, he may have thought that the city and its institutions were inviolable, owing to God's protective presence (Brunet, Albrektson in Bibl.). The classical prophets', especially Jeremiah's, excoriation of trust in these is nowhere reflected (2:14 reflects hindsight rather than the classical prophetic view on the popular prophets).

Lamentations also is perfunctory when it comes to the nature of Israel's sins. One searches the book almost in vain for the mention of a specific sin. Idolatry is not mentioned. Nowhere do we hear of the sins for which classical prophecy threatened destruction: social injustice, oppression of the weaker classes, bribery, and so on. Only 4:13 appears to specify a sin: "It was for the sins of her prophets, the iniquities of her priests, /Who had shed in her midst the blood of the innocent." It is not clear under what circumstances the priests and prophets are supposed to have shed innocent blood, since elsewhere in the Bible it is kings and ministers who are accused of this crime. The accusation does not carry conviction; it strikes one as a grasping at straws. It is a conventional accusation of the sort that biblical authors frequently level against nations and kings as well as individuals (cf. II Kings 21:16; 24:4; Isa. 1:15; 59:7; Ezek. 7:23; 16:38; 18:10; 22:3, et al.). In Lamentations it gives the impression of an attempt to account for a calamity that the author could not really explain. A measure of his difficulty is provided in 5:7, where he complains "Our fathers sinned and are no more; /And we must bear their guilt" – a complaint that echoes the popular view mentioned and rejected by Jeremiah and Ezekiel (Jer. 31:28; Ezek. 18:2). The poet does not thereby disclaim any responsibility by his own generation, for just nine verses later he laments "Woe to us that we have sinned!" (5:16); but by invoking the sins of the fathers as at least partial explanation, he shows how difficult it was for him – quite unlike the classical prophets – to discover a sufficient measure of sinfulness in his own generation. Finally, the peculiar vacillation between hope and despair in the difficult concluding verses of the book perfectly epitomizes the equivocal nature of the book as a whole (see Linafelt in Bibl., 59–61). It follows that Lamentations' acknowledgement of sin is based on theological cliché, rooted in the widespread popular religious conceptions of the ancient Near East rather than a coherent biblical theology.

Style

The book describes the destruction and suffering from the viewpoint of several speakers (see Lanahan and Kaiser), and uses various metaphors. The subject of chapters 1–2 is Lady Zion. The great lady who was virtually a goddess (*rabbati* in 1:1 could be read as a divine epithet) is now abased. In 1:1–11b the poet describes her suffering in the third person, while in 11b–22 (excepting verse 17) Zion herself speaks. The third-person description is more brutal and explicit, verging on the pornographic in 1:8–10; the first-person account is more sympathetic. Chapter 2 features the same female personification, though somewhat less pronounced; in 2:1–10 the poet describes the destruction, speaking of Zion in the third person again, while in 11–17 he turns lyric, expressing his own sorrow and (13–17) addressing Jerusalem and her wall in the second person; in 18 or 19–22 he calls upon the city or the wall to cry out to God, and describes what is to be said. In 3:1–39 the speaker is a man who describes his own suffering in the first person singular, in the style of the individual laments in Psalms (see Westermann); in verses 40–47 (beginning with the letter *nun*, which is the Hebrew first person plural prefix) there is a shift to the first person plural, and the style is that of the national lament; in verses 48–51 the speaker is an individual mourning the fate of the city; and in verses 52–66 the lament of the individual sufferer, with which the poem began, resumes. The mixture of styles is certainly original in the chapter, since the acrostic structure presupposes all of these sections. The identity of the man speaking in the individual lament portion of the chapter has been the subject of many theories. Naturally many have thought him to be Jeremiah, both on the basis of his own suffering (which cannot easily be correlated with the description in Chapter 3) and his supposed authorship of the book (see below). Kaufmann identifies him as Zedekiah, Judah's last king, since Zedekiah's fate aptly symbolized the fate of the nation. R. Gordis suggests no specific individual, but invokes the concept of "fluid personality" and sees the poet as identifying his own suffering with that of his nation; D. Hillers similarly identifies the speaker with "Everyman." O. Eissfeldt treats the individual as a literary device personifying Jerusalem or Judah. Chapters 4 and 5 do not employ metaphors or personification for Judah and Jerusalem; 4:1–16 consist of a third person description of the suffering of Zion's inhabitants; 17–20 of a first person plural description of pursuit and frustrated hopes. In 21–22 the poet apostrophizes triumphant Edom, telling her that her time will come, too, and Zion, telling her that her sin is now expiated. Chapter 5 is a first person plural prayer calling upon God to take note of the suffering following the destruction.

The first four poems are alphabetic acrostics, as if to express the gamut of sorrow from *a* to *z* (see Gottwald in Bibl.). In chapters 1 and 2 each letter of the alphabet introduces a verse of three lines (1:7 and 2:19 have four). Chapter 3 is a triple acrostic with each letter introducing each of three successive stichs; in chapter 4 each letter introduces a verse of two lines (chs. 2–4 have an unusual alphabetic order, with פ preceding ע; this alternative to the usual order is attested in an inscription from the biblical period; see *Alphabet). Chapter 5, while not acrostic, has 22 verses (like ch. 1, 2, 4), corresponding to the number of letters in the Hebrew alphabet, of one line each. Because of the limitations imposed on the poet's choice of words by the alphabetic structure, the logical connection of the verses is somewhat loose (in 3:17–42 these limitations have been largely overcome); themes are treated where the alphabet provides opportunity; the exegete must consequently piece together a complete picture of a theme from various passages.

Chapters 1–2, as noted by A. Condamin, also display chiasmus: with 1:22, 21, 20, 19, 18, and 12 echoing, respectively, 1:1, 2, 3, 4, 5, and 11; and with 2:22, 21, 20, 13, and 12 echoing, respectively, 2:1, 2, 3, 10, and 11. Symmetrical design has been discerned more recently in chapters 3 and 4 as well (see Brandscheidt, Renkema, Cooper). On the possible chronological arrangement of the chapters, see below.

Lamentations incorporates elements of the lamentation form known from elsewhere in the Bible, in funeral dirges, national laments, and other expressions of grief and regret. Typical is the opening of chapters 1, 2, and 4 with איכ(ה), *eikh*(*ah*), introducing a description of unexpected reversal of good fortune (cf. II Sam. 1:19 ff.; Isa. 14:4 ff.; Jer. 9:18; Zeph. 2:15). Each of the poems ends on a note of prayer or confidence (1:20–22; 2:18–22; 3:64–66; 4:22; 5:20–21), as do other biblical laments (Ps. 28:6–9; 44:25–27; 74:19–23, et al.). The book's acknowledgement of guilt is paralleled in individual laments (Ps. 38:5, 19; 51:3 ff.), but this element is rare in the national laments in Psalms (Ps. 79:8–9), which more frequently protest innocence (Ps. 44:18–23) or at least confess no guilt; on the other hand, national laments appearing in the prophets do express guilt (Jer. 3:25; 14:7, 20; Hos. 6:1, 3; 14:3b–4), suggesting that this was an original element in the genre (Eissfeldt in bibl., 113–14). Chapters 1–4 often employ distichs in which the second hemistich is shorter than the first, which seems to die away in the second, producing a choked or sobbing effect (e.g., 1:5; 2:5; 3:1 ff.; 4:7; 5:2–3). Since this pattern appears in some other biblical laments (e.g., Isa. 14:4 ff.; Ezek. 19; Amos 5:2), and was first identified in Lamentations, it is often called the elegiac or *qinah* meter; however, other laments lack this meter (e.g., II Sam. 1:19 ff.; 3:33–34), and at the same time it also appears in other types of compositions (e.g., Song 5:9 ff.; Ps. 19:8 ff.); understanding of the meter of biblical poetry is too poor to allow for definite conclusions.

Authorship and Date

Lamentations itself contains no statement of its authorship. The tradition that Jeremiah wrote the book is reflected in the introductory verses of the present Septuagint (see above) and the Targum, the book's complete Greek and Latin titles (θρὴνφοιἸερεμίον, *lamentationes Jeremiae prophetae*), and rabbinic sources (BB 15a, et al.). Beyond the fact that (1) Jeremiah was, in the eyes of later generations, the dominant personality who lived through the disaster, this tradition may have been prompted to some extent by (2) similar metaphors and expressions in Jeremiah and Lamentations, (3) by Jeremiah's call, before the destruction, for a lament to be uttered over it by himself and others (Jer. 7:29; 9:9, 19), (4) by the statement that Jeremiah composed a lament over Josiah which is written "in the laments" (II Chron. 35:25; cf. Jos., Ant., 10:5, 78; the Targum actually takes Lam. 4:20 to refer to Josiah), and (5) by presumed references to Jeremiah's life in 3:14, 53–56 (cf. Jer. 20:7; 38:6 ff.). Modern advocates of Jeremianic authorship stress (2) in particular.

Most modern scholars deny Jeremianic authorship. Arguments (1) and (3) are clearly inconclusive. Stylistic similarities (2) may indicate at most literary influence or a common contemporary idiom, and in view of similarities to Deuteronomy (Kaufmann, in bibl., 597) and Ezekiel (Perles, in bibl., 98; Löhr, in bibl., 31–50) as well, an explanation along these lines seems more likely. Jeremiah's lament over Josiah (4) refers not to the events of 587 but to one in 609. The supposed references to Jeremiah's life (5) are nothing more than literary clichés standard in individual laments, and Lamentations 3:54 in fact contradicts Jeremiah 38:6. The most telling argument is that of ideology: as noted above, the viewpoints of Lamentations and classical prophecy conflict on fundamental issues. For example, the author of Lamentations is one of those who counted on foreign help and who trusted in Zedekiah (4:17, 20), while Jeremiah denounced reliance on other nations and predicted doom for Zedekiah (Jer. 2:18, 36b; 24:8–10). Jeremiah, who pointed out Israel's sins on many occasions and to whom the destruction was self-understood, could hardly have been as vague and uncertain about Israel's sin as the author of Lamentations is.

There is some reason to doubt that all the chapters are from the same hand. The usual type of argument from style is of course notoriously subjective. However, the unusual alphabetic order of chapters 2–4 suggests that they may not be by the same author as chapter 1, and the absence of acrostic in chapter 5 suggests the same for it. Numerous linguistic similarities between the chapters can be invoked in favor of the book's unity (Rudolph, Kaufmann, et al.), but these might also be explained by literary influence or a common contemporary style, and/or a vocabulary characteristic of the literary genre. Hence, though for convenience it is customary to speak of "the author," there is a strong possibility of several authors. It is at least arguable that the author(s) belonged to the upper classes or the court circles. This is suggested by his devotion to royalty (4:7–8), his esteem for the leaders (1:6), and his concern for the suffering of the well-to-do (4:5). Chapter 4, verse 19 implies that the author was among the party that fled with Zedekiah but escaped when he was captured (II Kings 25:4–6). While sins of priests and prophets are mentioned (2:14; 4:13), those of the king and officials are not.

Dating the individual chapters is an especially elusive problem, and the following remarks are offered with reserve. It seems quite likely that the author is a contemporary of the events that he describes, since he so frequently seems to have shared the hopes, disappointments, and experiences of the period of destruction (see esp. 4:17–20). W. Rudolph argues that chapter 1 presupposes only the events of 598, since it does not mention the destruction of Jerusalem (cf. R. Judah in Lam. R. 1:1, 20 (ed. Buber, 22a) who dates the entire book to the reign of Jehoiakim). However, in this and other details the chapter could as well reflect the events of 587 before the final destruction and deportation following the seventh of Av (II Kings 25:8 ff.). Chapters 2 and 4 could be slightly later than that date: Zedekiah has been captured and taken to Babylon (2:9; 4:20; cf. II Kings 25:6–7), the Temple and the city walls have been destroyed (2:1, 4, 6–9, 17 (but cf. 18); 4:1, 11; cf. II Kings 25:9–10), but the deportation (II Kings 25:11) is as yet incomplete, and starvation (cf. II Kings 25:3) continues (Lam. 2:10–12, 19–22; 4:3–5, 8, 17). Chapter 3 offers no firm criteria for dating. Chapter 5 speaks as if the suffering and subjugation have continued for some time (e.g., 5:20); the Temple Mount is now desolate (5:18). How much later than the destruction the chapter was written cannot be determined. Certainly none of the chapters can postdate Cyrus' proclamation of 538 (II Chron. 36:22–23; Ezra 1:1–4), since the hope that it engendered is not reflected in the book.

If the above chronology should be correct, chapters 1, 2, 4, and 5 would seem to be ordered chronologically: chapter 1 before the burning of the Temple and city; chapters 2 and 4 after the burning but before the deportation is complete; chapter 5 somewhat later.

Relation to Mesopotamian Lamentations

Lamentations over destroyed cities and temples are known from Mesopotamia. Several Sumerian laments date from the early second millennium B.C.E., while Akkadian laments date from the first millennium B.C.E. Numerous parallels in subject matter – hunger, destruction of city and temple, pillage, flight, captivity, wailing – might reflect similar experiences, or might be evidence of a more specific literary relationship. In recent years, scholars have taken up these comparisons in detail (see Ferris, Dobbs-Alsopp, and Emmendörfer in Bibl.). In addition, there have been suggestive comparisons of Lamentations with genres of Mesopotamian penitential literature other than the city and temple laments (see, e.g., Gwaltney and Cooper in Bibl.), and these, too, have been productive for the interpretation of Lamentations. These studies have shown that Lamentations uses many of the same rhetorical strategies as contemporary Mesopotamian laments: the plea to an unanswering god; the invective against the enemy; the detailed description of the suffering; and the changes of person. The overall intention of Lamentations may be comparable to the purpose of the Mesopotamian laments as well. It is to quench the burning anger of the god(s), as is clearly indicated by two of the major genre designations, "Lament for Calming the Heart," and "Incantation for Appeasing an Angry God." In these prayers, as in Lamentations, the speaker's suffering and misfortune are in the foreground, alongside acknowledgement of the divine anger that caused the suffering. For example, in a text reminiscent of Lamentations 5:7: "Drive out from my body illness that is from known and unknown iniquity … the iniquity of clan, kith, and kin, that has come upon me because of the raging anger of my god and goddess." As in Lamentations, the penitent confesses in a general way: "The iniquities of mankind are more numerous than the hairs on his head." Like the poet in Lamentations 5:21, the Mesopotamian sufferer seeks a return to a former, happier time: "For me may the heart of my god become as it was." The speaker acknowledges guilt, and recognizes divine wrath as the cause of suffering, but the confessional element is not integrated into a "prophetic" scheme of sin, punishment, repentance, and forgiveness.

[Jeffrey Howard Tigay / Alan Cooper (2nd ed.)]

In the Arts

The Lamentations traditionally ascribed to Jeremiah have given rise to the literary term "jeremiad" (from Late Latin by way of French), in the sense of a prolonged complaint or lament. Writers directly inspired by the Book of Lamentations are, however, comparatively rare. In the 16th century, Jan Kochanowski, the architect of Polish verse, wrote the epic poem *Treny* ("Lamentations," 1580; Eng. selections, 1920), one of several biblical works by this Renaissance author. Two other works of the 17th century were *Lágrimas de Hieremías castellanas* (1613) by the Spanish writer Francisco Gómez de Quevedo y Villegos (1580–1645), and the Marrano writer João *Pinto Delgado's *Lamentaciones del Propheta Jeremias* (Rouen, 1627). *Les Lamentations de Jérémie* (Dresden, 1752), a religious poem by François-Thomas de Baculard d'Arnaud (1718–1805), is best remembered for a satirical epigram which it drew from *Voltaire. The Latin (Vulgate) text of Lamentations was included in the French writer D. Desmarchais' four-canto poem *Jérémie* (1772). A powerful work of the 19th century was *Skargi Jeremiego* ("The Lamentations of Jeremiah," 1893), a poem written in 1847–48 by Kornel Ujejski, who commemorated the sufferings of the oppressed Poles and the heroism of Adam *Mickiewicz.

In Music

Treatments of the subject in music far outnumber those in literature. (For the traditional Jewish musical rendition, see The Five *Scrolls, Musical Rendition.) Several melodic patterns for the recitations of Lamentations in the Roman Catholic Church are known from the manuscript tradition of the Gregorian chant, although one version only is now commonly used. The melodic recitation includes not only the text itself, but also the opening sentence *Incipit lamentatio Jeremiae prophetae* (a practice found also in the other biblical and New Testament readings of the Roman rite) and the Hebrew letters *aleph, beth*, etc., which mark the beginning of each verse or group of verses in the acrostic chapters 1 to 4; and a concluding sentence for each section, *Jerusalem, Jerusalem, convertere ad Dominum Deum tuum*. The Hebrew letter names are set to long melismas (melodic arabesques), which are also imitated in the art music settings of Lamentations. During the baroque period, the practice arose of setting *Jerusalem, Jerusalem* as a series of calls, preferably with echo effects. Until well into the baroque period, art music settings were always based on the traditional melodies, which (sung by the tenor voice) formed the "skeleton" of a simple harmonic construction.

Ten examples of the traditional *Tonus Lamentationum* from various regions can be found in B. Staeblein, "Lamentatio" (in MGG, 8 (1960), cols. 135–9). The resemblance of two of these to Jewish traditional melodies was pointed out by A.Z. *Idelsohn (Idelsohn, Music, 51, 55–56). Many of the others, too, evoke some association with various Jewish recitations of *Eikhah* (Lamentations) or of the **kinot*. However, the intrinsic plausibility of a common heritage has still to be proved by a far more rigorous comparative and historical reconstruction than that at present available in the work of Idelsohn and his successors (cf. *Music, Jewish; Introduction).

The first polyphonic settings of Lamentations made their appearance in the 15th century in the works of composers of the "Netherland" school. In 1454, Guillaume Dufay wrote a four-voice motet on the fall of Constantinople, *O très piteux*, for the "Banquet of the Pheasant" held in Lille by Philip the Good of Burgundy and intended to open a new Crusade. The liturgical melody of Lamentations is sung in Latin by the tenor, while the other voices sing the French poem. Two collections of polyphonic Lamentations by various composers were among the first products of music printing (Petrucci, Venice, 1506); and by the end of the 16th century more than a dozen similar collections had appeared in Italy, France, and Germany. C. Morales' *Lamentations* (1564) represent the first unified composition of the entire text by a single composer, and this became the common practice. The list of composers of Lamentations is practically identical with that of the major composers of the 16th century. Until 1587, the Papal Chapel sang the settings by Genet (Carpentras); these were then replaced by those of Palestrina themselves which were partly superseded after 1641 by those of Allegri. Other notable settings of the 17th century were those of William Byrd, Viadana, and Rosenmueller.

During the 17th, and especially the 18th century, extended compositions of the text became particularly prominent in French music, usually under the name of *Leçon de Ténèbres*. The liturgical melody was abandoned in favor of free composition, although the principle was retained, i.e., the *Incipit lamentatio*, the melisma on the Hebrew letter names, and the *Jerusalem, Jerusalem* call. The *Leçons* of Marc-Antoine Charpentier, Michel-Richard de Lalande, and François Couperin are particularly well known (see T. Kaeser, *Die Leçon de Ténèbres im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert*, 1966). Johann Sebastian Bach's cantata no. 46., *Schauet doch und sehet* (Leipzig, 1723–27), is mainly based on Lam. 1:12–13. Other interesting 18th-century settings are that by Antonio Soler and the motet for solo voice and basso continuo on the Latin text of Lamentations 1 by Jean-Jacques Rousseau (dated 1772).

The Book of Lamentations was virtually ignored by composers of the 19th century. However, there has been a significant revival of interest and a rise in quality and quantity during the 20th century. The most notable modern works are Ernst Křenek's *Lamentatio Jeremiae Prophetae*, for a capella choir, opus 93 (composed 1941/42); Manuel *Rosenthal's *Deux prières pour les temps malheureux* (composed 1942); Leonard *Bernstein's *Jeremiah Symphony* (his first), which contains a middle section in which the Hebrew text of Lamentations 1 is sung by a mezzo-soprano (written 1943); Alberto Ginastera's *Hieremiae prophetae Lamentationes*, three motets for mixed choir a capella (1946); Edmund Rubbra's *Tenebrae-9 Lamentations* for orchestra (1951); and Igor Stravinsky's *Threni, id est Lamentationes Jeremiae Prophetae* for soloists, choir, and orchestra (première, 1958).

[Bathja Bayer]

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LAMENTATIONS RABBAH (Heb. *Eikhah Rabbati*), aggadic Midrash on the Book of Lamentations, the product of Palestinian *amoraim*.

The Name

In medieval rabbinic literature *Lamentations Rabbah* was also called *Aggadat Eikhah*, *Megillat Eikhah*, *Midrash Kinot*, *Eikhah Rabbati*, *Eikhah Rabbah*, etc. The designation "*Rabbati*" derives apparently from the verse: "How doth the city sit solitary, that was full of (*rabbati*) people" (Lam. 1:1); and is therefore not the same as the "*Rabbah*" by which the Midrashim to other books of the Bible are called (see **Genesis Rabbah* and **Ruth Rabbah*).

The Structure

Lamentations Rabbah is an exegetical Midrash which expounds the Book of Lamentations verse by verse, and sometimes word by word. It is a compilation of various expositions and *aggadot*. The work is divided into five sections, corresponding to the chapters of the Book of Lamentations. It has 36 proems (*petihata de-ḥakkimei*, "proems of the sages"), ap-

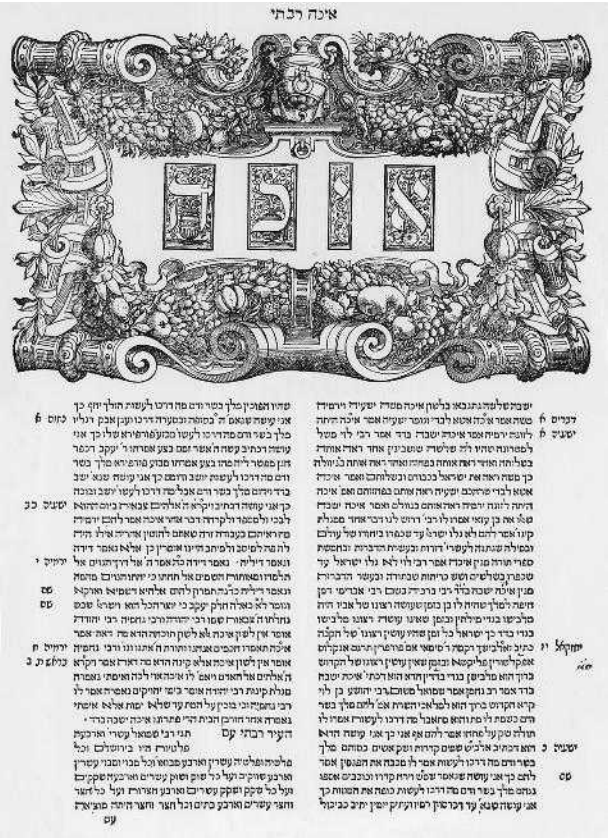

איכה רבתי
איכה

First page of Lamentations Rabbah*, the second part of* Midrash Rabbah*. Venice, 1545, Jerusalem, J.N.U.L.*

parently to correspond to the numerical value of איכה (*Eikhah*; the printed versions appear, at first glance, to have only 34, but two of them, 2 and 31, contain two proems each). These are of the classical type of proem found in amoraic Midrashim, introduced by an extraneous verse which is subsequently connected with the beginning of the Book of Lamentations. In 20 proems the extraneous verse is taken from the Prophets (10 from Jeremiah), in 13 it comes from the Hagiographa (2 from the Book of Lamentations itself), and only in 3 is the extraneous verse from the Pentateuch. Nearly all begin with the name of a sage (an *amora*), and are grouped according to the number of expositions given by him in diminishing order: first come the proems of the sages in whose name begin four, then three, then two, and finally one, proem.

The Midrash contains many *aggadot* and homilies on the destruction of the Temple (1:16) and the sorrows of subjugation and exile. On the other hand there are also *aggadot* with a message of comfort and encouragement to the mourning and oppressed Jewish people, and also entire sections devoted to humorous stories, such as those depicting the cleverness of Jerusalemites in comparison with the Athenians (1:1), which aim at finding consolation for the destruction of the Temple and for the defeat in the Jewish people's spiritual superiority over other nations. The Midrash also contains many *aggadot* on the Bar Kokhba revolt (2:2).

The Language

The language, like that of the Jerusalem Talmud, is a mixture of mishnaic Hebrew and Galilean *Aramaic, in which most of the stories and *aggadot* are written. The Midrash also includes many Greek words, as also a complete sentence in Latin: *vive domine imperator* ("Long live my lord the emperor"; 1:5).

The Date of its Redaction

Except for some later additions, the entire Midrash, including the proems, is a compilation redacted by a single redactor. No sage later than the fourth century C.E. is mentioned in it. The list of kingdoms that subjugated the Jewish people concludes with "Edom Seir," i.e., Rome and Byzantium (1:14). The redactor used tannaitic literature, the Jerusalem Talmud, *Genesis Rabbah*, and **Leviticus Rabbah. Lamentations Rabbah* itself was used as a source for *Ruth Rabbah* and probably also for **Pesikta de-Rav Kahana*, as well as for later Midrashim. In view of this and of its language, it was apparently redacted in Ereẓ Israel at about the end of the fifth century C.E. It is explicitly mentioned for the first time only in R. *Hananel's commentary to the Talmud.

In addition to availing himself of popular *aggadot*, the redactor made extensive use of homilies delivered in synagogues on the Ninth of Av. The scarcity of comforting *aggadot* is thus explained not only by the character of Lamentations but also by the prohibition of delivering comforting homilies on the Ninth of Av. *Lamentations Rabbah* is the earliest source that gives a list of the *Ten Martyrs of the Hadrianic persecutions (2:2), and is the first rabbinic work to give the *aggadah* of the mother and her seven sons (*Hannah and her Seven Sons), the mother here (1:16) being called Miriam the daughter of Tanḥum (or Naḥtom). This version is based not only on its source in II *Maccabees but also on the account and significance given to it in IV *Maccabees; however it is clear that neither was directly used by the author or redactor.

Editions

The work was first published at Pesaro in 1519 together with the Midrashim on the other four scrolls (Song of Songs, Ruth, Ecclesiastes, Esther), although they are not homogenous. This edition became the basis of the many subsequent ones. In 1899 S. *Buber published a scholarly edition, based on manuscripts, with an introduction and notes. Despite its defects and inaccuracies it represented at the time a considerable advance. Most of the manuscripts of the Midrash have not thus far been utilized.

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[Moshe David Herr]

LAMM, MARTIN (1880–1950), Swedish literary historian. Born in Stockholm, the son of a leading liberal politician

HERMAN FREDRIK LAMM (1853–1928), Martin Lamm was an outstanding pupil of Johan Henrik *Schück. In 1919 he succeeded Karl Johan *Warburg as professor of the history of literature at the Stockholm Academy (later the University of Stockholm). Like Schück, he was a stimulating teacher and attracted a host of students to his lectures. His major works include a monograph on the 18th-century Swedish philosopher Emanuel Swedenborg (1915); *Upplysningstidens romantik* (2 vols., 1918–20), a monumental study of romanticism in the age of Enlightenment which was translated into French and German; the classic *Strindbergs dramer* (2 vols., 1924–26); and his outstanding monograph, *August Strindberg* (2 vols., 1940–42). With his election to the Swedish Academy in 1928, Lamm became one of the men responsible for selecting recipients of the Nobel Prize for literature.

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[Hugo Mauritz Valentin]

LAMM, NORMAN (1927–), Yeshiva University president, educator, and scholar. Born in Brooklyn, Lamm attended Mesivta Torah VoDaat yeshivah, and then Yeshiva College. He received rabbinical ordination at RIETS in 1951. In 1966 he received his Ph.D. from Yeshiva University and was on its faculty for 17 years. He also served as communal leader, first as assistant rabbi of New York City's Kehillath Jeshurun Synagogue, then as spiritual leader of Congregation Kadima in Springfield, Mass., and still later as spiritual leader of Manhattan's Jewish Center.

He was the founding editor of *Tradition*, the major journal of Orthodox thought, and also served as editor of "The Library of Jewish Law and Ethics."

When Yeshiva University president Samuel Belkin passed away in 1976 Lamm was elected to that position, which he held for 25 years. It was as head of Yeshiva University that he made a major impact on Jewish education in America. Lamm has been a strong proponent of the Torah u-Madda approach, of combining traditional Jewish learning with modern secular studies. He has been one of the foremost leaders of Modern or Centrist orthodoxy, between Conservative and Reform Judaism on the left, and *ḥaredi* Judaism on the right. For him, while living by *halakhah* is the heart of Jewish duty and life, religious coercion is unacceptable. Lamm was a supporter of the efforts to solve the "Who is a Jew?" problem. He has worked for unity between all streams of Judaism though strongly opposed the Reform decision to make patrilineal descent a criterion for defining Jewishness.

Lamm is one of the most important of modern Jewish thinkers and published ten books and many articles. Among the subjects Lamm has written about are the nature of Jewish and rabbinic leadership, man's position in the universe, the religious implications of extraterrestrial life, ecology in Jewish law and theology, and privacy in law and theology.

Lamm's tenure at Yeshiva was not without controversy. The university expanded greatly under his leadership. He set it on a firm economic foundation, increasing its endowment, enhancing the prestige of its graduate schools and medical school. The extreme right wing opposed his advocacy of Torah u-Madda and his position on conversion. From time to time, Rabbi Lamm was embarrassed by those who opposed the toleration of certain groups on campus, such as gay and lesbian organizations. Lamm's attacks on false piety and the excess emphasis on externals rather than true Jewish spirituality also won him opponents. In 1999 a group of rabbis broke away from Yeshiva. On the whole though he has been a consensus leader, one able to work successfully with other leaders.

After retiring as president of Yeshiva in 2001 he was appointed chancellor of the University. It was noted that the university could not find a leader who combined Rabbi Lamm's learning and secular academic achievement; so it bifurcated the role by having new president Richard Joel lead the University and Rabbi Lamm remain as chancellor and *rosh yeshivah.*

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[Shalom Freedman (2nd ed.)]

LAMM, PAVEL ALEKSANDROVICH (1882–1951), Russian pianist and musicologist. Lamm studied in Moscow and was associated with the "House of Song" established by the soprano Marie Olenina-d'Alheim and became her accompanist (1907–13). From 1919 to 1951 he taught at the Moscow Conservatory. He was also director of the State Music Publication Department in Moscow (1918–23) and established a storehouse for scores that had been confiscated from nationalized Russian music publishing houses. Of particular importance is his scholarly edition of the complete works of the composer Mussorgsky, in which by painstaking research he achieved a restoration of the original score. He also restored Borodin's *Prince Igor* and reconstructed Tchaikovsky's *Voyevoda*, which the latter had destroyed and which Lamm was able to reassemble from separate orchestra parts and sketches. He also edited and published unknown works by Tchaikovsky, Taneyev, and other Russian composers, and wrote studies on Russian and Soviet musicians.

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[Michael Goldstein]

°LAMPON AND ISIDOROS, leaders of the Alexandrian anti-Jewish movement during the reigns of the Roman emperors Gaius Caligula (37–41 C.E.) and Claudius (41–54 C.E.). According to Philo both men were *gymnasiarchoi*, i.e., leaders of the Greek educational institute of Alexandria. Whereas, of the two, Isidoros alone appears before the governor of Egypt, Flaccus, both leaders are prominent at the head of a Greek embassy to Caligula in the *Acta Isidori et Lamponis*, fragments of the antisemitic papyrus literature known as the "Acts of the Alexandrine Martyrs." The subject of the *Acta Isidori* is a vicious attack launched against the Jewish king Agrippa before the court of Claudius. The trial probably took place in 41 C.E. for in that year a series of debates on Jewish civic rights came before Claudius, although certain scholars favor the year 53. The dialogue between the emperor and the Alexandrians was extremely heated and at one point, after being rebuked by Claudius, Isidoros replied: "I am neither a slave nor the son of a girl musician, but gymnasiarch of the glorious city of Alexandria. But you are the cast-off son of the Jewess Salome." It is evident that the author's main purpose in the *Acta* is to ridicule the Roman emperor. In any event, Lampon and Isidoros were immediately sentenced to death.

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[Isaiah Gafni]

LAMPRONTI, ISAAC HEZEKIAH BEN SAMUEL (1679–1756), rabbi, physician, and educator. Lampronti was born in Ferrara and studied under the great Italian rabbis of his generation: Manoah Provençal in Lugo, Judah Briel in Mantua, and Isaac Ḥayyim Cantarini in Padua. In addition, he studied philosophy and medicine at the University of Padua. Returning to Ferrara at the age of 22, he began to teach in the *talmud torah* of the Italian community and later also in the *talmud torah* of the Sephardi community. He introduced many improvements in the curriculum, insisting on the teaching of the humanities concurrently with the study of Torah. In 1718 he was ordained rabbi and in 1743 was appointed head of the yeshivah – a position which gave him the status of senior rabbi of the city. Lampronti was one of the supporters of Moses Ḥayyim *Luzzatto in the controversy which broke out over him. During the whole of this period Lampronti continued to practice as a physician, acquiring a reputation as an outstanding doctor who gave his services for free to those of limited means. In 1715 he began to publish collections of studies – in a form not unlike a periodical for *halakhah* and rabbinic literature – entitled *Bikkurei Keẓir Talmud Torah shel Kehillah Kedoshah Ferrara*. Three issues appeared which included contributions by other rabbis, mainly his own disciples.

Lampronti's main reputation, however, rests on his monumental *Paḥad Yiẓḥak*, two editions of which he wrote himself, the first consisting of 120 and the second of 35 manuscript volumes. *Paḥad Yiẓḥak* is the most comprehensive and well-known encyclopedia in the field of *halakhah*. It is arranged alphabetically, each article including material from the Mishnah, the Talmud, the *posekim*, the *rishonim*, and the responsa literature. He pays special importance to the responsa literature of Italian rabbis, some of which was otherwise unknown, and quotes from it extensively. Some of the articles were apparently taken from the *Petaḥ ha-Ohel* (Sulzbach, 1691) of Abraham of Przemysl. At times Lampronti also relied on quotations from various reference works without making a careful examination of the sources. Many of his own responsa, which are not included in the *Paḥad Yiẓḥak*, appear in the responsa collections of his contemporaries, such as the *Shemesh Ẓedakah* (Venice, 1743) of Samson Morpurgo. On the other hand, his many sermons have been lost. The first portion of the *Paḥad Yiẓḥak* (letters *alef* to *mem*) was published in Italy between 1750 and 1840, and the remainder in Germany between 1864 and 1887. Of the second edition, only two volumes appeared, containing the letters *alef* to *ḥet* (1935–42). The publication of both editions together has been undertaken in recent years (letters *alef-alef* to *alef-shin* appeared, 1962–66).

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[Daniel Carpi]

LANCASTER, U.S. city in S.E. Pennsylvania; general population 55,182 (2004); estimated Jewish population, 3,000 (mid-1990s). Lancaster is one of the oldest Jewish communities in the U.S. and was the main city of German settlement from colonial times ("Pennsylvania Dutch"). The first known Jew to come to Lancaster was Isaac Miranda (c. 1730). By 1735 a few Jewish traders were known to be in Lancaster, including Joseph *Simon, a trader and landholder who was known throughout Pennsylvania. Lancaster was then the gateway to the West and a place of trade with the Native Americans. A Jewish cemetery was established in 1747, making it the fourth oldest Jewish cemetery in the United States, when a plot of land was deeded to Joseph Simon and Isaac Nunes Henriques for that purpose. Many early Jewish settlers of Lancaster were buried there and the cemetery is still maintained by Congregation Shaarai Shomayim. When Lancaster ceased to be a frontier town, several Jewish families migrated to the Port City of Baltimore. Lancaster's first congregation was gathered in the home of Joseph Simon. (A portion of the ark used there is preserved at the American Jewish Historical Society.) From 1740 to the mid-19th century the Jewish community remained small, consisting of about 10 or 15 families. New families began arriving from 1850 and Congregation Shaarai Shomayim (Reform) was founded in 1856. Its first synagogue was built in 1867 and another one in 1896. The influx of immigrants continued, and in 1895 Congregation Degel Israel (Orthodox) was chartered. By 1904 there were 50 families of German-Jewish extraction and 150 of Russian-Jewish extraction in Lancaster, the latter group having arrived after 1884. Among the Jewish organizations established in the town were the Harmonie Club (1875); Ladies Aid Society (1876); Temple Sisterhood (1894); Council of Jewish Women (1919); Organized Jewish Charities (1927); United Jewish Community Council (1928); Temple Brotherhood (1929); and Hadassah (1936). Congregation Degel Israel maintains a *talmud torah* and a cemetery. In more recent years, a Conservative congregation, Temple Beth-El, was established and several new organizations were established that have helped contribute to Jewish life in Lancaster. The Jewish Family Service of the Lehigh Valley was created in 1972 to help with missions such as resettlement, counseling, and emergency assistance in the wider Lancaster County. Franklin and Marshal College, with a student body of 1,850 students, contains a Hillel house that provides Jewish services and life to the 220 students enrolled, and a local Jewish community center offers several classes, summer programs, and religious education to the community as well.

[Benjamin Paul (2nd ed.)]

LANCUT (Pol. **Łańcut**), town in Rzeszow province, S.E. Poland. The earliest information regarding Jews in Lancut dates back to 1563. Lancut Jews then earned their living in wholesale trade with the towns of the "province of Russia" by distilling alcohol and brewing beer, as goldsmiths and silversmiths and tailors. At the beginning of the 17th century, Jewish trade in the town and its surroundings suffered serious setbacks. During the Tatar invasion in 1624 many Jews were taken captive. When the forces of Prince Rákoczy of Transylvania attacked in 1657 the Jewish community of Lancut actively participated in the defense of the town.

From the beginning of the 17th century there was an organized Jewish community with a wooden synagogue and a cemetery. On the invitation of the owners of the town, some Sephardi Jewish families settled in Lancut in the 17th century. At the beginning of the 18th century the Jews of Lancut were granted a privilege permitting them to engage in trade (excluding the fur trade) and in crafts (excluding harness making, tanning, and cobbling), to purchase land, and to build houses in the town. In 1726 Jews were allowed to join artisans' guilds (blacksmithing and goldsmithing). At that time a magnificent synagogue in baroque style was erected to replace the wooden synagogue which had been destroyed by fire. The synagogue still stands (during the Nazi occupation and for a few years after World War II it was used as a store, and since the 1960s it has been a museum). The Lancut community was affiliated to the province of Przemysl (see *Councils of the Lands). In 1714 the Jews in Lancut and about 80 surrounding villages paid a poll tax of 1,300 zlotys. The Lancut community minute book, begun in 1730, was preserved until World War II. In the mid-18th century Lancut Jews suffered from the edicts of the bishop of Przemysl, who prohibited the holding of Jewish weddings on Sundays and ordered the closing of Jewish shops on days of Christian processions.

In 1765 there were 829 Jews in the vicinity. Among the community's rabbis were Moses Ẓevi Hirsch Meizlisch (Meisels; 1758–67); Moses b. Yiẓḥak Eisik, grandson of Judah Leib, *av bet din* of Cracow; Aryeh Leibush, author of *Gevurot Aryeh*, 1777–1819; *Jacob Isaac Horowitz, HaḤozeh ("the Seer"), lived and worked in Lancut in the late 1790s. Ḥasidism gained influence in the town in the early 19th century. A Juedische Normalschule, founded by Naphtali Herz *Homberg, existed in Lancut at the beginning of Austrian rule (1788–92). During the first half of the 19th century Lancut Jews earned their livelihood in the grain, lumber, and potash trades. Jewish life was disrupted by a fire in 1820 and their economy recovered only many years later, after the opening of the railroad (1848) and the constitutional changes of 1867. In 1865 many of Lancut's 1,200 Jews (about 40% of the population) were flax workers, tanners, goldsmiths, cobblers, and tailors. Eleazar b. Ẓevi Elimelech Shapira, author of *Benei Yissakhar*, was rabbi of Lancut from 1816 to 1865. In the 1870s Lancut's first group of *maskilim* was founded. A Hibbat Zion circle was active in the town from the early 1890s. A new Jewish cemetery was dedicated in 1860. The kloyz (klaus) of the Dzików Ḥasidim was built at the beginning of the 20th century; it was later used as a prayer house by Zionists. The Jewish population of Lancut numbered 1,940 in 1900 (about 40% of the total population). In 1914, 580 members paid taxes to the community, whose income that year totaled 29,851 kronen. At the end of World War I a Jewish national board was established in Lancut, and during the first days of Polish rule (November 1918) the community organized *self-defense against rioters. In 1921 there were 1,925 Jews in Lancut (about 42% of the total population), and 2,753 in 1939. Various Zionist movements were active between the world wars. The Jewish educational network was extended and *Tarbut and *Beth Jacob schools founded. The Ivriyyah Society was active in promoting the study of Hebrew. The pressure of local antisemitic circles increased in the 1930s, affecting Jewish small traders and artisans in particular.

[Arthur Cygielman]

Holocaust Period

The city was taken by the Germans on Sept. 9, 1939, and forced labor decrees put into effect. The local synagogue was set on fire, followed by the expulsion of the Jews of Lancut on Sept. 22–23, 1939. Most of them were sent into Soviet territory across the San River. Others were widely dispersed over German-occupied territory. At the end of 1939 a few dozen former inhabitants returned, as did Jewish refugees from the Polish territories annexed to the Reich. The Judenrat was headed by Marcus Pohorille. In early 1940 there were about 900 Jews in Lancut, and 1,300 by the end of the year, with the arrival of refugees expelled from Cracow. After the outbreak of the German-Soviet war (June 22, 1941) Jews who had fled to Soviet-held territory or who had been expelled by the Germans in September 1939 tried to return to Lancut to reunite with their families; in November 1941, a number of them were caught and put to death. On Aug. 1, 1942, the Jews of Lancut were deported and were taken to Pelkinia, a town about 9 mi. (14 km.) from Lancut where there was a transit camp for Jews from the Jaroslaw region. The elderly, the sick, and the children were shot in the camp or in the Nechczioli forest, about 3 mi. (5 km.) away. By September 1942 there were 50 Jews living in Lancut. On Sept. 17, 1942, they were taken to the ghetto of Szeniawa, where the remaining Jews of the area were concentrated. In May 1943 the Szeniawa ghetto was liquidated, and its inmates, including the remnants of the Lancut community, were murdered in the local cemetery. In 1957 one of the key Nazis responsible for the murder of the Jews of Lancut, Joseph Kokut, was arrested in Czechoslovakia and turned over to the

Polish government. He was sentenced to death and executed that year.

[Aharon Weiss]

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LÁNCZY, GYULA (1850–1911), Hungarian historian. Born in Pest, Lánczy studied law and spent several years in the civil service before turning to historical studies. In 1886 he was appointed professor at Kolozsvár, and in 1891 became professor of medieval history at the University of Budapest. Lánczy's studies ranged over a variety of subjects in history – including literary history – political science, and foreign affairs. They included the history of the Magyars, the poetry of the Kuruc, and Hungarian political reform during the first half of the 19th century. In medieval history, his favorite subjects were the conflict between the empire and the clergy, the constitution of Italian cities, and the religious and political movements of the 14th and 15th centuries. Lánczy's book, *Történelmi kor-és jellemrajzok* ("Monographs and Historical Portraits," 1890), illustrates his literary studies, while *Magyarország az Árpádok korában* ("Hungary during the Period of the Árpáds," 1898) exemplifies his historiographical method. He converted to Christianity.

[Jeno Zsoldos]

LÁNCZY, LEÓ (1852–1921), Hungarian economist and banker, a younger brother of the historian Gyula *Lánczy; like him he converted to Christianity. Born in Pest, Lánczy joined the Anglo-Hungarian Bank. In 1879, he became director general of the Hungarian General Real Estate Loan Company and in 1881 of the Hungarian Commercial Bank. Mainly through his endeavors, this financial institution expanded its relations with the Balkan countries and became a decisive factor in Hungary's economy. The bank also contributed financially to the development of the city of Budapest, including the financing of its telephone system, and acquired major interests in an important shipping company and in local railroad communications. Lánczy organized the Hungarian mortgage credit abroad, and endeavored to establish Hungarian banking and credit facilities that would be independent of Vienna. He was a director of numerous industrial companies, and was honored for his services in promoting the Millennium Exhibition. In 1893 he was elected president of the Budapest Chamber of Commerce and Industry. From 1893 he served in Parliament, where his speeches on economic and financial problems attracted attention. In 1905 he was nominated to the Upper Chamber. In 1912 he became privy councillor. His articles appeared in the *Neue Freie Presse*, *Pester Lloyd*, and *Honi Ipar*.

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[Joachim O. Ronall]

LAND, EDWIN H. (1909–1991), U.S. inventor of the Polaroid cameras and films that revolutionized the whole conception of negative-positive photography. Born in Bridgeport, Conn., Land's work with light began when he was a freshman at Harvard College and experimented with polarized light. Later Land returned to Harvard and in a laboratory furnished for him, he continued to perfect Polaroid sheets, which eventuated in Polaroid "L" Sheet. This synthetic had a new molecular structure. When laminated in glass it made polarization practical in three-dimensional colored movies, automobile headlights, sunglasses, and camera filters. In 1940 Land and his staff of scientists produced the first black and white stereoscopic vectographs. The group's inventions during World War II solved many military problems, producing infrared polarizers; heat stable filters that passed only the infrared; dark adaption goggles; and thermal homingheads containing miniaturized computers to be attached to the noses of bombs. After the war Land perfected his Polaroid one-step camera, and by 1948 it was made available to the public. The Polaroid camera was soon refined enough to yield a completely neutral, grainless, silver deposit ranging from clear whites through degrees of subtle grays to clear solid blacks. Land followed his black-and-white process in one-step color film.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Bello, in: *Fortune*, 59 (April 1959), 124–7; *Current Biography Yearbook 1953* (1953), 339–41.

[Peter Pollack]

LANDA, ABRAM (1902–1989), Australian lawyer and politician. Landa, who was born in Belfast, Northern Ireland, immigrated to Australia as a boy. He received a law degree from the University of Sydney and in 1927 was admitted to practice as a solicitor. Landa was elected and sat as Labor member for Bondi in the New South Wales Parliament from 1930 to 1932 and from 1941 to 1963. He served in the New South Wales government as minister for labor and industry (1953–56), minister for housing (1956–59), and minister for housing and cooperative societies (1959–65). Landa was also active in Jewish affairs in New South Wales. In 1965 he was appointed agent general for New South Wales in London. In the late 1940s, Landa was instrumental in persuading H.V. Evatt, Australia's foreign minister, to support the creation of the State of Israel at the United Nations, a sequence of events in which Australia's support was extremely important.

His nephew PAUL LANDA (1941–1984) served in the New South Wales Parliament as the state's attorney-general and in a variety of other ministerial posts. He died suddenly of a heart attack at the age of only 43. It is widely believed that he would eventually have become premier of New South Wales and even Australia's prime minister.

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[Isidor Solomon / William D. Rubinstein (2nd ed.)]

LANDA, MYER JACK (1874–1947), author and journalist. Born in Leeds, he became a parliamentary reporter and in 1942 was elected chairman of the House of Commons Press Gallery. For a time Landa, a keen Zionist, also edited *The Jewish World*. His books include *The Alien Problem* (1911), *The Jew in Drama* (1926), *Palestine as It Is* (1932), *The Shylock Myth* (1942), and *The Man Without a Country* (1946).

LANDAU, city in Rhenish Palatinate, Germany. Jews were first mentioned in Landau in the late 13th century. A *Judengasse* is noted in 1329. In 1347 there was conflict between the Jews and the townspeople, and during the Black *Death persecutions of 1349 the community was destroyed. However, there were once more Jews in the town in 1354. The main source of livelihood of the 15th-century community was moneylending and the manufacture of playing cards. Among the rabbis of Landau in the 15th century were Solomon Spiro (1430) and Moses b. Isaac ha-Levi Minz, who served until 1469. In the late 15th and early 16th centuries the Jews of Landau were constantly threatened with expulsion, which finally took place in 1545. Many of the exiles, who were dispersed through much of Central and Eastern Europe, adopted Landau as a family name. In the 17th and 18th centuries there were Jews in the *Palatinate and presumably some in Landau. In 1836 Elias Gruenebaum was appointed head of the district rabbinate of Landau comprising, in 1864, 24 communities. R. Berthold Einstein (b. 1862) was elected to the office in 1894. A synagogue was erected in 1884. There were 377 Jews in Landau in 1840 and 303 in 1871. From then there was a steady increase: 400 (5.03% of the total population) in 1880, 610 in 1890, and 874 at the end of the 19th century. However, the community decreased to 732 in 1925 and 596 in 1933. In 1933 the community had a synagogue, religious school, prayer hall, cemetery, four charitable institutions, and several socio-cultural societies.

With the advent of Nazis to power, a program of terrorization of the Jewish community began. On June 19, 1933, a gang of Nazis invaded the Cafe Central, smashed windows, furniture, and crockery and forced those present to face the wall, beating them with rubber batons until they collapsed. The next day, 12 local Jews were arrested and paraded through the streets with obscene posters around their necks. They were then taken to a house on the outskirts of the town and flogged. A Nazi boycott of Jewish firms was instituted as well as a boycott of non-Jewish firms in which Jewish funds were invested. Under the chairmanship of R. Kurt Metzger, who succeeded R. Einstein in 1935, representatives of 35 communities of the Palatinate convened in Landau in October 1938. The community dwindled through increasing emigration, declining to 385 in 1937 and 94 in 1939. On Oct. 22, 1940, 89 Jews were deported to *Gurs in southern France. In 1946, 20 Jewish concentration camp survivors established a community in Landau.

Through the years most Jews moved from Landau to Neustadt. There are no Jews living in Landau today. Since 1968 a memorial recalls the synagogue destroyed in 1938. In 1987 the "Frank-Loebsches Haus" (Frank Loeb House) was opened. It houses an exhibition on the history of the Jews in Landau and two institutes of the Koblenz-Landau University. The building, parts of which originate from the 15th century, was bought by Zacharias Frank – Anne Frank's great-grandfather – in 1870 and later owned by his granddaughter Olga Loeb, née Frank. It was restored by the city of Landau.

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[Chasia Turtel / Larissa Daemmig (2nd ed.)]

LANDAU, ADOLPH (1842–1902), Russian journalist, editor, and publisher, and pioneer of the rising Russian-Jewish intelligentsia. Born in Raseiniai (Rossiyeny), Lithuania, Landau was educated in the state rabbinical seminary in Vilna and at the faculty of law at the University of St. Petersburg. After contributing to the Russian liberal press of the 1860s, he wrote "Letters from St. Petersburg" in the Russian-language Jewish newspaper *Den* of Odessa. In 1871 he began to publish a literary-historical anthology titled *Yevreyskaya Biblioteka* ("Jewish Library"). By the end of the 1870s eight volumes had appeared, with the participation of many Jewish writers and researchers, notably I. *Orshanski, L. *Levanda, and G. *Bogrov. In 1881 the government authorized Landau to issue the collection as a literary and scientific monthly, exempt from the earlier censorship, and he changed its name to **Voskhod*. After the 1881 pogroms, Landau added a weekly supplement in which he conducted a fierce polemic against the Jew-haters; other objects of his attack were the Ḥovevei Zion (*Ḥibbat Zion) and later the Zionists. Rallying the Russian Jewish intelligentsia and its writers around his newspapers, Landau did not shrink from stringent criticism of the government's anti-Jewish policy. He was warned about this several times and his paper was closed down for six months (1891). *Voskhod*, the only Jewish paper in the Russian language during the years 1885–99, served as an instrument for the creation of Jewish literature in Russian and for the study of the history of the Jews in Russia. In his outlook Landau was a moderate assimilationist who was in favor of the Jews of Russia acquiring Russian culture, but he opposed complete assimilation and the rejection of the national-religious values of Judaism. Through his publication of translations of many basic works on the history of the Jewish people and its literature, he nurtured a generation of readers who became aware of their heritage. In 1899 Landau sold *Voskhod* to a group of writers and communal workers with nationalist views (there were even Zionists among them). He continued the collection *Yevreyskaya Biblioteka* with volumes 9 (1902) and 10 (which appeared posthumously in 1903). His son was Gregory *Landau.

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[Yehuda Slutsky]

LANDAU, ALFRED (1850–1935), Yiddish linguist and folklorist. Born in Brody (Galicia), at age 15 he moved to Vienna, where he later studied law and received a doctorate in jurisprudence (1887) before practicing law for 12 years. His main intellectual interest, however, was Yiddish linguistic research, to which he devoted all his energies after abandoning the practice of law. A perfectionist, Landau was never satisfied with the quality of his achievements and therefore published relatively few of his many penetrating studies. Prominent among his published works are his study of the diminutive in Galician Yiddish (in *Deutsche Mundarten* (1897), 46–58); his study of the language of *Die Memoiren Glückels von Hameln* (in MGJV, 7 (1901), 20–68); the glossary of the collection of various private Yiddish letters dating from 1619, which he published jointly with B. *Wachstein (1911); his research on the Slavic influence in Yiddish (in *Filologishe Shriftn* [YIVO], 2 (1928), 198–214). Landau's lifework, however, was to have been a Yiddish-German etymological dictionary; the invaluable material he had already collected and studied was lost together with other treasures of the *YIVO in Vilna. On the occasion of his 75th birthday, YIVO published a Yiddish festschrift, *Landoy-Bukh* (*Filologishe Shriftn*, 1 (1925), 1–22), where a bibliography of Landau's published works as well as his biography and genealogy are to be found.

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[Mordkhe Schaechter]

LANDAU, ANNIE (1873–1945), Anglo-Jewish educationalist in Ereẓ Israel. Annie Landau was born in London to a strictly Orthodox family and at the age of 12 was sent to the Jewish High School in Frankfurt on the Main to receive a traditional Jewish education. On completing her studies she became a teacher at the Westminster Jews' Free School in London, and in 1900 was appointed by the Anglo-Jewish Association as headmistress of the Evelina de Rothschild school in Jerusalem, a position she held until her death. Annie Landau combined fervent British patriotism with a strict regard for the traditions and practices of Orthodox Judaism, which she inculcated into her pupils, and her home became virtually a salon for English and Jewish society in Ereẓ Israel. She was awarded the MBE in 1924 and her 70th birthday celebration was attended by some 500 of the leading members of Palestinian society. She was often referred to as the "Queen of Jerusalem." Although somewhat out of sympathy with Zionist aspirations, she was one of the best-loved and admired personalities in Jerusalem. Her sister MURIEL ELSIE (1895–1972), a well-known gynecologist and wife of Dr. Sam Sacks, was the first Jewess in England to become a Fellow of the Royal College of Surgeons. Her sister HELEN (1892–?) was headmistress of the Jewish School near Manchester, and her brother ISAAC (1874–1954) was president of the London Board of Shechitah from 1930 to 1941.

LANDAU, DAVID (1947–), Israeli journalist. Born in London, Landau graduated in law from London University and studied at Slobodka Yeshiva in Jerusalem. Immigrating to Israel in 1970, he joined the *Jerusalem Post*, filling a number of reportorial posts including diplomatic reporter. In 1981 he became the first Israeli reporter to interview President Anwar *Sadat of Egypt. In 1986 he was appointed managing editor. In 1990, when Yehudah Levy was appointed local publisher after the newspaper was sold to the Hollinger newspaper chain, Landau led a rebellion against Levy's right-wing editorial line, which ended with the dismissal of Landau and the other journalists. In 1991 he joined *Maariv* as a political commentator. In 1993 he joined *Haaretz*, working as a news editor and subsequently as features editor. In 1997 he founded *Haaretz*'s English edition, including the local distribution of the *International Herald Tribune*. In 2005 he was appointed editor of *Haaretz*. Identified with the Left, Landau moved the newspaper in that direction editorially on diplomatic and defense issues. A religious Jew, he defined himself as a secular Zionist, strongly opposing messianic trends in modern Orthodoxy in Israel. He sought to widen *Haaretz*'s readership beyond the European Ashkenazi secular intelligentsia to embrace other population sectors. He was the Israel bureau chief of the *Jewish Telegraphic Agency for many years, and correspondent for *The Economist* for ten years. He wrote *Piety & Power: The World of Jewish Fundamentalism* and collaborated with Shimon *Peres on his memoirs.

[Yoel Cohen (2nd ed.)]

LANDAU, EDMUND (1877–1938), German mathematician. The son of Leopold *Landau, Edmund Landau was educated in Berlin, succeeding H. *Minkowski as professor of mathematics at Goettingen in 1909. He was elected to full membership of the academies of Berlin, Goettingen, Halle, Leningrad, and Rome. The coming of the Nazi regime forced him to resign his chair in 1933. Landau was a productive mathematician. Apart from important work on Dirichlet series and the theory of functions, his main interest was in number theory.

He presented for the first time a systematic account of the analytic theory in the *Handbuch der Lehre von der Verteilung der Primzahlen* (2 vols., 1909, 1953^2). From 1927 to 1928 when he was visiting professor at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, he played an important role in the development of the Institute of Mathematics.

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[Barry Spain]

LANDAU, ELEAZAR BEN ISRAEL (1778–1831), rabbi, talmudic scholar, and author. Eleazar Landau, a grandson of Ezekiel *Landau of Prague, was educated in the home of his stepfather Moses Ḥasid of Ropshitz. He took up residence in Lemberg and then in Brody, where he first engaged in business. In 1829, however, he was appointed rabbi of Brody while Aryeh Leib *Teomim, the incumbent rabbi of the town, was still alive but sick and bedridden. Teomim was not told of the appointment so as not to aggravate his illness. Landau died before Teomim, however, during an outbreak of cholera in Brody.

He was the author of *Yad ha-Melekh*, novellae on the *Mishneh Torah* of Maimonides (parts 1, 2, and 4, Lemberg 1826; part 3 remained unpublished). His novellae on the Babylonian Talmud were published in the Vilna Talmud. Of his many unpublished manuscripts the following may be noted: *Kunteres Kelalim*, on the methodology of the Talmud, and *Kedushah ve-Tohorah*, on the orders *Kodoshim* and *Tohorot*. His responsa to Samuel Landau, the son of Ezekiel Landau, were published in the *Noda bi-Yhudah* Second Series, *Even ha-Ezer*, nos. 120–2; other responsa are found in the *Mei Be'er* (Vienna, 1829) of Beer Oppenheimer (45b–47a) and in the *Zekher Yeshayahu* (Vilna, 1881) of Zechariah Isaiah Jolles (nos. 17–18). Landau was also in halakhic correspondence with Moses *Sofer.

His grandson, ELEAZAR BEN JUDAH LANDAU (1842–1905), was the author of *Zikhron Eleazar* (Brody, 1906), novellae to the Mishnah and Jerusalem Talmud of the tractate *Shekalim*.

[Itzhak Alfassi]

LANDAU, EUGEN (1852–1935), German banker and philanthropist, who was born in Breslau. He studied law and economics in preparation for entering his father's banking firm in Berlin, and subsequently became one of the partners. Establishing close connections with the city authorities, his bank became one of the principal agents in arranging for loans to the City of Berlin for its development. At 27, Landau was the founder and director of the Rechte Oderuferbahn-Gesellschaft, and played an important role in building its Silesian railroad. He had a large part in the establishment of the National Bank fuer Deutschland and its merger with the Breslau Disconto-Bank and the Bayerische Bank. He was instrumental in the organization of the Allgemeine Elektrische Gesellschaft (AEG), which Emil and Walter *Rathenau directed. In World War I Landau served as a major in Germany's *Landwehr* (Territorial Reserve), a rank which no other Jew who had not abandoned his faith had previously reached. For long Spain's honorary consul-general in Berlin, he used this post to strengthen relations between Spain and Germany.

Landau took an active part in Jewish communal affairs. He contributed generously to Jewish social welfare institutions, among them the Juedische Altershilfe (aid for aged) and the Baruch Auerbach'sches Waisenhaus (orphanage). He helped to found and support the Keren Hayesod in Germany and was one of its vice presidents and president of the Pro-Palestine Committee.

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[Morton Mayer Berman / Bjoern Siegel (2nd ed.)]

LANDAU, EZEKIEL BEN JUDAH (1713–1793), halakhic authority of the 18th century, known as the **Noda bi-Yehudah**, after one of his works (see below). Landau was born in Opatow, Poland, and received his talmudic education first in his hometown until the age of 13 and subsequently in Vladimir-Volinski and Brody. He was endowed with qualities which make him one of the most famous rabbis of the close of the classical Ashkenazi rabbinic era. He came from a wealthy and distinguished family tracing its descent back to Rashi. He had a commanding appearance and rare intellectual ability, was of strong character imbued with a love of truth and of his fellow men, and had considerable diplomatic skill. By nature he was an intellectual ascetic whose main interest lay in the study and teaching of Torah. In his time he was regarded as the prototype of the ideal Jew. At the age of 18 he married, moved to Brody, and joined the famous Brody *kloiz*, studying Talmud with his relative Isaac of Hamburg and Kabbalah with Hayyim Zanzer, who remarked that the young Ezekiel "saw the *ma'aseh merkavah*" (vision of the God's chariot from the opening chapters of the Book of Ezekiel). At the age of 21 he was already *dayyan* of Brody, and at 33 rabbi of Yampol. From there he received a call in 1754 to become rabbi of Prague and the whole of Bohemia, one of the highest positions of that time. His famous proclamation of 1752, whose purpose was to put an end to the notorious *Emden-*Eybeschuetz controversy, which split the Jewish world into two, helped in no small measure in his obtaining this appointment. His tenure of the Prague rabbinate enabled Landau to give practical effect to his outstanding qualities. It afforded ample scope for his rabbinic and communal activity both in Prague itself and beyond. He acted as judge, teacher, and mentor of the community. In his capacity as rabbi of Bohemia, he represented the Jews before the Austrian government. In his great yeshivah, he taught hundreds of students, the cream of Jewish youth from Austria and surrounding countries. One of his better known students was Abraham *Danzig, the author of the *Ḥayyei Adam*.

Landau was one of the greatest writers of responsa in his time. His *Noda bi-Yehudah* (2 pts., Prague, 1776, 1811) contains some 860 responsa. It has been frequently published with glosses and commentaries by some of the greatest rabbis of succeeding generations. The most important of his other books are *Ẓiyyun le-Nefesh Ḥayyah* (*Ẓelaḥ*) on the tractates *Pesaḥim* (Prague, 1783), *Berakhot* (*ibid.*, 1791), *Beẓah* (*ibid.*, 1799); an edition including all these appeared in 1825, and one on *Seder Nezikin* with various additions in 1959; *Dagul me-Revavah* (Prague, 1794) on the Shulḥan Arukh; *Derushei ha-Ẓelaḥ* (1899); *Ahavat Ẓiyyon*, sermons and addresses (1827); all are frequently republished.

Landau took an active part in all the Jewish social and religious events of his time. He identified himself absolutely with the traditional Jewish way of life, regarding its preservation and welfare as his primary duty. It was for that reason that he advocated ending the controversy with Eybeschuetz, even though he was of the opinion that the accusations leveled against him could not easily be dismissed. In 1752, Landau sent a letter to the factions on both sides of the controversy, suggesting a compromise: the Shabbatean amulets written by Eybeshuetz would be returned to him and Eybeshuetz would renounce all the Shabbatean works claimed to be his. The compromise failed. It is clear from later events that Landau did consider Eybeshuetz to be a Shabbatean; nevertheless, he had great respect for Eybeshuetz's learning and overall character. On the other hand he persecuted those who were known as Shabbateans, and in particular the *Frankists. While Landau himself was well versed in Kabbalah and even taught kabbalistic concepts and ideas freely in his sermon, he was very critical of the rabbis of the ḥasidic movement and the Shabbateans and Frankists for teaching Kabbalah so openly. Indeed, there is very little that differentiates between Landau's kabbalistic teachings and those of his ḥasidic contemporaries. It is important to note in this regard that Landau and many of the ḥasidic rabbis had the same roots in the *kloiz* in Brody, where asceticism was practiced on the basis of continued in-depth study of Kabbalah. In the end, Landau's objections were focused on the emphasis placed on the study of Kabbalah among the Ḥasidim, as well as the changes they made in the *siddur*. Landau looked with some favor on the Haskalah movement. When, however, the aggressive anti-rabbinic tendency amongst the *maskilim* of Berlin grew stronger, he regretted this support and his attitude toward them took an unfavorable turn. The **Me'assefim* came to regard him as their arch enemy, while he in turn referred to them as "a rabble of unclean birds" (introduction to *Ẓelaḥ* on *Berakhot*). Despite this, he continued to support the traditional element among the *maskilim*, giving his approbation to books on history, grammar, natural sciences, etc.

Landau distinguished himself in his attitude to the new situation arising from the opening of the gates of the ghetto and the consequent entry of the Jews into general non-Jewish society. He toiled and pleaded with sincerity for a strengthening of a correct relationship with the non-Jews and the development of a feeling of patriotism for the country. His benedictory message to the first Jewish recruits to the Austrian army made a strong impression (*Ha-Meassef* (1789), 253). He also cooperated in the establishment of the first Jewish school in Prague (May 2, 1782), although several weeks previously he had come out strongly against the attempt of Naphtali Hirz *Wessely (in the latter's *Divrei Shalom ve-Emet*, Berlin, 1782) to attach religious significance to general education. While he was generally stricter in his own halakhic observance, Landau demanded that other rabbis follow his lead in ruling more leniently for the general public. His responsa reflect the state of affairs in the Jewish community of his day: the difficulties in making a living, which affected many marriages; lax sexual mores, and the sometimes problematic relations with the secular government. In his decision-making, he relied most heavily on talmudic sources and the rulings of the **rishonim*, only rarely turning to the **aḥaronim*. He always attempted to find a precedent for any of his own original thoughts. In money matters he preferred compromise over ruling according to the letter of the law, and he frequently consulted with scientists and doctors to better understand related questions that came before him. When attacked for his lenient halakhic tendencies, he always respectfully stood his ground. Among his rulings are original and bold, lenient decisions which testify both to his responsible approach to the community and to his mastery of the *halakhah*, enabling him to effect a compromise between it and the demands of the time. One of his best-known lenient rulings was the permission to shave during the intermediate days of the festival (*Noda bi-Yhudah, Mahadura Kamma*, OḤ 13; *Mahadura Tinyana*, OḤ 99, 100, 101), which caused a storm in the rabbinic world at the time. This, as well as many of his other lenient decisions, were set aside by the halakhic authorities of the following generation (see *Resp. Ḥatam Sofer,* OḤ, 154). He was also the first to permit, albeit with severe restrictions, autopsies (*Noda bi-Yhudah, Mahadura Tinyana*, YD 210).

[Moshe Shraga Samet / David Derovan (2nd ed.)]

Ezekiel Landau's sons were JACOB (known as JACOBKE; 1745 or 1750–1822), who was ordained rabbi but was friendly with the Galician *maskilim*. After living in Hamburg for a time, he settled in Brody, where he became a prosperous merchant. Some of his novellae on the Talmud are included in works by his father and other contemporary authorities. He also contributed to **Bikkurei ha-Ittim*. SAMUEL (d. 1834) graduated from his father's yeshivah. In his early years he moved in Prague Haskalah circles and was associated with the *Gesellschaft der jungen Hebraeer. It is generally assumed that Ezekiel did not formally pronounce the ban on Moses *Mendelssohn's translation of the Bible because Samuel's name appeared on the list of those who had subscribed to the work. Having become strictly Orthodox, he applied for the office of *av bet din* after his father's death but was not appointed. His objections to the establishment of rabbinical seminaries formed the main subject of the pamphlet *Ha-Orev* (Vienna, 1795), attributed to Baruch *Jeiteles. He was elected to the *bet din* and later became *av bet din*. In 1799 Samuel and Eleazar *Fleckeles signed the *ḥerem* against the *Frankists, and a year later, on Nov. 11, he and Fleckeles were imprisoned for four days in connection with a scandal at a Frankist funeral. He was one of the signatories of an application in 1820 for the restoration of the two gates of the Jewish quarter. However, in a sermon delivered in 1830 he praised Mendelssohn's Bible translation for its good German and suggested that fathers decide, when their sons reach the age of ten, whether to dedicate them to talmudic studies or to a secular education. When in 1834 the Verein fuer geregelten Gottesdienst made changes in the architecture of the Altschul, he pronounced a ban on them. His responsa were published as *Shivat Ẓiyyon* (Prague, 1827; republished 1967). With his brother Jacobke he published his father's *Noda bi-Yhudah Mahadura Tinyana* (Prague, 1811) with his own preface and including some of his own responsa. His father's *Ahavot Ẓiyyon* contains four of Samuel's sermons.

ISRAEL (1758–1829) was a pioneer of Haskalah in Prague. Although he received a traditional education, he also acquired a German education himself, and was a pupil of Israel *Zamosc. From 1782 he worked as a Hebrew printer in a Christian firm. In 1793 he reprinted Abraham *Farissol's *Iggeret Orḥot Olam*. In 1794 he published his father's *Dagul me-Revavah* and in 1798 *Ḥok le-Yisrael*, a translation of Moses *Maimonides' *Sefer ha-Mitzvot* "into the language of the masses," intended to strengthen their adherence to tradition. His son by his first marriage, ELIEZER (1778–1831), became rabbi in *Brody and published *Yad ha-Melekh* (Lemberg, 1826) on Maimonides' *Mishneh Torah*. He died of cholera. Israel's son by his second marriage was Moses *Landau.

[Meir Lamed]

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LANDAU, GREGORY ADOLFOVICH (1877–1940), Russian publicist and journalist. Born in St. Petersburg, he was the son of Adolph *Landau. He graduated in 1902 from the law school of St. Peterburg University. He wrote for Russian and Russian Jewish newspapers, was one of the founders of the Jewish Democratic Group (1904), and was active in the League for the Attainment of Equal Rights for the Jewish People in Russia. He was also active in the Constitutional-Democratic (KaDet) party. After the 1917 Revolution, Landau settled in Berlin. He was associated with rightist Russian circles and participated in the editing of their newspaper, *Rul*. His writings included *Sumerki Yevropy* ("The Twilight of Europe," 1923), in which he predicted the Balkanization of Europe, its economic and political subordination to the United States, and its intellectual and moral decay. In 1924 he contributed to the collection "Russia and the Jews." He also wrote essays on general philosophy. When Hitler came to power in 1933, Landau left for Riga, Latvia, and wrote for the Russian press there. After Latvia was annexed by Russia, he was imprisoned and "liquidated." Another notable work by Landau is *Polsko-yevreyskiya otnosheniya* ("Polish-Jewish Relations," 1915), a collection of articles and notes.

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[Yehuda Slutsky]

LANDAU, ISAAC ELIJAH BEN SAMUEL (1801–1876), Lithuanian preacher and biblical commentator. Landau was born in Vilna. He married the daughter of the wealthy and well-known Zadok Marshalkovitch of Dubno and was relieved of financial cares, and although he did occasionally engage in business, he spent most of his life in Dubno compiling his books and sermons, using the method of parables in the style of Jacob *Kranz, the Maggid of Dubno. Landau was chosen by the communities of Volhynia to be their representative on the committee set up by the Russian minister of the interior to deal with religious affairs, and for this purpose he lived in St. Petersburg for several months in 1861. In 1868 he became official preacher and *dayyan* of Vilna. His sermons were popular.

The following are among his main works: *Ma'aneh Eliyahu* (Vilna, 1840), a commentary on the *Tanna de-Vei Eliyahu* published in the same volume with *Si'aḥ Yiẓḥak*, biblical and aggadic novellae; *Berurei ha-Middot* (Vilna, 1844), expositions and novellae to the Mekhilta, to which was joined a treatise, *Mizzui ha-Middot*, "for the understanding of biblical rhetoric and the sayings of the sages"; *Mikra Soferim* (Suwalki, 1862), expositions and novellae to tractate *Soferim*; and *Dover Shalom* (Warsaw, 1863), a commentary on the prayer book. The following of his commentaries and parables on the Bible have been published: *Patshegen*, a commentary on Proverbs (Koenigsberg, 1858), Psalms (Warsaw, 1866), and 12 Minor Prophets and the Five Scrolls (Vilna, 1869/70); and *Patshegen ha-Dat* (Vilna, 1872/5), on the Pentateuch. Landau published the *Derekh Ereẓ Zuta* (1872) with the commentary *Derekh Ḥayyim* *ve-Orḥot Ḥayyim*; and expositions of the *aggadot* of the Talmud to *Berakhot* and *Shabbat* (Vilna, 1876). His sermons were published in Vilna in 1871 and 1876.

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[Yehoshua Horowitz]

LANDAU, ISRAEL JONAH BEN JOSEPH HA-LEVI (d. 1824), rabbi and author. Landau belonged to a well-known rabbinical family. In his youth he was *av bet din* of Lubomil and from 1786 served in Kempen, Posen region. Among his published works are *Me'on ha-Berakhot* (Dyhrenfurth, 1816), novellae on tractate *Berakhot*, which is the first part of his work *Keneset Yisrael* (the other parts remained unpublished); *Shirat Yisrael* (1897), expositions of the Bible, *aggadot* in the Talmud, and Midrashim; *Ein ha-Bedolaḥ* (1901), novellae to tractates of the Talmud (*Pesaḥim, Megillah, Yoma, Sukkah*, and *Rosh ha-Shanah*); and *Aleh de-Yonah* (1934), expositions of *aggadot* in the Jerusalem Talmud of *Zevaḥim* and *Mo'ed*. He was also a well-known kabbalist, and a request to him from Akiva Eger for an amulet for the sick of Posen has been preserved. His son JOSEPH SAMUEL (1800–1836) was appointed to succeed his father as rabbi of Kempen on the recommendation of Akiva Eger. Joseph Samuel was the author of *Mishkan Shiloh*, of which only one part, *Kur ha-Beḥinah* (Breslau, 1837), was published, comprising 25 responsa and seven sermons – the last in honor of Emperor Frederick William III. In the introduction the author refers to many works of his still in manuscript. His *Goren Atad* (Warsaw, 1837), a memorial sermon on Jehiel Michael Ettinger, has also been published. He corresponded on *halakhah* with the leading rabbis of his time, including Akiva Eger, Ephraim Zalman Margulies, and Solomon Zalman Posner.

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[Itzhak Alfassi]

LANDAU, JACOB (15th century), German talmudist. Landau's father, JUDAH (d. 1464), was a favorite pupil of Jacob *Moellin and a relative of Jacob *Weil who refers to Judah in his responsa with great respect. Judah maintained a large yeshivah in Germany and was renowned as a *posek*. Toward the end of his long life Judah was involved in a vehement halakhic dispute with the two well-known rabbis, Judah and Moses *Mintz.

Of Jacob Landau few biographical details are known – even the dates of his birth and death cannot be established. It is certain, however, that he was born in Germany and educated there, chiefly by his father. He wandered to Italy along with the great wave of German emigration at that time and in Pavia in 1460 met Joseph *Colon, whose customs and rulings he quotes frequently. In Pavia he wrote *Ḥazon*, a unique work introduced by the words "How could it be?" From Pavia Landau proceeded to Naples (1487) where he worked as a proofreader in the new Hebrew printing press established there. That year he corrected the proofs of the Book of Psalms with David *Kimḥi's commentary and published at the same press his own main work, *Ha-Agur*, with the above-mentioned *Ḥazon*. Nothing is known of any other books corrected by him and it seems that he ceased proofreading, although it is known that his son Abraham undertook that work at the same publishing house in 1492. Landau's father-in-law was Abraham Sachs, also a renowned German scholar, who immigrated to Italy. It is also known that Jacob Landau was well versed in Kabbalah.

Landau's reputation rests upon his *Ha-Agur*, an anthology and summation of German-Jewish scholarship concerning the laws of *Oraḥ Ḥayyim* and *Yoreh De'ah* down to his own time, basing himself chiefly on the *Tur* of Jacob b. *Asher. The aim of the book was threefold: to assemble in one source all the relevant data necessary for establishing *halakhah* – but omitting the argument; to lay down the *halakhah*; and to include the new rulings of the latest scholars, such as Israel *Isserlein, Jacob Weil, Joseph Colon, and, in particular, his own father. The style is that of the other classic anthologists: Mordecai b. *Hillel, Zedekiah *Anav, Moses b. Jacob of *Coucy, and Isaac b. Joseph of *Corbeil. The arrangement of the material is similar to that of the *Tur*, on which Landau's work was based. The work is distinguished by a discriminating interweaving of varied material taken from a large number of works. The whole is transformed into a complete and unified literary creation. A novel feature in the work is the interlacing of kabbalistic theory in halakhic matter as an aid to arriving at a decision. Another feature is the approbations the author sought from other rabbis, and the *Ha-Agur* is the first Hebrew book to contain these *haskamot*. The book was published in a number of editions together with *Ḥazon* and the various editions differ because of corrections made by the author. Variations occurred especially in editions of the *Ḥazon* which, from the third edition onward, was much abridged. A complete, emended, and collated edition of both books was published in Jerusalem (1960) by M. Herschler (see bibl.). *Ha-Agur* contains a wealth of information on the teaching of the German scholars of the 14th and 15th centuries and was widely known among scholars and students alike.

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[Israel Moses Ta-Shma]

LANDAU, JACOB (1892–1952), journalist and publisher, who founded and directed the *Jewish Telegraphic Agency. Born in Vienna, Landau worked as a youth for various magazines and newspapers in Austria, Germany, and the Netherlands. In 1914 he established the Jewish Correspondence Bureau at The Hague as the first international Jewish news service. After covering the Paris Peace Conference of 1919 for *De Telegraaf*, of Amsterdam, Landau moved his news bureau to London and renamed it the Jewish Telegraphic Agency. Branch offices were opened later in Berlin, Warsaw, Prague, Paris, New York, and Jerusalem, and headquarters were eventually established in New York. In 1940 Landau, with a group of U.S. personalities, founded the Overseas News Agency, which specialized in covering news of minority peoples of all races, religions, and nationalities.

[Irving Rosenthal]

LANDAU, JACOB M. (1924–), professor emeritus of political science at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, specializing in the political history of the modern Middle East and Central Asia. Landau was born in Kishinev. He was president of the Israel Association of Political Science (1985–87) and was elected honorary fellow of the Israel Oriental Society and the Turkish Academy of History. In 1993–98 he was the editor of *Ha-Mizraḥ he-Ḥadash*, the annual of the Israel Oriental Society. Landau is well known in Orientalist circles, having taught at universities in the U.S., the U.K., France, Germany, the Netherlands, Brazil, and Turkey. He received various medals and distinctions, including the Israel Prize for scholarship (in Oriental studies) in 2005.

His numerous works have been published in Hebrew, Arabic, Turkish, English, French, German, Italian, Spanish, Russian, and Chinese. Among his books are *Parliaments and Parties in Egypt* (1953); *Studies in the Arab Theater* (1958); *Jews in Nineteenth-Century Egypt* (1969); *The Arabs in Israel: A Political Study* (1969); *The Hejaz Railway and the Muslim Pilgrimage: A Case of Ottoman Political Propaganda* (1971); *Middle Eastern Themes: Papers in History and Politics* (1973); *Radical Politics in Modern Turkey* (1974); *Abdul-Hamid's Palestine* (1979); *Tekinalp: Turkish Patriot, 1883–1961* (1984); *The Politics of Pan-Islam: Ideology and Organization* (1990); *The Arab Minority in Israel, 1967–1991* (1993); *Jews, Arabs, Turks* (1993); *Pan-Turkism: From Irredentism to Cooperation* (1995); *The Politics of Language in the Ex-Soviet Muslim States* (2001); and *Exploring Ottoman and Turkish History* (2004).

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LANDAU, JUDAH LOEB (**Leo**; 1866–1942), South African rabbi, scholar, poet, and playwright. Landau was born in Zatozce, Galicia. His father Moses Issachar Landau was a *maskil* and regular contributor to the Hebrew press. Landau attended the German gymnasium at Brody (Galicia), yeshivot, and the Jewish Theological Seminary and University of Vienna and soon came under the influence of Hebrew writers, poets, and dramatists, such as P. *Smolenskin, N.I. *Fischmann, and A. *Broides. As a student in Vienna, Landau used to write theater and opera reviews of Jewish interest for *Ha-Maggid*. Early in his life Landau supported the movement for national revival by word and deed, became an ardent supporter of Theodor Herzl, and attended several of the early Zionist congresses. When on a visit to London in 1900 for the Fourth Zionist Congress, M. *Gaster persuaded him to stay. He was minister of the North Manchester Hebrew Congregation until 1904, when he went to Johannesburg as rabbi of the Johannesburg Hebrew Congregation.

In 1915 Landau became chief rabbi of the United Hebrew Congregation of Johannesburg and of the Federation of Synagogues of the Witwatersrand; he was also appointed professor of Hebrew at Witwatersrand University. In nearly four decades of spiritual leadership in the South African Jewish community, Landau participated in and stimulated a great variety of activities and organizations: religious, charitable, cultural, and Zionist.

Landau's contributions to modern Hebrew literature were mainly in drama and poetry. His poems and articles first appeared in a number of Hebrew periodicals, where he used the pseudonym of Hillel ben Shaḥar. Among his published plays are *Bar Kokhva* (1884); *Aḥarit Yerushalayim* (1886); *Hordos* (1888, also in Yiddish, 1901; first produced in Lvov in 1890); *Yesh Tikvah* (1893; with a contemporary theme, the first Hebrew drama to be produced in modern times); *Dam Taḥat Dam* (1898), set in Second Temple times; *Don Yiẓḥak Abrabanel* (1919); *Yisrael Ba'al Shem Tov* (1923); and *Lefanim o Le'aḥor* (1923; English version by D. Mierovsky, *Conflicting Worlds*, 1933), describing the strains and tensions of modern Jewry. Landau published collected lyrics in *Neginot* (1895) and *Neginot u-Fo'emot* (1933), some of which were set to music; prose writings *Libbot Nishbarim* (1903), literary conversations in novel form; and *Vidduyim* (1928), letters on contemporary Judaism containing much autobiographical material.

The themes of his poems are intensely personal, expressions of *Weltschmerz* and the human predicament, the love of Zion and Israel, and the great characters and leaders in Jewish history. His doctoral dissertation was *N. Krochmal, ein Hegelianer* (1904); he also translated his teacher A. Schwarz's *Die hermeneutische Analogie* into Hebrew under the title *Gezerah Shavah* (1898?). His *Lectures on Modern Hebrew Literature* (1925); *Judaism in Life and Literature* (1936); *Judaism Ancient and Modern* (1936), sermons; and *Short Lectures on Modern Hebrew Literature* (1938) appeared in English. Landau was among the editors of the Hebrew encyclopedia *Oẓar Yisrael* to which he contributed many important articles. Other scholarly articles of his appeared in *Ha-Eshkol* (Cracow) and *Ha-Ẓofeh le-Ḥokhmat Yisrael* (Budapest) as well as in a number of Festschriften. In 1936 a jubilee volume was published in honor of Landau's seventieth birthday, *Ve-Zot li-Yhudah* (Heb. and Eng.).

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LANDAU, LEIB (1879–1944), Polish advocate. Born in Kirov, Russia, Landau qualified as lawyer and rapidly established himself as an authority on criminal procedure. He was defense counsel in a number of famous political trials and represented Jews in legal actions following antisemitic outbreaks. Landau was head of the Przemysl Jewish community and was an active protagonist of Yiddish literature. He was murdered by the Nazis in the Lvov ghetto.

LANDAU, LEIBUSH MENDEL (1861–1920), rabbi and cofounder of the *Mizrachi movement. Born in Sieniawa, Galicia, Landau was ordained by the great rabbis of his time. He first served as a rabbi in Jaroslaw, Galicia, and from 1897 to his death was a rabbi in Botoşani. He joined the Jewish national movement in Galicia and traveled to many cities and towns on educational and propaganda missions, engendering the animosity of the Ḥasidim, who prevented him from receiving a rabbinical post in a number of cities. Landau visited *Herzl after he appeared on the Jewish scene, and in his diary (for Jan. 6, 1897) Herzl described this visit and even sent him to visit the Czortkow rebbe to give him a letter. Ḥasidim prevented the letter from reaching its destination. Landau participated in the founding conference of Mizrachi in Pressburg (1904) and continued his public and Zionist activities in Romania.

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[Getzel Kressel]

LANDAU, LEOPOLD (1848–1920), gynecologist. Landau, a descendant of the rabbi and halakhic authority, Ezekiel b. Judah *Landau, was born in Warsaw. On completion of his medical studies, he became a lecturer in gynecology at the University of Breslau (1872–76). While there, he wrote *Zur Physiologie der Bauchspeichelabsonderung* (1873). In 1876 he was appointed lecturer in gynecology at the University of Berlin, becoming a full professor in 1893. In 1892, together with his brother Theodor, Landau founded a clinic for women, which became famous throughout Germany. Here he carried out research, publications being principally in the field of myoma and radical vaginal operations. Besides being a famous physician, Landau was active in the Zionist movement and in the Jewish life of Berlin. He was one of the founders of the Berlin Akademie fuer die Wissenschaft des Judentums.

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[Oren Zinder]

LANDAU, LEV DAVIDOVICH (1908–1968), Russian physicist and Nobel Prize winner. Born in Baku, Landau was a young prodigy in mathematics and was allowed to register at Baku University in the faculties of chemistry, physics, and mathematics at the age of 14, and graduated from Leningrad University when he was 19. In 1932 he was appointed head of the theoretical department of the Kharkov Physical-Technical Institute and in 1934 was granted his doctorate without presenting a thesis. He became a professor a year later. While working in Copenhagen with Niels *Bohr, he developed a theory of the diamagnetism of metals known as "Landau's diamagnetism." He also published two comprehensive, seminal works on ferro-magnetic substances in 1936 and 1937. He did research in many fields of physics: low temperature; turbulence; acoustics; plasma theory; energy of stars; quantum field theory; and the neutrino. His outstanding contribution was in the field of low temperatures carried out under the auspices of the Institute for Physical Problems in Moscow, which he joined in 1937. In 1962 Landau was awarded the Nobel Prize for physics for his "pioneering theories for condensed matter, especially liquid helium." Although Landau had been awarded the Stalin Prize three times for his work in theoretical physics, he was imprisoned during Stalin's purge, from 1937 to 1939, allegedly as a German spy. He was released when Professor Peter Kapitza, head of his Institute, declared that he would stop all his own scientific work unless Landau was freed. Landau suffered severe injuries in a car crash in 1962, but intensive medical treatment enabled him to live another six years although without resuming his researches. Among his numerous published works are *O svoystvakh metallov pri ochen nizkikh temperaturakh* ("Properties of Metals at Very Low Temperatures," 1936); *Ob istochnikakh zvezdnoy energii* ("Sources of Stellar Energy," 1937); *O kolebaniyakh elektronnoy plazmy* ("Fluctuations of Electronic Plasma," 1946); and *O kvantovoy teorii polya* ("Quantum Field Theory," 1956).

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[Maurice Goldsmith]

LANDAU, MARTIN (1931–), U.S. actor. Born in Brooklyn, New York, Landau began work as a cartoonist for the New York *Daily News* at age 17. He left the paper after five years to focus on comedy writing. In 1955, he applied to Lee Strasberg's famous Actor's Studio and, alongside Steve McQueen, was one of only two applicants – from a pool of 2,000 – to be accepted that year. Landau began his acting career on the New York stage playing prominent roles in Chekhov's *Uncle Vanya* and Franz Werfel's *Goat Song*. In 1957, Landau married Barbara Bain, a model and actress. The two moved to Los Angeles, where Landau landed his debut film role, in Alfred Hitchcock's *North by Northwest* (1959). Landau and Bain costarred in several different projects, including the television series *Mission: Impossible* (1966–69). Landau chose the *Mission Impossible* role over another he was offered, "Spock" in *Star Trek*. He later appeared in *Space: 1999* (1975–77). Despite the tremendous recognition he earned from his television work, Landau's career seemed headed for obscurity in the 1980s after he appeared in a string of B-movies, including *Fall of the House of Usher* (1979), *Without Warning* (1980), and *Cyclone* (1986). However, his performances in Francis Ford Coppola's film *Tucker* (1988) and, the following year, in Woody Allen's *Crimes and Misdemeanors* earned him consecutive best supporting actor Oscar nominations. But it was his performance as the aging Bela Lugosi in Tim Burton's *Ed Wood* (1994) that won Landau his Academy Award, for which he famously refused to cut short his acceptance speech.

[Casey Schwartz (2nd ed.)]

LANDAU, MOSES (1788–1852), printer, publisher, and lexicographer. Born in Prague, grandson of R. Ezekiel *Landau, Moses was imbued with the traditional atmosphere of his rabbinical family. At the same time, he devoted himself to secular studies, especially German literature. He established a Hebrew printing press in Prague, which, for more than two decades, published sacred literature along with some contemporary Hebrew works, including several volumes of the scholarly periodical **Kerem Ḥemed*. From 1831 until his death he was head of the Prague Jewish community and was instrumental in bringing Solomon Judah *Rapoport there to serve as rabbi. From 1849 he served on the Prague municipal council. The best known of his works, *He-Arukh u-Musaf he-Arukh im Ma'aneh Lashon* (5 vols., 1819–35), is the talmudic dictionary by R. *Nathan b. Jehiel with a German translation. Other works are *Pitron ha-Millot* (Prague, 1827), which deals with the difficult terms found in the Torah; an edition of the Hebrew Bible, with a German translation and a Hebrew commentary on several books (1834–38); a German translation of the *maḥzor* with a Hebrew commentary; the *kinot* for the Ninth of Av; the Passover *Haggadah*; and *Marpe Lashon* (Odessa, 1865), a collection of the foreign words in Rashi's commentary on the Bible and the Talmud.

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[Getzel Kressel]

LANDAU, MOSHE (1912–2006), jurist, president of Israel Supreme Court. Born in Danzig, he studied in London and went to Palestine in 1933, engaging in private law in practice until 1940. From 1940–48 he was a judge in the Haifa Magistrates Court, and after the establishment of the State became a district court judge. In 1953 he was appointed to the Supreme Court and moved to Jerusalem. He was the presiding judge at the Eichmann *trial. He was also one of the members of the commission of inquiry appointed by the government following the Yom Kippur War. He was active on the board of various cultural institutions, including the Haifa Technion and the Israel Philharmonic Orchestra and was also chairman of the Israel Council of the Hadassah Medical Organization. From 1980 to 1982 he was president of the Supreme Court after having been permanent substitute for the president since 1976. He was awarded the Israel Prize in law for 1991.

[Alexander Zvielli]

LANDAU, NATHAN (d. 1907), Hungarian rabbi. Landau was a *dayyan* in Bardejov (Hg. Bártfa) and subsequently the rabbi and head of the *bet din* of *Oswiecim. He is frequently mentioned in the responsa *Beit Naftali* (1899) of Naphtali Schwartz (5, 6, 31, et al.), and in the *Ya'aneh be-Kol* (1903) edited by Joseph Schwartz. An opinion of Landau's appears in the *Sharvit ha-Zahav* (1912) of Shabbetai Lipschutz. He was succeeded at Oswiecim by his son Eliezer. Landau devoted himself to the methodology of the Talmud, on which he published two works (both arranged alphabetically): *Urah Shaḥar* (1882) and *Kemo ha-Shaḥar* (1904). His acumen and mastery of talmudic learning were evidenced in his *Kenaf Ra'anannah*, responsa (3 vols., 1886–99), *Kerem Nata* (1895), novellae on tractate *Sotah* (1895), and *Levanon Tov* (1901) on *Niddah*.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: P.Z. Schwartz, *Shem ha-Gedolim me-Ereẓ Hagar*, 2 (1914), 213a.

LANDAU, SAUL RAPHAEL (1870–1943), early member of the Labor Zionist movement and one of Herzl's aides. Born in Cracow, Landau contributed to the German and Polish press on Jewish affairs, and with Herzl's appearance he was already a veteran Jewish nationalist publicist. Landau joined Herzl immediately upon the publication of *Der Judenstaat* and became one of his close advisers, particularly on the matter of founding *Die *Welt*. According to Herzl's wishes, Landau took the editorship of the paper upon himself, but held the post only four months (until October 1897). He participated in the First Zionist Congress in Basle. In 1898 he began to come into conflict with Herzl, and their disagreements later broke out in public and led to alienation and mutual animosity.

Under Herzl's influence, Landau had begun to carry out the dissemination of Zionist ideas among Jewish workers. He published a series of articles on the situation of Jewish workers in Galicia and Poland in *Die Welt* that still hold great value for study of the Jewish proletariat in the 1890s (they were reprinted as a book entitled *Unter juedischen Proletariern* (1898)). He also edited a newspaper, *Der juedische Arbeiter* (1898–99), in the same spirit, and it was a forerunner of the Zionist labor press. Landau published polemical books attacking the assimilationists and a propaganda pamphlet on Zionism in Poland. Afterward he concerned himself with his legal practice and edited the newspaper *Neue Nationalzeitung* (1906–17). With the annexation of Austria to Nazi Germany (1938), he left for the United States and there published his memoirs, *Sturm und Drang im Zionismus* (1937) on his contacts with Herzl; they contain an abundance of photographs, documents, and letters from the period.

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[Getzel Kressel]

LANDAU, SHEMUEL ḤAYYIM (1892–1928), religious Zionist. Landau conceived the idea of "Torah va-Avodah" (Torah and Labor, the basic ideology of religious Zionist pioneering in Ereẓ Israel). Descended from a famous Polish ḥasidic family, he studied in Lukow and in Czemierniki, Galicia. At the beginning of World War I he was taken as a hostage by the invading German armies and later was suspected by them of being a spy for the English. He was eventually sentenced to death but escaped execution. Later the Polish authorities accused him of being a Bolshevik and again he was condemned to death, but after many local Poles testified on his behalf, he was released. He lectured in various Mizrachi branches in Warsaw, and in 1919, at the second conference of the Mizrachi Organization, he participated as a delegate from the Czemierniki branch. He published ideological articles and also participated in the convention in Warsaw in 1921 which created the organizational framework for the Ẓe'irei ha-Mizrachi (Young Mizrachi) Organization. He was elected to the Central Committee and was appointed editor of its newly created Hebrew publication *Ha-Kedem*. A delegate to the 12th Zionist Congress (1921), he became the recognized leader of the Ẓe'irei ha-Mizrachi, and its *ḥalutz* movement, and was elected to the Zionist General Council at the 13th Congress. In 1925, at the world conference of the Mizrachi in Vienna, he was elected to the world center of the Mizrachi as a representative of the "Torah va-Avodah" movement. In 1926 he immigrated with his family to Palestine and settled in Jerusalem. He succeeded there in reuniting the two dissident factions of Ha-Po'el ha-Mizrachi. He continued to develop the doctrine of "Torah va-Avodah" and called for a "holy rebellion," as he designated the spiritual revolution among Ereẓ Israel youth. This call became the watchword of the leaders of nationalist-religious youth.

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[Itzhak Goldshlag]

LANDAU, ZISHE (1889–1937), U.S. Yiddish poet. Born in Plotsk (Poland) into a distinguished rabbinical family, Landau had both a traditional and a secular education and was orphaned in childhood. He went to New York in 1906 and began his literary career with lyrics that linked him with the emerging literary group, Di *Yunge, which in reaction to earlier traditions called for "pure" verse free of collective themes. Indeed he later rejected his early poems, written in a traditional style and stressing national and social themes, and recognized as genuine only those written after 1911, when he came under the influence of European impressionism and espoused the credo of "art for art's sake." He was a political conservative and a poetic revolutionary. His *Antologye: Di Idishe Dikhtung in Amerike biz Yohr 1919* ("Anthology: Yiddish Poetry in America until 1919," 1919) best reveals his approach in his introduction and in the poets and type of poems selected. He included only four short poems of Morris *Rosenfeld, for example, who was then enjoying an international reputation for his powerful social and national lyrics. Deeply affected by Jewish suffering during World War I, Landau reverted to Jewish national themes and also wrote poems of U.S. patriotism. In his own verse, he was attracted to symbolism and made frequent use of romantic irony. His subjects are often exotic, his vocabulary allusive rather than expressive. Most popular was his poem on the *Ba'al Shem, whom he depicted as always finding a cheerful aspect in every phenomenon of nature and life. In his four comedies, published under the collective title *Es Iz Gornisht Nit Geshen* ("Nothing Happened," 1937), he employed masks in order to satirize human beings and human relations. His translations of early English ballads and of German, Russian, and French poets were posthumously collected in the volume *Fun der Velt-Poezye* ("From World Poetry," 1947).

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[Melech Ravitch / Jerold C. Frakes (2nd ed.)]

LANDAUER, GEORG (1895–1954), Zionist leader, active mainly in aiding the *aliyah* and absorption of German Jews in Israel. Born in Cologne, Landauer was active in the Zionist youth movement *Blau-Weiss and the student Zionist organization Kartell Juedischer Verbindungen. He was a founder of *Ha-Po'el ha-Ẓa'ir in Germany. In 1925 he became director of the Berlin *Palestine Office and, after two visits to Palestine between 1924 and 1933, settled there in 1934. He became managing director of the Palestine Office and of the Zionist Federation in Germany (1929–33). From 1934 to 1954 Landauer was director of the *Jewish Agency Central Bureau for the Settlement of German Jews, in which his main activities were the organization of *aliyah*, capital transfer, agricultural settlement, *Youth Aliyah, and German reparations. He was a founder of Aliyah Ḥadashah, a party of the Mandate period consisting mainly of German immigrants, and a member of the Va'ad Le'ummi (1941–48). From 1948 until his death he was chairman of Irgun Olei Merkaz Europa. He immigrated to the United States in 1953. He wrote *Zwischen zwei Revolutionen; zionistische Betrachtungen zu Fragen der Uebergangszeit* (1942); and a collection of his essays was published in 1957: *Der Zionismus im Wandel dreier Jahrzehnte*.

[Kurt Loewenstein]

LANDAUER, GUSTAV (1870–1919), German philosopher and writer. Landauer, the son of a wealthy Karlsruhe merchant, was drawn toward anarchism in his youth, and as a student in Berlin became editor of the anarchic socialist periodical, *Der Sozialist*. In 1893 – the year in which his first book, a novel titled *Der Todesprediger*, appeared – he was sentenced to 11 months' imprisonment for incitement. On his release he found it impossible to reenter a university, and became a free-lance journalist. He resumed writing for the *Sozialist*, which continued publication until 1899 and which he himself revived ten years later. In 1899 Landauer was again sent to prison, this time for six months, as a result of his agitation on behalf of a man whom he believed to have been wrongly convicted of murder. Shortly after his release, having divorced his first wife, he married the poetess and translator Hedwig Lachmann. Among the books he published in 1903 were *Macht und Maechte*, containing the two short stories, "Arnold Himmelbeber" and "Lebendig tot"; and a version, in modern German, of the writings of the medieval mystic, Meister Eckhart. The political articles he wrote in the *Sozialist* between 1909 and 1914, published posthumously as *Rechenschaft* (1919), revealed his fears of a world war, and by June 1914, with a group that included his friend Martin *Buber, he had made a certain amount of progress in the formation of an international association that might express the voice of a united Europe and avert the tragedy. They were overtaken by events, and when war broke out in August, Landauer and Buber were unable to salvage the group. During the war, Landauer devoted much of his energy to the Berlin popular theater, and his lectures on Shakespeare were published after his death as *Shakespeare, dargestellt in Vortraegen* (2 vols., 1920). In 1918 he became editor of the Duesseldorf theatrical periodical, *Masken*. When the Bavarian Soviet Republic was proclaimed in 1919, Landauer accepted an invitation of Kurt *Eisner to become minister of public instruction, but following the overthrow of the Bavarian Socialist government, he was brutally murdered by counterrevolutionary soldiers in the streets of Munich.

Landauer's philosophical views were influenced by the critical theory of language of his friend Fritz *Mauthner. He believed that Mauthner's work had opened the gate to both philosophical pluralism and a new mysticism by eliminating the possibility of any one philosophy claiming absolute truth. His own semimystical philosophy of the organic interrelationship of all being is expressed in his book *Skepsis und Mystik* ("Doubt and Mysticism"), published in 1903. Landauer's importance as a social philosopher was that, in opposition to Marxism, he wished to construct a new form of society based on the individual. He expressed his ideas mainly in his books *Die Revolution* (1907) and *Aufruf zum Sozialismus* (1911, 1919^2), and summarized them in 12 principles which became the program for the "Socialist Alliance" which he hoped would replace states and a capitalist economy. He wanted a revolution in which individuals, and not the proletariat, would help to fashion a new mode of cooperative living through personal example rather than through politics and party. Under Landauer's editorship the revived *Sozialist* had considerable educational influence as a result of his practice of publishing personal documents from earlier revolutionary eras. Some of these he published in book form as *Briefe aus der Franzoesischen Revolution* (2 vols., 1918). Landauer's attitude to Judaism and Jews, from the evidence of his first stories, was unsympathetic, but it gradually underwent a change, apparently under the influence of his wife and Buber. A letter to Hedwig Lachmann as early as 1900 shows a growing consciousness of his relationship to his ancestors and when, in 1913, the Prague students association, Bar Kochba, published the book *Vom Judentum*, it contained an important essay by Landauer titled *"Sind dies Ketzergedanken?"* ("Are These the Ideas of a Heretic?"). In this he wrote: "For all of us, when we began to be Jews out of full consciousness, it was an enrichment, an elevation, and strengthening of our existence." In the same article he defended the multiplicity of loyalties in the heart of the Jew, which he regarded as "a sign of the mission which Judaism fulfills in relation to humanity and within humanity." After Landauer's death, Martin Buber had his scattered articles compiled into several books. Those on literary subjects appeared as *Der werdende Mensch* (1921), and the ones on the attainment of Socialism as *Beginner* (1924). Throughout the years more of Landauer's essays were collected in volumes such as *Erkenntnis und Befreiung* (1976), edited by R. Link-Salinger Hyman, and *Dichter, Ketzer, Aussenseiter* (1997), edited by H. Delf. His letters, edited by Buber, appeared as *Gustav Landauer, sein Lebensgang in Briefen* (1929). Another correspondence, edited by H. Delf, appeared years later as *Gustav Landauer – Fritz Mauthner Briefwechsel 1890–1919* (1994). Documents on his relationship with Erich Muehsam, edited by C. Knueppel, appeared under the title *Sei Tapfer und wachse dich aus* (2004).

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[Samuel Hugo Bergman / Noam Zadoff (2nd ed.)]

LANDAUER, MEYER HEINRICH HIRSCH (1808–1841), writer on the philosophy of religion and Kabbalah. Born at Kappel, near Buchau (Wuerttemberg), he was the son of a cantor and became rabbi of Braunsbach (Wuerttemberg). He had to abandon this post for reasons of health.

On the basis of prolonged study of Hebrew manuscripts in the Munich Library (in 1838), Landauer wrote several studies on the history of medieval Hebrew literature and of the Kabbalah, which constitute the first attempt at a scholarly study of the development of Jewish mysticism. Covering "*Sefer ha-Bahir*," "The word Kabbalah," "Survey of the history and literature of the Kabbalah," "A preliminary appraisal of the *Zohar," and others, they were published posthumously in incomplete form in *Literaturblatt des Orients*. Under the influence of Schelling, Landauer attempted a symbolic mystical interpretation of the Torah and its commandments which should have served as a basis for a religious philosophy of Judaism and which should have also connected it with kabbalistic themes. Of decisive significance in this respect for Landauer was the philosophical-metaphysical meaning of the names of God-YHWH as designation for the "first basic idea of the consciousness of God" in its unified "being in itself" and His government and managing of the world. Elohim is the designation of that aspect of YHWH insofar as it is split into different conceptions by experience and contemplation. The three main forms of God's primary activities are expressed in the three ancient names of God: *El Shaddai, El Ro'i*, and *El Koneh*, which are designations of the concepts of Elohim. Landauer's biblical and theological ideas are contained in *Jehova und Elohim oder die althebraeische Gotteslehre als Grundlage der Geschichte der Symbolik und der Gesetzgebung der Buecher Moses* (Stuttgart, 1836); and *Wesen und Form des Pentateuch* (*ibid.*, 1838). The former work provoked sharp criticism from A. *Geiger, to which Landauer replied in his introduction to the second book.

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[Joseph Elijah Heller]

LANDAUER, SAMUEL (1846–1937), German Orientalist and bibliographer. Landauer, born in Huerben, a small village in Bavaria, taught Oriental languages at the University of Strasbourg from 1875. He became director of the state and university library in 1905. When Alsace reverted to France in 1918, Landauer, like most of the German academic staff, was expelled from Strasbourg, and he settled in Augsburg. Landauer was the first to publish the Arabic original of *Saadiah's *Beliefs and Opinions, Kitâb al-Amânât…* (1880). From his Targum research he wrote *Die Masorah zum Onkelos…* (1896), and "Studien zu Merx Chrestomathia Targumica" (in *Zeitschrift fuer Assyriologie*, 3 (1888), 263–92). Landauer's comprehensive knowledge of Oriental languages led him to his participation, early in his academic career, in Vuller's edition of the works of the Persian poet Firdausi, *Firdusii… Schahname* (3 vols., 1877–84). He also cooperated with the Prussian Academy of Sciences in the publication of Aristotle's commentaries, *Themistii… De caelo* (1902), on the writings of the philosopher Themistius, which had been preserved in Hebrew only. Landauer compiled the *Katalog der hebraeischen… Handschriften in der Kaiserlichen Universitaets-und Landesbibliothek in Strassburg, Orientalische Handschriften* (1881), and *Die Handschriften der Grossherzoglich Badischen Hof-und Landesbibliothek in Karlsruhe, vol. 2: Orientalische Handschriften* (1892).

[David Samuel Loewinger]

LANDES, DAVID SAUL (1924–), U.S. economic historian. Born in New York City, Landes received a B.A. from the City College of New York in 1942 and a Ph.D. from Harvard University in 1953. He taught economics at Columbia (1953–58) and Berkeley (1958–64). In 1964 he was appointed professor of history at Harvard, and from 1966 to 1968 directed its center for Middle Eastern Studies. Landes' principal studies were in the economic and social history of modern Europe with special reference to the Industrial Revolution and its social consequences, the history of business interests, that of banking in particular, and the general problem of economic development. His contributions in these fields include *Bankers and Pashas: International Finance and Economic Imperialism in Egypt* (1958); *The Rise of Capitalism* (1966); *The Unbound Prometheus: Technological Change and Industrial Development in Western Europe since 1750* (1968); and "Some Thoughts on the Nature of Economic Imperialism" in *Journal of Economic History*, 21 (1961), 496–512. In these and other works, Landes analyzed the character of technological development and the factors contributing to national and regional differences. On the subject of imperialism, he argued that it is the result of disparities of power, and not a function peculiar to capitalism. Landes was active in Jewish organizations.

After retiring from teaching, Landes was named Coolidge Professor of History and Professor of Economics Emeritus at Harvard.

Other books by Landes include *Revolution in Time: Clocks and the Making of the Modern World* (1983) and *The Wealth and Poverty of Nations* (1998). In the latter, among other novel concepts, he makes a correlation between the economic level of a country and the way the country's women are treated.

[Oscar Isaiah Janowsky / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

LANDES, RUTH (1908–1991), U.S. cultural anthropologist. Born in New York City to Russian Jewish immigrants, Landes did her undergraduate studies in sociology at New York University. She received an M.A. in social work and a Ph.D. in anthropology from Columbia University. She became research director and coordinator of the Inter-American and the President's Fair Employment Practices Commission, 1941–45; study director of the scientific research department of the American Jewish Committee, 1948–51; and director of the Los Angeles City Health Department's geriatric program (1958–59). From 1953 to 1955 she lectured at the New School for Social Research and the William W. White Psychiatric Institute (1953–54), and from 1956 was professor of anthropology at McMaster University in Hamilton, Ontario (Canada). Her social research experience included service as researcher on the Carnegie Corporation study project on American blacks. As a pioneer in the study of class, race, and gender relations, her primary interests in anthropological research were the American Indians; minority groups in the U.S., Brazil, and the United Kingdom; the educational and cultural status of women; and the interrelations of culture and personality.

In 1982 McMaster University established the Ruth Landes Prize for outstanding academic achievement in anthropology. The Research Institute for the Study of Man established, through the aid of Landes, the RISM-Landes Awards for field research on such anthropological subjects as race and ethnic relations, gender issues, education in a comparative perspective, and problems of aging.

Books by Landes include *The Ojibwa Woman* (1938, 1971, 1997); *The City of Women* (1947, 1994); *Culture in American Education* (1965, 1967^2); *Latin Americans of the Southwest* (1965); *The Mystic Lake Sioux* (1968); *Ojibwa Religion and the Midewiwin* (1968); and *The Prairie Potawatomi* (1970).

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[Ephraim Fischoff / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

LANDESJUDENSCHAFT, BOEHMISCHE, organization of Bohemian Jewry outside the Prague community. Until the end of the Thirty Years' War all Bohemian Jews belonged to the Prague community as one corporate body. The provincial congregations considered themselves at a disadvantage in the allocation of taxes, and as their number increased they created a federation of their own with their own functionaries. An agreement was reached with the Prague community and in 1659 a *Polizeiordnung der Landesjudenschaft* was endorsed, corroborated at the conferences of *Kasejovice (1669) and *Brandys nad Labem (1693), and confirmed by the authorities. The main function of the Landesjudenschaft was the collection and distribution of Jewish taxes; over half had to be raised by the countryside Jews and the rest by the Prague community. Every three years a conference of the assessors was held at Smichov, near Prague. Three assessors were assigned to every district and they, together with the other functionaries of the organization, allotted every district its contribution, after which the district assessors made their allotments to the communities. The taxes were levied by contractors. The organization was headed by 12 representatives, led by the *Primator*, an office first held by Jacob Aaron Lichtenstadt (until 1672) and then by Abraham Aaron *Lichtenstadt (1672–93). The last *Primator* was Joachim Edler von *Popper (1770–91). The organization employed a *Landschreiber* ("secretary"), a *Landes-Sollizitator* ("secretary for legal affairs"), and a *Landeskassier* ("treasurer"), and from 1704 owned a house in Prague.

A Landesrabbinat was established in 1679, but between 1691 and 1717 two *Landesrabbiner* functioned. From 1689 to 1691 Abraham b. Saul *Broda served for the whole of Bohemia and was responsible for the western half only until 1709. Wolf Spira-Wedeles served for eastern Bohemia from 1691 to 1715. In 1713 David *Oppenheim was appointed for one half of the country, and for the whole of Bohemia from 1717 until 1736. He was succeeded by Moses Isaac Spira-Wedeles (1737–49). When the Kreisrabbinate ("district rabbinates") were established in 1717, the function of the *Landesrabbiner* was superseded and the system was formally abolished in 1749. In 1850 a Repraesentanz der Landesjudenschaft in Boehmen was founded. Having no political standing, it engaged mainly in charitable work and, in partnership with the Prague community, maintained the Jewish orphanage for boys in the city. The Landesjudenschaft was dissolved in 1884. Its archives were acquired in 1907 by the Czech national museum in Prague and are now in the Czechoslovak state archives.

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[Meir Lamed]

LANDESMAN, ALTER (1895–1981), Jewish educator. Born in Lithuania, he immigrated to the United States in 1906 and earned his B.A. at Western Reserve University (1917), was ordained at the Jewish Theological Seminary in 1922, and earned a D.H.L. in 1928.

As a Jewish educator he became the superintendent of the Hebrew Education Society (HES) in Brownsville, then one of the largest Jewish communities in New York. HES served as an educational and social center helping the acculturation of American Jews; under Landesman's direction it became a community center for Brownsville Jews. When he began his service, Americanization was a central motif in the work of the Center; over time as immigration to the United States decreased, the task of Americanization became less urgent and the responsibility for continuing Jewish education ever greater.

Landesman worked together with Modern Orthodox elements and HES housed a Young Israel, which met the needs of traditional young people who wanted a sermon in English and wanted religious activities on Friday evening. It held services in the building. HES became more Zionist in orientation and in the early years was more Yiddish oriented, most especially as its leadership passed from German Jews to Eastern European Jews.

He established the Brownsville Neighborhood Council to deal with housing, health, recreation, and social services, and he guided the development of the Young Israel in Brownsville and adjacent East Flatbush.

Landesman was a pioneer in the Jewish center movement. He served as president of the Metropolitan Association of Jewish Center Workers and vice president of the national association.

He prepared for the United Synagogue of America's Committee on Education four curricula; one for schools that met on Sunday; a two-year course for students beginning their studies at age 11 and being trained for their bar-mitzvah; a program for three-day-a-week schools; and a program for four-day-a-week schools. His work covered the entire gamut of Jewish education in those days, as there were only a handful of day schools.

He wrote a well received history of Brownsville, a community that has been understudied and unheralded, but which was critical to New York Jewish life through the first half of the 20th century, and a more scholarly work on the Jews of Provence between the 10th and 14th centuries.

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[Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

LANDESMAN, ROCCO (1948–), U.S. theatrical producer. Born in St. Louis to a Bohemian German-Jewish family that liked things Italian and owned a cabaret where Lenny *Bruce and Mike *Nichols and Elaine *May performed, Landesman went to Colby College and then to the University of Wisconsin, where he earned his undergraduate degree, and the Yale School of Drama, where he earned a master's degree. For three years he taught dramatic literature and criticism there as a protégé of Robert Brustein. After founding a mutual fund, the Cardinal Fund, and assembling a barn of thoroughbred race horses, in the late 1970s and early 1980s, he turned to theater production with *Big River*, a musical based on *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*. Before that production, Landesman was known in the theater as the husband of HEIDI ETTINGER LANDESMAN (1951–), a producer and designer he had met at the drama school. She designed the sets and costumes for *'night Mother* (1983), a two-character play involving a daughter caring for a dying mother. *Big River* developed out of a combination of Rocco Landesman's love for the Mark Twain novel and for the music of Roger Miller, who became the show's composer. The show won the Tony Award for best musical in 1985. It was performed in a theater run by the Jujamcyn organization and when the Landesmans two years later sought to produce another musical, *Into the Woods,* a Stephen *Sondheim creation, they opted again for a Jujamcyn theater on Broadway. The show again was a success, and in 1987 Landesman was asked to take over the Jujamcyn organization, then a fairly consistent money loser. Landesman turned it into a success as the third-largest theatrical organization on Broadway. By 1990 shows in which Jujamcyn had been involved garnered the largest number of Tony nominations that year. At the time, Jujamcyn's theaters housed *City of Angels*, a hit revival of *Gypsy,* Kathleen Turner in *Cat on a Hot Tin Roof,* the musical *Grand Hotel*, and *The Piano Lesson* by August Wilson. Since that time, Landesman has been a producer of some of the most important hit shows: Tony *Kushner's *Angels in America* (1993), Mel *Brooks' *The Producers* (2000), *Doubt* (2004), *Urinetown* (2003), and *Caroline, or Change* (2004). Heidi Ettinger, who resumed her maiden name after the Landesmans' divorce, was active in the theater as a scenic designer and/or producer of such shows as *The Secret Garden* (1991), *Smokey Joe's Café* (1995–2000), *The Adventures of Tom Sawyer* (2001), and *Dracula, the Musical* (2004).

[Stewart Kampel (2nd ed.)]

LANDESRABBINERSCHULE (**Országos Rabbiképzö Intézet**), Hungarian rabbinical seminary in Budapest. A Hungarian law of 1837 required rabbis to have a secondary education and to register births, marriages, and deaths in Hungarian, and in 1844 parliamentary approval was given to the idea of a rabbinical seminary. In 1850 an indemnity of 2⅓ million florins was imposed on Hungarian Jewry for its participation in the 1848–49 Revolution. By 1856 one million florins had been paid, and the emperor set this aside for Jewish education and, in particular, a rabbinical seminary. It took 20 years of infighting between the Orthodox, who strenuously opposed the seminary idea, and those who inclined toward Reform before the income from this fund could be used for its declared purpose. The matter was finally decided at a conference of Hungarian Jewry (December 1868–February 1869), at which the majority decided on a middle-of-the-road college on the Breslau model.

The Landesrabbinerschule was opened in 1877. It has remained a state institution, administration and staff being appointed by the government, which approved the syllabus and also administered the fund. The course of study was ten years: five years of high school and five years at the seminary proper. During the latter period students were required to enroll at the university and obtain a degree. The following were directors of the seminary: M. Bloch (1877–1907), W. *Bacher (1907–13), L. *Blau (1914–32), M. *Guttmann (1933–42), D.S. *Loewinger (1943–50), A. *Scheiber (1950–between 1952 and 1956 with E. Roth). Other well-known scholars who taught in the seminary were D. *Kaufmann, I. *Goldziher, S. Kohn, L. *Venetianer, B. *Heller, M. *Weisz, D. Friedmann, S. Hevesi, and H.J. Fisher.

The seminary's annual reports (1878–1917 in German, since 1921, Hungarian) generally contain scholarly essays by the teaching staff. A jubilee volume (ed. by L. Blau) was published in 1927. The learned periodical *Magyar Zsidó Szemle* ("Hungarian Jewish Review," 1–65, 1884–1948) was initiated by seminary circles, as were *Ha-Ẓofeh me-Ereẓ Hagar* (later *Ha-Ẓofeh le-Ḥokhmat Yisrael*, 1–15, 1911–31) and *Ha-Soker* (1–6, 1932–39). The Jewish Literary Society also owed its inspiration to the seminary. Its library, which began with Lelio della Torre's collection and grew to over 40,000 volumes, includes many manuscripts and incunabula. When the Nazis occupied Hungary on March 19, 1944, the seminary building was sacked. By admitting all applicants – there were 174 students registered in 1944 – it saved some young men from deportation. Ninety graduates and over 60 students died in the Holocaust. With the liberation of Hungary by the Russians in 1945, the seminary gradually rebuilt its life under the present government, though on a limited scale. It trained Hebrew teachers and expanded the Tarbut high school with special emphasis on modern Hebrew. It maintained contact with Jewish scholars the world over and remained the only rabbinical seminary in Eastern Europe, housing a 150,000-volume library and serving students from neighboring countries into the 21st century.

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[Alexander Scheiber]

LANDIS, JOHN (1950–), U.S. writer-director. Born in Chicago, Illinois, Landis grew up in the Westwood area of Los Angeles, and began working in the mailroom of Twentieth Century Fox as a teenager. In Europe he worked as a production assistant on *Kelly's Heroes* (1970) and as a stuntman for a few spaghetti Westerns. At 21 he began work on his first film, *Schlock* (1973), a horror-genre parody. Landis then directed *Kentucky Fried Movie* (1977), a comedy. But it was Landis' next film, *National Lampoon's Animal House* (1978), that became one of the most famous and successful comedies of all time, spurring a collaboration with actor John Belushi that continued in his next comedy project, *The Blues Brothers* (1980). Landis mixed comedy and horror in *An American Werewolf in London* (1981) and found success with both the Eddie Murphy and Dan Ackroyd comedy *Trading Places* (1983) and the Michael Jackson video *Thriller.* However, Landis' career was tainted by a July 23, 1982, accident on the set of *Twilight Zone – The Movie* (1983), which took the lives of actor Vic Morrow and child actors Renee Chen and My-Ca Le. His subsequent films *Into the Night* (1985), *Spies Like Us* (1985), *Three Amigos* (1986), and *Amazon Women on the Moon* (1987) were poorly received. Despite the success of the Eddie Murphy comedy *Coming to America* (1988), Landis found it difficult to recapture acclaim with such projects as *Oscar* (1991), *Innocent Blood* (1992), *The Stupids* (1996), and *Blues Brothers 2000* (1996), or as executive producer of television shows such as *Sliders* (1995), *Honey, I Shrunk the Kids: The TV Show* (1997), and *The Lost World* (1998). Landis also contributed to the 2005 Showtime cable series *Masters of Horror* with the episode "Deer Women."

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[Adam Wills (2nd ed.)]

LANDJUDENSCHAFT (Heb. *Kehal Medinah, Benei ha-Medinah*), self-governing institutions set up in almost all territories of the Holy Roman Empire where, during the second half of the 16th and the first half of the 17th century, Jewish communities either still existed or had been reestablished after the expulsions at the end of the Middle Ages. The beginnings of such institutions are already discernible in the mid-15th century (Rhineland, Franconia), but most of them disappeared during the constant migrations of the 16th century. Until emancipation, all "protected" Jews living within one of the many principalities of the Holy Roman Empire had to belong to this official Jewish corporation. In contrast with the medieval synods of rabbis and leaders from different regions in Germany, whose decisions on public matters were invested with a vast measure of spiritual-religious authority, those of the 15th and 16th centuries were largely concerned with taxation and administration. An attempt was made in *Frankfurt in 1603 to set up a permanent overall organization, based on a uniform system of taxation and a central judiciary; it failed because of the ascendancy of the princes and the waning of imperial power in Germany. However, German Jewry continued to make efforts to realize the aims embedded in the *takkanot* of the Frankfurt synod. The same spirit reflected in the resistance of the independent territorial authorities to extraneous intervention in their affairs, is apparent in the resistance of the autonomous Landjudenschaft to Jewish intervention in theirs. Each one was bent on developing and enhancing institutions of its own, which grew and crystallized in a slow and organic process, though of course affected by the necessity to come to terms with the new political, economic, demographic, and social conditions prevailing under the absolutist regimes. To a certain extent the Landjudenschaft was influenced by the German Landstaende. The detailed system of their statutes created a stable framework for the independent inner life of the Jewish communities, reflecting their numerical increase and stabilization.

The Landjudenschaft was essentially an association of individuals, largely combining the functions and powers of a local community with those of an "intercommunal" body which acted both internally and externally. Accordingly, its main institution was originally the *Landtag* (*Yom ha-Va'ad*) – the assembly of all heads of families of the territorial Jewish community which took place every three or four years, resulting from the necessity to cope with changes in the taxation systems of most states at that time. In territories with a relatively numerous Jewish population (e.g., Bohemia, Moravia, Alsace) only deputies of the communities met at the *Landtag*, while in Prussia the deputies of various provinces were summoned every five years (from 1728) to fix the tax quota for each Landjudenschaft. Initially, the functions of the *Landtag* covered numerous aspects of Jewish communal life – such as organization and administration, jurisdiction, and religious and social affairs – to a much greater extent than might be assumed from the official definitions and orders determining the assessment for taxation purposes, the *erekh* ("assessed property"). These plenary meetings passed ordinances and statutes and elected – subject to governmental approval – the chief rabbi (*abad ha-medinah*, *abad* being the abbreviation for *av bet din*), the provincial rabbis (*dayyanei medinah*), and the other officials of the Landjudenschaft who constituted the "Small Council": the chief elder (*Oberparnass*), provincial elders (*parnasei medinah*), *viri boni* (*tovim*), and associates (*ikkurim*), as well as the chief treasurer, tax collectors, accountants, the scribe, and the beadle. The chief elder was usually the local *Court Jew, who was appointed by the prince. Thanks to his connections with the court, he also served as *shtadlan* for the community. In some cases the office of Court Jew and chief elder was held within a single family for several generations (e.g., Gomperz in Cleves, Van *Geldern in *Duesseldorf, Goldschmidt in *Kassel, Baer in *Aurich). In practice the Landjudenschaft decided on the granting of charters of protection to new immigrants. The disciplinary means at its disposal were those customary in Jewish autonomy: monetary fines, the *herem*, and expulsion.

The earliest, though scant, documentary evidence that regular assemblies were held every three years comes from *Hesse-Kassel (1616), the electorate of *Treves (1649), the bishopric of Paderborn (1649), Hesse-*Darmstadt (1650), the duchy of *Cleves (1650), the electorate of *Mainz (1661), Lower Austria (1662), the margravates of Burgau (1675?) and *Ansbach (1677), the bishoprics of Bamberg (1678) and *Speyer (1682), the duchy of *Juelich-*Berg (1684), and the bishopric of Strasbourg (1694). That the institution could be set up without governmental instigation becomes apparent in *Hanau and in *Pomerania (1706), in *Mecklenburg-Schwerin (1752), and also, beyond the borders of the empire, in Holland (Meierij's Hertogenbosch, 1764). Yet right of free and independent convention had by no means been granted and the few attempts made in this direction were heavily punished.

In those territories where the Jews were permitted to resettle in the 16th century, they were allowed to elect a rabbi to act as a chief rabbi and judge, whose judicial functions were defined by the authorities. Thus, from the beginning of the 17th until the middle of the 18th century, rabbinates were established in the Teutonic Order lands; in *Mergentheim (1615), *Aderborn (1619), Hesse-Kassel (1625), *Muenster (1649), Hesse-Darmstadt (1685), the *Palatinate (end 17th century), Wied-Runkel (mid. 18th century), and Speyer (1752), thus terminating the previous links of the Jews of these states with the ancient rabbinical courts at Frankfurt, *Worms, *Friedberg, or *Fulda. At the same time rabbinates were set up in new or renewed settlements such as *Hildesheim (1607), *Bamberg (1618), *Wuerzburg (1625), Cleves (about 1650), *Halberstadt-*Minden-*Ravensberg (1650), *Hanover (1687), East-Friesland (end of the 17th century), and Juelich-Berg (1706). The actual powers wielded by the chief rabbis exceeded those vested in them by their writs of appointment; they played an active part in many spheres of administration. They were usually related, either by birth or by marriage, to the *parnasim* and families of Court Jews who led the communities and the Landjudenschaften. Certain rabbinates were retained within one family for several generations. Thus a closely knit circle of families linked by marriage held most leading posts in the secular and religious spheres from Austria and Bohemia in the east to Alsace in the west.

Up to the end of the 17th and the beginning of the 18th century, the details of Jewish self-organization were of no particular concern to the authorities, except when their fiscal interests were involved. But centralized payment of taxes – by now compulsory as a result of the granting of collective charters of protection – compelled the heads of the Landjudenschaften to invoke government aid to coerce dilatory taxpayers. In the course of time, and in keeping with their centralist tendencies, the authorities exploited this dependence to extend their control over Landjudenschaft activities over wide spheres of Jewish autonomy. Gradually many functions of the leadership were transferred to the developing centralist bureaucracy, especially following the setting up of "Commissions for Jewish Affairs" in numerous states. Commissioners frequently attended the *Landtag* as chairmen of the meetings, and at best the Jews were able to do no more than delay the imposition of control (e.g., in the Palatinate, Upper Province of *Mainz, and *Ansbach). Similarly, the authorities' tendency to prevent Jews from turning to foreign rabbinical courts changed in the 18th century in favor of litigation before the state courts of law, restricting the scope of Jewish jurisdiction to religious matters. The Landjudenschaft attempted to stem the tide in this respect and to a certain extent succeeded in evading the restrictive provisions (in Mainz, Hesse-Darmstadt, Fulda, *Wuerzburg, Bamerg, Mecklenburg-Schwerin, and Ansbach).

On the eve of emancipation the states lost all interest in the continued existence of the Landjudenschaft, except as far as their purely religious functions were concerned, for the concept of the Jewish community as a "state within a state" went against the idea of emancipation. The abolition of all such institutions was brought about by government legislation, either on the granting of emancipation in the wake of the French occupation, or as a prerequisite to it demanded by the German states.

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[Daniel J. Cohen]

LANDMAN, ISAAC (1880–1946), U.S. Reform rabbi. Born in Sudilkov, Russia, Landman was taken to Cincinnati in 1889. He matriculated at the University of Cincinnati (1906) and was ordained at Hebrew Union College. He served at Congregation Kenesseth Israel, Philadelphia (1906–10), and helped establish the farm colony of Jews in Clarion, Utah. Landman was equally active outside the congregational sphere. While in Philadelphia, he was executive secretary of the National Farm School, and in 1916 he was Jewish chaplain with the U.S. forces in Mexico. From 1918 to 1937 he was editor of the *American Hebrew* and in 1928 began the planning of the *Universal Jewish Encyclopedia*, of which he was editor in chief and which appeared in ten volumes between 1939 and 1943. A veteran of World War I, he also served as chaplain with Pershing's army in Mexico and worked with the Jewish Welfare Board to establish a training school for chaplains. He then served at Temple Israel in Far Rockaway, N.Y., and became editor of the *American Hebrew,* then a prominent newspaper. When the depression hit, he was forced to return to the pulpit and went on to serve Beth Elohim, in Brooklyn (1931–46). One of Landman's principal interests was the goodwill movement between Christians and Jews. Triggered by a blood libel accusation in 1927 in upstate New York, called the Massena Incident, he organized the Permanent Commission for Better Understanding Between Protestants, Catholics and Jews and became its executive secretary. When the National Conference of Christians and Jews was formed the Commission was no longer needed. A man of varied talents, he was interested in drama and worked with his brother on a number of plays. He testified against political Zionism before the Foreign Affairs Committee of the House of Representatives and fought domestic antisemitism so actively that he was called the two-fisted rabbi. He was a delegate to the founding of the World Union of Progressive Judaism (1926) and named president of the interdenominational Synagogue Council of America just before he died.

[Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

LANDMARKS, fixed stone objects erected to designate the boundaries between fields, districts, lands, or nations in the Near East. The removal of landmarks is considered to be a grievous sin in the Bible and in other literature of the Near East. Deuteronomy twice warns against this offense (Deut. 19:14; 27:17). The biblical prohibition against landmark removal is mentioned along with other transgressions that are perpetrated secretly and, therefore, usually not punished by society. A biblical imprecation (Heb. *arur*) is therefore leveled against the violator, all other punitive measures being inadequate.

Babylonian boundary stones or monuments (*kudurru*) first appear in the Kassite period and may originally have served to mark boundaries in a field, but seem to have become legal records dealing with landed property. The inscription on the stone usually contains some statement or certificate of ownership, and severe maledictions are appended to it, directed to anyone who should alter or destroy the inscription. There appear on the stones symbols of Babylonian deities who are asked to invoke the curse on the future offender. Ancient wisdom literature also contains severe warnings against the removal of landmarks, particularly those of a widow (the "Instruction of Amen-em-Opet" 7:15, in Pritchard, Texts, 422; COS I:117), and the transgressor is threatened with divine punishment by the gods because he violated divinely established boundaries. The offense of the removal of boundary stones was used metaphorically as a symbol for the abolition of ancient laws and custom (Prov. 22:28; 23:10). Those who defected from the Qumran sect are said to be "removers of the landmark" (see C. Rabin, *The Zadokite Documents* (1954), 4, 20, 42).

For the extension of the concept of infringement on the rights of others, see **Hassagat Gevul.*

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LANDON, MICHAEL (**Eugene Maurice Orowitz**; 1936–1991), U.S. actor, writer, producer, director. Born in Forest Hills, Queens, to an Irish Catholic mother and Jewish father, Eugene Orowitz grew up in Collingswood, New Jersey, and went to UCLA on a track and field scholarship. He was forced to leave school when an arm injury disqualified him from athletics. He stayed in the area and worked at odd jobs until he decided to pursue acting. After adopting the stage name Michael Landon, which he picked out of the Los Angeles telephone book, he soon landed his first big role in the film *I Was a Teenage Werewolf* (1957). However, it was as Little Joe Cartwright on the television series *Bonanza* (1959–72) that Landon became a household name, endearing himself to a wide range of Americans throughout the 14 years that the series ran. When Landon undertook his next television project, *Little House on the Prairie* (1974), another NBC western, it was not only in the role of family patriarch Charles Ingalls but also as the series' producer, writer, and director. After a successful eight-year run, *Little House* was pulled off the air and Landon moved onto the NBC fantasy/drama show *Highway to Heaven* (1984). When Landon's co-star, Victor French, died of lung cancer in 1989, Landon pulled the plug on the show, prompting his dismissal from NBC. Diagnosed with pancreatic cancer soon afterward, Landon made his last public appearance on the Johnny Carson show in 1991, discussing his disease with bravery and candor. He died a few weeks later in Malibu, California, with his children at his side.

[Casey Schwartz (2nd ed.)]

LANDOWSKA, WANDA (1879–1959), harpsichordist, pianist, and composer. Born in Warsaw, Landowska bean to play the piano at the age of four. She studied at the Warsaw Conservatory with Michałowski and in Berlin (1896) with Moszkowski (piano and composition). In Paris (1900) she married Henry Lew, a writer on Hebrew folk music. Landowska was one of the first to revive harpsichord music and won renown in that field. Giving numerous concerts and lectures she reawakened interest in music of the Baroque period. She toured all over Europe including Russia. In 1912, the piano maker Pleyel built her a special harpsichord. In 1913 she went to Berlin to teach harpsichord at the Musik-Hochschule. After World War I, Landowska taught in Basel and played a harpsichord continuo in the *St. Matthew Passion* – for the first time in the 20th century. In Paris, she taught at the Ecole Normale de Musique. Landowska founded her own Ecole de Musique Ancienne at Saint-Leu-la-Flôret, near Paris, for the study, teaching, and performance of early music. There, in 1933, she gave the first integral performance of Bach's Goldberg Variations. With the advent of Hitler, she was forced to leave the school. She fled to France and settled in the U.S. in 1941. At the age of 70 she recorded the complete Bach "48." Her performance style was an assertive one, highlighted by legato playing and variety of articulation. She developed modern harpsichord technique and played compositions written for her by several modern composers, such as Falla and Poulenc. Landowska was decorated by both the French and Polish governments.

ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY: Her books include *Bach et ses interprèts* (1906) and *La musique ancienne* (1909). Denise Restout edited a collection of her articles as *Landowska on Music* (1965). **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** Grove online; *MGG*; D. Marty, *Une dame nommée Wanda* (1993).

[Claude Abravanel / Naama Ramot (2nd ed.)]

LANDRABBINER (**Landesrabbiner**, Heb. *rav medinah*), rabbinical office formerly prevalent throughout Central Europe. It originated in the latter half of the 14th century when regional rulers appointed a "*Judenmeister*," later called *Landesrabbiner*, to facilitate the collection of taxes. In the 15th century, as a result of the widespread expulsions of the period, this charge was abolished. Instead, the rabbinical courts of the free imperial cities like Frankfurt and Worms acquired increased authority and importance. With the reestablishment of Jewish communities in the 16th and early 17th centuries, some states authorized the appointment of a chief rabbi (*rav medinah*) and the establishment of a rabbinical court (*bet din*). In 1600 there were a dozen such courts in Germany. The establishment of these institutions did much to undercut the influence of the rabbinical courts in the free imperial cities, a development welcomed by rulers who sought to sever the ties that bound Jews living in their realms to courts operating outside their jurisdiction. Most of the Landjudenschaften employed a *Landrabbiner* (*rav medinah, av bet din*), whose main function was the equitable apportioning of the tax load. The *Landrabbiner* was sometimes directly appointed by the authorities, but generally he was elected by the Landjudenschaft; the authorities authorized the elections and issued him a formal writ of responsibilities and powers. Often the *Landrabbiner* had close family and social connections with the secular leadership of the Landjudenschaften; at times the office remained within the same family for several generations. Its sinecures provided the incumbent with a relatively high income. While the secular Jewish leadership considered that the *Landrabbiner* provided religious sanction for their efforts, the authorities sought to make use of him as a power lever within the Jewish community. Frequent disagreement developed over policy and jurisdiction. The authority of the *Landrabbiner* gradually lapsed in the later 18th century, particularly in the light of the increasing tendency to appeal to general courts of law. The continuity of the office was broken during the Napoleonic era.

In the 19th century *Landrabbiner* were appointed once more by a number of German states. The three *Landrabbiner* of Hanover represented the government in the supervision of synagogues, schools, and charitable institutions in their districts. In charge of the inspection and appointment of all communal employees, they could levy fines of up to ten marks and could not be deposed without governmental consent even though they were elected by the communities. In Mecklenburg-Schwerin, Saxe-Weimar, and Brunswick, *Landrabbiner* were appointed to facilitate the modernization of Jewish life and religious practice. When Abraham *Geiger wished to introduce the institution into Nassau he encountered the vigorous opposition of the Orthodox rural communities. During the course of the 19th century the jurisdiction of the office was increasingly limited to purely religious areas, and in the 20th century, it became mainly an honorary appointment.

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LANDSBERG, MICHELE (1939–), Canadian journalist, author, feminist, social critic. Landsberg was born in Toronto. After high school she spent a year in Israel and returned to Toronto to earn a B.A. in English language and literature from the University of Toronto in 1962. From the 1960s she was active as a reporter, freelance writer, and columnist for both the *Globe and Mail* and *Toronto Star* newspapers. In the 1970s she also served as writer and editor with *Chatelaine*, a popular Canadian women's magazine. She wrote covers stories on contemporary feminism, politics, media, women's health, the environment, education, urban life, and gardening. Her work at the *Toronto Star* earned her two National Newspaper Awards, including the first ever awarded for column writing, and she was among the paper's top-read columnists.

Michele Landsberg was also the author of several books, including *Women and Children First* (1982); *Michele Landsberg's Guide to Children's Books* (1986), also published in the United States and England, where it was a London *Times* Book of the Year; and *This is New York, Honey!*, which was number one on the bestseller list in 1989. A passionate and sometimes controversial social critic and voice for progressive causes, Landsberg has also served on the boards of a number of agencies and volunteer organizations working to assist assaulted women, global feminism, and the cause of peace in the Middle East. Some of Landsberg's honors include the Robertine Barry Prize for journalism from the Canadian Research Institute for the Advancement of Women, the Florence Bird Award from the International Centre for Human Rights and Democratic Development, and the 2002 Governor General's Medal in Commemoration of the Persons Case, an award acknowledging contributions to equality for women which have resulted in positive change. Landsberg is married to Stephen Lewis, former Canadian ambassador to the United Nations and United Nations special envoy for HIV/AIDS in Africa.

[Randal F. Schnoor (2nd ed.)]

LANDSBERG, OTTO (1869–1957), German politician. Born in Rybnik, Upper Silesia, in 1890 Landsberg joined the Social Democratic Party while a law student in Berlin. He practiced law in Magdeburg, where he became a town councilor in 1903. In 1912 he was elected to the Reichstag. He belonged to the extreme right wing of his party, and was under constant attack from the leftists because of his patriotic attitude. During World War I, Landsberg became increasingly influential in the Social Democratic Party, and after the outbreak of the revolution in Germany, became a member of the Council of People's Plenipotentiaries, which exercised the functions of government. He consistently opposed Bolshevik ideology, and in January 1919 was seized by the revolutionary workers and condemned to death. He was rescued by troops called up by the chancellor, Friedrich Ebert. A month later Ebert made him minister of justice in the first Weimar government and a member of the German delegation at Versailles in the summer of that year. Landsberg opposed the signing of the peace treaty, and resigned from the government. From 1920 to 1923 he was German ambassador to Belgium.

Landsberg returned to Berlin in 1924 and resumed his law practice. Reelected to the Reichstag in 1924, he remained a member until the Nazis came to power in 1933. He emigrated via the CSR, Schwitzerland und Belgium to Holland and lived there in hiding throughout World War II. Landsberg was not a member of the Jewish community, but was one of the founders of the Association for Defense against Antisemitism. He wrote *Student und Politik* (1925) and *Politische Krise der Gegenwart* (1931). After 1945 he supported the Social Democratic periodical *Neuer Vorwärts* but stayed in Holland and died in Baarn (near Utrecht).

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[Bernard Dov Ganzel / Bjoern Siegel (2nd ed.)]

LANDSBERGER, ARTHUR (1876–1933), German novelist and editor. Born into a well-to-do Protestant Berlin family of Jewish descent, Landsberger studied law, but decided to devote himself to literature and art. In 1907 he helped found *Der Morgen*, a periodical devoted to art and general culture. He wrote many exciting, but ephemeral, detective and adventure stories. His heroes and heroines are often satanic types, Landsberger being most at home among the nouveaux riches and demimondaines of Berlin's Kurfuerstendamm. In his popular novel *Wie Hilde Simon mit Gott und dem Teufel kaempfte* (1911), he introduced Jewish themes, as also in the novel *Berlin ohne Juden* (1925; modeled on a similar book on Vienna, *Die Stadt ohne Juden* [1922] by Hugo *Bettauer). Landsberger's *Juedische Sprichwoerter* (1912) pioneered in the German translation of Yiddish works. In 1914 he edited *Das Ghettobuch*, a collection of stories of East European Jewish life taken primarily from the Yiddish classics. A second volume, *Das Volk des Ghetto*, appeared in 1916. When the Nazis came to power in 1933, Landsberger committed suicide.

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[Rudolf Kayser]

LANDSBERGER, BENNO (1890–1968), Assyriologist. Landsberger was born in Frydek, then Austrian Silesia (now Czech Republic). He studied Semitic languages at the University of Leipzig (1908–13) and specialized, under H. Zimmern, in Sumerian and Akkadian. In 1920 he was appointed lecturer at the University of Leipzig and, in 1926, professor of Assyriology, a position he held until 1935. Deprived of his chair in Leipzig by the Nazis, he left Germany in 1935 and was appointed professor of Assyriology at the University of Ankara, Turkey. From 1948 he was professor of Assyriology at the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago. Landsberger laid the foundation for the modern study of Assyriology. In his philological studies Landsberger freed Assyriology from its dependence upon Arabic and Hebrew and contributed to its establishment as a discipline in its own right. As for Mesopotamian culture, he sought to delineate its specific character (*Eigenbegrifflichkeit*), not by comparison and contrast with the Bible, but rather through investigation of the elements in its evolution: language, cult, law, literature, material culture, social and economic structure. His genius found its expression not only in his philological works, prominent among which is the edition of the Sumero-Akkadian lexical lists, but also in his penetrating and original treatment of some crucial problems of Mesopotamian history and chronology. Of special significance in the field of Semitic philology are his contributions on Hebrew-Akkadian and Aramaic-Akkadian comparative semantics and lexicography and on the Semitic verb. Landsberger's work was continued by his numerous disciples in major centers of Assyriological research.

Landsberger's publications cover almost every aspect of Assyriology. His major work – unfinished – was his *Materialen zum sumerischen Lexicon* (9 vols., 1937–68), which he edited. Other principal monographs are *Der kultische Kalender der Babylonier und Assyrer* (1915); *Die Fauna des Alten Mesopotamien* (1934); *Sam'al* (1948); *Assyrische Koenigsliste und "Dunkles Zeitalter"* (1954); *Brief des Bischofs von Esagila an Koenig Asarhaddon* (1965); and *The Date Palm and Its By-Products According to the Cuneiform Sources* (1967). He was editor of the *Zeitschrift fuer Assyrologie* (1931–36), and from 1956 until his death, he was one of the editors of *The Chicago Assyrian Dictionary* (10 vols. published to 1968). A bibliography of Landsberger's lexicographical contributions up to 1950 appeared in *Journal of Cuneiform Studies*, 4 (1950), 1–62. Jubilee volumes in his honor were: on his 70th birthday: *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, 19 (April 1960), no. 2; on his 75th birthday: *Studies in Honor of Benno Landsberger on his Seventy-Fifth Birthday*, 1965 (Assyriological Studies of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, no. 16).

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[Hayim Tadmor]

LANDSHUT, city in Bavaria, Germany. Jews may have lived there since its foundation in 1204, although they are first mentioned in 1256. In 1337 and 1349 atrocities were committed following the *Deggendorf and *Black Death disturbances, although Jews were found in the city once more shortly after both persecutions. A Jewish street and its neighboring gate are mentioned in 1331. A mid-14th-century parchment describes the moneylender "Feifelein," the "Jew's king," taking a Jewish *oath. While Duke Henry of Landshut protected the Jews, his son Ludwig expelled them in 1450, confiscating their valuables and canceling the debts due to them. A 15th-century Hebrew tombstone is preserved in the municipal museum. The synagogue was converted into a church in 1452. In 1810 one Jew lived in Landshut and 100 years later the town had 60 Jewish inhabitants. The number of Jews declined from 48 in 1933 to 18 in 1939. On April 2/3, 1942, 11 Jews from the town were deported east. During World War II, 200 Jews, victims of a nearby labor camp, were buried near the city.

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LANDSHUT, SIEGFRIED (1897–1968), German Marxian scholar and sociologist. Born in Strasbourg, Landshut studied economics, philosophy, and social science and became assistant lecturer at the University of Hamburg in 1927, but immigrated to Palestine in 1933, where he did research at the Hebrew University. In 1951 he was reinstated as a professor of sociology and political science at the University of Hamburg. Landshut edited the early writings of Marx under the title *Karl Marx: Die Fruehschriften* (1932) and a selection from the writings of Tocqueville under the title *A. de Tocqueville: Das Zeitalter der Gleichheit* (1954). In his early work, *Kritik der Soziologie* (1929), he considers liberty and equality as the initial sociological concepts, derived from the thought of the 18th century and transformed in the 19th century by Marx. The disappearance of societal diversification and the fusion of the state with society, according to Landshut, have rendered all traditional institutions highly questionable. Landshut also wrote a biography of Karl Marx which was included in *Coleman's Kleine Biographien* (1932), *Gemeinschaftssiedlungen in Palaestina* (1934), and *Jewish Communities in the Muslim Countries of the Middle East* (1950).

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[Werner J. Cahnman / Bjoern Siegel (2nd ed.)]

LANDSHUTH, ELIEZER (**Leser**; 1817–1887), liturgical scholar and historian. Born in Lissa (now Lezno) to poor parents, Landshuth decided to study for the rabbinate and at the age of 20 proceeded to Berlin, where he studied for some years in the yeshivah of R. Jacob Joseph Oettinger, the rabbi of Berlin. Landshuth always referred to him in terms of the greatest respect as his teacher and mentor. In 1842 he referred to himself as a candidate for the rabbinate and wrote an article, *Die Verbindlichkeit des Zeremonialgesetzes fuer den juedischen Krieger* (Allgemeines Archiv des Judenthums, 2 (1842), 246–75), which he published under a pseudonym. Shortly afterward, however (possibly influenced by Zunz and Geiger, with whom he was in contact), he changed his mind and with the assistance of some friends became a bookseller. He was not very successful and accepted a position as superintendent of the ancient cemetery of the Berlin Jewish community.

According to the testimony of his friends, Landshuth entertained the most extreme liberal views with regard to Judaism, but there is not even a hint of them in his work. Landshuth's reputation rests mainly on his research into the Jewish liturgy, and his work has retained its value to the present day. His method was to trace the prayers, their authors, and their sources in the Talmud and midrashic literature, and he wrote three works on this subject: the prayer book *Hegyon Lev*, published by H. Edelman (Koenigsberg, 1845), includes a commentary by Landshuth in the form of footnotes, entitled *Kunteres Berakhah*, in which he attempts to establish the period during which most of the prayers were composed. The commentary already reveals a real critical faculty and serious research. His second work is a Passover *Haggadah* with an introduction, *Maggid me-Reshit* (Berlin, 1855), which follows the same method. The third is *Seder Bikkur Ḥolim, Ma'avar Yabbok ve-Sefer ha-Ḥayyim*, a collection of prayers and meditations for the sick, the dying, and funerals (1867), with a scholarly introduction on the origin of these prayers and customs and an appendix (in some copies only) containing examples of typical tombstone inscriptions with biographical data.

His research in this field and his extensive knowledge of the various liturgical rites led him to compose his most famous work, a biographical and bibliographical dictionary on the *paytanim*, entitled *Ammudei ha-Avodah* (*Onomasticon Auctorum Hymnorum Hebraeorum…* Vol. I, 1857; Vol. II, 1862, reprinted 1968). Although it was rendered somewhat obsolete by Zunz in his *Synagogale Poesie* which appeared in 1863, it contains valuable and accurate information. Possibly as a result of Zunz's work, the third volume was never published. He then devoted himself to the history of the Berlin Jewish community and published *Toledot Anshei Shem u-Fe'ulatam*, on the rabbis of Berlin up to 1800 (Part 1, 1884, Part 2 was not published), as well as *Ateret Ẓevi*, a biography of Hirschel *Levin. Geiger in his *Geschichte der Juden in Berlin* made use of the material Landshuth collected without acknowledging the source. A portion of Landshuth's manuscripts passed to Dr. S. Neumann, and another to the Hochschule fuer die Wissenschaft des Judenthum. A pamphlet he wrote on the rabbis of his birthplace, Lissa, *Zikkaron ba-Sefer*, served as a source for many details in L. Lewin's *Geschichte der Juden in Lissa* (1904).

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[Ernst Daniel Goldschmidt]

LANDSMANNSCHAFTEN, immigrant benevolent organizations formed and named after the members' birthplace or East European residence, for mutual aid, hometown aid, and social purposes. In North America landsmannschaften were, at first, immigrant synagogues. This began to change after 1880 as secular landsmannschaften tended to replace the synagogue societies. The benefits which the landsmannschaften attempted to provide included sick benefits, interest-free loans, and burial rights and aid to families during the period of mourning. They also aided their overseas *landsleit* and helped to bring many to the United States. By 1914 New York City knew of at least 534 of these organizations with membership ranging from 50 to 500. Many became affiliated with national fraternal organizations such as the Workmen's Circle, Jewish National Workmen's Alliance (Farband), and Sons of Zion. In addition, there existed such federations as the United Galician Jews of America. The number of landsmannschaften grew rapidly during World War I, and these organizations, representing most of the cities and towns of Eastern Europe, dispatched millions of dollars in relief supplies and cash. After the war, the landsmannschaften utilized their money and membership to finance the relief work carried on by the Joint Distribution Committee, Hadassah, and other organizations, and to oppose antisemitism and discrimination in its varied forms.

Despite the decline in the membership and activities of the landsmannschaften after 1930, due in part to the dying off of the immigrant generation, hundreds of thousands of European-born Jews still belonged to landsmannschaft societies in the period immediately prior to World War II. European antisemitism stimulated the formation of many central landsmannschaften which attempted both to assist their harassed *landsleit* overseas and to bring groups of immigrants into the United States and Palestine by the use of "corporation visas." During this period, the landsmannschaften increasingly participated in such local Jewish communal activities as community councils and the charity federations.

The landsmannschaften experienced a minor revival after World War II, brought about by the need to aid both the survivors of the Holocaust (many of whom joined these landsmannschaften after their arrival in the United States) and Israel in the form of clothing, medical supplies, food, and war material where and when it could be procured. However, this revival was relatively short-lived. Taking Chicago as symptomatic of this revival, that city had approximately 600 landsmannschaften with 40,000 members in 1948. In 1961 there were only 60 landsmannschaften in the city.

In Latin America

In most Latin American countries Jewish organizations and congregations were formed in three separate frameworks: East European; Sephardi and Syrian-Lebanese; and German. Each was subdivided in many groups, according to their places or areas of origin (Bessarabian, Polish, etc.; or those from Aleppo, Damascus, or Bulgaria, Turkey, etc.; German, Austrian, Bohemian). They sometimes published newspapers or periodicals in their language of origin, maintained clubs, commemorated their communities which perished in the Holocaust (and sent help to those which still exist). Most of these landsmannschaften did not survive the immigrant generation and disappeared gradually among their Spanish-Portuguese-speaking descendants. (See the articles on individual countries.)

In Israel

Already in the Mandatory period, and particularly in the State of Israel, many immigrants established organizations according to their places or countries of origin. Those who originated from a town or region (such as Bialystok or Bessarabia) aided individual immigrants from there and cultivated, orally and in book form, the memory of their communities destroyed in the Holocaust. More comprehensive organizations, particularly those representing immigrants from Germany and Austria in the middle and late 1930s (Hitaḥdut Olei Merkaz Europa), eventually even coalesced into political parties (as Aliyah Ḥadashah), which later dissolved into the traditional parties of the *yishuv*. They also developed a net of mutual aid and welfare institutions, such as old age homes. A specific role has been played by the unions of immigrants from Soviet Russia and the Western and overseas countries – Britain, Latin America, United States and Canada – which greatly influenced the immigration and absorption system evolved by the Jewish Agency and the government in dealing with the special needs of these immigrants. Little effort was made to cultivate the various non-Jewish cultural and linguistic traditions brought by the immigrants from their countries. Some East European groups aided the publication of Yiddish literature; Italian immigrants formed the Dante Alighieri Society; many non-Hebrew newspapers (including Hungarian and Russian) served the needs of immigrants for information, etc. However, the most conspicuous trait of these phenomena is their quick disappearance in the next, Israel-born or Israel-raised, generation.

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LANDSOFER, JONAH BEN ELIJAH (1678–1712), rabbi and author, an opponent of the Shabbateans. Landsofer lived in Prague and, like his father and grandfather, was a professional scribe. It has been suggested that his name Landsofer ("scribe of the province") refers to his occupation, his real family name being Bunzlau after the town where the family originated. Landsofer was a versatile personality, and studied both Talmud and Kabbalah. He was sent to Vienna by his teacher, Abraham *Broda, to engage in disputations with the Shabbateans. Only some of his works have been published, among them *Me'il Ẓedakah* (Prague, 1757), responsa; *Benei Yonah* (*ibid.*, 1803), a comprehensive work on all the rules of writing of the *Sefer Torah*, and the importance of its being written elegantly (in one place the author writes at length on Bibles printed by gentiles, "which Jews do not refrain from reading," and concludes that they should be discarded); *Kanfei Yonah* (*ibid.*, 1812); novellae on the Shulḥan Arukh, *Yoreh De'ah*, up to chapter 110. In his *Me'il Ẓedakah*, he mentions his *Me'orei Or* on matters connected with the *Sefer Torah*, which was never published. At the end of *Me'il Ẓedakah* there are notes to Euclid, proof of the author's wide interests. His ethical will, first published in *Derekh Tovim* (Frankfurt, 1717), reflects his piety and exceptional humility. Despite his premature death, he was regarded as one of the outstanding scholars of Prague.

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[Naphtali Ben-Menahem]

LANDSTEINER, KARL (1868–1943), scientist and Nobel Prize laureate, discoverer of the basic human blood groups and of the Rhesus blood factor. Landsteiner was born in Vienna; from 1898 to 1908 he worked at the Pathology Institute of Vienna University and from 1909 to 1919 taught pathology at the University's Wilhelminenspital. After three years in Holland he went to New York in 1922 to become a member of the Rockefeller Institute for Medical Research, and worked there for the rest of his life. He died a Roman Catholic.

In 1927, together with Philip *Levine, Landsteiner described the M, N, and P factors in human blood. These hereditary factors came to be used to decide cases of doubtful paternity. In 1930 he was awarded the Nobel Prize for physiology and medicine, for his discovery of four different groups of human blood, A, B, AB, and O, distinguished by their clotting factors. This became the basis for matching donor and recipient in blood transfusions.

In 1940 Landsteiner and Alexander S. Wiener completed the research leading to their discovery of the Rhesus or Rh factor which was to become of lifesaving importance in obstetrics and clinical medicine. Landsteiner also made other major contributions to medical science: he introduced dark-field illumination for demonstrating spirochetes in syphilitic lesions and discovered that the rhesus monkey could be infected by the poliomyelitis virus – a finding which was the basis, decades later, for the development of the *Salk vaccine. His *The Specificity of Serological Reactions* (1936) has become a classic.

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[Samuel Aaron Miller]

LANG, FRITZ (1890–1976), Austrian film director and screenwriter; son of a non-Jewish father and a Jewish mother (Pauline Schlesinger) who converted to Catholicism when Lang was 10 years old. Born in Vienna, Lang went to Berlin in 1919 and, after writing screenplays, turned to directing. His reputation was established in 1921 with the allegorical *Der Muede Tod* (known in English as "Destiny"), which paved the way in film technique by its use of dream effects and decorations. In 1922 he directed *Dr. Mabuse*, the first of a series of melodramas of that name about a powerful gang leader with fabulous powers of hypnosis. In 1924 he directed *Die Nibelungen,* in which an invincible hero is overcome by human weakness. His film *Metropolis* (1926), for which he wrote the screenplay, was about automaton-like labor in the year 2000. In 1931 he shot his most successful German film, *M*, which he also wrote. A year after his *Das Testament des Dr. Mabuse* (1932), Lang was approached by Joseph Goebbels with the proposition of putting him in charge of Nazi films. That same evening Lang, fearing that his Jewish origin would become known, fled to France and later to the U.S., where he went to work for Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer in 1934, and was reduced to screenwriting for some time. His reputation was reestablished with his two socially conscious films *Fury* (which he also wrote, 1936) and *You Only Live Once* (1937). He later turned to directing more popular films, including several westerns (e.g., *Western Union* (1940)) and anti-Nazi films. One of his successful later films was *The Woman in the Window* (1944). Lang's films are characterized by a pervasively dark and hostile atmosphere, fraught with sinister characters and a cynical view of the world. In many cases, the titles of the films themselves already herald the sense of foreboding. Such films include *Harakiri* (1919); *Ministry of Fear* (1944); *The Big Heat* (1953); *Human Desire* (1954); *Moonfleet* (1955); and *While the City Sleeps* (1956). Lang's book, *Saint Cinema: Writings on Film 1929–1970*, which he co-authored with Herman Weinberg, was published in 1980.

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[Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

LANG, JACK (1939–), French public figure and minister of culture. Lang studied law and politics before turning to theater and theater management. He directed the Festival Mondial du Théatre Universitaire (1963–72) and also the Chaillot Theater (the former TNP) in Paris (1972–74). In 1978 Lang was appointed special adviser to the first secretary of the Socialist party and in 1979 he became director of the cultural activities of the party. In 1981 he was appointed minister of culture in the Socialist government under President Mitterrand. In this position, Lang sought to implement the cultural platform of the Socialist party, to encourage popular theater and culture and government support for films. At one time violently opposed to "American cultural imperialism," Lang subsequently toned down his criticism while making an all out effort to promote French culture on the international scene. He devoted much attention to promoting youth activities, including rock performances. He ceased to be minister with the defeat of the Socialists in 1993.

[Gideon Kouts]

LANG, PEARL (1921–), U.S. dancer. Lang was born to Jacob Lack from Vilna and Frieda (nee Feder) from Pinsk. She studied modern dance with Francis Allis. In 1941 she went to New York to study with Martha *Graham and Louis Horst and shortly thereafter joined the Martha Graham Dance Company, performing from 1941 to 1955. Lang became the premier interpreter of Graham's work and the first to perform Graham's own roles, including "El Penitente," "Appalachian Spring," "Herodiade," and "Clytemnestra." Lang also performed on Broadway in musicals, including Agnes de Mille's *One Touch of Venus*, *Carousel*, Michael *Kidd's *Finian's Rainbow*, and Helen Tamiris' *Touch and Go*. She formed her own company in 1953. Of her 34 works on Jewish themes, her signature work was *Shirah* (in 1960), to music by Alan Hovhaness, inspired by Rabbi Nachman of Bratzlav's story about a spring flowing from a high mountain to the end of the world. Her first work was *Song of Deborah*, restaged in 1967 to music of the Israeli Sergiu *Natra for the Batsheva Dance Company. Lang's *The Possessed* (inspired by the classic Yiddish drama *The Dybbuk*) was choreographed in 1975 and reset as a film in 1997. Her *Dances from the Ballads of Itzik Manger*, to music by Jan *Radzynski, Yehudi Wyner, and Dov Seltzer, was created in 1981. Others who have composed for her include Tzevi *Avni ("And Jacob Wrestled with the Angel"); Mordechai *Seter ("Prayers at Midnight"); Aaron *Copland ("Sabbath Song"); and Steve *Reich ("Tehillim").

Lang has set her dances for the Dutch National Ballet, the Batsheva Dance Company, the Repertory Dance Theater of Utah, and the Boston Ballet. In 1975, Lang returned to the Graham Company to dance the title role in *Clytemnestra*. She continued performing until 1989; she was considered a master teacher of the Graham technique. She also taught at the Yale University School of Drama and was guest teacher in Switzerland, Sweden, and Israel. She received the Guggenheim choreographic fellowship in 1960 and 1969; the Cultural Achievement Award of the National Foundation for Jewish Culture in 1992; and an honorary doctorate of fine arts from the Juilliard School in 1995.

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[Judith Brin Ingber (2nd ed.)]

°LANGALLERIE, PHILIPPE GENTIL DE (1656–1717), French general and adventurer who dreamed of establishing a Jewish state. After serving under the French, the Austrians, and the Poles, in 1716 Langallerie made an offer to the Turks through their envoy in The Hague. He would lead a motley army of disguised pilgrims into Italy, overthrow the pope, and hand Rome to the Turks. In return, he would receive one of their islands, or possibly the Holy Land itself, in order to settle there the lost Jewish tribes. He then appealed, though fruitlessly, to the Jewish communities in Amsterdam, Hamburg, Altona, and elsewhere to equip a fleet of 50 men-of-war and an army of 10,000 soldiers. His project attracted the kabbalist Alexander Susskind of Metz, who was to act as treasurer in Langallerie's chimerical "théocratie du verbe divin." In 1716 he was arrested near Hamburg and brought to Vienna. He was tried for conspiracy and high treason and died in prison.

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[Emmanuel Beeri]

LANGDON, DAVID (1914–), British cartoonist and illustrator. Educated at the London School of Economics, Langdon began to draw regularly for *Punch* in 1937 and eventually became a member of the "Punch Table," the weekly staff gathering which plans each issue of the paper. During World War II, he was a squadron leader in the Royal Air Force, and in 1945–46 edited the *RAF Journal*. After the war he contributed to various London papers, including *Reynolds News*, the *Evening Standard*, and the *Sunday Mirror*. From 1952 his drawings, distinguished by their elegance of line and ironic approach, also appeared regularly in the American weekly, *The New Yorker*. Langdon's cartoons were collected in a number of volumes, among them *Home Front Lines* (1941), *The Way I See It* (1947), *All in Fun* (1955), *Langdon at Large* (1958), *Punch with Wings* (1961), and *How to Play Golf and Stay Happy* (1964). He illustrated humorous books by George Mikes and others.

LANGER, FRANTIŠEK (1888–1965), Czech playwright, novelist, and physician. Langer was born in Prague. His first play, *Svatý Václav* ("St. Wenceslas," 1912), was staged by the Prague National Theater before he was 23. An officer in the Austrian army in World War I, Langer was taken prisoner by the Russians and subsequently joined the Czech Legion formed by Thomas Masaryk. Langer belonged to Masaryk's *Pátečníci* ("Friday Group"), the statesman's circle of closest friends, and was deeply influenced by Masaryk's humanistic philosophy. Other influences apparent in his writing are his Russian experiences and the human suffering with which he came into daily contact as an army doctor. He eventually became head of the Czechoslovak Army Medical Corps. Escaping to France from Nazi-occupied Prague in 1939, Langer fled to London after the fall of Paris, but returned to his own country after World War II. For many years he was president of the Czechoslovak PEN Club, representing his country at various international literary congresses.

Langer was a fine storyteller with a penetrating insight into human problems. His novels and collections of short stories incude *Zlatá Venuše* ("Golden Venus," 1911), *Železný vlk* ("Iron Wolf," 1920), *Předměstské povídky* ("Suburb Stories," 1926), *Děti a dýka* ("Children and the Dagger," 1943), and *Filatelistické povidky* ("Philatelist Stories," 1964). He is, however, best known as the outstanding Czech playwright next to Čapek. His best-known plays are the drama *Periferie* ("Outskirts," 1925) and the comedy *Velbloud uchem jehly* (1923; *The Camel through the Needle's Eye*, 1929); both were translated into many languages, and, in the stage versions of Max *Reinhardt, were international successes. Langer's other stage successes were *Noc* ("Night," 1922), *Anděle mezi námi* ("Angels Among Us," on the problem of euthanasia, 1931), *Dvaasedmdesátka* ("Number 72," 1937), and *Jiskra v popelu* ("Spark in Ashes," 1948); in the last two, the truth is revealed through the technique of a play within a play. Two charming and successful comedies were *Grand Hotel Nevada* (1927) and *Obrácení Ferdyše Pištory* ("The Conversion of Ferdyš Pištora," 1929). *Bronzová rapsódie* ("Rhapsody in Bronze," 1962), Langer's last play, is a poetic allegory about war and peace with an ancient Greek setting. Many of his plays were adapted for the screen. *Filatelistické povídky* ("Stamp Collector Stories," 1965) was published in the year of his death and *Malířské povídky* ("Painter Stories," 1966) posthumously. The European Holocaust shocked Langer into a new awareness of his Jewish identity, as may be seen in the chapter dedicated to his late brother, Jiří Mordechai *Langer, in a postwar book of reminiscences entitled *Byli a bylo* ("There Were and There Was," 1963, 1971, 1991). This chapter, "Můj bratr Jiří" ("My Brother Jiří") is the introduction to Jiří Langer's book, *Devět bran* (1937, 1990; *Nine Gates*, 1961). Langer's literary work appeared rarely during the Communist era. From 2000 his collected works began to be published (in 15 volumes).

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[Avigdor Dagan / Milos Pojar (2nd ed.)]

LANGER, JIŘÍ MORDECHAI (1894–1943), Czech poet and author, and a younger brother of the playwright František *Langer. Born in Prague, Jiří rebelled against his assimilatory upbringing and in 1913 went to Belz (Galicia), where he remained for some time at the court of the Rokeaḥ dynasty of ḥasidic rabbis. When he returned to Prague, he retained his ḥasidic garb and continued to lead a strictly observant life. On the outbreak of World War I, following a second visit to Belz, he was conscripted into the Austrian army but was released because of his religious inflexibility. He then became a teacher at a Jewish school in Vienna and Prague and wrote Hebrew poetry such as *Piyyutim ve-Shirei Yedidut* (1929). Langer applied Freudian theories to the interpretation of certain aspects of Jewish literature and ritual in such studies as *Die Erotik der Kabbala* (1923), *Erotika kabaly* (1991), *Zur Funktion der juedischen Tuerpfortenrolle* (1928), *Die juedischen Gebetriemen – Phylakterien* (1931), and *Talmud. Ukázky a dějiny* ("Talmud. Extracts and History," 1938, 1993, 1994). His outstanding literary achievements are, however, *Devět bran Chasidů tajemství* (1937, 1965, 1990, 1996; *Nine Gates to the Hasidic Mysteries*, 1961), a volume of ḥasidic tales which have also been translated into Italian and German, and *Zpěvy zavržených* ("Songs of the Rejected," 1937, 1993), verse ranging from 11th-century Spain to 19th-century Prague. Langer was a close friend of Franz *Kafka, whom he taught Hebrew, and of Max *Brod, who records in his autobiography that some of his works would never have been written without Langer's assistance. After the Nazi invasion of Czechoslovakia, Langer escaped and entered Palestine as an illegal immigrant. In Palestine he wrote a second volume of Hebrew poetry, *Me'at Ẓori* (1943). Langer died in Tel Aviv. After the collapse of the Communist regime, his works were published in Czechoslovakia and in the Czech Republic.

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[Avigdor Dagan / Milos Pojar (2nd ed.)]

LANGER, LAWRENCE L. (1929–), U.S. scholar of Holocaust literature. Professor of English Emeritus at Simmons College in Boston, Langer is the foremost scholar of the Holocaust in the field of literature and testimony. *The Holocaust and the Literary Imagination* (1975), his first work on the Holocaust, was followed by *The Age of Atrocity: Death in Modern Literature* (1978); *Versions of Survival: The Holocaust and the Human Spirit* (1982); *Holocaust Testimonies: The Ruins of Memory* (1991); *Admitting the Holocaust: Collected Essays* (1995); and *Preempting the Holocaust.* He is also editor of *Art from the Ashes: A Holocaust Anthology* (1995). Langer's contributions to the field are many. In *Versions of Survival*, he coined the term "choiceless choices" to describe the unprecedented situations of conflict that Jews found themselves in during the Holocaust. *Holocaust Testimonies*, based on his study of survivors' oral histories in the *Fortunoff Video Archives, won a National Book Critics Circle Award and was named one of the "Ten Best Books of 1991" by the *New York Times Book Review.* It was one of the first scholarly works to examine survivors' testimonies as a basis for understanding the Holocaust. A hallmark of Langer's analyses is the rejection of reading a redemptive message into study of the Holocaust, an understanding that he pursues with rigor against all attempts to soften our understanding.

Initially, especially in his widely respected work *The Holocaust and the Literary Imagination*, Langer's preoccupation was with literature, but gradually and perceptively his focus shifted. He became consumed by the task of understanding the Holocaust. Literature became his tool; in the hands of a master, the tool soon became a club for undermining some of the simple conventions of Western society. More and more, Langer's work concentrated on memoirs and memory, telling of the assault against the individual that was at the core of the Shoah. More than any other student of literature, Langer insisted that the Holocaust was about atrocity. No simple meanings could be found, no reassuring sense of triumphant values, no invocation of Viktor Frankl's "will to meaning" or Terrence Des Pres' "life spirit." For Langer, there was no escape from darkness, no way to sidestep the radical challenge posed by the Holocaust.

His understanding of Holocaust testimonies was another exploration of the narrative of survival. Unlike literary memoirs or diaries, the testimonies are the products of ordinary people, often without great literary or intellectual sophistication, who have lived through extraordinary events. Video testimonies are spontaneous and unrehearsed, they do not have the worked-through quality of literary creations. Often, the witnesses surprise themselves by what is recalled. Langer may have heard more of these oral histories than anyone alive, and he brings to this study decades of sensitivity toward the event and the literature. Yet, throughout the work he retains a keen ability to hear and resists the temptation to organize and categorize the material. Instead, the reader is treated to an extended essay on memory, deep memory, anguished memory, humiliated memory, tainted memory, unheroic memory (as the titles of his chapters go). What emerges is a refined understanding of the Holocaust as experienced by those who lived it, an uncovering of all levels of memory that falsify the event, that protect the individual from the full impact of this most painful experience. Like a great psychoanalyst, Langer strips away layer after layer of falsehood until the reader is forced to face the core experience – directly, faithfully, faithlessly.

Having opted for early retirement, he left Simmons in 1992 after more than three decades of teaching and retired to write. He has written works on the art of Samuel *Bak that combine a keen analysis of his art with an even more profound understanding of the subject matter of the art, whether it be Genesis or the shattered world in which post-Holocaust humanity dwells.

[Beth Cohen (2nd ed.)]

LANGER, ROBERT S. (1948–) U.S. biomedical engineer. Born in Albany, New York, Langer received his B.Sc. from Cornell University (1970) and D.Sc. from Massachusetts Institute of Technology (1974) in chemical engineering. After postdoctoral cancer research at Harvard Medical School with Judah Folkman, he returned to MIT (1977), where he became Germeshausen Professor of Chemical and Biomedical Engineering and director of the research laboratory named after him. His research interests initially concerned the design of polymers compatible with biological tissues which would allow the controlled release of drugs and macromolecules into the blood stream and at sites affected by diseases such as cancer. His interests subsequently included the application of materials science and biotechnology to controlled drug delivery, including gene therapy, and developing biodegradable systems which will serve as templates for generating new tissues and organs. Langer is an acknowledged leader in innovative biotechnology and the Langer Laboratory is preeminent in this field. His many honors include the first Gairdner Award to an engineer (1996) and the Draper Prize from the U.S. National Academy of Engineering (2002). Uniquely, he is a member of the Institute of Medicine of the U.S. National Academy of Sciences (1992), the National Academy of Engineering (1992), and the National Academy of Sciences (1992). He served as member, then chairman, of the U.S. Food and Drug Administration's Science Board (1995–2002). He received honorary doctorates from the Haifa Technion and the Hebrew University of Jerusalem.

[Michael Denman (2nd ed.)]

LANGERMANN, MAX (1859–1919), South African mining pioneer. Born in Bavaria, he went to South Africa at the age of 20 and served in two military campaigns against African tribesmen. In the early days of the goldfields he went to Johannesburg, prospecting for minerals and taking part in industrial projects. He was particularly interested in town planning and laid out several residential suburbs in the growing mining center. Langermann was associated with the political agitation which led to the Jameson Raid (1895) and was imprisoned and fined for his activities. After the South African War (1899–1902) he sat on the Johannesburg town council and helped to gain municipal franchise for aliens. In 1907 he became a member of the Transvaal legislative council. One of the most prominent Jewish personalities of his time in the Transvaal, Langermann played a leading role in the formation of the Transvaal and Natal Jewish Board of Deputies in Johannesburg in 1903 and was its first president. For a time he headed the Territorial Organization in South Africa.

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[Louis Hotz]

LANGFUS, ANNA (1920–1966), French novelist. Born in Lublin, Poland, Langfus first published stories in Polish literary magazines at the age of 15. Her experiences in Nazi-occupied Poland left scars that were to mark her later writing. As a member of the Resistance, she was several times arrested by the Gestapo and was finally imprisoned in Plock until the liberation. In 1946 she immigrated to France. Acquiring a remarkable command of the French language, Anna Langfus began writing plays, her drama *Les Lépreux* being published in 1956. She then wrote three powerful novels about the Holocaust and its Jewish victims. The first, *Le Sel et le soufre* (1960; *The Whole Land Brimstone*, 1962), is the story of a young Polish Jewess whose comfortable middle-class existence is suddenly disrupted by the Nazi invaders, who murder first her parents, then her husband. *Les Bagages de Sable* (1962; *The Lost Shore*, 1963), which was awarded the Prix Goncourt, is a work of autobiographical character that tells a similar story. Her last novel, *Saute Barbara* (1965), describes how another victim of the Nazis abducts a young German girl who bears a striking resemblance to his lost daughter. Anna Langfus' works present individual destinies illustrating a common fate. In the midst of persecution and atrocities, her tragic heroes never lose their human dignity or moral outlook.

[Lionel Cohen]

LANGUAGE WAR (Ger. **Sprachenkampf**), campaign waged during the winter of 1913/14 by the Hebrew Teachers' Union in Ereẓ Israel against the *Hilfsverein der deutschen Juden over the issue of the language of instruction in Hilfsverein educational institutions. The Hilfsverein had been founded in Berlin in 1901 by the cotton magnate James *Simon and Dr. Paul *Nathan, the former acting as president and the latter as director. One of the Hilfsverein's objectives was to raise the cultural standard of Jews in the Ottoman Empire.

Nathan laid the foundation of an extensive network of schools in Ereẓ Israel, from kindergartens to a teachers' training college which, unlike the *Alliance Israélite schools, employed modern pedagogic methods. Instructors were competent and the Hilfsverein's educational director, Ephraim Cohn-Reiss, was an efficient administrator. Nathan was also responsible for introducing Hebrew as a language of instruction, believing that it would serve as a unifying factor for the polyglot composition of the *yishuv*. Scientific subjects, however, were taught in German.

Although the motives for introducing Hebrew in these schools were pedagogical rather than nationalistic, the Zionists fully appreciated the Hilfsverein's activities. Lacking sufficient financial resources to maintain their own school system, they willingly cooperated with the Hilfsverein. This relationship paved the way for partnership in a more ambitious project, Nathan's brainchild, the founding of a technical college (Technikum or *Technion) in Haifa. Nathan and Shmarya *Levin, a member of the Zionist Executive, managed to prevail upon Kalonymus Ze'ev *Wissotzky, a Russian tea magnate, to make a large financial contribution; Levin also interested Jacob *Schiff, the celebrated Jewish financier and philanthropist in New York, in the project, receiving a sizable donation from him. Both Wissotzky and Schiff were represented on the board of the preparatory committee, chaired by James Simon; the Hilfsverein members were in a majority. Three Zionists, *Aḥad Ha-Am, Jehiel Tschlenow, and Shmarya Levin, also joined the board, though in a private capacity. It was understood that the language of instruction for scientific subjects in the college would be German.

When the Hilfsverein-Zionist rapprochement took place in 1906, no serious difficulties were foreseen. Some German Zionist leaders, such as Arthur *Hantke, Kurt *Blumenfeld, and Richard *Lichtheim, had grave misgivings about an association with anti-Zionist assimilationists, and even Aḥad Ha-Am urged caution before entering into an agreement with the Hilfsverein; but expediency prevailed: the Zionists were in no position to renounce the partnership. Ironically, one of its first great enthusiasts was Shmarya Levin. The Hilfsverein's successful work enhanced Zionist confidence, but it was not long before a divergence of views appeared.

Nathan feared that the partnership with the Zionists might prejudice the Hilfsverein's standing with both German Jewry and the Turks. He lost no opportunity to stress that his Association was completely detached from Zionism, its only purpose "the cultural and economic welfare of the Jews." Whereas the Zionists, as Chaim *Weizmann put it, were struggling to weld the Jewish community in the country into "one creative unit," Nathan rejected Jewish exclusivism outright.

However disparate the two attitudes, the conflict which developed was not inevitable. Neither the Hilfsverein nor the Zionist Organization desired it. Otto *Warburg, chairman of the Zionist Organization, continued to serve on the Hilfsverein Committee, and at the 11th Zionist Congress (1913), Chaim Weizmann publicly expressed his fear that the premature introduction of Hebrew into the Technical College might adversely affect the quality of teaching. Tschlenow, the Russian Zionist leader and a member of the College board, agreed: in an appreciative reference to the Hilfsverein's work, he went so far as to state that its educational program was compatible with "the national aim." Shmarya Levin thought differently: at the same Congress he declared that the Zionist Organization must fulfill its "unconditional obligation to concentrate in its hands the total cultural work in Ereẓ Israel," and to exclude those bodies "which lacked that banner." Nathan took offense, all the more since it was the Hilfsverein that had first grasped the importance of organizing the Jewish communities in the Middle East, and especially of educating the youth. It was unthinkable to him that his primacy, gained by heavy investment and pioneering work, should now be lost. He regarded the Teachers' Union, which the Zionist Executive in Berlin was "too weak" to restrain, as chiefly responsible for the now full-blown *Sprachenkampf*. But the teachers, too, had grievances; those in the Hilfsverein schools saw that since 1911 Hebrew had been repressed in favor of German and they placed the blame for this, during the Teachers' Union conference in August 1913, on Ephraim Cohn-Reiss, suspecting that he had submitted to "secret pressure exercised by the German Government."

Documentary evidence shows that this impression was mistaken: neither Berlin nor the German Consulate in the country was pushing German *Kultur* at the expense of Hebrew education. It was rather the Hilfsverein representatives themselves who repeatedly pointed to the Jews as a link between Germany and the Orient and praised the projected Technikum in Haifa as a "stronghold of *Deutschtum* in the Holy Land," arousing Zionist suspicions that Jewish settlement was to be subordinated to German political aspirations. Ephraim Cohn-Reiss, in particular, had incensed the teachers when, in 1913, he rejected their proposal to accelerate the Hebraization of his schools. The resignation of the Zionist representatives on the board of the Technikum heightened the tension. Before that meeting on October 26, 1913, Shmarya Levin appealed to Dr. Nathan, emphasizing that only Hebrew could provide the technical college with a semblance of neutrality. However, the Zionist members on the Technikum board were in a minority and could not claim the exclusive right to draft its program. Moreover, the original agreement, to which all parties had committed themselves, stipulated that scientific subjects were to be taught in German. Aḥad Ha-Am warned his fellow Zionists that, lacking Hebrew textbooks, adequate Hebrew terminology, and experienced staff to teach scientific subjects in that language, a speedy conversion of the Technikum into a Hebrew institution was both impractical and unfair.

At the same time, he attempted to convince Dr. Nathan of the necessity of gradually introducing Hebrew into the Technikum. However, Nathan was unmoved. Aḥad Ha-Am suspected that Nathan's inflexibility was determined by some secret agreement between the German government and the Hilfsverein. Though this was not the case, the episode served as the final fuse which sparked off the Teachers' Union struggle against "the complete suppression of Hebrew." Animated protest meetings were held throughout the country, and a strike was declared in the Hilfsverein schools. Dr. Nathan arrived in Ereẓ Israel in a militant mood and rejected all compromise solutions. Dismissal of certain teachers provoked a violent demonstration at the Laemel School in Jerusalem and elsewhere. These events took the Zionist Executive in Berlin entirely by surprise. The strike and particularly the teachers' exit *en masse* from the Hilfsverein schools, accompanied by their students, aroused general displeasure; the most outspoken critic was Aḥad Ha-Am. Despite serious misgivings, however, the Executive could not desert the teachers. As soon as the struggle assumed a more positive character, a widespread campaign was launched in Europe and the United States to provide funds for the maintenance of independent Hebrew schools. Once involved, the Executive became a party to the conflict. It could not remain indifferent to the course pursued by the Hilfsverein and other segments of German Jewry, which tried to implicate the Zionist Organization in responsibility for the teachers' strike.

With Nathan's return to Berlin the campaign intensified. In January 1914 his pamphlet *Palaestina und palaestinensischer Zionismus* appeared, and the influential *Frankfurter Zeitung* opened its pages to him.

The Zionists replied in a pamphlet *Im Kampf um die hebraische Sprache*, and, judging from the generous response and the number of voluntary contributions for the Hebrew Schools Funds, it was clear that their arguments were gradually gaining ground. But it was not until the meeting of the Technikum's board on February 24, 1914, that the Hilfsverein was decisively defeated. During that meeting the American and Russian members of the board sided with the Zionists: by deciding to separate the affiliated Grammar School from the Technical College, they removed the principal bone of contention. In the grammar school Hebrew would be used immediately as the exclusive language of instruction while in the college it would be introduced in the course of four years. Thus the Zionist executive emerged triumphant.

Given the German government's preference for the Hilfsverein, the Zionist victory on the political plane is the more surprising. Conrad von Wangenheim, the German ambassador in Constantinople, expressed no objection to the superiority of Hebrew while Counselor von Kühlman stated officially that "Germany would be sufficiently compensated if, besides Hebrew, German would also be cultivated." The primacy of Hebrew was thus fully conceded. After World War I and throughout the period of the British Mandate, the sole language of instruction, from kindergartens to the Technion, was Hebrew.

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[Isaiah Friedman (2nd ed.)]

LANGUEDOC, former province of S.W. France, with *Toulouse as its capital. The presence of Jews in Languedoc is testified from at least the beginning of the sixth century, at *Agde. During the Middle Ages they were grouped in many prosperous communities, particularly in *Narbonne, *Montpellier, and Toulouse, as well as in *Béziers, *Carcassonne, *Pamiers, *Posquières (today Vauvert), *Lunel, *Nîmes, etc. The continued prevalence of Roman law, which also regulated the condition of the Jews throughout southern France and particularly in Languedoc, enabled them to obtain outright possession of real estate (in *allodium*) which they subsequently leased out. Therefore it occasionally occurred that ecclesiastical institutions were indebted to the Jews in this way. This situation prevailed until 1306. Jews frequently held public office, but from the early 13th century, with the strengthening of Church discipline as a result of the Crusade against the *Albigensian heretics and the seizure of Languedoc by the French crown, they were barred from these positions. In the subsequent confusion about which were crown rights and which belonged to the local lords (lay or ecclesiastical), there were frequent conflicts over the status of the Jews especially with regard to the possession of taxes imposed on them. In addition to local taxes, the Jews also paid special levies and poll taxes which were considerably increased under *Philip IV the Fair. Seeking to evade this situation, many Jews left the royal territory. In his effort to restrain them or bring them back, the king found an unexpected ally in the Jewish communal authorities; since the royal levies were raised from the community as a whole, the latter consequently endeavored to divide the burden among the largest possible number of members.

As a result of an extension of royal prerogative, the expulsion order of 1306 was also applied to the Jews of Languedoc; the opposition of the local lords to whom they had previously been subject was silenced by their receiving one or two thirds of the property seized. The extent of the confiscations can be measured by the fact that in the seneschalship of Toulouse alone (where the least wealthy Jewish communities were situated) property to the value of over 75,000 livres was expropriated. Exiles from Languedoc found refuge in *Provence, Catalonia, and *Roussillon, and in the latter province the town of *Perpignan in particular took in large numbers. When the Jews were recalled to France in 1315, a sizable group must have returned to Languedoc, as evidenced by the number who fell victim to the *Pastoureaux in 1320, and also by the amount of their contribution to the fine of 100,000 livres which was imposed on the Jews of France by *Philip V the Tall. They continued to pay this fine under *Charles IV the Fair until the new expulsion order was applied in 1323. However when the Jews were readmitted to France once more in 1359, comparatively few returned to Languedoc. Although they escaped the persecutions prevalent in the north in 1380 and 1382, in several towns in Languedoc they were nevertheless continually harassed by being compelled to move from the quarter assigned to them. With the final expulsion, decreed in 1394 and enforced in 1395, most of the Jews of Languedoc left for Comtat *Venaissin and Provence, only a few going to Spain on this occasion.

During the 16th century, some *Marranos found refuge in Languedoc and settled mainly in Narbonne, Pézenas, Montpellier, and Béziers. Unlike those in *Bordeaux and other southwestern towns, these groups did not remain faithful to Judaism. From the 18th century, Jews from Bordeaux and the southwest, and more from *Avignon and Comtat Venaissin, traded in Languedoc. Some attempted to settle in a few towns but many more attended the fairs of *Alès, Nîmes, Montpellier, Toulouse, and *Beaucaire. They dealt mainly in old clothes, although they also traded in silk, jewelry, and precious metals, and had practically a monopoly of the livestock trade in Languedoc. When the representations of some merchants exposed them to harassment by the authorities, the local population supported the Jews. From the last third of the 18th century, Jews first settled in Narbonne and then in Toulouse, Nîmes, and other towns, without encountering any further opposition. For the scholars of Languedoc see the articles on the separate localities.

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[Bernhard Blumenkranz]

LANIADO, ABRAHAM BEN ISAAC (d. after 1619), biblical commentator, of Aleppo. In his youth Laniado studied in Safed, Joseph *Caro being one of his teachers. After undergoing many hardships in this city he returned to Aleppo where he married the daughter of Samuel b. Abraham *Laniado, who was apparently his uncle, and who provided for his support. Laniado was in Venice in 1603 and in that year saw to the publication of his father-in-law's work *Keli Yekar*, a commentary on the major prophets, and of his own work *Magen Avraham*, consisting of homilies. He also wrote *Nekuddot ha-Kesef* (Venice, 1619), a commentary to the Song of Songs which was published with the text, the Aramaic Targum, and a Ladino translation. In the introduction to this work, Laniado stated that he also wrote a commentary to the Pentateuch titled *Torat Ḥesed*, and to the Five Scrolls, the *haftarot*, Psalms, Proverbs, Job, and Daniel.

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[Abraham David]

LANIADO, RAPHAEL SOLOMON BEN SAMUEL (d. 1793), rabbi and halakhic authority. Born in *Aleppo, Laniado was rabbi there from 1740 until his death. He was noted for his firmness which left no place for compromise. In the 1760s he was the cause of a stormy controversy within the Jewish community of Aleppo, when he sought to impose the authority of the rabbis and the local community customs on the *Francos. Led by R. Judah b. Yom-Tov *Kazin, the other rabbis of the town opposed him realizing that such a demand would be harmful. This controversy continued over several years, and it is uncertain when it came to an end.

Laniado's works include *Beit Dino shel Shelomo* ("Tribunal of Solomon," Constantinople, 1775), responsa; *Leḥem Shelomo* ("The Bread of Solomon," *ibid.*, 1775), various innovations in *halakhah; Ha-Ma'alot li-Shelomo* ("Degrees of Solomon," *ibid.*, 1775), homiletics; and *Kisse Shelomo* ("The Throne of Solomon," Jerusalem, 1901). Some of his responsa were also published in *Ro'ei Yisrael* ("Shepherds of Israel," Jerusalem, 1904).

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[Abraham David]

LANIADO, SAMUEL BEN ABRAHAM (d. 1605), Syrian rabbi, biblical commentator, and preacher, known from the title of most of his works as *Ba'al ha-Kelim*. Laniado was a grandson of Samuel Laniado who settled in Adrianople after the expulsion from *Spain. He was born in *Aleppo, where he became head of the community (c. 1601) after the death of Samuel b. Joseph ha-Kohen. He assembled homiletical and exegetical comments on the Bible, and original comments of his own. The following of his books have been published: *Keli Ḥemdah* (Venice, 1595), on the Pentateuch; *Keli Yekar (ibid.*, 1603), on the early prophets; *Keli Paz* (*ibid.*, 1657), on Isaiah; *Teru'at Melekh* (Jerusalem, 1931), on Psalms. Many of his works have remained in manuscript, including his commentaries on the latter prophets, with the exception of Hosea and Joel (Gaster, manuscripts, London 62, 1–3); *Keli Golah*, on Lamentations; and *Mevakkesh ha-Shem*, a commentary on the Pentateuch which he mentioned in *Keli Ḥemdah*. He also wrote a commentary titled *Sekhel Tov* on the *Midrash Shoḥer Tov*, which was in the possession of Ḥayyim Joseph David *Azulai. His son Abraham was also a *dayyan* in Aleppo.

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[Abraham David]

LANIADO, SOLOMON BEN ABRAHAM (d. after 1714), rabbi in *Aleppo. Solomon was the grandson of Samuel b. Abraham *Laniado. Apparently, he succeeded his father as rabbi and *dayyan* after the latter's immigration to *Jerusalem. Laniado wrote *Midrash Shelomo*, still in manuscript. Laniado was known as a fervent Shabbatean and when *Shabbetai Ẓevi visited Aleppo in 1665 he became friendly with Laniado and told Solomon many details about his life. Solomon and Nathan b. Mordecai (or Nissim b. Mordecai Dayyan) propagated the messianic claims of Shabbetai Ẓevi. Two of their letters are extant. One was sent to the Jews of Ancona, Italy (no date) and the other to *Kurdistan in 1669. The letters contain very important information on the lives and activities of Shabbetai Ẓevi and *Nathan of Gaza. Laniado is cited in the list of kings appointed by Shabbetai Ẓevi in Smyrna. The extent of Shabbatean influence on Aleppo Jewry is shown by the fact that even after Shabbetai Ẓevi's apostasy Laniado served as a rabbi.

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[Abraham David]

LANSING, SHERRY LEE (1944–), U.S. entertainment executive and producer. Lansing was born in Chicago, Illinois, to real estate developer David and Margot (née Heimann) Duhl. Her mother, a German Jew, had escaped Nazi Germany at 17. When Lansing was nine, her father died after a sudden heart attack. Her mother took over her husband's real estate business and later married businessman Norton Lansing, who adopted Sherry. Lansing majored in English and math at Northwestern University, but also studied acting. She graduated with honors in 1962, and after her marriage to a medical student in 1963 moved to Los Angeles, where Lansing taught math at a public school in Watts from 1966 until 1969. After her divorce in 1968, Lansing worked as a model for Max Factor, appeared in commercials, and acted in the films *Loving* (1970) and *Rio Lobo* (1970). In 1970 she joined Wagner International as a script reader and was later promoted to executive story editor. In 1974, she became executive in charge of West Coast development at Talent Associates. One year later she went to MGM as a story editor, later rising to vice president of creative affairs. In 1977, she moved to Columbia Pictures, where she served as vice president of production. After two hit films, *The China Syndrome* (1979) and *Kramer vs. Kramer* (1979), Lansing left for Twentieth Century Fox in 1980, becoming the first woman to serve as president of production at any Hollywood studio. However, Lansing quickly found that she lacked freedom to approve projects herself. Lansing left in 1982 to establish her own production company, Jaffe-Lansing Productions, with director Stanley Jaffe. Her first film as executive producer was *Racing with the Moon* (1984). Lansing and Jaffe produced seven films for Paramount, including *Fatal Attraction* (1987), *The Accused* (1988), and *Black Rain* (1989). In 1990, she married *French Connection* and *Exorcist* director William *Friedkin. After Jaffe took over as president of Paramount Communications, the pair disbanded their production company but Lansing continued to produce for Paramount with her new company, Sherry Lansing Productions. In 1992, Jaffe named Lansing chair and CEO of Paramount Pictures Motion Picture Group. Lansing produced *Indecent Proposal* (1993), which grossed $100 million in the United States, as well as such hits as *Forrest Gump* (1994), *Braveheart* (1995), *Titanic* (1997), and *Saving Private Ryan* (1998). Lansing, a role model for female executives in the film industry, received her star on the Hollywood Walk of Fame in 1996. She resigned her position with Paramount in 2005 and returned to producing with a prequel to Brian De Palma's *The Untouchables* (1987).

[Adam Wills (2nd ed.)]

LANSKY, MEYER (**Maier Suchowljansky**; "The Brain," "Mogul of the Mob," "Chairman of the Board"; 1902?-1983), U.S. gangster, one of the most powerful and richest of U.S. crime syndicate chiefs, instrumental in the development of the American mafia. Born in Grodno, Lithuania, Lansky arrived in the U.S. in 1911, with his mother, sister, and brother. Passport officials at Ellis Island officially assigned Lansky July 4 as his birth date, although the exact date and year of his birth are not known, while his surname had already been Americanized by his father, who had arrived two years earlier. The family soon moved to the Lower East Side of Manhattan from the Brownsville section of Brooklyn, and it was there that Lansky – known to have a head for numbers – began early on learning the ins and outs of hustling. Lansky left school a few weeks shy of his 15th birthday to work as an apprentice in a tool-and-die shop, and by the following year was already being charged with felonious assault and disorderly conduct. He formed a friendship with Benjamin (Bugsy) *Siegel that developed into the Bug and Meyer Gang, with Lansky the brains of the outfit and Siegel the brawn, which included running gambling houses, and smuggling and hijacking liquor with the onset of Prohibition in 1920. The group formed the expanded Five Points Gang with Charlie Lucania, also known as Lucky Luciano, working for a time with the original "Brain," Arnold *Rothstein, and eventually eliminating rival gangs and bosses to become the top mafia chieftains. In 1931, Lansky organized a conference of Jewish organized crime leaders, which later would see the merging of the Jewish and Italian mafias into the National Crime Syndicate, a crime cartel. Lansky, despite being an outsider to the Italian mafia, was highly respected for his shrewd analytical mind and as master organizer and architect of the money laundering and financial network essential to organized crime; as a man of his word, these skills made him at least equal to Luciano as the godfather of modern organized crime. By 1936 Lansky had begun to develop gambling operations in upstate New York, Florida, New Orleans, the Bahamas, and also in Cuba, where he arranged payoffs to Cuban dictator Fulgencio Batista.

Lansky was also a proud Jew. When the German-American Bund held rallies in New York City in the 1930s, Lansky was asked to disrupt the public meetings, which he happily assigned his henchmen to do, but would take no money for the work. "I was a Jew and felt for those Jews in Europe who were suffering," he said. "They were my brothers."

In 1970, fearing both a call to a grand jury and indictment for income-tax evasion, Lansky fled to Israel, seeking to remain under the *Law of Return, but Israel expelled him in 1972, and he ended up back in the United States facing several indictments. He was convicted in 1973 of grand jury contempt which was overturned on appeal, and was acquitted of income-tax evasion. Indictments on other charges were abandoned in December 1974, partly because of his chronic ill health. In 1979 the House of Representatives Assassinations Committee, ending its two-year investigation of the Warren Commission report, linked Lansky with Jack *Ruby, the nightclub owner who killed presidential assassin Lee Harvey Oswald. The character of "Hyman Roth" in the film *The Godfather Part II* is based on Lansky, and Richard Dreyfuss played him in the 1999 movie *Lansky*. He is the subject of a number of biographies, including *Lansky* (1971) by Hank Messick; *Meyer Lansky: Mogul of the Mob* (1979) by Uri Dan, Dennis Eisenberg, and Eli Landau; and *Little Man: Meyer Lansky and the Gangster Life* (1991) by Robert Lacy.

[Elli Wohlgelernter (2nd ed.)]

LANTOS, ROBERT (1949–), filmmaker. Lantos is arguably the most important and prolific filmmaker in Canada and his oeuvre encompasses erotica, drama, social commentary, comedy, and television. Born in Hungary, he fled with his family to Montevideo, Uruguay, following the abortive 1956 Hungarian Revolution, and moved to Montreal in 1963. Lantos received his B.A. and M.A. in communications at McGill University, where he went into film. His first film production company, Vivafilm, purchased the rights to the National Erotic Film Festival. In 1975, he and his associates formed RSL Productions, which produced 15 films in 10 years, including the provocative *In Praise of Older Women* (1978) and *Joshua Then and Now* (1985), based on the novel by Mordecai *Richler. A merger between RSL and the International Cinema Corporation created Alliance Communications in 1985, and Lantos became its chairman in 1987. Alliance quickly became Canada's largest film production and distribution enterprise. Its television series included *Night Heat*, *North of 60*, and *Due South*. Notable films were *Johnny Mnemonic* (1994) and *The Sweet Hereafter* (1996). Lantos oversaw the merger of Alliance with Atlantis Communications to form Canada's second largest television production house, and then left the company to form a boutique production company, Serendipity Point Films, in Toronto in 1998. Its films include *Sunshine* (1998), which chronicles the saga of modern Hungarian Jewry; *Men With Brooms*, a satirical look at the popularity of curling in Canada; and *Ararat*, a saga of the Armenian genocide and forced migration. Lantos' films have received two Academy Award nominations, three Golden Globe nominations, and have won the Genie Award (Canadian Film Awards) for Best Picture four times. He is active in the Canadian arts community and has chaired the Academy of Canadian Cinema and Television, directed the Toronto International Film Festival and the Canadian Centre for Advanced Film Studies, and was appointed to the Board of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation by Prime Minister Jean Chrétien. He is also national vice president of Maccabi Canada. Lantos was awarded an honorary doctorate by McGill University and is a member of the Order of Canada.

[Frank Bialystok (2nd ed.)]

LANTOS, TOM (1928–), Democratic congressman from California, the lone Holocaust survivor to serve in the US Congress. Lantos was born in Budapest, Hungary. "The bulk of the Jews of Budapest were utterly assimilated," Lantos said. "Many of them like my family were deeply patriotic and included military officers, university professors, writers and they were enormously proud of their Hungarian heritage." He was 16 years old when Nazi Germany occupied his native country in March 1944. As a teenager, he was placed in a Hungarian fascist forced labor camp. Tall, blond-haired, and blue-eyed he looked like the model Aryan, so he could survive provided that he was not betrayed or forced to lower his trousers. He succeeded in escaping and was able to survive in a safe house in Budapest set up by Swedish humanitarian Raoul *Wallenberg. His mother was not so fortunate. She was deported and never heard from again. He served as a messenger, passing between houses. His story is one of the five individual accounts which form the basis of Steven Spielberg's Academy

Award-winning documentary about the Holocaust in Hungary, *The Last Days*.

His gratitude toward his savior Raoul Wallenberg led him to propose as his first bill in Congress that Raoul Wallenberg be given honorary American citizenship; only Winston Churchill had been so honored. He also pressured the Swedish government to actively open up the Wallenberg case again.

In 1947, Lantos was awarded an academic scholarship to study in the United States on the basis of an essay he wrote about U.S. President Franklin D. Roosevelt. In August of that year, he arrived in New York City after a week-long boat trip to America on a converted World War II troop ship. Onboard "there was a big basket of oranges and one of bananas," Lantos recalled. "I wanted to do the right thing so I asked this sailor "should I take an orange or a banana? And he said: 'Man, you eat all the goddamn oranges and all the goddamn bananas you want.' Then I knew I was in paradise."

His only possession was a precious Hungarian salami, which U.S. customs officials promptly confiscated when he arrived. Just a few weeks after he left Hungary, the Communist Party seized control of the country.

Lantos attended the University of Washington in Seattle, where he received a B.A. and M.A. in Economics. He moved to San Francisco in 1950 and began graduate studies at the University of California, Berkeley, where he later received his Ph.D. in economics. In the fall of 1950 he started teaching economics at San Francisco State University.

For three decades (1950–80) Lantos was a professor of economics, an international affairs analyst for public television, and an economic consultant to businesses. He also served in senior advisory roles to members of the United States Senate including Senator Frank Church of Iowa, Mike Gravel of Alaska, and Joseph Biden of Delaware.

He was first elected to Congress in November 1980 – the only Democrat to defeat an un-indicted incumbent Republican in the year of the Reagan landslide. He won his seat by the lowest plurality of any member of Congress elected that year – 46% to his opponent's 43%. Through excellent constituent service, careful attention to his district's needs, and hard work in the Bay Area and in Washington, Lantos has been reelected repeatedly by large margins. He is the ranking Democrat on both the House International Relations Committee and the Government Reform Committee. He helped found the Congressional Human Rights Caucus.

Lantos was a strong supporter of the Gulf War Resolution, a hawk on foreign policy, and a powerful voice for human rights.

He is married to his childhood sweetheart and fellow Holocaust survivor Annette Tillemann, who had been sheltered in the Portuguese embassy in Budapest. A Jew by birth, she is a Mormon by faith and raised her daughters that way. Tom Lantos is a strong voice in support of Jewish causes. He was deeply active in the campaign for Soviet Jewry and is an ardent though not uncritical supporter of Israel.

Reflecting on his journey, he said: "My life today is something I cannot believe possible. I think back sixty years ago when I was a hunted animal and now I am dealing with the issues of state of a country I love so deeply. It all seems like a dream and it all places an incredible sense of responsibility on me. I didn't achieve this because of what I am, it happened because of what this country is."

[Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

LANZMANN, CLAUDE (1925–), French cinema director and essayist. Lanzmann was born in Paris and was active in the Resistance during World War II. After completing his studies in philosophy in France, he lectured at the University of Berlin in 1948–49. In 1952 he became acquainted with Jean Paul Sartre and Simone de Beauvoir, becoming their personal friend and a partner in their philosophical and public endeavors. Sartre, de Beauvoir, and Lanzmann founded the journal *Les temps modernes* (1946), and Lanzmann served as one of its editors. In 1970 Lanzmann left journalism for film and spent three years preparing *Pourquoi Israël?* ("Why Israel?"), which received warm reviews when it was screened in 1973. Lanzmann's most famous film, *Shoah,* on which he worked for over ten years, premiered in France in 1985 with President Mitterrand of France in attendance. Over nine hours in length, the film consists of extended interviews with Jewish victims, Nazi perpetrators, and Polish bystanders. In choosing not to use primary documentary footage, Lanzmann was convinced that the horrible reality of the Holocaust would emerge from the description of the terrifying events by the interviewees. *Shoah* was subsequently shown in London, New York, and Israel, as well as on television stations throughout the world. Other films directed by Lanzmann include *Tsahal* (1994), a documentary on the Israeli army; *Un vivant qui passe* (1997), an extensive interview with Maurice Rossel, a Red Cross official who wrote a glowing report of the Theresienstadt camp after visiting it in 1943; and *Sobibor* (2001), an examination of the revolt in 1943 through the eyes of one of is participants.

[Gideon Kouts / David Weinberg (2nd ed.)]

LAODICEA, city in *Phrygia on the river Lycus. There is preserved in Josephus a letter from the Laodicean authorities to a Roman official (Ant. 14:241–3). In it the Laodiceans inform the official that they had received a letter from him through a representative of the high priest Hyrcanus (most probably *Hyrcanus II) concerning the permission given to the Jews to live in accordance with their ancestral laws. They add that they have complied, as they were averse to arousing the displeasure of the authorities. It is thus clear that Laodicea possessed a Jewish settlement which was protected from discrimination by the intervention of Rome. Some scholars date the document as early as the time of Hyrcanus I but this is questionable. There is however other evidence that there were Jews in Laodicea, or at least in its vicinity, by the second century B.C.E. Josephus (Ant. 12:147–53) quotes an order of Antiochus III with reference to the settlement in Phrygia and

Lydia of 2,000 families of Jewish soldiers from Mesopotamia. This makes it possible to establish the date of the Jewish settlement in the areas around Laodicea, and is also of great importance with regard to Jewish settlement in Asia Minor in general. Cicero states that 20 talents of Jewish gold destined for the Temple of Jerusalem were confiscated by L. Valerius Flaccus in Laodicea, 61–60 B.C.E. (Pro Flacco 28:68).

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[Uriel Rappaport]

LAOR, YITZHAK (1948–), Hebrew writer. Laor was born in Pardes Ḥannah. He completed his studies in theater and literature at Tel Aviv University. His first collection of stories *Mi-Ḥuẓ la-Gader* ("Outside the Fence") was published in 1981. Various collections of stories and poems followed, including *Rak ha-Guf Zokher* ("Only the Body Remembers," poems, 1985) and *Shirim be-Emek ha-Barzel* ("Poems in the Valley of Iron," 1990). The year 1987 saw the publication of his play "Efraim Goes Back to the Army," which was also translated into Dutch. His first novel, *Am. Ma'akhal Melakhim* ("The People, Food for Kings"; German translation, 2003), appeared in 1993. The novel marks a departure from the heroic depiction of the Israeli army and offers as it were an alternative reading of the Six-Day War, which does not break out because a secret document containing war plans reaches the soldiers, who then run away. Laor's subversive and radical tone, his vehement criticism of Israeli politics and the occupation, his anger and anguish can be found in his collection *Ir ha-Livyatan*, comprising poems written between 2000 and 2004. The personal is always tinged with the political, and Laor warns against the corrosion of moral values. Living in Tel Aviv, Laor also writes for the literary supplement of *Haaretz*. For translations see the ITHL website at www.ithl.org.il.

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[Anat Feinberg (2nd ed.)]

LAPAPA, AARON BEN ISAAC (1604?–1667), Sephardi rabbi of *Turkey. Born in Magnesia, he was son-in-law of (Nissim) Solomon *Algazi (the First). In his youth Aaron studied under Isaac Afomado, and later under Abraham *Motal in *Salonika and Joseph di *Trani in Constantinople. He was appointed rabbi in his native town before 1632. In 1665, with the approval of Ḥayyim *Benveniste, rabbi of Smyrna, the council of Smyrna scholars appointed him as the halakhic authority in matters of civil law, together with Benveniste, who confined himself to matrimonial and ritual matters. Lapapa was one of the most vehement opponents of *Shabbetai Ẓevi, not hesitating to excommunicate him, and even to decree the death penalty against him. In December 1665, he was dismissed from his post by Shabbetai Ẓevi and his adherents. Immediately after Shabbetai Ẓevi embraced Islam a small group of Jews of Smyrna tried to reinstate Lapapa, but their efforts failed as a result of the powerful opposition of those who still believed in the pseudo-Messiah. Still, he served in the town as an official *dayyan* until his death.

Lapapa published *Benei Aharon* (Smyrna, 1674), responsa on topics relevant to *Ḥoshen Mishpat*, and some of his novellae and responsa on *Oraḥ Ḥayyim* and *Yoreh De'ah* were published in the *Avak Derakhim* (Salonika, 1814) of Baruch Kalomiti. His commentaries on the *Sefer Adam ve-Ḥavvah* of *Jeroham b. Meshullam, *Alfasi, *Nissim Gerondi, and *Maimonides' *Yad* have not been published. He also compiled a collection of passages from the outstanding *rishonim*, on a number of tractates, of which the following are known: *Ketubbot, Bava Meẓia, Beẓah*, in the style of the *Shitah Mekubbeẓet* of Bezalel *Ashkenazi. The claim that the *Shitah Mekubbeẓet* on *Nedarim, Bava Batra*, and *Nazir*, attributed to Ashkenazi, is really the work of Lapapa, is not well founded.

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[Abraham David]

LA PEYRÈRE, ISAAC (1594 or 1596–1676), French theologian, Bible critic, and anthropologist, apparently of Marrano background. He was born in Bordeaux and raised a Calvinist. In 1640 he became the Prince of Condé's secretary. In 1642–43 he wrote *Praeadamitae* and *Du Rappel des Juifs*, which constitute one continuous theory of Bible criticism and Messianism. The *Rappel des Juifs* was published anonymously in 1643, while the more revolutionary *Praeadamitae* ("Men Before Adam") was banned and circulated privately in manuscript in France, Holland, and Denmark. In 1644 La Peyrère went to Copenhagen with the French ambassador, and there wrote *Relation de Groenland* (published 1647), and *Relation de l'Islande* (published 1663; *An Account of Iceland*, 1732), landmarks in early anthropology. Queen Christina of Sweden saw his manuscript of the *Praeadamitae* in Brussels, urged its publication, and agreed to pay the costs. It was printed in 1655 in Amsterdam and Basle (five editions in Latin, 1655; English as *Men Before Adam*, 1656; Dutch as *Praeadamiten*, 1661). The book was banned and burned everywhere for its heretical claims that Adam was not the first man, that the Bible is not the history of mankind, but only the history of the Jews, that the Flood was a local event, that Moses did not write the Pentateuch, and that no accurate copy of the Bible exists. Many refutations immediately appeared. La Peyrère was arrested and told he would be released if he turned Catholic and recanted to the Pope, which he did in hypocritical fashion, saying that his heresies resulted from his Calvinist upbringing, and that though all Jews and Christians disagreed with him, and though he could still find no Scriptural or reasonable evidence against his theories, he would abjure them because the Church said they were wrong (*Lettre de la Peyrère à Philotime*, 1658; *Apologie de Peyrère*, 1663). The Pope offered him a post, but La Peyrère returned to Paris and became Condé's librarian and a lay member of the Oratorians. There he collected more evidence for his pre-Adamite theory, arguing with the great Bible scholar, Father Richard Simon, and trying unsuccessfully to publish a new version of his Messianic *Rappel des Juifs*. When he died, one of his friends wrote:

> Here lies La Peyrère, that good Israelite, Huguenot, Catholic and finally Pre-Adamite. Four religions pleased him at the same time and his indifference was so uncommon that after 80 years when he had to make a choice the Good Man departed and did not choose any of them.

La Peyrère has been interpreted as a heretic, atheist, deist, Socinian, father of Bible criticism, and father of Zionism. His overall theory is a Marrano Messianist view. La Peyrère argued that the Jews are about to be recalled, that the Messiah is coming for them, that they should join the Christians, and with the king of France rebuild Zion. Then the Jews will rule the world from Jerusalem. La Peyrère was a combination of hardheaded scientist and kabbalistic messianist in developing his case. He argued his pre-Adamite theory first on a farfetched interpretation of St. Paul's *Epistle to the Romans*, then from information about pagan history, and finally from anthropological evidence about the Indians, Eskimos, and Chinese. His analysis of the Bible played a great role in the development of Higher Criticism, influencing Spinoza and Richard Simon. La Peyrère's messianic theories resemble those of some of the Spanish New Christians and Postel's Kabbalism, but seem unrelated to Shabbetai Ẓevi's movement. His separation of Jewish and gentile histories influenced Vico in the developing secular historiography. La Peyrère's pre-Adamite theory was revived in the early 19th century as a basis for polygenesis and modern racism, claiming the American Indians and the blacks were not sons of Adam.

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[Richard H. Popkin]

LAPID, JOSEPH (**Tomi**; 1931–), journalist and politician, member of the Knesset in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Knesset. Lapid was born in the town of Novi Sad in the former Yugoslavia. His father perished in a concentration camp. His mother escaped with him to Budapest, and they managed to survive the Holocaust, immigrating to Israel in 1948. Upon arrival in Israel Lapid enlisted in the IDF, serving as a technician. After completing his military service he studied for a law degree at Tel Aviv University. While still a student he started working at the Hungarian-language daily *Ui Kelet*. Several years later he joined the staff of the *Maariv* daily, working at first as the private secretary of its editor in chief, Ezriel *Carlebach, later becoming a reporter, writing a column, and serving as the paper's correspondent in London. In 1979 Lapid was appointed director general of the Israel Broadcasting Authority – the first director general appointed by the Likud after the political upheaval of 1977. He served in this capacity until 1984. In 1985 he established the Liberal Center Party with Shlomo *Lahat and served as its secretary general. The party was never elected to the Knesset, and in 1988 he resigned from it and became chairman of the Association of Cable Television, in which capacity he served until 1994. Throughout this period he continued to write for *Maariv* and appeared on radio and television programs. Before the elections for the Fifteenth Knesset he joined Shinui as the revived party's chairman, after MK Avraham Poraz broke away from Meretz, and set up a parliamentary group with MK Eliezer Sandberg from Tzomet. Under Lapid's charismatic leadership, a strong secularist platform, and heavy criticism of the *ḥaredi* parties, Shinui received six seats in the Fifteenth Knesset, and fifteen in the Sixteenth. In the Fifteenth Knesset Lapid served on the Foreign Affairs and Defense Committee and the Constitution, Law, and Justice Committee. He was also a member of the Parliamentary Committee of Inquiry on the Issue of Locating and Restoring the Assets of Holocaust Victims – a committee that finally submitted its report in December 2004.

After the elections to the Sixteenth Knesset Lapid favored the formation of a secular government made up of the *Likud, the *Israel Labor Party, and Shinui, but Labor's leader, MK Amram Mitzna, refused to join a Likud-led government. In the government formed by Ariel *Sharon with Shinui, the NRP, and the National Union Lapid became deputy prime minister and minister of justice. However, in December 2004 the Shinui ministers were fired from the government by Sharon, since they refused to support the budget in the Knesset, even though they supported Sharon's disengagement plan. Poor showings in the polls and a rebellion of Shinui's young guard caused Lapid to quit the party and leave politics before the 2006 elections.

In addition to writing for the daily press, Lapid published numerous books, wrote several plays, and served as the chairman of the Israeli Chess Association. He is married to the author Shulamit *Lapid and is the father of Israeli writer and TV personality Ya'ir Lapid.

Lapid was an accomplished humorist and published, among other things, collections of his newspaper columns and works such as *Anashim Ḥashuvim Me'od: Me'ah Ra'ayonot ve-Humor Elef* ("Very Important People: One Hundred Interviews and Lots of Humor," 1963); *Shi'urim be-Tikshoret* ("Lessons in Communications," 2000); *Mashehu Hishtabesh* ("Something Has Gone Wrong," 2001); a cookbook with Ruth Sirkis, *Paprika: Kasher* (1986), and numerous guidebooks for European countries in the years 1970–2003.

[Susan Hattis Rolef (2nd ed.)]

LAPID, SHULAMIT (1934–), Hebrew writer. Lapid was born in Tel Aviv. She majored in Oriental studies at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. Her first collection of stories, *Dagim* ("Fish"), was published in 1969. This was followed by collections of stories and poems as well as ten novels, plays, and books for young readers. A former chairperson of the Hebrew Writers' Association, she is one of the most prolific Israeli women authors, with historical novels, realistic prose addressing social issues and ethnic discrimination, and a number of detective novels. Her early novel *Gai Oni* (1982; translated into German and French) is the story of the Galilean settlement which has come to be known as Rosh Pinnah. History, the Zionist dream and its realization, and the hardships of daily life are seen through the perspective of Fania, who arrives in Palestine with her old uncle, a deranged brother, and an unwanted baby, the product of rape. Despite hunger and disease, Fania flings herself into the new life and penetrates the male-dominated world of commerce and politics. Indeed, Lapid was one of the first Hebrew writers who confronted the Zionist narrative while paying special attention to the role of women, who had previously been considered as subordinate figures in the national enterprise. Lapid's second novel, *Ka-Ḥeres ha-Nishbar* ("As a Broken Vessel," 1984, translated into German), is the story of the astute antiquarian Moses Wilhelm Shapira. Lizzy Badiḥi, an industrious freelance journalist working for a local paper in Beersheba, far from pretty yet blessed with charm and sharp detective skills, is the leading figure in Lapid's detective novels, indeed a rather atypical detective. In *Mekomon* ("Local Paper," 1989) she succeeds in unraveling a crime case; in *Pilegesh ba-Give'ah* ("An Eye for an Eye," 2000), she investigates the case of murder and rape, rivalry and vengeance, involving a seemingly respectable professor. Lapid received the Newman Prize. Many of her books have been translated, mostly into German, and information is available at the ITHL website at www.ithl.org.il.

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[Anat Feinberg (2nd ed.)]

LAPIDOT, ALEXANDER MOSES (1819–1906), rabbi and early supporter of Ḥovevei Zion. Born in Vilna, Lapidot studied in yeshivot in Lithuania, during one period under Rabbi Israel *Lipkin (Salanter). He served as rabbi in Janow, Grodno, and from 1866, in Rossiyeny. He published interpretations of the Torah and essays on contemporary issues in newspapers and in various literary organs. His works include *Avnei Zikkaron* (a defense of the Written and Oral Law, 1897) and *Divrei Emet* (1910, 1966^{4}). He joined the *Ḥibbat Zion movement when it was founded in Russia and participated in the conference of movement activists in Druzgenik (1887). He published his national credo in the anthologies *Derishat Ẓiyyon* (1900) and *Keneset ha-Gedolah* (1890), emphasizing that he did not intend to take Ereẓ Israel by the sword, but by agricultural labor based on a religious way of life. The movement, he wrote, did not intend "to anticipate the coming of the Messiah," as was claimed by its rabbinical opponents. Therefore, Lapidot commanded those who observed the tradition to aid the movement and to strengthen its religious element. He also called on the wealthy to buy and work the land in Ereẓ Israel.

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[Geulah Bat Yehuda (Raphael)]

LAPIDOT, RUTH (1930–), Israeli jurist. Lapidot was born in Germany and immigrated to Israel in 1938 with her family. In 1947 she moved to Paris to study piano but came back a year later to serve in the army, where she was in the Medical Corps. She studied law at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem from 1949 to 1953 and clerked in the Supreme Court. In 1954–56 she studied international public law in Paris, completing her Ph.D. there. From 1956 to 2001 she was a member of the Faculty of Law at the Hebrew University, where she became a full professor in 1980. Her fields of interest were international law, maritime law, and the Arab-Israeli conflict. In addition to her academic career she held a number of international posts, such as member of the Israeli delegation to the UN (1976), and participated in the Humanitarian Law Conference (1977) and the Red Cross Conference (1981), in which she utilized her legal knowledge to influence decisions regarding Israel. Lapidot served as legal advisor to the Ministry for Foreign Affairs from 1979 to 1981, assisting the Israeli delegation during the peace process with Egypt (1979) as well as advising the government on Palestinian autonomy under the Camp David Agreement and on the establishment of an international observer force in Sinai and the Southern Negev. From 1986 to 1988 she represented Israel in the Taba border dispute with Egypt. Since 1989 she has been a member of the Permanent Court of Arbitration at The Hague. In 1999 she advised the High Commissioner on National Minorities of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe. In 2006 she received the Israel Prize in law. She published nine books and over 90 articles on legal subjects.

[Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

LAPIDUS, MORRIS (1902–2001), flamboyant Odessa-born architect who brought the ideas of Hollywood luxury to hotel design in Miami Beach during the 1950s and 1960s. In his lifetime he built 1,200 buildings and 250 hotels. His style was an adaptation of "form follows function," where the functions were glamour and fun. Castigated by the official architectural establishment, except for Philip Johnson, he persisted. Starting out from the Lower East Side of Manhattan, earning scholarships plus professional training in architecture at Columbia University, he began his career by designing commercial buildings and synagogues. He created store fronts with hidden lighting and curved glass windows that paved the way for better displays of merchandise. His first architectural commission, in 1954, was for the Hotel Fontainebleau in Miami Beach. More than 500 rooms were set on a quarter-circle curve. The lobby contained a terrarium with live alligators and an elegant stairway down from the mezzanine that featured women descending to the lobby while showing off their glamorous gowns and jewelry to the men waiting below. Lapidus believed that when people went on vacation, they wanted to indulge their fantasies of luxury. The ballroom, intended for a casino, could hold 9,000 people. Three Belgium chandeliers hung in the lobby, each one strung with 1,800 crystal strands forming circles or ovals depending on where you were standing. The movie *Goldfinger* was filmed there; Marilyn Monroe and JFK had suites in the penthouse. Soon after building the Fontainebleau, Lapidus built the Eden Roc and the Americana and then the Americana in New York. He said that he did not care if it was called Baroque or Brooklyn as long as it was glamorous. He went on to design hotels in Las Vegas, Los Angeles, the Catskills (Grossingers and the Concord), and overseas.

By 1985, his work was still criticized, so he closed his office and hired two trucks to cart away his papers, which he then burned. The Summit Hotel, a Lapidus building on 51st Street in New York, was under consideration as a landmark building in 2005. Now named the Metropolitan, it is one of the few remaining Lapidus buildings in New York and may be destroyed. Before he died at age 98 he started working again. His designs finally appreciated, the man whose vision of the American Dream was first formed at Coney Island and Luna Park believed that his ideals could serve as the model for 21st century architecture. Lapidus was honored by the Society of Architectural Historians in 2000 at the Eden Roc and he was named an American Original by the Smithsonian Institution's Cooper-Hewitt, National Design Museum in its first national design awards. He received this honor at the White House in 2000.

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[Betty R. Rubenstein (2nd ed.)]

LAPIN, BERL (1889–1952), Yiddish poet and translator. Born in Grodno, he lived in Argentina 1905–9 and 1913–17 and in the U.S. 1909–13, before settling in New York in 1917. His first lyric collection *Umetige Vegn* ("Sad Ways," 1910) was completed in Vilna, where he had come under the influence of Chaim *Zhitlowsky (as whose personal secretary he served) and the literary group Di *Yunge. His excellence as a stylist is reflected in his translations of Shakespeare's *Sonnets*, Russian lyrics, and American poems, and his collected poems *Der Fuler Krug* ("The Full Pitcher," 1950).

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[Melech Ravitch]

LAPIN, ISRAEL MOSES FISCHEL (1810–1889), *yishuv* leader. Born in Grodno (then Russian Poland), Lapin was a contractor for the building of the Grodno railway and thus became wealthy. In 1862 he settled with his family in Jerusalem, where he contributed to the foundation and maintenance of various health and educational institutions. Along with Judah *Alkalai, Lapin was a founder of Kol Yisrael Ḥaverim for land settlement in Ereẓ Israel and was elected its vice president, but resigned under pressure from Jewish community leaders. In 1872 he joined a group of Jerusalemites who sought to buy land for Jewish settlement in Jericho, but later purchased lands near Jaffa and Moẓa. Lapin acquired the land for the Bet Ya'akov quarter of Jerusalem and helped to expand the city. His grandchildren included Joshua Lapin, director of the Baron de *Hirsch's colonies in Argentina (from 1893), and Bezalel and Leib *Jaffe.

One of his sons, BEZALEL (1856–1939), was taken to Ereẓ Israel at the age of seven. He initiated a coach service between Jerusalem and Jaffa in place of the mules and donkeys used hitherto. He also founded the firm that built the Sha'arei Pinnah quarter of Jerusalem. In 1890 he went to live in Jaffa where he considerably extended his commercial and communal activities. During World War I Lapin organized an aid campaign for Jewish soldiers in the Turkish army.

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[Geulah Bat Yehuda (Raphael)]

LAPSEKI (**Lampsakos**; Turk. **Lapseki**), district of *Çanakkale on the Dardanelles opposite Gallipoli. The district remained under Byzantine rule for centuries, and then passed into Ottoman hands. The Jewish population of Çanakkale was represented by a small settlement in Lapseki in the late 19th century. In 1888, there were 36 Jews in six houses, with no religious organization and attached to Çanakkale. The Jews specialized in producing wine, called *vino aello lege*. As Gallipoli suffered large-scale attacks during World War I, Jews there took refuge in Lapseki, causing a temporary increase in its

Jewish population. Nevertheless, it diminished after the proclamation of the Republic in 1923 to just seven Jewish women, according to the census of 1927.

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[M. Mustafa Kulu (2nd ed.)]

LAPSON (Weinberg), DVORA (1907–1996). U.S. choreographer; an innovator who used Jewish folklore material in theatrical form. Lapson was première danseuse and choreographer of the Hebrew opera *Pioneers* by Jacob *Weinberg (1934) and also directed dances for Jewish Art Theater, New York. Her own repertoire included dances on biblical themes, ḥasidic ritual, and modern Jewish life. She directed pageants in New York high schools for the Jewish Culture Council and was the author of *New Palestine Dances* (1948) and *Dances of the Jewish People* (1954).

LAQUEUR, WALTER ZE'EV (1921–), Middle East expert and political scientist. Born in Breslau, Germany, Laqueur went to Palestine in 1938, and from 1944 to 1953 served as a political journalist for several Israel newspapers. In 1955 Laqueur moved to London, where he became editor of *Survey*, a quarterly political journal specializing in East European affairs. In 1964 he was appointed director of the Wiener Library Institute of Contemporary History, and in 1966 he founded and became coeditor of the periodical *Contemporary History*. Laqueur taught at the University of Reading in England and at Brandeis University in the United States. In 1970 he was appointed professor of history at the University of Tel Aviv. Subsequently he became director of the Institute of Contemporary History in London and an associate of the Center for Strategic and International Studies in Washington. He also served as a co-chairman at CSIS (Center for Strategic and International Studies). He was founder and editor of the *Journal of Contemporary History*, chairman of the board of editors of the *Washington Quarterly*, and editor of the Washington Papers monograph series. A specialist in Soviet foreign policy and in the politics of the Middle East, his books include *The Middle East in Transition* (1958), *The Soviet Union and the Middle East* (1959), *The Fate of the Revolution: Interpretations of Soviet History* (1967), *The Road to Jerusalem: The Origins of the Arab-Israel Conflict 1967* (1968), *Weimar: A Cultural History* (1976), *Guerilla: A Historical and Critical Study* (1976), *A Continent Astray: Europe 1970–1978* (1979), and two novels, *The Missing Years* (1980) and *The Terrible Secret* (1980). More recent books are *The Dream That Failed: Reflections on the Soviet Union* (1994), *Fascism: Past, Present, and Future* (1996), *A History of Zionism* (1997), and *Weimar: A Cultural History* (2000). His work appeared regularly in *Commentary*, the *New York Times Magazine,* the *Washington Post*, *Encounter*, and the *New Republic.*

[Lawrence H. Feigenbaum]

LAR, town in southern *Iran, situated on the main caravan route connecting southern Persia with the Persian Gulf ports. Lar had a prosperous Jewish community in the 16th century. A Spaniard who visited the town in 1607 met there a "messenger from Zion" named Judah. Along with other Persian Jewish communities the Jews of Lar suffered at the hands of the Safavid rulers during the 17th and early 18th centuries; the oppressions are described by the Judeo-Persian chronicler *Babai ibn Luṭf. According to him, the persecutions against the Jews of Iran during the reign of Shah *Abbas I (1588–1629) began some time before 1613 and originated in the city of Lar, whose rabbi converted to Islam and took the name Abul-Hasan Lari. Lar was a center of Judeo-Persian literary activity; among the scribes and translators was Judah of Lar (early 16th century; see *Shahin and *Imrani). A Florentine traveler, Giambattista Vecchietti (1552–1619), collected ancient Judeo-Persian manuscripts there and brought them back to Europe. There existed a Jewish community in Lar up to the beginning of the 20th century. According to BM (1907, p. 51) there were 70 Jews living in Lar in 1907. They were expelled from the city and walked all the way to the northern city of Jahrom and eventually settled in Shiraz (pp. 90–91; and also 1910, *ibid.*, pp. 18 f; Levy, p. 1026). On April 24, 1960, a devastating earthquake struck the city of Lar, reducing a large part of the town to rubble and killing about 3,500 of its inhabitants.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: BM = Bulletin Mensuel, Alliance Israélite Universelle; W.J. Fischel, "The Region of the Persian Gulf and its Jewish Settlements in Islamic Time," in: *Alexander Marx Jubilee Volume* (1950), 203–30; H. Levy, *History of the Jews of Iran*, 3 (1960). **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** V.B. Moreen, *Iranian Jewry's Hour of Peril and Heroism* (1987); A. Netzer, "*Redifot u-Shemadot be-Toledot Yehudei Iran ba-Me'ah ha-17*," in: *Pe'amim*, 6 (1980), 32–56.

[Walter Joseph Fischel / Amnon Netzer (2nd ed.)]

LARA, DAVID BEN ISAAC COHEN DE (1602 [1610?]–1674), philologist, lexicographer, writer, and translator. Born in Lisbon (or Amsterdam, or Hamburg), Lara studied at the academy of R. Isaac *Uziel at Amsterdam. He was appointed *ḥakham* of the Spanish-Portuguese community in Hamburg. In 1656 he returned to Amsterdam, spending several years there, but subsequently returned to Hamburg. A great expert on classical literature and the writings of the Church Fathers, Lara became noted for his work *Keter Kehunnah* (*Corona Sacerdotii, Lexicon Thalmudico Rabbinicum*, Hamburg, 1668) on which he worked for 40 years. In the book he deals with talmudic words which do not appear in the *Arukh* of *Nathan b. Jehiel of Rome, and he compares the Hebrew with words in Semitic or in European languages; the published work goes only as far as the letter *yod*. In *Ir David*, an earlier work (Amsterdam, 1638), Lara listed and explained words of Greek and Latin origin found in the Talmud and the Midrash. He also translated chapters from books on ethics from Hebrew into Spanish, such as excerpts from R. Elijah de *Vidas' *Reshit Ḥokhmah* under the title *Tratado del Temor Divino* (Amsterdam, 1633). In *Divrei David* (Leyden, 1658) he explained R. Abraham *Ibn

Ezra's discourse on the letters *alef, he, vav, yod*, adding Latin notes to his text. Other works by Lara still in manuscript are *Beit David*, a talmudic lexicon; *Oẓar Rav*, foreign words and technical terms in rabbinic literature; *Ohel David*, explanations of synonyms in the Talmud and rabbinic literature; *Kisse David*, a collection of parables and legends from the Talmud and the Midrash, arranged in alphabetical order; and *Pirḥei Kehunnah*, a book on ethics. Christian philologists, such as Johannes Christopher Buxtorf II, appreciated Lara's scholarship in Hebrew philology and encouraged him to publish his *Keter Kehunnah*. The rumor spread by Esdras Edzardus, the Hamburg missionary, that as he was approaching death, Lara came close to Christianity, has no basis in fact.

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[Yehoshua Horowitz]

LARA, ḤIYYA KOHEN DE (d. after 1753), rabbi and kabbalist. Lara was a pupil of the Moroccan rabbi Solomon Amar II. He was one of the foremost group of scholars from the *bet midrash* Eẓ Ḥayyim in Amsterdam. He compiled *Mishmerot Kehunnah* (Amsterdam, 1753), a talmudic lexicon consisting, in his own words, of "sayings, proverbs, moral reproof, decrees, regulations and principles from the Talmud, in alphabetical order, as well as corrections of printers' errors in the Talmud." It is noteworthy that Lara included in his book various criticisms of the scholars of the south of France and of Germany. He apologized, however, if he thereby spoke disrespectfully against prominent rabbis. He was opposed to the method of **pilpul* in vogue among German rabbis of the time, pointing out: "What benefit do the German scholars bring by their hairsplitting distinctions? Has not the Talmud stated explicitly, that if we are so meticulous we should not be able to study" (*Mishmerot Kehunnah*, 11b). In *Peri Eẓ Ḥayyim* (vol. 2, Amsterdam, 241), there are several responsa by Lara dating from 1741. He complains about his difficult economic situation, describing himself as "embittered, busy with temporal cares and the cares of a livelihood, with difficulty providing for his needs, and troubled with other domestic cares." Of his works the kabbalistic *Kanfei Yonah* and *Mirkevet ha-Mishneh* are still extant in manuscript.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Fuenn, Keneset, 341; M.M. Hirsch, *Frucht vom Baum des Lebens-Ozer Peroth Eẓ Chajim* (1936), 320 (index), s.v. *Cohen de Lara, Chija*.

[Yehoshua Horowitz]

LARA, ISAAC COHEN DE (c. 1700), Sephardi author and book dealer, known mainly as the editor of the Purim play, *Comedia famosa de Aman y Mordochay*. He was the son of Abraham Cohen de Lara. The marriage records of Amsterdam include that of an Isaac de Lara, described as a "businessman" and native of Amsterdam, who on March 14, 1692, at the age of 24, married Raquel Machado of Leghorn. An Isaac Acohen de Lara, apparently identical with the book dealer, was *ḥazzan* of the Amsterdam Sephardi community in 1709. His father, Abraham, had occupied the same position in 1682. The *Comedia famosa de Aman y Mordochay* was published at Leiden in 1699. The actual author of this Spanish play is unknown. In an introduction, dedicated to his friend David de Souza Brito, de Lara merely says that it was composed by "a clever writer from Hamburg, as I gathered from his prologue." The play itself is written in a graceful and precise style, inspired by the Book of Esther and midrashic commentaries on the biblical story. This edition of the *Comedia* also includes 36 Spanish "enigmas" taken from another, older work and 12 taken from a manuscript, as well as a further 25 "enigmas" in Dutch. The inclusion of the last indicates that by this time the Spanish and Portuguese Jews in Amsterdam knew Dutch fairly well. De Lara's book ends with a *brindis* ("toast"), and with a Spanish ballad, "*La Fuga de Jaacob de Barsheva*."

Isaac Cohen de Lara also edited *Guía de Passageros* (a guide for travelers; Amsterdam, 1704), which contains a Judeo-Spanish calendar.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: H.V. Besso, *Dramatic Literature* (1947), 69–70; Kayserling, Bibl, 38; Van Praag, in: *Neophilologus*, 25:1 (1940), 12–24.

[Kenneth R. Scholberg]

LARIN, YURI (**Lurye**, **Mikhail Alexandrovich**; 1882–1932), Russian political economist and communal leader. Born in Simferopol, Larin was the son of the Hebrew writer and Zionist Shneur Zalman Luria, who served as **kazyonny ravvin* in Kiev. In 1901 he joined the Russian Social Democratic Party, becoming an adherent of its Menshevik wing. Arrested and exiled to Siberia in 1902, he escaped abroad in 1904, returning to Russia in 1905. From 1905 to 1913 he was active in the revolutionary movement in the Crimea, the Ukraine, and the Caucasus. In 1913 when in Tiflis (Tbilisi) he was again arrested and expelled. He returned to Russia after the February Revolution. After July 1917 he became a member of the Bolshevik Party. Following the October Revolution he was given a number of top assignments as an expert in economic affairs. He was a key figure in the organization of the new Soviet economy and among the founders of the State Planning Bureau. In 1928 he became identified with the opposition. He organized the fight against antisemitism in 1926–31 and wrote some works on the subject. He took great interest in the agricultural settlement of Russian Jews and was chairman of OZET, a voluntary, semiprivate organization propagating the idea of agricultural settlement of Russian Jews. He was also a member of KOMZET, a public committee whose task was similar to that of OZET. Larin was one of the few Jewish communists who supported the project of settling Jews in the *Crimea, and one of the two Jewish Autonomous Counties there was named after him – Larindorf County – in 1935. Moreover, when there was still Zionist activity in the Soviet Union, he attempted, unsuccessfully, to bring about an agreement between the Soviet authorities and Zionist groups, to attract the latter to settlement activities, and to mobilize funds from the Jews in Russia and other countries. On the other hand, he opposed the project of Jewish settlement in *Birobidzhan, and even expressed publicly his doubts as to its success. This stand roused the anger of the *Yevsektsiya, and Larin was attacked by Merezhin, one of the Yevsektsiya's leaders. His daughter Anna married N. Bukharin.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Bolshaya Sovetskaya Entsiklopediya*, 35 (1937), 762–3.

LARISSA (Ottoman Turk. **Yenishehir**), city in Thessaly, N.W. of Athens, Greece. From the 16th century Larissa had a small Sephardi community. The local Jews were mainly engaged in commerce, notably the sale of clothes, and also in money changing. With the conquest of the Peleponnese by the Venetians in 1687 and the influx of refugees from Patras, the Larissa community increased. There were numerous *ḥakhamim* in the community. At the end of the 16th century, the most noted was the *posek* Joseph ben Ezra. In the 16th and 17th centuries there were two *kehalim*, the older Romaniot *Kahal Eẓ Ḥayyim* and a smaller, more recent Sephardi *kahal*. During the 18th century the Larissa philanthropist Isaac Shalom maintained a yeshivah in *Salonika. At its peak, in 1851–52, the community numbered 2,000 families. A short-lived *Alliance Israélite Universelle school operated between 1868 and 1874. In 1881, the Jewish community welcomed Greek sovereignty in a public ceremony. The community suffered a blood libel in 1893. When Larissa was temporarily occupied by the Turks in the 1897 Greek-Turkish War, local elements agitated against the Jews with accusations of collusion with the former Turkish sovereign. When the Turkish military commander gave the local Jews a chance to return to *Turkey, the local rabbi refused and affirmed Jewish loyalty to Greece.

The merchant Isaac Cohen moved to *Jerusalem at the end of the 19th century and established a large general store on Jaffa Road. His close contacts with the Greek-Orthodox Church enabled the Jewish National Fund to purchase land for the Israel Museum as well as in the Reḥaviah neighborhood of Jerusalem and for kibbutz Bet ha-Aravah on the Dead Sea. In 1900, two local Zionist movements were established: Mevaẓeret Zion and Ohavei Zion. In 1923 there were 200 Jewish families in the town, although formerly there had been more. In 1940 there were 1,175 Jews in the town; 950 fled from the Nazis to the mountains when encouraged by local rabbi Isaac Casuto to do so. Following a Nazi decree, the 150 Jews who remained in the town, and another 75 who returned, were registered with the municipality and deported. In 1948 the Jewish population numbered 626, and in 1958, 452. According to the 1967 census, there were 441 Jews living in the city. A Holocaust memorial was set up in the mid-1990s and was desecrated several times at the end of the 1990s and the beginning of the 21st century. Today there are only some 15 Jewish pupils in the Jewish school, and most students are gentile. The community was enriched when the native Rabbi Eli Shabetai moved back to the community.

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[Simon Marcus / Yitzchak Kerem (2nd ed.)]

LASANSKY, MAURICIO (1914–), printmaker. Lasansky was born in Buenos Aires, the son of Polish immigrants. After studying at the Academy of Art, he became director of the Free Fine Arts School, Buenos Aires. In 1943 he went to the United States, and from 1952 taught printmaking at the State University of Iowa. He eventually became the head of what has been called the most influential graphic arts workshop in the world. His imaginative etchings and engravings are representational and are in many public collections. He developed a complicated yet highly successful process of color printing which became known as "The Lasansky Method." In 1967 Lasansky achieved wide recognition through a series of pencil drawings inspired by the Holocaust called "The Nazi Drawings."

[Alfred Werner]

LASDUN, SIR DENYS (1914–2001), English architect. Denys Lasdun was born in London, the son of a businessman who was the cousin of the Russian stage designer Leon Bakst; his mother was the granddaughter of the Australian artist Louis Abrahams. He was educated at Rugby and at the Architectural Association School. Lasdun worked for a time with the Tecton group, the architectural firm founded by Berthold Lubetkin which helped to launch modern architecture in Britain. Lasdun wished to produce an organic architecture "that inhibits neither the notion of growth and change nor advances in technology." His designs included working class housing schemes in Paddington and Bethnal Green, London as well as luxury flats in St. James'. Other buildings of Lasdun's are the Royal College of Physicians (1960), the new University of East Anglia (1962), the Sports Center, Liverpool University (1963), the Social Center, University of Leicester (1963), and his project for the National Theater and Opera, London (1967). One of the best-known modern British architects, Lasdun was knighted in 1976 and made a Companion of Honour (CH) in 1995.

ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY: ODNB; W.J.R. Curtis, *Denys Lasdun: Architecture, City, Landscape* (1994).

LASERSON, MAX (1887–1951), Latvian jurist, historian, and Zionist. Born in Jelgava, Laserson was appointed lecturer in law at the University of Petrograd in 1916. In Alexander Kerensky's provisional government of 1917 he was deputy director of national minorities in the Ministry of the Interior. In 1920 he returned to Latvia, now an independent state, and became professor of law at the Riga commercial college. Laserson was also prominent in Jewish affairs, and from 1922 to

1931 represented the Socialist Zionist (Ẓe'irei Zion-Hitaḥdut) faction in the Latvian parliament. With the advent of the right-wing regime of Kartis Ulmanis in 1934 and the suppression of national minorities, Laserson was arrested. On his release he left Latvia for Palestine, where he helped to found the Tel Aviv School of Law and Economics. In 1939 he immigrated to the United States. There he lectured at Columbia University and was head of the department of law at the Institute of Jewish Affairs.

Laserson's principal writings were concerned with legal theory, especially *Revolyutsiya i pravo* ("Revolution and Law," 1926), and *Obshchaya teoriya prava* ("General Theory of Law," 1930). He also wrote on minority rights and, in his later years, on the problem of relations between Russia and the West, his books including *Russia and the Western World* (1945), and *The American Impact on Russia* (1950). He was also the author of two works in Hebrew, *Ha-Mandat, ha-Konstituẓyah ve-ha-Mo'eẓah ha-Meḥokeket* ("The Mandate, the Constitution, and the Legislative Council of Palestine," 1936), and *Ha-Filosofyah ha-Mishpatit shel ha-Rambam* ("The Legal Philosophy of Maimonides," 1939).

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[Ezra Mendelsohn]

LASHON HA-RA (Heb. לְשׁוֹן הָרָע; lit. "evil speech"), the prohibition against slandering, slurring, or defaming one's fellow Jews, even when the derogatory remarks are true (Lev. 19:16; Rashi ad. loc.). The sages constantly stressed the severity of this prohibition, asserting that slander destroys three persons: "he who relates the slander, he who accepts it, and he about whom it is told" (Ar. 15b). They recognized the power of the spoken word to build or ruin human relationships, and considered the tongue the "elixir of life" (Lev. R. 16:2) and the primary source of good and evil (Lev. R. 33:1). It was even considered forbidden to spread discreditable comments which the slanderer would have told to the person himself (Tos. to Ar. 15b).

The Bible is replete with examples of righteous and wicked individuals who transgressed this prohibition. Sarah is accused of slandering Abraham when she spoke about his advanced age and inability to beget children (Gen. 18:12–15; TJ, Pe'ah 1:1, 16a). Joseph was punished for the "evil reports" he spread about his brothers (Gen. 37:2; TJ, Pe'ah 1:1, 15d–16a). Miriam was rebuked by God for slandering Moses (Num. 12:1–15). The spies were punished for their injurious reports concerning the Holy Land (Num. 14:36–37). The division of the kingdom of David is attributed to his paying heed to slander (Shab. 56a–b). Doeg and Ahithophel were accused of constantly desiring to hear "evil speech" (TJ, loc. cit.). Jeroboam king of Israel (I Kings 12:20) was worthy of being counted together with the kings of Judah (Hos 1:1) because he did not give heed to slander against Amos (Amos 7:10–11; Pes. 87b). The murder of Isaiah by Manasseh was considered divine retribution for Isaiah's slurs against the Jewish people (Isa. 6:5; Yev. 49b). Haman was considered the most skillful of all traducers (Meg. 13b). Indirect slander was also forbidden, and the sages cautioned against speaking in praise of a person lest one inevitably be led also to mention the person's bad deeds and qualities (BB 164b). Equally objectionable under this heading is the implicit form of slander exemplified by the statement, "Do not speak of him; I want to know nothing about him," in which one expresses a disinclination to listen, not because of a distaste for slander, but because of the implied unworthiness of the subject (see Maim. Yad, De'ot 7:4). Although the hearer was cautioned not to believe slander, he still was permitted to safeguard himself cautiously lest the reports prove true (Nid. 61a). Defaming individuals who constantly caused strife and dissension is permissable (TJ, Pe'ah 1:1, 16a).

The rabbis often emphasized the rigorous punishments for those engaging in "evil speech." They are immediately chastised by plagues (ARN 19); and rain is withheld because of them (Ta'an. 7b). Croup comes to the world on account of slander (Shab. 33a–b), and whoever makes derogatory remarks about deceased scholars is cast into *Gehinnom (Ber. 19a). Slanderers will not enjoy the *Shekhinah (Divine Presence; Sot. 42a), and a bearer of evil tales is considered as denying God (Ar. 15b). Whoever relates or accepts slander deserves to be cast to the dogs (Pes. 118a), and stoned (Ar. 15b). The Talmud delineated the repentance for those wishing to atone for this sin. Scholars were advised to engage in Torah study, while simple persons were urged to humble themselves (Ar. 15b). The robe of the high priest and the incense aided in achieving atonement for this sin (Zev. 88b). Mar, the son of Ravina, on concluding his daily prayer added the following: "My God, keep my tongue from evil and my lips from speaking guile" (Ber. 17a), a formula which has been added at the end of the *Amidah*. In modern times, Rabbi *Israel Meir ha-Kohen (Ḥafeẓ Ḥayyim) gained wide recognition for his writings which stressed the gravity of the sin of *lashon ha-ra*.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Israel Meir ha-Kohen (Ḥafeẓ Ḥayyim), *Shemirat ha-Lashon* (1952); Israel Al-Nakawa, *Menorat ha-Ma'or*, ed. by H.G. Enelow, 4 (1932), 337–70.

LASK (Pol. **Łask**), town in Lodz province, central Poland. The Jewish settlement of the town began to develop at the close of the 16th century. For about two centuries, the owners of the town were favorably disposed toward the Jewish population and protected it from the local clergy. The fires which burnt down most of the town's houses in 1624 and 1747 caused heavy losses to the Jewish population. The ancient synagogue and cemetery were destroyed. Thanks to the right of residence granted in 1640 by Stanislaw Wierzbowski, Lask Jews were authorized to engage in crafts, to trade in grain and *livestock, and to lease and keep inns. They were, however, forbidden to acquire houses and building lots in the market square and the neighboring streets. From the close of the 17th century, the Jews of the town paid heavy taxes toward the maintenance of the army. During the early 1790s the debts of the community increased considerably, to about 30,000 zlotys. According to the census of 1765, there were 891 Jews in Lask and a further

276 in the 54 small surrounding settlements subordinate to the community. In 1827, there were 1,270 Jews (64% of the total population). From 1827 on the new owners of Lask filed suit against the community for the payment of the debts which had accumulated by the close of the 18th century. In 1838 the Jews of the town were ordered, under threat of attachment of their property, to pay their debts with the addition of 7,697 zlotys as accrued interest. Following rapid economic development during the second quarter of the 19th century, the Jews of Pabianice and Zdunska Wola set up their own communal organizations independent of Lask. The first known rabbi of the town was Israel b. Ithamar (d. 1726) who was succeeded by R. Meir b. Eliakim Goetz of Hildesheim. Subsequent rabbis were Phinehas Zelig (d. 1770), author of *Ateret Paz* (1768), Moses Judah Leib Zilberberg, author of *Zayit Ra'anan* (2 vols., 1851–69) and *Tif'eret Yerushalayim*, David Dov *Meisels (d. 1876), and his son Ẓevi Aryeh Judah (until 1932). The last rabbi of Lask was Leibel Ajzenberg, who died in the Chelmno extermination camp in 1942. From the second half of the 19th century, most of the Jews of Lask were Ḥasidim (*Kotsk and *Warka). In 1897 there were 2,862 Jews in Lask (68% of the population). Jewish workers and craftsmen were influenced by the socialist movement. Zionist activities also started at the outbreak of World War I. In 1919 two of the 14 members of the municipal council were Jews. Between the two world wars, there were two Jewish libraries, a reformed *ḥeder* (founded in 1927), a Hebrew *Tarbut school, a *Beth Jacob school, and *Maccabi and Shtern sports societies. In 1921 there were 2,623 Jews in Lask. After the serious economic crisis of 1929, antisemitism became intensified and an economic boycott was imposed on the Jews.

[Arthur Cygielman]

Holocaust Period

In 1939, there were 3,864 Jews out of a total population of 6,000. After the town was occupied by the Germans, the religious Jewish community was persecuted. Synagogue officials were executed; the *bet midrash* was converted into a slaughterhouse for horses; Jews were forced to perform degrading acts during the High Holidays. A ghetto was established in several stages. At first a few streets were earmarked for Jewish habitation, but on Nov. 18, 1940, the Germans forced all the Jews of Lask into this area. Toward the end of 1941, the death penalty was imposed for anyone leaving the ghetto. From then on the food situation worsened considerably. The Judenrat organized a hospital, a kindergarten, and a soup kitchen. In mid-August 1942 the ghetto was liquidated. About 3,500 Jews were locked up in a church outside the city and were kept for several days under inhuman conditions; the Germans then picked out some 800 craftsmen to be sent to *Lodz ghetto, while the rest were sent to the extermination camp at *Chelmno.

[Danuta Dombrowska]

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LASK, EMIL (1875–1915), German philosopher. Born in Wadowitz, Austria, he studied under Rickert in Freiburg. In 1905 he became lecturer in philosophy at Heidelberg. Just before the outbreak of World War I, he was elected professor. Lask died in World War I in the Galician campaign. Lask's philosophy developed from the neo-Kantianism of Windelband and Rickert. Until 1913 Lask aimed at a synthesis of Platonic-Aristotelian philosophy and the Kantianism of Rickert; the seeds of the new metaphysics were to be found in this synthesis. He fought against the ordinary subjectivism to be found in Kant's system, and placed the emphasis on the objective world, which for him meant that the conscious subject must put up with the function of "servant." His later work approached subjectivism, but because of his early death, only fragments of his writings and some unfinished philosophy lectures are available. After Lask's death, Rickert published his writings in three volumes (the third volume contained his later writings).

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[Samuel Hugo Bergman]

LASKER, family of prominence in the 19th–20th centuries in the U.S. MORRIS LASKER (1840–1916), who was born in Prussia, immigrated to the U.S. in 1856. After settling in Texas in 1860, he participated in a number of Indian campaigns and fought in the Civil War with the Confederacy. After the war Lasker moved to Galveston, where he became a prominent merchant, real estate and livestock dealer, and banker. He was elected to the Texas state senate in 1895. His brother Eduard *Lasker (1829–1884) was a prominent German politician and author.

ALBERT DAVIS LASKER (1880–1952), an advertising pioneer, public servant, and communal leader, was brought up in Galveston. Lasker worked as a reporter for the Dallas *News* before joining the Chicago advertising agency of Lord & Thomas in 1898. He subsequently bought the agency (1910), and when he dissolved the firm and retired in 1942, the agency was the largest of its kind in the world. Lasker's inventiveness, particularly his use of what he called "salesmanship-in-print," sparked a tremendous growth in the advertising business. His public and political posts included aide to President Wilson's secretary of the Department of Agriculture; head of the Republican National Committee's publicity department (1918); and chairman of the U.S. Shipping Board (1921–23). Before resigning from the last, Lasker oversaw the extensive reorganization of the U.S. merchant marine and the disposal of $3 billion worth of the board's assets. In 1940 he was a delegate from Illinois to the Republican National Convention. Active in Jewish affairs, Lasker contributed to the Hebrew Union College, was a trustee of the Associated Jewish Charities of Chicago, and was a member of the American Jewish Committee's executive committee. He also founded and endowed the Lasker Foundation for medical research in 1928.

His sister FLORINA LASKER (1884–1949), a communal worker, was born in Galveston. She served as chairman of the National Council of Jewish Women's immigrant aid section, was a board member of the National Consumers' League, and wrote, with Etta and Loula Lasker, *Care and Treatment of the Jewish Blind in the City of New York* (1918) for the Bureau of Philanthropic Research. A board member of the American Civil Liberties Union, she was also secretary of the New York Labor Standards Committee (1934), dedicated to the improvement of wages, hours, and working conditions; additionally, she reorganized (1943) and presided over the Consumers' League of New York, which, under her direction, conducted important surveys of migrant workers in New York State.

A second sister, Etta Lasker *Rosensohn (1885–1966), was a social and communal worker and Zionist. A third sister, LOULA DAVIS LASKER (1886–1961), who was also born in Galveston, was a social and communal worker and Zionist. She held posts with the Bureau of Philanthropic Research (1916–17) and the New York County chapter of the American Red Cross. She was also a member of the U.S. immigration commissioner's advisory panel on welfare conditions at U.S. immigrant reception stations (1921), and chairman of the Commission on Immigrant Aid and Immigrant Education for the New York section of the National Council of Jewish Women (1921–23). During 1928–52 she was associate editor of *Survey* and *Survey Graphic*. A founder in 1937 and board chairman of the Citizens Housing and Planning Council, Loula Lasker was also a founder of the League for Industrial Democracy and a board member of the American Civil Liberties Union. Active in Jewish affairs, she became a member of Hadassah's national board in 1949, edited the Hadassah *Newsletter* from 1952 to 1955, and subsequently served as a Hadassah vice president.

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LASKER, EDUARD (Isaac; 1829–1884), German Liberal politician. Lasker was born to an Orthodox merchant family in Posen. While studying law at the University of Breslau he took part in the revolution of 1848, fighting with the students' legion in Vienna against the imperial troops. In 1853 he went to England to study the system of British parliamentary government, then a model for German liberals. Returning in 1856 he became an associate judge in Berlin. In 1865 he was elected to the Prussian Parliament as a member of the Progressive Party but broke away in 1867 to found the National Liberal Party, of which he was the head. After the German Empire was formed in 1870, Lasker led the Liberal Party in the Reichstag and helped *Bismarck in his work of securing Prussian leadership in Germany, making a substantial contribution to the passage of many important laws, including the laws of association and taxation, the codification of criminal law, and a new judicial system. A gifted orator, Lasker vigorously defended parliamentary authority and on several occasions forced proposals endangering individual liberties to be withdrawn. Furthermore he published works on *Wege und Ziele der Culturentwicklung* (1881) and *Zur Geschichte der parlamentarischen Entwicklung Preussens* (1873).

Lasker's first breach with Bismarck occurred in 1873, when his revelations about the mismanagement and stock manipulation of the Pomeranian railways led to the fall of one of Bismarck's closest associates. His opposition to Bismarck's high tariff policy after 1878 led to his defeat in the 1879 elections. In 1880 he left the National Party in protest against a law limiting freedom of speech and set up the Liberal Union in opposition to Bismarck. Soon afterward, however, ill health forced him to retire from politics. He died in the United States and was buried in 1901 in the Jewish cemetery in Berlin. When the American House of Representatives sent a resolution of condolence to Bismarck for transmission to the Reichstag, he refused to accept it on the ground that in praising Lasker it thereby was criticizing German policy. Lasker was a loyal Jew and a vigorous champion of Jewish rights. On his initiative, the Prussian parliament passed a law permitting Jews to opt out of the official community without being regarded as having left Judaism, a measure which enabled the ultra-orthodox congregations to form independent communities.

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[Bernard Dov Ganzel / Bjoern Siegel (2nd ed.)]

LASKER, EMANUEL (1868–1941), chess master. Lasker, who was the grandson of a rabbi and son of a German cantor, was born in Berlin. In the early 1900s he settled in New York City, where he published his own chess magazine and was chess editor of the *New York Evening Post*. Lasker won tournaments in London (two in 1892), New York (1893), St. Petersburg (1895–96), Nuremberg (1896), London (1899), Paris (1900), St. Petersburg (1909 and 1914), and Berlin (1918). In match play he won 18 out of 20 matches, defeating Wilhelm *Steinitz for the world title (1894) and defending it successfully against him (1896–97), as well as against Frank Marshall, S. *Tarrasch (twice), and David Janowski (three times). He drew with Carl Schlechter and finally lost in 1921 to Capablanca (ten draws and four losses). In match play, the great attacking masters Jacques Mieses, J.H. Blackburne, H.E. Bird, and Frank Marshall all failed to win a game against him. Lasker taught advanced mathematics at various universities. His papers include "Modules and Ideal Factors" and "Die Philosophie des Unvollendbaren" (1919). His chess publications include *Common Sense in Chess* (1896) and *Lasker's Manual of Chess* (1927).

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[Gerald Abrahams]

LASKER-SCHUELER, ELSE (1869–1945), German poet. Lasker-Schueler grew up in an assimilated family in Elberfeld. In 1894 she married the doctor Berthold Lasker and, moving to Berlin, soon after became part of a group of avant gardist artists gathering around the bohemian writer Peter Hille, taking lessons in drawing and writing her first poems (published in the volumes *Styx* (1902), and *Der siebente Tag* (1905)). Working together with her second husband, Herwarth *Walden (to whom she was married from 1901 to 1911), who was the editor of the main journal of German expressionism, *Der Sturm*, she soon turned out to be one of the most highly acclaimed expressionistic writers. Within this literary and artistic movement, from around 1910 to 1920, she was also part of a generation of young Jewish writers who rejected the bourgeois concept of assimilation of their parents and discovered Judaism as a counterculture. Lasker-Schueler's name for these non-bourgeois Jews was "*wilde Juden*." In this context, she created her own world of mythical Oriental and biblical figures, stories, and poems. She also mythologized her friends – and even more herself as "Princess Tino of Baghdad" and later as "Prince Yussuf of Thebes" (cf. the stories *Die Naechte Tino von Bagdads*, 1907; *Der Prinz von Theben*, 1914; *Hebraeische Balladen*, 1913). She expanded this poetical myth in her novels *Mein Herz* (1913) and *Der Malik* (1919). They consist of an account of the literary and artistic avant garde in the form of letters to her friends (among them Franz Marc, Karl *Kraus, Alfred *Doeblin, Gottfried Benn, Max *Brod, and Franz *Werfel). In the story *Der Wunderrabbiner von Barcelona* (1921) and in the novel/play *Arthur Aronymus* (1932), the subject was her own family history (e.g., her grand-grandfather, the famous rabbi Hirsch Cohen, in the latter), but also the conflicted relationship between Judaism and Christianity. While the "Wanderrabbiner" portrays – following Heinrich *Heine's *Der Rabbi von Bacherach* – the persecution of the Jews in Christian Europe, *Arthur Aronymus* ends with a utopian reunion of Jews and Christians, represented even more emphatically when *Arthur Aronymus* was staged as a play in Zurich in 1936. A successful writer (and artist) in the Weimar Republic – she had her collected works published in ten volumes in 1919–20, and won the Kleist Prize in 1932 – Lasker-Schueler had to flee from Nazi-Germany to Switzerland in 1933. She lived in Zurich and Ascona under most difficult circumstances, supported by the Jewish community and selling her drawings while publishing a few poems in journals such as Klaus Mann's exile journal *Die Sammlung* (1934/35). Already during this period she undertook two journeys to Palestine, the first in 1934 and the second in 1937, staying mostly in Jerusalem and becoming well acquainted with the German-Jewish intellectuals of the *yishuv*. Back in Switzerland, she wrote an account of the trip, *Das Hebraeerland* (1937). She portrayed Palestine not so much in a political and realistic way, but rather in a utopian way, showing Jews and Arabs living in harmony, yet she herself did not feel at home in Palestine. After a third journey to Palestine in 1939, during which World War II broke out, she had to stay in Jerusalem, where she spent her last years. In close contact with German-Jewish intellectuals like Ernst *Simon, Werner *Kraft, Shmuel Yosef *Agnon, Salman *Schocken, and Samuel *Bergman, she continued writing poems, some of which were published in Arnold *Zweig's German journal *Der Orient* (printed in Haifa), and collected in her last volume, *Mein blaues Klavier* (Jerusalem, 1943). In Jerusalem she also wrote her third play, *IchundIch* (1940; published in 1979), which criticizes national socialism in the mythic language of the Faust-theme. Her works were published in a critical edition from 1996 to 2002, and her letters began appearing in 2003.

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[Andreas Kilcher (2nd ed.)]

LASKI, family prominent in English intellectual and public life. NATHAN LASKI (1863–1941), businessman and communal leader, was born in Russia and brought up in Middlesbrough. He settled in Manchester and established himself as a successful cotton merchant with extensive connections in India. In 1906 he became a city magistrate. At various periods he was president of the Manchester Great Synagogue, Jewish Board of Guardians, Jewish Hospital, and Council of Manchester and Salford Jews. He was honorary president of the local Zionist Central Council and for a time treasurer of the Board of Deputies of British Jews; he became recognized as the head of the Manchester Jewish community. His wife, SARAH (1869–1948), was a member of the Manchester city council for many years. Their two sons were Harold *Laski and NEVILLE JONAS LASKI (1890–1969). The latter achieved distinction as a lawyer, becoming successively recorder of Burnley, judge of appeal in the Isle of Man, and recorder and judge of the crown court of Liverpool. Within the Jewish community he held many offices, rising to greatest prominence as president of the Board of Deputies of British Jews (1933–39). He was thus president of the Board during the dark years of ascendant Nazi power and has been criticized for being insufficiently pro-Zionist. His successor as president, Professor Selig *Brodetsky, was a strong pro-Zionist of East European birth; his election is often seen as marking a turning-point in the outlook of Anglo-Jewry. In 1933 Laski was elected co-chairman of the administrative committee of the Jewish Agency for Palestine and in the following year succeeded to the chairmanship. He was also a vice president of the Anglo-Jewish Association. After his marriage to the daughter of the haham Moses *Gaster, he became a leading member of the Sephardi community. Neville Laski published *Jewish Rights and Jewish Wrongs* (1939), a collection of speeches; also *The Laws and Charities of the Spanish and Portuguese Jews Congregation of London* (1952). ESTHER PEARL LASKI (1915–1988), known throughout her life as Marghanita Laski, his daughter, was a well-known novelist, writer, and broadcaster. Educated at Oxford, she wrote such novels as *Little Boy Lost* (1949), psychological studies such as *Ecstasy* (1961), and literary biographies.

She was nationally known as a broadcaster on the BBC and also contributed no fewer than 250,000 examples of the earliest known usage of English words to the supplementary volumes of the *Oxford English Dictionary.*

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[Vivian David Lipman / William D. Rubinstein (2nd ed.)]

LASKI, HAROLD JOSEPH (1893–1950), British left-wing socialist and political theorist. Born in Manchester, he was the son of Nathan *Laski. At the age of 18, Laski eloped with a non-Jewish woman eight years older than himself. He was educated at Oxford and was recognized as a brilliant scholar from his youth. Laski lectured at McGill University, Canada, from 1914 until 1916, when he taught at Harvard, there forming a close friendship with Oliver Wendell Holmes, the U.S. Supreme Court justice. In 1920 he became a lecturer at the London School of Economics and was made professor of political science in 1926. He held this post until his death and greatly contributed to the increase in standing of that institution.

During the interwar years Laski played an important part in public administration in Britain as a member of the industrial court, the departmental committee on local government, and the committee on legal education. He also sat on the lord chancellor's committee on delegated legislation, which examined the accusation made by the lord chief justice, Lord Hewart, that the administrative system was no longer bound by the rule of law. Laski was a member of the national executive of the British Labor Party from 1936, where he represented the left intelligentsia. In 1945 he became chairman of the party and was the chief target of conservative propaganda at the general election of that year. Following the Labor victory at the polls, however, Laski's influence waned, with Prime Minister Clement Attlee telling him that "a period of silence from you would be welcome" after he tried to intervene in policy following the 1945 election. Nevertheless he had a profound effect on the development of British socialism and was an outstanding figure in the British Fabian Society. Laski was also one of the founders and directors of the influential Left Book Club. His writings include *A Grammar of Politics* (1925, 1938^4), in which he set out his concept of the pluralistic state and *The State in Theory and Practice* (1935) in which he adopted the Marxist doctrine of the state being an instrument of economic power. His other works include *Parliamentary Government in England* (1938), *The American Presidency* (1940), and *The American Democracy* (1949). For a considerable time he played no part in Jewish life, but he helped Weizmann change the provisions of Passfield's *White Paper (1929–30). The Nazi persecutions aroused his interest in the Jewish problem. He denounced antisemitism and began to take a deep interest in the Zionist struggle. In 1943, he replied to a Labor Party resolution on the Jewish question saying "The executive recognizes, and I as a Jew in the fullest sense of the word claim, absolute equality of status in political, social, and economic rights with any other people in the world." At the end of the war Laski clashed with Bevin over the Palestine problem and he declared himself in favor of a Jewish commonwealth in Palestine. He welcomed the establishment of Israel and was sympathetic to the work of the Po'alei Zion movement and the "Friends of the Histadrut." Laski's last years were clouded by his unwise involvement in a libel suit against an allegedly antisemitic newspaper editor, which he lost after a highly publicized trial. He died of bronchitis at the age of only 57.

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[Moshe Rosetti]

LASKIN, BORA (1912–1984), Canadian legal scholar, teacher, labor arbitrator, jurist. Laskin was born in Fort William, Ontario (now Thunder Bay). His Russian-immigrant parents instilled in him an appreciation of his Jewish heritage and passion for tolerance and justice. His first language was Yiddish, and he became a master of the Hebrew language. He earned his B.A. (1933) and M.A. (1935) from the University of Toronto, and a law degree from Osgoode Hall Law School in Toronto (1936), standing at the head of his class. He maintained this rank at Harvard, where he earned a Masters in Law (1937), but when he returned to Toronto, entrenched antisemitism in the legal profession prevented him from finding a legal position. Instead he helped edit the *Revised Statutes of Ontario* and wrote headnotes for legal case reports. His experience with antisemitism reinforced Laskin's commitment to justice and impartiality. It also steered him away from private practice and toward an academic career and, in the end, made Laskin Canada's foremost lawyer and jurist without ever having practiced law or argued a case in court.

Laskin taught at the University of Toronto from 1940 to 1945, at Osgoode Hall from 1945 to 1949, and again at the University of Toronto until 1965, contributing fundamentally to the University of Toronto's reformulation as a professional law faculty as commemorated in the Bora Laskin Law Library. Known affectionately as "Moses the Law Giver," he earned renown as a brilliant scholar and inspiring teacher. Laskin regarded the law as a flexible instrument for social justice, a view which permeated his legal writings as scholar and judge.

He wrote six books, seven commission reports, and dozens of learned articles; his *Canadian Constitutional Law* (1951) was the standard text in Canadian law schools for a generation and his publications shaped Canadian jurisprudence in labor and constitutional law and civil liberties. While a professor he also gained prominence as a labor arbitrator, demonstrating a sense of fairness, impartiality, and legal scholarship that foreshadowed his career as a judge. Committed to academic freedom, he helped found the Canadian Association of University Teachers, becoming its president in 1964–65. He also joined, and eventually chaired, the Legal Affairs Committee of the Canadian Jewish Congress, preparing briefs and draft legislation that were instrumental in fashioning Canada's human rights laws.

In 1965 he was appointed to the Ontario Court of Appeal, where he was a champion of civil liberties and frequently dissented from the majority of the court. His courage and integrity gained the attention of Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau, who made Laskin his first appointment to the Supreme Court of Canada in 1970, and the first Jew on Canada's highest court. Maintaining his role as "the Great Dissenter," Laskin was appointed chief justice in December 1973, creating controversy when he was leapfrogged over five more senior judges. Even as chief justice Laskin was still frequently in dissent in a conservative court. Over time the adoption of his positions by legislators, his growing influence on Canadian legal thought, and Trudeau's appointment of more liberal judges allowed Laskin to turn the Supreme Court into a national institution and a creative force in promoting individual rights and legal equality.

Active in the larger community, Laskin served on the governing boards of several universities and among his many honors were the Order of Canada, appointment to the Royal Society of Canada, and 27 honorary degrees from universities in Canada, Britain, the United States, Israel, and Italy. His death in 1984 prevented him from participating in jurisprudence under the new Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms, but his prior judgments and writings left a legacy that would be reflected in subsequent Charter decisions. His career demonstrates the transformation not only of Canadian law but of Canadian society from the prejudices and restrictions of the 1930s toward egalitarian and multicultural maturity.

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[James Walker (2nd ed.)]

LASKOV, ḤAYYIM (1919–1982), Israel military commander. Born in Borisov, Belorussia, Laskov moved to Palestine in 1925. His father was killed by Arabs in 1930. In 1940 Laskov joined the Palestinian Jewish units in the British army, receiving a commission. In 1944 he was with the *Jewish Brigade Group in Italy and commanded a mechanized machine-gun platoon in the Senio sector. He joined the permanent staff of the *Haganah in 1947, dealing mainly with training matters. In 1948 he commanded the first mechanized battalion of the Israeli army in the battles of Latrun, Nazareth, and Galilee. During the *War of Independence (1948) he was promoted to *aluf* (brigadier general) and director of training. In 1951 he became commander of the Israel air force. Laskov went to study at Oxford in 1953 but was recalled in 1955 and appointed deputy chief of general staff and, in 1956, commanding officer of the armored corps. During the *Sinai Campaign he commanded a divisional task force on the northern axis. After the campaign he was appointed commanding officer of the southern command and, in 1958, fifth chief of general staff. In 1961 he retired from the army to become director general of the ports authority. He initiated large-scale reforms for increased efficiency in the major Israel ports, particularly Ashdod and Haifa. He resigned his post in 1970 and participated in various public bodies.

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[Jehuda Wallach]

LASKY, JESSE L. (1880–1958), U.S. film producer. Born in San Francisco, California, Lasky was one of the founders of the motion picture industry. As a young man he was a newspaper reporter, a gold prospector in Alaska, and then vaudeville promoter. His partnership with the producer Cecil B. DeMille started in 1911, when they collaborated in presenting an operetta based on the story of California. In 1913 Lasky and his brother-in-law Samuel *Goldwyn organized the Jesse L. Lasky Feature Play Company. Their first film, *The Squaw Man*, directed by first-time director DeMille, was so successful that it at once established them (and Hollywood) in the motion picture business. In 1917, the Lasky company was merged with the Famous Players Company, headed by Adolph *Zukor. After several name changes, it ultimately became known as Paramount Pictures. Lasky was in charge of film production and remained in that position until 1932. After 1932, Lasky was a producer for the Fox Film Corporation, then for RKO-Radio Pictures, and from 1940 to 1944 for Warner Brothers. He produced more than a hundred films, among them *The Cocoanuts* (1929); *The Power and the Glory* (1933); *The White Parade* (Oscar nomination for Best Picture, 1934); *Sergeant York* (Oscar nomination for Best Picture, 1941); the *Adventures of Mark Twain* (1942); *Rhapsody in Blue* (1945), a film based on the life of George Gershwin; and *The Great Caruso* (1951). In 1957 Lasky's autobiography *I Blow My Own Horn* was published.

His son, JESSE LASKY, JR. (1910–1988), born in New York, wrote fiction, plays, and film scripts. He wrote the screenplays for such films as *Reap the Wild Wind* (1942); *Samson and Delilah* (1949); *Salome* (1953); and *The Ten Commandments* (1956). He also wrote the screenplays for several television series, such as *The Saint* (1962); *Danger Man* (1964); and *The Protectors* (1972). Among his published works are *Naked in a Cactus Garden* (1961), *Whatever Happened to Hollywood?* (1975), *Love Scene: The Story of Laurence Olivier and Vivien Leigh* (with P. Silver, 1978), and *The Offer* (1981).

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[Stewart Kampel / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

LASSALLE (Lassal), FERDINAND (1825–1864), German Socialist leader. Born in Breslau, Lassalle was the only son of Heyman (Chayim) Lassal, who was trained for a rabbinical career, but became a merchant, a member of the town council, and subsequently a militant adherent of the Jewish Reform movement. Ferdinand Lassalle's diary reveals that as a young man he was precocious and undisciplined, dreaming of leadership, first at the head of the Jews avenging the Damascus massacres of 1840, and later, leading the German democrats at the side of *Boerne and Heine.

Ferdinand Lassalle's interest switched from literature to history and finally to Hegelian philosophy. Leaving school before matriculating, he prepared himself for university. During this period he became for a short time a Young Hegelian intent on converting the members of the enlightened *Lern- und Leseverein* and on using the liberal Reform movement as a means of destroying Orthodox Judaism. Admitted to Breslau University, he switched to Jacobin democratic propaganda which he based on an "activated" but orthodox Hegelianism. In order to avoid expulsion and to widen his horizons he went to Berlin where he soon gathered around him a small circle of followers. During the years 1843 to 1845 Lassalle developed his concept of democratic and industrial Socialism based on the rule of law. In early years he worked for the newspaper of Karl Marx, *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*. His political and scholarly interests brought him to Paris in the winter of 1845/46 where he met Heinrich *Heine. Lassalle promised Heine legal aid in securing certain pension rights which his family was withholding. Heine withdrew his legal action to avoid public scandal but Lassalle put the legal skills he acquired to effective use, representing Countess Sophie von Hatzfeldt in her dispute with her husband. After a legal action which lasted eight years he secured a divorce and financial settlement for the countess and she rewarded him with a permanent income which ensured him economic independence. For a short time Lassalle took an active part in the 1848 Revolution. He had been arrested early in 1848 after one of his followers illegally seized a suitcase believed to contain important documents connected with the Hatzfeldt case. Lassalle was convicted and was released only some months later. He was rearrested soon afterward at the beginning of the November uprising for inciting violence. His defense at the assizes, which he circulated in pamphlet form under the title *Meine Assisen-Rede* (1849), was one of the remarkable documents of that abortive revolution. Acquitted on the principal charge, he was nevertheless convicted on a minor charge and sentenced to a further six months' imprisonment. For the next few years Lassalle conducted a lengthy correspondence with *Marx in London. He also helped him to publish his writings, aiding him financially and keeping him informed on German affairs. Marx proposed that Lassalle be invited to join the "Communist League" but the Cologne central committee rejected the proposal because of Lassalle's dubious reputation. Later, however, relations between Marx and Lassalle cooled. A visit to the Balkan countries after the Crimean War and the national stirrings in Italy convinced Lassalle of the potentialities of national uprisings. His readiness to tolerate Napoleon III, his encouragement of nationalism, and his refusal to regard Russian pan-Slavism as the archenemy of revolution, estranged him from Marx. Furthermore, Lassalle's literary productions, *Franz von Sickingen* (1858), a plea for German unification in drama form; *Der italienische Krieg und die Aufgabe Preussens* (1859), a battle cry against the Hapsburgs, demanding the dissolution of the Empire; and *Fichtes politisches Vermaechtnis* (1860), a blueprint for a centralized Germany, were the subject of lengthy literary controversies with Marx, and at the same time enhanced Lassalle's reputation amongst the intellectual elite.

Lassalle's political activity between 1860 and 1862 was confined to his relations with Garibaldi and the left wing of the German "National-Verein." He tried to exploit the constitutional crisis in Prussia for intensive agitation among the workers. During the winter of 1862/63, Lassalle was contacted by a Leipzig committee for a pan-German labor congress and was asked to help counteract the influence of the liberal Schulze-Delitzsch. In his reply *Offenes Antwortschreiben an das Central-Comité …* (1863), Lassalle advised the workers to agitate for universal suffrage. He believed that a popular parliament would vote state credit for producers' cooperatives, thereby freeing the workers from the grip of the "iron law of wages," the cause of their poverty. Lassalle's proposals were rejected by most of the organized working clubs ("Arbeiterbildungsvereine"), but awakened the interest of the general public to the "social question" and attracted big audiences to his mass meetings. After a speech for the rights of the working class he founded on May 23, 1863, the Allgemeiner deutscher Arbeiterverein (ADAV, General German Workers Association) in Leipzig, to propagate his political ideas. The party, which proved to be the forerunner of the German Social Democratic party, had few members at first and even at Lassalle's death (1864) numbered only 4,000. The ADAV was strictly disciplined, the members accepting a dictatorial and centralized leadership. It indirectly forced the other parties to reform their organizations to counteract the ADAV's "shock tactics." Lassalle's pamphlet against liberal economic doctrine (*Herr Bastiat Schulze von Delitzsch*, 1864) was a crude but effective primer of labor economics. Its slogan of state aid as opposed to individual self-help influenced many socialist party programs even outside the ADAV. Marx privately expressed his misgivings of Lassalle's alleged plagiarism, his dictatorial methods, and his unbalanced propaganda.

Lassalle died of a bullet wound received in a duel at Carrouge, Geneva. Because the family of his bride-to-be, Helene von Doenniges, rejected him on account of his Jewish origin and his dubious past, Lassalle provoked the duel in order to vindicate his social and political respectability. The Countess Hatzfeldt and Lassalle's followers wanted to make the burial a demonstration but the family objected and he was buried hurriedly in the Jewish cemetery of Breslau.

During the classical period of international Socialism before World War I, Lassalle was honored as one of its principal figures. While Marx and Engels worked mainly abroad Lassalle laid the foundation of the Social Democratic movement in Germany. His career showed him to be a man of extraordinary ability and his writings reveal great depth of thought. His best-known works are *Die Philosophie Herakleitos Des Dunklen von Ephesos* (1857); *Der italienische Krieg und die Aufgabe Preussens* (1859); and *Das System der erworbenen Rechte* (1861). In addition, his pamphlets urging the workers to usher in a new social era reflected the radical policies he advocated, which were too revolutionary for the liberal movement of 19th-century Germany.

[Shlomo Na'aman]

Lassalle and the Jews

In his youth Lassalle took an interest in Judaism but he later adopted a negative attitude to the Jewish religion. He was aware of the position of the Jews of Eastern Europe but his deep involvement in general problems prevented him from developing his views on the Jewish people – a subject which he discussed in his youthful diary and letters. In 1843, he showed some interest in the movement for Reform Judaism but a year later he denied that Judaism was a living reality. Strongly influenced by Hegel, he recognized Judaism as a necessary phase in human development in the past, but negated it as a useful force or element in the present state of mankind. While this attitude did not in itself contain any hostility toward the Jews, Lassalle gradually became more and more inimical. Thus in 1860, Lassalle wrote: "I can well affirm that I am no longer a Jew," and added: "I do not like the Jews, I even detest them in general. I see in them nothing but the very much degenerated sons of a great but vanished past. During past centuries of slavery, these men have acquired characteristics of slaves, and that is why I am most unfavorably disposed towards them. Besides, I have no contact with them. Among my friends, and in society which surrounds me here there is scarcely a single Jew." Characteristically Lassalle never discussed the Jews from a socialist point of view but always spoke of them as a separate entity. In this respect he resembles Marx, though unlike Marx he did not indulge in public antisemitic utterances. Indeed, Lassalle was the object of antisemitic attacks, particularly from Engels who felt a deep personal aversion to Lassalle which he expressed in violently antisemitic remarks.

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LASSAR, OSCAR (1849–1907), dermatologist. Lassar, who was born in Hamburg, opened the way to many modern methods of treating skin and venereal diseases. He was responsible for the introduction of electrophysical therapy for use in dermatology. Lassar developed the so-called Lassar paste, with a zinc and sulfur base. Until the discovery of cortisone ointments, this paste was the most widely used unguent for all types of skin diseases, and is still in use. He was a campaigner for public hygiene, established public baths and disinfectant stations in Berlin, and published various treatises on the subject, including *Die Cultur-Aufgabe der Volksbaeder* (1889). He founded the Berlin Society for Dermatology and the *Zeitung fuer Dermatologie*. In 1902 he became professor of dermatology at the University of Berlin. Lassar, who served in the Franco-Prussian War, was awarded the Iron Cross for bravery. He was also known as a writer of short stories.

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[Suessmann Muntner]

LASSAW, IBRAM (1913–2003), U.S. sculptor. Born in Alexandria, Egypt, to Russian immigrant parents, in 1921 Lassaw arrived in the United States. In 1926 he began his formal art training at Brooklyn's Children Museum. Additional study was undertaken at the Clay Club (1928–32) and the Beaux-Arts Institute of Design in New York (1930–31). His early work in clay was figurative and conventional in appearance.

Lassaw began sculpting abstractly in 1933, making him one of the first Americans to explore nonobjective sculpture. From 1935 to 1942 he worked under the auspices of the Works Progress Administration's Federal Art Project. During this time his plaster sculptures molded onto wire showed the influence of Surrealist biomorphism rendered in a geometric idiom. At times Lassaw revealed the wire armature, and he also began to apply colors to the plaster and wire. He first welded sculpture in 1938; *Sculpture in Steel* (1938, Whitney Museum of American Art, New York) is made of a piece of sheet metal topped by a thin iron frame. Several biomorphic shapes of hammered and brazed steel project from the open metal frame, and another shape is welded to the base of the work.

While serving in the United States Army from 1942 to 1944, Lassaw learned how to weld with an oxyacetylene torch, a technique that would later influence his signature style. Upon Lassaw's return to New York, his sculpture became increasingly rectilinear, but it was not until he purchased his own oxyacetylene torch with the proceeds from his first one-man show at the Kootz Gallery (1951) that he could take his sculpture to the level he wanted. Lassaw retained his rectilinear format, but with the high temperature torch he added texture by liquefying and incrusting the intertwined webs of metal until his sculpture possessed tactility. From 1953 Lassaw often added colorful minerals such as quartz, and semi-precious stones such as turquoise, to his open form sculptures.

From this period on Lassaw enjoyed acclaim, including invitations to display his sculptures at the Venice Biennale (1954), the Museum of Modern Art in New York (1956, among other years), and the Sao Paulo Bienale (1957). He also received several architectural commissions, most frequently synagogue sculpture. His hammered and welded bronze 28-foot-high *Pillar of Fire* (1953), a highly textured, dynamic interpretation of curling, wiry flames, is installed on the façade of Temple Beth El in Springfield, Massachusetts. Lassaw also designed a bronze menorah (1954) for the synagogue, among other interior sculptures. Other synagogues that commissioned Lassaw's work include Temple Beth El, Providence, Rhode Island; Temple B'nai Aaron, St. Paul, Minnesota; Temple Anshe Hesed, Cleveland, Ohio; and Kneses Tifereth Israel, Port Chester, New York. Lassaw made a wall sculpture for the architect Philip Johnson's Glass House in New Canaan, Connecticut.

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[Samantha Baskind (2nd ed.)]

LASSER, LOUISE (1939–), U.S. actress. Born in New York, Lasser graduated from Brandeis University in 1961. In 1964 she joined the cast of Elaine May's improvisation troupe The Third Ear and later appeared in several Broadway and off-Broadway productions. On the Broadway stage, she performed in *I Can Get It for You Wholesale* (1962), *Henry, Sweet Henry* (1967), *The Chinese and Dr. Fish* (1970), and *Thieves* (1974).

Lasser was married to Woody *Allen for three years (1966–69) and acted in his early films, *Take the Money and Run* (1969), *Bananas* (1971), and *Everything You Always Wanted to Know about Sex but Were Afraid to Ask* (1972). She was also one of the writers and voices in Allen's Japanese jaunt *What's Up, Tiger Lily?* (1966). In 1976 Lasser attained national stardom as a result of her title role in the nighttime TV soap opera spoof *Mary Hartman, Mary Hartman*, for which she earned an Emmy nomination. She appeared in a later television series *It's a Living* (1981–82), as well as several TV movies: *Men of Crisis: The Harvey Wallinger Story* (1971), *Coffee, Tea, or Me?* (1973), *Isn't It Shocking?* (1973), *Just You and Me* (1978), *For Ladies Only* (1981), and *Club Land* (2001).

Some of Lasser's other film credits include *Such Good Friends* (1971), *Slither* (1972), *In God We Trust* (1980), *Crime Wave* (1985), *Sing* (1989), *Layin' Low* (1996), *Happiness* (1998), *Requiem for a Dream* (2000), *Fast Food Fast Women* (2000), *Queenie in Love* (2001), *Wolves of Wall Street* (2002), and *Lady Killers* (2003). Lasser taught acting at New York University.

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[Jonathan Licht / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

LASSON, ADOLF (originally **Aaron Lazarussohn**; 1832–1917), German philosopher. Born at Alt-Strelitz, he studied at Berlin and Leipzig. He became a Christian in 1853. Lasson taught at the University of Berlin. One of the few advocates of Hegelianism, he was concerned with Hegel's philosophy of law and of religion. (His son, GEORG (1862–1932), edited Hegel's works.) Lasson's philosophy was also influenced by Aristotle, St. Paul, and Luther. Lasson was an orthodox Lutheran, who saw Luther as the bridge between Pauline Christianity and metaphysical idealism. In Lasson's view, religion and philosophy are both trying through freedom to grasp the absolute. He was a 19th-century liberal, opposing Socialist and secularist tendencies. His main works were *J.H. Fichte im Verhaeltnis zu Kirche und Staat* (1863), *Meister Eckhart, der Mystiker* (1868), *System der Rechtsphilosophie* (1882), and *Die Entwickelung des religioesen Bewusstseins der Menschheit* (1883).

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[Richard H. Popkin]

LASTMAN, MELVIN DOUGLAS (**Mel**; 1933–), Canadian entrepreneur, politician. Born in Toronto, at age 22 Lastman borrowed $2,000 and a truck to open his first appliance store. His one store grew into a chain of 40 discount furniture/appliance stores. In 1972 he was elected mayor of the former city of North York. For the next 25 years he ran an efficient administration known for low property taxes. He initiated organized municipal committees on child abuse, drinking and driving, race relations, and the abuse of the elderly. A strong supporter of charities and the arts, Lastman campaigned tirelessly for a vibrant North York downtown – a $5 billion undertaking built around what became Mel Lastman Square.

In 1997 North York amalgamated with the city of Toronto and Lastman was elected mayor of the amalgamated city and reelected in 2000. Lastman, outspoken and flamboyant, was exceedingly proud of Toronto. He campaigned for the city's recognition as the most culturally diverse community in the world. "Maybe inside [people] don't like one another," he said. "Maybe it is the Macedonians and the Greeks, or the Armenians and the Turks, or the Jews and the Arabs. I don't know. But they don't bring out their hostility here. Their kids play together, go to school together, and so on, and that is the miracle of Toronto." But Lastman was also criticized for being unable to control the city council and being too close to lobbyists and for various scandals and public gaffes.

Lastman wore his Jewishness on his sleeve. "The thing is," he said, "it doesn't matter that I am Jewish, because everyone is Ukrainian, Polish, Macedonian, Somali, Tamil, and it doesn't make a difference. This is the beauty of this country; you can be Jewish and you can get elected as the first mayor of the new megacity." Lastman retired from politics in 2003.

He was awarded an honorary doctorate from York University and a Humanitarian of the Year Award.

[Mindy Avrich-Skapinker (2nd ed.)]

LAS VEGAS (Sp. "The Meadows"), city in Nevada boasting 1.6 million inhabitants, 80,000 (5 percent) of whom were Jewish in 2005. With 600 new Jewish families arriving every month, Las Vegas now enjoys prime of place as the fastest-growing Jewish community in North America.

Beginnings

Jews first arrived in southern Nevada in 1850, attracted by the discovery of gold in Carson City. Jewish peddlers subsequently interacted with Church of the Latter Day Saints missionaries who, at the behest of Mormon Church leader Brigham Young in Utah, erected a short-lived agricultural settlement (1855–57) as a base for proselytizing nearby Paiute Indian tribes. Jews arrived in small numbers in 1905, after the establishment of a railway hub linking Phoenix, Arizona, Salt Lake City, Utah, and southern California. Typical of these merchant pioneers was Adolph Levy (1858–1936), a native of Prussian Poland who arrived from Illinois and opened a dry goods store. Levy's niece, Sallie Gordon (1908–1997), a future director of the Las Vegas Chamber of Commerce, gave birth to the city's first Jewish baby during the early 1930s.

A nascent Jewish presence barely discernible in the city's 1910 and 1920 censuses coalesced in 1931, when some 20 Jewish Las Vegans convened as the "Sons and Daughters of Israel," providing their children with religious instruction in storefront classrooms and meeting at the Elks Club and the Odd Fellows Hall. The community, like the city itself, grew slowly until the legalization of gambling in 1941. Henceforth, Las Vegas began attracting a largely blue-collar component associated with the fledgling gaming industry. The city remained one of the last Jewish blue-collar redoubts in the country.

A Mob Town

Vegas Jewry received another boost in 1946, when Meyer *Lansky, Benjamin "Bugsy" *Siegel, Morris Barney "Moe" Dalitz, Gus Greenbaum, Dave Berman, Morris Lansburgh, Morris Rosen, Sam Cohen, and other well-known – notorious – underworld figures helped kick-start the transformation of this otherwise sleepy desert rest stop into the nation's "vice and dice" capital.

Las Vegas quickly garnered a reputation as a Jewish mob town, even as some of its more insecure Jewish residents protested that Jewish racketeers generally acted as front-men for Italian Mafioso from the Midwest. The city attracted Jewish mobsters because the initially under-regulated casinos functioned as an almost inexhaustible cash cow. To Jewish gangsters even more than their Italian and Irish counterparts, however, the desert offered an almost unique opportunity to transcend criminal origins and reputations, and to achieve a modicum of communal and civic respectability. Many began this rehabilitative process by joining synagogues and funding parochial schools. One of the city's Jewish day schools, for instance, at Temple Ner Tamid, was named for mobster Moe Dalitz.

Organizational Life

The symbiosis between the casino operators and the organized Jewish community generated structural distortions that resounded well past the mid-1970s, when corporations took over the gaming industry. Previously, synagogues, schools, and communal programming depended almost exclusively upon the largesse of the wealthiest casino operators, who became known as "Angels," and who covered organizational budget deficits on a rotational basis with yearly cash pay-outs. This also helped the fledgling State of Israel when it began seeking money for arms purchases from U.S. Surplus and other sources. The costs of religious affiliation for less well-heeled Jewish Las Vegans thereby remained marginal for decades, habituating residents to an unsustainable level of subsidization, and rendering problematic the inevitable transition toward a more equitable and regulated pattern of funding and expenditure. The arrival, in recent decades, of young Jewish families just starting out and of Jewish retirees no longer interested in communal involvement, presented further challenges to communal attempts to increase affiliation. Despite recent gains, Las Vegas continues, like several other western cities, to lag behind comparably sized, and even smaller, communities in the east, especially in creating infrastructure. A hundred years after Jews first began arriving, the city lacks a Jewish community center, a nursing home or assisted living facility, a yeshivah, and a Bureau of Jewish Education. Efforts are underway to erect a Jewish high school and Hebrew Community Center in Summerlin.

During the 1960s, Jewish organizational life centered around the Combined Jewish Appeal (CJA), which became the Jewish Federation of Las Vegas (JFLV) in 1979. The CJA and its successor body functioned as the central coordinating institution responsible for fundraising, planning and allocations, and communal services. Reliance on a small, self-selected coterie of communal contributors and decision-makers, however, resulted in no small degree of organizational dysfunction characterized by redundancies in public relations, fundraising, secretarial services, agency programming, and tax, legal, and accounting functions. Clashes over turf, pedigree, and job titles became increasingly common and progressively debilitating. A dispute between casino magnate Sheldon Adelson (at this writing, the world's wealthiest Jew) and a local hotel union in 1999, for instance, resulted in a vituperative spat that split Jewish congregations and organizations along personal and political lines, further undermining communal development. By 2001, several Jewish communal agencies found themselves facing impeding bankruptcy and requiring a federation bailout. A besieged and hard-pressed federation responded to successive crises by revamping, in 2003, under yet another name, the United Jewish Community (UJC). Helmed by a new, younger board of directors, the UJC began with a reassessment of traditional fundraising and allocation strategies intended to meet the needs of an increasingly dispersed, fragmented, and even disaffected community.

Jewish Life in the Early 21st Century

Today, thanks to a booming economy largely immune to vagaries of the business cycle, and to a general westward trend of young Jewish professionals, the city is experiencing a surprising profusion of Jewish communal expression. With growing Jewish concentrations in the suburbs of Summerlin, Desert Shores, Seven Hills and Green Valley, in Henderson, Las Vegas boasts 18 congregations (eight Orthodox, three Conservative, seven Reform or non-denominational), three day schools (the non-denominational Milton I. Schwartz Hebrew Academy, the Chabad-affiliated Desert Torah Academy, and a Conservative-aligned Solomon Schechter day school), and a Holocaust memorial and resource library. Chabad, which established a permanent presence in 1990, now operates four centers employing seven full-time rabbis. Orthodox residents and visitors – ultra-Orthodox visitors to Las Vegas are many despite the reputation of the city – can avail themselves of three *mikva'ot* (ritual baths), six kosher restaurants, a Glatt Kosher market, and two kosher stores embedded in local supermarkets. Three major casinos, meanwhile, maintain full-service (though reportedly underused) kosher kitchens and catering departments. Community affairs are chronicled in two community newspapers, the *Jewish Reporter* and the *Israelite,* and a monthly periodical, *Life & Style:* the *Las Vegas Jewish Magazine.* A Hillel Union at the University of Nevada, Las Vegas, tends to the needs of Jewish students on campus.

Public Figures

Jews continue to figure prominently in Las Vegas public life. The city's mayor since 1999, Oscar Goodman (1939–), is a former mob lawyer unabashed about his love for drinking, gambling, and other local pastimes. Brian Greenspun, the scion of newspaper magnate, land developer, and arms smuggler to pre-state Israel, Herman "Hank" Milton Greenspun (1909–1989), is the editor of the *Las Vegas Sun* and active in real estate and casino management. Casino mogul Steve Wynn (1941–), who built the opulent Bellagio and Wynn Las Vegas hotels, is credited with the Las Vegas Strip's successful marketing, during the 1990s, as a family friendly environment. Rival Sheldon Adelson (1933–), who built the Venetian Hotel, established Las Vegas as a major convention and trade show venue. Taxi fleet owner Milton I. Schwartz (1921–) is active in Jewish philanthropy and Republican politics. Democratic Congresswoman Shelley *Berkley (1951–) was elected to the House of Representatives in 1998, and won her fourth term in 2004. Jacob "Chic" Hecht (1928–) served in the Nevada State Senate from 1967 to 1975, as a Republican in the U.S. Senate from 1983 to 1989, and as U.S. Ambassador to the Bahamas (1989–94). Lori Lipman Brown (1958–), an avowed civil libertarian, served as a Nevada state senator from 1992 to 1994.

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[Sheldon Teitelbaum (2nd ed.)]

LASZLO (formerly **Laub**), **PHILIP ALEXIUS DE LOMBOS** (1869–1937), Hungarian painter. Laszlo won many prizes for his work in Budapest and was commissioned to paint the portraits of the royal family in 1894. His work was so successful that he became the leading portraitist of his time. In 1907 he settled in England and painted Edward VII and Queen Alexandra. In 1909 the Uffizi gallery asked him for his self-portrait. In spite of criticism that his pictures failed to come to grips with problems, he remained popular and his work hangs in many important galleries and collections. Laszlo was converted to Christianity.

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LATERAN COUNCILS III, IV. The third Lateran (11th Ecumenical) Council was summoned in 1179 by Pope Alexander III. Canon 26 adopted by the Council was concerned with relations between Jews and Christians. It prohibits Jews and Saracens from having Christian servants, while any Christian who serves them is to be excommunicated. In all lawsuits the testimony of Christians is to be accepted against Jews, just as Jews make use of Jewish witnesses against Christians; anyone who prefers Jewish to Christian witnesses is to be anathematized, "since Jews ought to be subject to Christians, and treated kindly by them only out of humane considerations." A Jew who converts to Christianity is not to be deprived of any of his possessions, "for converts ought to be financially better off than they were before they accepted the Faith." The secular powers are commanded, under pain of excommunication, to ensure that this provision is put into effect. The ban on usury issued by the same Council does not specifically mention Jewish moneylenders. Alexander III, moreover, issued the Bull *Sicut Judaeis*, protecting Jews from forcible baptism and other molestation.

The fourth Lateran (12th Ecumenical) Council was summoned in 1215 by Pope Innocent III to call for a crusade and to combat various heresies. A delegation of Jews from southern France attempted to ensure that no anti-Jewish decisions were taken, but the Council issued four important regulations concerning the Jews. Canon 67 states that Jews must be prevented from exacting immoderate usury from Christians, and also that Jews must pay tithes on property formerly owned by Christians. Canon 68 complains that in many places Christians, Jews, and Saracens are outwardly indistinguishable, so that occasionally, "by mistake, Christians mix with Jewish or Saracen women" and vice versa. Non-Christians must therefore be compelled to dress differently from Christians (see also Jewish *badge). It is alleged there that this is also laid down in the Mosaic law. Jews are not to appear in public at Easter, or on days of Christian lamentation, because they are in the habit of dressing up and railing at Christians on such occasions, nor may they blaspheme against the name of Jesus in any other way. The next canon prohibits Jews from holding public office, and the last insists that converts to Christianity must desist from Jewish observances. An appendix is concerned with the proposed crusade. It lays down in passing that Jews must be compelled to remit interest on debts owed to them by those who take the cross. That all the topics mentioned here reappear in subsequent legislation is a measure of the comparative inefficacy of the Council's decisions.

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[Nicholas de Lange]

LATIF, ISAAC B. ABRAHAM IBN (1210–1280), one of the foremost spokesmen of Jewish *Neoplatonism in 13th-century *Spain. Ibn Latif was a unique philosopher and biblical commentator who lived and taught mainly at Toledo (the capital of Christian Castile) one generation after the publication of Maimonides' *Guide of the Perplexed* and one generation before the appearance of the Zohar.

Early Years

Although Toledo was reconquered by the Christians in 1212, Ibn Latif was still educated according to the Jewish-Andalusian legacy and was fluent in both Arabic and Hebrew. His first mature years however were spent in business, but then he decided (in his mid-twenties) to dedicate himself to an extensive study of the range of philosophical sciences from logic to metaphysics. His first book, *Gate of Heaven* (*Sha'ar ha-Shamayim,* MS. Vatican 335.1), written in Hebrew in 1238, combines philosophical allegorization of Scripture, interpretations of the commandments, commentaries on talmudic legends, and metaphysical discussions characterized by Neoplatonic esoteric terminology, derived from various sources, such as: *The Book of Creation* (*Sefer Yeẓirah*) and its Jewish philosophical commentaries, *The Epistles of the Brethren of Purity* (*Rasa'il Ikhwan al-Ṣafa*), Solomon Ibn Gabirol's *Fons Vitae* and *Crown of Kingship* (*Keter Melkhut*), Ibn Batalyawsi's *Book of the Flowerbeds* (*Kitab al-Ḥada'iq*), and the pseudo-epigraphic mystical treatises and letters of the Jewish *Iyyun* circle. It should be mentioned that Ibn Latif was the first known Jewish scholar to translate to Hebrew a few chapters and citations from Abu-Nasr Al-Farabi's *Opinions of the Inhabitants of the Righteous City.*

Attitude toward Maimonides

In spite of his strong affinity toward Neoplatonic sources, Ibn Latif's main influence, especially in his early books, is *Maimonides' *Guide of the Perplexed.* In his *Gate of Heaven, Commentary on Ecclesiastes* (early 1240s, first printed: Constantinople, 1585, reprinted: Jerusalem, 1970) and *Letter of Reply* (*Iggeret ha-Teshuvah*, attributed to Ibn Latif, date unknown, ed. A. Berliner, in: *Koveẓ al Yad,* vol. 1, Berlin, 1885, pp. 46–70) there is extensive use of Maimonidean ideas and terminology, particularly in six fields: the enumeration of sciences, the doctrine of negative attributes, divine providence, intellectualist prophecy (and sub-prophecy), identification of the account of the chariot with philosophical metaphysics, and finally, human perfection. Those influences were carried forward to his later treatises: *The King's Archives* (*Ginzei ha-Melekh*, ed. A. Jellineck, in: *Kokhvei Yiẓhak*, Vienna, 1862–67), *The Form of the Universe* (*Ẓurat ha-Olam*, ed. Z. Stern, Vienna, 1860, reprinted: Jerusalem, 1970), and *Lord of Activities* (referring to human reason; see *Rav Pe'alim*, ed. S. Schoenblum, Berlin, 1885, reprinted: Jerusalem, 1970; see also: ed. H. Kasher, Ramat Gan, 1974), but without explicitly mentioning his intellectualist mentor.

Therefore, Ibn Latif can be treated as one of the earliest commentators of the *Guide of the Perplexed.* His early treatises contain some interpretive remarks and comments on various chapters and subjects in Maimonides' *Guide*. Moreover, Ibn Latif's independent philosophical reflections often parallel central issues in the *Guide*. Furthermore, in every instance in which Ibn Latif seems to stray from the world of Maimonides, he still bases himself on a Neoplatonic reading of the *Guide,* and therefore, according to his own understanding, he was only a dedicated disciple of the *Guide*.

Later Years

Since the membership and nature of Jewish leadership at Toledo changed extensively after the death of R. Meir ha-Levi *Abulafia (= Ramah) in 1244, after which the earlier Andalusian-philosophical legacy was replaced by the new emerging kabbalistic trend, Ibn Latif was forced to teach and write in new cultural conditions.

In the foreword to his treatise *The King's Archives*, Ibn Latif mentions a group of young students who asked him to reveal to them the hidden secrets of the Torah. As he thought their scientific knowledge was not sufficient for studying metaphysics, he avoided their company and stopped teaching in public.

Although Ibn Latif had a competent knowledge of the kabbalistic treatises of his time, and had scholarly connections with Toledo's community president and well-known kabbalist R. Todros ha-Levi *Abulafia (one of his short works, *The Bundle of Myrrh* (*Ẓeror ha-Mor*, ed. A. Jellineck, in: *Kerem Ḥemed*, 9 (Vienna, 1856), pp. 154–59) was dedicated to Abulafia, who is probably also the keen reader referred to as "a noble person, the leader of his nation" in Ibn Latif's *The Form of the Universe* (ch. 25)), Ibn Latif never considered himself a kabbalist, nor did he see himself as one of the Jewish philosophers and translators who worked at the court of Alfonso x, king of Castile (*Form of the Universe*, ch. 6).

Criticism against Philosophers and Kabbalists

In his later treatises Ibn Latif continued his consistent criticism of the partial and deficient knowledge of the philosophers of his city, who abandoned religious observance and adopted the "double faith theory" of the Averroeists. He was also sharp in his criticism of the kabbalists of his time, who, in his opinion, mistakenly combined wrongly knowledge based on Intellect with knowledge based on Imagination.

Influence

Ibn Latif's works influenced a few kabbalists of Castile and its region, such as Todros ha-Levi Abulafia, Abraham *Abulafia, Joseph *Gikatilla (early works), Moses de *Leon (early works), and *David b. Abraham ha-Lavan. One can obviously notice the affinity of these authors with Ibn Latif's work, but they never quote it explicitly.

Ibn Latif's works were quoted by later Jewish thinkers, such as Moses of Salerno (13th century); R. *Isaac ben Sheshet (= Ribash), Moses Botreal, and Johanan Alimmano (14th–15th century); R. Isaac *Abrabanel and R. Judah *Ḥayyat (16th century); R. Joseph Solomon *Delmedigo (= Yashar) and R. Abraham Kohen de Herrera (17th century); and recently by R. David Cohen (20th century, a leading disciple of R. Abraham Isaac ha-Kohen *Kook).

The fact that Ibn Latif's influence and citations of his works are found almost exclusively among kabbalists and that he cites the *Sefer Yeẓirah* and its various commentaries, has led scholars to present him both as a philosopher and as a kabbalist. Nevertheless, as suggested above, it seems that he based himself mainly on Neoplatonic sources and on his own Neoplatonic interpretation of both philosophical and rabbinic works, and therefore he should be regarded as a Neoplatonic philosopher rather than kabbalist.

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[Shoey Raz (2nd ed.)]

LATIN AMERICA.

Colonial Period

Jews were prohibited from entering Spanish America throughout the colonial period. Although a few Jews who could not be regarded as *New Christians managed to enter illegally, the history of Jews in Spanish colonial America is primarily that of the New Christians who were *Crypto-Jews. Several members of Columbus' crew were New Christians, but shortly after his voyage the Catholic sovereigns closed their American possessions to New Christians and their immediate descendants. The ban was regularly renewed, but there were times when the New Christians could enter Spanish America legally, especially after their general pardon by Philip III in 1601. Despite the restrictions, New Christians managed to enter the New World on a fairly regular basis until the middle of the 17th century at least, and at times with the connivance of high authorities in Spain, who needed their enterprise for the development of the American possessions. A large number of New Christians and Crypto-Jews from Portugal migrated to the New World during the union of the crowns of Spain and Portugal (1580–1640). It is impossible to tell how many Crypto-Jews were among the New Christians. However, two facts are clear: first, not all the New Christians were inclined to the secret practice of Judaism, and second, it is natural to suppose that there were more Crypto-Jews than those arrested by the Inquisition. This assumption is reinforced by the use in these centuries of the word Portuguese as a synonym for Crypto-Jew. The Inquisitional documents provide the only extensive source of information about the Crypto-Jews' identity and activities. Initially, Episcopal Inquisitions, under the guidance of secular or regular clergy, flourished in Spanish America. New Spain witnessed an **auto da fé* as early as 1528, when the alleged "Judaizers" or Crypto-Jews Hernando Alonso and Diego de Morales were sent to the stake. Branches of the Holy Office of the *Inquisition, in Spain, were introduced in 1570 in Lima, for the viceroyalty of Peru, and in 1571 in Mexico City, for the viceroyalty of New Spain. A third major Inquisition was later established in Cartagena (Colombia) in 1610 for the viceroyalty of New Granada. These Inquisitions held regular autos da fé until the end of the colonial period, but their activity against the Crypto-Jews took place chiefly in the period prior to 1660. In both New Spain and Peru they were especially active in two periods, during the 1580s and 1590s, and during the 1630s and 1640s. In New Spain the first period corresponds to the arrests and trials of most of the *Carvajal family, and the second to the Great Complicity, in which the most striking figure was Tomas Trevino de *Sobremonte. In similar trials held in 17th-century Peru, the most striking figures were Francisco *Maldonado de Silva, surgeon, philosopher, and apologist for Judaism and Manuel Bautista Perez, regarded as the richest man in the viceroyalty. It is impossible to ascertain the number of Crypto-Jews in Spanish America, but there is reason to believe that it exceeded the number of those arrested and tried. Although the claims circulating about large numbers of Crypto-Jews in Latin America are not supported by the evidence, there were many cases unveiled during the 20th century of native populations that observed certain Jewish traditions supposedly transmitted by Crypto-Jews who were hiding among them. At the same time it should be borne in mind that most Crypto-Jews brought to trial were reconciled with the Church, and despite the Inquisition's vaunted vigilance, were not heard from again, thus suggesting at least the possibility that they had made their peace with the Church.

The Crypto-Jews had their own distinctive religion. Though they believed it to be the authentic Judaism, it was actually a wild blend of biblical Judaism, post-biblical reminiscences, and influences of the Catholic environment. Prominent in commerce, the trades, the professions, and government, the "New Christian Judaizers" contributed immeasurably also to the development of Latin America's culture. Luis de *Carvajal, the Younger, was among the earliest and most sensitive writers in Spanish in the Western Hemisphere and Antonio Jose da Silva "O Judeu," was one of the outstanding playwrights in Portuguese in the colonial period.

[Martin A. Cohen]

See also *America.

JEWS IN THE CARIBBEANS. During the second half of the 17th century Spanish-Portuguese Jews settled in the new colonies that were founded along the Wild Coast (the Guianas) and in the Caribbean Islands. They came from Dutch Brazil, as well as from Amsterdam, London, Bordeaux, and Hamburg. They engaged in the plantation economy, producing sugar, cocoa, vanilla, and other staples, and took an active part in commerce, shipping trade, maritime insurance, and public services.

In the Protestant colonies of Holland, England, and Denmark the Jews were free to practice their own religion. Jews were officially expelled from the French Catholic colonies in 1685, but their presence was generally tolerated by the local authorities. They founded well-organized communities that preserved the Portuguese language and their customs and traditions, including synagogues with sand-covered floors.

The Spanish-Portuguese Jews in the Caribbeans maintained ethnic and family ties as the basis of economic and social networks and preserved with zeal their unique traditions. To overcome their small numbers and constant mobility between the islands, they developed chains of communication for the preservation of endogamic marriages, social assistance, and religious services.

Curaçao, the "Mother of the Jewish Communities in the New World," was a source of inspiration and assistance to other Sephardi communities in the Western Hemisphere. With its economic decline early in the 19th century, several Jews from Curaçao immigrated to the independent Latin American republics in the Circum Caribbean. They established small Jewish settlements along the coasts of Venezuela, Colombia, and Panama. They prospered economically, and were well integrated into the social and political elites of the Circum Caribbean, but gradually intermarried into the Catholic population.

[Margalit Bejarano (2nd ed.)]

Jewish Emancipation in Latin America

The movements for political and religious emancipation in Latin America slowly but markedly influenced Jewish settlement in that part of the world. The Inquisition, an institution brought from Europe to America, was abolished during the first years of the struggle for independence from Spain (1811 in New Granada and *Paraguay; 1813 in Mexico, Peru, Chile, Uruguay, and Argentina), but was restored in Mexico, Peru, Chile, and New Granada in 1815 upon the return of Ferdinand VII to the Spanish throne. It was finally suppressed throughout the continent a few years later when independence had been won.

The governments of Latin America were influenced by the liberal ideas of the French encyclopedists and the American and French Revolutions. The abolition of the Inquisition and the spread of liberalism permitted the settlement of Jews in Latin American countries. However, during the first half century after emancipation few Jews moved to Latin America. Those who did, mainly economically motivated West European Jews, did not enjoy full equality and suffered from the residue of Catholic intolerance. Unlike the United States and France after their revolutions, the newly independent Latin American countries were not compelled to adopt a particular policy toward the Jews because they had so few Jewish inhabitants during the early 19th century. The first liberal religious legislation rather pertained to the various Protestant churches in response to the presence of the British who were economically involved in South America.

Intermittent Jewish immigration eventually produced the need for organizing Jewish communities in several cities. No major political disabilities or religious restrictions hindered the Jews in the 1860s when they founded their first institutions in Latin America. Although there was never any legislation specifically emancipating the Jews, religious freedom for the Jews was taken as an extension of the freedom granted to Protestants. In general, as the Jewish communities of Latin America organized, the respective governments accorded recognition to Jewish religious institutions.

[Victor A. Mirelman]

Jewish Immigration to Latin American Countries

The overwhelming majority of the Jewish immigration to Latin America was established in countries whose population mainly originated in Europe. In the first decades of the 19th century, following independence from Spain and Portugal, only a small number of Jewish immigrants found its way to Latin America. Jews from Morocco immigrated to the northeastern coast of Brazil, and settled in Belem (State of Para). Following the rubber boom of the mid-19th century around the Amazon region they penetrated along the Amazon River reaching as far as Iquitos in Northern Peru. At the same time, Jews from the Caribbean islands, particularly from Curaçao and St. Thomas, settled in Venezuela, Colombia, Panama, and Costa Rica, where many of them eventually were assimilated. Another small wave of Jewish immigrants arrived from Central and Western Europe, particularly from Germany, France, and England, bringing Jewish businessmen, many of them without women, to Chile, Peru, Mexico, Argentina, and Brazil.

Organized immigration, however, started only following the *May Laws of 1881 in the Russian Empire that resulted in the deterioration of the situation of the Jews in the Pale of Settlement. The main destinations in Latin America were Argentina and Brazil: in 1900, 14,700 Jews lived in Argentina; 1,000 in Brazil; and 1,000 in other Latin American countries. Between 1901 and 1914 the numbers increased to 115,600 in Argentina; 9,000 in Brazil; and 3,000 in other countries; but immigration decreased radically during World War I. At the end of the war no more than 150,000 Jews were in Latin America. The Jewish population consisted roughly of 80% Central and East European immigrants and 20% Sephardim from the Mediterranean basin – North Africa, Syria, Turkey, and the Balkan states. The majority of the Jewish immigrants in Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Peru, most of Central America, Mexico, and Cuba were Ashkenazim. Argentina had, in fact, received 90% of its 126,700 Jewish immigrants from Russia until 1920.

Between 1921 and 1930, around 100,000 Jews immigrated to the Latin American countries. From the rise of Nazism to the end of the Holocaust (1933–45), when the need of Jewish emigration from Europe was at its height, the explicit or concealed policy that regulated Jewish immigration was changed. Restrictions limiting the immigration of Jews were instituted using economic, political, racial, and religious selectivity to prevent "too many" Jews from joining Latin American Catholic society and from competing with local merchants, workers, professionals, and entrepreneurs. From 1940, Jewish immigration was severely curtailed and almost illegal. Nevertheless, in spite of restrictions and closed borders Jewish immigration continued, and according to conservative estimates in 1933–45 between 113,500 and 120,400 Jews immigrated to Latin America, legally, by circumventing the laws, or through the underground. People coming from the same country tended to settle in the same area in their new homeland. A considerable number of the 12,000 immigrants from Arab countries arriving in Brazil between 1957 and 1960 settled in *São Paulo where 5,000 Jews from Egypt had established themselves over the years. In Guatemala, Jews from Germany form the largest Jewish community which is situated in the capital, Guatemala City.

Most Latin American countries quickly became lands of emigration as well as immigration. During the first years after World War II, thousands of immigrants established in Paraguay and *Bolivia continued on their way to Argentina and Chile, sometimes crossing borders illegally. Once their visas had been approved, numerous immigrants from Cuba and *Haiti streamed into the United States. Also many immigrants who went to *Ecuador, a country friendlier than most toward Jewish refugees, emigrated after living there for some time. Political upheavals and economic crises were the main factors of emigration after World War II, as illustrated by the revolutions in Cuba (1959) and in Nicaragua (1979), the coup d'états headed by military forces in Brazil, Chile, Argentina, and Uruguay in the 1960s and 1970s as well as by the social and personal insecurity in Colombia and Venezuela in the 1990s and the first decade of the 21st century. Emigration was also motivated by the economic crises of the late 1990s and early 2000s that caused the impoverishment of large Jewish sectors, particularly in Argentina. Emigration from Latin America was directed to Europe, Israel, and the United States as well as to other Latin American countries with better economic prospects, such as Venezuela (prior to the rise of Chavez) and Mexico. It is very difficult to calculate the figures for these migratory movements. Accurate numbers are available only with respect to *aliyah*: 89,684 Jews immigrated to Israel from Latin America in the period between 1948 and 2004, but not all of them stayed there and a certain percentage re-emigrated to other countries or returned to their countries of origin.

Economic and Social Status

Until the 1880s, most of the Jewish immigrants to Latin America made their living as merchants. The Moroccan Jews, in the Amazon region, were peddlers who catered to the workers in the rubber industry. The Caribbean Jews and the immigrants from Europe were often representatives of large business firms, and integrated into the upper middle class. The largest community, however, developed in Argentina as a result of the country's liberal immigration policy from the 1880s and with the establishment of the Jewish Colonization Association (ICA) agricultural settlements. Argentina became the favored destination of Jewish immigration to Latin America. For two decades agriculture was the main occupation of Argentinean Jews. At the same time Argentina's population of predominantly European origin (90%), and its relatively early industrialization compared with the rest of Latin America, also attracted Jewish population to urban settlement and allowed Jewish communities to prosper. Jewish immigrants of the late 19th and early 20th centuries who came with experience in trade and labor and who settled in undeveloped regions where the economy was based on the export of agricultural products or raw materials discovered a vast field of activity in the area of commercial brokerage and the production of consumer goods. The activity of the Jewish traders, who usually started as peddlers, brought about an increased demand for clothing and furniture. This demand was partially met by Jewish workers who began to produce these items locally. The two world wars and the industrialization of several countries stimulated the development of economic activities in which Jews happened to be involved and encouraged the opening of new areas. Thus many Jewish proletarians – who were numerous in Argentina and prominent in Brazil, Chile, Uruguay, Cuba, and other countries – improved their economic status, so that gradually most Jews moved into the middle class, and the number of blue collar employees became minimal.

The economic transformation of Latin American Jewry has been similar to that of other immigrant groups in their respective countries. Sephardi Jews, like other immigrants from the Middle East and North Africa, generally started as peddlers, and gradually moved into trade. Ashkenazi Jews were divided between commerce and industry. In the Southern Cone (Argentina, Chile, Uruguay, and Southern Brazil) the Jews became part of the growing middle classes that emerged with the industrialization process of the 1940s and 1950s, moving gradually also to the professions. In the countries with a large indigenous population Latin American Jewry was part of a relatively small middle class sandwiched between the upper class and the masses of landless agricultural laborers and factory workers. In some of these countries, the Jews became part of the "affluent society" which is characterized by the economic and social abyss between the impoverished masses and the wealthy few. This class polarization has caused violent political activity, creating security problems which have affected Jewish existence.

Another factor affecting the status of Latin American Jewry throughout the 19th and 20th centuries was the influence of the majority religion, Catholicism. This did not result in religious extremism in everyday life, nor did it curtail the freedom of religious observance of non-Catholics; but it invited the belief, in many countries, that Catholicism, or at least Christianity, is one of the fundamentals of local nationalism. In most Latin American countries the growth of nationalism was also related to basic economic and social problems. Nationalism has served to diminish the influence of cultural pluralism and immigrants who were loyal to other traditions were looked upon as aliens. Economic grievances in some Latin American countries (Cuba, Costa Rica, and Mexico, among others) have fostered the antisemitic outgrowths of nationalism. The activities of antisemitic groups have been greatly assisted by the Nazis during the 1930s and 1940s and by the Arabs since the 1950s. Many Latin American countries, especially Argentina and Paraguay which served as havens for Nazi criminals after World War II, were for many decades important focuses for both leftist and rightist antisemitic activity. Yet prolonged violent antisemitism has not characterized any of the Latin American countries, not even those with extreme nationalist governments.

Patterns of Jewish Organization

The first Jewish organizations in Latin America were established in the 19th century and were intended to fulfill fundamental religious needs. For the most part, the organizations were modeled after the congregations in the countries of Western Europe from which their founders originated. Thus, the first communities in Venezuela, Panama, and Colombia bore the stamp of Dutch and Anglo-Jewish culture; the first organizations in Argentina, Peru, and Brazil followed the pattern of Jewish institutional life in France and Germany; and the small Jewish communities of the Amazon region in Brazil copied the model of Tetuan and Tangier. Although many descendants of the founders of these Jewish institutions had severed their Jewish affiliations as a result of intermarriage and conversion, some of these institutions still exist. The first immigrants from the Middle East and Eastern Europe in the late 19th and early 20th centuries founded their own religious, charitable, health, and cultural organizations. The Sephardim from the same community of origin tended to found comprehensive communal frameworks that supplied all their social and cultural needs. Each community had its synagogues, welfare institutions, religious schools, and a cemetery. The Jews from Syria, particularly from Aleppo, were considered the most traditional and strictly religious, while the Ladino-speaking Jews, from Turkey and the Balkan countries, were more influenced by trends of modernity and secularism.

The Ashkenazim, who immigrated prior to World War I and in the interwar period, brought with them from Eastern Europe organizational patterns of a secular-ideological nature and adapted them to the realities of their new homelands. The most prominent groups among them in the political and cultural field were the various Zionist parties, the *Bund, and the extreme left which crystallized during the 1920s into Jewish Communist and pro-Communist organizations. Each group maintained many cultural activities, published bulletins, and, during the 1920s and 1930s, began to develop educational institutions. This process of institutional proliferation was accompanied by the establishment of Yiddish daily and weekly newspapers, and the beginnings of local Yiddish literature.

The many Jewish immigrants in the proletarian class initiated attempts at organizing professional unions (especially in Argentina, and to a lesser extent in Brazil, Uruguay, and Cuba). Jewish immigrants in the lower levels of trade and labor formed cooperative economic and financial organizations which eventually became large banking institutions whose Jewish origins were sometimes reflected in their names and social activities. In the agricultural settlements of Argentina and Brazil the Jewish cooperative trade organizations even preceded the urban cooperative unions; and in Argentina the Jewish agricultural cooperative was a pioneer in the field of agrarian cooperatives for consumption and marketing in general throughout the country.

Another characteristic of the East European immigrants was their establishment of *Landsmanshaftn* – organizations of people who came from the same city or territory – which were formed relatively late (in Argentina not until World War I). After the Holocaust these organizations increased their activity, concentrating their efforts on perpetuating, particularly through literary projects, the memory of the destroyed European communities from which the members had come.

Whereas legislation of East European countries offered a legal basis for the creation of the Jewish communities and compelled the Jews to remain within their confines, no such necessity existed in Latin America where the Jewish community was established and maintained only by the volition of the organizers. The great ideological diversity among the Jews made their unity difficult. But the inclination of all groups, secular as well as religious, to observe Jewish burial rites brought into existence the burial societies which ultimately evolved into comprehensive congregations similar to those which flourished in Poland between the two world wars. Outstanding examples of the expansion of burial societies into large, multi-branched congregations are the *AMIA – the Ashkenazi Community of Buenos Aires, the Nidḥei Yisrael

Kehile – the Ashkenazi community in Mexico, and to a lesser extent, the Comunidad Israelita de Montevideo of Uruguay.

The communal organization of the Sephardim was ethnic and religious. In large communities, such as Buenos Aires and Mexico City, Jews from Aleppo and Damascus maintained separate communal frameworks. Ladino-speaking Jews, from Turkey and the Balkan countries, amalgamated their institutions. In small communities, particularly in the provincial towns, all the Sephardim were gradually united. The main framework that united the Jews from the Middle East, the Balkan countries, and North Africa was the Zionist movement. Unlike the Ashkenazim, the Zionist ideology of the Sephardim was not secular, and was accepted as an integral part of their religious creed. They did not share the ideological divisions of the Zionist parties in Eastern Europe and they felt offended by the constant use of Yiddish in Zionist activities organized by the Ashkenazim. Most Latin American countries had Sephardi committees that organized the Zionist campaigns among their own communities. FESELA – Federación Sefaradí Latinoamericana (Latin American Sephardi Federation), was founded in 1972 as an umbrella organization of Sephardi federations and their representative organ in the World Zionist Organization.

Even the rise of such secular institutions as social clubs, youth groups, and the Zionist Movement did not unite the Sephardim, the Jews of the Mediterranean basin, and the Ashkenazim. The exception is Mexico where the Centro Deportivo Israelita (Jewish Sport Center) is a kind of social, cultural, and sports center in which members of the different communities are associated. Jewish immigration from Central Europe during the 1930s added new organizations throughout the continent. Some newcomers joined existing communal organizations, but attended independently to their religious, social, and even welfare needs. In such countries as Chile, Brazil, Argentina, Uruguay, and Peru, they established separate congregations, and in others such as Guatemala, Ecuador, and Bolivia they founded the main congregations. In addition, the Central European immigrants founded the umbrella organization Centra which encompassed all of their groups in Latin America, and which afforded assistance to educational and youth organizations throughout the continent.

Another type of organization prevalent in the Jewish communities of Latin America are cultural, sports, and entertainment centers. The oldest is the *Sociedad Hebraica Argentina (1926) in Buenos Aires. First established by the youth born in Latin America, these organizations expressed their desire for Jewish and local cultural and linguistic integration and promoted from the very beginning activities in Spanish or Portuguese. They increased in number during the 1940s, 1950s, and 1960s and offer entertainment, relaxation, and sports to the Jewish community as a whole. Some of them (in São Paulo, Rio de Janeiro, Caracas) adopted the name Hebraica, although at the beginning no organizational connection existed between them and the organization of the same name in Buenos Aires. Others, in Mexico and Santiago de Chile, assumed the names Centro Deportivo Israelita and Estadio Israelita respectively. Some of these clubs, such as the Hebraica in Sao Paulo and the Centro Deportivo in Mexico, became the largest and most influential social frameworks that unite all the Jewish sectors. Maccabi groups, generally less wealthy and more limited in scope, exist in such cities as Buenos Aires, Montevideo, and São Paulo. In the 1960s all these organizations incorporated in the Maccabi World Union and also established the Confederación Latinoamericana Macabi – CLAM, which, among other events, organizes the Juegos Macabeos Panamericanos (Panamerican Maccabi Games) that are recognized by the International Olympic Committee as one of the five regional games. The first Games were organized in Buenos Aires in 1964 with 500 sportsmen. Since then the Games were hosted by the Maccabi organizations in São Paulo (twice), Lima, Mexico City (twice), Caracas, Montevideo, and Santiago de Chile. The Games in 2007 will take place in Buenos Aires (third time) and 5,000 competitors are expected to participate.

Antisemitism, which has increased since the 1930s and has physically threatened Jewish communities, brought into existence throughout Latin America comprehensive organizations to represent the Jewish community vis-à-vis the authorities and to fight discrimination. They are generally organized on a federal basis and in several places, Brazil, for example, the local federations also fulfill communal functions. These umbrella organizations were created in the 1930s in response to the antisemitic attacks that characterized that decade. The most prominent, the *DAIA of Argentina, was established in 1935. The Latin American umbrella organizations are affiliated with the *World Jewish Congress and in 1964 they established the Congreso Judío Latinoamericano (Latin American Jewish Congress). During the early years of its development, Latin American Jewry enjoyed great assistance from world Jewish organizations. The *Jewish Colonization Association (ICA), which established the agricultural settlements in Argentina and Brazil, also supported Jewish education in these countries and in Uruguay. In addition, it assisted immigration to Latin America and aided the new arrivals through the establishment of local branches. HIAS, HICEM, and the American Jewish *Joint Distribution Committee (JDC) helped Jewish migration and settlement in Latin American countries and to a certain extent to organize Jewish communities, particularly in Cuba and Mexico. These organizations were particularly helpful in assisting the refugees from Nazi Germany who found shelter in Latin America during the Shoah, such as in the case of the small agricultural settlement in Sosua in the Dominican Republic or the transition migrants in Cuba. In 1930 the American *B'nai B'rith opened its first Latin American lodge in Argentina that was followed by the establishment of branches throughout Latin America. HIAS and the *American Jewish Committee, which is associated with local organizations, began to function in Latin America in 1945 and maintained for many years offices in Argentina, Brazil, Uruguay, and Mexico. The American Conservative movement started its activities in Latin America in the 1960s, becoming gradually very influential. The first synagogue and the Rabbinic Seminary (1962) were founded by Rabbi Marshall Meyer in Buenos Aires and had an impact on the emergence of other synagogues that identify themselves with this trend in most of the Latin American countries. The impact of the Reform movement has been smaller, but has recently increased, with synagogues in Central and South America in Argentina (Buenos Aires), Brazil (São Paulo, Rio de Janeiro, Belo Horizonte, and Porto Alegre), Panama, Costa Rica, Curaçâo, St. Thomas, Mexico, and Puerto Rico.

For several decades Zionism was the most influential ideology among Latin American Jews. The Zionist movement was first created in Argentina in 1897, with the first immigrants in agricultural colonies and in the cities. It accompanied all the Jewish settlements throughout the continent, but during the 1930s and 1940s had to compete with anti-Zionist ideologies, such as the Bund and the Communists, which had a strong impact on the Jewish population from Eastern Europe, and against the indifference of other Jewish sectors. Zionists from Latin America participated in the Zionist Congresses, established federations and parties, founded committees that supported Keren Kayemet, Keren Hayesod, and other national campaigns, and were active in promoting educational work and youth movements, as well as political activities on behalf of the foundation of the State of Israel. Since 1948 this process has increased considerably so that in the 1960s differences between the Zionists and the Bund, which were prominent mainly in Argentina and Mexico, decreased considerably. Today the anti-Zionists in Latin America are a small minority: the Communists and extreme left wing Jewish students on one hand, and some ultra-Orthodox religious factions on the other. A recent study on the demographic and ideological positions among Argentinean Jews asserts that Israel is a central factor in Jewish identity for at least 85% of them.

The impact of Zionism is clearly seen also in the number of Latin Americans who have settled in Israel. In the 56 years between 1948 and 2004, 89,684 Jews from Latin American countries immigrated to Israel, according to the figures of Israel's Central Bureau of Statistics. This *aliyah*, which in the 1950s and part of the 1960s had very strong ideological and political roots, established ten kibbutzim and several moshavim, and helped complete many others. A comparison between the number of immigrants to Israel from each country and the total Jewish population in the present shows that Colombia and Uruguay contributed the highest proportion of their community members to the process of *aliyah* (70% and 41%, respectively) and after them are Argentina (28%) and Chile (25%). It is estimated that a few thousand among the *olim* from Latin America re-emigrated later to their countries of origin or to other countries in Europe and North America.

[Haim Avni / Efraim Zadoff (2nd ed.)]

Demography

A revolution in the demographic study of Latin American Jewry has occurred since the 1970s, cutting back considerably the estimates that were accepted by scholars until then. Current and systematic estimates made by the Jewish Demography and Statistics Division of the Avraham Harman Institute of Contemporary Jewry of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem concluded that in 2005 there were 397,600 Jews all over Latin America. Some local research, such as the study completed in 2004 in Buenos Aires with the support of the JDC, confirms this figure. Since the 1970s there has been a clear tendency toward demographic regression, caused by many factors, such as lack of immigration, low birth rate, high percentage of aged people, mixed marriages, assimilation, and emigration to Israel, the United States, and other countries (see Table below). The most unpredictable of these factors is the migration that is mainly influenced by the economic and to a lesser extent by the political situation in the respective countries. The economic factor was particularly influential in motivating the emigration from Argentina, Uruguay, Mexico, and Venezuela, and the political factor in the cases of Cuba, Chile, Argentina, Colombia, and Uruguay.

Estimated Jewish Population in Latin America

Country	Jewish Population
Argentina	185,000
Bahamas	300
Bolivia	500
Brazil	96,700
Chile	20,800
Colombia	3,300
Costa Rica	2,500
Cuba	1,200
Dominican Republic	100
Ecuador	900
El Salvador	100
Guatemala	900
Jamaica	300
Mexico	39,900
Netherlands Antilles	200
Panama	5,000
Paraguay	900
Peru	2,300
Puerto Rico	1,500
Suriname	200
Uruguay	19,500
Venezuela	15,500
Virgin Islands	300
Other	300
Total Latin America	398,200

Source: Sergio DellaPergola, "World Jewish Population," in: *American Jewish Year Book* (2005), 105.

Jewish Education

The Jewish communities in the Latin American countries generally became concerned with Jewish education only after the facilities for basic Jewish and social needs (burial, marriage, circumcision, public worship, *kashrut*, and social welfare for the needy, sick, and immigrants) had been provided. The first

Jewish educational facilities for children were the traditional *heder* or *kutab* schools, modeled after those of the communities of origin on a supplementary basis. The attendance in these schools was very low, the teachers were generally the same persons who provided religious services, and their style of teaching was archaic. At the same time almost all the children attended public schools. The only exception to this situation were the agricultural colonies managed by the Jewish Colonization Association – ICA in Argentina and southern Brazil. ICA established day schools with general and Jewish studies that have operated in Argentina from 1896 and in Brazil from the first decades of the 20th century.

At the very beginning of the 1920s new trends came to the fore in Jewish education and modern schools were established. In Argentina and Uruguay modern secular Jewish schools were opened as a result of the profound influence of educational changes in the communities of origin. The schools assumed "imported" patterns and Jewish political ideologies, which characterized the mainstream of Jewish complementary schooling in these two communities in the 1940s, 1950s, and 1960s. The children attended these schools three–four hours a day five days a week. At the end of the 1960s, the schools received more than a third of the children of primary school age.

In the other communities a different pattern evolved since the Jewish parents were not satisfied with the state schools. With the help of wealthy individuals and afterwards with the support of parents who had gradually improved their economic situation, modern Jewish day schools were established with general and Jewish studies. These schools competed not only with the state schools but also with other private schools. The first modern day school was established in Mexico in 1924, and probably the last day school was established in Quito, Ecuador, in 1973. In the 1970s all the Jewish schools in Latin America (including Argentina and Uruguay) became day schools. In addition there are also Sunday schools, which give special bat or bar mitzvah lessons on Sunday or another day of the week. Until the 1960s or 1970s almost all the schools, complementary and day, devoted around 20 hours a week to the study of Jewish subjects. The Jewish curricula included history, literature, Bible, Yiddish and/or Hebrew, geography of Ereẓ Israel, and in the case of religious schools (less than a third) prayers and religious literature.

In the beginning the teaching staffs were made up of immigrants. In the 1940s secondary pedagogic schools were established in Argentina (1940, 1943, and 1945), producing a new generation of local teachers who were also able to direct the schools. In Mexico a teachers' seminar for graduates from the existing Jewish schools was founded in 1946. Like other communities, when the generation of immigrant teachers disappeared, the schools in Mexico were obliged to import teachers and principals from Israel or Argentina. In recent decades many local teachers were sent to study in Israeli universities in the framework of special programs and returned to their communities as senior teaching staff and school principals.

The day school structure is problematic with regard to Jewish studies since their main aim is to offer general studies at a high level. This often causes neglect of Jewish studies. On the other hand, the day school assures continuity in enrollment and has solved the problem of dropout among children over the years after it had been a serious problem in the complementary schools. For example, in Argentina in the mid-1960s the complementary primary schools and kindergartens received around 40% of the children of that age. From the end of the 1970s this went up to 55–65%. In other communities where day schools were established from the very beginning, such as Mexico, Venezuela, Panama, and Costa Rica, school attendance was over 80%, including secondary school.

Since the 1990s there have been attempts to establish complementary schools and courses, especially in Argentina, with the aim of attracting children who for diverse reasons (economy, distance, ideology) do not attend Jewish day schools. These frameworks succeeded recently to attract some 2,500 teenagers.

Other important frameworks in Jewish education are the informal activities and organizations. There are organizations with a clear ideological shading, the most common being the Zionist youth movements – the *tenuot no'ar* of all the political camps, from Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir on the left to Betar on the right and including the religious Bnei Akiva, which since the 1940s has been present in all the Latin American communities. Over the last six decades there have also been religious youth organizations such as Ezra (Po'alei Agudat Israel) and youth organizations of the Conservative (Ramah) and Reform communities (Netzer, Chazit Hanoar). There was also a youth movement of the Communists and their followers, and there were attempts to establish a Yugnt Bund Gezelshaft, as well as social and cultural activities offered by community centers and the social and sports clubs. Most of these institutions organized summer camps with varying Jewish content.

Jewish Journalism

Yiddish, the language of the majority of the Jewish immigrants, was the first language of journalistic Jewish creativity in Latin America. Jewish newspapers, journals, and literary, social, and political publications existed in almost every community. The first known publications were printed in Buenos Aires in the 1890s, in Yiddish: *Viderkol* (edited by Michl Hacohen Sinai) and *Der Yiddisher Fonograf* and *Di Folks Shtime*. The first periodical publication in Spanish was *El Sionista* (edited by Jacobo Liachovitzky) in 1904. In the 1900s were published the Bundist *Der Avangard* (1908), the Zionist-Socialist *Broit un Ehre* (edited by León Jazanovich), and *Yiddisher Colonist in Argentine* oriented to the population in the agricultural colonies managed by ICA.

The migratory wave which brought to Argentina's cities close to 100,000 Jews increased the demand for a daily Yiddish newspaper. *Di Yiddishe Tzaitung* (Monday to Friday) was founded in 1914 and was edited successively by Leon Maas, José Mendelson, and Matías Stoliar, and from 1918 the daily

Di Presse with a socialist orientation (seven days a week) was edited by Pinie Wald, Iaakov Botoshansky, and others. Both newspapers had subscribers from Chile, Bolivia, Paraguay, Uruguay, and even Brazil, and appeared until the 1970s. A third daily – *Morgn Tzaitung* – was published in Buenos Aires in the late 1930s and early 1940s. Other journals published in those years were the Rosario *Rosarier Lebn* and the *Avellaneder Lebn* on the outskirts of Buenos Aires.

Spanish newspapers started to appear in 1917 in Buenos Aires: *Israel* edited by Samuel de A. Levy with a social and communal orientation and the magazine *Vida Nuestra* edited by León Kibrick with a cultural agenda. *Al-Gala* ("Exile") was edited in the same year by Aharon Sethon, and is probably the only periodical Jewish publication in Arabic that appeared in Latin America.

Many new periodicals in Spanish appeared from the 1920s, covering a very wide spectrum of genres, international and local news: *Mundo Israelita* (1923) edited successively by León Kibrick, Salomón Resnick, León Dujovne, and Gregorio Faingersh; *La Luz* (1931) edited by David, Nissim, and David Elnecave. Both were still being published in the early 21st century. An attempt to publish a daily with general news was made with *Amanecer* (1956–57), but ended in failure.

The ideological field was fertile ground for publications in Yiddish as well as in Spanish: *Unzer Tzait*, ICUF, *Dos Arbeter Palestine*, *Di Yiddishe Velt*, *Fraie Shtime*, *Nueva Sión*, *Nueva Presencia*, *Renovación*, *La Voz de Israel*, and others. Several cultural journals were published, such as *Judaica* edited by Salomón Resnick, *Davar* of the Sociedad Hebraica Argentina, *Majshavot* published by the Seminario Rabínico Latinoamericano with Religious Conservative orientation, and *Comentario* of the Instituto Judío Argentino de Cultura e Información, close to the American Jewish Committee.

The German-speaking sector founded in the early 1940s the *Juedische Wochenschau*, edited by Hardy Swarsensky, which in later years was transformed into a bilingual (German and Spanish) publication. German periodicals were published by Jewish refugees also in other countries, such as the *Juedische Rudnschau* in Havana.

The few publications that appeared in Argentina in Hebrew were a unique phenomenon in Latin America: *Hechalutz* in the 1920s, *Darom* edited by the Hebraist Organization from the early 1940s until the 1970s, *Tzohar* edited by teachers and students of the Teachers' Seminary in the late 1950s and early 1960s, and *Rimon* edited by teachers and students of Ha-Midrasha ha-Ivrit in the mid-1960s.

As in Argentina, Jewish journalism played an important role in Jewish life throughout Latin America. In Brazil several journals were published in Yiddish, like *Yiddishe Folkstzaitung*, *Yiddishe Presse*, and *Dos yiddishe Vochenblat* in Rio de Janeiro, *Di Mentchhait* (Porto Alegre), and *Kol Israel* (Belem do Para). In Uruguay there were *Dos Yiddishe Lebn*, *Folksblat*, *Haint*, *Montevideer Shtime*, *Uruguayer Yiddish Vort*, and many others, with a variety of ideological-political and communal orientations. In Mexico two journals supplied daily information to the Yiddish-speaking public, *Di Shtime* and *Der Veg*, which continued to be published until the 1970s and 1980s, respectively. Other Mexican publications were more politically oriented: *Farn Folk*, a bi-weekly of the United Zionist Organization published since 1934 and edited by Meir Berger; *Forois*, a monthly of the Bund party which began to be published in 1941; and *Fraivelt*, a monthly of the followers of the Communist Party published in 1943–52. In Cuba the *Havaner Lebn* appeared from 1932 to 1960, edited from 1935 by Sender Kaplan. Several other Yiddish publications include *Oifgang* (1929–34), *Dos Yidishe Vort,* and the Communist *Kubaner Yiddish Vort* in the 1940s.

The Yiddish journals published in Chile include *Yiddishn Vochenblat in Chile* edited by Noah Vital in the 1930s and *Dos Yiddishe Vort* with a section in Spanish that became its only language.

Jewish schools, particularly in Mexico City and in Buenos Aires, published bulletins and yearbooks that reflected their ideological trends and reported their activities and were sometimes used to raise funds.

Throughout Latin America, publications in Spanish or Portuguese coexisted with the main publications in Yiddish. By the 1960s, however, readers of Jewish languages were an insignificant minority. Chile was an exception, since from the very beginning the main language in Chilean Jewish journalism was Spanish. The first Jewish Chilean journal – *Renacimiento* – was published in Spanish from 1919, edited by Arturo David.

From the 1920s many journals were published in Chile, like *Nuestro Ideal* by Abraham Drapkin–Darom, *La Patria Israelita* by Boris Cojanov, *Nosotros* by Natalio Berman, *Mundo Israelita* by Robert Levy, *Mundo Judío*, organ of the Zionist Federation and edited by Marcos Levy, *Alma Hebrea* published in Temuco by Isaac de Mayo in the 1930s.

In Brazil, besides the informative publications in Portuguese of Jewish religious or social and sports institutions like *A Hebraica* of the Hebraica Community Center, *Chabad News* of Chabad, *O Macabeu* of the Circulo Esportivo Israelita Brasileiro Macabi, FISESP *Comunicação* of the Jewish Federation of the São Paulo State, or *Morasha* of the Sephardi Community of São Paulo, there were important cultural journals and magazines with a cultural content, some of them still being published with notable success. *Resenha Judaica,* published in São Paulo, was for 30 years (1970–2000) an important weekly journal with wide circulation, and after 2000 was continued by *Semana,* which became a magazine. Other important magazines are *O Hebreu* published monthly in São Paulo since 1984, the weekly *Shalom*, and the monthly *Judaica*. Also there is a bi-weekly journal published since 2000, *Tribuna Judaica*, with news about community life and Israel.

In Mexico the first important publication in Spanish was *Tribuna Israelita* founded in 1944 by Sergio Nudelstejer and becoming the organ of the Comité Central, the umbrella political organization of the Jewish institutions. Almost every community organization has its own bulletin and there are publications with wide scope such as *Kesher* edited by Rosalynda Cohen and *Foro* by Jacobo Contente. In Venezuela the journal *Mundo Israelita* was published for 30 years (1943–73) and was succeeded by *Nuevo Mundo Israelita*, which remained the central organ of the Caracas Jewish community. In Uruguay the *Semanario Hebreo*, edited by José Jerozolimsky (1927–2004), was founded in 1960, and it is still edited by Ana Jerozolimsky Beris.

Jewish journalism has been active also in the electronic media. Several radio stations have been running Jewish programs. One of the first programs, *Hora Israelita*, was founded in São Paulo in 1940 by Siegfried Gotthilf. After his death (1952) his son Francisco directed the program under the name of *Programa Mosaico*. In 1961 he moved the program to television and though he changed channels many times, this weekly program is still transmitted every Sunday, being the longest-running program on Brazilian television. Radio programs were broadcast in many cities of Latin America, such as *Shalom Israel* in São Paulo, *La Voz de Sión* in Montevideo, and *La Hora Hebrea* in Buenos Aires. Since 1992 there has been a Jewish radio station, *FM Jai*, in Buenos Aires directed by Miguel Steuerman. There are also Jewish TV programs like the weekly *Le Haim* and *Shalom Brasil* in São Paulo and the weekly program of the AMIA in Buenos Aires which, despite a few interruptions, has been transmitted since the 1960s. An attempt to establish a cable channel – *Alef* – failed.

From the mid-1990s Jewish institutions and journals started to use the Internet as a new channel of communications. Today almost every community and institution can be visited through its website, and Jewish journals, like *Tribuna Israelita* of Mexico, *La Palabra Israelita* of Santiago de Chile, and *Nuevo Mundo Israelita* of Caracas, are accessible through the Internet. Several organizations send daily, weekly, or monthly bulletins with news, information, and cultural material to their members. Among them are *Micro Ejecutivo de Noticias de la DAIA* and the *Boletín OJI* of the Latin American Jewish Congress. There are also independent Jewish websites, such *Morasha* or *NetJudaica* in Brazil and *Shalomonline – la comunidad judía en internet*.

Ties with Israel

Latin American countries had often proved their sympathy and support for the Jewish renaissance both before and after the establishment of the State of Israel. The support given by Latin American politicians and intellectuals was explained by a combination of factors: their Judeo-Christian tradition which cherishes values connected with the land and the people of the Bible; their identification with the Jewish struggle for national independence, with Israel's attempt to integrate various ethnic groups, and cultivate neglected and desolate land; their objectivity in Middle East politics in which they had no direct interest; and the existence of active Jewish communities in Latin America and of influential descendants of the original Jewish immigrants (from Spain and Portugal) who still felt some kinship with the Jewish people. In spite of the fact that large segments of the population in Latin American countries originated in Arab-speaking countries and some Arabs became members of legislatures and governments, influential personalities mostly of the Latin American world rallied to the Zionist cause and supported the establishment of the State of Israel. The main reason for the moderation of the Arab elements was the predominance of Christian Lebanese, among them those who were not fervent supporters of the anti-Israel Arab nationalism. Pro-Zionist committees, in which prominent non-Jews in Bolivia, Chile, Cuba, Mexico, Colombia, and Costa Rica participated, came into existence in 1945. By the next year similar committees had sprung up in most Latin American countries. The list of sponsors included Alfonso Francisco Ramirez (then a member of the Mexican Supreme Court), José Figueres (the president of Costa Rica in 1948–49, 1953–58, and 1970–75), and José Galvez (then vice president of Peru). The *Jewish Agency promoted these beginnings of Latin American support. Benno Weiser (later Israel ambassador to various Latin American countries under the name of Benjamin Varon) and Moshe Tov (d. 1989, also later an Israel ambassador in Latin America), driving forces in the Latin American department of the Jewish Agency, won the political backing of these governments for the plan to partition Palestine in 1947–48. They were greatly assisted in these endeavors by the prestige of the famous Argentinean Jewish writer Alberto *Gerchunoff who actively intervened with political and spiritual leaders of Latin America on behalf of the Jewish interests in Palestine. The help extended by Latin American countries in the UN debate about the partition of Palestine was of decisive importance. Of the 11 members of the UN Special Committee on Palestine (1947) three were from Latin America: Arturo García Salazar of Peru, Jorge García Granados of Guatemala, and Enrique Rodríguez Fabregat of Uruguay. García Granados and Rodríguez Fabregat in particular gave unfailing support. Pedro Zuloaga, the alternate representative of the Venezuelan delegation in the second General Assembly of 1947, was most active in reconciling differences between the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. on the Palestine question. The president of the UN General Assembly Oswaldo Aranha, representative of Brazil, prevented the delaying tactics of all the anti-partition forces in the Assembly and put the plan for the partition of Palestine to a vote on Nov. 29, 1947. The Latin American countries cast approximately 40% of the total votes favoring the establishment of a Jewish state. Thirteen Latin American states voted for the plan and six states abstained; Cuba was the only Latin American country to vote against it.

In April 1948, during the second special session of the UN General Assembly, the majority of Latin American countries prevented the passing of a resolution favoring the establishment of a UN trusteeship in Palestine. The Latin Americans of the third assembly opposed the suggestion of the UN Mediator, Count *Bernadotte, that a big part of the Negev be returned to the Arabs. In May 1949, 18 of 20 Latin American delegations in the UN invited Israel to join the UN as a full member (half of all the votes favoring this resolution). The only political obstacle between Israel and Latin America has been the problem of Jerusalem. Most Latin American countries have remained supporters of the internationalization of Jerusalem and after the *Six-Day War (June 1967) most of their delegations voted against the municipal reunification of the city. However, the other political problems raised by Israel's victory have made the problem of Jerusalem seem less acute to Latin American leaders. Nine of the 13 Latin American embassies established in Israel were situated in Jerusalem. In 1980, after the passage in the Knesset of the Jerusalem Law, all the embassies left the city aside from Costa Rica. Since then only the embassy of El Salvador returned to the city. Israel is represented by ambassadors in all the capitals of Latin America (non-resident ambassadors are accredited in a few capitals). In the annual UN debates the majority of the Latin American delegations have rejected all proposals favoring the appointment of a UN custodian of abandoned Arab property in Israel as a breach of the rights of sovereignty. During the 1960s, the left-wing Tri-Continental Conference of Solidarity of Peoples on Jan. 4, 1966, in Havana, in which Arab delegates played a very active part, indicated the turn towards an anti-Israel attitude of the Latin American left. The fact that Castro's Cuba did not sever diplomatic relations with Israel after the Six-Day War (1967) seemed to have neutralized this attitude, but a few years afterwards, in September 1973, Castro broke off diplomatic relations with Israel. Following the Six-Day War the Latin American countries united in the emergency session of the UN General Assembly and put forward the so-called Latin American Resolution which thwarted Soviet-Arab moves to return the Middle East to its prewar status without a stable peace between Israel and the Arab states.

In the 1970s the attitudes in the Latin American governments changed, and at the beginning of 1974, observers pointed out that the Israeli cause in Latin America was at a low ebb, despite the fact that public opinion, as expressed by the leading press, continued to support Israel.

There were strong indications that several Latin American countries intended to intensify their ties with the Arab world. A "Syrian Week" took place in Mar del Plata, Argentina, in 1974. The Buenos Aires University's Institute on the Third World arranged with the Libyan Embassy to publish Perón's works in Arabic and Kaddafi's thoughts in Spanish. In 1975 the first Islamic Center in Latin America was inaugurated in Brazilia. The Panamerican Arab Congress met in 1974 in Buenos Aires and in 1975 in São Paulo. In Bolivia, a Federation of Bolivian-Arab Organizations began in 1974 to publish an anti-Jewish magazine. Arab and Latin American delegations exchanged visits.

The increase of Arab influence was noticeable during the votes on the Middle East taken at international organizations. In many forums, such as UNESCO, the International Women's Year Conference, the Conference of Non-Aligned States, and also in the sessions of committees of the UN General Assembly, several Latin American representatives abstained or supported anti-Israeli or anti-Zionist resolutions. In numerous cases local public opinion, general and Jewish, strongly criticized the government's stand, but this did not change official policy. UN Resolution 3379 (November 10, 1975) condemning Zionism as racism was supported by Mexico, Brazil, and Cuba while most other states (Paraguay, Peru, Venezuela, Bolivia, Argentina, Chile, Colombia, and Ecuador) abstained. Public opinion was one of the factors that changed the Latin American position when this resolution was revoked (December 1991). The issue arose again in the Session of the Commission on Human Rights in Durban, South Africa, in 2001, and this time many Latin American countries helped defuse the attacks against Israel and Zionism (Argentina among them). While relations between Israel and Latin America were affected in the 1970s and 1980s by the fluctuations of oil prices and the pressure of OPEC, the 1990s and 2000s were influenced by the perspectives of the peace process in the Middle East.

There are various cultural agreements between the Latin American countries and Israel implemented by the Instituto Cultural Israel-Iberoamérica that organizes intellectual and artistic exchanges between Israel and the Spanish and Portuguese-speaking world.

Commerce between Latin America and Israel was significantly upgraded between the 1960s and the early 2000s. Many bilateral agreements, the diversification of the goods that Latin American countries and Israel produce and consume, and the better mutual knowledge of the markets increased trade considerably. Imports from Latin America increased from about $3.4 million (1960) to $603 million (2004), and exports from $3.5 million to $1,366 million. Bilateral trade relations are encouraged by many public institutions like the Cámara de Comercio Israel-Iberoamérica (Chamber of Commerce) and the Cámara Brasil – Israel de Comercio e Industria (Brazil-Israel Chamber of Commerce and Industry). Israel is well known in Latin America also for its projects of international cooperation. Thus, technical aid and cooperation have become the basis of contacts between some Latin American countries and Israel. Israeli experts in agriculture, irrigation, cooperatives, rural development, science, education, public health, and technology have worked in Latin America. Thousands of Latin American students and technicians participated in courses in Israel in the last decades, and thousands of Israeli experts worked in technical aid projects in Latin-American countries from the 1960s, and several technical cooperation agreements have been signed with Latin American countries. Furthermore, special technical cooperation agreements were implemented in conjunction with regional and inter-American organizations like the Organization of American States (in which Israel has a position of observer) and the Banco Interamericano de Desarrollo (Inter American Development Bank).

[Shlom Erel / Efraim Zadoff (2nd ed.)]

From the 1960s to the early years of the 1980s difficult periods under non-democratic regimes controlled by army officers affected most of the Latin American countries, in some countries for decades. Under these Junta governments there were flagrant violations of human rights that in many cases went hand in hand with hard-line antisemitism. This antisemitism was reflected in the discriminatory treatment that Jewish prisoners received in jail and in detention camps especially in Argentina. Since the 1980s all the Latin American countries, excluding Cuba, have returned to democracy. In the new political and social climate of democracy and political freedom, the Jews took part as individuals in political and cultural life without discrimination.

Nevertheless, the terrorist attacks in Buenos Aires against the Israeli embassy (1992) and the total destruction of the AMIA Ashkenazi community building (1994), the reaction of some sectors of the population, and the failure to apprehend the perpetrators had their effect on the Jewish public in Argentina and in many other Latin American communities: on the one hand, Jews were made to feel less secure and felt the need to take more responsibility for the protection of Jewish sites; on the other Jewish cohesion and solidarity were reinforced. The social situation created by the economic crises in some countries and the solidarity of community institutions offering their help to the needy strengthened Jewish society and its sense of mutual responsibility.

[Efraim Zadoff (2nd ed.)]

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LATRUN, historical site and crossroads in the southern Ayalon Valley, Israel, where the Judean Hills and the Shephelah meet, about 1 mi. (c. 1½ km.) S.W. of *Emmaus. Latrun Hill contains ruins of an Arab village and a 12th-century crusader fortress erected evidently on earlier foundations. On the slope a large French Trappist monastery was built about 1890 and is known for its wines. At the foot of the hill is one of the most important historical crossroads in the country, where the ancient road from Jerusalem to Lydda, Ramleh, and Jaffa meets the road leading from Gaza and Ashkelon through the ascent of Beth-Horon to the northern Judean Hills. Slightly northwest of Latrun, the British Mandatory government erected a police fortress which dominates the crossroads as well as the adjacent pumping station of the Rosh ha-Ayin–Jerusalem water pipeline. During World War II the British established a prisoner-of-war camp next to the pumping station, and along the Gaza road they set up the "Latrun Camp" where Jewish underground fighters and leaders of the *yishuv* were interned, including members of the Jewish Agency Executive (1946).

The name Latrun is a distortion of Le Toron des Chevaliers ("The Tower of the Knights," in old French) which was the designation given the crusader fortress on top of the hill. In the 14th century the Christians called the place *domus boni latronis* – "house of the good thief," i.e., St. Dimas, the thief who repented and was crucified together with Jesus (Luke 23:40–43). The mistake originated in the similarity between *Le Toron* and *latro* (Lat. for "thief"). Although the name Latrun was coined by the crusaders, the hill may have been the site of an earlier fortress belonging to the neighboring city of Nicopolis, which is identical with Emmaus. The Latrun area has been the scene of fighting from earliest times. *Joshua there fought the Canaanites and there the *Hasmoneans battled the Greco-Syrians. It was a Roman base during the war which led to the destruction of the Second Temple and in the *Bar-Kokhba Rebellion; later it became a Byzantine center and again, in the seventh century, an important military base for the Arabs in their conquest of southern Palestine. The crusaders and Richard the Lionhearted fought on this site, and *Saladin destroyed the Latrun fortress. In 1917 the advancing British army launched a two-pronged attack from Latrun (one by way of Bāb al-Wād (Sha'ar ha-Gai) and the other by way of Beit (Bayt) Liqyā, near Beth-Horon, which resulted in the capture of Jerusalem.

In 1948, during the Israel *War of Independence, the Latrun police fortress and crossroads were a key position in the fight for Jerusalem, and the Israel forces made several unsuccessful efforts to capture it to get supply convoys through to the besieged capital. Although the main road to the capital was thus cut off at Latrun, the Arab Legion failed to achieve its aim of closing the ring around beleaguered Jerusalem. At the beginning of June 1948, while the fighting was still in progress, a new route, the "Burma Road," was laid out, passing through Beit (Bayt) Jīz 2 mi. (c. 3 km.) from Latrun, but out of sight. This was turned into a road running parallel to the blockaded main road, enabling the Israel forces to supply the besieged capital with reinforcements of men and arms.

Under the armistice agreement with Jordan (1949), the entire Latrun area, including the monastery and the police fortress, remained in the hands of Jordan as an enclave linked by a single road with the Arab rear, a strip of no-man's-land interposing between the Jordan and Israel positions. The pumping station, situated in no-man's-land, was blown up by the Arabs to deprive Jewish Jerusalem of its water supply (in violation of the agreement reached under UN auspices). The crossroads also remained in no-man's-land, but the plan to have supply convoys pass through it under UN protection was given up after an attempt to pass a trial convoy through resulted in the murder of several Israelis. On the other hand, the fields in no-man's-land were cultivated by both sides, on the basis of local arrangements. During the *Six-Day War, on June 6, 1967, Latrun and the Latrun crossroads fell into the hands of the Israel Defense Forces almost without fighting, and subsequently the main and shorter road from the Coastal Plain to Jerusalem was reopened.

[Walter Pinhas Pick]

LATTEINER, JOSEPH (Finkelstein; 1853–1935), Yiddish playwright. Born in Jassy, Romania, he met Abraham *Goldfaden in 1876 and became interested in the Yiddish theater. He worked as prompter for Goldfaden's troupe, for which he also composed and adapted several plays. His first play *Di Tsvey Shmuel Shmelkes* ("The Two Shmuel Shmelkes," 1879) preceded Goldfaden's similar but more popular comedy *Di Tsvey Kuni-Leml* ("The Two Kuni Lemls"). Latteiner's more successful play *Yente Pipernuter* (1877) starred the actor Sigmund *Mogulesco in the main role. Other plays followed in rapid succession, including the operetta *Di Libe fun Yerushalayim* ("The Love of Jerusalem"), based on Abraham *Mapu's novel *Ahavat Ẓiyyon* ("Love of Zion"). Dissatisfied with Goldfaden's repertoire, he left the troupe and formed his own with Mogulesco, moving to Odessa around the same time as Goldfaden did, leading to the competition of the two troupes in 1880. Since Yiddish plays were banned in Russia after the assassination of Alexander II, Latteiner immigrated to London in 1883 and to New York in 1884. Initially he selected biblical subjects such as the stories of Esther or Joseph but soon turned to foreign sources, often merely judaizing characters' names and adding lyrics and slapstick humor. He wrote more than 80 plays, of which at least a dozen retained their popularity until World War II.

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[Sol Liptzin / Marc Miller (2nd ed.)]

LATTES, family originally from the town of Lattes, S. France, who settled in Italy in the 16th century. It included several illustrious members: ELIJAH BEN ISAAC LATTES of Carcassonne, talmudist in the first half of the 13th century; his grandson Judah b. Jacob *Lattes, author of *Ba'alei Asufot*; ISAAC, son of Judah, talmudist, astronomer, and natural scientist, who lived in the first half of the 14th century, first in Montpellier, then in Perpignan; and his grandson Isaac b. Jacob *Lattes, a rabbi and physician in Provence. Bonet *Lattes (Jacob b. Emanuel) Provenzale, 15th–16th century, was an astronomer and physician to Pope Alexander VI. Others were Isaac Joshua *Lattes (d. c. 1570), author of numerous responsa and a commentary on *Bedersi's *Beḥinat Olam*; AARON ELIJAH LATTES (d. 1839), rabbi at Venice; and Abraham b. Isaac *Lattes (1809–1875), rabbi in Venice, grandson of Aaron Elijah. One of his sons was ELIA LATTES (1843–1925), philologist and linguist, who taught at the Royal Academy of Milan, where the chair of Greek and Roman antiquities was especially created for him. He made important contributions to Etruscology. Abraham's second son MOSES (1846–1883) was a Hebrew philologist, historian, and rabbi. SIMONE LATTES founded a publishing house S. Lattes and Co. in 1839, which specialized in scientific publications. Dante *Lattes (1876–1965) was one of the protagonists of the Jewish culture and Zionist movement in Italy.

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LATTES, ABRAHAM BEN ISAAC (1809–1875), rabbi in Venice, Italy, where he succeeded his grandfather Aaron Elijah Lattes in 1839. A collaborator of the Venetian patriot Daniele *Manin, Lattes took an active part in the Italian revolutionary movement, and during the existence of the Venetian republic (1848–49) was twice elected a councilor. He wrote one of the pioneering studies on Venetian Jewry, published in *Venezia e le sue lagune* (1847), and contributed to the Hebrew periodicals **Kerem Ḥemed* and *Bikkurei ha-Ittim*. His son, MOSES LATTES (1846–1883), devoted himself to study after qualifying as a rabbi and published many monographs on Italian, particularly Venetian, Jewish history and on talmudic lexicography. He was the first to publish selections of the historical writings of Elijah *Capsali.

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[Umberto (Moses David) Cassuto]

LATTES, BONET (Jacob b. Emanuel Provenzale; 15th–16th century), rabbi, astronomer, and physician. He was born in southern France, possibly Marseilles. By 1498 he was living in Rome where he acted as rabbi and *dayyan* of the community with the approval of the papal court. A believer in astrology, as was typical among Renaissance scientists, Lattes published annually (1493–98) a *prognosticon* in which he tried to predict the immediate future. He foretold the coming of the Messiah in 1505. While still in France, he had invented a "ring" astrolabe which could be worn on the finger. This astrolabe he described in a Latin tractate *Annuli per eum Compositi super Astrologiam…* (Rome, c. 1493), frequently republished. Lattes served as physician to Pope Alexander VI and his successors. In 1513 the Christian humanist Johannes *Reuchlin asked Lattes to use his influence with Pope Leo X to help him during his controversy with the Dominicans.

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[Daniel Carpi]

LATTES, DANTE (1876–1965), writer, journalist, and educator who devoted his life to the diffusion of Jewish culture and religion among Italian Jews. He studied at the school of Elia Benamozegh and from 1897 began to work for the newspaper *Corriere Israelitico* in Trieste, becoming the director with Riccardo Curiel in 1903. Under his direction the *Corriere Israelitico* focused on the Zionist movement and contributed to promoting the Jewish culture of Italian Jews in a European and American context through debates and research on history and philosophy. Works of Aḥad Ha-Am and Joseph Klausner, literary output of Israel Zangwill and Edmond Fleg and Yiddish writers such as Shalom Aleichem, David Pinsky, and J.L. Peretz were published. He and Alfonso Pacifici founded the weekly *Israel* in Florence in 1916, and in 1925 *La Rassegna Mensile di Israel*. Among the first to champion the cause of Zionism in Italy and most of all the promoter of the idea of Jewish education based on the fusion between humanistic Italian culture and Jewish thought and knowledge, he translated into Italian the thinkers and writers of the Jewish national revival movement, such as Aḥad Ha-Am, Hess, Pinsker, Bialik, and Buber. He taught Hebrew language and literature at the Institute for Oriental Languages in Rome. From 1933 Lattes served on the board of Unione delle Comunità israelitiche italiane, and in 1936 he was one of the founders of the World Jewish Congress in Geneva. In 1939 he immigrated to Palestine with his family. He came back to Italy in 1948, where he again edited and directed the *Rassegna Mensile di Israel*, which had been suppressed in 1938, until he died. From 1952 to 1956 he was the vice president of Unione delle Comunità israelitiche italiane. His works include *l'Apologia dell' Ebraismo* (1923), *Il Sionismo* (1928), and commentaries on the Torah, the Prophets, and the Psalms. Through his writings, Lattes became a teacher and guide to three generations of Jews in Italy, but his role was barely recognized by the Italian Jewish establishment.

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[Federica Francesconi (2nd ed.)]

LATTES, ISAAC BEN JACOB (14th century), rabbi and physician in Provence. Lattes studied under Nissim *Gerondi. His main work, apparently entitled *Kiryat Sefer* (1885), consists of two parts: *Sha'arei Ẓiyyon* and *Toledot Yiẓḥak*. In it, Lattes explains passages of the Oral Law, the manner in which the oral tradition was transmitted to the *tannaim* and *amoraim*, and the basis of the Mishnah and Tosefta. He enumerates the 613 traditional biblical commandments in the order of their appearance in the Pentateuch and explains them according to Maimonides. He comments on the laws of the public Torah reading and explains passages from the works of Abraham Ibn Ezra and Maimonides. Lattes also mentions many rabbis especially those of France. Lattes also wrote a book on medicine in which he enumerates different classes of diseases ("fevers") and gives advice on how to treat them.

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[Daniel Carpi]

LATTES, ISAAC JOSHUA (d. c. 1570), Italian rabbi, son of Bonet *Lattes, physician to Pope Leo X. Lattes was born in Provence where he studied and was ordained, later immigrating to Italy and becoming a peripatetic rabbi there. He passed most of his life in Rome, Bologna, Mantua, Venice, and Ferrara, where he lived in the house of Isaac *Abrabanel, serving as tutor to his sons. Lattes wrote many responsa, of which only a part were published (Vienna, 1860), an unpublished commentary to the *Beḥinat Olam* of Jedaiah Bedersi, and several poems. He was involved in the famous dispute known as the "Tamari-Venturozzo Divorce." He was also a printer and was associated with the printing of the Mantua edition of the Zohar (1558–60).

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[Daniel Carpi]

LATTES, JUDAH (13th century), Provençal scholar. On his father's side he belonged to one of the most important families of Carcassonne, and his mother was the daughter of *Meshullam b. Moses of Béziers. His father Jacob was a famous scholar and is identified by some with Jacob b. Elijah, the author of *Iggeret ha-Vikku'aḥ* (Kobak's *Jeschurun*, 6 (1868), 1–34). Lattes was educated in Béziers, where he may have been born. His fame rests mainly upon his *Ba'alei Asufot*, a compilation of halakhic decisions, which is extant only in manuscript form. (The *Sefer ha-Asufot* published by A. Dzubas (1940) is a different work by an anonymous German scholar and was given its present title by Samuel David *Luzzatto. The entire structure erected by Dzubas in his introduction is therefore without foundation.) Lattes' compilation draws mainly on Provençal sources, such as *Abraham b. David of Posquières, R. Meshullam, his teacher, Gershon b. Solomon, and *Solomon b. Abraham of Montpellier whom he terms "my teacher." Comprising decisions dealing with the laws of holidays, mourning, forbidden foods, and wine, the work is actually a legal anthology arranged according to subject. Several decisions are provided under each heading, but it contains little original material. According to the testimony of his grandson Isaac Lattes in his own *Sha'arei Ẓiyyon* (ed. by S. Buber, 1881), Judah also wrote other works. He may be the author of *Kelalei Kankannim*, printed at the end of the *Sefer Hashlamah* to tractate *Avodah Zarah* (1917).

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[Israel Moses Ta-Shma]

LATVIA (Lettish **Latvija**; Rus. **Latviya**; Ger. **Lettland**; Pol. **Łotwa**), one of the Baltic states of N.E. Europe; from 1940 to 1991 the Latvian S.S.R. The nucleus of Latvian Jewry was formed by the Jews of Livonia (Livland) and *Courland, the two principalities on the coast of the Baltic Sea which were incorporated within the Russian Empire during the 18th century. Livonia, with the city of *Riga, passed to Russia from Sweden in 1721. Courland, formerly an autonomous duchy, was incorporated into Russia as a province in 1795. Both these provinces were situated outside the *Pale of Settlement, and so only those Jews who could prove that they had lived there legally before the provinces became part of Russia were authorized to reside in the region. Nevertheless, the Jewish population of the Baltic region gradually increased because, from time to time, additional Jews who enjoyed special "privileges," such as university graduates, those engaged in "useful" professions, etc., received authorization to settle there. In the middle of the 19th century, there were about 9,000 Jews in the province of Livonia. By 1897 the Jewish population had already increased to 26,793 (3.5% of the population), about three-quarters of which lived in Riga. In Courland there were 22,734 Jews in the middle of the 19th century, while according to the census of 1897, some 51,072 Jews (7.6% of the population) lived there. The Jews of Courland formed a special group within Russian Jewry. On the one hand they were influenced by the German culture which prevailed in this region, and on the other by that of neighboring Lithuanian Jewry. Haskalah penetrated early to the Livonia and Courland communities but assimilation did not make the same headway there as in Western Europe. Courland Jewry developed a specific character, combining features of both East European and German Jewry. During World War I when the Russian armies retreated from Courland (April 1915), the Russian military authorities expelled thousands of Jews to the provinces of the interior. A considerable number later returned to Latvia as repatriates after the independent republic was established.

Three districts of the province of Vitebsk, in which most of the population was Latvian (Latgale in Lettish), including the large community of *Daugavpils (Dvinsk), were joined to Courland (Kurzeme) and Livonia (Vidzeme), and the independent Latvian Republic was established (November 1918). At first, a liberal and progressive spirit prevailed in the young state but the democratic regime was short-lived. Influenced by Fascism in Western Europe, the nationalist and chauvinistic elements of Latvia grew more arrogant. On May 15, 1934, the prime minister, Karlis Ulmanis, dissolved parliament in a coup d'état, the leaders of the labor movement and the activists of the socialist and progressive organizations were imprisoned in a concentration camp, and Latvia became a totalitarian state. Ulmanis was proclaimed dictator and "leader" of the nation. His government inclined toward Nazi Germany.

Jewish Population in the Latvian Republic

Before World War I there were about 190,000 Jews in the territories of Latvia (7.4% of the total population). During the war years, many of them were expelled to the interior of Russia, while others escaped from the war zone. In 1920 the Jews of Latvia numbered 79,644 (5% of the population). After the signing of the peace treaty between the Latvian Republic and the Soviet Union on Aug. 11, 1920, repatriates began to return from Russia; these included a considerable number of Jewish refugees. By 1925 the Jewish population had increased to 95,675, the largest number of Jews during the period of Latvia's existence as an independent state. After that year the number of Jews gradually decreased, and in 1935 had declined to 93,479 (4.8% of the total). The causes of this decline were emigration by part of the younger generation and a decline in the natural increase through limiting the family to one or two children by the majority. Between 1925 and 1935 over 6,000 Jews left Latvia (the overwhelming majority of them for Ereẓ Israel), while the natural increase only partly replaced these departures. The largest communities were Riga with 43,672 Jews (11.3% of the total) in 1935, Daugavpils with 11,106 (25%), and Libau (*Liepaja) with 7,379 (13%). (See Table: List of alternative names for places shown on map.)

List of alternative names for places shown on map

Latvian name	Old German name	Old Russian name
Aizpute	Hasenpoth	Gazenpot
Bauska	Bauske	Bausk
Dagda	Dagda	Dagda
Daugavpils	Duenabuno	Dvinsk
Jaunjelgava	Friedrichstadt	Fridrikhshtadt
Jekabpils	Jabobstadt	Yikobstadt
Jelgava	Mitau	Mitava
Karsava	Karsau	Korsoevka
Kraslava	Kraslau	Kreslavka
Krustpils	Kreuzburg	Kreitsburg
Kuldiga	Goldingen	Goldingen
Liepaja	Libau	Lubava
Livani	Livenhof	Levengof
Ludza	Ludsen	Lyutsyn
Plavinas	Stockmannshof	Shtokmangof
Preili	Preli	Preli
Rezekne	Rositten	Rezhitsa
Riga	Riga	Riga
Talsi	Talsen	Talsen
Tukums	Tukkum	Tukkum
Varaklani	Warklany	Varklene
Ventspils	Winday	Vindava
Vilaka	Marienhausen	Mariengauzen

Economic Life

Jews already played an important role in industry, commerce, and banking before World War I. After the establishment of

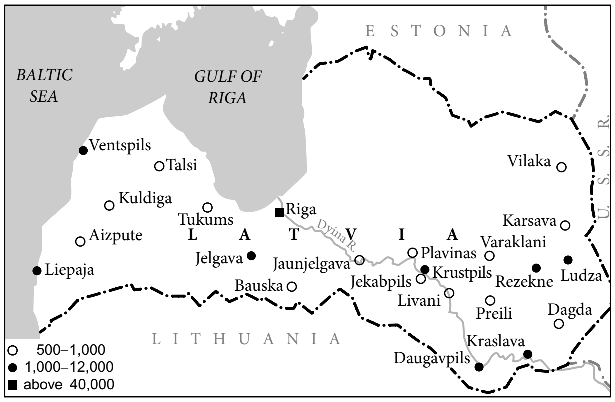

Jewish communities in Latvia (borders of 1918–40). Population figures for 1935.

the republic, a severe crisis overtook the young state. The government had not yet consolidated itself and the country had become impoverished as a result of World War I and the struggle for independence which Latvia had conducted for several years (1918–20) against both Germany and the Soviet Union. With the cessation of hostilities, Latvia found itself retarded in both the administrative and economic spheres. Among other difficulties, there was running inflation. Jews made a large contribution to the upbuilding of the state from the ruins of the war and its consequences. Having much experience in the export of the raw materials of timber and linen before World War I, upon their return from Russia they resumed export of these goods on their own initiative. They also developed a variegated industry, and a considerable part of the import trade, such as that of petrol, coal, and textiles, was concentrated in their hands. However, once the Jews had made their contribution, the authorities began to force them out of their economic positions and to deprive them of their sources of livelihood. Although, in theory, there were no discriminatory laws against the Jews in democratic Latvia and they enjoyed equality of rights, in practice the economic policy of the government was intended to restrict their activities. This was also reflected in the area of credit. The Jews of Latvia developed a ramified network of loan banks for the granting of credit with the support of the *American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee and the *Jewish Colonization Association (ICA). Cooperative credit societies for craftsmen, small tradesmen, etc., were established and organized within a central body, the Alliance of Cooperative Societies for Credit. However, the Jewish banks and cooperative societies were discriminated against in the sphere of public credit and the state bank was in practice closed to them. These societies nevertheless functioned on sound foundations. Their initial capital was relatively larger than that of the non-Jewish cooperative societies. In 1931 over 15,000 members were organized within the Jewish societies.

Jews were particularly active in the following branches of industry: timber, matches, beer, tobacco, hides, textiles, canned foods (especially fish), and flour milling. About one-half of the Jews of Latvia engaged in commerce, the overwhelming majority of them in medium and small trade. About 29% of the Jewish population was occupied in industry and about 7% in the liberal professions. There were no Jews in the governmental administration. The economic situation of the majority of Latvia's Jews became difficult. Large numbers were ousted from their economic position and lost their livelihood as a result of government policy and most of them were thrust into small trade, peddling, and bartering in various goods at the second-hand clothes markets in the suburbs of Riga and the provincial towns. The decline in their status was due to three principal causes: the government assumed the monopoly of the grain trade, thus removing large numbers of Jews from this branch of trade, without accepting them as salaried workers or providing them with any other kind of employment; the Latvian cooperatives enjoyed wide governmental support and functioned in privileged conditions in comparison to the Jewish enterprises; and Jews had difficulty in obtaining credit. In addition to the above, the Jewish population was subjected to a heavy burden of taxes.

Public and Political Life

Latvian Jewry continued the communal and popular traditions of Russian Jewry, of which it formed a part until 1918. On the other hand, it was also influenced by the culture of West European Jewry, being situated within its proximity (i.e., East Prussia). In its spiritual life there was thus a synthesis of Jewish tradition and secular culture. From the social-economic point of view the Jews of Latvia did not form one group, and there were considerable social differences between them. They engaged in a variety of occupations and professions: there were large, medium, and small merchants, industrialists, and different categories of craftsmen, workers, salesmen, clerks, teachers, and members of the liberal professions such as physicians, lawyers, and engineers. All these factors – economic and spiritual – were practically reflected in public life: in the national Jewish sphere and in the general political life of the state. The Jewish population was also represented in the Latvian parliament. In the National Council which was formed during the first year of Latvian independence and existed until April 1920, there were also representatives of the national minorities, including seven Jews, among them Paul *Mintz, who acted as state comptroller (1919–21), and Mordecai *Dubin (Agudat Israel). On May 1, 1920, the Constituent Assembly, which was elected by a relatively democratic vote, was convened. It was to function until Oct. 7, 1922, and included nine Jewish delegates who represented all groups in the Jewish population (Zionists, National Democrats, Bundists, Agudat Israel). The number of Jewish delegates in the four parliaments which were elected in Latvia until the coup d'état of 1934 was as follows: six in the first (1922–25), five in the second (1925–28) and the third (1928–31), and three in the fourth (1931–34). Among the regular deputies were Mordecai Dubin (Agudat Israel), Mordecai *Nurock (Mizrachi), Matityahu Max Laserson (Ẓe'irei Zion), and Noah *Meisel (Bund). The last two were not reelected to the fourth parliament.

Culture and Education

On Dec. 8, 1919, the general bill on schools was passed by the National Council; this coincided with the bill on the cultural *autonomy of the minorities. In the Ministry of Education, there were special departments for the minorities. The engineer Jacob Landau headed the Jewish department. A broad network of Hebrew and Yiddish schools, in which Jewish children received a free education, was established. In addition to these, there were also Russian and German schools for Jewish children, chosen in accordance with the language of their families and wishes of their parents. These were, however, later excluded from the Jewish department because, by decision of the Ministry of Education, only the Hebrew and Yiddish schools were included within the scope of Jewish autonomy. In 1933 there were 98 Jewish elementary schools with approximately 12,000 pupils and 742 teachers, 18 secondary schools with approximately 2,000 pupils and 286 teachers, and four vocational schools with 300 pupils and 37 teachers. Pupils attended religious or secular schools according to their parents' wishes. There were also government pedagogic institutes for teachers in Hebrew and Yiddish, courses for kindergarten teachers, popular universities, a popular Jewish music academy, evening schools for working youth, a Yiddish theater, and cultural clubs. There was a Jewish press reflecting a variety of trends.

With the Fascist coup d'état of May 15, 1934, Jewish autonomy was abolished. All political organizations were outlawed, except for *Agudat Israel. The supervision of the Jewish schools was entrusted to the latter, which closed all the secular Yiddish schools, while the curricula of the secular Hebrew schools were emptied of their content. The teachers were compelled to wear skullcaps; they were forbidden to teach *Bialik and even to use S. *Dubnow's history. With the establishment of the Soviet regime in Latvia in June 1940, even these sad remnants of Jewish autonomy were liquidated. Upon the outbreak of World War II in 1939, Latvia was compelled to sign a treaty with the Soviet Union, and placed air bases in various parts of the country at its disposal. In June 1940 a Communist government was set up and in July Latvia was proclaimed a Soviet Republic, and was incorporated within the Soviet Union.

[Yitzhak Maor]

Holocaust Period

GERMAN OCCUPATION OF LATVIA, 1941–1944. Latvia was occupied by the Germans during the first weeks of the German-Soviet war in July 1941. It became part of the new Reich Kommissariat "Ostland," officially designated as "Generalbezirk Lettland." Otto Heinrich Drexler was appointed its commissioner general, with headquarters in Riga, the seat of the Reich commissioner for Ostland, Hinrich Lohse (see *Lithuania). At the end of July 1941 the Germans replaced the military with a civil administration. One of its first acts was the promulgation of a series of anti-Jewish ordinances. An administration composed of local pro-Nazi elements was also established to which Latvian general councillors were appointed. Their chief was Oskar Dankers, a former Latvian army general.

On the eve of Hitler's attack, a large group of Latvians, including several thousand Jews, were deported by the Soviet authorities to Siberia and other parts of Soviet Asia as politically undesirable elements. During the Nazi attack of Latvia a considerable number of Jews also succeeded in fleeing to the interior of the Soviet Union; it is estimated that some 75,000 Latvian Jews fell into Nazi hands. Even before the Nazi administration began persecuting the Latvian Jews, they had suffered from antisemitic excesses at the hands of the Latvian activists. Chief among these were the members of the *Aizsargi* paramilitary organization and the Fascist antisemitic organization called *Pērkonkrusts*, which later collaborated with the Nazis in the annihilation of the Jewish community. The *Einsatzgruppen* ("action commandos") played a leading role in the destruction of Latvian Jews, according to information given in their own reports, especially in the report of S.S.-*Brigadefuehrer* (General) Stahlecker, the commander of *Einsatzgruppe* A, whose unit operated on the northern Russian front and in the occupied Baltic republics. His account covers the period from the end of June up to Oct. 15, 1941. At the instigation of the *Einsatzgruppe*, the Latvian auxiliary police carried out a pogrom against the Jews in Riga. All synagogues were destroyed and 400 Jews were killed. According to Stahlecker's report, the number of Jews killed in mass executions by *Einsatzgruppe A* by the end of October 1941 in Riga, Jelgava (Mitau), Liepaja, Valmiera, and Daugavpils totaled 30,025, and by the end of December 1941, 35,238 Latvian Jews had been killed; 2,500 Jews remained in the Riga ghetto and 950 in the Daugavpils ghetto. At the end of 1941 and the beginning of 1942, Jews deported from Germany, Austria, Czechoslovakia, and other German-occupied countries began arriving in Latvia. Some 15,000 "Reich Jews" were settled in several streets of the liquidated "greater Riga ghetto." Many transports were taken straight from the Riga railroad station to execution sites in the Rumbuli and Bikernieks forests near Riga, and elsewhere. In 1942 about 800 Jews from Kaunas ghetto were brought to Riga and some of them participated in the underground organization in the Riga ghetto.

The German occupying power in Latvia also kept Jews in "barracks camps," i.e., near their places of forced labor. A considerable number of such camps were located in the Riga area and other localities. Larger concentrations camps included those at Salaspils and Kaiserwald (Meza Parks). The Salaspils concentration camp, set up at the end of 1941, contained thousands of people, including many Latvian and foreign Jews. Conditions in this camp, one of the worst in Latvia, led to heavy loss of life among the inmates. The Kaiserwald concentration camp, established in the summer of 1943, contained the Jewish survivors from the ghettos of Riga, Daugavpils, Liepaja, and other places, as well as non-Jews. At the end of September 1943 Jews from the liquidated Vilna ghetto were also taken to Kaiserwald. When the Soviet victories in the summer of 1944 forced a German retreat from the Baltic states, the surviving inmates of the Kaiserwald camp were deported by the Germans to *Stutthof concentration camp near Danzig, and from there were sent to various other camps.

WAR CRIMES TRIALS. On April 7, 1945, the Soviet press published the "Declaration of the Special Government Commission charged with the inquiry into the crimes committed by the German-Fascist aggressors during their occupation of the Latvian Socialist Soviet Republic." This document devotes a chapter to the persecution and murder of Jews. The declaration lists Nazis held responsible for the crimes committed in Latvia under German occupation. They include Lohse, the Reich commissioner for Ostland; P. Jeckeln, chief of police for Ostland; Drexler, commissioner general for Latvia; Lange, chief of Gestapo; Krause, chief of the Riga ghetto and commandant of the Salaspils concentration camp; Sauer, commandant of the Kaiserwald concentration camp; and several dozen other Nazi criminals involved in the destruction of Latvian Jewry. On Jan. 26, 1946, the war tribunal of the Riga military district began a trial of a group of Nazi war criminals, among them Jeckeln, one of the men responsible for the mass *Aktion* on the Riga ghetto at the end of 1941. He and six others were sentenced to death by hanging; the sentence was carried out in Riga on Feb. 3, 1946. Other trials were held in Soviet Latvia after the liberation, but altogether only a small number of Germans and Latvians who had taken part in the murder of Latvian Jewry were brought to justice.

Latvians of varying backgrounds also took an active part in the persecution and murder of the Jews in the country outside Latvia. At the time of the German retreat in the summer of 1944, many of these collaborators fled to Germany. After the war, as assumed *Displaced Persons, they received aid from UNRRA, from the International Refugee Organization (IRO), and other relief organizations for Nazi victims, and some of them immigrated to the U.S. and other countries abroad. Nevertheless a few Latvians risked their lives in order to save Jews. One such, Jan Lipke, helped to save several dozen Jews of the Riga ghetto by providing them with hideouts.

After the Liberation

About 1,000 Latvian Jews survived their internment in concentration camps; most of them refused repatriation and remained in the Displaced Persons camps in Germany, Austria, and Italy. Along with the rest of the survivors they eventually settled in new homes, mostly in Israel. In Latvia itself, several hundred Jews had somehow managed to survive. A public demonstration was held in Riga a few days after its liberation, in which 60 or 70 of the surviving Jews participated. Gradually, some of the Jews who had found refuge in the Soviet Union came back. Several thousand Latvian Jews had fought in the Soviet army's Latvian division, the 201st (43rd Guard) and 304th, and many were killed or wounded in battle, while a considerable number had earned military awards for bravery at the front.

According to the population census taken in the Soviet Union in 1959, there were 36,592 Jews (17,096 men and 19,496 women; 1.75% of the total population) in the Latvian S.S.R. It may be assumed that about 10,000 of them were natives, including Jewish refugees who returned to their former residences from the interior of Russia, while the remainder came from other parts of the Soviet Union. About 48% of the Jews declared Yiddish as their mother tongue. The others mainly declared Russian as their language, while only a few hundred described themselves as Lettish-speaking. Of the total, 30,267 Jews (5/6) lived in Riga. The others lived in Daugavpils and other towns. According to private estimates, the Jews of Latvia in 1970 numbered about 50,000. The overwhelming majority of them lived in Riga, the capital. Riga became one of the leading centers of national agitation among the Jews of the Soviet Union.

[Joseph Gar]

Developments 1970–1991

Latvia regained its independence in 1991. The Jewish population of Latvia declined from 28,300 in 1979 to 22,900 in 1989, when 18,800 of its Jews lived in the capital Riga. In 1988–89 the Jewish birth rate was 7.0 per 1,000 and the Jewish mortality rate – 18.3 per 1,000. The rate of intermarriage is high. In 1987, 39.7% of children born of Jewish mothers had non-Jewish fathers. A large percentage of the Jewish population in Latvia is composed of post-war immigrants from other republics of the USSR. According to legislation passed by the newly independent country, these new Latvian Jews do not have an automatic right of citizenship as do ethnic Latvians.

In 1989, 1,588 Jews emigrated from Latvia (1,536 of them from Riga). In 1990, 3,388 Jews immigrated to Israel (2,837 of them from Riga). The number of immigrants to Israel from Riga in 1991 was 1,087.

While striving toward independence the Latvian national movement sought to make common cause with the Jews in the republic. July 4 was established in Latvia as a memorial day for the victims of the Holocaust.

Many Jewish organizations are operating in the country. The elite of the Jewish intelligentsia is not involved in Jewish communal life. In 1992 there was a perceptible increase in antisemitism.

[Michael Beizer]

In Independent Latvia

On June 11–17, 1993, the First World Congress of Latvian Jews was held in Riga. It was attended by delegates from Israel, the U.S., Sweden, Switzerland, Germany, Britain, South Africa, and Australia.

Two desecrations of Holocaust memorials, in Jelgava and in the Bikernieki Forest, took place in 1993. The delegates of the World Congress of Latvian Jews who came to Bikernieki to commemorate the 46,500 Latvian Jews shot there, were shocked by the sight of swastikas and the word "*Judenfrei*" daubed on the memorial. Articles of antisemitic content appeared in the Latvian nationalist press. The main topics of these articles were the collaboration of Jews with the Communists in the Soviet period, Jews tarnishing Latvia's good name in the West, and Jewish businessmen striving to control the Latvian economy. A dangerous phenomenon in the country is the continuing whitewashing of the collaboration of some Latvians with the Nazis during World War II, including complicity in the annihilation of Jews.

In the early 2000s, after the mass emigration of the 1990s, around 9,000 Jews remained in Latvia, mostly in Riga, where an Ohr Avner Chabad school was in operation. Ohel Menachem also operated a day school, as well as a kindergarten, and a synagogue was active.

[Daniel Romanowski]

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LATZKY-BERTHOLDI, JACOB ZE'EV WOLF (Wilhelm; 1881–1940), journalist and Socialist leader, born in Kiev and educated in Riga. After being expelled from the Riga Polytechnicum in 1901 for his political activities, he went to Berlin, where he founded Ḥerut ("Liberty"), a Zionist-Socialist group, with Nachman *Syrkin. Back in Russia, he co-founded the *Vozrozhdeniye group in Kiev (1903) and was co-founder and ideologist of the *Jewish Socialist Workers' Party in that city. He visited New York in 1908. He contributed to the party newspapers, *Yidisher Proletarier*, *Unzer Veg*, and *Fraynd*. While in Vienna he wrote for *Dos Yidishe Frayland*, *Neue Nationalzeitung*, and *Oesterreichisches Wochenblatt*. In 1917 he was a co-founder and leader of the *Folkspartei, and in 1918 was appointed minister for Jewish affairs in the government of independent Ukraine. In 1920 he settled in Berlin. From 1923 to 1925 he visited the Jewish settlements in South America on behalf of the World Jewish Aid Conference and "Emigdirect" in search of possibilities for emigration and colonization. Later he published a book on the subject, *Di Aynvanderung in di Yidishe Yishuvim in Dorem Amerike* (1926). Returning to Riga in 1925, he edited the dailies *Dos Folk* and *Frimorgn*. He published *Erd-Gayst*, a collection of essays on Jewish culture, history, sociology, and art (1918; a second edition, 1932). His Yiddish translation of Nathan *Hannover's *Yeven Meẓulah* with an introduction was published in 1938. Latzky-Bertholdi settled in Ereẓ Israel in 1935; there he joined *Mapai and contributed to *Ha-Po'el ha-Ẓa'ir*, *Moznayim*, and *Bamah*. His library is in Kefar Giladi.

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[Mendel Bobe]

LAU, ISRAEL MEIR (1937–), formerly Ashkenazi chief rabbi of Israel, since 2005 Chief Rabbi of Tel-Aviv. Born in Piotrkow, Poland, Lau is a member of a rabbinic family, descendants of Meir ben Isaac *Katzenellenbogen, the Maharam of Padua. His father, Rabbi Moshe Ḥayyim Lau, who perished in Treblinka, was the last rabbi of Piotrkow. Lau is a 37th generation rabbi in his family.

As a young child Israel Lau experienced the Holocaust in the Piotrkow ghetto, the Czestochowa work camp, and the Buchenwald concentration camp from which he was liberated at the end of the war, in 1945, with his brother Naftali. In the summer of 1945, he was brought to Palestine by Youth Aliyah on a ship of child Holocaust survivors.

He lived with his uncle, Mordechai Fogelman, the rabbi of Kiryat Motzkin, near Haifa, until the age of 13 and then spent many years studying in yeshivot in Jerusalem, Bene Berak, and elsewhere in Israel. He was ordained as a rabbi in 1960 and served as a congregational rabbi in Tel Aviv for 11 years, after which he was appointed regional Tel Aviv rabbi. In 1979 he became chief rabbi of Netanyah where, among other communal and educational activities, he founded the Ohel Mosheh yeshivah in his father's memory.

From 1983 he served on the council of the Chief Rabbinate, and in 1988 he was chosen chief rabbi of Tel Aviv. In March 1993 he was elected chief Ashkenazi rabbi of Israel. He served until April 2003. In 2005, he was again appointed chief rabbi of Tel Aviv-Jaffa. Throughout his rabbinic career Lau has been active in communal affairs and has been a spokesman for the observant community, commenting on a wide variety of subjects. When Pope John Paul II made his unprecedented apology for the sins of the Roman Catholic Church against the Jews in 2000, Lau expressed his disappointment that the pope did not mention the slaughter of millions of Jews by the Nazis during World War II. Nevertheless, in that same year, Lau attended a United Nations "Millennium World Peace Summit of Religious and Spiritual Leaders." In 2001, when then Israeli prime minister, Ehud Barak, offered Yasser Arafat sovereignty over the Temple Mount, Lau stated that "there is no mandate for concessions on the Temple Mount, not for the government, not for the rabbinate, not for anyone. Conceding the Temple Mount is like denying our historic and biblical right to all of the Land of Israel" (*Jerusalem Report*, January 15, 2001). In 2004, Lau proclaimed that the end was near for European Jewry, given the dwindling European Jewish population and the rise in antisemitism. In September 2005, Lau was one of those who officiated at the reburial of those interred in the *Gush Katif cemetery. Accompanied by tens of thousands of people, Lau led the reburial ceremony on the Mount of Olives, the result of the disengagement from Gaza (the removal of Jewish settlers from their homes there in August 2005).

In 1978 he published *Yahadut Halakhah le-Ma'aseh* (German edition, 1988; English edition, 1997). In 1993, he published *Ḥag Matan Torah*, insights into the holiday of Shavuot. In 1994, Lau issued a two-volume set of responsa, *Sefer Yaḥel Yisra'el*. He published his commentary on the Passover *Haggadah* in 2002 and his autobiography, *Al Tishlaḥ Yadkha el ha-Na'ar*, in 2005.

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[David Derovan (2nd ed.)]

LAUB, GABRIEL (1928–1998), Czech writer of aphorisms and humorous and satirical stories, journalist, and translator. Born in Bochnia, Poland, Laub and his family fled to the Soviet Union to escape the approaching Germans. He went to Prague in 1946, where he graduated from the Faculty of Journalism. Until 1968 he worked as a journalist and editor of literary magazines. After the occupation of Czechoslovakia, he went to Germany, where he worked as a journalist and later as a writer. His *Zkušenosti* ("Experiences," 1967) was published in Czechoslovakia; his other books were first published abroad. These include *Největší proces dějin* ("The Greatest Trial of History," 1972, 1991); *Leman Tehillah, Nashim ve-Behemot* (1979); *Denken verdirbt den Charakter* (1984); *Myšlení kazí charakter* (1991); and two dozen other books in Czech, German, and Hebrew. His book *Ein Lächeln zwischen den Zeilen* was published after his death.

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[Milos Pojar (2nd ed.)]

LAUDANUM (Heb. לוֹט, AV, "myrrh"), one of the spices which the Ishmaelite caravan carried from Gilead to Egypt (Gen. 37:25). It is also included among the "choice fruits of the land" sent by Jacob to the ruler of Egypt (*ibid.* 43:11). *Onkelos translates *lot* by *letom*, included in the Mishnah among spicery growing in Israel which is subject to the law of the Sabbatical year (Shev. 7:6). In the Midrash the *lot* sent by Jacob is identified with mastic, but it appears rather to be identifiable with the aromatic sap of plants of the genus *Cistus*, called in Akkadian *luttu* or *ladanu*, in Greek Λῆδον or Λήδανον, and in Latin *laudanum*. The main species of *Cistus* providing the aromatic sap are *Cistus laudaniferus* and *Cistus creticus*, which are lowly shrubs growing wild in Asia Minor, Crete, and Cyprus. Some scholars list the latter species as growing wild in Gilead. In Israel two species grow, the *Cistus villosus*, the rockrose, whose rose-like flowers are pink, and the *Cistus salvifolius*, with white flowers, which beautify the woods of Israel. No attempt has been made to extract laudanum from its sap.

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[Jehuda Feliks]

LAUDER, ESTÉE MENTZER (1907–2004), cosmetics entrepreneur. Lauder was born Josephine Esther Mentzer in Corona, Queens, New York. Her mother, Rose Schotz Rosenthal Mentzer, a Hungarian-born widow with six children, married Max Mentzer, ten years her junior; Estée was the youngest of the Mentzer children who grew up as Jews in a mostly Italian neighborhood. She married Joseph Lauter in 1930; the couple, who divorced in 1939 and remarried in 1942, became close partners in Lauder's cosmetic empire; they had two sons, Leonard (1933) and Ronald (1944). Lauder, who changed the spelling of her name in 1937, learned to create face creams from her maternal uncle, John Shotz, a chemist, and eventually began marketing her improved versions under her own name. Estée Lauder believed in selling her cosmetics at the finest department stores in the United States and abroad; by 1985, half of Estée Lauder and related product sales were in 75 foreign countries. Lauder trained the saleswomen who demonstrated and sold her products and pioneered giveaway promotions, always including lipstick in the gift package of samples. She also invested in marketing, using beautiful models to advertise her cosmetic lines. In 1953 she launched another phase of her business with Youth Dew, bath oil with a scent that could be used as a perfume, and the first of a number of fragrances. She created a men's line in 1965 and, after extensive medical testing, launched the fragrance-free Clinique line. In addition to numerous awards in the cosmetics industry and in fashion, Lauder received the French government's Insignia of Chevalier of the Legion of Honor in 1978 and the Albert Einstein College of Medicine Spirit of Achievement Award in 1968. In 1970 she was recognized by 575 business and financial editors as one of ten Outstanding Women in Business. She published her autobiography, *Estée: A Success Story*, in 1985. Lauder was a philanthropist, contributing to National Cancer Care and to the Manhattan League; the Lauder Foundation has given huge sums of money to Jewish and Zionist causes. Her son LEONARD (1933–) became chairman of the board of the Estée Lauder Companies Inc. Lauder has been an active participant in the worlds of education, art, politics, and philanthropy. He had a long association with the Whitney Museum of American Art; he also served as president of its board. For Ronald *Lauder, see following entry.

[Sara Alpern (2nd ed.)]

LAUDER, RONALD (1944–). U.S. cosmetics entrepreneur and philanthropist; son of Estée *Lauder. Lauder established the Joseph H. Lauder Institute of Management and International Studies at the University of Pennsylvania. A partner in the Estée Lauder Companies Inc. and chairman of Clinique Laboratories Inc., he was president of the Jewish National Fund, chairman of the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations, chairman of the Jewish Heritage Council, and chairman of the Museum of Modern Art, as well as a member of the International Board of Governors of the Tel Aviv Museum, in addition to substantive involvement in many other organizations. In 1987, following his service as

United States ambassador to Austria, he founded the Ronald S. Lauder Foundation which has focused on Jewish education and outreach programs, and support of Jewish schools, camps, and community centers, in Austria, Belarus, Bulgaria, the Czech Republic, Germany, Hungary, Poland, Romania, Slovakia, and Ukraine.

LAUFBAHN, YITSHAK (1888–1948), editor, author, publicist, and translator. Born to a rabbinical family in Dembica, Galicia, Laufbahn had a traditional Jewish education and excelled in biblical studies. A Zionist from his youth, he went to Palestine in 1908, worked for a while in agriculture, then moved to Jerusalem and was an assistant in the newspaper *Ha-Ẓevi*. From 1914 he edited with Joseph Aharonovitch *Ha-Po'el ha-Ẓa'ir* and when the latter was banished to Egypt, Laufbahn replaced him as editor. Laufbahn was active both in the organization of the *yishuv* and in its institutions; he played an important part in *Ha-Po'el ha-Ẓa'ir* and later in Mapai, the Israel labor party. In 1921 he was sent to Poland to carry out educational work with youth. In Warsaw he edited the Yiddish journal *Folk un Land* and in Berlin the *Arbeters-Folk*. In 1923 Laufbahn became editor of *Ha-Po'el ha-Ẓa'ir*, a position he held until his death.

His works include *Anshei Segullah* (essays, edited by I. Cohen, 1948); *Mivḥar Kitvei Y. Laufbahn* (selected writings, edited by N. Tradion, 1954); and he edited *Devarim*, the selected speeches of Chaim Weizmann (1934).

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[Israel Cohen]

LAUINGEN, town in Bavaria, Germany. The earliest documentary evidence for the presence of Jews in Lauingen dates from 1293. The Jewish settlement suffered during the *Rindfleisch persecutions (1298). A Jewish community is again recorded in 1324, but it was probably annihilated during the *Black Death persecutions of 1348/49. In 1367 the town received the privilege of accepting Jews and the subsequent community had strong commercial ties with *Augsburg. The municipal hospital mortuary was a synagogue before 1417 and bore a Hebrew inscription. In the 16th and 17th centuries numerous regulations against Jewish merchants were formulated. Although the estates resolved on the expulsion of the Jews in 1553, the measure was not enacted until 1577. Thereafter Jews were allowed into the town only to trade in the markets and for this they received special permits. By 1630, however, a community had again been formed. Expulsion of the 55-member community (including a doctor, rabbi, and teacher) was narrowly averted in 1635, thanks to the protection of the duke of Palatinate-Neuburg, Wolfgang Wilhelm. On his death (1653) they were expelled by popular demand, and the community was never reestablished, though some Jews continued to reside in the duchy (in spite of the general expulsion of 1671).

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LAURA AND ALVIN SIEGAL COLLEGE OF JUDAIC STUDIES, institution of higher Jewish learning in Beachwood, Ohio, a suburb of Cleveland. Siegal College grants bachelor's and master's degrees in Judaic studies and is accredited by the Higher Learning Commission of the North Central Association of Colleges and Schools. It is authorized by the Ohio Board of Regents, the Florida Commission for Independent Education, the Georgia Nonpublic Postsecondary Commission, the Kansas Board of Regents, and the Texas Higher Education Coordinating Board. The school has its origins in two separate teachers' institutions founded in the 1920s, the Jewish Teachers Institute and the Beth Midrash L'Morim (Hebrew Teacher Training School), which merged in 1947 to form the Cleveland Institute of Jewish Studies under the auspices of the Cleveland Board of Jewish Education. Largely through the initiative of educator Rebecca Aronson Brickner, the school became known as the Cleveland College of Jewish Studies in 1963, and also became an independent institution. Its name changed to the Laura and Alvin Siegal College in 2002 as a result of a generous donation from that family. The college also receives financial support from the Jewish Community Federation of Cleveland.

Undergraduates major in Judaic studies while earning general education credits at various colleges and universities in the Cleveland metropolitan area. Area colleges also have cooperative arrangements in which students may earn Judaic studies credits at Siegal. Graduate students can receive master's degrees in classical Jewish studies or in Jewish education. There are programs to educate teachers for all kinds of Jewish schools as well as classes to update and improve the skills of teachers already in the field. Siegal College also operates Akiva High School, a community-wide supplementary school for teenagers, and provides an extensive continuing adult education program for the community. The school's distance learning program reaches beyond the Cleveland metropolitan area with cooperative programs currently operating in Houston, Dallas, Miami, West Palm Beach, Milwaukee, Denver, Atlanta, Birmingham, and Kansas City. The Aaron Garber Library, named for a founder of *talmud torah* education in Cleveland, is the largest Judaica library in the Cleveland metropolitan area.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: MS. 4826 Cleveland College of Jewish Studies, Western Reserve Historical Society, Cleveland, Ohio. **WEBSITE**: www.siegalcollege.edu.

LAUREN, RALPH (1939–), U.S. fashion designer. Although he was born and raised among middle-class Jewish families in the Bronx, Lauren became closely linked to two themes far removed from his urban background: patrician England and the rugged American West. His signature "looks" grew into a $10 billion global brand for apparel and accessories, fragrances and home products. Born Ralph Lifshitz, he was raised in the same neighborhood as Calvin *Klein, with whom an intense rivalry would develop. His parents, Frank and Frieda Lifshitz, were East Europeans who settled in the U.S. in 1920. Largely through the influence of his mother, whose antecedents included a long line of rabbis, his early education was a combination of the secular and religious. When he was eight, he was transferred from public school to Yeshiva Rabbi Israel Salanter, one of New York City's feeder schools to the Manhattan Talmudical Academy. Three years later, he returned to public school for two years, and then went back to Yeshiva. At 14, he entered the Talmudical Academy but transferred to a public high school a year later, ending his formal religious education. He attended City College of New York, taking business courses at night while working as an assistant buyer of men's furnishings. In 1959, he and an older brother changed their last name to Lauren because it sounded more genteel than Lifshitz and a year later he dropped out of college. By that time, the fashion esthetic that would inform his career had taken shape. He was influenced by movie stars such as Fred Astaire and Cary Grant and wore clothes that were elegant and sophisticated. He was also attracted by the mystique of the American cowboy.

Lauren was drafted into the U.S. Army Reserves in 1960. After completing his military obligation in 1963 he held a series of jobs selling gloves and ties. He married Ricky Lowbeer in 1964 while employed as a tie salesman for A. Rivetz & Co., where he began designing his own line. Lauren's ties were innovative, much wider than the prevailing versions and made in sumptuous fabrics with bold patterns. Lauren joined Beau Brummel in 1967 and soon had his own collection of ties. It was called Polo, a name that evoked an image of international glamour. The ties were spectacularly successful. In 1968, backed by a $50,000 loan, Lauren left Beau Brummel, took the Polo name with him, and opened his own business. He soon began making a complete line of men's clothing, merging classic American styling with European flair. In 1969, Polo by Ralph Lauren was established as the first designer boutique for men in Bloomingdale's in New York, the first major retailer to recognize Lauren's talent. In 1971, Lauren launched his first women's line and opened a shop in Beverly Hills, Calif., becoming the first U.S. designer with his own freestanding store. Through the 1970s, he expanded his reach into footwear and accessories, boy's wear and fragrances. In 1978, he launched his Western-wear collection and appeared in the ads for it. He pioneered the use of multipage magazine advertising, running spreads of up to 20 consecutive pages that collectively presented "the world of Ralph Lauren." His first store outside the U.S. opened in London in 1981. In 1983, the home collection was launched and in 1986, the new Lauren flagship opened in a historic remodeled mansion in Manhattan. By 2003, there were Polo Ralph Lauren stores in some 30 countries. In 1997, Polo went public. What began with 26 boxes of ties in 1967 had become a giant corporation listed on the New York Stock Exchange. Lauren himself had become a billionaire with a Fifth Avenue duplex in New York, an estate in Bedford, N.Y., a beach house on Long Island, two homes in Jamaica, and a cattle ranch in Colorado. He amassed a world-class collection of antique cars.

He won his first Coty Award for men's wear in 1970, and was inducted into the Coty Hall of Fame for men's wear in 1976 and women's wear in 1977. He is the first designer to have been given the Council of Fashion Designers of America's four highest honors – Lifetime Achievement, Designer of the Year in men's wear and in women's wear, and Retailer of the Year. He received an Honorary Doctorate of Letters from Brandeis University in 1996, the same year he was presented with the first Humanitarian Award from the Nina Hyde Center for Breast Cancer Research at Georgetown University in Washington, D.C., a facility Lauren was instrumental in establishing.

Lauren's philanthropic activities have focused on cancer care and prevention, but include artistic and cultural projects related to American history. In 1998, he donated $13 million to the Smithsonian Institution to fund preservation of the American flag that inspired "The Star Spangled Banner." The beneficiaries of the Polo Ralph Lauren Foundation include the Pink Pony Fund, established by Lauren in 2000 to support cancer care and prevention in medically underserved communities. His gift to the Lexington School/Center for the Deaf in New York in 2002 enabled it to build a performing arts center and in 2003, the Ralph Lauren Center for Cancer Care and Prevention opened in the East Harlem section of New York.

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[Mort Sheinman (2nd ed.)]

LAURENCE, WILLIAM L. (1888–1977), U.S. journalist and science writer. Born in Lithuania and educated in the U.S., Laurence became a science reporter for several leading newspapers and magazines. He joined *The New York Times* as science reporter in 1930. In 1937 he won his first Pulitzer Prize for distinguished science reporting. In April 1945 he was recruited to become the official chronicler of the development of the atom bomb. He was permitted to interview the scientists working on the Manhattan Project and to prepare the press releases when the new weapon was used. On August 6, 1945, the United States dropped an atom bomb on Hiroshima. Three days later, accompanying the U.S. bomber crew on its second mission, Laurence was on the B-29 Superfort that dropped an atom bomb on Nagasaki. The explosive energy of the bomb's active substance, wrote Laurence, was "equivalent to 20,000 and, under favorable conditions, 40,000 tons of TNT." He wrote the official eyewitness account of the bombing. Laurence won his second Pulitzer "for his eye-witness account of the atom-bombing of Nagasaki and his subsequent ten articles on the development, production, and significance of the atomic bomb." He was the only reporter to witness the atomic bomb tests in a desert in New Mexico in 1945 and was selected by the U.S. War Department to write the story of the bomb, *Dawn over Zero* (1946).

[Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

LAURENTS, ARTHUR (1918–), U.S. playwright. Laurents won the American Academy of Arts and Letters Award for his first play, *Home of the Brave* (1946), which was also filmed. He wrote the screenplays for *Rope* (1948), *Caught* (1949), *Anna Lucasta* (coauthor, 1949), and *Anastasia* (1956). His plays include *The Time of the Cuckoo* (1952), and he wrote the book for the musicals *West Side Story* (1957) and *Gypsy* (1959). His *Original Story By: A Memoir of Broadway and Hollywood* was published in 2000.

LAUSANNE, capital of canton Vaud, W. Switzerland. Jews were present in the canton of Vaud from 1278; those living in the vicinity of Lausanne suffered during the persecutions of 1348/49. The presence of Jews in Lausanne itself is first mentioned only in 1408, when several Jewish families – at first nine, then six – were authorized to settle there against payment of a regular tax. They were exempted from all other taxes and guaranteed liberty of trade, movement, and the right to practice ritual slaughter. The number had grown to 19 in 1419 when they were put under the protection of Bishop William of Challant. A Rue des Juifs is noted and a Jewish cemetery as well. The Jews left Lausanne in 1484 and are not recorded there again until the end of the 18th century. The prohibition on residence issued against the Jews was renewed in 1787. The proclamation of the Lemanic Republic, later incorporated in the Helvetian Republic (1798), opened the city to Jewish residents. Mostly Alsatian Jews conducted business in the canton. In the town of Avenches a new Jewish community was founded in 1826, with 262 heads of families (in 1870), making the Jews a seventh of the local population. In 1865 they built a synagogue and engaged a rabbi. All the Jews came from Alsace and many were horse dealers. The community dispersed after 1945, young members having moved to Lausanne and Berne. The synagogue was demolished in 1958 and a memorial erected in 1979. Also in Yverdon a small community existed between 1850 and 1980. Here Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi taught young Jews pedagogics around 1807.

The Lausanne community developed slowly, however, even though the anti-Jewish measures were rapidly abrogated. After a first attempt in 1848, an organized community was established in 1865. Jews were not admitted to full citizenship until 1891. Among the Russian Jewish students in residence at the University of Lausanne was Saul *Tchernikowsky. The synagogue was consecrated in 1912 and the first rabbi appointed in 1928. Rabbi Georges Vadnai served the community from 1940 until 1990. The Jewish population numbered, according to the census, 1,186 in 1920, 1,009 in 1933, and 1,288 in 1960. During the course of World War II the community was active in aiding refugees from Nazism. From 1948 it received Jewish refugees from Arab lands. Consequently, once a month a Sephardi service is offered. In 2000 the Jewish population of Vaud was 2,062, while the community of Lausanne numbers 608 persons and families. The rabbinate of Lausanne also covered the area of Montreux and Vevey (a separate community established in 1905), which had a variety of philanthropic organizations. In Montreux, E. Botschko (d. 1956) founded a yeshivah (Eẓ Ḥayyim) in 1927, which during World War II had as many as 120 students, and served as a refuge for many who escaped from the Nazi terror. The yeshivah attracted pupils from all over Western Europe until 1985, when it was closed and its leader, Moshe Botschko, went on *aliyah* to Jerusalem. A Jewish home for the aged with 120 places is situated in Vevey. A community council was established in 1963 to coordinate its varied cultural, religious, and educational programs. In 2003 legal state recognition of the community was achieved.

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[Simon R. Schwarzfuchs / Uri Kaufmann (2nd ed.)]

LAUTENBERG, FRANK R. (1924–), U.S. senator, philanthropist, and businessman. Lautenberg was born in Paterson, N.J., the son of Polish and Russian immigrants who came to the United States through Ellis Island. His early life was unsettled as his parents moved about a dozen times while struggling to support the family. Lautenberg's father, Sam, worked in the silk mills, sold coal, farmed, and once ran a tavern. When Lautenberg was 19, his father died of cancer. To help his family, he worked nights and weekends until he graduated from Nutley High School.

Lautenberg served in the Army Signal Corps in Europe during World War II, where he reached the rank of corporal. Following the war, he attended Columbia University on the GI Bill of Rights. It was his experience with the GI Bill of Rights that convinced Lautenberg of the efficacy of government programs, the hallmark of his liberalism.

Lautenberg worked as a marketing specialist in Henry Taub's accounting practice. Lautenberg helped the business grow by sheer salesmanship and later by strategic acquisitions, rising to president and later CEO of Automatic Data Processing, which had the unique idea of outsourcing payroll processing. Lautenberg, along with his partners, developed ADP into one of the largest computing services companies in the world, processing the payrolls of more than 100,000 companies. He rewarded his workers with a stock ownership plan and they rewarded their officers by refusing to unionize. He amassed a fortune and entered Jewish life, rising to be national chairman of the United Jewish Appeal and president of the American Friends of the Hebrew University.

Lautenberg served on the President's Commission on the Holocaust and was both a Congressional and a citizen appointee to the Holocaust Memorial Council, which oversaw the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum. Denied a Jewish education in his youth, he learned basic synagogue skills only as an adult. But his Jewish identity was central to his philanthropy as well as to his sense of self.

He served as a New York/New Jersey Port Authority commissioner (1978–82) and as a commissioner of the New

Jersey Economic Development Authority. Lautenberg, running as a Democrat for a New Jersey senatorial seat, beat veteran congresswoman Millicent Fenwick.

Over his first three terms in the U.S. Senate, Lautenberg built a solid record of accomplishment on a broad range of issues. He voted against the use of military forces in the Persian Gulf, a position that he defended even after the American victory by castigating Saudi Arabia and Kuwait for not honoring their commitments.

Lautenberg retired from the U.S. Senate in 2000 at the age of 76, a decision he later regretted. Still vigorous and an ardent skier, he missed the action of the Senate. Fate provided him with an opportunity when his fellow Democrat Robert Torricelli got caught up in a scandal and was forced to withdraw from the race. Democratic Party leaders turned to Lautenberg to preserve the seat. With his widespread name recognition and his own funding as well as assistance from the Democratic Senate Campaign Committee, he ran again and won handily, returning to the Senate after a two years' absence.

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[Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

LAUTERBACH, ASHER ZELIG (1826–1906), Galician Hebrew scholar and author. Lauterbach, born in Drohobych, studied on his own as a youth and acquired a comprehensive knowledge of Jewish and classical literature. An industrialist of independent means, he devoted much of his time to research and communal activity. Lauterbach maintained a lively correspondence with his fellow scholars and writers and wrote (over the signature זה"ל) biblical and talmudic studies for most of the Hebrew papers and periodicals of the time. Lauterbach's published works, containing to a large extent reprints of his articles, included *Ha-Nistarot ve-ha-Niglot* (1871), on superstitions and magic in Talmud and Midrash; *Minḥat Azkarah* (1889), commentary and notes on the treatise *Avot; Minḥat Erev* (with the appendix "*Nes Ḥanukkah*," 1891), a collection of eulogies; *Minḥat Kohen* (1892), part 1 on the proper names in the Bible and part 2 on the question of whether a Jew is permitted to live in Egypt; *Minḥah Ḥadashah* (1893), a Passover *Haggadah* with commentary; *Minḥah Belulah* (1902), notes on the Bible and a eulogy on his brother. His autobiography appeared in: N. Sokolow (ed.), *Sefer Zikkaron* (1889), 146–53.

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[Getzel Kressel]

LAUTERBACH, EDWARD H. (1844–1923), U.S. lawyer, business executive, and politician. Lauterbach, who was born in New York City, was admitted to the New York bar in 1866. He was president of the Baltimore and Southern Railway, organized the company which installed New York City's underground electric light and telegraph cables, and wrote one of the first regulatory laws passed by the New York State Legislature which imposed statewide standards on streetcar line operations and liabilities. Lauterbach was also active in New York State Republican Party politics for many years. He was a chairman of the committee of public charities and a longtime trustee of the Hebrew Orphan Asylum.

LAUTERBACH, JACOB ZALLEL (1873–1942), U.S. talmudic scholar. Lauterbach, who was born in Monasterzyska, Galicia, studied at the German universities of Berlin and Goettingen and at the *Rabbiner-Seminar fuer das Orthodoxe Judenthum where he was ordained. Lauterbach went to New York in 1903 to work on the staff of the *Jewish Encyclopedia*, for which he wrote 260 articles. He later contributed to J.D. Eisenstein's Hebrew encyclopedia, *Oẓar Yisrael*, and to the *Eshkol* encyclopedia. Thereafter, he served as rabbi of traditional synagogues in Peoria, Illinois, and Rochester, New York, and of the Reform congregation of Huntsville, Alabama. In 1911 he became professor of Talmud at the Hebrew Union College.

Lauterbach's critical three-volume edition of the *Mekhilta de-Rabbi Ishma'el*, with English translation (1933–49), is a model of meticulous and thorough scholarship. The rest of his learned output consisted of essays, which include an epoch-making series on the Pharisees. The first of these, "The Sadducees and the Pharisees" (1913), clarified the attitude of the two sects toward the Written and Oral Law. *Midrash and Mishnah* (1915) was Lauterbach's major contribution to the literary history of the Talmud. Several preliminary and supplementary studies on the *Mekhilta* appeared in connection with the edition mentioned above. Lauterbach was especially interested in Jewish customs and folklore, which he treated with erudition and charm in a number of essays.

He served as chairman of the Committee on Responsa of the Central Conference of American Rabbis. In this position, he wrote opinions not only on ritual questions, but on other important issues of modern Jewish life. His responsa on the ordination of women as rabbis (1922), autopsy (1925), and birth control (1927) thoroughly review and analyze traditional decisions on these subjects before presenting practical conclusions. Lauterbach emphasized the continuity of Reform Judaism with older Jewish tradition, and attempted to show that Reform can derive enrichment and guidance from the *halakhah*, even though it does not accept earlier formulations as final and irrevocable. In 1951 *Rabbinic Essays*, a collection of a number of Lauterbach's most important articles, was published by the Alumni Association of the Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion. This volume, edited by Lou H. Silberman, contains a complete bibliography of his writings. A second collection, *Studies in Jewish Law, Custom and Folklore*, appeared in 1970.

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[Bernard J. Bamberger]

LAUTERPACHT, SIR HERSCH (1897–1960), British judge of the International Court of Justice and one of the outstanding international lawyers of the 20th century. Born in Zolkiew, Galicia, Lauterpacht studied in Lvov and Vienna and in London. When he came to England in 1923 he was barely able to speak English. Nevertheless, he was appointed an assistant lecturer in law at the London School of Economics in 1927 and within five years was reader in public international law in the University of London. Lauterpacht lectured at The Hague Academy of International Law in 1930, 1934, 1937, and 1947 and from 1938 to 1955 he was professor of international law at Cambridge University. From 1955 until his death Lauterpacht was a judge of the International Court of Justice at The Hague. In this post he manifested his highly individualistic approach to international law based on the premise that moral and legal principles apply to states as much as to individuals. Lauterpacht sat in only ten cases before the court, but in eight of them he gave either a dissenting or separate opinion. He did this not so much because he objected to the views of the other judges but because he wished to clarify and develop the law rather than simply state the reasons for the court's decision. His writings reflect his preoccupation with the need to adapt international law to the international community of states. They include *The Function of Law in the International Community* (1933), a principal theoretical study of the international judicial function and its place in the settlement of international disputes; *Recognition in International Law* (1947), in which Lauterpacht argued that the recognition of one state by another state was an act of law and not of policy; *International Law and Human Rights* (1950) and *The Development of International Law by the International Court* (1958). He edited L. *Oppenheim's treatise *International Law* from 1935 to 1955, the *British Year Book of International Law* from 1944 to 1955, and the *International Law Reports* for nearly 40 years. Lauterpacht never abandoned the intellectual philosophy of continental law but nevertheless became the outstanding exponent of the common law tradition in international law. Lauterpacht was the recipient of numerous awards and was knighted in 1956. He was active in Jewish affairs from his youth when he joined the Jewish defense organization in Galicia and was first president of the World Union of Jewish Students after World War I. A staunch Zionist, he spent several months in Israel shortly before his death. His son Sir ELIHU LAUTERPACHT (1928–), also a distinguished barrister and legal scholar, was reader in international law at Cambridge University (1980–88) and director of the Research Centre for International Law at Cambridge from 1983 to 1995.

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[Israel Finestein]

LAUTMAN, DOV, Israeli industrialist. Lautman graduated with a B.Sc. in mechanical engineering from MIT, becoming chairman of the board and principal shareholder of Delta Galil Industries Ltd. He began his career with Sabrina Textiles Ltd., serving as director general from 1963 to 1967. In 1967 he was appointed director general of Gibor Textile Industries Ltd., a position he held until 1975, when he founded Delta Textiles Ltd. He also served as president of the Israel Manufacturers Association and as chairman of the Coordinating Bureau of Economic Organizations from 1986 to 1993. From 1993 to June 1995 he served as Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin's special emissary for economic development. He was the executive chairman of the Peres Center for Peace and a member of the Yitzhak Rabin Center. He was also chairman of the executive council of Tel Aviv University and a member of the board of governors of Ben-Gurion University. Lautman received the Ramniceanu Prize from Tel Aviv University for his contribution to Israel's economy; the Max Perlman Award of Excellence in Global Business Management; an award from the American-Israel Chamber of Commerce and Industry for his involvement in promoting bilateral trade and investment between the two countries; and the Chaim Herzog award for his special contribution to Arab-Jewish cooperation in Israel.

[Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

°LAVAL, PIERRE (1883–1945), French politician, deputy premier and premier in Vichy France during World War II. Born in Châteldon (Puy-de-Dôme), Laval was a militant Socialist and deputy from 1914. His views became conservative, however, and he left his party in 1924 and entered the Senate. First as premier (1931–32) and then as foreign minister (1934–35), he tried to isolate Nazi Germany and concluded a Franco-Soviet friendship treaty (1934) and a Franco-Czech treaty. He refused to apply the sanctions of the League of Nations against Italy after the invasion of Ethiopia. During the German occupation of France, Laval was deputy premier under Marshal Pétain (June 1940) and promoted active collaboration of the Vichy government with the German Nazi authorities. It has not been verified whether he personally participated in the preparation and promulgation of the first "article," which discriminated against the Jews (October 1940). Laval was removed from power in December 1940, but again became premier in April 1942 and remained in this post until the liberation of France (August 1944). In June 1942 the Germans asked for the expulsion of 100,000 Jews from France. Laval agreed to the cooperation of the police on the condition that the expulsion would be limited to "foreign" Jews, which according to him were always a source of trouble for France. He added that he was not concerned with the children of these "foreign" Jews. As a result all the "foreign" Jews were deported to death camps. On the other hand, Laval successfully prevented the annulment of French citizenship of Jews who had been naturalized as French citizens from 1927. Thus he helped to prevent their deportation.

Thousands of Jews were arrested in France and deported under the Laval government and with the collaboration of its police. He was also in favor of transferring several hundred thousand French workers to Germany, as well as establishing and recruiting the "French anti-Bolshevik Legion," which fought in German uniform on the Russian front. After fleeing to Germany and then to Spain at the time of the German retreat, Laval surrendered after the liberation to the French authorities, who brought him before a high court. Condemned to death, he was executed in Paris.

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[Lucien Lazare]

LAVI (Heb. **לָבִיא**), kibbutz in eastern Lower Galilee, Israel, 8 mi. (12 km.) W. of Tiberias, affiliated with Kibbutz Dati ha-Po'el ha-Mizrachi, founded in 1949 by pioneers from Britain and North America, and later joined by immigrants from other countries. In the Israel *War of Independence (1948) a few months before the settlers' arrival, hard battles were fought over the Arab village Lūbiyā, known for its aggressiveness in the days when *Ha-Shomer encamped at *Ilaniyyah (Sejera). West of the kibbutz, at the Golani crossroads, is a monument commemorating the fallen in the decisive battle. The kibbutz economy was based on poultry, a hotel, gardening and extermination services, a farm supply company, and Lavi Furniture Industries, specializing in the manufacture of synagogue pews. In 2002 the population was 640. In the Talmud, a roadside inn, Pundeka de-Luvya (**פונדקא דלוביא**), is reported to have stood at the site of the now abandoned Arab village (TJ, Shekalim 7, 5–50, 73; Berakhot 7–11, 73). The name Lavi, "Lioness," is the hebraized form of the Arab "Lūbiyā."

WEBSITE: www.kibbutzlavi.co.il.

[Efraim Orni]

LAVI (Levkovitz), SHELOMO (1882–1963), agricultural pioneer in Ereẓ Israel. Born in Plonsk, Russian Poland, Lavi went to Ereẓ Israel in 1905. At first he worked as a laborer in the Jewish villages in the southern part of the country. In 1909 he moved to Galilee and later worked as a watchman in Ḥaderah and Reḥovot. He conceived the idea of the "large collective" (*kevuẓah gedolah*, later called kibbutz), which would combine agriculture, crafts, and industry and would be capable of absorbing new immigrants lacking agricultural training and experience. This system would reduce the investment necessary for establishing the settlement and would avoid the use of hired labor. In 1920 Lavi organized a group of laborers as part of *Gedud ha-Avodah to establish the first "large collective" in the Jezreel Valley. This led to the foundation in 1921 of *En-Harod and *Tel Yosef, originally one settlement, which was the first example of the kibbutz as distinguished from the kevuẓah. Two years later the Gedud ha-Avodah split: Tel Yosef became independent, while Lavi and his supporters remained in En-Harod, which they transformed into a center for similar kibbutzim based on the combination of agriculture and industry.

Lavi was a leader of *Mapai, serving on many national bodies. At the age of 60, during World War II, he volunteered for service with a Jewish unit in the British army. He wrote articles in a biting, original manner, as well as stories and ideological essays. A number of his articles were published in his *Ketavim Nivḥarim* ("Selected Writings," 1944); the history of En-Harod is outlined in his *Megillat Ein Ḥarod* (1947); and he also published an autobiographical novel entitled *Aliyyato shel Shalom Layish* (1956). He was a member of the First and Second *Knesset. Through all the years of his membership in the kibbutz he continued to work the fields and to do all kinds of manual work, undeterred by his public and literary occupations. Both his sons fell in the *War of Independence (1948). They both left writings published in *Gevilei Esh* edited by R. Avinoam (n.d.), 464–74; 583f.

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[*Encycylopaedia Hebraica*]

LAVI (Loewenstein), THEODOR (1905–1983), Romanian historian, educator, publicist, Zionist leader. Born in Turnu-Severin, he received his Ph.D. from the University of Bucharest with a thesis influenced by Sigmund Freud. He became a high-school teacher and principal and later (1942–44) taught pedagogics at a Jewish seminary. He was active in the Zionist movement from 1920. In 1923–33 he edited the publication *Hasmonea*, published by the Association of Zionist Students of Romania. In 1941 he became a member of the Zionist Executive and director of its cultural-educational section. In 1942 he became director of the Department of Schools, Culture, and Physical Education of the Jews' Central, his efforts directed toward the foundation of Jewish schools of all levels. In 1945 he was a leader of the Zionist Socialist Organization "Ichud," once again director of the cultural-educational section of the Zionist Executive of Romania, and founded its publishing house Bicurim. After the banning of Zionist activity in Romania Loewenstein was imprisoned in 1950 because of his Zionist activities. He was released five years later and went to Israel, where he continued his historical research at *Yad Vashem, and specialized in the history of Romanian Jewry during the Holocaust (*Yahadut Romanyah be-Ma'avak al Hazzalatah*, 1965). He wrote on history and education in a number of journals, Jewish as well as non-Jewish. His books include *S. Freud și psihoanaliza* ("S. Freud and Psychoanalysis," 1935); *Istoria sionismului* ("The History of Zionism," 1934, 1945^{2}); *Trumpeldor* – letters, with an introductory biography; *Herzl* (1945); and *Nu a fost pisica neagra* (memoirs, 1979). He was the *Encyclopaedia Judaica* (first edition) departmental editor on the history of Jews in Romania, editor of *Pinkas ha-Kehillot Romanyah* (1969–80), and of the bilingual Romanian-Hebrew historical review *Toladot* (1972–77). In 1971 he founded the Niemirower Institute, which later became the Center for Research of Romanian Jewry at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem.

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[Abraham Feller / Lucian-Zeev Herşcovici (2nd ed.)]

LAVIE, RAFFI (1937–), Israeli painter. Born in Israel, Lavie was attracted as a child to the music world and wanted to become a musician. Around the age of 16 it became clear to him that he had nothing to say through music. Slowly he prepared himself to become a painter, though music remained the great love of his life. Lavie characterized himself as an autodidact, though his artistic education started in 1954 with the painter Ludwig Mos. Later he studied at the College for Art Teachers in Ramat ha-Sharon, the same institute where he would teach for a long time and through his charisma influence many young Israeli artists.

In 1965 Lavie was a central figure in the creation of the Ten Plus artists group. The purpose of the group was to achieve pluralism in the field of art. By giving all types of art a chance to be exhibited they fought against the conservative art establishment. They favored mutual cooperation while respecting the uniqueness of each of the group's members.

Lavie's style is very problematic and far from being understood. More than with any other Israeli abstract artist Lavie's art provokes anger in the observer. His Abstract–Infantile style was identified with the Israeli artistic style of the 1960s and 1970s labeled "The Want of Matter." It was typical to the native-born *sabra* in its simplicity and crudeness and in keeping with the meagerness of materials in the modern city of Tel Aviv, especially compared with Europe and its traditional art. The materials used by Lavie were plywood, pencil, acrylic, and rifts of newspaper (*Open Day*, 1983, Israel Museum, Jerusalem). Despite the Modern style a closer look at Lavie's paintings reveals a traditional assembly of subjects: landscape, seascape, still life, human figures, portraits, plants and animals, all scribbled and glued in his works.

Lavie's art produced a unique language. The observer had to learn the meanings of the signs and the method of reading them in the same way that he read the written words that Lavie integrated in his pictures. Over the years art critics recognized the symbols in Lavie's art and explained them to the public. Although the painting seems spontaneous the delicate nuances indicate complex meanings. All his symbols were influenced by the masters of Western Europe and Israel, such as Cezanne and Arie *Aroch (*Shulhan Aroch*, 2001, collection of Oli Alter, Tel Aviv).

In 2003 Lavie's art was presented at a retrospective exhibition in the Israel Museum.

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[Ronit Steinberg (2nd ed.)]

LAVIN, LINDA (1937–), U.S. actress. Lavin appeared in a community production of *Alice in Wonderland* in her birthplace, Portland, Me., at the age of five and studied piano for ten years under the eye of her stage mother. She majored in theater arts at William and Mary College and then embarked on summer stock in New Jersey. She made her Off Broadway debut in a revival of *Oh, Kay* (1960) and had a succession of roles in several Broadway musicals. She earned her first Tony nomination for her role in Neil *Simon's *Last of the Red Hot Lovers* (1969). After moving to Hollywood, she appeared on the hit comedy series *Barney Miller* and then got the role of Alice the waitress in the situation comedy *Alice*, which ran from 1976 to 1985. The part in the show, loosely based on the 1975 film *Alice Doesn't Live Here Anymore*, earned her two Golden Globe awards and an Emmy nomination. In 1987, returning to the Broadway stage, she won a Tony award for *Broadway Bound*, another Simon vehicle. She earned two other Tony nominations, for her starring role in *Gypsy* and in *The Sisters Rosensweig*. As an actor, producer, and executive producer, Lavin has been involved in more than two dozen films.

[Stewart Kampel (2nd ed.)]

LAVON (Lubianiker), PINḤAS (1904–1976), Israeli labor leader and politician, member of the First to Fourth Knessets. Born in Kopychintsy in East Galicia, Lavon completed his law studies at Lvov University. At first he was active in *Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir, but in the 1920s he was one of the founders of the pioneering youth movement *Gordonia in Galicia and Poland, contributing to its ideological, educational, and political programs. In 1929 he settled in Palestine with the first Gordonia group, which established itself in kibbutz Ḥuldah, renewing the settlement that had been destroyed in the 1929 disturbances. While in Ḥuldah Lavon became active in the labor movement and in the *Histadrut. He played a leading role in transforming Ḥever ha-Kevuẓot into a well-organized federation of kibbutzim (see *Kibbutz Movement) and initiated its merger with Gordonia. He soon became the acknowledged spokesman of the new organization, and advocated the unification of the entire kibbutz movement. In 1938–39 Lavon and Yitzhak *Ben-Aharon were joint secretaries of *Mapai. In 1942 he was elected to the Histadrut Executive, and in 1949 was elected its secretary general. He was instrumental in bringing the Teachers' Union into the Histadrut and the religious workers' movements into its trade union framework. He also initiated Histadrut housing projects for workers.

Lavon was elected to the First Knesset on the Mapai list in 1949, and remained a member of the Knesset until 1961. He served as minister of agriculture in the years 1950–51. In 1951–54 he was minister without portfolio, and following Ben-

Gurion's temporary retirement in 1954–55 he served in the government of Moshe *Sharett as minister of defense. While he was minister of defense Israel's Air Force and paratroop units were upgraded, and Israel started the large-scale purchase of arms from France. Disagreements developed, however, between Sharett and Lavon over defense policy, with the prime minister complaining that he was not consulted in advance about reprisal attacks across the borders. Then came the *Essek Bish* ("the bad business"), later known as the *Lavon Affair, which resulted in Lavon's resignation from the ministry of defense and the return of David *Ben-Gurion to the government.

In 1956 Lavon was reelected secretary general of the Histadrut, remaining in that post until 1961. In this capacity he was involved in the separation of *Solel Boneh from the Koor holding company and other organizational changes. In 1961 he was removed from this post as a consequence of the struggle initiated by Ben-Gurion around the Lavon Affair. He was not included in Mapai's list for the elections to the Fifth Knesset in 1961; Lavon's supporters joined forces in a group within Mapai called Min ha-Yesod that existed for several years. Attempts in 1964 to rehabilitate Lavon, encouraged by Prime Minister Levi *Eshkol, failed due to opposition by Ben-Gurion. Lavon then retired from public life. He was considered a brilliant writer and speaker within the labor movement in Israel and, before the outbreak of the Affair, was viewed by many as a possible heir to Ben-Gurion.

He published numerous articles, which have been collected in *Yesodot* (1941), *Arakhim u-Temurot* (1959), *Ba-Vikku'aḥ ha-Medini* (1945), *Bi-Netivei Iyyun u-Ma'avak* (1968), and *Al Arakhim u-Nekhasim* (ed. A. Maniv, 1986).

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[Susan Hattis Rolef (2nd ed.)]

LAVON AFFAIR, THE. The "Lavon Affair" began with a security mishap, which was at first referred to as the "*esek bish*" ("the bad business"). At the beginning of July 1954, an Israel-initiated intelligence operation in *Egypt, involving a plan to plant bombs in several movie houses, post offices, and the American Cultural Centers in Cairo and Alexandria, which was intended to sabotage negotiations between Egypt and Great Britain regarding the British withdrawal from the Suez Canal, failed. Eleven Egyptian Jews, who had served as Israeli agents, were caught and tried in Cairo. In January 1955 two of them were sentenced to death and executed, two were released for lack of evidence, and the rest received sentences of seven years to life imprisonment, and this despite a reported promise by Egyptian President Gamal Abdel Nasser that the sentences would not be heavy. Israel refused to officially admit any connection to the botched operation and, consequently, did nothing to assist the 11, believing that they would receive light sentences (see *Marzouk, Moshe). The main question raised at the time in Israel was whether it had been Minister of Defense Pinhas *Lavon, or the officer in charge of Intelligence Operations – Colonel Binyamin Givli – who had given the order to carry out the ill-conceived operation, of which Prime Minister Moshe *Sharett had not been informed. To the present day there is no clear answer to this question. But what is clear is that for nearly a decade Israeli politics were deeply affected by the affair's ramifications, especially since David *Ben-Gurion, who had been in semi-retirement in Sedeh Boker when it occurred, would not let it die. The then-chief of staff, Moshe *Dayan, claimed that it had been Lavon who had given the order, but others argued otherwise.

Soon after the trials in Egypt, a committee made up of Supreme Court Justice Isaac *Olshan and Israel's first chief of staff, Ya'akov *Dori, was appointed by Sharett to investigate the matter but was unable to reach any clear-cut conclusions. Nevertheless, Lavon was forced to resign as minister of defense, and David Ben-Gurion assumed the post under Sharett on February 21, 1955. Binyamin Givli was removed from Intelligence Operations.

In 1957 an investigation began against an Israeli spy who had been in charge of the network in Egypt, on charges that had little to do with the Egyptian operation. At the time he was referred to as "the third man," who was later revealed to be Avri Elad. In the course of his secret trial, the full details of which are still unpublished, Elad admitted to having committed perjury and giving false information to the Olshan-Dori Committee at Givli's behest. Further evidence about the forging of a key document was given by Givli's secretary at the time, Dalia Carmel, who had played an active role in the forgery. In August 1960 Elad was sentenced to 12 years' imprisonment on charges of illegally holding secret documents.

In 1958 a secret committee of inquiry was set up by the IDF to look into all the evidence, but even though it established that documents had been forged and perjury had been committed, no measures were taken against those involved. In May 1960, Lavon spoke to David Ben-Gurion, who asked his aide-de-camp to look into the matter, and the latter returned with the same information: that indeed documents had been forged. A committee, headed by Supreme Court Justice Haim *Cohn was appointed in September 1960, on Ben-Gurion's orders, to inquire into the allegations against Givli. The Cohn Committee Report, published in part on October 23, 1960, resulted in Givli's resignation from active military service. The attorney general, Gideon *Hausner, recommended that an investigation take place to determine whether anyone should be put on trial, but the Mapai leadership was not interested in a trial. Though the press at the time was full of partial information regarding the affair, most of the actors remained unnamed, except for Lavon himself.

Lavon felt that the Committee's Report exonerated him from the suspicions that it was he who had given the order, but Ben-Gurion refused to clear his name, convinced that Lavon was lying. Lavon was not, however, short of supporters.

These included Golda *Meir, Pinḥas *Sapir, Zalman *Aranne, and Mordekhai *Namir, while Sharett, even though he was not close to Lavon, actually announced that the Cohn Committee Report had exonerated him.

Ben-Gurion convinced Givli to demand of the chief of staff, Ḥayyim *Laskov, that a judicial committee of inquiry be established to investigate the responsibility for what had happened in Egypt, and Lavon insisted that the issue be raised in the Knesset Foreign Affairs and Defense Committee. Contrary to Ben-Gurion's wishes the government decided on October 30, upon a proposal by Minister of Justice Pinḥas *Rosen, and with the concurrence of Minister of Finance Levi *Eshkol, to set up yet another committee, made up of seven ministers, headed by Rosen, to review the issue. Though the committee heard witnesses, it did not have the power to subpoena any. In his testimony before the committee, Lavon alleged that at the time of the Olshan-Dori inquiry officials in the Ministry of Defense had conspired against him, and accused Shimon *Peres, who had been director general of the ministry, of disloyalty. Representatives of the committee were also sent abroad to interview Dalia Carmel, about the forgery of the document, and Major General (Res) Yehoshafat Harkabi, who had replaced Givli in Intelligence Operations. The committee reached the unanimous conclusion that Lavon had not given the order and recommended that the matter be closed. The committee's report was endorsed by the government on December 25. However, Ben-Gurion himself refused to accept the report, and now demanded himself that the matter be reviewed by a judicial body, which unlike the ministerial committee headed by Rosen, would have the right to subpoena witnesses. Though a motion on a proposal of no-confidence brought in the Knesset by the opposition on January 30, 1961, was defeated, Ben-Gurion was severely criticized for his attitude. The following day he submitted his resignation, and his government continued to serve as an interim government until new elections were held for the Fifth Knesset in August 1961.

Ben-Gurion now seemed set on a personal vendetta against Lavon, and even though a group of prominent intellectuals, including Martin *Buber, Prof. Hugo *Bergman, and Prof. Nathan *Rotenstreich, came out openly against what they considered his anti-democratic conduct, in February 1961 he managed to get the Mapai Central Committee to decide to dismiss Lavon from his position as secretary general of the Histadrut – a position he had been reelected to in 1956. Among those who objected to the dismissal was Sharett, who declared that "it is not honor and justice that are our guiding light, but fear and the settling of accounts." However, criticism of Ben-Gurion mounted, and even though he formed a new government in November 1961, in June 1963 he resigned the premiership for the last time, and upon his recommendation Levi Eshkol was appointed prime minister. Eshkol's inclination was to finally close the Lavon Affair that had bedeviled Mapai for close to a decade. Nevertheless, in October 1964 Ben-Gurion made one more effort to rekindle the issue, and submitted a file full of documents on the Lavon Affair to Minister of Justice Dov *Joseph, and to Attorney General Moshe Ben-Ze'ev. Ben-Gurion claimed that the Rosen Ministerial Committee had been faulty, and yet again demanded that a judicial inquiry be held on its proceedings. Joseph rejected the idea of a judicial inquiry, but recommended that a comprehensive official inquiry be held into the Lavon Affair. Eshkol rejected the recommendation, and after meeting with boisterous opposition from Ben-Gurion's supporters in the Mapai Central Committee, submitted his resignation, demanding that a new government be formed with unfettered discretion to decide the matter without party interference. Eshkol formed a new government in December 1964, and in 1965, Ben-Gurion with seven of his supporters left Mapai, and formed their own parliamentary group – *Rafi.

In the aftermath of the Six-Day War Israel could have demanded the release of those of the agents who were still imprisoned in Egypt but refrained from doing so. It was only the following year, in 1968, that the remaining prisoners were released.

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[Susan Hattis Rolef (2nd ed.)]

LAVRY, MARC (1903–1967), composer and conductor. Born in Riga, Lavry studied at Oldenberg and at the Leipzig Conservatory and worked as conductor in Riga, Saarbruecken, and Berlin, where he was associated with the Laban dance ensemble and the Universal film studio. He settled in Palestine in 1935 and conducted at the Opera Amamit and the Palestine Broadcasting Service. In 1949 he became director of the music section of Kol Zion la-Golah (the World Zionist Organization's broadcasts to the Diaspora), for which he established a permanent choir. In 1962 he settled in Haifa, where he continued his musical activities under the sponsorship of the municipality.

Lavry's many compositions – his last work bears the opus number 349 – represented a style and ideology basically identical with the Mediterranean period of Israel music. Their melodic foundation is compounded of east Ashkenazi and Near Eastern elements, as well as the new folksong of Ereẓ Israel, which Lavry both drew upon and helped to form. His best-known work, the symphonic poem *Emek* (1937), was based on his song for choir and orchestra, with the same name, to a poem by Raphael Eliaz, written about one year earlier. His song *Ḥanita* for choir and orchestra had originally been a part of *Dan ha-Shomer* ("Dan the Guard," 1945, libretto by Sh. *Shalom and Max *Brod) which was the first Israel opera. Other important works were *Shir ha-Shirim* ("Song of Songs"), oratorio; *Avodat ha-Kodesh*, a Sabbath liturgy written for Temple Emanu-El of San Francisco; the songs for choir and orchestra *Kinneret, Kittatenu ba-Laylah Ẓo'edet* ("Our Platoon Marches in the Night"), and *Ẓe'ad Shimshon* ("March Forward, Samson"); two piano concertos; the opera *Tamar* (text by Louis Newman); *Gideon* (text by Ḥaim *Hefer); two symphonies ("Warsaw Ghetto" and "1949"); a symphonic poem *Stalingrad* (first performed in Moscow in 1943); and the orchestral suite *Israeli Dances*.

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[Bathja Bayer]

LAW AND MORALITY.

In the Bible

In the Pentateuch, legal and moral norms are not distinguished by any definitional criteria. The manner of presentation of both is via revelation – moral norms are not presented as wisdom but rather as prophetic revelation. Thus the two remain indistinguishable as to authority. The basis of adherence to the system as a whole is the fact that it constitutes divine command. Even in the form of presentation, no distinction is made between the two types. The apodictic form, for example, is used both for the prohibition on murder (Ex. 20:13) and the command to love one's neighbor (Lev. 19:18). On the critical issue of enforcement, no textual distinction exists on which to base enforced and nonenforced forms or between humanly enforced and divinely enforced ones. The premise of the pentateuchal code is that no propounded norm of human behavior is either optional or lacking in enforcement. Indeed the sanction system is one in which human punishment and divine retribution function as equal components of a single scheme.

This single corpus of legal-moral behavioral norms was distinct from ancient Near-Eastern legal-moral systems in a number of significant respects. First, the very unity of morality and law in the Pentateuch created a new basis of authority for the behavioral precepts of Hebrew civilization. Secondly, in the Torah individualistic morality gave way to national morality which was addressed to the people of Israel as a corporate moral entity. Thus the national entity was made party to the maintenance of the mandated standards of behavior and could be held responsible for the breach of such norms by individual citizens. Thirdly, despite the exclusivity of the covenantal relationship between God and the Jewish people, God's role in the enforcement of legal-moral behavioral norms is clearly pictured as universal. Thus Cain, the generation of the flood, Sodom, the seven Canaanite nations, and others, are all pictured as subjects of divine retribution for illegal-immoral behavior though they were not parties to the covenant.

In the prophetic literature, no new realm of purely moral concern was created. The breaches of social morality which play such a prominent part in the prophetic critique of the Jewish people were all premised on the identical legal-moral behavioral norms. The "immorality" of the people was in reality their "illegal" behavior. The major shift which distinguishes the literary prophets from their predecessors was that the notion of corporate legal-moral responsibility was given a vital new component. In the Pentateuch, national doom was threatened for cultic sins in particular and for neglect of the divine commandments in general. The prophets introduced the notion that the most decisive factor in the corporate fate of the nation was that aspect of mandated legal-moral behavioral norms which encompassed social relations. Thus when Amos threatens national doom and exile, he speaks of the sins of the normal life context, of social, economic, and political behavior, but maintains complete silence with regard to the sin of idolatry. In Isaiah and Micah too, the threat of national destruction is created by social corruption – the violation of the legal-ethical behavioral norms of everyday life. Failure to observe the divine command results in the corporate punishment of the nation whether the sin is cultic or legal-moral in nature.

The Talmudic Period

There was not yet any development of a specific moral order as distinct from the legal system in the talmudic period. However, it is already clearly recognized in tannaitic literature that legal sanctions could not enforce every form of behavior which was morally desirable. Indeed the Mishnah and Tosefta make occasional references to situations where, despite justification, one party lacks any legal recourse against the other and "… he has nothing but resentment [*taromet*] against him" (e.g., BM 4:6, 6:1; Tosef., Git. 3:1; BM 4:22). This recognition of a gap between sanctionable behavior and behavior which though desirable is not enforceable produced three types of relationships between the two realms: morality as a direct source of law; morality as a source of private, higher standards of legal liability; and morality in legal form.

MORALITY AS A DIRECT SOURCE OF LAW. The tannaitic period was particularly rich in social legislation motivated by the desire to expand the scope of enforcement to encompass as broad as possible a range of morally desirable behavior. Two terms in particular were often used to indicate the presence of a moral interest as the basis for tannaitic legislation:

(1) "In the interest of peace" (*mi-penei darkhei shalom*). This term is a composite, indicating that the legislative purpose of the statute is the prevention of communal conflict which would result from some immoral practice not otherwise limited by law. The specific forms of immoral behavior viewed by the *tannaim* as likely to produce communal conflict included unequal distribution of religious honors, threat to the good reputation of a group or an individual, taking by force

where property rights are uncertain, unearned benefit from the labor or initiative of another, and the exclusion of groups from societal privileges and responsibilities. In all of these instances, the methods used to avoid the conflict were either to legalize a status quo which was both orderly and fair, or to extend legal rights to situations or persons otherwise excluded (e.g. Git. 5:8–9; Tosef., Pe'ah 3:1; Ḥul. 10:13; Git. 5 (3):4–5).

(2) "For the benefit of society" (*mi-penei tikkun ha-olam*). This tannaitic term is also a composite, reflecting the presence of a moral interest being translated into an enforceable legal norm. The Mishnah (Git. 4:3–5:3) contains an entire codex of such statutes. The unique character of the situations governed "for the benefit of society" is that the moral interest involved, while produced by an existing or incipient legal relationship, affects primarily persons outside the relationship itself. The legislation affecting that relationship is thus primarily designed to have general communal benefit. Some of the moral interests dealt with in this type of legislation are the prevention of *bastardy and of abandoned wives (see **Agunah*), the deterrence of *theft and of non-punishable injurious behavior, the encouragement of lending and of returning lost property, the encouragement of care for *orphans and destitute children, and the encouragement of public service in the area of law and medicine (e.g., Git. 4:2–5:3; 9:4; Tosef., Ter. 1:12–13; Git. 4(3):5–7; 8(6):9).

The *amoraim* did not themselves use *darkhei shalom* or *tikkun ha-olam* as bases for further translation of morality into law. However, their awareness that in tannaitic legislation morality was being used as a source of law is clearly indicated through their use of the notion of the prevention of hostility (*mi-shum eivah*) as a legislative end. While no legislation in tannaitic literature is described as having been designed to prevent hostility, the *amoraim* often ascribe that very purpose to tannaitic legislation. Thus tannaitic legislation giving a *husband the right to his wife's earnings is viewed by the *amoraim* as motivated by the desire to prevent ill-feeling or hostility (*eivah*) between them (Ket. 58b). The source of the ill-feeling would be the inequality resulting from the husband's being obliged to support his wife without being entitled to ownership of whatever she earns. This recognition that legislation based on the tendency of ill-feeling to undermine an existing relationship was an attempt to cure legislatively the underlying inequality led the *amoraim* to limit the application of the statute to those situations where its motivating moral interest was relevant. Thus where the marital relationship is in any case about to be terminated, ill-feeling may be a matter of indifference (BM 12b), and further, where the relationship must be terminated by law, ill-feelings between the parties may actually be functional (Yev. 90b) and therefore the law designed to prevent such hostility is inapplicable.

The role of morality as a source of law continued into the legal work of the *amoraim* themselves, although it shifted from the realm of legislation to that of juridical interpretation. Two standards of moral behavior, one positive and one negative, predominate in this amoraic process:

(1) "And thou shalt do that which is right and good" (Deut. 6:18; *ve-asita ha-yashar ve-ha-tov*). Two amoraic laws are based on this verse:

(a) Property taken by a creditor in payment of a debt may be redeemed at any time (i.e., absence of injury to the creditor; BM 35a; see *Execution, Civil); and

(b) Right of an abutting property owner to first purchase is preserved despite sale of the property (i.e., absence of injury to the original owner; BM 108a; see **Maẓranut*). In both cases doing the "right and good" involves the restoration of a legal right which a person had lost through no fault of his own.

(2) "Her ways are ways of pleasantness" (Prov. 3:17; *darkhei no'am*). The fact that "pleasantness" was viewed as a basic characteristic of biblical law dictated to the *amoraim* the rejection of any juridical interpretation which could lead to the establishment of a law that could cause either the loss of personal dignity or injury to a marital relationship (e.g., Suk. 32b; Yev. 15a). The principle, however, operated in a negative fashion only, to preclude any particular juridical alternative which contravened the moral qualities of "pleasantness" (see also **Takkanot*).

MORALITY AS A SOURCE OF PRIVATE, HIGHER STANDARDS OF LEGAL LIABILITY. There are occasions which arise in any legal system where, despite the existence of a law prohibiting certain action, the hands of the court are tied because of evidentiary or procedural principles. The absence of enforcement in such instances, while producing an inequity in that particular case, could only be remedied by the abandonment of a principle which on balance is of value to the legal system. In the attempt to minimize such injustice, the *tannaim*, and subsequently the *amoraim* also, attempted to use the threat of divine retribution as a means of inducing the wrongdoer to remedy the injury of his own free choice, rejecting the exemption which the system allows him (see *Divine Punishment). It was in this specific context that the rabbis often asserted that while the defendant was "exempt by human law, he is liable by divine law" (*ḥayyav be-dinei shamayim*; e.g., BK 6:4. An entire codex of such situations where "his case is passed on for divine judgment" is found in Tosef., BK 6:16–17). A similar case of moral pressure being brought to bear to emphasize the need for voluntary rectification where the judiciary is unable to act is reflected in the phrase "the sages are greatly pleased with him" (*ru'aḥ ḥakhamin noḥah heimenno*; e.g., Shev. 10:9. For the reverse formulation, see BB 8:5). The moral pressure for this type of behavior led the *amoraim* to use similar formulations to urge self-judgment even in cases where the initial liability itself was in doubt (BM 37a; see *Extraordinary Remedies). In such cases the *amoraim* suggest that a man assume liability upon himself if "he wishes to fulfill his duty in the sight of heaven."

Two uniquely amoraic devices supplement the above as moral means of urging an individual to accept higher standards of civil liability where he has indeed been the cause of injury to another. Both are literary legal fictions in that they attempt to explain tannaitic statements or actions which in reality might have been based on completely different reasons.

(a) Pious behavior (*middat ḥasidut*). Each time that the *amora* Rav Ḥisda suggests that a particular tannaitic statement constituted a suggestion of especially righteous behavior it is part of an attempt to resolve an inner contradiction in a Mishnah (e.g., BM 52b; Shab. 120a; Ḥul. 130b). While the Talmud on one occasion rejects R. Ḥisda's suggestion for some alternative resolution (Shab. 120a), the device itself, and its frequent acceptance by the *amoraim*, gives recognition to their use of moral persuasion to encourage private adoption of the highest possible standards of civil liability. Indeed R. Ḥisda may well have been pointing out a more general phenomenon, that of recording dissenting opinions in the Mishnah in order that such higher standards remain as a personal option.

(b) Beyond the limit of the law (*li-fenim mi-shurat ha-din*). This device too, emerging from the school of Rav, is used consistently to resolve the disparity between existing law and the behavior of some earlier scholar (e.g., BK 99b; BM 30b; Ket. 97a; Ber. 45b). While it may be the case that in each instance the scholar behaved in full accord with the law of his own time, the exemption from liability not yet having become applicable, the significance of the amoraic suggestion lies in its openness to the acceptance and desirability of such private assumption of higher standards of legal liability. Indeed, by eradicating the time difference between the existing law and earlier behavior, the *amoraim* in effect maintain the viability of the entire history of legal development as a source of rules devised to produce the result most morally desirable in any particular case. While in their talmudic usage none of these devices leads to enforceable law, many *rishonim* and *aḥaronim* insist on the partial or total enforceability of a good number of the laws denominated as *dinei shamayim, middat ḥasidut*, and *li-fenim mi-shurat ha-din* (e.g., *Rema* ḤM 12:2; PDRS: 132–153, 151). Thus, while formal legislation was basically absent and no admission would be made that juridical interpretation really involved the creation of new law, such reinterpretations to create higher standards of enforceability were in fact part of the continuity of the process of the use of morality as a source of new law. In this way the use of morality to create private, higher standards of liability has often led to the eventual adoption of those new standards as law for everyone.

MORALITY IN LEGAL FORM. The impact of morality on Jewish law has been felt in a third way, as a result of rabbinic formulation of moral principles in legal form. The unwillingness of the rabbinic mind to accept seriously any substantial gap between the two realms is evidenced by the gradual assimilation into the realm of law, of forms of behavior which were not initially enforceable but were formulated in the terminology of illegal behavior. The two prime categories in this pattern are where immoral behavior is compared to illegal action and where the seriousness of the behavior is indicated by a disproportionate penalty.

(1) "As if …" (*ke-illu*). The term *ke-illu*, in its legal usage (like *na'asah ke*), usually introduces a legal fiction (BM 34a; Yev. 13:3). In its usage in the process of grading the moral significance of behavior it creates fictional analogies to legal or illegal behavior. Thus a person who conducts himself with humility is as one who offers all the sacrifices (Sot. 5b), while one who honors an evil person is as one who worships idols (Tosef., Av. Zar. 6(7):16). In tannaitic usage, this device is used almost exclusively to encourage behavior which is not legally mandatory (except where it is used in exegesis in the form, "Scripture considers him as if …"; e.g., Sanh. 4:5). In such instances, the weight of the divine legal prohibition is used to bolster moral pronouncements which otherwise lack any authority. The fact that *amoraim* began to extend this comparative device to add the weight of divine law to the authority of rabbinic law (e.g., Ber. 35a) introduced the possibility that the first half of the formula was not merely unenforceable moral teaching, but was itself legally binding in its own right. It was then only a short step to the frequent conclusions of *rishonim* that behavior which is compared to illegal action must itself be illicit (e.g., Sot. 3:4; cf. Yad, Talmud Torah 1:13).

(2) Disproportionate penalty, such as "liable to the death penalty" (*ḥayyav mitah*). While the Bible lays down the penalty of death at the hands of the court for a variety of crimes, the *tannaim* had already begun using the ascription of the death penalty to crimes for which clearly no court would prescribe such punishment. This exaggerated penalty was an effective way of communicating rabbinic feelings about the enormity of misbehavior. The *amoraim* made extensive use of this device to indicate their indignation at immoral behavior. Thus, in a passage which makes manifestly clear that it is aimed at emphasis rather than true legal liability, the Talmud says, "A mourner who does not let his hair grow long and does not rend his clothes is liable to death" (MK 24a). Similarly the rabbis asserted that, "Any scholar upon whose garment a [grease] stain is found is liable to death" (Shab. 114a). Again, however, the very use of legal terminology in formulating the moral position led to the conclusion that the behavior so described was indeed legally prohibited, and it was therefore often considered as this by the *rishonim* (cf. instances in Sanh. 58b, 59a, and codes). Thus in the constant growth of the scope of the law the morality of one generation frequently became the law of the next.

[Saul Berman]

Moral Sanctions of Legally Negative Acts

In addition to the three categories mentioned above, there is a fourth category that regulates the interaction of law and morality in Jewish Law. In these cases the sanction for an action is only a moral sanction. The common context for such sanctions is the exploitation of a legal loophole for benefit, while damaging the interests of others. The legal system disapproves of such acts, but does not view them as sufficiently reprehensible to warrant punishment for their commission. However, although the perpetrator of such acts is called "wicked," the halakhic sanction does not involve financial loss nor corporal punishment. Hence the perpetrator of certain acts is called "wicked," and other acts cause their perpetrator to be subjected to the imprecation of "He who punished."

"HE IS CALLED WICKED." The laws of succession present an example of an act, which when committed causes the perpetrator "to be called wicked." The case concerns a person who bequeathed his estate to an heir, stipulating that upon his [the heir's] demise, the estate would devolve to a second heir. The *tannaim* disputed the nature of the rule of succession and how it would apply if the first heir sold the estate, thus defying the testator's wishes. R. Judah ha-Nasi ruled that after the first heir dies, the second heir would be entitled to reclaim the property from the person who bought it from the first heir. R. Simeon b. Gamaliel however claims that, "The second [may] receive only what the first had left" and if he did not leave anything, then the second heir would be left empty handed (BB 137a). The *halakhah* was established in accordance with the latter opinion (Yad, Zekhiyyah u-Matanah 12:3–5; Sh. Ar. ḤM 248:1). The sages expressed their disapproval of the person who counseled the first one to defy the testator's stipulation and sell the assets, for by so doing he was frustrating the testator's wish, which was that the second person too would benefit from his assets, when the time came, "And Abbaye said: 'Who is a cunning rogue? One who counsels another to sell an estate in accordance with Rabban Simeon b. Gamaliel'" (BB, *ibid.*). The Rashbam (*ibid.*) explains that such a person is referred to as "cunning" because his acts are legally valid, but by exploiting the legal loophole left by the testator who allowed the first heir to sell the assets, he commits a sin with property not lawfully his, and the result frustrates the original intention of the testator.

In the *Moston* case (CA 749/82 *Moston v. Widerman* 43 (1) PD 278, per Justice Elon) the Supreme Court was required to interpret the Succession Law, 1965. The Court also dealt with relation of law and morality in that context, and wrote the following:

> Incidentally, the issue at hand also exemplifies the approach of Jewish Law to the relationship between law and morality…a distinctive characteristic of Jewish Law is that on the one hand there is a clear distinction between *legal* norms, which give rise to legal obligations, and *moral* norms, which do not create legal obligations. On the other hand, however, both in terms of determining the legal principles and the judge's concrete ruling, discussion and reference are made to the existence or non-existence of the *moral* obligation as well as to the existence or non-existence of a *legal* obligation. In another context, we related inter alia to the reasons for this phenomenon in Jewish Law (see Bibliography, Elon, 1988, 126–28).
>
> … Just as the Written Law (i.e., the Torah) commands the individual and the public to fulfill the commandments that are clearly legal in character, similarly and just as categorically does the law command the performance of moral and ethical precepts … This basic phenomenon, of course, does not eliminate the distinction between law and morals … [T]hus the *halakhah* carefully distinguishes between normative rules that involve court enforced sanctions and precepts not enforced by such sanctions. However, the fact that legal norms and moral imperatives have a common source in the halakhic system has an important consequence: The legal system, as a legal system, from time to time invokes the moral imperative, even though it does not enforce it. The court does not refuse to decide a case, even when the decision cannot be enforced. The author of legal responsa or halakhic decisions, as well as the court all include the relevant moral imperatives, as an integral part of their discussion: "it is apparent from the Talmud that is incumbent on a judge to declare what is proper conduct even when such conduct is not required by strict law, making it clear that nonetheless good and upright people will act in that manner. The litigant [to whom the declaration is addressed] may then conform [to the guidance so given] but if he does not, no sanction is taken against him [by the court]" (*Arukh Hashulkhan*, ḤM 304.11) (*ibid.*, 291–92 of the decision).

Later in the judgment, the Court cites the dispute between halakhic authorities whether despite the fact that the seller himself would not be called evil for selling the assets, the person who persuaded the heir to sell his inheritance, is considered "wicked" because of his "meddling in strife not his own (sowing ferment in someone else's dispute)" (Prov. 26:17). Alternatively, perhaps the seller is also a rogue. The Rashbam (BB 137a) ruled that the expression "wicked" is not applicable to the seller, yet the Meiri (*Bet ha-Beḥirah,* BB 137a) ruled otherwise. Both agree however that *a priori* it is forbidden to give such counsel; but that having done so and despite its being morally tainted, the deal is valid. In its concluding comments the Court states:

> This is a highly informative example of a dispute and detailed discussion between halakhic authorities over the existence or non-existence of a moral defect in conduct related to the performance of a legal transaction, despite their agreement on the validity of the transaction itself (*ibid.,* 293).

The moral sanction of being considered "wicked" in halakhic literature is also applied to various acts of commercial competition. According to the Talmudic rule, when a poor man is sifting through left-over bread and another needy person comes and takes it for himself, the latter is called "wicked" (Kid. 59a). The Talmud cites this principle in the context of "competition" between two potential buyers vying for the same item. When a person is about to purchase an item from a seller, and another person precedes him and buys the item (hereinafter, "an interloper"), the latter is [also] called "wicked." In the post-talmudic period, the legal significance of considering the interloper as "wicked" was expanded from being exclusively moral to bearing practical ramifications. Admittedly, if the transaction between the seller and the interloper has been completed, the would-be purchaser cannot reclaim the item from the interloper (Ritba, Kid. 59a; Resp. Maharik, 132). However, before the transaction has been completed, the interloper could be prevented from purchasing the said item (Resp. Maharshadam, ḤM 259). Furthermore, according to Rabbenu Tam (cited in Ritba), even when the transaction has been completed, the item can be confiscated from the interloper. The moral sanction of being considered "wicked" received another practical application during the period of the *aḥaronim*, when it was decided to publicly, in the synagogue, renounce the interloper as "wicked" (*Haggahot Maimuniyyot*, Hil. Ḥovel 5:1; *Perisha*, ḤM 237).

THE IMPRECATION: "HE WHO PUNISHED" (MI SHE-PARA). Another expression of moral sanction appearing in tannaitic literature is directed at the person who withdraws from a transaction, prior to its legal consummation, but after the consideration had already been given: "if he has already paid, but has not taken possession of his produce, he can withdraw [the offer], but they [the Sages] said: He who punished the generation of the flood and the generation of the dispersion, He will take vengeance of him who does not stand by his word" (BM 4:2). The *amoraim* added that this is a moral sanction with a certain measure of practical significance (BM 48b); namely – that the *bet din* would inform the litigant that he was liable under divine law. Their dispute related to the particular method of informing the litigant of this liability.

OTHER SANCTIONS NO LONGER OPERATIVE IN CONTEMPORARY TIMES. An additional phenomenon in the category of legally reprehensible acts with only a moral sanction has its origins in the codification of Jewish Law and in the works of the halakhic decisors. One of the principles adopted by the authors of the post-Maimonides halakhic codes, *Sefer ha-Turim* of R. Jacob b. Asher, and Shulḥan Arukh of R. Joseph Caro, was the omission of halakhic rules that are no longer operative. For example, these works do not cite the biblical law of the accidental murderer who is exiled to a city of refuge (see *City of Refuge). Even so, these codes, to apprise us of the doctor's responsibility, cite the law pertaining to a doctor who is inadvertently responsible for a person's death, informed of his mistake, and sent to a city of refuge (Tur, YD 336; Sh. Ar., YD 336:1). The ruling has no practical implication and does not give rise to any halakhic-legal sanction; its purpose is to underscore the doctor's moral obligation, and to subject him to moral sanctions in cases in which he has made mistakes. Notably, this point was made by the Supreme Court in the Shefer case (CA 506/88 *Shefer v. State of Israel*, 48 (1) 87, 113, per Justice Elon) and the discussion of the principles that should guide doctors in their work.

Turning a Moral Sanction into a Practical Sanction – The Role of the *Bet Din*

Jewish law recognizes cases in which the *bet din* does not impose a practical sanction on the litigant, but rather, informs the party of his moral or religious duty. A striking example is in cases of divorce (see *Divorce). Although the *bet din* frequently rules that giving the *get* to the wife constitutes the fulfillment of a positive precept (*mitzvah*), it refrains from compelling the husband to do so. Hence, Rabbeinu Jonah (Spain, 13th century) ruled that "[even though] we do not coerce the husband by way of whipping him, as a means of compelling him to give his wife a *get*, when she says "I find him repulsive," the *bet din* informs and advises him that it is a *mitzvah* for him to divorce her (*Shitah Mekubeẓẓet*, Ket. 54a). At a later period, R. Bezalel Ashkenazi (Egypt, 16th century) stated in the name of his rabbi, the Radbaz, that once the *bet din* has informed the man of the *mitzvah* to divorce his wife, if he fails to divorce her he is regarded a "criminal" (*Shitah Mekubeẓẓet*, *ibid.*).

These comments were cited by the Israeli Supreme Court in HC 644/79 *Guttman v. The Rabbinical Court*, 34 (1) PD 443, per Justice Menachem Elon. In that case the Rabbinical Court ruled that "it was desirable" for the husband to give his wife a *get*, but did not compel him to give the *get*. The appellant's claim was that since the Rabbinical Court had the power to adjudicate matters concerning the spousal property only after having given a ruling ordering their divorce, in this case, in which the Rabbinical Court had only ruled that "it was desirable" for the husband to give a *get*, it did not (yet) have jurisdiction over property matters. The Supreme Court rejected this claim, clarifying that in Jewish Law, the system by which the rabbinical court adjudicates, a decision consisting of a "moral" declaration is a decision for all intents and purposes, and the Rabbinical Court's notifying the litigant of his moral obligation is a sanction in the full sense of the term; thus, "this distinction between the legal force and religious or moral force, in the context of a divorce judgment of the rabbinical court, is unacceptable. The criterion for determining what is and what is not included in 'a decision of divorce' must comply with the criterion of the judicial system to which the legislator conferred jurisdiction in the matter of the divorce, in this case, Jewish Law. The underlying principle in Jewish Law governing the distinction between law and morality or religion differs from the parallel distinction accepted in other legal systems…. This kind of ruling in which the rabbinical court rules that it is a *mitzvah* for the parties to divorce is almost a daily occurrence in rabbinical courts, and has long been accepted in Jewish Law …" (p. 447, of the decision).

Similarly, from the aforementioned comments regarding the imposition of moral sanctions for acts of which the law takes a negative view, it appears that the Sages upgraded the force of the "moral sanction." While the original intention was that the force of such a moral sanction extended no further than the book itself, obligating the person exclusively in terms of his conscience and God, the sages of recent generations tended to confer practical significance to these sanctions. This explains the case of "the poor man sifting through left-over bread," and the legal prohibition to attempt to precede him, and when someone (referred to as an "interloper") precedes him and takes the item, a declaration made in synagogue condemns him as "wicked." The same rule applies to a worker who accidentally damages his employer's property. According to the *Arukh ha-Shulḥan*, the *bet din* should notify his employer of his duty to "follow the way of the good," waive the worker's payment of the damage, and continuing payment of his wage. The same applies to the rule of "fulfillment of duty in the sight of Heaven," regarding which it was ruled that the *bet din* should notify the litigant of his obligation to fulfill his duty in the sight of Heaven even though the *bet din* is unable to force him to pay (R. Solomon Luria, Poland, BB 6:6) and according to another view he is even disqualified as a witness until he has paid, because in effect he is in possession of stolen money (Meiri, BM 56a). This is also the rule regarding the principle of *li-fenim mi-shurat ha-din* (acting more generously than legally required), which in particular circumstances in later generations the *bet din* decided not to enforce. Some of these rulings will be elaborated upon below.

Enforcing the Principle of li-fenim mi-shurat ha-din (acting more generously than legally required). According to many halakhic authorities, in certain cases, the *bet din* should enforce the litigant's compliance with the principle of *li-fenim mi-shurat ha-din*: "It is the practice of every Jewish court to compel the wealthy to perform their obligation where it is right and proper, even if the strict law does not so require" (*Bayit Ḥadash* on Tur, Sh. Ar., ḤM 12:4; see Menachem Elon, *Jewish Law*, 1:155ff.). This principle is similar to another principle in the Jewish Law – *kofin al ha-ẓedakah* (the giving of charity may be enforced) (Ket. 49b), which only applies in particular circumstances. This rule constitutes the basis for the duty in certain circumstances to support children and relatives, even when this duty did not exist under strict interpretation of the law (see *Maintenance).

This matter was discussed in the Israeli Supreme Court in the *Kitan* case (CA 350/77 *Kitan v. Weiss*, 33 (2) 785). In this case, the Court rejected a defendant's claim for damages, since there was no proof of causality between the defendant's negligence and the damage. However, in his decision Justice Elon stated that it was appropriate for the defendant to compensate the injured parties, in accordance with the principle of *li-fenim mi-shurat ha-din*: "for it is a Jewish tradition and a fundamental principle in Jewish law that along with strict liability, there is the additional obligation to act *li-fenim mi-shurat ha-din*. It is particularly significant that this Jewish law obligation has found, as in the case before us, a primary application in torts" (p. 809 of decision). Justice Elon adds that under Jewish Law, it is appropriate for the court, in certain cases, to express its hope that one of the litigants will act more generously than legally required and compensate his opponent – although this hope is left to the discretion and initiative of the party (p. 811 of decision).

It should be stressed that the two other justices on the panel – Justice Shamgar and Justice Witkon – disagreed with this approach "that seeks to elevate payment of compensation *li-fenim mi-shurat ha-din* to the status of a settled general principal of tort law," owing to "the absence of clear standards"; they voiced concern for the "filing of frivolous appeals," since payment of damages *li-fenim mi-shurat ha-din* depends on the defendant's discretion and "I would not recommend blurring the boundaries between liability and non-liability" (*ibid.*, pp.805, 807 – for more details, see *Damages).

Similarly, in the *Ness v. Golda* case (CA 842/79 *Ness and Others v. Golda and Others* PD 36(1) 204) Justice Menachem Elon adopted the same approach. Justice Elon concurred with the other justices on the panel that the litigant could not be obligated to pay, but added that morally and in terms of justice, it was impossible to ignore that the defendant's conduct caused the plaintiffs the damage being claimed. Accordingly, he ruled that it would be appropriate for the defendants to provide compensation to the plaintiffs: "Under the strict law, they are not bound by any such obligation. Rather, it is a request of them to act *li-fenim mi-shurat ha-din*, and by doing so, they 'walk in the way of good men, and follow the paths of the righteous'" (p. 221 of judgment).

Enforcing compliance with the principle of *li-fenim mi-shurat ha-din* is particularly important in cases concerning the entire community, for "even though the obligation is not prescribed by the strict law, but only in accordance with *li-fenim mi-shurat ha-din*, the public can be compelled in this regard, for the public, like the individual, and perhaps even more so, should do what is good and right and not stand on strict law" (File 5637/26, PDR 5:132, at p. 151; see Resp. *Mayim Ḥayyim*, ḤM 6, quoted in *Pithei Teshuvah* to Sh. Ar., ḤM 333; Resp. *Ḥatam Sofer*, ḤM 239:9). The special status of the public was mentioned by the Supreme Court in the *Boyer* case (*Boyer v. Shikkun Ovdim*, 38 (2) PD 561, per Justice Elon). In this case too, after ruling that the appellant was not entitled to the remedy requested from the defendants, the Court expressed its request and hope that the respondents, a public body, would compensate the plaintiff in a suitable manner. However, the defendant did not see fit to comply with the Court's request, and to express its disapproval of the respondent's behavior, the Court decided to exempt the appellant from payment of the respondent's costs for the appeal.

In the State of Israel

The aforementioned decisions dealing with these questions were all given prior to the enactment of the Basic Laws of the State of Israel. As such, the judicial request and hope that litigants would conduct themselves in accordance with *li-fenim mi-shurat ha-din* only had the force of a recommendation. This has changed as a result of the enactment of the Basic Laws in 1992 (Basic Law: Human Dignity and Freedom, and Basic Law: Freedom of Occupation) which declared their aim to anchor in a Basic Law "the values of the State of Israel as a Jewish and democratic state," and in which the State's definition as "Jewish" precedes its definition as "democratic." By force of the Basic Law the Jewish Law attained a revered status in establishing the values of the State of Israel as a Jewish State. In view of this the Israeli common law dealing with *li-fenim mi-shurat ha-din* should be reconsidered, with a view towards compelling litigants, in certain circumstances, to conduct themselves beyond the letter of the law, *li-fenim mi-shurat ha-din*. A major area in which Jewish and democratic values can, and ought to be, integrated, is at the intersection of law and morality. Clearly, the enactment of the Basic Laws should leave its imprint on this area and on the interpretation of related legislation.

A number of the laws of the State of Israel combine provisions which manifestly derive from the area of morality, such as the invalidity of a contract "the making, contents of object of which is or are …. immoral or contrary to public policy" (sec. 30 Contracts (General Part) Law, 5733 – 1973), or the duty to conduct pre-contract negotiations and to fulfill the contract itself in a customary manner and in good faith (sections 12, 39 of the aforementioned law; see *Contract).

In addition, there are also statutory provisions that obligate the judge, adjudicating a case, to take general moral considerations into account, such as Section 32 (a) of the Tenants Protection Law [Consolidated Version] 5732 – 1972, which concerns a case in which by law, an order should be given to evict a tenant from his house, and which states that "Notwithstanding the existence of a ground for eviction, the Court may refuse to give judgment for eviction if it is satisfied that in the circumstances of the case it would not be just to do so." In its decision in the *Marcus* case (CA 417/79 *Marcus v. Hammer*, 37 (2) PD) the Court (per Justice Menachem Elon) discussed the similarities between these provisions and conduct according to *li-fenim mi-shurat ha-din* in Jewish Law.

[Menachem Elon (2nd ed.)]

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LAWĀNI, DA'UD (**Levi, David**; second half of 15th century), Yemenite scholar, author of the Midrash *al-Wajīz al-Mugnī* ("Adequate Summary") on the Pentateuch which was written by Lawāni in the town of Ḥemdeh between 1484 and 1493, extant in manuscript. It is based on the ancient and later Midrashim, including the Yemenite Midrashim which preceded it – *Midrash ha-Gadol, Midrash ha-Be'ur, Midrash ha-Ḥefeẓ*, and others. Besides the Talmud and the Midrashim, a great deal of its contents are drawn from the works of Maimonides. Its style, as its name indicates, is concise; its language is Hebrew and Arabic. Some identify Lawāni with Da'ud al-Lawāni, a poet who lived in Sanʿa.

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[Yehuda Ratzaby]

LAWAT, ABRAHAM DAVID BEN JUDAH LEIB (1835–1890), ḥasidic rabbi and author in the Ukraine. From his youth Abraham David was attracted to *Chabad Ḥasidism, being among the closest followers of Menahem Mendel *Schneersohn, author of *Ẓemah Ẓedek*. On the initiative of his teacher, he founded a ḥasidic yeshivah in Nikolayev; he also became rabbi of the ḥasidic community of the town (in about 1870). After the death of Menahem Mendel, Abraham David became one of the chief supporters of his son, Samuel of *Lubavich. Abraham David wrote important manuals and reference books in various fields, both on *halakhah* and in clarification of the Chabad system in Kabbalah and *halakhah*. His work *Kav Naki* (Warsaw, 1868) on the laws of divorce and the writing of the names in divorce bills is one of the basic works on this subject. He wrote *Beit Aharon ve-Tosafot* (Vilna, 1881), an enlargement on the *Beit Aharon* of *Aaron of Pesaro, giving additional references to biblical verses in talmudic and midrashic literature, and adding references from the *Zohar and Chabad literature. In 1887 he published a new edition of the *Torah Or Siddur* according to the prayer book of *Shneur Zalman of Lyady which is used by the Chabad Ḥasidim. In this edition, he made an effort to present an accurate and corrected text, to which he appended two works: *Netiv ha-Ḥayyim*, which accompanies the *Derekh ha-Ḥayyim* of Jacob b. Jacob Moses *Lorbeerbaum of Lissa where he cites the decisions of Shneur Zalman of Lyady whenever they differ from those of the *Derekh ha-Ḥayyim*; and *Sha'arei Tefillah* (in subsequent editions, from 1896, in its enlarged and amended form entitled *Sha'ar ha-Kolel*) in 49 chapters. These deal with the sources of and reasons for the version of the above *siddur*, especially where it differs from the Ashkenazi and Sephardi versions.

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[Adin Steinsaltz, Meir Medan]

LAW OF RETURN, law passed by the Israel parliament (Knesset) on July 3, 1950, the anniversary of the death of Theodor *Herzl. The Law of Return is one of the earliest and most significant of the basic laws of the State of Israel. Declaring that every Jew has the right to settle in Israel as an *oleh* (defined as "a Jew immigrating to Israel for settlement"), it gives legislative confirmation to the age-old Jewish yearning for return to Zion, previously embodied in the *Basle Program (1897), in Article 6 of the *Mandate for Palestine (1922), and in Israel's *Declaration of Independence of May 14, 1948. The law actually sanctioned the existing situation, for, as the official explanatory note pointed out, the Israel Provisional Council of State had, in its first legislative act (the Law and Administration Ordinance, 1948), abolished all restrictions on Jewish immigration and retroactively validated the immigration of every Jew who had, at any time, entered the country – even in contravention of the Mandatory regulations. In the words of the then prime minister, David *Ben-Gurion, in presenting the bill to the *Knesset for first reading:

> This law lays down not that the State accords the right of settlement to Jews abroad but that this right is inherent in every Jew by virtue of his being a Jew if it but be his will to take part in settling the land. This right preceded the State of Israel, it is that which built the State.

The main provision of the law (section 1), as passed by the Knesset, is accordingly declaratory in nature: "Every Jew has the right to come to this country as an *oleh*." In keeping with the purposes of the law, this status of *oleh* is also accorded to all Jews who had entered the country as immigrants before the law came into force and to all Jews born in the country, whether before or after the law's coming into force (section 4), as well as to any Jew who goes to Israel other than as an immigrant and subsequently expresses his desire to stay and settle in Israel (section 3(a)).

Denial of Oleh's Visa

An *oleh*'s visa may be denied only in cases in which the minister of immigration (later the minister of the interior) is satisfied that the applicant is engaged in activity directed against the Jewish people or is likely to endanger the public health or the security of the State (section 2 (b)). However, a person may not be regarded, for the purpose of this restriction, as endangering the public health on account of an illness contracted after his arrival in Israel (section 3 (b)). Experience indicated that there was another category of persons to whom it was not desirable to give an unrestricted right to settle in Israel as *olim*, namely, wanted criminals who took refuge in Israel or those who intended to continue a life of crime there. The Knesset hesitated to restrict the absolute right of every Jew to *aliyah* and was conscious of the possibilities of rehabilitation of wayward Jews inherent in Israel society. Nevertheless, on Aug. 23, 1954, it adopted an amendment to the law, empowering the minister of the interior to withhold an *oleh*'s visa from "a person with a criminal past, likely to endanger the public welfare" (Law of Return (Amendment) 1954).

The Law of Return further provided the principal method of acquiring Israeli nationality, for the Nationality Law, 1952, prescribes that (with certain exceptions) every *oleh* under the Law of Return shall be an Israeli national (section 2 (a)).

Legal Problems

The provisions of the law have given rise to a number of legal problems that have come under review by the Israel Courts, in particular the definition of a Jew for the purposes of the law (see *Jew). Does the definition of the *halakhah* (Jewish religious law) apply, as in cases of personal status, namely, whoever is born of a Jewish mother or has been duly converted to Judaism; or does the term include any person who bona fide declares himself to be a Jew? In the leading case of *Rufeisen v. Minister of the Interior* ((1962) 17 PD 2428), the Supreme Court adopted neither of these definitions. It held that, as the Law of Return is a secular enactment, "a Jew" is to be interpreted as Jews in general ordinarily understand it. The court accordingly decided that the law did not apply to a person who, although born a Jew, had subsequently converted to Christianity (see also *Apostasy).

The courts have also been occupied more than once with the question of "criminal past" under section 2(b)(3) of the law as amended in 1954. In the case of *Jonavici v. Minister of the Interior* ((1958) 33 PE 415), the court held that, where the minister has reached the conclusion, on the basis of proof, that a criminal past exists, the question whether such past is likely to endanger the public welfare is one for the minister's discretion. Further, a person may have a criminal past though convicted only once, depending on the seriousness of the offense. The court has also held, by a majority, that "having a criminal past" is not necessarily synonymous with having previous criminal conviction, though it cannot be proved without some evidence of a criminal act previously committed by the applicant: *Gold v. Minister of the Interior* ((1962) 17 PD 184(6)). The validity of this majority ruling is, on formal and other grounds, to be regarded as doubtful.

The Supreme Court was much occupied between 1968 and 1970, in *Shalit's Case* ((1970) 23 PD 477), with the problem of the status of infant children, born in Israel, of a Jewish father and a non-Jewish mother. (For details see *Jewish Identity.) The Supreme Court, unprecedentedly composed of nine of its ten members, held by a majority of five against four that, since the registration of the particulars prescribed to be notified under the Registration of the Population Law is not evidence of the correctness of such particulars but is, rather, of a statistical character, the registration officer is in duty bound to register them as notified and requested by the person required by law to furnish them.

In the wake of the political controversy aroused by the Shalit decision and upon the initiative of religious circles in the country, the government decided to propose amending legislation so as to clarify that, for the purposes of civil registration and of status under the Law of Return, a Jew is a person born of a Jewish mother or converted to Judaism. The provisions of this bill, as presented to the Knesset and still more as finally adopted, ranged, however, beyond this salient provision, in order to meet the demands of secular circles that the non-Jewish partners, children, or grandchildren of Jewish *olim* should not suffer differential treatment in respect of material rights and privileges accorded to such "*olim*," including rights under the Nationality Law (Law of Return (amendment no. 2), 5730 – 1970, enacted in March 1970). These provisions do not extend to a person who, being a Jew, has voluntarily adopted another faith. Likewise, the limitations and conditions applying to a Jew or an *oleh* under the Law of Return or any other relevant enactment apply equally to any person claiming the immigrant rights above referred to. This legislation omits any substantive definition of the concept of conversion to Judaism, and it is accordingly contended that the law does not prescribe a conversion satisfying halakhic requirements.

[Meir Silverstone]

The Law of Return (Amendment No. 2) 5730 – 1970
Section 4B of the Law of Return (Amendment No. 2) provides that: "For purposes of this law, 'Jew' means 'a person who was born of a Jewish mother or converted to Judaism and who is not a member of another religion.'" The law did not state that the terms "Jew," or "converted," were to be interpreted in accordance with the *halakhah*, or any other criterion. In using these terms without defining their precise meaning the Knesset circumvented the controversial question of "*who* is a Jew," and the question continued to be disputed, among the public at large and, specifically, among the justices of the Israeli Supreme Court. According to Justice Elon, despite the failure to stipulate that these terms were to be interpreted "in accordance with the *halakhah*" the amendment explicitly unified Jewish religion with Jewish nationality, and thereby restored the halakhic litmus test in the defining of Jewishness, in addition to extending the rights under the law to family members as well, even when they themselves did not answer the statutory definition of a Jew. This gives expression to the compromise effected by the Israeli legislator, by expanding the circle of those entitled to benefit from the Law of Return, while limiting the contents of the word "Jew," even for purposes of the Population Registry.

WHO IS AN "APOSTATE"? The two new provisions include situations in which Jews change their religion or subscribe to another faith in addition to their Judaism. The question of who is an apostate ["*mumar*"], and what beliefs transform a person into an apostate, was adjudicated by the Supreme Court in the Beresford case (HC 265/87, *Beresford v. the Interior Ministry*, PD 43(4) 793). In that case, two Jews were members of the "Messianic Jews," a group of Jews who believed that Jesus was the Messiah. Viewing themselves as full-fledged Jews, they requested to immigrate to Israel under the Law of Return. In light of the aforementioned provisions, the Ministry of the Interior refused to recognize their right to immigrate by force of the Law of Return. The petitioners' central argument was that, so long as they were not formally recognized by another official religion, they remained Jews. The Court (Justice Menachem Elon) examined their claim in accordance with previous rulings regarding this issue, i.e., that the term "member of another religion" as used in the Law of Return, must be examined according to the criteria of the other religion. In doing so, he rejected the petitioners' claim that the crux of the issue was the faith of the individual in question, and not whether or not they are officially recognized by another religion (HC 563/77 *Dorflinger v. the Interior Minister*, PD 33(2) 97). The Court based itself on an examination of the basic principles of the Christian faith, as opposed to those of the Jewish faith, an examination of the faith of the "Messianic Jews" sect, as reflected in its publications, as well as on opinions submitted by experts on Christianity and Comparative Religion. The Court focused on the similarity between this group and the sects of Messianic Jews that existed during the earliest days of Christianity, who constituted Christianity's beginnings. Noting that those groups were rejected from Judaism during the second half of the first century CE, the Court ruled that, nowadays, faith in Jesus constituted rejection of Judaism.

Nonetheless, Justice Elon rejected the determination that the phrase "member of another religion" in the Law of Return must be examined according to the criteria of the other religion, ruling rather that it must be examined according to the criteria of Jewish Law. Hence, if a Jew voluntarily changes his religion, he forfeits the legal and social rights associated with communal and familial affiliation, as for example in inheritance law. He likewise forfeits his tribal inheritance in the Land of Israel (Rabbi Natronai Gaon, ninth century C.E., as well as other sources – see *Oẓar ha-Ge'onim* (ed. Levin), Kiddushin, Responsa Section, p. 30ff.). The apostate's affiliation with the Jewish People is retained only with respect to duties associated with personal status. In addition, Jewish Law states that an apostate should not be labeled a Jew (Resp. Mahari Bruna, 135 [15th century, Ashkenaz]).

The Court relied on the comments of Rabbenu Menaḥem ha-Meiri, which seem more suited to the wording of the law, excluding from the definition of Jew anyone who is "a member of a different religion" (*Bet ha-Beḥirah*, to *Avodah Zarah* 26b, p.61; idem., Horayot 11a, p. 275; Southern France, 13th century):

> Any Jew who left the Jewish religion and joined a different faith shall for all purposes be considered by us as a member of the religion he joined, except as regards divorce and betrothal and all other matters associated with marriage, as shall be explained. All the same, that person's son is a full-fledged non-Jew even regarding divorce and betrothal.

Further on in its judgment, the Court cited sources viewing an apostate as one who has parted from the ways of the Jewish community and has abandoned that community (see *Apostate). It concluded that, certainly, the apostate has none of the "social or legal rights" granted to Jews as Jews, such as those inherent in the meaning and content of the Law of Return. That law grants rights based on one's affiliation with the Jewish People and being part of Jewish society and the Jewish community. It grants no rights to those who have abandoned that community, which is how the apostate was defined. The apostate, having "parted from the ways of the Jewish community," is no longer to be classed as our "brother" (Lev 25:25) (pp 828–829 of the judgment).

In this judgment, Justice Aharon *Barak disputed Justice Elon's argumentation, while arriving at the same operative result – i.e., that the petitioners were members "of another religion" and hence not entitled to rely on the Law of Return. According to Justice Barak, despite its amendment in 1970 (see above), the criterion for interpreting the Law of Return with regard to determining the applicant's "Jewishness" was neither the criterion of the "other religion" nor that of Jewish law, but rather a secular criterion. This secular criterion was based on a secular-dynamic conception, of which the halakhic components were a component, combined with other subjective elements related to the subjective perceptions of the candidate for *aliyah*, national conceptions, etc.

WHO IS A "CONVERT"? According to the Religious Communities (Change) Ordinance, 1927, an act of conversion performed in the State of Israel is valid only when a certificate of approval is issued by the chief rabbi of Israel. By dint of this authority granted to the chief rabbi, a special rabbinical court system was established in the State of Israel to deal specifically with conversion, in addition to the regular rabbinical court system (see **Bet Din*).

Traditionally, conversions were under the jurisdiction of the rabbinate. Yet the legal authority of the chief rabbi is limited to the approval of conversions, and only those conversions performed in Israel. There is no explicit legal source that grants any body the authority to perform conversions, nor does the chief rabbi possess the authority to certify the validity of conversions performed abroad. In the judgment in the *Shas* case (HC 264/87, *Shas Movement v. the Population Registry*, PD 43(2) 727), there was a majority decision (Justice Meir Shamgar) that "Notification accompanied by a document attesting to conversion to any Jewish community abroad shall suffice to require an individual's registration as a Jew. In this regard, it makes no difference whether that community is Orthodox, Conservative or Reform" (p. 731 of the judgment).

This judgment conflicted with the minority opinion (Justice Menachem Elon) that held that the term "converted" should be interpreted in accordance with Jewish law, as determined and accepted by tradition. The term "conversion" has its source in Jewish law and should therefore be interpreted solely according to Jewish law. Justice Elon added that:

> The State of Israel is the home of all Jews, in all their denominations, communities, and varieties, whether in Israel or abroad. The State was established for their sakes, and by virtue of them all it exists…. The State of Israel was established in order to open its gates to all its family, whether close or far, who wish to return to it for the purpose of building the State and establishing themselves therein. Every returning Jew would live in Israel according to his beliefs and his way of life. However, the Knesset, after deep and extensive debate, decided – contrary to the majority decision of the Supreme Court – that the definition of "Jew" in the laws of Israel is based on objective-normative criteria which had been accepted and sanctified throughout thousands of years of the existence of this nation and we must accept the will of the Knesset, which is the will of the historic Community of Israel, based on the rules of the halakhic system, from generation to generation and from time immemorial. I should also add that it is absolutely necessary that the act of conversion be uniform and agreed upon by all the groups of Israel, and that in this crucial matter we operate according to a criterion that can be accepted by all segments of the nation. Only a conversion which conforms to the rules of *halakhah* would achieve this aim, and in my opinion it would not in any way interfere with the right of every person in Israel to live in freedom and follow his own way of life.

Justice Elon concluded his remarks by proposing that "We must… find a way in which we can accept these rules by full agreement because it is the wish of the Knesset, and I am also convinced that it is the wish of the nation" (pp. 737–738 of the judgment).

It should be noted that the decision confined itself to the authority invested in the registration officer and accompanying legal questions. Its background was the petition of a number of people who had undergone non-Orthodox conversions, requesting recognition as Jews for purposes of the Population Registration Law, 5725 – 1965. As such, the decision's immediate ramification applied exclusively to the powers of the registration clerk. The Court therefore refrained from issuing a binding judgment regarding the petitioners' Jewishness for other purposes, such as marriage and divorce, emphasizing the non-application of its ruling for purposes of the Law of Return, and certainly not for purpose of marriage and divorce.

Since the *Shas* decision, a number of other decisions have been given by the Israeli Supreme Court, further curtailing the exclusivity of Orthodox conversion as the official, recognized conversion for purposes of defining a person's Jewishness in the State of Israel.

Regarding the authority of the rabbinical court to certify the validity of conversions performed outside Israel, in the *Plonit* case (HC 3023/90 *Plonit v. the Rehovot District Rabbinical Court*, 45 (3) PD 808), the Court ruled that rabbinical courts do not have jurisdiction regarding conversions performed abroad, except with respect to matters arising by virtue of their incidental authority to determine individual's Jewishness in cases of marriage and divorce. The *Pessaro* case (HC *Pessaro* (*Goldstein*) *v. Minister of the Interior,* 49 (4) PD 661) established that, for purposes of a persons' registration as Jewish, the Religious Communities (Change) Ordinance is similarly inapplicable to conversions conducted inside the State of Israel. In the *Na'amat* case (HC 5070/95 *Na'amat v. Minister of the Interior,* 56 (2) PD 721) this holding was expanded, imposing a duty on the registration clerk to register as Jewish a person converted in a non-Orthodox ceremony even where the non-Orthodox conversion was performed in Israel. This judgment held that the power to issue a certificate of conversion – for registration purposes – no longer belonged exclusively to the chief rabbi.

Recently, the Supreme Court ruled that non-Orthodox conversions performed abroad, after converts had undergone the Israeli conversion course, and then returned to Israel immediately following the conversion, were valid, and that in addition to the duty to register the converts as Jews, they should also be considered Jewish for purposes of the Law of Return. The Court ruled that such conversions should not be viewed as a fiction, and that there was no substantive flaw in the fact that the convert did not remain in the community that had converted him. It should be noted that the minority opinion held that recognition of such a conversion was likely to open a Pandora's Box to anyone who wanted to receive Israeli citizenship easily, something that was likely to lead to inappropriate and uncontrollable consequences (HC 2597/99, *Rodriguez-Toshbeim v. Minister of the Interior,* 58 (5) PD 412).

The multiplicity of fundamental legal judgments and the plethora of disputes between Supreme Court justices attest to the fact that the law itself is flawed – even after its amendment – to the extent that it does not define precisely what constitutes apostasy, who is "a member of a different faith" and, especially, in that it does not define conversion. In 1997 an attempt was made to arrive at a consensual solution of this issue, acceptable to representatives of all the various streams by way of establishing a special committee, known as the Neeman Committee (after its chairman, Yaakov Neeman), which was established to examine the issue in its entirety, and it also comprised representatives from the Conservative and Reform streams. The committee recommended the establishment of institutes for Jewish studies which would be common to all the streams and which would be responsible for preparing candidates for conversion. The conversion itself, according to these recommendations, would be carried out exclusively by special religious courts established for that purpose by the Chief Rabbinate, and only conversion under its auspices would be recognized in the State of Israel. The recommendations of this commission were endorsed in principle by the Israeli government, and conversion institutions were even established. However, the draft bill intended to statutorily anchor these recommendations did not pass, and the subject has remained without a solution.

[Menachem Elon (2nd ed.)]

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LAWRENCE, DAVID (1888–1973), U.S. journalist, and longtime interpreter of the Washington political scene. Born in Philadelphia, Lawrence grew up in Buffalo, New York. He joined the Washington Bureau of the Associated Press on graduating from Princeton in 1910 and was assigned to cover the White House. When, two years later, Woodrow Wilson undertook his first presidential campaign, Lawrence became one of his chief interpreters. He subsequently wrote *The True Story of Woodrow Wilson* (1924). In 1914 he helped found the White House Correspondents' Association. In 1916 he was appointed Washington correspondent for the *New York Post*, and was among the first commentators in the capital whose column was syndicated nationally. In 1919 he organized the Consolidated Press Association, which furnished features and financial news to daily newspapers by leased wire, an innovation at the time. Seven years later he started the *U.S. Daily,* devoted exclusively to news of Washington. It became the *U.S. News* in 1933, and in 1948 was combined with another of his magazines as the newsweekly *U.S. News and World Report*.

His books include *Beyond the New Deal* (1934), *Stumbling into Socialism…* (1935), *Diary of a Washington Correspondent* (1942), and *The Editorials of David Lawrence* (1970).

[Irving Rosenthal]

LAWRENCE, GERALD (1873–1957), British actor. Born in London, Lawrence was the nephew of Isaac Cohen who owned the Pavilion Theater, Whitechapel. He was noted for romantic roles such as David Garrick, Monsieur Beaucaire, Charles Surface, and Beau Brummel, which he played in London and on tour. In his early years he acted with Sir Frank R. Benson, Sir H. Beerbohm Tree, and then with Sir Henry Irving until the latter's death in 1905. He distinguished himself in many Shakespearean roles and later appeared as Hamlet and Shylock in his own productions. Lawrence appeared in several silent films and in Victor *Saville's *The Iron Duke* (1934). He was the father of the well-known British actress JOYCE CAREY (1898–1993), who appeared in numerous films, plays, and television productions over a 70-year career.

LAWRENCE, STEVE (1935–) and **GORME, EYDIE** (1931–), U.S. singers. Known as the two Jewish kids from the Bronx, New York, Steve and Eydie continued to sing pop and standard-bearer songs from the 1950s into the 21st century. Steve Lawrence was born Sidney Leibowitz, the son of Max Leibowitz, a house painter who also worked as a cantor. Lawrence displayed his talent for singing as a youth in synagogue. He took on the stage name Steve Lawrence (the first names of two nephews) and won first prize on the *Arthur Godfrey Talent Scouts* television series in 1951. His first album, *Steve Lawrence*, was released in 1953, and in July he was hired by Steve Allen to sing on *Tonight!*, then a local New York talk show. Eydie Gorme was born Edith Gormezano, the youngest of three children of Sephardi immigrant parents – her Sicilian father was a tailor and her Turkish mother was distantly related to singer Neil *Sedaka's family. Gorme grew up speaking Spanish and English at home and began singing early in life, making her first radio appearance at the age of three. After graduating from high school, she worked as a Spanish interpreter during the day and attended City College at night. She started touring as a singer with two different bands in 1951 and then went solo in 1952. Steve and Eydie met on *Tonight!* in September 1953, when Gorme became a regular. In 1954, *Tonight!* was broadcast nationally on NBC and that same year the couple released their first single together, *Make Yourself Comfortable*. They married in Las Vegas in 1957. Lawrence was drafted in 1958 and served two years in the army, where he performed with the U.S. Army Band. In 1960, the couple released their first joint LP together, *We Got Us*, and the title song won the Grammy Award for best performance by a vocal group. In 1963, Brill Building team Barry Mann and Cynthia Weil helped Gorme break into the Top Ten and earned her a Grammy solo nod with *Blame It on the Bossa Nova*, and

Lawrence had a No. 1 hit with Gerry Goffin and Carole *King's *Go Away Little Girl* that same year. The couple continued to enjoy pop success for the next year until the British Invasion hit in 1964. Lawrence turned to Broadway with the musical *What Makes Sammy Run?*, which earned him a Drama Critics Circle Award and a Tony nomination. In 1967, the couple hit Broadway together with *Golden Rainbow*, featuring Lawrence's easy-listening hit *I've Gotta Be Me*. They continued recording together and remained nightclub headliners in the 1970s, and shot the television specials *Our Love Is Here to Stay*, a salute to George *Gershwin, and *Steve and Eydie Celebrate Irving Berlin*, which won seven Emmy Awards. Lawrence appeared in the films *The Blues Brother* and *The Lonely Guy* in the 1980s. Steve and Eydie opened for Frank Sinatra on his 1990–91 Diamond Jubilee tour. They continued to perform in Las Vegas and appeared as themselves in the 2001 remake of the Sinatra film *Ocean's Eleven*. The couple had two sons, film composer David Nessim Lawrence and Michael, who died in 1986 at 23.

[Adam Wills (2nd ed.)]

°**LAWRENCE, THOMAS EDWARD** (1888–1935), English archaeologist, Orientalist, and author known for his exploits in World War I as "Lawrence of Arabia." Lawrence first visited the Near East in 1909, when he went to Syria and Palestine to prepare his study on Crusader architecture. In 1911–14 he joined an archaeological expedition in Carchemish and, together with Leonard *Woolley, he mapped the Negev and the Sinai Desert. After the outbreak of World War I, when Turkey joined the Central Powers, he was posted to *Cairo and served in British military intelligence. There he joined the Arab Bureau, set up on Jan. 1, 1916, and was charged with exploiting Arab national ambitions for British war aims. In June 1916, when the anti-Turkish Arab revolt, led by Emir Feisal, began, Lawrence was attached to him as liaison officer on behalf of the British and was instrumental in arming and financing the rebellion. Lawrence directed the military operations of the Arab rebels who destroyed Turkish military installations, captured Akaba (1917), and ultimately entered Damascus (1918).

At the end of World War I, Lawrence was a member of the British delegation at the Paris Peace Conference and became the adviser of Emir Feisal, who represented Arab interests. In both these capacities he arranged a meeting between Feisal and Chaim *Weizmann, whom he greatly admired. The negotiations between Feisal and Weizmann, with Lawrence as interpreter and adviser, led to an agreement by which the national and historical rights of the Jews to Palestine were recognized, Britain would be the trustee power in Palestine, and the country itself would be developed to create room for 4,000,000–5,000,000 Jews. In return, the Jews would extend financial and technical aid and advice to revive the Arab countries. Lawrence hoped that such an agreement would serve to push the French out of the Middle East and destroy the *Sykes-Picot agreement. Later Lawrence served as adviser to Colonial Secretary Winston *Churchill and, together with him and Sir Herbert *Samuel, participated in the Cairo Conference (1921), which confirmed the Balfour Declaration, recommended that Feisal (whom the French had expelled from Damascus) be king of Iraq, and appointed his brother *Abdullah as ruler of Transjordan. After a few months in Transjordan as chief British representative in Amman, Lawrence returned to England and resigned his post. In 1926 he published his book, *The Seven Pillars of Wisdom*, about the Arab revolt and his part in it and a shorter version in 1927 entitled *Revolt in the Desert*. His other works, *Crusader Castles* (2 vols., 1936), *The Wilderness of Zin* (1936), and *Oriental Assembly* (1940), appeared posthumously. "Lawrence of Arabia" has remained a legendary, romantic figure, one of the most famous military adventurers of modern times, and the subject of a famous film biography (1962). He was considered the champion of the Arab national cause who had accused the British of betraying their obligations to it. This image, as well as many details about his life and adventures, became the topic of considerable controversy in later biographical and political research. There seems no doubt, however, that Lawrence never was an anti-Zionist and that he regarded Zionism and Arab nationalism as complementary forces in the Middle East.

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[Daniel Efron]

LAWSON (**Levy-Lawson**), English family of newspaper publishers and editors. JOSEPH MOSES LEVY (1812–1888) owned and edited the *Sunday Times* for a year. In 1855 he took over the *Daily Telegraph and Courier* (which had been founded three months previously), abridged its name to the *Daily Telegraph* and halved its price, making it the first penny morning paper in London. Levy and his son Edward eventually made the paper one of the leading voices in British journalism. He ran the paper as a Liberal mouthpiece, but in 1879 transferred its allegiance from Gladstone to Disraeli and ultimately adopted the Conservative line. EDWARD LEVY-LAWSON (1833–1916), first Baron Burnham, was the eldest son of Joseph Moses Levy. He added the name Lawson by royal license in 1875. When his father acquired the *Daily Telegraph* and made him editor, Levy-Lawson utilized the telegraph for newsgathering, broke away from the ponderous newspaper style of the period, adopted a livelier news presentation, and employed many distinguished writers. The paper organized "shilling funds" for soldiers' dependents, the famine relief drives in Lancashire, and supported other worthy causes. In 1871 the *Daily Telegraph* and the *New York Herald* cosponsored H.M. Stanley's search for Livingstone in Africa. In 1873 it sponsored George Smith's Assyrian archeological expedition which discovered cuneiform records of the Flood. The daily circulation of the *Daily Telegraph* had risen to 200,000 by 1871. Levy-Lawson was made a baronet in 1892 and a baron upon his retirement from active control of the paper in 1903. He was not a professing Jew. SIR HARRY LAWSON WEBSTER LEVY-LAWSON, Viscount Burnham (1862–1933), was son of the first baron. Levy-Lawson, who had no connections with the Jewish community, served in parliament as a Liberal MP in the years 1885–92 and 1893–95. He then switched parties in opposition to Irish Home Rule, serving as a Tory MP in 1905–06 and 1910–16. He was made a Companion of Honour (CH) in 1917 and a viscount in 1919. He succeeded his father as owner of the *Daily Telegraph* in 1903. In 1927 he sold the paper. Levy-Lawson was chairman of the committee which formulated the "Burnham scale" for teachers' pay.

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LAWSON, JOHN HOWARD (1895–1977), U.S. playwright. With the 1925 production of his *Processional*, Lawson became known as a leading exponent of expressionist and social drama. His works include *Loud Speaker* (1927), a political farce; *International* (1927); *Success Story* (1932); *Gentlewoman* (1934); and *Marching Song* (1937), a labor drama. He also wrote *The Hidden Heritage* (1950), a cultural history of America, and *Film: The Creative Process* (1964). His thoughts on writing and film can be found in his *Theory and Technique of Playwrighting* (1936) and *Film in the Battle of Ideas* (1953).

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LAWTON, SAMUEL T. (1884–1961), U.S. army officer. Born in Peoria, Illinois, Lawton was admitted to the bar in 1905 but enlisted in the Illinois National Guard in 1909. He fought on the Mexican border and in France during World War I as a captain. He later served in Germany and Luxembourg, and returned to the United States to command a field artillery brigade. He was major general commanding the 33rd infantry division from March 1941 to May 1942. He remained on active service until his retirement in 1948.

LAWYERS.

Introduction

Although Jews were noted advocates at Brighegua near Toledo, Spain, as early as 1436, and though converted Jews were prominent lawyers in South America in the 17th century, Jews were generally prevented from practicing law in most of the countries in which they settled until early in the 19th century. In some countries their exclusion was based on the belief that law was largely ecclesiastical law and hence unsuitable for non-Christians, as was argued in Austria, while in many other countries it was believed that membership of the legal profession was a mark of distinction not to be conferred on an alien race to whom citizenship and political rights had not been granted. The very reasons that caused their exclusion acted as a spur to Jews to seek admission to the legal profession. On the one hand the study of law had been a tradition among Jews, while the very fact that membership of the legal profession, like the medical profession, was a mark of distinction, and encouraged Jews who wished to integrate to become lawyers. But many young Jews, who would otherwise have been refused admission to university, converted to Christianity in order to study law, and others converted later so as to be allowed to practice. The result was that many of the Jews who set out to become lawyers in order to become accepted to Christian society found it necessary to become Christians before they could be accepted as lawyers. Nevertheless, the attraction of the profession remained considerable. As a lawyer the Jew was able to earn enough money to haul himself out of the ghetto environment which had become anachronistic in the age of Enlightenment. At the same time he was given an independent means of livelihood, not reliant upon a non-Jewish employer.

In most countries Jews were permitted to practice law at about the time they were granted civil rights. The first Jewish lawyer in the Hapsburg dominions, Raphael *Joel, was granted a doctorate of law a few years after the Edict of Toleration was issued in 1782. Jews became lawyers in Holland and Italy when the French conquest of those countries brought with it the ideas of liberty, equality, and fraternity, and in Russia Jews were finally admitted to the bar in 1904 as a sop to the liberal elements. Only in the United States and in the British colonies, where Jews always enjoyed civil rights, were they able to practice law without hindrance.

Not surprisingly, the legal work in which Jewish lawyers engaged varied according to the circumstances of the Jews in the countries in which they lived. In Russia before the Bolshevik Revolution and in Poland until World War II, a number of Jewish lawyers were engaged in cases arising out of the persecution of Jews, such as the Odessa pogrom of 1871, in which Alexander *Passover was one of several Jewish lawyers to represent the victims in compensation claims and when Leib Landau represented Jewish victims in the Polish city of Przedecz after antisemitic excesses there. In the United States, where the Jews as a minority had an interest in the protection of the individual by the maintenance of civil liberties, Jewish lawyers were prominent in civil rights cases, among them Louis *Marshall and Arthur Garfield *Hays, each of whom was prominent in the defense of Jews and non-Jews alike.

In Germany and Austria, on the other hand, where assimilation into Christian society was a *sine qua non* of success in the legal profession, virtually no Jewish lawyers, apart from Gabriel *Riesser, could be said to have professionally concerned themselves with the interests of Jews nor, particularly, with questions of civil liberties. In these countries Jewish lawyers were involved in developing the philosophy of law by the writing of learned texts. Thus Paul *Laband and Georg Jellinek in Germany, and Julius *Ofner and Emil *Steinbach and others in Austria, were pioneers of social legislation. Their work was directed not toward the benefit of individuals but to the improvement of the political system, for they admired the legal institutions of the countries in which they lived and were anxious to develop and improve them.

In the British Empire, where discrimination against Jewish lawyers was considerably less than in most European countries, Jews advanced easily in all branches of the profession and a relatively large number held judicial posts. In South Africa alone, 11 Jews were appointed judges between 1945 and 1970, while in Australia two Jews served as chief justices of the High Court of Western Australia, New South Wales, and Victoria. In addition, Sir Sidney *Abrahams was chief justice of Uganda (1933–34), Tanganyika (1934–36), and Ceylon (1936–39) and Sir Victor Elyan (1909–) was chief justice of Swaziland (1965–70).

Yet, though they were denied the right to practice law in most states until the 19th century and though they suffered from legal and social discrimination thereafter, Jews turned to the legal profession in large numbers in Western countries. After World War II, Jews in the United States, France, and England constituted a very high proportion of all the lawyers in the respective capital cities. In Eastern countries, however, they were not generally prominent, because the Muslim countries never granted Jews the civil equality which they eventually won in the West. Nevertheless, Salomon Bensabat was appointed High Court judge in Morocco, Mison Ventura (1883–?) became professor of Roman law at the University of Istanbul, and Alfred Chatzner was a High Court judge in India. Ezekiel Ezekiel was a leading advocate at the Bombay bar. Another outstanding Jewish lawyer was Naim *Zilkha who was deputy president of the Beirut Court of Appeals and later president of the civil court in Diyala Province, Iraq.

One other notable feature of the Jewish involvement in law was the large number of Jews prominent in the field of international law. Sir Hersch *Lauterpacht became judge of the International Court of Justice at The Hague and edited the standard textbook on international law written by a German Jew, Lassa *Oppenheim. Among other Jews who influenced the development of international law were Tobias *Asser, winner of the Nobel Peace Prize, and the legal theorists Hans *Kelsen and Julius *Stone. Jews also served as legal advisers to the foreign ministries of various states, notably the United States, Britain, Holland, and Poland and held chairs in international law at most of the European universities. Various theories have been postulated for their prominence in this branch of the law. One influential factor would seem to be that Jews wandered from land to land and were rarely attached to any particular system of law for long periods of time.

Australia

There were no restrictions on Jews practicing law in Australia and a number of Jews held high positions in the legal profession in the 19th century. Among the first Jewish lawyers in Australia was Sir Julian *Salomons, one of many to study law in England. He was admitted to the Sydney bar in 1861, rose to become solicitor-general of New South Wales, and in 1886 was appointed chief justice. Three other Jewish lawyers from New South Wales attained prominence: Henry Cohen (1840–1912), who was a judge of the Supreme Court of New South Wales from 1896 to 1911, Sir Daniel *Levy, who became speaker of the New South Wales Parliament in 1919, and Alroy Cohen, QC. In Victoria, Samuel Leon, QC became crown prosecutor and Pharez Phillips and Theodore *Fink were lawyers who became prominent figures in Australian politics.

After World War I, the number of Jewish lawyers in Australia decreased, despite an increase in the Jewish population. Nevertheless, several Jews held important legal posts, among them Judge J.J. Cohen of the New South Wales bench, Henry I. Cohen, attorney-general of Victoria, and Louis Braham, president of the Law Institute of Australia. Most illustrious of all was Sir Isaac *Isaacs who was made acting chief justice of the High Court of Australia in 1927 and chief justice from 1930 until 1931 when he became governor-general of Australia. Following World War II there was a marked increase in the number of Jews in the legal profession and some achieved considerable distinction, among them Sir Albert Wolff (1899–1977), chief justice of Western Australia from 1959 to 1969; Elias Coppel (1896–?), acting chief justice of the Supreme Court of Victoria and the author of a standard work on the law of sale; and three judges of the Supreme Court of New South Wales – Bernard Sugerman, David Selby, and Simon Isaacs. In addition several Jews were made queen's counsel, their number including Sir Phillip Phillips, chairman of the Royal Commission on Liquor in Victoria, Joan Rosanove, an eminent woman lawyer, Senator Sam *Cohen, deputy leader of the Australian Labour Party, and Maurice *Ashkanasy.

In the early part of the 21st century, five Jews sat on Australia's Appeals Courts, but none on the High Court of Australia, the country's supreme court.

Three Jews achieved distinction as professors of law. Julius Stone was professor of jurisprudence at the University of Sydney and an internationally renowned authority on jurisprudence and international law, Zelman *Cowen was dean of the faculty of law at the University of Melbourne, and later served as Australia's governor-general, and Louis Waller (1935–) was professor of law at Monash University.

[Isidor Solomon]

Austria

Until the Edict of Toleration was issued in 1782 by Emperor Joseph II, Jews were unable to enter university and, therefore, to practice law or any other learned profession. Following promulgation of the edict, Raphael Joel, a native of western Bohemia, entered Prague University and after considerable debate was permitted to take a doctorate of civil law. Previously, only Jews who had already converted to Christianity were allowed to become lawyers, the most prominent of them being Joseph von Sonnenfels (1732–1817), who worked for the abolition of torture and the limitation of capital punishment. The outstanding Jewish lawyer in Austria of the 19th century was Wolfgang *Wessely, who was the first Jew to become a full university professor in Austria and was responsible for the introduction of the jury system. However, the right of Jews to hold legal posts remained in doubt until the constitution of 1867 granted the Jews legal civic equality with the rest of the population. The benefits granted to the Jews by the 1867 constitution were largely the result of the work of Heinrich Jacques (1831–1894), a Viennese lawyer and politician, who campaigned for the removal of restrictions against the Jews in his book *Denkschrift ueber die Stellung der Juden in Oesterreich* (1859[4]), which attracted considerable attention. Although Jews were given legal equality by the 1867 constitution, they were deprived of practical equality because of widespread social and professional discrimination which could not be removed simply by a change in the law. Many Jews converted to Christianity, believing that conversion was a small price to pay for a major part in the development of the united Hapsburg Empire which they regarded as the model open society in Europe. Among the converts were Julius *Glaser, regarded as the father of Austrian criminal procedure, who became minister of justice, and Joseph Unger, who was later president of the Reichsgericht. Glaser and Unger were responsible for an outstanding collection of judgments of the Austrian Supreme Court and were recognized as the foremost figures in 19th-century Austrian law. Their conversion to Christianity estranged them no more from Judaism than other prominent Austrian-Jewish lawyers, such as Julius Ofner, who worked for the enactment of social legislation in parliament, Emil Steinbach, another pioneer of social legislation, who became president of the Supreme Court after converting to Christianity, and Franz Klein who twice served as minister of justice.

Jewish lawyers in Austria-Hungary won a reputation during the 19th century as a force for unity and stability in the Empire, coupled with a passion for social and legislative reform. In the 20th century Jews were responsible for major treatises on Austrian civil law. Armin Ehrenzweig (1864–1935) was the author of *System des Oesterreichischen Allgemeinen Privatrechts* (1925), Horace Krasnopolski (1842–1908) produced a complete textbook of Austrian civil law which was published after his death by Bruno *Kafka, and Joseph Schey von Koromla, who was a member of the Commission for the Revision of the Civil Code, was largely responsible for additions to the Code. An outstanding textbook on Austrian civil law was Heinrich *Klang's *Kommentar zum Allgemeinen Buergerlichen Gesetzbuch* (1931–35), edited jointly with nine leading Jewish lawyers. In addition, several Austrian Jews also achieved distinction as commercial lawyers, among them Karl Samuel Grunhut (1844–1929) and Oskar Pisko (1876–1939), while Walther *Rode, Ernst Lohsing (1874–1942), and Hugo Sperber were prominent campaigners for criminal law reform. Nevertheless, dissatisfaction with the federal order of Austrian society led Austro-Jewish lawyers toward separatism, nationalism, and Jewish minority protection. Eventually, a group of international lawyers joined Hans *Kelsen to form the Vienna School of Jurisprudence, which rejected the dualist legal system of the Hapsburg Empire and advocated a pluralistic legal system subject to supraordinated international law. However, it was the advent of Fascism and the Nazi invasion of the various territories that formed the Austro-Hungarian Empire that finally brought to an end the Jewish legal activity in Austria. No less than the Austrian aristocracy, Austrian Jewry was a belated victim of the disappearance of the Hapsburg monarchy.

[Josef J. Lador-Lederer]

Canada

Jews were not prominent in the legal profession in Canada in the 19th century and no Jews served as judges until 1914 when Samuel *Shultz was appointed county court judge in British Columbia. No other Jew held a judicial position in Canada before 1929, with the exception of Jacob Cohen, a Toronto magistrate from 1918 to 1930. While a disproportionate number of Jews were drawn to study law, for much of the first half of the 20th century Jewish lawyers felt the sting of prejudice and the possibility of advancement within the profession was severely limited. Often denied admission to mainstream law firms, Jewish lawyers were forced to practice on their own or join largely Jewish law firms that formed in centers of Jewish population concentration. In 1931 there were 351 Jewish lawyers in Canada, most in Montreal, Toronto, and Winnipeg.

After World War II, there was a steady increase in the number of Jews who were given judicial posts, among them the first Jew to be appointed to a superior court when Harry Bradshaw was appointed to the Quebec Superior Court in 1950. Benjamin Robinson and Harry Blumenstein also served on the Quebec Superior Court. A number of Jews were appointed to provincial Supreme Courts since the 1960s. Abraham Lieff was made judge of the Ontario Supreme Court, Nathan *Nemetz was raised to the British Columbia Supreme Court, and Justin Louis Dubinsky was appointed to the Nova Scotia Supreme Court in 1967. Samuel *Freedman was named chief justice of the province of Manitoba in 1971, and in 1970 Bora *Laskin, who was previously a judge of the Ontario Court of Appeal, was appointed the first Jewish justice of the Supreme Court of Canada by Prime Minister Pierre Elliot Trudeau and in 1973 he was made chief justice of Canada.

The appointment of a Jew as chief justice of Canada signaled the unequivocal acceptance of Jews in the Canadian legal establishment. As barriers to Jews in the legal profession crumbled, and Jewish lawyers became partners in the large firms, Jewish appointments to the Bench no longer raised eyebrows. Jews, men and women, are to be found on the faculty of every major law school in Canada and a number have served as deans. By 2004, there were two Jewish judges among the nine judges on the Supreme Court of Canada, Morris Fish of Montreal (appointed in 2003) and Rosalie Silberman *Abella (appointed in 2004), and a Jew, Irwin *Cotler, was Canada's minister of justice.

[Stuart E. Rosenberg / Richard Menkis and Harold Troper (2nd ed.)]

England

The first Jew known to have been a lawyer in England was Francis *Goldsmid, who was called to the bar in 1883 and who, when swearing the oath, omitted the words on "the true faith of a Christian" which at the time were required for all public offices. Subsequently, a steadily increasing number of Jews were admitted as lawyers, though discrimination against them remained for many years afterwards. Indeed, until World War II, only a small number of Jews entered law, commensurate with the low percentage of Jews in the total population. Nevertheless, several Jewish lawyers acquired great distinction. Sir George *Jessel was the first Jew in England to be made a judge. He later held the title of Master of the Rolls and was later recognized as one of the chief architects of the modern law of equity. Other prominent Jewish lawyers of the 19th century were Jacob *Waley, Judah P. *Benjamin, Arthur *Cohen, and Sir George *Lewis (1833–1911). The greatest Jewish advocate at the English bar was Rufus Isaacs, later Lord *Reading, who became successively attorney general and lord chief justice, the only Jew to hold these coveted offices.

Nevertheless, the influence of Jews in English law remained slight until after World War II, when the legal profession (especially the solicitorial branch) attracted a disproportionately high percentage of Jews. By 1970 there were six Jewish High Court judges (Lord Cohen of *Walmer, Sir Cyril *Salmon, Sir Seymour *Karminski, Sir Alan *Mocatta, Sir Sebag Shaw (1906–1982), and Sir Philip Wien (1913–1981)) and more than one solicitor in ten in the major cities was a Jew. The sharp increase in the number of Jewish lawyers was largely the result of a general liberalization of a profession which had previously been socially exclusive. Nevertheless, few of the large or most prominent legal firms had Jewish members and the fear that the profession would be swamped by Jews proved unfounded. Among distinguished Jewish advocates were Bertram B. *Benas, who practiced at the bar for over 60 years, Rose *Heilbron, the first woman in Britain to become a queen's counsel, Neville *Laski, Bernard Gillis (1905–1996), and Joseph Jackson (1924–1987), editor of the standard textbook on divorce. Two Jews, Arthur *Diamond and Sir Jack Jacob (1908–2000), became well-known as masters of the Supreme Court. In recent years many Jews have served on the British Bench, including two lord chief justices, Lord *Taylor and Lord *Woolf. John Cooper's *Pride vs. Prejudice: Jewish Doctors and Lawyers in England, 1890–1990* (2003), is a detailed and deeply researched account of Jews in these two professions and the obstacles they faced, which concludes that, in general, Jews faced little significant antisemitism.

[George Julius Webber / William D. Rubinstein (2nd ed.)]

UNIVERSITY TEACHERS. Jews were not prominent as law lecturers in Britain before World War II but after 1945 their number increased rapidly. Some of the outstanding Jewish professors of law were immigrants from Germany, many of whom specialized in the field of international law. Among those who achieved distinction as professors of public international law were Lassa Oppenheim and Sir Hersch *Lauterpacht at Cambridge and Georg Schwarzenberger of University College, London. Professors of private international law included Otto Kahn-Freund (d. 1979), who later became professor of comparative law at Oxford, Martin Wolff, Frederick Mann, E.J. Cohn, and Josef *Unger. Two Jews were reputed professors of Roman law – H.F. Jolowicz who was professor of Roman law for 30 years, first in London and then at Oxford, and Raphael Powell. Other Jewish academic lawyers of distinction included A.L. *Goodhart, the first Jewish master of an Oxford college, David *Daube, professor of civil law at Oxford, and Clare Palley who in 1970 was the first woman to be made professor of law.

[George Julius Webber]

France

Jews were not allowed to practice law in France until 1791. In that year they were given the right to French citizenship and a large measure of civil equality. Nevertheless, it was not until late in the 19th century that Jews became prominent in the three branches of the legal profession, the bar, the bench, and the universities. One of the first Jewish lawyers in France was Adolphe *Crémieux who was admitted to the bar in 1817 and successfully refused to take the humiliating *more judaico* oath which had previously been obligatory for all Jews. He was minister of justice on three occasions and the first Jew in France to hold this post. Other prominent lawyers were Louis Loew (1828–1917), who became an imperial public prosecutor in 1861 and later president of the criminal division of the Cour de Cassation, Leonce Lehman (1836–1892), secretary-general of the ministry of justice under Crémieux, and Frederick Reitlinger (1836–1910), a German advocate who immigrated to France and was the author of a standard work on cooperative societies. Other Jews achieved distinction as jurists including Charles *Lyon-Caen, professor of law at the University of Paris for nearly half a century and the leading authority on commercial law, Emile Worms (1838–1912), professor of law at the University of Rennes and the author of numerous works on constitutional and fiscal law, and André Weiss (1858–1928), professor of international and civil law at Dijon University and the legal adviser to the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs. There was a sharp increase in the number of Jewish lawyers at the beginning of the 20th century and several were appointed judges, among them Jules Valabrègue (1843–1925), president of the Paris Court of Appeals from 1906 to 1913. Valabrègue was one of the four Jews appointed to the Conseil d'Etat during this period; the others were André *Spire, Paul Grunebaum-Ballin, and Léon *Blum. Nevertheless, Jews were not generally appointed to top positions in the legal profession and only a few won fame as advocates, such as Henry *Torrès through his successful defense of Shalom *Schwarzbard, or held top university posts, as René *Cassin and Henri Lévi-Ullman. After World War II the number of Jewish lawyers continued to increase and by 1970 it was estimated that 25% of the lawyers at the Paris bar and more than 10% of the law lecturers at Paris University were Jews. In 1945, Cassin was president of the Conseil d'Etat, the first Jew to hold this position. Charles Eisenmann and Prosper Weil, professors of public law, and Lyon-Caen and Sinay, professors of labor law, were noted jurists.

[Claude Klein]

Germany

Although Jews were permitted to study medicine at German universities from the beginning of the 18th century, they were prevented from studying law until early in the 19th century. They were not allowed to practice law in some German states, such as Prussia, until after the Revolution of 1848. Thereafter, Jews found considerable obstacles in the way of their holding senior legal posts as judges, advocates, or university professors, and while many attempted to overcome discrimination by converting to Christianity, some Jewish lawyers of Germany achieved distinction by their writings on commercial, public, and international law without holding any formal legal position.

One of the first Jewish lawyers in Germany was Eduard *Gans, who was appointed lecturer in jurisprudence at Berlin University in 1820. He was made full professor in 1828, shortly after his conversion to Christianity. Gans was succeeded at Berlin by Friedrich Julius *Stahl, another converted Jew, and the first professing Jew to become professor of law at a German university was Heinrich *Dernburg, who was appointed to the chair of law at the University of Halle in 1862 and later became professor of Roman and Prussian law in Berlin.

The first Jewish judge in Germany was Hermann Makower, who was made an assistant judge of the Berlin Municipal Court in 1857. Three years later Gabriel Riesser became the first Jewish High Court judge when he was appointed to the Hamburg bench. Riesser's judgeship was particularly significant since he had at one time been refused a license to practice law because he was Jewish and had subsequently conducted a campaign for Jewish emancipation. Levin *Goldschmidt, professor of commercial law at the University of Heidelberg, became a judge of the commercial court and in 1887 Jacob *Behrend became the first Jewish judge of the German Supreme Court. In addition, Hermann *Staub and Theodor Loewenfeld (1848–1919) were among the first Jews to become prominent at the German bar, Siegfried Sommer and Albert Mosse (1846–1925) were the first Jewish Superior Court judges in Prussia, and Nathan Stein (1859–1927) was made president of the Mannheim district court in 1914, the first Jewish president of a court in Germany.

Nevertheless, few Jews were successful in obtaining senior judicial appointments in the German Empire and many sought professorial positions at German universities. Even toward the latter part of the century, however, discrimination still existed against Jews. Thus Hugo *Preuss, an authority on constitutional law, waited 36 years before the University of Berlin granted him a professorship. Preuss became chairman of the committee which drafted the Weimar constitution after 1918 and was one of four Jewish constitutional lawyers whose writings were to influence the form of the Weimar constitution, the others being Paul *Laband, author of the standard text *Das Staatsrecht des Deutschen Reiches* (3 vols., 1876–82), Georg Jellinek, and Adolphe *Arndt. Other notable Jewish professors, all of whom converted to Christianity, included Ferdinand Frensdorf (1833–1931), an authority on legal history, Edgar Loening (1843–1919), professor of constitutional and international law, and his brother, Richard Loening (1848–1903), who was professor of criminal law at the University of Jena for more than 20 years.

The end of the German Empire and the formation of the Weimar Republic brought about the end of all restrictions on Jews holding legal posts in the legal profession in Germany. Jewish lawyers found the profession highly lucrative in the period of rampant inflation during the early 1920s. The percentage of Jewish lawyers in practice was well in excess of the proportion of Jews to the general population (by 1932 the number was estimated at 20% of the total number of lawyers) and some became prominent advocates. Otto *Landsberg was minister of justice. Max Hachenburg was president of the Mannheim bar association. Albert Pinner (1857–1933) and Albrecht Mendelssohn-Bartholdy were German counsel at the Permanent Court of International Justice. After 1918 there was a sharp increase in the number of Jewish judges in Germany. Cohn and Citron were made Supreme Court judges and Alfred Orgler was a member of the Prussian Supreme Court. There was an even larger increase in the number of Jewish jurists. Hermann *Kantorowicz, Arthur *Nussbaum, professor of law at the University of Berlin, and Hans *Kelsen, professor of international law at the University of Cologne, were among many Jews to hold university chairs in law. They were obliged to leave their posts after 1933 and later held professorial posts at universities in the United States.

The Nazi rise to power led to the gradual elimination of Jewish lawyers from the legal profession. All judges and law professors were removed from their posts in 1933 but it was not until December 1935 that Jews were forbidden to practice law. After World War II there was a small number of Jewish lawyers in Germany, most of whom were involved in reparations cases. Josef Neuberger (1902–1977) was minister of justice in North-Rhineland and Westphalia but few other Jews held senior posts on the bench or in the universities. By 1970 it was estimated that there were fewer than 50 Jews in private practice in Germany.

[Robert M.W. Kempner]

Hungary

Restrictions on Jews practicing law in Hungary were removed by legislation at the end of the 1850s allowing Jews to engage in all professions. Nevertheless, as in Austria, the advancement of Jews in the legal profession was beset by religious prejudices and many converted to Christianity to further their careers. One of the first Jewish lawyers in Hungary was Izidor Baumgarten (1850–1914) who became a judge in Budapest in 1886 and was made district attorney for Budapest in 1896. His brother Károly Baumgarten (1853–1913), the first Jewish Supreme Court judge, was appointed in 1892. Several other Jews held judicial posts during the Austro-Hungarian Empire, among them Hugo Beck (1843–1928), Dezső Márkus (1862–1912), and Béla Gallia (1870–1954), who were appointed to the Supreme Court, and Sigismund Decsey, who was made a judge of the Royal Court in Budapest in 1895. On the other hand, Jews did not generally hold professorships at Hungarian universities; an exception was Gustave Schwarz (1858–1920), who became professor of Roman law at the University of Budapest.

During World War I Vilmos *Vázsonyi became minister of justice. He was one of three Jewish lawyers whose career at the bar paved the way for his political advancement – the others being Lipót *Vadász and Soma Visontai. Following Hungary's defeat in war and the failure of the Communist revolution, the Jews underwent organized persecution and Jewish judges and law professors were demoted. Tibor Lőw (1873–1942) was unique in his appointment as chief judge of the Court of Appeals and even he was obliged to retire following the nazification of Hungarian society in the late 1930s. Eventually, Jews were debarred from practicing law altogether and during World War II Jewish lawyers were removed from the judiciary and government service. After the war all restrictions on Jews practicing law were once again removed but only a small number could practice under the Communist regime, and none held top posts as judges or professors.

Italy

The emancipation of the Jews in Italy was completed in 1870 with the emancipation of the Jews of Rome in that year. Jews rapidly acquired prominence as jurists and professors of law but very few achieved fame as advocates or judges despite the fact that there was no legal barrier to their doing so. A notable exception was Lodovico *Mortara, who became successively attorney general, public prosecutor, president of the Supreme Court (Corte di Cassazione), and minister of justice.

One of the first Jews in Italy to hold a chair in law was Cesare *Vivante, who became professor of commercial law at the University of Parma in 1882 at the age of 27. Vivante was the founder of the modern Italian school for the study of commercial law and the author of a standard work on commercial law, *Istituzioni di diritto* (1891, 1935). Other prominent professors of commercial law included Leone Bolaffio (1848–1940), who helped Vivante prepare *Annuario critico della Giurisprudenza commerciale*, a yearbook on commercial law, D. Subino (1850–1937), who founded and edited the review *Diritto Commerciale*, and A. Graziani, who wrote a manual of commercial law. A number of Italian Jews became prominent as legal historians, including Vittorio *Colorni, who, in his major work, *Legge Ebraica e Leggi Locali* (1945), traced the application of Jewish law in Italy from Roman times; Gino *Segre, who for 20 years was professor of Roman law at the University of Turin; Edoardo *Volterra, who was professor of Roman law at four Italian universities; and A. Lattes (1858–1940), who was an authority on maritime law.

After World War I Jews held law chairs at almost every Italian university at a time when in other European countries a Jewish professor of law was unusual. Some of them were active in Jewish affairs, such as Mario *Falco, professor of ecclesiastical law at the University of Milan and a strong Zionist, Cino *Vitta, professor of administrative law in Florence and president of the Florence Jewish community, and Guido *Tedeschi, who immigrated to Israel and became professor of civil law at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. In 1938 antisemitic laws were promulgated which prohibited Jews from holding university posts and within a year all the Jewish law professors were removed, among them Vitta, Volterra, Segre, *Ascarelli, Frederico *Cammeo, Colorni, and Mario Falco. After 1945, however, many of them returned to their posts: Volterra became rector of the University of Bologna in 1947, Ascarelli was appointed professor of commercial law at the University of Rome, and Angelo Pierre Sereni returned to the chair of international law at the University of Ferrara.

In the assimilated milieu of Italian Jewish society there was no typically Jewish contribution to Italian law. Nevertheless, it has been said that "every Jewish lawyer (in Italy) had his personal note, original and strong, that never was lost, but on the contrary, sometimes caused an innovation or modification in old rooted concepts" (G. Bedarida, *Ebrei d'Italia* (1950), 171ff.).

[Alfredo Mordechai Rabello]

Netherlands

Although Jews were permitted to study and practice medicine from the 17th century, they were not allowed to become lawyers until after the conquest of Holland by France in 1795 and the formation of the Batavian Republic. The first Jew to be formally admitted into the legal profession was Jonas *Meyer, who later became a court magistrate in Amsterdam and secretary of the government committee to draft a new Dutch constitution. Two other prominent Jewish lawyers of this period were Moses *Asser and his son Carel, the former being procurator in Amsterdam and one of the draftsmen of the first Dutch commercial code, and the latter secretary-general of the Ministry of Justice from 1815 to 1836. During the course of the 19th century several other Jews achieved prominence as lawyers in Holland. Joel Emanuel *Goudsmit, appointed to the chair of Roman law at Leyden in 1858, was the first Jewish professor of law in Holland; Michael *Godefroi was made minister of justice in 1860, the first of four Jews in Dutch history to hold this post. Two other Jewish lawyers became judges: Carel Asser (1843–1908) was a judge of the Hague District Court and later professor of civil law at Leyden and Aaron Adolf de *Pinto, who was largely responsible for the Netherlands Penal Code of 1886, was vice president of the Supreme Court. Most distinguished of all was Tobias *Asser who was successively professor of international law, legal advisor to the foreign ministry, and a chairman of the government committee for international law. He was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 1911. Tobias Asser was one of two distinguished Dutch Jewish international lawyers, the other being Jacques *Oppenheim who held the chair of international law at Leyden.

At the end of the 19th century the number of prominent Jewish lawyers in Holland was disproportionately large in relation to the total number of Jews. The trend was continued into the 20th century when Jewish judges in Holland included Lodewijk *Visser and Moritz *Polak, both of whom were appointed to the Supreme Court, and two of Polak's sons, Nico and Jacques, who were District Court judges. Eduard van *Raalte was appointed minister of justice in 1905. Daniel Jitta, professor of law at the University of Amsterdam, and Eduard *Meyers, professor of law at Leyden for 40 years, were two outstanding jurists. Few Jewish lawyers survived the Holocaust to practice after World War II, yet two Jews rose to become ministers of justice during this period – Ivo *Samkalden was appointed twice, in 1956 and in 1965, and Carel Polak, a third son of Moritz Polak, served from 1968.

Poland

Before Polish independence in 1918 there were very few Jewish lawyers in those parts of Austria, Prussia, and Russia which now form the territory of modern Poland. Jews in Russian Poland were generally refused permission to practice as lawyers until 1904, when restrictions on Jewish lawyers were annulled, while in Austrian and Prussian Poland, Jews tended to move to the large cities, such as Vienna and Berlin, where they had better facilities to study and practice. A curious exception was Edward Rittner (b. 1845) who became professor of ecclesiastical law at the University of Lemberg, and after converting to Christianity became secretary of state for Galicia.

Following Polish independence in 1918 Jews were granted equal rights to practice law, but severe discrimination existed both as regards the status of Jews in the profession generally and in their appointment to higher legal posts at the bar or in the judiciary. By 1931 nearly half of all Poland's lawyers were Jews and in areas where there was a large Jewish concentration, the figure was much higher. As legal costs rose lawyers' earnings dropped steadily and the Polish bar saw the persecution of Jewish lawyers as a way of recouping their losses. Restrictions on the right of Jews to hold certain legal posts were introduced and measures were taken to reduce the number of Jews who could enter the profession. Nevertheless, a few Jews did succeed: Grzegerz Glass (1864–1929) became a district court judge from 1918 until his death; Mauryey Allerhand (1863–1942) represented Poland in disputes before the Permanent Court of International Justice in The Hague; and Jan Jakub Litauer became a judge of the Supreme Court. A number of Jewish lawyers such as Waclaw Brokman (1879–1943), Leib *Landau, and Leon *Berenson, acquired prominence as defense counsel in political trials and defended Jews who were the victims of antisemitic attacks. The formation of the Communist Polish People's Republic at the end of World War II brought about the end of discriminatory practices against Jewish lawyers, whose number had fallen steeply as a result of the Holocaust. Several became university professors, among them Jan Jakub Litauer, who was professor of civil procedure at the University of Lodz, Jerzy *Sawicky, professor of criminal law at Warsaw University, Marion *Muszkat, professor of international law at Warsaw University, and Manfred *Lachs, who was professor of law at the Polish Academy in Warsaw. Two other outstanding lawyers were Stefan Kurowski (1898–1959), chief representative of Poland at the *Nuremberg tribunal for Nazi war crimes, and Leon Chajn, deputy minister of justice from 1945 to 1949. In 1967 Manfred Lachs was appointed Polish judge to the International Court of Justice in The Hague.

Russia

Before 1864 there were no lawyers in Russia within the modern meaning of the word. Parties were represented by pleaders, of whom a few, such as Osip *Rabinovitch, were Jewish, but there were no Jews among the judges who were drawn exclusively from the aristocracy. The 1864 reform of the legal system brought about the institution of lawyers and did not exclude Jews from being either advocates or judges. There were various limitations, however, on their right to hold senior legal posts. One of the first Jewish lawyers in Russia was Alexander Passover, who graduated from Moscow University in 1861 shortly after the lifting of restrictions on Jews studying in Russian universities. Denied a professorship because of his refusal to renounce Judaism, he was nevertheless admitted to the Odessa bar in 1871, and represented Jewish victims of the Odessa pogroms of that year. Mark Dillon (1843–1903), also a graduate of Moscow University, was one of the first Jewish judges in czarist Russia, but was refused promotion to a post in the higher courts. However, he was given a special permit to practice at the bar and became a leading advocate. Another Jewish judge was Jacob *Teitel, who served as judge of the district court of Saratov. A number of Jewish lawyers entered the government service where for many years prejudice had been less marked. Thus Arnold Dumashevsky (1836–1887) became a senior official in the Ministry of Justice as a result of his work on a committee for reforming the legislation of Poland and he was made first secretary of the third department of the Senate. Jacob Halperin (1840–1914) was an official in the Ministry of Justice for more than 40 years, Herman Trachtenberg (1839–1895) was rewarded for his work as a lawyer in government service by being appointed an honorary justice of the peace for the St. Petersburg district, and Gregori Verblovski (c. 1840–1900) was a first secretary of the St. Petersburg and Moscow circuit courts. An outstanding figure was Karl Bernstein (1842–1894), who immigrated to Germany, became professor of Roman law at Berlin University in 1887, and was responsible for teaching Russian students sent to Berlin to study law by the czarist government.

In 1889 the minister of justice presented a request to the czar that Jewish applicants for a license to practice law obtain a special permit from the minister. He justified the request on the grounds that there were so many Jewish lawyers that there was a danger that they might "contaminate the purity of the profession." The czar agreed to the request, with the result that for 15 years no Jews were given licenses to practice. At the same time many established lawyers were prevented from appearing in court even though in some cases they were already accepted as distinguished jurists. Thus Maxim *Vinaver, editor of the important law review *Vestnik Prava*, Henry Sliosberg, an adviser on administrative law to the minister of the interior, and Alexander *Goldenweiser, the author of several works on criminal responsibility, all had the status of lawyers' clerks. In 1904 the restrictions on Jews practicing law were eased and a large number took up practice in the large cities – Moscow, St. Petersburg, and Odessa – though many were granted the rank of assistant attorneys only. An outstanding figure of this period was Oscar *Grusenberg who was defense counsel at a number of celebrated political trials. In 1917, following the February Revolution, all remaining restrictions were removed and four Jews, Maxim Vinaver, Herman *Blumenfeld, Grusenberg, and B. Gurevich, became judges of the Supreme Court.

Immediately after the Bolshevik Revolution Isaac Nachman *Steinberg, a leader of the left Socialist Revolutionaries, became people's commissar for justice in Lenin's first coalition government which comprised left Socialist Revolutionaries. No formal restrictions were placed in the way of Jewish lawyers in the Soviet Union and many held high academic posts in Soviet universities in the 1920s; among them were Magaziner, Goykhbarb, and Nahum Osipovich Lagovier. One of the best-known Jewish lawyers was I.D. Braude who appeared on behalf of many accused persons in political trials. Most Jewish lawyers were prominent in the major cities, particularly Moscow, Leningrad, and Kiev, and many specialized in constitutional and criminal law. Law became one of the most popular professions among Russian Jewry, yet few held senior judicial appointments although there was no legal ban on their right to do so. In particular, there was a decline in the number of Jewish judges and assessors after World War II though not in the number of academic lawyers. Among the outstanding Soviet lawyers were Aron Naumovitch Trainin, a prominent figure at the Nuremberg trials, Mikhail Solomonovich Strogovich (1894–?), head of the criminal law and litigation section at the U.S.S.R. Institute of State and Law, Aleksey Adolfovich Herzensohn (1902–?), one of the draftsmen of the Soviet criminal code, and Nahum Pavlovich Farberov, the author of numerous works on constitutional law and senior associate at the Institute of State and Law.

South Africa

The first Jewish lawyer in South Africa was Simeon *Jacobs who went to Cape Colony from England in 1860. He was made attorney general of British Kaffraria in the following year and subsequently served as attorney general of Cape Colony and a judge of the Eastern Districts court. M. de *Vries, a Dutch Jew, was the first Jewish lawyer in the Transvaal, where in 1868 he was made state attorney. There were few other Jewish lawyers in South Africa in the 19th century but the number of Jewish advocates rapidly increased after World War I as a result of the immigration of large numbers of Jews at the turn of the century. Louis Benjamin (1865–1935) was appointed to the Cape bench in 1920, Manfred *Nathan was made a judge of the Natal Supreme Court in 1928, and Leopold *Greenberg became a judge of the Transvaal Provincial Division and president of the court in 1938. From 1943 until his retirement in 1955, Greenberg was a judge of the Transvaal Appellate Division, the first Jewish appeal court judge in South Africa. A number of Jews also became well-known advocates, among them Morris *Alexander, Henry *Morris, B.A. Ettlinger (1900–1960), Norman Rosenberg (1889–1963), Maurice Isaacs, who began in private practice after retiring as a Johannesburg magistrate, and Percy Yutar, who became attorney-general of the Orange Free State in 1969. Following World War II, the number of Jewish advocates in South Africa continued to increase and in 1965 there were 21 Jewish queen's counsel, more than one-third of the total number of queen's counsel in the whole of South Africa. Eleven Jews served as judges after World War II. Among the 56 Jews who served as judges after 1955 was Philip *Millin, who was originally appointed to the Transvaal Provincial Division in 1937 and was the chief author of the Millin Report (1949) on company law reform. Others included Godfrey Lewis (1879–1955) who was appointed to the Eastern Districts bench in 1945, Joseph *Herbstein, who served on the Cape Supreme Court from 1947 to 1962, Israel Louis Horwitz (1896–1955), the first Jewish judge in the Orange Free State, H.M. Bloch (1905–1963), of the Cape bench, Edgar *Henochsberg, Samuel Miller, and J.J. Friedman, who were judges of the Natal Provincial Division and Simon *Kuper, Oscar Galgut, and George Colman, judges of the Transvaal Provincial Division; Godfrey Lewis (Eastern Districts bench), Simon *Kuper, Oscar Galgut, George Colman, Cecil Margo, Ralph Zulman (later a judge of Appeal), Ezra Goldstein (father of South African Chief Rabbi Dr. Warren Goldstein), Ramon Leon (whose son, Tony *Leon, was leader of the Opposition in Parliament), and Basil Wunsh were judges of the Transvaal Provincial Division. Four Jews have held the position of Attorney-General, Percy Yutar (Orange Free State and later Transvaal), Edward Heller (Eastern Cape Division), Michael Imber (Natal Provincial Division), and Frank Kahn (Cape Provincial Division). Arthur *Chaskalson was the first president of the Constitutional Court and was appointed chief justice in 2001. Other Jewish Constitutional Court judges were Richard *Goldstone and Albie Sachs.

South America

In the 17th century a converted Jew, Diego Leon Pinelo (1605–1671), was professor of law and rector of the San Marcos University in Lima and his brother Antonio Pinelo (1591–1658) was an attorney in Buenos Aires. When the Jews immigrated to South America in increasing numbers toward the end of the 19th century, they were permitted to study law at most South American universities but were generally excluded from becoming judges or professors of law. Thus, although many Jews practiced law in South America and some achieved prominence in commerce and government service, there were virtually no jurists among them, although a prominent exception in Chile was Abraham Koenig, the author of several works on Chilean constitutional law.

The gradual liberalization of the legal profession after World War I enabled Jews to become judges and professors in Argentina, and in 1934 Mateo Goldstein (1908–1962) was made a judge of the San Juan Provincial Court. Marcos *Satanowski was one of the first Jewish professors of law and held the chair of commercial law at the University of Buenos Aires from 1935 to 1946 and from 1955 until his death. David Kraigelburd was professor of law at Buenos Aires, and Mariano Tissenbaum (1898–?) lectured on labor law at the University of Santa Fe from 1930 until 1966. After World War II a number of Jews held judicial posts in South America. Abraham Meersohn (1914–) was made a judge in Curacautin, Chile, and was promoted to the Court of Appeals in Santiago in 1964, Isaac Halperin (1907–?) was made a judge of the Argentine National Court of Appeals in 1955, and Marcus Melzer in Brazil and Moises de Castro (1918–) in Panama served as magistrates. Two Jews also served as Juvenile Court judges in South America: Fannie Leibovich (1908–?) was the first woman Juvenile Court judge in Chile and Simon Mizraḥi (1934–) was a member of the Venezuela Superior Juvenile Court.

After World War II an increasing number of Jews held chairs of law in South American universities. In Argentina Remo Entelman (1923–) was professor of jurisprudence at the universities of La Plata and Buenos Aires and was special assistant to President Arturo Frondizi. Several other Jews held chairs of law at the University of Buenos Aires, among them Bernardo Beiderman (1919–), professor of criminal law, Mario Bendersky (1923–), professor of civil law, Ignacio Winizky (1910–?), professor of comparative law, and Marco Kaufmann (1924–) and Elias Neuman (1932–), professors of law at the University of La Plata. Other Jewish jurists who held law chairs at South American universities included Miguel *Schweitzer and Jacobo Schaulson *Numhauser, professors of law at the University of Chile; Arnold *Wald, professor of civil law at the University of Guanabara in Brazil; Alfredo Eisenberg, professor of international law at the Uruguay National University; and Sara Bialoslowsky de Chazan, professor of Roman law at the National University of Mexico.

[Paul Link]

United States

There is no mention in the records of any Jews practicing law until late in the 18th century, although Asser *Levy, who fought for Jewish civil rights, was frequently involved in a variety of law suits. That no Jews practiced law was largely due to the fact that lawyers were unpopular in the colonies until the period of the Revolutionary War. They were generally held in disrepute and were subject to suspicion as enforcers of inequitable and corrupt laws.

The first Jew to study law professionally was Moses *Levy, who was admitted to the Philadelphia bar in 1778. He become one of the most distinguished and successful lawyers in Philadelphia, as did his brother Samson Levy, Jr., and later became judge of the District Court for the City of Philadelphia. Although he was the first Jewish lawyer in the United States, Levy was not the first Jew to be made a judge. Isaac Miranda, a layman, was appointed deputy judge of the Vice Admiralty of the Province of Pennsylvania in 1727 and David Emanuel and James Lucena, also laymen, became justices of the peace in Georgia in 1766 and 1773, respectively. By the beginning of the 19th century a growing number of Jews made their mark in the legal profession. Among those to gain prominence at the bar were Joseph Simon Cohen, Benjamin Gratz, Elijah Gratz Etting, Nathan Nathans, and Jonas B. Phillips. Jews did not practice law in as large numbers as in the 20th century but there were few eastern cities in which there were no successful Jewish practitioners or judges.

Two Jewish lawyers were outstanding during the 19th century: Philip *Phillips and Judah Philip *Benjamin. The former was recognized as one of the foremost advocates of his time, arguing more than 400 appeals before the U.S. Supreme Court; the latter was the first Jew to be offered a judgeship of the Supreme Court (which he refused), and to be attorney general of the Confederacy in the Civil War. After the defeat of the Confederacy he escaped to England where he became a leading counsel of the English bar. Other prominent Jews in American law during this period included Raphael J. *Moses (who became the leading commercial lawyer of Georgia), and William Mallory Levi (1827–1882) who was a justice of the Supreme Court of Louisiana.

The 20th century saw a dramatic increase in the number of Jewish lawyers in the United States, partly reflected in the rise of the number of Jews to hold judgeships and university professorships. But for many years Jewish lawyers had considerable difficulty earning a living, particularly in New York, where the majority congregated. They suffered severely from the effects of the depression which substantially reduced the volume of business, particularly in view of the fact that in relation to the total Jewish population of New York, the profession was grossly overcrowded. Jewish lawyers found advancement difficult since many were foreign born, did not go to the best colleges, and often came from poor homes, making it more difficult for them to open their own firms. In 1939 it was estimated that more than half the lawyers practicing in New York were Jews but that the annual income of the average Jewish lawyer was several hundred dollars less than that of his non-Jewish counterpart. The same trend was discernible in other American cities; the ratio of Jewish lawyers to the total Jewish population was much higher than the ratio of lawyers to the general population and since Jewish lawyers largely attracted a Jewish clientele, their chances of success were slim.

In contrast to the high percentage of Jews in private practice, Jews did not generally hold top posts in the profession. Few of the large firms had Jewish members and it was almost unknown for a Jew to be head of a large law firm. Similarly, Jews did not generally become law professors at leading universities like Harvard and Yale and notable exceptions such as Felix *Frankfurter indicated that only Jews with outstanding talent were offered teaching posts. Discrimination also existed in appointments to judgeships and even in New York Benjamin *Cardozo and Irving *Lehman were the only Jews to be appointed to the New York Court of Appeals before World War II.

Nevertheless, a few Jews did achieve distinction in the legal profession. Louis *Brandeis, Benjamin Cardozo, and Felix Frankfurter were successively appointed to the U.S. Supreme Court and established a tradition of the "Jewish seat" on the Supreme Court bench. All three were recognized as among the greatest judges ever to sit on the Supreme Court. Other Jewish judges of note during this period were Julian *Mack, judge of the U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals; Horace *Stern, justice of the Pennsylvania Supreme Court; Henry *Butzel, three times chief justice of the State of Michigan; and Samuel Kalisch (1851–1930), justice of the New York Supreme Court.

A few Jews made their mark as legal philosophers, among them Max *Radin, professor of law at the University of California and Morris Raphael *Cohen, professor of philosophy at the City College of New York. Outstanding advocates included Louis *Marshall, Louis *Nizer, Samuel *Leibowitz, and Lee M. *Friedman.

A gradual improvement in the status and condition of Jewish lawyers took place after World War II. To a large extent Jews found it easier to be admitted to large law firms, although research in the late 1960s indicated that discrimination still existed. Jewish graduates from American universities found it harder to find a job than non-Jewish graduates and Jewish graduates were more likely to earn a lower starting salary. As a result Jews tended to be accepted in Jewish law firms (in 1950 it was estimated that nearly 85% of Jewish lawyers entered law firms which were wholly or partly Jewish), where discrimination did not exist, or in less prominent firms, and only the outstanding students entered the best non-Jewish firms. Nevertheless, there is no evidence that Jews were discouraged from becoming lawyers, especially since other prestigious professions, such as banking, were even more discriminatory. Jewish lawyers of the postwar period benefited from the fact that they no longer tended to come from poor families and that the Jewish communities among whom they lived had become relatively affluent, thereby giving them work. They were no longer prevented from obtaining the best legal education available and were able to compete with their gentile colleagues on more or less equal terms. Nevertheless, it is interesting to note that though by the late 1960s 20% of America's 350,000 lawyers were Jewish, only in 1969 did a Jew, Bernard *Segal, become president of the American Bar Association.

The most notable feature about the position of Jews in the legal profession after World War II was their influence on the law both as judges and jurists. Two Jews were appointed to the U.S. Supreme Court after World War II, Arthur *Goldberg and Abe *Fortas; a number of Jews served on state supreme courts, among them Stanley *Fuld, chief justice of the New York Court of Appeals, David *Bazelon, chief judge of the U.S. Court of Appeals, District of Columbia, and Simon *Sobeloff, U.S. attorney general (1954–56). Prominent jurists of the postwar period include Judge Jerome *Frank, one of the principle theorists of the American realist school, Paul *Freund, professor of constitutional law at Harvard, Fred Rodell (1907–1980) and Alexander Bickel (1924–), both professors of law at Yale, Edmond *Cahn, professor of law at New York University, and Professor Jerome Hall, an outstanding authority on criminal law and theory. In general, Jews did not suffer from discrimination in acceptance as university teachers or as students. In 1970 it was estimated that 20 out of 75 members of the Harvard Law faculty were Jewish, at Yale 17 out of 54, at Columbia 15 out of 60, and at California 14 out of 45. Furthermore, a report on entrance to law schools indicated that Jews actually obtain admission more easily than Protestants to the elite law schools.

One of the most significant aspects of Jewish participation in American law in the 20th century has been the extensive interest of U.S. Jewish lawyers and judges in upholding and extending civil liberties in the United States and the profound influence they have exerted in this respect on major constitutional doctrines affecting race relations, the administration of criminal justice, and the operation of the political process. Understandably, they tend to have such an interest partly because of their recognition of their own group's historical disabilities, and partly because of the traditional liberalism and concern for civil rights that has long characterized the U.S. Jewish community. The Supreme Court judges named above played key roles in this field, and prominent American Jewish trial lawyers whose careers have been in large measure dedicated to civil liberties cases include Arthur Garfield Hays, Louis Marshall, Samuel Leibowitz, and Walter *Pollack. The latter two cooperated in fighting and winning the world-famous "Scottsboro Boys" rape case in Alabama in the 1930s. Jack Greenberg (1924–) and Anthony Amsterdam (1935–) defended white and black civil rights workers in the American South during the 1960s, the latter as chief legal counsel of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. Leonard Boudin (1912–1989) and William Kunstler (1919–) were active as defense counsels in the political trials of prominent Communists and radicals, the latter gaining national fame in 1970 as chief attorney for the militant Black Panthers. Both were leading figures in the American Civil Liberties Union, as were Osmond Fraenkel, Norman Dorsen, Aryeh Neier, and Max Radin. Jewish judges whose strong support for civil liberties had a decided impact on American law as a whole included Mayer *Sulzberger, Irving Lehman, Horace *Stern, David Bazelon, and Charles *Wyzanski.

In the last decade of the 20th century, as Jews became thoroughly assimilated into the mainstream of American life, President Bill Clinton appointed two Jews to the Supreme Court, Ruth Bader *Ginsburg and Stephen G. *Breyer. Ginsburg, named in 1993, had a distinguished legal career as a civil libertarian and as an advocate for women's rights. Her appointment reflected a recognition of the increasing role of women in the law. At that time, the field of law was attracting more and more women – more than half of law students were women – and eventually more of them, many Jewish, won positions on the bench. Breyer, who married in England in an Anglican ceremony with references to Christ edited out, was a professor at Harvard Law, and his appointment in 1994 apparently had little to do with the fact that he was Jewish.

[Julius J. Marcke / Stewart Kampel (2nd ed.)]

Israel

Only a few Jews were qualified to practice law in Ereẓ Israel under Ottoman rule. Thus Gad *Frumkin was the only Jewish lawyer in Jerusalem when the city was captured by the British in 1917. The British mandatory authorities established the Palestine Law School, known as the Jerusalem law classes, in 1921 for the training of lawyers and most of the qualified lawyers when the State of Israel came into being were graduates of these classes. The Jerusalem law classes were not designed to provide academic law studies and in 1926 courses in Jewish law were begun at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem. A separate school for the study of law and economics was opened in Tel Aviv in 1935. In 1948 both the law faculty on Mount Scopus and the British Government Law School were closed down and in 1949 a new law faculty was opened in West Jerusalem for students preparing for the master's degree. Doctoral and undergraduate courses were later inaugurated.

Formal law courses at the Tel Aviv University were opened in 1959 when the Tel Aviv School of Law and Economics was integrated with the Hebrew University. From 1966 the law faculty of Tel Aviv University severed its connection with Jerusalem. A department for the study of Jewish Law was opened at the Bar-Ilan University in 1970. In addition many immigrant lawyers who had studied law in their native lands requalified as Israel lawyers after passing the foreign lawyers examination of the Israel Chamber of Advocates and completing the required period of apprenticeship.

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LAYTON, IRVING (**Israel Lazarovitch**; 1914–), Canadian poet. Layton was born in Romania and brought to Montreal, Canada, on his first birthday. His parents, Keine Wolfsohn and Moishe Lazarovitch, were traditional Jews who settled in the Yiddish-speaking enclave that extended along St Lawrence Street – the "Main" – and served as the boundary dividing the city's population: French-speaking Catholics on the East, English-speaking Protestants on the West. In the lives of his own parents Layton had an immediate, indelible exposure to the conflict of self-enclosed personalities who, in their distinctive individuality, represented to him the irreconcilable polar extremes of temperament and sensibility. In parental conflict he located the primal antinomies that he accepted as the basis of his character and from which he derived the dialectical structure of thought and feeling that is manifest in all his writing.

Layton was educated at Baron Byng High School, where he met his early intellectual mentors, David *Lewis, whose socialist ideology was persuasive, and the distinguished Jewish poet and novelist, A.M. *Klein. He graduated with a B.Sc. in agriculture from Macdonald College (1939) and earned an M.A. in political science at McGill University (1946). His vocation as poet was announced with the publication in 1945 of his first book of poems, *Here and Now*. That initial installment marked the onset of a literary career of exceptional range, consisting of over 55 volumes of poetry, short fiction, essays, reviews, memoirs, correspondence, and literary criticism, establishing the author as a central figure in the Canadian literary canon. From his earliest poems, which appeared in small literary publications where Layton and his like-minded contemporaries sought to redirect Canada's staid, provincial culture toward the challenging modernist temper, Layton's work always depended on a forceful, combative, representation of the self. This pervasive egotism has offended some; what his detractors fail to recognize is that an esthetic as well as a temperamental urgency underlie its literary deployment. Layton confesses to his self-conscious performance when he describes the polarities of identity revealed in the poems: "I became by turns prophet and clown." These self-selected personae are usually represented in the author's characteristic role as moral gadfly to his fellow Canadians, Jew and gentile alike, chastising their failings in a language of deliberate affront. Layton's open didacticism presupposes a privileged position for the poet in society.

Two themes inform Layton's prodigious creative imagination. The first, which extends from the 1940s to the late 1960s, is his commitment to enlarging the Canadian literary sensibility so that it responds to new areas of feeling and vital forms of emotional expression. Many poems written from the late 1960s to the mid-1980s address the subject of the Holocaust and Christianity's guilt for the destruction of European Jewry. In these poems Layton assumes the stance of a prosecutor, demanding confession from the Christian world for centuries of dehumanizing treatment of the Jews, which ultimately led to the death camps. In contrast to this national catastrophe, Layton invokes the birth of the State of Israel as the redemptive promise of Jewish continuity. Detached from religious authority, he has assembled a personal genealogy, secular in orientation and eclectic in scope. His progenitors are the Hebrew prophets, Heine, Marx, Jesus, Israeli soldiers, Babel, and Mandelstam, as Layton sees in them model Jews who exhibited unyielding moral purpose and assertion of the will in the face of evil.

In 1960 Irving Layton received the Governor General's Award for his contribution to Canadian culture and in 1963 the Prix littérature de Québec. In 1976 he was made an Officer of the Order of Canada, and in the 1980s was nominated three times for the Nobel Prize.

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[Mervin Butovsky (2nd ed.)]

LAZA OF FRANKFURT (fl. late 17th–early-18th century), learned woman and translator of religious writings. Laza was the wife of *Jacob ben Mordecai of Schwerin. In 1692, she rendered her husband's work, *Tikkun Shalosh Mishmarot* ("Prayers for the Three Night Watches"), from Hebrew into Yiddish, adding her own Yiddish introduction. Around 1709 Laza wrote, with Sara Oppenheim, a scroll of Esther. This was probably a Yiddish translation of the biblical text to be read to women who did not know Hebrew.

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[Cheryl Tallan (2nd ed.)]

LAZAR, SAMSON (originally **Lascăr Şaraga**; 1892–1968), Romanian author. The son of a Jassy publisher, he first wrote *Pe o harpă de aramă* ("On a Bronze Harp," 1916), a volume of sonnets illustrated by the painter R. *Rubin. Lazar translated works by Ber *Borechov, then renounced Zionism, but immigrated to Israel in 1957. There he published verse on heroic Israel themes and prose works about Romanian-Jewish life, such as *Zavera* ("The Revolt," 1964) and *Neguri* ("Fog" 1967).

LAZARD, family of international bankers. ALEXANDRE LAZARD was born early in the 19th century at Sarreguemines, Lorraine, France, and migrated to the United States in 1847. He settled in New Orleans where he started a dry-goods business and in 1848 took his two brothers SIMON and ELIE into partnership. A year later their business was destroyed by a fire which devastated a large part of the city. They moved to San Francisco, California, during the gold rush and soon began trading in gold between San Francisco and Western Europe via New York City, where their cousin Alexandre Weill was put in charge of the transfers. They developed Lazard Frères into a successful banking house, establishing branches in Paris (1854) and London (1877). In 1908 the Lazards' San Francisco banking house was sold, and thereafter they centered their banking activities in New York, Paris, and London. The three houses were loosely interlinked and served, more recently, as investment advisers, as managers of Eurodollar bond offerings for large industrial companies and in arranging mergers, with emphasis on chemical, metal, and television industries, car manufacturing, and airlines. Besides their own investments in real estate and international banking corporations, they founded, in 1968, Lazard S.A., in order to participate jointly in underwriting syndicates. This departure reflected and promoted the international trend toward closer interlinking of separate national economies and individual enterprises. After World War II, the Paris firm Lazard Frères was headed by Pierre David-Weill (1900–1975), the grandson of Alexandre Weill. The New York firm Lazard Frères was headed by French-born André Meyer (1898–1979) who had joined the Paris house in 1926 and had fled in 1940 to the United States. The London firm Lazard Brothers was a corporation with major interests held by the firm of S. Pearson and Sons, in which David-Weill and Meyer owned minority interests.

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[Hanns G. Reissner]

LAZARE, BERNARD (1865–1903), French writer. Lazare was born and educated in Nimes, then went to Paris, where he began to make his way as a writer (publishing several volumes of verse) and also took part in Jewish affairs. He was attracted by the anarchist and socialist movements and worked on a number of periodicals, writing articles which later formed the basis of his book, *L'antisémitisme, son histoire et ses causes* (1894; *Antisemitism, its History and Causes*, 1903). In it he maintained that antisemitism could be of some use in bringing about the advent of socialism by teaching hatred of Jewish capitalism; this would inevitably turn into hatred of capitalism in all its forms. His book contains violent expressions against some sectors of the Jewish community, often quoted later by professional antisemites. However, the *Dreyfus Affair shook Lazare's views to their roots and completely changed his attitude on the Jewish problem. He was one of Dreyfus' first supporters and published several books in an attempt to demonstrate his innocence; these include *Une erreur judiciaire; la vérité sur l'affaire Dreyfus* (1896) and *Comment on condamne un innocent* (1898). From then on Lazare declared that antisemitism did not help to combat capitalism but, on the contrary, provided it with a safety valve. Assimilation was no more an answer to the Jewish problem than emancipation had been. Lazare therefore came out in favor of a nationalist solution to the Jewish problem, though he had not yet any particular place in view. This development in his ideas led to his participation in the Second Zionist Congress in 1898. However, his intransigence soon brought him into conflict with Theodor Herzl, particularly over the creation of the *Jewish Colonial Trust which Lazare opposed.

Lazare was a close friend of Charles *Péguy, who published his study on the Jews of Romania in *Cahiers de la Quinzaine* (1902). Péguy included an essay on Lazare in *Notre Jeunesse* (1910) in which he credited him with a leading role in the Dreyfus Affair: "In this great crisis, the prophet of both Israel and the world was Bernard Lazare," he wrote. Lazare died already practically forgotten.

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[Simon R. Schwarzfuchs]

LĂZĂREANU, BARBU (originally **Baruch Lazarovici**; 1881–1957), Romanian author and journalist. Born in Botoşani, Moldavia, Lăzăreanu had to leave school because of his socialist activities and in 1907 was expelled from Romania because of his support for the rebellious peasants. He settled in Paris, where he joined the editorial staff of the Socialist daily *L'Humanité* and also lectured at a workers' university. When he was finally allowed to return to Romania, Lăzăreanu settled in Bucharest, where he began his literary career in earnest. He published two volumes of a five-volume edition of the essays of Constantin *Gherea-Dobrogeanu (1925–27), and wrote for many general and Jewish periodicals. Between the two world wars, Lăzăreanu made important contributions to the study of Romanian folklore and enriched Romanian literary historiography with original interpretations, including studies of the writers I.L. Caragiale (1922), B.P. Haşdeu (1927), and M. Eminescu (1924). The comprehensiveness and diversity of his research was praised by one of Romania's greatest writers, Tudor Arghezi. After the change of regime at the end of World War II, Lăzăreanu was elected to the Romanian Academy and was appointed director of its library. *Glose si comentarii de istoriografie literară* (1958), a collection of his articles and studies on classical literature and folklore, comprising some of Lăzăreanu's contributions to the Romanian and Yiddish press, was issued as a posthumous tribute by the Romanian State Publishing House for Literature and the Arts.

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[Abraham Feller]

LAZAREFF, PIERRE (1907–1972), prominent French newspaper editor. Already in his youth Lazareff had made his mark as a gifted journalist. In 1931, when he was news editor of the *Paris-Midi*, he was appointed editor of the newly created evening paper *Paris-Soir*. Deliberately setting out to adopt American newspaper methods, combining sensationalism and human interest with solid editorial comment, Lazareff succeeded in increasing its circulation in five years from 134,000 to nearly 2,500,000, a record figure for the French Press, which earned him the title "the French Northcliffe." On the collapse of France in World War II he went into exile, first to the U.S., where he became head of the Voice of America broadcasting program, and then to London, where he was in charge of American broadcasts to Nazi-occupied Europe. Returning to Paris in 1945 he took over the management of a new evening paper *France-Soir* together with that of some other journals, and repeated the same success as with *Paris-Soir*. In 1958 he extended his activities to television with a popular news commentary. Lazareff was an ardent supporter of General de Gaulle.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Times* (April 4, 1972).

LAZARON, MORRIS SAMUEL (1888–1979), U.S. Reform rabbi. Lazaron, who was born in Savannah, Georgia, was ordained by Hebrew Union College in 1914. He served as rabbi in Wheeling, West Virginia, for a year and in 1915 was appointed rabbi of the Baltimore Hebrew Congregation, the large and distinguished Reform synagogue in Baltimore where he served for 31 years as rabbi and rabbi emeritus. During World War I, he wrote *Side Arms* (*Readings and Meditations for Soldiers and Sailors*, 1918). As rabbi he initiated youth-oriented programming, introduced innovative rituals, and was an early supporter of the interfaith movement, working with the National Conference of Catholics and Jews and traveling throughout the United States with a priest and a minister to represent the three faiths of America. Lazaron's retirement from this office in 1949 was linked to his active identification with the anti-Zionist American Council for Judaism, of which he was a founder and vice president. This position was not problematic with his congregation until after the Holocaust, and especially after the establishment of the State of Israel. This led to the severing of his relationship with Baltimore Hebrew, including his resignation as rabbi emeritus. He was also a member of the National Council of the American Friends of the Middle East. He wrote several works, including *Ask the Rabbi* (1928); *The Consolidation of Our Father* (1928); *Homeland or State: The Real Issue* (1940); *In the Shadow of Catastrophe* (1956); *Is This the Way?* (1942); and *Olive Trees in a Storm* (1955).

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[Sefton D. Temkin / Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

LAZARSFELD, PAUL F. (1901–1976), U.S. sociologist. Born in Vienna in 1901, Lazarsfeld studied mathematics and psychology at the University of Vienna and came to the United States in 1933 on a Rockefeller fellowship. He became a director of the Research Center at the University of Newark in 1936, and director of the newly established office of Radio Research at the University of Princeton in 1937. After 1940 he was professor and chairman of the Department of Sociology at Columbia University, where he remained until 1970. In addition, he was president of the American Sociological Association. In 1945 Lazarsfeld became director of the Bureau of Applied Social Research at Columbia, a pioneering venture that has become the model for a number of similar research institutes at American universities. The published works of Lazarsfeld and his collaborators deal with public opinion research, and generally with quantitative research and its techniques. Latent structure analysis, which was developed by Lazarsfeld as a major tool in attitude survey research, assumes that regularities of behavior exist which are not immediately recognizable but do account for the manifest relationship between any two or more items on a test. In the field of communications research, Lazarsfeld developed quantitative content analysis, as well as the "panel" technique; the latter involves the repeated interviewing on the same subject matter of a given sample or panel. Lazarsfeld's early study, *Die Arbeitslosen von Marien-*

thal (1933), had remained a minor classic; his early American publication "The Art of Asking Why?" (*National Marketing Review* (1935), likewise, is of a pioneering character. *Latent Structure Analysis* was published in 1960. Lazarsfeld's most important publication in the field of public opinion research is *The People's Choice* (1944), an analysis of the decisions that determine the outcome of an election campaign.

Among other publications of which Lazarsfeld was author or coauthor are *Radio and the Printed Page* (1940), *Radio Listening in America* (1948), *Continuities in Social Research* (1950), *Voting* (1954), *The Language of Social Research* (1955), *Personal Influence* (1955), *The Academic Mind* (1958), *The Uses of Sociology* (1967), *Latent Structure Analysis* (1968), *Qualitative Analysis* (1972), *Main Trends in Sociology* (1973), *Views from the Socially Sensitive Seventies* (1973), and *An Introduction to Applied Sociology* (1975). Lazarsfeld published an autobiographical account of his role in the creation of social research institutes under the title "An Episode in the History of Social Research: A Memoir" in the second volume of *Perspectives in American History* (1968).

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[Werner J. Cahnman / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

LAZARUS, U.S. family of department store owners. In 1851 SIMON LAZARUS (d. 1877) emigrated from north Germany and opened a store in Columbus, Ohio. He also served the local Congregation B'nai Jeshurun as a volunteer rabbi. His sons FRED (d. 1917) and RALPH (d. 1903) founded F. and R. Lazarus and Co., which sold men's and later also women's clothing. After Fred's death, his sons SIMON (1882–1947) and FRED JR. (1884–1973) took charge, joined by their brother ROBERT (1890–1973) in 1926, when the business became a full-line department store. A subsidiary in Cincinnati was added in 1928, managed by the youngest brother, JEFFREY (1894–?). A holding company – Federated Department Stores, Inc. – was established in 1929 by the Lazarus family, together with Filene's, Abraham and Straus, and Bloomingdale's. It was transformed into an operating company in 1945, with Fred Jr. as president. Expanding into the southern and western United States, the company operated 119 department stores, 12 specialty and discount stores, and 63 supermarkets by 1970, with $2.1 billion consolidated annual net sales. Fred Jr., Robert, Fred Jr.'s son RALPH (1914–1988), and other fourth-generation sons held the executive positions.

Fred Jr., a Republican, served on presidential committees under the Roosevelt, Eisenhower, and Kennedy administrations and participated in local civic affairs, including the Cincinnati Conference of Christians and Jews and the Jewish Orphan Home in Cleveland. He was long an executive committee member of the American Jewish Committee. His brother Simon served on the board of governors of Hebrew Union College and of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations.

[Hanns G. Reissner]

LAZARUS, EMMA (1849–1887), U.S. poet, essayist, and activist. Lazarus was born in New York on July 22, 1849, to Moses Lazarus, a wealthy industrialist of Sephardi heritage, and his wife Esther Nathan Lazarus of Ashkenazi background. Both sides of her family had been in America since the Revolution. Lazarus, who was educated at home by private tutors, was originally attracted to classical and romantic art and literature. During the course of her career, she struck up tutelary relationships with important male writers, especially Ralph Waldo Emerson, and including Thomas Wentworth Higginson and Henry James. Her early works included *Poems and Translations: Written Between the Ages of Fourteen and Sixteen,* published privately by her father in 1867, a novel *Alide: An Episode of Goethe's Life* (1874), and a historical tragedy, *The Spagnoletto* (1876), as well as a translation of poems by Heinrich *Heine, accompanied by a biographical study. By the time she wrote her best-known poem, "The New Colossus" (1883), a hymn to America, the "Mother of Exiles," she had repudiated the glorification of male conquering power, aestheticism, and empty ceremony and asserted instead the power of womanhood, the comfort of motherhood, and the Hebraic prophetic values of compassion and consolation. Lazarus began her return to Jewish tradition in the late 1870s, studying Hebrew and reading Graetz's *History of the Jews* and George Eliot's novel *Daniel Deronda*, with its plea for a Jewish national revival. Lazarus began to publish translations of the medieval Spanish-Jewish poets, *Judah Halevi, Solomon ibn *Gabirol, and others. The Russian pogroms of 1881 and the May Laws of 1882 fired both her social consciousness and her poetic imagination, prompting a series of essays in American journals, especially in *Century Magazine* (May 1882), where she replied to an antisemitic article by a Russian journalist, Madame Z. Ragozin. "The Dance Unto Death," a verse tragedy about the burning of the Jews of Nordhausen during the Black Death appeared in *Songs of a Semite* (1882), dedicated to George Eliot, "the illustrious writer who did most among the artists of our day towards elevating and ennobling the spirit of Jewish Nationality." Lazarus's series of 14 essays, ironically entitled "Epistle to the Hebrews," written from November 1882 to February 1883, were intended to "bring before the Jewish public… facts and critical observations… to arouse a more logical and intelligent estimate of the duties of the hour." Lazarus also involved herself in the practical work of helping new immigrants adjust to America, founding the Hebrew Technical Institute for Vocational Training. In 1883 she sailed to London, armed with letters of introduction from Henry James to well-placed people in England, Jews and non-Jews, who might help her in her effort towards the establishment of a Jewish national homeland. A decade before Theodore *Herzl launched the Zionist movement, Lazarus argued in poetry and prose for Palestine as a safe haven for oppressed Jews everywhere. Lazarus, who never married, died of cancer at the age of 38. After her death, her sister, Josephine Lazarus, prohibited the inclusion of "anything Jewish" in the collected edition of her works that appeared in 1889. "The New Colossus," with its famous image of "huddled masses yearning to breathe free," was engraved on a memorial plaque and affixed to the pedestal of the Statue of Liberty in 1903.

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[Carole S. Kessner (2nd ed.)]

LAZARUS, MEL (1927–), U.S. cartoonist. Born in Brooklyn, N.Y., Lazarus took up cartooning almost immediately after graduation from high school in 1945. He developed two comic strips, *Wee Women* and *Li'l One,* which formed a base of young, saucy characters that would later become his trademark style. Al *Capp, one of the owners of Toby Press, enlisted Lazarus's drawing skills to copy his *Li'l Abner* characters for cards, games, comic books, and other products. Lazarus became art director/comics editor at Toby, staying from 1949 to 1954. He had enough experiences there to write his first book, *The Boss Is Crazy, Too* (1964). Inspired by a contest held by United Features to find new comic strips, Lazarus produced *Miss Peach*, a strip with characters with bizarre huge heads and sharp-witted personalities. It made its debut in 1957 in *The New York Herald Tribune*. Lazarus used the space normally filled by four-panel strips as one large space, sharing his comic views of politics and societal ironies of the day through the mouths of his sophisticated young stars and their teacher, Miss Peach. The strip was set in the Kelly School, named after the creator of *Pogo*, Walt Kelly. In 1969 Lazarus developed *Momma*, a comic strip centered on an overbearing, nagging, and controlling mother. She has no success manipulating her children's lives but is pleased to keep them feeling guilty. Both *Momma* and *Miss Peach* retained a long popularity, with newspapers numbering in the 300s for *Miss Peach* and 400 for *Momma.* Lazarus, who signed his strips Mell, wrote television scripts and plays. His second novel, *The Neighborhood Watch*, appeared in 1986.

[Stewart Kampel (2nd ed.)]

LAZARUS, MORITZ (1824–1903), German philosopher and psychologist. Lazarus was born in the town of Filehne (now Wielen, Poland) in the Prussian district of Posen. Unlike most of the intellectuals of the Enlightenment in Germany, Lazarus received an intense Jewish education and continued with his talmudic studies until he was in his twenties. He studied history, philology, and philosophy and began his general studies only in the third decade of his life, embarking on a brilliant academic career. He was first appointed professor of philosophy at the University of Berne, later heading its philosophy department, and eventually became rector of the university. He moved to Berlin in 1868 and lectured at the military academy in psychology, political science, and education; in 1874 he became professor at the University of Berlin (until 1896). With his first book *Die sittliche Berechtigung Preussens in Deutschland* (1850) he claimed the superiority of Prussia in Germany and began his new psychological research methods. Later he taught at the *Hochschule fuer die Wissenschaft des Judentums in Berlin. He married his second wife, the writer Nahida Ruth *Lazarus, who had embraced Judaism, served for 25 years as a member of the Berlin Jewish community council, and was head of the Zunz Institute. Toward the end of his life he was stricken with illness and settled at Meran (now Italy), a health resort, where he completed his major work, *Ethik des Judentums* (2 vols., 1898–1911; translated into English from the manuscript by Henrietta Szold as *Ethics of Judaism*, 2 vols., 1900–01). Lazarus wrote many works on the psychology of nations (*Voelkerpsychologie*) and together with his brother-in-law Hermann Heymann *Steinthal founded a special journal titled *Zeitschrift fuer Voelkerpsychologie und Sprachwissenschaft* which he edited through the years 1860–86. His most famous work on psychology is *Das Leben der Seele* (3 vols., 1883–97^{3}) which was published in several editions. Among his other works are *Was heisst national* (1880^{2}); *Ueber den Ursprung der Sitten* (1860); and *Ueber die Ideen in der Geschichte* (1865).

In *Ethik des Judentums* Lazarus presents Jewish ethics as an "objective-immanent" system. This system is based on an empirical, positivistic approach toward Jewish studies which holds that Jewish teachings on any subject must be derived from an analysis of Jewish sources. In selecting this approach, Lazarus departs from the "constructive-speculative" philosophies of his 19th-century predecessors Solomon *Formstecher and Samuel *Hirsch, who brought a philosophic formalism to the analysis of the Jewish sources. Thus, philosophy, according to Lazarus, does not provide a preexistent scheme for *Wissenschaft des Judentums ("Science of Judaism"), but is a methodological aid for discovering the objective unity of the "ethical cosmos," as it appears throughout the Jewish literary tradition. Lazarus distinguishes between the subjective-formal approach to Jewish ethics, in which a philosophic formalism provides the starting point of investigation, and the objective-content one, in which the investigation begins with the sources themselves. He takes the latter approach as his own. He does this because in biblical and rabbinic literature, will, intent, and the Jewish way of life, rather than reflection and speculation, are the primary principles. (Franz *Rosenzweig later based his existential philosophy on the same idea.) Lazarus accepts this position for another reason: a Jewish ethical worldview based on this conception possesses greater depth and clarity than one based on formal concepts and theoretical speculation. Lazarus emphasizes the religious character of obligation in Jewish ethics. God is the supreme, hidden principle on whom Judaism depends and who makes its whole legal structure necessary. Lazarus conceives of Jewish ethics in line with the autonomous ethics of *Kant, holding that the absolute characteristic of Jewish ethics is expressed in immediate inner certainty, though he does not follow Kant completely. Such conceptualization was made possible by establishing an ethical norm as the highest source of the moral imperative, to which even God is subordinate. Lazarus was ambiguous with regard to the heteronomous character of Jewish ethics, and this ambiguity was the basis of attack against his system, both by those who accused him of inconsistency and by those who held that he had not done justice to the heteronomous character of Jewish ethics. In Lazarus' conception Jewish ethics is fundamentally social-universal. This position countered the particularist trends of Judaism and, in particular, of 19th-century Jewish theology. However, the fact of a universal aspect to Jewish ethics does not entail teaching and disseminating Jewish beliefs throughout the world. Rather, its existence reflects an attitude and a total way of life, based on the threefold conception God, the world, and mankind, that Jews should embrace. The central concept underlying this view of Jewish life is holiness. Holiness, according to Lazarus, is not numinous, nor transcendental, but a quality to be embodied in human life. It is defined as the "ultimate goal of morality."

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[Moshe Schwarcz / Bjoern Siegel (2nd ed.)]

LAZARUS, NAHIDA RUTH (née **Sturmhoefel**; 1849–1928), German playwright, novelist, and journalist, of Christian descent. Her first husband was the critic Max Remy, who died in 1881. She had been drawn to Judaism from her youth and some years after Remy's death she was converted to Judaism. In 1895 she became the second wife of the philosopher Moritz *Lazarus. The many novels and short stories which she published in the last decades of the 19th century were soon forgotten, and she is mainly remembered for her later writings on Jewish topics. These include *Das Gebet in Bibel und Talmud* (1892), *Kulturstudien ueber das Judentum* (1893), *Humanitaet im Judentum* (1894), and the autobiographical *Ich suchte Dich* (1898). Conceived in the spirit of contemporary Liberal Judaism, and written in a popular sentimental style, Nahida Lazarus' books enjoyed considerable success in their time. *Das juedische Weib* (1890; *The Jewish Wife*, 1895), written while she was still a Christian and with a preface by her future husband, was republished in a fourth edition in 1922 and was translated into English and Hebrew. There is historical value in her edition of Moritz Lazarus' memoirs (1906).

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[David Baumgardt]

LAZEROWITZ, MORRIS (1907–1987), U.S. philosopher. Born in Lodz, Poland, he was taken to the U.S. in 1914. In 1938 he married the philosopher Alice Ambrose (1906–2001) and joined the faculty of Smith College. Author of numerous articles, his most important books are *The Structure of Metaphysics* (1955) and *Studies in Metaphilosophy* (1964). In these works, Lazerowitz is concerned with the nature of philosophical explanation, and especially with the fact that philosophical dispute is seemingly irresolvable. His analysis of this situation is that the philosopher is not putting forth empirical claims, though they are often masked as such, or even descriptions of linguistic usage; but rather, that certain visions he has of the world are expressed in these ways. It is thus necessary to distinguish such verbal formulations from their underlying impulses to gain a full understanding of the philosophical quest.

After he retired from teaching, Lazerowitz was named professor emeritus of philosophy at Smith College.

Lazerowitz also wrote *Philosophy and Illusion* (1968), *The Language of Philosophy: Freud and Wittgenstein* (1977), and *Cassandra in Philosophy* (1983). With his wife he coauthored *Logic: The Theory of Formal Inference* (1961), *Fundamentals of Symbolic Logic* (1948, 1962), *Essays in the Unknown Wittgenstein* (1984), and *Necessity and Language* (1985).

[Avrum Stroll / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

LAZNE KYNZVART (Czech **Lázně Kynžvart**; Ger. **Bad Koenigswart**), health resort in W. Bohemia, Czech Republic. Jews lived in Lazne Kynzvart as early as the beginning of the 14th century; the cemetery dates from 1405. In 1430, after the community had absorbed Jews expelled from *Cheb (Eger), it consisted of 180 families. The synagogue was renovated in 1608, according to tradition by Jesuits whom the Lazne Kynzvart Jews had helped to cross the frontier when they were being persecuted by the *Hussites during the Reformation period. In 1724 there were nine Jewish families in the town. From the end of the 17th century and for about 200 years afterward, Lazne Kynzvart was the seat of the district rabbinate. At the beginning of the 19th century the Jewish community was under the protection of Prince Metternich. The community rapidly dwindled toward the end of the 19th century and many settled in *Marienbad. In 1902 it numbered 51 persons, including those living in neighboring villages, and in 1933 only four families. The synagogue was desecrated in 1938, and the Nazis used the gravestones, placed face up, to pave the road. After World War II the Czechs removed them, using them to build a burial mound. The banking family of *Koenigswarter originated in Lazne Kynzvart.

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[Meir Lamed]

LAZURICK, ROBERT (1895–1968), French journalist, founder and editor in chief of the daily paper *L'Aurore*. Lazurick was born in Paris of Russian-Jewish parents. He studied law and for some years he was an official in French ministries. In 1936 he was elected to the Chamber of Deputies for the Socialist Party. After the French defeat in 1940, he escaped to Morocco, but returned to France in 1942 at the height of Nazi power and founded *L'Aurore* clandestinely in Nice, taking the name of Clemenceau's journal which had published *Zola's *J'accuse* in 1898. *L'Aurore* became a leading newspaper in Paris after World War II, expressing staunch support for Israel.

°**LEA, HENRY CHARLES** (1825–1909), U.S. historian whose research into the history of the Church and its institutions made him one of the most distinguished scholars of the United States. Lea's monumental works, *A History of the Inquisition of the Middle Ages* (3 vols., 1888) and *A History of the Inquisition of Spain* (4 vols., 1906–07), are fundamental and represent an extensive achievement, as did his *The Inquisition in the Spanish Dependencies* (1908). Through them, Lea founded a Protestant school for the study of the Inquisition based on archival sources. His system was principally concerned with the study of the general framework of the Inquisition, its policies, and operational methods. He himself considered that these works were the result of his prime interest in the history of sorcery and superstitions in Europe. They have been adapted, abridged, and translated into various languages. In his writings, Lea reserved much sympathy for the question of the forced converts and the Jews, and commented upon the heavy responsibility of the Catholic Church and Spain for their fate. He bequeathed his manuscripts and the material which he had collected during his lifetime to the library of the University of Pennsylvania.

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[Haim Beinart]

LEACHMAN, CLORIS (1926–), U.S. actress. Leachman was born in Des Moines, Iowa. Though she is best known for her career in acting, it was as a model that Leachman first stepped into the public eye. Crowned Miss Chicago in 1946, during her years as a student at Northwestern University, Leachman went on to be runner-up for the title of Miss America. It is therefore ironic that included among her most famous roles is her portrayal of the grotesque Frau Blucher in Mel Brooks' *Young Frankenstein* (1974). Leachman did, however, begin her career in movies with a sexy debut – in the film noir *Kiss Me Deadly* (1955). She appeared in prominent roles in films such as *Butch Cassidy and the Sundance Kid* (1969) and *Lovers and Other Strangers* (1970). Leachman's most widespread recognition arguably stems from her role as Phyllis Lindstrom on both *The Mary Tyler Moore Show* (1970–77) and its spin-off, *Phyllis* (1975–77). Leachman's portrayal of a housewife who has an affair with a younger man in *The Last Picture Show* (1971) earned her the Oscar for Best Supporting Actress. She has also won Emmy awards in five different categories for her television work. Leachman was divorced from her husband, Hollywood legend George Englund.

[Casey Schwartz (2nd ed.)]

LEAF (Lifshitz), HAYIM (1914–), educator, editor, essayist. Born in Russia, he went to the U.S. at an early age. He taught Hebrew literature first at the Herzliah Academy of New York and, from 1943, at Yeshiva University. He edited *Niv*, a Hebrew periodical for younger Hebrew writers (1937–40); the *Hadoar* supplement for young readers (1945–59); and the Hebrew column of the Yiddish daily *The Day* (1950–51). From 1961 he was associate editor of the Hebrew monthly *Bitzaron*. His articles on contemporary Jewish problems and essays on Hebrew literature appeared in Hebrew periodicals in the U.S. and Israel. In 1957 he began co-editing with Naomi Ben-Asher the one-volume *Junior Jewish Encyclopedia*; their 14th revised edition was published in 1996. He also co-edited with Moshe Carmilly *The Samuel Belkin Memorial Volume* (1981) of essays on topics in Jewish history, philosophy, and literature. In 1976 Leaf received the Yeshiva College Alumni Association's Bernard Revel Memorial Award in Religion and Religious Education.

[Eisig Silberschlag / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

LEAGUE FOR ISRAEL, THE AMERICAN JEWISH (AJLI) established in 1957, differentiates itself from other Zionist groups in that it is not connected with any political party or religious denomination; it supports Israel unconditionally through the following projects:

(a) University Scholarship Program: AJLI helps young American adults fulfill their academic dreams by providing scholarships to attend college in Israel. Living in Israel and becoming immersed in Israeli society has been a life changing experience for many of the 150 recipients. AJLI provides scholarships for studies as a graduate or undergraduate at one of nine institutes of higher learning in Israel: Bar-Ilan, Ben-Gurion, Haifa, Hebrew University, Interdisciplinary Center-Recanati School, Pardes, Tel Aviv, Technion and Weizmann. Acceptance at one of the universities is a prerequisite; the student must be a U.S. citizen, and scholarships are only for one full year of study.

(b) Support for Israeli Terror Victims: AJLI contributes to programs which assist Israeli children who lost a sibling or parent from terrorism and offers support for their families.

(c) Educational Programs: Members attend a variety of lectures and forums with top newsmakers from Israeli and American politics. These programs serve as a primary source for the best information on issues confronting Israel. They take place in New York and South Florida, where AJLI has active chapters.

(d) Excursions, cruises, and trips to the Catskills and other places are part of AJLI's social agenda. Members form strong bonds through these activities, and educational programs on the excursions raise members' consciousness.

[Jeff Scheckner (2nd ed.)]

LEAGUE OF NATIONS, international organization functioning between the two World Wars, for the establishment of world peace and the promotion of cooperation among states. Founded in January 1920, it formally ceased to exist in April 1946, although in fact it was active only until the beginning of World War II. During the 19 years of its effective existence, among its preoccupations were questions connected with the situation of the Jewish people in Palestine and the Diaspora.

The Mandate for Palestine

According to article 22 of the Covenant of the League, the basis for the establishment of the system of international mandates, the authority to define the terms of mandates and the supervision of their execution was entrusted to the Council of the League. On July 24, 1922, the council confirmed the *Mandate for Palestine, which included the *Balfour Declaration, and the British government was thereby committed "to place the country under such political, administrative, and economic conditions as will secure the establishment of the Jewish National Home." In its supervisory capacity, the Council of the League was assisted by a special commission – the Permanent Mandates Commission – and from 1924 until the end of 1939, this commission held annual debates on the administration of the Palestine mandate. In the years 1930 and 1937, two extraordinary sessions were dedicated to it: the first after the riots in Palestine of August 1929; the second after the British Royal Commission, with Lord Peel as chairman, suggested the partition of western (CIS-Jordan) Palestine into two states: one Jewish and one Arab.

In observations made by the Mandates Commission at its session of 1930, the British government was severely criticized for not having stationed sufficient troops in Palestine to ensure the immediate suppression of the anti-Jewish riots; it had thus proved itself powerless to protect Jewish life – the essential condition for the development of the Jewish National Home. In the opinion of the commission, the adoption of "a more active policy… a firmer and more constant and unanimous determination… would have diminished the antagonism from which the country suffers." The establishment of the Jewish National Home and the foundation of self-governing institutions were defined as the two objects of the Palestine mandate; the commission emphasized that there was no time limit for the attainment of these objects and that the immediate and daily obligations which stemmed from the provisions of the mandate should be carried out by the mandatory authorities independent of the ultimate aims. The mandatory authorities were called upon to show a firm hand: "to all the sections of the population which are rebelling against the mandate… the mandatory power must obviously return a definite and categorical refusal; as long as the leaders of a community persist in repudiating what is the fundamental charter of the country… the negotiations would only unduly enhance their prestige…." The commission's observations aroused the anger of the British government; however, thanks to the efforts of the reporter on mandatory affairs, a split was averted and the Council of the League approved the observations of the commission.

In 1937, the commission was requested to submit a preliminary opinion on the partition proposal; it observed, not without an undertone of criticism, that "the present mandate became almost unworkable once it was publicly declared to be so by a British Royal Commission… and by the government of the mandatory power itself." With little evident enthusiasm, the commission declared itself favorable in principle to an examination of a solution involving the partition of Palestine. At the same time, however, it expressed its opposition to the immediate creation of two new independent states, Jewish and Arab, and preferred the prolongation of the mandatory regime in the form of provisional "cantonization" or by the existence of two separate mandates for such a determined period as may prove necessary. In 1939, the *White Paper published by the British government was submitted to the commission. With the object of appeasing the Arabs, the White Paper misinterpreted the mandate's provisions concerning the establishment of a Jewish National Home, and by imposing minority status on the Jews rendered these provisions meaningless. The commission reached the unanimous conclusion "that the policy set out in the White Paper was not in accordance with the interpretation which, in agreement with the mandatory power and the Council [of the League], the commission had always placed upon the Palestine mandate." By a majority of one, the commission also declared that it was unable to state that the policy of the White Paper was in conformity with the mandate, "any contrary conclusion appearing to them to be ruled out by the very terms of the mandate and by the fundamental intentions of its authors." Since World War II broke out in the meantime, the White Paper never came before the Council of the League.

Although the Permanent Mandates Commission had been granted the status of an advisory body only, its prestige was enhanced by the fact that its members were men independent of their governments and because it conceived of its supervisory role as a quasi-judicial one. Even before their approval by the Council of the League, its conclusions and observations were regarded as being of considerable importance and weight. In the Jewish Agency's struggle for the correct interpretation of the provisions of the Palestine mandate regarding the National Home, the debates of the commission and its conclusions became a factor of no small significance in the attempt to prevent deviation and distortion by the mandatory power.

Minorities Rights

The League of Nations also played a part in the protection of Jewish minorities in the Diaspora. According to the minorities treaties signed by a number of Eastern and Southeastern European states at the close of World War I, and also to the declarations later made by several states to the Council of the League, supervision over the obligations undertaken by these states was entrusted to the Council of the League. In view of the difficult and often precarious situation of the Jewish minorities in various countries (particularly Poland and Romania), there was reason to suppose that complaints concerning denial of rights and discrimination would be numerous and that the League of Nations would be called upon to deal with them. However, during all the years of its existence, only two such petitions were debated by the council. The reason for this was that the procedure for handling petitions was complicated and the chances of reaching a satisfactory arrangement were slight. Moreover, as the very appeal to the League aroused the anger of the government whose actions were criticized, the Jews preferred to refrain from seeking the League's intervention.

In December 1925, the Council of the League considered petitions submitted to it by the Joint Foreign Committee (of the *Board of Deputies of British Jews and the *Anglo-Jewish Association) and the *Alliance Israélite Universelle against the introduction of the *numerus clausus in institutions of higher education in Hungary. The Jewish organizations called upon the League of Nations to condemn the numerus clausus as incompatible with the principle of equality of rights. However, the Council of the League was not prepared to go into this legal question and took no action in the matter, contenting itself with recording the declaration of the Hungarian representative that the law was merely an exceptional and temporary one and that it would be repealed when a favorable change occurred in the abnormal situation resulting from the Trianon Treaty. The Hungarian government did indeed make some changes in this law in 1928 and 1929, but in practice the discrimination persisted. However, another petition, which came before the League a few months after Hitler's rise to power, achieved far greater success. Submitted by Franz *Bernheim, a former resident of Upper Silesia, it protested against the anti-Jewish discriminatory laws of the Third Reich, as they affected the Jews of Upper Silesia and thus violated the German-Polish convention of 1922 on this region (see *Bernheim petition). As a result of the debates held in the Council of the League in May and June 1933, Germany was compelled to honor the convention, and for another four years – until its termination on May 15, 1937 – the Jews of Upper Silesia enjoyed the rights which had been guaranteed by this minorities agreement.

In 1921 the question of the expulsion of 80,000 Jewish refugees from Vienna was placed on the agenda of the Council of the League – not, on this occasion, as a result of a petition submitted by Jewish organizations but on the intervention of the Polish government, which came to the defense of its citizens. Although the council reached the conclusion that legally there was no objection to the expulsion of foreign citizens, it appealed to the Austrian government not to ignore the moral and humanitarian implications, and an arrangement was concluded which prevented the expulsion of the majority of those Jews. In addition, a number of other petitions were submitted to the League of Nations, among them appeals against the denial of the rights of Austrian Jews after the country's annexation by Nazi Germany and against the oppression of the Jews of Romania, which were submitted by the *World Jewish Congress. These, however, were not placed on the council's agenda. Memoranda on other questions, too, were brought from time to time before the League by Jewish organizations. These included appeals against pogroms in Eastern Europe, particularly the postwar massacres in the Ukraine; demands concerning the right to nationality and to reasonable naturalization requirements; and the status of the Jews in the free city of Danzig where the Nazis won a majority in the senate in 1933 and the Jews at once became victims of persecution and oppression. In December 1934, on the eve of the plebiscite in the Saar territory, the German government was forced to make a commitment to the Council of the League that if the region were handed over to the Reich, it would permit persons domiciled there who wished to leave to emigrate and take their belongings with them.

In the deliberations held annually in the Sixth (political) Commission of the General Assembly, a great deal of attention was regularly focused on problems connected with the establishment of the Jewish National Home, as well as the tightening of the procedure for dealing with minorities' petitions, thereby offering more efficient protection – a matter which was of particular interest to the Jews. In 1933 the commission's debates were marked by the tragedy of German Jewry; in an attempt to improve that community's legal status, the General Assembly once more reaffirmed the 1922 recommendations that "the states which are not bound by legal obligations to the League with respect to minorities will nevertheless observe in the treatment of their own… minorities at least as high a standard of justice and toleration as is required by any of the treaties…."

Other Activities

The League's activities on behalf of refugees and stateless persons were of special importance because a large number of Jews had lost their nationality after World War I. The "Nansen Passport," which was recognized by 51 states, became the identity card of former Russian subjects and granted them a certain legal status enabling them to travel from one country to another and obtain employment. In 1933 the General Assembly of the League appointed a high commissioner for *refugees (Jewish and others) coming from Germany. However, as a result of Germany's objections to the establishment of this office within the framework of the League, it was set up as an autonomous institution. At the end of 1938 it was amalgamated with the Nansen International Office for Refugees and all the League's activities on behalf of refugees were concentrated in the hands of the high commissioner for refugees. Since during this period almost all states were closed to immigration, the means of assisting the refugees were extremely limited.

Occasionally, a general topic of special interest to the Jews was placed on the agenda of the League, as in the case of the question of the reform of the Gregorian calendar. After six years of preliminary studies, the matter was brought up for debate in October 1931. From almost 200 propositions submitted, considerable support was given to one suggesting that the year be divided into 13 equal months of 28 days and that the last day (or the last two days in a leap year) should be trimmed off and deemed an extra day, or "blank day." By the terms of this proposal, the regular sequence of seven-day weeks would have been interrupted by the introduction of the "blank day" and the Sabbath would have moved to a different weekday each year. As this would have seriously prejudiced Sabbath observance, the Jewish spokesmen led by the chief rabbis of France and Britain fought the reform project. In the face of the combined opposition of many governments, the Jews, the Seventh-Day Adventists, and other bodies, the conference concluded almost unanimously that the time was not ripe for modifying the Gregorian calendar.

Since the League of Nations was an organization of states and not of nations, the Jews as such were naturally unable to participate in its activities. However, where the participation of nongovernmental, international, or national organizations was considered desirable on certain commissions or at conferences convened under the aegis of the League, Jewish organizations were also invited to nominate permanent representatives or send observers. Thus, for example, Jewish observers were invited to attend the conference on calendar reform and were authorized to voice their opinions. The Jewish Association for the Protection of Girls and Women participated in the activities of the Traffic in Women and Children Committee. Jewish organizations were represented on the Advisory Committee affiliated to the League's Nansen institutions for refugees, and in the Advisory Council (later known as the Liaison Committee) affiliated to the high commission for the care of the German refugees. Among the 22 members of the advisory committee formed on the appointment of the high commissioner in 1933, there were 12 delegates from Jewish public bodies representing the Jewish communities of the United States, Britain, France, Poland, Belgium, and Holland, as well as the Jewish Agency, ICA (*Jewish Colonization Association), the *American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee, the *Comité des Délégations Juives, the Alliance Israélite Universelle, and *Agudat Israel. In 1924, the Jewish Agency, a public body recognized by international law in the Palestine mandate, set up a permanent office in Geneva in order to assure constant communication with the secretariat of the League and with members of the Mandate Commission when in session. The Jewish organizations concerned with protecting the rights of the Jewish minorities sent delegates to the general assemblies of the League in Geneva, while the Comité des Délégations Juives (and later the World Jewish Congress) was permanently represented in Geneva.

The establishment of the League of Nations kindled the hope that a new world would be built from the ruins of the old. The Jews also placed much faith in it. These hopes did not materialize, especially after 1930 when the League's prestige was on the wane; by 1937 its lack of power had become all too obvious. Despite this, however, the Jews did derive some benefits from the League's activities. Insofar as its means permitted, the League sought to ensure the observance of the provisions of the Palestine mandate, and on a few occasions succeeded in preventing attacks on the rights of the Jews in the Diaspora and alleviating their suffering.

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[Nathan Feinberg]

LEAH (Heb. לֵאָה), elder daughter of Laban and wife of Jacob.

Biblical Depiction

Leah was married to Jacob as a result of Laban's trickery in substituting her for her sister Rachel on the night of the marriage (Gen. 29:23–25). She gave birth to six sons – Reuben, Simeon, Levi, Judah, Issachar, Zebulun – and one daughter – Dinah (Gen. 29:32–35; 30:14–21). Her maid-servant Zilpah whom she gave to Jacob bore him another two sons – Gad and Asher (30:9–13).

Leah is described as having had eyes that were *rakkot*, often taken to mean "weak eyes" (29:17), an expression that may be taken to mean that her eyes lacked luster, the eastern woman's distinguishing mark of beauty. But *rakkot* has also been taken as "tender," that is, her eyes are an attractive feature (Speiser, a.l.; Yee). This would be in harmony with the etymology of her name from Akkadian *lītu*, "cow" (von Soden, AHW, 557–58). Unfortunately, her sister *Rachel, "ewe," is comely of both form and face. Leah is also said to have been "unloved" (29:30–31), and she had to fight for Jacob's affection, as is evidenced by the symbolic names of her sons and the mandrakes she had to give to Rachel in return for conjugal rights (30:14–16). Because of her miserable state, God rewarded her with children (29:31). This is a motif that recurs in the story of Hannah and Peninah (I Sam. 1:1–20).

Together with her sister, Leah stood by Jacob in his quarrel with Laban and joined him in his flight from her father (Gen. 31:1–18). She is again mentioned in Laban's search of Jacob's effects (31:33) and in connection with the encounter with Esau (33:1–7). While her death is not specifically recorded, she is mentioned as having been buried in the cave of Machpelah (49:31). Together with Rachel, Leah was esteemed as one of the mothers of the nation who "built up the House of Israel," and her name was invoked in the blessing of a bride (Ruth 4:11).

The sons of Leah were regarded as the progenitors of six of the 12 tribes of Israel, and the two hereditary national institutions, the priesthood and the monarchy, are traced back to her sons Levi and Judah. Since according to the narrative the birth of the Leah tribes antedates the appearance of those derived from Rachel, it is possible that the former represented an earlier Israelite confederacy which was only later joined by the Rachel tribes. In addition, the stories perhaps follow a literary paradigm in which rival wives possess different strengths.

[Nili Shupak]

In the *Aggadah*

Leah was as beautiful as her sister Rachel; her only defect was that her eyes were weak from the many tears she shed because she thought she would be given in marriage to Esau, it having been arranged that she should marry the elder son of Isaac, and Rachel the younger. Informed of his bad character, she wept so copiously that her eyelashes were detached from her eyes (Tanḥ. B., Gen. 152). During the nuptial night, Leah responded whenever Jacob called Rachel. When daylight came, Jacob reproached her, saying, "O thou deceiver, daughter of a deceiver, why did you answer me when I called Rachel's name?" Leah responded, "Is there a teacher without a pupil? I learned from your example. Did you not answer your father when he called Esau?" (Gen. R. 70:19). Upon the birth of her fourth son, she became the first person since the time of creation to praise the Lord (Gen. 29:35; Ber. 7b). Since God knew that Leah's intentions were honorable in requesting Jacob's affection in return for the mandrakes (Gen. 30:16), she was blessed with two additional sons, Issachar and Zebulun (Gen. R. 72:5). Her seventh child was also destined to be a son but the embryo was changed into a female because of Leah's prayers. Knowing that Jacob was destined to have 12 sons, she prayed that Rachel be granted a second son so that she would at least be equal to the handmaids who each bore two sons (Ber. 60a). Since Leah was the eldest daughter, she received the more desirable inheritance. Both the priesthood and royalty (Aaron and David) were descended from her.

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°**LEÃO (Pereira), GASPAR DE** (d. 1576), Portuguese archbishop, born in Lagos, Portugal. In 1560 he was named prelate of *Goa and installed as its first inquisitor general. In his first *auto-da-fé, held on Sept. 27, 1563, two of the four victims were Portuguese Judaizers. He was also active in compelling *Marranos to return to Lisbon. Given to polemics, Leão denounced talmudic law in an open letter to the Jews, *Carta do primeiro Arcebispo de Goa, ao Povo de Israel, seguidor ainda da ley de Moyses e do Talmud, por engano e malicia dos seus Rabbis* (1565). About 1569 he resigned and went into retreat in the neighboring convent of Daugim; however, he returned to his posts in 1574, serving until his death.

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[Aaron Lichtenstein]

LEAP YEAR, refers to the 13-month year in the Jewish *calendar. Leap year results from the intercalation (Heb. עִבּוּר, "pregnancy") of an additional month, called *Adar Sheni* ("Second Adar") or *Ve-Adar* ("and Adar"). Adar, the regular 12th month, is then called *Adar Rishon* ("the first Adar"). Leap year is a means through which the annual difference of 11 days between the solar year and the lunar year is adjusted. A leap year occurs seven times in every cycle of 19 years (*maḥazor ḥammah*), namely in the years: 3, 6, 8, 11, 14, 17 and 19 of the cycle. The first Adar has 30 days, the second Adar 29. The number of days in a leap year is either 383, 384, or 385. The period between the first of Nisan and the first of Tishri is always 177 days. The intercalation of years was already practiced by the Sanhedrin in the Hasmonean and mishnaic periods. Among the factors then taken into consideration were the ripened state of the *Omer* ("barley") offered on Passover, and that of the *bikkurim* ("first fruits") sacrificed on Shavuot. It also depended on whether the roads and bridges were passable so that the pilgrims could go to Jerusalem for the Passover festival, and whether the ovens for the paschal-lamb sacrifices were already dry after the rainy season. (See: Tosef., Sanh. 2:12; Sanh. 11aff.)

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LEAR, EVELYN (1926–), U.S. soprano singer. Lear was born in New York City and studied singing first at Hunter College and later at the Juilliard School of Music; she was also a horn player and pianist. In 1957, she went to Berlin on a Fulbright grant and studied at the Hochschule fuer Musik. Two years later she made her first appearances at the Deutsche Staatsoper, Berlin, and in 1962 took the title role in Berg's *Lulu* at Vienna. Returning to the United States, she made important debuts at the Chicago Lyric Opera (in Berg's *Wozzeck*, 1966) and at the Metropolitan, New York (in the first performances of *Mourning Becomes Electra* (1967) by Marvin David *Levy). From 1972 she began to undertake heavier roles, including Tosca and the Marschallin. She created Arkadina in Pasatieri's *The Seagull* (1974), Magda in Robert Ward's *Minutes to Midnight* (1982), and Ranyevskaya in Kelterborn's *Kirschgar-*

ten (1984). Her roles in opera ranged from Purcell (Dido in *Dido and Aeneas*) and Mozart to contemporary works. Her repertory included both Mozart's Cherubino and Countess Almaviva, Fiordiligi (*Cosi Fan Tutte*), Pamina (*Die Zauberflöte*); Handel's Cleopatra, Verdi's Desdemona (*Otello*), Tchaikowsky's Tatyana (*Eugene Onegin*) and Marie (*Wozzeck*). Lear was a singer gifted with intelligence, linguistic abilities (singing in seven languages), and a strong sense of drama. She was also a distinguished concert singer and song-recitalist.

ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY: Grove online.

[Max Loppert / Israela Stein (2nd ed.)]

LEAR, NORMAN (1922–), U.S. writer, producer, director of TV and films. Born in New Haven, Connecticut, Lear served in the U.S. Air Force during World War II (1941–45). At the war's end, he was decorated with the Air Medal with four Oak Leaf Clusters. Lear began his career in films, producing and writing such motion pictures as *Come Blow Your Horn* (1963), *Divorce, American Style* (Oscar nomination for Best Screenplay, 1967), and *The Night They Raided Minsky's* (1968).

He then turned to developing and creating groundbreaking television shows, beginning with the sitcom *All in the Family* (1971–79), which became the no. 1-rated TV show. It was followed by *Sanford & Son* (1972–77); *Maude* (1972–78); *Good Times* (1974–79); *The Jeffersons* (1975–85); *Mary Hartman, Mary Hartman* (1976–78); *One Day at a Time* (1975–84); *Fernwood 2Nite* (1977–78); *Apple Pie* (1978); *Diff'rent Strokes* (1978–86); and *Archie Bunker's Place* (1979–83).

Lear has also been the producer of feature films, such as *Never Too Late* (1965), *Start the Revolution without Me* (1970), *Cold Turkey* (1971), *The Thief Who Came to Dinner* (1973), *Stand by Me* (1986), *The Princess Bride* (1987), *Fried Green Tomatoes* (1991), and *Way Past Cool* (2000).

Among his many honors and awards, Lear was named Man of the Year in 1973 by the Hollywood chapter of the National Academy of Television Arts and Sciences. He received four Emmy Awards for *All In the Family* (1970–73) and a Peabody Award (1978); he was nominated for 11 other Emmys. In 1987 he received the Creative Achievement Award from the American Comedy Awards. In 1984 he received the Distinguished American Award and was among the first inductees to the Academy of Television Arts and Sciences Hall of Fame. He received the Mass Media Award from the American Jewish Committee of Institutional Executives in 1987.

Lear was president of the American Civil Liberties Foundation from 1973. In 1980 he founded People for the American Way, a Washington advocacy group that lobbies for constitutional rights and liberties. He was also a member of the advisory board to the National Women's Political Caucus. In 2000 he founded the Norman Lear Center at USC's Annenberg School of Communications, which offers multidisciplinary study of entertainment to stimulate new ways of approaching its content and evaluating its impact. Lear's book *God, Man, and Archie Bunker,* coauthored with Spencer Marsh, was published in 1975.

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[Jonathan Licht / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

LEASE AND HIRE. The Hebrew term *sekhirut* embraces the lease of immovable property (houses and fields) as well as the hire of movable property and personal services, and is a near parallel of *locatio-conductio rei* in Roman law. In this article the term "hire" is generally used as the equivalent of *sekhirut* in its wide sense and also with reference to movable property, whereas the term "lease" is used solely with reference to the hire of immovable property. For details concerning the hire of personal services, see *Labor Law.

In hire, the owner (the *maskir*) alienates to the hirer (the *sokher*) a real right in the demised property, the fruits and use of the property, for a fixed period, in return for a rental payable by the hirer to the owner. The rule is that hire is deemed to be a sale for a fixed period. This *halakhah* was stated in the Talmud with reference to the law of **ona'ah* ("overreaching"); i.e., just as there is overreaching in sale so there is overreaching in hire, and just as there is no overreaching in the sale of land so there is no overreaching in the lease of land (see BM 56b and Tos., ad loc.; Sh. Ar., ḤM 315:1). Some scholars held that the application of the above rule extended to additional *halakhot*: "A man may make any stipulation he wishes with regard to hiring just as he may do with regard to purchase and sale, since hiring is but a sale for a specified time. He who may sell may also let" (Yad, Sekhirut 7:1; see also *She'elah*, 1:5; Sh. Ar., ḤM 315:2; PD 8 (1954), 577–81). Opinions are divided on the question of whether the owner may, within the period for which he has let his property, let such property to a third party (see *Pitḥei Teshuvah*, ḤM 315, n. 1).

Formation and Determination of Hire

Property is hired in the same way as it is bought and sold (see *Acquisition; BK 79a; Yad, Mekhirah 1:18; Sh. Ar., ḤM 315:1), and until the required formal act of *kinyan* is performed both parties are free to retract (Sh. Ar., ḤM 307:2). The view was expressed that as regards the hire of movables, as opposed to their sale, the scholars had not abolished *kinyan kesef* ("acquisition by money"), because the subject matter of the hire would continue to belong to its owner, which would eliminate the apprehension that the latter might refrain from rescuing the property from danger – as there was reason to fear in the case of sale. The *halakhah* was decided accordingly (see Sh. Ar., ḤM 198:6; *Pitḥei Teshuvah*, n. 8). Determination of hire, before expiry of the stipulated period, may be effected by an act of *kinyan*, i.e., by the hirer transferring his real right in the property back to its owner. A right of hire cannot be extinguished by way of waiver alone (see *Sma*, ḤM 189). Just as a person's courtyard acquires for him (*kinyan ḥazer*), so he may acquire through a courtyard he has hired, and in this way acquire movables which are on the hired property (Yad, Mekhirah 3:7; see also Sh. Ar., ḤM 198:5 and *Siftei Kohen*, n. 7). Similarly, movables may be transferred by the method of acquisition incidental to hired land (*kinyan aggav*; Kid. 27a).

Ambit of Contract

The ambit of hire is determined in accordance with the customary uses of the property concerned. Thus a person who hires a house also hires its surrounding garden and the like (Yad, Sekhirut 6:1), all subject to local *custom and the common usage of the terms employed by the parties in their contract (Yad, loc. cit.; see also Sh. Ar., ḤM 313:1).

Obligations of the Lessor

The lessor must let to the lessee property which is fit for the intended purpose. If a house is let, the lessor must supply one with doors and windows properly affixed, and he must further ensure that all the things "which are produced by the craftsman and are essential to the habitability of houses and courts" are done (BM 8:7; Yad, Sekhirut 6:3; Sh. Ar., ḤM 314:1). The fact that the lessee occupies the premises prior to the lessor's execution of all his required duties does not amount to a waiver of these on the part of the lessee, and the lessor remains responsible for their execution (*Rema*, ḤM 314:1). Where the parties agreed on the letting of "this" – i.e., specified – house, the lessor will not, during the subsistence of the lease, be responsible for repairs; otherwise (i.e., where an unspecified house is let) the lessor remains responsible for repairs (*Rema*, loc. cit.). The opinion was expressed that even in the case where a specified house is agreed on by the parties, the lessor will, in certain circumstances, if the house has fallen into disrepair and become too dangerous to live in, be responsible for its repair (Sh. Ar., ḤM 312:17 and *Sma*, n. 32).

In case of the destruction of the leased property (see below), the law as regards the lessor's need to make available alternative property to the lessee is as follows: "If a man let to another an unspecified house and after he delivered possession to the lessee the house collapsed, he is bound to rebuild it or to supply the lessee with another house. If the second house is smaller than the one that collapsed the lessee cannot object, provided it may be classified as a house, for it was but an unspecified house that the lessor let to the lessee. If, however, the lessor said, 'I am letting to you a house like this one,' he must supply the lessee with a house of the length and width of the one he indicated to him"; in the latter event, the lessor cannot depart from the dimensions and qualities of the said house except by mutual consent (BM 103a; Yad, Sekhirut 5:7; Sh. Ar., ḤM 312:17).

Rental or Hire

Two views are expressed in the Talmud concerning the owner's right to payment of the rental or hire (Kid. 48a–b). One opinion is that the hire (i.e., wages) is "a liability from beginning to end" and that the hired worker becomes continuously entitled to this in accordance with the portion of the work done (Yad, Ishut 5:20; see also Akum 7:5 and Rashi, Kid. 48a, s.v. *ella*). A different opinion is that "wages are a liability only at the end" (Kid. loc. cit.), i.e., that the lessor does not become entitled to the rental until termination of the lease or – in the event that property was handed over for improvement – until return of the property to its owner (Rashi, Kid. 48b, s.v. *einah li-sekhirut*; but cf. *Beit ha-Beḥirah*, Kid. 48a). The *halakhah* was decided according to the first opinion (see Yad, loc. cit. and Sh. Ar., EH 28:7). However, the practical significance of the above dispute is confined to matters concerning the laws of **kiddushin* and those concerning wages in cases involving idolatry, whereas it appears to have no relevance to relations between the lessor and lessee. Hence, as regards the time for the payment of the hire it was accepted as *halakhah* that "wages are a liability only at the end" (see Tos. to BK 99a and to BM 65a; but cf. Nov. Ritba, Kid. 48b). It is a positive precept to pay the worker's hire on time and failure to do so is a transgression of a pentateuchal prohibition (*halanat sakhar*) which was interpreted as extending to the hire of personal services and that of animals and utensils (see *Labor Law). However, as regards the rental for land and houses, disputing opinions are expressed in the codes (see Yad, Sekhirut 11:1; Sh. Ar., ḤM 339:1 and *Keẓot ha-Ḥoshen* n. 1).

Where property is hired for a fixed period at a stipulated remuneration, the latter may not be increased within the said period (Sh. Ar., ḤM 312:10; *Rema*, ḤM 312:9). In the case where a property is tacitly relet on expiry of the hire period, and in the absence of any express agreement regarding the amount of the hire for the renewal period, the hirer – according to Hai Gaon – will be at an advantage: If the amount of the hire stipulated for the first period is higher than the appropriate amount, the hirer pays only the latter amount; if the stipulated amount is lower than is appropriate, the hirer nevertheless pays no more than the lower amount (*ittur* 1, pt. 1, s.v. *sekhirut*). On the other hand, from the Shulḥan Arukh it may be gathered that the hirer, in the above circumstances, always pays according to the stipulated amount for the first period, regardless of any increase or decrease in the customary rate (ḤM 312:9; see also Nov. Meir Simḥah ha-Kohen of Dvinsk, BM 101b, s.v. *va-agalleh*). If the hirer retracts during the term of the hire he remains liable for the whole amount of the hire (Yad, Sekhirut 5:4; Sh. Ar., ḤM 311:6).

Departure from the Object and Terms of the Hire

The hirer may not use the hired property for a more onerous purpose than that for which it was hired (Yad, Mekhirah 23:8; Sekhirut 4:1, 4–5; Sh. Ar., ḤM 212:6; 308), subject to any different local custom (Yad, Sekhirut 4:8; Sh. Ar., ḤM 308:3). If the hirer puts the property to any more onerous use, for which the customary hire is greater than the amount agreed upon, he must add to the hire accordingly (*Rema*, ḤM 308:1). In certain circumstances it may be sought to safeguard that the property is put to its full stipulated use. Thus, for instance, the lessor of a shop may object to its being left vacant by the lessee lest the regular customers become accustomed to buying elsewhere, which would detract from the value of the premises (Resp. Maharsham, pt. 2, no. 198). Use of the property in a different but not more onerous manner than that agreed upon is held to be forbidden by some scholars but is permitted by others, who hold that to forbid this is "the practice of the Sodomites" (see *Law and Morality; Tur., ḤM 308:3–4; 311:3–4; *Perishah, ibid.* 4; *Sma*, ḤM 311, n. 2).

If a house is jointly hired (see *Partnership) by two persons for their cotenancy, neither may transfer his rights in it to a third party – not even if the latter has a smaller household – except with the consent of the other partner. Similarly, one tenant cannot compel his cotenant to partition the tenancy, since the house is not their property but is only let to them for a term. However, it was held that joint lessees of a field can compel each other to a partition of the lease (Sh. Ar., ḤM 171:9 and *Rema* ad loc.; ḤM 316:2 and *Sma* n. 6). The lessee may not, without the lessor's consent, take in any of his relatives or acquaintances to live with him in the house as one of its occupants, unless they are dependent on him (Yad, Shekhenim 5:9; Sh. Ar., ḤM 154:2). As regards the stipulated terms, the rule is that these may not be departed from except where their strict enforcement would amount to "following the practice of the Sodomites" (Yad, Sekhirut 7:8; Sh. Ar., ḤM 318).

Assignment and Subletting

The rule is that the hirer may not sublet to someone else (Tosef., BM 3:1; Git. 29a). To do so without authority will render the sublease voidable (*Maḥaneh Efrayim*, no. 7). There are several qualifications to this rule: It was laid down that a person who hires a cargo boat and unloads the cargo in the middle of the voyage may let the boat to someone else (for the rest of the journey), and the owner will have "a grievance only" against the original hirer; similarly, if the hirer sells the cargo in the middle of the voyage, disembarks, and leaves the purchaser to embark, the owner takes one-half of the freightage from each of the other two and the owner has "but a grievance against the seller for causing him to endure the inclinations of another man to whom he is not accustomed"; and so too in other similar cases (Yad, Sekhirut 5:4; Sh. Ar., ḤM 311:6). This *halakhah* was extended by way of analogy: "On the basis of the above rule [Yad, loc. cit.].

I hold that if the owner lets his house for a fixed period, the lessee may sublet it to another until the end of the said period … since the rule of the sages that the hirer may not let applies only to movables, where the owner may say 'I do not wish my property deposited with another'; but as regards land, or a boat on which its owner is present, the owner cannot say so" (Yad, loc. cit. 5:5). Other scholars expressed the view that the lessee may never sublet the house, "for there are people who ruin the house that they occupy" (Yad, loc. cit., *Hassagot Rabad* and *Maggid Mishneh*, ad loc.). According to some scholars, even "chattels which are not likely to be carried away and which are habitually hired out and given in loan by their owners" may in turn be hired out and lent to third parties (Resp. Rashba, vol. 1, no. 1145; see also *Maḥaneh Efrayim*, Sekhirut no. 19). The *halakhah* was decided thus: "A person who has hired an animal or chattels may not hire these out to anyone else" (Sh. Ar., ḤM 307:4; see also 316:1). Similarly, a field may not be sublet, since in this case it is feared that the sublessee may do with the field as he pleases (see *Sma*, ḤM 212:16 and 316:1).

The permissibility of subletting in the case of a house is subject to a number of restrictions. It may only be done if the members of the subtenant's household do not number more than those of the existing tenant (Yad, Sekhirut 5:5). It is also a condition that the sublease shall not entail a more onerous use than did the original lease. In addition, the lessor always retains a preemptive right to demand the leased property for himself and release the lessee from further payment of the rental (Yad, loc. cit.; see also Sh. Ar., ḤM 316:1; *Divrei Ge'onim* 104:40). Similarly, the lessee may not sublet to a disreputable person (*Rema*, ḤM 312:7), or to someone who is hateful to the lessor (*Taz*, ḤM 312:7), or to someone who will fail to take proper care of the property (*Arukh ha-Shulḥan*, ḤM 316:2). In the case of a lawful sublease, any reward the lessee derives from it will belong to him, otherwise to the owner of the property (see *Maḥaneh Efrayim*, Sekhirut no. 19).

Frustration of Hire

It was laid down that if a hired ass fell sick or was taken into the king's service, it would not have to be replaced by its owner; however, if the ass died, the owner would be so obliged (BM 6:3; BM 78b; Sh. Ar., ḤM 310:1). The owner's exemption from the need to replace an ass if it fell sick was interpreted to be specifically applicable to the case in which an ass is hired to carry a normal load, since it would still remain possible to put the ass to some use; however, an ass that is hired to be ridden, or to carry glass utensils, has to be replaced by its owner, since there is no possibility of using it for the purpose for which it was hired (BM 79a; Sh. Ar. loc. cit.). In the case where the ass dies, a distinction is made between the hire of a specified ("this") ass and the hire of an unspecified one. In the case of an unspecified ass, the owner must replace it with another, otherwise, if the worth of the carcass suffices for the purchase or hire of another ass, the hirer must apply the proceeds therefrom toward the purchase or hire of an ass for the original purpose (BM loc. cit.; Sh. Ar., ḤM 310:1–2; see also Tur., ḤM 310:2, *Beit Yosef* and *Darkhei Moshe*, ad loc.).

In the Talmud it is laid down that if a specified house is hired, the loss – in the event of its collapse – is that of the lessee, and no provision is made for him to apply the proceeds of the sale of the boards and bricks toward the purchase or hire of another house (BM 103a; Sh. Ar., ḤM 312:17). However, an opinion was expressed that the lessee should do so in the above circumstances (Ramah in Tur, ḤM 312:6), and some scholars distinguished between the hire of an ass and that of a house (see Tos. to BM 79a; *Shitah Mekubbeẓet*, BM 79a, under *Ha de-Amrinan* in the name of Rabad). If a house is demolished by the lessor, he must make available a similar house to the lessee and he must do likewise if he has caused the lessee to vacate the house during the period of the lease (Yad, Sekhirut 5:6; Sh. Ar., ḤM 312:2).

Four possibilities are distinguished as regards payment of the rent upon frustration of the lease, all illustrated by the case of a ship hired for the transport of wine which sinks with all its cargo:

(1) If a specified ship was hired for transporting a cargo of unspecified wine, the hirer will be exempt from payment of the freightage and entitled to a refund if he has already paid; this is because the hirer is prepared to submit other wine for transportation but the owner is unable to offer him the ship hired (BM 79a; Sh. Ar., ḤM 311:2). When the hirer can benefit from part performance of the contract – for instance if the cargo is salvaged and the hirer is able to transport it in some other manner to its destination, or to sell it at the place to which it has been brought – the ship owner will be entitled to part payment of the freightage, pro rata to the measure of the contract executed (see Tos. to BM 79a; *Rema*, ḤM 310:2, 311:2).

(2) If an unspecified ship was hired for the transport of a cargo of specified wine, the hirer will be liable for the freightage, since he presents the obstacle, inasmuch as the shipowner is able to offer another ship whereas the hirer is unable to submit the same wine that was lost (BM 79a–b). There is an opinion that the hirer, in the above event, is only liable for part payment, pro rata to the measure of the hire executed (Tos. to BM 79b; Sh. Ar., ḤM 311:3 and *Rema* ad loc.). There is also an opinion that in circumstances where the cargo is lost even though the ship has not sunk, the hirer, in spite of the fact that he presents the obstacle, is exempt from payment of the hire since the obstacle has arisen from an inevitable accident (see **Ones*; Tos. to BM 79a; *Sma*, ḤM 311, n. 2; *Siftei Kohen, ibid.*, n. 2).

(3) If a specified ship was hired for transporting a cargo of specified wine, the rule is that since the obstacle is presented by both parties, the party in possession is at an advantage; if the hirer has not yet paid the freightage he need not do so, but if he has already done so he will not be entitled to any refund (BM 79b; Sh. Ar., ḤM 311:4).

(4) If an unspecified ship was hired for transporting a cargo of unspecified wine, the shipowner and the hirer share the freightage (BM 79b; Sh. Ar., ḤM 311:5).

In the case where the lessee of a house dies during the currency of the lease, according to one opinion the lessor will not be entitled to the full rental but only that for the period for which the house was occupied, unless it was otherwise stipulated by the lessor; another opinion is that the lessor remains entitled to the full rental (*Rema*, ḤM 334:1; see also *Divrei Ge'onim*, 104:16).

Termination of the Contract

A lease for a fixed period terminates on expiry thereof and may not be terminated by the lessor prior to this date (Yad, Sekhirut 6:6; Sh. Ar., ḤM 312:1, 8). At times, in the absence of a stipulated time for the termination of a lease, the expiry date will be determined in accordance with the surrounding circumstances. Thus, if the rental has been paid in advance, even for a lengthy period of time, the lessor will not be able to eject the lessee until expiry of the period for which the rent has been paid (Sh. Ar., ḤM 312:1 and *Rema* ad loc.). Sometimes the date of termination of a lease is governed by local custom relating to such a particular category of lease (Tosef., BM 8:28; see also Yad, loc. cit.; Sh. Ar., ḤM 312:4). The lessor's sale of the leased premises is valid but does not have the effect of terminating the lease, and the purchaser may not eject the lessee until expiry of the lease period; the same applies when the premises are transferred by gift or inheritance (Yad, Sekhirut 6:11; Sh. Ar., ḤM 312:1 and 13; see also I.S. Zuri, *Torat ha-Mishpat ha-Ezraḥi ha-Ivri: ha-Irurim*, 2 (1935), 105, n. 36).

In the case where premises are let for an unspecified period, the scholars laid down the need for advance notice of termination. The rule is as follows: "He who lets a house to another for an unspecified term may not dispossess the lessee from the house unless he notifies him 30 days in advance, so as to enable him to find a place and prevent his being thrown into the street. At the end of the 30 days the lessee must vacate the premises" (Yad, Sekhirut 6:7, based on BM 8:6 and BM 101b; see also Sh. Ar., ḤM 312:5). In certain circumstances, depending on the nature of the premises and its location, longer periods of notice are required (BM and Yad, loc. cit.). The obligation to give notice is mutual and, as regards the lessee, he may not vacate the premises without prior notice, but must pay the rent (Yad, Sekhirut 6:8 and Sh. Ar., ḤM 312:7; see also *Pitḥei Teshuvah* thereto; PDR 3:281–3; 6:113). When a lease is tacitly renewed for lack of prior notice of termination, the rent for the renewal period must be paid at the new prevailing rate, whether higher or lower than before (Yad, Sekhirut 6:9 and Sh. Ar., ḤM 312:9). If the lessor requires the premises for himself, for instance when his own dwelling has collapsed, he may eject the lessee from the leased premises, saying to him: "It is not right that you should remain in my house until you find another dwelling place, while I am lying on the street; your right in this house is not greater than mine" (Yad, Sekhirut 6:9 and 10; Sh. Ar., ḤM 312:11; see also Resp. Radbaz, no. 1214; Nov. Akiva Eger to Sh. Ar., ḤM 312:13). The fact that relations between the lessor and lessee have deteriorated during the currency of the lease is no ground for its termination; however, if at the time of the letting the lessor declared that he was only doing so because of his friendship for the lessee, then if the two become enemies in the meantime, he is entitled to terminate the lease (*Rema*, ḤM 312:9; see *Pitḥei Teshuvah* n. 6).

Laws of Evidence

Based on the rule that "the burden of proof rests on the person seeking to recover from another," it was laid down that in case of ambiguity in the terms of the lease the owner of the premises is in possession and holds the advantage until the lessee brings evidence to support his claim. Thus if it is unclear whether an intercalated (leap year) month is for the benefit of the lessor or the lessee, the benefit will accrue to the lessor (BM 102b; Yad, Sekhirut 7:2; Sh. Ar., ḤM 312:15). Similarly, in the case of dispute over whether the lease was for a fixed or for an unspecified period – which would have a bearing on the need or otherwise for prior notice of termination – the burden of proof will rest on the lessee (Yad, loc. cit.; Sh. Ar., ḤM 312:16 and *Rema* ad loc.) and likewise in the case of dispute as to the date of commencement of a lease for a fixed period

(Yad, Sekhirut 7:4; Sh. Ar., ḤM 317:2; for additional rules see Yad, Sekhirut 7:6; Sh. Ar., ḤM 317:3). If there is a dispute between the lessor and the lessee over whether the rent has been paid or not, then – if the lease was for a term of 30 days and the lessor has claimed the rent within this period, or if there was a stipulated date of payment and the rent has been claimed prior to this date – the lessee will have the burden of proving that he paid the rent, since it is presumed that "a person does not pay prior to due date" and that "rent is payable only at the end"; if, however, the claim is made on the 30th day or on the stipulated date, the lessor will have to prove that he has not yet been paid (Yad, Sekhirut 7:3; Sh. Ar., ḤM 317:1).

Precepts Relating to Property

The letting of premises has a bearing on the question of whether the duty of fulfilling the precepts relating to such property falls on the lessor or lessee. As regards the precept of searching out leaven on Passover eve, it was laid down that the duty devolves on the lessor if he has not delivered the key to the lessee before the 14th day of Nisan; if he has delivered the keys before this date, the duty is the lessee's (Yad, Ḥameẓ 2:18). At the same time, the fact that the lessee finds that the house he has hired has not been searched for leaven – even though he has hired it on this assumption – does not entitle him to void the contract on the grounds of error, since it is every person's duty to perform a *mitzvah* personally (Yad, loc. cit.; see also Sh. Ar., OḤ 437:1, 3).

Ḥokher and *Mekabbel*

In two cases, in which the lessee is called a *ḥokher* and a *mekabbel* respectively (as defined below), the consideration is payable in different manner to that of the *sokher*. If a produce-bearing field or vineyard is rented for money, the lessee is called a *sokher*; when it is rented for a stipulated amount of the produce the lessee is called a *ḥokher*; when a person hires a field or orchard with the obligation to cultivate it, to incur the necessary expenses, and to pay a stipulated portion of the produce derived therefrom, he is called a *mekabbel* (Yad, Sekhirut 8:1, 2; Sh. Ar., ḤM 320:1–3). There is one law for the *sokher* and the *ḥokher* (loc. cit.). As regards the *mekabbel* and the *ḥokher* (the two cases are referred to as *kabbelanut* or *arisut*), "whatever is essential to the protection of the land is chargeable to the owner and whatever constitutes added precaution is chargeable to the farmer (*ḥokher*) or tenant on shares (*kablan*)." The utensils and instruments for cultivation of the land – such as a spade for digging the ground or the vessels in which the dirt is carried – are chargeable to the owner. There is an opinion that the aforesaid obligations of the owner relate only to the *mekabbel* and not the *ḥokher* (Yad, Sekhirut 8:2; Sh. Ar., ḤM 320:3).

The owner derives his share from whatever is produced by the land, whether good or bad. If the field yields bad produce, the *ḥokher* nevertheless pays with this, and if good wheat is produced he may not say to the owner, "I will buy wheat for you from the market," but must pay out of this crop (Yad, Sekhirut 8:7; Sh. Ar., ḤM 323; see *Sma* n. 3). The nature of the work which must be done by the *ḥokher* in cultivating the field is determined by local custom (BM 9:1; Yad, Sekhirut 8:6; Sh. Ar., ḤM 320:4; *Sma* n. 2). If a field is leased on the condition that it is sown with a particular crop, the *ḥokher* may only sow a different crop which is less and not more exhaustive of the soil. In case of deviation, the *ḥokher* will have to purchase produce on the market for delivery to the owner as stipulated between them (Yad, Sekhirut 8:9; Sh. Ar., ḤM 324). As regards a *mekabbel*, one opinion holds that he may depart from the stipulated manner of cultivation, even if this is more burdensome on the land, and another opinion is that he may not do so even for a less burdensome result (*Rema*, ḤM, loc. cit.).

If a field taken by a *mekabbel* fails to produce its anticipated yield, nevertheless, if there is a prospect of extracting a yield exceeding the expenditures by a minimal amount, the *mekabbel* will be obliged to cultivate the field against his will – since this is part of his undertaking whether or not it was expressly stipulated in writing (Yad, Sekhirut 8:12; Sh. Ar., ḤM 328:1 and *Rema* ad loc.). If a *mekabbel* lets a field lie fallow, an appraisal is made of how much the field would have been likely to yield and the former must pay the owner his estimated due share – since this is part of his undertaking to the lessor, whether or not expressly stipulated. Such an undertaking was held not to be defective on account of *asmakhta*, since here the *mekabbel* does not take upon himself an obligation for something that is fixed, but only to indemnify the owner in accordance with the loss caused the latter, and hence the *mekabbel* is deemed to have firmly made up his mind to bind himself to the obligation. If, however, the *mekabbel* undertook to pay the owner an amount that is found to exceed the estimated loss, this will amount to *asmakhta*, and he will be liable to pay only according to the actual loss (Yad, Sekhirut 8:13; Sh. Ar., ḤM 328:2).

Frustration of *Ḥakhirah*

A distinction is made between partial frustration – for instance, if the tributary spring feeding an irrigated field dries up, or if a tree on the plantation is felled – and frustration deriving from a widespread misfortune – for instance, if the river dries up leaving no possibility at all of irrigating the field. In the first case the lessee may not make any deduction from the rental since it is regarded as his own misfortune; in the second case he may make such deduction. If the owner stood in the field and said to the lessee, "I am letting this irrigated field, or this tree plantation to you," his statement will be interpreted to mean that the lease was made as though the owner was letting the field as it was then, without change, and therefore the lessee will be entitled to make a deduction from the rental (Yad, Sekhirut 8:4, 5; Sh. Ar., ḤM 321 and 322).

Termination of *Ḥakhirah*

If on termination of the lease unharvested produce remains on the field, or if the market day for the sale of already harvested produce has not yet arrived, an appraisal is made of the lessee's share therein (Tosef., BM 9:1; Yad, Sekhirut 8:10; Sh. Ar., ḤM 327:1). If the lessee dies within the term of the lease and is survived by his son, the position is as follows: If the father had already received everything due to him for the whole of the term and the owner of the field does not wish to entrust it to the son until completion of the term and for the agreed purpose, the son will not be required to return anything received by his father in excess of the measure of his cultivation – since the son may say that he will complete the cultivation of the field if it is left with him; if the father had not yet received any part of his due share and the son should ask the owner to entrust the field to his further cultivation until expiry of the agreed term and in return for the whole of his father's stipulated share, the owner – who in this case is in the favored position – may deny the existence of any business tie with the lessee and proffer him payment in accordance with the measure of the work done by his father (Sh. Ar., ḤM 329; *Sma* n. 1).

[Nahum Rakover]

Lease – Property Law or Contract Law?

In defining the juridical essence of lease under law, four approaches may be discerned:

PROPERTY (IN REM) RIGHT. According to this approach, accepted by most medieval authorities (*rishonim*), the lessee has a property (*in rem*) right to use and possess the leasehold for a limited time, as implied by the Talmudic rule "A lease, within its time, is a sale" (BM 56b). The nature of a lease, as a property right, is expressed in many ways, inter alia: a lease is passed on as inheritance (Resp. Rashba, 2:328); the sale of the leasehold by the lessor does not impinge on the rights of the lessee (Sh. Ar., ḤM 312:1); and during the leasing period of the lease, any abandoned property found on the leasehold belongs to the lessee, not the lessor, by force of a *kinyan ḥaẓer* (i.e., the actual location of an object in the owner's *ḥaẓer* (= yard) confers ownership, without the requirement of an additional act) (Sh. Ar., ḤM 260:4; Sema, 260:13; and see *Keẓot Ha-Ḥoshen* 313:1).

Although the lessee acquires a property right in the leasehold, this does not imply that he bears the risk of being denied its use, nor does it imply that during the lease period, the lessor has no duty to the lessee. Although a lease is much like a temporary sale, it is not a full-fledged sale. The difference between a lease and a sale stems primarily from the fact that the lessee has only acquired the right to the possession and use of the leasehold, while the lessor retains title of the leasehold. This difference explains why, in certain situations of prevention of use – especially in cases of damage to the leasehold, the property of the lessor – the lessee is not required to continue his rent payments (Yad, Sekhirut 5:6; Resp. Maharam of Padua, 39; inter alia). The same difference may also explain why the lessee may demand the repair of any damage that occurs to the leasehold during the period of the lease (Sema, 312:32).

CONTRACT (IMPERSONUM). According to this approach, accepted by more recent authorities (*aḥaronim*), a lease is a personal obligation of the lessor to the lessee to enable the latter to make use of the leasehold, and the lease itself lacks any *in rem* foundation. "A lease does not affect acquisition" (Avodah Zarah 15a), except that the lessor encumbers the leasehold for the fulfillment of his obligation. That is, the lessee has no property right to the leasehold itself, but only a personal claim to demand that the lessor fulfill his contractual obligations. It should be noted that in most leasing matters, the legal essence of the lease as a personal contract and not as property-*in rem* would yield similar legal results (either by the implied agreement between the parties or by the force of the rabbinic enactment). Nevertheless, the conceptual difference may have practical implications in various specific contexts, for example, *kinyan ḥaẓer* (see above): according to the contractual approach, even during the lease period, the lessor has ownership of any abandoned property found in the leasehold (Shakh, ḤM 313:1); while according to the property approach, it is the lessee who acquires ownership, as noted above.

TWO TYPES OF LEASE. Among the proponents of the property approach, there are those who contend (contrary to the aforementioned view) that since the lessee has a property right on the leasehold, he must assume all the risks other than *force majeur*, of being denied its use (Samson ben Abraham of Sens, cited in *Teshuvot Maimoniyyot*, Mishpatim, 27). However, strict adherence to the property law approach contradicts several Talmudic passages. For example, the Talmud (BM 79a) explicitly rules that when an ass is leased and dies along the way, the lessee is free of any financial obligation; an exemption that *prima facie* contradicts the property approach. Thus, they are forced to explain that concomitant to the property based lease, there is another kind of lease to which the principle that "a lease, within its time, is a sale" does not apply and which is entirely contractual in nature. (This is one of the rationales offered for the property approach, e.g., Resp. Ḥavaẓelet ha-Sharon, 1st ed., ḤM, 30). Thus, their view is that Jewish law recognizes two types of lease, a property-based lease and a contractual lease, although the criterion for distinguishing between the two is not clear.

COMBINED APPROACH. There is also a view that a lease has both property and contractual aspects. The property aspect confers the lessee property rights to the leasehold (with all that is implied thereby, such as *kinyan ḥaẓer*); while the contractual aspect imposes a number of personal obligations on the lessor to the lessee, intended to ensure that the latter gains maximum benefit from the contracted property, such as prohibiting any interference with his use of the leasehold and the requirement to repair any damages (see Rashba, cited in *Shitah Mekubeẓẓet*, BM 78a, s.v. *od katav ha-rav*). This view was also expressed by Justice Silberg (CA 208/51 *Hacker v. Barash*, 8 PD 566, 580), who concluded, on the basis of the *Derishah* (ḤM 316:1) that a lease is a hybrid creation, because a lessee may not, under any circumstances (other than subletting), transfer the leasehold to another party without express agreement of the lessor (although this inference is not the only possible conclusion to be drawn from the *Derishah* source).

[Michael Wygoda (2nd ed.)]

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LEATHER INDUSTRY AND TRADE.

Biblical and Talmudic Times

The one Hebrew word עוֹר (*or*) covers skin, hide, and leather, so that it is difficult to establish whether references in the Bible are to skin or leather. The Bible frequently refers to garments made from skin (e.g., Gen. 3:21, 25:25). The prophet Zechariah wore a "hairy mantle" (13:14) and from the context it is obvious that he considered it a distinctive mark of the prophet. Elijah and Elisha probably wore a similar mantle (I Kings 19:13; II Kings 1:8). Such a garment was worn by the prophets to emphasize archaic values and simplicity after clothing woven from vegetable fibers had become the rule. Tanning is never mentioned in the Bible, although it is recorded in Egypt from the time of the earliest dynasty. It may be assumed that in biblical times the process was essentially one of simply drying the hide. Leather was widely used in biblical times: for sandals and shoes, and for straps and harnesses for horses, donkeys, and camels; the *nod* (נֹאד), a skin bottle for storing and transporting liquids, is still widely used in the Middle East. All writing materials were also produced from hides. A ritually important use of leather and parchment since ancient times is for Torah scrolls, *tefillin*, the straps of which must be made from ritually clean animals, and the contents of *mezuzot*.

Talmudic literature contains several expressions for those occupied in leather production: the *bursi* was the dresser of the hides (Ket. 7:10); the tannery was called *burseki* (BB 2:9; Shab. 1:2); *bursiyyon* was the hide when it was being processed (TJ, Shab. 5:2, 7b); in time *bursiyyon* was used for the tanning process and finally for the tanner himself (Kid. 82b). The *shalḥa* (Shab. 49b) is an identical designation less frequently used. The expression *avdan* (Kel. 26:8; Shab. 1:8) was also used. The *poshet or* was the skinner, the intermediary craftsman between the butcher and the tanner. As in Greece and Rome, tanneries had to be located on the outskirts of the towns, far from residential quarters. According to the Mishnah (BB 2:9) a tannery should be situated on the east side of the town only, at least 50 cubits from the outskirts. This was because tanning was a primitive, malodorous process. Like a privy and a bathhouse, the tannery was exempted from having a *mezuzah* on the door post (Yoma 11a–b). The residents of an alley or lane could prevent one of their neighbors from becoming a tanner (BB 21b). A synagogue building may not be sold for use as a tannery (Meg. 3:2). For all these reasons the tanner's status in society was low. Of all the sages of the Talmud only *Yose b. Ḥalafta is known to have been a tanner. Like fullers and coppersmiths, tanners are exempted from appearing at the Temple on pilgrimage festivals because their unpleasant odor prevents them from going up with all the men (Ḥag. 7b), and forming a separate group is forbidden. An unnamed *gaon* (S. Assaf, *Teshuvot ha-Ge'onim* (1928), 93, no. 179) explains that they are exempt because their bad odor, having penetrated their flesh, cannot be removed. This, he said, was why they had their own synagogues in his day in Babylon. The tanner's trade was among those from which neither king nor high priest might be appointed, not because the tanner is ritually unfit, but because his occupation is despised (Kid. 82a). Maimonides adds (Yad, Melakhim 1:6) that whoever has worked at this trade for even one day is unfit for the high offices. In the words of the Talmud: "The world can exist neither without a perfume-maker nor without a tanner – happy is he whose craft is that of a perfume-maker, and woe to him who is a tanner by trade." According to *Ketubbot* 9:10, a tanner (as well as a collector of dung for tanning), whether he plied his trade before marriage or took it up afterward, may be compelled to divorce his wife if she demands it. Rabbi *Meir was of the opinion that even if a wife had agreed before the wedding to put up with her husband's trade, she must be allowed a divorce if she later found that she could not tolerate it. The example is given of a tanner who died, leaving a brother, also a tanner, who should therefore take the dead man's wife in levirate marriage. It was ruled that she might say: "I could endure your brother, but cannot endure you."

Later Developments in the East

Throughout the early Middle Ages, in countries under Muslim rule, tanning and leather craft remained in Jewish hands because of the low status of the profession. In 985 Muhammad ibn-Aḥmed al Magdisi reported that most tanners in Palestine and Syria were Jews. From the 12th to the 15th centuries the Dung Gate of the Old City of Jerusalem was called the Tanners' Gate because of its proximity to the Pool of Siloam, whose waters were considered unfit to drink but excellent for tanning purposes. Jews as tanners are mentioned frequently in *Byzantium: in the biography of an archbishop who flourished around 1150, they are compared to "hungry, leather-gnawing dogs." *Benjamin of Tudela considered that the Greeks of late 12th-century Constantinople hated the Jews because the Jewish tanners spilled their sewage water into the streets outside their houses and contaminated the Jewish quarter (*Itinerary of*…, ed. by M.N. Adler (1897), 16–17). The classical scholar Maximus Planudes mentions Jewish tanners in Constantinople in 1296; they lived in a separate quarter and were organized into a guild. Shortly after 1300 Jewish tanners who were Venetian subjects signed an agreement with the subjects of the empire, endorsed by the authorities, permitting them to lease ground for building houses and to pursue their trade in the city. To avoid competition, tasks were divided: the newcomers were to do the scraping, while the veterans did the tanning itself. In 1319 Emperor Andronicus II prohibited his subjects from engaging in tanning and ordered them to pursue other trades. The Venetian subjects seized the opportunity to break the earlier agreement and capture the whole trade. An imperial squad seized and destroyed their hides, and they were evicted from their houses. After protracted negotiations between the imperial and Venetian authorities, the Venetian claim for damages was refused. This was one instance of a conflict arising from the Byzantine policy of ousting Venice from the commerce in hides, furs, and leather from Crimea to Constantinople (J. Starr, *Romania* (1949), 25–35; D. Jacoby, in: *Byzantiyyon*, 37 (1967), 167–227; idem, in: *Zion*, 27 (1962), 24–35, passim).

RHODES. On his journey to Ereẓ Israel in 1488, Obadiah di Bertinoro found Jewish tanners in Rhodes. He thought it worthy of note that their clothes were clean and their manners good.

OTTOMAN EMPIRE. In the 16th and 17th century, the production of leather and the export of hides and leather was one of the most important Jewish economic enterprises. Merchants from *Salonika bought hides from the Balkans and resold them after finishing. To put a stop to this competition the merchants of *Monastir (now Bitolj) forbade the sale of hides out of town. In the rabbinical responsa, trade in hides and mainly Cordoban leather is often mentioned. The responsa of Samuel b. Moses de *Medina (1506–1589) record a hide and leather merchant with his own shop in *Pleven (Plevna, Bulgaria) as well as the export of hides from *Adrianople (Edirne, Turkey) to *Ancona and Ragusa (*Dubrovnik, Yugoslavia). According to Joseph b. David Lev (c. 1502–1588) and Joseph Moses Mitrani (1569–1639), who dealt with exports to *Venice, these transactions were usually conducted in partnership. Solomon b. Aaron Hason (d. before 1733) frequently dealt with the large–scale export of Cordoban leather to France via Venice; in one case there were 21 bales exported by five partners (M.S. Goodblatt, *Jewish Life in Turkey in the 16th Century* (1952), 53; Hananel-Eškenazi, 1 (1958), index).

NORTH AFRICA. Jews of *Fez at the beginning of the 18th century dried, salted, and exported hides to *Spain, *Portugal, and Gibraltar; after payment of a special tax (*fayid*), the royal seal was affixed (H. Bentov, in: *Sefunot*, 10 (1956/57), 438). In *Algiers in 1899 there were 45 Jewish tanners and 730 shoemakers (JE, s.v. *Artisans*).

In Europe

SPAIN. In Muslim Spain there were many Jewish tanners. The famous *Cordoba leather was exported to North Africa and Europe. In the Jewish quarter of *Seville there were two tanners' squares (Ashtor, Korot, 179–80). Three saddlers from *Saragossa were Obadiah di Bertinoro's shipmates (1486–88). A tanners' street (Teneria) existed in the Jewish quarter of Saragossa around 1336 and tanners were mentioned in Castile in 1443.

ITALY. At the beginning of the 14th century, there were Jewish tanners in the Kingdom of Naples (Roth, Italy, 272). Under the rule of *Frederick II Hohenstaufen, trade in skins and in leather goods was one of their basic economic activities in *Sicily. Jewish tanners are mentioned in several Sicilian localities in the first half of the 15th century.

FRANCE. Jewish tanners are mentioned in Paris in 1258 and in *Montpellier in 1293. There is also mention of one tannery in *Troyes in 1189 and two in 1233. Jews in Central and Eastern Europe frequently engaged in tanning and other crafts connected with leather, from the Middle Ages onward. This was largely because the Christian attitude toward the trade was identical with the feeling prevalent in talmudic times. The family names which occur so frequently among European Jews, such as Gerber, Garber, Lederer, and Ledermann (Ger.), Korzownik, Skurnik, Ganbarz, and Garbowski (Pol.) and Koželuh (Cz.), bear witness to their occupations.

BOHEMIA AND MORAVIA. Buying hides from the local noblemen was one of the main tasks of the Jews, as stipulated in the charters on which their protection was based; purchasing the skins of small animals from peasants and from butchers was an important side line. Jews also imported and exported hides. At the end of the 16th century, Marcus *Meisel was granted the monopoly of the leather trade in Prague (Bondy-Dworsky, no. 1068). In 1629 the gentile tanners of *Tachov included a clause in their charter forbidding any of their number to finish hides for Jews because the Jewish leather trade was undercutting the tanners. When the Jews were expelled from *Litomerice in 1541, one man had to be allowed to remain because he alone was capable of supplying hides and tanning bark to the tanners (H. Ankert, in: H. Gold, *Juden und Judengemeinden Boehmens*, 1934). In Prague in 1729 there were 70 Jewish hide and leather merchants. The Jews who settled in Kremsier (*Kromeriz) in 1670 after their expulsion from Vienna were permitted to deal in "various crude and finished leather" (*Frankl-Gruen, Kremsier, 1 (1896), 109). Leather and hide merchants frequented the large fairs, mainly the one at Breslau (Wroclaw), which was a center for the import of hides from Eastern Europe.

Jews were also active in tanning itself; since it was one of the trades outside guild control it was open to Jews, and after the Thirty Years' War tanneries became one of the most important Jewish economic outlets. When the Moravian guilds protested against the renewal of Jewish privileges in 1659, one of their arguments was the claim that the methods of tanning employed by the Jews were unsatisfactory (W. Mueller, *Urkundliche Beitraege* (1905), 27–28). Jews were permitted to settle as tanners in localities otherwise forbidden to them. Most of the tanneries were the property of the local nobleman and were leased to the Jewish *randar* (see **Arenda*), who was sometimes not a tanner himself but the employer of one. However, some Jews had their own tanneries. In *Polna the community as such leased the tannery from the municipality (1681) and in *Kolin the community bought the tannery (1724; R. Kestenberg-Gladstein, in: JJS, 6 (1955), 35–49). The council of Moravian Jewry issued several ordinances concerning the leather industry: it forbade the attempt to gain a monopoly on buying hides and other merchandise from a local nobleman (I. Heilperin, *Takkanot…* (1963), 83, no. 250), yet in another ordinance (*ibid.*, 150, no. 449) it forbade anyone to buy in a locality where someone else had a monopoly by the terms of his contract with the local nobleman. It was considered the duty of the **Landrabbiner* to protect Moravian Jews from the competition of buyers from other districts (*ibid.*, 285, no. 485). The council did not hold tanners (nor butchers) in high esteem: in 1709 it ruled that they could be members of the council only if they also held public office in their home community.

Early in the 17th century the Hapsburg rulers, true to their mercantilist policies, were interested in encouraging tanning. A survey that they carried out in Moravia in 1719 revealed that there were two tanneries owned by Jews and 79 leased by Jews from local noblemen; six of them employed one gentile laborer each; the lease of 13 of these tanneries was connected with the lease of a distillery; only ten tanneries in Moravia were run by gentiles (V. Zacek, in: JGGJČ, 5 (1933), 175–97). In Bohemia in 1724 there were 80 Jewish tanners and furriers (grouped together under one heading) and 26 tanneries were leased to Jews; 252 Jews were occupied in the leather industry; 146 were hide and leather merchants, and 106 were engaged in tanning (R. Kestenberg-Gladstein, in: *Zion*, 9 (1944), 17; 12 (1946/47), 49–65, 160–89, and passim). In the 18th century tanning and trading in leather were often connected. One specialty of the Jewish leather trade in Moravia was the kid trousers which, finished and colored in various ways, were an important feature of the peasants' national costume (B. Heilig, in: JGGJČ, 3 (1931), 373). The tanners were the first craftsmen in the Hapsburg Empire who were permitted to hire open salesrooms (*Verkaufsgewoelbe*) in Vienna (1781). This offered several Jews the opportunity to settle there.

These tanneries continued to flourish in the 19th century, and when new chemical methods were introduced many of them became important factories, as in *Golcuv Jenikov and *Kosova Hora (Amschelberg). Jews also founded new factories where no tanneries had existed before: e.g., in *Pilsen where the first factory producing Moroccan-style leather was established in 1829 and in *Brno where a factory producing French-style leather was founded in 1846. More than 20 of the leather factories in Bohemia in 1863 were run by Jews, and a large part of their export trade was with the United States. Leather production remained a Jewish craft for many years. After chromium tanning was introduced (1884) Jewish factories led the move to modernization. Between the two world wars Jewish firms played an important role in the production and export of leather goods (*Jews of Czechoslovakia*, 1 (1968), 419–81).

GERMANY. In 1331 Jewish tanners were permitted, in return for a fee, to join the guild in *Esslingen am Neckar. In 1406 there were Jewish saddle-makers in Frankfurt, but Jewish tanners in general were not numerous. As late as the 17th century Jews were forbidden to engage in this craft in Hesse-Kassel. The Christian and Jewish tanners frequently clashed over the buying of hides and sale of the leather. In some districts, as in Hesse-Darmstadt, the trade was forbidden to Jews, and in all districts the tanners guild had an option on the hides for 24 hours after slaughtering. In 1718 the Berlin merchants' guild included hides and furs in a suggested list of merchandise in which Jews should be permitted to trade. In 1736 Samuel Slomka was granted the concession to establish a leather factory in Tilsit (Sovetsk) to produce, besides ordinary leather, Russian-style leather (*Juchten*; S. Stern, *Der preussische Staat…* 2 (1925, repr. (1962), 105). At the turn of the 17th century, Jewish merchants supplied tanners in Berlin with hides and processed the leather according to the putting-out system. The Prussian *General-Reglement* of 1750 limited Jewish trade in hides and leather to fairs (M. Freund, *Emancipation* (1893), 38–41).

*Frederick II founded, at his own expense, a factory for English-style leather, run by a Scottish expert, but it failed to prosper. After various unsuccessful endeavors to improve it, the firm was handed over to Daniel *Itzig (1761). Army regiments were commanded to place their orders there. Daniel's son, Elias, continued to manage the factory until it closed down in 1818. Daniel Itzig himself founded another factory for chamois leather. The ordinances permitting Jews to import leather frequently stipulated that this should be in exchange for exporting locally manufactured textiles.

At the end of the 19th century, Jews were important in the leather industry of Germany. Between the world wars the trust founded by Adler and Oppenheimer, until 1918 in *Strasbourg, developed into one of the largest industries of its kind in the world (S. Kaznelson (ed.), *Die Juden im deutschen Kulturbereich* (1962), 792–3). However, Jewish participation in actual tanning decreased: in 1907 there were only 334 Jewish tanners in Germany compared with 49,000 gentile ones. Many Jews were engaged in the production of leather goods such as purses, wallets, valises, etc. as entrepreneurs, managers, and workers, since conditions were similar to those in *tailoring: it was a light industry, easily adaptable to piece work and to home and family enterprises. Many of the leather firms in Germany, particularly in *Offenbach, were owned by Jews, and immigrant East European Jews supplied the labor.

BELGIUM. In 1910 Belgium had 33 Jewish enterprises employing 104 workers in the *maroquinerie* industries (purses, wallets, etc.). By 1926, 1,600 Jewish workers were employed in 160 firms, most of which employed more than ten workers; almost all were concentrated in Brussels, Anderlecht, and the vicinity. The industry, revolutionized after World War I by a mass influx of East European Jews, not only grew to supply local demand but made Belgium an important exporter of leather goods.

POLAND, LITHUANIA, AND RUSSIA. In 1460 Jewish tanners are mentioned as having lived "for a long time" in a Lemberg (*Lvov) suburb. In *Przemysl Jewish tanners are mentioned in the 16th century. There was a Jewish tanners' guild in *Leszno (Lissa) in the 18th century. With the industrial development of the 1790s, Jewish entrepreneurs, among them Samuel *Zbitkover, established tanneries: e.g., in Praga (suburb of Warsaw) which employed 15 laborers, in *Cracow, Wegrow, and *Lutomiersk. The Jewish community of *Opoczno ran a tannery. Tanning and the leather trades became an outstanding Jewish occupation toward the end of the 19th century, employing tens of thousands of Jews. In some localities, such as *Lukow, *Kozienice, *Siedlce, *Radom, *Bialystok, and *Kielce, a large proportion of the Jewish inhabitants worked in the leather trade, which lost its main market in the 1917 Revolution. In 1894, 400 Jewish tanning workers in *Krynki founded the Po'alei Ẓedek, one of the first trade unions in Russia (by 1898 they had 800 members). To fight the workers' demands the tannery owners founded the Agudat Aḥim in 1906. In the eastern regions of the *Pale of Settlement, 64.6% of all leather workers were Jews. In czarist Russia 287 out of 530 tanneries were owned by Jews (162 of them in Russian Poland). The largest was in Shauli (*Siauliai). Other important centers were in *Vilna, *Smorgon, *Mogilev, *Minsk, and Dvinsk (*Daugaupils, Latvia). Jewish participation in the leather trade in independent Poland remained considerable: in 1927, 41% of all tanners were Jews and in 1931 15,705 Jews were employed in the leather industries (45% of all leather workers). While among the gentiles, leather workers formed 0.9% of all industrial laborers, among Jews the percentage was 2.9; 31.8% of the independent employers of the larger and technologically developed factories were Jews, but only 4.8% of the laborers in these factories were Jews. The percentage of Jews employed in the leather industries (45%) was even higher than that of the needleworkers (44.1%; R. Mahler, *Yehudei Polin Bein Shetei Milḥamot Olam* (1968), 73–98, passim). Their trade unions (Leder-farayn) were strong; in Warsaw there were two after 1922, one dominated by the *Bund and one by the Communists (B. Ḥayyim, in *Pinkes Varshe*, 1 (1955), 387–96).

Israel

The leather industry received its impetus from immigrants from central Europe in the middle 1930s; in 1937, 850 workers were employed in 61 firms. Production of boots for the British army increased from 80,000 pairs in 1942 to 400,000 in 1944; an additional 700,000 were produced by artisans and workshops. Production, which increased after the establishment of the State of Israel, was encouraged by the population increase and by the rise in the standard of living. In 1969 it totaled 1.5% of the total industrial production; exports totaled $3,500,000 (1.5% of all industrial exports). According to a 1965 industrial census 7,440 workers were employed in 2,580 firms: only 111 employed more than ten workers; most work was done in family-style workshops. Exports in 2004 dropped to $1.0 million as opposed to imports of $17 million. In all, around 1,500 persons were employed in 140 firms.

[Meir Lamed]

LEAVIS, QUEENIE DOROTHY (1906–1981), British literary scholar. Queenie Leavis, the daughter of a Jewish draper, Morris Roth, of Edmonton, London, was educated at Girton College, Cambridge, where she received a first degree and won four prizes. In 1929 she married the famous literary scholar F.R. Leavis (1895–1978). Her doctoral dissertation was published as *Fiction and the Reading Public* (1932). From 1932 until 1953 her husband was the editor of the famous literary quarterly *Scrutiny*, in which she played an influential role. She taught English at Cambridge in the 1960s and produced a steady flow of highly influential works centering around the nature of English literary identity, such as *Dickens the Novelist* (1970), co-authored with her husband, and essays published posthumously in three collected volumes.

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[William D. Rubinstein (2nd ed.)]

LEAVITT, MOSES A. (1894–1965), *American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee leader. Leavitt was born in New York City. He studied chemical engineering and worked with chemical companies until 1922, when he entered Jewish social service work. He became assistant secretary of the Joint in 1929, then was transferred in 1933 to the Palestine Economic Corporation, an organization closely allied to JDC, where he served as vice president and secretary. Succeeding Joseph *Hyman as JDC secretary in 1940, Leavitt directed JDC aid from the U.S. to German-occupied Europe. Together with Joseph J. *Schwartz in Europe, Leavitt formed most of the policy decisions during the war and especially after it, when JDC spent the largest sums in its history aiding Jewish survivors in Europe. He also took part in channeling JDC efforts to immigration to Israel and the start of social service for the elderly (Malben) there. After prolonged negotiations, he was one of the signatories of the $107 million agreement with West Germany on Jewish Material Claims. Leavitt, who had been executive vice chairman of JDC from 1947, served as chairman of the American Council of Voluntary Agencies from 1954, and later as honorary chairman (1958). He was also a member of The Hebrew University Board of Governors (from 1959).

[Yehuda Bauer]

LEBANON (Heb. לְבָנוֹן), Middle Eastern state named after a mountain chain running parallel to the Mediterranean coast N. of Israel. The name Lebanon is derived from *lavan* (*lbn*; "white") in reference to the snow covering its peaks. It was variously called Levanon in Hebrew, Libnah in Phoenician, Labnanu in Assyrian, and Lablani or Niblani in Hittite.

In Ancient Times

Like most high mountains, Mt. Lebanon was imagined in early

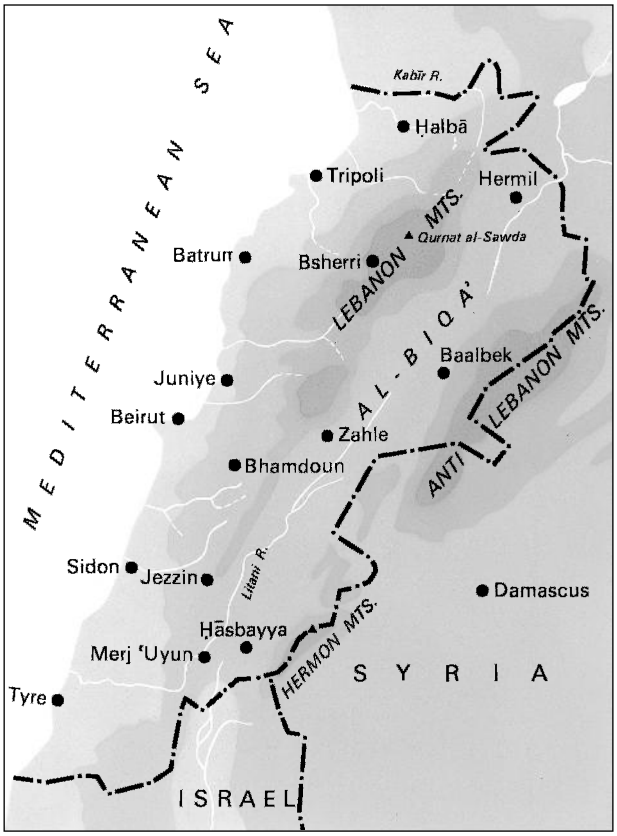

Map of Lebanon showing major cities.

times to have been the abode of a god, Baal Lebanon, who is sometimes identified with Hadad. The area was inhabited by a number of different peoples in the prehistoric period. It appears to have been eventually settled by a West-Semitic population, later designated Canaanite and in Hellenistic sources Phoenician. The mountains of the Lebanon, rich in cedars and other coniferous trees, attracted the attention of the rulers of the treeless Nile Valley at an early date. As early as the fourth dynasty, the pharaoh Snefru probably sent to Byblos for cedars, firs, pines, and other trees. For 1,500 years the forests of the Lebanon supplied Egypt with wood for a number of purposes, including shipbuilding and construction of temples, sacred and funerary boats, and doors for palace gates. As the mountains became denuded, more and more harbors were opened by the Egyptians. From the 12th century B.C.E. onward the Assyrians competed with the Egyptians for the wood of the Lebanon. Tiglath-Pileser I advanced into the region in order to obtain wood for building temples to the gods Anu and Adad. In 877 B.C.E. Ashurnaṣirpal II took firs and pines from the Lebanon back to Assyria. The devastation caused by Sennacherib among the cedars and firs is described in the Lord's answer to Hezekiah's prayer (II Kings 19:23). According to Isaiah, the trees of the Lebanon rejoiced when Sargon of Assyria passed away (14:8).

In general, the Lebanon marks the northern boundary of the Promised Land (Deut. 1:7; 3:25; 11:24; Josh. 1:4; 9:1). Its cedars are praised as the finest of trees (I Kings 5:13) and are contrasted with the bramble in Jotham's parable (Judg. 9:15). Isaiah praises the cypress, the plane tree, and the larch of the region (60:13). In the Song of Songs and other books of the Bible the wild animals, waters, trees, flowers, wine, and snow of the Lebanon are described in glowing terms. When Solomon built the Temple, he was supplied with cedars from the Lebanon by his ally Hiram, king of Tyre (I Kings 5:15–24), who sent the logs in floats to a harbor near Jaffa (Tell Qasīla; II Chron. 2:15). The same procedure was repeated for the construction of the Second Temple, at which time the forests belonged to the king of Persia (Ezra 3:7). In Hellenistic and Roman times the Lebanon was divided among the various Phoenician cities then largely Hellenized; it became part of the province of Syria, and from the third century a separate province, Phoenicia (Augusta Libanensis).

Post-Second Temple and Arab Periods

In post-biblical times, the forests of the Lebanon continued to be exploited by the Phoenician cities in whose territories they stood for the benefit of the Hellenistic and Roman rulers. In the seventh century (the Byzantine period) the mountaineers of the region adopted the theological views of the emperor Heraclius, becoming Monotheletes; the followers of this sect were called Maronites after their patriarch John Maron. They maintained their religion throughout the Arab domination.

[Michael Avi-Yonah]

There is scant information about the existence of Jews between the seventh and 15th centuries, but small Jewish communities continued to exist in the area which is now Lebanon. The Arab author al-Balādhuri relates that the Caliph Muʿāwiya settled Jews in *Tripoli. The Palestinian academy established its seat in Tyre in 1071. *Benjamin of Tudela, in the 12th century, relates that the Jews lived in the same area as the *Druze, with whom they traded and engaged in various crafts. In crusader times, the Lebanon was divided between the count of Tripoli and the king of Jerusalem, remaining in the hands of the crusaders almost until the end of the Latin kingdom (1291).

[Haïm Z'ew Hirschberg]

There were also Jews living in the village districts. In the town of Deir al-Qamar in Mount Lebanon, situated halfway between *Beirut and *Sidon, there was a Jewish community (80 families at the beginning of the 19th century), which engaged in agriculture and the breeding of silkworms as well as commerce, the manufacture of soap, and the extraction of some iron from the surrounding ore deposits. Some Jews also lived in villages within the direct or outlying vicinity of Deir al-Qamar (including Mukhtara, ʿAyn Qanya, ʿAyn Zaḥlata, and others). The common factor which characterized almost every one of these Jewish concentrations was their dependency on the Druze inhabitants, with whom they coexisted on friendly terms. In 1860, as a result of the inter-communal war between the Druze and the Maronites of Lebanon, the Druze gradually abandoned the region of Deir al-Qamar. They were followed by the Jews who settled in Beirut, the town of Aley (southeast of Beirut), and Sidon. In the interior of Lebanon, the only remaining Jewish community was to be found in Ḥāṣbayya, on the slopes of the Hermon, where its presence was already known from the 18th century. Most of the Jews of this town were transferred to Rosh Pinah in 1888 by Baron Rothschild but it was only in 1913 that the last three families left. The relations between the Jews and the dominant Maronite community were at times strained and there were several blood libels. The development of modern Lebanon was accompanied by an increase in the Jewish population, most of which was of Sephardi origin. The Jews arrived in Lebanon, especially to the capital, Beirut, from Greece and Turkey, and they gradually became an important commercial factor.

[Eliyahu Ashtor]

Contemporary Period

Following the establishment of Greater Lebanon by the French colonial power in 1920, and the independence of the Lebanese Republic in the mid-1940s, the Jews residing in that country – who were one of its 17 formally recognized religious sects – were considered to be, and regarded themselves as, an integral part of its multiethnic social fabric. Like Lebanon's other communities, Jews served in the public administration, including the security forces (see below). But they never had their own representative in the Lebanese parliament (there was one member of parliament allocated to Lebanon's minorities, but he was generally a member of one of the smaller Christian communities). However, the legal, religious, and economic freedoms enjoyed by Lebanon's Jews, which were unparalleled in the Arab Middle East, were affected by the rising tensions in Palestine and, from 1948, by the Arab-Israeli conflict.

In 1923, the number of Jews in Lebanon was estimated at 3,300, and the 1932 population census – the last comprehensive census held in Lebanon – registered 3,588 Jews, of whom 3,060 lived in Beirut and the rest in Sidon and Tripoli. By 1939, the number of Jews in Lebanon increased to about 6,000–7,000, and the 1944 census registered 6,261. In the wake of World War II, several institutional reforms were introduced in the Jewish community in Beirut, and a 15-member elected community council (the Community Council of Beirut), headed by a president, was set up. This body was recognized by the Lebanese government, as well as by the smaller Jewish communities in Sidon and Tripoli.

Although they were influenced by their proximity to Palestine, the Jews in Lebanon did not suffer from the establishment of the State of Israel in 1948. Not only did the Lebanese government order its security forces to protect the Jewish quarter in Beirut from attacks by pro-Palestinian activists, but political actors such as the Maronite Christian Phalanges, which maintained close ties with the Jewish community (a few Lebanese Jews even joined that organization), also positioned guards there. During the later stages of the 1948 War, when the Israeli army occupied part of South Lebanon, the homes of several members of the small Jewish community in Sidon, numbering 200 persons, were confiscated, and Palestinian refugees were installed in them. But the government in Beirut ordered the local police to protect the Jews in that city and facilitate their return to their homes and property.

The number of Jews in Lebanon, estimated at 5,200 in 1948, rose in 1951 to about 9,000, of which 6,961 were Lebanese citizens and about 2,000 Jewish immigrants from *Syria and *Iraq. The Lebanese government allowed these immigrants to stay in the country, and some acquired Lebanese citizenship (other refugees, such as the Palestinians, were generally not naturalized). In 1950, the government even permitted Syrian and Iraqi Jews who had found sanctuary in Beirut to cross the border into Israel, under the supervision of the Israeli-Lebanese Mixed Armistice Commission (ILMAC).

Apart from the blowing up of the *Alliance Israélite Universelle school in Beirut in 1950, Lebanese Jews remained unharmed in the post-1948 period, although Arab nationalists sometimes forced Jews to donate money for the Palestinian cause. Lebanese opposition parties, and particularly the Socialist Party, which were led by Member of Parliament Emile Boustani (a Maronite Christian), several times demanded that Jewish property be confiscated and that Jews be discharged from government positions. In 1952, following mounting domestic and inter-Arab pressure, the government was compelled to discharge the two Jewish officers who served in the Lebanese army, but a few Jewish officials continued to work for the government. It is noteworthy that the Lebanese authorities did not limit the freedom of movement of Jews, and, except briefly in 1954, they were free to leave and enter the country at any time (the same freedom was enjoyed by Syrian Jews who had settled in Lebanon). Jews were also permitted to sell their property and take money out of the country in unlimited amounts. At no time were there ever limitations on their means of livelihood. Most of the Lebanese Jews were merchants, and a few were officials or artisans.

Until 1958, when Lebanon's first civil war broke out, the number of Jews in Lebanon remained at a level of about 9,000, making Lebanon the only Arab country in which the Jewish population increased after 1948. Only after 1958 did a large-scale exodus of Jews from Lebanon begin, as a result of the political unrest in the country. Many immigrated to the U.S. and Europe and several hundred went to Israel.

In early 1967 the number of Jews remaining in Lebanon was estimated at about 5,000–6,000, but after the Arab-Israeli war in June, emigration increased and the community was reduced by about a half. By then, nearly all Lebanese Jews were living in Beirut, with a few families remaining in Sidon (the community in Tripoli had ceased to exist before 1947). There were two Jewish banks in Lebanon, the Safra Bank and the Société Bancaire du Liban (formerly Zilkhah Bank). Only after the 1967 War were limitations imposed on non-Lebanese Jews, who were compelled to seek work permits from the authorities and not every applicant's request was granted. This was one of the reasons for the increase in Jewish emigration. Another reason was the partial paralysis of the Lebanese economy, particularly in the tourist industry, since Christian pilgrims no longer needed to pass through Lebanon in order to visit the Old City of Jerusalem and Bethlehem. Some of the Jewish emigrants, particularly the young people, went to Israel.

In the late 1960s and early 1970s, the Jewish community in Beirut still maintained a synagogue and other communal institutions, and there were synagogues in Sidon and in the summer resorts of Bhamdoun and Aley. In this period there were still Jewish schools in Beirut and Sidon. Jewish pupils also attended Christian schools, especially high schools, both because no Jewish school contained all high school classes, and because of the preference of Lebanese Jews for studying French. Even in Jewish schools emphasis was placed on the study of French. Arabic was studied to a lesser extent, and Hebrew even less, although the study of Hebrew was not restricted by the authorities. The Jewish and Christian school networks successfully combated illiteracy among the younger generation, but very few studied at institutions of higher learning. Most of the younger generation went into business. By 1970 the community had decreased to about 1,000–1,800.

During the early stages of Lebanon's second civil war (1975–1990), and especially after the paralysis of the state's institutions in 1975–76 and Israel's invasion in June 1982, the majority of the country's Jews emigrated. Those who stayed, particularly in war-torn Beirut, suffered many hardships on account of the violence that waged in and around the Jewish quarter. The Israeli-Palestinian struggle in Lebanon, which reached its pinnacle in the 1982 War, and the struggle between armed Shi'i factions and the Israeli army in South Lebanon in its aftermath, also impinged on the local Jewish community. By 1980 there were only about 200 Jews left in Lebanon, and by the late 1980s and early 1990s their number had dwindled to under 100. In mid-2002 it was reported that 67 Lebanese Jews had immigrated to Israel in the 1990–2001 period. In 2004, the number of Jews remaining in Lebanon was probably not more than a few dozen. One estimate, from 2002, put their number at no more than 24, or at twice that figure, and another, from 2003, at 20. According to a report from 2004, the Jewish community in Lebanon included only a few members, mostly elderly women. All of these Jews lived in Beirut and its vicinity.

Attitude Toward Israel

Prior to the establishment of the State of Israel in 1948 there were contacts held between Zionist leaders and some leaders of Lebanon's Maronite community. However, from 1943, when Lebanon's inter-communal settlement – the National Pact – was reached, the bulk of that country's leaders, from all communities, threw in their lot with the Arab states. Thus, in the 1948 War, Lebanon participated with the other Arab states, although its army adopted a defensive strategy and declined to cross the international border with Palestine. In fact, apart from several skirmishes, its army fought only one battle against the Israeli army, in Malikiyya on June 5–6, 1948. On March 23, 1949, an Armistice Agreement between Lebanon and Israel was signed at Rosh ha-Nikrah / Ras al-Nakoura, fixing the former international boundary between Palestine and Lebanon as the armistice line; accordingly, Israel evacuated 14 Lebanese villages that its army had occupied during the latter phases of the fighting. From then on, the Lebanese-Israel border was generally quiet for a period of almost 20 years: there were few serious violations of the Armistice Agreement, farmers from both countries met frequently in a friendly manner, and occasional crossings of the border by individuals were quietly solved by contacts between Israeli and Lebanese army officers, mainly through ILMAC. Israel also allowed Maronite dignitaries from Lebanon to visit their coreligionists in Israel. This state of affairs was a result not only of Lebanon's military weakness and the general indifference of the government in Beirut towards South Lebanon, but also of the delicate balance between its communities. While some Christian activists, especially Maronites, had contacts with Israeli officials and agreed to peaceful relations with Israel, they had to take into account the desire of Lebanon's Muslims for stronger contacts with the Arab world. In addition, nearly all Lebanese remained opposed to any settlement that would not include a solution to the problem of the Palestinian refugees in Lebanon. In the meantime, most refugees continued to live in camps, which were tightly supervised by the Lebanese security forces, and were not granted Lebanese citizenship.

As a member of the *Arab League, Lebanon participated in various Arab summit conferences, political propaganda, and economic campaigns against Israel, but it did not engage in military actions, not even during the 1967 War. In the wake of that conflict, Lebanon claimed that the Armistice Agreement of 1949 remained in force and that ILMAC should continue to be the channel of communication between the two countries. But Israel held the view that the armistice regime had collapsed and Israel's relations with all its neighbors were based on the cease-fire resolution of June 1967. In the war's aftermath, a gradual deterioration of the situation along the Israel-Lebanon border began, when armed Palestinian factions, whose members had previously limited themselves to fund-raising and propaganda in Lebanon, initiated armed attacks across the border. Gradually, thousands of armed Palestinian activists concentrated on the slopes of Mount Hermon, overlooking the north of Israel. On Dec. 26, 1968, members of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine flew from Beirut to Athens, where they attacked an El Al plane at the city's international airport. In retaliation, an Israel commando unit destroyed a number of planes at the Beirut international airport, sparking a severe internal crisis in Lebanon. From that time, the question of whether or not to permit armed Palestinian attacks against Israel from Lebanese territory became a major contentious issue in the country's political arena: while pan-Arab and Leftist movements, which were supported by the "revolutionary" Arab states (mainly Egypt and Syria), supported the Palestinian demand for freedom of action throughout the state and across its border, others, including several Maronite-led parties like the Phalanges, opposed it and called upon the government in Beirut to restrain the Palestinians.

By April 1969 the cabinet had to resign because of widespread internal disorder that threatened to deteriorate into full-scale civil war, and Lebanon was thrown into a political crisis that lasted for seven months. Isolated in the inter-Arab arena and strongly censured by Syria, which closed its border with Lebanon, thus effectively sealing it off from the Arab hinterland, the government in Beirut was compelled to accept Nasser's mediation, and on Nov. 3, 1969, the Cairo Agreement was signed between Lebanon and the *PLO. The agreement sought to guarantee both the territorial integrity and sovereignty of Lebanon and the interests of the Palestinian factions: while recognizing the presence and activity of the Palestinians in Lebanon and assigning them special areas and points through which they could penetrate into Israel, it forbade shooting across the border, in order not to involve Lebanon. However, the Palestinians exploited the government's weakness and established themselves along the entire Lebanese-Israel border, resulting in a sharp rise in the frequency of attacks against Israel from Lebanese territory. Israel retaliated by dispatching armored units into Lebanon's territory and by shelling Palestinian positions, and the results were a general deterioration of the situation in South Lebanon and the flight of thousands of villagers, mostly Shi'i Muslims, to Beirut.

The volatile situation in Lebanon escalated further in April 1973, following an Israeli commando raid on Beirut that left several PLO leaders dead. Lebanese President Suleiman Frangieh sought to use his army to curtail the Palestinian military power in Lebanon and bring about a substantial revision in the Cairo Agreement. However, despite certain military successes, the Lebanese government was, yet again, forced to yield to all-Arab, and especially Syrian, pressures. Some local groups concluded from this that a confrontation with the Palestinian factions was inevitable, and began to prepare for an all-out conflict.

In April 1975, following a clash between Palestinian activists and Phalange supporters in Beirut, Lebanon's second, and more vicious, civil war began. The main protagonists in the initial phase of that conflict were the supporters of the existing political and socio-economic order in the state, on the one hand, and those advocating comprehensive reforms, on the other hand. In the course of the struggle, both sides managed to enlist external support: while the former camp was backed by the conservative Arab states, and, at times, by Israel, the latter camp was an ally of the Palestinians and the radical Arab regimes. Syria, for its part, was torn between its ideological commitment to the Lebanese opposition and the PLO, on the one hand, and its support for the existing order in Lebanon and for President Frangieh, its principal local ally, on the other. On June 1, 1976, following the collapse of the Lebanese state and the threat of its imminent disintegration, the Syrian army marched into Lebanon and joined the pro-government camp in its struggle against the opposition forces and the PLO. Meanwhile, Israel, which approved of the Syrian intervention (its leaders demanded, however, that Syrian troops would not come near its border and that Syrian aircraft would not be employed in Lebanon), forged an alliance with Christian groups operating in the area adjacent to the Israeli-Lebanese border, which became its clients. In the early 1980s, Syrian-Israeli relations began to deteriorate, leading to open confrontation in 1982. By then, Israel had forged an alliance with the Phalanges, and particularly with Bashir Gemayel, the commander of that party's militia, the Lebanese Forces. In June 1982, Israeli forces invaded Lebanon, purportedly to remove the threat of Palestinian attacks on its territory, but in effect to expel the Palestinian factions from Lebanon and install a pro-Israeli government in Beirut. Israel was successful in attaining its first goal, and, following a siege imposed on Beirut by its army, most PLO fighters exited the city. But its second goal was effectively thwarted when President-elect Bashir Gemayel was assassinated and an agreement signed between Israel and Lebanon on May 17, 1983, under American auspices was effectively undermined by Syria and its local allies. The massacres perpetrated in the Palestinian refugee camps of Sabra and Shatila by the Lebanese Forces, Israel's ally, were a severe blow to Israel's efforts in Lebanon and ultimately led to the resignation of Defense Minister Ariel *Sharon. In the 1983–85 period, Israeli troops gradually withdrew from the areas they occupied in Lebanon, but maintained a presence in the border area, where a pro-Israeli militia had been in control since Operation Litani in 1978. In the 1985–2000 period, Israel and its local proxy, the South Lebanese Army, attempted to hold on to this border area, which they referred to as the "Security Zone," despite incessant attacks by Lebanese factions, especially the Shi'i *Hizbollah movement. However, despite the cost in lives and two large-scale operations launched by its army in Lebanon in 1993 and in 1996, Israel's efforts there came to naught, and following mounting domestic pressures Israel withdrew its forces from Lebanon in May 2000. Subsequently, despite several minor clashes between Hizbollah and the Israeli army, particularly in the disputed Sheb'a Farms (an area formally part of the occupied Golan but which the Shi'i movement claimed to be Lebanese territory), the Israeli-Lebanese border was more or less calm until the violent clashes of summer 2006. For a summary of the fighting, see *Israel, State of: Historical Survey.

[Rachel Cohen / Oren Barak (2nd ed.)]

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LEBANON WAR.

The PLO Threat to Israel Emerging from Lebanon

Following the *Six-Day War, the Palestinian terrorists expanded their base of action against the State of Israel from within Lebanese territory. This action received support in the Cairo Agreement of 1969.

After their expulsion from Jordan (in September 1970) the terrorist organizations reestablished their organizational and operational center in Lebanon. From that time, the PLO developed and increased in Lebanon and the number of its fighting men, by June 1982, had reached approximately 25,000. Its own position in Lebanon became stronger, and its power in the international arena grew. PLO self-assertion accompanied the decline of Lebanon as a country, to the extent that a center for international terrorism was established in southern Lebanon. Syria, whose army had invaded Lebanon in June 1976, took advantage of the civil war there and achieved the position of the legitimate inter-Arab deterrent presence, which dictated events in the country. Syria strengthened the PLO as a force which would perpetuate the schism between the various ethnic groups within the country, and would weaken the Lebanese government, thereby enhancing its dependence upon Syria.

From the beginning of 1981, Israel-Syria relations began to take a significant turn for the worse. The Syrians regarded the Christian domination of Zahle as a threat to their freedom of movement on the Beirut-Damascus highway, and decided to conquer Zahle from the Christians. In keeping with Israel's promises to the Christians, the Israeli Air Force intervened on their behalf and shot down two Syrian helicopters at the end of April 1981. Syria responded by stationing surface-to-air missiles in Lebanon to defend its units from Israeli air strikes. The penetration of SAM's into Lebanon heightened the tension between Syria and Israel. The PLO took advantage of this situation, and increased its activities against Israel. Israel's attacks on the PLO gave leverage to the latter in achieving political support from the Arab states, Western European countries, and the Soviet Union. The PLO portrayed its basic security needs as critical and as requiring immediate remedy in light of the hovering Israeli threat. The result of their plea was that the Soviet Union transferred – by way of Syria, Libya, and East Germany – huge quantities of light and heavy weaponry, including tanks, cannons, anti-tank missiles, and anti-aircraft missiles. In addition, it trained officers, pilots, and other military professionals. China, North Korea, and Saudi Arabia, too, equipped the PLO with weapons both from the East and from the West.

Confrontation in the Shadow of the Cease-Fire between Israel, Lebanon, and the PLO

In July 1981, a succession of exchanges of artillery fire, lasting for two weeks, in which the Israeli Air Force also participated, took place between the PLO and Israel. With pressure from the U.S., and through the mediation of its special envoy to the region – Mr. Philip Habib – a cease-fire was obtained for the first time on July 21, 1981. Immediately following the signing of the cease-fire agreement, a lull was apparent along the Lebanese-Israeli border. This lull enabled the terrorists to organize and to equip themselves with tanks and with dozens of artillery weapons; these were spread out in the area north of the Litani River and threatened the settlements of Galilee. The cease-fire agreement between Lebanon, the PLO, and Israel consisted of three clauses:

(1) No acts of enmity will be executed from the Lebanese border against Israeli targets – not by air, nor by sea, nor by land.

(2) No acts of enmity will be executed from the Israeli border against Lebanese targets – not by air, nor by sea, nor by land.

(3) The same applies to hostile military action directed at or coming from the territory of Major Saad Haddad.

The formulation of this agreement was interpreted in three ways. Israel saw it as a PLO commitment to cease initiating acts of terror against Israel.

The PLO gave the formulation a more literal interpretation. It saw the document as an obligation not to commit acts of terror against Israel solely from the Lebanese border.

The United States interpreted the agreement as an obligation on the part of the PLO not to launch terrorist attacks on Israel from within Lebanon, nor from any other international border.

The PLO continued to commit terrorist acts against Jews abroad. On August 29, 1981, the synagogue of the Jewish community in Vienna was attacked; two were killed and 20 others wounded. On October 7, 1981, two highly charged explosives went off in Italy, one next to the Ministry of Tourism in Rome, and the other at Ostia, where Jews from the U.S.S.R. were being housed. On October 20, 1981, a car-bomb exploded next to a synagogue in Antwerp, Belgium; three people were killed and approximately 100 others wounded.

Following these actions, Israeli Prime Minister Menaḥem Begin – on November 4, 1981 – accused the terrorists, who were reinforcing their troops in Lebanon with heavy arms, of breaching the cease-fire agreement. The tension grew. In November 1981, in light of the aforementioned incidents, the Israeli ministerial level delineated the following war aims to the Israel Defense Forces (IDF): prevention of the shelling of the northern settlements and prevention of hostile terrorist activity; creation of the situation which would bring about Syrian military withdrawal from the Beirut area; and elimination of the political and military problem of the terrorists in Lebanon.

On December 14, 1981, the Knesset passed the Golan Heights Law. As a precautionary measure in the event of a Syrian attack, the IDF was mobilized in the north of Israel. In response to the legislation which annexed the Golan Heights to Israel, the President of the United States unilaterally suspended the "strategic memorandum of understanding" on December 17, 1981. The following day, Prime Minister Begin sent a letter to the U.S. president in which he stated that Israel would not attack unless attacked first. In response to the legislation of the Golan Law, and to Syria's request, Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko declared on January 18, 1982 that Soviet-Syrian relations were being deepened, and that the U.S.S.R. would provide Syria with the military means with which to enhance its defense capability. On the same day, Syria's Defense Minister announced that the Syrian army would remain in the Lebanon Valley as long as "Zionist aggression" continues.

On January 24, 1982, Syria brought two battalions into the Beirut area. On the night of January 28–29, a group of terrorists infiltrated into Israel from the Jordanian border. Israel expressed its outrage at the gravity of the incident. The PLO disclaimed that its infiltration was a breach of the cease-fire agreement.

The IDF was in a state of readiness in the northern zone of Israel. In response, the PLO intensified the level of alert among its own units, and reinforced its troops in the areas supervised by UNIFIL (United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon) with hundreds of fighting men. When the assistant to the Secretary-General of the UN requested that the PLO be removed from the UNIFIL zone, Arafat rejected his request. Then on February 14, Arafat's second-in-command, Abu-Iyad, declared that the PLO was committed to the cease-fire and that only in the event of wide-range aggression would the Palestinians force their presence on all of the Arab fronts. Furthermore, on March 4, the PLO announced that in the event of an Israeli assault, it would turn to the Soviet Union. On March 15, the PLO warned UNIFIL not to widen its control in southern Lebanon. PLO self-confidence was on the rise. Throughout this entire period, the Lebanese government remained passive.

Following the aforementioned developments, the UNIFIL command requested to reinforce its troops with 1,000 fighting men. At the end of March, the Security Council decided to grant the UNIFIL request. Syria remained passive. The U.S.S.R., on the other hand, was active in its encounters with the PLO to whom it sent heavy arms. The U.S., having an interest in keeping the peace, operated through other channels. Secretary of State Alexander Haig announced that the United States regarded the Soviets' supplying of arms to the PLO as obstructing efforts to prevent conflict. Similarly, he appealed to the Palestinians to halt their provocations against Israel. At the same time, the U.S. was attempting to get Saudi Arabia and Jordan to prevail upon the PLO to refrain from anti-Israel activity. In the same vein, the U.S. called upon Israel to refrain from retaliation, warning that action against the PLO would be liable to drag Syria into the war, and hence the U.S.S.R. as well, thus increasing the possibility of a confrontation between the super-powers.

On February 22, Prime Minister Begin warned that Israel would take immediate revenge if one single Israeli were to be killed in a terrorist attack. In March 1982, Mr. Philip Habib arrived in the Middle East and conducted negotiations with all of the involved parties, on the basis of the Israeli interpretation of the cease-fire agreement. On March 18, the State Department spokesman defined the United States position as one which would regard any hostile activity directed at Israel originating in Lebanon – even if carried out by way of Syria and Jordan – as a breach of the cease-fire agreement. The same would apply to any Israeli action against Lebanon. In reply to the statement given by the American spokesman, Abu-Jihad announced on March 20 that the PLO opposed the definition of the agreement provided by the United States, and that it would continue to attack Israel from any place it desired, other than the Lebanese border. On March 30, from Beirut, Arafat declared that the terrorists were looking forward to Ariel Sharon's visit to Beaufort Castle in southern Lebanon, and extended him the standard Arabic greeting "*ahalan wasahalan*" ("hello and welcome"), using Nasser's words on the eve of the Six-Day War. At the meeting of the Arab Foreign Ministers in Tunis on the following day, the PLO representative demanded that the Arab states bordering on Israel enable the terrorists to operate from within their borders.

On March 31, three terrorists attacked the offices of the Arms Acquisition Commission of the Israeli Ministry of Defense in Paris. On April 3, Israeli diplomat Yaacov Bar-Simantov was murdered in front of his home in Paris by Arab terrorists. The next day, Israel proclaimed that the murder was a blatant breach of the cease-fire agreement. The IDF was put in a state of readiness, and forces were concentrated in the north. The U.S. denounced the murder of Bar-Simantov. On April 6, Prime Minister Begin met with the leaders of the Israeli Labor Party and at the end of the meeting, declared that Israel could not overlook the murder of its diplomat. The PLO announced supreme alert among its forces in southern Lebanon. On April 8, the U.S.S.R. accused Israel and the U.S. of planning to annihilate the PLO and of attempting to establish a pro-Israel protectorate over part of Lebanon. On April 10, the United States called on all sides to exercise great restraint, and to put an end to all activities which increase tension and violence in the region. On April 11, a man by the name of Allan Goodman shot at a group of Muslims praying on the Temple Mount in Jerusalem, thereby causing an additional rise in the tension. The president of the United States sent Assistant Secretary of State Stoessel to the Middle East, while the Soviet Union dispatched an intelligence vessel to the waters off Israel's northern shores.

On April 13, Prime Minister Begin announced that "the cabinet had not yet reached a decision regarding an invasion into Lebanon," but added, "We will not, however, resign ourselves to the spilling of Jewish blood, nor will we allow those who spill it to go unpunished." In a television interview on the following day, Arafat said that the PLO was prepared for any military confrontation with Israel. "Let them come," he said, "we are waiting for them." During the course of the same week, the terrorists on three occasions placed explosive charges on a central route in southern Lebanon. An IDF officer was killed and an accompanying soldier was wounded. In retaliation the Israel Air Force bombed a terrorist base in Lebanon, PLO naval bases, and a Syrian radar station. In the ensuing air battles between Israel and Syria, two MIG 23's were shot down by Israel.

On the same day, the Israeli chief of staff General Raphael Eitan proclaimed that the terrorists had gone too far, and that Israel had reached the limit of its self-restraint. The Americans then turned to Lebanese president Elias Sarkis to prevent the PLO from retaliating against the Israeli air strikes. The U.S.S.R., on May 6, broadcast its pledge to act on behalf of Syria in the event of an Israeli invasion of Lebanon. In the middle of April, East Germany agreed to supply the PLO with important weapon systems: BMP-1 armored troop vehicles, 130 mm. cannons, recoilless guns, and a patrol boat. On May 7, the terrorists planted two mines near the village of Shuba; the IDF accused the UNIFIL Command of having allowed passage to the terrorists. On May 9, the Israeli Air Force attacked three targets in Lebanon: to the south of Damour, to the south of the Zaharani River, and on the outskirts of Sidon. In retaliation, the terrorists fired 100 katyusha missiles from the heights of Nabatiye close to settlements in the north of Israel; the next day they informed Israel that this had been "a warning." As a result of the shooting, a state of readiness was declared in the IDF on May 9 and troops were sent to reinforce the Northern Command. The U.S. asked Israel to refrain from aggravating the situation in the north, so as not to cause Syrian intervention, and warned against an uncontainable escalation of the unrest.

On May 10, the Israeli cabinet decided that Israel would not deploy the IDF at this stage, but would first exhaust every possible political path. The next day, the PLO declared an alert in its bases. On May 12, Syria announced that it would intervene if Lebanon were attacked. Both the Syrian army in Lebanon and the Lebanese army proceeded to intensify their readiness. On May 12 and 13, an additional attempt was made on the part of the U.S., Israel, and Lebanon to convince the PLO to refrain from violent action – but to no avail. The PLO remained determined to adhere to the cease-fire only from the Lebanese border. The U.S.S.R. sent Soviet and Cuban experts to the PLO Command. On May 14, the Israeli Chief of Staff declared that, in fact, the cease-fire was no longer in existence.

From the Cancelation of the Cease-Fire Agreement to the War in Lebanon

On May 15, the American State Department spokesman described the situation as "delicate, but not critical." On May 16, while the Israeli government was continuing its efforts to exhaust political channels, a member of the Supreme Central Committee of the PLO proclaimed that the cease-fire was no longer in existence, and that the PLO considered itself free to augment its activities everywhere. The Syrians moved their armored and anti-tank forces, and arrayed them for defense in Lebanon. On May 20, Major Haddad's soldiers drove away terrorists who were attempting to plant mines in the area of Marjuyun. The U.S. continued its attempts at lowering the tension. Alexander Haig praised Israel for its restraint, and Assistant Secretary of State Morris Draper was sent to Beirut. On the day of Draper's arrival in Israel, an aerial combat in Lebanese skies erupted between Syrian and Israeli fighter airplanes, during the course of which two Syrian MIG's were shot down. The Syrians explained that their entrance into the battle was evidence of their determination to repel Israeli attacks. Two days later the Syrian president went to the Soviet Union to obtain the latter's promise to provide military support.

A truck from Kefar Giladi in northern Israel drove over a mine in southern Lebanon. On the same day, May 31, General Eitan announced that a military solution to the PLO problem in Lebanon was available.

From the time when the cease-fire went into effect, the PLO committed 248 acts of terror in Israel and abroad, resulting in 26 deaths and 264 wounded. On Sunday, June 3, at approximately 11:00 P.M., the Israel ambassador to Britain, Mr. Shlomo Argov, was shot. At 9:00 A.M. the following morning, the Israeli cabinet decided to deploy its air force for an attack on two targets within Beirut and seven PLO targets in southern Lebanon. At 11:45 A.M. the air force executed this mission. In retaliation, the terrorists proceeded, from 5:30 P.M. onward, to shell settlements in Galilee. The Israeli air force and artillery corps were deployed, but the terrorist bombardment continued the next day as well. In response to the renewal of terrorist fire, the air force was again deployed, this time against the forward posts and ammunition centers of the terrorists.

Following these events, the UN Security Council unanimously decided to declare a cease-fire to be put into effect on June 6 at 6:00 A.M. The PLO announced that it would agree to the cease-fire if Israel did likewise. The U.S. denounced Ambassador Argov's would-be assassins, and emphasized that the incident had provoked Israel to retaliate. The U.S. demanded that the warring parties ease the tension, and that the Israeli prime minister order a cease-fire. But the attempt on the Israeli ambassador's life had been for Israel, however, the "straw that broke the camel's back."

On Saturday night, June 5, 1982, the Israeli cabinet convened and decided to send the IDF into Lebanon.

Beginning of the War against the Terrorists, June 6–9

From the night of June 5 through the early morning – until 3:40 A.M. – of June 6, the terrorists continued to fire hundreds of katyusha missiles and artillery on the settlements of Galilee.

At an early hour of the morning, the decision was made to execute phase I of the plan – to cross the international border at 11:00 A.M. and to advance as quickly as possible to the terrorist concentrations in Lebanon, in order to remove the Galilee settlements from terrorist artillery range. In addition to being briefed on the mission, the adjunct operational troops were told that the war was directed solely at the terrorists. In other words, there would be no harming of civilians, UN soldiers, or Syrian soldiers. That noon, as planned, IDF troops crossed the international border, moving north with maximum speed toward their aim. Meanwhile, the cabinet's decision of the previous night was being published in the media.

DETAILS OF THE OPERATIONAL PROCEDURES. Y's formation advanced speedily along the coastal axis without encountering actual resistance. Towards evening, its forward unit arrived at Sarafand – which is north of Tyre and south of the Zaharani River. The refugee camps near the city were dealt with by the troops of the formation. In the afternoon, when it had become clear that the force was advancing quickly north, it was decided to land Brigadier-General Amos Yaron's force to the north of the Awali. A's formation crossed the Litani River over the Akia Bridge, without resistance. At dusk, its troops arrived at Nabatiye. The Beaufort position was attacked at night – in spite of the plan to attack it in daylight. In a difficult and bloody battle which continued until the next morning, the reconnaissance squadron occupied Beaufort Castle. The force led by Mo., which tried to ascend to the Nabatiye Heights by way of the Hardaleh Bridge, encountered mine fields and was delayed until the mines were dismantled. E's formation reached the Hasbaya-Qauqaba line, thus completing its mission. The Syrians began to shell the troops of the formation haphazardly. However, due to the fact that terrorists' posts were integrated within the Syrian disposition, it was impossible to know whether or not the firing was coming from the terrorists, and therefore E's troops did not return the fire.

The navy sent a force northward in order to secure the battle zone and landed it there for possible attack on the Syrian force. At the same time, it landed Brigadier-General Amos Yaron's force to the north of the Awali. The force consisted of armored, infantry, engineering, and artillery units.

The air force enjoyed supremacy over the arena. An attempt by the Syrian air force to attack IDF troops was foiled by Israeli pilots. Israeli fighter airplanes attacked terrorist targets during the day, thereby supporting the paralysis of the artillery employed against the Galilee settlements, and disrupting the terrorists' system of control. The troops intended for the Golan Heights arrived at their destination and took up their positions.

The terrorists were surprised by the force with which they were being attacked and by the numerous directions from which the attack was being launched. As a result of Syrian military intervention in the war, the Israeli ministerial level decided on the evening of June 6 to order the IDF to reach the Beirut–Damascus highway, while outflanking, but not attacking, the Syrian army in the Bekaa.

At dusk, the president of the U.S. informed the Israeli prime minister that he was sending Philip Habib to Israel, and requested that Mr. Begin receive him for discussion, and the prime minister made arrangements to receive him the following evening.

MONDAY, JUNE 7. On the night of June 6–7, the Israeli forces organized themselves for a continuation of the fighting and for the execution of their aims during the day. Reserve troops continued to be mobilized. The IDF Supreme Command assessed that the Syrians faced two alternative courses of action. One would be to take action, as they had on Sunday, in order to fulfill their obligation to the terrorists. The other would be to take more extensive aggressive action. In view of this assessment, it was determined that the forces must make every effort to carry out their intended campaign aims as soon as possible: to join up with the Christians in Beirut, to capture the Dahar al-Bidar defile, and to mop up the "iron triangle" and the coastal axis of terrorist pockets. It was emphasized, however, that the above limitations imposed on the IDF operation remained in effect, including that of not engaging in warfare with the Syrian army unless first attacked by it.

That same night of June 6–7 Syria began preparing divisions of tanks and moving one of them together with other troops towards Lebanon. The Israeli defense minister assessed that if confrontation with the Syrian army was indeed to be expected on Monday, then an IDF attack on the Syrian SAM disposition would be unavoidable on Tuesday, June 8.

At dawn, the Israeli forces continued to fulfill their assignments: Y's formation advanced northward along the coastal axis. At the same time, Israeli troops were acting to occupy the refugee camps on the outskirts of Tyre-Burj-ash-Shmali and al-Bata and to clear them of terrorists. Fighting in these built-up areas was especially dangerous and complicated as the terrorists' positions were located inside buildings occupied by civilians. In order to minimalize civilian casualties, the residents were advised, by means of loudspeakers and pamphlets, to abandon their homes and to gather outside the terrorist-infested areas. These warnings were given until the hour set for the beginning of the attack. In this way, many lives were saved.

On the central axis, A's formation continued to move from the Arnun Heights towards Sidon, with the intention of mopping up the Nabatiye Heights of terrorists. When M.A.'s forward unit arrived at the village of Jabah in the morning, it came upon the edge of a Syrian post. The Syrians opened fire. In retaliation, the soldiers of the Israeli unit assaulted the post, taking six Syrian soldiers prisoner. This was the first encounter between IDF and Syrian soldiers. M's formation continued north towards Dahar al-Bidar. At dusk, D's frontal unit reached the outskirts of the town Jezzine.

In the eastern sector, the forces remained in their places. However, due to Syria's military intervention and announcement that it would come to the aid of the terrorists, the level of readiness and alertness among the Israeli units there was stepped up. Brig. Gen. Amos Yaron's force widened its hold, which it prepared to defend, while waiting to join up with Y's or A's troops.

During the course of the day, Israeli Air Force pilots shot down one Syrian fighter airplane. At 11:00 P.M., the last katyusha missile was fired at the Galilee settlements. Israeli Air Force planes continued to support the troops there, and again bombed the terrorist headquarters to the south of Beirut.

TUESDAY, JUNE 8. The U.S. and Israel took steps to prevent Syrian warfare on the IDF. It had already been possible, on the previous evening, to infer from the statements of the American secretary of state that the U.S. supported a new international arrangement in Lebanon. Following his meeting with Philip Habib, the Israeli prime minister called upon Syria, from the floor of the Knesset on June 8, not to attack IDF troops, so as not to be dragged into the war. In addition, Philip Habib went to Damascus to convince the Syrian president not to attack IDF troops, and to reach a mutual arrangement, based on Israel's proposal, according to which Syria would move the terrorist troops scattered among its battle dispositions 25 km. (15.6 miles) to the north, as well as evacuate its own troops which had entered Lebanon since the beginning of the war. From the information received during the course of the night concerning changes in the deployment of Syrian military units, it was impossible to interpret Syria's intentions. An armored division which was moving in the direction of Lebanon had not yet crossed the border. Tank brigade 58 was arrayed to the south of Lake Karaoun.

As Tuesday approached, the forces of Brigadier-General Yaron and of A were assigned the task of continuing to move towards Beirut in order to join up with the Christians. M's mission was to reach the Beirut–Damascus Highway. Y was to continue to mop up the area around Tyre, the "Iron Triangle," and the Nabatiye Heights. At dawn, connection was established between Brigadier-General Yaron's forces and A's forces, which had completed the encirclement of Sidon, and proceeded to plan its conquest. One of its units reinforced Brigadier-General Yaron's troops, which, by dusk, had reached a point of a number of miles south of Damour.

Upon discerning the movements of IDF troops, the Syrians understood the potential danger awaiting their troops in the Bekaa, in Beirut, and along the Beirut–Damascus axis. In order to halt the IDF advances, the Syrians reinforced their dispositions, including the addition of the 91st tank brigade, which completed the battle array of Division 1 in the Bekaa.

In the morning, the Syrian army in the Bekaa opened fire with artillery and anti-tank missiles on E's forces. The Syrian force in Jezinne opened fire on M's forces. In the afternoon, Syrian fighter airplanes attacked the IDF troops near Sidon, and also bombed the area of Ein Abel and Marjuyun.

In the ensuing aerial battles, seven Syrian fighter airplanes were shot down. Following Syria's launching of its attack, the Israeli ministerial level decided to approve the proposal to occupy Jezinne. This town, which was protected by Syrian commands and tank forces, was occupied that afternoon by a tank unit led by H.

At dusk, D's unit encountered Syrian troops in the village of Ein Zhaltah, and its advance was halted. It was realized retrospectively that the Syrian force had deployed in the village only a few hours before the arrival of the Israeli troops there. In light of the above development, and in view of the Israeli assessment that Syria was going to reinforce its troops in the Bekaa with armored forces and SAM batteries, the Israeli Supreme Command decided to prepare for the possibility of launching an attack on the Syrian army from Wednesday morning, June 9.

The commander of the Israeli Air Force, Major-General David Ivri, was told to be prepared to destroy the Syrian SAM array in Lebanon, in order to enable him to support IDF land forces in the Bekaa and along the central axis.

Major-General Ben-Gal's forces, which were joined by G's formation, were in readiness for the possibility of an attack on the Syrian disposition, with the aim of removing its troops and the terrorists from the Bekaa.

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 9. On the night of June 8–9, D's unit continued its attempts to break through the Syrian force in the Ein Zhaltah village, in order to advance northward – but to no avail. The Jezinne-Ayshiyeh area was cleared of Syrian fighting men, many of whom fled at dawn to reach their dispositions in the Bekaa. On the coastal axis, Brigadier-General Yaron's forces had reached a point about 4 kms. (2.4 miles) south of Beirut's international airport (Khalde). Y's unit continued to mop up in Tyre, and in the afternoon began its occupation of the Ein Hilweh refugee camp.

In the morning, Syrian fighter airplanes began attacking IDF troops. Division 1 completed its preparation for defensive deployment, and the SAM array was augmented. IDF troops in the eastern sector discerned the changes taking place within the Syrian disposition. The Israeli air force and land troops were readied for attack on the Syrians. Meanwhile, the U.S. and Israel were continuing their efforts to prevent a confrontation between the two armies. In Damascus, Philip Habib awaited a meeting with the Syrian president in order to convince him to accept the arrangement proposed by Israel.

Warfare between the Syrian Army in Lebanon and the IDF: From Noon June 9 until the First Cease-Fire, June 11

Israel waited until noon for an answer from the Syrian president regarding the proposal of the Israeli government. The Syrians were, in the meanwhile, strengthening their land dispositions. As no answer was received from Damascus, the Israeli ministerial level decided to attack the Syrian ground missiles which were deployed in Lebanon. At 2:00 P.M., Israeli Air Force fighter airplanes began their attack in which 17 batteries of SA6, SA2, and SA3 missiles were destroyed, and two damaged. The Syrians then sent some of their fighter planes to intercept those of the Israelis. In the ensuing aerial combat, which continued throughout the day, 28 Syrian planes were shot down, without loss to the Israeli Air Force. The Syrians also dispatched attack helicopters to hit the Israeli armored convoy. At the same time, Major-General Ben-Gal's troops began to attack the Syrian deployment. E's troops in the eastern sector, G's troops in the center, and D's troops in the west, all raced northward on every possible axis. A unit led by E.O. was sent along the ridge axis in order to penetrate eastward from the Barukh Mountain to the Bekaa, with the object of attacking the Syrian armored force from the flank.

In the afternoon, the fighting with the Syrian units to the south of Lake Karaoun began. Due to the destruction of their anti-tank defense and the complete exposure of their land troops to Israeli Air Force and armored corps attacks, the Syrians decided to withdraw their troops, while conducting delaying actions. Nevertheless, they began to mobilize reserve troops, and continued to move in additional forces in order to prevent the IDF from taking control of Beirut and of the Beirut–Damascus Highway. In the central sector, IDF troops had not succeeded in advancing, while in the coastal sector, Brigadier-General Yaron's forces reached the town of Damour.

THURSDAY, JUNE 10. The results of the IDF attack on the Syrian army aroused the U.S.S.R. to respond immediately by dispatching an air-lift to Syria, which included at least two Antonov 22 planes a day, and to demand of the U.S. that it exercise its influence on Israel to halt its attack. Following Soviet President Leonid Brezhnev's appeal the president of the United States turned to Israel's prime minister on the night of June 9–10, and requested an immediate cessation of fire. The Israeli government complied in principle with the request of the American president, and decided that firing would cease as of Friday, June 11 at 12:00 noon. This decision was conditional upon the evacuation of the terrorists north to the line 40 km. (25 miles) from the Israeli border, and upon Syrian commitment not to infiltrate Lebanon with additional forces. During the time remaining, Major-General Ben-Gal's forces achieved their aims: the troops led by E.G. and Y – who that day had replaced D – succeeded, in frontal attack, to drive the Syrian forces as far back as the latitudinal line of Hab-Hanin/Kamad al-Luz, about 10 km. (6.25 miles) north of Lake Karaoun. Y's troops arrived in the north from the village of Amik. E's unit caused many losses to the Syrian armored corps, while E's troops advanced to the Syrian border as they engaged in warfare on the terrorist deployments along "Fatahland." For the first time attack helicopters, equipped with anti-tank missiles, were used – the Israelis employing "Cobra" helicopters with Tau missiles, and the Syrians, "Gazelle" helicopters with haute missiles.

In the central sector, tough battles were in process. The Syrians reinforced their troops with commando and armored units, and demonstrated capability in combat. D's unit nevertheless succeeded in advancing to a point 5 km. (3.12 miles) south of the al-Modairej junction.

On the coastal axis, Brigadier-General Yaron's troops succeeded in reaching the village of Sil, south of the Beirut airport. There they were stopped by Syrian brigade 85 and terrorist units. In the meantime, Y's troops continued in their mopping-up of terrorists in the area between the Awali River in the North and the Litani River in the south, placing emphasis on the city of Sidon and the Ein Hilweh refugee camp.

The Israel Air Force attacked a tank convoy on its way to the front, on the night of June 9–10. Throughout that same day, its pilots supported the land forces in every sector of the battle. In addition, they destroyed two SA6 batteries which had been placed by the Syrians in the Bekaa, and shot down 33 Syrian fighter planes in aerial combat, with no loss. The president of Syria decided to reinforce his troops in order to halt the IDF advance in Lebanon, rather than to comply with Israel's demand for a cease-fire. In contrast, the Israeli government believed that its own main objective in Lebanon had been realized, for the terrorists had been moved beyond firing-range of the Israeli border. In consideration of its commitment to the United States, the Israeli government decided to declare a unilateral cease-fire. The general order for the IDF was as follows: along the coastal axis, to try and join up with the Christians; in the central sector, to try and reach the Beirut–Damascus axis; and in the eastern sector, to deploy along the lines it had reached so as to be prepared in the event of armored combat with Syrian troops, whose arrival from Syria was assessed as likely.

The United States retained a balanced position. On one hand, it rejected Soviet and Western European pressures to impose sanctions on Israel, and on the other, it cancelled Secretary of State Haig's visit there, claiming that the Israel government was not demonstrating flexibility.

FRIDAY, JUNE 11. The battles began at dawn. Y.M.'s formation, which had reinforced Major-General Ben-Gal's troops, was busy rescuing a tank battalion which, at night, had mistakenly come upon the Syrian disposition in Sultan Yaakub. In the morning, armored combat erupted between Syrian tank units from Syrian Division 3 – which had just been thrown into the battle and Major-General Ben-Gal's units. The Syrians suffered numerous losses. These battles were fought with tanks of the 1980s: the Russian T-72, and the Israeli "Merkavah" ("chariot").

No progress was made in the eastern sector. The cease-fire had broken off in full swing an attack the aim of which had been to reach the Beirut–Damascus axis. Brigadier-General Yaron's troops had managed to advance along the coastal axis, but at the time that the cease-fire was called had not succeeded in joining the Christian forces in Beirut.

Artillery and air force units supported the IDF troops in their advance. Severe battles were fought near the village of Sil with a Syrian array which was blocking the route to Beirut on the coastal axis. In the aerial battles which took place on that day, 23 Syrian fighter planes were shot down. At 12:00 noon, both the IDF units and the Syrian forces ceased fire.

There appear to have been two main reasons responsible for the Syrian president's change of mind. The first was the knowledge of the heavy losses suffered by the Syrian army, both in the air and on land, as well as the realization of what would await the Syrian land forces as a result of the clear-cut superiority of the Israel Air Force. The second reason, it can be assumed, had to do with the Soviet Union, which, since the ninth of the month, had been pressuring the United States to prevail upon Israel to cease its fire. In spite of the fact that the cease-fire went into effect at 12:00 noon, the terrorist organizations refused to comply, and the fighting in the western sector continued.

IDF Troops Join Up with the Christians in the Beirut Area, from Noon June 11 Until Noon June 13

The Israeli government ordered the IDF to join the Christians in the Beirut area. Brigadier-General Yaron decided to arrange his forces in two military arms: one would bypass the blockade at Sil from the east, by way of the villages of Suk al-Arab, Ein Anub, and Shima; this course of action was to be carried out by a paratroop brigade led by Y. The second would occupy the village of Sil and continue on to Khalde Airport; this mission would be undertaken by a Golani brigade led by A.R. After 48 hours of combat, the mission was accomplished. The attack began in the early evening of June 11, supported by artillery and air force planes. In spite of their efforts, the Syrian fighting men and the terrorists who were interspersed among Syrian dispositions in South Beirut did not succeed in stopping the IDF troops. At 11:00 a.m. on June 11, the Israeli paratroopers succeeded in joining the Christians in the village of Shima, and from there continued on into East Beirut. When the blockade in Sil had been broken, a tank unit led by M.A. moved towards Khalde and Ba'abdeh, where the presidential palace is located. Meanwhile, terrorist posts in the refugee camps to the south of Beirut were being shelled by Israeli gunboats. As a result of American intervention, a new ceasefire was declared.

Coordination of Israel and U.S. Positions during the Stabilization of Lines, June 14–20

On June 14, IDF troops improved their positions in the direction of the Al-Matan Mountains, in order to increase their control of the Beirut–Damascus axis.

In response, the U.S.S.R. made a public warning to Israel on June 15, and sent an ELINT COMINT ship and two frigates bearing missiles off the coast of Lebanon. It also sent a high-ranking military delegation to Damascus. On the same day, Israel's prime minister left for Washington to meet with the American president and secretary of state. On June 18, it was announced in the media that the U.S. and Israel had reached an agreement whereby the departure of all foreign forces from Lebanon would be a necessary pre-condition for the reaching of a new arrangement there.

IDF Troops Take Control of the Beirut–Damascus Axis up to Al-Tzofar, June 20–25

In Israel it was felt that under political pressure, a situation could arise in which Israel would be forced to withdraw its troops from Lebanon's capital. The situation created was such that a withdrawal to the south would have meant the relinquishment of the isolation of Beirut, and an opportunity for the Syrians to send reinforcements there. Hence, the Israeli ministerial level decided to give the IDF the mission of expanding its stronghold along the Beirut–Damascus axis, so as to ensure the continuation of Beirut's being cut off to the entry of Syrian forces. According to the plan put forth by the regional commander, two forces were to advance gradually in a pincers movement. The first force, led by M, was to leave the region of Beit a-Din and head north towards Bhamdun, situated on the Beirut–Damascus highway. The second, led by Brigadier-General Yaron, was to leave Beirut and head east towards Aley. On the night of June 21–22, the first force began its move. Approximately 48 hours later, it reached the designated Syrian area in Al-Mantzuria, about 5 km. (3.12 miles) to the south of the Beirut–Damascus highway. The second force then began to move eastward out from Beirut. In four days of heavy battle, the forces succeeded in executing their missions and in taking control of the section of the axis extending from Beirut to Tzofar, to the east of Bhamdun. The artillery and air force planes supported the land troops in the course of their combat. The artillery destroyed two batteries of SA6 missiles which had been rushed by the Syrians to the battlefield. The air force shot down two Syrian fighter planes, and in the eastern sector destroyed, on June 25, a battery of SA6 missiles, which the Syrians had infiltrated into the Bekaa on the previous day. In the region to the south of the Awali River, the screening of the area for terrorists continued with the aid of Major Saad Haddad's militiamen.

Evacuation of the Terrorists and the Syrian Army from West Beirut, June 26–September 1

NEGOTIATIONS FOR THE EVACUATION OF THE TERRORISTS AND THE SYRIANS FROM BEIRUT, JUNE 26–AUGUST 19. One of the Israeli war aims was to free Beirut of terrorists and of Syrian forces. The president of Syria rejected Israel's demand and ordered its soldiers to fight to the bitter end. In addition, Assad demanded that Israel withdraw its forces from all of Lebanon. Prime Minister Begin made IDF withdrawal from Lebanon conditional upon the withdrawal of the Syrian army from the country. Arafat said that his people would not leave Beirut and that they would fight tooth and nail; he also reproached the Arab countries for not having come to his aid in the war against Israel. In spite of this, the Israeli government decided that while a decision to occupy Beirut had not yet been made, it was necessary first to exhaust every possible diplomatic option. The United States offered its services towards finding a solution to the problem.

As negotiations began, U.S. Secretary of State Alexander Haig resigned, and George Shultz was appointed in his place. Philip Habib, as an intermediary, tried to find a solution agreeable to all involved. The proposal finally forged was to establish a multinational force, to consist of American, British, French, and Italian units, whose task would be to ensure the evacuation of the terrorists and the Syrians from Beirut. The negotiations lasted for approximately eight weeks, due predominantly to the difficulties encountered by the PLO in finding countries willing to give it asylum, and due to Arafat's attempt to stall for time in the hopes that the political pressure on Israel would increase to such an extent that it would be forced to allow Arafat to leave parts of his organization in Beirut. However, Israel was determined to carry out its objectives to the letter. Thus, while conducting the negotiations, Israel applied psychological and military pressure on West Beirut, so as to suppress their fighting spirit and power of resistance and to hasten their departure from the city. The means employed for this purpose were the distribution of leaflets outlining existing alternatives, cutting off of water and electricity supply to the city, bombardment by artillery, gunboats, and fighterplanes, and denial of re-entry into the city to those who had left it.

The fighting around Beirut influenced the Syrians to initiate many incidents in the Bekaa sector. In response to the numerous breaches of the cease-fire, the IDF attacked the Syrian disposition in the Bekaa with great force on July 22. Approximately 70 tanks and dozens of Syrian cannons were destroyed in the course of the battle.

When it became apparent to Israel that the terrorists and the Syrians had not been sufficiently put down, the Israeli cabinet decided on a tightening of the siege. Between August 1–12, Brigadier-General Yaron's troops occupied Beirut's international airport, the neighborhood of Hi-as-Salum (Aug. 2), the Al-Uzai refugee camp and the international museum (Aug. 3–4), the Hippodrome and Beirut Forest (Aug. 11). Terrorist posts in Beirut were fired on by artillery men and gunboats, and bombed by Israeli fighter warplanes. Following this incident, and due to the entrance of IDF troops into Beirut, Syria and the PLO agreed to leave the city, bringing the negotiations to a close on August 19.

EVACUATION OF THE TERRORISTS AND SYRIAN FORCES FROM BEIRUT, AUG. 20–SEPT. 1. The countries which agreed to offer asylum to the PLO were Syria, Jordan, Iraq, Republic of Southern Yemen, North Yemen, Sudan, Tunisia, and Algeria. The multinational force arrived in Beirut from Aug. 21 to Aug. 26, and the evacuation began. Most of the terrorists were evacuated by way of the sea. Some of them, together with the Syrian forces, crossed on land over to Syria along the Beirut–Damascus axis. In all, about 8,000 Palestinians left by sea and 6,000 Syrians and Palestinians by land.

Casualties

As of September 1, 1982, the casualties suffered by the warring parties stood at: Israel, 347 killed, 2,127 wounded, three captured, and five missing; Syria, approximately 1,000 killed and 149 captured; terrorists, approximately 2,000 killed and about 5,000 captured. Israel lost two helicopters and one "Skyhawk" fighterplane. Syria had 85 fighterplanes and five helicopters shot down, and approximately 400 tanks (including nine T-72's) destroyed. The terrorists lost about 100 tanks. Spoils taken from them included hundreds of cannons, mortars, and katyushas, as well as thousands of tons of ammunition and explosives.

[Uri Algom]

Aftermath

The aftermath of the Lebanese War developed into a protracted and costly military occupation which would ultimately claim around 1,000 Israeli lives. The high hopes Israel had placed in a friendly Phalange-dominated Lebanese government were shattered when President-Elect Bashir Jumayyil was assassinated on September 14. This was followed by the Sabra and Shatilla massacre of Palestinian refugees by Phalange troops. An agreement reached with the new president, Bashir's brother Amin, in April 1983 terminating the state of war between the two countries was never ratified. In the meanwhile Shiite and *Hizbollah resistance mounted along with public pressure in Israel for a withdrawal, which was finally accomplished in three stages in 1985, leaving Israel in control of a narrow security zone on the Lebanese side of the border. Shiite and Hizbollah attacks continued, however. Israel responded with major incursions in 1988, 1993 (Operation Accounting), and 1996 (Operation Grapes of Wrath). Finally, in May 2000, Israeli Prime Minister Barak unilaterally withdrew all Israeli troops from Lebanon, which brought relative quiet until the violent clashes with Hizbollah in summer 2006. For a summary of the fighting, see *Israel, State of: Historical Survey.

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°LE BÉ, GUILLAUME (1525–1598), French type cutter and designer. Le Bé, a native of Troyes, was trained in the typefoundry of Robert Estienne (1503–59), the Hebrew and Latin printer of Francis I, and became an outstanding cutter of Hebrew type. While in Venice (1545–50), he worked for Marco Antonio *Giustiniani. There Le Bé cut Greek and Roman punches as well as eight Hebrew fonts. Specimens of this work are preserved in two albums which are also filled with interesting marginal notes (now in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris). After his return to France, Le Bé made more Hebrew fonts for the French typefounder Claude Garamond (d. 1561), and, from the mid-1560s onward, was the main supplier of the Antwerp printer Christophe *Plantin, typographer to Philip II of Spain and publisher of the second Complutensian Bible (1568–72). At least five examples of Le Bé's work have been preserved in the Plantin-Moretus Museum, Antwerp, ranging from the very large "Gros Hebrieu fort gros" (1566) to the minute "Hebrieu sur la Coronelle" (1570). Plantin, who also used Hebrew type provided by the older *Bomberg press in Venice, commissioned an "Hebrieu de la faceon de Venise" ("sur le Texte") and asked Le Bé to design and cut compressed and lengthened forms of many Hebrew letters, himself sketching suggestions for *alef* and *bet*. Even in his last years, Le Bé is known to have continued sketching Hebrew typefaces in block and cursive styles while trapped in Paris during the French wars of religion.

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[Godfrey Edmond Silverman]

LEBEDEFF, AARON (1873–1960), Yiddish actor. Born in Gomel, Russia, Lebedeff became known in Warsaw as "The Litvak Comedian." During the Russian Revolution, he gave concerts for the American Red Cross, and later made his way to the U.S. There he became one of Thomashefsky's outstanding players. He composed songs and from 1930 presented many plays and operettas. At 80 he appeared in *The Yiddish Show of Shows*, two years later in *My Weekend Bride*.

LEBENSOHN, ABRAHAM DOV (known as **Adam** (**Abraham Dov Mikhailishker**) **ha-Kohen**; 1794–1878), Hebrew poet during the Haskalah period. He received elementary and yeshivah education in his native Vilna where he became a successful broker. His earliest published writings were occasional poems for weddings or funerals of Vilna notables, honoring Jewish and gentile dignitaries. In 1842 his first collection of poems, *Shirei Sefat Kodesh* ("Poems in the Holy Tongue," part 1; part 2, 1856) was dedicated to "The Queen of Languages – Hebrew." From 1849 to 1853 Lebensohn, together with Isaac Benjacob and Behak, published a second edition of the *Biur*, the commentary and translation of the Bible by Moses Mendelssohn and his disciples, and appended materials not published in the first edition, under the title *Be'urim Ḥadashim* ("New Commentaries," 1858). These *Be'urim* found a wide audience in Russian Jewry and aided in the spread of the Haskalah. Following the death of M.A. *Guenzburg in 1846, Lebensohn became the leader of Vilna's *maskilim*, and, because of his eloquence, served as the main preacher at their synagogue, Tohorat ha-Kodesh. In 1847 he was appointed teacher of Hebrew, Aramaic, and biblical exegesis at the government rabbinical school of Vilna, a post which he held for 20 years. He published several scholarly works in these fields, including a Hebrew grammar (1874). Lebensohn was an active contributor to the Hebrew press including such periodicals as *Kerem Ḥemed, Kokhevei Yiẓḥak, Ha-Karmel*, and *Ha-Maggid*. In 1867 he published an allegorical drama *Emet ve-Emunah* ("Truth and Faith"), which he had written 25 years earlier, but had withheld for fear of offending the Orthodox. This work aroused considerable literary controversy, especially among the younger *maskilim*, who felt it was outdated. In 1869–70 he published a new and enlarged edition of his poems, and in 1895, a six-volume collection of his poems and those of his son Micah Joseph *Lebensohn appeared under the title *Kol Shirei Adam u-Mikhal*.

Lebensohn was the spokesman of the Russian Haskalah during its early period. He openly proclaimed his allegiance to the "Berlin" Haskalah and particularly to Moses Mendelssohn. He cherished the Hebrew language ("The beautiful language, the last remnant") and the Bible. He was influenced by Moses Ḥayyim *Luzzatto and Herz *Wessely. An inadequate knowledge of the European languages kept him from reading European literature, but indirectly he was influenced by Schiller. He possessed an original talent and had a superb command of the Hebrew language. The main theme underlying his poetry is the conflict between optimism (enlightened rationalism), expressed in poems such as "*Higgayon la-Erev*" ("An Ode to the Evening"), "*La-Boker Rinnah*" ("Joy in the Morning"), "*Ha-Aviv*" ("Springtime"), and the harsh, cruel reality of life (six of his children and his beloved son-in-law died during his lifetime). The dirges written for his children, "*Hesped Mar*" ("Bitter Dirge") and "*Mikhal Dimah*" ("Tears for Mikhal"), are intensely emotional despite the ornamental style of his day. In "*Ha-Mitonen ve-ha-Meshorer*" ("The Complainer and the Poet") he contrasts the pessimism of the complainer with the optimism of the poet, but shows partiality to neither. In his great poem "*Ha-Ḥemlah*" ("Compassion"), the Spirit of Compassion complains before God about the presence of cruelty and evil in nature, in human society, and in the relations between man and nature. The divine reply is weak and rather unconvincing.

Lebensohn's impact upon his contemporary Hebrew readers was great. Some of his poems "*Dal Mevin*" ("The Poor Wise Man"), "*Ha-Temurah*" ("The Transition"), and "*Ha-Ḥemlah*" became very popular, and were even popular tunes. In the subsequent development of literature, Lebensohn's poems were more or less forgotten. However, they are important for the history of Hebrew literature, and he was the first Russian Hebrew poet of any significance.

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[Yehuda Slutsky]

LEBENSOHN, MICAH JOSEPH (also known as **Mikhal**; 1828–1852), one of the foremost Hebrew poets of the *Haskalah. Born in Vilna, the son of Abraham Dov *Lebensohn (Adam ha-Kohen), who was a leading intellectual of the time and one of its outstanding poets, Micah Lebensohn received a thorough Hebrew education including intensive study of the Bible. Unlike other youths of his day who had to struggle in order that they might study secular subjects, Lebensohn was privately tutored in German, Polish, Russian, and French. In early childhood he already showed great interest in literature and began his literary endeavors by translating German poetry. His translation of most of the second book of Vergil's *Aeneid* from Schiller's German version (97 stanzas), at the age of 19, established Lebensohn's reputation in the Vilna literary world. A year later, he translated Vittorio Alfieri's play *Saul* under the title *Aḥarit Sha'ul*. (In all extant copies parts of the translation are missing.) At the age of 17 Lebensohn was severely stricken with tuberculosis and was sent to Berlin for medical treatment. Upon advice of his doctors he tried the Salzbrunn spa in 1849, but returned to Berlin in the winter. The following summer he spent at the Reinerz spa where his condition improved, and it was there that he wrote his best work. With the coming of winter, he suffered a relapse and returned to his father's home in Vilna, where he died. While in Berlin, Lebensohn read and studied. He regularly attended Schelling's lectures in philosophy, visited cultural institutions, and acquainted himself with contemporary literary movements. He was influenced by Shneur *Sachs, and by Leopold *Zunz, who encouraged him to write epic poetry. His father published the poems in a collection entitled *Shirei Bat Ẓiyyon* (1851). *Kinnor Bat Ẓiyyon* (1870), a compilation of his remaining works comprising 41 original and translated poems, was edited, annotated, and published by his father posthumously.

Lebensohn was influenced by the Romantic movement. The intimate youthful freshness of his lyrical poetry, depicting personal emotions and experiences, sharply deviates from the rationalism, moralizing, and elaborate rhetorical phrases of the earlier Haskalah literary tradition. "*Shelomo ve-Kohelet*," a poetic work comparable in structure to his father's "*Ha-Mitonen ve-ha-Meshorer*," is composed of two poems representing two phases in King Solomon's life: in "*Shelomo*," Solomon is the young lover of the Songs of Songs, a bard who loves life and beauty; in "*Kohelet*," he is the old man who says that all is vanity. An aged king in "*Kohelet*," Solomon is weary of life, having grown old before his time through too much meditation and wisdom. "*Shelomo*" culminates in a love idyll by moonlight, whereas "*Kohelet*" is consummated in an epiphany – a vision of God. "*Kohelet*" thus transcends the burden of life. In "*Nikmat Shimshon*," the once mighty Samson, now blind and helpless, is brought before the altar of Dagon to amuse the Philistine foe. Delilah's betrayal, his blindness, and his humiliation, which also represent the national disgrace, leave Samson with but one desire – revenge. It keeps him alive, and restores to him his power to act. In "*Ya'el ve-Sisra*," Jael has to choose between her humane duty to give sanctuary to a defeated man, and her patriotic duty to destroy a national enemy. In the end she fulfills her duty to her people, convinced by Deborah the prophetess that national morality is also human morality. "*Moshe al Har ha-Avarim*" depicts the prophet, on the verge of realizing his vision, taking leave of his people and of the destined land. The theme of death before fulfillment reflects the fate of the poet who suffered and died of tuberculosis; it is repeated in "*R. Yehudah ha-Levi*." Judah Halevi reaches the Promised Land, and, as he kisses its sacred dust, he is attacked and murdered by an Arab. On the verge of death, he envisions the dead inviting him to join them, and he departs this life with an expression of "sweet grace" upon his face. Other well-known poems of Lebensohn are the lyrical ones: "*Ha-Tefillah*," "*El ha-Kokhavim*," "*Ḥag ha-Aviv*," and "*Al ha-Ḥoli-Ra be-Ir Berlin*" (all published in *Kinnor Bat Ẓiyyon*). While "*Shelomo ve-Kohelet*" is written under the influence of his father's work, Lebensohn's other poems constitute a new departure in Hebrew poetry. In the tradition of the romantic poet, he focuses the poem on a tragic and crucial moment in his hero's life; as a lyric poet, he knows how to portray the battle that rages in his hero's divided soul. The themes of his epic poetry are life and death, the visionary and his fate, the poet and his mission, and the moral conflict between human feelings and patriotic duty, when these are antithetical. His poetry is stamped with the fate of the author who, standing on the threshold of life, both as a man and as a creative genius, must die. His epic poetry shows the influence of Milton and Shakespeare and his lyric poetry that of Heine, whom he read in his youth. Lebensohn translated Goethe's "Erlkoenig" from German, Mickiewicz's "Farys" from Polish, Arnault's "La Feuille" from French (known in Hebrew under the title "*Daliyyah Niddaḥat*" and generally published under Lebensohn's name without giving the origin of the poem), and other poems whose origin is unknown (see Fichmann's introduction to *Shirei Mikhal* on the problem of translation in Micah Lebensohn). Lebensohn's poetry was first collected in *Kol Shirei Adam u-Mikhal* (1895).

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[Elieser Kagan]

LEBERT (Levy), SIGMUND (1822–1884), pianist. Born in Ludwigsburg, Lebert was a noted pianoforte teacher and a founder of the Stuttgart Conservatory (1856). His *Grosse theoretisch-praktische Klavierschule* (4 vols., 1858; 1911^{14}) became a classic work of pianoforte instruction and was translated into many languages.

LEBO-HAMATH (Heb. לְבוֹא חֲמָת, לְבֹא חֲמָת), a place name or geographical term frequently mentioned as a northern boundary mark of Ereẓ Israel. The biblical description of the borders of Canaan places Lebo-Hamath on the northern border between Mount Hor near the Mediterranean and Zedad near the Syrian desert (Num. 34:8). The land of Canaan in this account designates the Egyptian province of Canaan at the time of the Israelite conquest; in the north it extended up to the lands of the Hittite kingdom (Josh. 1:4). As a point on the northern border, Lebo-Hamath is also mentioned in the story of the spies (Num. 13:21) and in the list of the regions and nations which "had not known all the wars of Canaan" (Josh. 13:5; Judg. 3:3). After the conquest of Aram-Damascus and Aram-Zobah by David, Lebo-Hamath was a northern border city of the kingdom of Israel which reached the land of Hamath (I Kings 8:65; I Chron. 13:5); Jeroboam II restored the border of Israel from Lebo-Hamath to the Brook of the Arabah (II Kings 14:25; Amos 6:14). After the Assyrian conquest of Ereẓ Israel and Syria in the eighth century B.C.E., Lebo-Hamath was apparently on the dividing line between the Assyrian provinces of Damascus and Hamath (Ezek. 48:1).

Most scholars have interpreted the Hebrew phrase (Heb. לְבוֹא חֲמָת) as "the entrance to Hamath" or "the way to Hamath" (today Hama on the Orontes). Linguistic evidence from the Bible, however, proves that the *lamed* in לְבוֹא is part of the root (cf. מִלְּבוֹא "from Lebo," Amos 6:14), and, furthermore, if it were not a place name it is strange to find it included in border lists containing only specific place names. Hamath was apparently added to Lebo to distinguish it from other places with the same name and also possibly to indicate that it belonged to the land of Hamath.

The city called Labu appearing in an inscription of Tiglath-Pileser III immediately after the cities of Hamath is undoubtedly the same as Libo mentioned in the Itinerarium Antonini as a station midway between Laudicia (Kadesh on the Orontes) and Heliopolis (Baalbek). The city can definitely be identified with Labwa situated in a fertile region near one of the sources of the Orontes in the northern Lebanese Beqa. The large tell on which the village of Labwa stands contains pottery from the Bronze Age and later periods.

All these references indicate that Lebo was an important city in the northern Lebanese Beqa to the south of Kadesh. It appears apparently already as "Rb'w (= Lab'u) in the forest," in inscriptions of Amenophis II and Ramses II as well as Labana in the Amarna tablets.

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[Benjamin Mazar]

LEBORK (Pol. **Lębork**; Ger. **Lauenburg**), town in Pomerania, N. Poland. In 1753 a plan for founding a Jewish town (*Judenstadt*) near Lebork was proposed by the *Stettin (Szczecin) city council. Its purpose was to concentrate the rich and privileged Jews in one place and to compete with nearby Danzig (*Gdansk). Initial government response was favorable, as were the answers to queries addressed to the local gentry and to the Jews, who were to be the main financiers of the project. The plan was shelved because of the opposition of the king, who claimed that an increase in the number of Jews was always harmful to Christians. It was only in 1787 that a Jewish settlement is first recorded in Lebork consisting of 36 persons. The community grew to 244 in 1840 and 371 (4.9% of the total population) in 1880. In 1827 a school was founded and in 1863 a *ḥevra kaddisha*. In 1932 the community (239 persons) maintained a synagogue, cemetery, school, and three charitable organizations. In 1939 only 104 Jews remained in the town; the community was not renewed after the war. M. *Horovitz served briefly (1874–78) as rabbi.

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LEBOVIĆ, DJORDJE (1928–2004), Yugoslav playwright. Born in Sombor, Lebović was a survivor of the Auschwitz and Mauthausen concentration camps, where he was interned during the last years of World War II. Later, after studying in Belgrade, he wrote many plays for stage, broadcasting, and the screen which bear the mark of his wartime experiences. Lebović tackled in a bold and original manner some of the controversial questions about men's behavior in the death camps: the work of inmates in the crematoria, passive submission, solidarity, and resistance to the oppressor. His radio plays include *Do vidjenja druže Gale* ("Goodbye, Comrade Gal," 1961); *Lutka* ("The Doll," 1967); and *Sahrana počinje obično popodne* ("Burial Usually Begins in the Afternoon," 1963). The last describes how the liberated survivors of a concentration camp, faced with the death of one of their number in a hospital, insist on a decent burial and thus regain their own dignity and sense of the value of human life. Lebović's outstanding work is his dramatic trilogy on the death camp theme: *Nebeski odred* ("Commando Heaven," 1959), written in collaboration with A. Obrenović and later made into a motion picture; *Haleluja* (1965); and *Viktorija* ("Victory," 1968).

Lebović came to Israel in 1982. While there, he wrote another drama, entitled *Istraživanja u pesku* ("Search in a Sandbank," 1985), which was translated into Hebrew (1992), and a radio drama *Svetlosti i senke* ("Lights and Shadows"), broadcast by Israeli radio. His own Holocaust experiences are leitmotivs in his plays, emphasizing the transformations in the behavior of the victims and their terrible exploitation in an absurd and alienated world.

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[Zdenko Lowenthal]

LEBOW, FRED (**Ephraim Fishl Lebowitz**; 1932–1994), founder and director of the New York City Marathon, member of U.S. National Track and Field Hall of Fame and National Distance Running Hall of Fame. Lebow was born in Arad, a town in the Transylvania region of western Romania, the sixth of seven children in a Yiddish-speaking family. After surviving Nazi occupation in World War II, Lebow and his family escaped the country in different directions. Lebow, then a teenager, made his way as a smuggler of sugar and diamonds through Czechoslovakia, Belgium, and Ireland before reaching a yeshivah in Brooklyn, N.Y. in 1951. After stops in Kansas City and Cleveland, he returned to New York and worked in the garment district, attending the Fashion Institute of Technology and marketing clothes as owner of his own knockoff design company. Lebow took up running in the late 1960s to improve his stamina for tennis, became involved with the New York Road Runners Club, and staged the first NYC Marathon, in 1970. As president of the NY Road Runners Club and race director of the New York City Marathon, Lebow fostered the race's growth from 126 runners looping around Central Park in 1970, to 35,000 entrants from more than 100 countries and all 50 states running through New York's five boroughs in 2005. Lebow, who spoke a heavily-accented English, would shout in Yiddish to ḥasidic spectators, "*Lommen heren*" ("Let's hear it") and "*Die laufer darfen vasser*" ("The runners need water") as he led his pack of runners through the streets of ḥasidic Williamsburg. To accommodate the needs of Jewish runners, Lebow set up a tent for Morning Prayer services at the marathon staging area. He also changed permanently the starting date of the New York Marathon, so as not to conflict with a Jewish holiday.

Lebow created such original events as the Fifth Avenue Mile; the Empire State Building Run-up; the L'eggs mini-marathon, the first women's-only long distance running event in the world; the New York Games, an international outdoor track-and-field meet; and reintroduced the Six-Day Run in New York. Lebow served as president of the New York Road Runners for 20 years, before being promoted to chairman in 1993. He was elected to the National Track and Field Hall of Fame in 1994 and the National Distance Running Hall of Fame in 2001. Lebow co-authored the book *Inside the World of Big-Time Marathoning* (1983), and is the subject of Ron Rubin's *Anything for a T-Shirt: Fred Lebow and the New York City Marathon, the World's Greatest Footrace* (2004).

[Elli Wohlgelernter (2nd ed.)]

LEBRECHT, FUERCHTEGOTT (1800–1876), German scholar and educator. Lebrecht, born in Memmelbach, Bavaria, studied in Fürth and later in Pressburg with Moses *Sofer and was one of his favorite pupils; he studied Hebrew grammar under Wilhelm *Gesenius in Halle. Most of his life was spent in Berlin, where first he taught at the Teachers' Institute directed by Leopold *Zunz and then was head teacher and librarian at the Veitel Heine Ephraimsche Lehranstalt, whose standards he raised considerably by the introduction of modern educational methods. Lebrecht was a close friend of Zunz and the contributor of numerous articles to both learned and popular periodicals. His scholarly work includes an edition with V.H. Biesenthal of David Kimḥi's *Sefer ha-Shorashim* (1847); *Die Rabbinische Bibliothek des Berliner Beth Hamidrash* (1852); *Handschriften und erste Ausgaben des babylonischen Talmud* (1862); *Kritische Lese verbesserter Lesarten und Erklaerungenzum Talmud* (1864); and *Bether, die fragliche Stadt im Hadrianisch-juedischen Kriege* (1877), published posthumously.

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[Michael A. Meyer]

LEC, STANISLAW JERZY (**S.J. de Tusch-Letz**; 1909–1966), Polish poet. Lec, whose surname was of Hebrew origin (*leẓ*, "jester"), was born in Lvov. In 1929 he began publishing lyrical verse in Polish dailies and thereafter contributed to satirical weeklies and to the *Tryby* magazine, of which he was a co-founder. Together with the poet Leonid *Pasternak Lec founded a Warsaw literary cabaret, the Teatr Pętaków, in 1936. Three of his early verse collections were *Barwy* ("Colors," 1933), *Zoo* (1935), and *Satyry patetyczne* ("Pathetic Satires," 1936). A lyrical poet of distinction, he wrote deeply contemplative verse, his profound literary culture linking him with fellow poets in Germany and Austria. He also translated Heine and Brecht. Lec was arrested by the Nazis in 1941 and spent two years in a concentration camp before making his escape to Warsaw, where he joined the left-wing underground. He edited two illegal periodicals, *Zolnierz w boju* ("The Fighting Soldier") and *Wolny lud* ("Free People"), and became an officer of the Polish partisans. After World War II Lec helped to found the satirical Warsaw weekly *Szpilki* (1945) and in 1946 became a Polish press attaché in Vienna. In 1950 he moved to Israel, but returned to Poland in 1952. During his later, postwar period Lec wrote more collections of verse, such as *Notatnik polowy* ("A Field Notebook," 1946), *Rękopis jerozolimski* ("A Jerusalem Manuscript," 1950–52), and the satirical *Fraszkobranie* ("Gathering of Trifles," 1967). *Rękopis jerozolimski*, first published in Israel, was later re-edited in Warsaw (1956, 1957). Lec, a unique combination of the Polish and the annihilated Polish-Jewish cultures, mingled a jester's wit with the sad wisdom of the rabbi in the many collections of epigrams and aphorisms which he published, ranging from *Spacer cynika* ("The Cynic's Promenade," 1946) to *Myśli nieuczesane* ("Unkempt Thoughts," 1957) and its sequels (1964, 1966). These brilliantly compressed deep philosophical points into single phrases or sentences.

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[Stanislaw Wygodzki]

LECACHE, BERNARD (1895–1968), French journalist and author. The son of a Paris tailor, Lecache early distinguished himself as a vigorous opponent of race hatred. A political radical, he contributed to the dailies and periodical press. Following his expulsion from the Communist Party in 1923, Lecache joined the independent left and made his name as an outspoken opponent of antisemitism. In 1927 he was the co-founder, with Pierre Paraf, of LICA (Ligue internationale contre le Racisme et l'Antisémitisme). He was president of the league and also of the Rassemblement Mondial Antiraciste. In 1933 he founded the anti-racist journal, *Le Droit de vivre*. He received several decorations for service as an officer in the maquis during World War II. In 1950 he was appointed editor in chief of the weekly *Journal du Dimanche*. Lecache gives a sensitive and well-documented description of life among Russian-Jewish immigrants in Paris at the beginning of the 20th century in the novel *Jacob* (1925), and in his trilogy *Au pays des pogromes*, consisting of *Quand Israël meurt* (1927), *Les Porteurs de Croix* (1930), and *Les Ressuscités* (1934).

[Pierre Aubery]

°LECCA, RADÚ (c. 1902–c. 1980), Romanian agent of the German Nazi Party's Foreign Policy Department and "head of Jewish affairs" in various Romanian ministries. Lecca had ties to the Nazis well before the German-Romanian alliance. He had served as a correspondent for a Nazi Party paper and also for a German newspaper. In 1941 he became the liaison officer for the Antonescu regime with the German legation in Bucharest and in November 1941 Lecca was first put in charge of the "Jewish Problem" by the Romanian government in compliance with the orders of the German embassy in Bucharest. The embassy at this time was successfully pressing for anti-Jewish measures styled on the *Nuremberg Laws. It was Lecca who was to supervise and execute these measures, especially those involving economic despoliation of the Jewish communities. The "Jewish Center" (the only officially recognized Jewish body), which was established in January 1942 after the dissolution of the "Union of Jewish Communities," operated under his personal supervision. Lecca received his orders directly from Gustav Richter, *Eichmann's deputy in Romania. Lecca exploited his position to extort huge sums from the Jewish population, and apart from his personal gains he also used these sums to contribute to various institutions (such as the social welfare institutions under the direction of *Antonescu's wife) and to give gifts to individuals, thus enabling him to gain closer association with the ruling clique. Lecca supported plans for the deportation of Jews to death camps, but when Antonescu did not consent to the deportations, and planned their continued economic exploitation, Lecca in turn informed Richter of the details of decisions taken by the Romanian government regarding the treatment of Jews, notably, the plan of December 1942 to permit the Jews deported to *Transnistria to migrate to Palestine in return for sums of money. The plan was dropped as a result of immediate German pressure. The Jews, faced with financial ruin as a result of the antisemitic measures, were forced to sell even their last possessions in order to continue to pay the blackmail in the form of heavy taxes and special fines periodically imposed by Lecca. At the postwar trials against Antonescu's government in 1946, Lecca received the death sentence, but it was commuted to life imprisonment. After a period of time, that sentence was also commuted and he lived out his final years on a government pension as a former Romanian official.

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[Theodor Lavi]

LECCE, city in S. Italy. Jews were already settled in Lecce in the 11th century, subsequently being mostly engaged in loan-banking. In 1463, following the anti-Jewish preachings of John of *Capistrano and Fra Roberto Caracciolo, the Jewish quarter in Lecce was set on fire and the Jews were expelled. They returned a few years later, but when the French invaded the kingdom of Naples in 1495 and the Jewish communities in southern Italy were attacked and pillaged, the Jews of Lecce were deprived of all their property and again expelled. In 1497 the local people of Lecce demanded that the synagogue desecrated during the riots of 1495 be consecrated as a church dedicated to the Virgin and to serve also as a foundling hospital. In 1510 the order of expulsion for the kingdom of Naples included the Jews of Lecce, and all the New Christians. Nevertheless, in about 1520 a small Jewish group settled in Lecce for a short time, with special privileges, and remained until the general expulsion from the kingdom of Naples in 1541.

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[Ariel Toaff / Nadia Zeldes (2nd ed.)]

LECZNA (Pol. **Łęczna**; Rus. **Lenchna**; Yid. **לענטשני**), town in Lublin province, E. Poland. Jews are first mentioned in 1501. In the years 1668, 1678, 1681, and 1685 the delegates to the *Councils of the Four Lands of Poland and the Council of Lithuania convened in Leczna. At the triennial fairs held in Leczna during the 18th century, local Jewish merchants and those from other towns traded mainly in livestock. In 1765 the number of Jewish poll tax payers under the jurisdiction of the Leczna *kahal* amounted to 724, of which 491 were in the town proper. Among the Jewish villagers, 55 families earned their livelihood as leaseholders and innkeepers. In 1864 the Russian authorities executed the commander of a Polish revolutionary unit, Lieutenant Rachmiel Bornsztejn, in Leczna. The community numbered 1,506 (60% of the total population) in 1827; 1,679 (64%) in 1857; 2,446 (65%) in 1897; and 2,019 (63%) in 1921. Before the outbreak of World War II there were about 2,300 Jews in Leczna. Two large-scale deportations to death camps took place in Leczna, on Oct. 23 and Nov. 11, 1942. Only 330 Jews were left in a forced-labor camp, which was liquidated on April 29, 1943, when the prisoners were sent to *Sobibor death camp or Trawniki camp. After the war, the Jewish community of Leczna was not reconstituted.

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[Raphael Mahler]

LECZYCA (Pol. **Łęczyca**; Rus. **Lenchitsa**; Yid. **Luntshits** or **Lentshits**), town in Lodz province, central Poland. Jews are mentioned as residents of Leczyca, one of the oldest Jewish communities in Poland, in the general privilege of King Casimir IV issued in 1453. In 1479 the Jews paid the royal treasury 15 florins in taxes. As early as the first half of the 16th century Jewish merchants of Leczyca dealt in grain, transporting it from Volhynia to the port of Danzig (Gdansk). Until the middle of the 17th century they dominated the trade in cloth, spices, and jewelry at the Leczyca fairs. The register of 1569 shows 19 Jewish houses in the town, and tax lists of 1576 mention 115 Jews, only 50 of whom were able to pay taxes. A *blood libel arose in the town in 1639 when the mutilated body of a boy was discovered. Suspicion fell on a tramp, who declared under torture that he had stolen the boy at the behest of Jews. On the strength of this confession 20 Jews were arrested and tortured. The matter came before the royal tribunal of Lublin, where the tramp, after further torture, indicated that the beadle Meir and Lazarus from Sobota were the ones to whom he had sold the child. Although they continued to protest their innocence under torture, they were condemned to death. After their execution in front of the Lublin synagogue, their bodies were quartered and the pieces impaled on stakes at the crossroads. In the Lublin community register these martyrs are named as Meir b. Menahem ha-Kohen and Ezra b. Avigdor. The child's body was placed in a glass coffin in the St. Bernard Church in Leczyca, while a picture depicting the ritual murder was displayed on the front of the church; there it remained until 1793, when the town came under Prussian rule. The picture was replaced in 1814 and it was not until 1825 that the government confiscated it along with the historical documents of the affair.

When the Jewish quarter was burned down in 1652, King John Casimir (see *Poland) allowed the Jews to rebuild their houses and the synagogue. During the Swedish wars, Jews from the surrounding district took refuge in the Jewish quarter of Leczyca. On Oct. 4, 1656, the Polish army advanced to the city gates, whereupon the garrison retired to the castle, leaving the Jews to the mercies of the attacking nobles. According to official lists of 1661, in the ensuing slaughter (reported in gruesome detail in the *Theatrum Europaeum*, 7 (Frankfurt, 1663), 988ff.; cf. also the description of a Polish observer, Pierre des Noyers, in his *Lettres* (1859), 252) 1,700 Jews lost their lives. Jewish reports estimate the number of dead at 3,000 and the number of burned Torah scrolls at 600. According to Polish reports (municipal archives), Jews commemorated the names of the dead on a tablet, which was lost in 1830. On June 20, 1657 "John Casimir pardoned the Jews of Leczyca their crime." However, very few availed themselves of his permission to return to the Jewish street; the 1665 register records only five Jewish houses in Leczyca. Later some more Jewish families moved to the town after King John III Sobieski had confirmed their former rights (Feb. 20, 1676) and granted permission to rebuild the synagogue, on condition that it was no taller nor more beautiful than before. When the Swedish wars were over, many Jews returned to the town and in 1724 King Augustus II granted them the right to engage in commerce, brandy distilling, slaughtering, innkeeping, and crafts. According to the 1765 census, there were 1,040 poll-tax payers under the jurisdiction of the Leczyca *kahal*, 607 of them from 83 neighboring villages. Of the 114 residents 34 owned their houses. Twenty were tailors. From 999 (49% of the total population) in 1808, the Jewish population increased to 1,797 (45%) in 1827, and 2,286 (44%) in 1857. In 1897 the community had grown to 3,444 (41%) in spite of large-scale emigration to Lodz, and in 1921 to 4,051 (40%).

Natives of Leczyca included *Ephraim Solomon of Luntschitz (16th century), rabbi of Prague, and Abraham Isaac Luntschitz (18th century). In the first half of the 17th century, when the community was most influential, the rabbi was Israel Samuel *Calahorra. He was succeeded by his son, Salomon *Calahorra.

[*Encyclopaedia Judaica* (Germany) / Arthur Cygielman]

Holocaust Period

In 1939 there were about 4,300 Jews in Leczyca constituting over one third of the total population. After its occupation by the Germans (Sept. 7, 1939), a group of Jewish men was locked up in the local synagogue and a group of Polish Catholics in the church. These prisoners were forced to work on fortifications. The Germans temporarily retreated when the town was retaken and held for a few days by the Polish army. On the eve of the Day of Atonement the Nazis took 50 Jewish hostages, including the rabbi and community leaders, as well as 100 Polish hostages, as a guarantee for the safety of the German soldiers garrisoned in the town. All the hostages were subsequently released with the exception of the rabbi and several lay leaders for whose release the Judenrat had to pay 1,000,000 zlotys. Some of this money had to be raised by the Judenrat with the assistance of the police. In December 1939 Jewish families were evicted from many streets and from the buildings around the marketplace to be segregated in a separate, crowded Jewish district. To further repress and humiliate the Jews the Germans forced them to destroy their own cemetery and set fire to their synagogue. The Judenrat was compelled to sign a declaration that the "arson" was committed by Jews, and a heavy fine was imposed upon the community. During 1940 groups of Jews left the town, either voluntarily or by force. In January 1941 all Jews were ordered to appear in the marketplace with their kitchen utensils and some bedding. Some 600 people were then selected and sent under German police convoy to Poddebice. Another group of 450 were sent to Grabow. The Jewish area was then surrounded with barbed wire and as a result of famine and lack of fuel epidemics broke out. The final liquidation of the community took place on April 10–11, 1942, when the remaining 1,750 Jews were sent to the death camp at *Chelmno. A memorial book *Sefer Lintshiẓ* was published in Israel by the Society of Immigrants from Leczyca (Heb., 1953).

[Danuta Dombrowska]

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LEDA (**Lederer**), **EDUARD** (1859–1944), Czech author and one of the leaders of Jewish assimilation in Czechoslovakia. Leda was born in Chotoviny, Bohemia. In his novels and short stories Leda portrayed many Jewish characters, often expressing through them his own thoughts on various aspects of the Jewish problem. The best known are *Zápisky hrbáčovy* ("Diary of a Hunchback," 1923), *Rakušák* ("The Austrophile," 1942), and *Lelíček Redivivus* (1928). He also wrote two biblical plays, *Mojžíš* ("Moses," 1919) and *Zrádce* ("The Traitor," 1921), the latter intended as a vindication of Judas Iscariot. He wrote several books on the Jewish question: *Německý a český anti-semitismus* ("German and Czech Anti-Semitism," 1899), *Českožidovská otázka* ("The Czech-Jewish Question," 1899), *Židé v dnešní společnosti* ("Jews in Modern Society," 1902), and *Kapitoly o židovství a židovstvu* ("Chapter on Judaism and Jewry," 1925). In all of these he was an uncompromising advocate of assimilation. Leda died in Theresienstadt.

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[Avigdor Dagan / Milos Pojar (2nd ed.)]

LEDEEN, HYMAN (1894–1981), U.S. inventor. Born in Cherven, Russia, Ledeen was taken to the U.S. in 1903. His numerous inventions include an air hoist, steel punch, speed reducer, flexible coupling, bearing for variable speed transmission, and pump for oil wells.

LEDERBERG, JOSHUA (1925–), U.S. geneticist. Born in Montclair, New Jersey and scion of a rabbinical family from Ereẓ Israel, he studied at Columbia University and then at Yale and made a number of important discoveries in microbial genetics. It had previously been thought that bacteria reproduced only asexually. In 1946, however, Lederberg and Edward L. Tatum discovered that sexual union and genetic recombination occur in *Escherischia coli*, the common colon bacterium. In 1952, while looking for evidence of sexuality in other bacterial forms, Lederberg and a student, Norton Zinder, demonstrated that certain viruses are capable of transmitting genetic material from one bacterial cell to another, a process they named transduction. From 1947 to 1959 Lederberg was professor of genetics at the University of Wisconsin. In 1959 he became professor and chairman of the department of genetics at Stanford University. For his studies on the organization of the genetic material in bacteria Lederberg (with Tatum) was co-recipient of the Nobel Prize for medicine in 1958. In 1978 he left Stanford to assume the presidency of Rockefeller University, serving in that capacity until 1990. He continued his research there on the genetics of bacterial growth as a Raymond and Beverly Sackler Foundation Scholar. Lederberg's research interests, in addition to microbial genetics, are the chemical origin and evolution of life, space biology, and the augmentation of human intelligence with computer software. Speaking out on policy issues, he has drawn attention to the ever-present threat of new infectious diseases and the impetus these may receive from human folly.

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[Fred Rosner]

LEDERER, ABRAHAM (1827–1916), educator and pedagogic writer. Born in Libochovice, Bohemia, Lederer became principal of the Jewish school at Tata, Hungary, in 1854, and in 1857 was appointed by the government to head the Jewish "model school" of Budapest. Lederer was also entrusted with the organization of the teachers' training college connected with the school (1859). Although he resigned from his post as headmaster in 1868, he continued teaching until 1889. Among his contributions to educational literature were translations of Hungarian textbooks into German and several original publications including *Az oktatás módszere* ("Teaching Methods," 1870); *A példadás módszere* ("Teaching by Example," 1877); *A testi büntetés a családban és az iskolában* ("Corporal Punishment at Home and at School," 1884); *A kegyelet* ("On Piety," 1920); and *A szociális kérdés és az iskola* ("School and the Social Question," 1898). Lederer was the pioneer of summer holiday camps for schoolchildren in Hungary. He is also remembered as the founder of the nationwide Organization of Jewish Teachers in Hungary (1866). He died in Budapest.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: M. Málnai, in: *Izraelita Tanügyi Értesitö*, 41 (1916), 203–6.

[Jeno Zsoldos]

LEDERER (née **Friedman**), **ESTHER PAULINE**, (1918–2002), syndicated American columnist. Lederer was born in Sioux City, Iowa, to Russian Jewish immigrants. In 1955 she took over the Ann Landers column in the *Chicago Sun-Times*. In 1987, her home base became the *Chicago Tribune*. Her daily column "Ask Ann Landers" was syndicated in more than 1,200 newspapers and was said to be the most widely read column in the world, with an estimated 90 million readers. She is reported to have received more than 2,000 letters daily and was regarded as having had a considerable influence on public opinion. She once referred to herself as "typically upper middle-class Midwestern Jewish." Her generally conservative views included a constant warning against the perils of intermarriage, but she later adopted a more liberal attitude to questions of sex and divorce. She published some 12 pamphlets on social problems and, among other works, a lengthy volume, *The Ann Landers Encyclopedia* (1978), which deals with a wide variety of contemporary issues.

Lederer was the recipient of several awards, among them The Jane Addams Public Award Hull House and a citation from the AMA for distinguished service.

Lederer was married to Jules Lederer, who built the Budget-Rent-a-Car company. They divorced in 1975 after 36 years of marriage. Lederer's main rival in popularity as a nationwide columnist was her twin sister, Pauline Esther, who also wrote a syndicated column, "Dear Abby," under the name Abigail Van Buren. Books by Lederer include *Since You Ask Me* (1961); *Gems* (1988); and *Wake Up and Smell the Coffee* (1996).

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Grossvogel, *Dear Ann Landers* (1986); M. Howard, *Eppie: The Story of Ann Landers* (1983).

LEDERER, FRANCIS (1899–2000), Czech actor. Born near Prague, Lederer made his first appearance in Berlin in 1928 and was engaged by Max Reinhardt to play with Elizabeth Bergner in *Romeo and Juliet*. He made his London debut in 1931 and subsequently acted on the New York stage and in films. In 1958 he toured the U.S. as Mr. Frank in *The Diary of Anne Frank*. On television he appeared in *Mission Impossible* and *The Untouchables*.

LEDERER, JEROME F. (1902–2004), U.S. aeronautical engineer. Born in New York City, Lederer received his B.Sc. in 1924 and his M.E. in 1925 in mechanical engineering with aeronautical electives at New York University, one of the very few universities which offered this course. In 1926 he joined the U.S. Air Mail Service, the world's first system of regular air transportation. The high accident rate among airline pilots stimulated his life-long interest in aviation safety and eventually he won the sobriquet "Mr Aviation Safety." His innovative work covered aircraft design and safety modifications, accident investigation, human factors such as pilot fatigue and distraction, and flight insurance. He organized the Flight Safety Foundation, of which he became the first director and later president emeritus. In World War II, Lederer was director of training at the institute which trained Air Transport Command's pilots and technicians and an operations analyst for the U.S. Air Force. He was a member of many key national and international organizations concerned with aviation safety. After retirement from the Foundation in 1967, he established the Office of Manned Space Flight Safety at the National Aeronautical and Space Administration's request following the 1967 space capsule disaster. As well as technical supervision, Lederer stressed the role of personal motivation. His many honors included the Wright Brothers Memorial Award (1967), the K.E. Tsiolkovsky Medal of the Soviet Federation of Cosmonauts (1988), and the International Civil Aviation Organization's Edward Warner award (1999). In January 2000 *Air Safety* magazine named him "aviation's man of the century." In retirement he continued to work actively on many more general aspects of transportation safety.

[Michael Denman (2nd ed.)]

LEDERMAN, LEON MAX (1922–), U.S. Nobel laureate in physics. Lederman was born in New York City, where he earned his B.S. at the College of the City of New York (1943), and his M.A. (1948) and Ph.D. (1951) in physics from Columbia University, an education interrupted by service in the U.S. Army (1943–46). He was a faculty member of the physics department of Columbia University (1946–79) and professor from 1958, during which period he was director of the department's NEVIS Laboratories at Irvington-on-Hudson (1961–78) and collaborated with the European Organization for Nuclear Research (CERN). He was director of the Fermi National Accelerator Laboratory in Batavia, Illinois (1979–89) and professor of physics at the University of Chicago from 1989. He joined the Illinois Institute of Technology as Pritzker Professor of Science (1994). His research concerned the nature of the subatomic world and in particular the identification of subatomic particles, most frequently by measurements or observations using particle accelerators. His major experiments involved the discovery of a long-lived neutral "K" particle, the failure of mirror symmetry in the properties of pions and muons, and a second type of neutrino. Lederman and his colleagues at Columbia University, Melvin Schwartz and Jack Steinberger, were awarded the Nobel Prize (1988) for the demonstration of the doublet structure of leptons and the discovery of the muon neutrino. His many honors include membership of the U.S. National Academy of Sciences, the U.S. National Medal for Science (1965), and the Wolf Prize in Physics (1983). He was a member of the Board of Trustees of the Weizmann Institute and collaborated closely with Professor Haim Harari of this institute. He had a great interest in scientific education, as is evident from his many contributions to local, national, and international institutes and commissions. He is coauthor of many successful books for general readers including *Quarks to the Cosmos* (with David Schramm, 1989), *The God Particle* (with Dick Teresi, 1993), and *Symmetry and the Beautiful Universe* (with Christopher Hill, 2004).

[Michael Denman (2nd ed.)]

LEE, DAVID (1931–), U.S. physicist and Nobel laureate. Born in Rye, New York, Lee received his B.A. in physics from Harvard University (1952). After U.S. Army service, he earned his M.Sc. from the University of Connecticut (1955) and his Ph.D. in physics, under the supervision of Henry Fairbank, from Yale University (1959), where he developed his lasting interest in low-temperature physics. He joined the physics faculty of Cornell University (1959) where he became professor (1968–97) and James Gilbert White Distinguished Professor of Physical Sciences (1997). He and his colleagues discovered superfluidity in the naturally occurring lighter isotope of helium called helium-3, the phenomenon whereby helium-3 flows without resistance at a low temperature just above absolute zero. This property has fundamental theoretical implications for understanding atomic structure and cosmology. Its discovery also led to the establishment of the principles of nuclear magnetic resonance, which have been routinely adopted in medical practice and biological research. He was awarded the Nobel Prize in Physics for this research (1996) jointly with Douglas Osheroff and Robert Richardson. His other honors include the Simon Memorial Prize and election to the U.S. National Academy of Sciences.

[Michael Denman (2nd ed.)]

LEE, MALKE (pseudonym of **Malke Leopold-Rappaport**; 1904–1964), Yiddish poet. Born in Monastrich (Galicia), she immigrated to New York in 1921. Her poems appeared in Yiddish periodicals from 1922 and were collected in six volumes, of which *In Likht fun Doyres* ("In the Light of Generations," 1961) was the most mature. Accenting nature and love, her lyrics focus on the Dniester, the farmers of New York's Catskill range, her attachment to the U.S., and Israel's resurgence. She also wrote a memoir after the war, *Durkh Kindershe Oygn* ("Through the Eyes of Childhood," 1955).

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[Sol Liptzin / Sarah Ponichtera (2nd ed.)]

LEE, SIR SIDNEY (1859–1926), English literary historian. Born Solomon Lazarus Lee (his family had previously changed its name from Levi to Lee), he studied at Oxford. Lee was professor of English language and literature at London University from 1913 to 1924. He was the second editor (from vol. 27) of the *Dictionary of National Biography*, to which he contributed 820 articles and which he brought to a successful conclusion. Lee's *Life of Shakespeare*, first issued in 1898, was long a standard work. He also wrote a *Life of Queen Victoria* (1902) and the official *Life of King Edward VII* (1925–27). Lee originally took some interest in Anglo-Jewish history, and published a study on Jews and crypto-Jews in Shakespearean England. Later, however, he had no connection with the community. Lee was knighted in 1911. His sister, ELIZABETH LEE (1858–1920), was an author, biographer, and translator. She contributed 110 entries to the *Dictionary of National Biography*, of which 101 were of women. She was thus one of the most notable early biographers of important British women, and was also the only woman editor of the first *Dictionary of National Biography.*

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[Cecil Roth]

LEE, STAN (1922–), U.S. cartoonist. Born in New York City to Jewish immigrants from Eastern Europe, Lee (Stanley Martin Lieber) began working in comic books at 17, as an assistant to Martin Goodman, who was married to his cousin and was publisher of Timely Comics, which would become Marvel Comics. Lee's first published work appeared in a *Captain America* comic book in 1941, shortly before the United States entered World War II. Lee worked with several co-creators, including Jack *Kirby, introducing superheroes to fight the Nazi menace. After the war, comics came under attack in the United States when a psychiatrist and a United States senator blamed comic books for corrupting young readers with images of violence and sexuality. Comic book companies responded by implementing strict guidelines. Lee then wrote comics in various genres, such as romance, Westerns, and light science fiction. In the late 1950s DC Comics revived the superhero genre and beginning in 1961 Lee, as part of the Marvel group, helped produce *Spider Man*, *Thor*, *The Hulk*, *Daredevil*, and *Iron Man*. Lee's scripts, created in collaboration with such artists as Kirby and Steve Ditko, depicted characters endowed with superhuman abilities yet with human failings and emotions the reader could identify with. In 1972 Lee became publisher and editorial director of Marvel Comics. He also wrote *Origins of Marvel Comics* (1974). Lee and his studios came into the limelight when two *Spider Man* movies and a *Hulk* film achieved great success. During the dot.com boom, in 1999, Lee teamed with a Hollywood entrepreneur, Peter Paul, to create an online animation and superhero creation studio. Stan Lee Media went public and in February 2000 had a market value twice that of Marvel. The studio grew to 165 people and produced flash animation on the Internet, winning the 2000 Web Award as the best entertainment portal on the World Wide Web, Stanlee.net. Eventually, after Paul was accused of campaign finance fraud during the New York State election campaign of Hilary Clinton for senator, Stan Lee Media went out of business. However, as a result of a contract that Paul helped negotiate for Lee with Marvel in 1998, Lee recovered a settlement of more than $10 million from Marvel for the profits from Marvel's blockbuster movies.

[Stewart Kampel (2nd ed.)]

LEE AND CHARLOTTE COUNTIES, counties in S.W. Florida, U.S., including **Fort Myers**. Fort Myers, a city of about 50,000 people, is named for a Jew, Colonel Abraham C. Myers. A West Point graduate and quartermaster during the Seminole Indian Wars, Myers was a descendent of Moses Cohen, the first rabbi of Charleston, South Carolina. General John Twiggs (not Jewish) was commander of the fort built on the Caloosahatchee River by Federal troops in 1839 for defense against the Indians and his daughter married Myers. The fort was named to honor Colonel Myers.

There is no record of the earliest Jew in Lee County. Jews were first able to attend a Jewish service during World War II when a Jewish chaplain was assigned to the Buckingham Air Base. In 1947 Sam Posner placed an ad in the local newspaper that his store would be closed for the Jewish High Holidays. Following that, he had his best sales day ever when people came to see what a Jew was like. The next year, as more Jews identified themselves, they rented a hall for $5.00 and had High Holiday services.

The Lipman family began packing tomatoes and farming in the area in 1952 as the Six L's Packing Co. They became a large agricultural presence and expanded into other areas of the state. Today they are probably the largest tomato growers in the country, farming more than 15,000 acres and operating eight packinghouses in seven states.

Celia Tanner, born in Key West in 1906, came to Fort Myers with her husband Herman in 1936 to open a scrap metal business that evolved into Tanner Auto Parts. The first congregation was formed in 1954 when 22 people met at their home. Led by Sam and Rose Posner, they purchased land for $1,200 to build the Fort Myers Community Center–Temple Beth-El and affiliated with the Conservative movement. By this time, there were 30 Jewish families and Posner was the lay rabbi. In

1956 a cemetery was started. By 1960 Rabbi Morris Kosman became the first spiritual leader and in 1963 the congregation became Reform with the stipulation to retain *yarmulkes* and *tallitot*. In 1964 there was a UJA dinner and there were enough Jews to plan a new building.

Brothers Jack and Leonard Rosen formed Gulf American Land Corporation and assembled 114 square miles of desolate woods on the western tip of Lee County that they named Cape Coral. They brought in the largest single shipment of earth-moving equipment in Florida development history to create 350,000 residential sites. A large majority of the people who worked for Gulf American were Jews. The Rosen Brothers donated 4.5 acres of land and $25,000 for Temple Beth-El to move to Cape Coral in 1966 and insisted that all of their employees join the Temple. The new building was dedicated in 1965 by Rabbi Simon Friedeman, and it was already crowded with 90 families. One was Sylvia and David Gottlieb who came to Cape Coral with Gulf American. Thirty years later Sylvia Gottlieb donated land to the Federation and the proceeds from the sale helped build the Jewish Community Campus.

By the 1970s other organizations were formed. Kosher meat and Passover supplies were delivered by bus from Tampa or by those who made the drive to the east coast. In 1972 when two women assumed leadership in Temple Beth-El (Rose Kosches and Gert Thomson), a group broke off to form the Fort Myers Community Center, also in Cape Coral. A Conservative congregation, Temple Judea, was formed across the river in Fort Myers.

Sam Posner pioneered the Trail, known now as U.S. Route 41. He purchased land and built the first department store there; later Sears, Burdines, and Maas Brothers (Jews from Tampa) came along. He was the first chairman of the board for Lee Memorial Hospital in 1976 and received awards for his civic leadership as well as for his service to Israel.

In 1973 Dr. Harvey Tritel became the 100th physician to join the Medical Society in Fort Myers and the 100th Jewish family to settle there. In 1975 Leo Cooper provided a connecting link for the Lee County Jews with the newspaper, *L'Chayim*, subsequently continued by Federation. In 1983 Sheila Laboda was the Federation's first president and Temple Judea had a woman rabbi in the 1990s (Tobah August). The community has grown and participated in all Jewish issues and efforts of their larger counterparts, including bringing Russian Jews.

Nearby Port Charlotte had its first congregation in 1961 and the following year, General Development Corporation donated land for a Temple that was designed in the shape of the Star of David. Today there are about 8,000 Jews in Lee and Charlotte Counties (not including snowbirds), nine Jewish organizations, three Jewish schools, and nine congregations.

[Marcia Jo Zerivitz (2nd ed.)]

LEECH (Heb. עֲלוּקָה, AV, JPS: "horseleech"), blood-sucking worm. The aphorism in the Book of Proverbs (30:15) that "the leech hath two daughters: 'Give, give'" refers to the two sucking disks on its head with which it adheres to its prey and sucks its blood. In several places in Israel the Nile leech – *Limnatis nilotica* – is found in springs and bodies of water and, attaching itself to men or beasts when these wash in or drink from the water, sucks their blood. Because of this the Talmud warns against drinking water directly from rivers and pools (Av. Zar. 12b), an instance being cited of a man who swallowed a leech in this way; for which various remedies are suggested (TJ, Ber. 9:3, 13c). The medicinal leech *Hirudo medicinalis* is not naturally present in Israel and it is doubtful whether it was known in biblical times.

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[Jehuda Feliks]

LEEDS, cloth-manufacturing city in Yorkshire, N. England. Jews first appear here in the late 18th century. However, a community was founded only c. 1823 and a cemetery acquired only in 1837. Until 1846 a small room served as synagogue, larger accommodation being acquired in that year. The first synagogue building for the parent congregation was erected in 1860, when there were a hundred Jewish families. With the growth in local prosperity the Jewish population increased, and in 1877 the present Beth Hamidrash Hagadol, now a congregation with 620 seatholders, was organized in a small room by recently arrived immigrants. Toward the close of the 19th century many Russian and Polish immigrants settled in Leeds and were absorbed largely in the tailoring industry to which they gave a great impetus. Sir Montague *Burton was one of many Jews who contributed largely to its development. Zionism flourished in Leeds, especially due to the presence of Professor Selig *Brodetsky. In 1970 the Jewish community was estimated at 18,000 out of a population of approximately 508,000. This was the third largest community, after London and Manchester, and contained the highest proportion of Jews to the general population in Great Britain. Three of the nine synagogues in Leeds were combined in the United Hebrew Congregation with a total membership of nearly 2,000. There was also one Reform congregation. The Leeds Jewish Representative Council, organized in 1938, embraced almost every local synagogue, Zionist group, charitable organization, and Friendly Society. There was a Hebrew department at Leeds University and the teachers there have included Shimon *Rawidowicz. Hyman Morris was lord mayor in 1941–42 and J.S. Walsh in 1966–67. By the mid-1990s the Jewish population had dropped to approximately 9,000. In the 2001 British census, which recorded the religion of respondents, Leeds was found to have 8,270 declared Jews, making it still the third largest Anglo-Jewish community after Greater London and Manchester. Leeds continued to have a wide variety of Jewish institutions, among them six Orthodox, one Reform, and one Masorti synagogue.

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[Cecil Roth]

LEEF, YINAM (1953–), Israeli composer. Born in Jerusalem, Leef studied composition with Mark *Kopytman at the Jerusalem Rubin Academy for Music and Dance; with Richard Wernick, George *Rochberg, and George Crumb at the University of Pennsylvania, where he received his doctorate; and with Luciano Berio at Tanglewood. He taught at Swarthmore and Haverford colleges, Philadelphia College of Performing Arts, and the New School of Music. At the Jerusalem Rubin Academy, he became chairman of the Department of Composition, Conducting, and Theory in 2003. Leef is the recipient of the Halstead Prize, the Hilda K. Nitzsche Prize in Music, the Israel Composers' League Prize, the ACUM Prize, and the Prime Minister's Prize for Israeli Composers.

Leef's list of compositions includes orchestral works: *Violin Concerto*, 1983; *Scherzos and Serenades* (1989); two symphonies, 1981/92 & 1995; *Viola Concerto* (1998); *Serenity Lost* (2004); choral works (*Sounds, Shadows…*, 1987); vocal works (*The Invisible Carmel*, 1982; *A Place of Fire*, 1985); and chamber and instrumental music: *Canaanite Fantasies* for various instrumental ensembles (1981); *Tefilkah* (1997); *Tryptique [Homage to Partos]* (1997); 2 string quartets (1978 & 2001); *Reminiscences of Tranquility* (2002); *Soliloquy* for violin (2003).

Leef's works are characterized by his threefold commitment: to universal, Western-oriented post-serial composition; to local or locally echoing musical traditions of Jewish and Middle Eastern modality and timbre; and to the young Israeli ("Canaanite") search for musical identity. Leef's works often implicitly give expression to the composer's subjective, rather understated though affectionately consoling response to the intense reality of life in Israel. Leef's poetics is based on drafting dynamic, dramatic processes of a formal nature, and on constituting contrasts and carefully mediating between them. He keeps using specific materials and models, embedding them, variously disguised, in new contexts.

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[Yuval Shaked (2nd ed.)]

LEEK (Heb. חָצִיר, *ḥaẓir*), vegetable. *Allium porrum* is mentioned among the vegetables of Egypt for which the children of Israel craved during their journey in the wilderness (Num. 11:5). This vegetable was popular with the Egyptians, sketches of it being common in Egyptian paintings and remains found in their tombs. *Ḥaẓir* elsewhere in the Bible refers to grass used as fodder, and is used for leek once only in the Mishnah (Kelim 17:5). It is usually termed *kereishah* or *karatei*, from the root כרת ("cut"), since it was densely sown and its green leaves cut from time to time for food. These were valued, among other things, as a remedy against snake bite: "If someone is bitten by a snake, leek may be cut for him [on the Sabbath]" (Yoma 83b). Its taste is similar to that of the onion, but more delicate. It was eaten to dispel the aftertaste of radish (Pes. 116a). If the plants are well spaced out they develop bulbs which were a favorite food. This bulb is in the shape of a head, hence its mishnaic name *kaflutin* (Greek κεφαλωτόν, "with a head"; for the difference between the leaf and the bulb see Tosef., Ter. 4:5). The leaf is dark turquoise green in color, close to that of *tekhelet* (Ber. 1:2).

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[Jehuda Feliks]

LEES, LESTER (1920–1986), U.S. aeronautical engineer. Lees was born in New York City, obtaining his B.S. and M.S. in aeronautical engineering at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (1941). He worked in U.S. Air Force laboratories on materiel problems during World War II before moving first to Princeton and then to the California Institute of Technology. Lees' initial interests concerned the problems of supersonic flight resulting from the shock waves created by the leading edge of aircraft structures, particularly in aerodynamics and heat transfer. His later work in gas dynamics at very high altitude flight proved relevant to atmospheric re-entry and ballistic missile defense. He was involved in environmental issues and became the first director of Caltech's Environmental Quality Laboratory. His many appointments included membership in the President's Scientific Advisory Board.

[Michael Denman (2nd ed.)]

LEESER, ISAAC (1806–1868), U.S. rabbi, writer, and educator. Leeser, who was born in Westphalia, Germany (then Prussia), was eight when his mother died. His father took him to Dulmen, near Muenster, where he was reared by his grandmother and began his formal education. He studied with Rabbi Benjamin Cohen, and then with Rabbi Abraham Sutro, who was an ardent opponent of Reform. Leeser obtained his secular education at the gymnasium of Muenster. In 1824 he went to America to work for his uncle in Richmond, Virginia. He published his first article, a defense of Judaism against a defamatory article that had appeared in a New York newspaper, in 1825. The essay attracted wide notice and in 1829 the Sephardi congregation, Mikveh Israel of Philadelphia, invited him to be its *ḥazzan*. Leeser was the first to introduce a regular English sermon into the synagogue service. In 1843 he founded the monthly *The Occident*, the first successful Jewish newspaper. For 25 years, this was an important forum for articles on Jewish life and thought. Leeser was its editor, chief contributor, bookkeeper, and sometimes even typesetter. Leeser advocated the Americanization of Judaism through translations and sermons in English. He also insisted on decorum and beauty in services. He was in the words of Jonathan Sarna "the foremost traditionalist leader for three decades," an advocate of regeneration. On the major American issue of his day, slavery, Leeser, like Isaac Mayer *Wise, advocated compromise rather than war.

Leeser founded the first Jewish Publication Society of America and brought many important works to the attention of the American Jewish community. He published the first Hebrew primer for children (1838), the first complete English translation of the Sephardi prayer book (1848), and numerous textbooks for children. He founded the first Hebrew high school (1849), the first Jewish representative and defense organization in 1859 (the Board of Delegates of American Israelites), Maimonides College, and the first American Jewish rabbinical school in 1867. His major literary achievement was the first American translation of the Bible, a work that took him 17 years to complete, and was published in 1845. This became the standard American Jewish translation of the Bible until the new Jewish Publication Society translation of 1917. Leeser's later years were clouded by poverty and the fact that his congregation did not appreciate his many activities on the national scene. Toward the end of his life, his friends formed a congregation, Beth El Emeth, for him. Leeser was a traditionalist who did much to stem the tide of Reform. Although he was identified with the Sephardi community his influence affected the entire community and he laid the foundations for many of the key institutions of present-day Jewish life. His contributions to every area of Jewish culture and religion made him a major builder of American Judaism.

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[Jack Riemer / Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

LEEUW, AVRAHAM DE (1898–), Israeli hydraulic engineer. Born in Holland, de Leeuw immigrated to Palestine in 1924. Beginning in the Tel Aviv municipality, he became chief engineer of Palestine Potash Ltd., of Fertilisers and Chemicals Ltd. (1936–49), and of the Tahal national irrigation and power scheme (1949–57). De Leeuw was director of and later adviser on soil conversion in Israel. From 1957 he was professor of civil engineering at the Technion, Haifa, and head of its hydraulics laboratory.

LEEUW, JACOB BEN ḤAYYIM (Heymann) DE (1811–1883), Dutch talmudist. De Leeuw was born in Leiden, but also resided for some time in 's Hertogenbosch. In 1874 he went to Amsterdam, where he taught in the *bet midrash* Eẓ Ḥayyim. He was the author of expositions and novellae on various themes in tractate *Ketubbot* which were entitled *Shoshannat Ya'akov* (1848); *Peri Eẓ Ḥayyim* (1852), with additional notes (1853); *Mishkenot ha-Ro'im* (1854); *Naḥalat Ya'akov* (1857), in the introduction to which he took issue with Phinehas ha-Levi Horowitz, author of the *Hafla'ah*, on the subject of whether money may be extracted from its possessor by a majority decision; and *Ḥelek Ya'akov* (1858). He also wrote *Aḥuzzat Mere'im* (1879), novellae on tractate *Beẓah*, and *Beit Ya'akov* (1880), on the first seven chapters of *Ḥullin*.

°LE FÈVRE DE LA BODERIE, GUY (Faber Boderianus; 1541–1598), French poet and Christian Hebraist. La Boderie was a pupil of the eccentric genius Guillaume *Postel and served the duke of Alençon as secretary and interpreter. He collaborated with Benito Arias *Montano in editing the second Complutensian Bible, the credit for which he later disputed with the Spaniard. Among La Boderie's contributions to this polyglot Bible (printed by Christophe *Plantin at Antwerp, 1568–72) were the Syriac version of the New Testament, and an Aramaic lexicon (*Dictionarium Syro-Chaldaicum*). The latter work displays the author's predilection for the Kabbalah, a significant element in his French verse. An honored associate of the celebrated *Pléiade* group of poets, La Boderie was moderate in his religious and his political views and remained aloof both from the Huguenots and from the Catholic League. Metrical renderings of the Psalms abound in his works, which include *L'Encyclie des secrets de l'éternité* (1571) and the epic *La Galliade* (1578). These long poems are full of biblical and rabbinic references and Franco-Hebraic conceits. *L'Harmonie du Monde* (1579), one of his many translations, expanded Francesco *Giorgio's Christian interpretation of the Kabbalah. La Boderie's "Gallic" exposition of such motifs as the cockerel, lily, and **menorah* was inspired by the Zohar and by *Baḥya ben Asher's mystical exegesis. His brother, NICOLAS LE FÈVRE DE LA BODERIE (1550–1613), was also a Hebraist and contributed to the Antwerp polyglot Bible. He wrote *Ad nobiliores linguas… Isagoge* (1588) and a lengthy kabbalistic preface to the French translation (1570) of *Pico della Mirandola's *Heptaplus*.

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[Godfrey Edmond Silverman]

LEFKOWITZ, DAVID (1941–), *ḥazzan* and composer. Lefkowitz was born in Cleveland. From childhood he sang in the choir of his father, the cantor and composer Jacob Lefkowitz, and appeared with him in concerts and on radio programs. He studied cantorial music with his father as well as at the Cantorial School of the Jewish Theological Seminary in New York. He studied at the University of Pittsburgh and at the Juilliard School in New York. At the age of 18 he began to serve as cantor at the Ocean Parkway Jewish Center in

Brooklyn, at Temple Emanuel in Paterson, New Jersey, and at the Park Avenue Synagogue in New York, where he was chief cantor from 1976. He has a lyric tenor voice, and appeared on radio and television programs in the United States. Every year he arranges a special prayer service at his synagogue in which he performs some of the classical repertoire of the cantorial world as well as compositions written especially for him. He has produced records of portions of the prayer service, and composed, rescued, and edited rare synagogue works (such as David *Nowakowsky's works) from many periods and in many styles. Lefkowitz was the vice president of the American Society for Jewish Music and served as the vice president and music director of the David Nowakowsky Foundation and as a faculty member of the School of Sacred Music at Hebrew Union College. His honors include the David Putterman Award from the Cantor's Assembly (2003) for Lifetime Achievement in the Cantorate, and a 2003–4 appointment to the Rabbinical Assembly Law Committee.

[Akiva Zimmerman / Israela Stein (2nd ed.)]

LEFKOWITZ, LOUIS (1904–1966), New York attorney general, a leading Jewish Republican politician. Born in New York City, he was a graduate of Fordham Law School and practiced law briefly before being elected to the New York State Assembly at the age of 23. For a time he was a judge at New York's Municipal Court. In 1956 he replaced Jacob *Javits, the leading New York Jewish Republican politician of his age, as attorney general when Javits was elected to the Senate. Javits was less than pleased to be replaced by a club politician. Over time they worked together harmoniously. Lefkowitz served as attorney general for a record 22 years. He attempted to seek a different office when he ran for New York City's mayor against Robert F. Wagner in 1961 when Wagner sought a third term as mayor.

As a young man he found the settlement house as a haven to escape the New York slums of the Lower East Side. "They were havens," he said. "You had gymnasium privileges, swimming. You could take a bath more often than at home." He joined a club called the Solons at the University Settlement. It was from that base that he ran for public office, relentlessly campaigning door-to-door, asking voters for their support or at least not to humiliate him. He won. When he first came to office Al Smith was governor; when he retired in 1978 Hugh Carey was the governor.

As a political leader he was the master of street campaigning, remembering names, greeting voters, eating ethnic food. His term of office long overlapped with another liberal Republican, Governor Nelson Rockefeller, who was both a mentor and a protégé. He was one of the few men who stayed at the Executive Mansion as a guest of Rockefeller, a politician whom he taught to eat blintzes and to down hot dogs, not quite a patrician taste in foods.

His successor, the long-time Jewish Democratic Attorney General Robert *Abrams, the man whom he had defeated in 1974, said: "Historically, the Attorney General's office played a defensive role – defending the state whenever the state was sued. In the modern era, it began to take the offensive lead on behalf of the public interest by bringing lawsuits. He took a particular lead in doing that in the consumer-protection area." Lefkowitz was known as "the people's lawyer."

With Jacob Javits, Louis Lefkowitz, Robert Abrams, and Eliot *Spitzer, the role of attorney general of New York for almost all of the last half of the 20th century and well into the first decade of the 21st century was held by Jewish political leaders proud of their Jewish roots.

[Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

LEFRAK, SAMUEL J. (1918–2003), U.S. builder and philanthropist. A champion of middle-income housing, the Brooklyn-born LeFrak headed a family company that produced more living space than any other in the years after World War II. Through four decades, LeFrak led the Lefrak Organization, founded in the United States by his grandfather, Aaron, in 1905, putting up almost 200,000 houses and apartments in the New York City area. He said he "went into the business" at the age of eight, carrying buckets of water and nails for workmen at construction sites. When he started working for the family company full time in 1940 it was building army camps and housing. His father, who had bought a 2,000-acre farm in Brooklyn in the 1920s and had been building there long before World War II, turned the presidency over to him in 1948. He held it until 1975, when his son, Richard, became president, with Samuel retaining the title of chairman. After he took over the company, he built wherever he could buy reasonably priced land, always following the principle that housing should be close to subways, schools, and shopping. "I adopted another S – safe," he said.

LeFrak's signature building was a six-story brick apartment house, a standard feature of Brooklyn and Queens, and his buildings stressed security systems that were advanced for their day. His Lefrak City, with 5,000 apartments and two million feet of retail space, included swimming pools, doormen, and television surveillance in the elevators. At Battery Park City in Lower Manhattan in the early 1980s, he built 1,800 apartments and in the 1990s there was his Newport development on the Hudson River shorefront in Jersey City, a $10 billion residential and commercial project that can house 35,000 people.

A noted art collector and philanthropist, he served on the boards of 36 hospitals, colleges, and schools, and many buildings are named for him and his wife, the former Ethel Stone, whom he married in 1941. They include a concert hall at Queens College, a gymnasium at Amherst College, a meadow in Flushing, Queens, a learning center at Temple Emanu-El in Manhattan, and a classroom building with an amphitheater at the University of Maryland, which he attended. He financed expeditions in underwater archeology, once in search of seventh-century Byzantine shipwrecks off the coast of Israel. He also helped finance a search for Noah's Ark, which the Turkish government refused to allow to go forward, and the successful search for the SS Titanic.

[Stewart Kampel (2nd ed.)]

LEFSCHETZ, SOLOMON (1884–1972), U.S. mathematician. Born in Moscow, Lefschetz received his doctorate in 1911 at Clarke University. During the years 1907 to 1910 he was employed by the Westinghouse Electric Manufacturing Company at Pittsburgh. He began his academic career in 1911 as an instructor at the University of Nebraska and after a number of appointments became research professor at Princeton University after 1933. He made important and significant contributions to algebraic geometry, topology, and differential equations. Among his published works are *Algebraic Topology* (1942); *Algebraic Geometry* (1953); *Differential Equations* (1957); and *Stability Theory of Liapunov.*

LEFTWICH, JOSEPH (1892–1984), English author, editor, and anthologist. Born Joseph Lefkowitz in Holland, Leftwich eventually became head of the London branch of the Jewish Telegraphic Agency (1921–1936). He made his name as an authority on Jewish and Yiddish literature, translating works by Sholem Asch, Max Brod, I.L. Peretz, Zalman Schneour and Stefan Zweig. The Nazis' rise to power stirred him to write *What Will Happen to the Jews?* (1936) and *The Tragedy of Anti-Semitism* (in collaboration with A.K. Chesterton, 1948). He also wrote *Yiddish Language and Literature* (1944), and studies of Herzl (1942) and Zangwill (1957). Leftwich edited two influential anthologies: *Yisröel, the First Jewish Omnibus* (1933; revised 1963), a wide selection, in English, from the Jewish literature of many countries, and *The Golden Peacock* (1939), translations from Yiddish poetry. He published a new anthology of Yiddish essays in English translation, *The Way We Think* (2 vols., 1969). He served from 1945 as director of the British Federation of Jewish Relief Organizations. Leftwich was a friend and associate of such noted East End cultural figures as Isaac *Rosenberg and Mark *Gertler, and coined the name the "Whitechapel Boys" for their group.

LEGAL MAXIMS, concise statements of the law as it is or, often, succinct statements embodying a guiding principle established in law. The word *kelal*, in one of its varied meanings, is the Hebrew equivalent of a legal maxim. "The burden of proof is on the plaintiff" (BK 3:11), for example, is referred to as "a great maxim of jurisprudence" (*kelal gadol ba-din*; BK 46a; see also *Evidence).

Historical Periods

The wealth of Jewish legal maxims is essentially talmudic. The great corpus of tannaitic and amoraic literature contains hundreds of maxims, i.e., legal rules and principles of jurisprudence stated in brief form and summary fashion.

OF BIBLICAL ORIGIN. Even maxims which can be traced back to the Bible owe their epigrammatic popularity to the Talmud. These "biblical" maxims are of three types: a literal quotation of a verse or of a part thereof, "At the mouth of two witnesses… shall a matter be established" (Deut. 19:15, cited very frequently in talmudic literature); a condensation of a biblical verse: "Do not place a wicked man as a witness" (Sanh. 27a; cf. Ex. 23:1); and a standardized, non-literal interpretation of a verse: "According to the majority [of judges] must the case be decided" (Sanh. 1:6; cf. Ex. 23:2).

TANNAITIC TIMES. A great number of maxims were developed in post-biblical and tannaitic times. They are cited in tannaitic literature, often anonymously and without their validity being challenged: "A man's agent is like the man himself" (Mekh. Pisḥa 5); "Local custom decides everything" (BM 7:1); and "A condition made contrary to an express biblical law is void" (Ket. 9:1; see *Contract). A number of tannaitic rules and maxims, on the other hand, represent minority opinions and are not binding: "Marriage takes no effect when there is a prohibitory law against it" (Akiva, Ket. 29b). Other tannaitic *kelalim*, although accepted, were disputed (cf., e.g., L. Ginzberg, *Perushim ve-Ḥiddushim ba-Yerushalmi*, 2 (1941), 159–64, on the rule, "Women are exempt from positive commandments which have a time limit"; Kid. 34a).

AMORAIC PERIOD. A significant increase in the wealth of legal maxims was accomplished by the *amoraim*. Many are recorded in the Jerusalem Talmud; for example: "No price can be put on a *Sefer Torah*" (BM 4:6) and "Unless otherwise stipulated, partners are to divide equally" (Ket. 10:4). A great wealth of maxims is found in the Babylonian Talmud; for example: "There is no agent in wrongful acts," a maxim explained by the following one: "If the Master's [God's] words conflict with the pupil's [the principal's] words, whose words shall we [who are called upon to act as agent] obey?" (Kid. 42b); and "Any acquisition made in error is voidable" (Git. 14a). All these are cited anonymously; many others are quoted in the name of the *amora* who first formulated them. "Less than the legal quantity is forbidden by the law of the Torah" (Johanan, Yoma 73b); "No man is presumed to have paid his debt before the time due" (Simeon b. Lakish, BB 5 a–b); and "A man is a kinsman unto himself, hence no man may incriminate himself" (Rava, Sanh. 9b; see *Confession). The *amoraim* succeeded in introducing numerous Aramaic legal maxims: "The law of the state is law" (**Dina de-Malkhuta Dina*; Git. 10b); "Force majeure (**Ones*) is excused by the law" (BK 28b) and "The stronger wins" (Git. 60b; see *Extraordinary Remedies). There appears to be no correlation between language and geography; Aramaic and Hebrew maxims were formulated by Babylonian and Palestinian *amoraim* equally.

Post-talmudic authorities coined very few maxims of law. A few such legal maxims may be gleaned from midrashic and medieval works: "One makes a festive meal to celebrate the conclusion of the Torah reading" (Song R. 1:1, no. 9). They usually contain moral overtones: "As long as advocacy for the accused has not ceased, the trial is not over" (*Midrash Sekhel Tov*, Gen. 19:1); "One cannot serve two masters" (Israel Davidson, *Oẓar ha-Meshalim ve-ha-Pitgamim*, 12, no. 126).

The Mishnaic *Kelal*

Of special interest is the mishnaic *kelal*. The Mishnah often formulates a general statement which summarizes numerous particulars. Sometimes the general statement is found at the beginning of a bill of particulars; sometimes it is found at the end. In the former case, the general statement is introduced by the expression "A general rule have they [the rabbis] stated" (*kelal ameru*, e.g., Pe'ah 1:4), or "A great rule have they stated" (*kelal gadol ameru*; e.g., Shab 7:1). In the latter, the general statement is introduced by the expression, "This is the general rule" (*zeh ha-kelal*; e.g., Ket. 3:9. For details cf. Frankel, Mishnah, 306f.; see also *Codification of the Law). Like the Roman *regula*, the mishnaic *kelal* summarizes the law without being an authentic or complete expression of the law. The Roman jurist proclaims, "The law is not derived from the *regula*, rather the *regula* is deduced from the law" (Paulus, D. 50:17, 1). Similarly, a basic rule of mishnaic exegesis is enunciated by the Babylonian Talmud, "We deduce nothing from general statements" *Ein lemedin min ha-kelalot* (Kid. 34a). The Jerusalem Talmud expressed the same idea as follows, "The general statements made by Rabbi [Judah ha-Nasi, editor of the Mishnah] are not general statements" (*Leit kelalin de-Rabbi kelalan*; Ter. 1:1).

A good illustration of the nonauthoritative nature of the mishnaic *kelal* is found in the talmudic analysis of Mishnah *Kiddushin* 1:7. The Mishnah reads: "(a) With regard to all positive commandments which have a time limit – men are obligated and women are exempt; (b) With regard to all positive commandments which have no time limit – men and women are equally obligated; (c) With regard to negative commandments, regardless of whether they have or do not have a time limit – men and women are equally obligated except for the prohibitions of shaving [with a razor, Lev. 19:27], of removing sidelocks [*ibid.*], and of *kohanim* defiling themselves by contact with a human corpse [Lev. 21:1]. These three exceptions apply to men, not to women."

The Talmud (Kid. 34a–36a) records that, in "violation" of paragraph (a), women are obligated to observe the commandments of *mazzah* (Ex. 12:18), rejoicing on festivals (Deut. 16:14), and participation in the public assembly on Sukkot every seventh year (Deut. 31:12), although these commandments are positive and have a time limit. In "violation" of paragraph (b), women are exempt from the commandments of Torah study (Deut. 11:19), procreation (Gen. 1:28), and the redemption of the firstborn son (Ex. 13:13). Paragraph (c), however, admits of no exceptions. This would lead one to assume that a general statement which limits itself by adding "except for" is indeed authoritative, for the very concern for exceptions would appear to indicate the accuracy of the general statement in non-excepted instances. R. Johanan, a Palestinian *amora* of the third century, was therefore careful to point out, "We cannot learn from general principles, even where exceptions are stated" (see his proof from Er. 3:1). Thus, even where exceptions are specified, the *kelal* is not a truly general statement. As a result, Maimonides (Commentary on the Mishnah, Kid. 1:7) states that the word *kol* ("all," "every") in a *kelal*-statement must be understood as meaning nothing more than *rov* ("most").

Some would limit the rule, "We cannot learn from general principles," to general statements introduced by the word *kol*, as, for example, the *mishnayot* from *Kiddushin* and *Eruvin* cited in the previous two paragraphs (R. Jacob Berab, Nov. Kid. 34a, in: *Sefer ha-Yovel… B.M. Lewin*, 222f.). Other authorities are of the opinion that the rule applies to statements formulated as a *kelal* as well (Nov. Ran, Meg. 19b). The rule is limited in application, however, only to those statements whose general nature is challenged by facts adduced from authoritative sources: "We on our own may not reject a general *kelal* which we have as a tradition from the rabbis; for if we do so, there is no limit and we can no longer depend upon our Talmud as edited, for it consists mainly of general statements" (*kelalot*; Rosh, Shevu. 6, para. 5). The Talmud itself never rejected a *kelal* except out of necessity or in deference to an oral tradition regarding the exception to the *kelal*; without such necessity or in the absence of an oral tradition, the accuracy of the general statement is to be accepted (Pseudo-Rashba, Men. 6b). Although the rule, "We cannot learn from *kelalot*," was formulated by the *amoraim* concerning general statements found in the tannaitic sources, the matter is disputed whether the rule holds true regarding amoraic *kalalim* as well (cf. *Yad Malakhi*, Kelalei Alef, 23). A similar dispute exists as to whether the rule applies equally to general statements found in the codes (R. Ẓevi Hirsch Ashkenazi, *Ḥakham Ẓevi*, 55, says that the rule does not apply; R. Jacob Reicher, *Ḥok Ya'akov*, 429, n. 8, and R. Alexander Schorr, *Tevu'ot Shor*, 32, n. 6, maintain that the rule does apply).

Compilations of Maxims

A bibliography of Hebrew works containing legal maxims, rules, and general principles is found in P. Jacob Kohn, *Oẓar ha-Be'urim ve-ha-Perushim* (1952), 448–62. Other books (published after 1952 and therefore not included in Kohn's bibliography) containing lists of maxims and rules are ET (as titles of individual articles); Elon, Mafte'aḥ, 405–412; Y.Y. Ḥasidah, *Oẓar Ma'amrei Halakhah* (3 vols., 1959–60); Joseph Schechter, *Oẓar ha-Talmud David Etrog, Peri Eẓ Hadar* (1952). The following works contain lists of Hebrew legal maxims, translated and explained in English: Lewis N. Dembitz, s.v. *Maxims, Legal*, in: *Jewish Encyclopedia*, vol. 8 (1904); George Horowitz, *The Spirit of Jewish Law* (1953), 99–104; M. Mielziner, *Legal Maxims and Fundamental Laws* (1898).

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[Aaron Kirschenbaum]

LEGAL PERSON, a body of men or of property which the law, in imitation of the personality of human beings, treats artificially as subject of rights and duties independent of its component parts. The classic example of a legal person is the corporation. Although the most familiar type of corporation is that engaged in business activities, history has witnessed corporations formed as the vehicle for charitable enterprises, cooperative nonprofit-making enterprises, municipal and governmental operations, and religious and social activities. For example, in the classical Roman legal system, the *universitates* – corporate groups which possessed common treasuries and were endowed with a legal personality separate and distinct from that of their individual members – included various municipal and religious, as well as industrial and trading, associations. The corporation has usually featured the following characteristics: a name common to the aggregate of its component individuals or properties; a life independent of the lives of its components; the possession of privileges or rights, liabilities or duties, which do not inhere in its membership as individuals; and the divorce of ownership and management, with the authority of the managers to act as the agents and representatives of the corporation being conferred, limited, and determined not by the consent of the owners but by the law itself.

Talmudic and Post-Talmudic Law

Traditional Jewish law apparently did not recognize the type of ownership implied in the idea of the corporation. Common ownership is ordinarily expressed in terms of *partnership (*shuttafut*; Maim. Yad, Sheluḥin ve-Shuttafin 4–10; Tur. and Sh. Ar., ḤM 157–82). The salient differences whereby the partnership may be distinguished from the corporation are: the continued existence of a partnership is dependent upon the lives of the partners or their respective heirs; the privileges, rights, liabilities, and duties associated with a partnership inhere almost directly in the individual members of the association; the manager of a partnership enterprise is construed as the agent of the component members. Although the corporation is not a juristic category in the classical sources of Jewish law, scholars have attempted, with various degrees of success, to find types of associations and proprietal arrangements in Jewish history which parallel or approximate the corporation and which may be regarded as embodiments of the concept of the legal or artificial person. The fruits of these attempts may be summarized as follows:

Hekdesh

*Hekdesh, the term for objects, animals, and money consecrated for the upkeep of the Temple precincts and for the sacrificial service therein. The administrator of this corporate body was the Temple treasurer (*gizbar*). All Temple properties were placed under the jurisdiction of the *gizbar*, at whose discretion acquisitions and sales of these properties were controlled and who was empowered to represent the interests of the Temple in litigation (Ḥag. 11a; BM 58a). Thus the typical feature of the modern corporation, the divorce of ownership and management, was the salient characteristic of *hekdesh* – for God was viewed as the "owner" and the *gizbar* the manager thereof.

On the other hand, the Temple corporation was unique in the world of commerce. Its acquisition of property was by consecration and its sales were by redemption; thus its transactions were governed by special rules. Moreover, there were numerous regulations that were inapplicable to *hekdesh* possessions, e.g., the rules of overreaching (*ona'ah) did not apply to Temple property, so that valuable properties could be redeemed at the cost of a perutah, the smallest coin; theft of *hekdesh* property was not punishable by the normal legal sanctions; construction of *hekdesh* appurtenances was accomplished while the materials were still unsanctified, and their consecration to the Temple took place only after the construction was completed (BM 57b; BK 62b; Me'il. 14b). Hence the corporate body of Temple properties may not be regarded as a typical legal person, subject to the normal rights and duties attributed to human beings.

Benei ha-Ir

Benei ha-Ir, the name given to the municipal community in talmudic parlance. In the Talmud, the community is regarded as an aggregate of the individuals who comprise its membership. The legal definition of this aggregate is that of a partnership. Thus, no member of the community could act as a witness in matters which affected communal property; he was disqualified as an interested party. The governing body of the community, known as the "seven notables of the city" (*shivah tovei ha-ir*), was regarded as an agent of the citizenry, and its acts had to be ratified by the citizenry meeting as a body (*be-ma'amad benei ha-ir*; Meg. 26a).

In post-talmudic jurisprudence, the community was converted from a juridical partnership to a corporate body with numerous features characteristic of a legal person. Communal transactions were no longer regarded as those of its constituent members. Municipal ordinances (takkanot *ha-kahal) could no longer be vetoed by individual citizens; the ruling of the majority members of the governing body was binding on all members of the community. Members of the community, no longer regarded as interested parties, were accepted as witnesses in matters affecting the municipality (see *Beit Yosef*, ḤM 37, notes 12 and 14; *Sma*, ḤM 156, note 6). Thus the body politic came to be clothed with an existence juridically independent of the citizens who comprised it.

Havurat Ẓedakah

Havurat Ẓedakah, the communal charity fund, which eventually evolved into a legal person. In the Talmud, the poor were construed as owners of the monies deposited in the charity fund, and the communal collectors were viewed as their agents (BK 36b). This created disadvantages for the poor, for the rule of procedure in the Talmud was that interests of indeterminate plaintiffs were not actionable (mamon she-ein lo tovin, Rashi, BK 93a). As in the case of benei ha-ir, here, too, post-talmudic jurisprudence endowed charity funds with the character of an artificial person. An association (ḥavurah) founded for charitable purposes was regarded as somewhat akin to the modern corporation, i.e., an aggregate of property earmarked for specific purpose, with the ḥavurah construed as the means created for the advancement of this purpose. The collectors and administrators of the charitable ḥavurah were henceforth classed as its managerial staff fully authorized to conduct its affairs. This authorization included the power to bring suit in court to protect the interests of the funds under its supervision (see Beit Yosef, ḤM 149, note 37; Netivot ha-Mishpat, ḤM 149, Mishpat ha-Kohanim, note 46). It is quite possible that an additional example of a legal person in Jewish history may be found among the *Qumran and *Essene sects, which were based upon the renunciation of private property on the part of their members (cf. E. Koffmahn, in Biblica, 42 (1961), 433–42, and 44 (1963), 46–61).

In Modern Rabbinic Law

The problem of the corporation and its application to Jewish law has arisen in the following areas:

Interest on Loans

Inasmuch as Jewish law forbids lending and borrowing money on interest to or from Jews (see *Usury), the question has arisen whether (or how) Jewish people may conduct the normal transactions involved in banking, *insurance, and the like, and whether (or how) they may invest in such companies without violating the religious restrictions created by the participation of other Jewish people therein.

Sabbath Law

The religious restriction on labor on the Sabbath includes the prohibition of aiding and abetting, as well as deriving benefit from, the labor of others, non-Jews and, more so, Jews. How may a Jew be a stockholder in a company whose operations include Sabbath labor?

Passover Restrictions

A Jew may not eat, derive benefit from, or possess *ḥameẓ* during the Passover season. How do these restrictions affect the permissibility to invest in companies which do business with *ḥameẓ*?

The response of the rabbinic authorities of the past one hundred years has been divided. The controversy may be summarized in the following manner. One school of rabbis is of the opinion that, inasmuch as the traditional sources do not recognize the concept of legal personality in normal commerce and trade, the corporation is, halakhically, nothing more than the conventional partnership. Hence, the rules of partnership are to be applied to the questions of loans on interest, Sabbath labor, and *ḥamez*, and only the dispensations traditionally allowed within the framework of partnerships may be allowed with regard to corporations. These, it must be added, are highly circumscribed (e.g., Solomon Ganzfried, *Kiẓẓur Shulḥan Arukh* 65:28 and Isaac Wasserman, in: *No'am*, 3 (1960), 195–203, regarding loans; Moses Feinstein, *Iggerot Moshe*, vol. 1, OḤ 90, regarding the Sabbath; Israel Be'eri, in: *Ha-Torah ve-ha-Medinah*, 11–13 (1960–62), 454–62, regarding all three questions). Another group of authorities, although in agreement with the first group in refusing to recognize the corporation as a unique and novel halakhic category, has nevertheless, through involved reasoning, found ways of avoiding the traditional restrictions and has been able to permit Orthodox Jews to invest in and conduct transactions with corporations (e.g., Ẓevi Hirsch Shapiro, *Darkhei Teshuvah*, YD 160:15, note 121, and M.N. Lemberger, in: *No'am*, 2 (1959), 33–37; 4 (1961), 251–7. Both these authorities address themselves to the problem of loans. Moses Feinstein, *Iggerot Moshe*, EH 7, places great stress on the extent to which management is divorced from ownership).

There is, however, a third group of modern talmudists who have taken full cognizance of the divorce of ownership from management in the corporation and of the artificiality of the corporate personality. This school of rabbis has come to the resultant conclusion that the traditional restrictions placed upon individual businessmen or partnerships with regard to the laws of usury, Sabbath rest, and *ḥamez*, are inapplicable to the corporation (e.g., Aryeh Leib Horowitz, *Harei Besamim*, 115; Moses Sternbuch, *Mo'adim u-Zemannim*, vol. 1, p. 203f.; Joseph Rosin, *Ẓafenat Pa'ne'aḥ*, 184, regarding loans; David Ẓvi Hoffmann, *Melammed le-Ho'il*, OḤ 91, regarding *ḥameẓ*). Permission has also been granted to buy and sell shares in companies that do business in non-kosher foods, although an individual is forbidden by the *halakhah* to engage in regular transactions involving such foods (Gedaliah Felder, in: *Kol Torah*, 6 (1959), nos. 7–11).

In connection with the ritual requirement that one who "takes" the *lulav* and *etrog* on the holiday of Sukkot must have title in it in order to fulfill the commandment properly, an interesting discussion arose in the circles of the religious kibbutzim in Israel whether, and to what extent, the kibbutzim constituted a legal person and what their status was in the eyes of Jewish traditional law (cf. A. Nachlon, in: *Ammudim* (Ha-Kibbutz ha-Dati, 1956), nos. 123, 124; (1957), nos. 126, 128).

[Aaron Kirschenbaum]

A trend toward acknowledging the status of an association of people as a legal person was already discernible during the period of the *rishonim*, regarding the relationship between the members of the Jewish community and the *kahal* – the community council. A responsum of the Rashba evidences this trend, in a case concerning payment of taxes by community members for the community's needs. According to the responsum, when the community council took a loan to finance the needs of the community, it was entitled to make an enactment that each member of the community would pay his portion of the loan according to his financial position at the time of repayment, notwithstanding that, according to the rules of partnership, the partners' obligation to repay a loan is determined in relation to their share in the partnership at the time the loan was taken. Following this line of reasoning, the community's debt should be repaid according to the financial position of each member of the community at the time the loan was taken. In the responsum, the new enactment is explained as reflecting the difference between the private law governing a loan received by individual partners, as opposed to the public law governing a loan received by the community:

> A community that borrows for public needs differs from those who borrow for themselves, for it borrows on behalf of the communal treasury on the assumption that it will pay the debt out of what is found in the treasury at the time of payment. This is the custom everywhere. Those who were poor and became wealthy or were wealthy and became poor… pay only according to the assessment made against each at the time of payment. This is our practice and it would be impossible to function otherwise … (Resp. Rashba, III, no. 412).

This was, however, a special provision regarding the amount of the tax payable (see Bibliography, Elon (1988), 626–629; idem, (1994) 773–78), and should be viewed as only the first step towards developing a special status for a public organization as distinguished from the status of the individual.

In the Rulings of the Rabbinical Courts in Israel – Incorporation by Means of Custom

In the Israeli rabbinical courts, the question of the existence and identity of a corporation as an independent legal person was dealt with from a number of perspectives not dealt with above. In the *Shikun u-Fitu'aḥ* case (3301/717/1965, 6 PDR 315; Regional Rabbinical Court, Tel Aviv), the rabbinical court considered the validity and applicability of a corporate obligation for which its managers and workers, or those working on its behalf, bore no personal liability, all the corporate transactions being secured exclusively by the corporate assets. In addressing this question, the rabbinical court cited two views: The first view regards an encumbrance on assets as applying to the assets as such, as entities existing independent of the corporation. Accordingly, there is nothing to prevent an analogy being drawn from assets to a corporation. In other words, even if the corporation itself is not a recognized legal person, the obligation would be valid by force of the encumbrance of its assets. The second view, however, regards the encumbrance of assets as being effected exclusively by force of the guarantee, i.e., the encumbrance of the property stems from the obligation of the one undertaking the obligation (*Piskei ha-Rosh*, *Kiddushin,* 1:10; *Avnei Miluim,* 29:10). According to this view, a corporate obligation would only be valid if the law were to recognize the corporation as a legal person. The rabbinical court ruled that the corporate obligation must be recognized in any event, notwithstanding the uncertainty of the definition of the legal entity giving the undertaking, given that the only issue involved is the encumbrance of assets, insofar as the custom, as well as the law of the state, recognize the validity of corporate obligations (see *Minhag; *Dina de-Malkhuta Dina).

In a later decision (11183/1972, 10 PDR 273, 285ff.), the rabbinical court took another step in the same direction, holding that a corporation should be viewed as an independent legal entity, and hence the legal validity of its actions be recognized. This decision dealt with a plaintiff who had hired the services of a company to do work for him. The defendants claimed that the company's original owners had died and that they, the defendants, were merely their heirs, who had inherited ownership of the company. The rabbinical court had to decide, inter alia, if the heirs should themselves be considered the defendants, in which case there would be difficulties in recovering the debt (see *Orphan), or whether the defendant is the company itself, in its capacity as an autonomous legal entity. The rabbinical court rejected the assumption, expressed by halakhic authorities of recent generations, that "it is impossible to invent new definitions of ownership that have no Talmudic basis," relying on the halakhic principle whereby "a person who contracts [i.e., makes a stipulation] contrary to what is written in the Torah in a civil matter – his contract (stipulation) is valid" – and the *halakhah* accords binding force to the custom of traders (*sitomta;* the rabbinical court refers to Resp. Maharashdam, ḤM, no.380; Resp. Divrei Ḥayyim, vol. 2, ḤM no. 26; *Minḥat Ḥinukh*, *mitzvah* 42). The rabbinical court ruled that this legal entity may be viewed as an "encumbrance of property without an encumbrance of the body," and may therefore be classified as belonging to the same rubric as "the public" – a concept already recognized as a legal entity in its own right, as distinct from the individual, in Talmudic literature.

The *Wilozni* decision (HCJ 323/81, *Wilozni v. The Rabbinical Court of Appeals*, 36(2) PD 733) contains an extensive discussion (per Justice Menachem Elon) of the problem of the relationship between Jewish law and another legal system within which it operates (*ibid.*, p. 740ff). At the beginning of its discussion, the Court notes that in the rabbinical court, by dint of the doctrine of "**dina de-malkhuta dina*," the law of the general legal system is given binding effect but, as a result of this doctrine, does not become part of the Jewish legal system (*ibid.*, p. 740). In its decision the Court further stated as follows:

> Sometimes Jewish law not only recognizes the binding effect of the law of another legal system, but even incorporates that law as a part of the Jewish legal system itself. The legal source by means of which this is accomplished is custom. When the people conduct their activities according to a particular legal norm, this norm is recognized, under certain circumstances, as a part of Jewish law; and the norm is sometimes effective even if contrary to a specific rule of Jewish civil law. Just as two individuals may agree in a civil law matter to contract out of a law contained in the Torah, so, *a fortiori*, the public may stipulate by means of a custom to opt out of an existing halakhic rule in a matter of civil law (see, for example, the responsum of Samuel de Medina (Salonika, 16th century), *Resp. Maharashdam*, ḤM No. 380). This principle is expressed in the formulation "custom overrides the law" (TJ BM 7.1). I have already dealt with this in detail in the context of the incorporation of the law concerning joint ownership of property (see CA 2/66, p. 15–17; M. Elon, *Ha-Mishpat ha-Ivri* (1988), pp. 713 ff., 739 ff.; regarding the law governing joint ownership of property; see also under *Matrimonial Property; **Dina de-Malkhuta Dina*). Custom as a legal source in Jewish law is known by the technical term *sitomta* (meaning "seal"), from the case precedent discussed in the Talmud concerning the customary practice of purchasing wine by affixing a seal on the barrel; it was in conjunction with that practice that the principle of the creative power and binding force and the creation of custom was developed and elabo-

> rated (TB BM 74a). The doctrine of custom served as the means for extensive developments in various areas of Jewish law, particularly regarding the laws of acquisitions and obligations …" (see *Minhag for an extensive discussion).

To substantiate its position, the Court cites examples from halakhic sources and the decisions of the rabbinical courts, inter alia the example of "incorporation of the concept of a legal person" in the rabbinical court decisions dealt with above.

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LEGHORN (**Livorno**), main port of Tuscany, central Italy. In the middle of the 16th century, when Leghorn was a miserable, malaria-infested village, its rulers, the Medici, decided to turn it into an important port and to attract foreigners to settle it. An invitation was accordingly issued by Cosimo I in 1548, but although of benefit to fugitive Marranos who could have found asylum there, his project met with little success. After 1590 Ferdinand I issued new invitations with more attractive promises. The official invitation issued on June 10, 1593, was addressed to the merchants of every nation, but in reality the majority of its articles were directed to the Jews who had lived as Christians in Spain and Portugal. The charter – usually called "Livornina" – guaranteed full religious liberty, amnesty for crimes previously committed, the opportunity for "Marranos" to return to Judaism unmolested, a large exemption from taxation, and commercial freedom. The Grand Duke authorized the heads of the community (*massari*) to accept the settlers and grant them the privileges of the charter; the five *massari* (later assisted by 12 deputies) exercised full civil jurisdiction among the Jews, and partly also criminal jurisdiction. All commercial suits were decided according to the laws of the Grand Duchy of Tuscany, but the right was given to the parties to be judged according to rabbinical law. The *massari* constituted a sort of hereditary oligarchy composed of rich Sephardi merchants; only in 1715 were Italian Jews admitted to the government of the Nazione ebrea ("Jewish Nation," the name of the community until the 19th century). Settlers were given the opportunity of owning houses and exemption from wearing the Jewish *badge and from other vexations. The Nazione also had the right to inherit property left by Jews who died without direct heirs.

The Medici went ahead energetically with improvements to the town and harbor, which in 1675 received the status of a free port. Leghorn thus became an important center for the trade between the Atlantic and North Sea ports and those of the Mediterranean and the Near East. Both international and internal commerce was transacted mainly by the foreign communities or "nations" living in Leghorn, of which the "Jewish nation" soon became the largest and most influential. During the first few years the Jews were slow to arrive, but subsequently their numbers increased rapidly. There were 134 Jews in Leghorn in 1601; 711 in 1622; 1,250 in 1645; and approximately 2,400 in 1693. The new settlers were either of Spanish origin having arrived via North Africa or Turkey, or Marranos, mainly from Portugal; relatively few Jews came there from the Italian states. Thus Portuguese and Spanish became the only languages used officially by the Jews in Leghorn. In 1614, the Leghorn community seceded from the community of Pisa, on which it had until then been dependent, and subsequently became far more important. The Jews continued to enjoy the protection of the Medici, and the original promises given were adhered to, or only slightly revised. Even under the bigoted Cosimo III (d. 1723), the restrictions imposed upon the Jews in Leghorn were not serious, mainly relating to the employment of Christian wet-nurses and Turkish slaves, and sexual relations with Christian women. When the sovereignty of Tuscany passed to the house of Lorraine in 1737, this goodwill remained unaltered. The Jews benefited from the enlightened reforms of Leopold I (1745–1790), and in 1780 obtained, among other privileges, the right to have a representative on the municipal council. The number of Jews living in Leghorn increased from 3,476 in 1738 to 4,300 in 1784, and to 4,694 in 1806, amounting to one-eighth of the total population. Among the larger Italian communities, Leghorn Jewry was the only one to remain without a closed ghetto. Jewish residence was limited to a single, though fairly large, open quarter, though Christians were not permitted to reside in the houses of Jews.

At first the Jews in Leghorn specialized in certain industries, such as working of coral, which they exported as far as Russia and India, and soap and paper manufacture. Later, they utilized their family and commercial connections in various ports of the Mediterranean to develop a widespread bilateral trade. To facilitate this exchange, the Jews in Leghorn sent members of their families to Tripoli, Tunis, and Smyrna, whence others moved to Leghorn. Jews from Leghorn organized themselves in a special community in Tunis in 1685, calling themselves Grana (i.e., from Ligorno = Leghorn). This family and business exchange developed at the end of the 18th century, and even more so in the 19th century, particularly with Egypt. The Jews of Leghorn who settled in these regions constituted a sort of Mediterranean diaspora which embodied western values. In 1738, about 150 Jews owned houses in Leghorn, and in 1765 one-third of Leghorn's 150 commercial houses were Jewish-owned. Jews also owned shops of all types in the town, and were generally prosperous.

This situation deteriorated after the occupation of Leghorn by the French at various times after 1796. Not only was the port hard hit by the English blockade, but since parity was conceded to all by the French, the special privileges formerly held by the Jews were abrogated. They were partly restored in 1814, on the return of the grand dukes of Lorraine. However, after a few decades of recovery, the commercial importance of Leghorn began to wane when Tuscany was annexed to the Kingdom of Italy in 1859, and other ports began to show competition. These events were reflected in the fluctuations of the Jewish population. It dwindled to 4,497 in 1837 and rose to 4771 in 1841, after a temporary influx from other Italian towns; by the end of the 19th century, the number had diminished to 2,500. With the first emancipation of 1848, the Jews were allowed to take part in the Civil Guard of the Grand Duchy of Tuscany and declared equals in rights to all the other citizens of the State; in spite of the end of their privileges, the Jews of Leghorn generally welcomed this emancipation positively, in a patriotic Italian way. The same can be said after the second emancipation of 1859, when Italy became a unitary state. During the 19th and the beginning of the 20th centuries, the observance of religious practice diminished considerably, but the fidelity to the community remained steadfast far beyond the secularization process.

The golden age of Jewish Leghorn left many traces. Construction of a new synagogue was begun toward the end of the 16th century, but its subsequent enlargement and embellishment continued until 1789. The Leghorn synagogue became the most admired in Italy, and was visited by the grand dukes of Tuscany and foreign sovereigns.

The community in Leghorn maintained a varied and efficient network of institutions, including a considerable number for charitable or educational purposes. Most important were the *talmud torah*, a public and compulsory school where religious subjects were taught (from 1728 also a vernacular language – probably Spanish – arithmetic, and accounting), and the institutions providing for the ransom of Jewish prisoners, assistance to the poor in the Holy Land, and dowries for poor girls. There were also a number of yeshivot in Leghorn that trained the rabbis for the local community, and for many other communities in Europe and the Mediterranean area until World War II. Rabbis and *maskilim* (a lesser title) gathered in the Yeshiva Kelalit, a consultative council. Among the most eminent rabbis were Joseph *Ergas, *Malachi b. Jacob ha-Kohen, Hezekiah da *Silva, Immanuel Ḥay *Ricchi, David *Nieto, and Ḥayyim Joseph David *Azulai, who spent the last 30 years of his life in Leghorn. The poets Immanuel *Francés (1618–1710) and Abraham Isaac Castello (1726–1789) were members of the rabbinical institutions; Josef Attias (1672–1746) was an outstanding figure in the Italian Enlightenment; the family of Sir Moses *Montefiore originated from Leghorn; and Sabato *Morais, founder of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America, was born there. In the second half of the 19th century, the dominant figure in Jewish scholarship in Leghorn was the kabbalist Elijah *Benamozegh.

Leghorn also became a center of Hebrew printing. The first Hebrew press was set up by Jedidiah Gabbai (1650). Some 80 years later, Abraham b. Raphael Meldola, followed by his son Raphael, both with various partners, were active as Hebrew printers (1740–57). Sixteen other printers set up in Leghorn between 1763 and 1870, the most important being the house of Solomon Belforte (established in 1838) which supplied the North African and Levantine market with liturgical books until the outbreak of World War II. From 1600 to 1899, almost 1,300 Hebrew books were printed in the typographies of Leghorn, which was second in Italy only to Venice.

[Attilio Milano / Alessandro Guetta (2nd ed.)]

During the Holocaust at least 119 Jews were sent to Auschwitz from Nov. 12, 1943, out of the 2,235 who lived in the city in 1938; only 11 survived. Others were killed in the surrounding mountains, where the German army was very active. The well-known synagogue was partially destroyed in a bombing raid by the Allies, in 1944. At the end of the war about 1,000 Jews were living in Leghorn. Owing to emigration and rapid demographic decline, their number in 1965 was reduced to about 600 out of a total of 170,000 inhabitants. In 1962 a new synagogue was dedicated, financed by the Italian state; it was erected in the same place as the old one but in modern style, thus symbolizing continuity and hope for the future. In 1967 after the *Six-Day War, a few hundred Jews from Libya and other Arab countries arrived in Leghorn, partly attracted by the presence of a number of Jews from Tripoli. The community had an elementary Hebrew school until 1983.

[Sergio DellaPergola / Alessandro Guetta (2nd ed.)]

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LEGIO (**Tel Shalem**), a Roman settlement which grew up around the camp of the Legio Sexta Ferrata (Ironsides), and established on the site of the Jewish village of Kefar Otnay after the Bar Kokhba War (132–35).

The legion received the imperial (formerly Herodian) estates in the Jezreel Valley as its territory, later passing them on to the settlement which superseded the camp; hence the plain is known in patristic literature as Campus maximus Legionis ("the great plain of Legio"; Eusebius, Onom. 14:21; *Itinerarium Burdigalense*, 19:19).

Toward the end of the third century C.E., Legio received the name Maximianopolis in honor of the Emperor Maximian, Diocletian's co-ruler (Hierocles, *Synecdemus*, 720:10). In Byzantine times it was the seat of a bishop and belonged to

Palaestina Secunda. In Arab times its area in the vicinity of Megiddo was occupied by the village of al-Lajjūn.

A kibbutz called Megiddo has been established there since 1949. Ancient remains include a Roman theater and cemetery.

However, the most important of the remains is a bronze statue of Hadrian. The statue is slightly bigger than a person. It is probable that it stood in the Praetorium of the military camp. The Roman emperor is depicted dressed in a cuirass decorated with relief depicting a battle scene from the Aeneid. However, according to scholars it is possible that the battle scene is in fact an allegoric depiction of Hadrian's victory over Bar Kokhba.

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[Michael Avi-Yonah / Samuele Rocca (2nd ed.)]

LEGNICA (Ger. **Liegnitz**), town in Lower Silesia, Wroclaw province, S.W. Poland. The first reliable evidence of Jewish settlement dates from 1301, although Jews were probably resident in the city by the end of the 13th century. A "*Judenstadt*" (*Civitas Judeorum*) is mentioned in 1317. In 1345 the burghers were permitted by the duke to use Jewish gravestones for construction purposes; at that time a synagogue was also in existence. Following the agitations of John of *Capistrano in 1453 all but two of the residents were expelled from the Jewish street. These were arrested and perished in the burning jail. A few Jews were allowed to reside in the town in the 16th century but under severe restrictions. In 1812 some Jews settled in the town, establishing a prayer hall and cemetery (1815). By 1840 it had 254 Jews, rising to 970 (2.61% of the total population) in 1880. Subsequently the number of Jews remained stable, although their percentage of the total population declined. In 1932 the Orthodox community maintained a rabbi, two cantor-teachers, a library, *mikveh*, school, and a home for the aged (founded 1928). On the night of Nov. 10, 1938 the synagogue was set on fire. The community was forced to sell the property, which was converted into a parking lot, at a fraction of its value, and pay for clearing away the ruins. By May 1939 only 188 Jews remained; 41 of these were deported to *Theresienstadt on July 27, 1941. After the war a new community was organized, but by 1970 it had dwindled to only a few Jews.

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LEGUMES, a general name for plants of the family of Papilionaceae of the order Leguminae. In the Mishnah legumes are referred to as *kitniyyot*, a name derived from *katan* ("small"; cf. It.: *leguma* or *minutia*), because the seeds are usually small. Though species with large seeds like *pol* ("broad bean," *Vicia faba*) belong to this family, at least in one source this species is not included among *kitniyyot* (Ḥul. 52a). Although in his Mishnah commentary (Kil. 2:2) Maimonides enumerates among *kitniyyot* only legumes, including the broad bean, in the *Mishneh Torah* he includes among them other species, such as rice, durra, poppy-seed and sesame (*Spices; Yad, Ḥameẓ u-Maẓẓah; 5:1). This definition of *kitniyyot* was taken over by other authorities, who went further and included among them many other edible seeds excluding cereals (wheat, barley, oats, etc.) which are classed as *dagan* ("corn") and regarded maize as a species of *kitniyyot*. This definition affected the laws of Passover, since among Ashkenazim *kitniyyot* are permitted them only in time of emergency. It should be noted that the Mishnah distinguishes between *kitniyyot* on the one hand and rice, durra, millet, and sesame on the other (Hal. 1:4). Thus *kitniyyot* originally referred only to legumes. Nowadays, a field in which legumes have been grown is considered most suitable for crop rotation with cereals. In ancient times this was not regarded as important and doubts arose whether legumes exhaust the soil more than wheat (BM 9:8; cf. BM 107a). It is to be noted that in recent years similar doubts have arisen. Legumes are richer in proteins than cereals but are not as easily digestible. They were mainly the food of the common people (see *Beans). A guest who prolonged his stay would be fed by his host with legumes (Tanh. B., Num. 156). A wife whose husband was obliged to provide her with food received four times as much wheat as legumes (Ket. 5:8), and this was probably the relation between the sown areas of cereals and *kitniyyot*.

Two species of legumes are mentioned in the Bible: *adashim* ("*lentils") and *pol* ("broad beans"). Lentils were the most important and one of the earliest plants in the region. In the Bible the term *pol* denotes only the broad bean but in rabbinic literature it was transferred by the addition of a denominative to other species too. Thus for instance *pol ha-miẓri* ("Egyptian bean") was cowpea, *pol he-ḥaruv* ("carob bean") yard-long bean. Besides these legumes, two species of *Lupinus* are mentioned in rabbinic literature: *turmus* – *Lupinus termis*, and *polaslos* ("yellow lupine") – *Lupinus luteus* (Kil 1:3). The lupine was a cheap food and thus of importance for the poor. Because of their bitterness, the seeds had to be soaked in water or cooked a number of times, and the liquid poured off (Ber. 38b, et al.). At least two species of the genus *Lathyrus* were grown: *tofaḥ* ("grass pea") – *Lathyrus sativus*, and *porkedan* ("red grass pea") – *Lathyrus cicera*, both of which were considered one species as regards *mixed species (*kilayim*; Kil. 1:1). These names may include also other species of the genus *Lathyrus*, some of which grow wild in Israel and are sown at times by the *fellaḥin*. Some are of the opinion that *asisiyyot* or *asasiyyot* (Tosef., Shab. 3:1; TJ, Shab. 3:1, 5d) are also a species of *Lathyrus*. Today these are mainly grown as fodder, except for grass pea which is used for human consumption. The seeds are soaked in water and crushed; the taste is similar to that of broad beans (Tosef., Ter. 6:11).

Two species of vetch are mentioned in the Mishnah: *sappir* ("French vetch") – *Vicia narbonensis*, and *karshinah* ("bitter vetch") – *Vicia ervilia*, the latter used for fodder. *Sappir* is considered to be of the same species as *pol* for the law of *kilayim* (Kil. 1:1), and the plants and seeds of these two species of vetch are indeed very similar. According to the Jerusalem Talmud (TJ, Kil. 1:1, 27a), a *tanna* named Hillel b. Valas had a Hebrew-Aramaic dictionary, as well as, apparently, a Hebrew-Latin-Greek one, of plant names in which *sappir* was identified with *pisonah*, the Latin *pisum* which is the garden pea, *Pisum sativum*. This identification is doubtful and there are no other references in the Mishnah and Talmud to the growing of this pea. The Mishnah mentions once a legume *she'u'it* which is considered the same species as *pol ha-lavan* ("white beans"; Kil. 1:1). In R. Hillel's dictionary of plants *she'u'it* was identified with *pesilta* by which is meant the nile cowpea, *Vigna nilotica*, and *pol ha-lavan* with hyacinth bean, *Dolichos lablab*. In modern Hebrew the name *she'u'it* is used for the genus *Phasoleus*. This botanical genus originated in America, however, and was unknown to the ancients.

A valuable plant was the chick-pea, *Cicer arietinum*, called *ḥamiẓ*. This is mentioned once in the Bible (Isa. 30:24). It was called *ḥamiẓ* because of the vinegary taste of the young seeds and the pod. The Mishnah calls it אֲפוּנִים (*afunim*, sing. אָפוּן, *afun*), apparently from אַפּוֹן (*appon*; "small nose"), because it has a projection like a small nose on the round seed. These are frequently mentioned in rabbinic literature, a number of species being grown: large and small (Kil. 3:2), light and dark (TJ, Dem. 2:1, 22c). The Mishnah notes that it is a summer plant (Shev. 2:8). This is a decisive proof against the view of those who identify the *afunim* with garden peas which are definitely winter plants (though this latter identification has been accepted in modern Hebrew). Today chick-pea is especially popular among Oriental Jews, who prepare from it a piquant dish called *ḥumus*. One of the most valuable legumes was the plant *tiltan* (a name used today for clover), fenugreek, *Trigonella foenumgraecum*. Its leaves were grown for fodder and its seeds eaten when green or hard (Ma'as. Sh. 2:3; Tosef., *ibid.* 2:1). Its seeds are similar to those of the carob, and fenugreek was sometimes adulterated with carob seeds (Tosef., BK 7:8). Although *tiltan* is not mentioned in the Bible the Talmud states that Joshua made a number of regulations concerning it (BK 80b–81a). Nowadays it is grown chiefly for fodder, although the Yemenites grind the seeds to prepare a pungent sauce called *ḥilbah*.

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[Jehuda Feliks]

LEHAVIM (Heb. לְהָבִים), urban settlement in southern Israel. Lehavim is located on the southwestern slopes of the Judean Hills, in the northern Negev, 985 ft. (300 m.) above sea level and 9 mi. (15 km.) north of Beersheba. The settlement was founded by the Benei Shimon Regional Council and the Israel Land Authority as an upscale suburban setting within easy commuting distance from Beersheba. In 1989 Lehavim received municipal council status. In 2002 its population was 4,770, on a land area of 1 sq. mi. (2.5 sq. km.).

WEBSITE: www.lehavim.muni.il.

[Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

LEHIGH VALLEY, a region in southeastern Pennsylvania, U.S., encompassing the cities of Allentown, Bethlehem, and Easton in the Pennsylvania counties of Lehigh and Northampton; general population estimated at 650,000 (2005); Jewish population estimated at 8,000. The majority of the Jewish community presently resides in Allentown.

Believed to be the first Jews to pass through the Lehigh Valley, members of the newly arrived Jewish community of New Amsterdam, Isaac Israel and Benjamin Cardozo, received authority in 1655 to trade with the native Indians along the upper Delaware River. The settlement of Jews in the Lehigh Valley begins when Myer Hart, a trader of Spanish-Portuguese ancestry, appears on a list of Easton's founders in 1750. Although one of the wealthier of Easton's first citizens, Hart left Easton by 1790 after he suffered financial reverses during the Revolution. The first Jewish cemetery was purchased by Michael Hart (unrelated) from the Penn family in the 1790s. Hart was sufficiently prominent that he received George Washington on his visit to Easton in the 1780s. Despite a large Hart family, there is no record of a permanent Jewish community in Easton until the late 1830s.

Allentown's earliest record of Jews includes a 1760 land purchase by Mordecai Moses Mordecai from James Allen, son of the founder of Allentown. Permanent Jewish settlement began in Allentown in 1847. Until the 1840s, Bethlehem was restricted only to Moravians.

The canal and railroad boom of the 1830s and 1840s attracted a small number of German-Jewish immigrants, mainly to Easton, where the oldest Jewish congregation in the Lehigh Valley (and the tenth oldest synagogue in the United States), Covenant of Peace, was founded in 1839. Over the next 40 years additional immigrants, mostly from Germany and Hungary, found their way to all three Valley cities. These Jewish immigrants may have been attracted to the region by the many German-speaking residents already in the Lehigh Valley as well as by its advantageous location for trade at the confluence of the Delaware and Lehigh rivers.

The arrival of the Eastern European Jews in the 1880s saw the near-simultaneous founding of new synagogues in all three cities. With World War I and immigration restrictions, new migration came to an end. In the 1920s the communities prospered, attracting Jews who had initially settled in Philadelphia and New York. In the 1930s, the communities sponsored a small number of refugees from Nazi persecution and, after the war, survivors of the Holocaust. In the period from about 1950 to 2000 expansion of higher education, high-tech industries, and medical centers attracted more Jewish professionals to the Lehigh Valley. In the 1990s, with the end of the Cold War, the Jewish community resettled a new stream of Jews from the former Soviet Union.

The earliest Jews were peddlers and traders, many later opening general stores. Their knowledge of German and Yiddish was welcomed by the predominance of the Pennsylvania German-Dutch residents. Throughout most of the 20th century, Jewish-owned apparel, fur, shoe, jewelry, and furniture stores lined the downtown streets of all three cities. The most prominent was Allentown's Hess's Department Store, a landmark in the Lehigh Valley for over 100 years.

Many Lehigh Valley Jews entered the textile manufacturing business, silk and knit goods primarily. The local garment and textile industries flourished through most of the 20th century, generating wealth that created a cadre of Jewish philanthropists who became prominent in building Jewish organizations and institutions.

In the second half of the 20th century, Jewish entrepreneurs entered new lines of manufacturing as well as publishing, helping to diversify the Lehigh Valley economy and to adjust to the decline of the textile industry and heavy manufacturing. These firms, still very much in business today, include Day-Timers, Rodale Press, Just Born Candies, Lutron Electronics, and MCS Industries.

As each community grew in size, it created an array of institutions that filled social, education, cultural, and recreational needs – in addition to its synagogues. In the early decades of the 20th century, all three cities built Jewish Community Centers (some originally known as YMHAs, Young Men's Hebrew Associations). In Bethlehem, its JCC was integral to one of its synagogues, Congregation Brith Sholom, until the synagogue relocated in 1985 to new facilities without the recreational facilities of its former location.

Entering the 21st century, the Lehigh Valley Jewish community boasted eight synagogues (two in Easton, two in Bethlehem, four in Allentown) representing the Orthodox, Conservative, Reconstructionist, and Reform denominations. The community supports professionally led Hillel Jewish student unions at its three largest universities: Lafayette College in Easton, Muhlenberg College in Allentown, and Lehigh University in Bethlehem. Lehigh University is home to the Philip and Muriel Berman Center for Jewish Studies. Muhlenberg College sponsors the Institute for Jewish-Christian Understanding, founded in partnership with the local Jewish Federation. Youth and teen programming transcends the Lehigh Valley with Jewish youth groups at most synagogues and B'nai B'rith Youth Organization chapters based at the JCC in Allentown.

The Lehigh Valley is home to chapters of many national organizations, including Hadassah and B'nai B'rith, the latter sponsoring low-income senior housing apartments in Allentown.

Although based in Allentown, the larger Jewish community organizations serve the entire Lehigh Valley region. These agencies include the Jewish Community Center, the Jewish Family Service, and the Jewish Day School (a pre-kindergarten through eighth grade school). The Jewish Community Center maintains a sizable facility in Allentown, renovated in 2005–06, as well as a large rural day camp site. The Hebrew Family League sponsors a community *mikveh*, a *ḥevra kaddisha*, and the Lehigh Valley Kashrut Commission.

The Jewish Federation of the Lehigh Valley, founded in 1948, is at the nexus of the Lehigh Valley Jewish community. The Jewish Federation is nationally known for its successful fundraising, for creating the first Maimonides Medical Society, and for creating certain recognition programs for Jewish women's philanthropy – the latter two replicated today at virtually every Jewish Federation in the United States. The Jewish Federation is actively involved in building and strengthening the Jewish community in the Lehigh Valley, in Israel, and around the world. Lehigh Valley Jewish philanthropists funded the building of the high school in Ma'alot, Israel.

[Marcy Braverman Goldstein (2nd ed.)]

LEHMAN, U.S. family in the 19th–20th century. The brothers HENRY (1821–1855), EMANUEL (1827–1907), and MAYER LEHMAN (1830–1897), the immigrant sons of a Bavarian cattle merchant, formed the Lehman Brothers partnership in Montgomery, Alabama, in 1850. Originally commodity dealers, particularly in cotton, the firm began dealing in oil, railways, and public utilities after opening a New York office in 1858. By 1906, the firm had shifted from primarily dealing in commodities to investment banking and underwriting, with emphasis on consumer-oriented issues such as department stores and other retailing, car leasing, and finance companies. In 1924 the first non-family partner was admitted to the firm. A separate investment company, the Lehman Corporation, was formed in 1929 and managed by the parent firm. A later senior partner was ROBERT LEHMAN (1891–1969), Emanuel's grandson. He became a partner in the firm in 1921, chief partner by 1925, and by 1967 built the firm into one of the four largest investment banks in the U.S. Lehman early foresaw the possibilities of mass air transportation and his firm's heavy investments in passenger airlines provided a strong impetus for the growth of passenger air transportation in the U.S. Robert owned one of the greatest private art collections in the world, started by his father PHILIP LEHMAN (1861–1947). On his death he donated it to the Metropolitan Museum.

Mayer's sons ARTHUR (1873–1936), a partner in the family firm, and Herbert Henry *Lehman (1878–1963) were prominently identified with the American Jewish Committee and the Joint Distribution Committee, and Irving *Lehman (1876–1945) was a distinguished jurist. ALLAN S. LEHMAN (1885–1952), Mayer Lehman's grandson, was a participant in community affairs, such as the Joint Defense Appeal.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *A Centennial – Lehman Brothers, 1850–1950* (1950); J. Wechsberg, *The Merchant Bankers* (1966), 279–334.

[Hanns G. Reissner]

LEHMAN, ERNEST (1915–), U.S. film producer and screenwriter. Born in New York, Lehman graduated from City College. He went to Hollywood in 1951. He won Writers' Guild awards for his screenwriting of *Sabrina* (Oscar nomination for Best Screenplay, 1954), *The King and I* (1956), *North by Northwest* (Oscar nomination for Best Screenplay, 1959), *West Side Story* (Oscar nomination for Best Screenplay, 1961), and *The Sound of Music* (1965). As a producer, he made his debut in 1966 with *Who's Afraid of Virginia Woolf?* for which he also wrote the screenplay (Oscar nomination for Best Picture and Best Screenplay). He was also the writer-producer of *Hello, Dolly!* (Oscar nomination for Best Picture, 1969). Other Lehman screenplays include *The Inside Story* (1948), *Executive Suite* (1954), *Somebody Up There Likes Me* (1956), *From the Terrace* (1960), *The Prize* (1963), *Portnoy's Complaint* (1972), *Family Plot* (1976), and *Black Sunday* (1977).

In 2002 Lehman's 1951 novella *Sweet Smell of Success* (and 1957 film) was turned into a Broadway musical and was nominated for three Tony Awards.

He was president of the Writers' Guild of America from 1983 to 1985. In 2001 he won an Honorary Academy Award "in appreciation of a body of varied and enduring work." Books by Lehman include *The Comedian and Seven Other Stories* (1957); the novels *The French Atlantic Affair* (1977) and *Farewell Performance* (1982); *Screening Sickness and Other Tales of Tinseltown* (1982); and *Sweet Smell of Success and Other Stories* (2000).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: J. Brady, *The Craft of the Screenwriter* (1982).

[Jonathan Licht / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

LEHMAN, HERBERT HENRY (1878–1963), U.S. banker, politician, and statesman. Herbert Lehman attended Williams College and on his graduation in 1899 joined his father's firm (see *Lehman), of which he became a full partner in 1908. His initiation into public service came during World War I, when he was commissioned as a captain in the War Department Ordnance bureau and rose to become a member of the War Claims Board with the rank of full colonel. Disappointed in his ambition to become assistant secretary of war in the Wilson administration, he resigned from the service in 1919 to return to his position with Lehman Brothers. In the course of several visits to Europe after the war, he was deeply moved by the devastation wrought to Jewish communities everywhere and subsequently helped found the *American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee. He was also called upon during these years as an occasional mediator between labor and management in the garment industry, where he was an enthusiastic backer of unionization.

Lehman returned to public life in 1924 to participate in the successful New York State gubernatorial campaign of his friend Alfred E. Smith. In 1926 he headed a citizen's committee for Smith's reelection and in 1928 he was active in Smith's successful campaign to gain the Democratic presidential nomination, for which he was rewarded with the chairmanship of the national finance committee of the Democratic Party. In October 1928 he was nominated to run for lieutenant governor of New York State on the ticket of Franklin Delano Roosevelt, who was elected governor by a narrow vote.

As Roosevelt's right hand, Lehman proved to be an able politician and administrator. He was especially active in assisting Roosevelt with financial and budgetary problems, in improving the scope and caliber of the state's administration agencies and social services, particularly in the area of hospital and prison reform, and in dealing skillfully with a wide range of emergencies and labor crises.

When Roosevelt went on to become president in 1932, Lehman was elected governor by an unprecedented plurality of close to a million votes over his Republican opponent. During his first term as governor, he struggled largely with financial and labor problems brought on by the Depression. Reelected for four more terms (1934, 1936, 1938, 1940), his administrations were marked by a systematic application of the New Deal in legislation for New York State. He strove to bring utilities under public control, sought to reapportion the state's legislative and congressional membership, and fought for a wide range of minimum wage, social security, and general welfare bills. Many of the measures he sponsored helped make New York one of the most socially progressive states in the Union.

Lehman resigned the governorship in 1942 to become head of the newly formed United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration, whose vast task was to minister to the war-torn civilian populations of the Axis-occupied areas reconquered by the Allies. While he worked with tremendous energy and devotion, the experience proved in many ways frustrating; the program was hampered by personality clashes, conflicts of national interest, and the emerging tensions of the cold war. He resigned from his position in March 1946 and turned his attention to the specific plight of Jewish refugees and to the situation in Palestine. Although then not a Zionist and opposed to the idea of a Jewish state, Lehman was sympathetic to the cause of free Jewish immigration into Palestine and argued for it publicly and in his private political contacts.

Lehman's first postwar attempt to return to politics, a bid for a New York State senatorial seat in 1946, failed when he was defeated by Irving Ives in the Republican landslide. In a special election in 1949, however, he was elected to the Senate against John Foster Dulles, and he was reelected in the regular election the following year. During his term in the Senate he was a leader of the small liberal minority that uncompromisingly fought against McCarthyism and its tactics. He also headed the opposition to the discriminatory Walter-McCarran immigration bill, against which he cosponsored the unsuccessful Lehman-Tobey bill. He was an internationalist in foreign policy and a staunch supporter of the State of Israel.

Lehman declined to run for reelection in 1956. He remained an influential figure in New York State politics, however, and participated, with Eleanor Roosevelt, in Mayor

Robert Wagner's successful "reform crusade" against the Democratic Party organization of New York City in 1961.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: A. Nevins, *Herbert H. Lehman and his Era* (1963); J. Bellush, *Selected Case Studies of the Legislative Leadership of Governor Herbert H. Lehman* (1959); idem, in: *New York History*, 41 (1960), 423–43; 45 (1964), 119–34; 43 (1962), 79–104; B. Bellush, *Franklin D. Roosevelt as Governor of New York* (1955); S. Birmingham, *Our Crowd* (1967); Finkelstein, in: AJYB, 66 (1965), 3–20; Glaser, in: *Commentary*, 35 (1963), 403–9.

[Hillel Halkin]

LEHMAN, IRVING (1876–1945), U.S. jurist. Born in New York City, Lehman qualified as a lawyer in 1898 and worked in private practice in New York City until 1908, when he was elected to the state Supreme Court. He served as Supreme Court justice until 1924, and as judge on the New York State Court of Appeals (1924–45). From 1940 to 1945 he was chief judge of that court. Lehman's judgments reflected his belief in the flexibility of the common law to deal with new social and economic conditions and the duty of the judge to support remedial legislation to meet economic social evil. Thus in a dissenting opinion in New York State Court of Appeals Lehman upheld legislation establishing minimum wage standards, even though the Supreme Court had previously declared similar legislation unconstitutional. Lehman was a member of the well-known *Lehman family, and a brother of Herbert H. *Lehman. He supported numerous philanthropic enterprises and was active in Jewish affairs as president of the Jewish Welfare Board (1921–40), honorary vice president of the American Jewish Committee (1942), and a supporter of projects for the development of Ereẓ Israel.

[Michael Hart Cardozo]

LEHMAN, WILLIAM (1913–2005), U.S. congressman. A native of Selma, Ala. and its small Jewish community, William Lehman attended the University of Alabama where he earned his B.A. in 1934. He then moved to the Miami Dade area where he became a successful auto dealer. He never shed his roots. In Miami he was known as Alabama Bill. He returned to college to earn his teaching credentials in English and then became a teacher at Miami Norland Junior High School, Miami, Fla., and Miami Dade Junior College, Miami, Fla. (1965–66), before becoming a member and then chairman of the Dade County, Fla., school board (1966–72), where he managed to take the board through the divisive problems of desegregation. His deep Southern accent and Alabama roots helped him navigate deep communal tensions as he relentlessly pushed for desegregation. He was first elected to Congress in 1972 in a crowded field of seven candidates in a new congressional district established after the 1970 census as Florida's population rapidly expanded. No one expected him to win. Desegregation was not very popular, but he won as a liberal Democrat, and continued to maintain that reputation by supporting public transit and child-care assistance and championing Social Security, which was popular among his many retired constituents. He also was a strong advocate for refugee resettlement for Cuban and Haitian immigrants and was a particular and deeply involved champion of the Soviet Jewry movement. He took his commitments personally and once traveled to the Soviet Union to deliver an artificial heart valve to a 22-year-old Soviet woman.

In Congress, Lehman started out as a member of the House Education and Labor Committee. He was most closely associated with the powerful House Appropriations Committee, where he chaired the Transportation Appropriations Subcommittee that pushed for public transport, and served on the Foreign Operations Subcommittee, so important to U.S. aid to Israel. In 1980 he was instrumental in getting $100 million for Cuban refugee resettlement when the Mariel Boat Lift looked like it would overwhelm Southern Florida. He developed jaw cancer in 1983, which slightly slurred his speech but did not slow him down and he retired in 1992 undefeated.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: L.S. Maisel and I.N. Forman, *Jews in American Politics* (2001).

[Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

LEHMANN, BEHREND (1661–1730), *Court Jew of Saxony. Born in Essen, Issachar Bermann, as he was known to his coreligionists, caught the eye of the ambitious and flamboyant elector of Saxony Augustus II, the Strong (1670–1733), who had designs on the elective crown of Poland. Lehmann was entrusted with the financial aspect of the undertaking; in this capacity he sold off various Saxon holdings to gather the immense sums needed, estimated at between two and five million gulden; these were expended, at his discretion, to bribe the vacillating Polish electors and ensure Augustus' election. His partner and relative, Leffmann *Behrends, helped him with the financial side of the mission. Lehmann earned the king's eternal confidence and in 1697 was nominated Polish resident in Brandenburg with his seat in *Halberstadt, where he chose to reside as Prussian **Schutzjude*. In addition to being diplomatic agent, Lehmann was a large-scale purveyor of jewels to the king, his mistresses, and many of his retinue, as well as a purveyor of precious metals to the mint (see *mint masters) and the military *contractor. He also loaned money to the rulers of Hanover and Brunswick; all his transactions were in five- and six-figure sums, which was very high for his day.

He maintained a retinue of 30 persons, including rabbi and *shoḥet*, in his house in Halberstadt. In 1696 he obtained the permission of the king to have the Talmud printed in Frankfurt-on-the-Oder, entirely at his expense. The cities of *Halle and *Magdeburg were opened to Jews due to his intercession with the king of Prussia, with whom he maintained diplomatic and financial connections; the synagogues of Berlin and Halberstadt were built with the aid of his loans. In 1715 the city and villages of Lissa (*Leszno), Poland, which had belonged to Stanislav Leszczyński, who had temporarily replaced Augustus II on the Polish throne (1704–09), came into his possession for ten years, during which time the Jewish community enjoyed his benevolence. Lehmann also owned estates in Blankenburg and elsewhere. His relatives and agents were to be found in Hanover, Vienna, Hamburg, Amsterdam, and Dresden, which was, indeed, opened to Jews in 1708 in order to receive him. His successors did not inherit Lehmann's business acumen and only conducted small-scale business activities.

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LEHMANN, EMIL (1829–1898), lawyer, politician, and advocate of Reform Judaism and of Jewish emancipation in Saxony. Lehmann was a descendant of Behrend *Lehmann, the Court Jew. He sat on the Dresden city council from 1865 to 1883 and from 1875 to 1880 was a member of the Progressive Party in the Saxony Diet, being the only Jew there. Colleague of and successor to Bernhard *Beer in the fight for emancipation in Saxony, he was for several decades president of the Dresden congregation and was one of the founders of the *Deutsch-Israelitische Gemeindebund and the *Centralverein. He fought the rising movement of antisemitism, which was inspired by A. *Stoecker. In a series of newspaper articles and pamphlets Lehmann pleaded for a radical religious reform, stressing the elements common to Judaism and Christianity, and for removing the dividing ones such as circumcision and Jewish holidays. He promoted these ideas in articles in the *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judentums* and other Jewish periodicals. Among his published works were *Der polnische Resident Berend Lehmann* (1885); *Aus alten Akten* (contributions to the history of the Dresden Jewish community, 1886); and *Hoere Israel* (appeal to German coreligionists, 1889). A volume of Lehmann's collected writings, *Gesammelte Schriften*, appeared posthumously (1899; 1909^2).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: E. Lehmann, *Die Rechtsverhältnisse der Juden in Sachsen (…)*, (1869); A. Bruell, in: ADB, 51 (1906), 620–3; *Mitteilungen des Deutsch-Israelitischen Gemeindebundes*, 47 (1898), 2; J. Heller, in: *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, 10 (1934), 734f.

[Alexander Carlebach]

LEHMANN, JOSEPH (1843–1917), French rabbi, director of the Séminaire Israélite de France (from 1906: Ecole Rabbinique). He was born in Belfort, studied at the Séminaire Israélite, and in 1867 was appointed to the rabbinate in Paris, where he taught Talmud at the seminary's preparatory school. Later he taught at the seminary itself, directing it from 1890 until his death. His greatest interest was in the historical content of the talmudic texts. His religious opinions, typical of those of the French rabbinate of the period, tended toward a liberal interpretation which aimed at social assimilation to the environment. He contributed several articles to the *Revue des Etudes Juives* and published a sermon in *L'Homme et Dieu* (1869).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: J. Bauer, *L'Ecole Rabbinique de France* (1930), 158–76, 185, 200; Catane, in: REJ, 125 (1966), 51–61.

[Moshe Catane]

LEHMANN, KARL (1894–1960), classical archaeologist. Born in Rostock, Germany, Lehmann was the son of a university professor. His studies were interrupted by service in World War I. In 1924 he became assistant director at the German archaeological institute in Rome. At the same time he began his academic career as a lecturer on classical archaeology at Berlin University. His book, *Die Trajanssaeule* (1926), established him as an authority on Roman archaeology and art. While lecturing at Heidelberg University (1925–29) Lehmann published his monumental work, *Die antiken Grossbronzen* (1927). In 1929 he went to Muenster University, and was dismissed from his post in 1933. After two years in Italy he immigrated to the U.S. and in 1936 was appointed professor of classical archaeology at the Fine Arts Institute of New York University. During this time Lehmann began excavating the sanctuary of the "Great Gods" on the Aegean island of Samothrace. Lehmann's expedition was crowned with success after many years of excavation, although he himself did not live to complete the work. He published the first volume of the excavation report (Bollingen Series, 60, 1959; U.S. ed. *Samothrace*, 1960). The other volumes which he partly prepared were published soon after his death.

In spite of Lehmann's preoccupation with Greek art and religion, his interest in problems of Roman archaeology did not diminish. He interpreted cult and symbolism in Roman wall and ceiling frescoes and in *Dionysiac Sarcophagi in Baltimore* (with E.C. Olsen, 1942) he drew conclusions from reliefs carved on them about the religious beliefs of people buried in late Roman sarcophagi.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: P.H. von Blanckenhagen, in: *American Journal of Archeology*, 65 (1961), 307ff.

[Penuel P. Kahane]

LEHMANN, LÉONCE (1836–1892), French advocate and philanthropist, born in Augsburg, Bavaria. He was appointed secretary to the Turkish embassy in Naples (1856). Later Lehmann practiced law in Paris. In 1870 Adolphe *Crémieux made him chief secretary at the Ministry of Justice. He was a member of the central committee and then general secretary of the *Alliance Israélite Universelle from 1888 to 1892. In 1869 Lehmann and Narcisse *Leven visited the hunger-stricken Jewish centers in Lithuania and Poland. In 1887 Lehmann traveled to Russia and negotiated with the government about Baron de *Hirsch's projected loan of 50,000,000 francs for the establishment of Jewish elementary and professional schools in Russia.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Bulletin de l'Alliance Israélite Universelle* (1892), 14–15; N. Leven, *Cinquante ans d'histoire: L'Alliance Israélite Universelle (1860–1910)*, 2 (1920), index.

LEHMANN, MARCUS (**Meir**; 1831–1890), German Orthodox rabbi, scholar, and writer. Lehmann was born in Verden, Germany, and studied with Israel *Hildesheimer in Halberstadt, with S.L. *Rapoport in Prague, and at Halle. In Prague he was friendly with the writer Solomon *Kohn, who may have influenced Lehmann's future work as a writer. In 1853 an organ was introduced in the synagogue of *Mainz and in 1854, when the Orthodox members formed a separate congregation, Lehmann was elected their rabbi and, eventually, one of the leaders and spokesmen of modern German Orthodoxy. In Mainz he founded a religious school which from 1859 was an elementary day school for boys and girls. Lehmann wrote polemically against Reform and founded the weekly **Israelit* (1860–1938) to counter the influence of Ludwig Philippson's Reform periodical, *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judentums*; the *Israelit* became the principal voice of German Orthodoxy. Lehmann was the main contributor to the *Israelit* and his many historical novels, including *Rabbi Joselmann von Rosheim* (translated into English as *Tales of Yore*, 1947), and short stories were first published in it. His stories were collected in *Aus Vergangenheit und Gegenwart* (6 vols., 1872–88), and many were translated or adapted into Hebrew, Judeo-Arabic, French, Hungarian, English, and other languages. Lehmann's stories have no great literary merit, but as juvenile literature, they have religious and educational value. Of more scholarly importance, though also primarily intended for popular instruction, are his German edition of the *Haggadah* (1906, 1914^2, 1926^5), anonymously revised and enlarged by H. Ehrmann and translated into English (1969), and his Sabbath lectures on *Avot*, collected as *Die Sprueche der Vaeter* (in installments, in: *Israelit*, 1895–1905; 3 vols., 1921/23) in which Lehmann made use of earlier commentators, particularly of *Samuel b. Isaac's *Midrash Shemu'el*, and thus made the commentators accessible to the German reader. Lehmann also published the tractate *Berakhot* of the Jerusalem Talmud with the commentary of Solomon Sirillo and his own notes, *Meir Nativ* (1874). Lehmann translated the Pentateuch (1873, 1913^6) in the Bible translation initiated by the Orthodox Bible Institute to counter the translation of *Zunz and others. As editor of the *Israelit*, Lehmann agreed increasingly with S.R. *Hirsch's intransigent line in Hirsch's differences with Hildesheimer, Lehmann's friend and teacher.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Gedenk-Blaetter an Rabbiner Dr. Markus Lehmann* (1890); J. Lehmann, *Dr. Markus Lehmann* (Ger., 1910); H. Schwab, *The History of Orthodox Jewry in Germany* (1950), index; idem, *Chachme Ashkenaz* (Eng., 1964), 88–89, incl. bibl.; E. Hildesheimer, *Briefe* (1965), index.

[Jacob Rothschild]

LEHMANN, SIEGFRIED (1892–1958), Israel educator. Born in Berlin, Lehmann became a physician and as a student was influenced by Martin *Buber to take an interest in Judaism. He founded the Volksheim in Berlin for the children of immigrants from Eastern Europe (1916) and after World War I was responsible for the rehabilitation of Jewish youth in Lithuania (1920) and was the founder and principal of the Yidishe Kinderhoyz in Kovno. In 1926 Lehmann settled in Palestine, bringing many war orphans with him, and founded the *Ben Shemen Youth Village (1927). The village became a model of modern rural education under his leadership and from 1933 one of the main centers of *Youth Aliyah. Lehmann's four principal ideals were work on the soil and rural living, including inter alia, promoting folk music, folk dance, and folk art; community life and student self-government as a preparation for the kibbutz; education for peace, tolerance, and international understanding, especially with the Arabs; and education toward a traditional but non-Orthodox and nondogmatic outlook on life. In 1940 he was arrested after the British police made a search in Ben Shemen (which was an isolated settlement surrounded by Arabs) and found arms; he was sentenced to seven years' imprisonment. Lehmann was released three weeks later through the intervention of Albert Einstein and other leading figures.

Lehmann received an award from the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF; 1952) and the 1957 Israel Prize for education. His ideas served as an example to the Youth Aliyah movement. Among his several published works is one on Arab-Israel problems.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Tidhar, 10 (1959), 3499–501; A. Simon, in: S. Lehmann, *Ra'yon ve-Hagshamah* (1962), 9–31.

[Aryeh Simon]

°LEHMANN-HAUPT, CARL FRIEDRICH (1861–1938), German historian. Lehmann-Haupt taught ancient history in Berlin, Liverpool, Constantinople, and Innsbruck. He investigated Armenian and Mesopotamian culture, specializing in ancient Babylonian coins, weights, and measures. He published learned studies on old world chronologies, and on ancient Israel's contributions to world history. He was editor of *Klio*, a journal of ancient history (since 1901), and contributing editor of the *Liverpool Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology* from 1911 to 1914. He wrote *Babyloniens Kulturmission einst und jetzt* (1903); *Materialen zur aelteren Geschichte Armeniens und Mesopotamiens* (1907); *Armenien einst und jezt* (3 vols., 1910–26); *Die Geschicke Judas und Israels im Rahmen der Weltgeschichte* (1911); and *Der juedische Kirchenstaat in persischer, griechischer und roemischer Zeit* (1911); and he edited the *Corpus inscriptionum chaldaicarum* (1928–31).

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[Zev Garber]

LEHREN, Dutch family of bankers, communal leaders, and philanthropists. MOSES LEHREN (d. 1815), a banker at The Hague who originally came from Lehren-Steinfeld (Wuerttemberg), was *parnas* and *posek* of the Jewish community. Moses' son HIRSCHEL (Ẓevi Hirsch; 1784–1853) lived in The Hague but subsequently settled in Amsterdam. With A. *Prins and S. Rubens he founded in 1809 an organization on behalf of the Jews of Ereẓ Israel. In order to combat the heavy expenses of the emissaries of the *yishuv* and difficulties relating to the distribution of money (*ḥalukkah) between the rival groups there, he strove to concentrate the collection of money throughout the whole of Western Europe in this one organization, the "Pekidim and Amarkalim of the Holy Land." In 1824 he succeeded in convincing all the parties involved, and in that year the new body was recognized by the rabbis of Jerusalem as the exclusive agency for collecting money on behalf of the Holy Land. Lehren carried out his reforms in the age-old system thoroughly and uncompromisingly, and for this he was attacked from many quarters; suspicion was even cast on his integrity, but he was vindicated by Moses *Sofer of Pressburg among others. After vehement attacks on him (in *Der Orient* (1843), 44 and passim) he published a reply written by the chief rabbi of Jerusalem (*Emet me-Ereẓ* (1843/44)). Hirschel Lehren was extremely Orthodox and leaned toward kabbalism. Because he was opposed to the lenient and assimilationist leaders of the Amsterdam community, he set up his own *minyan* with his followers, but they had to leave Amsterdam and settled in The Hague. Here he asked the municipality for permission to hold private religious services, but, following the intervention of the central Jewish authorities, he was forbidden to have his own *minyan*. Lehren sent petitions to the minister and the king, but he had to put an end to the activities of his "sect" in 1834. When the Reform movement tried to gain adherents in the Netherlands, he and A. Prins issued a collection of statements by European rabbis (*Torat ha-Kena'ot*, 2 vols., 1845) and one by Palestinian rabbis (*Kinat Ẓiyyon*, 1846).

His brother AKIVA (1795–1876), a banker, was *parnas* of the Amsterdam community. After Hirschel's death he became president of the "Pekidim and Amarkalim" fund. Akiva was the central pillar of Orthodoxy in the Amsterdam community. Another of Moses' sons, JACOB MEIR (1795–1861), was also a banker and *parnas* of the Amsterdam community. From 1827 until his death he was president of the rabbinical seminary in Amsterdam. Owing to the influence of the Lehren brothers, J.Z.H. *Duenner was nominated head of the rabbinical seminary in Amsterdam and afterward chief rabbi of the city.

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[Jozeph Michman (Melkman)]

LEHRER, LEIBUSH (**Mordecai**; 1887–1964), Yiddish writer and educator. Born in Warsaw, he immigrated first to Belgium (1906) and then to the U.S. (1909). He became one of the prime movers in the development of the Sholem Aleichem schools, and founded the Yiddish-speaking Camp Boiberik where he was director for more than 40 years. From 1919 he taught in the Teachers Seminary of the Sholem Aleichem Folk Institute in New York, and was director of the Sholem Aleichem Secondary School (1921–47). He was also secretary of the psychology and education section of the *YIVO Institute for Jewish Research. He advocated the thesis that Judaism was not only a religion but an entire folk culture. His works on literature, psychology, education, and Judaism include *Di Psikhologye fun Literatur* ("The Psychology of Literature," 1926); *Di Moderne Yidishe Shul* ("The Modern Jewish School," 1927); *Psikhologye un Dertsiung* ("Psychology and Education," 1937); *Yidishkayt un Andere Problemen* ("*Yidishkayt* and Other Problems," 1940); *Azoy Zenen Yidn* ("Jews Are Like That," 1959); and *In Gayst fun Traditsye* ("In the Spirit of Tradition," 1966).

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[Israel Ch. Biletzky / Jerold C. Frakes (2nd ed.)]

LEHRMAN, DANIEL S. (1919–1972), U.S. psychologist. Lehrman was born in New York City and graduated from City College in 1947, after his return from military service. He received his doctorate in comparative psychology from New York University in 1954 for his research on the breeding behavior of the ringdove. Appointed assistant professor at Rutgers University in 1950, he became full professor in 1958. He was instrumental in founding the Institute of Animal Behavior of Rutgers University in Newark, N.J., of which he was the first director from 1959. In 1970, he was elected to the National Academy of Sciences and in 1971 was made a fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences.

Lehrman's interest in animal behavior, and especially in birds, started while he was still in high school. His mature work dealt with the interrelationship of experience and hormonal factors in the life of many species, particularly the ringdove, his favorite subject. He was one of the first psychologists to unravel some of the complex interactions of hormones and an animal's physical and social environment. By a series of imaginative experiments, he showed clearly how previous experience could modify patterns of behavior that had been thought to be fixed characteristics of a species. Lehrman's theoretical contribution dealt with the concept of instinct. His most influential paper, "A Critique of Konrad Lorenz's Theory of Instinctive Behavior" (1953), began a life-long dialogue between American comparative psychologists and European ethologists, which was fruitful in clarifying the issues that divided the two groups. In his chapter, "Semantic and Conceptual Issues in the Nature-Nurture Problem" (in: *Development and Evolution of Behavior*, L.R. Aronson, E. Tobach, D.S. Lehrman, and J.S. Rosenblatt, eds., 1970), he came to the conclusion that the study of adaptation and development, rather than of "innate" and "acquired" behavior, was the preferable course toward solving some of the fundamental issues of comparative psychology.

[Helmut E. Adler (2nd ed.)]

LEHRMAN, IRVING (1910–2005), U.S. rabbi and leader of the ecumenical movement and of Dade County Jews. Lehrman was born in Tiktin, Poland. The family emigrated when Lehrman was six, and his father, a rabbi, took over an Orthodox congregation in Spring Valley, N.Y. Irving was the 12th generation rabbi in his family. His wife of nearly 70 years was herself the daughter of a rabbi, Israel Goldfarb. They met when Lehrman was studying at Brooklyn Law School. Lehrman was ordained at New York's Jewish Institute of Religion, when it was a non-denomination school under the leadership of Rabbi Stephen Wise.

After holding a pulpit at Congregation Shomrei Emunah in Montclair, N.J., he came to Temple Emanuel-El in 1943 and fell in love with South Florida. When he arrived Jews were barred from living in some neighborhoods; apartment houses did not rent to Jews or African-Americans, and Jews were still excluded from the choice hotels. His congregation grew with the city's Jewish population and with the breaking of barriers for Jews in South Florida. The introduction of air-conditioning allowed for a community to live in year-round comfort. He served as chairman of the Greater Miami Jewish Federation/UJA Campaign for two terms and as chairman of the UJA National Rabbinic Cabinet. Lehrman served on the boards of numerous international, national, and local educational, social, and humanitarian organizations. His influence was felt in Miami organizations within the network of Federation agencies including the Jewish Community Relations Council, the Rabbinical Association of Greater Miami, and the Miami Jewish Home and Hospital for the Aged.

As a condition of his staying Lehrman asked the congregation to build a new building, which they did. He served the congregation for half a century, retiring in 1993, but never quite stepping aside. An "excellent" sermonizer, one congregant recalled 70 years later that "he was magnetic and electrifying. He was the Billy Graham of the Jews."

In 2000, Lehrman was among the first non-Catholics in the Archdiocese of Miami to be honored with Pope John Paul II's blessing for humanitarian collaborations with the church. His dedication to Jewish education was symbolized by the day school that he founded and that bears his name.

[Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

LEIBER, JUDITH MARIA (1921–), U.S. designer and manufacturer. Leiber became a master handbag maker in Hungary in 1942. She has owned and managed Judith Leiber, Inc. since 1963. Her exquisite intricate jeweled handbags sold in upscale stores such as Neiman Marcus and in her own boutiques in Geneva, Bangkok, London, Costa Mesa, California, and New York. These bags have been carried by several first ladies, actresses, and others wealthy enough to afford the price tags which range from $600 to $7,500. Born in Budapest, Leiber intended to specialize in skin creams, but her plans to study chemistry at Kings College in London in 1939 were thwarted with the onset of World War II. Instead Leiber was admitted into Hungary's artisan guild and became an apprentice to the finest handbag maker in Budapest. After doing a number of menial tasks from sweeping the floor to cooking glue, she began to learn the art of making handbags. She became a female pioneer master handbag maker. She and her parents, Emil and Helen (Spitzer) Peto, survived the concentration camps and the Nazi occupation of Budapest through a neighbor's forgery of a document which designated the family as Swiss. She met the American GI Gerson Leiber (whom she calls Gus) in 1945 and married him in 1946. They came to New York in 1947, where she was naturalized in 1949. Before opening her own business in 1963, Leiber worked for a number of firms, including being a pattern maker for designer Nettie Rosenstein.

Leiber received a number of honorary degrees. In 1993 she received honorary Ph.D. degrees from Bar-Ilan University in Israel and the International Fine Arts College in Miami, Florida. She is also the recipient of numerous awards. In 2001 she received the Swarovski Award, the American Handbag Designer Award, and the Leather Industries Award. That year she also won the George Washington Award and an award from the American Hungarian Foundation. She won several awards in the fashion industry including The Fashion Group's 1986 designation as one of The Women Who Made a Difference. She won a Lifetime Achievement Award in 1992, a FAAB Lifetime Achievement Award in 1992, and a Fashion Hall of Fame award from Kent State University in 1995. A retrospective of her work has been exhibited at the Corcoran Museum (2002), the George Bush Museum (2004), and the Newark Museum (2004).

In 1993 Leiber sold her company to Time Products Inc., a conglomerate in London. She continued designing collections until she retired in 1998. Her bags find homes among collectors. Some even reside in museums. Leiber has said that she has designed some 4,000 styles during her 34-year career of designing handbags.

[Sara Alpern (2nd ed.)]

LEIBER AND STOLLER, U.S. songwriters and music producers whose combination of rhythm and blues with pop lyrics revolutionized pop and rock & roll; members of the Songwriters' Hall of Fame, the Record Producers' Hall of Fame, and the Rock & Roll Hall of Fame. JERRY LEIBER (1933–) was born one of three children to immigrants from Poland, where his father, Abraham, had been a cantor. Leiber grew up in Baltimore raised by his mother, Manya, after his father died when he was five. Leiber delivered kerosene and coal from his mother's grocery store to black families, and that is where he first heard the music of the neighborhood, the blues, that would change his life. MIKE STOLLER (1933–) was born 18 days after Leiber in Belle Harbor, New York, to Abraham, a draftsman, and Adelyn, a model and actress. Stoller discovered black music at age seven, when he attended an integrated summer camp. Both families moved after World War II to Los Angeles, where Leiber and Stoller met in 1950 while they were students at Fairfax High School. They discovered they had a lot in common – they were white, Jewish, ex-East Coast teenagers who shared a passion for rhythm and blues, so they began writing songs together, with Leiber writing the words and Stoller the music.

Though they were hardly the only white songwriters to break the barriers of segregation in their music, they were, arguably, the best. Their first mega-hit was the 1956 classic "Hound Dog" recorded by 21-year-old Elvis Presley, which sold about seven million copies and stayed at No. 1 on the Billboard charts for 11 weeks (no record has held the No. 1 spot for that length of time since). They were responsible for many of the pop hits of Presley, who recorded 24 of their songs, as well as for the Coasters, the Drifters, and others. Over 200 of their compositions were recorded between 1951 and 1972, including 24 chart hits by the Robins/Coasters alone, and were sung by a who's who of rock, from the Beatles to Buddy Holly. Among their other top-10 hits were Elvis Presley's "Jailhouse Rock" (1957, No. 1) and "Don't" (1958, No. 1); The Coasters' "Yakety Yak" (1958, No. 1) and "Charlie Brown" (1959, No. 2); Wilbert Harrison's "Kansas City" (1959, No. 1); The Drifters' "There Goes My Baby" (1959, No. 2) and "On Broadway" (1963, No. 9), and Ben E. King's "Stand by Me" (1961, No. 4). Other hits written or produced include "Only in America," "Spanish Harlem," "Love Potion No. 9," "Poison Ivy," "Save the Last Dance for Me," "Leader of the Pack," "Chapel of Love," and Peggy Lee's "Is That All There Is?" which won a Grammy Award in 1969.

Leiber and Stoller's singular contribution was to take rhythm and blues from the ghetto into mainstream America, and thereby create pop classics that transcended musical and racial categories. They were among the first to use strings on R&B records, and through such tunes as "Spanish Harlem" they were among the first to introduce Latin rhythms to rock 'n' roll. Their work was the transition between R&B and rock, and aside from Lennon and McCartney, no songwriting team has done more to enrich the rock canon. "We crawled inside the skins of our characters," said Leiber. "We related to the guys in the singing groups, and the result was a cross-cultural phenomenon: a white kid's take on a black kid's take on white society." Among the many artists and writers they influenced while serving as the last legion of songwriters and producers of Tin Pan Alley was a young Phil *Spector, who learned production techniques while assisting and playing on their sessions. In 1995, a Broadway musical called *Smoky Joe's Café* was staged based on their work, which became an international success and won a Grammy Award for cast album. The duo was inducted into the Songwriters' Hall of Fame (1985), the Record Producers' Hall of Fame (1986), and the Rock & Roll Hall of Fame (1987), and in 1991, they received the Founder's Award from the American Society of Composers, Authors, and Publishers (ASCAP). Leiber and Stoller also have a star on the Hollywood Walk of Fame. *Hound Dog's Life: Gospel, Half-Truths, Rumors, and Outrageous Lies* (1996) was written by Leiber with Bob Spitz, and the pair are the subject of a biography by Robert Palmer, *Baby, That Was Rock and Roll: The Legendary Leiber and Stoller* (1978).

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[Elli Wohlgelernter (2nd ed.)]

LEIBL, DANIEL (1891–1967), Yiddish and Hebrew linguist, poet, and editor. Born in Debica, Poland, Leibl, a political activist all his life, was excluded in 1910 from the gymnasium because of "Zionism and Socialism." He was also active on behalf of the rights of the Yiddish language during the Austro-Hungarian census of 1910. As a student of law at Vienna University, Leibl became interested in Yiddish linguistic research, to which he afterward devoted himself. In 1924 he settled in Palestine. An active member of Po'alei Zion (later of the Left Po'alei Zion and Mapam), Leibl did editorial work for various Yiddish and Hebrew publications. He was simultaneously an active Zionist (he held various high positions in the *Histadrut and in Mapam) and a loyal Yiddishist (he was wounded in an attack by the militant Hebraists of the *Gedud Meginnei ha-Safah* ("Guardians of the Language")); a Yiddish poet and translator (especially of the Polish poets S. Wispiansky and Maria Konopnicka) and a Hebrew poet and translator (of the Polish poet J. Slowacki); a Yiddish linguist (e.g., his study in the YIVO's *Landoy-Bukh*, 1926) and a Hebrew linguist (member of the Hebrew Language Academy and contributor to *Leshonenu* and *Leshonenu la-Am*).

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[Mordkhe Schaechter]

LEIBLER, ISI JOSEPH (1934–), Australian businessman and communal leader. Born in Antwerp, Belgium, Isi Leibler came to Melbourne, Australia, with his family in 1939. After managing his family's diamond business, in 1965 Leibler founded Jetset Tours, which he developed into the largest travel agency in Australia. It is credited with breaking the near-monopoly on overseas flights previously enjoyed by Qantas, Australia's state-owned airline. From the mid-1970s until he immigrated to Israel in 1998, Leibler was unquestionably the most important and dominant lay leader in the Australian Jewish community, serving as president of the Executive Council of Australian Jewry in 1978–80, 1982–85, 1987–89, and 1992–95. A highly articulate and charismatic figure, Leibler was especially influential during the premierships of Malcolm Fraser (1975–83) and Bob Hawke (1983–91), and was significant in maintaining Australia's strong pro-Israel stance at the UN and other bodies. Leibler was also well known for his work on behalf of Soviet Jewry, entailing many trips to the Soviet Union on behalf of the "refuseniks." Leibler officially opened the Solomon Mykhoels Center in Moscow in 1987, the first free Jewish institution in Russia since the 1920s. In 1998 he moved to Jerusalem, where, as chairman of the Governing Board of the *World Jewish Congress, he became involved in a number of high-profile disputes with Edgar *Bronfman, its president. In Australia, Leibler built up one of the largest private libraries of Judaica in the world, and was the author of many works on Jewish affairs, including *Soviet Jewry and Human Rights* (1963) and *Jewish Religious Extremism: A Threat to the Future* *of the Jewish People* (1991). A leading member of the Mizrachi movement, Leibler was the son-in-law of Rabbi Israel *Porush. Leibler's brother MARK LEIBLER (1942–), a prominent solicitor in Melbourne, was the leader of the Zionist movement in Australia in the 1980s and 1990s and was in part responsible for a resolution, passed by the Australian parliament, demanding the revocation of the UN's "Zionism is racism" declaration of 1975, which was influential in the repeal of the resolution by the United Nations in 1991.

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[William D. Rubinstein (2nd ed.)]

LEIBOVITZ, ANNIE (**Anna-Lou**; 1949–), U.S. photographer. Born in Westbury, Conn., to an Air Force lieutenant and a modern dance instructor, she was one of six children. In 1967 she enrolled at the San Francisco Art Institute (she earned her degree in 1971) and developed a love of photography. In 1969 she lived on a kibbutz in Israel and participated in an archeological dig at the site of King Solomon's temple. Her career started in 1970 when she sent pictures of a group of ladders, taken in an apple orchard on the kibbutz, to the start-up rock magazine *Rolling Stone*, which hired her right away. Within two years the 23-year-old Leibovitz was named chief photographer, a title she would hold for ten years. At the magazine she developed her trademark technique, which involved the use of bold primary colors and surprising poses. She accompanied the Rolling Stones rock group on its international tour in 1975 and captured weeks of strung-out nights and unmade beds. Jann Wenner, publisher of the magazine, credited Leibovitz with making many *Rolling Stone* magazine covers collector's items, most notably an issue that featured a nude John Lennon of the Beatles curled around his fully clothed wife, Yoko Ono. The photo was taken on December 8, 1980, just hours before his death.

In 1983 Leibovitz left *Rolling Stone* for the entertainment magazine *Vanity Fair* in part to learn about glamour. "I admired the work of photographers like Beaton, Penn, and Avedon as much as I respected the grittier photographers such as Robert Frank," she said. "But in the same way that I had to find my own way of reportage, I had to find my own form of glamour." With a wider array of subjects and generous budgets, Leibovitz photographed presidents, literary icons, and all manner of celebrities. A number of her covers provided startling images of well-known figures: the actress Demi Moore, nine months pregnant and nude except for a diamond ring, in 1991; the black comedian Whoopi Goldberg, half submerged in a bathtub of milk; and the late artist Keith Haring, who painted himself like one of his canvases for the photograph.

During the late 1980s Leibovitz started to work on a number of high-profile advertising campaigns. The most notable was for American Express; her portraits of celebrity cardholders like Elmore Leonard, Tom Selleck, and Luciano Pavarotti earned her a Clio award in 1987. In 1991 her collection of more than 200 black-and-white and color photographs were exhibited at the National Portrait Gallery in Washington. She was the second living photographer and first woman to have that honor. In 1996 she was chosen as the official photographer of the Summer Olympics in Atlanta, Ga., and a compilation of her black-and-white portraits of American athletes was published in the book *Olympic Portraits*. In 1999 she published the book *Women*, accompanied by an essay by the novelist Susan *Sontag. Included were an array of female images, from Supreme Court justices to Las Vegas showgirls to farmers and coal miners. In the early years of the 21st century, she was probably the most famous photographer or portraitist in the United States.

[Stewart Kampel (2nd ed.)]

LEIBOWITZ, BARUCH BER (1866–1939), Lithuanian talmudic scholar and *rosh yeshivah*. Born in Slutsk, at the age of 14 he delivered a discourse at the local synagogue, astounding his listeners with his erudition. A year later, when accepted to the Volozhin yeshivah, he had already mastered two orders of the Talmud. Soon recognized as an *illui* ("prodigy"), he was given special attention by his teacher, R. Ḥayyim *Soloveichik. He married the daughter of R. Abraham Zimmerman, the rabbi of Halusk. Leibowitz later succeeded his father-in-law in this position, and many talented pupils soon gathered around him, making Halusk a new center for talmudic study. Leibowitz' personality and system of learning greatly influenced his students, many of whom later occupied important positions in the rabbinate and yeshivot. His method of exposition was essentially based on that of R. Ḥayyim Soloveichik. In 1904, Leibowitz was appointed head of the Keneset Bet Yiẓḥak Yeshivah in *Slobodka which had been organized in 1897 as a memorial to Kovno's Rabbi Isaac Elchanan *Spektor. Under his tutelage, the new school gradually earned an outstanding reputation and attracted students from all over the Jewish world. Following the advent of World War I, he was compelled to leave Slobodka and moved his yeshivah to Minsk and afterward to Kremenchug. After the war it was relocated in Vilna, and in 1926 he transferred the school to Kamenetz, near Brest-Litovsk, where it continued to attract hundreds of students for the next 13 years. In 1939, shortly before his death, he fled with his school to a suburb of Vilna, in the hope of escaping from the Nazis and the Communists.

His *Birkat Shemu'el* (4 vols., 1939–62) is regarded as a classic among talmudic scholars. It represents, however, only a small fraction of his learning and teachings, treasured by his numerous disciples who recorded everything they heard from their revered master. His students and family reopened the Kamenetz Yeshivah in Jerusalem in 1942.

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[Mordechai Hacohen]

LEIBOWITZ, JOSHUA O. (1895–1993), medical historian and Hebrew scholar; cousin of Yeshayahu and Neḥama *Leibowitz. He was born in Vilna. Leibowitz combined his studies of medicine at Heidelberg University with talmudic studies. After serving as head physician at a sanatorium in Bad Homburg, he immigrated to Palestine in 1935 and was appointed medical director of the Arza Sanatorium near Jerusalem. During the 1948 War of Independence he was head physician of Schneller military camp, and later senior physician at the Kupat Ḥolim in Jerusalem. In 1959 Leibowitz was appointed clinical associate professor and head of the division of the history of medicine at the Hebrew University.

He published many papers on medicine in general, but from 1930 onward his main interest was in the history of medicine. Until 1957 he devoted himself almost exclusively to Jewish topics in historical medicine but subsequently wrote also a history of medicine in general, with special emphasis on the evolution of cardiology. His *History of Coronary Heart Disease* (1970) is the first historical monograph on the subject.

LEIBOWITZ, KEREN (1973–), Israeli Paralympic gold medalist in swimming. Active in sports all her life, Leibowitz decided to focus on swimming after an accident during her army service left her legs virtually paralyzed. After years of hard training she won medals in several world championships. However, her main goal was the Paralympic Games, where she first competed in 2000 in Sydney. There she took three gold medals and set new world records in the 100-meter backstroke and in the 50- and 100-meter free style events. In the Paralympic Games of 2004 in Athens she won a gold medal in the 100-meter backstroke as well as two silvers and a bronze among the 13 medals won by the Israeli contingent. Leibowitz was one of the country's outstanding competitors who assured Paralympic sports headline coverage in Israel.

[Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

LEIBOWITZ, NEḤAMA (1905–1997), Bible scholar, sister of Yeshayahu *Leibowitz. Born in Riga, her mother died when she was a child. In 1919, her father moved the family to Berlin to provide his two precocious children with a better education. Neḥama and her brother Yeshayahu were tutored at home until they entered the university. Neḥama attended the University of Berlin and the University of Marburg. Asked many times if she knew Rabbi Joseph B. *Soloveitchik when she studied at the University of Berlin, Leibowitz would reply that someone pointed to a giant stack of books in the library and said that the young Soloveitchik was behind the books, but she never met him. In 1929 she married her uncle, Yedidyah Lipman Leibowitz. In 1930 she received her Ph.D. from Marburg. Her dissertation was titled "Techniques of Judeo-German Bible Translation in the 15th and 16th Century as Exemplified by Translations of the Book of Psalms." In 1930, she and her husband immigrated to Palestine. Shortly thereafter he became blind and could not work. Thus, Leibowitz embarked on her lifelong career teaching Bible. From 1930, when she settled in Palestine, until 1955, she taught at the Mizrachi Women Teachers Seminary in Jerusalem. She was a regular Bible commentator on the Israel Broadcasting Service. From the late 1950s she taught Bible at Tel Aviv University (becoming a tenured professor in 1968) and at Bar-Ilan University.

In 1941 Leibowitz taught a group of religious kibbutz women, who traveled to Jerusalem once a week to study. After they expressed their desire to continue studying at home, Leibowitz began mailing them a weekly *Gilayon* (page) with sources and questions relating to the weekly Torah reading. Her audience for the *Gilyonot* grew quickly. Leibowitz insisted that those receiving the *Gilyonot* should send their answers to her for correction. Over the next 29 years, Leibowitz mailed *Gilyonot* to thousands of "students" all over the world, corresponding with hundreds of them. Over time she turned numerous *Gilyonot* into essays on the weekly Torah portion (*parashat ha-shavu'a*). These were published in Hebrew and English and distributed as small pamphlets by the World Zionist Organization's Department for Education and Culture in the Diaspora. Eventually, in the mid-1960s the pamphlets became collections of essays, *Iyyunim Ḥadashim*, a volume for each of the books of the Pentateuch. The *Iyyunim* have been published in Hebrew, English, Dutch, French, and Spanish; they have remained in print into the 21st century. She was awarded the Israel Prize for education in 1956. Aside from her *Gilyonot*, Leibowitz continued to teach, including the instruction of teachers on how to teach Bible. In addition to Tel Aviv University, she taught in the overseas program at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem and at a variety of other one-year study programs for overseas students, including Machon Gold and Yeshiva University's Gruss Kollel for *semikhah* students in Jerusalem. In 1980, she received the Leibman Prize for disseminating knowledge of Torah; in 1982 she received the Bialik Prize from the City of Tel Aviv-Jaffa.

After retiring from formal classroom and university teaching, Leibowitz continued to teach small groups of students in her home. The secular books in English, German, Yiddish, and Hebrew that lined the wall of her vestibule were evidence of her voracious reading in literature, history, and other topics beyond the realm of Bible and Jewish studies. Both in her writing and in her classes, Leibowitz would quote from nonreligious Jewish scholars, as well as from world literature, to make a point. As an observant, believing Jew, Neḥama rejected Bible Criticism out of hand. However, she sought truth wherever she could find it. Her specific selection of sources was based solely on each one's contribution to understanding the *peshat* (plain meaning) of the biblical text and to the revelation of the significance of that text. Marla Frankel (1998) points out that her reading of the Bible is defined as "close study" as opposed to "close reading." Leibowitz never limited herself to the words of the Bible alone. Rather, her context included the entire range of the Bible, rabbinic literature, medieval and modern commentators, modern Bible scholarship, and the world of philosophy and literature. She was never satisfied just teaching the biblical text. Her second goal was to demonstrate how the Bible's narrative, laws, and prophecies provide the student with a blueprint for his life. Leibowitz clearly understood that the layers of meaning in the Bible could only be taught if the student was an active player in the classroom. For this reason, her classes were not lectures but dialogues between herself, her students, and the written texts. She prodded her students to answer her questions, often criticizing their answers to sharpen their minds and hone their interpretive skills. For this reason, many of her students found the classroom experience with her somewhat intimidating.

Aside from 29 years of *Gilyonot* and the *Iyyunim Ḥadashim* (*Studies in the Weekly Parashah*), Leibowitz's work includes *Leader's Guide to the Book of Psalms* for Hadassah (1971), *Gilyonot le-Iyyun be-Sefer Yirmiyahu* (1974), and *Lilmod u-Lelamed Tanakh* (1995), a collection of essays on teaching Bible. The English edition appeared the same year. In 1990, Leibowitz produced, together with Moshe Ahrend, a two-volume course for the Open University called *Perush Rashi la-Torah*. She also published teachers' guides and numerous essays. In 2002, Yizhak Reiner and Stanley Peerless published *Studies on the Haggadah from the Teachings of Nechama Leibowitz*.

For all of her accomplishments, Leibowitz was an exceedingly humble person. She never used her academic titles, always referring to herself as simply Neḥama. She loved to tell stories and to hear stories. In 2003, Leah Abramowitz published *Tales of Nehama*, stories by her and about her contributed by her students. It can be argued that Leibowitz had a greater impact on Bible study and the teaching of Bible than anyone in the 20th century. She succeeded in opening up the world of Bible for everyone by taking Bible study out of academia and returning it to the people. David Bedein, an Israeli journalist, reports that he invited Leibowitz to teach the story of Rebecca in honor of the birth of his first daughter, Rivka. So Neḥama traveled to Safed for the Sabbath and more than 300 people showed up to sit on the lawn of the Wolfson Center to hear the lesson. They all came with their Bibles in hand because they all knew that to attend a class with Neḥama Leibowitz you needed to bring along just two things: a *Tanakh* and a desire to learn.

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[David Derovan (2nd ed.)

LEIBOWITZ, RENÉ (1913–1972), composer, theorist, teacher, and conductor. Born in Warsaw, Leibowitz went to France at a young age. From 1930 to 1933 he studied with *Schoenberg and Webern, and became the chief advocate of the Schoenberg school in France. In 1947 he organized a chamber music festival, "Hommage to Schoenberg," in which he conducted the first performances of several compositions of the Second Viennese school. He wrote a survey, *Schoenberg et son Ecole* (1947), which was the first monograph on Schoenberg, Berg, and Webern in French, and a treatise, *Introduction à la musique de douze sons* (1949). Being closely connected with such famous French intellectuals as Claude Lévi-Strauss and Jean-Paul Sartre, he succeeded in integrating the Germanic type of Schoenbergian musical thought in the cultural context of France. Throughout his life Leibowitz continued to promote interest in the 12-tone principle by his work as a conductor and also by his own compositions for orchestra and chamber ensembles.

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[Yulia Kreinin (2nd ed.)]

LEIBOWITZ, SAMUEL SIMON (**Samuel S. Lebeau**; 1893–1978), U.S. lawyer and jurist. Leibowitz was taken from Jassy, Romania, to New York at the age of four. In 1917 he began a brilliant career as a criminal lawyer. Of the 140 capital cases that Leibowitz defended, he saved the lives of all but one client, and attained national renown in his 1933–35 defense without fee of nine black youths charged with the rape of a white woman in Scottsboro, Alabama. Although the nine "Scottsboro Boys" were originally convicted and sentenced to death, Leibowitz secured acquittals for four of them at a retrial in 1937. A flamboyant attorney who defended the gangster Al Capone four times, Leibowitz became an impassioned jurist who imposed extraordinarily severe sentences on criminals, and extirpated corrupt officials. Leibowitz served on the King's County Court of Brooklyn from 1949 to 1961, when he was appointed to the New York State Supreme Court. Leibowitz was president of the United Organization for Israel Pioneers and a member of the New York Federation of Jewish Philanthropies.

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LEIBOWITZ, YESHAYAHU (1903–1994), Israeli scientist and philosopher. Born in Riga, Leibowitz studied chemistry and philosophy at the University of Berlin, where he received his doctorate in 1924. He also studied medicine and became a medical doctor in 1934 at the University of Basel. In 1935 he settled in Palestine and joined the staff of the Hebrew University. He was appointed professor of organic and biochemistry and neurophysiology. His research was concerned with saccharides and enzymes in chemistry and with the nervous system of the heart in physiology. He was the head of the biological chemistry department at the Hebrew University and professor of neurophysiology at the HU Medical School. He also taught the history and philosophy of science. Yet Leibowitz was not only an academician. He was involved in public affairs and had a unique approach to Judaism. As such he was a popular lecturer, who loved to appear before diverse audiences, also frequently on radio and television. Leibowitz served as editor in chief of several volumes of the *Encyclopedia Hebraica*. His writings are found mostly in periodicals: *Gilyonot, De'ot*, *Be-Terem*, *Petaḥim,* and *Moznayim*, and also in the newspaper *Haaretz*. A selection of lectures and articles from the period 1942–53 was published in book form, entitled *Torah u-Mitzvot ba-Zeman ha-Zeh* (1954). His book of collected essays, *Yahadut, Am Yehudi u-Medinat Yisrael* ("Judaism, Jewish People, and the State of Israel," 1975) stated his philosophy and views. Other books (published in 1965 and 1982) testify to his broad knowledge and great interest in Jewish life. He also wrote on Maimonides, *The Sayings of the Fathers*, and the weekly Torah-portion. In 1992 Eliezer Goldman published a collection of Leibowitz's essays in English under the title *Judaism, Human Values and the Jewish State*, making him known internationally.

Theocentrism and Humanism

Leibowitz regarded Judaism as a religious and historical phenomenon, which is characterized by a recognition of the duty to serve God in performing *mitzvot*. The service of God according to binding halakhic norms must be "for its own sake" (*li-shemah*), and its purpose is not designed to achieve personal perfection or to improve society. Religion is thus not a means toward any specific end. Judaism is for Leibowitz not humanism, or a sentiment or a bundle of memories. Jews have the obligation to take upon themselves the yoke of Torah and *mitzvot*. Leibowitz's standpoint is thus neither anthropocentric or ethnocentric, but theocentric. Consistent with his own reasoning, Leibowitz refused to be called a "humanist," because this is an anthropocentric notion that envisages the human being as a supreme value. Under the influence of Maimonides, Leibowitz stressed the transcendence of God, whom we cannot know. His thought also contains Kantian elements. Kant's critique of pure reason led to a theological agnosticism, whereas his critique of practical reason led him to affirm that the realization of values follows from a person's autonomous decision. There is a tension between Leibowitz the philosopher who read Kant on human autonomy, and regarded politics and ethics as domains where human autonomy is decisive, and the halakhic man who lived in conformity with his strict halakhic, theocentric conception of Judaism. For Leibowitz, morality is thus an atheistic category. Kant's influence on Leibowitz is also clear when he states that the value of a religious act is determined by the intention. Only when one performs an act because it is a divine commandment does it possess a religious value.

Religion and State

Leibowitz repeatedly expressed his opinions on the religious aspect of Jewish life in Israel. Before the state of Israel was established, he stressed the religious importance that national independence would assume, provided it would bring about halakhic legislation designed to mold the character of the state. After the establishment of the state, he advocated the separation of the Jewish religion from the state and its confrontation with it. He adopted a negative attitude toward the system of party rule, including the religious parties with their economic and rabbinical institutions.

Leibowitz emphasized the necessity for innovation in the *halakhah*, due to the changed circumstances created by the establishment of the State of Israel. He wanted halakhic decisions to cope with the challenge of today. One can note a change in his thought concerning the state in the course of time, although he himself would have denied this. Leibowitz refused to grant to the state religious status: the aim of the state would be the fulfillment of the needs of the individual and of the community, nothing more. He thought it was idolatry to ascribe holiness to the land or the state, which is not (in the words of religious Zionism) "the beginning of the redemption." The state – just like history – had for Leibowitz no religious significance. He was a Zionist, but he emphasized that the state need not realize values, it has merely to satisfy needs. The Jewish people, on the other hand, has to realize values. Against Ben-Gurion, he pleaded for the separation of state and religion. Whereas Ben-Gurion wanted religion to be an instrument in the hands of the state, Leibowitz asserted that religion had to be in opposition to the state. For Judaism, only God is holy, whereas country, nation, and state lack that status. The state is not a value in itself; indeed, "seeing the state as a value is the essence of the fascist conception." Rather, Leibowitz argued, the state is an instrument, a means to an end. Its existence allowed him not to be ruled by the *goyim*. In addition, Leibowitz criticized the "sacred cow of national unity," pointing out that the Jewish religion had always divided the people, whether between prophets and kings or between religionists or secularists.

Leibowitz further denied that Zionism had any religious significance, stating that, since the intention of many of its propagators had been completely nonreligious, it could not be retrospectively assigned religious value. In the same way, he refused to acknowledge any messianic significance in the creation of the State of Israel, citing Maimonides' warning against such messianic fervor. He did, however, ascribe immense moral significance for the Jewish people to the establishment of the Jewish state: "Now – and only now," he wrote, "with the attainment of the independence of the Jewish nation – will Judaism be tested as to whether indeed it has a 'Torah of life' in its hand …. Certainly there is no guarantee that the struggle on behalf of the Torah within the framework of the state will be crowned with success, but even so we are not free to desist from it, for this struggle is itself a supreme religious value, independent of its results."

Politics

Leibowitz was well known in Israel for his provocative utterances on the political situation. After the 1967 Six-Day War, his position on the occupation of the Palestinian territories was sharply critical. His uncompromising stance and forceful, biting language made him a known and much-discussed figure in religious as well as secular circles. In his opinion, partition of the country would be the rational and moral resolution of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. With the outbreak of the Lebanon War in 1982, Leibowitz called upon the Israeli soldiers to refuse to serve in Lebanon. He also supported conscientious objection regarding military service in the territories on the grounds that occupation morally corrupts. His outspokenness on matters of conscience led to his vilification by those who saw him as a threat to their values, and the protest that ensued upon the announcement that he had been awarded the Israel Prize in 1993 was such that he turned it down.

Religion and Morality

In his antimystical approach to Judaism, Leibowitz wanted Jews to reach out toward transcendence, which is approached in the *mitzvot* that have to be performed without reward. Whereas *Levinas links morality and religion, Leibowitz differentiates between them and even separates the two. Levinas believed that the appeal of the other person is heteronomous, whereas Leibowitz maintained that only the divine command is heteronomous and that morality is autonomous. Therefore, their views on the relationship between religion and morality are radically opposed: for Levinas, religion and morality are intrinsically linked, for Leibowitz, ethical laws are religiously relevant only if a person accepts them as commanded by God. Another crucial difference between Levinas and Leibowitz lies in the fact that the former emphasizes the performance of the ethical act itself, whereas the latter highlights the intention of the act: an act is religious if performed "for the sake of heaven," it is not religious when performed as a function of human needs and based upon a person's arbitrary will. Since morality is autonomous, based upon human thought and will, and therefore not "for the sake of heaven," but "for the sake of man," it is not religious. Towards the end of his life, Leibowitz appreciated Levinas, but his concept of Torah and *mitzvot* prevented him from agreeing with him.

Christianity

Leibowitz had a very negative view of Christianity as well as of modern Jewish thinkers like *Rosenzweig and *Buber, who showed intellectual and religious interest in Christianity. In contrast to scholars and thinkers like David *Flusser, who investigated the Jewish roots of Christianity, Leibowitz wrote that the very concept of a "Judeo-Christian heritage" is a square circle. A synthesis or symbiosis is impossible; Christianity is for Leibowitz the adversary of Judaism. In his view, Christianity is the heir who does not want to admit that the testator is still alive. Judaism and Christianity cannot coexist, because Christianity claims that it is true Judaism, and is interested in the liquidation of Judaism as the religion of Torah and *mitzvot*.

Influence

In his essays, Leibowitz produced sharp and thought-provoking insights on many subjects such as the nature of holiness, chosenness, Messianism, prayer, redemption, and general and personal providence. His consistent and provocative thought gave him a prominent position in contemporary Jewish thought, especially in Israel. His thinking, even when contested, is stimulating and powerful and invites or even forces people to respond by formulating their own views.

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[Asa Kasher and Rohan Saxena / Ephraim Meir (2nd ed.)]

LEIBZOLL (Ger., "body tax"), a special tax levied on Jews in Europe. Known under a variety of names – *Judengeleit, Leibmauth, Judenzoll, péage corporel*, etc. – it was first levied by the three landgraves of Thuringia in 1368, and became more common after the major expulsions of the 15th and 16th centuries. Principalities which excluded Jews issued, for a fee, a ticket of passage or limited sojourn which guaranteed their safety, enabled the authorities to control their coming and going, and was also a source of income. Due to the political fragmentation of Europe, having to pay the *Leibzoll* (in addition to the regular customs duties) was for the Jews a moral degradation as well as an economic burden, for the *Leibzoll* was accompanied by humiliating legal formulas. In addition, it was levied many times within one political or provincial unit, according to local usage. Thus a Jew going from Goerlitz in Silesia to the Leipzig fair in Saxony (a distance of about 110 mi.) had to pay eight times for himself alone a total of 14 different payments of between two and 12 groschen each, a total of two thaler, 11 groschen, and three pfennig. At the fair itself he had to pay twice that amount or more. Nonetheless, rich and privileged Jews often succeeded in freeing themselves from the obligation.

The *Leibzoll* was known as *Leibmauth* in Vienna "and was introduced not as a financial but as a police measure, to keep away a considerable number of useless Jews, and to supervise their conduct" (A. Pribram, *Urkunden und Akten* (1918), 423). By the **Toleranzpatent* of Joseph II it was abolished (1782), but Joseph reserved the right to exact its equivalent. Ten years later *Francis I introduced the *Judenbolleten* for the same purposes; it survived until 1848. The tax was abolished in Prussia in 1787, in Bavaria in 1799, and in most of the other German states in the first decade of the 19th century, either through direct French occupation or through the activity of leading Jewish financiers and *Court Jews. Israel *Jacobson succeeded in abolishing it in Brunswick, and Wolf *Breidenbach devoted himself to inducing Hesse-Darmstadt, Hesse-Homberg, Nassau, and other states to abolish it. The Russian form, the *Geleitzoll*, used to regulate passage across the Polish-Russian border, was abolished in 1862. The authorities often leased the collection of tax to a Jew, who could more easily supervise his brethren. The much-hated *péage corporel* of Strasbourg was leased in 1784 by Louis XVI to Herz *Cerfberr, one of the central figures in the struggle for its abolition.

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LEICESTER, county town in central England. A handful of Jews (but no community) lived here in the Middle Ages. They were expelled by Simon de Montfort in 1231 but were invited by his aunt, the countess of Winchester, to farm her lands. A section of the ancient Roman forum known as "Jewry Wall" has no connection with Jews. A modern community was formed after the influx of refugees from Russia at the close of the 19th century. In 1970, the Jewish population numbered approximately 1,100 out of a total population of some 283,540. SIR ISRAEL HART (1835–1911) played a prominent civic role and was repeatedly mayor. In 1928, following the elevation of Leicester to the status of a city in 1919, the office of mayor was elevated to lord mayor. The first Jewish lord mayor was Alderman Cecil Herbert Harris (1954) and the second Sir Mark Henig (1967). Two Jews, Barnett *Janner (Baron Janner of Leicester) and M. Goldsmith, were named honorary freemen of Leicester in 1971. In the mid-1990s the Jewish population dropped significantly to approximately 670. In the 2001 British census, Leicester was found to have a declared Jewish population of 417. An Orthodox synagogue and a variety of other institutions remained. The University of Leicester maintained a Holocaust Studies Centre, formerly headed by Professor Aubrey Newman.

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[Cecil Roth]

LEICHTENTRITT, HUGO (1874–1951), musicologist and composer. Born in Pleschen, Poland, from 1905 he taught at the Klindworth-Scharwenka Conservatory in Berlin and was also music critic for the *Vossische Zeitung*. In 1933 he left Germany and became lecturer at Harvard University. His writings include *Haendel* (Ger., 1924); *Music, History and Ideas* (1938); *Music of the Western Nations* (1956); and a widely used handbook, *Musical Form* (1911, 1952; augmented English edition, 1951). His editions of early music appeared, among others, in the *Denkmaeler deutscher Tonkunst*. Leichtentritt composed a symphony, a comic opera, chamber music, an opera *Esther* (a dramatic legend), and a cantata *The Song of Solomon*.

LEICHTER, KAETHE PICK (1895–1942), Austrian Social Democratic politician, labor organizer, and author. Leichter was born and raised in Vienna. She resolved at a young age to devote her life to helping the less fortunate, especially members of the working class. After the outbreak of World War I, she did volunteer work on behalf of the war effort and worked in a day nursery for workers' children. In 1914, already an ardent socialist and pacifist, Kaethe Pick began studying political economy at the University of Vienna. She transferred to the University of Heidelberg in 1917, but in December of that year she was expelled from Germany for the duration of the war; she needed special permission to complete her doctorate in 1918 in Heidelberg. In 1921, Kaethe Pick married another left-wing activist, Otto Leichter; the couple had two sons. While Otto Leichter became editor of the major Austrian socialist newspaper, *Die Arbeiter-Zeitung*, Kaethe Leichter served as a director of women's affairs for the Wiener Arbeiterkammer and on the Commission on Socialization. In this position, Leichter systematically gathered material on women's work in Austria, compiled statistical data, and published articles and reports. She worked on behalf of legislation to protect working women and also tried to get more professional women hired at all levels of social administration, demanding equal pay for equal work. An active teacher, writer, and broadcaster, Leichter participated actively in Social Democratic Party conferences.

Kaethe and Otto Leichter were both involved in the socialist underground in Austria after 1934. After the *Anschluss* in 1938, her husband and sons succeeded in escaping to Switzerland and subsequently found refuge in the United States, but Kaethe Leichter was arrested in May 1938 while paying a final visit to her mother. While in prison, she wrote memoirs of her early years, "Lebenserinnerungen," published in Herbert Steiner (ed.), *Kaethe Leichter: Leben und Werk* (1973), 235–386 (this volume also includes a complete bibliography of Leichter's writings, 229–31). Even in the women's concentration camp of Ravensbrueck, she continued to exercise her leadership skills. In January 1942, together with other Jewish prisoners, she was sent on a transport to an unknown destination, where she was murdered soon thereafter. In memory of Kaethe Leichter, the Austrian government established a state prize awarded annually to an outstanding Austrian woman historian. Leichter's papers are in the Documentation Archive of the Austrian Resistance in Vienna.

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[Harriet Pass Freidenreich (2nd ed.)]

LEIDESDORF, SAMUEL DAVID (1881–1968), U.S. businessman and communal leader. Leidesdorf, who was born in New York City, became a certified public accountant at the age of 20. In 1905 he founded the accounting firm of S.D. Leidesdorf and Co., subsequently one of the largest in the U.S. He was extremely active as a fundraiser on behalf of numerous charities, especially the United Jewish Appeal, and collected millions of dollars for them. Leidesdorf was instrumental in establishing the New York University Medical Center and served as its board chairman. His other organizational posts included treasurer of the United Jewish Appeal of Greater New York for over 30 years; president of the Federation of Jewish Philanthropies; and director of both the Joint Distribution Committee and the National Conference of Christians and Jews. He also served as chairman of the board of the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton, New Jersey.

LEIDESDORFER, Viennese family prominent in the 18th and 19th centuries. The family had two branches; the older line, from *Eisenstadt, was founded by ISAAC LEIDESDORFER (d. 1748), army purveyor and agent of Samuel *Oppenheimer. He was permitted to reside in Vienna in 1719 and was often employed as a translator by the authorities. His sons, SAMUEL (1700–1780) and LOEB (1705–1789), both army purveyors, received a joint letter of protection from Maria Theresa in 1758. Loeb married the daughter of R. Margulias-Joffe and had 15 children, one of whom married a daughter of Israel von *Hoenigsberg. Samuel had seven children; his daughter Judith married Akiva *Eger the Elder and afterward Meir *Fischels, the Prague communal leader. Samuel's sons MOSES and JOACHIM (ḤAYYIM) were among the founders of the Vienna *ḥevra kaddisha* in 1763. Joachim married a granddaughter of Samson *Wertheimer; his descendants married into the Hoenigsberg and Wertheimstein families.

The younger branch of the family, which was also named Nass after Nassau, its place of origin, was established by MENAHEM MENDEL LEIDESDORF of Pressburg (Bratislava; d. 1770), a partisan of Jacob *Emden in the Emden-Eybeschuetz conflict. His son AARON, one of the wealthiest members of the Vienna Jewish community, was head of its hospital for 40 years. In 1797 he was nominated, along with Salomon von Herz and David Wertheimer, as one of the three legal representatives of Viennese Jewry. His daughter BABETTA (BELA) married Israel (Ignaz) Liebmann, wool merchant and industrialist. In 1817 they were given the title of Edler von Liebenberg. Their sons, one of whom married a daughter of Leopold von *Herz, were baptized. Aaron's brother MARKUS (1754–1838) amassed great wealth as an army purveyor during the French revolutionary and Napoleonic wars; he specialized in the rapid organization of military hospitals. His requests for ennoblement were first rejected, mainly because of objections by Francis I and because of irregularities in his business transactions, but eventually, in 1817, he was granted the title of Edler von Neuwall. Markus was a representative of the Vienna Jewish community (1816–38). In 1824 his sons, AUGUST and IGNAZ, both baptized and married to daughters of the Herz family, were ennobled. August's son, ALBERT VON NEUWALL (1807–1881), an Austrian politician, was the first to speak in the Kremsier parliament (1848) in favor of Jewish emancipation.

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[Henry Wasserman]

LEIGH, ADÈLE (1928–2004), British soprano. Leigh was born in London into a Polish-Jewish immigrant family. She studied at the Royal Academy of Dramatic Art, then at the Juilliard School, New York, with Maggie Teyte. Leigh made her Covent Garden début in 1948 (Xenia in *Boris Godunov*), and remained a member of the company until 1956. She distinguished herself in Mozart, Strauss, and Massenet roles, took the title role in *Manon*, and appeared in the first performances of Vaughan Williams' *Pilgrim's Progress* (1951) and Tippett's *Midsummer Marriage* as Bella (1955). Leigh pursued a parallel career in show business. She became a member of the Vienna Volksoper as principal operetta soprano (1963–72). Johann Strauss, Lehar, and Kalman became her staple fare for the next few years. She appeared in Israel with the famous composer Robert Stolz. Stolz was invited to conduct *Night in Vienna* concerts with the Israel Philharmonic Orchestra, 1963. The concerts achieved tremendous success. Her American debut was in Boston in 1966. She later came out of retirement to sing Gabrielle (*La vie parisienne*) at the Brighton Festival in 1984 and Heidi Schiller in Sondheim's *Follies* in London in 1987. Leigh combined a pleasing lyric soprano and musical sensibility with a charming stage appearance. In her later years she taught at the Royal Northern College of Music in Manchester.

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[Naama Ramot (2nd ed.)]

LEIMDOERFER, DAVID (1851–1922), Hungarian-born Reform rabbi and scholar. After serving as rabbi at Nordhausen, Germany, from 1875 to 1883, he became preacher at the Hamburg Reform temple; he was a brilliant orator. Leimdoerfer took a moderate line in the Reform movement.

His works include three studies of Psalms, *Psalterklaenge, Homiletische Einleitung in die Psalmen* (1894), *Psalter-Ego in den lch-Psalmen* (1898), and *Die Himmel ruehmen* (1906); two studies of Ecclesiastes, *Der "Prediger Salomonis" in historischer*

Beleuchtung (1892) and *Loesung des Kohelethraetsels durch den Philosophen Barukh ibn Barukh* (1900); a study of Esther, *Zur Kritik des Buches Esther* (1899); and shorter works, including *Messias-Apokalypse* (1895), *Altbiblische Priestersegen* (1900), and *Talmudische Ethik des Alphabets* (1912). He edited the centenary volume of the Hamburg Reform temple *Festschrift zum hundertjaehrigen Bestehen des Israelitischen Tempels in Hamburg* (1918); many of his sermons were published, and he wrote textbooks for Jewish schools.

LEINER, GERSHON ḤANOKH (Henikh) BEN JACOB (1839–1891), ḥasidic rebbe. Leiner was born in Izbica, Poland, and studied with his grandfather R. Mordecai Joseph, the first *rebbe* of the Izbica-Radzyn dynasty, until the latter's death in 1854. He stayed with his father R. Jacob, the second *rebbe*, and moved with him to Radzyn, where he lived until his death, after which Leiner became the third *rebbe* (1878).

In contrast to his predecessors, R. Gershon Ḥanokh was a prolific writer whose works cover diverse fields and genres. He had a bold, unconventional personality and did not hesitate to initiate controversial innovations that put him in the eye of the storm. He documented the homilies of his grandfather (*Mei ha-Shilo'aḥ*) and father (*Bet Ya'akov*), establishing the foundation of the Izbica-Radzyn dynasty's writings. Utilizing his outstanding talmudic erudition he composed *Sidrei Taharot*, a *Gemara*-style work on the tractates of *Kelim* (1873) and *Oholot* (1903) in *Seder Taharot*, for which there is no Babylonian Talmud. This work includes interpretation in the style of Rashi and *Tosafot*. In "*Ha-Hakdamah ve-ha-Petiḥah*" (introduction to *Bet Ya'akov*, 1890) he gives an historiographic account of the transmission and development of Torah, mainly Kabbalah, to his time. He made it a point to show that Maimonides was part of the kabbalistic tradition. He addressed the central theme in his grandfather's homilies: God's will as guiding all human deeds, including sins, in a kabbalistic sense. After traveling to the Naples aquarium he wrote a book called *Sefunei Temunei Ḥol* (1886), where he claimed that he had found the special *ḥillazon* (snail) and the way to produce **tekhelet* (blue dye) from it for *ẓiẓit*. Radzyn and Breslau Ḥasidim dye their *ẓiẓit* accordingly to this day. Among his other prominent writings are *Sod Yesharim* and *Orḥot Ḥayyim* (1890), the latter being the best known. He was self-taught in medicine and wrote prescriptions that were honored in pharmacies.

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[Yehuda Ben-Dor (2nd ed.)]

LEINSDORF, ERICH (1912–1993), conductor. Born in Vienna, Leinsdorf was assistant conductor to Bruno Walter and Toscanini at the Salzburg Festival (1934–37), and conducted in Italy, France, and Belgium. After settling in the United States in 1937, he conducted German works at the Metropolitan Opera, New York, until 1943, and then served there as musical consultant. He was appointed director of the New York City Opera in 1955 and of the Boston Symphony Orchestra in 1962, and later returned to the Metropolitan Opera.

LEIPZIG, city in Saxony, Germany. Jews are first mentioned in Leipzig at the end of the 12th century; an organized community with a synagogue and a school existed from the second quarter of the 13th century. Its inhabitants came mainly from neighboring Halle and Merseburg. The community and its synagogue are mentioned in a responsum of *Isaac b. Moses of Vienna ("*Or Zaru'a*") between 1250 and 1258; Jewish moneylending activity is also noted by R. Isaac. The fair regulations of Leipzig of 1268 guaranteed protection to all merchants, and moved the day of the market from Saturday to Friday for the benefit of the Jewish merchants. The Jewish community may have suffered during the *Black Death persecutions, for the margrave disposed of their synagogue in 1352. In 1364 a *Schulmeister* and other Jews are again mentioned; they lived in the *Judenburg*, which had its own entrance gate. The Jews in Leipzig were probably not expelled in 1442 as the city historians record (though their status did deteriorate), but only after the expulsion of the Jews from Saxony in 1540. Their right to attend the fairs, held three times yearly, remained unaltered.

Between 1668 and 1764, 82,000 Jews attended these fairs, and decisively influenced their business; Leipzig's growth as a center of the *fur trade was due to Jewish activities. Jews, however, were prohibited from opening shops facing the streets, and from holding services. Jews who died during the fairs had to be buried in *Dresden, or elsewhere, until a cemetery was opened in 1815.

A permanent Jewish settlement was founded in 1710 when Gerd Levi, *mintmaster and purveyor, received rights of residence. The number of "privileged" Jewish households allowed residence in Leipzig grew to seven by the middle of the 18th century. After the Seven Years' War (1756–63) Jews held services during the fairs in a number of prayer rooms, according to **Landsmannschaften*. By the end of the century 40 to 50 Jewish merchants were living in Leipzig who employed clerks, servants, agents, and *shoḥatim*. A law issued in Saxony in 1837 permitted the establishment of a community in Leipzig, though permission to build a synagogue was withheld. A prayerhouse, influenced by *Reform tendencies, was opened. Adolf *Jellinek was employed as preacher between 1845 and 1857; due to his efforts a new synagogue was built and consecrated in 1855. In 1869 a Reform *synod was held in Leipzig, and the Deutsch-Israelitischer Gemeindebund was founded, led by leaders of the Leipzig community Moritz Kohner and Jacob *Nachod.

After 1868/69, with the abolition of all anti-Jewish restrictions, the number of Jews increased greatly by immigration from Galicia and Poland. There were 7,676 Jews living in Leipzig in 1905, and 13,032 in 1925, making it the largest community in Saxony. As many of the newcomers were Orthodox, a separate community and synagogue was organized, at which rabbis N.A. *Nobel (1902–05), Ephraim Carlebach (1901–36), and David Ochs (1936) officiated. Reform rabbis were A.M.

Goldschmidt (1858–88), Nathan Porges (1888–1917), and Gustav Kohn (from 1921; died in the Holocaust).

Holocaust Period

In 1933, there were 11,564 Jews in Leipzig, including 3,847 of East European origin. By 1938, 1,600 Jewish businesses had been "aryanized," around 3,000 Jews had emigrated, and in October 1938, 1,652 of the East European Jews were deported to Poland. During the **Kristallnacht* the two main synagogues were burned down, shops were looted, and the funeral hall was demolished. Another thousand East European Jews were deported to Poland in early 1939. The 2,500 Jews remaining in 1941 were crowded into 43 "Jew houses" (*Judenhaeuser*) and used for forced labor. Subsequently all were deported to the east in nine transports through February 1945.

Contemporary Period

After the war a new community was reorganized. The Broder Schul synagogue was restored, as were the funeral hall and cemeteries. The community, which numbered 100 in 1968, was under the supervision of an East Berlin rabbi and religious services were led from 1950 by the *ḥazzan*, Werner Sander, who organized the Leipziger Synagogalchor in 1962, a unique choir in Europe. The singers, who are not Jewish, perform Jewish liturgical and folk music.

Membership in the Jewish community declined during the 1970s and 1980s. In 1991 the Jewish community numbered 35. After 1990 it increased due to the immigration of Jews from the former Soviet Union. In 2005 the Jewish community numbered 1,133.

There are several institutions and organizations in Leipzig which deal with Jewish history and culture. The Deutsche Buecherei Leipzig (the German National library) houses the Collection of Exile Literature 1933–45 and the Anne Frank Shoah Library. The exile collection contains publications which were written or published abroad by emigrants – among them many Jews – between 1933 and 1945. The Anne Frank Shoah Library collects worldwide published literature on the persecution and murder of the Jews of Germany under Nazi rule. In 1992 the Ephraim Carlebach Foundation, which focuses on the history of the Jews of Leipzig, was established. Its activities include academic research, publications, exhibitions, cultural events, and preservation of historic buildings. In 1995 the Simon Dubnow Institute for Jewish History and Culture at Leipzig University, named after the Russian-Jewish historian Simon *Dubnow (1860–1941), was founded. The institute focuses on Jewish life primarily in Central and Eastern Europe.

[Jacob Rothschild / Larissa Daemmig (2nd ed.)]

Hebrew Printing

Some Hebrew lettering (from wood-blocks) appears in books printed in Leipzig even before 1500 and in the two decades following, as in Novenianus' *Elementale Hebraicum*, 1520. In 1533 appeared a Hebrew psalter, prepared by Anthonius Margarita (like Novenianus, a lecturer in Hebrew) and printed by his father-in-law, Melchior Lotther. Hebrew printing was resumed in the last quarter of the 17th century through the effort of the apostate F.A. Christiani, and among these productions was a beautiful edition of Isaac Abrabanel's commentary on the Latter Prophets (1685). Numerous books were printed, again by non-Jewish presses, in the 19th century, among them Maimonides' responsa and letters, edited by Mordecai b. Isaac Tamah, with H.L. Schnauss (1859). At the end of the 19th and early 20th century the leading Oriental printing house in Europe, W. Drugulin, produced, among other works, S. Mandelkern's famous Bible Concordance (for Veit and Co., 1896) and *Antologia Hebraica* (ed. by H. Brody and M. Wiener, 1922), for the Insel Verlag. By that time Leipzig had become the most important printing and publishing center in Germany. Drugulin designed a new type, taking early printing type as his model. Another new type was designed by Raphael Frank, cantor in Leipzig, in 1910, for the Berthold'sche Schriftgiesserei in Berlin.

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LEIPZIGER, EMIL WILLIAM (1877–1963), U.S. Reform rabbi. Leipziger, who was born in Stockholm, Sweden, went to the United States with his family in 1881. He was ordained by Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati, in 1900, and from that year until 1913 served as a rabbi in Terre Haute, Indiana. He went to Temple Sinai, New Orleans, in 1913. Leipziger was active in social welfare movements in New Orleans and played a leading role in establishing the local community chest (1925). From 1939 to 1941 Leipziger was president of the Central Conference of American Rabbis.

[Sefton D. Temkin]

LEIPZIGER, HENRY M. (1853–1917), U.S. educator. Leipziger, who was born in Manchester, England, later moved to New York City with his family. Although trained as a lawyer, financial necessity led Leipziger to become a teacher. In 1884 he became principal of the Hebrew Technical Institute whose purpose was to give manual training to immigrant boys. As a result of doing volunteer work with the newly organized YMHA, the Aguilar Free Library, and the Educational Alliance, Leipziger earned a reputation as an expert in the field of educational extension activities. In 1890 he was appointed assistant superintendent of New York City schools and placed in charge of the Free Lecture Series, an adult education program for working people. Leipziger built up the program by hiring well-known speakers, using stereopticon slides, providing for lectures in foreign languages, and choosing a varied assortment of topics. In 1905, at the height of the program, one and a quarter million people attended more than 3,000 lectures. Leipziger called it the "People's University." He published *The Education of the Jews* (1890).

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[Selma Berrol]

LEIRIA, city in W. central Portugal. Its Jewish community first came to notice in 1378 when the Jews complained to the king of their ill-treatment by the gentile inhabitants, particularly during Holy Week. In 1492 after the expulsion from Spain, a Hebrew printing press was set up in the town by Samuel b. Abraham de Ortas, assisted by his sons. Works published included Proverbs, with Targum and the commentaries of Levi b. Gershom and Menahem b. Solomon Meiri (1492); Former Prophets, also with Targum and Levi b. Gershom's commentary and that of David Kimḥi (1494). This press may also have been responsible for the edition of Jacob b. Asher's *Tur Oraḥ Ḥayyim* (1495) which has an engraved border on the opening pages possibly by a Jewish artist. The De Ortas firm also produced in 1496 a Latin and Spanish translation of Abraham *Zacuto's *Ḥibbur ha-Gadol* under the title *Almanach Perpetuum* – the most important of the seven known Latin incunables printed in Portugal. After the expulsion of 1497, Leiria was a Converso center and numerous inquisitional martyrs came from there.

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[Cecil Roth]

LEISERSON, WILLIAM MORRIS (1883–1957), U.S. labor economist. Leiserson, who was born in Estonia, was taken to New York City in 1890. He worked in a shirtwaist factory while continuing his education at Cooper Union. He passed the University of Wisconsin entrance examinations without having formally graduated high school. In Wisconsin he became involved with the Milwaukee reform socialists. He also worked on the economist John R. Commons' staff, studying labor conditions in Pittsburgh. These experiences prepared him to serve as an investigator for the New York State legislature's Commission on Unemployment and Workmen's Compensation. In 1911 he returned to Wisconsin to become deputy industrial commissioner for the state, where he also helped found the National Association of Public and Private Employment Agencies. Leiserson's achievements in the employment and social security fields include drafting of the Ohio Plan for unemployment insurance, chairmanship of the Ohio Commission on Unemployment Insurance, and helping to draft the U.S. Social Security Act of 1934.

Another major interest of Leiserson's was labor arbitration. He became the first impartial chairman of the Rochester (N.Y.) Labor Adjustment Board for the men's clothing industry (1919–21) and served as a full-time arbitrator until he became a professor at Antioch College in 1926. He also served as secretary of the National Labor Board (1933–34), chairman of the National Mediation Board (1934–39), and member of the National Labor Relations Board (1939–43). Leiserson taught at Antioch, the University of Toledo, and Johns Hopkins University. He also wrote many articles and books reflecting his interest in social security and unemployment, industrial relations, and arbitration. Two years after his death, his *American Trade Union Democracy* was published.

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[Albert A. Blum]

LEITNER, GOTTLIEB WILHELM (1840–1899), British educator and Orientalist. Born Gottlieb Saphir (or Sapier) in Budapest, Leitner took the name of his stepfather, a conversionist minister to the Jews of the Ottoman Empire. In the late 1850s he moved to England, becoming professor of Arabic and Mohammedan Law at King's College, London. From 1864 to 1879 he lived in India, where he was principal of Government College, Lahore, and spent several years as a notable explorer of a remote region in Kashmir and Afghanistan he termed "Dardistan." Leitner was also a renowned and remarkable linguist, reputedly knowing 50 languages at his death. He returned to England in 1879, where he opened the Oriental Institute at Woking, south of London, meant for Indian students and also as a research center for Indian studies. There he opened England's first mosque, and was regarded as a positive exponent of Islam in the West. Through his fame as a linguist, Leitner had been asked to give Queen Victoria a suitable Hindustani title when she was made Empress of India in 1876. He chose the title *Kaisar-i-Hind*, by which she was officially known in India. Leitner's career as an explorer of Central Asia and a linguist was remarkably like that of other British Jews of the same time, among them Ney *Elias and Sir Auriol *Stein. Leitner was the uncle of the Conservative politician and Zionist Leopold *Amery.

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[William D. Rubinstein (2nd ed.)]

LEIVIK, H. (pseudonym of **Leyvik Halper(n)**; 1888–1962), Yiddish poet and playwright. Born in Igumen (now Ihumen, Belarus), in 1905 he joined the *Bund and participated in revolutionary activities. The following year he was arrested and while awaiting trial wrote *Di Keytn fun Meshiekh* ("The Chains of the Messiah," 1939) with motifs adumbrating later works. In court in 1908 Leivik openly avowed his desire to overthrow the government. Sentenced to four years' hard labor and Siberian exile for life, in 1912 he marched for four months in a column of chained convicts to the vicinity of Irkutsk. There he expressed his longing for freedom in the play *Dort, Vu di Frayhayt* ("Where Freedom Dwells," 1952). In spring 1913 he made a dramatic escape across the icy Siberian wastes and traveled via Hamburg to New York, which experience was reflected in the collections of verse entitled *Oyf di Vegn Sibirer* ("On Siberian Tracks," 1915) and *In Shney* ("In the Snow," 1915). In New York he worked for several years as a paper-hanger. His literary debut came in 1914 with the poem, "Es Hulyen Vintn, Veyen, Shaln" ("The Gusting Winds Rage and Howl"). During his first few years in the U.S. he was associated with Joseph *Opatoshu, *Mani-Leyb, Moyshe-Leyb *Halpern, and other poets of the literary group known as *Di *Yunge*, though he did not share their rejection of social themes. He reversed his name to create the pseudonym H(alper) Leivik to avoid being confused with the slightly older and already established Moyshe-Leyb Halpern. In 1918 Leivik published *Hintern Shlos* ("Behind Bars"), a first collection of visionary poems describing his years of imprisonment. This was followed in 1919 by *Lider fun H. Leyvik* ("Poems by H. Leivik") including the well-known poems "Geyt Men Zikh Lang" ("Trudging into the Distance") and "Ergets Vayt" ("Somewhere Far Away") which represented an amalgam of Romantic longing, sublimated pain, and political protest that came to characterize Leivik's *œuvre*. By then his writing was moving closer to the more aesthetic style of the Inzikhistn ("Introspectivists"). However, their repudiation of national and political themes did not suit his temperament either. The cataclysms of World War I, the Russian Revolution, and the ensuing Civil War led him to more universal themes and he then wrote his four apocalyptic epic poems "Er" ("He"), "Dos Kranke Tsimer" ("The Sick Room"), "Di Shtal" ("The Stable"), and "Der Volf" ("The Wolf"), all in 1920. The latter in particular reflected the postwar pogroms in Ukraine.

In 1921 his play, *Der Goylem* (1921; *The Golem*, 1966) made an immediate impression and is the work for which he is most remembered. He takes up the midrashic motif of the powerless Messiah grieving at his inability to come to the aid of the Jewish people and transforms the legend of Rabbi *Judah Loew of Prague and his "Golem" into a parable concerning violence perpetrated in the service of corrupted ideals. The relevance to the contemporary situation in Russia was clear. The Golem is a quasi-human robot fashioned by the rabbi to defend the Jews of Prague which, once created, becomes subject to all too human lusts and frustrations and soon escapes the control of the saintly, but impotent rabbi. Leivik's plays of the 1920s, *Shmates* ("Rags," 1928; first staged 1921), *Di Oreme Melukhe* ("The Poor Kingdom," 1927), *Bankrot* ("Bankrupt," 1927), and *Shap* (1928; *Shop*, 1999) all evince a commitment to social justice. These years represented the apogee of Yiddish theater in the U.S., and Leivik was one of a number of dramatists seeking to give greater artistic value to the Yiddish stage. "In Keynems Land" ("In No Man's Land") appeared in the first volume of *Khalyastre* (1922) edited by Perets *Markish and Y.-Y. *Singer. Contributing to this prestigious avant-garde journal added further to Leivik's already considerable reputation. In 1925 Leivik returned to Europe. In Moscow the Soviet critics took exception to the "nationalist" motifs of *Der Goylem*, but above all to Leivik's rejection of bloodshed as a means of perfecting society. Little did they imagine, he recalled 30 years later, that soon it would be they themselves against whom the Golem would raise his ax. Leivik's growing disillusionment with Bolshevism was reflected in the play *Hirsh Lekert* (1926).

In 1932 the tuberculosis which he had contracted earlier became more severe and he spent four years in sanatoria. It was in these years of physical illness that he achieved a degree of harmony reflected in writings such as *Lider fun Gan-Eydn* ("Poems from Paradise," 1937) and especially "Di Balade fun Denver Sanatoryum" ("The Ballad of the Denver Sanatorium"). In 1936, together with Opatoshu, Leivik began editing a series of anthologies or *Zamlbikher* (8 vols., 1936–52), the first volume of which contained his verse drama "Abelar un Heluiz" ("Abelard and Heloise"), which many consider one of his most aesthetically successful works, once more on the theme of redemption through suffering. The following year Leivik made his first visit to Palestine and in Tel Aviv gave a speech "Oykh ikh Bin a Toyshev bay Aykh …" ("I Too Live Among You," collected in *Eseyen un Redes* ("Essays and Speeches"), 1963) in which he was cautiously enthusiastic in his assessment of Zionism, but warned against biased disparagement of the Diaspora.

His major place in Yiddish literature was confirmed in 1940 by the publication of the "Jubilee Edition" of his complete works. During the war years Leivik wrote frequent, authoritative articles for *Der Tog* in which he celebrated and evaluated significant predecessors and contemporaries, as for example in 1942 when he honored Ḥayyim-Naḥman *Bialik on the eighth anniversary of his death, arguing that his "Shkhite-Shtot" ("Town of Slaughter," 1904) was now more relevant than ever before. In 1945 Leivik's articulation of desolate grief at the fate of his murdered people, *In Treblinke Bin Ikh Nit Geven* ("I Was Not in Treblinka"), was awarded the Louis Lamed Prize. In this collection of poems Leivik contends with the central paradox of all Holocaust literature, namely the inadequacy of words to express the ineffable horror juxtaposed with the irresponsibility of remaining silent. *Mit der Sheyres-Hapleyte* ("With the Survivors," 1947) is the diary of a visit to Dachau in 1946, also reflected in *Di Khasene in Fernvald* ("Wedding in Fernwald," 1949), a strangely romantic account of joy in the midst of despair when Leivik had been present at the first DP wedding in the Fernwald camp and saw in the ceremony a symbol of Jewish resurgence. As Leivik watched, he imagined that he saw Elijah the Prophet and the Messiah together with the murdered former spouses standing beside the bride and groom.

In September 1958 he suffered a stroke, lost his power of speech, and was confined to his bed until his death four years later. There were to be two further major publications during his lifetime. His *Oyf Tsarisher Katorge* ("In a Czarist Penal Settlement," 1959) resembled *Hintern Shlos* (published some four decades earlier) in content (and included memories of imprisonment in Minsk and Moscow and earlier childhood experiences) and brought Leivik's *œuvre* full circle. In his last collection of verse, *Lider tsum Eybikn* ("Poems to the Eternal," 1959), Leivik seems to have achieved an almost Nietzschean, sublime, aestheticized serenity and reconciliation with all being. He died December 23, 1962, a few days after his 74th birthday. The following year a memorial volume of *Eseyen un Redes* appeared. Leivik was an outstanding figure in the history of modern Yiddish literature, remarkable for the broad sweep of his poetry, spanning the Siberia of political exile, the teeming tenements of the Lower East Side, the oppressiveness of the sanatorium, the kabbalists of Safed, and the Holocaust, to which his reaction was one of vicarious pain, guilt, and deeply felt anguish. His work is imbued with a quasi-mystical, neo-Romantic humanism that finds a redemptive purpose in suffering and is constantly concerned with the cosmic struggle between good and evil. His lasting significance lies in his moral sensitivity and the distinctive lyric voice that absorbed much from Di Yunge and the Inzikhistn but became uniquely his own and enabled him to have a profound spiritual impact on his generation and to personify the conscience of his people.

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[Hugh Denman (2nd ed.)]

LEKERT, HIRSCH (1880–1902), bootmaker, native of a small Jewish town in Lithuania. Lekert was active from his youth in workers' groups and in the *Bund in Dvinsk, Kovno, Yekaterinoslav, and Vilna. He became famous for his attempt on the life of the governor of Vilna, wounding him, because the latter had ordered the flogging of 26 demonstrators (among them 20 Jews) on May 1, 1902. After the flogging, the central committee of the Bund published a manifesto calling for revenge; Lekert carried out his attack with the help of a group of workers which organized itself independently, since the Vilna committee of the Bund, headed by M. *Gurevich, refused to support the deed officially – they were opposed in principle to political terror. The flogging gave rise to dejection and confusion among the Jews; the shooting by a simple bootmaker at the antisemitic governor was regarded by the Jewish population in general as an act in defense of Jewish honor. Lekert served as an example for P. *Dashewski, especially after the Kishinev pogrom. The Bund, together with Polish and Lithuanian Social Democrats, published a statement on the affair which had international reverberations. In the Russian *Iskra*, V. Zasulich and J. *Martov praised Lekert's reaction, while Lenin dissociated himself from it. In the Bund itself terrorist tendencies were aroused for a time. Its fifth conference in Berdichev in August 1902 adopted a resolution for a policy of "organized revenge" that was encouraged by S. *Gozhanski and A. *Braun. The resolution was rescinded under the influence of the "committee abroad" of the Bund.

Lekert was sentenced to death by a military court and hanged on June 10, 1902. The anniversary of Lekert's death was marked for many years in the Jewish workers' movement. The deed was commemorated in popular songs and in special literary works (H. *Leivick, A. *Kushnirov). On the 20th anniversary of Lekert's death a memorial, which no longer exists, was erected in a square in Minsk.

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[Moshe Mishkinsky]

LEKET, SHIKHḤAH, AND PE'AH (Heb. לֶקֶט, שִׁכְחָה, וּפֵאָה; "gleanings, forgotten produce, and the corners of the field"), talmudic designation of three portions of the harvest which the farmer was enjoined to leave for the benefit of the poor and the stranger. *Pe'ah* ("corners") and *leket* ("gleanings") are enjoined in Leviticus 19:9–10, while *shikhḥah* ("forgotten produce") and *leket*, in Deuteronomy 24:19–21 (see also *Poor, Provision for). *Leket* refers to the ears of corn which fall to the ground during the reaping. It was usual for the reaper to grasp the ears of corn with one hand and to cut them with the other. If during the reaping one or two stalks fell to the ground because the reaper was not holding them, he was not to gather them but leave them for the poor (Lev. 19:9–10). Corresponding to *leket* in grain is *peret* in the vineyard. Thus if during the vintage one or two grapes fell to the ground, they constituted *peret* for the poor (Pe'ah 6:5). The *olelot* ("small clusters with few grapes") in the vineyard also belonged to the poor (*ibid.* 7:4), in accordance with the verse, "Thou shalt not glean thy vineyard, neither shalt thou gather the fallen fruit of thy vineyard; thou shalt leave them for the poor and for the stranger."

Shikhḥah applies to one or two sheaves forgotten in the field by the harvester. The owner may not take them, but "it shall be for the stranger, for the fatherless, and for the widow" (Deut. 24:19). The biblical precept of *shikhḥah* refers to cut sheaves, but the sages extended it to apply also to the standing corn which is forgotten in the reaping (Sif. Deut. 283; Pe'ah 6:7). *Shikhḥah* also applies to trees so that if the harvesting of one or two trees was overlooked, they are *shikhḥah* (Pe'ah 7:1). The Bible (Deut. 24:20) specifies only olive trees: "when thou beatest thine olive trees thou shalt not go over the boughs again, it shall be for the stranger, for the fatherless, and for the widow." The word *aḥarekha* ("to go over again") was taken to refer to *shikhḥah*, but it was made to apply to all trees (Ḥul. 131a). *Pe'ah*, according to the Bible, applies only to the corner of the field left by the reaper, but it was extended by the rabbis to include the fruit of the trees (Sifra, Kedoshim 1:7; Maim., Yad, Mattenot Aniyyim 1:2). According to biblical law, the command to give the gifts to the poor applies only in Ereẓ Israel, since the Bible says, "And when ye reap the harvest of your land" (Leviticus 19:9); the rabbis, however, applied it to outside Ereẓ Israel as well (Ḥul. 137b), and according to Maimonides (*ibid.* 1:14) the same ruling applies to the other gifts to the poor. The Bible lays down no minimum quantity for *pe'ah*, and therefore according to the letter of the law, even if one ear of corn has been left, the precept has been fulfilled; the rabbis, however, established a minimum of one sixtieth of the harvest (Pe'ah 1:1–2; Ḥul. 137b). They forbade the farmer to hire gentile workers for the harvest lest, being unaware of the law, they prevent the poor from gathering *leket* and *pe'ah*. Nevertheless, if he does hire them and they reap the whole field, he must give *pe'ah* from the harvest (Tosef., Pe'ah 3:1; BK 94a). R. Simeon, who always "expounded the reasons for the precepts of the Torah," gives four reasons why the Torah enjoined that *pe'ah* be left at the edge of the field: to prevent the poor from being deprived of their rights – that the farmer should not wait until his field is practically cleared and say to his poor relative, "this is *pe'ah* – hasten and take before others come" (if it is left at the edge of the field, however, the poor see it and come); not to waste the time of the poor – that the poor should not have to wait and watch where the farmer would leave his *pe'ah*; to prevent suspicion – that passersby should not say, "let that farmer who has not left *pe'ah* be cursed" (when they see him reaping the whole field and do not know that he has already given it); and because of swindlers (who will not leave *pe'ah* and say they have already given it; Tosef., Pe'ah 1:6; Shab. 23a).

Pe'ah was left standing, and the poor plucked it. They were not permitted to cut it with a scythe nor uproot it with a spade so as to prevent them from assaulting one another (Pe'ah 4:4). The poor were permitted to pick *pe'ah* thrice daily: in the morning, at midday, and in the afternoon. If a poor man came at some other time he was forbidden to pick, in order that all the poor assemble at a prescribed time. These times were chosen because some of the poor were nursing mothers who must eat at the beginning of the day, and some were minors who do not wake up early and cannot reach the field until midday, and some were aged who cannot reach the field until the afternoon (Pe'ah 4:5; Maim., *ibid.* 2:17). The poor thus obtain four gifts from a vineyard – *peret, olelot, pe'ah*, and *shikhḥah*; three from grain – *leket, shikhḥah*, and *pe'ah*; and two from trees – *shikhḥah* and *pe'ah*. Basing themselves on the fact that the Bible does not state "Thou shalt give," but "thou shalt leave," the rabbis held that the farmer was forbidden to select the poor to whom these gifts would be given, any poor person being free to take them (Ḥul. 131a). Although the injunction applies specifically to the Jewish poor, in the interests of peace, it was extended to the gentile poor (Git. 5:8).

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[Abraham Arzi]

LEKHAH DODI (Heb. לְכָה דוֹדִי; "Come, my friend"), the opening words and name of a hymn with which the Sabbath is welcomed. It consists of nine stanzas; the initial letters of the first eight stanzas acrostically form the name of the author Solomon ha-Levi (*Alkabeẓ), a Safed kabbalist of the early 16th century. The opening line and refrain is: "Come, my friend, to meet the bride; let us welcome the presence of the Sabbath." Inspired by talmudic accounts (Shab. 119a) which describe how the scholars used to honor and welcome the Sabbath (likened to a princess or bride), the Safed kabbalists used to go on Friday afternoons into the fields to meet the "Queen Sabbath" in meditation and song. The hymn "*Lekhah Dodi*" reflects this practice as well as the kabbalistic identification of the Sabbath with the *Shekhinah*, the mystical archetype of Israel. Hence also the messianic motives in the hymn, echoing talmudic concepts associating redemption with the observance of the Sabbath (*ibid.* 118b).

"*Lekhah Dodi*" is sung immediately after the recital of Psalms 95–99 and 29, with which the Sabbath eve service starts in Ashkenazi synagogues; the *ḥazzan* stands on the *bimah* ("high platform") and not at his regular place to indicate that this part of the service is not in the original order of prayers. It is customary to turn around at the recital of the last stanza ("*Bo'i ve-shalom*") to face the entrance of the synagogue and bow. The "Sabbath bride" is thus symbolically welcomed. "*Lekhah Dodi*," among the latest *piyyutim* to be incorporated into the prayer book, is one of the favorite hymns in the Ashkenazi as well as in the Sephardi ritual. In the extant texts, there are only slight variations, although one version has five additional stanzas also attributed to Alkabeẓ. In many rituals, "*Bo'i kallah Shabbat malketah*" ("Come our bride, queen Sabbath"; Shab. 119a) is added at the end of "*Lekhah Dodi*."

The Reform ritual has retained only an abridged version of the hymn consisting of the first, third, fourth, and the last stanzas (*Union Prayer Book*, 1 (1926), 27). "*Lekhah Dodi*" has been rendered into most European languages; among the well-known translations are those of the German poets J.G. Herder and H. *Heine. In his poem "*Prinzessin Sabbat*," Heine erroneously ascribed its authorship to Judah Halevi. Another version of "*Lekhah Dodi*" was composed by a contemporary of Alkabeẓ, R. Moses ibn Machir, head of the yeshivah in Ein Zeitun near Safed (printed in *Seder ha-Yom* (Venice, 1599), 43).

[Meir Ydit]

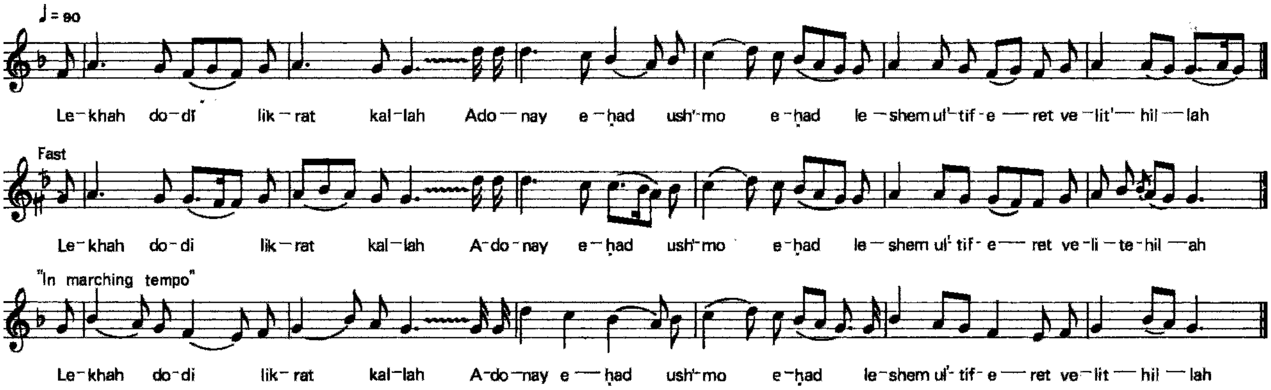
♩= 90
Le-khah do-di lik-rat kal-lah Ado-nay e-had ush'-mo e-had le-shem ul'-tif-e-ret ve-lit'-hil-lah
Fast
Le-khah do-di lik-rat kal-lah A-do-nay e-had ush'-mo e-had le-shem ul'-tif-e-ret ve-li-te-hil-ah
"In marching tempo"
Le-khah do-di lik-rat kal-lah A-do-nay e-had ush'-mo e-had le-shem ul'-tif-e-ret ve-lit-hil-lah

Example 1. Three versions of the "Lekhah Dodi" *melody common in the Near East. The omission sign in each line represents three repetitions, with slight variations, of the first two bars. I. Notated by J. Parisot in Damascus, 1901. After J. Parisot,* Journal of the American Oriental Society, *24, 1903. II. Common Jerusalem Sephardi version. Free notation by B. Bayer. III. Romanian Sephardi version. After Idelsohn, Melodien, 4, 1922, no.4.*

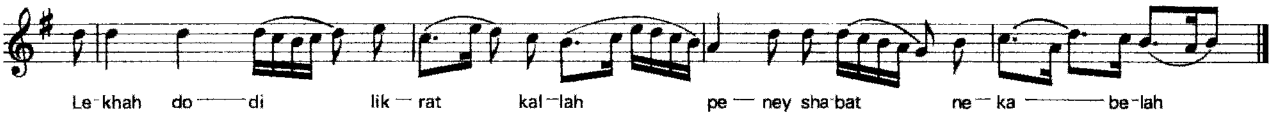

Example 2. Beginning of the European Sephardi type-melody. From Hamburg (?). After A. Baer, Ba'al Tefillah, *1883³, no. 329.*

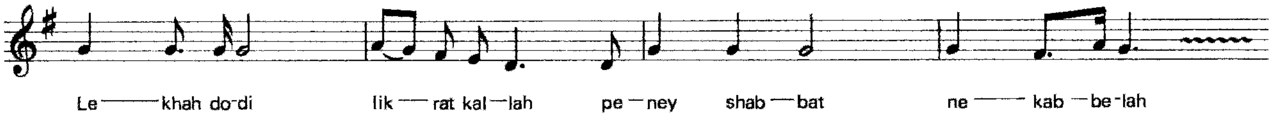

Example 3. Beginning of the Mediterranean and Balkan Sephardi type-melody. From Sarajevo. After Levy, Antologia *I, 1965, no. 25.*

Musical Rendition

The poem was written to be sung, but none of the contemporary sources offers any information about its original melody. In the first printed version of the text, in a Sephardi prayer book, Venice 1583/4, it is headed "To the tune of *Shuvi Nafshi li-Menuḥaikhi*" (by Judah Halevi; Davidson, Oẓar, 3665). This heading was taken over by two much later Sephardi prayer books, Amsterdam 1660/1 and Constantinople 1734/5, but apparently nowhere else. No conclusions can be drawn from it about the melody adopted or created in Safed, or about the ancestry of any one of the melodies presently used. Most of the existing melodies – A.Z. Idelsohn estimated their number at over 2,000 – show no distribution over a larger area and are either demonstrably late or the obvious products of musical styles that could not have been available or acceptable at Safed. Of the remainder there emerge three distinct melodies, one of which may well represent the original setting. Type-melody *a* is found in Ereẓ Israel, southern Syria, Turkey, and the Balkans and has also been notated from North African informants. It belongs to the **Maqam Nawa*, which dominates the melodic character of the Sabbath eve and morning services in the Eastern Mediterranean communities, and Idelsohn proposed it as the original setting of "*Lekhah Dodi.*" Type-melody *b* is found in the Sephardi communities of Amsterdam, London, Hamburg, and Leghorn. It is more complex than type *a* and has a definitely Oriental flavor. Type-melody *c* is found in the Sephardi communities of Bayonne and Bordeaux, in the Comtat Venaissin (i.e., Provence, a non-Sephardi community), and has also been notated from informants from Sarajevo (Yugoslavia) and Meknès (Morocco); its variants are extremely divergent, but all of them contain the elements of a Turkish military march. All these communities also have some strictly local melodies for "*Lekhah Dodi*" and the non-Sephardi Eastern communities have only local and regional melodies. The single example published from Yemen is sung to the general Yemenite pattern of psalm recitation (Idelsohn, *Melodien*, 1 (1914), nos. 20–21). In the Western Ashkenazi area, a certain stabilization was attempted by the melodic linking of "*Lekhah Dodi*" to the particular character of the respective Sabbath, week, or season. There were special melodies for *Shabbat Shuvah* and *Shabbat Sefirah*, and the melody used on the eve of *Shabbat Ḥazon* and during the three weeks between Tammuz 17 and Av 9 was based on **Eli Ẓiyyon*. Many of the ostensibly free compositions also begin with a "seasonal reminiscence," such as the **Ma'oz Ẓur* motive for the Sabbath of the Ḥanukkah week. The completely free compositions are in the majority, and the surviving cantorial manuals of the 18th century already contain hundreds of melodies which for the most part reflect the style of the gentile environments ("Menuetto," "Polonaise," etc.). They also show the interesting custom of setting each stanza to a different melody, or at least distinguishing "*Hitoreri*" ("Wake Up!") by an energetic melody and "*Bo'i ve-Shalom*" ("Come in Peace, O Sabbath Queen") by a lyrical one. Since the "reception of the Sabbath" in the synagogue precedes the "entrance of the Sabbath" itself, it was possible to accompany the ceremony, and especially the singing of "*Lekhah Dodi*," with musical instruments. There are references to this practice in several communities, notably Prague, in the 17th and 18th centuries. In Eastern Europe no trace of standardized renditions can be discerned. This complete freedom may account for Hebrew-Yiddish "*Lekhah Dodi*" "play songs" and parodies.

[Bathja Bayer]

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LEKHNO, DAVID (d. 1735), scholar living in the Crimean community of *Karasubazar (Belogorsk). His family name indicates his Polish origin. A leader of the Karasubazar community, Lekhno was also respected by the Karaites of Crimea. His extant works include an introduction to *Maḥzor Minhag Kafa*, which contains information on the way of life of Crimean Jewry; *Mishkan David*, on Hebrew grammar; and *Devar Sefatayim*, a history of the kingdoms of the Tatar khans in Crimea (the first chapters were published by Y.D. Markon in *Devir*, 2 (1924, 243–7).

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[Yehuda Slutsky]

°**LELEWEL, JOACHIM** (**Ignacy**; 1786–1861), historian and Polish freedom fighter. The Polish historian and statesman *Czacki, his teacher at the University of Vilna, entrusted him with the proofreading of his research work on Jews and *Karaites (*Rozprawa o żydach i Karaitach*) in 1807. In 1830, at the time of the Polish uprising, he was appointed vice minister of education and religions in the provisional national government. After the suppression of the revolt, he immigrated to Paris and settled in Brussels in 1833, and after 1848 he abandoned political activity. He published a comprehensive work on the history of Poland (20 vols., 1823–64). In his important work *Géographie du moyen âge* (5 vols. with atlas, 1849–57), Lelewel deals, among other things (vol. 4), with the travels of R. *Benjamin of Tudela. Lelewel also published an article in Eliakim *Carmoly's *Notice historique sur Benjamin de Tudèle* (1852^{2}).

His attitude toward the Jews, which was at first negative, changed from 1832. At the end of that year, Lelewel issued his appeal *Au peuple d'Israël!* (the full text of it was published in Leon Hollaenderski's *Les Israélites de Pologne* (1846), 117–31), which was later translated into Yiddish by Ludwig Joshua Lubliner. Lelewel calls upon the Jews to support the revolt of the Polish nation which will break out in the future. He says that "the Jews will obtain their rights, and if they insist upon returning to Palestine the Poles will assist them in the realization of this aspiration." On Nov. 16, 1859, the Polish periodical *Przegląd rzeczy polskich*, which appeared in Paris, published a "letter from J. Lelewel to Mr. H. Merzbach," in which the author expressed his vigorous opposition to the antisemitic campaign, accused the Russian government of having fomented hatred between Poles and Jews, and hoped that an improvement in the condition of the population would result in healing the breach between them. At his funeral in Paris, Lelewel was eulogized by Rabbi Elie-Aristide *Astruc. Jewish students in Warsaw held a memorial service for Lelewel in a synagogue on June 1, 1861.

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[Arthur Cygielman]

LELOUCH, CLAUDE (1937–), French film director. Born in Paris, Lelouch and his mother moved through Europe during World War II to evade the Nazis but were captured toward the end of the war and spent three months in Dachau. He made a short film at 14, and four years later a television film in the United States. In 1960 he made his first feature film, but *Un homme et une femme* ("A Man and a Woman"), winner of a 1966 Cannes Film Festival prize, put him in the front ranks of French cinema. He made *Vivre pour Vivre* (1967), *La Vie, l'Amour, la Mort* (1969), *Le Voyou* (1970), *Un Autre Homme une Autre Chance/Another Man Another Chance* (1977), *Un Homme et une Femme: Vingt Ans Deja/A Man and A Woman: 20 Years Later* (1986), and *Les Miserables* (1995). Later films include *Les Parisiens* (2004), *Men and Women* (2005), and *The Courage to Love* (2005).

[Jonathan Licht]

LELOV (**Lelow**), ḥasidic dynasty in Poland and Ereẓ Israel. Its founder, DAVID BEN SOLOMON OF LELOV (1746–1813), studied Lurianic Kabbalah in his youth and behaved in the manner of the "great Ḥasidim." He became attracted to Ḥasidism as a result of his contact with *Elimelech of Lyzhansk, and studied under several ḥasidic rabbis, including *Moses Leib of Sasov, becoming the outstanding disciple of *Jacob Isaac Horowitz, ha-Ḥozeh ("The Seer") of Lublin. He earned his living as a grocer. David's teachings stressed love of the Jewish people (*ahavat Yisrael*) and of man in general; he said: "I am not worthy as yet to be called a *ẓaddik* since I still feel more love for my own children than for other people." He was much appreciated by the prominent ḥasidic leaders of his day. David was both a friend and a relative of Jacob Isaac of *Przysucha, the "Holy Jew." When a controversy broke out between the latter and Jacob Isaac of Lublin, David attempted to reconcile the two sides. The physician, Bernard of Piotrkow, the famous penitent (*ba'al teshuvah*), was his outstanding disciple. David's son, MOSES (1778–1850), became the son-in-law of Jacob Isaac of Przysucha, and served as rabbi in several communities. Toward the end of his life he settled in Ereẓ Israel. Since then part of the Lelow dynasty has been connected with Ereẓ Israel, although they did not formally serve as *admorim*. Moses' grandson, DAVID JOSEPH OF LELOV (1827–1907), was a disciple of Menahem Mendel of *Warka (Worki). From 1877 he led a ḥasidic community. The dynasty is still continued through its branch in Ereẓ Israel.

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[Adin Steinsaltz]

LELOW (Pol. **Lelów**), village (formerly a town) in Kielce province, S.E. central Poland. Several dozen Jewish families were living in Lelow in 1547, but in 1564 only six families remained; each paid the king one red guilder residence tax and a certain quantity of spices for the right to slaughter cattle. During the 16th and 17th centuries Jews played an important part in the Lelow fairs. In the first part of the 18th century they had grown to a considerable community, paying 741 zlotys poll tax in 1718 and an annual average of 1,050 zlotys in 1733–37. In the district, which included the communities of Lelow, Naklo, Janow, Pilico, Szczekocin, and Zarki, there were 3,415 Jews in 1765, when 335 Jewish poll-tax payers were recorded in Lelow and 18 villages were under the community's jurisdiction. By an agreement with the townsmen, in 1778, the Jews were released from the payment of municipal taxes, as well as from the duty of billeting the troops. Between 1823 and 1862 Jewish residence was restricted to a specific quarter. The community numbered 269 (29% of the total population) in 1808, 339 (39%) in 1827, 480 (53%) in 1857, 720 (60%) in 1897, and 638 (52%) in 1921. Before the outbreak of World War II there were about 700 Jews in Lelow. The Jewish community was liquidated in September 1942, when all the Jews were deported to *Treblinka death camp. After the war the Jewish community of Lelow was not reconstituted.

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[*Encyclopaedia Judaica* (Germany)]

LELYVELD, ARTHUR JOSEPH (1913–1996), U.S. Reform rabbi. Lelyveld was born in New York City and received his B.A. from Columbia University in 1933 and his M.H.L. and ordination from *Hebrew Union College in 1939. He was awarded an honorary D.D. by HUC-JIR in 1955, and a Litt.D. by the Cleveland College of Jewish Studies, where he was on the faculty, in 1986. Lelyveld's first pulpit was with Bene Israel in Hamilton, Ohio, a congregation he served while also acting as director of youth activities for the *Union of American Hebrew Congregations. In this position, he was instrumental in initiating summer youth conclaves and in organizing the National Federation of Temple Youth. During this time, he was also founder and first president of the Jewish Peace Fellowship (1941–44).

A passionate Zionist, Lelyveld then served as executive director of the Committee on Unity for Palestine (1944–46). In this role, the eloquent Lelyveld played a little-known but instrumental role in obtaining critical American recognition of the newly formed State of Israel. He won the support of Eddie *Jacobson, the former business partner of President Harry S. Truman, for the cause of a Jewish homeland; and in 1946, with Jacobson's introduction, Lelyveld became one of the first Jewish spokesmen to speak with Truman on behalf of a Jewish state.

In 1946, Lelyveld was named assistant national director (1946–47) and then national director of the *B'nai B'rith Hillel Foundation (1947–56). He subsequently continued to build bridges between the United States and Israel as executive vice chair of the *American-Israel Cultural Foundation (1956–58). In 1958, Lelyveld was named senior rabbi of Anshe Chesed Congregation (Fairmont Temple) of Cleveland, becoming senior rabbi emeritus in 1986. He also became an adjunct professor of religion at Case Western Reserve University and the Bernard Rich Hollander lecturer in Jewish thought at John Carroll University.

An outspoken advocate for social justice and civil rights, Lelyveld went to Mississippi to help register black voters during the turbulent "Freedom Summer" of 1964. There, he was beaten and seriously injured by segregationists. The next year, Lelyveld received an award for "distinguished service to the NAACP and the cause of Freedom." He was also appointed to the board of trustees of the Martin Luther King Jr. Center for Social Change.

On the national stage of the Reform movement, Lelyveld served on the Commission on Social Action (1962–71) and the executive board of the *Central Conference of American Rabbis (1971–73), before being elected vice president (1973–74) and then president (1975–76) of the CCAR. He subsequently served as president of the *Synagogue Council of America (1979–81) and honorary president of the *American Jewish Congress and the American Jewish League for Israel. In 1988, the *Histadrut established a scholarship in his honor in Israel. The Cleveland Jewish community also dedicated the Arthur J. Lelyveld Forest in Israel in recognition of his devotion to Zionism and the *Jewish National Fund.

A prolific writer of numerous articles and monographs, Lelyveld was a contributor to the *Universal Jewish Encyclopedia* and the author of two books: *Atheism is Dead* (1968) and *The Steadfast Stream: An Introduction to Jewish Social Values* (1995).

His son, Joseph *Lelyveld, former executive editor of the *New York Times*, wrote a moving and painful memoir of his childhood with his parents and in their absence titled it *Omaha Blues: A Memory Loop* (2005).

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[Bezalel Gordon (2nd ed.)]

LELYVELD, JOSEPH (1937–), U.S. journalist and author. Born in Cincinnati, Ohio, Lelyveld was the son of Rabbi Arthur *Lelyveld, who became prominent in the Reform and civil rights movements. During his childhood, his father was largely absent, and the marriage ultimately dissolved. Young Lelyveld was often left with grandparents, and once with Seventh Day Adventists on a Nebraska farm.

A graduate of Harvard College with a bachelor of arts degree in 1958, he earned a master of arts in American history from Harvard in 1959 and a master of science from the Columbia University Graduate School of Journalism in 1960. Lelyveld spent a year in Burma on a fellowship before joining the *Times* as a copy boy in 1962. He moved up to reporter and had a variety of local and national assignments. One of his more memorable stories involved a fourth-grade class in New York City. Lelyveld attended class every day and wrote about the students, their life away from school, the teacher, and others in a series that lasted through the school year. In 1980, he got his first foreign posting, to the Congo. He was a correspondent based in London, then New Delhi, and then Hong Kong, and served two tours as the correspondent in South Africa. After his second tour in Johannesburg, Lelyveld won a Pulitzer Prize in 1986 for his book *Move Your Shadow*, about apartheid in South Africa. He was also the recipient of numerous journalistic honors. From 1987 to 1989, he was foreign news editor of the *Times*, and he became managing editor in 1990, the second highest job in the news organization below the executive editor, Max *Frankel. Lelyveld succeeded Frankel in 1994, and served as executive editor until 2001.

After he retired from the newspaper, Lelyveld was called back into temporary service after his successor, Howell Raines, was forced to resign after 21 months when a rogue reporter was unmasked as a liar and fraud. Lelyveld presided over the newsroom until his original choice for the job, Bill Keller, became executive editor.

In 2005, Lelyveld published an unusual memoir, *Omaha Blues: A Memory Loop.* In it, Lelyveld discussed his relationship with his father and his mother and his feelings about being Jewish. In 1996, when his father was dying, Lelyveld had conducted a journalistic investigation of his family. He was led to a trunk filled with family memorabilia stored in the basement of the Cleveland synagogue where his father served as rabbi. It took years before Lelyveld sifted through his father's letters, which helped shape his memoir.

[Stewart Kampel (2nd ed.)]

LEMANS, MOSES (1785–1832), Hebraist and mathematician. Born in Naarden, Netherlands, Lemans was one of the leaders of the Haskalah movement in Holland. He was one of the founders in 1808 of the "Chanogh lanangar ngal pie darkoo" society the aim of which was a reform in Jewish education. He published a pamphlet in which he praised the Sephardi pronunciation of Hebrew, preferring it to the Ashkenazi one. For the society he published Hebrew textbooks, as well as a translation of the Bible into Dutch. He was one of the founders of the Jewish Mathematicians' Association, "Mathesis artium genetrix." In 1818 he was appointed head of the first school for needy Jews in Amsterdam, and in 1828 teacher of mathematics in the Amsterdam gymnasium (secondary school). Lemans published a number of works on Hebrew grammar and mathematics. With S.I. *Mulder, he compiled a Hebrew-Dutch dictionary. Of his Hebrew poems, the most important is an epic on the revolt of the Belgians against the Netherlands (in Ms.). For his activities on behalf of the Jews he was awarded a medal by the Netherlands' government. His works include *Levensbeschrijving… Moses Majemonides* (Amsterdam, 1815); *Rudimenta of gronden der hebreeuwsche taal* (1820); *Gebeden der Nederlandsche Israëliten* (1822); *Hebreeuwsch-Nederduitsch handwoordenboek* (1831); and *Allereerste gronden der Hebreeuwsche taal* (1876).

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[Jozeph Michman (Melkman)]

LEMBA, Judaizing African tribe living in small groups throughout northeast South Africa and in central and eastern Zimbabwe. Notwithstanding that this tribe is in many respects indistinguishable from neighboring tribes, for much of the 20th century a number of Lemba, and particularly those of South Africa, have claimed to be of Jewish or Semitic ancestry, and a number of outside European observers have made similar claims for them for an even longer period. Recent genetic work has suggested that there may be some truth in their traditions.

According to oral traditions of origin, the Lemba claim to come from a place in the north called Sena (sometimes Sena

One). The Lemba habitually refer to themselves as "the white men who came from Sena." Apparently at the end of the 16th century the Lemba, now settled inland, far away from Islamic or other coastal influences, developed their identity and religious system independently. Throughout this period they did not intermarry. They had strict laws of purity and food taboos. The eating of pork was punished by death. They would only eat meat that had been ritually slaughtered by a Lemba. Today the religious life of the Lemba is highly syncretistic. Many of them belong to various Christian churches (e.g., the Zion Christian Church and Pentecostal groups), whereas some in Zimbabwe are Muslims. Some Lemba, however, claim to be Lemba by religious practice as well as by ethnic identification. The religious practices of these Lemba do not have much in common with Judaism as it is practiced elsewhere. The great majority of those Lemba who perceive themselves as ethnically "Jewish" find no contradiction in regularly attending a Christian church.

Recent work has brought the Lemba to international attention. The chief reason for this are genetic studies that have suggested that the Lemba may have something like "Jewish" ancestry. The original research which seemed to be reaching towards this conclusion was carried out by Professor Trefor Jenkins of the South African Institute for Medical Research and the University of the Witwatersrand in Johannesburg. Jenkins had the idea of trying to determine the origin of the Lemba by collecting genetic material from the tribe. The reason for this is that one tribal tradition had it that the original Lemba immigrants from the north, from Sena, were males who subsequently took local African wives. Jenkins argued that if the Y-chromosome of the Lemba, which only passes down the male line, could be shown to originate in some specific part of the world, it might be possible to determine where the Lemba were from.

On the basis of samples of DNA from 49 Lemba men, Jenkins wrote a scientific article that was published in *The American Journal of Human Genetics* (59, 1996). He was able to show that "50% of the Lemba Y chromosomes are Semitic in origin – 40% are Negroid, and the ancestry of the rest cannot be resolved. These Y-specific genetic findings are consistent with Lemba oral tradition." Jenkins' pioneering efforts reached a popular audience with the transmission of the BBC Television series *Origins* and the book based on the series, *In the Blood: God, Genes and Destiny* (1996) by Professor Steve Jones, a geneticist at University College, London. Relying on Jenkins' data Jones noted: "In the pedigree of the Lemba there is a surprise. Most of their genes – blood groups, enzymes and the like – unite them with the African peoples around them. However, those on the Lemba Y chromosome … have a different origin. On a family tree of the world's male lineages the Lemba are linked, not with Africans, but with the Middle East. The Lemba legend of their origin contains a hidden truth." Jenkins' work immediately began to have an impact on the Lembas' sense of their own identity. There was some possibility that the Lemba had come from South Arabia. A subsequent analysis of Lemba and Arabian DNA (see T. Parfitt et al., "Y Chromosomes …" in Bibliography below) showed a significant similarity of markers between many of the Hadramaut Y chromosomes and those of the Lemba. It was also discovered that one of the South African sub-clans of the Lemba carries a haplotype which has been connected with the Jewish priesthood – the Cohen Modal Haplotype. This haplotype was of a very high frequency – over 50% of the sub-clan had it. These results could therefore with great caution be interpreted as indicating that at some time in the past Jews inhabited the areas from which the Lemba came – probably South Arabia. This is the most likely locus for the transmission of the haplotype.

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[Tudor Parfitt (2nd ed.)]

LEMBERGER, MOSES BEN AARON (1706–1757), rabbi. At the age of eight, Moses left his home in Lvov to be brought up by his grandfather in *Mikulov (Nikolsburg). In 1724 he was appointed rabbi of *Lipnik (Leipnik, Moravia) and in 1729 was appointed to succeed Jehiel Michael Ḥasid as *av bet din* of Berlin. He stayed there for one year, accepting a call in 1730 to the position of *av bet din* of Frankfurt on the Oder, a position he held for about 14 years. He returned to Lipnik as *av bet din* in 1745. In 1755 on the death of his uncle Issachar Berush *Eskeles, Moses was elected *Landesrabbiner* of Moravia. Moses' novellae on the tractate *Rosh ha-Shanah* were published in Frankfurt on the Oder in 1731.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: S. Buber, *Anshei Shem* (1895), 166, no. 422; W. Mueller, *Urkundliche Beitraege zur Geschichte der maehrischen Judenschaft* (1903), 157–9; H. Gold (ed.), *Juden und Judengemeinden Maehrens…* (1929), index, s.v. *Lwów, Moses b. Aaron.*

LEMKIN, RAPHAEL (1901–1959), international lawyer who initiated the use of the term "genocide." Educated in Poland, Germany, and France, he became secretary of the Court of Appeal, Warsaw, in 1927. Early in his career he tried to mobilize support for the international penalization of genocide, despite his view that crimes committed by acts of sovereign states are not subject to international jurisdiction. Returning to Warsaw in 1933, after the Madrid Conference for the unification of penal law, he was compelled to give up his official position. He suffered under Colonel Beck's pro-German antisemitic government. In the early part of World War II most of his family was murdered in Warsaw by the Germans. Lemkin fought in the Polish underground, eventually escaping and finally reaching the United States in 1941. There he taught at Duke and Yale universities and served on the Board of Economic Warfare, under Henry Wallace. In 1944 he published his *Axis Rule in Occupied Europe: Laws of Occupation, Analysis of Government Proposals for Redress*, in which he first systematized the material under the term *genocide. In 1946, Lemkin succeeded in mobilizing sufficient support to have genocide put on the agenda of the UN General Assembly. The Economic and Social Council invited him to present a draft convention. Assisted by Herbert V. Evatt, the Australian president of the General Assembly, he was able to get that body to pass a resolution in December 1948 on the adoption of the Convention for the Prevention and Punishment of Genocide. Although he was not an official of an international organization, Lemkin nevertheless played an important role through his forceful personal insistence.

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[Josef J. Lador-Lederer]

LEMLEIN (Lammlin), ASHER (16th century), false messiah active in 1500–02. Apparently of Ashkenazi origin, Lemlein began his activities in northeast Italy, later extending them to Germany. According to his statements, the redemption was approaching because the Messiah had already come – namely Lemlein himself. His disciples, who circulated this rumor, stimulated a movement of asceticism and repentance hitherto unknown in these areas. Long afterward this year was recalled as the "year of the repentance," even in Christian polemics against the Jews. There is no information on the events of Lemlein's life and his personality, except that he engaged in Kabbalah. The evolution of his movement is also not known. Apparently it ceased to exist with his death. The statements of Gedaliah Joseph *Ibn Yaḥya in *Shalshelet ha-Kabbalah* (Venice, 1586), on a wave of apostasies from Judaism as a result of the crisis of the Lemlein movement, are not to be accepted, for even his chief enemies among his contemporaries, Abraham *Farissol and *Joseph ha-Kohen, do not mention this fact.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: A.Z. Aescoly, *Ha-Tenu'ot ha-Meshiḥiyyot be-Yisrael* (1956), 249–50, 307–12; A. Marx, in: REJ, 61 (1911), 135–8; S. Loewinger, *ibid.*, 105 (1940), 32ff.

LEMUEL (Heb. לְמוּאֵל, לְמוֹאֵל; "belonging to God"), apparently a foreign king to whom the instruction in Proverbs 31:2–9 is addressed by his mother. Proverbs 31:1, in which Lemuel is mentioned, should be divided not after *melekh* but after *massa*, thus identifying the man as: "Lemuel, king of Massa," Massa being the North Arabian tribe, known from Genesis 25:14, one of the Kedemite peoples whose wisdom the Israelites held in high esteem (*Agur son of Jakeh). The Septuagint did not recognize either *lemu/o/el* or *massa* as proper nouns, and some moderns follow it, obtaining with the help of some emendations the sense (in Scott's rendering): (1) Words [of advice] to a king acting foolishly. A solemn injunction which his mother lays on him:… (4) It is not fitting for a king to play the fool, etc. But the interpretation of the Septuagint, Torczyner (Tur-Sinai), and Scott all involve dubious readings and/or Hebrew grammar.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: See commentaries on Proverbs; N.H. Torczyner (Tur-Sinai), *Mishlei Shelomo* (1947), 3–5; N.H. Tur-Sinai, *Ha-Lashon ve-ha-Sefer*, 3 (1955), 383; W.F. Albright, in: *Studi… Giorgio Levi Della Vida*, 1 (1956), 1–14; R.B.Y. Scott, *Proverbs and Ecclesiastes* (1965), 183–4.

[Michael V. Fox and Harold Louis Ginsberg]

LENGYEL, EMIL (1895–1985), U.S. writer. Born in Budapest, Lengyel spent 20 months in Siberia as a prisoner of war during World War I. Later he went to New York as a correspondent for European newspapers. Taking up teaching at the School of Education, New York University, he became professor in 1951. In 1960, he went to Fairleigh Dickinson University, Rutherford, New Jersey, as professor of history. His books include *Siberia* (1943), *Americans from Hungary* (1948), *Israel: Problems of Nation Building* (1951), *The Middle East Today* (1954), *Egypt's Role in World Affairs* (1957), *The Changing Middle East* (1960), *From Prison to Power* (1964), *Nationalism, the Last Stage of Communism* (1969), *Iran* (1972), *The Land and People of Hungary* (1972), *The Oil Countries of the Middle East* (1973), and *And All Her Paths Were Peace: The Life of Bertha von Suttner* (1975).

[Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

LENGYEL, JÓZSEF (1896–1975), Hungarian author and poet, born in Marcali. Lengyel's poetic talents were first discovered in the modernist periodical, *A Tett* ("The Deed"). In 1918 he was one of the founders of the Hungarian Communist Party, and was arrested by the revolutionary authorities of the Károlyi regime before the Bolshevik revolution led by Bela *Kun. After its failure, he fled to Vienna, and thence to Berlin, finally settling in Moscow, where he worked in the circle of Hungarian émigré writers. There he was arrested in 1938 and sent to a Soviet concentration camp. After World War II, Lengyel was exiled to Siberia, but was released and rehabilitated in 1955, when he returned to Hungary. His literary work after his imprisonment describes with profound psychological analysis the horrifying world of those condemned to slow death. His works include *Visegrádi utca* ("Visegrádi Street," 1930^1, 1957^2), *Prenn Ferenc hányatott élete…* ("The Life and Wanderings of Franz Prenn," 1958), and *Elévült tartozás* ("Debt Overdue," 1964).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Magyar Irodalmi Lexikon*, 2 (1965), s.v.

[Baruch Yaron]

LENGYEL, MENYHÉRT (Melchior; 1880–1974), Hungarian playwright. Born in Balmazújváros, Lengyel started his career as a journalist but soon began writing for the theater. His most successful plays included *Próféta* ("The Prophet," 1911), *A cárnö* ("The Czarina," 1913), *Róza néni* ("Aunt Rose," 1913), and *Antónia* (1925). In 1929 Lengyel was appointed director of a Budapest avant-garde theater. He wrote the libretto of the ballet *Csodálatos mandarin* ("The Miraculous Mandarin") for the composer Béla Bartók. In 1931 he moved to London and then in 1937, to the United States. Lengyel's best-known play, which had a worldwide success, was *Tajfun* ("Typhoon," 1909), in which he dealt with a contemporary political problem – the whirlwind progress of the Japanese and the resulting danger to the world. In a dramatization of *Cervantes' classic *Don Quixote, Sancho Panza királysága* ("The Reign of Sancho Panza," 1919), Lengyel expressed his own views on the just society. He also wrote the scripts for several famous films, including *Catherine the Great* (1934, starring Elisabeth Bergner); an adaptation of his own *Czarina; The Blue Angel* (1932, with Marlene Dietrich); and *Ninotchka* (1940, with Greta Garbo). Years later, Lengyel published *Das stille Haus* (1957). In his later years he lived in Rome.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Magyar Irodalmi Lexikon*, 2 (1965), 34–35.

[Baruch Yaron]

°**LENIN (Ulyanov), VLADIMIR ILYICH** (1870–1924), Russian revolutionary, leader of the Communist movement, and founder of the Soviet state. At all stages of his career, Lenin had to cope with the Jewish question from ideological, organizational, and political points of view. At the outset of Lenin's activities, the Jewish *Bund, whose representatives took part in Russian Social Democratic congresses, was a factor to be dealt with in his tactics as head of the Bolshevik faction, as the Bund increasingly threw its weight to the Mensheviks and sometimes swung the balance against Lenin. Like every Russian revolutionary in his time, Lenin attacked, possibly with more sincerity and vigor than others, the anti-Jewish policy of the Czarist regime. On his initiative the Bolshevist faction in the 4th state Duma (1912–1917) proposed a law to annul all restrictive measures against Jews, including education, state service, the Pale of Settlement in part, and others. He never displayed any inclination to exploit the deep-seated hatred of Jews in the Russian masses as "fuel" to advance the revolution, and in both his personal and political behavior. Lenin never differentiated between people – friends and enemies alike – on the basis of their national or ethnic origins. On the other hand, he viewed the assimilation of the Jews and their complete disappearance into the surrounding culture and society as an inevitable and even desirable result of human advancement. He believed that Jewish separateness, even in the modern and secularist image of the Bund and Socialist Zionism, was a remnant of the precapitalist era and had begun to disappear quickly in Western capitalist countries such as Germany, France, and England. He viewed the separate cultural and social existence of the Jews of Russia as a corollary of the anti-Jewish discrimination and persecution and as a symptom of the backwardness of Russia, in which medieval divisions had not yet crumbled. He therefore denounced not only all manifestations of antisemitism, but also all forms of Jewish nationalism and separatism as "reactionary" phenomena that deflect the Jewish workers away from revolutionary solidarity with their non-Jewish comrades and from the struggle for the future revolution to overthrow all class barriers and finally solve the Jewish problem. Lenin expounded his views on the Jewish question and on the national question in general in many articles, e.g.,"The Position of the Bund in the Party" (1903: *Collected Works*, (1961^4), 92–103), "Theses on the National Question" (1913; *ibid.*, 19 (1963^4), 243–51), "Cultural-National Autonomy" (1913; *ibid.*, 503–7), "Critical Remarks on the National Question" (1913; *ibid.*, 20 (1964^4), 17–51). During the Civil War he refused to confiscate the Gorkis' pamphlet "On the Jews," despite warnings that it would become an anti-Bolshevist tool in the hands of the counterrevolutionaries.

After the Revolution, when Lenin took power in Russia (end of 1917), he endorsed the establishment of special departments for Jewish affairs in both the ruling Communist Party (the *Yevsektsiya) and in the relevant ministry (the Commissariat of Nationalities, headed by Joseph *Stalin). Neither did he object to the recognition of Yiddish as the national language of the Jews, since the masses of Jews – especially in the former *Pale of Settlement – were a large ethnic bloc, with its own culture and language, that should be addressed through means – especially linguistic – understood by it. Together with his acquiescence in the de facto recognition of a Jewish "nationality" in Soviet Russia, Lenin campaigned vigorously, both orally and in writing, against antisemitism and incitement to pogroms by the anti-Soviet right-wing forces (the White Army, the Ukrainian nationalists, peasant anarchists, etc.) and initiated, soon after the Revolution, the decree outlawing pogroms and their instigators (July 1918). Thus not only did Lenin abide by one of his ideological principles, he also faced and courageously fought the most demagogic challenge of the counterrevolutionary forces that rose against his regime (see *Antisemitism: Antisemitism in the Soviet Bloc). He took note of the higher percent of Jews in the revolutionary movement than their proportion in the population, and he initiated the promotion of Jews to higher positions in the State and party apparatus. Despite this position, however, Lenin did not oppose the cruel persecution of Zionists and suppression of the Hebrew language and the Jewish religion by the Soviet authorities, although in his time many arrested Zionists and rabbis were eventually allowed to leave Russia and go to Palestine. The assassination attempt on behalf of the Social Revolutionaries (1918), carried out against him by a Jewish woman, Fanya Kaplan, did not change his approach to the Jews at all.

At the end of his life, during his illness, Lenin attempted to oppose the Russian "great power chauvinism" of the young Soviet regime, which intervened, behind his back, with excessive cruelty in the lives of other nationalities in the country (such as the Georgians) and thus violated his principles on the national question. The Jewish aspect, however, did not play any part in this last struggle, since the antisemitism of the Soviet regime appeared undisguised only years after his death. This development is symbolized by the fact that among the eight speeches that Lenin recorded in 1919, seven were rerecorded in the Soviet Union on a long-playing record and marketed in 1961, during the Khrushchev era, but one speech was not rerecorded – his speech against antisemitism.

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[Binyamin Eliav]

LENKEI, HENRIK (1863–1943), Hungarian poet and playwright. Lenkei, who was secretary of IMIT, the Hungarian Jewish Literary Society, was a talented poet, his verse collections including *Új versek* ("New Poems," 1904) and *Utolsó roham* ("Last Attack," 1933). Among his other works were the drama *A nagy előjáték* ("The Great Prelude," 1926); *Kain halála* ("The Death of Cain," 1899); *Az én hőseim* ("My Heroes," 1910), poetic vignettes of great artists and writers; and *Ruth* (1915).

LENKINSKI, LOUIS (1921–1995), resistance fighter, trade union activist, and human rights advocate. Lenkinski was born in Lodz, Poland, into a working-class, Yiddishist family. In his youth he was drawn to socialism and joined the *Bund, which was dedicated to the creation of a classless society in which Jews would be accepted as full and equal citizens. With the establishment of the Lodz ghetto in 1940, Lenkinski became an underground courier and Bund organizer. While his family was deported to the death camps, he managed to survive until the liquidation of the ghetto in 1944. He was deported to a labor camp in Czestochowa, where he was liberated by the Soviet forces. After the war he met and married a fellow Lodzer, Helen Offman, and in 1950, under the auspices of the Jewish Labor Committee, they left Europe for Canada with their baby son. They settled in Toronto, where their second son was born.

Lenkinski became an upholsterer. Although his formal education was halted by the war, Lenkinski was an auto-didact, immersing himself in history and politics, and becoming a prolific writer and lecturer in Yiddish, Polish, and English. True to his roots, he became a trade union organizer and active in the Ontario Labour Congress where he eventually became executive assistant to the OLC secretary. Lenkisnski was an active supporter of the New Democratic Party and a mentor to a generation of its leaders at the provincial and federal level. Also active in the Canadian Polish Congress, in 1970 Lenkinski became the Solidarity movement's representative in Canada. His belief in building bridges between Poles and Jews of Polish origin in Canada led to the establishment of the Polish Jewish Heritage Foundation of Canada. In his last years, Lenkinski was associate chair of the Ontario Human Rights Commission, and chair of the Community Relations Committee of the Canadian Jewish Congress, Ontario Region.

Lenkinski died after a lifetime of devotion to justice and human rights and is remembered as an inspiration to three generations of political and social activists. His tireless insistence on historical accuracy and his refusal to assign collective responsibility, blame and guilt for the heinous crimes of the Holocaust, have challenged historians to examine the roots and complexities of Polish-Jewish relations.

[Frank Bialystok (2nd ed.)]

LENSKI, ḤAYYIM (1905–1942), Hebrew poet. Born in the town of Slonim, district of Grodno, Russia, Lenski spent his childhood and early youth in his grandfather's home in the townlet of Derechin. Late in 1921 he left to study at the Hebrew Teachers' Seminary in Vilna, where he published his first poems in a students' magazine. After two years in Vilna, he joined his father in Baku at the end of 1924, following an adventurous journey. In 1925, however, he left his family and went to Moscow and Leningrad, where he settled down as a worker in the Amal factory founded by *He-Ḥalutz. In Moscow he continued to write poetry, which he sent to literary periodicals in Ereẓ Israel. *Bialik warmly encouraged his writing. Lenski was arrested at the end of 1934 for writing in Hebrew, and, after being detained in Leningrad for a few months, he was sentenced to five years' imprisonment with hard labor in Siberia. His poems, however, continued to reach Ereẓ Israel. While in the labor camp near Mrinsk, he appealed to the Russian writer Maxim Gorki to intercede for him ("I am a poet and my only crime is that my poems were written in Hebrew"), but it is doubtful whether the plea ever reached Gorki. In 1937 Lenski was transferred to the forced labor camp of Gornaya Shoriya, near the Soviet-Mongolian border; from that time on, his poems ceased to reach Ereẓ Israel. In 1939 or 1940, having served his term, he returned to Leningrad. Soon afterward he was again arrested and sent to the prison camp of Malaya Vyshera, near Leningrad. From there he was probably sent back to Siberia, where he died.

Lenski proudly declared in his poem "*Leshon Kedumim*" ("Ancient Tongue") that he launched the armies of the Queen (i.e., of the Hebrew language) across the rivers Don, Neva, and Neman. At the end of 1958, a number of manuscripts reached Israel which contained a nearly complete collection of his lyrical poems, copied out in the poet's fine handwriting and ready for publication. His poems were subsequently published in Israel under the title of *Me-Ever Nehar ha-Lethe* ("Beyond the River Lethe," 1960).

Lenski's poetry comprises mainly short lyrical poems, sonnets, and ballads that are marked by a perspicuity of language, a concreteness of imagery, and sonorous and vibrant music. Influenced by both Pushkin and Yesenin, with a dash of Heine's bitterness, Lenski's poetry reflects the reality he knew at first hand: the landscape of townlets, forests, and rivers of his Lithuanian homeland, scenes from the Leningrad factory, and Siberia's boundless spaces. All this is transmuted into an imagistic idiom, vivid and often boldly modernistic, as when he indulges in playful onomatopoeic effects. Close to folk and popular lore, his writing is tinged with sober humor which, in his longer poems, is transfigured into mordant and rebellious satire. In these longer poems, his most important, the fundamentally nonpolitical poet attacks the "world of tomorrow" promised by Communist utopians and demagogues. Two of these, "The Delator" and "Barbers' Gate" (the latter a poem playing on the imagery of Pushkin's "Bronze Horseman"), attest to the remarkable courage of a poet who, himself subjected to "the dungeons of ancient servitude," openly predicts his captors' "imminent downfall."

The "I" in Lenski's poetry is that of the romantic, bohemian poet, proud of his mission but perfectly willing to mock both himself and his trade. He is the uprooted wayfarer, the unhappy lover, and tramp who admits to being "enthralled by the wormwood" thus sharing with many another poet "the fascination of what's difficult."

In Siberia Lenski also translated into Hebrew an adaptation of a Vogul epic, "The Tundra Book," which appeared in the poet's first collection, *Shirei Ḥayyim Lenski* (1939). Here too, his mastery of a rich, concrete, and colorful language is amply manifested in the short and flowing verses modeled on Longfellow's *The Song of Hiawatha*. Lenski also tried his hand at drama and prose, but these were never published. Biographical data on Lenski and critical evaluations of his work by A. Kariv and others appear in the editions of his work already mentioned (*Shirei Ḥayyim Lenski* and *Me-Ever Nehar ha-Lethe*) and in *He-Anaf ha-Gadu'a* (1945). *Yalkut Shirim*, with commentary by Azriel Ukhmani and an introduction by Shulamit Levo, appeared in 1973. A volume of collected poems including a bibliography entitled *Me'ever Nehar ha-Lete*, was published in 1986.

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[Natan Zach]

LENTIL (Heb. עֲדָשָׁה, *adashah*, pl. עֲדָשִׁים, *adashim*), the legume *Lens esculenta*, one of the earliest of the flora of Israel. Remains dating to over 3,000 years ago have been discovered in excavations and in Egyptian tombs of the 12th dynasty as food for the dead. In the Bible they are mentioned as the red "pottage of lentils" for which Esau sold his birthright to Jacob (Gen. 25:29–34). They were supplied by Barzillai the Gileadite to David's forces (II Sam. 17:28), and were included in the bread mixture that the prophet Ezekiel was commanded to eat for 390 days (Ezek. 4:9–10). In mishnaic and talmudic times, lentils were the most important of the legumes and many details about them occur in this literature. They lie on the surface of the ground, hence the expression "as lowly as the lentil" (TJ, Sanh. 2:5, 20b). The seed is like a discus – "round like a sphere" and has no protuberance – "the lentil has no mouth." The custom therefore obtained of providing mourners with lentils to eat, to symbolize that "the mourner has no mouth," i.e., is obliged to be silent, and that mourning is "a wheel that revolves throughout the world," all men being mortal (BB 16b; Gen. R. 63:14).

In addition to the species with a reddish seed there was a dark brown species (TJ, Shab. 7:6–end, 10d). Lentils were essentially the food of the common people; fastidious people who abstained from eating them suffered harm when obliged to do so (Ket. 67b). On the other hand it is mentioned that lentils were served at the table of Rabban Simeon b. Gamaliel (Beẓah 14b). Like other legumes they leave a bad smell in the mouth but they are noted as a remedy for diphtheria (Ber. 40a). A delicacy called *ashishim* was sometimes prepared from them. It consisted of "ground roast lentils kneaded in honey and fried" (TJ, Ned. 6:15, 40a). This is apparently the scriptural *ashishah* ("sweet cake"; I Chron. 16:3), regarded as a cure for lovesickness (Song 2:5).

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[Jehuda Feliks]

°LEO, name of 13 popes.

LEO VII (936–39) the only pope who openly advocated forcible measures for the conversion of the Jews. He advised Frederick, archbishop of Mainz from 937 and the pope's vicar in all the regions of Germany, to deliver to the Jews sermons on the Incarnation and the Trinity. If they refused to adopt the Christian faith, the pope authorized the bishop to banish them, "to avoid all contact with the enemies of God." It is true that Leo did not regard expulsion as a forcible measure, for he ended his letter by saying that, at all events, the Jews must not be compelled to accept baptism. It is also true that the initiative once more lay with the archbishop, and perhaps served as one of the weapons in his battle with the emperor Otto the Great, who had never denied his partiality for the Jews.

LEO X (Giovanni de' Medici), pope, 1513–21, one of the most tolerant of popes, whose reign was a happy one for the Jews. Intervening in the *Reuchlin-*Pfefferkorn controversy, he ensured an outcome of the dispute favorable for the Jews. His personal physician, Jacob b. Emanuel (Bonet *Lattes), was so well regarded that Reuchlin approached him for a recommendation to the pope. In 1514 Leo reconfirmed the privileges of the Jews in *Comtat Venaissin in opposition to the new measures which the bishop of *Carpentras wished to impose. He authorized the establishment of a Hebrew press in Rome and approved the printing of the Talmud. It is also true that the establishment of a chair of Hebrew in the University of Rome (1514) was aimed at promoting conversion, and Leo also granted considerable advantages to converts.

[Bernhard Blumenkranz]

LEO XIII (Vincenzo Gioacchino Pecci), pope, 1878–1903. Archbishop of Perugia from 1846 to 1878, he fought against the anticlerical laws passed in Italy after 1860. While he declared the Church receptive to cultural progress, he considered liberalism its archenemy and Judaism, which he saw as alienated from its own traditions, its driving force. As pope, his attitude toward Jews remained the same and during his pontificate the publication of a series of antisemitic articles in the Italian Jesuit organ, La *Civiltà Cattolica, did not meet with any papal interference. The *Dreyfus case found his sympathies on the side of the anti-Dreyfusards, who included the French Catholics, though in principle he wanted to see justice rendered to Dreyfus. The antisemitic policy of La *Croix, a French Catholic daily, did not apparently contradict the pope's own attitude. In 1892 Leo XIII admitted that there was a Jewish problem, but he saw it mainly as economic. Herzl tried to establish contact with Leo XIII but failed. On the other hand, the report that the pope had issued a protest against Zionism (also quoted in Herzl's *Diaries*) was officially denied.

[Willehad Paul Eckert]

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°LEO III (called "**the Isaurian**" = Syrian; c. 680–741), Byzantine emperor from 717 to 741. Leo emerged a strong ruler after compelling the Caliph Suleiman to give up the siege of Constantinople early in his reign. In 721–22 he issued a decree ordering the baptism of the Jews, but, according to a Byzantine source, those that submitted "quickly washed off the baptism." No Jewish source mentions the decree. In 730 Leo forbade the worship of icons, allegedly because of his "saracen mindedness," or, alternatively, persuaded by a Jewish sorcerer. Yet Leo had earlier defended their use to the Caliph Omar II, while direct Jewish influence was, obviously, quite unlikely. However, the fact that Leo's best soldiers came from Phrygia, the home of iconoclasm, partly engendered there by a constant Judeo-Christian syncretism, and his own origins in a monotheistic cultural milieu, might have produced a distaste for images in worship. In this sense there could be a Jewish element in Leo's final choice of iconoclasm rather than another issue for his real purpose – the reassertion of imperial authority over the Church.

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[Andrew Sharf]

°LEO VI (called "The Wise"), Byzantine emperor from 886 to 912. His law code, the *Basilica*, contains no innovations concerning the Jews. Leo appears favorably in Jewish sources. A tenth-century Hebrew apocalyptic text, the Vision of *Daniel, refers to him as granting "freedom and relief to the holy people," and the 11th-century chronicle, *Megillat Aḥima'aẓ* written by *Ahimaaz b. Paltiel, states that Leo annulled the decree of forced baptism issued by his father, *Basil I. However, Leo's 55th *novella*, or imperial rescript, declares that "in order to complete my father's work all Jews, baptized or not, must live according to the ceremonies and customs of Christianity" – thus even abrogating the fundamentals of Byzantine Jewish legislation. The probable explanation of this contradiction is that Leo continued Basil's attempt but quickly abandoned it when he saw its ineffectiveness – and it was this which was remembered.

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[Andrew Sharf]

LEO BAECK INSTITUTE, organization founded by the Council of Jews from Germany in 1955 in Jerusalem, for the purpose of collecting material and sponsoring research on the history of the Jewish community in Germany and other German-speaking countries. It operates in cooperation with Israeli and European scholars, organizing and encouraging conferences and lectures. The Institute is primarily concerned with the period from the Emancipation to the destruction and dispersion of the Jewish community of Central Europe. It is named for Leo *Baeck, the leader of German Jewry in its darkest hour. Baeck, who survived Theresienstadt, became the first international president of the institute.

There are branches of the Leo Baeck Institute in Jerusalem, London, and New York and two offices in Germany. All three centers regularly hold local and international conferences on a large variety of topics. The London branch publishes a yearbook and maintains contact with European scholars. The Jerusalem branch houses an archive with a collection of documents, microfilm, newspapers in German and Hebrew, and other rare materials about the Jews of Central Europe and is responsible for the publication of the *Juedischer Almanach* and books in Hebrew and German. The New York branch houses a library of about 40,000 books and has extensive archives, which include memoirs, manuscripts, and art work representative of the history of Central European Jewry since the Emancipation. The work of the three branches is coordinated through an international advisory body. The Institute publishes a yearbook (YLBI; 1956 to date). A quarterly in German, *Bulletin des Leo Baeck Instituts* (BLBI), is published in Tel Aviv. The Institute has published many monographs in English, Hebrew, and German. Among the 20 major publications of the series *Schriftenreihe wissenschaftlicher Abhandlungen des Leo Baeck Instituts* are the *History of Prussian Jewry* by Selma Stern-Taeubler, the *Zunz Letters* by Nahum N. Glatzer, and the *Anthology of the Science of Judaism* by Kurt Wilhelm. The Leo Baeck Institute has continued work on *Germania Judaica* started in 1917, a monumental history of all Jewish places of settlement in Central Europe from its earliest days to the 14th century (2 vols. in 3, 1963–68). The 83rd volume of *Monatsschrift fuer die Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums* (1939), of which only one complete copy had been salvaged, was reprinted by the Institute (1963). A series of important memoirs was published in cooperation with the Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, Stuttgart. Its recent publications include *Juedischer Verlag im Suhrkamp Verlag* and *An Episode of "Risches"? The Counting of the Jewish Soldiers in Germany in the First World War.*

WEBSITES: www.leobaeck.org; www.lbi.org; www.leobaeck.co.uk.

[Max Kreutzberger / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

LEÓN, capital of the ancient kingdom of León, Spain. The community of León was one of the oldest in Christian Spain, outside Catalonia. The earliest sources date back to the tenth-century. The Jews engaged in real estate and commerce. The Jewish quarter apparently remained in the same location in the Santa Ana quarter from the beginnings of Jewish settlement. The 14th-century synagogue was situated in the Cal de Moros, now Calle de Misericordia. The *Prado de los Judíos* ("Meadow of the Jews") is on the site of the medieval cemetery. Various sources mention Jews in León who became converted to Christianity in the tenth century. One of the apostates, Habaz (or Navaz), bestowed all his property on the local monastery. From the 11th century information becomes more plentiful. A number of Jews resided in the citadel, and owned real estate, fields, gardens, and vineyards in the vicinity. Some engaged in moneylending and commerce. The status of the Jews was regularized by a *fuero* ("charter") granted in 1020. In the 11th century (1091) the Jews of León enjoyed special privileges as they were under royal jurisdiction. One concession was the right to have lawsuits with Christians heard by the king or one of the court clergy. When the issue was to be decided by duel, the Jew was entitled to appoint a champion. The charter was subsequently used as a model for the legislation applying to other communities in the kingdom of León. The cemetery of Puente Castro near León contains tombstones dating from the 11th century, including those of Jews from León.

According to Hebrew sources, there was a well-organized Jewish community in León that was the home of distinguished scholars. The Hebrew sources found in the Archivo Catedralicio de León reveal a high level of rabbinic learning there.

In the 13th century, despite a certain religious decline, the community was the home of some very important scholars, first and foremost *Moses de León, the famous kabbalist, and *Moses ben Shem Tov de León.

From the 13th century the rights of the Jewish community in León were progressively curtailed by a series of royal decrees. In 1260 Alfonso X fixed the rate of interest on loans. Sancho IV included León in a royal decree issued to *Palencia in 1286, providing that lawsuits between Jews were to be tried by Jewish judges and lawsuits between Christians by Christian judges so as to prevent the trial of mixed lawsuits by Jewish judges. In 1293 King Sancho acceded to a request by the Cortes in Valladolid that excluded Jews from taxfarming in León, and confirmed an order issued by Alfonso X prohibiting the Jews in León from acquiring real estate, etc. Ferdinand IV forbade the Jews in León to appear at his court. However, he permitted them to choose a judge for settling their disputes, a privilege for which they paid 400 maravedis to the municipality. In 1305 they concluded an agreement with the municipality that if the royal judges were not local residents, the Jews would be entitled to make recourse to a judge of their own choice. In 1313 the Infante Don Juan, in the name of Alfonso XI, confirmed that the regulations issued by the Cortes of Palencia also applied to León. The Jews throughout the kingdom of León were now compelled to wear the yellow *badge on their garments; no Jew could be released from paying taxes; and the evidence of a Jew could not be used against Christians. In 1332 Alfonso XI granted the inhabitants of León a general moratorium on Jewish loans and in 1365 Pedro ordered both Jews and Moors to pay the *alcabal* (indirect taxes) like the other residents in León.

The troubles experienced by Spanish Jewry in the 15th century also affected the Jews in León. The low tax paid by the community in 1439 shows that it had become impoverished: instead of 6,400 maravedis in old coin, they paid only 2,700 maravedis in silver. Its Jewish population was greatly reduced. At most there were some 150 Jewish families or about 500 Jews. On May 25, 1449, riots broke out and most of the Jewish quarter was pillaged. However, in this case the crown took action against the aggressors and ordered that they should be arrested and tried, and their property confiscated. In 1481 the Jews in León were ordered to leave the Jewish quarter, but in 1488 the crown agreed to allow them to enlarge it. The names of several Jewish taxfarmers from León are known from the second half of the 15th century. The Jews in León in this period, besides engaging in crafts, commerce, and agriculture, also sold goods in the mountain villages. Some of these merchants complained to the king that their clients had refused to pay for the goods. In the years preceding the expulsion León had a yeshivah headed by R. Isaac Besudo. After the decree of expulsion of 1492, the governor of León, John of Portugal, undertook to protect the Jews there in return for a payment of 3,000 maravedis but failed to honor the agreement and seized their property. Jewish property was also looted after the exiles had left, but some was restored to Jews who returned to León in 1493 and accepted baptism.

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[Haim Beinart]

LEON, family name of European and U.S. notables whose progenitors fled the Iberian Peninsula during the Inquisition. The name derives from the kingdom of Leon, Spain. Early in the 1500s, the Marrano PEDRO DE LEON tried to escape the Spanish inquisitors by moving with his family to the West Indian island of Hispaniola. However, he was apprehended and in 1515 brought back to Seville for trial. Others were more fortunate and the name Leon appears in the records of Ancona, Jerusalem, Hamburg, Salonika, London, Venice, Jamaica, Surinam, Amsterdam, and the United States. ISAAC BEN ELIEZER DE LEON of Spain, who is best known for his *Megillat Esther* (Venice, 1592), a commentary to Maimonides' *Sefer ha-Mitzvot*, spent most of his life in Ancona, Italy. He is also the author of a responsum dated 1545 that appeared in Rome. In Greece, the liturgical poet ABRAHAM DE LEON composed "*El Ram al Kol Tehillah*," a dirge on the capture of Rhodes by the Turks in 1522, which was included in the *Bakkashot* published about 1545 at Constantinople. (The poem is numbered 4042 in Davidson, *Oẓar*, vol. 1, 1924.) JOSEPH DE LEON served as rabbi in Jerusalem c. 1588. At Hamburg, the *ḥakham* of the Portuguese congregation from 1615 to 1656 was JUDAH ḤAYYIM LEON. About 1632, in Salonika, then under Turkish dominion, the *rosh yeshivah* was ISAAC DE LEON.

At London's Spanish-Portuguese synagogue, the assistant to the haham from 1685 to 1707 was ABRAHAM JUDAH LEON. The rabbi of Venice in about 1695 was JOSEPH DE LEON. JACOB DE LEON and JACOB RODRIGUEZ DE LEON resided in Jamaica in 1698. Among the leaders of Surinam's Portuguese Jewish community during the 1780s was MOSES P. DE LEON, coauthor of a history of his community, *Essai historique sur la colonie de Surinam avec l'histoire de la Nation Juive Portugaise et Allemande y établie* (1788), subsequently published also in Dutch (Amsterdam, 1791).

A number of men bearing the name Leon appeared in Amsterdam. In the mid-1600s MEIR DE LEON translated Solomon ibn Verga's *Shevet Yehudah* into Spanish (*La Vara de Judá*, Amsterdam, 1640). The leading figure of Amsterdam's Keter Torah yeshivah was SAMUEL DE LEON. Requests for decisions on matters of Jewish law addressed to the yeshivah were generally referred to him; his responsa were published at Hamburg in 1679. Fleeing from the Inquisition in 1685, the Marrano MANUEL DE LEON, who was born in Leiria, Portugal, arrived in Amsterdam, where he remained until his death in 1712. He produced Spanish and Portuguese verse, published in Brussels (1688), in The Hague (1691), and in Amsterdam (1712). The *ḥakham* of Amsterdam's Gemilut Ḥasadim fund was ELIJAH DE LEON, who was also coeditor of the Bible printed in 1661 by Joseph *Athias.

There were numerous Leons in colonial America. Joseph Rosenbloom's *A Biographical Dictionary of Early American Jews, Colonial Times through 1800* (1960) lists 38, many of them descendants of Abraham de Leon (b. 1702), who settled in Savannah, Georgia, in 1733. The name was prominent in New York City during the 1850s. MOSES LEON was among the leaders of New York's Hebrew Benevolent Society and MORRIS J. LEON was active in the Young Men's Benevolent and Fuel Association; the *ḥazzan* of the Bnai Israel synagogue in 1854 was JOSHUA DE LEON.

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LEON, ANTHONY JAMES (1956–), South African political leader. The son of Judge Ramon Leon, he qualified as a lawyer at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, and lectured there in Law from 1986 to 1989. In 1986–89, he was also city councilor and leader of opposition in Johannesburg, and thereafter a Member of Parliament for Houghton (1989–94), taking over in that constituency from veteran Helen *Suzman. In 1994, he took over the leadership of the Democratic Party, which became the official opposition in Parliament following the elections of 1999. In 2000 the party joined forces with other smaller parties to form the Democratic Alliance (DA) under Leon's leadership. The DA strengthened its position as official opposition in the elections of 2004. Leon wrote *Hope & Fear: Reflections of a Democrat* (1998).

[David Saks (2nd ed.)]

LEON, HARRY JOSHUA (1896–1967), U.S. classics scholar and historian. Leon, born in Worcester, Massachusetts, taught classical languages at the University of Texas from 1923, was a research professor at the American Academy of Rome 1950–51, and was an active member of many learned societies. Apart from his work on *Tacitus* (1960^2) and translations of classical literature, Leon published a *History of the Jews of Ancient Rome* (1960) which was largely based on a careful analysis of inscriptions in the Jewish *catacombs in Rome.

LEON, ISAAC DE (d. 1486 or 1490), Spanish rabbi and kabbalist. Isaac was born in Leon in the second decade of the 15th century. He was a pupil of Isaac *Canpanton and was friendly with Isaac *Aboab. Abraham b. Samuel *Zacuto in the *Sefer Yuḥasin* (ed. by H. Filipowski (1857), 226) states that Isaac was "experienced in miracles." He was rabbi of Ocaña. Among Isaac's many pupils were Samuel ibn *Sid, who summarized in his *Kelalei Shemu'el* many of the traditions and methods of learning in Spain received from his master; Isaac Giacon, the teacher of the well-known kabbalist *Abraham b. Eliezer ha-Levi; Abraham b. Bolat; and Abraham b. Hassan of Salonika. Isaac de Leon became embroiled with Don Abraham *Senior and scornfully termed him *sone or* ("hater of the light") because of heresies which he found in him even before his apostasy. In 1482 De Leon visited Saragossa and became friendly with the Jewish royal courtier, Alfonso de la Caballeria. There he became involved in a violent controversy with the local rabbi Isaac Ziyyat, with reference to the permissibility of certain animal fat, which caused a storm among the Jews of Aragon. A ruling by De Leon on the laws of adjoining owners is extant (in *Sheva Einayim*, ed. by J. London, Leghorn, 1745), with which Isaac Ziyyat disagreed. Some of his rulings are mentioned by Joseph *Caro in his *Beit Yosef.* He wrote a supercommentary to Rashi's Pentateuch commentary. Toward the end of his life he moved to Toledo, where he died.

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[Abraham David]

LEÓN, LUIS DE (1528–1591), Spanish poet, humanist, and Augustinian friar. Born in Belmonte, New Castile, he spent most of his life in Salamanca where, as a professor, he dominated the university until some intolerant rivals discovered his *New Christian origin. The fact that his great-grandmother had been burnt at the stake as a relapsed Jewess led to his imprisonment for five years at Valladolid from 1572 at the hands of the Inquisition. Luis de León was accused of Judaizing and of doubting the authority of the Vulgate, the literal accuracy of which he had called into question. His Spanish translation of the Song of Songs reinforced these charges. Luis de León claimed that he knew no rabbinic commentaries on the Bible. There is reason to doubt the truth of this assertion. How can a biblical Hebraist ignore rabbinic exegesis? His own writings deny the truth of his claim. In his commentary on the Song of Songs, he mentions Abraham Ibn Ezra and in his commentary on Job, he refers to Jewish scholars. Elsewhere in his trial he did speak about several Jewish scholars. In dozens of cases in his commentaries on the two books, there is clear evidence that he knew Hebrew. Habib Arquim showed that his notes reflect rabbinic comments. It is obvious that Luis de León was well acquainted with rabbinic sources. It is also evident that he used kabbalistic sources, particularly the Zohar. After his eventual acquittal, Luis de León returned in triumph to Salamanca. These experiences are scarcely reflected in his poetry, which is a model of equilibrium. Apart from original verse and translations from the Bible and from classical and Italian literature, he wrote a number of theological and exegetic works, in which he invoked the support of the Christian Kabbalah. Luis de León's work unites the medieval Christian, biblical Hebrew, and classical traditions in the harmony of the Spanish Renaissance. Further research is needed to show the extent and depth of Luis de León's close familiarity with rabbinic and kabbalistic sources, which were blended with profound knowledge of medieval Christian traditions.

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[Kenneth R. Scholberg / Yom Tov Assis (2nd ed.)]

LEON, MESSER DAVID BEN JUDAH (1470/72?–1526?), rabbi and religious philosopher. Born in Mantua, Italy, Leon studied in his father's yeshivah in Naples, where he was ordained at the age of 18 by French and German rabbis. He then went to the yeshivah of Judah Minz in Padua. In 1494 he was living in Florence, about 1505 moved to Salonika, and about 1512 was appointed rabbi of Valona, Albania. In this town there were many disputes between the various communities because of the desire of the exiles from Spain and Portugal to impose their customs on the existing communities. He became involved in these disputes, and in one of them excommunicated his opponent, Meir ibn Verga. On the night of the Day of Atonement, during a fierce quarrel between the various communities, he was insulted and banned two scholars among the heads of the community who opposed him. His ruling, which attempted to justify his action and prove that the ban was legally in force, was published under the title *Kevod Ḥakhamim* (ed. by S. Bernfeld, 1899). There is, however, a conjecture that a great part of this work was taken from the responsa of Joseph *Colon (Venice, 1519, ed. no. 170). As a result of these disputes, he returned to Salonika where he died.

Leon combined vast erudition in Jewish subjects with a comprehensive knowledge of general culture, particularly in philosophy. In the study of Torah he preferred the method of the rabbis of Germany and France to the methods of the rabbis of Spain. An admirer of Maimonides, Leon, in those of his works that have remained unpublished, *Magen David* (dealing with the problem of the nature of the **Sefirot* and compiled apparently before 1506) and *Ein ha-Kore* (a commentary on the *Guide of the Perplexed*), defended Maimonides' philosophical method and attempted to answer the complaints of his critics. He was opposed to Levi b. Gershom and Isaac Abrabanel, mainly because their views differed from those of Maimonides. His combination of general culture with values originating from Jewish religion and culture is reflected in his query to Jacob b. David *Provençal "on the view of the sages of the Talmud in the study of the natural sciences, logic, philosophy, and medicine." The reply (published in the collection *Divrei Ḥakhamim* (1849), 63–74, of Eliezer Ashkenazi), that "each one of the seven sciences is praiseworthy and valued in the eyes of our sages," addressed him as one who would produce "fruit from the tree, but not forsake the root in order to take hold of the husk." Apparently Leon also engaged in Kabbalah. He stated that although his father refused to allow him to engage in it "because of his tender age," he studied Kabbalah in secret. Among his other works worthy of mention are *Tehillah le-David* (Constantinople, 1577), on religious philosophy, published by his grandson Aaron Leon; *Sod ha-Gemul*; and his rulings and responsa, and letters and poems (some also in Latin) – most of which are still in manuscript.

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[Yehoshua Horowitz]

LEON, MESSER JUDAH BEN JEHIEL (15th century), rabbi and author. The place and the year of Judah's birth are unknown. It is possible that his native city was Mantua, where he was the head of a yeshivah. He was a typical representative of the Jewish humanism of the Renaissance. Judah received a broad and thorough Jewish and general education; he studied classical Latin literature, and evinced a special interest in the Latin works of antiquity that had been rediscovered in his day, such as Quintilian's *Institutio oratoria*. He was familiar with Greek and Arabic literatures, however, only from translations. Although it has often been doubted, he seems to have been in possession of a medical diploma. The controversy between him and Joseph *Colon in Mantua split the Jewish community, and the duke of Mantua felt compelled to banish both adversaries from the city. M. Steinschneider surmises that the cause of the conflict was a question of *halakhah*, as to whether it was permissible to wear the garb of the Italian scholars, the *cappa*. Graetz saw the cause of the dispute in the clash between the strict orthodoxy of Colon and the progressive views of Judah. Both assumptions have been shown by M.A. Szulwas to be without foundation: Colon (Maharik, Resp. nos. 88, 149) did not at all forbid the wearing of the *cappa*; and the difference in their respective views could not have been so great, since in 1455 Judah sought to prohibit the study of *Levi b. Gershom's commentary on the Torah under threat of excommunication; he also attempted to impose on the Italian communities certain strict halakhic rules. Szulwas assumes that it was probably Judah's claim to be the authority for all communities in Italy that was the cause of his dispute with Colon 20 years later. The honorific title Messer appears to have been bestowed upon Judah either by the pope or by the emperor. He lived for some time in Venice (1472), Bologna, Ancona, and Naples (as early as 1480). In Naples, he was head of the yeshivah. The place and year of his death are unknown.

Judah wrote the following:

(1) *Nofet Ẓufim*, a Hebrew rhetorical work based on the rhetorical rules of Aristotle (or his commentators), Cicero, and Quintilian (printed in Mantua before 1480, published again by A. Jellinek, 1863);

(2) *Livnat ha-Sappir*, a Hebrew grammar;

(3) *Mikhlal Yofi*, a compendium of Aristotelian logic;

(4) sermons for various occasions, composed in Ancona (Ms. Firkovich);

(5) medical treatises;

(6) prayers (Ms. Firkovich, which in part are included in some manuscripts of the Italian Jewish liturgy (e.g., in Ms. de Rossi 970);

(7) several circular letters (printed by Perreau and Steinschneider in Kobak's *Yeshurun*);

(8) *Sheḥitah* and *bedikah* rules (Ms. Firkovich);

(9) a Latin work on medical subjects (mentioned by Judah's son, David);

(10) a supercommentary on Averroes' Middle Commentary to many books of Aristotle's *Organon*;

(11) a supercommentary like (10) on Aristotle's *Physics*, known only from information communicated by his son;

(12–13) commentaries on Aristotle's *De Anima* and *Metaphysics* (mentioned by Judah, but not extant);

(14) a commentary on Aristotle's *Ethics*, mentioned by Judah's grandson, Aaron (perhaps identical with the anonymous Ms. Leyden Warnerus no. 44);

(15) a commentary, preserved in many manuscripts, on Jedaiah Bedersi's *Beḥinat Olam*, probably by Judah; it was completed by his nephew, Mordecai b. David;

(16) a commentary on Maimonides' *Moreh Nevukhim*, entitled *Moreh Ẓedek*, said to have been in the possession of David Vital and to have been lost when Patros was captured;

(17) a commentary on the Pentateuch, apparently unfinished;

(18) observations on the first book of Avicenna's Canon;

(19) *tosafot* to tractate *Berakhot* (in: *Berakhah Meshulleshet* (1883));

(20) *Reshut* to *Barekhu* (published in ZHB, 19 (1916), 133). The commentary on the last chapter of Proverbs stems apparently not from Judah but from his son David.

Several letters (from the years 1468 and 1474), addressed by Abraham Farissol to Judah, are found in the manuscript de Rossi 145.

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[Umberto (Moses David) Cassuto]

LÉON, XAVIER (1868–1935), French philosopher. Léon founded the important philosophical journal, *Revue de Métaphysique et de Morale*, which he edited from its beginning in 1893 until his death. The journal was not only against positivist trends, but also in favor of speculative philosophy. Léon also founded the *Société française de philosophie* (1901). In both of these ventures he had the collaboration of Élie *Halévy. Léon organized several international congresses of philosophy. He wrote on the German philosopher, Fichte, publishing *La Philosophie de Fichte* (1902) and *Fichte et son temps*, 2 vols. (1922–27).

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[Richard H. Popkin]

LEONARD, BENNY (Benjamin (Dov B'er) Leiner; "The Ghetto Wizard," "The Great Bennah"; 1896–1947), U.S. boxer, lightweight champion from 1917 to 1925, among the greatest lightweight fighters of the 20th century and one of the greatest Jewish sports figures of all time; member of the Ring Boxing Hall of Fame and the International Boxing Hall of Fame. Born to Yiddish-speaking religious Russian immigrants Minnie and Gershon, a tailor, Leonard was raised in the East Greenwich Village neighborhood in New York and first fought with gloves at age 11. He turned pro at 15, and when the ring announcer mangled his last name, the nervous Leonard did not correct him, and that helped keep his parents from finding out about his career. His mother was opposed to his fighting, which she considered dangerous and unseemly for an Orthodox Jewish boy. Leonard carried a picture of his mother with him every place he went, called her after every fight, and never fought on a Jewish holiday. Leonard beat Freddie Welsh for the lightweight crown on May 28, 1917, holding the title until he voluntarily retired on Jan. 15, 1925, a span of seven years and eight months – the longest uninterrupted lightweight title reign in history. During that period, Leonard was said to be the most famous Jew in America. The stock market crash of 1929 wiped out Leonard's wealth, and he returned to the ring on October 6, 1931, to recoup his fortunes. He did not lose in his first 20 fights, but he retired after Jimmy McLarnin stopped him on October 7, 1932. Leonard also fought a bout against Jack Britton for the welterweight title on June 26, 1922, but lost on a foul in the 13th round. His official record is 89–5–1, with 69 knockouts and 121 no decisions, and his record including newspaper verdicts, according to one source, is 164–11–5, with 36 no decisions. After his boxing career was over, Leonard became a popular referee. On April 18, 1947, he suffered a heart attack while refereeing a match in St. Nicholas Arena, and died in the ring. He was elected to the Ring Boxing Hall of Fame in 1955 and the International Boxing Hall of Fame in 1990. Nat Fleischer considered Benny Leonard the No. 2 all time lightweight in 1958; *Sporting News*, in its 75th anniversary issue in 1997, named Leonard Best Boxer of the Last 75 Years; the *Ring* magazine ranked him No. 2 in its list of the greatest lightweights of all time in September 2001, 71 years after Leonard fought his last fight; and boxing historian Bert Sugar ranks him fifth on his list of 100 greatest boxers of all time. Leonard wrote a small pamphlet *My Greatest Ring Battles* (1939). He is also the subject of Nat Fleischer's biography *Leonard the Magnificent* (1947).

[Elli Wohlgelernter (2nd ed.)]

LEONE, LEON (Judah) DI (d. 1830), rabbi in Italy. Leone went to Europe from Ereẓ Israel as an emissary of the Hebron community and in 1795 was elected rabbi of Rome. In 1796 he joined other rabbis in Italy in writing a protest against statements current in France and Germany that radical religious reforms were being introduced in the Italian Jewish communities. When the community in Rome was reorganized on the French pattern in 1811, Leone became chairman of the consistory.

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[Umberto (Moses David) Cassuto]

LEONHARD, RUDOLF (1889–1953), German essayist and poet. Leonhard, who was born in Lissa, studied law at Goettingen. He subsequently worked as a freelance writer in Berlin, but in 1927 moved to Paris. Leonhard was a radical pacifist, but, nevertheless, fought in the French underground during the Nazi occupation of France. He returned to East Berlin after World War II. His works include essays on literary and political topics, some of them in French; two volumes of collected poems entitled *Polnische Gedichte* (1918) and *Katilinarische Pilgerschaft* (1919); a book of aphorisms, *Alles und Nichts* (1920); and a tragedy, *Geiseln* (1945). Leonhard, an accomplished critic, also translated the works of Anatole France. From 1961 to 1970 four volumes of selected works (*Ausgewaehlte Werke in Einzelausgaben*) appeared in East Germany.

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[Rudolf Kayser / Kurt Feilchenfeld (2nd ed.)]

LEONI, MYER (d. 1796), English cantor. Born Meir ben Judah Loeb, probably in Poland, he was first known in England as an opera singer named "Meir Leoni." In 1767 he was engaged as cantor at the Great Synagogue, London, on condition that he would conduct himself henceforth as an observant Jew. His tune for the **Yigdal*, known as the "Leoni Yigdal," was heard at the synagogue in 1770 by the Methodist minister Thomas Olivers and adapted for the Christian hymn, "The God of Abraham Praise." Leoni later returned to the stage, stipulating that he should not appear on Friday nights, when he officiated in the synagogue. His relations with his congregation became difficult, however, and when he sang in a performance of Handel's *Messiah* he had to resign. In 1787 he went to Jamaica as reader to the Ashkenazi synagogue in Kingston, where he remained until his death. Some of the synagogal music composed by Leoni and his colleague, Abraham of Prossnitz (d. 1779), the father of John *Braham, figured in the collection of cantorial music made by Aaron Beer of Berlin, while specimens adapted for harpsichord and other instruments were published in London in 1780.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: C. Roth, *Great Synagogue, London 1690–1940* (1950), 143–45; Grove, Dict; Idelsohn, Music, 218–26; idem, in: *Hebrew Union College Jubilee Volume* (1925), 415–6; J. Picciotto, *Sketches of Anglo-Jewish History* (1956), 139–49; Sendrey, Music, no. 6216.

[Cecil Roth]

LEONIDOV (VOLFENSON), LEONID MIRONOVICH (1873–1941), Russian actor. He was born into a Jewish merchant family and began his career by appearing in amateur theatricals in Odessa. In 1895–96 he studied at the Moscow Imperial Theater School. He acted in the theaters of Solovtsov (1896–1901, in Kiev and Odessa) and Korsh (1901–1903, in Moscow). In 1903 he began appearing with the Moscow Art Theater where he made his debut in the role of Vaska Pepel in Gorky's *Lower Depths*. He also played comic roles to which he often lent a sharply grotesque touch, as for example in his portrayal of Plyushchkin in Gogol's *Dead Souls* (1932). Many of the characters he created belong to the great accomplishments of the Russian stage, e.g., Dmitri Karamazov in a dramatization of Dostoevsky's *Brothers Karamazov* (1910) and Peer Gynt in Ibsen's play of that name (1912).

In 1918 he also began acting in films in roles such as Ivan the Terrible in *Kryl'ya kholopa* ("Wings of the Serf," 1925), Governor von Wahl and the Rabbi in *Ego prevoskhoditel'stvo* ("Your Excellency," 1928), the Puppeteer in *Marionetki* ("Marionettes," 1936), and Gobsek in the film of the same name (1937).

From 1935 he taught at the State Institute of Theatrical Art (from 1939 as professor and then dean; and from 1939 to 1941 as artistic director). In 1936 he was awarded the title of People's Artist of the U.S.S.R.

[*The Shorter Jewish Encyclopaedia in Russian*]

LEONOVICH (**Leonowicz**), name of Karaite family from Halich. The first bearer of this family name was the community leader Abraham ben Levi (d. 1851). In 1802 he was appointed as *ḥazzan* of Halich; he protected the interests of his community before the Austrian authorities. In 1836 through his endeavors a new synagogue was built in Halich (the previous one had been burned down six years before). He was on friendly terms with some intellectuals of the *Haskalah movement, which spread at that time in Galicia. Among his friends, with whom he corresponded and discussed religious questions, were Nahman *Krochmal, Samuel David *Luzzatto of Padua, Isaac ben Samuel Regio, Abraham *Geiger, and many others. He relaxed some severe Karaite laws that concerned the burying of the dead. He composed a number of liturgical poems in Hebrew, some of which were included in the Karaite *siddur*, and some in the Karaite language. In addition to Karaite sources he studied Talmud and medieval Rabbanite literature.

His son JOSEPH (1794–1867) was appointed as a *ḥazzan* after his father's demise. He was also an intercessor for his community and a member of the municipal council of Halich. Joseph and a number of dignitaries of the community traveled to Vienna on a special mission to the Emperor Franz Joseph to ask him for the exemption of Karaites from military service. His argument was that according to the Karaites' literal interpretation of Scripture, any bloodshed is strictly prohibited, even during war. The delegation's request was answered positively. Joseph wrote the grammatical treatise *Imrei Shefer* (St. Petersburg Institute of Oriental Studies of the Russian Academy A 258) and a number of liturgical poems in Hebrew, some of them included in the Karaite *siddur*. He was interested in Rabbanite literature. As he grew up in the atmosphere of the Haskalah in his father's house, he was on friendly terms with some important Haskalah figures, such as A. Geiger, M.-M. Rozenthal, Joseph Moses Levi of Hungary, and others. His correspondence from 1860 to 1864 with the latter was published in *Kokhvei Yiẓḥak* (1845–83), 28–33.

ZARAH BEN SAMUEL (d. 1895) was a son-in-law of Joseph ben Abraham. From 1871 he served as second *ḥazzan* of the Halich community and in 1894–95 became its first *ḥazzan*. He was an expert in Karaite literature and in addition studied philosophical and other Rabbanite works. During some periods of his life he observed precepts that oblige only Rabbanites.

There were some additional, less known personalities with the name Leonovich. This family name was common also in Luzk.

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[Golda Akhiezer (2nd ed.)]

LEONTE (**Judah**) **BEN MOSES** (12th century), liturgical poet. Leonte, who lived in Rome, is most probably identical with the scholar Judah b. Moses who, in the name of the Roman community, addressed an inquiry to *Judah b. Kalonymus and "the sages of Mainz" (Zedekiah Anav, *Shibbolei ha-Leket*, ed. S. Buber (1886), introd. 11 n. 87). A Leon of Rome in 1210 is mentioned in A. *Zacuto's *Yuḥasin* (ed. by H. Filipowski (1857), 221); *Joseph ibn Ẓaddik (Neubauer, Chronicles, 1 (1887), 94) mentions a Leon of Rome in the year 1216. Leonte is named as the author of about ten *seliḥot*, which, though formerly common in the Roman ritual, remained nevertheless in manuscript. In the acrostic he signs his name in the Hebrew form, Judah, or in the Romanic form, Leonte, occasionally adding עני or ענו; he presumably belonged to the Roman-Jewish family *Anav.

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LEONTOPOLIS, locality in the district of Heliopolis in Egypt, N.E. of *Memphis, 6 mi. (10 km.) N. of Cairo. A settlement of Jewish soldiers was established in Leontopolis under the leadership of the former high priest, *Onias IV, sometime after the outbreak of the Maccabean revolt, in the middle of the second century B.C.E., with the approval of Ptolemy Philometer and his wife Cleopatra (Jos., Ant., 13:62ff.). Its nucleus was made up of emigrants from Judea. The Jewish soldiers of the region subsequently played a role in the political life of Egypt and the area was also called "the land of Onias." Onias erected here a temple to the God of Israel by restoring a ruined Egyptian temple which stood on the site. This temple served the Jewish inhabitants of the region for more than 200 years until it was closed down by the Romans in 73 C.E. (Wars, 7:433–646). The present name of the locality, Tell al-Yahūdiyya, is a survival from this ancient Jewish settlement. In archaeological excavations, Jewish inscriptions were found there. Some wish to associate the "Camp of the Jews" mentioned by Josephus (Ant., 14:133), and also the Castra Judaeorum mentioned in the Byzantine era, with this region.

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[Uriel Rappaport]

LEONTOVICH, EUGENIE (1900–1993), actress. Born in Moscow, Russia, the daughter of a czarist army officer, Leontovich fled to Berlin in 1918 and worked with Russian refugee actors under the direction of Gregory Ratoff (1893–1960). They married in 1923 and continued to act together in the United States. They divorced in 1949. In 1930 Leontovich played Grusinskaya in Vicki *Baum's *Grand Hotel* on Broadway. Other memorable characterizations included Tatiana in *Tovarich* (London, 1935) and the dowager empress in *Anastasia* (New York, 1954). Her other Broadway performances included *Revue Russe* (1922), *Twentieth Century* (1933), *Bitter Oleander* (1935), *Dark Eyes* (which she co-wrote with Elena Miramova, 1943), *Obsession* (1946), *The Cave Dwellers* (1957), *A Call on Kuprin* (1961), and *Medea and Jason* (1974). In 1958 she was nominated for a Best Actress Tony Award for her performance in *The Cave Dwellers*.

She appeared in several films as well, namely *Four Sons* (1940), *The Men in Her Life* (1941), *Anything Can Happen* (1952), *The World in His Arms* (1952), *The Rains of Ranchipur* (1955), and *Homicidal* (1961). In 1953 she founded a repertory theater in Los Angeles. She joined the Goodman School of Drama in Chicago in 1964. Her colleagues there included Morris Carnovsky, Lilian Gish, James Earl Jones, and Sam Wanamaker. Leontovich wrote a two-act play entitled *Anna K* (1973), based on Leo Tolstoy's novel *Anna Karenina*.

[Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

°**LEONTOVICH, FEDOR** (1833–1911), historian of Russian and Slavic law. Leontovich held the position of professor of the history of law at the universities of Odessa and Warsaw. He was the first to deal with the history of the Russian legislation concerning the Jews, when he published "An Historical Survey of the Regulations concerning the Jews in Russia" in the Russian-Jewish periodical *Sion*. His "The Rights of the Russian-Lithuanian Jews" (Kiev, 1863) was based on original documents and elucidated the outlines of the legal and social situation of the Jews in the grand duchy of Lithuania. I.G. *Orshanski and S.A. *Bershadski were influenced by these works. In 1882 he published an article in the monthly *Nablyudatel* entitled "What We Must Do with the Jewish Problem," where he argued that the Jews could only be granted equality of rights after they had abandoned their "specific nationalist culture"; as this was a process which could continue through several generations, there was no room for emancipation of the Jews at the time.

[Yehuda Slutsky]

LEOPARD (Heb. נָמֵר, *namer*), the strongest carnivorous animal in the Middle East. The leopard has a spotted coat, this being the meaning of its Hebrew name (Jer. 13:23). It is not to be confused with the tiger which, besides being striped, did not inhabit Ereẓ Israel (it is mentioned in Ḥul. 59b). Belonging to the feline family, the leopard, *Felis pardus tullianus* (= *Panthera pardus*), has a body which, excluding the tail, is 120–150 cm. (c. 4–5 ft.) long and a yellowish-fawn coat with black spots. Its bodily structure, with its short forelegs and extremely powerful hindlegs, is especially suited to lying in wait, this habit being referred to in the Bible (Hos. 13:7; cf. Jer. 5:6). In Isaiah's vision of the messianic age, in which he depicts the amity that will exist between the carnivorous animals and their prey, he declares that "the leopard shall lie down with the kid," the latter being the usual prey of the leopard, as the lamb is of the wolf and the calf of the young lion (Isa. 11:6). The leopard's speed and agility are stressed in the Bible (Hab. 1:8), while its strength is referred to in the Mishnah (Avot 5:20): "Be strong as a leopard, swift as an eagle, fleet as a gazelle, and brave as a lion to do the will of your Father in heaven," an aphorism that was illustrated in paintings and engravings in synagogues. In recent years leopards, like other wild animals, have decreased in the Middle East. Occasionally individual or pairs of leopards come down from the Lebanese mountains to Upper Galilee (cf. Song 4:8). In the neighborhood of En-Gedi a family of leopards was killed in the 1960s, and in the Arabah some members of the leopard family were hunted. The cheetah (*Acinonyx jubatus*), which is called *bardelas* in the Mishnah, is enumerated alongside the leopard among the carnivorous animals (BK 1:4). It is apparently included in the Bible under the term *namer* on account of its spotted coat, although in fact its bodily structure differs from that of the leopard, the cheetah having a small head and long legs which enable it to pursue its prey.

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[Jehuda Feliks]

°**LEOPOLD I** (1640–1705), Holy Roman Emperor (1658–1705), king of Bohemia (1656–1705), and king of Hungary (1655–1705). His treatment of the Jews was determined by his ultra-Catholic attitudes, which led to their expulsion from Vienna in 1670. On his election as Holy Roman Emperor in 1658 he confirmed all charters which had been granted in Austria and in the Holy Roman Empire by his father *Ferdinand III and ordered that Jewish life and property be protected (1660, 1665, 1669). However, his anti-Jewish attitude was intensified by his marriage in 1666 to the Catholic-educated Margaret Theresa, daughter of Philip IV of Spain, who saw in the tolerance of the Jews the reason for the death of her firstborn (1668). In 1670 he responded to the city's request that the Jews be expelled from Vienna, in spite of papal intervention, and swore never to admit them again. He took into account the Hungarian Protestants' claim that they were worse off than the Jews, and he was influenced by Cardinal *Kollonich. When readmitting *Court Jews such as Samuel *Oppenheimer in 1676 and Samson *Wertheimer in 1684, he had the problem of his oath solved by theologians. In 1695 he permitted the printing of the Talmud in Germany. At Oppenheimer's request, he prohibited (1700) the circulation of Johann Andreas *Eisenmenger's *Entdecktes Judenthum*.

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[Meir Lamed]

LEOVO (Rum. **Leova**), town in S.W. Moldova, in the region of Bessarabia. There were 25 Jewish families living in Leovo in 1817. The community grew as a result of the large Jewish immigration into Bessarabia in the 19th century and numbered 2,773 persons (57% of the total population) in 1897. The Jews there were subject to the legislation restricting Jewish residence in the border zone. The *ẓaddik* Dov Baer, the son of Israel (Friedmann) of *Ruzhyn, whose defection from Ḥasidism to the *maskilim* caused a furor, lived in Leovo in the 1860s. The writers Judah *Steinberg and Jacob *Fichmann taught there. Among the 434 members registered in the Jewish loan fund in 1925, there were 84 farmers, 102 craftsmen, and 163 businessmen. There were 2,326 Jews living in Leovo (35% of the total population) in 1930. The community then maintained a kindergarten and a school, both belonging to the *Tarbut network.

[Eliyahu Feldman]

Holocaust Period

During the Romanian evacuation of Leovo in June 1940, the Jewish population, numbering some 600 families, was unharmed. In July 1940, a month after the annexation of Bessarabia by the Soviet Union, all Zionist leaders and wealthy Jews were exiled to Siberia and their property confiscated. When war broke out between Germany and the Soviet Union in June 1941, Leovo was in the battle zone. Most of the population tried to escape with the help of the Russians, but the majority of the Jews who managed to leave the town were murdered by Romanian soldiers and gendarmes in the neighboring villages and towns. A few who succeeded in reaching Odessa and the Caucasian Mountains were murdered by the Germans when they reached these areas. Those Jews who stayed in Leovo were all murdered by Romanian troops. Some of the Jews who were caught on the roads were exiled to *Transnistria, from which only a few returned. Only 30 Jews returned to Leovo after the war.

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[Jean Ancel]

LEPEL, town in Vitebsk district, Belarus. Before the 1917 Revolution it served as a county town in the province (*gubernia*) of Vitebsk, Russia. In 1802 the Jewish population of Lepel and district totaled 368. Their number increased to 1,509 in 1847 and 3,379 (53.7% of the total population) in 1897. Two Jewish state schools operated, for boys, with emphasis on vocational training, and for girls. During World War I the city was on the Russo-German front, and it also suffered greatly in the war between Russia and Poland (1919–20). There were 1,932 Jews (28.9%) in the town in 1926, and 1,919 by 1939. A Jewish elementary school existed there during the Soviet period. The Germans occupied the city on July 3, 1941, and later established a ghetto there. On February 28, 1942, almost all 1,000 Jews from the Lepel ghetto were shot. There is no information on Jewish life in Lepel after World War II.

[Yehuda Slutsky]

LEPROSY. The term *ẓaraʿat* is traditionally rendered "leprosy" because of its translation by Greek *lepra* (LXX, New Testament, and Josephus). The Greek covers a wide range of diseases that produced scales. Greek *lepra* may have included true leprosy, i.e., Hansen's disease, but is definitely not limited to it. In fact, biblical descriptions of *ẓaraʿat* do not include the necrosis associated with Hansen's disease. Thus far no skeletons of the biblical period show any signs of Hansen's disease. The term *ẓaraʿat* is a generic name, embracing a variety of skin ailments, including many non-contagious types. Thus, the illness of Miriam was transient (Num. 12:10–15) and that of Naaman did not prevent him from mixing freely in society (II Kings 5). Probably only those actually banished from their fellowmen were lifelong sufferers, e.g., the four "lepers" forced to live outside Samaria (II Kings 7:3–10) and King Uzziah, who was permanently quarantined in separate quarters (II Chron. 26:19–21). Medical texts of the ancient Near East attribute disease either to black magic or the sufferer's sin (R.C. Thompson, *Assyrian Medical Texts* (1923); A.L. Oppenheim, *Ancient Mesopotamia* (1977, 288–305). In the Bible, whenever a reason is given for an attack of *ẓaraʿat*, it is in connection with a challenge to a duly constituted authority (Zakovitch).

Miriam challenged the prophetic supremacy of Moses; Gehazi disobeyed the will of his master Elisha (II Kings 5:20–27); and Uzziah challenged the exclusive prerogative of the priests to offer incense. In the case of sin and black magic, rituals are prescribed that bear a striking resemblance to those in the Bible (see below), with one critical difference. In contrast to the Mesopotamian situation, in which priests may be healers, the Bible always attributes the healing of individuals to the intervention of prophets (e.g., Gen. 20:7; II Kings 5). The priest himself only rules on the purity or impurity of the sufferer (Kaufmann).

The Laws of Leviticus 13–14

Leviticus 13–14 is composed of the following sections: the diagnosis of the afflictions of the skin (13:2–28, 38–39, summarized below), of the hair (13:29–37), and of the scalp (13:40–44); the ostracism of the incurable (13:45–46; cf. Lam. 4:15); the diagnosis of the deterioration of garments, due probably to mildew or fungus (13:47–59); the ritual for the rehabilitation of the healed "leper" (14:1–32); the diagnosis of the "leprosy" of houses, probably caused by the spread of dry rot, mineral precipitates, or the growth of lichens and fungi (14:33–53); and the summary (14:54–57). The structure is logical, with houses being put at the end (cf. 14:34), a reflection of the reality of the period in which the texts were written. Though not all the technical terms are understood (see the commentaries), the symptoms given are capable of precise medical definition. The affliction can occur spontaneously (13:2–17), follow a furuncle (13:18–23) or a burn on the skin (13:24–28), or develop on the head or beard (13:29–45). The first symptoms are those of a swelling, or subcutaneous nodule, a cuticular crust (*sappaḥat*), and whitish-red spot (*baheret*). "The crux of the matter lay in the degree of cutaneous penetration which the disease had achieved. If it affected the epidermis or outermost layer of skin and did not produce pathological changes in the hairs, the affliction was not regarded as especially serious. As such it might consist of eczema, leukoderma, psoriasis, or some allied cutaneous disease. But if the affliction had infiltrated the dermis (corium) and had caused hairs to split or break off and lose their color, then "leprosy" was to be suspected" (R.K. Harrison). This diagnostic principle also applied to disease affecting the scalp (13:29–37) where the affliction was spoken of as *netek* (*neteq*) (JPS "scall").

The Role of the Priest

The Israelite priest, while usually not involved in individual healing according to the Bible, is involved in epidemics where he intercedes through sacrifices, Num. 17:11ff.; II Sam. 24:25 – David officiating as priest. Deut. 24:8–9, which deals with contagious skin diseases enumerated here is a possible exception; and contrast the laws pertaining to gonorrhea, Lev. 15.

The priest was called in to inspect the affliction. If "leprosy" was only suspected but not certain, the priest imposed a seven-day quarantine. At the end of this period the afflicted was examined again, and if no further degeneration was apparent he was isolated for another week, after which he could be pronounced healed. The priest, however, did nothing to promote the cure. His rituals were performed only after the disease had passed. It was the responsibility of the afflicted himself to pray (I Kings 8:37–38; II Kings 20:2–3) and fast (II Sam. 12:16) in order to win God's healing. Deuteronomy 24:8–9 charges the people to follow the authority of the priests in all matters dealing with "leprosy," citing as precedent the case of Miriam (see Num. 12:11–16), who challenged the authority of Moses (alternatively, the late writer of Numbers 12 (see Sperling) was inspired by the juxtaposition of priestly authority in matters of "leprosy" with the mention of the unnamed punishment laid on Miriam by God in Deuteronomy 24:9). It is noteworthy that in Miriam's case healing did not come through Aaron the priest, who was a party to the offense, but through the prophet Moses and his prayer. In the Bible, healing comes from God directly (Ex. 15:26) or through the prophet (e.g., Moses, Ex. 15:25; Elisha, II Kings 2:21; Isaiah, II Kings 20:7–8).

The Ritual

The prescribed ritual for the healed "leper" is of interest. Three separate ceremonies are required: for the first day (Lev. 14:2–8; also invoked for houses, 14:48–53), the seventh (14:9), and the eighth (14:10–32). The first-day ritual is performed by the priest outside the camp or city from which the "leper" has been banished. Cedar wood, crimson cloth, and a live bird are dipped into an earthen vessel containing a mixture of fresh water and the blood of a second bird. The "leper" (or "leprous" house) is sprinkled with this mixture seven times, after which the live bird is set free. The "leper" is admitted into the camp or city after he washes his clothes, shaves all his hair, and bathes, but he is not allowed to enter his residence. That is permitted him on the seventh day after shaving, laundering, and bathing again. On the eighth day he brings to the sanctuary oil and sheep for various offerings – whole, meal, purification, and reparation. The whole and purification animals may be commuted to birds if the "leper" is poor. However, the reparation lamb and *log* of oil may not be changed, because the blood of the lamb and the oil are needed to daub the "leper's" right ear lobe, right thumb, and right big toe.

This complex ceremonial is elucidated by comparison with similar prescriptions in the ancient world. There is much evidence of the banishment of evil by carriers (J. Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, 6 (1935), 249ff.), especially animals (e.g., Hittite: F. Sommer and H. Ehelolf, *Das hethitische Ritual des Papanikri von Komana* (1924), III 45, Rev. iv, 5ff.; Mesopotamia and Israel: see *Azazel). Aspersions of materials such as cedar, scarlet wool, and hyssop are also known (e.g., J. Laesse, *Studies in the Assyrian Ritual…* (1955); R.C. Thompson, *The Devils and Evil Spirits of Babylon*, vol. 2, 1904). Moreover, a letter of Nergal-sharrani to King Esarhaddon refers to an apotropaic prayer and a ritual for *kamūnu* fungus, which appeared in the inner court of the temple of Nab – and for the *kattarru* fungus on the walls of storehouses (R.F. Harper, *Assyrian and Baby-*

lonian Letters, 4 (1896), no. 367 = SAA XIII:71). Clearly, then, the purpose of the "leper's" ritual of the first day was to exorcise the demonic disease and banish it to a place of no return, e.g., the desert (see *Azazel) or the open country in the case of the leper (*ha-sadeh*; Lev. 14:7, 53). In keeping with P's exclusion of the priest from participation in the healing of individuals, the ritual is prescribed only after "the priest sees that the 'leper' is healed" (14:3). If ritual purification is the purpose of the ritual of the first day, why its week-long extension? Here, in keeping with the priestly system of scaled impurities, a severe defilement endures for eight days after healing and calls for a three-stage purification, which reduces and finally eliminates this vestigial impurity (see *Purity and Impurity, Ritual). The rite of the first day enables the leper to mingle with, but not touch, the members of his community, nor can he enter a confined space lest he defile what it holds (see 14:8b; rabbinic מאהיל, cf. Kelim 1:4; Neg. 13:3, 7, 8, 11; Jos., Ant., 3:261ff.; Jos., Apion, 1:279ff.; cf. Num. 19:14). These restrictions are removed only at the end of the seventh day, after he has again shaved, laundered, and bathed.

Having been restored to his community and household, he is still impure vis-à-vis the realm of the sacred: he has to be rehabilitated in the eyes of his God (ten times the text insists that the ritual is "before the Lord," Lev. 14:11–31). In the eighth-day ritual – the third and final stage – he therefore brings to the sanctuary a complex of sacrifices. The purification offering purges the sacred area of the defilement brought on by his "leprosy" (see *Atonement); the whole and meal offerings expiate the sin that might have caused his affliction (e.g., Miriam, see above); the reparation offering is his expiation in case he has trespassed on sancta (*ma'al*, a sin punishable by leprosy, e.g., Uzziah, II Chron. 26:16–21; cf. Lev. 5:14–19; and see *Sacrifices). The blood of the animal of reparation and the oil are successively daubed on the extremities of his body so that he may have access to the sanctuary and its sancta (as far as allowed to a layman). That sanctification is the purpose of this ritual is demonstrated by the consecration service of the priest (Ex. 29; Lev. 8), where the daubing of the same parts of the body is prescribed and where a mixture of oil and sacrificial blood is used (in sprinkling, not in daubing: note verb *qadesh* "sanctify." Ex. 29:21; Lev. 8:30). Israel's sanctification motif is illuminated by comparison with similarly structured rituals in the ancient Near East, where there is abundant attestation of daubing (see *Anointing). The incantations recited during the ritual smearing of persons, the statues of gods, and buildings testify that its object is purificatory and apotropaic: to wipe off and ward off the incursions of menacing demonic forces. Hence it is always the vulnerable parts of bodies (extremities) and of structures (corners, entrances) that are smeared with substances with alleged special properties (e.g., Pritchard, Texts, 338). The Bible's "leprosy" laws are directed toward the larger community and do not constitute a priest's manual. As such, whatever additional incantations and exorcisms that may have been performed are lost to us. The purificatory and apotropaic are steps in the healed "leper's" rehabilitation, which enabled him to return to his community and qualified him to have access to the Sanctuary and God. Ezekiel's ritual of consecration for the altar is strikingly analogous: blood is to be daubed on its horns and the corners of its two gutters, located at its middle and bottom (Ezek. 43:20). These points correspond to a person's ear lobe, thumb, and big toe. There can be no question that the purpose of this altar ritual (as in the consecration of the priests) is sanctificatory; the same must be said of the eighth-day ritual for the "leper."

[Jozeph Michman (Melkman) / S. David Sperling (2nd ed.)]

In the Second Temple and Talmud

The laws of leprosy are given in great detail in the Talmud, and a whole tractate of the Mishnah and Tosefta, **Nega'im*, is devoted to them. It is reported that in the courtyard of the Temple itself, on the northwest, there was the Chamber of the Lepers where the lepers remained after they had been cured, and where they bathed on the eighth day of their purification, awaiting their admittance for the anointing of their toes (Neg. 14:8; Mid. 2:5). In the New Testament there are numerous references to lepers. In the two instances in which Jesus is said to have cured lepers (one an individual – Luke 5:12–14; cf. Matt. 8:3; and the other a group of ten – Luke 17:12), he told them, "Go show yourself to the priest," after their cure, and one passage (Luke 5:14) adds, "and make an offering for thy cleansing, as Moses commanded…" This is evidence that the biblical laws were in operation, both as regards the functions of the priest and the obligatory offering. The Apostles are told in general to cleanse the lepers (Matt. 10:8; Luke 7:22).

On the other hand there are hardly any references in the tannaitic period to actual cases of leprosy. Tosefta *Negaim* (6:1) includes the "house affected by leprosy" (Lev. 14:34–53) among those laws which "never were and never will be," their purpose being merely "to expound and receive reward therefore" (cf. *Rebellious Son). Eleazar b. Simeon, however, adds that there was a site in the vicinity of Gaza which used to be called "the enclosed ruin" (which was presumably a house affected by leprosy which had been destroyed in accordance with the law (Lev. 14:45)), and Simeon b. Judah of Kefar Akko (according to the amendment of Elijah Gaon of Vilna) said that there was a site in Galilee which used to be pointed out as having within its bounds leprous stones. It is also stated that according to the *halakhah*, the law of quarantine for lepers fell into abeyance when the Jubilee year (see *Sabbatical Year and Jubilee) was not in operation (cf. Tosef., Ber. 5b top), i.e., presumably during the Second Temple period.

Josephus, who was both a priest and lived during the time of the Temple, in his description of the Mosaic laws, states that it was forbidden to the leper to "come into the city at all [or] to live with any others, as if they were in effect dead persons." He makes a sharp contrast between this law and the fact that "there are lepers in many nations who are yet in honor, and not only free from reproach and avoidance, but who have been great captains of armies, and been entrusted with high office in the commonwealth and have had the privilege of entering into holy places and temples" (Ant., 3:261–9). It is possible, however, that this passage is merely a reference to Naaman, the commander of the army of Syria (II Kings 5, especially vs. 5 and 18).

By the time of the compilation of the Mishnah and Tosefta, at the beginning of the third century, the laws of leprosy were regarded as the most abstruse and complicated of laws. Eleazar b. Simeon on one occasion said to R. Akiva, "What have you to do with *aggadah*? Turn to the subject of leprosy" (Ḥag. 14a). Although, according to the Talmud, leprosy did not exist in Babylon "because they eat turnips and drink beer and bathe in the Euphrates" (Ket. 77b), it seems to have existed in Ereẓ Israel in mishnaic and amoraic times. R. Johanan and Resh Lakish stated that it is forbidden to walk four cubits, or 100 cubits (dependent upon whether there was a wind blowing at the time) to the east of a leper; R. Meir refrained from eating eggs which came from a district where lepers lived; R. Ammi and R. Assi never entered such a district; when Resh Lakish saw one he would cast stones at him, exclaiming, "get back to your location and do not contaminate other people"; and R. Eleazar b. Simeon would hide from them (Lev. R. 16:3). As Katzenelson points out, since the segregation enjoined in the Bible no longer applied in talmudic times, this segregation and its consequences were the result of popular feeling, and not a legal requirement. There is a geonic responsum which states explicitly, "among the people of the east, that is, in Babylonia, at the present time, if, God forbid, a scholar should be affected by leprosy, he is not excluded from the synagogue or the schools, since today the injunction, 'thy camp shall be holy' (Deut. 23:15; i.e., the laws of ritual cleanness) no longer applies" (*Sha'arei Teshuvah*, no. 176).

Reference should be made to the allegation first mentioned by the Egyptian historian *Manetho, and repeated by *Chaereman, *Lysimachus, and other Egyptian writers hostile to the Jews, and quoted by *Apion, to the effect that not only was Moses a leper, but the children of Israel were expelled from Egypt because they suffered from leprosy. Indeed, according to Lysimachus the seventh day was called *Sabbaton* because of the leprous disease of the groin which they suffered which is called *Sabbo* in Egyptian (Jos., Apion, 1:227ff., 2:20–21).

In the *Aggadah*

Aside from the practical issue of the observance of the regulations of ritual cleanness in general, and of the laws of leprosy in particular after the destruction of the Temple, it should be noted that the rabbis derived from the laws of leprosy a moral lesson. Homiletically interpreting the word *meẓora* as connected with *moẓi shem ra*, "the person guilty of slander or libel," they regarded leprosy primarily as a divine punishment for this evil, an interpretation which receives historical support by the punishment of Miriam for her slander of Moses (Num. 12:1–15), and the rabbis add that Aaron suffered the same punishment for the same reason (Shab. 97a). Among other sins which bring leprosy as retribution are "the shedding of blood, taking oaths in vain, incest, arrogance, robbery, and envy" (Ar. 16a), as well as benefiting from sacred objects (Lev. R. 17:3). From the combination of the cedar, which represents haughtiness, and the hyssop, the symbol of lowliness, in the purification rites for the leper (Lev. 14:4) the rabbis derived the lesson that man should ever humble himself (see Rashi to Lev. 14:4). The leper was one of the four unfortunates considered to suffer a living death (Ned. 64b; Sanh. 47a; cf. Num. 12:12). That leprosy was assumed to result from a lack of hygiene is indicated not only by the reason given for its absence in Babylon (see above), but also from such statements as that it comes from flies (Ḥag. 14a), whereas the notion that children born from intercourse with a menstruant woman will be afflicted by it (Lev. R. 15:5) is more likely to be related to issues of sin and impurity than to hygiene. The *aggadah* makes a considerable addition to the number of characters mentioned in the Bible as having been struck with leprosy. They include Cain (Gen. R. 22:12), the daughter of Pharaoh (Ex. R. 1:23), Aaron (see above), Doeg (Sanh. 106b), David (Sanh. 107a), Goliath (Lev. R. 17:3), and Vashti (Meg. 12b). According to the Midrash, the reference to the pharaoh who died (Ex. 2:23) actually refers to the fact that he was afflicted with leprosy. His advisers told him that the only cure was to bathe morning and evening in the blood of 150 Hebrew children, but the decree was averted by God, who in his compassion cured Pharaoh (Ex. R. 1:34).

[Louis Isaac Rabinowitz]

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LERER, JOSHUA (1920–), *ḥazzan*. Born in Jerusalem to a family of cantors, Lerer studied *ḥazzanut* under Shelomo Zalman *Rivlin and music at the Jerusalem Institute of Music. After serving as cantor in the Har ha-Carmel Synagogue in Haifa for 12 years, and in other communities in Israel, he was appointed chief cantor of the Great Synagogue in Tel Aviv (1956–58). From 1960 to 1974 he was chief cantor in the Shomrei Hadass Synagogue in Antwerp, and in 1975 was reappointed by the Great Synagogue in Tel Aviv.

[Akiva Zimmerman (2nd ed.)]

LERER, SHMUEL (1930–), *ḥazzan*. Shmuel Lerer was born in Jerusalem to a family of famous cantors. One of his forefathers, Aharon Natan Sofer, was for many years the cantor of the Tiferet Israel Synagogue in the old city of Jerusalem. Shmuel Lerer received a religious education in Jerusalem where he also studied music and voice development at the Academy of Music. He served as the conductor of the choir of his elder brother, Cantor Joshua *Lerer, and afterwards as chief cantor of the Ramah Synagogue in Tel Aviv and of the Great Synagogue in Ramat Gan. From there he moved to the Marble Arch synagogue, London, where he served from 1963 to 1968. During the years 1968–78 he was chief cantor in the central Bet Midrash in Johannesburg. He then returned to Israel. He has since then officiated communally at High Holiday prayer services, inter alia in Montreal and St. Petersburg. He has produced several records of cantorial music. The Cantors and Choirmasters Association of South Africa issued a volume of Lerer's compositions entitled *Rinah ve-Tefillah* in Johannesburg in 1977, when Lerer was also their chairman and honorary president. This work shows Lerer as an exceptional melodist of synagogal compositions written in the traditional style.

[Akiva Zimmerman / Raymond Goldstein (2nd ed.)]

LERER, YEHIEL (1910–1943), Yiddish poet. Born in Mrozy, Poland, by the age of 16 he was considered a talmudic genius. He was introduced to Yiddish literature by his townsman and mentor, novelist I.M. *Weissenberg, with whose Warsaw literary circle he was associated. Weissenberg hailed him as the Yiddish Tagore on the basis of his first poems (*Tehilim*, "Psalms"), later included in the volume *Shtilkayt un Shturm* ("Silence and Storm," 1932), a volume characterized by religious piety and lyric solemnity. Unsuccessful in various professions, Lerer suffered from privation throughout his short life. His poem "Mayn Heym" ("My Home," 1937), about a family in a Jewish town, stressed the transformation of its traditional religious and social character under the impact of new forces. Sholem Asch called this poem a "gift of God's grace, one of the most beautiful Jewish books." Lerer was a romantic epigone during the dominance of expressionistic tendencies in Yiddish poetry. After the Nazi occupation of Warsaw, he participated in the ghetto's literary activities under various assumed names; some of his works can be found in the Ringelblum archive. In 1943, he was transported to *Treblinka, where he was killed.

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[Melech Ravitch / Marc Miller (2nd ed.)]

LÉRIDA (**Lleida**, **Ilerda**), city in Spain on the border between Catalonia and Aragon. In the Muslim period, the Jews of Lérida maintained close contact with those in nearby Barcelona. Their major occupation was tanning, as attested by various documents, but there were several wealthy merchants and a few farmers. The Jewish quarter, dating from the 11th century, was located to the west of the city in a place called Cuiraça. A street still called Judería, located above the quarter, attests to its subsequent expansion. Following the conquest of the city in 1149, the community began to grow.

The Order of Knights Templar had many interests in Lérida and its vicinity, and Jews were connected with its activities. In 1168, the bailiff of Lérida, a Jew named Jafia, was granted several properties in the city. In 1172 his son David was given a workshop and a house near the king's palace in the city. In 1175 Jafia mortgaged a wine cellar he owned in the Jewish quarter and a vineyard to the Templars of Gardeny near Lérida. In 1173 one of the synagogues was converted into a church. Profet Benvenist, the king's *alfaquim*, also owned property in Lérida, including a house in the Muslim quarter (1189). Deeds of sale of houses, gardens, and vineyards owned by Jews, dating from the beginning of the 13th century, have been preserved. One of them mentions a Jew named Abraym Cavalaria of Lérida but it is not known whether he was related to the well-known *Cavaleria family. In addition to his other offices, Benveniste de Porta was bailiff of Lérida. In the controversy over *Maimonides' writings, the Lérida community joined in the ban imposed on *Solomon of Montpellier and his followers in 1232 by the communities of Aragon. Some Jews from Lérida settled in Valencia after the capture of the city in 1238. In 1271 James I appointed a certain Nasi Ḥasdai as rabbi and *dayyan* of the Lérida community. He was authorized to adjudicate all disputes between Jews according to Jewish law in consultation with two of the elders who were bound to accept the rabbi's summons to sit in court. The appointment was unique in Catalonia, similar instances being found only in Castile. The taxes levied upon the community of Lérida amounted to about 5,000 sólidos in 1271, and 3,000 sólidos in 1274. The community was headed by *muqaddimūm* or *adelantados*, a council, and magistrates (*borerim*). The *muqaddimūm* appointed their own successors in office.

In the 14th century the community became the third largest in Catalonia, after Barcelona and Gerona, with about 500 members. At the beginning of the century several *Conversos returned to Judaism in Lérida, among them a convert from Belmont near Toulouse who was apprehended in 1317 and tried by the Inquisition in Toulouse. Jews from Lérida were among those who went to bury the victims of the *Pastoureaux massacres in *Montclus in 1320, and were accused of demolishing a bridge and cutting down trees there, but were pardoned the same year on payment of a large sum to the crown. During the massacres accompanying the *Black Death in 1348, the community found refuge in the citadel. In 1350 they had to pay 350 Barcelona sólidos to the official appointed for their protection. An agreement between the community and the municipal authorities concerning the import of wine was ratified by Pedro IV in 1353; the document, in which the community undertook not to bring imported wine into the city, contains a long list of the communal leaders. Two Jews from Lérida were accused in 1383 of desecrating the *Host, and the count of Urgel was ordered by the king to investigate the charges.

During the persecutions of 1391, the community was severely hit, a number of Jews took refuge in the citadel, and 78 were massacred. Most of the survivors were baptized. The Jewish quarter was destroyed and the synagogue was converted into a church. The king ordered that measures should be taken to punish the rioters and protect the Jews. In 1400 King Martin gave permission to the survivors to take steps to rehabilitate the community. Newcomers were granted a reduction of taxes and released from their debts, and Jews from other communities were permitted to settle in the city after they had settled their taxes. If their former communities refused to allow them to settle there, the municipal authorities of Lérida would guarantee the payment of their liabilities through mortgages and assist in moving the newcomers. In addition, an electoral procedure was established in which the rights of the newcomers were safeguarded. Stringent measures were passed against *informers. The community was allowed to impose indirect taxes, and its members were permitted to live in other parts of the city until the Cuiraça district had been reconstructed. In 1408 King Martin ordered that the synagogue, which had been converted into a church, should be restored and also provided for the election of two *muqaddimūm* and nine councillors and regulated their authority. An agreement was concluded in 1410 between the city authorities and the community concerning the latter's status and activities. In 1421 Queen Maria wrote to the municipal authorities concerning the establishment of a new community in Lérida. John II granted the community a number of patents of protection and alleviated certain of the restrictions imposed before 1459 on some occupations. In 1490 a district tribunal of the Inquisition was established in Lérida which included Huesca and Urgel within its jurisdiction. An unsuccessful attempt was made to murder the inquisitor in 1514.

The Jewish quarter in Lérida, the *Cuiraça* or *Coiraza*, was in the fortified part of the city, in the old parish of San Andrés. It included San Cristófol Street and the Plaça Seminari, and Judería and Seminari streets. The Jewish cemetery was on the left side of the current Balmes Street. Ever since the 18th century tombstones and human remains have been found in the area covered by the streets Vallcalent, Ciutat de Fraga, Joan Baiget, and Missions square. In this area a ring with the female name Goig in Hebrew was found in 1870.

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[Haim Beinart / Yom Tov Assis (2nd ed.)]

LERMA, JUDAH BEN SAMUEL (middle of the 16th century), scholar of Spanish origin living in Italy. The years of Lerma's birth and death are unknown, and all the information on him relates to the years 1553–56. The place and scope of his activity are also not clear, but apparently he never held an official rabbinical post. He states that he attempted to amass wealth but lost all that he possessed. He also complains, as do other contemporary scholars in Italy, that the attitude of the public to him was not as it should be toward a scholar. He is frequently confused with Judah Lerma of Belgrade, author of the *Peletat Bat Yehudah*, but it is doubtful if there was even a family relationship between them. Some think he was the son of Samuel Lerma, the copyist in 1536 of the manuscript glosses on the Mishnah. He wrote *Leḥem Yehudah*, a commentary to *Avot*. The first edition was published in Venice in 1553, but was consigned to the flames in the same year, with the burning of the Talmud (see Burning of *Talmud). A second edition was published in the following year in Sabbioneta, but there are conspicuous differences between the two editions, especially in the first half. He also wrote a commentary on the Book of Job which is frequently quoted in both editions of the *Leḥem Yehudah*, and there are also fragments of *aggadah* with a commentary extant in manuscript. His commentary to *Avot* is quoted in the various 16th-century anthologies of commentaries to *Avot*.

Lerma was a philosopher who followed the Spanish Jewish philosophers, from whom he derived his theories and views. His approach is on the whole moderate and conservative. His main sources, besides the talmudic and midrashic literature and Maimonides, are Joseph Albo, Isaac Abrabanel, and in particular Isaac Arama. Lerma had no direct knowledge of the writings of non-Jewish thinkers and was also most sparing in the use of other Jewish speculative and literary works. His method of writing is nearer in style and form to talmudic than to the philosophical literature (particularly in the second edition). He is more interested in using his sources as the basis of his own views than in explaining the literal meaning of the tractate. Although original neither in his ideas nor in his manner of expressing them, Lerma's views about the influence of the stars upon the world and man, and about predestination in its relation to man's religious autonomy and the Commandments are interesting and unique in content, form, and scope (in both editions). These views met with the opposition of his contemporaries despite their moderate approach. There is a note of arrogance in his work. He frequently disputes the views of earlier authorities and even expressed himself to the effect that the person studying his work "would have no need of any other commentator."

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[Joseph Hacker]

LERMAN, MILES (**Shmuel Milek**; 1920–), Holocaust survivor and activist. Lerman was born in Tomaszov Lubelski, son of Israel and Jochevet Lerman. His prosperous family owned flour mills and other businesses throughout eastern Poland.

He and his four siblings were raised in an observant home; his father was a supporter of the Belzer Ḥasidim. In his youth, Lerman joined Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir, and following his father's untimely death in 1938 helped run his family's business. Following the German invasion of Poland the Lermans fled to Lvov, where he was arrested and forced to work at the Viniki labor camp in December 1941, from which he later escaped. For 23 months in the forests surrounding Lvov, Lerman was a leader in organized armed resistance against the Nazis.

Following the war, Lerman settled in Lublin and established a leather business with fellow survivor Leon Feldhandler, a leader of the heroic revolt at Sobibor. After Feldhandler's murder, Lerman settled in Lodz and met his future wife, Krysia Rozalia (Chris) Laks. They married in the Schlachtensee displaced persons camp and immigrated to the United States in February 1947. Lerman purchased a poultry farm in Vineland, New Jersey, and established profitable businesses in the gasoline, heating, and real estate sectors, becoming a prominent member of the Jewish community.

President Jimmy Carter appointed Lerman to the Advisory Board of the President's Commission on the Holocaust and later to the United States Holocaust Memorial Council, the governing board of the then future United States *Holocaust Memorial Museum (USHMM). Between 1988 and 1990, as chair of the USHMM's International Relations Committee, Lerman negotiated a series of agreements with governments and institutions in Eastern Europe that brought thousands of artifacts and documents to the USHMM and which shaped its permanent exhibition. Lerman met with heads of state, diplomats, ministers, and museum directors to increase the nascent museum's collections and exhibitions. These negotiations occurred at an opportune time as Communist regimes in Eastern Europe were on the verge of collapsing in the late 1980s and were replaced by fledgling democracies. As such, the multilingual Lerman was well-positioned to negotiate in an atmosphere where teetering regimes were eager for American goodwill, and sought to include their Holocaust-era patrimony on the National Mall in the heart of the American capital.

Lerman was chosen to lead the museum's capital campaign. The congressional legislation creating the museum required that while the U.S. government would donate the land for the museum, all funds to build the structure needed to be raised from private sources; the initial $147 million budget was later increased to close to $200 million. Lerman determinedly led the effort to raise the necessary funds. He tirelessly traveled across the nation and successfully completed the campaign, along with a dedicated professional staff and volunteers.

Soon after the USHMM's dedication on April 22, 1993, President Bill Clinton appointed Lerman to be the third chair of the United States Holocaust Memorial Council, a post he held until 2000. During his tenure, the museum became one of Washington's top tourist destinations, with more than two million visitors annually. Among a number of initiatives, Lerman established the Miles Lerman Center for the Study of Jewish Resistance during the Holocaust, which documents physical resistance in ghettos, forests, and elsewhere throughout German-occupied Europe. A major controversy arose in 1998 when, at the urging of the U.S. Department of State, Lerman invited PLO Chairman Yasser Arafat to visit the museum, an offer ultimately declined by Arafat. After his term as chair ended, Lerman assumed the leadership of the museum's endowment fund.

Beginning in the mid-1990s, Lerman took it upon himself to provide a proper memorial for his relatives who were murdered at the Belzec killing center; the Communist-era memorial had fallen into disrepair and the site of the 500,000 murdered Jews was woefully neglected. Lerman worked with a number of Polish governments, and in partnership with the USHMM and later with the American Jewish Committee. Lerman raised the necessary funds to build a dignified memorial. Opening on June 3, 2004, the $5 million Belzec memorial was funded equally by the Polish government and contributions raised by Lerman from American Jews.

[Ralph Grunewald (2nd ed.)]

LERNER, ABBA PETACHJA (1903–1982), U.S. economist. Born in Russia and educated at the London School of Economics, Lerner began to teach there in 1935. He moved to the United States in 1937 and soon established himself as an eminent teacher in economics. He taught at the New School for Social Research, New York, Michigan State University, Roosevelt University, and the University of California. During 1953–56 he served as an economic adviser to the government of Israel. Regarded as one of the most influential economists of the century, Lerner made numerous significant contributions to economic theory and policy, such as the general equilibrium theory, the factor price equalization theorem, and the concept of seller's inflation. Besides his professional interests – which included international trade, welfare economics, labor and employment, price formation, and the gold standard – Lerner was concerned with problems of social reform and foreign policy. His major publications include *The Economics of Control* (1944), *The Economics of Employment* (1951), *Essays in Economic Analysis* (1953), *Everybody's Business* (1961), *Flation: Not Inflation of Prices, Not Deflation of Jobs* (1972), and *MAP: A Market Anti-Inflation Plan* (1980).

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[Joachim O. Ronall / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

LERNER, ALAN JAY (1918–1986), U.S. lyric writer and librettist who collaborated in several successful musicals. Lerner was born in New York and wrote for advertising agencies and radio before teaming up with the composer, Frederick Loewe. Their first hit was the musical *Brigadoon* (1947), which was followed by *Paint Your Wagon* in 1951. Lerner also worked independently and won an Oscar in 1951 with his screenplay for *An American in Paris*. His greatest success came in 1956 when, with Loewe, he created *My Fair Lady* (based on Shaw's *Pygmalion*). The

Lerner and Loewe film musical *Gigi* (1958) won Oscars, and in 1960 their *Camelot* had a two-year run on Broadway.

With the composer Burton Lane, Lerner wrote *On a Clear Day You Can See Forever* (1965) and with André Previn, *Coco* (1969), the story of the "queen" of Paris fashions, Coco Chanel.

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[G. Eric Hauck]

LERNER, GERDA KRONSTEIN (1920–), founder of the modern field of women's history. Born in Vienna, Lerner grew up in a well-to-do assimilated family, the daughter of a businessman father and an artist mother. She studied at a private *Gymnasium* for girls, run by a Jewish director, and enrolled in a Sabbath School to prepare for her confirmation. However, concerned about the synagogue's attitudes toward women congregants and its treatment of the poor, she decided not to participate in the ceremony. After the Nazis came to power, she became involved in the underground resistance movement. Arrested and imprisoned, she was released after her father signed over his property and business to the Nazis. Lerner left Europe in 1939, the only one of her family to secure a visa for the United States. Although her parents survived the war, she never saw them again.

As a young émigré, Lerner worked as a waitress, salesgirl, office clerk, and x-ray technician, all the while writing fiction and poetry; she published two short stories providing a first-person account of the horrors of Nazi occupation. She married Carl Lerner, who became an acclaimed film editor and director, and raised two children. In 1951, she collaborated with poet Eve Merriam on a musical, *The Singing of Women*. Her novel, *No Farewell*, appeared in 1955; with her husband, she wrote the script for *Black Like Me*. Committed Communists, the Lerners were involved in numerous grassroots activities involving trade unionism, civil rights, and anti-militarism; they struggled against McCarthyism, especially the Hollywood blacklist.

Lerner returned to school in the late 1950s, receiving a B.A. from the New School for Social Research in 1963 and her Ph.D. from Columbia University in 1966; her dissertation became her first publication, *The Grimke Sisters from South Carolina: Rebels Against Slavery* (1967). She taught at Long Island University in Brooklyn and at Sarah Lawrence College, where she initiated an influential master's program in women's history in 1972. In 1980, Lerner created the nation's first Ph.D. program in women's history at the University of Wisconsin at Madison, where she became professor emerita.

Lerner was among the first to bring a consciously feminist lens to the study of history, producing enormously influential essays and books. Among her most important works are the documentary anthologies, *Black Women in White America* (1972) and *The Female Experience* (1976); the essay collections, *The Majority Finds Its Past* (1979) and *Why History Matters* (1997); *The Creation of Patriarchy* (1986) and *The Creation of Feminist Consciousness* (1993). She published *Fireweed: A Political Autobiography* in 2002. Lerner was a founding member of the National Organization for Women and the first woman in 50 years to become president of the Organization of American Historians, which named the Gerda Lerner-Ann Scott Prize for the best women's history dissertation in her honor.

[Joyce Antler (2nd ed.)]

LERNER, ḤAYYIM ẒEVI BEN TODROS (1815–1889), Hebrew grammarian and pedagogue. Born in Dubno (Volhynia), he was the pupil of the noted scholar Ze'ev Wolf Adelsohn, under whose influence he studied both Hebrew and secular subjects. He worked as a private Hebrew tutor and became a teacher at the Jewish government school in Berdichev, in 1849, and in 1851, a teacher of Hebrew language and grammar at the government rabbinical seminary in Zhitomir. He was very successful in the latter and held the post until the closing of the institute by governmental decree in 1873.

Lerner's most important work is his Hebrew grammar, *Moreh ha-Lashon* ("Teacher of the Language," 1859) which is based on the principles laid down by his teacher, S. *Pinsker. In Lerner's lifetime, the book appeared in seven editions; these he annotated and supplemented from the fourth edition onward (1879), notably with a supplement of practical exercises. After his death, the book was also printed with the supplement *Yalkut Ḥazal* (1893^8), which includes explanations of difficult Bible passages and their commentaries. *Moreh ha-Lashon*, published in 13 editions (1909^{13}), was the first of its kind that laid down rules for teaching children the essentials of Hebrew grammar. Lerner also wrote *Dikduk Leshon Aramit* (1875), and *Toledot ha-Dikduk* (1876), a short history of Hebrew grammar and grammarians up to the 19th century. He also translated into Hebrew S.D. Luzzatto's Italian work on the Aramaic in the Babylonian Talmud, under the title *Dikduk Leshon Talmud Bavli* (1880). The last years of his life Lerner spent in poverty in Zhitomir, supported by his former pupils. He left in manuscript a research work on talmudic texts, *Arba Middot*, and a rich collection of his correspondence with leading Jewish scholars of his time.

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[Yehuda Slutsky]

LERNER, JAIME (1937–), Brazilian architect, urban planner, and politician. Born in Curitiba, capital city of the State of Paraná, Brazil, to a family originating in Germany, he graduated from the Escola de Arquitectura da Universidade Federal do Paraná (Architecture School of the Federal University of Paraná) in 1964. In 1965 he participated in the creation of the Instituto de Pesquisa e Planejamento Urbano de Curitiba (Institute of Urban Planning and Research of Curitiba) and participated in the design of the Curitiba Master Plan. Lerner was elected mayor of Curitiba for three terms: 1971–75, 1979–84, and 1989–92. In 1994 he was elected governor of the State of Paraná and was reelected in 1998, serving until 2002.

During his first term as mayor of Curitiba, he consolidated the urban transformation of the city and implemented the Integrated Mass Transportation System acknowledged worldwide for its efficiency, quality, and low cost. He also intensified social measures that improved dramatically the quality of life in the city. As governor he promoted a great economic and social transformation in the state through a program encompassing land use, transport, sanitation, health, education, recreation, and culture. Lerner was professor of urban and regional planning at the Federal University of Paraná. He was a United Nations consultant on urban planning and winner of many awards and distinctions, among them the United Nations Environment Award, in 1990; the 1996 UNICEF Children and Peace Award; the Netherlands Prince Claus Award for Culture and Development in 2000; and the World Technology Award from the National Museum of Science and Industry (London) in 2001. He was also president of the International Union of Architects in 2002–5.

[Efraim Zadoff (2nd ed.)]

LERNER, JOSEPH JUDAH (1849–1907), writer, dramatist, and scholar. Born in Berdichev (Ukraine) he contributed from an early age to the Hebrew, Russian, and Yiddish press. During the Russo-Turkish war he published *Zapiski Grazhdanina*, a Russian paper in Bucharest, emphasizing the Jewish contribution to that war. There he met Goldfaden's Yiddish theatrical troupe, and on his return to Odessa started a company of his own, intending to raise standards in both the language and content of Jewish plays. Earning his living as an unqualified lawyer, he often came into contact with the world of crime and, at times, became involved in precarious transactions to the extent that in 1873 he was temporarily compelled to seek asylum in Vienna. Among the plays he translated and adapted were *Uriel Acosta* (1885) by Gutzkow, and *The Jewess* (1889) by Scribe. With the ban on the Jewish theater in 1883, Lerner returned to his journalistic and literary career, and contributed to the major Russian newspapers. He became a convert to Christianity in the 1890s. His works include a novel about Jewish life in Russia, *Yamim mi-Kedem* (1868); a Jewish history in Yiddish, *Di Yidishe Geshikhte*; and a study in Russian of the Jews in New Russia, *Yevrei v Novorossiskom Kraie*, which was based on the archives of the former governor-general of New Russia.

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[Yehuda Slutsky]

LERNER, MAX (1902–1992), U.S. author and journalist. Lerner, who was born in Minsk, Russia, was taken to the United States at the age of five. He taught at Sarah Lawrence College, Harvard University, Williams College, and, from 1949, at Brandeis University (1949–73). A liberal social commentator, Lerner became known for his scholarly works on American society and the science of government. Lerner was managing editor of the *Encyclopaedia of Social Sciences* (1927–33). He also edited the periodical *The Nation* (1936–38). He was the editorial director of the newspaper *PM* (1943–48), a columnist for the *New York Star* (1948–49), and, from 1949 until the 1970s, his work was syndicated by the *New York Post*.

His principal works include *It Is Later than You Think* (1938), *Ideas Are Weapons* (1939), *Ideas for the Ice Age* (1941), *America as a Civilization* (1957), *The Unfinished Country* (1959), *The Age of Overkill* (1962), *Values in Education* (1976), *Epidemic 9* (with M. Gunther, 1980), and *Ted and the Kennedy Legend* (1982). Lerner's work contains elements of his journalistic style together with more sober academic attempts to analyze American life in his day. He also wrote *Wrestling with the Angel: A Memoir of My Triumph over Illness* (1991). *Nine Scorpions in a Bottle: Great Judges and Cases of the Supreme Court* was published in 1994 (ed. Richard Cummings); and *Wounded Titans: American Presidents and the Perils of Power*, a collection of Lerner's portrayals of U.S. presidents, was published in 1996 (ed. Robert Schmuhl).

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[Lawrence H. Feigenbaum / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

LERNER, MAYER BEN MORDECAI OF ALTONA (1857–1930), rabbi. Lerner was born in Czestochowa (Poland). He studied first in Cracow but completed his studies in the Rabbiner-Seminar in Berlin. While still a student at the seminary, he wrote his important work *Anlage und Quellen des Bereschit Rabba* (1882). He was appointed rabbi of Wintzenheim, Alsace, in 1884 and remained there until 1890, when he became rabbi of the Federation of Synagogues in London, which then consisted of 23 synagogues. In 1894 he was appointed rabbi of Altona and of Schleswig-Holstein. Lerner vigorously opposed the historical approach of *Graetz and the Reform movement in Germany.

Lerner's main talmudic works are his *Hadar ha-Karmel* (1891), responsa, including some talmudic novellae; and *Ḥayyei Olam* (1905) on the prohibition of cremation. His research works, in addition to the above-mentioned *Quellen* include "Die aeltesten Mischna – Kompositionen" (MWJ, 13 (1886), 1–20) and his magnum opus, *Torat ha-Mishnah*, dealing with the origin of the oral tradition, of which, however, only the first part appeared (1915). He also showed an active interest in the Jewish settlement of Palestine and in 1905 founded the association Moriah whose aims were "to restore the ancient ruins, and the national and religious culture of the Jews." The association was opposed both to the Mizrachi and the Zionist movements, and in 1930 merged with the Agudat Israel movement.

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[Itzhak Alfassi]

LERNER, MICHAEL (1943–), activist, editor of *Tikkun*, and leader of progressive inter-faith movement. Lerner has emerged as a leading voice of the American Jewish leftist community. Born in Newark, New Jersey, Lerner developed an early interest in the writings of Jewish philosophers Martin *Buber and Abraham Joshua *Heschel, which he continued during his undergraduate studies at Columbia University and as a student of Heschel's at the Jewish Theological Seminary. Lerner focused attention on the field of Jewish mysticism and especially the concept of *tikkun olam*, or repair of the world. He enrolled in UC Berkeley's Ph.D. program in philosophy, where he chaired the New Left organization Students for a Democratic Society.

In his academic career, Lerner took an active role in many of the New Left's protest movements. In 1968, he taught philosophy at San Francisco State University, until a faculty strike closed the school. He accepted a visiting assistant professorship at the University of Washington, where he was arrested as part of the "Seattle Seven" in an anti-Vietnam War protest. After receiving his Ph.D. in 1972, Lerner accepted a position as assistant professor of philosophy at Hartford, Connecticut's Trinity College.

In the mid-1970s, Lerner refocused his intellectual interests and social protest priorities along Jewish spiritual and religious lines. He studied under Renewal Judaism's founding rabbi, Zalman *Schachter-Shalomi, eventually earning rabbinic ordination.

Lerner launched *Tikkun* magazine in 1986, with the purpose of shaping the publication into "the voice of Jewish liberals and progressives." His principled opposition to the Israeli occupation of the West Bank and Gaza Strip placed Lerner and his magazine in the middle of contentious political debates. As a Zionist, Lerner often faced criticism from many Leftist anti-Zionists who considered the State of Israel a colonial and imperialist power. As a Leftist, Lerner routinely engaged mainstream and right-leaning American Jews who considered his support for a two-state solution to the Midlle East crisis a threat to the Jewish state.

Lerner was drawn into national politics, as well. His publication *The Politics of Meaning* was embraced by First Lady Hillary Clinton as a template for future social reform, while his book *Jews and Blacks: Let the Healing Begin*, co-authored with Cornel West, sought to carry the famed black-Jewish alliance of the early civil rights years into the next generation. In 2002, Lerner, together with West, created the Tikkun Community, an attempt to bridge the progressive political world with an interfaith spiritual revival.

Lerner's journey from a New Left secular political activist to an advocate for spiritual Judaism, and finally to leader in the inter-faith progressive community, mirrored the development of postwar social reform movements. Beginning with calls for civil equality in the 1950s and an end to the Vietnam War by the late 1960s, they continued with an ethnic and religious revival typified by Black Power and a rebirth in American Zionism, and concluded, as Lerner's career has demonstrated, with a faith-based movement for inter-religious cooperation and understanding in the late 20th and early 21st centuries.

LERNER, RALPH (1949–), professor of architecture at Princeton University's School of Architecture and principal of Ralph Lerner Architect PC of Princeton, New Jersey. After earning his bachelor of architecture from Cooper Union School of Architecture, he went on to receive his master of architecture at Harvard University's School of Design. As dean of the School of Architecture at Princeton for 13 years, Lerner supported innovative programs for his students such as the international study program for Chinese and American students. He became known as an organizer of architectural competitions. In 2001, a national competition for the design of an expansion of the Queens Museum of Art in Flushing Meadows was announced by the New York City's Department of Design and Construction. Lerner was the professional advisor. In 2002, as a director of the Canadian Centre for Architecture (CCA) located in Montreal, Lerner served as a curator of an Architecture Prize Competition for the Design of Cities. Lerner became known for his wisdom as a competition advisor in international competitions. In one such competition in 2004, the task was to design a new street light for the City of New York. It was sponsored by the New York Department of Transportation, Design, and Construction. He coordinated the jury, managed 447 registrations, and developed a method to insure fairness. Lerner has spoken widely on architecture in the United States and Asia, where he is known for the design of the Indira Gandhi National Center for the Arts Library in New Delhi, India. Among his awards was the 1991 Distinguished Alumnus award from the Cooper Union and in 2004 he won the AIA award for his design of the New Jersey Lower School Building at the Princeton Charter School in Princeton.

[Betty R. Rubenstein (2nd ed.)]

LE ROITH, HAROLD HIRSCH (1905–1995), South African architect. Born in Grahamstown, he became disciple of the modern school of architects, such as Le Corbusier, Gropius, and Frank Lloyd Wright. Le Roith translated the concepts of functionalism into much of his work in Johannesburg and other South African cities. His specialized area lay in the planning of business and industrial complexes, extensive flat units, and modern-type houses. In these fields his designs attracted international recognition in the professional literature. He practiced in Johannesburg where he served as honorary architect to the United Progressive (Reform) Jewish Congregation and of other Reform communities on the Witwatersrand. He was on the executive committee of the Johannesburg Progressive congregation and was president for several years.

[Louis Hotz]

LE ROY, MERVYN (1900–1987), film producer and director. Born in San Francisco, California, Le Roy and his father physically survived the city's earthquake and fire of 1906 but were financially ruined. To earn money, the young Le Roy sold newspapers and entertained in vaudeville. He then moved to Hollywood, where his cousin film producer Jesse *Lasky helped him break into the industry. Le Roy worked in costumes, then as a cameraman, gag writer, and part-time silent film actor before directing his first film, *No Place to Go,* in 1927. From then on, he began to direct enjoyable and, consequently, profitable films. Nicknamed "The Boy Wonder," Le Roy's motto was "Good stories make good movies." His feel for what the audience wanted extended to actors as well, and he was responsible for "discovering" such legendary movie stars as Clark Gable, Robert Mitchum, Lana Turner, and Loretta Young. He also is credited with having introduced actor Ronald Reagan to actress Nancy Davis, who were destined to become the president and first lady of the United States.

A prominent Hollywood figure for more than 40 years, Le Roy alternated between dramas, comedies, and musicals. The list of more than 75 films that he directed includes *Little Caesar* (1931), *Three on a Match* (1932), *I Am a Fugitive from a Chain Gang* (1932), *Gold Diggers of 1933* (1933), *Anthony Adverse* (1936), *They Won't Forget* (1937), *Blossoms in the Dust* (1941), *Random Harvest* (Oscar nomination for Best Director 1942), *Madame Curie* (1943), *Thirty Seconds over Tokyo* (1944), *Little Women* (1949), *East Side, West Side* (1949), *Quo Vadis?* (1951), *Rose Marie* (1954), *Mister Roberts* (1955), *The Bad Seed* (1956), *No Time for Sergeants* (also produced, 1958), *Wake Me When It's Over* (1960), *A Majority of One* (1961), *Gypsy* (1962), and *Moment to Moment* (1965). Some of these he produced as well and among those he produced but did not direct are *The Wizard of Oz* (Oscar nomination for Best Picture, 1939) and *At the Circus* (1939). In 1976 he received the Irving G. Thalberg Award, which is bestowed on "a creative producer who has been responsible for a consistently high quality of motion picture production." He was active in Republican politics. Le Roy's autobiography is entitled *Mervyn Le Roy: Take One* (1974).

[Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

LERT, ERNST (**Ernst Josef Maria Levi**; 1883–1955), opera producer and writer. Born in Vienna, Lert worked as theater director in Germany and Switzerland. He was dramatic coach at the Municipal Theater in Breslau and Leipzig (1920–23). From 1923 to 1929 he staged German opera at La Scala, Milan, and for the next two years (1929–31) was at the Metropolitan Opera in New York. From 1936 to 1938 he was the head of the opera department of Curtis Institute of Music and from 1938, after settling in the U.S., directed the opera department at the Peabody Conservatory, Baltimore. He specialized in the staging of Mozart and modern operas. Lert wrote the book *Mozart auf dem Theater* (Berlin, 1918) and a biography of the German conductor Otto Lohse, *Otto Lohse als Opernleiter* (Leipzig, 1918).

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[Israela Stein (2nd ed.)]

LESBIANISM. Until the late 20th century, lesbians were invisible in Jewish textual traditions and within Jewish societies. Only recently have Jewish scholars and communities faced the issue of how erotic love between women fits into a Jewish view of the world. While male homosexual behavior is prohibited in the book of Leviticus, same-sex sexuality between women is not mentioned in the Hebrew Bible. Some commentators think that this difference exists because in ancient times only acts in which men emitted semen were defined as sexual. More traditional Jewish scholars assume that erotic attraction between women did not exist in the biblical world, or that rules that applied to men would automatically apply to women. Lacking any real evidence, it cannot be said with certainty why the Bible does not mention same-sex acts between women.

Female homoeroticism is mentioned in *Sifra*, an early rabbinic commentary on the book of Leviticus, in a comment about the prohibition against Egyptian practices (18:3). The author apparently understood lesbian marriage, a contemporary Roman practice, to be in this category and sought to prohibit it among Jews. The Talmud does not mention lesbian marriage, but does prohibit an activity it defines as *mesolelot* or tribadism (women rubbing genitals against each other). The main question asked in the Talmud regarding women who practice *mesolelot* (Yev. 76a) concerns such women's eligibility for priestly marriages or, in other words, whether such activity allows a woman to retain her status as a virgin. The *gemara* states majority and minority opinions; the majority assumes a woman who practices *mesolelot* is eligible to marry a priest and defines *mesolelot* as a minor infraction. In the 12th-century *Mishneh Torah*, legal scholar and philosopher Moses *Maimonides connected the talmudic references to *mesolelot* to the levitical prohibition against Egyptian practices in *Sifra,* but also suggested that this behavior should not disqualify a woman from marrying a priest. Maimonides did recommend that the courts administer floggings to women caught engaging in homoerotic behavior and also warns men to keep their wives from spending time with women who are known to practice *mesolelot*.

During the early modern period, there are infrequent references to lesbian sexuality in Jewish sources, but things began to change in the 20th century. The most notable example is found in a Yiddish play written in 1907 by Sholem *Asch entitled *Got fun Nekome* ("God of Vengeance"). It was performed all over Europe and America in the Yiddish theater and ultimately translated into English and produced on Broadway in 1923. This was the first play with a lesbian theme to be performed on the American stage. The lesbian subplot concerned a tender relationship between a prostitute and the daughter of a brothel owner, and the play included several explicit homoerotic scenes. During the Broadway performance a citizens' anti-vice group had the actors arrested and attempted, unsuccessfully, to have the play closed. No such incident occurred in the Yiddish theater, however.

Asch's play reflects a trend during the early part of the 20th century when women began to live openly as lesbians. Among Jewish women, the writer Gertrude *Stein is the best known. Another was Pauline *Newman, a Jewish labor movement activist. However, Newman, who lived openly and raised a child with her partner in Greenwich Village, was exceptional. Homosexual women during this time period generally did not refer to themselves as lesbians, and they did not live in marriage-like relationships with other women. The story of Lillian *Wald, the Jewish social reformer, was more typical. Wald's relationships with other women were central to her life and work, yet they were hidden from view. Despite significant historical evidence in support of the assertion that Wald had same-sex relationships, it remains controversial to label Wald a lesbian.

The first Jewish novel to have a lesbian as the main character was *Wasteland* (1946), written by Ruth Seid under the pseudonym Jo *Sinclair. The heroine discussed her sexual preferences with her Jewish family and the story focuses on her brother's effort to come to terms with his sister's lifestyle. Such a psychologically healthy portrait of a lesbian relationship was unusual for the time period.

As a result of the feminist and gay liberation movements in the 1960s and 1970s, large numbers of women began to identify themselves as lesbians and some began to explore what it meant to be lesbian and Jewish. Evelyn Torton Beck collected the writings of some of these women whose poetry and prose spoke of their rejection as Jews in the lesbian community and as lesbians in the Jewish community in her groundbreaking *Nice Jewish Girls: A Lesbian Anthology* (1982). In 1989, Christie Balka and Andy Rose edited *Twice Blessed: On Being Lesbian or Gay and Jewish,* highlighting the concerns of lesbians and gay men for inclusion in the Jewish community.

Another major development involved the religious community. In the 1980s, Reform and Reconstructionist women rabbis, among them Stacy Offner and Linda Holtzman, began to reveal their lesbian orientation. Initially many lost their jobs, but within a few years the Reform and Reconstructionist movements began to admit openly gay and lesbian students to their rabbinical training programs. Some lesbian rabbis also found a home in the gay and lesbian synagogue movement. *Lesbian Rabbis: The First Generation*, edited by three rabbis who identify themselves as lesbian, Rebecca Alpert, Sue Levi Elwell, and Shirley Idelson, includes autobiographical essays by 18 Reform, Conservative, and Reconstructionist lesbian rabbis ordained in the 1970s, 1980s, and early 1990s.

Beginning in the 1990s there was a serious interest in lesbian issues in the larger Jewish community. A group of Orthodox lesbians, who call themselves Orthodykes, is active in the United States and in Israel. There has been a movement within Conservative Judaism for acceptance of lesbians and gay men, and support in the Reconstructionist and Reform movements for gay marriage. Some synagogues make an effort to welcome lesbian and gay members, and these changes have made it possible for lesbian Jews to feel at home in the Jewish community. The next generation of Jewish lesbians at the beginning of the 21st century is involved in movements that self-identify as Queer and are raising questions about the status of bisexual and transgender Jews. Lesbian Jews continue to hope for recognition beyond mere acceptance and tolerance; they seek a reinterpretation of Jewish values, including the assumption that heterosexuality is normative. They desire inclusion of their visions and stories as part of a reconstructed Jewish textual tradition and they aim to create an environment of complete comfort in which to claim their identity and celebrate their lives.

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[Rebecca Alpert (2nd ed.)]

LES COLLOQUES DES INTELLECTUELS JUIFS DE LANGUE FRANÇAISE, French organization founded as a branch of the World Jewish Congress in 1957. Initiated in the aftermath of World War II by Edmond *Fleg and Léon *Algazi, the Colloques des Intellectuels juifs de langue française were intended to provide the shattered community of French Jews with answers grounded in Judaism. Asserting that, despite the Holocaust, Jewish existence should continue to move forward, they chose the term "intellectual" as an act of faith in this very particular historical context. Pedagogues and former members of the Ecole d'Orsay headed the Colloques, which attempted to establish a rational Judaism and to claim its singularity within modernity; they decided to give the texts of the tradition a central place in these conferences. To this end, they included in each session a biblical lesson and a talmudic lesson, which quickly became a semi-formal institution. Under the direction of André *Néher, and later of Jean Halpérin, renowned personalities such as the philosophers Wladimir *Jankelevitch and Jean Wahl, the psychoanalyst Eliane Amado *Lévi-Valensi, the lawyer Wladimir Rabi, and the writer Claude *Vigée regularly lectured there. The Conferences, whose proceedings are always published, are held every two years and have become significant events in French Judaism, thanks to the growing fame of the talmudic lessons given by Emmanuel *Levinas. The first Conference (whose proceedings were published as *Jewish Consciousness* in 1963) intended to define the Jewish condition and the contents that should be given to a Jewish existence, using the conceptual tools of existentialism and phenomenology. From the beginning, the relation of French Jewry to the State of Israel was given a central place in the conferences, which also dealt with questions raised by French politics at the time. A. *Memmi, E. *Touati, and R. *Misrahi related to the question of colonialism, and asked whether the Diaspora should criticize Israeli politics in the spirit of the heated debates taking place there. The contributions of Judaism to science and to the new technologies was highlighted through the reflections of the biologist H. *Atlan and C. Riveline, a professor at the Ecole des mines, who were both removed from Jewish tradition. At the end of 1968, L. Askénazi, Amado Lévi-Valensi, and Néher moved to Israel. From the group of founders Levinas was the only one to remain in France. The orientation of the conferences then changed. During the 1970s Jewish identity and the notion of the universal in the light of this identity were less discussed. Devoted to the "loneliness of Israel," the 15th Conference was held (1975) in a climate of concern which gave rise to a feeling of isolation, originating in the feeling that the empathy for Jews, which had shaped itself in the wake of the Holocaust, had come to an end. The later conferences during the 1970s sought renewal, and were more and more focused on contemporary issues and opened themselves to the social sciences. The 1980s reinforced this trend. From then on, and with the involvement of the Fondation du Judaïsme français, the intellectuals who are part of the colloquium have, among other things, attempted to work out the relationship between economics and ethics (*L'Argent*, *Le Quant-à-Soi*, *L'Idée d'humanité*, *Le Corps*). Discussions of memory and history provided themes for several Conferences (*Mémoire et histoire*, *Le temps désorienté*, *Difficile Justice*) as did political questions (*Politique et religion*, *morale et politique en péril*, *Idoles*), while essential themes (*Israël, le judaïsme et l'Europe*, *La Bible au présent*) moved to the foreground. After the death of Levinas a new generation appeared, whose primary aim was to define a positive and vivid sense of belonging to Judaism. Even if the influence of the Colloque des Intellectuels juifs de langue française seemed less vital at the outset of the 21st century, it played a significant role in the second half of the 20th century.

[Perrine Simon-Nahum (2nd ed.)]

LESHNEV (Pol. **Leszniów**), town in Tarnopol district, Ukraine. Jews first settled there in the early 17th century, and the Jewish cemetery dates from that era. The synagogue, built in the second half of the 17th century, had an Attic roof and pseudo-Tuscan columns. The town was economically dependent on the nearby city of Brody. Under the influence of the *ḥerem* proclaimed against the Ḥasidim in Brody, in 1772 an assembly of "select members of the community," including the local rabbi, Menahem Mendel b. Jacob, and R. Akiva of Vladimir-Volynski, passed a decree against the Ḥasidim, which was signed by all the participants. The Leshnev community numbered 696 (32% of the total population) in 1880; 513 (26%) in 1900; and only 179 (about 10%) in 1921. The decline was caused by the decline of the economy and emigration.

[*Encyclopaedia Judaica* (Germany)]

Holocaust Period

With the German conquest of the town at the end of June 1941 attacks against Jewish life and property began. Many fell at the hands of the Ukrainian population. Jewish youth were taken to labor camps in the surrounding area, and many met their deaths there. On November 2, 1942, the Jews were confined to a ghetto. Later some of the Jews were transferred to the Brody ghetto and were sent from there to extermination camps. On April 17, 1943, the remnants of the Leshnev community were liquidated. A few managed to escape from the ghetto and found shelter in the surrounding forests. After the war, Jewish life was not reconstituted in the town.

[Aharon Weiss]

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LESKO (Ger. **Lisko**; Heb. and Yid. **Linsk**), town in Rzeszow province, S.E. Poland. Jews lived in Lesko from the town's foundation in the middle of the 16th century. In 1704 the town was burnt down by the Swedish army. In a plague which broke out afterward, 303 Jews perished. In 1718 the community paid 3,400 zlotys poll tax. In the 18th century the community's rabbi was Samuel Shmelke b. Mordecai, who approved the book, *Berit Shalom*, by Phinehas of *Wlodawa. The *Councils of the Lands intervened in a dispute that lasted from 1705 to 1724 between the community of Lesko and the neighboring one of *Sanok. Because of the serious economic plight of the Jewish population, the Polish *Sejm in 1768 declared a moratorium on its debts to the government. The Jewish community numbered 1,976 in 1880 and 2,400 in 1921 (c. 63% of the total population). In the folklore of Galician Jews, Lesko Jews were considered "wise fools" like those of *Chelm in Congress Poland. In June 1941 the German army entered the town. On Aug. 14, 1941, the entire Jewish population was deported to Zaslaw and was exterminated together with Zaslaw Jews.

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[Shimshon Leib Kirshenboim / Shlomo Netzer (2nd ed.)]

°LESKOV, NIKOLAY SEMYONOVICH (1831–1895), Russian author. One of the most controversial and misunderstood writers in Russian literature, he wrote some passages critical of Jews but more frequently criticized his fellow-Russians, often contrasting them unfavorably with the Jews, the Ukrainians, the English, the Americans, the Poles, and the Germans. Leskov's interest in the Jews can be traced throughout his literary career. Jewish themes were especially important in his literary and journalistic writing during the years 1880–87, when he published more than 30 works on the subject, including over 20 newspaper articles explaining Jewish religious beliefs and customs to non-Jewish readers. His fictional works on Jewish themes include *Skazaniye o Fyodore-khristianine i o druge yego Abramezhidovine* ("The Tale of Theodore the Christian and his friend Abram the Jew," 1887), a simple parable on tolerance and brotherhood, which was reprinted by the Petrograd Soviet shortly after the October 1917 Revolution; *Obman* ("Deception," 1883), in which Leskov cleverly attacked antisemitism by exposing his fellow-Russians to ridicule; and *Ukha bez ryby* ("Fish Soup without Fish," 1887), an entertaining story in which a learned provincial rabbi achieves poetic as well as economic justice at the expense of the town's leading Russian Orthodox citizens. Two other stories, *Rakushanskiy melamed* ("The Hebrew Teacher from Galicia," 1878), and *Zhidovskaya kuvyrkolegiya* ("Somersaulting Yids," 1882), caused him to be accused of antisemitism by readers who failed to realize that Jews had no more claim to protection from Leskov's humorous satire than Orthodox archbishops, czarist bureaucrats, self-centered intellectuals, or despotic revolutionaries. Leskov also wrote anonymously what was possibly the most powerful defense of equal rights for Jews published in 19th-century Russia. *Yevrei v Rossii* ("The Jews in Russia," 1884), a report intended for government circulation only, caused much excitement in Jewish circles in St. Petersburg. When a copy was lent to A.E. Landau, editor of the leading Russian-language Jewish journal *Voskhod*, he immediately devoted a long series of enthusiastic editorials to it and, with unconscious irony, regretted that the author of such a well-written document was not a professional writer. *Yevrei v Rossii* was republished in Petrograd (1919) and in New York (1969), but it does not appear in the 11-volume Soviet edition of Leskov's works published in 1956–58.

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[William B. Edgerton]

LESLAU, WOLF (1906–), U.S. Semitics scholar and philologist. Born in Krzepice, Poland, Leslau was educated at the University of Vienna and at the Sorbonne in Paris. He taught at the Ecole des Hautes Etudes in Paris and the Ecole des Langues Orientales. In 1942 he immigrated to the United States. He taught at several institutions before joining the faculty of the University of California in Los Angeles in 1955, where he continued teaching Hebrew and Semitic languages. He was the founding chairman of the Department of Near Eastern Languages and was instrumental in establishing the Near Eastern Center.

Leslau was a fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, American Academy of Jewish Research, and other scholarly societies. He undertook eight trips to Ethiopia to do fieldwork on the various Semitic languages of Ethiopia and on the culture and folklore of the country (1946–76), giving special attention to *Beta Israel. Leslau is regarded as one of the foremost experts on Semitic languages, in particular the ones spoken in Ethiopia.

When he retired from teaching, he was named UCLA professor emeritus of Hebrew and Semitic linguistics.

He published more than 40 books that deal with descriptive and comparative problems of Ethiopic as well as Semitic linguistics; they include *Falasha Anthology* (1951), which he translated and edited; *Ethiopic and South Arabic Contribution to the Hebrew Lexicon* (1958); *An Amharic Conversation Book* (1965); *Ethiopians Speak* (3 vols, 1965–68); *Amharic Textbook* (1968); *Hebrew Cognates in Amharic* (1969); *Concise Amharic Dictionary* (1976); *Gurage Folklore* (1982); *Fifty Years of Research* (1988); *The Fire on the Mountain and Other Stories* (with H. Courlander, 1995); and *The Jews of Ethiopia: A Pictorial Journey Back to their Past* (with C. Berman, 2001).

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[Walter Joseph Fischel / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

LESLIE, ROBERT L. (1885–1987), U.S. typographic expert. Leslie was born in New York to a Polish mother and a Scottish father. He graduated from City College with a B.S. in 1904 and an M.D. from Johns Hopkins in 1912, after working as an apprentice at De Vinne Press, a teacher, a social worker, and a proofreader at the *Baltimore Sun*. Upon receiving his medical degree, Leslie worked as a doctor for the Public Health Service, where he redesigned all the government publications for the Surgeon General's Office. In 1920 he moved back to New York, where he became the first industrial doctor in the city. He worked for the McGraw Hill Company and eventually left the medical field when he realized that printing was his real passion.

In 1927 Leslie and Sol M. Cantor (1892–1965) formed a typesetting firm, The Composing Room, Inc., in New York, specializing in books for publishers throughout the U.S. In the early 1930s, Leslie created *PM* magazine with co-editor Percy Seitlin. In 1936, in the office of the Composing Room, he created the A-D Gallery, which was the first place in New York City dedicated to exhibiting the graphic and typographic arts. In 1958, after the war, it was reactivated and renamed Gallery 303.

Leslie introduced novel promotion techniques to further the graphic arts, bringing graphic artists together to form typographic design clinics. The Composing Room provided a wide variety of typefaces. Thousands of separate fonts were available for hand, machine, and photocomposition. Among the typographic experts was Ismar David, designer of the Hebrew typeface "David."

After retiring as president of the Composing Room in 1969, Leslie helped set up Uncle Bob's Paper Mill in Israel in 1971.

Among his many honors and awards, Leslie received the 1st Annual American Printing History Association Award in 1976, as well as the New York Printers Wall of Fame and Type Directors Club Medal.

[Israel Soifer / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

LEŚMIAN (Lesman), BOLESŁAW (1878–1937), Polish poet. Born in Warsaw, Leśmian was raised in Kiev and trained as a lawyer. A master of Polish verse, he was one of the leading representatives of the group of symbolist poets known as Young Poland, in whose organ *Chimera* his earliest works appeared (1901–07). In turn satirical and pathetic, he produced verse full of symbolic description and metaphysical reflection, mingling realistic, fanciful, and grotesque effects. Above all, Leśmian stressed the tragic fate of mankind – a prey to sickness and misery. During his lifetime he published three verse collections: *Sàd rozstajny* ("The Widespread Orchard," 1912); *Łaka* ("The Meadow," 1920); and *Napój cienisty* ("Shady Liquor," 1936). A fourth volume, *Dzieje leśna* ("The Wood Fable"), appeared posthumously in 1938. Leśmian also translated poems by Edgar Allan Poe and published two prose works, *Klechdy sezamowe* ("The Sesame Narrative," 1913), fairy tales; and *Przygody Sindbada żeglarza* ("The Adventures of Sinbad the Sailor," 1915), a popular children's book. Leśmian, whose works often recall those of *Kafka, was a forerunner of the Polish surrealists and his poetry enjoyed a new lease on life in the 1960s, inspiring literary symposia and research. His *Szkice literackie i eseje* ("Literary Sketches and Essays") were published in 1959.

[Stanislaw Wygodzki]

LESS, EMIL (1855–1935), German meteorologist. Born in Koenigsberg (Kaliningrad), Less was director of the Berlin weather bureau (1884–1923) and in 1897 was appointed to the Landwirtschaftliche Hochschule of Berlin. He was also associate professor at the Kaiser Frederick William University of Berlin. Less was among the founders of the Deutsche Meteorologische Gesellschaft. During the years he directed the Berlin weather bureau, he published the annual and general reports on the climatic elements of Germany. In 1914 he was enlisted as an officer in the army, providing meteorological guidance and weather information for the pilots of the Air Force.

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[Dov Ashbel]

LESSER POLAND (Pol. **Małopolska**), historical region in S.W. Poland (Western Galicia). In the structure of Jewish *autonomy and in historical geography, Lesser Poland embraced the provinces (*województwa*) of Krakow and Sandomierz alone; after the first partition of Poland (1772) it passed to Austria and was essentially Western Galicia. According to the 1764 census the Jews in Lesser Poland numbered 18,670 in Krakow province and 42,972 in Sandomierz, around 10.5% of the total Jewish population of Poland. More Jews were actually living there at the time, but since the census was related to a poll tax, the Jews concealed their exact number. About 60% of them lived in the towns and the rest in the countryside. The largest communities in the region had several thousand members; in most of the villages there were only a few Jewish families. Between 1511–14 King Sigismund I appointed Jewish *seniores* as heads of the region and collectors of taxes from the Jews. At the same time he appointed Joseph *Polak as chief rabbi of Lesser Poland. Since the system was unsuccessful the king abandoned it and handed over tax collecting to the Jews in the various regions of the country between 1518 and 1522. Lesser Poland thus became one of the basic units of Jewish autonomy in Poland. However, the king retained the right to nominate the chief rabbis and in Lesser Poland he appointed Moses Fishel. The king's retention of control was resisted by the communities and in 1551 King Sigismund II Augustus allowed them to elect their own rabbis.

The principal communities of Lesser Poland in the *Councils of the Lands were Opatow (Apta), Checiny (Ḥenchin), Sandomierz (Ẓuzmir), Pinczow (Pintshev), and *Staszow), all in the province of Sandomierz, and Wodzislaw (Voidislav), *Olkusz (Elkish), and Cracow (Kraka), in the province of Krakow. According to the 1717 assessment, Lesser Poland had to pay the Council of Four Lands a share of 27,075 zlotys in the total payment of 226,109 zlotys due from all the Jews in Poland. When the council was dissolved, the committee appointed by the royal treasury to carry out the liquidation drew up a list of debts: a total of 2,314,350 zlotys for the entire Jewish population. Of this the provinces of Krakow and Sandomierz owed 338,089 zlotys on account of loans received for poll tax. Four of the representatives at the Council of Four Lands came from Lesser Poland. The provincial council of Lesser Poland convened every year to determine the apportionment of taxes among the various communities. Other problems of Jewish life were also discussed at these meetings. The provincial council employed a rabbi, who was presiding judge of the provincial court, as well as several clerks, among them a *shammash* who represented the larger communities at the *Breslau fairs. In 1738 the authorities decreed that the numbers of these *shammashim* in Poland should be reduced and the communities of Lesser Poland were allowed to appoint one representative only. The council of Lesser Poland was heavily in debt to rich Jews. When the Council of Four Lands discussed the matter in 1762–63, it resolved to press the provincial council to pay its debts.

Thanks to the standing of the yeshivot of Cracow and its great rabbis, as well as the centrality of the region in the origins and development of the Polish state and culture, the Jewry and leadership of Lesser Poland enjoyed an influence disproportionate to their numbers. Under Austrian rule, Western Galicia developed its own kind of Jewish culture and society.

See also *Great Poland; Moses *Isserles; *Galicia; *Poland, Modern Era; and Osias *Thon.

[Shimshon Leib Kirshenboim]

°LESSING, GOTTHOLD EPHRAIM (1729–1781), German dramatist, philosopher, and critic. One of the outstanding representatives of the Enlightenment in Germany, Lessing was devoted to the principle of toleration. One of Lessing's earliest literary ventures was *Die Juden* (1749), a one-act comedy in which for the first time a Jew was presented on the German stage in a reasonably objective manner. Lessing later upheld the play's defense of toleration against the criticism of J.D. *Michaelis. Through a physician, Aaron Solomon Gumpertz, he became a friend and admirer of Moses *Mendelssohn, whom he encouraged to publish his first philosophical work. The outcome of their common interest in aesthetics was *Pope ein Metaphysiker* (1755) and a critical journal, *Briefe, die neueste Literatur betreffend* (1759–60). Their correspondence, mainly on philosophical themes, continued until Lessing's death.

Mendelssohn was the inspiration for Lessing's *Nathan der Weise* (1779), his last play, and once more a plea for toleration. Based on the parable of the three rings, adapted from *Boccaccio's *Decameron*, the play presents Judaism, Christianity, and Islam as three sons of a benevolent father who has given each an identical ring, although each one claims that his ring alone is authentic. Nathan is made the spokesman for the aspirations of the Enlightenment: tolerance, brotherhood, and love of humanity. Lessing's vision of Jewish-Christian amity was ridiculed by Julius von Voss in *Der travestierte Nathan der Weise* (1804), and attacked by the antisemites Wilhelm *Marr, Karl Eugen *Duehring, Sebastian *Brunner, and Adolf Bartels. On the other hand Lessing's personal example and ideals were vigorously upheld and emphasized by German Jews such as Gabriel *Riesser, I.H. *Ritter, Berthold *Auerbach, Emil *Lehmann, and Johann *Jacoby. *Nathan der Weise* was translated into Hebrew, notably by Simon *Bacher and A.B. *Gottlober, and many of Lessing's other plays were also translated. His ideological and stylistic influence on the *Haskalah was as decisive as that of Friedrich *Schiller.

However, Lessing's attitude toward Judaism was ambivalent. While never forsaking the principle of tolerance, he came to depreciate Judaism in relation to Christianity with his publication of *Fragmente eines Ungenannten* (1774–78), the posthumous writings of the ultra-rationalist theologian H.M. Reimarus. He reached a further stage in his epoch-making *Erziehung des Menschengeschlechts* ("Education of Humanity"), which was published anonymously. In it the Old Testament is described as morally and aesthetically inferior to the New Testament, which itself is on the verge of being superseded by rational enlightenment. The monotheistic and universalistic mission of Judaism as the forerunner of Christianity had been completed. This attitude also appeared in *Nathan der Weise*, in which the brother representing Christianity accuses the Jewish religion of having given birth to intolerance through the concept of a chosen people.

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[Michael J. Graetz]

LESSING, THEODOR (1872–1933), German philosopher. Lessing was born in Hanover as the son of a prosperous physician and read history, philosophy, and medicine at Bonn and Munich. He converted to Lutheranism in 1895 as a student in Freiburg. From 1898 he turned back to Judaism, from 1900 to Zionism, criticizing the politics of assimilation. After a journey to Galicia in 1906 he also discovered East European Judaism (*Eindruecke aus Galizien*, 1906), following the Zionist discourse. After his doctorate in 1899, he was appointed professor of philosophy at the Technische Hochschule in Hanover in 1907. In 1906 he published his first philosophical work (*Schopenhauer, Wagner, Nietzsche*), criticizing the loss of values. His main philosophical works are *Geschichte als Sinngebung des Sinnlosen* (1919) and *Europa und Asien* (1918, enlarged 1924), a critique of the war, which was banned by the military authorities before being published. On the basis of the opposition of Europe (i.e., culture, "Gesellschaft") and Asia (i.e., nature, "Gemeinschaft") he clarified also his Zionist program. He followed this line of reasoning in his most famous book, *Der juedische Selbsthass* (1930, published by the Juedische Verlag), a historical-psychological study of Judaism as a minority in the Diaspora. He understood "self-hatred" as a "life killing malady" which psychologically consisted of adapting to the negative image of Judaism held by non-Jews. Lessing saw in the Jews an Asiatic people forced upon the European scene, and made to occupy a position between the cultures of two continents. He discovered the strength of the Jews in their closeness to nature and life's elemental roots: it was their tragedy that against their earthbound instincts history had cut them off from the soil, eventually causing a people of peasants to become overspiritualized and decadent. In the minority that had begun to trickle back to the eroded soil of Palestine, he saw the eventual recovery of both land and people. A member of Po'alei Zion, Lessing envisaged this recovery as a synthesis of Socialism and Zionism. Already in 1925 Lessing was subjected to antisemitic attacks, when he expressed opposition to Hindenburg's election as president of the Weimar Republic. In 1933 he flew first to Prague, then to Marienbad, where he was assassinated as one of the first victims of the Nazis. His memoirs, *Einmal und nie wieder*, were published in 1935 in Prague. His writings were reprinted after the war, among others the collection *Ausgewaehlte Schriften* (1995ff.).

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[Sol Liptzin / Andreas Kilcher (2nd ed.)]

LESTER, RICHARD (1932–), film director. Born in the United States, Lester immigrated to England in 1954. He won prominence in 1964 with *A Hard Day's Night*, a quasi-documentary in which the Beatles poked fun at the craze they themselves had started. In 1965, his comedy *The Knack* won a first prize at the Cannes Film Festival. Among his other movies are *Help* (1965), also made with the Beatles; *How I Won the War* (1967), a controversial antiwar satire; *Petulia* (1968); *The Bed Sitting Room* (1969); *The Three Musketeers* (1974); *The Four Musketeers* (1975); *Robin and Marian* (1976); *Butch and Sundance: The Early Days* (1979); *Superman II* (1980); *Superman III* (1983); *The Return of The Musketeers* (1990); and *Get Back* (1991).

[Jonathan Licht]

LESTSCHINSKY, JACOB (1876–1966), Russian-born pioneer in sociology, economics, and demography of Jewish life. Lestschinsky, who was born in Horodicz in the Ukraine, was deeply affected by *Aḥad Ha-Am and became a member of the *Benei Moshe League when he was 17. He and his brother Joseph established a modern Hebrew school in Horodicz which became famous for its tutelage. He studied at Berne and Zurich universities, pamphleteered for Zionist Socialism, principally in Warsaw, and served as a Zionist delegate at the Sixth Zionist Congress in Basle, where he supported the territorialists. He helped found the Zionist-Socialist (S.S.) Party, writing for it and for other journals on economics under the name Aḥad ha-Kanna'im. "Statistics of a Small Town" (1903) was his first study in the field he was to concentrate on, and was followed by two applications of Marxist methods, *Der Yidisher Arbeter in London* (1906) and *Der Yidisher Arbeter in Rusland* (1906). After 1906 he was not active in party politics, although he remained a Zionist activist. At this period he published two series of studies on conversions in different countries (1911) and on German Jewry (1912). Before 1914 he operated an ORT employment agency for Jewish refugees in Warsaw. During the February Revolution in Russia he helped found the United Jewish Socialist Party and served on the editorial board of *Naye Tsayt*, its official journal.

In 1921 Lestschinsky left Russia and established himself in Berlin, where he was the *Forward* correspondent, a connection he maintained virtually until his death. His *Yidishe Folk in Tsifern* (1922) viewed Jewish demography in worldwide perspective. Early in the 1920s he helped establish the Institute for Research into Contemporary Jewry and Judaism. He served as editor of an important journal, *Bleter far Yidishe Demografie un Statistik*, from 1923 to 1925. His *Probleme der Bevoelkerungs-Bewegung bei den Juden* (1926) has been called "one of the most brilliant investigations of problems of Jewish demography ever published." His study *Die Umsiedlung und Umschichtung des juedischen Volkes im Laufe des letzten Jahrhunderts* (1929–30) was of fundamental importance. In the 1920s he directed *YIVO's economics and statistics section, and his work appeared in YIVO publications. Less than two months after Hitler came to power in Germany, Lestschinsky sent a dispatch to *Forward* which was published in the *New York Times* on March 26, 1933; in it he said: "The Hitler regime flames up with anger because it has been compelled through fear of public foreign opinion to forego a mass slaughter of Jews. It threatens, however, to execute pogroms if Jews in other countries make too much fuss about the pogroms it has hitherto indulged in." Arrested by the Nazis upon publication of the dispatch, he was expelled from Germany. In 1934 he went to Warsaw, but was expelled from there in 1937 for publishing material on the plight of the Jews in Poland. In 1938 he went to the United States. During the war he lived in New York, and worked with the Institute of Jewish Affairs of the World Jewish Congress. One of the earliest students of the Holocaust, he wrote two basic studies in this field, *Di Yidishe Katastrofe* (1944) and *Crisis, Catastrophe, and Survival: A Jewish Balance Sheet, 1914–1948* (1948). In 1959 he moved to Tel Aviv, and in 1964 to Jerusalem, where he remained until he died. His collection of books and papers, which he somehow maintained throughout his wanderings, are at the Institute of Contemporary Jewry of the Hebrew University.

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[*Encylopaedia Hebraica*]

LESTSCHINSKY, JOSEPH ("**Chmurner**"; 1884–1935), Jewish socialist leader in Russia and Poland. Both Joseph, who was born in the Ukraine, and his brother, Jacob *Lestschinsky, joined a circle of Zionist youth in Warsaw which acquired in 1903 a socialist character. In 1905 Lestschinsky helped to found the *Zionist-Socialist Workers Party and was a member of its central committee. He was a theoretician of *territorialism in the party, edited its publications, and published his articles in them. One of the leaders of the left wing of the *United Jewish Socialist Workers' Party in the Ukraine in 1917, he was its representative on the Central Council of the Ukraine (Rada) and on the Jewish National Council. In 1921 he went to Poland, where he joined the *Bund and became the chief ideologist and publicist of its leftist faction.

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[Moshe Mishkinsky]

LESZNO (Ger. **Lissa**), town in the Poznan district. Jews settled in Leszno upon the foundation of the town in 1534. In 1580 they received their first charter. The community had jurisdiction over the northwestern part of the town, where they lived. The Leszno community had to flee temporarily in 1659 during the second Swedish war. The earliest tombstone preserved in the cemetery dates from 1667. As early as 1650 the Jews of Leszno had close business connections with those of Breslau and from 1688 they attended the Leipzig fairs. A synagogue was established in 1685. In 1740 Jewish merchants exceeded non-Jewish. By 1793, 40 of the 53 merchants were Jews, as were 200 of the 201 brokers. In 1800, 32 of the 51 tailors were Jews and 250 Jewish women were lace-workers. There was also a considerable number of smelters, tanners, furriers, and embroiderers.

During the Northern War (1706–07) Leszno Jews suffered from the exactions of both sides. Russian soldiers committed plunder and rape, and the entire Jewish quarter was burned. In the plague of 1709 the Jews were accused of infecting the town with plague by bringing the corpse of a Jew to be buried in the town cemetery. As a result of this libel, the Jews were expelled from the city, but when the plague subsided they returned. In 1767 a fire destroyed the whole Jewish quarter and 20 Jews were killed. After this the Jews were freed from taxes for six years. A new *bet midrash* was built and a library purchased; later a large synagogue was built, with the help of other communities. In the summer of 1790 a fire swept through the Jewish quarter once more; 196 of 481 Jewish houses were destroyed, as well as the new synagogue and the *bet midrash*. Another synagogue was completed in 1799. In the second half of the 18th century Leszno became central in Jewish life in *Great Poland following the decline of *Poznan after 1736. The "sages of Leszno" were renowned throughout Europe. At the end of the 18th century students came to the Leszno yeshivah from Germany as well as from central and southeastern Poland. Rabbis who served the town included Mordecai b. Ẓevi Hirsch (1721?–53), who was requested to be the main arbitrator in the dispute between Jacob *Emden and Jonathan *Eybeschuetz. After his death his brother and successor, Abraham Abusch *Lissa (1753–59), continued the attempt at arbitration. David Tevele, rabbi from 1774 to 1792, gave strong and eloquent expression to the Orthodox opposition to Haskalah trends of assimilation. In a trenchant sermon he castigated the subservience of N.H. *Wessely to an alien culture, drawing attention to the human and humanistic values inherent in the traditional Jewish culture and way of life. From 1809 to 1821 Jacob *Lorbeerbaum was rabbi, and from 1864 to 1912 Samuel Baeck, father of Leo *Baeck. Akiva *Eger studied in Leszno from 1780 to 1790. Raphael Kosch, a native of Leszno, was first vice president of the National Council in Berlin in 1848 and headed the procedural committee of the Prussian Parliament. Ludwig Kalisch (1814–1882), the humorist who participated in the revolution of 1848 and later moved to Paris, was also a native of the city. The Jewish population in Leszno rose from 400 families in 1656 to 4,989 persons in 1765. However, after the partition of Poland and the Prussian annexation of the town in 1793, the community began to decline. Deprived of their commercial markets in the Polish interior and in Russia, many Leszno Jews moved to central Germany. The numbers fell from 3,960 in 1833 to 2,578 in 1858, 1,206 in 1895, 804 in 1913, and 322 in 1921.

[Jacob Rothschild]

Holocaust Period

Under Nazi occupation, Leszno came under the Regierungsbezirk Posen (Wartheland). No ghetto was created in the town, but a *Judenrat existed. The Jews were obliged to appear daily before the German authorities for hard labor. Jews were driven out of their houses and the synagogue was transformed into a storehouse. In December 1940, 300 Jews were deported to *Grodzisk Mazowiecki in the General Government and in February 1941 were taken together with the Jews of that town to the Warsaw ghetto. In Leszno itself or the vicinity a Jewish labor camp functioned from April 1941 until August 1943, with about 250 inmates.

[Danuta Dombrowska]

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LETICHEV, town in Khmelnitsky district, Ukraine; under czarist rule a district town in the province of Podolia. Jews are first mentioned there in a document of 1581. The community was destroyed during the *Chmielnicki massacres (1648). More than a century later (1765) 652 Jews paid the poll tax in Letichev and the vicinity. The community grew, numbering 1,852 in 1847 and 4,108 (56.6% of the total population) in 1897. In the years 1881–1882 Jews suffered from pogroms. During the civil war (1919–20) the town and surrounding countryside suffered severely at the hands of rebellious Ukrainian bands. In 1926 there were 2,434 Jews (34%) in the town, their number dropped further to 1,946 (36.5% of the total population) in 1939.The Germans occupied Letichev on July 17, 1941. They created a ghetto and took Jews to forced labor. In September 1942 the Germans murdered 3,000 Jews from the town and its environs. There in November 1942 they killed 4,000 Jews from the counties of Volkovinets and Derazhne.The local Jews who remained in a labor camp were executed in early 1943.

[Yehuda Slutsky / Shmuel Spector (2nd ed.)]

LETTERIS, MEIR (**Max**; 1800?–1871), Hebrew poet, writer, and editor. Born in Zolkiew (now Zholkva), Letteris, as a child, was introduced to Nachman *Krochmal, whom he henceforth considered his mentor. In spite of fame, professional recognition, public honors, and numerous editions of several of his works, he struggled financially all his life, holding jobs as copyreader in different printing houses (but especially in that of Anton von *Schmid), and lecturing, publishing periodicals, selling subscriptions, writing occasional poems, and, for some time, even receiving charity. In the course of his work as a copyreader in Vienna, Pressburg, and Prague, he edited important reprints and first editions, to which he added notes, explanations, and biographies. The latter, along with his autobiography, letter collections, and the contributions of his contemporaries to his various publications, convey a vivid picture of the Galician-Austrian Haskalah and all its leading personalities.

His works include the following: (1) Books of Hebrew poetry: *Divrei Shir* (1822), original poems as well as translations of Schiller, among others; *Ayyelet ha-Shaḥar* (1824), original poetry and translations of Schiller, Byron ("Hebrew Melodies"), and others; *Afrot Zahav* (1852), original and translated poetry; *Tofes Kinnor ve-Ugav* (1860), his first two volumes of poetry together with other previously published and new poems. (2) Translations: Two of Racine's plays, which are in fact free adaptations in Hebrew: *Athalie* (*Geza Yishai*, 1835) and *Esther* (*Shelom Ester*, 1843); several works by L.A. *Frankl, as well as Goethe's *Faust*, part 1 (*Ben Avuyah*, 1865), probably Letteris' most important work in this field of endeavor: he adapted and hebraized the play (the setting and characters are Jewish), and deleted all christological references. (3) Hebrew literary collections: *Ha-Ẓefirah* (1824) – intended as the first number of a periodical – opening with "*Yonah Homiyyah*," which became the best known of Letteris' poems, set to music and sung for generations; collections of letters including *Mikhtavim* (1827), *Mikhtevei Ivrit* (1847), and *Mikhtevei Benei Kedem* (1866). Further Hebrew collections appeared as supplements to some of his German periodicals. (4) German publications: *Sagen aus dem Orient* (1847), poetic renditions of biblical, midrashic, and talmudic themes, for which he was awarded a gold medal by Emperor Franz Joseph; *Wiener Blaetter*, with the Hebrew supplement *Ẓefirat Tiferet* (1851–52), *Wiener VierteljahrsSchrift*, with *Avnei Neẓer* (1853), and *Wiener Mitteilungen* (1854–70). He republished both his Hebrew and German writings, including *Oestliche Rosen* (1852), *Beitraege zur Literatur-und Kulturgeschichte* (1859), and *Ein Blatt Geschichte* (1869). His German translation of the *maḥzor* (with a Hebrew commentary, 1845–49) and the *Andachtsbuch fuer israelitische Frauenzimmer* (1845) saw numerous editions. He also wrote a *Hebraeische Sprachlehre* (1853). (5) Editions from manuscripts: M.Ḥ. *Luzzatto's *Migdal Oz* (1838) with a Latin introduction by Franz *Delitzsch and notes by S.D. *Luzzatto; Abraham *Ibn Ezra's *Sefat Yeter* (1838), and R. Joseph ha-Kohen's *Emek ha-Bakha* (1852), with notes by S.D. Luzzatto. Among his new editions (always with notes, biographies, or text additions) are *Ben-Ze'ev's *Oẓar ha-Shorashim* (1839–44), the works of Isaac *Erter, *Ha-Ẓofeh le-Veit Yisrael* (1858), volume one of *Ha-Me'assef* (1862), and Krochmal's *Moreh Nevukhei ha-Zeman* (1863). (6) Other works: *Ḥikrei Lev* (1837), a treatise on Bible study; contributions to the periodicals *Bikkurei ha-Ittim, Kerem Ḥemed*, and *Bikkurei ha-Ittim ha-Ḥadashim*. In the latter, Letteris published a Spinoza biography (1845, 27b–31b) which aroused controversy because of his plea for the rehabilitation of Spinoza among Jews. Another undertaking, the editing of the Hebrew text of the Old Testament for the British and Foreign Bible Society of London (1852), damaged his reputation among Jews. It was perhaps his most lasting achievement, however, as it resulted in innumerable editions of the "Letteris Bible." Of his autobiography, *Zikkaron ba-Sefer* (1869), only the first part appeared, leading up to 1831, and containing a description of Nachman Krochmal's circle in Zolkiew.

Letteris was a true exponent of the Haskalah, a mediator between Jewish and Western cultures. His free Hebrew renditions of European literary works are probably his greatest contribution to modern Hebrew poetry. A new edition of *Tofes Kinnor ve-Ugav* appeared in 1969.

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[Werner Weinberg]

LETTERS AND LETTER WRITERS. The letter holds an honored place in Jewish history and literature and includes diplomatic correspondence, state papers, and letters as vehicles of religious or secular literature and as a means of polemics in communal and spiritual matters, business or private family letters, and so on. In Jewish law and ritual the authoritative opinion in answer to an inquiry has given rise to an entire literature of its own (see *Responsa).

The language of Jewish letters was above all Hebrew, and even after Jews adopted the languages of their homes in the Diaspora, it gained in importance as Jewry's lingua franca, apart from remaining the vehicle of all learned communication. At a later stage Yiddish occupied a similar position for European Jews. In style the language often became formalized and adopted the literary conventions of the dominant culture. Letters constitute a valuable source for Jewish history.

Biblical Period

From the 14th century B.C.E. there is the famous collection of diplomatic correspondence, the *El-Amarna letters with their first references to the *Ḥabiru, who perhaps had some connection to the Hebrews. These letters, on clay tablets written in Akkadian, contain numerous "Hebrew" words. To approximately the same period also belong letters written on clay tablets found at *Ta'anach. The first biblical letter is the one that sent Uriah to his death (II Sam. 11:14–15), and to the same category belongs the one written by Jezebel arranging the judicial murder of Naboth (I Kings 21:8–11). In both cases the Hebrew word *sefer* (also meaning "book") is used for letter; in Ezra (1:1) and II Chronicles (21:12; 36:22) it is *mikhtav* ("letter"); and in Esther (9:26, 29) as well as in II Chronicles (30:1, 6) and Nehemiah (2:7–9; 6:5, 17, 19), *iggeret* ("epistle"). Nehemiah 6:5 speaks of an "open letter" sent by Sanballat to Nehemiah. As the use of *sefer* shows, the dividing line between "book" and "letter" is vague (cf. Isa. 29:11–12, "a sealed letter"; Ezra 2:9–10, "a scroll-letter"; and Zech. 5:1ff.).

Jeremiah wrote or dictated his famous letter to the exiles in Babylonia (29:1ff.), which produced an angry reaction by letter from Shemaiah the Nehelamite (*ibid.* 24ff.). The oldest Hebrew letters known at present are from the early or middle seventh century. Among the discoveries in the Dead Sea caves (Wadi Murabba'at) was a papyrus palimpsest on which was probably a seventh-century letter, of which only the greeting formula is still recognizable. This letter is thus far the only pre-Christian letter written on papyrus, all others being *ostraca, i.e., sherds of broken pottery (Pardee in ABD). The judicial plea found near Yabneh-yam is probably a bit later. From Jeremiah's time are the *Lachish Letters, ostraca referring to Nebuchadnezzar's second campaign against Judah (589). II Chronicles 21:12ff. records a letter of Elijah to Joram of Judah, and 30:1ff., proclamations by letter from Hezekiah. The Persian period in Jewish history begins with one by Cyrus to the Jews in Babylonia (*ibid.* 36:22–23), and the Book of Ezra (ch. 4ff.; cf. Neh. 2:7–9) contains correspondence and state papers in Aramaic concerning the rights of the returnees from Babylon. From the same period are the Aramaic letters from the Jewish military colony in Egypt at *Elephantine. The first *she'elah u-teshuvah* (inquiry and responsum concerning ritual) is found in Zechariah in 7:1ff., though it is not certain whether even the inquiry was in writing. Mordecai and Esther sent a proclamation by letter concerning the Purim festival to all Persian Jews (Esther 9:20ff.). Letter writing in biblical times required professional writers (I Chron. 2:55) and was no doubt the main occupation of the royal officer called the *sofer* ("scribe," II Sam. 8:17). The many *seals found in archaeological excavations were used for signing letters, documents, and state papers (I Kings 21:8; cf. Gen. 38:18, 25) and also to close them (Job 41:7).

Persian and Greek Periods

Still close to biblical times are the *Elephantine (Yeb) letters, Aramaic papyri shedding light on the life of the military settlement of Jews on the Upper Nile from the sixth to the fourth centuries B.C.E. The Letter of *Aristeas, written in Greek in the third or second century, describes the origins of the Jewish community of Alexandria and of the Septuagint Bible translation; it includes an exchange of letters between Ptolemy Philadelphus II and Eleazar the high priest. The work, a propaganda tract for Jews and Judaism, is an early Jewish example of the Greek genre of epistolary literature. Other Jewish letters in this period are those found in the first and second book of Maccabees. In the first (12:5ff.), the Hasmonean Jonathan sent a diplomatic message to Sparta; the second (1:1–9 and 1:10–2:18) contains messages sent by the Jews of Jerusalem to those of Egypt in connection with the Hasmonean victories and the institution of the Ḥanukkah festival. *Philo in his "Delegation to Gaius" (Caligula) recorded the moving and historically important letters, which he may have drafted himself, of Agrippa I to the emperor, imploring him to desist from his plan to have his statue erected in the Temple of Jerusalem (ed. E.M. Smallwood, (1961), 122–36). *Josephus included in his works many letters, real or fictitious, among them the charter given to the Jews by Antiochus III in 198 B.C.E. (Ant., 12, 3, 138–44). In his *Life* (364–67) he reports that Agrippa II sent him 62 letters, complimenting him on the accuracy of his histories; two of these letters he quotes verbatim.

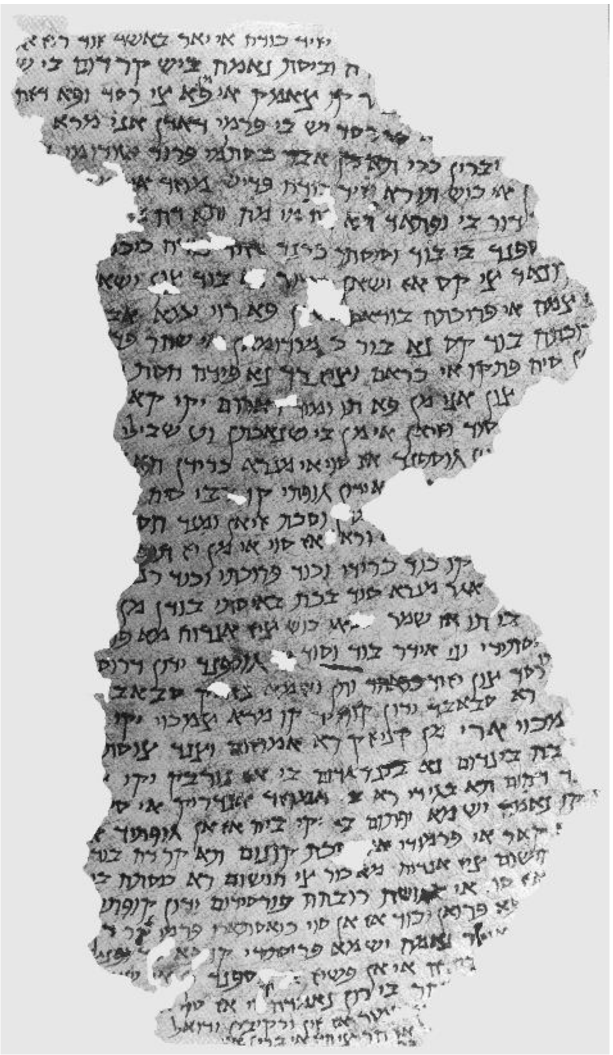

Fragment from an eighth-century letter in Judeo-Persian found at Dandan-Uiliq in the region of Khotan (Sinkiang). London, British Museum, Or. Ms. 8212 (166).

New Testament; Bar Kokhba Letters

Of the 21 Epistles in the *New Testament, those of Paul occupy a prominent place. Only 10 out of the 13 ascribed to him are generally recognized as really his; the others were written by other founder-members of the new religion. The most "Jewish" among them is the Epistle of James, which may have been based on some pre-Christian apocryphon. The discovery in 1952 in Wadi Murabba'at and Naḥal Ḥever in 1960/61 of Hebrew letters written during the Bar Kokhba revolt, some signed by Bar Kokhba, have added further specimens of actual letters written in antiquity.

Talmudic Literature

In talmudic literature the earliest letter is the one sent by Simeon b. Shetaḥ (first century B.C.E.) appealing to his colleague Judah b. Tabbai to return from his self-imposed exile: "From me, Holy Jerusalem (Jerusalem, the Great) to thee, my sister Alexandria (Alexandria, the Small): how long doth my betrothed dwell with you, and I dwell desolate on account of him" (Sota 47a; Sanh. 107b; TJ, Ḥag. 2, 277d; Sanh. 6, 7, 23c). Letters conveying decisions in calendar and other ritual matters were sent to Jewish communities inside and outside Palestine on behalf of the Sanhedrin by Gamaliel I (before 50 C.E.; Sanh. 11b and parallels) and a generation later by his son Simeon and Johanan b. Zakkai (Mid. Tan. to Deut. 26:13). Letters like this are rare in Talmud and Midrash, where the preference was for oral transmission as against written communications. Messages like the one sent by the Jerusalem authorities to *Judah b. Bathyra at Nisibis (Pes. 3b) or to Theodoros (Thodos) of Rome (*ibid.* 53a) may or may not have been in writing, but the constant exchange of information and views between Palestinian and Babylonian scholars in the talmudic era is likely to have been partly in writing. For political reasons some of these messages had to be sent in code (Sanh. 12a). In this period, too, the writing of letters, particularly official ones, was entrusted to special secretaries (*sofer* or *libellarius*).

Belonging to the same period, but from non-talmudic sources, is the letter by *Julian the Apostate (in 363 C.E.) promising to restore Jerusalem and the Temple. Similarly, the brief episode of Empress Eudocia's kindness to the Jews 60 years later led to a flicker of messianic hope, which expressed itself in a letter by the Jewish notables to the Jews of the Diaspora (438; see Nau, in REJ, 83 (1927), 196–7). Also in the fourth century the patriarch Gamaliel b. Hillel maintained correspondence with the Syrian Hellenist Libanius, but only Libanius' letters have been preserved.

Medieval Hebrew Literature

Throughout the Middle Ages letters served as a major literary form in all countries in which Jews lived and wrote. Neither the form of the letter nor the fact that it was addressed to a specific person implied that the contents of the letter were private, for letter writing was one of the more usual means of publishing one's views and bringing them to the attention of as wide a public as possible. Letters were delivered by hand, and in many Jewish communities en route it was common practice to stop the messengers in order publicly to read the letters they were carrying. Frequently, it was requested that the messenger allow a local scribe to copy the letter, which would be read by the rabbis and kept in the files of the community. This practice explains why many hundreds of letters found in the Cairo *Genizah* were not addressed to the Egyptian Jewish community, but rather to various communities in North Africa and Europe. It was also common for a man to write several copies of his letter and send them to different places for publication. At the end of their letters, some writers requested the reader to pass the letter on or make additional copies of it. Letters containing messages of importance to the whole community were read aloud in the synagogue; others of more limited interest were read by the *bet din* or the community council. There were also some efforts to make epistolary privacy secure: in the 11th century R. Gershon forbade the reading of letters addressed to someone else except with the person's knowledge and permission.

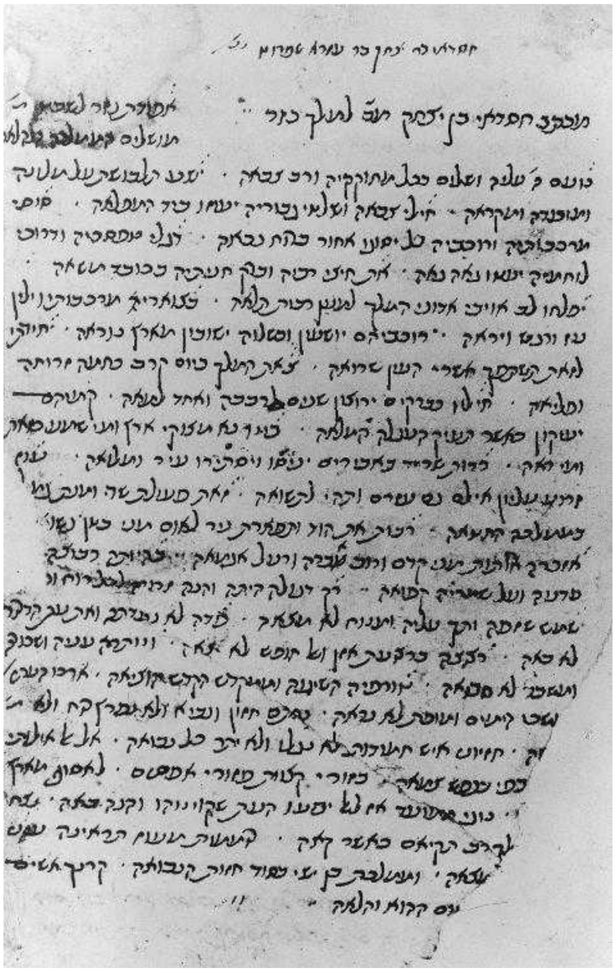

First of the letters from Ḥisdai ibn Shaprut to the king of the Khazars, 10th century. Oxford, Christ Church Library, Ms. 193, p.12.

Treating letters as a means of publishing one's views gave rise to certain literary forms frequently utilized in epistolary literature. For instance, the published letter was an opportunity for the writer to demonstrate his erudition and his mastery of Hebrew language and style, which explains why many letters written in the Middle Ages contain numerous biblical and talmudic phrases and references. The introduction of the letter was often written in rhymed prose, and many letters were composed entirely in this style. The opening phrases of a letter were usually a series of formula descriptions of the addressee's wisdom, generosity, and greatness. These phrases were often employed interchangeably from one letter to another. Therefore, very little individual style is to be found in medieval letters, even those written by the most prominent Jewish thinkers, who developed a personal style in their other writings.

The character of epistolary literature made the distinction between a book and a letter very unclear. The usual word for book, *sefer*, was frequently used to denote a letter and the word for letter, *iggeret*, was used as the title of many books. Some of the more important books in the Middle Ages were originally written as letters, the most celebrated example being Maimonides' *Guide of the Perplexed*.

Large collections of letters exist in the fields of *halakhah*, polemics, ethics, and philosophy. Literary correspondence was also one of the best ways of developing Jewish culture in the Sephardi communities. In the same way, non-literary letters, on commercial topics or on personal subjects, were also a significant part of the manifestations of Jewish life during the Middle Ages. The letters could be public, related to the questions of the communities, or personal, dealing with private matters. Different languages were employed, usually in consonance with the particular tradition and vernaculars: Hebrew, Judeo-Arabic, and many other Jewish languages.

HALAKHIC RESPONSA. From the geonic period, Jews all over the world addressed halakhic questions to the supreme halakhic authorities of the time. The various *geonim* in Babylonia, Maimonides in Egypt, the tosafists and the Rashi school in Germany, Naḥmanides and Solomon ben Abraham Adret in Spain, Caro in Safed – all received hundreds of halakhic questions which they usually answered in great detail. Occasionally these responsa grew into whole treatises, later published as books (the first being Rav Amram Gaon's answer to a question on the laws concerning prayers, which became the first prayer book or *siddur*). Similar questions were also addressed to many less eminent rabbis, some of whom collected their answers and published them in book form. These responsa presented *halakhah* in a most concrete, everyday way. When writing halakhic exegesis or specialized treatises, the author may be preoccupied with fundamental, theoretical questions, but when writing responsa he is required to solve a specific problem. Accordingly, halakhic *responsa are regarded as one of the most important sources of medieval Jewish history.

POLEMICAL LETTERS. By nature, *polemical literature is addressed to a specific person with whom the author is in conflict, yet the author wishes his views to be known as widely as possible. Therefore, most medieval Jewish polemical material is found in epistolary literature. Many of these letters are written, partially or wholly, in rhymed prose and include other literary forms developed for argumentation. *Milḥamot Adonai* by Solomon b. Jeroḥam, which was the Karaites' answer to Saadiah Gaon, is among the earliest polemical letters and includes one of the most perfect examples of the use of irony in medieval Hebrew literature. A whole vocabulary of sarcastic phrases and abusive references was developed in this literature. Very frequently the discussion of theological differences gave way to personal abuse.

Some major conflicts in Jewish life and thought are found solely in collections of polemical letters. In Spain, Italy, and Provence during the 13th and 14th centuries, the great controversies raging over Maimonides and his views, and over the study of philosophy in general, were carried on in hundreds of letters, many of which are extant. One of the first participants in the controversy, Meir ben Todros Abulafia, sent letters to communities in Spain and Southern France that reflected the beginning of opposition to the ideas of Maimonides. In the 13th century, a follower of Maimonides, Shem Tov ben Joseph ibn *Falaquera, wrote the *Iggeret ha-Vikku'aḥ* ("Epistle of the Debate") trying to prove the agreement between Torah and reason in keeping with Maimonides' views. Between 1318 and 1320 Joseph ibn Caspi wrote polemical letters reflecting his disputations with Christian scholars from the Kingdom of Aragon. At the turn of the 14th century Profiat *Duran wrote his anti-Christian epistle *Al-Tehi ka-Avotekha*, typical of the polemic produced by more or less forced baptisms and the controversy with the Christians. Letters written in Hebrew and Arabic were the vehicle for the controversy between the Karaites and Rabbinic Judaism. The controversy about the renewal of *semikhah* (ordination of rabbis) in Safed, Jerusalem, and Egypt was conducted through letters, which have been collected and serve as a primary historical source. Similarly, in the 17th century, the Shabbatean controversy, and the Eybeschuetz-Emden controversy which followed in its wake, were sustained by letters, many of which were later edited and published. Authors sometimes changed the wording of their original letters to suit changed circumstances, a tactic known to have been executed in many other controversies.

ETHICAL LETTERS. One of the literary forms which was developed in the Middle Ages within the framework of *ethical literature was the short ethical epistle. This literary form is very close in character to another sort of short ethical treatise – the ethical *will. In medieval times many ordinary as well as eminent Jews wrote letters – usually to their sons (for instance, some poems of Samuel ha-Nagid to his son Yehosef), but sometimes to other relatives or to communities – describing the ethical way of behavior, and imploring the readers to follow this path. These writers clearly intended that their letters be published, and that the letters were addressed to specific people is no more than a literary device. Because the letters were usually short, they therefore contained a complete ethical system in a nutshell, revealing what the age thought were the most important areas in which behavior had to be corrected. Like other letters, ethical letters also frequently employed rhymed prose.

PHILOSOPHICAL LETTERS. Maimonides made the most intensive use of correspondence, and his influence was largely due to the extensive correspondence he carried on with all parts of the Jewish world. In this way he offered practical guidance to the Jewish communities of the East and the West. Following his father's example in his "Letter of Consolation," Maimonides exercised his spiritual leadership over the Diaspora by means of pastoral letters, such as the "Letter to Yemen" on true and false messianism. He also was in correspondence with groups of, or individual, scholars, with friends and pupils, apart from the great number of responsa he wrote in answer to inquiries from all over. His style is clear and terse and has a beauty of its own, and found late imitators in Isaac *Abrabanel, Joseph Solomon *Delmedigo, and *Manasseh Ben Israel. Another interesting correspondence on philosophical topics took place at the beginning of the 15th century between Solomon *Bonafed, one of the last distinguished intellectuals of the Kingdom of Aragon before the expulsion of 1492, and a young disciple of Isaac Arondi, on the value of the logic taught at the time by Christian masters (Bodleian Library, ms. nº 1984, 87r-102r).

LITERARY CORRESPONDENCE. In Andalusia, where letter writing developed into a specific genre, Moses Ibn Ezra took pride in the leading position occupied by his countrymen in this art (*Kitāb al-Muḥāḍara wal-Mudhākara,* ed. A.S. Halkin (1975), 29bff.). An early example is the correspondence of *Ḥisdai ibn Shaprut with the king of the *Khazars. His own letters were drafted by his secretary, the poet and grammarian *Menahem b. Saruk, who inserted an acrostic of his own name in addition to Ḥisdai's in an introductory poem. In contrast to his polished and allusive style, the letter of a Khazar Jew to Ḥisdai, found in the *Genizah*, is written in a clear and simple Hebrew. In the *divan* of many of the great Andalusian poets we find also examples of literary correspondence. We have, for instance, exchanges of poems between Isaac *Ibn Khalfun and *Samuel ha-Nagid, and between many other Andalusian poets. There are also letters in prose that have been preserved, for instance, in the *divan* of Judah Halevi (the letters published by M. Gil and E. Fleischer (2001) are of a completely different nature). Literary correspondence continued in the Christian kingdoms of the north of the Iberian Peninsula: Todros Abulafia in 13th-century Toledo often partook of this way of communicating with other poets. A particular development of this literary correspondence can be observed in some poets of the so-called "Circle of Saragossa" at the end of the 14th century and the beginning of the 15th, especially in Solomon *da Piera and Solomon Bonafed. A substantial part of the *divan* of these poets consists of literary correspondence with other poets of the time including sections in prose and poems. As J. Targarona has shown, the structure of these letters is substantially the same, consisting of a heading or rubric, the body of the letter, with a poem preceded or followed by short epigrams (*simanim*), and the "signature," including a text in rhymed prose; "on the back of the letter" there may be another short poem and a dedication to the addressee.

COMMERCIAL LETTERS. A large number of letters of the **Genizah* published by Goitein (1973) is a good example of the diffusion of letters as means of communication among Jewish merchants and traders, usually occupied in international trade, who engaged in all kinds of business transactions, sent a multiplicity of goods from one country to another, etc., and among other things mentioned the commercial rulings of rabbinical courts in their letters and legal documents. The traders usually worked together in distant countries as friends or partners. The large quantity of international and even interdenominational business transactions produced frequent correspondence. The economic activities, and the letters connected with them, were mainly concentrated in two areas: the Mediterranean and the trade with India. Among the letters of the 11th century published by Goitein we also find the correspondence between great merchant families, and all kinds of accounts related to the transactions.

COMMUNAL AND PERSONAL LETTERS. During the Middle Ages there was frequent correspondence among the leaders of the communities of the Jewish Diaspora. The European communities were linked in many ways with Babylon, and from the tenth century on, notable cultural ties grew between Muslim Spain, France, and Germany, creating a kind of network based on letter exchange on legal issues and on other specific aspects of Jewish life. The means of communication was often in the form of circular letters sent to the entire community. Among scholars, colleagues, and disciples there was also a frequent exchange of letters that helped clarify halakhic or scholarly matters, as in the case of R. Samson and Rabbenu Tam.

Exchange of letters of a more confidential nature was also the usual way of communicating between individuals who were not able to have personal contact. The contents of these letters were of an intimate character, or on occasion related to common business matters. Travelers, relatives, or friends separated in distant countries would communicate to one another news about deaths, weddings, or births of members of the family or their relatives. We can see this kind of personal correspondence in the letters from Jerusalem and Acre sent by *Naḥmanides to his son in Barcelona between 1263 and 1267. Other personal letters included requests for financial help, or questions by former students to their teachers.

AGRONIM. One of the major sources for the study of the development of the Hebrew letter in medieval and early modern times is the literature of the *agronim*. An *agron* is a collection of form letters, compiled or written by a scholar for the use of the general public. Included in the collection are form letters of praise, reference, appointments, business requests for charity, for money to marry one's daughters, for money to ransom the release of Jewish prisoners, and for almost every other conceivable occasion in which a Jew may be in need of a special letter. All the user did was to fill in the name(s) and other necessary details and a well-written letter, which would evoke respect from the reader, was ready for sending. The first collection of stereotyped Hebrew letters, *Iggerot Shelomim*, was printed anonymously in Augsburg in 1534. This example was soon followed by others: *Megillat Sefer* or *Mikhtavim* (also anonymous, Venice, 1545–48?), and Samuel Archevolti's *Ma'yan Gannim* (Venice, 1553; Cremona, 1566).

The *agronim*, of which dozens were printed, became a very popular literary form, especially since the 18th century. There are, in manuscript, *agronim* from Spain dating as far back as the 15th century. Many *agronim* also include other literary works, like short poems of praise or riddles, which might be useful to the reader. *Agronim* are of great historical value inasmuch as they reveal the literary and social conventions of a given time and place; for example, the differences between a form of an application for the rabbinate in a small town and a big city are very instructive. Until recently this field had been neglected by scholars and especially historians; therefore, no definitive history of the development of the Hebrew epistle, from a literary and historical point of view, is to be found.

The epistolary form was used in other literary fields. The earliest extant medieval historiographical work, *Iggeret Rav Sherira Gaon* (in: Ḥ.J.D. Azulai, *Shem ha-Gedolim* (1967), 26–59), was probably written by Hai Gaon as an answer to a letter inquiring about the transmission of the *halakhah* from age to age. Letters regarding scientific and philosophical questions are also found in medieval Hebrew literature.

[Joseph Dan / Angel Saenz-Badillos (2nd ed.)]

Modern Period

The expulsion of Jews from Spain in 1492 produced letters from the exiles reporting their experiences in their new homes, particularly in Palestine. There had been antecedents for this, e.g., *Judah Halevi, Maimonides, Naḥmanides, Obadiah of *Bertinoro, and Elijah of Ferrara; but from the 16th century onward a growing volume of such letter reports from Palestine reached a news-hungry Diaspora. Among the most prominent correspondents were Solomon *Molcho in the 16th century, Isaiah *Horowitz in the 17th, and some ḥasidic leaders in the 18th (see A. Yaari, *Iggerot Ereẓ Yisrael*, 1943), Interesting, too, is a letter by *Elijah ben Solomon Zalman, the Gaon of Vilna, written before he set out for Palestine.

ITALY. The true heir to Spain in Hebrew epistolary art was Italy, where the spirit of the Renaissance found able and congenial adepts among Hebrew letter writers. Nearly 100 letters by the banker-scholar Solomon da Poggibonzi (ed. by S. Simonsohn in *Koveẓ al Yad*, 6 (1966), 379–417) reveal an accomplished practician of the art. The most prolific of them all was Leone *Modena, who carefully kept copies of his letters, *Leo Modenas Briefe*… (ed. by L. Blau (1907)), which reveal his mind and life. Italy remained the home of letter writing, as shown by Modena's younger contemporary *Mahalalel Hallelyah of Ancona, who, like M.Ḥ. *Luzzatto a century later, can be regarded as one of the precursors of the Hebrew revival. In the 19th century I.S. *Reggio and S.D. *Luzzatto in their correspondence with other Jewish scholars made an important contribution to the new Wissenschaft des Judentums. Much of the argument in the battles around Reform and Haskalah at the end of the 18th and beginning of the 19th century took the form of letters (cf. the collections of letters by N.H. Wessely, *Nogah ha-Ẓedek* (1818); *Elleh Divrei ha-Berit* (1819); *Teshuvot be-Anshei Aven* (1845)).

GERMANY. S.R. Hirsch gave his book, which laid the foundations of modern Orthodoxy, the fictional form of 19 letters (*Iggerot Ẓafon; The Nineteen Letters of Ben Uziel* (1899, 1969²)). Moses Hess's *Rom and Jerusalem* (1862) is a call in letter form for a Jewish national renaissance, and Joseph Perl also used "letters" for his anti-ḥasidic satires *Megalleh Temirim* (1919) and *Boḥen Ẓaddik* (1838). The emergence of the Wissenschaft des Judentums produced Hebrew periodicals such as *Kerem Ḥemed* and *Oẓar Neḥmad*, which published scholarly contributions in letter form.

Enlightenment and Wissenschaft des Judentums

In the Enlightenment period the letters written by Moses *Mendelssohn (*Jubilaeumsausgabe*, 11 (1932); 16 (1929)); L. *Zunz (*L. and A. Zunz – an account in letters*, ed. by N. Glatzer, 1958); I.S. *Reggio (*Iggerot YaSHaR*, 1834–36); S.D. *Luzzatto (*Iggerot Sha-Da-L*, 1882–94, repr. 1967); S.J. *Rapoport (*Iggerot SHIR*, 1845); and others are important sources for the history of that crucial period in Jewish history. Not one of the least achievements of modern Jewish scholarship was the publication of letters of prominent and even ordinary people of the past, such as those of Leone Modena (see above); correspondence between Jews of Prague and Vienna from the time of the Thirty Years' War *Juedische Privatbriefe*… ed. by A. Landau and B. Wachstein (1911); letters of Ḥ.J.D. *Azulai in *Ha-Ẓofeh le-Ḥokhmat Yisrael* (11, 1927); M.Ḥ. Luzzatto (S. Ginzburg, *RaMḤaL u-Venei Doro* (1937); and some of those written by Akiva *Eger, Moses *Sofer, and members of their families (*Iggerot Soferim*, ed. by S. Schreiber, 1929).

Jewish-Christian Correspondence

A special place in the history of Jewish letter writing is held by Jewish-Christian correspondence. In the 13th century Solomon Cohen exchanged letters on philosophical themes with his imperial patron Frederick II and the latter's court philosopher Theodorus. In the 16th century Lazarus de Viterbo corresponded in Latin with Cardinal Sirleto on the Bible, as did Leone Modena with Italian, French, and English scholars. Johannes *Buxtorf (the Younger) maintained a lively correspondence in Hebrew with Jewish scholars, and J.C. *Wagenseil entered into a polemic with R. Enoch ha-Levi. Manasseh Ben Israel wrote hundreds of letters in Latin, Spanish, and English as well as in Hebrew to the leading Christian scholars and theologians of his time. The 49 letters of *Spinoza still extant were all addressed to non-Jews. Nevertheless, they betray, more than any other of his writings, the Jewish roots of a man who had become totally estranged from his people. Anna Maria Schurmann was not the first, but certainly the most able and prolific, Christian woman writing letters in Hebrew.

Women Letter Writers

Given the mobile nature of medieval and early modern Jewish society, in which spouses and other family members were often separated for long periods of time, women frequently sent messages to absent loved ones. They also conducted correspondence in connection with their various entrepreneurial activities. The extant letters written by women tend to be in vernacular languages, but some are in Hebrew. It is likely that women sometimes depended on family members or professional scribes to prepare letters for them, but many of the surviving epistles, including some in Hebrew, transcend the formulaic and appear to have been written from the heart by literate, well-educated women.

A number of letters by women are found among the documents of the Cairo *Genizah*. These letters, generally from the 11th to the 13th centuries, are mostly in Judeo-Arabic with some Hebrew exceptions. A group of epistles that survive from the 16th century are in Judeo-Spanish and Yiddish. These personal documents often preserve direct and unmediated female voices, yielding many insights into socio-economic and cultural aspects of medieval and early modern Jewish life. In addition to letters sent within Egypt, women's letters in the *Genizah* originate from Aden, Byzantium, India, Italy, Seleucia, Tiberias, and Tunisia (Goitein; Kraemer).

Correspondence by Jewish women who interacted with the gentile world is extant in various European archives. A letter in Italian, dated 1508, survives from "Anna the Hebrew" of Rome to Catherine Sforza (1463–1509), extolling the virtues of various facial creams and explaining their costs and how to order them (Marcus). Esther *Handali (d. c. 1590), **kiera* of Nur Banu, the Venetian wife of Ottoman Sultan Selim II, took part in Nur Banu's correspondence with the Doge and Senate of Venice (Skilliter). British archives preserve a 1599 Italian letter to Elizabeth I of England that accompanied a gift of clothing, written by the *kiera*, Esperanza *Malchi, on behalf of the Ottoman Sultana Safiye (Kobler, 391–92).

The Italian poet Sara Coppia *Sullam (1592?–1641), known for her humanistic learning, remained loyal to Judaism despite many efforts to convince her to become a Christian. In addition to her extensive correspondence in Italian with Ansaldo Cebà, a Genoese nobleman and monk (only his letters are extant), she also responded in 1621 in an erudite and witty public letter to an attack by Baldassar Bonifaccio (later Cardinal of Cape d'Istria), who claimed that Sullam had denied the immortality of the soul (Kobler, 436–48).

A collection of correspondence sent from the ghetto of Prague and intended for family members and business associates in Vienna was intercepted in 1619 by the Austrian authorities and ended up in the archives of the Imperial Court of Vienna. Among these mostly Yiddish letters are many missives on personal, business, and other matters from women to their absent relatives (Kobler, 449–79).

Thirty-five of the letters written by Abigaill Levy *Franks (1733–48) of New York to her eldest son, Naphtali, who had returned to London, are extant. Written in English, they are among the earliest surviving correspondence of any woman in the British colonies (Gelles).

[Judith R. Baskin (2nd ed.)]

Collections of Letters

In more recent times the Ḥibbat Zion and Zionist movements have produced much letter writing among their leading figures. For the former A. Druyanow edited a collection of letters, *Ketavim le-Toledot Ḥibbat Ẓiyyon*… (3 vols., 1919–29). Theodor Herzl's letters of 1895–97 have been published in Hebrew as *Iggerot* (1961, vol. 9 of his collected writings) and those of Chaim Weizmann are being published (first volume *Kitvei*… series 1: *Iggerot*, 2 vols. (1969–70)). Collections of letters by the great modern Hebrew writers have also been published: J.L. Gordon (2 vols., 1894–5); Aḥad Ha-Am (6 vols., 1923–25); and Ḥ.N. Bialik (5 vols., 1937–39). Of particular importance for modern intellectual and spiritual history are the letters of Chief Rabbi A.I. *Kook, *Iggerot ha-Re'ayah* (3 vols., 1943; 1962–65^{2}) and those of Franz *Rosenzweig, *Briefe* (1935). Interesting selections of letters by the philosopher Hermann Cohen and the painter Max Liebermann were issued in the *Schocken Buecherei* (1937, 1939). The experiences of World War I are reflected in *Kriegsbriefe deutscher Juden* (1935, repr. 1961) and in E. Tannenbaum's *Kriegsbriefe deutscher und oesterreichischer Juden* (1915). Letters by Israeli soldiers in the Six-Day War of 1967 were collected in *Be-Darkam; Ḥavrei ha-Iḥud she-Nafelu*… (1968).

The first modern anthology of Jewish or Hebrew letters is S.J. Fuenn's *Soferei Yisrael* (1871), a collection of 55 letters. A pioneer in this field was Franz Kobler (1882–1965), who published *Juden und Judentum in deutschen Briefen*… (1935), *Juedische Geschichte in Briefen*… (1938), and *Letters of Jews Through the Ages* (2 vols., 1952, with bibliography). A. Yaari's *Iggerot Ereẓ Yisrael* appeared in 1943 and Cecil Roth edited *Anglo-Jewish Letters* (1938). Many Jewish letters are incorporated in such general works as H. Adler's *Miscellany of Hebrew Literature* (2 vols., 1873), J. Winter and A. Wuensche, *Juedische Litteratur* (2 vols., 1894–97), and B. Halper's *Post-Biblical Hebrew Literature* (2 vols., 1921). J.R. Marcus' *American Jewry – Documents – 18th century* (1959) contains letters that are preserved in the American Jewish Archives at the Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati, which has specialized in letter collections. The British Museum possesses a great collection of Emmanuel Mendes da Costa's correspondence.

Formulas and Style

Hebrew and other Jewish letters are characterized by certain epistolary conventions, in which *abbreviations occupy a prominent position. The opening formula was ב״ה or בע״ה (בְּעֶזְרַת ה׳ = "with the help of God") or שי״ת (שִׁוִּיתִי ה׳ לְנֶגְדִּי תָמִיד – Ps. 16:8 = "I have set the Lord always before me"). This was followed by the Jewish date, either day, month, and year or the day of the week and the coming weekly Sidra. The latter was often hinted at by a characteristic verse, and the year, by a similar *gematria*. In the period between Passover and Shavuot, the respective day in the Omer counting took the place of the date as would any particular day in the calendar, such as the New Moon and fast days. However, the date was often added at the end. This is followed by an exordium in which the addressee is apostrophized according to his station and worth, usually in flowery and exaggerated terms. The most common greeting, used in the beginning or at the end, was *shalom* ("peace"), or *berakhah* ("blessing"), which is found even in the Lachish ostraca letters.

The epistolary style from the Middle Ages onward became increasingly flowery and allusive (*meliẓah*), and was overloaded with biblical and talmudic quotations, which produced a strong reaction in modern times. Among the enactments of Rabbenu Gershom b. Judah (11th century) was one protecting the secrecy of letters, threatening the unauthorized opener with excommunication. This used to be alluded to in the letters by adding the abbreviation בחדר״ג = (בחרם דרבנו גרשום).

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LETTUCE (Heb. חֲזֶרֶת, *ḥazeret* or חַסָּה, *ḥassah*), vegetable. Lettuce is not mentioned in the Bible. According to rabbinic tradition, however, it is included in the term *merorim* ("bitter herbs," Ex. 12:8) which are commanded to be eaten on the night of the Passover *seder* (see *Maror). According to the Mishnah (Pes. 2:6) this obligation can be discharged with five species of vegetable, the first of which is חֲזֶרֶת, which the *Gemara* explains to be *ḥassah* (Pes. 39a). Lettuce when young has soft leaves and a sweet taste, but if left in the field until it begins to flower its leaves harden and become bitter. For this reason the rabbis stated that it is ideal as *maror*: "just as lettuce is first sweet and then bitter, so was the behavior of the Egyptians to our ancestors" (TJ, Pes. 2:5, 29c), or "because the lettuce is first soft and finally hard" (Pes. 39a).

Lettuce was a popular vegetable. It is a winter crop which does not usually grow in summer, but people of wealth endeavored to obtain it out of season too. Thus it is related of *Antoninus and R. Judah ha-Nasi that their tables "did not lack lettuce even in summer" (Ber. 57b). Some think that the lettuce referred to is the wild variety *Lactuca scariola* out of which the cultivated "sweet" lettuce developed. Against this it should be noted that the growing of the cultivated variety is very ancient, it being depicted already in ancient Egyptian paintings, from which it seems that they grew the long-leaved lettuce, *Lactuca sativa*, var. *longifolia*, and apparently this variety was also grown in Israel in ancient times. The aforementioned wild variety, which is called the "compass lettuce" because its leaves point north and south, is found in all districts of Israel, particularly near refuse. The Mishnah (Kil. 1:2) calls it *ḥazeret gallim*, i.e., lettuce of the rubbish heaps, and decided that it is of the same species as the cultivated lettuce. The Samaritans have the custom of eating this wild lettuce with their Passover sacrifice. Among Jews of European origin the common custom is to eat as *maror* on the night of the *seder* horseradish, *Armocaria rusticana*, which they identify with the *ḥazeret* or *tamkha* mentioned as a bitter herb (Pes. 2:6), but this vegetable is sharp and not "bitter," nor was it grown in Ereẓ Israel in ancient times.

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[Jehuda Feliks]

°**LEUSDEN, JOHANN** (1624–1699), Calvinist theologian and Hebraist. Having numbered Jews among his teachers, in 1650 he became a professor of Hebrew language at the University of Utrecht. In collaboration with the Amsterdam publisher Joseph *Athias, he published the first Hebrew Bible in which the verses are numbered (*Biblia Hebraica*, 1661, 1667^2). The edition became well known for its exactness and beautiful print, and served as a model for almost all publications of the Bible up to the 19th century. Leusden was one of the foremost Bible scholars of his time and wrote several treatises on Bible research and Hebrew philology. He also translated (Utrecht, 1656) the catalog of 613 commandments that heads Maimonides' halakhic code. Leusden carried on a correspondence with the Mathers, the famous Puritan New England family.

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[Joseph Elijah Heller]

LEV, ABRAHAM (1910–1970), Yiddish poet. Born in Piaski near Volkovysk, Belorussia, he settled with his family in Vilna in 1922, studied in the Volozhin and Ramayles yeshivot, immigrated in 1932 to Palestine, and joined kibbutz Givat ha-Sheloshah. His first poem was published by Melech *Ravitch in a Warsaw journal when he was 16. Thereafter his lyrics appeared in Yiddish periodicals in Poland, France, the U.S., and Israel. Many of his poems were translated into Hebrew and were included in school texts and anthologies. His mature lyrics appeared in the volumes *Heym un Feld* ("Home and Field," 1953), *Beymer in Vint* ("Trees in the Wind," 1960), and *Bleter fun Kibuts* ("Pages from a Kibbutz," 1971). Lev was a poet of the kibbutz landscape, who referred to himself as a farmer-poet, dreaming his visions in the shade of the trees which he himself planted.

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[Israel Ch. Biletzky / Jerold C. Frakes (2nd ed.)]

LEV (Lab; Leb), JOSEPH BEN DAVID IBN (also known as the **MaHaRIVaL**, for **M**orenu **Ha**-**R**av **Y**osef **i**bn **L**ev; 1505–1580), Turkish rabbi and *posek*. Lev was born in Monastir (now Bitolj, Macedonia). Nothing is known of his early life, but he was appointed *dayyan* in his native town while still quite young. Because of a quarrel with a colleague on the *bet din* he moved to Salonika in 1534, where he became embroiled with Solomon ibn Hasson. Lev fought vigorously against the powerful and wealthy who oppressed the common people. Following his dispute with the Jewish tyrant Baruch of Salonika, his son David was murdered by hired assassins in 1545. His second son Moses drowned. These events and the hostile attitude of his opponents caused him to move in 1550 to Constantinople, where he remained until his death. There he was appointed teacher in the yeshivah founded by Doña Gracia (Mendes) *Nasi. In 1556 he was taken ill and from 1561 was unable to continue regular teaching in the yeshivah. At the instigation of Gracia and Joseph Nasi, in retaliation for the adverse stand of Pope *Paul IV against the Marranos of Ancona, Lev compiled a responsum in which he supported the banning of trade with Ancona and the taking of reprisals against the papal kingdom, in contrast to Joshua Soncino, one of the opponents of the ban.

Lev at first planned the compilation of a work in the manner of the *Beit Yosef* of Joseph *Caro. When in 1551 the *Beit Yosef* was published, he forbade its use out of fear that it would lead to a decrease in the study of the Talmud. However, when on one occasion he could not remember one of the sources of the *Arba'ah Turim* and found it in the *Beit Yosef*, he changed his attitude and realized the value of the work. His responsa, in four parts, were first published separately but then together in Amsterdam in 1726. A new edition of the responsa in two volumes appeared in Jerusalem in 1959/60. Lev attributes many glosses to his son David out of a desire to perpetuate his memory, but it is probable that he himself was the author of most of them. He was highly thought of by contemporary scholars.

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[Yehoshua Horowitz]

LÉVAI, JENÖ (1892–?), Hungarian journalist who pursued research on the Holocaust of Hungarian Jewry. Lévai was born in Budapest and studied engineering, but even in his youth was attracted to journalism. Between the two World Wars he waged a fierce struggle in the press against antisemitism in Hungary, particularly against László *Endre, who later cooperated with Adolf *Eichmann. After World War II he was commissioned by the new government of Hungary to collect material on the persecution of the Jews under the previous regime. From that time he devoted himself entirely to this subject, publishing books and articles which revealed new information on the anti-Jewish activities of the Hungarian and German Nazis, his research taking him to different countries of Europe.

His works include *Black Book on the Martyrdom of Hungarian Jewry* (1948), and *Eichmann in Hungary: Documents* (1961).

[Yehouda Marton]

LEVAILLANT, ISAÏE (1845–1911), French civil servant and publicist, born in Hegenheim, Alsace. After the Franco-Prussian war of 1870–71, Levaillant founded a Republican newspaper in Nevers and filled various administrative posts under Gambetta. In 1885 he was appointed head of the Sureté Générale at the Ministry of the Interior. He was dismissed for his pro-*Dreyfus sympathies and subsequently wrote his own defense, *Ma Justification* (1895). After this, he devoted himself to combating antisemitism, chiefly through his editorials in *L'Univers Israélite*, which he edited until 1905. When the separation of Church and State in France (1906) made it necessary to revise the organizational structure of French Jewry, Levaillant drew up the new statute. His writings include *La genèse de l'antisémitisme sous la Troisième République* (1907).

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LEVANDA, LEV OSIPOVICH (1835–1888), Russian author and publicist. Born of a very poor family in Minsk, Levanda studied in a *ḥeder*, a modernized Jewish school, a government school for Jewish children, and finally at the rabbinical school in Vilna (1850–54), from which he graduated as a teacher. From 1854 to 1860 he taught at a government Jewish school in Minsk, and in 1860 he became the Jewish expert (*uchony yevrey*) to the governor-general of Vilna, remaining in this office for the rest of his life. Altogether he spent 32 years in Vilna, a period that he resented as a frustration of his aspirations. He wanted to go to St. Petersburg to study at the university, and to advance in his intellectual life and literary activity. However, he made no resolute move in this direction, and remained a provincial correspondent of publications issued in the capital, and his activities were of local scope. Yet his literary work made him a leading figure in the circles of the Russian-Jewish intelligentsia.

Levanda had a wide acquaintance with Russian and Western literature. He made several trips abroad, and knew

Western conditions, including Jewish life in the West from personal observation. Levanda was a sensitive, perspicacious observer, reserved in his contacts with people. His struggles and sufferings, his strong reactions to various aspects of Jewish life, and his passionate idealism brought about a growing nervous tension which made an invalid out of him in the last two years of his life; he died in a mental sanatorium in St. Petersburg.

Levanda lived during three periods of Russian Jewish history. He grew up under the extreme autocracy and military bureaucracy of *Nicholas I (1825–55), which is reflected in his reminiscences of the "schoolophobia" campaign against modern schools, and was one of the young hotheads of *maskil* progressivism. During the early years of *Alexander II's reign (1855–65) – "years of great reforms" and initial liberalization – feelings of great expectations of general betterment and, in particular, of rapid improvement in the position of Russian Jewry and of their ultimate integration into Russian society with civic equality were common. During this period Levanda became a government official. He was also a sometime editor of *Vilenskiy Vestnik* and a contributor to *Razsvet* (1860–61), the first Russian Jewish journal, presenting in articles and in fiction the critique of inner aspects of Jewish life: poverty, parasitism, the role of women storekeepers with the resulting neglect of children, excessive pursuit of talmudic studies, negative role of rich and retrograde communal leaders, marriages imposed by parents, and other problems. He assisted in unraveling an incipient *blood libel at *Siauliai in 1886. He developed a concept of the Jews in northwest Russia (Lithuania-Belorussia) as prospective carriers of Russian culture and citizenship as against Polish aspirations in the region; the Jews were to become Russians except for their religion (*sliyaniye*). The issue was particularly acute during the Polish insurrection of 1863. Later, he expressed this mood in a novel, *Goryacheye Vremya* (1875), in which young Westernized Jews were urged by the hero, Sarin, to abandon Polish orientation (after 500 years of unhappy experience with the Poles) and become Russians.

Levanda unhappily had to witness the growing reaction in Russia and the rise of modern antisemitism in the West and its adoption in Russia. He worried about the concentration of Jews in middleman occupations and professions; he urged economic productivization and diversification, and less ostentatiousness on the part of the wealthy. He deplored the fact that Jews had all the obligations, but almost none of the rights, of Russians, and, indeed, suffered from specific restrictions. The Jews wanted a fatherland, and Russia might stand to gain by becoming one (*Voskhod*, February 1881).

In this period he was primarily a writer of fiction, bitterly denouncing the nouveaux riches (bankers, industrialists, speculators) and the new diploma-intelligentsia crowd with its careerism and greed; he berated the alienation and aloofness of these groups from Jewish interests.

The final stage in the development of his views took place during the wave of pogroms in the early 1880s. Deeply disturbed, he attacked the rich Jews, feeling that the events were really directed against them and that their turn might yet come. He was opposed to the anti-migration stand of the upper class and considered emigration a normal and sound response. He also called for *self-defense. Moving toward agreement with Leon *Pinsker's auto-emancipation, he then joined the ranks of *Ḥovevei Zion as one of their leading figures in literature, propaganda, and organization. Representing Jewish nationalism in an age of national revival and politics, he saw no contradiction between Jewish nationalism and the ideal of a monolithic humanity.

In private correspondence he pointed out that despite his apparent transition from cosmopolitan assimilation to nationalism he had been basically a devoted Jewish patriot who never conceived the dissolution of Jewish group existence or of cultural extinction (Russification being far from assimilation), and to whom the needs of the Jewish masses were always the point of departure. When the pro-Russian hero of his novel is asked, "And what if the Russians do not respond to your aspirations?" he answers, "Then we shall have to reconsider." Levanda wrote later that he clearly remembered that while writing this he had the first glimpse of modern Jewish nationalism.

In the Ḥibbat Zion movement, he considered the awakening of the Jewish masses in Russia, land acquisition in Ereẓ Israel, and entrenchment of Jews on the soil as main tasks. He was against overestimating the value and the claims of the youth movement (e.g., *Bilu), and while opposed to the philanthropic trend, he expected more from middle-class efforts. He sought to counteract Pinsker's tendency to become discouraged, and, unlike Pinsker, did not expect Western Jewry to take a leading role in the movement. He felt that the position of the Jew was dangerously deteriorating. In the past, the Jew had been confronted with an unfavorable law, but now the elemental lawlessness of a violent mob threatened the very life and safety of the Jew. The hope to reeducate these forces was illusory; the safe thing was to avoid the onslaught. Jews must get soil under their feet. Their national culture too would have a normal development once this soil was secured.

Thus Levanda stands out as a reflector and guide of the Haskalah, assimilationism, and nationalism – three stages in the development of the social-political ideology of the intelligentsia, as it abandons traditional messianism and searches for a fatherland to which its energies could be harnessed. As a creative writer, he was gifted and witty in feuilletons, sketches, and in drawing the ethnographic canvas, but he lacked the mastery of characterization and could not develop into a substantial, original artist. In his final years he turned to historical fiction, novels based on the pre-modern history of East European Jewry.

[Mark Perlman]

His brother VITALI OSIPOVICH LEVANDA (b. 1840), a Russian lawyer, was born in Minsk, Belorussia. His study on the question of Jewish agriculture in Russia (in *Yevreyskaya*

Biblioteka, vol. 2, 1872) was well received. On the recommendation of Baron H. *Guenzburg, he compiled and published in 1874 his *Polny khronologicheskiy sbornik zakonov…* ("Complete Chronological Collection of Laws and Regulations Concerning Jews from the Time of Czar Alexei Mikhailovich to the Present, 1649–1873"), a valuable guide to the legislation affecting Jews in Russia. He also wrote articles in the periodical *Russkiy Yevrey* on the development of agriculture among the Jews in Russia; he opposed immigration to Ereẓ Israel (in *Razsvet*, no. 40, 1881).

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LEVANON, MORDECAI (1901–1968), Israel painter. He was born in Transylvania and in 1921 went to Palestine where he worked for a year as an agricultural laborer. From 1922 he studied painting in Jerusalem and Tel Aviv. He moved to Jerusalem in 1939 but from 1963 worked also in his Safed studio.

Levanon, primarily a landscapist, remained faithful to the expressionist concept so widespread in Palestinian art. He brought to this his own individual vision and his work reveals his European background. In his paintings of Jerusalem, Lake Kinneret, and Safed there is an intermingling of mystery and grandeur.

[Yona Fischer]

LEVANT, OSCAR (1906–1972), U.S. composer, pianist, and actor. Levant was born in Pittsburgh, Penn., to Orthodox Russian parents. His father, a watchmaker, ran a jewelry store out of their home while his mother helped her four sons study music. Levant's talent for the piano was recognized early on. At 12, he went to see the Broadway show *Ladies First*, conducted by his uncle Oscar Radin and featuring pianist George *Gershwin. Inspired by the show, he began composing his own music. Levant dropped out of school and moved to New York, where he studied under Sigismund Stojowski and performed at nightclubs, speakeasies, and the Winter Garden Theater, where his brother Harry played. When Gershwin's *Rhapsody in Blue* debuted in 1924, Levant learned the piece and became the first pianist other than Gershwin to record it. Levant convinced a friend to introduce him to Gershwin, which began a tumultuous friendship. Levant was insecure about his talent but was driven to best Gershwin; competition and mutual regard were the cornerstones of their connection. Levant went to England in 1926 to perform and record with saxophonist Rudy Wiedoeft. In 1927, his part as a pianist in the Broadway show *Burlesque* landed him a part in the Hollywood adaptation, *The Dance of Life* (1929). In 1935 Levant returned to Hollywood to score films while studying under composer Arnold *Schoenberg. When Gershwin died in 1937, Levant was called upon to play *Concert in F* at the Hollywood Bowl for the Gershwin Memorial Concert. In 1938, he returned to New York, where he conducted the Broadway shows *The Fabulous Invalid* and *The American Way*. In 1940, he released his best-selling book *A Smattering of Ignorance*. He returned to acting in *Rhythm on the River* (1940), *Kiss the Boys Goodbye* (1941), *Rhapsody in Blue* (1944), *Humoresque* (1947), and *Romance on the High Seas* (1948). He moved to Beverly Hills in 1947 and performed for President Harry S. Truman at the White House that year and in 1950. He played *Concerto in F* for *An American in Paris* (1951), but a hectic performance schedule and a resulting addiction to painkillers led to a heart attack in 1952. In 1958, his quick wit as a guest landed him his own television talk show, *The Oscar Levant Show*, but depression and a battle with Demerol took its toll and the show's popularity waned after two years. After appearances on *The Jack Paar Show* in 1961, Levant became a recluse.

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[Adam Wills (2nd ed.)]

LEVEEN, JACOB (1891–1980), librarian and author. Born in Jerusalem, Leveen studied in England and worked for many years in the Department of Oriental Books and Manuscripts of the British Museum, from 1953–56 as keeper. He was responsible for part 4 of the *Catalogue of Hebrew and Samaritan Manuscripts in the British Museum* (1935). His *Hebrew Bible in Art* (1944, the British Academy's Schweich lectures, 1939) was a pioneer study in this field. Leveen also published a facsimile edition of a unique British Museum manuscript of Zechariah b. Judah Aghmati's digest of commentaries on the three Bava tractates of the Babylonian Talmud (1961). He prepared the second part of a catalog of Hebrew manuscripts in the Cambridge University Library (unpublished).

LEVEN, NARCISSE (1833–1915), French philanthropist and public figure. Leven was born in Germany, and his family settled in Paris during his childhood. In 1855 he graduated from the Sorbonne in law. A staunch republican, Leven acted as secretary to Adolphe *Crémieux, minister of justice during the Franco-Prussian War (1870/71). After the war he practiced law, and in 1879 was elected member of the Paris municipal council and was its vice president in 1882. However, he was defeated in the elections in 1887, as a result of an antisemitic campaign directed personally against him. Leven had been deeply stirred as a child by the *Damascus affair (1840) and later by the *Mortara case (1858). This influenced him to found the *Alliance Israélite Universelle, together with Charles *Netter, Jules *Carvallo, and others. He was successively secretary, vice president, and, from 1898 until his death, president of the Alliance central committee. Together with Zadoc *Kahn, Leven also assisted Baron de *Hirsch in formulating his colonization plans and was the first to preside over the council of the *Jewish Colonization Association (ICA). Leven was a member of the Central Consistory of French Jews for over 50 years. He wrote *Cinquante ans d'histoire: l'Alliance Israélite Universelle, 1860–1910* (vol. 1, 1911; vol. 2, 1920, posthumous).

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[Emmanuel Beeri]

LEVENE, SIR PETER (Keith), BARON LEVENE OF PORTSOKEN (1941–), British businessman, civil servant, and lord mayor. Levene was managing director of United Scientific Holdings Ltd. from 1968 to 1985 before joining the administrative civil service as chief of defense procurement in the Ministry of Defense from 1985 to 1991. He then became chairman of Canary Wharf Ltd., the vast redevelopment of London's derelict Docklands area and, in 1998–99, was lord mayor of London. He was knighted in 1989 and received a life peerage in 1997.

[William D. Rubinstein (2nd ed.)]

LEVENE, PHOEBUS AARON THEODOR (1869–1940), U.S. biochemist. Born in Sagor, Russia, as Fishel Aaronovich Levin, he immigrated to New York in 1892, and practiced medicine there till 1896. At the same time he studied chemistry at Columbia University and carried out research in the department of physiology. He worked at the Pathological Institute of the New York State Hospitals (1902–05). He joined the newly formed Rockefeller Institute for Medical Research, where he worked for the rest of his life, from 1907 in charge of the Chemistry Division.

His main contribution was in the structural chemistry of nucleic acids, and the isolation of the two sugars (then unknown) which characterize them – D-ribose and its 2-deoxy derivative. His work embraced all classes of tissue constituents, especially proteins and sugar phosphates; in the latter connection he did a great deal of work on fundamental carbohydrate chemistry. He was a pioneer in numerous aspects of biochemistry.

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[Samuel Aaron Miller]

LEVENE, SAM (1905–1980), U.S. actor. Born in Russia, Levene became widely known for his role of Nathan Detroit in the Broadway musical *Guys and Dolls* (1950). He appeared on Broadway in plays as diverse as *The Matchmaker* (1954); *Make a Million* (1958); *Heartbreak House* (1959); *The Devil's Advocate* (Tony nomination for Best Actor, 1961); Saul Bellow's *The Last Analysis* (1964); *The Impossible Years* (1967); *Three Men on a Horse* (1969); *Paris Is Out* (1970); *The Sunshine Boys* (1972); *The Royal Family* (1976); and *Horowitz and Mrs. Washington* (1980).

His films include *Three Men on a Horse* (1936); *Room Service* (1938); *Dinner at Eight* (1933); *Golden Boy* (1939); *Shadow of the Thin Man* (1941); *The Big Street* (1942); *Action in the North Atlantic* (1943); *The Purple Heart* (1944); *The Killers* (1946); *Brute Force* (1947); *Crossfire* (1947); *The Babe Ruth Story* (1948); *Designing Woman* (1957); *Sweet Smell of Success* (1957); *A Farewell to Arms* (1957); the TV movie *The World of Sholom Aleichem* (1959); *Act One* (1963); *Such Good Friends* (1971); *Last Embrace* (1979); and *And Justice for All* (1979).

[Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

LEVENSON, JON D. (1949–), U.S. scholar of Bible and Midrash. Levenson was born in Wheeling, West Virginia, where he completed his secondary school education at Linsley Military Institute in 1967. He received his B.A. in English at Harvard College in 1971, and his M.A. and Ph.D. degrees from Harvard University in 1967 and 1971, concentrating in Hebrew Bible and Northwest Semitics. Following several years of teaching religion and biblical studies at Wellesley College (1975–82), he taught as associate professor of Hebrew Bible in the Divinity School, the University of Chicago (1982–86), as associate professor of Hebrew Bible in the Divinity School and in the Committee on General Studies in the Humanities, the University of Chicago (1986–88), and as professor of Hebrew Bible in the Divinity School and in the Committee on General Studies in the Humanities, the University of Chicago (1988). He served as the Albert A. List Professor of Jewish Studies at the Divinity School, Harvard University from 1988 and was also professor of Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations.

Levenson's major contribution to the field of biblical studies is the reinterpretation of texts in the Hebrew Bible and its redaction in Second Temple Judaism, including rabbinic Midrash. In several of his books, he hinges the disparity between classical and contemporary Jewish and Christian biblical interpretation on the plain-sense exegesis of scriptural passages, and negates strongly the whims and wiles of Christian supersessionist reading.

Levenson tackles the ubiquitous question of how to reconcile the goodness of God in the face of evil in *Creation and the Persistence of Evil: The Jewish Drama of Divine Omnipotence* (1988). A revised collection of six previously published book chapters and journal essays are found in *The Hebrew Bible, the Old Testament, and Historical Criticism: Jews and Christians in Biblical Studies* (1993); Levinson also wrote an introduction and line by line commentary on the book of Esther in *Esther: A Commentary* (1997), which presents an analysis of the book's structure and themes, discusses the historicity and origins of textual variants, and underscores the politics and perplexed theology of this nationalistic book of the Hebrew (and Christian) canon. His other writings include *The Book of Job in Its Time and in the Twentieth Century* (1971); *Traditions in Transformation: Turning Points in Biblical Faith* (1981, edited with Baruch Halpern); and *Resurrection and the Restoration of Israel: The Ultimate Victory of the God of Life* (New Haven, 2006).

Additionally, Levenson has published many scholarly articles that range from the theologies of commandment in biblical Israel to introduction and annotations to Genesis in *The Jewish Study Bible* (2004). His approach to biblical studies is to avoid uncritical traditionalism, historicism, and positivism. By maintaining a transcendent-historical voice in arcane biblical texts, his methodology "entails a dialectical movement between synchronic and diachronic reading, and between the ancient Near Eastern world and the world of Late Antiquity in which Judaism as we know it took shape."

[Zev Garber (2nd ed.)]

LEVENSON, JOSEPH RICHMOND (1920–1969), U.S. specialist in Chinese history. Born in Boston, he served as a Japanese-language officer in the U.S. Navy during World War II. In 1953 Levenson was appointed professor of history at the University of California (Berkeley). Levenson's research was primarily in the field of Chinese intellectual history. His foremost contribution to scholarship was the trilogy *Confucian China and Its Modern Fate*, consisting of *The Problem of Intellectual Continuity* (1958); *The Monarchical Decay* (1964); and *The Problem of Historical Significance* (1965). Levenson served as a director of Congregation Beth Israel in Berkeley.

LEVENSON, SAM(UEL) (1911–1980), U.S. humorist. Born in Russia, Levinson was a high school teacher from 1934 to 1946 in Brooklyn. Subsequently he gained a reputation as a humorist reciting stories about his childhood on New York's Lower East Side. He was particularly popular in the Catskill Mountains ("the Borscht Belt") and Miami Beach. He also gave comic lectures to a variety of schools and social groups. In 1949 he appeared on the Ed Sullivan television show *Toast of the Town* and became widely known for his folksy humor. Levenson was one of the first comedians to fill his stand-up act with heartwarming anecdotes and homespun stories of neighborhood life. A frequent guest on the Sullivan show, he also appeared on many panel-game shows, such as *To Tell the Truth* and *What's My Line?* In the 1950s and 1960s he hosted *The Price Is Right, The Sam Levenson Show, This Is Show Business, Two for the Money, Masquerade Party,* and *Celebrity Talent Scouts.* In 1971 he made four appearances on the highly rated late-night talk show *The Tonight Show with Johnny Carson.*

His book *Everything but Money* (1966) describes his experiences growing up in New York. He also wrote *Meet the Folks* (1948), *Sex and the Single Child* (1969), *In One Era and Out the Other* (1973), *You Can Say That Again, Sam!* (1975), and *You Don't Have to Be in Who's Who to Know What's What* (1979).

[Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

LEVER, (Norman) HAROLD, BARON LEVER OF MANCHESTER (1914–1995), British politician and financial expert. Born in Manchester, Lever practiced as a barrister for several years before entering the House of Commons as a Labour member in 1950. He remained a member of the House of Commons until 1979. He sponsored the Defamation Act of 1952 as a private member's bill and acquired a considerable reputation as an authority on financial matters. In 1967 he was appointed parliamentary under-secretary for economic affairs, later in the same year was promoted to the post of financial secretary to the Treasury, and finally paymaster general, with a seat in the Cabinet, as second minister in charge of the Ministry of Technology (until the Labour Party went out of office in 1970). Lever represented the United Kingdom at the International Monetary Fund and European "Group of Ten" financial conferences which considered the world currency crises of 1968. In 1969–70 Lever served as paymaster-general, with a seat in the Cabinet. From 1974 to 1979 Lever was chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster in the Labour government, acting as adviser to the prime minister on economic and financial policy with membership in all cabinet committees concerned with economy. As one of the few Labour MPs regarded as an expert on finance, Lever was much respected for his detailed knowledge and moderation. Though not prominent in any specific communal institution, he worked unofficially for many Jewish and Zionist causes. In 1979 he was given a life peerage as Lord Lever of Manchester.

His brother, LESLIE LEVER, BARON LEVER (1905–1977), sat in the House of Commons from 1950 to 1974 and was lord mayor of Manchester in 1957–58. He was given a life peerage in 1975. Lever was active in Jewish affairs as president of the Manchester and Salford Jewish Council and vice president of the Board of Guardians.

ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY: ODNB online.

[Vivian David Lipman / William D. Rubinstein (2nd ed.)]

LEVERSON, ADA (1865–1936), English novelist. A member of the *Beddington family, Ada Leverson was of Marrano descent. At 19 she married Ernest Leverson, the son of a diamond merchant; their unsuccessful marriage ended in separation. In addition to novels she wrote many occasional pieces for periodicals, including the humorous weekly, *Punch*. Her salon was frequented by the leaders of the "nineties" movement, such as Aubrey Beardsley, Oscar Wilde, and Walter Sickert, and she contributed stories to *The Yellow Book*. She remained a loyal friend to Oscar Wilde, and took him into her home between his trials. Ada Leverson's six novels, beginning with *The Twelfth Hour*, were published between 1907 and 1916. They are credited with influencing later writers such as Evelyn Waugh. The diverting conversation of Ada Leverson's characters, often uninterrupted by description, owes much to her love of the theater. Always urbane and gently ironic about the relations between husband and wife, she held strong moral views about loyalty in marriage. Her forte was high comedy and she was a penetrating satirist of the manners of her time.

In her later years, she was a close friend of the Sitwells. There was a considerable revival of interest in her life and works in the late 20th century.

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[Renee Winegarten]

LEVERTIN, OSCAR IVAR (1862–1906), Swedish poet and literary critic, the first Jew to gain eminence in Swedish literature. Levertin, the son of a Stockholm antiquarian, was born in Gryt, near Norrköping. In his student days at the University of Uppsala (where he was a pupil of Johan Henrik *Schück), he joined the literary circle of "Young Sweden." In 1899 he became professor of literature at the Academy (now the University) of Stockholm. As a poet, Levertin was distinguished by his aestheticism and his sophisticated preoccupation with aims and moods. Emotionally drawn to romanticism, he was intellectually a determinist, and the personal struggle engendered by this conflict became the *leitmotiv* of his poetry. He was thus closer to the English Pre-Raphaelites and the French symbolists than to writers of the contemporary Swedish school. His most characteristic verse appears in *Legender och visor* ("Legends and Songs," 1891), which contains a number of poems on Jewish themes. Two other collections were *Nya dikter* ("New Poems," 1894) and *Dikter* ("Poems," 1901). As a critic, Levertin displayed sensitivity, learning, and cultural awareness. In 1897 he joined the reorganized *Svenska Dagbladet*, gaining new fame as the newspaper's principal literary critic. Together with Carl Gustav Verner von Heidenstam, a leader of the Swedish anti-naturalist movement, he formulated a literary program to which he adhered in his own writing.

Levertin's many prose works include novels, novellas, and essays. *Rococo-noveller* ("Rococo Stories," 1899), a collection of pastiches, recreated the courtly 18th-century world of King Gustav III. One of the most beautiful of these tales, *Kalonymos*, describes a Passover celebration in Stockholm, the central character expressing something of the writer's own skeptical humanism. As a young man in 1880, Levertin had published a poem denouncing antisemitism. Though thoroughly Swedish in his tastes and sympathies (his family had settled in the country in the late 18th century) he remained a conscious Jew, emotionally and historically bound to his people and never quite at home in his Scandinavian environment. For many years he suffered from a lung disease, and he became increasingly obsessed with death and religious problems. His last major work was the verse cycle *Kung Salomo och Morolf* ("King Solomon and Morolf," 1905), whose themes derived from Jewish, Oriental, and medieval sources. His other publications include the novella *Konflikter* (1885), *Diktare och drömmare* (1898), *Teater och drama under Gustav III* (1889), and *Svenska gestalter* (1903). His collected works appeared in 24 volumes (1907–11).

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[Hugo Mauritz Valentin]

LEVERTOFF, PAUL PHILIP (1878–1954), apostate and theologian. Levertoff, who was born in Orsha, Belorussia, into a ḥasidic family, was converted to Christianity in 1895. After studying theology in Russian and German universities, traveling in Europe, Palestine, and Asia Minor, and working for a time in Warsaw and as professor of Old Testament and rabbinics at the Institutum Delitzschianum in Leipzig (1912–18), he was appointed librarian and sub-warden of St. Deiniols Library, Hawarden (Wales; 1919–22). From 1922 until his death, he was director of the London Diocesan Council for work among the Jews (formerly The East London Fund for the Jews) and edited its quarterly journal, *The Church and the Jews*. He also took a leading part in the Hebrew Christian movement, translated considerable parts of the Anglican liturgy into Hebrew, and conducted Christian services partly in Hebrew at the North West London church where he was minister. Levertoff was a prolific writer on liturgical and theological subjects in Hebrew, German, and English. He contributed to periodicals and encyclopedias, translated the Midrash Sifre on Numbers (1926), and cooperated with H. Sperling in the translation of the Zohar into English (1933).

[Ruth P. Lehmann]

LEVERTOV, DENISE (1923–1997), U.S./British poet and essayist. Levertov was born in England of Russian-Jewish and Welsh parents, and her life and writings reflect her paradoxical nature. She was greatly influenced by her Russian-born expatriate father, Paul Levertoff, a descendant of *Shneur Zalman of Lyady (founder of the Chabad movement) who, while studying for the rabbinate, converted to Anglicanism. Her parents later became passionately involved in helping refugees escape from Austria and Germany. Her Welsh mother, Beatrice Spooner-Jones, was a teacher, singer, painter, and writer. Denise's parents and sister Olga, nine years her senior, would read aloud to her the poems of Tennyson, Keats, Wordsworth, Donne, and Herbert as well as the Bible. Although Levertov never attended school, she taught poetry in many American universities, and received eight honorary doctorates.

Levertov began writing poetry at the age of five, knew her future vocation by age 10, and sent her poems to T.S. Eliot at age 12. From 12 on, she received lessons in ballet, piano, French, and art. During World War II she served as a civilian nurse during the London Blitz. Her first book of poetry, *The Double Image*, was published in 1946. She married American writer Mitchell Goodman in 1947, immigrated to the United States in 1948, gave birth to her only child, Nikolai, and, in 1955 became a naturalized citizen.

Her poetic style continued to develop with the literary influences of William Carlos Williams, the Old Testament, Book of Psalms, Song of Songs, Buber's *Tales of the Hasidim*, H.D., Rilke, Robert Creeley, Robert Duncan, and Charles Olson of the Black Mountain School. Although her writing styles and themes have been described as free verse, non-metrical, psychological, organic, lyrical, objectivist, allegorical, mystical, mythical, and spiritual, Levertov dismisses these labels and calls her works a "mishmash."

In the title poem of her fifth book, *Jacob's Ladder* (1958), Levertov achieves poetic maturity. In an interview she reveals, "I do think arguing with God (or God wrestling) is a delightful Jewish characteristic." The true prophet must painfully climb a wall of doubt as is expressed in the lines "behind the sky is a doubtful, a doubting night gray" and "a man must scrape his knees" in the joining of the poet's mystical ascendance with earthly concerns.

In "During the Eichmann Trial," also in *Jacob's Ladder*, Levertov asserts in section I of the poem, "When We Look Up," that Eichmann's banal exterior is part of evil's human condition. In the second part, "The Peachtree," Eichmann murders a young child, and Levertov metonymously indicts the whole world for failing to stop the Holocaust. In part III, "Crystal Night," she advocates that the hatefulness of racial differences must be replaced by empathy as a way to prevent future conflict.

Levertov's papers are housed in the Green Library at Stanford University, California.

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[David Koenigstein (2nd ed.)]

LEVEY, BARNETT (1798–1837), Australian pioneer of the theater. Levey's brother Solomon was sent to Australia as a convict in 1819 but became wealthy within a few years as a merchant. Barnett arrived as a free settler in 1821 and was given a land grant. In 1828 he built the Royal Hotel in Sydney and used part of it as a theater, where he himself often performed and sang. In 1833 he built the Theatre Royal, the first real theater in Australia. It was destroyed by fire in 1840, but the importance of his work was generally acknowledged, and the district where he lived was later named "Waverley" after the name of his house.

ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY: J.S. Levi and G.F.J. Bergman, *Australian Genesis: Jewish Convicts and Settlers, 1788–1860* (2002 ed.), 111–23; H.L. Rubinstein, Australia I, 352; ADB.

LEVI (Heb. לֵוִי), third son of Jacob and Leah, born in Paddan-Aram (Gen. 29:34); father of the tribe named after him. The name Levi is explained in the Pentateuch by Leah's words at his birth: "Now this time my husband will become attached to me (Heb. *yillaweh*)."

The Man

In the affair of *Dinah (Gen. 34), Levi and Simeon took the chief part in the slaying of the men of Shechem and the plunder of their city, an act that aroused Jacob's anger against them (Gen. 34; cf. 49:5–7).

The sons of Levi were Gershon, Kohath, and Merari (Ex. 6:16), from whom stemmed the families of the tribe of Levi. Nothing further is recorded of Levi the man.

The Tribe

According to the censuses of the Levites in the wilderness which covered – exceptionally – "all the males from the age of one month up," Levi was the smallest tribe, comprising 22,000 or 23,000 males (Num. 3:39; 26:62). The tribe was singled out during the wanderings in the wilderness for the service of the tabernacle, carrying the Ark and attending to the duties of the sanctuary. Supervising them were descendants of their tribe, the *Aaronides (Num. 1:48–53; 3:5–40). The census of the Levites was conducted separately from the general census of the Israelites in the wilderness (Num. 1:47–49), and it is stated that they were chosen for their service "in place of all the firstborn among the Israelite people" (see *Firstborn), the number of the firstborn being practically identical with that of the Levites (3:40–43).

The story of the *golden calf emphasizes the loyalty of the tribe to Moses. In this affair, too, as in that of Dinah, the Levites stand out as men of zeal who do not spare brother, friend, or kin (Ex. 32:25–30). On the other hand, note should be taken of the rebellion of *Korah and his company, who were Levites, against Moses (Num. 16; the non-Levites in this pericope are followers of *Dathan and Abiram). A reflection of Levi's closeness to the tribe of Judah is to be found in the juxtaposition of the two in the Blessing of Moses (Deut. 33:7–9) as well as in the genealogy of the Levite youth from a Judahite family in Beth-Lehem (Judg. 17:7), and in the story of the Levite from the other end of the hill country of Mt. Ephraim who took a concubine from Beth-Lehem of Judah (19:1). These reports testify to this connection with Judah, as well as to the Levite's lack of a fixed territory, as stated in the Pentateuch (Num. 18:23b). The Levite youth from Beth-Lehem became a priest in the House of Micah on Mt. Ephraim, and Levite priests also served in Dan in the era of the Judges (Judg. 17:10–11; 18:19–30).

THE SERVICE. According to Numbers, the Levites were in attendance upon the priests in the service of the Tent of Meeting, carrying it and its appurtenances. This service was divided between the three families of the tribe – Gershon, Kohath, and Merari (Num. 3–4). The Levites were also entrusted with the task of serving the priests, performing duties for them and for "the whole community before the Tent of Meeting" (3:7). This apparently consisted of guarding the Tent and its furnishings against the laity. It was also their duty to provide a barrier between the tabernacle and the people (1:50–54; 18:22–3). In the course of their work, the Levites were subject to the priests appointed over them and they were not permitted to witness the dismantling of the sanctuary (4:20). The superiority of the Aaronide priests of the tribe of Levi to the Levites is expressly stressed in Exodus, Leviticus, and Numbers, and the division of functions between them is clearly defined (see *Priests and Levites). The Levites were also assigned instructional responsibilities, and it was they who bore the Ark of the Covenant (Deut. 10:8; 31:9), but these functions were primarily intended for the priests, the most select of the Levites (Mal. 2:4–8; 3:3). According to the view of Deuteronomy, all the Levites are fit to serve in the sanctuary, even such as do not have permanent duties in the sanctuary (Deut. 18:6–9). In return for their service they are entitled to receive *tithes (Num. 18:21).

This appointment of the Levites as ministers of God resulted in their becoming wanderers during the period of the Judges, without any permanent possession in the country. They are reckoned in the Bible among those needing support, such as the stranger, the orphan, and the widow. It seems that even at the time of the monarchy the Levites at the gates of the cities still did not possess their own territory but this is explained as a sign of a superior status: "the Lord is their portion" (10:9; 18:2).

MONARCHICAL PERIOD. Possibly, the Levites became state officials in the time of David and Solomon when the cult itself was transformed into an instrument for state influence. Chronicles relates a great deal about the high status of the Levites in the time of David, even in the administration of government (I Chron. 23–27). According to Chronicles, Levites were among those who came to transfer the monarchy to David at Hebron (I Chron. 12:27), and their loyalty to the kings of the dynasty of David continued until the destruction of the Temple (II Chron. 23:2–9, 18–19; 24:5–15, et al.). The story of the migration of the Levites from Israel to Judah after the division of the kingdom may reflect a real historical situation that is alluded to in Kings (I Kings 12:31; 13:33; cf. II Chron. 11:13–17; 13:9–12). According to I Chronicles, the Levites took a leading part as overseers in the work of the House of the Lord (23:4), as choristers, musicians, gatekeepers, and guardians of the threshold (9:14–33). Among the choristers mentioned are Heman, Asaph, and Jeduthun, who are also referred to in Psalms. The sons of Korah are also connected with psalmody (cf. Ps. 42:1; 44:1; et al.) and are so mentioned incidentally in II Chronicles 20:19, though they are mostly reckoned in this source among the gatekeepers. The Levites also functioned as officials, judges, craftsmen for the Temple service, supervisors of the chambers and the courts, overseers of the Temple treasuries, and officers in charge of the royal service (I Chron. 9:22, 26–27; 23:4, 28; et al.). The special status of the Levites in the time of Jehoshaphat as disseminators of the Torah and as judges in the towns of Judah and in Jerusalem is understandable in the light of the above (II Chron. 19:8, 11). It would also seem possible from many passages that the Levites mainly ministered alongside the priests, and that the priests were appointed over them (I Chron. 6:31ff.; 23:27–32; et al.). Hence, it seems that in the time of the First Temple the demarcation between Levites and priests was not clearly preserved, and that even among the Levites themselves there existed a certain grading.

The incorporation of the Levites into the monarchical system of Israel found its expression in the setting aside of special towns from the territories of the tribes as levitical towns of residence. According to Numbers (35:1–8), the Israelites were commanded, while still in the plains of Moab, to set aside 48 towns from their territory for the Levites (see *Levitical Cities). In Joshua 21, lists are cited which apparently originated in the same tradition, and current research inclines to regard them as a reflection of a real situation that existed at the time of the First Temple. There is no contradiction between the principle of no territory and the allocation of towns of residence, since these were merely towns and fields for the raising of cattle without agricultural settlement. The houses in the levitical towns were regarded as a substitute for territory, and the laws of the *Jubilee applied to them as to land, in contrast to dwellings in walled cities. Their adaptation to a monarchical regime brought about the fact that the priests did not forbid themselves the ownership of agricultural land too (I Kings 2:26; Jer. 32:7–16; et al.). However, the principle remained in force for many generations, so that even Ezekiel, who says that in the time to come the Levites will no longer be scattered throughout the country but gathered into Jerusalem, outlines for them an area beside the Temple (Ezek. 45:4–5; 48:11–15).

From the time of the return to Zion the boundaries between priests and Levites were firmly established. The Levites acquired an honored status, and even their small number in comparison with that of priests (Ezra 2:40–42) added to their importance in the eyes of the people. In the time of Ezra and Nehemiah it was necessary to bring Levites to Jerusalem from the exile and from the rural towns. From this time on the division between priests and Levites remained permanent.

Concerning the special status of the Levites as well as their functions, see also *Priests and Priesthood.

[Samuel Abramsky]

In the *Aggadah*

Rabbinical *aggadah* greatly expanded the biblical material, sometimes to Levi's detriment, but more frequently it reversed the picture. At the births of Simeon and Levi, Leah prophesied that Simeon would produce an enemy of God (Zimri), but from Levi would come Phinehas and heal the wound inflicted through Zimri (Gen. R. 71:4). The proposal to kill Joseph (Gen. 37:20) came from Simeon and Levi and it was they who sold him. When the brothers came to Egypt, Joseph separated them by imprisoning Simeon (Gen. 42:24), for together they would have destroyed Egypt; the separation caused Levi's strength to ebb away (Gen. R. 97, ed. by Theodor-Albeck, p. 1216).

To Levi's credit is the story of the *Shekhinah* ("Divine Presence"), which originally dwelt in the lowest sphere, but seven wicked persons or generations drove it ever further away to the highest (seventh) heaven. Seven righteous men brought it progressively back to earth, from the highest sphere to the next; one of these was Levi (Gen. R. 19:7; PdRK 2).

The name Levi was prophetic: his tribe would lead (*laveh*; "to escort," "accompany") the Israelites to their Father in Heaven (Gen. R. 71:4). When Phinehas argued before the Almighty that the sin of Zimri did not warrant the condign punishment of the whole nation (Num. 25:9), the angels sought to repel him, but God said to them, "Let him be: he is a zealot and the descendant of a zealot [Levi, who was zealous to defend his sister's honor, Gen. 34:25f.], a wrath-appeaser and a descendant of a wrath-appeaser" (Sanh. 82b; Lev. R. 33:4). The tribe of Levi was the only one that practiced circumcision in Egypt and did not lapse into idolatry (Sif. Num. 67; Ex. R. 15:1; 19:5). On the other hand, it was the only tribe not enslaved and put to degrading work (Ex. R. 5:16). Whereas the Israelites in general were liberated from Egypt for their prospective (but not present) merit in making the tabernacle, the tribe of Levi was liberated for its own immediate merit (Num. R. 3:6), for the whole tribe was righteous in Egypt (*ibid.* 15:12). Scripture gives the genealogy of Reuben, Simeon, and Levi only in Exodus 6:14ff. for three reasons: because they meekly accepted their father Jacob's rebuke; to lead up to Moses and Aaron; they were the only ones who preserved their family trees in Egypt and did not worship idols (this is one of the few places where this is said of Reuben and Simeon too). These three exercised authority (as individuals) over all the Israelites in Egypt consecutively, but at Levi's death the authority did not pass to Judah (Song. R. 4:7 no. 1). The children of the other tribal ancestors did not uniformly produce righteous descendants, but the descendants of Levi's three sons, Gershon, Kohath, and Merari, were all righteous (Num. R. 3:7). This tribe did not participate in the sin of the golden calf, and taught the Israelites to serve only the one God in Ereẓ Israel (*ibid.*).

Several reasons are given why Levi was not numbered together with the other tribes: one is because they were not doomed to die in the wilderness, but entered the Promised Land (Num. R. 1:11 and 12). As against this it is pointed out that the tribe of Levi was considerably smaller than the other tribes, because its numbers were depleted through their being grazed by fire when they carried the Ark (Num. R. 5:1; 6:8). For this reason God associated His name with Kohath to save them from being entirely consumed (Num. R. 6:8). Jacob predicted of Simeon and Levi, "I will divide them in Jacob, scatter them in Israel" (Gen. 49:7); this was fulfilled by their becoming teachers in the schoolhouses everywhere (Gen. R. 97, ed. by Theodor-Albeck, p. 1207). The tribe of Levi would teach sinners that sacrifice without true repentance does not constitute atonement (Lev. R. 9:5). Originally *shoterim* (officials of the *bet din*) were appointed only from the tribe of Levi (Yev. 86b). When the Almighty purifies the tribes, He will purify the tribe of Levi first (Kid. 71a). Greece (one of the powers that traditionally enslaved Israel) would fall through the Hasmoneans, members of the tribe of Levi (Gen. R. 99, ed. by Theodor-Albeck, p. 1274). Every tribe described as "Mine" will exist for ever and to all eternity – and of the Levites it is said, "the Levites shall be Mine" (Num. 3:12; Yal. I Sam. 124).

[Harry Freedman]

BIBLIOGRAPHY: IN THE BIBLE: See *Priests and Priesthood. IN THE AGGADAH: Ginzberg, Legends, 2 (1946^6), 194–8; 5 (1947^6), 380.

LEVI (fl. third quarter of the third century), Palestinian *amora*. Generally Levi is mentioned without his patronymic but he may be identical to Levi b. Laḥma (Ḥama) mentioned in the Babylonian Talmud (RH 29b). (However, as the name Levi b. Lahma never appears in Palestinian sources, he may have gone to Babylon.) He was a contemporary of R. Ze'ira I, R. Abba b. Kahana, and R. Ḥama b. Ukba (Ukva). Levi was primarily an aggadist; his frequent quotations from Ḥama b. Ḥanina suggest that he was his pupil. He and R. Judah b. Naḥman gave popular lectures on alternate Sabbaths in Johanan's academy, for which each was paid two *selas*. On one occasion his lecture, in which he reconciled two opposing opinions, so pleased R. Johanan that he appointed him to a regular lectureship, a post which he held for 22 years. In those days non-ordained scholars apparently lectured standing, while ordained scholars lectured sitting, and R. Johanan expressed the hope that one day he would be privileged to deliver his lectures sitting (Gen. R. 98:11; cf. TJ, Hor. 3:9, 48c; Eccles. R. 6:2). It seems from this that he was not then an ordained teacher.

There are no *halakhot* in his name, but he does sometimes explain *halakhah* (e.g., on Ber. 60b; RH 22a, 29b), though even then his teachings have an aggadic flavor. His lectures were so highly esteemed that R. Ze'ira, who generally did not have a high opinion of *aggadah*, nevertheless advised scholars (*ḥavrayya*, colleagues) to attend his lectures, as they were always instructive (TJ, RH 4:1, 59b). Levi sometimes lectured on the same text for quite a long time and could easily switch from one interpretation to the opposite (TJ, Sanh. 10:2, 28b). He claimed the ability to link together texts from the different sections of the Bible and penetrate to their inner meaning – an ability which he did not concede to most preachers (Song R. 1:10). Frequently he explained different words in biblical texts by reference to Arabic words (Gen. R. 87:1; Ex. R. 42:4; Song R. 4: 1) and he may have lived in Arabia for a while. He also composed elaborate parables to elucidate texts, and was regarded as a master of interpretation (Gen. R. 62:5). Among his numerous sayings are: "The punishment for [false] measures is more severe than for incest" (BB 88b); "Living without a wife is not living" (Gen. R. 17); "However much a man does for his soul, he does not fully discharge his obligations, … because it comes from on high" (Lev. R. 4:2); "To rob a human is worse than robbing the Almighty" (BB 88b). His yearning for the messianic period is reflected in a number of his statements, such as: "If Israel would keep but one Sabbath properly, the son of David would immediately come" (TJ, Ta'an. 1:1, 64a: see also Song R. 3:1).

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[Harry Freedman]

LEVI (**Bet ha-Levi**), prominent, wealthy, and ramified Sephardi family of scholars and rabbis, many of whom served as congregation leaders during the 15th–17th centuries. The family originated from Évora in Portugal, but all that is known of its previous history is the statement of *Solomon II: "… my grandfather the expert physician, pious and understanding, Maestro Solomon I, the son of the noble prince Don Joseph, son of the expert physician Maestro Moses, son of the exalted Don Solomon, son of the holy [martyred?] Don Isaac, son of the distinguished physician Maestro Joseph of the House of ha-Levi" (*Bet ha-Levi*, in manuscript). SOLOMON I arrived in Salonika after the expulsion of the Jews from Portugal in 1497 and founded the family which was outstanding in Salonika during the period that followed. The Ha-Levis were one of the richest families of Salonika and continued to be so until 1620. A patriarchal family, its members were proud of their lineage and of their scholarly attainments and position. Several reached outstanding positions of influence and status in the Jewish community of Salonika. They were devoted to study and possessed extensive libraries. The members of the family exhibited variegated talents, excelling as rabbis of communities, as *posekim* and as scholars, as outstanding preachers and poets. Some possessed a thorough knowledge of philosophy, and there were even kabbalists among them.

Two of the sons of Solomon I, ISAAC I (1500–1570/71), who was born in Salonika, and JACOB (and perhaps a third son, Joseph), were among the outstanding personalities of the Salonikan Jewish community in the mid-16th century. They were in contact with Joseph Caro after he moved to Safed. Isaac is eulogized in Saadiah Longo's *Seder Zemannim* (Salonika, 1594, 36ff.). He had two sons *Solomon II (1532–1600) and JOSEPH I (d. 1618), who were eminent scholars, and a third son, JUDAH, who died in his youth. Solomon II had two sons, *Isaac II (d. c. 1621/31) and JOSEPH II (d. 1605), who married the daughter of Joseph I, as well as three daughters, one of whom married R. Aaron *Sasson. Isaac II had two sons, *Solomon III (1581–1634), an outstanding scholar, and NISSIM (d. 1633), a *paytan*. Solomon had a son JACOB. Abraham *Levi was the son of Joseph I.

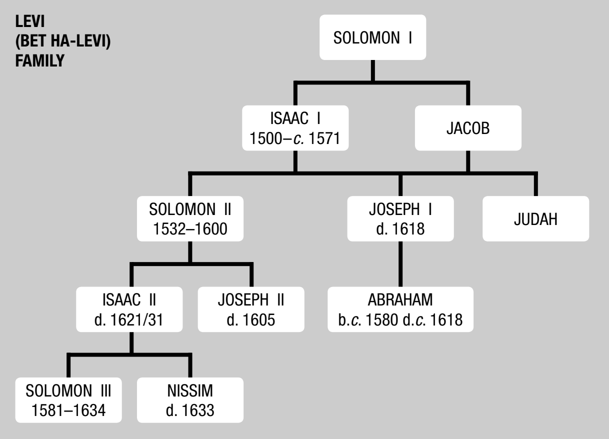

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[Joseph Hacker]

LEVI (**Bet ha-Levi**), **ABRAHAM BEN JOSEPH** (after 1580–shortly after 1618), a rabbi in Salonika of the *Levi (Bet ha-Levi) family. At an early age he showed outstanding intellectual abilities and was ordained rabbi at a very young age. Questions were addressed to him from far and wide and his endorsement was requested to the responsa of prominent rabbis older than himself. He studied under R. David ibn Naḥmias and was a colleague of R. Shabbetai Jonah. He was a member of the *bet din* of Abraham Ḥazzan, together with whom he often gave his approbation to the responsa of R. Joshua Handali. Abraham's colleague with whom he studied was R. Shabbetai Jonah. In addition to his published responsa (the bulk written between 1608–18), other responsa and approbations appear in the works of several of his contemporaries in Salonika and elsewhere. (His novellae, on several talmudic tractates and on the *Arba'ah Turim*, have apparently been lost.)

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Abraham le-Bet ha-Levi, *Ein Mishpat* (Salonika, 1897), introduction by editor D. Pipano; Rosanes, Togarmah, 3 (1938), 181–2.

[Joseph Hacker]

LEVI, BEHREND (b. c. 1600), army purveyor during the Thirty Years' War (1618–48) and financial adviser and diplomatic agent to the elector of Brandenburg. In 1650 Frederick William, the great elector, appointed Behrend Levi as overlord of all the Jews in the principalities of Brandenburg west of the River Elbe. This gave him authority to admit Jews, to fix their places of residence and tax rates, and to grant personal and business licenses. He collected the taxes of Halberstadt, Minden, Ravensburg, and Cleves Jewry, and rendered judgments in local disputes. An annual income accompanied the patent, which was renewed regularly. The Jews of Cleves and his rivals, such as the *Gomperz family, protested against his harsh methods and his authority was rescinded in 1652. A year earlier his brother, SALOMON LEVI, had procured for Behrend similar powers over Paderborn Jewry, but he was accused of embezzlement and once more of harsh rule and his authority was terminated in 1654. However, the great elector repeatedly supported his favorite and renewed his patent in 1657.

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LEVI, BENEDETTO (**Baruch Isaac**; 1846–80), Italian rabbi and scholar. He was born in Ferrara and graduated from the rabbinical seminary in Padua in 1872. From 1872 to 1875 he was in Nizza Monferrato and from 1875 in Ferrara. He wrote *Cenni bibliografici sulla Bibbia Luzzatto* (1876); *Ḥikkur Din* (1877), on the death penalty in talmudic law; *Il sommo sacerdozio appresso gli antichi ebrei* (1880); *Tahanunei Benei Yisrael*, 12 penitential prayers (in *Kobez al Jad*, 4, 1888). Among his essays are biographies on Jacob Daniel *Olmo (in *Ha-Maggid*, 16, 1872); Phinehas Ḥai *Anav (*ibid.*, 17, 1873); Azariah de' *Rossi (in Italian, 1869); Isaac *Lampronti (in Italian and in Hebrew, 1871); and on the Jewish poets of Ferrara (in *Kevod ha-Levanon*, vols. 10, 11). Together with S.Z.H. *Halberstamm he edited *Takkanot Ḥakhamim* (in *Ivri Anokhi*, 15, 1879), on the regulations adopted at the conference of Jewish delegates held at Ferrara in 1554.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Kressel, Leksikon, 2 (1965), 182.

[Umberto (Moses David) Cassuto]

LEVI, CARLO (1902–1975), Italian author and artist. Born in Turin, where he studied medicine, Levi became interested in art, literature, and politics. After Mussolini came to power he joined the anti-Fascist underground and was one of the founders of the radical movement Giustizia e Libertà. He was arrested in 1934 and in the following year was exiled to Lucania in southern Italy for a year. In 1939 he fled to France. He returned to Italy in 1942 to join the Resistance and was again arrested. After World War II, he settled in Rome, where he was active in journalism and politics. He was elected a senator in 1963 on the Communist ticket, but retained an independent outlook.

Levi's experiences as a political exile inspired his masterpiece, *Cristo si è fermato a Eboli* (1945; *Christ Stopped at Eboli*, 1947), the first major Italian literary work of the postwar era, which was translated into many languages. In it he describes the society of Lucania, its customs, addiction to magic, and pre-Christian traditions. Accepting their unending miseries and without hope of a better future, the peasants nevertheless show themselves to be lovers of justice, good neighbors, and loyal friends. Levi reveals all the poetry of this primitive world.

Using the documentary techniques of journalism or of a travel diary, Levi wrote about the cultural climate and problems of many countries: Sicily, in *Le parole sono pietre* (1955; *Words are Stones*, 1958); the Soviet Union, in *Il futuro ha un cuore antico* (1956); Germany, in *La doppia notre dei tigli* (1959; *Linden Trees*, 1962); and Sardinia, in *Tutto il miele è finito* (1964). His other works include the essay *Paura della libertà* (1946; *Fear and Freedom*, 1950) and the novel, *L'Orologio* (1950; *The Watch*, 1951). As a painter, Levi exhibited in one-man and collective shows, achieving particular success in the United States.

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[Giorgio Romano]

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[Joseph Baruch Sermoneta]

LEVI, DAVID (1742–1801), English Hebraist and polemicist. Born in London and intended by his parents to be a rabbi, Levi instead was apprenticed to a cobbler, and later worked as a hatter. However, he continued to pursue Jewish studies and interests. He published new translations of the Pentateuch for synagogal use (1787), of the Sephardi liturgy (6 vols., 1789–93), and the Ashkenazi (1794–96); and *Lingua Sacra* (1785–87), a Hebrew grammar and dictionary. He also wrote *Rites and Ceremonies of the Jews* (1783). Levi was the first Jew to write, in English, polemics in defense of Jews and Judaism. In his *Letters to Dr. Priestley* (1787) he rejected the attempts of the noted scholar Joseph Priestley to convert Jews to Christianity. In the same vein, he answered Thomas Paine's attacks on the Bible and the authenticity of prophecy (*Letters to Thomas Paine in Answer to his "Age of Reason,"* 1797). He also opposed millennarian theories in *Letters to Nathaniel Brassey Halhed in Answer to His Testimony of the Authenticity of the Prophecies of Richard Brothers and His Pretended Mission to Recall the Jews* (1795). Levi's whole life was a struggle to devote himself to scholarship in spite of poverty, and he was ultimately given a small pension by a group of supporters headed by the *Goldsmids.

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[Jacob Rothschild]

LEVI, (Graziadio) DAVID (1816–1898), Italian patriot and poet. Born at Chieri in northern Italy into a wealthy family, Levi studied at the universities of Parma and Pisa and joined *Giovane Italia*, the secret nationalist movement of Giuseppe Mazzini. He worked as a journalist in Switzerland and later in Paris where he associated with Italian patriots and came into contact with Hungarian and Polish nationalists. Levi returned to Italy to take part in the revolution of 1848. He supported the Sardinian king against the Austrians, contrary to Mazzini's republican policy of opposition to all monarchies.

In 1860 following the unification of Italy he was elected to the Italian assembly as a liberal representative. He fought for equal rights and religious freedom until his defeat in 1879. Levi wrote many poems and war songs including a satire on Pope Pius IX and war songs for Garibaldi's brigades. His romantic dramas include *Il Profeta* (2 parts, 1866–84), an allegorical work based on the story of Jeremiah, in which Levi shows deep love of both Zion and Italy. All his works were imbued with the spirit of 19th-century European liberalism with which he equated the ethical values of Judaism.

LEVI, DORO (1898–1991), Italian archaeologist. Levi, born in Trieste, had a distinguished career as organizer of archaeological expeditions, curator, and administrator. He was a lecturer at Florence University, and in 1935 went to Sardinia to become professor at the Cagliari University and the island's director of art and antiquities.

From 1939 to 1945 Levi was in the United States as a guest lecturer at Princeton and Harvard universities. On the staff of Princeton University he took part in the excavations of Seleucia Pieria and Daphne, neighborhoods of ancient Antioch. There Levi excavated and published some of the most beautiful Roman mosaics that dated from the first decades of the second century till the earthquake of 526 C.E. This resulted in his monumental work *Antioch Mosaic Pavements* (2 vols., 1947).

Levi returned to Italy in 1945 to become adviser on cultural relations to the Ministry of Education. In 1947 he was appointed director of the Italian School of Archaeology in Athens and led archaeological expeditions in the Levant. He organized excavations at Caesarea in Israel in the late 1950s.

Levi's main work, however, was dedicated to the Minoan civilization. He thus directed Italian excavations in Crete at Arkades-Aphrati, Gortyna, and Phaistos. At Phaistos he discovered a Minoan palace. He also specialized in Minoan pottery. In addition Levi led excavations at Iasos, a town in Caria on the Anatolian coast (1960–61). He summarized his activities as part of the Italian school in Athens in *The Italian Excavations in Crete and the Earliest European Civilization* (1963) and *The Recent Excavations at Phaistos (= Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology*, vol. 11, 1964).

Levi's scientific interests embraced the whole of the Graeco-Roman world from the early Minoan civilization to Roman and Late antique Antiochia, with a strong leaning toward mythology and the history of religion. These interests came to fruition in his study "The Allegories of the Months in Classical Art" in *Art Bulletin* (23 (1941), 251–91).

[Penuel P. Kahane / Samuele Rocca (2nd ed.)]

LEVI, EDWARD H. (1911–2000), U.S. educator, legal scholar, and university administrator. Levi, who was born in Chicago, was a descendant of the rabbinical families of *Einhorn and *Hirsch and a son of Rabbi Gerson B. Levi. He received his law degree at the University of Chicago in 1935. Awarded the Sterling Fellowship at Yale Law School, he earned his degree of doctor of jurisprudence in 1938. He joined the University of Chicago faculty in 1936 as an assistant professor of law. He served as dean of the University of Chicago Law School (1950 to 1962). In that capacity, he played a major role in the largest fundraising effort of any university of the time. In 1958 he founded the university's *Journal of Law and Economics*. He served as provost of the university (1962 to 1968) and president from 1968 to 1975, becoming the first Jew to head a major American university. From 1977 to 1983 he was the university's Glen A. Lloyd Distinguished Service Professor.

An outstanding administrator, Levi also distinguished himself as a legal expert. In the 1940s he served under Thurman Arnold, head of the U.S. Justice Department's antitrust division. He was active in atomic energy legislation; his work provided the basis for the establishment of the Atomic Energy Commission.

On February 7, 1975, Levi was sworn in as attorney general of the U.S., the first Jew to be appointed to this office. When William B. Saxbe, the previous attorney general, was sworn in as U.S. ambassador to India on February 3, 1975, another Jew, 30-year-old Lawrence H. Silberman, took over his duties until Levi was sworn in, and thus became in fact the first Jew to head the Department of Justice, to be followed four days later by Levi. As a man widely respected for his intelligence and integrity, Levi did much to restore credibility to the position of attorney general (1975–77) under President Ford after the Nixon-Watergate era.

Levi identified himself with Jewish communal affairs. He was a founder of the Chicago Chapter of the American Jewish Committee, a member of the Anti-Defamation League of the B'nai B'rith, and a member of the Sinai Temple in Chicago, of which his grandfather Emil G. Hirsch was rabbi from 1880 to 1923.

Levi's *An Introduction to Legal Reasoning* (1949) is considered a classic work. He co-authored (with Roscoe Steffen) Elements of the Law (1950) and wrote *Four Talks on Legal Education* (1951), *Point of View: Talks on Education* (1969), and *The Crisis in the Nature of Law* (1970).

[Shnayer Z. Leiman / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

LEVI, EUGENIO (1876–1966), Italian literary critic and essayist. Born in Milan, Levi taught languages and literature for many years in state schools. When he was forced to leave them as a result of Mussolini's antisemitic laws, he moved to the Milan Jewish high school, where he exerted a strong influence on his pupils. Until 1938 he taught Arabic at various colleges, including the Philological Institute and the Colonial High School. After World War II he also taught at the Sally Mayer College of Semitic Studies (1951–60), and was from 1960 honorary dean of Milan's Jewish schools.

His vast cultural curiosity and breadth of knowledge led Levi to the writing of essays – a literary genre in which he excelled. Some of his best studies of the theater and of Italian literature were published in the review *Il Convegno* (1919–38), which he edited and through which he introduced Italian readers to great contemporary writers of Europe and the United States, such as Joyce, Kafka, Hemingway, and Lorca. He did a great deal of research on the theater, some of which resulted in the prizewinning study *Il Comico di Carattere da Teofrasto a Pirandello* (1959). Other notable works include translations into Italian of Molière's *Tartuffe* (1949), and the *History of World Literature* by Gustav *Karpeles (1906); and the study *Il lettore inquieto* (1964). Levi dealt with Jewish themes in two essays originally published in the *Rassegna Mensile d'Israel*: "Zangwill e l'Ebraismo" (1955) and "Ricordo di Sabatino Lopez" (1968), and in "Italo Svevo e l'anima ebraica" (*Scritti…Sally Mayer*, 1956).

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[Giorgio Romano]

LEVI, GIORGIO RENATO (1895–1965), Italian physical chemist. Born in Ferrara, Levi during World War I worked at a dynamite factory and remained in industry until 1921. He was appointed assistant professor at the Polytechnic Institute of Milan, and founded a team doing X-ray diffraction. In 1927 he became professor of general chemistry at the University of Milan. Later he was professor at the University of Pavia, but lost his chair when Mussolini applied the Nuremberg Laws to Italian universities. He went to São Paulo, Brazil, where he worked in a commercial research laboratory and was professor of physical and analytical chemistry at the university. His scientific research was on the structure of inorganic crystals, and the preparation and study of hitherto unknown inorganic compounds, some of industrial significance. A street in São Paulo is named after him.

[Samuel Aaron Miller]

LEVI, GIULIO AUGUSTO (1879–1951), Italian literary critic. Levi, who was born in Turin, was from 1904 to 1938 a secondary-school teacher. In 1926 he was baptized and became a Roman Catholic. In 1938 he was forced to leave his position by the Fascist anti-Jewish laws. Levi was rescued by private individuals and Christian institutions during the anti-Jewish persecution of the Fascist regime and escaped deportation during World War II. After the war, he was appointed professor of Italian literature at the University of Florence. As a critic, he mainly devoted himself to an analysis of Leopardi's works and, with his own method of study, deliberately moved away from both positivism and the idealism of Croce. He wrote for several newspapers and journals and his publications appeared throughout the first half of the 20th century. Levi's critical works include *Studi estetici* (1907); *Storia del pensiero di Giacomo Leopardi* (1911); *Il Comico* (1913); *Breve storia dell'estetica e del gusto* (1924); *Giacomo Leopardi* (1931), his best-known study of the poet; *Da Dante al Machiavelli* (1935); and *Vittorio Alfieri* (1950).

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[Louisa Cuomo]

LEVI, GIUSEPPE (1872–1965), Italian neuroanatomist and histologist. A member of a well-known family of Trieste bankers, Levi in 1910 was appointed professor of human anatomy at Sassari, Sardinia. In 1915 he moved to Palermo, and four years later was made director of the Institute of Human Anatomy of the University of Turin.

Levi's long and brilliant research career centered on microscopic anatomy, particularly of the nerve cell. He laid the foundations of much of our knowledge of the factors that determine the size of sensory and motor neurons. He was one of the pioneers of the technique of tissue culture.

Levi was an outspoken anti-Fascist, and in 1933 was imprisoned for several weeks. In 1938, under Mussolini's racial law, he was removed from his post. He took refuge in Belgium, where he set up a laboratory, but his work was cut short by the German invasion and he returned to Turin. There, although in his seventies, he managed to continue his research and writing clandestinely. At the end of the war he was restored to the directorship of the Institute of Human Anatomy.

[Mordecai L. Gabriel]

LEVI, HERMANN (1839–1900), German conductor. Born at Giessen, the grandson of a rabbi who had been a representative in Napoleon's Sanhedrin, Levi studied music at Leipzig and Paris. From 1872 to 1896 he was court conductor at Munich. Having at first been close to Brahms, Levi gradually drew nearer to *Wagner's circle, and owing to his position as conductor of the Royal Munich Opera Orchestra, he conducted the premiere of *Parsifal* at Bayreuth in 1882. His relationship with Wagner was marred by the latter's antisemitism, and by constant suggestions that Levi submit to baptism because of the Christian implications of *Parsifal*. A composer as well as a conductor, Levi wrote songs and a piano concerto. He revised and edited Lorenzo *Da Ponte's librettos to Mozart's operas, thus contributing to a Mozart renaissance in the late 19th century. His interpretations of the works of Mozart, Brahms, Bruckner, and Wagner distinguished Levi as one of the greatest conductors of his time. In Munich, he acted as unofficial musical adviser to the city's synagogue; he composed a work for the inauguration of the Mannheim synagogue and a *Veshamru* for the cantor of Giessen.

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[Judith Cohen]

LEVI (Bet ha-Levi), ISAAC (II) BEN SOLOMON (II; d. c. 1621/31), halakhist, preacher, kabbalist, and leader of the Jewish community in Salonika from 1610 to 1620. From 1573 to 1600 he studied in the yeshivah of the Évora congregation of Salonika. When his father died he was forced out of the yeshivah, and he was even denied access to his father's works. He moved to the Provencal congregation of the city in 1601, where he established a yeshivah which he headed. Greatly influenced by his father, he was profoundly affected by his death as well as those of other members of his family (1600–05). According to David Conforte (Kore, 44a), Isaac was head of the yeshivah Ez̤ Ḥayyim. In 1620–21 his family home was burned and many of his books and manuscripts were destroyed (though some have been preserved). Nothing is known of him afterward. His signature appears on the *haskamot* ("resolutions") of the rabbis and leaders of Salonika from 1614–18. His responsa, which contain some novellae, are preserved in manuscript form. Some were published in the works of his contemporaries and relatives (R. Ḥayyim Shabbetai; *Jacob, *Abraham, and Solomon Bet ha-*Levi). All of them praise his extensive knowledge. From his responsa it is evident that he studied Kabbalah and his contemporaries attest his piety and emphasize his talents as a preacher. He wrote introductions, provided indices, and added poems to the *Ḥeshek Shelomo*, his father's commentary to the Book of Isaiah.

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[Joseph Hacker]

LÉVI, ISRAEL (1856–1939), chief rabbi of France, scholar, and writer. Lévi graduated from the Ecole Rabbinique in his native Paris. He was appointed assistant rabbi in Paris in 1882, and began teaching Jewish history at the Ecole Rabbinique in 1892 and Talmud and rabbinic literature at the Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes in 1896. When the Société des Etudes Juives was founded in 1880, Lévi became its secretary. In 1886 he was appointed editor of the *Revue des Etudes Juives. He participated in the publication of the French Bible translation, the so-called Bible du Rabbinat (2 vols., 1899–1906), which was edited by his father-in-law Zadoc *Kahn and Julien Weill (1906). From 1919 to 1938 Lévi served as chief rabbi of the French central Consistoire.

Lévi's contributions to modern Jewish scholarship covered a wide range, from Bible, Apocrypha, Talmud, and Midrash to liturgy and history – that of the Jews of France in particular. He was a regular contributor to learned periodicals, especially the *Revue des Etudes Juives*, where he also proved himself an expert and painstaking reviewer of almost every publication in the field of Jewish and Hebrew scholarship. Lévi's approach to biblical and talmudic research was without dogmatic prejudice, but he shied away from the radicalism of the higher and lower Bible criticism (cf. his study on the Nash papyrus, in REJ, 46 (1903), 212–7). His main published works include *Le Roman d'Alexandre* (1887), *L'Ecclesiastique…* (1898–1901; *The Hebrew Text of the Book of Ecclesiasticus*, 1904), *Le Péché originel dans les anciennes sources juives* (1907), and *Histoire des Juifs de France* (1903). On the occasion of his 70th birthday, Lévi was honored by the publication of "Mélanges offerts à Israël Lévi" (in REJ, 86 (1926), 9–29, incl. bibl.).

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[Jacques K. Mikliszanski]

LEVI (Bet ha-Levi), JACOB BEN ISRAEL (second half of 16th century–1636), halakhist and scholar. A member of the famous Bet ha-*Levi family, Jacob grew up in Salonika, where he studied in the local yeshivot. He studied *halakhah* with R. Aaron ibn Ḥasson and philosophy with R. David ibn Shushan (see his approbation (*haskamah*) to the *Sefer Illem* of 1629). He moved from Salonika to Xanthe, where he served as rabbi of the town and its environs, and then went to Venice. Jacob became famous for his responsa (1612; complete edition, Venice, 1632–34), and his sermons and translation of the Koran are extant in manuscript. He translated the Koran from Arabic "to a Christian language [Latin?] and from the latter into the holy tongue." In Italy he was apparently an affluent businessman who established close contact with the authorities, apparently as a result of his intellectual attainments. The great rabbis of Salonika, Greece, and Italy of the early 17th century gave their endorsements to his responsa, and answered the halakhic queries which he addressed to them. Some of his responsa appear in the works of these rabbis, and similarly, his approbations to several books printed in Italy and elsewhere have been published.

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[Joseph Hacker]

LEVI, JOHN SIMON (1934–), Australian rabbi and historian. The descendant of pioneering Jews in Victoria, Australia, Levi became the first Australian-born rabbi. Educated at Melbourne University and Hebrew Union College, he succeeded Herman Sanger (1909–80) as chief rabbi at Temple Beth-Israel, Melbourne (where he served from 1960), the oldest continuing non-Orthodox synagogue in Australia, retiring in 1997. A highly articulate man, Levi was one of the best-known Australian rabbinical figures to non-Jews and also a historian of note, having co-authored (with G.J.F. Bergman) *Australian Genesis: Jewish Convicts and Settlers, 1788–1860*, the authoritative history of the early Jewish community in Australia, which appeared in 1974 (rev. ed. 2002); *The Forefathers: A Biographical Dictionary of the Jews of Australia, 1788–1830* (1976); and *Rabbi Jacob Danglow: 'The Uncrowned Monarch of Australian Jews'* (1995). A Festschrift volume of historical essays in his honor, *A Portion of Praise*, appeared in 1997.

[William D. Rubinstein (2nd ed.)]

LEVI, JOSHUA JOSEPH BEN DAVID (c. 1700), Venetian Hebrew poet. His elegies on the death of various contemporaries are all distinguished by their excellent style.

Among those lamented are Moses *Zacuto, Abraham Ẓemaḥ (a lamentation for both in 24 octaves, 1692?), Samuel *Aboab (1694?), and Mose Merari. Joshua Joseph's best-known piece is *Kos Tanḥumim* (Venice, 1707), being an elegy on Mose Levi Muggia, part of which was republished by J. Schirmann in his anthology (1934). A prose introduction and a sonnet by Levi are printed in Samson *Morpurgo's *Eẓ ha-Da'at* (Venice, 1704, p. 37a–b).

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[Jefim (Hayyim) Schirmann]

LEVI, LEO (1912–1982), musicologist. Born in Casale Monferrato, Italy, Levi settled in Palestine in 1935. His special fields of research were in ethnomusicology and liturgical music, especially the traditions of the Italian and Mediterranean Jewish communities, and in the comparative study of Jewish and Christian musical traditions. His extensive recordings of the various liturgical music traditions of the Italian Jewish communities, made in collaboration with the Centro Nazionale Studi di Musica Popolare in Rome, are particularly important as the greater part were obtained from the last bearers of these traditions at a time when their communities had already ceased to exist.

LEVI, LEONE (1821–1888), British economist and pioneer of chambers of commerce. Levi was born in Ancona, Italy, the son of a merchant. He arrived in Liverpool in 1844 and became a naturalized British subject in 1847. There, Levi worked as a merchant, but his business suffered in the economic downturn of the late 1840s. In 1849, in a Liverpool newspaper and in pamphlets, he floated the idea of a local chamber of commerce, where local businessmen could discuss their common problems and gain advice. Although small-scale chambers of commerce had existed before, none had previously been founded in a large British town. His idea received considerable support and he became secretary of the newly founded Liverpool Chamber of Commerce. Levi used his post to write extensively on international commercial law and on national legal differences in commercial practice, producing *Commercial Law* in 1850. In 1850, remarkably for a recent migrant with no academic background, Levi was appointed professor of commercial law at King's College, London. He was a significant figure in pioneering the collection of commercial statistics. His *History of British Commerce* (1872) was also a pioneering work. He produced an autobiography, *The Story of My Life: The First Ten Years of My Residence in England, 1845–1855* (1888).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: ODNB online.

[William D. Rubinstein (2nd ed.)]

LEVI, MARIO (1957–), novelist. Born in Istanbul to a Sephardi family, he graduated from the Istanbul University Faculty of Literature, majoring in French language and literature. He first published in the Jewish community newspaper *Şalom* and later on started to contribute to leading Turkish journals. His first book was *Jacques Brel: Bir Yalnız Adam* (1986). His first book of stories, *Bir Şehre Gidememek,* was published in 1990 and earned the prestigious Haldun Taner Story award. His subsequent works were *Madam Floridis Dönmeyebilir* (1992), *En Güzel Aşk Hikâyemiz* (1992), and his novel *İstanbul Bir Masaldı* (1999) which also earned the prestigious Yunus Nadi award.

[Rifat Bali (2nd ed.)]

LEVI, MARIO GIACOMO (1878–1955), Italian chemist. Born in Padua, Levi worked there until 1906, when he moved to the University of Pisa. In 1909 he became professor of technological chemistry at the University of Palermo, Sicily, and in 1919 was appointed the first director of the Higher Institute for Commercial and Colonial Studies. In 1927 Levi went to Milan as professor of industrial chemistry at the Polytechnic. When Mussolini introduced legislation against Jews in the professions in 1938, he went to live in Lausanne, Switzerland. An Italian patriot, Levi played an important role in the development of his country's chemical industry. His contributions to technical and scientific journals included papers on the Deacon chlorine process, hyposulfites, fuels, the noble gases, radioactivity, electrochemistry, nonaqueous solvents, and catalysis.

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LEVI, MORITZ (**Moric**; 1878–1941), rabbi and author. Born in Sarajevo, he studied Judaism and philosophy in Vienna. As a student he was a member of the Zionist groups Bar Giora and Esperanza. His Ph.D. thesis, *Die Sephardim in Bosnia*, published in 1911 by the Jewish publisher and printer Daniel A. Kajon, in Sarajevo, was the product of pioneering work on the history of the Sephardi Jews in the Balkans. It appeared in Serbo-Croat translation, prepared and issued by the Federation of Jewish Communities in Belgrade.

From 1916 he was the rabbi of the Sephardi community, a post he held until the Holocaust. In 1925, when the Federation of Jewish Communities decided to open a theological seminary, Levi and his Ashkenazi colleague Ephraim Urbach were chosen to head this institute and teach in it. This seminary provided secondary education coupled with Judaic studies. Its alumni became cantors, Hebrew teachers, and rabbinical assistants all over the country, significantly contributing to the continuity of Jewish life there.

Rabbi Levi was a central figure in Jewish life in Sarajevo, serving as mediator between the Zionist and the Sephardi factions. He corresponded with the Spanish senator Angelo Pulido, who had inquired about the presence of Ladino-speaking Jews during the early decades of the 20th century, publishing a work titled *Judios sin Patria* ("Jews without Homeland"), which contained some of the data he had gathered.

During the occupation of Sarajevo by the Croat Ustashe and the Nazis, in April 1941, he was arrested and interrogated at the Gestapo headquarters in Graz, released in Croatia, but rearrested and deported, together with his wife, Rivkah, to the Croatian death camp Jasenovac, where they perished.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Spomenica – 400 godina od dolaska Jevreja u Bosnu i Hercegovinu 1566–1966* (1966).

[Zvi Loker (2nd ed.)]

LEVI, MOSHE (1936–), Israeli soldier, 12th chief of staff of the IDF. Levi was born in Tel Aviv to parents who had immigrated three years earlier from Iraq. His military career began in 1954 when he joined the Golani infantry brigade; in the Sinai Campaign he served as a paratrooper in the Mitla Pass. During the Six–Day War he was deputy commander of brigades in the Sinai and the Golan Heights. Later he commanded an armored division. Levi was the OC of the Northern Command from 1977 through September 1982 when he became deputy chief of staff serving until his appointment as chief of staff in April 1983. During his tenure as chief of staff, the IDF withdrew from Lebanon (in 1985). After his retirement from the IDF he returned to his home in kibbutz Beit Alfa and worked in farming. Subsequently he was appointed to a number of public positions, among them chairman of the Trans-Israel Highway Authority and the Anti-Drug Administration and member of the *Shamgar Commission investigating the Cave of the Patriarchs massacre in Hebron perpetrated by Baruch Goldstein.

[Fern Lee Seckbach]

LEVI, PAOLO (1919–1989), Italian playwright. Born in Genoa, Levi began his career as a dramatic critic, contributing to various Italian and foreign reviews. After spending the years 1944–46 in Brazil, he returned to Rome where he wrote plays for radio and television and a number of dramas, beginning with *Anna e il telefono* (1951). Levi made his name both in Italy and overseas with *Legittima difesa* (1952). His later successes included *Scaccomatto* (1953), *La Fiera* (1956), *Il gioco è fatto* (1957), and *Lastrico d'inferno* (1959). Levi's favorite theme – the problems besetting the individual – also dominates *Come per scherzo* (1955), *I Nemici* (1955), and *Il Caso Pinedus* (1954), which is considered one of the most interesting plays of the Italian theater of the century and which was staged in English, German, Czech, and Norwegian). *Gli dei di pietra* was staged in Dortmund, Germany, as *Die steinernen Goetter* (1958). Levi won an award for his radio plays in 1952 and codirected several Italian motion pictures during the 1950s. His novel *Ritratto di Provincia in rosso* (1975) was adapted in 1976 as a movie entitled *Al piacere di rivederla*.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: S. d'Amica, *Palcoscenici del dopoguerra*, 2 (1953), 293–95; *Dizionario dello spettacolo del '900*.

LEVI, PAUL (1883–1930), German socialist politician. A lawyer by profession, Levi gained renown by his defense of striking workers (1912) and of Rosa *Luxemburg (1914), who became his mentor and colleague. Levi was one of the founders and leaders of the "Spartacus League," the nucleus of the emerging Communist Party (1919) of which he became the leader, inheriting Luxemburg's mantle. After 1919 he succeeded as the leading figure in outmaneuvering anti-parliamentary and insurrectionary elements, consolidating the party and substantially increasing its membership. His own position was undermined by his opposition to the interference of the Comintern in German affairs and he resigned from the central committee in February 1921. In March, the party, on Moscow's orders, fomented an armed uprising in Saxony which was quelled with much bloodshed. Paul Levi publicly denounced the tactics and methods of the leadership and was expelled from the party. He thereupon formed, with his adherents, an independent Communist faction in the Reichstag (parliament) but eventually returned to the fold of the Social Democratic Party where he was leader of its left wing. A collection of Levi's speeches, letters, and essays was edited by C. Beradt and appeared in 1969, *Zwischen Spartakus und Sozialdemokratie*.

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[Bjoern Siegel (2nd ed.)]

LEVI, PRIMO (1919–1987), Italian author. Levi was born in Turin and trained as a chemist, receiving his degree from the University of Turin three years after Mussolini had barred Jews from higher education. Although he had a bar mitzvah he was far from his Jewish background until the enactment of the Italian racial laws in 1938. After the German takeover of Italy in 1943, he fled to the north intending to join the partisans but was caught, imprisoned first at the Fossolo camp and in February 1944 sent to Auschwitz. "I was not a very good partisan," he said in an interview. Of that train trip he wrote: "Now in the hour of decision, we said to each other things that are never said among the living… everybody said farewell to life through his neighbor." He survived there for ten months, one of the very few on his transport to survive until liberation, partly due to his employment by the Germans as a chemist in the Buna Works. His number in the camp was 174517. He wrote: "We have been baptized, we will carry the tattoo on our left arm until we die." Unlike most prisoners in the Auschwitz camp complexes, Levi did not leave on the death march. He stayed behind for ten days. The Germans abandoned the camp, fleeing from Soviet troops who arrived on January 27, 1945. Levi wrote of liberation: "Liberty. The breach in the barbed wire gave us a concrete image of it. To anyone who stopped to think, it signified no more Germans, no more selections, no work, no blows, no rollcalls, and perhaps, later, the return."

After the war he wandered for nine months, including journeys through Soviet Russia, before he got back to Turin, which he described in great detail in his 1963 work *The Reawakening*. Unlike most survivors, Levi had a home and a community to which he could return. He came back to the apartment his family had occupied for three generations and that he was to live in until his death. He wrote his works in the very room in which he was born. He resumed work as a chemist at the Turin paint factory SIVA where he managed the plant from 1961–74. His first book was *Se questo è un uomo* (1947; *If This Is a Man*, 1959) which described the Auschwitz extermination camp, and is regarded as a classic of Holocaust literature. The book was republished in 1961 under the title *Survival in Auschwitz: The Nazi Assault on Humanity.* He described his experience in Auschwitz with meticulous detail, with scientific precision and seemingly without pathos. Survivors were no heroes to Levi. They were simply survivors. In *La Tregua* (1963; *The Truce*, 1965; U.S. ed. *The Reawakening*, 1965), he told of his wanderings and unusual adventures on his return to Italy with rich detail. Levi broadened his scope in *Storie naturali* (1966), moralistic and fantastic tales published under the pseudonym of Damianos Malabaila. In 1979 he was awarded the Strega Prize, one of Italy's top literary awards. His autobiographical *Il sistema periodico* (1975; *The Periodic Table*, 1984), containing episodes named after the elements in the periodic chart, describes his ancestry and his own experiences. *Se non ora, quando* (1982; *If Not Now, When?*, 1985) is a novel telling the story of a Holocaust survivor crossing Europe after the war in order to reach Israel. *The Drowned and the Saved* appeared in 1986. Levi also wrote several volumes of short stories. He was regarded as one of the great Italian writers of the post-war period and by many as the man who offered the most telling depiction of Auschwitz. No one has described life in Auschwitz more directly, more objectively, with greater scientific precision. He was insistent that life inside the camps required a new language, a new way of speaking. "Our language lacks words to express this offense, the demolition of a man. In a moment with a prophetic intuition, the reality was revealed to us: we had reached the bottom. It is not possible to sink lower than this; … Nothing belongs to us anymore; they have taken away our clothes, our shoes, even our hair; if we speak they will not listen to us, and if they listen, they will not understand. They will even take away our name: and if we want to keep it, we will have to find ourselves the strength to do so, to manage somehow so that behind the name something of us, as we were, still remains."

Levi's work as a writer was gaining recognition just as he died. He was honored but retained the simple discipline of writing. Philip *Roth, who had brought many European Jewish writers to the attention of the American reading public said: "With moral stamina and intellectual poise of a 20th century titan, this slightly built, dutiful, unassuming chemist set out systematically to remember the German hell on earth, steadfastly to think it through and then to render it comprehensible in lucid, unpretentious prose. He was profoundly in touch with the minutest works of the most endearing human events and with the much contemptible."

In April 1987 he was found dead at the bottom of the stairwell in the apartment building where he was born and where he lived with his wife and mother. His son lived on the very same floor. Friends spoke of anxiety over the deteriorating condition of his mother, left paralyzed by a stroke. He had been depressed and had had a bout with cancer. His anti-depression drug had been changed and he had written of suicide. In writing of the Belgian writer Jean Amery, who had been in Auschwitz and wrote of torture starkly and eloquently and who himself had committed suicide, Levi quoted his famous aphorism: "He who was tortured, remains tortured. He who has suffered torment can no longer find his place in the world. Faith in humanity – cracked by the first slap across the face, then demolished by torture – can never be recovered." His death was considered by most a suicide; though others have disputed this account. But if it was a suicide then Levi has given a clue as to its reason. The period of the imprisonment of survivors "is the center of their life, the event that for better or worse has marked their entire existence."

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[Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

LEVI, RINO (1901–1965), Brazilian architect. Levi worked on the Ministry of Education building, Rio de Janeiro (1937), with Lucio Costa, Oscar Niemeyer, and the team of young architects who introduced the modern style in Brazil. Levi designed many buildings in the manner of the American skyscraper.

LEVI, SAID BEN SHALOM (d. 1917), educator and writer; known as "Hakham Said." One of the first Yemenite immigrants to Ereẓ Israel, Levi settled in Jaffa in 1888, where he became a teacher in the *talmud torah* Torah Or. From the diary of his school, which is extant, one learns of the modern educational methods which he attempted to adopt. In 1889 he left for Algiers as the emissary of the Sephardim. He was also the secretary of the Yemenite workers' union *Pe'ullat Sakhir*, whose objective was to employ Jewish rather than Arab labor in the settlements. He was a gifted writer and he had an exceptionally fine Hebrew style. His diary of World War I, which relates the sufferings of the *yishuv* during the war, is also extant.

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[Yehuda Ratzaby]

LEVI, SAMUEL GERSHON (1908–1990), Canadian Conservative rabbi and leader; first Jewish chaplain in Canadian history; editor and translator. Levi was born in Toronto, Canada, where he studied in public schools and received a thorough talmudic and Hebraic education from private tutors. He earned a B.A. from the University of Toronto (1929), was ordained rabbi by the Jewish Theological Seminary (JTS, 1933), received an M.A. in Jewish history from Columbia University (1932), and completed all the course work there toward his Ph.D.

After serving as educational director of Sha'ar Hashomayim synagogue in Montreal (1936–41), Levi was selected to serve as the first Jewish chaplain in Canadian history (1941–46), later becoming senior Jewish chaplain and retiring with the rank of major. Initially, he traveled the length and breadth of Canada to personally meet the Jewish soldiers. In 1942, he sailed for Europe where he served in England, France, and Belgium, also working with She'erit ha-Peletah (Holocaust survivors). His memoir of that period, *Breaking New Ground* (1994), was published posthumously.

After World War II, he served as a successful congregational rabbi in Queens, New York (1947–72). He became a leader of the Rabbinical Assembly of the Conservative movement, serving as treasurer (1957–65), president (1970–72), and chairman of the Committee on Jewish Law and Standards (1972–73). He also served as dean of the Cantorial School of JTS in the 1960s. Levi also edited *Conservative Judaism* magazine (1965–69).

After making *aliyah* in 1972, Levi devoted his time to editing and translating. He edited *Barnett Janner: A Personal Portrait,* a memoir on the influential British MP and Zionist written by his widow, Lady Elsie Janner (1984). He translated one of the masterworks of Ḥayyim Hazaz, *Gates of Brass* (1973), and B.-Z. Segal's *The Ten Commandments in History and Tradition* (1990).

Levi's *magnum opus*, to which he devoted more than ten years, was an English translation of Gedaliah Alon's *The Jews in their Land in the Talmudic Age*. It is, however, much more than a translation. Levi edited the two volumes from scratch, checked and rechecked the thousands of sources quoted in the book, corrected many errors found in the Hebrew original, prepared the indices, and even wrote an introduction assessing Alon's contributions to Jewish historiography. Praised by critics, the book has become one of the standard texts in Jewish historiography.

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[David Golinkin (2nd ed.)]

LEVI, SHABBETAI (1876–1956), mayor of Haifa. Born in Constantinople, he settled in Ereẓ Israel in 1894. There he first taught at Petaḥ Tikvah and later became one of the Baron de *Rothschild's officials in *PICA. He assisted land reclamation projects throughout the country, including Transjordan, and attempted to establish good relations between the Jewish colonies and neighboring Arab villages. Levi represented the *yishuv* and the inhabitants of Haifa in dealings with the authorities during World War I. A founder of the first Hebrew school in Haifa and of the city's Reali school and *Technion, he was also instrumental in the development of Mount Carmel and the suburbs in Haifa Bay. From 1919 he was a councilor on the mixed Arab-Jewish Haifa Municipality; in 1934 he became deputy mayor of Haifa and in 1940 became the first Jewish mayor of the city, a post he held until 1951.

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[Abraham Aharoni]

LEVI (Bet ha-Levi), SOLOMON (II) BEN ISAAC (1532–1600), rabbi, commentator, author, and community leader. Solomon was a member of the Bet ha-*Levi family which originated from Portugal. He was born in Salonika. His life and activity can be divided into two main periods. During the first period, until approximately 1568, supported by his wealthy father, he was able to devote himself to study and to writing. He studied Talmud and codes in the yeshivah of Joseph ibn *Lev in Salonika, and secular studies and philosophy from private teachers. He gained a proficiency in various languages, and when only 13 years of age, composed a dialogue in Spanish. He seems also to have had a knowledge of Latin. At about the age of 30, he began to study Kabbalah. He married in 1553; two of his sons, Isaac (II) b. Solomon *Levi (Bet ha-Levi) and Joseph, and a daughter, who married Aaron *Sasson, are known. He wrote commentaries to various books of the Bible (including *Ḥeshek Shelomo*, on Isaiah, Salonika, 1600), on *Avot* (*Lev Avot*, Salonika, 1565), and on the *aggadot* of the Talmud (*Leḥem Shelomo*, Venice, 1597). The draft of a work on geography and one dealing with the genealogy and position of the levites, talmudic novellae, and many of his poems are still extant in manuscript. He wrote more than 20 works and commentaries on many aspects of Jewish studies.

During the second period, from 1568, he was appointed rabbi of Üsküb (Skoplje), Yugoslavia, and devoted himself assiduously to community affairs there. In c. 1571, after his father's death, he returned to Salonika where he was appointed rabbi to the Provençal congregation. Two years later his rabbinate was extended to include that of the Évora congregation, one of the most prestigious in Salonika. He served as rabbi of both these congregations as well as head of the Évora congregation's yeshivah until his death. He delivered sermons (some of which were published in *Divrei Shelomo*, Venice, 1596) which attracted a large attendance, including the notable members of the congregations, and his name appears as a signatory on the *haskamot* ("resolutions") signed by the religious leaders of the community. He also wrote responsa to communities in Greece and throughout the Balkans (some of which are still preserved in manuscript). He wrote up talmudic novellae on topics which had evolved from the studies in the yeshivah and wrote marginal notes on such works as the *Arba'ah Turim*, the *Midrash Rabbah*, etc. Toward the end of his life, at his sons' urging, he began to collect and edit his writings, but died before he could finish.

Solomon was an unusual person who was imbued with a sense of mission. He possessed comprehensive knowledge, a fine style, and rhetorical ability, and was a dynamic personality. A man of considerable wealth, he consciously regarded himself as a communal leader, but on more than one occasion went out of his way to defend the community against wealthy members and various leaders who attempted, in his opinion, to exploit their positions in their own interests. He had a large library both of printed works and manuscripts, some on parchment (many of which have been preserved). His ramified, scholarly, and honored family basked in the light of his patriarchal figure. His influence in Salonika was inestimable, and his contemporaries referred to him with veneration. They accorded him the title of "the great rabbi," "the chief rabbi." Solomon regarded communal leadership as the duty of scholars, and his writings reveal that he was alive to the local and contemporary conditions. One can detect in his writings the changes and developments which took place in his personality, especially in his subsequent editing and amendments of his earlier works. His great vitality and his multifaceted personality reveal an encyclopedist, the product of a superb education. These qualities made possible and brought about his great influence on his surroundings from his youth. Combined with his independent means, they made it possible for him to become one of the outstanding leaders of Salonika Jewry in the 16th century.

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[Joseph Hacker]

LEVI (Bet ha-Levi), SOLOMON (III) BEN ISAAC (II) (1581–1634), rabbi of *Salonika and one of the greatest halakhists and writers of responsa of his time. The grandson of Solomon (II) b. Isaac, Solomon engaged in teaching and writing from his youth. He served as head of the *bet din* of the Évora congregation in Salonika in 1631 and was head of the yeshivah of the congregation *Eẓ Ḥayyim*. A man of many talents, he was well known as a preacher and a poet, and he also wrote talmudic novellae. Of his works there have survived his responsa (published posthumously by his widow; Salonika, 1652), some correspondence, poems, and *haskamot*. Solomon studied at the home of his grandfather and his father as well as under Ḥayyim Shabbetai, whom he revered (he was a member of his *bet din*). He maintained close connections with his relatives of the Aaron *Sasson family, even after they moved to Constantinople. Part of his correspondence with Sasson has been published by Hirschensohn (see bibl.) and that with his father-in-law Tam ibn Yaḥya is still in manuscript. From his youth, Solomon was active in the scholarly life in Salonika and had many disciples. His responsa and approbations appear in the responsa collections of his contemporaries. His works received the approbations of the great rabbis of Salonika and the surrounding communities, while others addressed their halakhic queries to him. He was deeply involved in the charitable needs both of Salonika Jewry and of institutions in Ereẓ Israel, and elsewhere, and several of the appeals addressed to him are still extant.

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[Joseph Hacker]

LÉVI, SYLVAIN (1863–1935), French Orientalist, born in Paris. Lévi, known for his *Etude critique sur le théâtre indien* (1890), became professor of Sanskrit at the Collège de France (1894), and later director of the Institute of Indian Studies at the Sorbonne (1904). He published *Le Népal, étude historique d'un royaume hindou* (3 vols., 1905–08); *L'Inde et le monde* (1926); and a study on the Jews in South India (in REJ, 89 (1930), 26–32). Lévi founded the French School of the Far East in Hanoi, and later directed the French-Japanese Institute in Tokyo (1926–28). After his return to France he was elected mayor of Andilly, near Paris. He also joined the Zionist Commission headed by Chaim *Weizmann, and set up discussions with the Allied delegations at the Versailles Peace Conference (1919). He left the commission, however, contending that the Zionist program for Palestine opposed French interests in the Middle East. From 1920 until his death Lévi served as president of the Central Committee of the *Alliance Israélite Universelle and of the Société d'Etudes Juives.

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[Lucien Lazare]

LEVI, TESTAMENT OF, an ancient Jewish pseudepigraphical work written in Aramaic, probably before 100 C.E.; the work referred to in the the Twelve *Patriarchs. A source of the Testament of Levi is the Testaments of Damascus Document of the Dead Sea sect (4:15). Prior to the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls, large fragments of a medieval manuscript, containing the Aramaic original, were found in the Cairo *Genizah* and published. New Aramaic fragments, not all of which have been published, were found among the Dead Sea Scrolls. In a Greek tenth-century manuscript of the Testament of the Patriarchs from Mt. Athos, two larger interpolations in the Testament of Levi can be identified as parts of a Greek translation of the present work; a small Syriac fragment also exists. The Aramaic Testament of Levi is put in the mouth of Levi, the son of Jacob, and represents probably his last speech to his descendants. In the extant fragments, Levi talks about his previous life, and about his function as high priest at Beth-El when he was consecrated by angels. The work contains prescriptions about offerings. These moral and ritual prescriptions are explained to Levi by Isaac his grandfather. Levi's prayer is an important document for the history of Jewish prayers.

This work, abbreviated and rewritten, formed a central source of the Greek Testament of Levi. It is ultimately related to Jubilees chapters 20–22. The Aramaic Testament of Levi contained ideas similar to the Book of Jubilees, the Testaments of the Patriarchs, and the Dead Sea sect. Common to all is the idea, expressed in one fragment of the present work from Qumran, that "priesthood is greater than kingdom," i.e., that Levi is superior to Judah. The Aramaic Testament of Levi was produced within a broader movement in ancient Judaism, from which the Dead Sea sect arose.

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[David Flusser]

LEVI, YOEL (1950–), Israeli conductor. Born in Romania, Levi grew up in Israel. He studied at the Tel Aviv Academy of Music where he received his M.A. degree with distinction, and at the Jerusalem Rubin Academy under Mendi *Rodan. He also studied in Siena, Rome, and at the Guildhall School in London. He received first prize in the 1978 Conductors' International Competition in Besançon (France). He became an assistant to Lorin *Maazel at the Cleveland Orchestra for six years and served as resident conductor from 1980 to 1984. He made his operatic debut in Florence (1997), after which he conducted operas of Mozart, Bizet, and Janácek. He was music director of the Atlanta Symphony (1988–2000) when it made a critically acclaimed European tour (1991) and was nominated as "Best Orchestra of the Year" (1991–92) by the first annual International Classical Music Awards. Levi was appointed music adviser to the Israel Festival for the 1997 and 1998 seasons. He later served as music director emeritus of the Atlanta Symphony, music artistic advisor to the Flemish Radio Orchestra (from 2001), and principal guest conductor of the Israel Philharmonic Orchestra (from the 2001–02 season), with which he appeared in a U.S. tour (2004). He regularly appears as guest conductor with renowned orchestras, including the New York Philharmonic. In 1991 he was invited to conduct the Stockholm Philharmonic at the Nobel Prize ceremony. His many recordings with the Atlanta Symphony have won him critical acclaim. Among his recordings are works of Beethoven, Brahms, Mendelssohn, Mahler, Mussorgsky, Schoenberg, Copland, Shostakovich, and Sibelius. Levi was awarded an honorary doctorate of fine arts by Oglethorpe University in Atlanta, appointed distinguished visiting professor at the University of Georgia School of Music, and named Chevalier de l'Ordre des Arts et des Lettres, one of the most prestigious French awards (2001).

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[Naama Ramot (2nd ed.)]

LEVI-AGRON, HASSIA (1925–2001), dancer, choreographer, and teacher. Levi-Agron was born in Jerusalem, the descendant of a family living in the country for seven generations. She studied movement and dance with Shoshana Orenstein (1936–46) and Elsa *Dublon, and participated in Gertrud *Kraus' courses. She also enrolled in a teacher's seminar and studied painting, sculpture, and music.

Levi-Agron appeared as soloist before British soldiers and the *Haganah (1943–46). In 1946 she staged her first solo recital, and a year later she produced *Maḥol Niv* ("Dance Idiom"), a show combining dance, music, and text reading. The themes of her works derived from the Bible, from Israeli writers and poets, and from daily life in Israel. In 1947 she traveled to the U.S., where she studied with Martha Graham, Hanya Holm, Louis Horst, and Pearl Primus, and appeared with the East-West Association headed by Pearl Buck. During the 1950s Levi-Agron appeared before World War II refugees under the patronage of the Joint. During the 1950s she taught dance to blind and disabled children, and initiated the creation of the dance department in the newly established Jerusalem Conservatory of Music directed by Yocheved Ostrovsky-Coupernic.

In 1958 she invited Martha Graham to teach in a summer course in Jerusalem and in 1960 she founded the dance department in the Jerusalem Rubin Academy of Music and Dance, which was recognized academically by the Higher Education Authority in 1976. She became professor in 1978. In 1993 she founded Keresh Kefitzah ("Springboard"), a dance company featuring students of the dance department of the Rubin Academy. In 1998 she was awarded the Israel Prize.

Hassia Levi-Agron perceived dance as a tool for life, a form of expression that should be available to every person, therefore she engaged in activities designed to make dance available to all people at all ages, regardless of their professional level, arguing that each student should gain something from his or her dancing experience.

[Bina Shiloah (2nd ed.)]

LÉVI ALVARÈS, DAVID (1794–1870), French pedagogue. A member of a well-known Jewish family of Bordeaux, Lévi Alvarès began his teaching career in private schools, but in 1820 he opened his own institution for girls, under the name "Maternal education courses." His method was based on a weekly session of two hours, in which he personally tested and instructed each grade of pupils in the presence of their mothers (to ensure regular study and their moral upbringing). In addition, his pupils had to work with his textbooks, of which he published more than 60, some of them going into many editions, mainly in history, grammar, and geography. He also taught by correspondence, and he sent several of his assistants to found similar courses in Lyons, Rouen, and Bordeaux. He published a pedagogical journal, *La Mére-Institutrice* (1834–45), and *Plaisir et travail* (1845–65). In 1833 he unsuccessfully attempted to organize a course for student girl-teachers. His pedagogical activity was praised by Parliament (1836). He retired in 1868, but his eldest son THEODORE (1821–1912), who had assisted him since 1841, continued his work till 1891. His second son, EUGÈNE (1825–1899), was a general in the French army while the third, ALBERT (1837–1897), was an engineer and general secretary of Madrid–Saragossa–Alicante railway. Lévi Alvarès contributed to the Jewish-Portuguese community of Paris *Hymnes sacrées à l'usage des Israélites français composés sur les airs hébraïques-portugais les plus connus* (1825, many subsequent editions), a collection of French songs in verse based on traditional Hebrew melodies.

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[Moshe Catane]

LEVIANT, CURT (1932–), U.S. novelist, translator, and editor. He was the assistant departmental editor of Modern Hebrew and Yiddish literature for the *Encyclopaedia Judaica*. He edited *Masterpieces of Hebrew Literature* (1964) as well as edited and translated *King Artus: A Hebrew Arthurian Romance of 1279* (1969). In addition, he edited and translated Shalom Aleichem's *Old Country Tales* (1966); *Some Laughter, Some Tears: Tales from the Old World and New* (1968); *From the Fair: The Autobiography of Sholom Aleichem* (1985); *The Song of Songs* (1996); *Happy New Year! and Other Stories* (2000); *My First Love Affair and Other Stories* (2002). Leviant's fiction includes *The Yemenite Girl* (1977); *Passion in the Desert* (1980); *The Man Who Thought He Was Messiah* (1990; this work won the National Jewish Book Award); *Partita in Venice* (1999); *Diary of an Adulterous Woman: Including an ABC Directory That Offers Alphabetical Tidbits and Surprises* (2001); and *Ladies and Gentlemen, the Original Music of the Hebrew Alphabet, and, Weekend in Mustara: Two Novellas* (2002). His fiction is nuanced, surprising, and often arabesque, dealing with the demands of the present and the claims of the past.

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[Lewis Fried (2nd ed.)]

LEVIAS, CASPAR (1860–1934), U.S. Orientalist and lexicographer. Born in Zagare, Lithuania, Levias studied and was a fellow in the department of Oriental languages of Columbia University (1893–94) and in the department of Semitic languages of Johns Hopkins University (1894–95). From 1895 to 1905 he was an instructor of Semitic languages at Hebrew Union College, and from 1910 to 1920 he served as principal of the Plaut Memorial Hebrew Free School in Newark, New Jersey. An ardent Zionist, he devoted much time to the propagation of modern Hebrew literature, and together with R. *Brainin and I. *Schapiro he edited and published the literary journal *Ha-Deror*. His main interest, however, was Semitic philology and grammar, about which he contributed numerous articles to scholarly journals. His chief works were the pioneer study *A Grammar of the Aramaic Idiom Contained in the Babylonian Talmud* (1900), and a Hebrew book on the same subject, *Dikduk Aramit Bavlit* (1930). Only two parts of his *Oẓar Ḥokhmat ha-Lashon*, a study of Hebrew philology, were ever published (1914–15), and a lexicon compiled by him of medical terms in Hebrew literature never appeared at all.

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LEVIATHAN (Heb. לִוְיָתָן, *livyatan*; Ugaritic *ltn*, presumably pronounced *lōtanu*, or possibly, *lītanu*). In the Bible and talmudic literature the leviathan denotes various marine animals, some real, others legendary, and others again both real and legendary. The word leviathan seems to derive from the root *lwy*, "to coil," which is further confirmation of its serpentine form. In the Bible it is used interchangeably with several other sea monsters – *tannin* ("dragon"), *rahav*, and *yam* ("sea"; of which the last-named alternates with *neharim* ("flood") in Hab. 3:8) – all of whom are represented as supernatural enemies of God. This hostility directly reflects a myth widely known in pre-biblical sources of a primordial combat between the creator deity and the forces of the sea, personifying chaos, which the former must overcome to create and control the universe (see *Creation). The Hittites knew it as the struggle between the dragon Illuyankas and the mortal Hupashiyas (Pritchard, Texts, 125–6; COS I, 150–51). In Mesopotamia it appears in several forms, of which the most famous is the battle of Marduk and Tiamat in the creation epic (COS I, 390–402). More relevant is a cylinder seal from Tell Asmar of the 24th century B.C.E., which pictures two men fighting a seven-headed serpent (reproduced in IDB 3, 116). The leviathan itself may have been found in a Mesopotamian incantation designed "to revive a serpent" (see van Dijk in bibliography). The closest Near Eastern parallel to the biblical materials, however, and probably their actual source, is the Ugaritic myth(s) of Baal and Anat pitted against various sea monsters, one of which is named Lotan (Pritchard, op. cit.; COS I, 265). Not only is this merely another form of the name leviathan, but the same epithets used of leviathan are here prefigured of Lotan, e.g., *btn brḥ* and *btn ʿqltn* as compared with *naḥash bariah* and *naḥash ʿaqallaton* of Isaiah 27:1.

[Peter Machinist]

In Bible and Talmud

In the Bible Leviathan is a multi-headed (Ps. 74:14) sea serpent, appearing in Isaiah 27:1; Psalms 74:14; 104:26; Job 3:8; and 41:1ff. The detailed description in Job (40:25–32) applies to the *crocodile, although a rabbi, maintaining that the reference is to the leviathan – the legendary animal prepared for the righteous in the hereafter – concludes that "the leviathan is a permitted fish," and regards its *maginnim* (Job 41:7) as scales, one of the characteristics of a permitted fish (Tosef., Ḥul. 3:27). On the other hand, *tannin*, which generally denotes the crocodile, sometimes applies to the whale, as would appear from Genesis 1:21. The verse: "Even the *tannin* [*keri*: *tannim*] draw out the breast, they give suck to their young ones" (Lam. 4:3) may refer to the whale, the female of which suckles its young (according to another view, the reference is to the *jackal). The whale is intended in the literal meaning of the verse describing the great sea: "There go the ships; there is leviathan, whom Thou hast formed to sport therein" (Ps. 104:26). At times the long-headed whale (*Physeter catodon*), which is as much as 20 meters (about 65 ft.) long and feeds on large fish and even sharks, reaches the shores of Israel. This may be the basis of the biblical story about "a great fish" that swallowed Jonah (2:1). On rare occasions the largest of the whales, *Sibbaldus* (*Balaenoptera*) *musculus*, appears off the Israel coast after entering the Mediterranean through the Straits of Gibraltar.

By *tannin* and leviathan the Bible also intends animals which "in days of old" are said to have rebelled against the Creator, who thereupon destroyed them (Ps. 74:13–14; cf. Isa. 51:10; Job 3:8; 7:12) – similar to the Ugaritic myths mentioned above. Relics of the bones or footprints of prehistoric reptiles may have been found by the ancients (such footprints have been discovered at Bet Zayit in the vicinity of Jerusalem) and these may have served as the inspiration for the myth of the destruction of these gigantic creatures. Some of these verses were used as a basis for the well-known *aggadah* about the leviathan and the *shor ha-bar* ("the wild ox") intended for the righteous in the hereafter. The passage: "There is leviathan, whom Thou hast formed to sport with" has been homiletically interpreted to mean that God sports with the leviathan (Av. Zar. 3b), while the descriptions of the *behemoth and the leviathan in Job (40:15–41:26) have been construed as referring to the fight between these animals, after which the Almighty will prepare from them a feast for the righteous (BB 74b–75a; Lev. R. 13:3; 22:10). This struggle is picturesquely depicted in the **Akdamut*, the Aramaic *piyyut* which is said on Pentecost and which describes the great reward in store for the righteous. In later popular works the words leviathan and *shor ha-bar* became synonyms for the reward of the righteous in the world to come.

[Jehuda Feliks]

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LEVI BEN ABRAHAM BEN ḤAYYIM (c. 1245–c. 1315), French philosopher, whose teachings were the focus of the anti-philosophical controversy which raged among Jews in Provence and Catalonia between 1303 and 1305. Levi b. Abraham was born at Villefranche-de-Conflent. Persecuted by the opponents of philosophy, Levi was forced to wander from place to place and was poverty-stricken throughout his life. In 1276 he lived in Montpellier, in 1295, in Arles, and in 1303, in Perpignan, in the home of Samuel of Escalita. The latter, influenced by the reproaches directed against philosophy by Solomon b. Abraham *Adret during this period, and seeing a divine punishment in the death of his daughter, drove Levi out of his house. Levi then sought refuge at the home of his relative Samuel b. Reuben of Beziers, where he remained for a time. In 1314 he was in Arles, where he apparently died soon after.

Levi is the author of two works:

(1) *Battei ha-Nefesh ve-ha-Leḥashim* (a title derived from Isa. 3:20), an encyclopedia of medieval science and philosophy, in rhymed prose, written in Montpellier in 1276 (Paris, Ms. héb. no. 978). It is composed of ten chapters of varying length, dealing with ethics, logic, *ma'aseh bereshit* (see *Kabbalah), the soul, prophecy, *ma'aseh merkavah* (the "divine throne-chariot," see *Merkabah Mysticism), mathematics, astronomy, astrology, physics, metaphysics. I. Davidson published the first section of this work together with an anonymous commentary in *Yedi'ot ha-Makhon le-Ḥeker ha-Shirah ha-Ivrit* (vol. 5 (1939), 2–42), and the seventh section in *Scripta Mathematica* (vol. 4 (1936), 57–65).

(2) *Livyat Ḥen*, another encyclopedic work composed of diverse scientific treatises. Divided into six parts, the work seems to have been extant in a long and short version. Fragments of the first five parts of both the long and short versions have been preserved, and so have more lengthy fragments of the sixth section, titled "Boaz." Of the short version the following sections have been preserved: a section on astronomy consisting of 49 chapters (Paris, Ms. héb. no. 1047, fols. 174v–220v), a section on the purpose of metaphysics (Oxford, Ms. Mich. no. 519, fols. 1–17), and fragments of the sixth section, "Boaz" (*ibid.*, fols. 1–127v). Of the long version a section on astrology has been preserved, corresponding to chapter 40 of the short version on astronomy (Paris, Ms. héb. no. 1066, fols. 1–106v), a section on metaphysics (*ibid.*, no. 1050, fols. 60–65), as well as fragments of the sixth section (de' Rossi, Ms. no. 1346, fols. 1–194; Vatican, Ms. héb. 192, fols. 1–147; no. 298, fols. 27–37v).

The fragments of the sixth section, which are lengthier than those of the rest of the work, provide a fairly detailed picture of Levi's views. This section deals with the Bible, the mysteries of faith, *ma'aseh bereshit, ma'aseh merkavah*, and *aggadah*. Adopting the methodology of *Maimonides, Levi uses allegorical exegesis extensively in his attempt to reconcile various biblical and talmudic passages with philosophical doctrines. For example, he interpreted the figures of Abraham and Sarah as representatives of form and matter, and the flood as a psychological upheaval that takes place in the soul of man. It was mainly for his allegorical exposition that Levi was criticized. His contemporaries claimed that in interpreting the Bible allegorically he was negating the literal meaning of the Torah. Levi himself protested that he was not negating the literal meaning but finding additional levels of meaning in the text. In *Livyat Ḥen* one finds many of the allegorical interpretations that Abba Mari *Astruc attacked in his *Minḥat Kena'ot* (1838), but actually Levi's interpretations are no more extreme than those found in the *Guide of the Perplexed* by Maimonides, *Ma'amar Yikkavu ha-Mayim* by Samuel ibn *Tibbon, or *Malmad ha-Talmidim* by Jacob b. Abba Mari *Anatoli.

Like most of the medieval philosophers after Maimonides, Levi agrees with *Averroes on many points, going so far as to accept even his belief in the eternity of the world. Like Maimonides, Levi maintains that the role of the revealed law is to help men acquire moral virtues and to ensure social harmony. He also believes that man's happiness is dependent on the level of his intellectual development, as is the degree of divine *providence accorded him. Levi bases his theory of prophecy on that of Maimonides, but follows Abraham *Ibn Ezra in his interpretation of miracles. Like Ibn Ezra, he believes in astrology, although he does not utilize it as much in the long version as in the short version of the work.

While Levi was not an original thinker, his writings are particularly representative of the philosophy of his time. Examination of his philosophical doctrines gives no clue as to why he was the object of such violent opposition, other than the fact that he supported, both halakhically and theologically, the use of astral magic, which was one of the causes of the controversy over philosophy.

Perhaps it was the encyclopedic nature of his work that seemed so particularly dangerous. It also appears that in his oral instruction Levi was less careful than other philosophers.

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[Colette Sirat / Dov Schwartz (2nd ed.)]

LEVI BEN GERSHOM (1288–1344; acronym: **RaLBaG**; also called **Maestre Leo de Bagnols**; **Magister Leo Hebraeus**; **Gersonides**), mathematician, astronomer, philosopher, and biblical commentator, born probably at Bagnols-sur-Cèze (Languedoc – now département du Gard, France). He lived primarily in Orange and briefly at Avignon. Little is known about his life beyond the fact that he maintained relations with important Christian persons. Levi had very broad intellectual interests and contributed to many areas of human learning.

Scientific Work

The scientific works of Levi deal with arithmetic, geometry, trigonometry, and astronomy.

His first work, written in 1321, the *Sefer Ma'aseh Ḥoshev* or *Sefer ha-Mispar* ("The Book of the Number"; published with a translation in German by G. Lange, 1909), is divided into two parts: principles and applications. The work deals with addition, subtraction, multiplication, series, permutation, combination, division, extraction of roots, and proportion. In 1343, Levi composed a second book on arithmetic for Philip of Vitry, bishop of Meaux. Only the Latin translation of the book has been preserved, under the title *De numeris harmonicis* (published by J. Carlebach, *Lewi ben Gerson als Mathematiker* (1910), 129–44).

In his commentary on Books 1–5 of Euclid, which resembles his commentaries on *Averroes, Levi attempts to construct a geometry without axioms, but, in place of Euclid's axioms, he unwittingly introduces other axioms of his own.

In his important treatise on trigonometry (translated into Latin in 1342 under the title *De sinibus, chordis et arcibus* and dedicated to Pope Clement VI), Levi rediscovered independently the sine theorem in the case of plane triangles (proportionality of sines to opposite sides); his sine tables are correct to the fifth decimal.

Talmudic and Liturgical Works

A commentary on the 13 hermeneutical rules of R. *Ishmael (printed in Jacob Faitusi, *Sefer Berit Ya'akov*, 1800) has been attributed to Levi as well as a commentary on the *aggadot* of *Bava Batra*, titled *Meḥokek Ẓafun*. This attribution is probably erroneous. In his commentary on the Pentateuch, Levi reports that he wrote a commentary on the talmudic treatise *Berakhot*, but this commentary is lost. An eminent talmudist, Levi was consulted on questions of *halakhah* (see REJ, 44 (1902), 82–86). A responsum of his can be found in the *She'elot u-Teshuvot* of Isaac de Lattes (1860). Three poems (*pizmonim*) for the holiday of Shavuot and a *viddui* (confession of sins) composed by Levi were published and translated into French by C. Touati (REJ, 117 (1958), 97–105). Levi is also the author of a parody written for the festival of Purim, titled *Megillat Setarim* ("Scroll of Mysteries").

Commentaries on Aristotle and Averroes

In one of his first philosophical works, *Sefer ha-Hekkesh ha-Yashar* (1319), translated into Latin under the title *Liber syllogismi recti*, Levi corrects certain inaccurate arguments of *Aristotle in his *Posterior Analytics*. Levi became acquainted with Aristotle's views by reading the paraphrases and commentaries of Averroes, and he himself wrote supercommentaries on a number of them: on the paraphrase of the *Physics* (1321), on the middle commentary of the *Physics* (1321), on the paraphrase of the *De generatione et corruptione* (1321), on the paraphrase of the *De caelo* (1321), on the paraphrase of the *Meterologica* (1321), on the middle commentary of the *Organon* (1323), on the paraphrase of the *De animalibus* (1323), on the paraphrase of the *De anima* (1323), on the paraphrase of the *Parva naturalia* (1324), on two questions of Averroes concerning Aristotelian logic, and on the letters concerning the union of the separate intellect with man. The supercommentaries on the middle commentary of the *Metaphysics* and the *De plantibus* have been lost. The supercommentaries of Levi on Averroes exist only in manuscript. The Latin translation by Jacob *Mantino of one section of the supercommentary on the *Organon* was published in volume one of the Venice edition of the works of Aristotle (1550–52).

In his commentaries on Averroes, which are important for understanding his philosophy, Levi paraphrases the text but frequently inserts notes of varying lengths, preceded by the words: *amar Levi* ("Levi says"). In these notes he develops, criticizes, or corrects aspects of the ideas of Aristotle or Averroes. He manifests an independent spirit in relation to the two philosophers. Several passages from commentaries on Averroes appear in H.A. Wolfson, *Crescas' Critique of Aristotle* (1929).

Biblical Commentaries

Levi wrote commentaries on Job (1325), Song of Songs (1325 or 1326), Ecclesiastes (1328), Ruth (1329), Esther (1329), the Pentateuch (1329–38), the Former Prophets (1338), Proverbs, Daniel, Nehemiah, and Chronicles (1338). All of these were published, some in several editions. The commentary on Job is one of the first books to be printed in Hebrew (Ferrara, 1477).

The biblical commentaries of Levi are the work of an exegete and a philosopher. Certain of his literal explanations are still of interest today. Diverse questions of a philosophical or theological nature are discussed by him, such as the problem of providence, miracles, and the Messiah. From each book of the Bible, Levi extracts the ethical, philosophical, and religious teachings that may be gleaned from the text and calls them *to'alot* or *to'aliyyot*. A collection of these *to'aliyyot* was printed separately (Riva di Trento, 1570). In his voluminous commentary on the Pentateuch, Levi attempts to reconstitute the *halakhah* rationally, basing himself on nine logical principles which he substitutes for the traditional 13 *hermeneutical rules, and condemning allegorical interpretations. In the 15th century in Italy, Judah Messer *Leon wanted to prohibit the study of Gersonides' commentary on the Pentateuch, using the pretext that the latter wished to fabricate a new Talmud.

Sefer Milḥamot Adonai

Levi's major work, to which he constantly refers in his commentaries on Averroes and the Bible, is the *Sefer Milḥamot Adonai* ("The Book of the Wars of the Lord"), begun in about 1317 and completed in 1329. In this work, he treats problems which, in his opinion, have not received a satisfactory solution by preceding philosophers, including *Maimonides. Divided into six parts, the work deals with the immortality of the soul (first book), dream, divination, and prophecy (second book), divine knowledge (third book), providence (fourth book), celestial spheres, separate intellects and their relationship with God (fifth book), the creation of the world, miracles, and the criteria by which one recognizes the true prophet (sixth book). Numerous manuscripts of the *Milḥamot* are extant, but the book was printed only twice, and then imperfectly (Riva di Trento, 1560 and Leipzig, 1863). The first four books of the *Milḥamot* were translated into German with notes by B. Kellerman (*Die Kaempfe Gottes*, 2 vols., 1914–16), but this translation is unreliable. A French translation of books three and four, based on a critical edition together with an introduction and notes, was made by C. Touati (1968).

The *Milḥamot* is written in a precise and technical Hebrew but, like Levi's other works, it is characterized by repetitiveness. In almost all the questions analyzed, Levi quotes the opinions of his predecessors – Aristotle, *Alexander of Aphrodisias, *Themistius, Al-*Farābī, *Avicenna – with whom he became acquainted largely by reading Averroes, as well as the opinions of Averroes himself and of Maimonides. He enumerates the arguments that, respectively, support and disprove their theses and, finally, he expounds his own theory. Though lacking a systematic structure, the *Milḥamot* contains an almost complete system of philosophy and theology. However, this work cannot be understood unless one is familiar with Levi's commentaries on Averroes and the Bible, which explain and complement the *Milḥamot* on many points. In order to understand the ideas of Levi, one should have recourse to all his philosophical and exegetic works.

His Philosophy

GOD. Demonstrating the existence of God, Levi rejects the proof, favored by many of his Aristotelian predecessors, according to which the existence of God, as prime mover, can be derived from the various motions existing in the world. In its place he presents a proof based on the orderly processes existing in the world, that is, an argument from design. According to this proof, the observed regularity of processes of generation within the sublunar world leads to the conclusion that these processes are produced by an intelligence. This intelligence is the so-called agent intellect (see *Intellect) which governs the sublunar world. This intelligence endows matter with its various forms and is aware of the order it produces. The activities of the agent intellect are mediated by the natural heat which is found in the seeds and sperms of plants and animals and this natural heat in turn is produced by the motions of the various celestial spheres. Since these motions contribute to the perfection of the terrestrial world, they must also be produced by intelligences which know them, that is, they are produced by the intelligences of the celestial spheres. From what has been said, it can be seen that the celestial and terrestrial worlds form an ordered, unitary whole and this requires that there exists a supreme being which produces and knows this order. This being is God.

Unlike Maimonides, Levi maintains that it is possible to ascribe positive attributes to God without reducing or changing His absolute unity and simplicity. Admitting that real multiplicity exists only in beings composed of form and matter, he argues that all the predicates of a proposition dealing with a non-material entity are derived analytically from the subject. According to Levi these predicates are simply an explanation of the subject and introduce no plurality whatever. Opposing Maimonides' doctrine of negative attributes, Levi teaches that man may have a certain positive knowledge of God, based on the observation of His actions. The essential action of God is thinking, and, consequently, the effusion of all forms. All the attributes that man recognizes in his own form are just so many attributes of God. Since the attributes common to both man and God have the relation of cause and effect, it is impossible to consider them absolute homonyms, that is, terms which have nothing in common except their names.

By means of a knowledge that is neither temporal nor changing, God eternally perceives the general law of the universe, that is, those laws governing the movements of the heavenly bodies and, through them, the sublunar beings. God is aware of the fate that awaits all individuals, inasmuch as they are distributed in groups subject to the same celestial determinism which, in principle, governs all the conditions of man. However, this determinism, essentially beneficial, may occasionally cause misfortune. God has therefore accorded man freedom which allows him to liberate himself from the shackles of determinism. An individual who makes use of his freedom is no longer subject to the universal law known by God; he has accomplished an act which is absolutely undetermined and which remains totally unknown to God. God's knowledge, however, does not undergo any modification; it always remains true, since the author of the free act is no longer included in the necessary and universal proposition thought by God. For Levi, God's knowledge embraces all the events of this world, with the exception of free acts that cannot be predicted by any type of knowledge. Levi is convinced that he has finally succeeded in reconciling two contradictory fundamental principles of the Bible: divine omniscience and the freedom of man's will.

The providence of God extends a means of protection that increases in proportion to man's moral and intellectual perfection. Through the determined activities of the stars, God assures a maximum of good to men in general and spares them a maximum of ills. Premonitions, dreams, prophecies and the exercise of free choice save certain individuals from harmful effects of determinism. However, the existence of evil cannot be denied since, at times, the righteous do suffer. But Levi upholds the belief that the true good which is specifically human is the immortality of the soul, and it is this immortality, rigorously proportioned according to one's moral rectitude and intellectual perfection, that constitutes the actual recompense of God.

CREATION OF THE WORLD. In opposition to Maimonides who held that the creation of the world cannot be demonstrated philosophically, Levi offers philosophic arguments designed to show that the world came into being. One such argument is that everything produced by a final cause, ordained to a certain end, and serving as a substratum for accidents, cannot exist eternally. Since the world fulfills all these conditions it follows that it cannot be eternal, that is, that it has a beginning in time. He derives the same conclusion from the state of the sciences. Were the world eternal, he argues, the sciences would be more advanced than they are. He holds further that a large number of Aristotle's arguments designed to prove the eternity of the world beg the question. They are based on the assumption that the physical laws discovered within the world are also applicable to its beginning. However, this assumption is fallacious. For while it is true that there are some similarities between processes within the world and creation (Levi here is more moderate than Maimonides who holds a similar view), creation is also unique. Whereas motions in the world take place in time, creation occurred in an instant. However, since nothing can be created out of nothing, the world has a substratum, an eternal body which is nonetheless a relative non-being, in the sense that it possesses no form whatever. This substratum has no "existence" in the proper sense of the word, since all existence derives from form. Thus the theological difficulty that might give rise to the possibility of more than one eternal being is avoided.

MAN. God has arranged the universe so that man, the most perfect being of the sublunar world, is accorded the greatest good and is spared the greatest amount of ills possible, as we have already seen. Revelations of different types protect him (premonitions, dreams, etc.). His imagination, under the action of one or several celestial bodies, envisions the menace that certain stellar configurations may place upon him. God has equally furnished man with a practical intellect, from which he learns the indispensable arts of self-preservation, and a speculative intellect which permits him to perceive truth and to achieve immortality. The material or potential intellect is not a substance but rather a simple disposition, whose substratum is the imagination. Building on the sensations, the human intellect abstracts concepts; but sensation is only an incidental agent in the production of knowledge, for knowledge in its true sense is the comprehension of intelligibles as they exist in the agent intellect. The human intellect, having understood the intelligible, which is eternal, becomes itself immortal. Differing from Averroes, who maintained that, at this state, the human intellect loses its individuality, Levi held that immortality is individual.

ISRAEL. Providence extends particularly to the children of Israel, chosen by God through His covenant with the Patriarchs. Prophecy is a kind of revelation that is superior to all other types of revelation, and differs from them not in degree but in nature. The prophet must necessarily be a preeminent philosopher who grasps the general laws governing changes in the sublunar world as they exist in the agent intellect. By means of his imagination, he applies this knowledge to given individual or communal situations, announcing the good or evil events that may befall a person, a group, or an entire people, as a result of the operation of the laws of nature. He is also capable of predicting a miracle, which is a violation of nature, not, as Maimonides thought, an event included in the laws of nature at the time of the creation of the world. Levi maintains that a miracle is produced at a particular time and place, and that it occurs when the agent intellect suspends normal, natural law, since it no longer applies to certain circumstances. Though miracles are not part of the laws of nature, or subject to them, they have their own laws. However, since a miracle is produced by the agent intellect, which can only act upon the sublunar world, no miracles can occur in the translunar world. Thus, for example, the sun did not really stand at the order of Joshua; the victory at Gibeon was attained during the short lapse of time when the sun seemingly stood at its zenith.

Through the intermediacy of Moses, the greatest of all prophets, God gave Israel the Torah, which, through its *mitzvot* and speculative truths, aims to help the children of Israel attain the moral and intellectual perfection which makes immortality possible for them. The commandments have various purposes, which Levi expounds in detail, but the purpose of most of them is to remove materialistic tendencies and teach the existence of forms. Finally, the Torah has revealed certain metaphysical truths that the philosophers have never been able to deduce, namely, the creation of the world and the immortality of the soul.

ESCHATOLOGY. Levi's eschatology is based on a tradition that there are two Messiahs. After the Messiah son of Joseph dies, having been assassinated, the Messiah son of David will appear. He will be greater than Moses, not because he will promulgate a new Torah, but because he will accomplish a miracle greater than those of Moses: the resurrection of the dead, an event which will convert all peoples of the earth to the true religion. He predicts the coming of the Messiah for the year 1358. During messianic times, the world will follow its usual pattern, men will die as before, but the earth will be filled with knowledge of God and human liberty will be utilized for good ends.

Views on Levi ben Gershom

On account of his boldness and of the suspicion of heresy fastened to him, Levi was subject to virulent attacks. Certain of his doctrines became the object of harsh criticism on the part of Ḥasdai *Crescas. Abraham *Shalom, while defending him against Crescas, censured him for other reasons. Shem Tov *Ibn Shem Tov labeled Levi's major work the "Wars against the Lord." *Isaac b. Sheshet Perfet, though recognizing Levi as a great talmudist, maintains that it is prohibited to accept certain of his theories. Isaac *Abrabanel, in several of his works, also criticizes him. However, even the most vehement critics of Levi, who very often did not understand his real thought, did not hesitate to borrow some of his ideas. His influence continued to exert itself even as late as the 19th century, when he is mentioned in *Malbim's commentary on Job.

[Charles Touati]

As Astronomer

Milḥamot Adonai contains an astronomical treatise of 136 chapters. This astronomical section (Book V, Part 1) is not included in the manuscripts or printed versions of the rest of the work, but it was translated in its entirety into Latin. There also exists a second Latin version of the first few chapters dedicated to Pope Clement VI. The text covers most of the topics of medieval astronomy: trigonometry (the construction of the sine table and the solution of triangles); the construction and use of various astronomical instruments; an analysis of several schemes for arranging celestial motions; a discussion of solar, lunar, and planetary motions including tables to aid in their computation; and a discussion of the order of the planets and their distances from the earth.

The astronomical treatise was not meant to be an elementary text for students, but presupposes some familiarity with medieval astronomical literature. Although the work is clearly in the Ptolemaic tradition, Levi deals quite critically with his sources and often rejects earlier views in favor of his own. His most important innovation in terms of technical astronomy was his new geometrical model to account for lunar motion, which he describes in chapter 71. He argues that his new model corrects a glaring fault of Ptolemy's lunar model, which brought the moon so close to the earth at quadrature that it appeared twice as large as its observed size. Levi considered agreement with his own observations to be the principal criterion in choosing between alternative models for the motions of the celestial bodies; in this he departed from the widespread medieval dependence on the observations recorded in Ptolemy's *Almagest*. In addition to Ptolemy, Levi relied on al-Battānī, the famous ninth-century Arab astronomer, and to a lesser extent on Abraham *Ibn Ezra and *Abraham bar Ḥiyya. Levi carefully described his observations of four solar and six lunar eclipses, as well as observations of the moon and of the planets under different conditions. Such extensive recording of observations were quite rare among medieval astronomers.

Levi's best-known contribution to astronomy is his invention of the Jacob Staff, which was widely used to measure the angular separation between two celestial bodies. This instrument became an important navigational tool and was especially popular in the 16th century among European sailors.

Most medieval scholars accepted the order of the planets presented by Ptolemy in *The Planetary Hypotheses*: Moon, Mercury, Venus, Sun, Mars, Jupiter, Saturn, and the fixed stars. There was, however, some dispute concerning the place of the sun in relation to Mercury and Venus. Levi considered several possibilities in detail, but seems to have preferred the theory that the sun lies below both planets. In another departure from Ptolemy, who set the distance to the fixed stars at 20,000 earth radii, Levi argued that those stars are more than 159×10^{12} earth radii away, a truly astounding distance in terms of medieval science.

[Bernard R. Goldstein]

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LEVI BEN ḤABIB (**Ralbah**; c. 1483–1545), rabbi in Jerusalem and principal opponent of the restoration of the **semikhah*. Levi b. Ḥabib was born in Zamora, Spain, and in 1492 was taken to Portugal by his father, R. Jacob *Ibn Ḥabib. There he was forcibly baptized. Both he and his father escaped to Salonika where Levi received his education. He succeeded his father, teaching at the congregation of Spanish exiles, called *Gerush Sefarad*, in Salonika. Levi became famous as a talmudist, showing a preference for the use of literal meaning (*peshat*) as opposed to casuistry (*pilpul*). He never presented his own views unless they had been given by previous scholars. Levi admitted that he was not well versed in Kabbalah, but he was proud of his knowledge of astronomy. In order to atone for his baptism as a youth, he went to Ereẓ Israel, traveling via Asia Minor, Aleppo, and Damascus. He first settled in Safed and later moved to Jerusalem. For 15 years he officiated there, instituting as rabbi various new regulations for the community. At that time, there was no "ordained" (Heb., *samukh*) *bet din*, like the ancient Sanhedrin, i.e., one which was authorized to sentence to punishment by lashes (*malkot*), prescribe fines, and determine the intercalation of months. Therefore the rabbis of Safed decided to restore the ancient *semikhah* and chose R. Jacob *Berab to ordain rabbis and act as a judge. This act was of great significance, as the ordination was to be reestablished only in messianic times, and it also marked the supremacy of the Safed rabbis. Levi b. Ḥabib refused to accept the authority of Berab and accused the latter of disgracing the honor of Jerusalem. A violent controversy ensued whose details are recalled in an appendix entitled *Semikhat Zekenim o Kunteres ha-Semikhah* ("Ordination of the Elders or Pamphlet Concerning Ordination") printed at the end of Levi's responsa (Venice, 1565). The volume also contains Levi's commentary on Maimonides' *Hilkhot Kiddush ha-Ḥodesh*. In addition to responsa, he completed and published the second part of his father's *Ein Ya'akov.*

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[Simon Marcus]

LEVI BEN JAPHETH (**Abū Saʿīd**; 10th–11th century), Karaite scholar, son of *Japheth b. Ali. Levi b. Japheth lived in Jerusalem and wrote, in Arabic, a "Book of Precepts," a work which was used by almost all the later Karaite writers. Only fragments of the Arabic original are preserved. Manuscripts of the Hebrew translation, *Sefer ha-Mitzvot*, are extant in Oxford, Leningrad, and Leiden. In his interpretation of the law, Levi distinguished between the views of the early and later *Rabbanites, numbering *Saadiah Gaon among the latter and frequently censuring him severely. He also wrote a short commentary on the Bible (only fragments of this, too, remain), and is said to have compiled an abridged version of David b. Abraham *Alfasi's dictionary, *Agron*.

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LEVI BEN SISI (end of second and beginning of third century, C.E.), Palestinian and Babylonian *amora*. He is mentioned in the Babylonian Talmud without a patronymic, but with his father's name in the Jerusalem Talmud. He was a colleague-disciple of *Judah ha-Nasi (Ber. 49a; Shab. 107b; Zev. 30b; Men. 80b, et al.), whom he called *Rabbenu ha-Kadosh* ("Our Holy Master," Shab. 156a). Although Judah sometimes scolded him (Yev. 9a), he held his scholarship in high regard (Zev. 30b). So authentic were the traditions handed down by him that the words *lemedin li-fenei ha-ḥakhamim* ("It was taught before the sages") are said to refer to Levi's transmission of the teachings of Judah ha-Nasi (Sanh. 17b). The Talmud gives various details of his intimate position in Judah's household: he was the merrymaker on festive occasions and entertained those present with acrobatic performances. Once he tried to imitate the manner in which the priests used to prostrate themselves in the Temple, but dislocated his hip which resulted in a permanent limp (Suk. 53a). Levi taught that at prayer a person must stand with his feet straight like the angels (TJ, Ber. 1:1, 2c). He used to write down in a notebook the discussions with his teacher R. Judah Ha-Nasi (Shab. 156a). He also had a collection of *beraitot* which is mentioned several times in the Talmud (Yoma 24a; Yev. 10a; Ket. 53b; et al.). Levi was held to possess special power for successful intercession on such occasions as drought (Ta'an. 25a) or danger from bandits (TJ, Ta'an. 3:8, 66d).

Levi seems to have traveled often between Ereẓ Israel and Babylonia and was well acquainted with the cultural conditions of the peoples of Babylonia. After his return from one of these journeys Judah ha-Nasi asked him about their particular characteristics (Kid. 72a). When the citizens of Simonia sought a judge and spiritual leader, Judah ha-Nasi recommended Levi, who, despite his initially disappointing performance, was appointed on the strength of the recommendation (TJ, Yev. 12:7, 13a). After the death of Judah ha-Nasi, when Afess was appointed in his place, Levi discontinued his studies at his master's academy but studied with R. *Ḥanina b. Ḥama outside the walls of the yeshivah. For this behavior he was criticized by many of his contemporaries, and according to legend he was punished for this by exclusion from the "academy in heaven" until Samuel interceded on his behalf and he was admitted (Ber. 18b). After the appointment of Ḥanina b. Ḥama as head of the academy, Levi migrated to Babylonia where he joined the school of *Rav (Beẓah 24b; Ket. 52a) and other former disciples of Judah ha-Nasi (Shab. 59; Ket. 103b).

Levi settled finally in Nehardea where he became a close friend of *Abba b. Abba, the father of *Samuel (Ber. 30a; BB 42b). Both studied in the old synagogue of the town called Shaf ve-Yativ, according to legend built of stones brought from Jerusalem by Jehoiachin, and witnessed there the appearance of heavenly messengers (Meg. 29a). Levi also lectured at the academy there (Song. R. 4:8) and was associate judge at the court of the *exilarch Mar *Ukba (Ukva; Pes. 76b; BB 54a) who held his erudition in very high esteem (Shab. 108b; MK 26b). Levi instructed his friend's son, later the famous Babylonian *amora* Samuel, who transmitted many of his master's teachings (Shab. 108b; Er. 10a, et al.). Among Levi's prominent pupils were *Mattnah (MK 26b) and a number of *amoraim* who later migrated to Ereẓ Israel, including *Assi (Av. Zar. 38b), *Ḥiyya b. Abba (Eccl. R. 1:4), and *Ze'ira (Shab. 108b). After Levi's death Abba b. Abba eulogized him as a scholar whose worth was equal to that of the rest of mankind (TJ, Ber. 2:85a).

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LEVI-BIANCHINI, ANGELO (1887–1920), Italian naval officer and member of the *Zionist Commission. Born in Venice, Levi-Bianchini completed his studies in the naval academy at Leghorn and joined the Italian navy, becoming a naval officer (a rare occupation among Italian Jews). Afterward he became a lecturer at the naval academy and at the military school in Turin. In 1917 he was appointed to the Navy ministry, on behalf of which he fulfilled several missions. With the establishment of the Zionist Commission, Levi-Bianchini, together with G. Artom, joined as a representative of the Italian Jewish community, in close liaison with the Italian Foreign Office. He arrived in Palestine in the summer of 1918 and immediately strengthened his ties with Chaim *Weizmann, members of the Zionist Commission, and the various circles of the *yishuv*. In addition, Levi-Bianchini won the confidence of many in the British military government and Arab leaders. He also contributed directly and indirectly to the organization of self-defense in the *yishuv* and represented the interests of the *yishuv* and the Zionist Movement before *Allenby and the British military government. In April 1919 he prevented the outbreak of disturbances following the Arab holiday and traditional parade from al-Nabi Mūsā. In May of the same year he left Palestine. He continued his service for the Italian government, participating in the Versailles Conference in 1919 and the San Remo Conference in Italy in 1920, at which he worked to procure the Italian Foreign Office's approval of the British Mandate on Palestine and the *Balfour Declaration in general. In 1920 Levi-Bianchini was sent by the Italian foreign minister, Sforza, to examine the situation in Palestine and Egypt, especially the role of the Zionist Movement in the new political developments in the Middle East. He was killed near Khirbet el Gazale in a Bedouin attack on a train making its way from Damascus to Haifa. His body was eventually found near the scene of the attack and was buried in Turin about a year after his death.

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[Getzel Kressel]

LEVI-CIVITA, TULLIO (1873–1942), Italian mathematician. Levi-Civita, who was born in Padua, was appointed to the chair of mechanics at the university there at the age of 25. In 1918 he left Padua to become professor of mechanics at the University of Rome. He opposed the rise of fascism in Italy. He was dismissed from his position after the implementation of the anti-Jewish laws of 1938. After this, his health deteriorated rapidly and he was unable to accept any of the offers of asylum which he received from several countries. Levi-Civita was an excellent teacher and his many scientific papers and books are distinguished by their lucidity. He developed, after an initial collaboration with Curbasto Gregorio Ricci, the absolute differential calculus, which was the essential mathematical tool required by Einstein for his development (in 1916) of the general theory of relativity. Levi-Civita's most important contribution in this field was the theory of "parallel displacement." He also produced significant papers on relativity, analytical dynamics, hydrodynamics, and systems of partial differential equations. Levi-Civita was a member of many Italian and foreign mathematical societies. In 1922 he was awarded the Sylvester Medal of the Royal Society.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Hodge, in: Royal Society of London, *Obituary Notices of Fellows*, 4 (1942–44), 151.

[Barry Spain]

LEVI DELLA VIDA, GIORGIO (1886–1967), Italian Arabist and Semitist. Born in Piedmont, della Vida completed his university studies in *Rome. In 1914 he began to lecture at the University of Naples, went on to Turin, and in 1920 was appointed professor at Rome University. He taught Biblical Hebrew, Arabic, Syriac, Phoenician and neo-Punic inscriptions, and the histories of the Semitic peoples and their literatures. In all these fields, he published many articles. A number of them, principally in the field of Judaism and Islam, were gathered into the collection *Storia e religione dell'oriente semitico* (1924). He also edited a series of Arabic and Syriac texts with his translations. His catalog of the Vatican Arab-Muslim manuscripts (vol. 1, 1935; vol. 2, 1965), his collection of documents dealing with the relations between the Church of Rome and the Oriental churches during the reign of Pope Gregory XIII (1948), as well as a series of detailed articles on the manuscripts of the Vatican collection were the fruits of the years he worked in the Vatican Library. His later works include *Aneddoti e svaghi arabi e non arabi* (1959) and a book of memoirs *Fantasmi ritrovati* (1966). He was one of the 12 lecturers (out of a total of 1,225 university teachers) who refused, at the end of 1931, to take the oath of allegiance to the Fascist regime and he was therefore dismissed from his position. From 1939–48, he was professor at the University of Pennsylvania, but in 1948 was reinstated in his position in Rome.

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[Haïm Z'ew Hirschberg]

LEVIEN, SONYA (1888–1960), U.S. screenwriter. Born Sara Opeskin near Moscow, daughter of Fanny and Julius Opeskin, Levien immigrated to New York City with her mother and brothers in 1896. Her father, who had preceded his family to the United States, changed the family name to Levien. Known as Sonya, Levien earned a law degree from New York University and practiced law briefly. In 1917, she married writer Carl Hovey.

Levien began her prolific film scriptwriting career as a magazine writer and editor, working for *Women's Journal* and the *Metropolitan*, a liberal literary journal. Levien sold her first story to a motion picture studio in 1918. Her first screen credit was for the 1919 film *Who Will Marry Me*? Between 1929 and 1941, Levien was a writer for 20th Century Fox and MGM; from 1941 to 1956 she worked for George Sidney Productions. Levien wrote or co-wrote the screenplays of more than 70 motion pictures, including some of the most acclaimed films of her era. In her script for *The Hunchback of Notre Dame* (1939), based on an adaptation by Bruno Frank, Levien made the story relevant to contemporary audiences by drawing a parallel between the persecuted gypsies of Paris and the treatment of Jews in pre-World War II Germany.

Levien created strong women characters who were intelligent, noble, and independent. She was responsible for a number of the most important early depictions of Jewish characters in Hollywood films, in her scripts for *Cheated Love* (1921), *Salome of the Tenements* (1925), *The Younger Generation* (1928), and *Rhapsody in Blue* (1943).

Levien earned many accolades during her long and highly successful screenwriting career, including an Academy Award in 1955 for *Interrupted Melody*. The Screen Writers Guild (now known as the Writers Guild of America) bestowed their most distinguished award on Levien in 1953, as the first recipient of the Laurel Award of Achievement, given to that member of the Guild "who has made outstanding contributions to the profession of the screenwriter."

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[Sharon Pucker Rivo (2nd ed.)]

LEVIEV, LEV (1956–), Israeli entrepreneur. Leviev was born in Tashkent, Uzbekistan, to a religious family. In 1971 his family moved to Israel. Shortly afterwards, Leviev began to work as an apprentice in a diamond polishing plant, setting up his own plant following his army service. When the former Soviet Union began to open its doors to foreign investment during the 1990s, Leviev expanded his business activities to Eastern Europe. In 1996 he acquired control of Africa-Israel Investments, one of Israel's largest companies, with holdings and assets valued at over $1 billion. He controls global businesses in such fields as international trade, diamonds, real estate, infrastructure development, metals, chemicals, high-tech development, and hotels, with the Leviev Group's annual turnover reaching $1.8 billion. Leviev is the biggest private diamond manufacturer in the world, with diamond polishing plants in Russia, India, China, South Africa, Ukraine, and Armenia, as well as eight marketing agencies globally. He serves as chairman of the Israel-Russia and CIS Chamber of Commerce and Industry. He is also active in the Jewish communities of the former Soviet Union. In 1992 he established the Or Avner foundation in his father's memory. The foundation operates an Orthodox education network with branches in Israel and the former Soviet Union. Its goal is to bring new immigrants closer to Judaism and Torah. Leviev was president of the Federation of Jewish Communities of the CIS (FJC), the central organization that represents the 15 organized Jewish communities of the independent republics that were once part of the Soviet Union. He also served as honorary consul of the Republic of Kazakhstan in Israel and as president of the Bukharan Jewish Congress, which unites close to 250,000 members worldwide and helps address the religious and cultural needs of the Bukharan communities.

[Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

LEVI ISAAC BEN MEIR OF BERDICHEV (c. 1740–1810), ḥasidic *ẓaddik* and rabbi; one of the most famous personalities in the third generation of the ḥasidic movement. Levi

Isaac was born into a distinguished rabbinic family and his father was rabbi in Hoshakov (Galicia). After marrying the daughter of a rich contractor he moved to his father-in-law's home in *Lubartow (Poland), where he studied with Joseph *Teomim. At that time he met Samuel Shmelke *Horowitz of Nikolsburg, then rabbi in Richwal (Ryczwol), who acquainted him with the Ḥasidism of *Israel b. Eliezer Ba'al Shem Tov. In 1766 Levi Isaac went to study under *Dov Baer the Maggid of Mezhirech, becoming one of the intimate circle of his pupils. When Shmelke left Richwal Levi Isaac replaced him, though only for a short period. He next served as rabbi in Żelechów, where he first emerged as a ḥasidic *ẓaddik*; to his contemporaries he became known as the "rabbi in Żelechów." A testimony dating from 1774 reports that he took a strong and even aggressive stand against the local *Mitnaggedim*, but the latter finally triumphed and Levi Isaac had to leave Żelechów. An account of this controversy appears in the *Iggeret ha-Kodesh* by Eliezer the son of *Elimelech of Lyzhansk, published at the end of the latter's *No'am Elimelekh*, 1788. In 1775 he was elected rabbi of Pinsk but there, too, he was dismissed through pressure from the *Mitnaggedim* and with the concurrence of *Elijah b. Solomon Zalman of Vilna. Moving to Berdichev in 1785, he served as rabbi there until his death. In Berdichev Levi Isaac won great renown as rabbi, ḥasidic leader, and scholar; even the *Mitnaggedim* admitted that he was a noted Torah scholar (*Zemir Ariẓim* (Warsaw, 1798), 3) but complained of his lack of knowledge of the Kabbalah. He made many amendments in communal *takkanot* and took part in public affairs. In 1801(?) he convened a meeting of leaders (in which the *ẓaddik* Baruch b. Jehiel of Medzibezh and the *maskil* writer Menahem Mendel Levin participated) to discuss the government's prohibition on Jewish settlement in the villages and other oppressive measures; in 1807 Levi Isaac's name headed a list of Jewish contributors to the Russian war effort against the anticipated French invasion. During a serious illness in 1793, "he was grieved and his spiritual forces declined" (*Oẓar ha-Ḥayyim ve-Heikhal ha-Berakhah*, introduction to the Book of Numbers). In this crisis he was helped by Israel b. Shabbetai the Maggid of *Kozienice.

The founder of Ḥasidism in central Poland, Levi Isaac consolidated the movement in Lithuania and furthered it in the Ukraine. When he was still in Poland (Żelechów) the *mitnagged* writer, *David of Makow, described him as "rabbi of all that sect" (see M.L. Wilensky, in: PAAJR, 25 (1956), 151), an indication of his widespread popularity. While he was rabbi in Pinsk he engaged in a debate with the fanatic *Mitnagged* Abraham *Katzenellenbogen, a rabbi of Brest-Litovsk. At Praga near Warsaw before the month of Elul 1781, they discussed basic precepts of Ḥasidism, both parties later claiming victory. On the fifth of Tammuz 1784, Abraham Katzenellenbogen circulated an epistle summarizing his arguments against Ḥasidism, but Levi Isaac's reply is not extant.

In his teachings Levi Isaac stressed the element of joy in Ḥasidism, the principle of *devekut* ("adhesion") to God, and the necessity for fervent prayer to the point of *hitpashetut ha-gashmiyyut* ("abstraction from corporeality"). When a man prays fervently "with all his heart and his soul then his spirit delights because it is elevated from the material world and only the spirit remains" (*Kedushat Levi*, Va-Yeẓe). It is necessary that "every Jew should worship the Creator with devotion and fervor" (*Kedushat Levi*, Va-Yera). One of the best loved of *ẓaddikim*, Levi Isaac occasionally traveled with great acclaim throughout the land. Accompanied by his *minyan*, he introduced the people to the joy of fulfilling the commandments, winning them over to Ḥasidism. Before the Holocaust, visitors to the *bet midrash* in the "Iron Gate" in Warsaw were shown a column in front of which Levi Isaac used to pray when he visited the city. The *Mitnagged* Israel *Loebl also reports on his visits to Warsaw and his fervent prayers: "And here I will tell you the story of R. Levi the rabbi of Berdichev, when he was in Łazienki, the king's pleasure gardens. He boasted that he had never prayed a *Minḥah* like the one he uttered there" (*Sefer ha-Vikku'aḥ* (Warsaw, 1798), 19).

Levi Isaac shared the distress of his people and worked to improve their living conditions. In singing his prayers he addressed the Creator in Yiddish; popular tradition has preserved some of these ("The *Kaddish* of R. Levi Isaac" etc.; see **Kaddish*). He stressed the good that is in man and always pleaded the cause of Jews: "No one has a right to say anything evil about the Jewish people, but only to intercede for them" (*Kedushat Levi*, Ḥukkat). He distinguished between two types of preacher: he who admonishes "with good words," who shows man "his merit and the source of his soul," bringing out his superior qualities and indicating opportunities for him to rise; and he who admonishes "with severe words," awes and subdues. Only he who "admonishes Jewish people gently, elevates their souls and always extols their righteousness is worthy of being their leader" (*ibid.*). Levi Isaac's book of sermons, *Kedushat Levi*, was published during his lifetime (Slavuta, 1798; Zolkiew, 1806) and was supplemented by his sons from manuscripts (Berdichev, 1811).

Although he did not found a dynasty, Levi Isaac had many pupils and left an indelible mark on Ḥasidism. He was a popular hero in Jewish poetry and fiction both in Hebrew and in Yiddish; the following plays are especially noteworthy: Ya'akov Cohen's *Ha-Ẓe'akah ha-Shelishit* (his complete works, vol. 4, 1945); the first play in *Sheloshah Ketarim* by Zevi Cahn (1954); Y. Sela, *Ha-Sanegor ha-Gadol* (1958). Important poems are Z. Shneur's "*Din Torah Ḥadash le-Rabbi Levi Yiẓḥak mi-Berdichev" (Shirim* (1960), 111–4), Uri Zevi *Greenberg's "*Be-Keẓ ha-Derakhim Omed Rabbi Levi Yiẓḥak mi-Berdichev ve-Doresh Teshuvat Ram*" (in: *Reḥovot ha-Nahar*, 1951), and S. *Meltzer's ballad "*Din Torah*" (in: *Or Zaru'a*, 1959). He was also depicted in Joseph *Opatoshu's well-known story, "In Poylishe Velder" (1921).

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Yovel… Alexander Marx (1943), 15–17; M. Buber, *Tales of the Hasidim – the Early Masters* (1947), 203–34; M.E. Gutman, *Mi-Gedolei ha-Ḥasidut* (1953^{2}); I. Halpern, in: *Tarbiz*, 28 (1959), 90–98 (*Yehudim ve-Yahadut be-Mizraḥ Eiropah* (1969), 340–7); J. Twersky, *Ḥayyei R. Levi Yiẓḥak mi-Berdichev* (1960); L. Jung (ed.), *Men of the Spirit* (1964), 403–13.

[Avraham Rubinstein]

LEVI-MONTALCINI, RITA (1911–), neurobiologist, Nobel Prize winner. Levi-Montalcini was born in Italy and grew up in Turin. She earned her degree in medicine at the University of Turin where she was employed until 1939 when she was barred by the Fascists from practicing medicine and from working in the university. Undaunted she continued her cell research by conducting experiments in an improvised laboratory in her bedroom with embryos from eggs which she had begged for to feed "needy children." Since she was a member of the "Jewish race," the results of the experiments could not be published in fascist Italy, but they did appear in Belgium, establishing her scientific reputation. The family fled to Belgium, but with Hitler's invasion of the country in 1940 returned to Italy. They hid in Florence under the name "Lovisato," claiming to be southern Italians – with a northern accent. In 1947 Levi-Montalcini accepted a teaching and research position at Washington University in St. Louis, Missouri, with Professor Viktor Hamburger. There in June 1951 she made the discovery for which she and Dr. Stanley *Cohen, who worked with her at that time, were awarded the 1986 Nobel Prize for medicine, the isolation of the nerve growth factor (NGF), a protein which stimulates the growth of sensory and sympathetic nerves in animals and in cultures.

Levi-Montalcini, who holds both United States and Italian citizenship, returned to Italy in 1977 to head a research laboratory of the National Council of Scientific Research in Rome. She was the first woman elected to the Pontifical Academy of Science and the sixth woman to be accepted into the National Academy of Sciences (1968). In addition to the Nobel Prize, Levi-Montalcini received the Feltrinelli International Prize in medicine in 1969, the St. Vincent Prize in 1980, and the Albert Lasker Basic Medical Research Award for 1986.

LEVIN, A. LEO (1919–), U.S. law professor and administrator. Born in New York City, Levin, son of an Orthodox rabbi and Mizrachi leader, graduated with a B.A. degree from Yeshiva University (1939) and a law degree from the University of Pennsylvania Law School (1942). He began to teach law at the University of Pennsylvania in 1949 and became a full professor in 1953. From 1963 to 1968 he was vice provost at the university, and then for a year (1969–1970) he served as vice president for academic affairs at Yeshiva University. He returned to teaching law at the University of Pennsylvania in 1970. In 1989 he was named professor emeritus.

In addition to teaching law, Levin was prominently involved in judicial administration. In 1977 he was appointed director of the Federal Judicial Center in Washington, D.C., an agency created by an act of Congress in 1967, to conduct research on the operation of federal courts, to conduct training programs for judges and court personnel, and to engage in related activities designed to make the federal court system efficient. He served in that capacity until 1987.

Other positions that Levin held are executive director of the Commission on Revision of the Federal Courts Appellate System (1973–75); chairman of the Pennsylvania State Legislative Reapportionment Commission (1971–73); founding director of the National Institute for Trial Advocacy; member of the Standing Committee on Practice and Procedure, Judicial Conference of the United States (1977–78); conference coordinator, National Conference on Causes of Dissatisfaction with the Administration of Justice (the so-called Pound Conference, 1976–77); and he has been a member of the National Institute of Corrections since 1977.

Levin is a Fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences and an honorary trustee of Bar-Ilan University. He was formerly president of the Jewish Publication Society, and is a member of the Board of Directors of the American Judicature Society. He also served on the Planning Committee of the Claims Commission, which made recommendations regarding the proper allocation of reparation and restitution funds to be paid to Holocaust survivors.

Among his publications are a study of judicial administration in Pennsylvania, a casebook on civil procedure, and a book on trial advocacy, as well as numerous law review articles. These books include *The American Judiciary* (1982), *Dispute Resolution Devices in a Democratic Society* (1985), and *Cases and Materials on Civil Procedure* (with P. Schuchman et al., 1992)

[Milton Ridvas Konvitz / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

LEVIN, ALTER ISAAC (pseudonym: **Asaf ha-Levi**, **Ish Yerushalayim**; 1883–1933), Hebrew writer. Born in Russia, he immigrated to Palestine in 1891 and studied at religious schools in Jerusalem. He worked as an insurance broker but subsequently became enmeshed in financial difficulties and committed suicide. He was also an art collector. Encouraged by Israel Dov *Frumkin, Levin wrote poems and articles for *Ḥavaẓẓelet and other newspapers in Palestine. He published a collection of poems, *Megillat Kedem le-Asaf ha-Levi Ish Yerushalayim* (1920), and a booklet of folk songs, *Shirei Am* (1920).

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[Getzel Kressel]

LEVIN, ARYEH (affectionately referred to as "**Reb Aryeh**"; 1885–1969), the most saintly figure in modern Israel. Aryeh Levin was born in Orla, near Grodno, Belorussia, to poverty-stricken parents. At the age of nine he left home to study at various yeshivot, notably the Yeshivah of Slutsk, then headed by Isser Zalman *Meltzer, and subsequently in Volozhin. He immigrated to Ereẓ Israel in 1905, continuing his studies in the *Eẓ Ḥayyim yeshivah in Jerusalem. From 1915 until his last days his official position was spiritual mentor (*mashgiaḥ*) to the *talmud torah* attached to the Eẓ Ḥayyim yeshivah.

Although an outstanding talmudic scholar, receiving *semikhah* from the greatest rabbis of the time, Ḥayyim *Berlin, Samuel *Salant, and Abraham Isaac Ha-Kohen *Kook, whose faithful follower he was, and although from 1949 he conducted a yeshivah in the upper rooms of his modest home, Reb Aryeh's fame and the widespread and boundless esteem in which he was held sprang not from his learning but his good works. Humble, and living in conditions of near poverty, he devoted his life for nearly 50 years, in an entirely honorary capacity, unwearyingly and without thought of self, to acts of charity and love. He appointed himself chaplain to the hospitals, especially the Leper Hospital, comforting mourners, bringing a message of love and hope to the distressed and the unfortunate, radiating benignity by the very touch of his hand.

Reb Aryeh regarded it as his special mission to attend to the needs of the Jewish political prisoners who had been incarcerated by the British Mandatory Government, particularly those who were sentenced to death, acting as a go-between between them and their families and accompanying them in their last moments. He was widely known as "the Rabbi of the Prisoners." Reb Aryeh refused all honors, including the Freedom of Jerusalem, and never moved out of the poor quarter of Mishkenot in Jerusalem.

Tens of thousands, including the most notable personalities in the country, attended his funeral.

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[Simha Raz (2nd ed.)]

LEVIN, BERNARD (1928–2004), British newspaper columnist. Levin was one of the best-known and most controversial newspaper columnists in contemporary Britain. He was educated at the London School of Economics and became prominent in BBC's television satire programs of the 1960s. He is best remembered for his biweekly columns in the London *Times*. Originally on the left, and a lifelong liberal opponent of censorship and excessive punishment, after about 1970 he became nationally known as one of the most vocal champions in the British press of Soviet Jews and dissidents. Renowned for his biting wit, Levin was critical of aspects of Israel's policies and regularly championed the playing of Richard *Wagner's music. His history of Britain in the 1960s, *The Pendulum Years* (1971), is a standard account.

[William D. Rubinstein (2nd ed.)]

LEVIN, CARL (1934–), U.S. senator from Michigan, longest-serving senator in Michigan history, ranking Democrat on Senate Armed Service Committee. Levin was born in Detroit to an ardently Democratic family, and politics seemed to be part of the family's vocation. His uncle Theodore Levin was a Federal judge, his older brother, Sander *Levin, was a member of the House of Representatives from 1983, and his first cousin was a Michigan Supreme Court judge while another first cousin, Joseph Levin, was a candidate for the House of Representatives.

Levin was educated in Detroit public schools, and graduated from Swarthmore (1956) and Harvard Law School (1959). He was an assistant state attorney general and first general counsel for the Michigan Civil Rights Commission from 1964 to 1967 and then chief appellate defender of the city of Detroit from 1968 to 1969 before being elected to the City Council where he served from 1969 to 1977. He was Council president from 1973 to 1977 and then was elected to the Senate in a race against the then Senate Minority Whip Robert P. Griffin.

In the Senate he served on the Armed Service Committee, at one time chairing it; in 2005 he was the leading Democratic voice on national defense with a reputation for propriety and a propensity to fight waste. His position forced him to challenge the Bush Administration on prewar intelligence though he was known for his keen support of national defense. Levin is the ranking Democrat on the Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations of the Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs Committee.

Among his other accomplishments was the investigation of the collapse of Enron and the spikes in gasoline prices. A champion of government ethics, he was the author of the Ethics Reform Act of 1989 and was central to the enactment of the Special Counsel Law. Representing Michigan, Levin has been concerned about the fate of organized labor and the automobile industry. A strong supporter of Israel, he also represents the largest Arab-American constituency in the United States.

In an era of glib politicians who are media savvy, Levin typically appears with his glasses on his nose in suits that are anything but tailor-made. Yet his command of the issues is strong, his mastery of material evident, and his integrity unquestioned. The people of Michigan have elected him time and again.

[Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

LEVIN, EMANUEL (**Menahem Mendel**; 1820–1913), author and communal worker, early pioneer of *Haskalah in Russia. A teacher of Russian and German in new schools in Vilna and his native Minsk, Levin wrote *Dikduk Leshon Rusyah* ("Grammar of the Russian Language") in 1846 and published a Russian translation of *Pirkei Avot* with notes in 1868. He founded a school for girls in Minsk, and in 1852 he was appointed as a teacher in the government rabbinical seminary in *Zhitomir. In 1857 he entered the service of the barons Y. and H. *Guenzburg, becoming their confidant and secretary for Jewish affairs. Under their instructions he drafted memoranda and appeals to the authorities, including a memorandum on the pogroms of 1881–82 to the Pahlen Commission, the government committee which discussed the Jewish question (see *Russia). Levin published several collections of the special laws concerning the Jews in Russia (*Sbornik ogranichitelnykh* *zakonov… o yevreyakh*, 1902). He also drafted the constitution of the *Society for the Promotion of Culture among the Jews of Russia and served as its first secretary (1863–72). From 1895 Levin was a member of the historical committee of the society and one of the collaborators in the publication of the collection *Regesty i Nadpisi*. Levin was also the secretary of several conventions of the leaders of Russian Jewry, including the meetings of the communal delegates during the years of the pogroms of 1881–82. He died in St. Petersburg.

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[Yehuda Slutsky]

LEVIN, HANOCH (1943–1999), Israeli playwright, poet, and theater director. Levin was born in Tel Aviv, the city in which he lived most of his life and in which he died at the age of 56. A most prolific writer, he wrote 58 plays in different dramatic genres, two books of prose, *The Eternal Patient and His Beloved* and *A Man Stands Behind a Sitting Woman*, two collections of satirical sketches, several songs including "*Mah Ikhpat la-Ẓippor*" ("What Does the Bird Care") and "*The Gigolo from Congo*," and a book of poems, *The Life of the Dead.*

Levin grew up in a Tel Aviv milieu characterized by acute differences – between native-born Israelis and new immigrants, between rich and poor, Ashkenazi and Sephardi Jews, Jews and Arabs – differences that became more acute after the Six-Day War (1967). These differences and the feelings they provoked became the fuel for his theater, the target of his fierce socio-political criticism. Levin started his theatrical career with satires: short satirical sketches and poems that he wrote during his studies at Tel Aviv University (1964–67). These were published on the back cover of the students' journal *Dorban*. In the political satires that followed, *You, Me and the Next War* (1968) and *Ketshup* (1969), Levin attacked the arrogance of Jewish society in Israel after the victory of 1967. He juxtaposed the voice of the individual soldier who wanted above all to come home alive with the military discourses of the politicians and generals. In all of these sketches Levin was sending a prophetic warning about the tragic results for Israeli society of the occupation and colonization. The two productions, performed in front of small audiences, got mixed responses. Levin caused a public outcry with his *Malkat ha-Ambatiyah* (*Queen of the Bathtub*) directed by David Levin, his brother, at the Cameri Theater in April 1970. From the first performance on, reactions were violent inside and outside the theater. Levin was accused of slaughtering the "sacred cows" of Israeli society, mainly the Israeli army, war widows, and bereaved parents, and of destroying Jewish solidarity during a state of war. In response to the pressure exerted from all quarters – actors at the Cameri, audiences, journalists, and political figures – the play was stopped after 19 performances.

Solomon Grip (Open Theater, Tel Aviv, 1969), *Ḥefetz* (Haifa Municipal Theater, 1972) and *Ya'akobi and Leidenthal* (Cameri Theater, 1972) marked the emergence of a new genre, that of tragi-comedy. These plays dealt with the desires and misfortunes of insignificant people, descendants of the "heroes" of Mendele Mokher Seforim and Shalom Aleichem, Gogol and Chekhov, trying to live meaningful lives in their poor, unnoticed neighborhoods. In the following tragi-comedies, *Young Vardale* (1974), *Kroum* (1975), *Popper* (1976) *Rubber Merchants* (1978), *Winter's Funeral* (1979), *Suitcase Packers* (1983), *The Labors of Life* (1989), *The Hesitant* (1990), *The Wondrous Woman Within Us* (1994), and *The Whore from Ohio* (1997), Levin excavated the anxieties and fears, the hopes and disillusionments, the humiliation and subjugation that reign in the relationships between man and woman, mother and son, parents and children, among friends and family members. His comedies were constructed of short scenes, where the characters tried to communicate in short, lean dialogue and sentimental song. His comic style, impregnated with grotesque and satirical elements, represented the characters' inner voices as conversations and their vain efforts to fulfill their desires as Sisyphean tasks.

In 1979 with the performance of *Execution* at the Cameri Theater, Levin announced a new direction – mythological plays where he explored the dramatic strategies of tragic writing. Under this broad rubric there appeared plays based on the mythological traditions of Western civilization: *The Sorrows of Job* (1981), *The Great Whore of Babylon* (1982), *The Child Dreams* (1993), *Open Mouth* (1995), and *Decapitation* (1996); others were based on new readings of Greek tragedy: *The Lost Women of Troy* (1984), *Everybody Wants To Live* (1985), *The Man with the Knife in the Middle* (1990, unperformed), *The Emperor* (1996, unperformed), *The Weepers* (2001); still other plays were readings of Christian tragedy: *Salvation* (1993, unperformed), *Chlodog the Miserable King* (1996, unperformed). In some other plays Levin represented modern existence and the modern conscience in terms of modern mythological metaphors. These include *The Dreamer* (1983), *Rape Trial* (1989, unperformed), *Those Who Walk in The Dark* (1997), and *Requiem* (1998). Shifting between Greek myth and biblical stories enabled Levin to examine the Jewish God through the eyes of a pagan. Thus, despite the fact that he defined God as "a collector of stamps with rare misprints" (*The Sorrows of Job*) or as the symbolization of pure chance, Levin was still able to present him not as a cruel or compassionate God, but as an alienated onlooker observing the downfall of man. Levin employed the mythical format as both a legitimate way of representing reality and a primary poetical way of describing man's earthly existence. In these plays, the only meaningful associations were those between the subject and the forces which determined his existence, his destiny, and his death. They alone were responsible for his suffering and his destruction. Human existence became, in these plays, a spectacle in which Man examines his most firmly held beliefs and discovers his own fragility. The dramatic situations illustrate the gradual abasement of the human protagonist: the dissolution of his familiar boundaries, followed by the loss of his dignity and self-esteem and culminating in his isolation and annihilation. However, Levin's theater is characterized by a constant search for a special balance between the violent deeds enacted or recounted on the stage and the compassion embedded in the poetic text. This balance constitutes the important components in Levin's concept of modern tragedy.

Levin began his directing career at the Cameri Theater in Tel Aviv when he directed *Ya'akobi and Leidenthal* in 1972. Subsequently the Cameri Theater became his "home," though he later directed in most of the established theaters in Israel. Levin was known for his long collaboration with actors and theater artists. In the 21 plays he directed, he worked again and again with the same actors – Zaharira Harifai, Yosef Carmon, Albert Cohen, Gita Munte, Itzchak Chizkiya, Sasson Gabai, Rivka Gur, Michael Koresh, Dror Keren, Yehudah Almagor, Dinah Blei, Sandra Shoenwald, and others. He also worked with stage designers Ruth Dar, Moshe Sternfeld, Roni Toren, and Rakefet Levi, and composers Alex Kagan, Poldi Shatzman, Uri Vidislavski, and Yossi Bin Nun. All these theater artists contributed to the emergence of Levin's unique theatrical language, to the spectacular and meaningful metaphors on stage that enhanced the poetic words of his texts. Levin's *The Labors of Love, Selected Plays* (2003) is available in English.

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[Nurit Yaari (2nd ed.)]

LEVIN, HARRY (1912–1993), U.S. literary critic and editor. Levin taught at Harvard from 1944. The author of *James Joyce: A Critical Introduction* (1941), he is especially known for his writings on American and European literature. His *The Power of Blackness* (1958) is a study of the problems of innocence and evil in the works of Hawthorne, Poe, and Melville. His works include *Symbolism and Fiction* (1956) and *The Gates of Horn: A Study of Five French Realists* (1963).

LEVIN, IRA (1929–), U.S. author. Born in the Bronx and raised in Manhattan, Levin earned two bachelor's degrees from New York University in 1950, one in English and one in philosophy. Although his father wanted him to join the family's toy business, Levin opted to try writing for two years, with the proviso that if he failed he would work with his father. He never did. He sold his first script to the National Broadcasting Corporation for its *Lights Out* television drama. His first book, *A Kiss Before Dying* (1952), won the Edgar Allan Poe award from the Mystery Writers of America as the year's best first mystery. It was filmed first in 1956 and then in 1991. In 1953 Levin was drafted into the army. He served with the Signal Corps but he still managed to work as a writer, producing training films for troops. While he continued to write for television, he won the assignment to adapt the comic novel *No Time for Sergeants*, about a hillbilly inducted into the military, for the Broadway stage. It ran for 796 performances. Levin's second novel, published in 1967, was his most famous work, *Rosemary's Baby*. In it, an apparently average couple find new friends among devil-worshippers. The book sold more than five million paperback copies in the United States alone and was translated into many languages. The film, starring Mia Farrow and John Cassavetes, was a tremendous commercial success. The screenplay was adapted by Roman *Polanski, who won an Academy Award for this horrifying tale of Satanism and the occult. *Rosemary's Baby* is credited with being a turning point in horror fiction, as books and movies dealing with the occult suddenly came into vogue. Levin's next book was *This Perfect Day*. It met with mixed reviews, but then came *The Stepford Wives* (1972). Levin was living then in Wilton, Conn., a suburb of New York, and he wrote the book while going through a divorce. The book, about a small town where men have had enough of women's liberation, is sometimes viewed as a male antidote to the then burgeoning feminist movement. It was filmed twice and made into sequels for television. The idea of women as robots doing men's bidding touched a nerve in the American psyche and spawned a number of sequels and offshoots, and the word "Stepford" entered the common vocabulary, meaning anyone who allowed his role in society to be dictated by someone else. While Levin had a few plays that were unsuccessful, like the musical *Drat! The Cat* (which included the hit song "She Touched Me," written by Levin), this was not the end of his writing career. Levin turned in 1972 to *The Boys from Brazil*. In it Hitler has been cloned, and the Fourth Reich is on its way. Levin wrote about Josef Mengele attempting to create an army of Hitler clones. It was made into a gripping film, with Laurence Olivier, Gregory Peck, and James Mason. Levin produced the comedy-thriller *Deathtrap* (1978) for Broadway. It ran for a record-breaking 1,792 performances and was made into a film that starred Christopher Reeve and Michael Caine. In 2004 Levin was honored by the Mystery Writers with its Grand Masters Award.

[Stewart Kampel (2nd ed.)]

LEVIN, JUDAH LEIB (known by the acronym **Yehalel** = **YeHudah Leib Levin**; 1844–1925), Hebrew socialist poet and writer and one of the first members of Ḥovevei Zion. He received an Orthodox education at home but studied secular subjects and became completely estranged from his former environment. In 1870 he was employed as tutor and secretary by the *Brodskis, the Jewish sugar magnates of Kiev, and worked for them until the Soviet regime closed the enterprise in 1918. In 1871 he published his first collection of poetry, *Siftei Renanot* (Zhitomir, 1871), which was well received by the Hebrew reading public. His socialist views stemmed from reading Russian radical and socialist literature and observing the relations between his employers, the Brodskis, and their employees. He joined the circle of A.S. *Liebermann and helped him publish his newspaper, *Ha-Emet*. Most of his poems which appeared from 1874 to 1880 in *Ha-Shaḥar* dealt with social problems and sharply criticized the existing order and the regime. His poems, actually essays in rhyme, were minor and innovative only in that they were the first to introduce socialist themes into Hebrew literature and poetry. Levin's interest in problems of Jewish life increased when Russian nationalism and antisemitism grew stronger. The pogroms in 1881 brought a decisive change in Levin's ideas; he drew even further from the socialist circles and devoted himself to the problems of Jewish life. He joined Ḥovevei Zion, was one of the founders of this pre-Zionist movement in Kiev, and through letters and articles propagandized for the settlement of Ereẓ Israel. He translated Disraeli's *Tancred* (*Or la-Goyim*, Warsaw, 1884), which visualizes the return of the Jews to their land. Because of this activity he had to leave Kiev and settle in the small town of Tomashpol where he worked for Brodski and continued with his literary work. Living in remote Tomashpol had an adverse effect on Levin. Out of touch with his contemporaries, he did not progress with the mainstream of Hebrew poetry and literature. In 1910, the jubilee of his literary work, he published his memoirs, *Zikkaron ba-Sefer*, including a chronological list of his writings. With the onset of the Russian Revolution Levin returned to Kiev, where he spent his last years in poverty and loneliness. A selection of his memoirs, articles, and poems was published in 1968 as *Zikhronot ve-Hegyonot*.

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[Yehuda Slutsky]

LEVIN, JUDAH LEIB (1863–1926), rabbi. Born in Lithuania, he was educated at Volozhin, and then at Kovno where he was ordained by Rabbi Isaac Elchanan Spektor. He then became rabbi in Liskava. In 1892 he immigrated to the United States, arriving first in Rochester, and then he returned to Europe to become the rabbi in Kreva. But within a year he returned to the United Sates to become the rabbi at Congregation Bikur Cholim in New Haven, Connecticut.

In 1897 he went to Detroit as the rabbi of three congregations, Beth Jacob, B'nai Israel, and Shaarey Zedek, where he spent the remainder of his life. He arranged the three congregations into a formal federation known as the Union of Orthodox Hebrew Congregations. He established a yeshivah in Detroit that was later named in his memory: Beth Yehuda. He was a founder of Agudat Harabbonim and a strong supporter of Mizrachi. He organized a parade in support of Zionism in 1931 in Detroit. An inventor, he received patents for calculators, one of which was exhibited at the Smithsonian Institution. He is the author of *Ha-Aderet veha Emunah.*

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[Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

LEVIN, LEWIS CHARLES (1808–1860), U.S. lawyer, editor, and congressman. Levin, who was born in Charleston, South Carolina, attended South Carolina College (now the University of South Carolina). After studying law, he settled in Philadelphia in 1838 where he was admitted to the bar. There, he achieved prominence as a temperance speaker and editor of the *Temperance Advocate*. He was a founder of the Native American (later "Know-Nothing") Party in 1843 and edited and published its official organ, the *Daily Sun*, in Philadelphia. Elected as a candidate of the Native American Party to the 29th, 30th, and 31st Congresses (March 4, 1845–March 3, 1851), Levin championed a high tariff, expansionism, public works, including a dry dock at Philadelphia, and "Know-Nothing" legislation. After being defeated for reelection in 1850, he resumed his law practice.

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[Perry Goldman]

LEVIN, MAKSIM GRIGORYEVICH (1904–1963), Soviet Russian ethnologist and physical anthropologist. Levin did extensive field work in Siberia and wrote on the ethnology of Asiatic Russia and Siberia. The expert knowledge accumulated in these expeditions is reflected in his *Narody Sibiri* ("Peoples of Siberia," 1956), which he edited with L.P. Potapov and to which he was himself an important contributor; and in *Istoriko-geograficheskiy atlas Sibiri* ("A Historico-Geographical Atlas of Siberia," 1961), which he again edited with L.P. Potapov. He also wrote *Ocherki po istorii antropologii v Rossii* (1960), a history of the development of anthropology. One of his works, *Etnicheskaya antropolgiya i problemy etnogeneza narodov Dal nego Vostoka* (1958), became available in English translation in 1963 as *Ethnic Origins of the Peoples of Northeastern Asia*. Levin became deputy director of the Institute of Ethnography of the Academy of Sciences of the U.S.S.R. and head of its physical anthropology section, and edited many of the institute's publications.

[Ephraim Fischoff]

LEVIN (LEFIN), MENAHEM MENDEL (1749–1826), early Haskalah author, translator, and educator. Born in Satanov, Podolia, he had a traditional Jewish education but also studied sciences, mathematics, and medieval philosophy in his youth. From 1780 to 1783/84 Levin lived in Berlin, where he met Moses *Mendelssohn, through whom he established contact with the leaders of the Haskalah. His first popular literary success was a Hebrew translation of Tissot's *Manual of Popular Medicine and Hygiene*, undertaken with Mendelssohn's encouragement. Through a chance encounter, he made the acquaintance of one of Poland's leading statesmen, Prince Adam *Czartoryski, who ultimately became his patron, helping him to publish his work and allotting him a stipend. Levin taught mathematics and philosophy to Czartoryski's children, which was rare at that time, and dedicated his unpublished philosophical treatise, "*Aus dem Nachlass eines Sonderlings zu Abdera*," to Czartoryski's wife. When the great Sejm met in Warsaw (1788–92), Levin participated in discussions on contemporary problems. Toward the end of the 18th century, he resided in Ustye and in St. Petersburg in the home of the wealthy philanthropist J. *Zeitlin, serving as tutor to his grandson. After 1808 he lived in Brody and Tarnopol, where his influence on the *maskilim* in Galicia, notably N. *Krochmal and J. *Perl, was so considerable that he is regarded as the father of the Galician Haskalah.

Believing that the achievement of the objectives of the Haskalah depended, in large measure, upon making books readily available to the public, he dedicated himself to the publication of both secular and religious works. Like other *maskilim*, Levin derived his views on Judaism primarily from Maimonides, and he prepared a new version of the *Guide of the Perplexed* (Zolkiew, 1829), which he wrote in mishnaic Hebrew, hoping thereby to make the work more accessible to the modern reader. Levin's main contributions to Jewish literature were his use of mishnaic Hebrew, whose style he described as "light and pure," rather than the biblical rhetoric employed by almost all of his literary contemporaries, and his willingness to write works in Yiddish – the anathema of the Haskalah. Thus he directed a number of Haskalah writers toward a more popular Hebrew style and many of his usages and neologisms have entered modern Hebrew. To render certain books of the Bible more easily comprehensible to the East European Yiddish speaker, he produced an idiomatic Yiddish translation of the ethical and poetic books of the Hagiographa: Psalms, Proverbs, Job, Lamentations, and Ecclesiastes. However, the appearance of his translation of Proverbs (Tarnopol, 1813) was bitterly criticized by *maskilim*, especially Tobias *Feder, who objected to the use of Yiddish, denouncing it as a betrayal of Haskalah ideals and a reversion to parochialism. Levin's other Yiddish works either remained in manuscript or were published after his death.

Levin was more of a popularizer than an original writer. Most of his works were translations, popularizations, or proposals designed to improve the condition of the Jews through the use of Enlightenment ideas, i.e., the application of reason to the social, economic, and moral problems of the community. For example, believing that poverty among the Jews stemmed from their involvement in petty commerce, he suggested that the situation could be improved only by Jewish participation in basic industry, the skilled trades, and farming. In spite of his strong opposition to Ḥasidism, he did not hesitate to request help from the leaders of the ḥasidic community in order to achieve communal reforms. Levin's approach to social and cultural problems was particularly influenced by the Edict of Tolerance (1781) of *Joseph II of Austria, and by N.H. *Wessely's *Divrei Shalom ve-Emet* (1782). Advocating the reform of Jewish education, Levin, like Wessely, urged that secular studies, especially the sciences, be added to Torah learning. The language of instruction, he believed, should be Polish, and that the Bible should be taught with the aid of a Polish translation. Although opposing fanaticism, Levin nevertheless held that religion was the driving force in the history of the Jewish people. He, therefore, vehemently opposed those *maskilim* who deviated from traditional observance. Unlike Mendelssohn, he wanted to preserve the wide internal autonomy of the *kehillah* and the jurisdiction of the Jewish rabbinical courts, but recommended the reorganization of the rabbinate so that it included district rabbis who possessed secular as well as talmudic knowledge.

Levin opposed Kabbalah, and Ḥasidism which he claimed to be responsible for lowering morality among the Jews. The first writer to see Ḥasidism as the most powerful opponent of the Haskalah, Levin urged rabbis to attack Ḥasidism and to censor its books as well as kabbalistic works. In his unpublished *Maḥkimat Peti* and *Der Ershter Ḥasid* Levin satirized the "nonsense" in Ḥasidic writings, social mores, and theoretical principles. In his opinion the authorities were interested in bringing Enlightenment to the Jews, and he suggested the enactment of legislation for this purpose. The best way of combating Ḥasidism was by undertaking educational work among the Jews. Levin died in Tarnopol.

Among his other writings are *Moda la-Binah*, containing essays on science and excerpts from *Refu'ot ha-Am* and *Iggerot Ḥokhmah* (Berlin, 1789); *Ḥeshbon ha-Nefesh* (Lemberg, 1812), ethical essays patterned on Benjamin Franklin's *Poor Richard's Almanac; Masot ha-Yam* (Zolkiew, 1818; Lemberg, 1859), a translation of Campe's travel book; *Elon Moreh*, an introduction to the *Guide of the Perplexed* (Odessa, 1867); *Sefer Kohelet* (Odessa, 1873; Vilna, 1930), a Yiddish translation of Ecclesiastes; and *Essai d'un plan de réforme ayant pour objet d'eclairer la nation juive en Pologne et de redresser par là ses moeurs* (1791–92).

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[Avraham Rubinstein]

LEVIN, MEYER (1905–1981), U.S. novelist. Born and raised in the Chicago slums, Levin became a reporter for the Chicago *Daily News* and in 1925 was sent to cover the opening of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, and returned to Palestine in 1928 to spend a year on a kibbutz. He had already written short stories of Jewish life, some of which appeared in the *Menorah Journal*, but his *Yehuda* (1931) was one of the first novels about kibbutz life. In *The Golden Mountain* (1932), reissued in 1966 as *Classic Hassidic Tales*, he retold stories of the Ḥasidim, and in *The Old Bunch* (1937) portrayed his own generation of Chicago Jews. Levin was a correspondent in Spain during the Civil War (1936–39) and later reported the Palestine disorders for the Jewish Telegraphic Agency (1945–46). In 1946 he made the first feature film of the *yishuv, My Father's House*, and a documentary, *The Illegals*, in 1947. His autobiography, *In Search*, appeared in 1950.

Levin's writings covered a wide field – from Jewish mysticism to the modern American scene, which he depicted with realism and vitality. His novels include *Reporter* (1929), *Frankie and Johnny* (1930, reedited as *The Young Lovers*, 1952), *The Fanatic* (1964), and *Stronghold* (1965). Levin was the first writer to dramatize *The Diary of Anne Frank* (1952). Levin's own account of the turmoil he underwent to bring his version of the diary to the stage is found in his *The Obsession* (1973). His bestseller, *Compulsion* (1956), a study of the *Loeb-Leopold murder case of the 1920s, was dramatized by the author himself (1959) and filmed. *Eva* (1959) told the story of a Jewish girl's escape from Nazi-occupied Poland to Palestine. Levin also published a Passover *Haggadah*, various histories of Israel for juveniles, and books on the synagogue and the Jewish way of life. In 1958 he settled in Israel, which was the setting for his erotic extravaganza, *Gore and Igor* (1968). Israel is also the subject of his novels *The Settlers* (1972) and *The Harvest* (1978).

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[Sol Liptzin]

LEVIN, NATHANIEL WILLIAM (1819–1903), pioneer New Zealand merchant and communal leader. Probably born in London, he arrived at Port Nicholson (Wellington) in 1841, opened a store, and prospered, although the store was destroyed by an earthquake in 1848. Levin became a dynamic force in local commercial and maritime enterprises, establishing interests in the whaling trade and exporting wool. He built his own wharf and owned a fleet of sailing ships. A justice of the peace and foundation member of many public institutions, he was appointed to the Legislative Council in 1869, but retired to London in 1871. Earlier he took part in the affairs of the embryo Wellington Jewish community, his name appearing as a trustee to the Crown grant of the Jewish cemetery land. He was the father of William Hort Levin MP. The town of Levin was named after the family.

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[Maurice S. Pitt]

LEVIN, NORA (1916–1989), historian of the Jewish experience for general audiences. Born in Philadelphia to Joseph and Bertha Levin, Levin received her B.S. in education at Temple University in 1938 and her B.S. in library science in 1941 from the Drexel Institute of Technology in Philadelphia. After serving as a visitor for the Department of Public Assistance in Philadelphia from 1938 to 1940, she started a career as a reference librarian, working at the Free Library of Philadelphia (1941–43), Time, Inc. (1943–44), and *Holiday* (1945–47). Levin served as the executive secretary of the Philadelphia Council of the Women's Labor Zionist Organization of America, *Pioneer Women, from 1948 to 1953. Between 1953 and 1970, she taught high school history and English in the Philadelphia public schools. Levin became an instructor of Jewish history at Gratz College in Philadelphia in 1970, where she taught until her death in 1989. In that year, Gratz College awarded her a D.H.Lit. posthumously.

Levin was the author of three books, including one of the earliest general accounts of the Shoah, *The Holocaust: The Destruction of European Jewry, 1933–1945* (1968). In 1977, she wrote *While Messiah Tarried: Jewish Socialist Movements, 1871–1933*, a study of various movements that wedded socialist principles to a vigorous Jewish identity. Levin also wrote a two-volume study, *Jews in the Soviet Union since 1917: Paradox of Survival* (1988). Always a community activist, she regularly wrote articles for journals of opinion like the *Jewish Frontier*, *The Reconstructionist*, *Commonweal*, and *The Nation*.

[Marsha L. Rozenblit (2nd ed.)]

LEVIN, POUL THEODOR (1869–1925), Danish author, critic, and journalist. Born in Copenhagen, Levin wrote plays and literary studies, but was best known for his successful novels idealizing home life and the role of women. These include *Familien i Danmark* (1911), *Lykkens Veje* ("The Ways of Happiness," 1913), and *Mariannes Mor* (1921). Levin also contributed to *Berlingske Tidende* and from 1910 edited the periodical *Tilskueren*.

LEVIN, RICHARD C. (1947–), president of Yale University. Born in San Francisco, Levin received his bachelor's degree in history from Stanford University in 1968. He studied politics and philosophy at Oxford University, earning a bachelor of letters degree. In 1974 he received his doctorate in economics from Yale, and he joined the Yale faculty that same year.

An influential economist, Levin focused on the economics of technological change, including industrial research and development and the effects of public regulation on private industry. His work in the 1970s and 1980s on the Interstate Commerce Commission influenced railroad deregulation. At Yale, Levin taught courses on microeconomics, the oil industry, and the history of economic thought, among other subjects. He became director of graduate studies in economics, then was appointed chairman of the Economics Department in 1987. He was named the Frederick William Beinecke Professor of Economics at Yale in 1992, and he became dean of the Graduate School that same year.

Levin was named president of Yale in 1993. One of the longest-serving Ivy League presidents, he became known for several initiatives. Under his presidency, Yale invested over

$2 billion in renovation and building, focusing on the expansion of the university's medical and science facilities. At the same time, Levin worked to build a partnership with the city of New Haven, supporting initiatives for economic development, education, and human services; these measures have included the renovation of downtown New Haven, local home-buying programs, the President's Public Service Fellowships, and contributions of $100 million to city improvements during Levin's tenure.

Another of Levin's priorities has been the "internationalization" of Yale. He created the Yale Center for the Study of Globalization, headed by Ernesto Zedillo, former president of Mexico, and the Yale World Fellows Program, which seeks to train emerging world leaders. Building connections with China, Yale sponsored an Advanced University Leadership Program for presidents and vice presidents of fourteen leading Chinese universities in 2004 and 2005, as well as an executive education program for Chinese government officials in June 2005.

Levin served as a director of Lucent Technologies and as a trustee of the William and Flora Hewlett Foundation, a leading philanthropic organization. He was a fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, and he was a member of the board on Science, Technology and Economic Policy at the National Academy of Science. A member of the American Economic Association, he also served as chairman of the board of the University Alliance for Lifelong Learning, sponsored by Yale, Oxford, and Stanford Universities.

[Dorothy Bauhoff (2nd ed.)]

LEVIN, SANDER (1931–), U.S. congressman. Levin was born in Detroit. He graduated from Detroit's Central High School and then went to the University of Chicago for his B.A., Columbia University for an M.A. in International Relations, and Harvard Law School. Levin represented Oakland County for six years in the Michigan State Senate and was minority leader in 1969–70, his final year in the Senate. Levin ran unsuccessfully for governor of Michigan in 1970 and 1974, narrowly losing both contests. During the Carter Administration he worked with the Agency for International Development before being elected to Congress in 1982. He was the ranking minority member of the Trade Subcommittee, where he used his standing to protect the American auto industry. Levin served on the House Ways and Means Committee, which has jurisdiction over all tax, trade, and economic growth policies, and entitlement spending, including Social Security, Medicare, welfare, and unemployment compensation. He was the ranking Democrat on the Social Security Subcommittee. He also served on the Trade subcommittee.

He was known as a leader on trade issues – seeking ways to use trade policy to shape globalization. He persistently challenged unfair trade practices that threaten U.S. manufacturers and U.S. job issues that are important to Michigan's threatened automobile manufacturing industry. He also worked on a variety of health care issues from children's health care, transitional Medicaid, and mental health. He was a leader on welfare reform issues and the federal unemployment insurance program and introduced legislation to include preventive services in Medicare, and to create a national public service campaign for gynecological cancer.

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[Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

LEVIN, SHMARYA (**Shemaryahu**; 1867–1935), Zionist leader, Hebrew and Yiddish author. Born in Svisloch, Belorussia, Levin joined Ḥibbat Zion in his youth, was one of *Aḥad Ha-Am's adherents, becoming a member of the *Benei Moshe society. Levin studied at Berlin University and at the Hochschule fuer die Wissenschaft des Judentums in the same city, joining the Russian-Jewish Scientific Society, which proliferated the idea of Jewish nationalism among Russian-Jewish students in Germany. He served as **Kazyonny ravvin* in Grodno (1896–97) and Yekatrinoslav (1898–1904) and preached in Vilna (1904–06). Throughout his career he worked toward spreading Zionist ideas both orally and in the Hebrew press (*Ha-Shilo'aḥ, Ha-Zeman, Ha-Ẓofeh*) and the Yiddish press (*Der Yud, Der Fraynd*). At the Sixth Zionist Congress (1903), Levin was among the leaders of the opposition to the *Uganda Scheme. He was also among the founders of the League for the Attainment of Equal Rights for the Jewish People in Russia (established in 1905) and a member of its central board. In 1906 Levin was chosen to the first Russian Duma as delegate of the Jewish National List in Vilna (with the support of the Lithuanians). He participated in deliberations in the Duma and delivered two speeches on the pogrom in Bialystok. After the first Duma was disbanded, Levin was among the signators of the Vyborg Declaration, which called for civil disobedience.

Afterward, Levin left Russia and settled in Berlin, from where he traveled to the United States on a number of lecture tours. At the Tenth Zionist Congress (1911), he was elected a member of the Zionist Executive. He took part in the work of the *Hilfsverein der deutschen Juden in Germany and was among the initiators of the establishment of the technical school in Haifa (the *Technion); he also influenced American Jews to contribute to this cause. Levin resigned from the board of governors of the Technion together with Aḥad Ha-Am and J. *Tschlenow after their suggestion to use Hebrew as the language of instruction was rejected. During World War I he lived in the U.S. and directed propaganda work on Zionism and Hebrew culture orally and in writing. Together with Y.D. *Berkowitz he edited the weekly *Ha-Toren* and regularly wrote its editorials. Levin was outstanding as a sharp-witted publicist, and he became particularly famous as a speaker and conversationalist. His speeches were a blend of Jewish heritage and European culture, spiced with Jewish folk wit. He frequently contributed to the Zionist press in all its languages, and some of his articles were collected in *Bi-Ymei ha-Ma'avar* ("In the Days of Transition," 1949).

In 1920 Levin participated in the postwar Zionist Conference in London and was entrusted with the propaganda for *Keren Hayesod. He was among the founders and directors of the Devir publishing house. In 1924 he settled in Palestine, traveling from time to time in various countries on missions for the Zionist Movement and its funds. He developed ties of friendship with Sir Arthur *Wauchope, the high commissioner for Palestine. Levin's first book was entitled *Asarah Shirim* ("Ten Poems," original works and translations, 1899). In his last years he began to publish his memoirs in the *Jewish Daily Forward* (New York). A selection of his letters was published in 1966 entitled *Iggerot Shemaryahu Levin*. A small selection of his articles appeared in English entitled *Out of Bondage* (1919). Levin's autobiography and memoirs appeared in English in three volumes entitled *Childhood in Exile* (1929), *Youth in Revolt* (1930), and *The Arena* (1932). In 1967 it appeared in one volume (abridged by Maurice Samuel) entitled *Forward from Exile* (1967).

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[Yehuda Slutsky]

LEVIN, THEODORE (1897–1971), U.S. federal district court judge. Born in Chicago, Levin was appointed by President Truman in 1946 to the federal district court in Michigan. From 1959 to 1967 he was chief judge of the eastern district federal court of Michigan, remaining on the court until his death. Levin gave important aid to immigrants. He led the legal fight against an alien registration act which, in 1931, mainly thanks to his efforts, was declared unconstitutional by the U.S. circuit court of appeals, and cooperated actively with local and national agencies aiding immigrants. He started a sentencing counseling system in federal courts. A lifelong Zionist, Levin, who was deeply involved in Jewish organizational work, held numerous national and local offices. At one time, he was president of the Detroit Jewish Welfare Federation, United Jewish Charities, and the Council of Social Agencies. He was a board member of many organizations, among them the Joint Distribution Committee and the National Refugee Service.

[Frederick R. Lachman]

LEVIN, YIZḤAK MEIR (1894–1971), leader of the *Agudat Israel movement. Born in Gora, Poland, Levin came from a ḥasidic family: his maternal grandfather was the Gerer Rabbi, R. Judah Aryeh Leib Alter *(Sefat Emet)*, and his father-in-law was the Gerer Rabbi, R. Abraham Mordecai Alter. He was active in Agudat Israel when it was formed in Poland after World War I. Agudat Israel in Poland was dominated by the Gerer Ḥasidim, and Levin quickly rose to its leadership. In 1924 he represented his movement on the Warsaw Community Council, and at the Second Great Assembly of Agudat Israel (Vienna, 1929) he was elected to the World Presidium. In 1935 he visited Palestine at the head of a delegation of the Agudat Israel Center in Poland and reorganized the executive there. At the Third Great Assembly (Marienbad, 1937), he was chosen as one of the two deputy presidents of the World Actions Committee.

Levin managed to escape from Poland at the beginning of World War II and in 1940 reached Palestine, where he was active in rescue operations from Nazi-dominated Europe. When the Central Committee of Agudat Israel met in Marienbad (1947), he was put in charge of the Ereẓ Israel branch of the movement. Levin was elected to the First *Knesset and was minister of social welfare in the first Israel government. He served in this capacity until 1952, when he resigned during the controversy over some form of national service for women. At the Fourth Great Assembly (Jerusalem, 1954), he was elected president of the World Actions Committee and chairman of the World Executive of Agudat Israel.

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[Menachem Friedman]

LEVIN, ẒEVI HIRSCH(-el) BEN ARYEH LOEB (**Hirsch Loebel**; **Hart Lyon**; 1721–1800), rabbi; born in Rzeszow, Galicia. In addition to talmudic scholarship he had a knowledge of Hebrew grammar, Jewish history, philosophy, physics, and geometry. While still young, he took part in the *Emden-Eybeschuetz controversy, siding with Jacob Emden, his maternal uncle. In 1758 he was appointed rabbi of the Great and Hambro synagogues, London (where he was known as Hart Lyon), holding the post for seven years. When in 1764 the leaders of the London community prevented him from publishing a defense of the *sheḥitah* in London in reply to the attack of Jacob Kimḥi, and because of dissatisfaction with the state of talmudic studies, he relinquished his position and went to Halberstadt (Germany), where he was appointed rabbi and *rosh yeshivah*. In 1770 he was appointed rabbi of Mannheim and in 1773 became rabbi of Berlin. Levin was a friend of Moses *Mendelssohn, even writing an approbation for his German translation of the Bible. When the Prussian government requested Levin to write in German an account of Jewish commercial and matrimonial law, Levin asked Mendelssohn to compose it under his supervision. It was published in Berlin (1778) and entitled *Ritualgesetze der Juden*. His friendship with Mendelssohn was impaired when Levin attempted to prevent N.H. *Wessely from publishing his *Divrei Shalom ve-Emet* (Berlin, 1782) and even endeavored to have him expelled from Berlin. When Mendelssohn defended Wessely, Levin sent in his resignation; however, he did not act on it and remained in Berlin until his death. Levin supported and defended his son, Saul *Berlin, in the disputes in which he was involved, especially with regard to the forged response *Besamim Rosh* (Berlin, 1793).

Levin's commentary on *Avot* was published together with that of Jacob Emden (Berlin, 1834). He also wrote occasional poems, entitled "*Naḥalat Ẓevi*," which were published in *Ha-Maggid* (no. 14, 1870). One of his poems appears at the beginning of his brother Saul's *Binyan Ari'el* (Amsterdam, 1778). He was father of Solomon *Hirschel, subsequently chief rabbi in London.

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[Shlomo Tal]

LEVINAS, EMMANUEL (1906–1995), philosopher and Jewish thinker. Levinas was born in Kovno, Lithuania. He grew up in a Jewish home that was open to European culture. In 1915 the Jews of Kovno were expelled and Levinas attended public high school in Karkhov, Ukraine. He read the great Russian classics Dostoyevsky, Tolstoy, Turgeniev, Gogol, Pushkin, and Lermontov. After having suffered from Ukrainian antisemitism, the family returned to Kovno in July 1920, where he attended the Jewish lyceum that was organized by Joseph Carlebach and directed by Moses Schwabe. In 1923 Levinas moved to France, where he studied in Strasbourg under people like Maurice Pradines, Henri Carteron, Maurice Halbwachs, and Charles Blondel. During the 1928–29 academic year he went to nearby Freiburg, Germany, where he studied under Edmund *Husserl and Martin Heidegger. Heidegger had published in 1927 his *Sein und Zeit*, a work much appreciated by Levinas. In 1929 Levinas was present at the Kant seminar in Davos where Ernst *Cassirer and Heidegger held their famous debate.

In 1930 Levinas published his Ph.D. thesis, which he had written under Jean Wahl (*Théorie de l'intuition dans la phénoménologie de Husserl*). This was the first French book on Husserl. Two years later he published the first substantial French article on Heidegger (a revised version in *En découvrant l'existence avec Husserl et Heidegger*). Levinas played a pioneer role in the dissemination of phenomenology in France. He also co-translated Husserl's *Cartesian Meditations*. Although he became increasingly critical of the philosophies of his teachers, he continued to use the phenomenological method in his own philosophic work.

In 1930, Levinas received French citizenship. In addition to his philosophic work, Levinas began publishing articles on Jewish subjects. In 1934, for instance, he published "Some Reflections on the Philosophy of Hitlerism," criticizing New Germany's primitivism. In the 1930s he met Paul Ricoeur and also attended Saturday night gatherings in the house of Gabriel Marcel, where he became acquainted with Jean-Paul Sartre and Jacques Maritain.

In 1939 Levinas was drafted into the French army and was then captured. After detention in France, he was deported to a POW camp near Hanover, Germany, which bore the infamous number "1492." For four years he was a prisoner, cutting and sawing wood. He survived; his wife and daughter also survived, having fled from Paris with the help of Maurice Blanchot and finally finding a hiding place in a French monastery. Levinas' parents and his brothers in Kovno were murdered.

After the war, Levinas became director of ENIO, the Oriental Israelite Normal School, attended by Moroccan Jews who had immigrated to France. He continued in this position until 1961. In that same year he published *Totality and Infinity* and with this publication Levinas established his reputation as an independent, original philosopher in France. From 1947 until 1951 he studied Talmud with Rabbi Mordechai Chouchani, who was also the teacher of Elie *Wiesel. He taught at the University of Poitiers (1961–62), the University of Paris at Nanterres (1962–73), and finally at the Sorbonne (1973–76).

Ethical Metaphysics

Levinas made German phenomenology known in France. However, he became more and more dissatisfied with the thought of his teachers. He conceived Heidegger's ontology as crucial, but also as problematic. Husserl's transcendental ego and Heidegger's *Dasein* were solitary and did not take adequate account of human relations. Levinas strongly felt the need to leave the "climate" of Heidegger's philosophy, in which the encounter with other human beings was neglected, since Heidegger concentrated upon modes of Being rather than on the intersubjective world. Already in his early publication *De l'évasion* (1935), Levinas looked for what exceeds the Being, maintaining that the relation of man to Being is not only ontology.

With time, and not unconnected to the experience of Hitler's Germany, Levinas developed an ethical thinking that avoids the "allergy" of Western philosophy for the otherness of the Other. *Time and the Other* and *Existence and Existents*, which appeared both in 1947, are books that already contain themes like "*il y a*" (the anonymous and threatening "there is"), sexual relation, paternity, and fecundity that appear in Levinas' greater works, in which he criticized both his teachers, who subsumed the Other under the Same.

His two major works are *Totality and Infinity* (1961) and *Otherwise than Being* (1974). In Levinas' ethics, the Other with his constitutive strangeness puts the self into question. The Other is not an alter ego, not to be mastered, but unknowable, enigmatic, refractory to light; the Other's "face" commands not to subsume him. The command stemming from the "face," that is never a sole object of vision, is: "Thou shalt not murder." The Other is never a pure phenomenon, but rather a call, an authoritatively speaking voice that asks for an exile out of the self. Levinas' entire philosophical project implies therefore an attack on totality, on totalitarian thinking and history. He found the idea of rupturing totality in Franz *Rosenzweig's *Star of Redemption* (1921) which he read before World War II, and he admitted to having made extensive use of Rosenzweig's anti-totalitarian thought. Levinas retakes Plato's terms of the "Same" and the "Other" and points to the frequent absorption of the Other by the Same in the history of philosophy. In Husserl's phenomenology, the transcendental ego is the source of all meaning (*Sinngebung*), whereas in Heidegger's fundamental ontology Being as reflected in the beings is everything. In contrast to these teachings, Levinas searches not for totality, but for what ruptures "totality," for what he calls "infinity," "alterity," "discourse," "transcendence," and "exteriority."

His ethics is not epistemologically founded, nor is it based upon reason as in Kant, but upon the normative relation, i.e., upon the concrete demand of the other person. The contact with the Other face to face is one of *demand*: the Other addresses the I, resisting its powers and appropriation. The relationship is not reciprocal as in Martin *Buber, it is asymmetrical. With time, Levinas paid more attention to "the third party" (*le tiers*), i.e., to social and political justice. Yet, the inegalitarian moment of the ethical encounter remains in vigor.

The first great critical reaction to *Totality and Infinity* came from Jacques *Derrida. In his essay "Violence et métaphysique," he pointed to some of Levinas' problematic readings of his teachers and regretted Levinas' preference of speech to writing, from which the speaker is absent, which would be more fitting for a philosophy of alterity. He was mainly concerned with the question of how to talk about the Other in the language of the Same. In *Otherwise than Being*, Levinas dealt less with the Other than with the subject. He did not conceive the subject as a consciousness, but as welcoming the Other, as "responsibility," "exposure," "witness," and as "in proximity." He now attempted to leave out the language of ontology and writes about "an-archy," "hostage," "obsession," "persecution," and "substitution." He further tries to avoid the problem of the thematizing of the unthematizable by incessantly unsaying the said (*dédire le Dit*), because no said may contain the Saying (*le Dire*) of responsibility. He resists totalization in keeping the tension between the Saying and a said that bears the traces of the Saying.

Jewish Writings

Parallel to his "professional" (i.e., philosophic) writings, Levinas also published a vast body of "confessional" writings that treat Judaism, religious themes, and Talmud. Some of these essays on Judaism were collected in *Difficult Freedom* (1963), in *Beyond the Verse* (1982), and *In the Time of the Nations* (1988).

Levinas does not strive for harmonization between his "professional" and "confessional" writings, but discusses one truth beyond ontology that can be discussed in different manners. When compared with the great attention that was paid to the philosophical part of his oeuvre, the Jewish part of Levinas' writings has been largely neglected in scholarly research, although there is undeniably a strong interaction between the two parts of the diptych, with terms and themes appearing in both kinds of writings.

Although Levinas does acknowledge Jewish particularity as prototypically refusing totality, he highlights the universal dimension in Judaism. The Jewish message is one for all humanity. Ethics, which Levinas wanted to discuss philosophically, is for him attested to in the holy life, to which the Bible, Midrashim, and Talmud testify. There is an interaction between the Greek "love of wisdom" and the Jewish "wisdom of love." Once it is Japheth that visits the tents of Shem, once it is vice versa. In the Jewish writings, Abraham becomes the prototype of the one, characterized by hospitality, who transcends the narrow world of the self in order to follow an always exterior voice. He is exemplary in his extending "hospitality" to strangers. Levinas does not write about God as Being, but as not assumable "illéité" – *Illeity* (He-hood, from the Latin "ille," that one, the other one), as alterity – the other than other – that ruptures the unity of the I, orienting it toward other human beings.

Levinas was the first Jewish thinker in modern times to approach the Talmud philosophically, mainly its aggadic parts, as a source of wisdom relevant for our day. His remarkable *Talmudic Readings* were first delivered at the annual meetings of the Colloque des Intellectuels Juifs de Langue Française, which started in 1957; they were later collected and published.

Levinas thought that humanism of the other person and Judaism were compatible, and he considered being Jewish a form of being human. However, the Jewish response to the universal question contained elements beyond humanism, which he regarded as insufficiently human. Levinas wrote about the greater attention to the human in the "humanism of the other man," which is dissatisfied with mere intentions and declarations and in which the violent freedom of the sovereign I, joylessly possessing the world, is radically put into question.

Influence

Levinas renewed Jewish thinking and by now occupies an eminent place in the pantheon of modern Jewish thinkers such as Hermann Cohen, Franz Rosenzweig, and Martin Buber.

Philosophers and theologians all over the world are interested in Levinas' work. *Ethics and Infinity* (trans. R. Cohen, 1985) which contains talks of P. Nemo with Levinas, presents a good introduction to his entire oeuvre.

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[Ephraim Meir (2nd ed.)]

LEVINE, BARUCH (1930–), U.S. Bible scholar. Born in 1930, in Cleveland, Ohio, Levine was educated in the public schools, but spent his afternoons at the Telshe Yeshivah, which provided him with a strong talmudic background. He learned spoken Hebrew with the help of tutors and by attendance at Hebrew summer camps. He graduated in 1951 from Case Western Reserve University after studying Comparative Literature and Romance Languages. At the time a religiously observant Jew of a modernist bent, Levine entered the rabbinical program of the Jewish Theological Seminary in New York City. Among his teachers were H.L.*Ginsberg, who introduced him to the critical study of Bible, and the talmudist Saul *Lieberman. After ordination followed by military service as a chaplain, Levine served briefly as an assistant rabbi in Temple Emanuel, a Conservative synagogue in Newton Center, a suburb of Boston. After coming to terms with a crisis of faith, Levine realized that he belonged in scholarship and enrolled in a doctoral program at Brandeis, where he earned his Ph.D. under the great polymath Cyrus *Gordon in 1962. He joined the Brandeis faculty and remained there until 1969. At that time he came to New York University as professor of Hebrew and Near Eastern Languages in the Department of Near Eastern Languages and Literatures. After an administrative reorganization in which he played a strong role, Levine moved to the new Skirball Department of Hebrew and Judaic Studies where he taught until his retirement.

Levine's numerous articles can be divided into two principal areas, biblical studies proper, with a strong emphasis on cult and ritual, and Semitic epigraphy. He has made significant contributions to the study of magic and ritual in the Bible as well as in Ugaritic and Aramaic texts. His talmudic training served him well in his studies of ancient law. He edited *Leviticus* for the JPS Torah Commentary Series (1994) and *Numbers 21–36* for the Anchor Bible (2000).

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[S. David Sperling (2nd ed.)]

LEVINÉ, EUGENE (**Nissen Berg**; 1883–1919), revolutionary, socialist politician, and journalist. Leviné was born in St. Petersburg into a wealthy family. From 1896 he lived in Heidelberg, Germany where he graduated from high school and also attended university. In 1904 he returned to Russia, joined the Social Revolutionary Party on the outbreak of the 1905 revolution, and was imprisoned by the czarist authorities. He was released in 1908 and allowed to go to Germany for medical treatment. He remained there and joined the Social Democratic Party. In 1913 he was a member of the "Spartacus League," and later among the founders of the German Communist party. Leviné became a German citizen, joined the army on the outbreak of World War I, and was discharged in 1916 for reasons of health. Subsequently, he became a member of the Independent Social Democratic Party and then of the Communist Party, editing the party newspaper, *Rote Fahne*. He took part in the November 1918 revolution and in the January 1919 fighting in Berlin. Following the Bavarian uprising of November 1918, Leviné became chairman of the Council of People's Commissars in the Bavarian Soviet Republic of 1919. Two weeks later, when the republic was overthrown, Leviné was tried for treason and executed.

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LEVINE, JACK (1915–), U.S. painter and printmaker. Born on Boston's South End, Levine was the youngest of Lithuanian immigrants Mary and Samuel Levine's eight children. A poor shoemaker and Hebrew scholar, the elder Levine enrolled his son in children's art classes at a Jewish Community Center, and later at a settlement house in Roxbury. There Levine met Harold Zimmerman, who became his first mentor, and Hyman *Bloom, who also went on to become a painter of Jewish subjects. At 14, Levine became acquainted with Denman Waldo Ross, an art professor at Harvard University. Ross provided financial assistance for Zimmerman, Levine, and Bloom, and arranged Levine's first public exhibition, a small showing of his drawings at Harvard's Fogg Art Museum in 1932 when Levine was only 17.

Levine's unique, expressionistic style complemented his satirical eye, which recorded social and political injustices on canvas and on paper. Among his best-known work in this genre is *The Feast of Pure Reason* (1937, Museum of Modern Art, New York), a painting completed while Levine was employed by the Works Progress Administration's Federal Art Project. Levine's didactic approach and sharp commentaries rendered with a vigorous brushstroke include subjects ranging from the McCarthy hearings of the 1950s, the desegregation of the South, and Mayor Daley at the 1968 Chicago Convention.

Beginning in 1942, a three-and-a-half-year stint in the army interrupted Levine's work. A year after his 1945 move to New York, Levine married the Ukrainian-born artist Ruth *Gikow. During his time in the service, Levine's reputation was sealed when in 1943 the Metropolitan Museum of Art purchased *String Quartette* (1936–37), a boldly colored tempera and oil image of four musicians.

Although as a child Levine created a chalk drawing titled *Jewish Cantors in the Synagogue* (1930, Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University), he first explored Jewish subjects in earnest, specifically biblical subjects, in 1941 when he painted *Planning Solomon's Temple* (Israel Museum, Jerusalem), a small, ten- by eight-inch homage to his recently deceased father. Hebrew labels identifying the expressionistically executed, robed figures of Solomon and Hiram hover above the pair's heads. Such finely rendered Hebrew letters soon became a staple of Levine's biblical paintings and prints, which number in the hundreds. Levine aimed, to use his words, "to develop some kind of iconography about my Jewish identity." His work has been exhibited at numerous venues, including his first retrospective exhibition at the Institute of Contemporary Art in Boston (1952–53).

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[Samantha Baskind (2nd ed.)]

LEVINE, JAMES (1943–), U.S. conductor and pianist. Levine was born in Cincinnati and made his debut as a pianist at the age of ten with the Cincinnati Symphony Orchestra. He took piano lessons with Walter Levin and Rudolf *Serkin. In 1961 he entered the Juilliard School of Music to study conducting with Jean Morel and the piano with Lhévinne. In 1964, he joined the music staff of the Cleveland Symphony Orchestra under George *Szell, whose assistant conductor he became two years later. Although he conducted many symphony concerts (especially with the Cleveland Meadow Brook Orchestra, which he founded in 1967) he achieved his most notable successes as an operatic conductor with the Welsh National Opera (*Aida*, 1970) and with the San Francisco Opera (*Madame Butterfly*, 1971). After his highly successful début at the Metropolitan Opera, New York, in 1971 in *Tosca*, he was appointed principal conductor of the Metropolitan (1973–74), its music director (1975), and its artistic director (1986). There he led 2,000 performances of 75 different operas and conducted the house premieres of Mozart's *Idomeneo; Lulu*, *Erwartung*, *Mahagonny*, *Moses und Aron*, and *Oedipus Rex*; Corigliano's *The Ghost of Versailles* (1991); *Glass' *The Voyage* (1992); and John Harbison's *The Great Gatsby* (1999). Levine was the director of the Cincinnati May Festival (1973–78) and the Ravinia Festival (1973–93). He conducted at Bayreuth Göz Friedrich's centennial production of *Parsifal* (1982–85, 1988), Wolfgang Wagner's *Parsifal* (1989–93), and the Kirchner/Rosalie *Ring* (1994–97). Levine recorded with many orchestras such as the Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra (including the complete cycle of Mozart symphonies), Chicago Symphony Orchestra, Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra, and Metropolitan Opera Orchestra. With the latter he recorded major symphonic works. As an accomplished pianist, his recorded chamber music includes Schubert's "Trout" Quintet and Schumann's Piano Quintet. His many honors include the Lotus Award ("for inspiration to young musicians"), the Anton Seidl Award from the Wagner Society of New York, and the National Medal of Arts endowed to him by President Clinton at the White House.

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[Max Loppert / Israela Stein (2nd ed.)]

LEVINE, JOSEPH E. (1905–1987), U.S. motion picture producer. Born in Boston, Levine was a theater owner and movie distributor (1943) before becoming a producer. He started in the business by importing foreign films and distributing them in the U.S., such as the Italian movies *Open City* (1945) and *The Bicycle Thief* (1947). After World War II he began to cater to the drive-in market, bringing to the outdoor screen such action films as *Godzilla* (1956), *Hercules* (1959), and *Hercules Unchained* (1960). He also distributed such films as *Two Women* (1961), *Divorce Italian Style* (1961), *Bocaccio '70* (1962), *Fellini's 8½* (1963), *Yesterday, Today, and Tomorrow* (1963), and *Marriage Italian Style* (1964). He produced such films as *Jack the Ripper* (1959), *The Carpetbaggers* (1964), *Harlow* (1965), *A Bridge Too Far* (1977), *Magic* (1978), and *Tattoo* (1981).

Levine, who was dubbed "the Boston Barnum," was also the executive producer of many successful films. Among them are *Long Day's Journey into Night* (1962), *Boy's Night Out* (1962), *Sodom and Gomorrah* (1962), *Sands of the Kalahari* (1965), *Nevada Smith* (1966), *The Daydreamer* (1966), *The Graduate* (1967), *Woman Times Seven* (1967), *The Producers* (1968), *The Lion in Winter* (1968), *Don't Drink the Water* (1969), *The Adventurers* (1970), *Carnal Knowledge* (1971), and *The Day of the Dolphin* (1973). The 1962 documentary film *Showman* profiled Levine's career.

[Jonathan Licht / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

LEVINE, LES (1936–), Canadian sculptor. Levine was born in Dublin, immigrated to Canada in 1958, and later moved to New York. Levine was interested in making sculpture accessible to the general public. He therefore became an innovator of the concept of "throw-away" or "disposable" art, making mass-produced sculptures at low prices. He was also concerned with the problem of relating sculpture to its surroundings.

LEVINE, NORMAN (1923–), Canadian writer. Levine was born in Ottawa. His parents, Annie (Gurevich) and Moses Mordecai Levine, were Polish-Jewish immigrants. Levine was educated at York Street Public School and the High School of Commerce. During World War II, he served as an RCAF flying officer, then attended McGill University, where he graduated with a B.A. (1948) and M.A. (1949). Determined on a career as a professional author he settled in England, where he lived mostly in St. Ives, Cornwall, from 1949 to 1980. Later he took up residence in Toronto, and then moved back to Europe, where he lived in France, and finally returned to England. Levine was awarded a Canada Council Fellowship (1959) and Canada Council Arts Awards (1969, 1971).

Levine published three volumes of poetry: *Myssium* (1948), *The Tightrope Walker* (1950), and *I Walk by the Harbour* (1976) – but his reputation derives primarily from his fiction. These include the novels *The Angled Road* (1952) and *From a Seaside Town* (1970) and his collections of short stories: *One Way Ticket* (1961), *I Don't Want to Know Anyone Too Well* (1971), *Selected Stories* (1975), *Thin Ice* (1979), *Why Do You Live So Far Away?* (1984), *Champagne Barn* (1984), *Something Happened Here* (1991), and *The Ability to Forget* (2003). His travel book, *Canada Made Me*, which describes his experiences on a trip across Canada, appeared in the British edition in 1958; adversely reviewed in Canada, it did not obtain a Canadian publisher until 1979.

A self-conscious stylist, Levine fashioned a personal signature for the representation of his autobiographical fiction which originates in the remembered past of urban Jewish poverty and alienation. Typically, his storytelling method involves a narrator who observes the world through bifocal lenses, simultaneously witnessing an emotionally barren present juxtaposed with a past which is richly remembered but irretrievably lost. The hero is often solitary, emotionally cut off from others, unable to bridge the gap between himself and those closest to him.

Levine was the subject of several video documentaries, including *Norman Levine Lived Here*, produced by the CBC (1970), and *Norman Levine's St. Ives*, produced by the BBC (1972).

[Mervin Butovsky (2nd ed.)]

LEVINE, PHILIP (1900–1987), U.S. immunohematologist. Born in Russia, Levine was taken to the United States when he was eight years old. From 1925 to 1932 he worked at the Rockefeller Institute and in 1935 was appointed bacteriologist and serologist at Newark's Beth Israel Hospital. From 1944 to 1965 he was director of immunohematology at the Ortho Research Foundation in Raritan, New Jersey. Levine did extensive work on human blood groups and blood transfusion. He discovered and co-discovered many blood group factors including the Rh, Hr (c), Cellano (k), M, N, P. Guth (s), Mia (Miltenberger), and the Tja factors. He described the specificity of the hemolysin in paroxysmal cold hemoglobinuria (Tja), elucidated the Rh null factor with suppressor genes preventing formation of Rh antigens, and characterized hemolytic disease of the newborn (erythroblastosis fetalis) and the phenomenon of isoimmunization through pregnancy. Levine was the author of New Jersey and Wisconsin state laws on blood tests in paternity disputes.

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[Fred Rosner]

LEVINE, RAPHAEL (1938–), Israeli scientist. Levine was born in Alexandria, Egypt, but was taken to Ereẓ Israel by his parents in 1939. After getting his master's degree at the Hebrew University in 1960, he studied at Nottingham University, where he received his doctorate, and also received a second doctorate from Oxford in 1966. In 1968 he was appointed professor of theoretical chemistry at the Hebrew University. Levine was awarded the Israel Prize for exact sciences in 1974 for his important contributions to theoretical chemistry, particularly in the field of molecular dynamics, but especially for his work *Quantum Mechanics of Molecular Rate Processes* (1969). He was awarded the Wolf Prize in 1988, the Rothschild Prize in 1992, and the EMET Prize in 2002. Levine is a member of the Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities and a foreign member of the U.S. National Academy of Sciences, the Academia Europaea, and other important organizations.

LEVINGER, LEE JOSEPH (1890–1966), U.S. Reform rabbi. Born in Burke, Idaho, Levinger was ordained at Hebrew Union College in 1914. He held several pulpits and was a chaplain with the American Expeditionary Force in France in 1918–19. In 1929 he was national chaplain of the American Legion. Levinger became director of the Hillel Foundation at Ohio State University in 1925 and when in 1935 the National Hillel Commission set up a bureau of research to study the economic and occupational adjustment of Jewish students, it appointed him director. From 1942 to 1947 he was a field worker for the National Jewish Welfare Board and in 1948 he became chaplain of the Veterans Administration Hospital in Palo Alto, California. Levinger wrote a number of books. His *History of the Jews in the United States* which appeared in 1931 was one of the first works of its kind and went through several editions. He also wrote *A Jewish Chaplain in France* (1921); *Anti-Semitism Yesterday and Tomorrow* (1936); and *Folk and Faith* (1942).

In 1916 he married ELMA EHRLICH, author of several books and plays for Jewish children.

[Sefton D. Temkin]

LEVIN-SHATZKES, YIẒḤAK (1892–1963), socialist leader. Born in Dvinsk (Daugavpils), Levin-Shatzkes joined the (illegal) Dvinsk branch of the *Bund in 1912. After Latvia became an independent state, he was elected a member of the Bund central committee, served on the Dvinsk city council (1922–34), and was secretary of the Jewish community council and chairman of the professional societies in Latgale province. By 1913 he had begun contributing articles to Russian-language periodicals appearing in Dvinsk; in 1921 he turned to Yiddish and became a contributor to Riga Yiddish dailies *Dos Folk* and *Frimorgen* and to periodicals published by the Bund. He was also the editor of *Latgalskaya Mysl*, a Russian-language weekly appearing in Dvinsk. After the May 1934 coup in Latvia, he was arrested, but was soon released. He settled in New York in 1936 and two years later became secretary of the *Jewish Socialist Verband of America and editor of *Der Veker*, the Farband organ. He contributed to various Yiddish periodicals published in New York and was active in a number of Jewish organizations and institutions.

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[Joseph Gar]

LEVINSKY, BATTLING (**Barney** (**Beryl**) **Lebrowitz**; 1891–1949), U.S. boxer, world light-heavyweight champion 1916–20, member of the Ring Boxing Hall of Fame. Levinsky, born in Philadelphia to poor Russian immigrants, began his professional career in 1906 under the name Barney Williams, which his manager changed to Battling Levinsky in 1913. Levinsky loved to fight, and claimed to have fought in 500 bouts, a figure that is impossible to substantiate – indeed, his boxing record from 1906 to 1909 is not available. On New Year's Day 1915 he fought three times, once each in Brooklyn (a morning 10-rounder), Manhattan (afternoon 10-rounder), and in Waterbury, Connecticut (evening 12-rounder). Levinsky battled legendary fighters such as Jack Dempsey and Gene Tunney, and a series of ten fights with Jack Dillon, including two title fights in 1914 and 1916 before Levinsky finally defeated Dillon on October 24, 1916, to capture the world light-heavyweight title. Levinsky held the title for four years before losing on a fourth-round knockout to Georges Carpentier on October 12, 1920. Two years later, he challenged Gene Tunney for the U.S. light-heavyweight crown, but lost a 12-round decision. He retired following that fight, but came back in 1926, and retired permanently in 1930. Levinsky finished his career with a known professional record of 150 wins (with 34 KOs), 49 losses, 26 draws, and 66 no decisions, placing Levinsky among the top-ten all-time winners in number of fights. He was ranked the No. 6 all-time light-heavyweight by Nat Fleischer, and was inducted into the Ring Boxing Hall of Fame in 1966. He was the author of *Boxing in Nine Lessons*.

[Elli Wohlgelernter (2nd ed.)]

LEVIN SMITH, SIR ARCHIBALD (1836–1901), British judge. Levin Smith was the son of a gentile landowner. His mother was the daughter of a Polish Jewish immigrant, Zadik Levin. Educated at Cambridge, where he was a successful athlete, he became a barrister in 1856 and a judge of the Queen's Bench in 1883, when he was knighted. He was one of the two judges who presided over the criminal allegations made in the *Times* newspaper about Charles Stewart Parnell, the Irish Nationalist leader, which made him the center of national attention. Levin Smith served as a judge of the Court of Appeals from 1892 until 1900, when he was appointed Master of the Rolls, one of the three most senior British judicial positions. Suffering ill health, he was forced to resign after only a year and died shortly afterwards.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: ODNB online.

[William D. Rubinstein (2nd ed.)]

LEVINSOHN, ISAAC BAER (1788–1860), Hebrew author, one of the founders of the *Haskalah in Russia. He also was known as **Ribal** (initials of **R**abbi **I**saac **B**aer **L**evinsohn). Levinsohn was born in Kremenets, Volhynia, Russia, into a wealthy family. Later he moved to Radzivilov, on the border of Austrian Galicia. He taught himself European languages, and served as translator for the Russian forces in the time of the French invasion (1812). From 1813 to 1820 Levinsohn lived in the Eastern Galician towns of Brody, Tarnopol, and Zolkiew where he was befriended by such leaders of the Haskalah as Naḥman *Krochmal, Isaac *Erter, Joseph *Perl, and S.J. *Rapoport, and taught in the modern schools established in Tarnopol and Brody. From 1820 to 1823 he spread the ideas of the Haskalah as a private tutor in wealthy homes in Berdichev and other towns. For reasons of health, Levinsohn returned to Kremenets in 1823. Levinsohn's connections with the Russian government gave him authority in Haskalah circles and protected him against the fury of his fanatical opponents. In his memoranda he tried to persuade the Russian authorities to mitigate the persecution of the Jews (his memorandum against the kidnapping of children for military service) and to introduce reforms in the spirit of the Haskalah. He supported a plan for agricultural settlement of Jews, especially those who had lost their livelihood owing to expulsion from the countryside and border areas. On his advice, the Russian authorities limited the number of Hebrew printing presses to three: Warsaw and Vilna in 1836, and Zhitomir in 1846, and imposed censorship on imported Hebrew books. In 1856, the Russian government decided to support him by buying 2,000 copies of his book *Beit Yehudah* and distributing them to synagogues and Jewish schools.

Levinsohn's literary work was mainly polemical and propagandistic. It dealt with the social, internal, and external position of the Jews in Eastern Europe. He started his public advocacy of the Haskalah by writing satires, mainly imitations of those by Perl and Erter. *Divrei Ẓaddikim* ("Words of the Righteous," 1830), written in the style of Perl's *Megalleh Temirin*, was published anonymously. In *Emek Refa'im* ("Valley of Ghosts"), *Peloni Almoni ha-Kozevi* ("So-and-So the Liar"), and his Yiddish play *Di Hefker Velt* ("The World of Chaos"), he satirizes not only the Ḥasidim and their *ẓaddikim*, but also the tyrannical leaders of the community, the tax farmers, and the "kidnappers." These works circulated in manuscript among the Jews in Volhynia and Galicia and were only published posthumously, the first in Odessa in 1867; the second in 1880; and the third, *Yalkut Ribal*, in 1878.

In 1823, Levinsohn completed his most influential work *Te'udah be-Yisrael* ("Testimony in Israel") which, because of Orthodox opposition, did not appear until 1828 (Vilna). Levinsohn listed five questions which he intended to discuss: (a) Was it essential to study Hebrew grammatically? (b) Was it permitted to study foreign languages? (c) Was it permitted to study secular subjects? (d) Was there any advantage in the study of sciences and languages? (e) Did the advantage of such studies outweigh the disadvantages? Levinsohn appealed to the authority of talmudic and medieval sources, and to national sentiments. He characterized the Hebrew language as "the bond of religion and national survival," uniting all the dispersions of Israel into one people. He severely criticized the traditional *ḥadarim* ("Hebrew schools") which he dubbed "*ḥadrei mavet*" ("rooms of death"). He denounced their talmudic-centered curriculum, their unsystematic method of instruction, and their employment of corporal punishment. He objected to the use of Yiddish and demanded its replacement by "pure" German or Russian. He demonstrated that great Jews of the past knew foreign languages and studied the sciences, and explained the advantages of such studies, both in business and in relations with the authorities. He devoted considerable space to the advocacy of manual labor, especially farming, and criticized Jewish fondness for petty trading. The book had a great impact on Russian Jewish life. Groups formed in many towns which undertook to carry out Levinsohn's proposals. Even a part of Orthodox Jewry received the book sympathetically; only the Ḥasidim regarded it as a dangerous work. They banned the book and labeled an adherent of the Haskalah with the pejorative epithet *te'udke*. The Russian government awarded him a prize of 1,000 rubles for *Te'udah be-Yisrael*.

Levinsohn's second major book, *Beit Yehudah* ("House of Judah"), was published in Vilna in 1838 after considerable argument with the printers who refused to print it because of rabbinical opposition. The book purports to be a reply to 35 questions asked by "the great Christian nobleman Emanuel Lipen" (the name is a scramble of the Hebrew letters *Peloni Almoni* "So-and-So"). The questions deal with the nature of the Commandments, the Talmud, the Karaites, the Pharisees, the Zohar, Shabbateanism, Ḥasidism, and poses the question: "Is there still hope to reform the House of Israel and how?" In his basic assumptions Levinsohn follows Moses *Mendelssohn's *Jerusalem*. Judaism is a law; it should not be limited to "divine law," rather it should include "civic law," involving the practices of society and the sciences required for its maintenance and development. "Civic law" may be reformed and altered, with the consent of the people, in accordance with the spirit of the times and national needs. "The Jew is free to accept the legends of the Talmud or to reject them." Modern Christians should not be regarded as idolaters because they obey the seven *Noachide commandments and worship God. They are equal to Jews in respect to all the precepts involving the relations between men. The second half of the book is devoted to a historical survey of the teachings of the Jewish sages in all periods, including *Elijah of Vilna and Moses Mendelssohn. His historical survey follows traditional lines and contains numerous errors, demonstrating the backward state of Jewish knowledge at the time. Toward the end of the book, Levinsohn presents a five-point program for the reform of Jewish life in Russia: (a) The establishment of elementary schools for boys and girls of the lower classes. At the same time, boys and girls should learn a trade or a craft. For gifted pupils only, central colleges should be established in Warsaw, Vilna, Odessa, and Berdichev to teach Talmud and Codes, as well as "science, and various languages." (b) The appointment of a *rav kelali* ("chief rabbi"), assisted by a supreme religious court, who would appoint rabbis and preachers in all the towns of Russia, under his supervision. A committee of *parnasim kolelim* ("communal leaders") should also be appointed mainly to defend the poor and the ordinary people "against their leaders and the rich men who suck their marrow and drink their blood." (c) Preachers and orators should be appointed to arouse the people to good behavior, encourage them to take up trades and handicrafts, and explain to them their duties "to the Lord, to themselves, to their fellows, to the State, and to every man." (d) Representations should be made to the government to transfer one-third of the Jews of Russia to agriculture. (e) Luxuries should be forbidden, especially expensive feminine jewelry. These reforms should be carried out without asking for the people's consent.

Efes Damim (1837; "No Blood"), written to refute *blood libel, was published in Vilna in 1837 in the form of a debate between a Jewish rabbi and the Greek patriarch in Jerusalem, supplemented by statements of popes and kings protesting the blood libel. It was translated into English on the occasion of the Damascus blood libel in 1840, and into German and Russian. Another pamphlet called *Shorshei ha-Levanon* (or *Beit ha-Oẓar*, Vilna, 1841), containing minor studies, was published during the author's lifetime. He bequeathed his numerous unpublished works to his nephew Jacob Israel Levinsohn who asked David Bernhard *Nathanson to edit and publish them.

The most important of these posthumous works was *Zerubbavel*, which appeared in an incomplete form in Odessa in 1863, and later in several complete editions. It was written as a reply to *Netivot Olam* (1838–39), Stanislav *Hoga's Hebrew translation of *Old Paths*, a critique of Judaism published by the British missionary, McCaul. Levinsohn demonstrates McCaul's ignorance and the unfairness of his attacks on Judaism. He explains the evolution of the Oral Law from the Written Law, pointing out that in the course of this development reforms have been introduced in accordance with the changing needs of the times. Levinsohn insisted that only the halakhic ("legal") and not the aggadic ("legendary") elements of the tradition are binding for the observant Jew. Unlike Christianity, which is restricted to the spheres of faith and ethics, Judaism encompasses all spheres of individual and public life, and its aim is the strengthening of Jewish society: "The survival of the nation is the greatest of all the commandments." The book served to modify the hostile views about the Talmud and rabbinical literature which were often held by the followers of the Haskalah. Since *Zerubbavel* was intended for publication, Levinsohn phrased his remarks cautiously, so that the book could pass the censor. At the same time he wrote another work containing the rest of his arguments against Christianity. This manuscript was published after his death under the title of *Aḥiyyah ha-Shiloni ha-Ḥozeh* ("Ahijah the Shilonite, the Prophet," 1863). Here Levinsohn condemns the Christians for their persecution of the Jews, and their intolerance toward members of other faiths and various Christian sects, despite the Christian doctrine of forgiveness. As Christians did not carry out the Christian precepts of love, how can they demand that the Jews become Christians? He compares the sobriety and normal family life prevailing among the Jews, with the higher rate of alcoholism among non-Jews. "All these virtues have come to us from the Talmud." He uses the arguments of *Maimonides and others to show that whatever is positive in the New Testament is of rabbinic origin. Jesus himself, he argues, was an observant Jew who fulfilled all the commandments and believed that the Jews are the "chosen people."

Most of Levinsohn's other works were included in the collections *Bikkurei Ribal* (1888), *Yalkut Ribal* (1878), and *Eshkol ha-Sofer* (1891). Levinsohn's work was derivative. His views were drawn mainly from Mendelssohn, and his practical proposals followed those of the earlier Haskalah. The Hebrew readers of his day who belonged to the generation of transition from Orthodoxy to Haskalah enjoyed his defense of Judaism and his easy style, studded with biblical and rabbinic quotations. His books appeared in numerous editions, and Nathanson's biography of Levinsohn, *Sefer ha-Zikhronot* ("Book of Remembrances"), went through nine editions between 1876 and 1900. His contemporaries called him "The Russian Mendelssohn." For the modern reader, only his first book, *Te'udah be-Yisrael*, is of some historical value. By his personality and literary activity, Levinsohn undoubtedly did much to strengthen the moderate Haskalah. Certain ideas formulated in *Te'udah be-Yisrael*, such as educational reform and the transition to a life of labor and agriculture, later became a part of the programs of *Ḥibbat Zion, *Zionism, and other organizations and movements which preached "the productivization" of the Jewish masses and their adaptation to life in the modern world.

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[Yehuda Slutsky]

LEVINSON, ABRAHAM (1888–1955), U.S. pediatrician. Levinson, who studied with Béla *Schick and Heinrich *Finkelstein, was professor of pediatrics at Northwestern University Medical School. He founded the Levinson Research Foundation for research in pediatric neuropsychiatry. Levinson earned an excellent reputation as clinician, teacher, and historian. He pursued fundamental research in pediatric neurology and was a pioneer in the study of cerebrospinal fluid. He also did research on diphtheria, influenza, and tuberculosis. His most significant contribution was a test for diagnosing tuberculous meningitis and his study on the pathological changes in the brain following streptomycin treatment of that disease. Levinson's books include *Cerebrospinal Fluid in Health and in Disease* (1919), the first book on the subject to appear in English; *Pediatric Nursing* (1925); *Pioneers of Pediatrics* (1936); and a biography of *Tobias Cohn* (1923). Levinson and Isaac Abt co-edited the *Pediatric Year Book* (1916–20).

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[Suessmann Muntner]

LEVINSON, ANDRE (1887–1933), dance critic and foremost writer on ballet in his time. Levinson was a professor of French literature in St. Petersburg, where he was born, and helped to edit a periodical on the imperial theaters. He became known as a brilliant critic of dance and a champion of the classical tradition. Leaving Russia after the 1917 Revolution, he settled in Paris in 1921 where he lectured on Russian literature and contributed to various journals. He was probably the first critic in France to approach ballet purely from the point of view of dance. He opposed the innovations of Fokine and Diaghilev, whom he regarded as having subordinated dancing to music and scenic elements. His biographies of dancers and people connected with the ballet included studies of the designer, Leon *Bakst (1923), the dancers and choreographers Noverre (1935), Marie Taglioni (1929) and Serge Lifar (1934). Among his books were *La danse au théâtre* (1924) and *La danse d'aujourd'hui* (1929). Levinson also wrote studies on the poets Théophile Gautier (1921) and Paul Valéry (1927).

[Marcia B. Siegel]

LEVINSON, BARRY (1942–), U.S. director, writer, producer. Born in Baltimore, Maryland, Levinson began his show business career writing for and performing on television's award-winning *Carol Burnett Show*. He moved up to feature film work by helping write two of Mel Brooks' screenplays, *Silent Movie* (1976) and *High Anxiety* (1977). Some of Levinson's other screenplays include *And Justice for All* (1979), *Inside Moves* (1980), *Best Friends* (1982), and *Unfaithfully Yours* (1984).

He made his directorial debut with his semi-autobiographical *Diner* (1982), the first of his films to be set in his hometown of Baltimore. Levinson followed with *The Natural* (1984), based on Bernard Malamud's novel; *Young Sherlock Holmes* (1985); *Tin Men* (plus screenplay, 1987); and the box-office smash hit *Good Morning, Vietnam* (1987). Levinson's next movie was *Rain Man* (1988), which won that year's Academy Award for Best Picture plus an Oscar for Levinson as Best Director. Levinson's subsequent directorial efforts include *Avalon* (1990), *Bugsy* (producer, 1991), *Toys* (1992), *Jimmy Hollywood* (1994), *Disclosure* (1994), *Sleepers* (1996), *Wag the Dog* (1997), *Sphere* (1998), *Liberty Heights* (1999), *An Everlasting Piece* (2000), *Bandits* (2001), and *Envy* (2004). Some of these he wrote and produced as well. Other films and television shows that Levinson produced include *Donnie Brasco* (1997), *Home Fries* (1998), the TV series *Oz* (1997), *The Perfect Storm* (2000), the TV series *Falcone* (2000), *Analyze That* (2002), *Possession* (2002), and the TV series *The Jury* (2004).

Levinson wrote *Levinson on Levinson* (ed. D. Thompson, 1993), *Baltimore: Life in the City* (2001), and the novel *Sixty-Six* (2003).

[Jonathan Licht / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

LEVINSON, OLGA (1918–1989), South West African (Namibia) writer and journalist. Levinson was born in South Africa and graduated from the University of the Witwatersrand, but after her marriage to Jack Louis Levinson of Windhoek in 1943 she took up residence there and took a leading part in the cultural and artistic life of the territory. From 1958 to 1976 she was president of the S.A. Association of Arts, South West Africa; she was also an executive member of the S.W.A. Performing Arts Council. She received awards for dramatic art. Among her publications are *Call Me Master* (1961), *Adolph Jentsch* (1973), *South West Africa* (1976), and *The Story of Namibia* (1978). Her last notable work was *Diamonds in the Desert: The Story of August Staunch and His Time* (1983).

LEVINSON, SALMON OLIVER (1865–1941), U.S. lawyer and world peace advocate. Levinson, who was born in Noblesville, Indiana, was admitted to the Illinois bar in 1891, and began to practice law in Chicago. Although subsequently recognized as the successful corporation lawyer who reorganized both the personal affairs and the companies of industrial tycoon George Westinghouse, Levinson became particularly prominent in 1915 for his "outlawry of war" idea and his attempt to start an international peace movement during World War I. He opposed the terms of the Versailles Treaty, which he considered unduly harsh and not conducive to world peace. In 1920 Levinson backed Warren G. Harding, who had espoused Levinson's idea of outlawing war, for the presidency. Although Levinson at first advocated and then opposed U.S. entry into the League of Nations, he did not work with the U.S. delegation to the Disarmament Conference (1921) and later urged U.S. entry into the World Court (1925). In 1927 he presented the Levinson Plan which called for the readjusting of German reparations and allied and interallied debts, and world peace. Levinson sponsored and helped draft the Kellogg-Briand peace pact, later ratified by 15 countries (1928). He donated two large collections of documents to the University of Chicago (1937, 1938) concerning his national and international activities and descriptions of his meetings.

LEVINSTEIN, HERBERT (1878–1956), British industrial chemist. Levinstein entered his father's firm in Manchester. He took out many patents on sulfur dyes, azo dyestuffs, and intermediates. In 1919 his firm amalgamated and became the Dyestuffs Division of Imperial Chemical Industries Ltd. Levinstein received many awards and held many positions in chemical and dyeing organizations including president of the Society of Chemical Industry of which his father had also been president.

LEVINTHAL, U.S. family, descended from an old rabbinical family. BERNARD LOUIS LEVINTHAL (1865–1952) was born in Lithuania and went to the United States in 1891 after having studied at the yeshivot of Kovno, Vilna, and Bialystok. Settling in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, he succeeded his father-in-law, Eleazar Kleinberg, as rabbi of Congregation B'nai Abraham, where he served until his death, as head of the United Orthodox Hebrew Congregations of Philadelphia, and effectively as dean of Orthodox Judaism in the city. Levinthal was responsible for the establishment of a number of institutions tending to the religious and social needs of the immigrant Jewish community, such as the Central Talmud Torah, out of which later grew the Yeshivah Mishkan Israel (1903). He cooperated with non-Orthodox Jews to serve community needs, helping found the larger Associated Talmud Torahs, which enrolled girls as well as boys, with support from the short-lived Philadelphia Kehillah (Jewish Community of Philadelphia) in 1919. He established a municipal Va'ad ha-Kashruth to supervise ritual slaughtering.

Levinthal was a key figure in the formation of the Rabbi Isaac Elchanan Spector yeshivah (later part of Yeshiva University) in 1896. He served on key committees and taught there throughout his career. He also mentored Bernard *Revel, the first president of Yeshiva College (later University). Levinthal's granddaughter SELMA ERLICH (daughter of Levinthal's daughter Lena) married Samuel *Belkin, later the second president of Yeshiva University. Bernard Levinthal was a founder of the American Jewish Committee and the only rabbi to be a member of the delegation sent by the American Jewish Congress to the Paris Peace Conference in 1919. An active Zionist as well, he helped to establish the Mizrachi Organization of America and was an honorary vice president of the Federation of American Zionists. In the 1938 American Jewish Congress elections, Levinthal was the only candidate to receive an absolute majority of the local votes.

Levinthal had a significant national impact, but he left an ambiguous local heritage. He did not establish a day school or post-high school yeshivah. He did not encourage rabbinic graduates of Yeshiva University to locate in Philadelphia, and few served there before the late 1930s. His four sons were active in Conservative Judaism and Zionism, and a granddaughter was the first woman to complete studies at the Jewish Institute of Religion in New York.

Bernard's son ISRAEL HERBERT LEVINTHAL (1888–1982) was ordained by the Jewish Theological Seminary in 1910. He served at Congregations B'nai Shalom and Petach Tikvah in Brooklyn, from 1910 to 1915 and from 1915 to 1919, respectively, and after 1919 at the Brooklyn Jewish Center. In addition, he was active in the Zionist movement and served as president of the Rabbinical Association of America. An exceptionally gifted preacher, he was adept at traditionally expounding biblical and rabbinical texts in the English language, and several volumes of his sermons have been published. He taught homiletics at the Jewish Theological Seminary. His books include *Judaism, An Analysis and An Interpretation* (1935); *Point of View: An Analysis of American Judaism* (1958); and *Judaism Speaks to the Modern World* (1963). Israel's daughter, HELEN HADASSAH LEVINTHAL, was the first woman to complete graduation requirements from the Jewish Institute of Religion in 1939, although she was not ordained as a rabbi.

LOUIS EDWARD LEVINTHAL (1892–1976), Israel's brother, practiced law in Philadelphia until 1937, when he was appointed judge on the Philadelphia Court of Common Pleas, a position he held until his retirement in 1959. Besides writing a number of legal works, he devoted himself to numerous charitable and civic organizations and to the Zionist Organization of America, of which he was elected president in 1941. He was a leader of the Conservative movement's United Synagogue of America in Philadelphia. He was particularly active in the Jewish Publication Society of America, serving as chairman of its publications committee from 1939 to 1949, again from 1954 to 1962, and as its president from 1949 to 1954. He was chairman of the board of governors of the Hebrew University from 1962 to 1966.

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[Sefton D. Temkin / Robert P. Tabak (2nd ed.)]

LEVI-PEROTTI, GIUSTINA, the supposed 14th-century author of two Petrarchan sonnets. In one, the author expresses her longing for the poetic world and her wish to gain experience in writing poetry, instead of engaging in weaving and sewing, tasks normally assigned to women. The sonnets were published in the 16th century and were attributed to Giustina in a collection of the poems of Petrarch (1304–74) assembled by G.F. Tomasini (*Petrarcha redivivus*, Padua, 1635). Tomasini claimed that the sonnet described was directed to Petrarch and that the latter replied with one of his most famous works, *La gola, e'l sonno e l'otiose piume*, encouraging the poet to persevere in a task "undertaken by only a few." On the basis of the obviously Jewish name Giustina Levi (Giusta or Giustina were names common among Italian Jewesses, especially during the Middle Ages), it was assumed that Petrarch had some connection with a Jewish poet of his time. However, only a few Petrarch scholars ever accepted this assumption, which was finally rejected by modern Italian literary critics. The notion of a Jewish poetess exchanging sonnets with Petrarch is in the romantic vogue of *petrarchismo*, which flourished in the 16th century and was based on imitations of Petrarch's verse. It is thus very probable that the poems attributed to Giustina Levi-Perotti were actually written in the 16th century and that she never in fact existed.

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[Joseph Baruch Sermoneta]

LÉVI-PROVENÇAL, EVARISTE (1894–1956), French Orientalist; original name, **Mabkhūsh**. Born in Algiers, where he also studied, Lévi-Provençal became professor (1922) and director (1929) of the Institut des Hautes Etudes Morocaines in Rabat, professor (1928) at the University of Algiers, professor (1945) at the Sorbonne, and director of the Institut des Etudes Islamiques and of the Centre d'Etudes de l'Orient of the University of Paris. He distinguished himself mainly in two fields: in the publication of Arabic texts and as a historian of Muslim Spain. In the libraries of North Africa and Spain he discovered various manuscripts of old texts which shed new light on the history of the *Almohads and the Muslim rule in Spain, among them works such as the memoirs of Baydhag, a companion of Ibn Tūmart, and those of Abdallah, the last Zirid king of Granada. He also published other texts, such as old *Ḥisba* books, dealing with markets, letters of the Almohad rulers, and writings of the Magreb and Spanish Arabic historians and geographers. His major achievement, however, was his *Histoire de l'Espagne musulmane* (vol. 1, 1944; vols. 1–3, 1950–53^2), whose first two volumes give a very clear outline of the political history of Muslim Spain until the downfall of the *Umayyad caliphate of Cordoba, whereas the third volume contains a detailed analysis of its social and cultural life. The whole work should have comprised six volumes, but when the author died, he had only collected his materials for the last three volumes. Lévi-Provencal also published Arabic inscriptions from North Africa and Spain (*Inscriptions arabes d'Espagne*, 1931) and many essays on the history and the civilization of the Muslims in Spain. Additionally, he was the founder of the review *Arabica* (Paris, 1953–) and one of the first editors of the second edition of the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*.

For a list of his writings see J. and D. Sourdel, in: *Arabica*, 3 (1956), 136–46.

[Eliyahu Ashtor]

LEVIRATE MARRIAGE AND ḤALIẒAH.

Definition

Levirate marriage (Heb. יִבּוּם; *yibbum*) is the marriage between a widow whose husband died without offspring (the *yevamah*) and the brother of the deceased (the *yavam* or levir), as prescribed in Deuteronomy 25:5–6:

> If brethren dwell together, and one of them die, and have no child, the wife of the dead shall not marry without unto a stranger [the last words according to AV translation, which is correct]; her husband's brother shall go in unto her, and take her to him to wife, and perform the duty of a husband's brother unto her. And it shall be, that the firstborn that she beareth shall succeed in the name of his brother that is dead, that his name be not blotted out of Israel.

When the levir does not marry the *yevamah*, the ceremony of *Ḥaliẓah* (Heb. חֲלִיצָה) takes place, whereby the woman becomes released from the levirate tie (*zikkat ha-yibbum*) and free to marry someone else:

> If the man like not to take his brother's wife, then his brother's wife shall go up to the gate unto the elders, and say: "My husband's brother refuseth to raise up unto his brother a name in Israel; he will not perform the duty of a husband's brother unto me." Then the elders of his city shall call him, and speak unto him; and if he stand, and say: "I like not to take her"; then shall his brother's wife draw nigh unto him in the presence of the elders, and loose his shoe from off his foot, and spit in his face; and she shall answer and say: "So shall it be done unto the man that doth not build up his brother's house." And his name shall be called in Israel "The house of him that had his shoe loosed" (Deut. 25:7–10).

In the Bible

The events concerning Judah and Tamar (Gen. 38) indicate that the practice of levirate marriage preceded the Mosaic law (cf. Gen. R. 85:5). However, it appears that levirate marriage then differed from that of Mosaic law in that the obligation also appears to have been laid on the father of the deceased husband (Gen. 38:26) and no mention is made of a release by way of *Ḥaliẓah*. Some scholars expressed the opinion, following the view of Josephus (Ant., 5:332–5) and several Karaite authorities (*Gan Eden*, Nashim, 13, 30; *Adderet Eliyahu*, Nashim 5), that the events concerning Ruth and Boaz (Ruth 4) also indicate a levirate marriage, but it appears that in this case the duty of the *go'el* to marry Ruth was incidental to the laws concerning the redemption of property of the deceased; hence the variation in a number of details from the prescribed levirate marriage laws (Ibn Ezra, Deut. 25:5; Naḥmanides, Gen. 38:8).

In the Talmud

NEED FOR LEVIRATE MARRIAGE AND ḤALIẒAH. The word *ben* ("son") in Deuteronomy 25:5 is interpreted in the Talmud, in the Septuagint, and by Josephus (Ant. 4:254) to mean "offspring" and not only a male child (cf. Gen. 3:16), so that a levirate marriage is only obligatory when the deceased husband leaves no offspring whatever, whether from the *yevamah* or another wife, including a child conceived during his lifetime but not born until after his death, even if that child subsequently died (Yev. 2:5, 22b; Nid. 5:3; and Codes). The words, "if brothers dwell together" (Deut. 25:5) have been interpreted by the scholars as confining the application of levirate marriage to the brothers of the deceased who were born prior to his death (Yev. 2:1, 2). Thus if the birth of the levir precedes his brother's death by as little as one day and there are no other brothers, the *yevamah* must wait until he reaches the age of 13 years and a day, when he becomes legally fit either to marry her or grant her *Ḥaliẓah* (Nid. 5:3; Yev. 105b). The law of *yibbum* applies only to paternal, not maternal, brothers (Yev. 17b). If the deceased is survived by several brothers, the obligation of *yibbum* or *Ḥaliẓah* devolves on the eldest but is nevertheless valid if performed by another brother (Yev. 24a; 39a). If the deceased brother had several wives, fulfillment of the obligation in respect of one wife suffices and exempts the other wives (Yev. 4:11, 44a; and Codes).

The tie (*zikkah*) between the *yevamah* and the *yevam* arises immediately upon the husband's death. From this stage, until she undergoes levirate marriage or *Ḥaliẓah*, the *yevamah* is known as a *shomeret yavam* ("awaiting the levir") and relations between the levir and her kin are prohibited (as incestuous), as if he were married to her. Only a putative marriage can be contracted between a *shomeret yavam* and an "outsider," who is obliged to divorce her, although their offspring are not considered **mamzerim* (Yev. 13b; al. Yad, Ishut 4:14).

The *shomeret yavam* may not undergo levirate marriage or *Ḥaliẓah* until three months after the date of her husband's death (Yev. 4:10 and Codes) as with any other widow, who must await this period before remarrying. She is therefore entitled to *maintenance from her husband's estate during this period, but not thereafter, according to the *halakhah* of the talmudic period – neither from her husband's estate nor from the levir. However, if the levir evaded her after she had sued him in court either to marry her or grant her *Ḥaliẓah* the rabbis fined him to pay her maintenance (Yev. 41b; Rashi, and

Tosafot thereto), and this was also the law if he became ill or went abroad (TJ, Ket. 5:4, 29d; Yad, Ishut 18:16).

In biblical law the levir does not require a formal marriage (*kiddushin*) to the *yevamah* since the personal status tie, the *zikkah* between them, arises automatically upon the death of the husband of the *yevamah*. However, the scholars prescribed that the *yevamah* should be married like all women, in this case by *kiddushei kesef* or *shetar*, these *kiddushin* called "*ma'amar*" (lit. "declaration"): "first he addresses to her a *ma'amar* and then they cohabit" (lit. "he takes her into his home"; Tosef., Yev. 7:2; Yev. 52a). The scholars ruled that the levir who marries the *yevamah* succeeds to the estate of his deceased brother (Yev. 4:7), interpreting the passage "*ve-hayah ha-bekhor asher teled*" (Deut. 25:6) as referring to the firstborn of the brothers on whom the duty of levirate marriage devolved and hence that the continuation of this passage, i.e., "shall succeed in the name of his brother" (meaning "shall succeed to the inheritance") refers to the levir undergoing levirate marriage. This argument was described as "having entirely deprived the text of its ordinary meaning through a *gezerah shavah*" (see *Hermeneutics; Yev. 24a). According to R. Judah (Yev. 4:7), "where there is a father, he inherits the son's property," otherwise the brothers succeed to the estate (Tosef., Yev. 63) and the levir marrying the *yevamah* inherits only a brother's proportionate share. He interprets the above passage literally, as referring to the firstborn of the union between the levir and the *yevamah*, who succeeds to the estate of the deceased brother (interpreted similarly by Tar. Yer., Ibn Ezra, and Rashbam, Deut. 25:6; Rashi, Gen. 38:8 – from whom Naḥmanides Gen. *ibid.* differs). The *amoraim* commented, however, that R. Judah did not differ from the scholars but merely excepted the case of the deceased who is survived by his father, for the levir is compared to the *firstborn ("*ve-hayah ha-bekhor asher teled*"), who does not inherit in his father's lifetime (Yev. 40a). Even according to the scholars whose opinion was accepted, the levir does not succeed to a contingent inheritance (*ra'ui*), i.e., to property due to come to the deceased brother (such as the proportional share of his father's estate which the deceased, but for his death, would have inherited), but only to property already owned by the brother at the time of his death, as in the case of the firstborn (Bek. 8:9; see *Succession). The **ketubbah*, i.e., the widow's jointure, is a charge on the property which the levir inherits from the deceased and he is prohibited from alienating the latter by way of sale or gift – any such attempted alienation being void (Ket. 82a). In a case where the levir inherits no property from his brother, the scholars determined that the widow must receive her *ketubbah* from the levir's property "so that he shall not consider it easy to divorce her" (Yev. 39a). A levir who chooses to perform *Ḥaliẓah* receives no more than a brother's share of the deceased's estate (Yev. 4:7) and upon *Ḥaliẓah* the widow becomes entitled to receive her *ketubbah* from her deceased husband's estate (Yev. 85a; Sh. Ar., EH 165:4).

The Duty of *Ḥaliẓah*

According to the Torah, the duty of *Ḥaliẓah* is imposed only when the levir willfully refuses to marry the *yevamah*, and not when he is unable to or prohibited from marrying her, for "whoever is subject [lit. "goes up"] to levirate marriage is subject to *Ḥaliẓah*, and whoever is not subject to levirate marriage is not subject to *Ḥaliẓah*" (Yev. 3a). Thus, for example, where a levirate marriage is precluded because the relationship would be incestuous, the widow (supposing she is the levir's daughter or his wife's sister) is also exempted from *Ḥaliẓah*. According to Bet Hillel, if one of the deceased's several wives is prohibited from marrying the levir she also exempts her co-wives (*ẓarah*, "rival") and the "rivals of her rivals" (if the rival has married another man) from levirate marriage and *Ḥaliẓah*, but Bet Shammai's opinion was that the rival is not thus exempted (Yev. 1:1; 1:4; cf. Yev. 16a and TJ, Yev. 1:6, 3a). On the other hand, it was determined that at times the duty of *Ḥaliẓah* exists even where levirate marriage is forbidden – as between a priest and divorcee –by a "prohibition of holiness" (*issur kedushah*); in such a case *Ḥaliẓah* is still required for, as in all cases of negative precepts, the marriage, even if prohibited, is nevertheless valid once it has taken place (Yev. 2:3 and Rashi ad loc.; TJ, Yev. 1:1, 2c; see *Marriage, Prohibited). This rule also applies when doubt exists as to whether levirate marriage is incumbent on the widow, in which case *Ḥaliẓah* is required (Git. 7:3, et al.). In cases where the levir is seriously ill or there is a big difference in their ages, or the levir is "not suitable" (*eino hagun*) for the widow, etc., efforts were made to arrange for *Ḥaliẓah* rather than marriage.

Priority between Levirate Marriage and *Ḥaliẓah*

In the course of time some scholars accepted the view that the duty of the *Ḥaliẓah* always took priority over that of levirate marriage, a view stemming from the attempt to reconcile the prohibition on a man marrying his brother's wife (Lev. 18:16) with the command of levirate marriage. These biblical commandments induced the Samaritans to confine the application of levirate marriage to a woman who had undergone *kiddushin* but not *nissu'in* (see *Marriage) – in which case she would not be considered a relative with whom marriage was prohibited (Kid. 75b–76a; TJ, Yev. 1:6) – while some Karaite scholars were led to interpret the word "brothers" as relatives and not literally (*Gan Eden* Nashim, 13; *Adderet Eliyahu*, Nashim, 5). The two biblical provisions do not conflict, however, for the prohibition in Leviticus 18:16 applies only where the deceased brother is survived by descendants, whereas the *mitzvah* of levirate marriage applies only when the deceased brother dies without issue, in order that the levir shall "succeed in the name of his brother." The *mitzvah* of levirate marriage and the prohibition of marrying a brother's wife "were said as one" (Mekh. Ba-Ḥodesh; Sif. Deut. 233; TJ, Ned. 3:2, 37d). Hence in the beginning, when the parties carried out the precept for the sake of fulfilling a commandment, levirate marriage took priority over *Ḥaliẓah*; but when the precept was carried out for other reasons, the scholars said that *Ḥaliẓah* took priority over levirate marriage, and "a levir who marries the *yevamah* other than for the sake of fulfilling a commandment commits incest" (Bek. 1:7 and Rashi ad loc.); and "… I am inclined to think that the child of such a union is a *mamzer*" (Abba Saul, Tosef., Yev. 6:9; Yev. 39b). The question of priority was much disputed by the scholars. In the third generation of *tannaim*, levirate marriage was customarily upheld (Yev. 8:4), while the Babylonian *amoraim* left the choice between marriage and *Ḥaliẓah* to the levir, although some "reenacted the priority of levirate marriage over *Ḥaliẓah*" (Yev. 39a–b). The Palestinian *amoraim* apparently held that *Ḥaliẓah* took priority (Bar Kappara in TJ, Yev. 109a, makes no mention of the above "reenactment" of levirate marriage priority).

The Order of *Ḥaliẓah*

Ḥaliẓah which releases the widow from the obligation of levirate marriage enables her to marry freely, except that the scholars prohibited a priest from marrying her (Yev. 24a). The *Ḥaliẓah* ceremony is designed to shame the levir for not "building up his brother's house" (Deut. 25:9). It has been seen as an act of *kinyan* (*acquisition), whereby the widow buys from the levir the inheritance of his deceased brother (Rashbam *ibid.*; cf. Ruth 4:7–8), or as a form of mourning for the levir's brother "for he shall be forgotten now that no offspring shall be raised in his name" (Jehiel of Paris cited in *Seder Ḥaliẓah* to Sh. Ar., EH 169:57, no. 82; Responsum of Isaac Caro at the end of Responsa *Beit Yosef*). Although the formalities of *Ḥaliẓah* are performed by the *yevamah*, the levir is called the *Ḥolez*, i.e., "loosener" (Yev. 4:1, 5–8; 5:6; et al.), for the levir "participates in *Ḥaliẓah* in that his intention to loosen is required," hence a deaf-mute levir who lacks such intention is called the *Neḥlaẓ* and not the *Ḥoleẓ* (Yev. 12:4; *Nimmukei Yosef* 104b, and Maim. commentary ad loc.).

Many details are stipulated for the order of the *Ḥaliẓah* ceremony (Yev. 12:6; Yad, Yibbum 4:1–23; Sh. Ar., EH 169); essentially they are as follows: The levir and the *yevamah* appear before the *bet din*, the levir wearing on his right foot a special shoe, the "*Ḥaliẓah* shoe"; the *yevamah* recites a passage indicating the levir's refusal to perform his duty to marry her; the levir responds by affirming his refusal – all this in Hebrew in the words prescribed in the Bible (Deut. 25:7, 9); the *yevamah* then removes the shoe from the levir's foot, throws it to the ground, spits on the ground before the levir, and utters the final prescribed passage (Deut. 25:9); finally, those present repeat the words "*Ḥaluẓ ha-na'al*" three times. The Boethusians held that the *yevamah* is required actually to spit in the levir's face and this is also stated in two manuscripts of the Septuagint, in Josephus' *Antiquities*, and in some of the apocryphal books, but the talmudic scholars held it to be sufficient if the elders see her spitting (Sif. Deut. 291). At the completion of the ceremony, the *dayyanim* express the wish "that the daughters of Israel shall have no need to resort to either *Ḥaliẓah* or levirate marriage" (Sh. Ar., EH 169, "abridged order of *Ḥaliẓah*," 56). At first it was customary to issue a deed of *Ḥaliẓah* as proof that the ceremony had taken place (Yev. 39b – as distinguished from a deed of divorce where the delivery of the deed constitutes the act of divorce), but in the course of time this practice was abandoned since "the ceremony was performed in public, before ten people, and she does not require documentary proof" (Sh. Ar., EH 169, "abridged order of *Ḥaliẓah*," 13; and end of commentary *Seder Ḥaliẓah*, no. 82).

In the Post-Talmudic Period

PRIORITY. In the post-talmudic period, the dispute over the question of priority was continued. In the opinion of the Sura *geonim*, levirate marriage took priority, while those of Pumbedita thought otherwise, as did some of the Sura scholars (R. Hillai and R. Natronai). In the rabbinic period the Spanish scholars – particularly Alfasi (to Yev. 39b), Maimonides (Yad, Yibbum 1:2), and Joseph Caro (Sh. Ar., EH 165:1) – gave priority to levirate marriage, contending that otherwise there is no reason to shame and to submit the levir to the prescribed indignities and that the kabbalistic scholars said that "levirate marriage is very beneficial for the soul of the dead," and that Abba Saul who held that *Ḥaliẓah* took priority, "did not know this kabbalistic mystery," otherwise he would not have come to the conclusion he reached (Isaac Caro, quoted in Resp. *Beit Yosef*, loc. cit.). Such has actually been the custom, until the present day, of the Jews of Spain and of the Oriental communities in North Africa from Morocco to Egypt – in Yemen, Babylonia, and Persia. This was also the case in Ereẓ Israel (even at the end of the 1940s; see *Mishpetei Uziel*, EH no. 119) until the matter was settled by a *takkanah* of the chief rabbinate of Israel (in 5710–1949/50, see below). The scholars of northern France and Germany – particularly Rashi, Rabbenu Tam, Asher b. Jehiel (Tur., EH 165), and Moses Isserles (*Rema,* EH 165:1) – held that *Ḥaliẓah* takes priority though they did not all assign the same measure of priority to it. The acceptance of Rabbenu Gershom's decree (prohibiting polygamy) among Ashkenazi Jews (see *Bigamy) apparently contributed greatly toward the entrenchment of the rule that *Ḥaliẓah* takes priority – in order not to distinguish between a married and an unmarried levir – and Ashkenazi communities gradually came to adopt the practice of *Ḥaliẓah* to the exclusion of levirate marriage.

Problems of Levirate Marriage – The Apostate Levir

The scholars devote a great deal of discussion to the solution of problems centering around the laws of levirate marriage and *Ḥaliẓah*, arising both from objective factors and from the levir's conduct. The Mishnah (Git. 7:3) relates the case of a childless husband who fell ill and wrote his wife a "conditional" bill of divorce, effected upon his death, so that on his death the divorce would take effect retroactively to the date of delivery of the bill, with the intention of absolving her from the obligations of a *yevamah*. In the case of an "unsuitable" levir, or one suffering from a serious illness, or whose age differed greatly from that of the widow, it was sought to influence the levir in various ways to forgo marriage in favor of *Ḥaliẓah*. From the geonic period, mention is made (first in the *Halakhot Gedolot*, end of Hilkh. Yevamot) of the problem of the *yevamah* and the *apostate levir "in the land of the Berbers, among gentiles" or "who cannot be reached in a far land," which placed the *yevamah* in the position of an **agunah*. Some of the *geonim* decided that she retained this status until released by the apostate levir, but others ruled that she was exempted from *Ḥaliẓah* if at the time of her marriage to the deceased his brother was already an apostate. It seems that the Babylonian academies were also divided on this question, Sura taking a lenient view and Pumbedita a strict one (L. Ginzberg, *Ginzei Schechter*, 2 (1929), 167f.). In later times the view that *Ḥaliẓah* was obligatory for the widow in every case became increasingly stronger and a solution for the problem was sought by the imposition – at the time of the *kiddushin* ceremony – of a condition specifying that the wife "shall be considered as not having been married if it shall be her lot to require levirate marriage at the hands of an apostate" (*Rema*, EH 157:4).

Problems of *Ḥaliẓah*

In an effort to overcome the problem that arose when a levir refused to undergo *Ḥaliẓah*, many French and German communities enacted *takkanot* awarding the levir a substantial share of the deceased brother's estate – financed partly at the widow's expense – although according to law the levir was entitled only to a brother's share upon *Ḥaliẓah*. The varying terms of these *takkanot* gave rise to frequent disputes, so that in practice the courts sought to compromise between the parties (Sh. Ar., EH 163:2, 165:4). As this, in turn, frequently caused the widow to be left at the levir's mercy, it became increasingly customary for the husband's brothers to write – at the time of the marriage – a "deed of undertaking to grant *Ḥaliẓah*" committing themselves to release the widow, whenever the need might arise, in a valid *Ḥaliẓah* ceremony, without delay or demand for consideration; this undertaking was enforced by way of a biblical *oath and a severe penalty or *ban. Where the levir was a minor at the time of his brother's marriage and his undertaking consequently unenforceable, his father would write a deed guaranteeing that his minor son would, upon reaching maturity, provide the required undertaking to his sister-in-law. The father backed his guarantee – which was itself lacking in authority (see **Asmakhta*) – by a monetary pledge to his daughter-in-law, which would be canceled on the production of the required undertaking (Gulak, Oẓar, 90–97). Many of the **aḥaronim* decided in favor of obliging the levir to maintain the widow to whom he refused to grant *Ḥaliẓah*, despite the lack of unanimity among the *rishonim* on the circumstances and terms on which maintenance should be awarded, as otherwise "she may be kept an *agunah* forever" (*Arukh ha-Shulḥan*, EH 160:8).

In recent years the problem of *Ḥaliẓah* arising from the levir being absent abroad has become more acute, particularly in the case of countries in the Soviet bloc. Several halakhic authorities, led by Shalom Mordecai ha-Kohen *Shvadron, head of the Brezen *bet din*, have sought to avoid the widow's need to travel to the *levir* by permitting her to be represented at the *Ḥaliẓah* ceremony by an agent (Resp. Maharsham, pt. 1, nos. 14, 135), a view based on confining the prohibition on *agency in *Ḥaliẓah* to the levir only (Ket. 74a); however, most of his contemporaries dissented from this. It has also been rejected by modern Ereẓ Israel scholars (e.g., *Mishpetei Uziel,* 2 (1938), EH 88; *Kunteres Sheliḥut ba-Ḥaliẓah*) and this problem – like that which arises when the levir is a minor, placing the widow in a position of an *agunah* until he reaches the age of 13 years and a day – urgently awaits a solution, possibly along the lines already indicated.

Takkanah of the Chief Rabbinate of Ereẓ Israel

In 1944 the chief rabbinate of Ereẓ Israel enacted a *takkanah* obliging the levir to maintain the levirate widow until he released her by *Ḥaliẓah*, according to "law and precept," if a rabbinical court had certified that he refused to comply with its decision ordering him to grant her *Ḥaliẓah*. This *takkanah*, which gives expression to the view of those halakhic scholars who would oblige the recalcitrant levir to maintain the widow, has made this obligation part of the law of maintenance, rather than its being a fine for noncompliance. It was prompted by the fact of "much difficulty and suffering arising from the regrettable prevalence of cases of Jewish women who are in need of levirate marriage and are placed in the position of *agunot* because *Ḥaliẓah* has been withheld from them." A further *takkanah* of the chief rabbinate of the State of Israel (1950) completely prohibited the practice of levirate marriage in Israel while making *Ḥaliẓah* obligatory. This *takkanah*, extending also to the Sephardi and Oriental Jewish communities in Israel, was expressly justified on the grounds that "most levirs do not undergo levirate marriage for the sake of fulfilling a *mitzvah*, and also to preserve peace and harmony in the State of Israel by keeping the law of the Torah uniform for all."

In the State of Israel

The Rabbinical Courts Jurisdiction (Marriage and Divorce) Law, 5713–1953 of the State of Israel confers on the rabbinical court exclusive jurisdiction in a case where a woman sues her deceased husband's brother for *Ḥaliẓah*, and also with regard to maintenance for the woman until the day on which *Ḥaliẓah* is granted (sec. 5). Section 7 of the same law further provides that "Where a rabbinical court, by final judgment [i.e., when it can no longer be appealed against; sec. 8] has ordered that a man be compelled to give his brother's widow *Ḥaliẓah*, a district court may, upon expiration of three months from the day of making the order, on application of the attorney general, compel compliance with the order by imprisonment." A judgment compelling a levir to grant *Ḥaliẓah* will be given by the rabbinical court in similar circumstances to those in which it customarily sees fit to compel the grant of a divorce, and in certain additional cases, e.g., where the levir is already married (Tur and Sh. Ar., EH 165), but at all times only where compulsion is supported by halakhic authority so as not to bring about a prohibited "forced *Ḥaliẓah*" (Yev. 106a; Yad, Yibbum 4:25–26; Sh. Ar., EH 169:13). This procedure, so far as halakhically permitted, offers an effective means of dealing with a recalcitrant levir.

[Menachem Elon]

In 1995, the Rabbinical Courts Law (Upholding Divorce Rulings) (Temporary Provision) 5755–1995, was enacted. This law amended the procedure for compelling divorce (see in detail in entries on *Agunah and *Divorce). Section 6 of the Law provides that 30 days after a decision ordering the husband to give *Ḥaliẓah* to his brother's widow, the rabbinical court is empowered to impose the statutory sanctions, including imprisonment and restrictive orders. These sanctions are the application in Israeli Law of the *harḥakot Rabbenu Tam* (see *Agunah), which were enacted as a means of compelling divorce (See Sh. Ar., EH 154:21, *Rema*). Hence, today the Israel rabbinical court is authorized to compel the granting of *Ḥaliẓah*, and to employ the same methods of compulsion (imprisonment and restrictive orders) against the recalcitrant levir as it does against the recalcitrant husband who refuses to grant a *get.*

[Moshe Drori (2nd ed.)]

The Ceremony of *Ḥaliẓah*

The ceremony of *Ḥaliẓah* is invested with a special solemnity. The normal *bet din*, consisting of three ordained rabbis, is augmented for the occasion by two additional members (who can be laymen), "in order to give publicity to the matter" (Yev. 101a–b). The five members of the *bet din* meet at the place where the ceremony is to take place on the previous day, in order to "establish the locum" (Yev. 101b). The ceremony takes place the following morning, and the *yevamah* (more correctly *yavmah*) is enjoined to fast until the ceremony. She and the levir are also instructed, if necessary, to repeat the respective declarations which they have to make, according to Deuteronomy 25:7–10, in the original Hebrew. Questions are put to ascertain that there are no circumstances which might invalidate the ceremony, e.g., to ascertain that both are majors, in full possession of their normal mental faculties, that 91 days have passed since the death of her husband. Although *yibbum*, levirate marriage, is forbidden at the present time, the presiding rabbi nevertheless formally asks the levir which he prefers, to marry his sister-in-law or release her through *Ḥaliẓah*, to which he replies confirming the latter alternative. The ceremony proper then commences, the essence of which is that the *yevamah*, in accordance with Deuteronomy 25:9, has to draw a shoe off the foot of her brother-in-law. The *Ḥaliẓah* shoe must conform rigidly to the halakhic regulations laid down for it. It is made of leather including the sewing, the loops, and the straps, no metal whatsoever being permitted. It resembles a moccasin, and is fastened primarily with three loops. Long straps are attached to the top of the uppers. Since the shoe must be the property of the levir, it is given to him as an unconditional gift. He tries it on his right foot and is asked to walk in it, to see that it fits, even when it is unlaced; he repeats the procedure after it is tied in the prescribed manner, first by fastening the loops and then winding the straps around it. The laces are then undone.

Until recent times, in Eastern Europe the morbid custom obtained for the levir to lean against an upturned board used for the ritual washing of a corpse in order to emphasize that his status and rights as a levir derived from the death of his brother. This custom has been (largely) abandoned. The levir nowadays leans against a beam or a wall and presses his foot hard on the ground. The *yevamah* then makes the following declaration, in Hebrew: "My husband's brother refuses to raise up unto his brother a name in Israel; he will not perform the duty of a husband's brother unto me" (Deut. 25:7), to which he answers, also in Hebrew, and in one breath, the three words meaning "I like not to take her" (Deut. 25:8). The *yevamah* then bends down, places her left hand on the calf of her brother-in-law and with the right hand undoes the laces and the loops. She then raises his leg, slips off the shoe, and casts it away. She then collects some ordure in her mouth and spits on the floor in front of him (not "in his face"; see Deut. 25:9) and declares, again in Hebrew: "So shall it be done unto the man that doth not build up his brother's house; and his name shall be called in Israel *beit Ḥaluẓ ha-na'al* ("the house of him that had his shoe loosened"; Deut. 25:9–10). All those present thrice repeat the last three words. The members of the *bet din* then recite the formula "may it be the divine will that the daughters of Israel shall be liable neither to *yibbum* nor *Ḥaliẓah*."

[Louis Isaac Rabinowitz]

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LEVISON, WILHELM (1876–1947), medievalist. Born in Duesseldorf, Germany, Levison taught at Bonn University from 1903, becoming professor in 1912. He specialized in the early Merovingian and Carolingian periods, being the first scholar to treat Rhenish history as an integral part of German and European history (cf. the chapter he contributed to the *Geschichte des Rheinlandes* (vol. 1 (1922), 45–168)). He took part, first as assistant and later as coeditor, in editing volumes 3–5 of the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores rerum Merovingicarum*, 5–7 (1910–20); Levison also completely revised and reedited the first part of W. Wattenbach's classic, *Deutschlands Geschichtsquellen im Mittelalter…* (3 vols, 1952–57). Many of his articles were published in his *Aus rheinischer und fraenkischer Fruehzeit* (1948). The rise of

Hitler drove Levison from Germany and he accepted a fellowship at the University of Durham, England. In 1943, he delivered the Ford lectures at Oxford, which form part of his best-known book, *England and the Continent in the Eighth Century* (1946).

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[Helene Wieruszowski]

LEVI-STRAUSS, CLAUDE (1908–), French anthropologist. Born in Brussels, Belgium, and educated at the Sorbonne, he was chosen as a member of the French University mission to Brazil in 1934 where he became professor of sociology at the University of São Paulo from 1935 to 1939. During this period he conducted ethnographic field work among the tribes of the Mato Grosso area of central Brazil. On the outbreak of World War II Levi-Strauss served with the French army from 1939 to 1940 and after the fall of Paris went to New York as visiting professor at the New School of Social Research from 1941 to 1945. He returned to France as professor of primitive religion at the Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes at the Sorbonne, which position he held until 1974, and in 1959 he was appointed professor of social anthropology at the College de France. He was elected a member of the Academie française in May 1973.

Levi-Strauss' works began appearing in 1948 with the publication of "La Vie Familiale et sociale des Indiens Nambikwara" (*Journal de la Société des Americanistes*, 37 (1948), 1–130). *Tristes Tropiques* (1955, 1968^2; *A World on the Wane*, 1961) was a distinguished literary work containing elements of autobiography, ethnography, and social anthropology based on his experience in Brazil. His most significant theoretical work *Les Structures Elémentaires de la Parenté* (1949, 1967^2; *Elementary Structures of Kinship*, 1969) was a treatise on structural anthropology of the 20th century. His *Anthropologie Structurale* (1958; *Structural Anthropology*, 1963, 1968^3) is a collection of essays on language, kinship, and social organization which elucidates his theory of structural anthropology. His later works were *La Pensée Sauvage* (1962, 1964^2; *The Savage Mind*, 1966) and the monumental four-volume series, "Mythologiques," consisting of *Le Cru et le Cuit* (1964; Eng. translation, *The Raw and the Cooked*, 1969) which dealt with the nature of primitive thought and native mythology; *Du miel aux cendres* ("From Honey to Ashes," 1966); *L'Origine des mainieres de table* (1968; *The Origin of Table Manners*, 1978); and *L'Homme nu* (1971; *The Naked Man*, 1982). His *Totémisme* (1962, 1965^2; Eng. tr. 1963, paperback 1969) is a critical survey of the literature on totemism and advances new interpretations. His lectures were collected in *Paroles donées* (1984; *Anthropology and Myth: Lectures, 1951–1982,* 1987). Other books include *La Voie des masques* (1972; *The Way of the Masks*, 1982); *Le Regard eloigné* (1983; *The View from Afar*, 1985); *Le Poitière jalouse* (1985; *The Jealous Potter*, 1988); and *Regarder, écouter, lire* (1993; *Look, Listen, Read*, 1997).

Levi-Strauss' most original and significant contribution is his theory of structural anthropology. Taking linguistics as his model of a social science, he conceives of social anthropology as a general science concerned with relations involving logical structure of social phenomena. Ultimately, he maintains, all social phenomena are symbolic expressions of the human mind and it is the function of the social anthropologist to make explicit the implicit, unconscious structural relations inherent in different systems of symbolic forms. All social phenomena are regarded as systems of communication manifested especially in the forms of kinship, economics, and language.

Levi-Strauss also attempted to establish a new science of myth. He maintained it was the function of the structural analysis of myth to make conscious and explicit the logical structure which underlies the concrete images and plots of a given series of myths. Myths, like science, are motivated by an intellectual impulse, a problem to be solved, and differ from science, not in their logic, but only in the kind of objects to which this logic is applied. Myth reveals not the unconscious instinctual nature of man as Freud maintained but rather man's unconscious, rational thought in his attempt to resolve the logical problems which confront him. Myth is really man's first attempt to construct a philosophy and science of nature and culture; it is the wisdom of savages and of the folk expressed in a mode of sensible images.

In agreement with E.B. Tylor, Levi-Strauss is prepared to maintain that if law is anywhere, it is everywhere. The science of social anthropology is based on the assumption that the human spirit is subject to rational law and that freedom of creativity is an illusion. Levi-Strauss' theory of a structural science of social anthropology is highly controversial, but it is also one of the most thought-provoking and influential theories of modern times.

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[Ephraim Fischoff and David Baumgardt]

LEVITA, ELIJAH (**Bahur**; **ben Asher ha-Levi Ashkenazi**; 1468 or 1469–1549), Hebrew philologist, grammarian, and lexicographer. Born in Neustadt, near Nuremberg, Germany, he spent most of his life in Italy (Padua, Venice, and Rome) where he taught Hebrew language and grammar. His pupils included Christian humanists, from whom he learned Greek and Latin. Some of the leading Christian Hebraists with whom Levita maintained contact at various times were Paulus *Fagius, Johannes de Kampen (Campensis), Andreas *Maes, Guillaume *Postel, and Johann Albrecht *Widmanstetter (Widmanstadius). Postel in his *Linguarum duodecim charac-*

teribus differentium alphabetum (Paris, 1538, fol. 3) wrote that he became a close friend of Levita in Venice – *"Elias Germanus, quo usus sum Venetiis."* Among his pupils he counted Sebastian *Muenster, who translated Elijah's works into Latin, and Cardinal Egidius da *Viterbo in whose home in Rome Elijah stayed for 13 years (1514–27). Before entering the house of Egidius da Viterbo, Elijah also wrote secular literary works in Yiddish. To this period belongs *Bovo d'Antona* (unicum: Isny, 1541, but believed to have first been published in 1507) which became known as the **Bove-Bukh* in later editions. It is an adaptation in verse of one of the Italian versions of an Anglo-French romance, *Sir Bevis of Hampton*. His *Paris un Viene* (apparently written in 1508/09; the unicum with the beginning missing preserved at Trinity College, Cambridge, was printed at Verona in 1594) is evidently based on a medieval Provençal romance. Elijah also adapted two love epics from Italian sources; the first is based on a courtly love legend, and the second is an abridged and free adaptation of an Italian-Provençal literary work, written in *ottava rima* (a stanza of eight iambic lines containing three rhymes) which Elijah introduced into Yiddish literature. Elijah instructed da Viterbo principally in the Kabbalah and translated some manuscripts for him (e.g., the commentary of R. Eliezer of Worms on *Sefer Yeẓirah*). Georges de Selve, another of his pupils, who later became the French ambassador to Venice, invited him, in the name of King Francis I, to lecture in Hebrew at the Collège Royal in Paris. He declined the offer for two reasons: he neither wanted to be the only Jew allowed to live in France, nor did he feel that under such conditions he could observe the religious precepts.

In 1527, when Rome was sacked by the armies of Charles V, Elijah lost all his property (including some manuscripts). He returned to Venice, where he earned his livelihood as a proofreader in the publishing house of Daniel *Bomberg (1529 to the late 1530s), and remained there, except for an absence of four years (1539/40–44). During that period, he supervised Fagius' press at Isny (in Wuerttemberg), and later accompanied him to Constance (1542–43). At Isny, Levita printed some of his most important works. The rabbis looked with disfavor on Elijah's teaching gentiles the Torah. Elijah rejoined with the claim that earlier Christian Hebraists had upheld Christian and Jewish Hebrew scholarship resulting in a tendency, on their part, to defend Jews and the Jewish community also from physical violence. Two of Elijah's grandchildren, however, converted to Christianity and helped those who calumniated the Talmud. One of them, baptized as Vittorio Eliano, became an ecclesiastical censor of Hebrew books and had some part in the *Cremona (Christian) edition of the Zohar (1558–59). Elijah, despite false allegations brought against him to the contrary, remained an observant Jew.

Elijah wrote many Hebrew grammar works, Hebrew and Aramaic dictionaries, and did masoretic research. In Hebrew grammar, he followed the line of thought of the *Kimḥis: he published Moses Kimḥi's *Mahalakh*, with his own commentary (Pesaro, 1508; in this edition the name of the author is mistakenly given as Benjamin of Rome); and wrote notes and critiques, "*Nimmukim*," on David Kimḥi's *Mikhlol* and on his *Sefer ha-Shorashim*. His own works, written and published in Rome between 1518 and 1519, and translated into Latin by Sebastian Muenster, are *Sefer ha-Harkavah* (1518); *Ha-Baḥur* (1518; the title is after his own name "R. Elijah Baḥur"); and *Lu'aḥ be-Dikduk ha-Pe'alim ve-ha-Binyanim* (unpublished). *Ha-Harkavah* deals with "the grammar of every foreign and compound word" in the Bible, listed in alphabetical order. In *Ha-Baḥur*, which in a later edition became known as *Dikduk Eliyyah ha-Levi* (Isny, 1542), there is an allusion to the name of the author: "Since for every young man it [the book] is good and 'chosen.' And I, my name is Baḥur [= "chosen"], therefore *Baḥur* have I called it." In Rome in 1520, he published *Pirkei Eliyahu*, a work, written partly in verse, on the grammar of the Hebrew letters and vowels; it is a follow-up of *Ha-Baḥur* and completes the study in the latter. In its second edition (Venice, 1546), he added some chapters on the pattern of the nouns and the formative letters. Elijah did not introduce many innovations in his grammatical system; its easy and clear presentation, however, was instrumental in spreading the knowledge of the Hebrew language and grammar among Jews and Christian humanists. His grammatical rule on the five classes of *sheva-na* is still accepted today (though the fifth rule – the loss of the dagesh in case of *ha-domot*, repeated characters, is regarded as superfluous, as it is a regular outcome of haplology). His *Masoret ha-Masoret* (Venice, 1538), in which he explains the technical terms and the signs of the masorah, is an important contribution to masoretic study. The preface, written in prose (which follows the foreword in verse and the rhymed introduction), is an historical and original research in Hebrew vocalization and accentuation, and in the masorah. Elijah was the first to point out that the vowels and accents did not originate in the Sinai period (as had been assumed until then, and was still accepted by Moses *Mendelssohn in his *Or li-Netivah* several centuries later), but in post-talmudic times. Elijah's grammatical assertions influenced S.D. *Luzzatto in his *Vikku'aḥ Al Ḥokhmat ha-Kabbalah* (1852). *Masoret ha-Masoret* was last published together with notes and an English translation by Christian David *Ginsburg (1867; repr. 1968). In his work *Tuv Ta'am* (Venice, 1538), Elijah attempted to explain the rules on the accents in the Bible: their grammatical value and their relationship to each other. His dictionary, compiled from the Aramaic translations of the Bible, *Meturgeman* ("The Interpreter," with a Latin foreword by Paulus Fagius), and his lexicon of the Hebrew words in the Talmud and the Hebrew of the Middle Ages, *Tishbi*, with a Latin translation by Fagius (Isny, 1541), are of major importance in the research of Hebrew grammar. *Tishbi* is a source on the pronunciation and the vocalization of Hebrew by the German and Italian Jewish communities. Levita's *Meturgeman* and *Tishbi* were extensively used by Christian *Hebraists such as Guy *Le Fèvre de la Boderie, a pupil of Postel, who makes glowing reference to Levita in the preface to his *Dictionarium Syro-Chaldaicum* (in the Antwerp Polyglot Bible, 1572). Elijah also composed a concordance to the Bible, *Sefer ha-Zikhronot* (the complete work was never published; see Frensdorff, in MGWJ, 12 (1863), 96–108).

His research into the Hebrew language laid the foundations for the lexicography and etymology of Yiddish. Elijah refers to Yiddish as the "language of Ashkenaz" (Germany) or "Deutsch"; his reference in fact is only to the German dialect used by Jews. *Shemot Devarim* (Isny, 1542) is the first known Yiddish-Hebrew dictionary. It lists 985 words with their Hebrew translation, as well as Latin and German by Paulus Fagius. In *Tishbi*, where Elijah concludes each entry with the translation of the Hebrew radicals into German (he also does this to a certain extent in the *Meturgeman*), there are etymological explanations of several Yiddish words (such as *katavos, meykn, shekhtn*); two (*mashkeyt, sargenes*) are even included in the 712 entries of the dictionary (which is the total number of the Hebrew characters' arithmetic value obtained from the name *Tishbi*; this being one of the nicknames of the Prophet Elijah and also hinting at Levita's seeing himself as a follower of the Prophet). His Yiddish translation of Psalms (Venice, 1545), the first to be published, is based on earlier translations which closely followed the Hebrew text; it became a popular work, went through several editions, and served as a model to other translators. Extracts from two of his pamphlets, "*Ha-Mavdil*" and "*Oyf di Sreyfe fun Venedig*," written by Elijah against his Venetian personal adversaries, were published in *Tsaytshrift*, 1 (Minsk, 1926), 141–58; these, however, lack any literary value.

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[Meir Medan]

LEVITAN, ISAAC ILITCH (1861–1900), Russian painter who has been called the father of Russian landscape painting. Levitan, who was born in Wirballen (Virbalis), Lithuania, studied at the Moscow Art School and in 1889 visited Paris. He was one of the first Russian artists to understand the achievement of the Barbizon painters and the impressionists, and was thus equipped to become the major interpreter of the Russian landscape, with its vastness and its brooding melancholy. Continually seeking to improve his art, Levitan repainted the same subjects many times and altered his techniques. In his later paintings, executed with a thick, soft brush stroke, he succeeded in his aim of combining freedom of expression with solidity of structure. In 1896, Levitan was appointed professor of landscape painting at the Moscow Art Academy, where he taught until his death. His work had a deep influence on Russian painters and won the passionate admiration of his friend Anton Chekhov the dramatist. Examples are "Spring," "After the Rain," "Evening," and "The Hay Harvest."

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LEVITAN, SOLOMON (1862–1940), U.S. merchant, banker, and politician. Levitan, who was born in Taurrogen near Tilsit, East Prussia, immigrated to the United States in 1880. He settled in New Glarus, Wisconsin, a year later and went into business as a pack peddler and horse-and-wagon dealer. Levitan opened his first store in New Glarus in 1887 and subsequently became justice of the peace there. After moving to Madison in 1905, Levitan became a dry-goods merchant, bank officer (1909–40), and investment executive. An active campaigner for Robert M. La Follette, Sr., Republican nominee for governor, Levitan was a La Follette delegate in several Republican state conventions, a Republican presidential elector in 1912, and a delegate to the Republican national conventions of 1920 and 1924. He left the organization with La Follette when the latter formed the Progressive Party. After two unsuccessful attempts, he was elected state treasurer in 1922. Reelected several times, he served six terms (1922–32, 1936–38).

[Louis J. Swichkow]

LEVI-TANNAI, SARA (1911–2005), choreographer and teacher. Levi-Tannai was born in Jerusalem to parents who emigrated from Yemen. She worked as a kindergarten teacher for 15 years, including six when she lived in kibbutz *Ein ha-Shofet, where she organized numerous shows and pageants for which she composed and adapted music. She then devoted her life to the promotion of choreography in Israel and especially to Yemenite folklore in song and dance. In 1949 she founded the *Inbal Dance Theater, for which she recruited young dancers originating in Yemen. With this group, she created some 40 different shows, the best known of which were "Yemenite Wedding," "Shabbat Shalom," "The Story of Ruth," "Song of Deborah," "Desert," and "David's Psalm." In 1951, after seeing her works, Jerome *Robbins recommended her to the *America-Israel Cultural Foundation. This enabled her to rent a spacious studio in Tel Aviv and work in a more professional way. Thus, Inbal became the country's first institutional dance company. Later, Anna *Sokolow was brought in to work on technique with the dancers.

Inbal toured extensively in Europe and the U.S., and was highly praised. In 1963, Levi-Tannai was nominated the best choreographer of the year by the Théatre des Nations in Paris.

But if she was well regarded abroad she was criticized in Israel for being an imitator and for sacrificing "folkloristic" character to a more "professional/artistic" approach.

Levi-Tannai's works were mainly based on Jewish and biblical folklore, particularly the traditions of the Yemenite community. For her works, typical costumes and music, a new movement language, and a large repertoire were created. Inbal developed its own unique style blending ancient and modern with a theatrical approach. This "Inbalic school" strives to combine movement resources from all of the Jewish Diaspora, as well as the Middle East region, with modern techniques and approaches. As a composer, Levi-Tannai was regarded as one of the founders of a new and original Israeli style of music. She was awarded the Israel Prize in arts in 1973.

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[Bina Shiloah (2nd ed.)]

LEVITES IN THE HALAKHAH. The levite has no privileges, neither through personal or family status nor any special sanctity, and it was ruled that "the levite is equivalent to the Israelite" in all things, including ritual defilement through contact with a corpse, which is forbidden to a Kohen only (TJ, Naz. 7:1).

Nevertheless, as long as the Second Temple was standing, the levites played an important part in its services as assistants to the priests, as gatekeepers and choristers, and in various ancillary duties (see *Temple, Levites). With the destruction of the Temple, however, and the consequent abolition of the sacrificial system, their importance and role diminished, and with one exception the special position of the levite is due to historical associations alone, from which certain *halakhot* of secondary importance are derived. That exception was the right of the levites to biblical tithes. Already during Temple times there was a dispute whether the tithes should be given to the levites or to the priests, and since the separation of tithes continued after the destruction of the Temple, this difference of opinion persisted (for a full discussion, see **Terumot* and *Ma'aserot*).

Although such laws as those of the *Levitical Cities and the dwelling house in walled cities and the other similar laws applying to the levites mentioned in Lev. 25:29–34 are discussed in detail in the *halakhah* (Ar. 9:5–8 and TB 32a–34a), the discussions were purely theoretical and had no practical application.

At present the only *halakhot* which apply specifically to the levite are the following: (1) The levite is called to the reading of the second portion of the Torah portion, but only when there is a Kohen present who is called to the reading of the first portion. When there is no Kohen present, he is not necessarily called up first (Git. 5:8). (2) Apart from this the levite can be called up only to the reading of the last portion of the *sidrah* on the Sabbath, after the statutory seven have already been called; or for *maftir* on Sabbaths and festivals. (3) The levite is exempt from *Pidyon ha-Ben* (the Redemption of the *Firstborn, Bek. 2:1) and the exemption applies whether the father or the mother is a levite (*ibid.* TB 4a). (4) The levite washes the hands of the Kohen before he ascends to pronounce the *Priestly Blessing. This is a comparatively late custom, first mentioned in the Zohar (Portion *Naso*, 146 a, b).

[Louis Isaac Rabinowitz]

LEVITICAL CITIES. The ecclesiastical tribe of Levi neither fought in the wars of the conquest of Canaan nor received an allocation of continuous territory as did all the other tribes (see *Priests and Levites). Its economic base was to be the sacred offerings of the Israelites – figuratively speaking, "YHWH was its portion and share among the Israelites" (Num. 18:20, 24; Deut. 18:1–2). Yet since the clergy was not a monastic order but a tribe consisting of families, the Levites required real estate on which to build their houses and land on which to graze their beasts. That need was met by the levitical cities prescribed in Numbers 35:1–8: the Israelites were to assign out of their tribal portions 48 towns with strips of open land outside them to Levites, distributed among the tribal territories in proportion to their varying sizes. The six cities of refuge are included among the 48. The open land is in the form of a square, each of whose sides is at a distance of 1,000 cubits from the town wall at its farthest extension toward each of the four cardinal points of the compass (on this meaning of verses 4–5 see M. Greenberg in bibl.). The legal status of this property differed from that of ordinary property: to prevent the dispossession of the Levites it was ordained that they might at any time redeem houses in their towns that they had been forced by need to sell; moreover, such a house, if not redeemed, reverted to its original Levite owner at the Jubilee (ordinarily, a town house that was not redeemed within a year of its sale became irreversibly transferred to its buyer). No plots of their open land could be sold at all (Lev. 25:29–34).

From Joshua 21:11–12 it emerges that the assignment of a town to Levites did not include either its unwalled suburbs or its fields (beyond the levitical open land); these remained tribal property. How the assignment was done is described in Joshua 21, where the list of towns is also given. The Levites received by lot four towns in the portions of each of the 12 tribes, excepting Judah and Simeon which together supplied nine, and Naphtali which supplied only three. The priests were concentrated in 13 southern towns in the portions of Judah, Simeon, and Benjamin; all the rest of the Levites were assigned towns of the other tribes to the north. A variant of the list in Joshua appears in I Chronicles 6:39–66; W.F. Albright's close study has led him to conclude that both derive from a single original.

Two features of the plan of Joshua 21 indicate its artificiality: its schematic nature – the number and distribution of the towns and the clean separation of priests from Levites (in the spirit of the priestly stratum of the Pentateuch); and obliviousness of the real impulse behind the Levites' scattering through the land of Israel – the necessity of finding employment at local sanctuaries. Not only does the list omit many early sanctuary towns (e.g., Beth-El, Nob, Jerusalem, Beer-Sheba) while

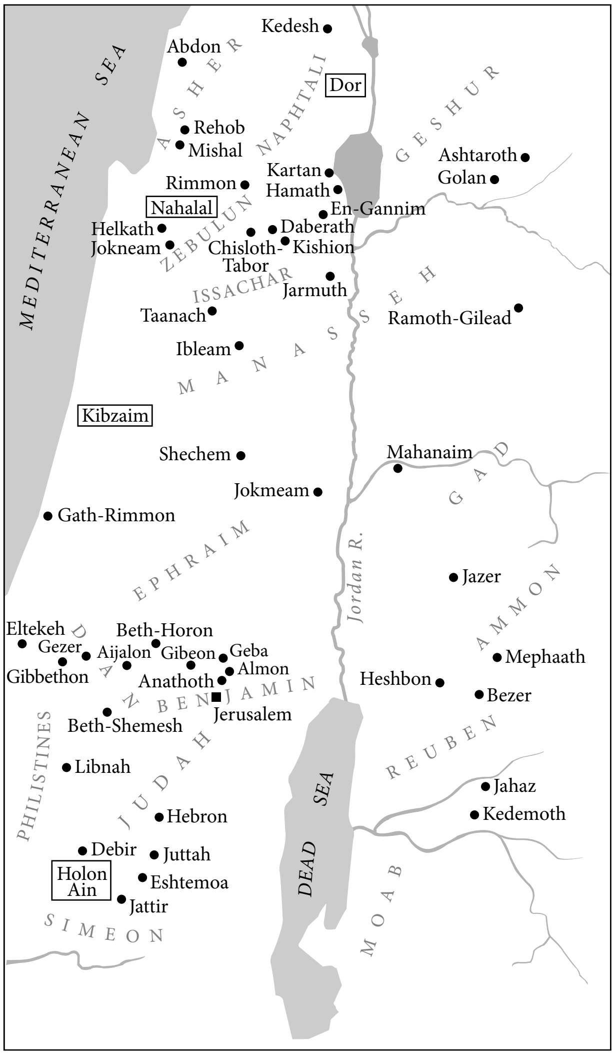
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
Kedesh
Abdon
ASHER
NAPHTALI
Dor
GESHUR
Rehob
Mishal
Kartan
Ashtaroth
Golan
Rimmon
Hamath
Nahalal
En-Gannim
ZEBULUN
Helkath
Daberath
Jokneam
Chisloth-Tabor
Kishion
ISSACHAR
Jarmuth
MANASSEH
Taanach
Ramoth-Gilead
Ibleam
Kibzaim
Shechem
Mahanaim
Jokmeam
GAD
Gath-Rimmon
EPHRAIM
Jordan R.
Jazer
AMMON
Eltekeh
DAN
Beth-Horon
Gezer
Aijalon
Gibeon
Geba
Mephaath
Gibbethon
Almon
Anathoth
Heshbon
Bezer
BENJAMIN
Jerusalem
Beth-Shemesh
PHILISTINES
Libnah
JUDAH
DEAD SEA
REUBEN
Jahaz
Kedemoth
Hebron
Debir
Juttah
Holon Ain
Eshtemoa
Jattir
MOAB
SIMEON

Sites of the levitical cities. Names within frames are of places as yet unidentified, though their general location is known from the sources. Based on Y. Aharoni in Carta's Atlas of the Bible, *Jerusalem, 1964.*

mentioning towns in which the presence of Israelites, let alone a sanctuary, is dubious (e.g., Gibbethon, Eltekeh), but the whole scheme to which the list belongs aims at solving the problem of settling the Levites without reference to their sacred vocation. Had the scheme envisioned them serving at sanctuaries, it could never have been content with only four towns per tribe. (The real situation of Levites – namely, dispersal throughout the countryside – is rather reflected in Deuteronomy's allusion to them "in any of the settlements throughout all Israel"; 18:6; cf. 16:11, 14.) The visionary arrangement of Ezekiel 45:1–5; 48:8–14 gives more consideration to the reality of levitical needs in that it settles the priests and Levites in a sacred "oblation" adjacent to the future temple in which they are to serve (on the analogy of their position around the desert tabernacle in the Pentateuch). Granting the unreal character of the scheme of Joshua 21, one may still ask whether any historical situation underlies the town list. J. Wellhausen regarded it as a post-Exilic "echo of the general recollection that there were once in Israel many holy places and residences of priesthoods," the influence of Jerusalem being reflected in the concentration of priests in Judah and Benjamin – this in accord with his view of the lateness of the entire priestly stratum of the Pentateuch. On the other hand, Y. Kaufmann regarded the list as a very early solution to the problem of the future of the Levites after the break up of the unified camp of Joshua's time; he dates it to a time before sanctuaries had been established throughout the country, and characterizes it as wholly utopian and never put into practice. Other scholars sought to interpret the list in the light of the fact that the United Monarchy (under David and Solomon) was the sole period in which all the towns were in Israel's possession. The list was taken as a reflex of the royal regulation of the settlement of Levites throughout the newly extended kingdom (S. Klein, W.F. Albright). B. Mazar considered the Levites an arm of the civil service of the United Monarchy (suggested by I Chron. 26:30–32), settled in strategic locations and provincial capitals around the country to manage royal estates, collect taxes, and strengthen borderlands with prevailingly non-Israelite populations. Even this interpretation, however, cannot mitigate the theoretical and unreal character of the scheme of Joshua 21, although its representation of the dispersal of the Levites throughout the land of Israel is in principle historically true (cf. M. Haran).

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[Moshe Greenberg]

LEVITICUS, BOOK OF (Heb. וַיִּקְרָא; LXX Λευιτικόν *leuitikon*), more aptly described by its tannaitic name, *Torat Kohanim*, "the Priests' Manual," the third book of the Pentateuch. Leviticus is thematically an independent entity. *Exodus contains the story of the construction of the cultic implements – the Tabernacle and the priestly vestments – whereas Leviticus converts this static picture into scenes from the living cult. *Numbers, in contrast, is set chronologically during the wanderings of Israel in the wilderness and therefore concentrates upon the cultic laws of the camp in motion, e.g., the military arrangement and census of the tribes, the transport of the sancta, and their protection against encroachment. Since the latter is the main function of the Levites, it is striking that all the laws pertaining to the Levites are in Numbers and none is in Leviticus.

The "Priests' Manual" of Leviticus indeed focuses on the priests. Few laws, however, apply only to the priests (these are Lev. 8–10; 16:1–28; 21:1–22:16). The role of the priest is defined in pedagogic terms: to teach the distinctions "between the holy and profane between the pure and impure" (10:10;

cf. 14:57; 15:31; Ezek. 22:26; 44:23). This the priest must do lest Israel's defilement, brought about by its moral sins and physical impurities, defile the sanctuary and cause its abandonment by God. The underlying postulate is that God will not reside in a defiled sanctuary (see *Day of Atonement). The priests are thus charged with a double task: to instruct Israel not to cause defilement and to purge the sanctuary whenever its defilement occurs. However, Leviticus is not just ritual law. On the contrary, the ethical fuses with the ritual and informs it, so that there is justification to seek a moral basis behind each ritual act.

From the point of view of literary criticism, Leviticus is relatively uncomplicated. Even though another stratum is recognized (see below, Holiness Source), it has been largely assimilated by P (see *Pentateuch). The text has been excellently preserved; the few divergences in the versions are nearly all secondary in relation to the Masoretic Text. The difficulty lies in only one area: the terminology, which deals with the cult, an ancient institution with its peculiar, conservative vocabulary whose meaning was sometimes lost upon subsequent generations.

The impact of Leviticus upon Judaism can be comprehended by realizing that nearly half (247) of the 613 commandments (Gen. R. 3:5) and about the same proportion of the material of the Talmud are based upon Leviticus. Furthermore, Leviticus was traditionally the first book taught to school children (Lev. R. 7:3), stemming probably from the historical fact that the priestly school preceded the lay school in origin.

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CONTENTS

Chapters 1–7: The Sacrificial System

In chapters 1–5, the sacrifices are listed from the point of the donor: chapters 1–3, the spontaneously motivated sacrifices: *ʿolah, minḥah, shelamim*; chapters 4–5, the sacrifices required for expiation: *ḥaṭṭaʾt* and *ʾasham*. Chapters 6–7 regroup these sacrifices in order of their sanctity and priority in the daily ritual, i.e., most sacred: *ʿolah, minḥah, ḥaṭṭaʾt, ʾasham*; sacred: *shelamim*. The common denominator of the sacrifices discussed in these chapters is that they arise in answer to an unpredictable religious or emotional need, and are thereby set off from the calendrically fixed sacrifices of the public feasts and fasts (Lev. 9, 16, 23; cf. Num. 28–29). Many prophets sharply criticized the sacrificial system when it failed to lead to a more ethical life, but their lonely isolation in this respect and the positive evidence of the folk literature make it amply clear that the people themselves were convinced that it met their spiritual needs. Chapters 1–7 will be summarized in terms of their literary structure and main ideas (see *Sacrifice, for details).

1:1–2: GENERAL INTRODUCTION. The Hebrew particles for introducing general and particular statements in legal formulation indicate that chapters 1 and 3 were originally a single unit which was later split by the insertion of chapter 2. The conditional construction of 1:2a underscores the voluntary basis of the sacrifices.

1:3–17: THE WHOLE OFFERING (ʿOLAH). This is the only sacrifice which is entirely consumed on the altar (favoring the translation "whole," cf. Deut. 33:10; I Sam. 7:9; Ps. 55:21). Verses 1:3–4 encapsulate the major concepts of the sacrificial system: laying on of hands, acceptance, expiation, slaughter, blood manipulation, and entrance to the Tent of Meeting (see *Sacrifice). The donor is an active participant in the ritual; he is responsible for the presentation, hand-laying, slaughter, skinning, quartering, and washing of the animal. The priest executes the blood rite and the burning of the animal, i.e., everything which relates to the altar. The whole offering must be chosen from male, unblemished, and eligible species of the herd, flock, and birds. The *ʿolah* is probably the oldest and most popular sacrifice (Tosef., Zev. 13:1). Its function here is expiatory (1:4; cf. 9:7; 14:20; I Sam. 13:12; Job 1:5; 42:8); but in P, whenever it is offered by an individual, the motivation is joyful (e.g., Lev. 22:17ff.; Num. 15:1–11).

CHAPTER 2: THE TRIBUTE (CEREAL) OFFERING (MINḤAH). In the nonpriestly texts, it connotes both "a present made to secure or retain goodwill" (S.R. Driver; e.g., Gen. 32:20) and a tribute brought by subjects to their overlords, both human (Judg. 3:15–18) and divine, and could be either animal or vegetable (Gen. 4:3–4; I Sam. 2:17). In P, however, it is exclusively cereal, either choice flour (Lev. 2:1–3), cakes of choice flour

(2:4–10), or wasted grain (2:14–16). Because leaven and honey (fruit syrup) ferment, whereas salt preserves, they were respectively proscribed and prescribed on the altar (2:11–13). The former, however, were permitted as a first fruit offering to the priest (23:17; II Chron. 31:5). The restriction to cereal emphasizes that humans' tribute to God should be from the fruit of their labors on the soil. In daily life, however, the aspect of "appeasement" may also have been present (I Sam. 26:19). Because cereal was abundant and cheap, it became the poor man's *ʿolah* (Philo, Spec. 1–271; Lev. R. 8:4) and probably replaced it in popularity and function.

CHAPTER 3: THE WELL-BEING OFFERING (SHELAMIM). This offering never serves as expiation. Its basic function is simply to permit the consumption of flesh. It was usually prompted by a joyous occasion, specified in 7:11ff. as: spontaneous (always in a happy context, e.g., Num. 15:3; Deut. 16:10–11), votive, and thanksgiving (motivated by elation, e.g., Ps. 116:17–19). The rules are similar to those of the whole offering, except that the victims may be female but not birds. Also, being of lesser sanctity, they were not slaughtered at the altar, and portions were assigned to the priests and the donor as well as to God. The choicest internal fats (suet) were turned to smoke.

CHAPTER 4: THE PURIFICATION OFFERING (ḤATTAT). Its purpose is to remove the impurity inflicted upon the sanctuary by the inadvertent violation of prohibitive laws (but not laws against man, i.e., ethical violations). The deliberate violation of these laws is punishable by *karet* (Num. 15:27–31), death through divine agency. The loci of *karet* – all in P – specify the nature of the violations: holidays (e.g., Passover, Day of Atonement), contamination of sancta (e.g., Lev. 7:20–21), prohibited cultic acts (e.g., 17:4, 9), and illicit sex (18:29). The last mentioned is also a ritual sin: it leads to the pollution of the land (18:27–28). The procedure for the purification offering falls into two categories: 4:3–21 where the blood is brought into the sanctuary by the high priest, but the flesh of the victim is burned outside the camp, and 4:22–35, sins requiring cheaper animals, scaled to the social and financial status of the offender, where the blood is not brought into the sanctuary, and the flesh is not burned but must be eaten by the officiating priest (6:19; 10:17). Verses 4:3–21 comprise two cases that are really one. The first instance (4:3–12) presumes that the high priest's inadvertent error has caused harm to his people (e.g., through his negligence, Num. 18:4b–5) or has caused them to expropriate sancta (e.g., Lev. 5:14–16; 22:14–16). In the second instance (4:13–21), the community as a whole has erred – probably by blindly following the high priest's instruction – and must bring its own purification offering when the error is discovered (4:14). The individuals liable to the purification offering are the tribal chieftain (4:22–26) and the commoner (4:27–35). Whereas the ruler brings a he-goat, the commoner offers a she-goat or a she-lamb.

CHAPTER 5:1–13: BORDERLINE CASES REQUIRING THE PURIFICATION OFFERING. Rabbinic tradition distinguishes between the purification offering of chapter 4 and 5:1–13, calling the latter *ʿoleh we-yored*, "the scaled offering," geared to the means of the offender (not his status, as in chapter 4). This *ḥaṭṭaʾt* probably arises from the failure or inability to cleanse impurity immediately upon its incurrence. "The sin of which he is guilty" (5:6, 10, 13), in distinction to chapter 4, is not the contraction of impurity but its prolongation. In three out of the four given cases (5:2, 3, 4), the offender has knowingly contracted impurity or uttered an oath – acts in themselves guiltless – but a lapse of memory has caused the offender unknowingly to contaminate sancta or violate an oath. The case of 5:1, where the offender withheld testimony, may be explained by assuming either that he never entered into oath but only heard its public proclamation, thereby putting him out of the jurisdiction of the court (but not of God for having defied the imprecation) or that his reluctance to be an "informer" is considered to be inadvertent, precisely like the amnesia cases which follow (for details see *Sacrifice).

5:14–26: THE REPARATION OFFERING (ʾASHAM). It is enjoined for trespassing (*maʿal*) upon the property of God or man, the latter through the use of a false oath. The sin is *desecration (*ḥillul*): the sancta or the name of God have become desanctified (as opposed to the purification offering, chapter 4, where the sin is the contamination of sancta). Three cases are given: 1) 5:14–16: For inadvertent trespass of sancta, the offender pays the sanctuary an amount equal to the value of the desecrated sanctum plus a 20% fine and brings a ram, commutable into currency, for expiation. 2) 5:17–19: This case complements the preceding. Both deal with unintentional poaching upon sancta; the first real, the other suspected (so R. Akiva in Ker. 5:2). The general wording of Leviticus 5:17 makes it clear that every suspected violation is liable to the *ʾasham*. 3) 5:20–26: The reparation offering, which in 5:15–19 was imposed for inflicting real or suspected damage to sacred property, is now transferred to the human sphere where the Lord, through an oath, has been made a party to the defrauding of a human. Fraud, being a deliberate sin, would ordinarily be unexpiable by sacrifice. However, the offender has voluntarily confessed wrongdoing and relinquished the illicit gain. The usual penalties (e.g., Ex. 21:37; 22:6) are mitigated; and the treatment is that of an inadvertent offender: full restitution plus 20% for the material loss and a reparation offering to the Lord for desecrating His name in a lying oath are required.

CHAPTERS 6–7: SUPPLEMENTARY INSTRUCTIONS ON SACRIFICES. Since the well-being offering is chiefly consumed by the donor, the rules pertain mainly to him (7:11–34; esp. 7:23, 29). Otherwise they are the concerns of the officiating priest. The subjects are: the altar fire (6:1–6); the manner and place for eating the tribute offering (6:7–11); the daily tribute offering of the high priest and the voluntary one of the ordinary priest (6:12–16); safeguards in sacrificing the purification offering (6:17–23); the ritual for the reparation offering (7:1–7, missing in chapter 5); the priestly share in the whole and tribute offerings (7:8–10); the types of well-being offering (see chapter 3, above) and their taboos (7:11–21); the prohibition against consuming suet and blood (7:22–27); the priestly share of the well-being offering, set aside by the donor (7:28–36); the summation (7:36–38). The inclusion of the consecration offering before the well-being offering suggests that a section based on Exodus 29 originally preceded 7:11.

Chapters 8–10: The Inaugural Service at the Sanctuary

This section follows logically and chronologically upon Exodus 35–40: the priests are inducted into service after the priestly vestments and the Tabernacle are completed. Not Aaron, however, but Moses dominates the scene. It is he who conducts the inaugural service, consecrates the priests, and apportions all tasks. Aaron is clearly answerable to him, as seen from their confrontation in Leviticus 10:16–20. Strikingly, the superiority of prophet over priest is insisted upon by the priestly document.

CHAPTER 8: THE INSTALLATION OF THE PRIESTS. "To ordain you" (8:33) is literally "to fill your hands." In Scripture, this phrase is used exclusively for the ordination of priests (Ex. 32:29; Judg. 17:5, 12; I Kings 13:33), but in the archives of Mari dating from the time of Hammurapi it refers to the distribution of booty. Thus, the Hebrew idiom indicates that installation rites officially entitle the priests to their share of the revenues and sacrifices brought to the sanctuary. "As the Lord commanded Moses" concludes each phase of the ordination ceremony, a reminder that this chapter is a repetition of the instruction in Exodus 29.

CHAPTER 9: THE PRIESTS ASSUME OFFICE. On the eighth day following the week of consecration, the priests begin their official duties. They offer up special sacrifices for the people, "that the presence of the Lord may appear" (9:6; also verses 4, 23). Indeed, the whole purpose of the sacrificial system is revelation, the assurance that God is with His people.

CHAPTER 10:1–11: THE SIN OF NADAB AND ABIHU. That the fire was "alien" could be debited either to the offering or the offerer. Most likely, the fire was taken from elsewhere than the altar (16:12; Num. 17:11).

CHAPTER 10:12–20: THE CONSUMPTION OF THE INITIATORY OFFERINGS. This is the continuation of chapter 9. The tribute and well-being offerings are eaten by the priests in accordance with 6:9 and 7:28–34. But the procedure for the purification offering is switched from the individual to the communal form: the disposal of blood (9:9, 15; 10:18) has been executed according to 4:30 but not the disposal of flesh which follows 4:12, rather than 6:19, and despite 6:23. The death of Nadab and Abihu has intervened. Aaron follows the more stringent procedure of destroying, rather than eating, the sacrificial meat because it has been doubly contaminated by the death and by the sin of his sons; its consumption will not be "acceptable in the sight of the Lord" and must be burned outside.

Chapters 11–16: The Laws of Impurities

An empiric knowledge of contagion must be credited to the ancient Hebrews as demonstrated in the example of washing: (1) Lustration is limited to impurities arising from animal cadavers and certain human skin diseases and fluxes, all prime sources of putrefaction and infection. (2) One who contracts the impurity from a human washes at once (antisepsis through washing is effective only the first few hours) even though the ritual impurity lasts till nightfall; the one who is afflicted is removed from camp (Num. 5:2–5) and washes only after being healed. (Lustration serves no medical purpose once infection sets in.) (3) In regard to animals, the living never transfer impurity (not so the swine in Egypt, Herodotus, 2:47). The carcass, however, must be disposed of; hence its handling is never prohibited, but one contaminated thereby must be purified with water. For details see *Purifications.

CHAPTER 11: ANIMAL IMPURITIES. The food prohibitions are certainly older than the rationale given them. Regardless of their origin – as yet undetermined – the fact remains that no punishment befalls anyone who violates them. The laws themselves offer but one reason: holiness (Lev. 11:44–47; 20:22–26; cf. Ex. 22:30; Deut. 14:21), a word which bears the dual connotation of "sanctification" (by emulating God's nature, Lev. 11:44a) and "separation" (from the impurities of the gentiles, 20:23–26).

11:1–8: Land Animals. Compare Leviticus 11:3–4 with Deuteronomy 14:4–7, where the permitted quadrupeds are named and classified.

11:9–12: Fish. Neither the prohibited nor permitted fish are enumerated (nor in Deut. 14:9–10). Instead, they are permitted if they have both fins and scales and prohibited if they lack either.

11:13–23: Birds and Winged Insects. No classification is given for birds because none was probably known. A number of identifications are conjectural.

11:24–40: Impurity by Contact with Carcasses. This section could be an insertion from another source as it interrupts the fourfold classification (11:46) of creatures that may not be eaten. Nonporous articles are defiled by cadavers of the eight species listed in verses 29–30 and must be washed, but contaminated earthenware (porous and absorbent, 6:21) may never be refused. Food and seed grain are immune to impurity except when moist, since water is an impurity carrier.

11:41–47: Swarming Things and Summation. Continues 11:23.

CHAPTER 12: THE IMPURITY OF CHILDBIRTH. Parturition marks the onset of impurity: seven days following the birth of a male and 14 days for a female during which no conjugal relations are allowed. For an additional period of 33 and 66 days, respectively, contact with sancta is proscribed. The sacrifices are brought after the defilement has passed. Ritual impurity adheres which time alone removes and whose removal is certified by rite. The latter is scaled to economic circumstances (cf. 5:7–13; 14:21–32).

CHAPTERS 13–14: THE IMPURITY OF SKIN DISEASES (LEPROSY). The word translated as "leprosy" actually refers to a variety of skin diseases. The noncontagious kind, described as an outbreak of dull white spots, is most likely, psoriasis. This, rather than true leprosy – Hansen's disease – is what afflicted Naaman (II Kings 5) for he mingled freely in society. Verses 13:1–44 diagnose the various symptoms of the affliction and 13:45–46 require the incurable to put on the habiliment of a mourner and be removed outside the city (cf. Num. 5:2–5). Verses 13:47–59 describe the deterioration of garments caused probably by mildew or fungus and 14:33–53 describe the infection of houses caused by the spread of saltpeter or moss, in which quarantine procedures are also enforced. Unusual considerations for property are reflected in 14:36: the priest clears the house prior to his inspection lest the house be condemned with its contents. The ritual is described in verses 14:1–32. Three separate ceremonies are prescribed: the first day (14:2–8), the seventh (14:9), and the eighth (14:10–32). The ritual of the first day is also applied to "leprosy" of houses (14:48–53). Details are given in *Leprosy.

CHAPTER 15: THE IMPURITY OF GENITAL DISCHARGES. This chapter is divided logically into two sections: natural discharge of men and women (15:16–18, 19–24, respectively) whose impurity is simply removed by bathing, and pathological discharges (15:2–15, 25–30, respectively), which require sacrificial expiation.

CHAPTER 16: THE IMPURITIES OF THE SANCTUARY AND THE NATION. According to 16:1, chapter 16 follows upon the narrative of chapter 10. Thus chapters 11–15 are an insert listing the specific impurities that will contaminate the sanctuary (15:31) for which the purification ritual of chapter 16 is mandated. Verses 16:1–28 represent a fusion of two rites: the first to purge the sanctuary according to procedures administrated in 4:3–21, and the second to expiate the people for the defilement they have caused the sanctuary through the confession and transference of their sins onto a live purification offering, a goat banished to the demon *Azazel. For the ritual, see *Day of Atonement; for the process see *Atonement.

Chapters 17–26: The Holiness Source

The remainder of the Book of Leviticus consists largely of an independent code in which moral and ritual laws alternate and whose motivation is holiness (e.g., 19:2; 20:7–8, 26; 21:8, 23; 22:16, 32; 23:3, 4, 7, 21, 24, 35, 37; 25:10, 12). The beginning of the code, chapter 17, is connected thematically and verbally with preceding chapters. Chapter 26, the only composition in the book that is neither legal nor ritual in character, serves as an epilogue to the Holiness Code (Levine). Much of the language and some of the ideas in chapters 17–26 differ from the first part of Leviticus. Scholars differ about the relative dates of the P(riestly) and H(oliness) codes. (For a summary of the contents of these chapters, whose main themes follow in brief outline, see *Holiness Code.)

CHAPTER 17: KILLING FOR FOOD. The entire chapter (except the last two verses) is of one piece. It declares that, whosoever kills a domestic animal outside the sanctuary is guilty of murder (17:3–4). Two ends are thus achieved: sacrifice to "satyrs" is abolished (17:5–9), and expiation is assured through a ritual by which the lifeblood of animals may be returned to its creator either upon the altar (17:10–12), in the case of sacrificial animals, or by being drained and covered by earth, in the case of animals that are hunted (17:13–14; cf. Deut. 12:16). The inescapable conclusion to be drawn from the context of the blood prohibition is that 17:11 has nothing to do with the expiation of general sin. The only time one runs the risk of eating blood is while consuming the *shelamim* (see above on ch. 3). That is why the blood prohibition occurs solely in *shelamim* passages (3:17; 7:26–27). However, it is the only sacrifice which plays no expiatory role (see *Atonement). The only "sin" (the word does not even occur here) is the charge of murder (17:4) levied against him who kills for food outside the Sanctuary, i.e., without properly restricting the lifeblood to God: "and I have assigned it [the *shelamim* blood] to you upon the altar to expiate [i.e. ransom] for your lives" when you take the animal's life for its flesh (see *Blood).

CHAPTERS 18–20: ON BEING HOLY. Though these three chapters were originally independent scrolls they are thematically united: chapter 20 prescribes the penalties for the illicit relations and homicidal cult practices of chapter 18 (see 20:1–5) and the practice of divination prohibited in 19:31 (see 20:6). Moreover, this unit is framed by the identical reasoning: separation from the Canaanites, whose idolatrous and immoral practices contaminate the divinely-chosen land (18:3, 24–30; 20:22–24). The arraignment of Ezekiel 22 contains a mixture of ethical and ritual sins closely related to these chapters. The concept of negative holiness – separation from heathens – figures in these chapters. The key word in this section is *kadosh* (*qadosh*, "holy"). "Holy" (*kadosh*) like its polar opposite "abomination" (*to*ʿ*evah*) is an emotive term whose content is supplied by the particular author. Thus, Baal is *kadosh* to a Phoenician and *to*ʿ*evah* to a biblical writer. It is noteworthy that only in the Bible is holiness enjoined upon a whole people: Israel is commanded to separate itself from all defilement.

A *qadosh*-cluster is found in but one other context – the rules concerning the priesthood, 21:6–8. This fact is significant. This biblical ideal is that all Israel shall be "a kingdom of priests and a holy [*qadosh*] nation" (Ex. 19:6). If Israel is to move up to a higher sphere of holiness, it is enjoined to observe a more rigid code of behavior than that allegedly practiced by the nations, just as the priest lives by more stringent standards than his fellow Israelites. Holiness, then, implies separation and is so defined in Leviticus 20:26. The positive aspect of holiness is discussed in chapter 19.

Chapter 18: Illicit Sexual Relations. This chapter is encased by an introduction and peroration (18:1–5, 24–30) which castigate the Egyptians and the Canaanites for the depravity of their sexual mores. Contemporary readers should not take the chapter as an objective description of Canaanite and Egyptian practices, though no doubt any number of Egyptians and Canaanites (and Israelites) practiced adultery, incest, bestiality, and homosexuality. Instead, it is a caricature accusing the gentiles of legislating *ḥukkot ha-toʿevot* (18:30; "the abominable laws"). The message of the caricature is to motivate Israelites to abstain from such behavior, which is punishable in Israel by death (cf. 20:11–16), as was similar behavior in the greater ancient Near Eastern world. H (the Holiness Code) is the only source which proclaims the sanctity of the land of Canaan, a doctrine that explains the equal responsibility of both resident Israelites and strangers to maintain its sanctity (18:27; 20:2; and comment on 24:15–22) as well as the moral justification for its conquest (18:27–28; 20:22–23). But Israel's ideological sword is two-edged: if guilty of the same infractions, it, too, will be "vomited out."

Another presupposition of the chapter – one shared by the entire Torah literature – is that all peoples are held accountable for gross immorality (Gen. 6:11; 9:5–6; 15:16; 18:1–19:38, etc.). Moreover, though astral worship is allowed them (e.g., Deut. 4:19), *Moloch worship is emphatically proscribed (Lev. 18:21; 20:1–5). It is the only idolatrous practice explicitly listed. Leviticus 18:6–18 is concerned with incest. In the cases cited, affinity has the same force as consanguinity. In marriage, each partner transfers his set of incest taboos to the other. Verses 19–23 enumerate sexual aberrations; they transmit "impurity" to the offender and to the land (18:24–30), and must be excised.

Chapter 19: Imitatio Dei – Positive Holiness. For Israel, holy is that which is "unapproachable" and "withdrawn." It is also a positive concept, an inspiration and a goal associated with God's nature and his desire for humans: "You shall be holy, for I… am holy" (19:2). Holiness means *imitatio dei* – the life of godliness.

How can humans imitate God? The answer of Leviticus 19 is given in a series of ethical and ritual commands; no distinction is made between them. Similarly, in the entire ancient Near East, morality is inseparable from religion (for Egypt, Pritchard, Texts, 34–35; for Babylonia, *Šurpu*, 2). The Holiness Code encompasses the Decalogue (1–5 in 19:3–8; 6–10 in 19:9–22; cf. Lev. R. 24:5) and commands all Israelites to love citizens (19:18) and aliens (19:34) alike. This leveling of society stems partly from the sanctity which, for P, God's land imposes upon all its inhabitants (comment, above, on ch. 18). But, there is more. The law of love is no verbal ideal. It must be expressed in deeds; equality in justice, civil (20:12; 24:16, 22; Num. 35:15) and religious (Lev. 16:29; 17:15; Ex. 12:19; 49; Num. 9:14 – all P); and equality in mercy, e.g., free loans (Lev. 25:35–58; cf. Deut. 10:18) and free gleanings (Lev. 19:9–10; cf. Deut. 24:19–22). Moreover, that the law of love may be implemented, the vitiating components in the nature of man, callousness (Lev. 19:14, 33) and hatred (19:16–18), are also proscribed.

Chapter 20: Penalties for Certain Infractions in Chapters 18–19. Illicit sex relations are graded according to the severity of the punishment: verses 9–16 death by human agency, verses 17–19 death by God *(karet)*, verses 20–21 childlessness. Missing are marriages with a stepsister, grandchildren, and two sisters (18:9, 10, 18), but these are marginal cases. Of the varieties of practices associated with other divinities, only Moloch worship and oracles through mediums are singled out, the former because of its monstrousness (see *Moloch) and the latter because of its prevalence (Deut. 18:9–12; I Sam. 28:9; Isa. 8:19).

CHAPTERS 21–22: THE DISQUALIFICATIONS OF PRIESTS AND SACRIFICES. The priest, ranking highest in human holiness, could enter the sanctuary to handle its objects and eat of its gifts. These privileges had commensurate restrictions, especially for the high priest. They were intended as safeguards against moral and ritual defilement which might inflict dire consequences on him and his people (22:9, 15–16; cf. 4:3; 15:31). These restrictions pertain to death and marriage (21:1–15), to physical blemishes of officiants and sacrifices (21:16–24; 22:17–33), and to the eating of the sacred food (22:1–9, 10–16).

CHAPTER 23: THE FESTIVALS. P's listing of the festivals is distinguished from that of JE (Ex. 23:14–17; 34:21–23) and D (Deut. 16) in its emphasis on natural and agricultural data: the Feast of Unleavened Bread starts and the Feast of Weeks closes the grain harvest, and the Feast of Booths follows the "ingathering" and is celebrated by the use of branches.

CHAPTER 24: MISCELLANEA.
24:1–4: The Lamp Oil. A repetition of Exodus 27:20–21, except that the latter command is set in the future. Since the lampstand stood inside the Sanctuary building, its greater sanctity required pure oil and that it be lighted by the high priest (Ex. 30:7–8; Num 8:1–4; "sons" in Ex. 27:21 is a probable error). The lampstand is described in Exodus 25:31–40 and Numbers 8:1–4.

24:5–9: The Shewbread. Twelve wheat loaves, symbols of God's covenant with the twelve tribes, were set in two rows of six on the table which stood before the Holy of Holies. Being of the inner sancta, like the lampstand above, it was tended only by the high priest. Each Sabbath he renewed the loaves and offered up the incense placed at their side (24:7) together with the daily incense (Ex. 30:7–8) upon the golden *altar. Both incense offerings, like the oil above, called for pure *frankincense (Lev. 24:7; Ex. 30:34), again for the same reason (Lev. 2:2, 15). The shewbread is called a fire offering (24:9) because originally, as ancient Near Eastern parallels indicate, it was entirely consumed by fire.

24:10–14, 23: The Law of Blasphemy. The law is introduced by a case. Blasphemy means more than speaking contemptuously of God, for which there is no stated penalty (Ex. 22:27). It must involve the additional offense of uttering the Tetragrammaton (because of the derogatory context it is called "the Name," cf. II Sam. 12:14; Job 2:9 for other euphemisms), and it is the combination of the two (24:15–16) that warrants the death penalty. The Tetragrammaton's power affects not only the speaker but his hearers; their contamination is literally transferred back to the blasphemer by the ritual of the laying on of hands.

24:15–22: An Appendage of Civil Damage Laws. It begins with the law of blasphemy and culminates in the equalization of the resident alien and citizen before the law – an unmistakable hallmark of P (Ex. 12:49; Num. 15:15–16, 29). In this pericope, the inclusion of the stranger is even more significant: his equality applies to civil as well as religious law (see comment on chapter 18 for P's motivation). That lex talionis (Ex. 21:23–25; Deut. 19:21) was extended to the stranger is one of the great moral achievements of P's legislation. Not only is every distinction eradicated between the powerful and the helpless but even between the Israelite and the non-Israelite. The interpolation of these civil statutes with their emphasis upon the resident alien is due to the legal status of the half-Israelite offender.

CHAPTER 25: THE SABBATICAL AND JUBILEE YEARS.
25:1–7: The Sabbatical Year. Each seventh year is a Sabbath of liberating rest for Israelite slaves (Ex. 21:2–6; Deut. 15:12–18), debtors (Deut. 15:1–11), and the land (Ex. 23:10–11). In P, this "full" Sabbatical is reserved for the Jubilee, whereas the seventh year Sabbatical applies only to the land. For details consult *Sabbatical Year.

25:8–34: The Jubilee Year. At the sound of the *shofar* – Jubilee means (horn of a) ram (25:10; Josh. 6:4) – a year of emancipation is proclaimed. Land must lie fallow, landed property (except for town houses) is restored to its original owner, and all Israelite slaves are set free. The basis for the Jubilee is clearly stated: Israel and the land belong solely to God (comment on ch. 18); neither can be owned in perpetuity. Thus, absolute ownership of property is abolished: humans and land may be leased, not sold.

25:35–55: Indebtedness and the Jubilee. A defaulting Israelite debtor distrained by an Israelite creditor (perhaps with his family, 25:41, 54) is neither charged interest for his room and board, verses 35–38; nor treated as a slave if forced to enslave himself (until the Jubilee), verses 39–46; and should be redeemed if enslaved to an alien creditor, verses 47–55. The language and terminology of this pericope are paralleled in Old and Middle Babylonian laws (18th–17th century Alalakh and 15th–14th century Nuzi, respectively).

CHAPTER 26: THE CONCLUDING EXHORTATION. In form and function, the Epilogue to the Holiness Code finds its counterpart in Deuteronomy 28–30. It may be divided in three sections: (1) the Blessing (vss. 3–13); (2); the threats and penalties for violation (vss. 14–45); (3); the Postscript (vs. 46), which serves as a conclusion to the entire Holiness Code.

Chapter 27: Commutation of Gifts to the Sanctuary
The following gifts are discussed: persons (27:1–8), animals (27:9–13), houses (27:14–15), land (27:16–25), firstlings (27:26–27), "devoted" things (27:28–29), and tithes (27:30–33). The commutability of sacred gifts is an ancient practice (comment on the *ʾasham*, 5:15) underscored throughout this chapter by technical language (e.g., 27:2, 3, 12). The commutation of vows of persons is taken for granted as an established practice in II Kings 12:5. Certainly, the **Ḥerem*, in its meaning of death to persons (Lev. 27:29), bespeaks an early provenance. Indeed, although Leviticus in its present form is a product of the post-exilic period, in keeping with the conservative nature of cultic activity in general, the book preserves much ancient material.

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[Jacob Milgrom / S. David Sperling (2nd ed.)]

LEVITICUS RABBAH, one of the oldest Midrashim extant, probably composed in the fifth century in Palestine. Like other ancient Midrashim it has many passages in Palestinian Aramaic and contains a considerable number of Greek and Latin words. Many of the stories and folktales interwoven in its homilies reflect a Palestinian locale, especially that of the Sea of Galilee and its surroundings, and conditions in Palestine in the first four centuries C.E.; often the *halakhah* and customs referred to are specifically Palestinian. Much of the aggadic material presented is quoted in the names of Palestinian *amoraim* or of *tannaim*. The Midrash knows and quotes the Mishnah, Tosefta, and other tannaitic material. The editor either made use of the Palestinian Talmud (Albeck) or had access to similar (oral) traditions as were embodied in it, though differing from it in style and details (Margulies).

Leviticus Rabbah is a homiletical Midrash; it is composed of separate homilies, 37 in number, each of them based on the beginning of one of the *sedarim* ("orders"), i.e., the weekly pericopes according to the so-called triennial cycle (though in a good many cases the division in *Leviticus Rabbah* differs from the lectionary as known from other sources). Hence *Leviticus Rabbah* does not provide a running commentary on the entire book of Leviticus but limits itself to developing one theme (or, sometimes, several themes) related to the beginning of the *seder*. However, the subject of the homily is by no means always identical with the main content of the pericope itself; thus, while the first *seder* of Leviticus deals mainly with the burnt-offering, the Midrash devotes its entire first homily to the first verse and, accordingly, deals with Moses' outstanding qualities as a man and a prophet. Hence the author retained, to a large extent, freedom in choosing and arranging his material. He avoided, on the whole, matters of ritual, to which most of Leviticus is devoted, e.g., details of different categories of sacrifices, and developed instead homilies on subjects such as God's preference for the poor, their offerings and their prayers (ch. 3, relating to 2:1), the dangers of drunkenness (ch. 12, on 10:8–9), the praise of peace (part of ch. 9, on 7:11; the rest of the homily is devoted to "peace-offerings"), etc. Though the editor is not in fact the author of the aggadic material, which came to him through tradition, he nevertheless attempts, usually successfully, to present homilies which are homogeneous thematically; moreover he strives to attain in the composition of each homily full integration and a balance between its component parts. If in chapter 3 he quotes a series of tales which express the contempt felt by the aristocracy and especially by the priests for the meager sacrifices offered by the poor ("What is there in this to eat? What is there in this to offer up?" 9), he counterbalances them by concluding with a hymn of praise for the ideal priests, who are without a share in the land and take their portion from the hand of God Himself, and who are thus themselves the poorest of the poor and yet are devoted wholeheartedly to the service of God. Or, if in the beginning of chapter 9 (3) the story is told of R. Yannai who had invited a man to his house believing him to be a scholar and then insulted him when he discovered him to be an ignoramus, it has its counterpart at the end of the chapter (9) in the tale of R. Meir who allowed himself to be insulted in order "to make peace between a man and his wife." Most of the homilies thus testify to the skill of the editor and to his art, which express themselves in the degree of unity which he achieves even though using heterogeneous material. Often the various elements of the homily, as well as different homilies dealing with similar themes, are linked together dialectically, expressing different, even contrasting aspects of one and the same subject. Thus the picture drawn in chapter 3 of the ideal priest is again qualified in chapter 5 (relating to Lev. 4:13), where the merits of the common people and their true leaders – the sages – are extolled (7–8) in contrast to the shortcomings of the priests, who frequently failed in their high office and, at times, even led the people astray (5–6). It is not to them that the people must look for atonement, but, instead, they can rely on their own good deeds (especially their generosity in providing funds for scholars (4)) and their prayers; for "Israel knows how to placate its Creator" (9).

Each homily in *Leviticus Rabbah* is constructed according to a definite pattern; it opens with a number of proems, then follows the "body of the sermon" (which does not possess any standard form), and, lastly, a peroration, devoted mostly to the messianic hope. These homilies, though their material was drawn mainly from sermons as preached in the synagogue, are by no means identical with the latter; thus, e.g., it stands to reason that a preacher used no more than one proem in each sermon (see also: *Preaching). This new structure found in *Leviticus Rabbah* – which is a composite of materials drawn from a number of sermons and welded together into a new artistic unit, the "literary homily" – may well be the creation of the author of this Midrash, which appears to be the oldest of the homiletical Midrashim in which it occurs. It may have been this new form which enabled the author to shape his Midrash as he did, to arrange the traditional material freely to suit his own purposes, to deal with subjects suitable for a wider circle of readers, and to enrich his work by the inclusion of numerous folktales and parables.

Leviticus Rabbah is similar in character to *Pesikta de-Rav Kahana*, which was composed at about the same time (and possibly by the same author (Margulies)); though others believe it to be somewhat later (Albeck). The structure of the homily is identical in both; but the plan of construction of the two Midrashim as a whole is completely different: while *Leviticus Rabbah* deals with all *sedarim* of one book of the Pentateuch consecutively, *Pesikta de-Rav Kahana* presents homilies for all the special days in the calendar, festivals and special Sabbaths, relating to their respective lections, taken from different books of the Pentateuch or the Prophets. A curious feature is the appearance of no less than five identical homilies in both these Midrashim; in *Leviticus Rabbah* as sermons on pericopes of Leviticus, in *Pesikta de-Rav Kahana* as sermons for festivals on which those same sections were read. It can hardly be maintained that the author of either Midrash simply transferred whole chapters from the other; rather it is due to copyists, who were tempted by the identical structure of homilies in both works to augment the one by drawing upon the other. Chapter 28 may be considered as an authentic part of *Leviticus Rabbah*, because it appears to be superfluous in *Pesikta de-Rav Kahana*; on the other hand, chapters 20, 29, and 30 and, perhaps, 27 would seem to have originated in the latter. Another query arises regarding the three cases where *Leviticus Rabbah* has two separate chapters relating to one and the same *seder*, viz. chapters 1 and 2 (on Lev. 1:1ff.); chapters 4 and 5 (relating, seemingly, to 4:2); and chapters 20 and 21 (on 16:1–2). However, chapter 20 originally belonged to *Pesikta de-Rav Kahana* (see above), whereas chapter 4 was mistakenly ascribed to 4:1–2 and belongs in reality to a *seder* – otherwise unknown – beginning at 4:13. Hence the one remaining case of two homilies on the same pericope appears suspect, too; presumably chapter 2 is not authentic either in *Leviticus Rabbah*. Moreover, even after these "deductions" of 4 or 5 chapters from the total of 37, the number still appears too large, considering that Leviticus is divided traditionally into only 20 to 25 pericopes. It appears likely that the division of pericopes underlying the composition of *Leviticus Rabbah* differed considerably from the one accepted eventually as the custom of most congregations; hence the need was felt to supplement the Midrash by supplying the "missing" ones. This would also explain why quite often the beginnings of pericopes indicated in the Midrash as it stands are distant from one another by as few as five, eight, or nine verses only. However, if some of the homilies of *Leviticus Rabbah* are not original, they must have been added at a very early stage, for they are common to all manuscripts, including the ones from the Cairo *Genizah*. A critical edition of *Leviticus Rabbah* by M. Margulies has been published (Jerusalem, 1953–60); an English translation by J. Israelstam and J. Slotki appeared as part of the Soncino edition of *Midrash Rabbah* (1939). Recently an online synopsis of the textual witnesses of *Leviticus Rabbah* has been prepared (under the direction of C. Milikowsky) and posted on the Bar-Ilan website (http://www.biu.ac.il/JS/midrash/VR/editionData.htm).

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[Joseph Heinemann]

LEVITSKY, JACOB (1904–1956), mathematician. Born in Ukraine, Levitsky was taken to Palestine as a child. He studied mathematics at Goettingen and Yale, and began to lecture at the Hebrew University in 1931. Under the influence of Emmy Noether he engaged in abstract algebra, notably in the theory of noncommutative rings. His work on the laws of rings with the minimum condition is regarded as a classic. In 1953 he and a pupil were awarded the first Israel Prize for exact sciences for their research on the law of identities of rings. The radical in associative rings – known as the Levitsky Radical – is named after him.

[Shimshon Avraham Amitsur]

LEVITSKY, LOUIS MOSES (1897–1975), U.S. Conservative rabbi. Levitsky was born in Kremenchug, Russia, and was taken to Montreal as a child, then emigrated to the United States in 1916. He was ordained at the Jewish Theological Seminary (1923) and received his doctorate in 1933, then led a congregation in Wilkes Barre, Pennsylvania (1922–40), where he upgraded and energized the adult education program. From 1940 until his death he led Oheb Shalom Congregation in South Orange, NJ, continuing his innovative work in adult education. Levitsky also served as director of the Seminary School of Jewish Studies (1940–65) and the Women's Institute of the Seminary. He chaired its Board of Trustees (1947–53) and the Board of Governors of the National Academy of Adult Jewish Education. He taught Jewish history and theology at Rutgers and other colleges. A leader in Conservative Judaism and in civic life, Levitsky was president of the Rabbinical Assembly (1942–44) during a time of enormous stress, when one in three of its members were serving in the Armed Forces as chaplains. He also initiated contacts between Conservative Judaism and the Latin American countries, an area where the Conservative movement has been remarkably effective. He chaired the Army and Navy Activities of the National Jewish Welfare Board immediately after World War II and was chairman of the Ethics Committee of the Rabbinical Assembly. He also held the sensitive position of directing the Placement Commission of the RA in 1950. His board experience was put to use by the state of New Jersey, where he also served as a member of the National War Labor Board Panel of Mediators and the New Jersey Labor Mediation Board. He wrote *A Jew Looks at America* (1939). He also wrote an essay on his rabbinical experience "Salient Features of My Rabbinate in a City with Over 50,000 Jews" in the *Proceedings of the Rabbinical Assembly 1949*.

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[Jack Reimer / Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

LEVITSKY (Levitzki), MISCHA (1898–1941), pianist and composer. Born in Kremenchug, Russia, Levitsky studied violin from the age of three and piano from the age of six. He studied piano in Warsaw (1905–6, with Michaïlowsky), at the Institute of Musical Art in New York (1907–11, with Stojowski), and at the Berlin Hochschule fuer Musik (1913–15, with Dohnányi. Settling in the United States he toured widely and excelled in the interpretation of Chopin and Liszt. Among his compositions are a ballet, songs, piano pieces, and a cadenza for Beethoven's piano concerto in C minor.

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[Marina Rizarev (2nd ed.)]

LEVITT, U.S. family of builders and philanthropists. ABRAHAM LEVITT (1880–1962), born in Brooklyn, New York, the son of Polish immigrants, was a real-estate lawyer for 27 years. In 1929 he founded the building firm Levitt and Sons, Inc., which pioneered in community planning, assembly-line techniques, and mass production. In the late 1940s the firm built three whole communities, all called Levittown, in Long Island, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania. The family established the Levitt Foundation, Inc., to provide scholarships and donate funds to medical and welfare funds in 1949. Levitt was president of the Founders Society of the Albert Einstein Medical College at Yeshiva University and chairman of several fund drives for the UJA. His son WILLIAM JAIRD LEVITT (1907–1994), born in Brooklyn, was president of the family firm; shortly after its merger with International Telephone and Telegraph Corporation, he became chairman of the board of Levitt and Sons, Inc., and also of Levittown. During his presidency the firm began building houses in Europe. Levitt engaged in extensive civic and charitable activities. In 1973, together with Meshulam *Riklis, Levitt was appointed general chairman of a combined campaign of the United Jewish Appeal of Greater New York and the Federation of Jewish Philanthropies. Their aim was to raise $280,000,000, of which $30 million would be devoted to health, education, and social service projects in New York, and the balance to the emergency fund for Israel. This target was greatly increased after the Yom Kippur War. A younger son of Abraham Levitt was ALFRED S. LEVITT (1912–1966). He was associated with his father as vice president of Levitt and Sons, until 1954, when he organized his own firm, Levitt House Inc., based in Queens, New York. His sons JOHN and ANDREW took it over in 1959. William Levitt sold Levitt & Sons to International Telephone and Telegraph in 1968. Levitt was one of the wealthiest men in America in the late 1960s; but by the time he retired in the late 1980s, he had lost most of his amassed wealth as a result of unsuccessful real estate endeavors.

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LEVITT, ARTHUR, SR. (1900–1980), comptroller of New York State. Levitt was born in Brooklyn, New York, to Israel Levitt and Rose Daniels and married Dorothy M. Wolff in 1929. The couple had one child, ARTHUR LEVITT, JR., who was the chairman of the U.S. Securities and Exchange Commission (SEC) from 1993–2001.

An infantry private in the U.S. Army in 1917 during World War I, Levitt proceeded to Columbia University after the war ended in 1918 and completed his bachelor's degree in 1921, followed by a law degree in 1924. He became a member of the New York Bar and operated his practice until rejoining the army in 1941 during World War II as a member of the Judge Advocate General (JAG) Corps. During his wartime service, he advanced to colonel and oversaw a JAG training center located in Queens, New York.

His political involvement began in 1946 as campaign manager to New York Assemblyman Irwin Steingut; in 1952 he was named to the New York City Board of Education, and became its president in 1954. His term was short-lived as, at the request of New York governor W. Averell Harriman, Levitt ran for and won election as the state's comptroller, a position he held until his retirement in 1978.

The overriding focus of Levitt's record 24 years as comptroller was guarding the interests of his constituents. Levitt was known as the consummate public servant by his avoidance of political preferences in his decision-making process, serving six scandal-free terms, being tenacious in tracking the usage of local and state public funds, and displaying unsurpassed diligence to detail in auditing procedures. In particular, he gave great attention to protecting the pension plans of working men and women and the definitive example of this occurred during New York City's financial troubles in the 1970s when Levitt prevented city officials from using workers' pensions to stave off potential bankruptcy.

Aside from winning six elections as the state's comptroller, Levitt's political career included a run in 1961 for mayor of New York City, although he lost in the Democratic primary; chair of the Democratic state convention in 1965; and delegate member in the party's 1968 and 1976 national conventions.

After stepping down from his comptroller post in 1978, Levitt worked as an investment officer for the Lincoln Savings Bank in New York City until his death in 1980. He was a recipient of a Distinguished Public Service Award from the Nelson A. Rockefeller College of Public Affairs & Policy and awarded the Legion of Merit medal in 1946 for his JAG service. An endowment fund was formed posthumously by Levitt, Jr., in conjunction with the Arthur Levitt Public Affairs Center at Hamilton College in Clinton, New York, which backs lectures and other events.

[Dawn DesJardins (2nd ed.)]

LEVITT, ESTHER (1902–1986), agriculturalist. Born in Metullah, the granddaughter of one of the founders of the village, Levitt devoted herself to agricultural work on her farm. She joined the *Gedud ha-Avodah (Labor Legion) in construction, road paving, and drainage of marshes and in later life was active in women's and soldiers' organizations in Metullah. She was known as the soldiers' Aunt and received the Israel Prize in 1977 for outstanding public service and devotion to agricultural labor.

LEVITT, HELEN (1907–), U.S. photographer. Born in Brooklyn, N.Y., Levitt made a mark with some of the most indelible photographs of New York City street scenes in the 1930s and 1940s, a volatile time in America. Levitt, who continued working into her nineties, was considered a "photographer's photographer," little known by the public but revered by her peers. She left high school before graduating and went to work for a commercial photographer, gaining technical knowledge. She aligned herself with Henri Cartier-Bresson and Walker Evans, who later became her collaborator. In 1936 she purchased the same Leica that Cartier-Bresson used and attached a right-angle viewfinder. The equipment gave her the ability to maneuver through neighborhood streets and photograph the natural choreography of children at play. She would walk all over the city, and she took a number of memorable photographs in the streets of Spanish Harlem. "It was a good neighborhood for taking pictures in those days," she said, "because that was before television. There was a lot happening. And the older people would be sitting out on the stoops because of the heat. This was in the late 30s, so those neighborhoods were very active."

In the mid-1940s, Levitt began making films. In 1945 she, Janice Loeb, and James Agee joined forces to create a cinematic version of her photographs. Released in 1952, the film, *In the Street*, is a critically acclaimed record of life in East Harlem, with scenes of children playing, fighting, and dressed up for Halloween. In 1947, Levitt and Loeb, joined by Sidney Meyers, made another film, *The Quiet One*, an emotional story of a delinquent black child and his psychological and social rehabilitation. The street life, depiction of the child's home conditions and background, and his experiences in the country are considered innovative examples of documentary filmmaking.

After a decade of working in film, Levitt returned to still photography in 1959, this time in color. While much of this work deals with the same themes as her earlier pictures, the addition of color allowed her to intensify the emotional content. In the early 1970s, most of her color photographs were stolen in a burglary, which inspired Levitt to renew her efforts and expand the range of subjects, as well as her territory, to the East Village, the garment district, and the Lower East Side.

Intensely private, "she asked that we trust the pictures, not the words," said a curator at the photography department of the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York. Agee, in a foreward to Levitt's 1965 book of photographs from the 1930s and 40s, *A Way of Seeing*, called her pictures "a major poetic work." They combine "into a unified view of the world, an uninsistent but irrefutable manifest of a way of seeing."

In 1997 she published *Helen Levitt: Mexico City*, photos from 1941, and in 2001, *Crosstown*. In 2003, *Here and Now* included more than 90 images never before published.

[Stewart Kampel (2nd ed.)]

LEVITZKI, ALEXANDER (1940–), Israeli biochemist. Born in Jerusalem, Levitzki received his Ph.D. from the Weizmann Institute in 1968. In 1975 he joined the faculty of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, becoming full professor in 1976. From 1981 to 1984 he was chairman of the biological chemistry department and between 1989 and 1993 was director of the Alexander Silberman Institute of Life Sciences of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. Between 1998 and 2004 he was the director of the Institute of Advanced Studies of the Hebrew University and the Wolfson Center for Applied Structural Biology. He is one of the pioneers in the study of regulatory enzyme receptors and mechanisms of signal transduction across cell membranes, studies that led him to develop techniques for targeted destruction of cancer cells through biochemical means without harming normal cells, which is used for treatment of leukemia patients. He was the recipient of the Israel Prize for life sciences in 1990 and the Rothschild Prize for biology in 1992. In 1999 he was elected to the Israel Academy of Sciences. He is the recipient of the European Society of Clinical Oncology Hamilton-Fairely award for cancer research and of the Wolf Prize for medicine in 2005.

[Fern Lee Seckbach / Bracha Rager (2nd ed.)]

LEVNER, ISRAEL BENJAMIN (1862–1916), Hebrew writer. Born in Trudolyubovka, a Jewish colony in the Russian province of Yekaterinoslav, Levner taught in various parts of Russia. In the early 1880s he published his first articles, in **Ha-Meliẓ*, which dealt with educational subjects and descriptions of Jewish life in the communities he had visited. His stories, first published in 1895, attracted wide attention. *Ben-Avigdor invited him to join the Tushiyyah publishing house, where he edited a series of storybooks for children (especially *Bibliotekah li-Yladim* – the first proper readers for Hebrew-reading children). His major work, *Kol Aggadot Yisrael*, which has retained its popularity to the present day, contains the legends of the Talmud, written in biblical style and arranged in chronological order. First published in 1895, the book has had a great many editions in Ereẓ Israel and abroad, and has been translated into various languages. Levner continued writing children's literature, especially for *Ha-Peraḥim*, a weekly which came into existence in 1908 and continued publication until the eve of World War I (he was also its editor and publisher); these works have earned an important place in Hebrew literature for children (see *Children's Literature). Together with Judah Steinberg – one of the major contributors to *Ha-Peraḥim* – he published the first of two volumes of *Kereistomatyah* ("Chrestomathy," 1908^3). Among other works by Levner are a version of the Shulḥan Arukh (1906) and an edition of *Ein Ya'akov* (1909), both for youth.

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[Getzel Kressel]

LEVONTIN, JEHIEL JOSEPH (1861–1936), Hebrew writer. Born in Orsha, Belorussia, he graduated from the University of Moscow as an engineer, and worked on railroad construction in Persia and Russia. He was among the early Ḥovevei Zion and a founder of the Benei Zion association in Moscow (1884). His letters about the life of Jews in Persia appeared in *Ha-Meliẓ* (1891) signed Ḥushai ha-Arki, which became his permanent pen name. He contributed stories about Jewish life outside the Russian Pale of Settlement, such as "*Ha-Kabbelan*" and "*Ha-Anus,*" to *Ha-Meliẓ* and other literary publications, and wrote a novelette about the early days of Ḥibbat Zion in St. Petersburg, "*Yemei ha-Ma'aseh*" (*Ha-Shilo'aḥ*, vols. 2, 3). His other novels, *Shimon Ezyoni* (1899), *Mi-Bein ha-Arafel* (1914), and *Ha-Shevu'ah* (1931), are concerned with the dispute between assimilationists and Zionists in pre-revolutionary Russia. He published one of the earliest modern Hebrew books about agriculture (*Ha-Ikkarut*, 1915). During World War I, he lived in Moscow and served on the executive of the Russian Zionist movement. He was arrested together with the other participants in the illegal Zionist convention which took place in Moscow in 1920. In 1922 he migrated to Palestine. Two volumes of his stories and articles were published posthumously: *Min ha-Meẓar* (1938) and *Bein Tikvah ve-Ye'ush* (1938).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Lachower, Sifrut, 3 pt. 2 (1963), 37f.; J.L.G. Kahanovitz, *Me-Homel ad Tel Aviv* (1952), 66–68.

[Yehuda Slutsky]

LEVONTIN, ZALMAN DAVID (1856–1940), a pioneer of Jewish settlement and banking in Ereẓ Israel. Born in Orsha, Belorussia, the son of a Chabad Ḥasidic family, Levontin received a religious education and was tutored privately in languages and secular studies, after which he worked as a clerk in a commercial bank in Kremenchug. He was one of the first members of *Ḥovevei Zion and established a settlers' association in his town and in Kharkov. The two associations sent him to Ereẓ Israel to purchase lands, and after a short tour of the country Levontin convened a meeting of the representatives of the settlers' associations from Russia and Romania, as well as local public leaders. This conference established the Va'ad Ḥalutzei Yesud ha-Ma'alah, which decided to found a settlement by the name of *Rishon le-Zion. In 1882 Levontin, with the assistance of his wealthy uncle, Ẓevi Levontin, purchased 3,340 dunams (835 acres) and founded Rishon le-Zion there; he later served as head of the settlement's first committee.

In 1883, lack of funds forced Levontin to sell his land to Baron Edmond de *Rothschild and return to his family in Russia, where he served as branch bank manager in various towns in the *Pale of Settlement. Levontin joined the Zionist Movement upon its establishment and, in 1901, was summoned by *Herzl to become one of the directors of the *Jewish Colonial Trust in London. In 1903 he went to Ereẓ Israel to establish a bank under British auspices, to be known as the Anglo-Palestine Company (see Bank Leumi le-Israel in *Israel, Banking and Commerce). Under his directorship this bank became the central financial and credit institution in the new *yishuv* and engaged in banking activities with the Turkish authorities and the Arabs. When World War I broke out, Levontin went to London and Paris to mobilize funds in order to overcome the economic crisis that had beset the *yishuv*. When he was about to return, Turkey joined the war against Britain and France, and Levontin remained in Alexandria, where he opened a temporary branch of the Anglo-Palestine Company which extended aid to refugees and exiles from Palestine. He participated in the negotiations with the British authorities leading to the establishment of the Zion Mule Corps, commanded by Joseph *Trumpeldor. In the spring of 1918, Levontin returned to Palestine and continued his banking work; six years later he retired from the bank's board of directors. He published his memoirs, *Le-Ereẓ Avoteinu* (vol. 1, 1884, revised edition, 1963; vol. 2, 1925; vol. 3, 1928), in which he advocated the employment of capitalist methods of agricultural settlement and criticized the settlement methods of the Zionist Organization, particularly those of the labor movement. Jehiel *Levontin was his brother.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Y. Ya'ari Poleskin, *Z.D. Levontin* (Heb., 1932); D. Idelovitz, *Sefer Rishon le-Ẓiyyon* (1941), index; *Terumah la-Kohen… (Z.D. Levontin)* (1926); Y. Ḥurgin, *Z.D. Levontin* (Heb., 1943); Tidhar, 2 (1947), 813–5; Kressel, Leksikon, 2 (1967), 159–60.

[Yehuda Slutsky]

LEVY, wealthy family of Portuguese refugees in *Morocco. MEYER (d. 1520) established an important spinning mill in Safi; the carpets woven there were famous. In about 1510 the king of Portugal appointed Meyer "royal treasurer." In 1520 the sharif of the Saʿadi dynasty accused him of espionage and had him put to death. His brother ISAAC (d. after 1555), who was the "confidential Jew" of the sharifs of the Saʿadi dynasty, played an active role in their foreign policy. Meyer's son JOSEPH (d. after 1560) entered the service of the Portuguese and was their official interpreter from 1535. A talented negotiator, he received a pension from the king of Portugal. His grandson JUDAH (d. c. 1635) was entrusted with important functions during the reign of Aḥmad al-Manṣūr (1578–1603) and became one of the favorites of the ruler's successors, during whose reigns he was responsible for "marine and commercial affairs" and was appointed *rentero* of the port of *Safi, then the most important one in the kingdom. He was a merchant and was as well known in London and Amsterdam as in Morocco. Toward the end of his life the sultan entrusted him with the administration of the funds of the royal treasury. He died in Safi. His brother MOSES (d. after 1620) was an important financier. In about 1600 the title of **nagid* was bestowed upon him and for a time he presided over the activities of Moroccan Jewry. In 1603 he signed the *takkanot* of *Fez. In 1617 the sultan sent him on an economic mission to the Netherlands with credentials addressed to the Estates-General and Maurice of Nassau. His family played an important role in the international commerce of Morocco and the leadership of the Jewish communities until about 1720. The family's descendants were known from their *ketubbot* in Safi, Mogador, and Gibraltar until the 19th century.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: D. Cazès, *Notes bibliographiques…* (1893), 44–50, 237–9; J.M. Toledano, *Ner ha-Ma'arav* (1911), 193; J. Abensur, *Mishpat u-Ẓedakah be-Ya'akov*, 1 (1894), no. 92; 2 (1894), nos. 123–4; SIHM, index.

[David Corcos]

LÉVY, family of musicians in mid-18th century Paris. They were probably admitted to reside in Paris by Louis XV among the limited number of merchants and representatives of liberal professions. The talented members of the family enjoyed considerable status in Parisian music and musical life. The *Mercure de France* mentions a Mlle. Lévy (no first name), who delighted the queen and her guests with her singing in the performance of Pascal's Colasse's Thétis et Pélée opera held in her chambers in 1733. Only the very best were chosen to entertain the queen and her guests. A dozen years later, the same *Mercure de France* refers to Madame Lévy ("Madame" indicating marital status) who "thrilled a distinguished audience with her outstanding performance on the *par-dessus-de-viole* [viola]" and was admired for the unusual "vivaciousness of her playing" in her three successive appearances at the Concert Spirituel during the 1745 season. In a report on a concert held on Passion Sunday, 1750, there appears the name of Mme. Haubaut, identified specifically as the "sister of Monsieur Lévy," who played the *par-dessus-de-viole* to great applause. It is not clear whether Mme. Haubaut and Mme. Lévy were one and the same person and we also do not know when and where either of them was born and raised. The brother Joseph Lévy, who was a much sought-after music teacher, made a name as the composer and publisher of the first set of sonatas for solo harp to appear in France. He dedicated his work to Mme. Saintien Sallabery, the wife of the king's chief financial officer.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: A. Ringer, in: *Musica Judaica*, vol. VIII, no. 1 (1985–86), 1–12.

[Amnon Shiloah (2nd ed.)]

LÉVY, family of French publishers. MICHEL (1821–1875) was born in Phalsbourg, Lorraine. He studied at the Paris music conservatory, but, finding that he lacked talent, abandoned his studies and became a secondhand bookseller. Lévy first sold books in the street and then from a stall. In 1842 he and his brothers ALEXANDRE NATHAN LÉVY and CALMANN LÉVY (1819–1891) founded the Lévy publishing firm. Their first success was a new edition of Goethe's *Faust* and, within a short time, Michel Lévy Frères became established as one of the largest publishing houses in France. They issued the works of great French authors such as Balzac, Lamartine, Anatole France, and Ernest Feydeau. When Feydeau included an antisemitic reference in his novel *La Comtesse de Chalis* (1867), the Lévy brothers refused to allow their name to appear as publishers. They also published books on biblical subjects and comparative religion. For a long period they issued the famous *Revue de Paris*. On the death of Michel Lévy in 1875, Calmann Lévy assumed control of the firm, which was renamed Calmann-Lévy. In 1878 he published Ernest David's French translation of George *Eliot's *Daniel Deronda*. After the death of Calmann Lévy, his three sons, PAUL, GEORGES, and GASTON took over the management of the firm.

[John M. Shaftesley]

LEVY, AARON (1742–1815), U.S. merchant and land speculator. Levy was born in Amsterdam. He went to Pennsylvania about 1760, where he established himself as an Indian trader and merchant. His major interest was in land speculation; he was one of the most active speculators in the colonies. He had large holdings in Northumberland and Centre counties and owned land in every other county of Pennsylvania. During the Revolution Levy made loans to the Continental Congress which, according to Robert Morris, superintendent of finance from 1781 to 1784, were never fully repaid. In addition, Levy helped to supply the colony's regular troops. After the war, in 1786, Levy announced plans for Aaronsburg, a town to be built in Penn Valley, Centre County. This was the first community in the United States founded by and named after a Jew. Although Levy actively promoted Aaronsburg, it was not a success. The failure left Levy land-poor, and to obtain cash he became an agent for other speculators. In 1796 he settled in Philadelphia, where he lived until his death.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: S.M. Fish, *Aaron Levy* (1951); Rosenbloom, Biogr Dict.

[Neil Ovadia]

LEVY, AARON (1771–1852), U.S. army officer and land speculator. Levy, the son of Hayman *Levy, was born in New York City. He was commissioned a paymaster of infantry in 1800 and served as a captain of artillery in 1812. He was appointed a lieutenant colonel of artillery in 1816 and resigned from the army in 1819. Levy, after having been licensed as an auctioneer in 1807, went into partnership with his father-in-law Isaac Moses. Levy was active in real estate transactions in the Lake George area of New York State. He served as president of Congregation Shearith Israel, New York, in 1803 and 1804.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Rosenbloom, Biogr Dict; AJHSP, 27 (1920), 335–44.

[Leo Hershkowitz]

LÉVY (Levy-Alvares), ABRAHAM EUGÈNE (1826–1899), French army officer. Lévy joined the French army in 1845 and was distinguished for his bravery during the Crimean War of 1854–56. He was promoted to brigadier general in 1880, one of the first Jews so appointed. Lévy refused to convert to Christianity to further his career.

LEVY, SIR ALBERT (1864–1937), English philanthropist. After a successful business career as founder, chairman, and managing director of the Ardath Tobacco Co., he retired in 1931 to devote himself to philanthropy. He was knighted in 1929. His special interest was hospitals. He donated £10,000 for hospitals to mark King George V's coronation in 1911, and in 1928, £100,000 to the Royal Free Hospital, London, of which he was treasurer from 1927 to 1937. The Albert Levy Benevolent Fund, which he founded, donated £400,000 to about 125 institutions. Among many offices he held were president and treasurer of the Eastman Dental Clinic. Despite the generosity of his philanthropy, Levy still managed to leave over £1.1 million when he died.

[John M. Shaftesley]

LEVY, ALBERT J. (1897–1962), editor and journalist. Levy was born in Salonika and graduated from L'Ecole Normale of that city. After working as a teacher and editor of the Thessaloniki political daily *El Liberal*, Levy immigrated to the United States in 1917. In the United States, he is first mentioned as the editor of a humorous publication, "El Kirbach Amerikano," in a 1918 issue of *La Boz del Pueblo*. In 1918, after the eclipse of his newspaper, Levy became the editor of the Sephardi socialist tabloid, *El Proletario*. He founded the serious-humorous newspaper, *La Vara*, in 1922 and served as its editor for the majority of its lifespan. In 1926–27, he published *El Luzero Sefaradi* with Moise Soulam. Financial difficulties forced him to move to Seattle where from 1931 to 1934, he served as principal of the *talmud torah* in Seattle, Washington, still retaining his position at *La Vara*. The school improved significantly under his leadership, but conflicts with his board convinced him to return to New York in 1934, though he was forced to return to Seattle in 1945 for health reasons. He tried his hand at business, but he was less than successful so he returned to heading a school and served as the principal of the Sephardi Bikur Holim Hebrew School and later entered the furniture business. Levy wrote for a number of publications, including the Hebrew weekly *Hadoar*, and was active in a number of Sephardi organizations. He served as president of the Congregation of Love and Brotherhood in Monastair and on the Central Council of the Sephardic Brotherhood of America.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: A. Ben-Ur, introduction to "Scrapbooks of Albert David Levy," a microfilm held at the University of Washington

(OCLC: 44390739); idem, "In Search of the American Ladino Press: A Bibliographical Survey, 1910–1948," in: *Studies in Bibliography and Booklore*, 21 (Winter 2001), 10–52.

[Randall C. Belinfante (2nd ed.)]

LÉVY, ALFRED (1840–1919), chief rabbi of France, scholar, and author. Lévy, who was born in Lunéville, France, graduated from the Paris Ecole Rabbinique in 1866 and subsequently served as rabbi at Dijon (1867–69), Lunéville (1869–80), and Lyons (1880–1905). In 1905 he succeeded Zadoc Kahn as chief rabbi of the Consistoire Central de France, in which capacity he presided over the reorganization of French Jewry following the separation of State and Church in 1905. In 1932 a street in his native Lunéville was named after him. Lévy, whose main scholarly interest was in French-Jewish history, wrote *Les Juifs de la Comté au xive siécle* (in: *Archives Israélites*, 30 (1869), 182ff., 214ff., 245ff.), *Les Juifs du duché de Bourgogne au moyen-âge* (*ibid.*, 1869), and *Notice sur les Israélites de Lyon* (1894). Levy also wrote on Al-Ḥarizi's *Taḥkemoni* (in: REJ, 59 (1910), *Actes et Conférences*, VII–XXV), *Le deuil et les cérémonies funéraires chez les Israélites* (1874), and published a volume of sermons *Les doctrines d'Israël* (1896).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *L' Univers Israélite* (June 22, 1914; July 25, 1919; Aug. 1, Aug. 8, 1919); *Archives Israélites* (June 21, 1917; July 31, 1919).

[Georges Weill]

LEVY, AMY (1861–1889), English poet and novelist. The daughter of a London stockbroker, Amy Levy became the second Jewish woman to attend Cambridge University, entering in 1879. She published her first book in 1881, while still an undergraduate. This was *Xantippe and Other Verse*, the title poem being a defense of the wife of Socrates. Her best-known work is probably *A London Plane Tree* (1889). Throughout her life, Amy Levy suffered from melancholy, and her second volume, *A Minor Poet and Other Verses* (1884), conveys her despair. As a novelist, she wrote the experimental *The Romance of a Shop* (1888) and, in the same year, the more competent *Reuben Sachs*, which was criticized for its unsympathetic portrayal of the wealthier Jewish classes. More genial, but slight, was her *Miss Meredith* (1889), the story of a governess. *Cohen of Trinity*, published in *The Gentleman's Magazine* (1889), a story arresting in its psychological delineation, was written a few months before she committed suicide. Her position as a keen but non-religious Jew, and as an early Jewish feminist of great talent but also an apparent manic-depressive who committed suicide at the age of only 27, have led to a considerable revival of interest in her work during the recent past. *The Complete Novels and Selected Writings of Amy Levy, 1861–1889*, edited by Melvyn New, was published in 1993. Her novel *Reuben Sachs* was reprinted in 2001 with an introduction by Julia *Neuberger.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: M.F. Modder, *Jew in the Literature of England* (1939), 261, 317–8, 323–4, 380. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** ODNB online; L.H. Beckman, *Amy Levy: Her Life and Letters* (2000).

[William D. Rubinstein (2nd ed.)]

LÉVY, ARTHUR (1847–1931), French historian. Born in Nancy, Lévy was a businessman but turned to writing history because of his interest in Napoleon. His first book, *Napoléon intime* (2 vols., 1893; *The Private Life of Napoleon*, 1894), was based on hitherto unpublished documents relating to Napoleon. His other books included *Napoléon et la paix* (1902), and *Histoires intimes du temps du ler Empire: Napoléon et Eugénie de Beauharnais* (1926).

LEVY, ASSER (d. 1681), New York merchant and landowner. Levy was a member of the first group of Jews to arrive in New Amsterdam, in September 1654. In the following years he successfully contested a tax assessed against Jews who were refused the right to serve in the militia and he also achieved for his coreligionists the right to carry on trade in the community. Levy was made a freeman in 1657, and became the most prominent of 17th-century New York Jews. He purchased land in various sections of New York and developed an extensive trade, principally in the city and in the Hudson River Valley, dealing in all types of merchandise. He opened a butcher and tanning shop in New York City in 1678.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: J.R. Rosenbloom, Biogr Dict, 88; J.R. Marcus, *Early American Jewry*, 1 (1951), 30–31; Huehner, in: Karp, ed., *Jewish Experience in America*, 1 (1969), 51–65.

[Leo Hershkowitz]

LEVY, BENJAMIN (c. 1650–1704), founder of the London Ashkenazi community, son of Loebel or Levy Moses of Hamburg. He arrived in London in about 1670, made a fortune, and in 1697 became one of the 12 original Jewish brokers in London. He is said to have been instrumental in procuring the charter for the reorganized East India Company and was a "proprietor" (i.e., member of the board) of the company in charge of New Jersey. Though attached to the Sephardi congregation, he purchased the original cemetery for the Ashkenazi community in 1696. On his death, leadership of this community was assumed by his kinsman Moses *Hart (1675–1756). The latter's daughter Judith (1707–1803) married Benjamin's son ELIAS (d. 1750). In 1790 Judith Levy defrayed a large part of the cost of reconstructing the Great Synagogue which her father had rebuilt in 1722.

Another BENJAMIN LEVY (d. 1693), born in Cracow, lived in Recife (Brazil), before becoming *ḥazzan* and *shoḥet* of the London Sephardi community from about 1664. He was the recipient in London of enthusiastic communications regarding *Shabbetai Zevi.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: C. Roth, *History of the Great Synagogue* (1950), passim; A.M. Hyamson, *Sephardim of England* (1951), 41–44, and passim; L.D. Barnett, *Libro de los Acuerdos* (1931), passim; J. Sasportas, *Ẓiẓat Novel Ẓevi*, ed. by Y. Tishbi (1954), 71 (44b). **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** Katz, England, 180–82, index; T. Endelman, *Jews in Georgian England* (1979, 1999^2), index.

[Cecil Roth]

LEVY, BENN WOLFE (1900–1973), playwright, theater producer, and politician. Levy was born in London, educated at Repton and Oxford, and served in the Royal Air Force in 1918. From 1923 he was a publisher and playwright whose works were well known during the interwar period. He also co-authored the script of *Blackmail* (1929), Alfred Hitchcock's first talking film. Levy served in the Royal Navy during World War II and was elected Labour member of Parliament for Eton and Slough in 1945, serving until 1950. Increasingly on the left of the party, in the 1950s Levy became a campaigner for nuclear disarmament and other radical causes. Levy wrote more than 20 plays. His successes include *Mrs. Moonlight* (1929), *Art and Mrs. Bottle* (1929), *The Poet's Heart* (1937), *Return to Tyassi* (1951), and *The Rape of the Belt* (1957).

ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY: ODNB online.

[William D. Rubinstein (2nd ed.)]

LÉVY, BENNY (1945–2003), French thinker. Lévy was born in Cairo and studied at the petit lycée of the Cairo French high school until 1957. After the Suez crisis, the family left Egypt to settle in Brussels, giving up their Egyptian citizenship. In 1962 he came to Paris and was accepted at Ecole Nationale Supérieure (ENS) as a stateless foreign student. He applied himself intensely to Marxist theory and the Chinese Cultural Revolution. In 1969, he founded with Alain Geismar and Serge July the movement 'La gauche prolétarienne,' inspired by Maoist ideas. Under the pseudonym of Pierre Victor, he clandestinely headed the group. The group and its organ, *La cause du peuple*, attracted leading intellectuals such as Jean-Paul Sartre, Gilles Deleuze, Michel Foucault, Jacques-Alain Miller, and Jean-Claude Milner. It dissolved in 1974, marking a period of doubt and questioning about revolutionary and political ideas for Lévy while he worked as Sartre's secretary in 1974–80. The period culminated with the publication of his interviews with Sartre as *L'Espoir maintenant. Les entretiens de 1980* (1991; *Hope Now: The 1980 Interviews*, 1996). Sartre intervened with President Valery Giscard-d'Estaing, to get Lévy French nationality in 1975. Lévy discovered Emmanuel *Levinas in 1976, and under his influence began to study Hebrew. Between 1980 and 1984, he made Jewish texts and practices a part of his daily life. In 1984, Lévy moved to Strasbourg, continuing to teach at Paris VII, where he had begun in 1975, in the department of Sciences des textes et des documents. In Strasbourg he devoted himself to the study of Judaism. In 1995, he finally moved to Jerusalem, and there met his master, Levinas. He established a link with Paris VII, and in spring 1995 founded the Institut d'études lévinassiennes with Bernard-Henri *Lévy and Alain *Finkielkraut. Among his ten books are *On a raison de se révolter* (under the pen name Pierre Victor, 1974); *Le logos et la lettre: Philon d'Alexandrie en regard des pharisiens* (1988); *Être juif* (2003); *La Confusion des temps* (2004); *La Cérémonie de la naissance* (2005); and with Alain Finkielkraut, *Le Livre et les livres* (2006). He directed the *Cahiers d'Études lévinassiennes*, for which he also wrote the articles: "Philosophie de la Révélation? Schelling, Rosenzweig, Lévinas" (2 (2003), 283–383) and "Lévinas et le grec" (special Benny Lévy issue (2005), 195–275).

[Colette Olive (2nd ed.)]

LEVY, BERNARD-HENRI (1948–), French writer, philosopher, and essayist. Levy was born in Algeria, and brought up and educated in Paris. Graduating in philosophy, he was active in both thought and action, producing essays, novels, films, and newspaper articles. Fiercely critical of fascist and Marxist totalitarianism in *La Barbarie à visage humain* (1977), he found in biblical monotheism the answer to the totalitarian challenge (*Le Testament de Dieu*, 1979). His book on the roots of French fascism (*L'Idéologie Française*, 1981) provoked an important public debate. Present in Bangladesh already in the early 1970s, and in Yugoslavia 20 years later, he was deeply committed to the Bosnian cause and sensitive to the ordeal of the city of Sarajevo. His biography of Jean-Paul Sartre, *Le Siècle de Sartre* (2000), was highly acclaimed.

[Nelly Hansson (2nd ed.)]

LEVY, CHAPMAN (1787–1850), U.S. lawyer. Levy, who was born in Camden, South Carolina, was admitted to the South Carolina bar in 1806. He served in the War of 1812, and reached the rank of colonel. Levy was in the state legislature from 1829 to 1833. He was elected to the state convention that passed the nullification of the federal tariffs of 1828 and 1832, despite Levy's negative vote. He again served in the legislature from 1836 to 1838. Levy then moved to Mississippi where he operated a plantation at Camden until his death.

[Neil Ovadia]

LEVY, CLIFTON HARBY (1867–1962), U.S. Reform rabbi. Born in New Orleans, his family had settled in the American colonies in 1740. Levy was ordained at Hebrew Union College (1890), was rabbi of Congregation Gates of Hope, New York City (1890–91), and superintendent of classes for immigrant children established by the Baron de Hirsch Fund. He later served congregations in Lancaster, Pa. (1892–94) and Baltimore, Md. (1894–96), where he organized a Jewish kindergarten in a religious school and the first United Hebrew Charities. He founded Tremont Temple, Bronx, N.Y., and was its rabbi from 1906 to 1921. He left the pulpit rabbinate in 1921. In 1924 he organized the Center of Jewish Science, New York City, which sought to counter the influence of Christian Science among middle-class Jews and to inject spirituality into the Reform Jewish synagogue. He was a founding member of the American Council for Judaism, which consisted primarily of anti-Zionist Reform rabbis and laymen. While still a student, Levy published a five-act Purim play, *Haman and Mordecai* (1886). During his stay in Baltimore he edited *Jewish Comment*. He edited *The Bible in Art* (1936) and *The Bible in Pictures* (1942), and served as art editor of the *Universal Jewish Encyclopedia*.

LEVY, SIR DANIEL (1873–1937), Australian politician. Born in London, Levy was taken to Sydney as a child. In 1901 he was elected a member of the Legislative Assembly of New South Wales, remaining a member for various seats in inner east Sydney until his death 36 years later. He was chairman of committees in 1917 and speaker of the House from 1919 until 1932. He was also attorney-general and minister of justice for a short time in 1932. Levy held a number of offices in public life and in the Jewish community, and at one time edited the *Australian Hebrew*.

ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY: ADB, 10; H.L. Rubinstein, Australia I, 381–82, 534–35.

LEVY, DAVID (1937–), Israeli politician, member of the Knesset from the Seventh Knesset. Levy was born in Rabat, Morocco, receiving a traditional Jewish upbringing, studying at the Alliance school in Rabat. He immigrated to Israel in 1957 with his family, first living in a *ma'barah* and later settling in the northern development town of Bet Shean. As a young man Levy was employed in neighboring kibbutzim as a hired agricultural laborer, and then in construction, but was occasionally unemployed. In 1964 Levy was elected as the representative of the construction workers' union in the workers' council in Bet Shean, and the following year he was elected to the municipal council of Bet Shean and deputy mayor on behalf of the *Ḥerut Movement. In 1966 he was elected as a member of the Executive and Center of Ḥerut. Levy was elected to the Seventh Knesset in 1969 on the *Gaḥal list, and was viewed as one of the first authentic Oriental leaders to reach a prominent position in a major Israeli party. In 1971 he was elected chairman of the Blue-White faction, which was part of the Ḥerut Movement, in the Histadrut. In the elections to the Eighth to Fourteenth Knesset, and in the elections to the Sixteenth Knesset he ran on the Likud list.

In the government formed by Menaḥem *Begin after the political upheaval of 1977 Levy was appointed minister for immigrant absorption. In January 1979 he became minister of construction and housing, a position he held for the next 11 years, during which period 300,000 new apartments were built within the Green Line as well as in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. He was also the minister responsible for *Project Renewal – an extensive project for the rehabilitation of distressed neighborhoods, carried out in around 100 towns and settlements by the Jewish Agency, with the cooperation of the local residents and Jewish communities abroad. In the years 1981–92 he also served as deputy prime minister, in Likud-led and National Unity governments. In the course of Operation Peace for Galilee Levy had reservations regarding the policy of Minister of Defense Ariel *Sharon, and in 1985 was the only minister from the Likud to vote in the government with the Labor ministers for withdrawal from Lebanon, and thus was responsible for the withdrawal's being approved by the inner cabinet. Despite his moderate positions, Levy joined Sharon and Yitzhak *Modai in 1989 in opposing the plan to hold elections in the West Bank and Gaza proposed by Prime Minister Yitzhak *Shamir and Minister of Defense Yitzhak *Rabin. He was appointed minister for foreign affairs in the narrow government formed by Shamir in June 1990, after the National Unity Government formed in 1988 was brought down in a vote of no confidence in March. Levy did not participate in the Madrid Conference of October–November 1991, since Shamir insisted on heading the Israeli delegation, and Binyamin *Netanyahu was responsible for Israel's information campaign. As minister for foreign affairs Levy became the object of many ethnic jokes, but his popularity within the Likud was still significant. In the Likud leadership contest before the elections to the Thirteenth Knesset Levy placed his candidacy opposite Shamir's and gained 32% of the votes. However, in the primaries held for the Likud list only a handful of his supporters were elected, and he considered running on a separate list, but finally decided to remain in the Likud, even though a noticeable erosion began in his status within the party.

In the Likud's leadership contest won by Netanyahu after the party's defeat in the 1992 elections, Levy came in second with 26.3%. Levy's ongoing failure to increase his power and influence in the Likud, and tensions with its Ashkenazi leaders, led him to break away from the Likud in March 1996 and form an ethnic parliamentary group called Gesher. After failing to raise sufficient funds to run independently in the elections to the Fourteenth Knesset, Gesher ran in a joint list with the Likud and *Tzomet. In the government formed by Netanyahu after the elections Levy returned to the Ministry for Foreign Affairs but resigned in January 1998. In the elections to the Fifteenth Knesset Gesher ran in a joint list called One Israel with the Labor Party and Meimad, under the leadership of Ehud *Barak. Once again he was appointed minister for foreign affairs, but in August 2000 Gesher broke away from One Israel and left the government. In the government formed by Sharon in March 2001 Levy was appointed minister without portfolio, and in the elections to the Sixteenth Knesset Levy once again ran within the framework of the Likud but was left out of Sharon's new government. In the course of the Sixteenth Knesset Levy joined the 13 Likud members who voted against the prime minister's Gaza disengagement plan and became one of the group's main spokesmen.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: A. Avnery, *David Levy* (Heb., 1983).

[Susan Hattis Rolef (2nd ed.)]

LEVY, FELIX ALEXANDER (1884–1963), U.S. Reform rabbi and scholar. Levy was born in New York, son of parents of Alsatian origin. He was ordained at Hebrew Union College (1907). From 1908 until his retirement in 1955, Rabbi Levy served Emmanuel Congregation, Chicago. He influenced his colleagues in modifying the attitude of Reform Judaism to *halakhah* and the nature of Jewish identity. These changes were embodied, inter alia, in the 1937 Columbus Platform adopted by the Central Conference of American Rabbis under Levy's leadership as president (1935–37). After his retirement, Rabbi Levy served as editor of *Judaism* and as dean of the Academy for Higher Jewish Learning in New York. A selection of his papers and sermons appeared in *His Own Torah* (ed. S.D. Temkin, 1969).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: S.D. Temkin (ed.), *His Own Torah* (1969), 3–43.

[Wolfe Kelman]

LEVY, HARRY LOUIS (1906–), U.S. classical scholar and university administrator. Born in New York, Levy graduated from City College and received his doctorate at Columbia University in 1936, editing the invective *In Rufinum* of the fourth-century Roman poet Claudian (revised edition 1971, American Philological Association). Levy served on the faculty of Hunter College from 1928, becoming professor of classics in 1953. From 1949 to 1952 he was editor-in-chief of the *Classical Weekly*. From 1951 to 1953 and from 1959 to 1963 he was dean of students at Hunter College in the Bronx; and in 1963, when the City University of New York was organized, he was named dean of studies in charge of the master plan of the university. In a celebrated incident in 1965, protesting the interference of New York City's Board of Higher Education with the academic administration of the university Levy, together with the chancellor and the presidents of two of the city colleges, submitted letters of resignation or of impending retirement. The Board promptly revised its procedures and the resignations were withdrawn. Levy was subsequently promoted to be administrative vice chancellor and, in 1966, vice chancellor. In 1968 he retired and served until 1971 as professor of humanities at the newly established Liberal Arts College of Fordham University. In 1971 he became research fellow at the American School of Classical Studies at Athens. From 1973 he was a visiting professor of classics at Duke University.

A master teacher, he wrote extensively on methods for revitalizing the teaching of Latin. With his military gait and rapid-fire wit, he was an important force for the preservation of the classics, particularly through the Northeast Conference on the Teaching of Foreign Languages, of which he served as chairman in 1963. He served as president of the American Philological Association from 1973 to 1974. His wife, whose professional name is Ernestine Friedl, was in charge of the doctoral program in anthropology at the City University of New York 1969–1970 and became professor of anthropology at Duke University in 1973. Levy wrote *A Latin Reader for Colleges* (1939; 1962).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: E.A. Robinson, in: *Classical Weekly*, 46 (1952/3), 1: *Directory of American Scholars*, 3 (1963^5), 237.

[Louis Harry Feldman]

LEVY, HAYMAN (1721–1789), New York merchant and landowner. Levy was born in Hanover, Germany, and went to New York shortly before 1748. He was naturalized and made a freeman of New York in 1750. During the Seven Years' War he had a considerable Indian trade and he owned trade ships engaged in privateering. Early in the Revolutionary War Levy left the British-occupied city for Philadelphia, where he served in the militia. After the war he returned to New York and opened a commission store. Very much involved in Jewish affairs, Levy served as president of Congregation Shearith Israel six times. He had 11 children who became important members of the New York community.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: J.R. Rosenbloom, *Biographical Dictionary of Early American Jews* (1960), s.v. *Levy* and *Sloe Myers*; L. Hershkowitz (ed.), *Wills of Early New York Jews* (1967), 165–85.

[Leo Hershkowitz]

LEVY, HYMAN (1889–1975), British mathematician. Levy was born in Edinburgh and was professor of mathematics at the Imperial College of Science, London, from 1923 to 1955, and was dean of the Royal College of Science (1948–54). During World War I he worked on aerodynamics at the National Physical Laboratory. Always deeply interested in social affairs, Levy was a pioneer in explaining and interpreting the social impact of science. He was chairman of the Labour Party's science advisory committee from 1924 to 1930. He became a leading member of the British Communist Party, particularly active among scientists. After a visit to the Soviet Union in 1957 he published a pamphlet "Jews and the National Question" (1958), which criticized the Soviet attitude to the Jews and Jewish culture in the U.S.S.R., whereupon he was expelled from the Communist Party.

[Maurice Goldsmith]

LÉVY, ISAAC (1835–1912), French rabbi, born in Marmoutier, Alsace. Lévy was rabbi of Verdun in 1858, of Lunéville in 1865, and of Colmar in Upper Alsace in 1869. After the annexation of Alsace by Germany following the Franco-Prussian War of 1870–71, Lévy chose to remain French, and the French government created a new chief rabbinate for him at Vesoul. In 1887 he became chief rabbi of Bordeaux. Lévy wrote *Récits bibliques* (1864), *Défense du Judaïsme* (1867), and *Histoire sainte à l'usage de la jeunesse Israélite*, the standard biblical history for Jewish children in France (1869; 16th ed., 1931).

LÉVY, ISIDORE (1870–1954), historian of religion. Born in Rixheim, Alsace, Lévy taught at the Ecole des Hautes Etudes (1905–28) in the departments of religion and historical and philological sciences, as well as at Lille (1919–23), the Sorbonne (1923–27), the Université Libre in Brussels (1929), and the Collège de France (1932–40; 1944–45). His studies are devoted to the ancient history of religion, extending from Asia Minor to Egypt and particularly the western Semites. Levy's books include *Recherches sur les sources de la Légende de Pythagore* (1926), *La Légende de Pythagore de Grèce en Palestine* (1927), and *Recherches esséniennes et pythagoriciennes* (1965).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Brussels, Université Libre, Institut de Philologie et Histoire Orientales et Slaves, *Annuaire*, 13 (1953), v–xix, incl. list of his works.

[Victor A. Mirelman]

LEVY, JACOB (1819–1892), rabbi and lexicographer. Born near Poznan, Poland, he studied under his father, Rabbi Isaac Levy, and under Rabbi Akiva *Eger by whom he was ordained. He also studied philology and Middle Eastern languages at Breslau and Halle universities. For several years he served as rabbi of Rosenberg, Upper Silesia, but resigned from this post in 1850, in order to devote himself exclusively to scientific work. He settled in Breslau where he became assistant rabbi (*dayyan*) in 1857; in 1864 he was appointed to the Breslau court to administer the *oath *more judaico* ("Jewish Oath"). From 1878 to his death, he also served as lecturer at the Mora-Salomon Leipziger Foundation.

Levy's first major work was the *Chaldaeisches Woerterbuch ueber die Targumim und einen grossen Teil des rabbinischen Schrifttums*, 2 vols. (1867–68, 1881^3). For this work the Prussian government awarded him the title of "professor." A second monumental work, *Neuhebraeisches und chaldaeisches Woerterbuch ueber die Talmudim und Midraschim* (4 vols., 1876–89), is of particular importance because of the comparative study of its quotations: various versions from different manuscripts are given, explained, and translated. Both dictionaries were annotated by the Leipzig Arabist H.L. Fleischer. In 1924 the second of the two works was republished by L. *Goldschmidt in a revised and enlarged version. Levy was the outstanding scholar of his time in the field of talmudic and rabbinical lexicography, and his successors, including Alexander *Kohut, the author of *Arukh ha-Shalem*, based their scholarship on his work.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Schwab, Repertoire, 281 (bibliography of articles); Zeitlin, Bibliotheca, 207–8; W. Bacher, in: ZDMG, 47 (1893), 495ff.; A. Kohut, *ibid.*, 723; A. Heppner and J. Herzbe\nard Suler]

LEVY, JEFFERSON MONROE (1852–1924), U.S. congressman and lawyer. Levy, who was born in New York City, served three terms in the U.S. House of Representatives (1899–1901, and 1911–15). He was a leader of the "Gold Democrats" during his first term, and sponsored the Reserve Bank Bill during his second and third terms. Levy advocated the maintenance of a large navy, led the fight that resulted in higher wages for the nation's postal clerks, was instrumental in codifying New York State's election laws and reforming the surrogate courts, and exposed instances of waste and extravagance in Mayor John Purroy Mitchel's generally reformist and efficient administration (1913–17) in New York City. He was the nephew of Uriah P. *Levy, from whom he inherited Monticello, Thomas Jefferson's home.

LEVY, JONAS PHILLIPS (1807–1883), U.S. naval officer and communal leader. Levy, the brother of Uriah Phillips *Levy and the father of Jefferson Monroe *Levy, was born in Philadelphia. He took up a career in the U.S. Navy, reaching the rank of commander. Unlike his brother Uriah, he seems to have adapted well to naval life and encountered no recorded antisemitism. In 1847 he was commander of the steamer America, ferrying troops to and participating in the naval battle for Veracruz during the Mexican War. He was appointed captain of the captured city. Levy was active in Jewish life. His greatest contribution to progress in equal rights for Jews was in his work to rectify the disabilities imposed on Jews in Switzerland. When news of the U.S.-Swiss treaty drawn up in 1850 reached American Jews, Levy led the struggle to alter the treaty, writing letters and working with his friend, Senator Lewis Cass, to delete the provision disallowing equal rights of travel and settlement to Jewish nationals and non-nationals in Switzerland. When Levy moved to Washington, D.C., in 1852, there were about 25 Jewish men in the city, meeting haphazardly for services. Levy supported the movement for a permanent synagogue. Discovering that the local laws were ambiguous on the rights of Jews so to organize, Levy called on his political friends, and in 1855 an act of Congress gave full rights to the Washington Hebrew Congregation and other congregations to organize.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: H.K. Meier, *United States and Switzerland in the Nineteenth Century* (1963), 33–38, 58–66; C. Adler, *Jews in the Diplomatic Correspondence of the United States* (1906); C. Adler and A.M. Margalith, *With Firmness in the Right: American Diplomatic Action Affecting Jews, 1840–1945* (1946); S. Stroock, in: AJHSP, 11 (1903), 7–11.

[Abram Kanof]

LEVY, JOSEPH LANGLEY (1870–1945), British journalist, born in Liverpool. Levy took up journalism after writing a series of articles on Liverpool Jewry in 1899 for the *Liverpool Review*, of which he became editor in 1902. He joined the London *Daily Express* in 1905, and was art critic for three London papers. In 1910 he went to South Africa to become editor of the Johannesburg *Sunday Times*, which under his editorship achieved the largest circulation in the country. He wrote novels and short stories. His daughter, DORIS LANGLEY MOORE (1902–1989), who lived chiefly in England, founded the Costume Museum in Bath and was a well-known novelist and biographer.

ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY: "Doris Langley Moore," in: ODNB.

LEVY, JOSEPH LEONARD (1865–1917), U.S. Reform rabbi. Levy was born in London. He graduated from the University of London in 1884 and was trained for the Orthodox ministry at Jews College, London. From 1885 to 1889 he served the Bristol Hebrew Congregation. In 1889 he went to the United States as rabbi to a congregation in Sacramento, California, and from 1893 to 1901 he was assistant rabbi at Congregation Keneseth Israel, Philadelphia. From 1901 to 1917 he was rabbi of Congregation Rodef Shalom, Pittsburgh. During the Spanish-American War he was an army chaplain for a short period. Levy was famous in his day as a preacher; about 16 volumes of his sermons were published. He was active in local and international peace associations and in health, housing, and other welfare organizations in Pittsburgh.

[Sefton D. Temkin]

LEVY, JUDAH (Mercado) BEN MENAHEM (c. 1790–c. 1875), rabbi in Ereẓ Israel. Levy was born in Sarajevo from where he moved to Ragusa, immigrating to Jerusalem in his youth. He was appointed rabbi of Jaffa in 1825 by the Jerusalem rabbinate and may be regarded as the real founder of the Jewish community in Jaffa. Later the Turkish government recognized him and conferred on him the title *Ḥakham bashi*. He was responsible for the consecration of the first Jewish cemetery in Jaffa (previously its Jews had been buried in Jerusalem). Levy assisted Charles *Netter in founding the *Mikveh Israel agricultural school.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Brill, in: *Ha-Levanon*, 2 (1865), 56; M.D. Gaon, *Yehudei ha-Mizraḥ be-Ereẓ Yisrael*, 2 (1938), 320f.; Frumkin-Rivlin, 3 (1929), 309 no. 13.

[Samuel Abba Horodezky]

LÉVY, LAZARE (1882–1964), French pianist and composer. Born in Brussels, Lévy studied at the Paris Conservatoire, where he obtained first prize for piano in 1898. A remarkable interpreter of the classical repertory and modern compositions as well, Lévy played with the principal European symphony orchestras and toured in Europe and Asia. In 1920 he succeeded Alfred Cortot as professor of piano at the Paris Conservatoire, and gained an international reputation as a pedagogue, having trained many eminent students. His compositions include piano compositions as well as pieces for cello, flute, organ, and a stringed quartet.

[Amnon Shiloah (2nd ed.)]

LEVY, LEONARD WILLIAMS (1923–2006), U.S. historian. Born in Toronto, Canada, Levy taught at Brandeis University, serving as dean of the Graduate School of Arts and Sciences (1958–63) and dean of the Faculty of Arts and Sciences (1963–66). From 1958 he held the chair in American constitutional history. Levy contributed to the history of American constitutional law and to the early history of American law, with emphasis on the background of the Bill of Rights. His main works are *The Law of the Commonwealth and Chief Justice Shaw* (1957), *Legacy of Suppression: Freedom of Speech and Press in Early American History* (1960), and *Jefferson and Civil Liberties…* (1963). His *Origins of the Fifth Amendment…* (1968) was awarded a Pulitzer Prize. Levy was also editor of several historical series. He was a member of both the American Jewish Committee and the American Jewish Congress, serving on the latter's Commission on Law and Social Action. After he retired from teaching, Levy became professor emeritus at Claremont McKenna College in Claremont, California.

He also wrote *Original Intent and the Framers' Constitution* (1988), *Blasphemy: Verbal Offense against the Sacred, from Moses to Salman Rushdie* (1993), *The Establishment Clause* (1994), *License to Steal* (1995), *The Palladium of Justice* (1999), *Ranters Run Amok* (2000), and *Origins of the Bill of Rights* (2001). He also edited (with K. Karst) the six-volume *Encyclopedia of the American Constitution* (2000^2).

[Richard B. Morris / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)

LEVY, LOUIS (1875–1940), Danish poet, critic, and journalist. Levy is mostly remembered for his children's poems which, like Andersen's fairy tales, have become classics that appeal to adults as well as the young. Levy was, however, a remarkably versatile writer in other genres. His Jewish awareness may be seen in the pathetic *Byglig en ark* ("Build an Ark," 1904) and in the pacifist *Jøden som fredsstifter* ("The Jew as Peacemaker," 1918).

LEVY, LOUIS EDWARD (1846–1919), U.S. chemist, inventor, communal leader, and newspaper editor. Levy, who was born in Pilsen, Bohemia, was brought to the U.S. at the age of eight. In 1875 he invented the photochemical engraving process known as "Levytype," permitting newspapers to print halftone pictures from the stereotype plate, and founded the Levytype Company in Baltimore. The company moved to Philadelphia in 1877. Levy, the first U.S. citizen to receive a patent in this field, also invented the Levy acid blast, an etch-powdering machine, and the Levy line screen. He published and edited the Philadelphia *Evening Herald*, an independent Democratic daily (1887–90), the *Mercury*, a Sunday paper (1887–91), and *The Jewish Year* (1895). Levy was a leader of the Philadelphia Jewish community and, reflecting his deep interest in the problems of Jewish immigration to the U.S., was a founder (1884) and president of the Association for Relief and Protection of Jewish Immigrants. He wrote *The Russian Jewish Refugees in America* (1895), a pamphlet; *Business, Money and Credit* (1896); and (with Hugo Bilgram) *The Cause of Business Depressions as Disclosed by an Analysis of the Basic Principles of Economics* (1914).

LEVY, LUCIEN (1853–1912), French mathematician. He was born in Paris, and taught mathematics at the Lycée Louis le Grand. He wrote many articles and contributed to the French edition of the *Mathematical Encyclopedia*; he published textbooks and two works on applied mathematics. From 1910 to 1911 he was president of the Mathematical Society of France. His son PAUL LEVY (1886–1971) became a high official in the administration of mines (1925). In 1941 after the occupation of France by the Nazis, he was exempted from the anti-Jewish statutes because of his distinguished work and permitted to teach both at the Ecole Polytechnique and at the Ecole Supérieure de Mines. He published several textbooks. In 1964 he became president of the Mathematical Society of France.

LEVY, MARION JOSEPH, JR. (1918–2002), U.S. sociologist. Born in Galveston, Texas, Levy received a doctorate in sociology from Harvard University. During World War II he served as a Navy lieutenant in Asia. He was professor of sociology at Princeton University from 1947. His scholarly work was devoted to the study of the family and to the investigation of social and cultural change in the Far East, both within the framework of system analysis, serving for a time as chairman of Princeton's department of East Asian studies. He further formulated the concepts, propositions, and methodological premises of the structural-functional approach to social phenomena in his major work, *Structure of Society* (1952). He retired in 1989 as Musgrave Professor of Sociology and International Affairs at Princeton. His other works include *The Family Revolution in Modern China* (1949), *Rise of the Modern Chinese Business Class* (1949), *Aspects of the Analysis of Family Structure* (1965), *Modernization and the Structure of Societies*, 2 vols. (1966), *Modernization: Latecomers and Survivors* (1972), *Our Mother-Tempers* (1989), and *Maternal Influence: The Search for Social Universals* (1992).

[Werner J. Cahnman / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

LEVY, MARV (**Marvin Daniel**; 1925–), U.S. football coach, only NFL coach to win four straight league or conference championships; member of the Pro Football Hall of Fame. Levy was the older of two children born on Chicago's South Side to Sam, an immigrant from England who ran a wholesale produce company, and Ida, from Russia. The day after graduating from South Shore High School in 1943, Levy enlisted in the Army Air Corps and spent the remainder of World War II in the military. He was a Phi Beta Kappa graduate of Coe College in 1950, and then received a master's degree in English history from Harvard in 1951. After 15 years of coaching college ball, Levy entered the NFL as special teams coach of the Eagles (1969), Rams (1970), and Redskins (1971–72), and then left the NFL to become head coach of the Montreal Alouettes of the Canadian Football League. His CFL record was 43–31–4 in five seasons, as the team went to the playoffs all five years and won the Grey Cup in 1974 and 1977. Levy returned to the NFL in 1978 as head coach of the Kansas City Chiefs, where he went 31–42 in five seasons. Levy took over the Chicago team in the U.S. Football League in 1984, and was then hired by the Buffalo Bills during the 1986 season. It took Levy only two years to lead the Bills to the 1988 AFC Championship game, earning Levy Coach of the Year honors. The Bills won the Eastern Division six of the next eight seasons, and made the playoffs eight of the next nine years; Levy was named AFC Coach of the Year in 1988, 1993, and 1995. Levy and the Bills would become the only team in NFL history to play in four straight Super Bowls (1991–94). He retired after the 1997 season, compiling a 112–70 record (123–78 including playoffs) as the Bills' coach, and 143 NFL coaching victories overall, which ranked 10th in history at the time of his retirement. In addition, Levy is one of only 14 coaches to win 100 games with one NFL team. Levy was voted into the Pro Football Hall of Fame in 2001, one of six Jews enshrined along with Sid *Gillman, Sid *Luckman, Ron *Mix, Al *Davis, and Benny *Friedman. He is the author of an autobiography, *Where Else Would You Rather Be*? (2004).

[Elli Wohlgelernter (2nd ed.)]

LEVY, MARVIN DAVID (1932–), U.S. composer. Born in Passaic, New Jersey, Levy studied composition with Philip James at New York University (B.A., 1954) and with Otto Luening at Columbia University (M.A., 1956). From 1952 to 1958 he was a musical critic for various newspapers and journals. He composed three successful one-act operas: *The Tower* (first performance Sante Fe, 1957), *Escorial* (first performance New York, 1958) and *Mourning Becomes Electra*, based on O'Neill's play and commissioned by the Metropolitan, New York, for their opening Lincoln Center season (first performance, March 1967). In 1967, Levy received the Scroll of the City of New York for "distinguished and exceptional service." He was a founding member of the Fort Lauderdale Opera, Florida (1989), and served as its artistic director until it merged with the Greater Miami Opera to form the Florida Grand Opera in 1994. He also composed two cantatas: *The Echoes* and *One Person; Chassidic Suite* for horn and piano; *Rhapsody* for violin, clarinet, and harp; songs; music for films; incidental music for Farquhar's *The Recruiting Officer* and *Trialogues.*

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Grove online.

[Israela Stein (2nd ed.)]

LEVY, MICHAEL ABRAHAM, BARON LEVY OF MILL HILL (1944–), British businessman and communal leader. Born in Hackney, Levy became an accountant and made a fortune as the head of Magnet Records, where he discovered Alan Stardust and Chris Rea, selling it for a reported £10 million and then founding M&G Records. He became prominent as one of the biggest fundraisers for the Labour Party and a close friend of British Prime Minister Tony Blair, who used him as his personal advisor on the Middle East. Levy was also very prominent within Britain's Jewish community as the head of Jewish Care from 1998 and many other philanthropic and educational bodies. He was also the chairman of CSV (Community Service Volunteers), the largest organization of community service volunteers in Britain. He was given a life peerage in 1997 and received an honorary degree from Middlesex University.

[William D. Rubinstein (2nd ed.)]

LEVY, MOSES (c. 1665–1728), New York merchant and landowner. Levy arrived from England sometime before 1695. In that year he was made a freeman of the city, enabling him to embark on a noteworthy mercantile career and became probably the most prominent and wealthiest New York Jew of the early 18th century. He was elected constable in 1719, but paid a fine rather than serve. President of the Jewish congregation of New York shortly before his death, Levy contributed to the building of Shearith Israel on Mill Street, but did not live to see its completion.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: J.R. Rosenbloom, *Biographical Dictionary of Early American Jews* (1960), 94.

[Leo Hershkowitz]

LEVY, MOSES (1757–1826), U.S. judge. Born in Philadelphia, Levy was the son of Samuel Levy, a Philadelphia merchant. In 1778 he was admitted to the Philadelphia bar, the first Jew to qualify as a lawyer in the United States. Levy became one of the outstanding lawyers of Philadelphia and was one of the defense counsel in the trial of Bache, editor of the anti-federalist *Aurora* for "libeling the President and the Executive Government in a manner tending to excite sedition and opposition to the laws." From 1802 to 1806 he was a member of the Pennsylvania legislature and subsequently was a judge of the district court of Philadelphia. Levy acquired a considerable reputation in the legal profession and at one time was considered for the post of attorney general of the United States. When he died the members of the Philadelphia bar wore a black armband for 30 days.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: H.S. Morais, *Jews of Philadelphia* (1894), index.

[Julius J. Marcke]

LEVY, MOSES ELIAS (c. 1782–1854), pioneer Jewish settler in Florida, visionary exponent of Jewish colonization and educational schemes, and father of the first congressman and senator of Jewish birth, David L. *Yulee. Levy led a life which was fascinating in its variety. Born in Mogador, Morocco, and brought up in Gibraltar, Levy settled in St. Thomas, Virgin Islands, about 1800, achieving some success in business. He left St. Thomas and moved to Havana, Cuba, where he established himself as a government contractor and invested heavily in real estate which was located in Florida (then still under Spanish rule). After the cession of Florida to the United States in 1821, Levy took up residence in the new American territory and registered for American citizenship. Levy developed a number of plantations in Florida but never succeeded in attracting the settlers, including Jews, he had envisaged. In 1821 he also undertook a campaign for the establishment of a Jewish boarding school, which, however, aroused little interest. It is ironic that this champion of Jewish education so alienated his two sons that the one, David, eagerly adopted Christianity, not merely for convenience prior to his marriage as some have thought, and the other, Elias, was at one time a missionary minister of the Swedenborgian sect. Levy spent a number of years in London during the late 1820s and engaged in public debate over Jewish theological questions; several pamphlets on various themes of Jewish interest were published in his name at this time. Hard luck pursued Levy's agricultural and mercantile ventures: fire, war, and litigation devoured his assets. The wealth that Florida had seemed to promise always eluded him. Levy had close contacts with a number of important Jewish merchants and communal leaders of his day, including Moses Myers of Norfolk and Mordecai M. Noah and the Rev. M.L.M. Peixotto of New York City.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: L. Huhner, in: *Florida Historical Quarterly*, 19 (1941), 319–45; B.W. Korn, *Eventful Years and Experiences* (1954), 152–3, 199–200; S. Proctor, in: *Proceedings of the Conference on the Writing of Regional History in the South* (1956), 81–115.

[Bertram Wallace Korn]

LEVY, NATHAN (1704–1753), colonial American merchant. Levy, who was born in New York City, moved to Philadelphia in 1738 where he established a business with his brother Isaac. Primarily distributors of dry goods, hardware, and general goods, the brothers also placed indentured servants with employers, and, to a limited extent, traded slaves. He and his brothers are the first known practicing Jews to settle in Philadelphia. In 1741 Nathan and Isaac Levy formed a partnership with David and Moses Franks, which entered the shipping business. As a founder of Philadelphia's Jewish community, he obtained land for its first Jewish cemetery in 1740.

[Neil Ovadia]

LÉVY, PAUL (1887–1962), French linguist and historian. Lévy, who was born in Alsace, became a specialist on the linguistic history of Alsace and Lorraine and taught at the Lycée Kléber in Strasbourg. From 1933 he taught at the Lycée Rollin (later Jacques Ducour) in Paris. During the German occupation of France in World War II he refused an offer of exceptional reinstatement in his post. After the war, Lévy directed the investigation of the secret archives of the Third Reich. Among his major works were *Histoire linguistique d'Alsace et de Lorraine* (1929), *La Langue allemande en France* (1950–52), and *Les Noms des Israélites en France* (1960).

[Irwin L. Merker]

LÉVY, RAPHAËL (c. 1612–1670), victim of a *blood libel in France. Born in Chelaincourt, near Metz, Lévy was a livestock merchant in the village of Boulay, though the anonymous Christian account of his trial describes him as "filling the office of rabbi" there. He was accused of having abducted a Christian child in the village of Glatigny, on the eve of Rosh Ha-Shanah 1669, when he was on his way to Metz to buy a *shofar*. Giving himself up voluntarily ("to save the house of Israel"), he was condemned to death by the *parlement* of Metz after a scandalous trial, even though the remains of the child, devoured by wolves, had in the meantime been found. On Jan. 17, 1670, he was burned at the stake in Metz. The tribunal also demanded the permanent expulsion of the Jews from Metz. The latter belatedly laid the affair before the royal council which, on the basis of an address by Richard *Simon, concluded that there had been a judicial error.

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[Gilbert Cahen]

LEVY, REUBEN (1891–1966), British Orientalist. Born in Manchester, Levy became lecturer in Persian language and literature at Oxford University (1920–23). From 1923 to 1926 he taught biblical literature at the Jewish Institute of Religion, New York. On his return to England he taught Persian at Cambridge University; he was appointed professor in 1950. During both world wars Levy served in British Intelligence. From 1918 to 1920 he was in the Iraqi political service.

Apart from editing and translating a number of classical Persian and Arabic texts, Levy wrote two textbooks: *The Persian Language* (1951) and *Persian Literature* (1923; repr. 1955), a two-volume work *Introduction to the Sociology of Islam* (1931–33; second edition, *The Social Structure of Islam*, 1957), and a commentary with introduction on *Deutero-Isaiah* (1925).

LEVY, ROBERT (1896–1996), journalist and leader of the Jewish community in Chile. Born in Strasbourg, France, Levy immigrated in the 1910s to Chile. In 1940 he took part in the establishment of the Comité Central (Central Committee) of Jewish local institutions, named afterwards Comité Representativo de las Entidades Judías de Chile. He was its secretary general from its foundation until 1983. He was also very active in many community institutions, among them the Sephardi community, the Confraternidad Judeo-Cristiana (Jewish-Christian Friendship Organization), and the Instituto Chileno-Israelí de Cultura (Chilean-Israeli Cultural Institute).

[Efraim Zadoff (2nd ed.)]

LEVY, RUDOLF (1875–1944), German painter. Levy, who was born into an Orthodox Jewish family in Stettin (Pomerania), studied cabinetmaking in Berlin and Karlsruhe, and painting in Munich. In 1903 he went to Paris; he joined the group of artists who met regularly at the Café du Dôme, where the circle of artists, poets, and newsmen campaigned for French art in Germany. In 1907 Levy met Henri Matisse by whom he was strongly influenced, and in 1908 the idea of the Académie Matisse was realized. Levy also accepted the direction of the Académie for a couple of months until it was finally closed in 1912. Presumably from 1914, Levy was a member of the "Berliner Secession," participating in their exhibitions with his paintings; in 1928 he even became chairman of this society. During World War I, Levy served in the German army and received the Iron Cross. After the war he settled in Berlin but in 1933 left Germany. In 1935 he settled on the Spanish island of Mallorca and joined the circle of political emigrants, among them Arthur Segal. From 1938 he lived in Italy, settling in Florence.

Though forewarned by the German consul and by the Italian police, Levy remained in his atelier and in December 1943 was arrested by the Gestapo. He died in January 1944, presumably during the transportation to the camp in Modena, on the way to the concentration camps in the north. Levy was one of the few German painters of his generation who did not join the expressionist movement, but remained under the influence of Matisse and Cézanne. His work, lyrical in nature, was molded by the Mediterranean atmosphere which inspired some of his finest oils.

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[Alfred Werner / Jihan Radjai-Ordoubadi (2nd ed.)]

LEVY, SAM SAADI (1870–1959), journalist. Levy was born in *Salonika, but at an early age he went to live in Paris, returning in 1898 to Salonika, where he collaborated in the periodicals *La Epoca* (Judeo-Spanish), founded in 1875, and *Journal de Salonique* (French), founded in 1895. He also wrote and edited the most brilliant part of the satirical *El Kirbatch* ("The Riding Whip"), which was very popular with the public. In 1905, wishing to escape all censorship, he settled in Zemlin (Austria) where he founded two periodicals, *Le Rayon* (French) and *El Luzero* (Judeo-Spanish), both intended to be circulated in Turkey. With the Young Turk revolution of 1908, he returned to Salonika, again taking up the editorship of *La Epoca* and *Journal de Salonique*. In 1912, with the Hellenization of northern Greece, he sold his newspapers. He then settled first in Lausanne, and later on in Paris, where he set up the *Guide Sam*, a publication which for years constituted the directory of all industrial and commercial enterprises in the Near East. In Paris, he also founded the *Cahiers Sefardis*, in which many historical, social, and economic studies on the Jewish communities of the Near East were published.

[Joseph Neipris]

LÉVY, SAMUEL (b. 1678), rabbi and financier. After studying in Metz and in Poland, in 1702 Lévy was appointed rabbi of Upper Alsace (later the Haut-Rhin department) by Louis XIV and served there until 1709. Subsequently he engaged in financial transactions, purchasing abroad corn and species on behalf of Duke Leopold of Lorraine. In 1715 Lévy was appointed tax-collector for Lorraine, where he effected cuts in public expenditure and introduced new taxes which antagonized the nobility. In 1716 he was removed from office at the instigation of his opponents and faced total bankruptcy. His creditors, whose claims amounted to three million livres, had him arrested, together with his wife. He was imprisoned for several years; following his release in 1722, he was expelled from Lorraine and moved to Paris, where he died in abject poverty.

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[*Encyclopaedia Judaica* (Germany)]

LEVY, SION (1922–), rabbi, spiritual leader of the Jewish community of Panama. Born in the Old City of Jerusalem to a family of rabbinical ancestry from Morocco, he studied in the Yeshivat Porat Yosef in Jerusalem for 12 years, together with Rabbi Ovadiah *Yosef. After being ordained as a rabbi and as a *shoḥet*, he was appointed as head of the *kashrut* department in the Jerusalem rabbinate. In 1955 he was sent to Panama, remaining there as the Sephardi rabbi and spiritual leader.

Rabbi Levy imposed strict Orthodox norms on the Sephardi community, Sociedad Israelita de Beneficencia Shevet Ahim. Serving as a *shoḥet*, he controlled the slaughter of animals according to strict halakhic rules. The arrival of a large group of immigrants from Aleppo (Syria), with a long tradition of rabbinical authority, strengthened the position of Rabbi

Levy in the Panama Jewish community. The Aleppans, who became the majority group among the Jews of Panama, venerate their rabbi, whose word is received as sacred not only in religious matters but also in economic and social questions.

Levy is a prominent Zionist leader but a tough opponent of Reform Judaism.

[Margalit Bejarano (2nd ed.)]

LEVY, URIAH PHILLIPS (1792–1862), U.S. naval officer. Levy was born in Philadelphia, into a distinguished family of U.S. patriots. Running away to sea at ten, he became a sailing master in the United States navy at 20 and a midshipman four years later. Commissioned as lieutenant in 1816 and captain in 1844, he saw little active duty in the years 1827–57 because of disciplinary problems. In 1857 he was reinstated by a naval Court of Inquiry and ordered to the Mediterranean, where in 1859 he served for six months as commodore of the U.S. fleet. Most of what is known about Levy is from the record of six court-martials and the proceedings of his fight against an order in 1855 dropping him from the navy lists, together with 200 fellow officers. He was certainly an excellent sailor, a good disciplinarian, a progressive officer, and a brave patriot. He was also extremely sensitive about his Jewishness, exhibited some peculiar mannerisms, and was extremely pugnacious. The proceedings established beyond a doubt that his career had suffered because of antisemitism. On the other hand, any officer with his record of six court-martials and his unorthodox methods of maintaining discipline might have had the same difficulties. Moreover, he had begun his career as a sailing master, unlike the "gentlemen" who received their commission as midshipmen directly. In spite of these handicaps and an array of petty accusations against him, an imposing list of high naval officers testified to his honorable character and his professional ability. Levy's greatest liability, so far as popularity with his fellow officers went, but his greatest claim to lasting fame as well, was his active espousal of a law to prohibit corporal punishment in the navy. Senator John Parker Hale sponsored such a bill (1850), and Levy was one of a small group of naval officers who supported him. Indeed, Levy had long previously advocated such a change, not only in numerous writings, but as captain of the s.s. *Vandalia*, the first ship to sail with discipline maintained without recourse to the lash. Levy wrote extensively on the problems of naval discipline. He also published *A Manual of Informal Rules and Regulations for Men-of-War* and several navigation charts. While on active duty, he found time to explore the Rio Grande from Veracruz as far up as Matamores. During his years of inactive service Levy acquired, and at great expense refurbished, Thomas Jefferson's estate at Monticello, which eventually became the summer home of his nephew, J.M. *Levy, until purchased by a public organization and made into a historic monument. His mother is buried along the walk approaching the main house. During the 1855 proceedings, Levy testified that his "parents were Israelites and I was nurtured in the faith of my ancestors." He was a member of Congregation Shearith Israel in New York and a charter member of Washington Hebrew Congregation. He sponsored (1854) the new Seminary of the Bnai Jeshurun Educational Institute in New York. Levy received a traditional Jewish funeral and is buried in the Cypress Hill Cemetery of Congregation Shearith Israel in Brooklyn, New York.

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[Abram Kanof]

LEVY-BACRAT, ABRAHAM BEN SOLOMON (late 15th–16th century), poet of Spanish origin. Bacrat took refuge in North Africa in 1492. In his native town of Malaga he had been a disciple of Judah Gabbai, to whom he dedicated several poems. At first he settled in *Tlemcen, together with Abraham *Benzamero, Abraham *Gavison, and Moses *Alashkar. He wrote an elegy on the Spanish Expulsion. His major work, a supercommentary on Rashi, is called *Sefer ha-Zikkaron* ("Book of the Memory") and was completed in 1507 in Tunis, where he became a close friend of Abraham *Zacuto. This work was known from its copies but it remained in manuscript until its publication in Leghorn in 1845. The author's introduction contains an instructive autobiography which contains information on Bacrat's tribulations after the Spanish Expulsion.

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[David Corcos]

LÉVY-BRUHL, LUCIEN (1857–1939), French anthropologist, philosopher, and psychologist. Born and educated in Paris, Lévy-Bruhl taught philosophy at the Lycée Louis-le-Grand (1885–95), and later at the Sorbonne where he was appointed to the chair of history of modern philosophy. Here he was a colleague of Emile *Durkheim, and wrote a series of anthropological works on various aspects of preliterate culture to demonstrate the nature of primitive mentality. Lévy-Bruhl endeavored to show that the primitives' thought was indifferent to the laws of logic and was essentially mystical. Later in his notebooks published posthumously he retracted this idea and stated that prelogical and preliterate societies would employ logical thought to meet the practical demands of natural environment. Lévy-Bruhl's works on this subject evoked criticism from Durkheim in *Les formes elémentaires de la vie religieuse* (1912; *The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life*, 1947) and from Franz *Boas. Lévy-Bruhl revised this idea in later books but further developed the idea of a "special sense" or mysticism. Although his views on primitive mentality are not accepted, Lévy-Bruhl's theories have had diverse influence on some Jungian psychologists in their interpretations of the relation of archetypes of the unconscious to primitive mentality, and of the phenomenon of "participation."

[Ephraim Fischoff]

His son HENRI (1884–1964), born in Paris, taught law successively at Grenoble, Lille, and Paris until he was deposed during the German occupation of France in World War II. After 1945, he founded with G. Gurvitch and G. Le-Bres the Centre d'Etudes Sociologiques, recreated the *Année Sociologique*, and became one of the directors of the Division of Social Sciences at the Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes. Henri Lévy-Bruhl belonged to the Durkheimian School in French sociology; he specialized in the sociology of law, particularly Roman law and the ethnology of law, and he also worked in the field of criminology. Among his major works are *Le témoignage instrumentaire en droit romain* (1910), *Histoire de la lettre de change en France* (1933), *Quelques problèmes du très ancien droit romain* (1934), *Initiation aux recherches de sociologie juridique* (1947), and *Aspects sociologiques du droit* (1955).

[Werner J. Cahnman]

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LÉVY-DHURMER, LUCIEN (1865–1953), French symbolist painter. Lévy-Dhurmer was born in Algiers. He trained as a lithographer and decorator; among his finest works in this genre are the two panels painted for the furniture designer Majorelle, now in the Metropolitan Museum, New York. From 1887 to 1895 Lévy-Dhurmer was artistic director of a decorative stoneware factory at Golfe-Juan, France, but after a visit to Italy he decided to follow a career of painting. An exhibition of his work at Galérie George Petit, Paris, established his reputation. His principal subjects were mythical themes, but he was also a gifted portrait painter, and was greatly in demand in this genre and was also a decorative muralist. Many of his most famous works were inspired by the music of Beethoven, Debussy, and Fauré, as well as by the Mediterranean in general. He was much admired for his original color sense, especially in his pastels. Lévy-Dhurmer is considered one of the most gifted of the French symbolist painters. An important collection of Lévy-Dhurmer's work is in the Musée National d'Art Moderne, Paris. His work has been greatly admired in recent years, as part of the revival of interest in 19th-century painting in general and symbolism in particular.

[Charles Samuel Spencer]

LEW, JACOB (1955–), director of the U.S. Office of Management and Budget 1998–2001. Born in New York City, the son of a Polish immigrant, he received his B.A. from Harvard (1978) and his law degree from Georgetown. He had an early interest in politics and worked for Bella Abzug while still in school. While in law school, he worked for Speaker of the House Thomas "Tip" O'Neill as his domestic policy aide. He then served as a senior adviser to O'Neill and as executive director of the House Democratic Steering and Policy Committee. He was O'Neill's chief policy adviser on Social Security when the government tackled the nation's largest entitlement program, in 1983. When O'Neill left the House, Lew went into private legal practice and then worked with Michael Dukakis in 1988 as the issues director for his unsuccessful presidential campaign. An observant Jew, Lew felt comfortable working at the center of the American government while remaining faithful to his tradition. He joined the Clinton administration and went from a special assistant to the president at the OMB to its deputy director and from 1998 to 2001 as its director, a position that has cabinet rank. During Lew's time, Jews held virtually all of the principal economic positions, from the secretary of the Treasury and his deputy to the head of OMB, Council of Economic Advisors, and the Federal Reserve. It was a first in the federal government. After he left the administration he was named executive vice president of New York University.

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[Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

LEWALD, FANNY (1811–1889), German writer and publicist. Born in Koenigsberg as Fanny Markus, her Jewish merchant father changed the family name to Lewald once the family converted to Protestantism in 1828. In 1843 Fanny Lewald moved to Berlin, where she kept company with Varnhagen von Ense, Henriette Herz, Luise Muehlbach, Heinrich Laube, and especially with Therese von Bacheracht. Her first novels appeared anonymously already in 1842, such as *Clementine*, *Jenny* (1843), and *Eine Lebensfrage* (2 vols., 1845). *Clementine* broaches the issue of married women; *Jenny* taxes the Christian reader on the question of Jewish emancipation. *Eine Lebensfrage* is a plea for divorce and free choice of a spouse. Lewald was one of the first German female authors to be a successful professional writer. Her novels and her essays treated issues of the day and more than anything female emancipation, as in *Einige Gedanken ueber Maedchenerziehung und Andeutungen ueber die Lage der weiblichen Dienstboten* (1843), *Osterbriefe fuer die Frauen* (1863), and *Fuer und wider die Frauen* (1870). The narration *Sarah* (1851) deals with female as well as Jewish emancipation and remained the only story with a decidedly non-assimilated portrayal of Jewishness. Lewald exchanged ideas with Eugene Niboyet, the publisher of the French journal *Les voix des femmes*, which supported equality in marriage and the right to divorce, education, and work for women. However, Lewald's own writing is nonetheless marked by a discrepancy between this progressive stance and her approval of weak, subservient female characters in her novels, such as Jenny or Clementine. Since she earned her living by writing Lewald had to bow to the tastes of middle-class readers, as in *Die Kammerjungfer* (3 vols., 1856) and *Die Familie Darner* (3 vols., 1888). Lewald became famous for her travel writing, for example *Italienisches Bilderbuch* (2 vols., 1847), in which she combined personal experience with historical and cultural background material. Lewald's political views can be seen in *Die anschaulichen Erinnerungen aus dem Jahr 1848* (2 vols., 1850), which expresses democratic ideas. At the same time Lewald was disillusioned by the revolution in Germany, regretting the strident debates resulting from the polarization of right and left in the Prussian Assembly, which she communicated to Heinrich Heine in the summer of 1848. Her *Lebensgeschichte* (6 vols., 1861–63), written in the tradition of a classical autobiography, *Zwoelf Bilder aus dem Leben* (1888), and *Tagebuch Gefuehltes und Gedachtes* (6 vols., 1838–88) cover historical and political issues of the time.

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[Ann-Krisitn Koch (2nd ed.)]

LEWANDOWSKI, LOUIS (1821–1894), choral director and composer. Born in Wreschen, near Posen, Lewandowski became a singer at the age of 12 with *Ḥazzan* Ascher Lion's choir in Berlin. Later he studied with Adolph Bernhard *Marx at Berlin University and with Rungenhagen and Grell at the Academy of Fine Arts. After 1840 he served as conductor of the choir at the Old Synagogue in the Heidereutergasse, and after 1866 at the New Synagogue. Lewandowski, the most significant composer of synagogue music after Solomon *Sulzer, reproduced the traditional melodies in a more classical form and treated the organ accompaniment with greater freedom than did his predecessor. His style, which was more harmonic than contrapuntal, was calculated to appeal to a wide public, and together with the soulful quality of his melodic idiom, gained great popularity for his compositions. The traditional foundations of his work were, on the one hand, the liturgy of the Old Synagogue established by the *ḥazzanim* Lichtenstein and Rosenfeld, and, on the other hand, the East European *nusaḥ* which Lewandowski received from immigrant *ḥazzanim* and singers. Outstanding examples of these influences are his choral work *Ki ke-Shimcho*; and his chief works *Kol Rinah U'T'fillah* (for one and two voices, 1871); *Todah W'simrah* (for four voices and soli, optional organ accompaniment, 2 vols., 1876–82); and *18 Liturgische Psalmen* (for solo, choir, and organ; n.d.). Lewandowski also served as singing teacher at the Jewish Free School and the Jewish Teachers Seminary in Berlin. He rose slowly to a prominence which made him, in the last 20 years of his life, the greatest influence on Western Ashkenazi synagogal music for almost 50 years after his death. Although his recitatives were based mostly on tradition, the choral parts followed the style of Mendelssohn's oratorios and choruses, both in melodic idiom and harmonic structure. The adaptable musical and instrumental settings of his works allow them to be utilized by small ensembles and even by communities without an organ, yet at the same time suiting the large and prosperous centers which had spacious "temples" and professional synagogue choirs, grand organs, and musically trained *ḥazzanim*. Lewandowski's style was early transferred to the Conservative and moderate Reform congregations in the great urban communities of the United States.

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[Bathja Bayer]

LEWENTHAL, RAYMOND (1926–1988), U.S. pianist. Born in San Antonio, Texas, Lewenthal was taken to Hollywood as a child, where he began piano studies, continuing them later in New York with Olga Samaroff, and in Europe with Cortot. He made his American debut in 1948, followed by a period of busy concert giving, which ended in 1953 when he sustained fractures of the arm and hand as a result of being assaulted by thugs in New York. After spending some time in Europe and in Rio de Janeiro as a teacher, he returned to the United States in 1961, reestablishing himself as a brilliant virtuoso with a particular interest in the neglected repertoire of the 19th-century pianist-composers, above all of *Alkan, whose return to public interest was in many ways due to Lewenthal's advocacy (in concert, recordings, and editions published). He gave Liszt cycles in New York (1965, 1966) and London (1967).

[Max Loppert]

LEWI, MAURICE J. (1857–1957), U.S. physician and educator. Lewi held several positions in his native Albany as physician and educator, including that of professor of medical jurisprudence at the Albany Law School, before becoming secretary of the New York State Board of Medical Examiners in 1892, a position he held until 1913. In that same year, he became first president of the First Institute of Podiatry in New York City. The institute became the Long Island University College of Podiatry in 1948 and the New York College of Podiatry in 1955. Lewi edited *Text Book of Chiropody* (1914); *Surgery, With Special Reference to Podiatry* (1917); *Practical Podiatry* (1918); and *Foot Orthopaedics* (1927).

LEWIN, AARON BEN NATHAN OF RZESZOW (1879–1941), rabbi, author, and communal worker. When he was 15 years old, his talmudic novellae were published and, when he was 19, his sermons in *Davar be-Itto* (1899). At the age of 24, he was elected rabbi of Sambor. He subsequently refused invitations from several other communities. Accorded the title of *Kaiserlicher Rat* (crown councillor), he was able to render many services to the refugees of World War I who streamed into Vienna. In 1922 he was elected to the Polish Sejm as representative of the "Jewish bloc" and was a member of its cultural commission. An outstanding speaker, he captivated his audience with his brilliant style. He was one of the leaders of *Agudat Israel, and delivered the opening addresses at its conventions in 1929 and 1937. In 1926 he was elected rabbi of Rzeszow, succeeding his father. In 1931 he was again elected to the Polish Sejm, but in 1935, because of government pressure, he failed to obtain reelection. Lewin participated in every sphere of communal activity in Poland. When the Germans invaded Poland in World War II, he fled to Lemberg and then to Radzyn. He returned to Lemberg, where he was arrested by the Nazis and murdered. As well as his numerous communal activities, he was a prolific writer. In addition to *Davar be-Itto*, he published *Birkat Aharon*, on tractate *Berakhot* (1903); *Ha-Derash ve-ha-Iyyun* on Genesis (1927); on Exodus (1931); on Leviticus (1937); on Numbers (1939); responsa *Avnei Ḥefeẓ* (1934); and "Speeches in the Sejm" in Polish (1926). The second volume of *Avnei Ḥefeẓ* as well as *Ha-Derash ve-ha-Iyyun* on the end of Numbers and on Deuteronomy were lost in the Holocaust.

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[Itzhak Alfassi]

LEWIN, ADOLF (1843–1910), German rabbi and historian. Lewin, who was born in Pinne, Prussian Posen, studied in Breslau at the Jewish theological seminary and at the university there, obtaining his doctorate for the thesis *Die Makkabaeische Erhebung* (1870). He served as rabbi at Koschmin (from 1872), Coblenz (1878), and Freiburg im Breisgau (from 1885). Among Lewin's works are a prize-winning essay, "Die Religionsdisputation R. Jechiel von Paris…" (in MGWJ, 18, 1869); *Juden in Freiburg im Breisgau* (1890); and *Geschichte der badischen Juden* (1909). He contributed the section on the historical, geographical, and travel literature of the Jews in the rabbinic period to Jakob Winter and August Wuensche's well-known handbook *Die juedische Literatur seit Abschluss des Kanons* (in: 3, 1896, 287–473). In his many articles and book reviews for Jewish papers and periodicals, Lewin dealt with Jewish-Christian relations and antisemitism as well as with miscellaneous historical subjects.

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[Siegbert Neufeld]

LEWIN, BENJAMIN MANASSEH (1879–1944), rabbinic scholar, educator, and authority on geonic literature. Born in Gorodets, Russia, into a wealthy ḥasidic family and orphaned at an early age, Lewin studied at various yeshivot and for a time served in the Russian army. He came under the influence of A.I. *Kook, who was then rabbi at Bausk, Latvia, and served as a tutor in his house. When Kook left to become rabbi in Jaffa (1905), Lewin continued his studies at the Berlin Rabbinical Seminary and Berne University. In Berne he edited the journal for Jewish studies and Jewish religious thought *Taḥkemoni* (1910–11). In 1912 he went to Ereẓ Israel, where he served as a teacher and later as head of the religious schools network Neẓaḥ Yisra'el. He edited volumes 9–14 of Z. *Jawitz's *Toledot Yisrael* (1932–40) and the sixth volume (biblical period) of I. Halevy's *Dorot ha-Rishonim* (1939). He also founded the short-lived Alummah Society for Jewish Studies, for which he edited the publication *Alummah* (1936). Lewin's major and pioneering work was in the field of geonic studies, in particular his *Oẓar ha-Ge'onim* (13 vols., 1928–62), an arrangement – with notes, references, and indexes – of geonic responsa and commentaries in the order of the Talmud tractates (to *Bava Meẓia*). The material for this monumental work was scattered over many works and responsa collections, some retrieved from the Cairo **Genizah* treasures. Lewin also published a critical edition of Sherira Gaon's famous "Epistle on the origins of rabbinic tradition" (1921), and of the early *Ḥillufei Minhagim…* ("Differences of Custom Between Palestinian and Babylonian Jewries," 1937). He also reconstructed from *Genizah* material and early rabbinic literature parts of the lost *Sefer Metivot* (1934). Lewin contributed many articles on the geonic period in learned periodicals, and edited the five volumes of *Ginzei Kedem* (1922–34), devoted to geonic studies, the major part of the contributions being his own.

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LEWIN, GERSHON (1868–1939), physician and publicist in Yiddish and Hebrew. Son of a Lublin *ḥazzan*, Lewin graduated from the faculty of medicine of Warsaw University. In 1891 he joined the group around the writer I.L. *Peretz and, encouraged by the latter, was active in propagating popular Jewish culture among the assimilationists. He contributed to the newspaper *Haynt*, and published articles in *Ha-Ẓefirah* and *Ha-Ẓofeh*. Settling in Warsaw in 1895, he participated in Jewish public life and was a member of the executive committees of Ha-Zamir, the Yidishe Kultur-Gezelshaft, and the Jewish health organization *TOZ (Towarzystwo Ochrony Zdrowia). His published works include recollections of I.L. Peretz (1919); *In Velt Krig* (1923), his memoirs as a medical officer in World War I; *In di Alte Gute Tsaytn* (1925), memories of his youth; his reminiscences of Shalom Aleichem (1926); *Iberlebenishr, Epizodn un Ayndrukn fun Rusish-Yapanishn Krig* (1931), memoirs of a physician; and *Dos Bukh fun Mayn Lebn* (1937).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: J. Glatstein, *In Tokh Genumen*, 1 (1947), 213–23; J. Shatzky, *Geshikhte fun Yidn in Varshe*, 3 (1953), 275; LNYL, 5 (1963), 267–8.

[Arthur Cygielman]

LEWIN, JOSHUA HESHEL BEN ELIJAH ZE'EV HA-LEVI (1818–1883), Lithuanian talmudist and author. Lewin was born in Vilna and studied under Elijah *Ragoler. In his youth he was friendly with Mordecai Aaron Gunzberg, Samuel Joseph *Fuenn, and Julian Klaczko. In addition to his extensive talmudic learning, he acquired a knowledge of secular subjects. He married a granddaughter of Isaac b. Ḥayyim of Volozhin, in which town he took up residence. His opposition to the teaching methods at the yeshivah of Volozhin brought him into conflict with its heads, Eliezer Isaac and Eliezer's brother-in-law, Naphtali Ẓevi Judah *Berlin. Lewin had hoped to become head of the yeshivah and to make fundamental changes in its curriculum and direction. When his differences with Berlin were brought before the trustees of the yeshivah, however, they decided against Lewin, who thereupon felt compelled to leave Volozhin. Subsequently he lived an unsettled life. For a year he acted as rabbi of Praga (a suburb of Warsaw). After lecturing in various provincial towns on his new approach to the functions of the rabbi, he went to St. Petersburg and called a rabbinical conference where, with the participation of the *Society for the Promotion of Culture Among the Jews, the founding of Jewish elementary schools was discussed. From 1875 to 1876 he was the preacher at a synagogue in Minsk. Lewin was a supporter of the *Ḥibbat Zion movement, favored the establishment of an Orthodox rabbinical seminary, and initiated with the encouragement and participation of some of the most eminent rabbis of his day the publication of a rabbinic journal, *Peletat Soferim*, of which, however, only one issue appeared (1863). Articles not published in other pamphlets were published by Y. Raphael (see bibliography). In 1882 he succeeded Israel *Lipkin of Salant as rabbi of the Russian community in Paris, but died in the following year.

Lewin was the author of (1) glosses to the *Midrash Rabbah*, published with the commentary of Ze'ev Wolf Einhorn to *Genesis Rabbah* (1835); (2) *Mevasseret Ẓiyyon* (1866), prospectus to his book *Ẓiyyon Yehoshu'a*; (3) *Aliyyat Eliyahu* (1856), a biography of *Elijah b. Solomon, the *Gaon* of Vilna; (4) *Ẓiyyun Yehoshu'a* (1869), parallel passages in the Jerusalem Talmud which shed light on the Babylonian; (5) *Mareh Yehoshu'a* (1869), glosses to the Jerusalem Talmud; (6) *Tosefot Sheni le Ẓiyyon* (1886), passages from the Babylonian Talmud paralleling and clarifying passages in the Jerusalem Talmud; (7) *Davar be-Itto* (1878), a rabbinical anthology; (8) *Mizpeh Yehoshu'a*, an extract from his commentary on *Avot*, entitled *Ma'yenei Yehoshu'a*, was printed in the *Ru'aḥ Ḥayyim* (1859) of *Ḥayyim b. Isaac of Volozhin. His other works remain unpublished. Lewin also published the prayer book *Derekh ha-Ḥayyim* (1845) of Jacob *Lorbeerbaum of Lissa. His planned new edition of the Jerusalem Talmud to include the commentary of Moses b. Simeon *Margolioth (*Penei Moshe*) and his own *Mareh Yehoshu'a* was not realized (see **Ha-Maggid*, 3 (1859), no. 18).

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[Samuel Abba Horodezky]

LEWIN, JUDAH LEIB (1894–1971), Russian rabbi. Born in Yekaterinoslav, where his father, Eliezer Shemuel, was rabbi, Lewin studied at the Slobodka yeshivah. During World War I he became rabbi of the Ukrainian town Grishino (now Krasnoarmeisk, Ukraine), and later, for a short period, rabbi of his native Yekaterinoslav. Because of the high taxes imposed on religious clergy and conflicts with the leaders of the congregation, he gave up the rabbinate and, returning to Krasnoarmeisk, engaged in the work of a religious scribe for various Jewish communities, particularly in Georgia. In 1957, when Rabbi Solomon *Schliefer inaugurated the yeshivah in the Moscow Great Synagogue, Lewin was appointed principal. The head of the yeshivah was, according to official regulations, Rabbi Schliefer himself. Several months after Schliefer's death Lewin was appointed his successor, both as rabbi of the Great Synagogue and as head of the yeshivah. He did his best to fulfill his difficult task – to serve as semiofficial spokesman and apologist for the Soviet policy in matters of Judaism and at the same time to be a genuine spiritual leader to his congregation and refrain from acts and statements blatantly contradicting Jewish interests and the real sentiments of Soviet Jewry (as, e.g., condemning Israel's "aggression against the Arabs"). In spite of his age and poor health, he undertook a journey to the U.S. in 1968 at the invitation of the *American Council for Judaism. In February 1969 the Committee of the Great Synagogue in Moscow invited rabbis from Israel and Western countries to attend the celebration of Lewin's 75th birthday.

[Mordecai Chenzin]

LEWIN, KURT ZADEK (1890–1947), psychologist and author. Lewin, who was born in Mogilno, Germany, was professor of psychology at the University of Berlin until 1932 when he foresaw the rise of the Nazi regime and went to the United States. He taught at Stanford, Cornell, and Iowa universities (1935–45) and organized and directed the research center for group dynamics at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (1945–47). Lewin was considered one of the most original psychologists of his generation. He was a pioneer in group dynamics; he introduced field theory, and his writings on the nature of causation all were innovations. From his earlier collaboration with the Gestalt school he moved to problems affecting group life. In his books *Principles of Topological Psychology* (1936), *The Conceptional Representation and Measurement of Psychological Forces* (1938), he tried to develop a systematic theory of psychology by a mathematical description of behavior in a "life space," using vectors, geometry, and topology to interpret psychological situations. Lewin applied his dynamic theories to Jewish psychosocial needs. Zionism was to him a sociological necessity. He contended that to belong, develop normally, and have contact with nature, the Jews must have their own country. He visited Palestine several times. He accepted a chair at the Hebrew University, to organize its department of psychology, but the plan did not materialize because of lack of laboratory funds. He then devoted himself to research on the problems of Jewish maladjustment and self-acceptance as a member of a minority group. In 1945 he established the Commission on Community Interrelations of the American Jewish Congress, a research action program to combat antisemitism. He also planned to organize an international Jewish institute of action-research. He outlined plans for a United Nations' international organization of group dynamics. Lewin was associated with Jewish educational work all his life. His philosophy was that "an early buildup of a clear and positive feeling of belongingness to the Jewish group is one of the few effective things that Jewish parents can do for the later happiness of their children. In this way parents can minimize the ambiguity and the tension inherent in the situation of the Jewish minority group, and thus counteract various forms of maladjustment resulting therefrom." In addition to his numerous papers and 70 experimental studies published with his students, Lewin's principal works include *A Dynamic Theory of Personality* (1935); *Field Theory in Social Science* (1951); and "Bringing up the Jewish Child," in *The Menorah Journal*, 28 (1940), 29–45.

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[Menachem M. Brayer]

LEWIN, LOUIS (1868–1941), German rabbi and historian. Lewin, who was born in Znin (province of Posen (Poznan), Poland), graduated from the Berlin Rabbinical Seminary. He served as rabbi in several communities of his native province and neighboring Silesia such as Inowroclaw (Hohensalza), Pinne, Kempen, and Kattowitz (1905–25), and as head of a boarding school in Breslau (1925–37). In 1937 he settled in Palestine. Lewin made important contributions to the history of the Jews in Germany and Poland. He published *Aus der Vergangenheit der juedischen Gemeinde Pinne* (1903); *Geschichte der Juden in Lissa* (1904); and *Die Landessynode der grosspolnischen Judenschaft* (1926). Lewin's numerous studies on local history appeared in learned and regional periodicals. He also contributed articles to the history of Jewish physicians "Juedische Aerzte in Grosspolen" (in JJLG, 9, 1911, 367–420). His valuable library, including many manuscripts, passed to Yeshiva University, New York.

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[Israel Halpern]

LEWIN, NATHAN (1936–), one of America's most highly acclaimed federal trial and appellate court litigators and the Orthodox Jewish community's foremost advocate on legal and legislative issues since the 1970s. Lewin was born in Lodz, Poland, and arrived in the United States, via Japan, in 1941. His grandfather was the chief rabbi of Rzeszow while serving as a member of the Polish legislature (Sejm), and his father, Dr. Isaac Lewin, was the youngest member of the Lodz City Council in pre-war Poland, as well as a renowned activist in efforts to rescue European Jewry from the Holocaust.

Prior to entering private practice, Lewin held a series of high-level positions in the Kennedy and Johnson administrations. Lewin argued 12 cases in the United States Supreme Court while in government service and another 15 in private practice. He was law clerk to Chief Judge J. Edward Lumbard of the United States Court of Appeals for the Second Circuit, and to Associate Justice John M. Harlan of the Supreme Court of the United States.

Lewin graduated *summa cum laude* from Yeshiva College and *magna cum laude* from Harvard Law School, where he was treasurer of the Harvard Law Review. He taught at major national American law schools and regularly contributed to leading publications on constitutional issues. Lewin was involved in the work of a broad array of significant Jewish organizations including serving as president of the Jewish Community Council of Greater Washington (1982–1984); as the national vice president for more than 30 years of the National Jewish Commission on Law and Public Affairs (COLPA), and as president of the American Section of the International Association of Jewish Lawyers and Jurists from 1991 to 1997.

Lewin was the principal architect of the principle that the right of members of religious minorities to a reasonable accommodation of their religious practices is an aspect of freedom of religion. Through his efforts, which included litigation, filing *amicus curiae* briefs on behalf of the Orthodox community and drafting proposed legislation and administrative regulations, that notion now ordinarily permits observant Jews to fully participate in American society, even when their religious practices conflict with standard societal practices. In addition to the substantive results realized by the religious Jewish community, his expertise and commitment are generally credited with enabling the Orthodox community to pursue its own interests in its own way, without having to rely on secular Jewish advocates and groups with different perspectives.

Thus, Lewin brought lawsuits on behalf of Sabbath observers who were discriminated against in private employment because of the restrictions on their availability; on behalf of military chaplains who were denied the right to wear religiously motivated beards; on behalf of an Air Force psychologist who was denied the right to wear a *yarmulke* while on duty; and on behalf of Jewish prisoners who were denied kosher food. He also drafted the provision of the federal Civil Rights Act enacted in 1972 that protects religious observances of private employees, the provision of federal law that enables federal employees to observe religious holidays without financial penalty, the provision of New York's Domestic Relations Law that conditions the issuance of a civil divorce on removal of barriers to remarriage, such as the delivery or acceptance of a Jewish religious divorce, and the provision of federal law that entitles servicemen to wear *yarmulkes*. He also drafted *amicus curiae* briefs in dozens of cases in the United States Supreme Court involving these and related issues.

Lewin defended the process of kosher slaughter in court and the constitutionality of New Jersey's and New York's kosher enforcement law. He has also defended against constitutional challenge the right of communities in New Jersey and New York to construct an *eruv*. He also won a federal appeal entitling the Young Israel of Bal Harbour, Florida, to conduct services, over the opposition of local zoning authorities.

Lewin won in the Supreme Court the right of Lubavitch to maintain a Ḥanukkah *menorah* on public property, and was the attorney for the Satmar community of *Kiryas Joel in defense of a law creating a special public school district for handicapped children in that community. Lewin also represented the Williamsburg ḥasidic community in the Supreme Court in its constitutional challenge in 1976 to a racially conscious legislative reapportionment, urging a rule of constitutional law that the Supreme Court accepted 20 years later.

Lewin initiated the first lawsuit under the federal Anti-Terrorism Act of 1992, giving American citizens who are the victims of terror a right to collect damages from those responsible for terrorist acts, which served as the basis for the legal liability of financers of terror. He also secured the right of an Egyptian Jewish family to sue Coca-Cola for occupying and assuming ownership of the family's property and buildings in Cairo nationalized during the Nasser regime.

Apart from his Jewish-oriented activities, Lewin is also known for his representation of Attorney General Edwin Meese, former President Richard M. Nixon, and various United States congressmen.

[Dennis Rapps (2nd ed.)]

LEWIN-EPSTEIN, ELIAHU ZE'EV (1863–1932), Ereẓ Israel leader. Born in Vilkaviskis (Russian Lithuania), the son of a prosperous bookseller, Lewin-Epstein joined Ḥovevei Ẓion after the 1881 Warsaw pogrom and was one of the founders of the Warsaw *Benei Moshe. Together with Z. *Gluskin, he established the Menuḥah ve-Naḥalah society whose aim was to establish an agricultural settlement in Ereẓ Israel financed by the settlers themselves that would serve as a model in its efficiency and leadership. He was sent by the society to deal with the purchase of land and the establishment of the settlement, called *Reḥovot (1890), and during its early years he was its spiritual leader and head of the settlement committee. One of the founders of the Carmel Society for the marketing of the wine produced in the Ereẓ Israel settlements he visited the U.S. on its behalf and there served as a director of the *United HIAS Service and treasurer of both the Federation of American Zionists and the Provisional Zionist Committee which organized the relief work for the *yishuv* in Palestine in World War I. Lewin-Epstein then settled permanently in Palestine, where he served as a member of the Zionist Commission in 1919. He frequently traveled to the U.S., England, and Germany to promote Palestine Jewish interests. His memoirs, *Zikhronotai*, appeared in 1932.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: D. Idelovitch (ed.), *Rishon le-Ẓiyyon* (Heb., 1941), 304–8; M. Smilansky, *Reḥovot* (Heb., 1950); Tidhar, 1 (1947), 78; S.S. Wise, *Challenging Years* (1949), index.

[Yehuda Slutsky]

LEWINSKY, ELHANAN LEIB (1857–1910), Hebrew writer and Zionist leader. Born in Podberezye, Russia, Lewinsky, like many others of his generation, was swept up by the Haskalah movement in his youth and turned to secular studies, including Russian. Roaming from town to town in the Russian Pale, he supported himself by giving private lessons. In 1880 he registered at the University of Kharkov, but after the pogroms of 1881 he traveled to Palestine and came back an ardent Zionist. He became an active propagandist and organizer of Ḥovevei Zion groups, settled in Odessa, and befriended its circle of Hebrew writers. In 1889 he joined the *Benei Moshe society founded by *Aḥad Ha-Am. He wrote the Zionist utopia "*Massa le-Ereẓ Yisrael bi-Shenat Tat la-Elef ha-Ḥamishi*" in: *Pardes*, 1 (1892), 128–72. In 1896 he became representative of the Palestinian "Carmel" wine company in Russia, and on his travels through various Russian communities, he combined Zionist propaganda with his occupation as distributor of wines from Palestine. He was the moving spirit behind much of the Jewish community work in Odessa. He was one of the founders of the Moriah publishing house, served as treasurer and preacher in the Zionist synagogue, Yavneh, and supported various literary enterprises. He was one of the founders of Ivriyyah, a movement for the revival of the Hebrew language, and also published the first Yiddish daily paper in Odessa, *Gut Morgen* (1910). He gained his place in Hebrew literature through his popular feuilletons. His first articles in this style were published in *Ha-Meliẓ* in 1891–92. Subsequently, they appeared in *Ha-Ẓofeh, Ha-Ẓefirah* in Hebrew, and in *Gut Morgen* under the pseudonym Darshan Zaken ("Old Preacher") in Yiddish. His most important feuilletons appear in *Ha-Shiloaḥ*, 1–23 (1897–1910) under the title *Maḥashavot u-Ma'asim* ("Thoughts and Actions") and under the pseudonym Rabbi Karov. The high standard of the journal impelled Lewinsky to improve and polish his feuilletons so that although they deal with passing affairs of his day, they have retained their literary value. They are marked by good-natured humor, perceptive response to current events, and extensive use of material drawn from the Midrash and from Jewish folklore. His works were published posthumously in three volumes (1911–13), edited by Ḥ.N. Bialik, J. Klausner, and J.Ḥ. Rawnitzky. The Lewinsky Teachers Seminary in Tel Aviv (originally situated in Jaffa) is named after him.

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[Yehuda Slutsky]

LEWINSKY, YOM-TOV (1899–1973), Hebrew writer. Born in Zambrow, Poland, Lewinsky settled in Ereẓ Israel in 1935, where he taught for ten years, and then joined the Devir publishing house. A founder of Yeda Am (1942), the folklore society, he remained one of its leaders, and, from 1948, editor of its publication, *Yeda Am*. In the 1920s Lewinsky began writing, in Yiddish and Hebrew, on current as well as historical subjects. In Ereẓ Israel he engaged primarily in the study of Jewish folklore over the ages and published articles on this subject in most of the newspapers and periodicals. His books are *Keiẓad Ḥikku et Haman bi-Tefuẓot Yisrael?* (1947); a memorial book for the communities of *Lomza (1952) and *Zambrow

(1963); *Sefer ha-Mo'adim* (1956 and after, completion of vol. 2 and editing of vols. 3–8; a series of books on the Jewish festivals containing a wealth of material from various sources); *Haggadah shel Pesaḥ* (1960, versions of the **Haggadah* from different Jewish communities, with explanations and commentary); and an encyclopedia of Jewish tradition, customs, and folklore (2 vols., 1970).

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[Getzel Kressel]

LEWINSTEIN, JOSEPH BEN ABRAHAM ABUSH (b. 1840), Polish rabbi. Born in Lublin, Lewinstein was rabbi in Chorzele from 1860 to 1868, in Zaklikow from 1868 to 1878, and from 1878 in Serock. He engaged in genealogical and biographical studies and published many articles in this field in *Ha-Ẓefirah, Ha-Goren, Ha-Eshkol*, etc., as well as supplements to the works of other authors (Buber's *Anshei Shem*; Feinstein's *Ir Tehillah*; Riedenstein's *Ir Gibborim*; and Nissenbaum's *Le-Korot ha-Yehudim be-Lublin*). He also corresponded with numerous Jewish scholars in Eastern and Western Europe. He was the author of *Dor Dor ve-Doreshav* (Warsaw, 1900), on the anniversaries of the deaths of outstanding Jewish personalities from ancient times to his own. In addition he published two works by his ancestor Abraham Abush b. Ẓevi of Lissa, both of which he entitled *Birkat Avraham* (Warsaw, 1881 and 1884, respectively). The first consists of novellae to *Eruvin, Pesaḥim, Beẓah, Ḥagigah*, and *Mo'ed Katan* and has an appendix by Lewinstein himself; the second is a commentary on Genesis and on *Avot*.

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[Samuel Abba Horodezky]

LEWIS, (Joseph) ANTHONY (1927–), U.S. journalist. Born in New York City and educated at the Horace Mann School and Harvard (B.A., 1948), Lewis was on the staff at the *New York Times* from 1948 to 1952. He worked briefly as a researcher at the Democratic National Committee in 1952, and was a reporter for the *Washington Daily News* from 1952 to 1955. In 1955 he rejoined the *New York Times*, for which he covered the Justice Department and the Supreme Court. From 1965 until 1972 he was the chief of the *Times*' London bureau, and from 1969 until his retirement at the end of 2001 he wrote one of the most widely read newspaper columns in the country for the *Times*' Op-Ed page.

Lewis won the Pulitzer Prize for national reporting twice, in 1955 and in 1963. Although never formally trained in the law (except for a year at the Harvard Law School as a Nieman Fellow in 1956–57), he lectured on legal issues and the press at Harvard from 1974 to 1989, and elsewhere as a guest lecturer. From 1983 he was a visiting professor at Columbia University's Graduate School of Journalism. He has also been a frequent contributor to the *New York Review of Books*. Lewis' wife, Margaret Marshall, the chief justice of the Massachusetts Supreme Judicial Court, wrote the majority opinion in the 2003 ruling that legalized gay marriage in that state.

As a journalist, the focus of Lewis' interest was on issues of civil liberties, particularly First Amendment (freedom of speech) issues. He won his first Pulitzer for reporting on the Cold War-era federal loyalty program, specifically about a government employee who had been dismissed as a security risk without having been afforded due process (Lewis' articles led to his reinstatement). His second was for reporting on Supreme Court decisions in civil rights cases. He published three books: *Gideon's Trumpet* (1964), the history of the 1962 Supreme Court ruling that all criminal defendants must be provided with an attorney if they cannot afford to hire one; *Portrait of a Decade: The Second American Revolution* (1964), about the civil rights movement and the law in the years after the *Brown v. Board of Education* ruling; and *Make No Law: The Sullivan Case and the First Amendment* (1992), about a landmark case involving freedom of speech, libel, and the press, decided by the Supreme Court in 1964. *Gideon's Trumpet* and *Make No Law* are both regarded as classics of their kind and are frequently used as college texts.

[Drew Silver (2nd ed.)]

LEWIS, SIR AUBREY JULIAN (1900–1975), psychiatrist. Born in Adelaide, Australia, he first became a physician and then, in 1929, a psychiatrist. He studied in the United States under Adolf Meyer. He continued his studies in Germany and obtained a research grant at Maudsley psychiatric hospital in London, where he was appointed clinical director in 1936. During World War II, Lewis worked with military patients and served on service psychiatry committees. He was a member of the Medical Research Council's brain injuries committee and prepared a report for the council on neurosis in wartime. In 1943 he was appointed civilian consultant to the Royal Air Force. In 1946 Maudsley hospital was designated a university teaching center and Lewis was appointed professor. He wrote extensively on diverse topics. His contributions on depression and obsessional states were widely recognized. He also wrote on postcontusional states of the brain "Discussion on Differential Diagnosis and Treatment of Post Contusional States" (1942), and on effort syndrome and postoperative conditions. Lewis maintained that psychiatry should be an integral part of medicine and stressed the potential contribution of the social scientist to psychiatry. He explored many socio-medical and social-psychiatric problems such as aging, occupational adjustment, and public attitudes to mental illness. He contributed to the literature of psychiatric genetics and the history of psychiatry. An example of the latter is "Letter from Britain" (1953). He was knighted in 1959. Among his books were *Inquiries in Psychiatry* (1967), and a collection of essays and lectures *The State of Psychiatry* (1967). Lewis was among the first psychiatrists in Britain given significant positions and honors by mainstream medicine. Thus, in 1952, he became the first psychiatrist appointed to Britain's Medical Research Council.

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[Louis Miller]

LEWIS, BERNARD (1916–), British-born historian of Islamic studies. Lewis received his Ph.D. from the University of London (1939), then served in the British army and was attached later to a department of the Foreign Office. He was professor of history of the Near and Middle East at the School of Oriental and African Studies in the University of London (1949–1974). Subsequently, he was appointed professor in the Cleveland E. Dodge Chair of Near Eastern Studies at Princeton University and a long-term member of the Institute for Advanced Study. He retired from Princeton and the IAS in 1986.

Lewis received many academic prizes and was awarded 15 honorary degrees. His studies have been translated into more than 25 languages. Most deal with Islamic history, chiefly Arab and Turkish, although he also translated poetry from Hebrew, Arabic, Turkish, and Persian into English and served as editor of the second edition of the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*. Among his numerous books are *The Arabs in History* (1950); *The Emergence of Modern Turkey* (1961); *The Muslim Discovery of Europe* (1982); *The Jews of Islam* (1984); *Semites and Antisemites* (1986); *The Political Language of Islam* (1988); *Islam and the West* (1993); *Cultures in Conflict: Christians, Muslims and Jews in the Age of Discovery* (1995); *The Multiple Identities of the Middle East* (1998); *Music from a Distant Drum* (2001); *What Went Wrong: Western Impact and Middle Eastern Response* (2002); *The Crisis of Islam: Holy War and Unholy Terror* (2003); and *From Babel to Dragomans: Interpreting the Middle East* (2004).

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[Norman Itzkowitz / Jacob M. Landau (2nd ed.)]

LEWIS, DAVID (1909–1981), Canadian lawyer and socialist politician. Lewis was born in Svisloch, Belorussia. His father, Morris, was an active member of the *Bund and maintained his involvement after the family immigrated to Montreal in 1921. In 1931 Lewis earned a B.A. from McGill and won a Rhodes scholarship to Oxford, where he became president of the Oxford Union. On his return to Montreal he was admitted to the Quebec Bar and became a founder of the largely western-based social democratic Cooperative Commonwealth Federation (CCF). He became the party's national secretary in 1936 and for many years the party's sole paid employee. Through the 1940s he ran for a seat in the House of Commons but was defeated on each occasion. In a 1943 by-election in Montreal's Cartier riding he lost to Fred *Rose, who became Canada's first and only Communist member of Parliament.

Lewis resigned as national secretary of the CCF in 1950 and moved to Toronto to practice law. He became legal advisor to several major unions including the United Steel Workers of America's Canadian division, and assisted the union in its battles with the Communist-led Mine, Mill union. But he also remained active in the CCF. He was successively vice chairman, chairman, and president of the CCF. He also helped organize the New Democratic Party (NDP), the more urban-based successor to the CCF, and in 1962 won a seat in the House of Commons for the NDP in a Toronto riding and represented the NDP in Parliament from 1965 to 1974. In 1971 he was chosen leader of the NDP, the first Jewish leader of a major Canadian political party, and in the 1972 election became head of the 31-member NDP caucus which held the balance of power between the governing Liberals and the opposition Conservatives. He propped up the Liberals, holding them to a very progressive legislative agenda. Lewis was defeated in the 1974 election and stepped down as NDP leader and took up a teaching post at Carleton University in Ottawa.

Lewis was active in Jewish affairs and was vice president of the Jewish Labor Committee of Canada, sat on several Canadian Jewish Congress committees, and was on the board of the Canadian Council of Christians and Jews. Although raised in a Bundist home, Lewis warmed to Zionism and the State of Israel after the Holocaust. He helped forge good relations between the Canadian labour movement and Israel. Lewis was honored with the Order of Canada, Canada's highest civilian award.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: D. Lewis, *The Good Fight: Political Memoirs, 1909–1958* (1981); C. Smith, *Unfinished Business: The Lewis Family* (1989).

[Ben G. Kayfetz]

LEWIS, SIR GEORGE (1833–1911), English lawyer. Born in London, Lewis entered his father's firm of solicitors in 1856 and became prominent as an advocate in the London police courts. He appeared in a series of celebrated criminal trials in the latter half of the 19th century and acquired a particularly large practice in financial and libel cases. Noted for his complete discretion, he represented many society figures in divorce and libel proceedings. His clients included such famous figures and litigants as Sir Alfred Douglas, Charles Lawes (of the celebrated libel case Belt vs. Lawes), Adolph Beck, and George Archer-Shee. He was a close friend of the Prince of Wales, and was knighted in 1893 and made a baronet in 1902. Lewis was a prominent advocate of criminal law reform.

ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY: ODNB online.

LEWIS, HYMAN (**Chaim**; 1911–), author and journalist. Born in London, Lewis edited Jewish periodicals in England and South Africa. Although he wrote verse, Lewis was mainly known for his autobiographical novel, *A Soho Address* (1965), which presents a vivid picture of his Orthodox family and of Jewish immigrant life in London between the world wars. In later life Lewis lived in South Africa, and published a book of poetry, *From Soho to Jerusalem*, in 2000.

LEWIS, I.M. (1930–), social anthropologist. Born in Glasgow, Scotland, Ioan Myrddin Lewis was educated at the University of Glasgow and at Oxford University, where he received a diploma in social anthropology in 1952, a B.Litt. in 1953, and a D.Phil. in 1957. He worked as a research assistant at the Royal Institute of International Affairs in London in 1954 and 1955, then as a lecturer in African Studies at the University College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland in Salisbury, Southern Rhodesia (now the University of Zimbabwe), from 1957 to 1960. Lewis returned to the University of Glasgow as a lecturer in social anthropology from 1960 to 1963, and he became a lecturer in anthropology at the University of London in 1963. From 1982 Lewis was professor of anthropology at the London School of Economics and Political Science and served as honorary director of the International African Institute, eventually becoming professor emeritus of anthropology at the London School of Economics.

Lewis wrote many significant works on African religious and cultural systems, including *Peoples of the Horn of Africa: Somali, Afar, and Saho* (1955); *Pastoral Democracy: A Study of Pastoralism and Politics among the Northern Somali of the Horn of Africa* (1961); *A Modern History of Somalia* (1988); *Blood and Bone: The Call of Kinship in Somali Society* (1994); and *Saints and Somalis: Popular Islam in a Clan-Based Society* (1998).

Lewis's 1971 work, *Ecstatic Religion: An Anthropological Study of Spirit Possession and Shamanism*, became a classic text in university departments of anthropology, sociology, religion, and psychology. Lewis explored in this work the social functions of the notion of spirit possession, as well as the psychological foundations of ecstatic experience, suggesting connections between shamanism and psychoanalysis.

Lewis served as a member of numerous professional organizations, including the International African Institute, the Royal Anthropological Institute, the Anglo-Somali Society, and the Association of Social Anthropologists of the British Commonwealth. He was a Colonial Social Science research fellow in the Somaliland Protectorate from 1955 to 1957, a Carnegie visiting fellow in the Republic of Somalia in 1962, and a British Academy fellow in 1986. In addition to his many books, he contributed to numerous publications, including the *Journal of Modern African Studies*, and he served as the editor of the *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* (formerly published as *Man*) from 1968 to 1972.

[Dorothy Bauhoff (2nd ed.)]

LEWIS, JERRY (**Joseph Levitch**; 1926–), U.S. comedian. Born in Newark, New Jersey, Lewis started his career at 14 and joined Dean Martin to form a successful comedy team. Together they made 16 films and appeared extensively in nightclubs and on television. Their films include *My Friend Irma Goes West* (1950), *At War with the Army* (1950), *Sailor Beware* (1951), *That's My Boy* (1951), *The Stooge* (1953), *The Caddy* (1953), *Living It Up* (1954), *You're Never Too Young* (1955), *Artists and Models* (1955), and *Hollywood or Bust* (1956). After parting from Martin in 1956, Lewis became a successful comedian on his own, and wrote, directed, produced, and appeared in many films. Lewis starred in such films as *The Delicate Delinquent* (1957), *The Sad Sack* (1957), *The Geisha Boy* (1958), *Don't Give up the Ship* (1959), *Visit to a Small Planet* (1960), *The Bellboy* (1960), *Cinderfella* (1960), *The Ladies' Man* (1961), *The Errand Boy* (1961), *It's Only Money* (1962), *The Nutty Professor* (1963), *Who's Minding the Store?* (1963), *The Disorderly Orderly* (1964), *The Patsy* (1964), *The Family Jewels* (1965), *Boeing/Boeing* (1965), *Three on a Couch* (1966), *The Big Mouth* (1967), *Hardly Working* (1980), *Cracking Up* (1983), *The King of Comedy* (1983), *Arizona Dream* (1993), and *Funny Bones* (1995).

In addition to his many television appearances, Lewis had his own variety show, *The Jerry Lewis Show,* from 1967 to 1969. He made his Broadway debut playing the role of the Devil in a revival of the musical *Damn Yankees* (1994–95). In 1995 he won a Theatre World Special Award for his performance. Some of Lewis' other honors include the French Legion of Honor (1984) and the Lifetime Achievement Award in Comedy from the American Comedy Awards (1998). In 1997 he was nominated for the Nobel Peace Prize for his 50 years of raising money to fight muscular dystrophy. In what was to become an annual Labor Day event, Lewis held his first benefit concert for muscular dystrophy at Carnegie Hall in June 1955. The 16-hour show was broadcast on the radio and raised $600,000 for the Muscular Dystrophy Association. In 1966 his first televised MDA benefit was aired over the Labor Day weekend on a TV station in New York City; the 21-hour show raised more than $1 million in pledges. In 1998, his star-studded appeal made history as the first telethon seen around the world via Internet simulcast.

Lewis wrote *The Total Film-Maker* (1971), *Instruction Book for … Being a Person* (1981), and *Jerry Lewis, in Person* (with H. Gluck, 1982).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: P. Lewis, *I Laffed Till I Cried: Thirty-Six Years of Marriage to Jerry Lewis* (1993)

[Jonathan Licht / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

LEWIS, LEOPOLD DAVIS (1828–1890), English playwright. The son of a London physician, Levy's grisly melodrama, *The Bells*, made famous by Sir Henry Irving's London production of 1871, was an English adaptation of *Le Juif polonais* (1862), by the French writers Erckmann-Chatrian. A London lawyer, Lewis also wrote other plays, including *The Wandering Jew* (1873), and a collection of short stories, *A Peal of Merry Bells* (1880).

ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY: ODNB online.

LEWIS, OSCAR (1914–1970), U.S. anthropologist. Born in New York City, Lewis was a research associate at Yale (1942–43), a propaganda analyst for the U.S. Department of Justice (1943), and a social scientist in the Department of Agriculture (1944–45). He also taught at various institutions, and, from 1948, at the University of Illinois. Lewis' chief interests were in the fields of cultural change and applied anthropology. His particular contribution was the application of the anthropological method to the study of the urban family unit, especially among poverty-stricken Mexicans and Puerto Ricans. In this connection he originated the idea of the "culture of poverty," a concept that achieved wide currency in the 1960s, a decade of profound social and racial turmoil when the problem of the urban poor became a primary governmental concern. In his research, Lewis made wide use of tape recordings to take down the case histories and reactions of his subjects. His study of a poor family in Mexico City, published as *The Children of Sanchez* (1961), achieved wide popularity both among sociologists and the general reading public. His other books include *Five Families: Mexican Case Studies in the Culture of Poverty* (1959); *Pedro Martinez: A Mexican Peasant and his Family* (1964); and *La Vida: A Puerto-Rican Family in the Culture of Poverty, San Juan and New York* (1966).

[Ephraim Fischoff]

LEWIS, PETER B. (1933–), U.S. businessman and philanthropist. Lewis grew up in Cleveland Heights, Ohio, and graduated from Princeton University in 1955. Upon graduation he began work at Progressive, the insurance firm owned by his father, Joseph Lewis, who had died that year, and partner Jack Green. The company then had 40 employees. At the age of 31, Lewis bought out his father's partner and became chief executive officer of the company. Under his leadership Progressive became the third largest insurance company in the United States. Since resigning as CEO in 2000 (he remained chairman of the board of trustees), Lewis was best known for his philanthropy in education, the arts, and politics, occasionally disagreeing publicly with the very institutions he supports. He and architect Frank *Gehry worked together on several of Lewis' philanthropic efforts, including buildings at both Case Western Reserve University and Princeton University. Lewis was a major donor to the Guggenheim Museum and, as of 2005, was the largest single contributor to the American Civil Liberties Union. He supported Jewish community efforts in both Cleveland and Florida. With George *Soros, he contributed to MoveOn.org, a grass roots political group which unsuccessfully tried to elect a Democratic candidate to the U.S. presidency in 2004.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: C. Dettelbach, "Peter B. Lewis Tells It Like It Is," in: *The Cleveland Jewish News*, 85:3 (July 19, 2002), 24); History of Progressive, http://www.progressive.com/progressive/history.asp; S. Litt, "This Lone Ranger Has Nothing to Hide: Peter B. Lewis, Progressive Corporation Chairman Has Strong Views on Art, Philanthropy, and the City of Cleveland," in: *The Plain Dealer* (Sept. 29, 2002, p. A1).

LEWIS, SAMUEL (1838–1901), British moneylender and philanthropist. Lewis was born in Birmingham, the son of an impoverished dealer, and originally worked as a peddler. He eventually became a successful salesman in jewelry, and from the late 1860s lived in London. In 1869 he began as a moneylender, specializing in making loans to aristocrats and landowners in embarrassing circumstances, often as they awaited their inheritance. From his office in Mayfair, London, Lewis became one of the most prominent moneylenders of his time, known for providing legitimate loans to Britain's aristocrats at competitive rates, often with conditions more favorable than commercial banks. Unlike many moneylenders, he was widely respected for his integrity and discretion, and even moved as an equal in upper class circles. While he attracted his share of hostility, remarkably little appears to have been antisemitic, and his sharpest critic was the Jewish solicitor Sir George *Lewis. At his death Lewis left the vast sum of £2.6 million, one of the largest British fortunes of the time. He and his wife, Ada (d. 1906), were among the greatest philanthropists of their time, giving away over £3 million and founding the well-known Samuel Lewis Trust houses, cheaply rented flats for the working classes.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: ODNB online; G. Black, *Lender to the Lords; Giver to the Poor* (1992).

[William D. Rubinstein (2nd ed.)]

LEWIS, SAMUEL ALEXANDER (1831–1913), U.S. politician and philanthropist. Lewis was born in London, but at the age of six months was brought to the United States. He first devoted himself to business and was so successful that he was able to retire in 1862 and thereafter devoted himself to public life, his first appointment being as school commissioner of New York, of what were then the Ninth and Sixteenth wards, in 1868. In 1874 he was elected alderman-at-large and later, in the same year, president of the aldermanic board, and was reelected in 1876. During this period he served as acting mayor of New York City for six months. In 1877 he declined an invitation to accept nomination as mayor on the Democratic ticket.

Lewis was one of the founders of the Jews' Hospital of New York (now Mt. Sinai Hospital).

LEWIS, SHARI (**Phyllis Hurwitz**; 1934–1998), U.S. ventriloquist, singer, dancer, musician, writer. For all her many accomplishments, Lewis is best known in connection with her longtime colleague Lamb Chop, a sock puppet. Lewis was born in New York City. Her father, Abraham Hurwitz, was a founding member of New York's Yeshiva University. He also played a significant role in his daughter's dramatic capabilities – Lewis began her career in entertainment at age 13, performing magic acts with Jewish content that her father had taught her. Lewis attended New York's High School of Music and Art and also studied at the American School of Ballet. She completed one year at Columbia University before dropping out to begin her career as a performer. In 1952, Lewis came in first for her puppetry on Arthur Godfrey's *Talent Scouts* television show. By 1960, *The Shari Lewis Show* was on the air and she and Lamb Chop were well on their way to becoming two of America's most beloved television characters. Lewis always focused on providing young children with educational and moral content. In addition to her work on television, she wrote more than 30 books and sold thousands of videos. In 1994, PBS revived her original television concept and *Lamb Chop's Play-Along* was back on the air. Of the 12 Emmys that she won throughout her career, five were awarded for the show in its final, revived version. Lewis was diagnosed with uterine cancer in 1998 and died of pneumonia while under treatment.

[Casey Schwartz (2nd ed.)]

LEWIS, STEPHEN (1937–), Canadian politician, diplomat, humanitarian. Lewis was born in Ottawa but raised in Toronto in a political family. Stephen's Polish-born father, David *Lewis, was national secretary of the social democratic CCF Party and an architect of its successor, the New Democratic Party (NDP). From an early age, Stephen was immersed in politics. Dropping out of university he left for England to work for the Socialist International before setting out on two years of travel through Africa. He returned to Canada to help build the newly formed NDP and in 1963, at only 25, Lewis was elected to the Ontario legislature. A riveting and passionate speaker, Lewis was elected head of the provincial NDP in 1970. After a disappointing election in 1971, he dominated the 1975 campaign, winning many first-time party supporters. Elected leader of the Opposition, he forced the minority Conservative government to introduce major social reforms including legislated rent control and workplace safety. When the NDP did not make gains in the 1978 elections Lewis resigned as party leader.

He worked for several years as a labor relations arbitrator and media personality, often speaking out on issues of human rights, the environment, education, health care, and children's advocacy before beginning a new career as a diplomat and international human rights advocate. In 1984 Lewis was appointed Canadian ambassador to the United Nations by Conservative Prime Minister Brian Mulroney, a position Lewis held until 1988. While he was ambassador to the UN, the secretary-general of the United Nations appointed him as his special advisor on Africa to aid in "the mobilization of the international community," and he chaired the committee that drafted a five-year UN Programme on African Economic Recovery. From 1995 to 1999 he served as deputy director of UNICEF. In 1998 Lewis was also appointed by the Organization for African Unity to a panel of "Eminent Personalities" investigating the Rwanda genocide. After years speaking out on behalf of those stricken with HIV/AIDS, he became the United Nations secretary-general's special envoy for HIV/AIDS in Africa and was a tireless advocate for those suffering from the pandemic.

Lewis also heads the Stephen Lewis Foundation, a Canada-based charitable foundation that helps HIV/AIDS victims in Africa. He married journalist Michele *Landsberg.

[Harold Troper (2nd ed.)]

LEWIS, TED (**Gershon Mendeloff**; "Kid," "Aldgate Sphinx"; 1894–1970), U.S. boxer, world welterweight champion 1915–16, 1917–19; member of the Ring Boxing Hall of Fame and International Boxing Hall of Fame. One of the greatest English fighters, Lewis was born the fourth of eight children to Solomon, a poor Russian immigrant cabinetmaker in London's East End, dropping out of school at 12 to help the family with its income. Lewis began his professional career as a bantamweight on September 13, 1909, six weeks before his 15th birthday, hence the nickname "Kid." He fought for two decades in six weight classes, and he fought often – in 1941 alone he fought 58 times, losing only 3, and 39 more times in 1912 with only 4 losses. While it is difficult to gauge the exact number of fights Lewis fought, boxrec.com accounts for 302, with Lewis winning 230 including 80 by knockout, losing 43, and drawing 22, with seven no-contests. Overall Lewis fought an estimated 400 fights. On October 6, 1913, Lewis won the British featherweight title, and he became the world welterweight champion at 21 with a win over Jack Britton on August 31, 1915. Lewis and Britton had one of the 20th century's greatest ring rivalries, fighting each other 20 times – six times for the title, which changed hands four times – over a six-year span for a total of 224 rounds. Lewis also lost a controversial light heavyweight title bout to Georges Carpentier on May 11, 1922, when Carpentier knocked out Lewis while the referee was still pulling the fighters apart. Nat Fleischer ranked Lewis as the #4 all-time welterweight. Lewis was the first fighter to use a protective mouthpiece, which was developed by his dentist. He is the subject of a biography written by his son Morton, *Ted Kid Lewis: His Life and Times* (1990). Lewis was elected to the Boxing Hall of Fame in 1964, and the International Boxing Hall of Fame in 1992.

[Elli Wohlgelernter (2nd ed.)]

LEWISOHN, U.S. family of industrialists and philanthropists. LEONARD LEWISOHN (1847–1902) was born in Hamburg, Germany, the son of Samuel Lewisohn, a prominent merchant. After arriving in New York City in 1865, he and his brothers JULIUS and ADOLPH (1849–1938), who came from Hamburg to New York City in 1867, founded Lewisohn Brothers. Originally active in the ostrich feather and allied import-export activities, the firm soon pioneered in the development of copper mines in the United States and moved into worldwide sales of copper and lead. Leonard's philanthropies included the Hebrew Sheltering Guardian Society and the Jewish Theological Seminary, as well as general leadership in New York Jewish community affairs.

In 1898, Adolph and Leonard, with Henry H. Rogers and William Rockefeller, formed the United Metals Selling Company. Among the other firms with which Adolph was associated were the General Development Co., the American Smelting and Refining Co., Tennessee Copper and Chemical Co., and Adolph Lewisohn and Sons. Adolph rapidly accumulated a fortune in these enterprises and became prominent in civic, communal, and cultural affairs. He was especially interested in child care, crime prevention, and prison reform and served as president of the National Committee on Prisons and Prison Labor. Adolph Lewisohn was also president of the Hebrew Sheltering Guardian Society for over 30 years, was one of the founders of the American ORT in 1924, and made generous contributions to Columbia University, the Federation for the Support of Jewish Philanthropic Societies in New York, Mount Sinai Hospital, and Brooklyn Museum. He was also a noted art and rare book collector. Adolph's best-known gift was the 6,000-seat athletic stadium he gave to City College of New York in 1915. He stipulated in his will that the college allow it to be used for concerts in the summer, and for almost 50 years (to 1966) it was the setting for inexpensive musical events. Leonard's son FREDERICK (1882–1959) entered the family business in 1898 and participated in the formation of American Smelting and Refining Company and Anaconda Copper Company. His interests also included gold and platinum mines in Colombia and the Lewisohn Copper Corporation of Arizona. Lewisohn was a member of the New York Stock Exchange and a director of the New York Central Railroad.

Adolph's son SAM ADOLPH (1884–1951) was born in New York City. After working briefly as a lawyer, he decided in 1910 to devote himself to his family's mining and financial enterprises. He continued his father's interests in child welfare and prison reform and made distinguished contributions in industrial relations; he was a founder and the first president (1923–26) of the American Management Association and worked with the American Association for Labor Legislation, the U.S. Employment Service, and the New York City Industrial Relations Board. He was actively associated with the municipal reform movement and served as an officer of Citizen's Union of New York for many years. His cultural interests were expressed in art collecting and contributions to the Metropolitan Museum and the Museum of Modern Art. He was prominent in Jewish communal affairs, including the Hebrew Sheltering Guardian Society, Jewish Child Care Association, Federation for the Support of Jewish Philanthropic Societies of New York, and the United Jewish Appeal. Lewisohn was the author of *New Leadership in Industry* (1926), *Painters and Personality* (1937), and *Human Leadership in Industry* (1945). Sam Adolph married MARGARET SELIGMAN (1895–1954), the daughter of Isaac Newton *Seligman. Her principal activities were with the Public Education Association of New York, which she led for over 30 years. She was one of the founders of Bennington College in 1932 and also served as a trustee of Vassar College.

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[Morton Rosenstock]

LEWISOHN, LUDWIG (1882–1955), U.S. novelist and essayist. Born into a middle class Berlin family, Lewisohn was taken to Charleston, South Carolina, in 1890. In his autobiography, *Up Stream* (1922), he wrote of his student years at Columbia University, where he had specialized in English literature with a view to taking up college teaching, but was shocked to find anti-Jewish prejudice barring his way. He was professor of German at Ohio State University (1911–19) and won recognition as a literary scholar with his translation of Hauptmann, Rilke, and Sudermann and critical works such as *The Modern Drama* (1915) and *The Spirit of Modern German Literature* (1916). During World War I Lewisohn's pacifism and pro-German sympathies ended his academic career, which was only resumed 30 years later with his appointment as professor of comparative literature at Brandeis University in 1948. From 1919 to 1926 he was an associate editor of *The Nation*.

Between 1924 and 1940 Lewisohn lived mostly in Paris, where the singer and poet Thelma Spear (1903–1968) kept house for him and maintained a literary salon. Meanwhile, he had become deeply interested in Zionism. He visited Palestine in 1925 and recorded his impressions of its transformation by Jewish colonists in *Israel* (1925). In another volume of autobiography, *Mid-Channel* (1929), and in *The Answer: The Jew and the World* (1939), he told of his discovery of his Jewish heritage and its effect on his outlook. Lewisohn negated the common American assumption that, for Jews, the United States was a home and not merely another exile, insisting that it could never fully replace Zion. The country's non-Jewish majority determined what was American or un-American, and had the power to impose its will and thinking on the Jewish minority. He therefore called upon American Jews to repudiate assimilation and find their way back to their own sources in the land of Israel, where Jews first underwent the group experience which stamped them eternally as a people.

Lewisohn wrote several novels, most of which dealt either with marital problems or with Jewish themes. Among the latter are *The Island Within* (1928, 1968^2), *The Last Days of Shylock* (1931), *Trumpet of Jubilee* (1937), and *In a Summer Season* (1955). His other works include *Don Juan* (1923), *Stephen Escott* (1930), *The Case of Mr. Crump* (1931), *This People* (1933), *Breathe Upon These* (1944), *Among the Nations* (1948), and *Goethe* (1949). He edited *Creative America* (1933), *Rebirth; A Book of Modern Jewish Thought* (1935), *Jewish Short Stories* (1945), and *Theodore Herzl: A Portrait for This Age* (1955). Between 1943 and 1948, Lewisohn was editor of *The New Palestine*, and from 1947, of the *American Zionist Review*. His last works include *The American Jew: Character and Destiny* (1950) and *What is the Jewish Heritage*? (1954). His son JAMES LEWISOHN (1929–) was poet in residence at the University of Maine.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: F.A. Levy, in: JBA, 14 (1956/57), 46–55; S. Liptzin, *Generation of Decision* (1958), 224–33; Chyet, in: AJA, 11 (1959), 125–47; idem, in: AJHSQ, 54 (1964–65), 296–322.

[Sol Liptzin]

LEWITE, LEON (1878–1944), Polish Zionist. Born in Warsaw, Lewite joined the Zionist Movement as a youth. After the revolution of the Young Turks (1908), Lewite made it possible, through a donation of a considerable sum (5,000 rubles), to establish a Zionist political and information center in Constantinople with the participation of Victor *Jacobson, Vladimir *Jabotinsky, and Richard *Lichtheim. With the outbreak of World War I (1914), he moved to Moscow, where he joined the leadership of the Zionist Movement and of the Jewish community. After the establishment of independent Poland (1918), Lewite returned to Warsaw and served in the front line of Jewish and Zionist affairs. He was a representative of Polish Jewry on the Comité des Délégations Juives which represented Jewish interests at the Paris Peace Conference, and took part in the first Zionist conference held after the war in London (1920). Lewite concerned himself basically with practical affairs, especially with the organization of *aliyah* from Poland to Palestine. In 1925 he established a Polish-Palestinian chamber of commerce and remained its president until 1939. His outlook – encouragement of private middle-class initiative and lack of sympathy for the collective and cooperative labor economy in Palestine – placed him among the right-wing *General Zionists. He steered the policy of the Zionist movement in Poland in this direction for many years until the "radical" faction, under the leadership of Yiẓḥak *Gruenbaum, prevailed and caused him to resign from the presidency of the organization. The General Zionists in Poland then split, in effect, into two factions: one termed itself Et Livnot ("This is the Time to Build") and remained under the direction of Lewite; the other, Al ha-Mishmar, was led by Gruenbaum. Lewite did not devote much attention to Jewish policy on the Polish scene; he devoted himself mainly to encouraging *aliyah* to Palestine, especially during the years of the middle-class Fourth Aliyah in the 1920s. With the outbreak of World War II (1939) Lewite succeeded in reaching Palestine, where he was completely restricted from public activity by a severe illness.

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[Aryeh Tartakower]

LE WITT, JAN (1907–1991), graphic artist. Le Witt was born in Czestochowa, Poland, and was entirely self-taught as an artist, claiming that the greatest influences he had known were the beauty of the town in which he grew up and the surrounding countryside. After the death of his father in 1920, he was greatly influenced by his maternal grandfather who had been *Maggid* of the Great Synagogue in Odessa, Russia. At the age of 18, Le Witt left Poland and traveled widely in Europe and the Middle East, working in a series of jobs, including architectural draughtsman, printer's apprentice, and signwriter. Eventually the opportunity to train as a graphic artist determined his future career. He returned to Poland in 1928 and worked in Warsaw as a freelance graphic designer, which led to a highly successful career. In 1929, he designed the first modern Hebrew typeface, called *Chaim*. He traveled each summer to Vienna, Leipzig, Berlin, and the Dessau Bauhaus, where he met Paul Klee, who had considerable influence on him. Le Witt held a one-man exhibition of his graphic work at the Warsaw Society of Fine Art in 1930. He spent 1931 in Paris and tried to study painting. In 1933, back in Poland, he met the German-born George *Him with whom he founded the now famous graphic team Le Witt-Him. In 1937, they moved to London where they continued their successful partnership and were engaged both by government departments and by commercial houses. Le Witt began to devote more and more time to painting, and in 1947 held his first one-man show at the Zwemmer Gallery, London; the following year he designed a ballet for Sadler's Wells. Subsequently, he devoted himself entirely to fine art, exhibiting regularly throughout Europe. He visited Israel on a number of occasions. A book on his work, by Herbert Read and Jean Cassou, appeared in 1971.

[Charles Samuel Spencer]

LEWITT, SOL (1928–), U.S. sculptor, printmaker, draftsman, conceptual artist. LeWitt worked serially, exploring the same concept in several media: books, prints, wall drawings, drawings on paper, and structures (the artist's preferred terminology for his "sculptures"). His June 1967 essay "Paragraphs on Conceptual Art" serves as LeWitt's manifesto: "In conceptual art the idea or concept is the most important aspect of the work … all of the planning and decisions are made beforehand and the execution is a perfunctory affair. The idea becomes a machine that makes the art."

Born in Hartford, Connecticut, to Russian immigrant parents, LeWitt showed an interest in art as a child. He studied art as an undergraduate at Syracuse University (1945–49), learning how to paint and draw figuratively. During the Korean War he served in the United States Army overseas (1951–52). After the war he moved to New York, attending the Cartoonists and Illustrators School (now the School of Visual Arts). A decisive experience of this early period was a year employed as a graphic designer for the architect I.M. Pei (1955–56). LeWitt learned the value in having others implement his designs, a working method he continued to practice. In these years he experimented with painting in an Abstract Expressionist style and making pencil or ink figurative drawings, sometimes after Old Master paintings. LeWitt's first paintings to incorporate text and image were done in 1962. The following year he created several free-standing forms. His first modular pieces were completed in 1965 and a year later he combined the modules serially. With LeWitt believing that art must be neutral to allow the viewer access to the larger form and idea of the piece rather than to elicit emotion, his working materials are abstract and often colorless. LeWitt's final rejection of the traditional canvas and illusionistic imagery occurred in October 1968 when he developed his first wall drawing at the Paula Cooper Gallery, New York. His wall drawings begin as a set of directions for a draftsperson that produces the image, akin to an architect that presents plans to a builder. These detailed instructions delineate all aspects of line and form.

LeWitt designed several projects with Jewish themes, including the monument *Black Form Dedicated to the Miss-*

ing Jews (1989), now located in Hamburg, Germany, after the city of Muenster rejected the piece in 1987. A staid cinderblock wall standing 97½ inches high and 195 inches long placed in front of the city's white neoclassical town hall, LeWitt's painted black monument – without an inscription – is meant to evince the absence of the Jewish community. His wall painting at the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, ominously titled *Consequence* (1993), is part of the museum's permanent collection. In 2005, LeWitt installed *Lost Voices*, a temporary site-specific sculpture for an abandoned synagogue in Stommeln, Germany.

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[Samantha Baskind (2nd ed.)]

LEWITZKY, BELLA (1916–2004), U.S. dancer, choreographer, educator, and arts activist. Lewitzky, who was born to Russian-Jewish parents near California's Mojave Desert at the socialist commune Llano del Rio, was raised in San Bernardino. At 18, she moved to Los Angeles to dance, joining the Horton Dance Group in 1935. Lester Horton built his technique and choreography on Lewitzky's technical prowess and ability to extend and clarify his ideas, particularly in works like *Salome* (1937) and *The Beloved* (1948). In 1950, after Lewitzky and her husband, architect and former Horton dancer Newell Reynolds, left Horton over artistic and management concerns, her style evolved into non-linear explorations of pure motion that evoked the human condition through the imagery of sculpted, gravity-defying movement.

A renowned master teacher, Lewitzky cultivated dancers of strength, control, and expressive range. From 1956 to 1974, she was dance chair at Idyllwild School of Music and the Arts, and from 1969 to 1974, founder and dean of the School of Dance at California Institute of the Arts. In 1968 she taught for two months at the Batsheva and Bat-Dor dance company schools in Israel. The Lewitzky Dance Company, which she founded in 1966, undertook extensive U.S. and international tours until 1997. Committed to creating and sustaining a company far from the acknowledged dance center of New York City, she employed her dancers year-round at union scale with medical benefits for over 20 years, a rarity in American dance. Lewitzky often sought the challenge of artistic collaborations. Newell Reynolds' transparent plexiglass sheets formed multi-leveled, mid-air dance platforms for *Spaces Between* (1974). Fashion designer Rudi Gernreich created dynamic costumes for *Inscape* (1976).

In 1951 Lewitzky was subpoenaed by the House Un-American Activities Committee for activities that included integrating local ballet schools. "Uncooperative," she was blacklisted from the film work that supplemented her income, enduring several years of intimidation. In 1990 the National Endowment for the Arts began requiring grant recipients to sign an anti-obscenity clause. Guided by conscience and fearing a new era of censorship, she refused to sign, and successfully sued the NEA to eliminate the clause and regained her $72,000 grant. Numerous grants and awards included a 1977 Guggenheim fellowship, a 1997 National Medal of Arts from President Bill Clinton, and five honorary doctorates. She was designated by the Dance Heritage Coalition as one of America's Irreplaceable Dance Treasures.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: R. Eichenbaum, *Masters of Movement, Portraits of America's Great Choreographers* (2004); R.C. Smith, *A Life in Motion*, Oral history of Bella Lewitzky completed under the auspices of the Oral History Program, University of California, Los Angeles, Regents of the University of California (1997); L. Warren, *Lester Horton, Modern Dance Pioneer* (1977).

[Karen Goodman (2nd ed.)]

LEWKO (or **Lewek**), **JORDANIS** (d. 1395), the wealthiest Jew of Cracow (and Poland) in his time; he acted as court banker of the kings of Poland. The son of a wealthy merchant and owner of real estate who lived in Cracow from about 1324, Lewko is mentioned in documents of the early 1360s as the owner of houses and building plots in the city. He apparently amassed great wealth in dealing with these properties and began to lend money to the townsmen and the feudal lords (among others to the princes of Masovia).

King Casimir III the Great, who put much confidence in him, entrusted him with the administration of the royal salt mines of Bochnia and Wieliczka and the mint of Cracow in 1368. In appreciation of his services, the king presented him with two houses in the Jewish quarter of Cracow. Lewko, who also acted as tax collector for Archbishop Bodzanta, who was in charge of the royal estate in Cracow, aroused the anger of the townsmen (1369), but their complaints were rejected by the king. From 1374 Lewko was assisted in the administration of his local affairs by the Jewish agent Gosma. At the same time he entered into partnership with Jewish bankers and merchants in Cracow in order to carry out large loans and commercial dealings. During the early 1380s he opened commercial relations with the Jewish banker of Breslau, David Falken, and his son Israel (or Azriel). The greatest sums of money which Lewko lent were his loans to King Louis I of Hungary and Poland (Louis of Anjou). His financial power and influence at court led the nobleman Clemens of Kuzow to address a complaint against him to Pope Boniface IX (1392). Lewko's heirs were his widow Swenka, his sons Abraham, Canaan, Jordan, and Israel, and his daughter Golda. For about 15 years the heirs worked together in order to collect the debts owed. After that, each managed his business affairs independently. Of Lewko's grandsons Jordan ranked among the leaders of the community of Cracow in 1465.

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[Arthur Cygielman]

LEWKOWITSCH, JULIUS (1857–1913), British organic chemist. Born in Germany, he settled in England in the 1880s.

As director of a London research institute he worked on stereochemistry and became the world's leading authority on industrial technology of fats and oils. His *Chemical Technology and Analysis of Oils, Fats and Waxes* (3 vols., 1895^2) ran into many editions.

LEWKOWITZ, ALBERT (1883–1954), philosophical and pedagogical writer and scholar. Lewkowitz, who was born in Georgenberg (Miasteczko), Silesia, studied at Breslau University and Jewish Theological Seminary, becoming lecturer at the latter in the philosophy of religion and pedagogics in 1914. During World War I, he served as a chaplain in the German army. Taking refuge in Holland from Nazi Germany, he lectured from 1939 at the Ashkenazi Rabbinical Seminary in Amsterdam, but was interned in 1943 at the *Westerbork concentration camp and from there was transferred to *Bergen-Belsen. Surviving the ordeal, he settled in Haifa, where he served as rabbi to the Aḥavat Zion congregation (he was an adherent of moderate Reform) and as lecturer at the Even Pinnah Teachers' Seminary; he also taught at the Reali school.

Lewkowitz' scholarly activities date from the publication (1910) of his thesis dealing with *Hegels Aesthetik im Verhaeltniss zu Schiller.* This was followed by studies on neo-Kantianism (in *Zeitschrift fuer Philosophie und philosophische Kritik*, vol. 144, no 1, 1911) and on the classical theory of law and state (*Die klassische Rechts-und Staatsphilosophie*, 1914), and other works. He soon turned to the study of the philosophy of religion and of Judaism in particular, devoting special studies to the relationship to Judaism of such philosophers as *Spinoza, *Mendelssohn, and *Kant. Lewkowitz' major work was *Das Judentum und die geistigen Stroemungen des 19 Jahrhunderts* (1935), which was preceded by two similarly titled articles which appeared in the 1928 *Jahresbericht* ("Annual Report") of the Breslau seminary and in the seminary's 75th anniversary volume (1929). In this work, Lewkowitz compares Jewish and general philosophies and points out their similarities and divergencies. He also wrote *Hauptrichtungen der Paedagogik* (1933).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: G. Kisch (ed.), *Breslau Seminary* (1963), 130, 281, 398f. (bibliography).

LEWY, ISRAEL (1841–1917), rabbi and scholar. Born in Inowroclaw (Hohensalza), Poland, Lewy studied at the Breslau Jewish Theological Seminary. At the opening of the *Hochschule fuer die Wissenschaft des Judentum in Berlin in 1872, he became its lecturer in Talmud. In 1883 he returned to the Breslau Seminary in the same capacity and as *Seminarrabbiner*. Apart from his erudition in all branches of Jewish and general scholarship, Lewy brought a keen analytical sense and conjectural brilliance to the field of talmudical studies. He combined this freedom of enquiry with deep piety and strict observance. Lewy's scholarly output is relatively small in quantity, but terse in style and free of polemics. It mainly appeared in the annual reports of the Hochschule and the Breslau seminary. His important works include *Ueber einige Fragmente aus der Mischna des Abba Saul* (1876), a study in the sources of the Mishnah which has been called a classic example of modern talmudic research; *Mechilta des R. Simon* (1889), a study preparing the way for *D. Hoffmann and J.N. *Epstein in this field; and the first six chapters of *Bava Kamma* in the Jerusalem Talmud, with commentary and introduction (1895–1914). A *Festschrift* in Lewy's honor was published in 1911 (ed. by M. Brann and I. Elbogen).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: M. Brann, *Geschichte des juedisch-theologischen Seminars* (1904), 110, 131 (bibliography); *Jahresbericht des … Seminars Breslau* (1917), 1ff.; I. Elbogen, in: AZDJ, 8 (1917), 460ff. (bibliography); E.E. Urbach, in: G. Kisch (ed.), *Das Breslauer Seminar* (1963), 177–82 (Heb.).

[Jacob Rothschild]

LEWY, JULIUS (1895–1963), Semitic philologist and Assyriologist. Born in Berlin, he began Assyriological studies with Heinrich Zimmern at Leipzig. After an interruption of five years in the military service, he resumed his studies in Berlin with Friedrich Delitzsch and Eduard Meyer and received his Ph.D. He taught at the University of Giessen from 1922 (professor, 1930). From 1929 to 1936, he was curator of the Hilprecht collection of cuneiform tablets at the University of Jena. Dismissed from his post by the Nazis, he left Germany in 1933 and taught at the Sorbonne in Paris in 1933–34. He then came to the United States and taught at Johns Hopkins in 1934 when *Albright was in Palestine. Lewy became professor at Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati in 1936 and taught Semitic Languages and Bible there until 1963, dying shortly after his retirement.

His principal works are *Untersuchungen zur akkadischen Grammatik* (1921); *Studien zu den alt-assyrischen Texten aus Kappadokien* (1922); *Die Kültepetexte aus der Sammlung Frida Hahn* (1930); and in collaboration with G. Eissler, *Altassyrische Rechtsurkunden von Kültepe* (2 vols., 1930–35). Lewy also published many articles dealing with philological questions, Akkadian grammar, the study of Assyrian-Babylonian religion, and problems concerning the study of Assyrian documents of Cappadocia which were discovered in Kültepe (the ancient Kanish). Lewy's works are of special importance for the study of old Assyrian texts. In this branch of Assyriology, Lewy was one of the most important modern researchers. In several of his works, he discussed problems arising out of the study of the ancient history of the Jewish people and biblical questions; for example *Chronologie der Koenige von Israel und Juda* (1927) and the problems of the Habiru and the Hebrews, on which he wrote in the periodical *Hebrew Union College Annual* (1939, 1940, and 1957). His wife, HILDEGARD LEWY, was also an Assyriologist. She replaced her husband at Hebrew Union College following his death.

ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY: W. Gwaltney, Jr., in: DBI, 2:59–60.

[Hayim Tadmor / S. David Sperling (2nd ed.)]

LEWY, YOḤANAN (**Hans**; 1904–1945), classical scholar. Lewy studied at the university of his native Berlin. After doing research in Russia, Armenia, and Palestine, he settled in Palestine in 1933, becoming lecturer in classical languages at the Hebrew University. He made his chief scholarly contribution in the field of Jewish Hellenism (e.g., his articles in *Encyclopaedia Judaica* and *Eshkol Enẓiklopedyah Yisre'elit*), with particular emphasis on Philonic studies (*Neue Philontexte in der Ueberarbeitung des Ambrosius* (1932); *Von den Machterweisen Gottes* (1935); *The Pseudo-Philonic De Jona* (vol. 1 only, 1936); *Philosophical writings; Philo, Selections* (1946), repr. in *Three Jewish Philosophers* (1960)). He edited volume 6 of I. Heinemann-M. Adler's *Die Werke Philos von Alexandria* (1938). A collection of his articles on Judaism in the Greco-Roman world appeared in 1960 under the title of *Olamot Nifgashim* ("Worlds Meet"). His untimely death cut short a brilliant scholastic career (see collected eulogies published by the Hebrew University in 1946 with a partial bibliography). A memorial volume, *Sefer Yoḥanan Lewy. Meḥkarim be-Helenismus Yehudi*, edited by M. Schwabe and J. Gutman, appeared in 1949 (with bibliography by M.M. Plessner).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Kressel, Leksikon, 2 (1967), 183, incl. bibl.

LEWYSOHN, ABRAHAM (1805–1860), Polish rabbi and scholar. Lewysohn, a native of Schwerzenz (Swarzec), Poznania, served as rabbi in Peiskretscham (Pyskowice), Silesia. He belonged to the pioneering generation of modern Jewish scholars, and his *Mekorei Minhagim* (1846), a study of the origin of religious customs in rabbinic literature, was a considerable contribution to scholarship. A shortened version with the same title was plagiarized by J. Finkelstein in 1874. He wrote numerous biographies of *tannaim* and *amoraim*, in both Hebrew and German, and also talmudic novellae, grammatical studies, poetry, and Hebrew and German sermons.

LEWYSOHN, YEHUDI LEIB LUDWIG (1819–1901), rabbi and scholar. Lewysohn, who was born in Schwerzenz (Swarzec), Poznania, taught at Frankfurt on the Oder (1848–51) and served as rabbi and preacher in Worms (1851–59) and rabbi in Stockholm (1859–83). He was a regular contributor to the Hebrew press, particularly *Ha-Maggid*, and also wrote on Jewish subjects in German, English, French, and Swedish. Lewysohn's most important book, *Zoologie des Talmuds* (1858), was the first scientific attempt by a Jewish scholar to collate all talmudic and midrashic references to animal life. He published many addenda to this work, some in Hebrew periodicals and anthologies including *Gan Peraḥim*, 3 (1891); *Ner ha-Ma'aravi*, 1, pts. 1 and 3 (1895); *Kadimah*, 1 (1899); *Oẓar ha-Ḥokhmah ve-ha-Madda*, 2 (1854); *Ha-Mizpeh; Oẓar ha-Sifrut* (1887–1902); and G.A. Kohut (ed.), *Semitic Studies in Memory of Rev. Dr. Alexander Kohut* (1897). Lewysohn also published a book of epitaphs from the Jewish cemetery of Worms, *Nafshot Ẓaddikim* (Ger., 1855); sermon collections in German and Swedish; and textbooks.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: M. Reines, *Dor va-Ḥakhamav* (1890), 123–32; K. Wilhelm, in: HJ, 15 (1953), 49–58.

[Getzel Kressel]

LEYON, AVRAM (1912–1985), Turkish journalist. Leyon was born in Balat, Istanbul. In 1928 he started working for the newspaper *Cumhuriyet* and in 1947 began to publish *Şalom* together with Izak Yaeş. Yaeş left after a short time and Leyon continued to publish *Şalom* alone until 1983. In 1984 he sold the rights to use the name to the Jewish community and died shortly afterwards.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: L. Haleva, "Avram Leyon ile Şalom'un 37 yılı," in: *Şalom* (Oct. 31, 1984); S.H. Kohen, "Avram Leyon Z'L," in: *Aki Yerushalayim* (Dec. 26–27, 1985), 70.

[Rifat Bali (2nd ed.)]

LEZAJSK (Pol. **Leżajsk**; Yid. **Lyzhansk**), town in Rzeszow province, S.E. Poland. The Jews of Lezajsk are first mentioned in 1538. In the middle of the 17th century the community possessed a wooden synagogue and a cemetery. During the 17th and 18th centuries the Jews of Lezajsk engaged in the grain trade, the weaving of woolen cloth, and the brewing of beer, and were contractors of estates and inns. According to the census of 1765, 909 Jewish poll tax payers lived in Lezajsk and its environs. When the *ẓaddik* R. *Elimelech settled in Lezajsk in 1775, it became an important center of *Ḥasidism in Poland and Galicia. Each year (until the Holocaust) on the anniversary of his death (21st of Adar), thousands of Jews used to journey to pray at his grave in Lezajsk. Fires in 1834 and again in 1873 severely affected the economic situation of the community, but toward the end of the century conditions began to improve. The Jewish population fluctuated between 1,868 (38% of the total) in 1880, 1,494 (28%) in 1900, 1,705 (32%) in 1910, and 4,575 (31%) in 1921. In the interwar years Zionist parties and youth movements were active in the town. There were Tarbut, Yavneh, and Beth Jacob schools in the town.

[Arthur Cygielman]

Holocaust Period

The number of Jews in Lezajsk in 1939 rose to more than 3,000. With the outbreak of the war in September, the Poles began to loot stores and attack the Jews. Jewish self-defense was organized. The Germans entered Lezajsk on the eve of Rosh Ha-Shanah (September 1939), set synagogues afire, and burned sacred books in the town square. On the eve of Sukkot the Jews were deported by the Germans to the area under Soviet control on the other side of the San River. Part of the community went into hiding and was later allowed to remain in the city. They were concentrated in the ghetto, and in 1942 many of them were transported to work or death camps. Those who were deported to the Soviet zone lived there in very difficult economic conditions. In the summer of 1940 many of them were deported to the Soviet interior. A few hundred Jews, mostly from those who were in the U.S.S.R., survived. The old Jewish cemetery was destroyed by the Nazis and in its place a park was later made. Only the grave of the *ẓaddik* Elimelech remained. The main synagogue housed the town museum.

[Aharon Weiss]

BIBLIOGRAPHY: D. Rabin (ed.), *Lizhansk, Sefer Zikkaron*; Halpern, Pinkas, index; M. Schorr, *Żydzi w przemyślu do końca XVIII wieku* (1903), index; B. Wasiutyński, *Ludność żydowska w Polsce…* (1930), 116.

LHEVINNE, JOSEF (1874–1944), pianist. Born in Orel, Russia, he studied at the Moscow Conservatory, where he also taught (1902–06). In 1906 he settled in the U.S., but sojourned in Berlin from 1907 to 1919. He undertook numerous concert tours, and also gave duo-recitals with his wife, ROSINA LHEVINNE (1880–1976), a noted pianist in her own right. Josef Lhevinne excelled in the interpretation of the romantic composers, and was among the major concert artists of his time. Rosina Lhevinne became especially known as a piano teacher, and many of the U.S.-born pianists who rose to prominence in the 1940s and 1950s were her pupils.

LIABILITY (Torts). Every person of full mental capacity, male or female (BK 15a), when causing injury to another person, is liable to the injured party for any damage which his negligent conduct causes the latter to suffer (see *Torts), even a husband to his wife (BK 32a). A person who lacks mental capacity – such as a deaf-mute, idiot, or minor – is exempt from liability for damage caused by the act of his person because he is incapable of foreseeing damage, whereas the injured party is required to take care, for most people know that one must be on guard against a person lacking in understanding as he tends to cause damage. For this reason too the latter's guardian or parents are not liable on his behalf (BK 87a).

A principal who commissions an agent to commit a tort is exempt from liability, but the agent is liable, for the latter, having discretion, should foresee resulting damage, whereas the principal cannot be required to know that the agent will carry out his evil mandate (Tos. to BK 56a; 79a). Where, however, the agent cannot foresee that the damage will result from the carrying out of his mandate – as in the case of an agent lacking mental capacity, or an animal incited by the principal, or in a case where the agent could not have known that he was doing wrong because, for example, the principal told him to fetch a chattel for him telling him that it was his – the agent is no more than a tool in the principal's hand, and the latter is liable for the damage caused by the agent (loc. cit.; BK 9b). Where the principal himself could not have foreseen that the agent would cause injury in carrying out the mandate, he too is exempt from liability, as in the case where he puts a glowing coal in the hands of a minor, who burns another's article (BK 59b).

If a slave, having full mental capacity, causes injury, the sages exempt his owner from liability – although he knows that slaves are in the habit of causing injury yet retains him despite the fact that he is unable to guard the slave – on the ground that no person can afford payment of such heavy damages as the slave is likely to cause (BK 4a). On the other hand the tortfeasant slave is personally liable, for – having understanding – he is liable for his negligence. As long as he is a slave and has no independent means he is treated in the same way as a poor man who does not have the wherewithal to pay for damage he has caused; but once he is manumitted and acquires his own means, he is obliged to pay for the damage. Such, too, is the law in the case of a married woman, who generally does not have the means to pay for damage she has caused, but is obliged to pay for the damage when she is able to do so, as for instance after being divorced (BK 87a).

His own negligence notwithstanding, the injuring party is exempt from liability for damage resulting from conduct which is licensed, whether consented to and authorized by the injured party or by the court. The injuring party is also exempt from liability if the damage caused is not of a physical nature, such as economic damage.

The law of the State of Israel (Civil Wrongs Ordinance, 1947) renders a person over the age of 12 years liable in tort. The law imposes vicarious liability on a person for the acts of his servants and for acts done by others authorized by him.

[Shalom Albeck]

LIACHO, LÁZARO (1906–1969), Argentine poet, narrator, essayist, and journalist. Born in Buenos Aires, Liacho was the son of JACOBO SIMÓN LIACHOVITZKY (1874–1937), a noted Yiddish journalist, who immigrated to Argentina in 1894, founded the first Argentine Yiddish daily, *Der Tog*, and the weekly *Der Tsionist;* in 1904 he helped to establish the Argentine Zionist Federation; he also wrote a play and short stories. Lázaro Liacho was associated with the periodicals *Mundo Israelita* and *Judaica*, but won recognition mainly as a poet. His *Bocado de pan* ("Morsel of Bread," 1931), *Pan de Buenos Aires* ("Bread of Buenos Aires," 1940), and *El hombre y sus moradas* ("Man and His Dwellings," 1961), reflect his outlook both as a Jew and as an Argentinean. His short stories (*Sobre el filo de la vida*, "On Life's Cutting Edge," 1969) deal with the Holocaust. Though he expressed his love and admiration for Israel and Zionism, he considered Jewishness as a spiritual reality that can be practiced anywhere and praised Argentina as "the new Zion" in the poems collected in *Siónidas desde la pampa* ("Odes to Zion from the Pampa," 1969). In his later poetry, notably *Entre Dios y Satán* ("Between God and Satan," 1966), Liacho turned to biblical, religious, and metaphysical themes.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: R. DiAntonio and N. Glickman, *Tradition and Innovation: Reflections on Latin American Jewish Writing* (1993); R. Gardiol, *Argentina's Jewish Short Story Writers* (1986); N. Lindstrom, *Jewish Issues in Argentine Literature* (1989); D.B. Lockhart, *Jewish Writers of Latin America. A Dictionary* (1997).

[Paul Link / Florinda F. Goldberg (2nd ed.)]

LIBAI, AVINOAM (1929–), Israeli aeronautical engineer. Libai was born in Tel Aviv. After service in the War of Independence, he received his B.Sc. in civil engineering from the Haifa Technion (1953). He participated in many engineering projects including the Yarkon Bridge project before moving to the U.S. (1953), where he got his M.Sc. (1956) and Ph.D. (1959) in engineering science from Purdue University, Indiana, specializing in the physical properties and behavior of structures. After postdoctoral research at Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore (1959–61), Libai worked with Israel Aircraft Industries in Lydda (1961–71) as principal staff scientist. He then moved to the Faculty of Aerospace Engineering at the Technion (1971), where he became full professor (1972), head of the Department of Aeronautical Engineering (1974–75), head of the Department of Aerospace Engineering (1989–90), and L. Shirley Tark Professor of Aircraft Structures (1992). After his retirement in 1997 he became professor emeritus. Libai was a leading world authority on non-linear shell theory, which is now a recognized field in the general discipline of non-linear mechanics. His work has important practical applications in the design of aircraft shells, including calculating and testing their resistance to stress and buckling. This had a major influence in the development of Israeli civil and military aircraft. His honors include the Israel Prize for engineering research. Libai was also influential in Technion administration, including a period as dean of the Faculty of Aerospace Engineering and as adviser to many national organizations, including the Ministry of Defense (1978–84). His international reputation has been enhanced by his publications, including standard texts in his field of expertise, and by sabbatical visits to leading universities, including Harvard (1977).

[Michael Denman (2nd ed.)]

LIBAI, DAVID (1934–), Israeli politician, law professor, and criminal lawyer; member of the Eleventh to Fourteenth Knessets. Born in Tel Aviv, Libai received a B.A. in law from the Hebrew University of Jerusalem in 1961, an M.A. in law from the University of Chicago in 1967, and a doctorate the following year. In 1959–62 he served as spokesman in the Ministry of Justice when Pinhas *Rosen and Dov *Joseph were ministers of justice, and in the years 1960–63 as chief assistant to State Attorney Gideon *Hausner. He started to teach at Tel Aviv University in 1968. In 1971–73 he served as dean of students, and in 1971–88 as director of the Institute for the Training of Lawyers. In 1973–76 he headed the Institute for Criminology and Criminal Law. In 1975–82 he served as a member of the Press Council on behalf of the Labor Party; he was chairman of the Labor Party Constitution Committee in 1977–98. In 1978 he was appointed a member of the Knesset National Commission of Inquiry on Prison Conditions, and in 1982–84 he headed the Israel Bar Association.

Libai was first elected to the Knesset in 1984 on the Labor Alignment list. In the Eleventh and Twelfth Knessets he was chairman of the State Control Committee. In 1991–92 he was one of four Knesset members who presented bills for the direct election of the prime minister. In 1993–96 he served as minister of justice in the governments of Yitzhak *Rabin and Shimon *Peres. In 1995 he chaired a ministerial committee on the subject of the Arab villages of Ikrit and Bir'am in the upper Galilee, whose inhabitants had been forcefully evacuated during the War of Independence. The Committee recommended that inhabitants who had owned houses in the villages in 1948 could return to them, but that they would not be able to reclaim their lands. The recommendation was never implemented.

Libai resigned from the Knesset in October 1996, after a law was passed which prohibited Knesset members from holding additional positions, and returned to practicing criminal law, representing numerous well-known public figures, including the son of Prime Minister Ariel *Sharon, Gilad. Libai was chairman of the Council of Lawyers for a Constitution by Agreement as well as chairman of the Public Council in Israel that encourages cooperation between the Jewish and Arab sectors in Israel.

[Susan Hattis Rolef (2nd ed.)]

LIBEDINSKI, YURI NIKOLAYEVICH (1898–1959), Soviet Russian novelist. Libedinski was born in Odessa, but his father's medical practice took him to a factory in the Urals, and most of Libedinski's works are set in the distant provinces. *Nedelya* (1923; *A Week*, 1923) firmly established Libedinski as one of the founders of Soviet proletarian prose, and he has enjoyed wide popularity ever since. Though somewhat marred by inept imitation of the literary mannerisms of the Symbolists, this short novel is still considered one of the most effective and honest descriptions of the early days of the Soviet regime, under which Libedinski served as a Bolshevik political commissar. While the author's unconditional support of the Communist cause is emphatically stated, he does concede the fact that most of the population, and particularly the peasantry, was implacably hostile to Soviet rule. *A Week* ends with a description of an uprising in which most of the communists are killed. Suspicion with regard to the allegiance of Russia's peasantry was a basic tenet of Trotskyism, and Libedinski's next novel *Zavtra* ("Tomorrow," 1924), showed even closer ties to the teachings of *Trotsky: the disillusionment within the ranks of the Communist Party was curable only if a revolution were to take place in Germany. *Komissary* ("The Commissars," 1925, 1935[14]) is of interest as a social document; it gives an insider's view of the milieu of communist functionaries. The hero, Mindlov, is a Jew and a former Menshevik. *Rozhdeniye geroya* ("The Birth of a Hero," 1930) attempts to tackle an ambitious theme: the dehumanization of human relationships under the impact of demands made by a society which puts a premium on industrial and bureaucratic efficiency and on political orthodoxy. Though not very successful, the novel was one of the few works of Soviet prose that tried to probe some of the basic dilemmas of the human condition. Of Libedinski's later works – other than some effective wartime reporting – the most noteworthy is a trilogy set in the Caucasus immediately before and during the Revolution: *Gory i lyudi* ("Mountains and People," 1947); *Zarevo* ("Dawn," 1952); and *Utro Sovetov* ("The Morning of Soviet Power," 1957). It is commonly agreed that Libedinski narrowly escaped imprisonment or death on at least two occasions: first, as a Trotskyite in 1938, when he was actually expelled from the Party, though reinstated shortly afterward; and again in the late 1940s, as a "Jewish cosmopolitan." Little information about either period can be found in his book of reminiscences titled

Sovremenniki ("Contemporaries," 1958). *Ob uvazhenii k literature* ("On Respect for Literature," 1965) includes further reminiscences and articles by him.

[Maurice Friedberg]

LIBEDINSKY TSCHORNE, MARCOS (1933–), Chilean jurist. Born in Santiago, after Libedinsky obtained his degree in law from the University of Chile (1958) he entered the judiciary system in 1966, serving in the 4th Court of Santiago.

In 1974 he was appointed registrar of the Court of Appeals of Santiago. In 1993 he was appointed a member of the Supreme Court of Justice and in 2001 the plenum of the Supreme Court nominated him minister of the Constitutional Court. In 2004 he was elected president of the Chilean Supreme Court of Justice, becoming the first Jew to serve in this post. Libedinsky also taught law for over 30 years in the universities of Chile and Gabriela Mistral, as well as in the University Finis Terrae, where he also served as dean of the Faculty of Law (1999–2004).

[Moshe Nes El (2nd ed.)]

LIBER, MARC (pseudonym of **Michael Goldman**; 1880–1937), leader of the *Bund, born in Vilna. Liber's father, Isaac, a Hebrew poet and a Ḥovev Zion, did not provide his children with a Jewish education. All became active in the revolutionary movement. The eldest son, Boris (Gorev), was active in the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party, and Leon (Akim) was a founder of the Bund and later one of its opponents and an active Menshevik; of the sisters, Olga joined the Social Democrats and Julia became a Bundist. At secondary school Liber made contact with Lithuanian Social Democratic circles and became friendly with Feliks Dzerzhinski, the future head of the "Cheka." From 1900 he was active in the Bund, appearing as an extremist representative of its national wing in the fourth congress of the Bund (1901), and its chief spokesman at the second congress of the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party (1903). He was later attacked by Lenin. An excellent speaker, Liber became one of the most popular leaders of the Bund. He was among the less doctrinaire members of the Bund who supported its return to the Social Democratic Labor Party (1906), and was elected to its central committee. In the revolution of 1905 he represented the Bund in the Workers' Soviet in St. Petersburg. In 1906 he went on behalf of the Bund to the United States. Belonging to the wing of the party which regarded legal activities within the framework of the law as its most important task during the period of reaction in Russia, he took part in legal and open activities in Vilna. In 1910 he was imprisoned for political activities and escaped abroad, returning in 1914 to St. Petersburg. He was among those in favor of defending Russia during the war ("Oborontsy"). In 1915 he was again arrested and not freed until after the February Revolution of 1917. During the period of the Kerensky government Liber became prominent as leader of the rightist Mensheviks and the Bund, which he represented at the executive of the Petrograd Soviet. Even after the October 1917 Revolution he actively opposed the Bolsheviks. He was imprisoned in 1923 and spent the rest of his life in exile. Seriously ill and crippled, he was executed during the purges of November 1937.

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[Moshe Mishkinsky]

LIBER, MAURICE (1884–1956), chief rabbi of France and scholar. Born in Warsaw, Liber went to Paris with his parents at the age of four. He graduated from the Ecole Rabbinique de Paris in 1907 and began lecturing on Jewish history there. In 1911 he was appointed assistant to the chief rabbi of Paris, serving as an army chaplain and receiving the Croix de Guerre during World War I. In 1920 Liber became rabbi at the Rue de la Victoire synagogue, in 1921 lecturer in the history of rabbinic Judaism at the Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes, and in 1927 succeeded his teacher Israël Lévi as professor. He was appointed director of religious education by the Paris Consistoire in 1930 and, two years later, head of the Ecole Rabbinique. In 1934 Liber was appointed chief rabbi of France *par interim*, to assist the aging Israël Lévi in his task. Under the German occupation of France during World War II, he strove hard to safeguard the Ecole Rabbinique – which had been evacuated to unoccupied southern France – and the religious character of the Consistoire. He also strove to maintain some sort of Jewish education, both legal and underground.

Liber's chief field of research was French-Jewish history. He is best known by his biography of Rashi (1905; Eng. tr. 1906). He wrote a series of articles, based on archival sources, under the title "Les Juifs et la convocation des Etats Généraux" (in REJ, vols. 63–66, 1912–13), and another series, "Napoléon et les Juifs" (*ibid.*, vols. 71–72, 1920–21). On liturgy he wrote, among other works, *La Récitation du Schema…* (1909), "La Formation de la liturgie Synagogale" (in *Annuaire de l'Ecole des Hautes Etudes*, 1933/34), and "Structure and History of the *Tefilah*" (in JQR, 40 (1949/50), 331–57). Liber also wrote an extensive introduction to the reprint of M. Schwab's French translation of the Palestinian Talmud (1932).

Absorbed into the French cultural climate, Liber opposed Zionism, calling it a national theory unacceptable to those who believe that emancipation resolved the national question for the Jews. Though deeply religious, he felt compelled to compromise with the facts of French synagogue life, such as the use of an organ.

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[Georges Weill]

LIBERALISM.

Introduction

Liberalism is an ideological and socio-political movement uniting the adherents of representative government and freedom of the individual in politics with freedom of enterprise in economics. It emerged in Western Europe in the age of struggle against absolutism and the spiritual domination of the Catholic Church (17th–18th centuries). The fundamentals of the Liberal ideology were laid by the advocates of the moderate wing of the European Enlightenment, John Locke, Charles Montesquieu, and Voltaire. A relevant slogan was formulated, *laissez faire, laissez passer*, implying "don't impede," alluding to non-interference in the economy on the part of the state. In the 19th century this became a basic principle of classical liberalism whose theoretical foundations were set down by the English economists, Adam Smith and David *Ricardo. The bourgeoisie was the main social stratum supporting liberal ideology in the 18th and 19th centuries. The more radical wing of Liberalism, connected with the democratic movement, played an important role in the American and French revolutions.

However, already at the end of the 18th century a conflict arose between the Liberals and the Radical Democrats. Jean-Jacques Rousseau and later Jacobins, such as Henri Constante and François Guizot, were the first to formulate a more or less rigid policy of Liberalism during the period of the Restoration in France. Liberalism now emerged as a doctrine based on definite historical premises.

The political doctrine of European Liberalism in the first half of the 19th century preferred the idea of the freedom of the individual to the idea of people's rule, and it preferred the constitutional monarchy to the republic. When the electoral right became more widespread, the difference between Liberal and democratic movements vanished. In the light of social and economic changes at the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century the workers' movement grew. As a result of this and other factors, Liberalism underwent a crisis and had to reject several key principles of its doctrine, in particular *laissez-faire*.

The European Liberals of the 19th century, as the spiritual heirs of the Enlightenment ideology, cherished the principles of tolerance of other people's beliefs, the separation of Church and State, and as a rule supported the idea of the Emancipation of the Jews. However, the inherent rationalism in the movement demanded preconditions for granting equal rights to the Jews, namely "improving the Jews," or "reforming Judaism."

The way of life of the Jews in Western and Central Europe changed in the 18th century and at the beginning of the 19th, and a growing number of Jews was prepared to comply with such demands. They accepted the Liberal principle that the State, based on a social contract, must guarantee rights to everyone who is prepared to fulfill his or her duty to the State.

This was advantageous for the Jews because it meant the development of free competition and the abolishment of medieval monopolies and guilds from which the Jews had been excluded. This led the strata who suffered from the abolition of the traditional social order to view the Liberal economic system, especially its radical forms such as "Manchesterism," as serving the mercenary interests of the plutocratic Jews. Thus, the discontent resulting from the policies of the Liberal economy appeared as a source of modern antisemitism. The early advocates of socialism, for their part, criticized the negative consequences of unlimited competition, and many of them, including Moses *Hess and Karl *Marx in their early works, also equated capitalism and Judaism.

In all countries where Liberals supported the principle of equal rights for the Jews, the latter actively supported the Liberal parties which during the first half of the 19th century conducted severe struggles with the Conservatives. The Jews were in the vanguard of the struggle for political freedom and civil rights.

Great Britain

Each country had its own brand of Liberalism depending on its historic development. Great Britain, the classical country of Liberalism, emancipated its Jews gradually, without revolutionary turns, and the process closely followed the general liberalization of the political system. The restrictions on Jewish rights – Jews were not admitted to Parliament and municipalities or to the universities, and they could not pursue a legal career – were a result of the dominant position of the Church of England. The demand to pronounce an oath "by the true Christian beliefs" meant that State positions and some industrial corporations were closed to Jews. The economic prosperity of some English Jews, such as the *Rothschild, *Montefiore, and *Goldsmid families, brought them into the higher circles of English society while their political rights were still severely limited.

In 1829 the British Parliament adopted a Bill on Catholic Emancipation, and Jewish public figures, supported by leading parliamentarians, decided to bring up the question of equal rights for the Jews. The Liberal member of Parliament, Sir Robert Grant, proposed in the House of Commons a draft bill on granting equal rights to all Jews born in England. During the debates in the House of Commons the Liberal deputies, for instance, the historian Thomas Macauley, welcomed the idea of equal rights for Jews. The Liberal governments of Lord John Russell and Lord Palmerston initiated the parliamentary struggle for Jewish emancipation.

William Gladstone, eventually leader of the Liberal party, first joined the Conservatives and voted against the bill granting equal rights to Jews. However, he later changed his stance. With time the Jews also managed to participate in Liberal governments. The traditional devotion of the English Jews to the Liberal party was broken only in the 1870s when Benjamin *Disraeli (Lord Beaconsfield) headed a Conservative government. He attracted a significant number of Jewish voters to the Conservatives.

After Edward VII became king in 1901, and the Liberal party won the 1906 parliamentary election, some Jewish figures gained significant political and economic influence. They were mainly financiers and businessmen connected with the Liberal party.

In the years before and during World War I two Jewish politicians played an important part in the cabinets of Asquith and Lloyd George: they were Rufus Isaacs (later becoming Lord *Reading) and Herbert Samuel, subsequently the first British high commissioner in Mandatory Palestine.

France

In France, Liberalism in the period of the Restoration was a doctrine opposed to both feudal reaction and democracy. Although the Constitutional party of Louis XVIII declared Catholicism a State religion in 1814, it granted to all citizens the freedom of belief, and the rights of the Jews were in no way handicapped. Still, the Bourbon monarchy did not pay salaries to the rabbis from the State budget. The July Revolution of 1830 eliminated this remnant of inequality. The Louis-Phillipe monarchy brought into practice the principles of a moderate Liberalism after the English pattern. When in 1835 the government of the Canton of Basle in Switzerland refused to allow a French Jew to acquire real estate in the area of the canton, the French government, convinced by the argument of the Jewish political figure Isaac-Adolphe *Crémieux, decided to adopt strong political sanctions against the canton.

When Crémieux expressed the gratitude of the French Jews to the French government, King Louis-Philippe declared that he was happy to teach Europe the lesson of a just attitude towards Jews. The king also expressed the hope that other people would follow the example of France.

In this period capitalism rapidly expanded in France, as a result of which a group of big Jewish financiers emerged connected with Liberal circles.

The 1848 Revolution in France contributed much to the practical realization of equal rights for Jews. The Jewish participation in the political life of the country grew and the Provisional Liberal Government created by the Revolution had two Jewish ministers: Crémieux, minister of justice, and Michel *Goudchaux, minister of finance.

In the age of the Second Empire more moderate opponents of the regime gathered under the banner of the Liberal party. Napoleon III collaborated with the political Jewish figures who, however, did not belong to the Republican wing, and Goudchaux was succeeded as minister of finance by another Jew, monarchist-minded Achille *Fould.

From the time of the Second Monarchy, Liberalism in France was closely linked with the idea of a republic. After the fall of Napoleon III, Crémieux occupied the post of minister of justice in the Government of National Defense, where he actively supported Leon Gambetta, the head of the government. In this period Crémieux was responsible for the law granting civil equality to the Jews of Algeria.

Liberalism in France always advocated the assimilation of Jews, and the Jewish Liberals struggled only for civil rights and freedom of religious belief. Nevertheless, among the Jewish assimilationists there was formulated a new concept of Jewish solidarity throughout the world which found its expression in the *Alliance Israélite Universelle established in 1860.

In the Third Republic, the main representative of Liberalism was the party of Radical Socialists. While fighting clericalism in the 1880s, the government of the Republic did not resort to anti-Jewish discrimination; on the contrary, Jews were appointed to high administrative posts.

In the mid-1880s, all the opponents of the Republic united under the banner of antisemitism. The *Dreyfus Affair was the culmination of the struggle of clerical and monarchic reaction against the Republic. The defeat of the antisemites contributed to the strengthening of Republican rule. The law on the separation of Church and State adopted in 1905 was a triumph of Liberal principles.

In subsequent French policy, Liberalism always stood out as a political force supporting the Republic and democracy against the onslaughts of reaction which invariably fought under the banner of antisemitism. In the 20th century the latter acquired the features of *fascism. In the political life of the Fourth and then the Fifth Republic, Liberal ideology of a reformed nature served different non-socialist parties rather than being represented by a single party.

Germany

In Germany Liberalism was closely connected with the struggle for national unification. Prussia adopted in 1812 a decree on the emancipation of Jews sponsored by the reformist activities of the government of Stein and Hardenberg. However, the reaction which seized Germany after its victory over Napoleon resulted in an outburst of anti-Jewish feelings in almost all German states.

The July Revolution of 1830 in France also sparked off Liberal trends in Germany. The progressive elements began to support bills on expanding Jewish rights in *Landtags* of several South German states: Bavaria, Wuerttemberg, and Baden. However, even in Baden, the state with the most Liberal constitution at the time, the demand was put forward that the Jews should renounce their national and religious identity to be entitled to emancipation. Baden Liberals spoke against emancipation, and only on the eve of the 1848 Revolution did the Second House of the Baden *Landtag* adopt the resolution recommending the government to consider the petition on equality of Jews. All such petitions had been previously rejected by the Lower House. Gabriel *Riesser worked hard in the struggle for the emancipation of the Jews. As a staunch fighter for Jewish rights, he refuted all arguments of the opponents of emancipation, but at the same time he rejected the existence of a Jewish nationality.

The Revolution of 1848 constituted a breakthrough in the attitudes of the Central European countries, although already in pre-Revolution times some German states with liberal constitutions, such as Kurhessen and Wuerttemberg, had undertaken certain steps in the direction of emancipation of Jews, but other states, such as Saxony and Hanover, had not relaxed on Jewish rights.

The Jews took an active part in the revolutionary fighting in Vienna and Berlin in 1848. In the all-German Parliament convened in May 1848 in Frankfurt-on-Main, several Jewish deputies took part including Riesser, the veteran of Emancipation struggle, who was subsequently elected deputy chairman of the parliament. Although Riesser managed to include a statement on the equality of all citizens before the law in the Declaration of Rights of German People adopted by the Frankfurt Parliament, this declaration never included an imperial constitution. However, many of the basic rights imposed by the Revolution left their trace in the constitutions of various German states. Thus in the Prussian Constitution "granted" by the king in December 1848, the item on equality was preserved, although equality was never in fact realized.

The period of reaction in Germany in the 1850s did not abolish the constitutional clauses on equality, but the attempt was made to curtail the areas of their implementation as far as possible. Prussia was again declared a "Christian State" and the civil rights of Jews were restricted. Reaction had its impact even on those German states which had belonged to the Liberal wing before the 1848 Revolution.

Only toward the end of the 1850s the reaction began to subside. In the election to the Prussian *Landtag* the Liberals came out victorious. Ludwig *Philippson – editor of the *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judentums* published by the Jewish community – initiated a petition to the House of Deputies for the implementation of equality. The petition, supported by the Liberals, was handed to the government, but had little impact on its policy.

The Conservative Junker government of Otto Bismarck, who was appointed prime minister in 1862, impeded the implementation of equality for Jews by struggling against Liberalism, especially against the so-called German Progressive party, one of whose leaders was the Jewish radical Johann *Jacoby. The battling of Bismarck's government against Liberalism ceased only with the approach of the military conflict with Austria in 1866.

Prussia's victory, paving the way to the unification of Germany, indirectly contributed to the cause of emancipation. Four Jews entered the Reichstag of the North-German Confederation established under Prussian hegemony. They included Eduard *Lasker who left the Progressive party to join the National Liberals, supporters of Bismarck's policy of unification of Germany.

Four hundred and twelve Jewish communities in the North-German Confederation turned to the Reichstag petitioning for the implementation of the principle of Jewish equality. The petition was rejected, however, in 1867 on the grounds that it interfered in the internal affairs of the separate states. Lasker also voted for the rejection of the petition: united Germany was more important to him than the granting of equal rights to Jews. The most prominent Liberal leaders who defended the principle of Jewish equality in the Reichstag were non-Jewish members of the Progressive party. Eventually they managed to achieve their aim when the Reichstag, and then the government, formally rejected all limitations on civil and political rights resulting from differences of belief (1869).

Emancipation was first adopted and gradually implemented by the North-German states and later by the South-German states. The coming to power of the Liberal government in Bavaria in 1859 enhanced the implementation of emancipation, although the political emancipation of the Jews of Bavaria was completed only in 1872.

Eduard Lasker, leader of the National Liberal Party, and his comrade Ludwig *Bamberger, previously a Radical republican, played a significant part in the Reichstag of the German Empire established after the victory over France in 1870. However, the switch of the Bismarck government to conservative policies in the mid-1870s, and the shift of the National Liberals to the right pushed Lasker and Bamberger into the opposition.

Bamberger published a brochure *Germans and Jews* in 1880 directed against the antisemitic attack of Heinrich von Treitschke, the National Liberal historian. In his brochure Bamberger attempted to prove that the German people as a whole could not be considered responsible for the actions of a group artificially inflaming anti-Jewish hatred. The Liberal Jews joined the so-called party of free-thinkers adhering to the principles of Liberalism. The reactionaries named this party "Jewish Defense Brigade" (*Judenschutztruppe*).

In the religious field, Liberalism in Germany was associated first with *Reform in Judaism, and then with the right to complete indifference to religion, a notion which was legally confirmed by the law of 1876 determining the right to leave the Jewish community without any obligation to join another religious community.

Liberal Jews took an active part in the political life of the Weimar Republic. Hugo *Preuss held the post of minister of interior, and headed the committee for drafting the constitution which Liberal circles welcomed as the embodiment of the spirit of democracy. The minister of foreign affairs of the Weimar Republic, Walter *Rathenau, also a Jew, was killed by nationalist conspirators.

Liberalism in Germany fell victim to Nazi tyranny. After the crushing of Nazism, it revived and began to play a role in the political life of the Federal German Republic. However, it has not crystallized a definitive position regarding Jews, Zionism, and the State of Israel.

Austro-Hungary

In Austria, where after 1815 absolutism suffered no limitations, the restrictions on Jewish rights continued. Bureaucracy regulated Jewish life, and the Jews were subject to special taxation.

In 1839–1840 the Jewish intellectuals of Hungary instigated the struggle for Emancipation, pinpointing at the same time their quest for assimilation. However, nationalistic-minded Hungarian Liberals did not support the idea of Emancipation for Jews. Lajos Kossuth, leader of the Hungarian National Liberation movement, attempted to prove the impossibility of granting equality to Jews unless they radically reformed their religion so that it would resemble Christianity in everyday life (meaning abolition of *kashrut*, Sabbath observance, etc.).

In the March 1848 revolution the Viennese rabbi Isaac Noah *Mannheimer sought to convince Jews not to demand emancipation, which he considered the logical consequence of the victory of Liberal principles but the initiative for which should come from non-Jews. The opponents of Jewish emancipation claimed that the Jews were not an integral part of the nation, and therefore they could not be granted equality.

In July 1848 the Constituent Reichstag convened in Vienna had a number of Jewish members including Adolf *Fischhof, Mannheimer, and Joseph *Goldmark. Two Jewish members, Ignaz *Kuranda and Moritz *Hartmann, were delegates to the All-Union Parliament in Frankfurt.

In the Hungarian National Assembly Kossuth expressed his opinion that granting equality to Jews was untimely. The anti-Jewish pogroms in Pressburg (Bratislava) and other Hungarian towns forced the Assembly to reject the Liberal resolution on granting Jews voting rights. The Jews could also not join the Hungarian National Guard.

In the dual monarchy of Austro-Hungary formed in 1867, both parts acknowledged constitutionally the civil and political equality of all peoples and all beliefs. Only a few Jews were elected to the Reichstag and the provincial assemblies. In the 1870s Kuranda was a Reichstag member, representing the German Liberal party, but no more. Bound by party discipline, he had no opportunity to struggle systematically in parliament for implementing formally the principle of Jewish equality.

Neither the German Liberal Party nor the Polish Kolo was willing to combat the increasing impact of antisemites in the Reichstag, state assemblies, and municipalities. Many Austrian Jews found that their former Liberal allies could not be relied upon when it came to the implementation of civil equality.

Jewish voices came to be heard calling for a break with "treacherous" Liberals and the adoption of an independent Jewish policy. In reaction to European antisemitism Theodor *Herzl published his *The Jewish State*. Herzl's outlook and his political ideas on the structure of the future Jewish state were formulated under the direct impact of the notions of European liberalism.

In the elections of 1900 the Jews of Vienna continued to vote mostly for the Liberals although some supported the Social Democrats. While the majority of the Jewish members did not support nationalist policies, they were sympathetic to the Czech People's Party led by Thomas Garrigue *Masaryk which, unlike other Liberal parties, included in its program an item granting the Jews the right to conduct their nationalist policy.

Italy

Emancipation of the Jews in Italy, as well as in Germany, was closely linked with the struggle for liberation of the country. Liberalism in Italy was first and foremost a struggle against the domination of the Catholic Church. The unification of Italy for the majority of Liberals meant the federation of the Italian states. Various revolutionary groups connected with Mazzini and Garibaldi set more radical goals. This was also the case with the Liberal Party of Piedmont (Kingdom of Sardinia) which played the leading role in the struggle for unification of Italy. Jewish emancipation in Piedmont occurred earlier than in other Italian states, namely in March–June 1848.

The Italian provinces which rebelled against Austrian rule – Venice and Lombardy – not only granted Jews equality, but elected them members of parliaments and governments. The provisional Republican Government of Venice was headed by the Italian patriot Daniele *Manin who was of Jewish origin. His government had two Jewish members: the minister of trade, Leone Pincherle, and the minister of finance, Isaac Maurogonato. The Parliament of Venice had eight Jewish members. In other Italian states where Liberal constitutions were adopted in 1848, such as Tuscany and Modena, the equality of Jews automatically came into force.

In Piedmont, the leaders of the ruling Liberal party invariably supported the idea of Jewish equality. In 1849 Massimo d'Azeglio became prime minister of Piedmont. He authored the book, entitled *On Civic Equality of Jews*, published on the eve of the Revolution. His successor, Count E. Cavour, also fought for the cause of Jewish equality: his secretary, Isaac *Artom, member of a distinguished Italian Jewish family, later became a prominent diplomat and statesman.

The unification of Italy, under the hegemony of Piedmont, led to the establishment of Jewish equality throughout the country and many Jews were active on the political scene. In 1910 Luigi *Luzzatti headed the Italian government. The triumph of Liberalism was accompanied by the rapid acculturation of the Jews in Italy, many of whom supported the Liberal party.

United States

In the United States the principles of Liberalism guided the country's Constitution and its political culture. No Liberal party as such has ever acquired political power in the U.S. but Liberal political figures have acted, as a rule, in the framework of the two main parties, the Republicans and the Democrats.

In the contemporary American political lexicon, the adherents of the so-called Welfare State are considered liberals, that is, they support social reforms and state intervention in the economy on behalf of economically deprived strata of the population, oppose racial discrimination, and adopt a "moderate" orientation in foreign policy. Contemporary American liberalism has rejected the principle of laissez-faire and approached European social democracy. Jews have been widely represented in the ranks of American liberals.

In the 1930s American liberalism associated itself with the New Deal of President Franklin D. *Roosevelt and with the Democratic party. A small Liberal party was founded in New York by several leaders including David *Dubinsky. In presidential elections it usually supported the Democratic nominees. The majority of American Jews invariably voted for Roosevelt and the liberal stance of U.S. Jewry on political questions became a tradition. For a long period the overwhelming majority of Jews continued to vote for the nominees of the Democratic Party and the Jews played a significant part in its liberal wing. Despite various counter-influences, including the affluence of American Jewry, their political stance has remained strongly liberal.

Russia

In Russia, due to the unique circumstances, first, noblemen, and afterwards, intelligentsia of lower strata were the main proponents of liberal views. The country's economic backwardness, the weakness of its bourgeoisie, and their dependence on the protectionist policy of the state led to a situation in which adherence to the principle of laissez-faire was – unlike in the West – not a basic principle.

During the first part of the 19th century so-called Western-minded figures, such as Timofey Granovsky and K. Kavelin, embraced Liberal ideas. In the age of "The Great Reforms" of the 1860s Russian Liberalism crystallized as an ideological movement opposed, on one hand, to Conservatism and, on the other, to revolutionary Radicalism.

The atmosphere of "The Great Reforms" contributed to growing assimilatory trends among the Jewish intelligentsia. However, already toward the end of the 1860s, the Liberal hopes for the peaceful introduction of a Constitutional system were disappointed. The implementation of reforms was delayed and, as a consequence, the revolutionary movement gained momentum. Part of the intellectuals joined the revolutionary populists (*narodniks*). The pogroms of the 1880s clearly shattered the illusion of the hopes of the assimilators that they could "merge" with the Russian people, and they also contributed to the nationalist revival among Russian Jewry.

The nationalist feelings among the Russian Jews were also the result of the detached and sometimes even supportive attitude of the representatives of the different political movements to the pogroms. Only a few figures in Russian Liberalism at the time condemned the pogroms and antisemitism. The Liberal philosopher Vladimir Solovyov was one such exception and evinced a profound understanding of the Jewish question. However, toward the end of the 19th century, the views of some sections of Russian society underwent a visible change regarding the Jewish question and all wings of the Liberalizing movement condemned the antisemitism as used by the Czarist government as a weapon in its struggle against revolutionary and liberal forces.

Liberalism in Russia appeared on the political scene as an organized political movement only at the beginning of the 20th century. In 1903 two movements were established: the Union of Liberation and the Union of Land-Constitutionalists which in 1905 united to form the Constitutional-Democratic Party (Kadet), the main party of Russian Liberalism. Fighting for civil equality for Jews, the Russian liberals, as well as the majority of socialists, considered assimilation a positive phenomenon. They did not encourage those Jews seeking a solution of their plight in collective nationalist independence. Non-socialist Jewry circles were politically attracted to the Kadet liberals. In 1904–05 Kadets initiated a campaign which laid the foundation for the establishment in March 1905 of the Union for Achieving the Equality of the Jewish People in Russia. This Union put forward both general democratic and specifically Jewish national demands. During the elections to the First State Assembly (Duma) the majority of the Jewish voters supported the Constitutional-Democratic Party.

In the First Duma, the Kadets appeared as the only party struggling for Jewish equality (the Socialist parties boycotted the elections). Many Jews appeared in the Kadet ranks, including Maxim *Vinawer, Henry *Sliozberg, and Shmarya *Levin. Nine of the 12 Jews elected to the Duma belonged to the Kadets.

The Union for Achieving Equality for the Jews of Russia split as a result of the decision of the Zionists to go to the elections as an independent party. The Jewish People's Group, established in 1907, consisted mostly of the Jewish Kadets. This Group put forward demands considered moderate compared with those of other Jewish parties and did not support the convening of a Jewish National Assembly. The Jewish People's Party (*Folkspartei*), organized at the end of 1906, joined the Liberals on general political issues.

After the dissolution of the First Duma, the Jewish Liberal members M. Gertzenstein and G.B. Yollos were killed by "Black Hundred" reactionaries. The machinations of the reactionaries resulted in a sharp drop in the number of Kadets in the Second Duma. The election to the Third Duma was conducted according to a new election law which enabled the authorities to reduce to a great extent the number of Jewish voters. Of the four Jewish members of the Second Duma, three belonged to the Kadet Party; both Jewish members of the Third Duma belonged to the Kadets. The representation of small Jewish parties collaborating with Kadets was also reduced.

Despite the fact that the Liberal movement had always spoken out for Jewish equality, discrimination against Jews never ceased. All the progressive camp opposed antisemitism but even certain Liberals disapproved of the "excessive" participation of the Jews in Russian culture. In an age of reaction, they put forward the slogan of *a-Semitism*, meaning indifference to the national needs of Russian Jews. The *Beilis Affair, provoked by Black Hundred Guards with the assistance of the authorities, became the focus of the struggle around "the Jewish Question" involving the Czarist government, on the one hand, and all the forces of the Liberal and radical opposition, on the other. Beilis' acquittal was viewed by public opinion in Russia and abroad as the victory of progressive forces over the Black Hundred reactionaries.

In the period of World War I which brought new calamities to Russian Jewry, Jewish leaders tried to evince the sympathies of Liberal and Radical members of the Duma. All the Jewish political factions united to struggle against antisemitism. Some Liberal public figures including Pavel Milyukov condemned the anti-Jewish policies of the military authorities, but did not consider it advisable to express new criticism openly in war time.

Nevertheless, the Conference of the Party for People's Freedom (Kadets) unanimously adopted in June 1915 a resolution, following the opinion of Vinawer, which unreservedly condemned the persecution of Jews. The progressive bloc, established on the Kadets' initiative in the framework of the Duma in August 1915, put forward a program stipulating the gradual expansion of Jewish rights: further steps to liquidate the Pale of Settlement, the reduction of the Jewish quota for higher educational establishments, and the cancellation of restrictions on Jewish occupations. But the implementation of the program was postponed indefinitely and the inactivity of the Progressive Bloc on the Jewish question was sharply criticized by the leftist parties.

After the February Revolution of 1917 liquidated all types of Jewish inequality, Russian Liberalism had to retreat under the pressure of Radical forces demanding expansion of the Revolution and the self-determination of all nationalities of the Russian Empire. The October upheaval ended Liberalism as a political force in Russia.

Conclusion

In the 19th century Liberalism acted as the leading political force in many European countries, but in the 20th century it lost its former significance. In the second half of the 20th century it regained some of its former influence, especially in its renovated program supporting the welfare state, among the Jewish communities of Europe and of North and South America, as well as in the communities of South Africa and Australia. At the same time the influence of radical Socialist and Communist movements and factions in those communities gradually decreased.

[Naftali Prat / *Shorter Jewish Encyclopedia in Russian*]

LIBEREC (Ger. **Reichenberg**), city in N. Bohemia, Czech Republic. There were 60 Jews in Liberec in 1582. There was no community in the city during the 18th and first half of the 19th centuries. Although there were 57 Jews in Liberec in 1811, no community was permitted and their residence there was illegal (see *Familiants Law). The Jewish wool dealers, among them Simon von *Laemel, were among the developers of the textile industry. The Jews were permitted to remain in the town only during the week – the church authorities published an ordinance on the subject in 1776. In 1799 and 1810 the Jews were officially evicted from private houses and were allotted special inns, but after 1848 Jews settled in the town. Later, a congregation was founded (1863), a synagogue was dedicated (1889), and an Orthodox prayer room, Achdus Yissroel, was established. In 1912 there were 1,240 Jews in the town (3.4% of the total population) and in 1930 there were 1,392 (3.6%). At the time of the Sudeten crisis (1938) the Jews left Liberec; some 30 remained behind and were arrested. The synagogue was demolished on Nov. 10, 1938. A community was refounded in 1945, with most of the members coming from *Subcarpathian Ruthenia. In 1946 the community numbered 1,211 Jews, including 37 original inhabitants, 1,174 postwar settlers, among them 182 members of the Czechoslovak army-in-exile. The prayer room and a memorial tablet to the victims of the Holocaust were restored in 1987. A small congregation was active in the early 21st century and a cemetery was in use.

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[Jan Herman / Yeshayahu Jelinek (2nd ed.)]

LIBERMAN, SERGE (1942–), Australian writer of fiction. Born in Russia, Liberman arrived in Melbourne, Australia, with his parents in 1951. A physician, he became probably the best-known living Australian Jewish writer of fiction. Liberman published several volumes of short stories, including *On Firmer Shores* (1981), *A Universe of Clowns* (1983), *The Life That I Have Led* (1985), and *The Battered and the Redeemed* (1990). Essentially, Liberman tried to show both the inevitable failure of any view of life lacking a traditional base, but also the inadequacy of such a view in the modern secular world. He was also the editor of a Yiddish-oriented literary journal, the *Melbourne Chronicle*, and the co-compiler of the *Bibliography of Australian Judaica* (1987).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: W.D. Rubinstein, Australia II, 331–332.

[William D. Rubinstein (2nd ed.)]

LIBERMAN, YEVSEY GRIGORYEVICH (1897–1983), Soviet economist. Liberman studied at the Kharkov Engineering Economics Institute and began his teaching and research career in 1933. From 1947 to 1963 he held the chair of economics and organization of machine-building industry at the Institute. In 1963 he was appointed professor of statistics and accounting at Kharkov University. Liberman received worldwide notice for his pronouncements in a debate which started in 1962 on the need for economic reforms in the U.S.S.R.

Liberman's ideas represented a school of thought among Soviet economists who demanded more rationality in the planning process, new criteria of success, and more freedom of decision-making or autonomy for management. Thus, Liberman represented a reaction against the overcentralization of economic administration in the U.S.S.R., against the insufficiency of material incentives for management and workers, and against many arbitrary criteria of success of individual enterprises. According to Liberman the old system inflicted heavy costs upon the state by obstructing useful innovations and insufficiently stimulating progress, and upon the welfare of the workers and consumers. Liberman assumed that administrative reforms would introduce greater flexibility in the system, and self-interest on the part of management and workers would improve both the quantity and quality of production. Liberman argued that the reforms would not limit the basic political decisions but rather improve the efficiency of the basic economic plans. The goal of every enterprise and the criteria of its success should be the maximization of profits from which the incentive payments for workers and management should be drawn. Thus profits would become, under the Soviet conditions, primarily an index which measures the efficiency of the performance of the enterprise, reflecting the increase of the quantity and quality of production, the growth of labor productivity and utilization of resources, and simultaneously a measure of the reward of society for successful performance.

Encouraged by the promises of liberalization in economic administration made by Kosygin but also frustrated that most of his proposals were not introduced in practice, Liberman continued to advocate direct links between the industrial enterprises and the trade organizations, so as to make the industrial production more responsive to the needs and wishes of the consumers. He continued to demand a decrease of centralization by suggesting the reduction of the number of products centrally planned and spoke up against imposing an a priori wage fund upon the enterprises.

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[Arcadius Kahan]

LIBESKIND, DANIEL (1946–), U.S. architect. From Lodz in Poland, where his parents bought their seven-year-old boy an accordion because they did not think a Jew should be seen with a piano, the family moved to Israel in 1957. There, he won a music competition. One of the judges was violinist Isaac *Stern, who urged him to switch to the piano. Two years later, Libeskind and his family moved to a one-room apartment in the Bronx. Libeskind soon tired of the piano. "Music was not about abstract intellectual thought – it was about playing … I couldn't see spending my life on the stage," he said. After attending the Bronx High School of Science, Libeskind went to Cooper Union for the Advancement of Science and Art in New York, where he became a prize student and was offered a job with architect Richard *Meier. He quit this firm after seven days, complaining that Meier's style was a high-class form of standardization. In 1969, he married Nina Lewis, who became his organizer and together the team became known as "Studio Libeskind." To pursue architecture, Libeskind went to the University of Essex in England, where in 1971 he earned a master's degree in the history and theory of architecture. After a few years of teaching, he accepted a job as head of the elite school of architecture at Cranbrook Academy in Michigan, an astonishing appointment for a 32-year-old. After seven years, Libeskind and his wife left Cranbrook for Milan, Italy. His theoretical drawings for a housing project in Berlin won a prize in 1987. These drawings caught the attention of architect Philip Johnson, who included them in an exhibit called "Deconstructivist Architecture" at the Museum of Modern Art in New York. His career was made. In 1989, while he was a Getty Scholar in Los Angeles, his design for the Berlin Jewish history museum won the open competition. In 1991, before exhibit installations, the museum became famous for the way Libeskind incorporated the tragedy of German Jewish history into the structure of the building. There were slanted walls, a dark tower, slits for windows, and an empty space, a void, running through the whole construction, all designed to create anxiety. In 1998, the Felix Nussbaum Haus opened in Osnabruck, Germany, a Libeskind design, which was a small museum built by the city to memorialize the tragic fate of the painter whose life was cut short by the Holocaust. When in February 2003, Studio Libeskind won the competition for the design of the World Trade Center in New York, immediate conflicts occurred with the owner of the building, who wanted his architect, David Childs, of Skidmore Owings & Merrill to do the design. Childs and Libeskind worked out a compromise. Libeskind buildings have been built in Mallorca, London, Copenhagen, Seoul, and Tel Aviv. At least 11 more were being designed in 2005. In 2004 Libeskind was appointed cultural ambassador for architecture by the U.S. Department of State.

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[Betty R. Rubenstein (2nd ed.)]

LIBIN, Z. (pseudonym of **Israel Zalman Hurwitz**; 1872–1955), Yiddish novelist. Libin escaped Czarist military service by immigrating to London (1891) and on to New York, where he worked three years in sweatshops. Although he began his literary career in Russian, he became a pioneer of Yiddish literature in the U.S., publishing his first story in 1892; in over half a century of creative work, he contributed to newspapers and periodicals, such as *Tsukunft*, *Arbeter Tsaytung*, and especially *Forverts*, writing light articles about daily events, hundreds of realistic, compassionate stories and sketches about immigrant life and the struggles and the suffering of sweatshop workers, and some 50 plays, which were produced in the U.S. and Europe. His most famous play, *Di Gebrokhene Hertser* ("Broken Hearts," 1903), was first produced with Jacob and Sarah *Adler in the lead roles and was later played by various companies throughout the world. It was filmed in 1926 by Maurice *Schwartz, who inaugurated his Yiddish Art Theater in 1918 with Libin's play *Der Man un Zayn Shotn* ("The Man and His Shadow"). Many of Libin's stories and plays remained uncollected. Among his published books are *Geklibene Skitsn* ("Selected Skits," 1902), *Geklibene Shriftn* ("Selected Works," 2 vols., 1910), and *Gezamlte Verk* ("Collected Works," 4 vols., 1915–16), and his tragicomedy *Kolegn* (Engl. trans. *Colleagues*, 1915).

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257–72; E. Schulman, *Geshikhte fun der Yidisher Literatur in Amerike*, (1943), 133–36.

[Elias Schulman / Marc Miller (2nd ed.)]

LIBNAH (Heb. לִבְנָה).

(1) Station of the Israelites on the route of the Exodus, between Rimmon-Perez and Rissah (Num. 33:20–21). It is perhaps identical with Laban (Deut. 1:1).

(2) Canaanite city-state in the Shephelah which Joshua conquered and destroyed after Makkedah and before Lachish (Josh. 10:29ff.; 12:15). It was allotted to the levites (Josh. 21:13; I Chron. 6:42) and was included in the fourth district of Judah which extended over the eastern Shephelah (Josh. 15:42). The city revolted against Joram, king of Judah, at the same time as Edom, but was subdued (II Kings 8:22; II Chron. 21:10). Hamutal, the mother of kings Jehoahaz and Zedekiah, was a native of Libnah (II Kings 23:31; 24:18; Jer. 52:1). It was attacked by Sennacherib after the fall of Lachish (II Kings 19:8; Isa. 37:8). Eusebius identifies it with Lobana, a village of Eleutheropolis (Onom. 120:23ff.). The identification of the ancient city with Tell al-Ṣāfi, the crusader *Blanche-Garde* ("the white tower"; cf. Heb. *lavan*, "white"; see *Gath, now identified with this site), has been superseded in scholarly opinion by that with Tell Birnāt, 2 mi. (3.2 km.) northwest of Bet Guvrin or with nearby Tell-al-Judayda.

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[Michael Avi-Yonah]

LIBOWITZ, SAMUEL NEHEMIAH (1862–1939), writer on Jewish subjects. Born in Kolno, Poland, he immigrated to America in 1881. He traded in precious stones and was so successful that he could afford to print over 20 books in limited editions. He corresponded with eminent Jewish scholars including Israel *Davidson, to whom he wrote 107 letters, which he later published himself in 1933. His works include *Peni'el* (1914), a collection from Jewish literature on the subject of death; *Ha-Mavet be-Fanim Soḥakot* (1917); *Sefer Sha'ashu'im* (1927); and *Ha-Shome'a Yiẓḥak* (1907), sharp-witted jokes and original interpretations of the rabbis and from the Middle Ages; *Judah Aryeh Modena bi-Demuto ve-Ẓivyono* (1896); *Kitvei ha-Rav Yehudah Aryeh mi-Modena* (1936); and *Doresh Reshumot ha-Aggadah* (1893, 1920^2, 1929^3), explanations of several *aggadot* of the Talmud. He also edited and published *Oẓar ha-Ḥokhmah ve-ha-Madda* (1897), in collaboration with Jacob Reifmann, Moses Reicherson, Solomon Rabin, and others. In several of his works he violently polemized against such scholars as R. Isaac Hirsch Weiss, Ze'ev Schorr, Radkinson, Saul Tchernichowsky, and Joseph Klausner. He immigrated to Palestine in 1927, but his longing for his children took him back to America.

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[Chayim Reuven Rabinowitz]

LIBRARIES. A library is a collection of information resources, in all formats, organized and made accessible for study. The word derives from the Latin *liber* ("book"). The origin of libraries, keeping of written records, dates at least to the third millennium B.C.E. in Babylonia.

In antiquity, Judaica collections were first mentioned in II Maccabees 2:13–14, where mention is made of a "treasury" of books established by Nehemiah (in the Temple?) that contained "books about the kings and prophets, the books of David (Psalms), and royal letters about sacred gifts." Another early library, the Dead Sea Scrolls, now comprises the remains of the library of the community living in Qumran shortly before and after the beginning of the present era. Fragments from the Cairo **Genizah* reveal the existence of both public and private libraries in the geonic period.

Early Libraries

Communities, synagogues, and *battei midrash* were anxious to establish libraries. Libraries were found in almost every *talmud torah* in Italy. In the Verona *talmud torah* of 1650 there were rules which required a special room to be set aside for the library. Other Italian communities such as Ferrara, Reggio Emilia, Pisa, and Leghorn also had libraries, often enriched by the acquisition of private collections. The Amsterdam Sephardi community library, at their Talmud Torah school, is mentioned in 1680 by the bibliographer Shabbetai Bass in his *Siftei Yeshenim*.

Modern Libraries

The 19th century saw the development of libraries in public institutions. They were established as communal libraries, organizational libraries, libraries attached to rabbinical seminaries, and Judaica and Hebraica collections in national, public, and major university libraries. Before the end of the 19th century the Abrabanel Library was established in Jerusalem (1884) (see J. Chasanowich). This later developed into the Jewish National and University *Library.

COMMUNAL LIBRARIES. The first of the modern Jewish communal libraries was established at Mantua at the end of the 18th century. Many communities in Germany established their own libraries. They were intended mainly for the use of teachers and young people. Libraries were found in major Jewish communities throughout Europe such as Berlin, Frankfurt, Hamburg, Munich, and Breslau, as well as the communities of Vienna, Prague, Warsaw, Vilna, and Zurich. Most were destroyed or disbursed during the Nazi era but many have been reestablished, particularly in Eastern Europe subsequent to the fall of Communism in the early 1990s.

In the United States many libraries were established through synagogues and were designed to work closely with the synagogue religious schools and for recreational reading and studying for synagogue members.

In pre-state Israel there were very few communal libraries. After the establishment of the State of Israel great advances were made. They included community libraries ranging from the Yeshurun Synagogue Library in Jerusalem to special libraries meeting specific community needs.

ORGANIZATIONAL LIBRARIES. Jewish organizations on all continents have developed substantial libraries. Their holdings vary considerably according to the mission of the particular organization. In 1867, Albert Cohen, the representative in Palestine of Baron Rothschild, established a small library in Jerusalem, which was administered by Dr. London, physician in the Rothschild Hospital. Development of libraries was slow during the *yishuv* period and libraries were primarily the private initiative of individuals or such bodies as the *Histadrut. However, voluntary bodies interested in cultural work established popular reading and lending libraries, such as Jewish trade unions, Zionist and Socialist societies, women's organizations, and youth movements.

Originating with the *Haskalah movement, organizations throughout Europe established libraries as part of their ongoing operations. With the emigration of Jews from Europe to the Northern Hemisphere, Israel, and Australia organizational libraries blossomed.

In post-World War II Europe organizations such as historical societies and local museums have taken responsibility for community collections where the community is no longer significant, and in many cases, no longer exists. In Israel, organization libraries such as museum libraries, corporate libraries, and special libraries house archival and historical documents providing primary research materials.

RABBINICAL SEMINARIES. The first rabbinical seminary library was established at the Collegio Rabbinico Italiano, which was located first in Padua, and moved from there to Rome, Florence, and again back to Rome. The Breslau Jewish Theological Seminary library attained considerable importance as did the Berlin Rabbinical Seminary and the Hochschule (Lehranstalt) fuer die Wissenschaft des Judentums. With the geographic shift to and expansion of Jewish life in the U.S. major collections were established, and remain at the forefront of Judaica libraries, at the Jewish Theological Seminary in New York and at the Hebrew Union College in Cincinnati. Yeshivah libraries were established in Israel as well. The Central Rabbinical Library, attached to Hechal Shelomo, houses important collections saved from the Holocaust. The Chabad movement established rabbinic collections in their major centers as well and serve as libraries for their seminaries and as community libraries worldwide. Jewish teachers seminaries, in Israel, the United States, and the United Kingdom, have developed their own libraries.

Nazi Period

The persecution of European Jewry by Nazi Germany (1933–45) brought with it the wholesale confiscation of both public and private libraries. Some of the books were moved to the Institut zur Erforschung der Judenfrage in Frankfurt on the Main. Toward the end of World War II, looted books were brought by the Nazis to central stores in southern Germany and western Czechoslovakia. When recovered after the war, mainly by a body called Jewish Cultural Reconstruction, they were returned wherever possible to the heirs of their owners; the more than 1,000,000 volumes that remained were distributed to Jewish libraries and cultural or educational organizations in Israel, America, and other parts of the Diaspora. With the fall of Communism in the early 1990s, collections of books both in complete libraries and scattered throughout the entire region of Eastern Europe became accessible again. Many books remained on site and others were disbursed and purchased by collectors and libraries primarily in the U.S., Europe, and Israel.

Jewish Sections in General Libraries

NATIONAL AND PUBLIC LIBRARIES. Hebraica and Judaica collections have been included in great national and municipal libraries, for the preservation of Jewish literary and scholarly treasures since antiquity. The library of Alexandria contained the Septuagint and other Judeo-Hellenistic works. Medieval monastery libraries frequently contained Hebrew, particularly Bible, codices; records of persecutions, expulsions, book burnings and confiscations filled their shelves, as well as those of episcopal and princely palaces and of medieval universities. The interest in Hebrew studies produced by the age of Reformation and Humanism led many Christian scholars such as Johann Reuchlin and J.A. Widmanstad (1506–1557) to collect Hebrew manuscripts and books. Significant collections are found throughout Europe in national, royal, monastic, and municipal libraries, particularly in countries where great Jewish traditions were found such as Spain (El Escorial), Italy (Vatican and many others), the United Kingdom (British Library), France (Bibliotheque National), Germany (Deutsches Statsbibliothek), Denmark (Royal Library), Austria (National Library), Hungary (National Library), and Russia (State Libraries in St. Petersberg and Moscow).

Most notable in the U.S. is the significant Hebraica collection found in the Library of Congress; the New York Public Library and the Boston Public Library house significant collections as well.

In Israel, the Sapir Public Library in Petaḥ Tikvah was established at the end of the 19th century. The Jewish National and University Library (JNUL) in Jerusalem fulfills a double function: to serve as the National Library to collect all print and non-print materials deposited in its collections on Jewish subjects to serve the general public; and to provide the university community with the required materials to support its curriculum. The JNUL houses the largest collection of Judaica and Hebraica in the world and is the center for documentation of all Judaica and Hebraica collections. Library collections are found in the Knesset, various ministries, and other governmental organizations.

Public libraries in Israel are spread throughout the country and are found in most cities, towns, villages, settlements, and kibbutzim. They serve the local population primarily with Hebraica but also house local historical documents, record books, memorial books, and archival documents related to their specific community and to European and Middle Eastern communities from which their local population emigrated. Of particular note are kibbutz memorial books documenting the lives of their deceased members.

UNIVERSITY LIBRARIES. University libraries in Europe have for many centuries collected Judaica and Hebraica to support their study of religion, the Judeo-Christian tradition, and humanities. Significant collections are found in major university libraries such as in the United Kingdom (Oxford University, Cambridge University, University of Manchester), in Italy (University of Bologna), the Ukraine (Vernadsky Library), and the Netherlands (Amsterdam University Library – Rosenthaliana).

In the U.S. there has been a significant growth of Jewish studies programs in academic institutions, and to support the university curriculum Judaica and Hebraica collections have blossomed in major large universities. Harvard University has the most comprehensive collection of contemporary Israeli culture. Columbia and Yale universities hold significant historical collections. The University of Pennsylvania acquired a very significant Judaica library (Dropsie College) and has placed itself among the most significant collections. Stanford University and University of Michigan are actively acquiring and are developing fine collections in Jewish studies.

Israeli universities house Judaica collections primarily to support the curriculum. Significant archival collections are found in all the universities. The universities are all linked through the Israel Center for Digital Information Services (MALMAD) set up in 1998 by the Israel Association of University Heads (Va'ad Rashei ha-Universita'ot) to serve as a joint framework (consortium) for the acquisition, licensing, and operation of information services to all the Israeli universities. Colleges, technical schools, and academies of art, music, and design each have significant collections related to their specialized fields.

Library Association

The Association of Jewish Libraries, an international organization established in 1968, promotes Jewish literacy through enhancement of libraries and library resources and through leadership for the profession and practitioners of Judaica librarianship. The association fosters access to information, learning, teaching, and research relating to Jews, Judaism, the Jewish experience, and Israel. The association publishes a scholarly journal, *Judaica Librarianship*, and hosts an online discussion group called Hasafran. The Israel Library Association supports librarians and libraries in Israel.

Library Catalog

Library catalogs in the modern sense were first published in the 17th century, but book lists are much older (see *Books; *Book Trade). Some from the 12th century were found in the Cairo **Genizah*. Immanuel of Rome (13th century) mentions a catalog arranged according to subject matter. The first to introduce a systematic division according to subjects was *Manasseh Ben Israel (1604–1657). From the end of the 17th century sale catalogs began to be printed, such as those of S. Abbas and Solomon Proops, both of Amsterdam, or later the famous collection of David Oppenheimer. In modern times M. Steinschneider did pioneering work in the field of bibliography. The first scientific listing was his catalog of the Hebrew books of the Bodleian Library (1852–60). J. Zedner followed with his catalog of the Jewish books in the British Museum (1867). Today library catalogs are virtual and accessible over the Internet.

Libraries in the 21st Century

Library collections today encompass the wide range of information media available. They include manuscripts, historical documents, rare books, prints, archival collections, and contemporary literature. Included in these collections are also non-print materials in the areas of Jewish music, scores, and recordings in a multitude of formats, films, multimedia collections, and most recently electronic virtual collections.

In the last quarter of the 20th century an information explosion took place throughout the world. It has affected all libraries, including stand-alone Judaica libraries and Judaica collections found in general libraries. Shared cataloging allowed for libraries to enter their bibliographic records into a central database and for members to "copy" the cataloging record for its local use. OCLC, in Dublin, Ohio was the first shared catalog. It was followed by the Research Library Group in Mountain View, California, which in 1989, in their Research Library Information Network (RLIN), added Hebrew vernacular script capability for electronic cataloging. The academic and research libraries subscribed to the OCLC and RLIN systems and are active contributors of Judaica and Hebraica records to their databases. Concurrently, large library collections were purchasing integrated library systems to manage their collections and activities. Retrospective conversion of card catalogs to machine readable bibliographic records of major collections were undertaken and most were completed by the turn of the 21st century. With the rapid and ubiquitous development of the Internet and personal computers, access to library collections throughout the world changed dramatically. In the mid 1990s, with the expansion of the worldwide web, access to library catalogs, now online public access catalogs (OPAC), became accessible from all corners of the globe.

Libraries and Judaica collections, as part of institutions, developed websites featuring links to their holdings, listing web resources in Judaica, and highlighting online exhibitions and more recently digital collections.

The Israel Center for Digital Information Services, MALMAD, has taken the lead in establishing and maintaining electronic indexes such as RAMBI, the Israeli Union Catalog, and the Israeli Union List of Serials. Other public and private organizations have built extraordinary databases providing a wealth of information such as Shamash.org or Maven.co.il.

Digital collections featuring rare and unique materials from library collections are growing exponentially. The

JNUL has pioneered the efforts in establishing numerous cooperative digital collections all freely available through their website. Some of the projects to date include an international database of *ketubbot*, which includes bibliographic descriptions and images from public and private collections worldwide, the Online Treasury of Talmudic Manuscripts, the National Sound Archives, and the Ancient Maps of Jerusalem, among others.

Virtual libraries are developing with electronic access to full texts of classical Judaic sources through databases such as the Bar-Ilan Responsa Project, the Otzar ha-Hochma database, and the Lieberman Institute for Talmudic Research database (which are currently all fee-based), while the German Compact Memory database and the Kiryat Sefer projects have free access to full texts of monographs and periodicals.

Currently a number of international digitization projects are underway. The Friedberg Genizah Project is amassing digital collections of fragments from the Cairo *Genizah* found in major collections at Cambridge University (U.K.) and at the Library of the Jewish Theological Seminary (U.S.). Tel Aviv University (Israel) has undertaken a project to digitize unique Jewish newspapers found throughout the world.

Digitization of parts of collections are being done in numerous institutions in Israel, Europe, and the United States. Visual, audio, motion, and text files are being converted to digital format and are being made available over the Internet. "Born digital" periodicals have become more and more frequent such as the Edah Journal.

The library of the 21st century has changed significantly since ancient times. Its mission to collect and organize information to make it available for study has not changed over the past 2,000 years but the means in which it is accomplished has.

The following is a partial list of Judaica collections on the Web (source Princeton University Library and Amherst University Library).

Australia
Makor Jewish Community Library
Monash University – Humanities and Social Sciences Library – The Laura and Israel Kipen Judaica Collection, including the Giligich Yiddish Collection
University of Sydney – Fisher Library – Rare Books & Special Collections – Archive of Australian Judaica

Austria
Juedisches Museum Wien
Osterreichishce Nationalbibliothek
Universitaet Wien – Bibliothek des Instituts fuer Judaistik

Canada
Albert and Temmy Latner Jewish Public Library of Toronto
Canadian Jewish Congress Archives Jewish Heritage Centre of Western Canada – Archives
Jewish Public Library (Montreal)
McGill University: Jewish Studies/McGill Catalog
National Library of Canada/Jacob M. Lowy Collection: old and rare Hebraica and Judaica comprising 3,000 printed books from the 15th to the 20th centuries, including 34 Hebrew and Latin incunables, more than 120 editions of Bibles in many languages. Strong in Italian Hebraica and in examples of Hebrew printing from Spain to the Orient.
University of Toronto Libraries/Catalog: largest Judaica collection in Canada
Ontario Jewish Archives

Curaçao
Mongui Maduro Biblioteka – Judaica Collection

Czech Republic
Jewish Museum in Prague – Library

Denmark
Det Kongelige Bibliotek – Orientalia and Judaica

Finland
Helsinki University Library – Hebraica Collection

France
Alliance Israélite Universelle
Bibliotheque Medem
Bibliotheque Nationale (holds more than 30,000 Hebrew volumes)
Centre de Documentation Juive Contemporaine
Centre d'Etudes juives

Germany
Die Deutsche Bibliothek (Leipzig) – Anne-Frank-Shoah-Bibliothek
Germania Judaica: Koelner Bibliothek zur Geschichte des deutschen Judentums
Institut fuer die Geschichte der deutschen Juden – Bibliothek
Das Juedische Museum Westfalen – Bibliothek
Simon-Dubnow-Institut fuer juedische Geschichte und Kultur – Bibliothek
Stadt- und Universitaetsbibliothek Frankfurt am Main – Hebraica- und Judaica-Sammlung
Universitaet Potsdam – Moses Mendelssohn Zentrum fuer Europaeisch-Juedische Studien – Bibliothek
Zentralarchiv zur Erforschung der Geschichte der Juden in Deutschland

Israel
Israeli University Libraries
Bar-Ilan University Library
Ben-Gurion University of the Negev: Aranne Library
Hebrew University Libraries
Jewish National & University Library
Technion Library
Tel Aviv University Libraries
University of Haifa Library
Weizman Institute of Science Libraries

Israeli Archives/Research Centers

Abba Eban Center for Israeli Diplomacy
The Aviezer Yellin Archives of Jewish Education in Israel and the Diaspora
Babylonian Jewry Heritage Center
Central Zionist Archives: archives of the World Zionist Organization, the Jewish Agency, the Jewish National Fund, Keren Hayesod, and the World Jewish Congress
Ghetto Fighters' House: Holocaust and Jewish Resistance Heritage Museum
Israel Museum/Library of Art & Archeology
The Jabotinsky Institute
The Melton Centre for Jewish Education
Moshe Dayan Center for Middle Eastern and African Studies
Rabin Center for Israel Studies
The Steven Spielberg Jewish Film Archive
Vidal Sassoon Center for the Study of Antisemitism/Catalog Access
The Yad Ben-Zvi Library
Yad Vashem Library

Italy

Centro di Documentazione Ebraica Contemporanea
Jewish Community of Venice – Renato Maestro Library and Archives
Archivio delle tradizioni e del costume ebraici "Benvenuto e Alessandro Terracini," Torino

Netherlands

Amsterdam University Library – Department of Judaica and Hebraica – Bibliotheca Rosenthaliana
Joods Historisch Museum Library
Leiden University Library – Oriental Department

New Zealand

New Zealand Jewish Archives

Russia

Institute of Oriental Studies, St. Petersburg
Judaica Library of the Russian State University for the Humanities in Moscow
Petersburg Jewish University

Sweden

Uppsala University – University Library

Switzerland

Israelitische Gemeinde Basel – Karger-Bibliothek
Israelitischen Cultusgemeindein Zurich – Die Bibliothek
Zentralbibliothek Zurich – Hebraistik und Judaistik

South Africa

University of Cape Town – Jewish Studies Library

United Kingdom

British Library – Oriental Division
Cambridge University Library – The Taylor-Schechter Genizah Research Unit
Leeds University Library – Cecil Roth Collection
Oxford Centre for Hebrew and Jewish Studies – The Leopold Muller Memorial Library
Oxford University – Boedlein Library
University College London – Library
University of Manchester – The John Rylands University Library Collection
University of Southampton Libraries – Special Collections

United States

Universities/Research Libraries with Judaica Collections and resources on the web

Baltimore Hebrew University
Brandeis University Libraries
Columbia University: Resources for Jewish Students
Cleveland College of Jewish Studies – The Aaron Garber Library
College of Charleston – Robert Scott Small Library – Special Collections – Jewish Heritage Collection
Florida Atlantic University Libraries – Molly S. Fraiberg Judaica Collections
The George Washington University – Gelman Library – I. Edward Kiev Collection
Gratz College/Tuttleman Library
Harvard University
Hebrew College Library
Hebrew Theological College
Hebrew Union College
Jewish Theological Seminary
Library of Congress: Hebraic Section
New York Public Library: Jewish Division
New York University Judaic Studies Resources
Ohio State University
Princeton University Library – Jewish Studies Resources
Reconstructionist Rabbinical College – The Mordecai M. Kaplan Library and Archives
Spertus Institute of Jewish Studies: Asher Library
Stanford University/Hebraica & Judaica Collections
Touro College Libraries
University of California at Berkeley/ Judaica Collections
UCLA Library Collections: Jewish Resources
University of Judaism – Ostrow Library
University of Maryland – University of Maryland Libraries – S.L. and Eileen Shneiderman Collection of Yiddish Books
University of Michigan: Near East Division
University of Pennsylvania/Center for Judaic Studies
Yale University
Yeshiva University/Mendel Gottesman Library of Hebraica/Judaica

Archives/Research Centers

American Jewish Archives
American Jewish Historical Society
Bureau of Jewish Education of San Francisco, the Peninsula, Marin and Sonoma Counties – Jewish Community Library

Center for Jewish History
Chabad – Lubavitch Library
Congregation Emanu-El of the City of New York – Ivan M. Stettenheim Library
Jewish Women's Archives
Judah L. Magnes Museum – Library and Archives
Leo Baeck Institute
National Yiddish Book Center
Rutgers University: Center for the Study of Jewish Life
Simon Wiesenthal Center
Spertus Institute of Jewish Studies
United States Holocaust Memorial Museum Library
Yivo Institute for Jewish Research

[Isaiah Sonne / Naomi Steinberger (2nd ed.)]

LIBRARY, JEWISH NATIONAL AND UNIVERSITY, the national library of Israel and the Jewish people, also serving as the library of the *Hebrew University in Jerusalem. The library dates from 1892, when *B'nai B'rith founded a public library in Jerusalem to which in 1895 a Bialystok physician, Joseph *Chasanowich (Chazanowicz), presented his collection of 8,800 books, mostly in Hebrew. Other gifts followed and by 1920, when the library was taken over by the Zionist organization, the number of volumes had reached about 30,000. Under the direction of the philosopher Samuel Hugo *Bergman, who was librarian from 1920 till 1935, the number of volumes increased to 300,000. Between 1936 and 1946, under Gotthold *Weil, about 150,000 books were added. When the Hebrew University was opened on Mount Scopus in 1925, the library was transferred to it, and in 1930 it was installed in the Wolffsohn building.

In 1948, when communication with Mount Scopus was broken off as a result of the War of Independence, the library contained nearly half a million books. Curt *Wormann, who had been appointed librarian only a few months earlier, had to build it up anew in western Jerusalem, where it was housed in the Terra Sancta building. With the help of friends and supporters in Israel and abroad, it acquired tens of thousands of books and was brought back into working condition. In the years following World War II, the university (later joined by the Ministry of Religious Affairs) salvaged hundreds of thousands of books in Europe, as well as hundreds of manuscripts (chiefly Hebraica and Judaica), the remnants of Jewish public and private libraries looted by the Nazis. Many of these were incorporated into the National Library; the rest were distributed among university, public, synagogue, and yeshivah libraries throughout the country.

Following an agreement with the Jordanian government in 1958 (through the mediation of the secretary-general of the UN, Dag Hammarskjöld), about 350,000 books from Mount Scopus were gradually transferred to the Israel-held sector of Jerusalem. In 1960 a library building was opened on the new campus at Givat Ram. At the beginning of 1968, the library possessed about 1,500,000 volumes, over a quarter of them Hebraica and Judaica, together with 6,100 Hebrew and 800 other manuscripts. In 1962, the Institute of Microfilms of Hebrew Manuscripts was transferred to the library from the Ministry of Education and Culture. From then until 1971 it had acquired 25,000 photocopies of Hebrew manuscripts from 18 countries, together with thousands of photographs of **genizah* fragments. In 2005 it housed approximately five million items. From 1924 the library published a bibliographical quarterly, **Kirjath Sepher*, listing all current publications in Palestine and Israel and all Judaic publications appearing elsewhere. An Institute of Hebrew Bibliography in the library records all books published in Hebrew characters. Since 1956, a graduate library school has been functioning at the library.

The library possesses a number of special collections: the Zalman Schocken collection of Hebrew incunabula; the Ignaz Goldziher collection of Orientalia (especially of Islamica and Arabica); the Harry Friedenwald collection on Jews in medicine; the Abraham Schwadron (Sharon) collection of Jewish autographs and portraits; the Immanuel Loew collection of Judaica and Hebraica (including his personal archives); the A.S. Yahuda collection of Orientalia, Hebraica, and Judaica; and a collection of Jewish and non-Jewish manuscripts from all over the world, including illuminated and non-illuminated manuscripts of the Bible. The library also has the personal archives of Aḥad Ha-Am, Martin Buber, Joseph Klausner, Stefan Zweig, S.J. Agnon, Itzik Manger, Uri Zevi Greenberg, S. Yizhar, A.B. Yehoshua, and others. It also houses the Albert Einstein archive. It includes reading rooms for various subjects, such as Judaism, the East, Journalism, Music, Kabbalah and Jewish Thought, Maps and Travelogues, History of Science, etc. The Library aims to digitalize a large number of its items to make them available on the Internet.

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[Shlomo Shunami / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

LIBSCHITZ, BARUCH MORDECAI BEN JACOB (1810–1885), Polish rabbi and author. Libschitz occupied successively rabbinical positions at Siemiatycze, Volkovysk, and Novogrudok, before he was appointed rabbi of Siedlce in 1876. He was acknowledged as a leading halakhic authority and many turned to him with their halakhic questions. Although Siedlce was a ḥasidic community, as a Lithuanian Libschitz was opposed to ḥasidism and often came into conflict with the members of his community who were used to ḥasidic rabbis. He was one of the first to support the Ḥovevei Zion movement and in his letters to Joseph Friedland, the first propagandist of the Zionist movement, he gave him much encouragement. He was also one of the main supporters of the establishment of the Eẓ Ḥayyim yeshivah in Jerusalem. He published *Berit Ya'akov*, responsa on the Shulḥan Arukh (pt. 1 ḤM; pt. 2 EH, 1876–77); and *Beit Mordekhai*, sermons and memorial addresses (1881). His *Minḥat Bikkurim*, talmudic novellae, has remained in manuscript. He had two sons, MEIR EZEKIEL, who settled in Jerusalem and died there in 1909, and JACOB ZALMAN (d. 1915); their talmudic novellae appear in the works of R. Elijah *Klatzkin, the rabbi of Lublin who had settled in Jerusalem.

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[Itzhak Alfassi]

LIBYA, country in N. Africa, consisting of the regions of Tripolitania, Cyrenaica (see *Cyrene), and Fezzan. Isolated finds of Jewish origin from pre-Exilic Ereẓ Israel were discovered both in Cyrenaica and Tripolitania, but there is no reliable evidence of Jewish presence in those regions before the time of Ptolemy Lagos (ruled Egypt 323–282 B.C.E.); he is reported to have settled Jews in the Cyrenean Pentapolis to strengthen his regime there, probably in 312 B.C.E. The phrases used consistently in the sources point to their distribution around Cyrene presumably as military settlers on royal land. The temporary extension of Ptolemaic control into Tripolitania in the early third century B.C.E. may have occasioned similar Jewish settlement in that area; there are Jewish finds from this date at Busetta and Zliten.

Early History

After the Maccabean breakthrough to Jaffa commerce between Ereẓ Israel and Cyrene appears to have been strengthened (147–43 B.C.E.). II Maccabees is an abbreviation of a work by Jason of Cyrene. With the political reunion of Egypt and Cyrene under Ptolemy Euergetes II in 145 B.C.E., a fresh wave of Jewish immigration reached the latter country; the Jewish community of Teucheira, evidenced by their epitaphs, and composed probably of military settlers linked with Egypt, must have originated late in the century. In 88 B.C.E., after Cyrene had been freed from Ptolemaic control, the Jews of the country were involved in an undefined civil conflict perhaps to be connected with contemporary manifestations of Greek anti-Jewishness in Alexandria and Antioch. The Roman exploitation of the royal domains at the expense of their cultivators would have involved numerous Jews, ultimately expropriated, perhaps one of the social bases of the risings of 73 and 115 C.E.

Cyrene became a Roman province in 74 B.C.E.; inscriptions of the reigns of Augustus, Tiberius, and Nero at Berenice (Benghazi) indicate a wealthy, well-organized community with an executive board and its own amphitheater for assembly, as well as a synagogue. Jewish urban communities prior to 115 C.E. are further evidenced at Apollonia and Ptolemais. Cyrenean Jewry under Augustus was compelled to defend its right – attacked by Greek cities – to send the half-shekel to Jerusalem, but its privileges were confirmed by the Roman power. A section of the Cyrenean community at this point seems to have obtained improved civic status, and Jewish names appear among graduates of city gymnasia both at Cyrene and Ptolemais, but it is clear that the bulk of the community was considered intermediate between alien residents and citizens. Cyrenean Jewry was nevertheless preponderantly rural; sites of Jewish rural settlement are known at Gasr Tarhuna, Al-Bagga, in the Martuba area, at Boreion (Bu-Grada) in the south (the site of an alleged "temple"), and at an unlocated place called Kaparodis. The Teucheira group was largely agricultural and a Jewish rural population probably existed around Benghazi. The occupations of Cyrenean Jewry included, besides agriculture, those of potter, sailor, stonemason, bronzeworker, and possibly weaver. Commercial elements are likely to have existed at the ports of Benghazi, Apollonia, and Ptolemais. The Jewish aristocracies of Benghazi, Ptolemais, and Cyrene were highly hellenized (cf. a Jew, Eleazar son of Jason, who held municipal office at Cyrene under Nero); though Jewish graduates of gymnasia appear at Teucheira, most of the Jews there were relatively uncultured, and suffered a high rate of child mortality. Cyrenean Jews maintained a synagogue in Jerusalem in the first century C.E.

In 73 C.E. Jonathan the Weaver, a "desert prophet" of the Qumran type and a Zealot refugee from Ereẓ Israel, incited the poorer element of the Jews of Cyrene to revolt, leading them to the desert with promises of miraculous deliverance.

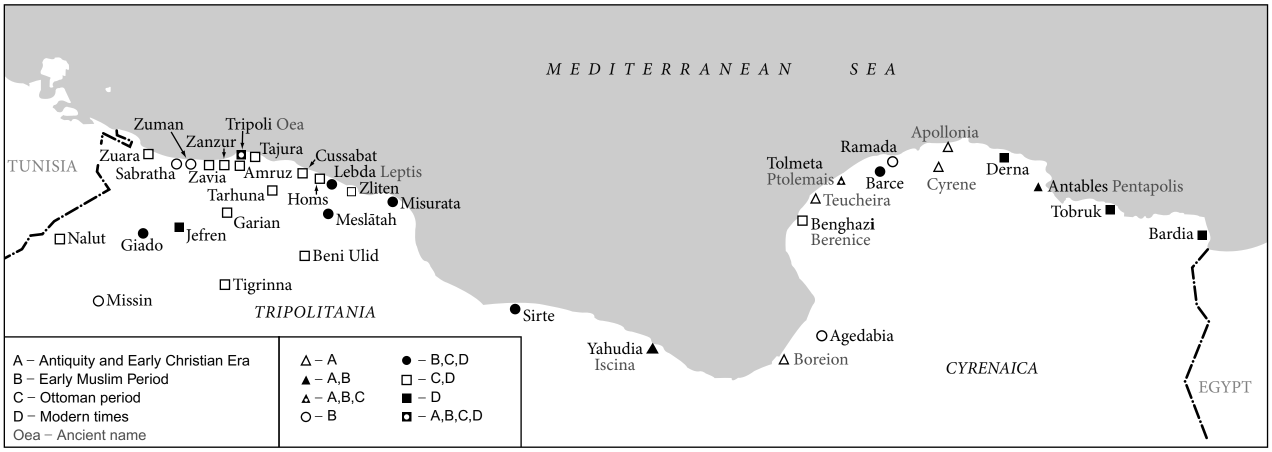
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
TUNISIA
Zuman
Tripoli Oea
Zanzur
Tajura
Zuara
Sabratha
Zavia
Amruz
Cussabat
Lebda Leptis
Zliten
Tarhuna
Homs
Misurata
Meslātah
Garian
Nalut
Giado
Jefren
Beni Ulid
Tigrinna
Missin
TRIPOLITANIA
Sirte
Yahudia Iscina
Ramada
Apollonia
Tolmeta Ptolemais
Barce
Cyrene
Derna
Antables Pentapolis
Teucheira
Benghazi Berenice
Tobruk
Bardia
Agedabia
Boreion
CYRENAICA
EGYPT
A – Antiquity and Early Christian Era
B – Early Muslim Period
C – Ottoman period
D – Modern times
Oea – Ancient name
△ – A
▲ – A,B
▵ – A,B,C
○ – B
● – B,C,D
□ – C,D
■ – D
▣ – A,B,C,D

Jewish settlements in Libya, from antiquity to modern times.

Jonathan was apprehended and his followers were massacred; the Roman governor L. Valerius Catullus also took the opportunity to execute some 3,000 wealthy Jews and to confiscate their property. The Zealot movement was not confined to the city of Cyrene, and the removal of the hellenized Jewish aristocracy led to the radicalization of the rest of the community. Under Vespasian (69–79 C.E.) the recovery and redistribution of the extensive Cyrenean state lands began, resulting in increased friction with the seminomadic transhumant Libyan elements. To the same period belongs the Jewish settlement of Iscina (Scina) Locus Augusti Iudaeorum (Madinat al-Sultan) on the shore of eastern Tripolitania, an imperial foundation which may plausibly be held to reflect a forcible removal of disaffected Jewish elements from Cyrene to the desert borders – a view which finds support in Jewish historical tradition. A Jewish-Libyan rapprochement on the desert borders may well have taken place prior to the rising of 115.

In 115 – during Trajan's Second Parthian campaign – the Jewish revolt broke out in Cyrene, Egypt, and Cyprus. The very heavy gentile casualties in Cyrene and the scope of the destruction wrought by the Jews at Cyrene, probably at Apollonia, Balagrae (Zawiyat Beda), Teucheira, and in the eastern areas, suggest that the rebels, under their leader *Lucuas (or Andreas), who was called by the gentile historians "King of the Jews," intended to quit the country for good. The wholesale destruction of the Roman temples testifies to the Zealot content of the rising. At the end of 116 the Jews broke into Egypt, but cut off from Alexandria were defeated by Marcius Turbo; Lucuas is thought to have been killed in Judea.

Jews may have already been again living in Ptolemais in the third century, and, in the later part of the fourth century, Jewish ships were reaching Cyrene from Egypt. There is much evidence for the existence of a Jewish population in the country on the eve of the Muslim conquest (642), and presumably the numerous Jewish traditions attached to ancient sites throughout the country relate to the Byzantine period. In Tripolitania, except for the appearance of Iscina, the Jewish record is blank until the fourth century. In Africa Vetus (Tunisia) Jewish settlement cannot be proven before the early second century C.E., and the Talmud (Men. 110a) seems to imply a gap in Jewish settlement east of Carthage; Jerome nevertheless believed that in the late fourth century Jewish settlement was continuous from Morocco to Egypt, and numerous place-names on the Tripolitanian coast suggest a very ancient Jewish tradition. A Christian cemetery of the fourth century at Sirte contained chiefly Jewish names, perhaps of people connected with imperial domains of the area. A Jewish community at Oea (now *Tripoli), which possessed competent scholars, is attested by Augustine (fifth century). The Boreion community indicates longstanding settlement; its "temple" was converted into a church, and its Jews were forced to accept Christianity by Justinian (527–65). Ibn Khaldūn (14th century) thought the *Berbers on Mount Nefusa were Judaized, and derived from the Barce area (Cyrene) – like the Jarawa of the Algerian Aurès – but his statement is tentative and the traditions of Judaizing Berber tribes, despite the extensive modern literature concerning them, have been shown not to be pre- or early Islamic.

[Shimon Applebaum]

Arab-Ottoman Period

The Arabs conquered Cyrenaica in 642 and swiftly took the rest of North Africa. They spread *Islam among the local populations, but allowed members of monotheist religions (referred to as People of the Book (*ahl al-kitāb*)), namely Christians and Jews, to keep their religion by accepting the status of Protected Peoples (*ahl al-dhimmah*). According to late Arabic sources, the Jews were dispersed among the Berbers who lived around Mount Nefusa (central Tripolitania) before the Arab conquest, but in Jewish sources the Jews of this district are only mentioned from the tenth century onward. The Jews also believed that the Jewish population of the entire region originated there. From the frequent repetitions of the surname al-Lebdi in 11th- and 12th-century sources, it can be concluded that there was also an important Jewish population in Lebda, near the harbor town of Homs, and also in the oasis of G(h)adames. There was also a Jewish population in Barce and in other localities. Between 1159 and 1160 the Jewish population suffered as a result of the victory of the *Almohads but the rulers did not take any lives or force conversion.

There is no extant information on Libyan Jewry during the next 400 years. According to a later source, 800 Jewish families fled from Tripoli to Tajurah – situated to the east of the latter – and to Jebel Gharyān (Garian) – in the interior of Tripolitania – as a result of the Spanish invasion of 1510.

Libya was under Ottoman rule between 1551 and 1911, though in the 1711–1835 period Tripolitania was ruled by the Qaramanlī dynasty, which originated in the Ottoman military and retained nominal allegiance to the *Ottoman Empire. Direct Ottoman rule in Libya resumed in 1835. After the Ottoman conquest of 1551 the Jews prospered again. At that time, R. Simeon *Labi, a Spanish kabbalist refugee, settled in Tripoli (1549–80) rather than continue to the Land of Israel. He strengthened the position of Judaism and introduced Sephardi traditions of Jewish learning. According to a manuscript which belonged to M. Gaster (now BM Or. 12368), "A sad and bitter event happened to the people of the Mahgreb," i.e., the Jews of Libya were in great distress during the years 1588–89 as a result of the revolt against the Turks which was fomented by the mahdi Yaḥyā b. Yaḥyā. Many of them were forcibly converted to Islam, but with the suppression of the revolt, they returned to Judaism. There is, however, no mention or allusion in Jewish sources to this period of persecution.

The community of Tripoli gained in strength with the arrival of Jews from *Leghorn (Livorno, referred to as Gornim), most of whom were merchants of Sephardi origin. In Tripoli, in contrast to some other Mediterranean cities, the Gornim did not constitute a separate congregation, due to their relatively small number, but many of them were of a higher socio-economic level, with strong commercial, social, and familial ties across the Mediterranean. In 1663 the Shabbatean

Abraham Miguel *Cardozo arrived there and conducted his Shabbatean campaign. From the second half of the 17th century until the Italian conquest (1911) the Jews of Libya were led by *qāʾids* ("leaders"). These were the temporal leaders of the community and belonged to a small number of wealthy families with strong ties to the Muslim authorities. In 1705 the Jews of Tripoli were saved from the danger of extermination at the hands of Ibrahim ash-Sharif. "Purim of ash-Sharif" on 23 Tevet commemorates this event, about which R. Shabtai Tayyar wrote a poem, *Mi Kamokha*. During the famine and plague of 1784–85, there was much suffering among the Jews and they were threatened with grave danger when Ali Gurzi, known as "Burgul," was appointed pasha of Libya. After a year and a half he was banished from the town, and in commemoration of their deliverance the Jews of Tripoli celebrate "Purim of Burgul" every 29 Tevet. R. Avraham Khalfon wrote another *Mi Kamokha* poem in honor of this event. The Jews of Libya lived in special quarters (*ḥārah*) and streets in various towns. In the two villages of Jebel Gharyān and Tigrinna of central Tripolitania, they lived in underground caves until their immigration to Israel in 1950–51. The *Ḥārat al-Yahūd* ("Jewish quarter") in Tigrinna contained about 300 Jews. They earned their living as goldsmiths, blacksmiths, and peddlers among the Bedouin in the area.

In the mid-19th century, the traveler Benjamin the Second (Israel Benjamin) found about 1,000 Jewish families (about a third of the population) in Tripoli. There were four competent *dayyanim* and eight synagogues. In 1906 N. *Slouschz visited Libya and his descriptions have become a historical source of information. Most of the information in his books about the 18th and 19th centuries stems from his guide Mordecai Hacohen, whose history was based on earlier sources and includes numerous observations on current conditions of the Jews in the urban centers and the rural hinterland. At the end of Ottoman rule there were no important incidents in the history of Libyan Jewry, apart from the fact that in 1909 they, like all citizens of the Ottoman Empire, were subject to the compulsory military service law. Jews – of an Orthodox religious background – feared that they would be forced to desecrate the Sabbath and other religious holy days and eat non-kosher food in the course of military service. However, the law was only in force for a short time, since Libya shortly thereafter fell to the Italians, and the Ottoman command respected Jewish religious restrictions. The Jews even benefited from the military training that some 260 of their young men had received, since the latter could protect the community in the interim period between the fall of the Ottoman regime and complete Italian occupation of Tripoli, when the town suffered from attacks by Arab rioters.

[Haïm Z'ew Hirschberg / Rachel Simon (2nd ed.)]

Italian Rule

On Oct. 11, 1911, Tripoli fell to the Italians, who within two months took the rest of the Mediterranean coastal urban centers of Libya. Most of Tripolitania was also conquered within the next two years, but the Sanusi resistance prevented the conquest of most of Cyrenaica. During World War I, most of the hinterland was regained by the Arab and Berber resistance, with the help of the Ottoman and German military. Following World War I Tripolitania was retaken by the Italians, but internal Cyrenaica was fully conquered only by the early 1930s when the Sanusi-led opposition was crushed. Although there were Jewish communities in the Tripolitanian and Cyrenaican hinterland, most of the Jews were under Italian rule from late 1911. The first 25 years of Italian rule passed peacefully for the Jews as far as Italian treatment of Jews was concerned. They retained equal rights, and the number of those in government employment grew, as did the numbers of those who became prosperous and attended urban Italian state schools. During this period Zionist activity went unhindered. The Jewish population of Libya in 1931 was 21,000 (4% of the total population). They were dispersed in 15 localities, with about 15,000 of them in Tripoli. In 1936 the Italians began to enforce fascist legislation, especially in Tripoli, where most of the trade was in Jewish hands. This legislation aimed at modernizing social and economic structures, similar to the then current conditions in Italy. The authorities started to hinder the freedom of the Jews, who were forced to open their shops on the Sabbath, and those who refused to do so were punished, imprisoned, and some even whipped in public. With the implementation of anti-Jewish racial legislation in late 1938, Jews were removed from municipal councils, some were sent away from government schools, and their papers were stamped with the words "Jewish race."

[Haim J. Cohen / Rachel Simon (2nd ed.)]

Holocaust Period

When the Benghazi area fell to the British on February 6, 1941, the Jews were overjoyed over their deliverance and their meeting with Jewish Palestinian soldiers serving in the British army. This did not last long, and on April 3, 1941, when the city was recaptured by the Italians, young Arabs assaulted the Jews of Benghazi. The British reoccupied Benghazi briefly on Dec. 24, 1941, and this time the Jews were much more careful regarding their contacts with the British army. The Jan. 27, 1942, reoccupation of *Benghazi by Axis forces was followed by the systematic plunder of all Jewish shops and the promulgation of a deportation order: 2,600 persons were deported into the desert to Giado, 149 mi. (240 km.) south of Tripoli, where they lived under extremely harsh conditions. During their 14-month exile 562 people died of starvation or typhus. In March 1941 the Italian governor of Tripoli took discriminatory measures against all Jews and ordered Jewish organizations to cease all activities. In April 1942 the Jews of Tripoli were compelled to declare all their property, and those between 18 and 45 years of age were sent to forced labor: some 1,400 persons to Homs, and 350 to lay the railway line linking Libya and Egypt. They, together with the rest of the population of Tripoli, were subject to severe bombing by the Royal Air Force. Jews with French and British nationality were declared enemy nationals and were exiled in 1942: the French nationals to *Tunisia and the British nationals first to Italy and then to concentration camps in Austria, Germany, and Poland, though most of them survived the war.

[Robert Attal / Rachel Simon (2nd ed.)]

During this period, Zionist activity was paralyzed. In general the relations with the Muslim population did not worsen, and village Muslims sometimes gave sanctuary and shelter during the three years to Jews who fled to them, although in the towns fascist propaganda reached and influenced the young Muslims. During World War II the men of the Jewish Brigade conducted various political and cultural activities among the Jewish population. The Jewish Palestinian soldiers were greatly impressed by the knowledge of Hebrew among Libyan Jews and their Zionist aspirations. Although there was not much Jewish immigration to Palestine prior to the late 1940s, and the community as a whole was pro-Italian, the events of World War II and the 1945 riots in Tripoli and its vicinity changed the political attitude of the Jews: they did not trust Italy anymore and feared for their life and property under independent Arab rule. This resulted in the mass immigration to Israel of some 95% of the community within three years (1949–51) (see below).

The British Occupation

During the British occupation (1942/43–51) the Jews were able to reopen their schools, although in this period they suffered from persecution by Muslims which was unparalleled in the past. On November 4, 1945, there were Muslim riots against the Jews of Tripoli and neighboring towns. In Tripoli the masses ran wild, killing and wounding many Jews, looting their property, and setting fire to five synagogues. On November 6 troublemakers from Tripoli arrived in Zanzur (c. 30 mi. (48 km.) from Tripoli) and incited the Muslim population against the 150 local Jews, of whom half were murdered. Jews were also killed at Meslātah, Zawiyah, Tajurah (10 mi. (16 km.) from Tripoli), and at Amruz (2½ mi. (4 km.) from Tripoli). According to various estimates, from 121 to 187 Jews were killed and many were wounded during these incidents. Nine synagogues were burned down and damage to property was half a million pounds sterling, a very large sum for a poor community. The British authorities did not succeed in immediately stopping the excesses because they had Arab soldiers and policemen in their service who generally joined in the riots with the masses when sent to protect Jews; only when forces came from outside, especially Sudanese soldiers, were the rioters dispersed. After the riots about 300 rioters were brought to trial, of whom two were sentenced to death. The leniency of the sentences and the incitement by the Arab countries regarding Palestine encouraged Libyan Muslims to persecute the Jews again in June 1948 in Benghazi and Tripoli. However, this time some of the Jews were ready to defend themselves, since after the 1945 attacks a Jewish defense organization with members of both genders was set up in Tripoli by an emissary from Palestine (1946). Tripoli Jews used hand grenades and repelled marauders trying to enter the Jewish quarter; before the rioters could be stopped the police arrived, but 14 Jews had already been killed. Most of the rioters were Tunisian volunteers on the way to the Palestinian front.

Contemporary Period

After the 1945 riots, Jews began leaving Libya, most of them immigrating to Palestine. Between 1919 and 1948 about 450 Jews immigrated to Palestine from Libya, most of them during the years 1946 and 1947 when about 150 immigrated there. When the State of Israel was established, Jewish flight from Libya increased; they left by way of Tripoli and Tunisia; between May 1948 and January 1949 about 2,500 left the country. Only in February 1949 did the British permit legal immigration to Israel, and many immediately registered to emigrate. Several officials of the Jewish Agency and Israeli government ministries operated legally in Tripoli and traveled throughout the country. These few Israelis were assisted by numerous indigenous Jews, and in collaboration with the local authorities prepared the required travel documents. Because disease was widespread among Libyan Jews, medical personnel of the OSE health organization (see *OZE) and Israel checked prospective emigrants and treated those who were forbidden to enter Israel prior to recovery. During the mass emigration, most Libyan Jews traveled directly from Tripoli to Haifa in Israeli ships. Israeli officials were also involved in cultural events and teachers' training in Tripoli and its vicinity. Until the end of 1951, some 30,000 Jews emigrated, only about 8,000 Jews remaining in Libya. Most of them lived in Tripoli and about 400 in Benghazi, while the townlets and villages were almost entirely emptied of Jews. Under the independent Libyan regime (from December 24, 1951) Jews did not suffer from persecution and equal rights were guaranteed them under the Libyan constitution. Nevertheless, Libyan citizens were forbidden to return home if they visited Israel (June 1952), and in 1953 the authorities closed the Maccabi club. In June 1967, after the Six-Day War, there were anti-Jewish riots and the Jews locked themselves inside their houses for fear of attack; 17 Jews were murdered and many were arrested. After a time, the majority of the remainder left, mostly to Italy and to Israel. Following the coup by Col. Qadhdhafi on Sept. 1, 1969, the 400–500 Jews remaining in Libya were concentrated in a camp in Tripoli. These included Libyan citizens, bearers of foreign citizenship (British, French, Italian), and those bearing no citizenship. The government claimed that this step was taken to defend the Jews against incursions on their property. After the coup Jews were not allowed to leave Libya, although ultimately all of them were released and some of them succeeded in leaving Libya. On July 21, 1970, the revolutionary regime announced the nationalization of Italian and Jewish property, mostly of Jews who had left Libya indefinitely.

Social, Economic, and Religious-Cultural Conditions

Demographically, it should be noted that Libyan Jews, of whom there were about 20,000 in 1911, were mainly concentrated in the town of Tripoli (c. 12,000), but many were scattered in towns, townlets, and villages all over the country. According to the 1931 census there were 24,534 Jews, and in 1948 about 38,000 Jews in Libya, of whom about 20,000 were in Tripoli. This shows that there was no mass emigration before 1948, nor was there considerable migration within the country. At the end of 1970 only some 90 Jews remained in Libya.

Until the late 19th century, Libyan Jews spoke mostly a Jewish dialect of Maghrebi Arabic, which included Hebrew words. Because Muslim neighbors usually understood the local *Judeo-Arabic, Jewish peddlers often used a unique argot among themselves when doing business with Muslims. Jewish communities in Libya as elsewhere in the Jewish world made sure that boys received formal education in community schools enabling them to read the Bible and prayer books. Studies in these schools consisted of learning the Hebrew alphabet and reciting Hebrew and Aramaic texts. Since the spoken language was Judeo-Arabic, most Jewish men did not understand what they recited nor the readings from the Bible, the Zohar, and other Holy Scriptures at the synagogue which they attended on the evenings or the Sabbath; most of them could not write either. The community did not offer any formal education to Jewish girls. The wide dispersal of Libyan Jewry into dozens of communities, many comprising only a few families, sometimes affected their economic and educational circumstances. With the opening of Christian schools in Tripoli in the 19th century, several Jewish boys and girls, especially those from families with commercial and social ties with Europe, attended these schools. The religious leaders of the community, but even wealthy families with ties to Europe, preferred their children to receive a Jewish education. This prompted Jewish merchants from Tripoli to initiate the opening of an Italian school in Tripoli in 1876 which was run by Italian Jews. This school, which accepted girls from 1877, taught secular subjects, focusing on Italian culture, but included also Hebrew and Jewish subjects.

The Alliance Israélite Universelle opened a school only in Tripoli (in 1890 for boys and in 1896 for girls), with emphasis on French culture and secular subjects, as well as Hebrew and Jewish subjects. In both the Italian and Alliance schools, the Jewish subjects were taught by indigenous teachers who usually did not receive any pedagogic training, while the secular subjects were taught by Italian formally trained teachers and Paris-trained Alliance teachers from France, the Ottoman Empire, and North Africa. Under Italian rule, Italian state schools were established in Libya and many Jews preferred to send their children there, mainly in Tripoli and Benghazi; in many small towns they made do with study at a *ḥeder*. For this reason a large proportion of Jewish children outside the main towns received no modern education and girls no formal education whatsoever. However, in comparison to the beginning of the century, the younger generation contained far fewer illiterates. The Jews also opened a private high school in Tripoli in 1936, when they were expelled from Italian high schools for refusing to attend school on the Sabbath, but they were forced to close it in 1939. As a result of the anti-Jewish racial legislation of 1938, Jews could not attend state schools and tried to organize communal education for boys. Following the British occupation (1942/43), Jewish communal education was resumed, and the Jewish Palestinian soldiers in the British army helped the communities of Benghazi and Tripoli to establish schools for boys and girls with a curriculum based on Jewish education in Palestine. Jewish soldiers participated in the teaching and in teacher training for those schools. Many of the teachers in the Tripoli school were previous members of the Ben-Yehudah Society. In 1947 a Hebrew teachers' seminary was opened in Tripoli, with the help of educators from Palestine. It trained teachers for the Hebrew school in Tripoli and later also for the vicinity, but it closed down after the mass emigration.

Libya's most prominent rabbis included R. Masʿud Hai *Rakaḥ, author of the work *Ma'aseh Roke'aḥ* on Maimonides; R. Abraham Ḥayyim Adadi, author of *Va-Yikra Avraham*; and R. Isaac Hai Bukhbaza (d. 1930).

Apart from the Tripoli community which contained a number of important merchants and officials, most Libyan Jews were occupied as artisans; a few were peddlers and farmers and thus worked hard for their living. Peddlers often traveled alone in the countryside for lengthy periods of times, in some instances returning home only for the High Holidays and Passover. Despite the strict segregation between non-kin men and women in Libya, Jewish peddlers could trade directly with Muslim women, and they usually felt safe among the Muslim nomads and rural population. The statements of 6,080 breadwinners who immigrated to Israel from Libya between 1948 and 1951 show that 15.4% were merchants, 7.5% were clerks and administrators, 3.0% were members of the liberal professions (including teachers and rabbis), 6.1% were farmers, 47% were artisans, and 7.1% were construction and transport workers. The remainder (13.9%) worked in personal services or were unskilled laborers.

As a result of their poverty, disease was widespread among Libyan Jewry; they suffered mainly from trachoma, tuberculosis, and eczema, so much so that children in school had to be classified according to illness. Following the inception of legal Jewish immigration to Israel, the OSE began work in Tripoli in 1949 to care for schoolchildren and convalescents who were sent to a *talmud torah* in the town, where healthy children were kept. However, in April 1950 only 30% of the 2,000 Jewish schoolchildren were healthy; thus, the Israel immigration authorities had to screen potential immigrants for illness and provide them with medical care before permitting them to immigrate.

Zionist Activity

By the turn of the 19th century news about the Zionist organization had reached Libyan Jews and several members of the communities of Tripoli and Benghazi tried to establish local Zionist branches. Correspondence kept in the Central Zionist Archives in Jerusalem includes letters sent from Libya between

1900 and 1904 acknowledging the receipt of Zionist publications in Hebrew, French, and Ladino. The authors of these letters were ready to organize Zionist activities and to collect dues (*shekel*) for the Zionist organization, and they even sent some dues which they had collected. One letter in particular demonstrates excitement regarding the Zionist idea and readiness to get involved in Zionist activities. It seems, though, that these letters remained mainly unanswered. A short time after Libya was conquered by Italy, contact was made between Libyan Jewry and the Italian Zionist Organization, mainly due to the newspapers that reached Libya. In 1913 some of the readers of these newspapers, led by Elijah Neḥaisi (1890–1918) of Tripoli, tried to found a Zionist organization. At first only an evening *talmud torah* was founded (1914) in order to spread the Hebrew language, and then the Zion Society was established (May 1916), and the committee of this Zionist association succeeded in entering the Tripoli community committee, gaining 11 of the 31 places as members of their association (June 1916). The Zion Society published the first Zionist newspaper in Libya, *Degel Ẓiyyon* (1920–24). In 1923 the association changed its name to the Tripolitanian Zionist Federation. The Ben Yehuda Association, established in 1931, was very active in spreading the Hebrew language in Tripoli. In 1933 it published a weekly entitled *Limdu ʿIvrit!* ("Learn Hebrew!"). The association also opened a Hebrew school in Tripoli, *ha-Tiqvah*, in 1931 for adults and children of both genders, which was attended by 512 pupils (1933); their numbers rose to 1,200 in 1938/39. All the teachers in this school were indigenous self-taught Jews of both genders, and several pupils became teachers as well. This nucleus of teachers was very active in education following the British occupation. In 1939 the school was closed and the association disbanded on government orders as part of the anti-Jewish racial legislation.

When Libya was conquered by the British (November 1942–January 1943) and Jewish Palestinian soldiers came to the country, Zionist work was resumed. A number of Zionist youth organizations were established with the initial help of emissaries from Palestine and several Hebrew newspapers were published (*Ḥayyeinu*, a Hebrew monthly, 1944; *Nizzanim*, Hebrew monthly, 1945–48; *Ḥayyeinu*, Hebrew, Italian, and Arabic weekly, 1949–50). In 1943 the He-Ḥalutz ("the Pioneer") organization for youth movement graduates was set up, and an agricultural training farm (*hakhsharah*) was established near Tripoli; it was abandoned in November 1945 when the anti-Jewish riots broke out; the ten trainees immigrated to Israel (1946). Subsequently, agricultural training was renewed, until the 23 trainees were forced to abandon the farm during the June 1948 pogroms.

In May 1946 an emissary from Ereẓ Israel founded a defense organization in Tripoli, which was trained in the use of weapons and manufactured homemade "bombs"; it defended the Jewish quarter in Tripoli during the June 1948 riots. In 1946 illegal immigration to Ereẓ Israel also began, achieved by illegally crossing the frontier into Tunisia, and from there to Marseilles. In 1948 illegal immigration to Ereẓ Israel was organized through Italy. Hundreds emigrated in this way, until legal immigration became possible (February 1949).

Since Libyan Jews were observant, most of the Zionist organizations were religious, including the youth groups founded after 1943. These were later affiliated to Ha-Poʿel ha-Mizraḥi.

[Haim J. Cohen / Rachel Simon (2nd ed.)]

Attitude Toward Israel

When the UN General Assembly resolved (Nov. 21, 1949) that Libya become independent before Jan. 1, 1952, Israel, itself a newcomer to the UN, cast its vote for the resolution. This gesture of goodwill received no reciprocation, and Israel did not repeat it in the case of any other Arab state. Anti-Jewish outbursts accompanied the announcement about the impending independence, and Israel took all precautions to enable Libya's Jews who wanted to settle in Israel to reach their destination before the critical date. Close to 90% of Libyan Jewry settled in Israel up to the end of 1951. Independent Libya joined the Arab League in March 1953 and adopted a hostile attitude toward Israel, though it was mainly declaratory. Libya took part in Arab summit conferences, joined the Arab boycott against Israel, conducted anti-Israel propaganda, and attacked Israel at the UN. The situation became more critical during the Six-Day War (1967), when widespread strikes of Libyan oil workers, as an expression of Arab solidarity, brought the flow of oil to a temporary stop, hitting the U.S. and Western Europe, which allegedly aided Israel, and shaking the conservative rule of King Idrīs.

After the war, Libya allowed Palestinians to live and work inside its territory, but only in limited numbers. It permitted collections for the Palestinian organizations, founded a school for al-Fatḥ orphans, and played host to several delegations from these organizations. Libya, like other Arab oil states (Saudi Arabia and Kuwait), contributed an annual share ($8,000,000) to Egypt and Jordan, according to the resolution of the 1967 Arab summit conference in Khartoum.

A drastic change occurred in Libya's attitude toward Israel after the overthrow of the monarchy on Sept. 1, 1969, and the rise of a revolutionary regime. Libya now adopted the militant line of the extreme Arab states in regard to Israel, as well as against the West in general. Muammar al-Qadhdhafi, chairman of the Revolutionary Council, announced from the start that the new regime opposed political solutions to the Israel-Arab conflict and did not believe in the possibility of a successful peaceful settlement. He promised to mobilize all Libya's rich resources in order to assist the armed confrontation with Israel. At the Arab summit conference in Rabat (Dec. 21–23, 1969), he also promised to extend a considerable part of Libya's oil revenues (which amounted to $1,000,000,000 annually) to reinforce the Arab front. Libya set up a "holy war fund" out of state grants, special taxes, and individual donations.

The following meeting in Tripoli (Dec. 25–27, 1969) of the presidents of Egypt, Sudan, and Libya, who agreed to establish an alignment of the three countries, underscored the new regime's desire to join the Arab struggle against Israel. Libya drifted more and more into the sphere of influence of *Nasser, who exploited the situation to deepen the Egyptian military and economic penetration into Libya, a step which became possible after the liquidation of the American and British military bases there and expulsion of foreigners in 1970. The regime acquired considerable quantities of arms which could serve the Arab cause at the front. On Nov. 8, 1970, the presidents of Libya, Egypt, and Sudan decided to establish a "union," or federation, of their countries in order to bring about closer military, economic, and political links; in 1971 Syria joined this bloc. Nonetheless, these and other attempts at political-military union proved futile. Libya assisted the Palestine organizations financially and politically.

[Rachel Cohen]

Following the anti-Jewish riots which broke out in Tripoli in June 1967, in which some 20 Jews were killed and Jewish property set on fire, an almost complete emigration of the 3,500 Jews then in Libya took place. Only 200 to 300 remained in 1969, 90 in 1970, and a mere handful in 1972; there were no Jews left in Libya by the end of the 20th century. There were thus hardly any Jews left in the country when King Idrīs was deposed and the republic proclaimed in September 1969, headed by Col. al-Qadhdhafi who became the most radical and extreme of the anti-Israel, anti-Zionist Arab leaders.

The anti-Zionist and anti-Israel policy of the new government could therefore express itself only with regard to Jewish property. A few days after the proclamation of the republic an edict was issued authorizing the government to sequestrate the assets and property of Jews who had left the country. This edict was made law in February 1970, but in view of its blatant anti-Jewish nature it was suspended and replaced in May by another law which provided for the sequestration and transfer to an official custodian of the property of persons whose names were handed in by the Ministry of Interior. In an appendix, not mentioned in the law itself, 620 names were given, 605 of whom were known to be Jewish.

In July 1970, however, the Libyan government undertook, by a special law, compensation for the confiscated property. According to this law, special government committees were to determine the value of the property and compensation would be paid through government bonds redeemable in 15 years. There is no information whether any such bonds were received, and it is probable that its purpose was merely to give legal sanction to the expropriation of Jewish property.

Following the visit of President Anwar Sadat to Jerusalem in November 1977, Libya joined the Rejection Front of the Arab States which opposed any negotiations with Israel.

[Haim J. Cohen]

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LICHINE (Lichtenstein), DAVID (1910–1972), Russian-born dancer and choreographer who carried on the ballet tradition of Diaghilev and Massine. He studied ballet with Lubov Egorova in Paris after emigrating from Russia and he first won attention when engaged by Bronislava Nijinska in 1928 to appear with Ida *Rubinstein's company. He later danced with Pavlova. From 1932 to 1940 he was a leading dancer and choreographer with Colonel de Basil's Ballets Russes de Monte Carlo. World War II brought Lichine and his wife, the ballerina Tatiana Riabouchinska, to the United States. In 1952 they settled in Los Angeles, where they established their own school and company. Lichine was at various times guest choreographer for American Ballet Theater, the Royal Danish Ballet, the Festival Ballet of London, and other companies. His ballets include *Protée* (1938), *The Prodigal Son* (1939), *Graduation Ball* (1940), and *Helen of Troy* (1942).

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[Marcia B. Siegel]

LICHT, ALEXANDER (1884–1948), Zionist leader in Yugoslavia. Licht was born in the Croatian village Sokolovac. Except for one year of study in Vienna, he was educated in Zagreb, where he also graduated as a lawyer. He was the founder and spiritual leader of the "Zagreb school" in Yugoslav Zionism, which consisted mainly of young people and intellectuals and transformed the Zagreb community from a center of assimilationism into a dynamic focal point of Zionism. As a young man he was elected chairman of the Jewish youth circle Literarni Sastanci, which soon became a Zionist society. In Vienna he was the chairman of Bar Giora, a Zionist group of students from the areas which became Yugoslavia. He also organized in 1906 the second conference of Jewish academic youth in Osijek and wrote articles on Zionism in the Croatian press that won the sympathy of the gentile intelligentsia. He translated the "Ghetto songs" of Morris Rosenfeld into Croatian and edited the Zionist monthly *Židovska Smotra* ("Jewish Review"). In 1909 he was elected secretary of the Zionist Organization for the southern Slavic countries (Dalmatia, Bosnia, Croatia, and Slavonia). He served on the front during World War I, and after returning in 1918 he addressed a memorandum to the Yugoslav National Committee expounding the Zionist attitude to the problems arising from the disintegration of the Hapsburg Empire. In 1919 he was instrumental in preventing dangerous frictions between Sephardi and Ashkenazi Jews and the expulsion of Jews from Bosnia and Vojvodina. Between the world wars, Licht served as chairman of the Zionist Executive and later of the Zionist Organization of Yugoslavia. In 1929 he became a member of the Zionist General Council. In 1941 he was arrested and, after spending several months in prison in Graz, Austria, he wandered from one refugee camp to another in Slovenia, Italy, and Switzerland, where he finally managed to settle with his family. He died in Geneva and in 1955 his remains were transferred to Jerusalem.

[Yakir Eventov]

LICHT, FRANK (1916–1987), U.S. jurist and governor. Licht, who was born in Providence, Rhode Island, the son of Russian immigrants, was active in Jewish youth organizations in Providence. At Brown University he was founder of the Menorah Society. He received a law degree from Harvard Law School in 1941 and was a partner in the Providence law firm of Letts & Quinn from 1943 to 1956. During that time, in 1948, Licht was elected to the Rhode Island senate, serving until 1956, when he was appointed associate judge of the Rhode Island superior court. He resigned from the bench in 1968 to accept the Democratic nomination for governor, scoring an upset victory against a popular Republican incumbent to become governor in 1968, in which capacity he served two terms. He did not run for reelection in 1972.

In 1967 he was elected president of the General Jewish Committee of Providence, which he expanded into a statewide organization. Active in other Jewish affairs as well, Licht was vice president of Temple Emanu-El in Providence and chairman of the Rhode Island Campaign of Bonds for Israel. In recognition of his dedication to the Jewish community, he was awarded the Herbert H. Lehman Ethics Award of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America (1969) and the Herbert H. Lehman Citation of the National Information Bureau for Jewish Life (1970).

[Bernard Postal / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

LICHT, MICHAEL (1893–1953), Yiddish poet and essayist. Licht was raised by an uncle in Bielozorka, Ukraine, and immigrated to New York in 1913, where he took courses at City College and the New School for Social Research. He began his literary career composing English-language poetry under the pseudonyms Sonin and M. Lichsonin. Soon afterwards, he turned to Yiddish, joined the *In-Zikh poets, and, together with Jacob *Glatstein and N.B. *Minkoff, edited avant-garde journals (1925–26), contributing his own works to many literary journals. During the last 20 years of his life, he suffered from debilitating heart disease. Licht is a poet of the American metropolis, with original insights and satiric undertones.

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[Shlomo Bickel / Marc Miller (2nd ed.)]

LICHTENBAUM, JOSEPH (1895–1968), Hebrew writer. Born in Warsaw, Lichtenbaum moved to Moscow, where he was one of the co-founders of *Habimah in 1918. In 1920 he immigrated to Ereẓ Israel. He published poems and essays on writers and books of both Hebrew and general literature, and also translated a great deal of poetry and prose from world literature. Among his works are *Sefer ha-Shirim* (1944); *Sha'ul Tchernichowsky* (1946, 1953); *Sofereinu* (1949); *Soferei Yisrael* (1959 and after); *Bi-Netivei Sifrut* (1962), essays and reflections; *Sifrutenu ha-Ḥadashah* (1963), the development of poetry and prose in Hebrew literature; *Meshorerim Olamiyyim* (1966); and *Yosef Ḥayyim Brenner* (1967). He also published anthologies, including *Ha-Sippur ha-Ivri* ("The Hebrew Story," vol. 1 (1955), from Mapu to Shneur; vol. 2 (1960), from Burla to the present) with an introduction in each volume discussing the development of the Hebrew story; *Tekumah* (1958), Israel poetry and prose, including bibliographical notes; and

Shiratenu (2 vols. (1962), from M.Ḥ. Luzzatto to Bialik, and from Bialik to the present) including an introduction on the development of modern Hebrew poetry.

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[Getzel Kressel]

°**LICHTENBERG, BERNHARD** (1875–1943), German anti-Nazi priest. Lichtenberg, a devout Catholic, was born in Ohlau, southeast of Breslau. He grew up in a Protestant-dominated area with a Catholic minority suffering under Otto von Bismarck's anti-Catholic *Kulturkampf* persecution. As Lichtenberg matured he combined Catholic piety with political Catholicism, ultimately serving in the Catholic Center Party of Germany. After graduating high school, the young man went to seminary and was ordained a priest at the age of 24. Assigned to various parishes around Berlin, he revealed great dedication to the Catholic faith and boundless energy to his parishioners. At the core of his message, taken directly from the teaching of Jesus of Nazareth, was to love one's neighbor in everyday life situations. This would become more difficult with the rise of the National Socialists to power.

As Hitler led the Nazi Party to political success, Father Lichtenberg, now monsignor, was assigned to St. Hedwig's Cathedral in Berlin. He regarded the Nazi movement as immoral, unchristian, and totally incompatible with Catholic teachings. This revealed itself with Lichtenberg's opposition to the Law for the Prevention of Hereditarily Diseased Offspring and to the Nazi "euthanasia" campaign. It came again in 1935 when Lichtenberg received a report on conditions at the Esterwegen concentration camp and sent it on to the Prussian Ministry of the Interior. This would not be the last time that Lichtenberg refused to violate his conscience in order to appease the Nazi state. It would also be the beginning of the Nazi call for the arrest and imprisonment of this "nuisance."

Following the events of **Kristallnacht* on November 9, 1938, Lichtenberg took a step which would single him out from all other Catholic Church leaders. Immediately following the events of the Nazi pogrom, Lichtenberg went to the pulpit of St. Hedwig's and publicly proclaimed: "We know what happened yesterday. We do not know what tomorrow holds. However, we have experienced what happened today. Outside, the synagogue burns. That is also a house of God" (quoted in K. Spicer, p. 171). From that day forward, Lichtenberg publicly prayed for both Jews and converted Jews until his arrest in 1941.

On August 29, 1941, two young Protestant women went inside St. Hedwig's Cathedral to study its architecture. While inside, they overheard Lichtenberg saying his daily prayer for the Jews. This encounter led to Lichtenberg's denunciation. Following the denunciation, the Gestapo charged that they had found material in the priest's home that suggested "hostile activity to the state." Among the found items was a statement by Lichtenberg, which defended the Jews and urged his listeners to follow the dictum of Jesus, "You shall love thy neighbor as thyself." Repeating this core belief in the course of his lengthy interrogation, Lichtenberg also stated that he considered Jews as his neighbors "who have immortally created souls after the image and likeness of God" (Spicer, 179).

Lichtenberg was found guilty of treacherous acts against the state and for violating the pulpit law. For his crimes, Lichtenberg was sentenced to two years in prison. Undaunted, Lichtenberg repeatedly requested that he be allowed to go on a transport with deported Jews to the Lodz ghetto. Throughout his imprisonment Lichtenberg's health deteriorated. Upon his release from Tegel prison on October 22, 1943, the Gestapo apprehended the worn-out man and sent him to a work camp. On October 28, 1943, the Reich Security Main Office decided that Lichtenberg needed to be removed from the work camp on the grounds of maintaining public safety. Following this order, the now 68-year-old priest, in failing health, was moved from a holding location to be put on a train destined for Dachau concentration camp. In transit, Lichtenberg died.

Lichtenberg can perhaps best be remembered as an exceptional man who steadfastly defended both the rights of the Catholic Church and the rights of all human beings suffering persecution at the hands of a regime he regarded as despicable. On June 23, 1996, Pope John Paul II beatified Lichtenberg as a martyr to the faith.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: K.P. Spicer, *Resisting the Third Reich: The Catholic Clergy in Hitler's Berlin* (2004).

[Beth Griech-Polelle (2nd ed.)]

LICHTENFELD, GABRIEL JUDAH (1811–1887), Hebrew author and mathematician. Born in Lublin, he lived most of his life in Opatow, Poland. Having taught himself sciences and European languages, he wrote for *Ha-Shaḥar, Ha-Ẓefirah, Izraelita*, and Polish newspapers, mostly on mathematical topics. In 1865 he published *Yedi'ot ha-Shi'urim* ("Science of Measurement"), by which a reader might "learn the elements of surveying, without the aid of a teacher." In 1874–75 he published polemic tracts against Ḥ.S. *Slonimski, questioning the latter's competence in scientific matters. With I.L. *Peretz, whose first wife was Lichtenfeld's daughter, he co-edited *Sippurim be-Shir ve-Shirim Shonim me'et Shenei Ba'alei Asufot* ("Stories in Verse and Sundry Poems From Two Anthologists," Warsaw, 1877), incorporating a long original poem by the editors called *Ḥayyei Meshorer Ivri* ("Life of a Hebrew Poet"). Lichtenfeld's book on mathematics, *Bo'u Ḥeshbon*, was published posthumously (1895). Some of the terminology which he coined has been generally accepted.

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[Yehuda Slutsky]

LICHTENSTADT, ABRAHAM AARON (d. 1702), *Court Jew and *primator* ("leader") of the Bohemian *Landesjudenschaft. Lichtenstadt has been identified with Aaron Schlackenwerth (d. 1694) and also with Abraham Aaron of Frankfurt, but Tobias *Jakobovits established that he was the son of the physician Naphtali Hirz Oettingen of Przemysl (Poland). He took his family name from his place of residence, Hroznetin (Lichtenstadt). First mentioned as agent of the court of Saxony, he became the *shtadlan* of Bohemian Jewry in 1673. In 1680 he persuaded *Leopold I to cancel the order expelling the Jews from the Planá community (see *Chodová Planá), and later secured for the Jews the right to attend the Leipzig fairs. He was instrumental in having Abraham *Broda appointed as chief rabbi (*Landesrabbiner*) of Bohemian Jewry in 1689. As a result of internal strife in the Jewish community, he was denounced for abusing his position when determining the allotment of taxes. Legal proceedings were opened in 1692, and although a case could not be established against him, Leopold I removed him from his post and had him, his son Solomon, and the secretary (*Landschreiber*) of the Landesjudenschaft imprisoned. The complicated trial which followed was one of the most prominent of its kind at the time. In 1693 he was released from prison and restored to office in 1701; those who had denounced him were imprisoned.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: T. Jakubovits, in: MGWJ, 74 (1930), 35–41; 76 (1932), 511–2; idem, in: JGGJČ, 5 (1933), 79–136, passim.

[Meir Lamed]

LICHTENSTEIN, AARON (1933-), U.S.-Israeli *rosh yeshivah*. Born in France, Lichtenstein grew up in the United States. He studied at Yeshivah Rabbi Chaim Berlin under Rabbi Yitzchak Huntner, and thereafter at Yeshiva University under Rabbi Joseph B. *Soloveitchik, whose daughter, Tova, he would later marry. He received a B.A. and was ordained at Yeshiva University, followed by a Ph.D. in English Literature from Harvard University, where he studied under Douglas Bush.

He served as *rosh yeshivah* at Yeshiva University for some years. In 1971 he was invited by Rabbi Yehudah Amital to serve as joint *rosh yeshivah* with Rabbi Amital of Yeshivat Har Etzion in Alon Shevut, a settlement close to Jerusalem. The *hesder* yeshivah combines high-level talmudic studies with specified periods of time in the Israel Defense Forces (generally 15 months in the army over the five years of the total program).

Under the joint stewardship of Lichtenstein and Amital, Yeshivat Har Etzion has grown to be one of the leading yeshivot in Israel, whose graduates occupy many important positions both in Israel and abroad.

Lichtenstein is known as an outstanding talmudist, but is equally known for his exacting moral standards. He has no hesitation on speaking out on pressing issues, and at the time was involved in leading a student march on behalf of the starving children in Biafra.

Following in the footsteps of his illustrious father-in-law, Rabbi Joseph B. Soloveitchik – the undisputed leader of Modern Orthodoxy for decades – Lichtenstein, too, follows the "Brisker method" of talmudic study. (Rabbi Soloveitchik was a grandson of Rabbi Ḥayyim *Soloveichik, the "Brisker Rav"). This method, states Lichtenstein, is characterized by "incisive analysis, exact definition, precise classification, and critical independence."

Lichtenstein is the author of *Leaves of Faith*, vol. 1: *The World of Jewish Learning*, vol. 2: *The World of Jewish Living*; and *By His Light: Character and Values in the Service of God*. His students' notes on his *shi'urim* on Toharot, Zevaḥim, and the eighth chapter of Bava Meẓi'a, Pesaḥim, and *Dina d'Garmi* were published as *Shi'urei ha-Rav Aharon Lichtenstein*.

While stressing the absolute primacy and centrality of talmudic study, Lichtenstein nevertheless feels that there is a need for culture as well in one's education and life. To him, culture "can inform and irradiate our spiritual being by rounding out its cardinal Torah component." Thus, the natural sciences "manifestly decipher and describe a divinely ordained order whose knowledge both inspires praise and thanksgiving to [God] and stimulates our reverential response to Him"; and "far from constituting mere straying in alien fields, culture can become a vehicle for enhancing our Torah existence."

His passion for talmudic study is primarily religious, but is also intellectual. As he writes, in "Why Learn Gemara," with each new page of the Talmud "one feels the freshness of virgin birth, the angular edge of rough terrain plowed and unplowed, the beck of meandering paths charted and uncharted."

LICHTENSTEIN, HILLEL BEN BARUCH (1815–1891), Hungarian rabbi. Lichtenstein was one of the outstanding pupils of Moses *Sofer. He first served as rabbi of Margarethen and in 1854 was elected rabbi of Kolozsvar, the capital of Transylvania. After 18 months he was compelled to leave the locality without officially assuming office, owing to his opposition to Abraham Friedman, rabbi of Transylvania, and because of the internal frictions in the community which were aggravated as a result. His refusal to go to Gyulafehérvár (*Alba-Julia), where the district rabbi had his seat, to receive his sanction to take up his post, as was then the custom, served as the formal reason for his departure. Between 1865 and 1867 he was rabbi of Szikszó, also in Hungary. He then moved to Galicia and became rabbi of Kolomyya (Kolomea). Lichtenstein was one of the dominant figures of the Orthodox community in their struggle with the reformers both before and after the great schism of 1869. He fought against any suspicion of reform in the life of the Jews, and sharply criticized those Orthodox Jews, including rabbis, who inclined to any kind of innovation in religious practices. He especially attacked those who attempted to preach in German, and even censured Azriel *Hildesheimer on this account. Lichtenstein's pupils also served as uncompromising fighters against religious reforms. At rabbinical conventions in Hungary, called on his initiative, the main principles of extremist Orthodoxy for Hungarian Jewry were laid down. The first convention of this kind assembled in Sátoraljaújhely in 1864 but the main one took place in 1866 in Nagymihály (Michalovce) where resolutions were adopted excommunicating Reform Judaism and any rabbi preaching in German or any other European language. Ten **takkanot* were also enacted, which to this day serve as the basis of the separation between Orthodox Jews and reformers in Hungary. Lichtenstein wrote many books, including

Maskil el Dal, 4 parts, sermons (1860–69); *Shirei Maskil*, on ethics (1877); *Avkat Rokhel*, responsa, 2 parts (1883–85); and *Et La'asot*, in Yiddish, on ethics, 2 parts (1878).

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[Isaak Dov Ber Markon]

LICHTENSTEIN, ROY (1923–1997), U.S. painter, printmaker, and sculptor. One of the leading figures of the Pop Art movement, Lichtenstein was born in New York. He briefly studied with Reginald Marsh at the Art Students League in New York (summer 1939), and then pursued a B.F.A. (1947) and an M.F.A. (1949) at Ohio State University (1940–43; 1946–49), his progress interrupted by several years in the Army. Early in his career Lichtenstein experimented with Cubism, Abstract Expressionism, and other modern styles. In the late 1950s he even rendered the comic subjects that would become synonymous with his name in a loose, painterly fashion.

Lichtenstein derived his first paintings based on comic images from his children's bubble-gum wrappers. These early works, such as *Look Mickey* (1961, National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.), did not yet simulate newsprint techniques and remain closely allied with the original source in color and composition. Within a year Lichtenstein began his enlarged reproductions of comic book scenes rendered in primary colors without modulation, thick black outlines, and an imitation Benday dot technique akin to newsprint. According to Lichtenstein, the subjects of his early paintings – the melodrama of his heartbroken beauties and the violent deaths of his war heroes – were not of interest to him. Rather, he said, the comics were simply used for formal reasons.

Beginning in the mid-1960s, Lichtenstein began quoting well-known works of art and also paraphrasing popular art forms in his signature comic book style. The "Brushstroke" paintings of 1965–66 show enlarged gestural marks that mock Abstract Expressionism by the very dichotomy of Lichtenstein's lucid technique and the thick, dripping oil paint he reproduces. Lichtenstein found great success with the comic-styled works, enjoying his first retrospective at the Pasadena Art Museum in 1967, followed by a retrospective on the East Coast at the Guggenheim Museum in New York two years later. Through the 1970s and early 1980s, Lichtenstein continued to use the history of art as his source material, quoting major paintings by the German Expressionists, the Surrealists, and other avant-garde artists. The last decades of his life were marked by several series, including a cycle of "Interiors" derived from advertisements. Throughout his career Lichtenstein was also an active printmaker. On occasion he would execute sculptures such as the *Mermaid* (1979) that lounges on the grass in front of the Miami Beach Theater for Performing Arts. In 1989 he made a 23 by 54 foot mural for the entrance hall of the Tel Aviv Museum of Art.

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[Samantha Baskind (2nd ed.)]

LICHTENSTEIN, TEHILLA (1894–1973), spiritual leader of the Society of Jewish Science in New York City from 1938 to 1973. Lichtenstein was the first woman to serve as religious leader of an ongoing U.S. Jewish congregation. Born in Jerusalem to Chava (Cohen) and Rabbi Chaim Hirschensohn, Rachel Tehilla, who later identified herself simply as Tehilla, moved with her family to Hoboken, N.J., at the age of 11. The youngest of five children, she and her siblings received a good Jewish and an excellent secular education. Like her sisters, Nima Adlerblum, Tamar de Sola Pool, and Esther Taubenhaus, Lichtenstein was an ardent Zionist and an active member of many Jewish organizations. She received a B.A. in classics from Hunter College, an M.A. in literature from Columbia University, and was a doctoral student in English literature at Columbia until 1920, when she married Reform rabbi Morris Lichtenstein.

The Society of Jewish Science, founded by Morris Lichtenstein in 1922, sought to reawaken religiously apathetic Jews to Judaism's spiritual possibilities while combating the attraction of thousands of American Jews to Christian Science. With the birth of her sons, Immanuel (b. 1922) and Michael (b. 1927), Tehilla's early involvement in the society was limited but important. She served as religious school principal and edited the monthly *Jewish Science Interpreter* and her husband's writings. Following Rabbi Lichtenstein's death in 1938, she became the society's spiritual leader in accordance with the provisions of his will. Over 500 people came to see her conduct services and deliver her first sermon. By the late 1950s, the society had opened a synagogue in Long Island and subscribers to the *Jewish Science Interpreter* totaled close to 2,000.

While Tehilla Lichtenstein's role as religious leader came about by circumstance rather than design, for 35 years she articulated her understanding of Jewish Science in over 500 sermons and scores of essays, lectures, and radio broadcasts. Actively encouraged by her sister, Tamar, and brother-in-law, Rabbi David de Sola Pool, and ably assisted by many others, Lichtenstein emphasized the connection between mind and body, the importance of tapping into the divine healing power within, and ways of achieving health and happiness within a specifically Jewish context. Yet she also placed great emphasis on Jewish peoplehood, the centrality of Israel to Jewish self-identity, women's equality, including their ordination as rabbis, and the revitalization of Judaism itself. While Lichtenstein continued to be influenced by her husband's teachings, by the late 1940s many of her sermons took a different direction. Like such inspirational leaders as Norman Vincent Peale, she increasingly offered sound, practical advice, emphasizing the importance of family connections and a positive attitude towards life. Some of Lichtenstein's essays were published in *Applied Judaism: Selected Jewish Science Essays* (ed. D. Friedman, 1989). Her papers are housed at the American Jewish Archives in Cincinnati, Ohio.

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[Ellen Umansky (2nd ed.)]

LICHTENSTEIN, WALTER (1880–1964), U.S. educator, economist, and public official. Lichtenstein, who was born in Brunswick, Germany, was taken to the U.S. at the age of two. He served as editor of the *New International Encyclopaedia* (1902–03) and curator of Harvard University's Hohenzollern Collection (1905–06). From 1908 to 1919 he was again curator of the collection and also held the positions of associate professor (1908–11) and professor of history (1911–18) at Northwestern University, Evanston, Illinois. Although Lichtenstein, in the course of his career, was consultant to several large U.S. companies and a longtime officer of the First National Bank of Chicago, he also had an extensive public service career. His positions included secretary to the Federal Advisory Council of the Federal Reserve System (1926–48); member of the U.S. Monetary Plan Commission (1936–54); and economic adviser to the American Military Government for Germany (1945–47). Lichtenstein edited a number of historical works, including *Ulrich Zwingli, Latin and German Works* (1912).

LICHTHEIM, RICHARD (1885–1963), Zionist leader in Germany. Lichtheim was born in Berlin of an assimilated family and completed his studies in economics in Freiburg, where he also joined the Zionist movement. At first he aided the Zionist Organization's Palestine department, which was established in Berlin after the Fifth Zionist Congress (1907). He eventually became one of the outstanding ideologists and publicists in the Zionist movement, and his work *Das Program des Zionismus* (1911, 1913^2) made a lasting impression. After D. *Wolffsohn's resignation (1911) and the transfer of the Zionist center to Berlin, Lichtheim became the editor of the central Zionist organ, *Die *Welt*, and remained in this post until 1913. In that year he went to Constantinople as a representative of the Zionist Executive. At first he worked together with Victor *Jacobson, and when the latter had to leave Constantinople at the outbreak of World War I, Lichtheim, who was a German citizen, remained (until 1917). During that period he did much to curb the physical persecution of the Jews in Ereẓ Israel through the influence of the German and American representatives in the Ottoman capital.

At the end of the war, Lichtheim returned to Germany, and his memoranda on the methods of upbuilding Ereẓ Israel under the British Mandate aroused Chaim *Weizmann's interest. From 1921 to 1923 he was a member of the Zionist Executive and head of its Organization Department. Afterward he left the Executive in opposition to Weizmann's policy, and in 1925 he joined the *Revisionist movement, which he left in 1933 joining for a while the Jewish State Party which seceded from it. Lichtheim worked in an insurance company in Germany and continued in this field after settling in Palestine in 1934 by establishing the Migdal Insurance Company together with G. *Halpern. He was in Geneva throughout World War II and set up a network of contacts with occupied European countries for the Zionist Organization. At the end of the war, Lichtheim returned to Jerusalem and during his last years wrote his memoirs, *She'ar Yashuv* ("A Remnant Shall Return," 1953) and *Toledot ha-Ẓiyyonut be-Germanyah* ("A History of Zionism in Germany," Heb., 1951, Ger., 1954), and an autobiographical volume *Rueckkehr* (1970), on his activities in Zionist diplomacy before World War I.

[Getzel Kressel]

His son, GEORGE LICHTHEIM (1912–1973), historian and political scientist, was born in Berlin and in 1933 went to Jerusalem, where he spent most of the Hitler years as foreign editor of the *Jerusalem Post* and as a translator. From 1946 he lived in London, except for two periods spent in the U.S. as associate editor of *Commentary* (1957–58) and as visiting lecturer and research associate at Columbia and Stanford universities (1964–66). Besides serving as London editor of *Commentary* from 1960 and as a correspondent for the *Jerusalem Post*, he was a leading scholar in the fields of socialism and political science, and has contributed to a number of leading scholarly and intellectual publications. His works include *Marxism, an Historical and Critical Study* (1964^2), *Europe and America* (1963), *The New Europe* (1963), *Marxism and Modern France* (1966), and *The Concept of Ideology and Other Essays* (1967).

[Irving Rosenthal]

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LICHTSTEIN, ABRAHAM BEN ELIEZER LIPMAN (18th–19th century), Polish rabbi. He functioned as rabbi in Wolkowysk, Lida, and Przasnysz, and as *dayyan* and preacher of the small town of Lask where he went to have more leisure to devote himself to his scholarly endeavors. Lichtstein is the author of the following works: *Kanfei Nesharim* (1881), a commentary on the Pentateuch containing explanations and homilies, some of them inspired by Naḥmanides, Gersonides, and Isaac Arama; *Ammudei Shamayim* (Warsaw, 1803), a commentary on Maimonides' formulation of the 13 articles of faith; *Ge'ullat Olam* (Grodno, 1822) on the *Haggadah; Iggeret ha-Ẓofeh* (Bialystok, 1806), a commentary on the *Halakhot* of Isaac Alfasi, explaining the latter's methodology; *Or ha-Even* (Sklow, 1822) on religious ethics and morals; and a commentary on the pseudo-Aristotelian *Sefer ha-Tappu'aḥ*. A commentary of his on Alfasi is still in manuscript.

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[Jacob Haberman]

LICHTSTEIN, ABRAHAM JEKUTHIEL ZALMAN BEN MOSES JOSEPH (second half of 18th century), Polish rabbi.

Lichtstein served as *av bet din* of Plonsk (Warsaw district). He was the author of *Zera Avraham*, an extensive commentary to the *Sifrei* (pt. 1 to Numbers, Dyhrenfurth, 1811; pt. 2 to Deuteronomy, Radzivil, 1820). It gives the source references to biblical verses in the text under the title *Mikra Meforash*, and to talmudic parallels, under the title *Mevo ha-Talmud*. The work was completed in 1788, but was published posthumously by his son Moses, who also added the glosses of a Jerusalem manuscript by a Sephardi scholar as well as his own additions. Lichtstein's introduction to the *Divrei Kohelet* (Nowy Dwor, 1785) of his son Solomon, who died in his youth, was also published by Moses. It contains expositions of Maimonides' *Mishneh Torah*, novellae on the laws of **terefah* and the Talmud, a eulogy of his son called *Emek ha-Bakha*, and novellae by Moses called *Darash Moshe*.

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[Yehoshua Horowitz]

LICORICIA OF WINCHESTER (13th century), English busineswoman and moneylender. After the death of her first husband, she became an active and highly successful moneylender. She is first mentioned in records from the early 1230s that show she also lent money in association with other Jews. In 1242 Licoricia married David of Oxford, one of the wealthiest English Jews. In order to marry Licorica, David had to divorce his first wife, Muriel, a protracted undertaking in which King Henry III of England, the Archbishop of York, and the *batei din* of London and Paris were all involved. After Licoricia and David married, she settled in Oxford, where she assisted her husband in his business dealings.

Following David's death, in 1244, Licoricia was immediately imprisoned in the Tower of London in order to prevent her interference in the assessment of David's estate. The price of her repurchase of all the debts owed to David was set at 5,000 marks, of which 4,000 went to a special exchequer established at Westminister Abbey to build a new shrine to Edward the Confessor. When she was released from the Tower in September 1244, Licoricia was left in control of sufficient wealth to engage in substantial and widespread business activities. Returning to live with her family in Winchester, she remained an active moneylender for the next 30 years or more. She frequented King Henry's court whenever he was in Winchester, dealing with members of his entourage as well as with the king himself, who apparently aided her in some of her more questionable activities. Licoricia's ease of access to the king was an asset to the Jewish community and individual Jews often used her to intercede for them. In 1277, Belia, Licoricia's daughter, found the bodies of Licoricia and of Alice of Bicton, Licoricia's Christian maid, stabbed to death in Licoricia's home in Winchester, possibly murdered during a robbery. The amount stolen was rumored to be the unlikely sum of £10,000. Licoricia was probably buried in the Jewish cemetery at Winchester.

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[Cheryl Tallan (2nd ed.)]

LIDA, town in Grodno district, Belarus. Jews are first mentioned in the mid-16th century, and in 1579 King Stephan Batory gave them a Bill of Rights and allowed them to build a synagogue. According to a decision of the Lithuanian council (see *Councils of the Lands) of 1623, the Jewish community of Lida was subordinated to the Grodno *kahal*. The files of the Lithuanian financial commission contain records of the quarrels between the Lida *kahal* and the Jews of the neighboring villages. In 1766 there were 1,167 Jewish poll-tax payers in Lida and the vicinity. The community numbered 567 (73.6% of the total population) in 1817; 1,980 in 1847; and 5,294 (68%) in 1897. In 1862 the two first grade merchants and the five third grade were Jews, as were the 76 shops and the 32 other trade businesses Jewish. In the 1880s Lida turned into an important railway junction, which led to economic and demographic growth. Most of the small industry belonged to Jews. In the 1880s the 13 prayerhouses in the town were grouped in one large square; they were all damaged in a fire. Until World War II the butchers' synagogue contained an Ark with undamaged ancient doors. In the 1880s a Ḥovevei Zion circle was founded, and money was collected for the building of the Mazkeret Batyah colony in Palestine. In 1902, at the initiative of Rabbi Reines, the founding convention of the Mizrachi movement was held in Lida. From September 20, 1915, the town was under German occupation, which put a halt to economic activity but did allow Jewish cultural life. On Passover eve 1919 the Polish soldiers of General Haller organized a pogrom and 39 Jews were killed. In 1921 there were 5,419 Jews (40% of the total population), reaching 6,335 (a third of the total) in 1931. In 1921, there were 302 Jewish workshops in Lida, over half of them family enterprises. There were 37 Jewish farms in 1927. Between the two world wars there were a Yiddish elementary school and a children's home, both affiliated to the Central Yiddish School Organization (CYSHO). There was also a *Tarbut Hebrew school and a kindergarten. The community maintained a hospital with 18 beds, and various welfare organizations. A few Jewish weeklies appeared for short periods. Among rabbis of Lida were R. *David b. Aryeh Leib of Lida (later in Amsterdam), his son Pethahiah, and his grandson, the *ẓaddik* David Benjamin. R. Elijah Schick (Elinke Lider) officiated in the 19th century, and I.J. *Reines, the Mizrachi leader, at the beginning of the 20th century. The latter founded a modern yeshivah in Lida which functioned until World War I.

[*Encyclopaedia Judaica* (Germany)]

Holocaust Period

In 1940 the number of Jews in Lida had risen to about 8,500. During the period of Soviet rule (1939–41), Jewish community institutions were closed, the activities of Jewish parties were forbidden, and the basis of the Jewish economy from the prewar period was demolished. A large part of the Jewish refugees from western Poland who found shelter in Lida were deported to the Soviet interior in the summer of 1940. Due to the annexation of Vilna and its environs to Lithuania, Lida turned into a border town, and many young Jews tried to smuggle over the border, believing that from there a way to Palestine and the West would be found. On June 25, 1941, a battle took place on the outskirts of Lida between the German and Soviet armies; during the bombardment the center of the town, which was inhabited principally by Jews, was burned, and there were hundreds of Jewish casualties. On July 5, 1941, the Germans collected the Jews of the city in the main square and took away all the rabbis, *shoḥatim*, doctors, and teachers – the leadership of the community – to near the village of Stoniewicze where they were murdered; 98 men fell at that time. In December 1941 the Jews were concentrated in a special quarter and were joined by the Jews from Lipniszki, Juraciszki, Traby, and Duoly. On May 8, 1942, an *Aktion* was carried out. Only 1,250 people were left; their number swelled later to 4,000 with survivors from various towns. All the remaining 5,670 were killed near the village of Stoniewicze. On July 8, 120 Jews from the psychiatric hospital were murdered. About 200 people succeeded in escaping the scene of the slaughter, returned to the ghetto, and told of the Germans' horrifying acts. A group of youths succeeded in leaving the city on May 21, 1942 and entered the forests of Naliboki. The youth in the ghetto also organized and armed themselves with weapons. At the end of 1942 contact was established with the partisans in the *Novogrudok area. The Jewish partisans from Lida fought with the unit of an experienced Jewish fighter, Tuvia Bielski, and another unit called "Iskra." The ghetto was destroyed on Sept. 17–19, 1943, and the Jews were deported to Majdanek death camp. The city was liberated on July 5, 1944, and there were about 150 Jewish survivors. Most of those who had been with the partisans were mobilized into the Soviet army and continued to fight in Germany until the end of the war.

The others left for Poland, and from there to Palestine. In the mid-1950s the Jewish cemetery was confiscated and converted into a building site. The Jewish population of the town in 1970 was estimated at a few families.

[Aharon Weiss]

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LIDZBARSKI, MARK (**Abraham Mordecai**; 1868–1928), Semitist. Lidzbarski was born in Plock, Russian Poland, to Moritz and Cäcilie Lidzbarski, and received a strict Orthodox education. At 14 he ran away from home and went to Posen, Prussian Poland, where he studied at the gymnasium. He continued his studies at the University of Berlin, living in difficult conditions. As a student in Berlin he converted to Evangelical Christianity. In 1896 he began lecturing in Oriental languages at the University of Kiel; in 1907, at the University of Greifswald; and in 1917, at the University of Goettingen. He was a corresponding member of the Goettingen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften from 1912 to 1918, when he became a full member.

Lidzbarski was a scholar of high repute in several branches of Semitic studies. He may be considered the founder of Semitic epigraphy; several of his articles and books still may be consulted with great profit, including *Die neuaramaeischen Handschriften der Koeniglichen Bibliothek zu Berlin* (2 vols., in 3, 1896), *Handbuch der nordsemitischen Epigraphik* (2 vols., 1898, repr. 1962), *Ephemeris fuer semitische Epigraphik* (3 vols., 1900–15), and *Kanaanaeische Inschriften* (1907) in the series *Altsemitische Texte*. His contribution to the 29th edition of Gesenius' *Hebraeische Grammatik* is of major importance. Lidzbarski also contributed much to Mandean studies. His theory that the gnostic Mandeans originated in Palestine in pre-Christian times as a heterodox Jewish group was in vogue among scholars for a time but no longer enjoys wide support. However, his editions of the Mandean texts *Das Johannesbuch der Mandaeer* (2 vols., 1905–15, repr. 1966), *Mandaeische Liturgien* in the series *Abhandlungen der Koeniglichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Goettingen* (1920, repr. 1962), and *Altaramaeische Urkunden aus Assur* in the series *Wissenschaftliche Veroeffentlichungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft* (1921) have made these accessible to scholars. Lidzbarski's autobiography, *Auf rauhem Wege* ("On the Rough Road," 1927), was published anonymously.

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[David Diringer]

LIEBEN, ROBERT VON (1878–1913), scientist and inventor. He was born in Vienna, where his father, vice governor of the Austro-Hungarian state bank, was ennobled. Lieben went to work at the Institute for Physical Chemistry in Goettingen, Germany, where he studied under Walter Nernst, a founder of modern physical chemistry. Later he worked in his own laboratory, where he built a private telephone system. In 1906 he invented the amplifying valve and in 1910 the grid tube (with Eugen Resz and Siegmund Strauss as co-inventors). This led directly to modern radio and later developments in electronics such as sound tracks for films and television. In 1936 the Austrian Government issued a stamp commemorating his contribution to research in the field of sound. Lieben had little contact with the Jewish community and referred to himself as an atheist.

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tung, 6 (1923); S. Kaznelson, *Juden im Deutschen Kulturbereich* (1959), 412–31.

LIEBEN, SALOMON (1884–1942), Prague physician and communal functionary. A member of *Agudat Israel, Lieben represented Orthodox Jews on the board of the Prague community. With the establishment of Czechoslovakia in 1918, he cooperated with the Zionists and joined the Jewish National Council. He was one of the moving spirits behind the foundation of the Židovská ústředna pro sociální péči (Central Jewish Welfare Board) in 1932. As a military physician in Galicia during World War I, he organized Jewish welfare activities there, and then in Prague for refugees from Eastern Europe. He founded a Jewish outpatients clinic and a soup kitchen, and was among the administrators of several charitable institutions. Lieben conducted scientific research in defense of **sheḥitah* against the numerous "humanitarian" attacks on it throughout Europe, publishing several papers in veterinary and medical periodicals claiming that *sheḥitah* is the least cruel method of slaughtering animals. When the Nazis entered Prague in 1939 and ordered the immediate expulsion of Jewish patients from the general hospitals, Lieben organized a hospital in the Jewish orphanage. He also saw to the religious needs of Prague Jews, organizing, for example, the illegal distribution of unleavened bread. In 1942 he was deported with his family to a concentration camp, where he died.

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[Meir Lamed]

LIEBEN, SALOMON HUGO (1881–1942), historian of Bohemian Jewry, cousin of Salomon *Lieben. Lieben received his general and Jewish education in his native Prague and taught religion in Prague German-language secondary schools. In 1906 he founded and directed the Prague Jewish museum in the *ohel tohorah* ("the purification hall") of the old cemetery, around which the Nazis later ordered the organization of the Central Jewish Museum (now the Prague State Jewish Museum; see *Museums, Jewish); Lieben was among its scientific workers. He published research papers on Bohemian Jewish history in many Jewish scientific publications, concentrating on its outstanding personalities and events, such as David *Oppenheim, Ezekiel b. Judah *Landau, Eleazar *Fleckeles, Jewish printing in Prague, and the expulsion by *Maria Theresa (1745). He exposed the Ramshak chronicle, allegedly from the *Hussite period, as a falsification by Marcus Fischer (see Moses *Fischer). On the board of the Society for the History of the Jews in Czechoslovakia and coeditor of its yearbooks (JGGJČ) and of *Die Juden in Prag* (1927), he edited *Die juedischen Denkmaeler in der Tschechoslowakei* (1933) and collaborated with Hugo *Gold in editing his books on the communities of Bohemia and Moravia. Lieben died in Prague.

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[Meir Lamed]

LIEBER, DAVID (1925–), U.S. Conservative rabbi, president of the *University of Judaism, and senior editor of the Conservative movement's *Etz Hayim* commentary. Lieber was born in Stryj, Poland, and came to the United States at age two. He received his Bachelor of Arts degree magna cum laude in 1944 from the City College of New York, where he was elected to Phi Beta Kappa. He received a Bachelor of Hebrew Letters degree from the Jewish Theological Seminary of America that same year and was ordained as a rabbi at the seminary in 1948 and received his Doctor of Hebrew Literature degree in Psalms Studies from JTS in 1951. Lieber also received a master's degree in philosophy of education from Columbia University in 1947. He completed his ABD (all but the dissertation) in philosophy from Columbia and pursued postgraduate studies at the University of Washington in Seattle and at UCLA.

Lieber studied at the Seminary when it was the center of Jewish scholarship in the United States under the tutelage of some of the foremost Jewish scholars of the time, including talmudist Saul *Lieberman, Jewish Bible scholar H.L. *Ginsberg, and philosopher Mordecai *Kaplan. It was Kaplan's groundbreaking vision of a University of Judaism – an academy that would embody as many forms of Jewish expression as possible – that would lead to the creation of the institution Lieber was to lead.

As a young man, Lieber was a leader of Shomer Hadati, the religious Zionist movement that is now *Bnei Akiva. He was also an early pioneer in the establishment of the Ramah camps of the Conservative movement. He was the founding head counselor in the first of the camps in Wisconsin, a director of the camp in Maine, and the founding director of the camp in California. He also was the founding director of the Mador, the national training camp for Ramah counselors.

In 1956, when Lieber was appointed dean of students of the nine-year-old University of Judaism, the college was a Hebrew teachers institute training teachers for afternoon Hebrew school and offering adult education classes and art exhibits and dramatic programs. When he resigned from the presidency in 1993, he had helped build the UJ into a nationally recognized educational institution complete with an undergraduate college, graduate programs in education, business administration, Jewish studies, and rabbinic studies, a large library, and two think tanks. He had also overseen the acquisition and the building of UJ's 25-acre campus in the Santa Monica Mountains.

Upon retiring from the UJ presidency, Lieber began focusing his attention on a project he had first proposed in 1969, a new commentary on the *Torah*. The result was *Etz Hayim: Torah and Commentary*, published jointly by the Rabbinical Assembly, United Synagogue, and Jewish Publication Society, which sought to provide laity with a contemporary interpretation of the text, and a commentary that embraced both tradition and change, ancient teachings and modern scholarship. Major essays on biblical and religious themes were incorporated into the commentary. He was assisted editorially by Conservative rabbis who had become renowned for their writings, Chaim *Potok, author of *The Chosen*, Harold Kushner, author of *When Bad Things Happen to Good People*, Susan Grossman, and UJ Rector Elliot Dorff.

A former spiritual leader of Sinai Temple in Los Angeles (1950–54), Lieber served as a chaplain in the United States Air Force and university chaplain for the B'nai B'rith Hillel Foundation at both the University of Washington (1954–55) and Harvard University (1955–56). He also was a visiting member of the Near Eastern Language Department of UCLA from 1957 to 1990. Lieber served as a member of the Board of Directors of the Association of Jewish Studies. In recognition of his work, Dr. Lieber was awarded the "Doctor of Humane Letters" degree, *honoris causa*, by the Hebrew Union College in 1982 and the "Torch of Learning" award by the Hebrew University in Jerusalem in 1984. After his retirement in 1993 he served as president emeritus of the University of Judaism and continued to teach at the university as the Flora and Arnold Skovron Distinguished Service Professor of Biblical Literature and Thought. He was the first West Coast president of the International Rabbinical Assembly (1996–98). Over the years he wrote some 50 articles, which appeared in a variety of journals.

[Yaakov Arnold (2nd ed.)]

LIEBERMAN, CHAIM (Herman; 1890–1963), Yiddish essayist and literary critic. Born in Kolki (Volhynia), he immigrated to the U.S. in 1905. His first articles, on education, appeared in the New York Yiddish daily *Yidishes Tageblat*. On the eve of World War I, he helped to found the Farband's Yiddish secular schools and its Jewish Teachers' Seminary and taught Yiddish and Yiddish literature while espousing Labor Zionism. Lieberman's critical articles, in the main Yiddish newspapers, on Jewish and non-Jewish writers, combining vast knowledge and enthusiastic, positive appraisals, were collected in three volumes (1923–30). In the 1930s Lieberman underwent a spiritual crisis, became extremely pious, and joined the religious Zionists. His former fervent championship of favored writers gave way to sharp and cutting polemics against writers he disliked. He began with attacks on Jewish pro-communists (*Sheydim in Moskve* ("Demons in Moscow," 1937)), proceeded to assail Chaim *Zhitlowsky and Shmuel *Niger (*"Dr. Kh. Zhitlovski un Sh. Niger, a Debate in Zeks Briv"* ("Dr. Ch. Zhitlovski and Sh. Niger, a Debate in Six Letters," 1937)), and reached a climax of vituperation in his articles and books against Sholem *Asch's christological novels (*Sholem Ash un kristntum,* 1950; English transl. *The Christianity of Sholem Asch*, 1953). There followed attacks upon Satmar Ḥasidim because of their anti-Zionism (*Der Rebe un der Sotn* ("Rabbi and Satan," 1959)), against the American Council of Judaism (English trans. *Strangers to Glory*, 1955), and, finally, ten articles against Ben *Hecht (English transl. in book form, *The Man and His 'Perfidy,'* 1964).

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[Shlomo Bickel / Jean Baumgarten (2nd ed.)]

LIEBERMAN, ELIAS (1883–1969), U.S. educator and poet. Lieberman, who was born in St. Petersburg, Russia, went with his family to the United States at the age of seven. He began teaching in the New York public school system in 1903. Lieberman served as principal of Thomas Jefferson High School in Brooklyn from 1924 to 1940, and then as associate superintendent of schools. He published four volumes of poetry and was a contributor to various periodicals. His patriotic poem "I am an American," which first appeared in 1916, has been reprinted in numerous anthologies and school books. Among the literary magazines that he at one time helped edit were *Puck, Current Literature*, and *The American Hebrew.*

[Hillel Halkin]

LIEBERMAN, HERMAN (1870–1941), Polish lawyer and Socialist politician. Born in Drogobycz, Galicia, into an assimilated family, Lieberman joined the Polish Socialist Party of Galicia and Silesia and became one of its leaders. In 1907 he entered the Austrian parliament, where he was considered one of its most gifted speakers. During World War I he fought in the Polish Legion on the Russian front. When Poland regained her independence at the end of the war, he became a member of its parliament (1919–30), and was one of the authors of the democratic constitution of 1921. He was a member of the Central Council of the Polish Socialist Party from 1920 to 1929. He was a noted advocate, and distinguished himself as defense counsel in the famous case of Polish legionnaires in Mármaras-sziget (Sighet) in 1918. After the Pilsudski coup d'état in 1926, Lieberman led the opposition to the regime in parliament. In 1930 he was sentenced to three years' imprisonment, but escaped to Czechoslovakia and later went to France. He was the spokesman for the radical wing of the Polish Socialist Party in exile and cooperated with the Communists in organizing help for the Republicans during the Spanish Civil War. In 1940 he moved to London and a year later was appointed minister of justice in the Polish government-in-exile, thus becoming the first Jew in a Polish cabinet.

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[Abraham Wein]

LIEBERMAN, JOSEPH (1942–), U.S. senator and U.S. vice presidential nominee. Born in Stamford, Connecticut, he received his bachelor's degree from Yale in 1964 and graduated from Yale Law School in 1967. In 1970 he ran for and won a seat in the Connecticut State Senate, where he served for ten years, the final six as majority leader. In 1980 he gave up his seat to run for the U.S. House of Representatives but lost.

In 1981 Lieberman ran for state attorney general. He won handily and he was reelected in 1986. In his six years as attorney general he became a formidable and national figure in regard to consumer and environmental issues. In 1988

Lieberman announced that he would run for the Senate. He won a narrow victory by some 10,000 voters. An observant Jew, he refused to campaign or work on the Sabbath or on the fall holidays in the middle of campaign season. He garnered serious support from Roman Catholic voters impressed by his religiosity.

In the Senate Lieberman soon established himself as a political moderate. For example, he supported the appointment of Clarence Thomas for a seat on the Supreme Court, angering many of his Democratic and liberal colleagues; it was only after the allegations of sexual misconduct that Lieberman changed his stance.

In 2000 Lieberman became Al Gore's running mate for the presidency of the United States; he was the first Jew to be nominated on a national ticket of a major political party. Lieberman was chosen in part because of his ethical stances and his religious views, which Gore felt inoculated him against some of the issues associated with Bill Clinton's personal behavior. His nomination produced great excitement in the American Jewish community. His campaign was not without its Jewish critics. Anti-Defamation League director Abraham Foxman criticized Lieberman for introducing religion into the public area and the political campaign. Ultra-Orthodox Jews were uncomfortable that a self-described Orthodox Jew walked around with his head uncovered and that his wife was attired in short sleeves and slacks. While Orthodoxy had moved to the religious right, Lieberman remained passionate and committed, but still moderate. The Jewish community voted overwhelmingly for the Gore/Lieberman ticket, although a poor design of the ballot in heavily Jewish Palm Beach County in Florida gave Patrick Buchanan, regarded by many as antisemitic and unfriendly to Israel, 5,000 votes that were intended for the Gore/Lieberman ticket. In the end Gore/Lieberman won the popular vote but lost by less than a thousand votes in Florida.

Lieberman returned to the Senate where he has continued to serve as a notable centrist. He introduced the bill creating the Homeland Security Department after September 11. He refused to advance his own presidential aspirations until Gore made it known that he would not run. In 2004 he ran for the Democratic presidential nomination; his moderate views did not gain great traction within the Democratic Party, which was alienated by the Iraq War that Lieberman continued to support and by President Bush's conservative agenda, which Lieberman opposed.

[Alan H. Decherney (2nd ed.)]

LIEBERMAN, MYRON (1919–), U.S. educator. Lieberman was instrumental in raising and protecting the status of the teacher. Widely recognized as the leading authority on education employment relations and teacher unions, Lieberman served as a labor negotiator for school boards in Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, Arizona, California, and New Jersey, with responsibilities for grievances and unfair labor practices, as well as contract negotiations. Born in St. Paul, Minnesota, he received a B.S. in law (1941) and a B.S. in education (1948) from the University of Minnesota, and his M.A. (1950) and Ph.D. (1952) from the University of Illinois. He served in the US Army Air Corps from 1942 to 1946 and was discharged with the rank of S/Sgt. Lieberman taught at the universities of Illinois (1949–52) and Oklahoma (1953–56), and was appointed chairman of the department of education at Yeshiva University (1956–59). In 1963 he became chairman of the professional studies division, Rhode Island College, and from 1965 to 1967 directed its educational research and development; from 1963 to 1969 he served as the assistant dean for professional studies. He was a professor of education at the City University of New York (1969–75); a distinguished professor at the University of Southern California (1975–77); and a visiting professor of education at Ohio University (1984–86) and the University of Pennsylvania (1986–88). Lieberman was president of the Educational Employment Services consulting firm (1976–94). From 1991 he was senior research scholar, Social Philosophy and Policy Center, at Bowling Green State University in Ohio, as well as chairman of the Education Policy Institute in Washington, D.C., from 1995.

Lieberman was author and co-author of a number of books, monographs, and articles. He contended that national professional groups should replace local school boards as arbitrators of educational problems. His books include *Education as a Profession* (1956), *The Future of Public Education* (1960), *Collective Negotiations for Teachers* (1966), *Bargaining* (1979), *Beyond Public Education* (1986), *Privatization and Educational Choice* (1989), *Public Education: An Autopsy* (1993), *The Teacher Unions* (1997), *Teachers Evaluating Teachers* (1998), and *Handbook on School Board/Union Relations* (1999).

[Ronald E. Ohl / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

LIEBERMAN, NANCY ELIZABETH ("Fire," "The Lieb," "Lady Magic"; 1958–), pioneer in women's amateur and professional basketball and greatest female star of her generation; youngest basketball player male or female to win an Olympic medal, first woman to play in a men's professional basketball league; member of the Basketball Hall of Fame and the Women's Basketball Hall of Fame. Born in Brooklyn, New York, and raised by her mother, Renee, in Far Rockaway, Long Island, after her parents divorced when she was 14, Lieberman started receiving national attention as a high school star at Far Rockaway High School in Queens, N.Y. At 17 she won a gold medal at the 1975 Pan American Games, and at 18 she won the silver medal at the Montreal Olympics. Lieberman played on the women's basketball team at Old Dominion University in Norfolk, Virginia, from 1976 to 1980, helping the Lady Monarchs to an astounding 72–2 record during their back-to-back championship seasons in 1979 and 1980. Lieberman was a two-time winner of the Wade Trophy as College Player of the Year, and received the Broderick Cup as the nation's top female athlete in 1980. Lieberman also won three consecutive Kodak All-America awards (1978–80). She played for several basketball teams and leagues, including the Dallas

Diamonds of the Women's Pro Basketball League (WBL), the men's United States Basketball League (USBL), the Washington Generals – the regular opponent of the Harlem Globetrotters – and the Women's National Basketball Association (WNBA), before being named general manager and head coach of the WNBA's Detroit Shock for three seasons, and then head coach of the Dallas Fury, guiding the team to a championship in 2004. In 1993, Lieberman was the first woman inducted into the New York City Basketball Hall of Fame, and was elected to the Basketball Hall of Fame in 1996, and to the Women's Basketball Hall of Fame in 1999. *Sports Illustrated* named Lieberman the 44th greatest female athlete of the 20th century. Lieberman, who identifies herself as a born-again Christian, wrote an autobiography, *Lady Magic: The Nancy Lieberman Story* (1991), and co-authored *Basketball for Women* (2000) with Robin Roberts.

[Elli Wohlgelernter (2nd ed.)]

LIEBERMAN, SAUL (1898–1983), talmudic scholar. Born in Motol, near Pinsk, Belorussia, he studied at the yeshivot of Malch and Slobodka. In the 1920s he attended the University of Kiev, and, following a short stay in Palestine, continued his studies in France. In 1928 he settled in Jerusalem. He studied talmudic philology and Greek language and literature at the Hebrew University, where he was appointed lecturer in Talmud in 1931. He also taught at the Mizrachi Teachers Seminary and from 1935 was dean of the Harry Fischel Institute for Talmudic Research in Jerusalem. In 1940 he was invited by the Jewish Theological Seminary of America to serve as professor of Palestinian literature and institutions. Nine years later he was appointed dean, and in 1958 rector, of the Seminary's rabbinical school.

Combining vast erudition in all fields of talmudic and rabbinic literature with a penetrating knowledge of the classical world, Lieberman opened new pathways to the understanding of the life, institutions, beliefs, and literary products of Jewish Palestine in the talmudic period.

He made his debut in scholarly literature in 1929 with the publication of *Al ha-Yerushalmi*, in which he suggested ways of emending corruptions in the text of the Jerusalem (Palestinian) Talmud and offered variant readings to the text of the tractate of *Sotah*. This was followed by a series of text studies of the Jerusalem Talmud, which appeared in *Tarbiz*; by *Talmudah shel Keisaryah* (1931), in which he expressed the view that the first three tractates of the order *Nezikin* in the Jerusalem Talmud had been compiled in Caesarea about the middle of the fourth century C.E.; and by *Ha-Yerushalmi ki-Feshuto* (1934), a commentary on the treatises *Shabbat, Eruvin*, and *Pesaḥim* of the Jerusalem Talmud.

His preoccupation with the Jerusalem Talmud impressed him with the necessity of clarifying the text of the tannaitic sources, especially that of the Tosefta, on which no commentaries had been composed by the earlier authorities and to whose elucidation only few scholars had devoted themselves in later generations.

In the comparatively short period of three years (1937–39) he published the four-volume *Tosefet Rishonim*, a commentary on the entire Tosefta with textual corrections based on manuscripts, early printings, and quotations found in early authorities. During that period he also published *Tashlum Tosefta*, an introductory chapter to the second edition of M.S. *Zuckermandel's Tosefta edition (1937), dealing with quotations from the Tosefta by early authorities that are not found in the text.

Years later, Lieberman returned to the systematic elucidation of the Tosefta. He undertook the publication of the Tosefta text, based on manuscripts and accompanied by brief explanatory notes, and of an extensive commentary called *Tosefta ki-Feshutah*. The latter combined philological research and historical observations with a discussion of the entire talmudic and rabbinic literature in which the relevant Tosefta text is either commented upon or quoted. Between 1955 and 1967 ten volumes of the new edition appeared, representing the text and the commentaries on the orders of *Zera'im* and *Mo'ed* and on part of the order of *Nashim*.

In *Sifrei Zuta* (1968), Lieberman advanced the view that this halakhic Midrash was in all likelihood finally edited by Bar Kappara in Lydda.

His two English volumes, which also appeared in a Hebrew translation, *Greek in Jewish Palestine* (1942) and *Hellenism in Jewish Palestine* (1950), illustrate the influence of Hellenistic culture on Jewish Palestine in the first centuries C.E.

Other books of his were *Sheki'in* (1939), on Jewish legends, customs, and literary sources found in Karaite and Christian polemical writings, and *Midreshei Teiman* (1940), wherein he showed that the Yemenite Midrashim had preserved exegetical material which had been deliberately omitted by the rabbis. He edited a variant version of the *Midrash Rabbah* on Deuteronomy (1940, 1965^2). In his view that version had been current among Sephardi Jewry, while the standard text had been that of Ashkenazi Jewry. In 1947 he published *Hilkhot ha-Yerushalmi,* which he identified as a fragment of a work by Maimonides on the Jerusalem Talmud. Lieberman also edited the hitherto unpublished Tosefta commentary *Ḥasdei David* by David *Pardo on the order *Tohorot*. The first part of this work appeared in 1970.

A number of his works have appeared in new and revised editions. Lieberman served as editor in chief of a new critical edition of Maimonides' *Mishneh Torah* (vol. 1, 1964), and as an editor of the Judaica series of Yale University. He also edited several scholarly miscellanies.

He contributed numerous studies to scholarly publications as well as notes to books of fellow scholars. In these he dwelt on various aspects of the world of ideas of the rabbis, shed light on events in the talmudic period, and elucidated scores of obscure words and expressions of talmudic and midrashic literature.

He was for many years president of the American Academy for Jewish Research. He was an honorary member of the Academy for the Hebrew Language, a fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, and a fellow of the Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities. In 1971 he was awarded the Israel Prize for Jewish studies and in 1976 he received the Harvey Prize of the Haifa Technion.

His wife, JUDITH LIEBERMAN (1904–), was a daughter of Rabbi Meir Berlin (*Bar-Ilan), leader of the Mizrachi. She served from 1941 first as Hebrew principal and then as dean of Hebrew studies of Shulamith School for Girls in New York, the first Jewish day school for girls in North America. Her publications include *Robert Browning and Hebraism* (1934) and an autobiographical chapter that was included in *Thirteen Americans, Their Spiritual Autobiographies* (1953), edited by L. Finkelstein.

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[Tovia Preschel]

LIEBERMANN, AARON SAMUEL (known as **Bar Derora**, **Daniel Ish Hamudot**, **Arthur Freeman**; 1845–1880), pioneer of Jewish Socialism and Hebrew writer. He was born in Lunna, Lithuania, the son of Eliezer Dov Liebermann, scholar, *maskil*, and Hebrew author. His family moved to Bialystok and from there to Suwalki. He obtained his teacher's diploma at Vilna (1867), and returned to Suwalki, where he was appointed secretary of the community and teacher. In 1870 he enrolled as an occasional student at the Technological Institute of St. Petersburg. While there he wrote a geography of Ereẓ Israel, but the manuscript was destroyed. In his distress he returned to Vilna, where he worked with an insurance company and in draftsmanship, while continuing to show talent in graphics and drawing. From 1872 he was one of the most active leaders of the local revolutionary group, whose ranks included the future noted members of the Narodnaya Volya, A. *Zundelewicz and V. *Jochelson, and the future Hebrew authors L. Davidowicz and J.E. Triwosch. In this circle Liebermann already evinced enthusiastic attachment to the Hebrew language, and it was there that his idea of initiating special Socialist activities among the Jews was born. When the group was discovered by the authorities in 1875, Liebermann escaped abroad. He joined Socialist circles in Berlin and then moved to London, where he worked as a typesetter for the Socialist periodical *Vpered*, its editors P. Lavrov and V. Smirnov supporting his projects both in theory and in practice. In the articles which Liebermann published in *Vpered* on Vilna and Bialystok (1875–76), he also described the life of Jewish workers in the region. He pointed out progressive social elements in ancient Jewish culture, and in his propaganda sought to employ messianic themes. In January 1876 he drew up regulations for the establishment of a Socialist-revolutionary organization among the Jews of Russia, and in May of that year he founded the *Agudat ha-Soẓyalistim ha-Ivrim in London. In a Hebrew manifesto addressed to the *shelomei emunei Yisrael* ("wholesome and faithful Jews"; summer 1876), which was also translated and published in *Vpered*, Liebermann dissociated himself from the assimilationist Socialist intelligentsia who were out of touch with the people. He regarded the supporters of Socialism among the working classes or the *maskilim*, who were close to the people, as the potential principal activists of the movement and in this respect placed much hope in students of the yeshivot. Liebermann also contributed to the German-language Socialist press. At the beginning of 1877 he settled in Vienna, and that summer published three issues of his monthly **Ha-Emet*, writing most of the articles himself. Their publication aroused considerable interest in the Hebrew press. He formed and led a group of authors who shared his views, such as J.L. *Levin (Yehalal), M. Kamyonski, I. *Kaminer, Ẓevi ha-Kohen Scherschewski, and M. Adelman-Meyuḥas. He established contact with supporters in southern Russia and succeeded in moderating the extremist anti-Jewish outlook prevailing among Ukrainian Socialists in Vienna. When *Ha-Emet* ceased to appear, Liebermann contributed to the newspapers published by P. *Smolenskin, *Ha-Mabbit* and *Ha-Shaḥar*, in which he published as early as 1874 a story, *Ḥazut ha-Kol*, criticizing organized Jewish life, the exploitation of the poor by rich Jews, and the *maskilim* who derided Jewish tradition. After being imprisoned and tried in Austria for revolutionary activities (February 1878–January 1879) he was expelled to Germany. There he was immediately arrested, and at the end of the year was expelled and reached London. His endeavors to participate in the activities of the Narodnaya Volya were unsuccessful. In the summer of 1880 he established, in conjunction with *Vinchevsky, the short-lived Jewish Workingmen's Benefit and Educational Society. In 1880 Liebermann followed the woman he loved to the United States, but she refused to leave her husband. In New York he was associated with the Agudat Shoḥarei Sefat Ever. Subsequently he committed suicide. In 1934 his remains were buried next to those of Vinchevsky in the cemetery of the Arbeter Ring (Workmen's Circle) in New York.

Liebermann was influenced by cosmopolitan ideas. He was nevertheless imbued with Jewish consciousness and a sense of responsibility toward the fate of the Jewish masses. He interpreted the Narodniks' principle of "going to the people" as going out to the Jewish people. He was depressed when his projects for Jewish Socialist activity clashed with the prejudices against Jewish "parasitism" and "exploitation" he encountered within the Russian revolutionary movement, while on the other hand his activity found little response among the Jewish public. It was not until several decades after his death that the personality of Liebermann was fully appreciated. His memory was particularly revived with the establishment of the labor movement in Ereẓ Israel.

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[Moshe Mishkinsky]

LIEBERMANN, CARL THEODOR (1842–1914), German organic chemist. He did research in his native Berlin with Adolf von Baeyer, and in 1873 succeeded him as professor at the Gewerbeinstitut, which grew into the Berlin Technische Hochschule. Liebermann's main field was dyestuffs, and he worked out the synthesis of alizarin, an industry which came to be worth hundreds of millions of marks to Germany. He worked on azo dyes, naphthalene, naphthoquinone, anthracene, chrysene, and the constitution of natural dyestuffs. He also worked on alkaloids. A list of his numerous publications was collected in the *Festschrift* produced in honor of his 70th birthday. Liebermann was president of the German Chemical Society.

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[Samuel Aaron Miller]

LIEBERMANN, FELIX (1851–1925), medievalist, brother of Max *Liebermann, the artist. Born in Berlin, he was on the editorial staff of the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* (1877–85) and worked on the edition of English historical sources for vols. 11 and 27 of its *Scriptores* series. He edited volume 28, which contains excerpts from English sources relating to 13th-century German history. Liebermann also published *Ungedruckte anglo-normannische Geschichtsquellen* (1879) and a number of articles on related subjects. His numerous studies on early English law published from 1893 through 1902 culminated in his most important work, *Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen* (3 vols., 1898). Another study was *The National Assembly in the Anglo-Saxon Period* (1913).

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[Helene Wieruszowski]

LIEBERMANN, MAX (1847–1935), German painter. Liebermann, the son of a Berlin industrialist, studied at the Weimar Academy. He was only 23 when his picture of *The Boy Jesus in Dispute with the Rabbis* was attacked by critics, some of whom appear to have been motivated by antisemitism. Two years later his *Women Plucking Geese* received high praise when it was exhibited in Hamburg and Berlin.

Liebermann was a very Nordic painter. Photographic naturalism was as abhorrent to him as expressionism, and although he has often been called an impressionist he never regarded himself as one. He spent much of his life in Holland and was heavily influenced by its gray skies. He used cool, austere colors to paint the bleak, flat Netherlands landscapes in which he discovered the excitement of changing atmosphere, sunlight intermingling with mist, blue hazes, and empty spaces. While his early work tended to be static, he gradually loosened up as regards form and color, reversing the traditional pattern by growing freer and more spontaneous as he became older. In his fifties he began painting athletes in action, rearing horses, and the colorful vegetable markets of the Amsterdam Jewish quarter.

In 1898 Liebermann became a member of the Berlin Academy and helped to found Sezession, an association of progressive artists. In 1920 he became president of the Berlin Academy of Art. His *Gesammelte Schriften* ("Collected Writings") appeared in 1922. By this time he was too frail for his regular trips to Holland and did much of his painting at his summer home in Wannsee, outside Berlin. He became a celebrated and expensive portraitist, painting his sitters with a broad virtuosity, but not often probing deeply into their personality. Among them were Hermann *Cohen, Georg *Brandes, and Walther *Rathenau. He also did thousands of rapid sketches in pen, pencil, crayon, and chalk.

Liebermann considered himself first and foremost a German and had little interest in Jewish affairs, although he described himself as being "very much aware of belonging to the Jewish people" and as watching the goals of Zionism with "the greatest interest." Apart from his paintings and drawings of the Amsterdam ghetto, virtually his only work on Jewish subjects was a series of lithographs for an edition of Heinrich *Heine's *Rabbi of Bacharach* and two oils on the Samson and Delilah theme. When the Nazis came to power in 1933 he was ousted from presidency of the Academy and his paintings were removed from all German museums. His death two years later was completely ignored by the German press. In 1943 his widow was told that she was to be deported by the Gestapo, and she committed suicide. The Liebermann house in Pariser Platz was looted and its valuable collection of paintings stolen and scattered.

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[Alfred Werner]

LIEBERMANN, ROLF (1910–1999), composer and opera manager. Born in Zurich, a great-nephew of Max *Liebermann, Rolf Liebermann studied law at Zurich University before devoting himself to music. In 1937–38 he was private secretary and music assistant to his conducting teacher, Herman

Scherchen, in Vienna. He returned to Switzerland as a music critic and studied composition with Vladimir *Vogel in Ascona. In 1950 he became music director of the Swiss radio and in 1959 general manager of the Hamburg State Opera, which he made one of the major music centers of the time by commissioning new operas from composers throughout the world, including Israel (J. *Tal's operas), and by the high quality and excellence of their production. In June 1971, Liebermann was appointed general administrator of the Théâtre de l'Opéra, Paris, with Georg *Solti as his musical advisor and in 1973 he was responsible for the lavish reopening of the Paris Opera House, where he was a manager until 1980. In his compositions Liebermann used 12-tone technique, with a predilection for bitonality and with tonal references. His own operas are distinguished by fresh dramatic ideas and strict musical organization. They include *Leonore 40/45* (1952), *Penelope* (1954), and *School for Wives* (1955), based on Molière's play. He also wrote *Concerto for Jazzband and Orchestra* (1954), the *Geigy Festival Concerto* (1958), cantatas, and songs. He published with B. Sizaire and S. Wendt: *Actes et entractes* (1976) and *Und jedermann erwartet sich ein Fest: Musiktheater* (1981).

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[Israela Stein (2nd ed.)]

LIEBERSON, GODDARD (1911–1977), musical executive and composer. Born in Hanley, England, Lieberson was taken to the United States as a child and studied with Bernard Rogers. In 1939 he joined the staff of Columbia Records and in 1956 was made president. In 1964 he was appointed president of the Record Industry Association of America. Lieberson edited the *Columbia Book of Musical Masterpieces* (1950). From 1966 on he sponsored the annual Lieberson prize competition for chamber works organized by the Israel League of Composers. His compositions include songs and chamber music.

LIEBERT (Levy), ARTHUR (1878–1946), German philosopher. Born in Berlin, he was coeditor of *Kant-Studien*, the publication of the Kant Society. From 1925 to 1933 he was professor of philosophy at the High School for Commercial Sciences, Berlin. When the Nazis came to power, he moved to Belgrade. There he founded and edited *Philosophia*, which appeared from 1936 to 1938. Its purpose was to unite around him the anti-Nazi philosophers. During World War II Liebert lived in England; shortly after the end of the war, he returned to Berlin where he died in 1946. Liebert's philosophy developed from that of the neo-Kantian Marburg school, led by Hermann *Cohen. Liebert's own contribution was that he attached great importance to the concept of "value." Philosophers should be concerned with the "evaluation" of being, and not only its existence. Reality not only exists, but "value" is found in it: it symbolizes something, and its own purpose is concealed in it. Liebert regarded metaphysics as necessary for investigating the totality of being. Through reason's dialectical activity, a metaphysical system is built up, but it can never achieve perfection. In this process, spirit and reason are the basic foundation of life itself. Liebert's major works include *Das Problem der Geltung* (1914), *Der Geltungswert der Metaphysik* (1915), *Vom Geist der Revolutionen* (1919), *Die geistige Krisis der Gegenwart* (1923), *Die Krise des Idealismus* (1936), *Der universale Humanismus* (1946), and *Von der Pflicht der Philosophie in unserer Zeit* (1938).

[Aaron Gruenhut]

LIEBLING, A.J. (**Abbott Joseph**, **Joe**; 1904–1963), one of the best-known and most widely admired journalists of his generation. Liebling was born in New York City to a penniless Jewish immigrant from Austria who became prosperous as a furrier, and a mother from a well-to-do Jewish family in San Francisco. Liebling enrolled at Dartmouth College in the fall of 1920 a month shy of his 16th birthday, and left without graduating. After graduating from Columbia University's School of Journalism, Liebling worked at the *New York Evening World*, the *New York Times* sports department, and the *Evening Bulletin* of Providence, Rhode Island. Liebling joined the *New Yorker* in 1935, where he remained for 28 years until his death. During World War II, he served as a war correspondent, filing stories from Africa, England, and Europe and wrote about his participation in the Normandy landings on D-Day. Liebling wrote atmospheric pieces about New York's neighborhoods and characters, especially those in the boxing business, and eventually became the foremost American writer on boxing. His book *The Sweet Science* (1956) was named No. 1 by *Sports Illustrated* on its 2002 list of top sports book of all time, and the Boxing Writers Association of America presents the A.J. Liebling Award for excellence in boxing journalism. Liebling also loved to eat and drink and wrote vividly about both, and he also loved newspapers, which led to his writing 82 "Wayward Press" columns of press criticism in the *New Yorker* between 1945 and 1963. Liebling is remembered for many quotes and aphorisms, such as "Freedom of the press is guaranteed only to those who own one"; "People everywhere confuse what they read in newspapers with news"; and "I can write better than anybody who can write faster, and I can write faster than anybody who can write better." He is the author of some 15 books including *Back Where I Came From* (1938), *The Telephone Booth Indian* (1942), *The Wayward Pressman* (1947), *Chicago, The Second City* (1952), *Between Meals: An Appetite for Paris* (1959), and *The Earl of Louisiana* (1961). A collection of his writings, *Just Enough Liebling,* was published in 2004.

[Elli Wohlgelernter (2nd ed.)]

LIEBLING, ESTELLE (1880–1970), US. soprano, voice teacher, and composer. Liebling, who was born in New York City to Matilde de Perkiewicz and Max Liebling, a pianist who had studied with Franz Liszt, started with piano, but quickly moved to vocal studies. Her parents sent her to Europe to study in Berlin with Selma Nicklass-Kempner. Dame Nellie Medba suggested she go to Paris and study under the great singing teacher Mathilde Marchesi. Liebling made her operatic debut as Lucia de Lammermoor in Dresden, followed by Rosina in *The Barber of Seville* and Queen of the Night in *The Magic Flute*. Returning to the United States in 1901, she appeared in several concert recitals, occasionally with her brother James Liebling, a cellist. After standing in at short notice for several roles, Liebling had her official debut at the Metropolitan Opera in New York City in 1903 as Musette in *La Bohème* with Enrico Caruso as Rodolfo. At the end of 1902, she sailed with John Philip Sousa and his band for a four-month European tour, including appearances before King Edward. Liebling continued to tour with the band, giving 1,600 concerts with Sousa and gaining a wider audience than an opera career would have afforded.

In 1905, she married Arthur Mosler, an inventor and engineer with whom she settled in New York City. While Liebling continued to sing until around the age of 50, she is best remembered as a dedicated teacher and singing coach of opera singers. Beverly *Sills, one of her most famous students, studied with her over the course of 33 years. In all, Liebling taught or coached 78 singers associated with the Metropolitan Opera. She also composed and published cadenzas, some of them from her Paris teacher Marchesi. Her compositions included *The Estelle Liebling Book of Coloratura Cadenzas* (1943), *Fifteen Arias for Coloratura Soprano* (1944), and *The Estelle Liebling Vocal Course* (1956).

[Judith S. Pinnolis (2nd ed.)]

LIEBMAN, CHARLES (YESHAYAHU) (1934–2003), political scientist specializing in the political culture and behavior of world Jewry and considered one of the leading researchers in the field. Liebman was born in the U.S. and immigrated to Israel in 1969. Between 1949 and 1952 he studied at the Herzlia Hebrew Gymnasium in Tel Aviv. He received his B.A. from the University of Miami in 1956, and received his M.A. and Ph.D. from the University of Illinois in 1960. In the 1960s he lectured at several universities in the U.S.: University of Pennsylvania (1961–63), Yeshiva University (1962–69), and Columbia University (1964–65). In 1969, after immigrating to Israel, he joined the Department of Political Science at Bar-Ilan University and became professor in 1978. From 1980 to 1984 Liebman was the head of the department. During those years he was a visiting professor at many American universities. He held other positions as well, on academic councils and editorial boards, published around 100 articles and 14 books, among them: *Ambivalent American Jew: Politics, Religion, and Family in American Jewish Life* (1973), *Pressure Without Sanctions: The Influence of World Jewry in Shaping Israel's Public Policy* (1977), *The Civil Religion of Israel: Traditional Judaism and Political Culture in the Jewish State* (with Don-Yehiya, 1983), *Two Worlds of Judaism: The Jewish Experience in Israel and the United State* (with Cohen, 1990), and *The Jewishness of Israelis: Responses to the Guttman Report* (with Katz, 1997). He won the Marshall Sklar Prize for his studies on U.S. Jews in 2000 and the Israel Prize for political science in 2003.

[Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

LIEBMAN, JOSHUA LOTH (1907–1948), U.S. Reform rabbi. Liebman was born in Hamilton, Ohio; when his parents divorced he went to live with his paternal grandfather, Rabbi Lipmann Liebman. He graduated from high school at the age of 15 and from the University of Cincinnati at the age of 19. He served as Taft Teaching Fellow in Philosophy before his 20th birthday and was ordained by Hebrew Union College in 1930, at the age of 23. In 1931, Liebman took up his first position as rabbi in Lafayette, Indiana, while pursuing his doctorate at HUC, where he taught Bible. He studied in Palestine in 1929–30 and began his love of Zion. In 1934 he was appointed to Kehilath Anshe Maarab Temple, Chicago, succeeding Solomon Freehof, and began his study of psychology. In 1939 he moved to Temple Israel in Boston. During his ministry in Boston, Liebman became widely known as a radio preacher. He also taught at Boston University, which was adjacent to his congregation, and Andover-Newton Theological Seminary. His role in his congregation marked a return to tradition. He abolished Sunday services, reinstituted Friday evening services, and pushed for a Jewish homeland in the Land of Israel, positions at odds with his congregation, which had been classically Reform. He hired a social worker to bring the insights of psychology into the religious life of his community. For the last two years of his life, Liebman was a nationally famous figure through the phenomenal success of his book *Peace of Mind* (1946). This had an instant appeal to a generation which had been harassed by the experience of World War II. Its popularity helped to encourage a closer working relationship between psychology and religion. His work was the first popular treatment of Judaism and psychology. The reception of his work in the immediate postwar years, together with the choice of Bess *Meyerson as Miss America and the reception of returning baseball star Hank *Greenberg, is regarded as an important indication of the unexpected transformation of the Jews in postwar American life, the dramatic decline of antisemitism, and a willingness to accept Jews and Judaism on equal terms.

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[Sefton D. Temkin / Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

LIEBMANN, ESTHER SCHULHOFF AARON (c. 1645–1714) and **JOST** (**Judah Berlin**; c. 1640–1701), Court Jews in Berlin. Esther Schulhoff, born in Prague, first married Israel Aaron (d. 1673), Brandenburg court supplier and founder of the Berlin Jewish community. Jost Liebmann's first wife, Malka, was the niece of *Glueckel of Hameln. Liebmann learned precious-stone and metal working with Ḥayyim Hameln, Glueckel's husband.

Esther Aaron and Jost Liebmann married in 1676. Esther, who held a letter of protection as a Berlin Court Jew and maintained close ties to Frederick William, Elector of Brandenburg, secured permission for Liebmann to work and settle in Berlin. Between 1676 and 1701 the Liebmanns were a formidable team who maintained a household consisting of six children of their own, two from Esther's first marriage, a child from Aaron's first marriage, and whatever children Jost brought from his first marriage, as well as Esther's parents and relatives of Jost. Esther worked actively alongside her husband, attending the Leipzig Fair with him, unusual for a married Jewish woman at that time. After she was widowed, Esther attended many other fairs, as did other entrepreneurial widows, including Glueckel.

The Liebmanns, who were among the wealthiest Jews in Berlin, were the main court jewelers, assisting Frederick I of Prussia to acquire a sizable collection of precious stones and objects. In 1684 Jost Liebmann was released from payment of the body tax (*Leibzoll*) and in 1694 his books were recognized as legal evidence in court. Esther and Jost Liebmann were influential in the Jewish community and secured positions for their sons and other family members as rabbis in various communities in Prussia. In 1684, they received permission to sponsor Berlin's sole synagogue, which functioned in their home. This gave them considerable power over opponents within the Berlin Jewish community, particularly Moses Benjamin Wulff.

After Jost's death in 1701, Esther Liebmann successfully carried on their business, supplying ever-increasing amounts of jewelry to the court. The luxury-loving Frederick I owed her large sums. Part of her payment was a license to mint and issue coinage and she received numerous other royal privileges. With the accession in 1713 of the frugal soldier-king, Frederick William I, Esther Liebmann was put under house arrest and released only after she had paid the king a substantial fine. Her wealth and influence declined and the woman who had been the most powerful female Court Jew in Germany died the next year. Esther's sons, Isaac Liebmann and Liebmann Jost, were also court purveyors of jewels, but they did not attain the wealth and position of their parents.

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[Judith R. Baskin (2nd ed.)]

LIEBMANN, OTTO (1840–1912), German philosopher. Liebmann, who was born in Loewenberg, Silesia, was appointed lecturer at Tuebingen in 1865, in 1872 professor at Strasbourg, and in 1882 professor at Jena. In 1870–71 he was in the Prussian army at the siege of Paris, and published a patriotic memoir, *Monate vor Paris* (1871). Liebmann was one of the founders of neo-Kantianism. His *Kant und die Epigonen* (1865) attacked post-Kantian metaphysical theories and advocated a return to Kant's philosophy. For Liebmann, Kant's transcendental idealism, the recognition of the intimate and necessary correlation of the subjective and objective, of empirical reality and transcendental ideality, sufficed to explain the world. He opposed metaphysical theories about the "thing-in-itself" as well as empirical, positivistic, and materialistic views. In his later works, he tried to develop his neo-Kantianism with regard to metaphysics, experience, science, psychology, and ethics and aesthetics. His chief works were *Ueber den individuellen Beweis fuer die Freiheit des Willens* (1866), *Ueber den objektiven Anblick* (1869), *Zur Analysis der Wirklichkeit* (1876), *Die Klimax der Theorien* (1884), *Gedanken und Tatsachen* (2 vols., 1882–1904), and *Immanuel Kant* (Ger., 1904). He also wrote poetry, collected in *Weltwanderung* (1889).

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[Richard H. Popkin]

LIEBRECHT, SAVYON (1948–), Hebrew writer. Liebrecht was born in Munich to Holocaust survivors who immigrated to Israel soon afterwards. She studied philosophy and literature at Tel Aviv University and began publishing in 1986. Her first collection of stories, *Tappuḥim min ha-Midbar* ("Apples from the Desert," 1998) appeared in 1986. The title story tells of a young teacher who stages a confrontation with a woman who apparently was her father's mistress 30 years earlier. In other stories Liebrecht introduces an Arab woman who wishes to build a room on the roof of her house, and an Arab worker; a woman who seeks her daughter and learns thereby something about herself and her life; and a woman whose son has become deeply religious. Other collections include *Susim al Kevish Gehah* ("Horses on the Highway," 1988); *Sinit Ani Medabberet Elekha* ("It's All Greek to Me, He Said to Her," 1992); *Ẓarikh Sof le-Sippur Ahavah* ("On Love Stories and Other Endings," 1995); *Nashim mitokh ha-Katalog* ("Mail Order Women," 2000); and *Makom Tov la-Laylah* ("A Good Place for the Night," 2002). In the story "Excision," a grandmother jaggedly shears her four-year-old granddaughter's beautiful locks to eradicate lice because that is how they did it in the camps, while in "Compassion," a Holocaust survivor imprisoned by her Arab husband drowns her granddaughter to protect her from future suffering. Liebrecht's recurring themes are Holocaust survivors' lives in Israel half a century after the catastrophe; women's experiences as wives and mothers; the tensions between Orthodox and secular Israelis; and the relationships between individual Arabs and Israelis. Informed by feminism, Liebrecht often describes women struggling against their marginalized status in patriarchal Israeli society: in "The Road to Cedar City" an Israeli woman, mocked and humiliated by her husband and son during a trip in the United States, asserts her independence by making contacts with an Arab wife. The three novellas in the collection "Mail Order Women" highlight the complex relationship developing when a foreign woman, a Filipino caretaker or a Polish girl, enters the life of Israelis. Liebrecht's novel, *Ish, Ishah ve-Ish* (1998; *A Man and a Woman and a Man*, 2001) is the story of Hamutal, a married woman, who has a brief love affair with a stranger she meets at the geriatric ward where her sick mother and his dying father are both hospitalized. In *Ha-Nashim shel*

Abba ("The Women my Father Knew," 2005), Liebrecht tells of a belated encounter between Meir and his father, a meeting which enables the son, an aspiring writer, to discover the plot for his next novel. Liebrecht, author of television scripts and plays, was awarded the Alterman Prize (1987). Her prose has been translated into various languages. "Excision" is included in M.J. Bukiet (ed.), *Nothing Makes You Free: Writings by the Descendants of Jewish Holocaust Survivors* (2002); "Morning in the Park with Nannies" appeared in G. Abramson (ed.), *Oxford Book of Hebrew Short Stories* (1996); "A Room on the Roof" is available in R. Domb (ed.), *New Women's Writing from Israel* (1996). For further information concerning translations see the ITHL website at www.ithl.org.il.

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[Anat Feinberg (2nd ed.)]

LIÉGE (Flemish **Luik**, Ger. **Luettich**), capital of Liége province, E. Belgium. There is no evidence that a Jewish community existed in Liége in the Middle Ages. During the 11th century Bishop Wazon, the overlord of the city, had a religious disputation with a Jewish physician at the court of Emperor Conrad II. In 1138 a Jewish physician, Moses, cured a cleric Rodolphe de Saint Trond in Liége, but there is nothing to attest to his residence there. In 1573 a Jew in Liége became converted to Christianity, and in 1722 a German rabbi and his family were baptized. The first real evidence of the existence of a Jewish community in Liége postdates the French occupation at the end of the 18th century. There were 24 Jews living in the city in 1811, and 20–30 Jewish families in the second half of the 19th century. The oldest tombstone in the Jewish cemetery, with a Hebrew inscription, dates from 1842. The community in Liége had a synagogue and established communal institutions. On May 11, 1940, during the Nazi occupation, the Jewish population numbered 2,000 (according to the Gestapo report, it numbered 3,000 in 1939). An order issued by the Germans on Oct. 29, 1941, designated Liége as one of the four cities from which Jewish residence in Belgium was not excluded, along with Brussels, Antwerp, and Charleroi. On the liberation of Liége by the United States army on Sept. 8, 1944, there were 1,200 Jews in the city. Around 600 had been deported.

In 1959 the population numbered 594. There was then a *ḥazzan*-minister in Liége, but no rabbi, and no local source of *kasher* meat. The synagogue was Reform in tendency. About 25% had intermarried; Jewish religious observance was weak and tendencies to assimilate strong. However, Israel and Zionism, as a means of expressing Jewish identity, played a large role in community life. Liége had four Zionist societies and other fund-raising organizations on behalf of Israel. In 1968 its Jewish population was 1,500, dropping to around 1,000 in the early 1980s, with a shrinking Jewish community still in existence at the turn of the century.

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LIEN (Heb. שׁעְבּוּד נְכָסִים, *Shibud Nekhasim*).

The Concept

Jewish law enables the creditor to exercise a lien over all the debtor's property, in addition to his remedies against the debtor personally. This lien automatically comes into existence on the creation of the obligation and is called *aḥarayut* or *shi'bud nekhasim* (i.e., "property bearing responsibility" or the "encumbrance of property"). Sometimes the parties may limit the application of the lien to a specified part of the debtor's property, in which event it may operate either in addition to the general charge on the debtor's property, or so as to release the remaining property from any such encumbrance. A limitation of the lien to a specified asset may be effected in two ways: firstly, by the asset remaining in the debtor's possession, in which event the lien is called *apoteke* (see below); secondly, by the debtor surrendering possession of the asset to the creditor, this being called *mashkon*, i.e., pledge. The law relating to the latter is dealt with fully under *pledge.

Import of the Term Aharayut Nekhasim

Originally, the general lien applied only to the real estate (*karka*, "land") of the debtor, because land could not be carried away or spoiled and was therefore deemed "property bearing responsibility" (Kid. 1:5). Chattels were regarded as incapable of being preserved and were therefore deemed property "not bearing responsibility" (*ibid.*). The special reasons for the availability in Jewish law of the automatic lien in respect of all obligations will be dealt with below and in the article on *Obligations.

The concept of a charge on assets is already mentioned in a *takkanah* from the time of Simeon b. Shetaḥ, concerning a husband's written undertaking to his wife that all his property shall be charged in her favor to secure the repayment of her **ketubbah* (Ket. 82b); it may be assumed that a charge of this nature was known at that time in respect of other obligations as well. In the third century the *amoraim* Ulla and Rabbah disputed the question whether a charge of this nature originated from Pentateuchal law (*shi'buda de-oraita*) or from rabbinical enactment (*de-rabbanan*). According to some of the *rishonim*, this dispute related only to the question of seizing assets which had been alienated by the debtor to a third party, and that as long as the assets remained with the debtor all agreed that they were subject to the Pentateuchal lien (Tos. to BB 175b and *Bet ha-Beḥirah* thereto). Other *rishonim* were of the opinion that the dispute was one of principle, whether or not the encumbered assets had been alienated, namely: whether the right of recovery of the debt in this way flowed from the personal aspect of the obligation, as was the case when the creditor recovered payment out of the chattels of the debtor, or whether in relation to land the creditor acquired a lien also in the nature of a rent right, in addition to the personal obligation (Rashbam, Tos. to BB 175b; Nov. Rashba, *ibid.*; Nov. Ritba Kid. 13b; see also See also Elon, *Ha-Mishpat Ha-Ivri*, 1, 485–490; *Kevod Ha-Adam*… 21). The *halakhah* was decided in accordance with the view of *shi'buda de-oraita* (Yad, Malveh, 11:4; Sh. Ar., ḤM 111; Sma *ibid.*, n. 1).

Substance of the Creditor's Right in the Debtor's Property

The creditor's general lien over the debtor's property does not allow him a full proprietary right (*zekhut kinyanit*). This finds expression mainly in two respects. Firstly, the right of lien does not preclude the debtor from validly transferring ownership of his property to another, albeit subject to the fact that the creditor, when seeking to recover payment, is entitled to seize the property from the party who acquired it (this right of seizure is known as *terifah*, from the *nekhasim meshu'badim*, i.e., the "encumbered and alienated property"). As will be seen below, special rules were laid down governing the right of seizure from any such transferee. Secondly, the lien is subordinate to, and dependent on, the debtor's own ownership in the property, and hence the latter, in certain circumstances, is able to oust or extinguish the creditor's lien over his property.

Recovery of the Debt out of Encumbered Assets

It is a substantive principle that a debt may not be satisfied out of the *nekhasim meshu'badim* (see above) as long as the debtor is possessed of other assets, i.e., *nekhasim benei ḥorin* ("free property"), even if the remaining assets are inferior to those to which the creditor is entitled (e.g., the free assets are *beinonit* or average, whereas the obligation is tortious and must therefore be satisfied from the *iddit*, or best). If the debtor has sold the encumbered property to several purchasers, the creditor must first recover from the last purchaser, since the anterior one may plead: "I have left you room to recover from him." Similarly, the purchaser retains the right to pay in cash rather than surrender the encumbered property. Where there are several creditors, a preferential right of lien over the debtor's property will be enjoyed by the creditor to whom the debtor first became indebted (Git. 48b; BK 8a; Sh. Ar., ḤM 104; see also *Execution (Civil)).

Creation of the Debt

As long as the debtor's property remained in his possession, there would be no need to limit the creditor's lien therein, as mentioned above. However, there was good reason for limiting the right of seizure from the transferee of the encumbered assets only to cases where the debt was originally evidenced in writing (i.e., *milveh bi-shetar*, "loan by deed") and not orally (*milveh be-al peh*). The *amoraim* disputed the legal justification of this limitation (BB 175b). In the opinion of Ulla, the law entitled the creditor to seize encumbered land from the purchaser even for an orally established debt, except that the scholars had regulated against it in order not to cause loss to the purchaser of such land, since an "oral" debt had no *kol* ("publicity," lit. "voice") and the purchaser would therefore have no notice of the land's encumbrance in favor of the creditor. On the other hand, Rabbah was of the opinion that the law did not recognize the institution of *aḥarayut nekhasim* at all, and the creditor's right to recover from the debtor's property, including land, derived from a personal liability only, which could not be enforced except against the debtor's free property (see above). However, the scholars enacted that, in the case of a debt evidenced in writing and constituting notice, the creditor could seize the debtor's property from the purchaser, for otherwise the creditor would have no security for the repayment of the debt, and thus no borrower would ever be able to obtain a loan. The need to secure repayment of the debt in such a firm manner so as to forestall any reluctance to grant a loan most probably stemmed from the fact that in Jewish law the prohibition against interest precluded the earning of any profit from the actual loan, and accordingly the principal at least had to be adequately secured. From its application to a liability originating from loan, this rule was also extended to other obligations (L. Auerbach, *Das juedische Obligationenrecht*, 1 (1870), 172). Since the reason for precluding seizure from the purchaser in the case of an oral debt was to avoid loss because he had no notice of the debt's existence, R. Pappa decided that the creditor could seize the land of the debtor if the third party into whose hands it had passed was the heir of the debtor (BB 176a; but cf. the opinion of Rav, TJ, BK 10:1, 7b and BM 1:6, 8a; BB 175a and the opinion of Samuel there); the *halakhah* was decided accordingly in the codes (Yad, Malveh 11:4, Sh. Ar., ḤM 107:1).

In post-talmudic times various *takkanot* were enacted, laying down that a debt was not to be considered a written one unless the deed was written and signed by a scribe and witnesses specially appointed for the purpose (see Sh. Ar., ḤM 61:1), whereby the maximum notice and warning were thus afforded to potential purchasers – in much the same way as mortgages are registered in land registry offices at the present time.

A debt established by deed provided the right of exacting payment out of encumbered property, even if not so expressly stipulated – the omission being attributed to "an error of the scribe" (BM 14a; 15b). With regard to an obligation stemming from the *ketubbah*, this rule was specifically endorsed in a special enactment (Ket. 4:7). An exception to the rule distinguishing between oral obligation and one by deed was recognized in the case of land sold with a guarantee (i.e., in respect of claims by third parties against the land) in the presence of witnesses, even without a deed. In this event the purchaser could exact the purchase price from the encumbered property, it being considered that a sale of land before witnesses would become known even in the absence of a written instrument (BB 41b and codes). Similarly, and for the same reason, the creditor could exact payment from the debtor's encumbered property if there was an obligation established by way of a *kinyan* before witnesses (see *Acquisition; BB, 40a; Sh. Ar., ḤM 39:1).

Seizure for a Debt of Fixed Amount Only

The scholars regulated "for the sake of good order" (*mi-penei tikkun olam*) that recovery could be made out of encumbered assets only for a debt of a fixed amount and not otherwise, e.g., in respect of maintenance for a wife and daughters (Git. 5:3, 50b and codes).

Debts Stemming from Tort

According to tannaitic law, an injured party could recover all the various measures of compensation from *nekhasim meshu'badim* (even though not stipulated in the deed; Tosef., Ket. 2:2). However, the *amoraim* disputed the question of whether an obligation imposed by law was subject to the same rules as one agreed upon in a deed (Bek. 49b et al.). In the light of the rule that a debt for an unspecified amount was not recoverable from encumbered assets, it would seem that there was room for extending the limitation also to a debt stemming from tort, for precisely the same reasons. The matter remained a disputed one, however, even in the codes (see e.g., Tos. to BK 8a s.v. כול; *Beit Yosef* ḤM 119 n. 4).

Any obligation not recoverable out of *nekhasim meshu'badim* becomes recoverable in this way in consequence of a judgment of the court on a claim submitted (BB 175b; BK 104b–105a).

Encumbrance of Assets

Originally, the law was that a lien extended only to assets in the possession of the debtor at the time the debt was created (cf. the ancient wording: "all the property that I have," Ket. 4:7; Tosef., Ket. 4:7; Tosef., Ket. 12:1), and property later acquired could not be seized by the creditor once it had been transferred to a third party (Yad, Malveh 18:1; Sh. Ar., ḤM 112:1). In order to increase the creditor's security, however, the scholars prescribed that if, at the time the debt was created, the debtor agreed that property he might acquire in the future would also be subjected to the lien, this would also form part of his encumbered assets, i.e., from the time it came into his possession (TJ, Ket. 4:8, 29a; BB 44b). This rule was discussed in the light of the principle that a person could not transfer ownership of something not in his possession (*reshut*; see *Contract), but the distinction was made that one could nevertheless encumber property in this manner (BB 157 a/b; Yad, Malveh 18:1; Sh. Ar., ḤM 112:1). The opinion is expressed in the codes that, in view of the rule of "the scribe's error" (see above), the lien also extended to assets acquired by the debtor after the creation of the debt, even if not expressly agreed to by him when the obligation came into being (Rema, ḤM 112:1).

Chattels as Nekhasim Meshu'badim

In the amoraic period the rule that a lien extended only to the debtor's land underwent a variation: it was laid down that if, at the time of creation of the debt and as security for it, the debtor expressly charged the chattels incidental to his land (*agav karka*; see *Acquisition), the lien would also extend to such chattels, whether they were in his possession or acquired thereafter (BB 44b; Yad, Malveh 18:2; Sh. Ar., ḤM 113:1–2). The extension of the lien in this manner was due to the fact that the number of landowners had diminished and the lien, if limited to land alone, would have failed to provide adequate security for the repayment of a debt. With the intensification of this economic trend in geonic times, the practice was accepted of *kinyan* ("acquisition") incidental to land – even if the debtor owned none at all – involving the doctrine of the "four cubits [*arba ammot*] in Ereẓ Israel" said to be possessed by every Jew. For the same reason a special *takkanah* was enacted in the geonic period, making it possible – contrary to talmudic law (see Ket. 92a) – for the creditor also to exact payment out of the debtor's chattels acquired by his heirs (*Ḥemdah Genuzah* no. 65; cf. justification of the rule on similar grounds, Rashbam BB 174a; see also Yad, Malveh 11:11; Sh. Ar., ḤM 107:1).

This *takkanah* concerning the seizure of the debtor's chattels after they passed into the hands of his heirs was unlikely to create difficulty, since it was only proper that the heirs should fulfill the obligations of the deceased. However, so far as purchasers were concerned, the growing practice whereby even one's chattels were charged on the creation of an obligation, caused the creditor's consequent right of seizure to be a serious obstacle to business transactions. Accordingly, the earlier practice was reverted to, and it became accepted that the creditor would not recover from chattels sold to a third party, even though the debtor had expressly agreed in the deed to charge such of his chattels as were incidental to land – this being justified by the *takkanat ha-shuk* ("market overt") – for otherwise no person would be able to buy any chattel from his neighbor for fear that a lien existed in favor of his creditors (Resp. Rosh 79:5; also 4 and 6; Tur, and Sh. Ar., ḤM 60:1; but cf. also *Siftei Kohen* ḤM 60, n. 4, where the custom is contested).

To counter the fear of prospective purchasers that property acquired from a seller was subject to being seized by the latter's creditors, the practice was adopted – in terms of a *takkanah* enacted in the Middle Ages and observed in many communities – whereby at the time of the sale of land any person claiming a right or lien over the property in question was publicly called upon to come forward within a period of 15 days (Resp. Rashba, vol. 6, nos. 6–7) or 30 days (idem, vol. 2, no. 95) and establish his claim, failing which he would lose his right, and would thenceforth be precluded from raising any objection to the sale and from making any claim by way of lien or otherwise over the property (see also Resp. Rosh no. 18:16; Tur, ḤM 104:3; Resp. Ritba, no. 156).

Cancellation and Extinction of Lien

The creditor's lien over the debtor's property is extinguished by the cancellation of the underlying obligation – i.e., by the repayment of the debt or the debtor's release from it – and hence "a deed which has been borrowed on and repaid cannot be borrowed on again, since release has already been granted from its lien" (Ket. 85a). The creditor may, however, relinquish his lien in favor of one purchaser while retaining it in respect of other purchasers (Ket. 95a and codes), and he may also release part of the encumbered assets from the operation of the lien, while retaining it in respect of other parts (Tur and Sh. Ar., ḤM 111:12). In both cases the release has no validity unless formally effected by way of *kinyan* (*ibid.*; also 118:1).

As mentioned above, the creditors' lien does not amount to an independent proprietary right, but is subject to the debtor's own ownership of the encumbered property. Hence, the termination of the latter's ownership of the property may, in certain circumstances, automatically extinguish the creditor's lien therein. The Talmud mentions three cases in which the creditor's lien is extinguished as a result of the debtor's loss of ownership of the encumbered property: when the proprietor has made an irredeemable consecration (*kedushat ha-guf*; see **Hekdesh*) of the property, in which event it is thereafter and for all time placed beyond the ownership of the common man (*hedyot*; Git. 40b; Tur and Sh. Ar., ḤM 117:7) – according to Maimonides a redeemable consecration (*kedushat dammim*) also extinguishes the lien, save that the creditor may seize the property if and when it is redeemed (Yad, Malveh 18:6–7; Arakhin 7:14–16); when there is a prohibition against deriving benefit from the property, e.g., *Ḥameẓ* ("leaven") during Passover, which has the effect of nullifying ownership of the property; and when the property in question is a slave manumitted by his owner, since thereupon the right of ownership is totally extinguished (Git., Yad; Sh. Ar., *ibid.*; and see below).

A person who causes a lien over his property to be extinguished is nevertheless liable to the creditor for any loss resulting to the latter (see also **Gerama*; *Torts).

Apoteke

(אַפּוֹתֵיקִי). *Apoteke* is distinguished from the implied general lien by the fact that it is limited to a specific part of the property of the debtor, in whose possession it remains. The term is of Greek origin and in several tannaitic sources is rendered as "הִיפּוֹתֵיקִי" (*hippoteke*; Tosef., Shev. 8:6; Tosef., 11:8; Tosef., BM 1:8). Despite this Greek origin, however, in its substance and legal rules *apoteke* is in Jewish law similar to the general lien, and in fact it differs from the Greek hypothec (ὑποθήκη) in essential principles (see below). In effect, *apoteke* does not create a new charge on the property in question, since all the debtor's property is included in the implied, comprehensive charge that comes into existence upon creation of the obligation, but merely serves to restrict an already existing charge to particular assets. For this reason, Jewish law sources make no specific mention of the term *shi'bud apoteke*, but speak of "defining" or "setting aside" a field (Git. 37a; Ket. 54b, 55a, 81b; BB 50a; TJ, Shev. 10;1, 39b), i.e., singling out of a particular asset from the generally charged property. The *rishonim* interpreted the term *apoteke* as a **notarikon* (from אפה תהא קאי, i.e., "on this it shall stand": *Arukh ha-Shalem*, s.v. אפתק; Rashi BK 11b; Rashbam BB 44b; or from פה תְּקָנֵה – Maim., Comm. to Git. 4:4). The rule is that the creditor may only exact payment from the hypothecated property in respect of such obligations as would serve to create in his favor a general lien over the debtor's property, i.e., a debt by deed and not an oral one, etc. (*Beit Yosef*, ḤM 117, n. 3). Talmudic sources indicate that the *apoteke* itself had to be created by deed (Tosef., Shev. 8:6); but it was later laid down in the codes that an *apoteke* could be created before witnesses without deed, although the underlying obligation itself had to be under deed (*Beit Yosef*, loc. cit.).

The hypothecated property generally consisted of land, but instances are also mentioned where the *apoteke* attached (*inter alia*) to slaves (Git. 4:4) and to a bond of indebtedness, e.g., the *ketubbah* (Tosef., Ket. 11:1; Rashi's interpretation, in commenting on Ket. 54a, that the *apoteke* is effected specifically in relation to the land of the wife included in the *ketubbah* does not accord with the plain meaning of the Tosefta statement, but shows the influence of Rava's ruling; see below); and to chattels collectively (to a *Ḥavilah*, "bundle"; Tosef., Ket. 11:8). In the fourth century it was laid down by Rava in Babylonia that a hypothecated slave who had been sold could be seized by a creditor in recovery of his debt, since the sale of a slave carried a "voice" and purchasers would have warning, whereas the sale of a hypothecated ox or ass carried no "voice," and therefore these were not recoverable from a purchaser in settlement of the vendor's debt. Even then, however, a hypothecated slave afforded only limited security for the creditor, since already in the Mishnah it was prescribed that a slave manumitted by his owner, i.e., the debtor, could not be seized in recovery of the latter's debt (Git. 4:4) because his manumission extinguished the charge (TJ, Yev. 7:1, 8a and see above). This was in accordance with the fundamental doctrine of human liberty that "a slave, once liberated, does not return to servitude" (TJ, Pes. 2:29a). Hence it was not common to execute *apoteke*, not even in respect of slaves, and *apoteke* came to be equaled with the general lien, attaching to land only and not to chattels. Later this was enshrined in the codes in absolute manner, to the effect that no (alienated) hypothecated chattels of any kind were recoverable in payment of a debt since they carried no "voice," even if the *apoteke* was executed by deed and the purchaser had notice of it (Tur and Sh. Ar., ḤM 117:3; see also Sma, ḤM 117, n. 13).

Simple and Express Apoteke

(*apoteke setam* and *apoteke meforash*). Jewish law recognizes hypothecation of a specific asset in two different ways, each having its own rules concerning the creditor's right of recovery from such an asset. In the first case, referred to in the codes as *apoteke setam* (Tur, ḤM 117:1), the debtor gives a written undertaking to his creditor that if he should fail to repay the debt, "you may recover from this asset." As long as the debtor fails to repay the debt in cash and the asset remains in his possession, the creditor is entitled to exact payment out of such an asset and the debtor is not entitled to offer substitute assets. If the hypothecated asset should not suffice to repay the debt, or becomes spoiled, or ceases to exist, the creditor may recover payment out of the debtor's other assets (Git. 41a; Yad, Malveh 18:3; Sh. Ar., ḤM 117:1). Just as the general lien does not preclude the debtor from selling his assets, so he is also free to sell assets subject to a simple hypothecation. As long as he retains any free property, the creditor may not recover his debt out of such hypothecated assets alienated by the debtor (TJ, Yev. 7:1, 8a; Git. 41a). If the debtor has no free property, the creditor may recover from the hypothecated property in a purchaser's hands, even if other encumbered assets were alienated by the debtor after his alienation of the hypothecated property; in this respect *apoteke* gives the creditor a right that ranks in preference to that available to the creditor under the general lien (see above). However, the purchaser of hypothecated property – like the debtor himself – retains the right to repay the debt in cash (Yad, Malveh 18:4, 8, and *Maggid Mishneh*, ad. loc. Sma, ḤM 117 n. 8).

Simeon b. Gamaliel expressed the opinion that alienation was forbidden of assets hypothecated in favor of a woman's *ketubbah*, since "a woman is not in the habit of having recourse to the courts," and that she could recover her *ketubbah* from the hypothecated property only, and not from the remaining property in her husband's possession (Git. 41a). Apparently, however, he too was of the opinion that, if the hypothecated property did not equal the value of the *ketubbah,* or if it depreciated, the wife could recover from the remaining property of her husband (cf. Ket. 4:7; Tosef., Ket. 11:8; see Gulak, *Ha-Ḥiyyuv ve-Shi'budav*, 55). The *halakhah* was decided in accordance with the opposing view of the scholars, so that no difference is recognized between the *ketubbah* obligation and any other obligation (Yad and Sh. Ar., loc. cit.).

Express *apoteke* (termed *apoteke meforash* in the codes) is constituted when the debtor makes a written declaration to the creditor that "you shall not recover payment except out of this [asset]" (*lo yehe lekha pera'on ella mi-zo*, Git. 41a; BM 66b; TJ, Ket. 10:6, 34a). In this event no charge attaches to the debtor's remaining property, and hence, if the hypothecated property should be spoiled, the creditor may not recover payment out of the debtor's free property nor out of other property alienated by him to a third party (Git. 41a). Expressly hypothecated property also does not provide the creditor with an absolute proprietary right therein. Thus, if its value exceeds the amount of the debt, the creditor must return the balance to the debtor. Furthermore, while the *amoraim* of Ereẓ Israel disputed the question of whether the debtor could alienate expressly hypothecated property (TJ, Shev. 10:1, 39b), it appears from the Babylonian Talmud that he may do so, except that the creditor can exact payment out of the hypothecated assets in the purchaser's possession even if the debtor has any free property, and except, further, that the purchaser is not entitled to pay in cash in lieu of the hypothecated property, as he may do in the case of simple hypothecation (BK 96a; the debtor himself retains the right to pay in cash in both cases). The *halakhah* was decided in the codes in accordance with the latter view (Tur and Sh. Ar., ḤM 117:1; Sma ḤM 117, n. 5 and 6). Basically, therefore, express hypothecation afforded the creditor no greater rights than did simple hypothecation, whereas it did serve to deprive him of the general lien over all the other property of the debtor, and Gulak (*Ha-Ḥiyyuv*… p. 59 f.) correctly surmises that its main purpose was to promote the free transaction of land sales by freeing all but a distinct part of the debtor's property from the creditor's lien.

In the State of Israel

The law in Israel recognizes no implied general lien of the kind known in Jewish law, but allows for the bonding of a specified asset in the creditor's favor by way of pledge or mortgage. A real estate mortgage is registered in the Land Registry Office, whereupon the mortgagor may not transfer ownership of the property without the consent of the mortgagee.

For further particulars see *Pledge.

[Menachem Elon]

Lien as Obligation and Lien as Security

A lien (*aḥarayut nekhasim/shibud nekhasim*) is a creditor's proprietary right to the debtor's assets to secure repayment, i.e., a case where the creditor, if not repaid in accordance with the terms agreed upon by the parties, is entitled to collect payment from encumbered assets. In such a case, a lien is a secondary right and terminates upon payment of the debt. Indeed, a lien may also be created as a primary right, whose realization is either conditional or without condition. In the case of a lien as a primary right, only the term "*shi'bud nekhasim*" applies.

The meaning of the term "*aḥarayut*" is "substitute," or "another thing." The substitute may be for a ritual sacrifice one pledged to bring and was lost, or for an asset that was sold and it subsequently transpired that it did not belong to the seller. "*Aḥarayut nekhasim*" refers to property which serves as a substitute for fulfilling an obligation, generally the payment of money. The property is a guarantee (suretyship) just as a guarantor (surety) is a substitute for the principal debtor (BB 174a). This concept of substitute is reflected in the wording in all bonds: "all my assets may be considered a substitute and serve as a guarantee."

A lien on property may be explicitly created by the owner – the debtor, or implicitly, if we consider that "*aḥarayut ta'ut sofer*," that is: it is presumed that the parties intended to stipulate the lien in the document, and its omission is the result of a scribal error. A property lien is automatically and not consensually created regarding a person's Scriptual obligations, which do not depend on the person's consent for its imposition on his property. There are those who have given this interpretation to the term "*shi'buda de-oraita*," and not, as it is usually interpreted, that the term means that this kind of lien has its origin in Pentateuchal law.

[Berachyahu Lifshitz (2nd ed.)]

The Solution of an Actual Legal Problem based on Jewish Law

As stated above, in Israeli law, as well as in other modern legal systems, a property lien on a *particular asset* belonging to the debtor can be used to secure a loan. In other words, a property lien is a fixed lien, of a proprietary nature, that continues to "attach" itself to the asset even after the asset has been transferred to another party. This lien, common in Israeli law, is similar to the explicit *apoteke*, which is an unusual lien in Jewish law.

In modern law, the term "floating charge" indicates an imposition of a non-fixed charge on a non-defined set of assets. A floating charge is generally imposed by granting credit to businesses, with the lien imposed on the debtor's entire business inventory. The floating charge differs from the permanent charge in two respects: First, it applies to assets that at the time of its imposition were not in the debtor's possession. Second, from the moment that the debtor sells any item of the inventory, the charge no longer applies to that item. The purpose of this kind of charge, originating in English law, is to allow businesses to receive credit and to establish a charge for that credit, without it intruding on continued commercial dealings.

In summary, under Jewish Law, liens bear certain similarities to the floating charge. Under Jewish law, at the time of taking a loan, all of the borrower's property is placed under lien to the benefit of the lender, including his chattels (Yad, Malveh ve-Loveh, 18:1). Such a lien may also be imposed on future property not yet in the borrower's possession (*"d'ikne"*), and according to some of the *posekim*, a lien applies to property that is not in the possession of the borrower, even if this was not explicitly stated (Rema, ḤM 112:1). The sale of chattels encumbered by a lien terminated the lien with respect to such chattels, and the creditor is not entitled to recover them from the buyers (Resp. Rosh, no. 79.5; Tur, Sh. Ar., ḤM 60:1). A comparison between these principles of lien in Jewish law and the characteristics of a floating charge shows a great deal of similarity between the "normal" lien under Jewish law and the floating charge of the modern law.

The law in Israel expressly relates to a floating charge only in the Companies Ordinance [New version], 5743 – 1983, and thus the accepted view is that the floating charge may be imposed only on a company's assets. A case was brought before the District Court in Jerusalem (CA 6063/05, *Atzmon v. Bar Levav;* per Judge Noam Solberg) where, pursuant to a contract, a floating lien was imposed on a person's unincorporated business. The question before the Court was whether a floating lien could be recognized as the asset of an individual, even though it is not expressly recognized in the law. The Court decided that, despite the fact that the law does not expressly relate to such a possibility – it does not negate it. From the perspective of policy considerations, the Court presented the considerations that support recognizing a floating lien on the assets of an individual and the opposing considerations. In deciding the case, the Court gave preference to the consideration of freedom of contracts, pursuant to which it is appropriate to give force to the agreement between parties to a contract to the extent possible. However, in light of a lacuna, and pursuant to section 1 of the Foundations of Law Law, 5740 – 1980, which provides that in the case of a lacuna the court should look to the "principles of freedom, justice, equity and peace of the Jewish tradition," the Court referred to Jewish law. After examining the general characteristics of a lien under Jewish law, the court stated that "indeed, the classic and common lien in the Jewish law is fundamentally similar to the floating charge." The Court's decision discussed the shared foundation of the "regular" lien under Jewish law and the modern floating charge, insofar as they apply to all of the debtor's assets, as stated above. In addition to this similarity, the court also considered that one of the justifications given in the Jewish law for the existence of the possibility of encumbering future assets, in contravention of the rule that transactions cannot be carried out in future assets – is facilitating commerce and the process of receiving loans – "so that doors will not be shut before the borrowers" (*Keẓot ha-Ḥoshen*, ḤM. 112:1) This is also the main reason offered as a justification for the *takkanah* of the *geonim* that provides that chattels as well as real property may be encumbered by a lien to the creditor (Rashbam, BB 157a). The Court concluded from its analysis of these Jewish law principles that "there is a goal to facilitate the conduct of commerce, to improve it, to make credit available, and to improve the financial well-being" in relation to the law of liens and views in the position of the Jewish law and impetus for recognizing the floating charge on the assets of an individual in the Israeli law.

[Menachem Elon (2nd ed.)]

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LIEPAJA (Ger. **Libau**; Rus. **Libava**), city in Kurzeme (Courland) district, Latvia; one of the oldest Baltic ports. Jews were permitted to live there from 1799, and by 1850 they numbered

1,348 persons. In 1840, 13 families (78 persons) left to join the agricultural settlements in *Kherson province. By 1881 it had increased to 6,651 following the completion of the Libava-Romny railroad, linking Liepaja with the leading industrial and commercial centers of the Ukraine. By 1897 the community had risen to 9,454 (c. 14% of the total population) and to a peak in 1911 of 10,308 (out of a total 83,650), consisting of the old-established residents of Courland among whom German cultural influences pre-dominated and Jews who had moved to Liepaja from various parts of Russia. The old Jewish residents were prominent in the export trade in grain and lumber, while the newcomers were included in the low-economic strata. The Jews also owned 11 of the 43 factories in the city, and about the same proportion of factory workers were Jews. When Latvia became independent after World War I, Liepaja lost its Russian hinterland, which was a severe setback for the development of the city. The Jewish population declined, from 9,758 (19%) in 1920, to 7,908 (13.81%) in 1930, and 7,379 (12.92%) in 1935. It nevertheless remained the third-largest Jewish community in the country, after Riga and Daugavpils (Dvinsk). Before World War I and under democratic government in Latvia (1918–34) a number of social and political groups, prominent rabbis, and communal leaders (including N. *Katzenelson) were active in the community. The Hebrew writer J.L. *Kantor was **kazyonny ravvin* from 1890 to 1904. He was succeeded in 1907 by Aaron Nurock, who later served as community rabbi until 1937. He was also a member of the Latvian parliament for one term. There existed a Hebrew public school with 400 pupils, a Hebrew Tarbut school (140 pupils), a Yiddish school with 350 children, and an Ort vocational school. The community maintained among others, an old-age home, orphanage, a clinic, and a tuberculosis sanatorium. In 1940 the Soviets nationalized the economy and exiled 50 property-owning families. They left the Yiddish school operating with a Soviet curriculum.

[Joseph Gar / Shmuel Spector (2nd ed.)]

Holocaust Period

Liepaja was occupied by the Germans on June 29, 1941. This was followed at once by anti-Jewish excesses and mass arrests. On July 24, 1941, 3,000 Jews from Liepaja, mostly men, were taken to the lighthouse at Schkeden and put to death. Jews from the surrounding towns and villages were concentrated in Liepaja, and on Dec. 15 and 16, 1941, another 3,500 were murdered. Four hundred Jews lost their lives in February 1942. In June of that year, a ghetto was set up, where 816 Jews were confined; it was liquidated on October 8, 1943 (the eve of the Day of Atonement), and the remaining Jews were deported to concentration camps.

Only a few dozen Liepaja Jews survived the war. The city was liberated by the Red Army on May 9, 1945, but most of the Jewish survivors did not return, preferring to stay in Displaced Persons' camps, from where they eventually left for Israel and other countries overseas.

[Joseph Gar]

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LIES, MAN OF (Heb. אִישׁ הַכָּזָב, *Ish ha-Kazav*), a person mentioned in some of the Qumran texts because of his opposition to the *Teacher of Righteousness. In the Damascus Document the figure of approximately 40 years marks the interval "from the day that the Unique Teacher was gathered in until the consuming of all the men of war who returned with the Man of Lies" (6QD 20.14ff.). In view of the fact that the members of the Qumran community called themselves "the poor," it may be that they derived the term "Man of Lies" from Proverbs 19:22, "A poor man is better than *ish kazav*." The reference to the consuming of all the men of war is probably based on Deuteronomy 2:14–16, where all the "men of war" who came out of Egypt perished within 38 years. The identification of the scriptures underlying the Zadokite author's language, however, does not help much to identify the persons he has in mind. The Man of Lies may have been the leader of a rival sect; sometimes the bitterest expressions of hostility and charges of apostasy are made between groups which an outsider could hardly distinguish one from another. One possibility that has been aired is that the Man of Lies is the Pharisaic leader *Simeon b. Shetaḥ, who returned from exile to enjoy a position of influence in Judea when Alexander *Yannai died in 76 B.C.E.; the "men of war" might then be his fellow exiles who came back with him.

The Habakkuk Commentary from Qumran Cave I has two references to the Man of Lies: one in which the words of Habakkuk 1:5 ("a work… which ye will not believe if be told you") are interpreted as "the traitors (apostates) with the Man of Lies, because they did not [listen to the words] of the Teacher of Righteousness from the mouth of God" (1QpHab. 2:1–3); the other in which the words of Habakkuk 1:13 ("wherefore lookest Thou, when they deal treacherously, and holdest Thy peace when the wicked swalloweth up the man that is more righteous than he?") are said to concern "the house of Absalom and the men of their counsel, who were struck dumb when the Teacher of Righteousness was chastised, and did not aid him against the Man of Lies, who rejected the Law in the midst of all their congregation" (1Qp Hab. 5:9–12). Some help might be expected from the mention of the "house of Absalom," but in every generation from the Hasmonean revolt to the war of 66 C.E. an Absalom can be produced – from an envoy sent by Judah Maccabee to Lysias in 164 B.C.E. (II Macc. 11:17) to a lieutenant of *Menahem in 66 C.E. (Jos., Wars 2:448). If the Man of Lies could be confidently identified with the Prophet of *Lies, then it might be possible to think of a rival religious teacher to the Teacher of Righteousness, whose rejection of the latter's interpretation of Scripture would be tantamount in the eyes of the community to rejection of the Law itself. Otherwise he could be any enemy of the Teacher and the community, and thus identified according to the period in which the Teacher is dated; thus H.H. Rowley thinks of Antiochus IV, W.H. Brownlee of John Hyrcanus, A. Dupont-Sommer of Hyrcanus II (identical with the *Wicked Priest), C. Roth of Simeon Bar Giora, G.R. Driver of several possibilities, including Agrippa II and John of Giscala.

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[Frederick Fyvie Bruce]

LIES, PROPHET OF (Heb. מַטִּיף הַכָּזָב, *Mattif ha-Kazav*, "spouter of falsehood"), a person mentioned in some of the Qumran texts, whose identity with the Man of *Lies cannot be assumed as certain in the present state of knowledge of the *Dead Sea Scrolls. The designation given to him is derived from Micah 2:11, "If a man walking in wind and falsehood do lie, 'I will preach (*attif*) unto thee of wine and of strong drink'; he shall even be the preacher (*mattif*) of this people!" (quoted 6QD 8:13). He is also called the "man of scoffing" near the beginning of the Zadokite Admonition: about the same time as the rise of the *Teacher of Righteousness, it is said, "there arose the man of scoffing, who preached [*hittif,* "spouted"] to Israel water of falsehood and led them astray in a trackless wilderness" (6QD 1:14f.). The reference is probably to a rival religious leader, probably to a leader of the Pharisees, for the Prophet of Lies and his associates "interpreted with smooth things" (1:18) – adopted a less exacting *halakhah* than did the followers of the Teacher of Righteousness – and other passages which mention the *Seekers after Smooth Things indicate that this is a description of the Pharisees. Later in the same document these people are called "the builders of the wall" who "walked after *ẓav*" (a reference to Hos. 5:11). The enigmatic *ẓav* is explained in terms of a "preacher" (*mattif*), in whom a variant and inferior reading of Micah 2:6 (*hattef yattifun*, as against the masoretic text, *al tattifu yattifun*) is seen as fulfilled: he leads his followers astray by his interpretations of the marriage law and the law of purity (see Book of Covenant of *Damascus).

In the Qumran commentary on Micah the denunciation of Samaria in Micah 1: 5–7 is interpreted of "the Prophet of Lies who [leads astray] the simple." In the commentary on Habakkuk, the denunciation of "him that buildeth a town with blood" (Hab. 2: 12) is interpreted of "the Prophet of Lies (*mattif ha-kazav*) who has led many astray, to build a worthless town with blood and to raise up a congregation with falsehood for the sake of its glory"; but he and his followers "will come to fiery judgments for having reviled and defamed God's elect ones" (1QpHab. 10:9–13). This language is akin to the condemnation in the Zadokite Admonition of those who, at the instance of the Prophet of Lies, "built the wall and daubed it with plaster" (6QD 8:12; cf. Ezek. 13:10ff.).

Although it is fairly certain that this Prophet of Lies is a Pharisaic teacher, his identity remains in doubt. Simeon b. Shetaḥ is one possibility, but since the Prophet appears to have been contemporary with the Teacher of Righteousness, the identity of the former must depend on the date assigned to the latter.

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[Frederick Fyvie Bruce]

LIESSIN, ABRAHAM (pseudonym of **Abraham Walt**; 1872–1938), Yiddish poet and editor. Born in Minsk (Belorussia), Liessin received a traditional Jewish education. He showed an early interest in philosophy, Haskalah literature, and socialist reform. Besides establishing himself among Russian Jewish workers and socialist leaders as a revolutionary Yiddish poet and social satirist, he also became an active member of the Jewish Labor *Bund from its inception in 1897. That same year, his socialist agitation forced him to flee to New York, where he found work writing for and editing the Yiddish daily **Forverts*. In 1913 he began a 15-year career as editor of **Di Tsukunft*, a monthly Yiddish literary and cultural journal. While his socialism was nurtured by the physical poverty of New York's Lower East Side, Liessin also noted a spiritual poverty amongst Jewish socialists. He sought to combat this trend by articulating positive role models for revolution from within the Jewish tradition. Thus although not a Zionist, Liessin was an ardent Jewish nationalist; and his writing draws inspiration from Jewish religious and national heroes such as *Judah Maccabee, *Bar Kochba, Solomon *Molcho, Rabbi *Meir of Rothenburg, and Hirsch *Lekkert. Liessin's activism did not compromise his lyrical art, however, and he remained a meticulous editor of his own work, which is often described as lyrical and melodious. It can be read as a bridge between the idealist political poetry of the *Sweatshop Poets of the late 19th century (such as Morris *Rosenfeld and Dovid *Edelstadt) and the aestheticizing poetry of Di *Yunge at the beginning of the 20th century. Dominating his work are the idealist thematics of heroism, martyrdom, morality, and suffering (Christian imagery also features prominently), all of which served his Jewish socialist aspirations. His first collection, *Moderne Lider* ("Modern Poems"), was published illegally in 1897 in Minsk. His complete poetry was published in three volumes, with line drawings by Marc *Chagall, in New York in 1938 (*Lider un Poemen*, "Poems and Long Poems"). His prose includes a posthumously published collection entitled *Zikhroynes un Bilder* ("Memoires and Images," 1954).

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[Elias Schulman / Sarah B. Felsen and Jordan Finkin (2nd ed.)]

Depictions of the Holy City and the Temple, Padua, Italy, 1732. Parchment, tempera, gold powder, pen and ink, 88.7 x 59 cm. *Collection, The Israel Museum, Jerusalem. Photo © The Israel Museum, Jerusalem.*

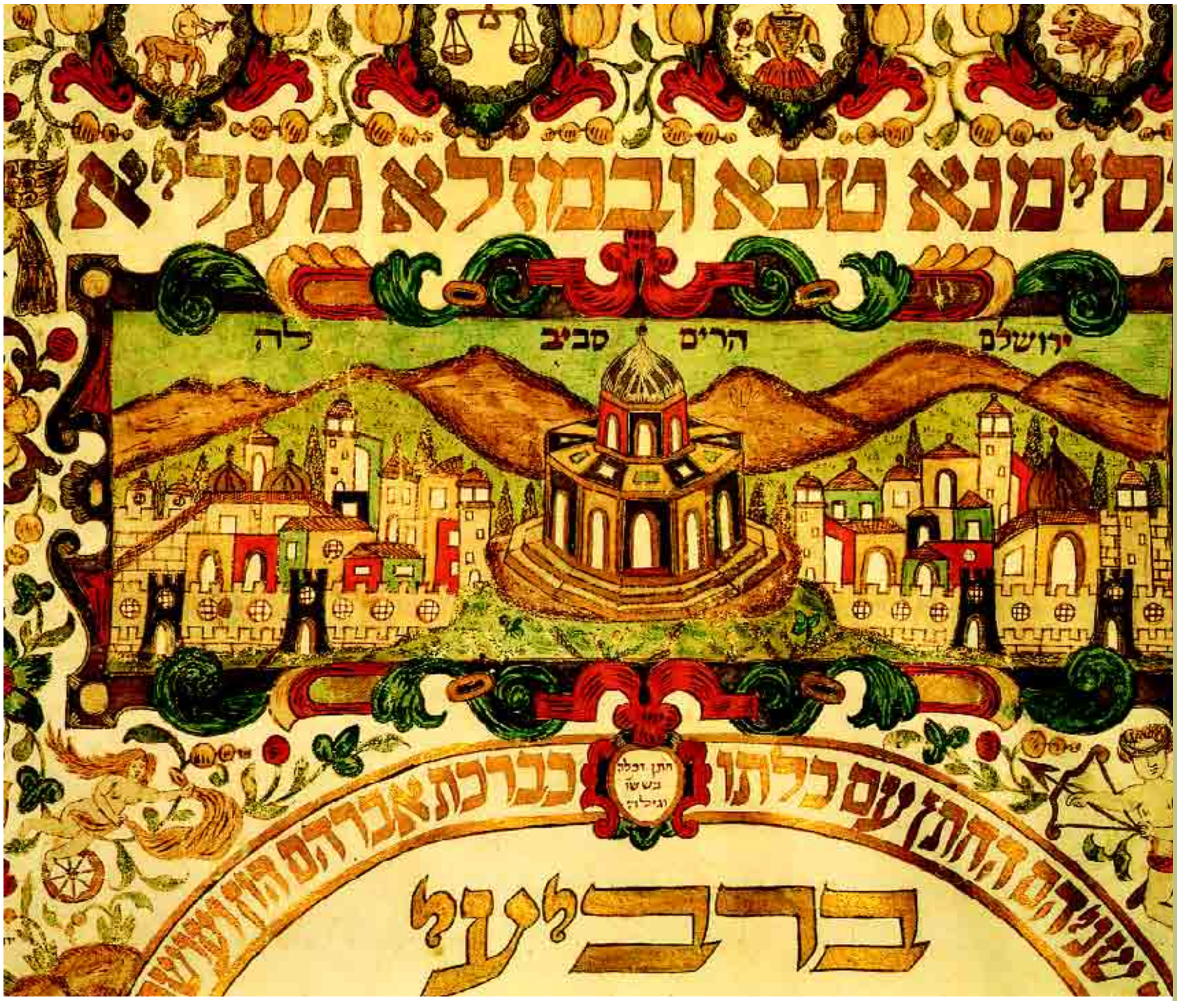
בסימנא טבא ובמזלא מעליא
ירושלם הרים סביב לה
חתן וכלה בששון וגילה
כברכת אברהם
עם כלתו
ברב"יע

A DOCUMENT, IN ARAMAIC, RECORDING THE FINANCIAL OBLIGATIONS WHICH THE HUSBAND UNDERTAKES TOWARD HIS WIFE IN RESPECT OF, AND CONSEQUENT TO, THEIR MARRIAGE; OBLIGATIONS WHICH IN PRINCIPLE ARE IMPOSED ON HIM BY JEWISH LAW.

KETUBBOT

Assortment of flowers and leaves of a marriage contract, San’a, Yemen, 1794. Parchment, gouache, pen and ink, 42 x 26 cm. *Collection, The Israel Museum, Jerusalem. Photo © The Israel Museum, Jerusalem.*

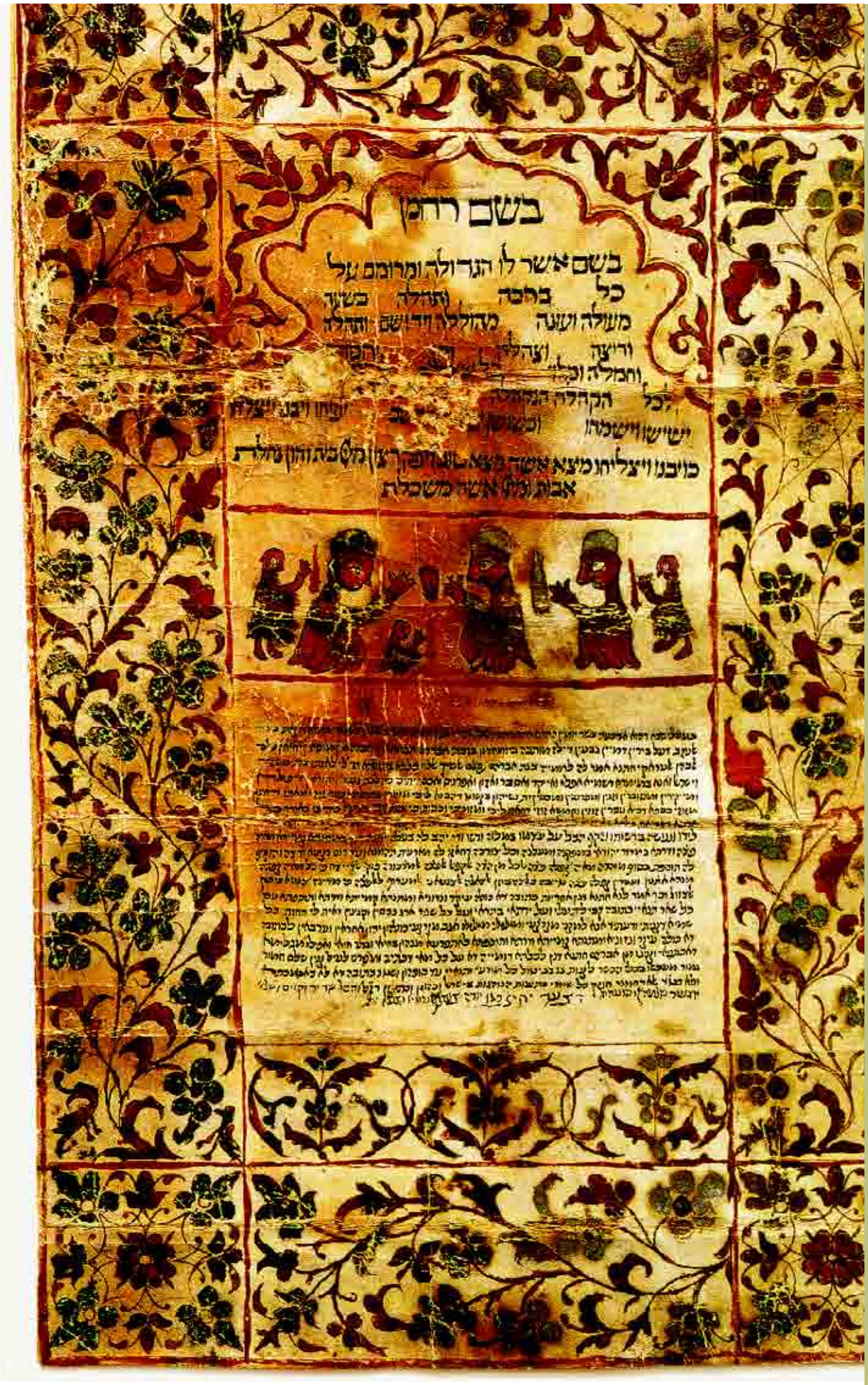

בשם רחמן

בשם אשר לו הגדולה ומרומם על
כל ברכה ותהלה בשיר
מעולה ועונה מהוללה חדושם ותהלה
ורוצה וצהלה [illegible]
וחמלה ו[illegible]
לכל הקהלה [illegible]
ישישו וישמחו [illegible]
כויבנו ויצליחו מצא אשה מצא טוב ויפק רצון מה׳ בית והון נחלת
אבות ומה׳ אשה משכלת

A marriage contract depicted as a gate, Amsterdam, 1617. Parchment, tempera, gold powder, pen and ink, 61.1 x 48 cm.
Collection, The Israel Museum, Jerusalem. Photo © The Israel Museum, Jerusalem.

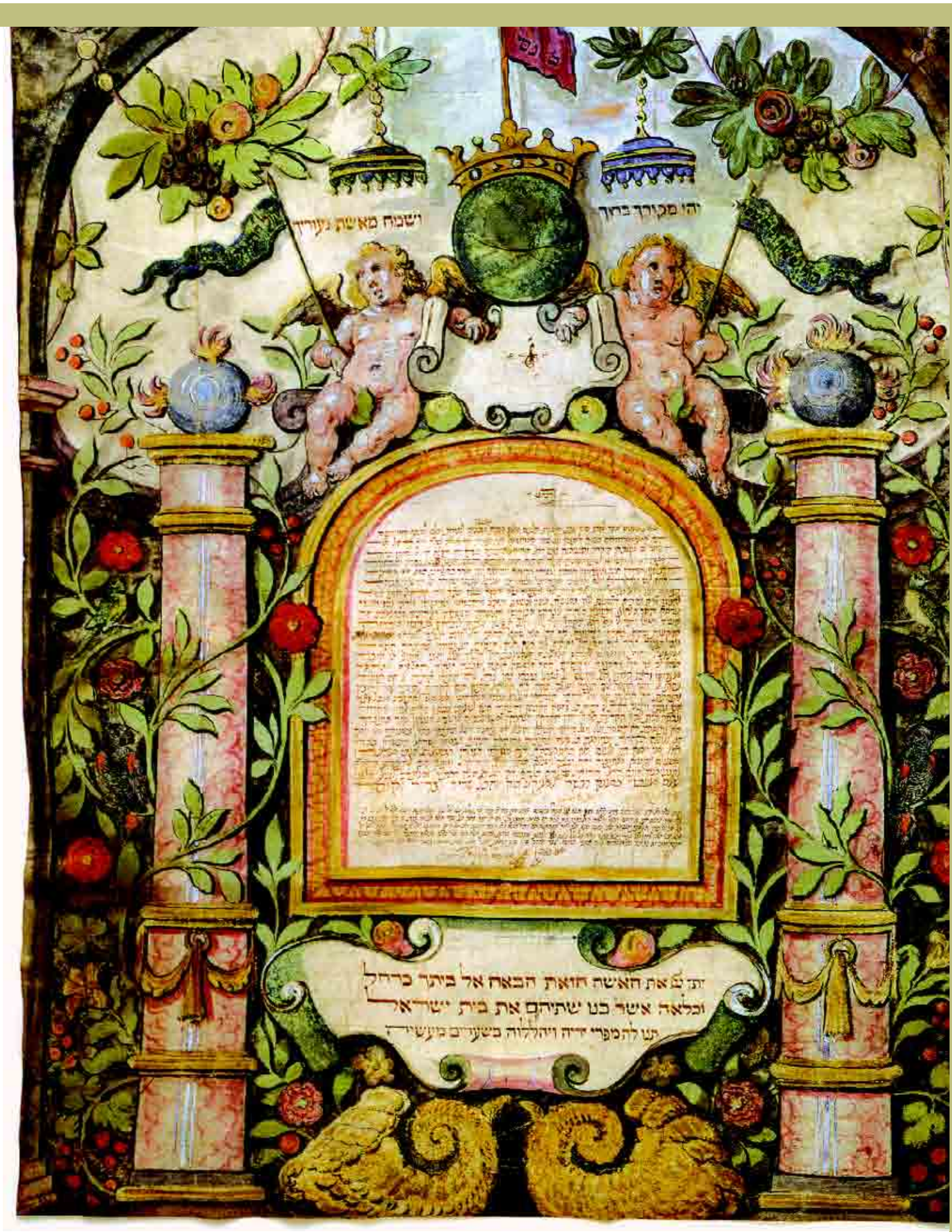
יהי מקורך ברוך
ושמח מאשת נעוריך
יתן ה' את האשה הזאת הבאה אל ביתך כרחל
וכלאה אשר בנו שתיהם את בית ישראל
תנו לה מפרי ידיה ויהללוה בשערים מעשיה

Floral marriage contract, Achiska (Akhaltsik), Georgia 1865. Paper, watercolor, pen and ink, 57 x 40 cm.
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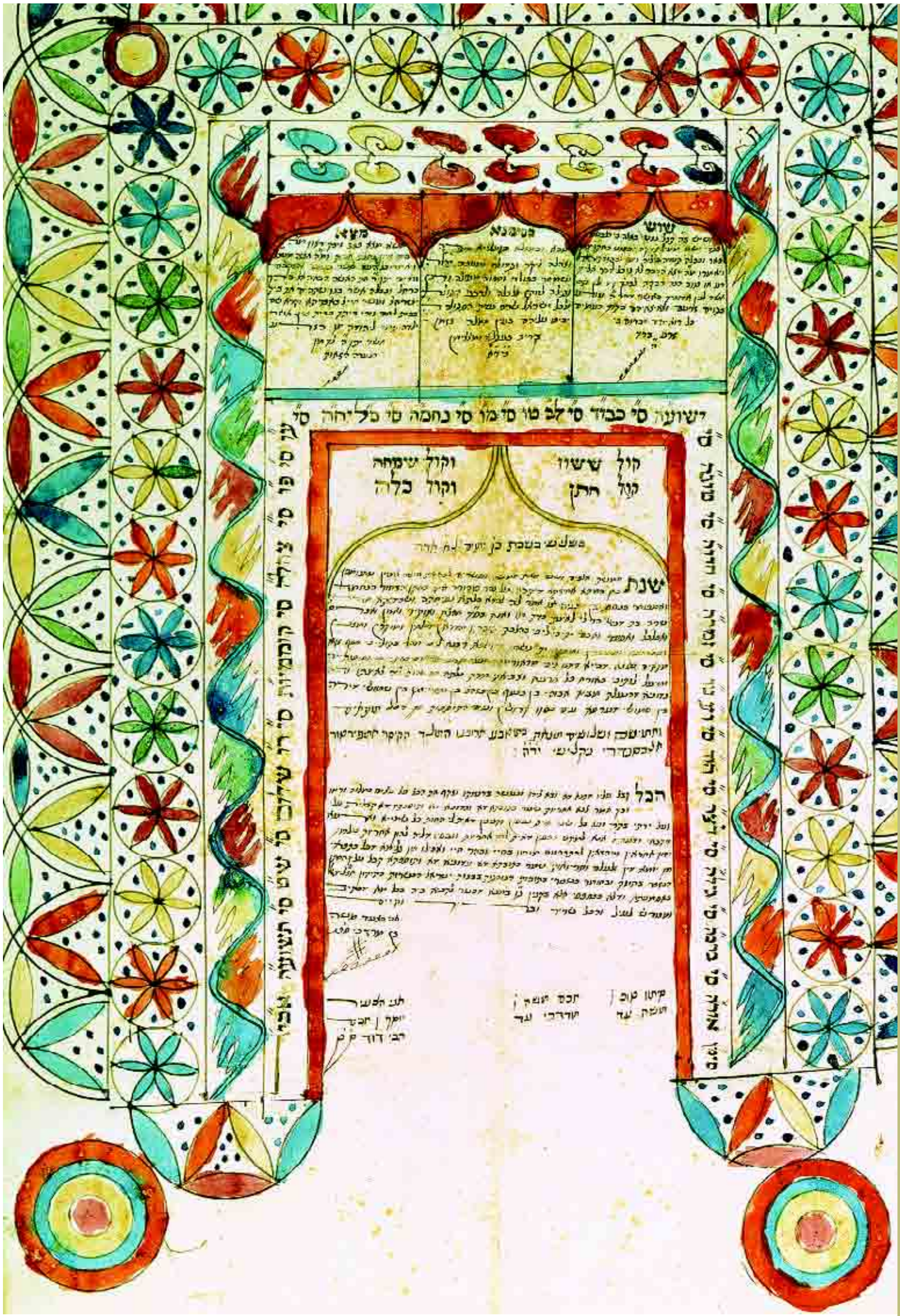

קול ששון וקול שמחה
קול חתן וקול כלה

Leaf-motif marriage contract, Singapore, 1880. Parchment, watercolor, pen and ink, 53.8 x 44.3 cm.
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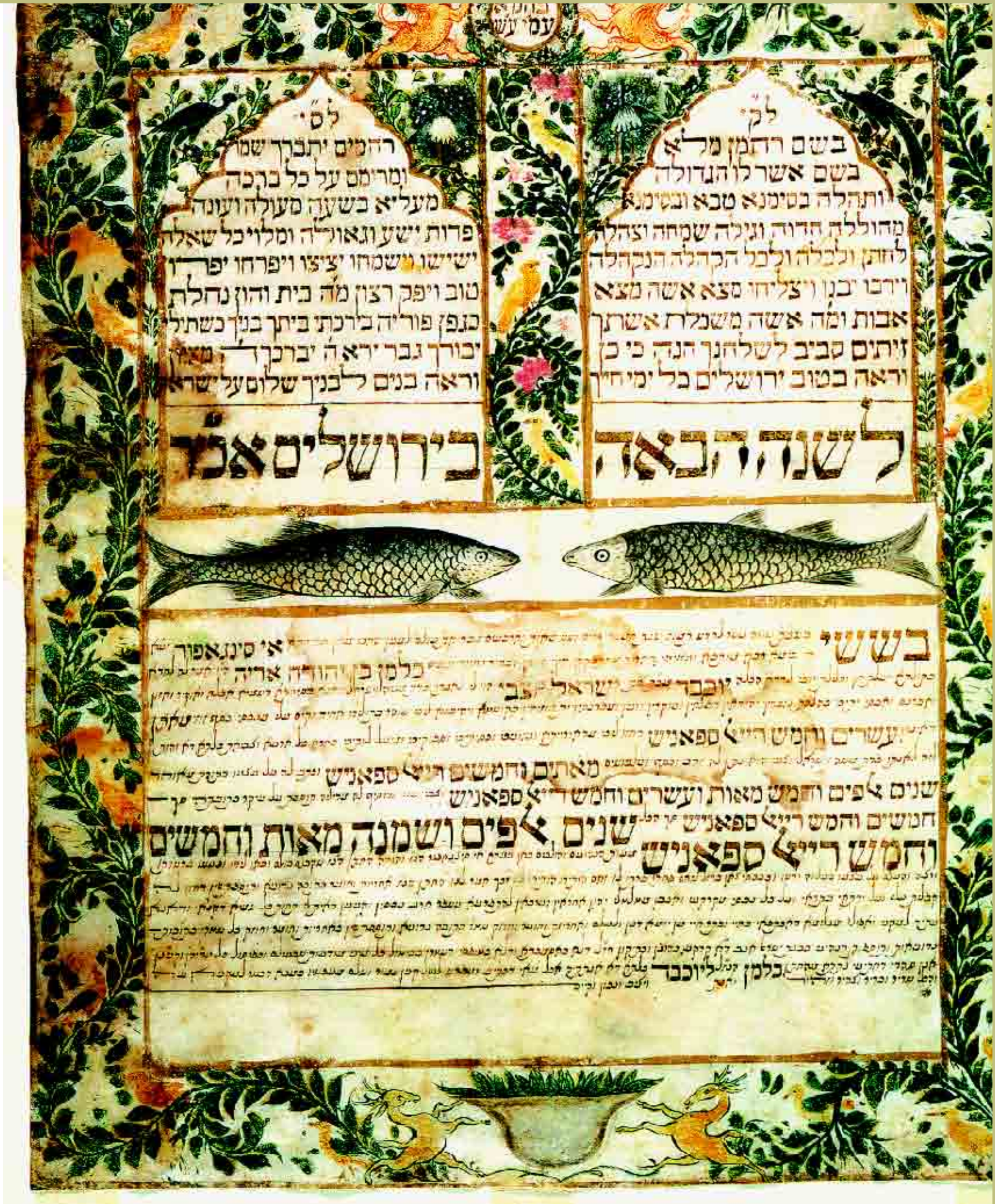
לק״
בשם רחמן מל״א
בשם אשר לו הגדולה
ותהלה בסימנא טבא ובסימנא
מהוללה חדוה וגילה שמחה וצהלה
לחתן ולכלה ולכל הקהלה הנקהלה
ירבו יכנו יצליחו מצא אשה מצא
אבות ומה אשה משכלת אשתך
זיתים סביב לשלחנך הנה כי כן
וראה בטוב ירושלים כל ימי חייך
לשנה הבאה
לס״
רחמים יתברך שמו
ומרומם על כל ברכה
מעל״א כשעה מעולה ועונה
פרות ישע וגאול״ה ומלוי כל שאלה
ישישו וישמחו יציצו ויפרחו יפרחו
טוב ויפק רצון מה׳ בית והון נחלת
כגפן פוריה בירכתי ביתך בניך כשתילי
יבורך גבר ירא ה׳ יברכך ה׳ מציון
וראה בנים לבניך שלום על ישראל
בירושלים אכ״ר
בשש״
אי סינגאפור
כלמן בן יהודה אריה
יוכבד
ישראל
עשרים וחמש רי״ל ספאניש
מאתים וחמשים רי״ל ספאניש
שנים אלפים וחמש מאות ועשרים וחמש רי״ל ספאניש
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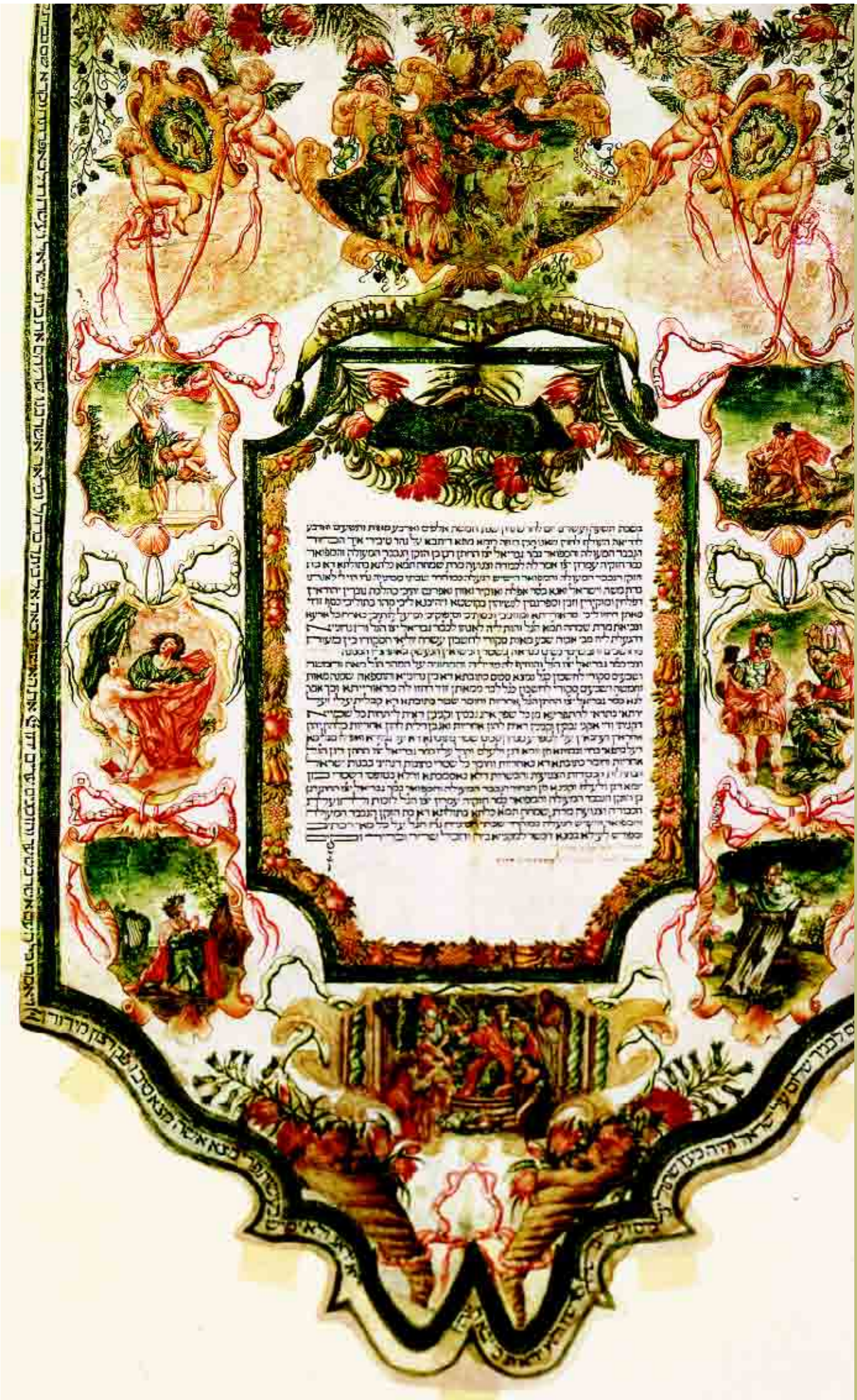

Marriage contract depicting various scenes in the Bible, Rome, Italy, 1734. Parchment, tempera, pen and ink, 94 x 59 cm. *Collection, The Israel Museum, Jerusalem. Photo © The Israel Museum, Jerusalem, by Avi Ganor.*

Marriage contract with decorative flowers, Tunis, Tunisia, 1822. Parchment, gouache, pen and ink, 57.5 x 52 cm.
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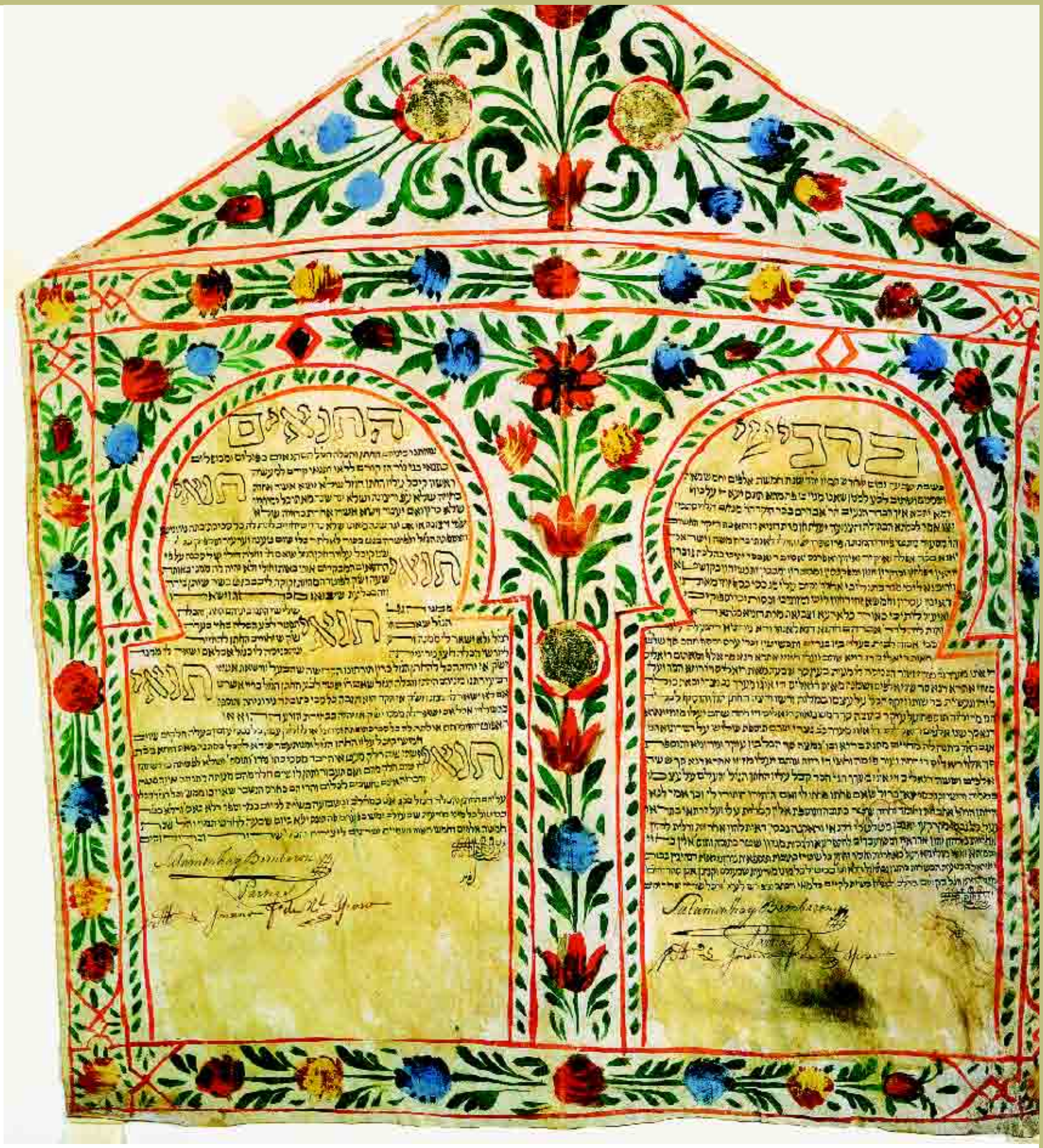

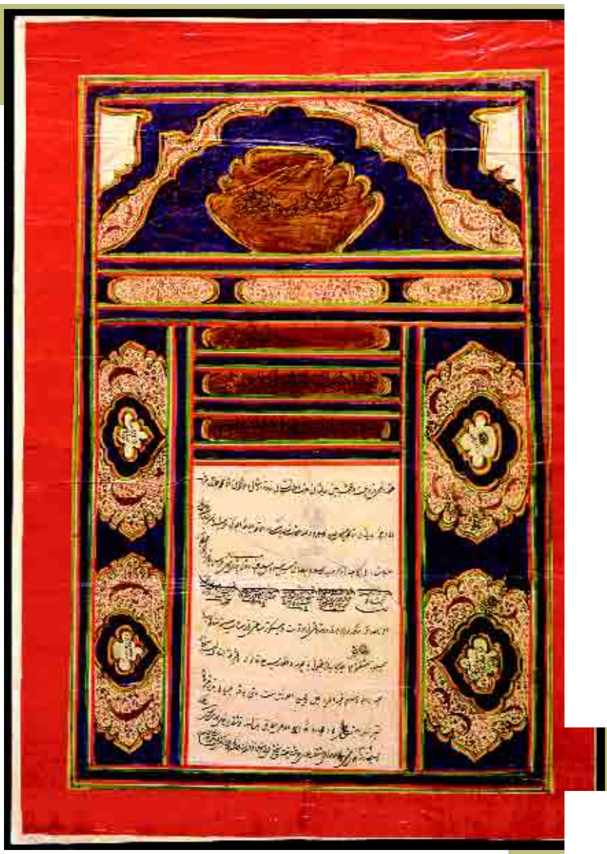

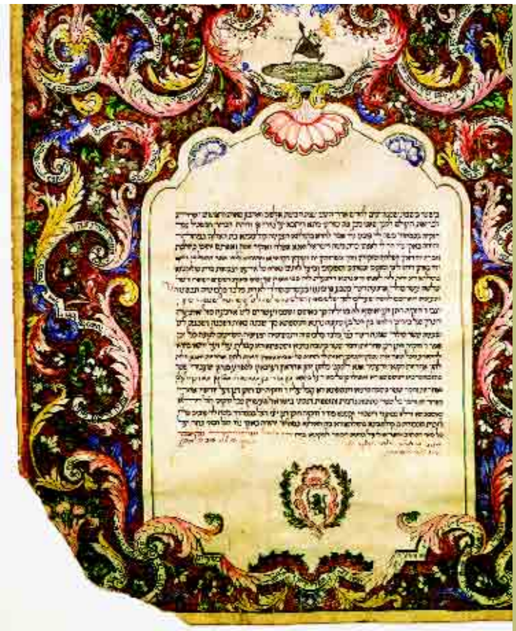

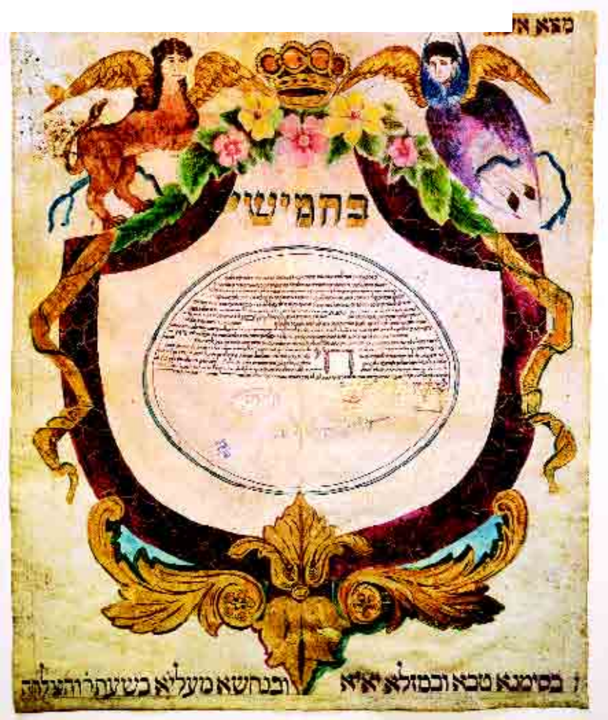

ABOVE: **Floral marriage contract, Meshed, Iran, 1887 (Hijra 1309). Paper, watercolor, gold powder, paper bands, pen and ink, 98.5x 68.5 cm.** *Collection, The Israel Museum, Jerusalem. Photo © The Israel Museum, Jerusalem, by Nahum Slapak.*

TOP RIGHT: **Petal-design marriage contract, Turin, Italy, 1691. Parchment, tempera, pen and ink, 54 x 45 cm.** *Collection, The Israel Museum, Jerusalem. Photo © The Israel Museum, Jerusalem.*

BOTTOM RIGHT: **Bride and groom depicted as a lion and an eagle, Essaouria (Mogador) Morocco, 1868. Parchment, tempera, watercolor, pen and ink, 60 x 50 cm.** *Collection, The Israel Museum, Jerusalem. Photo © The Israel Museum, Jerusalem, by Nahum Slapak.*

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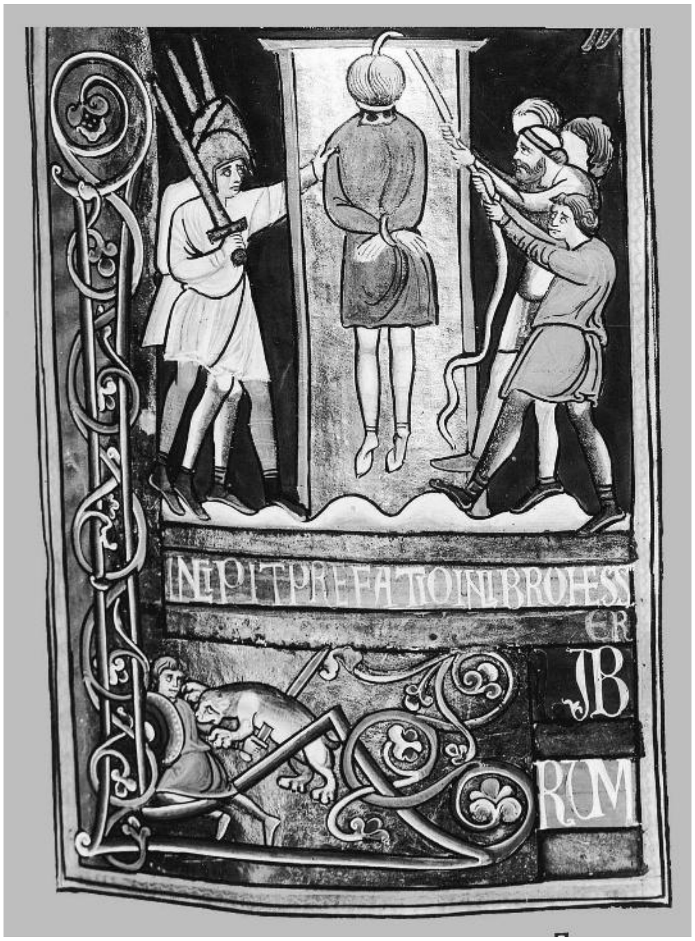
INCIPIT PREFATIO IN LIBRO HESTER
LIB
RUM

Initial letter "L" for Librum*, showing Haman being hanged, from the beginning of the Book of Esther in the* Moulins Bible*, a 12th-century Latin manuscript from France. Moulins, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. 1, fol. 284. Courtesy Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.*

LIF-LY

LIFE AND DEATH. In Jewish thought both life and death are part of the divine plan for the world.

Life

The opening chapter of Genesis states that all things are created by God. They are, therefore, all purposeful. They all have some value, as is clearly implicit in God's judgment on the created order: "God saw everything He had made, and behold, it was very good" (Gen. 1:31). But it is man who is at the apex of creation and the highest level in the order of value. All other things were created for his sake and constitute the theater of his operation and creative ingenuity.

Since life is the highest good, man is obliged to cherish it and preserve it. Every person is under mandate to marry and procreate in order to share in perpetuating the human species (Yev. 63b). He must preserve himself in a state of health. The Talmud includes many rules of hygiene and cautions against making one's home in a community where there is no competent physician (Sanh. 17b). Maimonides included a chapter on rules of health in his code *Mishneh Torah*, since "the preservation of the health of the body is one of the godly ways" (Yad 4). The rabbis ruled that the preservation of life supersedes the fulfillment of all commandments, except the prohibitions against murder, unchastity, and idolatry (Yoma 82a). One should be concerned as much with the preservation of others' lives as with one's own life. Rabbi Akiva regarded the commandment to love one's neighbor as oneself the most fundamental precept of the Torah (Sifra 19:18). Whoever sustains a single person, taught the rabbis, is as one who sustains the whole world, and whoever destroys a single person is as one who destroys the whole world; for every person bears the divine image, and every person was created unique and irreplaceable. Each one, therefore, has a right to say: "For my sake was the world created" (Sanh. 4:5). Indeed, man's obligations are not limited to his fellowmen. They extend to all existence. He must not wantonly and unnecessarily destroy any object in the world nor inflict pain on any living creature. In this spirit the 18th-century rabbi Ezekiel Judah *Landau forbade hunting (S. Wind, *Rav Yeḥezekel Landau* (1961), 54).

In stressing the sanctity of human life, the rabbis often went beyond biblical precedent. For example, the Bible calls for capital *punishment for a wide variety of crimes, but the rabbis limited such punishment to conditions which in effect made the law inoperative. The Mishnah brands a court that imposes a sentence of capital punishment once in seven years, or according to another tradition, once in 70 years, a murderous court (Mak. 1:10).

Death

In view of the high value attached to man, death, which puts an end to man and his achievements, is the most baffling phenomenon. The account of Adam's sin (Gen. 2) is the biblical attempt to deal with the problem. Rabbinic literature contains a variety of views on the subject. Some rabbis regarded death as a punishment meted out to Adam and his descendants because of his sin in the Garden of Eden (Gen. R. 16:6), but others held that death was an appropriate termination for a finite creature and that it had been preordained at the time of creation (Gen. R. 30:8; Ex. R. 2:4). Death is the price paid for new birth, for the continued emergence of a new generation. Death must be deemed a good, noted Maimonides, since it is the means of "perpetuating existence and the continuity of individual beings through the emergence of one after the withdrawal of the other" (*Guide* 3:10).

Death was also robbed of its terror by the belief that after death individuals survive as incorporeal spirits (Ket. 103a; Ber. 18b). Related to this was the belief in retributive judgment. The righteous would be rewarded with eternal bliss in paradise and the wicked, punished in hell (see *Garden of Eden, *Gehinnom, and *Beatitude).

The final mitigation of the terror of death in rabbinic literature was the belief in the *resurrection of the dead and the world to come. At the end of the historical process God will create the dead anew reuniting body and soul, and then the resurrected dead will enjoy the bliss of the "world to come." The literalness of the belief in the resurrection appears to have been questioned by some rabbis. Thus, one view expressed in the Talmud states that in the world to come "there is no eating or drinking, no begetting children, no commerce, envy, hatred, or competition, but only this: that the righteous sit with crowns on their heads and delight in the splendor of God's presence" (Ber. 17a). The technical term for resurrection is *teḥiyyat ha-metim*, literally, "the revival of the dead." But there were Jewish philosophers, beginning with Philo, who interpreted this figuratively as referring to the immortality of the soul. Maimonides, especially, inveighed against the notion of a physical restoration as man's final state, and insisted that ultimate happiness consists of the incorporeal existence of men's intellect, attained by pursuing a life of virtue and wisdom.

To accentuate the rejection of a belief in physical resurrection, the Reform liturgy drops the praise of God as the *meḥayyeh ha-metim* ("He who revives the dead") from the *Amidah* and substitutes *note'a be-tokhenu ḥayyei olam* ("… who has implanted within us eternal life"). The Reconstructionist prayer book substitutes for *meḥayyeh ha-metim, zokher yeẓirav le-ḥayyim be-raḥamim* ("…who in love rememberest Thy creatures to life"). But many Jewish modernists use the traditional text, interpreting it, no doubt, as an allusion to the soul's *immortality.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: E. Fackenheim, in: *Commentary*, 39 (1965), 49–55.

[Ben Zion Bokser]

LIFE SCIENCES.

Introduction

Biology has become a vast subject which has increasingly merged with traditionally separate disciplines, particularly chemistry and physics. Indeed "life sciences" is now a more appropriate term than "biology." Furthermore the life sciences have provided the basis for most of the advances in medical science which stand up to objective scrutiny. In common with other sciences, the life sciences are an international enterprise and traditional schools of biological study based on personal opinion, ethnic approaches, or religious belief have become mainly obsolete. Indeed attempts to base investigations in the natural sciences on political or ethnic considerations have proved disastrous. Furthermore there is now little prospect that an individual scientist or even a small group of scientists will make an important scientific contribution in isolation. Thus a specifically Jewish interpretation of the life sciences is a matter of continuing historical and ethical interest but of limited relevance to scientific discovery in modern times. In contrast advances in medical science have made ethical issues a matter of central but not exclusive concern to Jews. Nevertheless it is equally mistaken to assume that religious belief has been entirely supplanted by a reductionist approach. Indeed it would be false to conclude that scientists universally explain all aspects of life including human consciousness solely in physico-chemical terms. This remains a live issue for many Jewish and non-Jewish scientists concerned with the life sciences which has scarcely been resolved by the continuing debate of physicists and cosmologists. Advances in genetics have illuminated many genealogical issues of specific Jewish interest such as the history of the kohanim and the nature of many inherited diseases encountered predominantly in Jews. This entry reviews areas of the life sciences to which Jews have made notable contributions since 1800 C.E. It alludes only briefly to related areas of crucial importance to these contributions which are considered in other entries.

The following account of the contributions of Jewish scientists in key fields is necessarily brief. Their achievements are described more fully in their separate biographical entries. Their achievements will be better understood by readers who have consulted general sources of scientific information in order to gain some understanding of the areas of scientific endeavor to which Jewish scientists have contributed.

Prelude to the Modern Era

Although research in the life sciences is in intellectual terms now entirely non-sectarian, it is nonetheless legitimate to consider the extent to which discoveries in the modern era were anticipated in traditional Jewish belief. Biological issues are raised in different contexts throughout the Bible. Genesis relates the divinely ordered hierarchy of species and much of Leviticus is concerned with classifying species as the basis for the dietary laws. In the Mishnah and the Talmud the tractates of the order *Zera'im* deal with agricultural laws and thereby consider many issues relating to animals and plants. These observations are not systematic or analytical in any modern sense. Indeed it is difficult to determine the extent to which they originate from Jewish sources or from the folklore of earlier or contemporary cultures. One of the earliest attempts to collate the then available knowledge of nature systematically was Maimonides' treatise on drug names whose efficacy is no less established than many similar drugs in contemporary complementary medicine. Long in advance of Darwin, there were challenges to the literal interpretation of Genesis that all living species were present at the creation. Indeed some authorities espoused views current in the Hellenistic and Roman world that living organisms can arise from inorganic substances through spontaneous generation. These seemingly fanciful notions have been given scientific respectability by modern debate about the origins of life on Earth and, even more speculatively, elsewhere in the universe.

Many Jewish beliefs on biological matters were based on direct observation especially at times when Jews lived predominantly in rural communities and engaged in agricultural pursuits. These observations were undoubtedly embellished by reports of miraculous deeds allegedly witnessed by travelers in an age of greater credulity. However, there is little reason to believe that there was any specific Jewish interpretation of the biological basis for the key events of birth, life, and death in humankind, the life cycle of other species, or of botanical events. The main rabbinical preoccupation was with the religious and ethical dimensions of human life. It is tempting to interpret textual passages in the Bible and other literary sources as evidence for early scientific insight anticipating modern discoveries. For example Jacob's manipulation of Laban's goat herds and sheep flocks is sometimes taken as astonishing insight into Mendelian principles of genetic selection (Gen. 30:32–43). Yet it is entirely possible that his experience had simply endowed him with exceptional powers of observation rather than modern analytical insight. Perhaps most importantly through the ages and often in common with other monotheistic faiths, Judaism's religious authorities have not attempted to interfere with man's attempts to understand the natural world through observation and the exercise of reason.

Life Sciences in the 19th Century

In the early 19th century Jews made many contributions which helped to lay the basis for rational investigation. In common with other scholars they were commonly polymaths with the freedom to roam intellectually because of the limited factual knowledge available in general and the constraints on academic activities. Even when antisemitism disrupted academic careers, re-location was relatively simple as individual speculation and observation were all important and laboratory technology was rudimentary. Robert *Remak was the first (c. 1840) to describe the major constituents of the embryo and also described salient anatomical features of the nervous system. Jacob *Henle made new observations on the structure of the kidney (c. 1830) and theorized that infectious agents existed which are too small to be discernible by conventional microscopes, a prediction fulfilled by the later discovery and characterization of viruses. Between 1850 and 1890 Ferdinand *Cohn improved microscope design and adapted this advance to study the developmental stages of plants, algae, and bacteria. Furthermore he was arguably the first naturalist to discern the association between bacterial infection and disease. In the latter half of the century Nathaneal Pringsheim made fundamental discoveries concerning plant morphology and physiology and founded the German Botanical Society. His contemporary Julius von *Sachs was also one of the first botanists to study and publish systematic studies of plant physiology. At this time Eduard *Strasburger further clarified the life history of plants. His findings have stood the test of time and led to his appointment to a chair in Jena at the age of 24, a remarkable achievement in the Germany of 1869 for a scientist of any religion. Not all the contributions of Jewish scientists of this era were so soundly based. Jacques *Loeb's work on parthenogenesis from the 1880s on was largely fanciful but still visionary in anticipating the momentous cloning techniques developed more than a century later.

Life Sciences in the Modern Era

By the beginning of the 20th century the challenges in the life sciences were at least more clearly defined. These are too numerous to list in full but the major problems were to understand the nature of heredity, the control of cell growth and differentiation, the biochemical processes which maintain the life of cells and organisms, and the processes which enable specialized systems such as the nervous system to operate. Human ability to manipulate these processes for medical or other purposes was so limited that ethical questions were almost entirely philosophical. At the beginning of the 21st century there are few controversies concerning the basic mechanisms operating in areas of former ignorance or the likely directions of future advances. The main challenge to investigators is how to order the vast amount of information generated by the greatly expanded scientific enterprise.

Complete mapping of the human genome has opened the still more complex field of proteomics which seeks to categorize and explain the actions and interactions of the huge range of proteins transcribed from the genome. This task would be impossible without the simultaneous advances in computing techniques and the mathematical handling of experimental data. This reality emphasizes the interdependence of all branches of the natural sciences.

A related challenge is the daunting range of ethical issues generated by advances in scientific techniques, particularly when applied to medicine and agriculture. The ethical difficulties are compounded by the social issues. A century ago, scientific progress was understood and debated by a privileged coterie of savants. Even politicians were largely indifferent unless the advance had military applications or was likely to increase national prestige. Today the practical application of most scientific advances is likely to provoke public debate and progress depends on a dialogue between scientists, politicians, and appropriately educated laymen.

THE MOLECULAR BASIS OF HEREDITY. Hermann *Muller's early appreciation of the importance of gene mutation in Darwinian selection emphasized that biologists long recognized the need to understand the mechanisms of genetic transmission. The elucidation of the structure of DNA was arguably the greatest achievement of 20th-century science. This discovery started the process of clarifying the molecular basis of genetics. It also established the central dogma that DNA determines the sequence of RNA, which in turn governs protein synthesis, even though exceptions to this rule were found later. Rosalind *Franklin's crystallographic picture of DNA, the Mona Lisa of scientific illustrations, was the key to Watson's insight that the DNA molecule is a helix. Her experiments were made possible by the application of X-ray crystallography to defining protein structure. Pioneers in this field included John *Bernal and Sir Max *Perutz. Perutz used this technique to

Bifurcation in crossbreeding the offspring of pure white sheep (A) with brown spotted sheep (b). The pure white gene is dominant over the spotted.

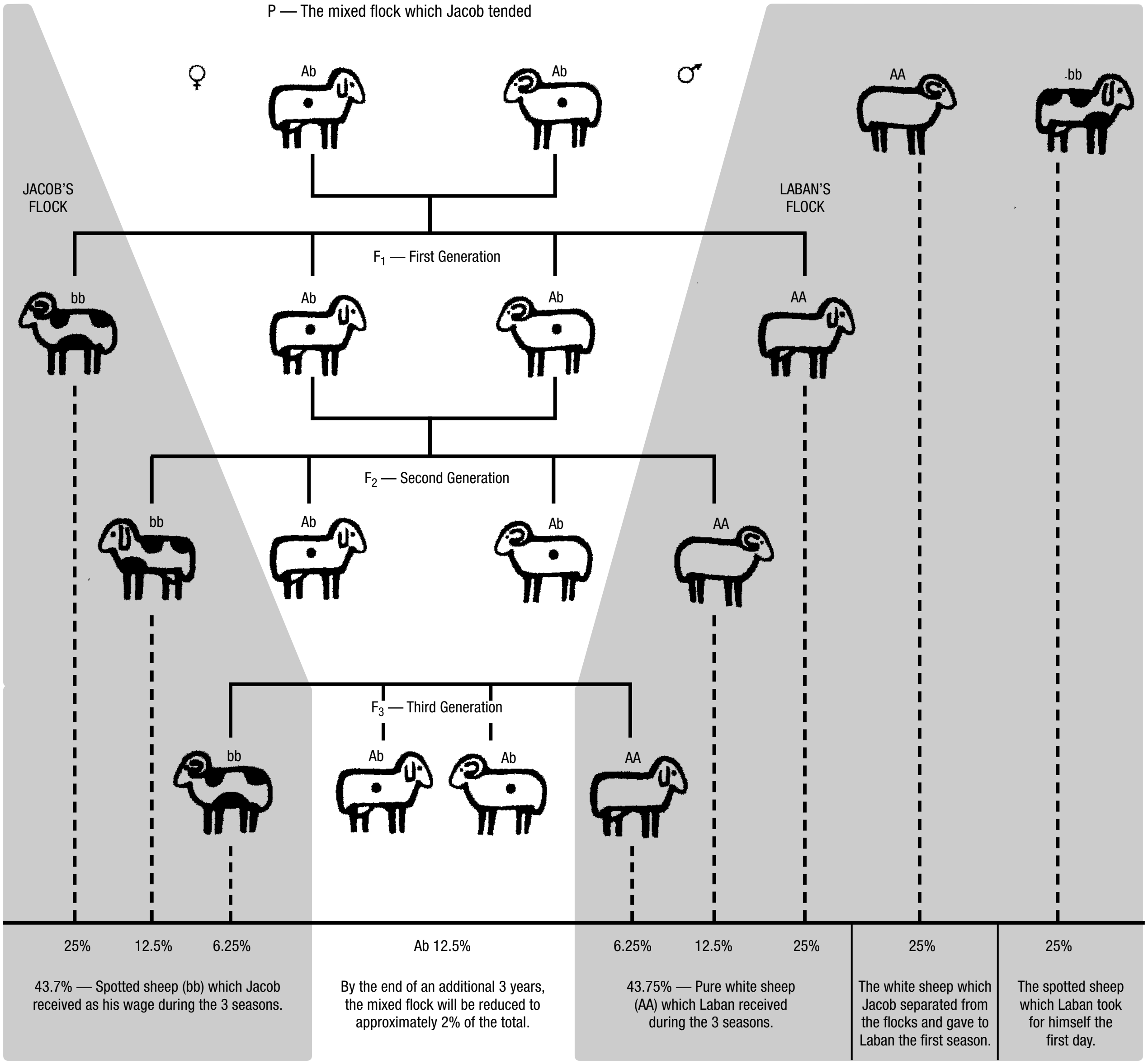
P — The mixed flock which Jacob tended
♀
Ab
Ab
♂
AA
bb
JACOB'S FLOCK
LABAN'S FLOCK
F_1 — First Generation
bb
Ab
Ab
AA
F_2 — Second Generation
bb
Ab
Ab
AA
F_3 — Third Generation
bb
Ab
Ab
AA
25%
12.5%
6.25%
43.7% — Spotted sheep (bb) which Jacob received as his wage during the 3 seasons.
Ab 12.5%
By the end of an additional 3 years, the mixed flock will be reduced to approximately 2% of the total.
6.25%
12.5%
25%
43.75% — Pure white sheep (AA) which Laban received during the 3 seasons.
25%
The white sheep which Jacob separated from the flocks and gave to Laban the first season.
25%
The spotted sheep which Laban took for himself the first day.

Jacob's crossbreeding of Laban's flock (Gen. 30). Chart by Jehuda Feliks, Jerusalem.

achieve the first biophysical description of a major molecule of biological importance, namely hemoglobin. Marshall *Nirenberg was one of the scientists who worked out the process by which the genetic information in DNA is transcribed by messenger RNA as the first step in protein synthesis. Once it was realized that the sequence of DNA bases is the genetic language it became necessary to devise methods for reading these sequences. One method was devised by Walter *Gilbert, who also showed that not all base sequences are utilized by the cell in protein synthesis even though these seemingly inactive "introns" later proved to have functional significance. Another important advance was Arthur *Kornberg's discovery of the first of the enzymes named DNA polymerases which regulate the copying of the DNA strand and hence the transmission of the cell's genetic information in newly synthesized DNA. Matthew *Meselson dissected the mechanisms by which DNA from different sequences recombine in the process of transferring genetic information. He also elucidated some of the ways in which DNA repairs mistakes liable to give rise to harmful mutations, a vital defense against the potentially disastrous effects of UV irradiation and other mutagenic agents. Another key development was the characterization of the enzymes which act on RNA transcribed from DNA to which Sidney *Altman made vital contributions. Indeed his work suggested the possibility that the earliest life forms on Earth may have been solely RNA dependent.

THE ORIGINS OF MOLECULAR BIOLOGY. Advances in genetics were accompanied by experiments in genetic manipulation using viruses called bacteriophages (phage) which infect bacteria. The interactions between phage and bacteria proved a vitally important model for understanding gene function and also the mechanisms which control gene activation and expression. Exploitation of this system marked the origins of what is now termed molecular biology. The findings in this model have proved broadly applicable to all other living species. Gunter *Stent, Salvador *Luria, Francois *Jacob, and Andre *Lwoff were members of the small and now legendary group of phage workers who transformed biology in a manner analogous to the revolution in physics initiated by quantum theory. They analyzed the interactions between phage and bacterial genes to formulate the general principles which determine the activation of some genes to initiate cellular events and other "repressor" genes which control activated genes. The manner in which repressor genes function was largely elucidated by Mark *Ptashne in an analogous experimental system. These insights into the manner in which genes operate were strengthened by Joshua *Lederberg's finding that bacteria exchange genes in a process termed recombination thereby altering the characteristics of the recipient bacteria. This work was extended by Stanley *Cohen's successful isolation and transfer of bacterial and mammalian genes, the technique of gene cloning now in universal use.

The isolation and study of defined DNA sequences was advanced by the discovery of enzymes by Daniel Nathans termed "restriction enzymes" which reproducibly cut DNA into manageable segments for analysis. Another vital step in the development of genetic manipulation was Sol Spiegelman's discovery that RNA sequences stick specifically to the DNA sequences from which the RNA was transcribed, a process termed hybridization. The ability to dissect and reconstruct genes was also greatly advanced by Paul *Berg's experiments with phage and also with mammalian cells infected by the virus SV40. He was also one of the first scientists to appreciate that a powerful method of discovering the function of a gene is to induce a deliberate mutation which will thereby cause the damaged DNA sequence to malfunction. Gene activation and repression is also an essential process in normal embryonic development. Chaim *Cedar discovered that chemical modification of DNA, a process known as methylation, is a key step in gene activation.

These advances in genetics were used by Sydney *Brenner to map the genetic control of the developing nervous system in the small worm C. elegans. These studies helped to establish the principle that the origin of human diseases can be investigated by detecting mutant genes and the abnormal proteins these genes encode. Robert *Horwitz's studies on the same species also highlighted the importance of genetically programmed cell death in normal development and function.

VIROLOGY. Elucidating the mechanisms of molecular genetics led to a greatly improved understanding of viral replication in cells and known viral infections. The new techniques also disclosed a viral cause for many diseases of previously unknown origin. Furthermore the longstanding suspicion that viruses may play a role in cancer and many chronic diseases is now open to rational investigation. Aaron Shatkin and Seymour S. *Cohen unraveled the sequential stages in viral infection of cells and Sir Aaron *Klug's work clarified the process assembly of new virus particles in infected cells. David *Baltimore and Howard *Temin found important exceptions to the previous dogma that all genetic information flows from DNA to RNA by showing that some RNA viruses transcribe DNA copies as the initial step in the production of new virus particles through the action of an enzyme called reverse transcriptase. Without this discovery the nature of AIDS and other retroviral infections could not have been rationally investigated. Although others had reported the induction of leukemia in mice with transmissible viruses many years before Charlotte Friend described similar findings in 1957, the interactions with cellular genes responsible for the disease were not elucidated before the work of Harry *Rubin in the 1960s and Harold *Varmus in the 1970s. Another achievement in virology was Baruch *Blumberg's discovery of hepatitis B virus which has proved not only of enormous clinical and epidemiological importance but has also given great insight into the genetic factors which determine the outcome of viral infections in different individuals. The history of research on "viral" infections continues to be unpredictable and a field where yesterday's heresy becomes a new orthodoxy. Stanley *Prusiner's work has established that infectious proteins called "prions" are devoid of nucleic acids yet are self-replicating and cause certain degenerative diseases of the nervous system.

CELL BIOLOGY. Cells have proved to be mini-organisms of great complexity and one can only discuss those fields of research on cell biology to which Jewish biologists have made especially significant contributions. Most tissues consist of self-renewing cells; their life cycles and the factors which regulate these cycles are of great basic interest and medical relevance. Marc Kirschner's work has helped to understand the signal pathways which induce cell division. The cell interior contains a complex network of channels and associated structures for the transport, processing, and degradation of proteins and other complex molecules imported into the cell or exported as the products of specialized cells. The findings of James Rothman and Randy Schekman have helped to clarify the structure and function of the most important of these cellular components. Another area of current basic and potential clinical interest is the identification and propagation of stem cells with full or limited potential to mature into specialized cells. Irving Weissman and Leo *Sachs were amongst the earliest workers to achieve success in this technically demanding field. It has also become apparent that cell division and maturation depend on the actions of growth factors produced by many cell types in a complex, inter-dependent manner. Nerve growth factor was the first such factor to be identified, by Rita *Levi-Montalcini, and Stanley Cohen. Cohen later discovered epidermal growth factor. These factors are now collectively termed "cytokines."

RECEPTORS, SIGNALS, AND PHARMACOLOGY. Cell membranes, their receptors, and the signals these receive largely govern the behavior of cells and organs. Martin *Rodbell and Alfred *Gillman greatly expanded our understanding of the receptor molecules which respond to external stimuli such as hormones and toxins and the signals these transmit to the cell in order to induce an appropriate response. Robert Lefkowitz and Ephraim *Katzir's scientific achievements center on the biophysical properties of membrane receptors. Especially noteworthy events in the development of pharmacology were Robert *Furchgott and Salvador Moncada's contributions to identifying nitrous oxide as a key molecule governing blood vessel flow and the similar role of prostacyclin discovered by Sir John Vane.

BIOCHEMICAL PATHWAYS. There is a consistent record of major contributions by Jewish scientists to characterizing the biochemical pathways which provide energy and govern other metabolic processes. This progress was greatly assisted by the introduction of isotopic methods for studying biochemical pathways by scientists who included Mildred *Cohn, David *Rittenberg, and Sidney Udenfriend. The crucial roles of oxidation and energy generation were appreciated early in the history of biochemistry and largely worked out by Otto *Warburg, extended by Fritz Lehmann's analysis of acetylation and further clarified by David Keilin. The related problem of energy creation in muscles was clarified by Otto *Meyerhof. The pathways for carbohydrate and urea metabolism and related intermediate pathways were characterized largely through the research of Philip Pacy *Cohen, Gerty *Cori, Hans Krebs, and Sarah Ratner. The steps in cholesterol synthesis were elucidated by Konrad *Bloch. The vital role of cholesterol receptors in controlling blood levels was established by Michael *Brown and Joseph *Goldstein.

Modern biochemistry has revealed a myriad biochemical processes other than the classical metabolic pathways. Edmond *Fischer and Sir Philip *Cohen have made key contributions to understanding protein phosphorylation, a complex process of fundamental importance for regulating a wide range of cell functions. The regulatory importance of the ubiquitin system has been shown by Aaron *Ciechanover and Avram *Hershko especially with respect to protein degradation. Carbon utilization is central to photosynthesis in plants and carbohydrate metabolism in mammals and was first methodically investigated by Melvin *Calvin. The precise structure of enzymes and other proteins as well as their amino acid sequence is crucial to their function, a problem largely resolved by the contributions of Christian *Anfinsen and William *Stein.

Two examples serve to illustrate specialized fields in the life sciences in which Jewish scientists have been especially prominent.

THE NERVOUS SYSTEM. Working out how each of the one hundred billion nerve cells in the brain communicates with one thousand other nerve cells is an enduring, largely unsolved challenge. The once controversial role of chemical neurotransmitters in communication between brain cells was firmly established by Julius *Axelrod's work on noradrenaline and Paul *Greengard's analysis of dopamine mediated signaling. The details of how peripheral nerves activate muscle fibers by releasing acetylcholine have been clarified by Sir Bernard *Katz. The part played by chemical neurotransmitters in transmission in the sympathetic and parasympathetic nervous system was also controversial until Otto *Loewi unequivocally demonstrated the role of acetylcholine and adrenaline. The basis of peripheral nerve function conduction was equally difficult to resolve before Joseph *Erlanger's detailed analysis of the electrical impulses involved in this process. The mechanisms of drug action on the brain are of practical importance, an area greatly illuminated by Hans Kosterlitz's studies in the field of natural opiate substances produced by the brain and the receptors on which these act. A still more formidable problem is to understand one of the brain's most distinctive functions, namely memory; Eric *Kandel's work showed that protein synthesis generated by nerve connections is involved in this process. The special senses pose different questions. Selig *Hecht and George *Wald have analyzed the molecular basis of the events in the retina which induce visual images after light exposure. Richard *Axel was one of the two scientists who showed that the recognition of the wide range of smells depends on receptors in the brain and not in the nose as one might have assumed. Another crucial issue is the role of genetic factors on brain function and susceptibility to neurological disease, an area of study largely founded by Seymour *Benzer.

THE IMMUNE SYSTEM. Simply stated, the central problem in immunology is to understand how the body rapidly generates molecules which combine specifically with the distinctive, mainly protein antigens expressed by infectious agents while avoiding autoimmune reactions with its own tissues. An early clear statement of the issues formed the basis of Ilya *Mechnikov's 1908 Nobel lecture. Michael *Heidelberger and Felix *Haurowitz were amongst the first scientists to analyze the antibody response in detail. This process culminated in the development by Cesar *Milstein and his colleagues of homogeneous monoclonal antibodies reactive with a single antigen. This advance has had momentous implications for the diagnosis and treatment of immunological and other diseases, for laboratory diagnosis and for biotechnology. The immune response to infections and indeed all foreign antigens is genetically controlled, a discovery largely based on the work of Baruj *Benacerraf, Michael *Sela, and Phil Leder. This control is largely determined by surface structures termed histocompatibility antigens in general and the HLA system in man which are expressed primarily by cells engaged in immune responses. Jack *Strominger contributed to the chemical and structural characterization of these antigens. The first recognition that certain human diseases result from autoimmunity came from the work of Noel Rose, Deborah Doniach, and Ivan Roitt. Among the greatest achievements of applied immunology is the virtual elimination of poliomyelitis with vaccines developed by Jonas *Salk and Albert *Sabin.

ORIGINS OF LIFE. Modern times have witnessed a loss of any inhibitions by Jewish scientists about discussing the origins of life on Earth. This has expanded into exobiology, the possibility that life exists elsewhere in the universe. Sol Spiegel and Leslie Orgel have proposed that self-replicating RNA was the primordial molecule in all life forms. Sidney Fox argued that amino acids, the building blocks of proteins, became self organized into replicating microspheres, an idea for which Stanley Miller has provided experimental support. A more general theory advanced by Stuart Kauffman is that randomly associating molecules in the correct chemical medium of the primitive Earth became autocatalytic and matured into living forms on a random basis. The subject has matured into a respectable topic for debate in scientific and religious circles.

Conclusions

The success of Jewish scientists in the life sciences as in other branches of science reflects a logical extension of traditional Jewish reverence for learning. However, this success has not been achieved by ignoring other aspects of Jewish learning and enterprise. An analysis of their careers shows that many have continued to support Jewish communal activities and even more have identified with Israel in general or have forged links with Israeli academic institutions. Indeed traditional scholarship and scientific discovery have been mutually supportive. "A scientific paper is a grave act to be undertaken with the utmost seriousness. To me it's holy writ and it should be an achievement that cannot be altered" (Joshua Lederberg, 1996).

[Michael Denman (2nd ed.)]

LIFSCHITZ, URI (1936–), Israeli painter. Lifschitz was born in kibbutz Givat ha-Sheloshah. His first paintings were lyrical abstractions, influenced by the Israeli painter Yossef *Zaritsky. His compositions are restless, with intense line and color. Since the late 1950s Lifschitz has become one of the leading representatives of the "New Figuration" in Israel art. He uses dramatic images as a direct and immediate reaction to social problems. In his large and expressive paintings of the 1960s, there is a mixture of abstract background and twisted figures drawn with black contours, and the artist himself is involved in the drama depicted on the canvas. There is a feeling of ironical criticism of the surrounding world, for example in his painting *In the Field* (1969), and the drawings *I am a chair* and *I don't know* (1969). In 1972, he held an exhibition in Tel Aviv, showing paintings and etchings made during 1971 in Spain. These reflect another artistic turning point in which he is inspired by Velasquez and Goya. In *After Velasquez* (1971) he uses a portrait made by the Spanish artist as an element in an abstract surrounding. Lifschitz has received many awards, including the Marc Chagall Fellowship in 1966.

[Judith Spitzer]

LIFSHITS, SHIYE-MORDKHE (1829–1878), pioneering Yiddish lexicographer, author, and a theoretician of the Yiddishist movement in the 19th century. With a solid intellectual background (he was a student of mathematics, physics, chemistry, languages) Lifshits propounded the idea of a secular Jewish culture on the basis of Yiddish. As a close friend of S.Y. *Abramovitsh (Mendele Mokher Sforim), it is thought that Lifshits was instrumental in convincing the "grandfather of modern Hebrew and Yiddish literature" to switch from Hebrew to Yiddish as a means of literary expression. A pioneer of the idea of Yiddish press, it is also assumed by some that under Lifshits' influence A. *Zederbaum began to publish the epoch-making Yiddish periodical *Kol Mevasser*, where Lifshits became a literary contributor on various topics.

Lifshits' lexicographic achievements are to a large extent unsurpassed in their quality and reliability, especially in depicting the South Eastern (Volhynian) Yiddish dialect. The manuscript of one of his dictionaries (Yiddish–German, German–Yiddish) unfortunately was lost. His excellent *Rusish-yidisher verter-bikh* went through four editions (1869–86). The Yiddish-Russian dictionary, *Yidish-rusisher verter-bikh*, was published in 1876.

A man of progressive ideas, Lifshits opened a tailor shop in the 1870s in Berdichev (where he died and was probably born) and shared the profits with the girls who worked there. He was deeply respected as a man of high ethical standards and admired even by his opponents. Although paralyzed in his later years, he continued his creative work to the very end.

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[Mordkhe Schaechter]

LIFSHITZ, DAVID (1907–1993), U.S. *rosh yeshivah* and rabbinical leader. Lifshitz was born in Minsk and studied under Simeon *Shkop in the Grodno yeshivah and at the Mir yeshivah. In 1935 he succeeded his father-in-law, Joseph Joselowitz, as rabbi of Suwalki where he soon established a yeshivah. Lifshitz became active in all communal affairs and assisted Ḥayyim Ozer *Grodzinski of Vilna in safeguarding the interests of Orthodoxy. After the deportation of the Jews of his community by the Nazis, Lifshitz succeeded in immigrating to the United States, where in 1942 he became a *rosh yeshivah* at Chicago's *Hebrew Theological College. In 1945 he was appointed to a similar position at *Yeshiva University. Lifshitz was active in guiding Orthodox Jewry in its relationship to the State of Israel and urged the religious parties to form a united religious front. He was a member of the presidium of the *Union of Orthodox Rabbis, the rabbinical advisory board to *Torah u-Masorah, and a director of Ezrat Torah, which aided rabbis and scholars throughout the world.

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LIFSHITZ, NEHAMAH (1927–), folk singer of Yiddish and Hebrew songs. Born in Kaunas (Kovno), Lithuania, where she started her schooling at the Hebrew high school, Nehamah Lifshitz was evacuated with her parents during World War II to Uzbekistan. After returning in 1946 to Soviet Lithuania, she studied at the Vilna conservatoire and in 1951 she gave her first concert. At an all-Soviet competition in 1958 she received the title of laureate of *estrada* (folk) artists. She traveled throughout the U.S.S.R., giving concerts of Yiddish (and some Hebrew) songs, drawing large crowds, including many young Jews. In 1959 and 1960 she visited France, Belgium, and Austria. In 1969 she was allowed by the Soviet authorities to immigrate to Israel where she was enthusiastically received as "the voice of the Jews of silence." On the occasion of her 70th birthday, Gila Flam and friends of the singer published in her honor an album including some of the recordings she made while in the Soviet Union.

[Binyamin Eliav]

LIFSON, SHNEIOR (1914–2001), Israeli biophysicist. He was born in Tel Aviv and was a member of kibbutz Nir David (1932–42), where he joined the Palmaḥ. He studied physics, mathematics, and chemistry at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, receiving his Ph.D. (1954) followed by further studies in the U.S. and the Netherlands. He joined the Weizmann Institute as a research assistant (1949) and became professor (1961). He was chairman of its scientific council (1958–59 and 1961–63) and scientific director (1963–67). He was head of the department of chemical physics from 1963. Lifson's research concerned the fine details of protein structure and their functional significance. He was particularly involved in the biological implications of protein geometry and packing. Later in his career he was increasingly interested in the origins of life dependent on the transformation of inanimate to animate matter. He postulated that a changing environment acted on elementary "autocatalytic" matter to produce a self-sustaining process of replication, random variation, and natural selection. His publications attracted universal interest. He was awarded the Israel Prize for science (1969).

[Michael Denman (2nd ed.)]

LIGETI, GYÖRGY (1923–), composer and teacher. Ligeti's paternal great uncle, violinist Leopold Auer, was the teacher of Jascha *Heifetz and Mischa *Elman. Ligeti was born in Transylvania (then Hungary) and began his music studies at the conservatory of the provincial center of Kolozsvár (1941–43). In 1944 he was called up to the labor corps and only by chance was not sent to the death camps. In 1945–49 he was a student of composition at the Academy of Music in Budapest; among his teachers were Farkas, Veress, and Járdányi. From 1950 he became a teacher of harmony and counterpoint at the Academy. During those years he composed choral settings in folk style to meet the requirements of the Communist authorities while searching for his own style in pieces consigned to his desk drawer. In 1956, after the Soviet suppression of Hungary, Ligeti left for Austria, and in 1973 accepted a permanent position at the Musikhochschule in Hamburg, Germany, where he made his main home. The premiere of his *Atmosphères* for orchestra (1961) won him fame in avant-garde music circles. His unique technique of composition in this work, which he called "micropolyphony," was his highly individual transformation of the European Renaissance technique of multivoiced canons: Ligeti caused the polyphony to be unheard since the motives imitated were too short to distinguish them. His idea was to show the process of gradual change, to create a new type of musical phenomenon, called by him "continuous flow." "Micropolyphony" was also used in his *Requiem* (1965), *Lux aeterna* (1966), and *Lontano* (1967). In 1974–77 Ligeti composed his opera *Le Grand Macabre* (libretto based on Ghelderode's play), which was staged at many European theaters with great success. The opera is a stylistically varied work full of irony and satire. From the 1980s the composer became interested in various folk cultures, from his native Hungarian to Balkan, Caribbean, African, and Far Eastern. The rhythmic complexity and modal uniqueness of those cultures inspired the creation of the different musical language of his last three decades (*Etudes* for piano, from 1985, *Violin Concerto*, 1993, etc.). He received numerous honors, including the UNESCO International Music Council Music Prize and the Polar Music Prize of the Royal Swedish Academy.

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[Yulia Kreinin (2nd ed.)]

°LIGHTFOOT, JOHN (1602–1675), English Hebraist and Bible scholar. Lightfoot, a Puritan, was master of Catherine Hall, Cambridge, from 1650 and three years later he became vice-chancellor of Cambridge University. He began studying Hebrew after his ordination, but at first gave his attention to Bible research on scientific lines, publishing works such as *Harmonia, Chronica el Ordo Veteris Testamenti* (1647). However, he soon turned to rabbinic literature, a field in which he became the outstanding Christian authority of his time, showing a remarkable expertise in talmudic and midrashic scholarship. He published a *Descriptio Templi Hierosolymitani* (1650), on the Temple of Herod, and *Horae Hebraicae et Talmudicae* (1658–74), a study of the rabbinic sources of and background to the New Testament gospels. His first venture in Hebraica, published at the outset of his career, had been *Erubhin; or Miscellanies, Christian and Judaical, and others…* (London, 1629), and as a result of his unusual and objective investigation of rabbinic literature Lightfoot was accused of "rabbinism." He contributed to Bryan *Walton's *Biblia Sacra Polyglotta* (London Polyglot Bible; 1654–57), revising the Samaritan Pentateuch and specially preparing a geography of Palestine for the work. A Latin edition of his complete writings was later issued by his contemporary, Johann *Leusden, professor of Hebrew at Utrecht.

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[Godfrey Edmond Silverman]

LIKKUT AẒAMOT (Heb. לִקּוּט עֲצָמוֹת; lit., "gathering of the bones"). In ancient Ereẓ Israel, the interment of the corpse did not take place immediately after death. First the body was left in the sepulchral chamber for some time until it was reduced to a mere skeleton, and afterward the bones were gathered together and then solemnly interred in the final resting place (TJ, MK 1:5; 80c–d; Sem. 12). This duty was generally performed one year after death by the children of the deceased and the laws of mourning were practiced on the day of the final interment (MK 8a; Sem. 12). Mourning was not continued the next day even if the gathering of the remains was only then completed. It was forbidden to deliver mournful eulogies on this occasion, and public condolences were not extended. However, the departed was praised and private condolences were conveyed (MK 8a; Sem. 12–13). The remains had to be reverently handled, and they could not, for example, be transported to their final resting place in a saddle bag (Ber. 18a). It was not considered respectful for the son to touch the remains of his parents directly with his bare hands (Sem. 12). Those engaged in the meritorious deed of *likkut aẓamot* were exempt from reading the **Shema*, and from all other positive commandments (Sem. 13). The gathering of the bones could not take place during the intermediate festival days since such an event would infringe upon the joy of the festival (MK 1:5). The laws pertaining to *likkut aẓamot* are also applicable in instances when *disinterment is permissible. However, when the coffin is still intact and is not opened during the disinterment procedure, the laws of mourning do not apply (TJ, Sanh. 6:11, 23d).

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LIKUD ("Union"), Israeli political party that started off in 1973 as a list in the elections and a parliamentary group. Originally the Likud was made up of the *Ḥerut Movement, the *Israel Liberal Party – the two large components that remained its core until they finally merged into a single party in 1988 – and several small parties and groups: Ha-Merkaz ha-Ḥofshi, Ha-Reshima ha-Mamlakhtit, and part of the Movement for Greater Israel. Over the years the makeup of the Likud changed. Though Ariel *Sharon was the prime mover for the establishment of the Likud after he left active military service and joined the Liberal Party, from the outset it was headed by the leader of the Ḥerut movement, Menaḥem *Begin, and as of October 1983, by Yitzhak *Shamir. After the Likud turned into a party Binyamin *Netanyahu was elected chairman in 1993 followed by Ariel *Sharon in 1999.

Ideologically the Likud is right of center, with a socioeconomic policy that vacillates between Thatcherism and populism. In terms of Israel's defense doctrine and the war against terrorism the difference between the Likud and Labor is more in style and emphasis than in substance. In terms of the political process at first the Likud was unanimously opposed to any territorial compromise with regard to all the territories occupied by Israel in the course of the Six-Day War. However, in 1977 it was a government led by the Likud that returned the whole of the Sinai Peninsula, down to the last grain of sand in Taba, to Egypt. In the late 1980s the idea of a unilateral withdrawal from the Gaza Strip was also first sounded by MK Roni *Milo from within the Likud. When the Declaration of Principles signed with the PLO in 1993 was brought to the Knesset for approval several members of the Likud abstained, and in 1996, when the Likud returned to power, Prime Minister Netanyahu signed the Hebron memorandum and the Wye Plantation agreement, which were further steps in the realization of the Oslo Agreement. However, Netanyahu was much more blunt in his demand that the Palestinians disarm the terrorists and fulfill their obligation to amend the articles in the Palestine National Covenant advocating the destruction of Israel. The Likud's switch to political pragmatism was completed after the elections to the Sixteenth Knesset, when Prime Minister Sharon opted for a policy of disengagement from the Gaza Strip, and the dismantling of all the Jewish settlements there, and a few in northern Samaria. Nevertheless, this policy was strongly opposed by the Likud Conference, led by several old-time Likudniks such as Uzi Landau and David *Levy, and a group of extreme right-wingers that had joined the Likud toward the elections. Already in 1970, before he retired from the IDF and entered politics, Ariel Sharon supported the establishment of a Palestinian state – in Jordan. In 1978 Menaḥem Begin spoke of a solution of the Palestinian problem in the form of "autonomy." In general the Likud has been slower than Labor in accepting the concept of the establishment of a Palestinian state in most of the West Bank and Gaza Strip.

Though a secular party, the Likud has been more traditional and respectful of Jewish tradition than the Labor Party, and even though its leadership has not been less Ashkenazi than Labor's, it has been viewed as more hospitable to Sephardim. In terms of Jewish settlement in the territories occupied in 1967, such settlement began when Labor was still in power, but the settlement movement received much more governmental backing and support after the Likud came to power in 1977, with Ariel Sharon playing a major role in this respect in his various ministerial capacities.

Like the Labor Party, the Likud underwent a process of democratization from the end of the 1980s, but whereas in Labor the broad party membership was given most of the power to elect its representatives and leaders, in the Likud most of the power has remained in the hands of the Central Committee. This has weakened the traditional Likud leadership and strengthened extremist elements.

After receiving 39 seats in the elections for the Eighth Knesset in 1973, the Likud emerged as the largest parliamentary group after the elections to the Ninth Knesset in 1977 with 43 seats. In the 1981 elections it received 48 seats, in 1984 41 seats, in 1988 40 seats, in 1992 32 seats, in 1996 (together with *Tzomet and Gesher) 32 seats, in 1999 19 seats, and in 2003 38 seats. There was a Likud prime minister in the years 1977–84, 1986–92, 1996–99, and from 2001. From 1984 to 1990, from 2001 to 2002, and again in 2005 when the Likud formed a National Unity Government with Labor. However, in late 2005, Ariel Sharon broke away from the Likud to form the Kadimah Party (see *Israel, State of: Political Life and Parties) and consequently, in the 2006 elections, the Likud won just 12 seats with Binyamin Netanyahu again at the helm. The first time the Likud managed to get its candidate elected as president of the state was in 2003, when Moshe *Katzav ran against Shimon *Peres.

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LILIEN, EPHRAIM MOSES (1874–1925), Austrian illustrator and printmaker. Lilien was born in Drohobycz, Galicia. He studied art in Cracow for a short time, but lack of funds forced him to return home. He eventually earned enough as a sign painter to go to the Academy of Fine Arts in Vienna. In 1895 he worked in Munich as a cartoonist, where he obtained his first commission for the magazine *Jugend;* three years later he moved to Berlin, where he soon became known as a book illustrator. Lilien was the first artist to become involved in the Zionist movement. He took an active part in three consecutive Zionist Congresses and was a member of the *Democratic Fraction, which stressed the need to foster Jewish culture. In 1900 there was published *Juda*, a volume of ballads on Old Testament themes by a pro-Zionist German poet, Boerries Freiherr von Muenchhausen, illustrated by Lilien. This was followed by *Lieder des Ghetto* in which social adversity and the rejection of poor Jews were reflected. In 1902 he was one of the founders of the Berlin publishing house, *Juedischer Verlag, which he served not only as an illustrator but also as editor, manager, and publicity agent. Between 1908 and 1912 three volumes, of its planned ten, illustrated books of the Bible appeared. He collaborated closely with Theodor *Herzl; Lilien's photograph of the Zionist leader on the Rhine bridge, his Herzl portraits, and his decorations for the Golden Book of the Jewish National Fund became familiar to Zionists all over the world. In 1905 Lilien, along with Boris *Schatz and others, was a member of the committee formed to establish the *Bezalel School of Art in Jerusalem. He taught there for some months in the following year and revisited Palestine three times, on the last occasion as a lieutenant in the Austro-Hungarian army during World War I. In 1908 Lilien turned from book illustration to etching. Many of his etchings are views of Austria and Hungary, while others record his impressions of Palestine, Damascus, and Beirut. His drawings, executed mainly in India ink, show a crisp, elegant line and a strong contrast between black and white areas. Lilien combined biblical and traditional Jewish themes with the motifs and methods of Art Nouveau. His art expressed Jewish hopes and desires in the era of Zionism that looked beyond the exile.

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[Alfred Werner / Jihan Radjai-Ordoubadi (2nd ed.)]

LILIENBLUM, MOSES LEIB (1843–1910), Hebrew writer, critic, and political journalist. Born in Kedainiai, near Kovno, Lilienblum was one of the leaders of the Haskalah in its last period and a leader of Ḥibbat Zion.

His Life and Public Activity

His first teachers were his father, R. Ẓevi, a poor cooper, and his maternal grandfather, who was a teacher. Steeped in Talmud, Lilienblum established two yeshivot at the age of 22. At the same time, he began studying the Haskalah literature, secular subjects, and Russian and disseminated his views in public. In 1866 fanatic religious elements in Wilkomir, where he was then living, began to persecute him for his beliefs. Lilienblum retaliated in articles and an exchange of letters published in *Ha-Karmel* and *Ha-Meliẓ*. In 1868 he published his articles "*Orḥot ha-Talmud*" and "*Nosafot le-Orḥot ha-Talmud*" in *Ha-Meliẓ*, advocating reforms in religion and in society. Lilienblum stated that the Talmud contains progressive ideas modified to suit time and place, while the Shulḥan Arukh is rigid in tone and out of touch with life. He criticized the outstanding rabbis of his time through the pages of *Ha-Levanon* and *Kevod ha-Levanon*. In 1869 Lilienblum moved to Odessa, where he published his political satire, *Kehal Refa'im* (1870), in which he attacked many of his contemporaries, rabbis, writers, and editors, and called for the normalization of Jewish life through agricultural labor and the rational organization of work in industry, crafts, and commerce.

In 1871 Lilienblum began to edit the Yiddish journal, *Kol Mevasser*. In a series of articles he drew a grim picture of Jewish education in the *ḥeder* and in the yeshivot of the time. In articles written in 1871–73 he raised the problems of the emancipation of women, the mismanagement of Jewish community life, and religious and individual freedom. In his article "*Olam ha-Tohu*" (1873), a critique of Abraham *Mapu's book *Ayit Ẓavu'a*, he wrote of the need to reflect life as it really is, without romanticism, superstition, mysteries, or imagination, "a material view of life." In 1873–76 Lilienblum wrote his masterful autobiography *Ḥatte'ot Ne'urim*, in which he described his struggles and suffering and the development of his beliefs. In 1874–81 Socialism became the main subject of his writing. He published his article "*Mishnat Elisha ben Avuyah*" in Liebermann's *Ha-Emet*, urging the importance of labor in the life of the individual and the nation. He deliberately dated the article "The Day of Atonement, 1877." The year of the pogroms (1881) marks a radical shift in Lilienblum's career. He became a nationalist and a leader of the Ḥibbat Zion movement in Russia. He was one of the founders of the Odessa committee in 1883, and two years later was appointed its secretary and secretary of the Odessa *ḥevra kaddisha* ("burial society").

Lilienblum the Publicist

Lilienblum's career as a journalist had three stages: (a) 1866–70, the period of his struggle for religious reform. Lilienblum believed that the Jewish religion was stagnating and hindering the development of the nation. During this period Lilienblum advocated the introduction of the evolutionary principle into the field of religious practice. His main desire was to create close cooperation between Jews and their non-Jewish neighbors to be expressed in moderate reform of the more rigid religious precepts. (b) 1870–81, abandonment of the principle of religious evolution and the adoption of the demand for equal rights to be granted by the state as a prerequisite for the renaissance of Judaism in the spirit of the Haskalah. The Haskalah and progress are not a guarantee against antisemitism, and civil equality cannot be created only as a result of internal reforms in Judaism. (c) From 1881 until his death, the belief that the roots of antisemitism lie in the Aryan society's instinctive enmity toward the Semitic Jews. Legal equality is no guarantee of social equality. The aim of nationalist movements is either total assimilation of the Jews or their expulsion from their countries of residence. The source of the trials of the Jewish people lies in their constituting a nation within a nation. There is no basis for the hope that progress will bring about the end of antisemitism. The process of assimilation will not be implemented because of the firm stand of the Jewish people against the forces of disintegration, nor does it provide a solution to the problems of the Jewish people. Lilienblum concluded that it was necessary to concentrate the nation as one group in its own territory, and regarded Palestine as the suitable location, since there the nation would not constitute a foreign body; he opposed the creation of a Jewish haven in the U.S. His proposal was that land be purchased from the Turks and a quasi-governmental entity be established. It was not sufficient merely to establish settlements. In his view, the solution to the Jewish problem lay in the elimination of the Diaspora, and in the attainment of the status of an independent nation. The return to Zion could be implemented if the nation willed it. Lilienblum placed great hopes in the masses and in a certain stratum of the Jewish intelligentsia, whose task would be to arouse the desire for national independence. From 1889 onward he conducted a debate in the pages of *Ha-Meliẓ* and *Ha-Shaḥar*, with *Aḥad Ha-Am, *Ben-Avigdor, Zalman *Epstein, S.I. *Hurwitz, and *Dubnow, developing the ideology of the Ḥibbat Zion movement and practical Zionism. He grasped the dynamic and aggressive character of antisemitism, as did *Smolenskin, and foresaw the threat of total physical destruction of the Jewish people. Lilienblum rejected as artificial the autonomist approach, advocated by Dubnow, for the solution of the Jewish problem and regarded the theories of Aḥad Ha-Am and his disciples as making the existence of the Jewish people dependent on metaphysical speculations. He stressed that the Jewish people wanted to live for the sake of living and not for any purpose beyond life.

Lilienblum the Critic and Writer

In his literary criticism Lilienblum adopted the concepts of critical realism, bordering on nihilism, as advocated by Pisarev, Dobrolyubov, and Chernyshevski, even after having abandoned their political and social ideology. His literary and lyrical talent was small. *Kehal Refa'im*, his satirical work, is, in its way, an imitation of *Erter's satires, and the motifs are common ones in Haskalah literature. His only real contribution to literature is *Ḥatte'ot Ne'urim* (Vienna, 1876), his autobiography. Despite the sparsity of plastic description, the work is distinguished by its pathos and its insight into the inner emotional and moral conflict of the protagonist who struggles with social mores and the Jewish tradition.

Lilienblum wrote his literary criticism from the pragmatic viewpoint with the aim of educating the Jewish people to a true material view of life and freeing them from the useless life of the imagination. He admired only "real things." This anti-aesthetic pragmatic approach runs throughout his work and his critical articles. All art must be examined in the light of its usefulness to society. Lilienblum attached no importance to style and language as an integral part of artistic expression.

He was contemptuous of imagination. He dismissed most love poetry as lacking innovation, and regarded any deviation from rational logic to mysticism, such as the Kabbalah and Ḥasidism, as constituting a dangerous deviation from reality. He therefore rejected the Nietzschean revolt as expressed by Berdyczewski, his *Ha-Kera'im she-ba-Lev*, and the worship of hidden impulses. Lilienblum's philosophy is that "there is no aim in life except life itself."

His Books

Lilienblum prepared his own works for publication and they were published posthumously by J. Klausner in four volumes, *Kol Kitvei Lilienblum* (1910–13). *Derekh Teshuvah* (1899) and *Derekh La'avor Golim* (1899) were not included in this collection. Some of Lilienblum's letters were printed in *Hed ha-Zeman*, in *Ha-Olam*, in *Reshumot*, and in *Ketavim le-Toledot Ḥibbat Ẓiyyon*, edited by A.A. Druyanow in *Beḥinot* and in *Perakim*. His letters to J.L. Gordon were published in 1968, edited by S. Breiman, who also edited his autobiographical writings (3 vols., 1970). Lilienblum wrote a play in Yiddish entitled *Zerubbavel* (1887); he also edited the fifth volume of *Lu'aḥ Aḥi'asaf* (1897).

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[Shimon Oren]

LILIENTHAL, DAVID ELI (1899–1981), U.S. attorney, public official, and specialist in the development of natural resources. Lilienthal, who was born in Morton, Illinois, graduated from Harvard Law School in 1923 and was admitted to the Illinois bar that year. He practiced law in Chicago and was special counsel to that city in litigation concerning telephone rates until 1931. From 1926 to 1931, when he was appointed to the Wisconsin Public Service Commission, he also edited the journal *Public Utilities and Carriers Service*. In 1933 he was chosen by President Roosevelt to be director of the Tennessee Valley Authority. He held that post until 1941 when he was promoted to TVA chairman. In these capacities he defended TVA against attacks by Wendall L. Willkie and the power companies, resisted attempts to undermine the nonpolitical nature of appointments to the agency, and strove for decentralization of administration, voluntary cooperation of local communities, and planning in response to their needs.

In 1946 he left the TVA, as he was appointed by President Truman as the first chairman of the U.S. Atomic Energy Commission, which managed the peacetime use of nuclear power. His "Lilienthal Plan" called for an end to the nuclear arms race through international control of all atomic energy. He also publicly questioned the wisdom of America's decision to produce the hydrogen bomb. In the wake of controversy created by these views, Lilienthal returned to private life in 1950. In 1955 he formed the Development and Resources Corporation, a private venture in the designing and execution of development plans for underdeveloped countries. He served as a consultant on the utilization of human and natural resources to the governments of Colombia, Peru, Italy, Brazil, Iran, and Vietnam for various periods after 1955.

His books include *TVA: Democracy on the March* (1944), *This I Do Believe* (1949), *Big Business: A New Era* (1953), *Change, Hope, and the Bomb* (1963), *Management: A Humanist Art* (1967), *Atomic Energy, a New Start* (1980), and the seven-volume *Journals of David E. Lilienthal* (1964–83).

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[Bernard Sternsher / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

LILIENTHAL, MAX (**Menahem**; 1815–1882), educator, author, and rabbi. Born in Munich, Bavaria, Lilienthal completed his studies at the university of his native town, and in 1839, on the recommendation of Ludwig Philippson, was appointed director of the Jewish school of Riga. He succeeded in this position, and also became known for the sermons which he delivered in German at the Riga synagogue (published as *Predigten in der Synagoge zu Riga*, 1841). He formed a friendship with the Russian minister of education S.S. *Uvarov, to whom he dedicated the above work.

In 1841, on the recommendation of Uvarov, the czarist government invited Lilienthal to draw up a project for the establishment of state schools for Jews providing a European-type education. Lilienthal set out upon his task by attempting to persuade the community leaders in the *Pale of Settlement to accept the project. His mission encountered opposition and mistrust among Jews there. Orthodox circles, and particularly the Ḥasidim, considered the project an attempt by the government to destroy traditional Jewish education, and possibly even to convert the Jews, while the *maskilim* also expressed misgivings. Lilienthal's meetings with the representatives of the Jews of Vilna, one of the main centers of Russian Jewry, ended in failure. His attempts to issue threats in the name of the government (it is not clear whether he was authorized to do so) aroused revulsion, while his strategy of contacting the representatives of the Orthodox and Ḥasidim and ignoring the *maskilim* alienated the latter from him. The publication of his proposals to invite teachers from Germany for the projected schools was a cause of further mistrust. In *Minsk Lilienthal found open hostility accompanied by personal abuse. His reaction, in 1842, was an appeal to Uvarov to enforce "educational reform" on the Jews through a series of laws. The minister of education refused to do so, but by means of a decree (June 22, 1842) he hinted to the Jews that the czar himself was in favor of the reform.

In order to sever the connection between the projected "reforms" and the personality of Lilienthal, Uvarov appointed a commission composed of Jewish personalities to study the proposals. Lilienthal was called upon to undertake an extensive journey through the Jewish centers to assess public opinion and guide it in the desired direction. Having learned from his previous experiences, Lilienthal on this occasion did not repeat his former suggestions, such as the employment of teachers from abroad and the imposition of a tax on the *melammedim (ḥeder* teachers), and succeeded in winning sympathy. However, his tactics in seeking an alliance with the Orthodox against the *maskilim* once more led to his failure. Lilienthal's appeal in *Maggid Yeshu'ah* (Vilna, 1842) brought a sharp retort from Mordecai Aaron *Guenzburg in the pamphlet *Maggid Emet* (Leipzig, 1843). The Commission for the Education of the Jews completed its task in 1843, and in 1844 a law for the establishment of state schools for the Jews was issued. In 1844, however, at the height of his success, Lilienthal had to leave Russia secretly. It appears that he had become convinced that the intentions of the czarist government were insincere and that it was scheming to exploit the network of schools as an instrument for eventual conversion to Christianity. The government's demand to exclude the study of Talmud from the curriculum marked the turning point in his outlook. Additionally, the law for the establishment of the schools was accompanied by other anti-Jewish laws in various spheres.

In 1845 Lilienthal immigrated to the United States, settling in New York City where he conducted a private boarding school for a few years. In 1849 he became rabbi of a short-lived union of the city's German congregations and directed their day schools. From 1855 until his death Lilienthal was rabbi of the important Bene Israel congregation of Cincinnati, which he led in the direction of moderate Reform. As a civic leader in his city on friendly terms with its Christian clergy, he was a member of its board of education (1860–69) and a trustee of the University of Cincinnati from 1872 until his death. He was perhaps the leading Jewish exponent in his day of the rigorous exclusion of all religious teaching from the public schools. Lilienthal actively cooperated with his fellow townsman Isaac Mayer *Wise in promoting Reform Judaism throughout the West, and was the publisher of *The Sabbath Visitor* from 1874, founder of the scholarly Rabbinical Literary Association, and taught at *Hebrew Union College from its opening in 1875. In 1857 he published *Freiheit, Fruehling und Liebe*, a collection of poems.

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[*Encyclopaedia Hebraica*]

LILIENTHAL, OTTO (1848–1896), German inventor and aeronaut. Born in Anklam, Pomerania, Lilienthal and his brother, Gustav, studied the flight of birds and while still at school succeeded in constructing a glider. During the next few years the brothers built many gliders and executed a large number of flights. Lilienthal demonstrated the superiority of arched wings over flat-surfaced types, and brought gliding flight into a regular practice. He made over 2,000 flights, but finally while in flight his machine was upset by a sudden gust of wind, and he was killed near Rhinow. He wrote *Der Vogelflug als Grundlage der Fliegekunst* (1939^3), and *Die Flugapparate* (1894). Lilienthal also made technical improvements in steam boilers, and designed children's building blocks. The Lilienthal brothers' Jewish origin has been disputed.

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[*Encyclopaedia Hebraica*]

LILITH, a female demon assigned a central position in Jewish demonology. She appears briefly in the Sumerian Gilgamesh epic and is found in Babylonian demonology, which identifies similar male and female spirits – Lilu and Lilitu respectively – which are etymologically unrelated to the Hebrew word *laylah* ("night"). These *mazikim* ("harmful spirits") have various roles: one of them – the Ardat-Lilith – preys on males, while others imperil women in childbirth and their children. An example of the latter kind is Lamashtu, against whom incantation formulas have been preserved in Assyrian. Winged female demons who strangle children are known from a Hebrew or Canaanite inscription found at Arslan-Tash in northern Syria and dating from about the seventh or eighth century B.C.E. Whether or not Lilith is mentioned in this incantation, which adjures the stranglers not to enter the house, is a moot point, depending on the addition of a missing letter: "To her that flies in rooms of darkness – pass quickly, quickly, Lil[ith]." In Scripture there is only one reference to Lilith (Isa. 34:14), among the beasts of prey and the spirits that will lay waste the land on the day of vengeance. In sources dating from earlier centuries, traditions concerning the female demon who endangers women in childbirth and who assumes many guises and names are distinct from the explicit tradition on Lilith recorded in the Talmud. Whereas the Babylonian Lilu is mentioned as some kind of male demon with no defined function, Lilith appears as a female demon with a woman's face, long hair, and wings (Er. 100b; Nid. 24b). A man sleeping in a house alone may be seized by Lilith (Shab. 151b); while the demon Hormiz, or Ormuzd, is mentioned as one of her sons (BB 73b). There is no foundation to the later commentaries that identify Lilith with the demon Agrath, daughter of Mahalath, who goes abroad at night with 180,000 pernicious angels (Pes. 112b). Nevertheless, a female demon who is known by tens of thousands of names and moves about the world at night, visiting women in childbirth and endeavoring to strangle their newborn babies, is mentioned in the *Testament of Solomon*, a Greek work of about the third century. Although preserved in a Christian version, this work is certainly based on Judeo-Hellenistic magic. Here the female demon is called Obizoth, and it is related that one of the mystical names of the angel Raphael inscribed on an amulet prevents her from inflicting injury. Lilith is identified as a demon in the Dead Sea Scrolls (11QpsAp). The name Lilith was also inscribed on incantation bowls of Sassanian Babylonia. Although such bowls were not an exclusively Jewish phenomenon, some invoke rabbinic divorce formulas to exorcize demons.

Midrashic literature expands the legend that Adam, having parted from his wife after it had been ordained that they should die, begat demons from spirits that had attached themselves to him. It is said that "he was encountered by a Lilith named Piznai who, taken by his beauty, lay with him and bore male and female demons." The firstborn son of this demonic union was Agrimas (see the Midrash published in *Ha-Goren*, 9 (1914), 66–68; *Dvir*, 1 (1923), 138; and L. Ginzberg, *Legends of the Jews*, 5 (1925), 166). The offspring of this Lilith fill the world. A transmuted version of this legend appears in the *Alphabet of Ben Sira*, a Midrash of the geonic period, which sets out to explain the already widespread custom of writing amulets against Lilith. Here she is identified with the "first Eve," who was created from the earth at the same time as Adam, and who, unwilling to forgo her equality, disputed with him the manner of their intercourse. Pronouncing the Ineffable Name, she flew off into the air. On Adam's request, the Almighty sent after her the three angels Snwy, Snsnwy, and Smnglf; finding her in the Red Sea, the angels threatened that if she did not return, 100 of her sons would die every day. She refused, claiming that she was expressly created to harm newborn infants. However, she had to swear that whenever she saw the image of those angels in an amulet, she would lose her power over the infant. Here the legend concerning the wife of Adam who preceded the creation of Eve (Gen. 2) merges with the earlier legend of Lilith as a demon who kills infants and endangers women in childbirth. This later version of the myth has many parallels in Christian literature from Byzantine (which probably preceded it) and later periods. The female demon is known by different names, many of which reappear in the same or in slightly altered forms in the literature of practical Kabbalah (as, for example, the name Obizoth from the *Testament of Solomon*), and the place of the angels is taken by three saints – Sines, Sisinnios, and Synodoros. The legend also found its way into Arabic demonology, where Lilith is known as Karina, Tabi'a, or "the mother of the infants." The personification of Lilith as a strangler of babies is already clear in Jewish incantations, written in Babylonian Aramaic, which predate the *Alphabet of Ben Sira*. A late Midrash (*Ba-Midbar Rabbah*, end of ch. 16) also mentions her in this respect: "When Lilith finds no children born, she turns on her own" – a motif which relates her to the Babylonian Lamashtu.

From these ancient traditions, the image of Lilith was fixed in kabbalistic demonology. Here, too, she has two primary roles: the strangler of children (sometimes replaced in the Zohar by Naamah), and the seducer of men, from whose nocturnal emissions she bears an infinite number of demonic sons. In this latter role she appears at the head of a vast host, who share in her activities. Belief in her erotic powers led some Jewish communities to adopt the custom of sons not accompanying their dead father's body to the cemetery because they would be shamed by the hovering presence of their demon step-siblings, born of their father's seduction by Lilith. In the Zohar, as in other sources, she is known by such appellations as Lilith, the harlot, the wicked, the false, or the black. (The above-mentioned combination of motifs appears in the Zohar I, 14b, 54b; II, 96a, 111a; III, 19a, 76b.) She is generally numbered among the four mothers of the demons, the others being Agrat, Mahalath, and Naamah. Wholly new in the kabbalistic concept of Lilith is her appearance as the permanent partner of Samael, queen of the realm of the forces of evil (the *sitra ahra*). In that world (the world of the *kelippot*) she fulfills a function parallel to that of the *Shekhinah* ("Divine Presence") in the world of sanctity: just as the *Shekhinah* is the mother of the House of Israel, so Lilith is the mother of the unholy folk who constituted the "mixed multitude" (the *erev-rav*) and ruled over all that is impure. This conception is first found in the sources used by Isaac b. Jacob ha-Kohen, and later in *Ammud ha-Semali* by his disciple, Moses b. Solomon b. Simeon of Burgos. Both here, and later in the *Tikkunei Zohar*, there crystallizes the conception of various degrees of Lilith, internal and external. Likewise we find Lilith the older, the wife of Samael, and Lilith the younger, the wife of Asmodeus (see Tarbiz, 4 (1932/33), 72) in the writings of Isaac ha-Kohen and thereafter in the writings of most kabbalists. Some of these identify the two harlots who appeared in judgment before Solomon with Lilith and Naamah or Lilith and Agrat, an idea which is already hinted at in the Zohar and in contemporary writings (see Tarbiz, 19 (1947/48), 172–5).

Widespread, too, is the identification of Lilith with the Queen of Sheba – a notion with many ramifications in Jewish folklore. It originates in the *Targum* to Job 1:15 based on a Jewish and Arab myth that the Queen of Sheba was actually a jinn, half human and half demon. This view was known to Moses b. Shem Tov de Leon and is also mentioned in the Zohar. In *Livnat ba-Sappir* Joseph Angelino maintains that the riddles which the Queen of Sheba posed to Solomon are a repetition of the words of seduction which the first Lilith spoke to Adam. In Ashkenazi folklore, this figure coalesced with the popular image of Helen of Troy or the Frau Venus of German mythology. Until recent generations the Queen of Sheba was popularly pictured as a snatcher of children and a demonic witch. It is probable that there is a residue of the image of Lilith as Satan's partner in popular late medieval European notions of Satan's concubine, or wife in English folklore – "the Devil's Dame" – and of Satan's grandmother in German folklore. In the German drama on the female pope Jutta (Johanna), which was printed in 1565 though according to its publisher it was written in 1480, the grandmother's name is Lilith. Here she is depicted as a seductive dancer, a motif commonly found in Ashkenazi Jewish incantations involving the Queen of Sheba. In the writings of Hayyim Vital (*Sefer ha-Likkutim* (1913), 6b), Lilith sometimes appears to people in the form of a cat, goose, or other creature, and she holds sway not for eight days alone in the case of a male infant and 20 for a female (as recorded in the *Alphabet of Ben Sira*), but for 40 and 60 days respectively. In the Kabbalah, influenced by astrology, Lilith is related to the planet Saturn, and all those of a melancholy disposition – of a "black humor" – are her sons (Zohar, *Ra'aya Meheimna* III, 227b). From the 16th century it was commonly believed that if an infant laughed in his sleep it was an indication that Lilith was playing with him, and it was therefore advisable to tap him on the nose to avert the danger (H. Vital, *Sefer ha-Likkutim* (1913), 78c; *Emek ha-Melekh*, 130b).

It was very common to protect women who were giving birth from the power of Lilith by affixing amulets over the bed or on all four walls of the room. The earliest forms of these, in Aramaic, are included in Montgomery's collection (see bibl.). The first Hebrew version appears in the *Alphabet of Ben Sira*, which states that the amulet should contain not only the names of the three angels who prevail over Lilith, but also "their form, wings, hands, and legs." This version gained wide acceptance, and amulets of this type were even printed by the 18th century. According to *Shimmush Tehillim*, a book dating from the geonic period, amulets written for women who used to lose their children customarily included Psalm 126 (later replaced by Ps. 121) and the names of these three angels. In the Orient, also amulets representing Lilith herself "bound in chains" were current. Many amulets include the story of the prophet Elijah meeting Lilith on her way to the house of a woman in childbirth "to give her the sleep of death, to take her son and drink his blood, to suck the marrow of his bones and to eat his flesh" (in other versions: "to leave his flesh"). Elijah excommunicated her, whereupon she undertook not to harm women in childbirth whenever she saw or heard her names. This version is doubtless taken from a Christian Byzantine formula against the female demon Gyllo, who was exorcised by the three saints mentioned above. The transfer from the Greek to the Hebrew version is clearly seen in the formula of the 15th-century Hebrew incantation from Candia (see Crete), which was published by Cassuto (RSO, 15 (1935), 260), in which it is not Elijah but the archangel Michael who, coming from Sinai, encounters Lilith. Though the Greek names were progressively corrupted as time elapsed, by the 14th century new Greek names for "Lilith's entourage" appear in a manuscript of practical Kabbalah which includes material from a much earlier date (British Museum Add. Ms. 15299, fol. 84b). The story of Elijah and Lilith included in the second edition of David Lida's *Sod ha-Shem* (Berlin, 1710, p. 20a) is found in the majority of the later amulets against Lilith, one of her names being Striga – an enchantress, either woman or demon – or Astriga. In one of its mutations this name appears as the angel Astaribo, whom Elijah also encountered; in many incantations he takes the place of Lilith, a substitution found in a Yiddish version of the story dating from 1695. Also extant are versions of the incantation in which Lilith is replaced by the Evil Eye, the star Margalya, or the demon familiar in Jewish and Arab literature, Maimon the Black. In European belles lettres, the Lilith story in various versions has been a fruitful narrative theme.

[Gershom Scholem]

Lilith is identified as a demon in the Dead Sea Scrolls (11QpsAp). The name Lilith was also inscribed on incantation bowls of Sassanian Babylonia. Although such bowls were not an exclusively Jewish phenomenon, some invoke rabbinic divorce formulas to exorcise demons. Belief in her erotic powers led some Jewish communities to adopt the custom of sons not accompanying their dead father's body to the cemetery because they would be shamed by the hovering presence of their demon step-siblings, born of their father's seduction by Lilith.

Medieval Christian theology shows no explicit awareness of the Lilith of the *Alphabet of Ben Sira*, but its emphasis on female responsibility for the seduction and fall of Adam and Eve and the association of women with temptation and sin reflects a similar tradition. Christian literary texts allude to Lilith, usually in relation to Satan, but sometimes in relation to figures who are sexually miscast. For example, Lilith is the grandmother of the female pope described in a 15th-century German drama by Theodoricus Schernberg; she appears as Adam's first wife in poems and art by Dante Gabriel Rossetti; in Victor Hugo's *La Fin de Satan*; in a play by Achim von Arnim; and in Goethe's *Faust*.

In recent years, feminists have reconfigured the Lilith myth, claiming it reveals male anxiety about women who cannot be kept under patriarchal control. Lilith is admired as a woman who opposed Adam's attempts at hegemony over her, who had a firm will, and who possessed the power of secret knowledge to assert her autonomy. In feminist versions of the creation story, Lilith demands equality with Adam. Her expulsion from the Garden of Eden indicates not her evil, but the intolerance of male entities, Adam and God, who insist on defining and controlling women. Her independence and knowledge reveal not her demonic nature or sexual miscasting, but represent all women seeking liberation from the imposition of narrow gender roles. In a feminist Midrash, Judith Plaskow imagined Lilith returning to the Garden of Eden and forming a friendship with Eve, who now began to question her subservience to Adam. Plaskow's story concludes with God and Adam left in confusion, fearing "the day Eve and Lilith returned to the garden, bursting with possibilities, ready to rebuild it together."

Feminist reclamations of Lilith in the last quarter of the 20th century include the Lilith Fair, an annual summer women's music festival; *Lilith Magazine*, the first Jewish feminist periodical, founded in 1976; and a women's bookstore in Berlin named Lilith. Lilith is also the subject of art, poetry, and even new religious rituals designed to affirm women's strength and spirituality.

[Susannah Heschel (2nd ed.)]

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LILITH, non-profit independent U.S. Jewish feminist quarterly directed at a popular female audience. Founded in 1976 by a group of women led by Susan Weidman Schneider, *Lilith: The Independent Jewish Women's Magazine* has been concerned with fostering discussion of Jewish women's issues and with putting them on the agenda of the Jewish community. The magazine, to quote its editors, "charts Jewish women's lives with exuberance, rigor, affection, subversion and style." The magazine features award-winning investigative reports, new rituals and celebrations, contemporary and historical personal narratives, entertainment reviews, fiction and poetry, and art and photography.

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LILLE, city in the département of the Nord, N. France. The Jewish community of Lille was formed in the 19th century. Beginning in 1872, Lille became the seat of a chief rabbinate. Its first chief rabbi was Benjamin Lippmann, formerly chief rabbi at Colmar, who had refused to remain in Alsace after it was annexed by Germany. According to the census of the Jewish population in occupied France carried out at the beginning of 1942, there were 1,259 Jews then living in Lille, only 247 of whom were born there. The Commissariat Générale aux Questions Juives (CGQJ) maintained an office in Lille. In reprisal for an underground raid the Germans executed five Jews in Lille in March–April 1942. Of the 461 French and foreign-born Jews who were deported from the region of the Nord, only 125 returned. Among those deported was Léon Berman, who was rabbi of Lille from 1936 to 1939 and who published a work titled *Histoire des Juifs de France*. He was arrested along with his wife and son in October 1943, interned at the camp of Drancy, and eventually transported to a death camp. In 1987 there were 2,800 Jews in Lille, which was the seat of the regional consistory. The Lille community maintained a number of institutions, including a synagogue erected in 1874, a number of small prayer halls, youth groups, a kosher butcher, and a community center. It also published a community bulletin.

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[David Weinberg (2nd ed.)]

LIMA, ancient capital of the Peruvian viceroyalty and capital of *Peru; population more than 8,866,160 (2005). Ninety-eight percent of Peru's Jewish population of about 2,700 live in the city. The discovery of Peru and its enormous mining potential attracted a large number of *Conversos who disregarded the restrictions on the immigration of New Christians and arrived in the capital founded by Francisco Pizarro in 1535. Most of them arrived during the period of unification of the Spanish and Portuguese crowns (1580–1640), and were known as "Portuguese." On February 7, 1569, Philip II, king of Spain, decreed the royal document by which he ordered the establishment of the Inquisition in Lima that was to start the persecution of judaizers and descendants of Jews.

Until 1595, however, the number of victims was very small, and the Crypto-Jews could prosper especially in the import and export trade. The first auto-da-fé took place in Lima on December 17, 1595. Ten Judaizers were judged, four of them were released, and one, Francisco Rodríguez, was burned alive. On December 10, 1600, 14 judaizers were punished; on March 13, 1605, 16 judaizers; later the frequency and the numbers declined.

The general pardon for all the judaizers declared in 1601 attracted a considerable number of New Christians, most of whom were Crypto-Jews who had acquired an important position in the economic life of the Spanish colony. Therefore the sensational trials against judaizers were generally conducted against those who had accumulated a fortune, all their possessions being confiscated by the Holy Office after their condemnation. This was the case with Antonio Cordero, the local representative of a merchant from Sevilla, who was denounced by a local trader for having declined to sell on the Sabbath and having refused to eat pork. A secret investigation was conducted, accompanied by torture, which led to the great auto-da-fé of January 23, 1639 with 60 judaizers. The most famous among them was Francisco Maldonado de Silva, who remained in prison for 12 years, during which he maintained his loyalty to the Jewish faith and even converted two Catholic prisoners to Judaism. All the rest were members of what the Spanish authorities called "The Great Conspiracy" congregation of Crypto-Jews in Lima. The last victim of *La Complicidad Grande* was Manuel Enríquez, who was burned at the stake in 1664 together with the effigy of Murcia de Luna, who died at torture. This exemplary display of severity, together with the menace of total expulsion in 1646, from which they were able to free themselves through the payment of the fabulous sum of 200,000 ducats, curtailed the offense of judaizing for many years. According to unsubstantiated sources there were 6,000 Crypto-Jews in Peru.

The last victims of the accusations against judaizers were Ana de Castro, on December, 23, 1736, and Juan Antonio Pereira, on November 11, 1737. The last activities of the Inquisition in Lima were in 1806. At that time there were no remaining Crypto-Jews recognized as such. A very famous family of Crypto-Jews during the colonial period was that of "León Pinelo."

The León Pinelo Family

During the period of the Viceroyalty this family flourished, being gifted with exceptional intellectual qualities that were manifested in a variety of activities in Spain, Peru, and Mexico, whether in the legal profession, theology, or various branches of knowledge. The León Pinelo school in Lima is named after the brothers Juan, Antonio, and Diego, children of Captain Diego López de León and Catalina de Esperanza Pinelo, distant relatives of the Pinelli of Genoa.

Juan López, the grandfather of the brothers León Pinelo, was a Portuguese Jewish merchant who, together with his wife, was burned alive in Lisbon in 1595. The survivors of the family immigrated to Valladolid, where they remained while Diego, the father, moved to Buenos Aires in search of a better situation. When his position was stabilized thanks to his commercial activities, he managed to reunite the family in 1605.

Juan, the first son of Diego López de León, was born in Lisbon (Portugal). He studied in Chuquisaca (Bolivia). He moved to Lima with his father and brother Antonio. Juan distinguished himself as an orator in the court of Philip IV, and was named canon of the Cathedral of Puebla (New Spain), where he ended his life. The second son, Antonio de León Pinelo, was born in Valladolid in 1590. He studied in the Universidad de San Marcos (in Lima). He was mayor of the Oruro mines, and in 1621 he returned to Spain as the attorney of the city of Buenos Aires. In Madrid he established himself in the court, amazing everyone with his erudition. He was known as "the Oracle of America" for the vastness of his knowledge in matters concerning the Indies, particularly South America. He is credited with having established the basis, together with the judge Solórzano Pereira, of the famous collection of laws that was issued by the Spanish Crown for the government and administration of the colonies in the New World and printed in four volumes under the title *Recopilación de las Leyes de las India* (Collection of the Laws of the Indies). The idea of the collection of laws developed in Lima, when both León Pinelo and Solórzano Pereira cemented their friendship during a period when the former was endowed with a chair at the Universidad de San Marcos. Antonio de León Pinelo gained fame for being the first bibliographer to teach works published about America. He was a friend of Lope de Vega, Ruiz de Alarcón, and other well-known Spanish writers. His project on the History of Lima recounted the development of the capital of the Viceroyalty from the time of its foundation. In 1629 he was appointed *relator* in the Council of the Indies, a position that gave him access not only to the legislature promulgated for the colonies across the sea, but also enabled him to undertake the collection of the treaties on the administration of these territories. At the end of his life he was named chronicler of the Indies, in charge of writing the annals of the American past. He died in 1660.

Diego, the youngest brother, was born in Córdova del Tucumán. He started his university studies in Lima and finished them in Salamanca. Upon his return, he held chairs at the Universidad de San Marcos and was its rector between 1656 and 1658. In his judicial career he was general protector of the natives of Lima. He is especially remembered with respect to the apologetic treatise of the University of San Marcos (*Hypomnema Apologeticum Pro Regali Academia Limensi*, 1643), in which he defended the scientific hierarchy of the institute as well as the cultural achievements of the Peruvians, which he considered underevaluated by European scholars.

"León Pinelo" School in Lima

The history of the León Pinelo school began with the visit of Natán Bistritzky, who arrived in Peru in March 1945 on a mission of the Jewish National Fund. Bistritzky encouraged the leaders of the Jewish community, which at the time comprised only 2,500 persons, to create the Comité Pro-Colegio Hebreo with the objective of founding a Jewish day school in Peru. The community chose the name of "León Pinelo" for his historical ties with the Jewish and Peruvian people. The school was opened on May 1946 with 33 students. During its 50 years of existence, more than 1,600 students graduated from the school, with a high level of Jewish education. Most of the graduates continued their studies in universities in Peru, Israel, or the United States, and work as professionals in Peru or abroad.

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[Leon Trahtemberg (2nd ed.)]

LIMA, MOSES BEN ISAAC JUDAH (1605?–1658), Lithuanian rabbi and halakhist. Lima studied at the yeshivah of Joshua *Falk in Cracow, where he became friendly with many who later were leaders of the generation. In 1637 he served as rabbi of Slonim and in 1650 was *av bet din* of Vilna, his colleagues being *Ephraim b. Jacob ha-Kohen and *Shabbetai Kohen, author of the *Siftei Kohen*. In 1655 he was appointed rabbi where he served until his death. One of his three sons, Raphael, published his father's work *Ḥelkat Meḥokek* (Cracow, 1670), a commentary on the Shulḥan Arukh, *Even ha-Ezer*, outstanding for its critical perceptiveness and profundity and acknowledged as one of the best halakhic works of the later generations. It was accepted as an authoritative work in its field, despite its difficult style, which at times makes a supercommentary necessary. The *Beit Shemuel* of *Samuel b. Uri Shraga Phoebus is devoted largely to a discussion of Lima's book. For the benefit of rabbis and *posekim* Lima and Samuel compiled *Kunteres ha-Agunot*, appended to chapter 17 of *Even ha-Ezer*, containing the essence of hundreds of books and responsa concerning the permission of *agunot* to remarry. Some later authorities expressed reservations as to whether it was permissible to base oneself on the work for practical decisions without reference to the sources. Of Lima's other works, there remain only a number of responsa in various collections.

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[Israel Moses Ta-Shma]

LIMAN, ARTHUR L. (1932–1997), U.S. lawyer. Born in New York City, Liman grew up in a suburb, Lawrence, L.I. He graduated magna cum laude from Harvard and then from Yale Law School, where he was first in his graduating class. Soon after he became an associate at Paul, Weiss, Rifkind, Wharton & Garrison, a firm with ties to the Democratic Party. Liman was considered a masterly legal strategist who represented both corporate tycoons and scalawags but made his public mark investigating pivotal events like the Iran-contra affair and the prison uprising in Attica, N.Y. Liman occupied the public stage in the summer of 1987 when he was chief counsel to the Senate committee investigating the Reagan administration's arms-for-hostage scheme known as the Iran-contra affair. On live television Liman jousted with Lieut. Col. Oliver L. North and other witnesses. The scandal centered on the sale of United States arms to Iran in the mid-1980s to obtain the release of American hostages in Lebanon. The sale, which involved diverting some of the profits to Nicaraguan contra insurgents, was done clandestinely and in violation of stated American policy. Liman was considered a master of cross-examination, a litigator with total recall of intricate details and supreme self-assurance. His blue-chip clients at Paul Weiss included Time-Warner, GAF, Weyerhaeuser, Pennzoil, Heinz, Continental Grain, CBS, and Calvin Klein. He also represented the fugitive financier Robert L. Vesco, Dennis B. Levine, a convicted Wall Street inside trader, and Michael R. *Milken, who admitted violating Federal securities law. Liman earlier was chief counsel to a New York State panel that spent a year investigating the inmate rebellion at Attica state prison, in which 43 inmates and guards were killed during four days of rioting and hostage-taking in September 1971. His commission issued a 470-page report that concluded that an assault by state troopers to recapture the prison, ordered by Gov. Nelson A. Rockefeller, was ill-considered and far too harsh, leading to needless loss of life. It was published in book form and was so well written that it was nominated for a National Book Award.

[Stewart Kampel (2nd ed.)]

LIMBURG, JOSEPH (1866–1940), Dutch politician. One of the founders of the Liberal Democratic Party, Limburg was a member of the second chamber of parliament (1905–17). The education act adopted in 1917 bears his name. He was a member of the Netherlands delegation to the League of Nations in 1920. In 1926 he was entrusted with the formation of a cabinet, but failed and left politics. He was a member of the Council of State until 1940, when, on the Netherlands' surrender to Germany, he committed suicide.

LIMERICK, seaport in southwestern Ireland. Jews began to settle there after the beginning of the Russian persecutions at the close of the 19th century. The attitude of the townspeople was hostile, and attacks on the Jews occurred in 1884. Nevertheless, immigration continued and a synagogue was established in 1889. The majority of the newcomers engaged in the drapery business; others in grocery and furnishing, trading partly on the "hire-purchase" system. In 1904, owing to the preaching of Father Creagh of the Redemptorist Order, an anti-Jewish riot broke out, followed by a boycott, and many Jews left. (The most complete account of the "Limerick pogrom," as it was sometimes called, may be found in Dermot Keogh's *Jews in Twentieth-Century Ireland* (1998), 26–53.) The community is now extinct.

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[Cecil Roth]

LIMITATION OF ACTIONS.

The Concept and its Substance

In the talmudic period, Jewish law generally did not recognize the principle that the right to bring an action could be affected by the passage of time (i.e., extinctive prescription); in the post-talmudic period, it came to be recognized as a principle that there was a limit to the claimant's right of instituting action on account of the passing of time, without extinction of the underlying right itself. In Jewish law, the principle of limitation of actions is grounded on the reasoning that delay in instituting action serves to cast doubt on the reliability of the claimant's evidence. Consequently, prescription serves to deprive the plaintiff of a remedial action only if the defendant denies the existence of the right forming the subject matter of the action, but not if he admits its existence.

In the Talmudic Period

In the Talmud, the principle of limitation of actions – apart from two exceptional cases – was wholly unrecognized: "a creditor may recover his debt at any time, even if it has not been mentioned" (Tosef., Ket. 12:3; cf. the version in TJ, Ket. 12:4, 35b and TB, Ket. 104a).

THE WIDOW'S CLAIM FOR HER KETUBBAH. One exception to the general rule is the claim of a widow for her **ketubbah*, which becomes prescribed under certain circumstances. In a dispute with R. Meir, the scholars held that "a widow, as long as she lives in her husband's house, may recover her *ketubbah* at any time; when, however, she lives in her father's house [and not with the heirs, and is therefore not inhibited from claiming her *ketubbah* from them], she may recover her *ketubbah* within 25 years only" (from the date of her husband's death; Ket. 12:4).

Thereafter, her right to recover the *ketubbah* is extinguished, on the assumption that she has waived it, taking into account the great delay in instituting action and the fact that the *ketubbah* "is not like a loan and therefore she has not suffered any loss" (Ket. 104a and Rashi ad loc.). R. Meir expressed the contrary opinion that, as long as she lives in her father's house, she may recover her *ketubbah* at any time, but as long as she lives in her husband's house, she may only recover her *ketubbah* within 25 years, for "25 years suffices for her to extend favors in exhaustion of her *ketubbah*" (as it may be assumed that during this period she made use of the assets of the estate to render favors (gifts) to her neighbors in an amount corresponding to the value of her *ketubbah*: Ket. 12: 4 and Rashi ad loc.). In the opinion of R. Ishmael, the period is three years only (Tosef., Ket. 12:3). The *halakhah* was determined according to the first view (Yad, Ishut, 16:21–24; Sh. Ar., EH 101:1–4). In talmudic times, this limitation of action in the case of a widow seeking to recover her *ketubbah* after the lapse of 25 years from the date of her husband's death already applied only where she was not in possession of the *ketubbah* deed; there was no limitation of action if she was in possession of such a deed at the time her claim was brought. Similarly, her right of action for recovery of the *ketubbah* remained intact even though she lived in her parents' home after her husband's death, provided that the attitude of the heirs toward her was particularly favorable ("delivering her maintenance to her on their shoulders"), on the presumption that the nature of this relationship had served to inhibit her from demanding her *ketubbah* from them (Ket. 12:4; 104b). On the widow's death, her heirs too could recover her *ketubbah* only within 25 years (Ket. 12:4), commencing, according to some of the *posekim*, from the date of their succeeding to her right, i.e., on her death (Tur and Sh. Ar., EH 101:1), and according to others, from the date that the cause of action arose, i.e., on the death of the husband (Rashi and Hananel, Shevu. 48a; *Beit ha-Beḥirah*, Ket. 104b).

THE WIDOW'S CLAIM FOR MAINTENANCE. Another exception to the general rule is to be found in a halakhic ruling from amoraic times stating that a delay of two years on the part of a poor widow – or three years on the part of a rich one – in claiming *maintenance from the estate of the deceased husband barred her from recovering maintenance for the period which had elapsed (Ket. 96a; TJ, Ket. 11:2, 34b has two or three months, respectively). The reasoning behind this quasi-limitation of action is likewise based on the assumption that the widow, by virtue of her delay, has waived her claim for maintenance (Rashi Ket. 96a; *Beit ha-Beḥirah ibid.*; Yad, Ishut, 18:26; Tur and Sh. Ar., EH 93:14). If, during the aforesaid period, the widow has borrowed for her maintenance or if she has been in possession of a *pledge, she cannot be presumed to have waived her claim for maintenance and it does not become prescribed (TJ, loc. cit.).

Roman Law

Roman law of that period also did not recognize the principle of limitation of actions, although there were the *actiones temporales*, which had to be brought within a fixed period, mostly within one year (the *annus utilis*). However, the reason for the limitation of those actions lay in the fact that they were founded on a right "granted" by the praetor, who limited in advance the period within which an action could be brought for enforcement. Consequently, once this period had elapsed, the remedial action, as well as the underlying right itself, became extinguished. In contradistinction to this, actions based on civil law (*actiones civiles*), as well as those praetorian rights in respect of which the praetor had not determined any fixed period for instituting action, were numbered among the *actiones perpetuae*, which could be brought at any time (save for a number of exceptions). It was only in 424 C.E., in a law of Honorius and Theodosius, that the principle of prescription was recognized in respect of all actions. The general period of prescription was fixed at 30 years and, in certain exceptional cases, at 40 years (R. Sohm, Institutionen (1949^7), 709–15).

In the Post-Talmudic Period

From the beginning of the 13th century, Jewish law began to give limited recognition to the principle of limitation of actions. While the principle was preserved that limitation of the right of action could not extinguish the underlying right itself, the doctrine evolved that delay in bringing an action served to cast doubt on the credibility of the evidence adduced in proof of the claim.

EFFECT OF DELAY ON CREDIBILITY OF CLAIMANT'S EVIDENCE. Thus, at the end of the 13th century, Asher b. Jehiel, dealing with a claim based on old deeds, expressed the fear that an unduly long silence might serve as a subterfuge to enable deceit to go unnoticed or to be forgotten; he accordingly demanded that a suit of this nature be thoroughly investigated if the defendant should plead that he paid the debt or should deny its very existence and, "if I assess as a strong probability (*umdenah de-mukhaḥ*) that the suit is a fraudulent one and unfounded, I say that no *dayyan* in Israel should grant relief in this suit, and this I write and sign for delivery into the hands of the defendant" (Resp. Rosh, 68:20; 85:10). However, this view was not generally accepted at once, and in the 14th century *Isaac b. Sheshet of Spain and North Africa gave his opinion that a plea by a defendant based on the plaintiff's long delay in bringing his action was "an idle plea, lacking in substance, and served neither to prove nor disprove the existence of the debt" (Resp. Ribash no. 404). In time, however, Asher b. Jehiel's view on the effect of delay in bringing an action came to be generally accepted, and even supplemented by various further details. In the 15th century, Joseph *Colon (of northern Italy) decided that overlong delay carried with it a suspicion of fraud, which obliged a careful investigation of the matter, even if it was written (in the deed) that the defendant would "raise no plea against the deed and took this upon himself on ban and oath" (Resp. Maharik no. 190; *Darkhei Moshe* ḤM 61, n. 5: *Rema* ḤM 61:9). The *halakhah* was decided accordingly by Joseph *Caro and Moses *Isserles (Sh. Ar., ḤM 98:1–2). In the 16th century Samuel di *Medina (of the Balkan countries and

Turkey) decided that where no reasonable justification could be found to account for the delay, the court should endeavor to effect a compromise between the parties (Resp. Maharashdam, ḤM 367), while Isaac *Adarbi, Medina's contemporary and compatriot, charged the court with compelling the parties to a compromise in a suit based on a long-delayed claim (*Divrei Rivot* no. 109). Until this time, i.e., the beginning of the 17th century, no fixed period of prescription had been determined and the court would investigate and determine each case on its merits.

FIXED PERIODS FOR LIMITATION OF ACTIONS. From the beginning of the 17th century, the need became increasingly felt for precise legal directions concerning the period within which a defendant could expect a particular action to be brought against him. Jewish law accordingly came to recognize the principle – by way of *takkanah* and custom (see **minhag*) – that the mere lapse of time sufficed to impugn the credibility of the evidence in support of the claim, without the need for any particular investigation by the court. Consequently, if the defendant denied the existence of the debt, he was absolved from liability when he delivered an oath as to the truth of his plea. At the same time the substantive principle, basic to prescription in Jewish law, that the lapse of time did not operate to extinguish the underlying right itself, was preserved, so that a debtor who did not deny the existence of the debt – and certainly one who admitted it – was obliged to make repayment notwithstanding prescription of the right of action. The period of prescription was determined in advance – generally three years and in certain cases six (*Pinkas ha-Medinah, Lita*, ed. by S. Dubnow (1925), *Takkanah* 205 of 1628; Benjamin Ze'ev Wolf, *Misgeret ha-Shulḥan*, 61, n. 16; Ẓevi Hirsch b. Azriel, *Ateret Ẓevi*, to Sh. Ar., *ibid.*; Jacob Lorbeerbaum, *Netivot ha-Mishpat, Mishpat ha-Kohanim*, n. 18). Once more, this new development with regard to the law of prescription was not immediately accepted by all the halakhic scholars. Thus Abraham *Ankawa (19th century, Morocco), in commenting on this development in Polish and Lithuanian Jewish centers, remarked that it was "a great innovation, and presumably a *takkanah* they enacted for themselves, although contrary to the law, for whatever reason they had at the time" (*Kerem Ḥamar* ḤM no. 33). So too, at the beginning of the 18th century, Jacob Reicher (Galicia) had decided in accordance with the principles laid down in the Shulḥan Arukh, in a matter concerning an old deed (*Shevut Ya'akov*, vol. 3, no. 182). His younger contemporary, Jonathan *Eybeschuetz expressed the opinion that "at this time much scrutiny is required to keep the court from giving effect [in the case of an old deed] to a fraudulent suit" (*Urim* ḤM 61, n. 18). In the course of time, however, this development came to be accepted as part of the law of prescription, and was even refined and supplemented by certain additional rules, namely: if the debt cannot be recovered from the debtor on account of his impoverishment, prescription is interrupted for the period of his impoverishment; prescription does not apply during the period in which either the plaintiff or defendant is a minor; prescription does not bar the institution of an action if the debtor has waived such a plea in writing, in clear and unequivocal terms, even after completion of the period of prescription (*Kesef ha-Kedoshim* 61:9).

In the State of Israel

A substantial number of the various provisions of the Prescription Law, 5718/1958 accord with the principles of prescription in Jewish law, including the principle that "prescription shall not per se void the right itself" (sec. 2). On the other hand, this law includes the provision that an admission by the defendant of the plaintiff's right shall only have the effect of nullifying the period of prescription already accrued if the admission is not "accompanied by a plea of prescription" (sec. 9). This provision is at variance with the Jewish law principle that the defendant – if he has admitted the existence of the plaintiff's right – is not entitled to void the claim by pleading that the period within which the action may be instituted has lapsed.

For prescription with regard to immovable property, see **Ḥazakah*.

[Menachem Elon]

In the Rabbinical Courts the question of the limitation of actions has also been raised in the context of "the law of the kingdom is law" (**Dina de-Malkhuta Dina*), viz., whether Rabbinical Courts must abide by existing state law or custom under which certain actions are limited, when this would negate the option of taking legal action.

Rabbi Ben-Zion Ouziel is of the opinion that Jewish Law only recognizes the principle of a passage of time limiting a right with regard to evidence, e.g., to disqualify a document, and only if other corroborative evidence impugned the authenticity or validity of the document, raising the possibility of a miscarriage of justice. Accordingly, he rejected unqualified compliance of Rabbinical Courts with state law in this context. In his opinion, limitation of actions cannot be regarded as a custom (and hence binding), because the binding nature of a custom is only applicable with regard to the accepted modes of acquisition, which the merchants have agreed to be bound by. By contrast, a promissory note in the hand of the creditor is proof of debt, and the argument that due to the custom of limitation the creditor has waived his claim supports the "robbery" of the debtor, and "robbery cannot be permitted on the basis of custom" (Mishpetei Ouziel, ḤM 28. 8)

In the Israeli Supreme Court the aforementioned position of Jewish Law on limitation of actions prompted the Supreme Court (Justice Menachem Elon), at the end of its decision in the *Boyer* case (CA 216/80 *Boyer v. Shikun Ovdim*, 38 (2) PD 561, 569) to make the following recommendation to a litigant who won his case exclusively on the basis of the claim of prescription (i.e., the passage of time invalidating the rival party's claim): "this is a classic case in which it is proper and desirable to go beyond the strict letter of the law (*lifnim mi-shurat ha-din*). For a detailed discussion of the matter, see *Law and Morality, and the Supreme Court decisions cited (ibid).

Moreover, the position taken by Jewish Law on limitation, which accepts the doubtful veracity of the evidence without negating the substance of the claim, was instrumental in establishing and confirming the position of the Israeli Supreme Court on this matter. It ruled that the laws of limitation should be interpreted so as to give priority to clarifying the truth rather than bestowing immunity on the litigants (CA 4114/96 *Hameiri v. Hachsharath Hayishuv*, PD 52(1) 857, Justice Tirkel).

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LIMOGES, capital of the Haute-Vienne department, central France. A Jewish source, *Sefer Yeshu'at Elohim* (in A.M. Habermann, *Gezerot Ashkenaz ve-Ẓarefat* (1945), 11–15) contains an account of a semi-legendary anti-Jewish persecution in Limoges in 992 resulting from the activities of an apostate from Blois. The Christian writer Adhémar of Chabannes relates that in 1010 Bishop Alduin of Limoges gave the Jewish community the choice of expulsion or conversion. It is possible that both sources refer to the local manifestation of the general anti-Jewish persecutions which occurred around 1009 and which were followed by baptisms and expulsions. At any rate, whether or not the Jews were expelled from Limoges, the expulsion order was no longer in force from the middle of the 11th century; a certain Petrus Judaeus is mentioned in a local document between 1152 and 1173 and Gentianus Judaeus in 1081. Around the middle of the 11th century R. Joseph b. Samuel *Bonfils (Tov Elem) headed the Jewish community of Limoges and Anjou. The beginnings of the modern Jewish community in Limoges date from 1775. During World War II, Limoges became the largest center of refuge for Alsatian Jews; about 1,500 families and many institutions were transferred to the town. The present community, which was formed in 1949, grew to more than 650 by 1970 and possessed a synagogue and community center.

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[Bernhard Blumenkranz]

LIMOUX, town in the department of Aude, *Languedoc, southern France. The existence of a Jewish community there is confirmed toward the end of the 13th century. Its privileges were withdrawn in 1292, as were also those of a number of other Jewish communities in Languedoc, but were restored in 1299. In 1302, the Jews of Limoux, again together with those of other localities in Languedoc, were freed by *Philip IV (the Fair), from liability to prosecution by inquisitors. At the beginning of the 14th century, some Jews from Limoux were living in Narbonne. A new community may have been constituted after 1315; this would be the one referred to in the *Shevet Yehudah* (ed. by A. Shochet, p. 149) under the name לשמאדש as having been massacred by the *Pastoureaux in 1320.

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[Bernhard Blumenkranz]

LIMPIEZA DE SANGRE (Sp., "purity of blood"), an obsessive concern in Spain and Portugal from the 15th century, based on the mythical goal of a society in which all but the most humble functions would be exercised by "pure-blooded" Christians. In varying degrees this obsession afflicted Spain until well into the 19th century; blood purity was still a requirement for admission to the military academy until 1860, when it was legally abolished. In Portugal all legal distinctions between Old and *New Christians were officially removed in 1773. *Limpieza de sangre* continues to be a matter of concern on the island of Majorca, where Christians of Jewish ancestry are disdainfully referred to as **chuetas* and frequently suffer discrimination because of their "impure blood."

Although the pure-blood statutes established by the various communities of Spain in the 16th century adopted a routine formula directed against all Christians descended from Moors and heretics as well as Jews, the problem, both in its historical origins and in its later consequences, mainly concerned those of Jewish ancestry. The first such measure of which details are known, the so-called *Sentencia-Estatuto* adopted in Toledo in 1449 in the course of a popular uprising under the leadership of Pedro *Sarmiento against royal authority, was directed solely against the Toledan *Conversos. It prohibited them from testifying in legal proceedings and excluded them from all public office, especially notaryships which were most frequently in their hands, "under penalty of death and confiscation of all their goods."

This extraordinary measure against the Conversos or New Christians was a direct consequence of a series of anti-Jewish riots which swept through Spain in 1391. Protests against and denunciations of the *Sentencia-Estatuto* arose both among the affected converts as well as distinguished ecclesiastics of non-Jewish origin, including Pope Nicholas V. Nevertheless, the pure-blood statutes spread to such an extent that by 1500 most Spanish organizations, secular or religious, insisted on "blood purity" as a qualification for membership. The controversy concerning the legality and propriety of the *limpieza de sangre* discriminations continued until well into the 17th century, and Conversos were excluded from an increasing number of guilds, religious confraternities, most colleges, religious and military orders, and residence in certain towns. Churches and cathedrals reserved even their most humble benefices for Christians "without the stain of Jewish blood," leading one polemicist to observe that Jesus himself would have failed to qualify as a porter in Toledo Cathedral.

Spain's obsession with blood purity in the 16th and 17th centuries led to considerable social turmoil. A leading supporter of the *limpieza de sangre* statutes in the early 17th century was Juan Escobar del Corro in his *Tractatus.* His work suggests that the racial or ethnic grounds for the opposition to the Conversos cannot be canceled by religious and theological reasons. The *limpieza de sangre* was introduced when it was no longer possible to reject a descendant of Jews purely on religious grounds. As generations passed and the memory of the Jewish ancestry of Converso Spaniards faded, efforts were redoubled to unearth the traces of their long-forgotten "impure" forefathers. Communities vied with one another in the severity of their pure-blood statutes. The Old College of Saint Bartholomew of Salamanca, the source of Spain's most important leaders, took pride in refusing admittance to anyone even rumored to be of Jewish descent. Hearsay testimony and words spoken in anger to the effect that someone was a Jew, or a descendant of Jews, sufficed to disqualify a man, a kind of "civil death" understandably feared by Spaniards. As investigations into ancestries ranged even farther into the distant past, until "time immemorial" as some put it, even families considered Old Christian lived in constant fear lest some remote, forgotten "stain" be brought to light or a hostile rumormonger destroy their reputation.

Since no one could be absolutely certain of his blood purity "since time immemorial," *limpieza de sangre* ultimately became a qualification negotiated through bribed witnesses, shuffled genealogies, and falsified documents.

Américo Castro's attempt to demonstrate that the roots of the *limpieza de sangre* are to be found, not in the Christian-Iberian anti-Jewish feelings, but in much older sources, very distant from Spain, namely Jewish ones, has been rejected by scholars, such as B.Z. Netanyahu. Castro claims that the Jews introduced their racial beliefs into Spain, just as they introduced the Inquisition. Castro brings his evidence from ancient biblical sources, medieval rabbinic literature, and Spanish Jewish scholars, but is clearly unfounded and often based on mistaken views of the Jewish sources.

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[Albert A. Sicroff / Yom Tov Assis (2nd ed.)]

LINCOLN, town in eastern England. The medieval Jewish community (first mentioned in 1159) was probably the second in importance in England after London. During the crusader riots which swept the country in March 1190, the Jews were attacked and took refuge under the protection of the sheriff. The citizens were subsequently fined for their unruly conduct. St. Hugh, the great bishop of Lincoln, protected the Jews, who later joined their fellow townsmen in mourning his death in 1200. The most prominent Anglo-Jewish financier of the time was *Aaron of Lincoln (c. 1123–86), whose operations extended over every part of the country but were especially important in Lincolnshire. R. Joseph of Lincoln is mentioned as a scholar (c. 1125–36). In the second half of the 13th century, the outstanding Lincoln Jews were Hagin (Ḥayyim), son of R. *Moses b. Yom Tov of London, who was *archpresbyter of English Jewry (1258–80), and his brother *Benedict of Lincoln (d. 1276?), identical with the tosafist R. Berachiah of Nicole, who has left some significant literary remains. The latter was absolved at the time of the ritual murder accusation in 1255 associated with the name of "Little" St. *Hugh of Lincoln when 91 Lincoln Jews were sent to London for trial and 18 executed. Notwithstanding this, the community continued to be important. In 1266, during the Barons' Wars, the "Disinherited Knights" attacked the Lincoln Jewry, sacked the synagogue, and burned the records registering debts. On the expulsion of Jews from England in 1290, assets were registered of 66 householders (not all still alive), and the property which fell into the king's hands exceeded £2,500, in addition to 30 houses. Specimens of medieval Jewish architecture, including a building which was probably the synagogue, may still be seen in the former Jewry (now Steep Hill). A small Jewish community existed again in Lincoln at the beginning of the 19th century. There was a small community of evacuees during World War II. At the outset of the 21st century, while no synagogues existed, a Lincolnshire Jewish community organization was maintained by the Progressive movement.

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[Cecil Roth]

°LINCOLN, ABRAHAM (1809–1865), 16th president of the United States; first president to become officially involved in national questions of Jewish equality and anti-Jewish discrimination. Lincoln participated in two matters of Jewish historic significance. The first related to the appointment of Jewish chaplains for the army and for military hospitals. Legislation passed by the House of Representatives in July 1861 required that a chaplain be a "regularly ordained minister of some Christian denomination." Although a Jewish layman, Michael Allen did serve as chaplain; he resigned his commission after being accused of serving illegally. A campaign of public pressure was undertaken to change the law, and in December 1861 the Rev. Arnold Fishel of New York went to Washington, under the aegis of the Board of Delegates of American Israelites, to act as lobbyist and civilian chaplain. He secured an appointment with Lincoln who wrote him promising to use his best efforts "to have a new law broad enough to cover what is desired by you in behalf of the Israelites." New legislation was introduced in both the House and the Senate. By July 1862, a new law made it possible for rabbis to serve as military chaplains alongside Protestant ministers and Catholic priests, for the first time in history – a major step in the Americanization of the Jewish religion. Had Lincoln ignored Fishel's representations, or actively opposed them, it is unlikely that either house of Congress would have passed the legislation.

In December 1862, General Ulysses S. *Grant issued an order expelling all Jews from the area of his command, on the alleged grounds that Jews were engaging in illegal trade. This was brought to Lincoln's attention by a Jew from Paducah, Kentucky, Cesar Kaskel, in January 1863, and Lincoln, recognizing the injustice of the order, issued instructions for its immediate cancellation. General-in-Chief H.W. Halleck, in the second of a series of telegrams, explained to Grant that "as it in terms proscribed an entire religious class, some of whom are fighting in our ranks, the President deemed it necessary to revoke it." Lincoln, consenting to see another Jewish delegation after he saw Kaskel, assured the group, which included Rabbis Isaac M. *Wise and Max *Lilienthal, that "to condemn a class is, to say the least, to wrong the good with the bad. I do not like to hear a class or nationality condemned on account of a few sinners."

Lincoln was a close friend and political associate of Abraham *Jonas, a Jew from Quincy, Illinois, and their correspondence reveals a warm mutual appreciation and common political loyalties.

American Jews have felt especially attracted to Lincoln as the emancipator of the black slave, as a victim of violence, as a dreamer of peace, and as the spokesman of a way of life "with malice towards none, with charity for all," which matches the idealism of the prophets.

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[Bertram Wallace Korn]

LINCOLN, TREBITSCH (1879–1943), adventurer and politician. The extraordinary career of Trebitsch Lincoln, born Ignacz Trebitsch in Budapest, the son of a Jewish merchant, has become well known through Bernard *Wasserstein's biography, *The Secret Life of Trebitsch Lincoln* (rev. ed. 1989). In his career, he worked as a Presbyterian, later Anglican conversionist minister to the Jews, and as an assistant to pioneering British social investigator Seebohm Rowntree. Then, remarkably, he was elected to the British Parliament as a Liberal from January to December 1910, immediately after changing his name to "Lincoln" and acquiring British citizenship. Defeated at the general election of December 1910, in quick succession he pursued a career as a failed company promoter in London and as a German spy during World War I, followed by a three-year stretch in a British prison for fraud. In 1920, even more remarkably, he served as press secretary to the right-wing militarist government of Wolfgang Kapp in Germany, where he met the then unknown Adolf *Hitler. From 1921 Lincoln lived in China, becoming a Buddhist priest under the name of Chao Kung. During World War II he worked for Japanese and, remarkably, German intelligence; it is believed, however, that he may have been murdered by the Gestapo in 1943. He wrote an *Autobiography of an Adventurer* in 1932. Some historians have seen his life as emblematic of the marginality of many Central European Jews of his time.

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[William D. Rubinstein (2nd ed.)]

LINDAU, town in Bavaria, Germany. Jews are first mentioned in tax lists of 1242. The 13th-century town charter allowed Jews to trade in pledges on loans and the local Jewish *oath was short and humane. In 1344 the Jews offered to make loans at very advantageous terms (43⅓% interest instead of the 216⅔% demanded by Christians) if they were offered civic rights. Individual Jews were granted special civic status in 1385 and 1409. In 1348 *Charles IV granted the town the local Jewish tax; in that same year the community was destroyed during the *Black Death persecutions. However, they were again in residence by 1358. In 1430, 15 Jews, accused of the murder of a boy, were burned and the rest were expelled. In 1547 the city was granted the right to exclude the Jews, a privilege reaffirmed in 1559. Even during the 18th and early 19th centuries Jews were only allowed to stay for short periods on special permits. The group of Jews who settled in Lindau, seven in 1810, never numbered more than 30 and had fallen to only four in 1939. In 1967 two elderly Jews were still living in Lindau.

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LINDER, MAX (originally **Gabriel-Maximillien Leuvielle**; 1883–1925), French silent movie comedy star. Linder was born in Saint-Loubès to a family of vintners. His first film was *Première Sortie d'un Collegién* (1905); thereafter he turned out perhaps one film every week or so, to 1914. The character of the natty, slightly run-down, but highly-spirited Max achieved worldwide renown, inspiring Charlie Chaplin to develop a similar character early in his career. Linder fought in World

War I, permanently impairing his health and affecting his emotional stability. His last film was *Roi du Cirque* (1925). Few copies of his films have been saved.

LINDHEIM, IRMA LEVY (1886–1978), U.S. Zionist leader. She was born in New York City to a wealthy, assimilated family. She was educated in social work at Columbia University. During World War I she served as an ambulance driver, and in 1919 became president of the Seventh District of the Zionist Organization. She entered the Jewish Institute of Religion in 1922 and was accepted as a candidate for a rabbinical degree, while continuing her studies at Columbia under John Dewey. Irma Lindheim first visited Palestine in 1925 and incorporated her experiences into her book *Immortal Adventure* (1928). On her return to the U.S. she devoted herself to work with the Jewish National Fund. She became president of Hadassah (1926–28), and simultaneously was national vice president of the ZOA. Attracted by the Ḥalutz philosophy, Irma Lindheim joined the Labor Zionist group in 1930 and helped organize the League for Labor Palestine in 1932. In 1933 she decided to settle in Israel and moved to kibbutz Mishmar ha-Emek. She wrote many articles, and her autobiography, *Parallel Quest*, was published in 1962.

[Gladys Rosen]

LINDO, English family descended from ISAAC (LORENÇO RODRIGUES) LINDO (1638–1712), who was born in Badajoz. After being penanced in 1656 as a Judaizer by the Inquisition in the *Canary Islands, he settled about 1670 in London, where he became an elder of the synagogue and was a signatory of the **Ascamot* of 1694. He was one of the earliest "Jew Brokers" of the city (1697). His descendants continued in that capacity until the 19th century and the entire series of their brokers' medals is preserved. Other members of the family included MOSES (1712–1774) who immigrated in 1756 to South Carolina and became inspector general and surveyor of indigo, drugs, and dyes. He experimented scientifically with dyes and was responsible for some ambitious projects. ABRAHAM ALEXANDER, formerly of Jamaica, wrote pamphlets on the affairs of the island, and, in England, against the Reform movement. He delivered an address in the Sephardi Synagogue on the death of William IV in 1837. DAVID ABARBANEL (1772–1852), an active English communal worker, was at one time president of the elders of the Sephardi community. He was connected by marriage to the Disraeli family, and was the *mohel* of Benjamin *Disraeli. His daughter ABIGAIL (1803–1848) wrote *Hebrew and English and English and Hebrew Vocabulary, also Hebrew and English Dialogues* (1837; other eds. 1842, 1846) which displayed considerable learning as well as awareness of the potentialities of Hebrew as a spoken language. ELIAS ḤAYYIM (1783–1865) settled in London after a mercantile career in St. Thomas (West Indies) where he was president of the Jewish community. He published an English translation of *Manasseh Ben Israel's *Conciliador* (1842), *A History of the Jews of Spain and Portugal* (1848), and a *Jewish Calendar for Sixty-four Years* (1838) containing much historical information. Some of his unpublished translations of Jewish classics are in the library of Jews' College, London. The Lindos were closely related to many other Sephardi "cousinhood" families of note in Britain, including the *Mocattas and the *Montefiores.

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[Cecil Roth]

LINETZKY, ISAAC JOEL (1839–1915), Yiddish and Hebrew novelist, essayist, and translator. He was born into a ḥasidic family in Podolia, Ukraine, but in his youth rebelled against this milieu and became a spokesman of the Haskalah. Linetzky published his first Hebrew article in the journal *Ha-Meliẓ* in 1865 and his first Yiddish article in its Yiddish supplement, *Kol Mevaser*, in 1867. In the same weekly he published his novel *Dos Poylishe Yingl* ("The Polish Boy," 1869), criticizing Jewish life and satirizing Ḥasidim. His language was coarse, colorful, and grotesque. The novel appeared in 30 editions – the last in Kiev in 1939. A sequel appeared in 1888 in Shalom Aleichem's almanac, *Di Yidishe Folksbibliotek*, under the title *Der Vorem in Khreyn* ("The Worm in the Horseradish") and in book form as *Nit Toyt, nit Lebedik, oder dem Poylishn Yingls a Zun* ("Neither Dead nor Alive, or the Polish Boy's Son," 1898). Linetzky also published various collections under the title *Linetskis Ksovim* ("Linetzky's Writings," 1876), as well as pamphlets and brochures. Among these are *Der Beyzer Marshelik* ("The Angry Jester," satirical poems, 1879); *Amerika tsi Erets Yisroel* ("America or the Land of Israel," 1888); and *Di Kurtse Geografye fun Palestine* ("The Short Geography of Palestine," 1888). In the collections *Linetskis Ksovim* he formulated his positive approach to Yiddish, regarding the language not only as a vehicle for enlightenment, but as a medium of literary expression. Linetzky translated into Yiddish part of Heinrich Graetz's history of the Jews (1883–89), Lessing's *Nathan der Weise* (1884), and J.L. Gordon's *Koẓo shel Yod*. Though Linetzky's vogue faded with the rapid development of Yiddish literature and the emergence of great writers of the classical period, his major novel, *Dos Poylishe Yingl*, retains an enduring place in Yiddish literature.

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[Elias Schulman]

LINGLE, LINDA (1953–), governor of Hawaii. Born Linda Cutter in St. Louis, Missouri, she moved with her family to southern California at the age of 12, attending public school in Van Nuys. She graduated from California State University at Northridge in 1975 and then relocated to Hawaii to join her father. In Honolulu, Lingle worked as public information officer for the Hawaii Teamsters and Hotel Workers Union. After moving to Moloka'i, she founded the *Moloka'i Free Press*, a community newspaper serving the island's 6,000 residents.

In 1980 Lingle began her political career with election to the Maui County Council, where she served two five-year terms, first as a representative of Moloka'i, then as a member-at-large. In 1990 she was elected mayor of Maui County. At 37, she was the youngest person to be elected mayor there; she was also the first woman and the only non-Maui-born person to have held the office. She served two terms as mayor, focusing on the growth of the tourism industry and the development of new jobs.

Lingle ran for governor of Hawaii in 1998, losing by less than one percent of the vote. She was nevertheless elected chair of the Republican Party in Hawaii; during her tenure the Republican Party gained seats in both houses of Hawaii's state legislature. In 2002 Lingle was again nominated as the Republican candidate for governor, running on a platform of "new beginnings" that emphasized reform. She was elected as Hawaii's first woman governor. With former Vermont governor Madeleine Kunin, she is one of only two Jewish women governors in U.S. history.

As governor, Lingle worked to promote tourism and economic growth and to balance the state budget. She cited increased access to health care as a priority, as well as the reduction of crime and substance abuse. Considered a rising star in the Republican Party, Lingle served as temporary convention chair for the 2004 Republican National Convention, fulfilling the role of permanent convention chair Dennis Hastert, Speaker of the House of Representatives, when Hastert was not on the dais.

In 2004 Lingle signed a Memorandum of Understanding between the state of Hawaii and the government of Israel, intended to promote cooperation for research and development in the fields of agriculture and aquaculture. She has continually claimed that her Jewish identity has given her a greater sensitivity to the diversity of religious and ethnic backgrounds of her constituents.

[Dorothy Bauhoff (2nd ed.)]

LINGUISTIC LITERATURE, HEBREW. This article is arranged according to the following outline:

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INTRODUCTION

Foreword

The literature of linguistics arose against a background of both the literature of the *masorah and the exegetical literature of the Bible which is incorporated in the Talmuds and in the Midrashim. Breaking away from them, it came to constitute an independent branch of literature, with its own delimitations of subject matter, its own system, and phraseology.

The Beginning of Linguistic Literature

It is generally assumed that its formation was completed by the beginning of the tenth century C.E. at the latest. It is also commonly held that the works of *Saadiah Gaon – *Agron* (*Egron*), the first edition of which was written in 902, and *Kutub al-Lugha* – are the first two books of linguistics proper – the former dealing with lexicography and the latter with grammar.

The authors of the 12th century such as Abraham *Ibn Ezra (see for example the list of the "scholars of the language" in the introduction to his *Moznayim*), considered Saadiah Gaon to be the first grammarian; so too scholars of the 19th (such as Bacher) and 20th centuries (Skoss). The creation of this branch in Jewish literature was assisted at the beginning of the tenth century by a number of factors. First, the shaping of the form of the biblical text with regard to its letters, vocalization, cantillation, and masorah had been completed by the school of *Ben-Asher in Tiberias. From among the different vocalization systems which the Jews established in the third quarter of the first millennium C.E., the Tiberian system had already spread in the Diaspora and become established as the authoritative vocalization of the biblical text. This vocalized, cantillation-marked, masorah-bound text would serve the grammarian as a faithful source for the Hebrew language and he would describe the rules according to it. Secondly, at the beginning of the tenth century the cultural centers of the Jews were within the realm of influence of Arab culture and the contact between the two cultures was already quite close. Hence the intellectuals among the Jews already knew the linguistic teachings of the Arabs, which had developed as early as the eighth century. The Jewish grammarian was accordingly destined to describe the Hebrew language with the concepts and tools of that linguistic theory. Thirdly, it is possible that the emergence of *Karaism – for which the Bible was the sole source of Judaism and which therefore needed to carefully scrutinize the meanings of the words in it – stirred even the Rabbanite Jews to examine the Bible anew in a way which differed both from the masoretic literature and from the talmudic-midrashic literature.

Linguistic Literature and Its Background

It is rather astonishing that the initial emergence of the linguistic literature of the Jews had to be so late in time. There is, however, general agreement that in Semitic this kind of metalinguistic discourse could not have begun before the invention of the vowel points. As far as Hebrew is concerned this means that linguistic literature could not have begun until after the third quarter of the first millennium C.E. However, already in the literature of the talmudic period there are statements (and expressions) which were later adopted by grammarians in their treatises. Bacher (1895, 20–23) cites such statements from *Sefer Yeẓirah*, Berliner (1879), and others before him, e.g., Stern, *Mavo le-Korot ha-Lashon*, printed together with *Teshuvot Talmidei Menaḥem*, etc., 1870, 0–x), Gross (on Menaḥem, 1872) and after him *Skoss (JQR, 1932/3, 1–12), gathered from talmudic and early midrashic literature expressions which seem to us grammatical statements. But these statements are outside the realm of linguistic literature, and as Goldziher (ZOMG, 1880, 375–384) already warned, care has to be taken not to attribute linguistic aims to statements whose aims were midrashic or mystic. As for the inventors of the *nikkudim*, it goes without saying that the act of providing the biblical text with vowel points itself presupposes a well-established phonological theory. But the generations which in the seventh and eighth centuries participated in this work did not leave us any explicit statement of their theory, as they were wholly concerned with its realization in providing the Bible text with vowel points, cantillation signs, and some other diacritical devices. Throughout the late eighth and ninth centuries, though, Jews produced a vast literature about the masorah. But this literature too stands outside the field of linguistics. Indeed, an essential difference separates the masoretic literature from the linguistic with regard to their respective aims, subjects, methods of investigation, and the phrasing of their discussions. The literature about the masorah always deals with the actual Bible text, i.e., with the written form and its actualization in reading. Its exclusive aim is to set (or preserve) a norm with regard to both the orthography of the Bible and its recitation. Its main activity is to enumerate certain types of actual occurrences (for example, homographs), to register them in classified lists, to provide them with mnemotechnical titles and to formulate rules concerning the occurrence of cantillation signs, vowels and letters. Abstractions used in these rules are the names of the types of cantillation signs, vowel signs, and letters, i.e., abstractions on the basis of the orthographic form. The masorah is an anonymous literary creation produced by many generations. Its statements are generally phrased in Aramaic (the mnemotechnical statements, for example) or in rhymed Hebrew prose (see *Masorah). Linguistic literature, on the other hand, is an investigation of the Hebrew language, of which the biblical text is a survival. Its aim is not to fix (or preserve) a norm for the orthography of the text or its recitation, but to describe the rules of the language, of which the text is a partial actualization. It does not enumerate the occurrences in the text, but imposes upon the Bible a grid (or system) of abstract linguistic units, classified and graded, and illustrates the operative abstractions by actual occurrences in the text. It then draws analogies from occurrences in the Bible to words which do not occur in it, whether found in the language or potential in it. It even makes assumptions, states principles, and comes to conclusions which are applicable to all languages including Hebrew, or specifically to Hebrew. During the ninth century there probably existed a vast literature which while *masoretic substantively* is already *grammatical adjectively*. Some remnants of this literature are known, especially through the efforts of scholars such as Allony. This type of literature did not disappear at the beginning of the tenth century but continued to exist, though not as prominently. To this type of masoretic (-grammatical) literature belongs also *Dikdukei ha-Te'amim* by Aaron Ben Asher (ed. Dotan, 1967), written about the same time as *Kutub al-Lugha* by Saadiah Gaon; but the two works are on the opposite sides of the border which separates masorah literature from linguistic literature. *Dikdukei ha-Te'amim* deals with cantillation signs, the vocalization of certain occurrences, and the ways of noting the *šewa*ʾ. It contains sections taken from the literature written about the masorah which the author then endorses. Some hold that this compilation is a "new creation" (Dothan), while others believe that it was purposely done "uncritically" (Kurt Lewy). Everyone admits that it represents the end of the literature which aspired to fix a norm for the text. In *Kutub al-Lugha*, Saadiah Gaon opens his discussion with general suppositions (*muqaddamāt, maʿārif, qawāʾid*), some of which are universal in his opinion, while others are specific to Hebrew. On the basis of these suppositions he formulates rules of language (*qawānīn*). He does not count the occurrences but classifies and grades his abstractions and calculates their number. He does not even need the actual occurrences of the text, except as concrete illustrations of his abstractions. He even considers what is possible in the language and what is not (such as the precluded combinations of sounds). Aaron Ben Asher wrote in Hebrew in rhymed prose, while Saadiah, under the influence of Arabic linguistics, even borrowed its form of presentation. Thus Saadiah Gaon crossed the border which divides Masorah literature from linguistic literature. While Ben Asher, the last of the masoretes, was also among those who brought the literature about the Masorah to its zenith, Saadiah Gaon was the first grammarian among the Jews.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF LINGUISTIC LITERATURE

Foreword: A Well-Defined Unit

Until the beginning of the 16th century the authors of linguistic literature were almost exclusively Jewish. (Members of other religions, such as the Christians, who did produce works about Hebrew linguistics at the beginning of the 16th century did so only on the basis of the work of earlier or contemporary Jewish authors.) This literature, excepting the work of Samaritan grammarians, had two joint bases: the Masoretic Text of the Bible and the Arabic approach to grammar. Notwithstanding the differences of approach and opinion among the authors, it may be assumed that this literature consolidated into one linguistic school; and it is still the only one which the Jews have established in the investigation of the Hebrew language. Founded though it is on the two bases, it is worthwhile to consider this literature, whose course of development spans six centuries, as one well-defined and well-delimited unit in the history of the literature which deals with the scientific study of the Hebrew language.

The Four Periods

THE CRITERIA OF DIVISION. This unit can be divided into two parts, the border separating them being the middle of the 12th century, and two periods can be distinguished in each of the parts:

I. The time of the first attempts, which extends from the beginning of linguistic literature until the end of the tenth century.

II. The creative period, which reaches the middle of the 12th century;

III. The period of dissemination, ending in the first half of the 13th century;

IV. The period of the "standstill," which extends to the first half of the 16th century.

The first period is separated from the second by the publication of the works of Judah Ḥayyūj. An historical event separates the second from the third period: the tribulations of 1148 in Spain, followed by the migration of the Spanish scholars to the Christian lands. The third period is separated from the fourth by the appearance of the *Mikhlol* of David *Kimḥi. The fourth period ends with the first attempts of the Christian authors to write grammars for the Hebrew language – Johann *Reuchlin (1506), Sebastian *Muenster (1542) – in order to spread the knowledge of Hebrew among the Christians, and with *Mikneh Avram* (1523), the first systematic methodical attempt to apply Latin linguistics to the Hebrew language. A short survey of each period follows:

PERIOD I: THE FIRST ATTEMPTS. Throughout the tenth century C.E. works dealing with language were written (all in Arabic) in the East and in North Africa. In the second half of the century works were produced in Spain as well, but in Hebrew. It is in this period that the first attempts were made at exposition on the Hebrew language: the *Agron* of Saadiah Gaon is the first attempt at establishing a prototype of a dictionary for Hebrew, while *Kutub al-Lugha* is the first grammar of biblical Hebrew. In the second quarter of the century Judah *Ibn Quraysh wrote his *Risāla*, the first attempt at systematic comparison of biblical words, to Aramaic words, to Hebrew words from the Mishnah and Talmud, and to Arabic words. In *Kitāb al-Sabʿīn Lafẓa al-Mufrada* Saadiah Gaon had already tried to explain *hapax legomena* of the Bible according to their use in rabbinic literature. At about the same time *Dunash ibn Tamim also dealt with the close connection between Hebrew and Arabic in the area of vocabulary. Toward the middle of the century David b. Abraham *Alfāsi wrote the first comprehensive dictionary for Hebrew and biblical Aramaic, known in Arabic as *Jāmiʿ al-Alfāẓ*, and in Hebrew as *al-Agron*. In the third quarter of the century *Menaḥem ibn Saruq wrote his *Maḥberet*, the first comprehensive dictionary for biblical Hebrew and Aramaic to be written in Hebrew, and also the first linguistic work written in Spain. Controversy over the *Maḥberet* was then carried on in Hebrew until the end of the period and involved *Dunash b. Labrat, who wrote 180 criticisms of Menaḥem, the students of Menaḥem who replied to some of those criticisms, and a student of Dunash who in turn answered some of those objections. It is assumed that about the same time the "criticism" against Saadiah Gaon was written, allegedly by the same Dunash b. Labrat. However, neither the identity of the author of these "criticisms" nor the question of the language in which they were written has been clarified (see, however, Del Valle Rodriguez and others, section 6 below). Works of authors who wrote in Arabic (Saadiah Gaon, Ibn Quraysh, Ibn Tamim, Alfāsi) were widespread in the 11th century. Grammarians used them and quoted them whether they agreed with them or not, and in the East they served as a model for authors in the first half of the 11th century (*Abū al-Faraj, *Hai Gaon). However, in the middle of the 12th century, with the shift of the centers of Judaism from the Arab realm to the Christian lands, these works, not having been translated into Hebrew, were slowly forgotten in the Christian West, being remembered only from secondary sources, until ultimately they were completely lost. The surviving remnants were discovered only recently. The works written in Hebrew, however, understandably fared better. The *Maḥberet* of Menaḥem, for example, was found in many copies among the Jews of Italy and (northern) Franco-German Jewry and its influence continued until the end of the 12th century.

PERIOD II: THE CREATIVE PERIOD. In this period most of the works were written in Spain, and all in Arabic. The description of biblical Hebrew was completed in these works, in the areas of both grammar and the lexicon. About the year 1000 Ḥayyūj wrote his two works on the Hebrew verb – *Kitāb al-Afʿāl Dhawāt Ḥurūf al-Līn* and *Kitāb al-Afʿāl Dhawāt al-Mithlayn*; and thus a new period in the history of Hebrew linguistic literature was begun. In these works he applies the principle of the tri-radical root which had already been used in Arabic language theory since the eighth century. The first third of the century saw the controversy over these works of Ḥayyūj: by the second decade of the century Jonah *Ibn Janāḥ had written his *Kitāb al-Mustalḥaq*, in which he completed that which Ḥayyūj had "overlooked" and in a few instances even rejected the analysis of Ḥayyūj, suggesting his own solutions. *Samuel ha-Nagid wrote *Rasāʾil al-Rifāq*, in which he objected to some of the comments made by Jonah ibn Janāḥ in his *Kitāb al-Mustalḥaq*. At that, Jonah ibn Janāḥ replied to the *Rasāʾil al-Rifāq* in *Kitāb al-Tashwīr* and Samuel ha-Nagid replied in turn in his *Kitāb al-Ḥujja*. Jonah ibn Janāḥ replied in *Kitāb al-Taswiʾa* to other objections – reports of which had reached him in Saragossa – that the Nagid and his associates had voiced against *Kitāb al-Mustalḥaq*. A work entitled *Kitāb al-Istīfāʾ* was written in Saragossa, adding criticism of the works of Ḥayyūj which Ibn Janāḥ had not dealt with in *Kitāb al-Mustalḥaq*. Ibn Janāḥ replied to this work in *Risālat al-Tanbīh*. *Risālat al-Taqrīb wa al-Tashīl* is another work of Ibn Janāḥ, which explained difficult passages in the introductions of Ḥayyūj to his works. Even in the second half of the 13th century a late-developing echo of the dispute surrounding the works of Ḥayyūj was heard – in Meir b. David's *Hassagat ha-Hassagah*, in which he defends Ḥayyūj against the criticism of Ibn Janāḥ in *Kitāb al-Mustalḥaq*. It is reasonable to assume that this literature of "objections" and "replies" is the written expression of the many penetrating discussions which took place orally among intellectuals in Spain during the first half of the 11th century. In these disputes investigation of language was ever increasing in depth and refinement, and linguistic science became more and more consolidated. The study of the language never attained such fine and sharp distinctions as those in the controversy which developed around the works of Ḥayyūj in the generation of Ibn Janāḥ and Samuel ha-Nagid. In this controversy such fine issues were discussed as: the passive of *qal* in biblical Hebrew, the use of the term *infʿIʾal* to indicate the transitive *nifʿal* forms, and the use of the term *maṣdar* to denote the forms *qatol, qetol*, in Hebrew. In the 1040s, far from the noise of the dispute, Ibn Janāḥ and Samuel ha-Nagid settled down to summarize their teachings. Samuel wrote *Kitāb al-Istighnāʾ*, a dictionary of biblical Hebrew, which in many ways (such as its scope, arrangement of entries, wealth of references, and the precise mention of earlier authors) is perhaps the zenith of lexicography of the Hebrew language. It was lost, however, and only a few small remnants have survived. Ibn Janāḥ set down with the wisdom of age a complete description of biblical Hebrew in his work *Kitāb al-Tanqīḥ*, which consists of two parts: *Kitāb al-Lumaʿ* (grammar) and *Kitāb aI-Uṣūl* (a dictionary). This two-part work, with the writings of Ḥayyūj and the shorter works of Ibn Janāḥ mentioned above, form the first complete description of biblical Hebrew, and no similar work – comparable in scope, depth, and precision – was written until modern times. This description constitutes the high point of linguistic thought in all the literature under discussion. In the second half of the 11th century certain Bible commentaries used the grammatical analyses and the dictionary definitions found in the works of Ḥayyūj, Ibn Janāḥ, and Samuel ha-Nagid. A series of monographs on defined linguistic issues was also written, in which their authors tried to go more profoundly into the teachings of their predecessors. Isaac *Ibn Yashush wrote *Kitāb al-Taṣārīf*, apparently on the subject of inflection, in the middle of the century, but it has been lost. In the third quarter of the century Moses b. Samuel *Gikatilla wrote *Kitāb al-Tadhkīr wa al-Taʾnīth*, a monograph concerning grammatical gender based on the statements of Ibn Janāḥ in *Kitāb al-Lumaʿ*, chapter 37 (38), and on various entries in *Kitāb al-Uṣūl*. At the end of the third quarter of the century Judah *Ibn Balʾam tried to give an exhaustive description of the particles of Hebrew in his *Kitāb Ḥurūf al-Maʿāni*; this subject had already intrigued Abū al-Faraj at the beginning of the century and Ibn Janāḥ in *Kitāb al-Uṣūl*. He also dealt with two topics which had not as yet been described systematically: denominative verbs in his *Kitāb al-Afʿāl al-Mushtaqqa min al-Asmāʾ*, and homonyms in his *Kitāb al-Tajnīs*. In the last quarter of the century Isaac *Ibn Barūn wrote *Kitāb al-Muwāzana bayn al-Lugha al-ʿIbrāniyya wa al-Lugha al-ʿArabiyya* ("The Book of Comparison between the Hebrew and the Arabic Languages"); it is the most complete in-depth study of the relationship between Hebrew and Arabic until that time. In contrast to Ibn Quraysh, Ibn Tamim, Dunash b. Labrat and others who dealt with the comparison between Hebrew and Arabic in relation to vocabulary, Ibn Barūn also deals with grammar in the introduction to this work. It seems that introductions to linguistics were also written, such as *Sefer ha-Mafteʾaḥ* (?) of Levi *Ibn Altabban, composed in the third quarter of the century, and perhaps adaptations were made, such as *al-Kāmil* (?) of *Jacob b. Eleazar. Commentaries and criticism were written too, such as "pseudo-Ibn Yashush," which was probably an explanation of statements of Samuel ha-Nagid. There were also works written of which we have only heard and whose very names are unknown, such as the writing of *David ha-Dayyan ibn Hajjar, which apparently concerned the vowels. In the second quarter of the 12th century Moses *Ibn Ezra wrote in Arabic his *Kitāb al-Muḥāḍara wa al-Mudhākara*, the first Hebrew poetics. The authors of this period are the great creators of Hebrew linguistics. It is they who determined its scope, consolidated its system, and formulated its rules. It is they who fixed its terminology and phraseology: in part Aramaic-Hebrew, being drawn from the Masorah literature, and in part Arabic, being borrowed from Arabic linguistic literature.

PERIOD III: THE PERIOD OF DISSEMINATION. The tribulations of 1148 caused a sudden cessation of original contributions in Hebrew linguistics. The Jewish intellectuals of Spain who were exiled to Italy and to southern France brought with them the works which had been written in Spain and began to spread their contents among intellectuals in their new lands. The dissemination was accomplished in two ways: Hebrew adaptations and Hebrew translations. The Spanish exiles began to compose works in Hebrew which are nothing more than summaries of the ideas of Ḥayyūj, Ibn Janāḥ, Samuel ha-Nagid and other authors who had taught them. These adaptations include the grammatical works which Abraham ibn Ezra wrote during his wanderings in Italy and France between 1140 and 1160: *Moznayim* (Rome, 1140); a work defending Saadiah Gaon (title unknown); *Sefat Yeter (= Sefer Yesod Diqduq)* (Lucca, 1140–45); and *Ẓaḥot* (Mantua, 1145); *Sefer ha-Shem* and *Yesod Mispar* (both in Beziers before 1155), and *Safah Berurah* (apparently also in southern France). In 1161 Salomon ibn Parḥon wrote *Maḥberet he-Arukh* in Salerno, Italy, which is so faithful a representation of the works of Ḥayyūj and Ibn Janāḥ that it was once mistaken for a condensed translation of them. Joseph *Kimḥi wrote his *Sefer Zikkaron* in Narbonne. To conclude the survey of adaptations, the *Sefer ha-Makor* of Isaac ha-Levi may be mentioned. On the other hand, Spanish exiles began to translate into Hebrew the most important works that had been written in Spain. Moses ha-Kohen Gikatilla had already translated the two important works of Ḥayyūj by the third quarter of the 11th century, thus being the first to render grammatical works from Arabic into Hebrew. Abraham ibn Ezra translated the three works of Ḥayyūj again, apparently in Rome in 1140. Judah ibn *Tibbon completed his translation of *Kitāb al-Tanqīḥ* of Ibn Janāḥ in 1171 at Lunel, calling it *Sefer ha-Diqduq*: the first part of it, *Kitāb al-Lumaʿ*, under the title *Sefer ha-Riqmah*; and *Kitāb al-Uṣūl* under the name *Sefer ha-Shorashim*. From Judah ibn Tibbon we know of other attempts to translate *Kitāb al-Uṣūl*. At the end of the 12th century (or at any rate no later than the second quarter of the 13th century) Obadiah ha-Sefardi translated the *Kitāb al-Mustalḥaq* of Ibn Janāḥ, calling it *Sefer ha-Hassagah*. At Beziers in the mid-13th century, Solomon b. Joseph b. Job translated Ibn Janāḥ's *Kitāb al-Taswi'a* ("The Book of Rebuke") under the incorrect title *Sefer ha-Hashva'ah* ("The Book of Comparison"), and *Risālat al-Tanbīh*, which he called also *Sefer ha-Ma'aneh*. There is also an anonymous translation of the three monographs of Judah ibn Bal'am. Complete or almost complete copies of all these translations exist, except for those of Ben Job, of which only fragments are extant. In the last quarter of the 12th century Moses b. Joseph Kimḥi wrote *Mahalakh Shevilei ha-Da'at*, for which he already used the works of Abraham ibn Ezra and even those of Joseph Kimḥi. David Kimḥi ended the work of adaption with his *Sefer Mikhlol*. This work is constructed in the same way as the *Kitāb al-Tanqīḥ* of Ibn Janāḥ. It also consists of two parts: grammar – *Mikhlol*, and lexicon – *Sefer ha-Shorashim*. For the content he drew upon the works of Ḥayyūj and Ibn Janāḥ, apparently in their Hebrew translations, and upon the works of adaptors who preceded him. In the *Mikhlol* the theoretical foundations, the methodological clarifications, the substantiations and explanations were reduced, and the mechanical, technical, paradigmatic side appended. The author gave prominence to the verb, devoting much space to it. This work of David Kimḥi, which did more than any other to spread the ideas of Ibn Janāḥ among the Hebrew-reading intellectuals, is the one which helped cause Ibn Janāḥ's own works to be forgotten. While the two parts of *Sefer Mikhlol* were printed many times (*Ḥeleq ha-'Inyan [Sefer ha-Shorashim]* from 1480, and *Ḥeleq ha-Diqduq [Mikhlol]* from 1532–34), the works of Ibn Janāḥ himself were not published, even in their Hebrew translations, until the second half of the 19th century. At the end of the period under discussion Moses b. Isaac of London wrote *Sefer ha-Shoham*, the first linguistic work written by a Franco-German Jew upon the basis of the linguistic theory of the Spanish grammarians, as found in the writings of Abraham ibn Ezra, Parḥon, and Joseph Kimḥi, and in the translation of the works of Ḥayyūj and of *Kitāb al-Mustalḥaq*.

Although the works of adaptation and translation obviously made but a slight original contribution to linguistic thought, it would be difficult to exaggerate the importance of this literary activity. It was the translators and adaptors who saved Hebrew linguistics from oblivion and made it a permanent branch in the history of Jewish literature. They also translated into Hebrew the Arabic grammatical terms used in the works of Ḥayyūj and Ibn Janāḥ, and they fixed a mode of exposition for grammatical and lexicographical issues, that has existed until today in the study and teaching of the Hebrew language and in Hebrew biblical exegesis.

PERIOD IV: THE "STANDSTILL." During this period the West produced as much literature as during period III, yet from the aspect of quality there was almost a complete lack of progress. This period in the West bears the stamp of the almost exclusive influence of the works of period III, primarily that of the *Mikhlol* of David Kimḥi. Since the works of period II, which were written in Arabic, were forgotten, the *Mikhlol* became the authoritative formulation of Hebrew linguistics, the authoritative source for grammarians and lexicographers. The unshakable prestige of the *Mikhlol* was further strengthened by the widespread distribution of the Bible commentary of David Kimḥi. Some of the authors of period IV copy the statements of David Kimḥi in the most minute detail, while others take over most of his theories, though critically. No matter what, they were always dependent on his work. Most of the books of this period are partial adaptations of their sources and are of a practical nature, such as introductions to the study of Hebrew, and textbooks or learning aids to vocalizers of the biblical text. Despite the standstill of this period, however, sporadic attempts were made at widening the scope of linguistic literature. A chapter on the rules of poetic meter was regularly included in grammars and even complete works on poetics and rhetoric were written. A few dictionaries were written for types of post-biblical Hebrew, such as *al-Murshid al-Kāfī* by Tanḥum Yerushalmi, which was a dictionary of the *Mishneh Torah* of Maimonides, and *Tishbi* by Elijah (Baḥur) *Levita, which is a partial dictionary of talmudic and post-talmudic Hebrew. Elijah Levita also wrote a dictionary for the Aramaic of the Targumim of the Bible, entitled *Meturgeman*. The first dictionaries of synonyms were also written: *Ḥotam Tokhnit* of Abraham *Bedersi (second half of the 13th century) and *Ohel Mo'ed* of Solomon b. Abraham of Urbino (1480). In the second quarter of the 15th century Isaac b. Kalonymus wrote *Me'ir Nativ* (or *Ya'ir Nativ*) in Provence – the first concordance of biblical Hebrew. At the beginning of the 15th century Jehiel of Italy wrote *Maḳre Dardekei*, a Hebrew-Italian-Arabic dictionary, the first of its type. In the manner of Rashi, Abraham ibn Ezra, the Kimḥis, and others, several authors began to cite foreign loanwords from the vernaculars of the Jews and the languages of the Christian environment, in dictionaries, grammars, and commentaries. A small number of works written during this period are concerned with theoretical issues. First, the demand for basing linguistics upon logic began to make itself felt. In a way this was a rebellion against the mechanical nature of the *Mikhlol* and a return to the theoretical nature of *Kitāb al-Luma*ʿ. This tendency is already felt in the surviving portions of the work of Nethanel (b. al-Fayyūmī) of Yemen, of the 12th (?) century. It is prominent in *Ratukot Kesef* of Joseph ibn *Kaspi, who lived in Provence in the first third of the 14th century. It is most outstanding in *Ma'aseh Efod* of Profiat *Duran (1403), which also contains criticism of the *Mikhlol*. Theoretically there is a dialectical return in this work to Ibn Janāḥ, and this is one of the two most important contributions of this period to linguistics. Secondly, contact with Latin linguistics increased, i.e., as it was represented by such scholars as Donatus. Joseph Kimḥi was already influenced by this contact at the time when he mentioned the *grammatica* of Latin together with the *naḥw* (grammar) of Arabic. This influence is especially noticeable at the very end of the period. In 1523 Abraham de *Balmes in his *Mikneh Avram* tries to apply the ideas of Latin grammar to the description of the Hebrew language. Thus he devotes a chapter, the seventh, entitled *Harkavah* ("composition"), to the syntax of the Hebrew word. This work, together with *Ma'aseh Efod* of Profiat Duran, constitutes the most important contribution of the period, and actually begins a new chapter in the history of this literature. In 1506 Johann Reuchlin published *Rudimenta Linguae Hebraicae*. Based on David Kimḥi, it is the first Christian work for the instruction of Hebrew to Christians. In Basle in 1541, Sebastian Muenster wrote *Melekhet ha-Dikduk ha-Shalem*, which is based on the work of Elijah Levita. Thus it was that research into the Hebrew language ceased being exclusively Jewish and became part of European culture; with this too a new period in the history of Hebrew linguistic literature began.

The Motivating Factors for Writing on Linguistics

Around the end of the first millennium C.E. writing about linguistic issues was a new phenomenon in Jewish literature, considered by many important people as a vain, senseless activity. Therefore, in their introductions, the authors discuss the motivating factors which stimulated them to write their linguistic works. They seek to prove to their readers that it is incumbent upon Jews to take up the investigation of their language and their arguments include the following points: (1) language is the means for all discernment and linguistics is the means for all investigation and wisdom; (2) the fulfillment of the commandments depends upon the understanding of the written word, and in turn, the proper knowledge of the language is impossible without the aid of linguistics; (3) the Hebrew language is the most ancient tongue and the most perfect. When it was a living language it was incomparably rich and extensive, and had the Jews not been exiled from their land knowledge of it would now be complete. However, because of the exile it was forgotten for the most part and only a small part of it remained – i.e., the part contained in the 24 books of the Bible and another small segment contained in rabbinic literature. The Jews face the danger that their knowledge of their language will continue to be defective, or even forgotten altogether, because of their wanderings and the distance in time from the years when Hebrew was a living language. They are therefore obliged to preserve their cognition of the language in every way. In order to safeguard this knowledge the authors undertook to write their works. Consequently they had a twofold purpose. On the one hand they wanted to increase the knowledge of the language and thereby aid the understanding of the written word, and on the other hand they wanted to provide Hebrew writers with a suitable literary tool, and to prevent them from deviating from the rules of the exemplary language of the Bible. These two aims are already expressed by Saadiah Gaon, reappearing in a new guise in the authors who follow him. The actual motivation for producing a particular work, though, was sometimes polemical. The controversy which raged between Saadiah and the Karaites motivated him to write *al-Sab'īn Lafẓa al-Mufrada*. Later the frequent debates with the Christians stimulated the Jews to establish linguistic aids for themselves. Isaac b. Kalonymus wrote the first concordance to the Bible in the middle of the 15th century as an aid in refuting the proofs which Christians cited from Scripture. It is possible that this was also one of the motivations behind the writing of a Hebrew–Italian–Arabic dictionary at the beginning of the 15th century in Southern Italy. Controversies existed even among the grammarians themselves. The history of linguistic literature contains a succession of "criticisms," "replies," and "replies" to the replies, a characteristic case being the above-mentioned exchange involving Menaḥem and Dunash. About two hundred years afterwards Jacob *Tam wrote *Hakhraʾot* ("Decisions"), intending to decide between the *Maḥberet* of Menaḥem and the "objections" of Dunash. Joseph Kimḥi criticized the "Decisions" of Jacob Tam in his *Sefer ha-Galui*, and Benjamin, a student of Jacob Tam, replied to the criticism of Joseph Kimḥi. There is another work also attributed to Dunash, criticizing the linguistic works of Saadiah Gaon, but as yet there has been no satisfactory identification of the author. Abraham ibn Ezra wrote *Sefer ha-Haganah* (Pseudo-*Sefat Yeter*) to defend Saadiah Gaon against the "criticism" mentioned above. Mention has already been made of the controversy which raged about the works of Ḥayyūj, between Ibn Janāḥ and his group and Samuel ha-Nagid and his group. In 1517 Elisha b. Abraham wrote *Magen David* in Constantinople, defending David Kimḥi against the 60 "objections" which Profiat Duran had raised against his work.

Description of the Language

BIBLICAL HEBREW. From the motivating factors for this writing, it is easy to imagine that they dealt mainly with the language of the Bible. This language is considered complete and ideal: There is harmony and balance in its structure; it has been measured in the scales of justice and law; its rules are logical and its expressions clear. It is free of error and contradiction; everything in it can be explained and substantiated. Yet these characteristics are not obvious from the actual text, rather being hidden in it, so that it is the main task of grammar to reveal them after detailed investigation. Such investigation thus becomes the main object of the grammarian. This self-imposed limitation to biblical Hebrew is already noticeable in the *Agron* of Saadiah Gaon, where about 80% of the words explained are from the Bible. It is likewise clear from the *Kutub al-Lugha*, in which he discusses nothing but the grammar of Bible. This attitude prevailed among the authors who followed him, and lasted for centuries.

THE STATUS OF POST-BIBLICAL HEBREW. All types of post-biblical Hebrew, including mishnaic Hebrew, were marked as inferior and degenerate, for the fate of the language supposedly resembled that of the people. During the entire period under discussion not even one grammar on mishnaic Hebrew was written, nor any one work which described biblical Hebrew and mishnaic Hebrew as one. Still, mishnaic Hebrew was granted a special status; since the sages lived and worked at a time closer to the prophets, it was assumed that details of language remained in the Mishnah which were not included in the Bible. Therefore they used the Mishnah for their works, especially for understanding difficult words, such as *hapax legomena*. This comparison, mostly lexical, was already begun by Saadiah Gaon in *al-Sabʿin Lafẓa al-Mufrada*. Ibn Quraysh followed him in his *Risāla*, and all the others continued it. Ibn Janāḥ in *Kitāb al-Lumaʿ* compares biblical Hebrew to mishnaic 28 times, and in *Kitāb al-Uṣūl* 307 times. Needless to say, it never occurred to these grammarians to describe the Hebrew used in post-mishnaic texts, such as *piyyutim*. They neither listed its forms nor explained its words. They did not even deal with the Hebrew used in the writings of the Spanish poets who were their contemporaries. Only infrequently did they cite a verse of poetry and then it was not because they were interested in a practical description of its language, but rather to criticize or invalidate it, or to endorse it in accordance with usage found (whether frequently or rarely) in the Bible, or according to the virtually possible use of biblical language. There were some who were very severe in these roundabout judgments (such as Moses ibn Ezra and Abraham ibn Ezra), and others who were lenient (Ibn Janāḥ). The dichotomy between biblical and post-biblical Hebrew was absolute in the grammars and dictionaries. However, in works of poetics, illustrative examples were cited from both biblical and post-biblical poetry. Saadiah Gaon in *Agron* likewise cites the *paytanim* of Palestine for illustration, and Moses ibn Ezra quotes the poets of Spain in *Kitāb al-Muḥāḍara wa-l-Mudhākara*. Because of this dichotomy, as time passed special dictionaries were compiled for post-biblical varieties of Hebrew: Rav Hai Gaon composed towards the end of the first millennium his *Kitāb al-Ḥāwi*, an anagrammatic dictionary covering the Bible and the entire post-biblical Hebrew and Aramaic literature up to his time. *Nathan b. Jehiel wrote *Arukh*, a dictionary covering the Talmuds and the Midrashim, at the beginning of the 12th century, while in the middle of the 13th century, Tanḥum Yerushalmi wrote *Al-Murshid al-Kāfī* (mentioned above), an extensive work in Arabic for the Hebrew of the *Mishneh Torah* of Maimonides, which of course includes most of the vocabulary of mishnaic Hebrew. In 1541 Elijah Levita wrote *Tishbi*, which is, as mentioned above, a partial dictionary for the Hebrew of the Talmud and post-talmudic literature. Also extant are 15th- and 16th-century Yemenite dictionaries for Maimonides' *Mishneh Torah*, based also on his commentary to the Mishnah.

Comparison with Aramaic and Arabic

COMPARISON AS A MEANS TO A BETTER UNDERSTANDING OF HEBREW. From the very beginning of linguistic literature the authors compared Hebrew to Aramaic and Arabic, as a means to their main goal, the clarification of biblical Hebrew. Their explanation for this was as follows: Hebrew is the oldest of languages; in Genesis 11:1 it is called "one language and one speech," being "the language which Adam laid down." The three languages were "one language" at their source, and even after they separated from one another, Hebrew remained the "principal one," the others being "derivative" languages. In any event, because of the common origin and because of the geographical closeness of their first users, there is a high degree of affinity between them from borrowing, as well as from source. Although Arabic continued in all its richness and to a large extent so did Aramaic, Hebrew was for the most part forgotten. Hebrew linguistics was therefore likely to be aided by these two languages in solving difficult problems in the investigation of biblical language, such as the explanation of certain place-names in the Bible, *hapax legomena*, and rare forms. The resultant comparative linguistic studies chiefly involved vocabulary, and sometimes grammar as well. A similar explanation is already found early in linguistic literature, as for example, in the *Risāla* of Ibn Quraysh.

COMPARISON WITH ARAMAIC. Everyone agreed on the necessity for the comparison to Aramaic, Alfāsi and Menaḥem even including biblical Aramaic in their dictionaries. At the beginning of the 11th century Abū al-Faraj devoted the eighth chapter of his *al-Mushtamil* to the grammatical comparison between Hebrew and biblical Aramaic, while Ibn Janāḥ compares Hebrew to Aramaic ten times in *Kitāb al-Luma*ʿ and 266 times in *Kitāb al-Uṣūl*. Moses b. Isaac (middle of the 13th century) added a lexicon of biblical Aramaic to the third part of his *Sefer ha-Shoham*, and in 1531 Elijah Levita wrote *Meturgeman*, a dictionary for the Aramaic in the Targumim of the Bible.

COMPARISON WITH ARABIC. Comparison with Arabic was also instituted at the start of linguistic literature. Whereas the authors of the tenth century – Dunash ibn Tamim, Alfāsi, and Dunash b. Labrat – dealt with comparison in the area of vocabulary, Ibn Quraysh also used it somewhat for grammar. However, Menaḥem and his disciples were opposed to such comparisons. Dunash b. Labrat felt compelled to compile a list of 167 Hebrew words "whose solution is their meaning in Arabic," in order to prove to him the necessity of comparison with Arabic, and to "accuse" Menaḥem of having himself followed the system of such comparison when he used in his definitions the term כמשמעו ("as its sound") which was understood by Dunash "as its meaning in Arabic." Yet this opposition continued, so that Ibn Janāḥ, who compares Hebrew to Arabic 56 times in *Kitāb al-Luma*ʿ and 254 times in *Kitāb al-Uṣūl*, was obliged (in the introduction to the former work) to explain the nature of the comparison between the two languages in an apologetic tone. However, despite the opposition, the comparison between the two languages, which reached its peak in Ibn Barūn's *Kitāb al-Muwāzana bayn aI-Lugha al-ʿIbrāniyya wal-Lugha al-ʿArabiyya*, became an important methodological tool in Hebrew linguistics. The topic of linguistic comparisons has been thoroughly studied by Maman (2004; see section 12 under Authors and Their Works below).

General Works

There are two main types of works in linguistic literature: the grammar and the dictionary. This division was already developed by Saadiah Gaon: *Agron* is the first attempt known to us of a prototype of a dictionary, while *Kutub al-Lugha* is the first grammar of which we know. Yet the clear delimitation of the areas of grammar and lexicography was a slow process, which ended only in the 1040s with the *Kitāb al-Tanqīḥ* of Ibn Janāḥ. Prior to *Kitāb al-Tanqīḥ* general linguistic works were usually written without any differentiation of categories whatever. One work of this type is that of Abū al-Faraj, the greatest Karaite grammarian, written at the beginning of the 11th century in Jerusalem. The author gave it the interesting title: *Kitāb al-Mushtamil ʿalā al-Uṣūl wa al-Fuṣūl fī al-Lugha al-ʿIbrāniyya* ("The Comprehensive Book of the Roots and Branches, i.e., of the General and Particular Principles, of the Hebrew Language"). It is mentioned by Ibn Janāḥ, who was his junior, as well as by Ibn Balʿam, Moses ibn Ezra, and Abraham ibn Ezra. It is quite an extensive work, its largest manuscript covering 579 pages, and is divided as follows: Part I is on the ten principles (*uṣūl*) which can be applied to any word whose form needs to be established; Part II, with 18 chapters, deals with infinitives; Part III deals with the letters of the alphabet and their division into basic letters (*jawhariyya*) and servile letters (*khawādim*); Part IV deals with particles; Part V, containing 16 chapters, is a potpourri of grammatical issues (such as gender, number, relation *(nisba)*, conjunctive pronouns, the transitive and intransitive verb, and so on), lexicological matters (such as synonyms and homonyms), and other points; Part VI deals with the conjugation of the verb *h-l-kh*; Part VII is a lexicographical section, in which verbs of at least three radicals are arranged according to the anagram system; and Part VIII is a comparison of Hebrew and biblical Aramaic. The first general dictionaries (the *Al-Agron* of Alfāsi and *Maḥberet* of Menaḥem) are to some degree also comprehensive linguistic works, discussing grammatical issues both in introductions (and with Alfāsi also in prefaces to the sections) and within the entries themselves in the form of digressions. Both in the "criticisms" of Dunash and the "replies" of the pupils, grammatical issues are raised along with lexicographical matters. In his introduction to his "criticism" Dunash set out concisely and by chapter titles, a programmatic plan for the benefit of authors of *maḥbarot*. Among the "replies" of the pupils of Menaḥem one finds the "long objection," the first (polemical) discussion of the rules of meter for the poetry of Spain. Hence it is in Jonah ibn Janāḥ's *Kitāb al-Tanqīḥ* that grammar and lexicography are first delimited. In *Kitāb al-Luma*ʿ (grammar) the author refers to his dictionary 33 times and in *Kitāb al-Uṣūl* (dictionary) he refers 146 times to his grammar, thus clearly dividing the two main fields of linguistics.

Lexicography

THE ARRANGEMENT OF THE DICTIONARIES. The division of the letters of the alphabet into base letters and supplemental letters, first found in the writings of Saadiah Gaon, is used by the early authors in the arrangement of their dictionaries. In the first part of *Agron*, the words are listed in the alphabetical order of their first two base letters, but those words which are written with *sin* in the Bible are listed there under *samekh*. Saadiah Gaon is also inconsistent when the second letter is *waw* or *yod*, and does not bother at all about the alphabetical order of the letters which follow the second letter. It is in his writings too that we first find the combination of incompatible consonants, listed in the *Agron* under such entries as נל, לר, סז, and treated as "non-existent"; in the second part of the *Agron* the words are arranged in alphabetical order according to their final letters. These two arrangements were supposed to serve the purpose for which the *Agron* was written; the first was to supply the *paytanim* with a list of words for acrostics, while the second was for rhymes. No other Hebrew dictionary is known in which the entries are arranged alphabetically according to the final letter; in others the conventional arrangement by the initial letter predominates. This is the way the words are listed in the *Risāla* of Ibn Quraysh, and in the first general dictionaries: *Al-Agron* of Alfāsi and *Maḥberet* of Menaḥem: with *Kitāb al-Uṣūl* of Ibn Janāḥ this order became the regular one for arranging dictionaries. There were a few attempts to arrange the entries in the order of an anagram, as in the seventh chapter of *al-Mushtamil* of Abū al-Faraj, which deals only with tri-radical roots and quadri-radical roots derived from them. There the dictionary entries are divided into groups. The following are found in the extant remnant of the letter *ʿayin*: עבר, ערף, עמר, עשר, עפל, עצב. There are six permutations theoretically possible for every entry of three radicals (321; 231: 312: 132; 213; 123). From the six possible roots only those actually found in the Bible are listed. Under עבר (321) all other possible permutations of the roots are listed, namely: ערב (231), בער (312), ברע (132), רבע (213), רעב (123). The roots found in other entries are cited in this arrangement. The entries with the roots in the section involving the letter *ʿayin* are displayed in the table Entries with Roots Involving the Letter *ʿayin*.

Entries with Roots Involving the Letter ʿ*ayin*

The Entry	The Roots in the Entry				
(321)	(231	312	132	213	123)
עבר	ערב	בער	ברע	רבע	רעב
ערף	עפר	רעף	—	פער	פרע
עמר	ערם	מער	—	רעם	—
עשׂר	ערשׂ	שׂער	שׂרע	—	—
עפל	עלף	פעל	—	לעף	—
עצב	עבץ	—	צבע	—	בצע

The *Kitāb al-Ḥāwī* of Hai Gaon is likewise arranged in this manner (see bibliography in section 13 under Authors and Their Works below). Most of the dictionaries, however, as mentioned above, were arranged alphabetically according to the initial letter. Even the *al-Agron* of Alfāsi and the *Maḥberet* of Menaḥem were already organized this way, though they are not consistent in detail. Each consists of an introduction and twenty-two sections, corresponding to the initial letters of the entries. In *al-Agron* each section – except the sixth, which deals with *waw* – is divided into chapters following the order of the second letter of the entry. Although in theory each section should be divided into 22 chapters, actually this occurs for only three letters: *nun, yod*, and *sin*; for example, (1) נא (2) נב… (22) נת. The other sections are incomplete because Alfāsi does not include incompatible combinations as chapters. Each chapter opens with a list of the names of the entries to be discussed, with illustrative Bible passages, followed by the actual entries. In Menaḥem's work each of the 22 sections (each called a *maḥberet*) is divided into entries, which are listed at the beginning. In the printed version the uniliteral (one-letter) words of each *maḥberet* are given, at the beginning, the other entries following in the alphabetical order of their second letters. Entries of more than two letters are alphabetized according to their third letters, and so on. It is not known, though, if the *Maḥberet* of Menaḥem was originally arranged in this way (cf. Kaufmann ZDMG (1886)). *Kitāb al-Uṣūl* is the first dictionary in which alphabetical order is followed in careful detail. It is also divided into twenty-two sections (*maqālāt* – "essays") according to the initial letters of the entries. The order of the entries within the *maqāla* is as follows: At the beginning of the *maqāla* the entries whose first two letters are identical are listed; e.g., the fourth "essay," on the letter *dalet*, begins with the entry of double *dalet*, i.e., דד (Prov. 5:19), then the entries follow in alphabetical order – דאג, דאב and so on. So, too, each time the second letter of the entry changes within the *maqāla*, for example: *bet* and *dalet* (בד), *bet* and double *dalet* (בדד), *bet, dalet*, and *alef* (בדא) and so on. In the introduction to *Kitāb al-Uṣūl* Ibn Janāḥ also informs us that if the first two letters are identical (such as ככר, יין), he did not consider the second letter; thus יין is not found after יטב, but between ימר and ינה. The works of Ḥayyūj include a lexicon of the weak verbs arranged according to the *gezarot* (conjugations). All the weak verbs are listed as tri-radicals and arranged alphabetically according to the three letters. Moses b. Isaac used the same method in *Sefer ha-Shoham*, which consists of three parts: the third part, called *alfa beta*, is a dictionary in which all the words are listed according to morphological categories. First come the verbs, classified according to conjugations: sound, prima *yod*, prima *nun*, the hidden medial *waw*, final *he*, assimilated initial and final radical, geminate, and quadri-radical verbs. Within each conjugation the verbs are arranged alphabetically. The last part is a dictionary of nouns, which are likewise arranged according to the various patterns, and listed alphabetically according to their roots. It was only in the second half of the 13th century that Abraham b. Isaac Bedersi wrote *Ḥotam Tokhnit*, the first dictionary of synonyms for biblical Hebrew, including 360 groups of synonyms arranged alphabetically according to the words of the entry. Each group contains verbs, nouns, and particles. Bedersi's lexical and exegetical sources are: Parḥon, Ibn Ezra, Ibn Janāḥ, Ḥayyūj, Dunash and Menaḥem. He also mentions the first part of the *Moreh Nevukhim* of Maimonides. In 1480, Solomon b. Abraham of Urbino wrote the second dictionary of synonyms, *Ohel Moʿed*, in which he merely enumerates the synonyms in each entry and adds biblical references, only rarely adding the definition.

THE DICTIONARY ENTRY. In the early dictionaries (e.g., by Alfāsi and Menaḥem) there are entries of one, two, three letters, and so on. This is based on a differentiation between base and supplemental letters. The former are those which remain in all occurrences of the form, in all declensions of the words and in all the derivatives of a particular group of words. There are 14 single-letter entries in the work of Alfāsi, and 20 in that of Menaḥem, who lists them early in the text of the *maḥbarot* as individual entries, whereas Alfāsi enumerates them briefly in the general introduction and deals with them in detail in the introductions to the sections. In the *Maḥberet* about 20% of the entries are of two letters, and 65% are of three letters. There are no major differences between him and Alfāsi on this issue. The internal arrangement of the entries is still neither uniform nor permanent, while both authors enumerate the meanings of the words included in each entry. Menaḥem divides a third of all the entries into secondary semantic groups ("sections" or "issues"); 64% of all the two-letter entries contain two or more "sections," while of all the three-letter entries only 30% have two or more "sections." The high percentage of two-letter entries with several "sections" is to be explained by Menaḥem's concept of the dictionary entry, for he included in those two-letter entries words that have weak consonants, which, according to Ḥayyūj and Ibn Janāḥ, would come under different entries. After Ḥayyūj, Spanish lexicographers no longer maintained single-letter entries. Under two-letter entries they listed only particles, pronouns, and bi-radical nouns from which no verbs are derived. Hence, as the number of two-letter entries declined sharply, the number of three-letter entries increased, becoming the largest section of the dictionary. This pattern was finally fixed in *Kitāb al-Uṣūl*. In the East, scholars continued to list uniradical entries and used a great many bi-radical entries in the many condensations made from the *al-Agron* of Alfāsi. In the Christian countries the *Maḥberet* of Menaḥem was the only pattern for compiling dictionaries until the third quarter of the 12th century. Thus Nathan b. Jehiel wrote *Arukh* at the start of the 12th century according to the pattern of the *Maḥberet*; and Menaḥem b. Solomon wrote his *Even Boḥan* (1143) in the same way. Even in the first half of the 13th century a dictionary was written in Germany according to this pattern by a certain Samson. There is a finished system for the internal arrangement of a dictionary entry in *Kitāb al-lstighnā*ʾ of Samuel ha-Nagid, as may be seen from the two complete entries that we have (אמץ, אמן). The entry consists of three parts: The first includes the various meanings of the root in a systematic order, accompanied by examples. The second part gives explanations drawn from the literature of earlier exegetes and grammarians, some of them quoted by name. The third part gives a detailed inventory (the entry אמץ borders on a concordance list) of the grammatical forms derived from the root under discussion, beginning with the verb forms and followed by the nominal forms. Ibn Janāḥ discusses the internal arrangement of entries at the end of his introduction to *Kitāb al-Uṣūl*. In general, at the start of an entry he lists the meaning which he considers the main one and then gives its derivative forms in which this meaning is found. He defines the citations grammatically with the aid of terms derived from the root פעל. For the verb he notes conjugation, tense, and so on, and for the noun its pattern, status, gender, and number. After listing the other meanings, he draws attention to the degree of relation between the various meanings of the entry, for which he uses fixed terms. Not intending to make an exhaustive list of the forms, he offers a small selection of illustrations which are to suffice for the explanation of the meanings of the root and for an understanding of the forms derived from it. He does not, however, discuss grammatical issues extensively, but instead refers the reader to *Kitāb al-Luma*ʿ and to his other works. He is very brief with weak roots since he does not intend to repeat the statements of Ḥayyūj or those statements already made in his *Kitāb al-Mustalḥaq*, but he does treat in detail sound roots, particles, nouns from which no verbs are derived, nouns of size and weight, plants and animals. Thus in the work of Ibn Janāḥ a balance is created within the entry between the semantic definition of the root and the grammatical definition of the forms derived from it.

Grammatical Works

KUTUB AL-LUGHA BY SAADIAH GAON. The first grammar extant, though not in its entirety, is *Kutub al-Lugha* of Saadiah Gaon. Six of its 12 parts, containing 63 pages, have been published, and the content of a further four is known. The first part, devoted to the letters, apparently discussed their division according to the organs of speech (laryngeals, palatals, linguals, dentals, and labials), their division into the radical and servile letters, and the precluded combinations of letters (זט, זש, קג, דט, etc.). The second part, *al-Tafkhīm wa al-Ikhtiṣār* ("Augmentation and Contraction") deals with two topics. It opens with pairs of words each of which virtually shares one meaning, and compares the two in each case – e.g., אֲקוֹמֵם (Isa. 44:26), which is an expansion of אָקִים (Amos 9:11). This expansion is of a special type, the augmented word having two adjacent occurrences of the same letter, instead of the single occurrence in the contrasting form. Also surveyed are pairs of words in which there are, respectively, one and two adjacent occurrences of the same combination of letters, such as סַלְסְלֶהָ (Prov. 4:8), in contrast to סֹלּוּ (Isa. 57:14). Here, too, one word is an augmented form of the other. The second subject treated in this section is contraction. As forms in which contraction does not occur he mentions nouns in which the initial letter is א, ה, ו, י, מ, נ, ת (such as אחיזה, הלוך, ולד, ישיבה, מעשה, נדר, תנובה), while the forms which do show contraction are those derived from these basic forms, but lacking the initial letters (such as: אחז (Judg. 20:6), ינובון, תדר, יעשה, ישב, ילד, לך). Other pairs of words are listed there, such as שֵׁרִית (1 Chron. 12:39) in which there is contraction as opposed to שְׁאֵרִית in which there is no contraction. The third part, *al-Taṣrīf* ("Inflection"), begins with a tripartite division of the parts of speech – noun, verb, particle – and with their definitions as accepted in Arabic grammar. Inflection for Saadiah Gaon is the faculty of a word: to occur with the servile letters; to occur with the ten possessors; and to have "tense" apply to it. He classifies the parts of speech according to their capacity for inflection as defined above, and calculates the number of forms which can theoretically be fixed at each level of classification and for each part of speech. For example, for the verb he calculated that there are 48 forms of simple inflection (without objective pronominal suffixes) and another 368 forms of compound inflection (with the objective pronominal suffixes) – 416 forms in all. The section closes with a table of forms for the inflection of the verb, followed by examples of forms of the verb from the Bible. The fourth part, *al-Tašdīd wa al-Irkha* ("*Dageš* and *Rafeh*"), deals with the ability of the letters to occur with the *dageš* or without it, treating the subject according to the various forms of inflection. The fifth part, *al-Qawl fī al-Nagham* ("The Vowels"), begins with assumptions – in his opinion, universal – concerning the phonetic structure of the word, and deals with the articulation of the vowels, surveying those which can occur together in one word containing two vowels. Also discussed in this section are the changes which occur in the vowels of a word when the concepts of plural, construct state, tense, and pause apply to it. The sixth part, *al-Jazm* ("The *Šewa*ʾ"), deals with two types of *šewa*ʾ*: sākina* (quiescent) and *mutaḥarraka* (vocal), the different qualities of the latter being described. The seventh part is called *al-Aḥruf wa-* א, ע, ח, ה ("the non-laryngeals and the laryngeals"), while the eighth is called א, ע, ה, ח ("the laryngeals"). The two sections deal with two aspects of the same topic – the changes which are peculiar to the vocalization of the laryngeals, and the changes in vocalization which take place in the immediate context of laryngeals. He lists 50 changes in all. In the ninth part, *al-Zawāʾid wa al-Lawāḥiq* ("Added Consonants and Expletives"), Saadiah Gaon deals with other types of additions, which are not instances of *tafkhīm* ("augmentation") in principle; yet in fact this section contains matters already discussed in the second part of the work. The interchangeable letters are dealt with in the tenth part. The pattern which Saadiah Gaon set down for Hebrew grammar is characteristically pioneering work, but it was not accepted by his successors; his ideas were only in part repeated in the works of later grammarians; yet two of them became the foundation of Hebrew linguistics. His division of the letters into base and supplemental became the basic assumption for the arrangement of the first dictionaries, and his division of words into three types – noun, verb, particle – with his definitions of them, became the very foundation for all grammatical discussion of the word. In particular his statements about letters, vowels, the *šewa*ʾ, and the phonetic structure of the word were influential. However, the method by which he described the grammar of the word was too simplistic and too primitive. Most of the material which Saadiah Gaon collected in the second part as occurrences of augmentation was to be treated, beginning with Ḥayyūj, in chapters concerning the inflection of medial *waw* verbs, geminate verbs and quadriradicals. Most of the occurrences of contraction cited there are treated, beginning with Ḥayyūj, under the inflection of prima *ʾalef*, prima *yod*, and final *he* verbs. However, even in the grammar of the word the grammarians accepted some of his basic suppositions: for example, that when confronted by a great number of different occurrences in the text, the grammarian must differentiate and describe the relations between *uṣūl* (basic forms) and *furū*ʿ (secondary forms which he can represent as branching out from the first), and also describe the relations between the various basic forms. This differentiation is the starting point for all grammatical description. Ḥayyūj and Ibn Janāḥ applied it to all items of grammar.

WORKS OF ḤAYYUJ ON WEAK AND GEMINATIVE VERBS. Monographs written on decided grammatical subjects are the works of Ḥayyūj, above all his two works on weak and geminative verbs. In these works Ḥayyūj formulated the rule that every Hebrew verbal root consists of at least three letters. This is based upon the concept which Ḥayyūj had, following the Arab grammarians, concerning the phonetic structure of the word. According to this concept a word consists of letters which cannot be uttered except as accompanied by one of the vowels; a word cannot consist of one consonant, but must be always of two at least, the one which begins the word being always accompanied by a vowel (and hence a mobile letter), while the letter which closes it (a quiescent letter) is never accompanied by a vowel. Between the opening mobile consonant and the concluding quiescent consonant, a mobile letter or letters or even a quiescent consonant or consonants can occur. In any event, two quiescent consonants will not occur successively unless preceded by a mobile letter. (According to this concept, a word such as דָוִיד contains two quiescent letters, the *yod* and the second *dalet*, preceded by the mobile letter וִ.) This concept opened the way for the classification of the letters according to their mobility or quiescence, which Ḥayyūj formulated as follows. All letters of the alphabet can occur in mobile or quiescent form. However, with regard to quiescence there is a difference between (ה)א, ו, י, and all the other letters, which are "visible" when they are quiescent, that is, both written and pronounced. In contrast to them (ה)א, ו, י can at times be "hidden": though found in the structure of the word, they are not realized in its pronunciation and sometimes not even in its written form. Thus in the word קָאם (Hos. 10: 14), the *ʾalef* is quiescent, hidden in the pronunciation but visible in the writing; in the word קָם this *ʾalef* is equally quiescent, but hidden both in pronunciation and in writing. So too, a word such as וְאַתִּיקֶיהָא (Ezek. 41: 15) ends with a quiescent *ʾalef* hidden in pronunciation but visible in the writing, while the word אֱלֶיהָ ends with a quiescent *ʾalef* hidden both in pronunciation and writing. These two assumptions – that every root consists of at least three radicals and that the letters (ה)א, ו, י, are distinctive with regard to their quiescence – formed a descriptive framework for the discussion of the roots that include one of these four letters. These roots, like all those in the language, consist (according to the very definition of the concept "root") of three radicals. In the actual verb forms derived from these roots, one finds that these letters occur in mobile or in "visibly" quiescent form (as do all the other letters in the language). However, they sometimes occur as hidden quiescent letters or, more precisely, are hidden in the pronunciation but visible in the writing, as with the *yod* in בָּנִיתָ; and at times they occur hidden both in pronunciation and orthography, as does the initial *yod* of the root in the word תֵּשֵׁב. The grammarians who preceded Ḥayyūj, comparing a form such as יָשַׁב with a form like תֵּשֵׁב, and seeing that the *yod*, present in the first word, is missing from the second form, concluded that in these words, too, the *yod* is not a root letter, and accordingly fixed the root as a bi-radical: שב. Ḥayyūj, according to his suppositions, analyzed the case differently: The root always consists of at least three letters, in this case ישב. The absence of the *yod* in the form does not mean that it cannot be considered a root letter. It is simply missing from some of the actual forms derived from this root, and compensation needs to be made for its absence. This compensation he finds, for example, in "elongation" (*madd*), as in the case of the *ṣere* under the *taw* in תֵּשֵׁב. Ḥayyūj assumes, therefore, the existence of hypothetical tri-radical roots and a complete table of conjugations of basic forms (*aṣliyya*), in which there are no missing letters. He establishes the base forms by analogy with the parallel forms of the "sound" verbs which include the four letters under discussion:

$$\frac{\text{שמר}}{\text{תִּשְׁ־מֹר}} = \frac{\text{ישב}}{x} \qquad x = \text{תִּיְ־שֵׁב}$$

These base forms either do not occur in the biblical text, or occur in it as exceptional forms from which one can neither draw analogies nor derive rules. Yet only in relation to these hypothetical base forms can one describe the actual forms. Ḥayyūj seeks to explain the difference between the actual form (תֵּשֵׁב) and the hypothetical form (תִּיְשֵׁב) which is adduced by analogy with the basic form (תִּפְעַל), by a certain number of devices, such as: (1) the deficiency and its compensation; (2) the substitution of one letter for another; (3) assimilation and the gemination which follows it. In the actual description concepts were created: the first, the medial, and the final radical of the root, respectively. Following the convention of the Arab grammarians, these concepts were denoted by reference to the three letters of the root פעל, as follows: the letter which occupies the position of the *pe*, the *ʿayin*, and the *lamed*. If all four of the weak letters occurred in all three positions of the root as hidden quiescents, Ḥayyūj would have to deal with 12 groups of roots. However, he considers that there are only four groups of verbs whose roots contain weak letters, namely:

1) the prima *ʾalef*
2) the prima *yod*
3) verbs with a medial weak radical
4) verbs whose final radical is weak.

These are in effect the four chapters of the first work of Ḥayyūj: *Kitāb al-Afʿāl Dhawāt Ḥurūf al-Līn*. Defective forms also occur for verbs whose roots contain identical second and third radicals; these are dealt with in the second work of Ḥayyūj: *Kitāb al-Afʿāl Dhawāt al-Mithlayn*. Having established a theoretical framework to deal with the derivation and conjugation of the weak verbs, Ḥayyūj goes on to explain why analogy does not apply to the verbs whose roots contain weak letters. He bases his explanation on the postulate that in Hebrew there is difficulty in pronouncing the (ה)א, י, ו, quiescently and therefore these letters were "hidden," that is, not pronounced. He also included a dictionary of weak verbs, classified according to the groups mentioned above. For every root he listed the derivative verb forms, in each instance explaining the actual forms which, according to his suppositions, differed from the analogous base form.

THE KITĀB AL-LUMAʿ OF IBN JANĀḤ. The most profound and comprehensive grammar is *Kitāb al-Lumaʿ* by Ibn Janāḥ. According to the author this work constitutes a whole only together with the two above-mentioned works of Ḥayyūj, and with his own smaller works. For the subjects of the 45 (46) chapters, see *Ibn Janāḥ. It is possible to get some idea of the scope of the work by classifying its chapters according to the pattern of traditional grammar accepted today. The work begins with the division of parts of speech, with which his predecessors had already dealt, but he improves the definitions of Saadiah Gaon and their logical foundation. The different types of expressions are also classified in this chapter. Matters of pronunciation are considered in 13 chapters: a discussion of the letters, each one's place of articulation, and its position in the word, whether as base or supplemental letter. The meanings of the supplemental letters are given the most detailed discussion of this topic extant. Interchange of letters is also treated, as well as assimilation, the marking with a *dageš*, and the *mappiq he* of the third person feminine pronominal suffix. Vocalization, too, is discussed: interchange of vowels, the changes which occur in vocalization because of the laryngeals, the vocalization of the conjunctive *waw* (including *waw* conversive), and of the interrogative *he*. This concludes the issues of pronunciation. The grammar of the word – derivation and accidence – is treated in 13 chapters; the formation of the word, i.e., the derivation and the accidence of the verb and the noun, is treated in a unit which runs for five chapters. Pronominal suffixes, relation *(nisba)*, plural and dual forms, determination and indefiniteness, genders and numbers, are also discussed. The other chapters of the work deal with topics which are today included under syntax and rhetoric. Seven chapters are devoted to syntactical topics, including apposition, government of the verb, the construct case, and agreement in gender. Five chapters cover rhetoric: ellipsis, pleonasm, repetition, inverse order – forward or backward. Five of the six remaining chapters discuss classified groups of exceptional occurrences which the grammarian cannot include under any of the rules which he fixed or formulated. Therefore he uses an operative device called *taqdīr* (surmise), by means of which he expresses the intention of the written form, thus removing the exceptional character of the occurrences, so that they fall under one of the rules which he has established. Finally, in chapter 34 (35), he deals with all the linguistic means for expressing the question, that cannot be included in any of the accepted linguistic divisions. This attempt to present the subjects of the work according to the main topics of accepted grammatical thought does, indeed, give some idea of the scope of the grammatical study of Ibn Janāḥ, but it is likely to distort his division of the material and the methodological principles underlying it. Ibn Janāḥ did not divide grammar into the accepted sections of today, such as phonology, morphology, and syntax. We have seen that in chapter 34 (35) he deals with all the means (letter, particle, word) to express various types of questions. This is the way he treats other matters too, such as "compensation" (*badal*), which he treats in a unit of successive chapters: interchange of letters in chapter 6 (7), interchange of vowels in chapter 7 (8), and apposition in chapter 8 (9). From this point of view chapter 31 (32), dealing with changes in order, is interesting. It begins with a change in the order of the letters within a word (כשב–כבש), proceeds to deal with verbs in which the order of the weak letter changes (ייטיב–טוב; יסופו–ספתה), and ends with a change in the order of the words, such as עַל הָרִים יַעַמְדוּ מָיִם (Ps. 104:6), which means (he claims) עַל מַיִם יַעַמְדוּ הָרִים.

THE GRAMMATICAL WORKS OF PERIOD III. The aim of the grammatical works written in period III (1150–1250) was to express in a concise Hebrew version the content of the works of Ḥayyūj and Ibn Janāḥ. Adaptations made in the West include the works of Abraham ibn Ezra, Parḥon, and the Kimḥis; and in the East, the works of Isaac ha-Levi b. Eleazar: *Sefat Yeter* and *Rikmah*. There are only meager innovations of principle in these works; rather, they attempt to consolidate a permanent framework for the discussion of grammatical issues. Hence they emphasize the mechanical and paradigmatic aspects of the grammar of the word.

Sefer Ẓaḥot by Abraham ibn Ezra. This tendency is already noticeable in *Sefer Ẓaḥot* of Abraham ibn Ezra (1145), whose contents are as follows: Chapter 1 deals with the vowels, the *šewa*ʾ, nominal patterns and poetic meter, which are based upon the vowels and the *šewa*ʾ. Chapter 2 deals at length with the letters: their names, forms, pronunciation, and use. There follow several chapters on parts of speech: the particles, the noun (including the numerals), and the verb. The author deals extensively with the bi-radical verbs and the conjugations *(binyanim)*. After a short digression in which he discusses words composed of two words or two forms, he deals with quadri-radical verbs. At the end of the work there is a short discussion of exceptional forms from the Bible. The main methodological innovation which Abraham ibn Ezra made in *Sefer Ẓaḥot* as compared with *Kitāb al-Luma*ʿ is the discussion of poetic meters; other authors followed in his footsteps, especially in period IV.

Sefer Zikkaron by Joseph Kimḥi. This work, divided in two parts, resembles *Sefer Ẓaḥot* in its scope. The order of the discussion in the first part is as follows: the letters according to their pronunciation and use, the formative letters at the beginnings and ends of words, the grammatical categories of the verb, the assimilated letters, the vowels, parts of speech, nominal patterns, and numerals. The second part begins with a discussion about fixing the root, proceeds with the regular verb according to its conjugations (*binyanim*), and comments upon special forms of *binyanim* and compound forms, the prima *yod*, quiescent verbs, verbs with assimilated prima *yod*, prima *nun*, verbs with medial *waw*, medial *yod* and final *he*, verbs with assimilated ends, and geminate verbs. The chapter concerning the vowels in *Sefer Zikkaron* (ed. Bacher (1888), 17–19) is most interesting. Joseph Kimḥi determines there that the number of vowels in Hebrew (in addition to the *šewa*ʾ) is ten: five long and five short. For each long vowel there is a corresponding short vowel: for *qameṣ gadol* (ָ) the *pattaḥ gadol* (ַ) is the corresponding short vowel; the correspondent for *ṣere* (ֵ) is *segol* or *pattah qatan* (ֶ); for *ḥolem* (וֹ, ֹ) the correspondent is *qameṣ ḥataf* (i.e., *qameṣ qatan* (ֳ)); the correspondent to *šuruq* with *waw* (וּ) is *šuruq* without *waw*, a vowel whose name is *qibbuṣ sefatayim* (ֻ); and the correspondent of *ḥireq* with *yod* (ִי) is *ḥireq* without *yod* (ִ). Joseph Kimḥi stated that "with regard to the manner of recitation" the long vowels are treated with "pause and delay" while for the short vowels "you should always be speedy in their reading." In spite of that the long vowels are not lengthened if the stress of the word is near them. That means that the *qameṣ* of -שָׁ is not lengthened except in the last of the following three examples: שָׁמַר, שָׁמַרְתָּ, וְשָׁמַרְתָּ. In any event, if a letter vocalized with a *šewa*ʾ follows the long vowel, then the long vowel is lengthened. Thus there would be a lengthening of the וֹ in the word שׁוֹמְרִים, but not in the word שׁוֹמֵר. The short vowels themselves are not short when they precede a mobile laryngeal, such as in the word יַעֲשֶׂה By this system there is no difference in pronunciation between שַׁאֲלוּ (the imperative) and שָׁאֲלוּ (the perfect). The scholars of the second half of the 19th century considered this theory to be an essential innovation in comparison with the theory of the seven kings (vowels) as found in the masorah literature and in that of the grammarians who preceded Joseph Kimḥi. Instead of the theory of the seven kings, which seemed to them to be basically a system of qualities only, the theory of Joseph Kimḥi appeared to be a system consisting of ten vowels which are distinguished from each other by five qualitative contrasts (*i, e, a, o, u*) and by a contrast in quantity (long:short). They also felt that besides deviating from that of the seven kings, the theory of Joseph Kimḥi is rather forced with regard to the Sephardi pronunciation in the Torah reading. Doubts have been expressed concerning this accepted idea; see Ben-David (*Leshonenu*, 1958). Popularized by Kimḥi's sons in their works, this vowel theory and division was accepted by most of the grammarians of period IV, and is found in Hebrew textbooks to this day.

Mahalakh Shevilei ha-Daʿat by Moses Kimḥi. An important step toward the consolidation of a firm systematic framework for the practical discussion of the grammar of the word was taken in *Mahalakh Shevilei ha-Daʿat* by Moses Kimḥi. This short work discusses mainly the definitions, the conjugation tables, citing a few examples. The order is as follows: 1. parts of speech, the grammatical categories of the verb, the letters, rules of the *dageš qal*, the stress, the vowels, and the *šewa*ʾ; 2. the types of nouns, the patterns and their declensions; 3. the conjugation of the verb according to the *binyanim*; the weak verbs: prima *nun*, prima *ʾalef*, prima *yod*, medial *waw*, final *ʾalef*, final *he*, geminate and quadri-radical verbs; verbal suffixes; other rules about pronominal suffixes. In the main part of the work – the formation of the verb – the paradigmatic system is especially prominent. The book gained wide distribution because of its practical nature, being used especially by Christians for the study of Hebrew. Elijah Levita added a commentary, Sebastian Muenster translated it into Latin, and it was printed many times.

Mikhlol by David Kimḥi. The climax of the attempts to systemize the discussion of the grammar of the word and to fix the study of the verb at its center is *Mikhlol* of David Kimḥi. The work begins with the division of the parts of speech, and correspondingly consists of three parts: *Sha'ar Dikduk ha-Pe'alim* ("The Chapter on Verbs," covering 66% of the work), *Sha'ar Dikduk ha-Shemot* ("The Chapter on Nouns" – 30% of the work) and the chapter dealing with particles, which covers only 4%. The subjects discussed include: 32 forms of conjugation of the basic verb stem, the *qal*; transitive and intransitive verbs; the formation of the *binyanim* and their meanings; conjugation tables of the verb in *qal* with the objective pronominal suffixes; a digression concerning the servile letters and their meanings, and an appendix on the omission of letters and other kinds of ellipsis; and the forms of conjugation of the other *binyanim*. Between the conjugations of the *binyanim* there are digressions concerning exceptional forms of conjugation. The weak verbs appear according to their forms and are listed alphabetically after the manner of Ḥayyūj: first verbs whose initial letters are assimilated (prima *yod*, prima *lamed*, prima *nun*), preceded by a discussion of assimilation. Then follow the weak verbs, preceded by a discussion of the special rules for the weak letters. The section on the verb concludes with the quadriliteral and quinqueliteral verbs. The section on the noun covers vocalization (vowels, *šewa'*), types of nouns, nominal patterns classified according to morphological groups: regular nouns; weak nouns. Under the regular noun are listed the simple patterns, followed by patterns with a suffix and those with a prefix. The declension of each nominal pattern is discussed. The weak patterns occur in the following order: initial defective; initial, medial, and final quiescent; both defective initial and quiescent final; final *'alef*; quiescent initial and final; geminate nouns: and quadriliteral and quinqueliteral nouns. The section dealing with the particles is arranged alphabetically.

MAʿASEH EFOD BY PROFIAT DURAN. Of all the works of the fourth period (from the middle of the 13th century until the beginning of the 16th century) the most important is *Maʿaseh Efod* by Profiat Duran, written in 1403. The volume comprises a long introduction (including interesting data for the study of the history of education among the Jews), 32 chapters, and a further chapter as a supplement. The first five chapters deal with the "causae" of the language in the terms of the accepted scheme of the Middle Ages following Aristotelian philosophy: chapter 1, the nature of language; chapter 2, its purpose; chapter 3, "the *cause efficiens*"; chapter 4, its divisions (the three parts of speech); chapter 5, its elements (the letters, vowels and cantillation signs). Three other introductory chapters follow: on the organs of speech and the production of sounds; on the fate of Hebrew after it was "the most perfect of languages"; here he maintains that about 2,000 roots remain, some 1,000 of them being used for deriving verbs; and on the science of language, which according to his definition includes grammar, rhetoric, and poetics. The actual work begins with chapter 9, which deals with the grammatical categories that apply to the noun. Chapter 10 treats the infinitive, chapters 11 and 12 cover the grammatical categories that apply to the verb, while chapter 14, interchange of letters and of vowels; chapter 15, the *binyanim* of the verb; chapter 16, the *qal*; chapter 17, *piʿel*; chapter 18, *hifʿil*; chapter 19, *poʿel* (intensive); chapter 20, *nifʿal*; chapter 21, *hitpaʿel*; chapter 22, those verbs "whose agents are not mentioned" (*puʿal, hofʿal*); chapter 23, forms compounded from various *binyanim*, and quadri-radical verbs; chapter 24, nominal patterns; chapter 25, the fixing of the roots of verbs, nouns, and particles; chapter 26, the pronouns; chapters 27–29, exceptions (ellipsis, additions, change of order) which Ibn Janāḥ had already discussed in *Kitāb al-Lumaʿ*; chapter 30, the particles; chapter 31, the letters בגדכפ"ת; chapter 32, the pronunciation of the written word, and hence important testimony concerning the Sephardi pronunciation in the reading of the Toraḥ; chapter 33 (supplement) explains why Hebrew was called "the holy language." By virtue of its scope and its excessive fondness for theoretical discussion this work constitutes something of a revolt against the narrow pattern that David Kimḥi established in the *Mikhlol*, which until then had ruled supreme in linguistic literature. *Maʿaseh Efod* is on the one hand an attempt to return to the actual sources of linguistics (the works of Ibn Janāḥ and Ḥayyūj), and on the other hand it is an attempt to base Hebrew grammar on the late-medieval scholastic philosophy of the Christian West. The grammar of Profiat Duran and the dictionary *Ratukot Kesef* of Joseph ibn Kaspi, who preceded him, were destined to move linguistic literature out of the standstill and barren stereotyped ways which had prevailed under the influence of *Mikhlol* of David Kimḥi. Yet the influence of *Maʿaseh Efod* was limited; in the 15th century the empiricism of *Mikhlol* was re-established.

MIKNEH AVRAM BY ABRAHAM DE BALMES. At the very end of period IV, in 1523, *Mikneh Avram* was published. Chapter 1 offers a definition of Hebrew grammar, and classifies the elements of language into two types: the simple elements (the letters and vowels) and the compound (the syllables, words, and compound statements). Chapters 2 and 3 deal with the simple elements. Chapter 2 discusses the letters, their number, respective names, written forms and places of articulation, their classification both in relation to themselves and in relation to the words made from them (the base and the servile letters, compensation for letters, similarity and differences between letters, the combinations of the letters, i.e., possible and impossible combinations); chapter 3 deals with vocalization, the number of the vowels, their form and pronunciation, the rules of vocalization, and compensation for vowels. Chapters 4–6 deal with the grammar of the word. Chapter 4 begins with the classification of the parts of speech and deals with the grammar of the noun – the division of the nouns according to their meanings, and nominal patterns. Chapter 5 discusses verbs, their division into *binyanim*, their *gezarot*, and analysis. Chapter 6 deals with particles. Chapter 7, headed "*Compositio et Regimen*," is the first attempt in the history of linguistic literature to describe the syntax of Hebrew in the operative terms of syntax as shaped by Latin linguistics. Chapter 8 deals with pronunciation, penultimate and ultimate stress, and the *maqqaf*; and at the end there is an appendix by Kalonymus b. David on cantillation.

Through the arrangement of its discussions, this work constitutes the first attempt ever made – and not without success – to gather the grammatical teachings as they had crystallized in Hebrew linguistics under the influence of Arabic linguistics, side by side with the grammatical system which underlies the accepted description of Latin. It thus established a new tripartite pattern for the discussion of Hebrew grammar, comprising phonology, morphology, and syntax. In the chapter *Compositio et Regimen* de Balmes set up a new framework for the discussion of topics which had been scattered throughout previous works, such as the uses of the servile letter, pronouns agreement of gender and number, and government of the verb. On the other hand, he deals systematically with new topics, such as the combination of nouns with verbs, combination of nouns with other nouns, the agreement of noun (subject) and verb (predicate), and combination with the aid of particles. Through the talent of his pen De Balmes brought the system of concepts of syntax into Hebrew linguistics. By virtue of its originality and innovations, *Mikneh Avram* was the most important work in linguistic literature since *Kitāb al-Lumaʿ*. Since its structure deviates from the works discussed hitherto, this work opened up a new era in the history of this Hebrew literature.

THE STUDY OF LINGUISTIC LITERATURE

Fields of Activity

Research concerning linguistic literature has thus far concentrated upon three main activities: A. the publication of the works; B. discussion of the general course of development of this literature; C. discussion about the various authors, the course of their lives, their works, and their part in the development of Hebrew linguistics. A concise survey is given below.

Publication of the Works

This began soon after the invention of printing and has continued until today. Thus, for example, *Arukh* of Nathan b. Jehiel was one of the first Hebrew books published prior to 1480. Similarly, *Nofet Ẓufim* of Judah b. Jehiel, Messer Leon, was printed before 1480, in Mantua. *Sefer ha-Shorashim* of R. David Kimḥi was published in Rome before 1480 as well. In 1492 the book *Petaḥ Devarai*, whose authorship has not been established with certainty, was printed. In the first half of the 16th century this activity included not only the works of authors of that century (such as Elijah Levita, Abraham De Balmes and others), but also relatively old works: in 1508 *Mahalakh Shevilei ha-Da'at* of Moses Kimḥi was published, in 1511 *Kiẓẓur he-Arukh* appeared in Cracow and in the years 1532/1534 *Mikhlol* of David Kimḥi was issued in Constantinople. The activity of Elijah Levita throughout the entire first half of the 16th century is especially striking. Not only did he publish his own works and his commentaries to the writings of the Kimḥi brothers, but he also edited a collection of grammatical works which he published in 1546 under the title *Dikdukim*. Following his introduction, the volume includes these works: *Mahalakh Shevilei ha-Da'at* by Moses Kimḥi; *Petaḥ Devarai; Ẓaḥot* and *Moznayim* of Abraham ibn Ezra; *Sefer Harkavah* and *Pirkei Eliyahu* of Elijah Levita; and *Marpe Lashon* and *Darkhei No'am* of Moses b. Ḥabib. From then till the end of the 18th century virtually none of the early works were published, except those of the Kimḥi brothers and Abraham ibn Ezra; and when publication of the older works did resume the order in which they were issued was the opposite of that in which they were written: works produced in the 12th century were published before those of the tenth century and the Hebrew translations were published before their Arabic originals. Most of the works of Abraham ibn Ezra were published at the end of the 18th century and at the beginning of the 19th; *Maḥberet he-Arukh* of Parḥon was published in 1844, *Maḥberet* of Menaḥem in 1854, and the *Teshuvot* of Dunash and the "decisions" of Jacob b. Meir Tam were printed a year later. Until 1844 not even one Hebrew translation of a work written originally in Arabic appeared in print. In 1844 Leopold Dukes published Abraham ibn Ezra's translation of the works of Ḥayyūj, while the Arabic originals of Ḥayyūj were not printed until near the end of the century: *Kitāb al-Tanqīṭ* by Nutt (1870), his two main works by Jastrow (1897). In 1856 B. Goldberg published the *Sefer ha-Rikmah* of Ibn Janāḥ in the Hebrew translation of Judah ibn Tibbon, while the Arabic original *Kitāb al-Lumaʿ* was published by Derenbourg(-Bacher) only 30 years later (1886). Until the 1850s not one work was published in its entirety in its Arabic original. Munk published the introduction of Ibn Janāḥ to his *Kitāb al-Lumaʿ (Journal Asiatique*, 1850–51). In 1857 Bargés-Goldberg published the *Risāla* of Judah ibn Quraysh – the first manuscript of an Arabic-written treatise on Hebrew linguistics to be issued in its entirety. In the 1860s selections from the works of the Karaite authors were published (Pinsker, 1860) as well as *Ḥotam Tokhnit* of Bedersi, *Ma'aseh Efod* of Profiat Duran (both in 1865), the "objections" to Saadiah Gaon which are attributed to Dunash (Schroeter, 1866), the "objections" of the students of Menaḥem and those of the student of Dunash (Stern, 1870). All this activity, which extended from the end of the 18th century to the end of the 1860s, is to be considered, from the point of view of modern editorial technique, as initial attempts; the publications do not meet present-day editorial standards and most of the works need to be republished. In the last 30 years of the 19th century the actual sources of Hebrew linguistic literature were published; between 1870 and 1897 the works of

Ḥayyūj and Ibn Janāḥ were produced in their Arabic originals and with their Hebrew translations. The editions of Ḥayyūj are: Nutt (1870), Jastrow (1897). The works of Ibn Janāḥ were published by Neubauer (1873–75), Derenbourg (1880), Derenbourg-Bacher (1886); Bacher (1897); and from then until the present there has been a continuous attempt at improving the printed versions of these works; Bacher (ZDMG, 1884, 1888) published corrections for the Neubauer *Uṣūl* edition (1873–75), and then (JQR, 1899) his corrections for the Jastrow edition of the two main works of Ḥayyūj (1897); Kokowtzow (1911; see bibl.) published his corrections to the Derenbourg edition of the opuscules of Ibn Janāḥ (1880); Wilensky (1929–31, 550–63), published his corrections to the Derenbourg(-Bacher) edition of *Kitāb al-Lumaʿ* (1886); Razhabi (*Leshonenu*, 1966) listed variant readings to Neubauer (1875). Also published at the end of the 19th century were *Sefer Zikkaron* of Joseph Kimḥi (Bacher, 1888), remnants of *Kitāb al-Muwāzana* of Ibn Barūn (Kokowtzow, 1890–93), the anonymous work from Yemen (Neubauer, 1891), four chapters from *Kitāb al-Muḥāḍara wa al-Mudhākara* of Moses ibn Ezra (Kokowtzow, *Vostoïniya Zametki*, 1895). In the 20th century there was a more intensive effort to publish the sources which were written in Arabic: Kokowtzow (1916) published remnants of the works of Samuel ha-Nagid, Ibn Gikatilla and Judah ibn Balʿam, additions to *Kitāb al-Muwāzana*, a remnant of the works of Nethanel al-Fayyumi (?) and also small selections from pseudo-Ibn Yashush. Skoss (1936–1945) published *Kitāb Jāmiʿ al-Alfaẓ* of David b. Abraham Alfāsī; he also published (JQR, 1942, 1952) large sections of *Kutub al-Lugha* by Saadiah Gaon. Klar (*Saadiah Gaon*, 1943) and Allony (*Sefer Goldziher*, 1958) published the original text of Saadiah's *Kitāb al-Sabaʿīn Lafẓa al-Mufrada*; Zislin (1962, 1965, see bibl.), published a selection from *al-Kāfi* by Abū al-Faraj Hārūn; and Allony (1969) issued the remnants of the *Agron* of Saadiah Gaon. The effort to publish works which were originally written in Hebrew has also continued: Levinger (1929) produced *Darkhei ha-Nikkud* of Moses b. Yom Tov; Ben-Menaḥem (1941) published eight pages missing from the missing version of *Safah Berurah* by Abraham ibn Ezra; Yalon (1945) published *Halikhot Sheva* of Almoli; Gumpertz (*Leshonenu*, 1958) published a chapter from *Ein ha-Kore* of Jekuthiel b. Isaac ha-Kohen; Yalon (1965) published *Shekel ha-Kodesh*; Allony (1966) issued *Derekh Laʿasot Ḥaruzim* of David b. Yom Tov ibn Bilia. Some of the works printed in the 19th century were reedited in the 20th: Wilensky (1924) republished a part of *Safah Berurah* by Abraham ibn Ezra; Klar (1946) again published the first part of *Sefer ha-Shoham* of Moses b. Isaac which Collins had already published (1882) and added a second part which had not been printed until then; Allony (1949) published a new selection from *Kitāb al-Taḏkīr wal-Taʾnith* of Moses ha-Kohen ibn Gikatilla together with the sections which Kokowtzow had printed (1916). Abramson (1963) published sections from the Arabic original of *Kitāb al-Tajnīs* of Ibn Balʿam together with the part published by Kokowtzow (1916). Allony (1964) published new selections from *Kitāb al-Tajnīs* and from *Ḥuruf al-Maʿāni* by the same author. The most important work published in the 20th century, however, after it had already appeared in print is *Sefer ha-Rikmah* of Ibn Janāḥ, which Wilensky reissued (1929–31); and a second edition of the work was printed in Jerusalem in 1964. Especially notable was the publication of a rich selection from the linguistic literature of Samaritan authors which Ben-Ḥayyim published (1957). Despite this extensive work of publication, knowledge of Hebrew linguistic literature is still defective. Some of the works have been completely lost and we only know of them from mention of their names; of others only quotations exist. Even the works of Ḥayyūj, Ibn Janāḥ, and Samuel ha-Nagid – have not reached us in complete form: the works of Samuel ha-Nagid were almost entirely lost, as was the *Kitāb al-Tashwīr* of Ibn Janāḥ; from the translations made by Solomon b. Joseph ibn Job of *Kitāb al-Taswīʾa* and *Risālat al-Tanbīh* only small parts remain. For further publications in the field up to 1984 see D. Téné, "The State of the Art in Hebrew Linguistic Literature," in *Meḥqarim be-Lashon* 8 (2001), 19–37 (in Hebrew). Latest research achievements are listed below, in the division "Authors and their Works," sections 1, 2, 5–9, 11–15, 22, 25, 26, 29, 30, 34, 36, 39, 45, 55, 58, 62, 63, 66, 67, 75, 85, 87, 92, 94.

General Development of Linguistic Literature

Abraham ibn Ezra gave the first survey of the authors who lived prior to the middle of the 12th century and of their works, in the introduction to his *Sefer Moznayim*. Some of the later authors followed in his footsteps – e.g., Parḥon, Joseph and David Kimḥi, Profiat Duran, and De Balmes. In modern times a few surveys of the general process of development of Hebrew linguistic literature have been written. Dukes (1844) reviewed what was known to him about a few of the authors mentioned by Abraham ibn Ezra – 14 in all: Saadiah Gaon, Dunash b. Tamim, Ibn Quraysh, Menaḥem, Dunash b. Labrat, Ḥayyūj, Hai Gaon, Isaac Gikatilla, Isaac b. Saul, Ibn Janāḥ, Solomon ibn Gabirol, Samuel ha-Nagid, Moses ibn Gikatilla, and Ibn Balʿam. Munk (*Journal Asiatique*, 1850–51) supplemented this review with many details, especially concerning the Karaite commentators who lived about the time of Saadiah Gaon. Neubauer (*Journal Asiatique*, 1861–63) reviewed the lexicographers of whom he knew from Saadiah Gaon until Saadiah ibn Danān (the end of the 15th century), but he refrained from discussing dictionaries for post-biblical Hebrew and the dictionaries of synonyms. From among the authors who lived after Abraham he discusses Isaac ha-Levi b. Eleazar, Al-Ḥarizi, Salomon b. Parḥon, Jacob b. Meir Tam, Jacob b. Eleazar, the Kimḥi family, David ha-Yevani, Joseph ibn Kaspi, and Saadiah ibn Danān. Lerner (*Ha-Shaḥar*, 1876) is more comprehensive: he reviews the authors and their works from the beginning of linguistic literature until Solomon Levinsohn at the beginning of the 19th century. The authors are arranged in chronological order. He lists all the Rabbanite writers known to him and he mentions incidentally the famous authors found among the Karaites and the Christians. But Rabbanite authors who wrote their works in Arabic are only incidentally mentioned.

These four surveys are outdated, though, and can no longer serve as reference surveys. Bacher (1892, see bibl.) served for a long time as the authoritative review of linguistic literature from its beginning until the 16th century. In his survey he included a bibliographical list up to the year 1890 and an index of names containing over 70 authors or translators. Bacher (ZDMG, 1895) is the first attempt to discuss in a historical-critical manner the grammatical issues found in the talmudic and midrashic literature, in *Sefer Yeẓirah*, in the masorah literature, and especially in the work of Aaron Ben Asher; he is equally the first to discuss similarly the main grammatical theories of the early authors from Saadiah Gaon to Ḥayyūj (but not including him). Rozenak (1898) reviews the authors and their works from Ḥayyūj to David Kimḥi, but does not add to Bacher (1892). Hirschfeld (1926; see bibl.) reviews grammatical literature and lexicographers (10th–16th centuries). He mentions the latest research achievements, especially by Kokowtzow (1916, see bibl.). Azar (1927, see bibl.) is a Hebrew translation of Bacher (ZDMG, 1895). The work of Yellin (1945, see bibl.) resembles Bacher's (ZDMG, 1895); the ideas of grammarians and lexicographers until Ḥayyūj (but not including him) are also reviewed there. Chomsky (JQR, 1944/45) examines the period ending with David Kimḥi with regard to its contribution to the history of linguistic literature. Meirowsky (1955) surveys the study of Hebrew from the beginning until the mid-20th century. For this period, the corresponding chapters add nothing beyond Hirschfeld.

[David Téné]

Monographs on Authors and their Works

Some of the authors were the subjects of monographs in which bio-bibliographical issues were discussed and sometimes even their efforts within the history of Hebrew linguistics were described. The following are the more important:

Saadiah as grammarian – Skoss (1955, see bibl.) and Dotan (1997; below section 1); *Saadiah* as lexicographer – Allony (1969, 15–139, see bibl.). *Alfāsi* – Skoss (1936). *Menaḥem* – Gross (1872), Del Valle (1981) and Sáenz-Badillos (1986). *Dunash* – Sáenz-Badillos (1980) and Del Valle (1981). *Ibn Nuḥ* – Khan (2000). *Ḥayyūj* – Drachmann (1885), Jastrow (1885), Kokowtzow (1916, Russian part, 1–73, see bibl.), Poznański (JQR, 1925/6), Goldenberg (1980), Watad (1994), Basil (1992), and Martinez Delgado (2004). *Abū-al-Faraj Hārūn* – Skoss (JQR, 1927, 11–27), Zislin (1960, 208–12, see bibl.), Khan et al. (2003). *Ibn Janāḥ* – Bacher (1885), Becker (1999) and Maman (2004). *Samuel ha-Nagid* – Kokowtzow (1916, Russian part, 74–194). *Moses Gikatilla* – Poznański (1895), Kokowtzow (1916, Russian part, 95–201). *Ibn Balʿam* – Fuchs (1893), Kokowtzow (1916, Russian part, 201–215), Abramson (1975). *Ibn Barūn* – Kokowtzow (1893), 1–158, see bibl.), idem (1916, Russian part, 216–33), Wechter (JOAS, 1941), idem (1964, see bibl.) and Becker (2005). *Judah Halevi's* statement about the Hebrew language (Kuzari, II, § 66–80) – Bacher (*Hebraica*, 1893) and R.C. Steiner, "*Meshekh ha-Tenu'ot be-'ivrit – Te'urim ve-Teoriot me-Hieronemos ʿad R. Yehudah ha-Levi le'Or ha-Polmos ha-Dati*," in *Meḥqarim be-Lashon*, 8 (2001), 203–8. *Rashi* as grammarian – Englander (HUCA, 1930, 1936, 1937–38, 1942–43); *Rashi as lexicographer* – I. Avineri, *Heikhal Rashi* (I 1980, II 1985). *Judah Hadassi* – Bacher (MGWJ, 1895). *Moses ibn Ezra*, his poetics – Schreiner (REJ, 1890). Diez-Macho (*Sefarad*, 1944–45, 1947–51). *Abraham ibn Ezra* as grammarian – Bacher (1882). *Parḥon* – Bacher (ZAW, 1890/91), Del Valle Rodriguez (1977a, 1977b, 2001), Sáenz-Badillos (2001); idem and Paton (2002). *Jacob Tam* – Englander (HUCA, 1940. *Joseph Kimḥi* – Blueth (MWJ, 1893), Eppenstein (MGWJ, 1896/97). *David Kimḥi* – Tauber (1867); his *Mikhlol* – Chomsky (1952). *Tanḥum* – Goldziher (1870), Bacher (1903) and Shay (1975). *Samson Nakdan* and the other *nakdanim* – Zunz (*Zur Geschichte und Literatur*, 1845, 109–18), Eldar (1979) and Ben Menachem (1987). *Profiat Duran* – Gronemann (1869). *Saadiah ibn Danān* – Blumgrund (1900); Jiménez Sánchez (1996) and Del Valle Rodriguez (2004). *Elijah Levita* – Levi (1881), Bacher (ZDMG, 1889), Weil (1963).

Miscellaneous Topics

Some of the works published in the past hundred years have tried to clarify problems of a literary historical nature, such as: Is Dunash b. Labrat the author of the "objections" against Saadiah which are attributed to him and were they originally written in Hebrew? Is Judah Ḥayyūj the same as Judah b. David, a student of Menaḥem? Who is the author of the additions in the translation made by Ibn Gikatilla of the works of Ḥayyūj and when were they added? Who is the author of *Shekel ha-Kodesh* – and so on. Only a small part of the works deals with actual aspects of linguistics, such as comparison of languages, vowel theories, terminology, etc.

AUTHORS AND THEIR WORKS

Excluded from the following list are those works which are part of the Masorah literature, those which belong to biblical exegesis, and others, such as the *Kuzari* of Judah Halevi or *Guide of the Perplexed* by Maimonides, which treat language matters among other issues. The authors have been arranged in chronological order as far as possible, within periods of 50 years. Titles created by contemporary editors are indicated by +. A short description of the work follows each title, together with the place and year of publication, and, as far as possible, the editor is noted as well. Critical editions are noted by "crit. ed." and regular editions by "ed."

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1. *SAADIAH GAON: *Sefer ha-Egron* or Kitāb *Uṣūl al-Shiʿr al-ʿIbrānī*. This is the first work on Hebrew lexicography and the first dealing with rules of Hebrew poetry. Two editions are known: the first written in 902 in Hebrew and the second, an expanded version, produced a few years later. A few remnants have survived, representing a fourth or fifth of the total. Crit. ed. N. Allony (Jerusalem, 1969); for a serious textual correction see A. Dotan, "*Qeta' Hadash mi-Sefer Egron*," in: *Leshonenu*, 45 (1981), 163–212.

Kitāb Faṣīḥ Lughat al-ʿIbrāniyyīn or *Kutub al-Lugha* ("Book of Elegance of the Language of the Hebrews," or:

"Books on the [Hebrew] Language"). Written in Arabic, it is the first book dealing with biblical grammar, and written in Hebrew. No complete copy is extant, but the surviving material was published: ed. Harkavy, in *Ha-Goren* (1906), 31–32; crit. ed. Skoss, in JQR (1942), 171–212; *ibid.* (1952), 283–317; crit. ed. A. Dotan, *Or Rishon be-Hokhmat ha-Lashon – Sefer Zahot Leshon ha-'Ivriyyim le-Rav Saadiah Gaon* (1997).

Kitāb al-Sabʿīn Lafẓa al-Mufrada. A brief lexicographical essay written in Arabic which treats some of the *hapax legomena* of the Bible, explained with the aid of rabbinic Hebrew. It has been published incompletely several times and most recently: crit. ed. N. Allony, *Sefer Goldziher* (Jerusalem, 1958), 1–48 (includes 96 *hapax legomena*). For new fragments see A. Dotan, "A New Fragment of Saadiah's *Sab'in Lafzah*," *Jewish Quarterly Review,* 80 (1989–1990), 1–14; I. Eldar, *Leshonenu*, 58 (1995), 215–34.

+ *Alfāẓ al-Mishna*. A small lexicological work which contains a list of difficult words from the Mishnah translated into Arabic. This list is arranged not alphabetically, but in the order of the tractates, chapters, and *mishnayot*. The surviving material (134 entries) was published: crit. ed. Allony, *Leshonenu* (1952–53), 167–78; (1954), 31–48; (1958), 147–72; but see Abramson, *Leshonenu*, 36 (1954), 49–50.

+ *Alfāẓ al-Talmūd* (?). A lexicological work of which no part is extant. Its very existence and identification are still in need of study.

In addition, there are many linguistic issues scattered throughout the commentary of Saadiah Gaon on *Sefer Yeẓirah* – ed. Lambert (1891); in his translation and commentary of the Bible, and in the various criticisms made against his works.

2. JUDAH *IBN QURAYSH: *Risāla*. A work which compares biblical Hebrew to Aramaic, mishnaic Hebrew, and Arabic; ed. Bargès-Goldberg (Paris, 1857); Hebrew translation under the title of *Iggeret* by Katz (1952); crit. ed. and Hebrew translation D. Becker (1964).

A comprehensive dictionary of biblical Hebrew, lost in its entirety, even its name being unknown (cf. Kokowtzow (1916, Russian part, p. 95, n. 2; Skoss (1936), p. LXII, n. 87 (cr. 41)); Y. Blau (*EJ*, s.v. Ibn Quraysh) holds, however, that this was not an independent work but rather the third part of the *Risāla*.

3. DUNASH *IBN TAMIM: A work comparing Hebrew to Arabic (and Aramaic) with regard to vocabulary; likewise lost, even as regards its name. Bacher, in ZDMG (1907), 700–04, published part of an anonymous work believing that it was part of this study.

4. DAVID B. ABRAHAM *ALFASI: *Kitāb Jāmiʿal-Alfaẓ* or *al-Agron*. The most comprehensive dictionary of biblical Hebrew and Aramaic of the tenth century, possibly written in Jerusalem between 930 and 950, and the most important dictionary by a Karaite. It was written in two versions, the shorter of which was published: crit. ed. Skoss (1936); idem (1945); while a chapter of the longer version was published by him in JQR (1932–33), 1–43. Other selections from the longer version, of moderate length, were published as a supplement to the abovementioned publication of the shorter version.

5. *MENAḤEM BEN SARUQ: *Maḥberet*. The first dictionary of biblical Hebrew and Aramaic written originally in Hebrew, and also the first dictionary produced in Spain; ed. Filipowski (London, 1854). For clarification of the text according to an old and reliable manuscript see Kaufmann, in ZDMG (1886), 367–409; crit. ed. A. Sáenz-Badillos, *Menaḥem Ben Saruq, Mahberet* (Granada, 1986); see also A. Maman, "Menaḥem ben Saruq's *Maḥberet* – The First Hebrew-Hebrew Dictionary," in: *Kernerman Dictionary News* 13 (2005), 5–10, and the bibliography listed.

6. *DUNASH B. LABRAT: Criticism of the *Maḥberet* of Menaḥem known by the name of "The Objections of Dunash to the *Maḥberet* of Menaḥem," written in Hebrew, contains 180 objections; ed. Filipowski (London, 1855); crit. reed. of introduction, Allony, *Beit Mikra* (1965), 45–63; crit. ed. A. Sáenz-Badillos, *Teshuvot de Dunash ben Labrat, Edicion critica y traduccion Española* (Granada, 1980).

(?) Criticism of the linguistic works of Saadiah Gaon, attributed to Dunash b. Labrat, and extant in a very Arabicized Hebrew. The problems of the authorship of the book and the language in which it was written have not yet been settled; ed. Schroeter (Breslau, 1866); see, however, C. Del Valle Rodriguez, *La Escuela Hebrea de Córdoba* (Madrid, 1981), 133–136, 624–633; Y. Oshri, "*R. Abraham ibn Ezra, Sefer ha-Hagana ʿal Rav Saadiah Gaon*" (Ramat Gan: Bar-Ilan Univ., 1988), 7–9, 26–29; R. Chazon (Master's thesis, Tel Aviv Univ. 1995). According to Del Valle Rodriguez (ibid.), the title's original work was *Tiqqun haš-šegagot*.

7. STUDENTS OF MENAHEM: ISAAC *IBN KAPRON, ISAAC IBN *GIKATILLA, JUDAH B. DAVID (DA'UD): A criticism in Hebrew of Dunash b. Labrat (see section 6 above). It contains in all about 50 replies to the objections which he made against the *Maḥberet* of Menaḥem; ed. Stern (Vienna, 1870); crit. ed. S. Benavente Robles, *Teshubot de los discipulos de Menaḥem contra Dunash ben Labrat* (Granada, 1986). A "major criticism" in this work is directed against Dunash because he began the practice of writing Hebrew poems in the Arabic (quantitative) meter. This is the first known discussion in which Arabic and Hebrew are compared with regard to metrics. The "major criticism" has been printed several times.

8. YEHUDI B. SHESHET (OR: SHISHAT): A small work in which this author gave 41 replies to the objections of the students of Menaḥem (7.1.); ed. Stern (Vienna, 1870), together with 7.1; crit. ed. M.E. Varela Moreno, *Yehudi Ben Seshet, Teshubot de Yehudi Ben Seshet, Edition traduccion y comentario* (Granada, 1981).

9. *JOSEPH B. NOAH: Abū al-Faraj Hārūn ibn al-Faraj (see section 12) mentions a work of his by the name *(Kitāb) al-Dikduk*, part of which has been preserved (cf. Bacher, in REJ (1895), p. 251); crit. ed. G. Khan, *The Early Karaite Tradition of Hebrew Grammatical Thought Including a Critical Edition, Translation and Analysis of the Diqduq of ʿAbū Yūsuf ibn Nūḥ on the Hagiographa* (Leiden, 2000).

10. ABU SAʿID *LEVI B. JAPHETH: This author condensed the long version of *al-Agron* of David b. Abraham Alfāsi (see

section 4). An incomplete manuscript and fragments are located in St. Petersburg, but have not been published (cf. Skoss (1936), CXXXV–CXXXVII).

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11. JUDAH B. DAVID, known as *ḤAYYŪJ: *Kitāb al-Afʿāl Dhawāt Ḥurūf al-Līn*. An essay on the grammar of the verb, dealing with verbs which have as a radical of their roots *ʾalef, waw*, or *yod* and as the third root letter *he*. The work, in Arabic, contains theoretical introductions and lexicons arranged alphabetically for the verbs with initial *ʾalef* or *yod*, medial *waw*, and final *he*; (crit.?) ed. Jastrow (Leiden, 1897).

Kitāb al-Afʿāl Dhawāt al-Mithlayn. A work, also in Arabic, dealing with grammar of double radical verbs, with a theoretical introduction, followed by a lexicon of double radical verbs in alphabetical order; (crit.?) ed. Jastrow (Leiden, 1897), together with *Kitāb al-Afʿāl Dhawāt Ḥurūf al-Līn*. The material of these two works has been the subject of several studies, among them G. Goldenberg, "*ʿAl ha-Shokhen he-Ḥalaq ve-ha-Shoresh ha-ʿIvri*," in: *Leshonenu*, 44 (1980), 281–92; A. Watad, *Mishnato ha-Leshonit shel R. Yehuda Ḥayyūj mibbeʾad le-Munnahav bi-Meqoram ha-ʿAravi uv-Targumam ha-ʿIvri* (1994); N. Basil, *The Grammatical Theory of Rabbi Judah Ḥayyūj* (in Hebrew; Ramat-Gan: Bar-Ilan Univ., 1992); J. Martínez Delgado, *El Libro de Ḥayyūý* (Granada, 2004).

Kitāb al-Tanqīṭ ("The Book of Vocalization"). Perhaps his first work, it deals with the vowels, both in relation to the letters used with them, and in relation to the accent, especially in *segholate* nouns. It is written in Arabic; ed. Nutt (London, 1870), together with Gikatilla's *Sefer Otiyyot Ha-Noʾaḥ ve-ha-Meshekh* and *Sefer Poʿolei ha-Kefel* and Ibn Ezra's *Sefer ha-Nikkud*. A new fragment of the Arabic original has been published by I. Eldar, *Mehqarim be-Lashon*, 8 (2001), 141–81.

The fourth work of *Ḥayyūj* is a linguistic-grammatical exegesis to the eight books of the *Prophets*. Some fragments have been published by Allony, Abramson and Eldar. This material has been republished along with new fragments by N. Basil, *Kitāb al-Nutaf le-Rabbi Yehuda Ḥayyūj* (2001).

Concerning the translation of the works of Ḥayyūj into Hebrew see Moses ha-Kohen Gikatilla (section 21) and Abraham ibn Ezra (see section 36).

12. *ABU AL-FARAJ HĀRŪN IBN AL-FARAJ: *Kitāb al-Mushtamil ʿalā al-uṣūl wa al-Fuṣūl fī al-Lugha al-ʿIbrāniyya* ("The Comprehensive Book on the Roots and Branches of the Hebrew Language"). A comprehensive work on linguistics, the most important written by a Karaite grammarian. Its composition (in Arabic) broke off in 1026. It has been preserved in manuscripts in St. Petersburg, one of them containing 579 pages. This work has undergone condensations, which have in turn been condensed. Only brief selections have been published: Hirschfeld, *Arabic Chrestomathy in Hebrew Characters* (London, 1892), 54–60; Poznański, in REJ (1896), 24–39, 197–218; (1908), 42–69. Abū Al-Faraj's grammatical theory has been studied in several articles of M. Zislin, A. Maman, and N. Basil. For references see the bibliography in A. Maman, *Comparative Semitic Philology in the Middle-Ages: from Saadia Gaon to Ibn Barūn (10th–12th cent.)* (Leiden, 2004), 484–85.

Al-Kitāb al-Kāfī fī al-Lugha al-ʾIbrāniyya ("The Adequate Book on the Hebrew Language"). A kind of compendium of *Kitāb al-Mushtamil* (see Abū al-Faraj, section 12). The complete Arabic manuscript located in St. Petersburg contains 400 pages. Fragments: crit. ed. Zislin, *Palestinskiy Sbornik* (7 (70), 1962), 478–84; idem, *Kratkiye Soobshcheniya*, 86 (1965), 164–77; crit. ed. G. Khan et al., *The Karaite Tradition of Hebrew Grammatical thought in its Classical form: A Critical Edition and English Translation of Al-Kitāb Al-Kāfī fi l-Luġa l-ʾIbrāniyya by ʾAbū al-Faraj Harūn ibn al-Faraj* (2003).

Al-Mukhtaṣar (*The Digest)*, another compendium made out of *Al-Kitāb al-Kāfī*. See Khan, ibid. 1, p. xxx.

Kitāb al-ʿuqūd fi Tasārīf al-Lugha al-ʿIbraniyya. Perhaps a further condensation of *Al-Kitāb al-Kāfī*; a selection has been published: ed. Hirschfeld, in JQR (1922–23), 1–7.

Hidāyat al-Qāri (*Guidance of the Reader)*: see: I. Eldar, *The Study of the Art of Correct Reading as Reflected in the Medieval Treatise Hidāyat al-Qāri* (in Hebrew; Jerusalem 1994).

13. *HAI B. SHERIRA: *Kitāb al-Ḥāwi* ("The Collecting Book"). A Hebrew dictionary written in Arabic in which the roots are arranged according to the order of an anagram. Small selections from it have been published: ed. Harkavy, *Ḥadashim Gam Yeshanim*, 7 (1895–96), 3–5; idem, *Mi-Mizraḥ u-mi-Maʿarav*, 3 (1896), 94–96; S. Abramson, in: *Leshonenu*, 41 (1977), 108–116; A. Maman, *Tarbiz* (2000). Other parts, also from the Cairo *Genizah*, are in preparation for publication.

14. JONAH *IBN JANĀḤ: *Kitāb al-Mustalḥaq* (*Sefer ha-Hassagah*; "The Book of Criticism"). The express purpose of this book (finished in 1012) is to complete the two works of Ḥayyūj (*Kitāb al-Afʿāl Dhawāt Ḥurūf al-Līn* and *Kitāb al-Afʿāl Dhawāt al-Mithlayn*), though this completion is accompanied by critical additions. It was written in Arabic and translated into Hebrew by Obadiah ha-Sefardi (see section 46): (crit.?) ed. Derenbourg, *Opusculeṣet traités* (Paris, 1880); a critical edition of Obadiah ha-Sefardi's Hebrew version has been prepared by Téné and brought to press by A. Maman.

Kitāb al-Taswiʾa (*Sefer ha-Tokhaḥat*; "The Book of Rebuke," or *Sefer ha-Hashvaʾah*). A reply to the objections, which had reached Saragossa, made by Samuel ha-Nagid and his friends against *Kitāb al-Mustalḥaq* (see above). It was written in Arabic and translated into Hebrew by Solomon ibn Job (see section 58): (crit.?) ed. Derenbourg, *Opuscules et traités* (Paris, 1880).

Kitāb al-Tashwīr (Sefer ha-Hakhlamah; "The Book of Shaming"). A reply to the criticism which Samuel ha-Nagid had voiced against *Kitāb al-Mustalḥaq* in *Rasāil al-Rifāq* (see section 15). This work was written in Arabic, and it is not known whether it was translated into Hebrew: A selection appears in Derenbourg, *Opusculeṣet traités* (Paris, 1880); a new fragment was identified and published by M. Perez, in: *Kiriat Sefer*, 64 (1993), 1367–87; see also I. Eldar, in: *Mehqarim ba-Lashon ha-ʾIvrit u-vi-Lshonot ha-Yehudim Muggashim li-Shlomo Morag* (1996), 41–61.

Risālat al-Tanbīh (trans. by Judah ibn Tibbon as *Sefer ha-He ʿarah*; "The Book of Admonition"). A reply to a work of criticism against *Kitāb al-Mustalḥaq* (see above) which was called *Kitāb al-Istīfāʾ* ("The Book of Completion," "The Book of Detailed Treatment") and composed in Saragossa. *Risālat al-Tanbīh* was written in Arabic and translated into Hebrew by Solomon ibn Job (see section 58: (crit.?) ed. Derenbourg, *Opuscules et traités* (Paris, 1880).

Risālat al-Taqrīb wa al-Tashīl (*Iggeret ha-Keruv ve-ha-Yishur*; "The Epistle of Bringing Near and Making Easy"). A kind of explanation for beginners of difficult passages in the introductions of Ḥayyūj to his two works on verbs (*Kitāb al-Afʿāl Dhawāt Ḥurūf al-Līn* and *Kitāb al-Afʿāl Dhawāt al-Mithlayn*). A Hebrew translation of the Arabic original was made by Jacob b. Isaac Roman in the first half of the 17th century (cf. Bacher in his introduction to *Sefer ha-Shorashim* (1897), xxxii (see section 42 below)), but no copy of it has survived. The work was published as (crit.?) ed. Derenbourg, *Opusculeṣet traités* (Paris, 1880).

Kitāb al-Tanqīh (*Sefer ha-Dikduk*; "The Book of Detailed Investigation"). The first complete description of biblical Hebrew, written in Arabic in the 1040s. No other work written by a Jew can be compared to it in scope and theoretical foundation. It consists of two parts:

Kitāb al-Lumaʿ (*Sefer ha-Rikmah*; "The Book of Colored Flowerbeds"), a grammar of biblical Hebrew: (crit.?) ed. Derenbourg (-Bacher; Paris, 1886).

Kitāb al-Uṣūl (*Sefer ha-Shorashim*; "Book of [Hebrew] Roots"). A dictionary of biblical Hebrew: (crit.?) ed. Neubauer (Oxford, 1873/5); beside the additions and corrections mentioned above, chap. "Publication of the Works," see also J. Blau, in: *Leshonenu*, 37 (1973), 232–33. The two parts of *Kitāb al-Tanqīh* were translated into Hebrew by Judah ibn Tibbon (cf. section 42, *Sefer ha-Rikmah* and *Sefer ha-Shorashim*). D. Becker, *Meqorot ʿArviyyim le-Diqduqo shel R. Jonah ibn Janāḥ* (Tel Aviv, 1999) and Maman (2004; above section 12) are among the latest research achievements on Ibn Janāḥ.

15. *SAMUEL HA-NAGID (B. NAGDELA): *Rasāʾil al-Rifāq* (*Iggerot ha-Ḥaverim* or *ha-Ḥaverut*; "Epistles of the Companions," or: "of Companionship"). A polemical work in Arabic against some of the comments which Ibn Janāḥ made in his *Kitāb al-Mustalḥaq* (see section 14) concerning the works of Ḥayyūj. Parts of it have been preserved in St. Petersburg, and one small selection was published: Derenbourg (Paris, 1880), LIX–LXVI (cf. section 14: *Risālat al-Taqrīb wa al-Tashīl*).

Kitāb at-Ḥujja ("Book of Evidence"). A polemical work in Arabic in reply to the *Kitāb al-Tashwīr* of Ibn Janāḥ (See section 14:*Kitāb al-Tashwīr*). No part of the book has survived, but it was mentioned by the Nagid himself and by Judah ibn Balʿam (see section 22).

Kitāb al-Istighnāʾ ("Book of Amplitude"). A large dictionary of biblical Hebrew, in Arabic. Small parts which have been preserved in St. Petersburg have been published: crit. ed. Kokowtzow (Petrograd, 1916), 205–24. Large quotations from the book have been found in an anonymous commentary to Psalms and published by M. Perez, *Shenaton le-Ḥeqer ha-Miqra ve-Hamizraḥ ha-Qadum*, 12 (2000), 241–87. Z. Ukashy used Hanagid's poetic language usages to reconstruct some of his lost lexical definitions; see Ukashy's dissertation, "Hannagid's Dictionary based on his Poetry" (in Hebrew; Jerusalem, Heb. Univ., 1998).

16. SOLOMON IBN *GABIROL: *Anak* ("Necklace"). A didactical poem on Hebrew grammar, 98 verses out of the original 400 are known and have been published: Egers, *Zunz Jubelschrift* (1884) Hebrew part, 192–96; re-ed. Bialik-Rawnitzki, vol. 1 (Berlin, 1924), 173–80.

17. *ABRAHAM HA-BAVLI: A lexicographical work, only a part of which has been preserved and published: ed. Neubauer, *Journal Asiatique*, 2 (1863), 195–216.

18. *DAVID (HA-DAYYAN) IBN HAJJAR: Abraham ibn Ezra mentions him, saying that he produced a work known as *Sefer ha-Melakhim*, apparently on the vowels, but it has not been preserved. Moses ibn Ezra calls him Abū Suleimān ibn Muhāgīr (cf. Bacher on ibn Ezra (1882), 185; Neubauer (1963), 202).

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19. *IBN YASHUSH, ISAAC: *Kitāb al-Taṣārīf* (*Sefer ha-Ẓerufim*; "Treatise on Conjugations"). Abraham ibn Ezra mentions it, but the work has not been preserved. The selections published by Derenbourg, *Opuscules* (1880), and Kokowtzow (1916) in fact belong to another work, which perhaps had the same name, but is of a later date (see section 24). Kokowtzow called the latter work "Pseudo-Ibn Yashush" (cf. Bacher on Ibn Ezra (1882), 186).

20. ELI B. ISRAEL: He made (in 1066?) a further condensation from the one made by Levi b. Japheth (see section 10) of the long version of *al-Agron* by Alfāsi (see section 4 above). It exists in manuscript (cf. Skoss (1936), CXXXVII–CXXXIX).

21. *MOSES HA-KOHEN *GIKATILLA: *Sefer Otiyyot Ha-Noʾaḥ ve-ha-Meshekh* ("Treatise on [Verbs Containing] Feeble Letters").

Sefer Poʾolei ha-Kefel ("Treatise of Verbs Containing Double Letters"). A Hebrew translation of the two works of Ḥayyūj on the weak verbs (*Kitāb al-Afʿāl Dhawāt Ḥurūf al-Līn* and *Kitāb al-Afʿāl Dhawāt al-Mithlayn*); one of the first translations from Arabic to Hebrew, and the first such translation of the works of a Jewish grammarian: ed. Nutt (London, 1870).

Kitab al-Tadhkīr wa al Taʾnith (*Sefer Zekharim u-Nekevot*; "Treatise on Masculine and Feminine Genders"). A monograph in Arabic concerning nouns in the Bible whose usage deviates from the accepted rule with regard to gender. Two selections have been published: crit. ed. Kokowtzow (Petrograd, 1916), 59–66; it was published with an additional selection (altogether about one tenth of the monograph) and a modern Hebrew translation: crit. ed. Allony, *Sinai* (1949), 34–67.

22. *JUDAH IBN BALʿAM: *Kitāb al-Tajnīs* ("The Book of Homonyms"). As far as we know this is the first monograph concerning homonyms. It was written in Arabic with the entries in an alphabetical-dictionary order, and some of the

surviving material (139 entries) has been published: crit. ed. Kokowtzow (Petrograd, 1916), 69–108; crit. re-ed. Abramson, *Sefer Yalon* (1963), 51–149; Allony, *Beit Mikra* (1964), 87–122.

Kitāb Ḥurūf al-Maʿanī (*Sefer Otiyyot ha-Inyanim*; "Book of Particles"). A lexicon of the particles of Hebrew, written in Arabic, selections of which have been published: crit. ed. Kokowtzow (Petrograd (1916), 109–32; Allony, *Beit Mikra* (1964), 87–122.

Kitāb al-Af ʿāl-Mushtaqqa min al-Asmāʾ ("The Book of Verbs Derived from Nouns," Verba denominativa). A lexicon of verbs derived from nouns, written in Arabic, and published in part: crit. ed. Kokowtzow (Petrograd, 1916), 133–52.

An anonymous translation is extant of the three works of Ibn Balʿam, parts of which have been published at various places and several times. The translation of *Kitāb al-Af ʿāl-Mushtaqqa min al-Asmāʾ* was published by: Polak, in *Ha-Karmel*, 3 (Vilna, 1862–63), 212, 229–230; Goldberg, in *Ḥayyei Olam* (1878–79), 53–61; Hirschensohn, *Hamisderonah* (Jerusalem, 1885), 21–23; 42–47. The translation of *Kitāb Ḥurūf al-Maʿanī* was published by Fuchs, *Haḥoker* (Paris, 1892/93), 113–28; 193–206; 340–2; *ibid.*, (Vienna, 1894), 73–83. It was later published by the editors of the above-mentioned Arabic original of the Ibn Balʿam works discussed here; the entire extant material from the philological books has been published by S. Abramson, *Shelosha Sefarim shel Rav Yehuda ben Bal'am* (1975).

23. LEV *IBN ALTABBAN: This author wrote a linguistic work which has been lost, even its contents remaining unknown. Abraham ibn Ezra and Elijah (Baḥur) Levita refer to it as *Sefer ha-Mafte'aḥ*; cf. Pagis, in *Leshonenu* (1963–64).

24. ANONYMOUS (PSEUDO-IBN YASHUSH):

An anonymous work in Arabic which is a kind of long commentary on the linguistic work of Samuel ha-Nagid. It was believed to be the *Kitāb al Tasārīf* of Isaac Abū Ibrahim ibn Yashush but Ibn Yashush's work antedates it by a generation. Sections of the work were published by: Derenbourg, *Opuscules* (1880), XXXXI; Kokowtzow (1916, Russian part), in various places in the notes.

1100 C.E.

25. ANONYMOUS (Karaite)

An anonymous Karaite work in Hebrew entitled *Me'or ʾAyin*, based on Abū Al-Faraj Harūn's grammatical theory (see section 12 above); crit. ed. M. Zislin (Moscow, 1990); review: A. Maman, in: *Leshonenu*, 58 (1995), 153–65.

26. ISAAC *IBN BARŪN: *Kitāb al-Muwāzana bayn al-Lugha al-ʾIbraniyya wa al-ʾArabiyya*. A monograph on the connection between Hebrew and Arabic, written in Arabic no earlier then 1080 and no later than 1128. It includes a short grammatical section and a long section on lexicography. About two-thirds of the monograph, which includes more than 600 dictionary entries, has been preserved, and published: crit. ed. Kokowtzow (Petrograd, 1890–93), 1–98; crit. ed. idem (1916), 153–72. A new Genizah fragment from this work has been discovered by A. Maman (see *Otzrot Lashon – The Hebrew Philology Manuscripts and Genizah Fragments in the Library of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America* (in press), entry MS 8713.1 MS R1978.1; cf. also "Dictionaries and Glossaries from the Collection of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America: Introductory Notes," in: *Leshonenu*, 65 (2003), 303–14, esp. n. 17). D. Becker, *Meqorot ʾArviyyim shel ʿSefer ha-Hashva'a bein ha-ʾIvrit veha-ʾAravit' le-Isaac ben Barun* (2005), discovered the sources used by Ibn Barūn for the Arabic part of his work. He has also been preparing the entire text of *Muwāzana* for a new critical edition.

27. *ALI IBN SULEIMAN:

He made a further condensation of the one made by Abū Saʿid Levi b. Japheth (10.1) of the long version of *al-Agron* of Alfāsi (4.1); preserved only in manuscript in St. Petersburg; cf. Skoss (1936), CXXXIX.

28. ABRAHAM IBN QAMNIʾEL (OR: QANBIL):

According to Joseph Kimḥi he wrote a Hebrew grammar, which has been lost.

29. *JACOB B. ELEZAR: *Al-Kāmil (Sefer ha-Shalem*; "The Complete [Book]"). A work which apparently consisted of a grammar and a lexicon, referred to by David Kimḥi as *Sefer ha-Shalem*, and known in Arabic as *al-Kāmil*. Crit. ed. of the remnants of the work: N. Allony, *Ya'aqov ben El'azar – Kitāb al-Kāmil* (1977) (cf. Bacher (1892), 110).

30. *NATAN B. JEHIEL OF ROME: *He-Arukh*. A comprehensive dictionary of the Talmuds, the Midrashim, and of early geonic literature, written in Rome at the beginning of the 12th century, and preserved in several copies. It has been published many times; the first edition appeared before 1480; crit. ed. H.Y. Kohut, *Arukh Completum* (1879–1892); see also: S. Abramson, "*le-Heqer he-Arukh*," in: *Leshonenu*, 36 (1972), 122–49; 37 (1973), 26–42, 253–69; 38 (1974), 91–117.

31. ABU ISḤĀQ IBRĀHĪM B. FARAJ B. MARUTH: *Kitāb al Tawṭiʾa* (+*Sefer ha-Maslul*). A systematic work on the grammar of Samaritan Hebrew. According to Ben-Hayyim (1957), p. 30, it was written in the first half of the 12th century, and is one of the earliest works in the study of the language of the Samaritans. The author did not complete the work, but left only a small part lacking; crit. ed. Ben-Hayyim (Jerusalem, 1957), 3–127 (see especially 30–34).

32. MENAHEM B. SOLOMON: *Even Boḥan*. A comprehensive work for the study of Hebrew, including a grammar, a dictionary (the main part) and a section on exegesis. It was written in Rome in 1143; cf. Bacher, *Graetz-Jubelschrift* (Breslau, 1887), 94–115. Fragments: ed. Bacher (MHLW (*Oẓar ha-Sifrut*), 1896), 257–63; idem, *Ha-Goren*, 4 (1903), 38–58.

33. NETHANEL (B. AL-FAYYUMI?) OF YEMEN: A Hebrew (-Arabic?) grammar, written in Arabic, part of which has been published; ed. Kokowtzow (Petrograd, 1916), 173–89.

34. MOSES *IBN EZRA: *Kitāb al-muḥāḍara wa almudhākara*. The first work of poetics on Hebrew poetry, based on Arabic poetic theory: chapter 2 was published by Hirschfeld, *Arabic Chrestomathy* (1892), 61–63; the introduction and the first four chapters were issued by Kokowtzow (*Vostochniya Zametki*, 1895), 191–220. An early anonymous translation,

Eshkol ha-Kofer, is cited by A. Zacuto, in Yuḥasin (London (1857), p. 229). A free translation in modern Hebrew, entitled *Shirat Yisrael* (Berlin, 1924), was published by Halper; crit. ed. A.S. Halkin, *Moshe ben Ya'aqov ibn Ezra – Sefer ha-'Iyyunim veha-Diyyunim* (1975).

35. JUDAH HADASSI, THE KARAITE: *Eshkol ha-Kofer.* An encyclopedic work, in Hebrew, which includes an elaborate grammar based on Ḥayyūj and Ibn Janāḥ (begun in 1149): ed. Eupatoria (1836); inedited chapters ed. Bacher (JQR, 1896), 431–44.

36. ABRAHAM *IBN EZRA: *Sefer Moznayim* (or *Moznei Leshon ha-Kodesh*). An introduction to linguistics containing a survey of the grammarians who preceded him, a section on 59 grammatical terms and one on the conjugations of the verb; written in Rome in 1140; ed. Heidenheim (Offenbach, 1791; crit. ed. L.J. Paton, A. Sáenz-Badillos, *Abraham Ibn 'Ezra, Sefer Moznayim*, (Cordoba, 2002); J. Targarona Borras, "Conceptos gramaticales en el *Sefer Mo'znayim* de Abraham Ibn Ezra," *Abraham Ibn Ezra Y Su Teimpo* (Madrid, 1990), 345–52.

Sefer Otiyyot ha-No'aḥ.
Sefer Po'olei ha-Kefel.
Sefer ha-Nikkud.

Translations of the three works of Ḥayyūj (see section 11): ed. Dukes (Frankfurt on the Main, 1844). *Sefer ha-Nikkud* was reprinted by Nutt (London, 1870), together with Gikatilla's *Sefer Otiyyot Ha-No'aḥ ve-ha-Meshekh* and *Sefer Po'olei ha-Kefel*, and Ḥayyūj's *Kitāb al-Tanqīṭ*.

A work in defense of Saadiah Gaon directed against the criticism attributed to Dunash b. Labrat (see section 6) mistakenly called *Sefat Yeter* and published under that name (cf. Wilensky, KS, 3, 1926/7, 73–77); ed. Bisliches (1838); ed. Lippmann (Frankfurt on the Main, 1843); crit. ed. of a *genizah* fragment, Allony, *Leshonenu* (1944–45), 218–22; crit. ed. Y. Oshri, *R. Abraham ibn Ezra, Sefer ha-Hagana 'al Rav Saadiah Gaon* (Ramat Gan: Bar-Ilan Univ., 1988); A. Sáenz-Badillos, "La Obra de Abraham ibn Ezra sobre las Criticas Contra Se'adyah," *Abraham Ibn Ezra Y Su Tiempo* (Madrid, 1990), pp. 287–294.

Sefat Yeter. A comprehensive systematic grammar for beginners (Lucca, 1140–45). Bacher on Ibn Ezra (1882), 8–17, thought it *Sefer ha-Yesod* (or *Yesod Dikduk*), which, in his opinion, was not extant: but Wilensky, KS (1926/27), 73–77, proved that it was *Sefat Yeter.* The introduction was published: ed. Bacher on Ibn Ezra (1882), 148–9; crit. ed. N. Allony, *Yesod Diqduq hu Sefat Yeter me'et Rabbi Abraham ibn Ezra* (Jerusalem, 1984).

Sefer Ẓaḥot (*Ẓaḥot*). The main grammatical work of Abraham ibn Ezra, written in Mantua in 1145, which treats every grammatical topic; ed. Lippmann (Fuerth, 1827); crit. ed. C. Del Valle Rodriguez, *Sefer Saḥot de Abraham Ibn Ezra I Edicion critica y version castellana* (Salamanca, 1977); see also idem, *La obra gramatical de Abraham Ibn Ezra* (Madrid, 1977); L. Charlap, *Innovation and Tradition in Rabbi Abraham Ibn-Ezra's Grammar according to his Grammatical Writings and to his Bible Exegesis* (in Hebrew, 1995); C. Del Valle Rodriguez, "*Le-Ba'yat Hibburei ha-Diqduq shel Rabbi Abraham ibn Ezra*," in: *Mehqarim Be-Lashon*, 8 (2001), 253–281; A. Sáenz-Badillos, "*'al kamma 'amadot diqduqiyot shel R. Abraham ibn Ezra*," *ibid.*, 229–51.

1150 C.E.

Sefer ha-Shem (or *Sefer ha-Shem ha-Nikhbad*). Only in part a grammatical work. Of its eight chapters, the first three and the last two deal with personal names and adjectives; written in Béziers before 1155; ed. Lippmann (Fuerth, 1834).

Yesod Mispar. A short monograph about the numerals; written in Béziers before 1155; ed. Pinsker, in *Mavo el ha-Nikkud ha-Ashuri*, Vienna, 1863.

Safah Berurah. A grammar, apparently written in southern France; ed. Lippmann (Fuerth, 1839); crit. ed. Wilensky, *Devir*, II (Berlin, 1924), 274–302 (incomplete); Ben-Menaḥem, *Sinai* (1941), 43–53, crit. ed. of the 8 missing pages of the Lippmann (1839) edition.

Sefer ha-Yesod (or *Yesod Dikduk*). (See *Sefat Yeter*, above.)

37. SOLOMON IBN *PARHON: *Maḥberet he-Arukh.* A dictionary preceded by a grammar section, written in Hebrew (Salerno, 1161). It is almost a précis of *Sefer ha-Shorashim* by Ibn Janāḥ, with various additions taken from the works of Ḥayyūj, from *Kitāb al-Mustalḥaq*, and from *Sefer ha-Rikmah*; ed. Stern (Pressburg, 1844); inedited fragments: ed. Bacher, in ZAW (1891), 96ff. and in ZHB (1896), 59–61.

38. JACOB B. MEIR (RABBENU *TAM): A work known as *Hakhra'ot* in which he set out to decide between Menaḥem and Dunash; ed. Filipowski (London, 1855, with the objections of Dunash).

A didactic poem on cantillation signs and vocalization: ed. Halberstam, in *Jeschurun*, 5 (1865), Hebrew part, 123–31.

39. *SAMUEL BEN MEIR (RASBHAM): A grammatical work known as *Dayqut* is based on pre-Ḥayyūj grammatical theory, published by Yom-Tov Stein as "*Shiyurei Yom Tov, Diqduq me-Rabbenu Shemuel u-Perusho 'al ha-Torah 'al pi ha-Diqduq*," in: *Jahrbuch des Traditionstreuen Rabbinerverbandes in der Slovaket* (Tranava, 1923), i–vii, 33–67; crit. ed. R. Merdler, *Dayyaqut MeRabbenu Shemuel [Ben Meir (Rashbam)]* (Jerusalem 1999); Rashbam's grammatical theory has been studied in a dissertation by Merdler (Hebrew University, Jerusalem, 2004).

40. ISAAC HA-LEVI: According to Judah ibn Tibbon, Ha-Levi wrote a book called *Sefer ha-Makor.* The work has been lost.

41. ISAAC B. JUDAH (?) BARCELONI: According to Judah ibn Tibbon, he translated the first part of *Kitāb al-Uṣūl* of Ibn Janāḥ, but the translation is not extant.

42. JUDAH IBN *TIBBON: Completed the translation of *Kitāb al Tanqīḥ* of Ibn Janaḥ in 1171.

Sefer ha-Rikmah. Translation of the *Kitāb al-Luma'* of Ibn Janāḥ: ed. Goldberg (Frankfurt on the Main, 1856); French translation by Metzger, *Le livre des parterres fleuris* (1889); crit.

ed. Wilensky (Berlin, 1929–31), second ed. Wilensky-Téné, Jerusalem, 1964.

Sefer ha-Shorashim. Translation of the *Kitāb al-Uṣūl* of Ibn Janāḥ; crit. ed. Bacher (Berlin, 1894–97).

43. JOSEPH *KIMḤI: *Sefer Zikkaron* ("Book of Remembrance"). Together with the works of Abraham ibn Ezra, this is the first grammar written in Hebrew on the basis of the language study which had developed in Spain; interesting is his chapter on the division of the vowels into five long and five short ones; crit. ed. Bacher (Berlin, 1888).

Sefer ha-Galui. A reply to the "decisions" of Jacob b. Meir Tam (37.1); ed. Mathews (Berlin, 1887).

44. JOSEPH HACONSTANDINI: *Adat Devorim*. A work spanning the dividing line between masorah literature and linguistic literature (unpublished).

45. MOSES B. JOSEPH *KIMḤI: *Mahalakh Shevilei ha-Da'at*. A concise, schematic grammar based on the works of his father and Abraham ibn Ezra. Elijah (Baḥur) Levita published it in 1508, and it has been republished many times – according to Hirschfeld (1926), 82, thirteen (fourteen?) times during the 16th century alone; S. García-Jalón de la Lama y M. Veiga Díaz, *Repertorio de gramáticas hebreas impresas en Europa en el siglo XVI* (Salamanca 2000 = *Helmantica* 156), 615–18. Last edition Hamburg, 1785.

46. OBADIAH HA-SEFARDI: *Sefer ha-Hassagah*. Translation of the *Kitāb al-Mustalḥaq* of Ibn Janāḥ *Kitāb al-Tanqīṭ*, so named by the translator. See above subentry *Kitāb al-Mustalḥaq*.

1200 C.E.

47. DAVID B. JOSEPH *KIMḤI: *Sefer Mikhlol*. A complete description of biblical Hebrew consisting of two parts:

(a) *Mikhlol*, originally entitled *Ḥeleq ha-Diqduq*. The most widespread grammar of the Hebrew language. It has been printed many times: Constantinople, 1525, 1532–34, 1533; Venice, 1545, accompanied by the comments of Elijah Levita: Fuerth, 1793; and Lyck, 1864.

(b) *Sefer ha-Shorashim*, originally entitled *Ḥeleq ha-'Inyan*. Based on the most widespread dictionary of the Hebrew Language, *Kitāb al-Uṣūl* of Ibn Janāḥ in the translation of Judah ibn Tibbon (see section 42). It was printed in Rome before 1480 and in Naples in 1490 and has gone through several editions, the last two ones, Berlin 1838 and 1847, the latter with the comments of Elijah (Baḥur) Levita.

Et Sofer. A short work on vocalization and cantillation signs; ed. Goldberg (Lyck, 1864).

48. ANONYMOUS: Hebrew-French Glossary. Composed in the second quarter of the 13th century (1240–41?); crit. ed. Lambert-Brandin (Paris, 1905).

49. ANONYMOUS (DAVID?): A short work on grammar (second quarter of the 13th century). Poznański (1894) thought that the author had come from Greece and wrote the work in Prague. It begins with a division into three parts of speech and then briefly discusses the noun, verb, *milliyyot* (particles), and at the end vowels; ed. Poznański (Berlin, 1894).

50. ANONYMOUS: (+ *Ha-Meliẓ*). A Hebrew-Aramaic-Arabic dictionary on the vocabulary of the Samaritan Pentateuch. According to Ben-Ḥayyim (1957), 65–73, the work was composed in two stages. In the first stage it was a Hebrew-Aramaic dictionary written at the latest at the end of the 10th or the beginning of the 11th century. The Arabic was added at the second stage by another writer, probably between the second half of the 11th and the beginning of the 14th century. Crit. ed. Ben-Hayyim (Jerusalem, 1957), 439–616.

51. MOSES (AL-)ROTI: In *Darkhei ha-Nikkud* (see below) Moses b. Yom Tov mentions a grammarian of this name; see Wilensky, HUCA (1936), 647–9.

52. MOSES B. YOM TOV: *Darkhei ha-Nikkud ve-ha-Neginot* or *Sha'arei ha-Nikkud*. A work concerning vowels and cantillation signs; crit. ed. Lowinger, in: *Ha-Ẓofeh leḤokhmat Yisrael* (1929), 267–344.

53. ABU SA'ID B. ABU AL-HASAN B. ABU SA'ID: *Kitāb al-Qawanīn li Irshād al-Muta'llimīn*. A book on correct pronunciation in the reading of the Pentateuch, composed toward the middle of the 13th century; first ed. Noeldeke (1862); crit. ed. Ben-Hayyim (Jerusalem, 1957), 131–69; and see especially 34–39.

1250 C.E.

54. *MOSES (B. ISAAC) B. HA-NESI'AH: *Leshon Limmudim*. In the introduction to *Sefer ha-Shoham* (see below) the writer mentions that in his youth he wrote a grammatical work with this title.

Sefer ha-Shoham. The first grammatical work, based on the theory of Spanish grammarians, written by a Franco-German Jew; ed. Collins (London, 1882) – the first part; crit. ed. Klar (Jerusalem, 1946), the first and second parts (incomplete).

55. *TANḤUM YERUSHALMI: *al-Murshid al-Kāfī* ("The Adequate Guide"). A large dictionary written in Arabic for the Hebrew of the *Mishneh Torah* of Maimonides: ed. Toledano (Tel Aviv, 1961), part 1: letters א–כ. The letters ל–ש were edited by H. Shay as "*Al-Murshid al-Kāfī – ha-Madrikh ha-Maspiq le-Rabbi Tanhum be-Rabbi Yosef ha-Yerushalmi*" (dissertation, Heb. Univ. Jerusalem 1975). The letter *taw* was published: crit. ed. Shay, *Leshonenu* (1969), 196–207; 280–96. A crit. ed. of the entire dictionary has been prepared by Shay (in press).

56. JUDAH *AL-ḤARIZI: *Ha-Mavo li-Leshon ha-Kodesh*. According to Isaac ha-Levi b. Eleazar (55), Al-Ḥarizi composed a work of this name (cf. Neubauer (1863), p. 205).

57. ISAAC HA-LEVI B. ELEAZAR (?), ISAAC B. ELEAZAR HA-LEVI (?): *Sefat Yeter*. A yet unpublished condensed Hebrew translation of the two works of Ḥayyūj (11.1–2) and of *Kitāb al-Mustalḥaq* by Ibn Janāḥ (14.1). Poznański in: MGWJ (1895) 251–62, printed the introduction; cf. also Nutt (1870), x.

Ha-Rikmah. A collection of monographs on various grammatical and lexicographical issues which has remained unpublished.

58. SOLOMON B. JOSEPH IBN JOB: *Sefer ha-Hashva'ah*, Translation of *Kitāb al-Taswi'a* by Ibn Janāḥ under this in-

correct title (Béziers, 1264). Small parts have been preserved in manuscripts.

The manuscript has been described by M. Gaspar Remiro, “Los manuscritos de la Biblioteca Nacional,” in: *Boletín de la Real Academia Española,* 6 (1919) 221–34, “Ms. 5460, fol. 1a-7b”; but several mistakes occurred in the description, which has been corrected by C. Del Valle Rodriguez, *Catálogo Descriptivo de los Manuscritos Hebreos de la Biblioteca Nacional* (Madrid, 1986), 35–40. The text has been published by J.M. Camacho Padilla, *Rabi Yona Ben Gannah. La segunda mitad del Sefer Hahaxua, version hebraica de su Kitab al-Taswiya por Salomon bar Yosef ben Ayyub* (Córdoba, 1929). See also C. Del Valle Rodriguez, *Historia de la Gramática Hebrea en España*, vol. 10, *La gramática hebrea de Ibn Danán en la versión árabe y hebrea*, (Madrid, 2004), 428.

Sefer ha-Ma’aneh. Translation of the *Risālat al-Tanbīh* of Ibn Janāḥ under this title.

59. ABRAHAM B. ISAAC *BEDERSI: *Ḥotam Tokhnit* (“The Seal of the Well-Built Edifice”). The first dictionary of synonyms in biblical Hebrew; ed. Polak (Amsterdam, 1865).

60. MEIR B. DAVID: *Hassagat ha-Hassagah*. A work in defense of Ḥayyūj against the criticism of Ibn Janāḥ in *Kitāb al-Mustalḥaq*; cf. *Ma’aseh Efod* (see section 78 below), pp. 116, 173.

61. SAMSON: A dictionary in which words are often translated into German.

62. SAMSON HA-NAKDAN: *Ḥibbur ha-Konim* or: *Shimshoni*. A work on vocalization ascribed by Ben-Yaakov to Samson (cf. Hirschfeld, 1926, N. 2); ed. Frensdorff (Hannover, 1865); I. Eldar, “*Mi-Kitvei Askolat ha-Diqduq ha-’Ashkenazit – ha-Shimshoni*,” in: *Leshonenu*, 43 (1979), 100–11, 201–10; D. Ben Menachem, “*Hibbur ha-Qonim ha-Shimshoni by R. Shimshon ha-Naqdan (13th cent.)*” (Ph.D. thesis, U.S.A. 1987).

63. JEKUTHIEL B. ISAAC HA-KOHEN (or: ZALMAN NAKDAN OF PRAGUE);

Ein ha-Kore. A work on vocalization; a section of the introduction was published by Hirschfeld (1926, app. III) from Cod. Brit. Mus. Or. 853; and one chapter has been published, ed. Gumpertz, in *Leshonenu* (1958), 36–47, 137–46. The work has been studied by I. Eldar, *Leshonenu,* 40, 190–210; idem, *Masoret ha-Qeri’ah ha-qedam Ashkenzit*, I (1979), 191–96; idem, *Massorot,* 5–6, 10–16. A critical edition of the first part, *The Grammar*, has been published by R. Yarkoni, “*‘Ein Hakore li-Yequti’el ha-Cohen*,” 1–2 (dissertation, Tel Aviv Univ. 1985).

64. *MORDECAI B. HILLEL: Wrote two poems on vocalization; ed. Kohn, in MGWJ, 26 (1877), 167–71, 271–5.

65. *JOSEPH B. KALONYMUS:

Two poems on cantillation, one of which has been published, ed. Berliner (Berlin, 1886), under the name *Ta’amei Emet ba-Ḥaruzim*.

1300 C.E.

66. SOLOMON B. MEVORAKH: *Kitab al-Taysir. A Karaite Hebrew-Arabic dictionary based mainly on Ya’acov b. Eleazar’s Kitab al-Kamil*, but on other sources too such as Alfāsi, Ḥayyūj and Ibn Janāḥ. The author is mentioned by the Karaite chronist Ibn Al-Hitti (G. Margoliouth, *JQR,* 9 (1897), 429–43). The dictionary is preserved in several manuscripts and has been prepared for publication by J. Martinez Delgado. See his article (in Hebrew) in *Studies in Hebrew Language and Literature – Madrid Congress – Brit Ivrit Olamit –Proceedings of the 13th Hebrew Scientific European Congress, University of Madrid, August 1998*, pp. 59–63.

67. BENJAMIN B. JUDAH OF ROME: *Hakdamah*. A small work which served as an introduction and supplement to grammars in use in Italy, published as the introduction to *Mahalakh Shevilei ha-Da’at* of Joseph Kimḥi (see section 45); cf. Bacher, in: REJ (1885), 123–44.

Mavo ha-Dikduk [or: *ha-Lashon*]. Ed. by W. Heidenheim, Roedelheim (1806) *cum Darkhei No’am*; crit. ed. and Spanish translation by A. Sáenz de Zaitegui Tejero, “Una revisión crítica de la gramática en el siglo xiv: La הקדמה de Benjamín de Roma,” in: *Helmantica*, 154 (2000), 167–88.

68. *IMMANUEL B. SOLOMON OF ROME: *Even Boḥan*. 175 chapters in four parts, dealing with orthography, grammar, and other matters necessary for biblical exegesis, such as syncope, additions, and metathesis; cf. Bacher, MGWJ (1855), 251–75.

69. *JOSEPH IBN *KASPI: *Sharshot ha-Kesef* (“Garlands of Silver”). A dictionary which attempts to base its definitions on logical theory; ed. Last, London, 1906. Its theory has been studied by C. Aslanov, “De la lexicographie hébraïque à la sémantique générale: la pensée sémantique de Caspi d’après le Sefer Šaršot ha-Kesef,” in: *Helmantica,* 154 (2000), 75–120.

Ratukot Kesef (“Chains of Silver”). A grammar.

A commentary to *Sefer ha-Rikmah* which has been lost.

70. *JOSEPH B. DAVID HA-YEVANI: *Menorat ha-Ma’or.* A dictionary with an introduction on grammatical issues: unpublished; excerpts: ed. Dukes, in: *Literturblatt des Orients*, 10 (1849), 705–9, 727–32, 745–7; 11 (1850), 173–6, 183–5, 215–8.

71. SOLOMON B. SAMUEL: *Sefer ha-Meliẓah* (or *Sefer Pitronei Millim*: “The Book of Translation”). A Hebrew (Aramaic)-Persian dictionary composed in 1339 in Turkestan, to serve Persian-speaking Jews versed in Hebrew with translations of Hebrew and Aramaic words from the Bible, the Talmud, and the Midrashim. Fragments: ed. Bacher, in *Jahresbericht der Landes-Rabbinerschule*. Budapest (1900), Hebrew part, 1–76.

72. SAR SHALOM: Solomon b. Abba Mari Yarḥi (see section 75) mentions a grammarian of this name.

73. DAVID B. YOM TOV IBN BILIA: *Derekh La’asot Ḥaruzim* (?). A short work on poetry written in Provence during the middle of the first half of the 14th century. The title, known only from one manuscript, was possibly given by one of the copyists. The first work which lists 18 types of meters in Spanish poetry; crit. ed. Allony, in *Koveẓ al Yad* (1966), 225–46.

74. SAMUEL BENVENISTE: Solomon b. Abba Mari Yarḥi (see section 75) and Profiat Duran (see section 78) mention a grammarian of this name.

75. SOLOMON B. ABBA MARI YARḤI: *Leshon Limmudim.* A grammar; small fragment, ed. Hirschfeld (1926), app. IV. A facsimile edition of the Parma MS 2776 of *Leshon Limmudim* along with an introduction by E. Goldenberg have been published (ed. B. Elizur, Jerusalem 1998) in honor of Z. Ben-Hayyim's ninetieth birthday.

76. ANONYMOUS, from Yemen: Unknown author of an untitled work in Arabic, which deals with the letters, vowels, and cantillation signs; ed. Neubauer (1891).

An expanded Hebrew translation of the work noted in the previous paragraph, including certain grammatical chapters in which a few chapters of *Kitāb al-Lumaʿ* of Ibn Janāḥ (14.6.1.) were adapted, apparently from the Arabic original; ed. Derenbourg, *Journal Asiatique* (1890).

77. ELEAZAR B. PHINEHAS B. JOSEPH: *Mukhtaṣar al-Tawti'a (Kiẓẓur ha-Maslul).* An abridged adaptation of *Kitāb al-Tawti'a (Sefer ha-Maslul)* of Abū Isḥāq Ibrāhim b. Faraj b. Mārūth (30.1) with additions by the adapter; crit. ed. Ben-Hayyim (1957), 170–221; see also 36–41.

1400 C.E.

78. ISAAC B. MOSES (ALSO PROFIAT *DURAN): *Ma'aseh Efod.* A grammar written in 1403 comprising a long introduction, 32 chapters, and a supplement. The most important work since the *Mikhlol* of David Kimḥi, it was an attempt to base linguistics on scholastic philosophy; (?) crit. ed. Friedlaender-Hakohen (Vienna, 1865).

79. JEHIEL (?): *Makre Dardekei.* A Hebrew-Italian-Arabic dictionary supplemented by the French and Provençal words used by Rashi and Kimḥi. The first of its type; ed. n. p. (1488).

80. JOSEPH B. JUDAH *ZARKO: *Rav Pe'alim.* A work dealing with the verb; Amsterdam (1730).

Ba'al Lashon. A dictionary.

81. ISAAC B. NATHAN KALONYMUS: *Me'ir Nativ* or *Ya'ir Nativ.* The first Hebrew concordance of the Bible, after the manner of the Latin concordance by the Franciscan Arlottus of 1290. The work was intended to assist in debates with Christians, with regard to the evidence they cited from the Bible. Written from 1437 to 1445; ed. Venice, 1533; re-ed. Basel, 1581.

1450 C.E.

82. DAVID B. SOLOM *IBN YAḤYA: *Leshon Limmudim.* A grammar, influenced by David Kimḥi and Profiat Duran, which, however, takes the liberty of criticizing them; ed. Constantinople (1506) together with *Shekel ha-Kodesh*; 2nd impression Constantinople, 1579.

83. MOSES BEN SHEM TOV *IBN ḤABIB: *Peraḥ Shoshan.* A grammar, quoted in *Darkhei No'am* and in *Mikneh Avram* of De Balmes (see section 93).

Marpe Lashon ("Healing of Speech"). A pamphlet concerning grammar; ed. Constantinople (beginning 16th century); re-ed. Elijah Levita (Venice, 1546) in *Dikdukim*; ed. Heidenheim (Roedelheim, 1806) *cum Darkhei No'am.*

Darkhei No'am ("Pleasant Ways"). Poetics based on Aristotle, and rules of meter; ed. Bomberg (1564); re-ed. Heidenheim (Roedelheim, 1806).

84. *JUDAH B. JEHIEL (MESSER LEON): *Livnat ha-Sappir.* A grammar of 122 chapters written in 1454, influenced by Profiat Duran (78).

Nofet Ẓufim. A long work on Hebrew rhetoric, based on Latin rhetoric as developed by Cicero and Quintilianus with regard to rules and terminology; ed. Mantua (1480); re-ed. Jellinek (Vienna, 1863).

The work *Petaḥ Devarai* is a grammar attributed to David Kimḥi or to David, the son of Judah b. Jehiel; ed. Naples (1492); ed. Elijah Levita (1546) in his *Dikdukim.*

85. *IBN DANAN, SAADIAH B. MAIMUN: *Al-Ḍarūri fī al-Lugha al-ʿIbrāniyya* comprising a dictionary, a grammar, and rules of meter in poetry. It was completed in 1473, and translated by the author into Hebrew. Fragments: ed. Bacher, in REJ, 41 (1901), 268–72; ed. Neubauer, in *Melekhet ha-Shir* (Frankfurt on the Main, 1865); M. Cohen, *Ha-Haqdamot ha-Diqduqiyot le-Sefer ha-Shorashim shel Rabbi Saadiah ben-Maimon ibn-Danan* (2000); crit. ed. C. Del Valle Rodriguez, *La gramática hebrea de Ibn Danán en la versión árabe y hebrea, Historia de la Gramática Hebrea en Españña*, vol. 10 (Madrid, 2004).

Sefer ha-Shorashim. A Hebrew–Arabic dictionary, crit. ed. M. Jiménez Sánchez, *Se'adyah ibn Danān, Sefer ha-Šorašim, Introducción, edición e indices* (Granada, 1996); reviewed by A. Maman, *Tarbiz*, 68 (1999), 287–301.

86. SOLOMON B. ABRAHAM OF URBINO:

Ohel Mo'ed. A concise lexicon of synonyms; ed. Venice, 1548; ed. Willheimer (Vienna, 1881).

87. DAVID BEN YESHA' AL-'ADANI: *Al-Jāmi'* (*ha-Me'assef*) (*or Sharḥ al-Alfāẓ*). A Hebrew-Arabic dictionary, composed in Yemen between 1483 and 1486. Its entries are arranged according to the first letter (not according to their root) and based mainly on Maimonide's *Mishneh Torah* and his commentary to the Mishnah. A facsimile edition of one of the many extant manuscripts has been published (Jerusalem 1988), along with an introduction by Y. Tobi (pp. 175–187) and U. Melammed (pp. 188–189).

1500 C.E.

88. *REUCHLIN, JOHANN: *Rudimenta linguae hebraicae.* The first grammar written by a Christian to teach Hebrew to Christians. Written in 1506, it is attached to the *Mikhlol.*

89. ELISHA B. ABRAHAM B. MATTATHIAS: *Magen David* ("The Shield of David"). Written in 1517, in defense of David Kimḥi, against 50 criticisms of Profiat Duran (78) and five of David ibn Yaḥya in the latter's *Leshon Limmudim* (82); ed. Constantinople, 1517.

90. SAMUEL B. JACOB: *Reshit ha-Lekaḥ* ("The Beginning of Learning"). A grammar divided according to eight parts of speech, which are defined philosophically. It also discusses the

optative. Preserved in manuscript, it has not been printed (cf. Hirschfeld (1926), p. 98).

91. *ALMOLI, SOLOMON B. JACOB: *Halikhot Sheva*. A work about the rules of the *šewa*ʾ *na*ʿ and about nominal patterns. Written in Constantinople in 1520; crit. ed. Yalon (Jerusalem, 1945).

(?) *Shekel ha-Kodesh*. A work about poetics in 17 chapters, the first 14 with grammatical content. Printed in the Constantinople edition (1506) of *Leshon Limmudim* of David ibn Yaḥya (see section 82) as an anonymous work, and attributed by Allony and by Yalon, KS (1963–64), 105–8, to Almoli; crit. ed. Yalon (Jerusalem, 1965).

92. ELIJAH B. ASHER (*LEVITA, BAḤUR) AMSELIJAH B. ASHER (*LEVITA, *Baḥur*): A commentary on *Mahalakh Shevilei ha-Da'at* of Moses Kimḥi (45.1); Padua, 1504; ed. Pizaro, 1508; re-ed. Venice, 1546.

Baḥur. A work on the noun and the verb, supplemented by conjugation tables, written in Rome in 1517; ed. Rome, 1518; reprinted Isny, 1542 as *Dikduk Eliyahu ha-Levi*.

Pirkei Eliyahu. A supplement to *Baḥur*, partly rhymed. It deals with the letters and vowels, the number and gender of the noun, and the particles. Written in Rome in 1519; ed. Pisa, 1520; re-ed. Venice, 1546. In the latter edition a chapter on the classification of nouns was added.

Harkavah. A discussion of exceptional forms in the Bible, arranged alphabetically; written in Rome, 1517; ed. Rome, 1518; Venice, 1546. Study: A. Maman, "The Compound Words in the Eyes of Medieval Hebrew Philologists," *Yaakov Bentolila Jubilee Volume* (D. Sivan & P.I. Halevy-Kirtchuk, eds.), *Eshel Beer-Sheva*, 8 (2003), 277–95.

Meturgeman. A dictionary, for words in Aramaic Bible translations. Written in Rome between 1526 and 1531; ed. Isny, 1541.

Tuv Ta'am. A work on vocalization, the cantillation signs, and the masorah; written and ed. Venice, 1538.

Masoret ha-Masorah. The first systematic exposition and critical history of the masorah, and the first work to prove that the vocalization and cantillation signs are post-talmudic; written and ed. Venice, 1538.

Tishbi. A dictionary of 712 (=the arithmetical value of תשב״י) Hebrew entries in talmudic and post-talmudic language, written Venice-Isny (1540–41). This work contains many examples of the pronunciation and vocalization of talmudic and post-talmudic Hebrew words by German and Italian Jews; ed. Isny, 1541.

Nimmukin for *Sefer Mikhlol* (see section 47); ed. Venice, 1545.

Nimmukim for *Sefer ha-Shorashim* of David Kimḥi (see section 47); ed. Venice, 1547 (see A. Maman, *Otzrot Lashon* (section 26 above), introduction).

Sefer ha-Zikhronot. The first concordance of the masorah. Written in Rome, 1516–21, but unpublished; cf. Frensdorff, in: MGWJ (1863), 96–110.

93. ANONYMOUS YEMENITE AUTHOR: A dictionary of the *Mishneh Torah* of Maimonides, dealing only with the first two letters of the alphabet and based mainly on Tanḥum Yerushalmi (see section 55); frag. ed. Nathan (Berlin, 1905; inaugural dissertation).

94. ABRAHAM DE *BALMES: *Mikneh Avram*. A long grammatical work; the first systematic attempt to introduce a long chapter with a complete description of syntax into a Hebrew grammar, and the most original work since the time of *Kitāb al-Luma*ʿ of Ibn Janāḥ; ed. Venice, 1523, with Latin translation; the last chapter (144a–155b), on cantillation, was written by Kalonymus b. David. This work has been studied very little; see D. Téné, "Abraham De Balmes and his Grammar of Biblical Hebrew," in: *History of Linguistics* (1996), vol. 2: *From Classical to Contemporary Linguistics* edited by D. Cram, A. Linn, E. Nowak, (Amsterdam/Philadelphia, 1999), 249–68.

95. SEBASTIAN *MUENSTER: *Melekhet ha-Dikduk ha-Shalem*. A grammatical work, written in 1542, and attached to the works of Elijah Levita (92); ed. Basle, 1542.

[David Téné / Aharon Maman (2nd ed.)]

FROM THE 16TH CENTURY TO THE PRESENT

The Beginnings of Christian Hebrew Studies

The early 16th century is a turning-point in the history of Hebrew linguistics. There occurred then the sudden efflorescence of the knowledge of Hebrew as a part of Christian culture, which meant that Hebrew was no longer an esoteric subject, almost totally confined to Jews, and this eventually brought about a different kind of study of the language, carried on within a different context and intellectual atmosphere. The knowledge of Hebrew had not been entirely absent from the medieval Christian world; but such pockets as existed were entirely derived from Jewish philology and exegesis and contributed little or nothing to the progress of the subject in itself. There is no major name in Christian Hebrew studies between Jerome and Johann *Reuchlin. The sudden growth of Christian Hebrew studies in the early 16th century was part of the humanist impulse, which had revived the study of classical Latin and Greek, and which was animated with a zeal for the original ancient sources and their languages. The spread of printing had given new facilities for study, and the interest in the Bible, already stimulated by the new printed editions, was enormously increased by the Reformation controversies in the Church. There was an interest also in other Jewish sources, for example in the *Kabbalah, believed to be a source for philosophy and even for Christian doctrine, and also a stir of interest about the Talmud; Reuchlin was involved in bitter controversy because he opposed the burning of Jewish books as an obscurantist policy.

At first it was far from easy for non-Jews to find out much about Hebrew; the subject had been looked upon with some suspicion; informants were rare, and they might be suspected of seeking to proselytize. Some information came from Jews who embraced Christianity; conversely, some study among Christians was motivated by polemical aims. A freer atmosphere was found in northern Italy, and, soon after, in Germany. Even so, Conrad *Pellicanus, who anticipated Reuchlin with a small book about Hebrew (1503?), had to teach himself the language with only such limited aids as a brief section of the biblical text printed in Hebrew but in Latin characters. Early works such as his were little more than guides to the learning of the script. Nevertheless, the thirst for learning was very great, and substantial knowledge of Hebrew came to exist in the Christian world. Reuchlin's grammar, published with a dictionary in 1506, was very brief and simple; but by the end of his life his knowledge was considerable, and his immense reputation established Hebrew studies as a recognized subject in European education. He did much to ensure that chairs of Hebrew should be set up in the universities of northern Europe, and his pupils were available to occupy them. Within some decades a tradition had grown up and was accepted in some quarters, according to which Hebrew (and even Aramaic and Syriac) belonged along with Latin and Greek in the proper equipment of the cultivated man. In time, this more humanistic pursuit of Hebrew somewhat declined; Hebrew studies among Christians came to be carried on mainly as a part of theological study, and chairs were commonly occupied by men with theological training, interested primarily in biblical Hebrew; the humanistic cultivation of ancient languages concentrated on Latin and Greek.

The earliest Christian works on Hebrew were not only very rudimentary, but were also heavily dependent on Jewish tradition, and initially they were in no position to advance the subject beyond the state in which they had received it from the hands of their Jewish predecessors. Yet certain seeds of change were present from the beginning. Medieval Jewish grammars and lexicons had generally been in Arabic, or in Hebrew itself. Hebrew linguistic knowledge was now, however, set in a context which included the developed grammars of the classical languages, and works on Hebrew were written in Latin and, later, in various European languages such as German, French, and English. This involved an emphasis on methods of learning, since Christian students, unlike Jewish, generally had no antecedent native experience. More important, it raised questions of terminology: the Jewish tradition had evolved its own terms, or had relied upon the example of Arabic, a sister Semitic language; but could the terminology familiar to Europeans, and based mainly on Latin, also be applied to Hebrew? Certain of the terms which later became standard, such as "absolute state," go back to Reuchlin; what is now usually called the "construct state," on the other hand, was in earlier times called *status regiminis*, the "governing state." (See also *Hebraists, Christian.)

The person who did most, when the Christian study of Hebrew was established, to pass on to it a fuller heritage of knowledge from the older tradition of Jewish linguistics was Elijah Levita. Born in Germany, he lived most of his life in Italy, and mentally was well integrated with the humanist movement. He wrote several grammatical works, a commentary on the grammar of Moses *Kimḥi (1504), and his own *Sefer ha-Baḥur* and *Sefer ha-Harkavah* (1517). He was particularly noted for his studies in the masorah, the *Masoret ha-Masorah* (1538). The work of Levita was made available to a wider circle through the Latin translations of Sebastian *Muenster, professor at Basle from 1529, who was the most influential Christian Hebraist after Reuchlin. Through its clarity, Levita's work, as adapted, was well suited for teaching. The basis for Hebrew knowledge in the 16th century lay in the work of Moses and David *Kimḥi, and to some extent in that of Abraham ibn Ezra, as communicated through men like Levita and Muenster. Thus the main fund of knowledge, provided by medieval Jewish philology in its later and more clearly organized forms, was now directly accessible to Christian readers. The recent survey of Hebrew grammars printed in Europe during the 16th century (S. García-Jalón de la Lama y M. Veiga Díaz, *Repertorio de gramáticas hebreas impresas en Europa en el siglo XVI* (Salamanca 2000 = *Helmantica* 156)) enables us to understand and evaluate better the growth of Hebrew knowledge throughout Europe among Christian Hebraists (see also the bibliography included in this survey).

After Levita, however, no Jewish figure appeared for some time to become a recognized leader and authority on biblical studies, especially in the eyes of Christian scholars. Hebrew language studies were, in fact, making less distinguished progress within Judaism than had been the case in the Middle Ages. For this there were several reasons. The main intellectual effort within Judaism was now being directed toward talmudic studies. Catastrophes such as the expulsion from Spain had gravely dislocated Jewish academic life. The contact with Arabic grammar and the Arabic language, which had earlier been so suggestive and fruitful, was now very limited for the Jews of Europe. Finally, the work of discovery and clarification, with comparative reference to the cognate languages (Aramaic and Arabic), which had distinguished the medieval period, had probably gone as far as it could, and progress had already fallen off before 1500.

Correspondingly, the sense of heavy dependence on Jewish tradition which had marked the first Christian study of Hebrew began to pass. It is said of the dictionary of Johann *Forster of Wittenberg (1557) that it set aside the former reliance on rabbinic methods. Yet the dominance of Jewish traditional methods was still clear in the work of the two Johann *Buxtorfs, the elder and the younger. The masorah, a subject carefully studied by Levita, was a matter of extreme interest also to Buxtorf the elder, who wrote a masoretic commentary entitled *Tiberias* (1620). Buxtorf's own grammar far surpassed previous works in detail and exactitude. But the very existence of works that, even though written in heavy dependence on Jewish tradition, could be read and assimilated separately from it, made it possible for Western academic study of Hebrew in the universities to draw away from Jewish tradition.

Stirrings of Critical Attitudes

The Buxtorfs themselves illustrate how, by the early 17th century, Hebrew studies among Christians were marked less by the humanistic spirit and more by dogmatic theological considerations. Elijah Levita, following the Renaissance interest in detecting the late date of certain traditions, had averred that the vowel points were of late origin, and in 1624 the same argument was taken up by Ludwig Cappellus; but this was vigorously opposed by the Buxtorfs, to whom the argument seemed to threaten the Protestant orthodox view of biblical inspiration.

The question was, in fact, one of the first involving textual criticism, a movement which in the course of time substantially altered the direction of Hebrew language study. Medieval Jewish philology took the masoretic text as its basis, and the only ancient alternative text-form which was substantially used was the Aramaic Targum. Variants known in Hebrew, apart from special classes such as the *ketiv* and *keri*, were generally not of great importance for the meaning. Christian study, however, was familiar with older translations such as the Septuagint in Greek (originally a pre-Christian Jewish rendering) and the Latin Vulgate, which had been preserved in Christian tradition; to these was added the Syriac, a version in another Semitic dialect, preserved in Eastern Christianity and now once again made available for study in the West. The possibility was now suggested in principle that forms found in the Hebrew text might be the product of errors in written transmission, and that peculiar linguistic forms might therefore be explained through the decision to prefer a different text. Though there were certain precedents in earlier scholarship, both Jewish and Christian, and though hints of further progress appear, as in the 1620s with Cappellus, it was only in the later 18th century that textual criticism on something like its modern scale became established. The importance of textual criticism for linguistic study was that the grammar and lexicon did not have to accommodate every form transmitted by the textual tradition simply because it was in the text; some of the forms, which had been traditionally difficult for the linguistic scholar, might now be explained as the result of scribal errors. Though the full effect of this argument was not to be seen until much later, it gradually drove a wedge between the older linguistic study and the newer approach.

Throughout the entire period, grammars of Hebrew were published, some of which were very widely used. Most of them, however, were ephemeral, or local in their use, or merely one person's individual restatement of what was essentially the same grammatical doctrine; and the vast majority did nothing to advance the scientific study of Hebrew. Linguistic works written by Jews came in many cases, though not in all, to use the vernacular languages as the medium of instruction and exposition, rather than the Hebrew language itself. Works written in Holland often used Spanish and Portuguese for the needs of the Sephardi community; Italian was used in Italy. A grammar in Yiddish appeared in Prague in 1597. The first Hebrew grammar to be written by a Jew in Latin was that of Baruch *Spinoza, the greatest thinker ever to write a treatise on the Hebrew language. Latin had previously been used once or twice by Jews who had embraced Christianity, but Spinoza, who employed Latin in most of his works, was the first to use it for Hebrew grammar. His work, *Compendium grammatices linguae hebraeae*, is a brief, simple, and modest book, and it had no great effect on the progress of Hebrew linguistics. One sees at certain points the tendency to provide philosophical arguments to account for linguistic facts, a tendency which in Hebrew studies continued to have occasional effect up to the 20th century. Spinoza emphasized the noun as the pre-eminent word-class or part of speech in Hebrew; he seems to have considered the essential basis of verb forms to be the infinitive, i.e., a sort of noun form. He used unquestioningly such Latin terms as Nominative, Accusative, Mood, Case. Spinoza's effect on later developments was not, however, through the direct influence of his grammar, but through other aspects of his work. He took certain decisive steps toward a historical critical approach to the Bible, declaring it to be clear that the Pentateuch was written not by Moses but by someone who lived many centuries later. Among other significant Jewish grammatical writers of the 17th century mention may be made of Jedidiah Solomon b. Abraham *Norzi of Mantua, author of a detailed masoretic commentary completed in 1626 but published much later (1742–44) under the title *Minḥat Shai*; and, the most important of the writers of the century, Solomon b. Judah Loeb *Hanau.

During the 17th and 18th centuries the study of Hebrew linguistics, in spite of much accurate detailed knowledge, was somewhat hampered and confused by its entanglement with certain more general cultural problems. It was widely supposed that Hebrew was a language of divine origin, and even that it was the language of the Deity Himself; moreover, even as a human language, it was believed to have been the original tongue of humanity, from which others had been derived.

Meanwhile, however, a body of knowledge was being built up which was eventually to lead to a different understanding of the place of Hebrew in the world of language. Other Oriental languages were also being studied; chairs of Arabic existed at a number of universities, and the subject, first cultivated in connection with the missionary impulse directed toward Islam, and later fostered as an auxiliary to the study of Hebrew and the interpretation of the Bible, gradually became an independent academic field. The extensive Syriac literature, already mentioned, was also available. European exploration and curiosity about the Orient greatly extended the linguistic resources of scholarship; the grammar and lexicon of Ethiopic, a language close to Hebrew but formerly almost unknown, were learned. Samaritan texts were studied and printed. Remarkable typographical feats were performed in order to assemble all this material. Excellent polyglot Bibles were published; one of the most important, the London Polyglot of Bryan Walton (1657), contained (usually on the same page, for easy cross-reference) biblical texts in Hebrew along with the Samaritan Pentateuch and a number of Aramaic Targums, plus translations into Greek, Latin, Syriac, Ethiopic, Arabic, and Persian, with a Latin translation of each. To this Bible was added the *Lexicon Heptaglotton* of Edmund Castell (1669), which presented in a synoptic form the vocabularies of the

Semitic languages involved, along with a separate listing for Persian. Thus material was being assembled for a comparative philological approach more comprehensive and wide-ranging than that which had been possible for the medieval Jewish philologists, whose knowledge had been largely confined to the languages then in use among Jews and in their environment, principally Arabic and Aramaic, as well as Hebrew.

One of the main centers of this wider linguistic knowledge was Holland, and it was here that its effects upon the traditional conceptions about Hebrew were first and most strongly expressed. Albrecht *Schultens emphasized with revolutionary exaggeration the extent of the change brought about by the new knowledge. Far from accepting the traditional view that Arabic (like other languages) was a degenerate form of Hebrew, Schultens maintained that Hebrew was only one Semitic dialect, while the purest and clearest such dialect was Arabic. Numerous difficult passages in the Hebrew Bible could, he believed, be elucidated by appeal to an Arabic word which seemed similar and from which the true sense of the Hebrew could be deduced. But in spite of the high value accorded to Arabic by Schultens, his use of it was infelicitous and far from commendable even from the point of view of an Arabist. He nevertheless marked the beginning of an epoch which continued into the mid-20th century, in which one of the main forms of learned linguistic study was the use of cognate languages for the elucidation of difficulties in Hebrew. At this stage, however, the increasing knowledge of cognate languages was not yet organized in a form which made a breakthrough possible, principally because the method, though comparative, was as yet imperfectly historical in character. The impact of Arabic on Hebrew studies continued, and the comprehensiveness of classical Arabic (compared with the limited corpus of biblical Hebrew), along with the apparent primitivity of its forms (which could often appear to provide patterns logically earlier than those of Hebrew), made it increasingly important in the organization of linguistic works about Hebrew. A grammar following roughly the lines marked out by Schultens was written by Nicholas Wilhelm Schroeder (d. 1798) and widely used. A more substantial and permanent influence in approximately the same direction was exercised by Johann David *Michaelis, professor of Oriental languages and theology at Goettingen. The academic Hebraist was now expected to be an Orientalist; this meant not only knowledge of Arabic, but also an awareness of the new information brought by travelers from the East about customs, the physical surroundings of life, and now – in its first rudimentary form – archaeology. By this time the Christian Hebraist was less involved in traditional dogmatism, and was likely, on the contrary, to be something of a rationalist.

One who also contributed much to the appreciation of Hebrew in this period, though one could hardly call him a Hebraist in the technical sense, was the wide-ranging thinker Johann Gottfried *Herder. His essay, "The Origin of Language" (1772), attacks the view that language is a direct gift of God, claiming that it is a human product, though not one deliberately framed by man, but rather springing by necessity from man's inner nature. He admired what had grown naturally, and had an interest in what he considered to be primitive languages, in which, as he believed, the verb had had priority over the noun, numerous synonyms had existed, and bold metaphors had been used. The example he generally had in mind when he talked of primitive languages was Hebrew, which, by the time-scale then customary, seemed to go back almost to the beginning of human culture. Herder had a deep sense of the poetic and aesthetic power of Hebrew, and he wrote an influential book, *Vom Geist der hebraeischen Poesie* ("On the Spirit of Hebrew Poetry," 1782–83). He emphasized the verb as the characteristic and leading feature of the language and associated this with the dynamic forcefulness and energy of the literature. Some of these opinions have continued to be echoed up to the present day. Herder also made further moves toward a historical approach to the Bible, and emphasized its humanity. If Hebrew was brought down from the level of the divine, at the same time it was nevertheless accorded a place of high honor.

The Classical Historical Method

The great name in German Hebrew studies in the early 19th century is that of Heinrich Friedrich Wilhelm *Gesenius, professor at Halle, some of whose books, after numerous amendments and revisions, are still standard reference works. Particularly noteworthy are his lexicon, *Hebraeisches und chaldaeisches Handwoerterbuch* (17th German edition, 1915; new revision in preparation), which was used as the basis for the English dictionary of Francis Brown, Samuel Rolles *Driver and Charles A. Briggs (1907); and his two grammars, the more detailed *Lehrgebaeude der hebraeischen Sprache* (1817), and the briefer *Hebraeische Grammatik* (1813). Indeed, the latter, after successive new editions by Emil *Kautzsch and others, remains the standard reference grammar in many languages today (2nd English edition by Arthur Ernest Cowley, Oxford, 1910). He also wrote a history of the Hebrew language and worked on Samaritan and the Semitic languages in general. Modern readers, who may be impressed chiefly by the detail and the comprehensiveness of Genesius' approach, should know that in his own time his lectures were considered fascinating and drew students from far and wide. The strength of his work lies in its genius for detailed comprehensive empirical observation; his approach was sober and avoided speculation. Yet the empirical accuracy of Genesius' work does not conceal the fact that his conceptual terminology was often unsuited to the subject. He continually used the categories Nominative, Accusative, Genitive, which have formal representation in Latin and German, but not in Hebrew. He had nine declensions of the masculine noun. All forms of the noun are explained as if they were derived from the extant form of the masculine singular absolute. He wrote before the full unfolding of the comparative-historical linguistics of the 19th century, and his careful attention to Arabic or Syriac still does not produce a developmental framework; though historical in one sense, he had not yet made the systematic projections back into prehistory which were essential to the full comparative method. Thus he did not even diagnose that the ending *-am* as in *yomam* ("by day") is genetically connected with the Arabic case ending *-an*. He considered the consecutive *waw* to have been formed from the prefixing of the verb *hayah* ("to be"). Though later revisions of his work incorporated a more historical outlook, some of these defects persisted into modern revisions. For terminology, he still sometimes used the traditional Hebrew terms, but mostly employed Latin terms, though often aware that these might be misleading. He agreed with the older Jewish grammar in calling the two tenses, which later came to be called perfect and imperfect, by the names Past and Future, the idea of aspect not yet having been brought into consideration. The historical aspect of Genesius' work was better revealed within the biblical corpus itself; he was aware of the historical development of the language and distinguished the usage of different writers, as for example pre-exilic and post-exilic, prose and poetic. In the study of meanings in his lexicographical work he was both lucid in presentation and sober in his quest for valid analogies and his avoidance of speculative fancies.

The later editions of Genesius' works, and newer works produced in the following decades, had to take account of the great advances made in comparative philology. Hebrew had been elucidated through knowledge of the cognate Semitic languages as far back as the Middle Ages, long before the method was much applied outside the Semitic family. Yet it was work in the Indo-European langugages which in the early 19th century finally evolved a satisfactory comparative and historical method. This method included the projection or reconstruction of a common ancestor language, from which the extant languages were descended by statable changes. By application of the method to the Semitic family, proto-Semitic forms could be reconstructed; these, though not found in any historical document, could yet be deemed to have been the ancestral forms from which, by regular or fairly regular changes, the extant Hebrew (and, similarly, Arabic or Aramaic) forms had been evolved. Moreoever, reconstructions could also be done internally, by considering groups of phenomena within one language; for instance, the series *malki*, *malko* ("my king, his king") might suggest that the word "king" was *malk* at a prehistoric date, before it became *melekh* as in extant Hebrew texts. The method enabled a historical explanation to be given to phenomena which might otherwise be empirically registered but not accounted for; and it has remained of great importance, not least because there is no other way of penetrating the time before the earliest biblical texts. The effect of this method was that scholarly grammars eventually came to classify Hebrew forms not under the patterns which they assume in the masoretic text but under those patterns which they are taken to have had in the prehistoric stage; beginning with this prehistoric stage, the grammar undertakes to explain how the extant forms were derived. This is a thorough change in grammatical method, even if the empirical facts observed are the same. Beginning to appear in the late 19th century in grammars such as those of Justus *Olshausen (1861) and Bernhard Stade (1879), it reached monumental proportions only in the 20th century in the grammar of Hans *Bauer and Pontus Leander (1922) and the revisions of Gesenius by Gotthelf *Bergstraesser (1918).

This method also raised new questions, or old questions in new and more rigorous forms. The importance within it of the sound changes by which the reconstructed ancestor language alters into the extant dialect brought the question whether these changes followed an invariable rule or whether they might allow occasional exceptions. The matter was of great importance in lexicography, for a dictionary was expected to state some kind of etymology and give data of cognate forms in other Semitic languages, and the validity of these depended on the degree to which the normal sound correspondences must be insisted on and the degree to which similarities of meaning which seemed overwhelming might be expected to override them.

The new interest in linguistic discovery could also suggest new approaches to Hebrew. Knowledge of the Slavonic languages emphasized the category of aspect in verbs (nature of the action done, e.g., whether completed or not completed), and something similar was seen in Greek. The tenses of Hebrew had traditionally been regarded as past and future, both through the influence of Latin grammar and through the older Jewish view of the matter, but it was thought that something closer to the category of aspect might be more suitable, since the classification as past and future had long given much trouble. A number of important works in the 20th century were devoted to the attempt to define the verb system of Hebrew and to explain its evolution in relation to what is known of sister languages.

Modern Trends

The hundred years following Gesenius, then, were a period of more radical historical questioning about the development of the Hebrew language. The basic task was now seen no longer as that of classifying and registering the forms, but rather as that of piecing together a historical development, of which only certain portions were evident on the surface. This trend was further emphasized by certain other circumstances.

The first of these was the rise of historical criticism and its application to the sources of the biblical books. This made it possible to discern different linguistic strata in what had generally been taken in the past as unitary documents. Within the Pentateuch, for instance, the separation of chronologically different strata was accompanied by the identification of linguistic constants as characteristics of each. This process assisted in the identification and appreciation of various styles in the use of language and made possible a more fully historical understanding of Hebrew. The historical-critical separation of sources has never gone without opposition, and many applications of it have been questioned by competent linguists; nevertheless, the main principles of it seem to be sound and helpful, and the method has had great effect on the history of Hebrew linguistics. Modern grammars and dictionaries will often register phenomena as belonging to, or characteristic of, one or another of the recognized sources, such as the document J or P.

Second, the same period was one in which whole new languages were discovered, and these enriched knowledge of the linguistic environment of ancient Hebrew, while at the same time confirming the applicability of the comparative philological method and inviting its extension. Ancient Egyptian was deciphered early in the 19th century and, though not closely related to Hebrew, provided numerous points of contact, including among other things the means of correct identification of names and expressions of Egyptian origin in the Hebrew Bible, some of which had hitherto been explained as Hebrew and thereby confused our understanding of the latter. More immediate and important, *Akkadian, the language of the Assyrians and Babylonians, was discovered in the second half of the century and it turned out to have remarkably close relationships with Hebrew; its verb tense system, for instance, served to suggest new approaches to the verb system of Hebrew. The discovery of Akkadian, not least because of the ancient provenance of this language, did much to shift the balance of Semitic comparative philology away from excessive reliance on sources such as Arabic and Syriac, which were then known mainly from materials of later date. Extensive fresh discoveries of inscriptions in Canaanite, Phoenician, Moabite, Aramaic, Punic, South Arabian, and other dialects were made, and it became possible to a much greater extent than previously to see Hebrew as one of a group of dialects; and, since the inscriptions had been unchanged since the time of their origin, they formed a valuable resource for comparison with texts such as those of biblical Hebrew, which had been handed down by a copying process over many centuries. Archaeological researches produced archaic inscriptions even in Hebrew itself. It now became normal to consider that the task of the Hebraist was no longer to study Hebrew in and of itself, but to reconstruct the historical path by which it had developed in the midst of this group of related dialects, of which increasingly complex evidence kept coming to the fore. This movement was still further accelerated in the 1930s, when *Ugaritic, a language previously entirely unknown, was brought to light; it dated from the 14th century B.C.E. and had much in common with Hebrew.

Third, not only were other languages discovered, but great discoveries were made in the field of Hebrew itself. Particularly important was the study of biblical manuscripts with pointing different from the customary Tiberian system. These enabled a reconstruction to be made of Hebrew as it had been before the Tiberian pointing became authoritative. A number of scholars (particularly Paul *Kahle and Alexander Sperber) held that the masoretes had made certain innovations in the grammar of Hebrew and that it was now possible to penetrate accurately, with proof, back to a pre-masoretic state. For this purpose assistance was drawn from Hebrew words transcribed into Greek or Latin in early sources. Recourse was also had to the Samaritan tradition of Hebrew, both spoken and written, which had been investigated notably by Ze'ev *Ben-Hayyim, to provide another non-masoretic source. Further new texts were furnished by the Cairo **Genizah* since the end of the 19th century, including the recovered section of the Hebrew text of *Ben Sira, previously known almost solely in Greek. The culmination of this current of discovery was the appearance after World War II of the *Dead Sea Scrolls; these included Hebrew biblical texts many centuries older than those formerly known, as well as many new writings, previously quite unknown, which have greatly stimulated research into the state and history of Hebrew in the one or two centuries immediately before and after the beginning of the Common Era.

During the 19th century, along with changes in the social and educational position of the Jews, the currents of Jewish grammatical studies and of academic Hebrew studies, which had flowed somewhat apart, began to converge once again. The person who signalized this movement was Samuel David *Luzzatto. Though distinguished Jewish thinkers such as *Elijah Gaon of Vilna and Moses *Mendelssohn had written about the Hebrew language, their work had no great effect upon academic study. Luzzatto's work, on the other hand, stands in the full critical, historical, and reasoned light of the best academic method of his time.

In the 20th century the convergence of Jewish and non-Jewish Hebrew studies was facilitated by the fact that non-Jewish studies became once again more humanistic and less definitely attached to theology.

Jewish scholarship was particularly important in the field of post-biblical Hebrew, which had tended to be somewhat neglected by Christian scholarship, especially in the more modern period (the earlier epoch of Christian Hebrew studies had seen some profound rabbinic scholarship, as with John Lightfoot in England, 1602–75). The historical emphasis of the Wissenschaft des Judentums movement promoted exact and discriminating scholarship. A subject of much interest was the linguistic situation in Palestine at the time of the origin of Christianity and the interrelation of Hebrew and Aramaic; names of note in this discussion are Gustav *Dalman and Moses Hirsch *Segal; the latter provided the standard grammar of mishnaic Hebrew (1927). The main effort of Hebrew linguistics had always been directed toward the language of the Bible; but a historical perspective made it desirable to attempt the description also of other stages of Hebrew, and this task was given actuality by the revival of Hebrew as a spoken and written language from the time of the *Haskalah onward. The task of refashioning the language for modern needs involved considerable research into the resources of the past in order that these might be mobilized for the present; one outstanding monument of this effort is the *Thesaurus totius hebraitatis* (1908–59) initiated by Eliezer *Ben-Yehuda.

In the mid-20th century the main current of biblical linguistics continued to be concerned with the assimilation of the material known from comparative philological methods.

Notable scholars working in this field were Naphtali Herz Tur-Sinai in Israel, Sir Godfrey Rolles Driver in Oxford and William Foxwell *Albright in America. The emphasis on Ugaritic as a major source for the elucidation of Hebrew has been pushed to its extreme by Mitchell Dahood, but a more moderate position was taken by many other scholars, such as Umberto *Cassuto. New dictionaries, such as the third edition of Ludwig Koehler and Walter *Baumgartner's *Hebraeisches und Aramaeisches Lexikon* (1967), endeavor to incorporate the results of this approach. No full synthesis of comparative Semitics has appeared to supersede that of Carl Brockelmann (1908–13), nor has a full comparative etymological dictionary of the Semitic languages been published; nor, for comprehensive and purely empirical presentation, has the revised work of Gesenius been outdated.

Another form of study which achieved some importance in the 20th century has been the attempt (anticipated to some extent by Herder) to trace connections between the linguistic phenomena of Hebrew, e.g., the tense system, or the construct state, or the relation between root and meaning, and characteristic aspects of the thought of the ancient Israelites. The validity of this method, and the extent to which it can be pressed, have been a subject of some controversy.

From about the 1940s onward the seemingly assured dominance of comparative-historical study has begun to be challenged by the newer methods of descriptive linguistics, interested not only in the historical development of items but in the description of systems, and based on the study of living and spoken languages. Some of the workers who developed these newer linguistics were also in part Hebraists, such as Edward *Sapir, Zellig Sabbetai *Harris and Noam *Chomsky. The approach of descriptive linguistics found a ready application in the study of spoken Israeli Hebrew, as in Ḥayyim Rosen's *Ha-Ivrit Shellanu* and *A Textbook of Israeli Hebrew*. The interest in phonetics, which is part of the new descriptive approach, has had importance also for the historical linguistics of Hebrew, for it has been applied with profit to the detailed study of the speech habits of special Jewish communities such as the Yemenites, and this study influences in turn the understanding of the history of pronunciation and the systems of vocalization in ancient times, as has been shown by Shelomo Morag. It may be expected that the methods of descriptive linguistics will in the course of time exercise a wider influence on the study of Hebrew.

[James Barr]

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LINOWITZ, SOL MYRON (1913–2005), U.S. ambassador, lawyer, and business executive. Linowitz, who was born in Trenton, New Jersey, graduated from Cornell University Law School in 1938. He had a private law practice in New York and served as assistant general counsel to the Office of Price Administration (1942). From 1944 to 1946 he served in the U.S. Navy. After the war, Linowitz resumed his legal practice and began an association with Xerox Corporation. Linowitz eventually was appointed board chairman and head of Xerox International, Inc. Throughout his association with Xerox, he consistently tried to establish the image of the company as one dedicated to public service as well as profits. He served as chairman of the State Department's Advisory Committee on International Organizations, was a member of the Business Advisory Committee to the federal poverty program, and cofounded (with David Rockefeller) the International Executive Service Corps (IESC), a volunteer program that sends American executives to provide managerial and technical expertise to developing countries. Linowitz helped to establish Rochester's anti-poverty agency after the 1964 riots by blacks there. President Johnson appointed Linowitz the U.S. representative to the Organization of American States (OAS) and the Inter-American Committee of the Alliance for Progress (1966–69). Linowitz also served as a trustee of the American Jewish Committee. In 1977 he helped negotiate the transfer of the Panama Canal to Panama. Following the 1978 Camp David accords, he served as President Jimmy Carter's ambassador-at-large for Middle East peace negotiations (1979–81). In 1998, he was awarded the Presidential Medal of Freedom by President Bill Clinton. During his career, Linowitz also served as a director of Time Inc., Pan Am, and the Mutual Life Insurance Co. of New York; and was a partner and senior counsel with the international law firm of Coudert Brothers. Linowitz wrote *The Making of a Public Man, A Memoir* (1985) and *The Betrayed Profession: Lawyering in the 20th Century* (1994).

[Joachim O. Ronall / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

LINZ, capital of Upper Austria. Jewish moneylenders are recorded in Linz in 1304; a Jewish settlement in the growing market town is probably a century older. In 1335 a synagogue is mentioned; two Jews were baptized a year earlier. Jews were accused of desecrating the *Host in 1338. Although the community was not harmed during the *Black Death persecutions of 1348, a local persecution occurred in 1371. In 1396 Duke Albert IV permitted Jews to conduct only fiscal transactions with the burghers; the decree was renewed in 1412. The Jews were expelled from Linz in 1421, and in 1426 the synagogue was turned into a church. Jews were permitted to attend the biannual markets in the town in 1494, and Jewish horse dealers and feather and wool merchants, mainly from Moravia, continued to trade at the fairs until their entry was forbidden at the end of the 17th century. Only in 1783 were the markets officially declared open and in 1824 the Jews opened their own prayer room. A cemetery was consecrated in 1863, when the modern community was established. In 1869 there were 391 Jews (1.3% of the total population) and 533 in 1880. A new synagogue was opened in 1877 by Rabbi Adolf Kurrein (1876–82), publicist and author. His son, Rabbi Viktor Kurrein (1923–38), wrote the history of the community.

In 1923 there were 1,238 Jews in Linz, 671 in 1934 (0.6%), and in 1938, before the *Anschluss*, 650. On Nov. 10, 1938, the synagogue was burned down by the SS; the 65 remaining Jews were arrested and ordered to leave within three days for Vienna. The Nazis claimed that the Jews must leave the town because it was the capital of the province of Hitler's birth. Jewish shops were not looted because they had already been "Aryanized." Shortly after the end of the war, 2,400 Jewish refugees were housed in the nearby Bindermichen camp. A new community was reorganized, which numbered 238 in 1949 and 145 in 1961. In October 1957, an antisemitic demonstration was sparked off by a performance of *The Diary of Anne Frank*. Protests against a ban on *sheḥitah* were lodged in 1958. A new synagogue was consecrated in 1968.

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[Henry Wasserman]

LION. Called in the Talmud "the king of the beasts" (Ḥag. 13b), the lion has many Hebrew names: (אַרְיֵה (*aryeh*) or אֲרִי (*ari*), and לָבִיא (*lavi*) fem. לְבִיאָה (*levi'ah*), both of which are used for the lion in general, כְּפִיר (*kefir*), usually a young lion, לַיִשׁ (*layish*), mostly poetical, and according to some, "an old lion," שַׁחַל (*shaḥal*), general name for the lion in poetry, though like שַׁחַץ (*shaḥaẓ*) perhaps the intention is any fierce animal, and גּוּר (*gur*) almost always meaning "a lion's whelp." The first five are all mentioned together by Eliphaz the Temanite (Job 4:10–11), on which Rashi comments that *ari* is the large lion, *shaḥal* the medium-sized one, and *kefir* the small lion, while the first six are cited in Sanhedrin 95a. (Note, however, that

Rashi in commenting on Ezekiel 19:5 says categorically that all references to *kefir* in the Bible refer to a grown mighty lion.) Similarly, Kimḥi breaks the different terms for lion into categories of size in his comment to Judges 14:5. More likely, though, the different terms with the exception of *gur*, "cub" (Nah. 2:13) are synonyms employed by the biblical poets. In fact, *lavi* (= Akkadian *lābu*), *shaḥal*, and *layish* (= Akkadian *nēšu*; l/n interchange) are attested only in poetry. In the Bible there are more than 150 references to the lion, many of them descriptive, metaphoric, and allegorical. To the lion were compared the tribes of Judah (Gen. 49:9) and Dan (Deut. 33:22); Balaam said of the Israelites: "Behold a people that riseth up as a lioness (*lavi*), and as a lion (*ari*) doth he lift himself up" (Num. 23:24); the mother of the kings of Judah was compared to a lioness and her sons to lion (*gureha*) cubs (Ezek. 19:2–3). David, of whom it was said that his "heart is as the heart of a lion" (II Sam. 17:10), declared in his lament over Saul and Jonathan that "they were swifter than eagles, they were stronger than lions" (*ibid.* 1:23). This combination of the lion, the king of the beasts, and the *eagle, the king of the birds (the biblical reference is to the *vulture), is very common in later Jewish art, particularly on the Holy Ark, and occurs in Ezekiel's vision of the lion, the ox, the eagle, and the cherub (Ezek. 1:10; 10:14). In Solomon's Temple there were carvings of "lions, oxen, and cherubim" (I Kings 7:29), while a lion with eagle's wings symbolized in the Book of Daniel (7:4) the kingdom of Babylonia. The lion is mentioned several times together with the bear as the most powerful beasts of prey (Lam. 3:10; Prov. 28:15; I Sam. 17:34; et al.). When a lion attacks its prey there is no escape from it, being mentioned in many parables, as when Amos (3:12) declares that a shepherd can rescue out of its jaws no more than "two legs, or a piece of an ear." Nor is a lion in the least frightened even when shepherds gather to chase it away (Isa. 31:4). An encounter between a man and a lion is usually fatal to the former (I Kings 13:24; 20:36), lions having killed new settlers in the cities of Samaria (II Kings 17:25), and having claimed victims, according to Jeremiah (5:6), in the land of Judah. Only in exceptional instances was a lion slain in such a clash, as when encountering a man of great personal courage such as Samson (Judg. 14:6), David (I Sam. 17:34), and Benaiah the son of Jehoiada (II Sam. 23:20). Among the Samaria ivories of the ninth century B.C.E. are two representations of lions (image in IDB 3, 137). From the eighth century is a seal inscribed, "property of Shema, servant of Jeroboam," with an engraving of a lion (Ahituv, 206).

From the Bible it is clear that lions did not permanently inhabit populated areas; their haunts were the mountains of Lebanon (Song 4:8), Bashan (Deut. 33:22), the thickets of the Jordan (Jer. 49:19), and the desert regions of the Negev (Isa. 30:6). From there they invaded populated areas, penetrating deeply and regularly, in particular at times of drought when wild animals, their usual prey, had decreased in number. Lions also multiplied when the country lay destroyed and derelict. In the neighborhood of Ereẓ Israel long- and short-maned lions were to be found. There are evidences that there were lions in the country in mishnaic and talmudic and even in crusader times (in the Negev). The last lions in the Middle East were destroyed in the 19th century.

[Jehuda Feliks / S. David Sperling (2nd ed.)]

In Folklore and Art

The lion figures prominently in folklore as a result of two main references to it in the Bible: the appellation of Judah as "a lion's whelp" (Gen. 49:9; Dan is also so called in Deut. 33:22, but the lion is always associated with Judah) and as one of the figures in the divine chariot of Ezekiel (Ezek. 1:10). A secondary motif is connected with the statement of Judah b. Tema (Avot 5:20) "Be as strong as a leopard, light as an eagle, fleet as a hart, and brave as a lion to perform the will of thy Father who is in heaven."

Based on the image of the Lion of Judah in Genesis, the name Aryeh ("lion") became a common Jewish personal name mostly in all combinations with Judah and with Leib (Loeb), its German or Yiddish translation, thus giving the composite names Judah Aryeh, Judah Leib, and Aryeh Leib. The Judah mentioned in the verse, however, is associated not only with the son of Jacob of that name, but with the tribe, and particularly with the House of David (cf. Rashi ad loc.), and as a result the Lion of Judah became one of the most common of Jewish symbols. It is also one of the appellatives of the king of Ethiopia, who according to Ethiopian tradition is descended from Solomon and the Queen of Sheba. The rampant Lion of Judah is a favorite embellishment of the synagogue ark, the mantle covering the scroll of the Torah, etc. The Lion of the Divine Chariot is one of the four figures of Ezekiel's *merkavah* (divine chariot) which consisted of a human being, a lion, an ox, and an eagle. Different opinions are expressed in the Talmud as to the permissibility of reproducing these figures, but the general consensus is that the only reproductions wholly forbidden are either the four together or the complete human form (see *Art). On the other hand, almost complete freedom was accorded in the reproduction of the lion, possibly both because of its national association as described above and because of the figures of lions upon the laver in Solomon's Temple (I Kings 7:29) and especially in the steps leading to his throne and on its sides (*ibid.* 10:20).

*Jacob b. Asher opens his *Tur Oraḥ Ḥayyim* with the above-quoted passage of Judah b. Tema, and the four animals mentioned in it have often been made the subject of paintings. The word lion is often employed figuratively in a laudatory sense, mostly referring to an outstanding scholar. Thus Joshua b. Hananiah refused to controvert the ruling of Eliezer b. Hyrcanus after the latter's death because "one does not answer a lion after its death" (Git. 83a). Ḥiyya is called "the lion of the brotherhood" (Shab. 111a); a scholar, the son of a scholar, is called "a lion, son of a lion," while one of no such distinguished parentage is called "the lion the son of a jackal" (BM 84b); and Simeon b. Lakish expressed his admiration for the learning of Kahana, who had come to Ereẓ Israel from Babylon, in the words "a lion has come up from Babylon" (BK 117a). In one instance, however, it is used in a pejorative sense. Proselytes to Judaism who convert for selfish personal motives are called, in contradistinction to *gerei ẓedek*, righteous proselytes, "the converts of lions" (e.g., Kid. 75b), the allusion being to the Samaritans who adopted the worship of YHWH only because of their fear of lions (II Kings 17:25–28).

[Louis Isaac Rabinowitz]

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LION, LEON M. (1879–1947), British actor-manager. Born in London, Lion was well known particularly for his productions of Galsworthy. He acted in many West End plays and went into management in 1918. Four years later he launched a Galsworthy series, starting with *Justice* and including *Loyalties*, plays which he frequently revived and in which he acted. He presented two Galsworthy plays in Paris, 1928, and between 1918 and 1939 staged 70 productions. He was author or part-author of 20 plays, and also appeared in a number of British films during the 1930s.

LION OF WRATH (Heb. כְּפִיר הֶחָרוֹן, *kefir he-Ḥaron*), character mentioned in the Nahum and Hosea commentaries from Qumran Cave 4 (4QpNahum). In the comment on Nahum 2:12 ff., where Nineveh is described as "the den of the lions… the feeding-place of the young lions (*kefirim*)," to which the lion brought home his prey – "he filled his caves with prey and his dens with torn flesh." These last words, says the Qumran commentator, refer to "the lion (*kefir*) of wrath, who smote with his mighty ones and the men of his counsel" and "took vengeance on the *Seekers after Smooth Things, in that he proceeded to hang them up alive [which was never done] in Israel before, for concerning one hung up alive on wood the Scripture says…" What the Scripture says is that he is an "affront to God" (Deut. 21:23). But the Scripture envisages the hanging of the body of an executed criminal on a tree until sunset; the commentator on Nahum has in mind something much more atrocious – hanging men up alive, or crucifying them. That such a thing "was never done in Israel before" implies that the perpetrator was an Israelite – not that he was a gentile ruler mistreating Israelites thus, like Nebuchadnezzar (Lam. 5:12) or Antiochus IV (Jos., Ant. 12:256). If he was an Israelite, the first Israelite ruler recorded to have crucified his enemies is Alexander Yannai, who in 88 B.C.E., having defeated his rebellious subjects who enlisted the aid of Demetrius III (Eukairos) against him, made an example of 800 of their leaders by crucifying them in Jerusalem (Jos., Wars 1:97; Ant. 13:380). This identification is supported by the commentator's reference in the same context to "[Deme-]trius, king of Javan, who sought to enter Jerusalem by the counsel of the Seekers after Smooth Things" – especially if the latter group should be identified with the Pharisees, whose sufferings at the hands of Yannai were long remembered in rabbinic tradition. Other identifications, however, have been suggested for the Lion of Wrath, ranging from Antiochus IV (preferred by H.H. Rowley) to John of Gischala (so C. Roth) and Simeon Bar Giora (so G.R. Driver).

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[Frederick Fyvie Bruce]

LIOZNO (Pol. **Lozniany**), town in Vitebsk district, Belarus; under czarist rule it was included in the province (*gubernia*) of Mogilev. Jewish settlement in Liozno dates from the 18th century. The founder of Chabad Ḥasidism, R. *Shneur Zalman of Lyady, was born there in 1745. There were 82 Jewish poll-tax payers in the town in 1766. The community increased in the 19th century; in 1897 the community of Liozno numbered 1,665 (67.3% of the total population). In 1910 there were private Jewish schools for boys and girls. During the Soviet period the number of Jews dropped to 1,204 (46.3%) in 1926, and again to 711 (17.3%) in 1939. A Yiddish school functioned there. The Germans occupied Liozno on July 16, 1941. To the remaining 600 Jews were added refugees from Vitebsk, Minsk, Bobruisk, and Warsaw. On February 23, 1942, they were herded to the village of Adamenki and, over a period of three days, were murdered together with Jews from the environs, all together nearly 1,500 persons. No information is available on Jewish life in Liozno after World War II.

[Yehuda Slutsky / Shmuel Spector (2nd ed.)]

LIPCHITZ, JACQUES (**Chaim Jacob**; 1891–1973), U.S. sculptor. He was born in Druskieniki, Lithuania. He attended school in Bialystok and in 1909 went to Paris, where he adopted the name Jacques. There he studied and became a French citizen in 1925. In 1930 he had a large retrospective exhibition which gave him his international reputation. In 1940 the German advance compelled him to leave Paris and seek refuge in unoccupied France. In 1941 he went to the United States, and settled in Hastings-on-Hudson, New York.

Lipchitz was one of the foremost cubist sculptors – his first pure cubist sculpture is dated 1913. He was influenced by the painters Picasso and Braque, and by the visionary El Greco. He developed an interest in African wood carvings which he collected. During this early period, Lipchitz frequently worked in stone. These pieces, with their sharp edges, flat planes, and solid mass came very close to pure abstraction.

In the 1930s, Lipchitz abandoned cubism for a markedly baroque manner of expression. At the same time, he became interested in social and philosophical themes, as distinguished from the harlequins and dancers, bathers, and musicians he had fashioned in his youth. One of the most celebrated baroque pieces is based on the Prometheus myth. His first sketches, made about 1933, show Prometheus a triumphant figure, the guardian of the flame. The second Prometheus, slightly different in feeling, shows a warrior, still in the thick of battle and unsure of triumph. This was destroyed. Lipchitz recreated it in 1943–44 for the Brazilian government, to decorate the facade of a government building in Rio de Janeiro. The final version, made for the Philadelphia Museum of Art – the superman's battle with the vulture – was Lipchitz's own rendering of the myth, since no such battle is described in ancient literature.

Lipchitz often derived inspiration from his Jewish background. Beginning in the 1930s, he frequently turned to biblical episodes or themes taken from Jewish life and history to interpret tragic or joyous events. "Man is wrestling with the Angel," he said about his "Jacob Wrestling with the Angel": "It is a tremendous struggle, but he wins and is blessed." Similar sentiments are expressed in "David and Goliath," made under the impact of the Nazi destruction. "The Prayer" (an old man swinging a rooster in the **kapparot* ritual) is a grim reminder of the slaughter of Jews in Europe. "The Miracle" is inspired by the happy news of the creation of the Jewish state – an exultant figure with raised arms faces the Tablets of the Law, out of which grows the seven-branched candelabrum, the finials of which might be tiny flames, or young leaf buds of a tree.

Lipchitz's last work, *The Tree of Life*, a six-meter-high bronze, was unveiled posthumously on Sept. 21, 1978, outside the Hadassah Hospital on Mt. Scopus. The sculpture consists of the interwoven formalized expressionist figures of Noah, Abraham and Isaac at the *Akedah*, with the angel restraining the patriarch Moses in front of the Burning Bush, and rising from it a phoenix supporting the Two Tablets. Lipchitz referred to it as "the dynamics of our religion."

Lipchitz's work is represented in important museums, particularly in the United States and Israel. He left all his casts to the Israel Museum, Jerusalem.

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[Alfred Werner]

LIPINER, SIEGFRIED (1856–1911), Austrian poet and playwright. Born in Jaroslaw, Galicia, and raised in Tarnow, he moved to Vienna in 1871, devoting himself to literature and philosophy. Lipiner's first epic poem *Der entfesselte Prometheus* (1876) aroused much favorable comment. It was followed by the epic *Renatus* (1878), by a volume of lyrics entitled *Buch der Freude* (1880), and by a libretto, *Merlin* (1886), for which Karl *Goldmark wrote the music. The last work was staged by the Viennese Royal Opera in 1886. From 1881 until his death, Lipiner was librarian and archivist of the Austrian *Reichsrat*. Although he converted to Christianity in 1891 and avoided all reference to his Jewish descent, Lipiner was described by his admirer, Nietzsche, as a Polish Jew capable of imitating the various forms of European lyric fastidiously and "almost genuinely." His original poetry was much influenced by Schopenhauer, Wagner, and Nietzsche. He also published a German translation of Adam *Mickiewicz's *Pan Tadeusz*. Three of his plays were *Der neue Don Juan* (written in 1880, published in 1914), *Adam* (1913), and *Hippolytos* (1913). Lipiner's fame reached its peak while he was in his early twenties, but his verse later lost its popularity, though it often received mention in literary histories. He was a close friend of the composer Gustav *Mahler.

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[Sol Liptzin]

LIPKANY (Rom. **Lipcani**), small town in N. Moldova, in the region of Bessarabia. Jews appeared there in the middle of the 17th century. There were 82 Jewish families in Lipkany (out of a total of 203) in 1817, 4,410 persons (63% of the total population) in 1897, and 4,693 in 1930 (79.8% of the total). They were the chief exporters of farm products from Bessarabia to Austria and Germany. During the first half of the 19th century the *ẓaddik* Meir of Peremyshlyany lived in the town for several years. The writers Judah *Steinberg and Eliezer *Steinbarg were born there. In May 1936 the Cuza Fascist Party convened in Lipkany, but Jewish self-defense prevented attacks against Jews. In June 1940 the town was annexed to the Soviet Union, and included in the Moldavian S.S.R.

[Eliyahu Feldman / Shmuel Spector (2nd ed.)]

Holocaust Period

On June 22, 1941, the Germans bombed the town, and it was devastated. When the town was taken on July 8, 1941, by German-Romanian forces, they carried out a pogrom the same day in which many Jews were killed, and they robbed almost all houses. The survivors (about 4,000) were taken on July 18 to a forest near Vertyuzhany and from there were sent on a death march which took them to *Sekiryany, *Yedintsy, and *Khotin, and back to Yedintsy; the old, the sick, and the children, who were unable to withstand the pace, were shot on the journey. From Yedintsy, the survivors were deported to *Transnistria, where most of them died. Only a few dozen Jewish families from Lipkany were saved by the arrival of the Soviet army. Almost all the young Jews from the town who joined the Soviet army at the beginning of the war were either killed or returned as invalids. One Jew from Lipkany, Abram Schneider, was decorated as a "Hero of the Soviet Union." The few surviving families, who returned to Lipkany in 1944, left the town soon, immigrating to Palestine.

[Jean Ancel]

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LIPKIN (Salanter), ISRAEL BEN ZE'EV WOLF (1810–1883), founder and spiritual father of the *Musar movement.

His father, author of the glosses *Ben Aryeh* on the Talmud and *rishonim*, served as rabbi in Goldingen, Latvia and Telz, Lithuania, and he was later appointed rabbi of Zhagare, where Israel was born. At the age of 12, Israel went to the yeshivah of Ẓevi Hirsch Broida in Salant, and his reputation there was such that his teacher referred to him as "the little *Alfasi"; other great contemporary scholars applied similar laudatory appellations to him. His chance meeting with R. Zundel of Salant – a great scholar and an unusually humble and modest man – had a decisive influence on him. Powerfully impressed by Zundel's personality, Israel attached himself to him, regarding him from then on as his principal teacher, and conducting himself according to Zundel's ethical principles. He refused to accept rabbinical office, even that of Brest-Litovsk – the major community in Lithuania.

During his whole life, Lipkin sought the best way in which to influence the community. Deciding to become a preacher or a *mashgi'aḥ* ("spiritual mentor") in a yeshivah, he accepted the position of head of a yeshivah in Vilna, where he was quickly renowned for his profound acumen. He soon resigned this post, however, and established his own yeshivah in Vilna. When his fame spread he began to preach sermons giving expression to the doctrine of *musar*, a moral movement based on the study of traditional ethical literature. These sermons attracted huge audiences. He proceeded to found groups for the study of *musar* on the lines of various ethical works. With the consolidation of these groups he established a special institution called a Bet Musar, in which he delivered his *musar* discourses and these became the pattern for similar discourses delivered in all the yeshivot which adopted the teaching of *musar*. These discourses were never recorded apart from several individual ones published by his pupil Shneur Zalman Hirschovitz in *Even Yisrael* (1883).

During the cholera epidemic which swept Vilna in 1848, Lipkin was in the forefront of all the most dangerous relief activities. He gave instructions that every kind of work was to be done on the Sabbath by Jews and was not to be relegated to non-Jews. On the Day of Atonement during the epidemic he ordered the congregation to partake of food, and set a personal example by mounting the pulpit and publicly eating. This dramatic action made a powerful impression both in contemporary and in later literature. His name was put forward to head the rabbinical seminary of Vilna, founded in 1848, but he refused to accept despite the attractive terms offered and the government pressure that was brought to bear upon him. As a result of this pressure he left Vilna and went to Kovno, where he founded a Musar yeshivah, which expanded greatly, attaining a roll of 150 students, many of whom were to become outstanding Lithuanian rabbis. His most important activity during this period was the improvement of the living conditions of the yeshivah students. He abolished the custom of the students being given daily hospitality in private homes, arranged suitable accommodation for them, and insisted that they be properly and neatly dressed. He also taught deportment and aesthetics. The period of study in his yeshivah was highly valued by the students, who saw themselves under "a new heaven and a new earth and an individual superior to all" (*Tenu'at ha-Musar*, p. 175). Lipkin obtained his livelihood from communal posts in Kovno. Opposition to his methods began during the period of his yeshivah in Kovno, and among his opponents were Joshua Hoeschel of Janow, Abraham Samuel of Rossiyeny, Mordecai Eliasberg of Bauska, and Isaiah of Salant.

In 1857, to the surprise of many, Lipkin moved to Germany – first to Halberstadt for medical attention and later to Koenigsberg, where he lectured to university students on Judaism. In 1860 he went to Memel near the German-Lithuanian border. There he published his periodical *Tevunah*, for the dissemination of Torah and *musar*, to which all the outstanding scholars of Lithuania and Galicia contributed; 12 numbers were published. In Memel he acquired German citizenship, adopted German dress, and even preached in German. He also mastered various secular subjects. He visited several German cities, including Tilsit, Berlin, Frankfurt, and Halberstadt. During this period he maintained contact with his pupils in Lithuania by correspondence. These letters constitute the main source for his system of *musar*. In 1877 he founded a **kolel* for young married students in Kovno; similar institutions were also set up in various towns. Lipkin's pupils began to establish large yeshivot in Volozhin, Kelme, Telz, and Slobodka, in which *musar* teaching was predominant. In 1880 he went to France in order to disseminate Judaism. Although he suffered greatly there because of his straitened circumstances, he did not cease his activity. He stayed in Paris two years and succeeded in strengthening its Jewish institutions. From Paris he returned to Koenigsberg where he died.

In general Lipkin was revolutionary in his ideas. He proposed the compilation of an Aramaic-Hebrew dictionary for the better understanding of the Talmud, the translation of the Talmud into Hebrew, its printing in one volume, its translation into European languages, its teaching in universities, and the provision of religious books in Russian. Lipkin was also active in the communal and political spheres. He left no large works. He published an article in the *Eẓ Peri* (1881) and a number of articles from *Tevunah* were later collected in a special work called *Imrei Binah* (1878). His well-known *Iggeret ha-Musar* ("ethical letter") was first published in Koenigsberg in 1858 and repeatedly republished. Twenty-two letters were collected by Isaac *Blaser, who published them under the title *Or Yisrael* (1900; English translation, 2004). A collection of his discourses recorded by pupils was published under the title *Even Yisrael* (1883); letters and collections appeared in various organs such as *Beit Yisrael, Ḥut ha-Meshullash*, etc. The letters of Lipkin, *Kitvei R. Israel Lipkin*, edited by M. Pacter, appeared in 1973. All these deal with his system of *musar* which spread throughout Lithuania and was adopted by all the yeshivot.

Lipkin was foremost an educator and ethicist, writing and teaching in response to the historical, social, and religious problems of his time. He was keenly aware of the changes going on all around him in the Jewish community, thus his teachings and writings must be seen as reflecting his social and educational activity.

The central issue that concerned him was the gap between an individual's professed beliefs and his actions. Searching for the causes of this phenomenon, Lipkin discovered that there was no direct relationship between a person's piety and his knowledge of Torah. Knowledge attained through the standard yeshivah curriculum did not necessarily produce moral behavior, but knowledge of divine retribution, knowing that no one escapes the consequences of his actions, does affect behavior. This insight, coupled with another one, formed the basis for Lipkin's *musar* campaign. The second insight relates to the difference between a person's appetites and desires and knowledge. Contrary to one's desires, which are innate in a person, knowledge is acquired. For this reason, attaining even the right knowledge is rarely enough to control one's appetites. To solve this problem, Lipkin developed behavioral mechanisms, i.e., the habitual repetition of emotional, cognitive, and behavioral stimuli, "to fortify the intellectual fear of God that the latter eventually achieves the level of distinct instinct capable of combating less worthy desires or even uprooting them totally" (Ross, *Immanuel*, 1983/84, 70). Later on in his career, Lipkin proposed a different solution based on improving character traits, thus changing one's personality. All of these teachings were Lipkin's means to achieve a particular end: an improvement in piety and religious observance.

Lipkin dealt with a number of philosophical issues peripherally in his sermons and writings. These included the paradox of divine knowledge and free will, miracles vs. natural law, the relative ability or inability of the human intellect to grasp objective truth in general or Torah in particular, and *emunat ḥakhamim* (blind faith in rabbinic dicta). This aspect of his teachings was developed by his students into "yeshivah ideology" (*ibid.*). Thus, Lipkin's disciples abandoned his *musar* methods and began to emphasize his philosophical ideas. Ironically, their *musar* technique became the identification with a set of proper ideas and opinions. Nevertheless, Lipkin had an enormous impact on yeshivah study. To this day, almost every yeshivah student spends a portion of his day studying Jewish philosophy and ethics.

Among Lipkin's sons were Yom Tov Lipman *Lipkin, a scientist with an international reputation; ARYEH LEIB HOROWITZ, author of the *Ḥayyei Aryeh* (1907) and rabbi of Choroszcz, Janow, and Brezhin; and ISAAC LIPKIN, rabbi of Janow, Korets, and Prosnitsa.

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[Itzhak Alfassi / David Derovan (2nd ed.)]

LIPKIN, YOM TOV LIPMAN (1845–1875), Russian mathematician, son of Israel Salanter (see Israel *Lipkin). In his early youth Lipkin demonstrated great interest and promise in the exact sciences, studying higher mathematics on his own. Leaving his family for Koenigsberg, he was admitted to the university there. After finishing at the Berlin Gewerbe-Akademie, he was accepted at the University in Jena, where he presented his dissertation, "Ueber die Raeumlichen Strophoiden," in 1870. Moving to St. Petersburg, he demonstrated his mechanical device for changing linear motion into circular motion, which he had previously written about in *Mélanges mathématiques de l'Academie Impériale à St. Petersbourg* (1870). His kinematic system was included in many Russian and foreign textbooks.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Slonimski, in: *Vestnik russkikh yevreyev*, nos. 17, 19 (1871); *Ha-Ẓefirah*, 22 (1874); 22, 24 (1875).

LIPKIN-SHAHAK, AMNON (1944–), 15th chief of staff of the IDF (1995–98). Lipkin-Shahak was born in Tel Aviv. As a career officer he studied at the IDF Staff and Command College and the National Defense College. In the Six-Day War and Yom Kippur War he had commands in the paratroops. During his service he was twice awarded the Medal of Valor: in 1968 he commanded his troops under enemy fire and in 1973 in Lebanon he carried out his mission under enemy fire and with casualties. As deputy chief of staff he headed the Israeli military team to the negotiations with the Palestinians on the Gaza-Jericho Agreement. As chief of staff, he met with his Syrian counterpart to discuss security arrangements as part of the peace negotiations between the two countries. After his retirement from the IDF he joined the Center Party and was elected to the Knesset in 1999. As part of the coalition, he held the Ministry of Tourism and later of Transport. After the defeat of Ehud Barak in the 2001 election he resigned from the Knesset and became chairman of *Tahal.

[Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

LIPMAN, EUGENE JAY (1919–1993), U.S. Reform rabbi. Lipman was born in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. A traditionalist and a Zionist, Lipman would have attended the Jewish Theological Seminary but an interview with its chancellor who asked him only about the nature of his religious observance, and nothing more, alienated him. He went instead to the Hebrew Union College where he was ordained in 1943 and served for a year at Temple Beth-El in Fort Worth, Texas. As a chaplain in the U.S. Army (1944–46, 1950–51) he was instrumental in aiding the flight of Jews from Eastern Europe through Czechoslovakia. Together with such rabbis as Abraham Klausner and Herbert Freidman, Lipman provided enormous support for the seemingly clandestine escape of Jews – Holocaust survivors – into the American and British sectors. He worked with the Russians to transfer the last survivors in Theresienstadt to the U.S. occupation zone. He organized transports of survivors from Prague through Pilsen to Italy, en route to Palestine. He returned as a civilian as liaison officer for the U.S. Army and the Jewish Agency for Palestine, working with the Haganah (1947–48). His role of rescue and his work with the Haganah used to irritate right-wing critics of his more dovish views on Israel in the 1980s, who could not challenge his commitment or match his service. From 1951 to 1961 he was director of the Commission on Social Action and the Commission on Synagogue Activities of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, where he was instrumental in the establishment of the Religious Action Center in Washington, D.C., the arm of the Reform movement in the heart of the American capital where it represents Liberal Judaism and liberalism in the political and social fights of the day. Because of his service in Europe, Rabbi Leo Baeck entrusted the young rabbi with a *Megillat Esther* that had been read in Theresienstadt. In return he demanded that the *megillah* be kept in proper order so that it could be read in the synagogue each year and that the story of this *megillah* – the story of Purim and of Theresienstadt – be told. Lipman complied. Years later when he wanted to make the *megillah* available for display at the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, it was for 364 days a year: once a year it had to be returned to a synagogue where it would be read.

From 1961 he was rabbi of Temple Sinai, Washington, D.C., which had been the home of activist liberal rabbis. Lipman was active in every branch of Reform Judaism and also served as president of the Central Conference of American Rabbis and president of the Washington, D.C. Interfaith Conference, the first interfaith group in the United States which joined Jews, Protestants, Catholics, and Muslims. He took pleasure in mentoring young rabbis without regard to their movement or religious affiliation. He wrote *Justice and Judaism: The Work of Social Action* (1956) and coedited *A Tale of Ten Cities: The Triple Ghetto in American Religious Life* (1962). A classic scholar, he also edited and translated *The Mishnah: Oral Teachings of Judaism* (1975).

[Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

LIPMAN, JACOB GOODALE (1874–1939), U.S. soil chemist and bacteriologist. Lipman was born in Friedrichstadt, Latvia. His parents were expelled from Moscow in 1888, and went to the U.S. In 1898 he joined the New Jersey State Agricultural Experimental Station and was its director from 1911. In 1910 he became professor of soil fertility and bacteriology at Rutgers and from 1913 to 1939 was professor of agriculture. Among the books he wrote were *Bacteria in Relation to Country Life* (1908) and *A Laboratory Guide of Soil Bacteriology* (1911, with P.E. Brown). He edited several journals including *Soil Science* which he founded in 1916.

Lipman was director of the *Jewish Agricultural Society. In 1927 he was on the commission of experts surveying Palestine, and in 1929 he became a member of the Jewish Agency for Palestine.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Industrial and Engineering Chemistry*, 27 (1935), 103; *Soil Science*, 40 (1935); S.A. Waksman, *Jacob G. Lipman* (1966).

[Samuel Aaron Miller]

LIPMAN, LEVI (**Isaac Libman**; first half of 18th century), merchant of Courland and financial agent for the imperial Russian court. Lipman's name is found in documents from the reigns of Peter II (1727–30) and Anna (1730–40), occasionally with the addition of the titles *Ober-Hof-Kommissar* and *Kammeragent*, as a purveyor of various goods and precious stones to the imperial court. His name is sometimes mentioned as a *shtadlan* active on behalf of the Jews. He was a favorite of Prince Dmitri Golitsyn and later of Count Biron, the "strong man" at Czarina Anna's court. When Biron was appointed duke of Courland in 1737, he entrusted Lipman with all the financial affairs of the duchy. He pursued his commerce in St. Petersburg and maintained his relations with the imperial court even after the fall of Biron. As he was the sole Jewish figure at the court of St. Petersburg, his contemporaries exaggerated the extent of his influence. (One ambassador wrote of him: "Lipman is the actual ruler of Russia.") In fact, Lipman was merely one of the *Court Jews who were characteristic of that period in Europe.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: R.J. Wynderbar, *Geschichte der Juden in den Provinzen Liv-und Kurland* (1853), 23; Yu. Hessen, in: YE, 10, 224–5.

[Yehuda Slutsky]

LIPMAN, VIVIAN DAVID (1921–1990), British administrator and historian. Born in London, Lipman served in the British army during World War II before obtaining his doctorate at Oxford University. He entered the British Civil Service in 1947 and worked as an administrator on housing, local government, and urban planning. From 1972 to 1978, he served as director of ancient monuments and historic buildings, which included responsibility for archaeology and the royal palaces and parks. In addition to publications on administrative history, notably *Local Government Areas* (1949), and the British architectural heritage, he wrote extensively on Anglo-Jewish history, such as *Social History of the Jews in England* (1954), *A Century of Social Service* (1959), *The Jews of Medieval Norwich* (1965), and his edited collection, *Three Centuries of Anglo-Jewish History* (1961). Lipman's survey of modern Anglo-Jewry, *History of the Jews in Britain Since 1858* (1990), appeared posthumously. In his evolution as a historian, Lipman was influenced to a certain extent by the trend to see more antisemitism in British society than had been noted by previous historians, while providing a generally optimistic view. He served as president of the Jewish Historical Society of England and was an honorary research fellow of University College London and a fellow of the Society of Antiquaries. In collaboration with his wife, Sonia, he also wrote on contemporary social trends in Anglo-Jewry.

ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY: I. Finestein, "Vivian David Lipman (1921–1990)," in: JHSET, 31 (1989–90), xv–xix; A. Rapoport-Albert, "Vivian Lipman: A Personal Tribute," in: *ibid.*, xx–xxii.

LIPMANN, FRITZ ALBERT (1899–1986), U.S. biochemist and Nobel Prize winner. Lipmann was born in Koenigsberg, Germany. From 1927 to 1931 he pursued research at the Kaiser Wilhelm Institute in Berlin and at Heidelberg. With the rise of the Nazi regime he left Germany and went to Denmark, working at the Biological Institute of the Carlsberg Foundation in Copenhagen from 1932 to 1939. He then immigrated to the United States and worked at Cornell University from 1939 to 1941, at the Massachusetts General Hospital from 1941 to 1947, and at the Harvard University Medical School, where he was professor of biological chemistry from 1949 to 1957. In 1957 he was appointed professor at the Rockefeller Institute for Medical Research in New York.

In 1953 Lipmann was awarded the Nobel Prize for medicine and physiology, which he shared with Hans *Krebs, for his discovery of coenzyme A and its importance for intermediary metabolism. This substance plays an important role in the "Krebs cycle" through which food is converted into carbon dioxide, water, and energy. Lipmann found that coenzyme A contains pantothenic acid, one of the vitamin B group. His hundreds of contributions to scientific journals include papers on metabolism, vitamin function, and cell structure.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: T.N. Levitan, *Laureates: Jewish Winners of the Nobel Prize* (1960), 173–5; *Chemical and Engineering News*, 26 (March 1948), 860.

[Samuel Aaron Miller]

LIPMANN, OTTO (1880–1933), German psychologist and expert in vocational guidance. Lipmann was one of the pioneers in Germany of psychological counseling for the selection of a profession. According to Lipmann, effective counseling came from a knowledge of the individual's characteristics and this determined the profession suitable for him. Lipmann suggested a method of examining the individual by means of tests and questionnaires, followed by an analysis of professions. Lipmann was the first psychologist to employ statistics in his work. He prepared several "psychograms" of professions such as telegraphist, typesetter, businessman, metal worker, academic worker, etc. Lipmann was the founder of the Institute for Applied Psychology in Berlin and editor (together with William Stern) of the *Zeitschrift fuer angewandte Psychologie*. His works include *Psychische Geschlechtsunterschiede* (2 vols., 1917, 1924^2), *Wirschaftspsychologie und psychologische Berufsberatung* (1918, 1921^2), *Die psychologische Analyse der hoeheren Berufe* (1920), and *Grundriss der Arbeitswissenschaft und Ergebnisse der arbeitswissenschaftlichen Statistik* (1926).

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[Haim Ormian]

LIPNIK NAD BECVOU (Czech. **Lipník nad Bečvou**; Ger. **Leipnik**), town in N.E. Moravia, Czech Republic. A synagogue is first mentioned there in 1540, though a Jewish settlement existed at least a century before. Most of Lipnik's Jews were engaged in textile production and in the import of livestock from Poland. In 1570 an economically injurious obligation to lend horses to the local gentry was abolished and the Jews' right of residence in perpetuity acknowledged in return for a payment. The community grew to 40 households in 1665. The rabbinate was founded in the late 16th century. Renowned rabbis included Moses Samson *Bacharach (1632–44), who composed a *seliḥah* on the sack of the town by Swedish troops in 1643, Isaac *Eulenburg (1652–57), and Isaiah b. Shabbetai Sheftel *Horowitz (1658–73). Under the rabbinates of Baruch *Fraenkel-Teomim (1802–28), Solomon *Quetsch (1832–54), and Moses *Bloch (1856–77), the yeshivah attracted pupils from all Europe. Rabbi F. Hillel (1892–1928) wrote the history of the community. In 1567 a third cemetery was opened (a fourth in 1883). The community was constituted as one of the political communities (see **Politische Gemeinde*) in 1850. Its population grew from 975 in 1794 to 1,259 in 1830, and 1,687 in 1857, but declined to 212 in 1921. In 1930 the community numbered 154 (2% of the total population). The community came to an end when its members were deported to the Nazi extermination camps in 1942. After World War II the congregation was renewed for a brief period. The synagogue equipment was sent to the Central Jewish Museum in Prague. The building was used from 1949 by the Hussite church. Lipnik was the birthplace of the industrialists David and Wilhelm *Gutmann, who established an institution for the poor in their mother's house in 1903.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: A. Springer, *Juedische Kulturbilder* (1904), 34–56; F. Hillel, *Die Rabbiner und die verdienstvollen Familien der Leipniker Gemeinde* (1928); idem, in: H. Gold (ed.), *Die Juden und Judengemeinden Maehrens* (1929), 301–6; A. Kohut, in: AZDJ, 78 (1914), 499–501. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** J. Fiedler, *Jewish Sights of Bohemia and Moravia* (1991), 104–5.

LIPNO, town in Warsaw district. Jews are first mentioned in Lipno in 1677. In 1736 the community paid a poll tax of 150 zlotys. In 1808 there were 777 Jews (85% of the total population) in the town. Between 1824 and 1864 the authorities compelled the Jews to reside in a separate quarter. The Jewish population numbered 892 in 1827, increasing to 1,558 (40%) in 1857, and 2,079 (36%) in 1897. At that time more than 50% of the town's commerce was in Jewish hands. In 1921 there were 2,443 Jews (29%) in the town itself and 4,795 (5.2%) in the district. There were 102 Jewish industrial enterprises.

[*Encyclopaedia Judaica* (Germany)]

Holocaust Period

During World War II, Lipno belonged to Reichsgau Danzig-Westpreussen, included in the Reich by Hitler's decree of Oct. 26, 1939. Before the war, Lipno had about 1,300 Jews. When the war broke out many Jews fled to the east, mainly to the western towns of the General Government. The Warsaw ghetto in August 1940 had about 300 Jewish refugees from Lipno. By the end of December 1939, the town was declared **Judenrein*.

[Danuta Dombrowska]

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LIPOVETS, town in Vinnitsa district, Ukraine. Jews appeared there in 1747 after the community was completely destroyed during the *Chmielnicki massacres (1648–49). Reestablished, it increased from 1,802 in 1847 to 4,135 (47.6% of the total population) in 1897. Two Jewish state schools existed there in the beginning of the 20th century. Jews numbered 3,605 (41.7%) in 1926, dropping to 1,353 (52.6% of the total) in 1939. During the Soviet period a Yiddish school operated there as did a Jewish local council in the 1920s. A few dozen Jewish families were occupied in farming. The Germans took Lipovets on July 24, 1941, and on September 12 they killed 163 Jews, and in October another 70. The rest were probably murdered in the beginning of 1942.

[Yehuda Slutsky / Shmuel Spector (2nd ed.)]

LIPPE (Lippe-Detmold), former state in N.W. Germany. Jews are first mentioned in 1345 when they were ordered by Bernard V to bring their cases before his ducal court and not the *Feme* or private courts, an order which promised them greater security. The capital, Detmold, became the leading community after Jews were permitted to settle there in 1500. In 1583, 12 Lippe families moved to Altona. During the late 17th and 18th centuries, *Court Jews, who generally controlled the tobacco monopoly, exercised broad executive power over the Jews of Lippe, filled the office of rabbi, and were court financiers as well. Though no dynasty of Court Jews established itself, Joseph Isaac was the most prominent and powerful. In 1732 complaints were lodged against the growing number of Jews. Family *names were imposed on the 175 Jewish families in the county (27 in Detmold) in 1810. Civil rights were granted in 1858 and 1879. Twelve communities were included in the regional union of communities. The number of Jews in Lippe declined from 1,024 in 1885 to 900 in 1904, 780 in 1913, and 607 (0.32% of the total population) in 1928. Until 1742 services were held in a rented prayer room; after that a barn was converted into a synagogue, and a new building was not erected until 1904. Lippe had no rabbi after 1879. After the Nazi rise to power (1933), the Jewish population came to an end through emigration, persecution, and deportation. After 1945 a small Jewish community was founded in Detmold, which was later united with the community in Herford. In 1989 the Herford-Detmold Jewish community numbered 23 and about 100 in 2005. About 90% of the members were immigrants from the former Soviet Union.

The tiny neighboring principality of Schaumburg-Lippe was notable for its dynasty of Court Jews founded by Isaak Heine, who received a letter of protection in 1682. In 1705/6 he and his cousin, Behrends *Leffmann, successfully averted an expulsion order. His family continued to serve the rulers of the principality for three generations; most distinguished of his descendants were the financier Salomon *Heine and the poet Heinrich *Heine.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: A. Feilchenfeld, in: MGWJ, 43 (1899), 273f.; FJW, 419–21; AVJW (May 28, 1965), 3; Germ Jud, 2 (1968), 492; H. Schnee, *Die Hoffinanz und der moderne Staat*, 3 (1955), 93–124; H.H. Hasselmeier, *Die Stellung der Juden in Schaumburg-Lippe von 1648 bis zur Emanzipation* (1967). **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** J. Ehrlinger, *Juedisches Leben in Westfalen und Lippe: Eine Bibliographie* (Warburger Schriften, volume 20; 1995); K. Pohlmann, *Juden in Lippe in Mittelalter und frueher Neuzeit. Zwischen Pogrom und Vertreibung. 1350 – 1614* (Panu derech, v. 13; 1995); D. von Faassen, "'Hier ist ein kleiner Ort und eine kleine Gegend' – Hofjuden in Lippe," in: R. Ries, J. Battenberg, J. Friedrich (eds.), *Hofjuden – Oekonomie und Interkulturalitaet. Die juedische Wirtschaftselite im 18. Jahrhundert* (Hamburger Beitraege zur Geschichte der deutschen Juden, vol. 25; 2002), 289–306.

[Larissa Daemmig (2nd ed.)]

LIPPE, KARPEL (1830–1915), early member of Ḥovevei Zion and the Zionist movement. Born in Stanislav, Galicia, Lippe became a physician in Jassy, Romania. From 1865 he published many articles as well as pamphlets and books on science, defense of the rights of Romanian Jews, apologetics on Judaism, the Jewish religion and its attitude toward Christianity, etc. He also composed poetry, which he would sometimes read at gatherings instead of delivering a speech. When a society to settle in Ereẓ Israel was established in Romania, Lippe became its chairman (1880). From that time he was active in the *Ḥibbat Zion movement, especially on behalf of the settlements of *Zikhron Ya'akov and *Rosh Pinnah, which were established by Romanian Jews. He was a participant at the conference of Ḥovevei Zion in Kattowitz (1884). When Theodor *Herzl's *Judenstaat* appeared, Lippe wrote an article in the Berlin monthly *Zion* (1896) in which he rejected the idea of a Jewish state. Instead, he counseled the Jews to settle in Ereẓ Israel as Turkish citizens and strive for autonomy similar to that of the Austrian Empire in Galicia. Lippe nonetheless joined the new Zionist movement, was elected to the First Zionist Congress in Basle, and, being its senior delegate, delivered the opening speech. He considered himself one of the three initiators of the Zionist idea, together with Leon *Pinsker and Isaac *Ruelf, and as such he published the book *Meine 25-jaehrige Zionistische Agitation* (1902). He was elected chairman of the Jassy Conference of Romanian Zionists (1903). In 1911, Lippe returned to Galicia and settled in Przemysl, but with the outbreak of World War I he fled to Vienna, where he died. Among his works are *Symptome der Anti-semitischen Geisteskrankheit* (1887) and *Zwei Vortraege ueber Unsterblichkeit und Spiritismus* (1907).

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[Israel Klausner]

LIPPMANN, EDMUND OSKAR VON (1857–1940), German industrial chemist. He was born in Vienna and was director of sugar refineries in Duisburg (1881–86) and Halle (1890–1926). In 1926–32 he was honorary professor of chemical history in Halle. He wrote the standard books of his period on sugar, *Chemie der Zuckerarten* (1900^3), *Geschichte des Zuckers* (1890, 1900, 1929), and *Entwickelungen der deutschen Zuckerindustrie von 1850–1900* (1900). He was a leading historian of chemistry, writing *Entstehung und Ausbreitung der Alchemie* (1919, 1931), *Geschichte der Ruebe als Kulturpflanze* (1925), *Geschichte der Naturwissenschaften* (two volumes, 1923), *Geschichte des Wismuts zwischen 1400 und 1800* (1930), and others.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: J.C. Poggendorff, *Biographisch-literarisches Handwoerterbuch der exakten Naturwissenschaften*, 7a (1959), 111.

[Samuel Aaron Miller]

LIPPMANN, EDUARD (1842–1919), Austrian organic chemist. Born in Prague, Lippmann worked for a time with the French chemist, Charles Wurtz in Paris, and in 1868 became an instructor at the University of Vienna. In 1873 he went to teach at the Technische Hochschule at Brno, Moravia, but returned to Vienna in 1875 to become professor of chemistry at the university. In 1877 he was appointed professor of analytical chemistry at the Handelsakademie and from 1881 held the same position at the Technische Hochschule. Lippmann developed in 1886 what became the standard technique for determining carbon and hydrogen in organic compounds. Among the subjects dealt with in his numerous publications were benzyl alcohol, diethyltoluene, azobenzenes, anthracene, and alkaloids.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: J.C. Poggendorff, *Biographisch-literarisches Handwoerterbuch…*, 4 (1904), s.v.; 5 (1926), s.v.

[Samuel Aaron Miller]

LIPPMANN, GABRIEL (1845–1921), French physicist and Nobel Prize winner. Though born in Luxembourg, Lippmann spent most of his life in Paris. His association with the *Annales de chimie et de physique*, for which he prepared summaries of the articles written in German, enabled him to keep abreast of innovations in electricity. After working in Heidelberg and under the brilliant H.L.F. von Helmholtz in Berlin, Lippmann was appointed professor of probability and mathematical physics at the Sorbonne (1883–86). From 1886 he was professor of experimental science and director of the Sorbonne's research laboratories, a position which he held until his death. Lippmann was responsible for much basic work in classical physics. His early research at Heidelberg was concerned with the effects of electrical charges on surface tension leading to the development of the "capillary-electrometer." In 1879 he presented before the Académie des Sciences, to which he was elected seven years later, his work dealing with the effective mass of a charged body, in which he claimed that the moment of inertia in a charged body was higher than that of an uncharged body. This conclusion is of fundamental importance in the study of the electron. He also devised various scientific instruments: in astronomy his outstanding contributions were the development of the coelostat, an instrument for obtaining a stationary image of the sky, and the uranograph, an instrument for obtaining a map of the sky with lines of longitude at equal time-intervals. He achieved fame in 1891 through his production of color photographs based on the phenomenon of interference, although the three-color system proposed by J.C. Maxwell was preferred. Lippmann was nevertheless awarded the Nobel Prize for physics for the results of this research. His most important works were his *Cours de thermodynamique* (1886) and *Cours d'acoustique et d'optique* (1888). Lippmann was elected president of the Académie des Sciences in 1912.

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[Ariel Cohen]

LIPPMANN, WALTER (1889–1974), U.S. journalist, whose writing exerted influence on public policy. Born in New York, Lippmann was for several years an assistant to the philosopher George Santayana. In 1914 he began his journalistic career as founder and associate editor of *New Republic*, a journal of liberal opinion. He left at the outbreak of World War I to serve as an assistant to Newton D. Baker, secretary of war in the Wilson administration, and later helped prepare data for the Peace Conference at Versailles. Lippmann in 1921 joined the staff of the *New York World*, a crusading newspaper noted for its attacks on corruption, poverty, and injustice. He served as editor from 1929 until the paper ceased publication two years later. He then wrote a column on public affairs for the *New York Herald-Tribune*, which was syndicated to more than 250 papers in 25 countries and made him widely known and respected. He was awarded two Pulitzer Prizes, in 1958 and 1962. His political philosophy, as expressed in his newspaper writing and nearly 30 books, showed a gradual modification from socialism to liberalism to independent conservatism. His volumes include *Preface to Politics* (1913), *Public Opinion* (1922), *The Phantom Public* (1925), *Preface to Morals* (1929), *Good Society* (1937), *Cold War* (1947), *Essays in the Public Philosophy* (1955), and *Drift and Mastery* (1961).

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[Irving Rosenthal]

LIPPOLD (d. 1573), Court Jew to Joachim II (1535–71), elector of Brandenburg. When in 1556 he was appointed "supervisor" of Brandenburg Jewry and collector of all monies paid by it to the court for ten years, the elector called him "our beloved, faithful Lippold." Nine years later he was elevated to the position of mintmaster, a post which involved clipping, devaluating, and reminting coins to the benefit of the elector. Lippold exploited Joachim's insatiable passion for women, alchemy, and money to attain a position of confidence and power. Ruthless and rapacious toward Jews and Christians alike, as private moneylender he charged an exorbitant interest rate (54%), borrowed large amounts with no intention of repaying them, and practiced embezzlement and extortion at will. Immediately after Joachim's death (Jan. 2, 1571) disorders broke out in Berlin and Lippold was arrested. At his trial his crimes, real and alleged, were revealed; he was also accused of sorcery and of poisoning the elector. On Jan. 28, 1573, he was executed and quartered, after refusing baptism and withdrawing his confession. The Jews were expelled from Brandenburg soon after.

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LIPSCHITZ, JACOB HA-LEVI (1838–1921), Hebrew writer and opponent of the Haskalah. Born in Vilkomir (Ukmerge), Lithuania, Lipschitz was the secretary, assistant, and representative on public affairs for R. Isaac Elhanan *Spektor from 1870 to 1896. He was one of the organizers of the fact-finding mission on the 1881–82 pogroms and persecutions of Russian Jewry which sent reports to the Jewish centers of Western Europe. He wrote sharply-worded articles (usually anonymous) against the Haskalah and its leaders, gradually becoming the leading Orthodox journalist and Orthodoxy's spokesman in its polemics against the religious reforms proposed by the Hebrew writers M.L. *Lilienblum and J.L. *Gordon. He encouraged the publications of the religious press (e.g., *Ha-Levanon, Ha-Kerem, Ha-Peles, Ha-Modi'a*), to which he contributed regularly. He issued manifestos and lampoons against the Zionist movement from his office in Kovno ("the Black Office" to his opponents). His books include *Divrei Shalom ve-Emet* (1884), against the proposal to establish a rabbinical seminary in Russia, and a biography of Spektor (*Toledot Yiẓḥak*, 1897; also in Yid. as *Ge'on Yiẓḥak*, 1899). His Orthodox ideology is presented in *Sefer Maḥazikei ha-Dat* (1903). His *Zikhron Ya'akov* (3 pts., 1924–30), which he wrote during his World War I exile in the Ukraine, contains historical notes and personal memories. It was published after his death by his son Nathan Nata Lipschitz and is an important source for the history of the Jews in Russia during the 19th century.

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[Yehuda Slutsky]

LIPSCHITZ, RUDOLF OTTO SIGISMUND (1832–1903), German mathematician. Born in Koenigsberg, he later taught in the secondary schools of Koenigsberg and Elbing. In 1857 he was appointed a lecturer at the University of Bonn and later became rector. Lipschitz's work was greatly influenced by his teachers Peter Dirichlet (1805–1859) and G.F.B. Riemann. His contributions to mathematics and physical mathematics were mostly in the theory of numbers, the computation of variations, progressive series, and the theory of potential and analytic mechanics. With the French mathematician Augustin Louis Cauchy (1789–1857), he proved the theorem of prime importance in differential calculus and equations concerning the existing solutions to the equation $dy/dx = f(x,y)$.

[Ariel Cohen]

LIPSCHITZ (Lipschuetz), SOLOMON BEN MOSES (1675–1758), German *ḥazzan* and writer. Born in Fuerth, the son of a *ḥazzan*, Lipschitz practiced his profession as a *ḥazzan* in several communities, including Prague and Frankfurt, before settling in Metz in 1715. His book *Te'udat Shelomo* (Offenbach, 1718) combines instructions and moral precepts for the *ḥazzan* with the writer's personal reminiscences – both of them valuable historical evidence.

LIPSCHITZ, SOLOMON ZALMAN (1765–1839), Polish rabbi, first chief rabbi of Warsaw, known as "Ḥemdat Shelomo" after his works of that name. Lipschitz, who was of a wealthy family whose members included the kabbalist Solomon Zalman Auerbach (17th century), was born in Poznan. Until he was 40 years old he lived and studied there, and therefore was also known as Solomon Zalman Posner. In 1804, after he had lost his fortune and his father-in-law was unable to continue to support him, he became rabbi of Nasielsk, where he also founded an important yeshivah. Lipschitz was unable to bear the atmosphere of Nasielsk, which was becoming increasingly ḥasidic. In 1806 he received a call to be rabbi of his home town, but he refused in order to protect his children from the influence of the Haskalah, which had spread from Germany. In 1819 he was elected rabbi of Praga (a suburb of Warsaw) where there was a large Jewish population. With the development of the Warsaw *kehillah*, he was appointed rabbi of the community (1821). There, too, he founded an important yeshivah. Among its students were many who later became Polish rabbis. As chief rabbi of Warsaw, he led the opposition to the Haskalah movement, the assimilationists, and the rabbinical seminary established there, which became a stronghold of assimilation under the direction of Anton *Eisenbaum. During the Polish insurrection against the czarist regime in 1831, Lipschitz opposed Jews joining the city guard as they would have been obliged to shave off their beards. He was in halakhic correspondence with many contemporary rabbis, including R. Akiva Eger, Moses Lorbeerbaum, R. Jacob of Lissa (Leszno), R. Meir Weyl of Berlin, R. Abraham Tiktin, and R. Aryeh Leib Zinz, and many rabbis turned to him with their halakhic problems. His responsa and decisions are cited in the halakhic works of many Polish rabbis. When he died, a month of mourning was proclaimed. A special announcement issued by the community forbade women to wear jewelry during that month. Lipschitz is the author of three works, all entitled *Ḥemdat Shelomo*: responsa (Warsaw, 1836); novellae on various tractates of the Talmud (3 pts., 1851–92); and sermons (1890). Some of his original letters were saved from the Holocaust but have not been published.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: A.I. Bromberg, *Rishonei ha-Rabbanim be-Varsha* (1949), 9–79; J. Shatzky, *Geshikhte fun Yidn in Varshe*, 2 vols. (1947–48), index; D. Flinker, in: *Arim ve-Immahot be-Yisrael*, 3 (1948), 105–6; H. Seidman, in: *Velt Federatsie fun Poylishe Yidn. Amerikaner Ekzekutive Yorbukh*, 1 (1964), 242–7; Dubnow, Ḥasidut, 461f.

LIPSCHUETZ (**Lipschutz**, **Lifschitz**, **Lifshyts**, **Lipszyc**, **Liebschuetz**), widely dispersed Jewish family, which provided a large number of rabbis and scholars. The name is probably an indication of their origin and points to either Loebschuetz (Lubczyce; now Glubczyce) in Silesia, Liebschuetz in Thuringia, or to Liebeschitz in Bohemia. The derivation from the feminine name Liebscha is not acceptable. According to M. *Brann (see bibl.), the first well-known bearers of this name were the 16th-century R. MOSES BEN ISAAC LIPSCHUETZ of Brzesc-Kujawski and Gdansk (Danzig), and ISAAC LIPSCHUETZ of Poznan. In the first half of the 17th century members of this family included R. BENJAMIN BENUSH, rabbi in Brest-Litovsk, son-in-law of R. Saul *Wahl and perhaps the son of the aforementioned R. Moses; R. ISRAEL MORDECAI BEN ELIJAH, who was one of those who approved in 1609 the Prague edition of R. Eliezer b. Nathan's *Even ha-Ezer* (1610); R. ḤAYYIM BEN ISAAC, *ḥazzan* in Poznan, who published additions to a commentary on the *kinot* by the *ḥazzan* Asher b. Joseph (Lublin, 1617); R. MOSES BEN NOAH ISAAC in Poznan; and R. Gedaliah b. Solomon *Lipschuetz from Lublin. In the second half of the 17th century R. ELIJAH lived in Brest-Litovsk, R. MOSES BEN ENOCH in Burgpreppach. From Gedaliah Lipschuetz (see Israel b. Eliezer *Lipschuetz and his son Gedaliah), who lived in Ostrava at the beginning of the 17th century, descended an unbroken line of learned rabbis right to modern times. Among the last members of this learned family were the Mishnah commentator R. Israel b. Gedaliah *Lipschuetz and his son R. Baruch Isaac *Lipschuetz.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Ẓ.H. Edelmann, *Gedullat Sha'ul* (1854), 24a; I.T. Eisenstadt and S. Wiener, *Da'at Kedoshim* (1897–98), 57, 83; D. Kaufmann, *Die letzte Vertreibung der Juden aus Wien…* (1889), 203; H.N. Maggid-Steinschneider, *Ir Vilna* (1900), 38–40; J.L. Feinstein, *Ir Tehillah* (1886), 23f., 154f., 202; S.Z. Kahana, *Anaf Eẓ Avot* (1903), 23; M.M. Biber, *Mazkeret li-Gedolei Ostraha* (1907), 62; I. de Terni, *Sefer ha-Makhri'a* (1897), introd.; A.J.L. Lipschuetz, *Avot Atarah le-Vanim* (1927), 46, 144; E. Kohan, *Kinat Soferim* (1892), 92a; J. Perles, *Geschichte der Juden in Posen* (1865), 49; A. Berliner, in: MGWJ, 50 (1906), 215–7; M. Brann, *ibid.*, 218f.; L. Lewin, in: JJLG, 5 (1907), 101ff.

[Samuel Abba Horodezky]

LIPSCHUETZ, BARUCH ISAAC BEN ISRAEL (1812–1877), rabbi and author. The son of Israel b. Gedaliah *Lipschuetz, Lipschuetz was born in Wronki where his father was rabbi. In 1833 he was appointed to succeed his father there, but had to relinquish the appointment because of Akiva *Eger's resolute opposition to a young unmarried man of 21 functioning as religious leader of a community. He subsequently became rabbi of Landsberg, where he served until 1853, when he was invited to Mecklenburg-Schwerin to succeed David *Einhorn, the reform rabbi, because the central government wished to strengthen the Orthodox section of the community. In 1858 he was compelled to resign because of his firmness in religious matters. Henceforth he accepted no other communal appointment, and lived first in Hamburg and then in Berlin, where he died. He was the author of *Ḥosen Shemu'el* (n.d., n.p.), an abstract of the Shulḥan Arukh *Even ha-Ezer* (incomplete), and *Torat Shemu'el* (1867), a devotional work. His *Beit Shemu'el* and *Shemesh u-Magen* remain in manuscript. He edited and republished his father's famous commentary on the Mishnah, *Tiferet Yisrael*, to which he made many editions. Some of his sermons were published in Ettlinger-Enoch's *Shomer Ẓiyyon ha-Ne'eman*.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: A. Walden, *Shem ha-Gedolim he-Ḥadash*, 1 (1864), 40b, no. 319; H.N. Maggid-Steinschneider, *Ir Vilna* (1900), 39; E. Duckesz, *Chachme* AHW (1908), 126 (Heb. section); Berliner, in: MGWJ, 50 (1906), 217.

[Samuel Abba Horodezky]

LIPSCHUETZ, ELIEZER MEIR (1879–1946), Hebraist, religious educator, and historical writer in Ereẓ Israel. Lipschuetz was born in Skole (Galicia). He was a businessman in Lemberg, but influenced by S. *Buber, he began studying medieval Jewish history and literature. Lipschuetz had early devoted himself to the revival of Hebrew, not only as a literary medium, but also and above all as a spoken language (in the Sephardi pronunciation). He attracted a circle of like-minded friends, such as Joseph Babad, A. *Barash, Ḥ. *Yalon, Mordecai Ben-Ezekiel, and, especially, S.Y. *Agnon. His wife, too, spoke Hebrew and his child was the first in Lvov to grow up with Hebrew as his mother tongue. In 1910 Lipschuetz began teaching Hebrew and Jewish history at the *Ezra teacher's seminary in Jerusalem. As the result of the Hebrew versus German conflict, he left to take up a post with the Hebrew Teachers Seminary. In 1917 he was expelled from Palestine by the Turks and found refuge in Berlin, where he continued studying and writing to Jewish scholars. In 1920 he returned to Palestine and the following year founded the Mizrachi Teachers' Seminary, which he headed until his death. Lipschuetz worked actively in the religious education department of the Zionist Organization and was one of the architects of the Mizrachi school network. He was also an active member of the Va'ad ha-Lashon, now the Academy of the Hebrew Language. In addition to Lipschuetz' *Raschi* (1912), a classic biography, he wrote a great number of essays on scholarly educational, literary, and linguistic subjects. Among these is one on S.Y. Agnon (1926), whose importance he was one of the first to recognize. A large part of his work was reissued in his collected writings, *Ketavim* (3 vols., 1947–57), but much remains in manuscript, including a voluminous correspondence.

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LIPSCHUETZ, GEDALIAH BEN SOLOMON ZALMAN (16th–17th century), Polish scholar, author, and Jerusalem emissary. Lipschuetz was a pupil of *Meir b. Gedaliah (the Maharam) of Lublin. In 1618 he emigrated from Poland to Ereẓ Israel. On the way he stayed in Prague where he obtained from the local scholars, Solomon Luntschitz and Isaiah ha-Levi *Horowitz (the Shelah), commendations for his work *Eẓ Shatul*, a commentary on the *Ikkarim* of Joseph *Albo. That same year he proceeded to Venice, where he published that work, and where he also proofread the collection of responsa of his teacher Meir, which were published that year, with the title *Manhir Eynei Ḥakhamim*. From there he continued to Ereẓ Israel and settled in Jerusalem. He was there in 1626 during the oppression of the Jews of Jerusalem at the hands of the tyrannical governor Muhammad ibn Farukh. When Farukh was dismissed the following year, and the heads of the Jerusalem community sent emissaries to the Diaspora to solicit aid in reconstructing the community, Lipschuetz was sent to the Balkans. At the beginning of the summer of 1629 he was in Belgrade, where he endorsed a halakhic responsum of Judah Lerma (see the latter's responsa *Peletat bat Yehudah*, no. 27, end).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Frumkin-Rivlin, 2 (1928), 45f.; Ya'ari, Sheluḥei, 268.

[Abraham Yoffe]

LIPSCHUETZ, HILLEL ARYEH LEIB BEN ZE'EV DOV (1844–1907), Lithuanian rabbi and author. Lipschuetz studied under his father, who was rabbi of Srednik. In 1868 he became rabbi of Popelnya, then of Plunge, and later of the important town of Suvalki from 1880 to 1893, when he was elected rabbi of Lublin. He had a sound knowledge of many languages and an extensive general education. He is the author of *Beit Hillel*, novellae on the Shulḥan Arukh, *Ḥoshen Mishpat* (1890). A gifted writer, he contributed essays to the periodical *Ha-Levanon*, using the pseudonym Ha-Le'eh (from his initials), and translated into Hebrew the historical novel *Suess Oppenheimer* by Markus Lehmann (1873). His sons, Ezekiel, Eliezer, and Jacob also held rabbinical positions, Ezekiel being rabbi of Kalisz.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: S.B. Nissenbaum, *Le-Korot ha-Yehudim be-Lublin* (1900^2), 128; B. Eisenstadt, *Dor, Rabbanav ve-Soferav*, 4 (1902), 21.

[Itzhak Alfassi]

LIPSCHUETZ, ISRAEL BEN ELIEZER (d. 1782), German rabbi, studied under Ezekiel *Katzenellenbogen. In the responsa of his father titled *Heshiv R. Eliezer* (Nevewirth, 1649), there are included several items by the son, Israel, who is mentioned as being the rabbi of "Diez, Hadamar, and the environs." Later he served as rabbi in Cleves. In 1766–67 he came into prominence with regard to the cause célèbre known as the *Cleves *get*. Lipschuetz himself in 1770 published a collection of responsa supporting his standpoint under the title *Or Yisrael* (Cleves, 1770) in answer to the *Or ha-Yashar* published by *Aaron Simeon of Copenhagen in Amsterdam a year previously in support of the opposing side.

His son GEDALIAH (d. 1826) eked out a meager living serving as rabbi to various smaller Jewish communities in East Prussia, among them Obrzycko and Chodziez (now in Poland). In 1809 he came into conflict with the local authorities when he opposed an edict forbidding the settlement of conflicts by recourse to Jewish courts. Gedaliah was the author of *Ḥumrei Matnita* (Berlin, 1784) in six parts: comments on the Talmud and its main commentaries with special attention given to the tractates *Nazir* and *Nedarim*; an explanation of unusual words in the Talmud; novellae on *Asher b. Jehiel titled *Ateret Rosh*; notes on Isaac *Alfasi titled *Ma'aseh Ilpas; Minei Targimon*, comments on *Targum Onkelos* and Rashi's Pentateuch commentary; *Mirkevet ha-Mishnah*, comments on difficult passages in the Mishnah. In his approbation of this work the father mentions 17 works of his son as existing in manuscript form. Gedaliah also wrote *Regel Yesharah* (Dyhernfurth, 1777), containing a list of unusual words left unexplained by Rashi in his commentary on the Talmud, referring to other passages where an explanation is found; comments on the order *Nezikin* and the minor tractates of the Talmud; an excursus on talmudic weights and measures; and an elucidation of the geometrical matter in chapters three and five of the tractate *Kilayim*. The allegedly presumptuous tone of this work, combined with the conceit and contentious disposition of its author, led to its disparagement among the *maskilim* who coined the saying, "the author of the *Regel Yesharah* ("Straight Foot") is a twisted blockhead."

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Berliner, in: MGWJ, 50 (1906), 215–8; S.B. Freehof, *Responsa Literature* (1955), 158ff.; D. Kaufmann and M. Freudenthal, *Familie Gomperz* (1907), 74; Tal, in: *Sinai*, 24 (1948–49), 152–67.

[Jacob Haberman]

LIPSCHUTZ, ARYEH LEIB (d. c. 1849), talmudist and ḥasidic rabbi. He was born in Jaroslaw and was the pupil of Aryeh Leib b. Joseph ha-Kohen *Heller, author of *Keẓot ha-Ḥoshen*, and of Jacob Isaac Horowitz of Lublin. Aryeh was the son-in-law of Moses *Teitelbaum, rabbi of Ujhely, and himself served as rabbi in several Galician communities. His last post was at Brigal, where he died. He is the author of two books of novellae, *Ari she-ba-Ḥavurah* (1852), on *Ketubbot*, and *Ḥiddushei Aryeh de-Vei-Ilai* (1880), on *Kiddushin, Yoma, Menaḥot, Kinnim*, and *Niddah*. In addition he published a book of responsa *Aryeh de-Vei-Ilai* (1874) on the four parts of the Shulḥan Arukh.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: A. Walden, *Shem ha-Gedolim he-Ḥadash*, 1 (1965), 82.

LIPSCHUTZ, ELIEZER BEN SOLOMON (d. 1750), rabbi and talmudist. When he was over the age of 30, he became the rabbi of *Ostrowiecz (Poland). There he had many pupils, but he left for Germany where he wandered from post to post because of differences with his communities. Through the influence of his wife's uncle, Simeon Jolles, the leader of the community, he obtained a position in Cracow. There also he made enemies and after Jolles' death he left Cracow. Finally he secured a position at Neuwied where he remained until his death. He published *Heshiv R. Eliezer ve-Si'aḥ la-Sadeh* (Neuwied, 1749) in two volumes: (1) responsa with notes by his son Israel; and (2) (subtitled *Dammesek Eliezer*) novellae on *Yoreh De'ah* and *Ḥoshen Mishpat*. He carried on correspondence with noted authorities of the time. Another member of his family was R. Israel b. Gedaliah *Lipschutz, the author of *Tiferet Yisrael*.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: S. Chones, *Toledot ha-Posekim* (1910), 602; H.N. Dembitzer, *Kelilat Yofi*, 2 (1893), 133b.

LIPSCHUTZ, ISRAEL BEN GEDALIAH (1782–1860), German rabbinic scholar. Lipschutz served as rabbi in the towns of Wronki (1821), Dessau and Colmar (1826–37), and Danzig (1837–60). His fame rests upon his commentary to the Mishnah, entitled *Tiferet Yisrael*, one of the finest of its class. In this work, he explains the words of the Mishnah briefly, offers new interpretations to difficult passages, particularly in the orders of *Zera'im, Kodashim*, and *Tohorot*, and adds everywhere the halakhic ruling as decided on in the Shulḥan Arukh and its commentaries. To each of the orders of *Mo'ed, Kodashim*, and *Tohorot*, he prefaces general introductions comprising a methodic summation of all the principles of the order, after the manner of *Maimonides in his introduction to his commentary on the Mishnah. A considerable portion of the commentary is taken from that of his son, Baruch Isaac *Lipschutz, as well as from Akiva *Eger, *Elijah b. Solomon (the Gaon of Vilna), and others. *Tiferet Yisrael* became the most widespread Mishnah commentary and is regarded as an invaluable adjunct to that of Obadiah *Bertinoro. Lipschutz's commentary to *Zera'im, Zera Emunah*, and to *Tohorot, Ta'am ve-Da'at*, with a general preface entitled "*Yevakkesh Da'at*," was published in Hanover (1830). His commentary to *Nashim*, *Ḥosen Rav*, was published later (Danzig, 1843). Appended to it was *Avi Ezer*, a work by Lipschutz's father on the Shulḥan Arukh, *Even ha-Ezer*. The commentary to *Mo'ed, Davar be-Itto* (*ibid.*, 1844), included an introduction dealing with topics relevant to the Sabbath and intercalations. *Nezikin* was published in Danzig in 1845, along with a treatise on immortality and the resurrection. *Kodashim*, under the title *Ḥokhmat Elohim* (Koenigsberg, 1850), includes laws of the order entitled *Ḥomer ba-Kodesh* at the beginning, and diagrams of the Temple and altar at the end. The commentary was republished in its entirety (Berlin, 1862) with additions by Lipschutz's son Baruch Isaac. Lipschutz also composed an extensive commentary to the order *Tohorot, Ateret Tiferet* (Vilna, 1887–95), in which he separated the plain interpretation from the *pilpul*, calling the former "*Yakhin*" and the latter "*Bo'az*," and added a section giving the halakhic rulings, "*Hilkheta Gevirta*," at the end of each chapter. In later editions of the Mishnah *Tiferet Yisrael* was similarly divided. He also published a brief commentary to the Mishnah called *Zera Yisrael* (Vilna, 1852), and his ethical will was published in Koenigsberg in 1861. His son mentions that Lipschutz left in manuscript sermons, notes on the Talmud, on Maimonides and on the Shulḥan Arukh, and many responsa. He apparently also compiled *Rashei Avot*, a commentary on *Avot*, and *Megillat Setarim*.

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[Abraham David]

LIPSCHUTZ, SHABBETAI BEN JACOB ISAAC (1845–1929), rabbi, kabbalist, and author. Lipschutz was born in Rohatyn, Galicia, and from 1907 served as a rabbi in Bereg-Ilosva (now Irshava, Sub-Carpathian Ruthenia, Ukraine). He wrote *Berit Avot* (also entitled *Sharvit ha-Zahav he-Ḥadash*), on the laws of circumcision (1898; with supplement, 1912); *Pidyon Nefesh* (also entitled *Sha'arei Pedut*), on the redemption of the firstborn (1899); *Segullot Yisrael* (also entitled *Sefer ha-Ḥayyim*) on healing by sympathetic treatment (1905); a second edition together with Sussman Sofer's *Even Segullah* (1908); notes on the *Shemirat ha-Nefesh* (1872) of Israel Mattathias Auerbach (1901); *Kol Todah*, a commentary on the Book of Esther (1884 and 1888); *Tiferet Ya'akov*, homilies on the Pentateuch (1912); *Sha'arei Raḥamim*, a commentary on Ephraim Zalman Margaliot's *Sha'arei Efrayim* (1932); and *Likkutei Shoshannim* (also entitled *Sefer ha-Eshel*), on various halakhic matters (1949). A number of his works have remained unpublished.

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[Samuel Abba Horodezky]

LIPSCHUTZ, SOLOMON BEN MORDECAI (d. 1736), Dutch rabbi. Born and educated in Lisse, Lipschutz was appointed rabbi of the Ashkenazi community in The Hague during the incumbency of David Nunes (c. 1700) as rabbi of the Sephardi community. About 1710 he was appointed rabbi of Rotterdam, remaining there until his death. His query in connection with the *eruv* of Rotterdam, based on the fact that the river could be regarded as its boundary, is published in Jacob *Poppers' responsa *Shav Ya'akov* (1702, pt. 1, no. 17). Having received conflicting rules from Ezekiel Katzenellenbogen and Jacob *Reischer, to whom he had first turned, he addressed himself to Jacob Poppers for a decision, and he appears to have written a book for which he obtained Poppers' approbation. The large Boompjes synagogue in Rotterdam was built while he was rabbi. After his death Solomon was succeeded as rabbi of Rotterdam by his son JUDAH (d. 1754) whom Jonathan Eybeschuetz called "a righteous and upright man who increased peace in the world and was pleasing to his brethren." Judah's son ABRAHAM (d. 1780) was also appointed a rabbi of Rotterdam, but his appointment stirred up a great controversy because two of the lay leaders were his relatives. The leaders of the community turned to Jonathan Eybeschuetz and David Berlin for a decision, and they decided in Abraham's favor.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Ẓ.H. Horowitz, *Kitvei ha-Ge'onim* (1928), 21–25.

[Itzhak Alfassi]

LIPSET, SEYMOUR MARTIN (1922–), U.S. sociologist. Born in New York City, Lipset taught at Columbia University, the University of Toronto, and at Berkeley, California, before becoming professor in the department of social relations at Harvard University. He served as the Caroline S.G. Munro Professor of Political Science and Sociology at Stanford University (1975–90) and the George D. Markham Professor of Government and Sociology at Harvard (1965–75). He then became Hazel Professor of Public Policy at the Institute of Public Policy, George Mason University, and senior fellow at the Hoover Institute at Stanford University. He was also a senior scholar at the Progressive Policy Institute and the Woodrow Wilson Center for International Scholars.

Lipset is one of the foremost representatives of political sociology in the United States. He combines a "middle range" theoretical orientation with verification in research. In his major work, *Union Democracy* (with M.A. Trow and J.S. Coleman, 1956), he provides a negative proof for Roberto Michels' contention that large-scale organizational structures make bureaucratic procedures inevitable: this rule does not apply to the American Typographical Union, which Lipset investigated, because of its relatively small size and the high educational standards of its members.

Lipset was president of the American Professors for Peace in the Middle East; chair of the National B'nai B'rith Hillel Commission and the Faculty Advisory Cabinet of the United Jewish Appeal; and co-chair of the Executive Committee of the International Center for Peace in the Middle East. He is the only person to have been president of both the American Political Science Association (1979–80) and the American Sociological Association (1992–93). He was a director of the U.S. Institute of Peace and was a member of the Board of Foreign Scholarships, both presidential appointments. Lipset received the Leon Epstein Prize in Comparative Politics by the American Political Science Association; the Marshall Sklare Award for distinction in Jewish studies; and the Helen Dinnerman Prize by the World Association for Public Opinion Research.

Other important publications of Lipset's, apart from numerous scholarly papers, are *Agrarian Socialism* (1950, 1968^2), *Class, Status and Power* (edited with R. Bendix, 1953, 1966^2), *Social Mobility in Industrial Society* (with R. Bendix, 1959), *Political Man* (1960), *The First New Nation* (1963), *Berkeley Student Revolt* (1965), *The Left, the Jews and Israel* (1969), *The Politics of Unreason* (with E. Raab, 1973), *The Confidence Gap* (1983), *Continental Divide* (1990), *Jews and the New American Scene* (with E. Raab, 1995), *American Exceptionalism* (1997), and *It Didn't Happen Here* (with M. Gary, 2001). He edited *Sociology and History: Methods* (with R. Hofstadter, 1968).

[Werner J. Cahnman / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

LIPSHITZ, ISRAEL (**"Lippy"**; 1903–1980), South African sculptor. Born in Lithuania, Lipshitz was taken to South Africa in 1908, and, apart from a period of study in Paris, spent most of his life in Cape Town. He was regarded as a leader of the modern school in sculpture and, from 1950 to 1968, was associate professor at the Cape Town University's School of Fine Art. "Lippy" Lipshitz (as he was widely known) worked in a variety of media, e.g., marble, bronze, stone, and wood. He drew many of his subjects from nature and from the Bible including Lot's wife, Jacob wrestling with the angel, and a massive head of Moses, carved out of a fossilized tree trunk, acquired by the National Art Gallery in Salisbury, Rhodesia (now Harare, Zimbabwe). He died in Israel.

[Lewis Sowden and Louis Hotz]

LIPSKI, ABRAHAM (1911–), Belgian engineer. Born in Lodz to a Zionist family, Abraham Lipski settled in Belgium. A highly successful construction engineer, he specialized in techniques of "presolicitations" – a modern method in construction. In 1951 he won international renown with his invention of the "preflex" construction beam. In 1958 at the Brussels World Fair he acted as assistant general commissioner for the Israel pavilion. Among a vast variety of public and private constructions he erected are the Transport Pavilion at the 1958 Brussels Exhibition; wharf constructions at Ostend and Ghent; the Midi Tower in Brussels; the funicular railway in Haifa, the Carmelit; and the Shalom-Meyer Tower in Tel Aviv. He participated in the construction of the Lydda International Airport and the Tel Aviv bus station. Lipski devoted a great deal of time to Jewish affairs.

[Rose Bieber]

LIPSKY, LOUIS (1876–1963), U.S. Zionist leader, journalist, and author. Lipsky, who was born in Rochester, New York, and edited a weekly periodical *Shofar* there, was an active Zionist even before the opening of the First Zionist Congress (1897). In 1901 Lipsky founded *The Maccabean* (later *The New Palestine*) magazine in New York, the first English-language Zionist periodical in the U.S. Under Lipsky's editorship, the magazine often exercised a powerful influence on Zionist actions in the U.S. Lipsky also edited *The American Hebrew* (1900–14). Lipsky served first as secretary, then chairman of the executive committee of the Federation of American Zionists, which was replaced by the Zionist Organization of America (ZOA) in 1917. In the ensuing Brandeis-Weizmann rift over the financial support and control of Jewish Palestine, Lipsky backed Weizmann. Lipsky was ZOA president from 1922 to 1930, and then became president of the Eastern Life Insurance Company (1930–59).

Lipsky was a founder of the Keren Hayesod, the Jewish Agency, and the American and World Jewish congresses. In 1915 he had advocated the establishment of an American Jewish Congress, directly elected by American Jews, which would support the concept of a Jewish national home. In 1918 the first American Jewish Congress was elected. Lipsky subsequently served as its vice president and chairman of its governing council, and from 1934 to 1945 was deeply involved in the organization's attempts to call attention to the plight of European Jewry and to organize their rescue. A prolific author, Lipsky's three-volume *Selected Works* consisting of *Thirty Years of American Zionism, Stories of Jewish Life*, and *Shields of Honor*, a selection of his plays and short stories, was published in 1927. He also wrote *A Gallery of Zionist Profiles* (1956) and *Tales of the Yiddish Rialto* (1962).

His son ELEAZAR LIPSKY (1912–1993) was, for many years, head of the Jewish Telegraphic Agency in New York City. A second son, JOEL CARMICHAEL (1915–), wrote widely on subjects concerning Jewish history, the Middle East, and Russia. Among his books are *The Shaping of the Arabs* (1967), *A Short History of the Russian Revolution* (1964), *The Death of Jesus* (1962), *Birth of Christianity: Reality and Myth* (1992), *The Satanizing of the Jews* (1992), *Unriddling of Christian Origins* (1995), and *Russia: An Illustrated History* (1999).

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[Moshe Gottlieb]

LIPSON, EPHRAIM (1888–1960), English economic historian. Born in Sheffield, and educated at Cambridge, Lipson was a reader in economic history at Oxford from 1921 to 1931. He was instrumental in founding the Economic History Society, and the *Economic History Review*, serving as editor until his resignation in 1934. His major works, some of which went through numerous editions, were *Economic History of England* (3 vols., 1915–31; 1959^{12}); *Europe in the Nineteenth Century* (1916, rev. ed. 1962); *The History of the Woollen and Worsted Industries* (1921); *Europe 1914–1939* (1940^{2}); *The Growth of English Society – A Short Economic History* (1949). In *A Planned Economy or Free Enterprise: The Lessons of History* (1944), he pleaded for a policy aiming "to preserve best in our present economic system, the spirit of enterprise, and fuse it with the team spirit, so that self-interest was held in check by the ideal of public service and devotion to the Commonweal." Lipson was left badly deformed by severe injuries in childhood; in adulthood, he was an extremely sensitive, solitary man. His failure, in 1931, to be appointed to the chair of economic history at Oxford (in part, it is said, because of unwise claims he made about himself in his application) left him permanently embittered. Lipson's view that the industrial revolution did not mark a sharp break in Britain's economic evolution was echoed by a number of more recent economic historians, and his contribution to the field seemed overdue for a reevaluation. His brother DANIEL LIPSON (1886–1963) was housemaster of the Jewish House at Cheltenham College, one of England's leading boarding schools. He served as mayor of Cheltenham from 1935 to 1937 and was Independent member of Parliament for Cheltenham from 1937 to 1950. He was an opponent of Zionism and frequently expressed his anti-Zionist views in parliamentary debates.

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[Benjamin J. Klebaner / William D. Rubinstein (2nd ed.)]

LIPSON, MORDEKHAI (1885–1958), Hebrew writer and folklorist. Born in Bialystok, he was ordained as a rabbi in 1903. After teaching for several years, he immigrated to the United States in 1913. There he wrote for the Hebrew and Yiddish press and edited the Hebrew weekly *Ha-Ivri* (1916–21). He founded and edited the New York Hebrew daily *Hadoar* (1921–23), which was the only modern Hebrew daily to appear in the U.S. When the newspaper was taken over by the Histadrut Ivrit and turned into a weekly, Lipson served for a period as editor. He immigrated to Ereẓ Israel in 1930 and edited the religious daily *Ha-Ẓofeh* from its inception, in 1937, until 1944. For more than a generation he collected Jewish folklore which appeared in *Mi-Dor-Dor* (3 vols., 1928–29), *Anshei Middot* (5 vols., 1927–34), *Midrash Zuta* (1951), and *Emshol Lekha Mashal* (1956). He also translated many books from Hebrew to Yiddish and from Yiddish to Hebrew, including works by I.J. *Singer, I. Bashevis *Singer, and J. *Opatoshu.

[Getzel Kressel]

LIPSYTE, ROBERT MICHAEL (1938–), U.S. sports journalist, columnist, novelist, and scriptwriter. Born in the Bronx to Sidney and Fanny, both teachers, Lipsyte grew up in Rego Park, Queens, and attended Forest Hills High School, but a Ford Foundation program allowed him to skip his senior year and enroll at Columbia University. He graduated in 1957 at the age of 19, and landed a job as a copy boy in the sports department of the *New York Times.* Lipsyte worked at the *Times* for 14 years – with a timeout to receive a master's degree from the Columbia School of Journalism in 1959 – becoming a sports reporter at 21 and then a sports columnist for the paper in 1966. During that time he also co-authored *Nigger* (1964) with the controversial comic and activist Dick Gregory; *The Masculine Mystique* (1966); and published an edited collection of his columns, *Assignment: Sports* (1970). Lipsyte's first and best-known novel for young people, *The Contender* (1967), won a children's book award, and Lipsyte abandoned his journalism career in 1971 after 544 columns to concentrate on writing novels. Lipsyte also worked as a freelance writer, television scriptwriter, journalism professor (Fairleigh Dickenson and New York University), radio commentator (National Public Radio, 1976–82), and columnist for the *New York Post* (1977), was a television sports essayist for *CBS Sunday Morning* (1982) and stayed with that network until moving to NBC in 1986. After leaving NBC in 1988, he hosted *The Eleventh Hour* on PBS (1989), winning an Emmy Award in 1990 for On-Camera Achievement, and was author of a television documentary series about sports. Lipsyte returned to the *New York Times* to write a sports column in 1991. Among his 16 books are *SportsWorld: An American Dreamland* (1975), *Free to Be Muhammad Ali* (1978), *Jim Thorpe: Twentieth-Cen-*

tury Jock (1993), *Arnold Schwarzenegger: Hercules in America* (1993), *Michael Jordan: A Life above the Rim* (1994), *Joe Louis: A Champ for All America* (1994), *Idols of the Game: A Sporting History of the American Century,* with Peter Levine (1995), and *In the Country of Illness: Comfort and Advice for the Journey* (1995). In addition to the Emmy, Lipsyte's honors and awards include the E.P. Dutton Best Sports Stories Award, 1964, 1965, 1967, 1971, and 1976; Columbia's Meyer Berger Award for distinguished reporting, 1966 and 1996; Wel-Met Children's Book Award, 1967; *New York Times* outstanding children's book of the year citation, 1977; American Library Association best young adult book citation, 1977; and in 1992, he was a finalist for the Pulitzer Prize for commentary. In 2001, the American Library Association honored him with the Margaret A. Edwards Award for Lifetime Achievement. He is the subject of *Presenting Robert Lipsyte* (1995), by Michael Cart.

[Elli Wohlgelernter (2nd ed.)]

LIPTON, SEYMOUR (1903–1986), U.S. sculptor. Born in New York City, Lipton showed a predilection for art as a child. His parents, however, discouraged his ambitions and he received a D.D.S. degree from Columbia University in 1927. While practicing as a dentist, Lipton began carving stylized sculptures with Social Realist themes out of wood. He had a one-man show in 1938 and two years later started teaching sculpture at the New School for Social Research in New York (1940–65). By the mid-1940s Lipton was welding Surrealist-inspired forms out of lead, later using steel, and by 1955 Monel metal. Lipton worked in stages, conceptualizing a sculpture on paper, making a maquette, and then fabricating the metal sculpture.

The events of World War II influenced Lipton's subject matter, which evolved from specific representational themes to more timeless abstract comments on the human condition. Figuration seemed inadequate to describe the devastation of war, and in 1942 he began to work abstractly in metals. *Moby Dick #2* (1948, private collection), a bronze abstraction of Herman Melville's whale, appears fierce with spikes or possibly teeth projecting from rounded forms. Similar predatory imagery would recur at various times throughout Lipton's career. Around 1948 Lipton began exploring cage themes in works such as *Imprisoned Figure* (Museum of Modern Art, New York). Experiencing a sense of renewal with the war several years in the past, in the 1950s Lipton welded dynamic vertical or horizontal pieces exhibiting traces of organic life such as *Jungle Bloom* (1954, Yale University Art Gallery, New Haven), a bronze on steel sculpture from the "Bloom" series.

His sculptures decorate several buildings in the United States, including the Philharmonic Hall, Lincoln Center, New York; Temple Israel, Tulsa, Oklahoma; and Temple Beth-El, Gary, Indiana.

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[Samantha Baskind (2nd ed.)]

LIPTOVSKY MIKULAS (Slovak **Liptovsky Mikulás**; Hung. **Liptószentmiklós**), town in N. Slovakia, until 1998 Czechoslovak Republic, since 1993 Slovak Republic. Jews appeared for the first time in documentation related to Mikulas in the 17th century. The local legislation was emphatically anti-Jewish. Jewish merchants visited the region and developed business relations with the nobility. In 1720 Ephraim, a Jew from Holesov, negotiated Jewish settlement in Mikulas with Count Samuel Pongracz. The latter rented the Jews several of his houses in the main square, free of charge. In 1729 an independent community was founded. It purchased land for a cemetery, a synagogue, and space in the square for new houses. It founded a *bet midrash*, a *mikveh*, and a *ḥevra kaddisha*. In 1740, the congregation hired its first rabbi, who initiated a *talmud torah* and the expansion of the synagogue. His successor founded a yeshivah.

Intensely engaged in trade, the Jews exported wool, cheese, and leather. They also dealt in wood, noting the high quality of the forests. Wood and wood products have remained a characteristic part of the trade of Slovakian Jews.

Liptovsky Mikulas was divided into two parts: densely populated Vrbica, and the smaller Mikulas with a big concentration of Jews. In 1828 there were 801 Jews. In 1835, Izak Diner was elected president of the congregation, and in 1865 mayor of Mikulas. The first Jew in Hungary to be elected mayor of a city, he held the position until 1872.

The period of Rabbi Lob Kunitz established the basis for intellectual activity, for which Mikulas was named "the Jewish Athens."

The dispute between Reform and Orthodoxy started early in Mikulas. While the majority of the members chose the Reform path, the Orthodox established their own congregation in 1864. They selected their own rabbi and founded their own elementary school with emphasis on Jewish studies. The two congregations fused in 1875.

In 1848–49, the Spring of Nations affected Mikulas Jewry. Many local Jews considered themselves Magyar patriots and enlisted in the army. In 1880 the Jewish population numbered 1,115.

In May 1919 the National Federation of Jews in Slovakia convened in Mikulas. The Zionist movement was active, and it included the sports organization Maccabi, founded in 1921; Hashomer-Kadima, the Zionist scouting movement; and the youth movement Gordonia Maccabi ha-Ẓa'ir.

In 1939 Slovakia proclaimed independence, under the aegis of Nazi Germany. Although the new state immediately began to persecute the Jews, the Mikulas community did not feel particular pressure. The population behaved as it did in the past, until 1940 when the Aryanization – i.e., expropriation – of Jewish property began. Former neighbors turned hostile, deprived Jews of their property, income, and jobs, and pressed to evict them from their apartments. In 1942 the deportation of Jews to Poland began. About 885 Mikulas Jews were deported to Lublin and the Sobibor extermination camp. When deportations stopped temporarily in the fall of 1942, Slovak Jews, as well as some others, escaped and crossed Slovakia's border; Mikulas was among the small surviving communities that assisted the escapees. In the fall of 1944, when the Slovak anti-Nazi uprising began, several surviving Jews joined the forces, while others sought places to hide. The German army rounded up the surviving and hidden Jews; some were executed on the spot, others were deported to Poland.

About 20% of pre-war Jews managed to return to the town. In 1947 there were 394 Jews in Mikulas. Thirty-eight Jews participated in anti-Nazi resistance within Slovakia, in the Soviet Union, and in the west. In 1948–49, most of the Jews immigrated to Israel. The synagogue was turned into a warehouse, and the cemeteries were destroyed. In 1989 the synagogue underwent a thorough reconstruction, partially by young Jewish and Slovak volunteers. There was a plan to turn the synagogue into a memorial.

Simon Goldstein, a native of Mikulas and graduate of its schools, was the first Jewish lawyer in Hungary. Samuel *Fischer, another Mikulas native, founded the Fischer-Verlag publishing house in Berlin.

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[Yeshayahu Jelinek (2nd ed.)]

LIPTZIN, SOL (1901–1995), literary scholar and educator. Leaving his native Satanov, Russia, as a boy, Liptzin was raised in the U.S. He taught at City College, New York, where he became professor of German in 1948 and served as chairman of the department of Germanic and Slavonic languages (1943–58). His interest in the mutual interaction of 19th-century German and English literature finds reflection in works such as *Shelley in Germany* (1924), and *The English Legend of Heinrich Heine* (1954). He also wrote *Lyric Pioneers of Modern Germany* (1928), *Arthur Schnitzler* (1932), and *Richard Beer-Hofmann* (1936). Liptzin turned his attention to Yiddish literature in *Stories from Peretz* (1947), *Eliakum Zunser: Poet of His People* (1950), *The Flowering of Yiddish Literature* (1963), and *The Maturing of Yiddish Literature* (1970). His other works include *Germany's Stepchildren* (1945), on German-Jewish writers; and *The Jew in American Literature* (1966). Active in Jewish affairs, he was honorary president of the Jewish Book Council of America and editor of the *Jewish Book Annual* (1953–56). Liptzin was a visiting professor at Yeshiva University (1929–40) and, after settling in Israel in 1962, at Tel Aviv University (1962–63) and the Haifa Technion (1962–66). He was the *Encyclopaedia Judaica* departmental editor for German literature.

LIPZIN, KENI (**Sachar, Kreine Sonia**; 1856–1918), Yiddish actress. Born in Russia, she made her debut in Abraham Goldfaden's company. She joined Jacob P. *Adler's London company in 1884, and married the theater manager, V. Lipzin. Later she married Michael Mintz, publisher of the *Jewish Daily Herald*. Jacob Gordin wrote *Mirele Efros* and adapted Grillparzer's *Medea* for her. When a theater she ran faced bankruptcy, her husband committed suicide, but she continued to act and paid all her creditors. Jacob Gordin's controversial play *Khasye di Yesoyme*, about the miserable treatment of a poor relative by a rich family, was written in 1903 for Lipzin.

LISBON, capital of *Portugal.

The Middle Ages

Jews were apparently settled in Lisbon in the 12th century, at the time of the conquest of the territory from the Moors and the establishment of the kingdom of Portugal by Affonso I (1139–85). For a period of two centuries they appear to have lived in tranquility, sharing the lot of their coreligionists in the rest of the country. Many Jews were prominent in court circles as tax farmers, physicians, or astronomers; the *almoxarife* Dom Joseph ibn Yaḥya, descendant of a family founded by a Jew who accompanied the first king on his conquest of the country, constructed a magnificent synagogue at his own expense in 1260. The great *esnoga* of Lisbon was built by the *Arraby Mór* Dom Judah son of Guedalya in 1306–7, according to the foundation stone that was discovered after the earthquake of 1755. This was the synagogue where Isaac Abrabanel and his family prayed. The synagogue was situated in *Vila Nova,* which was previously known as *Judaria Grande.* When the religious and political organization of the communities of Portugal was revised by Affonso III (1248–79), Lisbon became the official seat of the **arraby mór*, or chief rabbi. The most important incumbent of this office was Dom Moses Navarro, physician to Pedro I (1357–67), who, with his wife, acquired a large landed property near Lisbon.

This initial period of prosperity came to an end in the reign of Ferdinand I (1367–83). When Lisbon was captured by the Castilian troops in 1373, the Jewish quarter was sacked and many Jews killed. After the king's death, the Jews were considered by the populace to be at the root of the rapacious policies of the queen dowager Leonora – notwithstanding the fact that she had deposed the Jewish collector of taxes at Lisbon, as well as Dom Judah, the former royal treasurer. A popular revolt led to the accession to the throne of the master of Aviz, the first of a new dynasty. The feeling in Lisbon against the Jews became extreme, and the people wished to take violent steps to discover the treasures left by the late instrument of royal greed. An anti-Jewish reaction followed in the political sphere. Nevertheless, the new king (known as John I) did his best to protect the Jews against actual violence, though they were henceforth excluded from the positions of trust they had formerly occupied and were forced to make disproportionate contributions to the gift exacted by the city for presentation to the new king. Toward the close of his life, the latter became a little more tolerant. There was a reaction, however, under his son, Duarte (1433–38), who attempted to enforce the complete separation of Jews and Christians. This led to a protest by the community of Lisbon, and as a consequence the severity of the recent decree was mitigated (1436).

Persecution and Expulsion

Popular feeling, nevertheless, continued to be antagonistic. In 1455, the Côrtes of Lisbon demanded restrictions against the Jews. The Portuguese sovereigns had not permitted the wave of rioting which swept through the Iberian Peninsula in 1391 to penetrate into their dominions. Nevertheless, as a result of some disorder in the fish market, there was a serious anti-Jewish outbreak in Lisbon toward the close of 1449 which led to many deaths, and another (in the course of which Isaac *Abrabanel's library was destroyed) in 1482. Owing to the tolerant if grasping policy of John II, a number of the exiles from Spain were allowed to enter Lisbon after the expulsion of 1492. Their crowded living conditions led to an outbreak of the plague and the city council had them driven beyond the walls. Royal influence, however, secured the exemption from this decree of Samuel Nayas, the procurator of the Castilian Jews, and Samuel Judah, a prominent physician.

When in 1496/97 the Jews were to be expelled from Portugal, Lisbon alone was assigned to them as a port of embarkation. Assembling there from every part of the country, they were herded in turn into a palace known as Os Estãos, generally used for the reception of foreign ambassadors; here the atrocities of forced conversion were perpetrated. Some were killed, including well-known rabbis, such as Rabbi Shimon Maimi, originally from Segovia, who was killed in 1497. Thus, the community of Lisbon, with all the others of Portugal, was driven to embrace a titular Christianity. In the period immediately before and after the general expulsion, however, some individuals managed to escape. They probably contributed a majority of the members to the "Portuguese" synagogues in various places in the Turkish Empire, such as Smyrna (*Izmir), while at *Salonika and elsewhere they established separate congregations which long remained known by the name of "the *kahal* of Lisbon" or "*kahal* Portugal."

Lisbon was the seat of the most tragic events in *Converso history during the course of the subsequent period. On Whitsunday, 1503, a quarrel in the Rua Nova (the former Jewish quarter) between some *New Christians and a riotous band of youths led to a popular uprising, which was suppressed only with difficulty. In 1506, on the night of April 7, a number of New Christians were surprised celebrating the Passover together. They were arrested, but released after only two days' imprisonment. On April 19 trouble began again, owing to the conduct of a Converso who scoffed at a miracle which was reported to have taken place in the Church of Santo Domingo. He was dragged out of the church and butchered, and a terrible massacre began – subsequently known as *A Matança dos Christãos Novos* ("The slaying of the New Christians"). The number of victims was reckoned at between two and four thousand, one of the most illustrious being João Rodriguez Mascarenhas, a wealthy tax farmer and reputedly the most hated man in Lisbon. Sailors from the Dutch, French, and German ships lying in the harbor landed to assist in the bloody work. The king, Manoel, sharply punished this outbreak, temporarily depriving Lisbon of its erstwhile title "Noble and Always Loyal," fining the town heavily, and executing a number of the ringleaders.

The Inquisition

The visit of David *Reuveni (c. 1525), and the open conversion to Judaism of Diogo Pires (subsequently known as Solomon *Molcho), created a great stir amongst the Lisbon Conversos. They were foremost in attempting to combat the introduction of the Inquisition into Portugal, but their efforts were in vain. Lisbon itself became the seat of a tribunal of the Holy Office and on Sept. 20, 1540, the initial Portuguese auto-da-fé took place in the capital – the first of a long series which continued over more than two centuries. Throughout this period, the Lisbon tribunal was the most active in the whole country. Inquisitional martyrs who perished there included Luis *Dias, "the Messiah of Setúbal," together with his adherents, the pseudo-prophet Master Gabriel, and the mystical poet Gonçalo Eannes Bandarra, an "Old Christian" (1542 etc.); Frei Diogo da Assumpçao (Aug. 3, 1603); António *Homem, the "*Praeceptor Infelix*," and others of his circle (May 5, 1624); Manuel Fernandes *Villareal, the statesman and poet (Dec. 1, 1652); Isaac de Castro *Tartas, with other Conversos captured in Brazil (Dec. 15, 1647); António Cabicho, with his clerk Manoel de Sandoval (Dec. 26, 1684); Miguel (Isaac) Henriques da Fonseca, with António de Aguiar (alias Aaron Cohen Faya), and Gaspar (Abraham) Lopez Pereira, all of whom were mourned by Amsterdam poets and preachers as martyrs (May 10, 1681).

At times during the Inquisition period, the New Christians as such suffered. Thus, for example, when in 1630 a theft occurred at the Church of Santa Engrácia at Lisbon, suspicion automatically fell on the New Christians. A youth named Simão Pires Solis was cruelly put to death; the streets of the capital were placarded with inflammatory notices; the preachers inveighed from the pulpits against the "Jews"; and 2,000 persons are said to have fled from Lisbon alone. Similarly, in 1671, when a common thief stole a consecrated pyx from the Church of Orivellas at Lisbon, suspicion again fell on the Conversos and an edict was actually issued banishing them from the country (but not put into effect). From the accession of the House of Bragança in 1640 the power of the Portuguese Inquisition had been restrained in some measure, and its suspension by Pope Clement X in 1674 gave the New Christians some respite, but it proved little less terrible than before on its resumption in 1681. After the outbreak of the War of the Spanish Succession (1701–14), there seems to have been a recrudescence of inquisitional power, and, in the subsequent period, it became customary to send to Lisbon for punishment all those persons found guilty by the other tribunals of the realm. An auto-da-fé held at Lisbon in 1705 was the occasion of the famous and savage sermon of the archbishop of Cranganur, which in turn provoked David *Nieto's scathing rejoinder. At the Lisbon auto-da-fé of Sept. 24, 1752, 30 men and 27 women were summoned – all but 12 for Judaizing. In addition to these, three persons were burned in effigy.

The Lisbon earthquake of 1755 allowed many Conversos, together with those incarcerated in the dungeons of the Inquisition, to escape, and prompted others to make their way to open communities overseas. After this, no further Judaizers suffered in the capital; the last victim of the Lisbon tribunal was Father Gabriel Malagrida – a Jesuit. The reforms of the Marquês de Pombal put an end to all juridical differences between Old Christians and New (1773), and the Conversos of Lisbon disappeared as a separate class, although there were many families who continued to preserve distinct traces of their Jewish origin.

The Renewed Community

The close association of Portugal with England, and the position of Lisbon as an intermediate port between Gibraltar and England, made it inevitable that a Jewish settlement would be established in the city as soon as Jews could land with safety. By the middle of the 18th century, some individuals had found their way there and began to practice Jewish rites privately, under the security of British protection. Most of them originated from Gibraltar, though there were some from North Africa and one or two families direct from England. In 1801, a small piece of ground was leased for use as a cemetery. The services rendered to the city by certain Jewish firms at the time of the famine of 1810 improved their status, and in 1813, under the auspices of a certain R. Abraham Dabella, a congregation was formally founded. The condition of the Jews in Lisbon at this period is unsympathetically portrayed by George Borrow, in his classical *The Bible in Spain* (1843); while Israel Solomon, an early inhabitant, gives an intimate glimpse in his memoirs (F.I. Schechter in AJHSP, 25 (1917), 72–73). A little later in the century, two other synagogues (one of which is still in existence) were founded. In 1868, the community received official recognition for the first time. It was, however, recognized as a Jewish "colony," not "community," and the new synagogue (Shaare Tikvah) constructed in 1902 was not allowed to bear any external signs of being a place of worship. Complete equality was attained only with the revolution of 1910. Until the outbreak of World War I, the vast majority of the community was Sephardim, mostly from Gibraltar and North Africa, and many of them still retained their British citizenship. Subsequently, however, there was a very large Ashkenazi influx from Eastern Europe. During World War II, about 45,000 refugees from Nazi persecution arrived in Portugal, and passed mainly through Lisbon, on their way to the free world. In Lisbon they were assisted by a relief committee headed by M. Bensabat *Amzalak and A.D. Esagny. The Jews of Lisbon numbered 400 in 1947, and 600 in 2005. In addition to the two synagogues, there was a cultural center and a home for the aged.

Scholars

In the Middle Ages, Lisbon did not play a very important part in Jewish scholarship. The most illustrious scholars associated with it are the *Ibn Yaḥya family. It was also the birthplace of Isaac Abrabanel, who did much of his literary work there, while Joseph *Vecinho, Abraham *Zacuto, and other notable scholars are associated with the city in the period after the expulsion from Spain. *Levi b. Ḥabib also passed his early years in Lisbon. Many of the most illustrious Conversos who attained distinction in the communities of Amsterdam or elsewhere were also natives of Lisbon – men like Moses Gideon Abudiente, Zacutus *Lusitanus (Abraham Zacuto), Paul de Pina (Reuel *Jesurun), Abraham Farrar, Duarte Nunes da Costa, Duarte da Silva, and perhaps *Manasseh Ben Israel. The outstanding figure in the modern community of Lisbon was Moses Bensabat Amzalak, who was important in public, economic, and intellectual life, as well as being a prolific writer on Jewish subjects.

Hebrew Printing

A Hebrew printing press was active in Lisbon from 1489 to at least 1492 (see *Incunabula) and was closely connected with that of *Híjar, Spain, from which it took over the excellent type, decorated borders, and initials. After 1491 a new type was used. The founder of the Lisbon press was the learned and wealthy Eliezer b. Jacob Toledano (in whose house it operated), assisted by his son Zacheo, Judah Leon Gedaliah, Joseph Khalfon, and Meir and David ibn *Yaḥya. Their first production was Naḥmanides' Pentateuch commentary (1489); in the same year Eleazar Altansi brought out David Abudraham's prayer book. Other works printed in Lisbon are Joshua b. Joseph of Tlemcen's *Halikhot Olam* (1490); the Pentateuch with Onkelos and Rashi in 1491 (text with the vowel and cantillation signs); Isaiah and Jeremiah with David Kimḥi's commentary (1492); Proverbs with David ibn Yaḥya's commentary *Kav ve-Naki* (1492); *Tur Oraḥ Ḥayyim* (also 1492?), and Maimonides' *Hilkhot Sheḥitah*. No other productions have been preserved apart from a fragment from a Day of Atonement *maḥzor*, which may have come from this press. On the expulsion from Portugal in 1497, the printers – taking their type, tools, and expertise with them – found refuge in *Constantinople, *Salonika, and *Fez where they continued to produce beautiful books.

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flitos sociais em Portugal nos séculos XIV e XV (1985), 89–132); Y.H. Yerushalmi, *The Lisbon Massacre of 1506 and the Royal Image in the "Shebet Yehudah"* (1976); T. Metzger, *Les manuscrits hébreux copiés et décorés à Lisbonne dan les dernières décennies du XVe siècle* (1977); A. de Vasconcelos Simão, in: *Armas e troféus*, 3, sér., 6 (1977), 216–35; A.M. Salgado, in: *Cultura, história e filosofia*, 5 (1986), 653–69; R. Faingold, in: *Zion*, 54 (1989), 118–24; E. Lipiner, *Two Portuguese Exiles in Castile* (1997), 148–58.

LISHANSKY, BATYA (1900–1992), Israeli sculptor. Born in the Ukraine, Lishansky immigrated in 1910 to Ereẓ Israel where she studied under Boris Schatz. Her work consisted mainly of small wood sculptures and later white marble cubist–like forms. From 1930 onward she produced a series of naturalist romantic profiles, and statues in stylized groups. Among her well-known works is a bust of her brother-in-law, I. *Ben–Zvi. She was awarded the Israel Prize in 1986 for sculpture.

LISHANSKY, YOSEF (1890–1917), member of the clandestine intelligence organization *Nili in Ereẓ Israel. Lishansky was born in the district of Kiev, Ukraine. He was orphaned, taken to Ereẓ Israel at the age of six, and raised by relatives living in Metullah. He joined the *Po'alei Zion Party, and for three years he worked as a watchman for *Ha-Shomer in Galilee, but was not accepted as a member of the organization. At the end of 1915 he joined Nili. In January 1917 he and Avshalom *Feinberg tried, on behalf of Nili, to cross the Sinai Desert to reach the British lines in Egypt. Feinberg was killed en route by Bedouins, but Lishansky, though wounded, reached Egypt. Upon his return to Ereẓ Israel, he joined Sarah *Aaronsohn in organizing the group's espionage work. When Nili was uncovered by the Turks, Lishansky sought refuge with former comrades in Ha-Shomer, who, however, decided that the safety and security of the Jewish population necessitated his death. Emissaries of Ha-Shomer set out to assassinate Lishansky, but succeeded only in wounding him, and he managed to escape. He tried to reach Egypt but was caught on the way and sentenced to death by the Turkish authorities in Damascus. He was hanged on Dec. 16, 1917, together with his Nili comrade Na'aman *Belkind, and was buried beside him at Rishon le-Ẓion.

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[Yehuda Slutsky]

LISITZKY, EPHRAIM E. (1885–1962), U.S. Hebrew poet and educator. Born in Minsk, he immigrated to the United States at the age of 15. In 1918, after peregrinations which took him to Boston, New York, Central Canada, Buffalo, and Milwaukee, he finally settled in New Orleans, where he spent the rest of his life. He became principal of the city's Hebrew School, one of the best in the United States.

Lisitzky was a prolific Hebrew poet. Though not marked by originality, he made lasting contributions to the thematic wealth of Hebrew literature. *Medurot Do'akhot* ("Dying Campfires," 1937), a story of two Indian tribes, is based on Indian legends and contains fine descriptions of the American landscape. It is written in the unrhymed trochaic tetrameter of *Hiawatha* and *Kalevala*. Out of black folktales and folk songs, sermons and spirituals, habits and customs, he composed *Be-Oholei Kush* ("In the Tents of Cush," 1953). In his narrative poem *Ki-Teko'a Shofar* (1922) he contrasts the spiritual aridity of the small town American Jew with the deep religiosity of Eastern European Jewry (*Shirim* (1928), 241–80). His dramatic poem *Naftulei Elohim* (1934), despite some happy phrases, must be considered a failure, overburdened with the poet's mythological inventions and with Jewish, Christian, Islamic, and Buddhist doctrine. Similarly unsuccessful is *Bi-Ymei Sho'ah u-Mesho'ah* (1960), which deals with the European Holocaust. Lisitzky's occasional articles on literature and educational matters in the Hebrew press were collected in his book, *Bi-Shevilei Ḥayyim ve-Sifrut* (1961). Lisitzky's reputation will ultimately rest on his moving autobiography *Elleh Toledot Adam* (1949; *In the Grip of Cross-Currents*, 1959), his book of black poems, and his Indian epic.

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[Eisig Silberschlag]

LISMANN, HERMANN (1878–1943), German painter. Born in Munich, he studied in his native town and in Lausanne, and later went to Rome and to Paris (1904). Here he belonged to the group of artists that met regularly at the Café du Dôme. After serving in the German army in World War I he settled in Frankfurt, where many of his works were acquired by the local museum, and where for several years he taught aesthetics at the university. After the rise of Hitler he immigrated to France, residing in Tours. He was interned by the French at the outbreak of World War II as an enemy alien, but managed to escape to Montauban near Toulouse, in the unoccupied zone. However, in 1943 he was deported to his death in the extermination camp of Majdanek. His postimpressionist works, in the Staedelsches Museum at Frankfurt and in the museum of Wuppertal, were confiscated by the Nazis and disappeared. Nevertheless, a memorial exhibition held by the Frankfurt Kunstverein in 1959 was able to assemble 132 of his works.

[Alfred Werner]

LISPECTOR, CLARICE (1925–1977), Brazilian author. Born in the Ukraine, she arrived in Brazil as a child. She is considered the most important Brazilian woman writer of the century. Her narrative achieves unexpected and disturbing perspectives by focusing on the internal life of characters (especially women) who are always in conflict with social and psychological conventions. Among her novels and collections of short stories are *Perto do coração selvagem* (1944; *Near to the Wild Heart*, 1990); *Laços de família* (1960; *Family Ties*, 1972); *A maçã no escuro* (1961; *The Apple in the Dark*, 1967); *A paixão segundo G.H.* (1964; *The Passion According to G.H.*, 1988); *Água viva* (1973; *The Stream of Life*, 1989); *A hora da estrela* (1977; *The Hour of the Star*, 1992). She also wrote essays and stories for children. Though she identified herself as mainly Brazilian, criticism discusses the possible Jewish and biblical sources of her nonconformism, her belief in the power of words and her mystic overtones, and also her ironic attacks on the religious establishment. The name of the character Macabea (*A hora da estrela*), a socially deprived, powerless, and defeated young woman, seems deliberately chosen in contrast with tradition.

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[Florinda F. Goldberg (2nd ed.)]

LISSA, ZOFIA (1908–1980), musicologist. Born in Lvov, Zofia Lissa was cultural attaché at the Polish embassy in Moscow after World War II; she later joined the Polish Ministry of Art and Culture, and became professor of music at Warsaw University. Among her publications are *Zarys nauki o muzyce* ("The Outlines of Musical Science," 1934, 1952^3); *Uwagi o metodzie marksystowskiej w muzykologii* ("Remarks on the Marxist Method in Musicology," 1950); and *Historia muzyki rosyjskiej* ("History of Russian Music," 1955).

LISSAK, MOSHE (1928–), sociologist. Born in Tel Aviv, Lissak received his doctorate in sociology from the Hebrew University, where he became a professor of sociology in 1978. He did research and wrote on topics such as social and political history of the *yishuv*, society-army relations in Israel and in South East Asia, and on ethnic group relations in Israel. In 1992 he was awarded the Israel Prize for social sciences. Among his publication are *The Mass Immigration in the Fifties: The Failure of the Melting Pot Policy* (1978) and *Trouble in Utopia: The Overburdened Polity of Israel* (1989).

LISSAUER, ERNST (1882–1937), German poet and playwright. Born in Berlin, his earliest publications were two volumes of verse: *Der Acker* (1907) and *Der Strom* (1912). Lissauer is, however, remembered as the composer of the "Hymn of Hate" (*Hassgesang gegen England*, 1915), which German troops sang at the front during World War I. From 1924 he lived in Vienna and supported the German nationalists. He insisted that the Jews were not one people and that he, as a German Jew, had nothing in common with the Jews of Eastern Europe. Lissauer opposed Zionism and advocated complete assimilation. He wrote a number of plays including *Yorck* (1921), *Das Weib des Jephta* (1928), and *Luther und Thomas Muenzer* (1929).

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[Sol Liptzin]

LISSER, JOSHUA FALK (d. 1807), rabbi and talmudist. Joshua studied under Moses Zerah *Eidlitz of Prague. As *dayyan* at Lissa he was involved in the decision to condemn and burn Naphtali Herz *Wessely's *Divrei Shalom ve-Emet*, which called on Jews to emancipate themselves. Lisser published *Binyan Yehoshu'ah* (Dyhernfurth, 1788), commentaries, including textual emendations, on the minor tractates *Avot de-Rabbi Nathan, Semaḥot, Derekh Ereẓ Zuta*. The commentary on *Avot de-Rabbi Nathan* was reprinted in 1858–64 in Zhitomir and in Romm's Vilna editions of the Talmud. Bearing in mind the spirit of opposition to critical scholarship at the time, Lisser apologized in the preface of his commentary for his suggested textual emendations. In defense of his work he pointed to the precedents of Solomon *Luria and Samuel *Edels, who had also suggested variant readings in their commentaries.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: L. Lewin, *Geschichte der Juden in Lissa* (1904), 271f.

LISSITZKY, EL (**Lazar**; 1890–1941), Russian painter. Born in Smolensk province, where his parents were hatters, he earned his living by giving drawing lessons. He was unable to enter the Academy of Art in St. Petersburg because the Jewish quota was filled. Instead he left for Germany, to study in Darmstadt. At the outbreak of World War I he returned to Russia. It was only after the 1917 Revolution that he could develop his original and versatile talent. When *Chagall was appointed director of the school of art at Vitebsk, Lissitzky joined him there as professor of architecture and graphic arts. In common with Chagall, he was deeply interested in Jewish folklore. Examples of this interest were his watercolor illustrations to the *Legend of Prague* by M. Broderzon, and his color lithograph illustrations to the **Ḥad Gadya*. These were distinguished by the bright, childlike colors of folk art. He also collaborated in the production of Jewish children's books, developing new ideas for typography and layout. Strongly influenced by Casimir Malevich, leader of the Russian cubists, Lissitzky was a major force in a related movement, constructivism. In this movement, which believed that the purpose of art was not necessarily to beautify, he tried to integrate his aesthetic concepts into Marxist theory. In 1919 he painted his first "prouns," a generic term he was to apply to his mature work, which is based on stereometric elements, fusing aspects of painting with architecture. In 1921 he was appointed professor at the Moscow Academy. However, angered by the government's hostility to the new trends, he joined the artists who left Russia for countries more receptive to radical aesthetic ideas. He lived and worked in Germany, France, Holland, and Switzerland, and at one time collaborated with Ilya Ehrenburg in the publication of a constructivist magazine. In 1925 the progressive museum director Alexander Dorner commissioned Lissitzky to install a special gallery for the showing of abstract art in the Landesmuseum at Hanover. The room was later destroyed by the Nazis. Lissitzky maintained his links with the Soviet regime, and in 1928 returned to Russia. The government, however, employed him only to design pavilions at a number of international exhibitions abroad, and also the restaurant at the Soviet section of the 1939 New World's Fair. He died of tuberculosis.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: S. Lissitzki-Kueppers, *El Lissitzky* (1968); Roth, Art, 800f.

[Alfred Werner]

LIST, EMANUEL (1888–1967), bass. Born in Vienna, List joined the Volksoper in Vienna in 1922, the Berlin State Opera from 1923 to 1933 and toured in Europe, the United States, and Australia. In 1938, forced to leave Germany, he settled in the United States. His deep bass made him suitable for Wagner villains; therefore he sang leading Wagnerian roles at the Metropolitan Opera, New York. He also became known as a singer of German lieder. Among his famous roles are Pogner (*Die Meistersinger*), Hunding (*Die Walküre*), King Mark, Ramfis (*Aida*), and Landgrave (*Tannhäuser*). List recorded several of his Wagner roles, including Hunding on Bruno Walter's famous 1935 recording of *Die Walküre*, Act 1.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Grove online.

[Israela Stein (2nd ed.)]

LIST, GEORGE HAROLD (1912–), ethnomusicologist, composer, and educator. Born in Tucson, Arizona, List earned a diploma in flute, Juilliard School of Music (1933); B.S. and M.A., Teachers College, Columbia University (1941 and 1945); and his Ph.D., Indiana University (1954). After performing as a flutist and teaching music in several public schools, he joined the faculty of Indiana University in 1954 where he became active in the interdisciplinary fields of ethnomusicology and folklore. There, he was appointed associate professor of folklore, retiring as professor in 1976. He also served as director of the Archives of Traditional Music (1954–76), director of the Inter-American Program in Ethnomusicology (1966–76), and editor of *The Folklore and Folk Music Archivist* (1958–68).

From 1960 through 1970 he recorded and researched the traditional music of the Hopi Indians of Northern Arizona, the inhabitants of the Caribbean Littoral of Colombia, and the Indians of the Andes and the Amazon region of Ecuador. He received fellowships from the National Endowment for the Humanities, Indiana Historical Society, American Philosophical Society, and a Fulbright research award. His writings include *Music and Poetry in a Colombian Village* (1983); *Singing About It, Folksong in Southern Indiana* (1991); *Stability and Variation in Hopi Song* (1993) as well as numerous theoretical studies (see *Discourse…* in the Bibliography). Among his compositions are *Memoir and Scherzino* for flute and piano (1951); *Music For Children*, eight pieces (1952); symphonic satire *Marche O'Malley* (1947); and a string quartet (1951).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Grove Music Online; James Hass, "Bibliography of G. List's Writings," in: Caroline et al. (eds.), *Discourse in Ethnomusiclogy Essays* (1978), 289–98.

[Israel J. Katz (2nd ed.)]

LISTOPAD, FRANTIŠEK (originally **Jiří Synek**; 1921–), Czech poet, author of fiction and essays. Born in Prague into an assimilated Jewish family, Listopad did not report for transport and from 1941 lived in the underground and took part in the resistance movement against the Nazis. After the war, he studied aesthetics and literature at Charles University in Prague and began to publish in many literary magazines. In 1947 he left for Paris; after 1948 he did not return to Czechoslovakia. In 1958 he moved to Portugal. His first collections of poems and a poem in prose "Little Loves" (1946) appeared in Czechoslovakia before 1947. Between 1947 and 1990, none of his work was allowed to be published in Czechoslovakia. Abroad, he issued collections of poems, such as *Freedom and Other Fruit* (1956) and *Black White, I Don't Know* (1973). After 1990 his collections of verses *Final rondi* (1992), *Far Near* (1993), and *Kyrie Eleison* (1998) appeared in Czechoslovakia and the Czech Republic. Human existence is the topic of Listopad's stories and lyrical prose, such as *The Vicious Dog without a Garden* (1996). The philosophical meditation of searching for one's place in life is the topic of many of his essays. Listopad writes and publishes in Portuguese as well, and his prose has appeared in other countries.

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[Milos Pojar (2nd ed.)]

LIT, U.S. family, prominent in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, in the 19th–20th centuries. The Philadelphia department store operation known as Lit Brothers was first established in 1891 as a dress and millinery shop by RACHEL P. LIT (1858–1919; later Wedell, still later Arnold), who was soon thereafter joined by her brothers Colonel SAMUEL D. LIT (1859–1929) and JACOB D. LIT (1872–1950). Samuel's only experience had been as an apprentice plumber and book salesman. However, he and Jacob brought tremendous energy and ambition to their task. The store expanded yearly, and by 1906 covered the entire city square on Market Street from Seventh to Eighth, where a new building was erected in 1907. Samuel served as a member of the Delaware River Bridge Commission and of the Board of City Trusts; he was also a member of the boards of Mikveh Israel Congregation and of the Jewish Hospital. Jacob was active in the leadership of the YMHA and was founder-president of the downtown Mt. Sinai Hospital (1900). In 1928 Lit's was purchased by City Stores, in which Albert M. *Greenfield was the controlling figure. After World War II, the business expanded into suburban areas of Pennsylvania and New Jersey, and in 1962 absorbed the four branches of Snellenburg's, thus becoming the largest department store chain in the Delaware Valley area. Rachel's daughter ETTA (d. 1953) was the wife of JULES E. MASTBAUM (1872–1926), motion picture exhibitor and executive who gave his magnificent collection of Rodin sculptures, drawings, and letters to the city, together with $1,000,000 for the erection of a museum to contain them, opened to the public as a landmark on the Benjamin Franklin Parkway in 1929. Another brother, JONKER LIT (1853–1919), had a daughter Juliet, who married J. DAVID STERN (1886–1971) the publisher of *Philadelphia Record* (1928–47), *Camden Courier-Post* (1919–47), and *The New York Post* (1933–39).

[Bertram Wallace Korn]

LITAUER, JAN JAKUB (1873–1949), Polish jurist. Litauer was professor of civil procedure at the University of Lodz (1945–47) and at the Polish Free College in Warsaw after 1949. He was a member of the committee for the codification of the law and one of the drafters of the Code of Civil Procedure. He was later a judge of the Supreme Court of Poland.

LITERATURE, JEWISH. Literature on Jewish themes and in languages regarded as Jewish has been written continuously for the past 3,000 years. What the term Jewish literature encompasses, however, demands definition, since Jews have lived in so many countries and have written in so many different languages and on such diverse themes. In this article it will be understood to include the following categories: (1) works written by Jews on Jewish themes in any language; (2) works of a literary character written by Jews in Hebrew or Yiddish or other recognized languages, whatever the theme; (3) literary works written by writers who were essentially Jewish writers, whatever the theme and whatever the language. This entry covers the subject up to the threshold of the modern period. The continuation will be found in other entries including *Hebrew Literature, Modern; *Yiddish Literature; *Ladino Literature.

This article is arranged according to the following outline:

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EARLY BEGINNINGS TO THE MEDIEVAL PERIOD

BIBLICAL LITERATURE

The earliest, greatest, and most enduring Jewish literary works are the books of the Bible, known collectively in Hebrew as

Tanakh, made up of the initial letters of *Torah* ("Pentateuch"), *Nevi'im* ("Prophets"), and *Ketuvim* ("Hagiographa"). The Bible consists of either 25 or 39 books, depending on whether the 12 prophets are counted as one or 12 books and whether Samuel, Kings, and Chronicles are counted as one or two books each.

The Pentateuch comprises five volumes and offers an account of the creation of the world, the early history of mankind, the life and experience of the forefathers of the Jewish people, the experiences of Israel in Egypt, the Exodus, and the Jews' wanderings in the desert for 40 years under the leadership of Moses. Extended sections are devoted to laws governing individual and social behavior, to ethical principles, to theological statements, and to details of ritual for priest and layman. The underlying theme is that God has entered into a covenant with the patriarchs and subsequently, in a revelation at Mount Sinai, with the Jewish people as a whole. The covenant demands that the people of Israel worship God exclusively and abide by the law as set forth in the Torah; God, in turn, undertakes to make them "His own peculiar treasure" among the nations and to give them the Land of Canaan. The Jews thus became a choosing and a chosen people.

The *Nevi'im* are subdivided into two sections: Early Prophets and Later Prophets. The Early Prophets are historical works, portraying the experiences of Israel when entering Canaan (Book of Joshua), a period of turmoil and settlement (Judges), a period of consolidation under the kings (Samuel and Kings), and the period of division of the land into two kingdoms down to the destruction of the Northern Kingdom by the Assyrians and the Southern Kingdom by the Babylonians (Kings). These books are selective history and reflect a point of view and philosophy of history which seems to be that of the prophets. The Latter Prophets include the three large books of the major prophets: Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel, and the 12 books of the minor prophets (so named because of the brevity of the books). The themes which unite the books are that the prophets present revelations from God whose substance is that Israel has strayed from true worship, has departed from proper ethical behavior, both individually and socially, and that it is called upon to repent its ways. The penalty for obduracy will be the destruction of the polity. The hope is, however, offered that "a saved remnant" of righteous people will have the opportunity to renew and continue the covenant with God. This prophetic preachment seems to have been a continuous element in Jewish life from the time of Moses (13th century B.C.E.) to the time of Malachi (450 B.C.E.) and seems to have been the concern and responsibility of "schools of prophets" or of a prophetic party.

The *Ketuvim* comprise works as diverse as the lyrics of the Psalms, the searching dramatic exploration of suffering of the Book of Job, the skepticism of Ecclesiastes, the love poetry of the Song of Songs, the laments attributed to Jeremiah, and such historical works or semihistorical works as the Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah, Esther, Ruth, and the foreshadowing of an apocalyptic literature in the Book of Daniel.

The books of the Bible were written over a period extending from the 11th century B.C.E. (upon the basis of traditions perhaps several centuries older) to the third century B.C.E. Although the canon was substantially closed by 250 B.C.E., an argument as to the propriety of including the Song of Songs and Ecclesiastes in the Bible was apparently not settled until about the year 90 C.E. The authorship of the various books of the Bible is rarely clear. The talmudic assumption is that all the books were written under the influence of "the holy spirit" which means that they are attributed to figures who were the recipients of divine revelation. Thus where no author is indicated, as in the Book of Judges, the Talmud ascribes it to the prophetic figure Samuel, more or less a contemporary, and in the case of the Book of Kings makes the assumption that it was the work of Jeremiah. The major books of the Bible, in terms of their significance for Jewish life, are the Five Books of Moses. The traditional view, which is used as an underlying assumption by the Talmud, and subsequently by Jewish law, is that they were a direct revelation from God to Moses and that every word, therefore, has chosen and special meaning. Biblical critical scholarship of the 19th and 20th centuries has assumed that the Pentateuch is the work of man and has proposed that its five books are an amalgam of several distinct and ancient versions which no longer exist and which are denominated as the J, E, and P documents. Presumably they were put together in one document by a redactor or a body of editors known as R sometime between the end of the seventh century B.C.E. and the middle of the fifth century B.C.E.

While the Bible is the only extant literature of the early centuries of Jewish existence, the Bible itself indicates that there were other works such as the "*Book of the Wars of the Lord" (Num. 21:14) and the "*Books of the Chronicles of the Kings of Judah and Israel" (II Chron. 25:26; 28:26; 32:32). It is also probable that there were works of "true prophets," writings of "false prophets," and a great many lyrical poems, like the Book of Psalms and the Song of Songs, which have not survived (see *Bible; *Pentateuch; the individual books of the Bible; *Allegory; *Poetry, Biblical; *Fable; *Parable).

APOCRYPHAL WORKS

From the third century B.C.E. the literary creativity manifested in the Bible continued undiminished in works called *Apocrypha (*Sefarim Ḥiẓonim*, meaning "excluded" or "hidden" works). These writings, usually of unknown authorship, included fictional and moralistic works (*Tobit); didactic books (*Ben Sira or Ecclesiasticus); disguised historical allegories (the Book of *Judith); historical works (the Books of the *Maccabees); and apologetic works (IV *Maccabees). Some of them, such as the Addition to Esther, were designed as supplements to the Bible to fill in apparent lacunae in that text. Some were imitations of biblical patterns, or conceived as continuations of biblical traditions, like Ben Sira which is in the vein of the books of Proverbs and Ecclesiastes, and the recently discovered Dead Sea *Thanksgiving Psalms Scroll which is in the tradition of the biblical psalter. Some were already early Midrashim, homiletic and moral extensions of biblical material, like the *Dead Sea Scrolls: the Genesis Apocryphon and the *Pesher Habakkuk which applies the prophetic statement of an earlier age to the Jewish-Roman confrontation of the first century B.C.E. and the first century C.E.

The extent of this literature is not known. The discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls has made it clear that there were many works, perhaps sectarian books, which were not preserved as part of the literary and religious mainstream. Moreover, even the previously known works of the Apocrypha were excluded and hidden from Jewish literature, apparently in an attempt to prevent competition with the canon and to suppress dissident sectarian points of view. Consequently, most of them did not survive in their original language, whether Hebrew or Aramaic, but were preserved in Greek versions by Christians who invested them with semisanctity.

More striking than the literary quality of the works is the appearance of certain themes. The arguments about religious practices and philosophies and the emergence of new doctrines, such as immortality, resurrection, and Messianism are present in the Apocrypha. The confrontations of Jews with the Hellenistic world and the need to authenticate the Jewish tradition is reflected both in historical works and in apologetic books, like IV Maccabees and the Letter of *Aristeas. A nationalistic, revolutionary literature appears in the Dead Sea Scrolls, such as the War of the Children of Light against the Children of Darkness, and from the same source there are new indications of the stresses and strains within the Jewish community. It is a literature of dignity and beauty whose merit does not depend upon anything but its intrinsic quality (see *Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha; *Dead Sea Scrolls; *Dead Sea Sect; *Hebrew Language of the Dead Sea Scrolls).

APOCALYPTIC LITERATURE

During the period of the Apocrypha (c. 200 B.C.E. to about the end of the first century C.E.) another body of literature, apocalyptic works, also developed. Like the Apocrypha, they were set aside by later Jewish authorities and were preserved in the Christian tradition surviving either in Greek or Ethiopic revisions. Features common to these works were a claim to be revealed books and to reveal the future, and their pseudepigraphy, purporting to be the writings of ancient heroic or saintly figures. Clearly reactions to political events of the time as well as to theological problems, their essential themes were eschatological – the question of evil and of suffering, the vision of the Messiah, Messianic times, the Day of Judgment, and the vision of a new world. IV *Esdras, a national Job, was probably written right after the destruction of the Temple. The author's solution to the tragedy of the Jewish people is to assert that while God's will is inscrutable, His love for Israel is abiding. After evil has run its course, there will be a 400-year Messianic period to be followed by the Day of Judgment, the resurrection, and the creation of a new world. Similarly, the Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs hesitates between a Messiah out of the tribe of Levi and one from the tribe of Judah and presumably represents a reaction, first positive then negative, to the rule of John *Hyrcanus, the Hasmonean ruler.

Another characteristic of the apocalyptic books is their tendency to employ elaborate allegories and embellish the biblical stories with much legendary material designed to fill the lacunae in the biblical text. Mainly Pharisaic (although the Book of *Jubilees differs in places, particularly in calendar dating, from authoritative doctrine), these works often depict the Messiah as a supernatural being, and much is made of angels. The Book of *Enoch in particular, with its view of the Messiah as "the son of man," its portrayal of fallen angels, and its vision of final judgment, foreshadowed much of Christian thinking.

Ten books are regarded as apocalyptic works, to which must be added some of the Dead Sea Scrolls, particularly the War of the Children of Light against the Children of Darkness, and the so-called *Zadokite fragments. It is probable that there were others as well and that they, and perhaps some of the known works, were of a sectarian character. The rabbinic attitude of the times led to their disappearance in their original languages of Hebrew and Aramaic. Some polemical works, however, such as the *Sibylline Oracles and the Assumption of *Moses were written in Greek in Alexandria, but have come down with many Christian interpolations. Thus the style of the apocalyptic books cannot really be gauged, but the sweep of imagination and the structure of several of them is of a very high order (see *Apocalypse; *Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha; *Dead Sea Scrolls).

HELLENISTIC LITERATURE

While some books, written originally in Greek and probably the works of the Alexandrian community, have already been referred to as apocryphal or apocalyptic literature, a large body of writings was the product of the several million Jews who between the third century B.C.E. and the first century C.E. took up their residence outside Ereẓ Israel in lands dominated by Hellenistic culture. They produced a considerable and distinctive body of literature, much of which has been lost. The Bible was translated into Greek and upon these translations were written exegeses and interpretations, all of them designed to meet the needs of Jews in Hellenistic lands and to offer apologetics for the Jewish religion, which was under assault from within and from without. As an extension of these needs, Jewish philosophy developed with the aim of harmonizing Jewish and Hellenistic thought. At the same time, historical and belletristic works were composed both for the benefit of the Jewish population and for apologetic purposes. Thus a body of writings developed which was to be a prototype for an elaborate literature that would be produced whenever Judaism, in later centuries, came into contact with other dynamic civilizations. Simultaneously, in Palestine, a literature designed essentially for Jews free from the problems of acculturation and assimilation was being developed in Hebrew and Aramaic. Its objective was the explication of Judaism in religious, legal, and homiletic terms; it was also a prototype for the expansive Jewish literature of the ages (see *Hellenistic Jewish Literature, *Apologetics).

BIBLE TRANSLATIONS

Greek

Literary undertakings of Hellenistic Jewry started in the third century B.C.E. with the translation of the Bible into Greek (*Septuagint). According to the Letter of Aristeas, which purports to be the account of the emissary of the king of Egypt, Ptolemy II Philadelphus (285–246 B.C.E.), to Eliezer, the high priest, Ptolemy commanded that 70 translators be engaged to render the Bible into Greek. The facts seem to be that the Bible translation was undertaken by savants of Egyptian Jewry to meet the needs of the Jewish population. The Septuagint, as the first translation of the Bible, had a significant effect and was employed as a pattern for subsequent translations. The Greek style is not distinguished since it relied heavily on Hebrew constructions. It was not a literal translation, however, since it incorporated commentary in the text, consciously attempting to harmonize biblical and Greek thought and to include halakhic and aggadic ideas which were current in Palestinian commentary. Some interesting features of the text are its deletion of all anthropomorphic expressions and the provision of many readings of the text which are different from the standard masoretic version. Whether this was because the translators worked with different texts is not clear, but the variants have provided fruitful interpretations of difficult biblical passages and material for speculation on how the biblical text developed.

Two other translations into Greek were undertaken in subsequent centuries because Palestinian rabbis deemed the Septuagint not to be altogether authentic and because it had become subject to interpolations and manipulations by Christians. At the behest of R. Eliezer b. Hyrcanus and R. Akiva, *Aquila, a Greek-speaking native of Pontus and a proselyte, undertook a new translation at the beginning of the second century C.E. The result was a literal translation, incorporating many of the rabbinic interpretations. It was widely used and approved, but has disappeared, and only fragments are retained in the writings of *Origen (185–254 C.E.), one of the Church Fathers. The translation of Theodotion (about 200 C.E.), another proselyte, has also been lost, except for his version of the Book of Daniel. It was however integrated by the Church into a revised version of the Septuagint (see *Bible, Translations).

Aramaic

The translations of the Bible into Greek, undertaken in Alexandria, were paralleled in Palestine by translations (Targums) into Aramaic. Presumably, the same need for understanding the Hebrew text motivated the Aramaic translations, and in consequence, particularly in Babylonia, it became customary to read the Targum together with the original text. The standard Aramaic translation of the Pentateuch is Targum Onkelos which is printed in almost every edition of the Hebrew Bible. The Talmud ascribes it to a proselyte named Onkelos who worked under the direction of Joshua b. Hananiah and Eliezer b. Hyrcanus at Jabneh in the first third of the second century C.E. More probably, however, it was a standardization of translations which had continued for decades or even centuries. Like the Aquila translation, it gives a literal rendition of the text but adds halakhic interpretations and aggadic embellishments wherever they are deemed necessary to present the Bible in the best possible light. Anthropomorphisms are thus avoided and the biblical figure Rachel "takes" the teraphim rather than "steals" them (Gen. 31:19); the phrase "visiting the iniquity of the fathers upon the children" (Ex. 34:7) is rendered with the addition "when the children follow the sinful ways of their fathers." Another translation called the Targum Yerushalmi (the Palestinian Targum), known also as Pseudo-Jonathan (probably due to an early printer's error), is essentially a compilation of freely rendered passages of the Pentateuch rather than a translation. It bears the homilist stamp and is replete with midrashic, aggadic, and halakhic statements. From internal evidence it appears that it must have been finally redacted in the seventh century in Palestine, but that it contains layers of interpretations from centuries past.

The standard Aramaic translation of the Prophets, though ascribed by the Talmud to *Jonathan b. Uzziel, a pupil of Hillel, was probably an ordering of earlier material rather than the work of one man. It resembles the Onkelos in phrasing but makes more frequent use of aggadic material. It is particularly important for exegesis because it deviates frequently from the masoretic text and agrees with the Septuagint and with other sources which are unknown.

The translations of the third section of the Bible, the Hagiographa, are of uncertain origin and authorship and are incomplete. Except for the translation of Proverbs, which is quite literal, they make extensive use of the *aggadah*. The books of Daniel, Ezra, and Nehemiah, which were partly written in Aramaic, were not translated (see *Bible, Translations).

EXEGESIS

The great exegete of Hellenistic Jewry, *Philo of Alexandria (c. 30 B.C.E.–42 C.E.), sought to provide an interpretation of the Bible which would be acceptable in terms of Hellenistic thought. He wrote or began a commentary on the entire Pentateuch, but only parts of the commentary on Genesis and Exodus have survived (in an Armenian translation and a Latin translation). He also undertook an outline of Mosaic legislation which was supplemented by treatises on politics, on teaching virtue, and on the creation. A commentary on Genesis, his major exegetical work, consists of essays on various subjects such as the immutability of God and the value of sobriety. Philo's approach to the Bible was allegorical. Thus he interprets "Adam, where are thou?" as Adam being the symbol of wicked man who hides from the voice of Reason. *Ḥameẓ* is a symbol of passion and *matzah* of purity of soul. Despite his allegorical view, he insisted that the laws be obeyed literally and his interpretations show an awareness of the halakhic and aggadic interpretations which were current in Palestine (see *Bible, Exegesis).

PHILOSOPHY

Formal Jewish philosophy begins in the Hellenistic world as a result of the confrontation with another culture. Among the first philosophers is *Aristobulus (c. 150 B.C.E.) who sought to demonstrate the dependence of peripatetic philosophy upon Mosaic law. Philo, the major philosophic figure, exerted little direct influence upon Judaism, but much upon the history of philosophy and upon Christian thought. Concerned with the problem of the relation of a perfect God to an imperfect world, Philo proposed a series of intermediate causes, of which the main one is the Logos, described variously as the word of God, the supreme manifestation of divine activity, and as moral law. It is the chief medium through which God created the world. In Philo's philosophy there is in man, as in the universe, a dualism between the soul and the body, the spiritual which is good and the material which is evil. The greatest good for man is contemplation, but the basis of practical ethics is duty, induced by education and habit (see Jewish *Philosophy).

HISTORY

Between 200 B.C.E. and 100 C.E. a considerable body of Jewish historical works was written, but after this 300-year period Jewish historiography lapsed for almost two millennia, not to be taken up again until the 19th century. There are records and fragments of the work of *Demetrius, an Alexandrian (early third century B.C.E.), on the kings of Judah, and of *Eupolemus (middle of the second century B.C.E.), a Palestinian, on the same subject. The Letter of Aristeas is the source of the familiar story about the Septuagint, although it was probably written between 200–100 B.C.E. Philo also wrote history, describing contemporary events, and several poets apparently took events in Jewish history as themes, the most notable being *Ezekiel, whose drama *Exagoge* ("The Exodus") appeared about 250 B.C.E.

The most notable historian of the period was *Josephus whose major works, *The Wars of the Jews* (seven vols.), the *Antiquities of the Jews* (20 vols.), *The Life*, and *Against Apion*, were widely read and quoted throughout the ages. The books were at once a defense of the conduct of Josephus in the war against Rome (66–70 C.E.), a generally affirmative presentation of Judaism to the pagan world, and a defense of the doctrines of Judaism. One of the few Jewish sources for the postbiblical period, Josephus' works incorporate a great deal of aggadic material, but fail to give a sufficient view of the spiritual life of Jewry at the time. Essentially a political history, the material on the Great *Synagogue, the *soferim*, a group of scribes, and the nonpolitical talmudic sages is quite meager. His contemporary, *Justus of Tiberias, who wrote on the same themes, may have offered a different account, but his works were lost. The historical works of the period generally attempted to evolve a philosophy of Jewish history and through their apologetics show Judaism to be historically more significant and of a truer religious perception than the paganism which dominated the ancient world (see *Historiography).

HALAKHAH AND AGGADAH

The Bible, as the fundamental document of Judaism, became, in the course of time, the base of an inverted pyramid out of which a vast and varied literature developed that included law, theology, ethics, philosophy, poetry, and grammar. The most significant body of literature, extending over a period of 1,000 years (500 B.C.E.–500 C.E.), was a corpus of writing called **halakhah* and **aggadah*. Based on the Pentateuch, it was rooted in the tradition (set forth in the Mishnah, Avot 1:1) that Moses received not only a Written Law at Sinai but also an Oral Law which was transmitted to leading figures, including the prophets, of successive generations.

Save for stray references, there is no knowledge of the Oral Law during the First Temple period. Talmudic traditions, however, ascribe the beginning of great expansion in the Oral Law to Ezra (c. 450 B.C.E.), the *soferim*, and to the Great Synagogue. Employing the method of Midrash (from the root *darash*, to search out), they established the process of extending and detailing the law and set the pattern of finding biblical support for new practices and for some which had already become normative. Among their enactments were the public reading of the Torah with accompanying interpretation, the organization of the daily worship pattern, and the building of "fences" (cautionary rules and legislation) around the Torah.

A supreme court, the *Sanhedrin, headed by **zugot*, pairs of scholars, continued the work of the *soferim* from about 200 B.C.E. The last pair, *Hillel and *Shammai (fl. 20 B.C.E.–20 C.E.) were two of the greatest figures in the development of the law. During this 200-year period religiopolitical parties developed in Palestine whose differences were partially based on the interpretation and application of Jewish law. The major parties, the *Pharisees and the *Sadducees, alternated in ascendancy, but dominance in the religious legal field ultimately fell to the Pharisees, while the Sadducees became the major force in civil affairs. When the Jews lost their independence, the sphere of the Pharisees ultimately became primary and the talmudic record of the period reflects their dominance. Nonetheless, there were different strands of thought within the Pharisaic movement and the leading figures, Hillel and Shammai, represent different emphases which were perpetuated by their disciples. On the whole, the school of Hillel tended to be broader and more lenient in its interpretation of the law than the school of Shammai which was more literal in the application of biblical texts. The convention of the Talmud ultimately became that the ruling of the school of Hillel (presumably the majority) was accepted as law.

Hillel formalized the development of the *Oral Law by establishing seven rules of interpretation of the Torah which he and others employed as a measuring rod for the *halakhot* or laws which were being developed. The effect of the method and the authority of figures like Hillel became evident with the acceptance of the Hillelite ruling of *prosbul* which, in response to the economic needs of the time, enabled debtors and creditors to circumvent the explicit biblical law of the sabbatical year limitation on debts. His great disciple, *Johanan b. Zakkai, in the last decade of his life when the Temple was destroyed, initiated one of the great revolutions in Jewish history by transferring the seat of Jewish authority to Jabneh. He established there a Sanhedrin, which functioned like a senate, for Jews both inside and outside of Palestine. The need to define Jewish patterns anew led to a marked expansion of the Oral Law, which was accomplished by five generations of *tannaim*. Leading figures were Eliezer b. Hyrcanus and Joshua b. Hananiah in the first generation; their disciples Akiva and Ishmael; R. Akiva's disciples Meir, Judah, Simeon, and Yose b. Halafta. The major personality of the fifth generation was Judah ha-Nasi (135–219).

Simultaneously with the growth of the *halakhah*, another oral tradition, that of *aggadah* (from *hagged*, to impart instruction), was developed. A vast body of literature, it may be grouped under two major headings: legendary-historical material and ethicoreligious literature.

The legendary-historical material has ancient origins and comprises stories and chronicles in which the lives of biblical figures and biblical episodes are elaborated and accounts of national and personal trials, crises, and salvations are given. It often suggests a kernel of historical fact. Much of this material made its way into the Apocrypha and into the Targums. But, there were, in addition, special collections of the early talmudic period: the **Megillat Ta'anit*, organized around special days celebrated as minor feast days and special fast days; **Seder Olam* ("The Order of the World"), a chronicle of events in Jewish history from creation to the time of Alexander, which both records and interprets events and is ascribed to Yose b. Ḥalafta (middle of the second century).

The ethicoreligious *aggadah* concentrates on a philosophy of life and faith, with practical and metaphysical implications. Often cast in a semi-poetic form or in an aphoristic style, it includes fables and parables. Though some has been lost, much *aggadah* has been preserved in the Talmud and in the collections of Midrashim. Two of its finest works are *Pirkei *Avot* ("The Sayings of the Fathers"), a work of the Mishnah, and the **Avot de-Rabbi Natan* ("The Teachings of the Fathers According to the Collection of Rabbi Nathan"). Written in an aphoristic style, the works include much of the ethics and some of the theology of the talmudic sages. The *aggadah* generally employs the Bible as its frame of reference and represents the homiletic interpretations of preachers in the synagogue on Sabbath afternoons. They also resorted to **gematria* (using the numerical value of the letters for interpretation) and other devices. Since they were the works of preachers, they responded to events of the time, to the mood of people, and to the need to communicate faith and values. Stories, parables, and epigrams are therefore characteristic forms employed in the literature.

The oral tradition in *halakhah* and in *aggadah* became too complex as the decades went by and the difficult circumstances in Palestine, with periodic revolutions and the disruption of academies, finally made it imperative that the material be reduced to writing. This process essentially, though not entirely, concentrated on the halakhic material which represents the actual laws by which life was governed.

Halakhah

The compilation of the oral *halakhah* resulted in three bodies of works: "motivated *halakhot*," the Mishnah, and the Tosefta.

"MOTIVATED *HALAKHOT*." In "motivated *halakhot*" a rule of law was set forth together with the appropriate biblical verses and their interpretations. They include the **Mekhilta*, organized around the Book of Exodus and attributed to R. *Ishmael b. Elisha of the third generation of *tannaim*; the **Sifra*, a collection based on Leviticus attributed to R. Judah of the fourth generation; and the **Sifrei* material on the Books of Numbers and Deuteronomy, collected by R. Simeon of the same generation. In all probability these men were the original compilers and redactors, while the finished products were the work of later hands (see **Halakhah*).

MISHNAH. The greatest body of law, the Mishnah, is a compilation of "unmotivated *halakhot*," that is, material not related to a text. The work was begun in various academies, notably those of Akiva of the third generation, and of his disciple, Meir, in the second century C.E. Meir apparently developed a very complete work. The final redaction of the Mishnah however was by Judah ha-Nasi who was head of the court, the academy, and the Jewish civil government. He was a man of wide culture and organizing talent and while he based himself on the compilation of Meir, he studied in various academies and assembled different collections of *mishnayot* before he began his own work. In the Mishnah he redacted, which was the product of a collegium, the Oral Law was organized into six major orders (*sedarim*): (1) *Zera'im* ("seeds"), detailing agricultural laws and precepts connected with agriculture (e.g., *berakhot*, prayers, and blessings); (2) *Mo'ed* ("festival"), on the laws of holidays and the Sabbath; (3) *Nashim* ("women"), involving family law; (4) *Nezikin* ("damages"), including civil and criminal law, courts, and legal procedure; (5) *Kodashim* ("holy things"), dealing with sacrifices, the Temple service, and dietary laws; and (6) *Tohorot* ("purifications"), on ritual purity and impurity. The *sedarim* were divided into tractates (*massekhtot*) of related materials; a total of 66 tractates were compiled. These were subdivided into chapters (*perakim*) which were divided into sections (*mishnayot*).

The Mishnah was designed to organize a body of scattered material, to set forth a code for practice and for judgment, and to provide a code for study. It was intended to be all-inclusive in the sense that it dealt even with matters which were no longer observed, such as the laws of sacrifice. Simultaneously, however, it was exclusive in that it set an order of importance and left out thousands of *halakhot*. It was decisive in that it made rulings on matters which had been in dispute. But it was designed to promote development, as well, and therefore included minority opinions, and cited their proponents. While the Mishnah was essentially a legal document, it devoted a tractate (*Pirkei Avot*) to ethical statements and emphasized, in various tractates, certain dogmas, such as the unity of God, providence, reward and punishment in this world and the hereafter, freedom of will, the doctrine of the Messiah, and resurrection. Fundamental to its thinking was the notion that the Torah was revealed and every word of it was subject to interpretation; that the Oral Law was equally revealed and had been transmitted; that the Mishnah, which embodied it, therefore enjoyed authority; and that the sages had a right to interpret the law. The entire work, written in a direct and lucid Hebrew, was completed about 200 C.E. The Mishnah with later elaborations, the *Gemara*, represents hundreds of years of lawmaking and has been the decisive corpus of writings in Jewish life for almost two millennia (see *Mishnah).

THE TOSEFTA ("ADDITIONS"). This body of literature includes many of the *halakhot* omitted from the Mishnah, as well as elucidations of mishnaic statements and some *aggadah*. The work was begun by *Ḥiyya b. Abba and Oshaiah (Hoshaya) Rabbah, disciples of Judah ha-Nasi, but the final redaction probably took place about 500 C.E. (see *Tosefta).

TALMUD. The Mishnah had scarcely been completed when the process of expanding the Oral Law began. This activity resulted in a vast body of literature known as the *Gemara* (from the Aramaic *gamar*, to learn). The impetus came from the fact that the Mishnah was concise and, therefore, needed explanation; that there were thousands of *halakhot*, known as *beraitot* (*baraita*), which had not been included in either the Mishnah or the Tosefta and had to be reconciled with the Mishnah; and that new problems arose in daily living which demanded new solutions. These elements were particularly evident in Babylonia where the problem of maintaining Jewish law in the midst of a society governed by other laws was immediate. The classic formulation of R. *Samuel (Mar; 180–254), *dina de-malkhuta dina* ("the law of the land is law") so far as nonreligious matters are concerned, is an attempt at dealing with the question. There were, however, many other problems and the need to deal with them, as well as the conviction that the Jew's highest purpose was to study God's law, produced an extensive body of debates, decisions, obiter dicta, and historical material.

Two *Gemarot* were formulated: a shorter work developed in Palestine and known as the Jerusalem Talmud; and a longer body of writing, the product of the Babylonian community where perhaps a million Jews lived and which was studied throughout the ages. These *Gemarot* together with the Mishnah are collectively known as the Talmud.

There are *Gemarot* for 39 mishnaic tractates in the Jerusalem Talmud and for 37 tractates in the Babylonian Talmud. Presumably, there must have been *Gemarot* for all of the 66 tractates of the Mishnah but some of them may have been lost and others, such as the tractates dealing with *tohorot* (laws of purity and impurity) and *zera'im* (agricultural laws, tithes, and sabbatical year), may have been discarded as no longer pertinent to post-Temple days. The missing *Gemarot* are not necessarily the same in the two Talmuds. Thus the Babylonian Talmud has *Gemarot* for the order of *Kodashim* (dealing with the Temple cult), while those of the Jerusalem Talmud, mentioned by early authorities, were lost. The Jerusalem Talmud has *Gemarot* to the ten tractates of the order of *Zera'im*, whose laws were observed in Palestine in post-Temple days, and there is only one such *Gemara* (*Berakhot*) in the Babylonian Talmud.

The pattern of the text in both Talmuds is to record a Mishnah and to follow it with the *Gemara* discussion and debate. While the Mishnah bases itself upon the Bible, the *Gemara* bases itself upon the Mishnah as its authority, although in certain matters requiring clarification or in developing new *halakhot* it refers back to the Bible. The usual order of the text is to analyze the Mishnah and to broaden the debate by citing a *baraita* (an external *halakhah* not recorded in the Mishnah) which may then also be subject to analysis and to opposing statements. Connections are often loose because the oral tradition relied heavily upon memory. In consequence, while a series of unrelated statements of one man may be cited in full, probably only one of them is connected with the matter under discussion. This may expand into an explanation of the meaning of the other statements and their application which may prompt aggadic interpolations for several lines or pages. Then the halakhic theme is picked up once again, and usually, but not always, a halakhic decision is rendered. Both Talmuds contain much of *aggadah*: stories, philosophizing, proverbs, ethical maxims, historical information, medical and scientific observations, and practical advice for daily living. There is a certain amount of humor, considerable wit, and some sharp satirical comments. Approximately one third of the Babylonian Talmud and one sixth of the Palestinian Talmud are comprised of *aggadah*. The style of both Talmuds tends to be terse.

Jerusalem Talmud. The Jerusalem Talmud is the product of five generations of *amoraim* who conducted their studies at various academies. The major centers at first were Sepphoris, Galilee, the seat of the patriarchate, Judea, and later Tiberias, whither the patriarchate was transferred. Leading figures of the first generation were Ḥanina b. Ḥama, Yannai, Bar Kappara, Oshaiah Rabbah, and *Joshua b. Levi. *Johanan Nappaḥa and *Simeon b. Lakish were second generation notables in whose lifetime the academy at Tiberias became the major center, attracting students from Babylonia as well as from all over Palestine. This period represents the peak of creativity for the Jerusalem Talmud. The succeeding generations also produced men of note, among them Ammi, Assi, *Eleazar b. Pedat, Zeira, and *Abbahu (of Caesarea) who was the acknowledged leader of Palestinian Jewry. He was a diplomat and a formidable controversialist in polemics with Christians.

By the beginning of the fourth century, the condition of Jews in Palestine had begun to deteriorate due to heavy taxes, a worsening of the economic situation, more frequent persecutions, and the hegemony of Christianity which had now been established by a decree of Constantine. The situation was not propitious to learning or to the maintenance of the academies and many scholars immigrated to Babylonia. The decision was therefore made to reduce to writing the oral debates and decisions of the past five generations. The redaction seems to have been undertaken by Yose b. Bun and to have been completed about 365 C.E.

The Jerusalem Talmud is only about one eighth the size of the Babylonian Talmud and its intellectual, dialectical, and logical quality is inferior. Its explanations of the Mishnah tend to be direct and terse but at times seem cryptic. This was partly because subjects which called for debate in Babylonia were self-evident in Palestine where the terrain and the conditions were better known, and partly because of indifferent editing. Subjects are often juxtaposed without any connection between them; *halakhot* are neither introduced nor elaborated; and only parts of quotations are given. Clearly, the redaction was undertaken by a community under stress which was losing its grasp and authority to the extent that it abandoned the fixing of the calendar by witnesses and resorted to mathematical calculation.

Babylonian Talmud. The Babylonian Talmud was composed under more felicitous conditions. The community enjoyed size and stability, academies like Nehardea and Sura, later Pumbedita and Maḥoza, and an autonomous government under the leadership of the exilarch. The foundations of the Babylonian Talmud were laid by *Rav who had studied with Judah ha-Nasi, and by Samuel (Mar). Rav was a specialist in religious law, an aggadist, and a liturgist of note, while Samuel, the major authority in civil law at the time, was also famed as an astronomer and physician. Their disciples included Rav *Huna and Rav *Judah b. Ezekiel, who founded the academy at Pumbedita and developed the dialectical method which won for the sages of Pumbedita the reputation that they could cause "an elephant to go through the eye of a needle." Huna expanded the academy at Sura so that it had 800 students. Their successors, *Rabbah Nahamani and *Joseph b. Ḥiyya, developed their methods. Rabbah evolved the dialectical approach to a point where the subject matter of the Talmud increased to such an extent that in part it became independent of the Mishnah. Joseph excelled in accumulated knowledge, basing his teachings upon tradition, thus providing a rein to the exuberance of Rabbah. The fourth generation of scholars, in the first part of the fourth century, *Abbaye and *Rava, also expanded the subject matter and dialectical acuteness of talmudic study. The succeeding generations produced such notable figures as *Papa (b. Naḥman) and *Naḥman b. Isaac. It came to be clear, however, that the mass of material was too great for oral transmission and that systematization was needed. The redaction was undertaken by *Ashi (335–427), who became president of the academy of Sura at the age of 23, but a large group of scholars who met twice a year in Adar and in Elul, known as the *kallah* months, also engaged in the work, which lasted 30 years. At this time full academic sessions were held for the dispersed students who were often business and professional men and who otherwise pursued their studies at home. A tractate was edited at each session. After the edition was completed, all the tractates were revised, a process which apparently lasted another 30 years. Further editing and supplementation of the basic material was under the leadership of *Mar Bar Rav Ashi,*Meremar, and particularly *Ravina b. Huna who died in 499. In the following year (500) *Yose, his successor, declared the Talmud officially closed.

The Babylonian Talmud is much better edited than the Jerusalem Talmud. It was redacted over a period of 100 years, so that there was ample time for editing and revision. Logical connections are sought, quotations are complete, editorial explanations abound, and decisions on law are given. While the style is often verbose, the approach is subtle and highly dialectical. Material is analyzed minutely, hypotheses are offered and tested, and discussions are carried through. As in the Jerusalem Talmud, the language is Aramaic, but while the Palestinians employed the Western Aramaic dialect the Babylonians used Eastern Aramaic. In both there is an admixture of Hebrew, but the Babylonian text has a great deal more. The completed Talmud is more than a legal work; it reflects the Jewish view of God, man, and society; of theology and ethics; of Jewish values and of the way they were exemplified in daily life. While it is the work of many generations, it represents only the elite fraction of the population both in ability and in consideration for the people. The Talmud in its time elevated religious scholarship to the highest calling in Jewish life, and the long-term effects of this view have been evident ever since. For 15 centuries the Talmud has been the major concern of Jewish studies and the major guide to Jewish life. Judaism is far less the child of the Bible than that of the Talmud. If the Bible is the base of the Jewish structure, the Talmud is the house within which the Jews have dwelt (see *Talmud).

Aggadah

MIDRASHIM. The same concern for preservation which led to the compilation of the Oral Law caused the *aggadah* to be organized and committed to writing. While much of it was contained in the Talmud, it was widely scattered and not suitably arranged for reference. Both the scholar and the ordinary Jew had a need for works in which the interpretations of the Bible would be arranged according to books, chapters, and verses. The scholars required it to facilitate finding and comparing interpretations; the laymen needed it because the aggadic statements were major formulations of Jewish ethics, theology, and values, but at the same time were light reading and provided assurances and comfort in the dark hours which Jews, particularly those in Palestine, were experiencing.

The midrashic literature was compiled in places as diverse as Palestine, Babylonia, and Italy, approximately between the sixth and twelfth centuries, although much of the material is of an earlier date. Written largely in Aramaic, though some of the compilations have a considerable admixture of Hebrew, it consists largely of homilies preached by rabbis in synagogues on Sabbaths and festivals and at study classes. Unlike modern preachments, they involved not only the Pentateuch and the books of the Prophets, but the Hagiographa which was read in the synagogue on Saturday afternoons, the time when sermons were given. The Midrash does not contain complete sermons, but rather the core of ideas, insights, illustrations, and special interpretations upon which the sermon was based. The sermonic technique was to take a point of interest to the listener and to cast new light upon it or to relate it to other matters. The universal subjects of discourse were the Bible or Jewish observance and law. The sermon usually began by pointing out contradictions or similarities in widely scattered parts of the Bible or by raising a question of law, resolving it, and then proceeding to consider moral and religious aspects of the matter. Stories, poetic statements, parables, and epigrams were employed by gifted preachers (see *Aggadah, *Midrash).

Midrash Rabbah. The first major compilation was the **Midrash Rabbah* ("The Large Midrash"), so designated because of its length. It consists of Midrashim to each of the books of the Torah and to each of the five *megillot*. Internal evidence indicates that the earliest Midrash, **Genesis Rabbah*, dates from the sixth century and the latest, **Numbers Rabbah*, from the 12th. Most of them were composed in Palestine, although several seem to have been subjected to Babylonian re-editing. In many of the *Rabbah* Midrashim the homiletic commentary technique is used whereby a series of comments refer to a specific verse. **Leviticus Rabbah*, *Numbers Rabbah*, and **Deuteronomy Rabbah*, however, use the sermon method. They select a verse or two from the Torah reading of the Sabbath, adduce various comments, skip the rest of the verses, and proceed to verses derived from the next Sabbath reading. The triennial cycle, customary in Palestine, is the Torah order followed.

Tanḥuma-Yelammedenu. Another major midrashic compilation is the **Tanḥuma-Yelammedenu* cycle on the Pentateuch of which three versions are extant, either in part or whole. The original version was probably compiled in Palestine in the sixth century; the other two also seem to be products of Palestine but are probably late ninth-century. It is possible, however, that they may be from Babylonia and southern Italy. The *Tanḥuma* title is derived from Tanḥuma b. Abba, a noted Palestinian aggadist of the fourth century who is frequently quoted. The title *Yelammedenu* ("let our master teach us") refers to a formula frequently employed in the book which involved the raising and answering of a halakhic question after which the discussion branched off into *aggadah* and commentary.

Pesikta. The midrashic cycle *Pesikta* (*paska*, "to divide") has two versions: the **Pesikta de-Rav Kahana*, probably compiled in Palestine before the end of the seventh century, and the **Pesikta Rabbati*, which records the year 845 as the date of composition and in its use of Hebrew and of snatches of rhymed poetry gives evidence of having been influenced by the Palestinian Hebrew poetry school which began to flourish in the seventh century. The material consists of homilies on the Torah and prophetic readings for festivals and for special Sabbaths.

Other Homiletic Midrashim. In addition to these general compilations, there seem to have been in earlier times Midrashim on all the prophetic and hagiographic books, most of which have been lost. Extant are **Midrash Tehillim*, consisting of homilies; **Midrash Proverbs*, which is more in the nature of an aggadic commentary and is replete with parables, apothegms, and short homiletic interpretations; **Midrash Samuel*, a Midrash on Samuel I and II, a collection of sermons involving references to one or two verses. All three works are of 10th- or 11th-century origin and were probably compiled in southern Italy.

The characteristic patterns of all the midrashic cycles is their focus, either by way of commentary or sermon, on biblical verses and their reflection of the thinking and experiences of many generations. They are interrelated in a peculiar sense; they plagiarized from one another, sometimes even to the extent of bodily lifting passages. The *Tanḥuma* borrows from the *Pesikta de-Rav Kahana* and the *Pesikta Rabbati* from the *Tanḥuma*; the later books of the *Midrash Rabbah*, on Exodus, Numbers, and Deuteronomy, borrow heavily from the *Tanḥuma*. All of them derive a great deal of material from the scattered references in the Talmud (see *Homiletic Literature; *Preaching).

Non-Homiletic Midrashim. In addition to the homiletic Midrashim, there are midrashic works of another kind, e.g., the eighth-century Hebrew work **Pirkei de-Rabbi Eliezer*, in which biblical narratives serve to teach ethical and religious lessons on such themes as the Sabbath, reward and punishment, paradise and hell, and Messianic doctrine. It also discusses cosmogony, astronomy, and the calendar; abounds in legends and stories, many of them ancient and similar to stories in the Apocrypha; and is written in a poetic style. The resort to numbers as a form of organization is an interesting device and the use of numerical groups, especially of seven and ten, is common. It was probably written in Palestine. A book of a similar stamp, *Seder Eliyahu*, by Abba Elijah, a tenth-century Palestinian, is divided into two parts (*Rabbah*, large and *Zuta*, small) and includes a moral discourse on Torah, the love of Israel and of mankind, and the love of God. Written in Hebrew in a poetic style, it makes great use of stories and parables. Other midrashic compilations of the eighth, ninth, and tenth centuries, of undetermined authorship and provenance, are about Moses, Solomon, the Messiah, and paradise and hell. Later midrashic works rearranged traditional material and supplemented it. Such works were composed by *Moses ha-Darshan of Narbonne and Rabbi Tobiah of Germany, both of the 11th century. A more significant work, **Yalkut Shimoni*, by Simeon Karo (13th century), drew heavily on the Talmud and on many midrashic compilations. Karo organized a compendium of aggadic statements and commentaries on all the 25 books of the Bible.

In a sense midrashic literature has never ended since homily, commentary, and elaboration on biblical themes continue to be creative activities. Jewish and Christian traditions have drawn heavily on the midrashic literature whose roots are in deep antiquity. The Midrash lent color and variety to Jewish tradition; concentrated on ethical and theological problems; recorded and interpreted difficult episodes of Jewish history; and enriched Jewish culture. It was particularly sustaining to the average Jew, man and woman alike, who was not at home in halakhic literature. He drew his philosophy and his sense of worth and purpose from the stories, parables, proverbs, and intuitive insights in which midrashic literature abounded.

MEDIEVAL PERIOD (500–1750)

A characteristic feature of Jewish history is that while Jews lacked stability and experienced declining fortunes in one land, they prospered or were tolerated in another. In consequence, there was always one major center, and usually two or three, where Jewish literary creativity continued unabated. In the 1200-year period which constitutes the Jewish Middle Ages, Babylonia, North Africa, Spain and Provence, the Franco-German area, and Italy were the major centers. There were intermittent periods of significant literary activity in Palestine and, after the expulsion of the Jews from Spain, in the Eastern Levant, including Palestine, Turkey, and Egypt, which became centers for a century or two. From the 16th century onward Germany declined for about two centuries while the Slavic countries rose to a prominence both in literary productivity and in Jewish population which they retained until the 20th century.

On the whole, Jewish productivity was greatest and most varied in lands which were part of the mainstream of history, and declined as it began to bypass those countries. The most notable examples are Babylonia and Spain at the height of Arab culture and the most marked exceptions are Slavic countries where the general cultural level was low, but where Jewish literary productivity, concentrating almost exclusively on rabbinics, was high. One important factor which should be noted is that contact between Jewish communities was considerable and that what was produced in one land had an effect upon Jewish literature in other countries. There seems, in the earlier period, to have been two particular streams of influence – one flowing from Palestine into Italy and then into the Franco-German area, and the other stemming from Babylon, flowing through North Africa into Spain.

In the Middle Ages, as in antiquity, Jewish literature constituted several layers. As the Bible was the basis for the Mishnah and the Mishnah for the *Gemara*, the total tradition was the basis for the literary labors of the Middle Ages, much of which concentrated on the explication of the Bible and the Oral Law through grammar, exegesis, commentary, philosophy, mysticism, and liturgical and didactic poetry. Secular poetry, prose, and science were ornaments of the religious tradition which by the Middle Ages had become complex and stratified. Fundamental to the literature was a belief in the revealed Torah, God's providence, the chosenness of Israel, the coming of the Messiah, and the restoration to the Land of Israel. These ideas were examined, but never seriously disputed until the modern era. They reflected a national characteristic, manifested both in law and literature, which called for life to be lived and coped with, no matter what the circumstances, and which assumed that the details of living, according to the Torah, could be spelled out. In the same spirit, the many *kinot* ("lamentations") written during the Middle Ages were rarely overwhelmingly pessimistic and despairing.

The literature will be organized here into categories of writing. Obviously, there were interrelationships and effects which, however, cannot be noted; only highlights can be mentioned. Thus grammatical writing influenced Bible exegesis and poetry; rabbinics influenced Bible exegesis; and the impact frequently was all the greater because many of the writers were versatile, writing in many fields. Thousands of works have been lost and thousands more cannot be mentioned. The literary productivity of a small group, highly literate and dedicated to study, was phenomenal.

The question of language also deserves attention. Jews wrote in many languages, but mostly in Hebrew, Aramaic, and toward the end of the period, in Yiddish and Ladino. Much, however, was written in Arabic, and some in other languages. This multiplicity of languages points to another feature of Jewish literary activity which cannot be dealt with here. Since Jews were dispersed through many countries, were multilingual, and moved from land to land, they performed a major function as cultural intermediaries, translating from one language to another and making the riches of one culture available to the other. A third linguistic feature of significance is that the Hebrew language after the talmudic era, when it lapsed as a literary language, suddenly came to life in the early Middle Ages, notably in Palestine and Spain. Most of the great works during the entire 1200-year period were written in Hebrew.

GRAMMAR AND LEXICOGRAPHY

The formulation of rules of grammar prompted by a need to study and understand the Bible was basic to the revival of Hebrew as a literary language. The renewed interest in Bible study due to a controversy with the Karaites, who rejected the Oral Law and insisted that the Bible alone was authoritative, was sparked by the realization that the rabbinic position had to be defended. Such an examination inevitably led to the formulation of rules of language. It was further motivated by the fact that the correct reading of the Bible, in its vowels, accents, and *keri* (the way a word was read), as against *ketiv* (the way a word was written), was an oral tradition and needed to be set down, since Jews were dispersed in many lands. Finally, Arabic culture, which stressed poetry, and consequently grammar, had a major impact in those centers of Jewish life – Babylon, Palestine, and Spain – which came under Arab rule.

The first philological effort was the *masorah, a collective work of many generations. While its origins date back to Ezra, significant masoretic activity began in the sixth century, continuing to the tenth, and was concentrated in Palestine and Babylonia. The work resulted in a definition of vowels, accents, *ketiv*, and *keri*. It noted all exceptions in spelling and peculiarities of words and orthography. Through the use of accents, correct relationship of words and thought were achieved and the chant for biblical reading was fixed. In effect, the relating of words was itself a form of biblical commentary. Ultimately, all the masoretic works were compiled by Jacob b. Ḥayyim, an Italian scholar, and printed in the *Bomberg edition of the Bible (1525). The notes which were designed to clarify the text and to prevent further errors were of three kinds: the masorah *parva* ("small"), printed in the outer margin; the masorah *magna* ("large"), printed in the inner margin, or above, or below the text; and the masorah *finalis* at the end of the text, which also included an alphabetical list of word peculiarities. Since the masorah is a collective undertaking, few of the scholars who worked on it are known. However, the Tiberian school, where the major work was done, recorded the names of Pinḥas (eighth century) and Asher the elder (eighth century), the first of a family who for six generations labored on the masorah. Aaron *Ben-Asher (beginning of the tenth century) substantially brought the masoretic work to a close. Literary work on the masorah is found in Europe as late as the 12th century, and still later Elijah *Levita (1468–1549) published the *Masoret ha-Masoret*, in which he explained how to read and use the masoretic material.

The formal foundations of grammar and lexicography were laid in Babylon by *Saadiah b. Joseph Gaon (tenth century) in *Agron*, a dictionary, and in *Sefer ha-Lashon* ("Book of the Language"), a work on grammar. His most notable successors were *Menahem b. Jacob ibn Saruq of Spain whose Hebrew work *Maḥberet* ("Joined Words") is a dictionary of biblical language and a grammar. Judah *Ḥayyuj (end of the tenth century), writing in Arabic, established the principle of the bilateral Hebrew root and Jonah *Ibn Janaḥ almost completed the structure of Hebrew grammar in *Book of Critique* (in Arabic), in which he laid the groundwork of Hebrew syntax. A century later David *Kimḥi of Provence rearranged and expanded Ibn Janaḥ's study in his *Mikhlol* ("Compendium"), a grammar and dictionary of roots. In the 14th century Joseph ibn *Kaspi of Provence attempted a logical structuring of words and grammar, a venture which was repeated more elaborately by Isaac Profiat *Duran (15th century), who in *Ma'aseh Efod* ("The Work of the Ephod") combined logical structure with an elaborate philosophy of language. The last major grammatical authority of the Middle Ages was Elijah Levita, whose *Meturgeman* ("The Interpreter") is the first dictionary of the Targum (see *Hebrew Language).

BIBLE EXEGESIS

Simultaneously with literary creativity in grammar there was a development of biblical exegesis. The same scholars were often active in both fields. Four major methods of commentary were developed: *peshat* ("plain sense"), *derash* ("aggadic interpretation"), *remez* ("allegory and philosophy"), and *sod* ("mystical interpretation"). Here, too, the versatile Saadiah b. Joseph Gaon laid the foundations with his translation of the Bible and his commentaries in Arabic in a work most of which has been lost. The greatest figure of the era, *Rashi, wrote a phrase-by-phrase commentary on almost the entire Bible which was a harmonious blend of *peshat* and *derash*. His commentary was popular for many generations so that *Ḥummash* (Pentateuch) and Rashi became almost synonymous. His major rival, Abraham *Ibn Ezra (12th century) of Spain, a poet, grammarian, and scientist who was a master of grammar and Hebrew, chose the path of *peshat*. His commentary is lucid although occasionally he permitted himself veiled allusions to doubts he entertained about the text. He commented on the entire Bible but only the works on the Pentateuch, Isaiah, and some of the Hagiographa have survived. Preeminently an intellectual's commentator, Ibn Ezra was the subject of supercommentaries.

Another major commentator who is usually associated with the above-mentioned scholars is David Kimḥi, who emphasized *peshat*, but also resorted to aggadic and philosophic interpretations in his commentaries on the prophets, Psalms, Genesis, and the Books of Chronicles.

While the above are the best exponents of the *peshat* and *derash* methods, they based themselves on precursors. There were also contemporaries who pursued the same paths, and successors who adopted their methods. Thus, Rashi's grandson, R. *Samuel b. Meir, wrote extensive commentaries on the Bible in the *peshat* method. As mystical and philosophical tendencies were manifesting themselves in the Jewish world, the other two approaches (*sod* and *remez*) also began to be employed. *Sod* owed much to the rise of *Kabbalah, of which the *Zohar (itself a sort of commentary on the Torah) was the outstanding work of the period. Meanwhile the approach and spirit of *Maimonides' *Guide of the Perplexed*, which centered about the philosophic exposition of many biblical passages, gave impetus to *remez*. The major commentary in the mystical spirit was the work of *Naḥmanides (13th century), a major figure of Spanish Jewry. His commentary on the Pentateuch reflects the belief that the Torah is capable of yielding many meanings to the initiated, and he therefore offers multiple interpretations in the spirit of *halakhah, peshat*, and mysticism. His mysticism is, however, limited since he believed that mystic teachings in their full strength should be confined to an elect, and that the masses should be taught a Judaism based upon faith, piety, and reason. His younger contemporary, *Baḥya b. Asher, took the mystical approach further in his commentaries, and *Jacob b. Asher, the noted codifier, utilized the techniques of *gematria* (devising meanings from the numerical value of the words) and *notarikon* (employing initial or final letters of words to discern hidden meanings).

The outstanding exponent of the philosophical school was *Levi b. Gershom of Provence. Commenting on all the

Bible except the Latter Prophets, he attempted to find speculative truths in it, to ascertain the principles of ethics, and to supply reasoned interpretations of biblical precepts. His commentary enjoyed a high repute among Jewish intellectuals. To a lesser degree, the commentaries of Joseph b. Abba Mari Kaspi employed the same approach and enjoyed a similar reputation.

The last great commentator of the period was the statesman and financier, Don Isaac *Abrabanel of Spain. At home in both Christian and Jewish exegesis and in general literature, he brought all of these into play in his commentaries, which covered the entire Bible. In his approach he first posed a series of questions arising out of the text and then proceeded to resolve them through the use of philosophy, theology, history, and modified mysticism. Apart from his singular method, he is noted for devoting considerable attention to the problems of political philosophy and historical chronology (see *Bible, Exegesis).

POETRY

The Arabic influence and the renaissance of the Hebrew language also led to a remarkable flourishing of Hebrew poetry in the Middle Ages. An equally important factor was the structuring of the prayer book and the liturgy (at that time still fluid) which occurred during these centuries, when thousands of poems which became part of the liturgy were being composed. In this field there was continuity rather than innovation, since the composition of liturgy had persisted throughout the talmudic period. However, the writing of secular poetry – love songs, wine songs, didactic poetry, epigrams, and the like – represented a new development whose immediate origins may be traced to Arabic influence and whose remote roots may be found in the poetry of the Bible.

The characteristic forms of medieval Hebrew poetry are partly influenced by the Bible, but more by Arabic literature and, at the end of the period in Italy, by European forms like the sonnet and the tercet. Biblical poetry, based on parallelism, had occasionally used both the alphabetical form and rhyme. Medieval Hebrew poetry, while using some parallelism, employed the alphabetical form (forward or backward), the acrostic, rhyme, and meter as its characteristic elements. Rhyme, both in poetry and prose, was relatively easy due to the Hebrew suffixes; thus variant and more complicated forms developed. Palestinian and West European poetry tended to use the simple rhyme, while Babylonian and notably the Spanish poetry used the two- and three-syllable rhyme. Masters of the language, the Hebrew poets prided themselves on the ability to use the same word, with different meanings, for rhyming. Meter, introduced by *Dunash b. Labrat (tenth century) and current mainly in Spain, was essentially spondaic and iambic, but was employed in complicated forms so that 19 (or according to some 52) different meters developed. Trick poetry was also composed, often of surprisingly high quality, such as the "*Elef Alfin*" of Abraham *Bedersi in which each word of a 1,000-word poem begins with the letter *alef.*

The major types in medieval Hebrew poetry, secular verse and *piyyut*, ranging from doggerel to moving lyrics and to long, beautiful philosophical poems, were frequently composed by the same poets. The combination, however, was largely confined to Spain, Provence, and Italy. The Palestinian and Franco-German poets were essentially *paytanim* and their poetry was generally inferior in quality to that of their Iberian coreligionists. Both secular and religious poetry drew extensively on the same sources and employed biblical and aggadic phrases allusively in order to display technical mastery.

The liturgical poems composed in Palestine in the seventh and eighth centuries mark the beginnings of medieval Hebrew poetry. Some were anonymous, like "All the World Shall Come to Serve Thee" of the Day of Atonement service, but most of them can be attributed to three poets, *Yose b. Yose, *Yannai, and Eleazar *Kallir (ha-Kallir). Their compositions are standard prayers in the High Holy Days *maḥzor* and in the festival services. Yose is the author of the *Avodah* (a Temple service poem) recited on the Day of Atonement and Kallir wrote the *Geshem* ("Rain") prayer recited on Sukkot. The influence of Palestine was felt most notably in Italy (and from that country in the Franco-German area), which always followed of Palestinian developments and learning. In both areas there were families of *paytanim* who continued to compose *piyyutim, seliḥot* ("penitential verse"), and *kinot* in successive generations. Notable among them was the *Kalonymus family whose founder, *Meshullam, composed works in Italy and whose descendants moved to Germany at the end of the tenth century. In Germany Meshullam (c. 976), his son Kalonymus (c. 1000), the author of *U-Netanneh Tokef,* a prayer in the High Holy Days *maḥzor,* the latter's son, *Moses (c. 1020), and grandsons Kalonymus and Jekuthiel (c. 1050), were prolific in their writing of *piyyutim*. Other prominent poets in France and Germany were *Gershom b. Judah and *Ephraim of Bonn, the author of the *Hymn of Unity.* In later periods these countries produced hundreds of *paytanim*. Virtually every scholar tried his hand at this form of writing, including Solomon *Luria, Samuel *Edels, and Yom Tov Lipmann *Heller.

Spanish, Provençal, and later Italian poetry can claim many distinguished poets who wrote both religious and secular poems. They were men of varied accomplishments, very much at home in all the intellectual and social worlds of their time. The first major Hebrew poet of Spain, *Samuel ha-Nagid (11th century), vizier of Granada, a military commander and a talmudist, wrote extensively but his works have only recently become fully known. They include sacred poetry, reflections on war, love poems, wine songs, elegies, and three volumes of imitations of the books of Psalms, Proverbs, and Ecclesiastes. His younger contemporary, Solomon ibn *Gabirol, who died at an early age, is one of the outstanding figures of Hebrew poetry. Dexterous in the use of language and a master of every form of rhyme and meter, Gabirol wrote on all themes. His few surviving secular poems on nature, love, wine, and death are gems of their kind. His poetic genius found, however, full expression in his religious poetry and in several long philosophical poems of which *Keter Malkhut* ("The Royal Crown") is his most consummate work. The poem masterfully integrates the poet's great philosophical and scientific knowledge to create a lofty ode to God.

Moses *Ibn Ezra covered the gamut of secular and religious poetry. Author of more than 6,000 verses, he wrote about "wine and the delights of men," "the world and its vicissitudes," and "poems in praise of the creator." Many of his verses are reminiscent of Omar Khayyam, although Ibn Ezra's range, his delicacy of fancy, and use of imagery exceed the poetic quality of the Persian poet. His masterpiece, *Tarshish*, composed of 1210 verses, shows a great variety in language and themes. His religious poems are at once philosophical and deeply moving.

The peak of Spanish poetry is found in the harmonious verse of *Judah Halevi. Rejoicing in life, love, and friends and passionate in his quest of God, Halevi wrote of God and man with equal felicity. Love of Zion, expressed in several poems whose theme is "I am a harp for thy [Zion's] songs," also characterizes the work of Halevi. These poems, as well as his religious verse, have been incorporated into the liturgy.

Another great Spanish poet, Abraham Ibn Ezra, wrote on a wide variety of subjects. His secular poetry, while embracing conventional themes, displayed a mastery of style, form, and language, and a great capacity for wit and satire, turned as frequently against himself as against others. His religious poetry, however, is deeply fervent and moving, ranging from the lyrical to the philosophical. A restless traveler whose journeys took him to Babylonia and Persia, Ibn Ezra also roamed through the realms of the imagination. "The Letter of Hai ben Meliẓ" is an allegory in rhymed prose of a journey through three worlds.

The last major poet of Spain, Judah b. Solomon *Al-Ḥarizi, the author of *Taḥkemoni* ("Book of Wisdom"), wrote in *maqāma* form (rhymed prose) frequently interspersed with verse. The poems embraced devotional and love poetry, satire and narrative; some were riddles, others proverbs. The *Taḥkemoni*, consisting of 50 chapters, each devoted to a different subject and treated in a variety of forms, displays remarkable linguistic skill, manipulation of biblical phrases to serve unusual ends, wit, and great literary variety.

While poetry continued to be written in Spain for another two centuries, the golden age had passed. The poets of southern Spain, like Meshullam *da Piera, engaged largely in polemical verse as part of the *Maimonidean controversy; others, like Abraham b. Samuel *Ibn Ḥasdai and Shem Tov b. Joseph *Falaquera, wrote didactic poetry. In northern Spain, Solomon da *Piera (14th century) made his mark primarily as a religious poet, although he composed secular poetry as well. Solomon *Bonafed (15th century) wrote secular poetry. In one of his poems lamenting the decline of poetry, he incidentally left a record of Hebrew literature of the 14th and 15th centuries. In Provence medieval Jewish literature was distinguished by the Bedersis: Abraham (13th century) and Jedaiah (14th century), his son.

The major center of Jewish poetry from the 13th century onward was Italy, where *Immanuel of Rome wrote his *Maḥbarot*, following Al-Ḥarizi in the use of the *maqāma* form. Buoyant, gay, and sorrowing by turns, employing varied meters and diverse forms (including the sonnet), the *Maḥbarot* touches on widely different subjects and satirizes and parodies other poets. Two unusual features are that his love songs are highly erotic, and that the last of the 28 chapters is an imitation of Dante's *Divine Comedy*. Immanuel of Rome had no immediate successors of distinction; Moses *Rieti (15th century), however, modeled his *Heikhal* on Immanuel's imitation of Dante. After a period of decline, Italian poetry revived with Leone *Modena (mid-17th century) and notably with the brothers Jacob and Emmanuel *Frances (17th century). While Jacob wrote excellent caustic polemic poetry directed against the Shabbatean movement, his brother composed religious and secular verse in various styles, including a substantial number of epigrams. With Moses *Zacuto (17th century) Italian medieval poetry came to an end. Although he introduced poetic drama into Hebrew literature, Zacuto was a poet rather than a dramatist: *Yesod Olam* ("Foundations of the World") and *Tofteh Arukh* ("Hell Prepared"), his two dramas, resemble the medieval miracle play in form and development of plot.

A brief period in the composition of poetry in Palestine developed under the influence of the kabbalists. Israel *Najara wrote a substantial body of religious poetry. Employing Turkish, Arabic, Greek, and Italian forms and meters, Najara's themes were God, Israel, and the redemption. Many of his works are essentially love poems to God and a considerable number were incorporated into the liturgy, including the Sabbath table hymn *Yah Ribbon* (see *Poetry, Medieval; *Prayer).

RABBINIC LITERATURE (500–1250)

The most voluminous body of writings in the medieval period was the legal rabbinic literature consisting of commentaries, codes, and responsa. The number of writers probably runs into the thousands. Beginning with the *geonim* in Babylonia, the activity extended into every country, embracing the Slavic states, which became the major centers toward the end of the period. Due to its scope and quantity, this literature will be divided into two chronological sections: 500–1250 and 1250–1750.

Commentary

The first activity took place in Babylonia where in the ninth century the *gaon* *Ẓemaḥ composed an *arukh* ("A Prepared System") which was both a dictionary and a commentary on talmudic phrases and selected passages. Not long thereafter, Saadiah wrote brief commentaries (in Arabic), which have been lost, on several tractates. *Hai Gaon in his commentaries on large parts of the Talmud (not all are extant) explicated words and phrases and paraphrased passages in the Talmud. This pattern became the model for the commentaries of the

North African and Spanish schools which were in close contact with Babylonia.

In Babylonia, the talmudic tradition was kept alive in the very institutions where it had been nurtured and the need for commentary, therefore, was not great. However, in the newly developing centers, commentary was essential. Abraham *Ibn Daud associates the beginning of talmudic learning and academies outside Babylonia with four rabbis who set out from southern Italy, were captured, and ultimately dispersed to Cordova, Kairouan, and Alexandria. According to another tradition, at the end of the eighth or ninth century the Kalonymus family migrated to Mainz, in Germany, where an academy was founded. Whatever the case, by the tenth century talmudic learning was established in all these places.

From Babylonia, commentary activity passed first to Kairouan where R. *Hananel b. Ḥushi'el (11th century), employing the method of Hai, commented on several *sedarim* of the Talmud. He was however more elaborate in his paraphrase, often compared the discussion on the same subject in the two Talmuds, and gave a *pesak* ("decision") at the end of each discussion. His contemporary, *Nissim b. Jacob, pursued the same method in elucidating the Babylonian Talmud, but made more extensive comparisons with the Palestinian Talmud and tannaitic Midrashim. Other distinguished 11th-century figures were Spanish Jewish scholars. Isaac b. Jacob *Alfasi, the most eminent among them, had emigrated to Spain from Fez in 1088. His great work, *Halakhot*, a compendium of the Talmud, is a combination of code and commentary; it became a basic text for talmudic studies and was the subject of numerous supercommentaries. His immediate disciple, Joseph ha-Levi *Ibn Migash, also employed the method of paraphrase in his commentaries on many tractates.

A new method was introduced by *Maimonides of whose commentaries on three talmudic *sedarim* only fragments have survived, but whose commentary (in Arabic) on the Mishnah is complete. Maimonides applied logic and systematization to the Mishnah, analyzing the principles of Oral Law, classifying the *halakhot*, offering logical sequence for the order of the Mishnah, and providing a historical survey. He was concerned with aiding the ordinary student and in consequence was at pains to indicate the law in each case and to incorporate the relevant material from the *Gemara*.

In the Franco-German region, commentary was developing along different lines. At the academy of Mainz, headed by *Gershom b. Judah, hundreds of students engaged in the study of the Talmud. They took notes (*kunteresim*) on the lectures delivered, and the Commentary of Rabbi Gershom is in fact a collection of several generations of such *kunteresim* based on the teachings of R. Gershom b. Judah or his disciples. The academy developed the Franco-German system of running commentary on words and phrases, a method for the training of scholars, in contrast to the Spanish method which sought general principles under which particulars were organized and were designed as a resource for students who only learned periodically. The most notable representative of the Franco-German method is Rashi whose commentary on almost all tractates appears side by side with the text in every major edition of the Talmud. It reflects his capacity for lucidity, brevity, penetration to the heart of a matter, and is a notable example of pedagogy. Several commentators, members of Rashi's family, followed his method and rounded out his work. Among them were *Judah b. Nathan and Samuel b. Meir. Talmudic commentary in the Franco-German region however took a different turn in the commentaries known as the **tosafot* ("additions"). The tosafist undertook to restore the *Gemara* method: he raised questions about the text and resolved them, following the order of the *Gemara* page by page. The *tosafot*, a product of several generations, appear side by side with the text in all the standard editions. The major scholars who initiated the method and are quoted frequently were *Meir b. Samuel of Ramerupt and his three sons Samuel, *Isaac, and particularly Jacob (Rabbenu *Tam). The next generation produced the great luminary *Isaac b. Samuel of Dampierre who is quoted almost as frequently as Jacob b. Meir. Under the leadership of figures like *Samson b. Abraham of Sens, *Moses b. Jacob of Coucy, and *Meir b. Baruch of Rothenburg, tosafist activity flourished until the beginning of the 14th century.

Simultaneously with Franco-German scholarship there was considerable talmudic activity in Italy where *Nathan b. Jehiel of Rome (11th century) wrote the *Arukh*, a dictionary-encyclopedia of the Talmud which is the basis for all modern talmudic lexicography. Nathan explicated words and passages, quoted and cited authorities and comments which would otherwise have been lost, and in his explications and elucidations used comparative philology. Contemporaries and successors have imitated him and the tosafist school. A major figure of the next generation was *Isaiah b. Mali di Trani, the author of *Tosafot Rid*. In Provence, situated midway between the Spanish and Franco-German centers, academies also flourished and the methods of both northern and southern schools were employed. Zerahiah b. Isaac *Gerondi ha-Levi (12th century) in *Sefer ha-Ma'or* composed an analytical commentary on Alfasi which combined critical evaluations of earlier and contemporary commentaries with additions to Alfasi. *Abraham b. David of Posquières (12th century), the leader of the anti-Maimonides school, commented on several tractates of the Talmud and on the *Sifra*, and wrote a severe criticism on Maimonides' code.

Codes

The need for codes arose out of the demands of life: the Jewish community was dispersed and thus lacked readily available authority; the law had also become increasingly complex and required codification. The first responsa were written in Babylonia and were often intended for far-flung Diaspora communities. *She'iltot* by R. *Aḥa (Aḥai) Gaon of Shabḥa (eighth century) deals with the *mitzvot* as they are arranged in the Pentateuch and organizes the relevant talmudic material under those headings. It is assumed that the work, consisting of 171 discourses, originally dealt with the entire 613 commandments. Rabbi Aḥa initiated the method of codification in which decisions and sources are given. Another method is that of *Yehudai Gaon, head of the academy of Sura (757–61), in whose **Halakhot Pesukot* ("Halakhic Decisions") only decisions are handed down. The third major codification, the **Halakhot Gedolot* ("Large *Halakhot*"), ascribed by some to Simeon Kayyara (eighth century), compiled and organized under single headings the scattered material in the Talmud on given *mitzvot*. The order of the talmudic tractates is followed, except for the laws relevant to the Temple, which are omitted, with the author modeling himself on the *She'iltot* and quoting extensively from the Talmud. During the following century, *Amram b. Sheshna Gaon, adopting the method of Yehudai Gaon, wrote his *Seder* ("Ordering"), a code on the prayer book. Starting with general principles, Amram deduced subsidiary laws, which he subsequently divided into classes. Hai Gaon, the last *gaon* of Pumbedita, wrote a series of codes on civil law.

The great codes, however, were the products of other lands. Isaac b. Jacob Alfasi's *Halakhot*, partly commentary but mainly code, is an abridgment and paraphrase of the Talmud section by section which adheres to the main line of discussion of the Mishnah and comes to a conclusion about the law. Alfasi thus provides a basis for decisions, but fails, as the Talmud does, to achieve an orderly systematic discussion of all aspects of a subject. Such a systematization is the work of Maimonides in his *Mishneh Torah* ("The Second Law"). The code brings the entire body of Jewish law into an orderly and systematic arrangement, including laws which were omitted by Alfasi and his predecessors. It sets forth divergent opinions, decides between them, and renders clear decisions. Maimonides' work encompasses the Talmud, the *geonim*, and the works of other scholars. He bases himself upon the 613 precepts, but organizes them according to his own system: God and man, the life of the individual, laws relating to the Land of Israel, and laws relating to society. While the work was widely accepted and remains one of the monuments of Jewish literature, it also evoked opposition from those who feared it would supplant the study of the Talmud. It has one grave drawback, however, in that it fails to indicate the sources for the rulings, and it was this deficiency, plus the fact that new problems constantly arose, which led to the development of other codes (see *Maimonidean Controversy).

The Franco-German school followed different criteria and did not attempt to formulate an overall code of the scope and system of that of Maimonides, but many less comprehensive codes were written. *Isaac b. Abba Mari of Marseilles (12th century) in *Ittur Soferim* ("The Crowning of Scholars"), a code on civil law, marriage and divorce, and dietary laws, adopts the source method, including under each subject treated the relevant talmudic, geonic, and Alfasi discussions. *Ha-Terumah* ("The Heave-Offering") by *Baruch b. Isaac of Worms, dealing with dietary, Sabbath, and marriage laws, uses the code method; the work presents a selection of the best scholarship of his generation. More decisive was the **Maḥzor Vitry* of Simḥah of Vitry. Organized around the liturgy and the religious cycle, it cites prayers and laws and is a major work in the history of liturgy, as well as a significant source for geonic and midrashic texts which have otherwise disappeared.

An effort on a broader scale was made by *Eliezer b. Samuel of Metz in *Sefer Yere'im* where he attempted a complete code; he organized the material along the lines of Maimonides but cited sources verbatim. A code distinctively Franco-German in tone is that of *Eleazar b. Judah of Worms, *Roke'aḥ* ("A Compound of Spices"), which deals with the entire body of religious laws. The work, a pure code, without quoting sources, is at the same time a compendium of customs and practices which reflect the daily life of the period. Its pervading spirit, neither intellectual nor purely legal, is one of deep medieval piety which mirrors the effect of the Kabbalah in daily life (see *Codification of Law).

Responsa

Huge and varied, responsa literature is usually precisely what the name implies, responses to legal questions which were asked by individuals and communities. It is rarely an organized or systematic body of scholarship. Many responsa were written but many were undoubtedly lost and others have never been printed. Only a small amount of this vast body of writings is extant. The importance of the responsa is not only legal, but historical. They constitute source material for virtually every phase of Jewish life, since the responsa often involved comment upon community conditions.

The gaonate in Babylonia, the recognized authority for world Jewry for several centuries, produced a vast body of responsa of which only a few hundred have survived. On the whole they are very brief and direct. Many of them standardized synagogue practices and worship throughout the Jewish world. The famous responsum of Amram Gaon to a Spanish community was of this order. Other major writers of responsa were *Sherira Gaon and Hai Gaon. In North Africa, Alfasi left a considerable collection of responsa in Arabic as did his Spanish student, Joseph ibn Migash, and Maimonides, who wrote in Arabic as well as in Hebrew. *Mikhtav li-Yhudei Teiman* ("Letter to the Jews of Yemen") is a famous example of Maimonides' responsa. In France, Rabbi *Gershom b. Judah and Rashi wrote numerous responsa, which were not collected, but are referred to and quoted by others, as are the responsa of Kalonymus and Meshullam. By the 12th century, responsa had become lengthy essays written in Hebrew and incorporating an analysis of relevant material. They also began to be preserved by the authors themselves. There are collections of Jacob b. Meir Tam and of Solomon b. Abraham *Adret (13th century) of Spain, who wrote approximately 7,000 responsa. Meir of Rothenburg (13th century) of Germany, Jacob b. Moses *Moellin (14th–15th century), and Israel *Isserlein (beginning of 15th century) of Vienna also wrote extensively. Moellin insisted that responsa, as case law, were more important than the codes. In the 14th and 15th centuries Joseph *Colon, the great writer of responsa of Italy, *Isaac b. Sheshet, and his younger contemporary Simeon b. Ẓemaḥ *Duran of North Africa, greatly enriched responsa literature (see *Responsa).

RABBINIC LITERATURE (1250–1750)

The second half of the Jewish Middle Ages was marked by a heightening of persecution, an increased physical, social, and intellectual isolation of the Jews in most countries, and a consequent turning inward to peculiarly Jewish studies. It was characterized too by the rise to eminence of new Jewish centers, most notably those in Eastern Europe and the Turkish Empire, embracing Palestine. The production of rabbinic literature was vast, numbering thousands of works. Only a few of the major efforts can be considered here and they will be discussed chronologically rather than by country. This approach may be adopted the more readily since by the end of the 15th century Spanish Jewry had disappeared or been dispersed and German Jewry had declined in creativity.

Commentary

The significant commentators of the 13th century were Spanish Jews. Naḥmanides, a pupil of *Jonah b. Abraham Gerondi, adopted the French method and wrote extensive *novellae on three major orders of the Talmud, providing decisions as well as raising and resolving difficulties found in the Talmud. His disciple Solomon b. Abraham Adret wrote novellae to 16 tractates of the same three major orders of the Talmud, but was more analytical than his master and more given to straight commentary. He selects passages from virtually every page of the Talmud for his novellae. At the beginning of the 14th century *Asher b. Jehiel was the most eminent commentator. Originally from Germany, he became rabbi of Toledo in 1304 and enjoyed a reputation which brought students to his academy from all over Europe. Unconcerned with the sciences, opposed to philosophy, he concentrated his attention on the Talmud. His greatest achievement was a code, but he also wrote *tosafot* (glosses and remarks), which are characterized by simplicity and logic, to 17 tractates and commentaries to several tractates of the Talmud and to several orders of the Mishnah. Other scholars of the period were Meir b. Todros ha-Levi *Abulafia of Toledo whose *Yad Ramah* followed the old Spanish method of summary and comment, and Menahem b. Solomon *Meiri don Vidal of Provence, who wrote commentaries on all the tractates of the Talmud. Lucid and systematic in style, he adopted the approach of Maimonides. He introduced each section – whether tractate, chapter, or Mishnah – with a statement of its themes, and while his discussion centers on the Mishnah, he also gives the gist of the *Gemara* and the decision.

In the 14th century, Rabbi *Yom Tov b. Abraham Ishbili, a disciple of Solomon b. Abraham Adret, continued the novellae method, writing on the three major orders of the Talmud. His contemporary, *Nissim b. Reuben Gerondi, a major force in Spanish Jewry, not only wrote novellae on the same orders but composed one of the two major commentaries on Alfasi. His student Joseph *Ḥabiba completed the work on Alfasi and concentrated particularly on the classification of decisions, a practice which made him a favorite of later codifiers.

During the 15th century, a period of turmoil, significant scholarship declined but was again prominent in new centers in the 16th century. Obadiah of *Bertinoro, who had moved from Italy to Jerusalem, wrote his major exposition on the Mishnah, which is the standard commentary included in all editions. It discusses every order and does not only explain the words, but explicates entire passages, illuminating them with the discussions of the *Gemara*. Another commentator of the East, Bezalel *Ashkenazi of Egypt, in *Shitah Mekubbeẓet* excerpted and arranged the interpretations of a large number of commentators on difficult passages of the Talmud. He employed *tosafot*, Arabic commentaries, and commentators who were not well known and whose work would otherwise have been lost.

The 16th century also saw the rise of Poland as a major center of Jewish learning. The migration of German scholars to Poland initiated a period of activity which continued until the tragic end of Polish Jewry in the 20th century. In 1507 Jacob b. Joseph *Pollak, the most eminent of these scholars, headed the academy at Cracow where he continued his work for three decades. He developed the method of *ḥilluk* in the study of Talmud, i.e., division and analysis. It consisted of taking an apparently unified talmudic subject, dissecting it into its component parts, drawing shades of distinction, and building up a new subject out of the newly defined parts. Pollak, however, left no books. His younger contemporary, Solomon b. Jehiel *Luria, the first important talmudic commentator of Poland, wrote *Yam shel Shelomo* which is essentially a code and partly a commentary, on seven tractates of the Talmud, presented in a plain, non-pilpulistic style. A second work, *Ḥokhmat Shelomo*, consists of glosses and comments on the entire Talmud, on Rashi, and on *tosafot*. The great merit of the work is in its corrections of the texts, and it is considered so significant that the relevant comments are incorporated at the back of each talmudic tractate. The novellae of Meir b. Gedaliah *Lublin and Samuel Eliezer *Edels, two important scholars of the next generation, were essentially comments on Rashi and *tosafot* rather than on the *Gemara*. Those of Edels, more deeply penetrating, applied the tosafist method of posing challenges to the text in order to arrive at a new and more cogent answer.

Leading lights of the 17th century were Yom Tov Lipmann *Heller and Meir b. Jacob ha-Kohen *Schiff. Heller, in response to the need of Mishnah study groups, which had become common, and to what he felt were inadequacies in previous commentaries, composed a major commentary on the Mishnah, entitled *Tosafot Yom Tov* ("The Glosses of Yom Tov"). Basing himself upon Obadiah of Bertinoro's commentary, he expanded the material and introduced philosophic and ethical views. Schiff wrote extensive and very terse novellae on the entire Talmud with the intention of setting forth plain meaning, but only the comments on ten of the tractates remain, the others having been destroyed in a fire in 1711.

Penei Yehoshu'a, an 18th-century collection of novellae to most of the Talmud by Jacob Joshua *Falk, is distinguished by keen analysis and brilliance. The work has remained an accepted reference book for students of the Talmud. Ezekiel b. Judah *Landau (18th century), whose major reputation is that of a writer of responsa, and who was considered the leading rabbinic authority of his time, also wrote a highly pilpulistic collection of novellae, *Ẓelaḥ* (in Hebrew the initials of "Monument to a Living Soul").

Codes

Works of codification exceeded books of commentary during this period. The code of Maimonides, since it lacked sources and was a specifically Sephardi work, did not end the process of code making. Codes continued to be written among Franco-German and Spanish Jews, and at the end of the period, among Jews in Poland. The form followed the pattern of the previous era: a compendium, a digest of the talmudic discussion, arrangement according to the precepts of the Torah, arrangements according to the order in the Pentateuch, and compilation of groups of kindred laws. In the Franco-German region the first great code of the period was *Sefer Mitzvot Gadol* ("The Large Book of Precepts," also called *Semag*), by *Moses b. Jacob of Coucy (13th century). Basing himself on the 613 precepts, which he divided into affirmative and negative precepts, Moses distinguishes six categories of laws and in giving both the law and the sources, relies not only on the Talmud, but on later authorities as well. He does not limit himself to legal matters only, but discusses beliefs and ethics and cites Jewish philosophers. The Hebrew style is clear and excellent, and is similar to that of Maimonides. The *Semag* was inevitably followed by the *Semak* (*Sefer Mitzvot Katan*, "The Small Book of Precepts") by *Isaac b. Joseph of Corbeil (late 13th century). The book, designed for the scholarly layman rather than the scholar, classifies Jewish law into seven categories, but is much more sparing in the citation of sources than the *Semag*. Two other distinguished codes of the 13th century were *Or Zaru'a*, by Isaac b. Moses of Vienna, and *Mordekhai*, by *Mordecai b. Hillel ha-Kohen of Nuremberg. *Or Zaru'a*, a compendium rather than a code, cites sources copiously. It is intended for scholars, and is particularly useful because of its extensive resort to post-talmudic sources and decisions. *Mordekhai* is badly arranged and seems to be a source book for a code rather than the finished product. It comprehends, however, a great mass of material and cites many responsa on the subjects it treats. Both works were employed extensively by later codifiers as sources.

The 13th-century Italian school is represented by the *Shibbolei ha-Leket* of Zedekiah b. Abraham *Anav in which the author limits himself to the rituals and festivals. Employing the code method, he also presents a selection of material from other codes and responsa, including the opinions of Italian scholars. A digest of it, entitled *Tanya*, designed for popular use, was prepared by Jehiel b. Jekuthiel *Anav.

The great codes of the period were composed by Spanish Jews. They tend to be more systematic, less rigorous in decision, and less guided by custom than the Franco-German works. Among the 13th-century codes were some small works by Naḥmanides and the *Torat ha-Bayit* ("Household Laws"), by Solomon b. Abraham Adret, devoted to laws of the Jewish home. Adret, applying the same method, commented and interpreted extensively. He also wrote a résumé which appears in the margin of the book. Particularly noteworthy is the pedagogical work, *Sefer *ha-Ḥinnukh* ("Book of Education") attributed to Aaron ha-Levi of Barcelona which arranges the *mitzvot* according to the weekly portions of the Torah, discusses their origin, their ethical meaning, and their application. He does not quote sources, but indicates where they may be found. The book, written in excellent Hebrew, was and continues to be popular. The first major 13th-century code, *Piskei ha-Rosh*, the compendium of Asher b. Jehiel, a German-trained scholar who immigrated to Spain, bears the imprint of both the German and the Spanish schools. Its great value is that while it follows the Alfasi method of paraphrasing the Talmud section by section, it goes far beyond that. Alfasi relies on the Talmud, the *geonim*, and himself. Asher b. Jehiel brings to bear all the weight of preceding codes, commentaries, and responsa, with particular emphasis on the discussions of the Franco-German schools. Enjoying great authority, the decisions of the work are quoted in later codes and were used as a basis in *Sefer ha-Turim* (*Tur*) written by Jacob, Asher b. Jehiel's son. *Sefer ha-Turim* takes the rulings of Asher b. Jehiel as a basis for an entire code of Jewish law, excluding those which ceased to operate with the destruction of the Temple. The title refers to the four rows (*turim*) on the breastplate of the high priest. Jacob b. Asher consequently divided his code into four sections: (1) *Tur Oraḥ Ḥayyim* on daily religious conduct, the Sabbath, and the festivals; (2) *Tur Yoreh De'ah* on prohibited and permitted things, e.g., dietary laws, laws of purity, etc.; (3) *Tur Even ha-Ezer* on the laws of family relations; (4) *Tur Ḥoshen Mishpat* on civil law. The code provides decisions without sources and includes Franco-German and Spanish views. Clear in content, style, decision, and authority, it was accepted as the authoritative code by a large segment of Jewry for several centuries. The attempt by *Jeroham b. Meshullam of Provence, a pupil of Asher b. Jehiel, to codify *Piskei ha-Rosh* resulted in a pure code of all of Jewish law, except civil law, entitled *Toledot Adam ve-Ḥavvah*. The work was well regarded, but did not win general acceptance.

The work which finally became the decisive code of Jewry was that of Joseph b. Ephraim *Caro who was born in Spain and moved to Bulgaria, and ultimately to Safed. His great work, *Beit Yosef*, which Caro conceived of as a commentary to *Sefer ha-Turim*, was designed to include other opinions and to expand the source references in *Sefer ha-Turim*. It emerged, however, as an independent work which utilized the fourfold form of organization of *Sefer ha-Turim*, traced the development of laws, cited various opinions and the reasons for them, and finally concluded with Caro's decision. As a preparatory manual of study for the work, Caro composed the *Shulḥan Arukh which is arranged in the same way, but generally gives only one opinion and one decision and limits each paragraph to a specific point of law, a pattern which facilitates study and decision. In formulating decisions, Caro was guided by three earlier codes: Alfasi, Maimonides, and Asher b. Jehiel. His approach was to rely on any two opinions against the third. The code, essentially Sephardi in outlook, became the definitive code of Jewry and has remained so to the present day.

As it was written the Shulḥan Arukh was not acceptable to Franco-German and Polish (Ashkenazi) Jewry. Solomon Luria protested against it, and a way of meeting this protest was devised by Moses b. Israel *Isserles. Apart from other works, Isserles undertook an addition to the Shulḥan Arukh, *Mappat ha-Shulḥan*, in which he set forth the Ashkenazi view and, in cases of controversy, rendered decisions according to that outlook. In addition, he noted customs prevalent among Ashkenazi Jewry, raising many of them to the status of law. On the whole, he was more rigorous than Caro. But there are many instances where he is more lenient, notably in the case of *hefsed merubbeh*, instances involving a considerable loss. It was the Caro-Isserles Shulḥan Arukh which became the universal code.

While it was still struggling for universal acceptance, other codes were being formulated. The most important was *Levush* by Mordecai b. Abraham *Jaffe of Prague and Poland. He set out to create a code, midway between *Beit Yosef*, which he deemed too lengthy, and the Shulḥan Arukh, which he thought too brief. His method was to state a decision and to give the history of the law. His decisions frequently differed from those of Caro and Isserles. For a time, it appeared that this work might supplant the Shulḥan Arukh but in the end the Shulḥan Arukh prevailed, both because of the errors in *Levush* and because of the power of the combined authority of Caro and Isserles.

Although a definitive code had finally been produced, it proved, like all the others, to be imperfect both in itself and because new situations continued to arise for decision and codification. The result was that an entire field of commentaries on the various codes arose of which 186 commentaries on the Maimonidean code alone have survived, and there were doubtless many more. The first important commentary on the Maimonidean code, that of Shem Tov b. Abraham *Ibn Gaon (14th century) of Spain, entitled *Migdal Oz*, sought to classify Maimonides' way of reasoning in the code. Don *Vidal Yom Tov of Tolosa, Spain, defended the Maimonidean system in his *Maggid Mishneh* as did Caro in his *Kesef Mishneh*. *Sefer ha-Turim* was equally the subject of commentaries, the best known (apart from *Beit Yosef*) being *Darkhei Moshe* ("The Ways of Moses") by Isserles, which was essentially a polemic against Caro and was the foundation of his later glosses to the Shulḥan Arukh. The best commentaries on *Sefer ha-Turim* were those of Jacob Joshua Falk and *Bayit Ḥadash* by Joel *Sirkes. Falk added explanations, decisions, and sources to *Sefer ha-Turim*, while Sirkes sought to reestablish it as the decisive code in place of the Shulḥan Arukh.

The Shulḥan Arukh was also the subject of numerous commentaries which finally set the seal of authority upon it. David b. Samuel ha-Levi in *Turei Zahav* (abbr. as *TaZ* and meaning "Golden Rows") defended the rulings of the Shulḥan Arukh, quoted contrary opinions, and arrived at final decisions. *Siftei Kohen* (abbr. as *ShaKh* and meaning "The Lips of the Priest") was similarly motivated; it explained the sources of the code and attempted to harmonize the difference between Caro and Isserles. Characterized by intellectual brilliance and logical acumen, these works became the standard commentaries on the Shulḥan Arukh (see *Codification of Law).

Responsa

In the third major category of rabbinic literature of the period, responsa, there was remarkable productivity; the number of collections runs into several thousands, and thousands of others are still in manuscript. They were composed because life outstripped the codes and new problems arose which were either not properly dealt with in the codes or not included in them. Since the early Middle Ages every major rabbinic figure answered questions and the responsa, essentially essays in law, were collected either by himself or by others. These served as supplements to the codes and as bases for later codes.

Medieval responsa should be divided into two time periods: the 13th century to the end of the 15th, during which the rabbis responded to conditions in the Franco-German region and in Spain, and the 16th century through the 18th, when Jewish life was centered in the East, Germany, and Poland. Responsa reflect Jewish life of the times and thus differ greatly in content. The responsa from Spain and the East, where Jewish life was in greater contact with the surrounding world and enjoyed a larger measure of autonomy, testify to greater judicial authority, more severe punishments, better communal organization, and more cases dealing with moral behavior than other parts of the Jewish Diaspora. Spanish responsa also discussed questions of philosophy and theology, whereas the German-Polish questions centered mostly around law. The greater seclusion in Germany and Poland and the greater persecution are reflected in the frequent cases dealing with taxes, special levies, religious questions, cases of women whose husbands had disappeared (*agunot*), and the like (see *Responsa).

RESPONSA (1250–1500). The most important collections of Spanish responsa are those of Solomon b. Abraham Adret and Asher b. Jehiel. Adret's extant responsa number 3,000 of a possible original 7,000. Almost half of them deal with civil law and commercial affairs and thus reveal much about Jewish life in Spain. They reflect strong community organization, the power of leaders to fix prices, regulate promissory notes, and establish and prohibit study patterns. Philosophical and theological questions comprise another large section, including discussions on the relation between *mitzvot* and intention (*kavannah*). A third group deals with religious and family problems. Asher's 1,500 responsa are concerned essentially with *halakhah*. They indicate that Jews had and exercised the power of capital punishment, and that the community had great power to regulate economic, spiritual, and moral life. Two other collections of the period, those of Isaac b. Sheshet Perfet (14th century), a Spaniard who ultimately became rabbi of Algiers, and his successor Simeon b. Ẓemaḥ Duran, a mathematician and grammarian, reflect, apart from other matters, the turbulence of life in Spain at the end of the 14th century and the complicated problem of the Marranos. Duran also responded to many questions on mathematics and grammar.

The number of surviving collections of responsa from Germany (13th to 15th centuries) is not extensive but those that are extant are illuminating. Meir of Rothenburg wrote several thousand responsa on questions of lending with interest to gentiles, the duties and salaries of teachers, and the import and export business. Jacob Moellin left some 200 responsa on civil law and family life, and Jacob b. Judah *Weil, his disciple, deals extensively with community affairs. The responsa of Israel b. Pethahiah *Isserlein and Israel b. Ḥayyim *Bruna mirror the rigorous piety of medieval Germany, indicating the importance that customs assumed and their endorsement by the writers of responsa. During the same period Joseph Colon was writing responsa which reflect contemporaneous life in Italy. Among other things they point to the low scholarly level of the rabbinate in Italy, to the state of the medical profession among Jews, and to the fact that some physicians formed partnerships. The responsa of Judah b. Eliezer ha-Levi *Minz and Meir b. Isaac *Katzenellenbogen (16th century) broaden the picture of Italian Jewish life, indicating that the moral tone was rather lax in the upper stratum. The general tenor of the Italian responsa reflects, in contrast to Germany, a spirit of liberalism and a readiness to deal with problems arising out of the confrontation of Jews with the life of the general society.

RESPONSA (1500–1750). With the expulsion from Spain a large part of Spanish Jewry migrated to the East where an indigenous Jewish community had continued to exist. As a result intellectual activity greatly increased. Even before the exile, R. Elijah b. Abraham *Mizraḥi, a native of Constantinople and the chief rabbi of Turkey, had won a reputation as a major figure both in Jewish and secular learning. His responsa, reflecting Jewish life in Turkey, testify to the great autonomy enjoyed by the community. The rabbi was the recognized intermediary between the government and the community and the assessor of taxes for the Jews. Soon afterward David b. Solomon ibn Abi *Zimra, a native of Spain who had served as chief rabbi of Cairo for 40 years, became the leading Jewish authority in the East. His 3,000 responsa (of which 1,300 have been preserved) present a picture of life in Eastern lands. They indicate that polygamy was practiced, that the Jewish laws of emancipation regarding slaves were still in force, and that relations with Karaites were closer than they had been in earlier centuries, but had deteriorated since the time of Maimonides. Theological questions point to varied beliefs about dogma. Other important collections of the 15th and 16th centuries are those of Moses b. Isaac *Alashkar of Cairo, Jacob *Berab, *Levi b. Ḥabib, and Moses b. Joseph *Trani. The responsa of Trani have some particularly interesting comments about the role of Jews in the export trade and about a boycott organized by Turkish Jewish traders, at the instigation of Dona Gracia *Nasi, against the papal port of Ancona, Italy, as a reprisal against the pope for the burning at the stake of Marranos there (see *Responsa).

METHODOLOGY

A fourth area of rabbinic study, methodology, namely the rules of talmudic logic, the terms employed, and how decisions are made, which had scarcely been touched during the early Middle Ages, developed considerably in the 18th century. *Samson b. Isaac of Chinon (France) and *Jeshua b. Joseph ha-Levi of North Africa had dealt with the subject in the 14th and 15th centuries, respectively. The first major work on methodology, however, was *Yad Malakhi*, by *Malachi b. Jacob ha-Kohen (middle of the 18th century), which discusses 667 talmudic rules and terms, arranged in alphabetical order. Some sections are extended essays, such as the essay on the authenticity of halakhic statements which were transmitted by disciples in the name of their teachers. Another part of the book discusses the methods of the great codifiers. Isaac *Lampronti of Italy, in *Paḥad Yiẓḥak*, the second major work of the period, has arranged all the subjects and terms treated in talmudic and rabbinic literature in alphabetical order. Included also are talmudic sources and the views of codifiers and writers of responsa.

Philosophy and Theology

While there was less Jewish philosophical than exegetical, halakhic, and poetic writing in the Middle Ages, it was nonetheless substantial and of high quality. As in the Hellenistic period, medieval Jewish philosophy was born out of confrontation with other cultures. By the eighth century, Aristotle and Plato had been translated into Arabic, and Islam was trying to reconcile religion and reason through the philosophy of *Kalam* (meaning "word"). Judaism was also experiencing internal problems: the Karaites rejected the Talmud, and *Ḥiwi al-Balkhi (late ninth century) represented a school of thought which violently attacked the Bible. Jewish philosophy, primarily theological, sought to defend Jewish religion against philosophical attack, and to found the principles of belief on a speculative basis. Scholarly writings thus were directed toward metaphysics and related fields and to a philosophical interpretation of the Bible. These literary activities were undergirded by writings and translations in logic, psychology, and the sciences. Jews also made a significant contribution in these disciplines and other spheres as cultural intermediaries between the Islamic and Christian worlds.

The earliest Jewish medieval philosophers (9th to 11th centuries) wrote in Arabic. David ibn Marwān *al-Mukammis of Babylon in *Book of Twenty Tractates* advances proofs for the existence of God; Isaac b. Solomon *Israeli of Kairouan, in *Book of the Elements*, sought to defend the doctrine of creation against the theory of the eternity of matter. *Emmunot ve-De'ot* ("Doctrines and Beliefs"), by Saadiah Gaon, attempts to prove the compatibility of revelation, Torah, and reason. Saadiah posited ten basic principles, founding them on a theory of knowledge through which he established the existence and nature of God, the need for revelation, and the reasons for revealed doctrines and *mitzvot*. In his ethics he advocated the middle road between the contending forces in human nature. With regard to the Jewish people, he asserted that it was a people only by reason of the Torah. After Saadiah, Spain became the center of Jewish philosophy where the first philosopher of note was the brilliant young poet Solomon ibn Gabirol, whose major philosophical work *Mekor Ḥayyim* (originally Arabic, Latin *Fons Vitae*, 1150) had until the 19th century been ascribed to an Arab named "Avicebron." The book deviates from traditional medieval Jewish philosophy, being closer in tone to neoplatonism. It is a religious philosophical work concerned with personal salvation and with man's purpose and its thesis is that the human soul, which has been united with matter, seeks to return to its source through reason and contemplation. In this connection it discusses God, a theory of emanations, the world (composed of matter and form), and creation. *Mekor Ḥayyim*, which had a considerable effect in Christian circles, was rather less accepted among Jews, although Ibn Gabirol's thinking, often unattributed, was incorporated into Jewish mystical thought. About the same time, *Baḥya b. Joseph ibn Paquda, in *Ḥovot ha-Levavot* ("The Duties of the Heart"), primarily ethical in content, and in *Torat ha-Nefesh* ("The Doctrine of the Soul"), a philosophical work, advanced the theory of design as a proof of God's existence. He proposed the doctrine of negative attributes of God and developed a theory of emanations.

The first philosophical book in Hebrew is *Abraham b. Ḥiyya's *Hegyon ha-Nefesh ha-Aẓuvah* ("Meditation of the Sad Soul") where he sets forth the theory that the world was first created in potentiality and then actualized by the word. The microcosm doctrine was propounded by *Joseph b. Ẓaddik (in his *Olam Katan*, "the Microcosm"): man is a microcosm and can know the world by knowing himself. With Judah Halevi the emphasis in Jewish philosophy shifted. His *Kuzari* is a philosophy of Judaism which seeks to prove that the truths of revealed religion are superior to those of reason and that God is best understood through Jewish history. It is also a philosophy of history whose theme is that Israel is the heart of the nations, endowed with a prophetic capacity, and that the Torah is the expression of the Will of God. Within the framework of Jewish and human endeavors, he assigns a central role to the Land of Israel. Literarily, the *Sefer ha-Kuzari* is distinctive in Jewish philosophy since it is composed as a dialogue and is founded on a historical event (the conversion of the Khazars to Judaism). Abraham Ibn Ezra, however, reverting to the more conventional approach, proposes that God's Will flashing through the upper, middle, and lower worlds is the staying power for everything and that spirituality is resident in everything in the universe. Abraham ibn Daud (12th century) of Toledo also discusses familiar themes along Aristotelian lines, but pays great attention to the problem of free will and providence. Asserting that God knows man's options but not his choice, Ibn Daud discusses providence and suggests that there are gradations in providence which depend upon how earnestly a man strives for the knowledge of God.

The master work of Jewish philosophy, a synthesis of the Jewish philosophical process, is Moses Maimonides' *Guide of the Perplexed*, which was written in Arabic in 1190. Studied by Christians and Muslims, it had a deep effect on scholastic literature apart from its influence on all of Jewish thought. Maimonides, indicating that he is writing for those who know philosophy but are perplexed about contradictions between philosophy and religion, touches upon specific problems and often takes the biblical verse and expressions as his framework. Discussing anthropomorphism, he deals with proofs for the existence of God and with His attributes which, he asserts, can only be understood negatively. He rejects the doctrine of the eternity of matter as unproved and propounds the concept of *creatio ex nihilo*, in accordance with the Torah which he holds to be immutable. He contends that the Torah is designed to guide the body, the body politic, and the soul and to help a man endowed with sufficient contemplative capacity to achieve union with the active intellect in the universe and thus gain immortality. Other major themes in *Guide of the Perplexed* are Divine providence, which is presented as graduated according to man's capacity; evil, which is largely the work of man; and ethics, to which the Torah directs man.

The Maimonidean synthesis was almost immediately challenged in commentaries and in different systems as Jewish philosophy expanded its scope and embarked upon new ventures. Two main factors contributed to this development: (a) The major Arabic works in philosophy, translations and commentaries of the Greek philosophers, and original works of the Arabic philosophers, were translated into Hebrew along with the works of the Jewish philosophers. Thus *Plato, *Aristotle, *Al-Farabi, *Avicenna, *Al-Ghazali, and *Averroes became available to Hebrew readers in Christian Spain and Provence who did not know Arabic. Among the distinguished translators were Judah ibn *Tibbon (12th century), his son Samuel, and his son Moses. Other translators were Jacob b. Abba Mari *Anatoli (13th century), Jacob b. Machir Tibbon (13th century), and Kalonymus b. Kalonymus (14th century), all of Provence. In the same period the task of translating Latin philosophic works into Hebrew was also undertaken (see *Translators and Translations). (b) A Hebrew philosophic terminology was created. The way was now open to Jews, whose major literary language was Hebrew and whose audience read Hebrew, to engage in philosophical writing.

Once the basic philosophical language was developed and works were translated into Hebrew, several new spheres were open to Jewish philosophy, one of which was commentary. Some scholars wrote commentaries on Arabic and Greek philosophers, among them: Levi b. Gershom (14th century), on Averroes; *Moses b. Joshua of Narbonne on Averroes and

Al-Ghazali; and Joseph *Ibn Shem Tov and *Judah b. Jehiel Messer Leon on Aristotle. *Guide of the Perplexed* frequently served as the basis for commentaries which were often original works. The earliest commentary, *Moreh ha-Moreh* ("The Guide of the Guide"), by Shem Tov Falaquera, compiles extensive excerpts from Arabic and Jewish philosophers on subjects treated by Maimonides. *Maskiyyot Kesef* by Joseph *Kaspi represents the highly rationalistic Provençal school which set philosophic principles above tradition. Kaspi denies that *creatio ex nihilo* is a Jewish dogma and interprets the creation story, not literally, but in philosophical terms. Other commentaries, which are essentially explanatory and are usually printed with the text of *Guide of the Perplexed*, were those of Profiat Duran and Asher (Bonan) b. Abraham *Crescas.

Another field developed from the 13th century onward but treated only cursorily in the past is psychology. Averroes' restatement of Aristotle reflects the basic problem of psychology. For Averroes, the active intellect is not an integral part of the soul, but an immaterial substance, derived from the universal intellect, which unites with the soul during a man's life and returns to its source at death, without retaining any individuality. Thus the religious beliefs in personal immortality and reward and punishment came under attack. *Hillel b. Samuel of Verona, Italy, discusses these problems and related points in *Tagmulei ha-Nefesh* ("The Rewards of the Soul"). He attempts to establish that the intellect is not only part of the soul, but is the actual form of the soul which directs all its forces. It is at once eternal and yet retains its individuality so that it is subject to reward and punishment, which he conceives as elevation to a higher level of contemplation or awareness of degradation. In proving and pursuing his contentions, Hillel necessarily deals with the question of free will and God's foreknowledge which he resolves by asserting that necessity and possibility are inherent in the very nature of man and that God conceives every human action as a possibility. Approaching the same question from another point of view, Shem Tov Falaquera composed his *Sefer ha-Nefesh* ("The Book of the Soul") in the spirit that "knowledge of the soul leads to knowledge of God." Like Hillel, he concludes that the soul is immortal and individual and ultimately unites with the universal intellect. Through these works psychology became part of Jewish philosophical speculation, and it has been reflected in the mainstream of Jewish philosophy since the 13th century.

The first major philosophical figure after Maimonides was Levi b. Gershom, also a translator and Bible commentator, whose main work, *Milḥamot Adonai* ("The Battles of the Lord"), like Maimonides', is Aristotelian in outlook, but differs from his in that it gives precedence to philosophical conclusions over biblical teachings. He substitutes for *creatio ex nihilo* the notion that the world, created in time and by the will of God, was shaped out of chaos or formless matter. He further asserts that positive attributes apply both to God and to man, though in different degree. Levi b. Gershom deals with a wide variety of problems, including psychology and the immortality of the soul, freedom of will, divine providence, and cosmology. In general he follows the Aristotelian view of the world and the soul, as modified by Arab philosophers and by neoplatonists. He affirms the immortality of the individual soul in terms of his system, in which the sum total of a man's thoughts of God and the order of the universe constitute the immortal soul, whose reward, after death, consists not of new knowledge but of greater clarity about knowledge acquired during life. Providence, he contends, equally depends upon man's attainment and consists not in miracles but in prior awareness of potential difficulties. Man has individual freedom because God knows and predetermines the general order of events and of possibilities, but not which of the possibilities available to a man will be realized in a single life.

Aristotelianism runs its course with Levi b. Gershom; his major successor, Ḥasdai *Crescas of Barcelona, a man of great critical and innovative faculties, no longer blindly accepts either "the philosopher" or Maimonides but criticizes them both. His major work, *Or Adonai* ("Light of the Lord," completed 1410, published in Ferrara, 1555), designed as a section of a two-part work embracing both *halakhah* and philosophy, is essentially a work on dogmatics in which, after extended philosophic analysis, Crescas sets forth dogmas of the Jewish faith that differ, both in detail and in emphasis, from many of those of Maimonides. He is motivated partly by his emphasis on emotion and action in religion, rather than speculation, and partly by a desire to dispute certain Christian teachings. Attacking Maimonides' proof of the existence of God, which is based upon the Aristotelian doctrine that there cannot be infinite space or infinite causes, Crescas offers a novel proof that there is a being, God, who is the necessary cause of all existence. The existence of God is one of the basic roots that Crescas posits. In his theory of attributes, he asserts that the attributes of God are essential, positive, and infinite in number and extent. God is goodness, and he speaks of God's infinite happiness in His infinite love for His creatures. Crescas applies critical analysis and originality to the themes of free will, reward and punishment, immortality, and providence, all of which he affirms. His views were challenged by the talmudist and writer of responsa Simeon b. Ẓemaḥ Duran of Algeria, whose *Magen Avot* ("The Shield of the Fathers") defends the Maimonidean viewpoint. Essentially concerned with dogmatics, Duran uses the Mishnah *Sanhedrin* 10:1 ("All Israelites have a share in the world to come…") to classify Maimonides' 13 principles under three major headings: the existence of God, the divine origin of the Torah, and reward and punishment. His philosophical statement is basically a synthesis of Maimonides and Levi b. Gershom, though he is more conservative than either in asserting that Divine providence extends to all men regardless of intellectual capacity.

A contemporary of Duran, Joseph *Albo of Spain, evolved a philosophical system which borrowed largely from Maimonides and Crescas, but added new ideas to the field of dogmatics. Albo, reacting to the strong pressure of Christianity upon the Jewish population, sought to standardize the principles of Jewish religion, and to demonstrate that philosophy and religion go hand in hand. In *Ikkarim* ("Principles") he employs the same threefold classification of Jewish dogmas as Duran but takes the classification further. He defines God, revelation, and reward and punishment as universal characteristics of divine religion and distinguishes between a conventional religion rising out of social life and a divine religion which is revealed. He asserts that these three principles must be accepted on faith if necessary, although they can be buttressed by reason. What distinguishes an individual religion, however, is a series of secondary dogmas which must be justified by reason. Besides these, a Jew must accept another six doctrines which though obligatory are not principles: *creatio ex nihilo*, the *sui generis* nature of the prophecy of Moses, the immutability of the Torah, the capability of even one precept to perfect the human soul, resurrection, and the coming of the Messiah. The entire work is written in a lucid and popular style, and became a favorite Jewish work.

The last of the Spanish philosophers, Don Isaac Abrabanel, wrote a considerable number of philosophic works on specific topics. Widely read in Jewish, Arabic, and Christian philosophy, Abrabanel draws on his extensive and versatile knowledge to explicate and give a full view of the philosophical problems which he discusses. Following his exegetical method, Abrabanel in his philosophical works also poses a series of objections to a theory and then proceeds to answer them one by one. While he tends toward Maimonides' philosophical view, he is even more traditional in his concept of Providence, rejecting the idea that Providence depends on the intelligence of man. He also repudiates the rational theories of prophecy and miracles, regarding prophecy as a direct influence from God, not dependent on intellectual excellence. *Dialoghi di Amore* (1535), a philosophical work by his son, Judah *Abrabanel, which is written in Italian and in dialogue form, alludes profusely to classical mythology. Renaissance in tone, its theme is outside the conventional stream of Jewish philosophy and centers mainly on the concept of love of God and how it affects the soul, and the concept of the beautiful. Love is the principle which permeates and unites the universe, extending from God through all creation and back to Him. The influence of the treatise was greater in general thought than in Jewish life since it discusses only few distinctly Jewish themes.

The severe criticism of the rationalistic tendency in the development of philosophy throughout the 13th, 14th, and 15th centuries elicited defenses by scholars who also partly shared the view that rationalism had gone too far. They asserted that philosophy and religion were separate domains and that while philosophic truths were worthy of study and were proper guides, the Torah pointed to still higher truths and ways of life. The notable proponents of this view were the 15th-century Spanish thinkers Abraham *Bibago b. Shem Tov and Joseph ibn Shem Tov. The latter cautioned, however, that the basic principles of religion must agree with logical truth. In the interpretation of the Torah he distinguished between law, which he accepted, and opinion, which need not necessarily be accepted.

The last major philosophical figure of the Jewish Middle Ages was Baruch *Spinoza. Though the *Ethics* belongs to the sphere of general rather than Jewish philosophy, it was clearly influenced by Jewish thought, most notably by Crescas, from whom Spinoza borrowed much. Spinoza's pantheistic view, however, at odds with the Jewish philosophical approach, took him in different philosophical directions. Nevertheless *Tractatus-Theologicus-Politicus* is a distinctly Jewish work which examines the Old Testament critically and, in effect, initiates modern biblical criticism. Spinoza discusses exhaustively the election of Israel, prophecy, miracles, the dogmas of faith, the constitution of the Hebrew state, and the authority of the state in religious matters. His purpose was to defend freedom of thought against religious authority, thus establishing a distinction between religion and philosophical speculation. He contends that prophecy is characterized by imagination and not by speculation, and proceeds to work out the dogmas of universal religion, which very much resemble those of Crescas. Having distinguished between religion and philosophy, Spinoza proceeds to a discussion of the state, which he conceives as founded upon a social contract that protects the right of every man to freedom of thought. Since Spinoza is clearly fighting with the Jewish authorities and attempting to show that they are misrepresenting Judaism, the book is partly a polemic. A fundamental point developed in the work is that the scriptural laws were given for the Jewish body politic and lost their cogency, as did of course rabbinic law, after the destruction of the state. Even for the Jews only the moral laws remain binding. In this approach Spinoza foreshadows Reform Judaism (see *Philosophy).

Ethics

The distinction between philosophy and ethics in the Jewish Middle Ages was not very clear, since both fields centered on religious premises and Torah and the application of these to life. Accordingly, most of the philosophical works also discussed ethics, or at least were ethical in their implications. Nonetheless, there was a considerable corpus of writings whose purpose was distinctly ethical. Most of them were essentially pietistic or, like the *aggadah*, infused with the moral implications of biblical verses. Some of them, however, primarily works from Spain and Provence, presented formal ethical systems. Solomon ibn Gabirol's *Tikkun Middot ha-Nefesh* ("Improvement of the Moral Qualities"), written in Arabic, was the first noteworthy effort in this field. Predicated on psychological and physiological bases rather than religious premises, Gabirol's thesis conceives the soul as consisting of two parts: the higher, which strives for union with God, and the lower, the seat of the moral qualities of daily life. He proposed to teach the art of training and cultivating the soul. *Ḥovot ha-Levavot*, by Baḥya ibn Paquda, a more important and accepted work, has as its central thesis man's gratitude and relationship to God, which the author posits as the yardstick of moral behavior. After establishing a metaphysical foundation for his analysis in the first portal (section), Baḥya devotes nine portals to such virtues as sympathy, action for its own sake, meekness, and the harmonization of reason and passion. Altogether different in tone is **Sefer Ḥasidim* ("The Book of the Pious"), a 12th-century Franco-German work attributed to *Judah b. Samuel he-Ḥasid of Regensburg (c. 1200). Comprised of manuals on ethics and piety, it contains detailed instructions for daily living in the spirit of talmudic and aggadic literature. Its subjects range from worship to marital life, to treatment of servants, to table manners, and is abundantly illustrated with stories. Though marked by strong superstition, the work is imbued with a spirit of piety and ethical sensitivity. It enjoyed great popularity in its time and for many generations. An equally popular, though distinctly formal work, was the *Shemoneh Perakim* ("Eight Chapters") of Maimonides which constituted the introduction to his commentary on *Pirkei Avot*. Writing as though he were "a doctor of the soul," Maimonides suggests that there are good dispositions and bad ones, that man is a free agent and a *tabula rasa*, and that he can be educated to the good. He proposes "the middle way" as the norm of conduct.

By the 13th century, ethical literature began to proliferate, although formal, analytical systems were on the decline. Among the important books of the century were *Sha'arei Teshuvah* ("The Gates of Repentance") by *Jonah b. Abraham Gerondi and *Kad ha-Kemaḥ* by Baḥya b. Asher. Gerondi discusses the ways that arouse a man to repentance, the nature of repentance and forgiveness, and the obligatory precepts incumbent upon a Jew. He is particularly forceful in his demand for the observance of community enactments which, he says, are designed to strengthen the Jewish community and religion and thus to sanctify the name of God. Baḥya, like Jonah, writing from a religious point of view, arranges his subject matter alphabetically and discusses a wide variety of themes. Among his observations is the view that Jews are dispersed so that they may fulfill the mission of living like a model nation and spreading the knowledge of the One God and His Providence. Once the mission is fulfilled redemption will come.

**Sefer ha-Yashar*, an anonymous ethical work which was mistakenly attributed to Jacob b. Meir Tam and to Zerahiah ha-Yevani, is of the 14th century. The author saw the people of his time as being so engrossed in the pursuit of riches and pleasure that they needed to be redirected to the love of God and right conduct. Making an appeal both to reason and piety, he emphasizes, in the manner of Baḥya, the awe of God, the wonder of the world, and the need to imitate God and thus fulfill the purpose of creation and of perfecting man. Less theoretical, and more given to the practical exposition of behavior, are the 14th-century work *Menorat ha-Ma'or* ("Candelabrum of Light") by Israel b. Joseph *Al-Nakawa of Spain, which concentrates on the meaning and application of specific *mitzvot* like loving-kindness and the Sabbath, and the anonymous 15th-century treatise *Orḥat Ẓaddikim* ("The Way of the Righteous"), stemming from Germany, which examines the art of training the soul to seek the good.

The major work of the period, also called *Menorat ha-Ma'or*, by Isaac *Aboab of Toledo, enjoyed great popularity. In contrast to contemporary trends, Aboab stressed the importance of the *aggadah* whose teachings were concerned with the education of the soul. The author, as stated in his preface, wrote the book with the explicit purpose of giving instruction to all in practical ethics. He bases his work on three principles set forth in Psalm 34:15: "Depart from evil, and do good; seek peace and pursue it," which he divides into seven categories characterized as the seven *nerot* (lamps) that make up the "candelabrum of light." Avoiding evil involves neither desiring nor speaking evil; doing good demands the observance of the *mitzvot*, the study of the Torah, and repentance; pursuing peace calls for love and meekness. Fusing philosophical speculation and mysticism, the book is an exposition of the meaning and application of these seven qualities. The text is richly interwoven with allegories and parables drawn from the *aggadah* which serve as illustrations to the author's instruction. A spate of other books appeared in subsequent centuries. Among them were *Reshit Ḥokhmah* ("The Beginning of Wisdom") of Elijah b. Moses de *Vidas, written in a mystical spirit, and the many commentaries on *Pirkei Avot* which elaborated the ethical approach to life. Notable among the latter, in addition to the commentaries of Rashi, Maimonides, and Bertinoro, were those of Simeon Duran, Joseph b. Ḥayyim *Jabez, and Judah b. Samuel *Lerma.

A novel note in ethical works, heralding a new era, appeared about 1705 with *Kav ha-Yashar* ("The Measure of Righteousness") by Ẓevi Hirsch *Koidonover. Neither well ordered nor particularly distinguished, the work is important because it reflects the vigorous and mystical spirit of Polish Jewry, and was written both in Hebrew and in Yiddish (see *Ethical Literature).

Ethical Wills

A body of literature which had a great vogue during the entire Jewish Middle Ages, but most notably from the 11th century onward, is the corpus of documents known as "ethical wills." This literature had its precursors in the Bible, the Apocrypha, and the Talmud, but it became common only in the Middle Ages. Ethical wills were written in the form of the communication of a father's experience, insights, and mandates to his son and vary in length, some of them being as large as a small book. These works are important testimonies to the thinking and values of eminent men and reflect the life of different periods and places. One of the earliest extant wills, that of *Eliezer b. Isaac of Worms (11th century), examines the attitude of man to his fellow men, the fulfilling of *mitzvot*, the rules of hygiene, and the religious tone of life. Judah ibn Tibbon (12th century) in his "testament" urges the study of Torah and science, gives moral and scientific advice to his son, a physician, in the practice of medicine, and offers guidance on how to treat one's wife, children, and books. Writing from Palestine to his oldest son, Naḥman, Naḥmanides advises him on the practice of ethical virtues, especially emphasizing humility so that "every man should seem in thine eyes as one greater than thyself" in some respect. He enjoins his younger son, Solomon, who held a position in the king's court, not to be ensnared by glamour, but to cling to Jewish practice and study and to purity of conduct.

The testament of Asher b. Jehiel addressed to his children is a long work divided into 155 sections and written in an epigrammatic style, stressing honesty and humility, and the giving of charity. His two sons *Judah and *Jacob b. Asher also left testaments. Judah's will, divided into three parts, relates episodes of his life, urges his son to study, enjoins the virtues of truthfulness and humility, and discusses financial matters. In the third section he outlines a scheme for distribution of charity, which constitutes valuable historical data; reckons his salary for 23 years as rabbi of Toledo and directs that as a return his library be dedicated to the use of students. He also incorporates a family agreement to observe the practice of tithe and charity. Suffused with profound piety, the testament of Jacob b. Asher urges love of God to the point of being ready to undergo martyrdom, enjoins against consulting fortunetellers, and advocates the diligent study of Talmud and the avoidance of casuistry. *Sefer ha-Musar* ("The Book of Morality"), by Joseph Kaspi, a short systematic work on proper behavior written in the form of a will, attempts to enjoin a combination of belief, piety, and ethical behavior based on rational principles. Kaspi discusses the fundamental principles of Judaism which every Jew must apprehend by means of proof and logical reasoning. He, therefore, sets a curriculum of study including Bible, Talmud, mathematics, ethics, law, physics, and logic, culminating with the study of philosophy and theology from the age of 20 on. The work concludes with a defense of the study of philosophy.

The testaments of the 14th and subsequent centuries were written by laymen rather than scholars. Thus *Eliezer b. Samuel ha-Levi (14th century) of Mainz urges his children to live in large Jewish communities so that their offspring may receive a proper Jewish education, warns against card playing and dances, and enjoins the giving of charity and the conduct of household affairs in an orderly manner. Another layman, Solomon Isaac of Provence, is much concerned with study and advises his son always to have a volume of Talmud open so that he might be moved to study.

After the 16th century, testaments are clearly influenced by kabbalistic thought. The most important wills written during the following centuries are by Abraham, Jacob, and Sheftel Horowitz, in the 17th century, and Moses Ḥasid, Alexander Sueskind, Joel b. Abraham Shemariah of Vilna, *Israel b. Eliezer the Ba'al Shem Tov, and *Elijah b. Solomon Zalman, the Gaon of Vilna, in the 18th century. Ethical will literature did not end with the 18th century, but continued to be written down to our own day and to be circulated within families (see Ethical *Wills).

Philosophical Exegesis

The extensive literature which attempted to harmonize philosophy and religion led to interpretations of the Bible that were extreme, to allegorical explanations, and to commentaries which were basically homiletic. While the approaches of Levi b. Gershom and Isaac Abrabanel were systematic, the works of other scholars were either loosely organized or concentrated on limited themes. The 13th-century work *Yikkavu ha-Mayim*, by Samuel ibn Tibbon of Provence, is a major example of this type of literature. Starting with the question of creation and committed to proving the truth of the Bible, Ibn Tibbon, with much ingenious philosophical explanation and a moderate use of allegory, discusses angels, Divine providence, and creation. Provence produced a school which interpreted the Bible allegorically, but unfortunately the works have been lost. There is, however, some knowledge of their exegetical explanation: Abraham and Sarah represent form and matter while Isaac and Rebekah stand for the active and passive intellect. The most important work of philosophical exegesis, *Akedat Yiẓḥak* by Isaac b. Moses *Arama (15th century) of Spain, is a compilation of the author's sermons and philosophical discourses. Arama's avowed purpose is not only to explain words, a method which characterized most commentaries, but to elicit the full philosophical teachings of the Bible. In this, he claims to follow the approach of Christian preachers. Through his method, resembling that of Isaac Abrabanel – to pose a series of questions and to answer them – he discusses the soul, the symbolic meaning of paradise and the four rivers (Gen. 2:8–15), justice in the state, the Sabbath, and family life. The stories of the Bible are interpreted allegorically and the author refers extensively to Jewish literature and to general works on ethics, science, and politics to elucidate his arguments. *Akedat Yiẓḥak* was widely influential and served as a source for generations of preachers (see *Bible, Exegesis).

Mystical Literature

Throughout the Middle Ages, particularly the later medieval period, rationalist philosophy was supplemented by a great body of mystical literature. Its origins, found in the Apocrypha, the Talmud, and the *aggadah*, center around the theophany (*Ma'aseh Merkavah*) in the first chapter of Ezekiel (see *Merkabah Mysticism). Initially regarded as secret doctrine, it was transmitted orally from one generation of initiates to the next. The first mystical books, pseudepigraphically assigned to early *tannaim* such as R. Ishmael and R. Akiva, appear in the middle of the geonic period: *Alef-Bet de-Rabbi Akiva*, the *Heikhalot* texts, the *Ma'aseh Bereshit* literature, and the Book of Enoch. The first systematic mystical work, *Sefer *Yeẓirah*, was written in Hebrew by an unknown author (probably in Palestine between the second and sixth centuries). The great development of mystical literature began in the 13th century in the south of France and the north of Spain. By then the influence of mystical doctrines known as *Kabbalah ("tradition") had become apparent in exegetical and philosophical literature. One of the most influential personalities in its formative period was *Isaac the Blind (12th–13th century), the son of Abraham b. David of Posquières. There are, however, indications of direct influences from both Babylonia and Palestine, especially on the circles of *Ḥasidei Ashkenaz. The kabbalistic works of Eleazar b. Judah of Worms express the group's teachings in this sphere. They are also reflected in *Sefer Ḥasidim*.

PRE-ZOHAR AND ZOHAR LITERATURE. The literature of the "speculative Kabbalah" (*Kabbalah iyyunit*), which arose in Spain and Provence, is distinguished by originality of thought, aggadic style, and frequent pseudepigraphic ascriptions of the writings. In the nature of Midrashim, these works are written either in Hebrew or Aramaic or a combination of the two. The oldest kabbalistic text, the obscure *Sefer ha-*Bahir*, is attributed to a second-century *tanna*, but was probably edited in Provence in the 12th century. Other influential 12th-century works were the treatise *Massekhet Aẓilut* and the works of *Azriel of Gerona. Significant in the 13th century were the **Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut* and the central figure of ecstatic kabbalism, Abraham b. Samuel *Abulafia, whose main works were written at the same time as the *Zohar.

The latter, the most distinguished work of speculative, indeed theosophical, Kabbalah, the Zohar is written in Aramaic and attributed to Simeon b. Yoḥai of the second century; it is now taken to have been written by the Spanish kabbalist *Moses de Leon (13th century). During the succeeding two centuries the Zohar gave rise to an extensive mystical literature including the works of Menahem b. Benjamin *Recanati of Italy, Moses b. Isaac *Botarel, Shem Tov b. Joseph *Ibn Shem Tov, and Judah b. Jacob *Ḥayyat of Spain.

The next great flowering in kabbalistic speculation centered around Safed in the 16th century, and especially Moses b. Jacob *Cordovero, Isaac *Luria, and Ḥayyim b. Joseph *Vital. Luria's original and far-reaching conceptions, as presented by his disciples, reshaped kabbalistic thought and dominated it in subsequent centuries. Through Luria's essentially messianic doctrine, kabbalistic ideas acquired mass popularity.

The numerous kabbalistic works of the next two centuries, largely commentaries and compilations, though reflecting classical kabbalistic thinking and the Lurianic school, were original in thought. The most notable writers were Joseph Solomon *Delmedigo and Isaiah b. Abraham ha-Levi *Horowitz. The major work of the period, Isaiah Horowitz' *Shenei Luḥot ha-Berit*, a combination of code and kabbalistic commentary on the Pentateuch, profoundly influenced religious life in Eastern Europe and introduced practices and prayers whose sole source and authority was the Kabbalah. Later kabbalistic writing is reflected in the *Pitḥei Ḥokhmah* of Moses Ḥayyim *Luzzatto and especially in the practices and writings of *Ḥasidism. (For a full description see *Kabbalah. See also *Anthropomorphism, *Allegory, *Emanation, *Eschatology, *Immortality of the Soul, **Shekhinah*.)

Prose Literature

HISTORY. The dispersion of the Jews, a scarcity of reliable documents, and the fact that medieval scholars did not have a historical sense made the writing of Jewish history and geography difficult. The works of the period are often inaccurate and frequently credulous in their reliability on sources. Together with responsa, however, they provide sources for modern Jewish historical studies. Among the historical works of the early Middle Ages was the anonymous *Seder Olam Zuta*, a history of the Babylonian exilarchs from Zerubbabel down to the eighth century which emphasizes the Davidic line but ignores the most glorious exilarch of the seventh century, *Bustanai b. Ḥaninai. **Josippon* (tenth century), a widely read anonymous work, is a summary of Jewish history starting with Adam down to the destruction of the Temple. Relying primarily on Josephus, it also drew on non-Jewish sources and on Jewish legends. More factual contemporary accounts, emphasizing the history of the gaonate and the spiritual life of Babylonian Jewry, were provided by Saadiah Gaon (tenth century) and his contemporary *Nathan b. Isaac ha-Kohen who depict Babylonian life. An apparently authentic account of Jewry in southern Italy was provided by the family chronicle *Aḥima'aẓ* (1054; *Ahimaaz b. Paltiel) which testifies to the judicial autonomy enjoyed by Italian Jews and to the close relationship existing between southern Italy and Palestine over the centuries. The chronicles of Jews in France and Germany centering around the Crusades afford authentic and moving accounts of Jewish life in those areas; they include the works of Solomon b. Simeon and *Eliezer b. Nathan, both of Mainz (about 1140), and that of Ephraim of Bonn (after 1196). Abraham ibn Daud's *Sefer ha-Kabbalah* ("Book of Tradition"), a work of broader scope, includes a history of the political parties in the second commonwealth, the talmudic tradition, the geonic period, and Jewish intellectual life in Spain. Ibn Daud based himself on known sources and sources unknown today with the avowed intent of showing the superiority of the *Rabbanites over the *Karaites.

The historical works of the later Middle Ages are both far more numerous and more detailed than those of the earlier period. They also attempted to place Jewish history in the context of general history and were superior in orderly arrangement and, sometimes, in critical treatment of the material. They too, however, mixed fact and fancy and were parochial or tendentious in their themes and outlook. The works of the period included a considerable number of chronicles of communities, families, or specific events. Much of the writing, centering about the lives of Jewish heroes or about persecutions, was not history for its own sake, but served as a background to halakhic or aggadic works designed to show the continuity of Jewish tradition or to provide a history of scholarship. Social and economic histories were noticeably lacking. Among the chronicles of tradition were those of Menahem b. Solomon *Meiri of Provence (1287), whose work takes the history of Jewish tradition up to his own time and is a source of information on scholarship in Provence and in the Franco-German area. A century later Isaac de Lattes of Provence wrote *Sha'arei Ẓiyyon* which takes Menahem Meiri's work as a source. The work of Joseph b. Ẓaddik on the Spanish Jewish community provides full data about Spanish scholars up to 1487. *Abraham b. Solomon of Torrutiel in his *Book of Tradition* (1510) not only deals with scholarly accomplishment from the 12th century onward, but also describes the period of the expulsion from Spain. His eyewitness account of the expulsion is especially valuable as is his invective against the upper classes of Spanish Jewry and his accounts of the events after his exile. *Divrei Yosef* (1673), by Joseph b. Isaac *Sambari of Egypt, discusses the Jews of the East. Emphasizing the history and life of Egyptian Jewry, the author also lists scholars in other Eastern cities and persecutions in the area. The book contains a wealth of data, including legends, not found in other sources.

Another type of historical literature dealt with the frequent persecutions of the period. Two major works were *Shevet Yehudah*, by Solomon *Ibn Verga, written on the basis of the notes of his relative Judah, supplemented by the notes of his son Joseph; and *Emek ha-Bakha*, by *Joseph ha-Kohen (16th century) of Italy. While Ibn Verga's account of the persecutions is unsystematic and inaccurate, his eyewitness account of the Spanish expulsion, particularly the events following it, is both detailed and moving. He is particularly informative on the religious debates which took place in Spain in connection with which he relates the story of the three rings which Lessing also was to employ in his drama, *Nathan der Weise*. The material in *Emek ha-Bakha* is much better arranged and goes up to 1575; it is particularly informative about contemporary Italian Jewish life. The book is also noteworthy because of its account of Joseph *Nasi and his attempt to rebuild Tiberias.

The major histories of tradition during the period, written in the vein of Ibn Daud, are combinations of chronologies and biographies which gained importance because they threw light on creative activities in different countries at successively later periods. The first such history, *Sefer Yuḥasin* (1505), by Abraham b. Samuel *Zacuto, begins with the men of the Great Synagogue and takes history down to the author's own time. The work contains frequent and detailed citations and such interesting additional material as the diary of *Isaac b. Samuel of Acre about the authenticity of the Zohar. To place his writing in perspective, Zacuto devotes the last of his five sections to universal history. *Shalshelet ha-Kabbalah*, by Gedaliah b. David ibn Yaḥya (16th century) of Italy and Turkey, is an encyclopedic mélange of the history of Jewish tradition. It is a series of essays on aspects of Jewish history and on subjects ranging from embryology to the history of persecution. Confusing fact and fancy, the work was nonetheless popular because it marshaled a host of legends about major Jewish historical personalities and because of its eclectic character, which afforded room for many historical oddities. *Ẓemaḥ David*, by David b. Solomon *Gans (16th century), on the other hand, is dry, factual, and well organized. Discussing both historical events and figures, he is particularly informative about Polish and German Jewish history and provides chronological tables and citations of sources which are still of value today. An equally systematic approach characterized David *Conforte's *Kore ha-Dorot* (17th century), which is a history of Jewish scholars and scholarship from the period of the Talmud to the author's own day and is especially informative about the tosafists and Eastern scholarship of the 16th and 17th centuries. Its value as a reference source is enhanced by the fact that the author made considerable use of responsa. The primary value of *Seder ha-Dorot* by Jehiel Heilprin (17th–18th century) is also as a technical reference source, particularly in the field of bibliography. The work is also exceptionally detailed in its treatment of talmudic figures. Thus in his discussion on Judah b. Ilai, he lists almost 3,000 statements attributed to him. As in other books of the period, a critical approach to history is lacking, and thus while Heilprin adds to a knowledge of Jewish tradition, particularly in rabbinics, he mixes fact and legend uncritically in the biographies which are the warp and woof of the work.

Other noteworthy works dealing with literary history and bibliography of the period were those of Joseph Solomon *Delmedigo (17th century), Shabbetai b. Joseph *Bass (17th and 18th centuries), and Ḥayyim Joseph David *Azulai (18th century). In a letter in rhymed prose, *Iggeret Aḥuz*, Delmedigo reviewed medieval Jewish literary history, except for rabbinics. He discusses every field of literature and its principal figures. His style is epigrammatic and often mordantly witty, and he characterizes many of the personalities and books with a single phrase. Bass and Azulai did notable work in *bibliography; while Bass listed over 2,400 works in his *Siftei Yeshenim*, Azulai recorded 3,000 short biographies and bibliographical items. Almost all the historical works discussed above were also based on non-Jewish sources in an attempt to place Jewish history in historical perspective; they lacked, however, critical insight. The scholar who best combined general knowledge, a critical approach, and a historical sense with intensive Jewish knowledge was Azariah dei *Rossi (16th century) of Italy. In *Me'or Einayim* he used the short essay form to analyze critically some aspects of Jewish history, literature, and institutions. Dealing with the chronology of the Second Temple period, he disputes both the Talmud and his predecessors and arrives at a new chronology. In his analysis of the *aggadah* he questions the method of the rabbis in arriving at religious and ethical truths. Discussing science in the Talmud, he indicates errors in view and knowledge and lays down the principle that rabbinic authority applies only to the areas of law and tradition. It is the first work of critical history and initially engendered much controversy because it was considered radical in its views.

During the 16th century Jewish scholars were beginning to turn their attention also to general history, with illuminating side references to Jewish history. Thus while *Seder Eliyahu Zuta* (1523), by Elijah *Capsali of Crete, is essentially a work on the history of the Ottoman Empire, the author provides valuable data about the history of the Jews of Spain, Turkey, and Rhodes. Similarly, the history of the kings of France and the Ottoman Turks by Joseph ha-Kohen (16th century) contains much Jewish material, including an account of David Reuveni and Solomon Molcho (see *Historiography).

GEOGRAPHY AND TRAVEL. Current events, history, and legend fused in the literature of geography and travel of the 1,000-year period. A book which fired the Jewish imagination is the record of *Eldad ha-Dani who appeared in Kairouan in 890 with detailed accounts of independent Jewish kingdoms in East Africa, Arabia, Khazaria, and Persia, which he described as the *Ten Lost Tribes. Mingling fact and legend, he buttressed Jewish hopes and ego for many centuries. Equally bolstering was the correspondence between Ḥisdai ibn Shaprut (tenth century), a leader of Spanish Jewry, and *Joseph, king of the *Khazars, about the conversion of the latter's ancestor to Judaism. The king's answer, with a document from the Cairo *Genizah*, provides a fascinating picture of a bypath of Jewish history and Jewish proselytizing efforts.

The great Jewish travel book of the Middle Ages is *Benjamin of Tudela's account of his travels, depicting life in Southern Europe and in the East (1159–73). An eyewitness account of the life in many lands, which the author supplemented with data on Slavic lands, Persia, and India, he portrays a vital Jewish life in many communities and a record of such oddities of history as the black Jews of Malabar and the false messiah, David Alroy. The accounts of Benjamin's near contemporary *Pethahiah of Regensburg which record his travels in Slavic lands, Babylon, and Palestine between the years 1175 to 1185 are less detailed and more credulous. He confirms Benjamin's observations, adds data, and notes the presence of a great number of Karaites in the Crimea.

From the 13th century onward there is a considerable body of literature devoted to trips to Palestine and to a description of communities visited en route. While many are merely descriptions of religious sites and legends centering about holy people and places, others contain illuminating bits of information. Thus *Elleh ha-Massa'ot* by Jacob of Paris records the anomaly that he was sent to Palestine to raise money for a yeshivah in Paris. Meanwhile, he gives an account of Jewish life in Damascus and Baghdad. *Estori ha-Parḥi of Provence (14th century) has extensive topographical material on Palestine, and his contemporary, Isaac Ḥilo, provides an illuminating picture of Jewish life in Palestine. He notes that there are many scholars from France and Germany among the Jews of Haifa, that the Jews of Acre are quite rich, and that the Jews of Jaffa possess a fine library.

The varied character of Jewish life and the relatively rapid changes in it are mirrored in 15th- and 16th-century Jewish travel chronicles. Meshullam b. Menahem, an Italian, visiting Egypt in the 1480s, reports that the Cairo community has 850 Jewish families, several hundred Karaites, and 50 Samaritans, but he deprecates their way of life. Obadiah of Bertinoro, the commentator on the Mishnah, writing in the same decade, gives a detailed and affirmative description of these communities and also mentions that 50 former Marrano families settled in Cairo. On the other hand, while he is negative about the Jews of Sicily whom he describes as artisans, workers in the fields, and morally lax, he indicates that they are a tightly organized Jewish community enjoying great autonomy. Of Jerusalem, he reports that there are but 70 families, all of them poor and ignorant, which is a completely different account from that of Ḥilo of 150 years earlier. Later works include *Gelilot Ereẓ Yisrael* (1624), by Gershon b. Eliezer of Prague, a book replete with bizarre legends and wonder stories; several books by the Karaite *Samuel b. David (1642) of the Crimea who gives a glowing account of Karaite life in the East; Benjamin Yerushalmi (1786); and the itinerary of Simḥah b. Joseph of Poland who reports that the Constantinople Jewish community would annually charter a boat for pilgrimage to Palestine for the High Holy Days. The most fascinating travel book of all is that of David Reuveni (16th century), who appeared in Italy in 1523 claiming to be the brother of King Joseph, ruler of a small Jewish kingdom in the Arabian desert, and sent to negotiate with the pope about waging war against the Muslims. Describing his travels to Alexandria and thence to Italy, much of the book is devoted to his reception by Jews and gentiles in Europe, to his extended negotiations with the pope and the king of Portugal, and to his contacts with the Marranos in Portugal. Reuveni made a considerable impression upon Jews and gentiles, but he was ultimately arrested by the authorities and the book ends in *medias res* (see *Travelers and Explorers).

BIOGRAPHIES AND AUTOBIOGRAPHIES. Reuveni's work could also be classified in the memoir genre which began to appear in the 17th century. An early example of this kind, *Shivḥei ha-Ari*, composed by one of Luria's followers Solomon Shlumil of Dreznitz, is partly biographical, but primarily an account of the wonders performed by Isaac Luria. *Sefer Ḥezyonot*, by Luria's disciple, Ḥayyim Vital, is a similar mixture and centers about Vital himself, with some references to Luria.

There were, however, two autobiographies of distinction, one by Leone *Modena (16th–17th century) and the other by *Glueckel of Hameln (17th–18th century). Modena, who claimed 26 occupations, provides a fascinating account of his life, and, incidentally, of contemporary Italian Jewry. Writing in Hebrew, he indicates that he was instructed in Latin, in music, and in dancing. He wrote on many themes, served as rabbi, gambled unsuccessfully, engaged in polemics and in general, fit the picture of a Renaissance man. Glueckel's memoir is notable on several scores. It is one of the few works by a woman, was written in Yiddish, and presents a lively picture of the life of a well-to-do Jewish woman of the time and the community in which she lived. She tells of her childhood, the few years she studied in *ḥeder*, her marriage, her widowhood, the education of her children, business practices, study patterns, and religious observance among Jews. She avows a philosophy of faith in God's providence, displays a rich knowledge of Judaism garnered from reading and listening, and sets the study of Torah as primary. She relates that she sent her children to yeshivot and then gave them in marriage. Her book is a rich portrayal of contemporary German-Jewish life and values (see *Biographies and Autobiographies).

FICTION. As the field of Jewish literature broadened it came to comprehend belletristic prose which included tales, fables, and didactic works in which the ethical content is combined with satire, humor, proverbs, and apothegms for the sake of entertainment and aesthetic pleasure. While much of it was based on Arabic models, since the basic tales and proverbs tended to be universal, on which national or cultural forms were superimposed, there were also Jewish models taken from the Bible, the Apocrypha, and the *aggadah*. The bulk of these works, until the middle of the 14th century, were written in Spain and thereafter in Provence and Italy.

TALES. The earliest book of fables, *Sefer ha-Ma'asiyyot*, by Nissim b. Jacob b. Nissim ibn *Shahin of Kairouan, written in Arabic, was based largely on aggadic legends. The most notable early work, however, was the Hebrew book, *Sefer Sha'ashu'im*, by the physician Joseph *Ibn Zabara (12th century). A mélange of folktales, epigrams, and short passages of philosophy and science, the story centers around Zabara's encounter with a stranger who proves to be a devil. In their travels, they debate with one another, tell stories, and compete with one another in the telling of proverbs and epigrams. Characterized by wit, humor, and satire, the style resembles that of the **maqāma*; it is, however, not poetic in form.

Another major work, *Ben ha-Melekh ve-ha-Nazir*, by Abraham b. Samuel ha-Levi *Ibn Ḥasdai, is a Hebrew adaptation of an Arabic version (which has been lost) of an Indian tale based on the life of Buddha, whose theme is the vanity of the world and the value of the ascetic life. The Indian tale had already been adapted in many European languages. Ibn Ḥasdai's treatment of the material is original, and many of the parables and the content of the last 11 chapters, which reflect the moral and psychological teachings of 12th-century philosophy, appear in no other version. Written in rhymed prose, interspersed with poetry, abundantly ornamented by proverbs and poetry, the book is the story of a prince who through the instruction of a hermit is converted to an ascetic life.

Meshal ha-Kadmoni (1281), by Isaac ibn *Sahula, is another important work of the period. Based on aggadic stories but also including original tales, it is written in rhymed prose and embellished with puns and parodies based on biblical and aggadic expressions. The author indicates that his motive was to show Arabic-reading Jews that the Hebrew language was an equally suitable vehicle for entertainment. About the same time *Berechiah b. Natronai ha-Nakdan published his *Mishlei Shu'alim* ("Fox Fables"). Animal stories of this type were a familiar genre in medieval literature and much resemble Aesop's fables. The distinctive Hebraic character of Berechiah's version derives from the play of language. The animals converse in biblical Hebrew, interspersed with talmudic quotations, and readily resort to biblical puns and to parodies upon Jewish characters. A similar book which, however, was a direct translation from the Arabic, was the *Iggeret Ba'alei Ḥayyim*, by Kalonymus b. Kalonymus.

SATIRE AND HUMOR. The major medieval work of satire and humor, Al-Ḥarizi's *Taḥkemoni*, was the precursor of a considerable body of literature of lesser worth, one of which is *Sone Nashim* ("Hater of Women," 1298) by Judah ibn Shabbetai of Spain. Its obvious theme is elaborated with parodies on the Bible, on the liturgy, and on the marriage contract. A rejoinder, much inferior in quality, was written almost a century later by Jedaiah b. Abraham Bedersi (ha-Penini) under the title of *Ohev Nashim* ("Lover of Women").

The parodying of familiar literary forms, notably the Bible and the Talmud, centered about Purim which was an occasion for merrymaking and wine drinking. Of the large volume of literature written in this vein, the most representative are *Massekhet Purim* by the 14th-century *Kalonymus b. Kalonymus which parodies the talmudic style, and the rather more witty *Megillat Setarim*, by Levi b. Gershom, which celebrates wine and merrymaking. Similar works were composed in subsequent centuries, most of them centering about Purim, but a few parodying the Passover *Haggadah*. Kalonymus b. Kalonymus was also the author of the satirical and didactic work *Even Boḥan* in which he portrays the Jews of Provence and characterizes their formal religiosity as devoid of spirit. He attacks the doctors and holds the upper classes up for ridicule. Other parts of the book, however, are dedicated to the theme of the vanity of the world and are in the form of fine parables.

Didactic Literature

Mivḥar ha-Peninim, a book of proverbs culled from Arabic literature and intended to provide ethical instruction, attributed to Ibn Gabirol, is the precursor of a large body of ethical works, most of which were didactic, and of works in which ethical systems were formulated. What distinguished didactic from ethical works was essentially a form and a style which were light and popular rather than formal, since the intention of the author was to provide entertainment as well as instruction to his audience. *Milḥemet ha-Ḥokhmah ve-ha-Osher*, by Judah ibn Shabbetai, claims that both wisdom and wealth must be pursued. Its form is that of a dialogue between contending parties before a court and its style involves the use of puns and parody. *Ha-Mevakkesh* (1264), by Shem Tov b. Joseph ibn Falaquera, is a more serious work in which the author discusses various professions and crafts, reviews philosophy, ethical theory, and poetry and concludes with a discussion on religion, science, and philosophy. The book, he asserts, is designed to instruct people in proper conduct and is written in dialogue form, with the morals being brought home in short poems and proverbs. The conclusion is that a true understanding of religion depends upon a knowledge of science and philosophy.

Beḥinat Olam, written in the earlier part of the 14th century by Jedaiah Bedersi (ha-Penini), is altogether more solemn and is written in a poetic prose. Its themes are the pursuit of immortality and the cultivation of the soul toward that pursuit. Happiness, he asserts, resides in the observance of the Torah and in following the path of moderation in daily life.

Polemical and Apologetic Literature

From the 12th century onward, as a result of the confrontation of Judaism with Islam and Christianity, the literature of polemics and apologetics developed. Although having its roots in biblical and Hellenistic sources, this literature reached its zenith in the Middle Ages primarily in response to Christian attempts to proselytize Jews by force or persuasion, and to involve them in theological debates. The problem of confrontation was considerably less severe in Muslim countries where the central issues were usually biblical exegesis and articles of faith with which almost all medieval philosophers and theologians dealt, either in their major works or in separate treatises. In addition, within Judaism itself there was a tradition of polemical literature: between the Rabbanites and the Karaites, between philosophers and their critics, and between kabbalists and their opponents. Polemical efforts are, however, found as early as the ninth century in parts of David ibn Marwān *Al-Mukammis' larger works, in which he attacks both Christianity and Islam. He scores the former for undermining pure monotheism and the latter on the grounds that the style of the Koran does not prove divine origin. In the tenth century Saadiah Gaon took much the same line, questioning the validity of Christian and Muslim exegesis of the Bible and asserting the immutability of the Torah. Expressing his criticisms of the other faiths in the form of a debate with Christians and Muslims, Judah Halevi, in his *Sefer ha-Kuzari* (12th century), extensively elaborates the points of his Jewish polemical predecessors in accusing Christianity and Islam of retaining many elements of pagan idolatry. Maimonides, in his letter to the Jews of Yemen, defends Judaism and denies that there are biblical references presaging Muhammad.

The first polemical work as such, however, is *Sefer ha-Berit* by the 12th-century writer, Joseph *Kimḥi of Provence. Written in the form of a dialogue, the author presents a debate between a Jew and a Christian on such issues as the interpretations of biblical passages, original sin, the role of Jesus, and the traditional charges Christians had leveled against Jews, i.e., deicide and usury. Kimḥi's arguments were the same as those which had been commonly adduced by Jews, namely, that the doctrine of original sin contradicts the biblical view, that the Jews did not kill Jesus, and that Christian biblical exegesis is mistaken. In addition, Kimḥi asserts that the Jews had an elevated moral sense and a decent communal life.

The talmudic debate held in 1240 before the king in Paris is recorded in *Vikku'aḥ* by one of the disputants, Rabbi *Jehiel b. Joseph of Paris. The rabbi defends the Talmud against the charge that it contains anti-Christian statements by claiming that the passages in question refer to an earlier Jesus and not the Jesus of the New Testament. Jehiel further contends that irrational statements in the Talmud and Midrash belong to the *aggadah*, which need not be accepted. *Kol Nidrei* and the laws relating to gentiles are also explained.

Another important disputation records Naḥmanides' debate with Pablo *Christiani at Barcelona in 1263. The polemic deals primarily with such questions as to whether the Messiah has come, whether the Messiah is divine or human, and whether Judaism is a just and true religion. Naḥmanides, referring to the familiar biblical passages, asserts that "the suffering servant" implies the Jewish people; he attacks the doctrine of original sin and, in terms similar to those of Jehiel, describes the non-halakhic nature of the *aggadah*.

In the 14th century the increase of forced conversions and attacks on Judaism by apostates caused Solomon b. Abraham Adret to write a dialogue denouncing the dogmas of Islam and denying the divine origin of the Koran, while defending Jews from the charge of having eliminated references to Muhammad from the Bible. Vis-à-vis a Christian antagonist, Solomon repudiates the allegorical interpretations of the Bible, defends the immutability of the Torah, and explains certain talmudic passages.

More significant are Isaac Profiat Duran's two polemical works, the ironic letter *Al Tehi ka-Avotekha* ("Be not Like your Fathers"), and the lengthy *Kelimmat ha-Goyim* ("The Shame of the Gentiles"). The first is addressed to a Jew who, like Duran himself, was forcibly converted in 1391, and who reneged on an agreement with Duran to flee Spain and to abandon Christianity. Heavily satirical, the letter urges the friend not to be like his fathers who believed in the pure unity of God, but to accept the notion of corporal embodiment. In the same ironic manner of apparent advocacy, Duran attacks many Christian doctrines. He continues his criticism in a more detailed and systematic way in his second work where literary and historical methods rather than irony are employed to establish his views. Ḥasdai Crescas composed a no less powerful polemic, *Bittul Ikkarei ha-Noẓerim* ("Refutation of the Dogmas of Christianity"), which elicited Christian replies.

A major polemical work which evoked considerable controversy and many Christian retorts is the comprehensive *Sefer ha-Niẓẓaḥon* by Yom Tov Lippman *Muelhausen (15th century) of Prague. The book is both an attack on Christianity and a defense of Judaism and its dogmas. Lippman sharply refutes Christian interpretations of the Bible and the doctrines derived from them, and incidently provides many exegetical insights. His statement of Jewish dogmas is couched in philosophical terms. A contemporaneous work by Simeon b. Zemaḥ Duran, *Keshet u-Magen*, attacks both Islam and Christianity. In his criticism of Christianity, he makes the significant point that Paul's abrogation of the law was not intended for Jews, but only for gentiles in order to attract them to the new faith.

The debates of the 15th and the 16th centuries are more notable for their polemic nature than for any new insights. Thus contentiousness marked the debate, held at the invitation of the pope, at Tortosa, Spain, in which an apostate Jew argued with Joseph Albo, whose views are summarized in his *Ikkarim*, and with Don Vidal Benveniste, who headed a delegation of the leading Jewish scholars of Spain. Don Isaac Abrabanel dealt at length with Christian doctrines. In the latter part of the 16th century, Joseph *Nasi, Duke of Naxos, and his brother, David, who was the business agent of a cardinal of Crete, and Abraham ibn Migash, the physician of Sultan Suleiman, all wrote polemics against Christianity.

The 17th century saw the renewal of accusations against Jews by apostates and of proselytizing by Catholics and Protestants. These activities were condemned by Zalman Ẓevi Oppenhausen of Germany, Jacob of Venice, and Leone Modena. Public disputations were still being held as, for example, in Ferrara in 1617, which was recorded by an anonymous Jewish scholar in his book about the immutability of the Torah; and later in the century, Isaac Lupis participated in a debate in Marseilles. By the end of the century, however, the number of polemics against Christianity began to decrease. The only such production of note in the 18th century was Moses *Mendelssohn's famous letter to Johann Casper Lavater.

[Meyer Waxman and Mordecai Waxman]

Yiddish Literature

Following the large-scale migration of Jews to German-speaking territories in the course of the late first millennium C.E. and adoption and adaptation of the local language (a process that had already characterized Jewish migrations in antiquity, e.g., in the development of Judeo-Persian, Judeo-Greek, and Judeo-Aramaic), there gradually developed a new Jewish language – Yiddish – distinct from its various components (Romance, Germanic, and Semitic at this stage) that became the vernacular of the Jewish communities and ultimately also a literary language that complemented Hebrew literature over the course of a millennium of Ashkenazi cultural history. By the 17th century that literature spanned essentially the same broad range of genres as did, for instance, English, French, and German literatures of the period. As was also the case with those literatures, in early Yiddish there were a great many translations from other languages.

The earliest textual evidence of the existence of Yiddish is found in Rashi's commentaries on the Bible and Talmud, which include some three dozen Yiddish glosses, indicating the relevance of the language for Rashi (who studied in yeshivot in the Rhineland) and his students. The glossing tradition developed over the course of several centuries from such sparse beginnings to include comprehensive glosses of most biblical books, entered interlinearly, marginally, as separate lists in order of the words' occurrence, and ultimately as separate alphabetically ordered works. Among the important works of early Yiddish lexicography are Anshel b. Eliakim ha-Levi Ẓion's *Mirkeves Hamishno* ("The Second/Double Chariot," Cracow, 1534), a Hebrew-Yiddish biblical concordance and the first printed book substantially in Yiddish. Moses Sertels b. Issachar Halevi published a two-volume set of glossaries of the entire Bible: *Seyfer Lekaḥ Tov* ("Good Doctrine," Prague, 1604) and *Seyfer Beeyr Moushe* ("The Well of Moses," Prague, 1605). Not all glossaries focused on religious texts: both Nathan Nata b. Moses Hannover's *Sofo Bruro* (*Safah Berurah*; "Pure Speech," Prague, 1660) and Elijah Baḥur Levita (Elye Bokher)'s *Shmous Dvorim* (*Shemot Devarim*; "The Names of Things," Isny, 1542) are quadrilingual glossaries arranged thematically.

While glossaries aid readers with "difficult" words, the earliest biblical translations into Yiddish (15th-century manuscripts) were so very literal as to be comprehensible only when read alongside the Hebrew original. The first printed Yiddish translations of the Pentateuch and *haftarot* appeared in 1544: one by Michael Adam (Constance), the other by Paulus Aemilius (Augsburg), both slavishly literal. The next stage arrived in Judah Leib *Bresch's adaptation of those translations into a somewhat more idiomatic style, with an abridged version of Rashi's commentary (Cremona, 1560). Other books of the Bible followed in the ensuing decades, but they were all soon replaced by the *Tsenerene* (Hanau, 1622), probably the most read Yiddish book of all time and one of the most influential books in the history of Yiddish literature and indeed Ashkenazi culture. For four centuries it has been the Bible for Hebrew-less readers, male and female, and immediately became so popular that the Ashkenazi book market rejected the more idiomatic translations published in the ensuing decades (e.g., by Jekuthiel b. Isaac Blitz (Amsterdam, 1676–9) and Joseph b. Alexander Witzenhausen (Amsterdam, 1679)). Little is known of the book's author/translator, Jacob b. Isaac Ashkenazi of Janov. Probably written in the late 16th century, the earliest extant edition of 1622 was not the first edition; there have since been 210 further editions. The book is less a translation than a paraphrase with extensive incorporated commentary drawn from the learned Jewish tradition and rendered accessible to the broadest possible readership.

An innovative development in the literary treatment of biblical narrative was poetic adaptation with an admixture of midrashic material. Already in the earliest collection of Yiddish texts, the Cambridge *Genizah* codex of 1382 (from Cairo), half of the texts are related to this genre, especially the "Avrohom Ovinu" ("Abraham the Patriarch") and "Yousef Hatsadik" ("Joseph the Righteous"). The most famous examples of the genre are the *Mlokhim-bukh* ("The Book of Kings," Augsburg, 1543) and the **Shmuel-bukh* ("The Book of Samuel," Augsburg, 1544), whose authors demonstrate an intimate knowledge of both Jewish sacred and German heroic traditions; they share a four-line stanzaic form of two rhyming couplets (aabb). While the *Mlokhim-bukh* (2,262 stanzas) is the longest poem in early Yiddish, the *Shmuel-bukh* (1,792 stanzas), most likely composed in the late 15th century by Moushe Esrim Vearba, is one of the great narrative masterpieces of the tradition; it was sung to a melody that became famous and was used for many other Yiddish poems of the period.

The liturgy itself remained firmly in the linguistic realm of the sacred languages, Hebrew and Aramaic, and thus the Yiddish translations of the prayer book (complete by the 15th century) were not used in place of the standard prayers, but simply functioned to make them accessible to those who knew little Hebrew. Joseph b. Yakar's translation of the complete prayer book was the first to be printed (Ichenhausen, 1544). A number of important functions with respect to the liturgy were, however, fulfilled by Yiddish. Several texts from the Passover Haggadah, the hymn "*Addir Hu/Almekhtiger Got*"

("Almighty God"), "*Eḥad Mi Yode'a*" ("Who Knows One"), and "*Ḥad Gadya*" ("Song of the Kid"), all appeared in bilingual versions by the 15th century, and "*Ḥad Gadya*" may well have originally been composed in Yiddish and then translated into Aramaic. Significantly, this incorporation of Yiddish into the Passover liturgy takes place in a domestic, not a synagogal, ritual, where Hebrew retained its exclusive dominance. The most important realm of Yiddish in prayer was in *tkhines* (*teḥinnot*) and *slikhes* (*seliḥot*). *Tkhines* are generally rhymed *piyyutim* originating in the weekly fasts; the Yiddish form appeared early and came to dominate the genre. *Slikhes* are nonobligatory prayers for the forgiveness of sin, recited on all fast days and during the Days of Penitence. There were early collections of these prayers by both men and women; among the most famous composers were Toube Pan (17th-century Prague) and Sarah *Bas-Tovim (18th century).

Like liturgical texts, traditional legal textuals (*halakhah*) remained staunchly Hebrew-Aramaic. In rabbinical responses to legal issues posed by individual and community queries, however, Yiddish appears with some frequency, generally in the form of quoted testimony, which provides significant evidence of idiomatic speech at a time when literary texts mask such usage. Coterritorial civil jurisdiction often also leaves traces of Yiddish, especially in the genre designated *Urfehdebrief* or "Oath of Peace," sometimes required of released convicts to ensure that they not take action against their accuser or judge; some few such oaths required of Jews are bilingual, including a Yiddish text.

Among the most important and influential genres in early Ashkenaz were those designed to teach proper daily conduct according to locally defined usage (*minhagim*, books of custom) and proper morals (*muser*). The earliest extant Yiddish examples of custumals (ms. from 1503; printed book Venice, 1593), provided instructions for all aspects of conducting a proper Jewish life, e.g., how to *kasher* pots, how to conduct a circumcision, how to pray in the absence of a *minyan*. Manuals specifically for women, such as the *Seyder Noshim* (ms. 1504) and the rhymed *Mitsvous Hanoshim* ("Women's Laws," Venice, 1552), were quite popular. The earliest Yiddish example of *muser*, the *Seyfer Midous* ("The Book of Virtues," Isny, 1542), an adaptation of the anonymous Hebrew moralistic work, *Orḥot Ẓadikim* ("The Ways of the Righteous"), is dedicated to a woman, Morado of Ginzburg, identified as a doctor of medicine. Its discussions of vices and virtues are quite dense, abstract, and include little in the way of illustrative narratives, parables, and legends that later came to characterize this popular genre, as in the originally Yiddish composition *Der Brant Shpigl* ("The Burning Mirror," Cracow, 1602) by Moses Henochs Altshuler of Prague, who provided practical instruction in ritual hygiene, sexual matters, and rearing children. Rebecca *Tiktiner's *Meynekes Rivko* ("Nursemaid of Rebecca," Prague 1609) provided detailed instruction specifically for women. The very popular *Seyfer Lev Tov* ("Book of the Good Heart," Prague, 1620) by *Isaac b. Eliakim of Posen, almost immediately replaced the *Brant Shpigl*. Ẓevi-Hirsh Koydenover's *Seyfer Kav Hayosher* ("Book of the Correct Measure," Frankfurt am Main, 1705–6) offers rare insight into the spiritual crisis following the collapse of the messianic movement of Shaptse Tsvi/*Shabbetai Ẓevi, here expressed through a drive toward reinstitution of traditional practices now imbued with Lurianic Kabbalah. The *Seyfer Simkhas Hanefesh* ("Joy of the Soul," 2 vols., Frankfurt am Main, 1707; Fürth, 1727) provided the community with an abridged codification of Jewish law along with an annotated catalogue of the vices and virtues observed in Jewish communities; this is a prime example of the later form of the genre with its inclusion of poems and songs, including musical notation. Isaac Wetzlar's *Libs Briv* ("Love Letters," ms. 1749) combined the *muser* genre with a devotion to anti-elitist economic and educational reform that incidentally insists on equal education for girls.

One of the most remarkable of early Yiddish genres is the secular epic or romance. These adventure tales crisscrossed language and cultural boundaries so often in the course of the European Middle Ages that their precise origins are obscure. Even so, their obviously Christian character and orientation render them a curiosity in the early Yiddish canon. Already in the *Genizah* codex of 1382, however, the fragmentary *Dukus Horant* ("Duke Horant"), based on German material (although no German text on the subject is extant), narrates a typically adventurous bridal quest of a king. The **Vidvilt* or *Kenig Artis Houf* ("Vidvilt" / "King Arthur's Court," 15th–16th century) is an adaptation of a 13th-century Middle High German Arthurian romance (*Wigalois*) concerning Sir Gawain and his son Vidvilt. The centerpieces of the genre, however, are the typically medieval *Bovo d'Antona* (1507; printed Isny, 1541), composed by Elijah Levita (Elye Bokher) on the basis of a Tuscan romance, and the renaissance *Pariz un Viene* (Verona, 1594), adapted probably by one of Levita's students from another Italian romance. While Levita's rather conventional romance was perennially popular in countless further adaptations (as the **Bove-bukh*) over the course of several centuries, the consummately Italianate, humanistic *Pariz un Viene*, a Yiddish counterpart of its contemporaries, Ariosto's *Orlando furioso* or Shakespeare's tragedies, apparently enjoyed little popularity. The quasisecular nature of this genre as it developed in northern Italy was also reflected in some aspects of the corpus of early Yiddish lyric and fable (see below).

Insofar as narrative prose per se existed in early Ashkenaz, it was initially at least a Hebrew genre, and thus Yiddish examples were most often translations, e.g., the 15th-century *Ben Ha-Melekh ve-ha-Nazir* ("The Prince and Monk"), a reflex of the Buddha legend that had descended through a long line of adaptations from its Pahlavi original; the popular quasihistorical work, *Yousifen* (*Jossipon*, tr. Michael Adam, Zurich, 1546); or the Hebrew masterpiece of renaissance sensibility, the *Shevet Yehudah* ("Sceptre of Judah," Heb. 1554 (?), Yidd. tr. Cracow, 1591). It is not clear whether Yuspa Shamash's *Ma'asei Nisim* ("Miracle Tales") was written in Yiddish or in fact translated from a Hebrew original by his grandson Eliezer Liberman, who published it (Amsterdam, 1696). Despite the preponderance of translation in this genre, there are genuine masterpieces among the original Yiddish compositions as well. The *Maase Briyo veZimro* ("Tale of Briyo and Zimro," ms. 1585) is a tale of international intrigue, averted cultural extinction, the hero's journey to the Other World, and star-crossed young lovers. The centerpiece of the genre, the **Maase-bukh* ("Mayse-Book / Book of Tales," Basel, 1602), compiled and adapted from the Talmud, Midrash, and various folktale sources in the late 16th century, includes 255 tales, designed to be a vernacular *aggadah* that would teach the common people ethical principles by means of pious tales (in pointed opposition to other allegedly immoral collections then in circulation, such as the **Ki-bukh*; on which see below), as well as entertain. This book's popularity and profound and pervasive influence on later Yiddish literature was surpassed only by the *Tsenerene*. The magnificently anomalous book written by Glikl bas Leyb Pinkerle (*Glueckel of Hameln; untitled, composed 1691–1719; publ. 1898) is difficult to classify, since it combines attributes of the ethical instruction of *muser*, the pragmatic detail of *minhogim*, and the pious exempla of *mayse* collections, along with aspects of autobiography. Glikl provides unsurpassed insight into the mind, passions, spirituality, and daily cares of an intelligent and capable Jewish businesswoman of the period.

In addition to narrative texts, other Yiddish prose works abounded, e.g., instructional manuals in accounting and mathematics, geographical description, hygienic manuals, and the prolific genre of practical medicine (with an inevitable admixture of magical charms and potions). Perhaps most remarkably, in 1686–7, Yiddish added its own contribution to the century that witnessed the invention of European journalism: the *Dinstagishe/Fraytagishe Kurantn*, which appeared twice weekly in Amsterdam, reporting on political events from all over Europe, North Africa, and the Middle East, especially concerning the religious wars of Catholics and Protestants, Turkish incursions into the Balkans, weather catastrophes, and new inventions.

The origins of Jewish drama are obscure, but clearly connected with **Purimshpil* (Purim plays) as performed in private houses during that holiday. There are a few examples of early Purim poems, and Gumprekht of Szczebrzeszyn (resident in Venice) narrates the Esther story in suggestively dramatic form and provides the first usage of the word *purimshpil* (ms. 1555). In 1598, a satirical Yiddish poem indicates that a (non-extant) play called *Shpil fun Toyb Yeklayn…* ("Play about Deaf Jake") was performed at Tannhausen. An anonymous Yiddish adaptation of a German Jonah play survives from c. 1600, the function of which in Jewish culture is not clear. The earliest complete Purim play extant is an "*Akhashveyresh-shpil*" from 1697, which was, as were the other earliest extant examples, a bawdy poetic burlesque based on the biblical Esther story, in which the character of Mordecai was conceived as a clownish buffoon whose humor was often quite vulgar. Within a few decades, however, Purim plays had changed radically from folksy chamber plays to elaborate costumed and quite serious Baroque musical dramas with orchestral accompaniment that in one case at least is styled "like an opera." While branching out to include other subjects, such as Joseph and his brothers and David and Goliath, Yiddish drama was restricted to Purim plays until the advent of maskilic drama at the end of the 18th century.

An important genre of early Yiddish literature was the fable or moral tale, which appeared in a variety of forms. The earliest is a lion fable in the *Genizah* codex of 1382, where the aged tyrant is not healed by the other animals (as often is the tradition), but is the object of their vengeance. Anshel Levi's *Midrash le-Pirkey Ovous* ("Midrash on *Pirkei Avot*," ms. 1579), a recurringly popular subject of Yiddish translation and commentary in the period, also includes a humorous fable of a conceited king whose singing reminds one of the braying of an ass. *Berechiah ha-Nakdan's *Mishlei Shu'alim* ("Fox Fables," 12th century) was translated into Yiddish by Jacob Kopelman (Freiburg, 1583). Fables are also integral features of the infamous *Alfa-beta de Ben Sira* ("Alphabet of Ben Sira," 16th-century ms.). The most important collection is the *Ki-bukh* ("Book of Cows," Verona, 1595), which was castigated for its occasionally risqué morality in the prefaces of the *Maase-bukh* and Moses Wallich's *Seyfer Mesholim* ("Book of Fables," Frankfurt am Main, 1697, a barely adapted reprint of the *Ki-bukh*), both of which claimed to replace it with tales of moral rectitude.

While early Yiddish literature does not present a well-defined genre of lyric poetry, there are a number of culturally interesting examples of various lyric types. The earliest extant Yiddish poetic text is a blessing in couplet form found in the Worms *Maḥzor* (1272). As already noted, there are important Passover hymns and the rhymed penitential prayers; one might also note the Torah songs, some composed by women. There are also reflective philosophical poems such as "Das Mentsh Geglikhn" ("The Ages of Human Life Compared," 1554) or Isaac Wallich's *memento mori* poem "Vayl Ikh Itsundert an Mir Farshtey" ("For I Now Understand About Myself," c. 1700). Balancing such serious poems, whether religious or (quasi-) philosophical, however, there are also poems of playful philosophical disputation, e.g., Zalmen Soyfer's "Makhloukes Yain veHamayim" ("Debate between Wine and Water," 1516); biting Venetian satire, such as Elye Bokher's "HaMavdil Lid" ("Ha-Mavdil Song," 1514); "Eyn Sheyn Nay Lid fun Dray Vayber" ("A Fine New Song of Three Wives," c. 1650) in which three married women spend their evenings drinking in pubs, with only a belated and half-hearted moralistic conclusion; "Pumay" (ca. 1600), a drinking song of yeshivah students; and perhaps most surprisingly, a brief and hauntingly lyrical 14th-century love song written on the fly-leaf of a Rashi manuscript, "Vu Zol Ikh Hin?" ("Whither Shall I Go?").

Beyond the strictly lyrical genre, Yiddish poetry, like other European literatures of the period, also included historical narrative in poetic form, often with a specified melody, indicating that the compositions were commonly sung. These songs often commemorated recent events that affected the Jewish community, such as Elḥonon Hellen's *Megilas Vinẓ* ("The Vints Scroll"), on the *Fettmilch insurrection in Frankfurt am Main in 1614–16 (Amsterdam, 1648); the anonymous adaptation from German of a lament on the death of Emperor Ferdinand IV (?Prague, 1654); Joseph b. Eliezer Lipman Ashkenazi's *Kino al Gezeyrous haKehilous de'k"k Ukraine* ("Lament on the Destruction of the Ukrainian Communities," Prague, 1648), on the *Chmielnicki massacres; Jacob Tousk's (Taussig) *Eyn Sheyn Nay Lid fun Meshiekh* ("A Fine New Song about the Messiah," Amsterdam, 1666), the fervent expression of a pious believer's joy at Shabbetai Ẓevi's supposed fulfillment of messianic prophecy.

The cliché that Yiddish was no more than a "kitchen-language" and its literature in the early period no more than a primitive and embarrassing crutch for "pious women and ignorant men" (i.e., those who knew no Hebrew) has been so widespread over the course of the last half millennium that it has taken on mythic status, but like many myths, it lacks compelling evidence. While there is no doubt that much of early Yiddish devotional literature of the *muser* genre had a primarily female audience, a significant number of *muser* books directly addressed men. The obvious address of women is also the case, with some other qualifications, for the devotional prayers of the *tkhines* and *slikhes* types, and for the Yiddish *Pirkey Ovous*, and even that greatest bestseller of all time in early Yiddish, the *Tsenerene*, although its preface actually identifies men before women as its audience. But there were many genres of early Yiddish texts that were clearly *not* for women or unlettered men: biblical glosses and glossaries and biblical translations so literal that they are incomprehensible except when read in conjunction with the Hebrew text can only have been for the reader of the Hebrew text. The glosses in Rashi's texts indicate not only the existence of Yiddish at that early period, but also that it was one of the languages of Rashi's students, if not in fact one of the languages of his own teaching. Likewise not for women were the books that provide detailed practical information for traveling merchants on how to follow the commandments while on the road (e.g., Moses Cohen's *Derekh Moushe*, "The Path of Moses," Amsterdam, 1699), manuals detailing the method of Talmud study (ms. 1733), introductions to accounting (Arye Levi's *Seyfer Yedios Hakhezhbn*, "The Book of Computations," Amsterdam, 1699). Nor in fact are most of the other extant types of early Yiddish literature as outlined above inherently for women – in what sense is a poem about the Chmielnicki massacres, the *Ḥad Gadya*, or the Amsterdam newspaper, for instance, "women's" literature? One must also keep in mind that the audience of "pious women and ignorant men" identified in the prefaces of many early Yiddish texts in fact constituted the vast majority of the Ashkenazi population, only a tiny minority of which knew more Hebrew than was required for prayer (and of course even that Hebrew-literate minority also knew Yiddish). The functional audience for early Yiddish literature thus comprised the entirety of Yiddish-speaking Jewry, female and non-Hebrew-literate male, but also including in particular the most literate members of the culture, i.e., the educated men who, with few exceptions, wrote, edited, published, distributed, sold, and indeed also bought and read early Yiddish books.

[Jerold C. Frakes (2nd ed.)]

Ladino Literature

The beginning of Ladino literature may be traced to the 13th century with the translation of the Bible into Ladino. These translations, however, were in Latin script and it is only after the expulsion of the Jews from Spain that Ladino translations of the Bible were written in Hebrew script and the language acquired a distinctly Jewish character (see *Bible, Translations, Ladino). Another major literary activity in religious Ladino literature was the translation of exegetical and ethical works, moral handbooks, and prayer books. A number of original works were also produced such as *Almosnino's popular *Il Regimiento de la Vida* (Salonika, 1564), an ethical treatise which included a long dissertation on dreams. Most of Almosnino's works, however, were in Hebrew, although his compilation of data on Constantinople in Ladino, which Jacob *Cansino of Oran later published in Spanish under the title *Extremos y Grandezas de Constantinopla*, is a major work in Spanish Jewish literature and a significant historical source.

By the end of the 17th century poetry, mystical writings, biblical exegesis, history, and ethics were written in Ladino. **Me-Am Lo'ez*, the monumental ethical-religious work of Ladino literature, is an elaborate encyclopedic commentary on the entire Bible which in 1730 was initiated by Jacob *Culi who wrote the commentary on Genesis and a portion of Exodus. It is assumed that the subsequent commentaries are in part based on his manuscripts. The work, written in a popular style, was intended to make the Bible and Jewish learning readily understandable to the layman who no longer was able to use the Hebrew texts. Among original works of religious poetry in Ladino are *Proverbios morales* by Shem Tov (*Santob) de Carrion (14th century) and the *Poema de Yosef*, probably composed at the beginning of the 15th century, which is an adaptation of the story of Joseph and his brethren from the Midrash and *Sefer ha-Yashar*. The poem's strophic and metric form, influenced by the Hebrew *piyyut*, is also reminiscent of the *cuaderna via* literary structure which was developing at the time. Written also in Spanish in Arabic characters, the poem became an integral part of Spanish literature. The popular Ladino poem on the same subject, *Coplas de Yosef ha-Zaddik*, by Abraham de Toledo (1732), is known in two distinct versions: one written in Constantinople (1732) and the other in Belgrade (1861) which is based on the lost Salonika version (1755). The poem, consisting of 400 quatrains, was also sung on Purim. The *copla* genre which flourished in Ladino in the 19th century was mainly the poetic expression of minor works written for Purim (*Coplas de Purim*).

A distinctly secular mode of expression in Ladino literature is the *romancero* which formed part of the oral tradition of Jews in Spain. The Ladino *romancero* is largely a continuation and an adaptation of the Spanish *romancero* of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance. The original *romancero*, a traditional Spanish ballad widely popular in the 14th and 15th centuries, was often sung. There are also many original romances and songs in Ladino or later composition. The different types of *romanceros* found in Spanish literature (historical, tragic, humorous, amorous, satirical) were also found in Ladino, to which have been added three specifically Jewish types: wedding songs, religious hymns, and laments.

Other secular literature in Ladino are adaptations and translations of plays and novels, mainly from French literature. This led to the writing of original plays and novels, most of which, however, are of an inferior quality. There is a rich Ladino folk literature but most of it has neither been collected nor studied.

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LITHUANIA (Lithuanian **Lietuva**; Pol. **Litwa**; Rus. **Litva**; Heb. **Lita ליטא** or ליטה; Yid. **Lite ליטע**), southernmost of Baltic states of N.E. Europe; from 1940 Lithuanian S.S.R. (for early period, see *Poland-Lithuania). (See Map: Lithuanian Communities). For the list of alternative names for Jewish communities in Lithuania see Table 1: List of Alternative Names for Jewish Communities in Lithuania. With the partition of Poland at the close of the 18th century the territories of Lithuania passed to Russia. Subsequently, for more than 120 years, Lithuania ceased to exist as a political or administrative unit. It was divided up into six or seven provinces in which the history of the Jews was similar to that of the Jews throughout *Russia. Lithuanian Jewry nevertheless retained its specific character, and its influence on Russian Jewry – and on world Jewry in general – extended beyond the boundaries of historic Lithuania. Lithuanian Jewry was particularly oppressed during World War I. The attitude of the Russian military authorities toward the Jews was one of suspicion and hostility; rumors were spread that they were traitors, and the army therefore perpetrated pogroms against them. In the spring of 1915 expulsions of Jews from the provinces of *Suwalki, Kovno (*Kaunas), *Courland, and *Grodno began. During the fall of the same year, northern and western Lithuania were occupied by the German army. The population suffered from lack of food and unemployment. Limited aid arrived from the Jews of Germany and the United States and a ramified Jewish assistance organization was set up. A network of Hebrew and Yiddish schools, including secondary schools, was established. After the end of World War I, a considerable number of refugees returned to their former places of residence. Lithuanian Jewry was henceforward divided among three states: independent Lithuania, Belorussian S.S.R. (see *Belorussia), and Poland.

Character and Influence on the Diaspora

The notion of "Lithuanian" ("*Litvak*" in Yiddish) to be found in speech, folklore, and Jewish literature in all its languages applies to the Jewish community which developed within the boundaries of historic Lithuania, the region which formed part of the greater Polish kingdom during the 16th to 18th centuries. From the close of the 18th century until World War I this area came under the rule of czarist Russia and included the provinces of Kovno, *Vilna, Grodno, and northern Suwalki, which were essentially of Lithuanian-Polish character, and of *Vitebsk, *Minsk, and *Mogilev, which were Belorussian-Russian in character. A distinction is sometimes made between Lithuanian Jews in a restricted sense (from the provinces of Vilna, Kovno, and the northern parts of the provinces of Suwalki and Grodno) and the Belorussian Jews ("province of Russia"). At the close of the 19th century, about 1,500,000 Jews lived in this region; they constituted more than one-eighth of the total population. The Jews were mainly concentrated in the towns and villages, where in the main they were in the majority. There were more than 300 communities in Lithuania with more than 1,000 persons, including 12 large communities each numbering more than 20,000 persons: Vilna, Minsk, *Bialystok, Vitebsk, Dvinsk (*Daugavpils), *Brest-Litovsk, Kovno, Grodno, Mogilev, *Pinsk, *Bobruisk, and *Gomel; but even the smaller settlements with only some dozens of Jewish families had a vibrant and full Jewish life.

Both economic and historical factors were responsible for the unique character of Lithuanian Jewry. Lithuania was a poor country, and the mass of its inhabitants, consisting of Lithuanian and Belorussian peasants, formed a low social stratum whose national culture was undeveloped. The Jews who had contacts with them as contractors, merchants, shopkeepers, innkeepers, craftsmen, etc., regarded themselves as their superiors in every respect. Lithuanian Jewry was relatively less affected by the *Chmielnicki massacres that devastated the Jews of the Ukraine in 1648–49, and those perpetrated by the *Haidamacks during the 18th century. Even when the wave of pogroms swept Russia during the last decades of czarist rule, there were only isolated manifestations of anti-Jewish violence in Lithuania (Gomel, Bialystok). These circumstances gave the Lithuanian Jews a feeling of stability and security, as a result of which they developed no desire to adopt the language and culture of the surrounding peoples.

The Jews of Lithuania maintained their own way of life. They spoke a special dialect of Yiddish – Lithuanian Yiddish – which differed from the Yiddish spoken in Poland and Volhynia mainly in the pronunciation of the vowels (and in certain districts in the pronunciation of the שׁ (*shin*) as שׂ (*sin*) or ס (*samekh*). The world outlook and way of life of Lithuanian Jewry were based on the Written Law and the Oral Law. The Shulḥan Arukh and its commentaries guided them in their everyday life. Torah learning flourished among wide circles, and love of Torah and esteem for its study was widespread among the masses of Jews. The Jews who lived in the region bordering Lithuania, the "Poles" in the west and the "Volhyn-

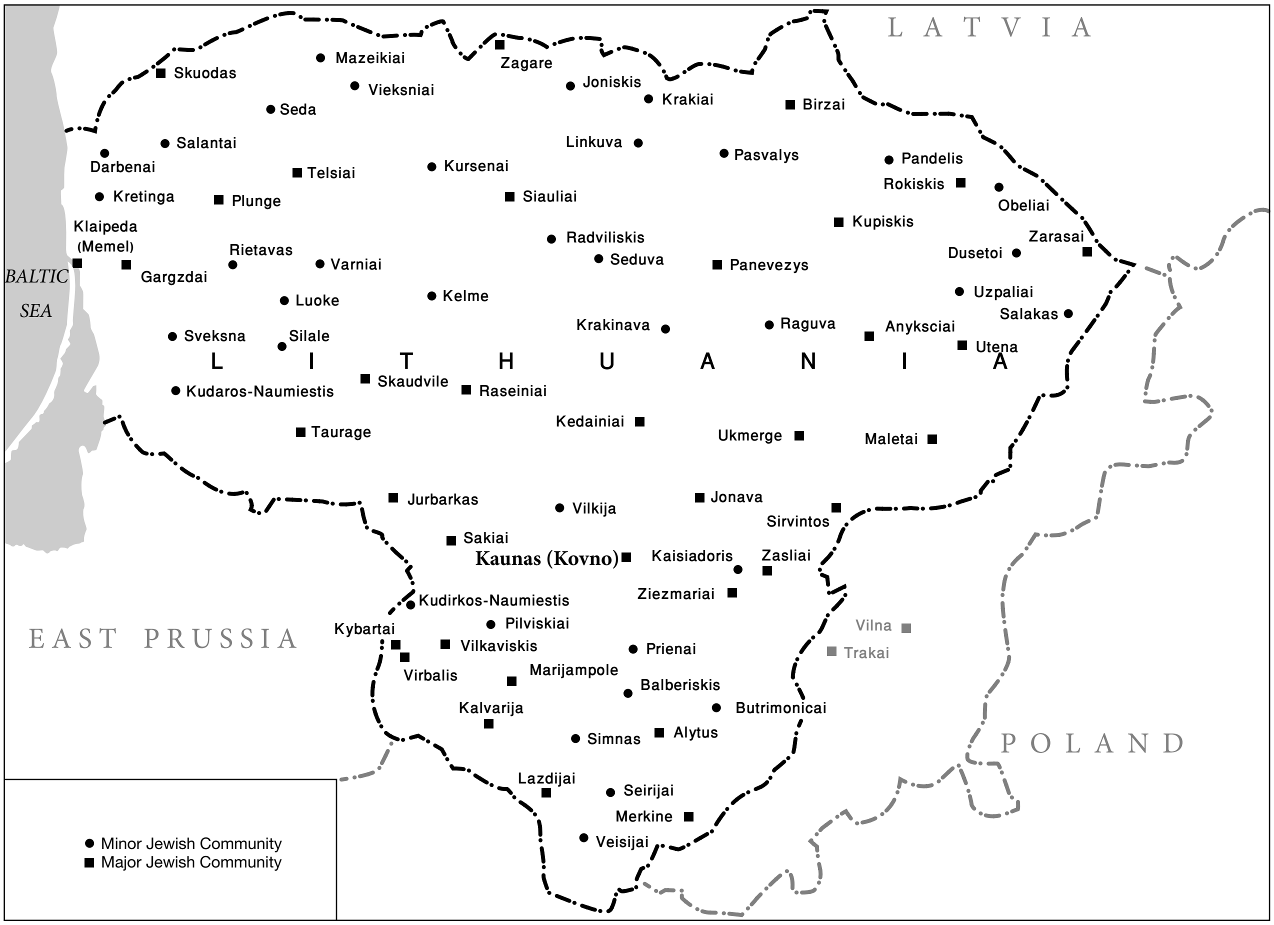
LATVIA
Skuodas
Mazeikiai
Zagare
Vieksniai
Joniskis
Krakiai
Birzai
Seda
Salantai
Darbenai
Telsiai
Kursenai
Linkuva
Pasvalys
Pandelis
Rokiskis
Obeliai
Kretinga
Plunge
Siauliai
Kupiskis
Klaipeda
(Memel)
Rietavas
Varniai
Radviliskis
Seduva
Panevezys
Dusetoi
Zarasai
BALTIC
SEA
Gargzdai
Luoke
Kelme
Uzpaliai
Salakas
Krakinava
Raguva
Anyksciai
Sveksna
Silale
Utena
L I T H U A N I A
Kudaros-Naumiestis
Skaudvile
Raseiniai
Kedainiai
Ukmerge
Maletai
Taurage
Jurbarkas
Vilkija
Jonava
Sirvintos
Sakiai
Kaunas (Kovno)
Kaisiadoris
Zasliai
Ziezmariai
Kudirkos-Naumiestis
Pilviskiai
Vilna
Trakai
EAST PRUSSIA
Kybartai
Vilkaviskis
Prienai
Virbalis
Marijampole
Balberiskis
Kalvarija
Butrimonicai
Simnas
Alytus
POLAND
Lazdijai
Seirijai
Merkine
Veisijai
● Minor Jewish Community
■ Major Jewish Community

Map showing Jewish communities in Independent Lithuania and in the Vilna region ceded to Lithuania in October 1939.

Table 1: List of Alternative Names for Jewish Communities in Lithuania

Lithuanian Name	Russian Name	Yiddish Name
Alytus	Olita	Alite
Anyksciai	Onikshtv	Aniksht
Balberiskis	Balkerishki	Balbirishok
Birzai	Birzhi	Birzh
Butrimonicai	Butymantsv	Butrimants
Darbenai	Dorbyany	Dorbian
Dusetoi	Dusjaty	Dusyat
Gargzdai	Gorzhdy	
Jonava	Janovo	Yanove
Joniskis	Yanishki	Yanishok
Jurbarkas	Jurbug	
Kaisiadorys	Koisedary	Kashedar
Kalvarija	Kalvariya	
Kaunas	Kovno	
Kedainiai	Keidany	Keidan
Kelme	Kelmy	Kelm
Klaipeda	Memel	
Krakiai	Kruki	Krok
Krakinava	Krakinovo	
Kretinga	Kretinga	Kretingen
Kudaros-Naumiestis	Vladslavov	
Kudirkos-Naumiestis	Novoe Mesto	Nayshtat
Kupiskis	Kupishki	Kupishok
Kursenai	Kurshany	Kurshan
Kybartai	Kibarty	Kibart
Lazdijai	Lozdzee	Lazdey
Linkuve	Linkovo	
Luoke	Lavkov	Luvkeve
Maletai	Maljaty	Malat
Marijampole	Mariampol	
Mazeikiai	Mazheiki	Mazheik
Merkine	Meretsch	
Nemaksciai	Nemokshty	Nemoksht
Obeliai	Abeli	Abel
Pandelis	Ponedeli	Ponedel
Panevezys	Ponevezh	
Pasvalys	Posvol	
Pilviskiai	Pilvishki	Pilvishok
Plunge	Plungyany	Plungyan
Prienai	Preny	Pren
Radviliskis	Radzivilishki	
Raguva	Rogov	Rogove

Table 1 (cont.)

Lithuanian Name	Russian Name	Yiddish Name
Raseiniai	Rossienyi	Rasseyn
Rietavas	Retovo	Riteve
Rokiskis	Takishki	Rakishok
Sakiai	Shaki	
Salakas	Soloki	Salok
Salantai	Salanty	Salant
Seda	Syady	Syad
Seduva	Shadov	Shadove
Seirijai	Seree	Serey
Siauliai	Shavli	Shavl
Silale	Shileli	Shilel
Simnas	Simno	
Sirvintos	Shervinty	Shirvint
Skaudvile	Skadvile	Shkudvil
Skuodas	Shkudy	Shkud
Sveksna	Shvekshni	
Taurage	Taurogen	Tavrig
Telsiai	Telschi	Telz
Trakai	Troki	
Ukmerge	Vilkomir	
Utena	Utsjany	Utyah
Uzpaliai	Uschpol	
Varniai	Vorni	Vorne
Veisijai	Veisee	
Vieksniai	Wekschni	Vekshne
Vilkaviskis	Volkovyshki	Vilkovishk
Vilkija	Viliki	
Virbalis	Verzhbolov	Virbaln
Zagare	Zhagory	Zhager
Zarasai	Novo Aleksandrovsk	Ezherene
Zasliai	Shosli	Zasle
Ziezmariai	Zhizhmory	Zemar
Zydikiai	Zhidiki	Zidik

ians" in the south, associated specific characteristics with the Lithuanian Jews: a certain emotional dryness, the superiority of the intellect over emotion, mental alertness, sharp-wittedness, and pungency. Their piety was also questioned (hence the popular derogatory appellation for the Lithuanian Jews, "*tseylem-kop*"). It was also a feature of Lithuanian Jewry that *Ḥasidism did not strike roots in northern Lithuania, while in the provinces of Belorussia it assumed a different nature and content – the Chabad trend – from the original Ḥasidism of Ukraine and Poland (see below). Lithuanian Jews were considered the "prototype" of the **Mitnaggedim*.

Spiritual Trends and Leaders

Until the 16th century the Jews of Lithuania were on the outer fringe of European Jewry. During the 16th and 17th centuries, they were influenced by Polish Jewry, and adopted its organizational methods (Lithuanian Council; see *Councils of the Lands), its educational system, and its mode of learning. The first prominent rabbis who were called upon to officiate in the large Lithuanian communities, such as Mordecai b. Abraham *Jaffe, author of the *Levushim*, and Joel *Sirkes, author of *Bayit Ḥadash* (the "Baḥ"), came from outside Lithuania. Solomon b. Jehiel *Luria (the Maharshal), who was of Lithuanian origin and promoted Torah learning there for a number of years, acquired most of his education and was mainly active beyond the borders of that country. It was only during the 17th century that leading Torah scholars emerged from the yeshivot of Lithuania. Among them were the commentators on the Shulḥan Arukh, *Shabbetai b. Meir ha-Kohen (the Shakh), and Moses b. Naphtali Hirsch *Rivkes, author of *Be'er ha-Golah*.

However, the personality which symbolized the supremacy of Torah learning within Lithuanian Jewry and determined its character for several generations was that of the Gaon of Vilna, *Elijah b. Solomon Zalman, who lived during the second half of the 18th century. He established his own method of study. Its main features were abstention from casuistic methods, close examination of the talmudic text and accuracy in its interpretation, a comprehensive knowledge of all the sources, and the study of grammar and the sciences which were essential for profound understanding of the teachings of the Torah.

R. Elijah appeared on the Lithuanian scene when winds of change were beginning to blow across that country. In the south, Ḥasidism blazed a trail, and the disciples of *Dov Baer the Maggid of Mezhirech arrived in *Shklov, Vitebsk, Vilna, and other communities, winning over a large following. From the West came the ideas of the *Haskalah; these at first were moderate in character and sought to adapt themselves to the old school (like the scholars of Shklov, R. Baruch b. Jacob *Schick, or Phinehas Elijah *Hurwitz, author of *Sefer ha-Berit*), but their revolutionary nature was rapidly revealed. R. Elijah's circle of disciples consolidated against these new forces; they regarded Torah study as a guarantee for the continued existence of the nation in its traditional form and converted religious learning into a popular movement, in which the great central yeshivot played a leading role. The first of these was the yeshivah established by Ḥayyim *Volozhiner in 1803 in the townlet of Volozhin. In its wake, both large and small yeshivot were founded in many towns and villages, as well as *kolelim* and *kibbuẓim* ("groups") for young men and *perushim* ("abstinents"), whose students prepared themselves for the rabbinate through self-instruction (the *kibbuẓ* of Eisiskes (Eishishok), near Vilna, was well known). During the 19th century, large yeshivot were established in *Mir, Telz (*Telsiai), *Slobodka (near Kovno), and other townlets. The personality of *Israel Meir ha-Kohen (the Ḥafeẓ Ḥayyim) left its imprint on his yeshivah in the little town of Radun, where Torah learning was combined with the study of *musar* (ethical literature). An attempt to adapt these studies to the spirit of the modern era was made by Isaac Jacob *Reines, a founder of the *Mizrachi organization, who in 1904 established a yeshivah in *Lida where secular studies were taught and modern Hebrew literature was studied.

During the middle of the 19th century, the *Musar movement emerged from within the ranks of Orthodox Jewry. Initiated by R. Israel (Salanter) *Lipkin, it endeavored to strengthen traditional Judaism against the dangers of the modern era by fostering the study of ethics. The "Musarniks" established several yeshivot (Keneset Yisrael in Slobodka; the yeshivah of *Novogrudok where an extremist, fanatical, and ascetic wing of the movement emerged). Their attempt to introduce this trend into other yeshivot gave rise to sharp polemics from their opponents, who feared that the study of *musar* would result in a neglect of Torah study.

The yeshivot of Lithuania attracted young men throughout Russia. They trained rabbis and religious communal workers for Jewish communities all over the world. Many who later abandoned traditional Judaism, including Ḥ.N. *Bialik and M.J. *Berdyczewski, were also educated in them. Over the last century, the rabbis of Lithuania became known throughout the Jewish world. They included Isaac Elhanan *Spektor of Kovno, Joseph Baer *Soloveichik of Brest, Joseph *Rozin and *Meir Simḥah ha-Kohen of Dvinsk, Ḥayyim Ozer *Grodzinski of Vilna, Jerohman Judah Leib *Perelmann ("Ha-Gadol mi-Minsk"), Isser Zalman *Meltzer of Slutsk, Abraham Isaiah *Karelitz (the Ḥazon Ish), and many others.

Ḥasidism did not spread through Lithuania to the same extent as in the other parts of Eastern Europe. Only one branch, Chabad Ḥasidism, struck roots in Belorussia. The descendants and disciples of its leader, *Shneur Zalman of Lyady, scattered in many towns and townlets and formed an energetic organization of Ḥasidism whose influence spread beyond the borders of Lithuania. Their headquarters were in the townlet of *Lubavich. This trend in Ḥasidism was of a scholarly, philosophical nature. It considered Torah study to be one of the fundamentals of Ḥasidism, to be combined with the study of ethical and ḥasidic works. At the close of the 19th century, the Chabad movement established its own network of yeshivot (*Tomekhei Temimim*). A more popular branch of Ḥasidism which developed in the region situated between Lithuania and Volhynia was centered around the *ẓaddikim* of the *Karlin-*Stolin dynasty.

An important cultural factor in Lithuania from the close of the 18th century was the Hebrew press. The first printing presses were founded in Shklov (1783) and Grodno (1788). During the 19th century Vilna became one of the world's leading centers for the printing of Hebrew books (of the *Romm family and other presses). It was here that the famous Vilna Talmud was printed, as well as a multitude of religious and ethical works, and Haskalah and popular literature in Hebrew and Yiddish.

Although Lithuania played an important role in the preservation of traditional Judaism, it also contributed largely to the movements which shook the Jewish world in recent generations and brought many changes in it. These were Haskalah, the Zionist movement, and the Jewish Socialist movement.

Haskalah

From neighboring Prussia Haskalah penetrated Lithuania, first to the small border towns and the cities of Vilna and Minsk, and from there to other localities. In Lithuania Haskalah assumed a particular character. The manifestations of national disavowal and *assimilation to other cultures which left their imprint on Haskalah in Western Europe, as well as in Poland and southern Russia, were absent in Lithuania. Circles of *maskilim* who adhered to their people and its language were formed. A Hebrew literature which spread Haskalah and its ideas developed. This literature was not confined to Jewish studies (Wissenschaft) but encompassed every aspect of life. Its exponents were poets such as Abraham Dov (Adam ha-Kohen) *Lebensohn, and J.L. *Gordon, novelists such as Abraham *Mapu and Perez *Smolenskin, publicists and critics such as A.U. *Kovner, A.J. *Paperna, M.L. *Lilienblum, and J.M. *Pines, scholars in Jewish studies (Joshua *Steinberg, E. *Zweifel), authors of popular works on general history and geography (M.A. *Guenzburg; K. *Schulman), and natural sciences (H.S. *Slonimski, Ẓevi *Rabinowitz, and S.J. *Abramovitsh, known as Mendele Mokher Seforim). The *maskilim* assisted the Russian government in its efforts to spread Russian culture among the Jews and cooperated with it in the establishment of a network of Jewish state schools, at the center of which stood the government rabbinical seminary of Vilna. They laid the foundations of both the Russian-Jewish literature (L. *Levanda) and modern Yiddish literature (I.M. *Dick, *Shomer (N.M. Shaikevich), J. *Dineson, and Mendele Mokher Seforim). They also paved the way for the *Ḥibbat Zion and Zionism on the hand and the Jewish Socialist movement on the other.

Hibbat Zion and Zionism

Lithuania was a fertile ground for the development of Ḥibbat Zion and Zionism. The Jews of Lithuania had been attached to Ereẓ Israel by powerful ties since the immigration there of the Ḥasidim and the disciples of the Gaon of Vilna from the end of the 18th century. Natives of Lithuania such as D. *Gordon, in the periodical *Ha-Maggid*, P. Smolenskin, in *Ha-Shaḥar*, J.M. Pines, and E. *Ben-Yehuda had already discussed Jewish nationalism and settlement in Ereẓ Israel in the 1870s. With the inception of Ḥibbat Zion, the movement spread to many towns and townlets, one of its centers being Bialystok, the residence of Samuel *Mohilewer, one of the leaders of the movement. Natives of Lithuania were among the most prominent propagators of the Ḥibbat Zion ideology throughout Russia and beyond (S.P. *Rabbinowitz, Hermann *Schapira, etc.). In 1902 the second convention of Russian Zionists was held in Minsk. This was the only Zionist convention to be held openly and attended by the public in the czarist period. From 1905 to 1912 the center of Russian Zionism was Vilna. The Zionists headed the movement for the revival of the Hebrew language and the establishment of modern Hebrew schools (*ḥeder metukkan*, "reformed *ḥeder*"). The first Diaspora institution for the training of Hebrew teachers was opened in 1908 in Grodno ("the Grodno courses"). The development of Hebrew literature in Lithuania and the activities of Hebrew authors and poets such as Z. *Shneour, Yaakov *Cahan, and I.D. *Berkowitz were closely connected with Zionism.

Jewish Socialist Movement

Lithuania was the cradle of the Jewish Socialist movement. It was characteristic that the Jews of Lithuania found it necessary to publish a Socialist literature, at first in Hebrew (A.S. *Liebermann and his colleagues) and later in Yiddish. The background to this was the existence of the many thousands of poor and oppressed Jewish workers and craftsmen who did not know Russian or Polish; the *maskilim* and Socialists were therefore compelled to address them in their own language. From the close of the 19th century, there rapidly developed an ideology in which revolutionary Socialism was allied to fragmentary and propitiatory nationalist formulae which in practice called for the fostering of a secular literature in Yiddish (Yiddishism) and Jewish cultural autonomy, centered on a secular community organization and Jewish schools giving instruction in the language of the masses (Ch. *Zhitlowsky). In order to mobilize the Jewish workers for revolutionary activities the *Bund was organized. The Bund rapidly extended its activities into Poland and Ukraine but its influence was essentially felt in Lithuania. Its emissaries gained adherents among the poverty-stricken Jews of the towns and townlets, and created a sense of self-confidence in the Jewish apprentices and workers and mobilized them into the service of the revolution. The Bund played a major role in the destruction of traditional Judaism and in opposition to Hebrew culture and Zionism.

The influence of Lithuanian Jewry on Russian and world Jewry gained in impetus from the middle of the 19th century. The Lithuanian yeshivot attracted students from every part of Russia, as well as from abroad. Religious and secular books from Vilna were sold throughout the Diaspora. Rabbis of Lithuanian origin served many of the world's communities and Lithuanian *melammedim* (teachers of elementary religious studies) were recognized as capable teachers in Poland and southern Russia.

One of the causes of the spread of Lithuanian influence was the dire poverty in the country, which led to a constant stream of emigration toward southern Russia and Poland and later to the countries of Western Europe and America. Wherever the Lithuanian Jews arrived, they brought with them their spiritual heritage and learning and thus contributed toward strengthening traditional Judaism and the forging of closer links among the Jewish people and its culture. They were also prominent among the Jewish populations of St. Petersburg and Moscow. Large numbers settled in Warsaw and Lodz. They streamed to America and formed a special concentration in South Africa. They also made an extensive contribution to the modern development of Ereẓ Israel.

Lithuanian Jewry was severely affected by World War I and the revolutions and border changes which ensued, bringing dissolution and economic and spiritual chaos. When the Jews were expelled from Kovno province, many communal leaders and activists there left for the interior of Russia, where they continued their activities. Once the regimes and their borders had consolidated, Lithuanian Jewry found itself divided among states: independent Lithuania, Belorussian S.S.R., and Poland.

In Belorussian S.S.R.

There were some 400,000 Jews living in Belorussian S.S.R. between the two world wars. The authorities adopted a policy of systematic repression of traditional Judaism, the Hebrew language and culture, and the Zionist movement, assisted in this by the *Yevsektsiya. During the 1920s, the elements remaining faithful to Judaism still carried on a difficult struggle and maintained clandestine yeshivot and *ḥadarim*, Zionist youth movements and *Heḥalutz organizations. The Jewish Communists endeavored to provide a substitute for Jewish culture. In Belorussia there even existed a trend among the Yevsektsiya which attempted to consolidate the national position of the Jews in this region by promoting Yiddish schools, Jewish publishing houses and newspapers, and the establishment of a higher institute for Jewish studies in Minsk which engaged in research on the history of the Jews in Lithuania, their dialect, and their popular culture. These experiments flickered out and were liquidated during the 1930s because the authorities did not support them and the Jewish masses were indifferent to them.

In Poland

After World War I the majority of the former Lithuanian Jews came within the boundaries of newly independent *Poland on the border strip extending from the north of Vilna to the Polesye marshes. They continued to develop independent cultural activities in every sphere. Yeshivot flourished in this region (among them, the great yeshivah of Mir with its hundreds of students, and those of Radun, *Slonim, *Lomza, *Kletsk, etc.). Hebrew schools, including secondary schools and excellent training colleges for teachers, founded by the *Tarbut organization were concentrated there. The network of Yiddish schools of the Central Yiddish School Organization (CYSHO) was also developed in this area, and in 1925 the Institute for Jewish Research (Yiddisher Visenshaftlicher Institut, *YIVO) was founded in Vilna. It became a world center for research into the Yiddish language and the history of the Jews and their culture in Eastern Europe. The Vilna theatrical company (*Di Vilner Trupe*) was established and a Yiddish press and literature flourished (the *Yung Vilner* group of poets included Chaim *Grade and A. *Suzkever). The Zionist and pioneer youth movements expanded in this region. When both independent and Polish Lithuania were annexed by Russia in 1939–40, the Jewish institutions were rapidly liquidated. The German invasion of June 1941 brought the physical annihilation of Lithuanian Jewry.

[Yehuda Slutsky]

In Independent Lithuania

About a year before the end of World War I, on Sept. 18–23, 1917, precisely two years after the capture of Vilna by the Germans, the Lithuanians were given permission by the German occupation force to hold a congress in Vilna to consider the future political fate of Lithuania. The congress put forward the demand for an independent Lithuanian state within its ethnographic boundaries with Vilna as the capital. The Vilna congress also elected a national council, Lietuvos Taryba, which on Feb. 16, 1918, proclaimed Lithuania an independent state. The Germans maintained their occupation of Lithuania until the end of 1918.

POPULATION. According to the census held on Sept. 17, 1923, the Jewish population numbered 153,743 (7.5% of the total), and was the largest national minority (see Table 2: Jewish Population of Lithuania – Sept. 17, 1923 Census). They formed just under one-third of the total population of the larger towns, 28.7% of the small-town population, and only 0.5% of the village inhabitants. In the following five towns the census showed the Jewish population to be: In *Memel (Klaipeda), which with its district belonged to Lithuania from 1923 to 1939 as an autonomous region, there were 2,470 Jews in 1929. Their number in the Memel region rose as a result of migration from other parts of Lithuania. At the beginning of 1939, shortly before the seizure of Memel by Germany, the territory had about 9,000 Jewish inhabitants. Statistics of 1937 show 157,527 Jews (75,538 males, 81,989 females; or 98% of the total) as having declared their nationality as Jewish, an indicator of the strength of Jewish consciousness among the Jews of Lithuania and the slight influence of assimilation.

Jews mainly spoke Yiddish among themselves, but a number of the professional intelligentsia used Russian. Although in time practically all Jews were able to speak Lithuanian, this did not become their regular spoken language.

ECONOMIC POSITION. The agrarian reforms which the Lithuanian constituent assembly adopted in 1922 also affected the few Jewish owners of farms of over 80 hectares in extent. The Lithuanian government, however, did little to satisfy the claims of Jews who had any rights to the ownership of land. The agrarian reforms only partly satisfied the land hunger of the poor peasants, and in addition to emigration abroad there was also a considerable migration from the rural districts to the towns. This general process of urbanization came into conflict with the long-established economy of the Jewish inhabitants of the town and *shtetl*. In this growing economic competition, the administration of the young Lithuanian republic actively took the part of the Lithuanians. To develop agrarian economy, the government assisted in the formation of cooperatives, which accumulated control of the entire export trade, including the trade in agricultural products. Thus many Jews were deprived of their livelihood.

Table 2. Jewish Population of Lithuania – Sept. 17, 1923 Census

	Jewish population	% total population
Kaunas (Kovno)	25,044	27.1%
Panevezys (Ponevezh)	6,845	35.6%
Siauliai (Shavli)	5,338	24.9%
Ukmerge (Vilkomir)	3,885	37.5%
Vilkaviskis (Volkovyshki)	3,206	44.1%

In 1923 there were 25,132 Jews engaged in trade and credit banking, 18,107 in industry and crafts, 4,996 in agriculture, 4,180 in the liberal professions, and 2,348 in transport. Jewish commerce was largely concentrated in small trade, while industry and crafts were mainly carried on in small factories or workshops.

During the early years of Lithuanian national independence the Jews had a predominant part in the export-import trade. However, shortly before World War II Jewish participation in the export trade amounted to only 20%, and in the import trade to 40%. In 1923 there were nearly 14,000 Jewish shops and 2,160 non-Jewish shops; in 1936 the respective numbers were approximately 12,000 and 10,200. The majority of Jewish shops were small-scale establishments. Jewish traders were unable to compete with the Lithuanian cooperatives, which enjoyed great privileges especially in the respect of taxation. They increased rapidly and, between 1919 and 1925, the number of such competitive enterprises ranged against Jewish trade doubled in number.

About one-third of the Jews earned their livelihood in crafts. There were Jews also in the professions, but their numbers continually decreased, and their places were taken by Lithuanians. At the beginning of 1931 there were 88 Jewish cooperative people's banks having more than 20,000 members and functioning in conjunction with an association of Jewish people's banks. The Jewish people's banks owned a portion of the working capital of the central bank for the support of Jewish cooperatives.

EMIGRATION. Both open and unofficial measures aiming at ousting Jews from their economic positions led many Jews to emigrate. Between 1928 and 1939, 13,898 Jews emigrated from Lithuania, of whom 4,860 (35%) went to South Africa; 3,541 (25.5%) to Palestine; 2,548 (18.3%) to Latin America; 1,499 (10.8%) to the United States; 648 (4.6%) to Canada; and 602 (5.8%) elsewhere. It is estimated that between 1923 and 1927 at least 6,000 to 7,000 Jews emigrated from Lithuania, and between 1919 and 1941, 9,241 Lithuanian Jews immigrated to Palestine (3.07% of all those who settled there in that period).

JEWISH AUTONOMY. In the early period of the republic, Lithuanian policy was concerned that Jewish influence in Lithuania and abroad, especially in the United States, should be exercised for the benefit of their country. In the first Lithuanian cabinet formed in Vilna, there were three Jews, J. Wygodsky (minister for Jewish affairs), Shimshon Rosenbaum (deputy foreign minister), and N. Rachmilewitz (deputy minister of commerce). At the end of 1918 the Germans evacuated Lithuania, and in January it was occupied by the Bolsheviks. The Lithuanian government then moved from Vilna to Kaunas (Kovno). Wygodsky remained in Vilna, which in 1920 was captured by the Poles under General L. Zeligowski, and the city and district of Vilna became a part of Poland. The other two members of the cabinet accompanied the government to Kaunas, and in 1919 Wygodsky was replaced as minister of

Jewish affairs by the Kaunas communal leader and Zionist Max *Soloveichik (Solieli).

On Aug. 5, 1919, the Lithuanian delegation to the Peace Conference at Versailles sent to the *Comité des Délégations Juives in Paris a letter in which the Lithuanian government guaranteed to the Jews of Lithuania the "right of national-cultural autonomy." This official declaration made possible the rise and development in Lithuania of institutions of Jewish national autonomy. As a result there arose a widespread system of legally recognized *communities (*kehillot*). On Jan. 5, 1920, the first communal conference was held in Kaunas with the participation of 141 delegates. A Jewish National Council was appointed and given the task, in conjunction with the Ministry of Jewish Affairs, of administering the Jewish autonomous institutions. Shimshon Rosenbaum was elected head of the Jewish National Council. The minister for Jewish affairs received directives from the National Council and was responsible to it. The National Council conducted widely ramified activity in all areas of Jewish life. During the early years of its existence it was much occupied with assistance to the Jewish war refugees who had returned from Russia, and also with helping immigrants. It obtained financial means from the American Jewish *Joint Distribution Committee and other Jewish aid organizations.

A statute concerning the communities was promulgated in March 1920 and recognized the community (*kehillah*) as a regular, obligatory, public, authorized institution, competent to impose taxes and issue regulations in order to meet the budgets for religious affairs, charity, social aid, educational institutions, and the like. The community was also responsible for the registration of Jewish births. The community administration, the community council, was elected on democratic principles. Every citizen whose documents showed him to be a Jew was automatically a member of the community. Only by conversion to another religion or on proof that his document was invalid, could anyone cease to be a member of the *kehillah*. The second communal congress, which opened in Kaunas on Feb. 14, 1922, was attended by 130 delegates representing all the Jewish communities in the towns and small towns in Lithuania. One of the focal problems of the congress was the question of the Jewish educational system, especially in respect of the school curriculum and the right of the pupils' parents to determine the ideological spirit of the school.

On the admission of Lithuania into the League of Nations, the Lithuanian government, in May 1922, signed a declaration that Lithuania would fulfill all obligations regarding her national minorities as formulated in the agreement concerning *minority rights in the newly established states. On Aug. 1, 1922, the Lithuanian Constituent Assembly accepted the constitution which assured national rights to the larger national minorities in the country. The years 1919 to 1922 were the golden age of Jewish national autonomy in Lithuania, when the political and citizenship rights of the Jews were recognized and confirmed. The end of 1922 and the start of 1923 saw the beginning of the erosion of Jewish autonomy. The reactionary clerical groups then standing at the helm of state launched a campaign, at first covertly and later openly, against Jewish autonomy and Jewish interests in general. There were many reasons for this new course taken by the Lithuanians with respect to their Jewish fellow citizens. Once the Lithuanian republic had found its feet, the Lithuanians no longer felt that they needed the help of Jews either at home or abroad. When the Constituent Assembly, in dealing with the draft constitution, removed the clauses relating to ministries for the affairs of the national minorities and the right of the minorities to use their mother tongue for public matters, the minister for Jewish affairs, M. Soloveichik, resigned from the cabinet. His portfolio was then held for a short time by Julius (Judah) *Brutzkus.

On Nov. 20, 1923, the Jewish National Assembly opened in Kaunas, consisting of delegates elected by the Jewish population by democratic proportional voting. The composition of the newly elected National Council was: General Zionists 11; *Mizrachi 10; *Ẓe'irei Zion (Hitaḥadut) 6; Zionist-Socialist 5; Craftsmen 4; *Po'alei Zion Left 2; *Folkspartei 2. The *Agudat Israel groups in general boycotted the elections. In dealing with the national budget for the year 1924, the Lithuanian parliament struck out the provisions for the Ministry of Jewish Affairs. In protest, Rosenbaum resigned from his portfolio in February 1924. The new cabinet, formed in April 1924, included no minister for Jewish affairs. The National Council continued in existence for a short time but when it met for a special session on Sept. 17, 1924, it was dispersed by the police, and subsequently ceased to exist. The democratically organized *kehillot* were also later dissolved. The government passed a new law for the *kehillot*, depriving them of their Jewish-national content. The Jews then boycotted the elections to these *kehillot* and they were not constituted. Later, as a result of the efforts of the Jewish parliamentary faction, two bodies were formed with limited functions: Ezra (for social aid) and Adass Yisroel (for religious needs). All that remained as remnants of autonomy were the Jewish people's banks and the Hebrew-Yiddish school system.

EDUCATION. The educational system set up in independent Lithuania was one of the most important achievements of the Jewish national autonomy. Teachers in the Jewish elementary schools who had teaching certificates approved by the ministry of education received their salaries from state funds in common with non-Jewish teachers in the general state schools. The running expenses of the schools were met by city government institutions. The three school systems comprised *Tarbut which was Zionist-orientated; "Yiddishist" schools for the Socialist trend; and Yavneh, the religious traditional schools. The language of instruction was Hebrew in the Tarbut schools, Yiddish in the Yiddishist schools, and Hebrew, and to some extent also Yiddish in the Yavneh schools. Each school system was supported by its own political-ideological groups. The Tarbut schools were in the front rank of Jewish schools in Lithuania. Because of the large number of its Hebrew schools of all grades, Lithuania acquired its reputation among Jews as the "second Ereẓ Israel." There were 46 Tarbut elementary schools in 1922, 72 in 1924, and 84 in 1932. The Agudat Israel and Mizrachi groups confined their interest to the Yavneh schools. There were also *ḥadarim, talmud torah* institutions, and *yeshivot. Apart from the celebrated yeshivot in Slobodka and in Telz there were large yeshivot also in *Panevezys (Ponovezh), *Kelme (Kelmy), and other communities. The Culture League (Kultur-Lige), founded in 1919, also had its schools, where at first the moderate Yiddishist elements were represented but later the Communists set the tone. These schools ignored Hebrew and introduced the phonetic spelling of Yiddish. The Culture League was closed down by the government in 1924, and some of its institutions (elementary schools, evening schools, and libraries) were abolished. Those that survived had no formal central management. However, an illegal organization of Yiddishist schools was maintained in Kaunas. In 1926 the Folkspartei created a Jewish educational association, and some of the Yiddishist schools were under its supervision.

The number of Hebrew and Yiddish elementary schools in Lithuania reached 108 in 1936, having 13,607 pupils and 329 teachers. There were in addition Hebrew and Yiddish kindergartens. In the school year 1935/36, there were 60 secondary schools, of which 28 were state schools and 32 private. Among the latter there were 14 Jewish secondary schools. Jewish pupils in the Jewish and non-Jewish secondary schools amounted to 18.9% of the total school attendance. There were also Hebrew and Yiddish presecondary schools which provided the first four grades of the secondary school course. The Jewish secondary and pre-secondary schools had to be largely maintained by the parents; the Ministry of Education reduced its subsidy to the Jewish educational institutions year by year. The medium of instruction in the Hebrew secondary schools was Hebrew in all eight grades. There were two secondary schools giving instruction in Yiddish, the Vilkomir (*Ukmerge) Reali school, and the Kaunas Commercial School.

Kaunas University in 1922 had a student body of 1,168, including "free auditors" or occasional students, among them 368 Jews (31.5%). In 1935 the student body (including occasionals) numbered 3,334, among them 591 Jews (16.4%). A **numerus clausus* was unofficially introduced in the medical faculty in the course of time, and in 1936 not a single Jewish medical student gained admittance. Because of the difficulties facing Jews trying to qualify in law, and the deterioration of prospects in the liberal professions generally, the proportion of Jewish students in the other faculties also fell sharply. Among the 411 professors, lecturers, and other members of the teaching staff of Kaunas University, there were no more than six Jews. The chair of Semitic studies was held by Ḥayyim Nachman *Shapira.

POLITICAL POSITION. During the democratic period of the independent Lithuanian republic (1919–26) there were four parliamentary elections. The constituent assembly (May 1920–November 1922) included six Jewish deputies, S. Rosenbaum, M. Soloveichik (both Zionists), N. Rachmilewitz, Rabbi A. Poppel (Aḥdut, i.e., *Agudat Israel), and N. Friedman and E. Finkelstein (both advocates and non-party democrats). N. Friedman was succeeded on his death by S. Landau. There was Jewish representation in parliamentary committees, and in the praesidium, and the Jews played their part in drawing up the basic citizenship laws of the young Lithuanian state. Their main task, however, was to safeguard the interests of the Jewish national minority. The Jewish parliamentary faction maintained close contact with the Jewish National Council.

On the basis of the election results for the first parliament (which sat from November 1922 to March 1923) the Jews were entitled to six seats, but because of a deliberately false interpretation of the election law, only three Jewish seats were recognized. The same happened with the Polish representation. The Jewish and Polish deputies, together with the other opposition members, thereupon expressed "no confidence" in the newly established government. The first parliament was accordingly dissolved. In the elections for the second parliament (which sat from May 1923 to May 1926), the Jews and other national minorities formed a nationalities bloc, and seven Jewish deputies were elected: M. Wolf, J. *Robinson, S. Rosenbaum, all Zionists; I. Brudny (Ẓe'irei-Zion, World Union), L. Garfunkel (d. 1976) (Ẓe'irei-Zion, Hitaḥadut), E. Finkelstein (Folkspartei), and Rabbi Joseph *Kahaneman. For various reasons there were subsequent changes in the Jewish representation. The last democratically elected parliament lasted in all just over half a year, and the coup d'etat of Dec. 17, 1926 put an end to democracy in Lithuania. Power then fell into the hands of the extremist nationalists (*Tautininkai*) who introduced an authoritarian regime. The parliament was dissolved in April 1927, and a temporary constitution was promulgated in May 1928, abolishing the most important democratic principles of the previous constitution.

The social and economic contrasts existing between the Lithuanians and Jews influenced their relationship and aggravated antisemitism. Economic antisemitism found its most conspicuous expression in the organization of Lithuanian traders and workers known as the Verslininkai ("skilled workers"). The organization was formed in 1930 and its slogan was "Lithuania for Lithuanians." Its attitude toward the Jews became increasingly aggressive, and although there were no pogroms in Lithuania as in Poland and Romania, antisemitic demonstrations occurred from time to time. The Jewish press played a great part in the struggle of the Jewish population for national political rights. Lithuanian Jewry, though small in number, published a number of newspapers and periodicals which helped to form Jewish public opinion both at home and abroad.

Soviet Rule in Lithuania, 1940–41

The U.S.S.R.-German Pact of Aug. 23, 1939, brought Soviet dominance to the Baltic area. On Oct. 10, 1939, the U.S.S.R. and Lithuania concluded an agreement in Moscow for "the transfer of Vilna and the Vilna province to the Lithuanian Republic and mutual assistance between the Soviet Union and Lithuania," which came into effect on the following day. With the incorporation of Vilna, the Jewish community of Lithuania grew by about 100,000. Previously the 160,000 Lithuanian Jews constituted 7% of the population, but with the annexed portions they totaled more than a quarter of a million, about 10% of the total population of the enlarged country. The number of Jewish refugees from Poland grew considerably (to 14,000–15,000) in the following months. About 10,000 stayed in Vilna and the rest in Kovno (Kaunas) and other places. About 5,000 refugees managed to emigrate from Lithuania. The Lithuanian Jews made every effort to assist refugees. On June 15, 1940, Soviet troops crossed the Lithuanian border and a "people's government" was established on June 17, which included two Jews, L. Kogan, minister of health, and H. Alperovitch, minister of commerce. On July 14, "elections" to the People's Sejm ("parliament") took place. Five Jews were among the deputies elected. On August 3 the Supreme Soviet acceded to the Sejm's "request" to become the 16th Soviet Republic. Shortly afterward, the provisional Lithuanian government was replaced by a soviet of people's commissars. All industrial and commercial enterprises, private capital, and larger dwelling houses were nationalized, and a new agrarian reform carried out. All social groups and organizations, general as well as Jewish, had to cease their activities, with the exception of those belonging to the Communists (who had been illegal until the Russian invasion), and the press (again excepting the Communist newspapers) was closed down. A wave of arrests swept over the country. At the same time a considerable number of Soviet officials entered Lithuania. Many of the former owners of the nationalized houses, firms, and factories were forced to settle in the provinces. The effect of the introduction of Soviet rule upon the Jewish population was particularly strong. The new Communist regime was in urgent need of experience and abilities possessed by the Jewish intelligentsia, so that Jews were given prominent positions in the economic, legal, and administrative apparatus. At the same time, although nationalization of all important branches of the economy applied equally to all citizens, irrespective of their ethnic origin, large segments of the Jewish population were affected with special harshness. A total of 986 industrial enterprises were nationalized, of which about 560 (57%) belonged to Jews; of 1,593 commercial firms nationalized, no less than 1,320 (83%) were owned by Jews. Jews were also strongly hit by the nationalization of houses and bank accounts.

The phase before the German attack on Lithuania was marked by deportations to Siberia. In the spring of 1941 the Soviet security services compiled lists of "counter-revolutionary elements" and submitted secret reports on those listed, which also included Jews in the following categories: leaders and journalists of various Zionist political groups; leaders of the Bund and Bundist journalists; leaders of Jewish military and "fascist" formations – e.g., of the Jewish veterans of Lithuania's war of independence, of the Jewish war veterans, of *Betar, the *Revisionists, and their affiliated bodies.

In mid-June 1941, one week before the German-Soviet war, many people, including Jews, were hastily deported as politically unreliable to Siberia and other parts of Soviet Asia. They were interned in forced labor camps and set to work in coal mines, wood cutting, and other heavy labor. Some of those deported were tried for "crimes" committed prior to the Soviet occupation. Although large numbers of Jews were also among the deportees, Lithuanian antisemites alleged that the deportations were the result of Jewish revenge on the local non-Jewish majority, carried out by "Jewish" security officers in charge of the deportations.

German Occupation, 1941–44

The entire country was occupied by the Germans within one week, so that only a handful of Jews managed to escape into the Soviet interior. Lithuania, called Generalbezirk Litauen, was included in the administrative province of the Reichs Kommissariat Ostland which also included the other Baltic republics, Estonia, Latvia, and also Belorussia. Hinrich Lohse was appointed Reich Commissar of Ostland, with headquarters in Riga. The Generalbezirk consisted of three districts: the Šiauliai (Shavli) district, the Kaunas (Kovno) district, and the Vilna district. Adrian von Renteln, the commissioner general for Lithuania, had his seat in Kaunas (called Kauen by the Nazis). The Germans also established a local administration, composed of pro-Hitler elements. Lithuanian "councilors general" (a sort of minister) were appointed, headed by Petras Kubiliūnas, a former general in the Lithuanian army.

On Aug. 13, 1941, Lohse issued secret "provisional regulations" to the general commissioners of Ostland specifying how to deal with Jews pending the application of the "final solution" of the "Jewish question" in Ostland. These orders applied to all the Jews in Ostland – former citizens of Germany, Czechoslovakia, Poland, the Baltic states, and other parts of the Soviet Union. There were special instructions for the treatment of foreign Jews and persons of mixed parentage. The commissioners general were required to register all the Jews under their regional jurisdiction and to issue compulsory orders to them to wear two yellow badges (one on the chest and one on the back). Jews were prohibited from moving from their house or place of residence without permission from the district or city commissioner; using the sidewalks; using public transportation; residing in spas; visiting parks and playgrounds, theaters, cinemas, libraries, museums, or schools; owning cars or radios. Ritual slaughter was also prohibited. Jewish doctors were permitted to treat only Jewish patients; pharmacies owned by Jews were turned over to Aryan pharmacists; Jews were not permitted to function as veterinarians, lawyers, notaries, bank officials, or commercial agents, nor could they deal in real estate or freight forwarding. All Jewish property was confiscated. Persons holding Jewish property had to report to the German administration which dealt with its confiscation. Only the bare necessities of furniture, clothing, and linen were left in Jewish possession, and an allowance of no more than 20 pfennig (about $0.05) per day per person was permitted to the Jews. Finally, the regulations provided for the concentration of the Jews in ghettos, where food and other necessities were supplied to them only insofar as no shortage resulted for supplying the general population. Inside the ghettos, the Jews were permitted "autonomy" in their affairs, subject to the supervision of the regional commissioner, and had their own *Ordnungsdienst* ("police force"). The ghettos were sealed off from the outside world and put under the guard of auxiliary police recruited from among the local population. Able-bodied Jews were put on forced labor, inside or outside the ghetto. Private persons or enterprises utilizing Jews in forced labor paid the regional commissioner directly. The commissars general were authorized to issue orders based on these regulations.

EINSATZGRUPPEN. The *Einsatzgruppen* (Action Units) played a major role in the destruction of the Jews in the occupied eastern territories, including Lithuania. *Einsatzgruppe A* was attached to the Northern German army and operated in the Baltic states and Leningrad area. Details of the murder of the Jews in Lithuania are contained in some of the 195 *Einsatzgruppen* reports regularly submitted to the *RSHA (Reichssicherheitshauptamt) in Berlin from the end of June 1941 to April 24, 1942. The following is an extract of these reports:

> …a detachment of *Einsatzkommando* 3, assisted by a Lithuanian *Kommando*, has carried out actions in the following towns: Raseiniai, Rokiskis, Zarasai, Birzai, and Prienai. These executions bring the total number to date of persons liquidated by *Einsatzkommando* 3 (with the assistance of Lithuanian partisans), to 46,692… (Report No. 88, Sept. 19, 1941).

Important data on the extermination of Lithuanian Jewry is contained in a report by SS-Brigadefuehrer Stahlecker, commander of *Einsatzgruppe A*. The report, covering the activities of his group on the northern Russian front and in the occupied Baltic states, dates from the beginning of the war against Russia until Oct. 15, 1941. On June 23, 1941, *Einsatzgruppe A* joined the German forces on the northern Russian front. By June 25 Stahlecker, with a detachment of the *Einsatzgruppe*, reached Kovno, which was taken by the Germans the previous day. The following is an extract from his report:

> …In the very first hours after the entry of German troops, local antisemitic forces were organized, despite the considerable difficulties involved, to carry out pogroms against the Jews. The security police received appropriate orders and were in fact prepared to solve the Jewish problem by all available means and with utmost severity. It seemed desirable, however, that at least in the beginning, the extraordinarily harsh means [to be employed] should not be recognized for what they were, for that would have caused concern even in German circles. On the surface the impression had to be created that it was the local population which had initiated the anti-Jewish measures as a spontaneous reaction to their oppression by the Jews for many years and to the Communist terror to which they had been exposed in the recent past.
>
> …Partisan groups formed in Lithuania and established immediate contact with the German troops taking over the city. Unreliable elements among the partisans were weeded out, and an auxiliary unit of 300 men was formed under the command of Klimaitis, a Lithuanian journalist. As the pacification program progressed, this partisan group extended its activities from Kovno to other parts of Lithuania. The group very meticulously fulfilled its tasks, especially in the preparation and carrying out of large-scale liquidations.
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> …As the Baltic population had suffered from the Jews and the Communists during the Bolshevik occupation, it was to be expected that they would take their own measures against those of their [Jewish and Communist] enemies remaining in their midst. It was the task of the German security police to ensure the speedy completion of this goal. Furthermore, evidence had to be created in order to prove, at a later stage, that it was the local population which had squared their own accounts with the Jews and the Communists. The orders given by the German sources had to be concealed…
>
> In Lithuania the initiative was taken by the Lithuanian partisans. On the night of June 25–26, the partisans in Kovno, under the command of Klimaitis, staged a pogrom in which 1,500 Jews were killed. Several synagogues were burned down or otherwise destroyed and a Jewish neighborhood of 60 houses went up in flames. The next night, an additional 2,300 Jews were rendered harmless in the same manner. Kovno has served as a model for similar actions in other parts of Lithuania…
>
> …Pogroms, however, could not provide a complete solution to the Jewish problem in Ostland. Large-scale executions have therefore been carried out all over the country, in which the local auxiliary police was also used; they cooperated without a hitch….
>
> …Simultaneously with the executions ghettos had to be established. There were 30,000 Jews in Kovno. After the first pogroms and killings, a Jewish committee was formed, mainly to organize the transfer to the ghetto… In the establishment of the ghettos the security police were in charge of police matters, while the newly established ghetto administration [the Judenrat] was responsible for the provision of forced labor, food supplies, etc.

Appendix No. 8 of Stahlecker's report is contained in Table 3: Jews Killed in Lithuania, giving the number killed by *Einsatzgruppe A* in Lithuania (up to the end of October 1941).

Table 3. Number of Jews Killed by *Einsatzgruppe A* in Lithuania (Up to the End of Oct. 1941)

Place	Jews	Communists	Total
Kaunas (Kovno) (and vicinity)	31,914	80	31,994
Siauliai (and vicinity)	41,382	763	42,145
Vilna (and vicinity)	7,015	17	7,032
Grand Total	80,311	860	81,171

A map drawn up by *Einsatzgruppe A* to show the number of Jews killed in the Baltic states up to the end of December 1941, indicates that 136,421 Jews were murdered by that date in Lithuania (excluding Vilna), with 16,000 Jews remaining in the Kovno ghetto and 4,500 in the Šiauliai ghetto. A comparison of these figures with the Stahlecker report reveals that in this area alone, 56,110 Jews were killed in the last two months of 1941.

DESTRUCTION OF JEWISH COMMUNITIES IN THE PROVINCES. Most of the Jewish communities in the provinces were totally destroyed in the period from August to September 1941. Many communities were wiped out by sudden attack, not a single person surviving to tell the story of their martyrdom. The sparse material available conspicuously points to the active participation of Lithuanians from all walks of life, side by side with the Germans in the slaughter. Most of the Lithuanians who took part in the murder of Jews fled to Germany in the summer of 1944, when the Soviet army liberated Lithuania. After the war they were classified as Displaced Persons and were aided as Nazi victims.

At the first conference of liberated Lithuanian Jews in Germany, held in Munich in April 1947, a resolution was adopted on the "Guilt of the Lithuanian People in the Extermination of Lithuanian Jewry."

HELP FROM NON-JEWS. There were among the Lithuanians a few individuals who in the face of the Nazis extended a helping hand to the Jews, despite the mortal danger to which they thus exposed themselves. In Kovno, those who helped the Jews included E. Kutorgienė, P. Mažylis, the writer Sofija Čiurlionienė, the priest Paukštys, the nun Ona Brokaitytė, and the opera singer Kipras Petrauskas. In Vilna, Ona Simaitė was of the greatest help, while in Siauliai the daughter of the lawyer Venclauskas, the poet Jankus, the priest Lapis, and former mayor Saneckis were among those who distinguished themselves in aiding the Jews.

War Crimes Trials

On Dec. 20, 1944, the Soviet press published the "Declaration of the Special Government Commission Charged with the Inquiry into Crimes Committed by the German-Fascist Aggressors in the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic." This lengthy document also includes a report on the mass murders committed at Ponary, near Vilna, and at the Ninth Fort near Kovno. In its final chapter the declaration lists a substantial number of Nazi war criminals responsible for the murders carried out in Lithuania during the German occupation. The list includes Von Renteln, commissioner general for Lithuania; Wysocki, chief of police in Lithuania; Fuchs, chief of the security police and the SD; Ditfurt, commandant of Vilna; Weiss, chief of the Vilna prisons; Kramer, city commissioner for Kovno; Lentzen, Kovno regional commissioner; Gewecke, Šiauliai regional commissioner; Buenger, Gestapo chief in Kovno; Goecke, commandant of the Kovno concentration camp (formed of remnants of the ghetto; in the fall of 1943 the Kovno ghetto was turned into a concentration camp). Lithuanians who collaborated with the occupying power are not listed at all.

In addition to the major Nazi war criminals who were tried by the International Military Tribunal in Nuremberg and the *Einsatzgruppen* commanders tried by the U.S. Military Court at Nuremberg (case no. 9), a number of Nazi criminals who had had a hand in the destruction of Lithuanian Jewry were tried by the U.S. Military Courts at Dachau and elsewhere. After the war, some trials also took place in Soviet Lithuania. On the whole, however, only a small number of the criminals were brought to account, as most of them succeeded in evading trial. Notable among the trials was the trial at Ulm, Germany (April 28–September 1958) against a group of *Einsatzgruppen* who in 1941 murdered 5,500 Jews in various places near the German border. The accused were sentenced to various terms of imprisonment.

Liberation

Lithuania was liberated by the Soviet army in the summer of 1944 (Vilna on July 13, Šiauliai on July 27, Kovno on August 1). The Jewish survivors consisted of several hundred Jewish partisan fighters, and a few families and children who had been hidden by gentiles. Jewish refugees who at the beginning of the war escaped to Soviet Asia also began to make their way back.

At the beginning of 1945, when Soviet troops liberated the Stutthof concentration camp, several hundred Jewish women from Lithuania were listed among the survivors, and when Dachau was liberated by the Americans, some Lithuanian Jewish men were found alive there. Both the women and the men had been deported from Lithuania in the summer of 1944, 80 of whom found their death in German concentration camps.

Some of the survivors returned to Lithuania, but the majority stayed in the *Displaced Persons (DP) camps established after the war in Germany, Austria, and Italy. Later, they were joined by other Lithuanian Jews who had escaped from Soviet Lithuania via the Jewish underground escape route (see **Beriḥah*). When the DP camps were dissolved, the Lithuanian Jews settled in Israel, the United States, and other countries overseas together with other Jewish DPs.

After the War

The 1959 Soviet census report indicated the Jewish population of Lithuania at 24,672 (11,478 men and 13,194 women), constituting less than 1% of the total population (2,880,000). Of these, 16,354 Jews lived in Vilna, 4,792 in Kovno, and the rest in other urban areas. At the time the census was taken, 17,025 declared Yiddish as their native tongue (the highest percentage in all the areas where the census was taken), 6,912 Russian, 640 Lithuanian, and 95 specified other languages. In the academic year 1960/61 there were 413 Jewish students at institutions of higher learning (1.67% of the total Jewish population of Lithuania). Lithuania was one of the centers from which pressure came to establish a revival of Jewish cultural life after the war. The Soviet authorities eventually agreed to establish an amateur Yiddish theater group there.

For details on Jewish life in the postwar period see *Vilna, *Kaunas.

[Joseph Gar]

Later Developments

Lithuania seceded from the U.S.S.R. in August 1991. In 1979 the republic's Jewish population was recorded at 14,700 and in 1989 as 12,400. In 1988–89 the Jewish birthrate was 7.5 per 1,000 and mortality rate was 17.8 per 1,000.

In 1989, 780 Jews (743 of them from the capital Vilnius (Vilna)) emigrated. Immigration to Israel amounted to 2,962 (2,355 from Vilnius) in 1990 and to 1,103 in 1991.

There was no state antisemitism in Lithuania. In 1990 Emanuel Zingeris, an activist of the Lithuanian national front Sajudis and now co-chairman of the Jewish Culture Association of Lithuania, was elected as a deputy to the Supreme Soviet of Lithuania. The other co-chairman was Lithuanian-Jewish writer Grigorii Kanovich (who writes in Russian, but whose basic theme is Jewish life, particularly of the past, in his region). A Jewish museum has been opened in Vilnius and a monthly newspaper, *Litovskii Ierusalim* ("Jerusalem of Lithuania"), appears in Yiddish, Russian, Lithuanian, and English. September 23, the day the Vilna ghetto was destroyed, has been set aside to commemorate the mass murder of the Jews of Lithuania. A memorial complex, where annual public meetings are held, has been built at the site of mass executions at Ponary. A Jewish guide to Vilnius has been published. In November 1991 a Council of Jewish Communities of Lithuania was established. Due to the small number of Jews remaining in the country the majority of the numerous Jewish organizations registered in Lithuania have no more than a few members and scarcely function, and according to one local activist, "There are no Jews, there are just Jewish representatives."

On June 1, 1992, an air route was opened between Vilnius and Israel.

[Michael Beizer]

In March 1993, a presentation of the Judaica Center of the Vilnius University took place. The event was attended by Prof. Israel Gutman from the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Prof. Yitzhak Warszawski from the Sorbonne, and Rabbi Rene Sirat from Paris.

There were three Jewish periodicals in Lithuania in 1993, all published in Vilnius, including "Jerusalem of Lithuania" which continued to appear; its editor was Grigorijus Smoliakovas.

The Holocaust memorial in Paneriai (Ponary) near Vilnius was vandalized in 1993. Jewish cemeteries were desecrated in Vilnius and Kaunas. A number of antisemitic articles appeared in the Lithuanian press. A common topic in such publications has been the theory of "dual Holocaust"; according to it, Jews are as equally responsible for the deportation of Lithuanians to Siberia in 1940–early 1941, as are Lithuanians for the massacre of Jews in 1941–43. Antisemitism, with accompanying vandalism, remained a constant factor in Lithuania into the 21st century.

By 1993 there were an estimated 6,000 Jews in Lithuania, with some 900 leaving for Israel in 1992–93. (See also *Latvia.) By the early 21st century just 3,500 remained. Efforts were being made to strengthen the Jewish community structure, with Chabad and other parties active.

[Daniel Romanowski (2nd ed.)]

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LITIN, town in Vinnitsa district, Ukraine. In 1578 the king of Poland, Stephen Bathory, permitted the owner of the estate of Litin to establish a town on his land and to hold two annual fairs which "all the citizens of the land, Christians, Jews, and merchants from foreign countries," would be permitted to attend. In 1616 there were 88 houses in the town; 12 belonged to Jews. In 1765 there were 481 Jews; in 1847, 1,804; and in 1897, 3,874 (41% of the total population). Schools for Jewish boys and girls existed there in 1910. On May 14, 1919, a Ukrainian gang conducted pogroms in Litin and 180 Jews were killed and Jewish property looted. Other riots were in late May and July of that year. A Yiddish school operated in Litin from the early 1920s, and a Jewish woman headed the town council for many years. In 1926, 2,487 Jews lived in the town (30% of the total); by 1939 the number had dropped to 1,410 (27.8% of the total). The Germans occupied Litin on July 17, 1941. They executed 56 young Jews on August 20, and on December 19 they murdered 1,800 Jews. In a labor camp in town the Germans kept a couple of hundred skilled artisans who were killed off gradually in mid-1942, the last dozen being murdered that fall. About 1,000 Jews from Bukovina, who were deported there, were also murdered. All together 3,353 were killed according to Soviet sources.

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[Yehuda Slutsky / Shmuel Spector (2nd ed.)]

LITINSKI, GENRIKH ILYICH (1901–1985), Russian composer and teacher. Born in the Ukraine, Litinski studied composition at the Moscow Conservatory with Glier and graduated in 1928. He taught there from 1928 to 1943, becoming a professor in 1933. In 1947 he joined the faculty of Gnesin Teachers Institute of Music, Moscow, and held a professorship at Kazan Conservatory from 1949 to 1964. Litinski organized musical activities in various Asiatic republics of the Soviet Union, and explored the folklore of the Yakut people in Siberia, which he utilized in his works. His compositions include operas, ballets, symphonies, 12-string quartets, and a string octet. Among his theoretical works are *Polifonicheskaya kompozitsia* ("Polyphonic Composition," Moscow, 1951), *Sovetskoe polifonicheskoe iskusstvo* ("Soviet Polyphonic Art"), Parts 1–3 (Moscow, 1952–54), *Zadachi po polifonii dlya kompozitorov* ("Polyphonic Exercises for the Composers"), Parts 1–3, (Moscow, 1965–67), and *Obrazovanie imitatsiy strogogo pis'ma* ("Forming of Imitations in Counterpoint," Moscow, 1971).

[Marina Rizarev (2nd ed.)]

LITMAN, SAMUEL (1910–), U.S. electrical engineer. Born in Boston, Litman was on the faculty at the University of South Carolina from 1940, and professor of electrical engineering from 1962. He wrote, with T.F. Ball, *Laboratory Experiments in Direct and Alternating Currents* (1940), and became an expert on information theory.

LITOMERICE (Czech. **Litoměřice**; Ger. **Leitmeritz**), town in N. Bohemia, Czech Republic. Jews are mentioned in the town's founding charter (1057) as salt merchants, thus making Litomerice the first town in Bohemia, after Prague, in which Jews are mentioned. There was a Jewish quarter in 1411. In 1514 the city council protected its "poor Jewish artisans" against financial demands of outside lords, and in 1529 the Bohemian royal authorities demanded that the town mayor provide proper protection for the Jews. Ferdinand I canceled a permit allowing free trade in wine in 1540, and in the following year, after a massacre, the Jews were expelled. The town was granted the privilege *de non tolerandis Judaeis* in 1546; the synagogue was turned into a hospital (a Hebrew inscription on the building was preserved). In 1584 Jews were permitted to attend fairs. Six Jewish families settled in Litomerice in 1851. In 1863 there were 100 Jews. The community was constituted in 1875 and a synagogue was dedicated in 1883. There were 616 Jews in 1921. Between the two world wars there was a training center for settlement in Ereẓ Israel at the Litomerice agricultural school. The Zionist politician Emil *Margulies lived in the town. In 1930 the community numbered 425 (2.3% of the total population), of whom 143 declared their nationality as Jewish. At the time of the Sudeten crisis (1938) nearly all of the community left the town, the few men who remained being deported to concentration camps.

During the war a branch of the Flossenburg concentration camp and a crematorium were set up in Litomerice. After World War II staff members of the Terezin (Theresienstadt) concentration camp and prison, German and Jewish, were tried in Litomerice. The records are deposited in the local court.

A Jewish community also existed in LOVOSICE (Lobositz) on the opposite bank of the Elbe. According to tradition the community was founded by the Jews who had been expelled from Litomerice in 1541. The first documentary evidence on the community is from 1704. There were 17 Jewish houses there in the 18th century. The *Hoenigsberg family lived in the town for some time. Lovosice Jews developed the business of shipping products to Germany on the Elbe, dealing in the production of chocolate. There were 201 persons in the community in 1930. At the time of the Sudeten crisis nearly all the community left the town. The few remaining males were sent to concentration camps.

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[Jan Herman and Meir Lamed / Yeshayahu Jelinek (2nd ed.)]

LITTAUER, LUCIUS NATHAN (1859–1944), U.S. industrialist, congressman, and philanthropist. Littauer was born in Gloversville, New York, the son of an immigrant from Breslau, Prussia. Upon his graduation from Harvard College in 1878 Littauer entered his father's glove factory. He assumed directorship of the company in 1883, and under him it became the largest manufacturing enterprise of its kind in the country. An entrepreneur, he founded and participated in many other business enterprises, including public utilities, banking, textiles, and transportation.

Littauer became active in Republican politics and served in the U.S. House of Representatives from 1896 to 1907, representing predominantly non-Jewish upstate constituencies. An intimate friend and close political adviser of President Theodore Roosevelt, he was a leading member of the important House Appropriations Committee. From 1912 to 1914 he served as a member of the Board of Regents of the University of the City of New York. During the remainder of his life, Littauer devoted himself to the management of his widespread business interests, and, above all, to an increasing range of philanthropic activities. His initial gift in 1894 for the Nathan Littauer Hospital in Gloversville was followed by many substantial contributions for the building and support of numerous institutions in the area, including the Jewish Community Center. A statue of him was erected in Gloversville in 1929.

His donations helped social welfare, health, recreation, education, and the financial support of needy students aspiring to higher education. He contributed extensively to medical care and research, aiding medical schools and hospitals in New York City, Albany, Paris, and Breslau, where he endowed the Nathan Littauer Stiftung at its Jewish Hospital. At the New York University College of Medicine he endowed a professorship of psychiatry; he also gave a building to the National Hospital for Speech Disorders. In 1937 he made a large gift to the New School of Social Research, New York, for the support of its newly established University in Exile, where many distinguished refugee Jewish intellectuals and scholars found a haven to continue their teaching and research. An abiding interest in public affairs motivated his largest single gift: the erection and endowment at Harvard of the Littauer Center of Public Administration, and the establishment of the Graduate School of Public Administration. The Lucius N. Littauer Foundation, established in 1929, gives grants to a wide variety of causes, including the advancement of Jewish studies and Jewish learning.

Throughout his life, Littauer remained a faithful Jew in the Reform tradition. While in Congress, he advocated legislation to liberalize the immigration laws in order to help the victims of religious persecution in Eastern Europe. He firmly believed in the role of Jewish culture in U.S. intellectual life and supported the **Menorah Journal* and the Menorah movement. In 1925 Littauer endowed the Nathan Littauer professorship of Hebrew literature and philosophy at Harvard – the first of its kind in the U.S. – later augmented by other gifts to Harvard for publications, fellowships, and the acquisition of collections of rare Hebraica and Judaica. He contributed to the Central Conference of American Rabbis for scholarly studies. In 1938 he founded the Institute of Social and Religious Studies at the Jewish Theological Seminary of America. At New York University he initiated the endowment of a chair in Jewish and Hebrew studies. Littauer received a variety of awards and honors for his philanthropic and public activities.

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[Harry Starr]

LITTMAN, JOSEPH AARON (1898–1953), British property tycoon. One of the earliest and most successful of England's well-known property magnates, Joe Littman was born in Russia, lived in New York, and moved to London in the 1920s. He began purchasing properties in the 1930s, specializing in high street retailers in suburban London. Littman pioneered the so-called sale and leaseback agreement, under which a financial institution would buy a site and lease it back to him on very long (sometimes 999-year) leaseholds, he in turn subletting it to shops on short leases. Both he and the financial institution, usually a building society, thus benefited, meanwhile eliminating much of the red tape notorious in British real estate. Littman concentrated on already existing properties rather than on building new ones and, after 1945, moved heavily into blue chip retail investment in London's West End, especially Oxford Street. When Littman died of lung cancer at the age of 55, he left a fortune of £3.3 million, a fabulous sum given Britain's very high rates of taxation. Many other successful British property developers imitated his methods.

His son LOUIS (THOMAS SIDNEY) LITTMAN (1925–1987), a Cambridge-educated solicitor and farmer, was the founder of the well-known Littman Library of Jewish Civilization, which he began in 1965 in memory of his father. It has published many scholarly works and studies on Jewish history, religion, and culture.

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[William D. Rubinstein (2nd ed.)]

LITTMAN, SOL (1920–), Canadian journalist and community activist. Littman was born in Toronto, Ontario, to East European immigrant parents. He earned a B.A. in sociology from the University of Toronto in 1946, an M.A. in sociology and anthropology from the University of Wisconsin in 1950, and a degree in social work from the University of Toronto in 1952. Littman had multiple careers. In 1955 he joined the staff of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith (ADL) in the United States and for 13 years was involved in tracking right-wing and antisemitic groups and exposing discrimination in housing, employment, and social organizations. In 1968 Littman returned to Toronto to head ADL in Canada, later renamed the League for Human Rights. He spearheaded the organization's campaign against antisemitism and social discrimination.

In 1971 Littman turned to journalism, first as editor for two years of the *Canadian Jewish News* and writing a bi-weekly column on the arts for the *Toronto Star*. In 1973 he moved to the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation as a news documentary maker and in 1976 he joined the editorial staff of the *Toronto Star*, where he often wrote editorials on social issues. Taking early retirement to write, in 1982 he published *War Criminal on Trial*, the story of Helmut Rauca, the first Canadian deported from Canada to stand trial for war crimes. From 1985 to 1999 Littman was Canadian representative of the Simon Wiesenthal Center and pressured the Canadian government on the prosecution of Nazi war criminals who entered Canada after World War II. In large part through his efforts, in 1985 the government of Brian Mulroney established the Deschênes Commission of Inquiry on War Criminals in Canada.

In 2003 Littman published his second book, *Pure Soldiers or Sinister Legion*, about the Ukrainian Waffen-SS division, many of whose members were allowed to resettle in Canada after World War II.

[Harold Troper (2nd ed.)]

LITURGY.

Liturgy has conventionally been understood as the words that Jews recite in public worship. While written words are almost all that remains from earlier times, the study of liturgy today understands that the ways that these words are performed shapes their meanings profoundly. To the extent possible, then, the study of liturgical words must be combined with the study of all elements of their settings: of the gestures, postures, and intonations (musical or otherwise) accompanying them; of the physical setting where they are recited, usually the synagogue, and its ornamentation; of ritual objects accompanying them; and of the matrix of *halakhah*, custom, and theology that shapes their composition and recitation. Thus, liturgy in the Jerusalem Temple was primarily nonverbal, but filled with the ritual actions of sacrifice. Liturgy in synagogues has always been dominated by words, but not exclusively so. Liturgy in two synagogues might include very similar texts but look and sound entirely different, or express two very different sorts of spirituality. In addition, the synagogue is not the only locus of rabbinic liturgy; a prayer quorum can gather anywhere. Moreover, the individual, with or without the quorum, remains obligated to pray. Rituals based in the home, around meals, or formulated over a cup of wine (as in circumcision and marriage) are also integral elements of Jewish liturgy. (For studies that pursue some of these directions, see Ehrlich; Langer, *To Worship*…; Langer and Fine.)

BIBLICAL PERIOD

While the Jerusalem Temples stood, formal public worship of God occurred there, through the sacrifices and their accompanying rituals. Individuals also offered occasional *prayer, often freely composed as spontaneous reactions to personal events or experiences. The Hebrew Bible records the short prayers of Moses (Num. 12:13), Jethro (Ex. 18:10), and Hannah (I Sam. 1:11), and the extended prayer of Solomon at the inauguration of the First Temple (I Kings 8:15 ff., 23 ff.). The only formal prayers in the Bible are the confessions to be recited when bringing the first fruits (*Viddui Bikkurim*) and the tithe (*Viddui Ma'aser*; Deut. 26:5–15), and that of the high priest which had no prescribed formula (Lev. 16:21). Pious individuals may have prayed thrice daily (Dan. 6:11; cf. also Ps. 55:18), and some of the psalms may have served as texts for the levitical service twice a day in the First and Second Temples (I Chron. 23:30). There is no evidence, however, for communal prayer in the Temple. The Mishnah records a short liturgy for the priests on duty which comprised a benediction, the recitation of the *Shema* and the *Decalogue, three additional benedictions, and the *priestly blessing (Tam. 5:1). The laymen present for the sacrifices participated in the ritual by prostrating themselves (Tam. 7:3; cf. Ber. 11b) and at appropriate pauses, probably chanting such responses as "O give thanks unto the Lord, for He is good" (Ps. 136:1). This ceremony might have been one of the sources out of which rabbinic liturgy later developed.

The synagogue, the Greco-Roman association in its Judean form, the frequent fasts prescribed in times of drought for which a special liturgy was recorded in the Mishnah (Ta'an. 2:1–5; see *Fasting and Fast Days), and the *ma'amadot* institution (Ta'an. 2:7; 4:1–4) were elements of the world from which rabbinic liturgy emerged. The synagogue developed as a place for the regular ritual reading and exposition of Torah. Judean civic associations, perhaps known as *ḥavurot*, provided a forum for communal meals, ritual, and study. The *ma'amad* consisted of representatives of the people, some of whom were present at the sacrifices and the rest assembled at home, both conducting prayers four times a day – **Shaḥarit*, **Musaf*, **Minḥah*, and **Ne'ilat She'arim* (see **Ne'ilah*, **Mishmarot*, and **Ma'amadot*). The hours later fixed for the *Shaḥarit, Minḥah*, and **Arvit* prayers were in accordance with the times (of prayer of the members of the *ma'amadot* and thus) of the sacrifices as well as in accordance with the practices of pious individuals who fixed their prayer schedule according to the position of the sun (TJ, Ber. 4:1, 7b; Ber. 26b). The sectarian community at Qumran similarly gathered twice daily for formal prayers as well as communal meals. All these prayer gatherings correspond in timing to Temple sacrifices.

TALMUDIC PERIOD

Tannaitic texts record the basic outlines of rabbinic liturgy. Although *amoraim* attribute the composition of many of these prayers to the men of the *Great Synagogue (Ber. 33a), contemporary scholars debate how much, if any, of rabbinic liturgy predates the destruction of the Second Temple. The Mishnah also knows the obligation derived from the Pentateuch, to recite the **Shema* twice daily with its benedictions (three in the morning and four in the evening); the daily **Amidah*, known as *Tefillah*, comprising 18 benedictions (Ber. 4:3) on weekdays (but shortened on other days) and recited three times daily (four times on holidays); and the reading of *Torah on Sabbaths, Mondays, and Thursdays. Rabbinic meal rituals, with blessings before eating and an extended *Grace after Meals following, complete with invocations that reflect an association-like setting, also appear in the Mishnah (Ber. ch. 6–7).

The concept of *benedictions, i.e., *berakhot*, as the fundamental building block of prayer is already evident in Qumran literature and is presupposed by the rabbis, but with many variants. The *amoraim* demanded a single statutory formulation, *Barukh Attah Adonai* ("Blessed are You, Eternal"). In addition, the rabbis incorporated many Temple rituals, like the *priestly benediction, **shofar*, **lulav*, and **hallel* into appropriate points in their liturgies. (See the individual entries on all these prayers for their descriptions and histories.)

No rabbinic prayers were written down until much later. Contemporary scholars debate to what extent the rabbinic liturgical system achieved its form during the Second Temple period or under Rabban *Gamaliel in response to the destruction of the Temple. It is also unclear to what extent prayer texts were fixed or flexible within these accepted structures and how broadly rabbinic prayers were known among the Jews of the Land of Israel and even more so in the Diaspora. It is only around the fourth century that synagogue architecture in Israel begins regularly to reflect the physical orientation of rabbinic worship, especially the *Amidah*, towards Jerusalem. By that point, rabbinic prayer had become a function of the public synagogue, complete with a **sheli'ah ẓibbur* whose public recitation of the prayers enabled those incapable of praying properly on their own to fulfill their obligations to participate by listening and responding **amen*. There are ample indications that women attended the synagogue. However, there is no direct evidence for an architecturally separate women's section until the High Middle Ages.

At the very least, an accepted literary norm developed to the effect that the ideal language for prayer would be Hebrew (although other languages were acceptable for many prayers; Sot. 7:1, 32b-33a; Ber. 13a, etc.), and that this Hebrew would allude to but not duplicate biblical language. By the end of the talmudic period, general consensus existed as to the basic formulation of most prayers, though significant regional variations remained. Whether these variations arose as devolution from an original fixed composition or from gradual evolution towards this consensus is unclear. No manuscripts of Hebrew prayers exist from this period, and the few Greek manuscripts suggest only a vague adherence to rabbinic norms (Van der Horst, Langer, "Did… "). The Talmud preserves a few discussions of disputed prayer texts, and these decisions became normative in later generations as the Talmud itself became normative. However, the lack of early talmudic manuscripts also calls the historicity of many of these texts into question.

Around this core of statutory prayers, other elements seem to have emerged, probably in the amoraic period. These include the recitation of psalms and psalm-like passages, known as **pesukei de-zimra*, prior to the prayers themselves, in order to set an appropriate mood (Ber. 5:1), and the recitation of individual prayers after the *Amidah*. These latter prayers began as private supplications, including personal requests (known as *devarim*; Tos. to Ber. 3:10, also called *teḥinnah* or *taḥanunim*), but were gradually formalized (see **Taḥanun*). In contrast to the statutory prayers, both of these elements include extensive recitation of biblical texts as well as new compositions composed of concatenations of complete biblical verses. These elements took radically different forms in the Land of Israel and in Babylonia, as the findings of the Cairo **Genizah* attest (Fleischer, *Eretz-Israel*…), but their direct reliance on biblical language suggests that they had emerged before the *Karaites' insistence on purely biblical prayer became an issue.

Perhaps as early as the tannaitic period, traditions of **piyyut* (liturgical poetry) emerged in the Land of Israel as elaborations upon the statutory prayers (some simpler exemplars became part of this liturgy). By at least the late amoraic period, **ḥazzanim* produced and performed poetic versions of entire liturgical elements, especially on Sabbaths and holidays, replacing the statutory language with compositions relevant to the day and its Torah reading. This poetry was mostly in Hebrew, continuing the tradition of allusive references to biblical passages, and soon extending its content to include midrashic elements. *Piyyut* flourished mainly in the Land of Israel; Babylonian rabbis resisted its adoption until well into the geonic period. The universal triumph of the Babylonian rabbinic insistence on precise recitation of the statutory prayers, as well as on an annual cycle of Torah readings, left little room for the rich tradition of poetry from the west which had been written for a *triennial cycle; it remained unknown until the discovery of the Cairo *Genizah*.

GEONIC PERIOD

By early geonic times, two different rabbinic rites had already developed: the Palestinian and the Babylonian. We know little about the nature of Jewish prayer in the rest of the Diaspora, except where the correspondence of specific communities with the *geonim* has been preserved. In all cases, by the end of this period, their prayers largely conformed to Babylonian rabbinic norms. Contemporaneous Babylonian *responsa show great concern with universally establishing correct prayer texts according to their own customs and, concurrently, with the rejection of "deviant" customs which can often be identified as Palestinian or, later, Karaite. (Hoffman, *Canonization*….)

The old Palestinian rite, which flourished until the 12th century C.E. at least, became known in modern times only after the discovery of the Cairo *Genizah*. The first Palestinian liturgical texts were published by S. Schechter, in JQR, 10 (1898), 654–9. A bibliography of the numerous subsequent publications may be found in Y. Luger, *The Weekday Amidah* …; of particular importance is E. Fleischer, *Eretz-Israel*….

While there are considerable differences between the Palestinian usage and the other known rites, the discovered texts do not always show whether they were intended for private or public prayer. Among the characteristics peculiar to the Palestinian rite are the *triennial cycle of the Torah reading; the ending *Ẓur Yisrael ve-Go'alo* for the **ge'ullah* benediction after the *Shema* (morning and evening); different texts for several benedictions including the **Birkat ha-Torah*; a totally different recension of the 18 (not 19) benedictions of the *Amidah* in which the (otherwise also known) benedictions *Elohei David u-voneh Yerushalayim*, *she-Otekha be-yir'ah na'avod*, *ha-tov lekha lehodot*, *oseh ha-shalom* occur; an elaborate and complex ritual preceding the statutory prayers on the Sabbath that combines a version of *pesukei de-zimra* with a procession with the Torah and a recitation of the Ten Commandments (*tefillat ha-shir*); a special benediction before the *Shema*, *Asher kiddeshanu be-mitzevotav ve-ẓivvanu al mitzvat keri'at Shema*; and the addition of *Ya'aleh ve-Yavo* to the *Musaf Amidah*. Scattered elements of the Palestinian rite made their way into the various medieval European rites, especially those associated with the recitation of *piyyutim*. However, there is no discernable pattern of regular influence that suggests direct and sole dependence.

The old Babylonian rite is mainly known from geonic treatises and from Cairo *Genizah* fragments; the oldest treatise – which is also the oldest preserved complete prayer book – is the ninth-century *Seder R. Amram Gaon* of *Amram bar Sheshna (ed. by E.D. Goldschmidt, 1971), comprised of the texts of the prayers together with respective halakhic prescriptions. Both Amram and his near contemporary *Natronai b. Hilai in his responsum concerning the 100 benedictions (L. Ginzberg, *Geonica*, 2 (1909), 114ff.) answered queries from Spanish Jews asking how to pray. This suggests the possibility that Jews in Spain were only then beginning to accept rabbinic liturgical requirements. The majority of medieval prayer books follow the organization of the *Seder Rav Amram Gaon*, including, frequently, its combination of prayer texts with the pertinent halakhic prescriptions. Unfortunately, its many copyists did not preserve Amram's original prayer texts, often substituting their own. Today's prayer books still follow his order of the prayers.

The *seder* was followed (a century later) by the *Siddur Rav* of *Saadiah (Gaon) b. Joseph with prescriptions in Arabic (ed. by I. Davidson, S. Assaf, and B.I. Joel (1941)) which, despite some influences of Palestinian usage, is a good example of geonic prayer books. However, Saadiah's organization was more suitable for study than for synagogue use, and it had no impact outside the Arabic-speaking world. Saadiah also includes significantly more *piyyutim*, including some of his own composition, indicating their increasing acceptance in Babylonia.

POST-GEONIC RITES

All the various medieval rites of Jewish liturgy developed from the Babylonian rite with varying influences from the Palestinian rite as well as what may be some remnants of local customs which are impossible to document. Although it is customary to divide the rites according to strict geographical boundaries, examination of the manuscript evidence suggests that this is useful mostly as a heuristic device, and actual local customs shaded one into the next, much as do linguistic dialects. Layered onto this were various halakhic and mystical concerns about precise language and performance of the prayers (including, especially, music) that further shaped the actual liturgical experience. Jewish mobility, voluntary and involuntary, also contributed to mixings of these rites. The rites evolved internally over time, especially but not exclusively around the edges of the statutory prayers.

Conventionally, scholars have constructed relationships among the rites mainly by the collections of *piyyutim* they adopted, dividing the rites into two groups: the Palestinian (comprising Italy, the Balkans, and the Franco-German countries) and the Babylonian (comprising the Spanish and Yemenite rites). However, this Eurocentric division ignores most of the rites driven out of existence after the expulsion of the Jews from Spain and presumes that all communities preserved their traditions of *piyyut* as carefully as did Ashkenaz. It also ignores the fact that the statutory prayers of all these rites are fundamentally Babylonian.

Until Iberian Jews began fleeing Spain, beginning in 1391 but especially after 1492, Jews who moved to a new area generally adopted the local custom, thus preserving the local and regional nature of Jewish rites. Mass immigration, however, created communities of Spanish Jews who considered their customs superior to those of the natives. With this, and in accord with kabbalistic teachings that one's prayers would only reach heaven if offered in the words appropriate to one's ancestral lineage, Jewish rites ceased to be regional. Printing of large numbers of identical prayer books also led to a loss of differentiations among local rites and the loss entirely of rites in which printers were not interested. As a result, the modern world is dominated by two rites: the Ashkenazi and the Sephardi (with identifiable subgroups), accompanied by a few surviving regional rites, most notably those of Italy and Yemen. None of these survive solely in their places of origin.

The most significant formative forces on the medieval rites were the continuing integration of Babylonian halakhic norms and the various schools of Jewish mystic thought. Liturgical *halakhah* continued to develop, as part of the larger processes of halakhic development, during this period. The parameters of correct prayer, as outlined in the *Seder Rav Amram Gaon*, *Halakhot Gedolot*, and *Massekhet Soferim* particularly received authoritative definition in the various medieval codes and related works. A significant number of these works, like the *Sefer Hamanhig* of *Abraham ben Nathan ha-Yarḥi (ed. Raphael, 1978), also contain valuable descriptions of actual regional practices in the course of their discussions of halakhic questions. The *Ḥasidei Ashkenaz were deeply interested in liturgy and in correctly reciting and understanding liturgical texts. Their traditions and commentaries, such as the *Perushei Siddur ha-Tefillah la-Roke'aḥ* of *Eleazar ben Judah of Worms (ed. Herschler, 1992), the *Siddur Rabbenu Shelomo / Siddur Ḥasidei Ashkenaz* (ed. Herschler, 1972), or the *piyyut* commentary, *Arugat ha-Bosem* of *Abraham ben Azriel (ed. E.E. Urbach, 1939–63), impacted subsequent understandings of the liturgy. Kabbalists were also interested in and concerned about liturgy, but most texts remain in manuscript. An exception is the 16th-century *Sefer Tola'at Ya'akov* of Meir ibn Gabbai (Jerusalem, 1967). (For some studies of the impact of Kabbalah on liturgy, see Hallamish.)

Description and identification of the medieval, pre-expulsion rites is still in its infancy. The work was begun by D. Goldschmidt in a series of articles describing individual manuscripts, collected posthumously in his *On Jewish Liturgy*. Since then, the addition of thousands of liturgical manuscripts to the collection of the Institute for Microfilmed Hebrew Manuscripts at the Jewish National and University Library in Jerusalem, the development of scholarly ability to manipulate data by computer, and advances in codicology have made detailed study of the medieval rites in their bewildering variety feasible and a desideratum. S. Reif provides an analytic summary in his *Judaism and Hebrew Prayer* (1993), Ch. 6, "Authorities, Rites, and Texts in the Middle Ages." In the meantime, the descriptions that follow present the salient features and editions of these rites as they have evolved over the past millennium.

Ashkenazi Rites

We begin, somewhat arbitrarily, with the Ashkenazi rites. These consist of three main subrites: of Northern France (Zorfat), of the Rhineland (Ashkenaz proper), and of the lands to the east of the Rhine (originally called the Canaanite rite, later the Polish rite). All are well established already in the earliest preserved manuscripts from the 12th and 13th centuries as well as in the literature of a slightly earlier time. The rite of Northern France largely ceased to exist with the persecutions and expulsions of the French Jews during the 14th century, but the other two persist today.

FRENCH RITE. The **Maḥzor Vitry*, composed by Rashi's student, R. Simḥah of Vitry, and presenting his teacher's lore, is one of the earliest exemplars of the Northern French rite. The edition published by S. Hurwitz (1923), based on a late manuscript with many interpolations from the 13th-14th centuries, has now been replaced by the critical edition of Aryeh Goldschmidt (2004). Goldschmidt argues that the *Siddur Rashi* (ed. S. Buber and J. Freimann (1910–11)) is really a version of this work. The 13th-century *Sefer ha-Maḥkim* and *Siddur Troyes* record that the French rite differs from the Ashkenazi rite only in certain additional *piyyutim*, a *kerovah* for the second day of Rosh Ha-Shanah, and some *ma'arivim*. However, manuscript evidence and the arguments of the Ḥasidei Ashkenaz suggest some more subtle differences in precise language, too.

Until the 1290 expulsion, English Jews also followed the ritual of Northern France. A complete *siddur* with a few *piyyutim* is contained in *Eẓ Ḥayyim* (printed in the edition of Sir Israel *Brodie, 1 (1962), 63–138), by R. Jacob Ḥazzan of London. Part of this rite also remained in use in three communities in Piedmont (northern Italy), Asti, Fossano, and Moncalvo (known as אפ״ם, AFM), until modern times. These communities had accepted the Ashkenazi rite upon their establishment in Italy, but on the High Holy Days continued to recite the *piyyutim* of the French *maḥzor* from handwritten copies. The community of Asti continued to hold High Holiday services in accordance with its ritual until about 1965. The *maḥzor* of these communities is described by D. Goldschmidt in *On Jewish Liturgy,* 80–121; and a list of the *piyyutim* is given by I. Markon, in: *Jewish Studies … G.A. Kohut* (1935), Heb. pt., 89–101. The whole material of High Holidays *piyyutim* of the French *maḥzor* found in manuscript is included in the *Maḥzor la-Yamim ha-Nora'im*, ed. D. Goldschmidt, Jerusalem, 1970.

RHINELAND AND CANAANITE/POLISH RITES. The Rhineland, or pure, Ashkenazi rite, originally used by the German or German-speaking Jews, was the most widely followed and its *siddur* and *maḥzor* have been printed since the 16th century. Only fragments of the Palestinian texts (e.g., *Ẓur Yisrael* or the short *Emet ve-Yaẓẓiv* in connection with *piyyutim*) have been retained. The *maḥzor* contains *yoẓerot* for the special *Sabbaths and all festivals; *kerovot* for the Four *Parashiyyot*, *Shabbat ha-Gadol*, all the festivals, Purim (in some communities also for Ḥanukkah), and the Ninth of Av; and a large collection of *seliḥot* and *kinot*. Most of the *piyyutim* are by Palestinian or German authors. The rite is now followed in Germany (from the Elbe River westward, where post-Holocaust communities retain authentic rites), Switzerland, Holland, Belgium, northern France, and in a number of communities of Northern Italy.

From the earliest documented exemplars, a slightly different rite was common in communities to the east, known originally as Canaanites (an epithet for "slaves," i.e., the pagan Slavs). This branch eventually comprised the eastern part of Germany, Poland, Lithuania, Bohemia, Moravia, Hungary, the rest of Austria, all of Russia, Romania, and the rest of the Balkan countries, and later included also the Ashkenazi Jewish communities of Denmark, England, America, and Palestine. Differences between the two branches – the Western, called *Minhag Rainus* ("Rhine usage") in the Middle Ages; and the Eastern, called *Minhag Oystraikh* or *Minhag Peihem* ("Austrian or Bohemian usage"), today generally known as *Minhag Polin* – are hardly noticeable in the regular prayers; the main variances are in some special *piyyutim* and in the more elaborate opening to the Torah ritual. Different editions of *Minhag Ashkenaz* (Western) and *Minhag Polin* (Eastern) were published from the 16th century onward. The **selihot* point to local differences. Thirteen different rites have been printed (see the *Seder ha-Seliḥot* edition of D. Goldschmidt (1965), introd. 7).

A major contribution of the medieval Ashkenazi rites to the greater Jewish world was the development and regularization of memorial liturgies, ranging from the regular recitation of *Kaddish* during the year following a parent's death, to the annual recitation of *Kaddish* on the anniversary of a relative's death, to the recitation of **Yizkor* four times a year during the pilgrimage festivals and Yom Kippur. Many of these rituals developed in parallel to Christian interest in cults of the dead. They emerged in Ashkenaz in the aftermath of the destruction of Rhineland communities during the First and Second Crusades. Some Ashkenazi communities included a memorial element in most Sabbath services with the recitation of the prayer "*Av ha-Raḥamim*," while others recited it only on the Sabbath preceding *Shavuot (the anniversary of the First Crusade) and the Sabbath preceding the Ninth of *Av. It is also in this context that *Aleinu* became part of the daily liturgy and not simply a part of the High Holy Day *Musaf* services.

Until the 18th century this rite was generally followed by all Ashkenazi Jews, but since the rise of Ḥasidism, the rite of Isaac Luria (*Nusaḥ ha-Ari*) was accepted in ḥasidic communities. Though retaining some of the Ashkenazi usage (e.g., the *taḥanunim*, the *Kedushah* for the *Shaḥarit* of Sabbath, Grace after Meals), *Nusaḥ ha-Ari* borrows significant elements from the Sephardi rite (see below) and is therefore popularly called *Nusaḥ Sefarad*. The *piyyutim* used by the ḥasidic communities are, however, according to the Ashkenazi (Polish) rite. Through the negligence of printers, the texts of this rite were badly emended and never really standardized. The special editions for the *Chabad Ḥasidim (after the revision of R. *Shneur Zalman of Lyady) are explicitly marked *Nusaḥ ha-Ari*.

Romanian (Romaniot) Rite

The Romanian (Greek) rite was followed by the Jewish communities of the Byzantine Empire. In use in Greece, the Balkans, and in European Turkey, at least until the end of the 16th century (manuscript evidence suggests that the *piyyutim*, at least, continued to be recited even later in some communities), it was superseded by the Sephardi rite. Four editions of *Maḥzor Romania* appeared in the 16th century, and many more of smaller prayer books (*siddurim*) of the rite. Distinctive features of the rite are *Hodu* before *Barukh she-Amar*; in the **Kaddish*, the addition *Ve-Yaẓmaḥ purkaneh vi-karev Meshiḥeh u-farek ameh be-raḥmateh*; several elaborations of the weekday *Amidah; Le-Dor va-Dor* for the third benediction of the *Amidah* (instead of *Attah Kadosh*); the short *Emet ve-Yaẓẓiv* on the Sabbath; *Keter* for the *Kedushah* in *Musaf. Maḥzor Romania* contains a large collection of *piyyutim* for *Shaharit* **petiḥah*, **reshut*, *Kaddish*, **Barekhu*, **yoẓer*, *ofan*, *zulat*, *mi-khamokha*; *Ma'arivim* for every festival (including the Day of Atonement); **kerovot* for fast days, Purim, the Day of Atonement, Rosh Ha-Shanah (in Mss. also for the other holidays and Ḥanukkah); and a large collection of **seliḥot* and **kinot*. Differences in the manuscripts and the printed editions show that the rite was edited in its final form at a comparatively late date. (For a description of this rite see: Zunz, Ritus, 79 ff., and D. Goldschmidt, *On Jewish Prayer*, 122–52. For its *piyyut*, see L. Weinberger, *Jewish Hymnography: A Literary History* (1998), ch. 4–6, and his references to his publications of the *piyyut* texts.)

The ritual of the Jews of Corfu (their *maḥzor* was never printed) is almost identical with the Romaniot rite. The rite of the Jews of Kaffa (Feodosiya) and Karasubazar (Belogorsk) in the Crimea has, despite many elaborations of the texts, all the distinctions of the *Maḥzor Romania*. While their *siddur* was printed twice (last edition Kala, 1735), their *maḥzor* was never printed. I. Markon (in: *Festschrift … A. Harkavy* (1908), 449–69) lists 315 *piyyutim* from their *maḥzor*.

Roman (Italian) Rite

The Roman (Italian) rite, also called *Minhag ha-Lo'azim*, is in use today in Rome, in the interior of Italy, in a few communities in Salonika and Constantinople, and also in the Italian synagogue in Jerusalem. Peculiar to this rite are *Le'eila Le'eila* in the usual *Kaddish; Keter* in all *Kedushot*; different wording to the *Amidah*; different *taḥanunim* (*ve-Hu Raḥum* is missing); a special piyyutic version of the *Arvit* for Friday evening (*Asher Killah Ma'asav*) and its *Amidah* (*U-me-Ahavatkha*); *kerovot* for the Day of Atonement and all the fast days, but not for Rosh Ha-Shanah and other festivals. A number of *piyyutim* had already been removed from the *maḥzor* before the invention of printing. Many manuscripts and editions of this rite continue the model of the *Seder Rav Amram Gaon* of interspersing prayers with halakhic instructions.

The first edition of this rite was that of Soncino, printed at Casal Maggiore, 1485–86. An introduction to this *maḥzor* was published by S.D. Luzzatto (1856), entitled *Mavo le-Maḥzor Benei Roma* (new edition, with supplement by D. Goldschmidt and a bibliography of the printed *maḥzor* and *siddur* by J.J. Cohen, Tel Aviv, 1966).

Sephardi (Spanish) Rites

Originally dominant in the Iberian Peninsula, the Sephardi rites spread, after the Jewish expulsion, to North Africa, Italy, the Balkans, and through all the countries of the east as far as India, superseding the fixed prayers of the local rites and often their traditions of *piyyut* as well. Former *Conversos brought the rite, in a slightly different form, to Holland, some communities in Germany (e.g., Altona, Vienna), England, and eventually North and South America.

In the process of the expulsion, almost all the local rites of the Iberian Peninsula lost their identities. The Catalonian and Aragonese rites were preserved only in Saloniki, where they were printed several times (first editions: Catalonian (Salonika, 1627), Aragonese (Salonika, 1629)) for the Catalonian and Aragonese Jews who settled there (D. Goldschmidt, *On Jewish Prayer*, 272–88). All surviving rites are versions of the Castilian rite.

The Sephardi rite differs from the Ashkenazi by putting *Hodu* before *Barukh she-Amar*; inserting *Ve-Yaẓmaḥ Purkaneh* in the *Kaddish*; introducing the *Kedushah* with *Nakdishakh* and *Keter;* different versions of the ninth benediction of the *Amidah* for summer and winter; minor differences in the general wording of the *Amidah*; and sometimes the formula *Le-Moshe Ẓivvita* (instead of *Tikkanta*) for the Sabbath *Musaf.* The collection of verses accompanying the movements of Torah from and to the ark are almost completely different. Although early Sephardi rites were rich in *piyyutim*, they had almost all been deleted or moved to the periphery of the service in Castile by the time of David ben Joseph *Abudarham (see his commentary to the Yom Kippur *piyyutim*, *Tashlum Abudarham*, ed. by L. Prins (1900)). From the 16th century, it became common to print this rite according to the kabbalistic traditions of the Ari. From the 18th century, most Sephardi communities removed *piyyut* entirely (Langer, *To Worship God Properly…*, 172–82).

NORTH AFRICAN RITES. There is very little evidence preserved for the original rites of the North African communities. Almost all manuscripts and printed editions reflect the rite of the Sephardi émigrés. An important exception is the *siddur* of Solomon b. Nathan of Sijilmassa (North Africa, 12th century; tr., ed. S. Haggai, 1995). E. Hazan, *Hebrew Poetry…* provides a comprehensive survey of the poetry characterizing these rites, before and after the arrival of the Sephardi refugees.

PROVENÇAL RITE. The Provençal rite (southern France) is nearly identical with the Sephardi rite, especially that of neighboring Catalonia, and was followed by the communities of Avignon, Carpentras, L'Isle sur la Sorgue, and Cavaillon until the 19th century. The text shows some additions due to the influence of the rite of northern France, e.g., the three *Kedushot* begin with *Nekaddesh*, *Na'arizakh*, *Keter*; in all the *Ami-*

dot, *Shalom Rav* is used instead of *Sim Shalom*. The *maḥzor* of Avignon was printed in Amsterdam (4 vols., 1765 ff.; a detailed description of it was given by Zunz, in *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judentums*, II (1838)–IV (1840)). The *maḥzor* of Carpentras, which abbreviated almost all the *piyyutim*, was printed in Amsterdam (1739–62, 4 vols.). The *maḥzorim* of L'Isle and Cavaillon, preserved only in manuscript, contain numerous *piyyutim* for festivals and Sabbaths, but only *kerovot* for the fast days, Rosh Ha-Shanah, the Day of Atonement, and the prayers of dew and rain. These *kerovot* were recited after the *Amidah* in accordance with the practice of the North African communities. A *siddur* with selected *piyyutim* for these communities was edited by M. Milhaud (*Rituel des Prières en Hébreu à l'Usage des Israélites de l'Ancien Comtat*, 2 vols., 1855).

Yemenite Rite

Minhag Teiman, the rite of the Jews of Yemen, follows the *Seder Tefillah* of Maimonides which is based on the *siddur* of Saadiah Gaon, but shows the influence of Sephardi elements (see L. Goldschmidt, in YMHS, 7 (1958), 188). A small number of *piyyutim* such as *Avodah, hoshanot*, and *seliḥot* are taken from the Sephardi prayer book. The Yemenite liturgy was first printed in Jerusalem (2 vols., 1894), entitled תכלאל, from which a handwritten (mimeographed) edition elaborated with many *piyyutim* was edited by J.S. Hobareh (1964 (תכלאל קדמונים)).

Eastern Rites

The Sephardi refugees imposed their rite on all the communities of the east, making the original rites there too difficult to retrieve and study. Among the best documented are the liturgy of the Persian Jews (published by Shlomoh Tal, *The Persian Jewish Prayer Book* (Heb., 1980)) and the rite of the Jews of Aleppo (*Maḥzor Aram-Zova*, printed in Venice, 1523–27), whose High Holy Days prayers, very similar to those of the Persian prayer book, were also influenced by the Romanian and Roman rites. There are a number of manuscripts extant that apparently hail from this general region, but we have no way of identifying their provenance at this time. All later prayer books conform to the Sephardi rites.

[Ernst Daniel Goldschmidt / Ruth Langer (2nd ed.)]

THE MODERN PERIOD

The economics of printing required mass production of single prayer books to meet the needs of multiple communities, meaning that local preferences for specific *piyyutim*, variants of individual words or phrases, and all the variety that accompanied a world in which prayer books were produced one at a time, were overridden. In addition, kabbalistic concerns led to many innovative additions and changes to the printed liturgies as well as a belief that only "correct" prayer was efficacious. Particularly in Poland, these changes combined with the prevalence of outright errors in the printed prayer books, inspired prominent rabbis, beginning in the 17th century, to establish the correct texts of the prayers. Important examples range from the 1617 *Siddur of R. Shabbetai Sofer of Przemysl* (ed. Yitzchok Satz (Baltimore, 1987)) commissioned by the Polish Jewish Council, to the labors of scholars like Wolf *Heidenheim (*Sefer Kerovot*, 9 vols., 1800–2) and Seligman *Baer (*Seder Avodat Yisrael*, 1868) in Germany, and Samuel David *Luzzatto (*Mahzor … ke-Minhag Benei Roma*, 1855–6) in Italy (Reif, *Judaism and Hebrew Prayer*, ch. 7–8). With the development of modern academic approaches to Jewish studies, the questions have shifted to those of retrieval of original and earlier forms of prayers and a recognition that "correctness" is not so easily defined. Moreover, the migrations of Jews caused by the Holocaust and the expulsions of Jews from Arab lands has created another leveling of regional rites as liturgical scholars have endeavored to create Israeli prayer books that might be used by all Israelis according to the major rites (like the *Siddur* and *Mahzor Rinat Yisrael*, ed. Sh. Tal).

Prayer book manuscripts, because of the labor and expensive materials involved, tended to be as concise as possible, rarely repeating prayers from one service to the next and frequently omitting all instructions on how to perform the liturgies. With the development of printing and more inexpensive book production, and increasing expectations that every worshiper would use a prayer book, the prayer book gradually became a more "user-friendly" text, repeating prayers at appropriate intervals and including instructions, frequently in the vernacular. The contemporary liturgical texts published by *ArtScroll and used widely in Orthodox congregations in the Diaspora represent the extreme expression of this phenomenon, giving instructions for every customary gesture. This represents a flattening of variety not only within the text itself, but also in its actual performance.

Another element that greatly shaped prayer books in the early centuries of printing was the introduction of kabbalistic elements. These included both instructions on how to recite and meditate on the prayers, corrections to existing prayer elements according to the customs of Isaac *Luria, and additional *kavvanot* (texts expressing the mystical intention of the prayer). Often, additional prayers were added to the printed prayer book intended for private recitation, both on a daily basis and also for specific occasions and personal needs.

In this context, collections of prayers specifically for women (in Yiddish, called **tkhines*) begin to appear in Ashkenaz and in Italy (in Hebrew). Some speculate that in Ashkenaz, they originated with the convention of having one woman lead prayers for the women's section, where women often could neither see nor hear the men. Although some of these prayers are clearly written by women, most are unattributed and many may have been written by men. Their language shows influences of Lurianic Kabbalah, suggesting that the printed texts themselves are early modern, but they may well have developed from earlier orally transmitted materials. If similar oral women's traditions existed in other communities, they were never written down. These prayers accompany the dramatic moments of synagogue liturgy, like the blowing of the *shofar* or the blessing of the New Month, but they also accompany moments in women's lives outside the synagogue, through both the life cycle and the annual cycle. The collections all provide prayers for the three *mitzvot* specially commanded for women: taking **hallah*, going to the **mikveh* after menstruation (**niddah*), and lighting *candles before the Sabbath and festivals (C. Weissler, *Voices of the Matriarchs …*). In the 19th and 20th centuries, some of these Yiddish prayers were translated, not only into modern vernaculars but also to accord with modern sensibilities. The best known of these collections was Fanny Neuda's *Stunden der Andacht* (in English translation, *Hours of Devotion*). In recent years, many collections have been republished, sometimes in modern Hebrew versions.

19th Century Developments

While synagogue architecture and musical styles were consistently influenced by those of the surrounding cultures, pressures to conform liturgically became more intense and more deliberate as Jews approached emancipation in Western Europe. Acculturated Jews were very conscious of the fact that their liturgical modes were among the elements that marked them as different. If they desired to be considered as citizens of their countries of residence whose religion was Judaism, then the public statement of that Judaism needed to be one of which they could be proud. Reforms of the liturgy began as aesthetic reforms in the quality of musical production and in decorum. Improved decorum did not challenge halakhic norms but did lead to more formal seating patterns for prayers and more regular preaching, increasingly in the vernacular. Musical reforms, in contrast, led to halakhically problematic demands for inclusion in prayer of an *organ and mixed choir.

Reform liturgy had its first formal expression in the prayer book of the *Hamburg Temple, published in 1819. This prayer book, and those that followed it in Western Europe and eventually in the United States, not only provided translations of the prayers into the Western vernacular (itself not a new phenomenon) but considered these translations to be its primary prayer texts. Vernacular prayer itself pushed the reformers to create more radical liturgical changes. The act of translation created a confrontation with the theological statements of the received liturgy and with concepts that, once removed from their poetic Hebrew phraseology, became starkly troublesome when stated in a language that everyone understood well. Certain concepts, especially those driven by Kabbalah, but also prayers for the restoration of sacrifices, did not fit with the rationalist turn of the age and the reformers' sense of modernity; others, like prayers for the restoration of Zion, seemed inappropriate to Jews who considered their true homes to be their countries of residence; yet others were offensive to Jews' gentile neighbors. These concerns, combined with desires to shorten the service as well as leave room for a substantial sermon and enhanced music, led to radical changes in the prayers themselves. Reform prayer books, of which hundreds were produced, increasingly removed or revised theologically difficult passages and shortened the entire liturgy significantly. At its most extreme, in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, some prayer books retained only superficial similarities to the traditional liturgy, including only a few key sentences of Hebrew prayer and few hints of the service's traditional patterns. *Halakhah* was simply not a consideration and was often deliberately disregarded as appropriate only to another age. Reform synagogues and their services blended well with the Protestant liturgies of the Jews' neighbors, with vernacular prayers, short Scripture readings (with translation, or only in the vernacular for the **haftarah*, which was often declaimed, not chanted), extended sermons, and hymnals filled with vernacular songs designed for organ and choir (and not a cantor). Some of these hymns were adapted from Christian church music. As rabbis became liturgical officiants, like Christian clergy, congregants arrived on time, sat quietly in forward-facing pews, and left elevated by the awesome grandeur of the service. (See J.J. Petuchowski, *Prayerbook Reform in Europe: The Liturgy of European Liberal and Reform Judaism* (1968) and E.L. Friedland, "*Were Our Mouths Filled With Song*": *Studies in Liberal Jewish Liturgy* (1997).)

Such changes elicited objections and responses from the traditional world in Europe, especially in urban areas and in the west. On the one hand, Reform demands for decorum and for greater attention to the liturgy were deemed appropriate. In traditional synagogues, liturgical music was increased and enhanced, although performed by cantors with all-male choirs, and without instrumental music on Sabbaths and holidays. But traditional Jews understood the received prayers as halakhically mandated and immutable. Increasingly, they published prayer books with vernacular translations, intended to edify those less literate in Hebrew but not to serve as performed liturgical texts. As a result, these translations frequently lack literary finesse and are sometimes even incomprehensible. The greatest impact of Reform on the traditional liturgical world was a renewed questioning of the validity and necessity of the Ashkenazi traditions of *piyyut*. Many communities, over the course of the 19th century, ceased to recite most festival poetry, retaining only the *piyyut* of the High Holy Days and a few liturgical poems linked to the liturgical announcements of the prayers for rain and dew at Sukkot and Passover.

20th Century Developments

As they achieved a degree of maturity, the various West European and North American non-Orthodox movements sought to define themselves by creating standardized liturgies. How this process worked varied from country to country, depending on the organizational structures of the communities. In North America, liturgies tended to be standardized by each movement across the United States and Canada. In Germany, on the other hand, prayer books were largely produced for specific regional communities. Over the course of the 20th century, although movements never required adherence to their liturgies, these prayer books became elements of the movements' self-definition, reflecting the theology of the movement. Examples of such prayer book series from North America include the Reform movement's *Union Prayer Book* (published by the Central Conference of American Rabbis), with major editions in 1895, 1921 (revised), 1947 (newly revised), 1975 (the *New Union Prayer Book*, retitled *Gates of Prayer* for weekdays, Sabbaths, and holidays, *Gates of Repentance* (1978) for the High Holy Days), and with numerous versions for specific occasions and revisions. At the beginning of the 21st century, a new prayer book, *Mishkan Tefillah*, was in production. Publications of prayer books commissioned by the Conservative Movement's United Synagogue began with the 1927 *Festival Prayer Book.* Most Conservative congregations adopted the Sabbath and festival prayer book edited by Morris *Silverman (1946) and then those edited by Jules Harlow for the Rabbinical Assembly (*Mahzor*, 1972, *Siddur Sim Shalom*, 1985, both with subsequent revisions). The Reconstructionist Movement originally used the liturgies of Mordecai *Kaplan (*Siddur*, 1945, *High Holiday Prayer Book*, 1948), now replaced by the *Kol Haneshamah* series, edited by David Teutsch (1991–98 and ongoing). (See Caplan, *From Ideology to Liturgy.*) Similar series have been published by the Liberal and Reform movements in Great Britain. The Progressive and Masorati movements in Israel have also published their own liturgies in recent decades. All these movements also published corresponding *haggadot*, rabbi's manuals, and other home and life cycle liturgies, all of which have undergone continuing revisions over the years.

The differences among these series reflect these movements' differing understandings of the appropriate balance between innovation and tradition. While the Conservative prayer books increasingly include new materials, these are generally found on the periphery of the required prayers, and almost all changes to the central prayers have some historical precedent. The Reconstructionist prayers retain tradition except where such prayers contradict the movement's ideology. Hence, concepts like chosenness disappear entirely. The Reform prayer books reflect a growing acceptance of tradition and of Hebrew prayer, but never as a binding category; translations are often highly interpretative and reflect the concerns of the times.

Several elements characterize all these liturgies at the beginning of the 21st century, including those produced for the Orthodox world. Vernacular translations in the English-speaking world have moved from a deliberately archaic Elizabethan English to a contemporary form of the language, thus lessening the formality and "otherness" of the English prayers. Accompanying this is an increasing sensitivity to the layout of the prayer book and its visual dimension. Poetry is often printed as such. Typefaces and arrangements of type are designed to ease reading. Many encourage meditation on the prayers by generous "white space," others by providing rich commentary. Some of these commentaries are produced as study texts, not for active synagogue use. (See Harlow, *Or Hadash* on *Sim Shalom*; or Hoffman's series, *Minhag Ami*, *My People's Prayer Book.*)

By the 1970s and 1980s, all segments of Judaism had responded liturgically to the Holocaust and the existence of the State of Israel. The latter reality, particularly, transformed Reform traditions of rejection of a Jewish homeland and prayers for return to it. While Reform liturgies still exclude prayers for the restoration of the Temple and its sacrificial worship, references to Israel and its welfare now hold a valued place. Conservative and Reconstructionist liturgies never sidelined Israel, but they address sacrifices only as a past form of worship and do not pray for their restoration. Liturgies published in Israel, and many published elsewhere as well, including many Orthodox prayer books, incorporated the Israeli Chief Rabbinate's "Prayer for the Well-Being of the State of Israel," instead of or in addition to the traditional prayer for the government. Many also incorporate prayers for Israeli soldiers and liturgies for Israeli Independence Day and the anniversary of Jerusalem's reunification. The effect of a revitalized Jewish life in Israel on the non-Orthodox liturgies appears also in their selections of songs, in the increased use of Hebrew (especially in the Reform movement where it had almost disappeared), and in the melodies used for traditional prayers. Liturgical assimilation to the surrounding culture is now less evident, replaced by a conscious striving for authentic Jewish culture. The reintegration of ḥasidic or ḥasidic-like music, especially that influenced by Shlomo *Carlebach, speaks to a search for spiritually enriching worship across the spectrum of Jewish practices.

The effect of the Holocaust on Jewish liturgies, beyond its erasure of many local practices throughout Europe, has been less marked. Memorial prayers now regularly include prayers for the victims of Nazism; *kinot* (poetry of lamentation) on the Holocaust have been added to the Ninth of Av's liturgy. But consensus about an appropriate liturgical religious commemoration, as opposed to communal or secular observance of *Holocaust Remembrance Day, has yet to emerge.

The other major revolution to affect the liturgy in the second half of the 20th century, especially in non-Orthodox circles, was the feminist movement. Beginning in the 1970s, prayer book editors began to remove gendered references to the congregation of worshippers from the vernacular translations. By the 1980s and 1990s, gendered references to God also increasingly disappeared. This included not only a transformation of pronouns, but also the search for new names for God that would not have exclusively masculine referents. Although the process began with the vernacular prayers, this endeavor also extended to Hebrew names for God and to alternative blessing formulae that would better express feminist prayers. See, for example, M. *Falk's *The Book of Blessings: New Jewish Prayers for Daily Life, the Sabbath, and the New Moon Festival* (1996), which also includes exclusively women's voices in the nontraditional poetry of the services. While this prayer book has only superficial similarities to a traditional *siddur*, the ideals it embodies have affected subsequent non-Orthodox liturgical publications. All the American movements and their Israeli and European counterparts now include the matriarchs in the first blessing of the *Amidah* and other liturgical references to the ancestors (in the 1998 Conservative *Sim Shalom*, this is an option). Many include references to Miriam as well as Moses in the *Ge'ulah* benediction's allusions to the parting of the Red Sea. Women are present explicitly in these prayer books in a way unprecedented in Jewish history.

This transformation of the prayers grew from the transformation of women's roles in the synagogue itself. The non-Orthodox movements had abandoned the **mehiẓah* and the prohibition on women's participation in choirs, but they had retained the traditional practice of reserving active leadership roles and honors for men. Egalitarianism achieved its first steps with the public celebration of bat mitzvah ceremonies during regular synagogue services. Regina *Jonas was privately ordained in 1935 in Germany, but she never took on liturgical roles. The most public role of modern liberal rabbis is precisely to lead services. Egalitarianism achieved its symbolic victory with the ordination of the first American woman rabbi by the Reform movement, Sally *Priesand, in 1972, followed by the Reconstructionist and Conservative movements and their counterparts in Europe and Israel. Ordination of women as cantors also followed in short order in these movements. Necessary to this process in the halakhically guided Conservative movement was a series of decisions by the Rabbinical Assembly that, at the discretion of individual congregations, women may be called to the Torah (1955), included in the **minyan* (1973), and lead public prayer (1974). Full participation by lay women in the community became increasingly common in the wake of these changes at the leadership levels. This includes greater women's participation on synagogue boards and other decision-making bodies.

In some corners of the Orthodox world, there have also been some subtle transformations in women's liturgical expression. Increased women's learning has led to increased female commitments to regular prayer and hence to an increased presence in the synagogue, which historically provided many more seats for men than for women. It is increasingly common for Orthodox women to recite **Kaddish* for deceased relatives. Some communities have begun women's *tefillah* groups, where women gather, in the synagogue or outside it, for regular prayer and often also Torah reading, but without prayers requiring a *minyan* of men. Some synagogues allow women to give sermons. In the early years of the 21st century, a new phenomenon has developed of synagogues that maintain separate seating but allow women to lead prayers not requiring a *minyan* and to read from and be called to the Torah.

[Ruth Langer (2nd ed.)]

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LITVAK, (Michael) ANATOLE (1902–1974), U.S. film producer and director. Born in Kiev, Litvak attended a Russian dramatic school until the age of 16, and then worked in Soviet film studios. After leaving the U.S.S.R. in 1924, he directed films in Europe and the United States in French, German, and English. His European films included *Dolly macht Karriere* (1930), *L'Equipage* (1935), and *Mayerling* (1936), a film that earned him international renown. In 1936 he was invited to work in Hollywood, where he began to make films for RKO and Warner Brothers. When the United States entered World War II, Litvak joined the U.S. Army, worked with director Frank Capra on the "Why We Fight" series, and was put in charge of the combat photography during the Normandy invasion.

Litvak's major American films, many of which he also produced, are *The Woman I Love* (1937), *Tovarich* (1937), *The Sisters* (1938), *Confessions of a Nazi Spy* (1939), *All This, and Heaven Too* (1940), *Blues in the Night* (1941), *The Snake Pit* (Oscar nomination for Best Picture and Best Director, 1949), *Sorry, Wrong Number* (1948), *Decision before Dawn* (Oscar nomination for Best Picture, 1951), *Act of Love* (1954), *The Deep Blue Sea* (1955), *Anastasia* (1956), *The Journey* (1958), *Goodbye Again* (1961), *Five Miles to Midnight* (1962), *The Night of the Generals* (1967), and *The Lady in the Car with Glasses and a Gun* (1970).

[Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

LITVAKOV, MOSES (**Moyshe**; 1875–1937), Yiddish writer and editor. Litvakov was born in Cherkassy, Ukraine. At the age of 17 he abandoned talmudic studies for secular learning, attending the Sorbonne (1902–5). At first he drifted from *Aḥad Ha-Am Zionism to Socialist Zionism and wrote in Russian, Hebrew, and Yiddish on social and literary problems. After the revolution of 1905 he was a member of the central committee of the territorialist Socialist-Zionist (SS) Party, and edited its various periodicals in Vilna. Litvakov also published the pamphlet *Der Zionismus un di Ugande Frage* ("Zionism and the Uganda Question," 1905).

After 1917 he contributed to Yiddish journals in Kiev. In 1919 he joined the Communist Party, and in 1921 he assumed a leading role in Moscow's *Yevsektsiya and editorship of *Emes*, the central Soviet Yiddish daily. In its columns he demanded the uprooting of Jewish religious observances and national aspirations, attempting to place Yiddish literature at the service of the regime. Nevertheless, in his critical articles and as professor of Yiddish literature and Jewish history in the Jewish section of the Moscow Pedagogical Institute, he was often unable to avoid touching on the Jewish past. His essay collection, *In Umru* ("In Anxiety," vol. 1, 1918; vol. 2, 1926), dwelt on the cultural tradition which Jewish proletarian writers in the Soviet Union inherited from prerevolutionary writers, such as M. *Rosenfeld, A. *Reisen, *Sholem Aleichem, and I.L. *Peretz, insisting on the hegemony of the new Soviet Yiddish literature. Litvakov also published a booklet on the Yiddish Chamber Theater in Moscow (1924). With Esther *(Frumkin) he edited a Yiddish translation of Lenin's selected writings in eight volumes. In the ideological polemic among Yiddish writers, he was attacked for remnants of Jewish separatism and chauvinism, allegedly found in his essays. Outmaneuvering efforts to purge him through self-accusations in 1931–32, he continued editing *Emes* until the major purges of 1937, when he was arrested as an enemy of the people, brought to Minsk, and executed in December 1937.

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[Sol Liptzin]

LITVIN, A. (pseudonym of **Shmuel Hurwitz**; 1862–1943), Yiddish journalist, poet, editor, and folklorist. Born in Minsk, he was self-educated. Believing in "redemption through physical labor," he tried to earn a living as street paver, carpenter, and typesetter, while contributing articles on miscellaneous subjects to Russian, Hebrew, and Yiddish periodicals. In 1901 he immigrated to the U.S., where he worked in a shoe factory and wrote for Yiddish journals. During the 1905 Revolution, he returned to Russia, edited the Vilna monthly *Lebn un Visnshaft* (1909–12), and published studies on *Shomer (1910) and I.M. *Dik (1911). Returning to New York in 1914, he wrote for radical and Labor Zionist organs, as well as for the dailies, the *Forverts* and *Morgn-Zhurnal*. During travels through the Polish, Lithuanian, and Galician Jewish communities (1905–14) he accumulated vast material on Yiddish folklore, folk characters, and half-forgotten villages, part of which he utilized in his main work *Yidishe Neshomes* ("Jewish Souls," 6 vols., 1916–17), a panorama of exotic, picturesque Jewish life in preceding generations. Selections from these volumes were translated into Hebrew by A. *Kariv and published in 1943. The greater part of Litvin's collection of Yiddish folk songs, folktales, and folk humor was deposited in the archives of *YIVO in New York and forms a rich source for scholarly research.

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[Sol Liptzin]

LITVINE, M. (pseudonym of **Mordkhe Boyarin**; 1906–1993), Yiddish essayist and translator. Born in Shavl (Siauliai), Lithuania, Litvine spent his early childhood in nearby Kovno (Kaunas). Following the expulsion of Jews from the border region, during World War I he lived in Slaviansk, where he attended a Russian secondary school. Modern literature, which he read in Russian and German as well as in Hebrew and Yiddish translation, was the focus of his interests. After returning to Kovno in 1921 he attended the local Jewish-Russian secondary school, after which he studied economics, philosophy, and art history at the university in Berlin, where he imbibed the city's rich cosmopolitan cultural life. He was also attracted to the hiking and camping activities of the German "Wandervogel" youth movement. In 1933 he returned home for compulsory service in the Lithuanian army, returning to Berlin in 1934. His anti-Nazi activities brought about his arrest and sentencing to 15 years' imprisonment (1935), but he was released in 1938 after the intervention of Lithuanian officials. After a short stay in Kovno he left for Paris in 1939 with a student visa. After the German invasion, he departed for the "Free Zone" to study at the University of Montpellier. In June 1942 he went into hiding in a small village and eventually joined a group of the French Resistance. After the war he settled in Paris. Because of his generous personality, fascinating lectures, and writings, he became over the decades one of the most esteemed and beloved intellectual figures of the Yiddish cultural scene in Paris and other Jewish centers. In 1944–58, he was on the staff of the Communist daily *Naye Presse*, writing mostly literary and theater criticism. In 1953–56 he edited the literary quarterly *Parizer Tsaytshrift*, where some of his translations and essays appeared. Beginning in the 1960s Litvine dedicated himself almost completely to literature, harmoniously combining extensive analysis of contemporary Yiddish poets with intense research about and practice of poetic translation. His brilliant analytical and synthetic intelligence, his vast erudition in various fields of literary aesthetics, as well as his literary talent and mastery of the Yiddish language are displayed in the outstanding quality of his published works. His most important essays, about I. *Manger, Ch. *Grade, A. *Sutzkever, and other major Yiddish poets, appeared in *Di Goldene Keyt* and other Yiddish publications. His most exceptional contribution to Yiddish literature is his *Frantseyzishe Poezye: Ibersetsungen un Komentarn* ("French Poetry: Translations and Comments," 2 vols., 1968, 1986). A collection of his translations from French, Russian, and German poetry, *Fun* *der Velt-Poezye* ("Poetry from the World," 2003), appeared posthumously.

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[Marc Miller]

LITVINOFF, EMANUEL (1915–), English poet. A Londoner by birth and upbringing, Litvinoff served in the army during World War II. Apart from his journalism (as editor of the periodical *Jews in Eastern Europe*), Litvinoff wrote poems, some of which were collected in two volumes, *The Untried Soldier* (1942) and *A Crown for Cain* (1948), and a novel, *The Lost Europeans* (1959). His work was largely concerned with the problems of the Diaspora Jew, mostly because he was influenced by the vigorous Jewish culture of London's East End and the antisemitism of the British Fascists in the thirties, and was deeply affected by the Holocaust and its aftermath. Litvinoff's most significant poem is, perhaps, "To T.S. Eliot," a protest against Eliot's occasionally sneering attitude toward Jews and a passionate self-identification of himself with the dead of Treblinka. In *The Lost Europeans*, Litvinoff describes the experience of a Jew in postwar Berlin, and in his second novel, *The Man Next Door* (1968), the workings of an antisemite's mind. In the late 1960s he resigned his position on the *Guardian* newspaper in protest at its anti-Israel stance. His later books include an autobiographical work, *Journey Through a Small Planet: Jewish Childhood in East London* (1997), and works of fiction. His brother, BARNET (1917–1996), journalist and Zionist worker, wrote a biography of David Ben-Gurion, *Ben Gurion of Israel* (1954); *Road to Jerusalem* (1965), on the development of the Zionist movement; *A Peculiar People* (1969), about contemporary Jewish communities; *The Burning Bush: Antisemitism and World History* (1988); and other works.

[Jon Silkin]

LITVINOV, MAXIM MAXIMOVICH (**Wallach**, **Meir-Henokh Moiseevitch**; 1867–1951), Russian revolutionary and Soviet diplomat. Born in Bialystok, Litvinov joined the illegal Social-Democratic Party in 1899 and was arrested and exiled. In 1902 he escaped to Switzerland and in 1903, after having joined the Bolshevik faction, he returned clandestinely to Russia and took part in the 1905 Revolution. He collaborated with Maxim Gorki on the newspaper *Novaya Zhizn* ("The New Life"). After the failure of the revolution he fled from Russia and lived in France and England. While in England he became closely associated with *Lenin and was instrumental in various underground operations of the Bolsheviks, including the smuggling of arms to the Caucasus. In London Litvinov married Ivy Low, niece of the English historian Sir Sidney *Low. Following the October Revolution in 1917 Litvinov was made Soviet diplomatic agent to Britain, but he was detained by the British government and exchanged for Bruce Lockhart, the British diplomatic agent in Soviet Russia. In 1921 he became deputy commissar for foreign affairs under Chicherin, and from 1930 until 1939 he was commissar of foreign affairs of the Soviet Union, concentrating in the field of Soviet diplomacy, particularly with the West. In 1919 he negotiated the first peace treaty of Soviet Russia (with Estonia), took part in the international conference in Genoa in 1922, which resulted in the Rapallo Treaty with Germany, and headed the Soviet delegation to the subsequent conference at The Hague and the disarmament conference in Geneva (1927). He was active in the USSR's joining of the League of Nations and represented it there in 1934–38. In 1933, at Franklin D. *Roosevelt's invitation, he personally conducted the negotiations for the establishment of American-Soviet diplomatic relations. In the period of Moscow's anti-Nazi policy (1934–39), Litvinov became the chief Soviet spokesman at the League of Nations where he demanded the establishment of a collective security system. However, in May 1939, when *Stalin decided to reverse his policy and to effect a rapprochement with Hitler at the expense of the West, Litvinov, being a Jew and known as a protagonist of a pro-Western orientation, was replaced by Stalin's closest collaborator, V.M. Molotov; in February 1941 he was even dropped from the party's central committee. Following the German invasion of the Soviet Union, in June 1941, Litvinov was appointed Soviet ambassador to the United States, where he remained until 1943. He was reappointed assistant commissar for foreign affairs for a short period in 1946, but retired soon afterwards. His publications include *The Bolshevik Revolution, its Rise and Meaning* (1918) and *Against Aggression, Speeches by Maxim Litvinov* (1939). Litvinov was never self-conscious about being a Jew. He became a lonely, forgotten figure in the last years of his life when Stalin's antisemitic campaign was in full swing.

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[Binyamin Eliav]

LITVINOVSKY, PINCHAS (1894–1985), Israeli painter. Born in Novo-Georgiyevsk, Russia, to a religious family of merchants, Litvinovsky studied art at the Academy of Art in Odessa on a scholarship. As a student he visited the Bezalel exhibition in Odessa and met Boris *Schatz, the founder of the Bezalel School of Arts and Crafts. Schatz persuaded the young, talented student to study art in Jerusalem at Bezalel. Litvinovsky stayed in Jerusalem for a brief period, then he traveled to Petrograd to study there at the local Academy of Art. In 1919 Litvinovsky and his wife, Liza, immigrated to Ereẓ Israel, mainly because of the pogroms brought on by the Bolshevik Revolution. After a short stay in Jerusalem, they moved to Bitanyah in Galilee, but Litvinovsky continued to work in Jerusalem. Litvinovsky participated in the famous exhibitions in the Tower of David in Jerusalem and in the Modern Artists' Exhibition at the Ohel Theater in Tel Aviv.

Though he spent most of his time in Jerusalem, he often traveled to Europe and United States. In 1980 he was awarded the Israel Prize.

Litvinovsky was among those artists who sought a unique Israeli style of painting. He was known for his portraits, though he did most of them to earn a living. In his other paintings he dealt with local types (*Selling Chickens*, 1920s, Israel Museum), animals, and landscapes. His style was almost abstract and was characterized by colorful intensity. It had a dual aspect, embracing on the one hand sensual-erotic paintings and, the other, hundreds of portraits of rabbis from the 19th century to his own time. The inability to decide between the earthly-instinctual and the spiritual-heavenly carried over into his style and was reflected in several ways, including the depiction of a complex relationship between man and beast.

Picasso, among others, inspired Litvinovsky. Bodies were roughly delineated but this did not prevent the display of typical signs and collage effects revealing such influences.

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[Ronit Steinberg (2nd ed.)]

LITWACK, HARRY ("Chief"; 1907–1999), U.S. men's college basketball coach; member of Basketball Hall of Fame. Litwack was born in Galicia, Austria, to Jacob, a shoemaker, and Rachel, the sixth of seven children in a Yiddish-speaking family. Litwack's father immigrated to the U.S. in 1910, and saved up money to send for Litwack and his family two years later. After graduating from South Philadelphia High School in 1925, Litwack began a 48-year association with Temple University, beginning as an undergraduate when he played on the varsity and was captain and team MVP in 1927–28 and 1928–29. After graduating in 1930, Litwack began his coaching career at Gratz High School (1930–31), and then became head coach of the freshman team at Temple, leading them to a 181–32 record over the next 16 years, with no losing seasons. At the same time, Litwack was playing pro basketball with Eddie *Gottlieb's all-Jewish Philadelphia Sphas, from 1930 to 1936. Litwack also served during this time as assistant coach for the Temple varsity, which in 1938 won the inaugural National Invitational Tournament, the first-ever postseason college basketball tournament. Litwack was named Temple's head coach in 1947, and held the position until 1973, finishing with a record of 373–193 and only one losing season. He led the team to 13 postseason tournaments, winning the NIT in 1969, and coming in third in the NCAA tournament in 1956 and 1958. In 43 years coaching at Temple, Litwack was thrown out of a game by a referee only once. Litwack also served briefly as assistant coach for the Philadelphia Warriors (1948–51). He is credited with creating the box-and-one zone defense, which revolutionized the college game and made it necessary to develop new methods of coaching and playing, but Litwack maintained that he did not invent it; he just refined it. He was coach of the U.S. Maccabiah team in 1957, and was elected to the Basketball Hall of Fame in 1975.

[Elli Wohlgelernter (2nd ed.)]

LITWAK, A. (pseudonym of **Ḥayyim Yankel Helfand**; 1874–1932), popular publicist and propagandist of the *Bund. Born in Lithuania, he studied in yeshivot there. In 1894 he joined Social Democratic circles in Vilna, taking a leading part in the "Jargon Committees" for publishing and circulating popular educational and informational literature in Yiddish. Exiled to Siberia for revolutionary activities, on his return in 1904 he became active in the Bund in Vilna and Warsaw, and from 1910 a member of its central committee. A prolific and sharp-edged writer and lively speaker, Litwak was warmly attached to Jewish folk culture and way of life, and became known as the "*talmid ḥakham* of the Bund." He was a leader of the "hard" group in the Bund which stood out for preserving its independence from the Russian Social Democratic Party in 1906, and later criticized the doctrine of national neutralism put forward by Vladimir *Medem. For two years Litwak stayed in Vienna, and in 1915 went to the United States. Returning to revolutionary Russia in July 1917 he became a leader of the anti-Bolshevist faction in the Bund, and after its split, a leader of the "Social Democratic" Bund. After trying to settle down in Poland, where he moved in 1921, he proceeded to the United States (1926). There he was active in the *Jewish Socialist Farband, edited its organ *Veker*, and promoted secular education in Yiddish. He met with difficulties in his attempts to associate himself with the American Jewish Labor Movement.

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[Moshe Mishkinsky]

LIUZZI, family of Italian soldiers. GUIDO LIUZZI (1866–1941) was born at Reggio Emilia. He graduated from the Military Academy of Modena. He took part as a junior officer in the Italo-Turkish War of 1911–1912. At the beginning of World War I, in 1915, Liuzzi was a colonel on the General Staff. He was appointed brigadier general in 1917. Subsequently he was chief of the Service Corps of the Armies of the Grappa in 1918. After the war he directed the War Academy from 1919 until 1925. During World War I he was decorated with the Great Cross of the Order of Saints Maurizio and Lazzaro (Italy), and Croix de Guerre (France). In 1925–26 he commanded the Trento and Padova Divisions. Between 1928 and 1932 he commanded the First Army Corps at Udine. He left the army in 1932 and in 1934 he was elected president of the Jewish community of Turin. In 1938 he denounced the duplicity of both Mussolini and the king of Italy, who legislated the racial laws in 1938.

GIORGIO LIUZZI (1895–1983), son of Guido. He was born at Vercelli in 1895 and joined the Italian Army in 1915 at the beginning of World War I. In 1917, he was promoted to captain for exceptional merit. Giorgio Liuzzi was twice wounded during World War I, on Mount Zebio (June 10, 1917) and on the Bainsizza (Aug. 25, 1917). He was also decorated with the silver military medal (Middle Isonzo), and twice with the bronze medal on Mount Zebio and Piave Val Cordevole.

In 1938 Giorgio Liuzzi had the rank of colonel. In the same year, however, like all the other Jewish officers, he was dismissed from the army following Mussolini's racial laws. In 1943 he was arrested by the Germans and put in a concentration camp in the Marche. He escaped together with his brother Ferruccio and with his cousin Max Eckhart. In January 1944 Giorgio, together with his companions, arrived in Rome, where he put himself at the disposal of the underground CIL (Comitato Italiano di Liberazione) that directed the partisan war against the Nazis. When Rome was liberated by the Allies, Giorgio Liuzzi was reintegrated in the Italian Army, and soon thereafter he was appointed chief of staff of the "A" group of the General Staff of the Italian Army. In February 1945 he was appointed brigadier general with duties at Headquarters.

In 1948 Giorgio Liuzzi received the onerous task of reorganizing and commanding the Ariete Armored Division. In 1953 he was promoted to the rank of general, commander of Army Corps. From 1954 until 1959 he was the chief of staff of the Italian Army. General Liuzzi was a staunch supporter of Israel. As chief of staff he sold to Israel, in 1953 and in 1955, Spitfire and Mustang planes of the Italian Air Force, which were the mainstay of the IAF in the Sinai Campaign in 1956.

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[Samuele Rocca (2nd ed.)]

LIUZZI, FERNANDO (1884–1940), musicologist and composer. Born in Senigallia, Liuzzi studied composition and conducting in Italy and Germany. He taught composition at the major Italian conservatories and musicology at the universities of Florence, Perugia, and Rome. Liuzzi composed several stage works, some modernized versions of medieval and Renaissance musical dramas, violin works, and songs. His research was in the fields of aesthetics and the history of Italian music, and his major work is *La lauda e i primordi della melodia italiana* ("The Lauda and the Origins of the Italian Melodic Style," 1935).

LIVERIGHT, HORACE BRISBIN (1886–1933), U.S. publisher and theatrical producer. Liveright was born in Osceola Mills, Pennsylvania. He worked briefly in Philadelphia in a broker's office and as a margin clerk, and then turned to selling bonds, which he did with great flair. In 1911 he established a paper-manufacturing company, and in 1917 he joined Charles Boni to form the publishing house Boni & Liveright. They published the Modern Library, which reproduced classics and near-classics, from 1918 to 1925, when it was sold to Bennett *Cerf, their editor. The Boni & Liveright list also included such political radicals as Max Eastman, Michael Gold, and John Reed. When Boni left the firm after a few years, Liveright added many U.S. authors to the list, including such luminaries of American letters as Theodore Dreiser, Sherwood Anderson, Ernest Hemingway, William Faulkner, Hart Crane, Eugene O'Neil, E.E. Cummings, Ezra Pound, T.S. Eliot (Boni & Liveright first published *The Waste Land* in 1922), Lewis Mumford, and Conrad Aiken, as well as famous European writers. Liveright sold these distinguished authors' works with flamboyant publicity and for about ten years the publishing company was a stupendous success. A leading opponent of pornography laws, he successfully set out to defeat a "clean books" bill before the New York State legislature which would have prohibited many publications (1924). As a theatrical producer and president of Stonelea Players, Liveright produced *Hamlet in Modern Clothes* (1925); a dramatization (1926) of Dreiser's *An American Tragedy* which was a big success; and *Dracula* (1927), among other plays. After the successful bustle of the 1920s, Liveright, who was maneuvered out of the publishing firm in 1930, spent his last three years in penury and isolation. Noel Coward's *The Scoundrel*, turned into a movie by Ben Hecht and Charles MacArthur in 1935, was partly based on Liveright's life and character.

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LIVERPOOL, seaport in N.W. England. It seems probable that Jews settled there before 1750, since in 1752 there was a "Synagogue Court" off Stanley Street and a Jewish place of worship, as the 1753 *Liverpool Memorandum Book* confirms. The site of this early synagogue and a picture of its facade have also been discovered in a map of Liverpool dated 1765. John Wesley refers to the excellent relations which the local Jews enjoyed with their Christian neighbors (*Journal*, entry of April 14, 1755). About 20 Jews are listed in the Liverpool Directory for 1790, some of whom bear names that inspired the unsubstantiated theory that the original community was Sephardi. They were mostly peddlers and traders catering to the seafaring population and included Benjamin Goetz (or Yates), a seal-engraver described as the "Jews' High Priest" (*ḥazzan?*).

The "Old" Hebrew Congregation was organized, or reorganized, at Turton Court in 1780. Its first cemetery was acquired nine years later and its Yiddish regulations drawn up in 1799. The first synagogue, built on a site in Seel Street donated by the Liverpool Corporation, was consecrated in 1808. The congregation's present handsome building on Princes Road was constructed in 1874. In the early 19th century the congregation's preacher was Tobias *Goodman, whose sermons are thought to have been the first delivered in English at a synagogue in the British Isles. Internal conflicts led to a secession in 1838, and to the subsequent establishment of a rival congregation at Hope Place. By about 1860, Liverpool's Jewish community, then numbering around 3,000, was second in size to London's. Toward the end of the 19th century, Russian and Polish refugees reached Liverpool on their way to America; a number remained to modify the character of Liverpool Jewry. A Levantine Sephardi community also existed between 1892 and 1914, and a small Liberal synagogue was established in 1928. A Liverpool and District Rabbinate was set up in 1904, its first two incumbents being Samuel Jacob *Rabinowitz, an early Zionist leader, and Isser Yehudah *Unterman, later chief rabbi of Israel. Other communal institutions include a pioneer Jewish welfare board (founded 1875), a philanthropic society (1811), a yeshivah (1915), and Hebrew-endowed schools (1840). During the first quarter of the 20th century British Jewry's first Hebrew day school flourished in Liverpool under the direction of Jacob Samuel *Fox. In 1971 there were in Liverpool nine congregations serving an estimated Jewish population of 7,500 (1% of the total). Some 700 Jewish children received their education at the King David schools.

Charles Mozley became the city's first Jewish mayor in 1863, and there were subsequently four other Jewish lord mayors. Important civic and other dignities were filled by the *Benas and *Cohen families and by Lord *Cohen of Birkenhead. Isaiah *Raffalovich and Izak *Goller were other prominent figures in latter-day communal history. The monthly *Liverpool Jewish Gazette* (1947–) mirrored the local scene, while the Zionist Central Council (1898) and the Merseyside Jewish Representative Council (1944) coordinated the community's activities. In the mid-1990s, the Jewish population numbered approximately 4,000. The 2001 British census recorded 2,698 declared Jews in Liverpool. At the outset of the 21st century, the city had four Orthodox and a Progressive synagogue, and a range of Jewish institutions.

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LIVESTOCK, TRADE IN. The laws of ritual slaughter (**sheḥitah*) made it necessary for Jews to buy cattle for their own consumption. In Muslim countries the gentile population bought meat from Jewish butchers. In Christian countries many charters granted to the Jews contained articles regulating the slaughter of livestock by Jews as well as the right to sell meat to non-Jews. This was necessary because the surplus, ritually unclean, parts of animals had to be sold to the Christian populace, to the great resentment of the guild of Christian butchers. Churchmen also were indignant that Jews sold to Christians meat that they considered unfit to eat according to the law. Protests by butchers against the irregular sale of meat by Jews were common occurrences in most medieval cities, often resulting in limitations in Jewish trade which had been beneficial both to Jews and to most Christians. Trade in livestock became much more intensive following the expulsions of the 15th and 16th centuries, which had resulted in a considerable section of Central European Jewry adopting a rural mode of life. Henceforth their main occupations were as *peddlers, traders, brokers in agricultural products, and livestock traders. Many villages were composed largely of traders in cattle, goats, and horses. For example, in Eichstetten, Baden, four-fifths of the 68 Jewish families were livestock traders in the 19th century. In *Poland-Lithuania Jews traded in cattle on a larger scale. Herds of cattle, often numbering thousands of heads, were driven for sale to the west. In the *Arenda system the Jewish lessee would obtain both ritually clean and unclean animals. The problems arising from the maintenance and sale of the latter are dealt with in much of the halakhic literature of the 17th and 18th centuries.

Jewish participation in the livestock trade was a mainstay of the activity of military *contractors. Supplies from Poland-Lithuania helped boost this trade among German and Austrian Jews. Herds of draft oxen, cattle for meat, and horses for the cavalry were supplied by Samuel *Oppenheimer and Samson *Wertheimer of Vienna and many other *Court Jews. In Poland the *Nachmanovich family specialized in supplying large quantities of horses to the armies. The thousands of beasts necessary were amassed through a system of contractors and subcontractors, reaching down to the petty rural livestock trader. Isaac, son of Daniel *Itzig, became bankrupt in 1795 when he did not receive payment from *Cerfberr for delivering 8,835 out of 10,000 horses contracted for. The livestock trade was a predominantly Jewish occupation in Bohemia-Moravia, Hungary, and Eastern Europe. The familiar presence of the Jewish livestock trader made him a common figure in local folksong; a Westphalian example goes:

> Jew Itzig bought a cow
> and a calf as well;
> Itzig Jew didn't notice, the calf was *mo'beres*.

The use of a Hebrew word (*mo'beres-me'ubberet*, "pregnant") is typical, for the professional livestock traders' language in most of Europe was full of Hebrew and Yiddish expressions. The vocabulary of non-Jewish livestock traders in Holland after World War II consisted of about 90% corrupted Hebrew and Yiddish words. Jewish horse traders developed a secret trade dialect which non-Jewish horse traders first tried to understand and then eventually adopted for their own mercantile purposes.

Cattle was not only bought and sold but was also raised for meat and dairy products by Jews living in villages. The problem of the *firstborn animal was solved in *Hesse and neighboring regions in a unique manner: ritually pure calves and kids were sent to graze in the *Frankfurt on the Main cemetery and on their eventual death, of old age, were buried wrapped in a white sheet. These animals were butchered by Vincent *Fettmilch's mob and saved during the 1711 fire. This custom, mentioned by Ludwig *Boerne, was also followed in various communities in Eastern Europe.

In Switzerland, from which the Jews had been expelled in the 15th and 16th centuries and finally in 1622, Jewish livestock traders were nevertheless present throughout the country. Pacific Switzerland attracted the Jewish horse traders supplying the armies of neighboring states. The various cantons were forced to accept and encourage their presence, or to suffer stagnation in the livestock trade. Attempts were made to differentiate between the needed livestock buyers and unwanted traders and peddlers. The few Jewish communities that existed in Switzerland in the 18th and early 19th centuries subsisted primarily from livestock trading. In Endingen, of 144 heads of families, 48 were engaged in livestock trading and 5 were butchers. In relatively isolated Endigen and Lengnau a special horse traders' language persisted into the 20th century without passing through a process of de-Hebraization and Germanization.

When in 1689 the *Nuremberg council wanted to prohibit all trade between Jews and Christians, the Christian butchers protested and the council was forced to make an exception for the livestock trade. As against 1,590 transactions in cattle conducted by Jews between 1784 and 1800 in Winterborn (in the *Palatinate), only 82 were conducted by Christians. This predominance in rural markets had its anti-Jewish ramifications. Jewish livestock traders were frequently accused of trickery, primarily of *usury and exploitation, for the animals were generally bought and sold on credit. Accusations against Jewish livestock traders were particularly common in Alsace-Lorraine, Bavaria, Hesse, and Eastern Europe. Through channeling the resentment of the farmers in backward rural Hesse against Jewish livestock traders, Otto Boeckel was elected to the Reichstag. This type of antisemitic agitation was later adopted by the Nazis, particularly by the party's agricultural experts. Immediately after the Nazi seizure of power concerted steps were taken to break the Jews' dominant position in livestock markets, both on the local, regional, and national levels. Traditional markets were boycotted and special *judenfreie* ones were established, where farmers were urged to bring their livestock. Eventually, heavy pressure, both public and legal, had to be exerted in order to induce the farmers to sever their ties with Jewish traders. The campaign was intensified in the middle and late 1930s. On Jan. 26, 1937, only pure-blooded Germans were permitted to deal in livestock, and on Nov. 12, 1938, after the **Kristallnacht*, Jews were totally forbidden to attend markets and fairs.

Goats and cattle were raised on a small scale by many Jewish households; in the **shtetl* the owner of a few cows or goats supplied kosher milk and dairy products. Tales of such men were common in folklore and literature, the most famous being Tevyeh the milkman by *Shalom Aleichem.

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[Henry Wasserman]

LIVNAT, LIMOR (1950–), Israeli politician, Knesset member from the end of the Twelfth Knesset. Livnat was born in Haifa, to a mother who was a singer and a father who had been a member of Leḥi. She served in the IDF as an education and welfare sergeant, and then studied general literature at Tel Aviv University, where in 1972 she served as deputy chairman of the Students Association, being the first woman to serve in this post. While a student she became politically active in the Likud and in the Movement for Greater Israel. After leaving the university she worked in an advertising company, as a budget manager, and a toy distributor. In 1977 Livnat was elected chairperson of the Young Likud staff. In the elections to the Eleventh Knesset in 1984 she served as spokesperson of the Likud election staff. In 1989 she edited the magazines *Bein ha-Shurot* ("Between the Lines") and *Moked Ereẓ Yisrael* ("Focus on Ereẓ Israel") published by the Likud. From 1991 and until she entered the Knesset in April 1992 Livnat served as chairperson of the board of directors of the Construction Center.

Toward the end of the Twelfth Knesset she entered the Knesset for the Likud, replacing a Knesset member who resigned. In the Thirteenth Knesset she served as chairperson of the Committee for the Advancement of the Status of Women as well as of the Parliamentary Committee of Inquiry on the Murder of Women by their Spouses. In the primaries for the elections of a new Likud chairman in 1993 she supported Netanyahu and remained close to him until after he became prime minister. Livnat was head of the Likud information staff for the elections to the Fourteenth Knesset in 1996. After the Likud victory in these elections, she was appointed minister of communications, in which capacity she acted to open the communications branch to competition, working to open the market for international phone calls to competition and getting Israel to join the agreements of the World Trade Organization on communications issues. She also initiated the "Bezek Law," which enabled the publication of tenders for designated cable TV channels.

At the Likud Conference held in November 1997, Livnat led a move to remove Binyamin *Netanyahu from the party leadership. Following the Likud's defeat in the elections to the Fifteenth Knesset she supported Ariel *Sharon in the contest for the Likud leadership. In the Fifteenth Knesset she was a member of the Knesset Finance Committee, Education, Culture, and Sports Committee, and the Committee for the Advancement of the Status of Women. When Sharon was elected prime minister in 2001 Livnat was appointed minister of education, culture, and sport, retaining the position in the Sixteenth Knesset. As minister of education she has had to contend with a deepening crisis in the education system, which resulted in falling scholastic standards and growing violence by pupils. She tried to introduce a system under which all schools receiving government financial support, including schools from the *ḥaredi* independent system, must teach a certain core program. However, due to political circumstances, the *ḥaredi* schools were released from this requirement. In 2004 Livnat appointed the Dovrat Committee that proposed far-reaching reforms in the education system, including the cancelation of the middle schools, a five-day school week in return for a long school day, an increase in teachers' salaries hand in hand with longer teaching hours, and the laying off of close to 20,000 teachers. Livnat wholeheartedly supported these recommendations, which, after certain modifications, resulting from opposition by the various teachers' organizations, were partially implemented in the 2005–6 school year.

Livnat strongly objected to Sharon's Gaza disengagement plan but refrained from voting against it in the Knesset, and she did not resign from the government before it was implemented, as Netanyahu had done.

She is a member of the Women's Network and the management of Shorashim.

[Susan Hattis Rolef (2nd ed.)]

LIVNI, HILLEL (**Slavko Weiss**; 1906–1994), Zionist leader. Born and educated in Croatia, he lived in Zagreb, where he became a Jewish youth organizer and instructor. He was among the sponsors of a scouting group called Kibbutz ha-Zofim, with headquarters in Zagreb and chapters in several towns with Jewish populations. He also worked within the Federation of Jewish Youth Organizations, promoting the ḥalutzic (*aliyah* preparation) trend and was instrumental in the integration of Ha-Zofim into the Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir world movement. This movement was officially founded in Slavonski Brod in 1931, rapidly spreading across the country and becoming the largest body of organized Jewish youngsters in Yugoslavia. Livni was among the planners of seminars, summer camps, mountaineering units, and educational programs aiming at preparing future members of kibbutzim, having himself been among the founders of kibbutz Sha'ar ha-Amakim in the Haifa Bay area in the early 1930s. After his *aliyah* he was twice sent back to Yugoslavia as an emissary of his movement. In 1939, he participated as a delegate at the 21st Zionist Congress in Geneva.

In his kibbutz Livni performed various managerial duties. He also took part in the work of the Historical Commission of the Hitaḥdut (Association of Immigrants from Yugoslavia), assisting in research and editing.

As an ardent philatelist, he accumulated an impressive collection. Shortly before his death he sold it, thus enabling the erection of a memorial monument in his kibbutz for Holocaust victims who were relatives of members of Sha'ar ha-Amakim.

[Zvi Loker (2nd ed.)]

LIVNI, TZIPI (1958–), Israeli politician. Livni was born in Tel Aviv. Her father, Eitan Livni, was a member of Eẓel (*Irgun Ẓeva'i Le'ummi) and a member of the Knesset. A lieutenant in the IDF, she subsequently served in the Mossad and received a law degree from Bar-Ilan University, entering private practice and specializing in commercial and constitutional law before being elected to the Knesset in 1999 as a Likud MK. Previously she had served as director-general of the Government Companies Authority, overseeing the process of privatization. In the Knesset she was a member of the Constitution, Law and Justice Committee, and the Committee for the Advancement of the Status of Women. In 2001–2, she served as minister of regional cooperation, minister without portfolio, and minister of agriculture. In February 2003, she was appointed minister of immigrant absorption, also becoming minister of housing and construction. In December 2004 she was appointed minister of justice and, in January 2006, minister of foreign affairs by Acting Prime Minister Ehud *Olmert, after leaving the Likud with Ariel *Sharon when he founded the Kadimah Party. A staunch supporter of Sharon's political positions, including the withdrawal from the Gaza Strip in summer 2005, Livni proved to be a forthright and engaging spokesman for government policy, perceived by the public as a cut above the professional politician. The American press, too, was charmed by her during her visit to the U.S. in February 2006 for talks with Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice and an unscheduled meeting with President Bush, already billing her as the next Golda Meir.

LIVSHITS, BENEDIKT KONSTANTINOVICH (1886 [1887, New Style]–1939?), Russian poet. Born in Odessa, Livshits finished the Duc de Richelieu Gymnasium in 1905 and obtained a law degree from Kiev University in 1912. His early poetry (first published in *Antologiya sovremennoy poezii*, 1909) was inspired by classical antiquity and the French *poètes maudits* (especially Rimbaud, Corbière, and Laforgue). In 1910, Livshits began to contribute to *Apollon*, the influential St. Petersburg art journal; in 1911, he published his first book of verse, *Fleyta Marsiya* ("The Flute of Marsyas"). In 1912, under the influence of D. Burlyuk, Livshits left the *Apollon* group and joined the Futurist circle known as Hylaea, becoming one of its most prominent theoreticians. His poetry and manifestos appeared in the Futurist miscellanies *Sadok sudey* ("A Trap for Judges"), *Poshchechina obshchestvennomu vkusu* ("A Slap in the Face of Public Taste"), *Dokhlaya luna* ("The Croaked Moon"), etc. In 1914, Livshits published another collection of verse, *Volchye solntse* ("The Sun of the Wolves"). After Marinetti's visit to Russia, Livshits initiated an all-out attack against European Futurism. The French version of his manifesto "We and the West" was published by Apollinaire in *Mercure de France* (CVIII, Apr. 16, 1914). Hylaea began to disintegrate at about this time, however, and Livshits left the Futurist movement. His later poetics represent a refined synthesis of Hylaean Cubo-Futurism and *Mandelshtam's Acmeism. The poems of *Iz topi blat* ("Out of the Swamp," 1922) and *Patmos* (1926) are complex riddles, the solution of which demands great literary and historical erudition. In 1928, Livshits published a retrospective collection of his poetry, *Krotonskiy polden* ("The Crotonian Noon"). His memoir *Polutoraglazy strelets* ("The

One-and-a-Half-Eyed Archer," 1933) is outstanding both as a work of art and a historical document. Livshits also excelled as a translator, producing the most faithful and artistically satisfying Russian poetic translations of modern French verse (*Ot romantikov do surrealistov*, 1934). In 1938, he was arrested in connection with the so-called "translators' case" and died, according to official Soviet data, in May 1939.

As a rule, Livshits avoided Jewish themes in his poetry for fear of "cultural inbreeding": in a 1920 poem he spoke of the Jewish heritage in his blood as "the tender duty of the levirate," fulfilling which the "family-loving Hebrew possessed his brother's widow, mixing his blood with that of his brother" (cf. O. Mandelshtam's poem "Return to the Incestuous Bosom"). His other publications include *Gileya* (1931); *Frantsuzskiye liriki XIX–XX vv.* (1937); *U nochnogo okna* (1970). Some of his poems have been translated into English in V. Markov, ed., *Modern Russian Poetry: An Anthology* (1967; Eng. tr. by M. Sparks).

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[Omri Ronen]

°**LIVY** (**Titus Livius**; 59 B.C.E.–17 C.E.), Roman historian who mentioned Jews at least twice in his writings. He records that until the capture of the Temple in Jerusalem by Pompey (63 B.C.E.), the sanctuary had never been violated (Epitome, book 102). Livy's history is cited by Josephus (Ant., 14:68) as testimony to the heroic conduct of the priests, who even during the siege and capture of Jerusalem continued to offer the daily sacrifices.

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[Jacob Petroff / Shimon Gibson (2nd ed.)]

LIWERANT SZCLAR, DANIEL (1945–), Mexican community leader and activist in international Jewish organizations. Born in Mexico City where he studied in the Tarbut Jewish school and in a national high school, he was an active member of the Hanoar Hatzioni youth movement. Liwerant continued his studies at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, where he graduated in law.

Back in Mexico Liwerant's professional work was concentrated in the area of construction and real estate in which he founded and directed several companies. From the mid-1980s he served as vice president of the administrative council of Isal Investment Corporation which promoted investments in different areas of Israel's economy. From 1986 he was president of the board of Keren Fomento Atzmaut, México-Israel.

Liwerant focused his activities on the promotion of Diaspora-Israel relations. He presided over Keren Hayesod, Mexico (1990–94) and the World Board of Keren Hayesod (1997–2001). From 1995 he was an executive member of the board of trustees of Keren Hayesod, and of the board of governors and the Executive of the Jewish Agency. He was a member of the Joint Authority of Jewish-Zionist Education (1993–2003) and co-chairman of its Aliyah and Absorption Committee.

Liwerant was also active in Jewish education in Mexico, where he was a member of Reshut Hachinuch (Education Authority; 1993–97) and a member of the board of Universidad Hebraica (from 2000). He supported the Taglit-Birthright program in Mexico and was a member of its international consulting council.

Liwerant received many awards including an honorary doctorate from the Hebrew University of Jerusalem (1997). His wife, JUDIT BOKSER DE LIWERANT, is a recognized scholar in political science and a researcher of the Jewish community in Mexico. She is director of the Post-Graduate Program of the Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México UNAM and a member of the Mexican Academy of Science. She was also very active in the development and improvement of Jewish educational and cultural enterprises.

[Margalit Bejarano (2nd ed.)]

LIZARD (Heb. לְטָאָה), reptile included among the eight creeping things that are prohibited as food and whose dead body defiles anything with which it comes into contact (Lev. 11:30–39). Talmudic literature states that its tail moves convulsively when cut off (Oho. 1:6), that in intense heat it remains immovable, stirring only when water is poured over it (Pes. 88b). Both features are characteristic of various species of lizard, but the reference is apparently mainly to those belonging to the family Lacertidae, of which four genera (that include ten species) are to be found in Israel. Of the *Lacerta*, the most common are the brown lizard (*Lacerta laevis*) and the great green lizard (*Lacerta viridis*) which is the largest and most beautiful of this family, is commonly found in the mountainous regions, and feeds on insects. The dab lizard, which belongs to another family, is apparently to be identified with the צָב (*ẓav*), likewise included among the unclean creeping things (see *Tortoise).

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[Jehuda Feliks]

LJUBLJANA (Ger. **Laibach**), capital of Slovenia; until 1918 in Krain, Austria. Individual Jews are mentioned in Ljubljana during the 12th century, and the repair of a synagogue is attested in 1217. A "Jewish Road" and a "Jewish Street" are remains of the former Jewish quarter. The Jews of Ljubljana were merchants, moneylenders, and artisans, and were allowed to own real estate. During the Middle Ages they were from time to time accused of child murder, well poisoning, etc. They were not expelled together with the rest of the Jews from Carinthia and Styria in 1496; in 1513, however, Emperor Maximilian gave in to the burghers' claims and forbade the Jews to engage in commerce, and in 1515 expelled them from Ljubljana. Under Leopold II in 1672 the whole of Krain was forbidden to Jews. Later Joseph II allowed them to visit the fairs.

During the Napoleonic Kingdom of Illyria, Abraham Heimann from Bavaria settled in Ljubljana with two relatives under protection of the French governor and opened an official money changer's office. When Ljubljana reverted to Austria in 1814, the emperor confirmed Heimann's right of residence, but he had to fight with the municipal authorities until the 1848 Revolution. After the *emancipation in 1867 Jews again settled in Ljubljana, and by 1910 there were 116 of them, but without an organized community. They were attached to the community of Graz in Austria until 1918, and after Slovenia became a part of the new Yugoslav kingdom, they were attached to the Zagreb community. Only one extended Jewish family remained there when the Germans took the town and handed it over to the Italians in 1941. A memorial to the Jewish victims of the Holocaust was erected after World War II. The Ljubljana community, founded after World War II, had 84 members in 1969. In the 1990s the renewed community took on the name "Judovska skupnost," availing itself of the services of a visiting rabbi from Trieste. Members used prayer books in the Slovenian language and even the *Haggadah* could be read in a Slovenian version.

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[Zvi Loker (2nd ed.)]

LLERENA, city in W. Spain, near the Andalusian border. Jews lived in Llerena throughout the 13th–15th centuries, up to the expulsion in 1492. In 1391, it was the only community that was attacked in the region of Extremadura. In 1474 the annual tax paid by the community amounted to 3,500 maravedis. It increased to 35,820 maravedis in 1491, probably because Jews recently expelled from Andalusia had settled in the city. A Jew of Llerena, Gabriel-Israel, served as interpreter to Ferdinand and Isabella during the war with Granada, and won the king's esteem. There were also Conversos living in Llerena. Toward the end of the 16th century a permanent tribunal of the Inquisition was established there which became one of the most active in Spain. David *Reuveni was imprisoned in the inquisitional dungeons in Llerena from 1532, and from 1631 onward a large group of fugitives from Badajoz was tried by the Llerena tribunal with tragic results. As late as 1652 six fugitive Judaizers were burned in effigy, at an auto-da-fé in Llerena, together with the bones of a woman who had died in prison.

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[Haim Beinart]

°LLOYD GEORGE, DAVID (**Earl Lloyd-George**; 1863–1945), British prime minister (1916–22) under whose government the *Balfour Declaration was approved. Lloyd George first came into contact with the Zionist movement in 1903, when the firm of solicitors for whom he worked prepared, at the request of Leopold *Greenberg, a draft connected with the *Uganda Scheme. After Britain's declaration of war on Turkey in November 1914, he told Herbert *Samuel that he "was very keen to see a Jewish State established in Palestine," so that when he first met Chaim *Weizmann in December 1914, he was already in a receptive mood toward Zionism. Lloyd George, the Welshman, was drawn toward Zionism both by his religious upbringing ("I was taught far more about the history of the Jews than about the history of my own people," he wrote) and by his belief that "it is the small nations that have been chosen for great things."

Although sentiment played no small part in Lloyd George's approach, on strictly rational grounds he was determined to make Palestine British, at a time when the Zionists regarded British administration of the country as vital to their aims. Before Sir Mark Sykes left for Egypt in April 1917 to become *Allenby's political adviser, Lloyd George impressed upon him three main points: (1) Palestine was to be under British rule; (2) no pledges should be given to the Arabs concerning Palestine; (3) nothing should be done to prejudice the Zionist aspirations with regard to Palestine. In the cabinet, Lloyd George enthusiastically supported the pro-Zionist Balfour Declaration, viewing it as a step toward the possible establishment of a Jewish state. A few days before the issue of the declaration, he told Weizmann: "I know that with the issue of this Declaration I shall please one group [i.e., the Zionists] and displease another [i.e., the assimilationists]. I have decided to please your group because you stand for a great idea." He also brought about ratification of the Balfour Declaration at the *San Remo Conference and its inclusion in the *Mandate for Palestine.

Lloyd George appointed Herbert Samuel as the first high commissioner for Palestine and fought vehemently against the Passfield White Paper of 1930 (see *White Papers). In his testimony before the Royal Commission for Palestine in 1937 he said: "… it was contemplated [in 1917] that when the time arrived for according representative institutions for Palestine, if the Jews had meanwhile responded to the opportunity afforded them and had become a definite majority of the inhabitants, then Palestine would thus become a Jewish commonwealth." He told the Royal Commission that halting Jewish immigration to Palestine would be "a fraud." He took the same firm stand against the anti-Zionist White Paper of 1939. An entire chapter on Palestine is included in his *Memoirs of the Peace Conference* (2 (1939), 721–74). Lloyd George's pro-Zionist, philo-semitic career was one of the high points of gentile pro-Zionism in Britain, occasioned by a unique conflation of political opportunity in the Middle East and the significant tradition of Protestant philo-semitism in England, as well as his own perceptions of the Jews as an oppressed small nation similar to his own people, the Welsh.

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[Daniel Efron]

LOAN (Heb. הַלְוָאָה, *halva'ah*), a transaction in which a thing, usually money, is given by one person, called the *malveh* ("lender"), to another, called the *loveh* ("borrower"), for the latter's use and enjoyment, and in order that such thing or its equivalent be returned by the borrower at some later date. In halakhic literature the term *halva'ah* is often used to describe an obligation or debt (*ḥov*) in general – i.e., not necessarily one originating from a transaction of loan – and many of the *halakhot* applying to debt in the wide sense of this term apply to loan, and vice versa (see Gulak, Yesodei, 2 (1922), 5f.; see also *Obligation, Law of). In this article loan is treated in the restricted sense of the term defined above

Oral Loan (Milveh be-al Peh) and Loan in Writing (Milveh bi-Shetar)

A loan established orally is distinguished from one established in writing in two main respects: (1) in the former case the borrower's plea that he has repaid the loan is believed, whereas in the latter case such a plea by the borrower is not believed when the bond of indebtedness is in the lender's possession; (2) in the case of a loan in writing, the creditor has the right to levy on the debtor's *nekhasim meshu'badim* ("alienated and encumbered" assets, see *Lien; Obligation, Law of), a right not available to him in the case of an oral loan. The term *milveh be-al peh* is apparently a post-talmudic creation, although the distinction between the two forms of loan was recognized as early as tannaitic times (Gulak, loc. cit.; Herzog, Instit, 1 (1936), 352).

Mitzvah of Lending

The precept of lending to the poor of Israel is based on Exodus 22:24: "If thou lend money to any of my people that is poor by thee" (see Mekh., Mishpatim, s. 19), and is included in the enumeration of the *mitzvot* (*Sefer ha-Mitzvot*, Asayin no. 197; *Semag*, Asayin no. 93; *Sefer ha-Ḥinnukh* no. 66). Some scholars derived this precept from other biblical passages (*She'iltot* no. 114; *Semak* no. 248). The lender, if he apprehends that he may not be repaid, may make his loan conditional on the receipt of a *pledge from the borrower (Tos. to BM 82b; *Ahavat Ḥesed*, 1:13). The merit of fulfilling this precept was lavishly extolled by the scholars – even beyond the act of *charity (Shab. 63a). The duty was held to cover also a loan to a rich man in his hour of need (Sh. Ar., ḤM 97:1, *Sma* thereto, n. 1), but some scholars restricted its application to the case of a poor man only (*Even ha-Ezer*, Malveh ve-Loveh 1:1). In certain circumstances a person is prohibited from lending money to another. This is so if there are no witnesses to a loan (BM 75b), lest the borrower be tempted to deny his indebtedness or the lender forget that he gave the loan; it nevertheless became customary for a loan, even an oral one, to be given in the absence of witnesses, and the *aḥaronim* sought to explain the custom and reconcile it with the talmudic *halakhah* (*Pilpula Ḥarifta* to BM 75b; Resp. *Ben Yehudah*, 1:153). Similarly prohibited is a loan given to a poor man for the repayment of another debt, since – but for such loan – the creditor might come to his relief on account of his poverty (Tos. to Ḥag. 5a).

Nature of the Repayment Obligation

The nature of the borrower's obligation to repay the loan was a matter of dispute among the *amoraim*. R. Papa took the view that the duty of repayment was no more than a *mitzvah* – just as it was a *mitzvah* for the lender to give a loan – whereas R. Huna b. Joshua held that repayment was a legal duty (Ket. 86a; BB 174a; Nov. Ritba, Kid. 13b; Resp. Mabit, vol. 1, no. 51; *Semag*, Asayin 93). It seems that, alongside the legal duty, R. Huna recognized also the existence of a religious duty to repay the debt (Resp. Ribash 484; M. Elon (see bibl.), 20f. and n. 44, 45; for an opinion that the duty was a *mitzvah* only, see Nov. Ramban BB 173b). Some scholars held this *mitzvah* to be of Pentateuchal origin (Ritba, loc. cit.; Mabit, loc. cit., *Resp. Pitḥei Teshuvah*, ḤM 97, n. 4), while others interpreted R. Papa's statement as relating only to an oral loan (Rashbam BB 174a). A borrower who fails to repay the loan is described as *rasha* ("wicked"; Ps. 37:21; *Semag*, Asayin no. 93; see also *Contract; Obligation, Law of).

Halva'ah and She'elah

She'elah (loan for use and return) relates to "utensils" (*kelim*), and *halva'ah* (loan for consumption) to money or "produce" (*perot*). Utensils are things which are not counted by weight and measure, nor exchangeable one for the other; things which are counted and exchanged in this way are "produce" (Gulak, Yesodei, vol. 1, p. 95; vol. 2, pp. 20, 171). The *sho'el* (borrower for use and return) must return the subject matter of the loan in specie, whereas the *loveh* need not do so. Unless otherwise stipulated, a loan is for consumption, and the borrower will only be liable for payment of the equivalent in produce or other property (see also **Shomerim*).

Establishment of Loan

A loan transaction is concluded upon handing over of the money (or "produce") to the borrower. In post-talmudic times the opinion was advanced that a contract of loan might be established upon performance of a formal *kinyan* alone (see *Acquisition), without handing over of the money, and that thereupon the borrower would become obliged to repay the money (Tur, ḤM 39:19 and *Beit Yosef* ad loc.); however, this opinion was not accepted by scholars (*Beit Yosef* loc. cit.; ḤM 89:17). Once the money of the loan has been given to the borrower, the lender will no longer have any right to retract and demand its return, even if it is still intact in specie (*Baḥ*, ḤM 39:19; *Siftei Kohen*, ḤM 39, n. 49). Where the lender has undertaken to give a loan and the borrower has already written a deed on the former's instruction, some scholars hold that, as long as the money has not yet passed to the borrower, the lender remains free to retract from the loan (Resp. Rashba, vol. 1, no. 1054; Sh. Ar., ḤM 39:17), while others preclude him from so doing (*Sefer ha-Terumot* 48:1; *Maggid Mishneh*, Malveh, 23:5). In the case of an oral loan, the lender may withdraw at any time before handing over of the money (*Netivot ha-Mishpat*, Mishpat ha-Urim, 39, n. 17).

Repayment Date

WHEN SPECIFIED. If a specified date was stipulated between the parties, the lender may not reclaim the loan prior to that date (Mak. 3b; Yad, Malveh, 13:5). Some scholars maintain that the lender – even in circumstances where he has reason to fear the borrower's imminent departure abroad, or is aware that the latter may be squandering his assets and therefore become unable to repay the debt on the due date – is not entitled to anticipate the day of repayment (*Teshuvat ha-Ge'onim* no. 45; *Sefer ha-Terumot* 16:3; Tur, ḤM 73); other scholars invest the court with discretion in the matter and the power to order distraint of the property in the borrower's possession (Resp. Rif. no. 113; Resp. Rashba, vol. 1, no. 1111). It was held that the court might do this only if the borrower is squandering his assets, otherwise – even though his financial position may be steadily deteriorating for other reasons – the court will not have the power to intervene prior to the due date of repayment (*Yam shel Shelomo BK* 1:20; *Siftei Kohen* ḤM 73, no. 34, see also below; *Execution (Civil)).

WHEN UNSPECIFIED. A loan for an unspecified period is given for 30 days (Yad, Malveh 13:5), and may not be reclaimed within this period. If it is customary in a locality to retain a loan of unspecified duration for a longer or a shorter period, that custom is followed (Sh. Ar., ḤM 73:1, *Sma* and *Siftei Kohen* ad loc.). Some scholars expressed the opinion that in this matter even the gentile custom is followed (*Sma*, loc. cit.) – but others disputed this (*Siftei Kohen*, loc. cit., n. 1 and 39).

FURTHER DIFFERENCES. (1) In the case of a loan for a specified period, the borrower's plea that he has made repayment within the term of the loan is not believed, since "a person is not likely to make payment before the due date" (BB 5a), whereas in the case of a loan for an unspecified period the borrower's plea that he has paid within the 30 days as required is believed (Tos. to BB 5a). This distinction has been justified by the scholars on many grounds. Some hold that in the case of a specified repayment date, the borrower, for no particular reason, knows that he will have no money available until the due date, but not so in the case of an unspecified repayment date (Resp. Rosh, 76:3); others hold that when no date is specified, the borrower will feel ashamed if he should have money before the end of the 30 days and fail to make repayment – hence it is presumed that he will repay the loan, even within the said period, if he has the money (*Shitah Mekubbeẓet*, BB 5a); yet another view is that, in the case of an unspecified repayment date, the borrower is liable for repayment of the loan before expiry of the 30 days – save that he cannot be obliged by the court to make payment before then – hence he is likely to repay earlier if he has the money (*Devar Avraham*, vol. 1, no. 32). A minority opinion holds that, in the case of a loan for an unspecified period, the borrower is not likely to anticipate payment, and his plea to this effect is not to be believed (Nov. Ramban BB 40a).

(2) Apparently even those who adhere to the opinion that the property of a borrower – even when it is being squandered by him – cannot be distrained until due date of payment of the loan agree with all other scholars that, as regards a loan for an unspecified period, the court may distrain the property in the debtor's possession even before expiry of the 30 days (*Keneset ha-Gedolah*, ḤM 73; *Beit Yosef* 20b).

ANTICIPATION OF PAYMENT BY THE BORROWER. Since determination of the repayment date is for the borrower's benefit (Ran to Ket. 81a, s.v. *vegarsinan*), it is permissible for him to repay the loan before the due date, regardless of the lender's wishes (Ran, loc. cit.). He may not, however, anticipate payment without the lender's consent when there is a substantial apprehension of an imminent and official change in currency values (*Sefer ha-Terumot* 30:2; see also below).

Acceptance of Payment

Payment made to the lender against the latter's will is a valid payment; if the latter refuses to accept the money and the borrower throws it to him, he will be discharged (*Sefer ha-Terumot* 50:1; Tos. to Git. 75a). However, when the lender is prepared to accept payment, the borrower must make the payment into his hands and may not throw it to him (Git. 78b; Yad, Malveh 16:1). Payment to the lender's wife is held by some scholars to discharge the borrower, provided that she is accustomed to transacting her husband's business (see Husband and *Wife; Resp. Maharam of Rothenburg, ed. Prague, no. 225; *Rema*, ḤM120:2), but other scholars dispute that this is a valid discharge (*Yam shel Shelomoh* BK 9:39).

Place of Payment

The lender may claim repayment at any place, even in the wilderness (BK 118a; Sh. Ar., ḤM 74:1). Upon due date the borrower may oblige the lender to accept payment at any settled place (*yishuv*), even if this is not the place where the loan was transacted, nor the place of residence of the lender or borrower (*Sefer ha-Terumot*, 30:1; Sh. Ar., loc. cit.). If the loan was transacted in the wilderness, the borrower may oblige the lender to accept payment there (*Rema* ḤM 74:1).

Method and Means of Payment

A debt not yet due may be repaid little by little (BM 77b; *Mordekhai* BM no. 352; *Ittur*, vol. 1, pt. 2, s.v. *iska*); according to some scholars payment in this manner, although initially forbidden, is valid in retrospect (*Bedek ha-Bayit* ḤM 74; *Siftei Kohen* ḤM 74, n. 17). After due date the lender may, in the opinion of all scholars, refuse to accept payment in the said manner (*Mordekhai*, loc. cit.). The borrower must repay in money, and, if he has none, in land. The lender may refuse to accept the land and offer to wait until the borrower has money – even if this is after the due date (Resp. Rosh, 80:9; Sh. Ar., ḤM 74:6, 101:4). If the borrower has no money, the lender may not instruct him to sell his assets in order to receive money for them, but must either take the assets as payment or wait until the borrower has money (Tos. to BK 9a). If payment in money entails a loss for the borrower, he may repay the loan in land (Tos. Ket. 92a and Ran ad loc.). If the borrower has money, land, and chattels, and wishes to pay in money, while the lender asks for land or chattels, some scholars hold the law to favor the lender and others the borrower (*Sefer ha-Terumot* 4:2; see also *Execution (Civil)).

Fluctuation in Currency Values

In case of official withdrawal and replacement of the existing currency, the position is as follows: If the new currency is of the same kind, the borrower pays in the currency in circulation at the time of payment (BK 97). If, however, the withdrawn currency is circulating in another country on the same terms as it formerly did in the country of its withdrawal, the lender – if he has the means of reaching such a country and there is no particular difficulty in transferring the old currency – will be obliged to accept the withdrawn currency in payment (BK 97; Sh. Ar., ḤM 74:7). If as a result of a change in the value of the currency there is a reduction in the price index of the commodities ("produce"), the borrower pays in accordance with the new currency value and deducts for himself the excess (BK 97b, 98a); if the reduction in prices result from factors unconnected with a currency revaluation, the borrower pays in the stipulated currency, without any deduction (Sh. Ar., YD 165). The view that the rules stated with reference to a currency revaluation must also be extended, by analogy, to the case of a currency devaluation (*Aferet Zahar* no. 165) was accepted as *halakhah (Piskei ha-Rosh*, BK 9:12; *Ḥikrei Lev*, Mahadura Bafra, ḤM 9) in preference to a contrary opinion (*Piskei ha-Rosh*, loc. cit.; Resp. Rashba, vol. 3, no. 34).

In many Jewish communities **takkanot* were enacted which were aimed at reaching a compromise in disputes between parties relating to the manner of debt-payment in case of a change in currency values, and a decisive majority of the *posekim* inclined toward adjudging and compromising between the parties in terms of these *takkanot* (see Kahana, bibl.; **Takkanot ha-Kahal*).

Plea of Repayment (*Parati*; "I have repaid")

An oral loan is repayable without witnesses; a loan in writing, before witnesses. In a claim for repayment of an oral loan, the borrower's plea that he has already made repayment is believed (Sh. Ar., ḤM 70:1); such a plea is regarded as a general denial of the claim, and on taking a solemn *oath (*shevu'at hesset*) – the borrower is exempted (Sh. Ar., ḤM 70:1). Where there is a bond of indebtedness, the borrower's plea that he has made repayment is not believed, and the lender – on swearing an oath that he has not been repaid – proceeds to recover the debt (*ibid.*). (As regards the borrower's plea of payment prior to the due date, see above.) As a means of protecting the lender against such a possible plea of repayment, it became customary to stipulate, at the time of the loan, that credence be given to the lender upon his denial of a repayment plea by the borrower – such stipulation availing to dismiss the latter plea (Sh. Ar., ḤM 71:1). For the similar protection of the lender, the practice was adopted of stipulating at the time of the loan that it be repayable only before witnesses – the borrower's plea of repayment being thus deprived of credibility unless attested by witnesses (*ibid.*, 70:3). In the latter case it still remained possible for the borrower to plead that he had repaid the debt before witnesses A and B, who had since gone abroad, and – upon making a solemn oath – become exempted; to forestall this possibility the practice was adopted of stipulating, "You shall not repay me except before witnesses so and so, or before the court" – thus precluding the borrower from pleading that he made repayment before some other witnesses (*ibid.*, 70:4).

Multiple Loans

If a lender has given the same borrower two separate loans and the latter seeks to repay on account of one of them, the lender may appropriate the payment toward whichever loan he pleases, without any right on the borrower's part to protest or maintain that he intended otherwise (Tur., ḤM 83:2 and *Beit Yosef* ad loc.; *Sefer ha-Terumot* 20:2). This rule only applies when both loans have already fallen due for payment (*Sefer ha-Terumot*, loc. cit.); if one loan has fallen due but not the other, the payment is deemed to have been made on account of the former (Resp. Radbaz, 1252 (181)); if neither has fallen due, the law is apparently the same as for two loans already due (Radbaz, loc. cit.; *Keẓot ha-Ḥoshen* 83, n. 1).

Conversion into Loan of Other Contractual Obligation

At times the practice was adopted, for various reasons, of converting an obligation originating from a transaction other than loan into an obligation of loan. This practice is referred to as *zekifat ḥov be-milveh* and was adopted – for instance in the case of a purchaser indebted to the seller for the purchase price – because of the restricted number of pleas possible against a claim for a loan-debt as compared to a claim for a debt originating from the sale of goods (BM 77b; ḤM 190:10). *Zekifat ḥov* takes place in one of the following ways: (1) by the writing of a special bond of indebtedness for an already existing debt; (2) by the stipulation of a date for the repayment of an existing debt; and (3) by the gradual accumulation of a debt, for instance by purchase on credit from a shop. In this way the original obligation is largely – or even entirely – extinguished and converted into a new obligation. From the time of such *zekifah* the debt is an obligation of loan only, the new obligation retaining none of the legal characteristics of the old (Gulak, Yesodei, vol. 2, pp. 116–8).

Minor as Party to a Loan

By pentateuchal law, a minor has no legal capacity to lend. As long as the subject matter of such a loan is still intact (in specie), it must be returned by the borrower; hence in case of loss resulting from **ones* (force majeure) the borrower is exempt from liability, as the property is deemed to be in its owner's possession for purposes of loss arising from *ones*. The rabbis enacted that a loan given by a minor should be valid, the borrower being liable also for loss resulting from *ones* (Gulak, Yesodei, vol. 1, p. 40). A minor who has borrowed is exempt from returning the loan, even after reaching his majority. According to some scholars, a minor who has borrowed for his own maintenance can be recovered from even during his minority (Gulak, loc. cit.; see also Legal Capacity).

Measures to Prevent "Bolting the Door" to Borrowers

Hillel the Elder instituted a *Prosbul designed to overcome reluctance to lend to a borrower at the approach of the *shemittah* (sabbatical) year (Shev. 10:3; Rashi Git. 37a; see also **Takkanot*). Although according to pentateuchal law the need for *derishah* and *ḥakirah* (examination of witnesses) extends also to civil law (*dinei mamonot*) matters, the scholars enacted for the obviation of this procedure in the latter cases, so as not to bolt the door before borrowers (Sanh. 3a; see also *Practice and Procedure; *Witness). Despite an opinion upholding the need, by the pentateuchal law, for three expert judges in matters of *hoda'ot* ("acknowledgments") and loans, the scholars enacted for the competence of a court of three laymen, lest the door be bolted before borrowers, for fear that no expert judges may be found to enforce the law (*ibid.*; see also **Bet Din*). The scholars enacted that in certain circumstances the judges, if they erred, were not to be exempted from liability, in order not to discourage people from lending to others (*ibid.*). According to pentateuchal law, the creditor recovers the debt out of the *zibburit* ("worst land") of the debtor, but the scholars enacted that he might do so from the *beinonit* ("medium land"), for the reason mentioned above (Git. 50a; see also *Execution (Civil)). According to those who held that the doctrine of *shi'bud nekhasim* was non-pentateuchal, the scholars enacted for a lender on a bond to recover from the debtor's *nekhasim meshu'badim* ("encumbered and alienated property"; see *Lien; BB 175b).

[Shmuel Shilo]

The Community as a Debtor

The Responsa literature relates to the mode of conduct in cases where the community had taken a loan for its various affairs, and it has to settle the debt. Rabbi Shlomo b. Aderet (Rashba) was asked about a case in which community members were taxed in order to return the loan – whether taxation should be made according to the financial status of the community member at the time of taking the loan or according to the time of its discharge. Rashba ruled that legally this loan should be regarded as a loan taken by partners, and the burden of repayment is in the same proportion as when the loan was taken; therefore community members should be taxed according to their status at the time when the loan was taken. Nevertheless the community has the authority to enact that participation of each member should be made according to the time of repayment, because a loan taken by the community could be regarded differently from an ordinary loan – "they are unlike debtors who take the loan directly for themselves, but like debtors for the community chest." Nevertheless, Rashba negates the possibility of obliging recent citizens of the community, who were not members of the community when the loan had been taken, because it is like a retroactive obligation which is not equitable (Resp. Rashba, 1, no.777; 3, no.412; see **Takkanot ha-Kahal*). For the present discussion, see also *Legal Person.

[Menachem Elon (2nd ed.)]

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LOANZ, ELIJAH BEN MOSES (1564–1636), one of the outstanding kabbalists of Germany in the late 16th and early 17th centuries. Born in Frankfurt on the Main, he was a grandson of *Joseph Joselmann b. Gershom of Rosheim. His teachers included Akiva Frankfurter, Jacob Guenzberg of Friedberg, *Judah Loew b. Bezalel of Prague, and *Menahem Mendel b. Isaac of Cracow. Serving as rabbi in *Fulda, *Hanau, *Friedberg, and *Worms successively, he was also *rosh yeshivah*, preacher, and *ḥazzan* in Worms for a time. Because he was well known as a writer of kabbalistic amulets and incantations, early in his career he acquired the cognomen Elijah Ba'al Shem. Only one of his books, *Rinnat Dodim*, a kabbalistic commentary on the Song of Songs, was printed during his lifetime (Basle, 1600). Other published works include *Mikhlol Yofi*, a commentary on Ecclesiastes (Amsterdam, 1695). He was the author of occasional liturgical poetry and his secular poem, *Vikku'aḥ Yayin im ha-Mayim*, was translated into German. Among his works still in manuscript (Oxford Bodleian Library) are an incomplete commentary on Midrash *Genesis Rabbah; Ma'gelei Ẓedek*, a supercommentary on *Baḥya b. Asher's commentary on the Pentateuch; *Adderet Eliyahu*, a commentary on the Zohar; *Ẓafenat Pa'ne'aḥ* on *Tikkunei Zohar*; and a commentary on Baḥya ibn Pakuda's *Ḥovot ha-Levavot*. Some of his kabbalistic amulets and formulae are included in the collections *Toledot Adam* (Zolkiew, 1720) and *Mifalot Elohim (ibid.*, 1727). Loanz also prepared for press a number of halakhic works, notably *Darkhei Moshe* by Moses Isserles. He exchanged learned correspondence with the Christian Hebraist, Johannes *Buxtorf.

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[Theodore Friedman]

LOBATO (Cohen Lobato), Marrano family prominent in Amsterdam, Hamburg, and London. Of especial importance were the following: ABRAHAM COHEN LOBATO, Portuguese Marrano born in Lisbon where he was known as Diego Gomez Lobato. In 1599, when his kinsman, Paul de Pina (alias Reuel *Jesurun) set out for Rome with the intention of becoming a monk, Lobato wrote to Elijah Montalto at Leghorn, who dissuaded him from his plan. Lobato subsequently went with De Pina to Brazil. On their return to Europe, they both settled as professing Jews in Amsterdam. Abraham Cohen Lobato is not to be confused with another person of the same name (perhaps his grandson) who died in Hamburg in 1665. The name Rehuel (Reuel) remained common among his descendants. REHUEL COHEN LOBATO, probably his son, and father of Isaac Cohen, was cotranslator, with Moses *Belmonte, of *Avot*, published in Spanish in Amsterdam (1644). ISAAC COHEN LOBATO filled the role of "Mount Zion" in the original presentation of Reuel Jesurun's "Dialogue of the Seven Mountains" in 1624, and was one of the founders of the society Sha'arei Ẓedek in Amsterdam in 1678. REHUEL LOBATO (1797–1866), a Dutch mathematician, was author of scientific and statistical works.

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[Cecil Roth]

LOCKER, BERL (1887–1972), Labor Zionist leader. Locker was born in Kriwiec, Galicia, and from 1902 he began to contribute to the Lemberg Labor Zionist newspaper, *Der Yidisher Arbeiter*, of which he later became editor. He organized the *Po'alei Zion party in the Austrian Empire before World War I. During the war Locker spent some time in the United States and from 1916 ran the world office of Po'alei Zion at The Hague. At the world conference of Po'alei Zion in Vienna (1920) he supported the split that brought about the separation of the pro-Communist wing and headed the World Union of Po'alei Zion ("right wing"). He was a member of the Zionist and Jewish Agency Executives in London from 1931 to 1936, when he settled in Palestine. Locker was a member of the *Histadrut Executive from 1936 to 1938, and from 1938 headed the political bureau of the Jewish Agency in London during the period of the struggle against the policy embodied in the White Paper of 1939 and for Jewish statehood. He tried to effect a rapprochement with the British government, particularly after the Labour Party took office in 1945.

From the establishment of the State of Israel (1948) until 1956, Locker served as chairman of the Jewish Agency Executive in Jerusalem. He was a member of the Third Knesset on the *Mapai list. Locker wrote many articles and pamphlets in Yiddish, German, Hebrew, and English. For the most part, he devoted himself to Zionist propaganda in England, and during the *yishuv's* struggle in Palestine he published the pamphlet, *A Stiff-Necked People – Palestine in Jewish History* (1946; the American edition is called *Covenant Everlasting*, 1947). A Hebrew translation and selections of his articles were published in *Be-Ḥevlei Kiyyum u-Tekumah* (1963). Among the various newspapers and publications of the Labor Zionists, he edited a selection of Ber *Borochov's work in Yiddish (1928). He also wrote *Mi-Kitov ad Yerushalayim* (1970).

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LOCKER, MALKE (1887–1990), Yiddish poet and essayist. Born in Kuty, Galicia, into a well-to-do family, her education included, besides Yiddish, Hebrew, and Polish, several European languages. She married the Labor Zionist leader Berl *Locker, and because of her husband's activities lived in various countries. She was most attracted by romantic and symbolist poetry. She published lyrics in the Yiddish press from 1929 as well as in book form: *Velt un Mentsh* ("World and Person," 1931), *Du* ("You," 1932), *Shtet* ("Cities," 1942), *Di Velt is on a Hiter* ("The World is Without Guardian," 1947), and *Yerushalayim* (1967), as well as translations from Rainer Maria Rilke's works (1981), and biographies of Arthur Rimbaud (1950), Charles Baudelaire (1970), and Paul Verlaine (1976) which were translated into Hebrew and French, as was her book of Yiddish essays on German, English, and French romantic writers, *Romantiker* (1958).

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[Sol Liptzin]

LOCKSPEISER, SIR BEN (1891–1990), British engineer and civil servant. The son of a London diamond merchant, Ben ("Benny" was his official given name) Lockspeiser was educated at Cambridge and served in World War I. Most of his career was spent as an aeronautical engineer at the Royal Aircraft Establishment at Farnborough, Hampshire, where he contributed significantly to the development of many technical innovations in aircraft design, especially wing de-icers. From 1939, he worked in the British government's Air Defence Department, becoming director-general in 1945 and, in 1946, chief scientist at the Ministry of Supply.

Lockspeiser was among the most influential scientific civil servants in modern British history and was in part responsible for producing the first electronic computers, for building the Jodrell Bank radio telescope, and for creating CERN (the European Council for Nuclear Research). He was knighted in 1946 and retired in 1956. Lockspeiser later served as head of the technical advisory board of the Israeli government.

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[William D. Rubinstein (2nd ed.)]

LOCKSPEISER, EDWARD (1905–1973), musicologist and critic. Lockspeiser studied at the Royal College of Music and with Nadia Boulanger in Paris. After working as a composer and conductor, he began writing for the *Yorkshire Post* and the magazine, *Musical America*. In 1941, he joined the BBC, on whose music staff he remained until 1950. He was music editor for the *Encyclopedia Britannica* and wrote frequently for *The Listener, Music and Letters*, and *The Times Literary Supplement*. Lockspeiser was considered a leading authority on French music, especially Debussy: he wrote *Debussy* for the Master Musician series (1936; revised second edition, 1951), and later an aesthetic and psychological study in two volumes, *Debussy: His Life and Mind* (1962, 1965), his masterpiece. His other publications include *Berlioz* (1939), *Bizet* (1951), an adapted translation of *A New History of Music* by Henry Prunieres (4 vols., 1943), and *Music and Painting* (1972). In 1948, Lockspeiser was made an Officier d'Academie for services to French music.

LOCUST (Heb. אַרְבֶּה, *arbeh*), one of the four insects which, having "jointed legs above their feet, wherewith to leap upon the earth," are permitted as food (Lev. 11:21–22). The locust was one of the ten plagues of Egypt (Ex. 10:4–19). The reference is to the Sudanese locust, *Schistocerca gregaria*, a pest that reached Ereẓ Israel in large numbers every few years causing havoc to agriculture. The Bible and talmudic literature describe the plague of locusts as one of the worst visitations to come upon the country. Its gravity and extent varied from time to time, one of the severest plagues having taken place in the days of the prophet Joel who devoted most of his prophecy to it. His precise descriptions of the locusts' development, sweep, and damage were confirmed in the extremely serious plague of locusts that visited Ereẓ Israel in 1915 when the crops were entirely destroyed in most parts of the country.

During the plague the locust undergoes various metamorphoses from the larva to the fully-grown, the stages of its development being given in Joel (2:25) in the expressions אַרְבֶּה (*arbeh*), יֶלֶק (*yelek*), חָסִיל (*ḥasil*), and גָּזָם (*gazam*), the last of these being the fully grown male or female. After being fertilized, the female lays a cluster of eggs in a hole which it makes in the ground. From the eggs, dark wingless larvae, the size of tiny ants, are hatched, these being the *yelek*, a word apparently connected with לָקַק, "to lap," "lick up." Eating the tender vegetation of the field, the *yelek* grows rapidly, and since (as with all insects) its epidermis does not become bigger, it sheds it at various stages of its growth, during which it changes the color of its skin. The next stage, during which its skin is pink, is the *ḥasil*, which word, from the root חסל, refers to its total destruction of the vegetation of the field, for at this stage it consumes enormous quantities; hence *ḥasil* is used as a synonym for *arbeh*. Thus in Solomon's prayer at the dedication of the Temple he declared that during a plague of *arbeh ḥasil* people would come there to pray for its riddance (I Kings 8:37; cf. Ps. 78:46). It now casts its skin twice, grows short wings, and becomes the *gazam*. At this juncture, when no more vegetation is left in the field, it "cuts off" (this being the meaning of גָּזָם) and chews the bark of trees with its powerful jaws; as Joel (1:7) says: "he hath made it (the fig-tree) clean bare… the branches thereof are made white"; and Amos (4:9): it devours "your gardens and your vineyards and your fig-trees and your olive-trees." Finally, after casting a further epidermis, it becomes the fully grown, long-winged *arbeh*, the yellow-colored female which is fit to lay its eggs. This cycle of the locust's development extends from spring until June when the swarms of locusts return to their place of origin or are blown by the wind to the Mediterranean or Dead Sea (Joel 2:20).

Joel refers to the locust as "the northern one," which is seemingly strange since it comes from the south. But in contemporary times (especially in 1915) it was found that swarms of locusts reach Jerusalem from the north. The means of fighting an invading swarm of locusts were very limited. While attempts were made to drive them away by making a noise (Job 39:20), reliance was chiefly placed on the mercy of the Lord by praying and proclaiming a fast and a solemn assembly (Joel 2:15). In talmudic literature, locusts are included among the disasters for which the alarm of the ram's horn (*shofar*) was sounded and a public fast held (Ta'an. 3:5). A plague of locusts brought famine in its wake, sometimes even in the following years by reason of the damage done to fruit trees. Having no other source of food, the people collected the locusts, dried and preserved them as food. The Mishnah cites divergent views on whether the blessing "by whose word all things exist" is to be said when eating locusts (in the Mishnah גּוֹבַאי (*govai*), in the Bible גּוֹבָי (*govai*); Nah. 3:17), one view being that since it "is in the nature of a curse, no blessing is said over it" (Ber. 6:3). In ancient times however they were regarded as a frugal meal and especially associated with *asceticism, as when John the Baptist ate only "locusts and wild honey" (Matt. 3:4; Mark 1:6). Some Yemenite Jews still eat fried locusts. In recent years swarms of locusts have at times visited countries neighboring on Israel, frequently originating in Africa and the Arabian peninsula, but modern methods have succeeded in destroying them in time by spraying from the air or by poison on the ground.

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[Jehuda Feliks]

LO-DEBAR (Heb. לִדְבִר, לוֹ דְבָר, לֹא דְבָר), city on the border of Gad in the northern part of Gilead (Josh. 13:26; Lidbir). Mephibosheth son of Jonathan lived there when Saul's family fled to Gilead after the disastrous battle at Mt. Gilboa (II Sam. 9:4ff.). Lo-Debar apparently fell into the hands of the Arameans during their wars with Israel and was recovered by Jeroboam (cf. Amos 6:13 where the name is translated as "a thing of nought"). The ancient name may be preserved in Umm al-Dabr in the eastern Jordan Valley 10 mi. (16 km.) south of the Sea of Galilee.

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[Michael Avi-Yonah]

LODÈVE, town in the department of Hérault, S. France. In 1092, Bernard III, bishop of Lodève, renewed the ancient canonical prohibition on mixed marriages. The Jewish community of Lodève, which a medieval document describes as having been flourishing and with many scholars (although no works from them have been preserved), appears to have dwindled away from the end of the 13th century; Jews originally from Lodève are subsequently found in Montpellier and later in Perpignan. During the 18th century, Jews from Avignon traded in Lodève. In June 1941, about 100 Jews were living there, according to the census of Jews carried out at that time. There is a Rue des Juifs in Lodève, and in the vicinity a grotto known as Pons des Jésiaous ("Well of the Jews").

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[Bernhard Blumenkranz]

LODI, town in N. Italy, in the former duchy of Milan. Jewish moneylenders were possibly invited to Lodi in about 1420. In 1541 the Jews of Lodi and of other cities of the duchy obtained the protection of Pope *Paul III against the anti-Jewish preachings of the friars. Copies of the Talmud were burnt by order of the Inquisition in Lodi in 1559, and in 1597 other works were destroyed. The Jews were expelled from the duchy in 1597, and after the expulsion the Jews were allowed by the authorities to settle in the city only for a short period for professional reasons, with the exception of the Vitali family, bankers who resided permanently in Lodi until the end of the 18th century.

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[Federica Francesconi (2nd ed.)]

°LODS, ADOLPHE (1867–1948), French Protestant Bible scholar and historian. Lods was born in Courbevoie, near Paris. He served for a time as a pastor in Paris. After lecturing on Hebrew at the Faculté Théologique of Paris, in 1906 he began teaching Hebrew language and literature at the Sorbonne. He was elected to the Academie des Inscriptions in 1935. Lods published a study of Proverbs, *L'Ecclésiaste et la philosophie grecque* (1890); an edition of the book of Enoch from Greek fragments with variants from the Ethiopian text, translation, and notes, *Le livre d'Hénoch* (1892); and his major study, *La croyance à la vie future et le culte des morts dans l'antiquité Israelite* (2 vols., 1906). After the publication of *Jean Astruc et la critique biblique au 18ième siecle* (1924), Lods concentrated on more general studies, including *Israël, des origines au 8ième siecle* (1930; English trans. *Israel from the Beginning to the Middle of the Eighth Century* by S.H. Hooke, 1932) and its continuation *Des Prophètes a Jésus* (1935; English trans. of the first part, by S.H. Hooke, *Prophets and the Rise of Judaism*, 1937); *La religion d'Israël* (1939; Spanish trans. by A. Spivak, 1940); and *Histoire de la littérature hébraïque et juive* (to 135 C.E.; 1950). Lods published one of the earliest studies comparing Israelite prophecy with the related phenomenon in ancient *Mari in Syria of the second millennium B.C.E. He loved mountain climbing and was an accomplished watercolor painter.

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LODZ (Yid. **Lodskh**; Ger. **Litzmanstadt**), city in central Poland, center of the textile industry. In 1793 there were 11 Jews in Lodz; by 1809 (when the city was under Prussian rule) the number had risen to 98. A community was organized at that time and a wooden synagogue erected which was renovated in subsequent years. After 1820 (under Russian rule) Lodz became an important industrial center and consequently the Jewish population increased rapidly, until the community became the second largest in independent Poland. (See Table: Jewish Population in Lodz.)

Wishing to develop the textile industry in Lodz, the Russian government invited German weavers to settle on very favorable terms. To avert the possibility of Jewish competition, the Germans insisted that the same limitations on Jewish settlement as applied in *Zgierz should prevail in Lodz. According to these restrictions, Jews were not allowed to settle and acquire real property, nor were they allowed to sell liquor; only those who had previously kept inns were allowed to continue to do so without a special permit. However, the Jews were largely successful in preventing the Zgierz limitations from being applied. When the local authorities planned the town, they set aside the two streets near the market, Walburska and Nadrzeczna, for the Jews. In 1825 they declared that as from July 1, 1827, Jews would be permitted to acquire building sites, to build, and to live on the southern side of the Podrzeczna and Walburska streets and the market only. The only Jews allowed to settle outside this quarter were those

Jewish Population in Lodz

Year	General Population	Jewish Population	% Jews
1820	767	259	33.8
1823	799	288	36.0
1856	24,655	2,886	11.7
1897	310,302	98,676	31.8
1910	409,405	166,628	40.7
1921	452,623	156,155	34.5
1931	604,470	202,497	33.5

who established factories employing Jewish workers, wholesale merchants, members of the liberal professions who built houses, and two families who each possessed 20,000 zlotys. All Jews granted exceptional residence rights had to know Polish, French, or German, and their children over the age of seven had to attend general schools along with non-Jewish children. They were also forbidden to wear the traditional Jewish dress. For a time the authorities continued to harass even those Jews who fulfilled all these conditions. Anxious to eliminate competition from the growing number of Jewish weavers, the German textile workers pressed for the expulsion of the Jews. From 1832 Samuel Ezekiel Salzmann led the battle to extend the rights of Jewish settlement. As the number of Jews continued to grow he built many houses to alleviate the overcrowding and rising rents in the Jewish quarter.

In 1848 the czar abolished the limitations on Jewish settlement in Polish cities. By decrees of 1861 and 1862 the concept of a specific Jewish quarter in Lodz was finally abolished. Jews settled throughout the city, although many of them continued to be concentrated in the former Jewish quarter, the "Altstadt." A synagogue was erected on Wilki Street, outside the old quarter. Large numbers of Jewish craftsmen, peddlers, and factory workers were concentrated in the suburb of Balut (Baluty). This settlement began early in the 19th century, when Balut was still a separate village and Isaac Blauwatt and Isaac Birnzweig leased lands from its owner to sublet to Jews. Although no industrial enterprises were established in Balut itself, many Jewish weavers who worked for the large enterprises on a contractual basis lived there. Until 1916 Balut was officially a village outside the Lodz municipality, and hygienic conditions were consequently poor. Conditions remained the same when it was incorporated into the municipality. With rising unemployment and worsening conditions for handloom weavers, life in Balut steadily deteriorated in the interwar period.

Throughout the 19th century and up to 1939 Jews were active in much of the trade in Lodz, especially in supplying raw materials for the textile industry. Wholesale and retail traders, agents, and brokers formed over one third of the Jewish earners in Lodz. In the 20th century Jews entered industry on a considerable scale; by 1914, 175 factories (33.3% of the total) were owned by Jews; 150 of these were textile mills. Jews also owned 18,954 small workshops (27.7%); 18,476 of them textile enterprises. Of the 27,385 Jewish workers (32.9% of the labor force), 26,845 were employed in textile industries. Thus the majority of Jewish enterprise and workers was employed in the small workshops of the Jewish textile industry. Jewish mills produced mainly cotton although there were some woolen and linen mills. The most prominent industrialists were Poznański, Hayyim Jacob Wiślicki, Asher Cohen (Oskar Kohn), the brothers Ettingon, Jacob Kastenberg, and Tuvia Bialer.

Lodz was badly destroyed during World War I when the German residents collaborated with the German invaders. With the break-up of czarist Russia and the creation of independent Poland, the large Russian market was lost and consequently new markets were needed. The Polish government did not grant Jewish industry financial aid for reconstruction. In the early 1920s the anti-Jewish fiscal policies of Polish Finance Minister W. Grabski further hindered the recovery of Jewish industry. Those firms which managed to recover were again hit by the world crisis of 1929. During the 1930s, anti-Jewish economic policies were intensified throughout Poland. Jewish workers were squeezed out of industry, even the enterprises owned by Jews. Every growth in the scale of a plant or increasing mechanization meant that Jewish workers were likely to lose their jobs, both because Polish workers were opposed to their employment and because anti-Jewish government policy encouraged this opposition. Between the wars, ready-made tailoring in Lodz was almost entirely in Jewish hands. Jews were also engaged in building and related trades such as paving, making steps, and carpentry, working on a contractual basis. Polish anti-Jewish policy attempted to replace Jewish weavers by Polish craftsmen. In 1910 the First Union of Jewish Craftsmen was organized, also including large-scale Jewish industrialists, on the initiative of the Jewish Bank for Mutual Assistance. In 1912 it was renamed the Union of Industrialists. Craftsmen and middle-range industrialists joined its ranks. After World War I a union of craftsmen and industrialists was organized as was a union of Jewish merchants in 1925. Small tradesmen and retailers had their own unions. In 1926 a union of both Jewish and non-Jewish traders and retailers was formed; however, the non-Jews soon left it. The Jews formed their unions in collaboration with *Ort. The *Bund, the *Po'alei Zion, and the Polish Socialist Party (the *PPS) competed in organizing trade unions among the Jewish laborers in Lodz. In 1901, at a funeral of one of its members, the Bund held a demonstration in which 2,000 persons participated. During the revolution of 1905, the Bund was very active in Lodz. At the end of 1903, a Jewish section of the PPS was organized in the city on the initiative of the famous Polish leader Józef *Pilsudski. Jewish craftsmen in Lodz, as elsewhere in Poland, were faced in 1927 with a law which demanded examinations for craftsmen and a diploma awarded by a union of artisans.

Social Life and Culture

The official enactments against and intrusions into Jewish communal institutions from the 1820s (see *Russia, *Poland, *Community, *kazyonny ravvin*) had little effect in Lodz. The community maintained its *autonomy in difficult circumstances. With the official recognition of Jewish communal autonomy in independent Poland the first democratic elections for the community council of Lodz were held in 1924; seven of the members were Ḥasidim of *Aleksandrow, six Zionists and *Mizrachi, three Bund, 11 *Agudat Israel, one *Po'alei Agudat Israel, two representing the craftsmen, two left Po'alei Zion, one *Folkspartei, and one each from two Communist lists. The first chairman was the Zionist Dr. Uri Rosenblatt. In 1931 the authorities dissolved the community council and announced new elections. The results were: one Po'alei Agudat Israel, four

Zionists, 12 Agudat Israel, two Ḥasidim of Aleksandrow, one Folkspartei, one representing the small tradesmen, and one each of the four leftist lists. Leib Minzberg of Agudat Israel was elected chairman, a position he occupied until the Holocaust. The community maintained a kosher slaughterhouse, a *mikveh*, and a *talmud torah* for the poor, and collaborated with *TOZ and other charitable organizations. The most prominent was Gemilut Ḥasadim (Pol. Dobroczynnść), founded in 1899 by Jewish philanthropists such as Israel Poznański as a roof organization for many charitable societies. Rabbis of Lodz included Mendel Wolf ha-Kohen Jerozolimski (1825–32) and Ezekiel Nomberg (1832–56), a *Kotsk Ḥasid who was opposed by many in the community. (His great-grandson was the Yiddish writer Hirsch David *Nomberg.) With the growth of Jewish Lodz, the rabbinical seat gained in importance. After a heated election campaign, Moses Lipshitz, also a Kotsk Ḥasid, was chosen in 1857. He was followed by the famous Lithuanian rabbi, Elijah Ḥayyim Meisel (1873–1912), who enhanced the stature of the office by becoming the recognized leader of the Jews of Lodz. His successor was Eliezer Leib Treistman, a Gur Ḥasid, and former rabbi of Radom. After Treistman's death in 1920, because of disagreement between the parties, no other community rabbi was elected. Last of the Reform synagogue preachers and rabbis was Markus (Mordecai) *Braude, the founder of the Hebrew schools network (see below).

*B'nai B'rith established a lodge in Lodz in 1926 which supported the Ort vocational school, the orphanage, and various cultural institutions. A *bikkur ḥolim* organization was founded in 1881; in 1908 it was incorporated into the Dobroczynność. Between the two world wars, the convalescent home for sufferers from pulmonary diseases was particularly well known. There was also a *Linat ha-Ẓedek* society which visited Jewish patients in Lodz hospitals. In the course of time its activities were extended; between the two world wars it established a hospital for children and a *Linat ha-Ẓedek* pharmacy which was subsidized by the municipality of Lodz and the Jewish community. The synagogues organized societies for the relief of the sick and other charitable organizations, such as the Malbish Arumim which provided clothing for poor children. It subsequently undertook a variety of services: legal aid, the organization of cooperatives, and medical assistance. In the interwar period, there were soup kitchens for the needy which also distributed free meals to school children.

Jewish education in Lodz shared in the development and crises of the traditional Orthodox Jewish education system in modern times (and see *Ḥeder*, *Yeshivah). There were many yeshivot; some, e.g., Beth Israel of the Aleksandrow Ḥasidim and the Lithuanian-style Torat Ḥesed, were influential. The *talmud torah* founded by R. Elijah Ḥayyim Meisel in 1873 provided education for children of elementary school age. Some subjects were taught in Polish and some in Hebrew. A diversified network of educational institutions, from kindergarten to secondary school, existed in Lodz. A "reformed" *ḥeder* (known as the Jaroczyński School after the philanthropist of this name) was founded in 1890 and included secular subjects in its curriculum. The first Jewish gymnasium in Russia was established in Lodz by Markus (Mordecai) Braude in 1912. In accordance with the requirements of Russian law, it was named after a private person, Dr. D.B. Rabinovich. In it too some subjects were taught in Polish and some in Hebrew. Another secondary school was headed by Itzhak *Katzenelson, the noted Hebrew poet who perished in the Holocaust. In 1918 the first Yiddish school was established, named after B. Borochov. The Jaroczyński *talmud torah* was converted into a vocational school in 1921 and in 1927 it became a secondary vocational school for the study of mechanics, electricity, and weaving. A *Beth Jacob school for girls was founded in 1924.

Although Lodz was not a leading Jewish cultural center, there was considerable creativity in the city. The Hebrew authors and poets, Itzhak Katzenelson, David *Frischman, and Jacob *Cohen lived and worked in Lodz, as did the scholars J.N. *Simchoni, Philip *Friedman, Aryeh *Tartakower, and Ḥayyim Isaac *Bunin. Yiddish authors and poets included Isaiah Uger, the editor of the newspaper *Lodzher Togblat*, J.I. *Trunk, H.L. *Fox, and Ḥayyim Krol. Most famous of the many Jewish musicians were Chemjo *Vinaver, the conductor, and the composer I. Goldstein. Jewish drama companies were formed at the close of the 19th century, and from among these emerged the theater known as the "Great Theater," where the famous Yiddish actors, Julius Adler and Zaslavski, appeared. There were also well-known satirical theaters, directed by the Yiddish poet Moshe *Broderzon and actor Shimon *Dzigan.

Many Zionist societies were organized in Lodz soon after the First Zionist Congress of 1897, such as the Ohel Ya'akov, Ateret Zion, and Tikvat Zion, structured around synagogues. During World War I, Agudat Israel, whose main supporters were the Ḥasidim of Gur, engaged in numerous activities. The Zionist organizations were active in the propagation of the Hebrew language and Hebrew culture, initiated and organized by the historian J.N. Simchoni. The Hebrew cultural activities operated within the framework of the literary-musical society, Ha-Zamir, founded in 1899. It maintained a choir, a dramatic circle, and a library, and in 1915 formed a philharmonic orchestra. The D.B. Borochov Library was established by Po'alei Zion in 1914 and the Bund established the Grosser Library, named after the Bundist leader by the same name. Jewish newspapers included the Zionist *Lodzher Togblat* (1908), *Lodzher Morgnblat* (1912), *Lodzher Folksblat* (1915), *Nayer Folksblat* (1923), and other periodicals in Yiddish and Hebrew.

Until the Nazis began to disseminate antisemitic propaganda among the German minority in Lodz (from the mid-1930s) the antisemitic movement in the city followed the customary Polish pattern (see *Endecja, *Rozwój); from April 1933 there were many cases of murderous attacks on Jews. In May 1934 and in September 1935 Jews were wounded or killed in organized attacks. The antisemitic parties gained an overwhelming majority in the municipal elections of 1934 after conducting an election campaign on the platform of purging the town of Jews. Their rule was short-lived, for in the elections of 1936 the Polish and Jewish Socialist parties won a majority. Under different pretexts controllers and officials were introduced by the Polish authorities into the factories of Cohen, Ettingon, Poznański, and others. Rich Jews were arrested in 1938 and imprisoned in the camp of *Bereza-Kartuska. Guards were placed outside Jewish shops in order to prevent non-Jewish customers from entering them. In vain, the town's Socialist administration tried to prevent the growth of antisemitism and the accompanying agitation.

[Shimshon Leib Kirshenboim]

Holocaust Period

At the outbreak of World War II, Lodz had 233,000 Jews, about one-third of the city's population. As soon as the war broke out many Jewish inhabitants, including the social and cultural elite, the youth, and wealthier circles, left Lodz out of fear of persecution. Their exodus continued up to May 1940. They sought refuge in Warsaw and other towns in the General Government (see *Poland, Holocaust) and many escaped to the territories occupied by the U.S.S.R. The German army entered Lodz on Sept. 8, 1939. In October–November 1939 Lodz was annexed to the Reich as part of Warthegau (Wartheland), and given a German name, Litzmannstadt. The Jewish community council, now understaffed, reinstated its activities a few days after the capitulation (Sept. 12, 1939). The council mainly extended assistance, as it did formerly, to the ever-increasing number of impoverished Jews, to refugees from the vicinity, to the sick, and to victims of Nazi terror. In October 1939 the Germans disbanded the council and appointed its former vice chairman, Chaim Mordecai *Rumkowsky, as *Judenaeltester*. He formed an advisory but short-lived body, "Beirat," of 31 Jewish personalities. On Nov. 11, 1939, the Nazis deported the Beirat members to the nearby Radogoszcz camp (Radegast). After some time another purely formal body was set up, completely subordinate to *Gestapo orders and to the *Judenaeltester*. The brutal liquidation of the first Beirat was an indication of further acts of terror to come that November, when the Nazis burned down the great synagogue and publicly hanged two Poles and a Jew.

In December 1939 the Germans evicted many Jews living along the central streets of the town to settle *Volksdeutsche* in their place. On December 12–14 the authorities deported a few thousand Lodz Jews to the General Government, after which a mass "spontaneous" exodus of Jews occurred as a result of the fear of deportation. In January 1940 the Jews were segregated into the Old City and Baluty quarter, the area of the future ghetto, officially founded by a police order on Feb. 8, 1940. The ghetto (less than 2 sq. mi.; 4 sq. km.) generally lacked sewage disposal and its houses were fit for demolishing. To speed up confinement of the Jews into the ghetto, the Nazis organized a pogrom on March 1, 1940, known as "bloody Thursday," during which many Jews were murdered. Thousands of Jews were then driven into the ghetto without being permitted to take their property with them. On April 30, 1940, the ghetto was closed off. Its small area contained the 164,000 Jews still living in Lodz, for between Sept. 1, 1939, and May 1, 1940, 70,000 Jews had left the city. The ghetto was separated from the rest of the city by barbed wire, wooden fences, and a chain of "Schupo" (Schutzpolizei) outposts. The Jewish administrative body and the German ghetto council (Ghettoverwaltung) headed by Hans Biebow communicated with each other at the so-called Bałuty market, where some German and the central Jewish offices were located. The ghetto was crossed by two thoroughfares which did not, however, belong to the ghetto area. These streets divided the ghetto into three parts connected to one another by several gates (for traffic) and three bridges (for pedestrians). The isolation of the ghetto was strengthened by the fact that it was deliberately surrounded by a German population according to the "Germanization policy."

Up to October 1940 the local German authorities counted on the deportation of the ghetto inmates to "reserves" in the Lublin District or to Madagascar (see *Madagascar Plan). But German plans changed and the Lodz ghetto remained. The ghetto inhabitants were subjected to starvation, alleviated in part by the smuggling of foodstuffs (1940–41), but smuggling activities were vigorously combated by the ghetto branch office of the German Kriminalpolizei. The little food supplied by the authorities was rationed out on even lower standards than those applied in Nazi prisons. Apart from this a large quantity of the foodstuffs arrived in spoiled condition. In 1940 the majority of the ghetto population was left with no means of subsistence. Hunger demonstrations and riots resulted in the early fall. The economic situation of the inmates improved a little after some time, when a ghetto factory network was organized to produce goods, mainly for the Wehrmacht. In August 1942 there were 91 factories with 77,982 employees. Many of the workers earned too little to be able to buy even the inadequate food rations allotted to them, and working conditions were unbearable. Apart from starvation and exhaustion, the population underwent roundups for the forced labor camp at Warthegau. In 1940–44 the Germans sent 15,000 Jews from the ghetto to labor camps, but only very few ever returned, and they arrived back in a state of exhaustion. The branch office of the ghetto Kriminalpolizei carried out extensive robbery of the remaining Jewish possessions. It terrorized the ghetto inmates with house searches, requisition, and torture to uncover any hidden property. The extremely crowded living quarters, combined with bad hygienic conditions, starvation, and overwork, caused epidemics of dysentery, typhus, and typhoid fever, but mortality was due mostly to tuberculosis, the death rate for which was 26 times higher than it had been among Lodz Jews in 1936. The overall average death rate per month reached 7.23 per 1,000, whereas in 1938 it had been 0.91 per 1,000, i.e., the rate increased eightfold since prewar time.

In these appalling conditions, Rumkowsky tried to organize the life of the Jewish community. He created a widespread network of Jewish self-administration, which included departments that provided for the needs of the population as far as possible (the former Jewish social institutions having been liquidated by the Nazis), and other departments that fulfilled German orders, some sections performing both tasks. From 1940 to September 1942, the health department of the ghetto ran five to seven hospitals, five pharmacies, and several special infirmaries. The education department ran 45 primary religious and secular schools, two high schools, and one vocational school. The food supply department organized public kitchens in factories, offices, and schools. Apart from the general food control system (ration cards), an additional ration system was introduced for various categories of people (for those engaged in hard labor, excrement carriers, police and firemen, physicians, pharmacists, persons in leading positions, the sick, and confined women). The department for social welfare handed out regular small pittances for the unemployed and for those with meager income. There were two old age homes, a home for invalids, and a home for the chronically ill; however, conditions in these homes were extremely bad and the death rate very high. An orphanage and a children's camp were organized for 1,500 children as well as a morning camp for the summer period.

The agricultural department allotted small garden plots to the population. The factories, called Arbeitsressorte, exploited Jewish labor, but on the other hand gave the employees certain wages and additional food rations. The statistics department gathered – for the needs of the ghetto and the Germans – data on all branches of life in the ghetto. The archives department collected valuable documents and kept daily chronicles of ghetto life. (The majority of these documents found their way to the *Jewish Historical Institute in Warsaw.) The rabbinate oversaw the semi-legal religious life of the ghetto up to September 1942. On the other hand a department known as the Arbeitsamt (Arbeitseinsatz) supplied the Germans with Jewish manpower for the forced labor camps, and a special "purchasing department" bought Jewish property at the lowest prices and handed it over to the Ghettoverwaltung. These sales enabled the Jewish authorities to obtain the means for the purchase of foodstuffs for the ghetto (the Germans supplied food only in exchange for real goods, i.e., Jewish labor or Jewish property), and therefore the Jews found such sales were preferable to the outright requisitions made by the Kriminalpolizei. The Jewish police (Ordnungsdienst) administered order in the ghetto, but also took part in deportations and roundups of Jews for forced labor camps. A special police group (Sonderabteilung) under the orders of the Kriminalpolizei confiscated Jewish property. Its commander, David Gertler, and later M. Kligier, took orders from the Gestapo. A court and prison functioned. The latter was the collection point for those sent on forced labor or to extermination camps. Persons who returned from labor camps or who were held by the Gestapo were kept in the ghetto prison.

Several political and social groups (e.g., some Zionist organizations, WIZO, Bund, the communist "Trade Union Left," the organization of ex-combatants and invalids) held secret meetings, taught and provided self-education, organized demonstrations against the *Judenaeltester* Rumkowsky (1940) and strikes in factories, engaged in production sabotage, and listened in to the radio. Certain parties (Bund, Po'alei Zion), with Rumkowsky's approval, ran their own "kitchens" (1940–41) where they fed their members and held cultural gatherings. During the mass deportations these organizations engaged in saving their active members. The He-Ḥalutz ("pioneer") youth groups, in the spring of 1940, organized a *hakhsharah* (Zionist pioneer training program) on the outskirts of the ghetto (Marysin). The *hakhsharah* served different organizations and had 1,040 members, including non-Zionists such as members of the Bund and Agudah. Apart from farm work, the youth held cultural activities and provided self-education. In September 1940 several Zionist groups formed the Ḥazit Dor Benei Midbar, which continued its activities in the ghetto even after the liquidation of the *hakhsharah* in mid-1941.

The German authorities gave orders which imposed the sequence of events to come in Lodz ghetto. They allowed a period of relative autonomy (May 1940–September 1942) but ended it with a wave of mass deportations to the extermination camp at *Chelmno on the Ner. During January–April 1942 the Germans deported more than 44,000 Jews. In May 1942, 11,000 Jews originally from Prague, Vienna, Luxembourg, and various cities from the "Old Reich" were rounded up and deported for extermination. These Jews (20,000), mostly elderly and sick, had been taken in the fall of 1941 to Lodz ghetto, where they lingered on in terrible conditions, were crowded into unheated, mass quarters, and endured more severe hunger than the local population. By 1942, 5,000 among them died of typhus and starvation. After their deportation, the notorious "*Gehsperre*" *Aktion* was carried out to exterminate 16,000 Lodz Jews, including children up to ten years old, persons above 60, and the sick and emaciated. With this mass murder action, the population decreased from 162,681 in January 1942 to 89,446 on October 1, 1942, i.e., by nearly half. This decrease was in fact greater because 15,500 refugees from the liquidated provisional ghettos had been brought to Lodz ghetto in spring/summer 1942.

After the mass liquidation campaign the Germans transformed the ghetto de facto into a labor camp. There followed the reduction and liquidation of the Jewish administrative bodies which had served the needs of the population, e.g., health, food supply, welfare, education, and records departments, and the rabbinate. The orphanages, old-age homes, the majority of the hospitals, schools, and children's homes no longer existed. The number of factories increased to 119 (August 1943) and employed 90% of the population. Children from the age of eight worked in these factories. The Germans held control over all internal matters in the ghetto, such as food supply (additional rations), and they limited Rumkowsky's power to allow Kligier, chief of the Sonderabteilung, and Jakubowicz, chief of the Arbeitsressorte (factories), more sway.

Under these conditions the ghetto lingered on until its final liquidation in June–August 1944. By Sept. 1, 1944, the whole population, 76,701 (June 1, 1944 registration), was deported to *Auschwitz. By January 1945, only an Aufraeumungskommando (800 Jews) remained in the ghetto joined by some

Jews who were hiding in the area of the former ghetto. They were liberated when the Soviet army arrived on Jan. 19, 1945.

[Danuta Dombrowska]

Contemporary Period

When the Soviet army entered Lodz only 870 Jewish survivors were left in the city. Nevertheless, within the next two years Lodz became the largest reconstructed Jewish community in Poland. More than 50,000 Jews settled there by the end of 1946, of whom the overwhelming majority had survived the Holocaust period in the Soviet Union. A number of Jewish institutions began to function, including the Central Jewish Historical Commission, a Jewish theater, editorial staffs of a number of Jewish (Yiddish, Hebrew, and Polish-language) papers. Zionist organizations conducted intensive activity, with the support of the majority of Jews. A number of "kibbutzim" (homes for Jewish youth who prepared themselves for *aliyah*) were established. All these activities were stopped in 1950, when the Sovietization of Poland was completed. More than one-half of the city's Jewish population left Poland during 1946–50. After the second wave of *aliyah* to Israel during 1956–57, only a few thousand Jews remained. A club of the government-sponsored Jewish Cultural Society and a Jewish public school continued to function until 1968–69, when almost all remaining Jews left Poland. By the turn of the century only a few hundred Jews lived in Lodz.

[Stefan Krakowski]

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LOEB, ISIDORE (1839–1892), French rabbi and scholar. Loeb, who was the son of a rabbi in Soultzmatt, Alsace, studied at the Ecole Rabbinique of Metz (which was later transferred to Paris). After tutoring in Bayonne and Paris, he became rabbi at Saint-Etienne (1865). In 1869 Loeb was appointed secretary of the *Alliance Israélite Universelle in Paris, a post he held until his death. As a result of his initiative, the Alliance increased its network of schools in Mediterranean countries and the Balkans and intervened in international conferences on behalf of oppressed Jewish minorities (cf. his *La situation des Israélites en Turquie, en Serbie et en Roumanie* (1877), and *Les Juifs de Russie* (1891)). The Alliance bulletins became, under his editorship, a main source of information to all those who were engaged in the fight for Jewish emancipation. Loeb founded and developed the library of the Alliance. From 1878 he taught Jewish history at the École Rabbinique. Loeb's scholarly work covered biblical and talmudic literature, medieval historiography, and the history of the Jews in France and Spain. His articles appeared in various journals including the short-lived *Revue Israélite*, which he edited from 1870 to 1872. He was also publication manager of the *Revue des Études Juives*, to which he contributed some 50 articles, and wrote for the *Grande Encyclopédie* (articles on Judaism from A to C). He prepared a French edition of the *maḥzor* (1869), and wrote mathematical works including *Tables du Calendrier* (1886). He also wrote *La Littérature des Pauvres dans la Bible* (REJ, 20 (1890); 21 (1890); 23 (1891); 24 (1892), which also appeared separately in 1892). Loeb contended that certain biblical books contain several passages (on whose dating scholars disagree), expressing the idealization of poverty and suffering. This Renan-inspired view has been discussed. A collection of his sermons was published in 1865.

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[Georges Weill]

LOEB, JACQUES (1859–1924), U.S. physiological chemist. Born near Strasbourg, Alsace, into a family of Portuguese and Italian origin, Loeb studied medicine. He immigrated to the U.S. and became professor of physiology at the University of California (1902–10), and then head of the division of general physiology at the Rockefeller Institute for Medical Research in New York (1910–24). He founded and edited the *Journal of General Physiology* from 1918. A brilliant experimentalist, he was a pioneer in explaining vital processes on a basis of physical chemistry. Some of his special fields of work were the physiology of the brain, tropism, antagonistic salt action, the duration of life, and colloidal behavior. He wrote *The Organism as a Whole* (1916), *Regeneration from a Physico-chemical Viewpoint* (1924), and *Proteins and the Theory of Colloidal Behaviour* (1924^2).

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[Samuel Aaron Miller]

LOEB, JAMES (1867–1933), U.S. banker, philanthropist, and translator. Loeb, who was born in New York, joined his father's well-known banking firm of Kuhn, Loeb & Co. in 1888. He left the firm in 1901 and in 1912 established his residence in Murnau, Germany. The institutions which Loeb founded and endowed include the Institute of Musical Art in New York, later a part of the Juilliard Musical Foundation; the Deutsche Forschungsamstalt fuer Psychiatrie in Munich, for research into the various causes of mental disorders; and the famed Loeb Classical Library (1912), consisting of classic Greek and Latin works in the original, faced by English translations. Among the works which Loeb translated into English were Maurice Croiset's *Aristophanes et les partis a Athènes*; Phillippe Ernest Legrand's *Daos*; and Auguste Couat's study of Alexandrian poetry. He was also a competent cellist.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Festschrift fuer James Loeb…* (1930).

LOEB, LEO (1869–1959), pathologist and pioneer in cancer research. Loeb, who was born in Mayen, Germany, immigrated to the United States in 1900 and held a variety of academic and research posts until 1910, when he settled in St. Louis, Missouri. From 1915 to 1937 he was professor of pathology at St. Louis' Washington University. Loeb made significant contributions to cancer research. In a series of experiments on rats and mice, he and his co-workers found that the growth energy of cancer cells may be experimentally decreased and increased. They also showed that hormones may induce cancer in a mouse's mammary gland, vagina, and cervix. They studied growth and retardation factors influencing the thyroid gland. Loeb's papers included studies of blood coagulation and thrombosis, pathology of the circulatory organs, kidneys, and stomach, experimental cell fibrin tissue, old age, and the analysis of cell death. Leo Loeb was the brother of the physiologist and biologist Jacques *Loeb.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: S.R. Kagan, *Jewish Medicine* (1952), 229f.

[Suessmann Muntner]

LOEB, MORRIS (1863–1912), U.S. physical chemist and philanthropist; brother of James *Loeb. Loeb was born in Cincinnati, Ohio. In 1891 he became professor of chemistry at New York University, and was also attached to Clark University. In 1910 he resigned his chair to devote himself to research and his public activities. His main fields of research were on osmotic pressure, electrolysis, and the molecular weight of iodine. He was chairman of the New York section of the American Chemical Society and president of the Chemists' Club of New York City. His public and philanthropic work was carried out against the background of the intensive immigration of Jews into the United States at the time. He was director of the Jewish Agricultural and Industrial Aid Society and he created a Jewish Agricultural Experimental Station in New Jersey. He was president of the Hebrew Technical Institute, trustee of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America, and founder of the American Jewish Committee and of the Educational Alliance.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: T.W. Richards (ed.), *The Scientific Work of Morris Loeb* (1913); *Morris Loeb Memorial Volume* (1913); L.H. Baekeland, in: *Industrial and Engineering Chemistry*, 4 (1912), 784–5; C.L. Sulzberger, in: AJHSP, 22 (1914), 225–7.

[Samuel Aaron Miller]

LOEBEL, ISRAEL (late 18th century), preacher and *dayyan*, opponent of Ḥasidism. He was probably born in Slutsk, or at least lived there in his childhood, was preacher in Mogilev, and in 1787 was appointed permanent preacher and *dayyan* in Novogrudok. While he was still in Mogilev, his opposition to the Ḥasidim grew as a result of his brother's joining their ranks. When *Elijah b. Solomon, the Vilna Gaon, issued a proclamation against the Ḥasidim in 1797, Loebel obtained from R. Saadiah, an emissary and disciple of the Gaon, a letter of recommendation authorizing him to preach against the sect wherever possible, and approval for the publication of his books. He was likewise granted the approval of the *parnasim* of the Slutsk community, and at the gathering of the leaders of the Lithuanian communities at Zelva he was evidently authorized to travel throughout Poland and beyond, in order to disseminate anti-ḥasidic propaganda. His two booklets against Ḥasidism, *Sefer Vikku'aḥ* and *Kivrot ha-Ta'avah*, were printed in Warsaw in 1798; the latter is no longer extant. In his preachings in the communities of east Galicia, Loebel conducted anti-ḥasidic propaganda. According to his own testimony, Loebel was granted an audience with Emperor Francis II at Vienna in early 1799, as a result of which public meetings of Ḥasidim were prohibited in all the provinces of Poland which had then come under Austrian rule. There is, however, no historical evidence for this.

Sefer Vikku'aḥ describes a disputation between a Ḥasid and a *Mitnagged*. The author compared the Ḥasidim with heretical sects that had arisen within Judaism throughout its history. He denied the ḥasidic principle that considers prayer more important than Torah study and the ḥasidic emphasis on joy as a basic element in prayer; and objected to such ḥasidic customs as the acceptance of the Sephardi prayer rite and not observing the fixed times of prayer. He likewise attacked the ḥasidic leaders, claiming that they were ignoramuses whose every command was obeyed, who exploited the masses and enjoyed a rich life at their expense, and who deluded them with the belief that the *ẓaddik* atoned for their sins. *Sefer Vikku'aḥ* and its author became the target of attacks by the Ḥasidim, who prepared to reply with a pamphlet entitled *Mul Maggid Peti* ("Against the Foolish Preacher"), though it is not clear if this was in fact printed. They bought up practically the whole edition of *Sefer Vikku'aḥ* and tried to destroy it "by tearing up the book and trampling on it as on mud in the streets." In the 1820s the Hebrew writer Joseph *Perl made an unsuccessful attempt to reprint the book.

Loebel also wrote a booklet in German, *Glaubwuerdige Nachricht von einer neuen und zahlreichen Sekte unter den Juden, die sich Chassidim nennt…* (Frankfurt on the Oder, 1799). Though the original is not extant, it has been preserved in a reprint in the journal *Sulamith*, 2 (Dessau, 1807), 308–33. His homiletic works are *Ozer Yisrael* (Shklov, 1786), printed anonymously; *Takkanat ha-Mo'adim* (before 1787); *Iggera de-Hespeda* (possibly unpublished; the last two works are not extant); *Middot Ḥasidut*; and *Ta'avat Ẓaddikim* (both Warsaw, 1798); the latter, which is ambiguous in the original, includes a chapter against Ḥasidism. His *Even Boḥan* (Frankfurt on the Oder, 1799) is a polemic against the *maskilim*.

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[Esther (Zweig) Liebes]

LOEBL, EUGEN (1907–1987), Czechoslovak economist and politician. Loebl was born in Holič, Slovakia, into a wealthy Jewish family. In 1934 he became a member of the Communist Party. In March 1939, when the Germans invaded Czechoslovakia, Loebl fled to England, where he served as economic consultant to Jan Masaryk, the foreign minister of the Czechoslovak government-in-exile. After World War II, he became a departmental head in the Ministry of Foreign Trade and a leading member of the Communist Party's economic council. In 1947 he headed the Czechoslovak mission to Moscow, which negotiated the first postwar political and economic agreement with the U.S.S.R., and in the following year, after the Communist seizure of power, became first deputy in the ministry of foreign trade. Loebl supported Czechoslovakia's acceptance of the American Marshall Aid Plan and also initiated the Czechoslovak-Israel transfer agreement. In November 1949 Loebl was arrested and put on trial together with Rudolf *Slansky. Under duress he confessed his guilt and in 1952 he was sentenced to life imprisonment. In 1963 he was rehabilitated and appointed director of the state bank in Bratislava. From 1965 onward, he campaigned for the implementation of economic reforms and the democratization of the Czechoslovak Communist regime. Following the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968, Loebl moved first to Israel, and from there overseas, trying his luck in Canada and the United States. In Canada he joined the World Slovak Congress, an organization of Slovak exiles, mostly former supporters of the wartime Slovak state. In this organization he was elected vice president. In the United States he worked as an economist. His writings include *Geistige Arbeit – die wahre Quelle des Reichtums* (1966), *Hinter den Kulissen des Slansky Prozesses* (1968), an account of the Slansky trial, and *Stalinism in Prague* (1969).

[Erich Kulka / Yeshayahu Jelinek (2nd ed.)]

LOEB-LEOPOLD CASE, U.S. murder case in 1924 which involved one of the most sensational crimes of the century. Richard Loeb (1905–1936), 18, a graduate of the University of Michigan, and Nathan Freudenthal Leopold (1904–1971), 19, a graduate of the University of Chicago, the well-educated scions of wealthy Chicago Jewish families, attempted, as they said at their trial, to perpetrate the perfect crime, when they kidnapped and killed a 14-year-old neighbor, Bobby Franks. After a thorough investigation and a highly publicized trial, in which the famous attorney Clarence Darrow represented the young men, they were sentenced to life imprisonment plus 99 years, the court recommending that they never be released. In jail the young men developed a correspondence school in which many subjects were taught to the inmates of 19 penitentiaries. In 1936 Loeb was murdered by an inmate. Leopold worked ceaselessly at his prison activities. Possessing a remarkably high IQ, he was a participant in the famous wartime malaria experiments and mastered 27 languages. His book, *Life Plus 99 Years* (1958), tells the story of his imprisonment. For a period of years there were unsuccessful efforts to release him. In 1957 Attorney Elmer Gertz took over the case and the parole board finally paroled Leopold in 1958 to Puerto Rico, where he worked at the Castaner General Hospital. Leopold earned a master's degree, taught at the University of Puerto Rico, and published a book on birds. The case was described by Meyer *Levin's novel *Compulsion* (1956; which Leopold characterized as unwarranted invasion of his privacy).

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[Elmer Gertz]

LOESSER, FRANK (1910–1969), composer. Born in New York, Loesser wrote songs while at City College and then in the army during World War II, of which *Praise the Lord and Pass the Ammunition* became the best known. He settled in Hollywood and wrote music for films and musicals; the best known are *Hans Christian Andersen* (film, 1952), and the musicals *Guys and Dolls* (1950), *The Most Happy Fella* (1956), and *How to Succeed in Business Without Really Trying* (1961). He was three times the recipient of the New York Drama Critics Award for the best musical score. His brother, ARTHUR LOESSER (1894–1969), was a pianist and writer on music, and the author of *Men, Women and Pianos: A Social History* (1954).

LOEVENSTEIN, FEDOR (1901–1947), French painter. Born in Munich, of Czech parents, he settled in Paris in 1923. The bulk of his work was lost in 1940. Shortly before his death, his surviving work – fewer than 40 oils and watercolors –was exhibited at a Paris gallery. His work is characterized by strong intellectual discipline as well as great inventiveness. His idiom is abstract and his work has a dreamlike but firmly controlled quality.

LOEW, ELEAZAR (1758–1837), rabbi in Poland and Hungary. Loew was born in Wodzislav (Poland) and when only 17 years of age was appointed *dayyan* in his native city. At the age of 20 he was appointed rabbi of Pilica (Poland) and in 1800, on the recommendation of Mordecai *Banet, became rabbi of *Trest (Triesch). Subsequently he held positions as district rabbi of *Pilsen (1812–15), *rosh yeshivah* of Trest (1815–20), rabbi of Liptovsky Mikuláš, Slovakia (1821–30), and finally, from 1830 until his death rabbi of Santo (Abaujszanto), Hungary. Loew played a vigorous part in the fight against religious reform, and was an active opponent of Aaron *Chorin. Loew is best known mainly for his many scholarly works in all areas of *halakhah*, which are written with a rational approach, avoiding casuistry, and for his critical commentaries to early works.

Among his halakhic works are *Shemen Roke'aḥ*, 3 volumes of responsa (1788–1902), and under the same title novellae to the tractates *Berakhot, Pesaḥim, Beẓah* (Prague, 1812); *Torat Ḥesed*, on talmudic methodology (Vienna, 1800); *Sha'arei Ḥokhmah*, on various halakhic topics (Prague, 1807); *Zer Zahav*, annotations to *Hai Gaon's *Ha-Mikkaḥ ve-ha-Mimkar* (Vienna, 1800); *Sha'arei De'ah*, on the Shulḥan Arukh, *Yoreh De'ah*, pts. 1 and 2 (1821–28); and *Zikhron Aharon*, on *ḥazakah* ("legal presumption"; 1834). His homiletic works include *Sama de-Ḥayyei* (Warsaw, 1796), *Yavin Shemu'ah* (Prague, 1814), and *Minḥat Erev* (1911).

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[*Encyclopaedia Hebraica*]

LOEW, IMMANUEL (1854–1944), Hungarian rabbi and scholar. Loew was the son of Leopold *Loew whom he succeeded in 1878 as rabbi of Szeged, Hungary, and whose collected works he published (5 vols., 1889–1900). He studied at the Hochschule fuer die Wissenschaft des Judentums in Berlin and at the Leipzig university. The new synagogue in Szeged, one of the most beautiful in the world, was built in 1903 according to Loew's plans (the architect was L. Baumhorn) and its stained-glass windows were made according to his designs. During the "white terror" and counterrevolution in Hungary (1920–21), Loew was imprisoned for 13 months on the allegation that he had made statements against Admiral Horthy. During his imprisonment he worked on his four-volume work, *Die Flora der Juden* (1924–34). From 1927 he represented the Neolog (non-Orthodox) communities in the upper chamber of the Hungarian parliament and also was a member of the Jewish Agency for Palestine. Soon after his 90th birthday, the Germans occupied Hungary and Loew was first sent to a brick factory in the local ghetto and then put on a deportation train. In Budapest, however, he was freed by Zionist workers. He died that year in Budapest.

Like his father, Loew was a great preacher in the Hungarian language, and several hundred of his sermons were published in four volumes between 1900 and 1939. On the occasion of his congregation's centenary he published (with Z. Kulinyi) the congregation's history (1885) and that of its *ḥevra kaddisha* (with S. Klein, 1887). In 1883 he published a prayer book (in Hungarian) for women, and rendered the Song of Songs and some psalms into the same language.

Loew's fame as a scholar rests above all on his pioneering work in the field of talmudic and rabbinic lexicography and in the study of *realia* (artifacts, such as a coin from talmudic times). He contributed to W. Gesenius' famous Bible dictionary (10th ed., 1886; 11th ed., 1890), and to K. Brockelmann's *Lexicon syriacum* (1895). Loew made critical annotations to S. Krauss' *Griechische und lateinische Lehnwoerter im Talmud, Midrash und Targum* (1899), and to the same author's supplement volume to Kohut's *Arukh ha-Shalem* (1937) and to his *Talmudische Archaeologie* (1910–12) which was dedicated to Loew and thus saved the author many etymological errors. There are also notes of his in J. Theodor-Ḥ. Albeck's edition of *Genesis Rabbah*, 3 pt. 2 (1965), 127–48ff. He also wrote on Jewish folklore. The special direction of Loew's scholarly interest in *realia* is already evident in his doctorate thesis *Aramaeische Pflanzennamen* (1879), and in his *Meleagros aus Gadara und die Flora Aramaea* (1883). Half a century later this line of research found its triumphant achievement in *Die Flora der Juden* (4 vols., 1924–34). Loew systematically uncovered the basis of flora terminology in the Hebrew and Aramaic of different periods and mastered the latest descriptive and terminological methods prevailing in this field of science. He familiarized himself with the literary sources for flora and made meticulous use of manuscript material. He clarified etymologies with the help of Semitic languages, especially Syriac. The result is a flood of light shed on biblical, talmudical, and rabbinical botanical terms; not only the past flora but also that of present-day Israel is brought to life. It was only natural that Loew should proceed to the realm of fauna and of minerals, and in both these fields he published a number of studies in various periodicals and other learned publications. The manuscript of a *Mineralien der Juden*, ready for publication, became a victim of the tragic events of 1944. Loew's other literary remains in these fields passed partly to the National and University Library of Jerusalem and partly to the *Landesrabbinerschule, Budapest. His essays on fauna and minerals were reissued in 1969 (*Fauna und Mineralien der Juden*) together with an introduction by Alexander Scheiber.

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[Alexander Scheiber and Menahem Zevi Kaddari]

LOEW, LEOPOLD (**Lipót**; 1811–1875), Hungarian rabbi and scholar, the first Reform rabbi in Hungary. Loew, who was born in Czernahora, Moravia, was a descendant of *Judah Loew b. Bezalel. In his childhood Loew showed talent in music; he studied in Moravian yeshivot, translated Schiller into Hebrew, and also acquired a knowledge of Italian, French, Latin, and Greek. He was ordained as a rabbi by Solomon Judah *Rapoport, Aaron *Chorin, and Low *Schwab, later marrying Schwab's daughter. In 1840 Loew was elected rabbi of Nagykanizsa.

In 1844 he began to deliver his sermons in Hungarian. A strong advocate of Hungarian Jewish emancipation, he argued that the liberation of the Jews should not be made dependent upon abandonment or reform of their religion; in this he opposed the views of the great Hungarian liberator, Louis Kossuth. In 1846 Loew began serving as rabbi of Papa, where he was severely attacked by the Orthodox, who disapproved of his having studied at the Protestant High School and even produced false witnesses that Loew was not ritually observant. During the Hungarian revolution of 1848–49 he served as a chaplain in the army of the Hungarian revolutionaries, spurring them on with inflammatory speeches. Because of his patriotic stand, he was arrested in 1849 and served three months in jail.

From 1850 until his death Loew served as the rabbi of Szeged. Loew was in favor of Reform but insisted that reforms be instituted within the framework of the rabbinic tradition. His viewpoint made it possible for him to participate in the *rabbinical conferences in Breslau in 1845 and Leipzig in 1870. He also wrote a biography of Aaron Chorin, who had approached the cause of Reform in the same spirit. Though he did not participate in the Hungarian Jewish congress of 1868, which had been called to draw up the constitution of Hungarian Jewry and at which Hungarian Jewry was divided into two camps – Reform and Orthodox – he expressed his views on the issues in his *Die Juedischen Wirren in Ungarn* (1868). The medieval form of the Jewish oath was abolished in Hungary on the basis of a lecture he delivered at the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, *A zsidó eskű* (1868). He was first to suggest a Hungarian translation of the Bible for Jews, and published the Book of Joel in the translation of I. Bleuer (in *Magyar Zsinagoga*, 1, 1847). Loew served as the editor of the periodical *Ben-Chananja* from 1858 to 1867. He was the first to deal with the history of Hungarian Jewry; among his works are "Schicksale und Bestrebungen der Juden in Ungarn" and "Kalender und Jahrbuch fuer Israeliten" both in *Jahrbuch des deutschen Elementes in Ungarn* (1846/7) and *Zur neueren Geschichte der Juden in Ungarn* (1874). He contributed such pioneering works in the study of Jewish antiquities and folklore as *Ha-Mafte'aḥ* (1855), *Beitraege zur juedischen Alterthumskunde, I: Graphische Requisiten und Erzeugnisse bei den Juden* (2 vols., 1870–71), and *Lebensalter in der juedischen Literatur* (1875). His collected writings were edited by his son and successor, Immanuel *Loew, under the title *Gesammelte Schriften* (5 vols. 1889–1900).

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[Alexander Scheiber]

LOEW, MARCUS (1870–1927), U.S. motion picture executive. Born in New York, Loew rose to a powerful position in the American film industry. He began his career in motion pictures by setting up penny arcades in New York City. Loew expanded these electric vaudeville machine parlors to other major U.S. cities and upped the penny ante equipment to nickelodeons, which showed films for five cents. He also began to purchase theaters and convert them into vaudeville-film houses. The idea of combining vaudeville with films proved so lucrative that in 1921 he opened the Loew's State Theater on Broadway with a seating capacity of 3,200. In 1919 he bought Metro Pictures, Inc., and in 1924 acquired Goldwyn Pictures. To eliminate the cost of renting films, Loew came up with the idea of producing films for use in his own theaters. With the appointment of Louis B. Mayer as vice president of the film company, the Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer (MGM) film studio was formed, with Loew's Inc. gaining controlling interest. By 1927 Loew had a chain of 144 deluxe theaters across the country, including several in Canada. At his death, Loew was president of Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer film studios of Hollywood and of Loew's Inc., one of the largest cinema chains in the United States.

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[Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

LOEW, MORITZ (1841–1900), German astronomer. Born in Mako, Hungary, Loew joined the University Observatory at Leipzig. He was appointed head of the department in the Prussian Geodetic Institute of Berlin, and later professor. He wrote on the elements of planets and comets; studies on the theory of the transit instrument in the first vertical; and on astronomical-geodetical determinations of geographic positions.

[Arthur Beer]

LOEW-BEER, family of textile manufacturers in *Brno (Bruenn), Czechoslovakia. Three cousins, who originated from *Boskovice, began their career in the *textile industry as wool buyers for the Brno textile factories. In the 1840s various members of the family opened independent spinning-mills. One firm, founded by AARON and JACOB (d. 1866) in 1853, employed 1,200 workers. Another firm was set up by MOSES and later directed by MAX LOEW-BEER (1829–1887), who also established sugar refineries. The firm founded by SAMUEL (d. 1884) was later directed by IGNAZ LOEW-BEER. Other members of the family founded textile firms at the end of the 19th century. The whole family was active in Jewish and public life. A soup kitchen founded by JONAS LOEW-BEER for World War I refugees was taken over by the community in 1924. The various firms remained in existence until the German occupation in 1939.

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[Meir Lamed]

LOEWE, FREDERICK (1904–1988), composer. Born in Vienna, Loewe studied piano with Busoni and d'Albert in Berlin and then began his career as a concert pianist. He went to the United States in 1924, where he soon began composing songs and musical comedies. Loewe's first Broadway shows were not very successful, but his fortunes changed when he met the librettist Alan Jay *Lerner in 1942. Together they wrote some of the most sophisticated theater music of the 20th century. Their first real hit was *Brigadoon* (1947), followed by *Paint Your Wagon* (1951), *My Fair Lady* (1956) based on Bernard Shaw's *Pygmalion,* and the film score for *Gigi* (1958), which won nine Academy Awards. Their final collaboration was the musical *Camelot* (1960). Loewe's music springs from the European operetta tradition, adapted to appeal to an American audience, and he accommodated his musical style to the characters and the location of the story of each play.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Grove online; L. Gene, *Inventing Champagne: The Worlds of Lerner and Loewe* (1990).

[Naama Ramot (2nd ed.)]

LOEWE, FRITZ PHILIPP (1895–1974) meteorologist. Loewe was born in Berlin and studied law in Grenoble (1913) before World War I service in the German army for which he was awarded the Iron Cross, First Class. After the war he studied physics and geography and became fascinated by flight, meteorology, and mountaineering. He gained his Ph.D. in geography (1923) while working as a scientific assistant at the Potsdam Meteorological Observatory (1922–25). As first head of the Research Flight of the Prussian Meteorological Service based at the Lindenberg Observatory near Berlin (1925–29), he made some 500 flights to heights of 6,000 meters without supplementary oxygen for meteorological research. During this period he took part in the Meteor expedition to the Atlantic Ocean (1925) and studied cosmic radiation in the Swiss Alps. Loewe joined Alfred Wegener's first expedition to Greenland (1929) and the later expedition (1930–31) to "Eismitte" on the center of the Greenland icecap, the first party to spend the winter in this region. Loewe was one of the first scientists to measure the thickness of the ice using seismic waves created by explosions. However, his toes had to be amputated because of frostbite, and Wegener perished on the return journey. Loewe returned to Germany to recuperate but was interned by the Nazis in a concentration camp before he was allowed to leave for England. He joined the staff of the Scott Polar Institute in Cambridge as a research guest in polar meteorology (1934–37). Loewe was appointed reader at the University of Melbourne where he established and directed Australia's first meteorological department (1937–59), founded because of widespread concerns about aeronautical safety. He joined the French Antarctic expedition of Commandant Charcot to Port-Martin in Adélie Land (1951–52), where their hut was destroyed by fire during the winter. Loewe never retired and continued his research and teaching after he ceased to head the department in 1959. He regularly visited the Institute of Polar Studies (now the Byrd Polar Research Institute) in Columbus, Ohio, as Professorial Research Fellow. On behalf of UNESCO he set up a meteorology training school in Pakistan, where he also carried out Himalayan glaciology surveys. He published some 150 scientific papers in his field but the conservatism of the physics professors in Melbourne prevented Loewe from becoming a professor. He was a popular and distinguished teacher who trained the first generation of Australian meteorologists when weather forecasting became crucial for military purposes in World War II. In Australia he raised material and political support for Jewish victims of the Nazis. He died in Melbourne while still at work.

[Michael Denman (2nd ed.)]

LOEWE, HEINRICH (**Eliakim**; 1867–1950), one of the first Zionists in Germany, scholar in Jewish folklore, and librarian. Born in Wanzleben, Germany, into an assimilated family, Loewe was raised without a Jewish education and at the age of 13 began to study in a Protestant high school in Magdeburg. Afterward he studied at Berlin University and at the Hochschule fuer die Wissenschaft des Judentums in Berlin. Together with Shmarya *Levin, Yosef *Lurie, Naḥman *Syrkin, and Leo *Motzkin he established the Zionist group known as the Russian Jewish Scientific Society and was the only one among this group who was born in Germany. In 1892 Loewe founded Jung Israel, the first Zionist group in Germany. He was also among the founders of the Vereinigung Juedischer Studierender, which gave rise in 1914 to the *Kartell Juedischer Verbindungen, the roof organization for Zionist students in Germany. Loewe edited the *Juedische Volkszeitung* in Berlin from 1893 to 1894 and, from 1895 to 1896, the monthly *Zion.*

In 1895 Loewe visited Ereẓ Israel for the first time and became known to *Herzl even before the publication of *Der Judenstaat.* Two years later he returned to Ereẓ Israel with the intention of settling there, but he returned to Europe in August 1897 as a delegate from Ereẓ Israel to the First Zionist Congress. After the Congress he remained in Germany and established the Zionist Federation. From 1899 Loewe worked as a librarian in the University of Berlin. He quickly rose in professional status until he was appointed professor in 1915. From 1902 to 1908 he was the first editor of **Juedische Rundschau*, the central organ of the German Zionists. In 1905 he gave impetus to Joseph *Chasanowich's idea to establish a Jewish national library in Jerusalem by writing a memo to the Seventh Zionist Congress. His proposal was accepted unanimously. Throughout his career he worked for the library and was the moving spirit of the Verein der Freunde der Jerusalem-Bibliothek.

In 1933 Loewe settled in Palestine and assumed the post of librarian of the municipal library Sha'ar Zion in Tel Aviv. In 1948 he prepared a collection of his writings on Zionism formerly published in part under the pseudonym Heinrich Sachse as *Anti-semitismus und Zionismus* (1894) and *Zionistenkongress und Zionismus eine Gefahr?* (1897). He frequently published works in the field of Jewish folklore such as *Die Sprachen der Juden* (1911), *Die Juden in der katholischen Legende* (1912), *Schelme und Narren mit juedischen Kappen* (1920), and *Reste vom alten juedischen Volkshumor* (1922).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: J.L. Weinberg, *Aus der Fruehzeit des Zionismus: Heinrich Loewe* (1946).

[Jacob Rothschild]

LOEWE, HERBERT MARTIN JAMES (1882–1940), English Orientalist. Loewe was born in London, the grandson of

Louis *Loewe. After completing his studies at Cambridge, he lived for a time as a teacher in the Middle East and then held academic appointments in England. After his return from military service in India (1917–19), he became lecturer in rabbinic Hebrew at Oxford, and in 1931 he taught rabbinics at Cambridge and was lecturer in Hebrew at the University of London. For a generation, he was regarded in English academic circles as the representative of Jewish scholarship, in the same way as Israel *Abrahams had been regarded before him. His home in the two university cities was a focus of Jewish life. Within the Jewish community he represented informed and tolerant Orthodoxy, moving freely in liberal (Reform) Jewish circles and collaborating closely with C.G. Montefiore, the founder of Liberal Judaism in England. His works include *A Catalogue of the Aldis Wright MSS. in Trinity College, Cambridge* (1926), *"Render unto Caesar"* (1940), *Mediaeval Hebrew Minstrelsy* (1926), *Some Mediaeval Hebrew Poesy* (1927; on the **Zemirot*) and a volume of annotations to Abrahams' and Stokes' *Starrs and Jewish Charters in the British Museum*, 2 vols. (1930–32). He collaborated with C.G. Montefiore in *A Rabbinic Anthology* (1938, 1968^2), a widely used source book.

Herbert Loewe's elder son was RAPHAEL JAMES LOEWE (1919-), who wrote widely on Jewish subjects, in particular on the English Christian Hebraists of the Middle Ages. He was formerly Goldsmith Professor of Hebrew at University College, London.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *The Times* (London, Oct. 12, 1940), 6; JC (Oct. 18, 1940), 5.

[Cecil Roth]

LOEWE, JOEL (**Bril**; 1762–1802), Hebrew writer, grammarian, and biblical exegete in the Moses *Mendelssohn circle in Berlin. Born in Berlin, Loewe studied under Isaac *Satanow and soon joined Mendelssohn's enlightenment movement. Together with Aharon *Wolfsohn, he edited **Ha-Me'assef* (1784–97), and was a frequent contributor to it. He signed his Hebrew works בריʺל (Ben R. Yehudah Leib Loewe). Mendelssohn helped him obtain a position as tutor in David *Friedlaender's household. In 1791, he was appointed principal of the Wilhelms-Schule in Breslau, serving in this capacity until his death.

Loewe's major contribution is his introduction and commentary to Mendelssohn's German translation of Psalms (1785–88), which includes a study on the structure and style of Hebrew poetry and on the history of ancient Jewish music. He wrote *Ammudei Lashon*, an attempt at a scientific grammar of biblical Hebrew of which only the first part was published (Berlin, 1794). He took an active part in Mendelssohn's Bible translation project, writing, in addition to his work on Psalms, commentaries to Ecclesiastes, Jonah, and with Wolfsohn, the Song of Songs. Loewe was the first Haskalah writer to publish original epigrams in the style of the Book of Proverbs, and was the first to translate the Passover *Haggadah* into German.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: P. Sandler, *Ha-Be'ur la-Torah shel Moshe Mendelssohn ve-Si'ato, Hithavvuto ve-Hashpa'ato* (1940), index; Fuenn, Keneset, 433f.; Lachower, Sifrut, 1 (1963^{12}), 79f., 146; Zeitlin, Bibliotheca, 215; Waxman, Literature, 3 (1960^2), 127.

LOEWE, LOUIS (**Ha-Levi, Eliezer**; 1809–1888), Orientalist. Loewe was born in Zuelz, Germany, and studied at the yeshivot of Lissa and Pressburg; later he specialized in Oriental languages at the universities of Vienna and Berlin. In 1833 he moved to London. At the suggestion of the scholarly Duke of Sussex (son of King George III) and of several leading French and English Orientalists, Loewe decided in 1837 to undertake an expedition to Egypt, in preparation for which he had mastered Egyptology and the Nubian and Ethiopic languages. On this journey he deciphered various inscriptions on the banks of the Nile, at Thebes, Alexandria, Cairo, and elsewhere.

From Egypt he proceeded to Palestine, but had the misfortune to arrive there during the revolt of the Druze; when he was in Safed they robbed him and destroyed 13 of his notebooks, already prepared for publication. He stayed in Shechem for a short time, studying Samaritan customs and literature. In Damascus he acquired a valuable collection of rare ancient coins. In Constantinople he studied the customs of the Karaite community and acquired many rare books and manuscripts of this sect. His impressions of his visit to Palestine were published in a series of letters in the German-Jewish weekly *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judenthums* for the year 1839 (in an abridged Hebrew translation by M.A. Guenzburg in his *Devir*, vol. 1, 1844).

From 1839, he accompanied Montefiore on all his journeys as his interpreter and secretary in Oriental languages, including Hebrew, and was Montefiore's devoted assistant in all his public activities. At the time of the Damascus Affair (1840) he accompanied Montefiore, Adolphe Crémieux, and Salomon Munk who went to Egypt and Turkey in an effort to intervene on behalf of the Jews. His command of Arabic enabled him to suggest a change in the wording of Muhammad Ali's firman, which resulted in the substitution of the term "honorable acquittal" for "pardon" (with its implication of guilt). Loewe accompanied Montefiore on visits to Russia in 1846 and 1872 and also on five trips to Palestine.

On his return to London in 1839 the Duke of Sussex offered him the post of director of the Oriental section of his extensive library, a position which he held for about 15 years. From 1856 to 1858 he was principal of *Jews' College in London. At Brighton in 1861 he established a school for Jewish boys, many of whom came from abroad. From 1869 to 1888 he was principal of Ohel Moshe vi-Yhudit, a theological seminary founded in 1869 by Moses Montefiore at Ramsgate. Loewe edited the *Diaries of Sir Moses and Lady Montefiore* (2 vols., 1890). His other works include *The Origin of the Egyptian Language* (1837); an English translation of and lengthy introduction to *Efes Damim* by I.B. Levinsohn (*No Blood*, 1841); an English translation of *Ha-Kuzari ha-Sheni o Matteh Dan* by David Nieto (1842); and *A Dictionary of the Circassian Language* (1854).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: J.H. Loewe, *A Descriptive Catalogue of a Portion of the Library of the Late Dr. Louis Loew* (1895), introduction; J. Kurrein, in: JJGL, 27 (1926), 148–61; I. Trywaks and E. Steinmann, *Sefer Me'ah Shanah* (1938), 97–121; A. Yaari, *Iggerot Ereẓ Yisrael* (1943), 379–408; *Enẓiklopedyah shel ha-Ẓiyyonut ha-Datit*, 3 (1965), 95–98. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** ODNB online.

[Gedalyah Elkoshi]

LOEWE, LUDWIG (1837–1886) and **ISIDOR** (1848–1910), German industrialists. They were born in Heiligenstadt, Thuringia, sons of an indigent teacher. Ludwig Loewe founded in 1869 his first factory, L. Loewe & Co. Commanditgesellschaft, and became a wealthy machinery merchant in Berlin. In 1860 he was elected to the city council, in 1876 to the Prussian Landtag, and in 1878 to the Reichstag; he was first associated with the Fortschrittspartei and later with the Deutsch-Freisinnige Partei. In 1870 Ludwig visited the United States and studied modern American business and mass production methods. By introducing these into his sewing machine factory he set a pattern which led to a vast improvement in German industrial techniques. In 1872 he began to manufacture rifles for the German army and later exported them on a large scale.

Isidor Loewe joined his brother's firm in 1875 and became its general director in 1886. After Ludwig's death he effected a merger with the Mauser factory in order to fulfill orders for over a million rifles for Prussia and Turkey. In 1892 the antisemite Hermann *Ahlwardt wrote several scurrilous pamphlets on "Jew rifles" as a symbol of a "Jewish world conspiracy," accusing Loewe of being a traitor to Germany by using such poor materials that the rifles were a greater hazard to the user than to his enemy. Ahlwardt was charged with libel and sentenced to a term of imprisonment. Further mergers resulted in 1896 in the formation of the Deutsche Waffen- und Munitionsfabrik A.G., with the largest rifle factory in the world. In 1892, together with an American company, Isidor Loewe established a firm which built electric streetcars for German and Belgian cities. He also made automobiles and began to manufacture aircraft.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: K. Zielinziger, *Juden in der deutschen Wirtschaft* (1930); F. Wegeleben, *Die Rationalisierung im deutschen Werkzeugmaschinenbau* (1924). **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** NDB, 15 (1987), 77–78.

[Samuel Aaron Miller / Bjoern Siegel (2nd ed.)]

LOEWE, VICTOR (1871–1933), German historian and archivist. Born in Laurahuette, Silesia, Loewe became keeper of the State Archive at Breslau. Loewe's historical contributions include studies on German and Prussian administrative history of the 17th and 18th centuries. Much of his work was devoted to German historical bibliography, both national and regional. Among his numerous books are *Buecherkunde der deutschen Geschichte* (1903^2, 1913^4); *Deutsche Geschichte* (1931); and *Das deutsche Archivwesen – Seine Geschichte und Organisation* (1921).

LOEWENSON, JEAN (**Hans**; **Lavi**, **Yoḥanan**; 1898–1966), Israel author and journalist. Born in Toruń, Poland, Loewenson was taken to Switzerland in 1907. After working as a newspaper correspondent in Paris and Geneva, he settled in Jerusalem in 1934. From 1936 he was correspondent for Havas, and then for Agence France-Presse until 1949. Later he worked for the French publications department of the Jewish Agency. Loewenson's literary quality shows best in his translations from German into French. His knowledge of Hebrew and of Jewish philosophy enabled him to produce outstanding versions of works by Martin *Buber and Gershom *Scholem. Loewenson's original poetical and philosophical prose works include *Variations sur le destin* (1944), *Femmes en Israël* (1950), *Virtualités* (1961), and *Pièces pour une armature* (1966).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Gottgetreu, in: *Mitteilungsblatt* (Feb. 11, 1966); Catane, in: *Israelitisches Wochenblatt fuer die Schweiz* (April 1, 1966); idem, *Gazette de Lausanne* (April 5–6, 1966).

[Moshe Catane]

LOEWENSTAMM, 18th-century family of Dutch rabbis. ARYEH LOEB BEN SAUL LOEWENSTAMM (1690–1755) was born in Cracow, where his father SAUL had been rabbi; in 1707 Saul was appointed Ashkenazi rabbi of Amsterdam in succession to Moses Judah b. Kalonymus Kohen (known as Leib Ḥarif), but he died in Glogau on the way to take up his position. That same year Aryeh Loeb married Miriam, the oldest daughter of Ẓevi Hirsch Ashkenazi (the Ḥakham Ẓevi), then rabbi of Altona, Hamburg, and Wandsbeck. He accompanied his father-in-law to Amsterdam but later went to Poland, where he was appointed rabbi of Dukla and subsequently of Tarnopol (1720). This appointment was obtained by the intervention of the government, influenced by Loewenstamm's relatives, to have the incumbent deposed so that he could be appointed. As a result, his appointment was not received favorably by the community, and he himself was deposed shortly thereafter. He served as rabbi of Rzeszow (1724–28) and then of Glogau (1734–39), where he was involved in the dispute with regard to Moses Ḥayyim *Luzzatto, against whom he issued a ban in 1735, at the request of the rabbis of Venice. In 1740 he was appointed rabbi of Amsterdam, where he remained for the rest of his life.

Loewenstamm left no works. Some of his responsa, novellae, and notes, however, are to be found in the responsa of his father-in-law (no.76); in Mordecai of Dusseldorf's *Ma'amar Mordekhai* (Bruenn, 1790; nos. 62, 63); in David Meldola's *Divrei David* (Amsterdam, 1753; nos. 10, 53, 81); and in his son Saul's *Binyan Ari'el* (see below). In 1711 he published, together with Shemariah b. Jacob of Grodno, a second edition of the responsa of Moses Isserles, to which he added a *kunteres aḥaron*. He is also mentioned in the *takkanot* and minutes of the *Council of Four Lands. He took an active part in the Emden-Eybeschuetz controversy. Naturally siding with his brother-in-law, Jacob *Emden (the son of Ashkenazi), he was unsparing in his language against Eybeschuetz (see J. Emden, *Sefat Emet* (1876), 16).

Loewenstamm had two sons: one, known as Hirschel b. Aryeh Loeb *Levin, was rabbi of Berlin. The other, SAUL (1717–1790), born in Rzeszow, succeeded his father as rabbi of Amsterdam, having previously served as rabbi of Lakacz, Hungary, and Dubno, Lithuania. In Amsterdam he devoted himself to the yeshivah established by his father. Ḥ.J.D. Azulai, who met him in Amsterdam, refers to him in glowing terms. In 1754 he participated in the session of the Council of Four Lands in Jaroslaw. Saul Loewenstamm's most famous work is his *Binyan Ari'el* (Amsterdam, 1778), which is divided into three parts: on the Pentateuch, on the Five Scrolls, and comments on various talmudic passages. His glosses to tractate *Niddah* were published in the Amsterdam edition of the Talmud (1765). Saul was succeeded as rabbi of Amsterdam by his son JACOB MOSES (1747–1815), previously rabbi in Filehne (Poznania) and Cleves. When the "progressive" congregation Adat Yeshurun appointed as their rabbi Aaron Moses Isaac Graanboom, a proselyte whose father was also a proselyte, Loewenstamm debarred him from the rabbinate because of his association with Reform tendencies. Jacob's son, JEHIEL ARYEH LOEB (d. 1807) was appointed rabbi of Leeuwarden, and died in his father's lifetime.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Michael, Or, no 535; A.L. Landshuth, *Toledot Anshei ha-Shem u-Fe'ulatam be-Adat Berlin* (1884), 72–75, 111, 118 f.; Ḥ.N. Dembitzer, *Kelilat Yofi*, 1 (1888), 128a–136b; 2 (1893), 83a–b; S. Buber, *Anshei Shem* (1895), 37–40, 234; I.T. Eisenstadt and S. Wiener, *Da'at Kedoshim* (1897–98), 105 f., 113, 121 f.; J. Emden, *Megillat Sefer*, ed. by D. Kahana (1897), 65–69, 154; P. Pesis, *Ir Dubna ve-Rabbaneha* (1902), 22 f.; H.Z. Margoles, *Dubna Rabbati* (1910), 14 f.; J. Maarsen, in: HḤY, 6 (1922), 15–19, 134–58; Z. Horowitz, *Kitvei ha-Ge'onim* (1928), 74–81, 115, 136; idem, *Le-Korot ha-Kehillot be-Polanyah* (1969), 138, 181–96; Halpern, Pinkas, index, s.v. *Aryeh Loeb b. Sha'ul*; idem, *Yehudim ve-Yahadut be-Mizraḥ Eiropah* (1969), 396 f.; EG (1955), 31–34; *Rzeszów Jews Memorial Book* (1967), 43 ff.

[Louis Isaac Rabinowitz]

LOEWENSTEIN, BERNHARD (1821–1889), rabbi, preacher, and pioneer of the Reform movement. Born in Mezhirech, western Poland, he was active in spreading *Haskalah and the ideas of the Reform movement. On the recommendation of Ludwig *Philippson, in 1845 he was appointed preacher and headmaster of a school in Liptó-Szent-Miklós, Hungary. In 1857 he became rabbi of the community of Bucovice in Moravia. His most important congregational work was done in Lemberg, where in 1862 he was officially elected rabbi and preacher of the community, and also served as teacher of religion at the high school and registrar of the community. His sermons attracted a large congregation, occasionally including even non-Jews. Loewenstein was involved in the opening of a new type of *talmud torah*, called Ohel Moshe, where Jewish and secular studies were taught. This was closed, however, after two years because of the opposition of the Orthodox. He was also active in the *Shomer Israel society which sought to disseminate culture among the mass of Jews in order to bring them closer to the culture of their surroundings. In addition to sermons, he published a collection of poems entitled *Juedische Klaenge* (Bruenn, 1862), translated into Hebrew by Judah Rohatiner. His son, Nathan *Loewenstein, was an assimilationist leader in Galicia.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: N. Samuely, *Rabbiner und Prediger Bernhard Loewenstein* (1889); Z. Karl, in: EG, 4 (1956), 439–40; J. Tenenbaum, *Galitsye Mayn Alte Heym* (1952), index.

[Moshe Landau]

LOEWENSTEIN, KARL (1891–1973), U.S. political scientist. Loewenstein practiced law in his native Munich and lectured at the university there from 1931 to 1933. He immigrated to the United States in 1934 and two years later became professor of jurisprudence and political science at Amherst College and in 1961 emeritus professor. In 1956 he was appointed professor of law at the University of Munich. During and after World War II, he served first as special assistant to the attorney general (1942–44) and then as legal adviser to the U.S. Military Government in Germany (1945–50). Lowenstein wrote extensively, in three languages, in the fields of public law and comparative government on European and American political systems. His earliest work, *Volk und Parlament nach der Staatsauffassung der franzoesischen Nationalversammlung von 1789* (1922) remains a standard work in the subject. His major work deals with U.S. constitutional law and practice, *Verfassungsrecht und Verfassungspraxis der Vereinigten Staaten* (1959). He also wrote a political science textbook *Political Power and the Governmental Process* (1957), *Hitler's Germany* (1939), *Brazil under Vargas* (1942), *Die Monarchie im modernen Staat* (1952), and many others, as well as numerous articles, some of which are collected in his book *Beitraege zur Staatsoziologie* (1961).

[Edwin Emanuel Gutmann]

LOEWENSTEIN, KURT (1902–1973), Zionist journalist and essayist. Born in Danzig, he studied law and economics at Breslau and Berlin universities and played a leading role in the German pre-Zionist youth movement Jung-Juedischer Wanderbund. Later he was closely associated with the Zionistische Vereinigung fuer Deutschland, serving as secretary for the Rhineland-Westphalia district; he contributed to *Die Juedische Rundschau* of Berlin, joining the editorial board in August 1933. In the following years he devoted much attention to youth education and vocational training of *ḥaluẓim*. He succeeded Robert Weltsch as the editor-in-chief of *Die Juedische Rundschau* before its final closure by the Nazi authorities in November 1938, but edited the only Jewish newspaper after 1938, *Juedisches Nachrichtenblatt*. In 1939, after a couple of journeys for the Palaestina-Amt 1935–36, Loewenstein settled in Ereẓ Israel, where he worked for various organizations of Jewish immigrants from Central Europe. In 1960, he became deputy editor-in-chief of *MB* (*Mitteilungsblatt*), the weekly of the organization of Jewish immigrants from Central Europe. Many of his articles were highly critical of official policy.

Loewenstein's analytical gifts also found expression in a number of major essays, some of which appeared in the *Bulletin of the Leo Baeck Institute*.

ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Biographisches Handbuch der deutschsprachigen Emigration nach 1933*, vol. 1 (1999), 456.

[Erich Gottgetreu]

LOEWENSTEIN, LEOPOLD (1843–1924), German rabbi and historian. Loewenstein, who was born in Gailingen, south Baden, studied at the University of Wuerzburg and with Ezriel *Hildesheimer in Eisenstadt. He served as district rabbi in Gailingen (1872–87) and then in Baden (1887–1924). He made important contributions to the study of German-Jewish history in his *Geschichte der Juden am Bodensee* (1879), *Geschichte der Juden in der Kurpfalz* (1895), *Geschichte der Juden von der babylonischen Gefan genschaft bis zur Gegenwart* (1904), *Familie Aboab* (1905), and *Zur Geschichte der Juden in Fuerth* (3 vols., 1909–13; repr. 1967), among other works. From 1899 to 1904 he edited the *Blaetter fuer juedische Geschichte und Literatur*, a monthly supplement to the Orthodox Jewish newspaper published in Mainz, *Der Israelit*.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: ZHB, 22 (1919), 71–76, bibl.; Wininger, Biog.

[Michael A. Meyer]

LOEWENSTEIN (Von Opoka), NATHAN (1859–1929), lawyer and political leader, born in Bucovice, Moravia. Loewenstein was the son of the preacher of Lemberg, Bernhard *Loewenstein. He became leader of the assimilationists of Galicia, and editor of the Polish nationalist-oriented weekly *Ojczyzna*. Between 1881 and 1886 he was a member of the community council, the municipality of Lemberg, and the Galician Sejm (parliament). From 1907 he was a deputy to the Austrian parliament as a member of the "Polish club." In 1906 he conducted an inquiry into the living conditions of the Jews of Galicia which served as the basis for his speech in the Galician Sejm (1907) on the gravity of the economic situation. During the parliamentary elections of 1911 there were bloody clashes in *Drogobych (Drohobycz) between his supporters and Zionist opponents over the question of his candidacy; the army intervened, and a number of Jews were killed. Loewenstein withdrew his candidacy, but after a few months he ran again and was reelected, retaining his seat until World War I. With the creation of independent Poland, he was automatically given a seat in the Polish Sejm, as deputy of the region where elections could not be held since there was a military and political struggle between the Poles and Ukrainians over the control of eastern Galicia. In the first Sejm he was prominent for his conservative approach as a landowner and an assimilationist, ignoring the Jewish deputies' campaign on behalf of the needy Jewish population. Having lost public support, he retired from political life after the elections of 1922. Loewenstein gained note at the *Steiger trial (1924–25) for his brilliant speeches in defense of the accused and his resolute struggle against the authorities, who introduced false evidence into their indictment. Loewenstein wrote a book on the Steiger affair, *O sprawe Steigera*, which was published in 1926.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Almanach Żydowski* (1937).

[Moshe Landau]

LOEWENSTEIN, RUDOLPH MAURICE (1898–1976), psychoanalyst and psychoanalytic theoretician. Loewenstein, who was born in Lodz, Poland, worked in Berlin from 1923 to 1925, and in Paris from 1925 until the outbreak of World War II, when he served with distinction in the French army. In France, in 1926, along with Marie Bonaparte and René Laforgue, he was one of the major founders of the Societé psychanalytique de Paris. As one of the SPP's main teachers, he trained some of the people who would later be regarded as the second generation of leading French psychologists, such as Daniel Lagache and Jacques Lacan.

Loewenstein settled in the United States in 1943. Together with Heinz *Hartmann and Ernst *Kris, Loewenstein staked out important aspects of psychoanalytic theory as propounded by *Freud, and developed them further, particularly in the field of ego psychology. In 1951 Loewenstein published, in French and English, *Christians and Jews: a Psychoanalytic Study*. In this he traced the historical and cultural roots of antisemitism. He viewed Christians and Jews as a mutually interdependent pair and suggested that the impossibly difficult ethic of the Christian religion may make the use of the Jew as a scapegoat a necessity for the Christian. Loewenstein collaborated with Princess Marie Bonaparte in translating some of Freud's works into French, and edited a series of psychoanalytic essays, *Drives, Affects and Behavior*, published in the princess's honor in 1953. He was an early co-editor of the annual *Psychoanalytic Study of the Child*, and served as president of both the New York Psychoanalytic Society and the American Psychoanalytic Association. *Practice and Precept in Psychoanalytic Technique: Selected Papers of Rudolph M. Loewenstein* was published in 1982.

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[Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

LOEWENSTEIN-STRASHUNSKY, JOEL DAVID (1816–1850), *ḥazzan*. Born in Lemberg, he was the son of the *ḥazzan* of Vilna, Ẓevi Hirsch Loewenstein. At an early age, he became known for his fine voice and his mastery of the violin. After the death of his father in 1830, the 15-year-old lad succeeded him as *ḥazzan* and became known as "Der Vilner Balabesl" (the Little Householder of Vilna). After 1839 he began studying with the composer Moniuszko. In 1842, Loewenstein was invited to Warsaw where he gave recitals accompanied by a chorus and orchestra, which deeply impressed his audience comprised of the town's aristocratic and wealthy classes. The passage from the narrow ghetto world to a cosmopolitan atmosphere produced a mental shock on Loewenstein. Legend attributes it to a tragic infatuation with a Polish woman singer. He went into "voluntary exile" and for several years wandered through the communities of Central Europe, appearing in synagogues only on rare occasions. His life became the subject of legends and literary works including Mark Orenstein's *Der Vilner Balabesl* (Yid., 1908), and J.J. Wohl's *La-Menaẓẓe'aḥ bi-Neginot* (in *Aḥi'asaf*, 7 (1899), 177–97). Several of his prayer melodies have been preserved; *Ve-Havi'enu le-Shalom*, for example, was published by A. Nadel in *Ost und West* (5 (1905), 103–6).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Sendrey, Music, 3533, 5678–84; Idelsohn, Music, 299–302; Ḥ.N. Steinschneider, in: *Talpiyyot* (1895), pt. 12, 8–13; E.B., in: *Ost und West*, 5 (1905), 102–8; Y. Appel, *Be-Tokh Reshit ha-Teḥiyyah* (1936), 565–77; M.S. Geshuri, in: *Ba-Mishor*, 1 (1940).

[*Hebrew Encyclopaedia*]

LOEWENTHAL, EDUARD (1836–1917), German political theorist. Born in Ernsbach, Prussia, Loewenthal advocated a new religion based on scientific truth and rejecting metaphysical concepts. He expounded his ideas in *System und Geschichte des Naturalismus* (1861, 1897^6; *System and History of Nature*, 1882) which achieved considerable popularity. He founded the Cogitant religious society to propagate his views in 1865 and in 1869 formed the European Union, a pan-European society dedicated to the abolition of war. Following the outbreak of the Franco-Prussian War in 1870, Loewenthal was forced to leave Prussia but he returned in the following year to reorganize the European Union with a program of a world court and the compulsory arbitration of disputes. In 1874 he was forced to leave Prussia for a second time but continued to preach his pacifist philosophy abroad. He was nominated for the Nobel Peace Prize toward the end of his life but, to his chagrin, was not given the award.

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LOEWENTHAL, JOHANN JAKOB (1810–1876), Hungarian chess master. Loewenthal found refuge in England after the abortive 1848 Hungarian revolution. He was recognized as a leading player as a result of his play in 1851 in a very strong London tournament won by Anderssen. He was successful in match play and wrote prolifically in the chess press.

LOEWENTHAL, ZDENKO (1914–), Yugoslav editor and historian of medicine. Born in Grabovac, Yugoslavia, Loewenthal directed the State Publishing House for Medical Literature, and from 1959 was lecturer in the History of Medicine at the Belgrade Medical Faculty. Loewenthal also headed the historical department of the Yugoslav Jewish Federation. He edited *Crimes of the Fascist Invaders Against the Yugoslav Jews* and *Jewish Almanac, 1954–1964*. He was the *Encyclopaedia Judaica* departmental editor for Balkan literature.

LOEWI, OTTO (1873–1961), pharmacologist and Nobel laureate in physiology and medicine. Loewi was born in Frankfurt on the Main but became a U.S. citizen in 1946. He graduated in medicine at the University of Strasbourg (then in Germany). After initial appointments in the universities of Marburg and Vienna he became professor of pharmacology at the University of Graz, Austria (1909–38). After the German invasion he was imprisoned, deprived of his possessions (including his Nobel Prize money), and allowed to leave. After working in Brussels and Oxford (1939–40), he was appointed research professor at New York University College of Medicine. Loewi's initial contributions concerned carbohydrate and nitrogen metabolism but his main research interest was in the sympathetic nervous system. He proved that nerve impulses in the parasympathetic nervous system are transmitted by acetylcholine and, with his collaborators, he established that nerve impulses in the sympathetic nervous system in general are mediated through chemical transmission. He was awarded the Nobel Prize (jointly with Sir Henry Dale) in 1936 for this work. His honors included foreign membership in the Royal Society (London). The Austrian government issued a stamp to commemorate the centenary of his birth.

[Michael Denman (2nd ed.)]

LOEWINGER, DAVID SAMUEL (1904–), Hungarian biblical and talmudic scholar and bibliographer. Loewinger was born in Debrecen, Hungary. While still a student he published with D. Friedmann the *Alphabet of Ben Sira* (1926) from a manuscript and *Darkhei ha-Nikkud ve-ha-Neginot* (1929, 1969^2), ascribed to Moses ha-Nakdan. He also contributed the commentary on Habbakuk to A. Kahana's edition of the Bible (1930). From 1931 he lectured at the Budapest rabbinical seminary on Bible and Talmud and became its director in 1942. After World War II he was responsible for the reconstruction of the seminary and the resumption of its scholarly activities. In the prewar years Loewinger was one of the editors of *Ha-Soker* (1933–40) and **Magyar Zsidó Szemle* and also edited a number of jubilee volumes, e.g., on S. *Hevesi (*Emlékkony*, Hg. and Heb., 1934), E. Mahler (*Dissertationes in honorem Dr. E. Mahler*, 1937), M. Guttmann (*Jewish Studies in Memory of M. Guttmann*, 1946), and I. Goldziher (*I. Goldziher Memorial Volume* 1, 1948). In *Germánia prófétája* ("The Prophet of Germany," 1947) Loewinger attempted to trace Germany's Nazi antisemitic ideology to F. Nietzsche. With A. *Scheiber he published *Ginzei Kaufmann* (*Genizah Publications in Memory of D. Kaufmann*, 1949).

After immigrating to Israel in 1950, Loewinger became the scientific secretary and then director of the Institute of Microfilms of Hebrew Manuscripts at the National and University Library in Jerusalem. He was also associated with various projects relating to the Bible text. He specialized in the problems of Bible manuscripts, particularly of the famous Bible codex *Keter Aram Ẓova* ("Aleppo Codex"; in *Textus*, 1 (1960), 59–111). With others he prepared several manuscript catalogs, which were published by the Institute, including the catalog of the Hebrew manuscripts in the Vatican library (list of photocopies in the Institute, part 3: *Hebrew Manuscripts in the Vatican*, Jerusalem, 1968, Heb.). With B.D. Weinryb he published *Catalogue of the Hebrew Manuscripts in the Library of the Juedisch-Theologisches Seminar in Breslau* (1965).

LOEWINSON-LESSING, FRANZ YULYEVICH (1861–1939), Russian geologist, pioneer of magmatic petrology. Loewinson-Lessing occupied the chair of geology, petrology, and mineralogy first at the University of Dorpat (now Tartu), Estonia, and from 1902 until his retirement in 1930, at the Polytechnic Institute of St. Petersburg (Leningrad). In 1925 he was elected a member of the Soviet Academy of Sciences, where he was appointed director of the newly established Petrographical Institute. As early as 1897, in a paper presented to the international geological congress held in St. Petersburg, Loewinson-Lessing introduced a chemical classification of igneous rocks. This was followed by shorter papers on petrochemistry, in which he discussed the role of assimilation in the origin of magmatic rocks and applied the "phase rule" of physical chemistry to substantiate his synthetic-liquational theory of differentiation. In his later years he also dealt with the physical properties of rocks and the tectonic movements of igneous masses. The two books on petrography which he published in 1923, *Uspekhi petrografii v Rossii* ("Advances in Petrography in Russia") and *Voedeniye v geologiyu* ("Introduction to Geology"), became standard textbooks in the U.S.S.R.

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[Leo Picard]

LOEWISOHN, SOLOMON (1789–1821), Hebrew writer. Born in Mor, Hungary, he received a Jewish education but at the same time studied secular subjects in a Capuchin monastery. With the aid of his relative Solomon Rosenthal, a wealthy scholar, he studied in Prague at a yeshivah and at the university. In 1811 and 1812 he published two grammatical studies that were collected and annotated by A.B. Lebensohn and J. Behak under the title *Meḥkerei Lashon* (1849). He wrote his first important poem, an elegy on the death of his friend Baruch *Jeiteles, in 1814.

In Prague Loewisohn eked out a meager living by giving private lessons. But the five years between 1815 and 1820 were the most productive and the most "affluent" years of his life. He became proofreader and counselor of Anton von *Schmid. After 1820, he became mentally ill. Insanity led to his untimely death. He published his chief work in 1816, *Meliẓat Yeshurun*, the first aesthetic interpretation of the Bible in the Hebrew language. It discusses in detail various poetic devices including allegory, irony, metaphor, and hyperbole. The work is prefaced by a remarkable hymn to beauty and poetry. Loewisohn allotted 27 pages of his book to an analysis of the Song of Songs which he regarded as a love song of King Solomon. Loewisohn also used non-biblical passages to illustrate figures of speech. In the chapter on apostrophe he quoted from the second part of *King Henry IV* (Act 3, Scene 1) – the first translation of Shakespeare into Hebrew. In 1819 he published *Meḥkerei Areẓ*, the first Hebrew geographical handbook for the biblical period. It utilized Josephus, Eusebius, Pliny, and Strabo. Translated into German two years after its publication, the book served as a handbook for generations of readers, developed a geographical terminology, and pioneered the way for utilization of rabbinic sources.

Loewisohn had also a keen interest in Jewish liturgy. He annotated and translated the *kinot* and also annotated the *Shir ha-Yiḥud* ("Hymn of Unity") and wrote a preface on the value of prayer for the *siddur* of Judah Leib *Ben Zeev (1816). Loewisohn also wrote in German and published several articles in the periodical *Sulamith*, and a history of the Jews, *Vorlesungen ueber die neuere Geschichte der Juden* ("Lectures on Recent Jewish History," 1820) which was praised by H. *Graetz.

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[Eisig Silberschlag]

LOEWITH, KARL (1897–1973), German philosopher of Jewish origin. His teachers were E. *Husserl, M. *Geiger, and M. Heidegger in philosophy, and H. Spemann in biology. From 1928 he was privatdocent at Marburg University; from 1934 to 1936 a Rockefeller fellow at Rome; then professor at Sendai, Japan; from 1941 at the Hartford Theological Seminary; from 1949 at the New School for Social Research, New York; from 1952 at Heidelberg, Germany. Loewith's philosophy has its main non-contemporary sources in Hegel and in the development of thought after Hegel, which was one of the main subjects of his studies. His thinking shows the influence of Nietzsche and of Heidegger, whose existentialist-historicist ontology was later heavily criticized by Loewith. He tries to move back from modern thought with its anthropocentricism – through its Christian (biblical-Augustinian) origins – toward a predominantly Aristotelian horizon of thought: the horizon of a pure theory being knowledge for knowledge's sake – theory of nature (including human nature) and of the "cosmos" in its eternal being and becoming. Thus searching for the lost way of a really cosmological – and in Kantian language, "dogmatical" – philosophy, Loewith confronts the Greek *logos* of the cosmos with modern thinking in two papers presented in 1960 and 1964 to the Heidelberg Academy; and he further elaborates this search in his book on metaphysics from Descartes to Nietzsche, the last chapter of which deals with Spinoza's "Deus sive natura." Loewith's books include *Das Individuum in der Rolle des Mitmenschen* (1928); *Kierkegaard und Nietzsche* (1936); *Nietzsches Philosophie der ewigen Wiederkehr des Gleichen* (1935); *Jacob Burckhardt* (1956); *Von Hegel zu Nietzsche* (1941; *From Hegel to Nietzsche*, 1964); *Meaning in History* (1949), later published in German as *Weltgeschichte und Heilsgeschehen* (1953); *Heidegger, Denker in duerftiger Zeit* (1953); *Wissen, Glaube und Skepsis* (1956); *Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur Kritik der geschichtlichen Existenz* (1960); *Vortraege und Abhandlungen zur Kritik der christlichen Ueberlieferung* (1966); *Nature, History and Existentialism* (1966), a collection of Loewith's essays; *Gott, Mensch und Welt in der Metaphysik von Descartes bis zu Nietzsche* (1967); "*Philosophie der Vernunft und Religion der Offenbarung in H. Cohens Religionsphilosophie*" (*Sitzungsberichte der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften*, 1968).

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[Otto Immanuel Spear]

LOEWY, EMANUEL (1857–1938), Austrian classical archaeologist. Loewy was born in Vienna and then traveled extensively in Greece and Asia Minor. In 1882 he took part in the excavations of a Lycian burial site, the "Heroon" of Gjölbaşi-Trysa, in which important Greek reliefs from the late fifth century B.C.E. were found. In 1887 he began his academic career as a lecturer in Vienna, becoming a professor in Rome in 1889. He returned to Vienna after World War I and was a professor of classical archaeology. His early writings on the history of ancient Greek artists were influenced by the philology-oriented Seminary in Vienna. His later activity was influenced by contemporary art historiographers of the Vienna School such as F. Wickhoff and A. Riegl; in place of philologico-antiquarian interpretation of ancient works of art, this school put form and style analysis, together with a reevalution of pre- and post-classical style periods. Loewy contributed essentially to the comprehension of the then underestimated archaic art of Greece with his *Naturwiedergabe* and *Typenwanderung*. Loewy considered the archaic style not as a preliminary to the classical period, but as an artistic creation, complete in itself. Apart from numerous scholarly works, Loewy reached a wide general public with his popular scientific works *Die Griechische Plastik* (2 vols., 1911, 1924^4) and *Polygnot, ein Buch von griechischer Malerei* (2 vols., 1929). His works include *Inschriften griechischer Bildhauer* (1885); *Naturwiedergabe in der aelteren griechischen Kunst* (1900; Eng., 1907); *Typenwanderung* (Yearbook of the Austrian Archeological Institute, 12 (1909), 14 (1911)); and *Neuattische Kunst* (1922).

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[Penuel P. Kahane]

LOEWY, ISAAC (1793–1847), industrialist; founder of the town of Ujpest. Born in Nagy-Surány (now Surány), Hungary, Loewy studied at the yeshivah of Pressburg. He also learned his father's trade, that of tanner, and with his brothers Joachim and Bernát took over the family business in 1823. When in the early 1830s he tried to establish his workshop in Pest, the town council and guilds refused to admit him. At about that time some uncultivated lands to the north of the town were being parceled out for sale by the proprietor, Count István Károlyi; Loewy, his family, and his workmen settled on them. The terms of the sale stipulated that there would be no religious discrimination in the new settlement and that the traditional craft guilds would not be established there. By 1834 Loewy's new factory had started production, and the first residential building was erected in 1835. Several wealthy Jews of Pest followed Loewy, building rows of houses on the new settlement. In 1839 and 1840 a synagogue and school were built. In 1840 the settlement was officially declared a borough, with the name Ujpest ("New Pest"). This was mainly due to the efforts of Loewy, who was elected the first president of the town council of the new town. He also suggested the development of a port on the Danube at Ujpest. After his death a street in Ujpest was named after him.

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[Jeno Zsoldos]

LOEWY, JACOB EZEKIEL BEN JOSEPH (1814–1864), rabbi and author. Born in Hotzenplotz, Moravia, Loewy went at the age of nine to study with Baruch Te’omim Fraenkel in Leipnik. After Fraenkel's death in 1827, he studied at various yeshivot including those of Benjamin Wolf in Tepelstein and Jacob Meshullam *Ornstein in Lemberg; he spent one year in Berlin where his studies included secular learning. After his marriage he engaged in business, studying in his spare time. In 1846 he was appointed rabbi of Wadowice, his seat being in Oswiecim (Auschwitz). In 1854 he accepted the position of rabbi in Beuthen where he died. Among his works are *Tisporet Lulyanit* (1839) attacking the *Ma’amar ha-Tiglaḥat* (1835) of Isaac Samuel *Reggio who had permitted the cutting of the beard during the intermediate days of a festival; and *Bikkoret ha-Talmud* (*"Kritisch-talmudisches Lexicon,"* vol. 1, Vienna, 1863). The latter purports to be a critical encyclopedia on the Oral Law and tradition, alphabetically arranged. The volume covers articles under the letter *alef*. In conformity with his conservative approach, Loewy attempted in his work to harmonize scientific criticism with tradition. In the article on marriage (pp. 155–65) he strongly attacks the extreme reform views of *Holdheim in his *Ma’amar ha-Ishut* and their qualified approval by Reggio. His halakhic work, *Shorshei Halakhah*, remains in manuscript. He also published a series of studies in *Ha-Maggid, Ha-Meliẓ*, and other periodicals.

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LOEWY, MAURICE (1833–1907), astronomer. Loewy was born in Pressburg (Bratislava), where he trained in the local observatory. In 1861 Loewy was appointed assistant astronomer of the Paris observatory and astronomer in 1864. After the death of Amédée E.B. Mouchez in 1892, he was put in charge of the great international enterprise of the photographic "Carte du Ciel," and later became director of the observatory. He devised several new observational methods. His particular interest was the moon, and together with his collaborator, P.H. Puiseux, he produced a large photographic atlas, which has remained a masterpiece. He was a pioneer in astronomical photography, and the inventor of the "elbow" telescope. He received many honors including the Gold Medal of the Royal Astronomical Society in London.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Royal Astronomical Society, *Monthly Notices*, 68 (1907–08), 249–52; (1942), 166–7, incl. list of major works.

[Arthur Beer]

LOGGEM, MANUEL VAN (1916–1998), Dutch author and critic. Van Loggem worked as a theater critic for several papers, as a psychotherapist, and as a graphologist. He is mainly known as the author of numerous dramas and television plays in which the characters are drawn with great psychological skill. His plays include the prizewinning *De Chinese fluitspeler* ("The Chinese Flutist," 1947) and *Jeugdproces* ("Youth Trial," 1962), which was translated into many languages. His plays for television include *Een zon op Hiroshima* ("A Sun over Hiroshima," 1962). Van Loggem also wrote novels and short stories, some of them on Jewish themes. Van Loggem's novel *Mozes, de wording van een volk* (1947) describes the genesis of the Jewish people. His short story "Deze plek komt me bekend voor," from the collection *Het tijdperk der zerken* ("The Age of Memorials," 1968) introduces the figure of the *Wandering Jew after Israel's capture of the Western Wall in Jerusalem in June 1967. His theoretical and critical prose includes *Oorsprong en noodzaak* ("Origin and Necessity," 1951), and *Inleiding tot het toneel* ("Introduction to the Theater," 1951). Van Loggem also wrote thrillers and science fiction.

[Gerda Alster-Thau / Hilde Pach (2nd ed.)]

LOGIC (Heb. חָכְמַת הַדִּבּוּר or מְלֶאכֶת הַהִגָּיוֹן), the study of the principles governing correct reasoning and demonstration. The term logic, according to Maimonides, is used in three senses: to refer to the rational faculty, the intelligible in the mind, and the verbal expression of this mental content. In its second sense, logic is also called inner speech, and in its third, outer speech. Since logic is concerned with verbal formulation as well as mental content, grammar often forms a part of logical writings. Shem Tov ibn *Falaquera, for example, prefaces his *Reshit Ḥokhmah* with an account of the origin of language, its nature, and its parts. As Maimonides had done in the introduction to the *Guide of the Perplexed*, Falaquera classifies terms into distinct terms, synonyms, and homonyms, a classification which was very important in the medieval philosophic exegesis of the Bible.

The two mental acts which are basic to logic are conception and judgment. The former is involved in the apprehension of the essence of things, the latter, in deciding whether propositions are true or false.

Maimonides does not consider logic a part of philosophy proper as the Stoics did, but follows the Peripatetics in viewing it as the instrument and auxiliary of all the other sciences.

Although some of the methods of biblical exegesis and legal interpretation (*middot*) employed by the rabbis of the talmudic period rest upon the rules of logic (see *Hermeneutics), it is doubtful that the rabbis had a formal knowledge of the subject. However, beginning with Saadiah, who refers to Aristotle's categories, proving that they are not applicable to God (*Emunot ve-De'ot*, 2:8), Jewish thinkers have been acquainted with the *Organon* – the title traditionally given to the body of Aristotle's logical treatises which formed the basis of logic – as propounded by the logicians of Islam. During the Islamic period, few works on logic were written by Jews. While Isaac *Israeli and Joseph ibn *Ẓaddik appear to have written works on logic, the first extant work on logic written by a Jew is Maimonides' *Maqāla fī-Ṣināʿat al-Manṭiq* (ed. by M. Turker (1961); Arabic text in Hebrew characters published by I. Efros in: PAAJR, 34 (1966), 9–42 (Hebrew section); translated by the same into English under the title *Maimonides' Treatise on Logic*, in: PAAJR, 8 (1937/38), 34–65). It was only when the setting of Jewish philosophy shifted to Christian countries and Arabic ceased to be the language of the Jews that logical works were translated into Hebrew and a greater number of Hebrew works on logic were written by Jews.

In the *Maqāla fī-Ṣināʿat al-Manṭiq* Maimonides offers concise exposition of the 175 most important logical, physical, metaphysical, and ethical terms used in the discussion of logical theory. The popularity of this treatise is attested by the fact that it was translated into Hebrew three times, under the title *Millot ha-Higgayon* or *Shemot ha-Higgayon*: once in a florid style by *Ahitub, a physician in Palermo in the 13th century; again, by Joseph ben Joshua ibn Vivas (of Lorca) in the 14th century; and by Moses b. Samuel ibn *Tibbon (all three translations appear in: PAAJR, 8 (1937/38), 23–129). This last translation was by far the most popular and has gone through many editions. Maimonides' work served not only as a handbook of logic, but, until comparatively recent times, also as an introduction to general philosophy. Of the commentaries written on it, those of Mordecai b. Eliezer *Comtino and Moses *Mendelssohn may be singled out.

While there is little information on the logical authorities used by the Jews up until the middle of the 12th century, it is known that by this time al-Fārābī was the acknowledged authority on logic. Maimonides, in a famous letter to Samuel ibn Tibbon, the Hebrew translator of his *Guide*, advises him to study logic only from the works of al-Fārābī, and, as M. Tucker has shown, Maimonides in his *Maqāla fī-Ṣināʿat al-Manṭiq* relied heavily on four works by al-Fārābī. During the first half of the 13th century, *Averroes too came to be regarded as an authority on logic, soon superseding al-Fārābī. Thus, Judah ben Samuel ibn *Abbas, in his *Ya'ir Nativ*, suggested that in order to learn the principles of logic, a student should read the works of al-Fārābī or Averroes.

While it appears that there were no translations into Hebrew of any of the books comprising the *Organon*, all the commentaries of al-Fārābī and Averroes were translated and annotated. Jacob b. Machir translated Averroes' *Epitome* of the *Organon*, and Jacob *Anatoli, Averroes' middle commentaries, which he completed in 1232. *Kalonymus b. Kalonymus and Moses b. Samuel ibn Tibbon were among some of the others who undertook to translate the logical writings of al-Fārābī and Averroes. Anatoli's translation of the middle commentaries was utilized by Joseph *Kaspi in his compendium of logic, entitled *Ẓeror ha-Kesef.*

The Jews were also familiar with the logical writings of Avicenna. Their knowledge of Avicenna's writings did not come from translations of Avicennian works, but rather through the logical portions of al-*Ghazālī's "Intentions of the Philosophers" (*Maqāṣid al-Falāsifa*). In addition to the Islamic tradition, a work by a Christian scholar, Peter of Spain's *Sum-*

mulae Logicales, was also popular, as the four or five Hebrew translations or extracts of it, which are still extant, testify.

These translations are of great importance because in many instances the original Arabic texts of the commentaries are no longer extant. Moreover, many of these texts were translated from the Hebrew into Latin by Jews who served as the intermediaries between the logicians of Islam and the scholastics. *Levi b. Gershom wrote supercommentaries on the middle commentaries and epitomes of Averroes, as well as an independent work on logic entitled *Ha-Hekkesh ha-Yashar* ("The Correct Syllogism"), which drew upon itself the attention of gentile scholars and was translated into Latin under the title *Liber Syllogismi Recti*. In the 15th century, *Judah b. Jehiel Messer Leon wrote a supercommentary on Averroes' middle commentaries which shows the influence of the scholastic Walter Burleigh.

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[Jacob Haberman]

LOGOS, a Greek word meaning "speech," "organization," "rational order," "rational relationship," or "rational expression," common in Greek philosophical writings. As the word of God in all its manifestations, it appears in Jewish and Christian theological texts in Greek from the Hellenistic period. *Aristobulus of Paneas, Wisdom of *Solomon, and *Philo are the Jewish sources, and the Gospel of John, the earliest representative of the Christian ones. The later history of the term belongs to Christian theology, where, following John, logos is the Son, or the preexistent Messiah. Logos as an independent entity appeared in Jewish literature suddenly in the writings of Philo. Because of the connection between Philo's use of the term and the Johannine innovation, according to which logos is an intermediary between God and the world, scholars sought parallels elsewhere in Jewish writings, both for the word of God as a distinct concept and for its appearance as a divine intermediary. The *memra* ("word") of the Lord, one of the terms used to paraphrase the name of the Lord in the Targums, has been mistakenly viewed as such a parallel.

Greek Philosophy

Among early Greek philosophers Heraclitus (fifth century B.C.E.) considered logos as (1) the order in the universe, (2) the organizing force that originates and maintains that order, and (3) human apprehension and reasoned expression of it. All these things for him are one and the same, and are, it seems, to be identified with heat. Plato used the term primarily for logical discussion. However, in *Epinomis* (986c4), a dialogue probably not written by Plato himself, logos is identified with the intelligence that governs and imposes rational structure in the world; in the Sixth Letter (323d2f.), whose authenticity is also disputed, the son of the true god is identified as "the divine governor and origin of all things present and future," which may point to some notion of the logos as an intermediary between true reality and the world in Greek sources. In Stoic thought logos again has the threefold role of (1) being responsible for fashioning things, (2) accounting for the disposition of things (and so for the rational faculty in man), and (3) expressing reality in language.

Bible

The Word of God (*devar Adonai*) appears in the Bible as divine teaching, i.e., the medium of revelation and guidance (Gen. 15:1; I Sam. 3:21; Isa. 55:10–11; Ezek. and Zech. passim), the instrument of creation (Ps. 33:6; Gen. 1, though the technical term is not used), and the instrument that controls nature (Ps. 107:20; 147:18). This usage parallels in some ways the threefold, normative Greek philosophical identification of logos, except that the biblical emphasis is on moral, instead of natural, philosophy. The Word of the Lord is identified directly with Torah in Psalms 119 (*passim*), and the attributes of the Word or Torah (Ps. 89; 119) are ascribed to Wisdom in the first nine chapters of Proverbs. Indeed, Torah and Wisdom are identified in the apocryphal books Ben Sira (24:1–21, 22ff.) and Wisdom of Solomon (6:18ff.) in all the same aspects.

Jewish Hellenistic Literature

Aristobulus (fl. 160 B.C.E.) speaks of the voice of the Lord as the natural law, according to which the universe functions (Eusebius, *Praeparatio Evangelica*, 13:12). Thus, a rapprochement of the Jewish and Greek notions has occurred. In *Wisdom of Solomon* (7:17–21) also, Wisdom teaches natural philosophy to man. In the same work logos personifies divine Mercy (Wisdom 16:12), and slays the first-born of Egypt. In the *Haggadah* of Passover the Messenger (sometimes identified with logos by modern scholars), who was excluded from any role in the Exodus, may, if that passage is early and if it is a polemic against Wisdom of Solomon, point to an early popular hypostatization of logos; but the bulk of the evidence is opposed to such an early personification. The author of Wisdom of Solomon seems to distinguish between *sophia* ("wisdom") and logos, as two aspects of God's word, the former being human thoughts and actions in consonance with reality, and the latter, God's speech seen as a messenger, or angel. In addition, the former teaches natural philosophy, not logos.

Philo

Logos is central to Philo's thought. It is the chief power of God; it unites His strength and His goodness, and hence it is the rational term which connects opposites, another meaning of the Greek word. In this function, logos brings God to man and man to God. It is the representative of the Governor to His subjects; and its position is intermediate between created things and the uncreated (Her. 205). Logos is a copy (Gr. *eikon*) of God (I Spec. 81, etc.) through which the world was made (*ibid.*, III LA 96, etc.), and human intelligence is a copy of it (Her. 230, Fug. 68, Op. 69). Philo applies the term logos, or the holy logos, to Scripture itself, i.e., the Law (IV *Quaes-*

tiones et Solutiones in Genesin, 140; I Som. 229). It is not a person, according to Philo, nor is it an intermediary between God and man, although it is identified with the biblical angel of the Lord (Mig. 174, etc.). Rather, it is sometimes the same as wisdom (I LA 65, etc.), because it is the most inclusive expression of the thoughts and ideas of God, which in turn are identified with the Law, or the Torah, with the pattern of all creation, and with the law that directs and maintains all things. Philo's identification of logos with Wisdom and Torah parallels the identification of Torah and Wisdom and the Word of God in rabbinic literature, and conforms to the roles assigned to each in Scripture and rabbinic sources.

Gospel of John

The prologue to the Gospel of John follows biblical and apocryphal sources in portraying the preexistent logos dwelling on earth; but the presentation of logos as an independent agent, and furthermore, as the preexistent messiah is a radical innovation. Apparently, Philo did not think of either notion (I Som. 228f. is not evidence that such a belief existed earlier). Rabbinic and Christian Gnostic speculations, all of later date than John, do, however, understand logos as a second god. Some accounts of *Gnosticism, whose doctrine implies a logos-hypostasis, would even date gnostic sources before John. Among the rabbis a belief in a "second God," or divine intermediary, is represented in the heretical views of *Elisha b. Avuyah (cf. also *Metatron). His views seem related to speculations about Creation, in which the voice, or Word, of the Lord on the waters (Ps. 29:3 and Gen. 1) and at the revelation on Sinai (Ex. 20) are hypostatized. All this, however, is later than the use of the Greek word "logos" in Philo and in the fourth Gospel.

The *memra* of the Targums, whether it is used in an attempt to express the otherness of God, to avoid anthropomorphisms, or for some other reason, was not thought of as an intermediary between man and God, was certainly not personified in rabbinic thought, and was not identified with Torah regularly. In later rabbinic writing *ha-dibbur* ("the speech") is used to refer to God, but that phenomenon seems unrelated to the Jewish-Hellenistic logos.

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[Daniel E. Gershenson]

LOḤAMEI HA-GETTA'OT (Heb. לוֹחֲמֵי הַגֶּטָאוֹת; "The Ghetto Fighters"), kibbutz in the northern Coastal Plain of Israel, 3 mi. (5 km.) N. of Acre, affiliated with Ha-Kibbutz ha-Me'uḥad. Loḥamei ha-Getta'ot was founded in 1949 as one of the first villages to be erected in the framework of the comprehensive settlement scheme for Acre Plain and Western Galilee, by a group from Poland composed of survivors of the resistance against the Nazis in Polish and Lithuanian ghettos, among them Itzhak (Antek) *Zuckerman and Ziviah *Lubetkin. The kibbutz is located near an aqueduct built by Aḥmad Pasha al-Jazzār at the end of the 18th century to lead the *Kabri spring waters to Acre. Farming at Loḥamei ha-Getta'ot included dairy cattle in partnership with kibbutz *Ma'yan Barukh, poultry, avocado plantations, fishery, and field crops in partnership with the kibbutzim kibbutz *Adamit and kibbutz *Shomrat. The kibbutz ran a factory producing condensers and other electronic equipment and operated guest rooms and a restaurant. However, its main source of livelihood was the Tivall food company, which produced cholesterol-free products in partnership with the Osem company. The Ghetto Fighters' House in memory of Yitzḥak *Katznelson, the Holocaust Museum, and an educational center named after Janusz *Korczak are located in Loḥamei ha-Getta'ot. The kibbutz also published a research bulletin, *Yedi'ot*. At the close of the 1960s the population of Loḥamei ha-Getta'ot numbered 341, in the mid-1990s, it was approximately 530, while at the end of 2002 it declined somewhat to 480.

WEBSITE: hebrew.gfh.org.il/kibutz_lohamei_hagetaot.htm.

[Efraim Orni / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

LOḤAMEI ḤERUT ISRAEL (**Leḥi**, or "**Stern Group**"), armed underground organization in Palestine founded by Avraham *Stern. In June 1940, after the *Irgun Ẓeva'i Le'ummi (IẒL) decided on a truce of underground armed activities during World War II, the Stern group broke away from IẒL. At first it called itself Irgun Ẓeva'i Le'ummi be-Israel and declared a continuation of war against the British, opposed the voluntary enlistment of Jews into the British army, and even attempted to contact representatives of the Axis. This attitude gained it the reputation of a "fifth column" in official circles, and the British Palestine police and secret service were mobilized against it. During January and February 1942 the clashes between members of the Stern group and the British military and civil authorities reached their peak, and the British forces reacted by arresting and killing leading Stern group members. On Feb. 12, 1942, Avraham Stern himself was caught in his hiding place and was killed on the spot by British police officers. Considerably weakened, the group was on the verge of complete disintegration when some of its detainees managed to escape from prison and regrouped their forces. They then gave themselves the new name of Loḥamei Ḥerut Israel. In early 1944 Leḥi resumed its operations under a triumvirate leadership (Yiẓḥak Shamir, Nathan *Yellin-Mor, and Israel Eldad-Scheib), continuing them with short interruptions until the end of the Mandate in 1948. Members of the group were ordered to be continually armed. Those who were caught admitted in court to being its members, refused to recognize the court's authority, and made political statements. In November 1944 two Leḥi members, Eliahu Ḥakim and Eliahu Bet-Ẓuri, assassinated Lord Moyne, British minister of state for the Middle East, in Cairo. They were caught, tried, and hanged in Cairo in March 1945. In July 1945 Leḥi and IẒL agreed to cooperate in their struggle against the British, and in November 1945 Leḥi joined the Haganah and IẒL in the Hebrew Resistance Movement (Heb. Tenu'at ha-Meri ha-Ivri), which existed for nine months. During and after this period, Leḥi carried out sabotage operations and armed attacks on military objectives and government installations (army camps, airfields, police stations, railway trains), while also attacking individual members of the British police and army and organizing expropriations to secure funds. Its clandestine radio station waged a continual propaganda campaign, and posters and declarations were distributed.

In April 1947 Leḥi began sabotage operations outside Palestine, mailing bombs to British statesmen. The Mandatory authorities reacted by making administrative arrests of anyone suspected of belonging to or helping Leḥi and by passing severe sentences on those caught in operations or even merely carrying arms. On March 17, 1947, Moshe Barazani was sentenced to death for having a hand grenade in his possession. Together with Meir Feinstein, a member of IẒL, Barazani blew himself up in the Jerusalem prison before the sentence could be carried out. The history of Leḥi was marked by frequent prison breaks and escapes from arrest in Palestine (Mazraʿa, Latrun, Jerusalem, Acre, Athlit) and from the countries of forced exile (Eritrea, Sudan, and Kenya). After the United Nations resolution on the partition of Palestine in November 1947, Leḥi participated in attacks on Arab regular and irregular forces, including the attack on the village of Deir Yāsīn near Jerusalem, which they captured together with IẒL (April 9, 1948).

On May 29, 1948, two weeks after the establishment of the State of Israel, members of Leḥi joined the Israel army. In Jerusalem, however, they continued to fight separately for a time. After the assassination of the UN mediator, Count Folke *Bernadotte, in Jerusalem on Sept. 17, 1948, an act which a group of Leḥi members were suspected of perpetrating, the Israel authorities enforced the final disbanding of Leḥi in Jerusalem. After its leading members were arrested and investigated for a short period, Leḥi ceased to exist. Its leaders took part in the elections to the First Knesset as the Fighters' List and Nathan Yellin-Mor was elected as representative. Memorial meetings in the memory of Avraham Stern are held annually by an association of Leḥi members.

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[David Niv]

°**LOISY, ALFRED FIRMIN** (1857–1940), French biblical commentator and theologian. Born in Ambrières (Haute-Marne), Loisy was ordained as a Catholic priest in 1879. He studied at the Institut Catholique de Paris, where he later lectured in Hebrew and exegesis. He was dismissed in 1893 on the order of the pope for the publication of his article "La Question biblique et l'inspiration des Ecritures," which took a view opposed to the traditional teaching of the Church. His special approach to biblical research and interpretation aroused the suspicion of the Catholic Church authorities, who also condemned his essay *La religion d'Israël* (1900; *The Religion of Israel*, 1910). In 1902 he published *L'Evangile et l'Eglise* (1902; *The Gospel and the Church*, 1903) which, though intended as a Catholic answer to the work of Adolph von Harnack, was unacceptable to the Church. The work was favorably received throughout Europe, but was placed on the Church Index of forbidden books. From 1901 onward he taught the history of the Christian religion at the Ecole des Hautes Etudes Pratiques. Loisy's polemics with the Church attracted considerable attention in Europe, especially after he was excommunicated in 1908. From 1909 to 1932 he was professor of Church history at the Collège de France.

Loisy is considered the leading exponent of biblical "modernism" and of the critical approach in the study of the New Testament and the problems of the Christian faith. He denied the supernatural inspiration of the Bible and based his research on a critical study of the sources and philological analysis. After World War I he became active in a new field of religious meditation, which paved the way for a progressive and humanistic sociology of religion. The majority of his works were banned by the papal orders of 1932 and 1938. Loisy founded and directed the bimonthly *Revue de l'enseignement biblique* until 1894, and from 1896 to 1922 edited the *Revue d'histoire et de littérature religieuse*. The most important of his works are *Histoire du Canon de l'Ancien Testament* (1890); *Les Evangiles synoptiques* (2 vols., 1907–08); *Les origines du Nouveau Testament* (1936; *The Origins of the New Testament*, 1950); and *Les mystères païens et le mystère chrétien* (1919, 1930^2).

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[Zevi Baras]

LOLLI, EUDE (1826–1904), Italian rabbi and university professor. Lolli was born in Gorizia. He was the son of Samuel Vita Lolli, and thus first cousin of Samuel David *Luzzatto (Shadal). He was educated at the lyceum of Gorizia. From 1845 to 1846 he attended the Rabbinical College of Padua, graduating in 1854. In 1865, upon the death of his cousin and mentor, Samuel David Luzzatto, he was appointed professor at the Rabbinical College of Padua, thus taking the chair of Shadal. Eude held the appointment until the institution was finally closed in 1871. In the last six years of its existence Lolli and Lelio Della Torre were the only teachers there. In 1869 he was elected chief rabbi of Padua, and in 1877 he became lecturer in, and in 1886 professor of, Hebrew and Chaldaic at the University of Padua. Lolli wrote the *Dizionario del Linguaggio Ebraico-Rabbinico* (Padua, 1869); *Prelezione ad un Corso di Lingua Ebraica e Caldaica* (1877); and *Corso di Grammatica della Lingua Ebraica* (1878). He also contributed a large section to S.D. Luzzatto's *La Sacra Bibbia Volgarizzata* (1872). Lolli was a supporter of Zionism, both cultural and political. However he stressed in his writings that Zionism was a solution only for those Jews who lived in countries where they were persecuted, and not for Jews living in Western Europe, such as Italy's Jewry.

DAVID LOLLI (1825–1884), brother of Eude, was an Italian physician and patriot. He was born in Gorizia; he studied medicine at Padua and Vienna. At the outbreak of the Italian war for liberation against Hapsburg Austria in 1848, he abandoned his studies and hastened to join the University of Padua's Artillery Battalion. Lolli took part in the unsuccessful attempt to hold Vicenza, and then joined the garrison guarding Venice against the Austrian army. When cholera broke out in the besieged city, Lolli was also stricken. On his recovery he returned to his native city, Gorizia, but subsequently established himself as a physician at Trieste. He continued to agitate for the independence of Italy and, consequently, often incurred great danger. Thus in 1859 he joined the Sardinian army that was fighting against the Austrians as an army doctor, although he was an Austrian subject.

Lolli wrote much on various medical subjects such as psychology and magnetism as well as on patriotic themes. He published the monographs *Sul Magnetismo Animale, Pubblicato Nell' Occasione di Conseguire la Laurea* (Padua, 1850); *Sulla Migliare, Due Parole di Occasione* (Trieste, 1857); *Sii Forte e Sarai Libero (Seneca): Sii Libero e Sarai Forte* (Milan, 1860, published anonymously for political reasons); *I Numi* (Milan, 1866), a symbolic story, published under the pseudonym "Aldo Apocalissio"; *Sul Cholera* (Trieste, 1866); and *L'Amore dal Lato Fisiologico, Filosofico, e Sociale* (Milan, 1883).

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[Samuele Rocca (2nd ed.)]

LOM, HERBERT (1917–), actor. Born in Prague, Lom was trained in London and made his first British picture in 1940, *Mein Kampf – My Crimes*. He became known for his earthy characterizations and made his first West End appearance in 1951 in *The Seventh Veil*. His most notable success was as the king in *The King and I* (1953). Lom had a long career as a Hollywood supporting actor, in such films as *War and Peace* (1956), *Spartacus* (1960), *El Cid* (1961), *The Lady Vanishes* (1979), *Ten Little Indians* (1989), and *The Pope Must Die* (1991). Probably his most famous role was as the long-suffering Superintendent Dreyfus in the *Pink Panther* films. He also starred in successful television series.

[Jonathan Licht]

LOMBARDY, region of N. *Italy; the political and physical borders, in which *Mantua also would be included, have not always coincided. References to Jews in Lombardy (*Milan) date to the fourth century; subsequently there is only slight evidence down to the very end of the 12th century, when Jews are found engaged in moneylending. In 1225 the Jews were expelled from *Pavia and *Cremona; in 1278 they began to be harassed by the conversionist sermons of the *Dominicans. Before the end of the 13th century, Jews of German origin arrived in Lombardy and engaged in moneylending, mainly settling in Cremona as the Jews were expelled from Milan in 1320. In the 14th century and during the first decades of the 15th, small communities were constituted in *Pavia, *Vicenza, and *Como. In general, however, the Jewish population in the region remained small. Although Jews were accorded favorable treatment by the Visconti and Sforza dukes of Milan, the populace in general remained hostile.

The Cremona community remained important in the 16th century; its talmudic academy and printing establishment were famous. Further groups of Jews were by now settled in *Alessandria and *Lodi. In 1452, Pope Nicholas V authorized Duke Francesco Sforza to maintain their existing privileges on condition that the restrictive ecclesiastical regulations were strictly enforced. However, the Jews were compelled to maintain loan banks in every town in Lombardy, even where they incurred losses, and to pay the government an exceptionally heavy annual tax. Even after the duchy of Milan passed under Spanish rule in 1535, the Jews there continued to have their residential permit renewed about every ten years, although they were not permitted to reside permanently in Milan itself. In 1565, Philip II of Spain decided to expel the Jews from the duchy. After lengthy negotiations in Madrid, permission was given for them to remain until 1597, when the 900 Jewish residents had to leave. Two families were allowed to remain in each of the three towns of Cremona, Lodi, and Alessandria. In the course of time, the Jews disappeared from the first two, but in Alessandria the Jewish population had increased to 230 by 1684. After Lombardy passed to Austria in 1713 a few Jews again settled in the region. Their number increased after 1800, and reached 500 by the middle of the 19th century, mainly concentrated in Milan.

After the incorporation of Lombardy in the Kingdom of Italy in 1859–61, and the commercial and industrial transformation of the region which followed, there was a considerable increase in the Jewish population. Former members of now disintegrating small Italian communities, as well as industrialists from Germany and Austria, settled in Lombardy. In the middle of the present century, there was Jewish immigration from Germany and after 1947 from Libya, Egypt, and Iraq. The Jewish population numbered 3,500 in 1901 (almost all living in Milan), and 11,000 in 1938, reduced during the Holocaust. Milan maintained a population of 6,500 into the 21st century.

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[Attilio Milano]

LOMBROSO, CESARE (1835–1909), Italian physician and criminologist. Born in Verona, Lombroso studied at Pavia, Padua, and Vienna. Lombroso took degrees in medicine and surgery in 1858. After his military service as a surgeon in the Italian army, he worked as a doctor at Pavia, Pesaro, and Regio Emilia. Lombroso then taught legal medicine and public hygiene at the Turin University. He was appointed professor of psychiatry in 1896, and in 1906, professor of criminal anthropology.

While at the University of Vienna he studied psychology and psychiatry, as well as the anatomy and physiology of the brain. For 30 years he advocated his revolutionary theories of criminology.

Lombroso begun his studies during his four years of army service. He made systematic measurements of physical differences among soldiers from various regions of Italy, including soldiers from the newly annexed territories of Southern Italy (formerly the Kingdom of Naples), and of differences between well-disciplined and aggressive or criminal soldiers.

Lombroso's theories were much influenced by French positivism and by Darwinian evolutionary theories. In his research on criminality Lombroso concluded that certain innate physical characteristics are connected with social behavior. His conception of the "born criminal" resulted from his observations, physical measurement, and comparisons of mentally ill and sane people, and of criminals and law-abiding citizens. All men, including the "born criminal," are born with certain faculties, both mental and physical, which decisively influence their behavior. Lombroso published his theory, asserting that the "true criminal" was atavistic, in his controversial *L'Uomo delinquente* ("The Criminal Man," 1876). It was in 1876 that Lombroso became professor of legal medicine and public hygiene at Turin University, which appointed him professor of psychiatry in 1896, and ten years later created a chair in criminal anthropology for him.

While Lombroso gradually came to admit the existence of acquired criminogenic factors, pathological or environmental, he continued to claim that the true criminal was a subspecies of man of an atavistic origin. In his later period he gave more attention to environmental factors as causes of crime, and developed an inclusive typology of the various forms of crime which recognized that a great deal of criminality is not organic or endogenous but a product of diverse exogenous and environmental factors. In the field of penology Lombroso supported such reformist ideas as the compensation of the victims of crime from the prison work of the malefactor. Despite his views on inherited delinquency he was against capital punishment, favoring the rehabilitation of the criminal by a "symbiosis" with his society, whereby the latter would make constructive use of the evildoer and his work potential.

Although the idea of the "born criminal" is no longer accepted, Lombroso remains an important figure in the history of the behavioral sciences. Scholars honor him as a pioneer, and even his critics credit him with shifting the emphasis in criminology from the crime itself to the criminal and his origins.

Lombroso's studies also covered other fields. Thus he wrote "The Man of Genius/The Gifted Man," published in 1888. In this work of scholarship Lombroso considered another type of deviant, the "genius."

A friend of Max *Nordau he had an interest in Zionism and espoused this doctrine in 1900. In 1894, he published a monograph on antisemitism in which he analyzed the manifestations of atavism in antisemites and their folly. Lombroso thus stressed the anthropological degeneration of the antisemite, as in the criminal.

Lombroso published a considerable number of books and articles of which only a few have been translated. His only important book translated into English is *Crime, Its Causes and Conditions* (1911).

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[Zvi Hermon and Ellen Friedman / Samuele Rocca (2nd ed.)]

LOMZA (Pol. **Łomża**; Rus. **Lomzha**; Yid. **Lomzhe**), Bialystok district. In 1556 the Jews were compelled to leave after the privilege *de non tolerandis Judaeis* was granted to the town, giving it the right to exclude Jews. They did not return there until after the Congress of Vienna (1815). Once their presence was authorized, the number of Jews increased, to 737 in 1826, 2,574 in 1852, 9,244 (54.8% of the total population) in 1897, and 11,088 in 1915 (including 1,500 refugees from the surrounding towns). Their numbers later declined to 9,131 (70.8%) in 1929, and 8,912 (56.7%) in 1931. During the 19th century they were integrated in the life of the country and took an active part in the Polish uprising of 1863. They played a major role in the economic life of Lomza, owned factories, and were the leading wholesalers in the grain and timber trades. Between the two world wars, Jews played an important part in the municipal administration. In the municipal elections of 1919, and again in 1926, they won half the seats. After this, however, as a result of the Polish policy of restricting Jewish influence in the town, the number of seats allocated to the Jews was limited. In 1921 there were 498 Jewish workshops in Lomza, 295 of them with salaried employees. During this period the Jews engaged in various crafts, but they were ousted from these by the antisemitic measures introduced by the Polish government. As a result of the economic crisis and the anti-Jewish *boycott imposed by the antisemitic trade unions and parties, the Jews were greatly impoverished, and many left Lomza. The community administration, which maintained social and educational institutions, was unstable after World War I. Following the elections to the community administration in 1939, inter-party dissensions brought its activities to a complete standstill, and the government subsequently appointed an official commissioner to take charge of its affairs.

Educational institutions, such as the *talmudei torah* and the *ḥadarim*, had already been established in Lomza during the 19th century. In independent Poland, pressure was exerted on the Jews to send their children to the Polish government schools. A Jewish-Polish secondary school had already been established in 1916. The Great Yeshivah, founded in 1883 by R. Eliezer Szuliawicz, was transferred to Ereẓ Israel (Petaḥ Tikvah) in 1926, where it became known as Yeshivat Lomza. Jewish parties active in Lomza included *Agudat Israel, the *Bund, and the Zionist organizations. These published regular and occasional periodicals, including the *Lomzher Shtime, Lomzher Veker*, and *Lomzher Lebn* in Yiddish and others in Polish. The Great Bet Ha-Midrash was erected during the early 1840s and the Great Synagogue in 1880. The last rabbis of Lomza were Aaron Bakst and Moses Shatzkes.

[Shimshon Leib Kirshenboim]

Holocaust Period

On the outbreak of World War II there were about 11,000 Jews in Lomza. In September 1939 the Red Army entered the city. With the outbreak of the German-Soviet war, the Germans occupied the town on June 24, 1941, and established a ghetto on Aug. 12, 1941. On September 17 a large-scale *Aktion* took place and 3,000 Jews were killed. On Nov. 2, 1942, the deportations to *Zambrow camp began, and between Jan. 14 and Jan. 18, 1943 the inmates of Zambrow camp were deported to *Auschwitz. Thousands of Jews were brought out of the city and killed in the woods of Galczyn near Lomza. After the war, the Jewish community of Lomza was not reconstituted. Organizations of former residents of Lomza are active in Israel, France, Australia, and the United States.

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LONDON, capital of *England and seat of what has always been the largest Jewish community in the country.

Medieval Period

There is no reliable evidence for the presence of Jews in London until after the close of the Saxon period. After the Norman Conquest of 1066, a few Jews, attracted by the economic opportunities that now offered themselves, came over from the adjacent areas of the continent (in the first instance presumably from the duchy of Normandy, including *Rouen) and established themselves in London. The earliest recorded mention of the London community dates from the reign of William Rufus (1087–1100), who appears to have favored the Jews to some extent. In his reign, a religious *disputation took place at Westminster between the abbot and a Jew from Mainz who did business with the abbey. A Jewish quarter (*vicus Judaeorum*) is first mentioned in the *Terrier* of St. Paul's (c. 1128). In 1130 the Jews of London were accused of killing a sick man – possibly some sort of *blood libel – and were forced to pay the then enormous fine of £2,000. Intellectual life in the period was sufficiently flourishing to attract a visit from Abraham *Ibn Ezra, who wrote his *Iggeret ha-Shabbat* and his *Yesod Mora* in London in 1158. Until 1177 the relative importance of the community was so great that its cemetery served the whole of Anglo-Jewry.

During the reign of Henry II (1154–89), the community flourished and was augmented by fresh arrivals from abroad. The anti-Jewish riots which broke out at the coronation of Richard I (Sept. 3, 1189) began at Westminster and soon spread to London, where the Jewish quarter was set afire and 30 persons died – including the tosafist R. *Jacob of Orleans. The community soon recovered, however, and in 1194 contributed approximately one quarter to the levy raised by the Jews of the country toward the king's ransom. The reorganization which was then undertaken by the Ordinance of the Jewry confirmed London as the administrative center for the communities of the country. The first *archpresbyter of the Jews of England under the new system was Jacob of London. Anti-Jewish feeling again manifested itself in London during the reign of John (1199–1216) who rebuked the mayor on that account. The baronial opposition, both in his reign and in that of his son Henry III (1216–72), considered the Jews, not without justification, to be royal financial instruments and maltreated them accordingly. There was a baronial attack on London Jewry in 1215.

During the period of maladministration under Henry III, the Jews of London, with those of the rest of the country, were oppressed and mulcted of enormous sums. The climax came in 1244 when it was alleged that some gashes found on the body of a dead child constituted Hebrew characters and the Jews were accused of ritual murder. This resulted in a savage punitive levy on the Jews of the realm to the amount of 60,000 marks. On the outbreak of the Barons' War (1263–65), they suffered greatly at the hands of the insurgents under Simon de Montfort. During Easter week 1263, as the result of a trivial dispute between a Jew and a citizen concerning interest on a debt, the Jewry was sacked and several of its inhabitants killed. Later, on hearing a report that the Jews had manufactured Greek fire for the royal troops, Simon de Montfort returned to London and put the Jewry systematically to the sword. In 1266, another attack was made by the so-called "disinherited knights" on the remnants of the community, who sought refuge in the Tower of London.

The Jews of London profited from the period of pacification which followed the war. Edward I's *Statutum de Judaismo* of 1275, however, which prohibited Jewish moneylending, inevitably drove some into dishonest ways of making a living. In 1278 a number of London Jews were included in the 680 from all over the country who were imprisoned in the Tower of London on the charge of clipping the coinage. Nearly 300 are said to have been hanged (though this figure has been doubted). In the meantime, theological odium against the London Jews had been increasing. In 1232 Henry III confiscated their principal synagogue on the pretext that the chanting could be heard in a neighboring church. In the same year he founded the London *Domus Conversorum to encourage conversions. A further ritual murder accusation was followed by a civic order restricting the Jews henceforth to houses in the Jewry (1281). In 1283 the bishop of London ordered all the synagogues in his diocese to be closed, only one being subsequently reopened. Finally, in 1290, the Jews were expelled from England and the London community ceased to exist.

The number of Jews in London in the Middle Ages probably did not exceed 500, though contemporary Jewish writers speak of 2,000 households. The original Jewish quarter, which contained a number of strong stone houses, was situated in and near what is still known as the Old Jewry. In the 12th century, the Jews began to give up their houses here and to move a little distance westward, where the Church of St. Laurence Jewry commemorates their residence. The cemetery was in what is now known as Jewin Street and the surrounding area. Prominent medieval London scholars included Joseph b. Jacob, known as "Rubi Gotsce" (fl. 1130–60), the host of Abraham Ibn Ezra and the outstanding English Jew of his day, *Jacob b. Judah, of London (late 13th century), author of *Eẓ Ḥayyim*, R. Moses of London (d. 1268), grammarian and halakhist, and his son the illustrious *Elijah Menahem of London (d. 1284), who also enjoyed considerable repute as a physician.

Middle Period

The Domus Conversorum, established by Henry III in 1232, housed nearly 100 converts at the period of the expulsion, and never remained entirely empty in subsequent years. There was a constant, though slender, stream to London of poor foreign Jews who qualified for emoluments by the formal adoption of Christianity. In addition, a few isolated Jews visited London without being baptized: for example, the physicians Elias b. Sabbetai (Sabot) of Bologna, who came in 1410 with ten followers to attend Henry IV, and Master Samson de Mirabeau who attended the wife of Richard Whittington, mayor of London, in 1409. After the expulsions from Spain and Portugal, a few Marrano refugees settled in London. At the close of the reign of Henry VIII, the crypto-Jewish community comprised some 37 householders, and religious services were held in the house of one Alves Lopes to whom newly arrived fugitives would come for assistance and advice. In 1542, the group was disturbed in consequence of disclosures made during proceedings against Marrano fugitives on the continent. It was largely dispersed as a result of the Catholic reaction in the reign of Mary. Under Elizabeth, however, it attained again significant proportions. One of its leading members was Roderigo *Lopez, the queen's physician. When an envoy of Alvaro Mendes (Solomon *Abenaes), duke of Mytilene, was in London on an official mission in 1592, services were held at his house. Toward the end of the century, the importance of the secret community diminished, and in 1609 the Portuguese merchants living in London, who were suspected of Judaizing, were again expelled.

Resettlement Period

Nevertheless, when in 1632 the Marrano community of Rouen was temporarily broken up, some fugitives, the most important being Antonio Fernandez *Carvajal, found a home in London. Other Marrano settlers went directly from Spain and Portugal. Thus, when *Manasseh Ben Israel went to England in 1655, there was already established a secret community numbering several families. Though the Whitehall Conference convened by Oliver *Cromwell in December 1655 proved abortive, they were emboldened to begin organizing their religious life on a more formal basis. A petition was presented to Cromwell asking for protection (March 1656). A house was rented and adapted for use as a synagogue in the following December. A few months later, a piece of ground was acquired for use as a cemetery. After Cromwell's death various attempts were made to procure the suppression of the community. Charles II, however, intervened in its favor, and it henceforth enjoyed de facto recognition. The original synagogue, in Creechurch Lane, was enlarged and remodeled in 1674, and in 1701 a new place of worship in Bevis Marks – still one of the architectural monuments of the city – was erected.

As its spiritual leaders, the newly established community appointed a succession of foreign scholars. They were Jacob *Sasportas (1664–65), who fled because of the great plague of London, in which several members of his flock perished, Joshua da *Silva (1670–79), Jacob *Abendana (1681–85), Solomon *Aylion (1689–1701), and David *Nieto (1701–28). The congregation was continually reinforced by fresh Marrano refugees from Spain and Portugal. After the accession of William of Orange (1689), there was a considerable influx of Spanish and Portuguese Jews from Holland. The majority of the communal magnates at this time were brokers, importers, and wholesale merchants, with a sprinkling of physicians. In the course of the reorganization of the Royal Exchange in 1697, it was arranged to admit 12 Jews – the so-called "Jew brokers" who remained a feature of the City of London until the beginning of the 19th century. In order to secure the favor of the lord mayor, a purse containing 50 guineas was presented to him each year on a valuable piece of plate by the elders of the congregation.

Meanwhile, the original Sephardi settlers had been followed by Ashkenazim who arrived for the most part via Amsterdam or Hamburg. They organized their own congregation around 1690, and in 1696 a burial ground for their use was purchased by the wealthy Benjamin *Levy. The first rabbi of the congregation, Judah Loeb b. Ephraim Anschel ha-Kohen, subsequently of Rotterdam, left as a result of internal dissensions. His place was taken, first by R. Aaron b.

Moses the Scribe, of Dublin, and then by R. Uri Phoebus b. Naphtali Hirsch, known as Aaron *Hart. The latter's brother, Moses Hart, was the maecenas of the community. In 1722 he reconstructed the synagogue in Duke's Place. Further enlargement and reconstruction took place in 1766 and in 1790. In 1706 a secession had taken place in the Ashkenazi community, headed by Mordecai b. Moses of Hamburg, called Marcus Moses (a son-in-law of Glueckel von Hameln). This led to the organization of a rival body, which constructed its own synagogue (known as the Hambro' Synagogue) in 1726. The historic synagogal organization of the metropolis was completed in 1761, when another rival body, still called the New Synagogue, came into existence.

The primacy of the parent body (by now known as the Great Synagogue) was, however, generally recognized – not only by the other Ashkenazi communities in London, but also by those which had by now sprung up elsewhere in the country. R. Aaron Hart was followed in the rabbinate by R. Hirschell *Levin, known in England as Hart Lyon (1758–64), R. David Tevele *Schiff (1765–91), R. Moses Myers (who also officiated at the New Synagogue (1792–1802)), and R. Solomon *Hirschell, son of Hart Lyon (1802–42), who was the first formally recognized chief rabbi of the Ashkenazi communities of the whole of England. The Ashkenazim were by now the most numerous and influential element in the London Jewish population. The lower classes, however, mainly peddlers and dealers in old clothes, who were mostly recently arrived immigrants, were not greatly esteemed. P. Colquhoun, in his *Treatise on the Police of the Metropolis* (1800), asserted that they were responsible for a disproportionate amount of petty crime.

The 19th century was a period of expansion and reorganization. The first synagogue outside the City (later the Western Synagogue) had been organized in Westminster around 1761. The Borough Synagogue, on the south side of the river, owed its origin to a *minyan* begun about the middle of the 18th century. The board for *sheḥitah*, in which Sephardim and Ashkenazim cooperated, was organized through the advocacy of Baron Lyon de Symons in 1792–1804.

As early as 1760, the Sephardi community admitted representatives of the Ashkenazim to their committee of *deputados*, which was appointed from time to time to represent the community vis-à-vis the government. This ultimately developed into the *Board of Deputies of British Jews, on which, until 1838, only the London communities were represented. The old *talmud torah* of the Ashkenazi community, established in 1732 and placed on a broader basis in 1788, was reorganized in 1817 as the Jews' Free School, originally intended to meet the menace presented by the schools which were now being set up for Jewish children by Christian conversionists; this developed in due course into one of the largest schools in Europe. The struggle for Jewish *emancipation in England centered in London. In 1831 Jews were admitted to the freedom of the city, and hence to the privilege of carrying on retail trade, from which they had hitherto been barred. In 1835, David *Salomons was elected a sheriff of the city, the first Jew to attain that distinction. In 1847 he was the first Jewish alderman, and in 1855 the first Jewish lord mayor of London. From 1830 the City of London had shown sympathy with Parliamentary emancipation of the Jews, and its persistence in electing Baron Lionel de *Rothschild, notwithstanding the fact that he could not take his seat because of the form of the statutory oath, was in a large measure responsible for the admission of the Jews to Parliament in 1858.

The growing Anglicization of London Jewry hastened the reorganization of the community. A Reform congregation was established, nearer the fashionable centers of population in 1840. To meet this challenge, both the Sephardi and the Ashkenazi congregations established branch synagogues in the West End. Nathan Marcus *Adler, appointed in 1844, initiated a new period in the history of the Chief Rabbinate. Under his auspices, a modern theological seminary, *Jews' College, was founded in 1855, and a model charitable organization, the Board of Guardians for the Relief of the Jewish Poor, was established in 1859. In 1870 a union of the principal Ashkenazi congregations of the metropolis was formed under the title, the "*United Synagogue." Newer congregations in other parts of the metropolis later attached themselves to this organization, which is now perhaps the largest and the best organized of its kind in the world.

With the mass emigration from Russia which started after 1881, there was a great influx especially to London, and the population rose in the course of the next quarter of a century from some 47,000 to approximately 150,000, of whom about 100,000 lived in the East End. Thus, alongside the more or less "native" community, a new, essentially foreign, community grew up. A majority of the newcomers was absorbed by the tailoring, shoemaking, and cabinetmaking industries. Fresh charities were created to meet their requirements. A Yiddish press and an active trade union movement came into being. Numerous minor synagogues, with their related institutions, were created. In 1887 Sir Samuel Montagu (later Lord Swaythling) created the Federation of Synagogues to coordinate their religious activities. The strike of 10,000 Jewish tailors in London in 1889, lasting for six weeks, attracted great attention and ended the period of the unmitigated exploitation of the Jewish immigrants. The Royal Commission on Alien Immigration, as well as the various inquiries into slum life, dealt to a large extent with the conditions of the new Jewish life which had sprung up in the East End of London, and was arousing some antagonisms. The Aliens Act of 1905 stemmed the tide of immigration, though it continued in modified form until the outbreak of World War I in 1914. The Jew of the East End, as he became more well-to-do, tended to move away to the newer suburbs, particularly in the northeast (Stamford Hill) and northwest (Golders Green), where important congregations sprang up. The progress of the Reform movement, indeed, was comparatively slow, though the radical Liberal Jewish Synagogue, which grew out of the Jewish Religious Union (1902), was established in 1910.

The period between the two wars witnessed a considerable economic and geographical expansion of London Jewry, as it attained a greater degree of well-being, extended its interests, and hastened the movement from the traditional center of the East End into the northern suburbs. At the same time, there was some degree of organizational consolidation. The United Synagogue, in particular, extended its activities. A communal center for the major London Jewish institutions and a Jewish museum were established at Woburn House in the Bloomsbury area. The beginning of the persecutions in Germany in 1933 brought about a considerable influx of refugees who did a good deal to stimulate certain aspects of London Jewish life and to consolidate the organization of the extreme Orthodox wing.

Antisemitic movements were active during the 1930s, notably Sir Oswald Mosley's British Union of Fascists. The "Blackshirt" march through London's East End in October 1936 provoked massive disorders which led to the Public Order Act banning the political use of uniforms. The Mosleyites' march left a deep impression on the consciousness of London Jewry.

[Cecil Roth]

Postwar Period

DEMOGRAPHY. Between the two world wars, London Jewry experienced its first substantial population shift from the East End, a trend heightened during World War II, when, due to long periods of enemy bombing and extensive damage to the inner districts of London, Jews (together with the rest of the population) moved in large numbers to less vulnerable areas further from the center. With a rise in the standard of living in Britain, considerable urban renewal and suburban development took place.

During the 1950s and 1960s, Jews, who by this time had generally risen rapidly on the socioeconomic scale, settled in ever-increasing numbers in suburban areas, particularly in the north and northwest of London. It has been estimated that the East End, which at the beginning of the 20th century contained about 125,000 Jews and in 1929 still had some 85,000 Jews, was left with no more than 30,000 Jews within a few years after World War II. The northwest London area alone was said to have contained some 85,000 Jews by 1950. The vast majority of Jews always lived to the north of the Thames, and by the end of the 1960s they were spread along and below a suburban arc stretching from Wembley, Harrow, Stanmore, and Edgware in the west through Finchley and Palmers Green in the north to Ilford in the east. Below this arc were heavy concentrations of Jews in what may be termed "gilded ghettos," such as Golders Green, or semi-decaying "zones of transition," such as Stamford Hill, where newer non-Jewish immigrants settled in the 1960s in increasing numbers. The total Jewish population of Greater London in 1970 was estimated at 280,000. (For figures for the mid-1990s, see below.)

The pattern of settlement and the movement of London Jewry were of particular importance for their effect on Jewish identification. Evidence suggests that throughout the 20th century, the directions of the major shifts were strongly influenced by developments in transport facilities vis-à-vis the place of work, that is the industrial and commercial areas in the city. The fanning out of the transport system and the improvement in highways, however, made incursions into the traditional pattern of settlement symbolized by the Jewish district. Whereas some of the new suburbs were still thickly inhabited by Jews – Edgware with 10,000 Jews representing 40% of the local population was a case in point – in 1970 there were larger numbers of Jews living in a more scattered fashion away from Jewish districts and throughout the Home Counties in and around Greater London. Not only was the lack of proximity to Jewish centers and the negative effects of living in predominantly non-Jewish areas bound to affect the identification of such Jews, but the problem also arose of how to cater to this more fluid and spread-out Jewish population from the organizational point of view.

ORGANIZATIONS. Most observers of Anglo-Jewish life highlighted the fact that the community was over-organized, a situation that led to duplication, inefficiency, and waste. The organizational aspect of communal life came to the fore even more starkly in the case of London Jewry, first because it contained the headquarters of many organizations catering to Anglo-Jewry as a whole (e.g., Board of Deputies of British Jews, Anglo-Jewish Association, Association of Jewish Ex-Service Men, National Union of Hebrew Teachers, Jewish Initiation Society, Central British Fund for Jewish Relief, and so on), and secondly because the problems of organizational efficiency were greater in a large community, particularly one which had become more scattered. The latter point may best be illustrated by the fields of religious and educational organization. The closing of some synagogues in the older areas of London in the late 1960s, such as the branches of the United Synagogue in Dalston and Bayswater, was more than compensated by the construction of new synagogues in the many areas where Jews settled in the postwar period and more recent years. A proliferation of synagogues was further brought about by the fact that all the main synagogal bodies representing the various streams had their own building programs. Thus, most of the 200 synagogues in London belonged to the five major synagogal organizations. A somewhat similar situation obtained for day schools, which were in the hands of the London Board of Jewish Religious Education, the Zionist Federation, the Jewish Secondary Schools Movement, Yesodei Hatorah Schools, and the Lubavitch Foundation, plus a number of independent schools.

By contrast, there was greater efficiency and centralization in London in the sphere of welfare work. The London Jewish Welfare Board, which operated 19 homes for the aged and a host of other services for the needy, was the largest Jewish welfare institution in the country. London also had numerous societies concerned with the amelioration of physical and mental handicaps, e.g., the Jewish Blind Society, the

Jewish Deaf Association, schools for the mentally retarded and handicapped children, and Jewish hospitals. The various charitable institutions, friendly societies, and professional associations added further to the well-being of London Jews. The younger generation of the community was well provided for by the large number of youth clubs and societies, including some famous ones such as the Jewish Lads' Brigade (founded in 1895), the Brady Club (1896), and the Bernhard Baron Settlement (1914). The renewal and improvement of premises in the form of Jewish youth centers, however, progressed slowly. The large number of Jewish students in London, for instance, was provided by B'nai B'rith with a new and much enlarged Hillel House only in 1970. Finally, London Jewry had a whole array of Zionist organizations and a large number of bodies supporting Israel institutions (in 1970 there were 65 such organizations in London, most with branches in provincial communities).

CULTURE AND RELIGIOUS LIFE. The leading part played by London Jewry in English Jewish life was particularly apparent in the cultural sphere. The largest number of publications on Jewish themes – newspapers, magazines, journals, or books – emanated from London, which also had ten libraries and museums with Jewish collections open to the public. The permanent residence of the chief rabbi engaged by the United Synagogue, the largest synagogal body in the country with a membership of 40,000 and 80 synagogues, further added to London's leading position. These factors generally had the effect of centralizing the administration of communal affairs. Thus, the Chief Rabbinate and its *bet din* tended to administer the religious life of large sections of provincial Jewry through other *battei din* and rabbis. The two leading bodies dealing with religious education, the London Board of Jewish Education and the Central Council for Jewish Religious Education dealing with the provinces, both operated from London. The pattern was similar in the political and philanthropic spheres. However, after World War II, and particularly in the 1960s, there was a growing trend toward decentralization. For example, the second largest synagogal body, the Federation of Synagogues, with 17,000 members in some 50 branches, as well as the smaller religious groups, i.e., the Union of Orthodox Hebrew Congregations, the Reform and Liberal movements, and the Sephardim, set up independent *battei din*. Growing decentralization was also manifest in other fields, including Jewish education, despite efforts, mainly from the center, to maintain some overall organizational unity in the Jewish community of Britain.

London's position appeared even less formidable when a number of other important facts were taken into account. Although strict Orthodoxy made important strides there, particularly through the growing strength of the ḥasidic groups in the Stamford Hill area, the largest and most successful yeshivah was in the small provincial community of Gateshead in the northeast corner of England. As for Jewish day schools, Manchester undoubtedly took the leading position. However, when London Jewry was set in the proper perspective in relation to the rest of Britain's Jewish community, it became clear that it was a very strong force not only in that community but in world Jewry.

[Ernest Krausz]

Later Developments

Since the readmission of 1656 London has been the home of the largest Jewish community in Britain. In keeping with general demographic trends, the size and spread of London Jewry has changed since the 1970s. In terms of displacement London Jewry now constitutes "selected communities" as opposed to being a single entity. Greater London has expanded to include parts of Hertfordshire, Surrey, and Essex. Jewish migration within the capital has followed that expansion, in many instances crossing the green belt. There are now burgeoning communities in Radlett, Kingston, and Buckhurst Hill, districts which only 50 years ago had little or no Jewish presence. Within this area the largest concentration is located in the northwest London borough of Barnet. The second largest community is congregated to the east of London, in the borough of Redbridge. The Jewish community of Redbridge has access to London's only non-synagogue-based Jewish center.

Since 1970 London Jewry has expanded geographically but decreased numerically. The downward trend has been consistent since 1975, at which time the Jewish population numbered 221,000; by 1988 that figure had been reduced to 210,000, and by 2002 to 195,000. Overall the Jewish population of Britain fell from an all-time high of 420,000 in 1950 to 300,000 in 2002. The decline is attributable to a combination of factors: an excess of deaths over births, general social erosion as a result of increasing intermarriage, social and geographic movements away from community, and emigration.

During the 1990s London saw a continuation of the trend away from Jewish traditional central Orthodox synagogue membership toward both Progressive Judaism on the left and Ultra-Orthodox on the right. Mainstream Orthodoxy also lost members to the Masorti movement which was established in 1985 by Rabbi Louis Jacobs. There were six Masorti synagogues within the Greater London area.

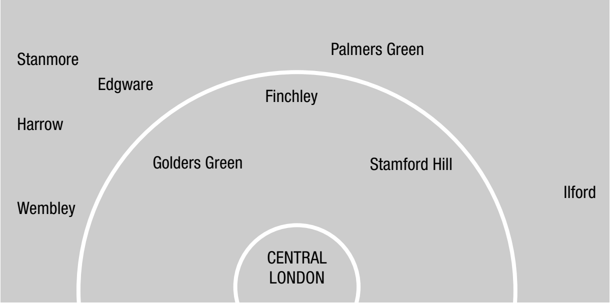

Map of London showing shift of Jewish population according to establishment of Hebrew congregations.

The London Jewish community is still served by a broad range of welfare organizations though recently there has been a movement toward rationalization following the amalgamation of the Jewish Blind Society and the Jewish Welfare Board, plus a number of other small societies, into Jewish Care. This organization provides daily for over 5,000 needy individuals and their families. Plans are also in the pipeline to merge the capital's two major Jewish child care institutions, Norwood and Ravenswood. London's expanding elderly community is provided for by a number of residential homes which offer both independent and full-care facilities. One of the largest is Nightingale House (Home for Aged Jews) in southwest London, which accommodates over 400 residents.

[Anne J. Kershen]

Hebrew Printing

Some Hebrew printing on wood blocks appeared in works printed in London from 1524, when a few isolated words and phrases figured in R. *Wakefield's *Oratio de utilitate… trium linguarum*. Movable Hebrew type was apparently first used in 1563 in W. Musculus' *Common Places of Christian Religion*, and consecutive Hebrew printing (a 14-line "sonnet") appeared in 1588 in a single-sheet broadside of poems in various languages by Theodore Beza celebrating the defeat of the Spanish Armada. In the 17th century a few books mainly or partly in Hebrew were published by Christian Hebraists, such as a Hebrew text of Psalms (1643), a vocalized text of *Avot* (1651), and Bryan *Walton's Polyglot Bible (1653–57). Communal controversies in the early 18th century produced the first Hebrew publications printed for (though not by) Jews, particularly the dispute that raged around haham David *Nieto's disputed Orthodoxy (1705) and a dispute concerning a divorce two years later (Aaron Hart's crudely produced *Urim ve-Tummim*, 1707). In 1714 – 15, some works by Moses Hagiz and Joseph *Ergas aimed against the Shabbateans appeared in London, presumably because of the unfavorable atmosphere in Amsterdam; and in the same year Nieto's classical *Matteh Dan* was brought out by Thomas Ilive's printing house in three editions – in Spanish alone, Spanish and Hebrew, and Hebrew alone. Thereafter there was a long hiatus in London Hebrew printing, though Ephraim *Luzzatto's poems *Elleh Benei ha-Ne'urim* appeared there in 1766 with a reprint in 1768. In 1770, printing by and for Jews at last began, possibly in consequence of the removal of some trade restriction. A consortium of Jewish printers from Amsterdam (who, however, failed after a few years) set up a printing house which produced ambitious editions of the Jewish liturgy (3 vols., 1770; other eds., 1771, 1785) and many other works. Simultaneously, A. *Alexander began his printing activity which was continued by his son Levi (mainly liturgical works) well into the 19th century. Other printers, Jewish and non-Jewish, appeared in the following years. In 1820 J. Wertheimer set up his Hebrew press, which was active for over a century, subsequently under the name of Williams, Lea, and Company. With the increase in the London Jewish population, especially after the emigration from Eastern Europe from the 1880s onward, Jewish printers and printing in London proliferated, though learned works were mainly produced at the presses of the universities of Oxford and Cambridge.

[Cecil Roth]

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LONDON, ARTUR (1915–1986), Czechoslovak statesman and Communist leader. He was born in Ostrava. In 1937 he went to Spain and joined the Communists within the International Brigade fighting in the Spanish Civil War. After the defeat of the Republican cause, London lived in France. Following the fall of France in 1940, he was arrested by the Nazis and deported to Buchenwald. London returned to France in 1945 where he represented the Czechoslovak information board. He was a prominent figure in the Czech Communist Party and following the Communist coup d'état of 1948 he was recalled to Prague to become a member of the central committee of the Communist Party. In the same year he became deputy minister of foreign affairs and as director of the ministry was responsible for the appointment of the diplomatic service. In 1951 London was arrested and charged with being a Zionist and a Trotskyite. He was one of the accused at the *Slansky Trial and in 1952 was sentenced to life imprisonment. He was released in 1955, however, and was later rehabilitated, becoming a member of the editorial staff of the monthly *Mezinárodní Politika*. In 1963 he left Czechoslovakia to join his family in France and in 1969 published his book *L'Aveu – Dans l'engrenage du procès de Prague* (ed. Gallimard), an account of the Slansky Trial, which was made into a film in 1970.

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[Erich Kulka]

LONDON, FRITZ (1900–1954), German theoretical physicist. London was born in Breslau, and was at the University of Berlin until driven out by the Nazis. In 1927, together with

Walter Heitler of Zurich, he wrote a basic paper for physicists and chemists, on the homopolar chemical bond, interpreting valency in terms of electronic spin. This was followed by studies of activation energy, the tetravalency of carbon, and van der Waals forces. From 1933 to 1936 he worked in a laboratory in Oxford mainly on superconductivity at temperatures near absolute zero, and from then until 1939 he was director of research at the College de France in Paris. From 1939 he was professor at Duke University (Durham, North Carolina), first of theoretical chemistry, and finally of physical chemistry.

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[Samuel Aaron Miller]

LONDON (Burnstein, Burnsun), GEORGE (1920–1985), bass-baritone singer. Born in Montreal, London studied in Los Angeles where his first professional appearance, as Dr. Grenvil in *La Traviata,* was at the Hollywood Bowl (1941). Forced to support himself by performing light music and appearing in operetta, he began an international career with his debut at the Vienna State Opera in 1949. Thereafter he became world-renowned for his performances in operas by Wagner (at many Bayreuth seasons between 1951 and 1964) but his repertoire included also Don Giovanni, Gounod's Méphistophélès, the multiple villains in *Les contes d'Hoffmann*, the Dutchman, Scarpia, Mandryka (which he recorded impressively under *Solti), and the title role in Menotti's *Le dernier sauvage*. He was the first non-Russian to sing the title role in *Boris Godunov* at the Bolshoi, Moscow, in 1960; and he was awarded the title of *Kammersaenger* by the Austrian government in 1954. In later years (from 1968) he concentrated on opera house administration, and was appointed artistic administrator of the John F. Kennedy Center, Washington (1968), and general director of the Los Angeles Music Center Opera Association (1971). In his prime, London had few equals as a Wagnerian *Heldenbariton* of power and majesty.

ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY: Grove online; T. Page: Obituary, *The New York Times* (March 26, 1985).

[Max Loppert / Israela Stein (2nd ed.)]

LONDON, JACOB BEN MOSES JUDAH (first half of 18th century), rabbi and scholar. Born in Wesel, Germany, Jacob was taken to London as a child, when his father was appointed cantor there. There are those, however, who maintain he was born in London. When his father died, Jacob settled in Frankfurt, where he attended the yeshivah of Samuel Schotten. After the fire in the Frankfurt Jewish quarter in 1711, London moved to Leszno, Poland, where he became cantor and director of the Jewish school. For several years he lived in Prague, holding the post of inspector of the Talmud Torah schools, but he returned to Leszno in 1728. For the next six years he was engaged in writing an allegorical work, *Hista'arut Melekh ha-Negev im Melekh ha-Ẓafon* (Amsterdam, 1737), describing the struggle between the evil and the good inclination. He later traveled to Italy, where he published *Meginnei Shelomo* (Venice, 1741) by *Joshua Heschel b. Joseph of Cracow and *Shivah Einayim* (Leghorn, 1745), which consisted of halakhic writings by *Naḥmanides, Isaac *Alfasi, Isaac *Aboab, Judah de Leon, Isaac *Ibn Ghayyat, and Abraham Bulat. While on a journey to Piedmont, London was suspected of espionage on account of the Hebrew manuscripts that he had in his possession. In his introduction to *Meginnei Shelomo*, London mentions that he wrote a halakhic work entitled *Pegi'at Ya'akov*, which is no longer extant. He also wrote *Eẓ Ḥayyim*, a two-part work on moral precepts that was never published.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Steinschneider, Cat Bod, 1230; Ghirondi-Neppi, 124; Landshuth, Ammudei, 108; Fuenn, Keneset, 553; Zunz, Lit Poesie, 450; Carmoly, in: *Revue Orientale*, 2 (1842), 334; L. Lewin, *Geschichte der Juden in Lissa* (1904), 289 ff.

[Samuel Abba Horodezky]

LONDON, MEYER (1871–1926), U.S. lawyer and Socialist leader. London was born in Gora Kalvaria, Poland, and followed his father to New York City in 1891. He was immediately drawn into radical politics, in large measure because of his father's involvement with anarchist and Socialist groups. Initially an adherent of the Socialist Labor Party, he joined the opposition to its leader, Daniel *De Leon, in 1897, and ultimately became a member of the Socialist Party of America.

London had a significant influence on the needle trades unions of New York City in their formative period prior to World War I. Admitted to the bar in 1898, he served as legal counsel for a multitude of unions and union members. London was intensely pragmatic in labor matters, and despite his Socialist ideology, he helped to formulate the Protocol of 1910, which attempted to establish collective bargaining and arbitration in the women's cloak trade. London resisted the argument of some Socialists that such agreements substituted mutuality of interest for class struggle. He favored unemployment insurance, the abolition of child labor, and other social-reform legislation designed to improve the conditions of life and labor for the worker.

In 1914, after repeated attempts at elective office, London won election to the House of Representatives as a Socialist from a largely immigrant Jewish district on the Lower East Side in New York City; he was reelected in 1916 and 1920. Although he was a moderate Socialist, he endured the full brunt of bitter anti-Socialist attacks.

As a congressman he was active and argued strongly for reform. He voted against restrictive immigration and the Fordney tariff and actively supported nationalization of the coal industry. One bill of his became law: an act protecting the employees of bankrupt firms.

Although he strongly opposed American entrance into World War I and fought efforts to curb the civil liberties of opponents of the war, London refused to resist all wartime activities without qualification. This position alienated him from many of his friends and associates in American radicalism. He also had little sympathy for Zionism, believing that the emancipation of the Jew had to be accomplished not through nationalism but by uplifting the working class. London died as the result of a car accident.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: H. Rogoff, *East Side Epic: Life and Work of Meyer London* (1930); A. Gorenstein, in: AJHSP, 50 (1961), 202–38; M. Epstein, *Profiles of Eleven* (1965), index.

[Irwin Yellowitz]

LONDON, SOLOMON ZALMAN BEN MOSES RAPHAEL (1661–1748), author, translator, and bookseller. London was born in Nowogrudok (Lithuania). Between 1709 and 1735 he published and sold books in Amsterdam, London, and Frankfurt on the Main. He is best known for *Kohelet Shelomo* (1722), a devotional handbook which included occasional and domestic prayers and benedictions together with ritual laws and instructions both in Hebrew and Yiddish. It became popular in Western Europe and was reprinted many times, including later editions in which the Yiddish was replaced by German (cf. the Ger. ed. of 1919 (?) and that by A. Sulzbach, 1908). *Kohelet Shelomo* also contains a Passover *Haggadah* with Leone de Modena's commentary *Ẓeli Esh*. This *Haggadah* also appeared separately (1733) and was reprinted several times. *Ḥinnukh Katan*, a small Hebrew-Yiddish vocabulary, was added to some of the editions. London's *Zokher ha-Berit* (1714), which followed the same lines, detailed the ceremonies and laws of circumcision and redemption of the firstborn, with Yiddish translation. He also published a *siddur*, according to the German-Polish rite, under the title *Tikkun Shelomo* (1712, 1733^2 often reprinted), with Yiddish text added; it included the *Tikkunei Shabbat* of Isaac Luria. London prepared a number of ethical and halakhic compendia by various authors, providing a Yiddish translation. These included such works as *Orḥot Ẓaddikim* (author unknown, 1735); Jonah Gerondi's (13th century) *Iggeret ha-Teshuvah* (1742); and Isaac b. Eliezer's (15th century) *Sefer ha-Gan* (1747).

LONG BEACH, U.S. city in California, located south of Los Angeles along the Pacific Coast (on the Los Angeles and Orange County border). The first Jewish family came to Long Beach in 1898 and since then the community has grown and prospered, reaching a population of 18,000 in 2001.

In 1898 Samuel Heller visited the city, liked its potential, and stayed to engage in real estate development. When the city introduced a municipal produce market in 1913, a number of Jewish produce men moved to Long Beach to operate stalls. By 1915 the population included 25 Jewish families. The first permanent Jewish organization was established after World War I with the chartering of B'nai B'rith Lodge 870 with 33 members. In 1922 the Community Building Association was established. It was dissolved in 1923 and reconstituted as a Reform congregation, Temple Israel, with Julius Liebert as its first full-time rabbi. In 1924 Temple Sinai (Conservative) was established with Lazar Friedland as its rabbi. Rabbis of Temple Israel included Harvey Franklin (1930), Elliot Grafman (1938), and Wolli Kaelter (1955). Temple Sinai had Jacob Friedman (1929), Shalom Ravetch (1935), and Sidney Guthman (1959). Jewish Welfare Fund campaigns began in 1929. In 1945 a Jewish Federation was established. A Jewish community center was organized in 1948; its first center building was dedicated in 1960. In 1952, with 6,300 Jews in the rapidly growing city, a second Conservative congregation was formed with Maurice Schwartz as rabbi, followed in 1962 by Rabbi Joseph Miller.

In 1960, when the first Jewish Community Center was dedicated, Long Beach was a quiet, conservative, small city and Orange County was a vast, fragrant orange grove. Today, Long Beach/West Orange County is an exciting 21st-century city with a World Trade Center, prominent hotels, and a revitalized downtown with a fine Cultural Arts Center and a convention center. International jazz concerts and local arts festivals have replaced the annual Iowa picnic and the Pike amusement park (Long Beach was once dubbed "Iowa by the sea"). Once rural, West Orange County now contains impressive suburban neighborhoods and pre-eminent commercial centers. At the edge of the Pacific Rim, Long Beach/West Orange County has become an exciting place to live and the changes have also affected the Jewish community. Increasing numbers of professionals and corporate executives with their families are moving there. At both ends of the age continuum the population is growing. Recognizing the need to meet the growing needs of the Jewish community, a campaign to build a new Jewish Community Campus was launched in the 1990s and on March 20, 1999, the Federation's Harry and Jeanette Weinberg Jewish Community Campus was dedicated. The over 80,000-square-foot Campus is home to the Barbara and Ray Alpert Jewish Community Center, Jewish Federation of Greater Long Beach & West Orange County, Jewish Family and Children's Service, Jewish Federation Foundation, and Hillel. The Hebrew Academy, also served by the Jewish Federation, is located in the Westminster/Huntington Beach area.

The Campus contains a beautiful Early Childhood Education Wing, gym, pool, state of the art health and fitness center, library, cafe, dance studio, auditorium, gift shop, art gallery, and meeting and office space that is available to the entire community.

The estimated Jewish population is approximately 20–25 thousand persons. They reside in the Greater Long Beach area (out of a total population of approximately 500,000), which includes the neighboring communities of Rossmor, Los Alamitos, Seal Beach, and Lakewood.

Jewish communal life in the Greater Long Beach area is thriving and consists of congregations of all denominations. Current congregations include P'nai Or (Renewal); Temple Israel, Temple Beth David, and Temple Ner Tamid (Reform); Temple Beth Shalom, Temple Beth Zion-Sinai, and Congregation Sholom of Leisure World (Conservative); Congregation Lubavitch, Chabad of Cypress, Ahavas Yisrael, and Shul by the Shore (Orthodox); and Adat Chaverim (Traditional). The synagogues and agencies have formed a Kehillah Leadership Council, under the auspices of Federation, and meet every other month to discuss common issues and work together to build a vibrant, cohesive Jewish community.

[Sharon Kenigsberg (2nd ed.)]

LONGO, SAADIAH (first half of 16th century), poet. Born in Turkey, Saadiah lived in Salonika, where he was a member of the Ḥakhmei ha-Shir ("scholars of poetry"), a group of poets supported by Gedaliah ibn Yaḥya, a wealthy Salonikan. In addition to his *Shivrei Luḥot* (Salonika, 1594), consisting of poems of elegy and lament, he composed poems of friendship and jest in the spirit of his age. He also wrote poems of "beliefs," a type of poem which commences in a serious vein and then goes on to deal with the self-evident; they are banal and lack originality. Poems of this kind were composed in a spirit of rivalry by the poets of the group, who disagreed on the method of composition and the use of poetic conventions. The poets sharply criticized each other's work, and their criticism sometimes degenerated into personal attack. Longo's disputant in these poems was Jacob Tarfon, a local contemporary.

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[Abraham Meir Habermann]

LONS-LE-SAUNIER, capital of the department of Jura, in *Franche-Comté, E. France. A *vicus Judeorum* ("Jewish quarter") is mentioned in Lons in 1220; the establishment of the community therefore preceded this date. The Rue des Juifs (later the Rue de la Comédie and Rue de la Balerne) is mentioned down to the 14th century. The Jews of Lons owned a cemetery, but there is no record of a synagogue. During the 14th century, Jews from Lons are found in numerous other localities of Franche-Comté. During World War II, a large number of Jews from Alsace and Lorraine who took refuge in Lons established a community numbering approximately 1,300 members. Lons also became the seat of a regional rabbinate. There was no organized community in Lons by the 1960s.

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[Bernhard Blumenkranz]

LONZANO, ABRAHAM BEN RAPHAEL DE (late 17th–early 18th century), kabbalist and Hebrew grammarian. It seems that he was a descendant of the renowned kabbalist Menahem de *Lonzano. Abraham became well known through his *Kinyan Avraham* (Zolkiew, 1723) on Hebrew grammar, from which it appears that he came from Zakinthos (Zante), one of the Greek isles. Following the attacks of the local inhabitants against the Jews, many troubles befell him and he began to wander from country to country. He studied at the yeshivah Eẓ Ḥayyim in Amsterdam. At a later date, he appears to have been in Prague where he was persecuted by the scholars of the yeshivah because he criticized them sharply for studying Torah without a knowledge of the Hebrew language. He wrote a declaration against Neḥemiah Ḥiyya *Ḥayon in Genoa in 1715 (published in *Sefunot*; see bibliography). He was in Lemberg in about 1723. In one of his poems, which appeared in his book, he angrily attacked those who regard themselves as poets without having any knowledge of even the form and arrangement of a poem. He also wrote *Ḥamishah Kinyanim* (unpublished), a commentary to the *Sefer Yeẓirah*. He subsequently converted to Christianity in the Prussian town of Idstein and adopted the name Wilhelm Heinrich Neumann.

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[Abraham David]

LONZANO, MENAHEM BEN JUDAH DE (1550–before 1624), linguist, poet, and kabbalist. Little is known about his life, but it is assumed that he was born in Constantinople. At the age of 25 he immigrated to *Jerusalem and later moved to *Safed. Forty years later, he went to *Turkey and to *Italy, and in 1618 he returned to Jerusalem.

Lonzano was best known for *Shetei Yadot* (Venice, 1618), which is divided into two sections (*Yad Ani* and *Yad ha-Melekh*). The first contains his original writings and the second the midrashic literature which he intended to edit. Each section is called *yad* ("hand") and has five *eẓba'ot* ("fingers"). *Yad Ani* includes the following: (1) *Or Torah* (also separately, Amsterdam, 1659), notes on the masorah ("text") of the Torah according to the weekly portions, comparing the printed Venice editions with important manuscripts which he knew. Because his work relates only to the Torah, it became second in importance to *Minḥat Shai*, by his contemporary Solomon *Norzi, which treats the entire Scripture. Despite this fact Lonzano's work was reprinted in many editions with additions and interpretations. (2) *Ma'arikh* (also separately, Leipzig, 1853), additions to the talmudic dictionary *He-Arukh* by *Nathan b. Jehiel of Rome. The work is based on his knowledge of Greek and Arabic and other languages (Turkish and Persian) used by his Jewish contemporaries. (3) *Avodat haMikdash* (also separately, Constantinople, 1572), prayers for the order of worship in the Temple, with additions according to "the wisdom of the Zohar." (4) *Derekh Ḥayyim* (also separately, Constantinople, 1573), moralistic poetry. (5) *Tovah Tokhaḥat*, a long moralistic poem. From *Yad ha-Melekh*, he only managed to publish the first section, *Aggedata de-Bereshit*, which was reprinted many times. He intended to conclude the publication of *Midrash Agur*, which had begun to appear in Safed in 1587, and also planned to publish other important Midrashim according to manuscripts which he himself discovered, but this material has been lost.

Lonzano's other works treat Lurianic Kabbalah and aroused bitter opposition: (1) *Omer Man*, a commentary on the *Idra Zuta* and the *Sifra de-Ẓeni'uta* (Vilna, 1883); (2) *Imrei Emet*, a critique of Luria's interpretation of *Sifra de-Ẓeni'uta* and repudiations of Ḥayyim *Vital. According to Lonzano, Luria wrote his commentary before he received divine inspiration and "if he could, he would have changed or hidden this work" (Ms. British Museum 9167). Other works planned by Lonzano were hidden and only parts of them were preserved in manuscripts or published posthumously. They include (1) a commentary on the Zohar (fragment, in manuscript); (2) comments on *Tikkunei Zohar* (Ms.); (3) *Haggahot le-Zohar Ḥadash* (Venice, 1643); (4) *Haggahot le-Talmud Yerushalmi* (Warsaw, 1737); (5) *Adi Zahav*, annotations on the book *Ha-Levushim* by Mordecai Jaffe; (6) comments on the prayer book (lost). Lonzano's originality caused him to suffer from the attacks of his opponents. In this matter his dispute with Gedaliah *Cordovero is of interest, but its background is still not clear. He was a thorough scholar. In search of manuscripts he made several trips abroad where he met with many scholars. As a poet, Lonzano was involved in a quarrel with Israel *Najara whom he criticized because of his use of erotic language and words such as "adulterers say to one another" (*Shetei Yadot*, 142) to describe the relationship between Israel and God.

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[David Samuel Loewinger]

LOOKSTEIN, HASKEL (1932–), U.S. rabbi, educator, and activist. Lookstein served in rabbinical capacities at Congregation Kehilath Jeshurun in New York City immediately following his ordination from Yeshiva University in 1958. He served initially as an assistant under his father Rabbi Joseph H. *Lookstein. He was the third member of his family to lead this congregation, following his maternal great-grandfather Rabbi Moses S. *Margolies (the Ramaz) and his father. Commonly referred to as KJ, Congregation Kehilath Jeshurun grew under his leadership to a membership of over one thousand families.

In 1966, Lookstein also succeeded his father as the principal of Ramaz School, an Orthodox Jewish day school. Following the tradition established by his father and fostered by his own *rebbe*, Rabbi Joseph B. Solevitchik, Lookstein maintained Ramaz School as a leader in Jewish education, with a co-educational curriculum in which class offerings for over 1,100 young girls and boys were totally equal. In addition, under his leadership the Ramaz School sustained a student body that achieved the highest level of general education, combined and infused with both the education and the enthusiasm of a vibrant religious Zionist commitment. All of this Lookstein fostered while insisting that the students synthesize their studies and academic achievements with an unflinching commitment to *menschlichkeit*.

Lookstein was one of the most vigorous supporters and leaders of religious Zionism in America. He worked to encourage travel to Israel, Jewish education in Israel, *aliyah,* investment, and support for the Government of Israel – regardless of what the political leadership might be at any particular time.

Lookstein was one of the leading, early voices fighting and speaking out on behalf of the plight of Soviet Jewry. He traveled frequently to meet with Soviet *refuseniks* and encouraged his congregants and students to do so as well. He marched, demonstrated, was arrested, and spoke out on behalf of Russian Jews. By example and through persuasion, in this initiative as well as on behalf of Operation Moses, UJA, and Israel Bonds, Lookstein moved his community and the school to take a prominent role financially on behalf of the needs of the Jewish people.

Lookstein was a leading voice in the American Orthodox community to maintaining relations with all the other Jewish denominations. He was president of the Synagogue Council of America; served as vice president of the Beth Din of America and as a member of the board of directors of the JDC Board; and was a head of the national UJA Rabbinic Cabinet.

Lookstein graduated from Ramaz School, received his B.A. from Columbia College in 1953, his rabbinic ordination from Yeshiva University in 1958, and his Ph.D. in Modern Jewish History from Yeshiva in 1979. Lookstein was named the Joseph H. Lookstein Professor of Homiletics at Yeshiva University. His dissertation, "Were We Our Brothers' Keepers? The Public Response of American Jews to the Holocaust 1938–1944," appeared in 1985, and he published extensively in the U.S. and throughout the world.

[Gilbert N. Kahn (2nd ed.)]

LOOKSTEIN, JOSEPH HYMAN (1902–1979), U.S. rabbi and educator. Lookstein was born in Russia and immigrated to the United States as a child. In 1923 he became assistant rabbi to Rabbi Moses S. *Margolies (known as the "Ramaz") at Congregation Kehilath Jeshurun in New York City. In 1926 he married the Ramaz's granddaughter, and in 1936 he became the congregation's rabbi upon the passing of Rabbi Margolies. Lookstein would transform the pulpit into one of the most exciting and powerful voices in the entire American rabbinate.

Lookstein was ordained at the Rabbi Isaac Elchanan Theological Seminary in 1926. In 1929 he helped found the Hebrew Teachers Training School for girls and served as its principal for ten years; in 1937 Lookstein founded the Ramaz School on the Upper East Side of New York and in the heart of the state's German-American community in Yorkville. The school became part of a two-pronged force to challenge and to change Modern Orthodoxy. It was dedicated to educating young American children to be committed and knowledgeable Jews, while at the same time sustaining the finest in Western democratic values. Integrating a deep and abiding sense of Zionist spirit and identification with Palestine and then the State of Israel, Rabbi Lookstein presided as principal of Ramaz for over 30 years. The school has continued to be the premiere "modern" Orthodox Jewish day school in the world.

In 1958, Lookstein became acting president and chancellor of Israel's Bar-Ilan University. Lookstein had previously taught at Yeshiva University, where he had been a professor of sociology, homiletics, and practical rabbinics since 1931. While maintaining his fierce allegiance to Orthodoxy, Lookstein also maintained deep and sincere relationships with all the religious denominations and their leaders. Throughout his career, he translated this commitment into service and leadership on interdenominational committees and organizations. He kept the Ramaz School firmly in the Orthodox camp, but equally fiercely as a modern Orthodox institution where boys and girls studied together and had well-rounded activities, including mixed dancing.

He was chairman of the Jewish Welfare Board's Chaplaincy Commission (1954–57), president of the Rabbinical Council of America (1941–43), the New York Board of Rabbis, the Synagogue Council of America (1976), and the UJA Rabbinical Advisory Council (1978). Despite growing up as an Agudist, Lookstein was guided by Rabbi Margolies into actively supporting the Mizrachi movement. He served as Chairman of the Palestine Commission of the American Jewish Conference and as a consultant to the U.S. delegation to the 1945 San Francisco Conference. His philosophy of the integration of Judaism with the best of Western culture was expressed in the schools he founded and in his articles and books, which include *Judaism in Theory and Practice* (1931), *Sources of Courage* (1943), and *Faith and Destiny of Man* (1967). Lookstein served as rabbi with his son and successor, Rabbi Haskel *Lookstein, thus keeping the leadership of his flagship congregation within one family for more than a century.

[Louis Bernstein / Gilbert N. Kahn (2nd ed.)]

LOPES, English family whose assimilated descendants attained distinction in English life. MANASSEH LOPES (early 18th century), a prominent broker, made a fortune by speculation on false reports of Queen Anne's death. MANASSEH MASSEH (Massey) LOPES (1755–1831) was born in Jamaica, the son of the West Indian merchant MORDECHAI RODRIGUES LOPES (d. 1796). He converted to Christianity in 1802, becoming a member of parliament in that year, and was created a baronet in 1805. He was heavily fined and imprisoned in 1819 for corruption in a parliamentary election but was nevertheless later returned for Westbury. He resigned in 1829 in favor of Sir Robert Peel. Subsequently, he was recorder of Westbury. Lopes was among the earliest Jewish estate owners in England, spending over £100,000 on lands in Mairstow, Devon, and Plymouth. SIR RALPH LOPES (formerly Raphael Ralph Franco; 1788–1854), a descendant on the male side of the Leghorn *Franco family, succeeded his uncle, Manasseh Masseh Lopes, in the baronetcy. SIR LOPES MASSEY LOPES (1818–1908), eldest son of Ralph Lopes, was a civil lord of the Admiralty from 1874 to 1880 in Disraeli's government. Sir HENRY CHARLES LOPES (Baron Ludlow; 1828–1899), third son of Ralph Lopes, was a lord justice of the Court of Appeal 1885–1897. The head of the family held the title of Baron Roborough from 1938.

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[Cecil Roth]

LOPEZ, AARON (1731–1782), American merchant-shipper. Born in Portugal, Lopez went in 1752 to Newport, Rhode Island, where, renouncing his Marrano past, he remarried his wife Abigail in a Jewish ceremony, underwent circumcision, and in time became a leader of the Yeshuat Israel Congregation. Lopez' ties to the well-established *Gomez and Rivera families and the British America's economic boom during the French and Indian War assured him the credit he needed to expand his business beyond Rhode Island. Jacob Rodriguez *Rivera, whose daughter Sarah he married in 1763 after Abigail's death, often acted as his partner. Though a specialist in the whale oil and spermaceti candle industries, Lopez' business included livestock, groceries, lumber, rum, ships, and clothing. He was also among the few American Jews active in the slave trade. The credit he secured during the 1760s and 1770s from his English suppliers enabled Lopez to build an extensive transatlantic mercantile empire. Lopez had trading connections with the Caribbean, Western Europe, and West Africa and on the eve of the American Revolution, was Newport's leading merchant and her largest taxpayer. Lopez supported the rebel cause and withdrew from British-threatened Newport to Leicester in central Massachusetts. This diminished his business and he did not survive to recoup his losses. The Newporters, to whose prosperity he had contributed so signally before the Revolution, mourned him, wrote Stiles, with a "demonstration of universal sorrow."

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[Stanley F. Chyet]

LOPEZ, ROBERT SABATINO (1910–1986), U.S. medieval historian, son of Sabatino *Lopez. Born in Genoa, Italy, Lopez began his teaching career at the teachers' colleges of Cagliari, Pavia, and Genoa, and at the University of Genoa. As the Fascist regime in Italy became more oppressive, Lopez migrated to the U.S. in 1939 and continued his studies. He was appointed professor at Yale University in 1955 and chairman of Medieval Studies (1963). Lopez was a prolific author and is particularly well known for several highly significant books and articles on various aspects of the economic history of the Middle Ages.

Among his books are *Studi sull'economia genovese nel medioevo* (1936), *Storia delle colonie genovesi* (1938), *Medieval Trade in the Mediterranean World* (with I.W. Raymond, 1955), *La prima crisi della banca di Genova* (1956), *The Birth of Europe* (1967), *The Three Ages of the Italian Renaissance* (1970), *Civilizations, Western and World* (1975), *The Commercial Revolution of the Middle Ages, 950–1350* (1976), *The Medieval City* (with D. Herlihy, 1978), and *Byzantium and the World around It* (1978). He served on various Jewish committees concerned with Zionism and Israel.

[Howard L. Adelson / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

LOPEZ, RODERIGO (1525–1594), Portuguese Marrano physician. After graduating at Salamanca, he settled in London early in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. He became a member of the College of Physicians and was the first house physician at St. Bartholomew's Hospital. Subsequently, he was appointed physician to the earl of Leicester and in 1586 to Queen Elizabeth. He was connected by marriage with Alvaro Mendes (Solomon *Abenaes), duke of Mytilene, the adviser of the Turkish sultan. Lopez worked closely with the earl of Essex, the Queen's favorite, and participated in an intrigue to secure English intervention on behalf of Dom *Antonio, pretender to the throne of Portugal. Later, he broke with Dom Antonio and began to work for an understanding with Spain. The Spanish court secretly negotiated with him and offered a heavy bribe if he would murder the pretender. Early in 1594 he was arrested and accused of plotting to poison Elizabeth, was found guilty, and executed at Tyburn (June 7, 1594). There is little doubt that he was innocent, though his aims and methods were not above suspicion. The case attracted much attention, and it is generally believed that Lopez was the prototype of Shylock in *Shakespeare's *Merchant of Venice*.

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[Cecil Roth]

LOPEZ, SABATINO (1867–1951), Italian playwright, critic and novelist. Born in Leghorn, Lopez spent some years as a teacher before devoting himself to the theater and dramatic criticism. A playwright of Italy's realistic school, he wrote about 70 plays, including such successful comedies as *La buona figliola* (1909), *La nostra pelle* (1912), *Il brutto e le belle* (pub. 1913), *Parodi & C.* (1925), and *La Signora Rosa* (1928). Faithful to Italian theatrical tradition, Lopez was essentially an actor's writer, and his plays are full of scintillating dialogue. In the earlier ones, where the emphasis is on drama, he relied on French realistic fiction and Italian *verismo*; his mature works incline to satire and ironic, though superficial, criticism of late 19th-century bourgeois morals, the irony and comedy skillfully balanced by humane sentimentality. Lopez also wrote some plays in collaboration with other writers, a book of memoirs, *S'io rinascessi* (1950), and stories of stage life, *Le Loro Maest* (1920). Between 1911 and 1919 he directed the Italian writers' guild. Lopez took an active part in Jewish communal life and was for many years the chairman of the Zionist Organization in Milan. The historian Robert Sabatino *Lopez was his son. Another son was GUIDO LOPEZ (1924–), journalist and author. He was editor of the literary section of the weekly *Epoca* and wrote the novels *Il Campo* (1948) and *La prova del nove* (1953) and a popular guidebook to Milan, *Milano in mano* (1965). He also published several documents relating to his father's literary activity.

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[Giorgio Romano]

LOPEZ ROSA, Marrano family, members of which suffered at the hands of the Inquisition; possibly to be identified with the family of the same name who had a printing establishment in Lisbon in the middle of the 17th century. The following are noteworthy: MOSES (DUARTE) LOPEZ ROSA (second half of 17th century), a native of Beja, Portugal, Marrano physician and poet. In maturity he immigrated, first to Rome and then to Amsterdam, where he openly embraced Judaism. He became "arbiter" of the Academia de los Floridos, founded by the Baron de *Belmonte in 1685. A facile poet, he composed complimentary verses in honor of the English and Portuguese sovereigns and other prominent personalities. He is not to be confused with another DUARTE LOPEZ ROSA of Beja, likewise a physician, reconciled by the Inquisition in 1723. SIMON LOPEZ ROSA (alias Abraham Farrar, "the elder," first half of the 17th century), a Marrano physician, was an early warden of the Beth Jacob community in Amsterdam. In common with some of his contemporaries, he was critical of the authority of the rabbis; and it was in consequence of a dispute in the congregation, occasioned by an episode in which he figured, that the Beth Israel synagogue was established. Appeal was made to R. Joel *Sirkes of Brest-Litovsk, who recommended that he should be excommunicated; a similar case, in which his cousin Dr. David Farrar was implicated, led to an appeal to the rabbinate of Salonika and to Leone *Modena in Venice. Lopez Rosa was among the Marranos judaizing in Amsterdam who were denounced to the Lisbon Inquisition in 1617.

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[Cecil Roth]

LOPIAN, ELIJAH (1876–1970), rabbi, educator, and exponent of *musar*. Born near Grajewo, Poland, Lopian studied at Lomza and at Kelme, where he came under the influence of Simḥah Zissel *Broida. Broida's doctrine of *musar*, which emphasized the need for constant soul-searching and moral scrutiny, left a deep impression on Lopian. In Kelme he founded a yeshivah which he headed until he received an invitation in 1926 to teach at the Etz Chaim Yeshivah in London. He served there both as *mashgi'aḥ* (moral tutor) and, for a short time, as principal, until his retirement in 1950. During his years in England, he was instrumental in training many English rabbis. Lopian immigrated to Israel at the age of 74, but even then spent the last 20 years of his life as *mashgi'aḥ* of the Keneset Ḥizkiyyahu Yeshivah at Kefar Ḥasidim. Although he never published any works, Lopian was renowned both as an orator of considerable power, and the greatest exponent of the old *musar* school. Of his nine sons three were heads of yeshivot: ḤAYYIM SHEM'UEL LOPIAN (1909–) at Sunderland, author of *Ravḥa de-Shemateta*; LIEB LOPIAN (1910–1979) at Gateshead; ELIEZER LOPIAN (1911–) at Torat Emet Yeshivah, London; as were two of his sons-in-law: Leib Gurwicz (1906–) at Gateshead, and Kalman Pinski at the Kamenitz yeshivah in Jerusalem.

[Alan Unterman]

LOPOLIANSKY, URI (1951–), first **ḥaredi* mayor of Jerusalem. Lopoliansky was born in Haifa. He served in the IDF as a medic, worked as a teacher, and studied public administration. In 1976 he established Yad Sarah – a nonprofit association that lends medical equipment to the disabled and ailing – and serves as its chairman. The association operates with 6,000 volunteers in 96 branches throughout Israel. For this project he won many prizes and awards, including the Israel Prize.

Lopoliansky was first elected as a member of the Jerusalem Municipal Council in 1989. He was deputy mayor of Jerusalem in 1993–2003 under Ehud *Olmert, and head of the Planning and Construction Department in the municipality. As deputy mayor he supported Olmert's policy of expanding the boundaries of the city eastwards, in order to maintain the demographic balance in favor of the Jewish population. After Olmert was reelected to the Knesset in January 2003 Lopoliansky became acting mayor, until the new municipal elections that were held in June. In this period he canceled the traditional reception held annually on Independence Day in front of the Tower of David Museum, which used to be attended by diplomats, Arab mukhtars, clergy, IDF officers, and citizens, though he attended other Independence Day celebrations. After being elected mayor of Jerusalem, beating the secular independent candidate Nir Barkat thanks to numerous secular votes that he received, he established a *ḥaredi*-right-wing coalition, even though he tried to bring Shinui and Meretz into his coalition but failed. He objected to opening the Temple Mount to prayer for Jews for halakhic reasons and supported surrounding Jerusalem with a barrier that will separate the city from the surrounding Arab areas, for security reasons. At the same time he favored improving the services given to the Arab inhabitants of the city. Lopoliansky walked a tightrope on issues to which he had objections in principle, such as meetings with Reform leaders, or the holding of gay processions in the city (Lopoliansky condemned the event, but did not prevent it). At the same time he went out of his way to discourage violent *ḥaredi* protests.

Lopoliansky was also a member of the national Council for Planning and Construction, and a member of the National Center for the Development of Holy Sites.

[Susan Hattis Rolef (2nd ed.)]

LORBEERBAUM, JACOB BEN JACOB MOSES OF LISSA (c. 1760–1832), Polish rabbi and halakhist. His father, the rabbi of Zborow, died before Lorbeerbaum was born and his relative, Joseph *Te'omim, brought him up. After his marriage he settled in Stanislav and engaged in business, but devoted most of his time to study. He frequently attended the lectures of Meshullam *Igra. When after a few years his business failed, he accepted the rabbinate of Monasterzyska where he founded a yeshivah. He was later appointed rabbi of Kalisz where he wrote most of his books and with exceptional humility published anonymously his work on parts of Shulḥan Arukh, *Yoreh De'ah: Ḥavvat Da'at*, a name by which he himself became known in scholarly circles when his authorship came to light. This work was accepted in the rabbinic world as a compendium of practical *halakhah*, and won him the reputation of an outstanding *posek*. In 1809 he was invited to become rabbi of Lissa, long a center of Torah in Poland. Lorbeerbaum enlarged the yeshivah, to which hundreds of students streamed, among them many who later became great scholars and pioneers of the Ḥibbat Zion movement such as Elijah *Gutmacher, Ẓevi Hirsch *Kalischer, and Shraga Feivel *Danziger. Many of Jacob's contemporaries turned to him with their problems. During his time the war between the reformers and the rabbis flared up, and Lorbeerbaum, together with Akiva *Eger and Moses *Sofer, unleashed a vehement attack against the *maskilim* and the reformers. In Lissa, however, as in other towns of Great Poland that came under Prussian rule after the partition of Poland, the influence of the Berlin reformers grew continually stronger. The schism between Lorbeerbaum and a large section of the community eventually became so great that in 1822 he decided to leave Lissa and return to Kalisz. There he devoted his time to study, rejecting all offers of rabbinic posts from large and ancient communities such as Lublin. In 1830 he quarreled with a powerful member of the community who denounced him to the government, compelling him to leave Kalisz. On the way to Budapest, where he had been invited to become *av bet din*, he passed through the regional town of Stryj and was persuaded to remain there.

The following of his works have been published: *Ḥavvat Da'at* (Lemberg, 1799); *Ma'aseh Nissim* (Zolkiew, 1801), on the Passover *Haggadah; Mekor Ḥayyim* (*ibid.*, 1807), novellae and expositions of the laws of Passover in the Shulḥan Arukh together with the glosses of *David b. Samuel ha-Levi and Abraham Abele *Gombiner on the *Oraḥ Ḥayyim* and novellae to tractate *Keritot*; *Netivot ha-Mishpat* (*ibid.*, 1809–16), on *Ḥoshen Mishpat*; *Torat Gittin* (Frankfurt on the Oder, 1813), the laws of divorce and novellae on tractate *Gittin*; *Beit Ya'akov* (Hrubieszow, 1823), expositions on *Even ha-Ezer*; *Kehillat Ya'akov* (1831), on *Even ha-Ezer* and some sections of *Oraḥ Ḥayyim*; *Derekh ha-Ḥayyim*, an anthology of liturgical laws for the whole year, first published with the prayer book (1828) and then separately (1860 or 1870); *Naḥalat Ya'akov* (1849), expositions of the Pentateuch; *Emet le-Ya'akov* (1865), expositions of talmudic *aggadot*; *Imrei Yosher*, commentaries on the five *megillot*, each published at a different place and time; his ethical will (1875); and *Millei de-Aggadeta* (1904), sermons and responsa.

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[Ephraim Kupfer]

LORGE, IRVING (1905–1961), U.S. educator. Born in New York, Lorge joined the Institute of Educational Research, Teachers College, Columbia University, as a research assistant in 1927, working closely with Professor Edward L. Thorndike. In 1946 he became professor of education and executive officer of the Institute of Psychological Research. Lorge pioneered in research in mental measurement and the capacity for human learning. His major work was on the nature of giftedness, the formulation of indexes of readability and of word frequency, the assessment of intellectual functioning of elderly adults, and the measurement of intelligence in young children. Some of the leading American psychologists and educators of the mid-20th century received their research training under him. During World War II, Lorge was special consultant to the secretary of war, the chief of the Corps of Engineers, and the Army Specialized Training Division. From 1944 to 1948 he was expert consultant to the adjutant general's office. His research for the armed forces brought radical changes in the service methods of teaching illiterates. Lorge's many publications include *The Lorge-Thorndike Intelligence Tests* (1954); *A Semantic Count of English Words* (1938); and in collaboration with J. Tuckman, *Retirement and the Industrial Worker: Prospect and Reality* (1953).

[Abraham J. Tannenbaum]

LORIA, ACHILLE (1857–1932), Italian economist and sociologist. Loria, a native of Mantua, was a professor at the universities of Siena, Padua, and Turin. He considered man's relationship to the amount of available free land to be a vital factor in the history of mankind, holding that the relative scarcity of free land condemned men to subjugation and exploitation by land owners. His deterministic economic theory of history reflects the influence of many 19th-century schools of thought, including those of Karl *Marx and Herbert Spencer. He seems also to have been influenced by the Irish land-reform debate.

Loria's voluminous writings include *Analisi della proprietà capitalista* (1889), *Verso la giustizia sociale* (1914–20), and *Ricordi di uno studente settuagenario* (1927). He was regarded by his contemporaries as one of the foremost scholars of his time, and his appointment to the Italian Senate in 1919 was only one of the many honors conferred on him. His stress on the importance of free land in the history of the United States had considerable influence on such economic interpreters of U.S. history as Charles Beard and Frederic Jackson Turner.

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[Joachim O. Ronall]

LORJE, CHAIM (1821–1878), founder of the first society for the settlement of Ereẓ Israel (Kolonisations-Verein fuer Palaestina). Born in Frankfurt on the Oder, Lorje was an educator there and headed a children's boarding school. In 1864 he moved to Berlin where he lived until his death. He considered himself a descendant of the Safed kabbalist Isaac *Luria; he had a tendency toward mysticism throughout his life and this was probably the source of his initiative to establish the first society for the agricultural settlement of Ereẓ Israel in Frankfurt on the Oder (1860). Opposition from the old *yishuv* immediately arose against the scheme for they feared that Lorje's society would divert part of the *ḥalukkah* funds from abroad. On the other hand, the early harbingers of the Zionist idea, namely Z. *Kalischer, Y. *Alkalai, M. *Hess, David *Gordon, and others, joined Lorje. The society also published Kalischer's programmatic book *Derishat Ẓiyyon* (1862). At the close of the book is an appendix by Lorje on the society and its rules.

The center of the society was then moved to Berlin. At first it was successful and collected substantial funds; however, Lorje's egocentrism and aggressive tone toward his adversaries brought about the gradual weakening of the society until it ceased to exist in 1864. When other societies were established afterward, Lorje's group was honored as the direct and indirect inspiration for these societies and the Ḥibbat Zion movement in the West.

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[Getzel Kressel]

LORKI (i.e., of Lorca)**, JOSHUA** (d. c. 1419), physician and writer who converted to Christianity and became an implacable enemy of Judaism. His father was Joseph Abenvives (or Ibn Vives) of Lorca, near Murcia in Spain. In his youth Lorki apparently studied in Alcañiz under Solomon ha-Levi (*Pablo de Santa María), and was greatly influenced by his teacher's conversion. Deeply impressed by the letter sent by Pablo to R. Joseph *Orabuena concerning the fulfillment of the messianic prophecies through Jesus, Lorki wrote to Pablo disclosing his own doubts in the Jewish faith and analyzing the causes of Pablo's conversion. Lorki nevertheless remained in the fold of Judaism until 1412, when he became converted under the influence of the Dominican preacher Vicente *Ferrer. On baptism, Lorki assumed the name Hieronymus de Sancta

Fide (or Gerónimo de Santa Fé). Immediately after his conversion, Lorki conceived the idea of convening a disputation with the leading Jews of Alcañiz. He submitted his proposal to the antipope *Benedict XIII, whose personal physician he became. Benedict recommended that the disputation should be held at *Tortosa, and that the foremost Jews of Aragon should take part in it. During the disputation Lorki treated his former coreligionists with contempt and threatened them with punishment by the Inquisition. The Jews referred to him as "*Megaddef*" ("The Blasphemer"), a combination of the initials of Maestre Gerónimo de [Santa] Fé. After the disputation, Lorki traveled widely, trying everywhere to win Jews to Christianity.

Probably when still a Jew, Lorki wrote a book in Arabic on plants and herbs and their therapeutic qualities at the request of Don Benveniste de la *Cavallería. It was translated into Hebrew by Don Vidal Joseph, son of Benveniste (*Gerem ha-Ma'alot*, Vienna Ms. 154). After his conversion, Lorki wrote two polemics against Judaism: *Contra perfidiam Judaeorum*, in which he cites aggadic passages allegedly attesting to the coming of Jesus, and *De Judaeis erroribus ex Talmuth* (Augsburg, c. 1468; Zurich, 1552; later Hamburg, n.d.; both in *Bibliotheca Maxima Veterum Patrum*, vol. 3, Frankfurt, 1602), under the name *Hebraeomastix*. Both works were written around the time of the Tortosa Disputation in 1413–14 and were used during the debates. Many days were spent in Tortosa arguing about the advent of the messiah, which is the topic of the first work. The second work deals with the Talmud, the main source of the Jews' errors.

One of Lorki's sons, PEDRO DE SANTA FÉ, was a favorite of Queen María, the wife of Alfonso V of *Aragon. Another descendant, FRANCISCO DE SANTA FÉ, filled various important public offices. At the end of 1485 Francisco was accused of being implicated in the murder of Pedro de *Arbues, the inquisitor of Saragossa, and arrested. He committed suicide in the prison of the Inquisition. His body was burned and its ashes thrown into the Ebro River.

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[Haim Beinart]

LORM, HIERONYMUS (pseudonym of **Heinrich Landesmann**; 1821–1902), Austrian poet and novelist. The son of a prosperous Moravian merchant, Lorm was born in Nikolsburg and raised in Vienna. He studied music until he lost his hearing at the age of 15. Shortly afterward his sight began to fail and he eventually became totally blind. Throughout the 1840s, Lorm wrote liberal lyrics and articles, using various pseudonyms in order to avoid political persecution. Moving first to Leipzig and then to Berlin, he became the literary correspondent of the influential periodical *Die Grenzboten*, but returned to Vienna in 1848. Here he befriended the young composer Anton *Rubinstein and the novelist Berthold *Auerbach. Auerbach, who married Hieronymus' sister, inspired the character of the young Jewish intellectual in *Gabriel Solmar*, Lorm's most popular novel, which originally appeared in 1855 as *Ein Zoegling des Jahres 1848. Gabriel Solmar* tells of a Jew's disillusionment with the panacea of general emancipation and of his return to his own people though not to religious Orthodoxy. It also deals with the political intrigues of the revolutionary period. Other novels of Jewish interest are *Am Kamin* (2 vols., 1857), *Todte Schuld* (1878), *Der Ehrliche Name: Aus den Memoiren einer Wiener Juedin* (1880), and *Ausserhalb der Gesellschaft* (1881). Since Lorm could communicate only by a touch system, he gradually reconciled himself to a life devoted solely to literary pursuits. He wrote several volumes of short stories, and some touching poems deeply influenced by Nicolaus Lenau's *Weltschmerz*. His last volume of poems, *Nachsommer*, appeared in 1896 and was filled with pessimism. The publication of his *Philosophisch-kritische Streifzuege* (1873) gained him an honorary doctorate from the University of Leipzig. From 1873 to 1892 Lorm lived in Dresden, where he worked as a journalist and published a dozen novels, the best known of which was *Die schoene Wienerin* (1886). He moved to Bruenn in 1892 and from then until his death devoted himself to philosophical writing, including his main work in this field, *Der grundlose Optimismus* (1894).

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[Sol Liptzin]

LORRAINE (Heb. לוֹתִיר), region in E. France, formerly Lotharingia. Although the region of Mainz-Speyer did not form part of Lotharingia, the Hebrew sources use "*Gedolei Lotar*" to denote not only *Gershom b. Judah, who was born either in Metz or Mainz, but also apparently his disciples in these two towns and the tosafists of Speyer as well as those of Metz, Toul, and Verdun. The Jews are only mentioned in the duchy proper from the time of Simon II (1176–1205), who is said to have expelled them. There is evidence for the presence of the Jews in *Trier from as early as the fourth century and in *Metz, *Toul, and Verdun in the Carolingian period. At the beginning of the 13th century, a group of Jews was driven out of Saint-Dié on the pretext that one of them had practiced sorcery. In 1286 Duke Ferri III (1251–1304) permitted a number of them to live in Lorraine (in exchange for a quitrent of pepper) and to acquire a cemetery in Laxon, near Nancy, to serve the whole of the duchy. In charters granted to towns in the duchy (e.g., Neufchâteau, Sierck) he stipulated the right to admit Jews. In

*Sarreguemines, Duke Raoul took three Jews under his protection in 1336, and acquired some land from another in Laneuve-ville-devant-Nancy, while many Jews who had been expelled from France settled in neighboring Barrois.

From that date the Jews seem to have disappeared from the duchy, probably as a result of the *Black Death, but Lorraine appears to have admitted some of the refugees from France at the end of the 14th century (according to Joseph ha-Kohen, *Emek ha-Bakha*, ed. Vienna (1852), 74). In about 1455 Duke John II (1453–70) sold to many Jewish families the right to reside in the market towns of *Nancy, Neufchâteau, Pont-à-Mousson, *Lunéville, Rosières-aux-Salines, and Sarreguemines. Duke René II (1473–1508), however, confiscated their belongings and expelled these families in 1477 as a way of "giving thanks to God" for his victory over Charles the Bold in the same year. In theory this expulsion decree remained in force until the 18th century, but from as early as the 16th century the duke, his officers, and his vassals turned a blind eye to the arrival of a few isolated individuals, as well as attracting the financier Maggino Gabrieli to Nancy in 1597 and authorizing a large group to reside in Saint-Hippolyte, on the Alsatian slope of the Vosges. Jews are also mentioned in various villages, especially of German-speaking northern Lorraine: first in Vaudrevange, Sierck, *Morhange, Vaudoncourt, and Faulquemont in about 1600; then in *Boulay, Dieuze, Frauenberg, Sarreguemines, and Puttelange under French rule (1633–97); and finally during the reign of Leopold I (1658–1705), to whom the territory was restored by the Treaty of Ryswick in 1697.

As he was in debt to the Jewish bankers of Metz, Leopold even authorized some of them, including Samuel *Lévy and Moses Alcan, to settle in Nancy, entrusting the former with the administration of his finances (1715). After Lévy's downfall Leopold turned against the Jews: his decree of August 1720 subjected the movements of foreign Jews to strict control and that of April 1721 expelled all those who had arrived in the duchy after 1680. A list of the 74 families authorized to remain was published. They were spread out in small groups (with the exception of 19 families in Boulay) in 24 localities, mostly in German-speaking Lorraine. All formed a single community with one officer, Moses Alcan of Nancy, and a central synagogue in Boulay. In 1733 their number was increased to 180 families and the officers, then three in number, were charged with raising an annual tax of 100,000 livres. The Jews of Lorraine were authorized to appoint a rabbi by Stanislaus I, duke of Lorraine and Bar (1736–66), but it was not until 1785 and 1788 that those of Lunéville and Nancy were able to open synagogues and cemeteries. Stanislaus interpreted liberally the restricted number of 180 families. A decree of 1753 shows that Jews had then settled in 28 new localities, including Lunéville, Etain, and Bar; those exceeding the official quota were granted special authorizations or, after the reunion of the territory with France (1766), were naturalized. In 1789 there were about 500 Jewish families in Lorraine, 90 of them in Nancy, where bankers, army purveyors, and merchants were able to develop the cloth trade and to establish industries; one member of the Cerfberr family even acquired the seigniory of Tomblaine. During the preparation of the Estates-General (1788–89) most of the memoranda of complaints ("*cahiers de doléances*") from *Alsace and Lorraine were bitterly anti-Jewish. From many villages of Lorraine came such suggestions as that the Jews should be forced to engage in manual labor, that usury should be forbidden, and even that the Jews should be totally expelled from France.

In 1789 Berr Isaac *Berr led a delegation of the Jews of Lorraine, Metz, and Alsace at the National Assembly and published two pamphlets calling for the emancipation of the Jews. After the dissolution of the single community of the Jews of Lorraine (1790) and the constitution of independent communities in Lunéville, Sarreguemines, Lixheim, etc., the two *consistories of Metz and Nancy, with 6,500 and 4,200 Jews respectively, included most of the Jews of Lorraine (1808). The number of rabbis increased and synagogues were also established in *Phalsbourg, Sarreguemines, Verdun, Epinal, and Toul. After 1871 many Jewish refugees from Alsace and Moselle settled in that part of Lorraine which remained French after the Franco-German War. The department of Vosges, which by then had 2,500 Jews, was incorporated in a new consistory formed in *Vesoul (subsequently transferred to Besançon). In the remainder of French Lorraine, the number of Jews rose to between 7,000 and 8,000 in 1900, 4,000 of whom lived in Nancy. In the part of Moselle annexed by Germany after 1871 there were 7,015 Jews in 1900 (in comparison with 8,571 in 1870). The Jews who remained in this department left many of the villages for Metz or the newly industrialized regions, where they were joined by immigrants from the rest of Germany and Eastern Europe. After Alsace-Lorraine had been ceded to France by the Treaty of Versailles (1919) more immigrants came to the region. The Jewish population of Lorraine was greatly reduced by assimilation and the massive deportations of World War II, especially in the south, although it was slightly augmented by the arrival of some 200 families from North Africa after 1962. In 1970 rabbinates were to be found in Metz, Nancy, and Sarreguemines only: other communities numbering more than 100 persons were in Thionville, Lunéville, Forbach, Epinal, Sarrebourg, and Saint-Avold.

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[Gilbert Cahen]

LORRE, PETER (**Laszlo Lowenstein**; 1904–1964), film actor. Born in Rozsahegy, Hungary, Lorre joined a German theatrical troupe at 17 and for a time worked with the German dramatist Bertolt Brecht. In 1931 his performance as the psychopathic killer in Fritz Lang's film *M* made him famous. Lorre, a thickset man who could look both amiable and sinister, went to London for Alfred Hitchcock's *The Man Who Knew Too Much* (1934) and then to Hollywood. Among his more than 80 films were *Crime and Punishment* (1935), *Mad Love* (1935), *Secret Agent* (1936), a series of eight *Mr. Moto* movies (1937–39), *The Maltese Falcon* (1941), *Casablanca* (1942), *Arsenic and Old Lace* (1944), *The Mask of Dimitrios* (1944), *Confidential Agent* (1945), *The Verdict* (1946), *Three Strangers* (1946), *My Favorite Brunette* (1947), *Casbah* (1948), *Die Verlorene* ("The Lost One," which he wrote and directed, 1951), *Beat the Devil* (1953), *20,000 Leagues under the Sea* (1954), *Silk Stockings* (1957), *The Big Circus* (1959), *The Raven* (1963), *The Comedy of Terrors* (1964), and *The Patsy* (1964).

With his distinctive accent and menacing voice, Lorre carved out a second career for himself as a radio actor, specializing in thrillers and mysteries.

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[Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

LORTEL, LUCILLE (1900–1999), U.S. theatrical producer. Born in New York, the daughter of Harry and Anna Wadler, she was tutored at home. She attended Adelphi College briefly and studied at the American Academy of Dramatic Arts. She took the name Lortel, an alliterative concoction, for the stage. She made her Broadway debut in 1925 in a bit part in the Theatre Guild production of George Bernard Shaw's *Caesar and Cleopatra*. She appeared in several plays over the years, but after her marriage in 1931 to Louis Schweitzer, a chemical engineer who made a fortune manufacturing cigarette paper, her acting career became sporadic. Instead, in 1947, she started the White Barn Theater, an experimental outpost free from commercial pressures, in Westport, Conn., on the family summer estate, and Lortel provided room and board for the actors. She built a permanent stage, brought in new and innovative troupes, established an apprentice school, and offered playwrights, actors, designers, composers, and directors a chance to spread their wings. Lortel mothered performers like Eva Marie Saint, Geoffrey Holder, and Zero Mostel, and presented plays by Samuel Beckett, Edward Albee, Eugene Ionesco, and Sean O'Casey. In 1955 her husband gave her a Manhattan theater, now known as the Lucille Lortel Theater, as a wedding anniversary gift. The first production at the house, then called the Theater de Lys, was Marc *Blitzstein's adaptation of Bertolt Brecht's and Kurt Weill's *Threepenny Opera*. It caused such a sensation that the production ran for seven years and put Off Broadway theater on the map. As an indication of her cutting-edge career, she brought Jean Genet to the attention of American audiences with a production of *The Balcony*, which she coproduced in 1960. She also oversaw the first American production of a play by Athol Fugard, the South African playwright. She earned the unofficial title Queen of Off Broadway by producing or coproducing some 500 plays. Several were moved to larger houses on Broadway. Lortel received virtually every theatrical award and honor. In addition, the first theater chair to be named for a woman bears her name, the Lucille Lortel Distinguished Professorial Chair in Theater at the City University of New York. She established the Lucille Lortel Fund for New Drama at Yale University to support the production of new plays at the Yale Repertory Theater and the Lucille Lortel Fellowship in Playwriting at Brown University. She also donated money for the annual Drama Circle awards and made sizable contributions to dance and music groups.

[Stewart Kampel (2nd ed.)]

LOS ANGELES, city in S. California with approximately 4,000,000 inhabitants occupying 469 square miles of territory; the third most populous city in the U.S. and the largest city in area in the world. Los Angeles County is the home of some 552,000 (2003) Jews, second only to New York City.

Beginnings

The origins of the city go back to the early Spanish colonization of California. Los Angeles was formally dedicated as a pueblo on Sept. 4, 1781, with 44 inhabitants. The town grew slowly to 1,100 inhabitants by 1840. A year later the first party of pioneers traveled overland to Los Angeles from the Middle West of the U.S. With them was Jacob Frankfort, the first Jewish resident of Los Angeles. The accession of California to the U.S. in 1850 as an aftermath of the Mexican War and the discovery of gold brought a surge of Jews from Western Europe and the Eastern U.S. to seek a quick fortune. The majority did not engage in gold mining but opened stores in the small towns and mining camps of northern California. The prosperity filtered down to the rancho country of southern California and to the small town of Los Angeles, which was its marketing and commercial center. A Los Angeles census of 1850 revealed a total of 1,610 inhabitants of which eight are recognizably Jewish: Morris Michaels, aged 19, Portland, Oregon; Abraham Jacobi, 25, Poland; Morris L. Goodman, 24, Germany; Philip Sichel, 28, Germany; Augustine Wasserman, 24, Germany; Felix Bachman, 28, Germany; Joseph Plumer, 24, Germany; and Jacob Frankfort, 40, Germany; all were unmarried and merchants, except for Frankfort who was a tailor. The Jewish population, in the wake of economic expansion, increased rapidly. Jews came from San Francisco and the East and directly from Germany and promptly set up businesses, or, procuring carts and wagons, began to trade with the prosperous Spanish rancheros. Jewish services probably began on the High Holidays in 1851 and were more formally established with the arrival of Joseph Newmark (1799–1881) in 1854. Rabbinically trained and traditionally oriented, he was the patriarch of the Jewish community until his death. Services were held in various rented and borrowed places until the first synagogue was built in 1873 at 273 N. Fort Street (now Broadway). The first visit of the artist S.N. Carvalho, in 1854, directly stimulated the founding of the Hebrew Benevolent Society of Los Angeles. Carvalho influenced his host, Samuel Labatt, to establish a philanthropic society and a Jewish cemetery. Thirty charter members elected S.K. Labatt as president; Charles Schachno, vice president; Jacob Elias, secretary and treasurer; and S. Lazard and H. Goldberg, trustees. This was the first social welfare organization in Los Angeles. A year later the society procured land from the City Council in Chavez Ravine for the Jewish cemetery, which served until 1900. In addition to furthering their economic interests and "the holy cause of benevolence," the Jewish merchants during these early years were also active in such civic affairs as the founding of the Masonic order, the first Library Association, the Odd Fellows order, the German Turnverein, and as elected members of the City Council and County Board of Supervisors. Jews participated freely in every facet of social and economic as well as communal life. From 1850 until 1880 one or two Jews continuously served as elected officials. In 1873 they took the initiative in organizing the first Chamber of Commerce. Jewish business, concentrating on wholesale and retail merchandising, was among the largest in town. In 1865 I.W. Hellman (1843–1920) ventured into the banking business to become ultimately the leading banker in Los Angeles and among the dominant financial powers in the state. By the 1890s I.W. Hellman and Henry Huntington became the two financial giants of southern California. In 1861 Beth El, a congregation of Polish Jews, was formed. It soon was replaced by the German Congregation B'nai B'rith, which invited the Orthodox Rabbi A.W. Edelman (1832–1907), a Hebrew school-teacher in San Francisco, to become its first rabbi. Congregation B'nai Brith's first officers were Joseph Newmark, president; Wolf Kalisher, vice president; M. Behrend, secretary; and Elias Levinthal, Isadore Cohen, and Louis Levy, trustees. It functioned as a traditional congregation until the middle 1880s, when it began moving to an unequivocal Reform position. Ephraim Schreiber of Denver became the rabbi from 1884 to 1889; Abraham Blum, 1889–95; M.G. Solomon, 1895; and Sigmund Hecht, 1900–19. The position of the Jewish community in Los Angeles was expressed by an editorial in the local *Daily News* in 1873, which summed up the prevailing attitude toward the Jewish population: "We commend them for their commercial integrity and their studied isolation from prevalent vices of gambling and inebriation. We commend them for their general business and personal probity… they are among our best citizens and the city suffers nothing in their hands…." The population of Los Angeles rose sharply during the 1880s with the arrival of the transcontinental railroad service and following a concerted program of promotion by the Chamber of Commerce. The population, only 11,000 in 1880, multiplied fivefold in a few years during a land boom of vast proportions. With the arrival of large numbers of Middle Westerners the easygoing, socially integrated society began to change. Jewish social life became more ingrown. Jews established separate social outlets including a Young Men's Hebrew Association for the young and the Concordia Club for the card-playing parents. Jews lost their places in the Blue Book, the local social register, which in 1890 listed 44 Jews, 22 in 1921, and in recent years, no discernible Jews.

Population Growth and Communal Development

At the beginning of the 20th century large numbers of East European Jews began to migrate to Los Angeles to begin in their turn the ascent to prestige, status, and security. Their movement to Los Angeles was aided by the Industrial Removal Office in New York, which sent them as part of a grand dispersal design. Approximately 2,000 Jews went to Los Angeles through this source of assistance, and subsequently brought their families. In 1900 the Los Angeles population was 102,000 and the Jews numbered 2,500. Twenty years later the Jews constituted 40,000 out of 576,000, and by 1930 the Jews numbered 70,000 out of 1,200,000. The rapid increase of population created for the first time recognizably Jewish neighborhoods. By 1920 the three major areas of Jewish concentration were Temple Street, Boyle Heights, and the Central Avenue district. The early Jewish community organizations, Congregation B'nai B'rith, B'nai B'rith Lodge No. 224, which had been established in 1874, the Ladies Hebrew Benevolent Society established in 1870, and the Hebrew Benevolent Society were by this time insufficient to meet the needs of a new era. The high percentage of Jews coming west for their health made the establishment of medical institutions the first order of communal business. In 1902 the private home of Kaspare Cohn was donated to become the Kaspare Cohn Hospital. A few years later, the hospital was forced to move outside the city when the treatment of tuberculosis, its main business, was declared illegal within the city limits. In 1911 the Jewish Consumptive Relief Association was established and began to build a sanitarium at Duarte for consumptives who came to seek relief; this evolved into today's City of Hope Medical Center. For the elderly people the Hebrew Sheltering Home was established, to become the Jewish Home for the Aged. In 1910 B'nai B'rith was the moving force for the establishment of the Hebrew Orphans Home, whose name ultimately became Vista Del Mar. In 1912 the Federation of Jewish Charities was established to unite all fundraising for Jewish institutions. The Kaspare Cohn Hospital gradually transformed itself into a general hospital. It gradually altered its character as a charity hospital and began to charge patients. In 1926 it moved to facilities on Fountain Street near Vermont Avenue, and was renamed the Cedars of Lebanon Hospital. The first meeting of the Federation of Jewish Charities was held in 1912 with Ben R. Meyer, the son-in-law of Kaspare Cohn, as president, and included Dr. David W. Edelman, son of Rabbi Edelman and the president of the Reform congregation; Louis M. Cole, son-in-law of I.W. Hellman; M.N. Newmark and Isaac Norton, members of pioneer families; and S.G. Marshutz of B'nai B'rith, the founder of the Orphans Home. They typified the local Jewish leadership, to whom philanthropy was central in Jewish community life. The first decade of the 20th century was marked by a transition from charity aid to social welfare. During World War I overseas needs began to assume a large role in the philanthropy of the Jewish community. In 1934 the United Jewish Community was organized alongside the United Jewish Welfare Fund and the United Community Committee, which was established to fight antisemitism. The new leaders were mostly lawyers and not men of inherited wealth. Men like Lester W. Roth, Harry A. Holzer, Benjamin J. Scheinman, and Mendel B. Silberberg succeeded the Newmarks and the Hellmans. In 1937 the United Jewish Community was incorporated as the Los Angeles Jewish Community Council, with the United Jewish Welfare Fund as its fund-raising arm. The United Community Council became the Community Relations Committee of the Jewish Community Council. The Federation of Jewish Charities continued as a separate entity until 1959, when a merger was effected between the Jewish Community Council with its pro-Israel interest and overseas concerns, and its orientation toward Jewish education, and the Federation of Jewish Welfare organizations typifying the earlier Jewish community, with its primary concern for local philanthropies. A few years later the Cedars of Lebanon Hospital and Sinai Hospital, which was established during the 1920s by the Eastern European community, also merged.

Religious Developments

In the early 1900s Congregation B'nai B'rith, which had served the entire community since 1861, was joined by the first Orthodox congregation, Beth Israel or the "Olive Street Schul." In 1906 Congregation Sinai, the first Conservative congregation, was organized, and built its first edifice three years later. Isadore Meyers was rabbi and his successors included Rudolph Farber, David Liknaitz, Moses Rosenthal, and Jacob Kohn. The congregation grew and moved in 1930 to an imposing edifice at 4th and New Hampshire streets. Two rabbis and two congregations towered over the religious life in Los Angeles Jewry until World War II. Wilshire Boulevard Temple was founded in 1860. It was classical Reform, with a magnificent structure erected in the 1920s on Wilshire Boulevard representing the affluence of its membership, including many of the movie colony. It was the "established" congregation of the Jewish community. Hushed worship, the garments of the minister, the mixed choir, the centrality of the sermon, and the absence of bar mitzvah, all marked the Reform temple. Its rabbi was Edgar F. Magnin (1890–1984). Under his influence membership rose from 300 to 2,000, to become reputedly the largest congregation in the United States. In 1930 Dr. Jacob Kohn (1881–1968) arrived at Congregation Sinai. He became renowned for his liberal forthrightness, philosophical depth, and Jewish scholarship. Rabbi Oser Zilberstein of the Breed Street Shul (1891–1973) was the preeminent Orthodox rabbi of his generation. At the end of World War II 150,000 Jews lived in Greater Los Angeles, an increase of 20,000 since the war began.

The major growth of the Jewish population in Los Angeles began after 1945 when thousands of war veterans and others moved West with their families. The city's population multiplied and the Jewish community grew apace. By 1948 the Jewish population was a quarter of a million, representing an increase of 2,000 people a month as Jews moved West in one of the great migrations in Jewish history. The Middle West was the major area of origin; perhaps 38% of the Jewry in Los Angeles in 1951 were from the Chicago area. In 1951 it was estimated that 330,000 Jews lived in Los Angeles. Dozens of suburban communities founded during this period were swiftly absorbed in the spreading Los Angeles metropolis. By 1965 the Jewish population of Los Angeles had reached half a million and the community had become one of the largest centers of Jewish population.

The vast increase in Jewish population resulted in a proliferation of congregations, synagogues, and religious functionaries. The national movement of the religious denominations "discovered" Los Angeles as the United Synagogue established its Pacific Southwest Region, the Union of American Hebrew Congregations established its Southern Pacific Region, and rabbis by the dozen wended their way West. By 1968 there were 150 congregations and even more rabbis in Los Angeles. The largest congregations were Wilshire Blvd. Temple, Temple Israel of Hollywood, Temple Emanuel, Temple Beth Hillel, and Temple Isaiah (Reform); Temple Beth Am, Valley Jewish Community Center, Sinai Temple, Hollywood Temple Beth El, and Valley Beth Sholom (Conservative); and Beth Jacob and Shaarei Tefillah (Orthodox).

All three branches of Judaism established schools of higher Jewish learning after 1945. The Jewish Theological Seminary established the University of Judaism, which in turn developed a Hebrew Teachers' College, a School of the Fine Arts, the Graduate School, and an extensive program of adult Jewish studies. Hebrew Union College similarly developed a branch in Los Angeles with a rabbinical preparatory school, cantors' training school, and a Sunday school teachers program.

Yeshiva University established a branch specializing in teacher training and adult education. All three institutions had extensive programs of public education and public lectures and exercised a maturing effect on the growing Los Angeles Jewish community. Brandeis Camp Institute, near the city, with a college camp, children's camp, and weekend cultural retreats exerted a cultural influence on the Jewish community; other summer camps were educational influences for children. The Bureau of Jewish Education did much to raise the level of teaching and encouraged and subsidized Hebrew secondary schools. By 1968 the Los Angeles Hebrew High School, the largest, had more than 500 students.

The community centers were organized under the Jewish Centers Association, founded in 1943. By 1968 there were the following neighborhood centers: The Olympic Jewish Center and the Valley Cities Jewish Center, the Los Feliz Jewish Center and the Bay Cities Jewish Center, the West Valley Jewish Center and the North Valley Jewish Center, all under professional direction. The directors of the Jewish Centers Association since the Second World War were Meyer E. Fichman, Bertram H. Gold, who later became the long-time head of the American Jewish Committee, and Charles Mesnick.

Los Angeles has been the capital of the movie industry. The development of films moved from New York to Los Angeles beginning in 1912. Film distributors or exhibitors like Marcus Loew, Adolph Zukor, William Fox, Carl Laemmle, Lewis Selznick, Samuel Goldfish (later Goldwyn), and Louis B. Mayer, many of whom had started in the clothing business, came to the suburb of Hollywood to make films. By 1925 the Hollywood movie colony was famous throughout the world. The advent of talking pictures was sparked by the Warner Brothers, Albert, Jack, Sam, and Harry, who produced *The Jazz Singer*, a film about a Jewish cantor's son who was reticent to uphold the tradition of his ancestors and wanted to be a singer. It starred Al Jolson, the son of a Washington, D.C., cantor who did not go into his father's profession. This ushered in a new era in the movies. In 1930 three of the eight major production companies were partly owned by Jews, and 53 of 85 production executives were Jewish. When television production established itself in Hollywood from 1950, Jews were again a considerable proportion of the writers and producers in the industry. The biggest Jewish business in town, however, was not entertainment but construction and financing. Many Jews were involved in one or another aspect of real estate, financing, and other elements of the building trade. They built some of the large suburban areas and tract cities such as Lakewood, La Mirada, Panorama City, and Santa Susanna.

Jews, too, were strongly represented in the research, electronic, aircraft, and educational institutions that dotted southern California. The University of California at Los Angeles, for instance, which reputedly had only one Jewish professor in the 1930s, had over 400 Jewish scholars on its faculty 30 years later. As elsewhere, Jews founded thriving practices in medicine, law, and accounting, and were heavily concentrated in furniture, food, sportswear, and retail merchandising. By 1968 Jewish mobility had brought an end to the formerly Jewish Boyle Heights, Adams Street, Temple Street, Wilshire District, and other areas of Jewish concentration. Jews settled in the western and newer sections of sprawling Los Angeles – Westwood, Santa Monica, and Beverly Hills. In the San Fernando Valley 100,000 Jews resided in communities from North Hollywood westward to the city limits. Other Jewish communities had been established in the San Gabriel Valley, while thousands moved to Orange County.

1970–2005

Swift currents of change that swept over the Jewish community during the 1970s and 1980s profoundly affected Jewish life in Los Angeles. In summary they were (1) the drastically reshaped demographics of a city which at a mind-boggling pace underwent an immigrant-driven transformation into America's first Third World city. This ethnic revolution had powerful Jewish consequences including the need for reexamination of Jewish self-identity; (2) profound internal religious changes, marked by significant movement toward increased adherence to historical traditions, alongside equally striking departures from traditional views and practices; (3) the assumption by the Los Angeles Jewish Federation of responsibilities and objectives commensurate with newly perceived qualitative needs of the world's second largest Jewish community (after New York).

THE DEMOGRAPHIC REVOLUTION IN LOS ANGELES. California in the 1980s grew by six million people, the biggest human surge in any state in U.S. history, with estimates of an additional million immigrants by the end of the century. One third of the new arrivals settled in Southern California, increasing its population to 14.5 million. Greater Los Angeles had abruptly become the largest metropolitan center in the country. It also had ceased to be a European outpost and was now a multi-racial world nation. Some 75% of the immigrants were Hispanic, Asian, and black. By the end of the 1980s, 51% of Los Angeles residents were Hispanic or nonwhite. Between 1980 and 1998, the Latino population of the United States doubled to 30 million, establishing Hispanics as the single largest minority community in the country. By 2003, 38 percent of L.A.'s population identified itself as Hispanic, resulting in portentous shifts in the city's political, economic, and cultural tectonics. The renaming of Brooklyn Avenue in the pre-war Jewish stronghold of Boyle Heights to Avenida Cesar Chavez in 1995 was one early indication of this demographic change. The election in 2005 of Antonio Villaraigosa, the city's first Hispanic mayor in over a century, signified a demographic sea change, although the vagaries of identity politics did not solely determine the outcome of this contest.

The city's Asian community, largely Chinese and Japanese, who in the 19th century had been viewed as ignorant, laboring class "coolies," had begun immigrating to the West Coast as colonizers of the Pacific Rim. Many were well educated, with massive investments in corporations and real estate. Others from Korea, Philippines, Vietnam, and dozens of other countries seemingly overnight established and built retail businesses, bought homes, and transformed neighborhoods. As examples, Monterey Park, a former Jewish enclave, became the Western world's first Chinese suburban city. Elite San Marino, which once staunchly restricted Jews, became 46% Asian. Congregation Judea in the midst of the Jewish Fairfax area was transformed in 1975 into a robust Korean Presbyterian church. California State University, Los Angeles, in 1989 had the following student profile: of 20,000 students, 30% were Latino, 11.5% Asian, 11.5% black, and 30% white. The vice president for academic affairs of the state college system announced that: "Cal State-L.A. is probably close in its student body representation to what any university campus in California, public or private, is going to look like in the early 21st century." These demographic estimates were inescapably destined to be among the powerful determinants of the character of Jewish life in the coming century.

THE JEWISH POPULATION OF LOS ANGELES. By 1989, Los Angeles Jewry was stable after a period of rapid growth. Another 90,000 Jews had settled in neighboring Orange County. The Greater Los Angeles Jewish community was now numerically larger than the Jewish population of any country other than the United States, Israel, and the Soviet Union. Some of the population increase represented the sunbelt-driven migration from the East and Middle West to Florida and the West Coast. A substantial portion of the new immigrants came from Israel (probably 50,000, although estimates ranged as high as 200,000. The Los Angeles Jewish Population Survey found that there were 14,170 Israeli-born Jews in L.A. but 52,400 who self-identified as Israeli, those who were born elsewhere but grew up in Israel). The Hebrew-speaking newcomers settled in the Fairfax area, a traditional gateway for Jewish immigrants boasting the city's largest population, in North Hollywood and, once they had established themselves financially, in Encino/Tarzana and the Conejo Valley, adjoining the western San Fernando Valley, with over 40,000 Jews, one of the fastest-growing communities in the country. This influx engendered anxiety within the established community, which at least initially regarded the "*yored*" (Hebrew pejorative for émigré, meaning one who descended, left Israel) presence as an embarrassing and unfortunate abnegation of Zionism. Unlike other Jewish immigrant populations, resident Israelis were "transnational": although they might well remain in the U.S. indefinitely, they thought of themselves as Israeli citizens fully intending to end their collective sojourn in the Land of Promise for a return to the Promised Land. This state of "living on one's suitcases" rendered their commitment to local Jewish continuity naturally suspect. Differences in language, style, comportment, and patterns of communal affiliation also contributed to estrangement. Relations improved shortly after the Gulf War, when Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin, who had once denigrated the émigré community as the "fallout of weaklings," retracted his characterization and expressed gratitude to the Los Angeles Israeli community for its ongoing solidarity. American Jews, meanwhile, began to view immigrant Hebrew-speakers not so much as the spiritually fallen and psychologically ambivalent (if not thoroughly tormented by desertion-induced guilt), but as a valuable transfusion of Jewish authenticity and vitality. Jewish institutions, most notably the Jewish Federation Council, the city's Jewish community centers, and some synagogues, launched efforts to absorb Israeli families, some providing organizational venues in which they could express their cultural and linguistic proclivities. Increasingly, Israeli Angelinos themselves realized they were likely to remain for the long run, and would do well to address the problematics inherent in transmitting their national, linguistic, and cultural identity to children raised and acculturated in the U.S. Hebrew speaking, Israel-centered scouting movements, after-school programming, and adult cultural activities thrived as a result. In 1996, community-minded Israelis formed the Council of Israeli Organizations, an arm of a nonprofit umbrella organization called the Promoting Israel Education and Culture Fund. Originally tasked with organizing the city's annual Israeli Independence Day Festival, which draws tens of thousands of Los Angeles-based Israelis, it reconstituted in 2001 as the Council of Israeli Community, with an agenda of fostering pro-Israeli rallies and more effective ties to the media and with other ethnic groups.

In 1991 2,900 Jews from the Soviet Union came to Los Angeles. By 1997, the numbers of Russian Jews arriving went to well below 1,000. Jews from the former Soviet Union were estimated at 24,500 according to the 1997 LAJPS, making this the third or fourth largest concentration after New York, San Francisco, and Chicago. Their presence in West Hollywood earned the neighborhood the nickname "Little Odessa." The Iranian Jewish presence is believed to number 18,000, the largest such concentration in the U.S. The Persian community, which has almost exclusively settled in the city's wealthy West Side and San Fernando Valley, is religiously, socially, and culturally distinct. Many have brought with them the skills of merchants. Others live in more humble circumstances, with trouble adjusting to their adopted country. Shops with Farsi and English signs dot the West Side. Their supermarkets and shops have the feel of Teheran. Eighty percent of the Iranian refugees coming to the U.S. resettled in L.A. and they transplanted to L.A. much of the leadership of the Tehrani Jewish community including the chief rabbi and Iranian Federation.

In addition, there are sizeable contingents from South Africa (the bulk of whom settled in Orange County and San Diego), Central Asia, South America, Australia, and Mexico. Like their Israeli counterparts, these immigrants have provided unique challenges to the Los Angeles Jewish community in matters of integration and acculturation. In contrast, a small but not insignificant community of Canadian Jews, most having arrived since the election of the separatist Parti Quebecois provincial government in 1976, many also highly trained professionals in pursuit of the material advantages offered by the American Dream, has blended into the existing community with such consummate ease as to render them nearly invisible.

Comprising half the Jews in California and perhaps as many as one in ten of the American Jewish population, Jewish Angelinos continue to enjoy pride of place in the finest sections of the city, including Beverly Hills, Bel Air, Westwood, the San Fernando Valley, Santa Monica, and Pacific Palisades. The Fairfax area continued to contain the largest single concentration of Jews in the city; Encino/Tarzana are a very close second. However, by 2005 the Fairfax area's Jewish ambience came under siege, in part due to the influx of other ethnicities and also because various Jewish storefronts found themselves having to move out due to exorbitant rents due to the development of a new shopping mall, The Grove, in the heart of the old Jewish neighborhood. In terms of Jewish ambience and vitality, the area has long been supplanted by Pico-Robertson and La Brea/Beverly – which is home to the more Orthodox community and has created the largest Jewish day school, Toras Emes, and numerous *kolelim* – some three miles to the southeast, which has emerged as the city's primary bastion of Orthodox Jewry. Synagogues, large and small, are found on Pico and Olympic Blvds. Elegant kosher restaurants and Judaica shops are also to be found along with fast food places, only distinguishable because of their *kashrut* certificate.

North Hollywood/Valley Village is a second Orthodox area, which also has many synagogues, restaurants, shops, etc.

Since the 1970s, Jewish Angelinos have played a major role in the political life of the community: the City Council, Board of Supervisors, State Legislature, and the House of Congress. In addition the Jewish community could count on the non-Jewish congressmen and senators to vote with friendly sensitivity on matters of Jewish interest. They were conspicuous in the cultural, philanthropic, and economic life of the city. Indeed, they were the most cohesive, best-organized white body in the city with ties to the instruments of civic power.

These new realities contrasted sharply with the years from 1900 to 1960, when no Jew was elected to the City Council or the Board of Supervisors or to represent California in Sacramento or Washington. Nor were Jews considered worthy to be mentioned in the society pages of the *Los Angeles Times* or in the published social register. Their new status now meant that the organized Jewish community was, as a minority, enjoined to protect and advance its own interests but equally responsible, as a principal member of the white establishment, to seek the peace of the city, recognizing, to paraphrase Jeremiah, that only in its welfare, would they be at peace. This double identity was bound to create ambivalence and tension in the Jewish community in the years ahead. The Waxman-Berman machine, led by two veteran Jewish Congressmen Henry *Waxman and Howard *Berman, drew Jewish support for political campaigns. Zev Yaroslavsky made a seamless move from Jewish leadership to county commissioner. Three members of the City Council were Jewish in 2005 including an African American Jew by choice and the son of an Italian father and a Jewish mother. National leadership of AIPAC has come from Los Angeles including Edward Sanders in the 1970s; he later served as the Jewish liaison for President Jimmy Carter. Lawrence and Barbara Weinberg played a unique role from Los Angeles in the expansion of AIPAC and Barbara, known as Barbie, in the establishment of the Washington Institute for Near East Policy.

A major implication for the local Jewish community, which became crucial by the turn of the 21st century, was that Los Angeles had become a multi-racial metropolis with ethnic ties to every race and region in the world. The Jewish community, representing some 15 percent of L.A. voters, had thrust upon it a double identity. It had the obligation to assert itself and protect its rights. But in a situation without precedent, it came to be seen by many ethnic groups, including its former allies in the African-American community and by the newly assertive Latino bloc it had hitherto overlooked, as an integral representative of the white establishment. While Jews and Hispanics shared some communal interests, such as quality schools, safe neighborhoods, economic development, and civil equality, they have parted on various religious and educational issues, and have clashed in the political arenas. Characteristically, Jewish liberals have proved vulnerable to charges within some Latino quarters that they are integrally right-leaning whites unsympathetic to Latino aspirations. This vulnerability, the result of demographic pressures, a discernible shift by Jews to the political right and, especially in the aftermath of the 1992 Los Angeles riots, growing insularity and wariness, portends a decline in Jewish political power. Valley Jews tend to be middle class, ethnically diverse, somewhat conservative yet still supportive of public schools. Despite their predilection for progressive politics, West Side Jews remain staunch members of the city's power elites, and retreated from the public school system during the late 1970s, when school busing generated "White Flight." The defeat, in 2002, of efforts by the San Fernando Valley to secede from the Los Angeles municipality helped forestall the dramatic dissipation of Jewish clout.

The arrival of the Hispanic population, coupled with the withdrawal of Jewish stores and landlords from African-American neighborhoods, tended to dilute Black-Jewish tensions in the political arena.

The Religious Community

Judaism in Los Angeles was decisively shaped by a number of rabbis of varying denominations who were drawn westward by personal visions of what they might accomplish in a city largely unbeholden to Eastern power structures and patterns of organization. In a community capable of providing considerable human and physical resources if properly motivated, these rabbis created an opportunity to concentrate their energies as religious leaders along lines of personal interests and concerns. They became what might be termed rabbi-institution builders, rabbi-communal leaders, rabbi-social activists, rabbi-educators, and rabbi-visionaries. The following is a sampling of the impact on Judaism in Los Angeles by a few of the over 200 Los Angeles area rabbis.

RABBI-INSTITUTION BUILDERS. The Orthodox leaders in Los Angeles before World War II had such little faith in their own future that their leading synagogue was called "the modern synagogue," and their significant events were given enhanced status by the participation of a local Reform rabbi or his president. The resurgence of Orthodoxy in post-war Los Angeles was fueled by some determined rabbis, who were confident that American Jews, however acculturated, would be receptive to a return to authentic tradition if it were attractively clothed in American values, if it secured serious media attention, and if it could be identified as the natural heir to the Jewish heart.

The most significant of centrist Orthodox synagogues, the Beth Jacob Congregation, was led by Rabbi Simon Dolgin who arrived in 1938 and relocated Beth Jacob from West Adams to Beverly Hills in the 1950s. He also established the Hillel School and had a distinguished career before moving to Israel in the early 1970s. He was one of the very few rabbis who moved to Israel, neither at the beginning nor at the end but at the prime of his American career, where he became director general of the Ministry of Religion and a rabbi in Ramat Eshkol.

Rabbi Marvin Hier moved into Los Angeles from Vancouver in 1977, intending to establish a yeshivah, but ultimately founded the *Simon Wiesenthal Center, which became the Los Angeles community's first national and international Jewish organization. Rabbi Hier came to Los Angeles just as what Jonathan Woocher termed "the Judaism of sacred survival" was coming to the fore, when the remembrance of the Holocaust and the protection of the State of Israel were central to Jewish identity. Taking the name of the world famous Nazi hunter, but running the organization in almost complete independence from Simon Wiesenthal, Rabbi Hier propelled the Holocaust center onto the world stage to stake out an independent claim as an activist leader in the fight against antisemitism. In 1993, the center opened its landmark 160,000-sqare-foot Museum of Tolerance, a $50 million high-tech exploration of racism, prejudice, antisemitism, and genocide (including the Turkish decimation of the Armenians and that of vast segments of Cambodian people by their own government), and broke ground in 2004 on a no less controversial sister institution, slated to cost $200 million, in Jerusalem.

When Rabbi Hier came, lay leaders of the Rambam School approached him to take charge of the school. It reopened as Yeshiva University Los Angeles (YULA) and the school grew significantly. In 2002, Hier moved the YULA contingent that had shared the Wiesenthal Center's original building on Pico Boulevard into a new $12.6 million facility and a second school for girls on Robertson Blvd. Hier himself has been alternately criticized and credited for commandeering the bread-and-butter issues of longer-established organizations. There is little doubt, however, in his ability to interject himself as a key player on the world stage and in his cultivation of prominent state legislators (Governor Arnold Schwarzenegger once called the diminutive Hier "my hero"). He developed a broad based membership organization, mirroring the tactics used by political organizers so successfully, and he presents a self-confident, right-of-center American Orthodoxy. Taking seriously the organization's mission of tolerance, he has kept the Wiesenthal Center and its Museum of Tolerance open to all groups. For example, it hosted a 1997 exhibition on Jackie Robinson's integration of baseball. Much to the chagrin of Federation leadership, who have not fared well in the entertainment community, he has navigated Hollywood celebrity and mastered documentary film-making (the center has won several Academy Awards for Holocaust-related films produced by his in-house film unit). Hier is an unflagging Jewish juggernaut, feared, respected, and taken quite seriously. He is also a well-established spokesman on Jewish issues. Unlike many professionals who need clearance from lay leaders for statements and must achieve consensus, Hier operates with great freedom.

Hier was the first to establish a Los Angeles-based national organization that rivaled and soon outgrew in membership many long-established East Coast organizations. Instead of establishing himself as a West Coast branch of Yeshiva University and living in its shadows, Hier worked independently and over 15 years ago the school severed its ties with YU. The original hopes for a West Coast university-level campus did not materialize beyond the high schools for boys and girls and adult learning.

Los Angeles has two Holocaust Museums and a Memorial. In addition to the Simon Wiesenthal Center, the Los Angeles Holocaust Museum was established by the Federation and influential survivors as the Martyrs Memorial Museum, and after a 1994 earthquake forced the Federation to renovate its building, the Museum never returned. It has been independent since 2004. A Memorial of Six Pillars has been built in Pan Pacific Park adjacent to the Fairfax neighborhood. It is the site of the annual community Yom Hashoah observance. The Wiesenthal Center hosts its own. There are significant Holocaust education programs also at the Survivors of the Shoah Visual History Foundation, which in 2006 became part of the University of Southern California, at UCLA, and at the University of Judaism in addition to neighboring universities in Los Angeles suburbs such as Chapman University and Claremont-Mckenna College.

Rabbi Baruch Shlomo Cunin came to Los Angeles in the 1960s as the Rebbe's (Menachem Mendel *Schneersohn) emissary. His predecessor came in the 1950s, but did not last long. In subsequent years, Cunin became a major religious force in the state with an operating budget of $15 million from 50,000 contributors and was supported by a rabbinic staff of 106 impassioned young graduates of their yeshivah in Crown Heights, Brooklyn. He established and controlled an imposing and growing array of synagogues, day schools, adult Torah study centers, and social projects such as a shelter for the homeless, a counseling center for battered women, and two drug treatment centers financed substantially by federal grants. Woven into the program were public relations sorties, featuring Judaism in the streets such as *mitzvah* mobiles, and Hanukkah lighting celebrations in shopping malls and city halls. The annual climax was a hyperkinetic telethon in which movie and television personalities vied for the *mitzvah* of raising five million dollars a year for their particularist form of ḥasidic Judaism. The death of Schneersohn in June 1994 split the Chabad movement between those who believe he had been and continued (despite his manifest physical demise) to be the long-awaited Messiah, and those who preferred to avoid unambiguous pronouncements as to his exalted status. However problematic theologically (the Rebbe's cult of personality, which he did little to contain during his latter years, sometimes skirted the Christological), such speculation has done little to daunt Chabad's outward expansion. The organization continues to inject itself into some of the least hospitable communities imaginable, which in Southern California include such hedonistic fleshpots as Malibu, Pacific Palisades, and Santa Monica, Huntington Beach, Irvine, and Yorba Linda. There are now 79 Chabad centers statewide, and despite occasional setbacks and resistance, no lessening in zeal for achieving a ḥasidic version of Manifest Destiny. Indeed, Chabad's high birthrate and unceasing generation of successive waves of energized, inner-directed missionary cadres suggests that growth and expansion have become vital organizational imperatives, perhaps even linchpins of continued survival.

The official Jewish establishment, acutely conscious of the strategic necessity of maintaining the historic separation of church and state, was likewise periodically constrained to remain mute and resigned while Chabad aggressively broke down barriers between religion and the state in its public square religious practices, and while the Wiesenthal Center was prevailing on the California Legislature to contribute five million dollars to the Center's projected Museum of Tolerance. These rabbinical leaders, some of them affiliated with or coming out of the Ba'al Teshuvah movement, represented a new meld: totally Orthodox, totally American, rightward-leaning, willing to explore commonalities with similarly disposed Christian groups, technologically advanced, and with their work largely financed by non-Orthodox supporters.

Rabbi Nahum Braverman came to Los Angeles in the mid-1980s to establish a western outpost of *Aish Hatorah, a Jerusalem yeshivah located near the Western Wall and founded by an American rabbi, Noah Weinberg. In a few short years he created an outreach program of one-to-one Torah learning. He established a chain of study sessions in private offices and conference rooms and began the process of organizing Aish Hatorah synagogues. The students were prominent business and community leaders as well as film and TV industry celebrities. The program created a non-ḥasidic network of intellectual *Ba'alei teshuvah* (newly Orthodox), sympathetic to "authentic" Judaism and often prepared to support it, even though not necessarily embodying it in their lifestyles. Aish has proved especially popular among young singles, who attend Shabbat services, Shabbat dinners at the homes of local congregationalists, post-dinner lectures, and occasional "speed-dating" evenings.

Rabbi Daniel Lapin arrived from South Africa in 1977. Although only a young man he was already an engineer, physicist, airplane pilot, sailor, and Orthodox rabbi. Together with Michael *Medved, bestselling writer, movie critic on public TV and, subsequently, radio talk-show host, they took over a minuscule store front synagogue on the Venice beach, operated by and for a few remaining elderly Jews, and established the Pacific Jewish Center. It was an unusually strict Orthodox synagogue in which financial participation was voluntary, participation in Torah study compulsory, and outdoors adventuring a *mitzvah*. At first the members were overwhelmingly single; in time they married, moved into the neighborhood to be within walking distance of the synagogue, and so created a living and learning community, which former and disaffected members described as "cultlike." The congregation split in the early 1990s, ostensibly after a spat involving a decision to move the center's day school out of the area. Lapin subsequently left a truncated congregation to the administration of his brother, David, and to his longtime assistant, Rabbi Avi Pogrow. Lapin and Medved moved to the Seattle suburb of Mercer Island, where, as talk-show radio hosts, they established a small group dedicated to forging a pan-Jewish coalition with fundamentalist Christians, and to weaning American Jews from their Liberal affectations. Medved generated particular consternation within Jewish circles for his own impassioned defense of actor/director Mel Gibson, whose blockbuster film *The Passion of the Christ* was widely perceived as an antisemitic assault and reaffirmation of pre-Vatican II charges of deicide. In 2003, David Lapin left for Washington, D.C., leaving PJC to the ministrations of Ben Geiger, a graduate of an ultra-Orthodox rabbinical school in Baltimore and the center's first full-time rabbi. Lapin accepted support from many sources included the Orthodox Jewish Washington lobbyist Jack Abramov.

On March 1, 2005 (20 Adar 5765), 2,000 men gathered in the new Walt Disney Concert Hall to celebrate the *Siyyum ha-Shas*, the seven-year cycle of studying a page of the Talmud each day, every day, which enables the devout and the persistent to complete the entire Talmud. If one panned the crowd in Los Angeles, one would have seen physicians and lawyers, accountants, real-estate investors, jewelers and professional men, as well as Jews from all walks of life, a cross section of Jewish life in Los Angeles. Even a few of the men – very few – earned their living in the entertainment industry. Many had come to Los Angeles only in the past three decades and all were comfortable in calling Los Angeles their home. Many, but not all, were raised in Orthodox homes. Others were the results of the success of the various outreach programs in attracting Jews to turn toward tradition.

While one would not ordinarily associate Los Angeles with the ultra-Orthodox community, there are some 5,000 families who constitute that community. They live in different neighborhoods on the West Side of Los Angeles, Hancock Park with its large and sprawling houses, Fairfax, the traditional Jewish neighborhood, Pico-Robertson with its large Orthodox community, and even Beverly Hills and Westwood. They live in North Hollywood and the Valley. They have established large schools for every segment of the community. Yeshiva Rav Isaacson/Toras Emes Academy is the largest day school in Los Angeles with 1,100 students, directed by Rabbi Yakov Kraus for more than three decades. Or Eliyahu Academy is another significant school. The Yeshiva Gedolah, the high school, occupies a prominent former Seventh Days Adventist Church on Olympic Blvd. in Hancock Park. Students can continue in the Kolel of Los Angeles. The Cheder of Los Angeles is for ḥasidic students who can go on to the ḥasidic *kolel*. The Beis Yaakov School is a high school for some 375 girls. Rabbi Avraham Teichman heads Agudat Israel on the West Coast. Dr. Irving Lebovics, a prominent dentist, is the leading lay leader of the Agudah on the West Coast. Rabbi Gerson Bess is regarded as the most prominent of the halakhic authorities.

In the Valley, the most prominent Orthodox synagogue is Shaarei Zedek, led by Rabbi Aron Tendler, the son of Yeshiva University's Rabbi Moshe Tendler. Emek Hebrew Academy is the home of more than 700 students. Valley Torah Center, headed by Rabbi Avrohom Stulberger, serves some 300 students.

During the 1970s Reform rabbi Isaiah *Zeldin, who had come to Los Angeles to represent the Union of American Hebrew Congregations and subsequently became rabbi of Temple Emanuel in Beverly Hills, left his congregation and founded the Stephen S. Wise Temple in the sparsely settled Mulholland Drive area of western Los Angeles, which soon became the epicenter of the community strategically situated between the Valley and the West Side. In the course of 15 years, the congregation grew in numbers and in program to become one of America's largest, with a membership of 3,000 families, with an annual budget in excess of $11 million, and a physical plant of monumental proportions. Its campus on ten acres of land was *sui generis*: a total of 1,300 students in its school system, ranging from pre-school to an elementary day school through grade six, an all-day junior high school, and since 1992, an 18,000 square-foot, $33 million high school replete with an impressive library and resource center; its parenting center; its faculty with four rabbis at the helm assisted by a staff of 250 permanent personnel; and imposing facilities that included an immense special parking structure, Olympic swimming facilities, and a variety of specially designed and constructed recreational areas. The schools, which provide at least an hour of conversational Hebrew daily and are quite Israel-centered in terms of curriculum, have received Tel Aviv University's 2003 Constantiner Award for Jewish Education, the 1990 biannual Zalman Shazar Prize from the Jerusalem-based Shazar Center for Jewish History, and its director, the 1990 Milken Family Foundation's Jewish Educator's Award.

Conservative rabbi Harold *Schulweis moved to the Encino area of the San Fernando Valley from Oakland. With a rare combination of philosophical profundity and Jewish social engineering genius, he established a series of programs which stamped his congregation as a creative center of Jewish life: a havurah program in which the bulk of the members participated; a para-professional counseling center whose first lay counselors were volunteers from the board of directors who studied and trained for several years for this opportunity to serve; a para-rabbinic training program in which the synagogue leadership similarly learned to become rabbinic aides qualified to meet with members and teach them how to be Jews at home as well as in the synagogue; an outreach program which accepted the inevitability of an increasing proportion of interfaith marriages in our open society and chose to deal with it on the basis of inclusivity rather than a posture of exclusivity; and an assistant rabbi, engaged by the congregation after her ordination in 1990, who was herself a Jew by choice. Most of these and other innovative experiments were emulated nationwide. In 1994, Schulweis called on his congregation to accept Jewish homosexuals and lesbians as equal and accepted members of the community. Some years later, he bucked longstanding Jewish tradition by launching an effort aimed at urging Gentiles not necessarily involved with Jewish life-partners to consider conversion to Judaism. It was Jewish outreach to the unchurched. Most recently, he initiated Jewish World Watch, an effort to inspire Jews to emulate Righteous Gentiles by intervening on behalf of distressed or physically threatened populations abroad. The organization has been active in generating assistance on behalf of populations in the Sudan and Darfur. In 2004, the 80-year-old Schulweis stepped down as senior rabbi, turning his pulpit over graciously to longtime colleague and friend Rabbi Edward Feinstein.

RABBI-COMMUNITY BUILDERS. Some of the city's rabbis transcended their responsibilities to their synagogue by sharing their energies with the larger Jewish community. Rabbi Jacob *Pressman arrived in Los Angeles in 1946 to assist Rabbi Jacob Kohn at Sinai Temple. A few years later he left to join a small congregation, which grew to become Temple Beth Am, one of the large and influential Los Angeles synagogues. He helped establish Akiba Academy, one of the first day schools in the Los Angeles Conservative community and initiated Herzl School, the community's first non-Orthodox day school. At Beth Am, he created a K-8 day school that was named in his honor as the Rabbi Jacob Pressman Academy. Simultaneously he became a central figure in the building of Jewish institutions in the city. He was a key figure in the organization of the University of Judaism in 1947 and served as its volunteer founding registrar. He was one of the founders of Camp Ramah and the Los Angeles Hebrew High School, and helped start the Beverly Hills Maple Counseling Center as well as the forerunner of the Brandeis-Bardin Institute, in Simi Valley. He established the synagogue Israel Bond Appeal program and headed the synagogue division of Los Angeles Israel Bonds. He was chairman of the Los Angeles Board of Rabbis as well as of the Western States region of the Rabbinical Assembly. When Jews were threatening to leave the Mid-Wilshire neighborhood after the L.A. riots in the 1970s, Pressman went door-to-door to sign up 150 families and pledged that the synagogue would remain in the neighborhood if they would pledge to stay; as a result, the Carthay Circle and South Carthay neighborhood, once threatened, is now a thriving Jewish community composed of traditional Conservative Jews who walk to synagogue and walk their children to the Pressman Academy. At Beth Am, he permitted and enabled the creation of religious alternatives for more traditional Jews; the egalitarian Library Minyan is without a formal rabbi but is the religious home of many rabbis and scholars at the University of Judaism, Hebrew Union College, UCLA, USC, and UC Northridge as well as rabbinical students at UJ and HUC. One holiday morning there were more than 75 rabbis, spouses of rabbis, and children of rabbis in attendance, a rarity for Conservative synagogues. Beth Am is now a Synaplex, offering multiple services: meditative services, family services, a Neshama Minyan with the melodies of Shlomo *Carlebach on Friday evening, as well as a mainstream Conservative service. Ten of Pressman's students became rabbis, including his successor Rabbi Joel Rembaum. Well into his eighties, Pressman is a master preacher, talented musician, and raconteur.

In 1997, after a period of changing leadership Rabbi David Wolpe took over as Sinai's senior rabbi. He introduced a single service called Friday Night Live that brings single Jews to synagogue for an exciting musical service. A captivating speaker, he ignites his audience.

Rabbi Maurice Lamm replaced Rabbi Dolgin at Beth Jacob Congregation in 1971. Under Lamm, the congregation became more observant as Orthodoxy become more observant. His congregants, who once rode to the synagogue, began walking if possible. Upon his retirement, Rabbi Abner Weiss, from South Africa, became spiritual leader of the congregation. He was also the representative of moderate Orthodoxy in Los Angeles communal, religious, and educational circles. Rabbi Weiss also took pride in the "upstairs *minyan*" in which younger members were given an opportunity to take charge of their own Sabbath service as a popular alternative to the more staid and formal sanctuary service. A psychologist who incorporated Kabbalah into his practice, Weiss departed for England in 2002; since that time, Rabbi Steven Weil has served as senior rabbi of Beth Jacob. Young Israel of Century City, initially a "break away" from Beth Jacob, was, by 2005, a well-established congregation of 400 members led, since 1986, by Rabbi Elazar Muskin. A few blocks away from Beth Jacob and Young Israel, in the Pico-Robertson area, B'nai David Judea Congregation, headed by Rabbi Yosef Kanefsky as by Daniel Landes before him, championed a progressive Orthodoxy, including greater opportunity for women's involvement in synagogue rituals.

Rabbi Harvey Fields, longtime senior rabbi of the venerable Wilshire Temple, the first and still arguably the largest Jewish congregation in Los Angeles, led his congregation in new directions. He became chairman of the Middle East Commission of the Jewish Federation Council. A congregation which historically had rejected many traditions now settled into a life style which was comfortable with Hebrew instruction, bar mitzvah, bat mitzvah, and a *shofar*. Under Fields' stewardship, music became a fixture of services, and a full-time cantor began to lead services in 1999. Despite the move toward more traditional forms of observance, Fields maintained his focus on issues pertaining to social justice and interfaith dialogue. He was instrumental, for instance, in the creation of Hopenet, a network of religious institutions in the Mid-Wilshire corridor that feeds about 200 people every Sunday out of the temple, and provides affordable housing, clothing, and furnishings. Fields stepped down in June 2003, handing over the reins he held for 21 years to Rabbi Steven Leder.

Rabbi Laura Geller is the senior rabbi of one of Los Angeles' most prominent Reform congregations. Temple Emanuel has a day school and innovative religious services including a Sabbath morning service that attracts many HUC faculty members. By the size and the prestige of her congregation and by her own stature, she is the most prominent of the first generation of women rabbis in the United States.

RABBI-SOCIAL ACTIVISTS. A number of rabbis, mostly in the Reform movement, became leaders in movements dealing with peace, poverty, racial harmony, and AIDS. Rabbi Leonard Beerman established a congregation in the spirit and name of Leo Baeck, which over the years fostered an environment that made involvement in human concerns a normal congregational function. As one example among many, Rabbi Beerman led his congregation to join forces with the All Saints Episcopal Church in Pasadena to establish a professionally run Interfaith Center to Reverse the Arms Race. For years they supported and maintained a peace movement, which gave serious attention to the world's ultimate long-term threat. When world events signaled a suspension of the arms race, both congregations shifted their energies to establishing a shelter for the homeless in downtown Los Angeles. Beerman retired in 1986, leaving the congregation to Rabbi Sanford Ragins, who would serve as senior rabbi for 18 years while maintaining an academic career teaching history and homiletics at HUC-JIR and at Occidental College, in Eagle Rock. Ragins welcomed intermarried, interracial, and gay and lesbian families into the communal fold and championed the peace camp in Israel and labor and interfaith cooperation in the U.S. He served as chair for the Central Conference of American Rabbis' Committee on Ethics, which investigates allegations of wrongful behavior by Reform rabbis, and taught German divinity students in Germany about Judaism. Ragins helmed his congregation until 2002, when Rabbi Kenneth Chasen, a former TV music supervisor and soundtrack composer who became a rabbi in 1998, took over as senior rabbi. Chasen's task at the 650-family-strong temple was to nurture its traditional ties to broad, generally liberal causes, while also serving young, sometimes apolitical, families seeking innovative, home-centered synagogue life.

Rabbi Alfred *Wolf, a long time associate of Rabbi Magnin at Wilshire Temple, set himself to bridge the gulf between the faiths. In 1975 he knit together the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Los Angeles with the Southern California Board of Rabbis and the American Jewish Committee. Together they established the Los Angeles Roman Catholic/Jewish Respect Life Committee which annually issued pastoral statements on subjects like "reflections on abortion and related issues," "caring for the dying person," "the single parent family," "nuclear reality," and "a covenant of care." He was one of the architects of the Southern California Interreligious Council for rabbis, ministers, and priests, which met regularly with Muslim, Buddhist, Sikh, and Bahai leaders. He also presided over the County Commission on Human Relations. When Pope John Paul II came to Los Angeles on a formal visit in 1989, Rabbi Wolf was chosen on behalf of the rabbinate to speak to him and he said, "we urge you, as we urge all our friends, to assist us in the continuing struggle against antisemitism – and in securing peace in Israel – including full diplomatic relations with the Vatican." Rabbi Wolf, upon retirement after 36 years of active service, became director of the newly established *Skirball Institute on American Values. He died in 2004 at 88.

Rabbi Gary Greenebaum of the American Jewish Committee took over the chairmanship of the Police Commission at a time when police actions were dividing the Los Angeles community and alienating its African-American citizens. He wisely walked the minefield with skill, determination, and integrity.

Rabbi Allen Freehling of University Synagogue was deeply immersed in social action issues. He received the Los Angeles social responsibility award from the Los Angeles Urban League, and the National Council of Christians and Jews honored him with the Humanitarian Responsibility Award. He was on the Los Angeles Commission to draft an ethics code for Los Angeles city government. He received the National Friendship Award by the parents and friends of lesbians and gays in 1989.When the AIDS epidemic began to spread, Rabbi Freehling became Los Angeles' heroic voice on behalf of Jewish religious action for AIDS victims. He was the citywide chairman of the Committee for AIDS, the founding chairperson of the County Commission on AIDS, and the founding chair of the AIDS Interfaith Council of Southern California. In 1998, Freehling led an interfaith pilgrimage to the Vatican to discuss Jewish history and antisemitism with Pope John Paul II. After the 9/11 attacks on the World Trade Center and other American targets, Freehling expended fresh energies reaching out to local Muslims and rejecting attempts to characterize them as monolithic apologists for terror. Freehling retired in 2003, after 30 years as senior rabbi, leaving his 900-family-strong congregation to Rabbi Morley Feinstein. Upon his departure, he announced his intent to engage in community building in the areas of human rights and civil liberties.

Los Angeles is also the home of several new age religious leaders and charismatic rabbis. Some are local figures with a local following and others are national and indeed international figures. Among the most prominent is Philip *Berg, who was influenced by an Israeli kabbalist by the name of Yehuda Brandwein. Rav Brandwein died in 1969. Beginning in Tel Aviv during the 1970s and expanding, after the Internet boom of the 1990s, to Los Angeles, Berg succeeded in popularizing Kabbalah and attracting media celebrities such as Madonna to his cause. Berg is at the helm of 50 centers claiming hundreds of thousands of paying adherents who help generate millions a year in revenue. The Kabbalah Centre directs its teachings to Jews and non-Jews alike. It has generated a "buzz" to borrow a term common in the entertainment community.

RABBI-EDUCATORS. In immediate post-World War II Los Angeles, there was no learning beyond bar mitzvah instruction and no employed Jewish scholars other than Dr. Samuel Dinin, who died in 2005 at the age of 103, then head of the Bureau of Jewish Education, and Rabbi Jacob Kohn (d. 1968) at Sinai Temple. Forty years later, the *University of Judaism was ensconced on 25 acres of land on Mulholland Drive, the Hebrew Union College was in the process of building a major cultural center in neighborly proximity, and Yeshiva University of Los Angeles (which is not affiliated with YU) was building a multi-story building on its site on Pico Boulevard. Additionally, UCLA and the state universities had developed serious programs of advanced Jewish studies as an integral part of their academic offerings, and a substantial community of Jewishly committed academics was helping to transform a Jewish desert into a possible oasis of Judaism. This came about largely through the efforts of rabbi-educators who put their lifetime learning and teaching experience to the task of building Jewish educational institutions.

The Union of American Hebrew Congregations (UAHC) in 1947 established in Los Angeles a college of Jewish studies to engage in teacher training and adult education. Five years later, the Cincinnati-based Hebrew Union College formed a degree-granting California school. Eventually, the school absorbed the UAHC College of Jewish Studies into a School of Education and Jewish Studies. In 1957, freshly ordained Rabbi Alfred Gottschalk was appointed dean of the school. He enrolled at the University of Southern California Graduate School of Religion to get a doctorate in Bible study. While there, he became good friends with the dean of the School of Religion. Their joint dream of the future bore fruit when in time an academic reciprocity agreement was negotiated whereby HUC would move to a major urban renewal site near USC, and the HUC students would receive a dual USC/HUC degree in selected graduate programs. HUC in turn would serve as the Jewish studies provider for the university. The campus was built and dedicated in 1971.

The Rabbinical School was the centerpiece of the program. Joining it was the nation's first School of Jewish Communal Service, headed by Gerald Bubis, who launched the academic training specific to Jewish communal workers. The Rhea Hirsch School of Education graduated educational administrators and teachers. The Skirball Museum was transferred from Cincinnati to Los Angeles expanding considerably the educational and cultural horizons of the school. It now increasingly regarded itself, except for its rabbinical department, as an institution for the entire Jewish community. When Gottschalk moved to Cincinnati to become fifth president of HUC, Uri D. Herscher became executive vice president of the Hebrew Union College-JIR world-wide and dean of the local school. He took the lead in conceptualizing and implementing a plan to build an imposing HUC Skirball Cultural Center and eventually established it as a separate, independent institution. David Ellenson, a long-time faculty member of the L.A. School, became the seventh president of HUC. In the 1990s, the school, began ordaining rabbis, who no longer went to Cincinnati or New York to complete their training.

By 1990, the concept, the new campus, and the funds were securely in hand. The renowned Israeli architect Moshe Safdie was commissioned to design a cultural center on an acquired choice Mulholland area site. When it opened later in the decade, Herscher left Hebrew Union College to head the Skirball Cultural Center, which established itself as an independent, thriving cultural center.

The fruitful relationship between HUC and USC reflected a growing, if unexpected rapprochement between the former WASP bastion and the Los Angeles Jewish community, which had long regarded the campus as a conservative Anglo-American redoubt inherently inhospitable to Jewish students and faculty. Although the university has often sought to downplay this aspect of its history, there was some merit in these perceptions, especially considered against the much warmer reception traditionally available across town at UCLA (sometimes disparaged as "Jew CLA").

An early president of the downtown Methodist campus, Joseph Widney, had in 1907 articulated a vision of Los Angeles (with USC at its forefront) as the world capital of Aryan supremacy. Rufus B. von Kleinsmid, USC's president from 1922 to 1946, and chancellor until his death in 1964, was widely rumored to have been a Nazi sympathizer. Various deans, including those of the medical and dental schools, alternately discriminated vigorously against Jewish enrollment (the Law and Medical schools were rumored to permit only one Jewish student a year during von Kleinsmid's tenure) or, in one episode involving the School of Dentistry in 1972, found themselves besieged by alumni charging pro-Jewish favoritism. In 1978, the university sparked another furor when it announced plans to accept a million dollars from Saudi Arabia for the King Faysal Chair of Islamic and Arab Studies (the plan, which entailed Saudi involvement in faculty appointments, was shelved after concerted protest from local Jewish organizations). In 1986, a campus fraternity was suspended for chanting anti-Jewish remarks outside the residency of a Jewish fraternity on Greek Row.

Today, however, some 11 percent of the student body (at 3,000 students, greater than every school in the California State University and University of California system, apart from UC Berkeley and Cal State Northridge) and a third of the faculty are Jewish. This is the result of ongoing, even unique, attempts by USC to escape its checkered past (and not incidentally, to attract Jewish financial support). By the turn of the 21st century, USC and HUC had jointly established the Casden Institute for the Study of the Jewish Role in American Life. This is reputedly the first academic research center on the West Coast to concentrate on contemporary issues in Jewish life, most notably the role that the American Jewish community has played in the development of the United States in general and the American West in particular. At the turn of the century, USC became the only university in the country, for instance, to hire a full-time Jewish student recruiter. At this juncture, the dean of religious life and the chairman of the board of trustees are Jewish. In October 2005, USC agreed to host Stephen Spielberg's Survivors of the Shoah Visual History Foundation, becoming the repository for 52,000 videotaped testimonies of Holocaust survivors and witnesses. Amassed since 1994, the archive is now the largest digital library in the world, containing testimonies from 56 countries in 32 languages and totaling 117,000 viewing hours. It is interesting to note that USC's vaunted film school did not accept the youthful Spielberg into its filmmaking program. The university subsequently awarded him an honorary doctorate and an appointment to its board of trustees.

UCLA remains the largest college campus in Los Angeles. It hosts about 4,000 students who identify themselves as Jewish. The largest Jewish group at UCLA is Hillel, which offers a range of student activity from Shabbat services to political advocacy and social action. Chabad has been active there for decades, and built one of its earliest local Chabad houses near the off-campus residencies in Westwood. In 2000, the university launched its UCLA Center for Jewish Studies, an initially modest program intended, eventually, to offer graduate degrees locally and doctorates throughout the University of California system. In 2005, the center joined the Autry National Center in a new research program to explore the Jewish place in the city's cultural mosaic. By 2007, the university expects to put an Israel studies program in place under the direction of UCLA political scientist Steven Spiegel, one of the field's eminent figures. The university has experienced considerable volatility between advocates and critics of Israel, and Jewish students there often feel they are on the front lines of confrontation with some Muslim and African-American students. Thanks largely to the efforts of long-time Hillel director Chaim Seidler-Feller, however, the campus has also seen the emergence of coalitions and joint programs involving moderate Jews, Muslims, and Arabs. The Jewish studies program, founded by noted Hebraist Arnold Band, thrives. There is a chair in Holocaust studies sponsored by the 1939 club. Its current incumbent is Saul Friedlaender who won the prestigious MacArthur Foundation's "genius award." Historian David Myers is among its faculty.

Jewish studies at California State University, Northridge (CSUN) enjoy a lengthy pedigree, dating back to 1969. In 2002, some 4,000 of the school's 31,000 students were estimated to be Jewish, and 400 students were registered in 14 different Jewish studies courses each semester. Jody Myers heads the program. In 2005, the Jewish Studies Interdisciplinary Program at CSUN offered 27 courses for students majoring or performing minors in Jewish studies. Jewish studies majors are also available at Cal State Long Beach.

The University of Judaism was founded in 1947 by the Jewish Theological Seminary in response to a visionary concept by Mordecai M. *Kaplan. He proposed to establish a Jewish institution with the academic rigor of a general university but devoted to specialized research, training, and education for Judaism defined as a civilization. It came into being just as Los Angeles was becoming a major center of Jewish life, second only to New York. At the same time, the Los Angeles Bureau of Jewish Education was prodding the seminary to provide them with a school that could qualify prospective teachers who would be needed for the city's growing Jewish school system. Additionally, the university planners saw the mission of the university as providing adult education, stimulating Jewish artistic expression, and offering continuing education to the young rabbis now flocking westward. JTS Vice Chancellor Simon Greenberg volunteered to act as founding director, and Samuel Dinin as founding dean on behalf of the Bureau. David Lieber came to the University of Judaism in 1956 as dean of students, and in 1962 became president. Early on he formulated educational and management principles that guided him through the decades of university growth: uncompromising academic excellence; partnership with scholars and laity in the running of the school; unswerving attachment to the principle of pluralism in recognizing the legitimate diversities in Judaism and in the faculty; the ultimate establishment of a liberal arts college that would integrate both Jewish and Western cultures in one school and in one curriculum. The university was radically reconstituted. A new campus was built in West Los Angeles, at the epicenter of L.A. Jewry, between the Valley and the West Side, that included residence halls for individuals and families that in time transformed the university from a commuting to a residential campus, from a local and Western institution to a national and international center. The school embarked upon a major program of expansion and diversification. The Hebrew teachers college was replaced by a master's program in Jewish education that qualified teachers to serve as administrators and educators; the courses for rabbis were replaced by a graduate school in Judaica for prospective rabbis who studied for two years at the UJ then spent a year in Israel and completed their training at the seminary in New York. A masters of business administration program was established under the direction of Dr. Judith Glass, whose purpose was to train future executives for Jewish and for not-for-profit secular institutions. Undergraduate students were grounded in both the Jewish and Western civilizations, with majors in a wide array of disciplines and qualified for graduate work in universities of their choice. The university's continuing education program grew to become the largest of its kind in the United States. Its annual catalogue of more than 50 pages described dozens of courses; an annual lecture series of six lectures held in five communities attracted a yearly audience of 25,000–40,000 persons; its elder hostel program was considered to be the most popular in the country. A vigorous arts program attested to the continuing concentration on the arts as being integral to Jewish education. Two new policy institutes were established in the late 1980s. The Wilstein Institute was an activist think tank that researched and recommended public policy on vital Jewish issues. In its first two years of existence, conferences on public policy were held in subjects relating to Jewish identity, crime and punishment, Soviet Jews in their homeland, and Jews and other ethnics in America. The Whizin Institute researched and experimented with new directions for the Jewish family, the synagogue, and the Jewish community. In the early 21st century, it added two small think tanks on Holocaust and contemporary Israeli studies.

By the 1990s, both the University of Judaism and the Hebrew Union College were thriving institutions with differing but also overlapping types of leadership and goals, which were beginning to establish modes of cooperation.

Robert *Wexler, a protégé of David Lieber, became president in 1992 and under his leadership he shaped UJ as a non-denominational institution serving all Jews, which increases its attraction to some, but diminishes the enthusiasm of stalwarts of the Conservative movement. A noteworthy recent example of this commitment was Yesod, an intensive two-year biblical and Jewish studies program established in partnership with ten local Conservative, Reform, and Reconstructionist synagogues. The university believes that charges against UJ for abandoning the Conservative movement are misplaced, and that apart from its rabbinical program and its involvement with Camp Ramah, it had always envisioned its mission as non-denominational. It also houses a *mikveh* used by non-Orthodox rabbis for conversion.

More than a half-century after its birth, the university has clearly set itself apart from the Jewish Theological Seminary of America (JTS) in New York City, the Conservative movement's preeminent entity for ordaining rabbis. In 1996 the University of Judaism received an endowment of more than $22 million dollars anonymously from a prominent Los Angeles Jewish family for the creation of its own rabbinical school, which is named the Ziegler School of rabbinic Studies. Instead of celebrating its creation and the expansion of opportunities for would-be Conservative rabbis, JTS Chancellor Ismar *Shorsch forced a confrontation, which he lost, and the Seminary and UJ parted ways. UJ ordainees are automatically accepted into the Rabbinical Assembly and they are competing successfully with Seminary graduates for the same jobs. JTS lost its monopoly on Conservative ordination. Ziegler students are perhaps less academically rigorous, especially when judged by the standards of Wissenschaft, but their spirituality is deepened and their training is wholesome and they are equipped to meet the religious needs of their congregants.

Created by Los Angeles-based rabbis in 2000, the Academy for Jewish Religion, California (AJR/CA) began with the intent of revitalizing Judaism. The Academy is non-denominational and deems itself pluralistic. In the fall of 2003, it enrolled 55 students. In 2005, it graduated five rabbis, two of them also cantors. Indeed, the academy hosts the only cantorial school west of the Hudson. The academy launched an innovative Jewish Chaplaincy Program to provide a vital and much-needed Jewish presence at hospitals, secular schools, police, fire and health departments, senior citizen centers, and other communal institutions.

Jewish Education

In many areas of Los Angeles, the Jewish community has opted out of the public school system. The result has been a boon to Jewish day school education. There are now 10,000 students enrolled in Jewish day schools. For many non-Orthodox the debate is not between public education and private education but between a Jewish day school education and private school. Nine synagogues – five Reform: Emanuel, Wilshire Blvd., Stephen Wise, Temple Israel of Hollywood, and Beth Hillel; and four Conservative: Valley Beth Shalom and Adat Ariel in the Valley, Sinai/Akiba and Pressman Academy on the West Side – have day schools that are affiliated with the congregations and such an affiliation is central to the future of the congregations. There are two liberal high schools, the Milken School and the New Jewish Community high school both established by Dr. Bruce Powell. Orthodox schools, large and small, proliferate, among the 37 Jewish day schools of Los Angeles. YULA has a high school for boys and one for girls. The girls' school became an independent school in Summer 2005, and it is expected that the boys' school will also become independent from Wiesenthal by summer 2006. Shalhevet is a progressive Orthodox high school modeled after the teachings of Harvard psychologist Lawrence Kohlberg, in which students participate in the governance of the school and, like Ramaz in New York, male and female students study together. It defines the liberal reaches of modern Orthodoxy. It was envisioned, established, and headed by Dr. Jerry Friedman who himself is a Harvard graduate and a prominent philanthropist.

The Jewish Federation Council

The Federation of Jewish Welfare Organizations was established in 1912 to serve as the disbursement, coordinating, and lobbying body for the 12 Jewish recipient agencies of the Los Angeles Community Chest. In addition the Federation took responsibility for raising modest sums for supplementary assistance. Under this arrangement only local Jewish needs were served. In 1929, responding to appeals from European and Palestine Jewry, and to local needs not supported by the Federation, a separate funding mechanism was established – the United Jewish Welfare Fund. Its first campaign year produced $93,000. By 1933, it became increasingly evident that there was need for a representative body that would be empowered to unite the Jewish community, including newer arrivals, around local concerns not addressed by the Federation or the Welfare Fund, such as Jewish education, youth organization, *kashrut* supervision, and newly formed synagogues. In response an umbrella body called the United Jewish Community was founded which in 1936 comprised 92 constituent organizations, congregations, and societies. In 1937, the United Jewish Community and the United Jewish Welfare Fund merged into a new body called the Jewish Community Council, which a few years later was given the authority to allocate the monies raised by the United Jewish Welfare Fund. There was a Federation and a Council. The Council became increasingly preeminent as it attracted the new leadership in the growing Jewish community, while the Federation remained the bastion of the traditional and largely German-Jewish émigré leadership; 156 of the 350 eligible Jewish organizations joined the Council. The new Jewish immigrants now arriving from the East Coast in increasing numbers tended to be politically liberal, equal-rights oriented, and devoted to Zionism and overseas needs. This contrasted strongly with the Federation of Jewish Welfare Organizations, which was conservative, local-needs oriented, and lukewarm to Zionism. The spectacular increase in fundraising from $2,750,000 in 1945 to $10 million in 1948, and from 33 to 58 thousand contributors, convinced the Federation leadership that their future was dismal, especially since Community Chest support, their major source of Jewish institutional income, was increasingly inadequate and increased public Jewish support was essential. The Federation and the Council negotiated for three years; the result was the Jewish Federation Council (JFC). In the decades ahead the Federation Council moved to become not only the spokesman but also the driving force behind Jewish community growth and development. It continued to expand its sense of community responsibility. Its goals originally were quantitative and defensive: raising more money from each contributor and from more contributors; dealing with emergencies that upset Jewish unity and harmony and so affect fundraising; and helping to maintain good relations in the community at large. In the wake of the Yom Kippur War, the Federation leadership began to consider the responsibilities of the Federation as potentially transcending practical needs. The Federation was already deeply involved in Jewish education. Its Bureau of Jewish Education guided, supported, subvented, and served as chief advocate for Jewish schools. Since its organization in 1937, it had striven to establish and raise standards, attract and increase financial support, and help to create a teaching profession. Under the initiative of Emil Jacoby, its director from 1983 to 1993, a number of programs were established which sought to raise the level and standards and effectiveness of Jewish education. However some thought more could be done to establish Federation responsibility for the welfare of Judaism as well as of Jews. Sensitive to the danger of crossing the line between religious autonomy and Federation responsibility, they suggested that the Los Angeles Federation formally accept responsibility for a community stake in what they termed "the quality of Jewish life." This was to be a revolutionary departure. Until now Jewish communities were divided into "organized" and "religious." Jewish organizational life mandated mutual independence between "church" and "state." In 1973 a Committee on Jewish Life was established by the JFC with the avowed goals of reducing tensions and adding to the potential cooperation between the communal and the congregational sectors of Jewish life. A year later the committee made its report and recommendations; as a result, in the fall of 1974, the Council of Jewish Life was established to implement the report. Its mandate at the time was to improve relationships between synagogues and the JFC; develop an outreach program to the unaffiliated including promotion of synagogue affiliation; and support of existing adult education programs. In succeeding years the Council of Jewish Life expanded its program, which aimed at "raising the quality of Jewish life." It established a number of commissions, which undertook projects with cultural, educational, and religious goals. It established a commission on synagogue affairs which organized synagogue councils in outlying areas, developed a task force on synagogue finance and administration, and circulated widely a letter written by the president of the JFC to welfare fund contributors describing the synagogue as "an indispensable link for the preservation and transmission of an authentic Jewish way of life" and urging affiliation with a synagogue. Nine hundred responses were received in response to this unprecedented appeal by a Jewish community organization, which openly committed itself to the synagogue as essential to the creative survival of Jewish life in America. Over the years the council established commissions that operated in areas considered significant. In

1988, they were adult Jewish education, the arts in Jewish life, the disabled, the Israelis, outreach to intermarried, outreach to singles, spirituality, synagogue funding. The Council, with funding from the Jewish Community Foundation, appropriated approximately $100,000 a year for support of synagogue proposals that were innovative. The grants were awarded by the committee on synagogue funding on a three-year basis. Grant requests by the end of the 1990s increasingly dealt with outreach concerns such as reaching the unaffiliated, the singles, the intermarried, and the disaffected. With the advent of the 21st century, however, the future of Jewish federations in general and L.A.'s in particular appeared to be both bleak and beyond the ability of commissioned studies and valiant slogans about the need for greater inclusion to easily reinvigorate. The bottom line is that its campaigns have not grown significantly while Jewish life has found other sources of Jewish support. The problem is not Jewish life in Los Angeles, which is thriving, but Jewish organizations formed in an earlier generation and enjoying less enthusiastic support from the younger generations.

In many respects, Los Angeles had become an innovative cauldron of new Jewish activity and organization entirely unbeholden to the East Coast, which in turn persisted in regarding itself as the sole arbiter of Jewish power in America and of national communal decision-making. It was this perceptual dichotomy, in fact, that resulted in several East-West spats that incensed the Los Angeles community. The first involved the Los Angeles regional chapter of the American Jewish Congress, which split from the national organization in 1999, reconstituting as the independent Progressive Jewish Alliance. Even more troubling was the impromptu dismissal, in 2002, of the Anti-Defamation League's regional director of 27 years' standing, David Lehrer, by the ADL's national director, Abraham Foxman. The latter's decision to terminate Lehrer without stated cause was taken as an affront to the entire community, not least of all by the ADL's regional board, which had achieved major strides in fundraising under Lehrer's stewardship, and resented being treated as a mere branch office. Lehrer was replaced by Amanda Susskind, a local attorney with a background in public policy.

Working against the community was the discovery that the Jewish population nationally was in decline. The Jewish population of Los Angeles has remained fairly constant from 1979 through today, despite significant immigration. The birthrate is extremely low. Affiliation rates, as in so many western communities, remain lower than those in the east. With intermarriage increasingly normative and the graying of the Jewish population proceeding farther apace than in many other ethnic communities, Jewish communal life and involvement inevitably became the purview of an increasingly smaller and self-limiting segment of the Jewish public. Secularization and assimilation occurred in parallel with fragmentation caused by a proliferation of new Jewish organizations and institutions; each determined to secure its share of an ever-diminishing pie. With Jews increasingly preferring to give to non-Jewish causes, federations became more dependent on a coterie of "big givers" for continued sustenance. In Los Angeles, attention to the needs and interests of this select, self-appointed, and sometimes self-serving few resulted not only in greater tensions between lay and professional leadership but in widespread malaise and alienation within the greater Jewish community.

Jewish Journalism Comes of Age in L.A.

The *Jewish Journal* is the flagship newspaper of the Los Angeles community. Prior to the *Jewish Journal's* appearance in 1986, Los Angeles had been served by three publications: the *Jewish Community Bulletin*, which had been the Federation's biweekly house organ, *Heritage*, a somewhat parochial, Israel-centered weekly established by Herb Brin in 1954, and the *B'nai B'rith Messenger*, aimed at the Orthodox community (the Israeli community, meanwhile, had its own Hebrew-language papers, notably *Israel Shelanu*, *Shalom L.A.*, and local supplements of the Israeli dailies *Yedioth Aharonoth* and *Maariv*). The *Jewish Journal* was the brainchild of a group of "Benefactors" who had long lamented the community's lack of a first-class Jewish paper. Armed with its forerunner's 75,000-strong subscription list and with an assertion of editorial independence, the paper initially exhibited scant awareness of the scope of Jewish life in Los Angeles. The paper made some headway broadening its coverage during the 1990s, most notably through the efforts of the late Marlene Adler Marks and the late David Margolis, writers with profound roots and sincere interest in hitherto ignored, misunderstood, or otherwise denigrated segments of the community. It also stepped up its Israel coverage. It was only with the appointment of local journalist Rob Eshman as editor, however, that the *Journal* was finally able to more fully and inclusively reflect L.A. Jewry's diverse, variegated, and sometimes contentious character. Like many Jewish newspapers, its critics contend that it plays it too safe.

The Rise and Fall and Rise of the JCCs

One of the earliest and most important points of entry into organized communal life in Los Angeles was the Jewish community center, the first of which, the Modern Hebrew School and Social Center, later renamed Soto-Michigan, came into being in Boyle Heights in 1924. A number of other centers followed, including one on West Adams, on Beverly-Fairfax, at City Terrace, and at Hollywood-Los Feliz. Initially underfunded and underused, these and subsequently created JCCs were placed under the aegis of a centralized organization, the Jewish Centers Association (JCA), in 1943. Subvented by the Los Angeles Jewish Federation Council, the JCA alternately bristled under the Federation's pecuniary oversight while holding tightly to the reins of individual centers that generated funds locally and often resented turning these resources and control over their own programming to the JCA. In 1952, the JCA flouted local opposition by closing the more ardently Zionist and overtly Jewish Menorah Center and merging it with the more intercultural Soto-Michigan Center. Declines in the Jewish population of the city's Eastside, and political pressure against Soto-Michigan's ostensibly radical leadership, resulted in its closure soon after, and that of the West Adams center as well.

As Jews moved into the city's western reaches and into the San Fernando Valley to the north, new Jewish community centers cropped up in their midst, ultimately resulting in a network of seven JCCs and a residential camp, three (Valley Cities, North Valley, and West Valley) in the San Fernando Valley alone. A joint JCA-Federation study conducted in the early 1970s resulted in the withdrawal of funding in 1976 for the Hollywood-Los Feliz JCC and for the Israel Levin Senior Adult Center (later the subject of "Number Our Days," the Academy Award-winning documentary based on the work of the late Barbara Myerhoff). Community protests outside Federation headquarters at 6505 Wilshire Boulevard resulted in their reinstatement.

The JCCs continued to muddle along, under-funded and undervalued, yet providing scarce services to segments of the community not quite established financially or sufficiently rooted in Jewish life to join synagogues, yet interested in childcare, programs for the elderly, scouting facilities for the children of Israelis, Jewish day camps, and other programs. Indeed, the Jewish pre-school program at Valley Cities JCC in Sherman Oaks developed under Bea Chankin Weisberg into one of the crown jewels of early childhood education in Los Angeles. During the 1990s, the JCCs spiraled downward. Their programs and membership dropped dramatically despite steep cuts in Federation funding, from 25 percent to 30 percent of their budgets to 13 percent. The North Valley JCC in Granada Hills, meanwhile, had its mettle severely tested in 1999, after a shooting spree by white supremacist Buford Furrow on the camp children that wounded several children and camp counselors and killed a mailman several miles away. The center lost little time resuming operations and regaining its footing and the community's confidence. Bailed out with Federation loans on several occasions, the parent organization, the Jewish Community Center of Los Angeles, finally collapsed, ostensibly due to mismanagement, in 2001. Several of the city's prized JCCs, valued more for their property than the services they provided, found themselves dragged onto the chopping block. The Bay Cities center in Santa Monica and the North Valley Center were ultimately sold, and the Conejo Valley Center closed up shop. The Westside and West Hills centers, both situated in extremely affluent neighborhoods, became independent. Their respective communities, meanwhile, rescued the centers in Silverlake and Sherman Oaks, at the last moment, although their continued existence is deemed tenuous. It is remarkable that in a city as affluent and as athletically and culturally oriented as Los Angeles, Jewish Community Centers are not thriving and came perilously close to extinction.

A Bounty of Innovative Institutions

Renowned (or notorious) as a capital of glitz and ostentation as well as of homelessness and hunger, in 1985, Los Angeles became home to an innovative response to the excess and overindulgence of some of its wealthier segments with the creation of Mazon. A non-profit, grassroots agency created in the aftermath of an Ethiopian famine, Mazon (Hebrew for "Sustenance") provides millions of dollars to over 300 hunger-relief agencies, including emergency food providers, food banks, multi-service organizations, and advocacy groups that seek long-term solutions to the hunger problem. Over $3 million are now culled annually from Jewish families and organizations as a self-imposed three percent tax on catered events. Founded by Leonard Fein, Mazon cites as inspiration the Torah's demands for justice and the rabbinic tradition of forbidding the commencement of life-cycle celebrations until the community's poor and hungry have been seated and fed. Since 1986, Mazon has provided more than $31 million to the hungry in the United States, in Israel, and in developing countries around the world.

Another noteworthy local innovation is *Beit T'Shuva* (Heb. "House of Repentance"), a recovery and reintegration center that seeks to integrate Jewish spirituality with the 12 steps of Alcoholics Anonymous and with traditional psychotherapy. With a campus in West Los Angeles, *Beit T'Shuva* provides therapeutic in- and outpatient accommodations to alcoholics, substance abusers, and discharged prisoners. *Beit T'Shuva* began as an outgrowth of a non-profit organization called the Jewish Committee for Personal Service (JCPS). That organization came into being in 1921 to provide social services to Jews in California mental hospitals and prisons. Forty years later, a donation from a JCPS client led to the establishment of the Gateways Hospital and Mental Health Center, which subsequently incorporated JCPS as one of its programs. Harriet Rossetto, who joined the staff of JCPS in 1984, discerned in an article by Dr. Abraham Twerski on Judaism and the Twelve Steps a possible antidote both to the recidivism of many of her patients and to the Jewish community's apparent lack of concern and support (many Jews erroneously believing that Jews as a rule did not suffer addictions). In 1987, with a grant from FEMA and a loan from the Jewish Community Foundation, Gateways Hospital bought an old house at 216 South Lake Street in Los Angeles and opened the doors of *Beit T'Shuva.* The original mission was to provide transitional living and reentry services to Jewish men being released from jails and prisons. The program has expanded its attentions in recent years to Jews struggling with addictive behaviors. A capital campaign raised five million dollars toward the purchase and renovation of a new facility, which opened in 1999. Two years later, *Beit T'Shuva* gained its independence from Gateways Hospital, becoming a constituent agency of the Los Angeles Jewish Federation. Its spiritual leader is himself a *Ba'al Teshuvah* and UJ ordainee Rabbi Mark Borowitz, who returned to tradition after his own incarceration.

Justice may be a Jewish imperative, but its pursuit in 21st-century America can be prohibitively expensive and beyond the grasp of most consumers, Jews and non-Jews alike. Enter *Bet Tzedek* (Heb. "House of Justice"), a five-day-a-week storefront community law office that dispenses free legal assistance to more than 10,000 Angelinos out of its Fairfax neighborhood headquarters, an office in North Hollywood, and 30 senior centers throughout the Greater Los Angeles region. With a staff of 55 and over 400 volunteers, the organization, founded in 1974, serves all eligibly needy residents of Los Angeles County, Jewish or otherwise. *Bet Tzedek* has been instrumental in fighting consumer fraud; in protecting employee rights; in assisting health-care providers and nonpaid caregivers; in securing government benefits for eligible recipients; in combating slumlords and protecting tenants from unscrupulous landlords; in expanding elder law protection, and even in securing Holocaust reparations – they were the key organization to impact the way reparations are handled by the Claims Conference.

In 1982, Lowell and Michael Milken established the Milken Family Foundation. Active in education, medical research, and Jewish culture, the foundation has made noteworthy attempts to support and honor outstanding teachers locally and nationally, to foster school reform, and to generate enthusiasm for education as a lifelong process. The Milkens were also instrumental in founding the Milken Community High School, the crown jewel of the Stephen S. Wise Jewish school system.

In 2003, the foundation released the first of 90 projected compact disk recordings of Jewish music, under the aegis of the Milken Archives of American Jewish Music in New York City, established in 1990 to generate a $17 million compilation of over 600 pieces of Jewish music culled from over 350 years of American musical history. Of these, no less than 500 are new recordings of lost or never-preserved music, commissioned from orchestras, choirs, and soloists in 15 cities in the U.S. and Europe. These include Sephardic liturgies from the American Colonial period; recordings of complete Orthodox, Conservative, and Reform services; Klezmer-influenced concert works; ecstatic Hasidic music; Yiddish theater work with reconstructed orchestrations; and works commemorating or otherwise influenced by the Holocaust and the founding of the State of Israel. Distributed under the Noxos recording label, initial offerings included works by Kurt Weill, Mario Castelnuovo-Tedesco, David Krakauer, and Alberto Mizrahi, and orchestras led by such eminent conductors as Gerald Schwarz. The archive's artistic director is Neil W. Levin, of the Jewish Theological Seminary.

Jewish life – religious and secular, cultural and intellectual – thrives in Los Angeles, a city with intense affiliations and also a high rate of non-affiliation. The challenge of the early 21st century is how to preserve the intense core of Jewish life while attracting to that core those with but the most marginal of Jewish affiliations. It is not a problem unique to Los Angeles, but one acute in Los Angeles.

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[Max Vorspan / Sheldon Teitelbaum (2nd ed.)]

LOSICE (Pol. **Łosice**; Rus. **Lositsy**; Yid. **Loshits**), town in Lublin province, E. Poland. Jews probably settled in Losice at the end of the 17th century. At the beginning of the 18th century the townsmen complained to the king about competition from Jewish craftsmen. A synagogue was erected in the 18th century against an annual payment of 200 zlotys. In 1765 there were 389 Jewish polltax payers in Losice and the vicinity. The community numbered 654 (42% of the total population) in 1827 and 917 (54%) in 1857. From then on its numbers increased considerably due to the horse markets in the town, in which large numbers of Jewish dealers took part. The Jewish population numbered 2,396 (71%) in 1897 and 2,708 (70%) in 1921. Before the outbreak of World War II there were about 2,900 Jews in Losice. The community was liquidated on Aug. 22, 1942, when the Jews were deported to *Treblinka camp.

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[*Encyclopaedia Judaica* (Germany)]

LOSTICE (Czech **Loštice**; Ger. **Loschitz**), village in N.W. central Moravia, until 1992 Czechoslovak Republic and thereafter Czech Republic. Jewish settlement is first mentioned in Lostice in 1544. Another record, from 1630, mentions that there were 21 houses of Jewish ownership; only ten were inhabited after the Thirty Years' War (1650). A large number of Lostice Jews attended the Leipzig fairs in the 18th century. The community increased after the mid-17th century, when Jews were expelled from Ukraine and lower Austria. In Lostice there were 80 Jewish families (328 persons); 17 houses are recorded in 1727. In 1798 the number of families allotted to Lostice was 71 (see *Familants Law). Before that time, Jewish houses had stood very close to the Catholic Church; but in 1727 the Jews were forced to move to other places, where they formed a ghetto. Their number declined sharply after the emancipation allowed the Jews freedom of movement. The number fell from 438 in 1848 to 284 in 1869, and to 115 in 1900.

In 1921 there were 2,708 Jews. In 1928 most of the Jewish quarter was destroyed by fire. In 1930, 55 Jews were left in the town. By 1938 six families remained. They were all deported during the Holocaust; 11 returned from the Nazi concentration camps. The synagogue was destroyed on November 11,

1938. The religious community was not revived after World War II.

The synagogue, probably from 1805, was used until the Nazi occupation; subsequently it was used as a storehouse. In 1966–80 it housed a municipal museum with an exhibition of the history of the Jewish community. Later, it served as an art and music school.

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[Meir Lamed / Yeshayahu Jelinek (2nd ed.)]

LOST PROPERTY (Heb. *avedah u-meẓi'ah*; lit. "lost and found").

The Basis of the Law

Lost property, called *avedah*, is property which has passed out of its owner's possession and whose whereabouts are unknown to him. Both criteria must exist together for the property to be designated as an *avedah* (Rashi and Tos. to BM 30b, and see 31a). The Pentateuch enjoins that an *avedah* be returned to its rightful owner (Deut. 22:1–4). When the owner has clearly despaired of finding an *avedah* and of having it restored to his possession (see **Ye'ush*) his ownership in it ceases, and the finder is not obliged to return it but may retain it for himself (BM 21b). Even in the absence of the owner's *ye'ush*, the same consequence follows if there is no possibility of the *avedah* being restored to him (Tos. to BM 22b; Ran, Nov. Ḥul. 38b). The laws of *avedah u-meẓi'ah* comprise two categories:

(1) laws forming part of property law, namely the determination of what constitutes an *avedah* and the point at which ownership thereof ceases so as to enable the property to be acquired by the finder (*zekhiyyah*); and

(2) laws circumscribing the *mitzvah* of restoring the lost property, i.e., laws not appertaining to property law, since the finder who fails to return an *avedah* and who leaves it where it was found, transgresses the law but is not obliged to compensate the owner. However, the finder who takes an *avedah* and appropriates it for himself is considered a thief (BM 26b).

Avedah with Retention of Ownership

In accordance with the above definition, it may be noted that, for instance, an animal grazing on public land without the knowledge of the owner, and where it is not kept from getting lost, is considered an *avedah*, although not if it is grazing on a path when he is aware of its presence there (Ravad, in: Asheri BM 2:26). Similarly, a garment lying in a public thoroughfare is an *avedah*, but not one lying behind a fence (BM 31a). Nor would a vessel that is covered, even though found in a refuse heap, be deemed an *avedah* (BM 25b).

Restoration

The fact that an article has been lost does not in itself involve loss of ownership. Accordingly, a person who comes across property that appears to be lost is duty bound to take it into his custody and care until it can be restored to its owner. In certain circumstances, however, the finder is exempt from this duty. Thus a kohen is prohibited from entering a cemetery and therefore cannot be responsible for an *avedah* which he has seen there (BM 32a). Similarly a person is also exempt if he would not normally take the object, even if it were his own, such as an elderly person for whom such an action would be considered undignified (BM 30a). Furthermore, the finder of property which is of negligible value (i.e., less than a prutah; BM 27a), or a finder who would be involved in expense in restoring the property to its rightful owner (BM 30b), are also exempt. All other finders of lost property, however, must take charge thereof and seek out the owner, to whom it must be returned. Some scholars are of the opinion that the finder's degree of responsibility for an *avedah* – as long as it is in his care – must be the same as that of an unpaid bailee, while others equate the standard of care required to that of a paid bailee (BM 29a; see *Bailment). In the case of an animal, if the expense of its upkeep should prove to be too high to make its return to the owner worthwhile, the finder may sell the animal after a certain period, but has to account for the proceeds to the owner (BM 28b). Inanimate property may not be used by the finder except to prevent its deterioration (BM 29b).

When the owner's identity is unknown to the finder, he must bring the *avedah* to the notice of the public, i.e., by announcing it. If the claimant owner offers notable identification marks (*simanim*), the property is returned to him, but if he is suspected of being an impostor he must also produce evidence of his ownership (BM 28b). Before the destruction of the Temple, the announcement was made from a stone platform in Jerusalem, during the three festivals when the people were gathered there. In later times the announcement was made in the synagogues, and it was also enacted that, in places where the secular authorities expropriated all lost property, it would suffice if a finder made the matter known to his neighbors and acquaintances only (BM 28b). If no claimant responds to the announcement, the finder must retain the *avedah*, in trust for the owner, indefinitely (Sh. Ar., ḤM 267:15).

The *mitzvah* to restore lost articles to their owners is not limited to physical objects that are found, but it is extended to include the wider concept of preventing loss to one's fellow. Thus, if a man sees water flooding a neighbor's field and he is able to stop it, he has a duty to do so; or if he sees an animal destroying a vineyard he has a duty to drive it away (BM 31a). Furthermore, this wider concept even extends to the person of an individual, so that if anyone finds that another has lost his way, it is a *mitzvah* to set him right or to guide him as may be necessary (BK 81b).

Related to the *mitzvah* of returning an *avedah* is that of "loading and unloading" (*perikah u-te'inah*), which also involves saving one's neighbor from suffering losses. A person is required to come to the aid of a neighbor in the unloading and reloading of a heavily laden beast of burden (Ex. 23:5; Deut. 22:4; BM 32a–33a). In view of their common halakhic source, the laws of loading and unloading and of returning lost property are similar and interrelated (see Ḥ. Albeck, *Hashlamot* to *Mishnah*, BM 2:10).

Avedah with Loss of Ownership

When the owner despairs of having lost property restored to him, his ownership thereof ceases (see **Ye'ush*) and title to the property vests in the finder. *Ye'ush* may be inferred from speech or conduct, or may be assumed from the circumstances in which the lost property is found. For instance, an *avedah* which has no identification marks, or which is found in a public thoroughfare, or which appears to have been lost a long time before – factors which make it impossible for the property to be returned – are instances in which *ye'ush* would be inferred. Often it is doubtful whether under certain circumstances the owner is presumed to have despaired, and the sages disagree as to whether the finder has to restore the lost property or acquires ownership in it; e.g., where the lost property has identification marks but they are liable to be erased by being trodden upon, or when the property has marks which were not made intentionally, or whether the place in which the property was found can be an identification mark (BM 23a).

A second category of lost property which becomes ownerless, and may therefore be appropriated by the finder, is that of *avedah mi-da'at* ("intentional loss"), i.e., when it appears from the circumstances that the property has been intentionally abandoned or thrown away by its owner and that he no longer desires it, e.g., scattered fruit on a threshing floor, figs which have dropped from a tree alongside a road, open jars of wine or oil left in a public place (BM 21a,, 23b). Finally, lost property which can no longer be restored to its owner ceases to be owned by him and belongs to the finder, even if in the absence of the owner's *ye'ush*. Thus an *avedah* carried away by the river is lost to the owner and "to the whole world," even if the owner is unaware of his loss and even if he does not despair (Tos. to BM 22b). Some scholars nevertheless establish the owner's *ye'ush* in these circumstances, on which ground they justify the above rules (TJ, BM 2:1; 8b; Maim. Yad, *Gezelah va-Avedah*, 11:10). Similarly, geese and fowl which escaped from their owner and can no longer be restored to him belong to the finder (Ran on Rif Ḥul. ch. *Shillu'aḥ ha-Ken*, introd.).

In talmudic times it was already customary, as a matter of equitable law, to return certain classes of lost property, even if ownership thereof had already ceased, as in the case of an *avedah* dropped in a public thoroughfare (BM 24b). In post-talmudic times the communities of Europe adopted the practice of returning property carried away by a flood or similarly "lost to the world," either in terms of rabbinical enactments (**takkanot*) or in accordance with the principle of **dina de-malkhuta dina* (Mordecai, BM no. 257; Rema, ḤM 259:7; see also **Shomerim*).

The laws of the State of Israel require all lost property to be handed over to the police, but the finder may claim it for himself if after a certain period the owner is not found.

[Shalom Albeck]

The Commandment to Return Lost Property and the Law in the State of Israel

(a) Section 2 of the Restoration of Lost Property Law, 5733 – 1973 obligates a person who finds and takes any lost property to return it to its owner or to report the find to the police. However, the Law imposes no obligation to take the lost object ab initio. By contrast, Jewish Law imposes a religious-ethical obligation upon a person seeing a lost article or aware of its existence to take it, with the object of returning it to its rightful owner (Sh. Ar., ḤM 259:1). The obligation not to ignore a lost object led the Sages to develop precise definitions of the concept of lost property, so as to enable the finder of a lost object to ascertain when an obligation to return exists, when it is forbidden for him to take the object so that he will not be considered a thief or spoiler, and when he is entitled to take the object for himself.

(b) Both Jewish Law and Israeli Law recognize the finder's ability to acquire ownership of a lost object. However, the methods of acquisition in Israeli Law and in Jewish Law differ in a number of respects. Jewish Law recognizes the concept of "resignation" and rules that, if we may presume that the owner despaired of recovering his lost object before the finder took it, the finder is entitled to keep the object for himself (Sh. Ar., ḤM 259:3); however, if the lost object was taken before the owner reached this stage of resignation, the finder can never acquire it (Sh. Ar., *ibid*.). Israeli Law adopted the Jewish legal concept of "resignation" and even determined that the finder becomes the new owner of the object when "the owner shall be deemed to have given up the property" (section 4 of the Law). However, the Law also defines "resignation" as occurring only after four months have elapsed from the date of the find. Moreover, even in the case of property of negligible value, in which the Law recognizes the possibility of immediate resignation by the owner, the Law makes no distinction between whether the finder took the object before or after the owner abandoned hope of its return.

(c) A person who takes a lost object and fails to fulfill the obligations imposed on him by the Law is liable to the penalties prescribed in section 9 of the Law; if he retains the property for himself he commits theft (section 383(c) of the Israeli Penal Code, 5737 – 1977). Jewish Law also regards a person who keeps an object found by him, without returning it to its owner, as a thief.

(d) Conceptually speaking, the duty to return lost property is given extremely wide interpretation in Jewish Law and includes the obligation to prevent others from loss. Any act of deliverance is regarded as the restoration of something lost. It was thus that the Sages explained the verse: "and so shall you do with any lost object of your brother" (see BM 31a; Maim. Yad, *Gezelah va-Avedah* 11.20). Various concepts are mentioned in this regard, e.g. "lost property" (saving land from floods), "lost person" (saving a person's life and bodily integrity; see BK 81b), and even "lost spirit" (saving a person from transgressing; see *Minḥat Ḥinukh* 239:4). It is thus apparent that the duty of restoration applies to all types of property or interests of others which are endangered. By contrast, the Israeli legislator preferred the practical distinction between restoring a lost object and saving another person from loss – the latter including any activity for the preservation of another person's interest. The return of lost property is regulated by the Restoration of Lost Property Law (and the definition of lost property was thus limited to movable property, concerning which an act of restoration may be performed), while activities performed to preserve another person's interest are regulated by section 5 of the Unjust Enrichment Law, 5739 – 1979.

Case Law of the Israeli Supreme Court – Lost Property Found in Another Person's Domain

In the "Hendeles" judgment (CA 546/78 *Kupat Am Bank Ltd. v. Hendeles et al.*, PD 34(3) 57), the Israeli Supreme Court addressed the question of lost property found by one of the bank's customers on the floor of the bank's safe deposit room. The issue in these proceedings was whether this place, being open to the public, was considered "another person's domain" for purposes of section 3 of the Law, which states that "[a] person who finds lost property in another person's domain shall report the find to such other person and deliver up the property to him at his request" and adds that "[i]f the other person takes over the lost property, he shall be regarded as the finder."

Justice Barak sought to ascertain the primary purpose of the Law and reached the conclusion that the main purpose of the Law is to restore lost property to its rightful owner, and it therefore follows that the word "domain" should be construed in a manner that increases the chances of the original owner to retrieve his property. To this end, an examination needs to be made, on a case by case basis, as to whether this goal will be realized by leaving the object in the place it was found. If we reach the conclusion that it is better for the original owner if the object remains in the place where it is found, this consideration alone suffices to enable the place to come within the definition of "another person's domain," because by so doing the finder will become obligated to transfer the object to the owner of the "domain." To quote Justice Barak:

> It appears to me that in considering whether a lost article was found in another person's domain, there is no room to have recourse to the question of whether that other person is regarded in the eyes of the law as the holder of the lost property even prior to its discovery by the finder… This approach – who was the first holder – does not appear to be relevant to the main goals of the Restoration of Lost Property Law. If indeed the primary interest of the Law is the restoration of lost property to its rightful owner, and if in order to realize this interest… it is fitting for the lost property to be delivered to the owner of the place, the original finder is obligated to do so, whether he is the first holder of the property, or whether it is possible to regard – according to this or any other doctrine of the laws of possession – the owner of the place as the first holder.

Justice Barak notes two factors, on whose basis it may be decided whether the lost article should be left in its place:

> First, it is natural that the owner of the lost property will return to the place at which the object was lost. His reasonable expectation is that, if the object is found at that place, and if at that place there is a person whose connections to the place are such that he can be expected to guard it, he will be able to receive it there and will not need to search after the finder… Secondly, there is a high probability that the owner of the place where the lost property is found, by virtue of his links to the place, will guard the lost object for its owner to a greater extent than a random finder.

Since the bank is the "natural address" to which the owner of the lost property is liable to return when he recalls where the object was lost, the bank should be classified as a separate "domain" for the application of the provisions of section 3, and the finder is obligated to deliver to the bank the lost article that he found. If the owner of the lost object is not ascertained within four months, the owner of the "domain" – the bank – will take possession of the object, even if in terms of the laws of ownership, the original finder should become the owner.

Justice Elon, in the minority, disagreed with the opinion of his colleague and wrote: "Section 2 only applies in unusual cases – generally speaking, in the case of an article which is found in the thoroughfare of a city." By contrast, with respect to

> an article found in a place which is traversed freely by thousands and even tens of thousands of people, such as the main entrance hall of a bank, in department stores and in various types of supermarkets, on buses and other modes of transport, in government offices and public institutions etc. – the manner of restoration follows the provisions of section 3 of the Law. In this way, section 3 becomes the main provision of the Law (p. 72).

He repeats and summarizes his criticism against Justice Barak in the further hearing that took place in the case (FH 13/80, *Hendeles et al. v. Kupat Am Bank*, PD 35(2), 785) in the following language:

> According to his construction (that of Justice Barak), the provisions of section 3 form the main rule of the Law, whilst the provisions of section 2 are the exception. This conclusion, it seems to me, is at odds with the plain meaning of the Law, nor in my opinion does it conform with the object of the Law. It does not advance the Law's declared object of effecting and assuring the restoration of lost property to its owner, and the conclusion that follows, viz. that if the owner is not found after four months the property passes into the ownership of the bank and is not handed over to the immediate finder, fails to pass the test of reason and justice (p. 795).

According to Justice Elon:

> Since doubt has arisen over the correct interpretation of section 3 of the Law and the meaning of the phrase "another person's domain," and this doubt cannot be resolved by the terms and content of the Law itself, it is only right and proper to turn to the Jewish legal system to find in its provisions a way to solve the problem. This is certainly true when it is apparent that the Restoration of Lost Property Law of the Knesset and the Jewish Law relating to the restoration of lost property have a common central object – to restore lost property to its rightful owner.

In this light, Justice Elon presents the position of Jewish Law in relation to the case in question, viz. that a bank's safe deposit room, being a private domain that is open to the public, over which in practice the owners have no control, is not defined, for the purposes of the lost property laws, as "another person's domain," because it comes within the definition of a "courtyard that is not guarded," while only a "guarded courtyard" can effect an acquisition on a person's behalf.

The majority of the Court did not agree with the words of Justice Elon, and even in the further hearing the majority ruled in accordance with the opinion of Justice Barak. However, it is interesting to note that Justice Elon's critical words did not fall on deaf ears, because in a memorandum for the draft Civil Law (the codification of civil legislation in the State of Israel) which was disseminated in 2004, a proposal was made to amend section 3 and to add to it the following provision: "The Court is entitled to determine that the rights in a lost article shall be divided between the finder and the domain owner in equal shares, save where it deems it appropriate to determine a different proportion" (section 800(b) of the draft).

[Michael Wygoda (2nd ed.)]

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LOT (Heb. לוֹט), son of Haran, grandson of Terah, and nephew of *Abraham (Gen. 11:27). Upon Haran's death in Ur, Terah took Lot with him when, with Abraham and Sarah, he left the city for the land of Canaan. After Terah's death in Haran (11:32), Abraham accepted Lot into the fold of his family in accordance with his patriarchal responsibility to the son of his deceased brother (12:4). Lot accompanied Abraham in his journeys from Haran to Canaan, from Canaan to Egypt, and from Egypt back to Canaan (12:5; 13:1). Abraham and Lot then passed through the Negev into the Benjamite hill country seeking pasture for their livestock which had multiplied in Egypt (12:16; 13:2). A personal quarrel then broke out between their respective shepherds, for "the land would not support them staying together" (13:6). In order to avoid strife, particularly between "kinsmen," Abraham suggested to Lot that they part company. He gave his nephew first choice of the land, whereupon Lot chose the fertile Jordan plain, and settled near Sodom (13:8–12). The biblical narrative tacitly contrasts Abraham's benevolence with Lot's self-interest, and points out that Lot chose to reside with the people of Sodom who "were very wicked sinners against the Lord" (13:13). Abraham continued to show concern for Lot even after their separation. When Lot and his property were captured by *Chedorlaomer and his allies, Abraham pursued them, rescued Lot, and brought him back safely to Sodom (14:1–16).

Parallels have been pointed out between Noah's position in the *Flood story and that of Lot in Sodom's destruction (19:1–29). In both cases, God's natural, destructive forces act against man because of his wickedness, and both narratives emphasize God's choice in saving the one worthy person of that generation. Lot's righteousness is not mentioned but his hospitality forms a clear contrast to the perversions and wickedness of the people of Sodom (19:2–10). Lot carried his hospitality so far in protecting his visitors, that when the Sodomites demanded to "become intimate" with them he offered his virgin daughters in their place (19:8). Lot is rescued from Sodom for the sake of Abraham (19:29), but his personal merit is implied in the contrast with his sons-in-law who frivolously disbelieved in the destruction of Sodom (19:14), and with his wife who, disobeying orders, looked back, only to become a pillar of salt (19:17, 26).

After the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah, Lot, who had found protection in Zoar, took to the hills and lived in a cave with his two daughters (19:23, 30). Here, the girls, believing all other males to have become extinct, got their father drunk and without his knowledge committed incest with him (19:31–35). As a result, Lot's older daughter became the mother of *Moab and his younger daughter the mother of *Ben-Ammi (19:36–38). The name "sons of Lot" (Deut. 2:9, 19; Ps. 83:9) in biblical reference to Moab and Ammon is probably based on this etiological story.

It has been argued that the narrative of Lot and his daughters may be an indication of retributive punishment of Lot for offering his daughters to the Sodomites in place of his visitors. Just as he had allowed the claims of courtesy to transcend morality, so his daughters permitted their concern for the propagation of the species to outweigh the laws of incest. Yet, although offensive as Lot's offer may be to modern readers, the fact is that fathers had disposition over their daughters to the extent that they could even sell them into slavery (Ex. 21:7; according to rabbinic law a father could marry his daughter to a man who is disfigured and has boils; see Ket. 9b). In addition, the narrator does not condemn the actions of the women but informs us twice (Gen. 19:32, 34) that the daughters of Lot were motivated by the desire to preserve the human species, using the same phrase "to keep seed alive" that he uses for YHWH's words to Noah in Genesis 7:3 in the command to bring the animals onboard the ark. In other words, Lot's two daughters acted much in the manner of Tamar, who continued the family line by soliciting sexual intercourse from her father-in-law, which likewise violates the rules of incest (Lev. 18:15, 20:12), and which act is praised by the author of Ruth 4:12. (See also the rabbinic evaluation below.)

The present form of the Lot narrative leaves an unmistakable impression of Israelite ascendancy over Ammon and Moab: Haran, Lot's father and the grandfather of Ammon and Moab, was the youngest of Terah's sons, while Abraham was the oldest; Lot was continually in need of Abraham's protection and help; the incestuous union between Lot and his daughters disgraces their offspring, the Ammonites and Moabites.

The Dead Sea Scroll's Genesis Apocryphon (20–21), written in Aramaic, embroiders the scriptural narrative. According to this source, Lot not only accompanied Abraham to Egypt but also functioned there as spokesman to Pharaoh's agent. He acquired great possessions, obtained a wife, and built himself a house in Sodom.

In the *Aggadah*

The rabbis often represent Lot in an unfavorable light although in some sources he is praised for his virtues, the word *ẓaddik* of Genesis 18:23 being applied to him. When, however, he separated himself from Abraham, he at the same time separated himself from God (Gen. R. 41:5–7). He chose to settle in Sodom because of his lustful desires (*ibid.*). There he became a usurer (51:6). He was appointed head of the local tribunal (50:3), according to some, because he was the worst of all the five judges there (Tanḥ. B, Va-Yera 21). Although Lot owed his deliverance from Sodom to Abraham's intercession (Mid. Hag. to Gen. 13:11), it was also his reward for not having betrayed Abraham in Egypt when he said that Sarah was his sister (Gen. R. 51:6). A greater reward, however, is that the Messiah will be descended from him through Ruth the Moabite and Naamah the Ammonite (see Gen. R. 51:8 and Naz. 23b–24a). Lot had learned the virtue of hospitality from Abraham and invited the angels to his home although in Sodom this was punishable by death (PdRE 25). As a reward for this act, Israel was forbidden to wage war against his descendants (Yalkut 2 (1877), 782 on Is. 15). The whole night Lot pleaded in favor of Sodom (Lev. R. 23:9). Only the two unmarried daughters of Lot followed him when he left the city (Gen. R. 51:9). Lot is condemned for the negligence which caused him to sleep with his two daughters (Gen. 19:30–38). Although he was not aware of what he was doing he allowed himself to become intoxicated again after he had found out what had happened to him with his elder daughter. However, his daughters' intention was honorable (Hor. 10b).

ISLAM. Lūṭ (Lot) accompanied Abraham when he left Aram-Naharaim (Sura 29:25), but Muhammad has set aside an important place for him in his prophecies because he regards him to have been, like himself, a prophet sent to rebuke the wicked (22:43; 26:160; 37:133). The name of Sodom, however, is not mentioned in the Koran. It appears that the positive description of Lot in the Koran was influenced by Christian literature, because in the Jewish Midrashim there is no such appreciation. Muhammad's attitude toward the wife of Lot is negative (66:11). The later descriptions found in the works of Ṭabarī, Thaʿlabī, and al-Kisāʾī show an extensive familiarity with the events of Lot's life. They particularly deal at length with the description of the wickedness of Lot's wife, who reported the good deeds of her husband to the men of Sodom. The influence of the Jewish Midrash (Gen. R. 51:5) is obvious. Islamic legend, however, also influenced subsequent Jewish *aggadot*.

For Lot in the arts see *Sodom and Gomorrah.

[Haïm Z'ew Hirschberg]

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LOTAN, GIORA (**Georg Lubinski**, 1902–1974), Israel social welfare expert. Born in Berlin, Lotan practiced as a lawyer. From 1933 to 1938 he headed the division of vocational training for youth and adults in the Organization of German Jewry, wrote many articles on social welfare in Germany, and was co-editor of a journal on social welfare. Immigrating to Ereẓ Israel in 1938, he succeeded Henrietta *Szold as director of the social welfare department of the *Va'ad Le'ummi. During World War II Lotan established and directed the Committee for the Welfare of the Families of Jewish Soldiers and carried out a similar assignment during the War of Independence. In 1948 he was a member of the Government of Israel Social Insurance planning committee. He was the first director general of the National Insurance Institute (1954–69). From 1959 to 1961 he also served as the director general of the Ministry of Social Welfare and later, director general of the Ministry of Labor. Lotan wrote many articles and published a study of social insurance in Israel (*National Insurance in Israel*, 1969).

[Jacob Neusner]

LOTHAR, ERNST (pseudonym of **Ernst Lothar Mueller**; 1890–1974), Austrian novelist, author, and stage director. Lothar was born in Bruenn and after studying law entered the Austrian civil service and became state attorney and counsellor at the Ministry of Trade. After World War I Lothar was the theater critic of the Viennese *Neue Freie Presse* and in 1935 he succeeded Max Reinhardt as director of Vienna's "Theater in der Josefstadt." He also staged a number of plays at the Salzburg festivals.

Although he converted to Catholicism and was at pains to sever all connections with Judaism and the Jewish community, Lothar was forced in 1938 to resign his post and leave Austria. He eventually immigrated to the U.S. and became professor of comparative literature at Colorado College. In 1946 he returned to Vienna as theater and music officer in the U.S. army of occupation. He later again became a stage director in Vienna. Lothar was a prolific and versatile writer. His works include the novels *Der Feldherr* (1918), *Der Hellseher* (1929; *The Clairvoyant*, 1931), and a trilogy entitled *Macht ueber alle Menschen* (1921–25). His most famous work in this genre, *Der Engel mit der Posaune* (1945, and frequently republished), was first published in English as *The Angel with the Trumpet* (1944); it deals with the problem of the Jewish wife in several generations of a non-Jewish family. *Unter anderer Sonne* (1961; first published in English as *Beneath Another Sun*, 1943) was an American best seller. Lothar's autobiography, *Das Wunder des Ueberlebens* (1960), deals largely with his years in exile.

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[Samuel L. Sumberg]

LOTHAR, RUDOLF (pseudonym of **Rudolf Spitzer**; 1865–1943), Austrian playwright and journalist. Lothar, a native of Budapest, became a contributor to the Viennese *Neue Freie Presse*. He wrote many dramas and comedies, some in verse. Erotic in content, they reveal clever psychological insight. The most popular were *Koenig Harlekin* (1900), *Casanovas Sohn* (1920), and *Der Werwolf* (1921). Lothar also wrote operas and the libretto for D'Albert's *Tiefland* (1904). His historical study, *Das Wiener Burgtheater*, was expanded in several editions from 1899 to 1934. His essays on drama, which include *Henrik Ibsen* (1902), and *Das deutsche Drama der Gegenwart* (1905), maintain the view that drama is applied psychology. Lothar's interest in recording techniques inspired *Die Sprechmaschine* (1924) and his work as editor of the *Jahrbuch fuer Phonotechnik und Phonokunst* (1925). A travel book, *Zwischen drei Welten* (1926), includes an account of his trip to Palestine and a study of Jewish culture.

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[Samuel L. Sumberg]

LOTMAN, YURI MIKHAILOVICH (1922–), literary scholar and cultural anthropologist. Lotman was born in Petrograd into an assimilated Jewish family, and studied in the philological faculty of Leningrad University from 1939 to 1950, except for the years 1940–46 when he was in the Red Army, mainly at the front. From 1950 to 1954 Lotman worked at Tartu Teachers' Institute in Estonia, and from 1954 was at Tartu University where from 1960 to 1977 he was head of the Chair of Russian Literature. His main works are concerned with the history of Russian literature and social thought from the end of the 18th to the early 19th century, the theory of literature, cultural history, and semiotics. Basing himself on the work of the "formalist school," Lotman developed a methodology of analyzing the internal structure of poetic texts, applying quantitative methods of research to the semantics of verbal art. He developed ways of studying the links between the author, the structure, and addressees of artistic works, thus emerging as one of the first theoreticians of structuralism in literary study. His major works *Lektsii po struktural'nou poetike* ("Lectures on Structural Poetics," 1964); *Struktura khudozhestvennogo teksta* ("The Structure of the Artistic Text," 1970); *Analiz poeticheskogo teksta* ("Analysis of the Poetic Text," 1972); *Semiotika jino i problemy kinoestetiki* ("Semiotics of Cinema and Problems of Cinema Aesthetics," 1973, etc.) established principles of structural-semiotic research in the fields of literature and art. Many scholars, including Roman *Jakobson, took part in the Summer School for Modeling Systems which he organized in Tartu in 1964, 1966, 1968, and 1970. In 1964, Lotman inaugurated the publication of the series *Trudy po znakovym sistemam* ("Works on Signal Systems").

His sister, LIDIYA MIKHAYLOVNA LOTMAN (1917–), was also a literary scholar, who wrote on general problems of Russian literature of the 19th century. Her monograph *Realizm russkoy literatury* 60–^{a} *godov 19 v.* ("Realism of Russian Literature of the 60s of the 19th Century," 1974) is characterized by a complex elaboration of literary-historical and theoretical issues.

[Mark Kipnis / *The Shorter Jewish Encyclopaedia in Russian*]

LOTS.

Biblical Data

The Bible records the practice of casting lots as a means of arriving at decisions on a variety of problems. These may be grouped into two main categories: (a) the selection of one or more members from a group; (b) the division of goods among members of a group. To the first category belong the election of a king (I Sam. 10:20, 21); the election of cult functionaries (I Chron. 24–26); the selection of the "scapegoat" for the atonement ritual (Lev. 16:8–10); the selection of residents for Jerusalem (Neh. 11:1); the allocation of responsibility for supplying the wood for the altar (Neh. 10:35); the identification of a party guilty of some sacrilege (Josh. 7:10–26; I Sam. 14:41ff.; cf. Jonah 1:7); the assignment of a tribe as the first wave of troops in a military campaign (Judg. 20:18; cf. 20:9); the selection of a date for some future action (Esth. 3:7; 9:24; note the use of Akk. *pūru*, "lot," glossed by Heb. *goral*, "lot," and the survival of the former in the name of the festival Purim).

The second category involves the distribution of goods, usually booty (Isa. 17:14; Nah. 3:10; Ps. 22:19) or conquered territory. The latter instance accounts for most biblical references to the casting of lots. The division of one's land and its reapportionment to others by lot is cited as a divine punishment in Isaiah 34:17, Joel 4:3, and Obadiah 11. The apportionment of Canaanite territory by lot among the Israelites is related in Numbers 26:52–56; 33:54; 34:13; 36:2, and Joshua 14–19; 21:4–12 (the apportionment of levitical cities, cf. I Chron. 6:39 ff.). Distribution of land by the casting of lots is paralleled in both ancient Mesopotamian legal documents and the customs of Palestinian Arabs. Although the Bible provides few details concerning the procedure adopted in the casting of lots, evidence can be supplied from several outside sources (see below; in Talmud and Midrash). It would seem that various objects might serve as lots, the most common ones being of wood and stone (cf. the element *GIŠ* "wood") in the Sumerian *GIŠ.ŠUB.BA* ("lot") and the determinative *NA*^{4} ("stone") describing a lot. A die said to have been cast by the Assyrian official Jaḥali in 833 B.C.E. in the ceremonial selection of the annual eponym is in the form of an inscribed terra-cotta cube (see Hallo). For Hittite resort to the lots, see Kitz.

The technique of casting lots involved throwing lots to the ground and interpreting the results on the basis of a prearranged understanding. The element of "throwing" is also evident in the above-mentioned Sumerian term *GIŠ.ŠUB.BA*, "wood which is cast." So, too, the verbs regularly employed with "lot" in both Akkadian and Hebrew denote "to throw, cast down." In the *Iliad* (3:314 ff.) there is preserved a rather detailed description of the procedure: the lots are placed in a helmet and shaken to the ground, the shaker averting his eyes by looking backward. The determination in such cases was based on whose lot fell to the ground first (cf., e.g., Josh. 21:10), each lot having been previously marked to identify its owner (cf. the inscribed names on the lot of the Assyrian eponym and the inscribed shards at Masada). This method is most appropriate in contests, and might be applied to any problem where a choice between participating parties or defined options was involved. In more complex cases, such as the division of land, the area is measured off and the options for partition decided upon (cf., e.g., Josh. 18:4–6), it being understood that specific parcels of land correspond to the lots thrown. It is in this way that words denoting "lot" come to denote that which is decided by the casting of a lot, e.g., a parcel of land, an assigned function, or, more generally, one's destiny.

The biblical notion that the divine will is reflected in the fall of the lots is most clearly expressed in Proverbs 16:33: "The lot is cast from (one's) bosom, but all of its decisions (derive) from the Lord." Divine guidance is also implied by the fact that the lots were cast "before the Lord" (Josh. 18:6; 19:51). Further, the sacral usage of the *Urim and Thummim would also seem to stress the role of lots as a divine means of communication (cf., e.g., I Sam. 14:41, 42). So, too, in Isaiah 34:17 it is the Deity who actually casts the lot determining the inherited portion. The same concept, identically expressed, is attested at Qumran (see the restoration of 1QS 4:26 in J. Licht's *Megillat ha-Serakhim* (1965), 105). In sharp contrast to this notion is the ancient Mesopotamian idea that the gods, as well as humans, are subject to the fall of the lots.

[Murray Lichtenstein]

In the Second Temple Period

The lot was extensively used during the Second Temple period, and particularly in the Temple itself in order to determine the allocation of duties among the priests. No biblical sanction, however, seems to have been sought for this practice, and, as the following passage shows, it was an arrangement of expediency arrived at through experience. "Originally whoever wished to clear the ashes from the altar did so. If they were many they used to run up the ramp and he that came first within four cubits secured the privilege… It once happened that both reached the decisive point simultaneously; and one of them pushed the other, and he fell and broke his leg. When the *bet din* saw that danger was involved they ordained that (the privilege of) clearing the altar should be done only by casting lots" (Yoma 2:1–2). The Mishnah goes on to detail the other three lots which were cast for the Temple service. The first covered 13 tasks connected with the sacrifice, from the actual slaughter of the animal to the bringing of the wine oblation, the second for offering the incense, and the third the carrying of the members of the sacrificial animal from the ramp to the altar (*ibid.* 3–4). The order to cast the lots was given by the overseer (*ibid.* 4; Tam. 1:2). The Talmud discusses whether or not the priests wore their sacred garments while casting the lots (Yoma 24b). According to the Tosefta (Ta'an. 2:1) the extension of the priestly watches (see **Mishmarot* and *Ma'amadot*) from the four which returned to Zion (Neh. 9:5; 11:10) to the 24 in the Second Temple was also decided by lot.

Whereas there is nothing in the Bible regarding the manner in which the lots were cast (see above) the Talmud gives details. The urn (Heb. *kalpei*; Gr. κάλπη) in which the lots were placed for choosing the scapegoat was originally of boxwood (*eshkero'a*), but Ben Gamala made one of gold (Yoma 3:9). The urn was shaken and the two lots were taken, one in each hand. If the one bearing the inscription "For the Lord" came up in the right hand, it was regarded as a good omen (4:1). The lot could be made of any material, e.g., olive wood, walnut wood, or boxwood (Yoma 37a). According to the Jerusalem Talmud (Yoma 4:1, 41b), they were made of black and white pebbles. The above, however, refers to the biblically ordained throwing of lots for the scapegoat. For other lotteries it would appear that pieces of paper, or shards, such as those found at Masada (see below), were used. They are referred to as *pitka'ot* (Gr. πιττάκιον).

The term "lot" at Qumran is used for both the heavenly lottery or allotment, which is already apportioned by God (e.g., 1QS 2:2), as well as the paraphernalia used for a lottery on earth for casting lots. At Qumran when the lot was cast under the supervision of a priest, its outcome was considered to be predetermined by divine appointment. CD 14:3–8 with 4Q279 5:2–6 indicates that the term "lot" was also used for each of the four categories of membership within the community: Priests, Levites, Israelites, and Proselytes. Order within those categories was determined by pedigree, spirit, and casting lots. In this one's "lot" may be understood as one's divinely appointed station or position (e.g., 1QS 1:10; 2:23). The War Scroll (1QM) also utilizes the term for categories of angels. Similarly, but antithetically, the community's enemies were said to be of the "lot of Belial" (1QS 2:5; 1QM 1:5).

It is therefore not surprising that lots should be found during the excavations of Khirbet Qumran. Their form, however, differed from those found at Masada. The lots were smoothed balls of clay measuring 25 ± 5 mm in diameter with partially pierced holes arranged over the surface ranging in numerical value from 1 to 27. At least 59 lots were discovered at Qumran during the course of R. de Vaux's excavations. De Vaux recorded these according to item and locus number as "boulée piercée incompletes" and noted the size and number of holes on each. De Vaux, without understanding the actual use and significance of the items, chose to provide the simplest description of them (as he also did in the case of the sundial which he listed as "disque de calcaire" (KhQ909)). The PAM photographs of seven of these have been published in *The Dead Sea Scrolls on Microfiche*.

Josephus gives a number of historical incidents in which choice was made by lot. According to his own, suspect, account, he saved himself from death at Jotapata by arranging that the last ten leaders of the besieged city, of whom he was one, should cast lots, the second one to draw the lot putting to death the previous one, and so on, the last one left having to immolate himself. When he was left with the last other survivor, he persuaded him to abandon the plan (Wars, 3:387–91). A similar system was employed for the suicide of the last ten defenders of Masada. Ten were chosen by lot to be the executioners of the defenders, and then the ten drew lots among themselves to determine who should slay the remaining nine, the last then committing suicide (*ibid.*, 7:396ff.). A series of ostraca bearing the names of men found at Masada have been connected by Yadin with this episode. Josephus also states that the Zealots, during the last days of the Temple, in order to mock at the aristocratic families from whom the high priest was usually selected, elected *Phinehas b. Samuel by lot (*ibid.*, 4:155).

In the New Testament Zechariah (the father of John the Baptist) was chosen by lot (*kleros*) to offer the incense in the Temple (Luke 1:8–9). The disciples of Jesus determined who would replace Judas Iscariot by casting lots (Acts 1:26). The term is also used for "lot of the saints" (Acts 26:18; I Pet. 5:3) which may be applied to categories of angels (Col. 1:12). "Lot" can also mean "appointed position" in Acts 1:17 and 8:21. The term was also used in the Gospels for the casting of dice by Roman soldiers who competed for Jesus' garments (Matt. 27:35; Mark 15:24; Luke 23:34; John 19:24).

The *aggadah* extends the use of the lot to many instances of biblical history. The fact that although Eldad and Medad were "of them that were recorded" but they remained in the camp (Num. 11:26) is explained by stating that Moses chose the 70 elders mentioned in the context by placing 72 slips in an urn; on 70 of them the word "elder" was written, while two were blank, and six were selected from each tribe (Sanh. 17a). A similar lot was drawn to select the 22,000 firstborn (*ibid.*). The Midrash also adds that Jacob's sons drew lots to decide who was to bring the bloodstained coat of Joseph to Jacob (Gen. R. 84:8). Details are given of the manner in which the territory of Israel was divided among the tribes (BB 122a), and that brothers can divide by lot an estate bequeathed to them is laid down as the law (BB 106b).

[Louis Isaac Rabinowitz / Stephen Pfann (2nd ed.)]

Post-Talmudic Times

According to Jewish thought a decision arrived at by lot is not regarded as the result of blind choice. Only once is an objection taken to deciding matters by lot and, peculiarly enough, it has been included in the Shulḥan Arukh. The tosafists apparently had a reading to the *Sifrei Deuteronomy* 18:13: "From what do we learn that it is forbidden to enquire by casting lots? Since the Bible says Thou shalt be wholehearted with the Lord thy God" (see Tos. Shab. 156a). The statement does not occur in the present editions of the *Sifrei*, which give an entirely different deduction from this verse (in Pes. 113b the doctrine that "one should not enquire of the Chaldeans" is deduced from this verse, a reading which is supported by the context in which it occurs). Either the *tosafot* had a different reading, or, as appears probable, the deduction is based upon I Samuel 14:41, where the word *tammim* ("wholehearted" in Deut. 18:13) is taken to mean "lots" (see 14:42). Whatever the case may be, this statement has been incorporated in the Shulḥan Arukh (YD 179:1) in the laws against witchcraft. It is, however, an isolated statement; a tolerant and even positive view has been taken throughout the ages with regard to lotteries (but see *Gambling). A possible reflection of this is seen in the fact that although games of chance and gambling are not permitted in the State of Israel, the National Lottery is sponsored by the government and the proceeds of the weekly Mifal ha-Payis (*payis* is the talmudic word for lottery) are designated for hospitals and schools.

[Louis Isaac Rabinowitz]

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°LOUIS, name of 18 kings of France. Of particular importance in Jewish history are the following:

LOUIS I (the Pious; 778–840), king of Aquitaine (from the age of three), emperor of the West from 814. Of the Carolingian emperors, Louis was the best disposed toward the Jews. He retained several Jewish merchants at his court in the capacity of "merchants of the palace" who enjoyed extremely favorable privileges, part of which were no doubt also valid for all the Jews in the empire. These privileges guaranteed to their holders and their households (including near relatives, slaves, and servants) the widest liberty of movement, the right to acquire and sell property, and exemption from a variety of tolls and imposts affecting persons and goods in transit. Missionary activities by Christians among pagan slaves owned by these Jewish merchants were prohibited. They were authorized to employ Christians on condition that they were freed from work on Sundays and Christian holidays. Their real property and movable goods were safeguarded. In the judicial sphere, the holders of these privileges were exempted from "question" (torture) and trial by ordeal and could take the oath according to Jewish custom. These privileges later became the model for several privileges granted by local lords (such as Bishop *Ruediger to the Jews of Speyer) or by German emperors (*Henry IV to the Jews of Worms). However, the most serious consequences for the future legal status of the Jews, especially those of France and Germany, were contained in the provisions in Louis' privileges, which placed the Jews under the immediate jurisdiction of the emperor. These enabled him to benefit from the fines and indemnities imposed on persons who injured or killed one of these merchants, who were in the service of the palace or the imperial chamber and had been taken under the emperor's protection (*Mainbour*). Some scholars have concluded that this was the origin of the principle of "imperial servitude" of the Jews, the **servi camerae regis*.

That the greater part of the provisions in these privileges benefited not only the "merchants of the palace" but the whole of the Jewish population is evident from the efforts of *Agobard, bishop of Lyons, to have them repealed when the Jews of Lyons and other towns of his diocese took advantage of them. Louis had moreover appointed an imperial official, the *Magister Judaeorum*, who was responsible for the protection of the Jews. Toward 826–8 this position was held by a certain Evrard. Even before attacking the privileges held by the Jews, Agobard had already, in about 820, clashed with Louis over the Jews, when the bishop had attempted to baptize Jewish children in Lyons, Chalon, Mâcon, and Vienne. At the time, Louis accorded the Jews his full protection. His goodwill toward the Jews was not even weakened when his own deacon, *Bodo, fled to Muslim Spain and embraced Judaism. Texts erroneously attributed to Louis, in particular the "forged capitularies," include enactments less favorable to the Jews, as well as the formula for an oath to be taken in a humiliating manner; these are forgeries belonging to a later period.

LOUIS VI, king of France from 1108 to 1137. During his reign jurisdiction over the Jews (and their revenues) gradually passed from royal control to the hands of the Church. The Abbey of Saint-Denis, in 1112, obtained from the king judicial control over the Jews in the town. In 1119 Louis ceded half his income from the Jews of *Tours to the Abbey of Saint-Martin there; and in 1122 he granted five houses belonging to Jews to Abbot Suger of Saint-Denis.

LOUIS VII (called the Young), king of France from 1137 to 1180. In 1144, Louis banished from the kingdom those Jews who had been converted to Christianity and had later returned to Judaism. In 1146, Louis authorized the Jews to return to Sens, from where they had been expelled. During the preparations for the Second Crusade, of which Louis became one of the principal leaders, Peter the Venerable of Cluny wrote to the king advising him to confiscate the possessions of the Jews; however, Louis followed the more tolerant counsel of Bernard of Clairvaux, who suggested that only the interest on the debts that Crusaders owed to Jewish moneylenders should be canceled.

LOUIS VIII, king of France from 1223 to 1226. On Nov. 8, 1223, Louis published an edict on the Jews, which had strong fiscal motives. Even though only a number of barons signed this decree, it was declared to be equally binding upon those who had not. The edict, the first attempt by the monarchy to affirm its legislative power over all the baronies of the kingdom, ordained the suppression of all interest due on debts toward the Jews, and the repayment of these debts within three years, on the condition that they were registered. Nonregistered debts as well as those which had been pending for more than five years were to be considered as canceled. The king evidently received a quota of the debts collected in this way, which explains why the fiscal income from the Jews increased to a total of 8,682 livres in 1226. The seal which had served to authenticate debts toward the Jews was abolished. Furthermore, Jews were no longer allowed to move from one seigniory to another. This edict had extremely serious consequences for the future legal position of the Jews.

LOUIS IX, king of France from 1226 to 1270. In his attitude toward the Jews, Louis differed from his predecessors and successors solely in that he placed the interests of the Church before his personal concerns and those of the kingdom in general. This was especially evident in the material assistance he granted to converts: expenses on their behalf often exceeded the income derived from the Jews of France. On other occasions, when this income could not be used for this purpose because the king considered that it was defiled by the sin of usury, he tried to restore the money to the victims of usury or their heirs.

In all other respects Louis' attitude toward the Jews was characterized by implacable enmity, which endured throughout his long reign. As early as 1230, he issued the famous Ordinance of Melun which forbade the Jews to engage in any moneylending activities; at the same time, it was stipulated that no one was allowed to detain a Jew who was the property of another lord. However, Louis was compelled to bow to the economic pressures that rendered dependence on Jewish credit indispensable. In 1234 he seized one-third of the debts owed to the Jews and decreed that in the future they would be permitted to take pledges only in the presence of trustworthy witnesses. There is reason to believe that Louis took no measures to protect Jews persecuted by would-be crusaders in 1236 in several provinces (Anjou, Poitou, Mançois, Touraine, Berry). When in 1239 Pope Gregory IX requested the kings of France and Portugal to order the seizure of Jewish books for examination, Louis was the promptest and most zealous to comply; 24 cartloads of Jewish books were burned in 1242. The resolute and clear-sighted defense conducted by *Jehiel b. Joseph of Paris at the famous Paris *disputation in 1240 was to no avail, for the judgment was virtually predetermined. However, the king's outburst, reported by his biographer Jean de Joinville, that rather than discuss questions of faith with a Jew a layman should plunge his sword into him, was probably caused by his anger at the courageous arguments advanced by R. Jehiel (who was compelled to flee). When *Innocent IV, moved by the protests of the Jews that they could not teach the Bible without the Talmud, ordered it to be examined again, Odo (Eudes) of Chateaurous, chancellor of the University of Paris, opposed the pope and the condemnation stood. In December 1254 Louis threatened with expulsion any Jew who kept copies of the Talmud or other banned books; at the same time he forbade them to engage in any kind of moneylending and ordered them to earn a livelihood in manual toil or any other lawful trade. When he decreed in 1257 or 1258 that the profits of usury should be restored to its victims, the commissioners who carried out the task were authorized to sell the real properties of the Jews to raise the required sums of money. In 1268 Louis called for the arrest of all the Jews and the confiscation of their property in preparation for their eventual expulsion; however, this extreme measure remained in abeyance. A year later, under the influence of the apostate Pablo Christiani, the king ordered the Jews to wear a distinctive *badge and instructed his officers to assist the apostate in compelling Jews to listen to missionary sermons.

It is noteworthy that no Jewish historian mentions Louis on any occasion. Joseph ha-Kohen briefly describes his expulsion project of 1254 but without mentioning the king's name. A contemporary Christian author, Matthew of Paris, makes the most succinct comment on Louis' attitude to the Jews: "See how the king of France hates you and persecutes you."

LOUIS X (called Le Hutin: "The Quarreler"), king of France from 1314 to 1316. Soon after his accession, Louis paved the way for the return of the Jews expelled from the kingdom of France in 1306. On April 1, 1315, he suspended the collection of the debts owed to them which were still outstanding from the time of the expulsion. An ordinance was issued on May 17, 1315, regulating the jurisdiction of the Jews in the eventuality of their return to France, which he authorized on July 28, 1315. It permitted them to resettle in the localities where they had lived previously; ordered that their synagogues, cemeteries, and books, with the exception of the Talmud, should be restored to them; and prohibited them from moneylending against interest, allowing them only to take pledges. However, they were permitted to trade freely. The ordinance concluded with the king's guarantee to take the Jews under "his special protection and administration." In fact, in authorizing the return of the Jews, Louis was principally motivated by monetary interests. The duration of this right of residence was set for 12 years, with the possibility of prolongation and one year's notice of revocation. However, a new expulsion order was issued less than seven years later (1322) by Charles IV while the delay of one year's notice to enable the Jews to dispose of their possessions was not observed.

LOUIS XI, ruler of Dauphiné from 1440 (as Louis II), and king of France from 1461 to 1483. As dauphin, Louis tried to keep the Jews in his province and even to attract newcomers, offering them in 1449 advantageous privileges if they would settle in Crémieu. On several occasions he defended the Jews against the nobility of Dauphiné, confirming their privileges, and even granting them new ones in 1451, 1453, and 1455. However, after his accession to the throne of France, he imposed a heavy fine of 1,500 gold crowns on them in 1463, because "they had spoken ill of the king during his absence." Nevertheless, he reconfirmed the privileges of the Jews of Dauphiné in 1476, that is, 80 years after they had been banished from the kingdom.

LOUIS XII, king of France from 1498 to 1515. Louis ordered the final expulsion of the Jews from *Provence in 1501. In order to compensate for the loss to his revenues caused by the departure of the Jews from Provence, Louis introduced a tax in 1512 on the remaining Jews there, who had accepted baptism. Known as the "tax of the neophytes," it amounted to a total of 6,000 livres. Down to the 18th century, a number of noble Provençal families were held in discredit because they were reputedly descended from these "neophytes."

LOUIS XIII, king of France from 1610 to 1643 with his mother Marie de Medici as regent until he was declared of age in 1614. On April 23, 1615, Louis signed letters patent renewing the expulsion order "against not only Jews but also those who profess and practice Judaism." This order appears to have been directed especially against Marranos and possibly also against those Jews who had come to Paris with Concini (Maréchal d'Ancre), the young king's minister, and his wife, Leonora Galigai. The letters patent were recorded by the *parlement*, but as far as it is known they were not put into effect in any way. However, after the assassination of Concini at Louis' command, in 1617, Leonora Galigai was tried for sorcery and the charge of practicing Judaism was also brought against her. During Louis' reign, the Jews of *Comtat Venaissin could bring action against defendants living in the kingdom of France and even win their cases. When Louis visited Metz in 1632, he granted the Jews letters patent which declared their presence in the town a necessity.

[Bernhard Blumenkranz]

LOUIS XVI, king of France from 1774 to 1792. Among Louis' ministers were Turgot, Choiseul, and *Malesherbes, who were favorably inclined toward the Jews. On his order a census was taken of the Jews of *Alsace in 1784; letters patent concerning them were issued during the same year. Their delegate, Herz *Cerfberr, was received at Louis' court, although he had no official status, and notice was taken of his representations. The first important step toward improvement of the status of the Jews was the abolition of the body tax in 1784. Other projects to alleviate their situation were under study when the Revolution broke out.

[Renee Neher-Bernheim]

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LOUIS, MORRIS (1912–1962), U.S. painter. Dubbed a post-painterly abstract artist and a Washington color painter, Morris Louis Bernstein, who changed his name in 1938, was born in Baltimore, Maryland. After studying at the Maryland Institute of Fine and Applied Arts in Baltimore (1929–32), he worked as a Works Progress Administration artist in Baltimore (1934) and then in New York City, where he lived from 1936 to 1940. He returned to Baltimore in the early 1940s and lived in Washington, D.C., from 1952 until his premature death. Early on he made allover compositions in the vein of Jackson Pollock's drip paintings and experimented with collage. His biomorphic *Charred Journal* paintings (1951) referred to the Nazi book burnings.

After seeing Helen *Frankenthaler's seminal painting *Mountains and Sea* (1952, National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.) in April 1953, Louis changed his working method. Influenced by Frankenthaler's thin veils of color staining the unprimed canvas, Louis began to saturate his paintings in three major series: *Veils* (1954, 1958–59), *Unfurleds* (1960–61), and *Stripes* (1961–62). Interwoven colors characterize *Veil* paintings such as *Blue Veil* (1958, Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University, Cambridge). To make these large works, Louis poured diluted paint down the angled canvas to create a wavelike effect of blended, layered color that covers nearly the entire surface of the work. In contrast to Pollock, Louis achieved a sense of painterliness without touching a paintbrush. *Unfurled* paintings such as *Beta Kappa* (1961, National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.) show colorful thin rivulets of paint running diagonally down and inward from the top corners of the canvas leaving large central portions of the painting white. Straight bands of color, varying in thickness and arranged horizontally or vertically across the white canvas, characterize the *Stripe* paintings. In all of these works Louis emphasized the flat ground, eschewing illusions of depth.

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[Samantha Baskind (2nd ed.)]

LOUIS-DREYFUS, JULIA (1961–), U.S. actress. Born in New York but raised in Washington, Louis-Dreyfus has roots in a prominent French banking and financial family. Her father is Gerard Louis-Dreyfus, an important French financier. Her grandfather, Pierre Louis-Dreyfus, fought for the French Resistance during World War II. Her cousin Robert Louis-Dreyfus was the owner of Adidas, the sports-equipment manufacturer, and of the French soccer club Olympique de Marseille. Julia Louis-Dreyfus studied theater at Northwestern University in Chicago and began her theatrical career there with the Practical Theater Company and the Second City Comedy troupe. After three years, 1982 to 1985, on the popular television series *Saturday Night Live* and appearances in a number of films, including *Hannah and Her Sisters* (1986) and *National Lampoon's Christmas Vacation* (1989), Louis-Dreyfus was cast as Elaine Benes, the ex-girlfriend and pal of Jerry *Seinfeld in the comedy series *Seinfeld* in 1989. The show proved to be the most popular series of the 1990s, and she won an Emmy Award as best supporting actress in a comedy series in 1996 for her role in *Seinfeld*. The series, famously about "nothing," but really about the everyday foibles of single people in New York City, also starred Jason *Alexander and Michael Richards. After the end of the series in 1998, Louis-Dreyfus starred in several other television situation comedies.

[Stewart Kampel (2nd ed.)]

LOUISIANA, south-central U.S. state at the mouth of the Mississippi River. In 2001 its population was estimated at 4,470,000 including about 15,000 Jews. The largest Jewish communities are Greater *New Orleans, which includes Metairie and the North Shore (13,000), Shreveport (1,100), and Baton Rouge, the state capital (1,200); there are also organized communities in Alexandria, Lafayette, Lake Charles, Monroe, and New Iberia. Jewish welfare federations function in New Orleans (1913), Alexandria (1938), Monroe (1938), and Shreveport (1941).There are approximately 18 congregations in the state; about 13 rabbis served these congregations. Many of the other congregations are served by student rabbis.

Early New Orleans

It has generally been assumed that the Louisiana Code Noir, or Black Code, promulgated in Paris in 1724 and excluding settlement by Jews and the practice of any religion other than Catholicism in the French colony of Louisiana, discouraged the immigration of Jews to the area.

Although there were transient Jews in the colony, the first recorded settler was Isaac Rodriguez Monsanto, a Dutch-born merchant who had taken his brothers and sisters to Curaçao before moving his headquarters to New Orleans in 1757. Between 1757 and 1769 Monsanto conducted successful business operations with settlers and merchants throughout Louisiana, the Illinois country, Atlantic and Caribbean ports, and Europe. In 1769, when Monsanto and his family and associates were expelled from New Orleans under the rigorous Spanish rule of Governor Alejandro O'Reilly, who invoked the first provision of the Code Noir for their expulsion, the Monsantos took refuge in British West Florida, but all gradually filtered back into Spanish Louisiana. The Monsantos, born Jewish, all participated in the rituals of the Protestant and Catholic churches without baptism.

Judah *Touro arrived in New Orleans from Boston in late 1801 or early 1802 and became, through diligence and his simple manner of living, a wealthy man. He was indifferent to Judaism until late in life, when he was persuaded by Gershom Kursheedt, the first truly religious Jew in the city, to build a synagogue for the second New Orleans congregation, Nefutzoth Yehudah, or Dispersed of Judah, organized in 1845. Other early settlers were equally unconcerned about the preservation of Jewish identity.

Of the approximately 15 Jews who were in New Orleans in January 1815, when the battle for the city between American forces, led by General Andrew Jackson, and the British took place, at least ten and possibly 11 had some part in the action. Touro suffered a near-fatal wound. Of these 15, seven remained bachelors, seven intermarried, and one, Manis Jacobs, married a Christian woman after his first (Jewish) wife died. It was Manis Jacobs who became the first president of Shaarei Chassed or Gates of Mercy (1827), the first congregation in Louisiana and indeed anywhere in the Mississippi Valley south of Cincinnati. This congregation, Sephardi at the outset, later became Ashkenazi as increasing numbers of Jews arrived in the town from the German-speaking lands. But Jewish religious life did not prosper in New Orleans. The wealthiest men did not support any of the three congregations in existence by 1850. (Gates of Prayer Congregation was established in the Lafayette suburb of New Orleans in January of that year.) Touro's building of a synagogue did not inspire others to do likewise. Intermarriage continued apace in New Orleans, perhaps more than in any major city in the United States.

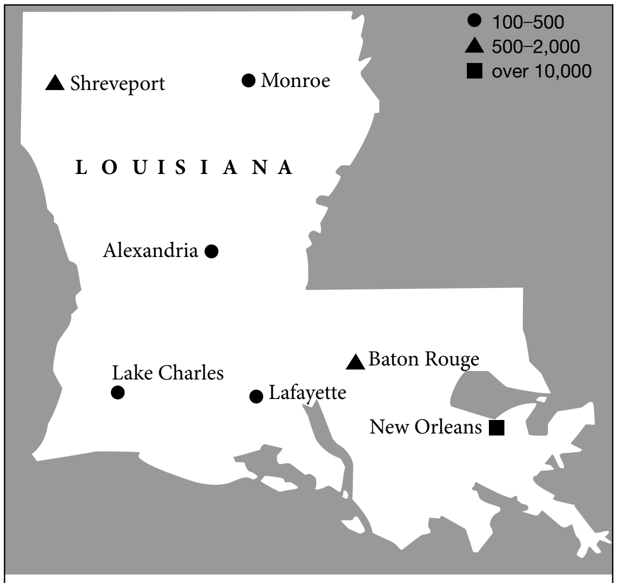

Total Jewish population of Louisiana	15,000
% of Jews in general population of Louisiana	0.40
% of Louisiana Jews in Jewish population of U.S.	0.26

Jewish communities in Louisiana. Population figures for 2001.

German Jews at the port of New Orleans fanned out from that city into more rural areas and became peddlers and artisans. Significant numbers of Jews were country merchants and traders in small Louisiana towns before the Civil War. They established benevolent societies, cemeteries, or congregations in Alexandria (1854), Donaldsonville (1856), Baton Rouge (1858), and Monroe (1861). But the most significant Jewish institution in Louisiana was the Association for the Relief of Jewish Widows and Orphans of New Orleans (1854), one of the earliest agencies of its kind in the United States. Made necessary by frequent epidemics of yellow fever and cholera in the New Orleans area, this association was supported from its inception by assimilated Jews who demonstrated no other concern with their Jewish identity. The free-wheeling atmosphere of the state, dominated by New Orleans, encouraged the full participation and integration of Jews; there was then little anti-Jewish prejudice, which seems to have gained momentum only in the late 19th century. Among Louisiana's notable assimilated Jews were U.S. Senator Judah P. *Benjamin (1853–61); Henry M. Hyams, Benjamin's cousin, lieutenant governor of Louisiana in 1859; and Dr. Edwin Warren Moise, speaker of the Louisiana legislature at the same time and later state attorney general. It was apparently no accident that each of these men intermarried. In 1872, the first Rex, King of Carnival, was Louis J. Salomon, a great-grandson of Haym *Salomon, the well-known Revolutionary War patriot.

The Civil War and After

More than 200 Louisiana Jews are known by name to have served in the Confederate forces, but the true number is probably three times that large. Three of these men, S.M. Hymans, Edwin I. Kursheedt, and Leon R. Marks, achieved the rank of colonel. Benjamin Franklin Jonas, served as a private; he became the second Louisiana Jew to serve in the U.S. Senate

(1879–85). Dr. Joseph Bensadon, who was the first medical director of Touro Infirmary (1854), was a surgeon in the Confederate army from 1862 to 1865.

The distinctive leader of the Jews of New Orleans after the Civil War was Rabbi James K. *Gutheim, who before the war served as Reverend at Dispersed of Judah then moved to Gates of Mercy soon after the war's end. He encouraged the growing Reform movement within the congregation, but, when proposed reforms in the liturgy he recommended in 1868 caused an uproar, he accepted the position of Reader at Temple Emanu-el in New York City. He returned to New Orleans four years later in response to the creation of Temple Sinai, a new Reform congregation organized by his followers from Gates of Mercy.

Rabbi Isaac Leucht, who followed Gutheim to the pulpit at Shaarei Chassed, also became the rabbi when Gates of Mercy and Dispersed of Judah amalgamated in 1881. Leucht began calling the merged congregation Touro Synagogue, in memory of the philanthropist whose largesse assisted both congregations in their formative years. He assisted in relief work during the yellow fever epidemic of 1878, as well as in civic work; and he was a bridge to the gentile community, serving as president of the Red Cross Society and a member of the State Board of Education.

In 1882 the Hebrew Foreign Mission Society of New Orleans, in conjunction with the Hebrew Emigrant Aid Society, sponsored an agricultural colony of Russian Jews at Sicily Island in Catahoula Parish. But the project failed when the Mississippi River overflowed and flooded the entire area that year.

Jewish Life in the 19th and 20th Centuries

Beginning in the mid-19th century, Jewish merchants and traders organized communities throughout the state. The largest, except for New Orleans, was Shreveport, where a synagogue, Har El, was founded in 1859 and an Orthodox congregation was organized in 1892. One of the marks of the development of intolerance was a local ordinance (1873) prohibiting Jews from opening their stores on Sunday. Zionist, B'nai B'rith, and other communal organizations were formed, and in 1914 the Reform temple was dedicated. A Shreveport attorney, Sidney Herold, in 1915 successfully persuaded the State Court of Appeals to prohibit the reading of the Bible in public schools.

Baton Rouge, the state capital, had Jewish settlers in the early 19th century, but not until 1868 was their number sufficient to form the small congregation which became B'nai Israel in 1879. In Alexandria a Young Men's Hebrew Association was organized in 1882, and the city had Reform and Orthodox synagogues. Jewish communities appeared in Morgan City in 1875, in Opelousas in 1877, and in Lake Charles in 1895. In Bogalusa, an Orthodox congregation was organized in 1925. Communities also functioned in Plaquemine (1856–1932), St. Francisville (1877–1905), and Bastrop (1877–1923). Bastrop and other small communities are served by the United Jewish Charities of Northeast Louisiana, organized in 1938 in Monroe. From 1915 to 1933 Mendel Silber of New Orleans ministered to congregations in New Iberia, Morgan City, and Plaquemine.

In the 20th century movement from smaller to larger communities occurred among Louisiana Jews. Moreover, the total population of Louisiana Jewry declined somewhat after 1940, when there were about 16,000 Jews in the state. But despite the continuing small proportion of Jews in the state population, many Louisiana Jews have attained statewide or national prominence, including the 19th-century philanthropist Isidore *Newman; civic leader Julius Weis; Isaac Delgado, a charter member of the Louisiana Sugar Exchange who contributed to the art museum and Charity Hospital memorial building; the actress Adah Isaacs *Menken; U.S. congressman Adolph Meier (1891–1908); and state legislators George Joel Ginsberg (1928–32), who sought the impeachment of Governor Huey P. Long before the State Senate in 1929, and Norman Bauer, speaker of the House of Representatives in 1942. Henry A. Lazarus was a member of the state Supreme Court (1880) and Emile Godchaux (1909–18), Max Dinkelspiel (1919–24), and I.D. Moor served on the state Court of Appeals. Alexandria, Monroe, Crowley, Donaldsonville, and Morgan City have elected Jewish mayors, and many Jews have served as school board members and presidents. Jews have prospered financially in Louisiana, and the Jewish professional and managerial classes have grown significantly since 1940.

[Bertram Wallace Korn and Edward L. Greenstein]

In the wake of Hurricane Katrina in August 2005, the general population of Greater New Orleans has gone from approximately one million to about half that number. In Orleans Parish the population has fallen from 475,000 to less than 100,000. While most of the synagogues received some repairable damage, Congregation Beth Israel, the only congregation in the city that offered twice daily services before the hurricane, was inundated with ten feet of water. All of their Torahs were damaged and had to be buried. The members of the Jewish community have scattered to Houston, Dallas, Atlanta, Baton Rouge, Lafayette and points in between. When and whether they will return remains to be seen.

[Catherine Kahn and Irwin Lachoff (2nd ed.)]

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LOUISVILLE, the largest city in Kentucky and home to its oldest and largest Jewish community. Jews may have owned land in the Louisville area as early as the late 18th century and a few arrived at the beginning of the 19th, but the first Jewish institutions arose in the city only in the 1830s. An Israelite Benevolent Society was listed in the Louisville city directory in 1832 and regular worship services were established around 1838. Louisville's first Jewish congregation dates from 1842, when Adath Israel was chartered. Jews continued to arrive in the city over the next decade, primarily from the German states and from Posen, and in 1851 a second congregation was established, known first as the Polish House of Israel and soon after as Beth Israel. A third congregation, Brith Sholom, was organized in 1880. Among early Adath Israel spiritual leaders was Bernhard Henry Gotthelf (1819–1878), in 1862 appointed the second Jewish chaplain of the Union Army. Both Adath Israel and Brith Sholom were early adopters of Reform practices. Other organizations established by Louisville's 19th-century German-Jewish settlers included a lodge of B'nai B'rith, chartered in 1852, and the Standard Club (forerunner of the Standard Country Club), established in 1883. Louisville's Jewish population stood at about 2,500 in 1880.

Toward the end of the 19th century, the city's most prominent Jewish residents included clothiers Moses and Henry Levy (arrived in Louisville in 1861); dry goods magnate Henry Kaufman and his colleague Benjamin Straus (partners in 1883); attorney Aaron Kohn (1854–1916), Jefferson County prosecutor and a Louisville alderman in the 1880s; distiller and philanthropist Isaac W. Bernheim (1848–1945); and lawyer and scholar Lewis Dembitz (1833–1907), city tax attorney from 1884 to 1888 and the uncle of Louis D. Brandeis, himself a Louisville native whose ashes are interred beneath the portico of the University of Louisville law school that bears his name.

Around the turn of the 20th century, East European Jews began arriving in large numbers and they tended to cluster in a cohesive downtown neighborhood centered on Preston Street. As elsewhere in America, they engaged both in commercial activities and in wage labor in trades such as tailoring and cigarmaking. Five new congregations were established in Louisville between 1882 and 1905, at least four of them byproducts of the influx of East Europeans and Orthodox in outlook. These congregations were B'nai Jacob (1882), Beth Hamedrash Hagodol (1887), Anshei Sfard (1893), Adath Jeshurun (1894, the successor to Beth Israel), and Agudath Achim (1905). In 1902, Louisville's Orthodox congregations banded together to hire a "chief rabbi" and arrange for the supervision of *kashrut*, the maintenance of a *mikveh*, and the organization of a Talmud Torah Society.

Louisville's East Europeans established a number of ethnic and cultural organizations as well. As early as 1907 there were three Zionist circles in Louisville and a Yiddish Literary Society was established around World War I. A chapter of Hadassah was organized in 1919. Louisville's Jewish population was reported to be 12,500 in 1927 and 13,800 in 1937. In the period after World War II, the number of Jews in Louisville began to decline and the city's Jewish population, as well as its institutions, gradually migrated away from the downtown area, relocating mainly to the Highlands neighborhood at first, and then farther to the east as well. Louisville's Jewish population was reported as 8,500 in 1960 and 9,200 in 1984.

Already in the late 19th century, a number of Jewish service and welfare institutions were established in Louisville. These included a chapter of the National Council of Jewish Women, organized in 1893; a Young Men's Hebrew Association (the forerunner of the Louisville Jewish Community Center), incorporated in 1890; and a social service agency called Neighborhood House, founded in 1896. In 1903, Louisville's Jewish Hospital was established to provide facilities for Jewish doctors who were denied staff privileges elsewhere and to care for patients who might prefer treatment in a Jewish environment. By the end of the 20th century, Jewish Hospital was a world leader in both artificial heart and hand transplant surgery.

As the number of Jewish welfare institutions in Louisville increased, a Federation of Jewish Charities was created around 1908. This body became the Jewish Welfare Federation by 1918 and the Jewish Social Service Agency in 1951. In 1934, a second coordinating body was established: the Louisville Conference of Jewish Organizations. Intended primarily as a fundraising agency, over time the Conference developed into the community's principal coordinating and public relations body as well, adopting the name Jewish Community Federation of Louisville in 1971.

A sampling of prominent Louisville Jews of the 20th century includes bacteriologist Simon Flexner (1863–1946); juvenile justice and welfare advocate Bernard Flexner (1865–1945); medical education reformer Abraham Flexner (1866–1959); attorney Charles W. Morris (1892–1961), a civic and political activist and a founder of the Louisville Conference of Jewish Organizations; art historian Justus Bier (1899–1990) and musicologist Gerhard Herz (1911–2000), both of whom fled Nazi Germany and joined the University of Louisville faculty in the 1930s; businessman and humanitarian Arthur S. Kling (1896–81); community stalwart Lewis D. Cole (b. 1913), onetime chairman of the National Jewish Community Relations Advisory Council; Charles M. Leibson (1929–95), named a justice of the Kentucky Supreme Court in 1983; popular mayor Jerry Abramson (b. 1946), first elected in 1985; and community activist Marie Abrams (b. 1937), who became national chair of the Jewish Council for Public Affairs in 2004.

Among the more prominent rabbis who served in Louisville were Adolph Moses (1840–1902), an advocate of a radical form of Judaism he called "Yahvism"; Hyman G. Enelow (1877–1934), later rabbi of Temple Emanu-El in New York; Asher L. Zarchy (1863?–1932), chief rabbi of the Orthodox community from 1903 until 1932; the civic-minded Joseph Rauch (1880–1957), for whom the city's planetarium is named; Simcha Kling (1922–91), author of the text *Embracing Judaism*; and Herbert Waller (1914–1994), active in interfaith work.

At the turn of the 21st century, the communal institutions in Louisville included, aside from the Jewish Federation and Community Center, the Jewish Family and Vocational Service, created in 1978 as a successor to the Jewish Social Service Agency; Shalom Tower, providing subsidized housing for the elderly; the Four Courts Senior Center, a nursing home facility; the Louisville Vaad Hakashruth; the Eliahu Academy and Torah Academy day schools; and several supplementary education programs. Louisville's congregations at the turn of the century were Anshei Sfard (Orthodox), Adath Jeshurun

(Conservative), Keneseth Israel (Conservative, formed in 1926 by the merger of B'nai Jacob and Beth Hamedrash Hagodol), The Temple (Reform, created in 1976 by the merger of Adath Israel and Brith Sholom), and Temple Shalom (Reform, established in 1976). The Jewish population of the city at the turn of the century was approximately 8,700, with perhaps 10 percent being "new Americans" from the former Soviet Union.

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[Lee Shai Weissbach (2nd ed.)]

LOUNY (Ger. **Laun**), town in N.W. Bohemia, Czech Republic. Jews are first mentioned in Louny in 1254 – one year after it received its freedom as a town – as living on a Jewish street and having a synagogue and a cemetery. The city records for 1380–92 contained a special section for Jewish lawsuits. In 1505 there were 12 Jewish houses. A Jew, accused in 1541 of having acquired a monstrance, was burned and the community was expelled from the town. From 1655 only one Jewish family was protected by the town, but in 1680 a cemetery was established. The cemetery and the prayer room were used by Jews from the vicinity. At the end of the 18th century there were 43 "bad Jews" in Louny, i.e., Jews who did not have permission under the *Familiants Law to live there, and the first Jew to settle there in 1849 was forcibly returned to his former town by the crowd. Thereafter, Jews came to Louny, a synagogue was built, and in 1874 a German-language Jewish school was founded (given up in 1897); a new cemetery was built in 1875 (which still existed in 1970). Fifty-one Jewish families lived in Louny in 1880 and 567 persons in 1890. In 1893 the community adopted Czech as the official language. In 1902 there were 666 Jews in Louny and the 18 surrounding villages; and in 1930 there were 205 (1.8% of the total population). The community was deported to the Nazi death camps in 1942, and the synagogue's equipment was sent to the Central Jewish Museum, Prague. The community was briefly reestablished after World War II.

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[Jan Herman]

LOURIE, ARTHUR (**Vincent**; 1892–1966), composer. Lourie was born in St. Petersburg, where he also studied and converted to Catholicism in his early 20s. He became head of the music department of the Commissariat for Public Instruction after the Revolution. In 1920 he settled in Paris and immigrated to the United States in 1941. His compositions include symphonies, operas, ballets, and choral works in the avant-garde idioms of their respective periods, the later ones turning to the re-creation of old forms. Lourie also wrote a biography of Serge *Koussevitzky (1931).

LOURIE, ARTHUR (1903–1978), Israeli diplomat. Born in Johannesburg, South Africa, Lourie practiced as a barrister-at-law and lectured in Roman-Dutch law at Witwatersrand University. He served as political secretary of the Jewish Agency in London from 1933 until 1948, working under Nahum *Sokolow and Chaim *Weizmann. He spent most of World War II in the United States, engaged in Zionist political work. In 1945 he was a member of the Jewish Agency delegation at the San Francisco UN Conference and, from 1946 to 1948, was director of the Jewish Agency UN Affairs Office in New York. From 1948 Lourie was a member of the Israel foreign service: from 1948 to 1953 he was Israel consul general in New York, from 1957 to 1959 he was ambassador to Canada, from 1960 to 1965 ambassador to the United Kingdom, and deputy director-general, Israel foreign ministry, 1965–72. A member of several Israel delegations to the UN General Assembly, he was head of the delegation in 1959.

[Benjamin Jaffe]

LOURIE, NORMAN VICTOR (1912–2003), U.S. social worker and government official. Born in New York, Lourie graduated from Cornell University in 1936. From 1937 to 1939 he was a research associate with the Russell Sage Foundation and from 1939 to 1943, an assistant director of the Bronx House and Madison House settlements in Manhattan. After serving in World War II as director of the social work section of the U.S. Army School for Military Neuropsychiatry, he became the director of the Hawthorne Cedar Knoll School for the correction of juvenile delinquents (1946–51). In 1951 he moved to Philadelphia to direct the work of the Association for Jewish Children and from 1955 onward was executive secretary of Pennsylvania's Department of Public Welfare. He took part in the White House Conferences on Children and Youth in 1950 and 1960 and was a member of the advisory council of the President's Committee on Juvenile Delinquency. He also taught in the graduate faculty of the School of Social Work at the University of Pennsylvania. Lourie was chairman of the editorial board of the *Journal of Jewish Communal Service* (1952–58) and *Child Welfare* (1962–64). He was president both of the National Association of Social Workers and the Academy of Certified Social Workers during 1961 to 1963, as well as of the American Orthopsychiatric Association, 1967. Active in community and professional affairs, Lourie assisted refugees from Vietnam. He served as senior policy adviser for the Institute for Economic Development (1980–82) and the National Immigration, Refugee and Citizenship Forum (1983–90), both in Washington, D.C.

LOUSE (Heb. כִּנִּים, כִּנָּם in plural. Talmud כִּנָּה, singular), insect; one of the ten plagues with which Egypt was smitten (Ex. 8:13–14; Ps. 105:31) was the plague of lice. The כֵּן in Isaiah (51.6): "They that dwell therein shall die *kemokhen*" may refer to the louse; i.e., "like a louse." The louse caused much suffering to people of all classes in former times. A distinction was made between the dark-colored head louse and the light-colored clothes louse (Pes. 112b), two strains of the *Pediculus hominis*, against which people sought to protect themselves by constantly changing and washing their clothes – although they were also compelled to search their garments to kill the lice (Tosef., Shab. 16:21, where the louse is called *maʿakholet*, i.e., the eater). Lice nits were regarded as the smallest of creatures, and hence the statement that "the Holy One blessed be He feeds the whole world, from the horned buffalo to the lice nits" (Av. Zar. 3b). Some maintained that "the louse does not multiply and increase" (Shab. 107b) but generates spontaneously.

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[Jehuda Feliks]

LOVE.

In the Bible

In the Bible, "love" has, like the word "love" in most languages, many and various shades of meaning.

HEBREW WORDS FOR "LOVE." It is represented by Hebrew words which range from sensuous, and often evil, desire or passionate love between man and woman (II Sam. 13:4; Jer. 2:33), through family affection, up to theological conceptions of God's love for Israel, and of Israel's love for God. In most of the passages, "to accept, adopt, or recognize," could profitably be substituted for "to love," and "to reject, disown," or "repudiate," for "to hate." The root most commonly used is *ʾahav*. Another verb *riḥam* and the noun *raḥamim* point to the family feeling through their connection with *reḥem*, the mother's womb; they express the *compassion presupposing the suffering, distress, or weakness of the other party. The root *ḥafeẓ* means "wish for" or "delight in," but is also used, with a person as object, in the sense of "feel inclined." A similar meaning is attached to *raẓah*, "to be pleased with," and "accept." The root *ḥashaq* involves instead the sense of personal attachment. As for the verb *ḥanan* and the noun *ḥen*, both express the idea of concrete favor, rather than warm affection. Finally, the often-used word *ḥesed* means "loyalty," but sometimes designates the "real love" (Gen. 20:13; 47:29; I Sam. 20:8; II Sam. 9:1; Jer. 2:2; Ruth 2:20), which is evinced in acts of devotion and friendship, and is conditioned by the fact that there are two parties connected with each other by ties of family, tribe, nationality, treaty, covenant, etc.

LOVE AS A SPONTANEOUS RELATIONSHIP. The word "love" is first of all used to denote the father's or mother's love (Gen. 22:2; 25:28; 37:3; 44:20; Prov. 13:24; Ruth 4:15), the love between young people intending to marry (Gen. 29:18, 20; I Sam. 18:20), or between husband and wife (Gen. 24:67; 29:30, 32; Judg. 14:16; 16:15; I Sam. 1:5; Prov. 5:19; Eccles. 9:9; II Chron. 11:21). This use is largely attested in the Song of Songs, whose unique obvious theme is love between man and woman, celebrated in glowing colors and passionate words (e.g., 1:3, 4, 7; 2:5; 3:1, 2, 3, 4; 5:8). "Love" designates also the specifically sexual desire for a woman (II Sam. 13:1, 4, 15). The verb *ʾahev* denoted also affection and esteem. It is used in this sense for David and Jonathan, to express natural friendship (I Sam. 18:1, 3; 20:17; II Sam. 1:26; cf. I Sam. 16:21); for a servant, to denote his attachment to his master's family (Ex. 21:5); and for the people, to signify their enthusiastic sympathy for David (I Sam. 18:16, 22, 28). The participle *ʾohev* means "friend" at least 17 times out of the 62 occurring in the Bible. On the other hand, Isaac, for instance, is said to "love" game as Rebekah knew to prepare it (Gen. 27:4, 9, 14). The verb *ʾahev* seems to express there a preference, as in several other texts (Gen. 25:28; 37:3, 4; Deut. 21:15; I Sam. 1:5).

The rendering of *reʿa* in Leviticus 19:18 ("Love your *reʿa* as yourself"), and similar passages, by "neighbor" is hallowed by tradition; but "fellow citizen" would be more enlightening, since the reference here to one's fellow Israelite is obvious from its identification by parallelism with "kinsmen" (*benei ammekha*) in Leviticus 19:18 and the fact that an additional verse, verse 34, was needed in order to include the metic (*ger*, but see Love of Neighbor, below). Common sense tells that the "love" that these verses require the Israelite to extend to his fellow citizen and to the metic residing in Israel is consideration, or, as Jewish tradition realistically defines it, not treating them in a manner in which one would resent being treated (so the interpretation of Pseudo-Jonathan, Lev. 19:18, 34, in accordance with the famous saying attributed in Shab. 31a to Hillel but in Eusebius, *Praeparatio evangelica*, 8:7, 8, to Philo, and also to be found in Arist. 207; Tob. 4:15; Test. Patr., Iss. 5:2; Test. Patr., Dan 5:3).

THE RECIPROCAL LOVE OF GOD AND PEOPLE. In the Bible, the object of the divine love is generally the people of Israel. The two passages where Jerusalem is presented as the object of God's love (Ps. 78:68; 87:2) are only variants of that fundamental aspect. The relation of God to His people is conceived as a union marked by love on one side and demanding a corresponding love on the other. This reciprocal love of God and the people is expressed in categories of familial or social unity: father-son relationship, marriage analogy, or covenantal love.

The doctrine of God's love for Israel, and the imperative necessity of Israel's love for God are rarely found in the first four books of the Bible, but they constitute the basic principles of the Deuteronomic teaching. The Lord's love for Israel is there viewed as the result of His election, manifested in the covenant and sanctioned by it. This clearly appears in Deuteronomy 7:7–8, where the divine love for Israel is mentioned paralleling the oath sworn by God in the rite of the covenant-making, and is ultimately justified by God's free choice. His free and personal love to Israel is manifested above all in the deliverance from Egypt. This primal love of the Lord for Israel (Deut. 4:37; 7:13; 10:15; 23:6) is the basis for the obligation of Israel's love in return (Deut. 6:5; 7:9; 10:12; 11:1, 13, 22; 13:4; 19:9; 30:6, 16, 20). Love in Deuteronomy is therefore a love that

God can command: "You shall love the Lord your God with all your heart, and with all your soul, and with all your might" (Deut. 6:5; cf. 10:12; 11:1; 30:6). It is also a love intimately related to fear and reverence (Deut. 4:10; 5:29; 6:24; 8:6; 10:12; 14:23; 17:19; 31:13). Above all, it is a love which must be expressed in obedience to the requirements of the law. For to love God is to be loyal (*davaq*) to Him (Deut. 4:4; 10:20; 11:22; 13:5; 30:20), to walk in His ways (Deut. 10:12; 11:22; 19:9; 30:16), to keep His commandments (Deut. 10:13; 11:1, 22; 19:9), to fulfill them (Deut. 11:22; 19:9), to heed them or His voice (Deut. 11:13; 13:5), and to serve Him (Deut. 6:13; 10:12; 11:13; 13:5). It is, in brief, a love defined by and pledged in the covenant. If the people appear to be unworthy of the divine love because of its ingratitude or infidelity, the love will change into wrath.

W.L. Moran has established the relationship of this Deuteronomic concept of love with the ideology and the terminology of ancient Oriental treaties, from the 18th to the 7th centuries B.C.E., in which the term "love" is used to describe the loyalty and friendship joining independent and equal rulers (cf. I Kings 5:15), overlord and vassal, or king and subject. This use of the term "love" is no innovation of the author of Deuteronomy 6:5, which is generally considered the earliest reference to the love of God in Deuteronomy. Since Judges 5:31 belongs most likely to the original Song of Deborah and uses the expression "those who love Him," it is probable that the term "love" goes back to a very early period in the Israelite covenant tradition. The formula "those who love Me" appears also in the passage of Exodus 20:6 and Deuteronomy 5:10, which belongs to the Decalogue. The father-son relationship in Deuteronomy, which reflects the very ancient Israelite concept of Israel as the Lord's son (cf. Deut. 32:6, 10–11, 18–20), is also found in the body of the Book of Deuteronomy (Deut. 1:31; 8:5; 14:1). If there is tenderness in this relationship as seen in Deuteronomy 1:31; 32:10–11; Isaiah 63:16; Jeremiah 3:19; 31:9; and Hosea 11:1, the Lord is in Deuteronomy 8:5 the father who does not spare the rod, but this divine chastening is considered in Proverbs 3:11–12 as a sign of the divine love. Israel appears as a disobedient son also in Isaiah 1:2 and 30:9. He is disloyal even to the point of turning away from the Father to other gods (Deut. 32:18–20), just as a faithless vassal abandons his sovereign for another overlord. God intervenes then as one who is angry with his sons for their disloyalty (Deut. 32:19), and who is, therefore, ready to punish them (Isa. 30:1–5, 8–14). In Deuteronomy 14:1, the relationship between father and son as applied to God and Israel is a motive to obey a particular command. It is thus clearly akin to the covenantal love, which should exist between the suzerain and the vassal, called respectively father and son in the diplomatic terminology of the ancient Near East (cf. E. Lipinski, *Le poème royal du Psaume LXXXIX*, 1–5, 20–38 (1967), 57–66). Malachi 1:6 parallels the son with the servant, and expects reverence from each. Since covenantal love involves reverential fear, there may be here a later offshoot of the same tradition. It may reasonably be inferred, therefore, that the ancient Israelite concept of Israel as God's son is very close to the Deuteronomic conception of covenantal love between God and Israel, though it is also associated with the current imagery of father and son. It can be influenced too by the idea of divine Fatherhood, expressed in personal names of the type *ʾaviyyah* (Abijah), *ʾaviyyahu* (Abijahu), "the Lord is my Father." Occasionally, the affection of God for His people is also depicted as the love of a mother for her child (Isa. 49:15; cf. 66:13; Deut. 32:11).

The husband-wife metaphor of Hosea 2 recurs in the earliest poems of Jeremiah (Jer. 2–3; 31:2–6), who had most likely been influenced in his youth by the Hoseanic tradition. Ezekiel, too, knew the symbolism of the marriage (Ezek. 16; 23), which recurs again in Deutero-Isaiah as a means of describing Israel's restoration after the Exile: Zion was a deserted wife (Isa. 49:14; 54:6; cf. 60:15; 62:4), without children (Isa. 49:20; 51:18; 54:1), and reduced to captivity (Isa. 40:2; 52:2), because she has been repudiated by the Lord (Isa. 50:1); but the Lord had decided to take her back (Isa. 54:5–8). YHWH's wrath required the rejection of the people – the repudiation of the unfaithful wife. This was the historical turning point with which the prophets were confronted. Nevertheless, the people was the Lord's people, the chosen people, the object of God's love. What would become of the election and of the divine plan for Israel if the "repudiation" became definitive? A tension ensued between God's love and God's wrath. Even the end of Judah as an independent state did not mean the complete annihilation of the nation. The reason is that Israel is precious in the Lord's eyes, and is loved by the Lord. In Hosea 14:5 it is expressly said that God of His own free will and love will heal the faithlessness of His people. Ezekiel emphasizes that the Lord will restore Israel, but not because of her fidelity to the covenant (Ezek. 16:60–68); and Deutero-Isaiah (under the influence of Ezekiel, e.g., ch. 36) says that God blots out the transgressions of His people not because of their sacrifices, but "for His own sake," i.e., His sovereign love (Isa. 43:22–44:5).

A few texts affirm that God loves the righteous (Ps. 146:8; Prov. 15:9; cf. 3:12), and some psalmists refer to God's compassion (Ps. 25:6; 40:12; 51:3; 69:17; 119:77) for all His creatures (Ps. 145:9). Such texts are relatively rare: the Lord's love is almost exclusively love for Israel, the elect people. Even the prophets never say that the Lord "loves" other peoples, or that mankind is an object of His love; but God's actions in Israel's history are dictated by His love. The same is true of His punitive educative work as well as of His gracious gifts in the continued course of history. This is the main theme of the biblical theology of love, probably because the divine love is generally conceived as related to the covenant. The use of the word *ḥesed* reveals indeed that this term also belongs to the covenantal terminology.

The love for God is sometimes signified in an indirect way, without mentioning the divine name. Thus when Amos 5:15 exhorts the people to "love the good," he intends the justice demanded by the divine law (cf. Micah 6:8; Ps. 52:5), which is mentioned 11 times in Psalm 119 as an object of love (vs. 47, 48, 97, 113, 119, 127, 140, 159, 163, 165, 167). Of course, the author meant by law, the stipulations of the covenant. The love of wisdom (Prov. 8:17, 21; cf. 4:5–6; 7:4; 29:3; Eccles. 4:11–14) is also interpreted as love of the law (Wisd. 6:17–18; cf. 6:12; 7:10), but this theme probably has an Egyptian origin: the personified divine wisdom seems to be an Israelite adaptation of the Old Egyptian Maat, whose love was also highly recommended in texts celebrating this deified idea of truth and justice (cf. Ch. Kayatz, *Studien zu Proverbien 1–9* (1966), 98–102). The biblical passages mentioning the love for the Temple or Jerusalem (Isa. 66:10; Ps. 26:8; 122:9) express instead the desire for the divine familiarity, more vividly felt in the holy places.

[Edward Lipinski]

Post-Biblical

The Song of Songs has been called the world's greatest love poetry. In range of imagery, lyric quality, and personal insight, it has taught the true nature of love to much of mankind. While it was admitted to the Bible only after a struggle, and then, apparently, because it was seen as an allegory of the love of God for Israel, the manifest content of the poems could never be denied. Thus an intimate link was established in Jewish literature between human love and the love of God. Jewish mysticism made this a major motif in its esoteric teaching. Rabbinic literature likewise reveals its appreciation of love only tangentially but with the same deep feeling: "A man once said, 'When love was strong, we could have made our bed on a sword-blade; Now that our love has grown weak, a bed of 60 cubits is not large enough for us'" (Sanh. 7a).

It is not the love in itself, or the passion associated with it, or its sexual fulfillment which are valued in these writings, as much as the understanding and the generosity which love creates and sustains. Thus, understanding and generosity become the highest ideals for human relationships. Love between man and woman is almost always connected with marriage, which is either the goal of love or the motive which brings it into being. This ideal of love in marriage which leads to understanding and generosity, though influenced by the various cultural circumstances among which Jews found themselves, remained relatively stable over the centuries. Though the ideal of romantic, courtly love did penetrate the Jewish community in the 11th and 12th centuries, unrequited passion never became a major Jewish concern.

Following the Aristotelian denigration of the senses and passion, the Jewish philosophers, *Maimonides in particular, tended to denigrate sexual love, and to intellectualize the love of God.

They viewed the love of God as an essentially cognitive matter. Maimonides explains that "And thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart" means that "you should make His apprehension the end of all your actions" (*Guide of the Perplexed*, 1:39; see also 3:33; Yad., Teshuvah 10:3–4, 6).

Ḥasdai *Crescas, as part of his general attack on the Maimonidean system, rejected this intellectualization of man's fundamental relationship to God. In great measure this is due to Crescas' insistence that positive attributes may be postulated about God (see *God, Attributes of). Since he then connects will and goodness with God, it is obvious that the appropriate response to such a benevolent God is love (*Or Adonai*, 1:3, 3). This feeling becomes for Crescas the desired basis of man's service to God (*ibid.*, 2:6, 1–2).

Joseph *Albo's *Book of Principles* 3:35 treats human love of God and God's love for humanity in general, and for Israel in particular. God is worthy of human love because He is good, beneficent, and pleasant, the three criteria Aristotle posited for the object of love (*Nicomachean Ethics* 8:2; cf. Maimonides, *Commentary to Mishnah* Avot 1:6). God's love for people is analogous to a king's love of his subjects, a father's love of his children, and a husband's love of his wife. Albo also represents God's love for Israel as a "desire" (*ḥeshek*), which has not cause or reason (3:37).

The Renaissance philosopher Judah *Abrabanel (Leone Ebreo; Leo Hebraeus) devoted his book *Dialoghi di Amore* ("Dialogues of Love") to the theme of love, to the connection between love, passion, and reason, and to love as the principle moving the world and expressing the mutual relationship between God and his creatures.

The mystics, though they had an anti-corporeal, ascetic strain in their teaching, similar to the Aristotelian view of Maimonides, nevertheless, had a more emotional understanding of love, and, following the Song of Songs, could see in the sexual passion between man and wife the model of the reintegration of the presently fragmented divine unity (Zohar 1:49b–50a). In modern times, Jewish thinkers have tended to accept the general, gradual reaffirmation of the physical aspects of human existence as essentially healthy. In the 19th and early 20th century, before this change of attitude toward the physical aspects of love, most Jewish discussions of love remained under the influence of German idealistic philosophy.

The Neo-Kantian philosopher Hermann *Cohen emphasized the moral characteristic of love in Judaism: the love of the alien and of one's fellow Jew is a function of the feeling of compassion, and human love of God is defined as the love of the moral ideal. After World War I, the existentialist philosophy of Franz *Rosenzweig and Martin *Buber introduced a new concern for the whole person, and emphasized human relationships. For them, love becomes the very ground of one's being, the source of all meaning and the guide to all action.

Rosenzweig characterized divine revelation as an expression of love of man. Since revelation occurs in the present – creation being the past and redemption the future – the love of God is the embodiment of the human-divine encounter in every present moment. God being the source of love, He can also command man to love Him ("Love the Lord your God") as an expression of His love for man. Buber emphasized the necessary connection between love of one's fellow (*re'a*) and love of God, whom he calls "the eternal you (Thou)." Against Soren Kierkegaard, who felt the need to abandon his beloved fiancée in order to make room for love of God, Buber argued that only by love of the other person, the human "you"

("Thou"), can a person attain the love of God, the "eternal you" (Thou).

Love and Fear of God (Heb. יִרְאַת ה׳; אַהֲבַת ה׳)

In his morning prayer the Jew asks God to "unify our hearts to love and fear Thy Name." This request indicates the recognition, prevalent in Judaism since a century or two before the destruction of the Second Temple, that the love and fear of God are the major motives for serving Him, and that there is some tension between them.

Both terms are widely used in the Bible, but the concept of fearing God appears much more frequently than that of loving Him. It is not clear, however, exactly what the biblical writers sought to convey about their faith by using a word for it which, when related to normal experience, regularly describes emotions of dread and fright (Josh. 10:2; Jer. 42:16). In many of its uses, the term loses all denotations of fear, and conveys a broad sense of one's religion, one's god, or one's pattern of worship (II Kings 17:28; Isa. 29:13). In some cases the term occurs in conjunction with the love of God, so that the two appear to have a similar content (Deut. 10:12). Some scholars have therefore argued that the terms are identical in meaning, but this interpretation seems unlikely in view of the heavy biblical emphasis on God's punishing sin and His utter transcendence of man. He is never described as simply loving man, though He does love Israel; rather the emphasis is on His mercy and benevolence, that is, though He is the master, He deals kindly. Hence, while the primitive denotations of fear have been sublimated in much biblical usage to a more intimate relationship with God, there is good reason to believe that the fear of God is a primary Hebrew response to God as the transcendent one, but it shades off into the love of God as the benevolent one. In both terms, however, the immediate connotation is action. Neither is used to commend an emotional state, worthy because of the feelings it arouses. Both are used as motivations for doing the will of God. They are means to observance.

By early rabbinic times, the emphasis on love had risen to parity with that on fear. Throughout talmudic times, the emphasis was increasingly placed on love as the most appropriate motive for the service of God. This is in accord with the rabbinic stress on carrying out the commandments for their own sake (*li-shemah*). The implication arises that, in doing them out of fear, it is reward and punishment which move the doer, which, to the rabbis, are extrinsic and inferior motives. They do not insist that doing the commandments for their own sake is the only acceptable way for Judaism, but rather accommodate themselves to human frailty by reasoning that from extrinsic motivation people will come to intrinsic motivation, which indicates their preference. Hence, though a number of rabbinic dicta make a distinction between the two motives, none of them prefers service from fear to service from love. The following are typical: "The reward of the lover is two portions; that of the fearer is one" (SER 28:140–1); "Act out of love, for the Torah makes a distinction between one who acts out of love and one who acts out of fear… In the former case his reward is doubled and redoubled" (Sif. Deut. 32).

A major addition to the meanings of loving God is the rabbis' association of martyrdom with the term. Love would naturally seem to imply a willingness to do anything for one's beloved. With R. Akiva as the model, the rabbis saw the will to give one's life for God and His teaching as the highest expression of love for Him (Ber. 61b; Sif. Deut. 32). The rabbis, however, considered martyrdom an end in itself, and placed severe restrictions on the conditions under which one had to give one's life for the love of God. This idea became a major part of the medieval Jew's sense of the right motive from which to serve God.

With the advent of Muslim-Jewish philosophy, with its rigorous, abstract evaluation of motives, a full-scale preference for the love of God over the fear of God began to pervade Jewish literature. For Maimonides, the rigorous philosophical estimate of all things led to a disparagement of the fear of God as a motive worthy of women and children alone (Maim., Yad, Teshuvah 10:1). Only the love of God, because it seeks nothing for itself, should be considered the motive which men ought to strive to achieve as the basis for their action. Yet Maimonides' Aristotelianism did not permit him to accept love in all its emotional connotations. What he carried over of love's normal meaning is its singleness of focus and its comprehensive relation to its object. In terms of man's inner state, however, since thinking was for Maimonides the most significant thing one can do, love was completely reinterpreted in terms of reason and cognition (*ibid.* 10:6). Even where Maimonides used the symbols of the love of God, his meaning always related to an intellectual activity which concentrates utterly on its object and seeks to carry that fixation into every other aspect of existence (Guide of the Perplexed, 3:51). Such intensive love of God is called "desire" (*ḥeshek*).

Isaac *Arama's treatise *Ḥazut Kashah* portrays the philosophers as attaining the rank of love of God resulting from admiration, but not the higher rank of *fear of God. On the other hand, the philosophers negated divine love of man, because in their view God does not relate in any way to individual humans. Baruch *Spinoza typifies such a philosophic position, emphasizing that God does not love individual people (Ethics 5:17). In Jewish mysticism, by contrast, though there are continual references to the fear and love of God, no clear-cut emphasis on one or the other becomes dominant in any of the major movements. The Zohar, for example, esteems both very highly. The concept of *devequt* calls on man to intimately associate his being with God and to be linked to Him in every activity of his life. This concept incorporates aspects of the traditional ideas of both the love and fear of God. It carries over the closeness of the former, yet maintains a sense of the distance and greatness of God.

Modern Jewish thinkers have avoided discussing the fear of God, since it seems too closely associated with the image of man as passive and abject. Wishing to ascribe to man an active role in his relationship with God, they have almost universally made the reciprocal love of God and man central to their teaching. Since this idea can easily be extended to the point where the distance between God and man is obliterated, as in various schools of humanism, some thinkers have begun to suggest that a concern for the fear of God is not incompatible with the dignity of man and is required by the transcendence of God.

Love of Neighbor

Leviticus 19:18 commands: "Love your neighbor (*re'akha*) as yourself: I am the Lord." The surrounding verses qualify this commandment. They prohibit unfair dealing and defrauding even of the defenseless, and forbid vengeance and the bearing of a grudge.

It is not clear whether the commandment to love one's neighbor applies to Jews only or to non-Jews as well. There is no substantial data from the Bible concerning the practice of the commandment. From the parallel term in the first part of the verse, *benei ammekha* ("children of your people"), it would seem that *re'akha* ("your neighbor") in the second part of the verse refers to specifically Jewish neighbors (see for example, Maim., Yad, De'ot 6:3), though the word *re'a* is used elsewhere in the Bible to refer to non-Jewish neighbors as well. The fact that the love of the resident stranger (*ger*) is enjoined in the same chapter in a separate verse (19:33–34) would seem to indicate further that "neighbor" in verse 18 refers specifically to Jews. It is clear that according to the interpretation of the rabbis of the talmudic period the commandment of loving one's neighbor does not refer to idolaters. Idolatry is, of course, the classic wickedness in Jewish eyes. While there is no commandment to hate idolaters, and while there are in rabbinic literature many stories about the positive relations between Jews and idolaters, the law places so many restrictions on association with idolaters and their goods that the commandment of neighborly love cannot easily be said to apply to them.

The rabbis had a clear appreciation of the significance of this commandment. Akiva called it the epitome of the Torah. Ben Azzai, in preferring the verse: "In the day that God created man, in the likeness of God made He him" is not denying Akiva's assertion of the importance of this commandment (Sifra 19:18). If anything, he is seeking a more inclusive verse, for "neighbor" might be understood literally or locally, but "creation in the image of God" excludes no human being. Similarly, both Hillel (Avot 1:12) and R. Meir (*ibid.* 6:1) enjoin that one should love all mankind ("creatures"). Concern for the non-Jew and his welfare is understood to be part of the Jewish goal of promoting peace among men, *mi-penei darkhei shalom* ("in the interest of peace"). From this commitment a whole range of moral responsibilities toward gentiles devolves upon Jews. Maimonides, in a typical ruling from the many in medieval writings, writes: "We bury the dead of heathens, comfort their mourners, and visit their sick, as this is the way of peace" (Yad, Avel 14:12).

In modern times, when the Jew's neighbor for the first time is widely understood as encompassing all humanity, the understanding of neighborly love by Jewish thinkers has been, correspondingly, universalized.

Moses *Mendelssohn argues that the commandment in Leviticus 19:18 cannot mean to love someone else as one loves oneself, which is impossible; moreover, had the Torah intended to command love of neighbor "as yourself," it would have said *ke-nafshekha*. The term *kamokha*, in his analysis, does not mean "as yourself" but "that which resembles you"; the commandment thus means "love your fellow, for he is like you, equal to you and resembling you, for he was also created in the image of God; he is human, like you. This includes all humans, since all of them were created in [God's] image" (*Be'ur* to Lev. 19:18; the commentary to Leviticus was prepared by H. Wessely, and was supervised and edited with bracketed additions by Mendelssohn).

Samson Raphael *Hirsch makes the love of all mankind a condition for being a true Israelite, and Hermann *Cohen considers it the necessary and unique concomitant of Jewish *monotheism. Cohen also follows Mendelssohn in interpreting the commandment as meaning love for the other who is like you: "The ethical self must be engaged in action. For this self, there exists no I without a Thou. *Re'akha* means "the other," the one who is like you. He is the Thou of the I. Selfhood is the result of an unending relation of I and Thou as well as its abiding ideal" ("Charakteristic der Ethik Maimunis" (1908), in: *Juedische Schriften* III, Eng. tr. in E. Jospe (ed.), *Reason and Hope: Selections from the Jewish Writings of Hermann Cohen* (1971), 218).

Leo *Baeck writes: "In Judaism neighbor is inseparable from man… there is no 'man' without 'fellowman,' no faith in God without faith in neighbor…" (*Essence of Judaism* (1936), 193).

[Eugene B. Borowitz / Raphael Jospe and Hannah Kasher (2nd ed.)]

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God," in: idem, *Maimonides Political Thought* (1999), 225–66; E. Simon, "The Neighbor (*Re'a*) Whom We Shall Love," in: M. Fox (ed.), *Modern Jewish Ethics: Theory and Practice* (1975), 29–56.

LOVELL, LEOPOLD (1907–1976), South African politician who was the only white man in the first cabinet of independent Swaziland. Born of Russian immigrant parents, he practiced law in Benoni in the Transvaal. During the 1930s he organized resistance to the Greyshirt (pro-Hitler) movement, and had its gangs expelled from the town. Lovell represented Benoni (S. Transvaal) in the House of Assembly from 1949 until 1958 when the Labor Party ceased to be represented in Parliament, and was an outspoken opponent of the Nationalist Government's apartheid policies. He took up residence in Swaziland in 1961 and was admitted to the bar there. In 1967 he became a member of its Parliament and was appointed minister of finance, commerce, and industry.

[Lewis Sowden]

LOVESTONE, JAY (**Liebstein, Jacov**; 1897–1990), U.S. Communist Party leader; architect of U.S. organized labor's post-World War II anti-Communist foreign policy. Lovestone, who was born in Lithuania, was taken to the United States as a child and grew up on New York's Lower East Side.

Lovestone joined the Socialist Party as a youth and was active in that party's left wing. In response to the Bolshevik Revolution, Lovestone was a founder of the Communist Party of America in 1919, which merged with another faction in 1921 to form what became the Communist Party of the United States. He served as its executive secretary from 1927 to 1929. While American Communism's top bureaucrat, Lovestone outlined the notion of "American Exceptionalism," i.e., that the United States did not fit into the general Communist theory. However, he and his theory were reviled and ostracized after Stalin's Comintern declared a "third period" of capitalist crisis and revolutionary upsurge, which included the United States. Following the Stalinization of American Communism, Lovestone formed an opposition Communist Party (later the Independent Labor League) and during the Depression fought Communists in the auto workers' and ladies garment workers' unions. In 1944 Lovestone was chosen to head the Free Trade Union Committee. Thereafter, he guided the American Federation of Labor's anti-Communist foreign policy. He constructed a worldwide intelligence network which, throughout the Cold War era, worked closely with the CIA. When the AFL and CIO merged, Lovestone continued his anti-Communist activities within the merged labor movement's Department of International Affairs. In 1963 he became director of the AFL-CIO's International Affairs Department (IAD), which covertly channeled millions of dollars from the CIA to anti-Communist activities internationally, particularly in Latin America. During the 1960s he vigorously supported American military intervention in Cuba, the Dominican Republic, and Vietnam, and opposed the concepts and practitioners of neutralism and revolutionary nationalism. In 1974 he was expelled from the AFL-CIO when it came to light that he had been connected with the CIA.

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[Kenneth Waltzer / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

LOVY, ISRAEL (**Lowy**; **Israel Glogauer**; 1773–1832), *ḥazzan* and composer. Born near Danzig, Lovy received his talmudic education in Glogau, where his father officiated as *ḥazzan*. From the age of 13 he acted as assistant *ḥazzan* in various communities of Moravia, Bohemia, Saxony, and Bavaria. In 1799 Lovy was employed in Fuerth, where he continued his education in European music. After temporary employment in Mainz, Strasbourg, and London, he went to Paris in 1818, and in 1822 he became the chief *ḥazzan* of the newly founded synagogue in the Rue Notre Dame de Nazareth. There he organized a four-voiced choir, for which he composed his *Chants religieux… pour les prières hébraïques* (1862). He had already appeared as a concert singer in Germany, and in Paris was urged to go on the stage, but refused. His tunes were popular among the German cantors, but his priority as a "reformist" passed to Solomon *Sulzer whose innovations had a wider influence. The "Polish airs" notated at the end of his *Chants* (149–57) are the first appearance in print of the "ḥazzanic-klezmeric" (folk) repertoire for weddings and other family rejoicings and an important relic of 18th-century traditions.

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[Bathja Bayer]

LOW (**Loewe**), British family of Hungarian origin which became prominent in journalism and literature.

MAXIMILIAN LOEWE (1830–1900) was born in Hungary and joined the Nationalist party led by Louis Kossuth. After the failure of the 1848 revolution in Hungary, Loewe fled to England where he engaged in business. Within a short time he acquired a considerable fortune as a result of speculation but in 1878 lost it all. Loewe became interested in the Theist movement and helped to establish its church. He was a profound admirer of British culture and imbued his children with a love of English literature.

His son, SIR SIDNEY JAMES MARK LOW (1857–1932), became a lecturer at King's College, London. His bent was for literature but the state of the family finances compelled him to earn his living as a journalist which he successfully combined as literary editor of the *Standard* (1904). He edited, with F.S. Pulling, the *Dictionary of English History* in 1884 and 20 years later published his second and most important work, *The Governance of England* (1904). As a journalist, Low achieved a high reputation for his style and sense of history and was given access to the papers of eminent statesmen such as Lord Milner and Leopold S. *Amery. From 1888 to 1897 he achieved fame as editor of the *St. James Gazette*. During World War I, Low wrote a series of books on the British Empire in which he took a strict imperialist line with high propaganda value. He was knighted in 1918. An ardent patriot and confidant of leading statesmen, he was compelled to resign his official position as editor of the wireless service of the Ministry of Information in order to forestall a House of Commons question on his "Central European origin."

Maximilian's second son, SIR MAURICE LOW (1860–1929), was also a well-known journalist. He immigrated to the U.S. when the family fortunes waned and became Washington correspondent of the *Boston Globe* and subsequently of the London *Daily Chronicle* and *Morning Post*. He was considered one of the best correspondents in the United States and by his writing and lectures did much to arouse American public opinion to an awareness of the German menace and to improve the image of Britain. For these services, he was knighted in 1922. He wrote studies of the United States, of which the best known is *The American People* (2 vols., 1909–11), as well as books concerning World War I and a political novel.

Maximilian Loewe had six sons and five daughters. One daughter, Edith, who was a leader of *WIZO, married Montague David *Eder, psychologist and Zionist leader. Ivy, a daughter of Sir Sidney Low, married Maxim *Litvinov, the Soviet political leader.

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LOW, MINNIE (1867–1922), U.S. social service leader. Low was born in New York City and moved to Chicago with her family when she was 10 years old. Inspired by her friend, social reformer and Hull House Settlement director Jane Addams, Low helped found the Maxwell Street Settlement House in 1893. Low's work within Chicago's Jewish immigrant community earned her the reputation as the "Jane Addams of the Jews."

While organizing the Maxwell Street Settlement House, Low supported herself financially by working as secretary to Hannah Greenbaum *Solomon, the philanthropist and activist who founded the *National Council of Jewish Women. With Solomon's assistance, Low became executive director of the Seventh Ward Bureau (later known as the Bureau of Personal Service), a position that she held from 1897 until her death in 1922. The organization helped East European Jewish immigrants who settled in Chicago to secure housing, medical care, loans, and legal aid, and sponsored a workroom that compensated female workers with coal and secondhand clothes. A critic of institutions that dispensed alms, Low advocated a scientific approach to philanthropy that promoted self-sufficiency through a combination of work and loans.

The same year that Low began her affiliation with the Seventh Ward Bureau, she also helped to create the Woman's Loan Association. Administered exclusively by women, the Woman's Loan Association provided Jewish immigrants with interest-free loans primarily to start and maintain small businesses. Low also played a prominent role within other Chicago Jewish agencies: Central Bureau of Jewish Charities, Desertion Bureau, Helen Day Nursery, Home for Jewish Friendless, and Jewish Home Finding Society (an organization that helped widows with dependent children and placed children with adopted families).

Low's social work activity extended beyond the Jewish community. In 1899, for example, she joined a group of well-known Chicago social reformers including Hull House leaders Louise de Koven Bowen and Julia Lathrop, women's club activist Lucy Flower, and Judge Julian Mack to organize the Juvenile Court of Chicago, the nation's first separate juvenile court. Soon after the court's establishment, Low was hired as a probation officer. In addition, Low's reputation was not limited to Chicago. She achieved national recognition when her colleagues elected her president of the National Conference of Jewish Charities in 1914.

Limited finances and poor health plagued Low throughout her life. Never married, Low supported herself financially through employment as a salaried professional. Low left high school during the first year because of health problems and suffered from a prolonged illness before she died on May 28, 1922. At the memorial service, Addams delivered a eulogy that chronicled their friendship and honored Low's accomplishments.

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[Shelly Tenenbaum (2nd ed.)]

LOW (Lev), WILLIAM ZE'EV (1922–2004), Israeli physicist. Low was born in Vienna and studied in Canada and the U.S., receiving his doctorate from Columbia University in 1950. In the same year he immigrated to Israel, and was appointed professor of experimental physics at the Hebrew University in 1961. In 1960 he was elected president of the Physical Society of Israel. He has published nearly 200 papers in the field of solid state physics, laser physics, shockwaves, and microwaves, and is the author of *Paramagnetic Resonance in Solids* (1960). He was awarded the Israel Prize for exact sciences in 1962 and the Rothschild Prize for physical sciences in 1965.

A strictly observant Jew and profound talmudist, Low founded, and was first president of, the Institute of Science and Halakhah, the main purpose of which is to find scientific halakhic solutions to various problems connected with modern society and the Jewish religion, mainly in regard to observance of the Sabbath in an industrial society. The institute is also engaged in the collection of various rabbinical responsa connected with modern technological and agricultural problems. Low was also instrumental in establishing the Jerusalem College of Technology and was the first president and rector of this accredited college, whose purpose is to train yeshivah students as engineers for Israel industry, and thus bring them into direct contact with the economic and industrial life of the country. The staff consists of professors in the field of technology as well as yeshivah teachers. He has published two books of *responsa.

°**LOWDERMILK, WALTER CLAY** (1888–1974), U.S. land conservation and hydrology expert, friend of Zionism and Israel. Lowdermilk was born in North Carolina and studied at the universities of Arizona and California. After studying afforestation problems in Britain, he joined the afforestation department of the U.S. Department of Agriculture. Later, he studied soil erosion and conservation, being one of the first to base his conclusions on field experiments. In 1927, after five years as professor of afforestation at the University of Nanking, he founded a hydrological experimentation station in Southern California. His researches were the basis, in part, for U.S. soil conservation schemes in the 1930s, and from 1937 to 1947 he headed the research department of the U.S. Soil Conservation Service.

In 1939 Lowdermilk visited Ereẓ Israel, where he studied conditions and development prospects. He published his conclusion in *Palestine – Land of Promise* (1944), in which, contrary to the view upon which the Mandatory Government ostensibly based its White Paper restricting further Jewish immigration on the grounds that the economic absorption capacity of Ereẓ Israel was full, he showed that the country could support a population of three million. He warmly praised Zionist land settlement and agricultural development, and proposed a comprehensive plan for the development of the Jordan Valley along the lines of the U.S. Tennessee Valley Authority and the diversion of the river's sweet waters for irrigation for the benefit of Ereẓ Israel and the neighboring countries. After the establishment of Israel's independence, this scheme became the basis for the Israel National Water scheme. He also proposed the generation of electricity by the transmission of Mediterranean water through a tunnel to the Dead Sea. Lowdermilk visited Israel in the early 1950s and for three years served, on behalf of the UN Food and Agriculture Organization, as an advisor to the Ministry of Agriculture on the preparation of Israel's soil conservation and water schemes. In 1955 he returned to Israel on behalf of the U.S. government and helped to develop the Agricultural Engineering Department of the Technion in Haifa, which he headed for three years and which bears his name. His writings include *Jewish Colonization in Palestine* (1939) and "Assignment in Israel" in *The Land* (1960), pp. 168–83.

LOWE, ADOLPH (1893–1995), economist. Born in Stuttgart, Germany, Lowe was a civil servant in Germany's ministries of labor and economic affairs and in the central statistical office (1919–26). From 1926 to 1931 he was a professor of economics and sociology at the University of Kiel, where he became director of research at the Institute for World Economy. In 1931 he was appointed professor of economics at the University of Frankfurt. In 1933, with the advent of the Nazis, he went to England where, until 1940, he was a lecturer in economics and political science at the University of Manchester. He left England in 1940 because he was perceived as an enemy alien. He settled in New York City, where he began teaching at the New School for Social Research. From 1943 to 1951 he directed research at the Institute of World Affairs in New York City. General economic theory, economic development, and business fluctuations were his main professional interests. Lowe retired from teaching in 1963 but remained at the New School for Social Research in the capacity of lecturer. He returned to Germany in 1983, where he lived to the age of 102.

His major publications include *Economics and Sociology: A Plea for Cooperation in the Social Sciences* (1935), *The Price of Liberty* (1937), *The Classical Theory of Economic Growth* (1954), *Structural Analysis of Real Capital Formation* (1955), *On Economic Knowledge* (1965), *The Path of Economic Growth* (1976), and *Has Freedom a Future?* (1988).

[Joachim O. Ronall / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

LOWE, ELIAS AVERY (1879–1969), foremost 20th century authority on Latin paleography. Born in Lithuania, Lowe (originally Loew) came to New York at an early age and after studying at City College graduated from Cornell University. In 1902, aided by the philanthropist James Loeb, he went to Germany, where he received his doctorate in 1907 under the master paleographer Ludwig *Traube, writing on *Die ältesten Kalendarien aus Monte Cassino*. In *Studia Palaeographica* (1910) he established extremely sophisticated criteria for dating Beneventan and Visigothic minuscule manuscripts. His work *The Beneventan Script* (1914), a subject to which he returned with his two-volume *Scriptura Beneventana* (1929), was the first full-scale study of a particular Latin script. His work on the complex textual tradition of the rule of St. Benedict was an important supplement to that of Traube. In 1913 Lowe was appointed lecturer and in 1927 as reader in paleography at Oxford; but his most fruitful period was from 1936 on, when he was appointed professor at the Institute for Advanced Study at Princeton, retiring in 1946. There he was a close friend of Einstein. His master work was *Codices latini antiquiores*, a paleographical guide to all Latin manuscripts prior to the ninth century in 11 volumes (1934–66), arranged according to the country where the manuscripts are currently to be found and containing facsimiles of sample passages of each manuscript, with important notes on their date, origin and style. At the time of his death he was at work on a 12th volume, containing a supplement and a series of indices, as well as a companion to the work explaining how it was to be used. Jacob *Epstein, an early schoolmate, made a bust of Lowe, now in the Metropolitan Museum in New York.

[Louis Harry Feldman (2nd ed.)]

LOWENSTEIN, ALLARD KENNETH (1929–1980), U.S. political activist. Born in Newark, NJ, Lowenstein was raised in Westchester County, NY, and educated at the Horace Mann School, the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill (B.A. 1949) and Yale Law School (LL.B. 1954). After graduating from UNC, Lowenstein became an aide to liberal North Carolina senator Frank P. Graham. Later he became president of the National Student Association (an organization substantially funded by the CIA unbeknownst to Lowenstein and other NSA leaders). He worked for Adlai Stevenson's presidential campaign in 1952. After the campaign he went to work for Eleanor Roosevelt at the United Nations.

After law school and two years in the U.S. Army, Lowenstein undertook a dangerous fact-finding trip to South Africa and South West Africa (now Namibia) to investigate apartheid, and wrote a book, *Brutal Mandate* (1962), about his findings. While practicing law in New York in 1960, he worked in the election campaign of liberal Democratic congressman William Fitts Ryan. In 1961 he began teaching at Stanford University, and became involved in student and civil rights activities. Fired for his activities at Stanford, he took a position at North Carolina State University at Raleigh, where he became a civil rights activist. A talented organizer, known as a kind of "pied piper" for idealistic students, Lowenstein soon became a strategist with movement leaders in the South, including Martin Luther King, Jr. He took a leading role in recruiting young white volunteers – many of whom were Jewish – for Freedom Summer, the campaign to register voters in Mississippi and other Southern states in 1964, on behalf of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC). But he fell out with the organizers over his attempts to control their activities and limit their ideas to those of traditional liberalism. At the 1964 Democratic Convention Lowenstein supported the compromise imposed by President Lyndon Baines Johnson over the struggle to seat an integrated delegation in place of the official white segregationist delegation from Mississippi.

In 1967 as opposition to the Vietnam War increased Lowenstein, from his teaching perch at City College of New York, began the Dump Johnson movement within the Democratic Party over the Vietnam War. He is credited with persuading Senator Eugene McCarthy to run against President Johnson in the party primaries in 1968, eventually causing Johnson to withdraw his candidacy. That year Lowenstein ran for, and won, a congressional seat from a largely Black and Jewish district centered in Long Beach. In Congress he was an outspoken voice against the Vietnam War and for draft reform.

He failed to win reelection in 1970, and also lost subsequent attempts in primaries to win election in other New York districts in 1972 and 1974. Various ḥasidic factions in Brooklyn opposed his election. In 1971 Lowenstein became the chairman of the liberal Americans for Democratic Action. In 1977 he was appointed by President Carter as the U.S. representative to the United Nations Commission on Human Rights. His later years were relatively quiet. However, in 1980 Lowenstein was shot to death in his law office in New York City by a mentally ill former associate from the civil rights movement. His funeral gathered many of those who had participated in his many causes.

[Drew Silver (2nd ed.)]

LOWENSTEIN, SOLOMON (1877–1942), U.S. social work executive and Reform rabbi. Lowenstein, who was born in Philadelphia, was ordained by Hebrew Union College in 1901. He was successively employed as superintendent of the United Jewish Charities in Cincinnati (1901–04); assistant manager of the United Jewish Charities in New York (1904); superintendent of the Hebrew Orphan Asylum (1905–18); deputy commissioner of the American Red Cross in Palestine (1918–19); and director of the Federation of Jewish Philanthropic Societies (1920–35). In 1935 he became the Federation's executive vice president and held this post until his death. During this period, coinciding with the depression of the 1930s, Jewish philanthropy greatly expanded and shifted and Lowenstein coordinated and systematized its operations. Lowenstein was president of the National Conference of Social Work (1938), and was also a trustee of both the American Jewish Committee and the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee, and a vice president of the American Friends of the Hebrew University.

LOWENTHAL, MARVIN (1890–1969), U.S. Zionist writer. Born in Bradford, Pennsylvania, Lowenthal was sent by Louis *D. Brandeis to the West Coast to organize the Zionist movement there (1916–18). From 1924 to 1929 he traveled abroad as European editor of the *Menorah Journal*, and for part of this time also represented the American Jewish Congress. During these years he wrote extensively on literature, politics, and Zionism, evincing affection for the secular elements in Jewish culture. He became widely known in the United States through his essays and lectures, but his most enduring works are his travel and historical books. His craftsmanship and urbanity of style appear at their best in *The Jews of Germany* (1936; includes bibliography of his works). Lowenthal served on the Zionist Advisory Commission (1946–49) and was editor of *The American Zionist* (1952–54). His works include a book on Jews in Europe and North Africa, *A World Passed By* (1933); and he edited *Henrietta Szold: Life and Letters* (1942) and the one-volume precis of the *Diaries of Theodor Herzl* (1956). He translated and edited *Memoirs of Glueckel of Hameln* (1932) and a one-volume abridgment of Montaigne's *Autobiography* (1935).

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[Leo W. Schwarz]

LOWEY, NITA MELNIKOFF (1937–), U.S. congresswoman representing parts of Westchester and Rockland counties in the state of New York. Lowey, who was first elected to the House of Representatives in 1988, was the first woman and the first New Yorker to chair the Democratic Campaign Committee (2001–2002). The daughter of Beatrice and Jack Melnikoff, Lowey was born in the Bronx, New York. She attended the Bronx High School of Science and Mount Holyoke College (B.A., 1959). She and her husband, attorney Stephen Lowey, had three children. They were active philanthropically in the New York City region Jewish community and were synagogue members.

In Congress Lowey was a member of the powerful House Appropriations Committee, and the ranking Democrat on the Foreign Operations, Export Financing, and Related Programs subcommittee. She was described as an extremely effective, committed, and influential legislator who "maneuvered skillfully through the appropriations process" so that she could successfully help New York. Lowey took a key position promoting a strong U.S./Israel relationship and was a leading advocate for the annual U.S. aid package for Israel. Additionally, she fought for and secured $50 million to help Israel resettle refugees from the former Soviet Union. Domestically, Lowey supported educational opportunity, school modernization, teacher development, and literacy programs, as well as support. On the Appropriations Committee she successfully pushed for increased federal investments in biomedical research on cancer, diabetes, and Alzheimer's disease and authored the first bill that mandated clear, concise food allergen labeling.

On the Select Committee on Homeland Security, Lowey advocated federalizing air and nuclear security and increasing port and rail security. She helped secure over $20 billion for the recovery of New York after the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks and has supported a variety of anti-terror measures.

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[Judith Friedman Rosen (2nd ed.)]

LOWICZ (Pol. **Łowicz**), town in the province of Lodz, central Poland. The Jews began to settle there at the beginning of the 16th century. In 1516 they were expelled by Archbishop Jan Laski and established themselves in the surrounding towns. Until 1797 the presence of Jews in Lowicz was authorized only on market days and during fairs. At the regional church synod held in Lowicz in 1556 it was decided to inflict severe punishment on four Jews of *Sochaczew who had been accused of *Host desecration. At the close of the 16th and during the 17th centuries Jewish merchants played an important role in the Lowicz fairs. From the beginning of the 19th century the Jewish population of the town increased rapidly. The 60 Jews (2.5% of the population) who lived in Lowicz in 1808 earned their livelihood mainly as innkeepers and craftsmen. With the renewal of the Lowicz fairs in 1820 much of the trade in the town was in Jewish hands. In 1827 the Jewish community of Lowicz numbered 405 (11% of the population). In 1829 a wooden synagogue was erected; the local Jewish cemetery was founded in the early 1830s. In 1897 the construction of the Great Synagogue was completed. During the years 1828–62 the Jews were allowed to live only in the Jewish quarter. In the course of time Ḥasidism gained influence in the community. In 1863 some Lowicz Jews contributed funds to the Polish rebels and collaborated with them in smuggling arms.

The Jewish population increased from 1,161 in 1857 (21% of the population) to 3,552 in 1897 (35% of the total). Their principal sources of livelihood were shopkeeping, trade with the neighboring peasants and the soldiers of the local Russian military camp, and crafts. A considerable part of the Jewish poor was employed in the textile, stocking, and food manufacturing industries. Under the influence of the *Bund, Jewish workers and students participated in the revolutionary incidents which took place in Lowicz in 1905. From the beginning of the century Zionist groups were organized. At the end of 1914 there were Jewish victims and severe damage to property as a result of the battles which were fought in the town and its vicinity. In 1917 six Jewish delegates were elected to the municipal council, forming half of its membership. In 1921 there were 4,517 Jews (30% of the total population) in Lowicz. In the interwar period CYSHO (Central Yiddish School Organization) and Beth Jacob schools functioned. From 1935 to 1939 the weekly *Mazovsher Vokhenblat* was published in Lowicz. In 1931, 4,339 Jews (25% of the total population) lived in the town. In 1933 anti-Jewish riots occurred, which were repelled by the Jewish *self-defense.

[Arthur Cygielman]

Holocaust Period

On the outbreak of World War II there were about 4,500 Jews in Lowicz. The German army entered the town on Sept. 9, 1939. That day all Jewish males were ordered to assemble in the market place. They were imprisoned in the synagogue and tortured for two days. During 1940 about 3,500 Jews from the towns of Lodz province, which had been incorporated into the Third Reich, were forced to settle in Lowicz. In May 1940 a ghetto was established there. On June 17, 1941, a decree forbidding Jews to live in the town or country of Lowicz was issued. All the Jews were transferred to the *Warsaw ghetto and shared the plight of Warsaw Jewry. No Jewish community has been rebuilt in Lowicz.

[Stefan Krakowski]

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LOWIE, ROBERT HARRY (1883–1957), U.S. anthropologist. Born in Vienna, Lowie was taken to the U.S. and educated in New York. He studied anthropology under Franz *Boas, and served two institutions, the American Museum of Natural History (1907–17) and the University of California at Berkeley (1917–50). He did field work among various American Indian tribes, especially the Crows. His early interest in comparative mythology led to his publishing several works, notably *Primitive Society* (1920) and *Primitive Religion* (1924). Lowie's contribution to anthropology was widely recognized and he edited the *American Journal of Anthropology*. During World War II he taught an "area" course on Germany and this experience, combined with ethnographical field trips, led to his publication of *The German People – a Social Portrait to 1914* (1945), and *Towards Understanding Germany* (1954), which assessed the impact of the war on the German personality. Though generally a follower of the Boas school, which insisted on the scientific method, Lowie contended that more importance ought to be allotted to the biological factor in accounting for differences among individuals as well as groups. He also resisted Freudian generalizations, and envisaged the possibility of applying correlation techniques to culture variables. In his ethnographical studies Lowie was concerned to illuminate the interaction between social organization, religion, and folklore. He has been considered by some the precursor of structural anthropology.

[Ephraim Fischoff]

LOWINSKY, EDWARD ELIAS (1908–1985), U.S. musicologist. Lowinsky was born in Stuttgart, Germany. In 1934, after the Nazi rise to power, he immigrated to the United States. He taught at the University of California at Berkeley and at the University of Chicago, where he initiated an entire generation of scholars, and in 1961 was appointed Ferdinand Schevill Distinguished Service Professor. His research in the music of the Renaissance represented a significant breakthrough; from 1964 to 1977 he was the general editor of the series Monuments of Renaissance Music. Lowinsky is considered one of the major figures of postwar musicology. His numerous publications include major critical editions and innovative historical and stylistic observations. Among his important publications are *Tonality and Atonality in Sixteenth Century Music* (1961), *The Medici Codex of 1518* (1968), *Cipriano da Rore's Venus Motet: Its Poetic and Pictorial Sources* (1986), and *Music in the Culture of Renaissance and Other Essays* (ed. Bonnie Blackburn, 1989).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Grove online; MGG^2; L. Finscher, "*Zu den Schriften Edward E. Lowinsky*," in: *Musikforschung* 15 (1962), 54–77.

[Jehoash Hirshberg and Amnon Shiloah (2nd ed.)]

LOWN, PHILIP W. (1890–1978), U.S. shoe manufacturer and philanthropist. Lown arrived in New York in 1907, later attending the University of Maine and obtaining a degree in chemical engineering (1918). Lown went into shoe manufacturing, eventually heading Lown Shoes Inc. (from 1933) and Penobscot Shoe Co. Settling in Lewiston, Maine, in 1935, he became active in civic and Jewish communal affairs, especially educational. Lown served as a longtime board member, vice president, and president of the American Association for Jewish Education from 1950 on, and was one of the leading philanthropists of Jewish education in the United States. He endowed a chair in Jewish philosophy at Brandeis University and founded the Lown School of Near Eastern and Judaic Studies. He was president of the Hebrew Teachers' College of Brookline, Massachusetts, from 1962 and vice president of the American Friends of the Hebrew University. He served as a national cabinet member of the UJA from 1950 and was treasurer of the Combined Jewish Philanthropies of Boston. A jubilee volume edited by Judah Pilch was published in his honor in 1967.

The Philip W. Lown School of Near Eastern and Judaic Studies, established at Brandeis University in 1953, is the center for teaching and research programs in the areas of Judaic studies, ancient Near Eastern studies, Islamic and modern Middle Eastern studies, and Jewish communal studies. The Hebrew College of Brookline has established the Philip W. Lown Medal for Distinguished Service to Jewish education and culture in the United States.

°**LOWTH, ROBERT** (1710–1787), Hebraist. Appointed professor of poetry at Oxford in 1741, Lowth devoted a series of 34 Latin lectures to the literary qualities of biblical poetry. Originally published as *Praelectiones de sacra poesi Hebraeorum* (Oxford, 1753), these were translated into English as *Lectures on the Sacred Poetry of the Hebrews* (London, 1787). Lowth was the first modern scholar to formulate the theory of parallelism as the metrical basis of biblical Hebrew poetry, a discovery which had been partially anticipated in the 16th century by Azariah de *Rossi, whom Lowth quoted. Renaissance scholars, relying on classical and contemporary verse forms, had tried unsuccessfully to scan poetic passages in the Bible as though they were classical hexameters, but Lowth showed that Hebrew poetry was fundamentally antiphonal, the latter part of each verse echoing the idea of the first by corroboration or contrast – "The mountains skipped like rams/the hills like children of the flock." His translation of the Book of Isaiah (1778) was also original in biblical translation, distinguishing between the prose and poetry of the original Hebrew. Lowth is notable for having stressed the sublimity of Old Testament literature and the vividness of its imagery in an era of prudery and circumlocution. He was bishop of Oxford 1766–67 and thereafter bishop of London.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: S.H. Monk, *The Sublime* (1935); M. Roston, *Prophet and Poet* (1965). **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** R. Marrs, in: DBI, 2, 89–90.

[Murray Roston]

LOWY, FRANK (1930–), Australian businessman. Born in Czechoslovakia, Lowy survived the Holocaust in Hungary before fighting for the Israeli army in the War of Independence. In 1952 he migrated to Sydney, Australia, where, with fellow Jewish migrant and long-time business partner John Saunders, he opened a delicatessen in a Sydney suburb. In 1959 Lowy and Saunders opened one of Australia's first suburban shopping centers, Westfield Plaza in Blacktown, Sydney. Westfield Holdings Ltd. grew into one of the most important retailers in Australia, developing a string of shopping centers around the country. By the 1990s Lowy had become one of the richest men in Australia, and in 2004 was credited with a fortune of $4.2 billion (about US $4 billion), ranked jointly as the second largest private fortune in that year's Australian "rich list." In 2001 he bought out nine shopping malls in the United States and also owned six shopping centers in Great Britain. Worth US $18 billion in 2004, the Westfield Group, as it was known, was the largest shopping center owner in the world. Lowy was also chairman of the Australian Soccer Association.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: BRW (*Business Review Weekly, Melbourne*) "Rich 200" (May 20–26, 2004), 114; R. Ostrow, *The New Boy Network: Taking Over Corporate Australia* (1987), 65–67; W.D. Rubinstein, Australia II, 361.

[William D. Rubinstein (2nd ed.)]

LOYTER, EFRAIM BARUKHOVICH (1889–1963), Russian theater director and teacher. Born in Berdichev, Loyter began his career in 1906 as a theater critic in Vilna newspapers. He also published Yiddish stories. He was close to the *Zionist-Socialist party. During World War I he was a representative in Central Russia of EKOPO, the Jewish Committee to Help War Victims. Together with L. Sobol, he edited the literary anthology *Yevreyskiy mir* ("Jewish World," Moscow, 1918).

Loyter was one of the heads and directors of the Jewish theatrical studio of the Kiev Culture League (Kiev-Moscow, 1919–24) where with a group of actors whom he had trained he staged plays by I.L. Peretz, Shalom Aleichem, Peretz Hirshbein, and others. He studied directing in Moscow with Y. Vakhtangov and C.Y. Meyerhold. In Baku in 1924–25 he headed the Workers' Theater and the Jewish theatrical studio. In 1925–28 he was director of the State Jewish Theater of the Ukraine where he staged *Purimspiel* and also *Vognye* ("In the Fire") by M. *Daniel and Loyter; *Two Kuni Lemels* by A. *Goldfaden, and other works. In 1929 in Moscow together with S. *Mikhoels he established a theatrical studio, teaching there (until 1935) and also at the Teaching-Theater Center (from 1933 to 1935). From 1935 to 1941 and 1945 to 1949 he was artistic director of the Odessa Jewish Theater where he staged, among other plays, Maxim Gorky's *Mother* (1938) and *Wandering Stars* (1940) by Shalom Aleichem. Loyter also directed plays in Russian and Ukrainian. During World War II, he was evacuated to Tashkent. During this time he staged plays in Uzbekistan (and was awarded the title of Honored Artist of the Uzbek SSR, in 1943) and Tadzhikistan. He wrote a book in Russian, *Slovo na stsene I estrade* ("Word on Stage and on the Boards," 1954), and an introduction to the anthology he compiled *Slovo na stsene* ("Word on Stage," 1958).

His brother NACHUM LOYTER (1891–1966) was also a theatrical director. In 1919 he studied at the theater studio of the Kiev Culture League and in 1922 graduated from the State Higher Directors' Workshop. From 1925 to 1929 he was the director of the Moscow Prolet-cult (Proletarian Culture) Theater. From 1930 he headed the State Jewish Theater of the Ukraine in Kharkov, from 1936, the Odessa Jewish Theater, and from 1937 the Kiev Jewish Theater. From 1940 to 1957 N. Loyter worked in the Y. Kolas Belorussian Theater, first in Vitebsk, then in evacuation in Uralsk. He was awarded the title of Honored Art Worker of the Belorussian SSR in 1945 and a Stalin Prize in 1946.

[Mark Kipnis / *The Shorter Jewish Encyclopaedia in Russian*]

LOZINSKI, SAMUEL (1874–1945), Russian historian. Born in Bobruisk, Belarus, he studied in the universities of Berlin, Paris, and St. Petersburg. In the years 1904–06 he was redactor of the foreign department of the newspaper *Kievskiye Otkliki* ("Kiev Echo"). Lozinski specialized in the history of Western Europe, writing studies on the modern history of France, Austria, Holland, and Belgium. He collaborated in editing and translating standard historical works into Russian, including E. Renan's *Histoire du peuple d'Israël* and H.C. Lea's *History of the Inquisition of Spain*. He also did research in Jewish history and edited the sections on Jewish culture in Europe and the history of the Jews in France and England in the Russian-Jewish encyclopedia (*Yevreyskaya Entsiklopediya*). Under the Soviet regime, Lozinski lectured in history at the universities of Leningrad, Minsk, Rostov, and other cities. During the 1920s he belonged to the small circle which was active in Jewish historical research under the conditions of the new regime. He edited a collection of documents, *Kazyonnye yevreyskiye uchilishcha* ("Jewish Governmental Schools," 1920), and co-edited the collections *Yevreyskaya Starina* and *Yevreyskaya Letopis*. To antisemitism he dedicated the work "The social roots of antisemitism in medieval and modern times" (1929). He also engaged in research on the history of the Church. His two works *Svyataya Inkvizitsiya* ("The Holy Inquisition," 1927) and *Istoriya Papstva* ("History of the Papacy," 1934) were published by the Academy of Sciences of the U.S.S.R.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: S. Lozinski, *Istoriya Papstva* (1961), preface; *Bobruisk* (Heb. and Yid., 1967), 521–2.

[Yehuda Slutsky]

LOZOVSKI (Dridzo), SOLOMON ABRAMOVICH (1878–1952), Soviet statesman and trade union leader. Born into a poor family in Danilovka, Yekaterinoslav province (today Dnepropetrovsk district, Ukraine), Lozovski went to work at the age of 11 and completed his studies on his own. He joined the Russian Social-Democratic Party in 1901 and in 1905 attached himself to the Bolshevik wing. Lozovski participated in the Revolution of 1905, and several times was arrested, but escaped. In 1909 he arrived in France where he was active in the socialist movement until 1917. Lozovski returned to Russia following the outbreak of the February Revolution and was immediately elected secretary of the Trade Union Council. His opposition to Lenin's policies during and after the October Revolution led to his expulsion from the party in March 1918 and until December 1919, when he rejoined the Bolsheviks, he was a leader of the Internationalist Social-Democrats. From 1920 on, he was appointed to a series of important posts, serving as head of the Communist Trade Union International (Profintern; 1921–37), director of the state publishing house (1937–39), deputy commissar of foreign affairs (1939–46), and deputy director and later director, of the Soviet Information Bureau. From 1939 to 1949 he was a member of the central committee of the Communist Party.

In his capacity as head of the Soviet Information Bureau, Lozovski was responsible for the work of the Jewish *Anti-Fascist Committee and was concerned with world Jewish affairs. It is believed that in 1944 he supported the plan to set up a Jewish autonomous settlement in the Crimea and that this led to his arrest in 1949, when the authorities began to liquidate Jewish culture in the Soviet Union. Lozovski was tried together with 24 other Jewish writers and intellectuals in July 1952, and was executed with them on August 12, 1952. He was posthumously rehabilitated in 1956.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: J.B. Salsberg, in: *Jewish Life* (Feb. 1957); I. Ehrenburg, *Memoirs 1921–1941* (1964), 498; vol. 2, p. 11, 120; H.E. Salisbury, *To Moscow and Beyond* (1960), 72; *Deyateli Sovetskogo Soyuza*, vol. 1, p. 333–7; *Bolshaya Sovetskaya Entsiklopediya*, 51 (1958^2), 180; *Sovetskaya Litva* (March 30, 1963); *Sovetskaya Istoricheskaya Entsiklopediya*, 8 (1965), 760–1; *Voprosy istorii KPSS*, 10:7 (1966), 24.

[Benjamin Pinkus]

LOZOWICK, LOUIS (1892–1973), U.S. printmaker, painter, draftsman, and writer. Born Leib Lozowick in Russia, he changed his name to the more Anglicized Louis upon his arrival in America. At the age of nine he had lived with his brother in Kiev, where he attended secular school and took his first art classes at the Kiev Art School (1903–5). When his brother moved to the United States in 1906, Lozowick joined him in Newark, New Jersey.

After studying at the National Academy of Design in New York (1912–15) with the Jewish artist Leon Kroll and others, Lozowick went to Ohio State University, graduating Phi Beta Kappa in 1918. He served in the U.S. Army for a year before an extensive stay in Europe. Lozowick spent a year in Paris and then lived in Berlin for three years, befriending other Russian artists in Germany, including El *Lissitzky. With Lissitzky, Lozowick traveled to Moscow, where he became acquainted with Constructivist principles, gaining admiration for a machine aesthetic that highlighted the potential of the urban landscape. From 1919 to 1928 Lozowick made a series of canvases of ten American cities (e.g., *Minneapolis*, 1926–27, Hirshhorn Museum and Sculpture Garden, Washington, D.C.) rendered in a precisionist idiom. In 1923 Lozowick began making lithographs, often of the cities he had rendered in paint. He returned to America in 1924.

Lozowick worked on a series of pen and ink drawings of imagined technology called *Machine Ornaments* from 1922 to 1927. He incorporated three movable machine ornaments as the set design for the 1926 stage production of *Gas* in Chicago. The same year Lord and Taylor asked Lozowick to design the set for a fashion show and a window display. Again using the forms of his machine ornaments, Lozowick created larger-than-life Constructivist inspired architectonic backdrops.

He began to make drawings for the leftist periodical *New Masses* in the late 1920s. Around 1930 Lozowick admitted human figures into his art, often picturing laborers of the metropolis. His social imagery described injustices facing the workers as well as others; the lithograph *Lynching* (1936) was included in the 1936 American Artists' Congress print exhibition "America Today." Lozowick also worked as a New Deal artist (1934–37), designing two works for New York City's post office on 33rd street and several lithographs.

Later in life Lozowick moved away from Cubist-inspired industrial subjects. With a more supple line and sometimes increased color, Lozowick made increasingly realistic prints. Trips to Israel in 1954, 1964, and 1968 produced several images of the land. On a commission from the United Jewish Appeal, Lozowick executed a lithograph of a pious Jew in synagogue entitled *Lone Worshipper* (1966).

A prolific writer, Lozowick wrote *Modern Russian Art* (1925) and a monograph on William *Gropper; he contributed art criticism to several magazines, including *The Menorah Journal*. His autobiography, *Survivor from a Dead Age*, was published posthumously.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: J. Flint, *The Prints of Louis Lozowick: A Catalogue Raisonné (1982); L. Lozowick, Survivor from a Dead Age: The Memoirs of Louis Lozowick (1997).*

[Samantha Baskind (2nd ed.)]

LUBACZOW (Pol. **Łubaczów**), town in Rzeszow province, S.E. Poland. Jews are mentioned in Lubaczow as early as 1498. When confirming the municipal rights of the town in 1523, King Sigismund I granted a privilege according to which the Jews were forbidden to trade in the surrounding villages. In 1562 only two Jewish houses were mentioned in Lubaczow; there were three Jewish houses in the first half of the 17th century, but in 1662 there were no Jews at all, probably a result of the Swedish wars and the wars against the Cossacks (in 1655 the town was burned down by the Cossacks). In 1717 the Jews of Lubaczow paid 560 zlotys poll tax, 425 in 1719, and 500 in 1721; in addition they were to pay the king a yearly "kettle tax" of 1,200 zlotys, and for cattle slaughtering the shoulder blade duty (*łopatkowe*). In 1765 the community of Lubaczow together with the townlet of Potylicz and surrounding villages numbered 687 poll tax payers. In 1880 the community numbered 1,503 (34% of the total population), 1,911 in 1900, 2,171 in 1910, and 1,715 (32%) in 1921. At that time Lubaczow had 106 Jewish workshops, 33 of which had salaried workers.

Holocaust Period

Before the outbreak of World War II there were about 2,300 Jews in Lubaczow. The majority of them were deported in the autumn of 1942 to *Belzec death camp. The remaining Jews were exterminated on Jan. 6, 1943. After the war, the Jewish community of Lubaczow was not reconstituted.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: J. Kleczyński and F. Kluczycki, *Liczba głow żydowskich w Koronie z taryf 1765 r.* (1898); A. Prochaska, *Materyały archiwalne* (1899), no. 217; E. Heller (ed.), *Żydowskie przedsiębiorstwa przemysłowe w Polsce…*, 6 (1923); B. Wasiutyński, *Ludność żydowska w Polsce…* (1930), 114; Yad Vashem Archives.

[Raphael Mahler]

LUBARSKY, ABRAHAM ELIJAH (1856–1920), early member of Ḥovevei Zion (*Hibat Zion) in Russia. Born in Balta, Ukraine, Lubarsky was engaged in business. From 1893 he was agent for Wissotsky Tea in Odessa and traveled throughout the large communities in Russia, making connections with the prominent figures in Hebrew and Yiddish literature in the late 19th century. He was especially close with *Aḥad Ha-Am, whom he stimulated to write his famous first essay, *Lo Zeh ha-Derekh*. Lubarsky was one of the first members of the secret society *Benei Moshe and influenced K.Z. *Wissotsky to support the Hebrew monthly *Ha-Shilo'aḥ*. He contributed to the Hebrew press throughout this period. In 1903 he immigrated to the United States, where he became the moving spirit of the Hebrew movement. Lubarsky was a founder there of the Histadrut Ivrit and its newspaper, *Ha-Toren*.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: P. Friedman, in: *Haaretz* (Oct. 21, 1920); Epstein, *ibid.* (Oct. 9, 1931); *Sefer ha-Congress* (1950²), 374–5.

[Yehuda Slutsky]

LUBARTOW (Pol. **Lubartów**; Rus. **Lyubartov**), town in Lublin province, E. Poland. The poll tax paid by the Jewish community rose from 1,500 zlotys in 1717 to 2,400 zlotys in 1736. In 1765 there were 764 Jewish poll tax payers. The community also had jurisdiction over 217 Jews in the neighboring villages and 37 Jews in the townlet of Kamionka. Among the 218 heads of families were 14 contractors, 20 merchants, 34 tailors, 5 hatters, and 9 carters. The community maintained two synagogues and a *mikveh*; 164 houses were owned by Jews. In 1796 the owner of the town granted the Jews a privilege defining the status of the *kahal* and the Jewish craftsmen's guilds. Among the town's wealthiest Jews were the merchant family *Peretz and the chief contractor, Solomon Kosiowicz. In the first half of the 19th century the Jews were allowed to keep taverns only with the permission of the local overlord. The community numbered 2,074 (58% of the total population) in 1827; 1,820 (56%) in 1857; 2,623 (53%) in 1897; and 3,269 (54%) in 1921. In that year there were 176 Jewish workshops in the town, about half of them employing salaried workers.

Holocaust Period

About 3,500 Jews lived in Lubartow before World War II. In November 1939 over 2,500 Jews were ordered to leave the town and settle in Parczew and Ostrow. Most of them came back within a year. In May 1942 about 1,000 Jews from Slovakia were deported to Lubartow. On Oct. 11, 1942, Jews from Lubartow were deported to the Sobibor and Belzec death camps. Near Lubartow two Jewish partisan units were active for more than a year, under the command of Samuel Jegier and Mietek Gruber.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Halpern, Pinkas, index; R. Mahler, *Yidn in Amolikn Poyln in Likht fun Tsifern* (1958), index; B. Wasiutyński, *Ludność żydowska w Polsce w Polsce w wiekach XIX i XX* (1930), 34, 62, 72; J. Bartyś, in: *Bleter far Geshikhte*, 8:3–4 (1955), 88–105; *Die juedischen industriellen Unternehmungen in Polen* (1921); *Khurbn Lubartow: A Matseyve…* (1947).

[*Encyclopaedia Judaica* (Germany)]

LUBAVICH (**Lyubavichi**), small town in Smolensk district, Russia; until 1917 it was in Mogilev province (gubernia), Belorussia. The Jewish population numbered 1,164 in 1847 and 1,660 (67.3% of the total) in 1897. Lubavich became the center of *Chabad Ḥasidism in Lithuania, Belorussia, and the eastern Ukraine after Dov Ber, the son of the founder of the *Chabad system, *Shneour Zalman of Lyady, moved from Lyady to Lubavich in 1813. His nephew and son-in-law Menahem Mendel (the "*Ẓemaḥ-Ẓedek*") extended the influence of the dynasty (see *Schneersohn). The Jews in the town mainly earned their livelihood from the flax trade, and in providing for the many Ḥasidim who visited their "rabbi" there. His grandson Shalom Baer established the yeshivah Tomekhei Temimim in 1897 in Lubavich. He left Lubavich in 1915, but the name of the town remained connected with the Chabad movement (the "Lubavich Ḥasidim"). After the 1917 Revolution the town's economy declined and the Jews suffered from persecution by the *Yevsektsiya. In 1926 there were only 967 Jews in Lubavich (50% of the total population). Of the 205 families living then, 43 were in engaged in agriculture, 80 in crafts, and 27 in trade, and the others unemployed. In 1939 the number of Jews dropped to a couple of hundred. The Germans entered the town on July 21 or 22, 1941, and a few days later a group of working Jews was executed. In November 1941 a ghetto was organized and refugees from Vitebsk and Rudnia were brought there. The ghetto's 483 inhabitants were soon murdered outside the town.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Z. Har-Shefer, in: *He-Avar*, 2 (1954), 86–93; B. Dinur, *Be-Olam she-Shaka* (1958), 145–55; M. Fainsod, *Smolensk under Soviet Rule* (1958), 441–3.

[Yehuda Slutsky]

LUBETKIN, ZIVIA (1914–1978), founder of Jewish Fighting Organization (ZOB), fighter in the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising. Born in Beten, near Slonim, Zivia Lubetkin was a member of the Zionist labor youth movement Deror and a representative of *He-Ḥalutz on the National Jewish Council. She married Itzhak *Zuckerman (Cukierman). In the summer of 1939, she attended the Zionist Congress in Basle and returned to Poland in September. During the time of the German invasion she found herself in the Soviet zone of occupied Poland and made her way back to Warsaw, where she was part of the underground. After witnessing the deportations of the summer of 1942, when more than 265,000 Jews were shipped from Warsaw to Treblinka between July 23 and September 12 without resistance, she was one of the organizers of the Jewish Fighting Organization, the ZOB. She participated in the first armed resistance to the Germans in January 1943. At the time of the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising (April 1943), she was among the fighters in the central ghetto while her husband was one of the leaders of the revolt, operating on the Aryan side. On May 8, 1943, after the main bunker at Mila 18, which housed the command of the Jewish fighters' organization headed by Mordecai *Anilewicz, fell, Lubetkin escaped from the ghetto with the other surviving fighters through the sewage system. There had been no advanced planning for an escape route and the escape through the sewers was improvised by Simcha Rotem ("Kazik"). Upon arriving on the Aryan side the two clashed, as Lubetkin wanted to wait for other Jews hiding in the sewers and Kazik insisted that they leave rather than risk apprehension by the Germans. In August of the same year, she and her husband sent Isaac Schwarzbart, a member of the Polish National Council in London, a telegram that reported the results of the revolt in the ghetto, called for help, and included a warning to the Jews of Western Europe of the fate awaiting them after deportation to Poland. Zivia Lubetkin fought with the partisans and participated in the Polish revolt of October 1944, together with other survivors of the Warsaw uprising. After Poland was liberated from German occupation by the Soviet army in January 1945, Zivia Lubetkin settled in Palestine. She and her husband were among the founders of kibbutz *Loḥamei ha-Getta'ot, which built a memorial and museum to the ghetto fighters. They were active in the ghetto fighters' organization in Israel. As a member of the executive of *Kibbutz ha-Me'uḥad, she was appointed to the Executive of the *Jewish Agency (1966–68). In her testimony at the *Eichmann trial, she described the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising. A compilation of Lubetkin's extemporaneous speeches, *Days of Destruction and Revolt*, was published in 1979.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Y. Cukierman and M. Basok (eds.), *Sefer Milḥamot ha-Getta'ot…* (1954), index; *Ha-Yo'eẓ ha-Mishpati la-Memshalah Neged Adolf Eichmann: Eduyyot*, 1 (1963), 242–61; N. Blumenthal and J. Kermisz, *Ha-Meri ve-ha-Mered be-Getto Varshah* (1965). **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** Z. Lubetkin, *In the Days of Destruction and Revolt* (1980); M. Sirkin, "The Passing of a Heroine," in: *Midstream* (October 1978).

[B. Mordechai Ansbacher / Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

LUBETZKY, JUDAH (1850–1910), French rabbi. Lubetzky was born in Russia. He went to Paris in 1880 and was appointed rabbi of the Eastern European Jews there the following year and a member of the Paris *bet din* in 1904. He published his edition of parts of the *Sefer ha-Hashlamah* of Meshullam b. Moses of Béziers from a manuscript in the Paris library of Baron *Guenzburg, together with his own commentary, entitled *Torat ha-Hashlamah*, and an introduction giving the biography of Meshullam and of other Provençal scholars (3 vols., 1885–1910). In 1896 he published *Bidkei Battim*, comprising: (1) notes and amendments to the *Sefer ha-Hashlamah* on tractates *Berakhot, Ta'anit, Yevamot*, and *Megillah*, with a biographical introduction on some Provençal rabbis; (2) Meshullam's criticism of Maimonides' laws of *Eruvin* and *Shevu'ot*, from a manuscript, with Lubetzky's own notes; (3) a critique of Mordecai Horowitz with regard to the *Cleves *get*.

Lubetzky became famous for the vigorous stand he took against the proposal to introduce a conditional clause into Jewish marriages in France, with the aim of making civil divorce effective in the dissolution of Jewish marriages. The proposal was first made in 1885 and again in 1893. By his articles in the Hebrew periodicals and by enlisting the opposition of the great rabbis of the time he was successful in having it rejected. In 1907 an assembly of French rabbis resolved to adopt the proposal. Lubetzky then collected the opinions of more than 400 eminent scholars and, supported by Baron Rothschild, succeeded in having the resolution rescinded. He prepared all the material relevant to the proposal for publication and sent it to Ḥayyim Ozer *Grodzinski. When the proposal was again raised, Grodzinski gave the material to Aaron D.A. Waronovski, who published it with the title, *Ein Tenai be-Nissu'in* (1930).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Schapira, in: *Ha-Yehudi*, 14 (1910/11), nos. 35–36; *Der Israelit* (Sept. 29, 1910).

[Shlomoh Zalman Havlin]

LUBIN, ABRAHAM (1937–), *ḥazzan*. Lubin was born in London and immigrated to Israel in his youth. He sang in the Shirat Yisrael choir in Jerusalem with the cantor Zalman *Rivlin. In 1950 he returned to London and studied in Yeshivat Etz Haim and also furthered his studies in cantorial liturgy at Jews' College, and continued his musical studies, the culmination of which was his Doctor of Music degree *honoris causa* from the Jewish Theological Seminary. He settled in America in 1958 and from 1968 was cantor to the Rodfei Zedek congregation of Chicago. He was active in the Cantors' Assembly and also its president (1995–97), as well as an editor of the *Journal of Synagogue Music*. He published numerous articles and studies concerning the history of prayer and liturgy, including "The Influence of Jewish Music and Thought in Certain Works of Leonard *Bernstein." As a concert artist he was well versed in Hebrew, Israeli, and Yiddish songs and appeared in concert recitals throughout the United States, Europe, and Israel.

[Akiva Zimmerman / Raymond Goldstein (2nd ed.)]

LUBIN, ISADOR (1896–1978), U.S. economist. Born in Worcester, Massachusetts, Lubin received his Ph.D. in economics from the Brookings Institution (1926). He taught economics for a year at the University of Missouri (1917–18) and left to serve as statistician for the U.S. Food Administration, from which post he moved to the U.S. War Industries Board as a special expert. He returned to teaching in 1926, at the universities of Michigan and Missouri and Brookings Institute (1922–33). Subsequently, he served many public and semipublic institutions, including governmental agencies and the Allied Reparations Commission, the International Labor Organization, and the U.S. Mission to the United Nations.

In 1933 Lubin assumed the position of U.S. commissioner of the Bureau of Labor Statistics. He took part in drafting the National Industrial Recovery Act. He served as labor consultant on the Federal Emergency Administration of Public Works, advising on wages and projects (1933–39). A member of the President's Economic Security Committee (1934), he helped create the unemployment insurance section of the Social Security Act. He was also instrumental in getting the Fair Labor Standards Act passed in Congress in 1938. In 1940, President Franklin D. Roosevelt appointed Lubin deputy director of the labor division of the Office of Production Management. In 1941, he became FDR's economic assistant, in which capacity "his favorite economist" assembled and interpreted for the president the statistics on all war programs. From 1946 to 1951 Lubin was president and board chairman of the research organization Confidential Reports, Inc., and from 1950 chairman of the executive committee of the Franklin Delano Roosevelt Foundation.

Under President Truman, Lubin served as an assistant secretary of state for economic affairs (1949–1950) and advised on details of the Marshall Plan. From 1950 to 1953 he served as American minister to the United Nations Economic and Social Council. He subsequently served as New York State industrial commissioner under Governor Averell Harriman (1955–59).

In 1959–61 Lubin was professor of public affairs at Rutgers University. During the 1960s and 1970s he was a member of the board of directors of the New School for Social Research, consulted for the Twentieth Century Fund, and was consultant to the United Israel Appeal, Inc. (a U.S. body representing the Jewish Agency for Israel), in which capacity he paid frequent visits to Israel. He was also a member of the boards of the Weizmann Institute in Israel and Brandeis University.

Lubin's publications include *The British Coal Dilemma* (1927), *The British Attack on Unemployment* (with A.C.C. Hill, 1934), and *Our Stake in World Trade* (with F.D. Murden, 1954), all of which reflect his interests in labor economics, economic development, and trade policy.

[Joachim O. Ronall / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

LUBIN, SIMON JULIUS (1876–1936), U.S. economist, business executive, and public servant. Lubin, who was born in Sacramento, California, entered the Sacramento firm of Weinstock, Lubin & Company after his graduation from Harvard in 1903 and rose to become its president. Lubin drafted the California State Immigration and Housing Law and in 1913 Governor Hiram Johnson named him to head the California State Commission of Immigration and Housing. In that position he strove to improve conditions among migrant farm workers. In 1934 Lublin was appointed to a National Labor Board commission to settle agricultural strife in California's Imperial Valley. Lubin also was consultant to the California Emergency Relief Administration; founder (1926) and president of the Sacramento Region Citizens Council; and founder (1931) and president of the Pan-American Institute of Reciprocal Trade. Although a Republican, he vigorously supported much of the New Deal.

LUBITSCH, ERNST (1892–1947), film producer and director. Lubitsch was born in Berlin and gained early acting experience in Max *Reinhardt's troupe. From 1913 he played comic parts in the movies, creating the role of "Meyer" or "Moritz" (archetypical Jewish names in Germany), the butt of good-natured low comedy in a series of successful films. Lubitsch progressed from actor to director and from 1914 to 1917 made many slapstick comedies. Having been persuaded to make serious motion pictures, he produced several successful films which brought Pola Negri to the screen. In 1922 he moved to Los Angeles to direct *Rosita* with Mary Pickford. Many other successes followed, but Lubitsch really made his name with the advent of the "talkies," and especially with his film *The Love Parade* (1929), which starred Maurice Chevalier and Jeanette MacDonald. Lubitsch was a master of subtle humor which, when combined with fanciful situations, came to be regarded as the "Lubitsch touch." His pictures had a zany, implausible quality which appealed to millions of film-goers. His later successes included *The Smiling Lieutenant* (1931); *Trouble in Paradise* (1932); *The Merry Widow* (1934); and *Ninotchka* (1939), starring Greta Garbo.

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[Stewart Kampel]

LUBLIN, city in E. Poland, center of the district of the same name. In the 16th and 17th centuries Lublin was famous for its fairs (see Market Days and *Fairs). Annexed by Austria in 1795, it was incorporated in Russian Poland in 1815. From 1918 to 1939 it was in Poland and from 1939 to 1945 under German occupation; after World War II it was again in Poland.

Jews were first mentioned as transients in Lublin in 1316. The city denied Jews the right to settle there on the basis of its privilege *de non tolerandis Judaeis*. In 1336 King Casimir III permitted them to settle on land adjacent to the city, later known as Piaski Żydowskie ("Jewish sands"). Josko (Joseph) Sheinowicz, a rich tax-farmer for southeast Poland, built a house in Lublin in 1500. Later King Sigismund I permitted Jews to found a settlement in the vicinity of the castle, afterward known as Podzamcze. In the second half of the 16th century the community was given land for its institutions and for a cemetery. The Jews were allowed to set up movable stalls for shops but not to erect buildings. In 1602 there were 2,000 Jews in Lublin. The population figures did not change greatly until the second half of the 18th century; in 1787 there were 4,321 Jews in the city. Tension with the citizenry continued, largely centered around the right of the Jews to live within the city walls. Jews settled mainly in houses belonging to clergymen and feudal lords, who were outside the jurisdiction of the city council, paying them substantial sums for the privilege. They were very active at the Lublin fairs, engaged in local trade, and some were tailors, furriers, manufacturers of brushes, brewers, and bakers, despite the bitter opposition of the Christian merchants and artisans. The rivalry between the Christian and Jewish tailors ended in 1805 when a united guild was founded. In 1780 King Stanislaus II (Poniatowski) ordered the expulsion of the Jews from Lublin. As a result of the intervention of Jewish leaders the expulsion did not take place until 1795, when Lublin was annexed by Austria.

Tensions in the 16th to 18th centuries were aggravated whenever the Polish High Court convened in Lublin, especially when trying a *blood libel case. The court hearings were then followed by attacks on the Jews; some were murdered and their property stolen. If the High Court sentenced the accused Jew to death the execution usually took place on a Saturday in front of the Maharshal Shul synagogue, and elders of the *kehillah* and other Jews had to attend. An execution was often followed by an attack on the Jewish quarter. Like the whole of Jewry in Poland-Lithuania, Lublin Jews suffered greatly during the *Chmielnicki uprisings in 1648–49. Another period of hardship followed in the second half of the 18th century with the disintegration of the Polish state.

In spite of hardships, the fairs and yeshivah of Lublin became central in Jewish communal and cultural life in Poland (see *Councils of the Lands). The first known rabbi of Lublin was Jacob b. Joseph *Pollak; *Shalom Shakhna b. Joseph was nominated by the king of Poland in 1541 as rabbi for Lublin and district. Other rabbis were Solomon b. Jehiel *Luria, in office for 15 years; Mordecai b. Abraham *Jaffe; and Meir b. Gedaliah *Lublin, known in halakhic literature as Maharam of Lublin. Lublin communal institutions included a well-organized *ḥevra kaddisha* and a "preacher's house" which provided visiting preachers with food and lodging. The fortified Maharshal Shul, the most famous synagogue in Lublin, was built in 1567. It burned down in the great fire of 1655 but was later rebuilt.

In the 16th century Lublin had several well-known physicians. At the beginning of the century the king of Poland exempted one, Ezekiel, from various taxes in recognition of his services. Another famous physician of that century was Solomon Luria, author of a medical treatise. Physicians in Lublin in the 17th century were Samuel b. Mattathias, Moses Montalto, and Ḥayyim Felix Vitalis, who graduated from Padua in 1658 and served as physician to the Polish king. During the 19th century Lublin became an important commercial center through the exploitation of the economic opportunities created by the vast Russian markets. The Jews expanded their wholesale commerce and their industrial establishments. One of the largest cigarette factories was founded by a Jew in 1860 and employed about 100 workers; 95% of the tanning industry was owned by Jews. The increased number of Jewish workers became an important factor in Jewish social life: workers' unions were established in various trades, and the first groups of the *Bund emerged at this time. In 1806 there were 2,973 Jews in Lublin, increasing to 8,747 (56% of the total population) in 1857. In 1862, just before the annulment of the prohibition on Jewish residence within the city, they numbered 10,413; by 1897 they had increased to 23,586.

*Ḥasidism played a prominent role in Lublin, mainly through the influence of the local *ẓaddikim*, such as *Jacob Isaac ha-Ḥozeh ("the seer") of Lublin, and the Eiger dynasty from the middle of the 19th century. At the same time some of the community rabbis strongly opposed the Ḥasidim, particularly Azriel Horovitz (late 18th century) and Joshua Heshel Ashkenazi who was nominated in 1852. As the latter was rich and economically independent he led the struggle against Ḥasidism without any regard for the opinions of the *kehillah* members. In the 19th century traditional education in the *ḥeder* and yeshivah continued, although Lublin lost its communal and cultural prominence with the abolition of the Councils of the Lands and the predominance of Ḥasidism. From the second half of the 19th century, the first Jewish schools with instruction in Russian or Polish were founded. In 1897 the first Hebrew school was opened.

In independent Poland there were no substantial changes in the occupational structure of the Jewish community but the percentage of Jews in the population decreased. In 1921 there were 37,337 Jews in the city (34.7% of the population as opposed to 50.9% in 1897). The numbers remained steady; 38,937 in 1931 and 37,830 in 1939 (according to the German census). Many Jewish workers were engaged in the *leather industry; in 1939 the biggest leather factory in the city belonged to a Jew and half the employees were Jews. Consequently the trade union of Jewish leather workers had a membership of above 500. In Lublin, as in the whole of Poland, the Jews suffered from the hatred of the Poles and the anti-Jewish policies adopted by independent Poland between the two world wars. In the 1930s attacks on Lublin Jews were led by students of the Lublin Catholic University, whose rector was the author of antisemitic pamphlets. Antisemitic propaganda was the main topic of the leading Polish newspaper in the city, *Głos Lubelski* ("Voice of Lublin").

In spite of this Lublin Jews led an active social and cultural life between the wars. Trade unions were influenced by the Bund and the Left Po'alei Zion. In the middle-class sector the Orthodox *Agudat Israel and the *Folkspartei – both anti-Zionist – were influential. Branches of all the Zionist parties were active. The focus of local political interest until 1936, except in the Bund, was the community organization. In education the traditional *ḥeder* system was joined by *Beth Jacob schools for girls and by an Orthodox Zionist Yavneh school. The secular Zionist *Tarbut Hebrew school had its first graduates in 1933. Cultural activities included dramatic societies, libraries, orchestras, and a sports organization. A Jewish daily, *Lubliner Togblat*, was published. The most famous yeshivah of that period in Lublin was the Yeshivah Ḥakhmei Lublin, founded by Meir *Shapira, rabbi from 1925 to 1933. After the death of Shapira a court of three *dayyanim* functioned instead of a rabbi.

[Shimshon Leib Kirshenboim]

Hebrew Printing

The wandering printer Ḥayyim Schwarz (Shaḥor), his son, and son-in-law went to Lublin around 1547, where they began printing, with periodically renewed privileges (1550, 1559, 1578). Their first productions were liturgical items, notably the *maḥzor* of 1550. With the help of *Eliezer b. Isaac (Ashkenazi) of Prague they brought out a fine Pentateuch in 1557, and a (complete?) Talmud edition (1559–77), partly printed in nearby Konsha Wolowie when the plague broke out in Lublin in 1559. With a fresh outbreak of the plague in 1592, the printers moved temporarily to Bistrowitz. Kalonymus b. Mordecai *Jaffe, who had married Ḥayyim Schwarz's granddaughter and whose name appears in the Pentateuch mentioned above, took over when Eliezer b. Isaac and his son left for Constantinople around 1573. Kalonymus managed the printing house till his death in about 1603, and it was continued (with interruptions) under his descendants to the end of the century and possibly beyond. A fire destroyed the plant and most of the books in 1647, but printing was resumed soon after. A great variety of works – liturgical, homiletical, and rabbinical – were issued there, among them Mordecai Jaffe's *Levushim* (1591–?), a Mishnah (1594–96), the Talmud (1611–39), the first editions of Samuel Edels' *Novellae* (1617), and the Zohar (1623–24). Jacob Hirschenhorn and Moses Schneidermesser opened a Hebrew printing press in 1875 (from 1910 Hirschenhorn and Streisenberg); Feder and Setzer were active from 1894; and M. Schneidermesser in the 1920s.

Holocaust Period

At the beginning of 1941 the Jewish population of Lublin was about 45,000, including some 6,300 refugees. The city was captured by the Germans on Sept. 18, 1939. In the very first days of the occupation, Jews were forcibly evicted from their apartments, physically assaulted, and put on forced labor. Some Jews were taken as hostages, and all the men were ordered to report to Lipowa Square, where they were beaten.

For a while, the Nazis entertained the idea of turning the Lublin district into a Jewish reservation for the concentration of the Jews from the German-occupied parts of Poland and other areas incorporated into the Reich. At the end of 1939 some 5,000 refugees arrived in Lublin, and another 1,300 came in February 1940 (from Stettin). The group from Stettin did not remain in Lublin. In April 1940 the plan of a Jewish reservation was officially discarded; at a later stage, Lublin became one of the centers for the mass extermination of Jews. For a while, the city was the scene of the activities of Odilo *Globocnik, commander of the police and the S.D. and head of "*Aktion Reinhardt*" (see *Poland, Holocaust Period).

The existing Jewish community council remained in office until Jan. 25, 1940, when the Judenrat was appointed. The composition of the Judenrat did not differ greatly from the former community council; it consisted of 24 members, most of them prewar political figures, and was headed by Henryk Bekker, an engineer. The outstanding leader in the Judenrat however, was its deputy chairman, Mark Alten, who later became its chairman, when the Judenrat was reconstituted, on March 31, 1942, and restricted to 12 members. During the first period of its existence, the Judenrat did not confine itself to the execution of Nazi orders (such as the provision of forced labor) but initiated a number of projects designed to alleviate the harsh conditions. Public kitchens were established and provided meals for the local poor and the refugees; the ghetto was divided into a number of units for the purpose of sanitary supervision, each unit run by a doctor and several medical assistants. There were also two hospitals with a total of over 500 beds and a quarantine area in the Maharshal Shul with 300 beds. Hostels were established to house abandoned children, but the Judenrat did not succeed in reestablishing the Jewish school system, and the schooling that was available to the children was carried on as a clandestine operation.

In March 1941 the Nazis ordered a partial evacuation of the Jews in preparation for the official establishment of the ghetto. About 10,000 Jews were driven out to villages and towns in the area in the period March 10–April 30, 1941, and at the end of March the ghetto was created, with a population of about 34,000. On April 24, 1941, exit from the ghetto was restricted.

At the beginning of 1942, when the extermination campaign entered its decisive stage, the Jews of Lublin were among its first victims. Their deportation began on March 16, and in its course 30,000 Jews were despatched to the death camp at *Belzec or were murdered on the way. The rate of deportation was fixed at 1,500 per day, and attempts by the Jews to hide were of no avail. The remaining 4,000 Jews were taken to Majdan Tatarski, where they lived for a few more months under unbearable conditions. On Sept. 2, 1942, 2,000 Jews were murdered, as were another 1,800 at the end of October. Some 200 survivors were sent to the *Majdanek death camp. Some Jews, who were skilled craftsmen, were still employed in Lublin, but in May 1943 the workshops were liquidated and the Jewish workers sent to Majdanek. Another 300 were kept in the Lublin Fortress, where they were employed in a few remaining workshops until July 1944, when they too were put to death a few days before the Nazis evacuated the city.

Lublin was also the site of a prisoner of war camp for Jews who had served in the Polish army. The first prisoners arrived in February 1940. Those who came from the area of the General Government were set free, but some 3,000, whose homes were in the Soviet-occupied area or in the districts incorporated into the Reich, remained in detention. The Judenrat tried to extend help to the prisoners, and there was also a public committee which provided the inmates with forged documents in order to enable them to leave the camp. When the Germans stepped up the extermination campaign, there were some attempts to escape from the camp, to which the Germans responded by imposing collective punishment upon the prisoners. Nevertheless, there were continued efforts to obtain arms, and some prisoners succeeded in escaping to the nearby forests, where they joined the partisans; some of the escaped prisoners assumed senior command posts in the partisan units. On Nov. 3, 1943, the last group of prisoners was deported to Majdanek.

[Aharon Weiss]

Contemporary Period

On July 24, 1944 the Red Army liberated Lublin. The next day Polish regular army and guerilla units entered the city. A few thousand Jewish soldiers served in those units, and among the guerillas was a Jewish partisan company under Captain Jechiel Grynszpan. Until the liberation of Warsaw in January 1945, Lublin served as the temporary Polish capital. During that time some Jewish cultural and social institutions were established there, among others the Central Committee of Polish Jews. Several thousand Jews, most of whom survived the Holocaust in the Soviet Union, settled in Lublin, but the majority of them left during the years 1946–50 due to the antisemitic attitude of a great part of the Polish population. A club of the Jewish Cultural Society was still functioning in the city until 1968, when all remaining Lublin Jews left Poland.

[Stefan Krakowski]

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LUBLIN, MEIR BEN GEDALIAH (**Maharam of Lublin**; 1558–1616), Polish talmudist and halakhic authority. His acronym, **MaHaRaM**, stands for **M**orenu **H**a-**R**av **M**eir, "Our teacher, Rabbi Meir." Meir was apparently born in Lublin. His principal teacher was his father-in-law, Isaac b. David ha-Kohen Shapiro, head of the yeshivah and *dayyan* of Cracow. Meir's eminence in learning was such that he became the head of the yeshivah at Lublin (1582–87) at the age of 24, and before he was 30, he was appointed *dayyan* and head of the yeshivah at Cracow (1587–95). He was rabbi in Lemberg from about 1595 until 1613, when he was appointed rabbi as well as head of the yeshivah at Lublin, where he died. Meir of Lublin was one of the greatest teachers of his generation. Wherever he settled, he established a yeshivah to which numerous pupils flocked from all parts of Poland and beyond. From all over Europe rabbis turned to him with halakhic questions or problems of communal concern, or for advice. He encouraged them by stressing his readiness "to reply to anyone putting a problem to me, for in this I find pleasure" (responsum no. 18).

In the introduction to his responsa, his son Gedaliah states that Meir wrote seven works, which he enumerates (see below). Only two, however, have been published. *Me'ir Einei Ḥakhamim* ("Illuminating the Eyes of the Wise") was published by his son Gedaliah (Venice, 1619). Regarded as a most important talmudic work and often republished, it was later printed in all editions of the Talmud. It is a commentary on most of the tractates of the Talmud and mainly centers around the statements of Rashi and the tosafists. In it Meir displays profound acumen, and although he treats the remarks of the tosafists with every respect as embodying the truth and not to be negated, he was nevertheless sometimes critical of them and emended various passages which he maintained had been wrongly inserted by copyists. His commentary, unlike the lengthy lectures he gave to his pupils, is distinguished by its brevity.

The other published work, *Manhir Einei Ḥakhamim* ("Enlightening the Eyes of the Wise"; *ibid.*, 1618), containing 140 responsa, throws light on the religious, economic, and political life of the Jews of Poland and of other countries (cf. Responsa 13, 15, 40, 56, 81, 86, 118, 128, 137, et al.). These responsa reflect his method, temperament, and qualities. Although he was influenced in his halakhic decisions by French, German, and Polish scholars, he displayed independence and was critical of his predecessors. Despite the importance of the Shulḥan Arukh as a supreme halakhic authority, Meir refrained from "building the basis of any ruling upon the implications of its words, since they were not derived from a single source, but were … compiled from unconnected collections of sayings" (Responsa No. 11). On several questions, particularly in cases involving loss of money or livelihood, he adopted a lenient view (*ibid.* 50), and he showed concern for the status of women (*ibid.* 81) and for protecting the rights of widows and orphans (*ibid.* 109). Insistent that his decisions be accepted, he more than once declared that his opinion was "the clear truth" (*ibid.* 92, 111, et al.).

Although Meir, like his contemporaries, was given to casuistry in his responsa, a thread of clear thought and logic runs through all his statements. His responsa are one of the earliest sources for knowledge of the *Council of the Lands (*ibid.* 40, 125) to which he ascribed great importance and in whose meetings he participated on several occasions (*ibid.* 84, 88). Meir had hundreds of pupils, the most distinguished of them being Isaiah *Horowitz and *Joshua Heschel of Cracow. The five unpublished works mentioned in Gedaliah's introduction are *Ma'or ha-Gadol*, a commentary on the *Arba'ah Turim* of Jacob b. Asher; *Ma'or ha-Katan*, a commentary on *Sha'arei Dura; Ner Mitzvah*, on the *Sefer Mitzvot Gadol* (*Semag*) of Moses of Coucy; *Torah Or*, a commentary on the Pentateuch; and *Or Shivat ha-Yamim*. To this day, Meir's works are used to interpret the Talmud and are quoted in the application of the *halakhah*.

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[Shlomo Eidelberg]

LUBLINSKI, SAMUEL (1868–1910), German playwright, literary historian, and philosopher of religion. Born in Johannisburg, East Prussia, Lublinski began work as an apprentice bookseller in Italy. He then started to write for various German journals and eventually devoted himself entirely to literature. His work took him to Berlin, Dresden, and finally to Weimar. Lublinski was at first influenced by Ibsen and the dominant naturalistic movement but he soon veered to the neoclassical theories and techniques of Paul Ernst. His plays on historical and mythological themes include *Der Imperator* (1901), *Hannibal* (1902), *Elisabeth und Essex* (1903), *Peter von Russland* (1906), and *Kaiser und Kanzler* (1910). He was best known, however, for his critical insight into literary trends and for his work as a philosopher of religion. Lublinski's views on naturalism and impressionism and his sociological approach to the study of literature appear clearly in *Literatur und Gesellschaft im neunzehnten Jahrhundert* (4 vols., 1899–1900), *Die Bilanz der Moderne* (1904), and *Der Ausgang der Moderne* (1909). His Jewish loyalties are evident in the essay *Juedische Charaktere bei Grillparzer, Hebbel, und Otto Ludwig* (1899), and in two somewhat unscientific religious works, *Die Entstehung des Judentums* (1902) and *Der urchristliche Erdkreis und sein Mythos* (2 vols., 1910). Lublinski was one of the earliest Zionists in Berlin.

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[Sol Liptzin]

LUBNY, a town in Poltava district, Ukraine. Jews settled in Lubny in the first half of the 17th century, under the auspices of the important Vixhnievietski family. Jews defended the town during the Pavliuk uprising (1637–38), and 200 of them were killed during the Chmielnicki massacres of 1648–49. The Jews appeared again in Lubny at the end of the 18th century. From 361 in 1847, their numbers increased to 3,006 (30% of the total population) in 1897. The writer Shalom Aleichem served there as state rabbi in 1880–82. In the 1881 riots some Jewish homes and stores were robbed. In the beginning of the 20th century there was a *talmud torah*, a library, and a bank. There was Zionist activity, and after the October 1917 revolution all members of the community council were Zionists. In the 1920s about 100 Jews worked in the tobacco factory, others worked in the flour mills, and 1,200 were artisans. A Yiddish elementary school existed in Lubny. In 1939 the Jewish population numbered 2,833 (10.5% of the total). The Germans occupied Lubny on September 13, 1941. On October 16, 1941, they gathered 4,500 Jews from Lubny and its environs, and murdered them outside of town. The remaining skilled laborers were killed in April–May 1942. The Jewish population numbered about 600 (2%) in 1959 and was estimated at about 250 in 1970. Although there was no organized Jewish religious life, once a year the Jews assembled at the mass grave of the Holocaust martyrs. Most Jews emigrated in the 1990s.

[Yehuda Slutsky / Shmuel Spector (2nd ed.)]

LUBOSHITZKI, AARON (1874–1942), Hebrew writer, poet, and educator. Born in Poland, he became a member of the Hebrew literary circle in Warsaw at the turn of the century. He served as headmaster of a Hebrew school and established Aviv, an educational publishing house. Later, he taught in Smolensk, Russia, again in Warsaw (where in 1922 he set up the Barkai publishing house), and then in Brest-Litovsk, Volkovysk, and Lodz. After Lodz fell to the Germans during World War II, he was sent to the Warsaw ghetto and was active in clandestine cultural activities until his death at the hands of the Nazis.

Luboshitzki began his literary career at the age of 15, and published articles and poems in most of the Hebrew journals of the time. His first volume of poetry, *Piẓei No'ar*, was published in 1894. Among his other works are *Pirkei Shirah* (originals and translations, 1897), *Yosele ha-Matmid* (1899), a story in verse, and *Viddui* (1899), poems with national themes. He wrote many children's poems, some of which were very popular, stories and plays for children and adults, and he translated poetry. His textbooks in Jewish history were widely used in Hebrew schools in Poland and elsewhere.

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[Getzel Kressel]

LUBOSHUTZ, family of musicians. LEA LUBOSHUTZ (1887–1965), violinist, began her career as a concert violinist in Russia. She arrived in the United States in 1925 and gave violin recitals. She later became active mainly as a teacher and from 1927 was a faculty member of the Curtis Institute of Music, Philadelphia. Her son BORIS GOLDOVSKY (1908–2001) was a pianist, opera conductor, lecturer, and radio commentator in the United States. Her brother PIERRE LUBOSHUTZ (1891–1971) formed a piano duo with his wife Genia Nemenoff, and gave concerts in the United States and Europe. A sister of Lea and Pierre, Anna Luboshutz, was a cellist.

LUBRANIEC (Rus. **Lyubranets**; Yid. **Lubrentsk**), small town in Bydgoszcz province, central Poland. The Jewish community was founded in the first half of the 17th century. Jewish merchants of Lubraniec had commercial ties with Danzig and Leipzig. The Brest overlord granted Lubraniec Jews a privilege in 1780, permitting them to engage in commerce and crafts. The Jewish population numbered 241 in 1765. The stone synagogue was considered one of the oldest buildings in the town. The Jewish community numbered 475 (47% of the total population) in 1808; 1,148 (60%) in 1827; 987 (58%) in 1857; 816 (39%) in 1897; and 834 (38%) in 1921. Between the two world wars the town contained a children's home of the Central Yiddish School Organization (CYSHO; see *Education). Before the outbreak of World War II there were about 880 Jews in Lubraniec. The Jewish community was liquidated in the spring of 1942, when the Jews were deported to *Chelmno death camp.

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[*Encyclopaedia Judaica* (Germany)]

LUCA, B. (originally **Luca Bernstein**; 1873–1931), Romanian poet and playwright. Luca was born in Ramnicul Sarat. He published verses in Jewish periodicals (*Hatikva; Lumea evree; Puntea de fildes*) beginning in 1913. Luca's first verse collection *Reflex de suflet* ("Reflection of a Soul," 1915) is a volume of elegies on the death of the author's child. Another volume, *Golgota* (1918), includes poems written during World War I describing the sufferings endured, in a realist form. Thanks to this volume, Luca came to be considered the first anti-war poet in Romanian literature between the wars. In 1919 he published a volume of anti-war sketches *Pacate* ("Sins"), and in 1922 another volume of poems *Versuri primitive* ("Primitive Verses"). In 1919 in Craiova, he edited and published the literary review *Zorile*. In 1919–22 he wrote a number of plays presented at the National Theater of Craiova, one of them called *Omul de prisos* ("The Superfluous Man"), and all published in a single volume (1922). Luca died in Bucharest.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: F. Aderca, in: Th. Loewenstein and N. Kitzler, *Israel in lume* (1939), 218; I. Bercovici, *Pirkei Romanyah* (1975), 36; A.B. Yoff, *Bi-Sedot Zarim* (1996), 188–89.

[Lucian-Zeev Herscovici (2nd ed.)]

°**LUCAN** (**Marcus Annaeus Lucanus**; 39–65 C.E.), Roman epic poet, the nephew of *Seneca the Younger. In his *Bellum Civile* (ii, 592–3) he, like Varro, *Tacitus, and others, describes the Jews as devoted to the rites of an unseen (or indefinite) God (*incertus deus*). Elsewhere, he mentions the military help sent by Idumeans to Pompey.

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[Jacob Petroff / Shimon Gibson (2nd ed.)]

LUCCA, city in N. Italy. It was probably in the ninth century that the *Kalonymus family settled in Lucca and founded a talmudic academy there. In the year 917 members of the family moved to Mainz, thereby establishing talmudic studies in the Rhineland. In 1145 Abraham *Ibn Ezra wrote some of his works in Lucca. When *Benjamin of Tudela visited the city about 20 years later, he found some 40 Jewish families. Around 1431–32 Angelo di Gaio (= Mordecai b. Isaac) of Forlì opened a loanbank at Lucca; later the poet David b. Joab of Tivoli settled there. When the opinion of Savonarola was asked, he stated that while Jews should not be invited in order to lend at interest it was no sin if they did so once they came. As a result of the anti-Jewish preaching of *Bernardino da Feltre a *Monte di Pietà was founded in 1489 and the Jewish bankers were fined heavily. Since they did not pay, they were expelled. Around the middle of the 16th century a few Jews returned but after 1572 they were not allowed to stay for more than 15 days at a time. This restriction was set aside in individual cases from 1738. Since then, however, no more than a handful of Jews have lived in Lucca.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Roth, Italy, index; Milano, Italia, index; Milano, Bibliotheca, s.v.; U. Cassuto, *Ebrei a Firenze nell' età del Rinascimento* (1918), index, s.v. *David di Dattilo da Tivoli* and *Lucca*; Roth, Dark Ages, index.

[Attilio Milano]

LUCCA, PAULINE (1841–1908), singer. Born in Vienna, she was the daughter of Koppelman Lucka, who had been baptized in 1834. In 1861 Giacomo *Meyerbeer recommended her for permanent engagement at the Berlin Opera, where she remained until 1872, also undertaking guest appearances. After 1872 she toured in the United States and from 1874 to 1889 was an honorary member of the Vienna opera. She created the role of Selina in Meyerbeer's *L'Africaine*, and was considered the best Carmen of her time. A *prima donna assoluta* in the grand tradition, she had a voice range of 2½ octaves.

LUCENA, town in Andalusia, in S. Spain, S. of Córdoba; important Jewish community in the 11th century. During the period of Muslim rule Lucena was famous as "the entirely Jewish city," and a tradition states that it was founded by Jews. Several prominent families, including that of the historian Abraham *Ibn Daud, claimed that their settlement in Lucena dated from the time of Nebuchadnezzar. Isaac *Abrabanel linked the derivation of the name of the town with the biblical town of Luz. Until the 12th century Lucena was a cultural center of Andalusian Jewry. In 853 Natronai Gaon wrote "that Alisana (Arabic for Lucena) was a Jewish place with no gentiles at all." In another responsum the *gaon* asked, "Is there a gentile who prohibits your activities? Why do you not establish an **eruv ḥaẓerot?*" (*Teshuvot Ge'onei Mizraḥ u-Ma'arav* (1888), para. 26). The 12th-century Arab geographer Idrīsī also commented on the Jewish character of Lucena and stated that while Muslims lived outside the city walls, Jews generally lived in the fortified part within the walls. Menahem b. Aaron ibn Zerah reports the same information at the end of the 14th century (*Ẓeidah la-Derekh* (Ferrara, 1554), 150). The Jews earned their living from olive groves, vineyards, agriculture, commerce, and crafts. Lucena was distinguished by its scholars. In the mid-ninth century *Amram Gaon sent his prayer book in response to a question by a scholar of Lucena. His contemporary Eleazar b. Samuel Ḥurga of Lucena received the titles *alluf* (*demin Ispania*) and *rosh kallah*, and became famous in the Babylonian academies (see A. Harkavy, *Teshuvot ha-Ge'onim*, Berlin, 1887, para. 386, p. 201, pp. 376–7). In the 11th century Isaac b. Judah *Ibn Ghayyat taught in the yeshivah of Lucena. He was succeeded by Isaac *Alfasi who was followed by Joseph *Ibn Migash. In 1066 the widow of *Joseph b. Samuel ha-Nagid and her son Azariah were among the refugees who came to Lucena in the wake of the anti-Jewish outburst in Granada (Abraham ibn Daud, *Sefer ha-Qabbalah – The Book of Tradition*, ed. G. Cohen (1967), 77). The last king of the Zirid dynasty, Abdallah, reported an uprising of the Jews of Lucena during his reign – at the time of the expedition against the Almoravides (c. 1090). At the turn of the century a contemporary of Ibn Migash, the *Almoravide ruler, Yusuf ibn Tāshfīn (1061–1106), demanded that the Jews convert to Islam. While the community was saved in exchange for a heavy bribe, many Jews of Lucena moved northward to Navarre and settled near Tudela. They called their settlement Lucena and continued to live in accordance with the customs and ordinances of their original community, Lucena. The grammarian Jonah ibn Janāḥ and the poets Moses and Abraham *Ibn Ezra, *Judah Halevi, and Joseph *Ibn Sahl were active in Lucena at some time during their lives. The 11th-century Hebrew poet Abu-ar-Rabia b. Baruch, known throughout Andalusia, lived in Lucena. In 1146 during the Almohad wars, the Jews were persecuted and many were forced to convert to Islam. The community, like many other Andalusian communities, totally disappeared. Lucena was conquered by Castile in 1240. The fate of its Jewish community during the riots of 1391 resembles that of the other Andalusian communities, total destruction. Many were killed, many were forcibly converted, some escaped.

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[Haim Beinart]

LUCENEC (Slovak **Lučenec**; Hung. **Losonc**), town in S. Slovakia, until 1992 Czechoslovak Republic, since then Slovak Republic. The first appearance of Jews in the area was at the end of the 18th century. Under the patronage of Hungarian nobleman Szilassy, they settled in the Lucenec suburb of Tugar. The community was established in 1808 or 1814. The majority of the Jews lived on the Szilassy estate in Tuborg. Soon Jews could also be seen in Lucenec proper. In 1845, there were 45 Jewish families living in Tugar. In 1825 they established a *ḥevra kaddisha*, and in 1830 Rabbi Moses Hoegyes began to officiate. Since there was no synagogue, prayers were held in a private home. The first local Jews were rather poor and could hardly support a congregation. Moreover, the lives of the community members were constantly marred by frequent quarrels. Only a threat by local authorities to put the community under gentile supervision established some order. It was formally incorporated in 1852.

The proclamation of the Magyar Commonwealth in 1848 had rather unfortunate effects on the Jewish community. Fierce battles between the Magyars and the Imperial army in the Lucenec vicinity destroyed much property, including that of the Jews. Local Jews displayed marked Magyar patriotism, and when the Magyar army was defeated, the zealously patriotic Rabbi Hoegyes had to leave. This was followed by an extended search for a new rabbi. Also intense fighting between the Orthodox and the Reform had an impact on community life. After the Jewish Congress in 1868, the community chose a *Neolog path, while the Orthodox left this organization. A new round of quarrels started in the community. An Orthodox congregation gained formal recognition in 1930 by the Czechoslovak government.

In 1862 the congregation built the first synagogue, which was replaced in 1925 with an imposing new edifice. In 1878 a school was organized, with Magyar as the language of instruction. In 1885 a *mikveh* was built, and in 1890 a house for the rabbi. Both congregations became affluent. They kept separate cemeteries. The Orthodox had a *talmud torah* and a small yeshivah under Hillel Unsdoffer (1891–1944), an ardent Zionist. The Orthodox consecrated their synagogue in 1927. In 1937 a ḥasidic group following *nusaḥ sefarad* asked for formal recognition.

In 1840 no Jews were officially registered in Lucenec. In 1880 there were 1,193 registered Jews; in 1910 they numbered 2,135. The second Czechoslovak census (1930) recorded 2,278 Jews. In 1941 there were 2,103 Jews living in Lucenec.

The invasion of the Magyar Polshevics in the spring of 1919 caused disturbances, but there are no reports of anti-Jewish riots such as there were in many other parts of Slovakia.

During the war, Lucenec Jews participated in political activities. Some supported Magyar nationalist parties; only when these parties displayed open antisemitism did the Jews leave. Zionist organizations were active, and a large proportion of the local Jews identified itself as Jewish by nationality. The Jewish party clashed with Jewish Magyar assimilationists.

In November 1938 Lucenec, together with the rest of south Slovakia, was annexed by the Hungarian kingdom, and the anti-Jewish laws of that state were applied immediately to local Jewry. In 1941 Jewish men aged 18 to 45 were recruited for forced labor in the Hungarian army; many died in service. In March 1944, the German army occupied Hungary and immediately started to persecute the Jews, in cooperation with Magyar Fascists. At the beginning of June 1944, the Jews of Lucenec were ghettoized; on June 16 they were sent to Auschwitz, where most perished.

Some 80 Jews returned from the deportation; they organized a new community and reinstituted Jewish life. In 1945, the Joint Distribution Committee organized a kosher kitchen for the returned survivors. In 1947 there were 271 Jews in Lucenec. In 1948 the Neolog synagogue was reestablished. During 1948–1949, most of the Jews emigrated, a larger proportion to Israel. Nevertheless, Lucenec remained one of the few active congregations in Slovakia, and a *minyan* was kept until the Velvet Revolution of 1989. The cemetery was cleaned up and the Neolog synagogue rebuilt. In the 1990s there were 50 Jews. The local community was still active in 2005.

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[Meir Lamed / Yeshayahu Jelinek (2nd ed.)]

LUCERNE (Ger. **Luzern**), city in the canton of the same name, central Switzerland. Jews were first mentioned in Lucerne in 1252, when the terms of their protection were defined. During the 14th century, a fine was prescribed for anyone perpetrating a blood libel against the Jews without previously notifying the council. A regulation of 1310 deals with the sale of meat from animals slaughtered by Jews. The Jews, who were authorized to possess real estate, were principally engaged in moneylending. During the massacres following the *Black Death (1348–49) the community came to an end; the town was compelled to indemnify the duke of Austria for the losses he had thus incurred. In 1381, there were once more Jews living in Lucerne. A few Jewish physicians practiced there during the 15th and 16th centuries. In the mid-17th century, Jewish livestock merchants again appeared at the local markets. Some Jews, mainly from Alsace and *Endingen/Lengnau, visited markets in the canton Lucerne in the 18th and 19th centuries, though not without arousing a certain degree of opposition.

The local community was founded in 1866, but never developed to any considerable extent. In 1912, a synagogue was erected in the style of the Orthodox synagogue of Frankfurt/Friedberger Anlage. The leading family was the Erlangers, immigrating from South-Baden Gailingen. Abraham Erlanger became Orthodox and gave the community its special imprint already in the 1920s. In 1936 the oratory was devastated by Swiss Fascists. From 1958 there was a small Lithuanian-type *yeshivah ketanah* in Lucerne moving later to nearby Kriens. For some years a *Beth Jacob seminary for teaching Orthodox girls existed. The community became more Orthodox (*ḥaredi*) in the 1980s, so that some of its members left and joined communities in Zurich. In the Lucerne canton 399 persons declared themselves as Jewish in 2000; 200 were members of the community (2004).

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[Simon R. Schwarzfuchs / Uri Kaufmann (2nd ed.)]

°**LUCIAN OF SAMOSATA** (c. 120–c. 180), greatest Greek satirist, whose mother tongue was probably Aramaic. In a satiric essay, "Alexander the False Prophet" (13), Lucian tells how a charlatan Alexander of Abonoteichus (in Asia Minor) pronounced some meaningless words, which, he says, could be either Hebrew or Phoenician, thus dazzling his audience in his native city, who had not understood what he was saying except that he was somehow involved in the cult of the gods Apollo and Aselepius. In a mock-tragedy, *Podagra* (line 173), he speaks of a fool who allows himself to be taken in by the spells of a Jew.

[Louis Harry Feldman]

LUCKMAN, SIDNEY (**Sid**; 1916–1998), U.S. football quarterback, one of the pioneers who revolutionized the game in the 1940s as the first of the T-formation quarterbacks; member of the College and Pro Football halls of fame. Luckman was born in Brooklyn, N.Y., the child of German-Jewish immigrants, and grew up in Flatbush near Prospect Park, where he learned how to throw a football. After graduating as an All-City halfback from Erasmus Hall High School, Luckman played at Columbia University from 1936 to 1938, and was named AP All-America third team, Grantland Rice All-America honorable mention, and AP All-East first team in 1937. The next year he finished third in balloting for the Heisman Trophy. In 24 collegiate games, Luckman amassed 180 pass completions in 376 attempts (.479), for 2,413 yards passing and 20 touchdowns. Luckman then played quarterback, halfback, and defensive back in the NFL for the Chicago Bears from 1939 to 1950, leading the team to five Western Conference championships and four World Championships between 1940 and 1946. Luckman's greatness and importance to the game was his unparalleled understanding and grasp of the complex T-formation, which brought football into the modern age.

In the 1940 championship game, Luckman and the Bears beat the Washington Redskins 73–0 in one of the most lopsided scores in history. Luckman had his best season in 1943, when he threw a record 28 touchdowns in 10 games – a mark that stood until 1959 – and gained league MVP honors. On November 14 that season, Luckman had his greatest single game on "Sid Luckman Day" at the Polo Grounds against the New York Giants, when he threw a record seven touchdowns and a record 443 yards in the 56–7 trouncing, the first quarterback to surpass 400 yards in a game. In the 1943 title game he threw for 286 yards and five touchdowns in a 41–21 victory over the Redskins. He retired following the 1950 season, completing 904 of 1,744 passes (51.8 percent) for 14,686 yards (8.42 yards per pass) and 137 touchdowns in 128 career NFL games. He also punted 230 times for a 38.4-yard average, rushed for two touchdowns, and returned 14 interceptions for 293 yards and one touchdown. His TD pass percentage of 7.9 is the best ever, and his 8.42-yard-per-attempt mark is the second best. Luckman led the league in touchdown passes in 1943, 1945, and 1946, in yards per attempt in 1939, 1940, 1941, and 1943, and in passing yards in 1943, 1946, and 1947. He was named All-NFL five times (1940–44, 1947). Luckman was elected to the College Football Hall of Fame in 1960 and the Pro Football Hall of Fame in 1965. He wrote *Passing for Touchdowns* (1948) and *Luckman at Quarterback: Football as a Sport and a Career* (1949).

[Elli Wohlgelernter (2nd ed.)]

LUCUAS (early second century C.E.), Jewish "king" and leader of the Jewish rising in Cyrene (115–117 C.E.). The sources are divided as to the name of the Jewish leader; whereas Eusebius (Historia Eclesiastica 4:2) refers to the Jewish king Lucuas, Dip Cassius (68:32) calls him Andreas. It has been suggested, therefore, that the "king" had a double name: Λουκούας ὸ κάὶ

Ανδρέας. Mention of a Jewish "king" perhaps signifies the messianic overtones of the Jewish revolt in Egypt and Cyrene. One of the "Acts of the Alexandrine Martyrs" describes a dispute between a Greek and Jewish embassy before the Roman emperor Hadrian, and from its contents it is apparent that the subject under debate is connected with the Jewish revolt in Alexandria. A certain king of the stage and mime is mentioned as being brought forth by the Alexandrians to be mocked by the Roman prefect. Tcherikover, in analyzing the papyrus, points out that although it is possible that the "king" described is Lucuas, "he certainly would have been a prisoner in the hands of the Romans, and not of the Alexandrians" as is implied in the text. Furthermore, it is difficult to ascertain why Hadrian should be angry with the Alexandrians, if the object of their mockery was "the Jewish king" responsible for the uprising.

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[Isaiah Gafni]

LUDO, ISAC IACOVITZ (1894–?), Romanian author, journalist, and translator. Ludo began his literary career in his native Jassy, but soon moved to Bucharest, where he contributed to the Jewish review *Lumea evree* and to leading Romanian periodicals. When the Jewish daily *Mântuirea* was founded in Bucharest in 1919, Ludo joined the staff and became one of its chief contributors. He also directed the Zionist daily *Știri* and the periodical *Palestina ilustrată*, later editing the Jewish weekly *Adam*. A prominent figure in Romanian Jewish life, Ludo played a leading part in the fight against antisemitism, and in all his writings bitterly attacked both Jewish assimilationists and opponents of the Jews. He spent the two years before World War II in France.

Most of Ludo's works are concerned with Jewish problems. *Doi mari poeți – Heinrich Heine ș A.C. Cuza* ("Two Great Poets – Heinrich Heine and A.C. Cuza," 1934), first published in *Adam*, mordantly satirizes the Romanian antisemitic leader Cuza, who fancied himself as a poet and claimed that the Jews were incapable of artistic creativity. In *Jurul unei obsesii* ("Around an Obsession," 1936), a lengthy analysis of Cuza's and the Nazis' anti-Jewish claims, he dealt incidentally with the scurrilous portrayal of Romanian Jews in Ionel Teodoreanu's popular novel *La Medeleni* (1926). Ludo also wrote several more books against the Nazis and Fascists, such as *Hitler salvează echilibrul istoric* ("Hitler Preserves the Balance of History"), *Nae lonescu apără pe Evrei impotriva jidanilor* ("Ionescu Defends the Hebrews against the Jews"), and *De la Rasputin la Hitler* ("From Rasputin to Hitler"). After World War II, he continued to write polemical works against the pre-Communist regime, the old political parties, and the defunct Romanian dynasty. He also published Romanian translations of Jewish classics, such as *An-Ski's *Dybbuk* (1927), *Zangwill's *King of the Schnorrers* (1934), and many short stories by *Shalom Aleichem.

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[Abraham Feller]

LUDOMIR, MAID OF (1806–1888?), popular title of **Hannah Rochel Werbermacher**, the only woman in the history of Ḥasidism to function as a rebbe or charismatic leader in her own right. Although unusual in her following, some of Werbermacher's activities had precedents in traditional Jewish female roles, including the *firzogern* or *zogerke* (prayer leader), *klogmuter* (professional mourner), and *vaybersher opshprecherke* (traditional healer). Born in the Volhynian town of Ludomir (Russian, Vladimir Volinski), Werbermacher exhibited extreme piety and a talent for learning as a child. At 12, Hannah Rochel experienced the traumatic death of her mother and one day fell into a coma at her mother's grave. After hopes for her recovery had been abandoned, the girl suddenly awoke and announced that the heavenly court had granted her a new and higher soul. From this point on, Hannah refused to marry and became known as the Maid of Ludomir (Yiddish, *Ludomirer Moid*); she began to wear a *tallit* and *tefillin* and to perform healings. The Maid's father, a wealthy merchant named Monesh, died when she was 19, leaving her a sufficiently large inheritance to support herself without a husband or community aid. She built her own *shtibl* (small prayer house) and held gatherings like a ḥasidic rebbe. In addition to teaching Torah and leading prayers in Ludomir, the Maid also traveled to other *shtetlakh* (towns), where she delivered homilies to groups of women. The Maid attracted a circle of followers, primarily women and working class men, known as the "Maid of Ludomir's Ḥasidim." She also attracted opponents, who accused her of being possessed by a dybbuk (malevolent spirit). Eventually, Mordechai of Chernobyl, the most powerful *ẓaddik* in the region, was asked to intervene. He convinced the Maid to marry; her new husband, however, awed by her holiness, could not consummate the marriage and the couple soon divorced. Subsequently, the Maid appears to have lost much of her influence in Ludomir and may have suffered a crisis of confidence. Around 1860, she immigrated to Eretz Israel, where she reestablished herself as a holy woman, first in the Old City of Jerusalem and then in Meah She'arim. Here, too, the Maid attracted a following of ḥasidic women and men, as well as Sephardi and possibly some Muslim Arab women, and led gatherings at the Western Wall, the Tomb of Rachel, and her own *besmedresh* (study house). After her death, her grave on the Mount of Olives became a site of devotion. While the original tombstone was apparently destroyed under Jordanian rule, in 2004 a new tombstone was erected on her possible gravesite and people began to pray at the location. Over the years, the Maid's story has been retold in plays, novels, stories, a play within a novel (Isaac *Bashevis Singer's *Shosha*), as well as several radio dramas starring Mollie *Picon.

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[Nathaniel Deutsch (2nd ed.)]

LUDVIPOL, ABRAHAM (1865–1921), Hebrew journalist. Born in Novograd-Volynsk, he was active in the *Ḥibbat Zion movement in Odessa. In 1890 he sailed for Ereẓ Israel but was not permitted to land. After a sojourn in Alexandria he went to Paris, where he studied and began his career as a journalist, writing in Hebrew for *Ha-Meliẓ*, as well as in French and Yiddish for other papers. His reputation as a leading Hebrew journalist grew during the Dreyfus affair. When the daily **Ha-Ẓofeh* was founded in 1903 he was invited to take up the post of editor. In 1907 he settled in Ereẓ Israel to establish a Hebrew daily of Ḥovevei Zion, but the project fell through. He was active in public affairs in Tel Aviv, and when the daily **Haaretz* appeared at the end of World War I, he became a member of its editorial staff.

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[Getzel Kressel]

LUDWIG (Cohn), EMIL (1881–1948), German biographer and author. The son of Hermann *Cohn, a famous ophthalmologist, Ludwig was born in Breslau. After 1907 he spent most of his life in Switzerland. He began his literary career as a playwright and novelist, but became internationally popular through his colorful biographies, which were translated into many languages. His vast output included *Goethe* (3 vols., 1920), *Napoleon* (1925), *Bismarck* (1921), *Wilhelm II* (1926), *Lincoln* (1930), *Michelangelo* (1930), *Hindenburg* (1935), *Cleopatra* (1937), *Roosevelt* (1938), *Simon Bolivar* (1939), and *Stalin* (1945). He also wrote shorter essays on Rembrandt, Beethoven, and Balzac, and character studies of three eminent German Jews, Sigmund *Freud, Ferdinand *Lassalle, and Walther *Rathenau. Like Lytton Strachey in England, Stefan Zweig in Germany, and André Maurois in France, Ludwig regarded a biography as a work of art. He did not pretend to compete with the scholars on whose research he based his presentation of historical figures and his personal views often cast doubt on the objective truth of his writing. Nevertheless, he always showed keen insight into the personalities of his subjects and into the historical and social conditions in which they lived, and his work was distinguished by a dynamic literary style. Among Ludwig's other books were one on Jesus, *Der Menschensohn* (1928), *Drei Diktatoren* (1939), and a study of the abdication of King Edward VIII (1939). He also wrote some geographical books, including *Der Nil* (1935, *The Nile*, 1936), and *Am Mittelmeer* (1923, *On Mediterranean Shores*, 1929). Ludwig was baptized in 1902, but 20 years later, after the assassination of Walter Rathenau, he publicly renounced Christianity. During his American exile he became one of the most decided enemies of the Third Reich, publishing several critical works, such as *How to Treat the Germans* (1943) and *The Moral Conquest of Germany* (1945).

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[Sol Liptzin]

LUDWIG, REUBEN (1895–1926), Yiddish poet. Born in Lipowitz, Ukraine, Ludwig immigrated to New York in 1910. Suffering from tuberculosis, he moved in his twenties to the drier areas of the American Southwest, while making a meteoric appearance among the *In-Zikh group of Yiddish poets. His poems appeared in the major Yiddish periodicals, emphasizing the imminence of death, expressing sadness and hopelessness while longing for joy and glorious adventure. His *Gezamlte Lider* ("Collected Poems," 1927) include songs of the Rockies and of the American Southwest, then still undiscovered by Yiddish poets. He sympathized with and wrote about various minorities, including Indians, Mexicans, Chinese, and African-Americans.

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[Sol Liptzin / Marc Miller (2nd ed.)]

LUDZA (Rus. **Lyutsin**), town in Latgale district, Latvia. A Jewish community probably existed in the 16th century and fled before Ivan the Terrible's soldiers in 1577. A substantial community appeared in the end of the 18th century, and in 1802 there were 582 Jews in the town and district. The Jewish population numbered 2,299 in 1847; 2,803 (54% of the total) in 1897; 2,050 (40.6%) in 1920; 1,634 (30.4%) in 1930; and 1,518 (27.4%) in 1935. In the second half of the 19th century Jews lived from trade in lumber, grain, flax, and other farm products. Sixty families went to southern Ukraine to settle there in the Jewish agricultural colonies. About 40% of the town's tailors were Jews. The community suffered greatly during and after World War I. The Jewish population also decreased because many Jews there moved to Riga, the capital of Latvia, and other larger population centers, or emigrated. Most of the Jews in Ludza were occupied as shopkeepers or artisans. Jews owned 191 of the 302 larger trade premises. A big fire in 1938 destroyed 95% of Jewish stores and houses. Most of the children studied in a Hebrew public school.

Ludza was famous for its rabbis and scholars. The best known were those of the Ẓioni family, and later the Don Yaḥya family, related by marriage. David Ẓioni officiated as rabbi from 1806 to 1808; he was succeeded by his son Naphtali (1808–56), who was followed by Aaron Zelig (1856–76), author of the responsa *Ẓioni* (1875). A prominent member of the Ẓioni family was Itzele Lutẓiner, author of *Olat Yiẓḥak* (1–2, 1885–97), who served as rabbi in *Rezekne. Eliezer b. Shabbetai Don Yaḥya, author of responsa on the Shulḥan Arukh, *Even Shetiyyah* (1893), was a disciple and son-in-law of

Aaron Zelig Ẓioni and his successor in the rabbinate of Ludza (1870–1926). Eliezer's son, Ben Zion, was the son-in-law of Isaac Ẓioni, and for 26 years officiated as rabbi in Vilaci; after the death of his father he succeeded him in the rabbinate in Ludza (1926–41). Ben Zion, who perished in the Holocaust, was the author of halakhic books and historical articles. Because of the high standard of Jewish learning the community was known as the "Jerusalem of Latvia."

Holocaust Period

Ludza was occupied by the Germans on July 3, 1941. A ghetto was founded on July 20, and murders, looting, rape, and forced labor began. On August 17, 1941, about 800 Jews were murdered at Lake Zorba outside of town. The few hundred that remained were killed in small actions, the last in May 1942. About 100 Jews returned after the war, but soon most of them left for Israel.

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[Shmuel Spector (2nd ed.)]

LUEBECK, Baltic port in Germany. An imperial city and capital of the Hanseatic League, Luebeck did not permit Jews to reside within its gates, although in the 17th century Jewish peddlers were common and their presence highly resented. In 1680 the city, in need of competent money changers, permitted two *Schutzjuden* to live there; in 1701 their number was restricted to one. Jewish peddlers, dealers in old clothes and secondhand goods, settled in the nearby village of Moisling, and in 1697 received permission to establish a recognized Jewish community. The attempts of the Luebeck authorities to restrict their activities met with little success. From 12 families in 1709 the settlement in Moisling had grown to 70 by the end of the century. In 1724 a rabbi was engaged and a cemetery opened; the community was under the jurisdiction of the Altona rabbinate. Although Moisling was annexed to Luebeck in 1806 the commercial and civil restrictions were not abolished until 1810, by the French occupation forces. A synagogue was dedicated in Luebeck itself in 1812. The downfall of Napoleon and the retreat of the French army threatened the Jews' newly acquired rights. C.A. Buchholz, a Luebeck lawyer, attempted to defend them at the Congress of Vienna (1815) but in vain. After a protracted legal battle, in 1824 they were forced to leave the city proper, returning to Moisling, where they built a new synagogue (1827) and opened a school (1837). Emancipation granted during the 1848 Revolution gave the Jews the right to settle in Luebeck, where a synagogue was opened in 1850; a new one was consecrated in 1880. The last five rabbis who served in Luebeck and Moisling were Ephraim Fischel Joel (1825–51), his son-in-law Alexander Adler (1850–69), his son-in-law Solomon Carlebach (1870–1919), who wrote a history of the Jewish community, succeeded by his son Joseph Carlebach (1920–22), and David A. Winter (1922–38). The Jewish population in the city rose from 522 in 1857 to 700 in 1913, but after the advent of the Nazis, declined to 250 in 1937. The last 85 Jews were deported to Riga in 1941–42. After the war a new community was established, which numbered 250 in 1948; by 1952 only 30 remained.

[Jacob Rothschild]

In 1960 the Juedische Gemeinschaft Holstein was founded as a federation of the few remaining Jews in the federal state of Schleswig-Holstein, including Luebeck. The number of members continued to decline, with the Gemeinschaft being dissolved in 1968 and the Jewish community of Hamburg taking responsibility for Jewish life in Luebeck. In 1994 and 1995 two arson attacks on the synagogue were carried out. In 2005 an independent Jewish community with more than 600 members was founded. Almost all the members were immigrants from the former Soviet Union.

[Larissa Daemmig (2nd ed.)]

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°LUEGER, KARL (1844–1910), leader of the antisemitic *Christian Social Party in Austria. Born in Vienna into a lower middle-class family, he qualified as a lawyer. He began his political career with the left wing of the Progressive Party and was elected as its candidate to the city council in 1875. There he associated with Jewish members, among them Ignaz Mandl, a Jewish lawyer who remained his friend and political adviser even after Lueger had ousted him from the Democrats in 1889. In 1884 he sponsored the Democrats' electoral demand for "equality of all faiths." Elected to the parliament in 1885, he cooperated with the political antisemite Georg von *Schoenerer but denied being himself an antisemite. A year later he berated the Liberal majority in the city council for refusing to deliver a congratulatory address to Adolf *Fischhof on the occasion of his 70th birthday. In spite of this, Lueger made a violently antisemitic speech in 1887 in support of Schoenerer's bill against Jewish immigration from Russia and Romania. After allying himself with Karl von *Vogelsang, in 1893 he united the different Christian factions into the Christian Social Party, which he led until his death. Lueger was extremely popular with the lower middle classes, largely because of his folksy and vulgar speeches uniting popular economic and religious antisemitic prejudices. He succeeded in forging a party which channeled social discontent, depicting capitalism and Marxism alike as products of the Jewish mind and fusing these new themes with the centuries-old hatred of the Jews stemming from Church doctrine. In 1897 *Francis Joseph I confirmed Lueger as mayor of Vienna after he had refused to do so on three previous occasions. In this office, which he held until his death, he effected many social reforms. His administration pursued discriminatory practices against Jews, mainly through not employing them in the city services and limiting their numbers in high school and the university. Nevertheless he was in the habit of doing petty favors for poor Jews, even appearing in a synagogue wearing the mayoral chain. In his administration he employed, besides Mandl (who was baptized at the age of 72), the partly Jewish vice mayor Julius Porzer and the renegade Max Anton Loew. He accepted invitations to Jewish homes and is reported to have said: "*Wer ein Jude ist, bestimme ich*" ("It is up to me to decide who is a Jew"). A collection of Lueger's papers, translated and edited by R.S. Geehr, was titled after this notorious phrase: "*I Decide Who Is a Jew!*" (1982).

Lueger's antisemitism was opportunistic rather than racist, but he had a profound influence on the young Adolf Hitler in his formative years, and established on a firm footing the Viennese antisemitic tradition.

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LUENEBURG, city in Germany. The mention of a *Judenstrasse* in 1288 indicates that Jews were living there earlier. They maintained a synagogue and *mikveh* in the 14th century. The Jews dealt in moneylending and were under the protection of the dukes of Lueneburg. In 1350, during the *Black Death, the Jews were massacred, only a few managing to escape despite the feeble attempt of the duke to protect them. The houses of the Jews were subsequently sold by the duke to the very burghers who had participated in the massacre. By the late 14th century, Jews were again living in Lueneburg. Community life was repeatedly interrupted by expulsions in the 16th century (1510, 1553, and 1591). Jacob, son of Leffmann Behrends (the Hanover *Court Jew), was allowed to settle there in 1680; a number of **Schutzjuden* were subsequently permitted to reside there. The Jewish population increased slowly from 27 in 1811 to 145 in 1910. Between 1927 and 1930 the large synagogue, consecrated in 1894, was repeatedly desecrated and bombed by local antisemites and Nazis. By Oct. 1, 1936, only 36 Jews remained and on Oct. 30, 1938, final services were conducted in the synagogue which was then closed down. During World War II, 11 Jews were deported and lost their lives.

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LUFTSPRING, SAMMY (1915–2000), Canadian welterweight boxing champion, referee, and member of the Canadian Sports Hall of Fame. Luftspring was born in Toronto. He began his boxing career fighting for the Toronto Brunswick Talmud Torah School and throughout his career fought with a Star of David on his shorts. Considered a contender for the Olympic Gold Medal, Luftspring was selected to represent Canada at the Berlin Olympics in 1936. However, Luftspring, along with Norman "Baby" Yack, another Canadian Jewish boxer, opted to boycott the Nazi Olympics, and to compete instead in the alternative games, the Workers Olympics to be held in Barcelona. While on their way to the Barcelona competition, the two learned that the games had been canceled with the outbreak of the Spanish Civil War.

Turning to professional boxing in 1936, Luftspring won the Canadian welterweight championship in 1938 by defeating Frankie Genovese. He held that title for two years and in 1940 was third in line to fight the world welterweight champion Henry Armstrong. However, before Luftspring could fight Armstrong, his career was tragically cut short during a fight against Steve Belliose. Luftspring took a thumb to his left eye, and was forced to retire after he lost all his vision in the eye.

After his injury, Luftspring turned to refereeing. He refereed more than 2,000 boxing matches over the span of his career and made the *Guinness Book of World Records* in the 1970s for his accomplishments. In addition, in 1940 Luftspring and several partners successfully went into the nightclub business in Toronto. Luftspring published an autobiography in 1975, *Call me Sammy*.

[Avi Hyman and Brenda Cappe (2nd ed.)]

LUGANSK (1935–58, **Voroshilovgrad**), capital of the Lugansk district, Ukraine. The town was founded at the end of the 18th century and Jews started to settle there, numbering in 1897 1,505 (7.5% of the population). Three Jewish schools were opened in 1910. From 1908 to 1916 the position of **kazyonny ravvin* ("government-appointed rabbi") of Lugansk was held by the Hebrew writer J.B. Lerner. There he published two newspapers for Jewish children, one in Hebrew (*Peraḥim*) and another in Russian. During World War I many refugees arrived in Lugansk, and were aided by the community. In 1926 there were 7,132 Jews (c. 10%), increasing to 10,622 (5% of the total). In the 1920s many Jews were unemployed, mostly among the ex-bourgeoisie, but in the 1930s they began to work on the railroad and in industry. The city was occupied by the Germans on July 17, 1942. Most of the Jews were evacuated or fled. Of the remaining 1,038, the majority were murdered at Ivanitchev Yar on November 1, 1942, and January 21, 1943, together with Jews from other localities, all together 1,986 persons. There were 5,500 Jews (2.5%) in the city in 1959. Most remaining Jews emigrated in the 1990s.

[Yehuda Slutsky]

LUGO, small town in N. central Italy. The first record of a Jewish settlement in Lugo is a tombstone inscription of 1285. The rule of the House of Este (1437–1598) and the famous fairs of Lugo made the community prosperous. After Lugo came under direct papal rule in 1598, conditions deteriorated. In 1634, 606 Jews, some from neighboring towns, were confined in ghettos, located in the center of the city. In 1703 this number had been reduced to 54 families, among whom the *Finzi, the *Senigallia, and the *Del Vecchio were prominent. The Del Vecchio and later the *Fano families produced several eminent rabbis, more than would be expected from so small a community, though by 1797 it had grown to 648 members. They were mostly involved in market of textile, silver, and second-hand products. In 1796 the French authorities granted emancipation to the Jews, but during the reaction following the temporary withdrawal of the French troops the ghetto was plundered three times. In 1802 the Jews in the city numbered 470. When papal rule was restored in 1814, the old interdictions again came into force and became even harsher under Pope *Leo XII, with the result that several families left Lugo. In 1853, 396 Jews were there. Later they followed the drift to the larger cities. Twenty-six Jews were murdered in Lugo during the Holocaust period. In April 1945 the town was liberated by the Jewish Brigade. In 1969 there was only one Jewish family in Lugo.

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[Attilio Milano]

LUGOJ (Hung. **Lugos**), city in W. Romania (Transylvania), until 1918 in Hungary. Jews settled in Lugoj and its surroundings at the beginning of the 18th century. An organized community was founded between 1780 and 1790, and a *ḥevra kaddisha* in 1790. Some Sephardi Jews participated in the establishment of the community in the town alongside the Ashkenazim. Jews played an important role in the development of the extensive textile industry and the processing of natural silk there. The Jewish population numbered 550 in 1851, 1,303 in 1891, 1,878 in 1910, 1,774 in 1924 (8.9% of the total population), and 1,418 in 1930 (6% of the total). During World War I, 173 members of the community served in the Hungarian army. Simon Hevesi was the local rabbi between 1897 and 1905. With non-Jewish intellectuals, he organized popular educational institutions, the first of their kind in southern Hungary. An elementary school, founded in 1833, functioned until 1944. A large synagogue was erected in 1842. There were also some smaller synagogues. After the split within Hungarian Jewry in 1868 (see *Hungary), the community defined itself as neologist (see *Neology). A charitable organization of Jewish women functioned from 1875 and a *talmud torah* from 1903. After the 1919 unification of Transylvania with Romania, and because of the Romanian government's antisemitic policies, many Jews left the city. Zionist organizations were active in Lugoj, and from 1934 the Zionists were the dominant element in the community leadership. Between 1941 and 1942, the period of the Romanian Fascist regime, some of the Jewish men were conscripted for forced labor, and many Jews lost all their belongings. The Jewish population numbered 1,043 in 1942. A number of Jewish youngsters accused of Communist activities were deported to Transnistria by the Antonescu regime. After World War II the Jewish population increased, as Jewish refugees from the surrounding districts and northern Bukovina settled there (1,620 in 1947). The number of Jews declined from the 1950s through immigration to Israel. By 1970 only 220 were left.

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[Yehouda Marton / Paul Schveiger (2nd ed.)]

LUIDOR, JOSEPH (d. 1921), Hebrew writer. Born in Galicia, Luidor settled in Ereẓ Israel as a youth, working as an agricultural laborer in various places, including Reḥovot and Ein-Ḥai (Kefar Malal). He was especially close to J.Ḥ. *Brenner, and, along with Brenner, was murdered by Arabs in 1921 in Jaffa. His body was never found. Luidor's stories, published in *Ha-Ẓefirah*, *Ha-Shiloaḥ*, *Ha-Toren*, and *Ha-Po'el ha-Ẓa'ir*, were among the first writings to deal with the workers of the Second *Aliyah. He also wrote literary reviews. A collection of stories (*Sippurim*) was published in 1976, with an introduction by Dov Landau.

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[Getzel Kressel]

LUKA (Ger. **Luck**), small town in W. Bohemia, Czech Republic. According to tradition, Jews from Bavaria founded the town in the 11th century, and they are mentioned in local records for 1198. Luka Jews had to supply a chalice for King *Premysl Ottakar II (1253–78) when he visited the pope. A Jewish "place of worship" is mentioned in 1432. During the Thirty Years' War (1618–48) the community was almost decimated by the plague. Luka Jews, like those of Hroznetin (Lichtenstadt), did business in nearby *Carlsbad. The synagogue and community records were destroyed in a fire in 1842. In 1850, 1,150 Jews lived in Luka (80% of the total population). In the 19th century Feibel (Phillipp) Kohn was mayor of Luka for 28 years. Both an Orthodox rabbi and a Reform preacher served in the town. Even before the 1848 Revolution allowed them freedom of movement, Jews had begun to leave Luka; there were 446 in 1869, but by 1930 there was no *minyan*. On Nov. 10, 1938, the synagogue was burned down. Gravestones in the Jewish cemetery were sold by the Nazis to a stonemason.

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LUKÁCS, GEORG (**György**; 1885–1971), Hungarian philosopher, literary critic, and socialist. Born in Budapest into a family of bankers, Lukács first attracted public attention through his collection of essays on art and philosophy entitled *Die Seele und die Formen* (1911) and he founded a new theater in Budapest for the production of modern plays. He left Judaism at this period. During World War I, Lukács championed the cause of the proletariat and joined the Communist Party in 1918. When the communist regime of Bela *Kun came to power in 1919 Lukács was made commissar for education. In this post he established a national council for culture to impose communist ideas on Hungarian literature and culture. After the collapse of the Kun regime Lukács fled to Vienna where he wrote *Geschichte und Klassenbewusstsein* (1923; *History and Class Consciousness*, 1971), a controversial volume of essays reinterpreting cultural values from a Marxist viewpoint which criticized Communism as it had developed in Russia. His biography, *Lenin* (1924), restored him to favor as an orthodox Marxist. In 1933, when Hitler came to power in Germany, Lukács fled to Russia where he edited several communist journals including *Internationale Literatur* and the Hungarian literary journal *Uj Hang* ("New Voice").

Lukács returned to Hungary after World War II and was elected a member of Parliament. He was made president of the Academy of Sciences and professor of aesthetics and cultural philosophy at the University of Budapest. His unorthodox views led to frequent clashes with the Hungarian Communist Party and after the abortive rising in 1956, he was forced to hide in the Yugoslav embassy. He was restored to favor in the following year and was the recipient of many tributes and honors on his 80th birthday in 1965.

A prolific writer, Lukács was well known for his Marxist interpretations of literature. He was much influenced, however, by the humanitarian concept of Socialism as preached by the Jewish socialist, Moses *Hess. His writings, especially his autobiography *Mein Weg zu Marx* (1933), reflected his opposition to the militant revolution of the orthodox Marxists and advocated humanitarian Socialism based on respect for the individual. His study of Hess, *Moses Hess und das Problem der idealistischen Dialektik*, was published in 1926.

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[Sol Liptzin]

LUKAS, PAUL (1887–1971), U.S. actor, born in Budapest. After nine years at the Comedy Theater, Lukas went to the U.S. in 1927 and became prominent in films and plays. The high point of his career was his portrayal of Kurt Mueller, a German refugee, in *Watch on the Rhine*, on the Broadway stage in 1941 and on the screen in 1943. For his film performance, Lukas won a Best Actor Oscar, a Golden Globe, and a New York Film Critics Award. He also appeared on Broadway in *A Doll's House* (1937), *Call Me Madam* (1950), *Flight Into Egypt* (1952), and *The Wayward Saint* (1955).

His more than 90 films include *Little Women* (1933), *Dodsworth* (1936), *The Lady Vanishes* (1938), *Confessions of a Nazi Spy* (1939), *Address Unknown* (1944), *Deadline at Dawn* (1946), *Berlin Express* (1948), *20,000 Leagues under the Sea* (1954), *Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse* (1962), and *Lord Jim* (1965).

[Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

LUKOW (Pol. **Łuków**; Rus. **Lukov**), town in the province of Lublin, E. Poland. By the 15th century there was considerable Jewish settlement in Lukow with a developed autonomous organization. A responsum (no. 59) of R. Meir b. Gedaliah *Lublin (1558–1616) mentions the synagogue of Lukow, which was destroyed by fire. Joel *Sirkes (the Baḥ) served as rabbi of the community at the end of the 16th or the beginning of the 17th century. At the time of the *Chmielnicki massacres (1648–49) the community suffered heavy material losses and the new synagogue was burned down. In 1659 the Jews of Lukow were granted a royal privilege which confirmed their former rights to live in the town, to acquire land and houses, and to engage in commerce and crafts; they were also authorized to erect a synagogue and maintain a cemetery. In 1727 a poll tax of 120 zlotys was imposed on the community. With the progress of economic activities in the town during the second half of the 18th century the Jewish population considerably increased. In the middle of the 18th century a dispute broke out between the communities of Lukow and Miedzyrzec Podlaski over the question of their authority over the small neighboring communities. According to the census of 1765, there were 543 Jews (137 families) there. During the 1780s the rabbi of the community was Samson Zelig b. Jacob Joseph ha-Levi, the author of *Teshu'ot Ḥen* (Dubno, 1797).

After the Congress of Vienna (1815), Lukow passed to Russia, being in Congress Poland. The Jewish population numbered 2,023 (c. 60% of the total population) in 1827, 2,114 (c. 68%) in 1857, and 4,799 (c. 55%) in 1897. In this period many of the Jews were Ḥasidim and followers of the *ẓaddikim* of Kotsk, Aleksandrow, Radzyn, and Gur. Between 1906 and 1920 the *ẓaddik* Hershele Morgensztern, the great-grandson of R. Menahem Mendel of *Kotsk, lived in Lukow. The Jewish population increased to 6,145 (49% of the total) by 1921; there were then 348 Jewish workshops in Lukow. Of the 24 members of the municipal council, ten were Jews (five being delegates of the *Bund). Between the two world wars the Jews of Lukow struggled against antisemitism, and an anti-Jewish economic boycott was organized. The last rabbi of the town (from 1937) was Aaron Note Freiberg, who perished with the members of his community in a death camp.

[Arthur Cygielman]

Holocaust Period

About 6,000 Jews lived in Lukow at the outbreak of World War II. In May 1942 over 2,000 Jews from Slovakia were deported to the town. In October 1942 they were sent, together with over 2,000 Jews from Lukow, to the *Treblinka death camp and exterminated. At the beginning of December 1942 a closed ghetto for the remaining Jews in Lukow was established. On May 2, 1943, the ghetto was liquidated by extermination of its inmates.

[Stefan Krakowski]

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LULAV (Heb. לוּלָב; "a shoot" or "a young branch of a tree"), a term applied in the Mishnah to all trees, e.g., "the *lulavim* of the terebinth, the pistachio, and the thorn" (Shev. 7:5) and to the vine (Or. 1:7). Its use, however, was particularly confined to the *palm branch, one of the components of the *Four Species (*Arba'ah Minim*; cf. Mish., Suk. 3 and 4). Its use in Jewish ritual is on the Feast of *Sukkot.

LUMBROSO, Italian-Tunisian family of scholars, diplomats, leaders, and rabbis of Castilian origin. JACOB and RAPHAEL, sons of DANIEL LUMBROSO, intervened on behalf of their community in 1686, after a heavy tax had been imposed upon it by the bey. They were the leaders of the *Gornim community (of Leghorn origin) in *Tunis.

ISAAC BEN JACOB (d. 1752) was one of the most brilliant representatives of Tunisian Jewry. He promoted talmudic studies and was largely responsible for the numerous rabbis of eminence who lived in 18th-century Tunis. During his period of office as chief rabbi, the split between the Tuansa (native Tunisian Jews) and Gornim occurred (1710). He attempted to find a compromise solution to the difficulties which arose between the two groups. For a long time he acted as the bey's tax collector; the bey also appointed him *qā'id* (= leader) of the Jews. Wealthy and generous, he gave his financial support to many students. His principal work, entitled *Zera' Yiẓḥak* ("Seed of Isaac," 1768), was published in Tunis after his death. It is a voluminous didactic commentary on several parts of the Talmud and also contains funeral eulogies delivered by the author, as well as some scholarly notes on several passages in the Bible. The second part of the book *Benei Joseph* by Joseph *Tanuji, consisting of notes on several tractates of the Talmud and seven responsa by Isaac Lumbroso, which were found by the editor after Lumbroso's *Zera' Yiẓḥak* had been printed, is also entitled *Zera' Yiẓḥak*. To this day, Isaac is widely renowned among Jews of Tunisian origin as having been a scholar and a mystic.

ISAAC VITA (1793–1871), who was born in Tunis, was known especially for his philanthropy. For several decades he was the undisputed leader of the Leghorn Jews in Tunis and president of the "Portuguese" congregation. He was also a *dayyan*.

His son ABRAM BEN ISAAC VITA (1813–1887), who was also born in Tunis, was appointed personal physician of the bey and minister of health in the Tunisian government. He established learned societies, and under the patronage of his sovereign he propagated Western culture in Tunisia. He was also a philanthropist. He wrote several authoritative scientific studies in the field of medicine. The king of Italy granted him the title of baron. His brother GIACOMO was one of the most prominent merchants of Marseilles, where until 1881 he was the exclusive representative of Tunisia for the whole of France, with the rank of consul general. DAVID (1817–1880), who was born in Tunis, was an important financier and diplomat. He played a prominent role in Tunisian politics. ACHILLE (1858–1914), who was born in Mahdia, was a shipowner in Gabès, where he represented Italy. He was known especially as a poet and author.

[David Corcos]

Abram's son, GIACOMO LUMBROSO (1844–1925), was a classical historian and archaeologist. Born in Tunis, he taught at the universities of Palermo, Pisa, and Rome, and was elected to the famous Accademia dei Lincei. A specialist in the hellenistic civilization of Egypt, he was widely recognized as an expert in the ancillary disciplines of papyrology and epigraphy. His major published works were *Recherches sur l'économie politique de l'Egypte sous les Lagides* (1870) and *L'Egitto al tempo dei Greci e dei Romani* (1882, 1895^2). He also compiled a glossary in ten folio volumes, *Testi e commenti concernenti l'antica Alessandria*. After his death, publication of this work was begun under the auspices of the Italian journal *Aegyptus* (serie scientifica, vol. 4), but only a small part was printed (1934, 1936) before wartime priorities ended the project.

His son was ALBERTO EMMANUELE LUMBROSO (1872–1942), Italian historian, who was born in Turin, and like his father, turned from law to history. He specialized in the Napoleonic period, on which he wrote numerous articles and books. His first major work was a Napoleonic bibliography (1894–96) that was followed by a study of the continental system, *Napoleone I. e l'Inghilterra* (1897) and *Napoleone II* (2 vols., 1902–05). In 1903 he became director of the *Revue Napoléonienne* (published in Paris). In 1904, after the National Library in Turin suffered a disastrous fire, Lumbroso donated his personal library as the core of a new collection. In 1916–18 he was Italian military attaché to Greece. In his *Le origini economiche e diplomatiche della guerra mondiale* (2 vols., 1926–28), he argued that World War I represented a triumph of Anglo-Saxon imperialism. His *Bibliografia ragionata della guerra delle nazioni* was published in 1920.

[Frank D. Grande]

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LUMET, SIDNEY (1924–), U.S. theatrical and film director. Born in Philadelphia, Lumet, the son of actor Baruch Lumet and dancer Eugenia Wermus Lumet, was a child actor at the Yiddish Art Theater. He appeared on Broadway in 1937 and later directed off-Broadway shows. Between 1937 and 1948 he performed in such Broadway productions as *Dead End; The Eternal Road*; *Schoolhouse on the Lot; Morning Star; Journey to Jerusalem*; and *Seeds in the Wind*. In 1947 he founded an off-Broadway group of actors that consisted of former members of Lee Strasberg's Actors Studio, including Yul Brynner and Eli Wallach, who had become dissatisfied with Strasberg's concepts. On Broadway, Lumet directed *Night of the Auk* (1956); *Caligula* (1960); and *Nowhere to Go but Up* (1962).

Lumet joined the Columbia Broadcasting System in 1950 and gained a reputation as a director of live television dramas. He directed such TV series as *Studio One* (1948); *Danger* (1950); *Crime Photographer* (1951); and *You Are There* (1953), as well as the musical *Mr. Broadway* (1957); *All the King's Men* (1958); the miniseries *The Sacco-Vanzetti Story* (1960); and *Rashomon* and *The Iceman Cometh* (1960).

On the screen, the first film that Lumet directed was *Twelve Angry Men* (Oscar nomination for Best Director, 1957). In 1959 he directed Tennessee Williams' *The Fugitive Kind,* and in 1962 Eugene O'Neill's *Long Day's Journey into Night* and Arthur Miller's *A View from the Bridge*. His later movies, most of which were shot in New York City, include *Fail-Safe* (1964), *The Pawnbroker* (1965), *The Hill* (1965), *The Group* (1966), *Bye Bye Braverman* (1968), *Funny Girl* (1968), *The Appointment* (1970), *The Anderson Tapes* (1971), *Serpico* (1973), *Murder on the Orient Express* (1974), *Dog Day Afternoon* (Oscar nomination for Best Director, 1975), *Network* (Oscar nomination for Best Director, 1976), *Equus* (1977), *Prince of the City* (which he co-wrote; Oscar nomination for Best Screenplay, 1981), *Deathtrap* (1982), *The Verdict* (Oscar nomination for Best Director, 1982), *Family Business* (1989), *A Stranger among Us* (1992), *Guilty as Sin* (1993), *Night Falls on Manhattan* (which he also wrote, 1997), and *Gloria* (1999).

Among his numerous awards and nominations, Lumet was presented with a Lifetime Achievement Award by the Directors Guild of America in 1993; won the Joseph L. Mankiewicz Excellence in Filmmaking Award at the Director's View Film Festival in 2004; and received the Honorary Academy Award of Merit in 2005. Lumet's book, *Making Movies,* was published in 1995.

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[Jonathan Licht / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

LUMINA ("The Light"), Jewish Social Democratic group in Romania in the 1890s. Its founders were M. *Wechsler, L. *Gelerter, L. Geller, M. Haimovitz – later well known in the "Arbeter Ring" (*Workmen's Circle) in the United States – and R. Schwartz. Lumina originated in *Jassy in 1893 as an opposition group to the leadership of the Romanian Social Democratic Party. It rejected the latter's tendency to closer cooperation with the liberal bourgeois party, which was the main factor in antisemitism in the country, and also demanded a clear stand on the "Jewish problem." The circle developed into a solely Jewish body which in 1895 emerged as an independent group. It published the periodical *Lumina* (1895–97) in Romanian and *Der Veker* ("Awakener") in Yiddish. Previously (December 12, 1887–January 29, 1888), another pioneer journal of Romanian Jewish socialism had been published under the same title, edited by Stefan Stanca. The society criticized the Social Democratic Party for contenting itself with a demand for general voting rights for all citizens while the Jews were still regarded as "aliens without rights." Lumina considered that one of its functions was to organize the Jewish workers for an independent struggle for political and civic rights, on the assumption that the "liberation of a nation is impossible if it is dormant and frozen." The society, which also had contact with Jewish Social Democrats in Russia, favored the principle of organizing special unions for workers of differing nationalities to function in cooperation. The Jassy group had connections with similar groups in other places in Moldavia (northern Romania). It sent a memorandum (in German) to the congress of the Socialist International in London in 1896, in which it set out its principles and requested a discussion of the problem of the Jews in Romania. The memorandum also explained that the Jewish proletariat and bourgeoisie, though in opposition from the class aspect, had a common interest in obtaining civil and political rights. Lumina had reservations on Zionism and religious attitudes, but *Veker* claimed that a man "who is unable to raise himself to love and sacrifice for his own people, can certainly not be such an idealist as to sacrifice himself for strangers."

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[Moshe Mishkinsky]

LUNCZ, ABRAHAM MOSES (1854–1918), author, publisher, and editor of geographical works on Ereẓ Israel. Luncz emigrated in 1869 from Kovno, where he was born, to Jerusalem, and was accepted as a pupil in the Eẓ Ḥayyim yeshivah. The director, R. Moses Nehemiah Kahana, was in favor of secular education and the use of Hebrew as a spoken language. Because of this, Luncz was able to continue his secular studies and his reading of Haskalah books. The head of the Jerusalem *maskilim* at that time was Israel Dov *Frumkin; Luncz began to associate with him and took part in the founding of the Maskilim Circle and the Moses Montefiore Library (1873–74). In 1873 he began to write in Frumkin's *Ha-Ḥavaẓẓelet*, and like the latter, he criticized the methods of the **ḥalukkah* and its administrators. However, he did not always oppose the traditional community. When H. *Graetz attacked the Jerusalem community after his visit of 1873, during which he was insulted by religious fanatics, Luncz defended it in 1874 in his *Ivri Anokhi* ("I am a Hebrew"). After having already written several geographical articles, Luncz published in 1876 a guide to Jerusalem, *Netivot Ẓiyyon vi-Yrushalayim* ("Paths of Zion and Jerusalem"), the first work of this kind in Hebrew. From then until his death he worked tirelessly to perfect his geographical knowledge. In his search for books he visited the libraries of Christian institutions, a revolutionary step for a Jew in the Jerusalem of those days. In 1877 Luncz's sight began to fail. He went to Vienna and Paris to seek medical help, but it was of no avail; by 1879 he was blind. His misfortune did not deter him from his projects. In Vienna he contacted Perez *Smolenskin, in connection with the publication of his projected yearbook of Ereẓ Israel. The first volume appeared in Hebrew and English in 1882, after a second trip to Vienna, under the title *Jerusalem, Yearbook for the Diffusion of an Accurate Knowledge of Ancient and Modern Palestine*. Only 12 volumes appeared by the time of his death 36 years later. The first volume, of which both the Hebrew and the English part were written mostly by Luncz himself when he still had his sight, is the best. The second volume was printed in 1887 on Luncz's own press in Jerusalem. The articles of the second volume were written by some of the greatest scholars of Palestine and other countries. The material in the Hebrew section dealing with the history of the Jewish settlement is unique. Here again, Luncz was the main contributor. Volumes one and two appeared in Hebrew and English; three and four in Hebrew and German. In 1895 he began to publish the *Lu'aḥ Ereẓ Yisrael*, a literary almanac, which appeared yearly until 1915. Among the books which he published in improved editions with his own notes, the most important are *Kaftor va-Feraḥ* of R. *Estori ha-Parḥi; *Pe'at ha-Shulḥan* of R. Israel of *Shklov; and *Tevu'ot ha-Areẓ* of R. Yehoseph *Schwarz. In the three volumes of *Ha-Me'ammer* he published documentary material on Ereẓ Israel. A courageous experiment for a blind man was his publication of the Jerusalem Talmud according to a manuscript that he found in the Vatican Library. By the time of his death, he had reached the tractate *Shevi'it*. Luncz also wrote *Die juedischen Kolonien Palaestinas* (1902) and edited *Ha-Ikkar* ("The Peasant"), 1894–96. Besides these literary activities, he was an active member of the *Va'ad ha-Lashon ha-Ivrit ("Committee for the Hebrew Language") and in 1902, with two of his friends, he founded the Educational Center for the Blind.

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[Abraham J. Brawer]

LUNEL, town in Hérault department, S. France, home of a medieval Jewish community renowned for its scholars. According to local tradition, the town was founded by inhabitants of Jericho who arrived there after the conquest of their native city. Tourist brochures also claim that this community was outstanding for its medical studies and that its physicians carried out the first surgical operation in Europe. The nearby remains of the synagogue seem to have greater historical validity. The earliest historical evidence on the Jewish community of Lunel is recorded by *Benjamin of Tudela (1159). The community had probably been founded some time before, because by then it numbered at least 300 persons (or perhaps 300 families). Scant information on the Jewish community appears in non-Jewish sources. Toward the close of the 12th century, a Jew of Lunel, David ha-Kohen, son of Solomon, granted a loan to Agnète, wife of Guilhem VIII, lord of Montpellier. On the other hand, in 1293 the lord of Lunel sold part of the incomes from his barony to a Jew of Montpellier named Thauros. The existence of a cemetery is attested in documents dating from the end of the 13th century. On the eve of the expulsion in 1306, six Jews from Lunel were arrested and imprisoned in the Châtelet of Paris. The community must have been reconstituted after the return of the Jews to France in 1315 for, on Aug. 22, 1319, King Philip V the Tall ordered proceedings against the Jews of Lunel who, during Lent, had supposedly insulted the cross. A considerable amount is known about the Jewish scholars of Lunel. Benjamin of Tudela praised them for their erudition, piety, and generosity, not only toward the students who came to study at the yeshivah but also to every Jew in distress. *Meshullam b. Jacob was *rosh yeshivah* and a well-known halakhic authority. Of his five sons, the best known were Jacob, a commentator; *Aaron b. Meshullam of Lunel, impassioned defender of the philosophy of Maimonides; and *Asher b. Meshullam ha-Kohen of Lunel, a mystic and a brilliant talmudist. Meshullam b. Jacob's son-in-law, Moses b. Judah of Béziers, was living in Lunel at the time of Benjamin of Tudela's visit, as was Judah b. Saul ibn *Tibbon, who settled there after persecution forced him to leave Granada. Many scholars, such as Zerahiah b. Isaac ha-Levi *Gerondi and *Abraham b. David of Posquières, stayed in Lunel for varying periods of time. Others more intimately connected with the town included *Abraham b. Nathan ha-Yarḥi (second half of the 12th century); the talmudist *Jonathan b. David ha-Kohen of Lunel; Manoah, commentator on Maimonides' *Mishneh Torah*; and Abba Mari b. Moses, also known as *Astruc of Lunel, a halakhic authority and vigorous opponent of science and philosophy. His main supporters were Isaac b. Avigdor, Simeon b. Joseph of Lunel, and Meir b. Isaiah; and his staunchest adversary was Solomon b. Isaac of Lunel, referred to as Nasi, who lived in Montpellier. Meshullam b. Machir, also known as Don Bonet Crescas of Lunel (d. 1306), is the last scholar known to have been a native of the town. Throughout the 14th and 15th centuries, however, there were several scholars who bore the name "de Lunel" or "Ha-Yarḥi," especially in Provence. The name was later found among families in Comtat Venaissin and the author Armand *Lunel belonged to one of these.

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[Bernhard Blumenkranz]

LUNEL, ARMAND (1892–1977), French novelist. The descendant of an old Provençal Jewish family, Lunel was born in Aix-en-Provence. After studying law, he later taught philosophy in Monaco. Writing in his spare time, he made his name with his sensitive and imaginative portrayals of Provence and its colorful inhabitants, both Jews and non-Jews. Lunel's major works include *L'Imagerie du Cordier* (1924); *Nicolo-Peccavi, ou l'Affaire Dreyfus à Carpentras* (1926); *Noire et grise* (1930); *Le Balai de sorcière* (1935); *Jérusalem à Carpentras* (1937), a collection of short stories; *La Maison de la femme peinte* (1946); *Les Amandes d'Aix* (1949); and *La Belle à la fontaine* (1959).

Lunel wrote librettos for his childhood friend, the composer Darius *Milhaud, notably the text of *Esther de Carpentras* (1926), on which Milhaud later based his *opéra-bouffe, Barba Garibo* (1950), and the oratorio *David* (1954), which was performed for the 3,000th anniversary of Jerusalem. "Esther," inspired by an old Provençal Purim play, evokes the humor and drama of Jewish life in Carpentras during the Middle Ages. Lunel also initiated a series of books on the French provinces, to which he himself contributed *J'ai Vu Vivre La Provence* (1962). Lunel was awarded the Gobert History Prize of the French Academy for his *The Jews of Languedoc Provence* and *The French States of the Pope* (1975) and the 1976 French Grand Prix for Literature.

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[Moshe Catane]

LUNEL, JACOB DE (18th century), Provençal poet. In 1737 he was one of the scholars of Carpentras who approved the publication of the prayers for Rosh Ha-Shanah and the Day of Atonement according to the local rite. He revised and enlarged a Purim play by Mardochée Astruc written in Provençal, which he published in 1774 (new edition by E. Sabatier, 1877). Some of his liturgical poems appear in the *Seder ha-Kunteres (Maḥzor Avignon)*. He also composed a Hebrew ode on the occasion of Louis XV's escape from assassination in 1757; this poem was recited with musical accompaniment in the synagogue of Avignon.

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[Jefim (Hayyim) Schirmann]

LUNÉVILLE, town in the Meurthe-et-Moselle department, N.E. France. Several Jews were mentioned in Lunéville in 1470–72, just before the expulsion from the duchy of Lorraine. From 1702 Lunéville was the seat of the ducal court of Lorraine; Samuel Lévy took charge of the court's commercial interests in 1705. Two Jewish families were authorized to live in the town by an edict of 1753; there were 16 families residing there when the synagogue was constructed in 1785. A cemetery was not consecrated until 1791. The community numbered 315 persons in 1808 and 400 in 1855; from 1870 it was augmented by a number of manufacturers from Alsace. Among the Hebrew printing presses established in France in the latter part of the 18th century and early in the 19th was one belonging to Abraham Brisach, who produced in Lunéville a *maḥzor* with Judeo-German translation in 1797 and a *Likkutei Ẓevi* in 1798. A hospital, established in 1857, was in use until 1944. Alfred *Lévy, later chief rabbi of France and a native of Lunéville, was rabbi there from 1869 to 1880. During World War I the incumbent minister, S. Weill, and several other Jews were among the civilians slaughtered at Lunéville (1914); 18 other Jews from Lunéville fell in battle in this war and six in World War II. One hundred and ninety-four Jews (including the patients in the hospital and 65 refugees) were deported from Lunéville during the German occupation; only nine survived. In 1969 there were about 200 Jews in Lunéville, half of them from North Africa.

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[Gilbert Cahen]

LUNGE, GEORG (1839–1923), German industrial chemist. Born in Breslau, Lunge started his own chemical factory in 1862. He went to England (1865) and worked in the coal tar and soda industries. He was a professor at the Zurich Polytechnicum (1876–1907) and wrote *Handbuch der Sodaindustrie* (2 vols., 1879); *Industrie der Steinkohlentheer-Destillation und Ammoniakwasser Bearbeitung* (2 vols., 1882); *Taschenbuch fuer die anorganisch-chemische Grossindustrie* (1908, 1921^6, with E. Berl); he edited (also with E. Berl) the *Chemisch-technische Untersuchungsmethoden* (4 vols., 1899; *Technical Methods of Chemical Analysis*, 6 vols., 1908, 1924^2); and *Technical Gas Analysis* (1914).

LUNIETZ (Ilintsky), GEDALIAH BEN ISSAC OF (d. 1785), ḥasidic preacher and *ẓaddik* in Ukraine, son of a *dayyan* in Polonnoye. An ardent preacher who stirred his listeners, Gedaliah was one of the sources of ḥasidic legend. His mentors in Ḥasidism were *Dov Baer the Maggid of Mezhirech and *Jacob Joseph of Polonnoye. Gedaliah was the most outstanding disciple of *Aryeh Leib of Polonnoye. He served as rabbi in Ostropol, Miropol, and Ilintsy. His *Teshu'ot Ḥen* (Berdichev, 1816) includes sermons, some of them on the importance and holiness of Ereẓ Israel, expressing a profound sense of the bitterness of exile and anticipation of redemption.

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LUNTS, LEV NATANOVICH (1901–1924), Russian playwright and literary theorist. Lunts was born into a well-educated St. Petersburg family which immigrated to Germany after the 1917 Revolution. He himself, however, remained in Russia for a time, suffered from malnutrition, and died in

Hamburg at the age of 23. Lunts was a founder and spokesman of the important young writers' group in Petrograd known as the Serapion Brothers and named after a hero in one of the novels of E.T.A. Hoffmann, the 18th-century German romantic. The group's aims were to free art from political pressures and to win tolerance for artistic dissent. In his articles Lunts argued that Russian literature was unduly tendentious and uniformly realistic, and recommended that it emulate Western models. His play *Vne zakona* ("Outside the Law," 1923) is set in Spain and its central theme is that power corrupts. It was translated into many languages and became part of the repertoire of several Western European theaters. The Soviet authorities saw in his plays criticism of the regime and forbade performing them in the Soviet theaters. Two of his stories, "V pustyne" ("In the Desert," 1922) and "Rodina" ("Homeland," 1923), deal with ancient Jewish historical events.

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[Yitzhak Maor]

LURIA (**Lourie**, **Lurje**, **Loria**, **Lurja**), well-known family traceable to the 14th century. The Luria family spread throughout Germany, Bohemia, Eastern Europe, Italy, and Oriental countries. The name perhaps derives from Loria, a small town near *Bassano in the Vicenza region of Italy, but this is by no means certain. All who bear this name did not necessarily belong to one family, and there is certainly no connection between this family and the Luria family (who were Levites) to which Isaac *Luria (the Ari) belonged. The main Luria family is descended from *Rashi and legend extends its descent to the *tanna* *Johanan ha-Sandelar. The source of the family history is the genealogical document compiled by Johanan b. Aaron Luria (see later) which *Joseph b. Gershom of Rosheim received from the author and incorporated in his *Sefer ha-Miknah*. Solomon b. Aaron b. Jehiel, Johanan's grandson, sent a copy to his relative, Solomon *Luria (Maharshal), who made an addition to the copy detailing his connection with Jehiel, brother of the author of the document. This copy is important for determining the link between the German and Polish branches. The document passed to Solomon Luria's descendants from generation to generation, each successive member adding his own name. One copy was published, after 300 years, in *Ha-Maggid* (vol. 1 (1857), 178) by Moses Eliezer *Beilinson, himself a member of the Luria family. This copy, which completed the German branch, was published in Solomon Luria's responsa (Fuerth, 1767; Lemberg, 1859).

The founder of the family was SOLOMON SPIRA (a son-in-law of Mattathias Treves; see *Treves family). It is related of his daughter MIRIAM (1350 – the second generation) that she taught *halakhah* from behind a curtain in the yeshivah. Nothing is known of Samson of Erfurt (third generation), Jehiel (fourth), and Nethanel (fourth) but their names, but Nethanel's son, AARON LURIA (1450), was known and honored as a rabbinical authority. He was one of the opponents of the convention of rabbis called by Seligman Oppenheim in Bingen in 1456 and his responsum on the subject was printed in the responsa of R. Moses *Mintz (no. 63) along with the views of other opponents. A number of the responsa (16, 19, 23, and 24) of Mintz and Israel *Bruna (nos. 259–61) are addressed to him. JOHANAN (late 15th–early 16th centuries), who compiled the genealogical table, was Aaron's son. He was given the right to establish a yeshivah in *Strasbourg or *Colmar. Losing all his wealth in the Burgundian wars of 1475, he passed the last years of his life in *Worms. He is the author of *Meshivat Nefesh*, a homiletical and kabbalistic commentary on the Pentateuch (Mss. Bodleian, nos. 257–8) with an appendix, *Teshuvat ha-Minim u-She'ar Inyanim*, which is a defense of Judaism against Christian criticism. His didactic ethical poem *Hadrakhah* has been published a number of times. His grandson SOLOMON (d. before 1583) compiled the second version of the Luria family tree for Solomon Luria. His only son, JOSHUA MOSES (d. 1591), who was responsible for the third version, served as rabbi in Worms. He is referred to in the customal of Worms (Mss. Breslau Seminary LXXXVII, 123) and in other works. His son AARON (d. 1613) was a *dayyan* in the *bet din* of Isaiah *Horowitz in Frankfurt. After him, unbroken knowledge of the German branch of the family ceases, but the family history does not come to an end then. Joseph of Rosheim was related to the head of the family, Solomon Spira, and his grandson, Elijah b. Moses *Loanz (1564–1636), was also the maternal grandson of Johanan Luria.

The name Luria is found in Prague until the end of the 16th century and still later, but the connection between this branch and the German one cannot be established. It is doubtful if the kabbalist Jehiel *Luria of Safed (late 16th–early 17th centuries) belonged to this family. Some identify him with Jehiel Ashkenazi *Luria, author of the *Heikhal ha-Shem* (Venice, 1601). The founder of the Russian-Polish branch was JEHIEL LURIA, brother of Johanan (above). Around 1470 he left Germany and died in Bassat, Lithuania, where he had apparently served as rabbi. His great-grandson was Solomon Luria (the Maharshal). JACOB MOSES BEN ABRAHAM HELIN ASHKENAZI, a grandson of the Maharshal, compiled a commentary, *Yedei Moshe*, on the *Midrash Rabbah* (Frankfurt on the Oder, 1705). SOLOMON LURIA (early 17th century), "the physician of Lublin," was a cousin of the Maharshal. Jehiel *Heilprin, author of *Seder ha-Dorot*, was the eighth generation from the Maharshal, and Abraham *Gombiner, author of *Magen Avraham*, the sixth generation. David b. Judah Judel *Luria (Radal) was the tenth generation. His nephew, David b. Jacob Aaron *Luria (1800–1873), devoted himself to improving Jewish education in Minsk.

In the 19th century, when the Jews of Russia were compelled to adopt surnames, many chose the name Luria without having any connection with the family. It is unclear what connection, if any, there is between bearers of the name Loria in Italy and the Luria family, and it is possible that the genealogical tree of this branch, transmitted by Z. *Margolioth in his *Ma'alot ha-Yuḥasin* (1900), 61–63, is a 17th-century forgery intended to connect the Italian family with the more renowned one.

In 2004, Neil Rosenstein published a complete Luria family genealogy. He traces the family back to the *tanna* Hillel, and from him back to King David. He presents numerous interlocking genealogical tables, many of which connect the Luria family to the leading rabbinic sages of the past 500 years.

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[Jacob Rothschild]

LURIA, ALEXANDER ROMANOVICH (1902–1977), Soviet psychologist. Luria was born in Kazan to a well-known physician. He graduated from the universities of Kazan (1921) and the 1st Medical Institute of Moscow (1937). In 1945 Luria was appointed professor in the department of psychology at the Moscow State University, a full member of the Academy of Pedagogical Sciences in 1947, and director of the Laboratory of Experimental Psychology and Restoration of Higher Cortical Functions, U.S.S.R. Academy of Medical Sciences, Moscow. He was one of the founders of neuropsychology. The most frequently translated Soviet psychologist, Luria was familiar to psychologists the world over having acted as the program chairman of the 18th International Congress of Psychology, held in Moscow in 1966. He had wide professional interests which included brain mechanisms of mental operations (neuropsychology), with special reference to disturbances associated with brain lesions, the role of speech in mental development and control of child behavior, and mental retardation. He was a prolific writer and his books include *Sovremennaya psikhologiya v yego osnovnykh napravleniyakh* ("Basic Trends in Modern Psychology," 1928); *Rech i intellekt derevenskogo, gorodskogo i besprizornogo rebyonka* ("Speech and Intellect of Country, City, and Homeless Children," 1930); *The Nature of Human Conflicts …* (1932); *Rech i razvitiye psikhicheskikh protsessov u rebyonka* (with F. Ya. Yudovich, 1956; *Speech and the Development of Mental Processes in the Child*, 1959); *The Mentally Retarded Child* (ed. and coauthor, 1961); *Higher Cortical Functions in Man* (1966); and *The Mind of a Mnemonist* (1968). Luria was a foreign member of the American National Academy and a member of many foreign research institutes in America and Europe.

[Josef Brozek]

LURIA, DAVID BEN JACOB AARON (1800–1873), educationalist; a pioneer of Haskalah in Russia. He was born in Minsk into a wealthy family. Influenced by the program of Max *Lilienthal, Luria concentrated on reform of the educational system of the community of Minsk. In 1843 he transferred the *talmud torah* of Minsk to new premises, provided its pupils with clothing, introduced European methods of study and order into the institution, engaged new teachers, and added secular studies and the Russian language to the traditional curriculum. The success of the institution encouraged the establishment in 1845 of a school for the children of "house owners" under the name of "Midrash Ezraḥim" ("School for Citizens") which was attended by about 100 children. At the end of 1846 the Russian authorities, who were about to open a government school for Jews of the town, closed Luria's educational institutions. He continued to spread the ideas of the Haskalah in Minsk, and his house was regarded by Orthodox circles as a "meeting place for heretics." He contributed to the periodicals *Ha-Maggid* and *Kokhavim* and published a collection of commentaries to verses of the Bible, and other essays, in the spirit of the Haskalah, *Omer ba-Sadeh* (Vilna, 1853).

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[Yehdua Slutsky]

LURIA, DAVID BEN JUDAH (1798–1855), Lithuanian rabbi and scholar. Luria was born in Bykhow, Mogilev region. He studied under Saul *Katzenellenbogen in Vilna, but in 1815 returned to his native town, where he remained for the rest of his life and where he founded a yeshivah. A false accusation that grew out of a family quarrel in Bykhow, supported by letters forged in his name attacking the czarist government, led to his imprisonment in the fortress of Schluesselburg, from which he was released when the forgeries came to light (1837/38). Luria was active in communal affairs and together with Isaac *Volozhyner met with Sir Moses *Montefiore when the latter visited Vilna in 1846 to investigate the condition of the Jews in Russia. Luria corresponded with I.B. *Levinsohn, encouraging the translation of his book, *Zerubavel*, as a useful weapon against the calumnious attacks on the Talmud by antisemites and the *maskilim*. In one of his responsa to the rabbis of Mantua, he vehemently attacked the reformists for their attempts to delete from the liturgy the prayers for the coming of the Messiah and the future redemption (Responsa, Ra-Dal (1898) 21c–d).

Luria was regarded as one of the Torah leaders of his generation, particularly after the death of his spiritual mentor, *Elijah b. Solomon (Gaon of Vilna). His literary works embrace almost all the books of the Oral Law. They are chiefly textual glosses, notes, source references, and expositions of the sayings of the talmudic scholars, reflecting extraordinary knowledge of Torah together with a feeling for scientific criticism and an understanding of the plain meaning reminiscent of the methods followed by the Gaon of Vilna.

Of his works the following are particularly worthy of note: his commentary to the Mishnah (Vilna, 1886–90); his notes to most of the Talmud, and his glosses to the *Midrash Rabbah*, which were published in the large Vilna (Romm) editions; his commentaries to the *Midrash Samuel Rabbati* (1852); to the *Pesikta Rabbati de Rav Kahana* (1893); to the *Pirkei de-Rabbi Eliezer* (1852) with an extensive and detailed introduction; *Kokhevei-Or* (1877), notes to *Sefer Yuḥasin* and to *Seder ha-Dorot; Kadmut Sefer ha-Zohar* (1856), notes to the Zohar, aimed at proving that its author was indeed Simeon b. Yoḥai; notes to the *She'iltot* of *Aḥai Gaon (1861); *Nefesh David* (appended to the *Yahal Or* (1882) of the Vilna Gaon), expositions of the Zohar and the *Zohar Ḥadash*; a commentary on the Book of Esther (1887); and several responsa (1898). Luria also arranged for the publication of several works of the Vilna Gaon, adding to them his own notes: *To'elet Eliyahu* (1856) on the *aggadot* to *Bava Kamma*, the glosses of the Gaon on the Jerusalem Talmud; order of *Zera'im*, and Luria's own glosses on the order *Mo'ed* (1858). He also wrote notes on *Aliyyot Eliyahu* (1882), Joshua H. *Lewin's book on the Gaon.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: S. Luria, in: D. Luria, *Kadmut Sefer ha-Zohar* (1887^{2}; repr. 1951), 2–16; I.B. Levinsohn, *Be'er Yizḥak* (1899), 163–5; Ḥ.N. Maggid-Steinschneider, *Ir Vilna* (1900), 157–9; S. Ginsburg, *Ketavim Historiyyim* (1944), 28–39.

LURIA, ISAAC BEN SOLOMON (1534–1572), kabbalist, referred to as Ha-Ari (האר״י; "the [sacred] lion"" from the initials of האלוהי רבי יצחק; *Ha-Elohi Rabbi Yizḥak*, "the divine Rabbi"). This cognomen was in use by the end of the 16th century, apparently at first in kabbalistic circles in Italy, but Luria's contemporaries in *Safed refer to him as R. Isaac Ashkenazi (הריא״ש), R. Isaac Ashkenazi Luria (הריא״ל), also as De Luria. His father, a member of the Ashkenazi family of Luria from Germany or Poland, emigrated to *Jerusalem and apparently there married into the Sephardi Frances family. As he died while Isaac was a child, his widow took the boy to *Egypt, where he was brought up in the home of her brother Mordecai Frances, a wealthy tax-farmer. Traditions concerning Luria's youth, his stay in Egypt, and his introduction to *Kabbalah are shrouded in legend, and the true facts are difficult to distinguish. Contradicting the widely accepted belief that he went to Egypt at the age of seven is his own testimony recalling a kabbalistic tradition which he learned in Jerusalem from a Polish kabbalist, Kalonymus (see *Sha'ar he-Pesukim*, para. *Be-Ha'alotekha*).

In Egypt, Luria studied under *David b. Solomon ibn Abi Zimra and his successor, Bezalel *Ashkenazi. Luria collaborated with the latter in writing halakhic works such as the *Shitah Mekubbeẓet* on tractate *Zevaḥim*, which according to Ḥayyim Joseph David *Azulai was burned in Izmir in 1735. Their annotations of some of Isaac *Alfasi's works were printed in *Tummat Yesharim* (Venice, 1622). M. Benayahu has conjectured that commentaries on passages in tractate *Ḥullin* and other talmudic tractates, extant in a manuscript written in Egypt not later than 1655 in the academy of a *ḥakham* named Mohariel, derive from notes made by pupils of Luria's yeshivah in Egypt. However, this is doubtful since the manuscript mentions *Sefer Pesakim*, a collection of halakhic decisions by the same author, and there is no evidence to indicate that Luria was the author of such a book, certainly not before he was 20 years old. It is certain, however, that Luria was familiar with rabbinical literature and was believed to be outstanding in the non-mystical study of the law. As well as religious study, he also engaged in commerce while in Egypt, as attested by documents in the Cairo *Genizah*. A document relating to his business in pepper dating from 1559 had been published by E.J. Worman (REJ, 57 (1909), 281–2), and a second, relating to grain, by S. Assaf (*Mekorot u-Meḥkarim* (1946), 204). Assaf connects this with Luria's sojourn in Safed, but there is no doubt that it was written in Egypt. The entire document is in Luria's handwriting, the only extant specimen to date. This material supports the evidence of Jedidiah Galante (in Leon Modena's *Sefer Ari Nohem*, ed. by S. Rosenthal; Leipzig, 1840) that, like many of the Safed scholars, Luria conducted business in the town; three days before his death he made up his accounts with his customers. Many of the scholars of Safed similarly engaged in business activities.

While still in Egypt, Luria began his esoteric studies and retired to a life of seclusion on the island Jazīrat al-Rawḍa on the Nile near Cairo. This island was owned by his uncle, who in the meantime had become his father-in-law. It is far from clear whether this retirement, which is reported to have lasted for seven years, took place in his youth at the beginning of the 1550s or when he was older. Legend antedates it considerably. In 1558, Luria endorsed a halakhic decision jointly with Bezalel Ashkenazi and Simeon Castellazzo. In his mystic study, he concentrated on the *Zohar and works of the earlier kabbalists, and, of the works of his contemporaries, made a particular study of Moses *Cordovero. According to evidence dating from the end of the 16th century, it was during this initial period of kabbalistic study that he wrote his single work, a commentary on the *Sifra di-Ẓeni'uta* ("Book of Concealment"), a short but important section of the Zohar (published in Vital's *Sha'ar Ma'amrei Rashbi*). The book gives no hint of the original kabbalistic system that Luria expounded at the end of his life and shows some influence of Cordovero. In Egypt he met Samuel ibn Fodeila, a kabbalist, to whom Luria wrote a lengthy letter on kabbalistic topics. Here he refers to his own book and asks him to examine it in his brother's house, evidently in Egypt. Luria may have made a pilgrimage to Meron before going to settle in Safed, since there are references to his presence at the *Lag ba-Omer festival in Meron. In 1569, or perhaps at the beginning of 1570, he settled in Safed with his family and studied Kabbalah with Cordovero for a short time. Some of his glosses on passages of the Zohar were evidently written while Cordovero was still alive and some after his death, since Luria refers to him both as "our teacher whose light may be prolonged" and "my late teacher." On the other hand, he had already begun to impart his original kabbalistic system to a number of disciples in Safed, among them distinguished scholars. After Cordovero's death at the end of 1570, Ḥayyim *Vital drew particularly close to Luria, becoming his principal and most celebrated disciple.

Luria may have gathered around him in Safed an academy whose members engaged in exoteric and esoteric studies. The names of some 30 of his disciples are known. Vital confirms (in the manuscript on practical Kabbalah, holograph in the Musajoff collection, Jerusalem) that a week before his preceptor died they had been studying the tractate *Yevamot*.

He also gives some information about Luria's system of study in the non-mystical parts of the law. Luria occasionally delivered homilies in the Ashkenazi synagogue in Safed, but generally refrained from religious teaching in public. On the other hand, he often took long walks with his closest disciples in the neighborhood of Safed pointing out to them the graves of saintly personages not hitherto known, which he discovered through his spiritual intuition and revelations. At this period, he had already become famous as a man who possessed the "holy spirit" or received the "revelations of Elijah." He taught his disciples orally, instructing them both in his original system of theoretical Kabbalah, and also in the way to communion with the souls of the righteous (*ẓaddikim*). This was accomplished by "unification" of the *Sefirot* and exercises in concentration on certain of the divine names and their combinations, and especially by means of *kavvanah*, i.e., mystical reflection or meditations in the act of prayer and the fulfillment of religious precepts. He himself wrote down little of his teaching, apart from an attempt to provide a detailed commentary on the first pages of the Zohar and glosses on isolated passages. These were collected from his autography by Vital and assembled in a special book, of which a number of handwritten copies are extant.

Luria acknowledges his inability to present his teachings in written form since the overflow of his ideas did not lend itself to systematization. Nor did he select the various subjects for study in his doctrine in a logical sequence but at random. He guarded the secret of his system and did not permit its propagation during his lifetime, therefore becoming celebrated at first mainly for his conduct and saintly qualities. Some who applied to study under him were rejected, including Moses *Alshekh. His relations with the scholars of Safed were friendly; a halakhic consultation addressed by him to Joseph *Caro appears in the responsa titled *Avkat Rokhel* (no. 136). Luria undoubtedly regarded himself as an innovator, preeminent among contemporary kabbalists. Certain allusions made to his disciples suggest that he believed himself to be "the Messiah, the son of Joseph," destined to die in the fulfillment of his mission. The period of his activity in Safed was brief, for he died in an epidemic on July 15, 1572. His grave in Safed was and remains a place of pilgrimage for successive generations.

Both in enthusiastic descriptions by his disciples and their pupils, written in the decade after his death, and in their careful preservation and collection of his teachings and faithful rendering of his personal traits, Luria's striking personality is attested. The relevant details are scattered in the writings of his disciples, particularly those of Vital. Some have been assembled in book form, such as the *Shulḥan Arukh shel R. Yiẓḥak Luria*, compiled from the writings of Jacob Ẓemaḥ and published a number of times (first in Poland, 1660–70), the *Orḥot Ẓaddikim*, on the precepts of Luria from the writings of Vital (vol. 2, Salonika, 1770), and in *Patora de Abba* (Jerusalem, 1905). In addition, a wealth of legend accumulated around his personality, with historical recollection and authentic fact being mingled with visionary pronouncements and anecdotes of other holy men. Such mythical elements already appear in works written 20 years after Luria's death, such as the *Sefer Ḥaredim* of Eliezer *Azikri, *Sefer Reshit Ḥokhmah* by Elijah de *Vidas, and the books of Abraham *Galante. The legend is crystallized in two important documents, whose sequence of publication is a matter of controversy. One is the collection of three letters written in Safed between 1602 and 1609 by Solomon (Shlomel) Dresnitz, an immigrant from Moravia, to his friend in Cracow. The letters were first published in 1629 in *Ta'alumot Ḥokhmah* by Joseph Solomon *Delmedigo, and circulated from the end of the 18th century under the title *Shivḥei ha-Ari* ("The Tributes of Ha-Ari"). The second document, *Toledot ha-Ari ("Biography of Ha-Ari"), appears in numerous manuscripts from the 17th century; one version is published under the title *Ma'asei Nissim* ("Miracles"), although inside it is called *Shivḥei ha-Ari*; it appeared at the beginning of *Sefer ha-Kavannot* (Constantinople, 1720). This version of the legend was generally regarded as the later one, based on the Safed letters. However, M. Benayahu has published a complete edition of this recension (1967) and argued that it served as the basis for the source of Dresnitz' letters. Benayahu considers that the book was compiled between 1590 and 1600 by one of the scholars of Safed, and its various recensions circulated widely in the Orient and Italy. This, the first kabbalistic hagiography, compounds fact and imagination in its biographical account of the life of the saintly man.

There is no doubt that the legend of the Ari was widespread and circulated earlier than the written sources treating his kabbalistic teaching. These compositions form an extensive literature. Although frequently described by kabbalists as *Kitvei ha-Ari*, "the writings of Luria," they are in fact the works of his disciples and their own disciples, edited and sometimes condensed. While most remained in manuscript, a few were published between 1572 and 1650. Moved by mystical inspiration, Luria expounded his ideas with many variants. His hearers seem to have noted down some of his teachings during his lifetime but mainly transmitted them from memory after his death, frequently superimposing their own interpretation. The conventicle of Luria's disciples included some important kabbalists who rated themselves highly and considered themselves faithful recorders of their master's doctrine. Personal friction and rivalry were not unknown. In the annals of the Kabbalah Ḥayyim Vital has won the laurels as Luria's chief disciple; the works of his associates and rivals have been passed over or erroneously attributed to Vital himself, in which case they acquired the reputation of authoritative sources of Luria's teachings. In fact, a number of variants of these are extant which, in the main, are not interdependent but represent independent traditions recorded by his disciples, including one which must be considered spurious. There are four such principal traditions:

(1) That of Moses *Jonah of Safed, crystallized in *Sefer Kanfei Yonah*. The complete authentic text is extant in numerous manuscripts, particularly in Ms. Sasson 993, copied by the

author himself in Constantinople in 1582. A defective edition was compiled by Menahem Azariah *Fano in Mantua (first printed in Korzec, 1786). This is an important source for the study of Lurianic Kabbalah, and as yet no satisfactory evaluation of it has been attempted. The author has omitted some of Luria's teachings, such as the doctrine of *ẓimẓum* ("withdrawal"), although, compared with Vital's rendering, his exposition of other teachings of Luria excels in clarity.

(2) That of *Joseph ibn Tabul who, after Luria's death, taught Lurianic Kabbalah to several pupils, among them Samson Bacchi, an Italian kabbalist. Ibn Tabul compiled a systematic exposition of Lurianic Kabbalah divided into *derushim* ("homilies"), with a number of supplements. The homilies are extant in manuscript and for a long time were attributed to Vital under the title *Derush Ḥefẓi-Bah* and were also published in his name (1921, at the beginning of *Simḥat Kohen* by Masʿūd ha-Kohen al-Ḥaddād). This text is most important for the version of the doctrine of *ẓimẓum* that it includes, parts of which were omitted by Vital.

(3) That of Ḥayyim Vital. In contrast to the comparatively limited scope of the preceding disciples, Vital rendered his preceptor's teachings in detail. He augments the words which he specifically quotes as Luria's or propounded according to what he heard, with numerous additions of his own. He also wrote his first versions immediately after Luria's death, although he confirms that certain expositions were only very briefly noted after he had heard them. Luria's teachings, in a book which he calls *Eẓ Ḥayyim* ("The Tree of Life"), were mainly written approximately between 1573 and 1576. However, he sometimes added a different version of the chapters, so that occasionally four variants on the same theme are found. The existence of these differing recensions has introduced considerable confusion into Vital's writings. The original sequence in *Eẓ Ḥayyim* falls into eight parts (called "Gates"): (a) all material in Luria's hand collected by Vital; (b) *Sha'ar ha-Derushim*, a systematic presentation of Luria's theosophical doctrine; (c) *Sha'ar ha-Pesukim*, explanations of biblical passages, arranged in a sequence that follows the Bible; (d) *Sha'ar ha-Gilgulim*, the mystical doctrine of metempsychosis, *gilgul*, and its source; (e) *Sha'ar ha-Kavannot*, on the mystical intentions and meditations required for prayer *(kavvanot ha-tefillah)*; (f) *Sha'ar ha-Mitzvot*, the reasons for the religious precepts; (g) the doctrine of amends for sins (*tikkunei avonot*); (h) instructions for mystical "unifications" (*yiḥudim*), which Luria transmitted to each disciple individually. This version of *Eẓ Ḥayyim* remains in manuscript. Using it, Ḥayyim Vital's son, Samuel *Vital, compiled eight further "gates" in which Luria's own literary heritage is distributed according to its contents. These are (a) *Sha'ar ha-Hakdamot*; (b) *Sha'ar Ma'amarei ashbi*; (c) *Sha'ar Ma'amarei Razal*; (d) *Sha'ar ha-Pesukim*; (e) *Sha'ar ha-Mitzvot*; (f) *Sha'ar ha-Kavannot*; (g) *Sha'ar Ru'aḥ ha-Kodesh*; (h) *Sha'ar ha-Gilgulim*. The first edition of this compilation, *Shemonah She'arim*, was published, without the title *Eẓ Ḥayyim*, in the above sequence in Jerusalem (1850–98; new ed. 1960–63). Many kabbalists, in particular among the Sephardim, recognized this version only as authoritative and rejected the rest of Luria's writings, including books which were assembled from Vital's own later recensions. Since "the eight gates" remained in the home of Vital and his son, and were only rarely copied by others before 1650, kabbalists wishing to study Lurianic Kabbalah used other recensions of Vital's books and eclectic anthologies of Lurianic kabbalism which circulated from 1586. Several of these, which were compiled in Safed itself, are extant (such as Schocken Ms. 97 of 1586 in Jerusalem), in the handwriting of Moses Jonah, and the manuscript of 1588 (Enelow collection 683, in the Jewish Theological Seminary, New York). Copies of Vital's writings that had remained in Jerusalem, where he stayed for several years in the 1590s, were also in circulation from the middle of the 17th century, and various collections have been compiled from them: *Sefer ha-Derushim, Sefer ha-Kavvanot*, and *Sefer ha-Likkutim*. It was not until the end of the 17th century that a comprehensive edition of Vital's writings relating to Luria's Kabbalah was made. This was compiled in Jerusalem by Meir *Poppers of Cracow with a few additions from Luria's other associates. Poppers divided his edition into *Derekh Eẓ Ḥayyim, Peri Eẓ Ḥayyim*, and *Nof Eẓ Ḥayyim*, which in fact includes all the subjects covered in the *Shemonah She'arim*. It was in this recension that Vital's writings became widely disseminated, especially in Europe, and became familiar long before the bulk of them were first published in Korzec in 1784. The printed book thereafter titled *Eẓ Ḥayyim* is actually the *Derekh Eẓ Ḥayyim* of Popper's recension. A number of books stemming from traditions compiled by Vital have been published in his name, such as *Mevo She'arim*, an introductory section (Korzec, 1784); *Oẓerot Ḥayyim* (*ibid.*, 1783); and *Arba Me'ot Shekel Kesef* (*ibid.*, 1804), part of which is indubitably a forgery.

(4) Superimposed on the tangled web of the three preceding traditions and their mutually interfused forms is a fourth deriving from the works of Israel *Sarug (Saruk), who propagated Lurianic Kabbalah in Italy and several other European countries after 1590. He is actually the author of *Sefer Limmudei Aẓilut* ("Doctrines on Emanation"), published in Vital's name (Munkacs, 1897), which contains an entirely different interpretation of the doctrine of *ẓimẓum* and the origin of divine emanation. Since Sarug was the first to spread this teaching in Italy, his version was accepted in wider circles, although there is no doubt that he added original speculations of his own to it. Sarug was not one of Luria's disciples in Safed but based his reconstruction on those works of Luria's principal disciples that reached him. He may have known Luria personally in Egypt, since there are grounds for assuming that he was born there, and his signature is appended to a kabbalistic manuscript written in Egypt in 1565 (British Museum, Almanzi 29) for Isaac Sarug (his father?). The innovations in his version in particular made a considerable impression, and for a long time it was the one accepted as authoritative, furnishing the basis for most of the earlier works on Lurianic Kabbalah; for example the *Ta'alumot Ḥokhmah* and *Novellot*

Ḥokhmah of Joseph Solomon Delmedigo (Basle, 1629–31), the *Emek ha-Melekh* of Naphtali *Bacharach (Amsterdam, 1648), and *Ma'ayan ha-Ḥokhmah (ibid.*, 1652) – which is in fact *Sefer Hatḥalot ha-Ḥokhmah*, a treatise originating in Sarug's circle. Lurianic Kabbalah, therefore, won adherents in the 17th century through the propagation of a version far removed from his original teaching. The inconsistencies in the different versions and the contradictions in Vital's own renderings gave rise to an exegetic literature which flourished particularly among the kabbalists in Italy, North Africa, and Turkey. Throughout these metamorphoses, however, the Lurianic system remained the crucial factor for the development of later Kabbalah. Apart from these variants, there are also a number of treatises and essays extant in manuscript, written by other disciples of Luria, such as Joseph *Arzin, Judah Mish'an, *Gedaliah ha-Levi, and Moses *Najara.

Before Luria's theoretical teachings became known, he won fame as a poet. A number of his liturgical hymns, only a few with mystical content, were published in the collection *Yefeh Nof* (Venice, 1575–80). Best known of his mystical poems are three hymns for Sabbath meals which have been included in most prayer books. Written in the language of the Zohar they describe, in kabbalistic symbolism, the meaning of the Sabbath and the special relationship between man and the world above on this day. Also published in Venice in 1595 were his *Tikkunei Teshuvah*, "penitence rituals" (titled *Marpe le-Nefesh*), and in 1620 his *Sefer ha-Kavvanot*, an anthology of mystical meditations on prayers and rules for behavior. There is a characteristic contradiction between Luria's theoretical Kabbalah, with its numerous bold innovations in theosophical doctrine and the concept of creation which changed the face of Kabbalah (see *ẓimẓum*; *Kabbalah), and his marked tendency to extreme conservatism when interpreting Jewish ritual customs and folkways. He upheld all the traditional usages, reading a mystical significance into them. He taught that each of the tribes of Israel could be regarded as having its own special entrance to heaven, which had resulted in differences in custom and liturgy, so that no particular usage could be considered superior to others. However, Luria did prefer the Sephardi liturgy, and the mystical meditations on prayer in which he instructed his disciples were based on Sephardi ritual. This was why only the Ashkenazi kabbalists and Ḥasidim accepted the Sephardi liturgy in prayer, as they adopted many of his other observances.

Luria himself attempted to clarify his position in relation to the Kabbalah of Moses Cordovero, and the question has occupied a number of other kabbalists. Answering inquiries on the difference between the two kabbalists, he replied that Cordovero treated of *olam ha-tohu*, "the world of confusion," while his own teaching dealt with *olam ha-tikkun*, "the world of restitution," – i.e., each was concerned with entirely different planes and states of being in the spiritual realm of emanation, and so Cordovero's province did not impinge on that of Luria. Most kabbalists refrained from attempting to mix or combine the two kabbalistic systems. Vital, too, who at first was Cordovero's disciple, wrote that he paved "the plain way [*derekh ha-peshat*] for beginners in his wisdom" while Luria traced the "inner, most important path" (stated in a dream in 1573 recorded in Vital's *Sefer ha-Ḥezyonot*). In reply to Vital's question (according to testimony in "*Sha'ar Ru'aḥ ha-Kodesh*") as to why he had penetrated more deeply into the mysteries than Cordovero, Luria said that this did not come about through reliance on divine revelation or similar phenomena but because "he took greater pains than the rest of his contemporaries."

The entire structure of Lurianic Kabbalah is permeated with messianic tension. The introduction of the eschatological element into his basic concept of Kabbalah fundamentally changed later thinking. This element is implicit in his doctrine of *Tikkun*, restitution or restoration of the inner and outer cosmos. In no small measure it prepared the ground for the messianic ferment of the Shabbatean movement (see Shabbetai *Ẓevi). The deeds of man are invested with mystical significance, not only because they are linked with the secret workings of creation, but also because they are integrated into a vast cosmological drama which is enacted in order to rectify the original blemish in the world and to restore everything to its proper place. It is not the role of the Messiah to accomplish the *redemption; the task of cosmological restitution is imposed on the entire Jewish people through strict observance of the precepts and prayer. When this spiritual restitution has been effected the Messiah's appearance is inevitable, for it signifies the consummation of the cosmic process. The primary concepts of Lurianic Kabbalah provide an explanation for the existence of evil and impurity in the world and relate at every stage to the Jewish national and messianic mission.

There is no justification for the theory, widely held by modern historians, that the principles Luria introduced are based on the traditions and ethical doctrine of the *Ḥasidei Ashkenaz. Nor should Lurianic Kabbalah be viewed as the epitome of "practical" Kabbalah in contrast to "theoretical," or speculative, Kabbalah. The theoretical and practical aspects are blended in every kabbalistic system, particularly in that practiced by the scholars of Safed. Luria's originality does not lie in his stress on the practical aspects of man's adhesion to his Creator, or on the performance of good deeds, but in his pioneer conception of the theoretical aspect of Kabbalah.

[Gershom Scholem]

The vast kabbalistic literature belonging to Lurianism has attracted the attention of many scholars over the last generation and their findings have contributed to substantial revisions of the scholarship on this kabbalistic school. Here only the main developments can be addressed. The first comprehensive surveys of the manuscripts were done by Avivi, Meroz, and Kallus, who offered different criteria for establishing the sequence of Luria's writings and their different versions, and the evolution of his thought. Detailed analyses of writings belonging to a major Lurianic school, that of R. Israel Sarug, are found in the studies of Meroz, who questioned the dominant view of the relationship between Luria and Sarug, claiming that the latter was an early – rather than a later – student of the former. Especially important are studies on material printed from other disciples of Luria such as ibn Tabul and Penzieri (see Meroz and Rubin). According to Meroz's analyses, the interactive situation involved in the relations between Luria and his disciples should be taken into consideration as a formative factor in the emergence of his teachings.

The scholarly understanding of the phenomenological structure of Lurianism has undergone substantial changes. The variety of tendencies found in the writings of the students is understood as not reflecting a unified position, which is sometimes found on the "esoteric" level. The concept of a significant change in Luria's thought, and divergences between his disciples, is dominant in more recent scholarship. Likewise, the importance of earlier concepts of Lurianic innovations, has been placed in relief, especially with regard to the concept of *Parẓufim*, *Ẓimẓum*, or *Adam Kadmon* (Huss, Idel, Liebes, Sack), and in more general terms the importance of the writings of Cordovero, who was Luria's teacher, emerges as substantial; the deep gap between the two assumed as axiomatic in earlier scholarship has been emphasized, especially in Sack. New elements in Luria's thought have been put in relief, attenuating the centrality of the axis of exile-redemption: the personality of Luria (Liebes), his visions of theurgy (Kallus), greater psychological understanding of Lurianic concepts (Liebes, Pachter), the revelationary aspects (Fine, Kallus), or his hermeneutics (Liebes, Maggid). Many of those developments were published in an important collection of articles on Lurianism edited by Rachel Elior and Yehuda Liebes, *Lurianic Kabbalah* (Heb., 1992) and in the major monograph on Luria by L. Fine.

The dissemination of Luria's writings in the decades following the death of his main followers has been discussed in Avivi, Gries, and Idel, whose findings qualified the former assumption of a wide acceptance of his views. The tension between Lurianism and Cordovero's in 17th-century thought, showing that the latter's thought did not disappear from the speculative horizons of important Kabbalists, has been analyzed by I. Tishby.

For a generation, through to 2005, a series of new editions of many of the major Lurianic treatises has been printed, as has previously unpublished material from manuscripts, and some material has been translated into English. Likewise, the impact of Luria's thought on European thought has been highlighted in studies of Allison Coudert. (See also *Vital.)

[Moshe Idel (2nd ed.)]

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LURIA, JEHIEL BEN ISRAEL ASHKENAZI (16th–17th century), kabbalist; scholar of *Safed and its emissary to Western Europe. It may be assumed that Luria was a relation of Isaac Ashkenazi *Luria (Ha-Ari). In 1599 he was in Worms and in 1601 in *Venice, apparently on his return journey to Ereẓ Israel. That year he published three works in Venice: *Heikhal ha-Shem* containing early Kabbalah fragments on the ten *Sefirot*, with an appendix of several sayings in the name of Isaac Luria and two *piyyutim* (the *Bar Yoḥai piyyut* and "an elegy on the desolation of the Temple to be said in the early morning vigil"); *Asis Rimmonim*, an abridgment of the *Pardes Rimmonim* of Moses Cordovero; and *Ḥaredim* of Eleazar *Azikri, the first edition from the manuscript. He returned to Ereẓ Israel from this mission and in 1604 was again sent out by the Safed community, on this occasion together with Solomon ibn Ẓur, to the countries of North Africa. Several letters about the mission are extant that were written from Safed to philanthropists in Algeria, and in these the conditions of the Jews of Safed at that time are described. A responsum by Luria on kabbalistic topics is cited by Abraham *Galante (in *Kol Bokhim* on Lam. 1:6).

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[Avraham Yaari]

LURIA, NOAH (**Lurye, Noyekh**; 1886–1960), Soviet Yiddish poet, essayist, editor, translator, and pedagogue. Born in Blashne, Belorussia, Luria joined the *Bund in 1905, was imprisoned in 1907–8, and joined the Russian army in 1917 after the February Revolution. From 1918 he was an official of the *Yidishe Kultur Lige* in Kiev and was active in reforming Jewish education there. He began to write in his early twenties, first in Hebrew and later in Yiddish, writing for children and translating European children's classics into Yiddish. From 1930 he mainly wrote realistic tales of Soviet Jewish life. His last Yiddish work to appear in his lifetime was a review in *Heymland*, 6 (July–August 1948), while a Russian translation of one of his works appeared in 1957. He died in Moscow, reportedly leaving behind many unpublished critical studies. His story "Oys Khaver" ("No Longer Friends") was reprinted in the first issue of *Sovetish Heymland* (1962).

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[Leonard Prager]

LURIA, SALVADOR EDWARD (1912–1991), U.S. biologist and Nobel Prize winner. Born in Turin, Luria studied medicine at the university there working under Giuseppe *Levi, and from 1938 to 1940 did research at the Institute of Radium in Paris. After the fall of France in 1940, Luria immigrated to the U.S., where he taught at Columbia (1940–42), Indiana University (1943–50), and the University of Illinois (1950–59), before becoming a professor of microbiology at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology in 1959. In 1964 he was appointed professor of biology at MIT. He was an associate editor of the *Journal of Bacteriology* (1950–55), editor of *Virology* from 1955, and published *General Virology* (1953–67^2). Luria was one of the pioneers of microbial genetics. In 1943, with Max Delbrueck, he showed that the appearance of bacteriophage-resistant strains of bacteria was the result of spontaneous mutations. The reasoning and design of this classic experiment became a model for subsequent research in vital and bacterial genetics. He dealt with lysogeny (the attachment of viral DNA to the bacterial chromosome), transduction (the transfer of genetic material from one bacterium to another by a virus), and the control of phage properties by the bacterial host. Luria's later experiments, employing novel techniques, extended the principles of genetics to viruses and bacteria and formed an essential part of the foundation of the new science of molecular biology. In 1969 Luria was a corecipient (with Max Delbrueck and Alfred Hershey) of the Nobel Prize for physiology and medicine.

[Mordecai L. Gabriel]

Luria's open stance as a member of the peace movement may explain his appearing on a federal blacklist of 48 scientists drawn up by the National Institutes of Health in 1969. A critic of both American involvement in Vietnam and the Israeli invasion of Lebanon, he was also an opponent of what he regarded as insufficient safeguards on nuclear power, and in 1976 he and other scientists called for an end to the building of new atomic power plants.

Luria founded the MIT Center for Cancer Research, and was director of the center from 1972 to 1985. In 1974 he won a National Book Award for *Life: The Unfinished Experiment*, a non-academic work. He officially retired from MIT in 1978, but remained active there. From 1984 he served as senior scientist for the biotechnology company, the Repligen Corporation.

[Rohan Saxena (2nd ed.)]

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LURIA, SOLOMON BEN JEHIEL (1510?–1574), *posek* and talmudic commentator (known as **Rashal** or **Maharshal** = **M**orenu **ha**-**R**av **S**helomo **L**uria). Few biographical details are known of him. He was probably born in Poznan (Poland). His family was related to many of the important families of the time, including *Katzenellenbogen and *Minz of Padua. Luria was orphaned in his youth. He was educated by his maternal grandfather, Isaac Klober, a well-known scholar, and Luria took pride in the fact that he received most of his learning and traditions from him. Since his grandfather was his only teacher, Luria was primarily a self-taught scholar. This explains in part his sharp criticism of other sages and his unusual independence of thought. When 40 years old, he was appointed rabbi and *rosh yeshivah* of Ostrog. About 20 years later he moved to Brisk (Brest-Litovsk) where he may also have been rabbi before he went to Ostrog, and then to Lublin where he served as a *rosh yeshivah*, at first in the yeshivah founded by Shalom Shachna. However, after becoming involved in a quarrel with Israel, the son of Shalom, he left and in 1567 – with the permission of the government – founded his own yeshivah where he was able to teach in accordance with his own system. Although Luria raised many pupils who became rabbis in Poland and Lithuania during his own and the following generation, some left his yeshivah and went to R. Israel. Luria felt this desertion deeply and complained about it in harsh words. Among his outstanding pupils were Mordecai *Jaffe and Joshua *Falk.

Luria was unique for his time in the complete independence he showed in halakhic ruling and in the critical method which he employed. His *magnum opus* was the *Yam shel Shelomo*, a halakhic compendium that follows the order of the Talmud. For Luria, the Talmud was the ultimate source of Jewish law, which explains his decision to write his book as a halakhic commentary on the Talmud. At the same time, Luria felt that all the relevant sources should be used. Thus his legal decisions were based on a comparison of all the vast commentaries and halakhic material – both that compiled before and during his time – with the talmudic sources, showing remarkable profundity while strictly avoiding the *pilpul* and hairsplitting which then dominated the yeshivot of Poland, particularly that of Shalom Shachna. Luria valued Kabbalah to the point of quoting the Zohar and other kabbalistic works in his *Yam shel Shelomo*. However, he never used kabbalistic sources as the final arbiters of the law. Even though Luria meant his work to be of practical use, by tying his discussions to the order of the Talmud it became cumbersome to use. His rulings were accepted by most of his contemporary scholars with whom he was in correspondence and exchanged responsa. However, his extraordinary firmness – as well as his public accusations that many of the rabbis who were stringent in their rulings had their eye on monetary gain and "the benefit it brought them and their scribes" (responsum 21) – roused many opponents against him.

His criticism also included the quality of the printed text of the Talmud of which the first good and complete editions had been published in the preceding generation. His own personal glosses correcting the corrupt text were written into his personal edition of the Talmud. Despite the fact that these were made for his personal use, they were published, first as a separate work in 1581 and later in the margins of the printed Talmud texts. As a result, Luria had great impact on almost every page of the Babylonian Talmud, on its text, on Rashi's commentary, and on the Tosafot.

There is no doubt, as he himself states, that the method of *pilpul* was also used in Luria's yeshivah, but he distinguished between the oral teaching in the yeshivah which was designed to sharpen the minds of the pupils and that whose aim was purely to arrive at the truth, as well as between both these methods and the ability to posit the *halakhah*. His independence in his rulings was tempered with a great reverence for the school of Rashi and the tosafists and the early Franco-German authorities generally, and in particular for their traditions and customs, which he always accepted. In addition he relied heavily in *halakhah* on the decisions of Israel *Isserlein, the author of the *Terumat ha-Deshen* (Venice, 1519), even though he does not refrain at times from taking an independent line from him (responsum 39). Luria's works include an exceptionally wide range of literary sources, from commentaries and halakhic works, from the geonic period down to his own time, of which he had an extensive collection in his rich library – both of published works and manuscripts. In addition to his glosses and textual emendations of the Talmud, he also wrote on the liturgy, Maimonides' *Mishneh Torah*, the *Turim* (see *Jacob b. Asher), the *Semag* (see *Moses b. Jacob of Coucy), Rashi's biblical commentary, and other works. His interest encompassed many fields, including grammar and Kabbalah, to which he was greatly inclined, although he made very little use of it in his halakhic decisions. To philosophy and its study he was greatly opposed, and hard words on this subject passed between him and Moses *Isserles, his younger relative whom Luria held in high esteem despite the bitter dispute which arose between them toward the end of Isserles' life. Joseph *Caro's commentary to the *Turim*, *Beit Yosef*, was published at that time. Luria, though valuing the work for its own sake, was strongly opposed to the *halakhah* being decided in accordance with it since it was not primarily based upon the tosafists and the Franco-German scholars.

Luria seems to ignore the Shulḥan Arukh, although there is no doubt that he knew it.

Only some of Luria's works have been preserved, including the following:

(1) *Yam shel Shelomo* on the Talmud (on *Bava Kamma*; Prague, 1616–18; on *Ḥullin*; Cracow, 1633–35; etc.). It is not certain how comprehensive the original work was, only his comments to a few tractates having been preserved. The book is distinguished for its clarity and for its remarkably detailed, orderly, and erudite presentation of each topic. From it one can clearly follow the manner in which the *halakhah* with which he is dealing developed from the geonic period until his time;

(2) *Ḥokhmat Shelomo* (Cracow, 1582 or 1587), glosses on the text of the Talmud together with short comments. This work was published in most editions of the Talmud in a very abridged – and many times corrupt and meaningless – form, after many of his emendations had already been inserted into the actual text of the Talmud. Ironically, the corrupted text of his glosses was the result of further scribal and typographical error;

(3) *Ammudei Shelomo* (Basle, 1600), expositions of the *Semag*;

(4) *Yeri'ot Shelomo* (Prague, 1609), glosses and expositions of Rashi's Bible commentary and glosses to Elijah *Mizraḥi's supercommentary to it;

(5) *Ateret Shelomo* (Basle, 1599–1600), a commentary on the *Sha'arei Dura* (see *Dueren, Isaac Ben Meir);

(6) Responsa (Lublin, 1574–75). These responsa are exceptionally valuable for the insight they afford into the culture of the Jews of Poland and Lithuania in this period of their efflorescence, and the status and moral standard of the rabbinate of his time. Responsum 29 contains an early historical document on the chronology of the scholars of Germany from the time of *Gershom b. Judah, until the middle of the 14th century;

(7) Luria wrote a commentary to the Grace after Meals (Venice, 1603; Jerusalem, 1982);

(8) Luria also wrote a commentary to the Sabbath *Zemirot* (Lublin, 1596; Brooklyn, 1986) and expositions of scriptural verses;

(9) *Hanhagot Maharshal* (Brooklyn, 1986), Luria's personal customs, printed from manuscript.

His other works include a critique of Abraham Ibn Ezra's Pentateuch commentary; works on Kabbalah, including *Sefer Menorat ha-Zahav* (New York, 2002) and *Perush ha-Ilan* (in *Mesekhet Aẓilut*, Jerusalem, 2000); and other works.

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[Israel Moses Ta-Shma / David Derovan (2nd ed.)]

LURIE, HARRY LAWRENCE (1892–1973), U.S. social worker. Lurie, who was born in Goldingen, Latvia, was taken to the U.S. in 1898. During 1913–14, Lurie was employed as a staff member by the Federation of Jewish Charities in Buffalo, New York. After service with the Detroit Department of Public Welfare (1915–22), he was subsequently employed as faculty member at the University of Michigan (1922–24); superintendent of the Chicago Jewish Social Service Bureau (1925–30); lecturer at the University of Chicago (1926–30) and the New York School of Social Work (1931); executive director of the Bureau of Jewish Social Research (1930–35); and executive director of the Council of Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds (1935–57). In the latter capacities, he was a leader in orienting Jewish social work toward the main currents of the American profession. He became editor of the *Encyclopedia of Social Work* in 1962 and wrote *A Heritage Affirmed* (1961), a history of the federation movement in American Jewish philanthropy.

LURIE, JOSEPH (1871–1937), Zionist leader and Hebrew educator. Born in Pumpenai, Lithuania, Lurie studied at the University of Berlin, where, together with Leo *Motzkin and Shemaryahu *Levin, he established the first Russian Jewish students' group (1889) and joined the *Benei Moshe association. Lurie was a delegate to the First *Zionist Congress. From 1899 to 1904 he edited the Zionist weekly *Der Yud* ("The Jew"), gathering around him the best of the Yiddish writers. He stressed the importance of the Yiddish language as a national heritage in a series of articles in the St. Petersburg daily *Der Fraynd*, the literary supplement of which he edited until 1906. In that year he was elected to the central committee of the Zionist Organization in Russia and became editor of the Zionist organ *Dos Yidishe Folk* ("The Jewish People") in Vilna. In 1907 he went to Ereẓ Israel, joining the staff of the Herzlia High School in Tel Aviv. Lurie was a key figure in the language controversy with the *Hilfsverein der deutschen Juden, which tried to introduce German as a language of instruction. During World War I he was banished by the Turkish authorities. From 1919 he headed the education department of the Zionist Organization, later of the Va'ad Le'ummi (National Council of the Jews in Palestine). An advocate of an understanding with the Arab national movement as vitally important to the Zionist movement, he was a member of *Berit Shalom in its early days. His book, *Ereẓ Yisrael* (1914), is a collection of his articles about life in Ereẓ Israel.

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[Yehuda Slutsky]

LURIE, RANAN RAYMOND (1932–), political cartoonist, editor, lecturer. A member of the renowned Luria family, Lurie was born in Port Said to a family that had been in Jerusalem for six generations. He was educated in Tel Aviv (Herzlia Hebrew Gymnasia) and in Jerusalem (art college) and served as a major (res.) in the IDF paratroops. He worked for Israeli newspapers until invited by *Life* magazine to come to the United States in 1968. There he worked as political cartoonist for *Life, Newsweek*, and *Time*, and his cartoons are syndicated in more than 1,000 publications in 102 countries with a total readership of 104 million. Ten books of his cartoons were published in five languages and he received many awards for his work. He contributed regularly to leading television shows and was editor in chief of *Cartoon News* magazine.

His son Rod was a radio talk show ("The Rod Lurie Show") host in Los Angeles and published *Once Upon a Time in Hollywood.*

LURIE, TED (1909–1974), Israel journalist. Born in New York, Lurie immigrated to Palestine in 1930 and joined the staff of the *Palestine Post* at its outset in 1931. He was news editor from 1937 to 1947 and was Jerusalem correspondent of the London *News Chronicle* (1944–46). From 1948 to 1950 he was acting editor of the *Palestine Post* (later the *Jerusalem Post*) and in 1955 was appointed editor and managing director.

LURIE, ZVI (1906–1968), *Mapam labor leader in Israel. Born in Lodz, Poland, Lurie went to Palestine in 1925 and worked as an agricultural laborer in *Petaḥ Tikvah. In 1925 he joined the *hakhsharah* group of Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir at Ein Gannim and settled with them at kibbutz Ein Shemer in 1927. From 1929 to 1931 he was an emissary for Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir in Poland, and from 1935 to 1937 he was secretary of the world leadership of Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir in Warsaw and editor of its weekly. In the following years he was active on all the central bodies of the movement in Palestine. From 1941 to 1948 Lurie served on the Va'ad Le'ummi and on its executive from 1946 to 1948 as director of the Information Department. In 1948 he joined the Provisional Council of the State of Israel and was a signatory of the Declaration of Independence. Lurie was on the *Jewish Agency Executive in New York from 1948 to 1955 and was a member of the Executive in Jerusalem and head of the Organization Department from 1956. A collection of his speeches entitled *Mi-Devarav* appeared in 1968.

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[Benjamin Jaffe]

°LUSCHAN, FELIX VON (1854–1924), German archaeologist, ethnologist, explorer, and anthropologist. Von Luschan studied at the universities of Vienna and Paris and then joined the Berlin Museum fuer Voelkerkunde, of which he was the director from 1904 until his death. He undertook numerous expeditions to the Balkans, North and South Africa (especially Benin), and New Guinea and Anatolia. In 1881 he began anthropometric work in Lycia in western Asia and for three decades continued to assemble data on the physical evolution of man there. On the basis of his research and studies of the cephalic indices of a large number of Jews, Von Luschan came to the conclusion that the notion of a distinct Jewish race was fallacious. Early in his career he formulated a theory that the Jewish people was racially an amalgam of Semites, Hittites, and Aryan Amorites, a view he later recanted after it was espoused by antisemites like Houston Stewart *Chamberlain.

Von Luschan energetically combated all forms of racism and in his *Voelker, Rassen, Sprachen* (1922), particularly attacked antisemitism. Writing from the anthropological perspective, he rejected the notion of the biological inferiority of any given race and criticized the popular confusion of such distinct, autonomous entities as race, nationality, and culture.

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[Ephraim Fischoff]

LUSTIG, ARNOST (1926–), Czech writer, screenwriter, and journalist. Born in Prague, Lustig was deported to the Theresienstadt concentration camp in 1942 and later to a number of others, including Auschwitz and Buchenwald. At the end of the war he managed to escape from the death train and reach Prague, where he later graduated from the School of Political and Social Sciences. Until 1968 he worked as a journalist at various periodicals (he was a war correspondent in Israel in 1948) and a screenwriter. During the brief period of liberalization in Czechoslovakia in 1967–68, Lustig was elected to the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Writers' Union. After the Soviet invasion in August 1968, he left Czechoslovakia for Israel and Yugoslavia. He ultimately became a professor of the history of literature and film at the American University in Washington.

Lustig's work is based mainly on his tragic experiences in concentration camps and postwar life in his homeland. He made his literary debut with the collection of stories *Night and Hope* (1958) filmed as Z. Brynych's *A Transport from Paradise* (1962), and *Diamonds in the Night* (1958), filmed by J. Němec (1964) – both showing the life of young Jews in the Terezin ghetto. Other short story collections and novels appeared quickly one after the other, such as *The Street of Lost Brothers* (1959); *My Acquaintance Vili Feld* (1961); *First Destination Happiness* (1961); *Night and Day* (1962); *Dita Saxov* (1962, filmed by A. Moskalyk, 1967); *Thou Shalt Not Humiliate Anyone* (1963); *A Prayer for Catherine Horowitz* (1964), which won the Czech State Prize (1966) and was nominated for the American National Book Award (1973); *Waves in the River* (1964); *White Birches in the Autumn* (1966); *The Bitter Scent of Almonds* (1968); *The Lower* (1969), set against the

Arab-Israeli War of 1948; *A Street of the Lost Ones* (1973); and *From the Diary of Seventeen-Year-Old Perla S.* (1979). After the Velvet Revolution in Czechoslovakia and the establishment of the Czech Republic, he published *Darkness Casts No Shadow* (1991); *Colette: A Girl from Antwerp* (1992); *Tanga: A Girl from Hamburg* (1992); *House of the Returned Echo* (1994); and a number of short stories, such as "Friends"; "Chasm"; and "Fire on the Water."

Lustig wrote *Memories, 3 × 18* (2003) and many newspaper articles about the Czech political and cultural scene, including the problems of the Jewish community in the Czech Republic. Much of Lustig's fiction has been translated into several languages. In 2004 he was awarded the Vladislav Vančura Prize. From 2004 Lustig lived in Prague.

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[Avigdor Dagan / Milos Pojar (2nd ed.)]

LUSTIG, MOSES (1906–1976), German journalist. Born in Tarnobrzeg, near Cracow, Lustig worked for the Polish press in Lodz from 1926. From 1933 to 1939 he co-edited a Polish weekly in Nowy-Sacz. After World War II he became the editor of the DP *Express* and was on the editorial board of *Ibergang* and other DP publications in Munich, Germany. In 1951 he founded the weekly *Muenchener Juedische Nachrichten* which he published until his death.

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LUSTIGER, JEAN-MARIE ARON (1926–), French cardinal. Born in Paris to a family of Jewish immigrants from Bendzin (Poland), during his childhood he converted to Roman Catholicism, being baptized on August 21, 1940, in Orléans. His parents were deported by the Nazis and his mother died in Auschwitz (his father survived). Ordained as a priest in 1954, he headed the Paroisse universitaire in Paris, a parish aimed at the student population, and from 1959 to 1969 the Centre Richelieu, which trained the chaplains working with students. In charge of a Parisian parish until 1969, he was then promoted by Pope John Paul II to bishop of Orléans and, in 1981, to archbishop of Paris, the highest position in the French Church, a position that he held until 2005. He was nominated a cardinal already in 1983 and was considered for many years to be a serious candidate for the papal succession. After his nomination as archbishop, he stated that he considered himself both a Jew and a Christian, a position that provoked controversy. With time, nevertheless, he was recognized as one of the outstanding promoters of better understanding and dialogue between the two religions, as when Jewish organizations opposed the establishment of a Carmelite convent at Auschwitz. In 1998, he received the Nostra Aetate Prize of the Sacred Heart University of Fairfield (Connecticut) together with former chief rabbi of France René Samuel Sirat. A member of the Académie française since 1995, he wrote numerous books, including an autobiography, *Le choix de Dieu* (1987).

[Philippe Boukara (2nd ed.)]

°LUTHER, MARTIN (1483–1546), German religious reformer. During the first period of his activity (approximately 1513–23), Luther often condemned the persecution of the Jews and recommended a more tolerant policy toward them, based on the spirit of true Christian brotherhood. Commenting on Psalm 22 (around 1519), he roundly condemned the "Passion preachers [who] do nothing else but exaggerate the Jews' misdeeds against Christ and thus embitter the hearts of the faithful against them." Speaking of the controversy between Johann *Reuchlin and Johann *Pfefferkorn, he strongly disapproved of the confiscation of the Talmud and rabbinic literature. Even in later times he referred to Reuchlin as his predecessor and teacher. Although declaring that it was impossible to expect the conversion of the whole Jewish people, he nevertheless nurtured the belief that, after listening to his teachings, many Jews would acknowledge the truth and accept Christianity.

Luther directly considered the Jewish question first in his pamphlet *Dass Jesus Christus ein geborener Jude sei* ("That Christ Was Born A Jew," 1523). Arguing that the Jews, who were from the same stock as the founder of Christianity, had been right in refusing to accept the "papal paganism" presented to them as Christianity, he added, "If I had been a Jew and had seen such fools and blockheads teach the Christian faith, I should rather have turned into a pig than become a Christian." Partly because of his polemics against the use of images in churches, he himself was branded a "half-Jew" (*semi-Judaeus*) by the church authorities. Perhaps encouraged by his conversion of one of the two Jews who had reportedly visited him at the Diet of Worms (1521), Luther had high hopes for the success of his mission among the Jews. Early missionary attempts had failed "not so much [because of] the Jews' obstinacy and wickedness, as rather [through] the absurd and asinine ignorance and the wicked and shameless life of the popes, priests, monks, and scholars." Pending their seeing the light, the Jews should be treated more considerately and given greater opportunities to gain a livelihood.

At first, Luther's disruptive impact on Roman Catholicism (which the Jews equated with the detested kingdom of *Edom) was welcomed by Jews as a break in the monolithic power of the Church. Others hoped that the turmoil arising in the Christian world through the spread of Lutheranism would lead to toleration of all forms of worship. Moreover they expressed the view that a partial reform of the Church was welcome since it led the Church away from its former evil. There were even some, like Abraham *Farissol, who regarded Luther as a Crypto-Jew, a reformer bent on upholding religious truth and justice, whose anti-idolatrous innovations were directed toward a return to Judaism. Some scholars, particularly of the Sephardi diaspora, such as Joseph ha-Kohen (1496-c. 1575), had strongly pro-Reformation sympathies.

However, although appreciating Luther's apparent kindliness toward them, the Jews resisted his message. Whether through irritation at their refusal to accept his truth or for some other reason, Luther grew increasingly hostile toward the Jews. In 1526 he complained of the Jews' stubbornness in clinging to their traditional interpretation of Scripture. His repeated attacks on usury began to assume an anti-Jewish bias and his successive *Table Talks* of the 1530s contain frequent complaints about "the stiffnecked Jews, ironhearted and stubborn as the devil." The increasing vehemence of his attacks is apparent in his "Letter Against the Sabbatarians," in which he harshly condemns that Protestant sect for adopting Jewish customs. Openly anti-Jewish and couched in Luther's characteristic style of extreme vituperation are two pamphlets written in 1542 and 1543, "On the Jews and Their Lies" and "On the Shem Hamephoras" ("The Ineffable Name"). Repeating the accusations and invective of medieval anti-Jewish polemics and making use of the works of the apostates Antonius *Margaritha and Bernhard Ziegler, he subjects the Jews to a torrent of vile abuse, calling them "venomous and virulent," "thieves and brigands," and "disgusting vermin." Although Luther poured out such violent language on the heads of all his enemies – princes, lawyers, bishops, and especially the pope – in the case of the Jews he also made practical suggestions, ranging from forced labor to outright banishment. As many of the Protestant rulers of the times relied on Luther's political advice, his attitude resulted in the expulsion of the Jews from Saxony in 1543 and the hostile *Judenordnung* of Landgrave Philip of Hesse in the same year. The tenor of his suggestions was equally virulent in his "Admonition against the Jews," a sermon preached in 1546, shortly before his death.

In Germany in particular, Luther's volte-face in his attitude toward the Jews caused bitter disappointment in Jewish circles. After his request to answer Luther's calumnies had been turned down by the authorities of Strasbourg in 1543, *Joseph (Joselman) b. Gershom of Rosheim expressed undisguised hostility to the Reformation, calling Luther "the unclean" (לא טהאר, a word play on his name). Among Reformation thinkers, a certain group (notably the Swiss Heinrich Bullinger and the Nuremberg preacher and Hebraist, Andreas *Osiander) criticized Luther's anti-Jewish stance.

Despite his fight against Judaism, Luther had a deep and abiding love for the Hebrew Bible. Although his Hebrew was weak and his Greek little better, his translation of the Bible into German was one of the most significant in literary history. He accepted the Hebrew language as the only one adequate for the expression of religious truth and sentiment. However, in his translation of and commentaries on the Bible he laid greater stress on intuition and revealed religion than on grammatical or linguistic questions. "I am not a Hebraist with respect to grammar [he said], nor do I wish to be one … I rather translate freely.… Accurate interpretation is a special gift of God." Although he often used, perhaps unwittingly, the interpretations of Rashi and recognized the importance of Moses and David *Kimḥi, on the whole he rejected rabbinic authorities, feeling that not only *Jerome but also *Nicholas de Lyre (on whom he relied heavily) were misled by them.

Inconsistency and violence characterized Luther's utterances in all fields, but perhaps in none with more disastrous consequences than in his statements on the Jews. Due to his vituperative anti-Jewish polemics, the Lutheran Church, unlike that which owed its foundation to John *Calvin, retained all the superstitious abhorrence of the Jews inherited from the medieval Catholic Church. Indeed Luther's attitude was worse, for he recognized no duty to protect the Jews. Throughout the subsequent centuries Luther's ferocious castigation of the Jews provided fuel for antisemites and the vicious force of that legacy was still evident in Nazi propaganda.

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[Joseph Elijah Heller / B. Mordechai Ansbacher]

LUTOMIERSK, a suburb of Lodz, central Poland (formerly a town). Jews first settled in Lutomiersk, which had then an independent municipal status, at the end of the 17th century, and an organized community existed from the 18th century. In 1765, there were 404 Jews living in the town and 41 in eight surrounding villages. Lutomiersk belonged to the Sieradz and Wielun areas, where, according to decisions of the Sejmik (provincial parliament) of 1786, 1787, and 1788, Jews were forbidden to lease inns, taverns, and breweries. At the end of the 18th century four Jews founded a tannery; another Jew, Pinkus Israel, established a cloth factory in 1787, employing 20–30 workers. In 1796 this factory was commissioned by the Prussian government to supply cloth to the army in the province. The wooden synagogue, built in the 18th century by Hillel Benjamin of Lask, burned down during World War I (1915). The Jewish community numbered 657 (53% of the total population) in 1808 and 1,102 (51%) in 1827. Apart from shopkeeping, they were engaged mainly in weaving, tanning, tailoring, and carpentry. In 1857 their number had declined to 999 (46%) because many had moved to Lodz. They numbered 992 (38%) in 1897 and 775 (35%) in 1921 and 750 in 1939. A 1921 report of the *American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee mentioned 58 Jewish enterprises in Lutomiersk, 36 of which employed salaried workers.

[*Encyclopaedia Judaica* (Germany)]

Holocaust Period

When World War II broke out there were about 2,000 Jews living in Lutomiersk. The anti-Jewish terror began with the arrival of the Germans. Jews were kidnapped in the streets for hard and humiliating labor, their beards were cut off, and their property was requisitioned. Just before the occupation and within its first weeks, nearly 1,300 Jews escaped and by October 1939, only 750 Jews remained in Lutomiersk. In the summer of 1940 an open ghetto was created, but a year later it was closed off and no one could leave without a pass. Groups of Jews were daily led out of the ghetto for hard labor. At the end of 1941, the German authorities established a tailor shop for 20 Jewish tailors, which took many orders and provided the Jews with a small income. Lutomiersk ghetto was liquidated at the end of July 1942, when the surviving Jews were deported to the death camp in *Chelmno.

[Danuta Dombrowska]

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°LUTOSTANSKI, HIPPOLYTE (1835–1915), antisemitic agitator of Polish origin, born in Lithuania. Lutostanski was originally a Catholic priest but converted to the Greek Orthodox Church after he had been defrocked on charges of corruption. When Russian society became increasingly antisemitic at the end of the 1870s, he wrote several libelous books, including "The Problem of the Use of Christian Blood for Religious Purposes by Jewish Sects" (1876) and "The Talmud and the Jews" (1879). Scholars and public figures such as D. *Chwolson and Z. *Minor revealed his ignorance and distortions of fact. Lutostanski, who knew no Hebrew, drew the material for his books from the Christian anti-Jewish literature of Western Europe, and enjoyed the protection of prominent members of the court. In 1880 he was denounced as an impostor and forger by Alexander *Zederbaum, the editor of *Ha-Meliẓ*. Lutostanski sued Zederbaum but lost the case. From time to time he attempted to extort money from wealthy Jews by promising to put an end to his anti-Jewish activities, but in fact with the support of the authorities, he continued to bring out new editions of his books. These editions included new material mainly calculated to "prove" the responsibility of the Jews in general, and the Zionist Movement and the *Bund in particular, for the rise of the revolutionary movement in Russia.

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[Yehuda Slutsky]

LUTSK (Pol. **Łuck**), capital of Volhynia district, Ukraine; until the end of the 18th century in Poland; under Russia until the end of World War I; between the two world wars again in Poland; and in 1939 annexed by the U.S.S.R., and included in the Ukrainian SSR. Nazi Germany occupied Lutsk in 1941, and after World War II it became again part of the Soviet Union. In the 13th century a community of *Karaites settled there while the Rabbanite Jews were probably included in the bill of privileges given by the Lithuanian prince Vitovt in 1388. The last are mentioned in 1409 and in the bill of 1432 given by King Vladislav the Jagelonian. They were expelled in 1495 together with the Jews of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, and allowed to return in 1503. In the 15th and 16th centuries many of them leased custom revenues, other taxes, and estates. The importance of Lutsk as a political and economic center grew after the union of Poland and Lithuania in 1569, and Volhynia was included in the kingdom of Poland, and made the town capital of the district (vojevodstvo). The Jews benefited by this new situation, some being engaged in large-scale commerce, some leasing the customs revenue, breweries, and potash production plants, while others traded in forest and *agricultural products. Lutsk Jews participated in the fairs of Lithuania and Poland, and established their own craft guilds. In 1580 the king ordered that the municipal taxes collected from the Jews should not exceed their proportionate share in the general population. He also renewed their right to live in Lutsk, and allowed representatives of the Jewish community to attend the meetings of the city council when it debated the levying of the city taxes. During the *Chmielnicki massacres of 1648–49 both Rabbanites and Karaites suffered heavily, but the community was soon reconstructed. By royal order in 1649 and in 1664 the Jews of Lutsk were permitted to trade freely in shoes; it was again established that they should pay no more than a third of the municipal taxes, this being their proportion of the general population. In the 18th century Lutsk suffered from the *Haidamack uprising, and from a *blood libel in 1764.

The Lutsk community participated in the regional (*galil*) council of *Volhynia, as well as in the *Councils of the Lands. The city was a center of Torah study and had many yeshivot. Among its famous rabbis in the 17th and at the beginning of the 18th centuries were Moses b. Judah ha-Kohen (formerly of Cracow), Jacob Schor, the son of Ephraim Solomon *Schor, and Joel b. Isaac Halpern, known as the Great Rabbi Joel. Part of the fortress built by Prince Witold was rebuilt as a fortified synagogue, with the permission of King Sigismund III. From the gunmounts on the roof, Jews served as gunners during enemy attacks on the city, while underground tunnels led from the synagogue to other key buildings in the city. This building withstood the fires and enemy attacks of centuries. In 1765 there were 1,083 Jews in Lutsk, and under Russian rule during the 19th century the number of Jews in Lutsk was increased to 5,010 in 1847, and to 9,468 (out of a total of 15,804) in 1897, when the Jews were expelled from the rural communities following the czar's regulation of 1804. However, they lived under constant threat of expulsion, since Jews were prohibited from settling within 50 versts of the Russian border, and Lutsk was included in this category in 1844.

During World War I the Jews suffered both from the armies and from war devastation, as the city changed hands several times and was occupied by Russian and German troops. Under the rule of *Petlyura in 1918 many Jews were massacred, and when the Polish armies entered Lutsk they looted Jewish houses and organized anti-Jewish riots under the pretext that the Jews had helped their enemies. In the face of these assaults the Jews organized themselves in *self-defense. Between the two world wars the Lutsk community shared in the troubles and struggles of Polish Jewry, facing antisemitism and hostile economic and social legislation. For instance "Bata," the shoe factory opened in Lutsk with the assistance of the government, caused many Jewish shoe factories to close down.

The Jewish population grew in the 1920s. According to official figures, 14,860 Jews lived in Lutsk in 1921 (about 70% of the general population) whereas in 1931 they numbered 17,366 (48.5%). In 1937, however, they numbered only 15,880 (36.5%). The Jews took part in the civic life of the city and had their elected representatives in the city council. Between the world wars the Lutsk community led a rich religious and cultural life. Its last rabbi was Zalman *Sorotzkin. It had a hospital as well as several social and medical organizations, some of which were assisted by Lutsk *Landsmanshaften* in the U.S. A printing press attached to a Dominican monastery in Lutsk apparently produced some Hebrew books. Jewish schools were maintained by various organizations, among them the *Tarbut schools run by the Zionist organization and the Beth Jacob girls' school by the Agudat Israel.

[Shimshon Leib Kirshenboim]

Holocaust Period

By 1939 the Jewish population of Lutsk had increased to an estimated 20,000. Under Soviet occupation (1939–41) Jewish public life was repressed, Jewish organizations were disbanded, and private enterprises nationalized. Some Jewish businessmen were ordered to leave the town. In June 1940 the Soviet authorities uncovered the Zionist Gordonia underground and imprisoned its leaders. Many refugees who had fled to Lutsk from Nazi-occupied western Poland were deported to the Soviet interior. When the German-Soviet war broke out on June 22, 1941, many young Jews left together with the retreating Soviet forces. The town fell to the Germans on June 27, and a few days later some 300 Jews were murdered in retaliation for Ukrainian nationalist prisoners that had been killed, probably by the Soviet NKVD. On July 4, 3,000 Jews were put to death by the *Einsatzkommando 4a* in the nearby fortress (*zamek*) of Lubart. On October 19, 1941, a labor camp was established, and a ghetto was set up on December 11–12, 1941. The Jewish leaders made every effort to alleviate starvation and control epidemics. An orphanage, an old age home, and public kitchens were established in the ghetto, but the degree of suffering was hardly diminished. On March 15, 1942, a few hundred men were sent to Vinnitsa for the construction of the Fuehrer's HQ there. Only three survived by fleeing to Transnistria. In the spring of 1942 a group of young Jews attempted to escape from the ghetto to the forests, but most of them were caught and murdered by the Ukrainians. A few, however, managed to join the Soviet partisans and fought the Germans as part of the Kowpak units. One of the refugees of the Lutsk ghetto, Joel Szczerbato, became the commander of the seventh battalion of the partisans. Meanwhile the Germans carried out the large-scale *Aktion* in which the majority of the Lutsk ghetto was murdered (Aug. 20–23, 1942). About 17,500 Jews were led to the Polanka hill on the outskirts of the city and massacred. On September 1, 1942, some 2000, most who emerged from hiding, were murdered. The remaining 500 Jews, who were employed as artisans in the labor camp, were executed on Dec. 12, 1942. However, the Germans encountered armed opposition on the part of these Jews, who had fortified their building, armed themselves with a few guns and other weapons, and repeatedly repulsed German attacks. With German reinforcements the labor camp was taken, with some German losses. Among those who helped Jews was Vitold Fomenko, who supplied food to the ghetto and false identity cards to fugitives, found hiding places, and saved dozens of Jews. When the Soviets captured Lutsk on Feb. 2, 1944, only about 150 Jews came out from their hideouts or the nearby forests. No organized Jewish life was renewed in Lutsk. There are Lutsk societies in the United States and in Israel, *Sefer Lutsk* having been published in 1961 by the Israel Lutsk society. In the late 1960s there was a Jewish population of about 1,500, but there was no synagogue, the former old synagogue having been converted by the authorities into a movie theater. In the 1990s most Jews emigrated from Lutsk.

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[Aharon Weiss / Shmuel Spector (2nd ed.)]

°LUTZ, CARL (**Charles**; 1895–1975), Swiss diplomat who was responsible for saving Jewish lives in World War II. Lutz was made responsible for the interests of a number of countries who had severed relations with Hungary. He arrived in Budapest on January 2, 1942. As the representative of British interests, he came into contact with Moshe (Miklos) Krausz, the Jewish Agency immigration representative in Budapest. They developed a good relationship, working to maintain the modest flow of immigrants from Hungary to Palestine until the German occupation in March 1944.

Following the German occupation, Lutz gave Krausz and his team diplomatic protection in a Swiss office building. During the concentration and ensuing deportation of Hungarian Jewry – according to German documents 437,401 Jews were deported on 147 trains between May 15 and July 9, primarily to Birkenau, where a railroad spur was built directly into the camp to receive them – Krausz continued to try to foster emigration to Palestine and implored the Swiss and the Jewish Agency to influence the British to declare the holders of Palestine visas potential British citizens. At the height of the deportations, in late June 1944, the British agreed to Krausz's proposal. On July 7, the Hungarian regent, Miklos Horthy, declared that the deportations must cease. Soon after he also declared his willingness to allow 7,500 Jews to immigrate to Palestine, along with their families. This became known as the Horthy Offer, and it rendered Palestine visas even more valuable.

Working with Lutz, Krausz assembled a team, which was comprised mostly of Zionist youth movement members. From the Glass House on Vadasz Utca, a Swiss holding, they distributed Palestine visas along with *Schutzbriefe*, letters of protection in the name of Switzerland. Some 50,000 *Schutzbriefe* were disseminated. After October 15, 1944, when the fascist Arrow Cross leader Ferenc Szalasi was brought to power by the Nazis, Lutz and other neutral diplomats redoubled their efforts to protect Jews from deportation. In addition to safeguarding those Jews who held legitimate *Schutzbriefe*, they also tried to help the thousands who held counterfeit documents. They intervened with the Hungarian authorities, trying to stop the deportations altogether, and – until that was possible – to mitigate their effect.

In November, the Hungarian authorities declared that a ghetto must be established for those Jews without *Schutzbriefe*, while Jews holding legitimate papers would be housed under the auspices of their foreign protectors. Lutz and the other neutral diplomats did what they could to prevent the founding of the ghetto. Although they managed to have its establishment postponed, they could not avert its ultimate creation. Once it was set up, they did their best to care for the Jews' day-to-day needs, working with the Zionist youth underground. Lutz, along with other neutral diplomats, also procured homes for the Jews under his protection. Jews bearing false *Schutzbriefe* found their way in to these homes and Lutz did his best to protect them as well. Nonetheless, both he and Raoul *Wallenberg, a Swedish attaché, were forced to delineate between Jews with real documents and Jews with forged papers at the concentration point in Obuda. Lutz also tried to save the deportees, who were being marched from Obuda to the Austrian border by foot. He filled out unused Salvadorean visas in their names and managed to pluck Jews from the lines of the Death March. With the conquest of Pest by the Soviets in mid-January 1945, Lutz moved to Buda. There he protected Jews in a Swiss building until that side of the city was also taken in mid-February. Lutz's work in saving Jews was officially recognized by *Yad Vashem in 1965.

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[Robert Rozett]

LUTZKY, A. (pseudonym of **Aaron Zucker**; 1894–1957), Yiddish poet. Born in Dimidovke (near Lutsk), Ukraine, he was privately educated and prepared for a career as a cantor. Before arriving in the U.S. in 1914, Lutzky had visited Warsaw and recited his poems to I.L. *Peretz, who was so delighted with them that he tried to retain him in Warsaw. Life was not easy for the young immigrant who worked as peddler, teacher, and violinist. When he published his first poems in 1917 in the *Yidishes Tageblat* and *Der Tog*, Abraham *Cahan, editor of the *Forverts*, recognized his talent, derived the pseudonym "Lutzky" for him from the name of his birthplace, lured him away from the rival dailies, and engaged him to write a weekly poem for the newspaper. A few months later, Lutzky was drafted into the U.S. army and fought at Verdun. When he returned, he astonished his readers with a strange, bizarre style. Special evenings, which increased his popularity, were arranged at which he acted out his new poems. Soon Herz Grossbard, Joseph *Buloff, and other famed actors discovered the dramatic quality of his work and spread his fame throughout the Yiddish world. Lutzky published his works in many periodicals, including *Fraye Arbeter Shtime, Tsukunft, Yidisher Kemfer*, and *Di Goldene Keyt*. Four books of lyrics appeared during his lifetime, of which the best known was *Breshis-Inmitn* ("Mid-Genesis," 1932), in which he philosophized on creation and destruction. A fifth volume, *Fun Aldos Guts* ("Of All Good Things," 1958), appeared posthumously and includes a bibliography. Some of Lutzky's lyrics were translated into Hebrew and into English. The pessimistic poet learned to transmute adversity into gay rhymes and images. His poems are playful parables, often devoid of any moralizing intent. They are theatrical narratives that animate the inanimate world through carefully chosen words and phrases. When Lutzky projected the drama of the waters that flow all over the world, or of pieces of paper that flutter about in the wind, or of beans that discourse before disintegrating in a seething pot, lifeless nature became poetically and dynamically alive.

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[Shlomo Bickel / Marc Miller (2nd ed.)]

LUX, STEFAN (1888–1936), film producer. Born in Vienna, he was twice wounded during World War I as a volunteer in the Austrian army. He worked in his profession in Germany but immigrated to Prague in 1933 after *Hitler's advent to power. Alarmed by the world's indifference to Nazism's and Fascism's increasing influence, Lux decided to sacrifice his life to alert humanity. On July 3, 1936, he shot himself in the press gallery of the League of Nations Assembly Hall in Geneva, after leaving warning letters to Anthony Eden and other leaders.

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[Yehuda Reshef]

LUXEMBOURG (**Luxemburg**), grand duchy, formerly a county, bordered by France, Germany, and Belgium. Jews were first noted in the city of Luxembourg, capital of the country, in 1276. In the early 14th century immigrants from the neighboring region of Trier formed several small Jewish settlements. During the *Black Death (1349) many of the Jews were massacred and the remainder expelled from the cities of Luxembourg and Echternach, notwithstanding the protection of Count Charles IV. They must have returned soon after, for in 1367 the existence of a *Porte des Juifs* ("Jews' Gate") is mentioned in the capital. The total expulsion of the Jews was decreed in 1391, but as early as 1405 some few individuals were once more living there. The homes of the Jews were destroyed and their possessions looted following an uprising in 1478. After that only two Jewish families remained, but by 1515 the number of families had grown to 15, residing in Luxembourg, Echternach, and Arlon, which was then still part of the county. The expulsion decreed in 1530 was fully implemented with the exception of some Marranos and a few traders at the fairs. Jews disappeared from Luxembourg until the Napoleonic period, when about 15 families from *Lorraine settled there. In 1808 the number of Jews was 75. Under Napoleonic legislation they were subject to the Trier consistory until the establishment of Luxembourg's own consistory in 1838. The first synagogue was built in 1823 and the first chief rabbi, Samuel *Hirsch, was appointed in 1843, serving until 1866. There were 87 Jewish families (369 persons) in the city of Luxembourg in 1880 and 63 families in the rest of the duchy. The growth of this population necessitated the construction of a new synagogue in Luxembourg in 1894, and another in Esch-sur-Alzette in 1899. The Jewish population, numbering 1,171 persons in 1927, increased considerably with the arrival of refugees from Germany; in 1935, 3,144 Jews were resident in the duchy.

[Simon R. Schwarzfuchs]

Holocaust Period

At the time of the invasion of Luxembourg on May 10, 1940, over 1,000 of the 4,000 Jews in the grand duchy (among them about 1,000 refugees) managed to flee to France. A new consistory was formed on the initiative of Rabbi Serebrenik, and in August 1940 the Nazis set up a civil administration under *Gauleiter* ("district head") Gustav Simon. After the German annexation, discriminatory racial laws operating throughout the Reich were extended to the grand duchy (Sept. 5, 1940), and 355 commercial enterprises were handed over to "Aryans." On Sept. 13, 1940 the *Gestapo announced that all the Jews would be deported on the following Day of Atonement if the consistory did not succeed in arranging their emigration prior to that date. Due to the consistory's efforts, particularly through a petition sent to *Himmler, this measure was postponed, but emigration remained the sole road to survival. Between Aug. 8, 1940 and May 26, 1941, when Rabbi Serebrenik was forced to leave in peril of his life, 700 Jews possessing more or less authentic visas fled overseas. In another operation, about 1,000 people were secretly evacuated to France in small groups. After these rescue operations the consistory became the Aeltestenrat der Juden and administered the remaining 850 Jews. Of these, 127 emigrated in January 1942 and the rest were deported; only 35 of the latter survived.

Contemporary Period

After World War II approximately 1,500 Jews returned to Luxembourg. Mostly merchants, they succeeded in renewing their business activities and, with financial assistance from the state, devoted themselves to reconstructing their community. The community's institutions were revived and a new synagogue built, the old one having been destroyed in 1943. Instrumental in these achievements was the consistory presided over by Edmond Marx, in cooperation with Rabbi Kratzenstein, who served the community from 1946 to 1948, and Rabbi Lehrmann (1949–59). In Esch-sur-Alzette a community of 40 families established itself with a new synagogue as its center. Maurice Levy was president of the consistory from 1961 to 1968 and was succeeded by Edmond Israël. From 1959 the chief rabbi was Emmanuel Bulz. In 1970, there were 1,200 Jews in Luxembourg. It was in the city of Luxembourg that the chancellor of the German Federal Republic, Konrad Adenauer, and Israel's foreign minister, Moshe *Sharett, signed on Sept. 10, 1952, the agreement on German reparations to Israel. There were around 600 Jews living in Luxembourg in the early 21st century. The community is dominated by Luxembourgers who returned after the Holocaust but there have been recent Jewish immigrants. The Consistoire appoints the chief rabbi.

[Emmanuel Bulz]

Relations with Israel

Luxembourg's relations with Israel have always been cordial. Luxembourg voted in the UN in Nov. 1947 in favor of the partition of Palestine and has maintained full diplomatic relations with Israel. Israel is represented in Luxembourg by her ambassador in Brussels, while Luxembourg's interests in Israel (as in most other countries) are represented politically by the Dutch embassy and economically by the Belgian embassy. Official visits of the foreign ministers of both countries were exchanged in 1969. Luxembourg, which plays a central role in the European Economic Community, wholeheartedly supported Israel's application for association with the Common Market. In 2005, as part of his visit to the Middle East, Jean Asselborn, president of the Council of the European Union and Luxembourg's minister for foreign affairs and immigration, visited Israel and affirmed the European Union's commitment to Israel as an important friend and partner.

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LUXEMBURG, ROSA (1871–1919), German economist and revolutionary. Born into a family of merchants in Zamosc, Poland, Rosa Luxemburg joined the Polish revolutionary movement as a schoolgirl in Warsaw. As a consequence of the threat of imprisonment she was forced to leave the country at the age of 18 and immigrated to Switzerland. There she studied political economy and history at the University of Zurich, worked in the underground Socialist movement of Polish emigrants, and met her longtime partner and lifetime comrade Leo Jogiches. In the early 1890s she helped to found the Social Democratic Party of Poland and Lithuania which cooperated for a time with the Marxist Russian Social Democratic movement. Migrating to Germany in 1898, she obtained German citizenship through a formal marriage with a printer. She became active among Polish workers and joined the editorial staff of the *Saechsische Arbeiter-Zeitung,* the *Leipziger Volkszeitung*, and later the *Vorwaerts,* and was a regular contributor to the *Neue Zeit*. Rosa Luxemburg was a leading figure in the revolutionary left wing of the German Socialist movement. As a correspondent of the *Vorwaerts* she participated in the revolution of 1905–06 in Warsaw, was imprisoned, but escaped and resumed her political activity in Germany, devoting a large part of her attention to the general strike as a revolutionary weapon. She was active in both the Polish and the German Labor movements and was a prominent figure in the Socialist International. She opposed World War I as an imperialist enterprise and spent a long period in prison as a consequence. In 1916, together with Franz Mehring, Karl Liebknecht, Leo Jogiches, and others she founded the "Spartakusgruppe," a revolutionary organization, which at the end of 1918 was transformed into the Spartakusbund and in the beginning of 1919 into the Communist Party of Germany (KPD). She was on friendly terms with Lenin but they disagreed on a number of issues. She was very critical of the Bolshevik reign of terror in the Soviet Union. With Karl Liebknecht she edited the Communist daily *Die Rote Fahne* from November 1918, and she was arrested with him in Berlin on January 15, 1919. They were brought to the Berlin Eden-Hotel, where both were tortured and murdered by army officers. Rosa Luxemburg's body was thrown into the Berlin Landwehrkanal and found only months later. On June 13, 1919, she was buried at the cemetery of Berlin-Friedrichsfelde, followed by a large funeral procession.

As an economist, Rosa Luxemburg is widely known for her theory of imperialism. She was convinced that in a pure capitalist society the inadequacy of the local market would lead to a search for markets in countries with more primitive methods of production. There would be a struggle for foreign markets, and imperialism would thus become the guiding principle of foreign policy. Although capitalism must automatically disappear with the exhaustion of external non-capitalist markets, it would collapse before reaching this limit, because expanding capitalism would produce profound social conflicts leading to a victorious proletarian revolution. She developed this theory in *Die Akkumulation des Kapitals* (1913). Of great interest are Rosa Luxemburg's views on nationalism. For her, Socialism and national self-determination were conflicting ideas. She opposed Poland's independence; her "fatherland" was the international working class, her aim the Socialist revolution. Although Rosa Luxemburg did not show any interest in Jewish matters or in a specifically Jewish labor movement, she was constantly attacked in antisemitic terms. Rosa Luxemburg's important publications include *Die industrielle Entwicklung Polens* (her doctoral thesis, 1898), *Sozialreform oder Revolution* (1899), *Massenstreik, Partei und Gewerkschaften* (1906), *Die russische Revolution* (ed. by Paul Levi, 1922, and by Ossip K. Flechtheim, 1963), *Einführung in die Nationalökonomie* (ed. by Paul Levi, 1925), and *Politische Schriften* (ed. by Ossip K. Flechtheim, 1966). Her *Gesammelte Werke* appeared in various editions from the 1920s on. Numerous collections of letters were published, among them *Briefe aus dem Gefaengnis* (1920), *Briefe an Karl und Luise Kautsky* (1923), *Briefe an Freunde* (ed. by B. Kautsky, 1950), *Briefe an Leon Jogiches* (1971), and *Gesammelte Briefe* (vol. 1–6, 1982–93).

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[Mirjam Triendl (2nd ed.)]

LUZ (Heb. לוּז), an old name for *Beth-El, first mentioned in the account of Jacob's dream there (Gen. 28:19). Beth-El is again called Luz in Genesis 35:6; in his blessing of Joseph's sons, Jacob refers to God's appearance at Luz, meaning Beth-El (Gen. 48:3). In the description of the borders of Ephraim, however, the two cities are treated as separate entities (Josh. 16:2); in the parallel account of Joshua 18:13, Luz is mentioned first, then the "side" (*katef*) of Luz, "the same is Beth-El." The man who delivered the city to the Israelites went into the land of the Hittites and built there another Luz (Judg. 1:26). According to later sources, Luz and Beth-El are the same city (Eusebius, Onom. 4:28ff.; 40:20; 120:8ff.; also Madaba Map). Eusebius locates Beth-El 12 mi. (c. 19 km.) north of Jerusalem on the left ("west") side of the road to Neapolis (Onom. 40:20). Some scholars have concluded from the biblical references that Luz remained the name of the city until the time of Jeroboam and that Beth-El was originally the name of the sanctuary to the east of it. A more probable view is that Luz was the ancient name of neighboring *Ai (Heb. *Ha-Ai*, "the ruin"); Beth-El, which was founded in the Middle Bronze Age, doubtless inherited the role and area of the prominent Early Bronze city only about 1 mi. (1½ km.) distant.

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[Michael Avi-Yonah]

LUZ (**Lozinsky**), **KADISH** (1895–1972), Israeli politician and third speaker of the *Knesset, member of the Second to Sixth Knessets. Born in Bobruisk, Belorussia, Luz received traditional schooling. He studied economics and social sciences at the University of St. Petersburg, and science and agriculture at Odessa and Dorpat, Estonia. He was one of the founders of the *He-Ḥalutz movement. In 1916–17 he served in the Russian army and received the rank of officer at the outbreak of the Russian Revolution. He was one of the founders of the organization of Jewish soldiers in Russia, initiated by Joseph *Trumpeldor. In 1920 Luz settled in Palestine, where he worked on land reclamation at *Kiryat Anavim and *Be'er Toviyyah, and on road construction in the Jezreel Valley. In 1921 he joined kibbutz *Deganyah Bet. He was a member of the secretariat of the Central Control Committee of the *Histadrut in 1935–40, a member of the Tel Aviv Workers Council secretariat in 1941–42, and a member of the Ḥever ha-Kevuẓot secretariat in 1949–51. Later on he was a member of the secretariat of Iḥud ha-Kevuẓot ve-ha-Kibbutzim and a member of the Mapai Central Committee. Luz was a delegate to the Twentieth Zionist Congress in 1937 and of the Twenty-Second Congress in 1946. He was a member of the Haganah, and in the War of Independence fought in the Jordan Valley. Luz was elected to the Second Knesset on the Mapai list in 1951. He served as minister of agriculture in 1955–59. He was elected speaker of the Knesset in 1959, serving in this position for ten years. During this period the new Knesset building was built, and Luz presided over the festive opening in August 1966. He provided artist Marc Chagall with the quotes from the Old Testament on which he based most of the pictures that appear on the three tapestries he made for the Knesset State Hall. Luz's moderation and impartiality made him a popular figure with all the parliamentary groups in the House.

His writings include *Avnei Derekh* ("Milestones," 1962), a book of memoirs, *Eḥad mi-Sheneim-Asar* (1970), and numerous articles and booklets on labor problems and the kibbutz movement. In 1974 there appeared *Adam ve-Derekh: Devarim bi-Khtav u-Be'al Peh, Mi-Shelo ve-Alav*, containing items by and about him.

[Susan Hattis Rolef (2nd ed.)]

LUZKI (Lucki), ABRAHAM BEN JOSEPH SOLOMON (Aben Yashar) (1792–1855), Karaite scholar and poet in Crimea. He was born in *Lutsk (Luck) and moved as a child with his father Joseph Solomon b. Moses *Luzki in 1803 to Yevpatoriya, where the latter was *shofet*. He was subsequently sent to Constantinople, where he entered the service of a Karaite merchant Shabbatai Kvitzo for 13 years and married his daughter. Luzki devoted much time to the study of Talmud and rabbinic literature with Rabbanite teachers and acquired extensive knowledge of languages – Spanish, Greek, and Italian – before returning to Yevpatoriya. When in 1827 his father succeeded in obtaining exemption of the Karaites from military service, Luzki composed a poem in honor of Czar Nicholas I. In 1835 he was elected *ḥakham* of Yevpatoriya, but declined the office. In 1844 he founded a study house in Yevpatoriya and taught there until 1853. Some of his disciples, such as Yehuda Savuskan, Avraham Yefet, and Elijah *Kazaz, became well-known public figures of the Karaite communities in the Crimea. He died in the course of a visit in Ekaterinoslav.

His published works include *Iggeret Zug ve-Nifrad* (Yevpatoriya, 1833, reprint Ramleh, 1978), a decision concerning marriage law, mitigating former more severe Karaite rulings; liturgical poems, of which eight are included in the Karaite prayer book (Vienna ed. (1854), 168ff.); *Shoshannim Edut le-Yosef*, a collection of poems, lamentations, sermons, and obituaries (Ashdod, 2005); *Mishlei Musar*, a translation of fables into Karaite language (Yevpatoriya, n.d.) and a translation of Joseph *Ha-Efrati's drama, *Melukhat Sha'ul* ("The Reign of Saul") from Hebrew into Karaite language. There remain in the Inst. of Oriental Studies of St. Petersburg and in the National Russian Library a large number of MSS which comprises his correspondence, list of books, and MSS in his own library, comments on some treatises, and so on.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: E. Deinard, *Masa Krim* (1878), 72; Fuerst, Karaeertum, 3 (1869), 138; Mann, Texts, 2 (1935), 472 n. 10, 474 n. 11, 501.

[Jakob Naphtali Hertz Simchon]

LUZKI (Lutzki, Lucki), JOSEPH SOLOMON BEN MOSES (Yashar) (1770–1844), Karaite scholar and public figure, born at Kukizow near Lwow. He lived at Lutsk (Volhynia), had disciples there, and was a judge in the municipal council; he knew Russian and Polish well. In 1802 he moved to Yevpatoriya in the Crimea by invitation of the heads of the community to become *melammed* and *shofet*. He remained in these offices about 40 years and had many disciples. Luzki went with the Ḥakham Simḥah *Babovich to St. Petersburg where they succeeded in obtaining exemption for the Karaites from compulsory military service, imposed on the Jews in 1827. A detailed account of their journey and activities is given by Luzki in *Iggeret Teshu'at Yisrael* (Yevpatoriya, 1840; with a Tatar translation by the author's brother-in-law, Abraham *Firkovich). A thanksgiving prayer he composed on that occasion was subsequently recited by the Karaites every year on the anniversary. In 1831 Luzki visited Ereẓ Israel with his wife.

His works include *Sefer ha-Ḥinnukh le-Petaḥ Tikvah*, a didactic manual in two parts: (a) *Petaḥ ha-Tevah*, a primer and Hebrew prayers for children with Tatar translation; (b) *Zekher Rav*, by Benjamin *Mussafia, with Luzki's translation of the Hebrew words into the Tatar language (Constantinople, 1831); and *Tirat Kesef*, a comprehensive supercommentary on the *Sefer ha-Mivḥar* by the Karaite *Aaron b. Joseph (printed with *Sefer ha-Mivḥar*, Gozleve, 1835). Luzki is also the author of a calendar for the years 1859 to 1901 (printed posthumously, in Yevpatoriya, 1858), and of liturgical poems, prayers, and hymns, some of which were incorporated in the Karaite prayer book.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: A. Gottlober, *Biqoret le-toldot a-Karaim* (1865), 179; A. Firkovich, *Avnei Zikkaron* (1872), 4; S. Poznański, *Karaite Literary Opponents of Saadiah Gaon* (1908), 90; Mann, Texts, 2 (1935), s.v. *Jos. Sol. b. Moses Lucki*. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPY:** Miller, Joseph Solomon Luzki, *Iggeret Teshu'at Yisrael* (1993).

[Isaak Dov Ber Markon]

LUZKI (Lucki), SIMḤAH ISAAC BEN MOSES (1716–1760), Karaite scholar and spiritual leader, known also as "the Karaite Rashi" and "Olam Ẓa'ir" (the latter meaning literally "microcosm" – acronym based on the *gematria* of his name). In the introduction to most of his works he mentioned that he was the son of Moses son of Simḥah, son of Joseph son of Yeshu'a (died in Derazhne in 1649 during the Chmielnicki revolt), son of Simḥah, son of Yeshu'a, son of Samuel, of a noble family. He was born in Lutsk and resided there until 1754, when he moved to Chufut-Qaleh by invitation of the rich patron Mordecai ben Berakhah, one of the heads of the local community, to become the head of the *bet midrash* after the demise of its head, Shmuel ben Josef *Kal'i. Luzki held that position until his death in Chufut-Qaleh.

Luzki copied many rare Karaite manuscripts and wrote about 24 books on various subjects. His treatises were devoted to such topics as Karaite *halakhah* (esp. laws of ritual slaughter, calendar) – *Akedat Yiẓḥak* (IOS A52, JNUL mic. 52308), *Sha'arei Ẓedek* (JTS mic. 9089, JNUL mic. 49546), etc.; history of the split (*ḥilluk*) between Rabbanism and Karaism; and exegesis of Karaite texts.

His book *Me'irat Einayyim* (1750; Ashdod, ed. Yosef Algamil, 2002) is a compilation of *halakhah*, exegesis, and historiography with a historical and bibliographical account of Karaism in its second part, *Ner Ẓaddikim*. His well-known treatise *Oraḥ Ẓaddikim* (1757) is an abridgment of *Ner Ẓaddikim* (*Oraḥ Ẓaddikim*, Vienna, 1830). It contains also important bibliographical material – a list of most of the Karaite books, the names of their authors and biographical details about some of them. Luzki introduces a traditional apologetic Karaite claim, that the split between Rabbanism and Karaism began during the First Temple period with the division of the Jewish state into two kingdoms. Some of Luzki's works were devoted to Kabbalah, philosophy, and theology. According to his own assertions, he was forced to study Kabbalah from books, because the Rabbanites refused to teach him (see *Livnat Sapir*, ed. Yosef Algamil, Ashdod (2002), 32–33). In his six treatises on Kabbalah (*Sefer Bereshit* (1746), *Olam Ẓa'ir* (1748), *Rekhev Elohim* (1750), *Kevod Melakhim* (1750), *Sefer ha-Tapu'aḥ* (1751) (Evr I, 707 [JNUL mic. 51379]), *Livnat Sapir* (1756); *Kevod Elohim* (1751; Algamil ed., Ramle, 2000)) Luzki explains main concepts of the Lurianic Kabbalah, such as *sefirot*, divine names, and Hebrew letters. There is no innovation in these works, except for the very attempt to make Kabbalah acceptable to the Karaites. Luzki knew about modern science, but rejected it as speculative (*Kevod Melakhim*, ed. Yosef Algamil, Ashdod, 2002). He also wrote an exegetical work, *Be'er Yiẓḥak* (1737); *Or ha-Ḥayyim* (Yevpatoriya, 1847), an extensive commentary on the philosophical work by Aaron b. *Elijah of Nicomedia, *Eẓ Ḥayyim*; *Torei Zahav im Nekuddot ha-Kesef*; a guide to the commandments of Jewish law (Algamil ed., 1978), and many other works.

Luzki also composed liturgical poems and a number of prayers. Some of them were included in the Karaite *siddur*. Most of his views and his philosophical theology were based on medieval science, which he combined with Lurianic Kabbalah.

Luzki acquired his knowledge from numerous Rabbanite sources, which he often quoted in his works (e.g., Maimonides, Rashi, Saadiah Gaon, Ibn Ezra, Naḥmanides, Joseph Albo, *Pirke de-Rabbi Eliezer*, Solomon ibn Gabirol, Judah Halevi, Ḥasdai Crescas, Profiat Duran, Yashar of Candia etc.). He continued the earlier Karaite trend of understanding most of Rabbanite literature as "the words of our forefathers." Luzki also cites such non-Jewish sources as Greek and Roman philosophers Plato, Aristotle, and Seneca; and such Arab thinkers as al-Ghazālī and al-Tabrizi.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: F. Astren, in: M. Polliak (ed.), *Karaite Judaism: A Guide to its History and Literary Sources* (2003), 55–64; D.J. Lasker, in: D. Shapira (ed.), *Eastern European Karaites in the Last Generations* (in press); D. Lasker, in: *Shefa Tal* (2004), 171–90 (Heb.); Mann, Texts, index, 1588.

LUZ OF THE SPINE, a bone which, according to the rabbis, is to be found at the base of the spine, an addition to the 18 vertebrae. Called the *luz she-ba-shidrah*, it is indestructible and is the source of the future resurrection of the body. According to the Midrash, R. Joshua b. Hananiah demonstrated it to the Emperor Hadrian, in answer to his questions as to how the resurrection would take place. "They put it in water and it did not dissolve, in fire and it was not consumed, on a mill and it was not ground. They placed it on an anvil and struck it with a hammer. The anvil cracked and the hammer split, but it remained whole" (Eccl. R. 12:5, no. 1; Lev. R. 18:1). It is apparently the statement that the *luz* is an addition to the 18 vertebrae which is the basis of the statement of the Talmud that the **Birkat ha-Minim*, the 19th blessing added to the original 18 of the daily **Amidah*, corresponds to the *luz* of the spine (Ber. 28b). On the other hand, the enumeration of the bones of the body in the Mishnah (Oho. 1:8) lists only the 18 vertebrae and does not mention the *luz*. There is no scientific basis for this legend. It may be connected with the statement that in the second city of *Luz (Judg. 1:26), which was still identified as existing in talmudic times as a place where the **tekhelet*, the blue dye for the ritual fringes (Num. 15:38), was manufactured, "the Angel of Death had no permission to pass through it, and when old men there become tired of life, they go outside the city to die." In *Genesis Rabbah* 69:8, the reading is, "they are carried out beyond the city walls to die." The belief in the indestructibility of the *luz* was linked with Ps. 34:21, which was translated, "He keeps all his bones; one of them cannot be broken." The Church Fathers Origen and Jerome also regarded it as a pointer to resurrection, and this was accepted by non-Jewish scholars in the Middle Ages, and they spoke of the "Jews' bone" (Judenknoechlein) and identified it with the last vertebra of the spinal column.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Baer, S., Seder, 87n.; Kohut, Arukh, 5 (1926^{2}), 24–25, s.v. *Luz shel Shidrah*, and introd., lxii.

[Louis Isaac Rabinowitz]

LUZZATTI, LUIGI (1841–1927), Italian statesman and economist; the first Jew to become prime minister of Italy. Born in Venice, he graduated in law from the University of Padua. Luzzatti's devotion to economic and social studies arose from his desire to improve the condition of the poor. He began by founding a mutual aid society for the gondoliers of Venice which was opposed by the Austrian police and in 1863 he was expelled from Venice as a revolutionary. He went to Milan where he became professor of economics at the Instituto Tecnico and then professor of constitutional law at the University of Padua (1867). In 1869 Luzzatti became general secretary of the Ministry of Agriculture, Industry, and Commerce. He was elected to Parliament in 1871 and sat continuously for 50 years until 1921 when he was raised to the Senate. He was minister of the treasury on three occasions (1891–92, 1896–98, and 1904–06) and together with Sidney *Sonnino reduced the Italian treasury deficit and secured the conversion of the public debt, thus restoring Italy's finances. In 1909 Luzzatti became minister of agriculture and was prime minister (1910). His ministry introduced numerous reforms aimed at winning popular support, but his right-wing administration was defeated by a combination of Liberals and Socialists the following year. An outstanding orator and expert economist, Luzzatti founded the Banca Popolare in Milan and founded the first cooperative store in Italy. He also negotiated many of Italy's principal commercial treaties. During World War I, Luzzatti established the National Foundation for the sons of peasants fallen in the war and in 1922 presented a plan for international currency stabilization. Though religiously nonobservant, he retained his Jewish sympathies and acted on behalf of oppressed European Jews, intervening through diplomatic channels for the granting of civic rights to the Jews of Romania. Luzzatti supported Zionist enterprises in Palestine, particularly the agricultural settlements which he much admired. Luzzatti's writings were collected under the title *Opere di Luigi Luzzatti*, including *Grandi Italiani: grandi sacrifizi per la patria* (1924), and *Dio nella libertà: studi sulle relazioni tra lo Stato e la Chiesa* (1926; *God in Freedom…*, 1930), a collection of essays on religious liberty.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: F. Catalano, *Luigi Luzzatti: la figura e l'opera* (1965); Villari, in: H. Bolitho (ed.), *Twelve Jews* (1934), 123–52; L. Luzzatti, *God in Freedom* (1930), xvii–xxv (biography by D. Askowith). **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** F. Parrillo, (a cura di) *Attualita di Luigi Luzzatti* (1964); M. Berengo, "Luigi Luzzatti e la tradizione ebraica," in: *Luigi Luzzatti e il suo tempo* (1994), 527–41.

[Giorgio Romano]

LUZZATTO (sometimes **Luzzatti**), Italian family. The name is probably derived from Lausitz (Lat. Lusatia), from where according to tradition the family emigrated into Italy in the mid-15th century, settling in the Venetian territories. One of the seven Venetian synagogues bore the name "Scuola Luzzatto," and many members of the family are buried in the cemetery of the community on the Lido. Others lived in the towns and townships around Venice. The poet and kabbalist Moses Ḥayyim *Luzzatto derived from the Paduan branch of the family. In 1595 the two brothers ABRAHAM and BENEDETTO LUZZATTO, from Venice, settled in *San Daniele del Friuli. From this branch of the family were descended the brothers Ephraim *Luzzatto and Isaac *Luzzatto, both poets. Another descendant, MARCO (Mordecai b. Nathan; 1720–1799), was an author and translator. All of his works are in manuscript, and include a Hebrew-Italian dictionary. When the Venetian government introduced its policy of excluding the Jews from the smaller places under its rule in 1777, the San Daniele community became dispersed. The scholarly carpenter HEZEKIAH LUZZATTO settled in Trieste, where his son Samuel David *Luzzatto was born, the first historian of the family. His son PHILOXENUS (Filosseno; 1829–1854) was an Orientalist. He published many works, including studies on *Ḥisdai ibn Shaprut, the Beta Israel (Falashas), and Hebrew inscriptions. The most recent member was FEDERICO LUZZATTO (1900–1961) who, after a distinguished career in the Italian navy, settled as a farmer in Ereẓ Israel, and did valuable research on Italian Jewish history. Today members of the Luzzatto family, sometimes no longer professing Judaism, are to be found in most important Italian cities and scattered throughout the world.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: S.D. Luzzatto, *Autobiografia preceduta da alcune notizie storico-letterarie sulla famiglia Luzzatto…* (1882), 7–36; Roth, Italy, index; Milano, Italia, index; Milano, Bibliotheca, index; *Volume… Federico Luzzatto* (1962); F. Luzzatto, *Cronache storiche della Università degli ebrei di San Daniele del Friuli* (1964); Zoller, in: REJ, 94 (1933), 50–56; G. Bedarida, *Ebrei d'Italia* (1950), index.

[Umberto (Moses David) Cassuto]

LUZZATTO, EPHRAIM (**Angelo**; 1729–1792), Italian Hebrew poet and physician. Ephraim was born in San Daniele del Friuli, son of Raffael Luzzatto, scion of one of the earliest Jewish families who settled in San Daniele. Already his grandfather, Isacco, embraced the profession of physician. Ephraim studied medicine in Padua between 1742 and 1751. It seems that afterwards Ephraim practiced at Padua, Trieste, and Leghorn. Luzzatto's earliest record at the Bevis Marks Synagogue in London is for the year 1764, although it seems that he had arrived in England already in 1755. In 1779 Ephraim was appointed physician in London's Portuguese community hospital, Beth Holim. Luzzatto was well known in the medical world of 18th-century England. He appears in a very positive light in the memoirs of John Taylor, the oculist to George III. Like many of his contemporaries, Ephraim was known for his loose way of life. He frequented the gaming table as well as the theaters of Drury Lane. He had a quarrel with the actor Baddeley, whom, it seems, he cuckolded. In 1792 he left for a visit in Italy with his companion and lover Ann Davis. He died at Lausanne, and he was buried in the local burial ground.

Ephraim was also a poet. He collected his 55 poems, some of them written in Italy and some in England, *Elleh Benei ha-Ne'urim* ("These Are the Children of My Youth") in 1768 in London. The book was often republished, and influenced the poetry of M.J. *Lebensohn and J.L. *Gordon. The collection includes occasional poems, moralistic poetry, and some erotica. Most important, however, are his love sonnets which have, for the period, a remarkable lyrical quality. These displays a variety of moods: indulgent, satirical, and passionate. His poems reflect individual experience, and are thus an innovation and a precursor of the Hebrew lyric poetry of the Haskalah.

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[Elieser Kagan / Samuele Rocca (2nd ed.)]

LUZZATTO, GINO (1878–1964), Italian Socialist and economic historian. Born in Padua, Luzzatto graduated in philosophy and law and then lectured in economic history successively at the universities of Bari, Trieste, and Venice. He held a professorship from 1910 to 1953 except for the years 1938–45, when he was suspended because of Italy's antisemitic laws. Luzzatto supported the Socialist cause and was an indomitable opponent of Fascism. He was imprisoned by the authorities and on his release joined the underground resistance movement. During the period of antisemitic reaction in Italy his works were published under a pseudonym, Giuseppe Padovan, or with his name omitted. From 1946 to 1951 he was councilor and assessor of the municipality of Venice.

Luzzatto was active in Jewish affairs as vice president of the Venice Jewish community and president of the Italian *ORT. He also wrote several essays on the economic situation of Italian Jewish communities (e.g., *I banchieri ebrei in Urbino nell' età ducale*, 1903²), as well as on the economy and the cooperative movement in Israel.

Luzzatto's writings extended over half a century. His main economic works include *Storia del commercio dall' antichità al Rinascimento* (1914); *Storia economica dell' età moderna e contemporanea* (2 vols., 1934, 1948), and *Studi di storia economica veneziana* (1954) and various volumes of *Storia Economica d'Italia* (1949–63).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Studi in onore di Gino Luzzatto*, 4 vols. (1950); *Nuova Rivista Storica*, 49 (1965).

[Giorgio Romano]

LUZZATTO, ISAAC (Isacco) (1730–1802), Italian poet and physician. Born in San Daniele del Friuli (Italy), Isaac, like his brother Ephraim *Luzzatto, graduated in medicine at Padua (1747). Upon the expulsion of the Jews from San Daniele, as from other rural localities in the Venetian Republic (September 1777), he alone was allowed to remain with his family and practice there. In the summer of 1779, Luzzatto traveled to Vienna and successfully petitioned Maria Theresa to authorize his fellow townsmen to continue living in the rural districts of Austria where they had established themselves. His *Toledot Yiẓḥak*, a collection of poetry, was published in 1944 by D.J. Eckert and M. Wilensky, with a biography and notes. It includes Hebrew poems, mostly sonnets, on religious and ethical themes, conundrums, and a parody of a mishnaic treatise satirizing the customs of his community (*Mishnayyot San Daniele*, or *Massekhet Derekh Ereẓ*). Luzzatto also translated into Hebrew *La Libertà a Nice*, by the Italian poet Metastasio, at the latter's request. Isaac Luzzatto's second wife, Tamar, was a sister of Hezekiah, father of Samuel David *Luzzatto.

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LUZZATTO, JACOB BEN ISAAC (16th century), rabbi and author. Luzzatto was born apparently in Safed where he spent his childhood. He later moved to Europe where he lived in Basle and probably also in Posen and Cracow. Luzzatto was the author of *Kaftor va-Feraḥ* or *Yashresh Ya'akov* (Basle, 1581; also called in another version *Kehillat Ya'akov*, Salonika, 1584), an attempt to defend talmudic *aggadot* attacked by the Christian censors as anti-Christian. Luzzatto explained the *aggadot* according to Rashi, the *tosafot*, Solomon b. Abraham Adret, and R. Nissim, citing also parallel readings in the Jerusalem Talmud, Midrashim, and kabbalistic works, giving them allegorical meanings. He was also probably the final corrector, after the censor, of the Basle Talmud (1578–81), since it contains some of his glosses. He edited (including a preface and index) the *Ta'amei ha-Mitzvot* (Basle, 1581) of Menahem Recanati and Solomon Molcho's *Sefer ha-Mefo'ar* (Cracow, 1570). A copy of the latter in Luzzatto's own handwriting is extant (Ms. Oxford, 1660). Luzzatto is identified with the Jacob b. Isaac Luzzat of Posen who corrected the *Toẓe'ot Ḥayyim* (Cracow, n.d.) of Elijah Vidas. He probably died in Ereẓ Israel, though some believe he died in Venice.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: S.D. Luzzatto, *Autobiografia…* (1882), 8–10; Brann, in: *Samuel David Luzzatto. Ein Gedenkbuch* (1900), 29, 31–33; Rosanes, Togarma, 3 (1938²), 288; J. Perils, *Geschichte der Juden in Posen* (1865), 40.

[Umberto (Moses David) Cassuto]

LUZZATTO, MOSES ḤAYYIM (Heb. acronym **RaMḤaL**; 1707–1746), kabbalist, writer of ethical works, rhetorician, logician, and Hebrew poet; leader of a group of religious thinkers who were mainly interested in the problems of redemption and messianism and probably tried to use their mystical knowledge to hasten the era of redemption. Luzzatto was born in Padua, *Italy, into one of the most important, oldest, and most respectable families in Italian Jewry (see *Luzzatto family). Regarded as a genius from childhood, he knew Bible, Talmud, Midrash, halakhic literature, and classical languages and literature thoroughly. He also had an extensive knowledge of contemporary Italian culture. Luzzatto had a good scientific education, but his chief interest in Western culture was in literature. His main teachers were Isaac *Cantarini, who taught him poetry and secular sciences, and Isaiah Bassan, who taught him mainly *Kabbalah and became his friend and protector. Luzzatto's achievements, personality, and great knowledge of mysticism made him a leader of a group of young men in Padua, many of whom came there to study at the city's famous university and thus represented the more open and aware element among young Jews in Italy and in Eastern Europe. The group was formed originally for collective study, but eventually a more active line was adopted.

Probably the most important event in Luzzatto's personal life occurred in 1727. While he was immersed in kabbalistic speculations, he suddenly heard a divine voice, which he believed to be that of a *maggid* (i.e., a divine power inclined to reveal heavenly secrets to human beings). From that moment, the *Maggid* spoke to Luzzatto frequently and he noted these revelations, which comprised his kabbalistic writings for a few years. Most of them have not survived; only a few are known and have been published. Luzzatto used the *maggid's* revelations in his teachings to the members of the group around him, which by then had become a secret group dealing in messianic speculations and activity. One of the members of this group, Jekuthiel *Gordon, described in some letters the activities and character of the group. One of these letters fell into the hands of Moses *Ḥagiz, who believed it to be a description of a typical Shabbatean heretical group. Ḥagiz addressed the rabbis of *Venice, warning them of the danger he believed this activity signified, and the rabbis turned to Isaiah Bassan, Luzzatto's teacher, who tried to defend his beloved pupil. A vehement controversy followed, in which many of the leading rabbis of Italy took part, and numerous personal attacks were made on Luzzatto. It was believed that only a perfect scholar and kabbalist could receive a revelation from a *maggid*, and many thought that the young, unmarried Luzzatto did not measure up to that standard. According to a later testimony, a search was made at his home, and evidence of dealings in magic was uncovered. After a long struggle, Luzzatto yielded (1730) and agreed to give his kabbalistic writings to Bassan for safekeeping, to refrain from writing the *maggid*'s revelations (at least while out of the Holy Land), and from teaching Kabbalah.

This compromise did not resolve the conflict. In 1731 Luzzatto married. The continuing controversy in Italy forced him to leave for Amsterdam in 1735. While breaking his journey in Frankfurt, he asked for the protection of Jacob ha-Kohen. The latter, instead of helping him, used threats to make Luzzatto sign a statement denouncing the *maggid*'s revelations and his kabbalistic teachings as false (the rabbis of Venice had meanwhile announced that these writings should be burned). Luzzatto's writings were handed over to Jacob ha-Kohen, who probably burned some of them and hid the rest. Settling in Amsterdam, where he was left in peace, Luzzatto wrote on many subjects, but he did not openly teach Kabbalah. In 1743 he went to Ereẓ Israel, probably in order to escape from the prohibition on teaching Kabbalah. He lived a short time in Acre and died there, with his family, in a plague.

Luzzatto's Messianic Doctrine

When Luzzatto formulated his messianic doctrine, the circle around him began actively to seek messianic redemption. The first "code" of the group, which has survived (signed by the members in 1731), includes ten laws, dealing with the methods of study, the relationship between the members and Luzzatto, and a declaration of the group's aim: "That this study [or speculation] will not be regarded as a private *tikkun* of the members nor will it be atonement for personal sins, but its only *kavvanah* will be wholly dedicated to the *tikkun* of the holy *Shekhinah* and all of Israel." Seven members had signed this "code," including Jekuthiel Gordon. Other members joined later, among them Luzzatto's brother and Moses David *Valle, who became one of the group's leaders. He was the writer of the group, author of a voluminous commentary on the Bible, which is extant in a few manuscripts. The members of this group believed that the process of redemption had already begun, and that it was going to reach its culmination in a few years. Their saintly way of life and kabbalistic speculations were intended to facilitate this process. Moreover, they were sure that they, personally, had an important part to play in the process.

The writings of Moses David Valle seem to hint that Valle saw himself as the Messiah, son of David. Jekuthiel assumed the role of Serayah of the tribe of Dan, who was to be the commander of Israel's army in the messianic era. Other messianic roles were distributed among the other members. Luzzatto's own role becomes clear from a unique document preserved in his own handwriting – his commentary on his own *ketubbah*, which he wrote at the time of his marriage. This document proves that Luzzatto understood his marriage to signify a mystical event in the heavenly worlds, the union between Moses and Zipporah (which happened to be the name of his wife), who represent the elements of masculinity and femininity in the divine realm. The earthly marriage ceremony he understood as only a symbol of the redemption of the *Shekhinah* and her union with her divine husband. It is evident, therefore, that Luzzatto saw himself as a reincarnation of Moses, the man who rescued his people from the exile in Egypt and would redeem them from this last *galut* as well.

Luzzatto's opponents understood the messianic nature of his circle, and were afraid of the Shabbatean overtones which such activity might contain. The problem of whether Luzzatto's ideas and activities can be called "Shabbatean" or not is unsolved. Luzzatto himself admitted to being influenced by the writings of *Shabbetai Ẓevi's "prophet," *Nathan of Gaza. However, he maintained that the good element in them should be separated from the heretical context. In some of Luzzatto's kabbalistic ideas, elements of Shabbatean influence can be found, for he maintained that the Messiah must descend to the realm of Satan, the Shabbatean explanation for their Messiah's conversion. However, Luzzatto insisted that this should not involve the Messiah's earthly body; it should be a spiritual experience only, involving no sin. Luzzatto was also moderately inclined toward the Shabbatean idea that a sin might serve a holy purpose, but he always made radical changes in the Shabbatean ideas which avoided their heretical and antinomian nature.

His Treatises on Logic

A messianic figure, a man who conversed with the *maggid*, Luzzatto was also well versed in logic, an art traditionally seen as the high road to philosophy or its favored instrument (organon). Logic was for him the centerpiece, the indispensable tool to mold the spirit and to search for truth. While the forest grows wild, knowledge acquired through logic is like a "fair garden with well-defined alleys and well-drawn groves." Circa 1740, while residing in Amsterdam, Luzzatto penned two treatises, *Sefer ha-Higgayon* ("Treatise on Logic") and *Derekh Tevunot* ("The Way of Reason"). The first is a real primer on logic. Luzzatto does not specifically quote his sources and merely states that he found them in earlier works written in other languages than Hebrew. It seems that he knew very well the logical works of Aristotle, the *Millot ha-Higgayon* of Maimonides, and the corpus of medieval Hebrew logic (Joseph Kaspi, Gersonides, Moses Narboni). The influence of some Renaissance logicians, such as French Humanist Pierre de la Ramée (Petrus Ramus, 1515–1572), can also be perceived.

Following the Aristotelian formula, in his treatises Luzzatto deals successively with the three modes of reasoning: "Categories," or "Logical Terms," propositions, and syllogisms. He also postulates two methodological rules: order (*seder*) or gradation (*hadragah*), and distinction – *havḥanah*, both rules being complementary. Luzzatto uses a vocabulary very similar to that of Descartes in his Rules for the direction of the mind: whoever follows order can "keep himself on the straight path without straying" (Ways of Reasons, p. 4). The words "order" and "gradation" have the same meaning in his terminology. To respect order is to proceed gradually, while following the internal hierarchy of reality. Therefore, one must follow the gradation rule, which entails giving priority to general principles (*kelalim*), to species and kinds, to specific details (*peratim*), to individuals. To illustrate this rule, Luzzatto takes the classical example of the tree. Since, according to the logical order, principles come before details, the roots (*shorashim*) of the tree come before the branches (*anafim*). Instead of floundering amidst a flurry of details, instead of trying to embrace the infinite diversity of beings and things, the mind must strive to perceive the relatively small number of principles involved. The rule of distinction is the ability to seize what is specific to each being and to each thing, together with the link uniting each and every one of them. In order to differentiate properly, it is necessary to follow gradation, the hierarchical order, by discerning the place and the status of each of the elements of reality: whether it is a principle and a root or a detail and a branch.

Derekh Tevunot, the second work, is a handbook of talmudic logic in which Luzzatto reviews the reasoning processes used by the Sages. He sees logic as the one and only propaedeutic system to study Talmud, this "vast ocean set before us, whose arguments are mighty waves, whose laws roll forth rising to the heavens and plunging to the depths." Structurewise, *Derekh Tevunot* is identical to *Sefer ha-Higgayon*. Here again are the three parts of logic – categories, propositions, syllogisms – as well as the notions of gradation and distinction. What makes this work unique is the way Luzzatto uses these reasoning processes to unwind the tangle of talmudic discussions (*mahlokot*) and to identify clearly *halakhot* and other legal principles.

The fact that logic, which is a rational method, and Kabbalah are both at the heart of the work of Luzzatto has puzzled many commentators. By focusing only on the rather perfunctory contrast between rationalism and irrationalism, philosophy and mysticism, they often tend to see the link between the two domains as a mere product of proximity. A closer study of the texts helps to correct the conventional picture. It pinpoints many expressions of the close link between "the art of logic" and the "science of the Kabbalah." Luzzatto himself explicitly postulates that link by making logic the necessary preparation for accessing the "science of the divine." Furthermore, the logical rules of gradation and distinction play a central role in the Kabbalah as he sees it, and they are invested there with an ontological significance.

His Kabbalistic Writings

Commentators on Luzzatto's writings in the field of Kabbalah usually divide them in two groups: some are general works describing central kabbalistic ideas and emphasizing the importance of Kabbalah for attaining full religious life; the other writings convey his own original kabbalistic concepts. Most of the latter works were written under the influence of the *maggid*. In his correspondence, Luzzatto himself differentiates between two elements: the commentaries (*perushim*) in which he interprets the Zohar and the Lurianic Kabbalah, thereby perpetuating kabbalistic tradition; and the new writings (*ḥibburim ḥadashim*) in which he expounds his original vision of "divine unity" where he gives it a sense which is both ethical and historiosophical. In fact the elements of commentary and innovation are closely linked in the kabbalistic writings of Luzzatto. Luzzatto's outstanding kabbalistic work is *Kelaḥ* (= 138) *Pitḥei Ḥokhmah*, a systematic exposition of the Lurianic Kabbalah. There Luzzatto demonstrates the task which he has undertaken in the history of the Kabbalah: to reveal the internal meaning (*nimshal*) of the paradigms (*meshalim*) so numerous in the Lurianic writings, to which they tend to give an anthropomorphic coloring. Luzzatto often quotes from the works of Maimonides; in the same spirit he believes that it will be thus possible to get rid of the main cause of error concerning what is divine: materialization (*hagshamah*). Rejecting an interpretation which would accept the Lurianic descriptions literally (*ki-feshuto*) and in a materialistic sense, is for Luzzatto also part of the fight he is leading against Shabbateanism.

Kelaḥ Pitḥei Ḥokhmah is the perfect illustration of the close connection between logic and Kabbalah in the works of Luzzatto. The very structure of that treatise is built on the gradation rule. Each *petaḥ* – door or chapter – opens with a general principle (*kelal*), the details or particular aspects of which are then exposed. Before turning to commentary and explaining the themes which are unique to the Lurianic Kabbalah (such as *ẓimẓum*), Luzzatto innovates by exposing the principle on which his own kabbalistic doctrine is based: divine unity conceived both as the origin and the finality of creation. He uses the distinction rule to delineate with precision the object of Kabbalah, and details what he means by "divine" (Elohut). He thus refines a principle which was already present in the works of his predecessors, such as Menahem Azarya de Fano, while giving a completely novel interpretation of *ẓimẓum*, the act of contraction or withdrawal of the divine infinity (*Ein-Sof*) which preceded the emanation of *sefirot*. To the traditional division between divine essence and divine will Luzzatto adds a new distinction within the will, to stress two aspects: one, infinite (the *Ein-Sof*) and the other, finite (the *Sefirot*). Thus is the *ẓimẓum* assimilated to a movement tending to slant and orient the infinite aspect of the will toward its finite aspect, and hence toward the world and its creatures. This movement, which is achieved within the very core of divine will, is perceived by Luzzatto in an ethical sense, that is, as the wish to do good to another than the self (*hatavah*). A man of his time, Luzzatto takes this definition of *ẓimẓum* as a stepping stone for a whole new philosophy of history. He postulates that human history has a meaning beyond the seemingly disorderly course of events, and, in his view, it is moving according to divine direction (*hanhagah*) toward a finality which is no other but "doing good" (*hatavah*). He develops a true dialectic process according to which historical proceedings comprise two dimensions, the one being revealed and visible, corresponding to the factual events where evil is manifesting itself in all its power, and the other secret and invisible, consisting in the inescapable progress of mankind toward that ultimate end which is the "perfect good."

(Luzzatto's interpretation, by the way, was widely accepted, and even the early Ḥasidim adopted it.) The introduction to this work, also printed separately, *Derekh Eẓ ha-Ḥayyim*, explains the religious merits of kabbalistic study. This small work was widely read and accepted. Another work belonging to the same category is *Ḥoker u-Mekubbal* (*Maamar ha- Vikku'aḥ*), designed as a dialogue between a philosopher and a Lurianic kabbalist. In this work, Luzzatto answers, point by point, many criticisms against the Kabbalah which were current among the rationalists in Italy, and tries to prove that only Lurianic Kabbalah can give a satisfactory answer to Judaism's religious problems.

The most important of the writings influenced by the *maggid* was the *Zohar Tinyana*, which was written in Aramaic, the language of the original *Zohar. Most of the work is now lost; parts were printed as *Razin Genizin*, *Megillat Setarim*, and *Tikkunin Ḥadashim* (*Tikkunei Zohar* being one of the later parts of the original Zohar). Although Luzzatto used the Zohar's language and literary form, his main and almost sole idea expressed and studied in these works was the idea of the redemption. Luzzatto employed older kabbalistic ideas about the redemption but gave them a new form and new structure. Detailed study was devoted to the duties of the various messianic figures in the process of the redemption – the Messiah son of Joseph, Messiah son of David, and Moses. Luzzatto studied the function of the various heavenly *Sefirot* in this process, especially the third *Sefirah*, *Binah*, whose revelation and influence on this world would bring about the culmination of the redemption. Recently, a part of Luzzatto's diary describing the first revelations of the *maggid* was discovered, and the theological problems discussed there are the same as those in the other known parts of the *Zohar Tinyana*. Problems of the redemption and the history and adventures of the Messiah's soul are also dealt with in Luzzatto's short treatises, *Addir ba-Marom* and *Ma'amar ha-Ge'ullah*.

Luzzatto's Ethical Works

Long after his death, and after the controversy around him had subsided, Luzzatto became a saint in the eyes of most of Eastern European Jewry. This did not come about because of his kabbalistic writings, but because of his major works on ethics. His chief work in this field, and his best-known book, is *Mesillat Yesharim*, written in Amsterdam (English translation *Mesillat Yesharim: The Path of the Upright* by M.M. Kaplan with Hebrew text and introduction, 1936, 19642), which uses as a framework the famous *baraita* of R. *Phinehas b. Jair (Sot. 9:15). Luzzatto instructs the reader in the path of ascent from the forsaking of sinful ways, through moral behavior, to the peak of prophecy and contact with the divine spirit. The popularity of the book resulted from its systematic exposition of every problem which might prevent the attainment of religious and ethical perfection. The author explains the importance and meaning of every step on the way, describes the means by which it can be made, and warns the reader of the dangers which might obstruct his way. Luzzatto wrote the book in a simple, rabbinic style, using some philosophical terms, but no kabbalistic element is evident, though detailed analysis reveals some underlying kabbalistic assumptions. This work was printed many times, translated into many languages, and alongside *Baḥya ibn Paquda's *Ḥovot ha-Levavot*, became the most influential ethical work in Judaism. In some yeshivot in Eastern Europe where the book was studied, pupils were expected to know it by heart.

In other ethical and theosophical works Luzzatto studied some basic theological questions, using philosophical language, although the underlying kabbalistic approach is apparent. In his *Derekh ha-Shem* and *Da'at Tevunot*, Luzzatto studied in detail the problems of the aim of creation, Adam's sin, the ways of divine justice, the relationship and mutual dependence between the just and the sinner, the next world and the world of the redemption, etc., alongside discussions of everyday problems of religious and ethical behavior – prayer, the Commandments, the ways to overcome evil desires, etc. All his works in this field were widely read and accepted, and contributed to his metamorphosis to sage and saint, instead of a controversial figure suspected of Shabbateanism.

Poetry and Letters

Luzzatto wrote numerous poetical works. Many of them were lost, and many are still in manuscript. A collection of his poems, published by S. Ginzburg (1945), includes mainly works written in honor or in memory of friends or for weddings. His talent is revealed through his rich and flowing imagery, and his use of the Hebrew language is masterly. These poems were written according to the ancient tradition of Hebrew poetry in Italy, which relied on the traditions of Hebrew poetry in both Muslim Spain and Renaissance Italy. Besides these, Luzzatto's published poems include a few religious pieces, all of which contain kabbalistic and messianic overtones; sometimes he added a mystical commentary to his own religious poems. He also wrote many prayers, and it seems that he wrote 150 religious poems in the form of the Psalms, but this work has not survived.

However, Luzzatto's most famous poetic works are his verse dramas. His first play, *Ma'aseh Shimshon,* was written before he was 20 years old to exemplify the rhetorical laws he propounded in his *Leshon Limmudim*, a treatise on rhetorics, in which he made use of his knowledge of classical and contemporary Italian literature. It seems that Luzzatto felt close to Samson, his tragic hero, possibly for messianic reasons, and that gave the play some poetic depth. His second and most important play, *Migdal Oz*, was written while he was still in Italy. It was composed in the form of contemporary Italian pastoral drama, but Luzzatto gave the plot such Jewish overtones that some critics think that the play is in fact a kabbalistic allegory. His third and last play, *La-Yesharim Tehillah*, written in Amsterdam, is one of Luzzatto's last works. The play is an allegory, which probably gives expression to the feelings of persecution he experienced at the time of controversy around him, and at the same time reflects his belief in the ultimate victory of the just. In *Migdal Oz* and *La-Yesharim Tehillah*, Luzzatto used commonplace love plots to give expression to poetic sentiments far beyond the conventional plots. Luzzatto's plays were accepted and admired by Hebrew writers and intellectuals in Italy and Western Europe, and many were influenced by them. Luzzatto's works, especially *Migdal Oz*, exercised a strong influence on Haskalah literature, especially its poetry and drama. These *maskilim*, who were inimical to the kabbalists, were so impressed by the plays that they forgot Luzzatto's kabbalistic writings and messianic aspirations and adopted him as if he were one of their own.

A vast amount of Luzzatto's personal writings was discovered and printed by S. Ginzburg. This collection includes many of Luzzatto's letters, as well as letters addressed to him, or concerning his activities and the controversy around him. The collection includes his personal revealing letters to his teacher and defender, Isaiah Bassan. Among other documents, this collection includes the texts of the regulations of Luzzatto's circle, texts of the accusations against him, etc. The details make possible a chronological reconstruction of Luzzatto's bibliography, though many of the works mentioned are unknown today.

Kinat ha-Shem Ẓeva'ot, a polemical work of a personal nature, was written in answer to the accusation that his theology and activities were Shabbatean in nature. A portion of this work was printed in Koenigsberg in 1862. Luzzatto clearly expresses his negative attitude toward Shabbatean heresy and antinomian practices, but he does not deny that there is truth in some Shabbatean kabbalistic ideas. However, he explains that these should be studied with care, to separate "the fruit from the husk."

Luzzatto's place in the history of Hebrew literature was the subject of a long argument, which still persists. Some scholars (e.g., *Lachover), seeing him as the first "modern" Hebrew writer, begin the history of Hebrew modern literature with the study of his dramatic poems. Others maintain that, as modern Hebrew literature was a revolutionary development that rebelled against the religious character of medieval literature, Luzzatto cannot be included among its creators, because of his strong ties with such past ideologies as Kabbalah and messianism. Yet others, however, see the development of modern Hebrew literature as an evolutionary process, which never broke completely from traditional ideas and concepts. These regard Luzzatto's works as a compromise between old and new, signifying the start of a new era in Hebrew literature.

It cannot be doubted that Luzzatto's works as a whole are a typical product of 18th-century culture: his Kabbalah was Lurianic Kabbalah, which was the accepted theology of the time; his strongest emotions were aroused by messianic problems, in common with most of the more aware thinkers of his age; a contemporary of Leibniz, he felt concerned by the problems of theodicy as well as of historiosophy; and he accepted the conventions of 18th-century Italian literature. However, Luzzatto's work is unique for at least three reasons. The first is the unique connection he achieved between such apparently foreign subject matters as rhetoric and logic on the one hand, and Kabbalah on the other hand. Through this encyclopedic aspect he takes his place among the great Italian thinkers of the Renaissance, from Pico de la Mirandola and Marsile Ficin to Johanan Alemano and Elijah del Medigo. The second is that, unlike previous Jewish-Italian thinkers, such as Leone *Modena or Azariah de *Rossi, Luzzatto did not doubt the fundamental Jewish beliefs, despite his close connections with Italian secular culture. He could be, at the same time, both a Jewish traditionalist and a writer of dramatic poems in the Italian manner. Thirdly, unlike any other writer of the 18th century, Luzzatto, though persecuted when alive, was accepted by the three main 19th-century Jewish movements, which were fighting bitterly among themselves: the Ḥasidim saw him as a saintly kabbalist and used some of his kabbalistic ideas; their opponents, the Mitnaggedim, regarded his ethical works as the clearest pointers toward a Jewish ethical, rabbinic way of life; and the Haskalah writers saw Luzzatto as a progenitor of their own movement, and his works as the beginning of Hebrew aesthetic writing. Every facet of Luzzatto's work, therefore, remained alive and creative in the divided and confused Jewish culture of the 19th century.

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[Joseph Dan / Joelle Hansel (2nd ed.)]

LUZZATTO, SAMUEL DAVID (often referred to by the acronym of **SHaDaL** or **SHeDaL**; 1800–1865), Italian scholar, philosopher, Bible commentator, and translator. His father, Hezekiah, was an artisan at Trieste and a scholarly Jew who could claim descent from a long line of scholars (see *Luzzatto family). He wrote his first Hebrew poem at the age of nine. His mother died when he was 13 and his father's pecuniary status declined seriously making it necessary for the young Luzzatto to assist his father in his work. His own wife died after a long illness, and he eventually married her sister. He survived two of his children – one Philoxenus (or Filosseno), had been a young man of especially great promise. Samuel David's translation of the Ashkenazi prayer book into Italian appeared in 1821/22, and that of the Italian rite in 1829. He established a regular correspondence with the Jewish scholar, Isaac Samuel *Reggio, and through the efforts of the latter, Luzzatto was appointed professor of the newly established rabbinical college of Padua in 1829. There he spent the rest of his life teaching Bible, philology, philosophy, and Jewish history. His versatility and the scope of his learning are best seen in the mass of letters written to all the outstanding Jewish savants of the day – to *Geiger, *Zunz, *Rapoport, *Steinschneider, and others. Almost 700 of these letters were published and many run into several pages; some are in themselves dissertations. He wrote a Hebrew commentary on the Pentateuch (5 vols., with Italian translation, 1871–76; new ed. by P. Schlesinger, 1965) and the *Haftarot*, on the Book of Isaiah (together with a translation into Italian, 1845–97; new ed. by P. Schlesinger and completed by A.M. Hovev, 1970), on Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Proverbs, and Job and a long dissertation in Hebrew on Ecclesiastes (1876; repr. 1969). It is in this type of work that his attitude to Judaism is revealed. He was a traditionalist and had a great veneration for Rashi in particular. His antagonism toward Abraham Ibn Ezra is asserted boldly in his letters and Bible commentaries. He maintained that his own dislike for Ibn Ezra did not stem so much from the latter's departure from tradition as from his insincerity (see: Letters nos. 83, 242, 272, 275, and 543). Luzzatto had his grievances against Maimonides too, but in the case of the latter his language is more restrained. Luzzatto, as he himself wrote, divided seekers of truth into two groups – those who follow Rashi and Samuel b. Meir and those who are the disciples of Maimonides and Ibn Ezra (Letters nos. 272 and 275). His own commentary on the Pentateuch is not fundamentalist, and whereas he himself did not take the first chapters of Genesis literally, he criticizes those who treat them as an allegory (Letters no. 83). He believed them to be meant as model lessons from which we are to derive moral and ethical values. In his writings, he readily quotes the views of his pupils, mentioning their names when so doing. Although denying the Solomonic authorship of Ecclesiastes he upholds the unity of the Book of Isaiah. He maintained a firm belief in revelation and treated the text of the Torah with sacred regard although he occasionally allowed himself to depart from the traditional phrasing of the words as reflected in the Masorah and the Talmud. A natural corollary of his attitude to the classical authorities is Luzzatto's high regard for the Aramaic translation of Onkelos to which he devoted his *Ohev Ger* (the "Lover of the Proselyte," 1830), an allusion to the conversion of Onkelos to Judaism. He named his son Philoxenus (the Latin equivalent of *Ohev Ger*). He divided the work into two parts. The first demonstrates the method of Onkelos when the latter seems to depart from the literal translation of a text, especially when he wants to avoid anthropomorphisms. The second part of *Ohev Ger* deals with matters of text and is technical.

Luzzatto's philosophy may be compared with that of Judah Halevi. "I esteem Maimonides very greatly" he wrote (Letters no. 83), "but Moses the Lawgiver never dreamed of philosophy and the dreams of Aristotle." He lists his objections to the *Guide* of Maimonides and to some remarks in *Sefer ha-Madda* and to others in Maimonides' commentary on Mishnah *Sanhedrin* (ch. *Ḥelek*) and in the *Shemonah Perakim* (commentary on *Avot*). He was opposed to Maimonides' enumeration and formulation of the 13 principles of faith and his condemnation of those who did not subscribe to these (Letters no. 238). Luzzatto's attitude to Greek philosophy was negative and even hostile, and his negative views on Kabbalah are found in his *Vikku'aḥ al Ḥokhmat ha-Kabbalah* (1852). He blames rationalistic philosophy for having brought about – as a reaction – the flowering of Kabbalah and mysticism. As for the Zohar, he rejected the authorship of Simeon b. Yoḥai as did Jacob *Emden and Leone *Modena before him, and Luzzatto was apparently influenced by the latter's *Ari Nohem* (1840). Luzzatto's religious thinking does not rest at the rejection of "atticism" – Hellenism – as diametrically opposed to Judaism, and of a moral rationalism as represented in the Middle Ages by Maimonides and in modern times by Kant. For him the idolizing of "progress" and the utilitarianism which speaks from the craving for (outer but not inner) emancipation of modern Jewry were the very antithesis of free Jewish thinking and living. He had nothing but contempt for the rotten European civilization. In his theological writings, most of them published lectures such as *Teologia Morale israelitica* (1862; English translation by S. Morais in *Jewish Index*, 1872) and in his *Yesodei ha-Torah* (1880; repr. 1947; English translation by N.H. Rosenbloom, *Foundations of the Torah*, 1965) as well as in his letters, he develops his own positive system of Jewish theology and religious philosophy, based on the firm belief in revelation, tradition, and the election of Israel. These he wants to see protected from the prevailing winds of Christian-Protestant criticism and an evolutionary historical relativism. The Torah and the Commandments must not be rationalized and submitted to such relativism, nor can one separate morality from religion. They both flow from the same innate human quality of *ḥemlah* (empathy). The Jewish people is both the carrier and guarantor of this revealed, national religion which embodies its own universalism and humanitarianism. Hebrew language and literature, the main object of Luzzatto's scholarly work, help to foster and deepen Jewish spirit and loyalties. This romantic and nationalistic conception of Judaism embraces a sort of religious Zionism, while rejecting the "false holiness" of the idle *ḥalukkah* Jew. Luzzatto wants the youth of the *yishuv* to return to the soil and the soil of the Holy Land to its former productivity. This conception is apparent in his liturgical researches, in particular by his edition of the *Maḥzor Roma* which he provided with a comprehensive introduction (1856; new edition of the introduction by E.D. Goldschmidt, 1966).

Luzzatto also edited the medieval chronicle *Seder Tanna'im ve-Amora'im* (1839); and the prolegomena to an edition of *Joseph ha-Kohen's *Emek ha-Bakha* (1852), ostensibly by M. Letteris, are essentially Luzzatto's work. He also did pioneering work in his editions of Judah Halevi's poetry (*Betulat Bat Yehudah*, 1840; *Diwan Rabbi Judah Halevi*, 1, 1864) and his anthology of medieval Hebrew poetry (*Tal Orot*, 1881) and thus contributed greatly to the revival of interest in medieval Hebrew poetry. His own Hebrew poetry had great merit. The same intimate acquaintance with and fine feeling for the Hebrew language, the result of intensive biblical studies, helped Luzzatto with his linguistic and grammatical researches (see *Prolegomeni ad una grammatica ragionata della lingua ebraica* (1836; *Prolegomena to a Grammar of the Hebrew Language*, 1896); *Grammatica della lingua ebraica* (1853–69; Hebrew, 1901); *Elementi grammaticali del caldeo biblico…* (1865; *Grammar of the Biblical Chaldaic Language…*, 1876)). Of bibliographical importance are his *Opere del De Rossi* (1868^2) and *Yad Yosef* (1864), a catalog of the Almanzi collection. Luzzatto also published *Avnei Zikkaron*, on the Hebrew tombstone inscriptions of Toledo (1841), being the first to treat epitaphs as an important primary source for Jewish historical research. An autobiography of Luzzatto appeared in 1882 (Hebrew in *Ha-Maggid*, 1858–62; German, 1882), and memorial volumes in Italian (*Commemorazione…*, 1901) and in German (*Luzzatto-Gedenkbuch*, 1900). There are a number of collections of his articles such as *Beit ha-Oẓar* (3 vols., 1847, 1888, 1889) and *Peninei Shadal* (1888); but much of his scholarly work remains scattered over various periodicals, pamphlets, works of other authors, and much has never been published. An edition of all his Hebrew writings was begun in 1913 (*Ketavim Ivriyyim*) but was not completed.

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[Alexander Tobias]

LUZZATTO, SIMONE BEN ISAAC SIMḤAH (1583–1663), Italian rabbi and author. He was born, probably in Venice, of a well-to-do family of German origin already established in the region for many generations. Luzzatto was ordained in 1606 and served as rabbi in Venice for 57 years. The affluent circumstances of his family made it unnecessary for him to waste his energies in miscellaneous work to supplement his livelihood, as was the case with his contemporary and associate Leon *Modena, after whose death in 1648 he became senior rabbi of the community. Unlike Modena he objected to the presence of gentiles at his sermons in the synagogue, though he had some non-Jewish pupils, including, for a month in 1646, the French mystic Charles de Valliquierville. Luzzatto was one of seven members of the *yeshivah kelalit* of Venice. He became head of this rabbinic council in 1648, after the death of Modena. Shortly after this, he became involved in a drawn-out dispute with the lay leaders of the community over the question of rabbinical ordination, on which he insisted in having a deciding voice. Among his responsa was one (no longer preserved) which permitted travel by gondola in Venice on the Sabbath. His work *Socrate ovvero dell'humano sapere*, dedicated to the Doge (1651), written in dialogue form with Socrates as the principle interlocutor, is an attempt to demonstrate that human reason is impotent unless assisted by revelation. There is nothing specifically Jewish about this work, which shows a considerable degree of competence in philosophy and in classical literature (though not in Greek), and is a remarkable exemplification of the degree of culture prevailing at this time in the Italian ghettos. His most important publication, however, was his work *Discorso circa il stato de gl' hebrei et in particolar dimoranti nell'inclita città di Venetia* (1638), in which he put forward reasoned arguments for the toleration of the Jews especially on economic grounds, given their role in international trade. He argued that they performed functions that could be achieved by no other element, while on the other hand, unlike foreign merchants, they were completely under the control of the government and would not transfer their profits outside the state. This was the first apologetic work of its type and the first in which economic arguments were brought forward systematically in order to advocate the toleration of the Jews, their retention of residential rights, and their unique commercial privileges. It is difficult to know if Luzzatto actually believed all of his arguments or just used them to defend the Jews of Venice and to strengthen his case. Of note is his refutation of Tacitus' view of the Jews. Indeed, since he devotes a major portion of the *Discorso* to his argument, it must be viewed as a rebuttal of contemporary political thought even more than a work of apologetics. Luzzatto emphasizes the decisive role of the Jewish community of Venice in the development of the city. A reply to the work was published by the Christian priest Melchior Palontritti under the title *Breve Risposta a Simone Luzzatto* (1642). A Hebrew translation was published in Jerusalem in 1950; and an English translation was prepared early in the 18th century by the English deist John *Toland (though not published), who used Luzzatto's arguments lavishly in his book of 1714 advocating the naturalization of the Jews. It is now known that the book was written at great speed when a dangerous crisis developed for the Venetian Jews owing to the discovery of large-scale commercial frauds in which some leading families were implicated.

Luzzatto also wrote an Italian treatise in which he vindicated the authority of tradition and of the Oral Law (now lost, but referred to by Samuel Aboab in his responsa, *Devar Shmuel* (1702), n. 152). He is said to have also written *Trattato delle opinioni o dogmi degli ebrei e dei riti loro principali* (Fuerst, Bibliotheca, 284) and, together with Leone de Modena, a work on the Karaites (Wolff, Bibliotheca, vol. 3, 347). He is also reputed to have had considerable competence as a mathematician. Luzzatto's pupil, the apostate Giulio Morosini, reports in his *Via della Fede* several instances of his liberal mind and outspokenness in matters of religion, shown for example when in 1649 he arbitrated a dispute between two former Marranos about the "seventy weeks" of Daniel. He is also said to have spoken contemptuously of the Kabbalah and to have disbelieved in the preservation of the Lost Ten Tribes. Christian contemporaries, misunderstanding his freedom of spirit, reported that he was prevented by force from embracing Christianity on his deathbed.

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[Cecil Roth / David Derovan (2nd ed.)]

LVOV (Pol. **Lwów**; Ger. **Lemberg**), main city of Lvov district, Ukraine.

The Early Settlements

It is thought that the first Jews in Lvov arrived from Byzantium and the southeast. After the conquest of the town by Casimir III of Poland (1340), they were joined by Jews from Germany and Bohemia who gave the settlement its Ashkenazi character. At the end of the 14th century, there were two communities in Lvov: the older and larger, the "Holy Congregation Outside of the Walls," founded in 1352; and the second, the "Holy Congregation Within the Walls," situated in the Jews' Street and first mentioned in 1387. Large fires occasionally swept both communities and they were only able to repair their quarters after controversies with the townspeople (this occurred in 1494, 1527, 1571, 1616, etc.). In 1550, 352 Jews lived inside the city walls in 29 houses, while 559 lived in 52 houses outside the town. In the vicinity of this suburban quarter, a *Karaite settlement existed until 1457.

The Jews of Lvov played an important role in trade between the Orient and the West, for which the town was an important transit center. They were equally well represented in the wholesale trade with the interior of the country. They also leased estates, operated brandy distilleries and breweries, acted as customs and tax agents, and loaned money to the nobility and the king. During the second half of the 16th century, the commercial agents of Don Joseph *Nasi were active in Lvov. However, the number of Jews who engaged in international trade and in large concerns was very limited and the majority earned their livelihood as shopkeepers, peddlers, and craftsmen. The rights of the Jews of Lvov were based on letters patent granted by the kings of Poland. They were in constant conflict with the townsmen over their rights to trade, especially in the retail branch, and to engage in crafts. Fortunately the royal decrees issued as a result of pressure from the townsmen were rarely absolute and the nobility often succeeded in having them amended. In 1493 King John Albert restricted the Jews to two branches of the wholesale trade: *textiles and *livestock. In 1503 and 1506 King Alexander Jagellon granted the Jews freedom to trade at the markets and fairs as well as the right to benefit from the reductions accorded to other citizens. King Sigismund I restricted Jewish trade (1521), then accorded unlimited trading rights (1527), and finally revoked the permit (in the same year). This uncertain state of affairs continued throughout the whole period. Temporary compromise agreements on the question of trading rights were concluded between the municipality and the Jews in 1581, 1592, and 1602. The renewal of these agreements and the determination of their exact contents were usually accompanied by protests from the townsmen. The Jewish craftsmen were also under constant pressure from Christian artisans.

The Community and its Institutions

The two congregations of Lvov maintained separate synagogues, *mikva'ot*, and charitable institutions. They shared the cemetery (first mentioned in 1411), and the Karaites were also buried there. From 1600 to 1606 there was a violent conflict between the Jews and the Jesuits over the synagogue which had been constructed (in late Gothic style, after the plan of an Italian architect) by the philanthropist Isaac b. Naḥman (founder of the famous *Nachmanovich family) in 1582. The Jesuits claimed that the land on which the synagogue was constructed was their property. The Jews were victorious and the synagogue, which was named the Taz (or "Di Gildene Roiz" after one of the daughters of the Nachmanovich family who died mysteriously), remained standing until the Holocaust. Lvov was the center of "Red Russia" (Galicia, i.e., Western Ukraine) and Podolia-Bratslav region, and its community leaders represented the whole region at the *Councils of the Lands. By the electoral system of the community, a limited number of the wealthy descendants of noble families were assured of long periods in office.

From 1684 to 1772

In the *Chmielnicki massacres of 1648–49 and the successive wars of the second half of the 17th and early 18th century, the Jews of Lvov, especially those who lived outside the town, suffered great losses in life and property. Their houses were at the mercy of the enemy and they were compelled to seek refuge within the town. Generally the Jews played an active part in the defense of the town. During Chmielnicki's siege in 1648 and the Russian siege of 1655, the attackers demanded that the Jews be delivered into their hands. Meeting with the refusal of the townsmen, they settled for a large ransom. During the whole of this period, the townsmen's struggle against the control of trades and crafts by the Jews continued. The latter's efforts to expand their quarter came under special attack. The Jewish quarter consisted of only 49 building lots and the houses built on them were too small to accommodate the established inhabitants and the refugees from many wars. All the efforts of the townsmen to confine the Jews to their quarter and to restrict their trade were in vain, for the nobles usually supported the Jews. At this time the Jews also opened shops in the center of town. During this period, war damages, ransom payments, the costs of court cases, the necessity to rebuild damaged houses, and the decline of Lvov in favor of other commercial centers brought about severe economic crises. In 1727 the community owed the municipality 438,410 zlotys, while in 1765 their debts to the noblemen, the clergy, and the religious orders amounted to 381,999 zlotys, and those to the municipality to 820,409 zlotys. Although direct and indirect communal taxes were raised the community was unable to become solvent. According to the census of 1764/65, 6,142 Jews lived in Lvov – over two-thirds of them outside the town walls – and only 57 of the 3,060 men were self-supporting.

When Shabbateanism began to spread in Poland, David Halevi (d. 1667), *av bet din* of the congregation outside the walls, sent his son and stepson to *Shabbetai Ẓevi; they returned his enthusiastic supporters. After Shabbetai Ẓevi's apostasy, his adherents in Lvov were excommunicated (1722). In 1754 Leib Krisse (Kriss), right-hand man of the pseudo-messiah Jacob *Frank, came to Lvov to propagate the Frankist message. Frank himself arrived in the town in December of 1755, but he was compelled to leave. A disputation with the Frankists was held in 1759. The spokesman for the Jews was R. Ḥayyim Kohen Rapoport, *av bet din* of the town and region.

During the 18th century, the importance of the Lvov community declined and its authority was reduced. The limits of the provincial council's authority were also restricted after the annexation of Podolia to Turkey (1772). In Galicia itself, the expansion of the surrounding communities (Zholkva, Brody) further limited the authority of the Lvov community. At the meeting of the provincial council in 1720, it was declared that "we, the men of the province, have no further portion or inheritance in the holy congregation of Lvov and the rabbi who will be nominated by it." At the meeting of the council in Berezhany in 1740 the rabbinate of the province was divided into two regions and the *av bet din* of Lvov held office in only one of them. Conflicts within the community over the distribution of taxes, the election of rabbis, and other affairs resulted in the intervention of the secular authorities to a greater degree than in the past. Menahem Simḥah Emmanuel de Jonah (d. 1702), a member of a large family of physicians and himself court physician to King John III Sobieski, was highly influential during the second half of the 17th century. He was the "*nesi Ereẓ Israel*" (the chief treasurer of the funds for Ereẓ Israel collected in Poland), a *parnas* of the Councils of the Lands, and the holder of many public offices.

From 1772 to 1914

The Jewish population of Lvov rose from 18,302 in 1800 to 26,694 in 1869, and 57,000 (28% of the total population) in 1910. According to the 1820 census, 55% of the Jews engaged in commerce (the majority as shopkeepers and retail traders) and 24% in crafts. The 745 Jewish craftsmen included 249 tailors, 133 furriers, 51 bakers, and 34 goldsmiths. The Jews of Lvov controlled the wholesale trade between Russia and Vienna. Some were army purveyors, or wholesale dealers in tobacco, cereals, and salt; others owned flour mills; and Jews pioneered industry and banking in the town. Lvov Jewry suffered as a result of the economic crisis in Galicia during the 19th century. After 1772 the townsmen's struggle to restrict Jewish rights of residence and trade was supported by the Austrian authorities. From the beginning of the 19th century only the wealthy and educated merchants who had adopted the German way of life were authorized to live outside the Jewish quarter. In 1848 the Jews were allowed to participate in the elections to the municipal council, but their representation was limited to 15% and later to 20%. In spite of the religious equality granted in the Austrian Empire in 1849, the municipality continued to evict the Jews from the retail trade, and the Christian artisans' guilds struggled against Jewish artisans. The prohibition on acquiring real estate was abolished in 1860, and after the *Sejm of Galicia had revoked all discrimination against Jews the municipality of Lvov was compelled to annul those restrictions opposed to the Austrian constitution of 1867. Intensified antisemitic tendencies then prevalent among the Poles and Ukrainians of Lvov and the vicinity were partly caused by the assimilation of the upper strata of the Jews to the ruling German culture.

TRENDS WITHIN THE COMMUNITY. Ḥasidism made headway in Lvov at the end of the 18th century, and although no *ẓaddikim* settled there they occasionally visited the town. In 1792 and in 1798 there were open clashes between Ḥasidim and their opponents. During the 1820s, a ḥasidic *shtibl* was founded and in 1838 there were seven such prayer rooms. As the *Haskalah movement penetrated Lvov, an anonymous *ḥerem* was proclaimed in 1816 against a group of *maskilim* and especially against Solomon Judah *Rapoport, Benjamin Ẓevi Nutkis, and Judah Leib Pastor; it was only as a result of pressure from the authorities that it was rescinded by the *av bet din*, Jacob Meshullam Orenstein. During the 1830s a violent dispute broke out over the question of a change in the traditional Jewish dress. In 1844 a Reform Temple was opened and Abraham Kohen of Hohenems, Austria, was appointed as preacher. He was also made director of the German-Jewish school opened during the same year. The Orthodox were vigorously opposed to him and their opposition gained momentum after the authorities confirmed him as rabbi of the province in 1847. A year later he and his family were poisoned and Orthodox fanatics were accused of having committed the crime.

The assimilationist intelligentsia circles of Lvov identified themselves with German culture, and in 1868 the *Shomer Israel organization was formed, with its ideological organ, *Israelit*. The movement was opposed by the Doresh Shalom society, founded in 1878 and disbanded a short while later, and after it by the *Aguddat Aḥim (1883), which called for assimilation into Polish culture. Its organ was the *Ojczyzna* ("Fatherland"). Toward the end of the century, the move toward Polish assimilation gained in strength and the Jewish representatives from Lvov in the Austrian parliament joined the Polish camp. During the 1870s Orthodox circles organized themselves within the framework of the *Maḥzike Hadas, in which the Ḥasidim were predominant. Lvov was the home of Hertz *Homberg. Within the framework of his educational activities, four schools for boys, three for girls, and a teachers' seminary headed by Aaron Friedenthal were founded there. All were closed down with the liquidation of Homberg's educational network in Galicia in 1806. Jewish children, however, began to attend general schools. Legal restrictions against the attendance of Jews in secondary schools and universities were removed in 1846. There were then many Jews in the liberal professions, including distinguished lawyers and physicians. From the emancipation period, there were numerous cases of apostasy in Lvov. Between 1868 and 1907, 713 Jews abandoned their faith, while 86 Christians were converted to Judaism. In 1874 there were 69 registered *ḥadarim* in the city and the first "reformed *ḥeder*" (*ḥeder metukkan*), in which 381 pupils studied, was founded in 1885. An institute for religious studies opened in 1910.

During the Austrian period the two congregations in Lvov merged into a single community, which from the 1830s was led by moderate assimilationists. These included Immanuel *Blumenfeld, Meir Jerahmeel Mieses, and Emil *Byk. Rabbis who held office in this community were Joseph Saul Nathanson, Ẓevi Hirsch Orenstein, Isaac Aaron Ettinger (see *Ettinger Family), Isaac *Schmelkes, and Aryeh Leib Braude. The preachers at the temple were Dr. S.A. *Schwabacher, Dr. Y.B. Lewinstein, Dr. Ezekiel Caro (who in 1909 was confirmed as rabbi of the community together with R. Isaac Schmelkes), and Dr. S. Gutmann. During the late 19th and early 20th centuries, the power of the assimilationists declined and nationalist-Zionist influence began to be felt. The first Zionist societies, Mikra Kodesh and Zion, were formed in 1883 and 1888. They formed the nucleus of the all-Galician Zionist organization. Periodicals and newspapers were published: *Przyszlość*, *Wschód*, *Ha-Karmel*, *Der Veker*, and *Togblat*. Activists in the Zionist societies included Reuben Birer, Joseph Kobak, David Schreiber, Abraham and Jacob Kokas, and Adolph *Stand. The first moves were made toward a Jewish workers' movement and artisans' unions, while some joined the P.P.S., the Polish workers' movement; the representative of this group was Herman *Diamand.

From 1914 to 1939

With the outbreak of World War I, thousands of refugees arrived in Lvov from the regions bordering on Russia. The entry of the Russian army into the city in August 1914 was accompanied by robbery and looting, the closure of Jewish institutions, and the taking of hostages. With the return of the Austrians in June 1915, Jewish life was resumed, assistance to the refugees was organized, and the public institutions functioned once more. In November 1918, when the Poles and the Ukrainians fought for control of eastern Galicia, pogroms broke out in Lvov; 70 Jews lost their lives and many were wounded. It was then, when the German, Polish, and Ukrainian nationalistic cultures were in conflict, that the inherent risks of assimilation were made manifest to the Jews.

During the period of independent Poland (1918–39), the community of Lvov was the third largest in Poland and one of its most important centers. From 99,595 in 1910 the number of Jews increased to 109,500 (33% of the total population) in 1939. In the struggle between the Poles and the Ukrainians, each side accused the Jews of supporting the other. The rise of antisemitism and the severe economic situation were reflected in every sphere of Jewish life. The economic crisis was also illustrated by the reduction in community taxes: from 497,429 zlotys in 1929 to 310,481 zlotys in 1933. During this period, Lvov had three Jewish secondary schools with instruction in Polish; a Hebrew college for advanced studies in Judaism (founded in 1920), first directed by Moses *Schorr; a nationalist-religious school, Ma-Ta-T (Mi-Ẓiyyon Teẓe Torah); a vocational school; many *ḥadarim*; and a *talmud torah*. There were many Ashkenazi synagogues and ḥasidic prayer rooms. The newspapers *Chwila* ("The Moment"), *Lemberger Togblat*, and *Opinia* were published. The community was governed by assimilationists in coalition with the Orthodox, while for the greater part of this period the Zionists formed the opposition. In national politics, the Lvov members of the Polish parliament adopted a moderate line. They opposed the minorities bloc and were among the initiators of the *Ugoda (see also O. Thon and H. Rosmaryn), the agreement with the Polish government (1925). The Orthodox, especially the Ḥasidim of Belz, as well as the rich Jews, supported the government majority list.

[Avraham Rubinstein]

Hebrew Printing

After the first partition of Poland (1772), which brought Galicia under Austro-Hungarian rule, the government forced Jewish printers to transfer their presses from *Zolkiew (Zholkva) to the Galician capital of Lvov in order to facilitate their *censorship. The first to move were W. Letteris and H.D. Madpis, the latter producing Elijah Levita's *Pirkei Eliyahu* in 1783. The house of Madpis brought out a new edition of the Talmud (1859–68) and a seven-volume Shulḥan Arukh with standard commentaries (1858–61), still one of the best editions (a similar one was printed by J.L. Balaban and his son, who began printing in 1839). In 1785 J.S. Herz set up his press, which produced a good edition of Maimonides' *Mishneh Torah* (1805–11). Madpis' granddaughter, Judith Mann-Rozanes, also moved from Zolkiew, while her son, M.H. Grossmann, continued printing until 1858. About 20 other printers were active in Lvov in the century and a half before the outbreak of World War II, making the city one of the main centers for the production of Hebrew books, not only for Eastern Europe but for the Balkans as well.

Holocaust Period

In September 1939, at the beginning of World War II, Poland was partitioned between Germany and the U.S.S.R., and Lvov became part of Soviet Ukraine. The economy was nationalized; Jewish organizations, parties, and institutions were closed. Jewish schools turned into Yiddish ones with Soviet curriculum. A Jewish theater was opened at the initiative of actors from among the thousands of refugees who flocked to the city. But after the outbreak of the German-Soviet War, the Germans captured the city (July 1941); it then had a Jewish population of about 150,000, including thousands of refugees from the Nazi-occupied western part of Poland. The local Ukrainian population welcomed the German troops, while Stefan Bandera's units joined up with the invading forces and played a major role in stirring up hatred of the Jews and in murdering them. An incited mob attacked the Jews for three days. Thousands of Jews were put in jail, where they were tortured and murdered. During July several hundred Jewish public figures and youth were put to death; over 2,000 Jews were shot in "*Aktion* Petliura" (July 25–27). On July 15, the Jews were ordered to wear the yellow badge, and at the beginning of August a fine of 20,000,000 rubles ($4,000,000) was imposed upon them. Jewish property was confiscated and looted and in August the desecration and destruction of synagogues and Jewish cemeteries was carried out.

A Judenrat was appointed by the authorities, headed by Joseph Parnes, who was killed shortly afterward when he refused to supply the Nazis with a quota of men for forced labor. A similar fate was in store for two of his three successors; the last chairman of the Judenrat, Ebersohn, was executed together with the other members of the council in February 1943. Under German supervision, the Judenrat handled taxes, social welfare, and food and housing control. A Jewish police force came into being as a special department of the Judenrat; in the course of time it was manipulated by the Nazis to serve their own aims. On Aug. 1, 1941, Eastern Galicia was incorporated into the General Government, Poland, and all anti-Jewish restrictions that had been in force in western Poland for the past two years were now also applied to the Jews of Lvov (see *Holocaust, General Survey). Labor camps were set up in the city and vicinity, where many Jews were either murdered outright (especially young people) or died as a result of the inhuman conditions prevailing in the camps. In November 1941 the Jews of Lvov were all concentrated in a special quarter of the city and subjected to starvation.

In March 1942 about 15,000 Jews from Lvov were deported to *Belzec extermination camp. The big *Aktion*, however, took place from August 10 to 23, in which 40,000 Jews perished. Following the *Aktion* the S.S.-Gruppenfuehrer Fritz *Katzmann ordered the establishment of a ghetto, completely sealed off and surrounded by a barbed-wire fence. The overcrowding caused a series of epidemics which killed thousands of ghetto inmates. In further *Aktionen* (November 1942 and January 1943), another 15,000 Jews were murdered, some in Belzec and others in the Janowska Road camp. The rest of the ghetto inmates, some 20,000 people, were restricted to a portion of the ghetto designated as the Jewish camp and the Judenrat was liquidated. In the last *Aktion* (June 1943), which resulted in the death of most of the surviving Jews, the Jews offered armed resistance. In places where the Nazis encountered gunfire and hand grenades, they poured gasoline on the Jewish houses and set them in flames. The 7,000 Jews who survived the massacre were dispatched to the Janowska Road camp. Apart from a few Jews in labor camps, Lvov and the environs were made **judenrein*. A few hid in the "Aryan" part of the city.

JANOWSKA ROAD CAMP. The camp, a place of torture and murder, was set up on Janowska Road in October 1941. One part of the camp contained quarters for the SS men and camp police, and a prison barracks (the latter also served as a transit camp for deportees to Belzec extermination camp). The other part contained workshops which in the course of time developed into a special unit, the German Armament Works (DAW; see *SS, Enterprises in the East). Designed as a forced labor camp for Jews from Lvov and the area, Janowska in fact became an extermination camp. Tens of thousands of Jews from Eastern Galicia were brought there, some of whom were murdered on the spot and others sent on to Belzec. Prisoners were killed in many instances for the "entertainment" of the murderers. Yet in spite of the conditions, the Jews created cultural activities in the camp and prepared for armed resistance. The Germans, under the threat of possible resistance, liquidated the camp in a surprise *Aktion* on Nov. 20, 1943. Only a few individuals escaped. The special conditions prevailing in Lvov – a hostile Ukrainian population, the lack of forests in the area to provide shelter, and the absence of a local partisan movement – precluded the rise of organized Jewish resistance. However, a few sporadic and isolated attempts to resist were made. Some Jews fled to the remote forests, but in most instances the local peasants handed them over to the Nazis. Some instances of resistance have been recorded, e.g., during the liquidation of the ghetto and one in the Janowska Road camp. In one instance, a group of camp prisoners charged with the disposal and cremation of corpses attacked and killed several of the German guards. A few dozen prisoners then escaped, but most of them were caught and murdered.

When the Soviet forces entered in July 1944, a Jewish committee was established to help the survivors. Of the 3,400 Jewish survivors who registered with the committee by the end of 1944, only 820 were from Lvov ghetto itself. Most of the survivors settled in Israel, after wandering through Europe, while the rest emigrated to other countries overseas. Some of the ashes of the Lvov martyrs were taken to Israel and interred at the Naḥalat Yiẓḥak cemetery near Tel Aviv.

Contemporary Period

A monument to the memory of Jewish victims of the Nazis, with inscriptions in Hebrew, Yiddish, and Russian, was erected shortly after World War II. In the 1959 census 29,701 Jews were registered in the Lvov oblast (district), 5,011 of whom declared Yiddish to be their mother tongue. In the city, a center of Ukrainian nationalism, an anti-Jewish atmosphere prevailed in most spheres of life. In 1957 several Jewish students were arrested for "Zionist activities." Organized *maẓẓah* baking was prohibited in 1959, and in the same year pressure was brought to bear on the local *mohalim* to induce them to sign a declaration promising to abandon circumcision. In the Jewish cemetery only a small section was kept intact and used for burials. In 1962 several hundred Jews were arrested for "economic crimes." In that year several articles were published in the local Ukrainian newspaper, *Lvivska Pravda*, demanding the closure of the only remaining synagogue on the pretext that it served as a meeting place for "speculators" and other criminals. It was in fact closed toward the end of that year, and all synagogue officials were arrested and charged with "economic crimes." The community slaughterhouse was handed over to a local municipal organization. In 1965 local Jews addressed a petition to Prime Minister Kosygin asking to be given a place for worship. They were allotted a building site, but the financial burden of erecting a new synagogue was too great. In 1969 the militia broke into private *minyanim* and dispersed them by force. Most Jews emigrated in the 1990s.

[Emmanuel Brand]

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LVOVICH, DAVID (known as **Davidovich**; 1882–1950), leader of the territorialist-Socialist movement and of *ORT. Born in southern Russia and brought up in an assimilationist environment, Lvovich first became acquainted with Jewish affairs and the Jewish workers' movement when he visited Minsk in 1903 and came into contact with the *Po'alei Zion. After he left Russia he maintained relations with the Ḥerut group founded by N. *Syrkin. In 1905 he visited Ereẓ Israel and on his return he abandoned general Zionism in favor of territorialism. After joining the *Zionist-Socialist Workers' Party (SS or ZS), he founded the SS League abroad and established student groups in Germany. A member of the party's committee in Odessa from late 1905, he was the leader of its *self-defense group during the October pogrom. At the SS convention in Leipzig (1906), he represented that trend which connected the future realization of territorialism with the unavoidable turn of the course of Jewish emigration from the towns toward agriculture and concentrated colonization. He later worked for an active policy in the organization and regulation of emigration. As the representative of the SS at the conventions of the Jewish Territorialist Organization (see *Territorialism) he was elected to the Angola Committee (Vienna, 1912). In 1907 he was the representative of the SS at the Socialist International Congress in Stuttgart. Lvovich tried to promote cooperation between SS, the *Jewish Socialist Workers' Party ("Sejmists"), and the Po'alei Zion. In 1917 he was elected to the Social-Revolutionary list by Jewish colonists of southern Ukraine as the only delegate of the *United Jewish Socialist Workers' Party at the constituent assembly. Turning his energies to working for ORT in Russia, he traveled abroad (1919) as its emissary, along with L. *Bramson, in order to establish the world ORT league (1921). Becoming a member of its executive council in 1937 he was elected vice president and in 1946 co-president. He published his memoirs in *Sotsialistisher Teritorializm* (1934), 79–89.

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[Moshe Mishkinsky]

LWOFF, ANDRÉ MICHEL (1902–1994), French biologist and Nobel Prize winner. Born in the Allier department, France, Lwoff became head of the Microbial Physiology Laboratory of the Pasteur Institute in Paris in 1938. Lwoff's earlier work dealt with the morphology and biology of the ciliate protozoa, and particularly the problem of the genetic continuity of cell structures. His later research dealt with the biology of viruses, the genetics of bacteria, and the mechanisms by which viruses are replicated in the course of a viral infection. During World War II he was awarded the Medal of the Resistance for his work in the French underground. After the war Lwoff and his collaborators began a study of lysogeny. Lwoff demonstrated that in this condition the bacterial cell harbors a "prophage" which is harmless to the host cell and is transmitted genetically. It can be induced by external factors, such as ultraviolet light, to become virulent, causing destruction of the host cell and liberation of infectious virus particles. This discovery led to entirely new ideas as to the evolution and biological role of viruses. Lwoff was corecipient of the 1965 Nobel Prize for medicine and physiology. Among his books are *Problems of Morphogenesis in Ciliates* (1950) and *Biological Order* (1962). He was also editor of *Biochemistry and Physiology of Protozoa* (3 vols., 1951–64).

[Mordecai L. Gabriel]

LYADY, a town in Vitebsk district, Belarus; under Polish rule until 1772, when it was incorporated into Russia and was included in the Mogilev province. A Jewish settlement in Lyady is mentioned in documents of 1731. In 1766 there were 207 Jewish poll tax payers. During the 19th century, Lyady became a "Jewish" townlet, the Jews forming the majority of the population. There were 2,137 Jews registered with the community in 1847, and 3,763 (83.9% of the total population) in 1897. Lyady became known as the home of *Shneour Zalman, the founder of the Chabad movement, who lived there during the last 12 years of his life, and was referred to as the "Rabbi of Lyady." His son, Dov Baer, also lived there at first. In 1869 the great-grandson of Shneour Zalman, Shneour Ḥayyim Zalman, settled in Lyady. He and his sons maintained a ḥasidic "court" in the town. In 1926 there were 2,020 Jews (56% of the total population). In 1929 there was a Yiddish school and a kolkhoz, where 14 families worked. In 1939 the number of Jews in Lyady dropped to 897 (38% of the total). Lyady was the birthplace of Alexander Siskind *Rabinovitz (Azar) and Reuben *Brainin. The Germans occupied the town on July 18, 1941. In March 1942 some 2,000 Jews from the town and environs were assembled and murdered on April 2, 1942, outside Lyady.

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[Yehuda Slutsky]

LYAKHOVICHI (Pol. **Łachowicze**; Yid. **לעכוויטש**), city in Brest-Litovsk oblast, Belarus. Jews were living in Lyakhovichi by the first quarter of the 17th century. According to a decision of the Lithuanian Council of 1623 (see *Councils of the Lands), the community was subordinated to the *kahal* of *Pinsk. During the second half of the 18th century the city's annual fairs were an important meeting place for Jewish merchants. There were 729 Jewish poll tax payers in 1766; in 1847 the community numbered 1,071, increasing to 3,846 (76.6% of the total population) in 1897. A branch of the Karlin ḥasidic dynasty prevailed in the town. The chaos during World War I and the immediate postwar years caused a drop in the Jewish population and in 1921 it numbered only 1,656 (58.7%). A Tarbut school and a yeshivah with 50 pupils operated there.

[*Encyclopaedia Judaica* (Germany)]

Holocaust Period

On the eve of the German occupation (June 24, 1941) the community consisted of 6,000 Jews. The Germans entered town on June 26, and on June 28 a number of Jewish community leaders were murdered in the nearby forest, following which a pogrom broke out in which 82 Jews were killed (July 1). In fall 1941 the Jews were ordered to assemble in the marketplace, where a *Selektion* was made to separate the 1,500 able-bodied from the 2,000 "nonproductive." The latter were taken to a trench and murdered; some tried to escape but most of these were shot. The "productive" persons were interned in a ghetto. A group of young persons, led by Zalman Rabinowicz, Josef Peker, and Haim Abramowicz, organized resistance units. On June 10, 1942, a second *Aktion* was carried out in which 1,200 Jews were murdered. Some attempts at resistance were then made. When an *Aktion* to liquidate the entire ghetto was carried out the Germans met with armed resistance. Some ghetto inmates escaped to the forests and joined the partisans, among them Shmuel Mordkowski, who was an outstanding resistance fighter. The rest were killed on June 24, 1942. Fewer than ten Jews survived in Lyakhovichi. About 80 Jews from the town who had joined the Soviet army in 1941 also survived.

[Aharon Weiss]

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LYCK (Pol. **Elk**), town in Poland; before 1945 in E. Prussia. During the late 17th century Jewish tradesmen visited the market town and subsequently established a community which, in 1713, numbered 29 persons. Its *shoḥet*, Eliezer Lipmann Silbermann, founded the Hebrew weekly **Ha-Maggid* which was printed in Lyck from 1856 to 1891. The *Mekiẓei Nirdamim Society was also founded by Silbermann and, between 1864 and 1874, 15 of its publications were printed in Lyck. Among them was S.D. *Luzzatto's 1864 edition of *Judah Halevi's *Diwan*, S. *Buber's edition of the *Pesikta de Rav Kahana* (1868), and parts of I. *Lampronti's *Paḥad Yiẓḥak* (1864–74). In the second half of the 19th century many Hebrew books were printed in the town and smuggled across the border to Russian Jewry. The community of Lyck increased from 90 persons in 1845 to 250 (3.65% of the total population) in 1880, then declined to 137 in 1933 and 16 in 1939.

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[Ze'ev Wilhem Falk]

LYDDA (Heb. לֹד, **Lod**), town in the coastal plain of Israel, 10 mi. (16 km.) S.E. of Tel Aviv-Jaffa. Lydda first appears in the Canaanite period (1465 B.C.E.) when it is mentioned in Thutmosis III's list of towns in Canaan. According to the Talmud (Meg. 1:3b–4a; TJ, Meg. 1:1), the city was fortified "in the days of Joshua the son of Nun," but according to the Bible, it was built by Shemed, a Benjamite (I Chron. 8:12). It appears with Ono and Hadid in the list of places resettled after the return from the Babylonian Exile (Ezra 2:33; Neh. 7:37), and it occurs with Ono and Ge-Harashim in the list of Benjamite settlements (Neh. 11:35).

In the Hellenistic period the town was outside the boundaries of Judea; it was detached from Samaria and given to Jonathan the Hasmonean by Demetrius II in 145 B.C.E. (I Macc. 11:34; Jos., Ant., 13:127), becoming a toparchy of Judea (Jos., Wars, 3:55). In Maccabean times it was a purely Jewish town; Julius Caesar restored the privileges of the Jews of Lydda (Jos., Ant., 14:208). In the Roman period it was counted as a village, although it was as populous as a city (Jos., Ant., 20:130). In 43 B.C.E. its inhabitants were sold into slavery by Cassius, the governor of Syria (Jos., Ant., 14:275). Quadratus, the Syrian governor in the time of Claudius, executed several Jews there; Cestius Gallus, the Roman proconsul of Syria, burned it on his way to Jerusalem in 66 C.E. It was within the command of John the Essene at the beginning of the First Jewish War (66–70); Vespasian occupied it in 68 C.E.

According to talmudic sources, Lydda was situated on the boundary of the Shephelah and the coastal plain, one day's journey from Jerusalem; other sources call the plain around it the Shephelah of Lydda (Ma'as. Sh. 5:2). The town flourished between the First and Second Jewish Wars. It had a large market; cattle were raised in the area; and textile, dyeing, and pottery industries were established. A Christian community existed there in the time of Peter (Acts 9:32–35). It was the seat of a Sanhedrin; famous talmudic scholars, such as R. Tarfon, R. Eliezer b. Hyrcanus, R. Akiva, Joshua b. Levi, Judah b. Pazi, Eleazar bar Kappara, and Ḥanina bar Ḥama taught there. Among its synagogues was one specially maintained by a community of Tarsians. After the war of Bar-Kokhba (132–135), Jews remained in Lydda, though its agricultural hinterland had been destroyed. The patriarch R. Judah I leased estates in its plain.

In 200, the emperor Septimius Severus established a Roman city at Lydda, calling it Colonia Lucia Septimia Severa Diospolis. Its territory consisted of the combined toparchies of Lydda and Thamna. The town remained partly Jewish. It took part in the revolt against the emperor Gallus in 351 and was punished when the revolt failed; according to one Midrash, out of ten measures of poverty in the world, Lydda had nine. The Samaritan element became more powerful in Byzantine times, although the town, part of Palaestina Prima, was predominantly Christian and had a bishop. Justinian built a church there. It was the legendary birthplace of St. George; hence its name Georgiopolis in late Byzantine and crusader sources. It was captured by the Muslim general ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ in 636 and until the foundation of Ramleh (c. 715) it served as headquarters of the province of Filasṭīn. In 1099 it was occupied by the crusaders and became a *seigneurie* with a vicomte in charge. The crusaders built a Church of St. George there, still partly preserved. In 1170, Benjamin of Tudela found only one Jewish family there. After Saladin's reconquest of the town in 1191, more Jews settled in it. In the 14th century, Estori ha-Parḥi found a Jewish community there. Under the Mamluks Lydda was the seat of an administrative district. The town seems not to have been inhabited by Jews during the early Ottoman period. Ancient remains in modern Lydda include a mound, a Jewish tomb, and a Greco-Samaritan inscription. A magnificent mosaic floor within a large villa was uncovered in recent archaeological work in the city; the floor has Nilotic scenes with sea creatures and boats.

[Michael Avi-Yonah]

Modern Period

In the 19th century a small Jewish community existed in Lydda, but the 1921 Arab riots compelled the last of its Jewish inhabitants to leave. Further attempts to reestablish the community during the British Mandate failed because of ensuing violence. The town, which numbered only a few hundred families at the beginning of the century, expanded quickly and in 1919 became an important railway junction. In 1944, Lydda numbered about 17,000 Arab inhabitants, one-fifth of them Christians and the rest Muslims.

During Israel's *War of Independence, Lydda was occupied by Israel forces in Operation Dani on July 10, 1949, and the great majority of its inhabitants abandoned the town. The first Jewish settlers went to Lydda at the end of 1948 when its population numbered 1,200, with 1,050 of them Arabs. In 1949 it received municipal council status. In 1955, in the spirit of a prototype plan made by architect Michael Bar, the Jewish settlers were housed in modern houses in the northern part of the city, and the Arab population was housed in the east. This separation has continued until today. The new parts of Lydda contrast with its ancient nucleus, which has preserved an Oriental character and retains its mosques and churches.

At the end of 1969 its population was 28,000, including 2,900 Muslims and Christian Arabs. In the mid-1990s, the population was approximately 49,500, with approximately 10,180 non-Jews. By the end of 2002 the population had risen to 66,500, including 18,000 non-Jews (26% of the city's population) and 15,000 new immigrants (mostly from the former Soviet Union and Ethiopia). The city's area is about 4 sq. mi. (10 sq. km.). The growth of the Arab population, together with the departure of the veteran Jewish population, has created racial tension in the city and a reputation as the drug capital of Israel. Income was well below the national average.

The nearby airport, Israel's international airport for passengers and freight, was originally built by the Mandatory government in 1936, with the Israel government greatly expanding its facilities. It serves as the home base for *El Al Israel Airlines. New passenger sections were completed in 1970. Now known as Ben-Gurion Airport, it has expanded still further with the construction and opening of the impressive Terminal 3 in 2005. Some 115,000 passengers passed through the airport in 1950, over a million in 1970, and five million in 2004. The airport served the town as an important source of employment, as did Israel Aircraft Industries.

[Shlomo Hasson / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

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LYDIA, LYDIANS (Heb. לוּד, לוּדִים, לודיים; Assyr. *Luddu*), people who, together with the Phrygians and other Anatolian peoples, infiltrated Anatolia after the decline of the *Hittite empire at the beginning of the 12th century B.C.E., and settled in the vicinity of the Maeander River (modern Buyuk Menderes) and the western part of the Anatolian heights. After their infiltration, the Lydian tribes assimilated within the local Hittite population and partly took on its language. It is significant to note that one of the kings of the first dynasty is called by the Hittite name Muršiliš (Gr. Myrsilus), a name which was common among the Hittite kings. This dynasty ended with a court uprising, when the head of the royal guard, Gyges, took over the rule. Gyges established the second Lydian dynasty, which ended with the reign of Croesus, when Lydia was conquered by the Persian king Cyrus. During the time of Gyges, relations were established between Lydia and the kingdom of Assyria, because Gyges sought the aid of the latter against the Cimmerians. An important part of this episode has been preserved in the Annals of Ashurbanipal, which records a request for aid by "Guggu king of Luddu (Lydia)" from the Assyrian king (Rassam Cylinder, 2:95). The name of Gyges, in its Hebrew form, *Gog, found its way into Ezekiel (38:2–3). He is referred to here as the head of two Anatolian peoples, Meshech and Tubal. It may thus be concluded that legends about Gyges were popular in both the classical world and the Assyrian empire. Gyges attempted to gain control of central Anatolia and its western coast. The Lydian capital was at this time already in *Sardis. The last Lydian king was Croesus, known throughout the Greek world for his legendary wealth; he was defeated by the Persian army in 547. This brought an end to the Lydian kingdom, which became a province of the Persian empire. The name of the area was preserved as Lydia until a later period, and appears in its biblical Hebrew form, Lud, in talmudic sources as well. The name appears in the Bible together with the names of the Anatolian peoples who were known in the ancient Near East in the eighth and seventh centuries. In Genesis 10:22, Lud is considered a son of Shem and listed together with Elam, Assyria, etc. This ethnic juxtaposition reflects the geographic relationship of the whole northeastern territory as well as an ethnic unity. The parallel list in I Chronicles 1:17 also includes Meshech, which emphasizes the geographic-ethnic orientation of the list. There is an interesting report in Jeremiah 46:9 which speaks of the army of Pharaoh Neco and which also mentions the Lydians as bowmen serving as auxiliaries of the Egyptian forces. Some scholars regard *Ludim* (Lydians) as a distortion of *Luvim* (Libyans), but it is more reasonable to assume that the verse refers to mercenary forces of Lydians who, like the Greeks, served in the Egyptian army.

[Aaron Kempinski]

Jews in Lydia

The beginning of Jewish settlement in Lydia is connected with the establishment of Jewish military settlements by Antiochus III. Josephus relates that during Antiochus' campaign in the East in 209–204 B.C.E. a revolt broke out in Lydia and Phrygia, and Antiochus decided to transfer 2,000 Jewish families from Mesopotamia to the rebellious regions. Each family received a plot of land upon which to build a house and for cultivation. They were to be exempt from taxation for ten years, and during the initial period their needs were to be provided for. They received special authority to live according to the customs of their ancestors. The authenticity of the document quoted by Josephus (Ant., 12:147ff.) is denied by some, but since Jews served as soldiers and dwelt in military settlements as early as in the Persian era, it can be regarded as genuine. These settlements became the nucleus of the Jewish settlement in Asia Minor generally and in Lydia in particular. Lydia remained in the possession of Antiochus until the battle of Magnesia in 190 B.C.E. when it was given by the Romans to Eumenes II king of Pergamum.

In 133 B.C.E. Attalus III bequeathed the kingdom to the Romans and an Asian province was created which included Lydia. Information about the Jews of Lydia derives chiefly from the Roman era. Many documents having reference to the Jews of Sardis have been preserved. From a resolution about the Jews by the citizens of Sardis it is clear that the Romans granted the Jews the right to live according to their customs and even to be judged by their own laws. The ancient synagogue of Sardis was discovered and excavated in the 1960s.

The sending of the half shekel to the Temple in Jerusalem was a source of friction between Jews and gentiles, who did not look favorably upon the export of the money from their city to a foreign country. The proconsul Gaius Norbanus Flaccus (in the time of Augustus, 27 B.C.E.–14 C.E.) wrote to the authorities of Sardis ordering them not to prevent the Jews from collecting the money and sending it to Jerusalem. There is extant from a still later period, the time of Trajan, an inscription from the city of Thyatira in Lydia (Frey, Corpus, 2 (1952), 16, no. 752). In this inscription the word *Sambatyon* occurs. Some consider it to be a Jewish inscription, while others regard it as being connected with "the God fearing ones" who were not regarded as full Jews. There is already reference to a "God fearing" woman from this city in an earlier period in Acts 16:14.

[Lea Roth]

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LYON-CAEN, CHARLES LÉON (1843–1935), French jurist. The son of a tailor, Lyon-Caen spent some time on his father's business before studying law. His doctoral thesis, *Partages d'ascendants* (1867), earned him a considerable reputation as a jurist and he became professor of law at the Sorbonne in 1872, a post he held for nearly half a century. Lyon-Caen was an authority on commercial and international law and was the author of important works on both subjects. His *Precis de droit commercial* (2 vols., 1885) and *Traité de droit commercial* (8 vols., 1885), written with Louis Renault, became standard works, while his *Droit international privé maritime* (1883) was one of the first textbooks on maritime law as a separate branch of the law. His other works include *De la condition légale des sociétes étrangères en France* (1870). Lyon-Caen was elected to the Académie des sciences morales et politiques in 1884 and became its permanent secretary in 1893. He was active in Jewish affairs as president of L'œuvre des orphelins Israélites and the Comité d'aide aux émigrants juifs.

[Shulamith Catane]

LYONS, capital of the Rhône department, E. central France. According to a medieval Jewish legend one of the three boats loaded with Jewish captives taken during the siege of Jerusalem docked at Lyons. Herod Antipas, tetrarch of Galilee, was exiled to the city by Caligula in 39 C.E. Lyons seems to have had a Jewish population in both the first and the second centuries. Little more is known about Jews in Lyons until the beginning of the ninth century, however, when there was a large, prosperous, and powerful Jewish community in the city. The Jews owned slaves and also employed Christian laborers in their homes and in their commercial and agricultural enterprises. Relations between Jews and their Christian neighbors appear to have been amicable. Jewish vintners and butchers sold their merchandise to both Jews and Christians. Jews also served as purveyors to the imperial palace. Some Jews were employed in public service, especially as collectors of imposts and taxes. Their religious services also appear to have been attended by Christians, many of whom declared that they preferred the preaching of the Jews to that of the Catholic priests. Such opinions could only have been an extreme irritant to the bishop, *Agobard, who had hoped to convert the local Jews to Christianity. A first attempt around 820, targeting children, involved the use of a measure of force, and encountered determined resistance from parents and the vigorous intervention of the emperor, *Louis the Pious. Louis had to intervene on several other occasions against this troublesome bishop, at times dispatching his special envoys in charge of Jewish affairs, the *missi* or *magister Judaeorum*. *Amulo, Agobard's successor, mounted a campaign against the Jews of Lyons, but without success. In the Middle Ages the Jews lived in the Rue Juiverie at the foot of Fourvière hill. When they were expelled in 1250 they were living in the present Rue Ferrachat. For a century Jews only visited Lyons for short periods, but in the second half of the 14th century there was again a Jewish settlement in the city. They paid municipal taxes, and special officials were appointed with jurisdiction over them. As the city was not part of the Kingdom of France, the new community was not affected by the expulsion order of 1394. They were expelled some years later, however, probably in 1420; most of them moved to neighboring Trévoux. Beginning in the 16th century, Jews reappeared in Lyons sporadically as merchants at the fairs and probably also as correctors of Hebrew printing. A group of Jews arrived in Lyons in 1548 (perhaps from Spain and Portugal), but they too were forced to leave. Apparently Joseph *Nasi opened a bank there for some time, but it was closed down by Henri II. A community gradually reestablished itself in the 17th century, consisting mainly of families from Avignon as well as from Comtat Venaissin, Alsace, and Bordeaux. In 1775, the community officially requested permission to open a cemetery. At first they bought space in the vaults of the city hospital. Twenty years later they were able to purchase a cemetery at La Guillotière. Nevertheless, the number of Jews remained insignificant, and there was no synagogue or permanent prayer room.

[Bernhard Blumenkranz / David Weinberg (2nd ed.)]

The community was attached to the *Consistory of Marseilles in 1808. With the influx of Jews from Alsace and Lorraine, the community grew to number 300 in 1830, and 700 in 1840. The majority lived in very modest circumstances, inhabiting two poor quarters in the Rue Lanterne and Rue de la Barre. From 1838 a prosperous industrialist, Samuel Heyman de Ricqulès, was leader of the community. De Ricqulès initially endowed Jewish schools and charitable institutions with the intention of reforming them; after a few years, however, he encountered hostility from more traditional elements and was forced to retire. The number of Jews grew to 1,000 in 1848 and 1,200 in 1854. The community acquired the services of a salaried rabbi in 1850. In 1857 it formed its own consistory, which also included Saint-Étienne (116 Jews), Chalon-sur-Saône (125), Besançon (379), and Montbéliard (202). Among its presidents were Solomon *Reinach and Generals Levy and Worms. Solomon *Munk represented Lyons at the Central Consistory. In 1864 the Grande Synagogue was erected on the Quai Tilsitt. At the beginning of the 20th century, with the arrival of immigrants from the Mediterranean area, a Sephardi community was formed in the suburb of Saint-Fons. On the eve of World War II Lyons had 500–600 Jewish families.

[Moshe Catane / David Weinberg (2nd ed.)]

Holocaust and Postwar Periods

As a result of the Franco-German agreement (June 1940), Lyons became a "free" city. During much of World War II, it served as a refuge for Jewish organizations, particularly the offices of the Central Consistory, as well as philanthropic and Zionist bodies. Information, both official and unofficial, instructions to the Jewish communities in France, protests against anti-Jewish measures, and secret orders of the resistance all emanated from Lyons. Many Jewish leaders were arrested there. Lyons also hosted a center for Jewish studies for refugee intellectuals, to which Léon *Algazi notably contributed, and a reception center for Jewish physicians, on the initiative of *OSE. During the Occupation the city also provided sanctuary for large numbers of Jews. Probably its most important role was that of a major center of the Jewish resistance. Jewish resistance fighters generally operated in total isolation from other resistance organizations, with only occasional support and cooperation from Catholic and Protestant elements. Lyons was also the home of an active Catholic resistance effort, thanks to the pastoral letter which Cardinal Gerlier had read on September 6, 1942, in which he denounced the persecution of Jews. Led by the notorious Klaus *Barbie, local Nazi officials fought ruthlessly against members of the resistance and against Jews. The arrests, torture, and deportations reached a peak in August 1944, when prisoners from the "Jewish quarters" in the Monluc Fort prison were taken to Bron airfield to de-mine the area after the bombardment. After the war the remains of 109 individuals were uncovered.

After the war many Jewish refugees settled permanently in Lyons. Nevertheless, the community of approximately 7,000 was hardly any larger than in 1939. With the city's economic expansion and the influx of immigrants from North Africa in the 1950s and 1960s, the Jewish population had increased to over 20,000 in 1969. In 1961 the community inaugurated one of the first and foremost community centers in France. The various communal religious bodies – consistorial, Sephardi, and Orthodox – generally worked in close cooperation, and a new synagogue was inaugurated in 1966 in La Duchère, a new quarter of the city. A regional consistory was also founded in 1961. In 1987, there were said to be about 25,000 Jews living in Lyons. The community institutions include an ORT vocational school, two religious schools, and numerous kosher butchers and restaurants. There are more than 20 other communities in the vicinity. Two are especially notable. Villeurbanne, with a Jewish population of 1,900, has a synagogue that was built in 1965 with money from the Claims Conference and with the help of Aktion Suehnezeichen ("Repentance Society"), a group of young Germans seeking expiation for Nazi crimes. The community of Saint Fons-Vénissieux was originally founded in the interwar period by Jews from North Africa. Numbering about 1,000, a majority of whom are industrial workers, it maintains a synagogue and community center.

[Georges Levitte / David Weinberg (2nd ed.)]

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LYONS, ALBERT MICHAEL NEIL (1880–1940), author, known as A. Neil Lyons. Born in Kimberley, South Africa, Lyons came to England as a child and was educated at Bedford Grammar School. From 1899 he was a journalist, chiefly for the *Topical Times.* He then became a prolific playwright. Lyons' best-known work, *London Pride* (1916), "a London play for London people," was written in collaboration with Gladys Unger. Other works by Lyons include *Kitchener Chaps* (1915); an anthology of short stories (1929); *Tom, Dick and Harriet* (1937), and a number of biographies.

ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY: D. Griffiths (ed.), *Encyclopedia of the British Press, 1422–1992* (1992), 383.

LYONS, EUGENE (1898–1984), U.S. journalist and author. Born in Russia and educated in New York, Lyons spent seven years in Moscow after World War I as United Press correspondent. He expressed his disillusionment with the Soviet system in *Assignment in Utopia* (1937). He edited the magazines *American Mercury* and *Pageant*, and joined the staff of the *Reader's Digest* in 1946, becoming a senior editor in 1952. His books continued to reflect his anti-communist outlook: *Stalin, Czar of all the Russias* (1940), *The Red Decade* (1941), and *Our Secret Allies* (1953). He also wrote *Herbert Hoover, A Biography* (1964).

LYONS, ISRAEL (c. 1700–1770), English Hebraist. Lyons, who was born in Poland, settled in Cambridge (c. 1732), worked as a silversmith, and became an authorized teacher of Hebrew at the university. He contributed Hebrew verses to the volume of elegies (1738) on the funeral of Queen Caroline and published *The Scholar's Instructor, or Hebrew Grammar* (1735; many subsequent editions) and *Observations Relating to Various Parts of Scripture History* (1768). His son ISRAEL LYONS (1739–1775) was an astronomer, botanist, explorer, and mathematician. At the age of 19 he published *A Treatise on Fluxions* (1758), and *a Fasciculus Plantarum circa Cantabrigiam Nascentium* (1763). In 1773 he was appointed principal astronomer to the expedition of Captain Phipps to the North Pole. Lyons appears in a most flattering light in Maria Edgeworth's novel, *Harrington* (1817).

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[Cecil Roth]

LYONS, JACQUES JUDAH (1813–1877), *ḥazzan*, rabbi, and communal leader. Lyons was born in Surinam. He served as a *ḥazzan* of Congregation Neve Shalom in Paramaribo (1833–37). Immigrating to the United States, he served for two years as *ḥazzan* of Congregation Beth Shalom of Richmond, Virginia, and in 1839 began his ministry at the oldest Jewish congregation in the United States, the Spanish-Portuguese congregation Shearith Israel of New York City. Lyons, who was unyielding in his orthodoxy, served as superintendent of the Polonies Talmud Torah School attached to his congregation, as president of Hebra Hased va-Emet, the congregation's benevolent society, and as a director of the Sampson Simson Theological Fund, and was a founder of the Jews' Hospital. Lyons and Abraham *de Sola of Montreal prepared and published *A Jewish Calendar for Fifty Years* (1854), including an essay on the Jewish calendar system and historical data about Jewish communities in the United States, Canada, and the West Indies. From before 1861 to the end of his life, Lyons gathered data and sources on the history of the Jews of the U.S. Although he died before completing the work, this collection was donated to and calendared by the American Jewish Historical Society (see bibl.) and is a most significant source for students of early North American Jewish history.

Lyons is memorialized in the poem "Rosh Ha-Shanah, 5638" by his niece Emma *Lazarus.

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[Isidore S. Meyer]

LYONS, SIR JOSEPH (1848–1917), English caterer and founder of J. Lyons and Company. Lyons was born in London, educated in a Jewish school, and started his career as a watercolor painter, exhibiting at the Royal Institute. In 1887 he joined Alfred *Salmon, the brothers Montague, and Isidore *Gluckstein in founding the catering firm of J. Lyons and Company, of which he became the chairman. This concern began by catering at exhibitions, and in 1894 opened the first of many tea shops. It pioneered popular catering and developed into the largest catering establishment in Britain. Sir Joseph Lyons was deputy-lieutenant for the County of London. He was knighted in 1911. J. Lyons continued to be one of the best-known chains of cafeterias and tea shops in Britain for most of the 20th century.

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LYONS, LEONARD (1906–1976), U.S. newspaper columnist. Born in New York, Lyons practiced as a lawyer while writing a column for the English-language section of the *Jewish Daily Forward*. In 1934 he started his popular column, "The Lyons Den," in the *New York Post*. For 40 years, Lyons churned out six columns a week, chronicling the activities of celebrities and important figures in all walks of life and all ranks up to the White House. His column was syndicated in more than 100 newspapers in the U.S. and abroad. His personal policy of focusing on the positive rather than the scandalous aspects of his subjects' lives endeared him to the many public figures he sought to interview. Blending his professional with his personal life, Lyons counted among his close friends such luminaries as Alfred Hitchcock, Ernest Hemingway, Ava Gardner, Marlene Dietrich, Orson Welles, Milton Berle, Sofia Loren, and Joe DiMaggio. His son Jeffrey Lyons was a well-known film and theater critic.

[Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

LYOTARD, JEAN-FRANÇOIS (1924–1998), French postmodern and poststructuralist philosopher. Lyotard was a central figure in the theory debates in the last quarter of the 20th century. He combined political activities with an academic career. He was a socialist militant, although later he distanced himself from Marxism as a totalizing theory. He was active in the cause of Algerian liberation, and supported the student revolution of May 1968, when he was at the Philosophy Department at the University of Paris X, Nanterre. Lyotard held several university positions before becoming professor of philosophy at the University of Paris VIII, Vincennes. He was active in the Collège International de la Philosophie, with Jacques *Derrida, and also served as visiting professor in various American universities.

Work

Following his early interest in phenomenology (*La Phénoménologie*, 1954), Lyotard became critical towards his earlier work in *Discours, figure* (1971), preferring psychoanalysis to phenomenology. He also criticized Marxism and structuralism, including the psychoanalysis of Lacan, in the name of a "libidinal economy" (*Economie libidinale*, 1974). The publication of *Au juste* and *La Condition postmoderne*, both published in 1979, and foremost *Le Différend* (1984), represent further milestones in his thought.

La Condition postmoderne is the first philosophical essay in which the terms "postmodern" and "postmodernity" are keywords, expressing the idea of the incredibility of meta-narratives. For Lyotard, science does not justify itself; accordingly, it needs narratives, which in turn endow scientific knowledge with coherence and direction.

Lyotard was deeply suspicious of theories purporting to tell "the truth" about something. His thought had many political and social consequences. In characterizing society as "libidinal economy," Lyotard accentuated the role of desire in society. He described reality in terms of energy, feelings, and desires. There are different desires at work in political and social contexts. Lyotard advocated a "libidinal politics" in which a variety of desires would not be destroyed. Totalizing and terrorizing theories would not allow desires to flourish. He further maintained that there is a conflict between truth and justice. If one appeals to general truth in order to realize justice, this is unjust, since one excludes different desires and other views of truth. He argued that the "grand narratives," that present themselves as the comprehensive understanding of humankind and its history, had lost their credibility and failed. He challenged master narratives with the discourse of others and invited the reader to leave the grand narratives. Politics, contrary to what Plato and Aristotle thought, is not the science or art of the good; rather, politicians ought to choose the lesser evil, since other voices are always silenced by political decisions.

Libidinal philosophy thus renounces universal truth and the meta-narratives of science, work, freedom, universal fraternity and history, Marxism, and human emancipation, and uncovers what detached theories seek to keep at a distance. It was modernism's project to realize universality, yet this universality was often conceived as white and European or American. Lyotard did not believe in these narratives of progress and civilization, which culminate in Hegel's vision of history or in F. Fukuyma's ideas concerning the end of history. Lyotard thought that reality is made up of singular events that general theories cannot represent, and he opted for a society with a multiplicity of language games and codes of conduct.

In his work, Lyotard highlighted the role of the non-rational and showed how it differs from intelligible structure. In his critique of Lacan, for instance, he discloses how desire as a non-linguistic force is more than what is understood in the structuralist understanding of the unconscious as a symbolic system. In Lyotard's mind, Auschwitz counters Hegel's thesis that reality and rationality are reversible, in other words, that the deeper structure of reality is rational. Lyotard maintained that, in the Hegelian perspective, Auschwitz would be an accidental, irrational event that does not prevent history from becoming more and more rational. For Lyotard, the event of Auschwitz itself contradicts Hegel's thesis that reality conforms to a rational structure.

There is a clear influence of Emmanuel *Levinas in Lyotard's writings; for instance, both thinkers oppose totalization. But their philosophies are also very different, if only for the fact that Lyotard contrasts ethics and politics.

Lyotard and the "Jew"

Building upon Freud's thinking, Lyotard writes on the unforgettable that is always forgotten. He emphasizes the "forgotten" and defines real history as "anamnesis" (recollection). The "jew," which Lyotard wrote in lower case and between quotation marks, would represent the repressed, which is the object of psychoanalysis as "*la recherche du temps perdu*" (in search of lost time). The "jew," to whom Lyotard attributes a symbolic meaning, is the name that the West has given to its own unconscious anguish; the "jew" is linked to the disturbing Law and is not to be assimilated to others. Freud, Benjamin, Adorno, Arendt, and Celan would be great non-German Germans and non-Jewish Jews, stateless persons who, in their ethical life, detest geo-philosophy and are always linked to what brings a person out of the sameness, in contact with otherness. Lyotard developed a critical thinking concerning Martin Heidegger's ontology that lacks ethics. In his eyes, Freud belonged to those persons who knew that ethics is not linked to a place. On the background of Lyotard's thoughts of the crisis of the great ideals and of all unifying thinking, the "jews," who hold high the prohibition of making idols, are not to be distilled in a dubious all-encompassing, universal world history that does not distinguish between ideal and reality.

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[Ephraim Meir (2nd ed.)]

°**LYSANIAS** (d. c. 36 B.C.E.), son of Ptolemy (son of Mennaeus), king of Chalcis in the region of the Lebanon. On the death of his father (c. 40 B.C.E.), Lysanias inherited the principality of Chalcis and continued to support the Hasmonean prince, Antigonus, in the latter's attempt to oust the house of Herod from Judea. To this end Lysanias induced the Parthian satrap of Syria, Barzapharnes, to restore Antigonus to his throne, offering the Parthian 1,000 talents and 500 women (cf. Jos., Wars 1:248; according to Jos., Ant. 14:331 the offer was made by Antigonus himself). The ensuing Parthian conquest of Judea (40 B.C.E.) was short-lived, and with the defeat of the Parthians Lysanias lost his kingdom, which was presented by Mark Antony to the Egyptian queen Cleopatra (37–36 B.C.E.). Lysanias was subsequently accused by Cleopatra of supporting the anti-Roman invasion, and was executed by order of Antony.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Schuerer, Gesch, 4 (1911^4), 75 (index), s.v.

[Isaiah Gafni]

°**LYSIAS** (d. 162 B.C.E.), Syrian general during the Hasmonean War. When in the spring of 165 B.C.E. Antiochus IV went on an expedition to the east he appointed Lysias ruler of the western sector of the Seleucid empire, from the Euphrates to the border of Egypt. Lysias was charged, among other things, with the care of the heir apparent and the crushing of the revolt of Judah Maccabee during the emperor's absence (I Macc. 3:31–37). Lysias accordingly sent an army under *Gorgias against Judah, but the defeat of Gorgias in the battle of Emmaus compelled him to march in person against Judea. According to I Maccabees (though some scholars cast doubt on the veracity of this account) fortune did not favor Lysias, and as a result of his failure the persecutions were abolished and a general amnesty proclaimed by Antiochus IV. On the death of Antiochus shortly afterward, Lysias became regent and de facto ruler of the empire, in the name of Antiochus V who was a minor. Judah's attempt to capture the *Acra compelled Lysias to come again to Judea, this time with a large army, and accompanied by the king. At the battle of Bet Zekharyah (163 B.C.E.) the Syrians gained the upper hand and Lysias besieged Judah and his followers who had fortified themselves within the Temple. He was, however, forced to raise the siege in order to fight against Philip, who had been appointed heir by Antiochus before his death. Lysias, whose influence with the young king was paramount, made peace with Judah and in addition to rescinding the edicts, restored the Temple to the Jews. The evidence in II Maccabees 11 completes the general picture and confirms Lysias' willingness to pacify the Jews not only by military means but also by rescinding the decrees and restoring religious freedom. When Demetrius I was appointed to the Syrian throne, Lysias was put to death.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Schuerer, Hist., 31f., 36–39.

[Uriel Rappaport]

°**LYSIMACHUS OF ALEXANDRIA** (of uncertain date), author of several mythographical works and a book on Egypt. In addition to the scurrilous versions of the Exodus given by *Manetho and *Chaeremon, Josephus adds the account of Lysimachus, who, he says, "surpasses both in the incredibility of his fictions" (Apion, 1:304–20). According to Lysimachus' version, in the reign of Bocchoris (perhaps a corruption of *bekhor,* in allusion to the plague of the first-born during which the Jews left Egypt), king of Egypt, the Jews (see also *Tacitus, *Historiae*, 5:3), afflicted with leprosy and scurvy, took refuge in the temples. A dearth ensued throughout Egypt, and an oracle of Ammon informed the king that the failure of the crops could be averted only by purging the temples of impure persons, driving them out into the wilderness and drowning those afflicted with leprosy. After the lepers had been drowned, the others, numbering 110,600 were exposed in the desert to perish. A certain Moses, however, advised them to proceed until they reached inhabited country, instructing them to show goodwill to no man, to offer not the best but the worst advice, and to overthrow any temples which they found. When they came to the country now called Judea, they built a town called Hierosyla ("town of temple-robbers"). At a later date they altered the name to avoid reproach and called the city Hierosolyma. Josephus attempts to refute the account, not by offering other evidence, but by showing its intrinsic improbability.

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[David Winston]

LYUBESHOV (Pol. **Lubieszów**; Yid. **Libeshey**), ḥasidic dynasty established in Lithuanian Polesie in the early 19th century, originating in Volhynia. Its founder, SHEMARIAH WEINGARTEN (d. 1846), was the son of Abraham Abba-Joseph of Soroca (Soroki) and son-in-law of the celebrated Volhynian *ẓaddik* David ha-Levi of Stepan. His leadership was acknowledged in Pinsk, *Kobrin, Lyubeshov, Janow, Telekhany, Motol, and Khomsk, among other places. Shemariah, who was also a scholar, was given a special right to the rabbinate in Kobrin and the surrounding villages, a unique case in the annals of Ḥasidism in Lithuania. The establishment of the dynasty helped to spread Ḥasidism in this part of Polesie. Shemariah's successor in Lyubeshov was his son JEHIEL MICHAEL, and later, his other son ABRAHAM ABBA (d. 1861), who served as rabbi of the nearby town of Janow and in Lyubeshov. At that time the influence of the Lyubeshov dynasty, especially in Kobrin, passed to the ḥasidic "court" of Kobrin. After Abraham Abba's death, his son ḤAYYIM ISAAC served as *ẓaddik* from 1861 to 1879, and his grandson JACOB LOEB from 1879 to 1922. In 1886 the second son of Ḥayyim Isaac, ABBA (d. c. 1924), served as *ẓaddik* in Janow, which caused a split among the Lyubeshov Ḥasidim. The successor of Jacob Loeb in Lyubeshov was his son ISAAC AARON, who lived in Pinsk and gathered around him the Lyubeshov Ḥasidim. Between the two world wars he visited his Ḥasidim in the U.S. He and his followers perished during the Holocaust.

It was characteristic of Lyubeshov Ḥasidim that their *ẓaddikim* served as rabbis of towns in Lithuania (Kobrin, Janow, and Lyubeshov). Essentially it was a branch of the Volhynian Ḥasidism. Their *ẓaddikim* left no written works. An important principle of Lyubeshov Ḥasidim was the holiness of the *ẓaddik*. They opposed fasting, emphasized the virtue of joy, and had their own melodies. They were concerned with settlement in Ereẓ Israel and during the 19th century set up a Lyubeshov **kolel* there.

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[Wolf Zeev Rabinowitsch]

LYUBOML (Pol. **Luboml**), city in Volhynia district, Ukraine. Jews are mentioned in documents in the years 1370–82. Under King Sigismund II Augustus in 1557 they obtained a privilege which freed them from any jurisdiction except that of the governor of the province, and guaranteed them the right of appeal to the king. In 1558 the community prohibited the Jews from buying houses and land within the city walls from gentiles, fearing that Jewish homes might be set on fire or the Jews expelled. King Michael Wiśniowiecki confirmed the privileges of Lyuboml Jewry in 1671. In the 1670s a synagogue in a fortress style was erected, to be part of city defense fortifications. The poll tax of 1721 amounted to 833 zlotys, but because of a fire which destroyed much Jewish property in 1729 it was reduced to 544 zlotys; 1,226 poll tax paying Jews then lived in Lyuboml and the settlements under the community's jurisdiction. In 1847, 2,130 Jews lived in the city, and by 1897 there were 3,297 (73% of the total population). In 1921 there were 3,141 Jews (94% of the total population), in 1931 3,807 (of 4,169 total population) in the city of Lyuboml. Most of the small traders and artisans were Jews, and they owned the flour mills, and the trade in farm productions. There were two Hebrew Tarbut schools, one Yavne religious school, and a small yeshivah.

[*Encyclopaedia Judaica* (Germany)]

Holocaust Period

Before the outbreak of World War II there were about 3,500 Jews in Lyuboml. The German army entered the town on Sept. 17, 1939, but according to the German-Soviet agreement, it withdrew after three days when the Red Army entered the town. The economy was nationalized, all Jewish organizations and institutions were closed, and one Yiddish school with a Soviet curriculum remained. The Germans occupied the town on June 25, 1941, and some of the 500 Jews who had been drafted into the Red Army were caught and executed. On July 22, 400 men were murdered, and on August 21 another 400 were killed, mostly women. On December 5, 1941, Jews were herded into a ghetto with a density of up to 20 persons per room. For a week from Oct. 1, 1942, the ghetto inmates were murdered – on the first day about 1,800 Jews were killed. There were groups who tried to escape, but only 30 succeeded in reaching the forests, and joined Soviet or Polish partisan units. After the war, the Jewish community of Lyuboml was not reconstituted.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Halpern, Pinkas, index; B. Wasiutyński, *Ludność żydowska w Polsce…* (1930), 84; M. Balaban, in: *Yevreyskaya Starina*, 3 (1910), 189; *Yalkut Vohlin*, 16–17 (1953), 60–62. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** S. Spektor (ed.), *Pinkas ha-Kehillot*, *Poland*, vol. 5, *Volhynia and Polesie* (1990).

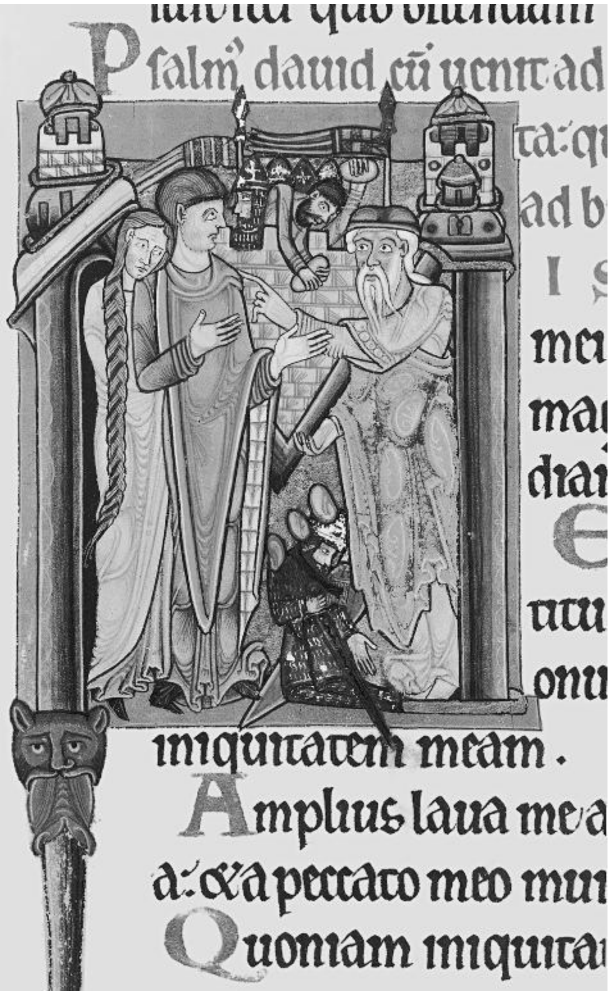

Initial letter for the word Misere mei, *"Have mercy upon me," at the beginning of Psalm 51 (Vulgate Ps. 50) from the 12th-century* Psalter of York. *Seen here are David, with Bath-Sheba behind him, being admonished by Nathan. Uriah the Hittite lies dead, stoned by an Ammonite. Copenhagen, Royal Library, Thott, 143, fol. 68r.*

MA-MEK

MAACAH (Heb. מַעֲכָה),

(1) one of David's wives, daughter of Talmai King of Geshur, mother of Absalom (II Sam. 3:3; I Chron. 3:2);

(2) one of Rehoboam's wives, daughter of *Absalom or Abisalom son of David, mother of Abijam or Abijah (I Kings 15:2; II Chron. 11:20, 22) and Asa (I Kings 15:11; II Chron. 15:16).

The references to the second Maacah pose certain problems, as a literal reading of all the passages related to her indicates that she is the daughter of Absalom, who, according to II Samuel 14:27, had only one daughter, Tamar. The above references also indicate that Maacah is the mother of Abijah. According to II Chronicles 13:2 (MT), Abijah's mother is Micaiah, daughter of Uriel. Finally the references show Maacah also to be the mother of Asa.

In order to resolve these contradictions, the Masoretic Text of II Chronicles 13:2 must be corrected in accordance with the Septuagint, which reads "Maacah daughter of Uriel." (Everywhere else in the Masoretic Text as well as in the Septuagint Abijah's mother is called Maacah daughter of Absalom.) With this correction the problems are more easily resolved. Maacah is then the granddaughter of Absalom, the daughter of Uriel and Tamar, the mother of Abijah, and the grandmother of Asa. Some of the original confusion results from the fact that the Bible often used the term "children" for "grandchildren" and even descendants who are generations removed (cf. Gen. 31:28; I Kings 15:11, et al.).

W. Rudolph (see bibl.) adopts the view of M. Noth (see bibl.) that II Chronicles 13:2 represents the original text of I Kings 15:2 which is now influenced by I Kings 15:10. Then Abijah would be the son of Rehoboam's wife Micaiah daughter of Uriel, and Asa the son of Abijah's wife Maacah, who would have been the literal daughter of an unknown Absalom, not the granddaughter of David's son Absalom. King Asa deposed Maacah from being queen mother because of an abominable image she had made for Asherah (I Kings 15:13). S. Yeivin maintains that Maacah is Abijah's mother, while Micaiah daughter of Uriel is Asa's mother, and that Asa is Rehoboam's son, and Abijah's half brother.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: S. Yeivin, in: BJPES, 10 (1943), 116–9; M. Noth, *Überlieferungsgeschichtliche Studien* (1943), 143; W. Rudolph, *Chronikbücher* (1955), 231–3; EM, 5 (1968), 193–4 (incl. bibl.). **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** S. Japhet, *I & II Chronicles* (1993), 670–72; M. Cogan, I *Kings* (AB; 2000), 392–93.

MA'AGAN MIKHA'EL (Heb. מַעֲגַן מִיכָאֵל; "Michael's Anchorage"), kibbutz on the seashore of Israel at the southern end of the Carmel Coast, affiliated with Ha-Kibbutz ha-Me'uḥad. Ma'agan Mikha'el was founded in 1949 by the first group of graduates of the Israel boy scout movement, who were later joined by immigrants from different countries. In 1969 Ma'agan Mikha'el had 665 inhabitants. By 2002 the number had increased to 1,290. Its economy was based on fruit plantations, crops, livestock, carp ponds, software, and an injection molding plant for plastic products. A nature reserve is located at Ma'agan Mikha'el, at the split mouth of the Tanninim ("crocodiles") River. The reserve, rich in water fowl, comprises the Yonim ("doves") islet in the sea and the former Kabāra swamps which were drained by the *Palestine Jewish Colonization Association (PICA), and hosts many migratory birds. Prehistoric finds were made in the nearby Kabāra caves. The name of the kibbutz commemorates Mikhael Pollak, a director of PICA.

WEBSITE: maaganm.kibbutz.org.il.

[Efraim Orni]

MA'ALEH ADUMIM (Heb. מַעֲלֵה אֲדֻמִּים), city located east of Jerusalem, on the Jericho road. Ma'aleh Adumim was founded in 1977 by Israelis and new immigrants. The city is located on land occupied by Israel during the Six-Day War, spreading over 20 sq. mi. (50 sq. km.). Various Israeli governments have avowed that Ma'aleh Adumim will remain part of Israel in any peace settlement. In 2002 the population of the city reached 26,500, growing at the high rate of 2.9% annually. The majority of the population works in nearby Jerusalem, while some are employed in the industrial area of the city.

[Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

MA'ALEH AKRABBIM (Heb. מַעֲלֵה עַקְרַבִּים; JPS, "ascent of Akrabbim"; "ascent of the scorpions"), locality mentioned several times in the Bible as being at the southern boundary of the Promised Land. According to Numbers 34:4, the border started "at the end of the Salt [Dead] Sea eastward" and turned south of Ma'aleh Akrabbim, continuing toward the "wilderness of Zin"; the account in Joshua 15:3 is similar. The border of the Amorites apparently ran from Ma'aleh Akrabbim, "from Sela, and upward" (Judg. 1:36). Abel identified it with Naqb al-Ṣafī to the west of the Arabah, while Mazar locates it to the east, on the road to Sela. The Akrabattine of I Maccabees 5:3 apparently refers to the district of Acraba to the north of Jerusalem.

Ma'aleh Akrabbim is now the name of a section of a road to Eilat that snakes down into the canyon of Naḥal Ẓin, about 2½ mi. (4 km.) west of the "Small Crater" (Makhtesh ha-Katan). Until the road to Eilat that passes through Ma'aleh ha-Aẓma'ut by Miẓpeh Ramon was built, all traffic to Eilat passed through Ma'aleh Akrabbim. The spot is an excellent lookout point over Naḥal Ẓin and the Arabah.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Abel, Geog, 2 (1938), 46–47; W.J. Phythian-Adams, in: PEFQS, 65 (1933), 143 ff.; EM, 5 (1968), 195 f.

[Michael Avi-Yonah]

MA'ALEH HA-ḤAMISHAH (Heb. מַעֲלֵה הַחֲמָשָׁה, "Ascent of the Five"), kibbutz in the Judean Hills, 8 mi. (13 km.) W. of Jerusalem, affiliated to Iḥud ha-Kevuẓot ve-ha-Kibbutzim, founded in 1938 as a *stockade and watchtower settlement by pioneers of the Gordonia youth movement from Lodz, Poland. In the weeks before setting up their village, the group, then living at nearby Kiryat Anavim, worked in reclaiming the site and planting forests. Arab terrorists killed five members of the group in an ambush. The name of the new kibbutz was chosen to commemorate them. In the Israeli *War of Independence (1948), it held out in its advanced position against the Arab Legion, which had taken possession of the nearby "Radar Camp." Until the *Six-Day War, the armistice border passed close by. On the evening of June 5, 1967, Israel forces launched an attack from the kibbutz on the Radar Camp, thereby opening the operations which eventually brought all of Jerusalem and Judea-Samaria under Israel control. The kibbutz economy was based on deciduous fruit orchards and vineyards, dairy cattle and poultry, on a sweets and confectionery factory, a large rest home, and a public swimming pool. Extensive forests were planted in the vicinity. Its population in 1968 was 290. By the mid-1990s, the population had expanded to approximately 480, but in by 2002 it had dropped to 347 inhabitants, with the economy based mainly on the rest home and other branches liquidated.

WEBSITE: www.inisrael.com/maale5/index.html

[E.O. / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

MA'ALOT-TARSHĪḤĀ (Heb. מַעֲלוֹת־תַּרְשִׁיחָה; "Heights"), urban community in western Upper Galilee, 12 mi. (20 km.) E. of Nahariyyah, founded in 1957, to replace two *ma'barot* in the vicinity. In 1963 Ma'alot was united with the Arab village Tarshīḥā lying over 1 mile (2 km.) further west. Tarshīḥā was a center of western Galilee, and antiquities found in its vicinity date back to the Roman and Byzantine periods. In the Israeli *War of Independence, Tarshīḥā served as the headquarters of the Arab "Liberation Army" under Fawzi Kaukji until it was taken by Israel forces in Operation Ḥiram on Oct. 30, 1948. In 1965 a municipal council was set up in Ma'alot-Tarshīḥā. Although several industrial enterprises (textile, plastic, food, and building material) existed at Ma'alot in 1969, its economy was not yet firmly established due to the high percentage of welfare cases and the inadequacy of a local labor force. Tarshīḥā's economic situation was far better, as many of its inhabitants were employed as skilled laborers in the Nahariyyah and Haifa areas or maintained lucrative farmsteads. In 1969 the town had 4,750 inhabitants including 3,160 Jews in Ma'alot, the majority of whom originated from North African countries, and 1,590 Arabs at Tarshīḥā, some Muslim and some Christian. Ma'alot was the target of an early terrorist attack, in May 1974, when 21 schoolchildren were killed. In the mid-1990s, the population was approximately 12,800, rising to 20,650 in 2002, including 80% Jews, 9% Muslims, 10% Christians, and 1% Druzes. In 1996 Ma'alot-Tarshiḥa received city status. Its area is 2.7 sq. mi. (7 sq. km.). During the 1990s, the economic base of the city was expanded by the addition of 100 factories and workshops, but income remained well below the national average. From 1992 Ma'alot-Tarshiḥa has hosted the International Symposium for Stone Sculpturing.

WEBSITE: www.maltar.org.il.

[Efraim Orni / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

MA'AMAD or **MAHAMAD**, council of elders in a Sephardi community or congregation in the West after the expulsion from Spain, corresponding to the *kahal (in the sense of the supreme community council) in Ashkenazi communities. Schooled by bitter memories of the crisis in Spain on the eve of the expulsion, the policy of the *ma'amad* tended to be conservative and authoritarian in the extreme. One of the characteristic features of *ma'amad* policy was that on completion of its term of office the *ma'amad* itself appointed its successors. A nominee was obliged to accept the assignment. Those who disobeyed the directives of the *ma'amad* were fined heavily, and in some cases were even excommunicated.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Baron, Community, 2 (1942), 52.

[Natan Efrati]

MA'ANIT (Heb. מַעֲנִית; "Furrow"), kibbutz in central Israel, E. of Pardes Ḥannah, affiliated with Kibbutz Arẓi Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir. It was founded in 1942 by pioneers from Czechoslovakia. In the Israel *War of Independence (1948), the village, lying close to the Samarian Hills, was exposed to Arab attack. Ma'anit engaged in intensive farming (field crops, avocado plantations, citrus groves, and dairy cattle), and operated Galam, the country's leading fructose, glucose, and starch manufacturer for industrial and consumer use. In the mid-1990s, the population was approximately 550, dropping to 459 in 2002. Ma'anit lies near the site of ancient *Narbata where, in 66 C.E., Jews from Caesarea sought refuge when the war against Rome broke out (Jos., Wars, 2:5, 14). In its initial years, the kibbutz bore the name Narbata.

[Efraim Orni]

MA'ARAVOT (Heb. מַעֲרָבוֹת, also *ma'aravim*, sing. מַעֲרָבִית *ma'aravit*), an arrangement of *piyyutim* that embellish the *Ma'ariv* (*Arvit) prayers for festivals and special Sabbaths. The *piyyutim* are topical and conclude with an allusion to all the blessings recited before the *Amidah. Originally these *piyyutim* were used in place of the regular prayers, but in the course of time the regular prayers were reinstated and the *piyyutim* were offered at the end of each prayer just before its blessing. Except for the lengthy *piyyut* recited before *Mi Khamokha* ("Who is like Thee"), the *piyyutim* are brief. This lengthy *piyyut* is composed in the form of a single or double alphabetical acrostic with the name of the author appearing at the end. Some communities customarily added a *reshut* ("prelude") to the *Ma'ariv*. On the eve of Shavuot, *Tosefet Bikkur* ("Addition of First Fruit") or simply *Bikkur*, a *piyyut* whose subject is the bringing of the first fruits, is recited. The *ma'aravot* are in current usage in most Ashkenazi communities, but there are no *ma'aravot* in the Sephardi rite.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Elbogen, Gottesdienst, 212; Idelsohn, Liturgy, 194, 330f.

[Abraham Meir Habermann]

MA'AREKHET HA-ELOHUT (Heb. מַעֲרֶכֶת הָאֱלֹהוּת; "The Order of God"), an anonymous systematic book of early Kabbalah literature. Moses Cordovero attributed it to Todros *Abulafia while Jacob Reifmann believed the author to be *Baḥya b. Asher. In the first edition, published in Ferrara in 1557, the book is attributed to *Perez the tosafist, but no author is named on the title page of the Mantua edition of 1558. The annotator remarks in his preface that "it is written that the author is the *Gaon* Perez the tosafist, but the truth is not known." There is no doubt whatsoever that the book cannot be ascribed to any of these writers. It was written at the end of the 13th or the beginning of the 14th century by a man who associated with the disciples of Solomon b. Abraham *Adret, in whose name and that of the kabbalist R. Isaac (probably Adret's colleague Isaac b. Todros), the author introduces some kabbalistic interpretations. There is reason to believe that he made use of *Keter Shem Tov* by Shem Tov (b. Abraham) ibn Gaon, which was written around that time.

Because of its systematic nature, *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut* became one of the classical books of Kabbalah. The many commentaries on it, most of which were composed in Italy in the 15th and early 16th centuries, show the great interest it aroused. About ten commentaries were written, two of which were printed: the anonymous commentary which Judah *Ḥayyat called "*Paz*" (*Perush Zulati*, "commentary not by me"), and the commentary written by Judah Ḥayyat at the request of the elders of Mantua. The identity of the first commentator has not been established; recently it has become apparent that he was probably Reuben Ẓarefati, author of *Perush ha-Yeri'ah ha-Gedolah* and *Perush ha-Yeri'ah ha-Ketannah*. According to Judah Ḥayyat, and, as indicated by the many extant manuscripts, this commentary circulated widely in Italy during the late 15th century. "*Paz*" was printed in full in Ferrara and in a considerably abridged version in the Mantua edition (1558). The two commentaries are largely independent works and in their thematic discussions they go beyond the framework of a commentary. The systematic analysis of *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut* by David Neumark (see bibl.) contributes very little to the understanding of the work, and Neumark's belief that it exerted a great influence on the Zohar is chronologically impossible and conceptually incorrect.

In general, the author's main aim was to remove, or at least weaken, the mythical elements which are basic in the Kabbalah and in certain rabbinic sayings. The author's theosophical tendency is not made apparent in the first two chapters, which are essentially theological and do not constitute a consistent theory. The author's purpose in the first chapter is to indicate that true faith is based on the concept of a personal God, the Creator of the world and its supervisor. God acts in the world and He can alter the laws of nature, as proven by the miracles related in the Bible. The second chapter, however, stresses the absolute unity of God, which is based on the denial of any corporeality, plurality, or change within Him. In God there is neither modification of thought nor of action. There is no change in Him and none in His deeds. The changes revealed by worldly events are caused by the actions of man. Man is a vessel which contains God's action, which is simple and undifferentiated but is received differently by different people, each one according to his merit.

The author's theosophical speculations first appear in the third chapter. The Divinity is here defined as the totality of the ten *Sefirot*, which constitute God's direction of the world. This aspect of God alone is expressed in the Bible and Talmud while the Divinity Itself, referred to as *Ein-Sof* ("infinity"), is hinted at only to initiates. *Ein-Sof*, the infinite, the hidden aspect of the Divine, is expressed neither through the order of nature nor in the laws of the Torah. The act of emanation itself, which is the emergence of the *Sefirot* from *Ein-Sof*, does not constitute an innovation or a change in the Divine: it is simply the revelation of what had been hitherto concealed. The author attempts to explain through reasoning and homily that both the legends of the rabbis on the modification in God's thought regarding the ways in which the world should be conducted and the description of the dynamic relations among the diverse *Sefirot* in Kabbalah literature are simply a projection of human experience upon Divinity. Because it is observable in human experience that man decides on the most desirable alternative by a process of choice and deliberation, he therefore ascribes to divine leadership an ideal synthesis of Justice and Mercy, as if it resulted from a similar process. In a similar manner, he expounds the aggadic legend concern ing the waning of the moon which the kabbalists related to an act occurring in the world of the *Sefirot*; other legends are also given a kabbalistic interpretation.

The chapter entitled "*Sha'ar ha-Harisah*" (about the nature of sin) is of particular interest. According to this, the sins related in the Bible as committed by individuals or generations are essentially sins of a mystical character. Though the sin was actually committed, its essential significance lies in the thought connected with it. In some instances the sin is brought about by an excess of meditation, while in others it results from the sinner's wish to disrupt the pattern of relationship of the *Sefirot*. Most of these themes had already appeared in earlier kabbalistic literature but here they are given a systematic description, and the book is also a systematic summary of most themes treated in early Kabbalah literature.

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[Efraim Gottlieb]

MAARIV, Israeli daily newspaper published in Tel Aviv. *Maariv* was founded in February 1948 by journalists who had left **Yedioth Aharonoth* following disagreements with its proprietor. The group, led by Dr. Azriel *Carlebach, who became the editor of *Maariv*, included Aryeh *Dissenchik, Shmuel *Schnitzer, Shalom *Rosenfeld, and David Giladi; it sought to create a newspaper run as a journalistic cooperative. Sixty percent of the paper's equity and 50% of its voting shares were held by journalists. Requiring extra-journalistic financial backing, they turned to investor Oved Ben Ami. Although the cooperative-style journalistic management strengthened motivation through participation it created a cumbersome editorial decision-making process – which eventually contributed to *Maariv*'s losing its position as the country's largest selling newspaper to *Yedioth Aharonoth*. Originally the newspaper appeared in the late afternoon, but, like *Yedioth Aharonoth*, over the years it began appearing earlier in the day so that by the 1980s it had become a morning newspaper in all but name. The editorial board reflected a spectrum of political views, if mostly to the right. Until the 1980s, the newspaper was regarded as a mid-market newspaper, catering to a broad readership, with serious in-depth coverage of changing events, but without the intellectual stuffiness which characterized some of the morning daily press. After Carlebach died in 1956, he was replaced by Aryeh Dissenchik, whose wide connections in the political establishment brought the newspaper a slew of exclusive reports. But after Dissenchik's death in 1974, and his replacement by Shalom Rosenfeld, the paper's circulation declined, dropping still further when Shmuel Schnitzer, the paper's widely read columnist, succeeded Rosenfeld in turn. The paper's somewhat paternalistic and patriotic style failed to keep up with the country's changing political mood in the 1970s, and lacked appeal to younger people and the rising Sephardi class. In a vain attempt to halt the circulation decline, Iddo Dissenchik, son of Aryeh Dissenchik, was appointed editor in 1985. A graduate of the Columbia School of Journalism, Dissenchik had previously been a news editor on the paper and its foreign correspondent in the United States. He introduced a number of changes, including new supplements. But in order to inject further capital into the paper, 87% of its stock was sold to Robert *Maxwell, the British media mogul, who, in turn, appointed Dov *Yudkovsky, who since 1989 had represented Maxwell's Israeli interests, as editor. A $25 million full-color printing press was purchased. After Maxwell died in 1992 the newspaper was bought by arms dealer Yaacov *Nimrodi, who gave his son, Ofer, responsibility for the newspaper. At the time of Maxwell's death, the newspaper had accumulated debts of $40 million and its circulation was 90,000 daily and 200,000 on weekends as against *Yedioth Aharonoth*'s 295,000 daily and 350,000 on weekends. Dan *Margalit, *Maariv*'s op-ed editor, served briefly as editor, a post which Ofer Nimrodi himself filled from 1992 to 1995, when Yaacov Erez, the paper's veteran military correspondent, became editor. In the so-called wiretapping scandal Nimrodi was imprisoned for eight months in 1999 for wiretapping the phones of *Yedioth Aharonoth* publisher Arnon *Mozes and Dov Yudkovsky. Amnon Abramovitch, a *Maariv* investigative reporter, resigned from the newspaper after discovering that his telephone had also been tapped. In 2003 Amnon *Dankner, a *Maariv* columnist who had come to Nimrodi's defense in the wiretapping scandal, was appointed editor. Under Nimrodi, *Maariv* went downmarket in editorial content and layout, but while he succeeded in reducing the gap between *Maariv* and *Yedioth Aharonoth* – 23% of Israelis read *Maariv* daily and 28% on weekends according to a 2005 Teleseker survey – the gap remained. Nimrodi had additional media-related and other commercial interests. In 2004 the newspaper set up an Internet news site, NRG. The newspaper owned a number of magazines, including magazines for youth, and a publishing house, and had developed interests in the cellular phone industry.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: S. Rosenfeld, "The Carlebach Affair and the Establishment of *Maariv*," in: *Kesher*, 30 (Nov. 2001).

[Yoel Cohen (2nd ed.)]

MAARSEN, ISAAC (1893–1943), Dutch rabbi, chief rabbi of The Hague. Maarsen was born in Amsterdam, where he studied at the Amsterdam rabbinical seminary and at the university, graduating in classical philology. He was ordained as rabbi in 1918 and became teacher of Talmud in the high school department of the rabbinical seminary. In 1919 he was appointed a *dayyan* and member of the Amsterdam rabbinate. Five years later he was appointed chief rabbi of The Hague, then the second-largest community in Holland. He excelled chiefly as preacher and lecturer, and in his writings against Reform Judaism. He translated the tractate *Avot* and medieval and modern poetry from Hebrew into Dutch, and engaged in research on the history of the Dutch rabbinate. His reputation rests on his studies in the fields of rabbinical literature, which appeared in various Hebrew periodicals. His main works are *Tiferet le-Moshe* (1928), notes to Naḥmanides' commentary on the Pentateuch; *Parshandata* (1930–36), a critical edition of Rashi's commentary to the Prophets and Hagiographa, which he did not complete, only three parts appearing, on the Minor Prophets, Isaiah, and Psalms; and *Muḥlefet ha-Shitah* (1940), on the difference between Rashi's comments on the Bible and the same verses when quoted in the Talmud. He met his death in the Holocaust.

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[Benjamin De-Vries]

MA'ARUFYA (Aram. מַעֲרוּפְיָא), medieval Hebrew concept signifying the tie between a Christian client and the Jew who was his permanent supplier, moneylender, or financial administrator. The *din ha-ma'arufya* ("law of *ma'arufya*") was never generally prevalent; where it applied it specified that the relationship between the Jewish merchant and his client was the exclusive prerogative of that Jew alone, which the *community (*kehillah*) protected by means of the **ḥerem* (ban). According to some scholars the term derives from the French while others consider that it comes from Arabic. Some scholars have drawn a distinction between the implications of *ma'arufya* and *ma'arifa*, considering that the first denotes a non-Jewish customer who maintains commercial relations with a certain Jew while the second denotes the exclusive right to trade with him. However, this view is untenable since both forms are used indiscriminately.

Ma'arufya was known in the communities of France and Germany in the tenth century. It is possible that this usage originated in the privileges granted to merchants by the municipal councils or lords of various European towns during the 10th and 11th centuries guaranteeing them trading monopolies. From the responsa of *Gershom b. Judah (Me'or ha-Golah), it appears that the *din ha-ma'arufya* was applied in almost every community. However, 11th-century sources indicate that by then the custom was not accepted everywhere: "there are places where the ma'arufya is enforced and there are places where it is not enforced" (Joseph Bonfils (Tuv Elem) in: *Haggahot Maimoniyyot* of Meir ha-Kohen, *Hilkhot Shekhenim*, 6:8). As Jewish business activities were narrowed down to *moneylending in Ashkenazi areas toward the end of the 12th century, *ma'arufya* lost much of its former importance. The *din ha-ma'arufya* is not explicitly recorded in the communities of Spain, although in them too the trend against competition is evident. The essence of *ma'arufya*, and often the term itself, was operative in the communities of Poland-Lithuania and Russia until the modern era. Because of the variety of occupations there, the scope of the concept was applied to give craftsmen and artisans exclusive rights over their customers. The regulations of the crafts' associations included articles intended to assure the established rights of artisans to their clients. If a craftsman had done work for the *ma'arufya* of another craftsman, he was obliged to remit all his profits to him without deducting his own expenses. These rights were bequeathed from father to son, and when there were no heirs the rights were transferred to the dead man's guild.

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MA'AS (Heb. מַעַשׂ; "Action" or "Deed"), moshav in central Israel, near *Petaḥ Tikvah, affiliated with Tenu'at ha-Moshavim, founded in 1934 in the framework of the Thousand Families Settlement Scheme by veteran agricultural workers. They gradually enlarged their holdings from auxiliary to full-fledged farms while earning their living as hired laborers in the Petaḥ Tikvah citrus groves (therefore calling their village, until the 1950s, Be-Hadragah, "Gradually"). Citrus groves constituted the prominent farm branch in Ma'as. In 1968 its population was 400. By the mid-1990s it had grown to approximately 645, maintaining its size with 667 inhabitants at the end of 2002.

[Efraim Orni]

MA'ASEH (Heb. מַעֲשֶׂה), a factual circumstance from which a halakhic rule or principle is derived; as such it constitutes one of the Jewish law sources. A legal principle originating from *ma'aseh* is formally distinguished from those originating from one of the other legal sources of Jewish law – such as Midrash (see *Interpretation), **takkanah*, **minhag*, and **sevara* (see **Mishpat Ivri*) – by the fact that in the latter cases the legal principle appears in selfstanding form, whereas in *ma'aseh* it is integrated with and bound to a particular set of concrete facts, from which it must be separated and abstracted if it is to be enunciated. As will be seen below, this formal distinction is also of substantive importance. The term *ma'aseh* is customarily used in tannaitic sources (Shab. 24:5; BB 10:8; Eduy. 2:3); in the Babylonian Talmud the equivalent term is *uvda* and in the Jerusalem Talmud sometimes *dilma* (see, e.g., TJ, Ber. 1:1, 2c; Pe'ah 3:9, 17d; et al.).

Substance of *Ma'aseh*

Ma'aseh constitutes a legal source in two ways: one is represented by the judgment given in a concrete "case" before the court or competent adjudicator (halakhic scholar) – as in other legal systems; the other, by the specific act or conduct of a competent halakhic scholar, not necessarily in his capacity as judge or *posek*. In either case *ma'aseh* serves as a source for the determination of a halakhic principle as regards both civil law (*dinei mamonot*) and ritual law (*dinei issur ve-hetter*).

Citation of a halakhic principle by way of *ma'aseh* does not in every case warrant the conclusion that such *ma'aseh* is necessarily the source from which the principle was evolved – since the principle may possibly have been in existence before and the halakhic scholar only having had applied it in such case. In this event, the *ma'aseh* is not constitutive but only declarative of the existence of the particular halakhic rule (see below). However, *ma'aseh* – even when only declarative – lends the particular halakhic principle a special validity, as *ma'aseh rav* ("an act is weightier," Shab. 21a) or *ma'aseh adif* ("an act is preferred," BB 83a), since a rule tested in the crucible of practical life is regarded by the scholars as having a different force from one for which there is no evidence of its practical application. Hence, once a particular halakhic principle has been followed in practice – even though its application is subject to dispute – it may no longer be varied, since "what has been done is no longer open to discussion" (RH 29b, concerning blowing of the *shofar* on Rosh Ha-Shanah when it falls on a Sabbath).

The particular force of a halakhic principle originating from *ma'aseh* is tied to the substantive principle underlying the entire halakhic system, namely that the Torah was entrusted to the authority (*al da'atan*) of the halakhic scholars (see *Authority, Rabbinical; **Mishpat Ivri*), it being presumed that the judicial decision and conduct in daily life of the competent halakhic scholar are the outcome of his penetration and correct understanding of the *halakhah*. The scholars were fully aware of the power attached to an act of deciding the law and for this reason exercised great care before doing so (Git. 19a, 37a, and Rashi thereto). In particular, the halakhic scholar is held to reveal, by his conduct, the active image of the *halakhah* and therefore "the service of the Torah is greater than the study of it" (Ber. 7b); one of the ways by virtue of which the Torah is acquired is "attendance on the sages" (Avot 6:6), since practical application of the Torah leads to appreciation of the living and active *halakhah*, its correctness and creative force. For this reason it was required of the halakhic scholars to act with much forethought in their day-to-day conduct of halakhic matters (Tosef., Dem. 5:24 concerning the discussion between R. Gamaliel and R. Akiva); R. Ishmael explained his particularly careful approach toward a certain rule concerning the *Keri'at Shema* in these words: "lest the pupils see and lay down *halakhah* for generations" (Ber. 11a; Tosef., Ber. 1:6).

In Jewish law, *ma'aseh* constitutes a legal source, not because it has the force of binding precedent which (as will be seen below, the Jewish legal system generally does not recognize as a principle), but because the scholars recognized it as a lawmaking source from which to derive halakhic principles becoming part of the general halakhic system. The fact that it remained permissible to dispute a halakhic principle derived from *ma'aseh* did not serve to deprive it of its substantive character as one of the legal sources of Jewish law – just as, for instance, Midrash remained such notwithstanding the fact that different and contradictory halakhic principles were often derived from it by the use of different methods of Bible exegesis.

An Act of Deciding the Law

The laws derived from *ma'aseh* form a very substantial part of the general system of Jewish law – the latter representing, in its nature and path of development, a classic example of a legal system founded on a series of legal acts or "cases," adding up to a comprehensive system of case law (see also *Codification of Law). This character was already stamped on the *halakhah* in the Torah, in which there are many laws enjoined in relation to a particular act or event, as, e.g., in the matter of the blasphemy of the Name (Lev. 24:10–23), the gathering of sticks on the Sabbath (Num. 15:32–36), the law of inheritance concerning the daughters of Zelophehad (Num. 27:1–11), and the law of the second Passover (Num. 9:1–8).

Talmudic sources are replete with *halakhot*, in all fields of the law, quoted in the form of an act of legal decision or in the form of an independent ruling which is, however, either preceded or followed by the facts of the relevant case. The case described does not always form the original source of the halakhic rule, but frequently, and in various ways, it is possible to prove that the rule was actually created as an outcome of the case. Sometimes this fact is expressly stated. Thus, with reference to the law that a bill of divorce must be prepared by the husband for delivery to his wife, the Mishnah states that it suffices if the bill be prepared by the wife provided that the husband procures the signature of witnesses to it since what matters is the signature and not the person by whom the bill is drawn up (Git. 2:5). This principle was learned from a case that occurred in a small village near Jerusalem, a case in which the scholars decided that it was only necessary for a bond of indebtedness to be signed, and not drawn up, by the witnesses (Eduy. 2:3). Similarly, the *amoraim* derived from earlier cases a number of halakhic principles concerning the laws of proselytization (Yev. 46b) and the laws of restoring a loss (*hashavat avedah*: cf. BM 25b with TJ, BM 2:4, 8c – the rule of Abba b. Zavda).

Sometimes derivation of a halakhic principle from the *ma'aseh* is not expressly acknowledged, but from the content it may be deduced that the principle was derived from the adjacent case description. Thus, according to ancient *halakhah*, suretyship for a loan undertaking was valid only if made prior to establishment of the principal debt, i.e., the creditor as it were agreeing to grant the loan on the strength of such suretyship. However, R. Ishmael, in a case that came before him, extended the scope of suretyship by holding it valid in certain circumstances, even if made after grant of the loan, i.e., if the person standing *surety signed after the signature by the witnesses of the deed of loan. Ben Nanas differed, maintaining that the suretyship had to precede grant of the loan. The new principle enunciated by R. Ishmael is earlier stated in the Mishnah, in the form of a selfstanding legal rule (BB 10:8; for further examples, see Ned. 8:5; BM 30a).

Conduct of a Halakhic Scholar

Talmudic sources also contain a great number of *halakhot*, in all fields of the law, stated in the form of a description of the conduct of a halakhic scholar and in like manner to the statement of acts of legal decision. Thus in one instance the Mishnah (Shab. 24:5) first quotes several *halakhot* concerning permissible labors on the Sabbath in the form of independent rules: "they may stop up a light-hole or measure a piece of stuff or a *mikveh*"; in continuation, it is stated that in the time of R. Zadok's father and in the time of Abba Saul b. Botnit there occurred a case in which such labors were done on the Sabbath and in conclusion it is stated that from such occurrence the permissibility of these labors on the Sabbath was learned. An analysis of the *halakhot* thus stated offers proof that even when the selfstanding halakhic ruling is stated in the Mishnah before the *ma'aseh*, it does not exclude the possibility that chronologically speaking the *ma'aseh* preceded such a ruling and that the former is the source of the latter – except that the compiler of the Mishnah saw fit to state first the ruling and then the *ma'aseh*. At times disputes concerning a tradition entertained by the halakhic scholars and relating to the conduct of a particular halakhic scholar led in turn to disputing opinions as regards the halakhic principle to be derived from the aforesaid conduct (see, e.g., Suk. 2:7 concerning the dispute between Bet Shammai and Bet Hillel, arising in connection with the *ma'aseh* of R. Johanan b. ha-Ḥorani).

Distinguishing *Ma'aseh*

Just as a halakhic principle acquires special force and significance from the fact that it has been applied in a practical case, so the latter fact entails the risk of possible error in the manner of deduction of the principle from the practical case. Hence, in deduction of the principle it is required that two important distinctions be made: first, the factual aspect of the case must be precisely distinguished from the legal aspect; secondly – and more difficult – the part that is not material and has no bearing on the halakhic conclusion must be distinguished from the material part which leads to the halakhic conclusion. This distinguishing process is sometimes directed toward a specific purpose, for instance toward restriction of the halakhic principle derived from a case when the need for it arises in a concrete matter for decision. In English law – which has the system of case law – the process of distinguishing is also greatly developed, and here too one of the main functions of the process is to distinguish between the *ratio decidendi* and mere *obiter dictum*. The distinguishing process has been of primary importance to the development of both legal systems.

The phrase commonly employed in the Mishnah for the act of distinguishing is *einah hi ha-middah*, "that is not the inference" (Pes. 1:6–7), and in the Talmud, "This was not stated explicitly but by implication" (BM 36a, et al.; see also BB 130b and Rashbam thereto, s.v. *halakhah adifah*), or "Tell me what actually transpired!" (BM 70a, et al.). The process of distinguishing is well illustrated in *Bava Meẓia* 36a. Rav is quoted as holding that a bailee who entrusted a bailment to another bailee is not liable – i.e., for any more than he would have been liable had he kept the bailment himself – since he entrusted it to a person having understanding (*ben da'at*); however, R. Johanan is recorded as holding the first bailee liable for all damage occasioned to the bailment while it is deposited with the second bailee, since the owner might say to the former that he entrusted the bailment to his personal care and did not wish it entrusted to another (see *Shomerim*). In the continuation of the discussion it is stated, "R. Ḥisda said: This was not stated by Rav explicitly but by implication," i.e., that Rav's rule was deduced by implication from a legal decision he gave in a practical case, but that the rule was deduced in error because no proper distinction had been made. The facts of the case decided by Rav were as follows: gardeners used to deposit their spades every day, on completion of their work, with an old woman; one day they deposited their spades with one of their members and the latter, wishing to join in some festivity, deposited them with the old woman, from whom they were stolen; when the other gardeners sought compensation from the bailee gardener for the loss of their spades, Rav held the latter exempt from liability. From his decision it had been erroneously concluded that the latter held in favor of exempting a first bailee from liability for damage occasioned to a bailment he had entrusted to a second bailee, for Rav had only exempted the first bailee in that particular case because of the fact that the gardeners had generally been accustomed to deposit their spades with the old woman, and were therefore precluded from saying that they wanted their spades entrusted to the gardener only. Generally, however, if the facts were different, a bailee would be liable if damage resulted to the bailment he entrusted to another, even in Rav's opinion. In this manner the Talmud records how the deduction of an erroneous legal conclusion from a particular case is illuminated by the process of distinguishing.

The Talmud (BB 130b) provides basic guidance on the manner of deriving a legal conclusion from a case without apprehension of error: "The *halakhah* may not be derived either from a theoretical conclusion or from a practical decision (without knowing the facts of the case) unless one has been told that the rule is to be taken as a rule for practical decisions; once a person has asked and been informed that a *halakhah* was to be taken as a guide for practical decisions (and therefore knows the facts), he may continue to give practical decisions accordingly" (see Rashbam, ad loc.). In the 13th century the approach to *ma'aseh* and the distinguishing process was expressed in these terms: "Not in vain were the many practical cases embracing various rules written into the Talmud, not so that the law concerning the relevant matter be applied in accordance with what is stated there, but so that the scholar, by having frequent reference to them, shall acquire the art of weighing his opinion and a sound approach in giving practical decisions" (Resp. Abraham b. Moses b. Maimon no. 97).

In Post-Talmudic Times

Ma'aseh, both as an act of legal decision and as the conduct of a halakhic scholar, continued to serve as an important legal source in post-talmudic times. The halakhic scholars of this period derived many legal conclusions from practical cases in talmudic literature. Thus Maimonides decided that a person engaged in study of the Torah shall stop studying and recite the *Keri'at Shema* whenever it is the time to do so; however, a person engaged in public matters shall not desist from such activity, even if meanwhile the time for *Keri'at Shema* passes (Yad, Keri'at Shema 2:5). Maimonides derived this *halakhah* from an account in the Tosefta stating that R. Akiva and R. Eleazar b. Azariah omitted to recite *Keri'at Shema* because they were preoccupied with public matters (Tosef., Ber. 1:4; see comment of Elijah Gaon to Sh. Ar., OH 70:4).

In like manner, *ma'asim* of the post-talmudic scholars, in the form of both practical decisions (see below) and conduct, served as a legal source for the deduction of *halakhot* by subsequent scholars. *Ma'asim* of the latter kind are frequently quoted in post-talmudic halakhic literature in the form of testimony by pupils to the conduct of their teachers in different matters of the *halakhah*. Special books of *halakhah* were even compiled in which a considerable part of the material was based on the author's observation of the conduct of his eminent teacher, for he had not only acquired the latter's teachings but also served him in daily life. An example of such a work is the *Sefer Tashbeẓ* of Simeon b. Ẓemah *Duran, a pupil of *Meir b. Baruch of Rothenburg, which deals mainly with the laws in the Shulḥan Arukh's *Oraḥ Ḥayyim* and *Yoreh De'ah*, and to some extent also with matters of family and civil law, largely quoted by the author as the manner in which he had seen his teacher conduct himself (see, e.g., sections 1, 7, 18–23, et al.).

The Responsa Literature

With the development in post-talmudic times of one of the main branches of the literary sources of Jewish law, namely the responsa literature, *ma'aseh* came to fulfill an important role as a lawmaking source. The responsa literature represents the case law of the Jewish legal system. A concrete problem that arose in daily life – whether in matters between individuals or in matters of man's relationship to the Almighty, in matters of civil or ritual law – was brought before the local *dayyan* or halakhic scholar, and they, whenever they experienced any doubt or difficulty in reaching a solution to the problem at hand, turned to the distinguished halakhic scholars of their generation. Certain matters, particularly disputes between the individual and the public or its representative bodies, came directly before the most prominent halakhic scholars. They deliberated all the factual and legal aspects of the case and submitted their findings and conclusion in a written responsum to the questioner. The *she'elah u-teshuvah* – question and response – accordingly represents a classic example of an act of legal decision, and answers to all the requirements set by the talmudic sages for recognition of *ma'aseh* as a legal source, since this procedure is a true application of "having asked and been informed that a *halakhah* is to be taken as a guide for practical decisions …" (above; BB 130b). This character of the responsa literature has served to lend the legal principle emerging from it a particular standing and force exceeding that of a principle derived from the commentaries and novellae and even, in the opinion of the majority of halakhic scholars, exceeding that of a principle derived from the books of *halakhot* and *pesakim* (see *Codification of Law) in cases of inconsistency between the two. Hence, "more is to be learned from the conclusions stated in the responsa than from those stated by the *posekim* [in the codes], since the latter did not write their conclusions in the course of deciding the law in a concrete instance" (Resp. Maharil no. 72). Similarly, "when *halakhah* is laid down in practice there is greater penetration to the heart of the matter than in the course of theoretical study; there is also greater divine guidance (*sayata di-shemaya*) in a practical case … for a conclusion that comes in answer to a practical case is preferable and more directed to the real truth than what is forthcoming from mere theoretical study" (*Meshiv Davar*, pt. 1, no. 24).

Jewish Law and Binding Precedent

Recognition in Jewish law of *ma'aseh* as a legal source from which may be derived the principles that emerge from it is unconnected with the question of whether any conclusion so derived has the force of binding precedent for the purpose of deciding the law in a similar case. In fact, as will be seen below, Jewish law does not recognize the principle of binding precedent.

PRECEDENT IN OTHER LEGAL SYSTEMS. The legal "case" occupies a very modest place in the source hierarchy of the Roman legal system; certainly the latter does not recognize at all the principle of binding precedent. Justinian expressly laid down that judgments be given according to laws and not precedents: "*non exemplis, sed legibus iudicandum est*" (C. 7. 45. 13; see J. Salmond, Jurisprudence (1966^{12}), 141f.; C.K. Allen, *Law in the Making* (1964^{7}), 342f.). Most continental legal systems, following that of Rome, exemplify the codificatory system of law, and in these the decisions of the courts represent no more than material of a theoretical and persuasive nature, without binding force (Salmond, *ibid.*). The position is different in English law: "The importance of judicial precedents has always been a distinguishing characteristic of English law. The great body of the common or unwritten law is almost entirely the product of decided cases, accumulated in an immense series of reports extending backward with scarcely a break to the reign of Edward I at the close of the 13th century… A judicial precedent speaks in England with authority; it is not merely evidence of the law but a source of it" (Salmond, p. 141). As regards the extent to which the courts are bound by precedent, Salmond goes on to say: "It is necessary to point out that the phrase 'the doctrine of precedent' has two meanings. In the first, which may be called the loose meaning, the phrase means merely that precedents are reported, may be cited, and will probably be followed by the courts. This was the doctrine that prevailed in England until the 19th century, and it is still the only sense in which a doctrine of precedent prevails on the continent. In the second, the strict meaning, the phrase means that precedents not only have great authority but must (in certain circumstances) be followed. This was the rule developed during the 19th century and completed in some respects during the 20th" (p. 142). The merits of this development toward the strict meaning of precedent have not remained unquestioned, and in recent times there has been increasing discussion of the correctness and efficacy of this approach (*ibid.*, p. 143 and see note, p. ix, concerning the extrajudicial statement made in the House of Lords in 1966, relaxing the rule of being bound to follow its own previous decisions "when it appears right to do so").

COMPARISON OF PRECEDENT IN ENGLISH AND IN JEWISH LAW. At their respective starting points the two legal systems have much in common in their approach to precedent but they diverge in their manner of development. In both "case" constitutes a source of law; both are, to a large extent, built up around case law, and have developed in consequence of concrete legal decisions in daily life; the basic material at the heart of most Jewish law codifications is likewise the product of legal principles derived from day-to-day legal decisions (see *Codification of Law), and from this point of view the main difference between the two legal systems is that the Jewish law equivalent of the "immense series of reports," namely the responsa literature, dates from the geonic period onward, i.e., from the middle of the eighth century and not, as in England, from the end of the 13th century (see **Mishpat Ivri*). On the other hand, Jewish law has not accepted the doctrine of precedent in the strict meaning of the term – as has English law, commencing from the 19th century – and the power of *ma'aseh* in Jewish law has been confined to that of precedent in the loose meaning of the term, as described by Salmond, "precedents are reported, may be cited, and will probably be followed by the courts." For two reasons, each of which will be dealt with below, Jewish law has been unable to adopt the doctrine of a binding precedent which imposes its inherent halakhic conclusion on the *dayyan* when deciding the matter before him: first, because of this legal system's conception of the substantive nature of a judgment given between the two parties to a suit; secondly, because of the method and approach of Jewish law toward deciding of the *halakhah* in general.

SUBSTANTIVE NATURE OF A JUDGMENT IN JEWISH LAW AND THE PROBLEM OF PRECEDENT. In Jewish law, the finality of a judgment is subject to many reservations, even in relation to the instant parties themselves. According to the original Jewish law, no judgment is absolute and final in the sense of *res judicata* in Roman law, except insofar as it accords with the true objective state of affairs as regards both the facts and the law. Hence, it always remained possible for a judgment given by the court on the available facts to be set aside, and for the matter to be heard afresh when either of the parties was able to produce new evidence. Since this possibility posed a serious obstacle to the due administration of justice and to orderly economic life, which demand an end to litigation, the practice was introduced of having the parties acknowledge – in court and prior to judgment – that they had no further evidence whatever to adduce, thereby annulling in advance the efficacy of any further evidence they might later wish to bring (see Sanh. 31a; Yad, Sanhedrin 7:6–8; Sh. Ar., ḤM 20). Similarly, the original law held that any judgment which transpires to be wrong in law – i.e., in case of error as regards decided and clear *halakhah* – is inherently invalid, although not so in case of an erroneous exercise of discretion. Here again the way was found to ensure the stability and finality of a judgment (Sanh. 33a; Yad, Sanhedrin 6:1; Sh. Ar., ḤM 25:1–3 and Rema thereto; see also Gulak, Yesodei, 4 (1922), 175–83, 201–3; and see *Practice and Procedure (Civil)).

A judgment in Jewish law accordingly has a dual nature: theoretically it is not final until the truth has been fully explored; in practice reservations were laid down – which would be accepted by the parties and normally would apply automatically – aimed at ensuring an end to litigation between the parties to a dispute and at acceptance of the judgment as decisive and as determining the respective rights of the parties.

The stated theoretical nature of a judgment, which applies even as regards determination of the law for the instant parties themselves, has necessarily entailed the conclusion that a judgment shall not have the force of a binding precedent in relation to a similar problem arising between different parties; hence "if another case comes before him even if it be a like case in all respects – he may deal with it as he sees fit, since the *dayyan* need only act according to what his own eyes see" (Nov. Ran to BB 130b; Nov. Ritba, BB *ibid.*).

METHODS AND APPROACH OF JEWISH LAW CONCERNING DECIDING OF THE HALAKHAH AND THE PROBLEM OF PRECEDENT. The doctrine of binding precedent also conflicts with the very method and approach of Jewish law concerning deciding the *halakhah* (see **Mishpat Ivri*; *Authority, Rabbinical; *Codification of Law). The fact of halakhic difference of opinion, as the latter developed in the course of time, is regarded as a phenomenon that is not only legitimate but also desirable and indicative of the vitality of the *halakhah* and of the possibility of different approaches, based on common general principles, in the search for solutions to new problems that arise. The decisive yardstick in a case of halakhic dispute, is the correctness of each opinion "in accordance only with the Talmud of R. Ashi" (i.e., the Babylonian Talmud: *Piskei ha-Rosh*, Sanh. 4:6) and based "with definite proof on the Talmud, as well as the Jerusalem Talmud and Tosefta, when there is no definite decision in the Talmud" (*Yam shel Shelomo*, introd. to BK). For this reason no codification of Jewish law was accepted which laid before the *dayyan* deciding the law one single, arbitrary, and final opinion on any given matter. For the same reason Jewish law accepted the doctrine of *hilkheta ke-Vatra'ei* ("the law is according to the later scholars"), which was designed to ensure freedom of decision for later scholars – albeit with due reference to and regard for the decisions of earlier scholars. The basic rule applicable is that the judgment of a person who has erred because he was unaware of the decisions of earlier scholars shall be of no force as soon as that person gains such knowledge and realizes his error; however, "if he does not find their statements correct and sustains his own view with evidence that is acceptable to his contemporaries – the authority of Jephthah in his generation was as that of Samuel in his, and there is only the judge that 'shall be in those days' – he may contradict their statements, since all matters which are not clarified in the Talmud of R. Ashi and Ravina may be questioned and restated by any person, and even the statements of the *geonim* may be differed from… just as the later *amoraim* differed from the earlier ones; on the contrary, we regard the statements of the later scholars to be more authoritative since the latter knew not only the legal thinking of their contemporaries but also that of the earlier scholars, and in deciding between the different views they reached the heart of a matter" (*Piskei ha-Rosh*, loc. cit.).

This conception of a flexible and dynamic legal order naturally left no room for the doctrine that especially a conclusion springing from a practical decision should impose itself on the judicial process. The court which is apprised of a matter has the task of referring to, and taking into proper consideration, all the available relevant laws and certainly the rules emerging from earlier practical decisions, particularly when the halakhic principle emerging from the practical decision has been accepted without exception in a series of legal decisions ("daily practical acts of decision," Ket. 68b; BB 173b; etc.). However, if after such study the judge should, in reasonable manner and in reliance on the halakhic system itself, come to a different legal conclusion from that reached by earlier scholars, he will have not only the right but also the duty to decide as he sees fit; such decision will take precedence over an earlier decision in a like matter, since the judge will also have known the legal thinking of earlier scholars and have decided as he did by going to the root of the matter.

Thus *ma'aseh* constitutes one of the significant lawmaking sources of the Jewish legal system, and every principle emerging from it becomes part of the accumulated body of laws comprising this system, in accordance with which the judge must decide. In standing and validity such principles are like any others deriving from the statements of *posekim* and halakhic scholars, and embraced by the common rule that the judge must consider every law on its substantive merits and decide, in the concrete case before him, according to his own knowledge and understanding deriving from due examination of all the relevant rules of Jewish law.

[Menachem Elon]

Ma'aseh and Precedent

PRECEDENT: THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE REGIONAL RABBINICAL COURTS AND THE RABBINICAL COURT OF APPEALS. Jewish law does not recognize the principle of a binding precedent obliging a *bet din* to rule in accordance with previous rulings. Today, after the establishment of the Rabbinical Court of Appeals (see *Appeal), this has ramifications for the compliance of the regional rabbinical courts with the rulings of the Rabbinical Court of Appeals, and specifically in cases in which the Rabbinical Court of Appeals rules that a case is to be returned for an additional hearing in the regional rabbinical court. In such cases, certain forums of the regional rabbinical courts accept the authority of Rabbinical Court of Appeals, to rehear the case and rule accordingly, whereas other regional rabbinical court forums refuse to accept the rulings of the Rabbinical Court of Appeals as binding upon them, believing that according to Jewish law, the regional rabbinical court is not required and may not rule other than in accordance with its own views, unless persuaded that it erred in its initial ruling. The practical solution in such cases of refusal is to have the matter transferred to a regional rabbinical court willing to rehear the case. In some cases the Supreme Court has intervened in cases in which the regional rabbinical court has refused to obey the instructions of the Rabbinical Court of Appeals, and has forced such compliance, or has nullified the regional court's ruling (see bibliography, Warhaftig, p. 131; see also *Appeal).

RABBINICAL COURT RULINGS AS A PRECEDENT IN A CIVIL COURT. According to Israeli law, civil courts adjudicating matters involving personal status are required to rule in accordance with Jewish law. (See *Mishpat Ivri: Jewish Law in the State of Israel.) The rule is that the High Court of Justice cannot sit as an appellate court on rabbinical court rulings and may not intervene in its rulings. The question of whether rulings of rabbinical courts should constitute binding precedents for the civil courts when questions already decided by the rabbinical courts arise in proceedings before the civil courts was decided in the *Yosef v. Yosef* case.

The *Yosef* case (CA 63/69, *Yosef v. Yosef*, 24 (1) PD 792) (hereinafter: "the decision") concerned a woman with independent income, who sued her husband for maintenance. While on a substantive level, the Supreme Court ruled in accordance with the ruling of the rabbinical courts, the court was divided over the question of whether it was bound by the rabbinical court's interpretation of the applicable Jewish law. The case concerned a woman earning income from her own work, who sued for maintenance from her husband. The Supreme Court ruled, in accordance with Jewish law and the decisions of the rabbinical courts, that her income should be deducted from the amount her husband owes her for her maintenance, and the husband must pay the balance between the wife's earnings and the amount of the maintenance payments, to the extent that the amount of maintenance is greater than the amount of the wife's earnings. (See *Husband and Wife".) Regarding the question of the civil court's subordination to the rulings of the rabbinical court, Justice Kister ruled that when a civil court is required to apply Jewish law, it must accept rabbinical court decisions as definitive of Jewish law. He explained:

> The reason why we must follow the decisions of the rabbinical courts in these matters is to be found in the laws of the Torah, which provide that one must obey the decisions of the halakhic authorities of each generation, "Jephtah in his generation can be equated to Samuel in his generation" (p. 805 of decision).

Justice Haim Cohn, in his minority opinion regarding the deduction of the wife's earnings from her maintenance payments, stated that the civil court is required to interpret Jewish law according to its own understanding, and is not bound by the interpretation given to it by the rabbinical courts:

> However, the rule regarding the authority of the judge "of that time" (Deut. 17:9) applies not only to rabbinical courts, but to every judge in Israel. The proof is that the three [judges] "of insubstantial quality (*kalei olam*)" – Jerubaal, Bedan and Jephtah, "are considered equal to the three most outstanding [judges] (*ḥamurei olam*)" – Moses and Aaron and Samuel. This teaches us that Jerubaal in his generation is equated to Moses in his generation, Bedan in his generation is equal to Aaron in his generation, Jephtah in his generation is equal to Samuel in his generation. This means that even if the most insignificant person is chosen as a community leader, he must be regarded as equal to the mightiest (p. 809 of decision).

Justice Cohn further argued that civil courts cannot accept the rulings of the rabbinical courts as either guiding or binding precedents, since these courts do not necessarily rule according to the laws of the State.

Justice Zvi Berinson wrote that while the civil courts are not bound to accept the rulings of the rabbinical courts, "it stands to reason that a secular court, in reaching a decision on an issue that has been definitively decided by a religious court, will give that determination greater weight, and will generally be guided by it" (p. 810, *ibid.*). According to recent court decisions, civil courts are competent and authorized to give their own interpretations of Jewish law in matters of personal status, and are not bound by prior rabbinical courts' rulings. Nevertheless, the High Court of Justice does not intervene in the content of a rabbinical court's rulings, and does not intervene in the rabbinical courts' interpretation of Jewish law. (See HCJ 5969/94 *Aknin v. Haifa Civil Court*, 50 (1) PD 370.)

[Menachem Elon (2nd ed.)]

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MA'ASEROT (Heb. מַעַשְׂרוֹת; "Tithes"), seventh tractate in the order *Zera'im*, in the Mishnah, Tosefta, and Jerusalem Talmud. It is sometimes referred to as *Ma'aser Rishon* ("First Tithe" – *genizah* fragments, Cambridge Ms., Tosefta Ms., and Maimonides' introduction to the Mishnah), but Albeck points out that this is a misnomer influenced by the name of the tractate following it, *Ma'aser Sheni* ("Second Tithe"). *Ma'aserot* deals chiefly with the precepts connected with the separation of the tithes to be given to the Levites from the produce of the land (see Num. 18:20–24), and the prohibition against making use of produce before the tithe has been separated.

The tractate contains five chapters. Chapter 1 defines the types of produce liable to tithing (1–4), the stage of growth at which they become liable, and when, after harvesting, untithed produce becomes forbidden. Chapter 2 gives circumstances in which casual eating of untithed produce is allowed, i.e., by the laborer. Chapter 3 continues with laws of tithe as they concern the laborer, and deals with the tithing of produce found on the road or in the field and the buildings or localities which render the produce brought there liable to tithe. Chapter 4 deals with the tithing of preserved fruits, liability for tithing arising through the onset of the Sabbath, chance eating from a vat of olives or a winepress, and the eating of insignificant parts of the produce. Chapter 5 deals with the liability for tithing of replanted produce, the selling of produce to those not trusted to tithe, and kinds of vegetables exempt from tithing.

The Tosefta has three chapters, supplementing the Mishnah with numerous accounts and decisions of the *tannaim*. Its editing appears to have been late, since it contains accounts (ch. 3) of Judah and Hillel, the sons of Rabban Gamaliel III. The order of the paragraphs does not correspond to that of the Mishnah, and there is no corresponding Tosefta to *mishnayot* 2:2, 6, 7; 4:4; and 5:6, 7. The Jerusalem Talmud covers about 14 columns of the Krotoszyn edition. It includes an interesting debate regarding the role of *aggadah* between Ze'eira and his colleague, who goes so far as to say that aggadic books are none other than "black magic" and attacks the aggadic method as being illogical (3:9, 51a). The Babylonian Talmud has no *Gemara* to *Ma'aserot*, as it has none on the whole of the order *Zera'im*, except for tractate *Berakhot*. This tractate was translated into English by H. *Danby, *The Mishnah* (1933), 66–73.

[David Joseph Bornstein]

MA'ASER SHENI (מעשר שני) "second tithe," name of a tractate in the Mishnah, Tosefta and Jerusalem Talmud, expounding on the biblical commandment (Dt. 14:22–27) to set aside a tenth of one's produce, to be consumed "before the Lord thy God, in the place which he shall choose to cause his name to dwell there"; i.e., in Jerusalem. The Torah states that, if it is inconvenient to transport the produce itself, then it may be exchanged for money with which foodstuffs may be purchased in Jerusalem. The rabbinic understanding was that this requirement would be superseded by the "poor tithe" that is separated instead on the third and sixth years of the sabbatical cycle according to Dt. 26:12–15. This interpretation is found in early sources like the Septuagint, though Jubilees (32:11) and Josephus (Ant. 4:8 [22]) state that the poor tithe is additional to the second tithe.

Much of the Mishnah tractate consists of specific definitions of the concepts mentioned in the Torah, such as: what items may or may not be purchased with the second tithe money; the legal procedures for the exchange; whether the sanctity of the tithe extends to containers and waste products; what qualifies as "eating"; under what circumstances may the coins be exchanged for other coins; defining the exact city limits of Jerusalem in which the second tithe food must be eaten; what counts as a coin for which the tithe may be redeemed.

The second tithe money may be spent on food, drink, and anointing oil for personal consumption, or for freewill *shelamim* offerings (which are eaten by the owner), but not on sacrifices for which the owners are otherwise obligated. The exchange of the original produce for cash was perceived by the rabbis as a "redemption" process in which the sanctity of the original items was transferred to the coin, and then to the foodstuffs that were purchased with it. Leviticus 27:31 requires that an additional fifth be added when redeeming a tithe. The *halakhah* understood this as a fifth of the total; i.e., one fourth of the original produce's value. The interpretations of this procedure were influenced by those for redemption of sacrifices (see Lev. 27:27, etc). The Mishnah discusses situations when the additional fifth need not be paid, and mentions some subterfuges for avoiding its payment.

According to the rabbinic interpretation, the designation that fruit (or grapes) in the fourth year after planting "shall be holy for giving praise unto the Lord" (Lev. 19:24) means that it must be consumed in Jerusalem, or exchanged for money under conditions similar to those prescribed for the second tithe. Because of the resemblance of the rules, the topic of fourth-year fruit is also dealt with in Chapter 5 of this tractate, though it probably belongs more appropriately to *Orlah*.

The Jerusalem Talmud (3:8, 50b) relates the story of Rabbi Joshua ben Korha's castigation of R. Eleazar ben Rabbi Simeon for assisting the Romans, in a shorter and more original version than that of the TB, BM 83b.

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[David Joseph Bornstein]

MAAYANI, AMI (1936–), Israeli composer and conductor. Born in Tel Aviv, Maayani studied composition with Paul *Ben-Haim at the Academy of Music in Jerusalem, and then graduated from the Faculty of Architecture at the Technion in Haifa. He wrote a monumental 1,000-page Hebrew monograph on Wagner. Maayani taught theory and composition at the Academy of Music, Tel Aviv University, and at the Rubin Academy of Music and Dance in Jerusalem. From 1993 until his retirement in 2003 he was head of the Academy in Tel Aviv. During this time he collaborated with architect Yoram Raz in designing the very successful auditorium for the Rubin Academy of Music in Tel Aviv. Mayani won the AKUM Prize (1974), the international competiton "Holocaust and Rebirth," and the IBA Prize for the 25th Anniversary of Israel.

Maayani's prolific output reflects his special penchant for idiomatic and brilliant instrumental writing. It includes concertos for harp (1960, 1966); concerto for violin (1987); concerto for cello (1967); *Qumran*, a symphonic metaphor (1971); three symphonies and other orchestral and chamber works; and *Yiddishe Lieder* for voice and orchestra (1973). Maayani's strong individualistic personality creates a unique synthesis of elements of Arabic music with traditional Western modality and harmony.

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[Uri (Erich) Toeplitz and Yohanan Boehm / Jehoash Hirshberg (2nd ed.)]

MAAZEL, LORIN (**Varencove**; 1930–), conductor, violinist, and composer. Born in France, Maazel studied violin and piano in Los Angeles and Pittsburgh, and conducting with Vladimir Bakaleinikoff. Between the ages of nine and 15, Maazel conducted many of the great American and Canadian orchestras. In 1945, he entered the University of Pittsburgh to study philosophy, languages, and mathematics. While a student, he was a violinist with the Pittsburgh Symphony Orchestra. Maazel made his European conducting debut in Italy in 1953. In 1960, his performance of Mahler was acclaimed for its scrupulous articulation and expressive power. The same year he was the first American and the youngest conductor ever to conduct at the Bayreuth festival. Soon after, he was being referred to as a "legend in his own time." Maazel conducted 5,000 opera and concert performances with over 150 leading orchestras around the world and held such prestigious posts as artistic director of the Deutsche Oper Berlin (1965–71), music director of the Berlin Radio Symphony Orchestra (1965–75), and music director of the Cleveland Orchestra (1972–82). He also conducted the Orchestre National de France, the Vienna Vienna Staatsoper, and the Pittsburgh Symphony. He was music director of the New York PO from the 2002–03 season. His latter-day operatic productions were at the Metropolitan Opera, Paris Opera, Royal Opera House (London), and La Scala (Milan), and he became involved in film opera productions. His discography encompasses over 300 recordings including the complete symphonies of Beethoven, Mahler, Rachmaninoff, Sibelius, and Tchaikovsky, and around 40 operas. Maazel gave benefit concerts for international organizations such as UNICEF and the International Red Cross. The governments of France, Germany, Italy, Portugal, and Sweden awarded him with their highest honors. He was named an honorary life member of the Israel Philharmonic in 1985 when he conducted their 40th anniversary concert. Among his publications are "Vom Herzen: Moge es wieder zu Herzen gehn" (in *Die 9 Symphonien Beethovens: Entstehung, Deutung, Wirkung*, 1994).

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[Naama Ramot / (2nd ed.)]

MA'BARAH (Heb. מַעְבָּרָה; plural **ma'barot**), transitional immigrants' camp or quarter in the early 1950s in Israel. At the end of 1949, 100,000 immigrants were living in camps, receiving accommodation, meals and services free, under demoralizing conditions. As the government and the *Jewish National Fund started large-scale development programs, and the newcomers began to earn their keep, the communal dining halls were closed down, and the inmates were enabled to make their own domestic arrangements. Camps which were not suitable for this system were closed down and new ones – *ma'barot* – set up, with a wooden, asbestos, or tin shack, or at least a tent, for each family, wherever there was a demand for labor, near the towns.

Although the *ma'barot* were a great improvement over the early camps, the primitive accommodation gave rise to serious social problems. They were gradually cleared by providing the newcomers with permanent housing and, from 1954, sending immigrants straight from the ship or plane to the villages or towns where they were to settle permanently.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Israel Government Year Book*, (1958), 356–7; Zionist Organization Executive, *Reports to Zionist Congress*, 24 (1956); 25 (1960).

[Misha Louvish]

MA'BAROT (Heb. מַעְבָּרוֹת; "Fords"), kibbutz in central Israel, near the Alexander River, affiliated with Kibbutz Arẓi ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir. It was founded in 1933, as one of the first villages in the Ḥefer Plain by immigrants from Romania, Germany, Bulgaria, and Hungary, and later joined by others. Its economy was based on farming, such as field crops, citrus groves, orchards, fishery, and dairy cattle, and food enterprises – pet food, milk replacers for calves and lambs, and Materna milk substitutes and baby food. In the mid-1990s, the population was approximately 780, dropping to 734 in 2002.

WEBSITE: www.maabarot.org.il.

[Efraim Orni / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

°**MACALISTER, ROBERT ALEXANDER STEWART** (1870–1951), Irish archaeologist. From 1899 to 1900 he participated with F.J. Bliss in the excavation of mounds in the Shephelah and in 1902–05 and 1907–09 directed the excavation of Gezer, publishing a three-volume report single-handedly in 1912. In 1925 he directed an excavation on the hill of Ophel in Jerusalem. In his later years, he was professor of Celtic archaeology at Dublin (1909–43). He was one of the pioneers of Palestinian archaeology, being the first to publish his finds in an exact manner and laying the foundations for comparative dating by ceramics and context dating. His works include *The Philistines* (1914) and *A Century of Excavation in Palestine* (1925).

[Michael Avi-Yonah]

°**MACAULAY, THOMAS BABINGTON** (**Lord Macaulay**; 1800–1859), English historian and politician. A member of a family which had been in the forefront of antislavery agitation, Macaulay was elected to parliament in 1830. His maiden speech in the House of Commons was in support of a bill for the removal of the political disabilities affecting Jews in England. In an article (subsequently translated into several languages) in the *Edinburgh Review* of January 1831, he argued the same cause, supporting it again in the House of Commons in 1833 and 1841. Macaulay argued that, "The points of difference between Christianity and Judaism have very much to do with a man's fitness to be a bishop or a rabbi. But they have no more to do with his fitness to be a magistrate, a legislator, or a minister of finance than with his fitness to be a cobbler." He also urged that it was inconsistent to deny formal political rights to Jews in a society where they had acquired the substance of political power. Rarely had the case for Jewish emancipation been presented with the literary force of Macaulay's essays and speeches; the support of one of England's leading men of letters had a significant effect on public opinion. They are still among the most cogent set of arguments made for religious toleration and liberalism. Macaulay's own relations with Jews, almost certainly very slight, remain to be examined in detail.

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[Sefton D. Temkin]

MACCABEANS, ORDER OF ANCIENT, a friendly benefit society in Britain whose members are Zionists. Founded in 1896 by Ephraim Ish-Kishor and registered under the Friendly Societies' Act, the Order of Ancient Maccabeans still exists. Its aims are those of all British friendly societies, namely, to assist members in distress, provide free medical aid, etc. Its special character is laid down in its rules concerning membership: all persons "of the Jewish faith who declare themselves adherents to the Zionist Movement" can become members. From its inception the order was a firm supporter of Zionism, contributed to its various funds, and became a champion of practical Zionist work in Ereẓ Israel. In 1914 a Maccabean Land Company was founded to enable its shareholders to acquire land in Ereẓ Israel. The organization of the order displays masonic features. A grand beacon and high degree council supervise its work; branches are called beacons, of which there are 25 (there once were beacons in Palestine as well); the principal officers are called grand commander, grand treasurer, and grand secretary. Members are called upon to obey the decisions of their order and are forbidden to inform nonmembers of the order's activities.

The revised statutes of the Zionist Organization passed by the Tenth Zionist Congress (1911) permitted the establishment of so-called *Sonderverbaende* (separate unions), in addition to the existing territorial organizations, on the condition that every *Sonderverband* numbered at least 3,000 shekel-buying members and that it professed special views on Zionist work. The Order of Ancient Maccabeans applied for this status, and though its claim was opposed by the English Zionist Federation, the order prevailed. In 1912 the Zionist Executive decided in favor of the order's status as *Sonderverband* on the condition that a Joint Zionist Council be formed, comprising representatives of both the order and the federation. In the 1930s, however, the order lost its special status. Prominent members of the order were Herbert *Bentwich, who served as grand commander; Chaim *Weizmann, who represented the order at Congresses; and Selig *Brodetsky, who served as grand commander. In 2004 its president was Sir Ian Gainsford. Its papers from the 1890s to 1964 are held at the Parkes Library, Southampton University.

[Israel Philipp]

MACCABEE, the additional name given to Judah, son of Mattathias, leader of the revolt against Syria (168 B.C.E.), later referred to as the "Maccabean Revolt." It was no accident that the revolt broke out at a rural location such as *Modi'in and not in Jerusalem itself. It began with the killing of a local who was willing to sacrifice to a pagan idol, and the action was taken by a zealous minor native priest, Mattathias (I Macc. 2:27; cf. 2:42) who subsequently called on those around him to follow the law and "maintain the covenant" and to fight the offensive edicts of Antiochus IV. The object was clearly to return to the religious autonomy Jews originally enjoyed, but the later successes of the revolt dictated otherwise. The name Maccabee is also applied loosely to other members of the family, as well as to the Hasmonean dynasty as a whole. For suggestions as to its derivation, see *Judah Maccabee and *Hasmoneans. The name is also given in Christian tradition to the seven children martyred by Antiochus Epiphanes when they refused to commit idolatry. Shrines to their memory and that of their mother Salome (in Jewish tradition Hannah) were established in many parts of the Christian world (see *Hannah and her Seven Sons).

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[Shimon Gibson (2nd ed.)]

MACCABEES, FIRST BOOK OF (I Maccabees), a historical work extant in Greek, covering the period of 40 years from the accession of Antiochus Epiphanes (175 B.C.E.) to the death of Simeon the Hasmonean (135 B.C.E.). Its name in the Septuagint and in the writings of the Church Fathers (Eusebius and Clement) is Τα Μακκαβαϊκά, i.e., "Maccabean matters" or "the Book of the Maccabees." The original Hebrew name of the book is unknown. According to Origin it was "Sarbeth Sabaniel." Different hypotheses have been suggested to explain these words, which should perhaps read: סֵפֶר בֵּית סָרְבָנֵי אֵל (*Sefer Beit Sarevanei El*), the words *Sarevanei El* ("who strive for God") being a translation into contemporary (mishnaic) Hebrew of Jehoiarib, the name of the priestly order (see I Chron. 24:7; Neh. 12:6, 19) to which the Hasmonean family belonged. In support of this conjecture is the fact that in later times, after the glamor of the Hasmonean dynasty had become tarnished, the name Jehoiarib is found translated by the above word in its Aramaic form מסרבי (*mesarevei*; TJ, Ta'an. 4:8, 68d) though it is there used in a pejorative sense as "rebellious," "fractious."

I Maccabees is the main, and at times the only, historical source for the period. The book opens with the conquest of Alexander the Great, but immediately after this relates the activities of Antiochus Epiphanes and the Jewish Hellenizers (whom the author calls "the sons of Belial" – the reprobates) and summarily reviews the causes of the Hasmonean rebellion. From this point on it gives a more detailed account of the events of Mattathias' revolt, through the rededication of the Temple, down to the time when John *Hyrcanus, the eldest son of Simon the Hasmonean, was appointed ruler.

The many expressions in the Greek version which occur only in biblical Hebrew (e.g., from the hands of the gentiles: *mi-yad ha-goyim*; and his heart was raised: *va-yarom libbo*; before his face: *al panav*; and the matter found favor in their eyes: *va-yitav ha-davar be-eineihem*) clearly confirm the testimony of the Church Fathers that the original language of the book was Hebrew. The style was biblical Hebrew (including use of the *vav* conversive), and particularly that of the historical books of the Bible. Like Joshua and Judges, it begins with the *vav* conversive, but reflects the style of Ezra and Nehemiah in including historical documents and similar testimony. Like these biblical books, although it is written largely in prose, now and again it includes poetry, such as the Lamentation of Mattathias (2:7–13), prayers (3:18–22; 4:30–33; 7:41–42), and a hymn (14:8–15). Unlike II Maccabees it does not contain explanations of historical or personal psychological motivation, of the sort usually found in the works of the contemporary Greek historians.

The writer achieves a high degree of objectivity. He even refrains from censuring the *Hassideans who opposed the Hasmoneans, though it is clear where his sympathies lie since he regards the Hasmoneans as chosen by Providence "to give deliverance unto Israel" (5:62). The course of events described is not considered as diverging from the natural order, and supernatural intervention is almost entirely absent from the narrative, even though the basic assumption underlying the entire book is that Israel's success is a direct result of their faith and their steadfastness in their loyalty to the Torah and the keeping of the commandments. The author is very circumspect about mentioning God's name. In place of the Tetragrammation or the biblical *Elohim*, he either writes "Heaven" (3:18, 50, 60; 4:10, 40, et al.) or else uses a circumlocution to avoid the use of a proper name altogether (e.g., 2:21, 26; 3:22, 53; 4:10, et al.).

The book ranks high as an accurate historical source, and even the numbers it contains are not exaggerated. In spite of scholarly arguments to the contrary, the idiomatic constructions typical of this book incontrovertibly prove it to be the work of a single author. His name is unknown, but he almost certainly was an eyewitness to the events he describes (cf. 6:39). He avoids expressing outright partisanship, but the fact that he wrote at the beginning of John Hyrcanus' rule, when the latter was still a Pharisee, and lauds Mattathias' decision to permit defensive military action on the Sabbath – which was approved by the Pharisaic school (Jos., Ant. 12:276; 14:63; Tosef., Er. 4:6–7) – indicates that he was close to this circle.

The literary sources used by the author include both letters from official archives (such as those from the Seleucid kings and Roman officials to the Hasmoneans), and public documents (such as the people's declaration assigning the high priesthood and the chief executive position to Simeon), as well as other literary sources in Hebrew (among them the various poems). Thus it is that the author employs two different systems of dating: one for external affairs (where he starts the year in the fall, in the month of Tishri), and one for internal events (which he dates according to the calendar starting in the month of Nisan).

The original Hebrew version seems to have disappeared quite early. The Church included I Maccabees in its canon together with the rest of the Septuagint and this was ratified by the Catholic Church Council of Trent. After the Reformation, the Protestants removed it from their Bible and relegated it to the Apocrypha. A Hebrew translation was made in the 11th century (published by D. Chwolson).

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[Yehoshua M. Grintz]

MACCABEES, SECOND BOOK OF (II Maccabees), known in Greek as Τά Μακκαβαϊκά, that is, the narratives about (Judah called) the Maccabee. It was this title which gave the title to the other books of the *Apocrypha bearing the same name. It is an abridgment of a larger work of five books written by a *Jason of Cyrene who is otherwise unknown (see 2:23–28). Traces of the original division may be preserved in the similar conclusions in several chapters (3:40; 7:42; 10:9; 13:26; 15:37–39). Unlike I *Maccabees which was written in Hebrew, the original language of this book was Greek; and unlike the former, which begins with an account of the revolt of Mattathias and tells of the wars of his sons the *Hasmoneans up to the days of John Hyrcanus, this book deals solely with the deeds of *Judah Maccabee, and only until his victory over *Nicanor on 13 Adar II, 164 B.C.E. ("Nicanor Day"). However, the main account is prefaced by a lengthy introduction on the actions of the Hellenizers, Simeon of the priestly division of Minyamin (Bilgah), who wanted to be the *agoranomos* (the market overseer) in Jerusalem, and Jason the brother of the high priest Onias, and Menelaus the brother of Simeon, both of whom wanted to be high priests. Their acts of plunder and bribing the king caused the people to rise against them, but their contacts with kings led to the intervention of the Syrian king Antiochus IV Epiphanes and to the religious persecutions which were in fact the direct cause of the Maccabean revolt.

The events related subsequently are in general similar to those in I Maccabees, although the two books are independent of each other. However, chapters 8–12 present a different order: the death of Antiochus IV (10:1–9) and the arrival of Lysias at Beth-Zur (ch. 11) here precede the purification of the Temple. The epitomizer for some reason or other altered the original order (8:29, 34–36; 10:1–8; 8:30–33; 9:1–29; 10:9; he apparently thought that the letter in 11:22, in which Antiochus IV is regarded as having died, belonged to the same period as the other letters in that chapter which, however, preceded it by a year). If the original order is restored, however, the events accord with those in I Maccabees. In its extant form, II Maccabees begins with an addendum to the main body of the book, consisting of two letters sent at different times from Judea to Alexandria which request that the festival of Ḥanukkah be observed. The first was written, according to its date, in 124 B.C.E. (in the days of John Hyrcanus), while the second, undated one (which has all kinds of aggadic stories and is regarded as largely apocryphal) was written earlier, and is a letter from Judah (Maccabee) to Aristobulus, the tutor of King Ptolemy (Philometor, 180–145 B.C.E.)

The main part of the book commences with 2:19, at a time when Onias (III) was high priest, Seleucus ruled in Asia, and peace and tranquility reigned in Ereẓ Israel; however, the avarice of several high priests led to a complete reversal of the situation. Simeon of the priestly division of Minyamin (see above) informed the king's strategus in Syria and Phoenicia that there were vast treasures in the Temple. The king's mission to take the treasure failed (the envoy Heliodorus saw angels smiting him and fainted), and Jason and Menelaus (see above) then began to compete for the high priesthood. As a result of their rivalry and the base acts accompanying it in Jerusalem and Antioch (where Onias the high priest was killed), the people revolted, and Antiochus instituted religious persecutions against them. At first many suffered martyrdom. Then Judah Maccabee rose in revolt together with his men, defeating first the local governor, then the commanders Nicanor and Gorgias (8:8–29), and in the month of Xanthicus (Adar, March) 164 B.C.E. (11:1–15) triumphed over the commander in chief Lysias near Beth-Zur and purified the Temple (10:1–8). There follows a description of wars with various neighboring countries (8:30–33; 10:15–38; 12:2–9, 17–31), and an account of Antiochus IV's death (ch. 9: described here as a punishment from heaven) and his contrition (the author cites a letter from him to the Jews of Antioch (9:19) and interprets it as addressed to all the Jews). After this comes an account of the wars against Antiochus Eupator (13:1–27), the mission of the priest Alcimus, and Judah's victory over Nicanor (15:36).

In its literary form, as well as in its language, this book is entirely different from I Maccabees. Unlike the latter, which uses simple, matter-of-fact language, II Maccabees is written in the style of Greek historians: in ornate language, rich in idioms and poetic metaphors, and in expressions filled with pathos, drama, and rhetoric, stirring the reader. Also, as was usual with these historians, the book is full of various stories of miraculous events, of the intervention of heavenly creatures, directly (by angels) and indirectly (by signs in heaven and on earth presaging evil).

The purpose of the book is religious propaganda, the basic idea being that the sin of the nation is the cause of the divine punishment ("For it is not a light thing to do wickedly against the laws of God: but the time following shall declare these things"; 4:17). Yet the suffering that comes upon Israel is only to chasten the people (6:12–17), and is itself a sign of the divine providence – to warn them against sin. The aim of the introduction is to show that the sin of the priests lay in serving alien forces. In this book – for the first time – Judaism stands as an antipode to *Hellenism (2:21, 8:1, 14:38), and the Greeks are represented as barbarians, avid for plunder and pillage (4:8, 23, 32, 42; 5:16). In contrast, the strength of the Jews lies in the fulfillment of the practical *mitzvot* (the observance of the Sabbath – 6:11; 8:26; 12:38; the precaution against ritual uncleanness – 5:27), and outstanding examples of such acts of bravery are given. One is the story of the elderly Eleazar, who steadfastly refused to eat forbidden food despite all the torture inflicted on him; another is of the woman and her seven sons who suffered martyrdom for the sanctification of the Divine Name (6:18ff.; ch. 7 – see *Hannah and her Seven Sons). Much emphasis is also laid on the belief in the resurrection of the dead (7:14; 12:43). Although his views are very close to those of the Pharisees, it is impossible to tell whether the author, Jason, was one of them. He was apparently a contemporary of Judah Maccabee, as several incidents sound as if they emanate from an eyewitness.

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[Yehoshua M. Grintz]

MACCABEES, THIRD BOOK OF (III Maccabees), apocryphal book, included in the *Septuagint, probably dating from the first century B.C.E. It has nothing to do with the Maccabees, but relates a legend to explain why the Jews in Egypt have a Purim-like festival in the summer (the Egyptian date is given). It may have been grouped with the books of the Maccabees, because it, too, relates a persecution of Jews by a Hellenistic king and their miraculous rescue. In it, Ptolemy IV Philopator (221–204 B.C.E.), after his victory over Antiochus III at Rafa, visited neighboring temples. When he insisted upon entering the Temple of Jerusalem by force, the high priest's prayer brought down upon him the scourge of God. Returning to his capital, he took his anger out on the Alexandrian Jews. He ordered a census of the Jews, which was an infringement of their civil rights, and ordered that they be branded with the emblem of Dionysus. Those resisting initiation to Dionysus' mysteries were to be put to death, and those consenting were to be granted full citizenship. As most Alexandrian Jews remained loyal to their faith, the king ordered all the Jews of the country to be brought to Alexandria and put to death. Clerks attempted to register them but failed for shortage of writing material. Crowds of Jews were then concentrated in a hippodrome where they were to be trampled to death by intoxicated elephants. Their destruction was twice miraculously averted. On the third attempt two angels appeared and struck terror into the king, his army, and the elephants, the beasts turning about and falling upon the soldiers. In the end the king repented and prepared a banquet in honor of the rescued Jews. There are serious objections to the historicity of this story. The king's decree combines an infringement of civil rights that could apply only to Alexandrian Jews, with a census of the Jews of the whole country. Moreover, the only purpose of the census could be to institute a poll tax. However, this would become meaningless if the whole Jewish population were to be put to death; it is probably for this reason that the author had to find a device to stop it. The story of the elephants is told by Josephus (Apion, 2:53–55), but about another Ptolemy. The account of the two angels, as well as that of the king's intrusion into the Temple of Jerusalem, is derived from II Maccabees 3. The theme of the king who is instigated by his counselors to annihilate the Jews is from the Book of Esther. These and other details of the story can be put down as commonplaces of persecution literature. By prefacing his patchwork with a description, albeit irrelevant, of the battle of Rafa, taken from a reliable historian, the author manages to concoct an etiology for a festival, the original meaning of which had been forgotten. The book was written in Greek and its style is characterized by its many rare words and neologisms.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Charles, Apocrypha, 1 (1913), 155–73; M. Hadas, *The Third and Fourth Books of Maccabees* (1953), includes bibliography. For further bibliography see Maccabees, First Book *of.

[Yehoshua Amir (Neumark)]

MACCABEES, FOURTH BOOK OF (IV Maccabees), apocryphal book, included in the Septuagint. It presumably dates from the first century C.E., and is erroneously ascribed by Christian tradition to *Josephus. It does not deal with the warriors of the Maccabean revolt, but with the story of the martyrs of the preceding religious persecution, as related in II Maccabees 6–7. It is of special interest as the only surviving major piece of Greek rhetoric in Jewish literature. IV Maccabees is a philosophical sermon on the theme "pious reason masters passion." This theme, stated at the outset, is frequently repeated in the course of the sermon. After an initial inquiry along the lines of standard Stoic doctrine into the nature of reason and the varieties of passion, the preacher offers historical examples of the ability of reason to control passion. He finally comes to examples provided by the "occasion of this day," the heroic death of the victims of Antiochus' persecution. After a short historical exposition, he describes old Eleazar and the mother (later known as *Hannah) with her seven sons, whom the king tries to force to eat ritually forbidden food. They refuse and each defends his refusal in a fervent speech in the face of cruel torture before being put to death. It seems that the details, as far as they are not drawn from II Maccabees, emanate from the author's own imagination. He spares no pains to excite the emotions of his audience, incorporating detailed descriptions of the torture instruments, delicate analysis of the mother's inner struggle, and great exclamations of admiration for the martyrs. This sermon is one of the outstanding specimens of the "Asianic" school of rhetoric, known for its linguistic excesses, neologisms, redundance of language, and overemphasis.

A most interesting feature is the interweaving of Greek philosophical and Jewish traditional motifs. Not only are moral conflicts and temptations illustrated by biblical stories but in line with the concept that the Torah is the "philosophy" of the Jews, biblical laws are presented as practical means of Stoic self-education and are thus classified according to the different cardinal virtues they help to develop. It passes unnoticed that in the course of this presentation the ideal of the Stoic sage is replaced by that of the God-fearing man, and that heroism is interpreted as the endurance of hardship. The martyr reaps all the glory. He is called an athlete and his ability to endure suffering is the apex of all the moral virtues. The author regards firmness in bearing pain as the victory of reason and as virtually destroying the tyrant's power. The principal religious motivation of the martyr is loyalty to God's law. Eleazar makes no distinction between greater and lesser commandments. Violation of either constitutes contempt for the Lawgiver. The martyrs are certain that God will reward their faithfulness after their death and that He will inflict eternal punishment on the godless king.

The sermon was obviously intended for delivery; otherwise, the mention of its "occasion" would be meaningless. However it may not have been a synagogue sermon, since, in Hellenistic (as in rabbinical) Judaism, such sermons seem always to have been based on a biblical verse. Perhaps it was a Ḥanukkah sermon, but in the absence of any known association of that festival with the martyrs, it may be more correct to think of it as intended for an assembly at their supposed tomb (at Antiochia?) on a traditional commemoration day.

No traces of IV Maccabees have been detected in later Jewish tradition, but Christianity adopted it, together with the "Maccabean Saints" (see *Hannah and her Seven Sons), to whom both the Eastern and the Western Church dedicated a Commemoration Day. Sermons delivered on that day, sometimes referring expressly to IV Maccabees, have been preserved from Gregory of Nazianzus, Augustine, and other Church Fathers. The heroism of the "Maccabees" left its mark on Christian martyr worship, although the Jewish source lacks the special note of longing for torments characteristic of Christian martyrology.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Charles, Apocrypha, 2 (1913), 653–85; M. Hadas, *The Third and Fourth Books of Maccabees* (1953), including detailed bibliography. For further bibliography, see *Maccabees, First Book of.

[Yehoshua Amir (Neumark)]

MACCABIAH, international games, recognized and approved by the International Olympic Committee, held every four years in Israel and open to athletes of the Jewish faith from all countries. The aim of the Maccabiah is to raise the standard of physical culture and sports among Jewish youth and to encourage and foster a sense of belonging to the Jewish people.

The idea of Jewish Olympics was conceived by one of the founders and veteran leaders of the Maccabi movement in Palestine, Joseph Yekutieli, who advocated it with zeal from 1921. After he had succeeded in persuading the mayor of Tel Aviv, Meir Dizengoff, to build the first sports stadium in the country, he brought his plan before the Maccabi World Congress at Ostrava, Czechoslovakia, in 1929 and it was enthusiastically approved. In 1932 the first Maccabiah was held in Tel Aviv, with contingents from 23 countries and 500 athletes.

A great number of the athletes and accompanying personnel remained in Palestine after the Maccabiah and thus the games became not only a tool for stimulating sports but also an important means for promoting Aliyah. The second Maccabiah in 1935 was even more of an "Aliyah Maccabiah," since most of the 1,700 sportsmen from 27 countries, and their escorts, remained in Palestine because of the antisemitism which was sweeping Europe following the Nazis' access to power in Germany. The third Maccabiah could not be held until 1950.

In 1953 the fourth Maccabiah was held. The Maccabi World Union congress which followed it adopted a resolution to build a Maccabiah village to house the visiting contingents. Since then the Maccabiah games have been held regularly every four years, the fifth in 1957, the sixth in 1961, the seventh in 1965, and the eighth in 1969, with an ever-increasing participation of athletes from over 30 countries. The main sports embraced by the Maccabiah are track and field events; gymnastics; swimming and water polo; boxing, wrestling, and fencing; tennis and table tennis; and soccer, basketball, and volleyball. The Maccabiah games contributed to Israeli sports and established themselves as an international Jewish events. Mark *Spitz, who won seven Olympic gold medals, participated in the Maccabiah along with many other world class athletes.

The Maccabi World Union Executive, which sponsors and organizes the Maccabiah games, appoints the International Maccabi Games Committee (IMGC). This generally includes the chairmen of the territorial Maccabi organizations. In countries where no organization exists, leading Jewish sportsmen and people connected with athletes are appointed to select and arrange the training of the various teams. Since the third Maccabiah, *Ha-Po'el Israel has taken an active part with its general secretary a member of the IMGC. The *Betar and *Eliẓur sports organizations also participate in the Maccabiah games.

The program for the Maccabiah games includes festive opening and closing ceremonies under the patronage of the president and the prime minister of the State of Israel, with contingents parading under their national flags.

In the 15th Maccabiah of 1997 a terrible tragedy clouded the games. During the opening ceremonies, a newly constructed bridge over the Yarkon River collapsed as the Australian contingent, numbering 731 members, was crossing it on the way to the stadium. Four of the athletes were killed immediately and 70 were injured. Many of the injuries became more serious because of the pollution of the river. The opening ceremonies continued while the rescue operation was under way, until Prime Minister Binyamin Netanyahu called a halt to the festivities. The event tarnished the image of the Maccabiah Games and damaged Israel-Australia relations, especially those with the Australian Jewish community.

In 2002 the 16th Maccabiah was held under the threat of terror attacks. The games were defined as a vehicle of identification of the Jewish people with the State of Israel, but fewer participated than in previous years.

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[Menahem Savidor / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

MACCABI WORLD UNION. The international Jewish sports organization which bears the name of *Judah Maccabee had its origin in the belief of young Eastern European Jews involved in the growing movement for a national home in Palestine at the end of the 19th century that one essential prerequisite was the improvement of the physique of ghetto youth. To this end, gymnastics clubs were founded in a number of Eastern and Central European countries. They were not immediately called Maccabi. The first club, opened in Constantinople, Turkey, in 1895, was called the Israel Gymnastics Club, while others were named after another hero, Bar Kokhba, or were known by the Hebrew names "Ha-Ko'aḥ" ("strength") or "Ha-Gibbor" ("strong man"). The Bar Kokhba club published a monthly journal *Juedische Turnzeitung*, later called *Der Makkabi*; it first appeared in 1900 and promoted athletics and national Jewish education. In 1897 the first of a series of Bulgarian clubs was opened in Plovdiv; a club was organized in Berlin in the following year and in Vienna in 1899. 1901 saw the establishment of a Polish club in Lemberg.

The concept of a nationalist sports movement received impetus in 1898 from a stirring address by the well-known Zionist leader, the physician Max *Nordau, at the second Zionist Congress in Basle, in which he proclaimed:

> Gymnastics and physical training are exceedingly important for us Jews, whose greatest defect has been and is a lack of discipline… nature has endowed us with the spiritual qualities required for athletic achievements of an extraordinary quality. All we lack is muscle, and that can be developed with the aid of physical exercise… The more Jews achieve in the various branches of sport, the greater will be their self-confidence and self-respect.

The truth of Nordau's contention was demonstrated in 1903 at the fourth Zionist Congress in Basle, where a group of 35 outstanding gymnasts from various European clubs staged an impressive display. It was at this Congress that the foundations were laid for the *Juedische Turnerschaft* – the Union of Jewish Gymnastics Clubs – which united all the existing sports clubs, beginning with a membership of some 1,500. It was headed first by Ernst Tuch and later by Theowald Sholom, both of them from Germany. During the first decade of the 20th century the movement spread to more countries on the European continent and to Palestine, where clubs were formed in Jaffa (1906) and Jerusalem (1911). The first real approach to Zionism came in 1912, when at a Maccabi conference in Berlin it was decided to organize group excursions to Palestine (1913 and 1914). By this time there were over 100 affiliated clubs in Europe, with a membership running into several thousands, and the movement had come to be accepted, unofficially, as part of the Young Zionist movement. World War I halted Maccabi activities, but with its close they were renewed everywhere in Europe. As the movement grew, so did the need for firmer integration and in 1921, at a convention in Carlsbad, Czechoslovakia, the Maccabi World Union was formed, and the first Maccabi World Union congress elected Dr. Heinrich Kuhn of Germany as its first president. With ten affiliated countries, the Maccabi World Union started its operations as an organic part of the Zionist movement. By the time of the second Maccabi congress a year later, under the presidency of Heinrich Lellever (1891–1947) of Germany, no less than 22 territorial organizations had affiliated, and the world membership had grown to nearly 100,000.

The first headquarters of the movement were in Vienna, but in 1927 they were moved to Brno, Czechoslovakia, and in 1929 to Berlin, where the movement flourished under the energetic leadership of Dr. Lellever. In 1929 the first international sports meeting was held in Prague; another was held in Antwerp, Belgium, the following year. These were forerunners of the world *Maccabiah games which were to be staged in Palestine from 1932 onward. In 1935 headquarters were transferred from Nazi Germany to London, where Selig *Brodetsky took over the presidency of the World Union, and the second Lord Melchett (*Mond) became honorary world president. In 1939 the world executive was divided into two sections, one operating in Britain and the other, under Lellever, in Palestine. By the time World War II broke out, the world membership was estimated at 200,000 with branches located in most countries of Europe and in Palestine, Turkey, Egypt, China, Australia, South America, and South Africa. It was in 1939 that a nucleus of refugees from Europe established Maccabi in the U.S.

During the war, the activities of the constituent branches of the World Union virtually ceased. Immediately following the war Maccabi leaders in England and Palestine revived the clubs still in existence and helped survivors of the Holocaust to get to Ereẓ Israel. In the countries that now came under Russian control, Jews were forbidden to engage in sports activities as Jews, although a Maccabi group did exist for a short period in the Russian zone of Berlin. In 1946 the first of the annual European Maccabi conferences was held in Basle. The decimation of Jewish communities by the Nazis and the prohibitions of the Iron Curtain countries reduced the number of young recruits to Maccabi in Europe, but new branches were springing up in North and South America, South Africa, and Australia. The birth of the State of Israel gave the movement a new focus and a new impetus, and from 1948 onward all the activities of Maccabi were oriented toward Israel, where the headquarters of the entire movement were established in Tel Aviv. By 1969, 38 countries were affiliated to the World Union, and the membership was estimated to be about 200,000. By the early 21st century the number of countries had grown to over 50 and membership to 400,000, organized in six confederations: Maccabi Israel, European Maccabi confederation, confederation Maccabi North America, confederation Maccabi Latin America (CLAM), Maccabi South Africa, and Maccabi Australia (APA). Seventy executive members elected by the confederations run the global organization.

[Menahem Savidor]

Israel

During World War II members of the Maccabi, formerly of the *Haganah, volunteered for the British army and established a Maccabi unit in 1941. In the same year the movement instituted what has become the tradition of the relay of runners carrying a lighted torch from Modi'in, the home of the Maccabees, to various parts of the country and, since the establishment of the State, to the presidential residence in Jerusalem. (In 1977 it reached the president of the United States.) Since the Six-Day War, Maccabi has organized marches "In the Footsteps of the Fighters" to such places as Mt. Sinai, the "Path of the 35" to Kefar Eẓyon, Masada, and the ascent of the Ḥermon.

Maccabi's soccer and basketball teams have dominated their sports in Israel. The Maccabi Tel Aviv soccer team has won 18 league championships and 22 state cups through the 2004/5 season, while the Maccabi Tel Aviv basketball team, in addition to winning 45 league championships and 35 state cups, has also won the European championship five times.

Maccabi has a junior organization "Young Maccabi" which was founded in 1929 and whose aims include training youth towards good citizenship and personal fulfillment in all branches of Israeli life and adherence to Jewish traditional values. (For Israel Maccabi until World War II, see *Sport in Israel before 1948.)

[Yehoshua Alouf]

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MACCOBY, ḤAYYIM ZUNDEL (1858–1916), Zionist preacher, one of the first members of Ḥovevei Zion (see *Ḥibbat Zion) in England. Born near Kobrin, Poland, Maccoby decided to become a preacher when he discovered his oratorical talents, and he attracted many followers. In 1873 he was accepted as the preacher of Kamenets and from that time on was called "The Maggid from Kamenets." In 1875 he left Kamenets and was a preacher in several places until he became the first regular preacher of the Ḥibbat Zion movement, in 1883. In this office he traversed Russia, Lithuania, and Poland. About 300 societies for the settlement of Ereẓ Israel were founded because of his influence and in spite of the opposition of many rabbis. In 1890 he left Russia for England, where he also attracted large audiences to his sermons and was thus a pioneer of the Ḥibbat Zion movement in the country. Maccoby was one of the strongest opponents of *Herzl for religious reasons. In 1929 a collection of his sermons entitled *Ḥayyim* was published with a detailed biography.

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[Getzel Kressel]

MACCOBY, HYAM (1924–2004), British scholar of ancient Judaism. Born in 1924 in Sunderland, the son of a mathematics tutor and the grandson of the Maggid of Kamenets (see *Maccoby, Ḥayyim Zundel), Poland, Hyam Maccoby was educated at Oxford. He became a schoolteacher and was then the librarian of Leo Baeck College, London. In 1998 he was made research professor at the Centre for Jewish Studies at Leeds University. Maccoby was widely known for his writings on Jesus, the founder of Christianity, and his milieu in Roman Judea. In such works as *Judea: Jesus and the Jewish Resistance* (1980), Maccoby argued that Jesus should be viewed as a liberal but Torah-observant Pharisee, who opposed the Romans but not other Jews. Maccoby also saw the origins of Christian antisemitism as beginning with the foundations of Christianity as a separate religion, a view he put forward in such works as *Judas Iscariot and the Myth of Jewish Evil* (1992) and in *Paul and Hellenism* (1991). Maccoby was widely known through his many appearances on television; he was frequently attacked by both Christians and Orthodox Jews.

[William D. Rubinstein (2nd ed.)]

°**MCDONALD, JAMES GROVER** (1886–1964), first U.S. ambassador to Israel. McDonald, who was born in Coldwater, Ohio, was assistant professor of history at the University of Indiana, before moving to New York. From 1919 to 1933 McDonald served as chairman of the Foreign Policy Association. During the 1920s he made numerous trips abroad for this organization becoming, in the process, a familiar figure at the League of Nations headquarters in Geneva. McDonald's interest in Zionism was sparked by his experiences as League of Nations high commissioner for refugees from Germany. He held this post from 1933 to 1935 when he resigned and issued a dramatic statement accusing the German government of planning a policy of race extermination and attacking League members for their indifference to the plight of the German refugees. In 1938 he was elected to head the newly created Presidential Advisory Committee on Political Refugees (PACPR), a quasi-official agency whose main task was to serve as a conduit for funneling the names of prominent refugees to be considered for special visitor's visas to the State Department. In September 1940 McDonald clashed with officials in the State Department who were imposing ever-stricter regulations to halt the influx of refugees. When the White House was finally called upon to mediate in the conflict, McDonald asked for and received Eleanor Roosevelt's support. However, despite her intercession, Roosevelt supported the State Department. In May 1943, seemingly affected by the lack of administration support for the refugee cause, McDonald rejected an opportunity to head the U.S. delegation to a refugee conference at Bermuda. During the next two years, he frequently advocated that Palestine be opened to immigration, "limited only by the absorption capacity of the area." In 1945 his efforts were partly rewarded when the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry on Palestine, of which he was a member, recommended the admission of 100,000 displaced Jews. President Truman appointed McDonald U.S. special representative to Israel in 1948 and ambassador in 1949. McDonald served in this post until his retirement in 1951. He wrote *My Mission to Israel 1948–1951* (1953). After his retirement, McDonald devoted much time to Zionist-sponsored causes, especially the sale of Israel bonds.

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[Henry L. Feingold]

MACEDONIA, region of southeastern Europe where Alexander the Great was born. As a result of the latter's conquests and subsequent Greek rule in Palestine, the Hebrew term "Javan" as it appears in the Bible was generally translated by the rabbis "Macedonia" (cf. Targum Pseudo-Jonathan to Gen. 10:2; Yoma 10a). Although the origins of a Jewish community in Macedonia are unknown, it is certain that such a colony existed toward the end of the Second Temple period. Philo, in the list of Jewish communities quoted from the correspondence of Agrippa I to Caligula, refers also to the Jews of Macedonia (The Embassy to Gaius, 281). Moreover, the fact that Paul and his followers made a number of journeys to Macedonia, and that their doctrines were readily accepted there, tends to substantiate the existence of a Jewish colony (cf. Acts 16:9; 18:5; 20:1; I Cor. 16:5; II Cor. 1:16; 2:13; 7:5). Josephus, in describing the Jewish community of Alexandria, claims that the Jewish residents there were granted the right to be called "Macedonians" (Wars 2:487–88; Ant. 12:8; Apion 2:35). However, papyrological research has shown that the phrase "Macedonian" eventually lost its original ethnic significance, and is in fact a designation of specific military status.

For later periods see also *Bulgaria; Byzantine *Empire; *Greece; *Yugoslavia.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Schuerer, Gesch, 3 (1909^4), 5; Juster, Juifs, 1 (1914), 187.

[Isaiah Gafni]

MACHABEY, ARMAND (1886–1966), French musicologist and composer. Born in Pont-de-Roide, France. Machabey studied classics and music in Paris with d'Indy and Pirro, concentrating on composition, but eventually devoted himself to musicology. His main contributions were made in the field of medieval musicology. He wrote his dissertation (1928) on the evolution of musical forms in the Middle Ages, for which he was awarded the Bernier Prize of the Académie des Beaux-Arts in 1930. His writings include monographs on Ravel, *Anton Bruckner* (1946), *Le Bel Canto* (1948) as well as *Traité de la critique musicale* (1946) and studies of notation such as *La Notation musicale* (1952). He also wrote about *Girolamo Frescobaldi* (1952) and *Guillaume de Machaut: la vie et l'oeuvre musicale* (2 vols., 1955), which are his best-known works. In 1957 he edited with Dufourcq and Raugel the *Larousse de la musique* encyclopedia. His compositions include chamber and solo instrument music such as six short preludes for piano, six pieces for violin and piano, and orchestral works.

ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY: Grove online; F. Raugel, "Armand Machabey (1886–1966)," in: *Acta Musicologica*, 11 (1968).

[Israela Stein (2nd ed.)]

MACHADO, family name of Portuguese *Marranos. The best known is perhaps DAVID MENDEZ MACHADO (d. 1753), who left his native Lisbon in 1732 after he had aroused the suspicions of the *Inquisition that he practiced Judaism in secret. He arrived in Savannah, Georgia – by way of London – during 1733. Within that year he married Zipphorah Nuñez (c. 1714–1799), daughter of the former Portuguese court physician Samuel *Nuñez; Machado was then appointed *ḥazzan* at New York City's Spanish-Portuguese synagogue, Shearith Israel, serving from 1734 to 1753. His daughter, REBECCA (1746–1831), married Jonas *Phillips (1736–1803), the revolutionary war patriot. Among David Machado's descendants were Uriah Phillips *Levy and Mordecai Manuel *Noah. The record of freemen in New York City for 1739 lists an AARON MACHADO, probably the brother of the *ḥazzan*. The Machado family name appears also in the earliest records of the Mexican Inquisition: ANTONIO MACHADO and his daughter ISABEL were inculpated during the trial of Jorge de Almeida in 1600.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Stern, Americans, index; D. de S. Pool, *Portraits Etched in Stone; Early Jewish Settlers, 1682–1831* (1952); Rosenbloom, Biogr Dict, 105; J.R. Marcus, *Early American Jewry*, 2 (1955), 59, 335.

MACHAERUS, Transjordanian frontier fortress erected by the Hasmonean king Alexander *Yannai (Jannaeus) in southern Perea, E. of the Jordan and adjacent to the border of Nabatean Arabia (Jos., Wars, 1:161; 3:46; 7:163–170). The place served as one of the depositories for his treasures (Jos., Ant., 13:417). It served as a base for Alexander and *Aristobulus in their resistance against the Romans. Pliny describes it as one of the strongest points in the region after Jerusalem (Pliny, *Historia Naturalis*, 5:16, 72) and Strabo lists the fortress among the Hasmonean strongholds (16:2, 40). Taken by Gabinius and destroyed, it was later rebuilt by Herod the Great. Machaerus was also the place where *John the Baptist was executed. According to Josephus (Ant., 18:116–117) John's activities in the lower Jordan River region so alarmed the Tetrarch *Herod Antipas (nicknamed the "fox": Luke 13:32), son of Herod the Great, that he had him executed. The story given in the gospels regarding the reason for John's execution is different, but in no way contradicts the reason given by Josephus. According to Mark (6:17–18; cf. Matt. 14:3–4; Luke 3:18–20) John spoke out publicly about the unlawfulness of the union between Herod and Herodias (in keeping with Lev. 18:6) which annoyed Herod considerably, but he was eventually beheaded owing to a request made by Salome on the occasion of Herod's birthday (Mark 6:14–29; Matt. 14:1–12). The place served as one of the stations for signaling the appearance of the new moon and the arrival of holidays (Tosef., RH 2:2). Herds, mainly of goats, were said to have been raised in the mountains of Machaerus (Tam. 3:8). In the Jewish War against the Romans the fortress was taken over by the Zealots (Jos., Wars, 2:485) and remained one of their strongholds even after the fall of Jerusalem (Jos., Wars, 4:555). In 72 C.E. the Roman legate Lucilius Bassus captured it after a short siege (Jos., Wars, 7:164ff.; which also includes a description of the site). Machaerus (Jabal al-Mishnaqa) is situated close to the present-day village of al-Mukāwir, 14 mi. (c. 22 km.) southwest of Madaba. The site was visited in the 19th century by J.L. Burckhardt, H. Tristram, and C.R. Conder. F.M. Abel made a survey of the site in 1909. In the 1920s a sculpted head identified by P. Ilton as the head of Salome was said to have been found in a cave 80 ft. north of Machaerus. Excavations were first made at the site by J. Vardaman in 1968, but the results were never published. In the early 1970s Strobel made a survey of the Roman siege-works around the site. Bassus' unfinished ramp is still visible on one side of the site. Father V. Corbo undertook major excavations at the site from the late 1970s. A few tombs from the first century C.E. were recently investigated at the site.

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[Michael Avi-Yonah / Shimon Gibson (2nd ed.)]

MACHAUT, DENIS DE (late 14th century), Parisian Jew who converted to Christianity. The provost of Paris decreed that his youngest child was to remain under the father’s guardianship and receive a Christian upbringing, while the other three children were entrusted to Christian families. De Machaut was to be allowed to visit them but not his wife, who had remained Jewish. After a period of time determined by the provost, the children were to be interrogated on their intention to become Christians or not. A short while later, when Denis de Machaut disappeared, the Jews were accused of having seized him in order to attempt to bring him back to Judaism. Seven of the community’s leaders were condemned to be burned at the stake. On April 6, 1394, parliament commuted the sentence to imprisonment until De Machaut was returned. The sentence was accompanied by repeated, severe corporal punishment, and the Paris community was also fined 10,000 livres. It has been claimed that this affair was a decisive factor in the expulsion decree against the Jews or France issued in 1394.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: L. Berman, *Histoire des Juifs de France* (1937), 206f.; R. Anchel, *Juifs* (1946), 117–9.

[Bernhard Blumenkranz]

MACHIR (Heb. מָכִיר), son of Manasseh and grandson of Joseph. Although Machir appears to have been an only son according to Numbers 26:29–34 (cf. Gen. 50:23), other traditions ascribe more sons to Manasseh (Josh. 17:2), and name Asriel as a brother (I Chron. 7:14). Machir’s mother is said to have been an Aramean (*ibid.*). He married *Maacah who bore him Peresh and Sheresh (I Chron. 7:16). He also had a daughter (I Chron. 2:21). He is most frequently described as the father of Gilead (Num. 26:29; Josh. 17:1; I Chron. 2:21; 7:14). Machir is the eponym of one of the most important clans of the tribe of Manasseh, the special status of which is acknowledged in Genesis 50:23. In the Song of Deborah, Machir is mentioned along with Ephraim and Benjamin (Judg. 5:14) while Manasseh is missing, indicating that this powerful tribe is represented by Machir. Further, the Song distinguishes between this tribe and the Gilead who resides in Transjordan and who, along with the tribe of Reuben, did not participate in the war (Judg. 5:15, 17). However, the location of Machir west of the Jordan contradicts other sources which state that the Machirites captured the Gilead and the Bashan in Moses’ time before the Israelites crossed the Jordan (Num. 32:39–40; Josh. 17:1). It is reasonable to suppose that at first the entire clan dwelt west of the Jordan. Later, a part of it crossed to the eastern side (cf. Josh. 13:31, “A part of the sons of Machir”). It was subsequent to this settlement that Machir became head of Gilead. According to Numbers 32:39–42, the clan settled in the northern Gilead from the Jabbok to the Yarmuk, while *Jair, son of Manasseh, and Nobah were located even farther north, in the Bashan (cf. Deut. 3:14). In contrast to this, Joshua 13:29–31 and 17:1–2 record that the Machirites settled both in the Gilead and in the Bashan, whereas Jair was situated in the land of Gilead (I Chron. 2:22). These contradictions may be reconciled by assuming that Jair was another branch of the larger clan of Machir or, in the course of time, became affiliated with it. Indeed, in I Chronicles 2:21 Jair is considered Machir’s descendant. Further, Maacah’s being Machir’s wife (I Chron. 7:16) suggests that the Machirites settled north of the Yarmuk bordering the land of Maacah. The reference in I Chronicles 7:14 apparently hints at an ethnic assimilation of the families of Machir with the Aramean population north of the Yarmuk.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: A. Bergman, in: JAOS, 54 (1934), 169–77; idem, in: JPOS, 16 (1936), 224–54; J. Liver, in: EM, 4 (1962), 960–1.

[Bustanay Oded]

MACHIR BEN JUDAH (first half 11th century), younger brother of *Gershom b. Judah, “the Light of the Exile.” Machir was the author of *Alef Bet de-Rabbi Makhir.* This work was in the possession of Rashi and the tosafists, who quote from it (Rashi, Gen. 43:11; Pes. 50a; Er. 22a; Tos. Nid. 7b s.v. *shammuti*, et al.), but it is now lost. It was the first talmudic dictionary to be compiled in Europe, not unlike the *Arukh* of *Nathan b. Jehiel of Rome. Its chief function was to connect words used in the Talmud with Scripture, to explain them, and to translate them into French. In consequence it also engaged in biblical exegesis. All the explanations in Machir’s book were, evidently, given anonymously, no authorities being mentioned in it.

Machir had four sons: Nathan, Menahem, Nehemiah, and Yakar. These four collected the rulings, customs, and responsa of the great scholars of their locality. Menahem included all the material in a work which is referred to in the literature of the **rishonim as Ma’aseh ha-Makhiri* (Rabban – Eliezer b. *Nathan – Prague, 1610, 84c). Most of the material in his book, since lost, was included in the works of the *De-Vei Rashi* (“school of Rashi”) and the whole book may have been used as the foundation for the *Ma’aseh ha-Ge’onim* (Berlin, 1909), certainly in respect of the information it affords about the customs of Speyer, Worms, and Mainz. The majority of the material in the *Ma’aseh ha-Ge’onim* is from these four brothers.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: A. Epstein, *Ma’aseh ha-Ge’onim* (1909), x–xiii (introd.).

[Israel Moses Ta-Shma]

MACHLUP, FRITZ (1902–1983), U.S. economist. Born in Wiener Neustadt, Austria, Machlup was a partner in a paper manufacturing enterprise in 1923. In 1929 he began lecturing at the Volkshochschule in Vienna. In 1933 he emigrated to the U.S. He was a research fellow at the Rockefeller Foundation in New York City, which he left in 1935 to become professor of economics at the University of Buffalo. In 1947 he was appointed professor of political economy at Johns Hopkins and in 1960 became professor of economics and international finance at Princeton University, serving at the same time as director of Princeton’s international finance section (1960–71). During the 1960s, one of Machlup’s principal interests was the expansion of international liquidity. In 1963, he formed an organization of academics, known as the Bellagio Group, to study the looming international monetary problems, develop an academic consensus, and offer practical solutions. Among the offices he held in academic organizations were the presidencies of the Southern Economic Association (1960); the American Association of University Professors (1962–64); the American Economic Association (1966); and the International Economic Association (1971–74). He also served as a consultant to the U.S. Treasury (1965–77).

He is regarded as one of the fathers of the concept of "the information society" and "the information economy." Although Machlup never won a Nobel Prize, the Nobel committee listed his name several times as a candidate

Machlup's many publications include *The Stock Market, Credit and Capital Formation* (1940); *The Political Economy of Monopoly* (1952); *The Economic Review of the Patent System* (1958); *The Production and Distribution of Knowledge in the United States* (1962); *International Payments, Debts, and Gold* (1964); *Education and Economic Growth* (1970); *Methodology of Economics and Other Social Sciences* (1978); the three-volume *Information through the Printed Word* (1978); and the first three volumes of the projected 10-volume series *Knowledge: Its Creation, Distribution, and Economic Significance* (1980, 1982, 1983).

ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY: J. Dreyer (ed.), *Breadth and Depth in Economics: Fritz Machlup – the Man and His Ideas* (1978)

[Joachim O. Ronall / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

MACHPELAH, CAVE OF (Heb. מְעָרַת הַמַּכְפֵּלָה). The word "Machpelah," which in the Bible always appears with a definite article, is variously the name of a cave (Gen. 23:9, 19; 25:9); a field, "the cave which is in the field of Machpelah" (Gen. 49:30); and a place, "the field of Ephron, which was in Machpelah" (Gen. 23:17). The actual meaning of "Machpelah" is understood by all the early translations (Targum, Septuagint, et al.) as well as by the rabbis to mean "double" (from the Hebrew root *k-p-l*) and is interpreted in rabbinical literature as referring either to a double cave or to the "couples" buried in the cave. Machpelah is situated near Mamre, identified with Hebron (Gen. 23:19, 33:19). The Bible relates that Abraham, wishing to bury Sarah, purchased Machpelah from Ephron the Hittite for 400 silver shekels. Abraham himself, Isaac and Rebekah, Jacob and Leah were all later buried there. Jacob specifically commanded his sons not to bury him in Egypt but to lay him to rest with his fathers in the cave of Machpelah (Gen. 47:28–31; 49:30).

The site of the cave is today identified with Ḥaram el-Khalīl in modern Hebron. Surrounding the area, to a height of 39 ft. (12 m.), is a magnificent wall, distinguished by its decorative drafted-margin masonry, which are up to 23 ft. (7.5 m.) in length, and a very particular arrangement of pilasters. This wall is attributed to the time of Herod the Great and surrounding walls with pilasters also existed at the Temple Mount in Jerusalem and at Mamre (Ramat el-Khalil) (see Jacobson, Magen). Josephus, who describes the tombs of the patriarchs as "of really fine marble and exquisite workmanship" (Jos., Wars 4:532), does not, however, mention the surrounding wall (*temenos*). The first to prepare a plan of the structure was Ermete Pierotti between 1854 and 1861. A major study of the monument was later made by L.H. Vincent and E.J.H. Mackay following World War I in 1919. In 1968–69 excavations were conducted by Z. Yeivin along the southwestern side of the surrounding wall, bringing to light leveled rock surfaces, cupmarks, and a plastered installation. Interestingly, the monumental Herodian walls were very carefully adapted to the irregularities of the underlying surface of the rock, perhaps in an attempt to preserve the holiness of the hill.

The earliest source on the arrangement of the Patriarchal graves is in the Book of Jubilees (36:21) which states that "Leah is buried to the left of Sarah." According to the Jerusalem Talmud, the graves of the patriarchs are situated in the form used for the partaking of a meal; the most prominent reclining at the head, on the middle couch, the second above him and the third below him (TJ, Ta'an. 4:2). The two structures, which today mark the tombs of Abraham and Sarah, are indeed in the center of the compound area. The tombs of Jacob and Leah are at the northwestern end so that when facing the tombs from the southwest – the probable original entrance – the tomb of Leah is in fact to the left of Sarah's. The area inside the compound was evidently originally left roofless (a similar conclusion may be reached regarding the Mamre compound). The Byzantines built a church, later converted by the Muslims into a mosque, at the southeastern extremity, which left the two constructions marking Isaac and Rebekah's tombs inside, while those for Abraham and Sarah were outside, at the entrance. In the floor, inside the mosque, are two openings leading to the cave underneath. One of these, at the southeast wall, is covered by stone slabs fixed with iron hooks. The other, at the opposite wall, is open, as a Muslim custom requires the lowering of an oil lamp which is continually lit. The actual form of the cavern is uncertain but from the accounts of travelers it seems safe to conclude that there are at least two caves joined by a passage and possibly a third inner chamber. The entrance to the caves (apart from the two openings) is inaccessible today, though following the Six-Day War, Moshe *Dayan, who was serving as defense minister at that time, managed to gain access to a flight of steps leading to a narrow subterranean tunnel extending beneath the tomb of Isaac and leading to a chamber containing Moslem inscribed plaques. Rabbinic sources mention the burial of Adam and Eve in the Machpelah and the alternative biblical name for Hebron, Kiriath-Arba ("the town of the four"), is explained to refer to the four couples buried there. According to Josephus and apocryphal sources, the sons of Jacob were also buried in the Machpelah. A Muslim tradition maintains that Joseph was buried here, his tomb and the Mosque of Joseph being just outside the southwest exit of the compound. This tradition is probably due to a corruption of the Arabic name for Esau, whose head, according to aggadic sources, fell within the cave after he had been killed in a battle for the right of burial in the Machpelah (Sot. 13a; PdRE 39).

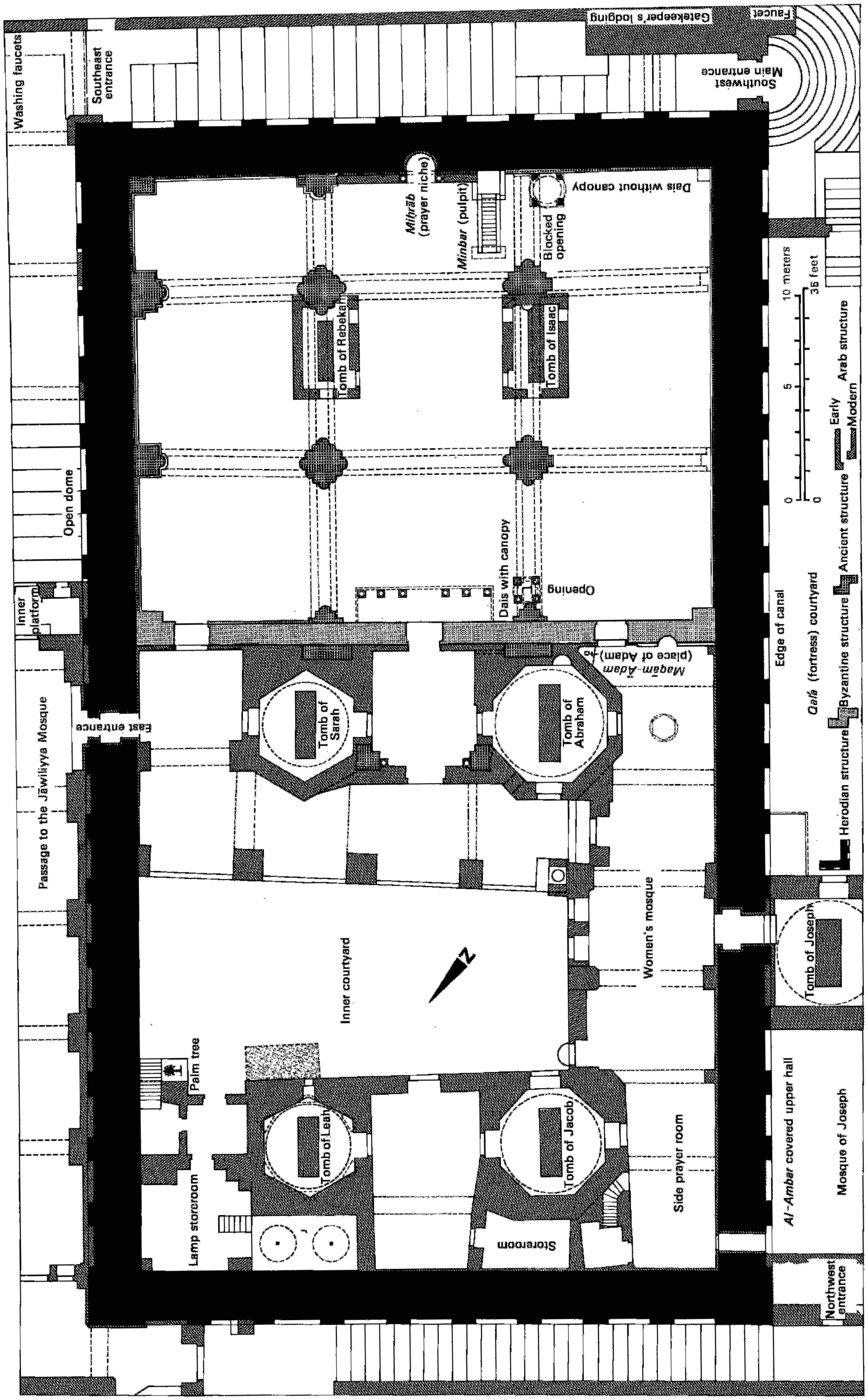
Washing faucets
Southeast entrance
Gatekeeper's lodging
Faucet
Southwest Main entrance
Dais without canopy
Miḥrāb (prayer niche)
Minbar (pulpit)
Blocked opening
Tomb of Rebekah
Tomb of Isaac
0
5
10 meters
0
35 feet
Open dome
Dais with canopy
Opening
Edge of canal
Qal'a (fortress) courtyard
Herodian structure
Byzantine structure
Ancient structure
Early
Modern
Arab structure
Inner platform
Maqām-Ādam (place of Adam)
East entrance
Passage to the Jāwiliyya Mosque
Tomb of Sarah
Tomb of Abraham
Women's mosque
Inner courtyard
N
Tomb of Joseph
Palm tree
Al-Ambar covered upper hall
Mosque of Joseph
Tomb of Leah
Tomb of Jacob
Side prayer room
Lamp storeroom
Storeroom
Northwest entrance

Plan of the mosque above the Cave of Machpelah. After L.H. Vincent et al., Hebron, Le Haram El Khalil, Sépulture des Patriarches, *Paris, 1923.*

During the Byzantine period, the Jews were authorized to pray within the area. The Christians entered through one gate and the Jews through another, offering incense while doing so; when the Arabs conquered the country they handed over the supervision of the cave of Machpelah to the Jews, in recognition of their assistance. During the late 11th century, the official responsible for the area bore the title of "The Servant to the Fathers of the World." The Jews of Hebron were accustomed to pray daily in the cave of Machpelah for the welfare of the head of the Palestinian gaonate. Many Jews sought to be buried in the vicinity of the cave of Machpelah. It was then written of them that "their resting-place was with that of the Fathers of the World." *Benjamin of Tudela, the 12th-century traveler, relates that "many barrels, full of the remains of Jews, were brought there and they are still laid to rest there to this day." The Mamluk sultan Baybars prohibited the Jews and Christians from praying within the area (1267). Jews, however, were permitted to ascend five, later seven, steps on the side of the eastern wall and to insert petitions into a hole opposite the fourth step. This hole pierces the entire thickness of the wall, to a depth of 6 ft. 6 in. (2.25 m.). It is first mentioned in 1521, and it can almost certainly be assumed to have been made at the request of the Jews of Hebron, possibly on payment of a large sum, so that their supplications would fall into the cave situated under the floor of the area. The extremity of the hole is below the blocked opening in the mosque floor and leads to the cave.

Following the Six-Day War of 1967 the Machpelah became a popular center of pilgrimage, and Jews, after a period of 700 years, were once more able to visit the tombs of the patriarchs, and regular services were held there. Though strictly regulated, the use of the Machpelah by Jews and Muslims has made it one more bone of contention in a divided city. On Purim, February 25, 1994, Baruch Goldstein, Kiryat Arba's medical doctor, entered the Machpelah during Muslim prayers and opened fire with an automatic weapon, killing 29 and wounding 100.

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[Joseph Braslavi (Braslavski) / Shimon Gibson (2nd ed)]

MACHT, DAVID I. (1882–1961), U.S. pharmacologist. Macht, who was born in Moscow, was educated in the U.S. He graduated from Johns Hopkins Medical School where he lectured in pharmacology from 1912 to 1932. From 1933 to 1941 he served as visiting professor of general physiology at Yeshiva College (see *Yeshiva University) and from 1944 onward was consultant and research pharmacologist at Sinai Hospital in Baltimore. Macht published over 900 scientific studies in his field and introduced a number of new methods of treatment of diseases. He discovered the curative qualities of benzyl alcohol as a substitute for cocaine; he found that morphine and codeine have a sedative or depressant effect on the respiratory center as opposed to other narcotic drugs that act as stimulants; he proved that a difference exists in the biological effects produced by Roentgen rays of varying wavelength and introduced a cure for pemphigus by application of "deep" X-rays; he made a special study of the thromboplastic properties of various medical agents, especially of antibiotics. He also did extensive research on the pharmacology of blood and spinal fluid of psychotic patients. An Orthodox Jew, Macht constantly attempted to show the harmonious relationship between religion and science. He studied medical descriptions appearing in the Bible and the Talmud and showed that many of the so-called "miracles" or "medical stupidities" were in reality accurate descriptions of either diseases or their treatments. (Some of these are listed in Friedenwald, *The Jews and Medicine*, 2 (1967^2), index.)

BIBLIOGRAPHY: S.R. Kagan, *Jewish Medicine* (1952), 217–9; *New York Times* (Oct. 16, 1961), 29.

[Suessmann Muntner]

MACIAS, ENRICO (**Gaston Ghrenassia**; 1938–), French singer and entertainer. Born in Constantine, Algeria, Macias won popularity as a composer and singer of light songs, winning a reputation as the voice of the *pieds noirs* (French Algerians). In 1966 he sang before 120,000 people at the Dinamo Stadium in Moscow and performed in 40 other Soviet towns. He visited Israel in 1967 and sang for the troops and was then banned in Arab states. In 1968 he appeared in Carnegie Hall. In 1978, he was invited to Egypt by President Anwar Sadat and sang before 20,000 people at the foot of the pyramids. After Sadat's assassination he composed "Un berger vient de tomber" in his memory. His message of peace, brotherhood, and solidarity in songs like "Aimez-vous les uns les autres" brought him awards from the UN and engagements all around the world.

MACK, JULIAN WILLIAM (1866–1943), U.S. judge and Zionist leader. Mack, who was born in San Francisco, graduated from Harvard Law School in 1887, studied at the universities of Berlin and Leipzig, entered law practice in Chicago, and served as professor of law at Northwestern University (1895–1902) and the University of Chicago (1902–40). He was elected judge of the circuit court of Cook County, Illinois, in 1903, and was judge of the Chicago juvenile court (1904–07), and the U.S. commerce court (1911–13). In 1904 he became president of the National Conference of Social Workers. His interest in the welfare of children was recognized in his appointment as one of the chairmen of the White House conference on children in 1908. Mack was appointed to the U.S. circuit court of appeals in 1913 and presided over hundreds of civil and criminal cases until his retirement in 1941. As a judge in Chicago and subsequently, Mack fought for a progressive approach to the problem of juvenile delinquency. During World War I, he performed ably on several national assignments, including the establishment of standards for reasonable treatment of conscientious objectors. A member of the Harvard University Board of Overseers for 18 years, he was influential in blocking a proposal in 1922 for a *numerus clausus* for Jewish students.

Mack's interest in Jewish affairs was deep and abiding. In addition to active participation in social work and charitable endeavors, he was among the founders of the American Jewish Committee in 1906 and on its executive committee for 12 years. Influenced by *Brandeis, Mack became an ardent Zionist, served as president of the first American Jewish Congress in 1918, and first chairman of the *Comité des Délégations Juives at the Versailles Peace Conference in 1919. Mack was elected president of the *Zionist Organization of America in 1918, but resigned with Brandeis in a dispute over methods of developing Palestine. He continued his efforts, however, holding high posts in the Palestine Endowment Fund, World Jewish Congress, Jewish Agency for Palestine, United Palestine Appeal, and the Hebrew University. The Israel settlement Ramat ha-Shofet ("Judge's Hill") was so called in his memory. Mack's credo, "We ask no more for the Jew than we do for anyone else," expressed both his sense of justice and loyalty to his people. He wrote *Americanism and Zionism* (1918).

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[Morton Rosenstock]

MACKLOWE, HARRY (1938–), U.S. real-estate developer. One of New York's best-known builders, Macklowe, the son of a garment executive from Westchester, dropped out of the University of Alabama, New York University, and the School of Visual Arts before throwing himself into the real-estate business in the 1960s. He moved quickly from broker to builder, developing a keen interest in architecture and modern art that were reflected in his sleek modernistic buildings and starkly white minimalist offices. Although he had been a prolific builder, Macklowe became well known in 1985 when his company tore down two single-room occupancy hotels in midtown Manhattan during the night without turning off the gas or obtaining permits. He was not criminally charged, but he paid New York City $2 million to settle a civil lawsuit, and one of his executives pled guilty to criminal misdemeanor charges. Years later he built the Macklowe Hotel on the site. But Macklowe, like many New York developers, lost a string of buildings, including the hotel, to lenders during the recession in the mid-1990s. When the New York real-estate market began heating up again in 1996, Macklowe found new financial partners and resurfaced. He converted a loft building into a luxury apartment house. He bought a tired-looking office building on Madison Avenue in 1996 for $45 million, a price that even his banker thought was too high. Macklowe renovated the building, installed more windows in the offices , and expanded the retail space on a valuable stretch of the avenue. It looked like a huge success until a section of the brick façade crashed to the street, closing traffic on Madison Avenue for weeks. In 2003 Macklowe bought the 50-story General Motors Building on Fifth Avenue in New York for $1.4 billion, then the most ever paid for a skyscraper in the United States.

[Stewart Kampel (2nd ed.)]

MACNIN (**Cohen ben Maknin**), Moroccan family of *Mogador which at the close of the 18th century was at first appointed "merchants of the sultan." MACʿŪD MACNIN (d. 1832) was sent to Europe in 1809 by Sultan Mulay Suleiman in order to acquire a large amount of military equipment for the defense of the Moroccan ports. In 1813 he arrived in London as minister plenipotentiary. From 1795 his brother MEIR (d. c. 1830) headed the important firm of Mogador, whose principal agencies were in Marseilles and London. From 1799 the latter agency was directed by his nephew Solomon Sebag, the father of the future Sir Joseph Sebag-Montefiore. From the beginning of his reign Mulay Abd al-Raḥmān (1822–59) granted Meir Macnin the exclusive right to export certain products and foodstuffs from *Tetuán and *Tangier and opened on his behalf the port of Tit to the maritime commerce of cereals. The port of Mazagan was put under his authority. From 1823 the sultan named him as his representative and envoy to the Christian courts, with the right of appointing consuls wherever he found the necessity. In 1826 he left on a special mission to London, and in 1828 he was appointed minister plenipotentiary.

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[David Corcos]

MÂCON, capital of the department of Saône-et-Loire, E. France. The first *Church council of Mâcon (583) issued a series of decisions concerning the Jews. However, the first specific record of the presence of Jews in Mâcon dates from about 820, when *Agobard, archbishop of Lyons, began missionary activity among Jewish children at Mâcon who were sent to Arles for safety; he also arranged for the delivery of sermons condemning friendly relations between Christians and Jews. From 886 Jews are mentioned as owners of fields, and especially vineyards, on the outskirts of Mâcon and its surroundings, in at least 15 villages and places where they cultivated the land themselves. The Jewish quarter developed in Bourgneuf. The cemetery was situated not far from Pont Jeu, formerly known as Pont des Juifs. Several medieval Hebrew tombstones have been discovered, some of which are preserved in the Museum of Mâcon. Not far from the site of the cemetery, there was a house commonly known by the name Sabbat, a term sometimes employed in Burgundy for synagogue. In 1378, the municipality attempted to compulsorily segregate the 18 Jews still living in Mâcon in a separate quarter. They were expelled from the town in 1394. During the 17th and 18th centuries, Jews of Avignon visited Mâcon and its surroundings to trade. At the beginning of World War II, there were about 50 Jewish families living in Mâcon, but they were not organized into a community. The postwar community, consisting mainly of arrivals from North Africa, numbered 200 in 1969.

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[Bernhard Blumenkranz]

°**MACROBIUS, AMBROSIUS** (c. 400), Roman grammarian. He credits *Augustus with a grim pun reflecting Jewish abstinence from swine flesh. On hearing that *Herod had ordered his own son to be killed, Augustus remarked: "I would rather be Herod's pig [Gr. *hus*] than his son [Gr. *huios*]" (*Saturnalia* 2:4, 11).

[Jacob Petroff]

MADABA, MEDEBA (Heb. מֵידְבָא), Moabite city, situated about 5½ mi. (9 km.) S. of Heshbon in the center of a fertile plain, the biblical Mishor, 2,550 ft. (785 m.) above sea level. The city was captured by the Israelites from the Amorite king Sihon and was allocated to the tribe of Reuben (Num. 21:30; Josh. 13:9, 16). Near Madaba, David defeated the Aramean allies of Ammon (I Chron. 19:7; cf. II Sam. 10). Israel lost its hold on the city when the monarchy was divided. Omri recaptured it, but the Moabite king Mesha restored it to Moab. In Mesha's inscription (the "Moabite Stele"), King Omri is referred to as having taken "possession of all the land of [the] Me(ha)deba" (see also II Kings 3:4–5). In c. 160 B.C.E. persons from Madaba were accused of killing John, brother of Judas Maccabaeus (I Macc. 9:35–42; Jos., Ant., 3.1.2). Subsequently Jonathan and Simon retaliated. It was finally conquered by John Hyrcanus I and remained in Hasmonean control down to the time of Alexander *Yannai (Jannaeus). Hyrcanus II ceded it to the Nabateans, handing it over to Aretas III in return for his help against his brother Aristobulus II (Jos., Ant., 14.1.4). Two funerary inscriptions are known mentioning the Beni ʿAmirat family from the time of the Nabatean hegemony in the region. In 106 C.E. it was incorporated into the Roman province of Arabia (*Provincia Arabia*). The town was mentioned by various writers including Eusebius (128:20), Ptolemy (Geog. 5.16.4), Hierocles (Syn. 720–21), George of Cyprus (No. 1062), and Stephen of Byzantium (Eth. 449:6). A number of inscriptions are known, one mentioning the city council (bolkeuta) of Madaba, and two others the names of Roman centurions from the Third Cirenian Legions stationed at Madaba. An imperial inscription relates that an important building was erected in 219/20 C.E. next to the city gate. Jews lived there in Mishnaic times (Mik. 7:1), but they were probably a minority. It was a flourishing Christian city in Byzantine times, with the town expanding considerably, serving as a bishropic from the mid-fifth century. It had numerous churches, most of which were paved with mosaics, dating mainly from the sixth to eighth centuries. The best known of these is the northern church with a mosaic pavement designed as a map of the Holy Land (see below). According to an Arab historian (947 C.E.), al-Mas'udi, Madaba was ruled by the Ghassanids in the sixth century. An inscription found within a large cistern credits the emperor Justinian with building activities at Madaba. A pictorial representation of the city of Madaba appears in one of the panels of a mosaic uncovered in the Church of St. Stephen at Umm Rasas dating to the early Abbasid period. Few descriptions of Madaba are known from the Abbasid through to Ottoman periods. In the early 21st century Madaba was a flourishing town in Jordan with Christian and Muslim inhabitants.

The first explorers to describe the ancient ruins of Madaba were U. Seetzen in 1806, followed by J. Burkhardt in 1812, members of the American Palestine Exploration Society in 1872, C.R. Conder in 1881, and G. Schumacher, P.M. Séjourné, and F.J. Bliss in the 1890s.

The Madaba Mosaic Map

In 1884 the mosaic map was discovered during the erection of a new Greek Orthodox church, but it was only in 1896, when part of it had already been ruined, that it finally came to the attention of scholars, with the announcement made in 1897. The mosaic was restored and recorded in color by a German expedition in 1965–66. The map was laid in the transept of a Byzantine period church and originally measured 72 ft. (22 m.) × 23 ft. (7 m.). It represented the biblical Holy Land and neighboring regions, from Byblos (Gebal) in the north to No-Ammon (Thebes in Egypt) in the south. The map was oriented toward the east, with the Mediterranean Sea at the bottom. The scale is uneven, largest for the more important areas (central Judea – 1:15,000; Jerusalem – 1:1,650). In general, it follows the *Onomasticon* of Eusebius; it was based on a Roman road map, with the addition of vignettes representing the principal cities. The Greek texts give biblical and contemporary names, sometimes with a historical note or verse from the Septuagint. Important places and tribal areas are marked in red. The extant part of the map covers an area from Neapolis (Nablus) to Egypt. The most valuable section is the detailed plan of Jerusalem, showing two colonnaded streets, the Tower of David, many churches and monasteries, including the Church of the Holy Sepulcher and that on Mount Zion, baths, and perhaps even the Western Wall. Most of the other cities indicated on the map are fragmentary. It notes many names in the Negev which are not recorded elsewhere. A few natural features are indicated on the map, as well as boats in the Dead Sea, animals in the deserts, and ferries across the Jordan. In some details, the Madaba map shows clear evidence of the influence of Jewish lore, as in the location of the mountains Ebal and Gerizim near Jericho (although a second Tur Gerizim is placed in its true position near Nablus). The mosaic is dated by consensus of opinion to the mid-sixth century C.E., but a few scholars (notably Bahat) would like to date it much later to the second half of the seventh century C.E.

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[Michael Avi-Yonah / Shimon Gibson (2nd ed.)]

MADAGASCAR, island off Africa. Legends and theories about alleged Jewish descent of and influence on inhabitants of Madagascar are current and widespread, but the resemblance of certain customs is probably a consequence of contact with Islam through trade activities in the late Middle Ages. Various theories and suppositions regarding affinities to the ancient Hebrews were published by a French Lazarist missionary, Joseph Briant, in a booklet entitled *L'hébreu à Madagascar.*

Madagascar never had a sizable Jewish population. A few score of Jewish families settled in Tananarive during the French colonial period, but no community was created.

Relations with Israel

The State of Israel was among the very first (and still few) countries to establish an embassy in the newly proclaimed Malagasy Republic (1960), and, over the years, Presidents Tsiranana and Ben-Zvi exchanged visits and Israel Prime Minister Eshkol and Foreign Minister Golda Meir also visited Madagascar. Israel activities in Madagascar include the construction of the first luxury hotel, and agricultural experts have helped to produce citrus and improve poultry breeding and corn production. In addition, about 200 people from the Malagasy Republic have undergone technical training in Israel. Relations between the two countries were close, although the intimate relationship between France and Madagascar cast a shadow over the picture after the 1967 change in French policy toward the Arab-Israel conflict. Following the Yom Kippur War, Madagascar broke off diplomatic relations with Israel, but ties were resumed in 1993.

[Zvi Loker]

MADAGASCAR PLAN, proposal for Jewish settlement devised by the Nazi regime in the 1930s. Like most of the Nazis' schemes to solve the "Jewish question," the Madagascar Plan had already been conceived by others. In 1885 the German antisemitic nationalist Paul de *Lagarde had advocated deporting the Jews of Poland, Russia, Romania, and Austria in preparation for German colonization of the East. He preferred the French island colony of Madagascar on the east coast of Africa over Palestine. In 1926 and 1927, both Poland and Japan investigated Madagascar and proposed the island as a possible solution to their overpopulation problem; both dismissed the idea as not feasible. In 1937, a new Polish commission was sent to Madagascar to determine if Jews could be induced to settle there. Leon Alter, the director of *HICEM in Warsaw, and Salmon Dyk, an agricultural engineer from Tel Aviv, took part in the mission. The assessments of the commission's director Major M. Lepecki and of Alter differed widely, but it was obvious to all that the area was generally inhospitable to Europeans and that there was a serious danger of potential settlers contracting endemic tropical diseases. This point was emphasized by the French governor-general of the island Marcel Olivier in his statements and writings opposing the proposal. Yet the proposal refused to die. On December 9, 1938, French Foreign Minister Georges Bonnet informed German Foreign Minister Joachim *Ribbentrop that, in order to rid France of 10,000 Jewish refugees, it would be necessary to ship them elsewhere. According to Ribbentrop, the French were seriously considering sending them to Madagascar.

The island of Madagascar was also discussed within the Nazi regime, which generally considered mass emigration to be the "Final Solution" to the "Jewish problem." On March 5, 1938, the SS officer in charge of forced Jewish emigration, Adolf *Eichmann, was commissioned to assemble material to provide the chief of the Security Police (SIPO) Reinhardt *Heydrich with "a foreign policy solution as it had been negotiated between Poland and France," i.e., the Madagascar Plan. Temporarily shelved in the wake of the war, the project was again taken up after the fall of France in the summer of 1940. Eichmann prepared a detailed official report on the island and its "colonization" possibilities based on information gathered from the French Colonial Office. He added an evacuation plan calling for 4,000,000 Jews to be shipped to Madagascar over a period of four years. Eichmann also advocated the creation of a "police reserve" as a giant ghetto ("*Gross-Getto*"). The plan was to be financed by a special bank managing confiscated Jewish property and by contributions exacted from world Jewry. The idea was also analyzed by Martin Luther's department in the German Foreign Office, which served as a liaison with the SS. The plan leaked out and was published in Italy in July. The *American Jewish Committee was alarmed enough to commission Eugene Hevesi to write a special report, which was eventually published in May 1941, that sought to demonstrate that Jews, as Europeans, could not survive the conditions on the island. By that time, of course, the Nazis were already preparing a completely different "*Final Solution." In August 1940, the Third Reich officially endorsed the Madagascar Plan. The 20-page proposal presented a detailed plan which no longer depended upon the consent of defeated France. The operation, whose code word was "*Endloesung*," was repeatedly discussed throughout 1940 and 1941. By the fall of 1941, the extermination program was already well underway. On February 10, 1942, only a few weeks after the *Wannsee Conference, the Madagascar Plan was officially shelved and replaced in public policy statements by the program of "evacuation to the East."

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[Leni Yahil]

MADISON, capital of Wisconsin since 1837. Madison's Jewish presence dates back to roughly 1850, when a merchant named Aaron Boskowitz clerked in a store. By 1863, about 40 Jewish households, mostly storekeepers from Bohemia and West Prussia, had established a synagogue, a burial society, and a women's auxiliary. Through the 1870s, most of the original members died, stopped practicing Judaism, or moved away. The synagogue dissolved altogether in 1922. From 1880 to 1910, a small Jewish community existed in the nearby city of Monroe, Wisconsin. Its members were merchants from Poland and Austria who had ties to wholesale houses in Chicago. Several of Monroe's Jews came to Madison, notably Solomon Levitan, who had run a store in nearby New Glarus. A Progressive, Levitan served seven terms as Wisconsin state treasurer during the 1920s and 1930s.

Madison's present Jewish institutions trace their roots to Jews who arrived in the Madison area in the 1890s from Minsk, via Milwaukee. Like Jewish immigrants elsewhere, they tended to work in the junk and grocery businesses. In 1904, they built an Orthodox synagogue whose members went on to found Madison's present-day Conservative and Reform congregations. Elias Tobenkin, who came from the shtetl of Kapule, Minsk, in 1899, wrote about Madison in his novels *Witte Arrives* (1914) and *God of Might* (1925).

Rachel Szold Jastrow, sister of Henrietta *Szold, founded Madison's chapter of Hadassah. Jewish men in Madison tended to affiliate with cliquish lodges, but Hadassah brought together women from all strata of Madison's Jewish community.

What distinguished Madison from other small Jewish communities was the presence of the University of Wisconsin. Jews had been students there since the early 1860s, and Joseph Jastrow, a psychologist and the first Jewish faculty member, was hired in 1888. In 1911, philosopher Horace Kallen began a chapter of the Menorah Society, an early Jewish student organization. Antisemitism in many university departments prevented many Jews, such as Ludwig *Lewisohn, Lionel *Trilling, and Milton *Friedman, from obtaining tenure-track professorships. However, economist Selig *Perlman, kinesthesiologist Blanche Trilling, pharmacologist Arthur Solomon Loevenhart, among others, held tenured positions at Wisconsin before World War II. In addition to the Menorah Society, some Jewish students at Wisconsin joined Avukah, a student Zionist society, a Reform student congregation, and Jewish fraternities and sororities. The Hillel Foundation, established in 1924, served as a clearinghouse for Jewish activities on campus. Scholars fleeing the Holocaust settled at Wisconsin. Some, like pharmacist George Urdang, escaped before the war; others, like historian George Mosse and poet Felix Pollak, came to Wisconsin afterwards. During the late 1940s and 1950s, departments across the university ended their prejudice against hiring Jewish faculty.

During World War II, the Madison Jewish Welfare Fund organized USO events at Truax Air Force Base, and many Jews who served there returned to Madison after the war. As antisemitism faded, Jewish families began to move to new subdivisions across the city. Increased access to graduate and professional schools, combined with the consolidation of traditional Jewish businesses, prompted more Jews to seek work in education, government, and the professions.

Although members of the state legislature hinted that "out-of-state radicals" were responsible for campus protests, vaguely antisemitic statements like these made little difference to most Madison Jews. Some student-movement leaders, such as future Madison mayor Paul Soglin, had Jewish roots, but many were gentile Wisconsinites.

Totaling roughly 6,000 people in the early 2000s, Madison's Jewish community has continued to thrive since the 1970s. Observant Jews attend local Reform, Reconstructionist, Conservative, and Lubavitch congregations, plus the Hillel synagogue on campus. The Madison Jewish Community Council and Jewish Social Services support local and international Jewish initiatives. Immigrants from Canada, South Africa, Israel, and the former Soviet Union continue to settle in Madison, often as professors, doctors, and other professionals.

[Jonathan Pollack (2nd ed.)]

°**MADISON, JAMES** (1750–1836), fourth president of the United States. The son of a prominent Episcopalian family, Madison graduated from the College of New Jersey in 1771. Because he was then considering a career in the ministry, he spent an additional year studying theology and Hebrew. Throughout his political career, he contended that complete religious liberty was essential for a harmonious society and that religious institutions established by the state engendered "ignorance and corruption." During the Virginia constitutional convention in 1776, he opposed a provision for full religious "toleration," proposing instead that the law declare "the full and free exercise of it [religion] according to the dictates of conscience." In 1784 he successfully led the opposition to a resolution in the Virginia House of Delegates for a tax in "support of the Christian religion, or of some Christian church" and warned that "Instead of holding forth an asylum to the persecuted, it is itself a signal of persecution." As president he vetoed two bills in 1811 which would have granted legal prerogatives to certain churches.

While serving as a congressman from 1780 to 1783, Madison borrowed money from the Jewish broker Haym *Salomon, whom he later referred to gratefully in a letter. Writing to Mordecai M. *Noah in 1818, he expressed delight at the blessings conferred upon Jews by religious liberty in America, while in 1820 he wrote to Jacob *De La Motta that while being little known, "the history of the Jews must be forever interesting."

During his presidency he appointed several Jews to government posts, including John *Hays as collector for the Indian Territory in 1814, Mordecai Noah as consul general at Tunis in 1813, and Joel *Hart as consul at Leith, Scotland, in 1817.

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[Edward L. Greenstein]

MAḌMŪN BEN JAPHETH BEN BUNDĀR (d. 1151), son of the first **nagid* of the Jews of South *Yemen. Maḍmūn continued in his father's position as the "official of the merchants" in *Aden, representing the merchants who traded with India, and in this capacity was also the leader of the Jews and the *nagid* of the communities of South Yemen. Dozens of letters have been preserved in the **Genizah* which were written to or by him, as well as court actions connected with his name and poems in his honor. More details are known about him than about any other *nagid* of Yemen from the 11th to the beginning of the 14th centuries. He was in charge of the port of Aden and supervised the customs payments. He formulated the agreements about prices of merchandise and his house served as a post office for the Jewish merchants, as well as a warehouse for merchandise. He owned ships which sailed from Aden to Ceylon. Among his wide-ranging activities, he jointly owned a ship with a vizier in Yemen. In a court action he is named "the confidant of rulers whether on the sea or in the desert," which means that he was held in esteem by the Muslim rulers and drew up agreements with tribal leaders and the leaders of pirates in order to assure free navigation on the sea routes between Egypt and India. In the above-mentioned court action it is stated that he was "appointed on behalf of the *rashei galuyyot* ["exilarchs"] and the *rashei yeshivot* ["academy heads"]." It is not clear whether the reference here is to the exilarch in Babylon or to a person representing the exilarch who lived in Yemen; there is an hypothesis that the reference is to the *bet din* in *San'a. *Rashei yeshivot* refers to the Palestinian academy in Egypt.

Maḍmūn maintained close contact with the *gaon* Maẓli'aḥ b. Solomon ha-Kohen, who was active in 1127–39 as head of the Palestinian academy which moved to Egypt as a result of the conquest of Palestine by the Crusaders. Maḍmūn sent the *gaon* questions on *halakhah*, together with expensive gifts which were also given to the scholars of his academy. He ordered that the name of the *gaon* be mentioned in the *reshut* prayer after the name of the exilarch. His attachment to the Palestinian academy aroused the opposition of the supporters of Babylonia. In documents he is called "the *nagid* of God's people, the minister of ministers, head of the communities." The Tunisian merchant Abraham b. Peraḥyah b. Yiju writes of him in his eulogy: "with seven names given by the exilarch," among which are mentioned, *alluf, nagid*, and friend of the academy. When he died, his eldest son, Ḥalfon, who is also called *nagid*, continued in his father's position in economic and public life.

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[Eliezer Bashan (Sternberg)]

MADON (Heb. מָדוֹן), Canaanite city in the north of Ereẓ Israel whose king was defeated by Joshua in the battle at the waters of Merom (Josh. 11:1; 12:19). It is usually identified with the tell at Qarn Ḥiṭṭīn (Horns of *Hittin), a peak about 4 mi. (7 km.) west of Tiberias. Remains of walls, including one of cyclopean masonry, and potsherds from the Canaanite and Israelite periods were found on this tell. The identification is based on the similarity between the names Madon and Khirbat Madīn, situated south of Qarn Ḥiṭṭīn, which Arabic tradition connects with Moses' father-in-law Jethro, the priest of Midian, whose grave is venerated nearby. Some scholars, however, question the form of the name Madon, which is the sole basis for the identification. No town with this name is known from any other source; the Septuagint calls it Marron and identifies it with the city Merom near the site of the battle (in LXX: *Hydor Marron*, "waters of Merom"). *Merom is known from various sources as an important city in Upper Galilee and Madon may be a corrupt form of its name.

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[Yohanan Aharoni]

MADRAS (today **Chennai**), city in S. India. Formerly known as Fort St. George, Madras was the first territorial acquisition of the English East India Company in 1639. In the last decades of the 17th century its diamond trade attracted Anglo-Portuguese Jewish merchants, who were allowed by the Company to establish a merchant colony which continued until the end of the 18th century. In the Madras corporation, established in 1688, the "Hebrew merchants" were represented by Jewish aldermen. Among the Jewish merchants prominent in the early days were Bartholomew *Rodrigues, Domingo do Porto, Alvaro da *Fonseca, Jacques *Paiva, Francis Marques, Isaac do Porto, Joseph d'Almanza, and Isaac Sardo *Abendana. In the 18th century many Ashkenazi Jews from London participated in the profitable trade, including Marcus *Moses and his family, Ephraim Isaac, the *Franks, and later the Portuguese family De *Castro and Salomon *Franco. The Jewish merchants in Madras were integrated into the English society and were on good social terms with several of the governors.

The fluctuating nature of the merchant colony apparently prevented the organization of a Jewish community and the only communal institution seems to have been a cemetery. Some tombstones still remain, but they have been transferred to a new municipal site in Madras called the "People's Park," the entrance of which bears a tablet inscribed in Hebrew *Beit ha-Ḥayyim*. Only 20 Jews were living in Madras in 1968. Unlike those of *Cochin, *Bombay, and *Calcutta, the Jews in

Madras did not create any literary works. It was only due to the Christian mission that some Hebrew books were published there in the 19th century. A noteworthy Jewish literary event there was the publication of the *Travels from Jerusalem…* of *David d'Beth Hillel in 1832. In the early 21st century the Jewish community of Chennai consisted mainly of expatriates.

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[Walter Joseph Fischel]

MADRID (**Magerit**), capital of Spain. Mentioned as a Moorish stronghold, it was a tiny town in the Middle Ages. A small Jewish community existed there in the 11th century. Most of the Jews there were apparently merchants during the Muslim period. Nearby was located the small town of Alluden, whose name is derived from the Arabic *al-Yahūdiyīn* ("the Jews"). Madrid was captured from the Muslims by Alfonso VI in 1083.

[Haïm Z'ew Hirschberg]

The Community's Status

The community began to flourish during the 13th century, the Jewish quarter being located on the present Calle de la Fé ("Street of the Faith"). The synagogue, which was destroyed during the persecutions of 1391 (see below), was situated next to the Church of San Lorenzo. In 1293 a copy of the resolutions passed by the Cortes in Valladolid was sent to Madrid, in which Sancho IV ratified a series of restrictions concerning the Jews. They were barred from holding official positions, the rate of usury they were permitted to charge was defined, and they were prohibited from acquiring real estate from Christians or from selling them properties already acquired, among other limitations. In 1307, when Ferdinand IV confirmed these prohibitions at the Cortes in Valladolid, a copy of them was passed to Madrid. They were endorsed by Alfonso XI in 1329. A directive from the time of *Asher b. Jehiel (early 14th century) permitting action to be taken against an *informer who had harmed the community is extant (Asher b. Jehiel, Responsa, Constantinople (1517), ch. 17, no. 6).

The Jews of Madrid owned goods and real estate in the town and its environs. In 1385 John I acceded to the request of the Cortes and delivered a copy of its resolutions to Madrid. He then imposed a series of restrictions concerning the relations between Jews and Christians, prohibiting Jews from holding official positions, canceling debts owed them by Christians for 15 months, and abrogating the right to acquire stolen goods, among other regulations.

Persecutions and Expulsion

The persecutions of 1391 were disastrous for the Madrid community. Most of its members were massacred, some adopted Christianity, and community life came to an end. The municipal authorities, in a report sent to the Crown, complained of the *pueblo menudo* ("little people") who continued the rioting and pillaging for a whole year. Several of the rioters were arrested and tried, but many escaped justice. Apparently the community was later reestablished, although it was greatly impoverished.

During the early 1460s, *Alfonso de Espina preached in Madrid against the *Conversos. It was there that he turned to *Alfonso de Oropesa, the head of the Order of St. Jerome, to enlist his support in eradicating judaizing tendencies among them. In 1478 the municipal council complained that the Jews and the Moors there were not wearing a distinctive sign (*badge). The Crown answered the complaint on November 12 and ordered that the offenders should be punished in the prescribed manner. On February 2, Ferdinand and Isabella renewed the restriction issued by John II in 1447 which prohibited the Jews of Madrid from trading in foodstuffs and medicaments and from practicing as surgeons.

No details are known as to how the community fared after the decree of expulsion of the Jews from Spain was issued in March 1492. However, on Oct. 7, 1492, Ferdinand and Isabella ordered an investigation into reports of attacks on local Jews by various persons who had promised to assist them in reaching the frontiers in order to go to the kingdoms of Fez and Tlemcen. On Nov. 8, Fernando Nuñez Coronel (Abraham *Seneor) and Luis de Alcalá were authorized to collect the debts still owing to Jews.

In Madrid there were two Jewish quarters. One existed until 1481, the other was established that year. In the 15th century Jews lived in various parts of the town, in the area of Puerta del Sol and in the neighborhood of Santiago. The Jewish quarter until 1481 was near Puerta de Valnadú, in today's Isabell II square.

The Conversos

Several Conversos of Madrid were tried by the Inquisition. They were at first tried in Toledo; however, in 1561 when Madrid became the capital of the kingdom during the reign of Philip II, the supreme tribunal of the kingdom was established there and subsequently numerous *autos-da-fé were held in the city. During the 17th century, many Portuguese Conversos were tried there and one of the large autos-da-fé in this period has been painted by Rizzi de Guevara. During the 1630s, Jacob *Cansino negotiated with the Conde-Duque de Olivares concerning the possible return of the Jews to Madrid, after the example of the Jewish community in Rome. However, the talks had no results because of opposition from the Inquisition. Throughout this period, Madrid was the principal center of the activities of the Portuguese Conversos, several of whom were connected with the court, while others developed diversified business enterprises and maintained relations with the Converso centers outside the Iberian Peninsula.

The Reestablished Community

Jewish settlement in Madrid was gradually renewed from 1869, with the conferment of the constitution and the arrival of Jews from North Africa, who were joined by Jewish immigrants from Europe. However, it was only during the 1920s that a community was organized. During World War I, Madrid gave asylum to a number of refugees, and Max *Nordau and A.S. *Yahuda, who lectured there in Semitic philology, lived there during this period. Among the first Jews to settle in Madrid was the Bauer family, whose members played an important part in the organization and development of the community. The law of 1924 which granted citizenship to individuals of Spanish descent encouraged the further development of the community, and in the early 1930s there was an addition of refugees from Nazi Germany. During the Spanish Civil War, the community underwent much suffering and most of its members dispersed.

In 1941, the Arias Montano Institute for Jewish Studies was founded and a department of Jewish studies headed by Professor Francisco Cantera-Burgos was organized within the University of Madrid. It was later headed by Professor F. Perez Castro. Madrid also gave asylum to war refugees, who were supported by the American Jewish *Joint Distribution Committee. After the war, the community began reorganization. A synagogue was founded in Calle del Cardinal Cisneros. In 1958, a Jewish center with a synagogue was opened. In 1959, while the representative of the World Sephardi Federation, Yair Behar Passy, was visiting Madrid, an exhibition of Jewish culture in Spain was held at the National Library of Madrid. An Institute for Jewish, Sephardi, and Near Eastern Studies was founded jointly by the Higher Council for Scientific Research and the World Sephardi Federation in 1961. (In 1968 the institute amalgamated with the Arias Montano Institute.) Within the framework of the institute, the first symposium on Spanish Jewry was held in Madrid in 1964. Leaders of the Madrid community in the late 1960s included A. Bauer, H. Cohen, L. Blitz, and M. Mazin (the president of the community). In that year the community numbered over 3,000, a level it maintained into the 21st century. It served as a center for Jewish students from abroad coming to study in Madrid. Jewish immigrants from North Africa constitute the majority of the Jews. In 1968 the community inaugurated its new communal center and synagogue. Dr. B. Garzon was appointed first rabbi of the community, which had a recognized school and a Jewish scout movement. The Sephardi Federation of Spain in Madrid coordinates the activities of all the Jewish communities in Spain.

In Madrid there are several institutions that have great importance from the Jewish historical point of view. In the Archivo Histórico Nacional, the Biblioteca Nacional, and the Academia de la Historia there are numerous documents related to the Jews. In the Biblioteca we find the Bible of Ferrara and kept in the Casa de Alba is the famous Bible translated by Moses Arragel into Castilian. In El Escorial, near Madrid, are valuable Hebrew manuscripts in the library of the monastery. The Institute Arias Montano, dedicated to research in Jewish and Sephardic studies, publishes the journal *Sefarad* devoted to the these topics.

[Haim Beinart / Yom Tov Assis (2nd ed.)]

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MADURO, RICARDO (1946–), president of Honduras. Maduro is a member of a prominent Jewish family of Portuguese origin that can be traced from Portugal to Amsterdam and then to Curaçao and Panama. His father, Osmond Levy Maduro of Panama, settled in Tegulcigalpa, the capital of Honduras. Ricardo Maduro studied economy at Stanford University and became a successful businessman. As a supporter of democracy he became active in the Nationalist Party of Honduras. After losing his son to kidnappers, he also worked for measures to ensure law and order. After he was accused of being a Panamian, and therefore ineligible to run for president, the High Election Tribunal declared him a Honduran citizen; he was elected president on Jan. 27, 2002.

[Mordechai Arbell (2nd ed.)]

°**MAES, ANDREAS** (Masius; 1515?–1573), Flemish Hebraist and Orientalist. A lawyer and a diplomat, Maes spent much of his life in Italy, where he met Guillaume Postel, under whom he studied Arabic and with whom he thereafter maintained an interesting correspondence. In Venice, Maes joined the humanist circle of Daniel Bomberg and was in touch with the pioneer grammarian Elijah Levita. Maes contributed to the Antwerp polyglot Bible (1568–72), in which he published an edition of the Targums and the first printed grammar and lexicon of Syriac. His Hebrew-Greek edition of Joshua, *Josuae imperatoris historia*… (Antwerp, 1574), which appeared posthumously, aroused controversy because of its independence in regard to the masoretic text. This work lists the rabbinic and kabbalistic manuscripts in Maes' library, which must have been one of the major collections of Judaica in the Renaissance. Maes was apparently a member of the heretical Flemish sect ("The Family of Charity") led by Postel, Arias Montano, and the printer Christophe Plantin. Maes opposed the papal condemnation of the Talmud and the burning of rabbinic books at Rome in 1559.

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[Godfrey Edmond Silverman]

MAESTRO, YAAKOV (**Jacko**; 1927–), Greek Holocaust prisoner. Maestro was born in Salonika. In 1943, at age 15, he arrived at Auschwitz in the first deportation from Salonika. In Salonika, he had learned German from his father, who was a tourist guide, and had done odd jobs during the German occupation of Salonika as a shoeshine boy and porter, coming into contact with German and Italian soldiers. Upon arriving in Auschwitz, camp commander Schwartz, who had replaced Rudolph Hess, noticed that he was a German speaker. He became a translator and was in charge of work assignments for 16,000 prisoners in Auschwitz. He worked under the political prisoner Yeze Pozinski during the morning hours in the *Fuhrerbarrack* in the office of the *Arbeitsdienst*. The two prisoners coordinated the work schedule according to demand and registered the details of the prisoners on card files in the *Kartei* Department. Maestro could ease conditions for prisoners by not sending them to difficult work groups. He could also arrange for them to remain in the barracks to avoid hard labor. He helped many Jews, possibly hundreds, to survive. He concerned himself with the needs and fate of the Greek Jewish prisoners and passed notes between separated family members in the camp complex. He also supplied additional food, and in order to manipulate the work schedule he often bribed the Nazi commanders with money, food, cigarettes, or vodka, which he acquired on the black market in the camp or from political prisoners, or from civilian workers, who could buy him various items on the outside in exchange for payment. He also bribed Nazi guards and commanders to save prisoners from punishment and helped keep *musselmen* from being sent to death.

On three occasions his sister Esther (whose married name was Sidikario after the Holocaust) saved a total of 181 girls from Bloc 25 in Birkenau who were destined for gassing, sneaking them out through the windows to an adjacent shack.

After the war Maestro immigrated to Israel and ran a car repair garage.

[Yitzchak Kerem (2nd ed.)]

MAFTIR (Heb. מַפְטִיר; "one who concludes"), name given to the three or more concluding verses of the weekly Sabbath *sidrah* ("Torah portion") as well as to the final verses of the portions read on festivals and public *fast days. The person who is called up to the reading from the Torah of these passages and who then recites the *haftarah from the Prophets is also called *maftir.*

MAGDALA (**Migdal**), a city on Lake Gennesaret (the Sea of Galilee) in Galilee, about 7 km. north of Tiberias. It is overlooked by a high escarpment near the Wadi Hamam (the Valley of the Robbers). "*Migdal*" is an Aramaic word meaning "tower" or "fortress." The Greeks called the village Taricheia, a word meaning "pickling," because of Magdala's fish salting industry, one of the mainstays of its economy. The other important element of its economy was its boat-building.

Magdala was first excavated in 1971–74 by Corbo and Loffreda, who found what they misidentified as a mini-synagogue (actually a stepped fountain house or *nymphaeum*), a water reservoir, and some mosaic floors. One of the mosaics, now on display at Capernaum, depicts an ancient boat with both sails and oars. Situated west of Capernaum (Jos., Life, 59, 72), Magdala was walled on the land side and contained a stadium. Even in antiquity, Magdala was well known, and among its prominent citizens were Jannaeus son of Levi and Dassion, friends of Agrippa II (Jos., Life, 131; Wars, 2:597).

When three Roman legions under the control of Vespasian laid siege to the city of Tiberias in 67 C.E., the city opened its gates, and Josephus and his forces surrendered. The city was attacked by the Roman army, which advanced from Sennabris to Tiberias and then to Magdala (Jos., Wars, 3:462–505, 532–542). Since Tiberias – along with Tarichaea-Magdala, Bethsaida-Julias, and its 14 villages – had been given to Herod Agrippa II by the emperor Nero prior to the war, and since Josephus and the inhabitants of the city openly surrendered to Vespasian and his forces, the Romans permitted Tiberias to remain under Jewish rule until 100 C.E. (Jos., Wars, 3:445–61).

After the destruction of the Jewish Temple in Jerusalem, Magdala became the seat of one of the 24 priestly divisions and as the city grew there were several Roman style villas built, with baths and mosaics, and the cardo (the main street) was paved. Magdala is mentioned directly only once in the New Testament (Matthew 15:39), where it is recorded that Jesus visited the area by boat. However, it is referred to as Magadan, not Magdala. The area of Magdala is also associated in the New Testament with the name Dalmanutha, as seen in Mark 8:10. All other references to the city are indirect ones (Mark 16:9; Luke 8:2).

It was said to be the hometown of Mary the Magdalene (Matt. 27:56; Mark 15:40). In Talmudic sources it appears as Migdal Nunaiya, a center for fishing and the preserving industry (Pes. 46a). R. Isaac and R. Judah were two of the *amoraim* living in Magdala. Resh Lakish sought refuge there against the wrath of the patriarch Judah II. After the destruction of the Temple, the priests of the family of Ezekiel settled there.

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[Lidia Domenica Matassa (2nd ed.)]

MAGDEBURG, city in Germany. The Jewish community of Magdeburg is one of the oldest in Germany. As early as 965 there were Jews living in the town, and they were placed under the jurisdiction of the archbishop by Otto the Great. They traded in the "clothing-court" (*Kleiderhof*), in the merchants' quarter, and conducted their trade even beyond the Oder River. Their quarter, the *Judendorf*, was situated in the south of the city, in the archbishop's domain. The Jews took part in the funeral procession of Archbishop Walthard von Magdeburg in 1012. The cemetery dates from the 13th century – the oldest gravestone bears the date 1268 – later enlarged in 1312 and 1383. In 1213 the soldiers of Otto IV destroyed the *Judendorf,* and four years later the Jews moved to nearby Sudenburg, where numerous other Jews already lived. Demanding jurisdiction over the Jews in 1260, the canons of the cathedral laid claim to the fines they paid in silver, while those paid in gold were to remain the property of the archbishop. Prominent in the city were R. Hezekiah b. Jacob, who corresponded with R. Isaac Or Zaru'a (*Issac ben Moses of Vienna), and R. *Ḥayyim b. Paltiel, rabbi in Magdeburg in 1291, who was in correspondence with R. Meir of Rothenburg. The Jews were persecuted in 1302 and again during the *Black Death disturbances of 1349, despite the attempts of the archbishop and the city authorities to protect them. They were attacked again in 1357 and 1384 when another epidemic broke out. Archbishop Dietrich employed a Jewish court banker between 1361 and 1367. In 1410 Archbishop Guenther issued a letter of protection (*Schutzbrief*) for a period of six years, at a cost to the community of 40 silver marks. During the 15th century the community maintained a flourishing yeshivah. In 1493 the Jews of Magdeburg were expelled; the synagogue was converted into a chapel and the cemetery destroyed.

When the great elector, Frederick William, readmitted Jews to *Prussia (1671), *Schutzjuden* settled once more in Magdeburg. From 1703 they were to be found in Sudenburg, from 1715 in the newer part of town (the *Neustadt*), and from 1729 in the *Altstadt*. A religious school was founded by the modern community in 1834 and a *ḥevra kaddisha* in 1839. Rabbis of the community included Ludwig *Philippson, editor of **Allgemeine Zeitung des Judentums*; Moritz *Guedemann, and Moritz Spanier, both of whom wrote a history of the community. Eduard *Lasker and Otto *Landsberg were repeatedly elected to parliament from Magdeburg. The prosperous community, which included 45 doctors (who founded their own club in 1903), had about 20 social, cultural, and charitable organizations in 1933. The number of Jews increased steadily from 330 in 1817 to 559 in 1840; 1,000 in 1859; 1,815 in 1885; 1,843 in 1910; and around 3,200 in 1928, then dropped to 2,361 (0.6% of the total population) in 1933. The synagogue, built in 1851 and enlarged to seat 900 in 1897, was burned down on November 10, 1938. The men were interned in *Buchenwald. By May 17, 1939, only 679 Jews remained in the town, and the majority were transported to concentration camps. On July 1, 1944, there were still 185 Jews living in Magdeburg, mainly partners of mixed marriages, who managed to survive the war. After the war, some Jews returned to Magdeburg. In 1962 the Jewish community numbered 79 and diminished to 49 in 1969. It declined even more during the 1970s and 1980s, dwindling to 35 in 1989. But in 2005 it rose to 635 members due to the immigration of Jews from the former Soviet Union. Magdeburg is the seat of the Association of Jewish communities in the State of Saxony-Anhalt, which was founded in 1994.

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[Louis Lewin / Larissa Daemmig (2nd ed.)]

MAGDEBURG LAW, term applied to the constitutional and commercial urban law which developed in *Magdeburg in the Middle Ages and became a pattern for new city constitutions in Central and Eastern Europe. The Magdeburg law was adopted by most cities in central, eastern, and northern Germany, Bohemia, and Moravia. Magdeburg, the mother town of the constitutions, possessed a supreme court, to which appeals and queries were addressed, including litigation between Christians and Jews. These cases were treated fairly, without discrimination and with no accompanying degrading oaths. In the 14th century the charters of many towns in Galicia were copies of this law, as were those of Lublin (1317), Sandomierz (1356), Lemberg (Lvov; 1356), Vilna (1387), Brest (1370), and Grodno (1391); in the following century it was extended to several towns in southern Poland, among them Lutsk (1432) and Minsk (1496), and in the 16th century to the towns of Pinsk (1511), Kovel (1518), Tarnopol (1550), Mogilev (1578), Vitebsk (1582), and others. Originally, the privileges enshrined in the law were granted only to German craftsmen and merchants, Jews and all other non-German town dwellers being excluded. However, in the charter granting the law to the city of Lemberg (June 17, 1365), the Jews, Armenians, and other nationals were free to decide whether they wished to avail themselves of it or whether they preferred to abide by their own laws and remain subject to the jurisdiction of their elders, under the chairmanship of the local bailiff. Later the law was granted to all the townspeople, including Jews (as in Kiev and Podolia). One of the paragraphs of the Magdeburg law which was of importance for the Jews provided that no Jew could be forced to stand warranty for objects he had bought or received as a pawn, i.e., to reveal from whom he had bought or received them. The Jews were therefore not responsible for receiving stolen property.

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MAGEN DAVID (Heb. מָגֵן דָּוִד; "shield of David"), the hexagram or six-pointed star formed by two equilateral triangles which have the same center and are placed in opposite directions.

From as early as the Bronze Age it was used – possibly as an ornament and possibly as a magical sign – in many civilizations and in regions as far apart as Mesopotamia and Britain. Iron Age examples are known from India and from the Iberian peninsula prior to the Roman conquest. Occasionally it appears on Jewish artefacts, such as lamps and seals, but without having any special and recognizable significance. The oldest undisputed example is on a seal from the seventh century B.C.E. found in Sidon and belonging to one Joshua b. Asayahu. In the Second Temple period, the hexagram was often used by Jews and non-Jews alike alongside the pentagram (the five-pointed star), and in the synagogue of Capernaum (second or third century C.E.) it is found side by side with the pentagram and the swastika on a frieze. There is no reason to assume that it was used for any purposes other than decorative. Theories interpreting it as a planetary sign of Saturn and connecting it with the holy stone in the pre-Davidic sanctuary in Jerusalem (Hildegard Lewy, in *Archiv Orientální*, vol. 18, 1950, 330–65) are purely speculative. Neither in the magical papyri nor in the oldest sources of Jewish *magic does the hexagram appear, but it began to figure as a magical sign from the early Middle Ages. Among Jewish emblems from Hellenistic times (discussed in E. Goodenough, *Jewish Symbols in the Greco-Roman Period*), both hexagram and pentagram are missing.

The ornamental use of the hexagram continued in the Middle Ages, especially in Muslim and Christian countries. The kings of Navarre used it on their seals (10th and 11th centuries) and (like the pentagram) it was frequently employed on notarial signs in Spain, France, Denmark, and Germany, by Christian and Jewish notaries alike. Sometimes drawn with slightly curved lines, it appears in early Byzantine and many medieval European churches, as, for example, on a stone from an early church in Tiberias (preserved in the Municipal Museum) and on the entrance to the Cathedrals of Burgos, Valencia, and Lerida. Examples are also found on objects used in the church, sometimes in a slanted position; as on the marble bishop's throne (c. 1266) in the Cathedral of Anagni. Probably in imitation of church usage – and certainly not as a specifically Jewish symbol – the hexagram is found on some synagogues from the later Middle Ages, for example, in Hamelin (Germany, c. 1280) and Budweis (Bohemia, probably 14th century). In Arab sources the hexagram, along with other geometrical ornaments, was widely used under the designation "seal of Solomon," a term which was also taken over by many Jewish groups. This name connects the hexagram with early Christian, possibly Judeo-Christian magic, such as the Greek magical work *The Testament of Solomon*. It is not clear in which period the hexagram was engraved on the seal or ring of Solomon, mentioned in the Talmud (Git. 68a–b) as a sign of his dominion over the demons, instead of the name of God, which originally appeared. However, this happened in Christian circles where Byzantine amulets of the sixth century already use the "seal of Solomon" as the name of the hexagram. In many medieval Hebrew manuscripts elaborate designs of the hexagram are to be found, without its being given any name. The origin of this use can be clearly traced to Bible manuscripts from Muslim countries (a specimen is shown in Gunzburg and Stassoff, *L'ornement hèbraïque* (1905), pl. 8, 15). From the 13th century onward it is found in Hebrew Bible manuscripts from Germany and Spain. Sometimes parts of the masorah are written in the form of a hexagram; sometimes it is simply used, in a more or less elaborate form, as an ornament. Richly adorned specimens from manuscripts in Oxford and Paris have been reproduced by C. Roth, *Sefarad*, 12, 1952, p. 356, pl. II, and in the catalog of the exhibition "Synagoga," Recklinghausen, 1960, pl. B. 4.

In Arabic magic the "seal of Solomon" was widely used, but at first its use in Jewish circles was restricted to relatively rare cases. Even then, the hexagram and pentagram were easily interchangeable and the name was applied to both figures. As a talisman, it was common in many of the magical versions of the *mezuzah* which were widespread between the tenth and 14th centuries. Frequently, the magical additions to the traditional text of the *mezuzah* contained samples of the hexagram, sometimes as many as 12. In magical Hebrew manuscripts of the later Middle Ages, the hexagram was used for certain amulets, among which one for putting out fires attained great popularity (see Heinrich Loewe, *Juedischer Feuersegen*, 1930).

The notion of a "shield of David" with magical powers was originally unconnected with the sign. It is difficult to say whether the notion arose in Islam, where the Koran sees David as the first to make protective arms, or from inner traditions of Jewish magic. From earlier times there is only one instance connecting the hexagram with the name David on a sixth-century tombstone from Taranto, southern Italy. There seems to have been some special reason for putting the hexagram before the name of the deceased. The oldest text mentioning a shield of David is contained in an explanation of a magical "alphabet of the angel *Metatron" which stems from the geonic period and was current among the *Ḥasidei Ashkenaz of the 12th century. But here it was the holy Name of 72 names which was said to have been engraved on this protective shield, together with the name MKBY, which the tradition of the magicians connected with Judah Maccabee. In cognate sources this tradition was much embellished. The name of the angel Taftafiyyah, one of the names of Metatron, was added to the 72 holy names, and indeed an amulet in the form of a hexagram with this one name became one of the most widespread protective charms in many medieval and later manuscripts. (From c. 1500 onward the name *Shaddai* was often substituted for the purely magical one.) This must have provided the transition to the use of the term "*magen David*" for the sign. What caused the substitution of the figure instead of the "great name of 72 names" is not clear, but in the 16th century instructions can still be found stating that the shield of David should not be drawn in simple lines but must be composed of certain holy names and their combinations, after the pattern of those biblical manuscripts where the lines were composed of the text of the masorah. The oldest known witness to the usage of the term is the kabbalistic *Sefer ha-Gevul*, written by a grandson of Naḥmanides in the early 14th century. The hexagram occurs there twice, both times called "*magen David*" and containing the same magical name as in the aforementioned amulet, demonstrating its direct connection with the magical tradition. According to other traditions, mentioned in Isaac Arama's *Akedat Yiẓḥak*, the emblem of David's shield was not the image known by this name today, but Psalm 67 in the shape of the *menorah*. This became a widespread custom and the "*menorah* Psalm" was considered a talisman of great power. A booklet from the 16th century says: "King David used to bear this psalm inscribed, pictured, and engraved on his shield, in the shape of the *menorah*, when he went forth to battle, and he would meditate on its mystery and conquer."

Between 1300 and 1700 the two terms, shield of David and seal of Solomon, are used indiscriminately, predominantly in magical texts, but slowly the former gained ascendancy. It was also used, from 1492, as a printers' sign, especially in books printed in Prague in the first half of the 16th century and in the books printed by the Foa family in Italy and Holland, who incorporated it in their coat of arms. Several Italian Jewish families followed their example between 1660 and 1770. All these usages had as yet no general Jewish connotation. The official use of the shield of David can be traced to Prague, from where it spread in the 17th and 18th centuries through Moravia and Austria and later to southern Germany and Holland. In 1354, Charles IV granted the Prague community the privilege of bearing its own flag – later called in documents "King David's flag" – on which the hexagram was depicted. It therefore became an official emblem, probably chosen because of its significance as a symbol of the days of old when King David, as it were, wore it on his shield. This explains its wide use in Prague, in synagogues, on the official seal of the community, on printed books, and on other objects. Here it was always called *magen David*. Its use on the tombstone (1613) of David Gans, the astronomer and historian, was still exceptional, obviously in reference to the title of his last work *Magen David*. Except for one tombstone in Bordeaux (c. 1726), no other example of its being used on tombstones is known before the end of the 18th century. A curious parallel to the development in Prague is the one case of a representation of the Synagogue as an allegorical figure, holding a flag bearing the *magen David* in a 14th-century Catalan manuscript of the *Breviar d'amor* by Matfre d'Ermengaud (Ms. of Yates Thompson 31 in the British Museum).

The symbol early moved to other communities. Its use in Budweis has been mentioned above, and the Vienna community used it on its seal in 1655. In the following year it is found on a stone marking the boundary between the Jewish and the Christian quarters of Vienna (according to P. Diamant) or between the Jewish quarter and the Carmelite monastery (according to Max Grunwald). Apparently it was an officially recognized symbol. When the Viennese Jews were expelled in 1670 they took the symbol to many of their new habitats, especially in Moravia, but also to the Ashkenazi community of Amsterdam, where it was used from 1671, first on a medallion permitting entrance to the graveyard. Later it became part of the community's seal. Curiously enough, its migration eastward was much slower. It never occurs on official seals, but here and there during the 17th and 18th centuries it appears as an ornament on objects for use in synagogues and on wood carvings over the Torah shrine (first in Volpa, near Grodno, 1643).

The use of the hexagram as an alchemical symbol denoting the harmony between the antagonistic elements of water and fire became current in the later 17th century, but this had no influence in Jewish circles. Many alchemists, too, began calling it the shield of David (traceable since 1724). But another symbolism sprang up in kabbalistic circles, where the "shield of David" became the "shield of the son of David," the Messiah. Whether this usage was current in Orthodox circles too is not certain, though not impossible. The two kabbalists who testify to it, Isaiah the son of Joel Ba'al Shem (Jacob Emden, *Torat ha-Kena'ot*, p. 128) and Abraham Ḥayyim Kohen from Nikolsburg, combine the two interpretations. But there is no doubt that this messianic interpretation of the sign was current among the followers of *Shabbetai Ẓevi. The famous amulets given by Jonathan *Eybeschuetz in Metz and Hamburg, which have no convincing interpretation other than a Shabbatean one, have throughout a shield of David designated as "seal of MBD" (Messiah b. David), "seal of the God of Israel," etc. The shield of David was transformed into a secret symbol of the Shabbatean vision of redemption, although this interpretation remained an esoteric one, not to be published.

The prime motive behind the wide diffusion of the sign in the 19th century was the desire to imitate Christianity. The Jews looked for a striking and simple sign which would "symbolize" Judaism in the same way as the cross symbolizes Christianity. This led to the ascendancy of the *magen David* in official use, on ritual objects and in many other ways. From central and Western Europe it made its way to Eastern Europe and to Oriental Jewry. Almost every synagogue bore it; innumerable communities, and private and charitable organizations stamped it on their seals and letterheads. Whereas during the 18th century its use on ritual objects was still very restricted – a good specimen is a plate for *maẓẓot* (1770), reproduced on the title page of *Monumenta Judaica*, catalog of a Jewish exposition in Cologne, 1963 – it now became most popular. By 1799 it had already appeared as a specific Jewish sign in a satirical antisemitic engraving (A. Rubens, *Jewish Iconography,* no. 1611); in 1822 it was used on the Rothschild family coat of arms when they were raised to the nobility by the Austrian emperor; and from 1840 Heinrich Heine signed his correspondence from Paris in the *Augsburger Allgemeine Zeitung* with a *magen David* instead of his name, a remarkable indication of his Jewish identification in spite of his conversion. From such general use it was taken over by the Zionist movement. The very first issue of *Die Welt*, Herzl's Zionist journal, bore it as its emblem. The *magen David* became the symbol of new hopes and a new future for the Jewish people, and Franz Rosenzweig also interpreted it in *Der Stern der Erloesung* (1921) as summing up his philosophical ideas about the meaning of Judaism and the relationships between God, men, and the world. When the Nazis used it as a badge of shame which was to accompany millions on their way to death it took on a new dimension of depth, uniting suffering and hope. While the State of Israel, in its search for Jewish authenticity, chose as its emblem the *menorah*, a much older Jewish symbol, the *magen David* was maintained on the national (formerly Zionist) flag, and is widely used in Jewish life.

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[Gershom Scholem]

MAGEN DAVID ADOM (**MDA**, Hebrew "Red Shield of David"), Israel's emergency medical first aid society (equivalent to the Red Cross). Magen David Adom was founded in 1930 and was recognized by the government of Israel and by the Knesset (MDA Knesset Law 1950/1970). It operates several major services: first aid, ambulance, and mobile intensive-care services; national blood bank services, including a fractionation institute for plasma by-products; and first aid instruction. The MDA institutions include the MDA executive committee, the MDA council, and the MDA conference. The conference is held every four years and deals with organizational activity and future goals. The council consists of 45 members and the executive committee consists of 12 members; both institutions are made up of MDA members and public representatives named by various government bodies.

Magen David Adom operates in 11 geographical areas, running 95 first aid stations, with some 700 ambulances deployed in these stations and in ambulance posts in kibbutzim and settlements. In addition, there are operational at first aid stations – on alert and in reserve – some 50 mobile intensive-care units, 22 mobile disaster units, and 18 blood mobiles. MDA employed 1,500 workers in 2006, while its volunteer force numbered more than 5,000 in 1991 and 10,000 in 2006. MDA National Blood Service is responsible for the collection, processing, examination, and distribution of blood units to hospitals all over Israel. The services include the national donor operation, the central blood bank, and the plasma processing institution, which were located inside Tel Hashomer hospital and employed 200 workers in 2005. The services collect about 280,000 blood units each year.

In time of war, Magen David Adom is part of Israel Civil Defense, more precisely, of the IDF Home Front Command, and operates in close cooperation with the IDF Medical Corps.

MDA's budget for 1995 came to $33 million, covered by income from ambulance services, blood services, first aid and first aid equipment sales, and other internal sources as well as a government subsidy.

Its equipment and development budget for 1995 totaled some $7 million. This sum, raised for MDA by its Friends societies in 15 countries, is earmarked for special development projects and purchase of lifesaving vehicles, medical equipment, etc. MDA Friends societies are active in Argentina, Australia, Belgium, Canada, France, Germany, Great Britain, Italy, The Netherlands, South Africa, Sweden, Switzerland, the United States, Uruguay, and Venezuela.

Following worldwide efforts – supported by prominent statesmen in many countries – to have Magen David Adom in Israel admitted into the International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies, this finally occurred in 2006.

Notwithstanding the delay, over the years MDA continued to cooperate with the International Red Cross and offer assistance to other countries afflicted by natural and other disasters.

Special relations on a bilateral basis are conducted by the MDA with the American Red Cross, German Red Cross, The Netherlands Red Cross, Czech Red Cross, and Hungarian Red Cross.

In 1978 the American Red Cross issued a directive to all its national chapters to display the flag of MDA at all functions and meetings at which other emblems of National Red Cross and National Red Crescent Societies are displayed.

WEBSITE: www.mdais.org.

MAGGID (Heb. מַגִּיד; pl. *maggidim*), literally "one who relates" (cf. II Sam. 15:13). The term, however, has two special connotations in later Hebrew: a) a popular – and often itinerant – preacher, and b) an angel or supermundane spirit which conveys teachings to scholars worthy of such communication in mysterious ways.

The *Maggid* as Preacher

Itinerant preachers appear in Jewish history long before the emergence of the specific term. Descriptions of the life and social standing of some *tannaim* and *amoraim* depict them as leading the lives of itinerant preachers. During the geonic period, however, there is no record of them and it is not until the 11th century that one finds mention of them. Tales about some of the *Ḥasidei Ashkenaz show them as begging itinerant preachers. The tradition of the itinerant *maggid* developed during the late Middle Ages. The 14th-century anonymous author of the *Sefer ha-Kaneh* and *Ha-Peli'ah* sets much of his bitter social and moral criticism in the context of his experiences while wandering and preaching in various communities. In the second half of the 16th century *Ephraim Solomon b. Aaron Luntschitz was a typical, if much respected and influential, itinerant *maggid*. He relates that "in my later years, yielding to the importunities of prominent men, I preached in Lublin, especially during the great fairs, where Jewish leaders as well as large masses of the people gathered. There I used to express myself quite freely covering the shortcomings of the rabbis as well as of the laity, undeterred by any consideration or fear. This boldness, naturally enough, created for me numerous enemies who heaped slander upon my name and otherwise persecuted me… Of course, I could well have avoided all this wrath and uproar had I been willing to be more restrained in my utterances, or were I more chary of my personal honor. But I had long resolved to put the honor of God above my own" (*Ammudei Shesh* (Prague, 1617), introduction). In this, as in many other passages, Luntschitz shows his strength of character and the troubles that beset a courageous itinerant preacher, attuned to the mood and spiritual needs of his public but fearless in criticizing them. Use of the parable (*mashal*) is already much in evidence in his writings, which also show a conscious effort to stimulate his public and impress them through a show of wit and learning. All these traits were common from the 18th century on when the name *maggid* came into regular use to denote both an itinerant and non-itinerant preacher. There are records of salaried *maggidim* appointed by the community. Some historians have ascribed a considerable part in the social and religious upheavals of the end of the 17th and during the 18th centuries to the influence of itinerant *maggidim*, who, they consider, functioned as a kind of "non-establishment intelligentsia," having much of the learning and influence of the regular scholars but largely without their connections in the upper strata of Jewish society. They have thus attributed the rise and early success of *Ḥasidism to the influence of such *maggidim*, pointing out that several of the early ḥasidic leaders were called *maggid* or the synonym for *maggid, mokhi'aḥ* ("morals preacher"), such as *Dov Baer of Mezhirech or *Jacob Joseph of Polonnoye. Others, however, note that even the most radical of the 18th-century *maggidim*, *Berechiah (Berakh) b. Eliakim Getzel the Younger, considered himself, despite his outspoken social criticism, to be allied by the nature of his office to that of the communal rabbi. They show also that much of the anti-ḥasidic propaganda was conducted by *maggidim*, chief among them being Jacob *Kranz "the Maggid of Dubno," an admiring pupil of *Elijah b. Solomon Zalman, the Gaon of Vilna, who expressly followed the advice of the Gaon on the method of preaching. Kranz, who was celebrated for his parables, exemplifies the type of *maggidim* who were associated with the **Mitnagged* leadership in Lithuanian Jewry. Lithuania and the *Mitnagged* culture remained throughout the 19th and into the 20th centuries the field of activity of the *maggidim*. Sometimes the office of *maggid* was combined with that of *dayyan*, hence the modern titles, mostly in Eastern Europe, of *maggid meisharim u-moreh ẓedek* (the *maggid* of uprightness (cf. Is. 45:19) and teacher of righteousness, the latter being a synonym for a *dayyan*). Sometimes the *maggid* was appointed to a town, with the official title of *maggid de-mata*, in Yiddish *Shtotmagid*. Vilna had a *Shtotmagid*, usually a respected and outstanding scholar, until recent times. Men like Ezekiel b. Isaac ha-Levi *Landau, the *Shtotmagid* of Vilna; the great itinerant *maggid* *Moses Isaac Darshan, the "Kelmer Maggid"; or the *maggid* suspected of Haskalah leanings, Ẓevi Hirsch b. Ze'ev Wolf *Dainow, the "Slutzker Maggid," continued a tradition of preaching expressly intended for the masses, which contained much social criticism but also provided social guidance. Their preaching was also characterized by the mournful sing-song intonation of their delivery (see also *Musar movement). Their direct successors were the "Zionist *maggidim*" like Z. *Maccoby the "Kamenitzer Maggid," and Ẓevi Hirsch *Masliansky. Many of the *meshullaḥim* (**Sheluḥei Ereẓ Israel*) for the yeshivot and Ereẓ Israel actually filled the function of *maggidim*. Wherever *Mitnagged* communities were established in other countries, *maggidim* accompanied the immigrants. In modern Ereẓ Israel, Ben Zion Yadler and Benzion *Alfes were in the tradition of the great *maggidim*. A few *maggidim* are still active in the State of Israel and the United States (see also **Darshan*; *Preaching).

[Haim Hillel Ben-Sasson]

In Kabbalah

The angel or heavenly force called the *maggid* passes secrets to a kabbalist, when he is asleep or awake, speaks words from his mouth, or dictates to him when he is writing. This revelation is one of the outstanding phenomena in Kabbalah in the 16th to 18th centuries. Throughout the history of Kabbalah, kabbalists relied on heavenly inspirations, the revelations of Elijah, *Metatron, and other angels, or even on heavenly forces such as the Holy Spirit, in addition to questions in dreams and magical means of communication with heavenly forces. An early stage of this phenomenon may be seen in the questioning in dreams practiced before the formation of the Kabbalah, and even regarding the problems of Kabbalah, e.g., by Jacob of Marvège (Provence), author of *She'elot u-Teshuvot min ha-Shamayim* (commentary by R. Margulies, Lvov, 1929). The *maggid* of the 16th to 18th centuries is simply another version of the previous occurrence, though at times the phenomenon seems, in particular cases, to have personal psychological roots.

The image of the *maggid* who reveals heavenly secrets was apparently first crystallized in the circle of Joseph *Taitaẓak, who lived at the time of the Spanish expulsion and whose circle included many of the great kabbalists and preachers of Safed. The revelations of Taitaẓak (or those attributed to him) were written prior to the expulsion and were presented as coming from God Himself. In the Safed literature, the main expositions of the essence of the *maggid* are found in the writings of Moses *Cordovero and Ḥayyim *Vital. In this circle the most outstanding phenomenon was the appearance of the *maggid* of Joseph *Caro. Recording the words of the *maggid*, Caro wrote *Sefer ha-Maggid*, of which only a fragment has survived, called by the printers *Maggid Meisharim*. The major statements of Caro's *maggid* were sermons interpreting the secrets of the Kabbalah and biblical commentary, but many of his pronouncements have a personal and practical meaning. The *maggid* guided Caro in his wanderings in Turkey and directed him to immigrate to Ereẓ Israel. He stimulated Caro to write his halakhic works and to behave morally, promising him achievements in *halakhah* and in his personal life, toward attaining his great dream – martyrdom, like Solomon *Molcho. Caro's *maggid* was the *Shekhinah* ("Divine Presence"), the tenth *Sefirah* in the kabbalistic system, which took on the form of the Mishnah, the Oral Law. To bring about the appearance of the *maggid*, Caro would study *mishnayot*. The *maggid* spoke to him while he was awake, often just as he awoke. Scholars have not reached a conclusion concerning the psychological nature of this revelation, but it is clear that it did not affect the relation of Caro's personality to reality; it was one aspect of his personality which neither contradicted nor harmed the whole.

The Shabbatean movement gave great impetus to appearances of *maggidim* and many revealed secrets to the Shabbateans. The revelations of a *maggid* to Isaac Ẓurgeon, an associate of *Shabbetai Ẓevi in Adrianople in 1668 who confirmed the latter as Messiah and defended his apostasy, have been published (R. Schatz, in: *Sefunot*, 12). There also exists particularly detailed information on the appearance of a *maggid* in the house of study of Abraham *Rovigo, leader of a Shabbatean circle in Modena, Italy, from 1675 to 1691. The first *maggid* to appear in his house of study was that of Baer Perlhefter whose revelation had a great impact on him. Many letters of Meir Rofe who directs his questions to the *maggid*, and their answers, are in existence. The central question discussed in the revelations concerns the reason for Shabbetai Ẓevi's death and a prediction of his return in a year's time. Apparently, a *maggid* was later revealed to Rovigo himself. The most detailed revelations in this house of study have been transmitted by Mordecai Ashkenazi, a pupil of Rovigo's from Zolkiew who was neither a scholar of Torah nor of esoteric matters but who astounded Rovigo with his Shabbatean revelation. Ashkenazi's notebook and other documents relating the revelations of his *maggid* have survived. This *maggid* always revealed himself in a dream; at first only his voice was heard and afterward his form was seen. Scholem has suggested that this was a projection of the image of Rovigo, Ashkenazi's teacher. His revelations include Shabbatean theories, and together with them private advice, mostly on routine matters and on Ashkenazi's education and studies. Apparently they even included criticism of the former *maggid*, that of Baer Perlhefter, based on suspicions of Perlhefter's sins toward the end of his life, whose nature is not clear. Ashkenazi's *maggid* – like Caro's – encouraged his master and teacher to immigrate to Ereẓ Israel and gave him practical advice on ways of realizing this aim, whose background was Shabbatean messianism.

A lengthy and stormy dispute was caused by a *maggid* who revealed himself to Moses Ḥayyim *Luzzatto in Italy in 1727. The *maggid* dictated to Luzzatto, in the language of the Zohar, *Razin Genizin*, *Tikkunim Ḥadashim*, and other works, which were meant to become a second Zohar (*Zohar Tinyana*). The *maggidim* of Ashkenazi and Caro also spoke the language of the Targum, i.e., Aramaic. The record of the first revelation of Luzzatto's *maggid*, who appeared on Wednesday, Rosh Ḥodesh (the New Moon of) Sivan 1727, still exists. This *maggid* was a voice without an image who spoke to the recipient while he was awake and not in a dream, and alone. This angered Moses *Ḥagiz and others, because they thought that the young Luzzatto was not worthy of such a heavenly revelation and also because they suspected the Shabbatean character of the revelations.

The nature of the phenomenon apparently must be examined in the general context of kabbalistic mysticism, which consistently seeks heavenly confirmation for the secrets revealed to the kabbalist. At different times, various forms were given to these confirmations – some by pseudepigraphy and some by a divine revelation. In general, it appears that there was no fraudulent basis to these revelations, that their source lay in the kabbalist's complete conviction of the hidden heavenly truth in the secrets revealed to him, and that his testimony that he heard them from a divine source is honest. In addition, it seems that the *maggid* is also connected with the parapsychological phenomenon of the materialization of part of the kabbalist's soul which, acquiring an independent form, disassociates itself from the rest of his person and, confronting him objectively as it were, speaks to him.

[Joseph Dan]

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MAGGID, DAVID (1862–1942?), scholar and writer. Maggid was born in Vilna, son of Hillel Noah *Maggid-Steinschneider. As secretary to S.J. *Fuenn, he assisted him in writing *Ha-Oẓar* ("The Treasury," 1884–1903) and *Keneset Yisrael* ("Assembly of Israel," 1886–90), a biographical dictionary of Jewish authors and scholars. Later, in St. Petersburg, he taught Jewish religion in government secondary schools. The author of numerous articles on Jewish history and art, he was also a contributor to the *Yevreyskaya Entsiklopediya*. His research encompassed Jewish music of antiquity and the Middle Ages as well as the folklore of the Jews of Crimea. In 1919 he succeeded A.A. *Harkavy as librarian of the Jewish and Oriental department of the National Library of Petrograd. In 1921 he was appointed professor of art history at the Russian Institute in Petrograd and in 1925 became professor of Hebrew at the university. He continued to publish articles and works outside the Soviet Union. Notable are his reminiscences of his father and the first *maskilim* of Vilna, published in *Fun Noenten Ovar* (1937). Other works include *Toledot M. Antokolski* ("The Life of M. Antokolski," 1897), *Rabbi Mordekhai Aharon Guenzburg* (1897), and the completion of his father's work *Toledot Mishpeḥot Guenzburg* ("The History of the Guenzburg Families," 1899).

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[Yehuda Slutsky]

MAGGID-STEINSCHNEIDER, HILLEL NOAH (1829–1903), Hebrew scholar and writer. Maggid-Steinschneider, born in Vilna, owed the first part of his name to his grandfather Phinehas, who was *Maggid* in Vilna, and the second part to his profession, stonemasonry (*Steinschneider*). He also was a bookdealer. As a stonemason he often composed tombstone inscriptions, which led to an interest in and research about the lives of well-known Vilna families and personalities, particularly those buried in the old and new cemeteries of the town. He published *Ir Vilna* (part 1 only, 1900), a biographical work containing hundreds of biographies of famous Vilna personalities. Maggid also assisted S.J. *Fuenn in collecting material for his history of Vilna Jewry, *Kiryah Ne'emanah* (1860), and also prepared its second edition with numerous additions and a biography of the author (1915). He wrote a history of the *Guenzburg family completed by his son (*Toledot Mishpeḥot Guenzburg*, 1899) and a biography of David Oppenheim (in Y. ben Ḥayyim Mezah (ed.), *Gan Peraḥim*, 1882); with his father-in-law J. Gordon he composed a Thousand Year Calendar, *Lu'aḥ al Elef Shanim* (1854).

Maggid contributed numerous biographical and genealogical articles to Hebrew periodicals, such as *Ha-Shaḥar, Ha-Karmel*, and *Ha-Maggid*. He was put in charge of the *Straschun and S.J. Fuenn libraries when they were given to the Vilna community. Maggid's biographical and bibliographical research, much of which remained unpublished, was of importance, though like other works of the transitory period from old to modern scholarship, his writings lacked organization and literary form.

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[Yehuda Slutsky]

MAGHAR, AL-, Druze village in northern Israel, 10 mi. (16 km.) N.W. of Tiberias. One of the major Druze centers, the village had 5,750 inhabitants in 1969, of whom a minority were Christian and Muslim Arabs. Its economy was based on hill farming and on local workshops. By the end of 2002 Maghar's population had tripled its size to 17,900 (57% Druzes, 23% Christians and 20% Muslims). The village has municipal council status and extends over an area of 9 sq. mi. (23 sq. km.). In 2000, income there was about half the national average. The place is possibly identical with Ma'ariyyah or Me'arot where a priestly family lived in talmudic times (*Baraita of the Twenty-Four Mishmarot*).

[Efraim Orni / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)

MAGHREBI-MA'ARAVI, name of Jewish personalities and congregations originating from North Africa. The Arab geographers designate North Africa and Spain as Maghreb, the West. The name Maghreb-Ma'arav ("West"), Maghrebi-Ma'aravi ("the Westerner"), occurs in geonic literature and later. It continues to be applied to North African congregations and their rites. The Maghrebis speak different Arabic dialects, which, in addition to special rites and patterns of life, distinguishes their language from other, Eastern Judeo-Arabic dialects and their customs from other congregations.

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[Haïm Z'ew Hirschberg]

MAGIC.

Early Magic

Broadly defined, magic is a system of non-canonical ritual practices aiming at changing reality. In early Jewish magic this system was based on the use of powerful verbal performative formulae – incantations – whose oral or written expression was realized in the framework of a ceremony. The purpose of the magical act was generally to compel metaphysical entities such as demons, angels, stars and celestial bodies, holy names, and even God Himself, to bring about for the user the reality he desired. Early Jewish magical literature is evidenced in magical writings and objects from the Land of Israel, Babylonia, and North Africa, dating from the third century until the 12th (prior to the development of the Kabbalah and the change it effected in Jewish magic in the direction of practical Kabbalah). This literature enables us to trace the verbal elements of the adjuration as a magical text, such as the employment of the verbal root, šbʿ, addressing the metaphysical forces in the first person singular, the utilization of expressions of urgency, and threats towards them, indicating the client mentioned in the magical object by his first name and the name of his mother, and more. On this basis we can establish that as more of these textual characteristics are found in any given Jewish text, its magical tendency increases. From here we can also define all the Jewish magical cultural products. Texts that include adjurations, such as books of guidance for sorcery, are magic texts in a broader sense, and those that express beliefs and customs commonly found in texts of both these categories are magic texts in the broadest sense; objects upon which adjuration texts are found such as sheets of paper, leather, cloth or metal, or clay bowls are magic objects (amulets, magic bowls), and in the wider circle are included objects that serve as a means of ritual power in the context of the outlook expressed in the magical literature; ceremonies where adjuration texts are written or uttered, or where use is made of magical objects, are considered as ceremonies of magical character. This manner of definition of magic allows a flexible relationship between it and the other components of Jewish culture, and in particular the religion. Instead of an a priori culture-dependent dictionary distinction that strives to distinguish between what is magic and what is not viewed as such, one finds a dynamic system of phenomena characterized as possessing a greater or lesser magical essence, but not necessarily related to their place in the overall socio-cultural system of ritual power. Relinquishing the apposition of magic to religion in the phenomenological dimension allows us to divert the distinction between them to the social plane where the non-canonical position of magic finds expression. Texts, magical objects, and ceremonies generally do not have a routine place in the Jewish canonical system of practice for attaining ritual power. At the same time it is not impossible that portions of the latter, such as the biblical examination of the suspected adulteress, the recitation of the **Shema* before going to sleep, and the **mezuzah*, be defined as possessing a magical character. In this manner the cultural products of early Judaism itself testify to the gap between the official and explicit perception (in the Bible and the Mishnah) that prohibits sorcery and considers it as a capital sin and its firm place in the day-to-day lives of the people. Recognition of the existence of this gap is naturally related to the recognition of the distance between the inner-cultural definition of magic as an illegitimate form of ritual activity by its very essence, and its external, academic definition, based on sociological notions of religion, that views it as the non-canonical, marginal, and in most cases prohibited part of the overall activity aimed at attaining ritual power (which also includes a legitimate-canonical side, i.e., religion), repressed by the ruling religious center of society as concerns its struggle over power and control.

The sources documenting early Jewish magic may be divided into two kinds: primary sources, those originating in magical culture itself, and secondary sources, those found in texts that are not, in essence, magical. Primary sources from the biblical era are rare. Noteworthy among them are silver amulets from the end of the seventh century B.C.E., found in a burial network in the Hinnom valley in Jerusalem, and upon which the priestly blessing is inscribed. In the Bible itself, sorcery and divination are prohibited and those who dealt in them were persecuted. It would appear, however, that this prohibition, closely tied in the Bible to the religious-ethical uniqueness of the people of Israel and its distinctiveness from the surrounding nations, well testifies to the perpetuation of these ritual practices that priestly and prophetic circles aspired to marginalize in favor of those that they themselves offered and to which they attributed canonical status. Nevertheless, at least in one outstanding case, that of the ordeal for examination of the suspected adulteress (Num. 5:11–31), one suspects the acquisition of a magical practice (which underwent an intercultural, priestly, oicotypification) by the religious establishment. The result bears testimony to the belief in the performative power of curses among both that priestly establishment and the people as a whole. Metaphysical beings central to magical practice such as angels, Satan, and demons are indeed mentioned in the biblical literature, however in a way that is unconnected to the overall system of typical magical beliefs and practices in which they were to function later. First and foremost, they are not introduced as being under any kind of vigorous human manipulation. In the only case where Satan is mentioned as being expelled by words that may reflect an exorcistic formula, it is by God Himself, and from His presence (Zech. 3:2). Human power to manipulate concrete reality is admitted in the bible in both the hands of foreign sorcerers, such as the Egyptians, or Balaam, and God's prophets. In any case, it is always subservient to God's will and force. Even the marvels manifested time and again by God's prophets are not performed on account of their own power. Being men of the one and only omnipotent God, their miracles are viewed mainly as a didactic performance of what He Himself executes.

The apocryphal literature in general, and particularly the writings of the Dead Sea sect, increased immeasurably the angelological and demonological deliberations and well reflect the metaphysical expansion of society within Judaism in this period. The figure of Satan (also called Belial or Mastema) has evolved into the head of an army of evil spirits and the lord of the demons. The origin of these demons, imageless and highly harmful spiritual beings, was perceived as the product of the impure hybrid coupling of rebellious angels with the daughters of Adam (a tradition alluded to in Genesis 6:1–4, and expanded in I Enoch and in the Book of Jubilees). At that time, it is told, sorcery was brought down to the world and given to women. Alongside it the Book of Remedies was delivered to Noah, according to God's command, for protection against the wicked demons that had attacked his children. The Qumran scrolls reveal to us a well-developed demonological perception. Qumranic Psalm fragments testify to apotropaic ritual practices against demons. The works of Josephus and the New Testament reflect a similar reality in the first century C.E. Demons were perceived as the cause of both corporal and mental disorders and their removal through rituals that featured magical objects, roots, and verbal formulae was a common method of healing. Comparing the depictions of exorcism and healing performed by Jesus according to the New Testament with the Greek magical papyri reveals his place as a Jewish magician within the intercultural tradition of Late Antiquity as well as his uniqueness within that tradition (both in terms of his actions of healing and exorcising, and in utilizing them as a means of his religious mission). According to the testimony of the Gospels, Jesus was accused by his Jewish opponents of using the power of Beelzebub, the prince of the demons. In other words, he was accused of being a sorcerer, i.e., possessing considerable supernatural power, but that this power was derived from an impure source and was therefore illegitimate.

His followers naturally saw him as a holy man who was performing miracles through divine power.

The apocryphal literature and the Dead Sea sect literature also demonstrate the considerable angelological expansion of social reality; only here human magical power vis-à-vis the angels is not yet reflected. Their assistance to men is judged a gesture of good will, a divine mission, or preordained reality, but not the result of their compulsion to act in this way through human efforts. This notion appears in full force in the primary sources of early Jewish magic: amulets and incantation bowls that were geared primarily for protection, healing, and success and which document actual magical activity for the clients mentioned in them by name, and magical recipes collected in compositions and books of recipes. The magical recipe literature presents to us the notion that magic is a part of normal life. It is hard to imagine an area of life for which no magical assistance is offered in this literature. The amulets and magic bowls connect this theoretical literature to the actual day-to-day lives of the Jews of Late Antiquity.

Ancient Jewish magical praxis was based on a system of beliefs that concerned the connection between physical and metaphysical reality and the manner by which language is capable of connecting between them for human profit. Social reality was expanded to include metaphysical beings that were divided into four categories: (a) God; (b) celestial beings such as angels, stars and planets, divine names, etc.; (c) various demons and evil spirits (including personifications of harmful sorcery); (d) the dead. The correct use of an adjuration (mostly by a suitable person within a well-defined ceremony) was viewed as being able to subordinate any one of the above to obey the adjurer's will. Generally the adjurations were aimed at activating the celestial beings, principally angels or demons. The magical use of God or the dead is rarely documented. Magical compositions such as the Book of Mysteries (*Sefer ha-Razim*) or the Sword of Moses (*Ḥarba de-Moshe*) reveal to us a highly developed angelological perception. The names of the angels, their order and relative powers are placed at the disposal of whosoever wishes to manipulate them. Divine aid, in the form of a command that God sent to his angels, is what allows man to take power over them through the use of incantations and divine names and to manipulate them at will. Magical practice is therefore portrayed in these works as a part of the Jewish monotheistic belief and not as anomalous to it. Alongside this angelology a rich demonology is also revealed in the magical literature. Demons were perceived as responsible for every misfortune in human life and in particular when it affected the body. Protection from them and their removal from the moment they penetrated someone's life space was a central purpose of Jewish magical activity. However, the magical literature testifies to the use of magical means for dealing with many other matters. These include the relations between people such as marriage and sexual relations, success in litigation, control over one's fellow being, injuring someone, protection from injury, victory in battle, and so on. They appear to be further used in such daily cares as improving the products of labor and agricultural produce, fishing, trade, and even minor objectives such as kindling an oven in winter or the expulsion of crickets or mice from the house. Besides all this, another area of great importance was served by magic: knowledge. Angels, demons, and the dead functioned in the Jewish magic culture as agents of almost limitless knowledge that could be adjured to reveal to man whatever he desired to know. Summoning angels for this purpose was associated on occasion with the practice of the dream request. Thus, while divination is not identical to magic, there is much evidence of Jewish magical divination practices based on utilizing adjurations as well as other magical means.

As noted, the basis of early Jewish sorcery was in the use of adjurations. These verbal formulae, which were defined with precision and adapted individually for their specific objectives, were mostly uttered or written in a ceremonial framework. The ritual state of all the participants in the ceremony was also well defined and almost always entailed the purity (in halakhic terms) of the performer. The conditions of the performance of the ceremony and its verbal, material, and behavioral components varied with each case. On more than one occasion they were borrowed from Hellenistic magic. Professional terms loaned from the Hellenistic magical jargon testify, too, to the intercultural relationship in this field, the other expression of which was the penetration by indubitably Jewish elements into Hellenistic magical practice. It is not easy to chart with precision the elements of the magic ceremony. However, beyond the variety of means one central mechanism, which constitutes a system, stands out: the sympathetic mechanism. In early Jewish magic it is usual to find attempts to bring about a reality by means of juxtaposing it to another based on the principle: "Just as A, so B." The depiction of one reality (A) may be done simply and freely, or it may be through similitude (for example, "Just as the sky is suppressed before God and the Earth is suppressed before people… so may the inhabitants of this town be suppressed and broken and fallen before Yose son of Zenobia"). Often, serving this purpose are biblical verses whose meaning, or words appearing in them, are relevant for the desired effect (for example, "Noah found favor with the Lord" (Gen. 6:8) is quoted for attaining "grace and favor"; "I will not bring upon you any of the diseases that I brought upon the Egyptians" (Ex. 15:26) is quoted for healing). The choice of magic materials necessary for the sorcery may also reflect this aim (for example, a round bowl would serve for protection from all sides, a heart of a young lion for attaining courage). Often, the ceremony includes the preparation of a magical object, that is, an object which has adjuration texts on it. This will serve the client over a length of time. Amulets were worn on the body or were buried in the house or even in the synagogue. Incantation bowls were buried in the corners of rooms or below the threshold, dwelling places of demons against whom the bowls were intended. Occasionally the verbal adjuration was sunken into a piece of food or a liquid that the client would have to swallow or to rub over his body. In this way the magical quality of the words passed into the client's body and strengthened him from within.

The secondary magical sources, the rabbinic literature, and early Jewish mystical works demonstrate that the magic outlook was not confined to the more boorish classes of society. The early Jewish mystical literature testifies to the central place of performative ritual power in two areas: (a) as a means to overcome the hostile angels in the course of a mystical journey to God's Throne of Honor; (b) as a social advantage in the possession of the mystic in this world following his return from his heavenly journey. The magical matter is so pronounced in the early Jewish mystical literature that some of the scholars judge this aspect (and not the experiences of the ascent to the higher realm and the sight of God) as the kernel unifying all the writings that constitute this literature. Rabbinic literature, too, indicates the place of the magical and demonological outlook, and the accompanying practices, in the social-religious elite. Three approaches are reflected in it alongside each other (as is typical of this polyphonic literature), and all are founded on the very recognition of the efficacy of sorcery: (a) an official halakhic position that associates sorcery with the "Ways of the Amorite," meaning the gentile customs prohibited for Jews on account of the Jews' distinctiveness from them, prohibits it in every way, and punishes those who dabble in it by stoning (while distinguishing the real acts of magic from acts of deception that are not judged as the sin of sorcery); (b) a pragmatic approach that permits the use of those magic objects and verbal means (that are not, of course, denoted as such) whose benefit has been proven (primarily for medicinal purposes), permits the study of sorcery (as opposed to its operation), and even requires of those taking a seat in the Sanhedrin to be "masters of sorcery"; (c) a narrative approach that uses, in the manner of the talmudic homiletic story, magical motifs for didactic purposes. Here a dual tendency is noticeable whereby on the one hand the ritual-magical powers of the sages themselves (which naturally are not identified with sorcery but rather with holiness based on a life of Torah and observance of the divine commandments) are extolled, while on the other hand accusations are leveled at the "other," primarily women and heretics, for acts of sorcery. This labeling is intended to mark out these "others" as dangerous people who act with illegitimate power, and to marginalize them, placing them far from the desirable-legitimate focus of power, that of the sages themselves, who are both the narrators and the heroes of the narratives. The climax of this dual tendency is found in the stories that describe struggles between sages and sorcerers or sorceresses, which, as is to be expected, end in the sages' victory, and in this way exemplify their worthy socio-religious model. It would appear therefore that the contradiction between the halakhic and narrative approaches toward magic is not to be resolved through distinguishing between the "rabbis' genuine viewpoint," which was negative and deprecatory by virtue of their religious beliefs and the laws deriving from them, on the one hand, and their "lip service" to the beliefs of the ignorant masses (which originated in the penetration of foreign influences), through lack of choice, and for didactic purposes, on the other hand, as was done in the past, but by recognizing the aspirations of the rabbis for a social monopoly over ritual power. The rabbinic demonological stories are to be understood in a similar way. They, too, should be seen as a narrative shaping of motifs that rest upon popular beliefs in both their own circles as well as amongst the masses, with a didactic objective. More than the stories are concerned with demonic reality in itself, they are about the relations between this reality and that of the sages, and more specifically the relative superiority of the sages and their disciples over all that affects the ways of the demons. This includes protection from them and control over them by the power of their holiness, their legal authority, and ritual-magical means. Thus, the demonological stories join the magical and mystical ones in revealing a ramified system of beliefs and ritual practices relating to angels, demons, and sorcery in the Jewish culture of Late Antiquity. Primary magical evidence completes the picture by tying the literary testimony to day-to-day experience and exposing the actual praxis of ancient Jewish magic.

[Yuval Harari (2nd ed.)]

In Medieval Hebrew Literature

TERMINOLOGY. The terms "magic" (*kishuf*), "magician" (*mekhashef*), and "witch" (*mekhashefah*) are relatively rare in medieval Hebrew literature, especially when compared with the frequency with which magic practices are mentioned. The underlying reason is undoubtedly the explicit biblical prohibition against the practice of magic (repeatedly dwelt upon in medieval Hebrew literature) and the Bible's abhorrence of magicians and soothsayers. There is, therefore, no favorable allusion to magic practices in medieval literature, and they are rarely dealt with in a purely informative manner, although the numerous texts of the *Genizah* dealing with this topic allow us to understand in how many ways magic was present in Jewish life during the Middle Ages. Such terms as *kishuf, mekhashef,* and *mekhashefah* were descriptive of the wicked, sinners, and non-Jews. Magic was discussed in medieval Hebrew literature, but surreptitiously, under the guise of different names, such as *segullot* ("remedies" or "charms"), *kame'ot* ("amulets"), *refu'ot* ("cures"), *goralot* ("destinies" or "fortunes"), *simanim* ("signs" or "omens"), and *refafot* ("bodily itches as a portent"). The medieval writer thus was able to circumvent the term "magic" and eschew a direct confrontation with the biblical prohibition. In fact, the practice of magic was very popular and widespread among medieval Jews, and the number of texts including magical elements is very striking.

SOURCES AND DISSEMINATION. Literature on magic is universal in its character, its methods, and its structure. Each society, each language, and every period contributed toward magic literature, enriching it or modifying it in the light of the particular characteristics of the society, the culture, and the times. The main themes and methods in magic were, however, transmitted from country to country, from language to language throughout the ages without any basic changes being wrought. In the Middle Ages, Jewish magic literature differs very little from the magic literature of other nations. Magical practices were very widespread during the Middle Ages not only in Jewish communities but also among Muslims and Christians. Textbooks of magic circulated in the three cultures, although theoretical considerations were less frequent. Hebrew works on magic quote extensively from non-Jewish magic literature, citing especially sources that medieval scholarship attributed to ancient Greek authors. The basic terminology and methods found in Hebrew works are similar to those dominant in non-Jewish works. In some Hebrew works a term may be used which was originally Hebrew but is applied in such a way as to show that it was copied from a non-Hebrew work; its Hebrew origin had apparently been unknown to the Hebrew writer, for example, the term *Elo'i Sabaot* derived from the Hebrew *Elohei Zeva'ot*. Angelology and magic formulas in Hebrew, Greek, and Latin of the Hellenistic period were basic to the development of medieval magic literature. Since this period led to the fusion of Hebrew and non-Hebrew formulas, the process continued throughout the Middle Ages when terms and formulas from Arabic, German, French, Slavic, and other languages were added to medieval Hebrew magic literature. To date there is no serious study on the sources on which medieval Hebrew magic works drew. The various influences have neither been defined nor classified and no clear distinction can therefore be made between the following sources: the Assyrian and Babylonian (which apparently also influenced the Talmud), the Hellenistic (Jewish-Hellenistic and Greek), the ancient Egyptian and their later adaptations during the syncretistic periods of the Roman Empire, the original Arabic and their fusion with the Persian and Indian, and the European which were intermingled with Arabic and other sources. Principally, however, there is as yet no way to distinguish in every case between traditional Hebrew magic, derived from the biblical and talmudic periods, and the magic elements which reached Jewish writers from foreign sources. An example is a Greek and Arabic traditional connection between Saturn and magic; in Jewish medieval thought both magic and Saturn, who is in charge of the Jewish people, are also connected with the Sabbath day (Idel). We know today that Jewish magic in the Middle Ages was strongly influenced by two Arabic treatises, al-Kindi's *De radiis* and al-Majariti's *Picatrix*, which were translated into Latin and Hebrew, but their actual degree of influence has not been sufficiently studied. Until such studies are made, only impressions and generalizations can serve as basis for any assumption as to the nature of medieval Hebrew magic works.

Though there are no detailed studies on hand, there is no doubt that Jewish medieval magic drew on all the above-mentioned sources. Some medieval Hebrew works correspond very closely to non-Jewish magic writings. Others, for example a number of 18th-century collections of Hebrew magic formulas, differ little from magic formulas which survived from the geonic period. Collections which originated in North Africa are very similar to works on magic by Jews in Germany. There is thus no essential difference in the basic magic formulas and the attitude toward magic between the various nations, countries, and periods. The same fusion of ancient and medieval sources is to be found in each of these works, all of which contain Arab, European, and authentic Jewish elements.

THE CHARACTER OF HEBREW MAGIC LITERATURE. The character of Hebrew magic literature was influenced not only by the biblical prohibition on witchcraft but by the nature of this literature. Works on magic neither use nor are identified by terms denoting magic, but were written under the guise of concepts which neither reveal their special character nor their contents. There are hundreds of collections on magic, in print and in manuscripts, appearing under such names as *simanim*, *refafot*, *refu'ot*, *goralot*, and *segullot*. These works are usually not devoted only to one branch of magic or popular superstition, but to a variety of practices such as dream interpretation, popular medicine, and amulets. Unfortunately, the complete typology of magic literature has not yet been seriously studied.

Many of these works are anonymous; in others the name of the editor or compiler appears in the introduction. (The term "author" is not applicable to such works, which are nothing but collections drawn from various sources.) Rarely is there anything known of them from other sources; most of them were obscure writers who did not engage in scholarly activities. This may be the underlying reason for the low level of the language and literary merit of most of these works. Some of the writings on magic are attributed to ancient sages and scholars; thus, for example, works which are partly devoted to the interpretation of dreams are often ascribed to the biblical figures Daniel or Joseph; works on *goralot* ("destinies" or "fortunes") are attributed to the wise *Ahithophel the Gilonite, etc. Babylonian *geonim* and early scholars, from Saadiah b. Joseph Gaon to Naḥmanides, have had works on magic ascribed to them. Though widely disseminated, works on magic were mostly not written within the framework of medieval and early modern scholarly Hebrew literature. In any case, the corpus of Jewish magic, including complete books and fragments, is very large. Some of the better known works that discuss magic are Maimonides' *Guide of the Perplexed* and *Mishneh Torah*, including sorcery and magic among the forbidden practices; the commentaries on the Pentateuch by Naḥmanides (13th century); the responsa of Solomon ben *Adret and the sermons of Nissim *Gerondi in the 14th century; *Nishmat Ḥayyim* by *Manasseh Ben Israel, in which the author devotes a long chapter to the description of magical practices; *Derekh ha-Shem* by Moses Ḥayyim *Luzzatto, has a section on magic; and *Shalshelet ha-Kabbalah*, an important historical work in which the author, Gedaliah b. Joseph *Ibn Yaḥya, a Renaissance scholar, also discusses magic.

The literature of the *Ḥasidei Ashkenaz, probably more than any other medieval corpus of Hebrew scholarly writings, is a source on medieval magic (12th and 13 centuries), especially

Sefer Ḥasidim and the esoteric works of *Judah b. Samuel ha-Ḥasid of Regensburg and of his disciples, of which *Ḥokhmat ha-Nefesh*, a work on psychology by *Eleazar b. Judah of Worms, is a prime example. The concern of the Ashkenazi Ḥasidim with magic practices and phenomena has its roots in some of their theological ideas.

MAGIC AND MEDIEVAL DISCIPLINES. Medieval man, as reflected in the literature on magic, did not clearly differentiate between magic and other branches of knowledge, especially between medicine, astrology, and magic. There were very different kinds of magic, some of them of a high cultural level, and other more popular types. Cultural magic was considered a branch of medieval science, at the same level as medicine or astrology. Many times, this magic was a kind of alternative medicine. Most of the collections dealing mainly with magic do not distinguish between the treatment of an ailment according to the accepted norms of popular medicine, such as the application of heat, herbs, and certain foods, and magic means, calling for the help of angels and demons to heal the patient. This failure of distinction was not only due to the lack of a scientific framework but to the desire to lend authority and legitimacy to magic formulas when combined with medical practice. These works also do not clearly distinguish between astrology and magic. Works on *goralot* ("destinies" or "fortunes") include astrological calculations which portend the fate of a man according to the constellations at his birth, and determine his character traits and religious, economic, and social status. The same works also contain magic instructions on how to use the auguries of the constellations for other purposes and how to change a man's fate through incantations and amulets, etc.

Most of the magic in the extant collections is devoted to *simanim* which derives from the fact that the Talmud, contrary to its injunction against the practice of magic, allows the practice of "signs." This literature describes various events, feelings, or even the itching of various parts of the human body (*refafot*), which are indicative of an oncoming event. Incantations are often chanted and charms used in an attempt either to nullify an ominous portent or to enhance a benign prophecy. To this category also belongs the literature of "dream interpretation" which describes in detail various occurrences within dreams thought to reveal the future to the dreamer. Sometimes advice is tendered in the use of magical means to prevent the bad dreams from being realized. Compilations of popular medical literature, such as *The Book of Women's Love* (perhaps 13th century), contained many magic (mainly love magic) elements and formulas; most of these practices, reflected in the written materials or transmitted in oral form, were current during the Middle Ages. Their main goal was to manipulate sexuality, intervening in human relationships. Some of these formulas are taken from the tradition of the "practical Kabbalah."

The *segullah* is basic to all magic formulas and is the main magic means used by the person himself. Knowledge of many charms is the professional distinction of the expert magician. The central element in the *segullah* is a name or a series of names which is considered holy. The common appellation of a magician in Eastern Europe in the 17th and 18th centuries as *Ba'al Shem* or *Ba'al Shem Tov* ("owner of the Holy Name" or "owner of the Holy Good Name") is rooted in this practice. The name used is most frequently that of an angel, or, sometimes, one of the many names of God. Sometimes even the name of a demon is resorted to which would seem to make this form of magic "black magic." The demon invoked in such charms is, however, thought to be a "bad angel" (*malakh ḥabbalah*) who should be addressed when the magician intends to harm someone, kill an enemy, cause damage, find the whereabouts of a thief and make him return his loot, etc. Some of the names in the *segullah* are common biblical or talmudic-midrashic names, mostly polysyllabic so as to awe the hearer and to seem as strange as possible. Many of the names were culled from *Heikhalot* and Merkabah writings, the Hebrew mystical literature of the talmudic and geonic period from which the major part of Hebrew medieval angelology is derived; sometimes even from non-Hebrew sources; others were created anagrammatically according to a definite system, either from other known names or from biblical verses.

The name, which is the essence of the *segullah*, is supplemented with various elements which differ from book to book and even from page to page in the same work. The *segullah*, or the petition for magical intercession (of a supernatural power), must be written in a clear form or enunciated clearly and loudly. Sometimes the time at which the deed should occur (a certain hour of the day or night or a certain day of the month) is also given; an astrological element was thus added to the magical charm. Certain substantive elements are also added, such as bits of flesh, bone, or skin from various animals (or even the human body), or certain herbs or plants. In the classic cases of sympathetic magic sometimes the performer of the act of magic, when he directs an incantation against a certain person, draws a picture of the latter or writes his name, or even molds his likeness in clay. These means were especially resorted to in the case of a thief. The suffering inflicted by sympathetic magic on the thief caused him to reveal the cache of the stolen goods and give them back. Through these means demons could also be compelled to serve man, when an incantation with the name of the culprit proved ineffective.

The *segullah* is used both as a direct magic act to attain a certain aim and as an auxiliary to medical aid, to reveal a man's fate, to appease or prompt the auguries of a "sign," or to interpret a dream. An amulet, for instance, is usually nothing more than a *segullah* written in a certain form, so that a person could carry it with him always. Such a charm is usually protective, invoking the heavenly powers to safeguard the wearer against any harm.

The contents of works on *segullot* are arranged according to their purposes. A title states the function of the charm after which there is a description of the charm including the holy names and the other necessary elements. Another type of *segullot* literature, sometimes called *shimmushim* ("uses"), is arranged according to the holy names indicating the purpose and uses to which each name can be put. Thus, for instance, *Sefer ha-Ḥeshek* lists 70 names of the archangel *Metatron, after each of which the author gives the use that it can be put to and what magical purpose can best be served by using one particular appellation of this angel. The holy divine names, composed either of 42 letters or 72 letters, which are comprised of units of three or six letters, serve many magic purposes; each name can be the means of achieving a specific magic goal. Treatises on the magic use of the Psalms (*Sefer Shimmush Tehillim*) and on the properties of the members of animals were very common in Jewish houses. Some form of magic was even practiced by rabbis who did not see them as opposed to Judaism (Barkai). "*Shimmushei Tehillim*" ("The Uses of the Psalms"), a body of magic writings, describes the magic power inherent in certain verses and chapters in the Psalms and in some other Scriptures. The Bible was also used for the purpose of "sign" magic, i.e., prophecies. A person practicing this magic would open the Bible, put his finger at random on a certain verse and the content of this verse would reveal the attitude of the Divine Powers to the question or request of the person inquiring.

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN MYSTIC AND MAGIC LITERATURES. Scholars believe that the extent of the influence of magic on Jewish mysticism has not yet been sufficiently studied. Historical circumstances rather than literary or conceptual affinities have created an impression, especially in modern times, that there is a similarity or even identity between mystic literature and magic in Jewish life and thought. One expression of this view is the term "*kabbalah ma'asit*" ("practical tradition"), which is magic, and "*kabbalah iyyunit*" ("theoretical tradition"), which is mysticism. "Kabbalah" in this context means nothing more than tradition and does not denote any special mystical system. Nineteenth-century scholars of Jewish studies who were fiercely opposed to *Ḥasidism, which is one derivation of the Kabbalah proper (the mystical ideology), saw Ḥasidism and Kabbalah as representing medieval superstition, and did not try to differentiate between mystical thought and magic practice, which to them seemed to derive from the same source. Their ideas were accepted even by some 20th-century scholars.

Still, there is some connection between the development of magic literature and mystical literature. In talmudic times there undoubtedly existed a unique magic literature to which such works as *Sefer ha-Razim*, published in a scholarly edition (by M. Margalioth, 1966; there is an English translation by M.A. Morgan, 1983), clearly testify. The book is an example of early Jewish magic which did not have any mystic tendency, and which is influenced mainly by non-Hebrew sources.

If the magic elements are not very dominant in this kind of rabbinic literature, the writings of the *Heikhalot* and the Merkabah have a strong magical component. Included are works of a clear magical character, e.g., *Hakkarat Panim ve-Sidrei Sirtutim*, a work on chiromancy. Even major works of this literature, such as *Sefer Heikhalot Rabbati*, include some material concerning prophecies, signs, and even incantations. According to the conceptual view of *Heikhalot* and Merkabah literature, when the angels revealed heavenly mysteries (revelations which constitute the body of this literature) to the talmudic sages they also made esoteric magic disclosures in which they described the divine worlds and eschatological secrets. These texts of early Jewish mysticism include many adjurations of magical character asking the angels to come down and reveal to man the mysteries of heaven and earth, including the complete knowledge of the Torah, and sometimes alluding to the necessary rituals for the heavenly journey of the mystic. The means of achieving the goals of this mysticism is magic; the authors of this literature "attempted to integrate magic into Judaism" (Schaefer). The magical view of the Hebrew language, combining letters for forming divine names, is one of the bases of this form of Jewish mysticism. Medieval scholars, the Ḥasidei Ashkenaz, and the kabbalists who resorted to *Heikhalot* and Merkabah literature in their esoteric and mystical speculations also accepted the magic tradition that it embraced and sometimes even practiced it.

Magic is relatively little treated in theoretical Kabbalah writings, especially in works which concentrated on matters concerning the structure of the divine worlds, the *Sefirot*, and the developments within the divine realm (themes central to kabbalistic literature). Many kabbalists, from those in the Gerona circle (13th century) on, did not practice magic at all. The doctrines of medicine and astrology are undoubtedly nearer to that of magic than the doctrines of Jewish mysticism. A detailed examination of magic literature clearly shows that most of those who practiced magic, or the authors of works on magic, did not know anything about mysticism in general, or Kabbalah in particular. It is therefore very unlikely that kabbalistic symbolism of the holy *Sefirot*, or the kabbalistic concept of evil, would appear in magic charms. When the Zohar became part of the holy literature and widely known, it was used for magic purposes, but no more than the Book of Psalms. The use that both works were put to does not reflect their original content. Supernatural knowledge and powers were, however, attributed to many kabbalists. Even Isaac the Blind, one of the earliest kabbalists who lived in Provence, was described as having the power to distinguish between a new soul, which appeared for the first time in the world, and an old soul, which had been reincarnated. This tradition of magic and supernatural hagiography of prominent kabbalists developed continually up to the times of Isaac *Luria and *Israel Ba'al Shem Tov. The writings of Moshe *Cordovero (16th century), the kabbalist of Safed, are also full of magical views, since he adopted a type of Kabbalah very close to astral magic.

Based on a tradition preserved in a talmudic text on the creation of an artificial man, unable to speak, and using techniques found in the *Sefer Yeẓirah* (combination of letters), medieval kabbalists and ḥasidic circles developed the idea of the *golem*, which was from the very beginning replete with magic content. There were different modalities of this idea in Franco-Ashkenazi and Sephardic centers, going from the purely material being to the fully spiritual one. Zoharic and Lurianic kabbalists were not interested in the topic, while ecstatic kabbalists and Cordovero paid attention to it. In particular, the Ashkenazi texts dealing with the *golem* were basically magical, as shown by Idel.

Magic in Kabbalah literature is touched upon in discussion of earthly or demonological matters, but even in this literature it was cautiously treated and circumscribed. Few magic elements are found in the Zohar, and in the writings of other early kabbalists there are even less. The case of the ecstatic Kabbalah, the school of Abraham *Abulafia, is very different: for him, magical techniques like the combination of letters can be a help in attaining the personal mystical experience that endows the mystic with magical powers.

Later magic literature and kabbalistic doctrine were also seldom fused. Ḥayyim *Vital describes some magic practices in his autobiographical work *Sefer ha-Ḥezyonot* ("Book of Visions"), which, however, he does not relate to the special kabbalistic doctrine of his teacher, Isaac Luria. In his theological works, magic is a marginal theme. Though he accepted magic, it did not impinge on his innermost spiritual beliefs expressed in the kabbalistic myth which he set down in many books. The same applies to the writings of many other kabbalists.

The Ḥasidei Ashkenaz discussed magic in their works at length and also had some magic works attributed to them. The relationship they established between esoteric theology and magic speculation was rooted in a peculiar theological development. The Ashkenazi ḥasidic theology is based on the concept that God, far away from the natural world and the laws that govern it, is revealed, according to these laws, within the world of man in specific, well-defined phenomena which confirm to man His existence. Such phenomena, miraculous in character, including magic, witchcraft, and demonology, defy the laws of nature and reveal the power of the hidden Godhead. The Ḥasidei Ashkenaz consequently tried to collect in their writings as many descriptions of such phenomena as possible which they analyzed and on which they commented in the light of their own esoteric doctrine. The inference, however, cannot be drawn that they dealt in practical magic more or less than other scholars of that period. The implication is merely that they were theologically interested in such matters more than others, and therefore included them in their literature.

The Ḥasidei Ashkenaz thus became famous as scholars possessed of magic knowledge, and many legends revolved around them, such as the story about a competition in magic between *Samuel b. Kalonymus he-Ḥasid, and three non-Jewish magicians; the story about the ability of Eleazar b. Judah of Worms to get very quickly from place to place (*kefiẓat ha-derekh*) by the power of a magical formula; the tale of Judah b. Samuel he-Ḥasid who overpowered an evil magician; and many others. How far the legends woven about scholars were removed from the actual lives of these scholars may be seen by the fact that Abraham *Ibn Ezra, the Spanish Jewish philosopher and commentator, became the hero of many magic stories (probably because of his astrological works).

Some 19th-century scholars described modern Ḥasidism, founded by Israel Ba'al Shem Tov, as a prime example of magic and superstition. While many leaders of the ḥasidic movement believed in magic and practiced it, especially in giving amulets (the Ba'al Shem Tov himself dealt in magic and probably made his living as a popular healer and magician), ḥasidic theoretical literature, the vast homiletic literature which describes its ideology, is devoid of all magic elements. Ḥasidic tales might contain elements of the use of magic or of overcoming magic deeds performed by evil non-Jews, but ḥasidic doctrines eschewed magic elements even more than the kabbalistic literature which the Ḥasidim had inherited and developed. The difference between the "practical tradition" of Ḥasidism, which practiced magic, and the "ideological (theoretical) tradition" of the movement is probably more pronounced in modern Ḥasidism than in any other mystic movement.

MEDIEVAL JEWISH MAGICIANS. The terms *mekhashef* ("magician") and *mekhashefah* ("witch") in medieval literature designate two very different categories. A *mekhashef* is a person possessed of secret knowledge in magic which he uses for his own profit or to help others. He is considered a professional and is paid for his services. While in medieval Hebrew literature there are few records of a Jew being described as a *mekhashef*, in the early modern period the usage is much more frequent but under the name *Ba'al Shem (i.e., "owner of the Holy Name").

Mekhashef designates a certain psycho-pathological state, often connected with cannibalism. The term alludes to women and men who wander in forests, singly or in groups, or sometimes live in a community and kidnap babies or even grownups in order to eat them or suck their blood. While the term *mekhashefah* frequently recurs in medieval Hebrew literature, the actual phenomenon it represents seems to have been rare. In the 12th and 13th centuries in Central Europe these vampires were called "*shtria*" for the female (from the Latin *strix*, *striga*) and werewolf for the male. Such vampires do not necessarily possess any supernatural powers or secret knowledge. In *Sefer *Ḥasidim*, a 13th-century ethical work, there is a description of a baby born with teeth and a tail. The rabbi of the community advised that these be cut, so that when he grew up he would not eat people. This seems to testify to a case where a child was considered to have been born a werewolf, and could be cured naturally. No supernatural elements seem to be involved either in the birth of the werewolf or the proposed cure. A community where women ate children is also described in *Sefer Ḥasidim*. When threatened that if they continued their practice their teeth would be ground on the stones of the well, they stopped. The story is told as a clinical fact (which it probably was) and there seems to be neither any supernatural nor religious connotation or implication. On the other hand, in other stories from 13th-century Central Europe such creatures are immortal. They never die naturally but are killed in a prescribed manner. In one case, a witch was offered divine forgiveness if she were to reveal the secret of how she might be killed. Thus the person who committed the sin of cannibalism could religiously be saved. The phenomenon, apparently pathological in nature, was, in some cases, explained supernaturally – as if such cases were already dead, and therefore could not be killed. The *mekhashefah* does not belong to magic in the strict sense but designates a species of abominable creatures who form a category in themselves to which should be added the beliefs associated with them such as the belief in the "mare," a woman who strangles men in their sleep (hence the word "nightmare"). Other unnatural creatures who do not fit into either of the above categories should be classed somewhere between demons and magicians, or demons and witches. The term *mekhashefah* and the literature that evolved around it had relatively little influence on the development of medieval Jewish culture; the term *mekhashef*, however, is much more prominent.

In the 17th and 18th centuries in Eastern Europe the position of magicians ("*ba'alei Shem*") began to emerge on the Jewish social scene. The *ba'alei Shem* practiced magic and popular medicine, used amulets, drove away demons, and prophesied. Owing to the power inherent in the names they knew to use, they could discover thieves, retrieve lost articles, purify houses from evil spirits, etc. From the historical point of view, however, these magicians were of special significance in that many of them disseminated Shabbatean ideas throughout Eastern Europe; magicians were also instrumental in the development of the ḥasidic movement.

MAGIC IN MEDIEVAL JEWISH SOCIETY. In the opinion of some scholars, a negative attitude in respect to magic has relegated the study of magic, and its role in medieval Jewish society, to the margins of Jewish studies. The existing materials, in particular the fragments of the *Genizah*, have not yet been adequately studied, and we still lack today good monographs on medieval Jewish magic and divination. For that reason, it is not easy to attain an accurate picture of the social role of magic during these centuries. Jewish intellectuals did not consider magic either as an ideological or social challenge which had to be dealt with. But the texts of the *Genizah* show that magic was familiar at both the elite and popular levels of culture (Wasserstrom). The belief in the power of magic was apparently universal in Jewish society, both in the East and in the West, from the beginning of the Middle Ages up to early modern times. Opposition to magic was voiced by but a few which, when expressed in writing, formed a minor element within their work. While Maimonides, like some other Jewish philosophers, rejected magic and the use of amulets, he was not deeply concerned with it and only devoted a few passages to the problem in *Guide of the Perplexed*, much less, for instance, than to his argument with astrology on which he wrote a special treatise. Among others who repudiated magic were Saadiah Gaon (who rejected it in the same way as astrology) and Hai Gaon; they too, however, did not stress the question in their writings. As a consequence belief in magic hardly ever called forth any defenders in Hebrew literature. In the great 13th-century controversy the rabbis of France in their criticism also denounced Maimonides for his opposition to magic; it was, however, a very minor point. Menahem Ẓiyyoni's short treatise on the defense of magic and the belief in demons, *Ẓefunei Ẓiyyoni* (in Ms.), is written from a kabbalistic point of view as were similar treatises by other kabbalists.

The practice of magic (which is quite different from a belief in magic) was also not a major problem in Judaism, though magic as such was condemned outright because of the biblical prohibition and it therefore was practiced under the guise of different names. The practice of "signs," "charms," amulets, astrology, and popular medicine was never a subject of serious scholarly discussion. Magic was employed without deep discussion in many areas of life: for influencing people's feelings and opinions, for healing all kinds of illness, for incantations, for mystical trance-inducement, for apotropaic charms, and even for finding hidden treasures. Some halakhists tried to accept the situation, distinguishing between magical practices that were directly forbidden and other practices that could be seen as not properly magic and were allowed. It was not strange that some magical practices, connected first of all with popular medicine or with human relations, or even with mystical traditions, were explained as something natural, and as such were not forbidden. Other kinds of magical practices, performed with the intention of influencing astral forces, or related to black magic, were usually prohibited. Owing to the biblical prohibition on magic the most vulgar and "black" forms of magic did not become common in Judaism and such practices as necromancy were very rare. While some books on magic contain formulas for killing an enemy by magic means, for love potions, etc., there is no evidence that these were practiced. These formulas were probably copied from non-Jewish sources. Sorcery was many times identified with black magic, and while some jurists did not see in it any real danger, others saw it in the context of demons or destructive angels and considered it forbidden as contrary to God's will.

As a result the practice of some kinds of magic was not a legitimate and commonly accepted profession in medieval Jewish society and the religious convictions of a man who practiced magic were suspect. Formulas were thus written down since there was no oral transmission within a special class of practitioners of magic. Many Jews, especially in the East, usually consulted non-Jewish magicians rather than Jewish magicians.

The Christian injunctions against magic and witchcraft and the fierce persecutions against those who practiced magic, which started around the end of the 15th century, affected in a particular way many *Conversos, but also old Christian families that had to face similar charges. Jews and Conversos were accused of ritual crimes and were persecuted by the Inquisition, as in the case of "the holy child of La Guardia" at the end of the 15th century which was considered a case of black magic. This kind of attitude does not have parallel in Judaism. There are few examples in Judaism of Jews persecuting Jews because of magic practices. In those rare cases where there is evidence of such persecutions, the accusation served as a camouflage for more fundamental reasons. Thus the accusations of the rabbis of Venice against Moses Ḥayyim Luzzatto for dealing in magic were a guise for their suspicion that he had Shabbatean tendencies. In those Jewish communities where Christian anti-witchcraft persecutions had an influence, such as Italy, the relationship between Jews and non-Jews was closer than elsewhere.

The only social sphere of Jewish life in which magic practice attained legitimacy was in the formulas of the *ḥerem* ("excommunication"). Many *ḥerem* texts have incantations with a clear magic undertone.

The un-transcendental purposes of most magical practices were probably one of the reasons why magic played such a minor role in cultivated medieval Jewish literature. There are few records of major significance in which magic featured, such as *Joseph della Reina's attempt to hasten the redemption through magic means. Magic literature centers around such minor matters as toothaches and lost articles, and some attempt at prophecy of private persons' destiny. It thus did not always relate to the major historical and ideological problems of medieval Jewish society. The private character of the practice rendered it unimportant in the eyes of both its supporters and opponents so that it never became a major issue of dispute.

In spite of the relatively small influence that magic had on medieval Jewish thought, some scholars consider that the widespread use of magical practices among Jews made the members of other communities see magic as a Jewish specialization. This can in no way justify the fact that Jewish magic became a cause for antisemitism and hatred toward the Jews in the Middle Ages. The belief that every Jew was an evil magician, possessed of supernatural evil powers, was very widespread among certain popular groups of Christians in the Middle Ages and early modern times. In some uncultivated ambiances Jews were believed to be the people of Satan and they thus possessed supernatural secrets. This concept was one of the major sources of persecutions and blood libels throughout that period. Jewish reality in the Middle Ages hardly gave any substance to such accusations or to such an impression of the Jewish people. The basis for it was Christian theology, which in ecclesiastical circles described the Jews as deicides, therefore Satanic, and therefore possessors of magic.

[Joseph Dan / Angel Saenz-Badillos (2nd ed.)]

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MAGIDOR, MENACHEM (1946–), president of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. Magidor was born in Petaḥ Tikvah, Israel. He received his academic education at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, getting his B.Sc. in mathematics and physics in 1965, a M.Sc. in mathematics in 1967, and a Ph.D. in mathematics in 1972. In 1968 he joined the department of mathematics at the Hebrew University. From 1975 to 1977 he was a lecturer in the department of mathematics of Ben-Gurion University and in 1976–78 he was head of the computer science program there. In 1978 he returned to the Hebrew University, where he became professor in 1982. In 1987–89 he was chairman of the Institute of Mathematics and Computer Science and in 1988–89 he was member of the executive committee of the board of governors of the university. In 1992 Magidor was named dean of the faculty of sciences, a position he held until 1996. From 1997 he was the president of the Hebrew University. Magidor was a member of professional and academic associations in the field of mathematics. He served as editor of several academic journals and book series and published some 50 articles.

[Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

MAGIDOV, JACOB (1869–1943), Yiddish writer and editor. Born in Odessa, he received both a traditional and a secular education. Immigrating to the United States in 1886, he worked in a shirt factory and studied law at night, passing the bar examination in 1904 and for a time practicing law. Active in the Jewish labor movement from his arrival, he played an important role in 1888 in the founding of the United Hebrew Trades, an important institution devoted to organizing Jewish workers into unions. He was also active in the Socialist Labor Party. Magidov began his career as a writer and editor in the Jewish socialist press in 1894. He wrote for *Di Arbeter Tsaytung* on American politics and became city editor of the *Dos Abend Blat* at the end of the 1890s. After writing for the *Forverts* for a short time he joined *Der Morgn-Zhurnal* in 1901 and remained associated with it for the rest of his life. His book *Der Shpigl fun der Ist Side* ("The Mirror of the East Side," 1923) contains valuable insights into Jewish personalities of his generation. Magidov was one of the many immigrant intellectuals who felt it their duty to bridge the gap between the Yiddish-speaking masses and their new environment. Especially as the city editor of *Der Morgn-Zhurnal*, he served them as an interpreter of events in the new homeland.

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[Henry J. Tobias]

MAGINO, MEIR (late 16th century), Venetian inventor. In 1587 Pope Sixtus V invited him to introduce into the Papal States his process of extracting silk thread from the cocoon twice a year. Concerning this new process, Magino published an Italian work entitled *Dialoghi di M. Magino Gabrielli Hebreo venetiano sopra l'utili sue invenzioni circa la seta* (Venice, 1588); this elegantly printed book contains numerous illustrations, among them a portrait of the author, and a Hebrew poem written by him with an Italian translation by S. Tellarino. A second patent secured for Magino the rights to a new process for polishing mirrors and colored cut glass with a special kind of oil. He was also granted the exclusive right to produce special wine bottles, which are still in use in Roman wineshops. One of his children, GABRIEL induced Ferdinand I of Tuscany to issue the famous appeal to Jews to come and settle in Leghorn (1593). He was promised the office of consul general of the Jews in Pisa and Leghorn, but the appointment did not materialize.

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[Attilio Milano]

MAGNES, JUDAH LEON (1877–1948), U.S. rabbi and communal leader. He was chancellor and first president of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. Magnes was born in San Francisco, California, to parents who emigrated from Poland and Germany in 1863. He attended the Hebrew Union College, where he was ordained as a Reform rabbi in 1900. Magnes spent the years 1900–03 studying in Berlin and Heidelberg. During his years in Germany he traveled widely in Eastern Europe and was profoundly moved by the intensive Jewish life he found. It strengthened his earlier sympathetic feeling toward Zionism and brought him to the commitment to make Zionism and service to his people his mission in life.

On his return from Germany he became rabbi of Temple Israel in Brooklyn (1904–05) and afterward the assistant rabbi of Temple Emanu-El in New York (1906–10). At the same time he served as the secretary of the American Zionist Federation (1905–08) and later became the president of the Kehillah of New York *City from its founding in 1908 until its demise in 1922; he left for Palestine in the same year. Founded to advance and coordinate Jewish life in New York City, the Kehillah dealt vigorously with such internal problems as religious life and Jewish education; in the latter area its Bureau of Jewish Education, directed by Samson *Benderly, pioneered in the centralization and modernization of Jewish education in the U.S. The Kehillah was active and effective in labor arbitration and helped to repress crime in the immigrant Jewish areas in cooperation with the city's police department. It provided a nexus for cooperation between "uptown" and "downtown" Jews and a forum for Jewish public opinion. Magnes was the Kehillah's moving spirit and most competent leader, spokesman, peacemaker, fund raiser, and philosopher, and thus a leading figure in the metropolis. In 1905 he participated in the Zionist Congress at Basle as a member of the U.S. delegation. It was there that he came face to face with the leaders of Russian Jewry and through them he reached a greater understanding of East European Jewry. Back in New York (after his first visit in Palestine) he headed the greatest Jewish demonstration against the Kishinev pogroms and established the Self-Defense Association which collected funds for the purchase of arms to be smuggled to the Jewish *self-defense bodies in Russia. In 1904 he joined Solomon *Schechter's inner circle and moved toward religious traditionalism. In Zionism he became a disciple and follower of Aḥad *Ha-Am, whom Magnes called "The Harmonious Jew." After the Kishinev pogroms he helped Cyrus *Sulzberger and Louis *Marshall in establishing the American Jewish *Committee. In 1908 he married Beatrice Lowenstein, the sister-in-law of Louis Marshall, and this brought him closer to the leading Jewish circles. At the same time he strengthened his ties with the East European Jews.

Magnes' shift toward religious traditionalism brought him to break with Temple Emanu-El. His unfulfilled demands for religious changes led him to resign in 1910. From 1911 to 1912 he was rabbi of B'nai Jeshurun, a leading Conservative congregation, after which he left congregational work altogether to devote himself to Jewish public service. However, Magnes' opposition to U.S. entry into World War I in 1917 out of pacifist convictions, and his activity in the peace movement during the war, undermined his leadership of a Jewish community firmly committed to the war and concerned over possible imputations of disloyalty. His brilliant U.S. Jewish communal career actually ended in 1917. In 1922 Magnes emigrated with his family to Palestine, where he continued his activities in establishing the Hebrew *University of which he was the chancellor (1925–35) and first president (1935–48) until his death. He was active in raising funds for the university, in securing the donation of several personal libraries, and in developing several of its major divisions, especially the Institute for Jewish Studies which was inaugurated in 1924, even before the official opening of the Hebrew University in 1925. The Hebrew University honored him first by publishing *Sefer Magnes* in 1938 and later by naming one of the Chairs of Bible and the press of the University after him, as well as by granting him and Chaim Weizmann the first honorary degrees of the university. With the beginning of World War II, in spite of his pacifistic outlook on life, he called for war against Nazi Germany, serving as chairman of the Supply Board Scientific Advisory Committee of the War. He also helped his life-long friend Henrietta *Szold in her Youth Aliyah work and became the chairman of an Emergency Council of Hadassah in Palestine, as well as the chairman of the Middle East Advisory Council of the *American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee which he had helped found in World War I. During World War II he helped Jews who escaped to Turkey from Nazi-occupied countries, became responsible for the direction of relief work amongst the Jews throughout the Orient. Out of his pacifist convictions and the belief that the Jews are not like all nations, he sought an accord with the Palestinian Arabs and entered the political arena with the conviction that Jewish-Arab accord is of the greatest importance not only for the peaceful building of the country but also for the Jewish spirit. He started his political agitation immediately after the 1929 disturbances (see Israel, State of: Historical *Survey), stating, "One of the greatest cultural duties of the Jewish people is the attempt to enter the promised land, not by means of conquest as Joshua, but through peaceful and cultural means, through hard work, sacrifices, love and with a decision not to do anything which cannot be justified before the world conscience" (Opening Speech of the Hebrew University Academic Year 1929/30). Magnes renewed his activities after the riots in 1936 and opposed the Royal Commission's suggestion for the partitioning of Palestine, always believing in the policy of establishing Palestine as a binational state and feeling that it was his personal mission to bring the Arabs and Jews together (see Berit *Shalom; Palestine Partition and Partition *Plans; *Palestine, Inquiry Commissions on). With this belief he carried on his political activities until his death in New York in 1948 while on a visit there. He was later reinterred in Jerusalem. A Judah L. Magnes Memorial Museum was set up in Oakland, California, in 1961, and later moved to Berkeley. Magnes' writings and speeches were collected in *War-Time Addresses 1917–1921* (1923), *Addresses by the Chancellor of the Hebrew University* (1936), and in *The Perplexity of the Times* (1946).

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[Lloyd P. Gartner / Daniel Efron]

MAGNES MUSEUM, JUDAH L. Located in Berkeley, in a century-old mansion about a mile from the University of California, the Magnes Museum contains the third largest collection of Judaica in the United States. The Museum was founded in 1962 in Oakland by the New York-born Jewish educator Seymour Fromer, with editor and writer Rebecca Camhi Fromer as co-founder, and moved to its current location four years later. It is named in honor of Judah L. Magnes, who was born in San Francisco in 1877 and raised in Oakland, the first native Californian to receive rabbinical ordination. Magnes was the founder and first president of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem and his friend and colleague Martin Buber became honorary chair of the museum soon after its inception.

During Seymour Fromer's 36-year tenure as museum director, and following his retirement in 1998, the museum has collected, preserved, and made available artistic, historical, and literary material reflecting Jewish life and culture throughout history. In 1968, the Siegfried Strauss Collection was acquired as the core of the museum's ceremonial art holdings, which have expanded to include one of the world's largest collections of Hanukah menorahs and Torah binders, costumes, and other textiles. The museum also rescued artifacts from endangered Jewish communities such as Czechoslovakia, Morocco, Egypt, and India.

Over the decades the museum has acquired thousands of prints, drawings, portfolios, and posters of Jewish interest including works by Hermann Struck, Ben Shahn, and Marc Chagall. It holds the works of painters such as Max Liebermann, Daniel Moritz Oppenheim, Toby Rosenthal, Lazar Krestin, Lesser Ury, Muriel Minkowski, Isadore Kaufman, and Raphael Soyer; and sculptors such as Elbert Weinberg and Harold Parris. In 1974, the museum won accreditation by the American Association of Museums, the first U.S. Jewish museum to receive such recognition, and three years later was a founding member of the Council of American Jewish Museums.

The museum is also a repository for historical documents of Jews in the American West. Its Western Jewish History Center, initiated in 1967 and directed for more than three decades by San Francisco State University Professor Moses Rischin, was the first regional Jewish history center in the U.S. It contains a comprehensive archival research library, including letters and diaries, organization reports and minutes, portraits and photographs, marriage and death certificates, and Anglo-Jewish newspapers published since 1857. In addition, the Western Jewish History Center has published more than a dozen books on Northern California Jewry: bibliographies, narrative histories, and personal memoirs. Through its Commission for the Preservation of Pioneer Jewish Cemeteries and Landmarks, the Museum has restored, and continues to maintain, seven Jewish Gold Rush cemeteries in the California Mother Lode in the foothills of the Sierra Mountains.

The Museum sponsored the Jewish-American Hall of Fame, which has minted medals annually in recognition of Jews who have made significant contributions to American life. Annual poetry, video, and photography competitions were established to showcase the work of contemporary artists and filmmakers. The Museum's Harry and Dorothy Blumenthal Rare Book and Manuscript Library has a significant collection of illuminated *ketukbot*, manuscripts, and printed materials relating to Jewish customs and ceremonies, and to Jews in India and the Karaites.

From its inception, the Magnes has made Holocaust studies one of its leading priorities and was one of the first museums to have a gallery devoted to the artifacts and art of the Shoah. In the mid-1960s, under the guidance of leading Oakland Rabbi Harold Schulweis, it established the Institute for the Righteous Acts, a center documenting and analyzing the altruistic behavior of rescuers of Jews during the Nazi Era. The museum has published numerous survivor memoirs and has emphasized the post-liberation period, with a publication and exhibit on the detention camp in Cypress, and several works on the Displaced Persons camps.

Drawing on its own collections and loans from the U.S., Europe, and Israel, the Magnes has maintained a regular schedule of art, history, and ethnographic exhibits on Jewish life and culture. The Jacques and Esther Reutlinger Gallery was built in 1981 to accommodate changing exhibits and associated educational programs.

Especially in the 1970s and 1980s, the museum was one of the key catalysts of a Jewish cultural renaissance in the Bay Area as Fromer nurtured many young Jewish scholars and artists. He provided studio and exhibition space for the revival of illuminated Ketubot, led by David Moss; he assisted Deborah Kaufman in founding and developing the first Jewish Film Festival; he commissioned the California Jewish historian Ava Kahn to create educational materials for schools; he provided the impetus to Fred Rosenbaum who founded the adult school Lehrhaus Judaica and wrote several books on local Jewish history published by the museum.

In 2002, a younger Jewish museum in San Francisco emphasizing contemporary art merged with the Magnes. But disagreements about the direction of the merged institution resulted in a de-coupling in about a year. The Magnes looks forward to erecting a new center in the growing arts district of downtown Berkeley.

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[Fred S. Rosenbaum (2nd ed.)]

MAGNIN, EDGAR FOGEL (1890–1984), U.S. Reform rabbi and communal leader. Magnin was born in San Francisco to a well-known mercantile family. He was ordained at Hebrew Union College (1914). After a year as rabbi in Stockton, California (1914), Magnin led Congregation B'nai B'rith, called from 1929 onward the Wilshire Boulevard Temple in Los Angeles, which grew under his leadership from 400 families to 2,000 to become one of the largest and most influential congregations in the country. During his tenure, the landmark building on Wilshire Boulevard that still serves as the home of his congregation was built and opened. His service to the congregation coincided with the dramatic expansion of Los Angeles Jewry in size and in influence. Outspoken, colorful, forceful, Rabbi Magnin was for many decades the unofficial voice and representative of the Los Angeles Jewish community in a variety of religious, governmental, social, educational, and cultural organizations and institutions and the leading voice of West Coast Reform Judaism. He was an early pioneer in Christian Jewish dialogue. During World War II he represented the Jewish Welfare Board and traveled to combat zones under the auspices of the National Conference of Christians and Jews. Within the Jewish community he was a leader in the Los Angeles Jewish Community Council, Cedars-Sinai Hospital, University Religious Conference, Los Angeles Hillel Council, Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion, and B'nai B'rith, among many others. Rabbi Magnin was a lecturer in history at the University of Southern California (1934–55) and at the California School of Hebrew Union College. The graduate school at HUC in Los Angeles is named the Edgar F. Magnin School of Graduate Studies. Deeply involved in political life, he delivered a prayer at the first inauguration of Richard M. Nixon in 1969. Author of *How to Lead a Richer and Fuller Life* (1951), he was columnist for the *Los Angeles Herald Examiner* and the Anglo-Jewish weekly *Heritage*. The street in front of the temple is name Edgar F. Magnin Square.

[Max Vorspan]

MAGNIN, MARY ANN COHEN (1849–1943), founder of I. Magnin and Company, a fashionable department store catering to an exclusive clientele in the western United States. An extraordinary businesswoman known for her fashion sense and insistence on quality, Magnin, the daughter of a rabbi, was born in Scheveningen, Holland, and emigrated to London with her family. In 1865 she married Isaac Magnin, a Dutch-born gilder and carver in the Great Synagogue of London. The couple had eight children, seven of whom were born in London. In the mid-1870s, in the wake of the California gold rush, the family journeyed around Cape Horn to San Francisco, where Isaac hoped to locate gilding work. Magnin, who had learned fine sewing and lace-trimming from her mother, began making baby clothes, lingerie, and bridal trousseaux to supplement the family's income. She opened a small store in Oakland, before moving her business to San Francisco, soon hiring seamstresses to keep up with orders. Renamed I. Magnin in 1877, the store relocated to the city's prime commercial district. Despite its name, Isaac Magnin, who died in 1907, was not involved in its management. As Magnin brought her sons into the business, merchandise selection expanded with fine women's wear from New York and Europe. Beyond the main San Francisco store, others were built across the western United States, including Los Angeles, Seattle, Oakland, Santa Barbara, and other fashionable locales. All stores were designed by respected architects and the buildings became instant landmarks. When her store was destroyed by fire following the 1906 earthquake, Magnin retrieved her merchandise from the spared Customs House and continued to sell garments from her undamaged home, hiring carriages to bring customers to her makeshift store. In this way, she clothed the new needy and made a substantial profit. Dubbed "Queen Victoria" by her family because of her regal demeanor, Magnin lived into her mid-nineties, daily inspecting the main San Francisco store until her death.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Magnin Family collection, Western Jewish History Center of the Judah Magnes Museum, Berkeley, California; C. Magnin and C. Robins. *Call Me Cyril* (1981); H. and F. Rochlin, "Jews on the Western Frontier: An Overview," pt. 2, in: *Arizona Highways* (Sept. 1985).

[Ava F. Kahn (2nd ed.)]

MAGNUS, English family. SIR PHILIP MAGNUS (1842–1933) was an educator and politican. Born in London, he was a minister of the West London Synagogue of British Jews (Reform) from 1866 to 1880, and lectured in applied mathematics at University College, London. In 1880 Magnus was appointed organizing secretary and director of the newly established City and Guilds of London Institute. He served on the Royal Commission whose report led to the Technical Education Act of 1884. Magnus was responsible for inclusion of a faculty of engineering at the reconstructed London University in 1889. From 1906 to 1922, he was the university's member of parliament, the first Jew to be elected for a university seat. He was knighted in 1886 and created a baronet in 1917. Magnus played a leading part in Anglo-Jewish affairs, as chairman of the council of the West London Synagogue and as a vice president of the *Board of Deputies of British Jews and the *Anglo-Jewish Association. He was violently opposed to Zionism and was one of the founders of the anti-Zionist League of British Jews. Sir Philip's wife KATIE MAGNUS (1844–1924) was a writer. The daughter of the Portsmouth goldsmith and communal figure Emanuel Emanuel, she published traditional and historical tales for young readers and her often reprinted *Outlines of Jewish History* (1886) was an especially successful evocation of the past. Her *Jewish Portraits* (1888) included studies of *Judah Halevi, *Heine, and Moses *Mendelssohn. Sir Philip and Lady Magnus' son, LAURIE MAGNUS (1872–1933), began his writing career mainly with studies of English poetry. In 1902 he wrote *Aspects of the Jewish Question*, which revealed him to be an anti-Zionist like his father. Four years later, in *Religio Laici Judaici* ("The Faith of a Jewish Layman"), he again propounded the view that Judaism was a religion and not a nationality. For 14 years, from its inception in 1917 to its suspension, he edited the anti-Zionist *Jewish Guardian*. He was active in Jewish communal life as a warden of the West London Reform Synagogue, a member of the council of Jews' College, London, and president of the Union of Jewish Literary Societies. His most important books were *Dictionary of European Literature* (1926) and *The Jews in the Christian Era and their Contribution to its Civilization* (1929). He was also a director of Routledge, the publishers. He married Dora (c. 1882–1972), the daughter of Sir Isidore *Spielmann. As Laurie Magnus shortly predeceased his father, the baronetcy devolved directly upon his son SIR PHILIP MONTEFIORE MAGNUS (1906–1988). Educated at Westminster school and Oxford, he was originally a civil servant before becoming a full-time writer. He was the author of a number of successful and highly regarded biographies: *Edmund Burke* (1939), *Sir Walter Raleigh* (1952), *Gladstone* (1954), *Kitchener* (1958), and *King Edward VII* (1964). He severed his connections with Judaism, and in 1951 formally added his wife's family name to his own, becoming Sir Philip Magnus-Allcroft. His best-selling biography of Gladstone is credited with restoring the reputation of the Victorians after its decline following World War I.

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[Vivian David Lipman / William D. Rubinstein (2nd ed.)]

MAGNUS, EDUARD (1799–1872), German painter. Born in Berlin, Magnus studied medicine, philosophy, and architecture and traveled in France, Italy, Spain, and England before turning to painting. Magnus was a member of the generation of painters who effected the changes of art in Berlin in the 1830s and 1840. Magnus' work reflects the transition in German art of the period from Biedermeier to Realism. Beginning as a Nazarene (see Philipp *Veit), he developed a romantic neoclassicism influenced by the French painter Ingres, and finally a realistic style. He had a good reputation as a portrait painter. His paintings differ from other portraits in the posture of his figures and in their natural facial expression, as seen in the 1845 portrait of Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy (private collection). Among his other subjects were the singer Jenny Lind, the sculptor Thorwaldsen, and members of the Prussian royal family. Magnus also left some paintings recording his travels. He perceived the talent of the young artist Adolf Menzel and encouraged him by buying his paintings. He was baptized as a child.

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[Jihan Radjai-Ordoubadi (2nd ed.)]

MAGNUS, HEINRICH GUSTAV (1802–1870), German chemist and physicist. Magnus, who was born in Berlin into a wealthy family, left Judaism. He began teaching at the University of Berlin in 1831. From 1845 to 1869 he was professor of physics and technology at Berlin, and in 1861 became rector of the university. His numerous discoveries include the first platinum-ammonia complex, Magnus' green salt

$(Pt(NH_3)_4)Pt\text{-}CI_4$ and the "Magnus Effect." The latter referred originally to projectiles which, subjected to rapid rotation, are turned aside from their original direction by forces which act upon them crosswise. It has important aerodynamic applications.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Huntress, in: *Proceedings of the American Academy of Arts and Science*, 81 (1952), 70f.

[Samuel Aaron Miller]

MAGNUS, MARCUS (also known as **Mordecai ben Manlin Dessau**, **Raubach**, and **Weisel**; d. 1736), court agent of the Prussian crown prince, later King Frederick William I. In his struggle for power in the *Berlin community, his great rival was Jost *Liebmann and later Liebmann's widow, Esther. In 1709 he became head of the community and in 1720 the spokesman for provincial Jewry before the Prussian authorities. After a protracted quarrel, in which both sides appealed to the king, Magnus persuaded the community to erect one public synagogue instead of the private ones maintained by Liebmann and the Veit and Riess families (1712/14). In 1722 he was appointed salaried permanent chief elder of the Berlin community together with Moses Levi *Gomperz, a position he held until his death.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: L. Geiger, *Geschichte der Juden in Berlin*, 1 (1871), 19, 21; H. Schnee, *Die Hoffinanz und der moderne Staat…*, 1 (1953), 68, 110–1; L. Stern, *Der preussische Staat und die Juden*, 1 (1962), index; 2 (1962); S. Stern, *The Court Jew* (1950), 181, 185.

[Meir Lamed]

MAGNUS, PAUL WILHELM (1844–1914), German botanist. His father, Meyer Magnus, was a member of the Berlin City Council. Under the influence of the botanist Paul *Ascherson, the young Magnus abandoned the thought of a medical career and turned to the study of botany. After obtaining his degree, Magnus was invited by the Ministry of Agriculture to participate in scientific surveys of the North and Baltic Seas. His studies of specimens brought back from these expeditions led to important contributions on the growth patterns of algae as well as to pioneering investigations of the chytrids, an obscure and still poorly understood group of fungi. Magnus joined the faculty of the University of Berlin in 1875 and was promoted to the rank of *Professor Extraordinarius* in 1880. In 1911 the honorary title of *Geheimer Regierungsrat* was conferred upon him. His most important work was concerned with the systematics and life histories of a number of parasitic fungi.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: G. Lindav, in: *Berichte der deutschen botanischen Gesellschaft*, 32 (1914), 32–63.

[Mordecai L. Gabriel]

MAGNUS, RUDOLPH (1873–1927), German physiologist and pharmacologist. Magnus, who was born in Brunswick, became one of the foremost co-workers of the famous physiologist Sir Charles Sherrington in Oxford. He investigated the mechanisms governing the posture and balance of the body and discovered its center of reflexes in the brainstem up to the midbrain. He became lecturer in pharmacology at Heidelberg until his appointment at Utrecht (1908), where he founded the first pharmacological institute in Holland. Magnus studied the pharmacology and physiology of the intestines, and worked on digitalis. In 1924 he collected the works of his institute in *Koerperhaltung; Koerperstellung, Gleichgewicht und Bewegung bei Saeugern*, with A. de Klein (1930); and *Lane Lectures on Experimental Pharmacology and Medicine* (1930). Other works are *Vom Urtier zum Menschen* (1908) and *Wilhelm Boelsche* (1909).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: S.R. Kagan, *Jewish Medicine* (1952), 215–6; I. Fischer, *Biographisches Lexicon*, s.v.

[Nathan Koren]

MAGNUS, SOLOMON WOLFF (1910–1992), Zambian lawyer and politician. Born in Russia, Magnus was taken to England as a child. He was educated at University College, London, and at Gray's Inn. Magnus practiced at the bar, and later served in British intelligence during World War II. He went to Zambia (Northern Rhodesia) in 1959 and in 1962 was elected to the Legislative Assembly. In 1968 he was made a High Court judge, serving until 1971. From the 1970s he again lived in England and was commissioner of the Foreign Compensation Commission from 1977 to 1983. He was active in Jewish affairs both in England and in Zambia, where he headed the Jewish community. Magnus was a prolific legal writer, especially on housing and tenant law, and was the author or coauthor of many standard legal textbooks.

MAGYAR ZSIDÓ SZEMLE ("Hungarian Jewish Review"), Hungarian Jewish monthly journal which was established in 1884 and appeared until 1948 in a total of 65 volumes. During the first decade each volume of *Magyar Zsidó Szemle* contained more than 600 pages, but the number was subsequently reduced; in the period of crisis following the two world wars only individual issues were published annually. The aims of the journal were: to serve as a platform for Hungarian Jewry; to deal in Hungarian with Jewish scholarly subjects; to publish sources of the history of Hungarian Jewry; to discuss problems of religious education; and to review works on Judaica and Jewish history published outside Hungary. The editorial board was headed by professors and directors of the Budapest rabbinical seminary: W. *Bacher (1884–90), L. *Blau (1891–1930), and D.S. *Loewinger (1931–48). The first associate editors did not belong to the seminary (J. Bánóczi, 1884–90; F. Mezey, 1891–95), but the subsequent ones were professors and lecturers at that institute: *M.Guttmann, H. Guttman, S. *Hevesi, F. Hevesi, D. Friedmann, J. Hahn, A. *Scheiber, and M. Weiss.

Attempts were made to transfer some of the many and varied subjects covered by the journal to periodicals devoted to special topics: *Yavneh*, which dealt with problems of religious education (1928–30, vols. 1–3), and *Moriah*, in which sermons were published (1930, vol. 1). Of the appendices to the journal, the most important is the Hebrew supplement

Ha-Ẓofeh me-Ereẓ Hagar which appeared from 1911 onward. Among its contributors were distinguished Judaic scholars in the world. Until the outbreak of World War I its first four volumes appeared as a supplement to *Magyar Zsidó Szemle*. Subsequently from 1921 to 1930 it was published separately as a quarterly, under the title of *Ha-Ẓofeh le-Ḥokhmat Yisrael*.

During this decade the circle of its scholarly contributors widened still further and the journal became a focal point of scholarship of prime importance in the Jewish world. After *Ha-Ẓofeh* ceased publication, its role was continued by *Ha-Soker*, which appeared between 1933 and 1940 (i–vi) under the editorship of D.S. Loewenger, with J.M. Guttman, F. Hevesi, and D. Friedmann as associate editors. Between the two world wars a change also took place in the contents of *Magyar Zsidó Szemle*, in which there began to appear articles not only in Hungarian but also in other European languages, as well as in Hebrew. The authors of these articles were Hungarian Jewish scholars, as well as Jewish and non-Jewish scholars from Hungary and other countries.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: S. Eden, in: S. Federbush (ed.), *Ḥokhmat Yisrael be-Ma'arav Eiropah*, 1 (1958), 554–9; S. Weingarten, *ibid.*, 2 (1963), 380–402.

[David Samuel Loewinger]

MAḤAL, abbreviation of *Mitnaddevei Ḥuẓ la-Areẓ* (Foreign Volunteers), the term used for volunteers from abroad, mainly Jews, who enlisted in the Israel Defense Forces (IDF) and participated in the *War of Independence, 1948/49. In practice the Maḥal section of the IDF Manpower Branch handled volunteers who were citizens or residents of countries outside Eastern and Central Europe. No reliable statistics are available, but it was officially estimated that Maḥal comprised about 5,000 volunteers. Of these, about 1,500 were from U.S.A. and Canada, about 500 from South Africa, and about 1,000 from Great Britain. The small Jewish community of Finland contributed the largest proportion of volunteers, a total of only 30, but 2% of its strength.

The first groups of volunteers were organized after the UN General Assembly recommended the partition of Palestine in November 1947. In some instances, the initiative was spontaneous and local. This was the case in Canada, where two Jewish ex-servicemen issued a call for volunteers for Israel. The same was true in Scandinavia. In South Africa, the movement was organized after the arrival of two representatives of the *Jewish Agency who contacted the South African Jewish servicemen's association. By the beginning of 1948, volunteer organizations were at work in most Jewish communities in the Western world. In many countries the activities were under cover: the official destination of the volunteers was France. A small number of volunteers, mainly with military skills urgently needed by the *Haganah, were smuggled into the country before the State of Israel was proclaimed. The majority of the volunteers were channeled through training camps in France and Italy, organized by the Haganah European Command (with headquarters in Paris) and staffed by instructors from Palestine. Most were World War II veterans, and some had been officers. Transport facilities across the Mediterranean were difficult to arrange.

On arrival, the Maḥal volunteers were absorbed in IDF units according to the need for reinforcements, not fighting in separate formations. They thus fought on all fronts. Their contribution was not in numbers but in quality and experience, most necessary in a new army whose fighting tradition was that of an underground movement. Maḥal's major contribution was to the air force, which was organized, commanded, and to a large degree, staffed by overseas volunteers and by foreign air force veterans on special contract. Maḥal volunteers also played an important part in staffing the army medical corps. Individual volunteers also made important contributions to the engineers' corps, the signal corps, the armored units, and the artillery. Approximately 150 Maḥal volunteers were killed in action, the majority from U.S.A. and Canada. About 300 remained in Israel or returned later to settle there, but the majority came, fought, and returned to their countries of origin.

[Herbert Pundik]

MAHALALEL BEN SHABBETAI HALLELYAH (d. after 1675), rabbi, kabbalist and Hebrew poet. Born at the beginning of the 17th century in Civitanova, Mahalalel suffered many hardships in his youth in Italy as a result of which he seems to have been compelled to wander to various places. Before 1660, he was appointed rabbi of Ancona. He was known primarily for his collection of poems and *piyyutim, Hallelyah*, recited in synagogues on Sabbaths and festivals. This collection also included prayers which were kabbalistic in spirit. Mahalalel and his community were ardent believers in *Shabbetai Ẓevi even after his apostasy in 1666. Two completely different versions of his hymn to Shabbetai Ẓevi and his prophet, *Nathan of Gaza, appear in *Hallelyah*, one version, apparently, composed before and the other after the apostasy. Some of the poems from this collection were published by S. Bernstein (see bibliography). From those of Mahalalel's letters which were also included in this collection and published in part by Bernstein, it seems that he had close ties with the great contemporary scholars in Italy. The following works by him remain in manuscript: *Kodesh Hillulim*, a commentary on the Pentateuch, and *Hallel Gamur*. Sixty-eight halakhic rulings, his responsa, are included in manuscripts (Mantua, Municipal Library, Ms. 88; Ferrara, Talmud Torah, Ms. 20/1).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: S. Bernstein, in: *Mizraḥ u-Ma'arav*, 3 (1929), 200–2; idem, in: HUCA, 7 (1930), 497–536; idem: *Mi-Shirei Yisrael be-Italyah* (1939), 66–73, 154–6; M. Wilensky, in: *Sinai*, 25 (1949), 66; G. Scholem, *Shabbetai Ẓevi*, 2 (1957), 404f.; idem, in: *Sefer ha-Yovel Z. Wolfson* (1965), 225–41.

[Abraham David]

MAHALLA AL-KUBRA, town in Lower Egypt, halfway between *Alexandria and *Damietta. There was a flourishing Jewish community in Mahalla al-Kubra under the *Fatimids. Yosef ha-Yerushalmi, who stayed in Mahalla al-Kubra for a short time, sent a letter to this community at the end of the 11th century. The community in Mahalla al-Kubra is noted in the Ebiatar Gaon scroll from the second half of the 11th century. *Benjamin of Tudela, the 12th-century traveler, relates that he found 500 Jews living there (E.N. Adler (ed.), *Jewish Travellers* (1930), 74). According to a list of contributions to ransom Jewish prisoners, the sum donated by the Mahalla community in the middle of the 12th century was the largest of the Delta communities (Mann, Egypt, 2 (1922), 290). Many documents written in Mahalla during the 12th and early 13th centuries have been found in the Cairo **Genizah*. The Jews of Mahalla were engaged in handicrafts and commerce, such as the silk trade. According to a marriage *takkanah*, in 1187, R. Peraḥyah b. Joseph was *dayyan* in Mahalla. The community developed after the great fire in Fustat in 1168. Rabbi Ḥayim ben Hananel ben Abraham al-Amshafti settled there after the fire. He was a famous physician and served also in the Fatimid court. Joseph *Sambari, the 17th-century Egyptian chronicler, mentions the *Sefer Torah* in the synagogue of Mahalla, which was read only on the New Moon and on which people took the oath (Neubauer, Chronicles, 1 (1887), 119). A document from the year 1726 reports that the local Jews were ruled by the Jewish leaders of the Cairo community. A document from 1772 notes the *gabbai* of the synagogue was the leader of the community. The *shoḥet* Isaac ben Solomon Cohen Yadi'a Karmon was also a *melammed*, *sofer*, and cantor. In 1729 the leader of the community was the Spanish Rabbi Abraham Zadik. In this century the Spanish congregation was wealthier than the Must'arab congregation. Abraham Zadik was a merchant. He obtained a ruling from the Muslim court of law allowing for the restoration of the synagogue in Mahalla. In the 19th century the community sent part of its income to the community of Cairo. In 1896 the community paid money to the representative of the Vizier Ahmad, according to local tradition to pay for the use of their synagogue. According to popular tradition, the tomb of R. Ḥayyim ibn al-Amshatī is situated under the synagogue and pilgrimages (Arabic *ziyāra*) were held there every year on the first day of Iyyar. According to Jacob *Saphir (*Even Sappir*, 1 (1866), 21b), in the middle of the 19th century there were 20 Jewish families in the town. As was the case with other Egyptian Jewish communities, Mahalla's Jewish population increased considerably at the end of the 19th century, and by 1897 there were 200 Jews there. When the Zionist movement spread in the beginning of the 20th century, the Jews of Mahalla established a Zionist association. In 1901 the rabbis of Cairo declared their new *kiddushin* regulation in Mahalla al-Kubra. The Jewish population fell to 91 by 1927, and further declined to ten families by 1937. In 1932 Israel Ben-Ze'ev visited the place and found there an old cemetery from the time of Maimonides. For many generations this cemetery was the cemetery of the Delta Jews. In the Jewish ghetto he found a few old buildings and a synagogue. In the beginning of the 20th century the ghetto was closed at night.

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[Eliyahu Ashtor / Leah Bornstein-Makovetsky (2nd ed.)]

MAHANAIM (Heb. מַחֲנַיִם), locality east of the Jordan which was named by Jacob before he crossed the Jabbok on his way to *Penuel; according to the etiological version in Genesis 32:3, he named it "God's camp" after he saw the angels of God there. It was on the border between the territories of the half-tribe of Manasseh and of the tribe of Gad (Josh. 13:26, 30); it also appears as a levitical city in Gad (Josh. 21:38; I Chron. 6:65). After the disastrous battle of Mt. Gilboa, Abner son of Ner, captain of Saul's army, took Ish-Bosheth, Saul's son, to Mahanaim and established it as the capital of the dynasty of Saul (II Sam. 2:8); from Mahanaim he started out on his ill-fated expedition to Gibeon and to it he later returned (2:12, 29). It was also chosen by David as his capital during Absalom's rebellion; here he received supplies from Barzillai and other Gileadites (17:24, 27), set out for battle with the rebels, and received the news of Absalom's death. It appears for the last time in the Bible as the capital of Solomon's seventh district with Ahinadab the son of Iddo as its governor (I Kings 4:14). In Shishak's list of conquered towns, it occurs as one of the cities captured during his campaign in the fifth year of Rehoboam. All sources point to its location in the vicinity of the Jabbok in central Gilead, but its exact identification is disputed. The earliest identification of the place with Khirbat al-Makhna 2.5 mi. (4 km.) north of Aijalon, following Estori ha-Parḥi (13th century), has been discarded by modern scholars. Dalman was the first to point to the twin site of Tulūl al-Dhahab on the Jabbok; Glueck, however, would look there for Penuel. Aharoni suggests that the western mound of Tulūl al-Dhahab is Mahanaim and that the eastern mound is Penuel. De Vaux and Noth suggest Tell al-Ḥajaj, uphill and to the south of the Jabbok.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Glueck, in: AASOR, 18/19 (1939), 232–5; EM, s.v. (incl. bibl.); Aharoni, Land, index.

[Michael Avi-Yonah]

MAḤANAYIM (Heb. מַחֲנַיִם; "Two Camps," allusion to Gen. 32:3 and other verses, although biblical *Mahanaim was in Transjordan), kibbutz in northern Israel in the Ḥuleh Valley, affiliated with Ha-Kibbutz ha-Me'uḥad. First founded as a moshavah for Orthodox Jews in 1898, but soon abandoned. In 1902, the *Jewish Colonization Association (ICA) settled a small group there whose economy was to be based on tobacco cultivation. The attempt failed, as did another plan to settle Jews from the Caucasus on the site to raise beef cattle. A further attempt was made in 1918, when a laborers' group set out to establish a moshav there. Finally, in 1939, the present kibbutz was established, when the Jewish institutions stepped up settlement on the land as a reply to the British *White Paper (1939). In 1970 Maḥanayim's economy was based on intensive farming. At the outset of the 21st century its economy included a few farming branches and industry based on Diuk Technology, a leading manufacturer of building profiles and metal components for solar heaters. In addition, Mahanayim had guest rooms and an interest in a nearby tourist site. Also nearby was the Maḥanayim airfield, servicing the northeastern part of the country. In the mid-1990s, the kibbutz population was approximately 440, declining to 361 in 2002.

[Efraim Orni / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

MAHER SHALAL HASH BAZ (Heb. מַהֵר שָׁלָל חָשׁ בַּז), traditional vocalization of the name which, according to Isaiah 8:3–4, *Isaiah was commanded by the Lord to give to the son who was born to him during the Aramean Ephraimite war against Judah (734/3–732 B.C.E.), with the explanation that "before the lad is able to call 'father!' and 'mother!' the wealth of Damascus and the spoils of Samaria shall be carried off before the king of Assyria." Since the four words express twice the idea of speed and booty, it is easy to understand how the name can signify that, but the traditional vocalization leaves the parallelism imperfect; for according to it the words mean literally "Hurry, spoil! Booty has rushed." It therefore seems probable that either the vocalization of the third word is to be corrected to *ḥush*, in which case the name will mean, literally, "Hurry, spoil! Rush, booty!" or the vocalization of the first word is to be corrected to *mihar*, yielding the literal sense, "Spoil has hurried, booty has rushed." Such prophetic namings as portents of the future notoriously not only portend the future but help to bring it about, exactly like other prophetic acts that symbolize what they predict (see *Prophecy). Accordingly, the writing involving the four words in 8:1–2 is also intended at once to portend and to effectuate the early plundering of Damascus and Samaria by the Assyrians; on some problems of detail, see Isaiah A, Panel 3, Field A.

[Harold Louis Ginsberg]

MAHLER, ARTHUR (1871–1916), classical archaeologist and Zionist parliamentarian. Born in Prague, from 1902 Mahler was a professor of classical archaeology at the German University in Prague. He joined the Zionist Movement at the beginning of the 20th century, and in the elections of 1907 he was elected, together with A. Stand and H. Gabel, to the Austrian parliament on a pro-Zionist ticket. Together they established the Jewish Club headed by B. Straucher, which was the first of its kind in parliamentary history. Because of the Austrian government's intrigues and the influence of Jewish assimilationists, however, the pro-Zionist list lost the 1911 elections. Mahler then left Prague and settled in Vienna.

[Getzel Kressel]

MAHLER, EDUARD (1857–1945), Hungarian Orientalist, mathematician, and astronomer. Mahler was born in Cziffer, Hungary. In 1882 he became assistant to the astronomer Theodor Oppolzer at the Vienna Observatory and, in 1885, assistant at the Institute of Weights and Measures. The same year he published his *Astronomische Untersuchungen ueber die in der Bibel erwaehnte aegyptische Finsterniss* and *Astronomische Untersuchung ueber die in hebraeischen Schriften erwaehnten Finsternisse*. ("Astronomical Researches on the Egyptian Darkness Account in the Bible" and "Astronomical Research on the Accounts of Darkness in the Hebrew Scriptures"). He had already written some important mathematical studies, particularly on the theory of surfaces, but his interest turned more and more to astronomy and chronology of the ancient Orient, as is evident in his *Biblische Chronologie und Zeitrechnung der Hebraeer,* "Biblical Chronology and the Hebrews' Time-Reckoning" (1887) and his translation of and commentary on Maimonides, *Kiddush ha-Ḥodesh* (1889). In 1896 Mahler went to Budapest as assistant at the Institute of Trigonometry. Two years later he became assistant keeper in the department of archaeology of the Hungarian National Museum and also began lecturing on Oriental history and languages at Budapest University; in 1914 he was appointed professor there. In 1912 he became director of the newly founded Egyptological Institute and, in 1922, director of the Oriental Institute. Mahler explored the date of the Exodus and tried to demonstrate that the biblical data relating the Exodus are accurate in *Der Pharao des Exodus*, "The Pharaoh of the Exodus" (1896), and in various articles. He wrote the "Bibel-Babel" controversy, on the *Elephantine documents, and on calendar reform. Further chronological studies culminated in his classic *Handbuch der juedischen Chronologie* (1916, repr. 1967), in which he established the systems of the different Jewish calendars and chronologies in the light of ancient Near Eastern and medieval reckonings. He also provided comparative tables which make possible the conversion of a date in one system to the corresponding date in another system, especially the Christian calendar. Mahler later took up the problem of the Easter date and that of Jesus' death. He was associated with the excavations of an old Roman settlement at Dunapentele, where evidence for the earliest presence of Jews in Hungary was discovered.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Jubilee Volume… E. Mahler* (1937), incl. bibl.

MAHLER, GUSTAV (1860–1911), composer and conductor. Born in Kalischt, Bohemia, Mahler began his career as a conductor of operettas in Bad Hall. He rose through positions in Ljubljana, Olomouc, Kassel, Prague, Leipzig, Budapest, and Hamburg and progressed to become, in 1897, the director of the Vienna Court Opera. (He had to convert to Catholicism to secure this position and was baptized in the spring of 1897.) His tenure in Vienna brought the opera to a level of artistic achievement previously unknown there. However, he resigned in 1907 because of hostile intrigues. His remaining winters were spent in New York where he conducted the Metropolitan Opera and the New York Philharmonic. He died in Vienna.

Mahler, although one of the most popular symphonic composers today, was overshadowed as a composer in his lifetime by his successes as a conductor. His attempts to compose opera were abortive despite his genius as opera director. His libretto *Ruebezahl* survives, without music, and unpublished. Though no opera by Mahler exists, his sense of musical drama is evident in his ten symphonies and his "symphony in songs," *Das Lied von der Erde*. Four of the symphonies contain substantial vocal sections; in fact, the Eighth is a gigantic choral work. Mahler did not live to complete his Tenth Symphony; however, Deryck Cooke's "performing version" has been widely accepted as an authentic presentation. Mahler's songs, often written to folk texts, show deep understanding of the voice. Many themes from the songs were reworked in the symphonies. The most important song cycles are *Lieder eines fahrenden Gesellen* (1884) and *Kindertotenlieder* (1900–02).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: MGG; Grove, Dict; Riemann-Gurlitt; Baker, Biog Dict; O. Klemperer, *Minor Recollections* (1964), 9–41; A.M. Mahler, *Gustav Mahler, Memories and Letters* (1968); B. Walter, *Gustav Mahler* (1970); D. Mitchell, *Gustav Mahler: The Early Years* (1958); D. Newlin, *Bruckner-Mahler-Schoenberg* (1947, rev. ed. 1971).

[Dika Newlin]

MAHLER, MARGARET (**Schoenberger**; 1897–1985), child psychiatrist and psychoanalyst. Born in Sopron, Hungary, in the early 1930s she directed in Vienna the first psychoanalytically oriented child guidance clinic. In 1938 she settled in New York and in 1941 was appointed associate in psychiatry at Columbia University College of Physicians and Surgeons. In 1955 she was appointed clinical professor of psychiatry at the Albert Einstein College of Medicine. She was a training analyst at the New York Psychoanalytic Institute and in 1957 became the director of research of Masters Children's Center, where parallel studies of psychotic and normal children and their mothers are conducted. A comprehensive summary of Mahler's work of the 1940s appeared in the *Psychoanalytic Study of the Child*, vols. 3–4, 1948. Two main concepts associated with her name are the symbiotic infantile psychosis and the separation-individuation process of normal development during the first three years of life. In her book *On Human Symbiosis*, vol. 1 (1968), Mahler describes the core of infantile psychosis as "faulty or absent individuation" resulting from a deficiency in the child's intrapsychic utilization of the mothering partner during the symbiotic phase.

In 1970 the Margaret S. Mahler Psychiatric Research Foundation was established in Wynnewood, Pennsylvania. Its objective is to increase understanding of children's psychological and emotional development, particularly in the separation-individuation process, and to transmit that information to parents, therapists, and childcare providers.

Other books by Mahler include *The Psychological Birth of the Human Infant* (1975) and *The Memoirs of Margaret S. Mahler* (with P. Stepansky, 1988).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: A. Grinstein, *Index of Psychoanalytic Writings*, 3 (1958), 1295–97, and 7 (1964), 3687–88. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** S. Kramer and S. Akhtar (eds.), *Mahler and Kohut* (1994); J. McDevitt et al., *Separation-Individuation: Essays in Honor of Margaret Mahler* (1971).

[Miriam Ben-Aaron / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

MAHLER, RAPHAEL (1899–1977), historian. Mahler, who was born in Nowy Sącz, eastern Galicia, Poland, studied at the rabbinical seminary and the University of Vienna until 1922. He served as a teacher of general and Jewish history in Jewish secondary schools in Poland. In 1937 he immigrated to the United States and was a teacher in various educational institutions in New York. He was a member from his youth of the left Po'alei Zion party and was connected with *YIVO in its research studies and administration, both in Poland and in the U.S. In 1950 he went to Israel, where he lectured on the history of Israel at Tel Aviv University and in 1961 was appointed professor there. He wrote many studies on the history of the Jews in Yiddish, Polish, German, English, and, after going to Israel, chiefly in Hebrew. Among his works are the following: *Di Yidn in Amolikn Poyln* (New York, 1946, in the publication *Di Yidn by Poyln*); *Ha-Kara'im* (1946), on the Karaites; *Yidn in Amolikn Poyln in Likht fun Tsifern* (Warsaw, 1958); *Yehudei Polin bein Shetei ha-Milḥamot* ("Jews in Poland Between the Two World Wars," 1968). Among his articles is "*Torat Borochov ve-Shitato be-Yameinu Anu*" (in: *Ba-Derekh*, 1965). His major work, *Divrei Yemei Yisrael; Dorot Aḥaronim* ("History of the Jewish People in Modern Times"), has been published only in part: first part (on 1789–1815) in 4 vols. (1956–62), and the first volume (1970) of part two (on 1815–48). In his introduction to the work Mahler explains his theory of Jewish history in accordance with historical materialism, his division of Jewish history in the modern period in conformity with social and economic evolution, and the class war and changes of governments during these years. His scientific work is based upon an abundance of sources and a rich bibliography. In 1977 he was awarded the Israel Prize for contributions to the study of Jewish history.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Kressel, Leksikon, 2 (1967), 319; LYNL, 5 (1963), 393–7.

MAHLON AND CHILION (Heb. מַחְלוֹן and כִּלְיוֹן), the two sons of Elimelech and Naomi (Ruth 1:2ff.; 4:9–10). They were Ephrathites of Bethlehem who migrated to Moab, together with their parents, during a drought in the time of the Judges. After their father's death, the two brothers married Moabite women, Chilion marrying Orpah, and Mahlon, *Ruth. Both died childless. Their names have been taken to mean "sickness" and "destruction" and have been explained as symbolic of their untimely death. But Mahlon could be connected with *maḥol,* "dance," and Chilion with a word meaning "completion."

In the Aggadah

Mahlon and Chilion are identified with Joash and Saraph of I Chronicles 4:22, the different names indicating their characteristics and destiny. Joash was so called because he lost hope (from the root יאש, "to give up hope") of the messianic era; Saraph because he was condemned to be burned (from the root שרף, "to burn"); Mahlon, because he committed acts of profanation (from the root חלל, "to profane"); and Chilion because he was condemned by God to destruction (כלה "to destroy"; BB 91b). They sinned in leaving Ereẓ Israel (BB 91a), and in that they neither proselytized their wives nor ensured that they performed ritual immersion (Ruth R. 2:9). Before they died, they were rendered penniless (Ruth R.2:10).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Noth, Personennamen, 54, 249; Ginzberg, Legends, 4 (1925), 31; 6 (1925), 189; Y. Ḥasida, *Ishei ha-Tanakh* (1964), 258–9.

MAH NISHTANNAH (Heb. מַה נִּשְׁתַּנָּה; "What is different?"), first words of the four questions asked at the Passover *seder* service. The questions come at the beginning of the recital of the *Haggadah and are usually asked by the youngest participant. The first sentence reads: "Why is this night different from all other nights?"

According to the Ashkenazi rite, the questions come in the following order: (1) Why on this night is only *maẓẓah* ("unleavened bread") eaten? (2) Why are bitter herbs consumed? (3) Why are herbs dipped twice (in salt water and in *ḥaroset*) during the *seder* meal? (4) Why do we sit reclined at the *seder* table? The text of the answers "We were slaves unto Pharaoh in Egypt…," follows the set of four questions. The reply is usually made by the father, or the person conducting the *seder.*

The *Mah Nishtannah* dates back to mishnaic times (Pes. 10:4) and originated in contemporaneous dining customs (manners and sequence) at festive meals. The questions were made part of the *seder* celebration as an introduction and reminder to the father to fulfill the biblical injunction: "And thou shalt tell thy son in that day, saying: it is because of that which the Lord did for me when I came forth out of Egypt" (Ex. 13:8; see also Ex. 13:14, 15). The Mishnah enumerates four questions to be asked during the *seder* (Pes. 10:4); the third, "Why do we eat only roasted meat [of the paschal sacrifice]?" was omitted after the Destruction of the Temple and the consequent cessation of sacrifices, and for it was substituted another question which is not mentioned in the Mishnah (Why do we recline?). The Sephardi ritual retained the geonic order of the four questions: (1) dipping, (2) unleavened bread, (3) bitter herbs, (4) reclining.

In the geonic literature (and as late as *Rashi and *Maimonides, Yad, *Ḥameẓ u-Maẓẓah*, 8:2) the *Mah Nishtannah* was probably recited by the person conducting the *seder* and not asked by the children. Where there is no child present at the *seder* table, the questions should be asked by the housewife, and if only men participate, they must ask each other, even if they are learned scholars (Pes. 116a). The *Mah Nishtannah* questions form part of the *Haggadah* ritual of all trends and segments in Judaism, including Reform.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: E.D. Goldschmidt; *Haggadah shel Pesaḥ* (1960), 10–13; J. Levy, *A Guide to Passover* (1958), 27, 31.

MAḤOZA, town on the River Tigris (Ber. 59b), on the bank of the Nahar Malka (Fluvius Regum), one of the canals connecting the Euphrates with the Tigris. Maḥoza was a suburb of Be-Ardashir, situated on the left bank of the Tigris, and of the town of Ctesiphon, situated on its right bank (Er. 57b). Ctesiphon, established by Seleucus Nicator, the founder of the Seleucid dynasty about 300 B.C.E., was destroyed by the Roman commander Avidus Cassius in 165 C.E. On its ruins Ardashir I (226–240 C.E.) erected a new city after his name, the Be-Ardashir mentioned occasionally in the Talmud. Both cities served as the capital. Maḥoza's importance derived also from the fact that it was situated on a central trading route through which caravans passed, as well as considerable merchandise which passed on the rivers. The Jews of Maḥoza took a very active part in the commercial life, both within the town (BB 29b) and beyond it (Git. 6a). The merchants were very successful. They ate well (Shab. 109a), drank much wine (Ta'an. 26a), and were hedonists (RH 17a). Of the women of Maḥoza it is related that they were lazy (Shab. 32b) and wore many ornaments (BK 119a). Among the Jews of Maḥoza were also successful farmers. Some of them possessed fields and orchards, irrigating their fields from the waters of the Tigris (Ber. 59b; Ket. 67a). They reared cattle (Er. 26a; BB 36a, Rashbam ad loc.) and also traded in grain (Git. 73a). A Jewish settlement in Seleucus and Ctesiphon during the first century C.E. is mentioned by Josephus (Ant., 18:310ff.).

Maḥoza is mentioned for the first time as a center of study after the destruction of the academy of *Nehardea in 259 (*Iggeret R. Sherira Gaon*, ed. by B.M. Lewin (1921), 82). Maḥoza attained the height of its fame after the death of *Abbaye in 338 when the academy of Pumbedita together with its scholars moved to Maḥoza, where Rava, who headed the academy for 14 years from 338–352, dwelt (*ibid.*, 88f.). During this period Maḥoza had a considerable Jewish population. They constituted the majority of its inhabitants and Abbaye was surprised that there was no **mezuzah* on the city gate (Yoma 11a). It also contained many proselytes (Kid. 73a). Because of Maḥoza's proximity to Be-Ardashir, Rava had close relations with the government (see *Shapur II). When the emperor Julian invaded Babylon in 363, Maḥoza was destroyed. However, on his death and the withdrawal of the Romans, it was rebuilt. Maḥoza declined as a Jewish settlement in the second half of the fifth century as a result of the uprising of the Nestorian Christians.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Neubauer, Géogr, 356f.; A. Berliner, in: *Jahres-Bericht des Rabbiner-Seminars zu Berlin* (1882–83), 39–43; J. Obermeyer, *Die Landschaft Babylonien* (1929), 161–78. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** B. Eshel, *Jewish Settlements in Babylonia during Talmudic Times* (1979), 141–44.

[Moshe Beer]

MAH TOVU (Heb. מַה טֹּבוּ; "How goodly"), the opening words of a prayer recited by Ashkenazi Jews upon entering the synagogue. The initial words are a quotation from Numbers 24:5. The remainder of the prayer consists of Psalms 5:8; 26:8; 69:14; and 95:6 (with Ps. 95:6 modified from the plural to the singular form). The Talmud interprets the "tents" and "dwellings" of Numbers 24:5 to refer to synagogues and schools (Sanh. 105b), and the "time of grace" mentioned in Psalms 69:14, to mean the time of public worship (Ber. 8a). At one time, the rabbis apparently intended to include Balaam's blessing of the children of Israel (Num. 22–24) in the recitation of *Shema; however, they decided that it was too lengthy for the congregation (Ber. 12b).

Sephardi Jews recite Psalms 5:8 on entering the synagogue, and Psalms 5:9 on leaving.

See *Liturgy; *Shaḥarit.*

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Elbogen, Gottesdienst, 87, 526; Idelsohn, Liturgy, 73f.; E. Levy, *Yesodot ha-Tefillah* (1952^2), 76, 131.

MAḤZIKE HADAS (**Mahazikei ha-Dat**), organization in Galicia and Bukovina, representing the first attempt of the Orthodox to unite for political action in order to foster its beliefs in the sphere of Jewish social life. The organization was initiated by a meeting of the larger Jewish communities which was convened by *Shomer Israel in Lvov (Lemberg), in 1878, in connection with their opposition to the founding of a rabbinical seminary and to the organizational changes in the communities. The Maḥzike Hadas society was founded primarily to ward off the dangers that lay in such new plans. It was headed by Simon *Sofer (Schreiber) of Cracow (son of the Ḥatam Sofer) and Joshua Rokeaḥ, the rabbi of *Belz. The founding convention took place on March 13, 1879. There the statutes of the new organization were determined and the bimonthly *Maḥzikei ha-Dat* which appeared in both Hebrew and in Yiddish and which was directed against the publication *Izraelita was founded. The organization came out with a special list of candidates for the elections of the Austrian parliament of 1879. Of the four candidates it put forward only one, Simon Sofer, was elected, Sofer joined the "Polish club" in opposition to the Jewish assimilationist representatives. In 1882 the organization convened a large conference which was attended by 200 rabbis and 800 representatives of communities. The purpose of the conference was to protect the religious character of the communities from the reform tendencies of the progressives. The conference passed a resolution that only Jews observing the precepts of the Shulḥan Arukh were to be granted full voting rights for communal elections. The death of Simon Schreiber in 1883 temporarily weakened the movement, but in 1908 the rabbi of Belz renewed its vigor by publishing a proclamation *Kol Maḥazikei ha-Dat* which denounced any attempt to introduce a progressive spirit into the communities according to the patterns of Western Europe or, under the influence of Zionism and socialism, to inject into them a secular national content. The rabbi of Belz also denounced the efforts of the Vienna community to set up a central union for Austria. After World War I, when Poland became independent, a section of the Orthodox community, under the influence of the rabbi of Belz, organized an independent political party, calling itself Maḥzike Hadas. The party was founded at a convention which was attended by representatives from 100 communities and which took place in Grodek Jagiellonski (Gorodok), on Dec. 22, 1931. Its influence was chiefly felt throughout Galicia as a rival to *Agudat Israel.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: N.M. Gelber (ed.), in: EG, 4 (1953), 310ff.; M. Busak, in: A. Bauminger et al. (eds.), *Sefer Kraka* (1959), 103–7; Z. Fischer-Schein (Zohar), *Be-Sod Yesharim ve-Edah* (1969), 125; I. Schiper (ed.), *Zydzi w Polsce odrodzonej*, 1 (1932), 410; 2 (1933), 258.

[Avraham Rubinstein]

MAḤZOR (Heb. מַחֲזוֹר, *maḥazor*; "cycle"), festival prayer book. The word is similar to the term *Maḥzarta* of the Syrian Church, which means a breviary, and was originally applied to the poetical insertions to be recited in prayers throughout the yearly cycle. In Ashkenazi usage, it came to refer distinctly to the festival prayer book, as distinct from the *siddur* (the daily prayer book). The term is also used by Sephardi Jews.

Mahzorim, Illuminated

Illuminated *maḥzorim* flourished in the Ashkenazi world throughout the 13th and 14th centuries, mainly in southwest Germany, in the Rhine valley, making their appearance soon after an authoritative "cycle" of prayers emerged. In the 15th century the fashion moved to northern Italy, where many Ashkenazim had settled, and influenced Italian Jewish illumination. While the Ashkenazi *siddur* contained the daily and personal prayers, both for home and synagogue, the *maḥzor* contains the synagogal communal prayers for the festivals and the seven special Sabbaths of the Jewish year. In the Italian rite, the term *maḥzor* embraced both the daily and festival prayers. Primarily intended for the use of the *ḥazzan*, the German *maḥzorim* are usually large – written in clear, bold letters – and contain a large selection of *piyyutim* ("liturgical poems") for each festival, offering the cantor a variety of choice. A large number of German *maḥzorim* are illuminated with initial-word panels and with illustrations of a ritual and textual nature. These *maḥzorim* were executed over a period of some 100 years, from the mid-13th to the mid-14th century.

The earliest surviving illustrated *maḥzor* manuscript of the 13th century is the two-volume codex of the Michael Collection in the Bodleian Library (Mss. Mich. 617 and Mich. 627), written in 1258 by Judah b. Samuel, called Seltman. Though it is not extensively illustrated it is important, since it proves that illuminated *maḥzorim* existed prior to this date. It was probably illuminated by a gentile, since the first initial-word panel was painted upside down, as though it was a Latin manuscript. However, despite this, the manuscript contains motifs which became traditional in later *maḥzorim* and which could not have been invented by gentiles. The finest examples of *maḥzorim* from the south of Germany are the first volume of the *Worms Maḥzor* of 1272 (see below); the *Laud Maḥzor* of about 1290 (Bodleian Library, Ms. Laud Or. 321); the *Leipzig Maḥzor* of about 1300 (see below); the *Dou-*

ble Maḥzor in Dresden (Saechsische Landesbibliothek, Ms. A 46a) and Breslau (State and University Library Cod. Or. I. 1); the *Tripartite Maḥzor* of about 1320 (Budapest, Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Ms. A. 384, British Museum, Add. Ms. 22413, and Bodleian Library, Ms. Mich. 619), and the *Darmstadt Maḥzor* of 1340 (Hessische Lands-und Hochschulbibliothek, Cod. Or. 13).

These *maḥzorim* illustrate both the development of style in southern Germany and the use of a special Jewish *iconography. An example of such development in both style and in motif is found in the distortion of human figures. In all manuscripts before 1300, the use of animal-headed people is consistent; in the *Leipzig Maḥzor*, people have birds' beaks instead of a nose and mouth; but the artists of the later *Tripartite Maḥzor* did not understand the reason for such distortions, and painted all the male figures with ordinary human heads and all the females with animal heads.

Southern German *maḥzorim* have a very wide range of text illustrations. Most of them begin with the prayers for the four special Sabbaths before Passover, continuing with Passover, the Feast of Weeks, the New Year, the Day of Atonement, and the Feast of Tabernacles. Four of the *megillot* ("scrolls") are also usually included in the *maḥzor* – sometimes placed together, at other times appended to the particular celebrations with which they were associated. The Book of Esther was usually written separately on a scroll, to be read at the festival of Purim.

Most German *maḥzorim* have illustrations of the signs of the zodiac for each of the verses of a *piyyut* in the prayer for dew recited on the first day of Passover (*Leipzig Maḥzor*, vol. 1, fol. 133; *Worms Maḥzor*, vol. 1, fol. 95v.; Ms. Mich. fols. 49–51). The signs of the zodiac are depicted in small medallions in the margin. In the *Worms* and the *Tripartite* manuscripts, the labors of the months are depicted in medallions next to the signs of the zodiac. Some specifically Jewish elements have developed in the zodiac illustrations, such as a bucket instead of Aquarius; in some cases a draw well is depicted instead of a mere bucket, and in some *maḥzorim* a kid is shown next to the well to illustrate both Capricorn and Aquarius, which are referred to in one verse of this *piyyut*. In one *maḥzor* (Bodleian Library, Ms. Opp. 161, fol. 84), 11 signs of the zodiac are depicted in one large roundel divided into 12 sections, similar to the arrangements of the signs of the zodiac in floor mosaics of early synagogues (e.g., Bet Alfa). This example may be an indication of a traditional way of depicting the astronomical zodiac *circulus*, which survived into the Middle Ages.

The illustration for the Feast of Weeks traditionally depicts Moses receiving the Tablets of the Law and giving them to the Israelites, who are standing at the foot of Mount Sinai (e.g., *Leipzig Maḥzor*, vol. 1, fol. 130v.; British Museum, Ms. Add. 22413, fol. 3v.; *Worms Maḥzor*, vol. 1, fol. 151). In the *Land Maḥzor* (fol. 127v.) the giving of the Law is combined with an illustration of Moses sprinkling the blood of the Covenant over the Israelites. In the *Leipzig Maḥzor* (vol. 1, fol. 130) the Israelites are standing as though within the mountain, illustrating the Midrash which states that God erected a mountain over the Israelites until they agreed to accept the Torah.

The second volume of an Ashkenazi *maḥzor* normally starts with the prayers for Rosh Ha-Shanah, illustrated by the sacrifice of Isaac, with the ram caught in a thicket by his horns. The sounding of the ram's horn (*shofar*) on New Year's day is a commemoration of God's covenant with Abraham at the time of the sacrifice (e.g., *Leipzig Maḥzor*, vol. 2, fols. 26v., 66; Bodleian Library, Ms. Laud Or. 321, fol. 184, and Ms. Reg. 1, fol. 207v.; *Double Maḥzor*, Breslau, fol. 46v.). In some *maḥzorim*, a horned and claw-footed devil is depicted next to a *shofar* blower, who sometimes supports his right foot on a three-legged stool in order to ward off the earthly influence of evil. This is in accordance with the common superstition that a three-point object keeps evil spirits away (e.g., Budapest, Ms. A. 388, vol. 2, fol. 12v.; Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Alliance Israélite Universelle). Openings of prayers from the Day of Atonement are usually illustrated by initial words and by parts of prayers written within full-page arches resembling doors, an allusion to the Gates of Mercy, now opened to accept the individual prayers of every Jew (e.g., *Leipzig Maḥzor*, vol. 2; Berlin, Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Ms. Or. Fol. 388, fol. 69; *Worms Maḥzor*, vol. 2; *Double Maḥzor*, Breslau, fol. 89).

The prayers for the Feast of Tabernacles are sometimes illustrated by a man holding the fruits of the Holy Land: the *lulav* ("palm branch"), the *etrog* ("citrus fruit"), *Hadas* ("myrtle"), and *aravah* ("willow").

Some *maḥzorim* are merely decorated and contain no illustrations at all. An example is the *Nuremberg Maḥzor* of 1331, which for six centuries was owned by the municipality of Nuremberg and is now in the Schocken Library in Jerusalem (Ms. 24100). Its large initial-word panel for the first day of Passover is decorated with foliage scrolls, grotesques, and an architectural top. In the 15th century, the illumination of large-sized *maḥzorim* was no longer fashionable. The smaller-sized illuminated prayer book which became more common continued to be called a *maḥzor*. One such example is the *Maḥzor of Rabbi Friedman of Ruzhin*. This mid-15th century eastern German prayer book was probably intended for use in the synagogue and at home by a wealthy member of the Jewish community. Though the system of illustration remained Ashkenazi, the decoration shows the influence of Italian motifs, evident in the marginal miniatures, initial-word panels, and human busts emerging from flowers. An example of the fusion of the two traditions is the *Schocken Italian Maḥzor* of 1441 (Ms. 13873), which is a large volume, written and decorated in Roman style, of the Roman rite, but with illustrations following the Ashkenazi tradition.

Most of the 15th-century Italian *maḥzorim* are personal rather than synagogal prayer books, stressing the daily prayers, and containing a *Haggadah* which was recited at home. They are therefore small, handy to carry to and from the synagogue, with the prayers arranged for the individual, starting with the daily and Sabbath prayers and the Festival ones. These illuminated small *maḥzorim* were not usually extensively illustrated;

besides the decorated openings of prayers, they contained fairly simple marginal pen drawings. Good early examples are those related to famous families of northern and central Italy. Such are *maḥzorim* executed at the order of Daniel b. Samuel ha-Rofe b. Daniel ha-Dayyan, one at Bertinoro in 1390 (Bodleian Library, Ms. Can. Or. 81) and another at Forli in 1393 (British Museum, Add. Ms. 26968). In these works, as in others done for the same patron, the tinted drawings are of Lombard style. A *maḥzor* from Pisa of 1397 ordered by another well-known patron, Jehiel b. Mattathias of the Beit-El family (Sassoon Ms. 1028), is in the same style. Some of the text illustrations in these *maḥzorim* resemble those of the traditional Ashkenazi ones: a horn-blower for the New Year; a *sukkah* for Tabernacles; the balance for Sabbath *Shekalim*; a crescent and star for Sabbath *Ha-Ḥodesh*; and more detailed illustrations for the Passover *Haggadah*.

The same system of illustration was also used by the Ashkenazi scribe and illuminator Joel b. *Simeon. Of the three *maḥzorim* executed in his workshop in the third quarter of the 15th century, the last was probably made for a woman, since it contains several marginal pen drawings of a ritual nature in which a lady called Maraviglia is the main character. Closely related to the Florentine style of Joel b. Simeon are some more elegant *maḥzorim* which have pen and colored decorations on almost every page. Such is the *Rothschild Maḥzor* of 1492 from Florence (Jewish Theological Seminary in New York, Ms. 03225), which was illuminated in three different styles and techniques, with elaborate illuminated opening pages, illustrations to each section, and tinted decorations on each page. Moses receiving the Tablets of the Law illustrating the opening to the mishnaic tractate *Avot* (fol. 139) is an example of the second kind. Other *maḥzorim* with a similar system of illustration are fairly common, though some are richer than others.

The *maḥzor* in the *Rothschild Miscellany*, Ms. 24, Israel Museum, Ms. 180/51, which has sumptuous Ferrarese illuminations from about 1470, consists of textual illustrations for each festival and prayers for special occasions. In fact, it contains a wealth of material illustrating almost every custom of daily life in a rich Jewish Renaissance household. No other manuscript equals the richness and scope of the illumination of this miscellany, though only a portion of its 473 leaves is a *maḥzor*. The *Pesaro Maḥzor* of 1480 (Sassoon Ms. 23), containing almost as many pages as the *Rothschild Miscellany*, consists only of a prayer book of Roman rite. Its borders are very richly decorated by a Ferrarese artist, but there are fewer text illustrations, mostly within a wreath in the lower part of the border.

Two of the outstanding Ashkenazi *Maḥzorim* are described in detail below.

The Leipzig Mahzor

(Leipzig, University Library, Ms. v. 1102) is the most sumptuous of the south German illuminated *maḥzorim* and has the most extensive array of text illustrations. Almost all the special Sabbaths, feasts, and festivals are illustrated. The first volume was written by Menahem, who decorated his name (fols. 113, 137) in the same way as Menahem the scribe who copied the *Birds' Head Haggadah* (see Illuminated *Haggadot). The second volume was copied by a scribe called Isaac. The two volumes were wrongly bound with additions and corrections in later dates. The giant manuscript was probably intended initially for a *ḥazzan* of a very rich community on the Upper Rhine. The first volume of the *Leipig Maḥzor* opens with a frontispiece representing Samson rending the lion, possibly an allusion to the phrase "Grow strong like a lion to fulfill the will of your Maker," sometimes referring to the *ḥazzan* (vol. 1, fol. 19). At the end of the short introductory prayers, there is a miniature depicting the *ḥazzan* standing covered with his *tallit* ("prayer shawl") in front of a marble pulpit, on which a large open book rests. This probably represents the first volume of the Leipzig manuscript. The second volume is shown in the hands of a young man wearing a Jewish hat, who is standing behind the *ḥazzan* accompanied by a bearded Jew (vol. 1, fol. 27). A man holding a scale is a common illustration for the Sabbath of *Parashat Shekalim*, referring to the payment of the annual half-shekel for the Temple sacrifices (Ex. 30:11–16).

Most illustrations in the *Leipzig Maḥzor* are common to other south German *maḥzorim*, such as the tall tree from which Haman and his ten sons are hanging (vol. 1. fol. 51v.), illustrating a *piyyut* for Purim; a red heifer illustrates *Parashat Parah* (1, 53v); the sun and moon illustrate *Parashat ha-Ḥodesh* (1, 59); a betrothed couple sitting on a bench illustrates a *piyyut* for the "Great Sabbath" before Passover, alluding to the Torah as the bride of the people of Israel (1, 64). The Egyptians pursuing the Israelites illustrate the Passover Eve prayer (1, 72v.–73), the signs of the zodiac the prayer for dew recited on the first day of Passover (1, 85–87), and Moses receiving the tablets of the Law illustrating Shavuot (1, 130v.). An additional illustration (1, v. 131) depicts the contemporary custom of initiating children into the study of the Torah. The child is brought to his teacher's lap to lick the honey-covered alphabet tablet in order to sweeten his introduction to the study of the Torah, while the other children, in celebration of his initiation, receive eggs and cakes. The first volume ends with the *kinot* ("dirges") for the Ninth of Av, which are hardly ever illustrated. As is common in Ashkenazi *maḥzorim*, the second volume begins with the prayers for Rosh Ha-Shanah, with illustrations of the *akedah and the ram caught in a thicket. The opening prayers for the Day of Atonement are illustrated with the customary arches resembling doors, alluding to the Gates of Mercy (2, fols. 74v., 85, 164v.), but one of the arches has in the lower margin the additional midrashic illustration of Abraham being saved from the fire of the Chaldeans because of his belief. The feast of Sukkot is illustrated by a man holding the prescribed "four species," and in the lower margin the legendary beasts, the leviathan and behemoth are fighting, an event which is supposed to take place before the end of time. The style of the *Leipzig Maḥzor* is related to south German illumination around 1300. A fascimile of 68 illuminated pages from the *Leipzig Maḥzor*, with an introductory volume, was published in 1964.

The Worms Mahzor

(Jerusalem, Jewish National and University Library, Ms. Heb. 4781/1–11) consists of two unrelated volumes, which were kept together in the Worms Synagogue from 1578. The fact that the page size, text area, and style of script are different in each volume, and that Ecclesiastes is repeated in both, indicates that they were executed independently. Only the first volume is dated, through a colophon (fol. 34v) stating that it was completed on Jan. 1, 1272, written by Simḥah b. Judah for his uncle R. Baruch b. Isaac. Another entry mentions the scribe, his father Judah of Nuremberg, and Shemaiah the Frenchman, who may have been the artist. Neither volume was intended for the Worms community, since they both contain *piyyutim* and prayers which are not included in the Worms rite while one *piyyut* was common in the rite of Mainz. The first volume of the *Worms Maḥzor* is one of the earliest dated illuminated *maḥzorim* from southern Germany. Associated with the colored initial-word panels are many text illustrations for the special Sabbaths, Passover, and Shavuot. The illustration for *Parashat Shekalim* depicts a man holding a balance, weighing the half-shekels for the payment in the Temple (fol. 39v.) Although the illumination of the *Worms Maḥzor* is somewhat crude, it resembles south German Latin illumination of the second half of the 13th century. Another link with the south German Jewish school of illumination is the style of the animals, birds, and distorted heads of human figures. The second volume contains a very few decorations of a somewhat later south German style.

[Bezalel Narkiss]

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MAḤZOR VITRY, halakhic-liturgical composition by Simḥah b. Samuel of Vitry, a small town in the department of Marne, France. Simḥah was an outstanding pupil, or even a colleague, of Rashi and apparently died during his teacher's lifetime (i.e., before 1105 – see Gross, Gallia Judaica, 196). His son Samuel married Rashi's granddaughter and he was the grandfather of the famous tosafist, Isaac of *Dampierre (Urbach, Tosafot, 115). Like his colleague Shemaiah, Rashi's secretary, he occupied himself with the arrangement of his master's halakhic rulings, and later authorities sometimes confused their names. There is however no basis for the assumption of some scholars that there existed two works, one by Shemaiah and one by Simḥah, both entitled *Maḥzor Vitry* (Urbach, *ibid.*, 33). *Maḥzor Vitry* belongs to the group of works from the school of Rashi (e.g., the *Pardes, Sefer ha-Orah, Siddur Rashi*) which are based upon Rashi's rulings and usages, but which are expanded with additions from other authorities, sometimes even discussing and criticising their views, in order to defend those of Rashi. *Maḥzor Vitry* is in the form of a halakhic-liturgical work, the purpose of which was to give the halakhic rulings of the liturgy for the whole circle (*maḥzor*) of the year, weekdays, Sabbaths, and festivals, and connect them with the accepted formula of the prayers. The fact that it also includes laws of Sabbath, *eruv, marriage, and ritual slaughter makes it wider in scope than the *siddurim* of *Amram and Saadiah *Gaon, which were also sent to various communities at their request. The *Maḥzor Vitry*, referred to by 13th-century authorities, such as the *Sefer Mitzvot Gadol* of Moses b. Jacob of *Coucy (Positive Commandments 27) and the *Or Zaru'a* (part 1, p. 55) of Isaac b. Moses of *Vienna exist in various versions which differ considerably from one another both in scope and arrangement. Apparently it gained instant acceptance and it was enlarged, as was the custom of that time, by successive additions. There does not yet exist a critical edition based on all available manuscripts. The published edition (by S. Hurwitz, 1889, 1923^2) is from the London manuscript (Margolioth, Cat, no. 655) containing many additions, some indicated by the letter ת, most of them apparently from Isaac b. Durbal, a contemporary of Jacob Tam, but also including later responsa and extracts from the *Sefer ha-Terumah* of Baruch b. Isaac. It reflects the state of the work in the 13th and 14th centuries. The Oxford manuscript (Bodleian Library, Ms. Opp. 59) omits most of these additions in those fragments preserved in two manuscripts. On the other hand, they contain compilations which have no connection with the *maḥzor*. A more original text occurs in the Reggio manuscript (now in the library of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America) which has as yet not been examined because of its poor state of preservation, and the Parma manuscript (B. Pal. 2574).

Contents and Form

The halakhic portion of the *Maḥzor Vitry* precedes the liturgical formulae, and includes commentaries to the prayers taken from the *aggadah*. The Reggio manuscript includes the following topics: weekday prayers (with their relevant laws), the night prayer, the order of prayers for the Sabbath and its conclusion, the New Moon, the Sanctification of the Moon, Ḥanukkah, Purim, Passover *Haggadah*, and the Aramaic translation of the reading for the 7th day of Passover (Ex. 13:17–15:26) and the laws of Shavuot with a similar Aramaic translation. (Both these Aramaic translations are much enlarged and are to be found in many medieval *maḥzorim*.)

There follow *Avot* with a commentary, *Hilkhot Derek Ereẓ, Pirkei Ben Azzai*, a commentary on the *Kaddish* and on the Ten Commandments, the order of service for the Ninth Av, the laws of fasts and mourning, Rosh Ha-Shanah, the Day of Atonement, Sukkot and the *Hoshanot with a commentary, the order of service for Simḥat Torah, the order of service for marriage and circumcision, and the laws of *sheḥitah and *terefot. In the enlarged text in the London manuscript there have been added the laws of *Niddah, Ẓiẓit, Tefillin, Mezuzah, Sefer Torah*, the complete text of tractate *Soferim*, tractate *Kallah* and the laws of divorce, and *ḥaliẓah. In addition there are many *piyyutim* and *aggadot*. The main sources of *Maḥzor Vitry* are the decisions and customs of Rashi. Simḥah apparently based himself on the *Siddur Rashi* with whose text the *maḥzor* is often identical (see Buber, *Siddur Rashi*, introd. p. 54) but it excludes all the texts of the prayers. In the halakhic portion the sources, in addition to the Talmud, are the geonic literature, especially the Halakhot *Gedolot and Halakhot *Pesukot, and the *siddur* of Amram Gaon, which is often quoted verbatim, without giving the source. The talmudic quotations often differ from those in the existing text. *Maḥzor Vitry* is an important source for the historical study of *halakhah* and liturgy, particularly according to the French tradition. The *piyyutim* in the *maḥzor* differ in the various manuscripts, making it difficult to determine which were current during the period when the *Maḥzor Vitry* was composed. The text of these *piyyutim* which were apparently collected at a later period and appended to the London manuscript have been published separately under the title "*Kunteres ha-Piyyutim*" by H. Brody (Berlin, 1894).

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[Ernst Daniel Goldschmidt]

MAIER, JOSEPH (1911–2002), U.S. sociologist. Born in Leipzig, Germany, the son of a rabbi, Maier studied in Germany and in the U.S. He received his M.A. (1934) and his Ph.D. (1939) from Columbia University. After the War, Maier did voluntary service in Germany and participated in the Nuremberg Trials, becoming chief of the analysis section of the Interrogation Division. In 1947 he was appointed professor of sociology at Rutgers University and became chairman of the department until his retirement in 1980. Maier was a specialist in the sociology of religion and became widely known as the author of a weekly column in the New York German-language Jewish newspaper *Aufbau* dealing with the application of halakhic wisdom to contemporary social problems.

With Werner Cahnman, Maier established the organization for the Preservation of Jewish Cultural Monuments in Europe, later called the Rashi Association (1978). From 1980 on, he served as its president, helping to establish such projects as the Institute of Judaic Studies at the University of Munich.

Among Maier's published works are *On Hegel's Critique of Kant* (1939) and *Sociology* (with J. Rumney, 1953). With J. Marcus and Z. Tarr he edited *German Jewry: Its History and Sociology: Selected Essays by Werner J. Cahnman* (1989).

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[Werner J. Cahnman / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

MAILER, NORMAN (1923–), U.S. novelist and essayist. Born in New Jersey, Mailer grew up in New York City and attended Harvard College. His two years with the U.S. Army in the Pacific theater during World War II provided him with the background for his bestselling novel *The Naked and the Dead* (1948), whose violent dialogue and often lyric prose that evoked the fears and passions of men at war made him an overnight literary celebrity. *Barbary Shore* (1951) was a semi-surrealistic political novel set in a Brooklyn rooming house and *The Deer Park* (1955) a novel about Hollywood; in both of these books, which he himself called "existential," he revealed his growing fascination with the individual who intellectually, physically, or morally feels compelled to drive himself to extremes beyond the norms of human conduct in order to experience his own individuality. Mailer's increasing impatience with the novel as a medium for expressing his extraordinarily fertile if undisciplined mind and his ability to yoke together ideas of the most varied political, psychological, and philosophical nature led him in the 1950s to turn more and more to the essay, of which he published several collections: *Advertisements for Myself* (1959), *The Presidential Papers* (1963), and *Cannibals and Christians* (1966). *Why Are We in Vietnam?* (1967) represented an experiment to deal in symbolic fictional terms with a burning political issue of the day. In 1968, Mailer wrote *Armies in the Night*, an eyewitness account of an anti-Vietnam demonstration held in front of the Pentagon in Washington whose melange of reportage, social and political speculation, and personal confession, written in a wildly exuberant prose, established his reputation by general critical consensus as the most brilliant virtuoso stylist in the United States. A second documentary, *Miami and the Siege of Chicago* (1968), about the Republican and Democratic nominating conventions of 1968, was again a masterpiece of its kind.

Mailer's interest in radical politics took him from Socialism to anarchism to a generalized hostility toward the regimentation and mechanization of modern life that he labeled "radical conservatism." Always partial to publicity, he sought to popularize his ideas by running in the New York mayoralty campaign of 1969.

A Fire on the Moon (1970) was about the implications of the U.S. space program. In 1971, Mailer's *The Prisoner of Sex* was published, drawing the ire of the feminist movement. In 1980 Mailer was awarded the Pulitzer Prize in fiction for *Executioner's Song*, which offered a detailed account through an ensemble of characters of the life and execution of Gary Gilmore, a convicted murderer. *Ancient Evenings* (1983), a novel, is set in the Egypt of the 13th to the 12th century B.C.E.

His look at the CIA, *Harlot's Ghost*, appeared in 1991, and his study of Lee Harvey Oswald, *Oswald's Tale*, was published in 1995. *The Time of Our Time* (1998) is a massive sampling of Mailer's work. His *The Spooky Art: Some Thoughts on Writing* (2003) is a gathering of his thoughts about writers, his own work, and the writing life.

Evaluations of Mailer often return to his fascination with violence and sexuality. Mailer's reading of violence in "The White Negro" (found in *Advertisements for Myself*) is a good example. Mailer argued that the Negro could survive his perilous American existence by accepting the desires of the body, living sensuously within the present moment. This creation of the self through action leads to the existential recognition of the self, in part, as body. The existentialist "must be able to feel oneself … to know one's desires, one's rages, one's anguish …" Jazz, for Mailer, the endowment of "orgasm," became one of the commanding achievements of the African-American, and spoke to, and of, "instantaneous existential states to which some whites could respond." The hipster's consecration of the present, his living his hatreds, his seeking the end of cultural and political repression through a life outside bourgeois mores, would be shaped in the future by the African-American's winning equality, a "potential superiority" that was feared, providing the background for domestic politics. Mailer's essay cemented into a mosaic the Holocaust, the concentration camp, African-American humiliation, endurance, and self-resurgence. Its affirmative violence coupled with sexuality provides a clue to some of Mailer's other work, most notably "The Time of Her Time" (found in *Advertisements for Myself*), *An American Dream* (1965), and possibly his life (he stabbed his second wife, Adele, in 1960).

His place in American literature is large, though his place in American-Jewish writing is problematic. (In her "Toward a New Yiddish" (*Judaism*, Summer 1970) Cynthia *Ozick believed that he would become a minor, if not forgotten writer because he did not write within the liturgical and moral richness of Jewish tradition.) On the one hand, his sharp indictments of the alliance among American politics, commercialism, and violence are insightful and enduring. His choice of characters and their novelistic development concentrate one version of American culture within the psychological and social existence of his subjects (whether fictional or actual; whether individuals or actual events). On the other hand, his influence on the American-Jewish novelist is, perhaps, that of craft. He is at ease in developing a realism in both its narrow and extreme senses – a focus on the empirical furniture of experience as well as a concentration on American myths and cultural directives informing the way we perceive, and act upon, the world.

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[Hillel Halkin / Lewis Fried (2nd ed.)]

MAIMI, SIMON (d. 1497), a rabbi from Segovia, in Castile, who found refuge in Portugal. Maimi was martyred when *Manuel I, king of Portugal, tried to force him to accept Christianity, thinking that if the chief rabbi set the example all the Jews could soon be baptized. The attempt to convert Portuguese Jewry occurred during the spring of 1497, following the promulgation of the edict of expulsion on Dec. 4, 1496. Maimi and about eight leading personalities – including his son-in-law, and probably Abraham b. Jacob *Saba, Abraham b. Samuel *Zacuto, and Isaac b. Joseph *Caro – were thrown into a dungeon and buried up to their necks. The group refused to yield, and when the wall was torn down a few days later Maimi was dead. His body was stealthily taken by several Marranos who, at the risk of their lives, succeeded in burying him in the Jewish cemetery near Lisbon.

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MAIMON (Fishman), ADA (1893–1973). Israeli labor leader, member of the First and Second Knessets. Born in Marculesti, Bessarabia, Maimon was the sister of Judah Leib *Maimon, who was a member of the United Religious Front in the first Knesset. Ada Maimon received a traditional and general Hebrew education. In her youth she joined a movement that was connected to Ha-Po'el ha-Ẓa'ir. She settled in Ereẓ Israel in 1912, and worked as a teacher in Petaḥ Tikvah, Reḥovot, Nes Ẓiyyonah, and Ben Shemen. In 1914 she was sent to open a Hebrew girls school in Safed. In 1913–20 Maimon was a member of the Ha-Po'el ha-Ẓa'ir Central Committee, and was a delegate to the Prague conference in 1920 at which the Hitaḥadut – the union between Ha-Po'el ha-Ẓa'ir and Ẓe'irei Ẓiyyon – was established. She participated in the founding conference of the *Histadrut in 1920, and was elected to its Executive Committee. She was one of the founders of the Women's Workers Council (*Mo'eẓet ha-Po'alot) and its secretary in 1921–30. In 1930 she founded the Ayanot Agricultural School near Nes Ẓiyyonah, and headed it for many years. In 1946–47 Maimon headed the Immigration Department of the Histadrut, and in this capacity visited displaced persons camps in Germany and British detention camps in Cyprus. In 1949 she was elected to the First Knesset on the Mapai list. In the First and Second Knesset she was a member of the Constitution, Law and Justice Committee, and actively participated in initiating and passing legislation concerning the status of women. Unlike most other women labor leaders, she was also a member of the Executive of World *WIZO.

Ada Maimon wrote *Tenu'at ha-Po'alot be-Erez Yisrael* (1929), *Ha-Ḥaluẓah be-Erez-Yisrael* (1930), *Ayanot, Mi-Meshek Po'alot le-Veit Sefer Ḥakla'i Tikhon* (1946), *Ḥamishim Shenot Tenu'at ha-Po'alot, 1904–54* (1955), and *Le-Orekh ha-Derekh: Mivḥar Devarim ve-Iggerot* (1973).

[Susan Hattis Rolef (2nd ed.)]

MAIMON (Fishman), JUDAH LEIB (1875–1962), rabbi and leader of religious Zionism. Born in Marculeşti, Bessarabia, Maimon studied in Lithuanian yeshivot and, after being ordained, served as a preacher (*Maggid meisharim*) in Marculesti and in 1905–13 as rabbi in Ungeni. In 1900 he met Rabbi Isaac Jacob *Reines, founder of *Mizrachi, and afterward took an active part in the founding conference of Mizrachi, which was held in Vilna, and in its first world conference in Pressburg (Bratislava). Beginning with the Second Zionist Congress, he participated in all the subsequent Congresses and was for many years a member of the Zionist General Council. From 1935 he served as Mizrachi's representative on the Zionist Executive, was vice chairman of the Executive, and headed the Department for Artisans and Retail Business as well as the Department of Religious Affairs.

Maimon settled in Ereẓ Israel in 1913 and was among the founders of the educational network of Mizrachi there. At the outbreak of World War I he was imprisoned and expelled by the Turkish authorities. He went to the United States, where he was active in the effort to strengthen Mizrachi and published hundreds of articles in the press. He returned on the first ship to reach the shores of Palestine after the war and met Rabbi *Kook, with whom he became very friendly. Together they established the chief rabbinate of Palestine, and Maimon formulated the rabbinate's constitution and organized its founding ceremony. In 1936 he established the Mosad ha-Rav Kook, which published hundreds of books. His private library contained over 40,000 volumes, among them many very rare books, first editions, incunabula, and the only extant copies of many important manuscripts.

Although he maintained his adherence to the organized framework of the *yishuv*, Maimon often expressed his sympathy with the secessionist organizations, Irgun Ẓeva'i Le'ummi (IẒL) and Loḥamei Ḥerut Israel (Leḥi), and gave evidence on behalf of IẒL prisoners. He proclaimed the right of every Jew to bear arms in his own defense and in the defense of Jewish rights in Ereẓ Israel. When the Haganah began actively to suppress IẒL (1944–45), Maimon expressed his opposition to these activities. On "Black Saturday" (June 1946) he was interned as acting chairman of the Jewish Agency Executive. His imprisonment aroused a great furor, since the British had compelled him by force to desecrate the Sabbath, and after great pressure he was released by special order of the high commissioner.

In the first years after the establishment of the State of Israel, Maimon advocated the institution of a Sanhedrin as a supreme religious authority, but this attempt aroused opposition in many religious circles. He was appointed minister of religions and minister in charge of war casualties both in the provisional government and in the first elected one; and was a member of the First Knesset. He later relinquished his political activities and devoted himself entirely to literary work.

Maimon was a prolific author. His first work was *Ha-Noten ba-Yam Derekh* (1903). His second work *Ḥadar Horati*, a collection of articles on *halakhah*, Maimonides, and *aggadah*, was published ten years later. He also published other articles and biblical investigations. In 1907 he began to publish the talmudic-literary journal, *Ha-Yonah*, which was banned by censorship, however, and its publication discontinued. In 1921 Maimon founded the Mizrachi weekly, *Ha-Tor,* whose publication was continued for 15 years. He later founded and edited the monthly *Sinai*, of which he issued 50 volumes. His major work, *Sarei ha-Me'ah* (6 vols., 1942–47), describes the greatest Jewish scholars of the last century. His other writings include *Le-Ma'an Ẓiyyon Lo Eḥesheh* (2 vols., 1954–55), *Middei Ḥodesh be-Ḥodsho* (8 vols., 1955–62), *Ḥaggim u-Mo'adim* (1950^3), *Ha-Ẓiyyonut ha-Datit ve-Hitpatteḥutah* (1937), *Rabbi Moshe ben Maimon* (1959), *Toledot ha-Gra* (1954), and an edition of Judah b. Kalonymus' *Yiḥusei Tanna'im ve-Amora'im* (1942).

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[Itzhak Goldshlag]

MAIMON, SOLOMON (1753–1800), philosopher. Maimon was born in Sukoviburg, Poland (now Belarus). He was a child prodigy in the study of rabbinical literature. Married at the age of 11 and a father at 14, Maimon supported his family by working as a tutor in neighboring towns. In his spare time he studied Jewish philosophy and Kabbalah; he adopted the name "Maimon" in honor of Maimonides. His attempt to demonstrate that the Kabbalah is based on philosophy caused the Ḥasidim with whom he associated to regard him as a heretic. He turned to the study of secular subjects and left his home and family to study in Berlin. In about 1777, after many hardships, he arrived at the gates of Berlin but was refused entry by officials of the Jewish community. After six months as a mendicant he arrived in Posen (Poznan), where he was received and aided by the rabbi, Ẓvi Hirsch b. Abraham. He taught for two years in Posen, but, finding the religious atmosphere of the community stifling, he made another trip to Berlin; this time he was able to enter the city.

In Berlin he became a member of Moses *Mendelssohn's circle, but was abandoned by Mendelssohn a few years later because of the dissolute life he led. Forced to leave Berlin, he moved first to Hamburg and then to Amsterdam. In Hamburg he beseeched a Lutheran pastor to convert him to Christianity, yet he confessed his disbelief in Christian doctrines. The pastor retorted that Maimon was too much a philosopher to be a Christian. Thereafter, between 1783 and 1786, with the help of some benefactors, he was able to study at the gymnasium of Altona. Still poverty-stricken, he moved from Altona to Berlin, then to Breslau, and in 1787 back to Berlin. There he studied Kantian philosophy and under its influence wrote his first work in German, *Versuch ueber die Transzendentalphilosophie* (1790). He sent a manuscript of the book to Marcus *Herz, who sent it to Immanuel *Kant. Kant remarked in a letter to Herz (May 26, 1789) that it was clear to him from a cursory study of the book that its value was very great, and that nobody understood his philosophy as well as Maimon (E. Cassirer (ed.), *Immanuel Kants Werke*, 9 (1918), 415). Kant's letter determined Maimon's future. He found a publisher for his book and scholarly journals accepted his articles for publication. From 1790 to 1795 Maimon was supported by a benefactor, Count Adolf Kalkreuth, at whose residences near Berlin and Freistadt, Silesia, he lived. When Maimon died, he was buried outside the Jewish cemetery as a heretic.

Other Works

In 1791 Maimon published a philosophical lexicon, containing a series of essays on the principal points of philosophy (new edition 1970). In 1793 he published his *Streifereien im Gebiete der Philosophie*, followed by three works on the history of philosophy: *Ueber die Progresse der Philosophie* (1793); *Versuch einer neuen Logik* (1794; 1812^2), in which he attempted to expound a system of logic; and *Die Kategorien des Aristoteles* (1794, 1798^2). In 1797 his work *Kritische Untersuchungen ueber den menschlichen Geist* was published.

Maimon also wrote the following works in Hebrew, but only the first was published: *Givat ha-Moreh* (1791; ed. by S.H. Bergman and N. Rotenstreich, 1966), a commentary on the first part of Maimonides' *Guide of the Perplexed; Ta'alumot Ḥokhmah*, on mathematical physics; and *Ḥeshek Shelomo*, which was divided into four parts, namely "*Ma'aseh Nissim*," on the 12 sermons of Nissim b. Reuben Gerondi, "*Eved Avraham*," on Ibn Ezra's commentary on the Pentateuch and Psalms, "*Ma'aseh Livnat ha-Sappir*," which are reflections, and "*Ma'aseh Ḥoshev*," on algebra. Maimon's autobiography (*Solomon Maimons Lebengeschichte, von ihm selbst geschrieben*), his only book to win wide acclaim, was published in Berlin in 1793 (Eng. trans. by M. Hadas (1947) and S.H. Bergmann (ed.; 1954); Heb. trans. (1942). It is an important source for the study of Judaism and Ḥasidism in Eastern Europe in that period. The 12th chapter describes Mendelssohn and his thought.

Philosophy

To account for the origin of knowledge and its objectivity, the German philosopher Kant had posited the "thing-in-itself" as something existing outside the mind but unknowable in itself. Maimon's main contribution was to give a new direction to Kant's discussion of it. Maimon agreed with Kant that the cognition process must have a cause and that this cause must also guarantee the objectivity of the knowledge. But he differed from Kant by holding that this cause exists in the mind, not outside it. Invoking Kant's distinction between sensibility and understanding, Maimon affirmed that the concepts of understanding arise from perceptions of sensibility, which he appears to assume are the same for everyone, and which therefore guarantee their objectivity. Maimon maintained further that sensibility is a kind of understanding, but more limited and imperfect than understanding itself.

The "thing-in-itself" had another meaning for Maimon, namely, as the final goal toward which all cognition tends. Our knowledge is always fragmentary, but as it increases it approaches an ideal knowledge. This may be illustrated by a polygon, which approaches a circle as sides are added, but does not reach it.

INFINITE INTELLECT. While Maimon rejected Kant's extramental "thing-in-itself" as the cause of knowledge and the guarantor of its objectivity, he still had to answer Kant's question of how knowledge is related to a world outside the mind. In his words, "To find a passage from the external world to the mental world is more important than to find a way to East India, no matter what statesmen may say." Maimon bridged this gap by assuming that our sensibility is only an imperfect expression of intellectual reality which underlies the world. Hence the objects of the outside world presented to sensibility are concepts and their relations. But since concepts and their relations must inhere in some intellect, Maimon posits an infinite intellect. Our intellect is derived from this infinite intellect. As finite creatures we can only comprehend a small portion of this rational structure of the world.

The assumption of an infinite intellect permits Maimon to bridge the gap between the intra-mental and extral-mental worlds. But the infinite intellect, in turn, does not receive concepts from objects lying outside of it; rather, it creates objects from within itself. There is no distinction between the form of knowledge and its content. Maimon summarized his position: "We posit… an infinite intellect… which creates out of itself all possible kinds of relations of things. Our intellect is the very same intellect, but in a more limited degree."

LAW OF DETERMINABILITY. Maimon had to face the further problem of how to describe the mode of thinking of the infinite intellect, that is, how the concepts cohere to create the structure of the rational world. To answer that question Maimon formulated the "law of determinability" ("*Satz der Bestimmbarkeit*"). One account of this complex notion was based on Kant's distinction between analytic and synthetic judgments. Analytic judgments, whose form is "A is A," are tautological and they do not produce knowledge; synthetic judgments, whose form is "A is B," produce certain knowledge. Maimon criticizes Kant's notion that synthetic judgments are certain, since in his view subject and predicate in these judgments are foreign to one another. Against Kant's two kinds of judgments, Maimon posited a third – the "law of determinability" – according to which there exists a judgment which is both analytic and synthetic. Using the proposition "the color is blue," Maimon states that the subject (the color) can exist without the predicate (blue), and, hence, the relation between subject and predicate is synthetic; on the other hand, the predicate (blue) cannot exist alone but only in connection with the subject and, hence, it is analytic. Maimon had hoped that through this law he could open new possibilities for metaphysics, but he was too careful a philosopher to attempt to build this speculative structure himself.

MAIMON'S SKEPTICISM. Despite the rationalist structure of his idealist philosophy, Maimon exhibited a skeptical streak. While he claimed that the hypothesis of an infinite intellect and the discovery of the law of determinability provide the possibility of viewing the world as a rational structure, he never claimed that one could know with certainty that this rational structure in fact exists in the world. The kind of doubts raised by skeptical philosophers such as David Hume remained. Philosophy can only show that it is possible to construct a rational structure for the world, but it cannot show that this rational structure exists in fact. Hence, one can only philosophize "conditionally."

Maimon's philosophy strongly influenced the philosopher Johann Fichte and, through Fichte, German idealist philosophy. During the 19th century, Maimon was neglected; as a result of the efforts of the historian of philosophy J.E. Erdmann (in his *History of Philosophy* (1892^3), index), however, interest in Maimon has been revived in the 20th century. In recent years several basic books dealing with his system have appeared. A new photostatic edition of his collected works began to appear in 1965.

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[Samuel Hugo Bergman]

MAIMON, YA'ACOV (1902–1977), Israel government stenographer. In 1976 Maimon was awarded the Israel Prize for services in immigrant absorption. Born in Russia, Maimon immigrated in 1922. With the influx of immigrants to Israel after the establishment of the state he devoted himself, in a voluntary capacity, to the absorption of immigrants and organized hundreds of volunteers who followed his example. Maimon served as the official stenographer of the government and invented the system of Hebrew stenography.

MAIMON BEN JOSEPH (d. 1165/1170), Spanish rabbi and *dayyan*; father of *Maimonides. Maimon studied in Lucena under Joseph *Ibn Migash, and transmitted his teachings, both oral and in writing, to his son, who utilized them as the basis for his own halakhic works. Maimon was a *dayyan* of Cordoba for many years, until he and his family were compelled to leave, in consequence of the edict of forced conversion issued by the *Almohads after their conquest of the city about 1149. For about ten years he wandered through Spain and probably also Provence. About 1160 he immigrated with his family to Fez, Morocco, where it was easier for forced converts to preserve their Judaism. In Fez he forbade the people to follow the false messiah, Moses Dari, who was popular there at the time. In 1165 he proceded to Ereẓ Israel, where he died, possibly in the following year. According to one tradition, his grave is in Tiberias. Some scholars think, however, that he went to Egypt with his son and died there.

Maimon was one of the most outstanding and influential scholars of his generation and the first of his distinguished family of whom a written work is known. His *Iggeret ha-Neḥamah*, written in his second year in Fez (published in the original Arabic by M. Simons, see bibliography; and in a scholarly Hebrew translation by B. Klar, 1945), was designed to comfort and guide the forced converts of Islam in their effort to preserve their Judaism. "We who are in exile can be compared to a man who is drowning. The water has reached our nostrils but we still grasp hold of something … and as the water threatens to engulf us, behold, a rope consisting of God's precepts and His Torah dangles from heaven to earth. Whoever seizes hold of it still has hope of living … and surely he who holds on even only with the tips of his fingers has more hope than he who lets go completely."

Maimon's fundamental premise – later adopted by his son Maimonides and accepted as law among Jews in Islamic countries – is that Islam, in that it is free from personification of the Deity, is not to be regarded as idolatry. In keeping with this view, he opposed martyrdom to avoid conversion to Islam. Unlike other scholars, who left the people without hope, Maimon asserts that those who perform the precepts in secret will be rewarded, laying particular stress on the value of reciting the *Amidah three times daily, even in its abridged form, and even in Arabic. He also places great emphasis upon the importance of belief in the divinity of the mission of Moses, to whose virtues the work is largely devoted, comparing such belief to belief in God Himself. This principle, later embodied by Maimonides in his 13 principles, was designed to nullify belief in the divine mission of Mohammed, for which reason Maimon also stresses that Daniel was the last of the prophets. Maimon's work reflects the spirit of despair that had seized the Jews of the countries during the time of the Almohads, and it fortified his readers that the tyrannical rule would not continue for long, as had been promised by the prophets. Maimon also wrote commentaries to the Talmud, from which his son quotes abundantly; a book on the laws of prayer and the festivals, from which only isolated quotations have been preserved (Simon b. Zemaḥ Duran,*Tashbeẓ*, 1, no. 2); responsa, a number of which have been published by A.H. Freimann (see bibl.); a commentary on the Torah; a work on the laws of ritual purity; and, apparently, an exposition of an Arabic astronomical book. With the exception of the responsa, all his works were written in Arabic.

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[Israel Moses Ta-Shma]

MAIMONIDEAN CONTROVERSY, a vast complex of disputed cultural, religious, and social problems, focusing around several central themes. Some of the elements of this controversy considerably antedate *Maimonides (1135–1204); and of the questions brought into sharp relief by his ideas and writings, some have remained topical in many Jewish circles. Vast fields of human experience and thought are encompassed by it: reason and philosophy in their relation to faith and tradition; what components are permitted and what prohibited in the education of a man following the Torah; the proper understanding of *anthropomorphism as expressed in the Bible and Talmud; central theological concepts such as the *resurrection of the body; and the very form of Maimonides' *Mishneh Torah* and its attitude toward talmudic discussion. The question of hierarchical leadership versus intellectual, personal leadership was one of the early causes of this controversy. In the Middle Ages the controversy had four climaxes: (1) during the last years of Maimonides' life, following the publication of his Mishneh Torah in 1180 until his death in 1204; (2) around 1230–35, involving David *Kimḥi, *Solomon b. Abraham of Montpellier, *Naḥmanides and others, and centering in *Provence; (3) the years 1288–90 in the Near East, involving Solomon Petit and Rabbi Isaac of Acre; (4) around 1300–06, involving Abba Mari b. Moses *Astruc, Solomon b. Abraham *Adret, *Asher b. Jehiel, *Jedaiah b. Abraham Bedersi (ha-Penini, and Menahem b. Solomon *Meiri, and centering in Christian Spain and Provence. In between these moments when the conflict flared up anew and reached climaxes as a result of specific circumstances and the personalities involved, tensions and disputes continued among proponents and opponents of philosophy and Maimonides.

Although it is convenient to frame the four climaxes of the controversy as distinct historical stages, recent research has led to a reappraisal, in light of which these climaxes cannot be characterized as separate stages in a homogeneous process. It is certainly true that there were some essential differences among the stages. For example: in the fourth and final stage Maimonides himself no longer was the subject of the controversy, and even the conservative party accepted his positions, whereas in the early stages his *Guide of the Perplexed* and *Book of Knowledge* (the first section of the *Mishneh Torah*, containing philosophical material) were the main target; in the early stages the opposition was to philosophy per se, whereas in the latter stages the opposition was to unrestricted access to and teaching of philosophy, not a total rejection of it. Historians of the controversy over Maimonides and philosophy have tended to focus on extreme positions in each period, which lend themselves to simple characterization. On the other hand, the evidence increasingly supports the view that many Jewish intellectuals did not fall into either extreme camp – that of excessive rationalist allegorization or that of opposition in principle to all "foreign wisdom." Many of the rationalist camp were strictly observant in their personal life and maintained the supremacy of the authority of the Torah, such as Judah b. Samuel ibn Abbas and Kalonymos, who were confirmed rationalists but rejected extreme philosophical positions. At the same time, among the conservative halakhic authorities were those who did not object in principle to the study of philosophy (to the contrary, they themselves had philosophical educations) but only to premature exposure of the youth to philosophy and to extreme rationalist allegorization, especially in public sermons in the synagogue. Abba Mari *Astruc ha-Yarḥi, for example, who played a major role in promoting the limited Barcelona ban on philosophy in the fourth and final climax of the controversy (1305), wrote a philosophical work, *Sefer ha-Yare'aḥ*, which in many respects is rationalist in outlook.

The crisis of Spanish Jewry in the 15th century accentuated the main educational and social themes of the old controversy. In Renaissance Italy and in the diversified and flourishing Jewish center of Poland-Lithuania the old quarrel again became topical, though in a milder form. With the enlightenment (*Haskalah) of the 18th century the "Maimonidean side" of the controversy was given a new, greatly secularized, and radical expression by Moses *Mendelssohn and his followers – an expression that could scarely have been imagined by the former protagonists. In German *neo-Orthodoxy, the "Maimonidean side" – particularly in its striving for a synthesis of Jewish faith and "general culture," as well as in certain of its social tendencies – found a new, conservative expression. In Yemen in the 19th century and well into the 20th, there was a distinct "Maimonidean camp" and a struggle against it (see Kafaḥ).

In the last two decades of the 20th century and the first years of the 21st century, Maimonides again became the focus of a controversy in ultra-Orthodoxy, as a result of the emphasis placed by Rabbi Menaḥem Mendel *Schneersohn of Chabad-Lubavitch Ḥasidism on the study of the *Mishneh Torah*. The non-ḥasidic leadership, in particular of the Lithuanian type of yeshivah, vehemently rejected placing Maimonides at the center of the curriculum in place of such classic codes as Joseph Caro's *Shulḥan Arukh*.

The First Clash: During Maimonides' Lifetime

Through the charisma of his personality and the trend of his thought and leadership Maimonides himself initiated this. An exile from Muslim Spain, he met in the Near East the hierarchical traditions of the exilarchate and the **geonim*. Maimonides was willing and ready to respect the *exilarch as scion of the royal house of David and as the proper authority, from the halakhic point of view, to appoint and ordain judges.

His mind and heart vehemently opposed the claims of the *geonim*. He criticized sharply the way they:

> fixed for themselves monetary demands from individuals and communities and caused people to think, in utter foolishness, that it is obligatory and proper that they should help sages and scholars and people studying Torah … all this is wrong. There is not a single word, either in the Torah or in the sayings of the [talmudic] sages, to lend credence to it … for as we look into the sayings of the talmudic sages, we do not find that they ask people for money, nor did they collect money for the honorable and cherished academies (commentary to Avot 4:5).

This attempt to undermine the economic and social foundations of the leadership of the Babylonian *geonim* went hand in hand with Maimonides' opposition to their program of studies and his contempt for their very office. The *Gaon* at Baghdad at this time was *Samuel b. Ali, a strong and authoritarian personality. In an ironic "apology" for Samuel b. Ali's attacks on the *Mishneh Torah*, Maimonides explains to one of his pupils:

> Why, my son, should you take offense that a man whom people accustom from his youth to believe that there is none like him

> in his generation; when age, high office, aristocratic descent, the lack of people of discernment in this town, and his relationship with individuals, all have combined to produce this execrable consequence that each and every individual hangs expectantly on each word pronounced from the academy in anticipation of an honorific title from there… – why do you wonder that he has acquired such [evil] traits? How, my son, could you imagine that he should love truth enough to acknowledge his weakness?… This is a thing that a man like him will never do, as it was not done by better men who preceded him (letter to Joseph b. Judah in: D.H. Baneth (ed.), *Iggerot ha-Rambam* (1946), 54 f.).

The gaonate is represented as corrupt, and typical academy study as being of questionable value. Concerning Zechariah, the son-in-law of the *Gaon*, Maimonides writes:

> He is a very foolish man. He studies very hard at this talmudic discussion and its commentaries, and thinks that he is the greatest of his generation, having already attained the peak of perfection. My esteemed son knows that my appreciation of the greatest of the sages of Israel is such that I evaluate their worth according to their own criteria. They themselves have defined 'the argumentations [*havayot*] of *Abbaye and *Rava [as] a small matter.' If this is a small matter, why should I pay attention to an old man who is really miserable, an ignoramus in every respect? To my eyes he is like a newborn baby; one has to defend him, according to the measure of his [Zechariah's] foolishness (*ibid.*, 56 ff.; the bulk of this passage has been erased in most manuscripts).

This vehement revolt against the authority of the *geonim* came at a time when Samuel b. Ali was attempting to minimize the authority of the exilarch on the grounds that what the people needed then was no more than the leadership of the *geonim* and the guidance of their study in the academy. Small wonder that such a revolt aroused reciprocal anger, coming, as it did, in defense of Maimonides' *Mishneh Torah* which claimed expressly (in the introduction) to supersede the Talmud in popular usage, replacing its deliberations – the very core and substance of the life of academies and *geonim* – by his systematic code. The claim of the intellectual to replace an aristocratic hierarchy seemed to be combined with an attempt to impose Greek systematic modes of codification in place of the traditional many-voiced flow of talmudic discussion. It is hardly suprising that Samuel b. Ali, Zechariah, and *Daniel b. Saadiah ha-Bavli all sought and found halakhic flaws in this code. Some of their arguments have philosophical and theological overtones, but these were to come to the forefront only in the second stage of the controversy. In the main, in this phase, it was Maimonides' creativity which was found provocative, as well as his attitude to Talmud study and to the leadership of established institutions, all of which were being defended against him.

The First Stage in Europe

In this first flare-up, the controversy was thus not over philosophy as such, or over Maimonides' philosophy in particular, since his *Guide of the Perplexed* was translated into Hebrew only at the very end of his life. The criticism was leveled primarily against his *Mishneh Torah* and his attitude toward resurrection. The criticism of the *Mishneh Torah* focused on Maimonides' methodology, the fact that he did not cite sources for his decisions, and his claim that the study of his Code would replace the study of Talmud: "A person should study the written Torah first, and then read this [book], and thereby know the entire oral Torah, so that he will not need to read any other book in between them." The criticism also reflected divergent local traditions and custom (*minhag*). Maimonides' great Ashkenazi critic, R. *Abraham b. David of Posquières (Ravad), in his critical gloss (*hasagah*) to the Introduction to the *Mishneh Torah*, asserted that Maimonides "has abandoned the method of all the authors who preceded him, because they brought proofs for their words, and cited their sources … But this way, I do not know why I should disregard my tradition and my proof for the sake of this author's book." Ravad also attacked Maimonides on theoretical issues. Maimonides had categorized as a heretic (*min*) anyone who affirms that there is one God but that God has a body (Yad, Teshuvah 3:7). In his *hasagah* to this passage, Ravad protested: "Why did he call such a person a heretic, when some who were greater and better than he followed this opinion, according to what they found in the Bible and even more, according to what they found in *aggadot* which corrupt opinions?" What is significant here is not that Ravad defended corporealist beliefs – he also rejected the corporealism of "*aggadot* which corrupt opinions" – but that he attacked the legitimacy of Maimonides' categorization of such corrupt opinions as heresy.

As for the criticism of Maimonides' regarding the traditional belief in bodily resurrection, because of his consistent emphasis on an intellectualist understanding of the world to come (*olam ha-ba*) in terms of the survival only of the actual intellect in proportion to its attainment of knowledge, Ravad wrote (on Yad, Teshuvah 8:2): "The words of this man seem close to one who says that there is no bodily resurrection of the dead, but only of the soul." Others were equally critical of Maimonides' apparent denial of resurrection.

Ramah (R. Meir b. Todros ha-Levi *Abulafia), who was active in the first two climaxes of the controversy, was in many respects a sincere admirer of Maimonides. In the first period he was shocked at the implication that Maimonides did not affirm the resurrection of the body as a halakhic principle. In an angry letter sent to the scholars of *Lunel he not only sought to prove by copious quotations the dogmatic truth of bodily resurrection, but also added passionately that if there is no such resurrection, "to what end did the bodies stand watch for their God, did they go in darkness for the sake of their God? If the bodies are not resurrected, where is their hope and where are they to look for it?" (*Kitāb al-Rasīl*' (1871), 14). Abulafia also attacked Maimonides on other halakhic points. It was only after he saw Maimonides' *Treatise on Resurrection* that he became satisfied that Maimonides, in fact, affirmed the traditional belief. While some of his correspondents agreed with his earlier criticism, others tried to convince him that he had misunderstood the purport of Maimonides' teaching on resurrection, and this latter view was accepted wholeheartedly by the *nasi* Sheshet b. Isaac of Saragossa, who in a very radical sense gave expression to Maimonides' rationalism and philosophic synthesis. Writing about 1200, he attacked sharply and derisively what he regarded as the simplicism and materialism of Abulafia's view (A. Marx, in: JQR, 25, (1934/35), 406–28). To speak about bodily resurrection is "to bring down our saintly fathers from the highest level – the status of the angels who enjoy divine glory and live forever – to the status of man, through their returning to the impure body which cannot exist except through food and drink, and must end in dust and worms … but the life of wisdom is greater than foolishness, as light is greater than darkness. These notions seem to me like the words of one confused" (*ibid.*, 418). The only correct conception of resurrection, he thought, is the one also accepted by the pagan philosophers. Resurrection means the eternal life of the soul of the sage-philosopher. "If the soul – while still in the body – was yearning for its Creator, subordinating its passion to its reason, [then] when it leaves the body, [it] will attain the highest status, for which it yearned while still in the body; and over it God will emanate of His spirit. This, in the view of the sages, is the resurrection of the dead and the reward of the just at the end of days" (*ibid.*, 421ff.). All pronouncements in the Bible and the Talmud about bodily resurrection are only for the simple men who constitute the majority of mankind and who understand only material rewards, and the same holds true for the Muslim paradise (*ibid.*, 424).

> I ask this fool who maintains that the souls will return to the dead corpses and that they are destined to return to the soil of Israel. Into which body will the soul return? If it is to the body from which it has departed, [then this will] already have returned to its elements thousands of years earlier; [it is now] earth, dust, and worms. Where it has been buried, a house has been built, a vineyard planted, or some other plants have taken root and you cannot find the earth or the dust or the worms into which the body has turned. If, however, this soul is to return to another body, which God will create, then it is another man who will be created in his own time, and has not been dead; how, then can you say that he is being resurrected and that God rewards him, as he has not as yet achieved anything? (*ibid.*, 426).

Sheshet records opposition to the *Mishneh Torah* by reporting the opinion of one of the judges who quarreled with him and refused to judge according to Maimonides: "As he does not adduce proofs from the sayings of the talmudic sages for his decisions, who is going to follow his opinion? It is far better to study Talmud. We will have nothing to do with his books and his writings." In Sheshet's view this opposition stems from the fact that until the *Mishneh Torah* the whole matter of legal decision was so confused that the vast majority of Jews, being ignorant of the Talmud, had to obey their judges, whereas now people had before them a clear and open code and were not dependent on judges alone (*ibid.*, 427).

Maimonides was aware of the criticism leveled against him, and responded to it by his *Treatise on Resurrection* (*Maqalah fi Teḥiyat ha-Metim*, 1190–91). Maimonides' defense of resurrection in that work was accepted at face value by such early critics as Ramah (Rabbi Meir b. Todros ha-Levi Abulafia), who then retracted his criticism. Ravad's critical glosses were incorporated into standard editions of the *Mishneh Torah*. So the first climax in the Maimonidean controversy subsided with Maimonides death in 1204, but the criticism of the *Mishneh Torah* was preserved for later generations together with the Code itself.

The Second Climax: 1230–1235 in Europe

What led to periodic controversies over Maimonides and philosophy? In the first period, as we have seen, it was Maimonides' enormous status which led towards the end of his life to the rapid availability in Hebrew of his works in Europe, including his *Guide of the Perplexed*, outside his own immediate sphere of influence. It was this almost immediate availability of his philosophical views in areas previously unexposed to philosophical culture which in turn aroused resistance. In the second period, external circumstances contributed to the flare-up of the controversy. Furthermore, whereas Maimonides himself was the subject of controversy in the first period, he was merely the catalyst for a much broader and fundamental controversy in the second period, when philosophy itself came under sharp attack. In addition, whereas Maimonides, however much his views were criticized in the earlier period, was personally highly regarded, in the later period the philosophers themselves were attacked and subject to suspicion.

Maimonides' works reached Christian Europe, chiefly in the southwest – Spain and Provence – entering a cultural and social climate very different from the one in which they had been created in the Arabic-Islamic culture of Egypt. As we have seen, Maimonides' authority in the *Mishneh Torah* had been criticized halakhically by Ravad and *Moses ha-Kohen, among others. The Christian Reconquest was proceeding apace in the Iberian peninsula. Mystical tendencies and visionary approaches began to find explicit and strong expression in the developing *Kabbalah of Provence and Spain. Jews everywhere were suffering from the impact of the *Crusades, with martyrdom (**Kiddush ha-Shem*) in their wake. Maimonides' grand attempt at a synthesis between the Jewish faith and Greek-Arabic Aristotelian philosophy was received with enthusiasm in some circles, mainly of the upper strata of Jewish society, and with horror and dismay in others, imbued with mysticism and dreading the effects of Greek thought on Jewish beliefs. The old and continuously smoldering issue of "Athens versus Jerusalem" conceived in the Talmud as the problem of "Greek wisdom" – *ḥokhmah yevanit* (BK 82b–83a; Meg. 9a–b), now burst into flames. Essentially the problem is one of the possible synthesis or the absolute antithesis between monotheistic revealed faith and intellectually formulated philosophy. Both faith, based on revelation, and philosophy, based on human reason, were understood to fundamentally contradict each other's methodology and undermine each other's authority. The rational method of inquiry, which in classical and medieval times was equated with science (the distinction between philosophy and the natural sciences being a modern phenomenon), is an open system. It can lead to any conclusion, and the conclusion is justified and necessitated by the integrity of the method of inquiry itself, which can be replicated by others; furthermore, it is universal, transcending national, cultural, or religious differences. Faith, which differs from scientific knowledge precisely in that it involves an affirmation of truth without conclusive and demonstrative proof, basically is a closed system which reverses the process of inquiry: one begins with the conclusion, which is given as a revealed fact, which one can then subject after the fact to rational analysis and explication, but which cannot itself be rejected or denied. Faith, moreover, begins with revelation occurring within a particular national, cultural, linguistic, or religious context, and its authority is thus conventional, even if it claims to be ultimately universal in its significance and application.

This problem is common to Judaism, Christianity, and Islam. In the view of H.A. Wolfson, all of Western religious philosophy, whether in Hebrew, Latin, or Arabic "garb," is essentially the same regarding the problematical relationship between revelation and reason. In Wolfson's scheme, *Philo was the first "synthetic" philosopher, and the greatest figure in the history of Western philosophy after Plato and Aristotle, because he attempted to synthesize biblical revelation (which did not know philosophy) and philosophy (which was pagan and did not know revelation), and all subsequent philosophy in the Middle Ages was "Philonic" in structure, until Spinoza destroyed that structure and made possible modern philosophy by freeing philosophy from revelation (Wolfson, *Philo: Foundations of Religious Philosophy in Judaism, Christianity and Islam* (1947)).

In all three traditions, therefore, tensions exist between rationalistic religious belief, inclining in the main toward synthesis, and mystic belief, which is largely opposed to it.

The problem was not new in Judaism. In Islamic countries in the tenth century it was in the main decided in favor of rationalism and synthesis. Maimonides was not the only one in the 12th century who expressly sought a synthesis between Greek philosophy and Judaism; a philosophic approach was attempted by Abraham *Ibn Daud (see, e.g., his *Sefer ha-Emunah ha-Ramah* (1852), 2, 58), and he was preceded by a rationalist tradition of synthesis going back to *Saadiah Gaon and *Samuel b. Hophni who denied the historical veracity of the incident of Samuel and the Witch of Endor.

Yet in Maimonides' time radical changes were taking place in Jewish communities in Europe. The influence of the Christian environment became more pervasive. Increasingly, Christianity was involved in similar problems, as the conflict between Peter *Abelard and *Bernard of Clairvaux clearly shows. After the Crusaders captured Constantinople in 1204 (the year of Maimonides' death), the Greek works of Aristotle became directly accessible to Western Christians, who no longer had to rely on Latin translations of the Greek texts made (often by Jews) from Arabic or from Hebrew versions based on Arabic translations from the Greek. The growing universities increasingly challenged the monasteries as centers of learning. While the traditional doctrines of the Church were being confronted by secular learning, Christian Orthodoxy was also challenged in the 12th and 13th centuries by "heresies," especially that of Cathari and the related heresy of the rationalist Albigensians, who had begun in the 11th century to interpret Scripture allegorically and who denied the literal interpretation of the miraculous events of Jesus' life and death that was central to Catholic dogma. Such "heresy" spread especially among the upper classes. The Church moved against both threats in the first decades of the 13th century. Against the threat of secular philosophy, the Church issued repeated bans on the study of Aristotle and commentaries on his works. Pope Innocent III launched the Albigensian Crusade, to eliminate the heresy (which he regarded as instigated by educated Jews). In 1231 the bans on Aristotle were renewed by Pope Gregory IX, who established the permanent Inquisition under the Dominicans, with the aim of completely eradicating Albigensianism. There were, in fact, certain parallels between the Christian Albigensian "heresy" and the Jewish philosophers of the day, at least in the eyes of their respective opponents, who accused them of indiscriminate allegorization of Scripture and of antinomian laxity in moral or ritual behavior. The stormy winds of anti-rationalism in the Christian environment were a contributing factor in the exacerbation of long existing, if usually dormant, tensions within the Jewish community.

Social upheavals in Jewish society during the 12th and 13th centuries also added communal tension to the spiritual strife. When Maimonides was still young, and most of his work as yet unwritten, *Judah Halevi warned: "Turn aside from mines and pitfalls. Let not Greek wisdom tempt you, for it bears flowers only and no fruit.… Listen to the confused words of her sages built on the void.… Why should I search for bypaths, and complicated ones at that, and leave the main road?" (from his poem beginning "*Devarekha be-Mor Over Rekuḥim*").

Maimonides' prestige and the external pressures thus combined in a volatile mixture for Jews in Europe. Despite common admiration for Maimonides and his all-embracing devotion to Torah and the Jewish faith, there was in reality no common language between the two radical positions. Gradually the opponents of Maimonides began to attack his very conception of a synthesis between Greek philosophy and Jewish faith.

Solomon b. Abraham of Montpellier, together with David b. Saul and *Jonah b. Abraham Gerondi (a relative of *Nahmanides) agitated against philosophy, and in 1232 succeeded in persuading the rabbis of northern France to issue a total ban on the study of philosophy, including Maimonides' *Guide of the Perplexed* and *Book of Knowledge* (the first section, containing philosophical material, of the *Mishneh Torah*). The traditionalists' arguments against philosophy were based on three oft-repeated claims (recurring in the later stages of the controversy as well), which were consistently denied by the philosophers: (1) *Theological* – The philosophers were depicted as denying miracles, as regarding prophecy as a purely natural phenomenon, as undermining the authority of the Torah, and as rejecting traditional eschatology; (2) *Exigetical* – The traditionalists charged the philosophers with engaging in indiscriminate allegorization of Scripture and of denying the historicity of various biblical persons and events; (3) *Practical* – The philosophers were suspected of laxity in observance of the commandments.

The controversy of the 1230s also involved exchanges of letters, many between the philosopher and biblical exegete Radak (David *Kimḥi) and the physician and courtier, Judah *Ibn Alfakhar. Remarkably, the letters from both sides of the controversy were preserved in a collection *Iggerot Kena'ot,* "Letters of Zealotry" (published in *Koveẓ Teshuvot ha-Rambam*, Leipzig, 1859). When Kimḥi traveled about the communities of Provence to rally the supporters of Maimonides, he was greatly surprised to be answered by Judah ibn Alfakhar with a bitter attack on Maimonides' very attempt to rationalize and explain away miracles and wondrous tales. Ibn Alfakhar was against half acceptance; logical proofs were not so important, "for each true proof needs great checking, since sometimes it may include misleading elements of that false wisdom called sophistry in Greek, and when a proof is joined to this it misleads even sages." Maimonides' "erroneous" intention was to explain matters according to the laws of philosophy and nature "so as to put the Torah and Greek wisdom together, to make out of them one whole." He imagined that the one would live with the other like two loving twin deers. In reality this has resulted in sorrow and dissension, for they cannot live together on the earth and be like two sisters, for the Hebrew women are not like the Egyptian ones. To this our Torah says: 'No, my son is the living one, and yours is the dead' (1 Kings 3:22) and her rival angers her. I want peace; if I start to talk to them, they go to war" (letter to Kimḥi, *Iggerot Qena'ot*, 2a). Thus, through radical rationalistic argumentation, this physician and courtier in Spain rejects the synthesis of the physician and courtier in Egypt and the logical compromise it involves. As suggested by S. Harvey (1987), the dispute of the 1230s between Kimḥi and Alfakhar may well have served as the model for the book "The Epistle of the Debate" by Shem Tov ibn *Falaquera, who was a participant in the next, third climax of the controversy.

The demand for logical consistency was also answered from the Maimonidean camp. Increasingly they inclined toward extreme allegoristic explanations of talmudic and even biblical expressions and tales. Their opponents accused them of even inclining to explain away as no more than symbols certain practical commandments, which need be fulfilled only by simple men, but not by educated people. The rationalists denied this. Social overtones became stronger. The anti-Maimonideans berated their upper-class opponents for their hedonistic, luxurious, and sinful way of life. The Maimonideans countered by accusing their adversaries with anarchy, harshness, ignorance, simplicity of mind, and of being under Christian influence.

The anti-Maimonidean camp turned to the great sages of northern France. Never having been acquainted with Aristotelian philosophy, they never felt the need for synthesis with it; therefore, they unhesitatingly pronounced a *ḥerem* on Maimonides' philosophical works. Some report that they excommunicated even parts of his halakhic code. In Provence and Spain the anti-Maimonidean camp was led by Solomon b. Abraham of Montpellier, *Jonah b. Abraham Gerondi, the poet Meshullam *da Piera, and above all Naḥmanides. The position of Naḥmanides is remarkable for its simultaneous flexibility in expression and rigidity of mental attitude. Seeing that the extreme anti-Maimonidean stance taken by the rabbis of northern France and by Solomon of Montpellier had no chance of finding support among the leading circles of Jewish society in Provence and Spain, he therefore advised the anti-Maimonidean camp to adopt a moderate stand in order to achieve at least what was possible. Writing to the north French rabbis (printed in: MGWJ, 9 (1860), 184–95) he expresses his devotion and admiration, but he humbly submits that they "are nourished in the bosom of [true] faith, planted in the courts of tradition," and therefore had to understand Maimonides in his peculiar cultural and social circumstances. The situation he describes is actually that of Spanish and Provençal Jewish upper society in the early 13th century:

> They have filled their belly with the foolishness of the Greeks … they … make fun … of the trusting souls.… They did not enter profoundly into the ways of our Torah; the ways of alien children suffice for them. But for the words of [Maimonides], but for the fact that they live out of the mouth of his works … they would have slipped almost entirely.

It is not only a matter of false spiritual pride and alien culture; it is also a case born of social necessity:

> God save and guard us, my teachers, from such a fate. Look about and see: is there a pain like our pain? For the sons have been exiled from their fathers' tables; they have defiled themselves with the food of gentiles and the wine of their feasts. They have mixed with them and become used to their deeds … courtiers have been permitted to study Greek wisdom, to become acquainted with medicine, to learn mathematics and geometry, other knowledge and tricks, so that they make a living in royal courts and palaces.

This intrinsically hostile description of the life of the upper classes of Jewish society in Provence and Spain is given in order to put Maimonides in the light of a great talmudic sage who – argues Naḥmanides – would certainly and gladly have written and lived as the northern French rabbis did. Alas, it was not granted him: "Did he trouble himself for your sake, you geniuses of the Talmud? He saw himself compelled and constrained to structure a work which would offer refuge from the Greek philosophers.… Have you ever listened to their words, have you ever been misled by their proofs?" He goes on to explain that extremism would bring about an irreparable split. It is far better to educate gradually this misled society and bring it back to the right way of northern France, by partial prohibitions only. The region most afflicted is Provence; Spain he considers to be in far better order.

Naḥmanides was merely temporizing in his writings to the northern French rabbis. His true temper and the temper of the entire anti-Maimonidean camp is revealed in his commentary on the Torah, which is basically a mystical work against Maimonides and Abraham *Ibn Ezra. The very concept of a system of laws of nature ordained by God in His wisdom to be admired by man through his reason, as expressed by Maimonides (see, e.g., *Mishneh Torah, Sefer ha-Madda*), he and his colleagues believe to be sheer heresy. The workings of nature are to be conceived of only and always as "hidden miracles." God performs extraordinary *miracles in order that we should understand the miraculous nature of all existence and life:

> Through the great and famous miracles man recognizes the hidden foundation of the entire Torah. For no man has a share in the Torah of Moses until we believe that all our matters and accidents are miracles, the product neither of nature nor of the way of the world, whether for the multitude or for the individual; but if a man fulfills the commandments his reward will bring him success, if he transgresses them his punishment will strike him – all by divine decree (Comm. to Ex. 13:16).

Though their tactics might thus vary, dogmatics were radical and clearly defined on both sides. *Ḥerem* was hurled against counter-*ḥerem*, as the authority of northern France was met by the authority of local scholars and communal leaders in Provence and Spain. Emissaries of both camps traveled about, rallying their supporters. A profusion of letters and counter-letters, sermons and counter-sermons, commentaries and counter-commentaries poured out. The weapons in the campaign were polemics, original and translations, and the Ibn *Tibbon and *Anatoli families made their name in both. In the work of men like Jonah Gerondi the struggle against Maimonides was merged with a general reforming spirit in morals and community leadership. This battle was ended by a terrible shock when Maimonides' books were burned by the *Dominicans in 1232. Proponents and opponents of Maimonides and philosophy alike interpreted this calamity as a punishment for the opposition. Accordingly, Jonah Gerondi relented in his views and many adherents of the anti-Maimonidean camp followed suit.

The controversy returned to the Muslim countries in the East. Maimonides' son, *Abraham b. Moses b. Maimon, was outraged at what had happened in the West. He attacked "many overseas [scholars who are] mistaken. They cling to the literalistic sense of biblical verses, Midrashim, and *aggadot*. This pains our heart; at the sight of this our eyes have darkened, and our fathers are dumbfounded: How could such an impurity, so like the impurity of idol worship, come to be in Israel? They worship idols, deny God's teaching, and worship other gods beside Him." Flinging these accusations against Maimonides' opponents in Europe, Abraham holds that through their exegetical explanations they are guilty of pagan-like anthropomorphism (*Milḥamot ha-Shem*, ed by R. Margalioth (1953), 52). He compares their faith to that of the Christians (*ibid.*, 55). Continuing his father's line of thought, he attacks the European antirationalistic scholars for their exclusive devotion to talmudic studies only, while neglecting the philosophical and philological foundations of the faith (*ibid.*, 49). They are among "those that walk in the darkness of their understanding and in the paucity of their wisdom" (*ibid.*, 50). He expressly prefers Islamic surroundings and influence – conducive to a rationalistic-monotheistic faith – to a Christian environment, which influences men in the direction of antirationalism and anthropomorphism (*ibid.*, 51). Abraham restates the basic rationalistic principle of faith and exegesis:

> Know ye God's people and His heritage, that God differentiated men from animals and beasts through the reason, wisdom, and understanding which He granted them. He also differentiated Israel from the gentiles through the Torah He gave them and the precepts He commanded them. Hence reason preceded Torah, both in creation of the world, and in each and every one living in it. Reason has been given to a man since the six days of creation; Torah was given to man 4,448 years after creation. Should someone say to you, 'But the sages have explained that the Torah was created two thousand years before the world,' you should reply that this Midrash needs many commentaries to justify it. It is impossible to take it in its simple sense.… Reason was implanted in each and every one of the seed of Israel before his knowledge of Torah. Know and understand that it is because the child's reason is not yet ripe, that God did not oblige him to fulfill commandments (*ibid.*, 57–58). In Abraham's view, corporealist beliefs, rather than philosophy, constituted the true denial of the Torah.

While this blast was going forth from the East, extremists from the West caused the desecration of Maimonides' tomb at Tiberias, which shocked not only the Maimonidean camp but also the majority of the anti-Maimonideans. When in the early 1240s the Disputation of Paris and the burning of the Talmud added shock to shock, public quarrels among Jews were set aside for several decades, and the second climax of the controversy came to an end.

It remains a much disputed point whether the Dominicans set fire to Maimonides' writings on their own initiative, scenting heresy wherever they could find it, or whether their action resulted from a denunciation by Jews, as contemporary Maimonideans believed. Neither the social nor the cultural motivating forces of the controversy disappeared with the cessation of polemics. The rise of kabbalistic circles and literature (see *Zohar) on the one hand, and the continuing philosophical activity and way of life of the upper and "professional" circles of Jewish society on the other implied a continuation and an intensification of the struggle between rationalists and anti-rationalists.

The Third Climax: A Renewed Outbreak of the Controversy in 1288–1290

Whereas the controversy of the 1230s took place largely in southern France, within a Christian environment, most of the controversy towards the end of the 13th century took place in the Near East. Solomon Petit, a mystic and anti-rationalist, had first agitated against Maimonides in northern France and Germany, where he was supported in his attempts to ban the study of the *Guide* and the *Book of Knowledge*. In 1288, Petit immigrated to Acre, where he taught Kabbalah; many of his students had been students of Naḥmanides after his emigration to Israel. In Acre, Petit continued to agitate against Maimonides and to urge the burning of his books, especially the *Guide*. But he met with consistent failure, and was himself banned no less than four times. Petit had fundamentally miscalculated: he was now living in the Land of Israel, which came under the jurisdiction of the *nagid* (governor) of Egyptian Jewry, David b. Abraham b. Maimonides. In the Arabic environment of the Near East, the Jews were long accustomed and exposed to philosophical culture, unlike the Jews of Christian Europe who had originally supported Petit.

Petit was also opposed in the west. The last known work of Shem Tov ibn Falaquera, *Mikhtav al Devar ha-Moreh* ("Letter Concerning the Guide") defended Maimonides against the attacks of Petit and others. In his "Letter," Falaquera mocks Maimonides' opponents in a poem: "I wonder about those who differ with Moses [i.e., Maimonides] / How they don't remember the punishment of Korah. / He is a true teacher, and his word / Is like fire; their word is like ice." Playing on Petit's name, Falaquera calls him a *peti* (fool). Falaquera argued that Maimonides was compelled to write the *Guide* because of widespread corporealist beliefs among the Jews, even among the great rabbis. But such people, wrong as they are, were not the perplexed for whom Maimonides had written his *Guide*. No wonder that Maimonides had been misunderstood – after all, even the Torah had been misunderstood. The masses of Jews in the Torah had rebelled against God and Moses; no wonder that they rebel against the Moses of today. The opponents of philosophy, Falaquera suggested, glorified in their ignorance of science and philosophy, and had to rely on faulty and misleading Hebrew translations of the *Guide* because they were ignorant of Arabic.

The Fourth and Final Climax: 1300–1306

When the controversy flared up again for the fourth and final time at the end of the 13th and beginning of the 14th century, the immediate catalyst was the extreme allegorical exegesis of certain rationalists. In the century since Maimonides' death, philosophy and science had become deeply entrenched in Jewish culture. Therefore, whereas in the 1230s the traditionalists sought a total ban on the study of philosophy, in the fourth and final climax of the controversy the traditionalists also accepted the validity of philosophy and science. They did not seek to ban totally the study of philosophy, but only to limit it, especially among the youth who lacked the intellectual and spiritual maturity to deal with its challenges to tradition. What they rejected was the philosopher's extreme allegorization of Scripture and alleged denial of creation and miracles, which they saw as basic to the affirmation of the Torah. The traditionalists also objected to the rationalists' use of astral magic for medical purposes; they saw such magic not as scientific but as forbidden *avodah zarah* (idolatry). In particular, the controversy focused on the content of Jewish education and the question of the possibility or impossibility of synthesis between "Greek wisdom" and the Torah of Moses. Abba Mari Astruc ha-Yarḥi of Lunel turned to Rashba (Rabbi Solomon b. Abraham *Adret) in Barcelona for guidance on the rationalists' allegorical interpretations, which he saw as heretical. Despite Astruc's strong partisan views, he preserved a collection of the exchange of letters from both sides in his *Minḥat Kena'ot*, "The Offering of Jealousy" (cf. Num. 5:15) (ed. M. Bisliches, Pressburg, 1838; reprinted Jerusalem, 1968; new and superior ed., H. Dimitrovsky, *Teshuvot ha-Rashba*, Jerusalem, 1990, 2 vols.). Astruc charged the philosophers with treating historical figures and events in the Bible purely symbolically, at the expense of their historicity; with regarding Plato and Aristotle, rather than the Torah, as the criteria of truth; with rejecting miracles and divine revelation; and with being personally lax in observance of Jewish law.

Although these charges, especially those of interpreting biblical figures purely symbolically and laxity in observance, were consistently denied by the rationalists, such as Menahem b. Solomon Meiri and Jedaiah b. Abraham Bedershi ha-Penini, they were on some level accurate. For example, Jacob b. Abba Mari Anatoli (1194–1296), the son-in-law of Samuel ibn Tibbon, in his book *Malmad ha-Talmidim*, had interpreted the patriarchs and matriarchs allegorically, rather than historically. Abraham and Sarah symbolized form and matter; Lot and his wife symbolized the intellect and the body; Isaac symbolized the active soul, and his wife Rebecca the intelligent soul; Leah symbolized the perceptive soul, and her sons the five senses; Leah's daughter Dinah represented sensations induced by imagination; Joseph symbolized practical reason, while Benjamin symbolized theoretical reason. He also interpreted the seven-branched *menorah* (candelabrum) as representing the seven planets, the twelve tribes as symbolizing the constellations, and the Urim and Thummim of the high priest as representing the astrolabe.

The traditionalists feared that such views could only lead to laxity in observance. If the Torah is true only on a symbolic level, the commandments might also be interpreted purely symbolically, at the expense of their actual observance, which is based on the literal text. Nevertheless, their attacks on individual rationalists like Levi b. Abraham b. Ḥayyim of Villefranche (who seems to have been the immediate catalyst of the outburst), were unwarranted, since these rationalists, as they themselves insisted in their own defense, did not in fact go beyond Maimonides' views or give up strict observance of the law, despite their radical allegorization.

Toward the end of the 13th century, a fierce dispute broke out in Provence between traditionalists and rationalists. While the main bone of contention was ostensibly radical rationalist allegorical exegesis of the Bible, the dispute actually flared up over the rationalist practice of healing with astral magic. Astral magic was included in the curriculum of medical studies in the universities. Paradoxically, it was thus the rationalist camp which employed astral magic in healing, and it was their use of such magic which the traditionalists, led by Abba Mari of Lunel, rejected as idolatrous *avodah zarah* and as prohibited by the *halakhah*.

Abba Mari tried to drag R. Solomon b. Adret (Rashba) into the argument, but failed. Rashba noted that he himself, before the anti-philosophical controversy had arisen, had unhesitatingly permitted the fashioning of effigies for medical purposes, and even while the controversy was still raging refused to issue an absolute prohibition of the medical use of astral magic. As against Maimonides' approach, denying the reality of sorcery, Rashba pointed out that both the Babylonian and Jerusalem Talmuds contain an abundance of magical material which violates no religious precept. Moreover, Rashba accused the opponents of sorcery of denying the possibility of miracles. To support his acceptance of the possibility that spirituality might descend upon amulets, he wrote:

> And I say that it was the kindness of the Supreme Being at the start of Creation to create in his world things that would ensure the health of the created beings, that if the existents happen to fall ill or for any other reason deviate from their natural perfection, these [things] are ready to restore them to their realm or to make them healthy. And He placed these forces in the essence of things found in nature, as may be attained by study, such as medications and aids known to scholars of medicine, or in nature based on properties but not attainable by study. And it is not impossible that such a power should also be in speech, as in the case of amulets and similar things (*Minḥat Kena'ot*, in Rashba, *Responsa*, ed. H.Z. Dimitrovsky, p. 302).

The possibility that stellar forces could be used to heal the sick was provided for in advance by God. Whether such practices were permissible or not depended, according to Rashba, on the magician's innermost intention: it was his awareness that God was the primary cause of recovery that legitimized the astral-magical practice. Thus, Abba Mari was unable to persuade Rashba to join him in condemnation of astral magic.

Through the 14th century, the dispute became increasingly acrimonious; at least four positions can be distinguished with regard to the status of astral magic:

(a) False and forbidden: The moderate rationalists rejected astral magic of any kind and therefore also considered it halakhically prohibited. They thus accepted Maimonides' firm negation of any reality of astral magic and his prohibition of its practices. These thinkers, then, took up Maimonides' approach in content, style, and language (Menaḥem ha-Meiri, David ha-Kokhavi). Some rationalists chose almost to ignore the issue, probably because they attached no reality whatever to astral magic (Joseph ibn Kaspi).

(b) Dubious and forbidden: This was the view of the traditionalists, who consistently battled the radical rationalists and in fact defined the latter group, inter alia, in terms of their employment of astral magic for medical purposes (Abba Mari, Jacob b. Solomon ha-Zarfati). They, too, prohibited the practice absolutely, as did the moderate rationalists, although they did not entirely deny the possible reality of astral magic. Their most characteristic trait was the connection they perceived between the practice of astral magic and the magician's affinity for philosophy: in their view, a rationalist philosophy was bound to lead to the practice of astral magic.

(c) False in respect of its reality but psychologically effective, and forbidden: Some circles denied that astral magic could actually bring down stellar forces, but believed that there was some psychological benefit in the practice. Nevertheless, they, too, prohibited its use from the standpoint of Halakhah (Gersonides, Jedaiah ha-Penini of Béziers). In a sense, this might be considered an intermediate position, though it is closer to that of the moderate rationalists and its proponents were essentially a subgroup of the latter.

(d) Real and permitted: Certain thinkers believed in the absolute reality of astral magic (Nissim of Marseilles, Frat Maimon) and even considered it halakhically legitimate (Levi b. Abraham). For such thinkers, astral magic was a theological principle that could be used in interpreting various biblical passages.

All these issues provided the background for Rashba's ultimate decision to support a limited ban.

After much hesitation, and spurred on by the influence of Asher b. Jehiel, Rashba and the Barcelona community issued a *ḥerem* on July 26, 1305, against "any member of the community who, being under the age of 25 years, shall study the works of the Greeks on natural science or metaphysics, whether in the original language or in translation."

Works by Jewish philosophers were excepted, as was the study of medicine. The ban was intended to prevent young men from being influenced by Greek philosophy to turn away "from the Torah of Israel which is above these sciences. How can any man dare to judge between human wisdom based on analogy, proof, and thought, and the wisdom of God, between whom and us there is no relation nor similarity? Will man, who is embodied in a vessel of clay, judge … God his creator to say, God forbid, what is possible and what he cannot do? Truly this, sometimes leads to utter heresy" (Resp. Rashba pt. 1, no. 415). A ban was also pronounced against all who "say about Abraham and Sarah that in reality they symbolize matter and form; that the 12 tribes of Israel are [an allegory] for the 12 planets … [and] that the Urim and Thummim are to be understood as the astrolabe instrument.… Some of them say that everything in the Torah, from *Bereshit* to the giving of the law, is entirely allegorical" (*ibid.*, no. 416).

The condemnation of extreme allegory did not arouse opposition, but the prohibition on the study of "Greek wisdom" until the age of 25 was sharply opposed on grounds of principle, though to Rashba and his group this formula was certainly in many respects a compromise. Among the many communities and individual sages in Provence and Spain who opposed the ban, the great talmudic scholar Menahem b. Solomon Meiri was one of the most eloquent voices. In his counter-*ḥerem* (printed in excerpts in *Jubelschrift… L. Zunz* (1884), Heb. pt. 153–72) he reminded Adret of the failure of the early 13th-century attacks against Maimonides. Rejecting insinuations that the study of philosophy causes heresy, he pointed to many talmudic scholars who were students of philosophy. Meiri stressed that sciences such as mathematics were necessary for the understanding of many passages in the Talmud. He regarded the prohibition against certain types of study as self-defeating: "Each individual [nature] will search for what suits him according to his natural inclination." This trait of human intellect and nature, he maintains, will even cause the second generation of the excommunicating community to seek ways out of this prohibition. Meiri was well aware that there was a more radical wing among the rationalists, which he opposed (see his commentary to Psalms, ed. by J. Cohn (1936), e.g., ch. 36, p. 78f., and many passages in his commentary to Proverbs and to Mishnah Avot).

Finally, Jedaiah b. Abraham Bedersi (ha-Penini) wrote Adret a "letter of apology" (*Ketav Hitnaẓẓelut*) – actually a sharp attack against the anti-rationalists – basing himself on the spiritual greatness of Provençal Jews and praising rationalism and philosophy. He daringly proclaims:

> My rabbis, please look into the mighty pattern of the benefits of philosophy to all of us, even to those who despise it. For it is extremely well-known that in ancient times anthropomorphism was widespread, one may say almost in the entire Diaspora of Israel … but in every generation there arose *geonim* and sages – in Spain, in Babylonia and in the cities of Andalusia – who, thanks to their familiarity with the Arabic language, had the great opportunity to smell the perfume of the sciences, some much, some a little, for they are translated into this language. It is thanks to this that they began to elaborate and clarify many of their opinions on the Torah, above all as to the unity of God and the abolition of anthropomorphism, especially by the philosophical proofs taken from scientific works.

He goes on to list this rationalistic literature, from the days of Saadiah Gaon onward (Resp. Rashba pt. 1., no. 418). This long epistle concludes:

> Relinquish your *ḥerem* for the heart of this people will not turn away from philosophy and its books as long as there is breath in their frame and soul in their bodies, especially as together with it [i.e., with devotion to philosophy], they are true to Torah and commandments. Even if they had heard it from the mouth of Joshua bin Nun they would never have accepted it, for they intend to do battle for the honor of the great teacher [i.e., Maimonides] and his works; and for the holiness of his teaching they will sacrifice fortune, family, and soul as long as there is a breath in their bodies. And thus they will teach and command their children in generations to come (*ibid.*).

On this sharp though inconclusive note, the great controversy of the early 14th century petered out. In any event, the expulsion of the Jews from France by King Philip IV on July 22, 1306, almost exactly one year after the Barcelona ban was issued, overshadowed the internal Jewish controversy. The greater external threat totally eclipsed a potential internal threat from philosophy. Like its predecessors, the Barcelona ban, as limited as it was in comparison to earlier bans, also proved ineffective and unenforceable, and to that extent, the rationalists had the last word in the controversy.

Aftermath of the Controversy

The tension between rationalists and antirationalists never abated throughout the Middle Ages. Among the beleaguered Jews of 15th-century Christian Spain, Maimonidean rationalism was seen by many as the root cause of the misfortunes and the reason for *apostasy. On the other hand, a man like Abraham *Bibago, throughout his *Derekh Emunah*, defended rationalism, not only as being justified but as the very essence of Judaism. Proudly calling himself "a pupil of Maimonides," he believed that the Jewish people is the bearer of reason – weak in this world as reason is weak against the unreasonable passions. Generalizing the traditional rationalistic view, he stated:

> The reasonable creature having reason has to study the sciences; and being a believer, he will study Torah and acquire faith and its roots and dogmas. The first study will be a kind of carrier and vessel to bear the second study. In the same way that life is an assumption and carrier by which humanity and speech are carried, so through the form of reason – by whose accomplishment one studies and acquires the sciences – Torah study will be assumed and carried. Thus faith will be complete and without doubt, and the one attitude [faith], will not conflict with the other [philosophy]. Therefore did the sage say, 'Reason and faith are two lights.' To solve all doubts we must explain that 'Greek wisdom' cannot be the above-mentioned wisdom of reason belonging to man insofar as he is a man. Hence it is a human wisdom and not a Greek one. The wisdom called [by talmudic sages] 'Greek wisdom,' must be something peculiar to the Greeks and not to another nation (see above, pt. 2, ch. 3, 46a).

That views like this were acceptable also among 16th-century Ashkenazi Jewry is proved by the fact that the *Sefer ha-Miknah* by *Joseph b. Gershom of Rosheim is in reality a kind of synopsis of Bibago's *Derekh Emunah*. In Renaissance Italy Jehiel b. Samuel of *Pisa wrote a detailed treatise (*Minḥat Kena'ot*) against rationalism, while the life and works of many of his contemporaries and countrymen constituted a clear espousal of it. In Poland-Lithuania in the 16th–17th centuries the tension between Maimonideans and anti-Maimonideans likewise continued, as evidenced, for example, by the dispute between Moses *Isserles and Solomon b. Jehiel *Luria (see Moses Isserles, Resp., nos. 687; and see also his *Torat ha-Olah*).

The problems of the synthesis between Judaism and other cultures, of the proper content of Jewish education, and of the right way to God – through reason or through mystic union – has remained, though formulations and expressions have changed considerably. The old hierarchical basis of Jewish leadership, wholeheartedly hated by Maimonides, has disappeared, but the leadership of the individual scholar, even after Maimonides, retained many hierarchical and sacral elements (see **Semikhah*). The *Mishneh Torah* did not supersede the Talmud, and Maimonides' aristocratic opposition to monetary support for Torah study failed completely. So strong was his personality, however, that most of his opponents made great efforts to say that they opposed not Maimonides himself but some element of his teaching or, better still, some misguided interpretation or citation of his work. The Maimonidean controversy is both very specifically at the heart of Jewish culture and, at the same time, part or a set of problems central to Judaism, Islam, and Christianity alike.

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MAIMONIDES, MOSES (**Moses ben Maimon**; known in rabbinical literature as "**Rambam**"; from the acronym **R**abbi **M**oses **B**en **M**aimon; 1135–1204), rabbinic authority, codifier, philosopher, and royal physician.

BIOGRAPHY

The most illustrious figure in Judaism in the post-talmudic era, and one of the greatest of all time, Maimonides was born in Cordoba, Spain, to his father *Maimon, *dayyan* of Cordoba and himself a renowned scholar and pupil of Joseph *ibn Migash. He continues his genealogy, "the son of the learned Joseph, son of Isaac the *dayyan*, son of Joseph the *dayyan*, son of Obadiah the *dayyan*, son of the rabbi Solomon, son of Obadiah" (end of commentary to Mishnah); traditions extend the genealogy to R. Judah ha-Nasi. Posterity even recorded the day and hour and even minute of his birth, "On the eve of Passover (the 14th of Nisan) which was a Sabbath, an hour and a third after midday, in the year 4895 (1135) of the Creation" (*Sefer Yuḥasin*). Maimonides' grandson David gives the same day and year without the hour (at the beginning of his commentary to tractate *Rosh Ha-Shanah*).

As a result of the fall of Cordoba to the *Almohads in May or June, 1148, when Moses had just reached his 13th birthday, and the consequent religious persecution, Maimon was obliged to leave Cordoba with his family and all trace of them is lost for the next eight or nine years, which they spent wandering from place to place in Spain (and possibly Provence) until in 1160 they settled in Fez. Yet it was during those years of wandering, which Maimonides himself describes as a period "while my mind was troubled, and amid divinely ordained exiles, on journeys by land and tossed on the tempests of the sea" (end of commentary to Mishnah) that he laid the strong foundations of his vast and varied learning and even began his literary work. Not only did he begin the draft of the *Sirāj*, his important commentary on the Mishnah, in 1158, but in that same year, at the request of a friend, he wrote a short treatise on the Jewish calendar (*Ma'amar ha-Ibbur*) and one on logic (*Millot Higgayon*) and had completed writing notes for a commentary on a number of tractates of the Babylonian Talmud, and a work whose aim was to extract the *halakhah* from the Jerusalem Talmud (see below Maimonides as halakhist). According to Muslim authorities the family became formally converted to Islam somewhere in the period between 1150 and 1160. But Saadiah ibn Danan (Z. Edelmann (ed.), *Ḥemdah Genuzah* (1856), 16a) relates that the Muslims maintain the same about many Jewish scholars, among them Dunash ibn Tamim, Ḥasdai b. Ḥasdai, and others. In any case in the year 1160 Maimon and his sons, Moses and David, and a daughter, were in Fez. In his old age 'Abd al-Mu'min, the Almohad ruler, somewhat changed his attitude to the Jews, becoming more moderate toward those who were living in the central, Moroccan, part of his realm. It was probably on account of this that in 1159 or early in 1160 Maimon deemed it worthwhile to emigrate with his family to Morocco and settle in Fez. Living in Fez at that time was R. Judah ha-Kohen ibn Susan, whose fame for learning and piety had spread to Spain, and Maimonides, then 25, studied under him. Many Jews had outwardly adopted Islam and their consciences were troubling them, and this prompted Maimon to write his *Iggeret ha-Neḥamah* ("Letter of Consolation") assuring them that he who says his prayers even in their shortest form and who does good works remains a Jew (*Ḥemdah Genuzah*, pp. LXXIV–LXXXII). Meantime his son worked at his commentary on the Mishnah and also continued his general studies, particularly medicine; in his medical works he frequently refers to the knowledge and experience he gained among the Muslims in North Africa (see Maimonides as physician). Here also he wrote his *Iggeret ha-Shemad* ("Letter on Forced Conversion") also called *Iggeret Kiddush ha-Shem* ("Letter of the Sanctification of the Divine Name"). These letters of father and son, as well as Maimonides' utterances after leaving Morocco, do not point to outrages and bloody persecutions. Although Maimonides in the opening lines of the *Iggeret ha-Shemad* most strongly deprecates the condemnation of the forced converts by "the self-styled sage who has never experienced what so many Jewish communities experienced in the way of persecution," his conclusion is that a Jew must leave the country where he is forced to transgress the divine law: "He should not remain in the realm of that king; he should sit in his house until he emigrates …" And once more, with greater insistence: "He should on no account remain in a place of forced conversion; whoever remains in such a place desecrates the Divine Name and is nearly as bad as a willful sinner; as for those who beguile themselves, saying that they will remain until the Messiah comes to the Maghreb and leads them to Jerusalem, I do not know how he is to cleanse them of the stigma of conversion" (*Iggeret ha-Shemad*, in: Z. Edelmann (ed.), *Ḥemdah Genuzah*, 11b–12a).

Maimon and his sons acted in accordance with this advice, as certainly did many others. Maimonides' departure from the country of the Almohads is commonly assumed to have taken place in 1165; according to Saadiah ibn Danan (*Seder ha-Dorot*, in: *Ḥemdah Genuzah*, 30b.), it was promoted by the martyrdom of Judah ibn Susan, who had been called upon to forsake his religion and had preferred death to apostasy. R. Maimon and his family escaped from Fez, and a month later they landed at Acre. The day of his departure as well as that on which the ship was saved from a tempest were instituted as a family fast enjoined on his descendants, and that of his arrival in Ereẓ Israel as a festival (E. Azikri (Azcari), *Sefer Ḥaredim*; Maim. Comm. to *Rosh Ha-Shanah*, ed. Brill, end).

The family remained in Acre for some five months, striking up an intimate friendship there with the *dayyan* Japheth b. Ali. Together with him they made a tour of the Holy Land, visiting Jerusalem where Maimonides states, "I entered the [site of the] Great and Holy House and prayed there on Thursday the 6th day of Marḥeshvan." Three days later they paid a visit to the Cave of Machpelah in Hebron for the same purpose. Maimonides also appointed both these days as family festivals. The family then left Ereẓ Israel and sailed for Egypt. After a short stay at Alexandria they moved to Cairo and took up residence in Fostat, the Old City of Cairo.

Maimon died at this time either in Ereẓ Israel or in Egypt. It has been suggested that the reason for the choice of Alexandria was the existence at that time "outside the town" of "the academy of Aristotle, the teacher of Alexander" to which "people from the whole world came in order to study the wisdom of Aristotle the philosopher" mentioned by Benjamin of Tudela (ed. by M.N. Adler (1907), 75). It is not certain what prompted the move to Cairo. That Maimonides' influence was decisive in virtually destroying the hitherto dominating influence of the Karaites who were more numerous and wealthy than the Rabbanites in Cairo is beyond doubt (see below) and in the 17th century Jacob Farajī, a *dayyan* in Egypt, states that it was this challenge which impelled Maimonides to move to Cairo (see Azulai, letter M150).

For eight years Maimonides lived a life free from care. Supported by his brother David who dealt in precious stones, he was able to devote himself entirely to preparing his works for publication and to his onerous but honorary work as both religious and lay leader of the community. His *Sirāj*, the commentary to the Mishnah, was completed in 1168. The following year he suffered a crushing blow. His brother David drowned in the Indian Ocean while on a business trip, leaving a wife and two children, and with him were lost not only the family fortune but moneys belonging to others. Maimonides took the blow badly. For a full year he lay almost prostrate, and then he had to seek a means of livelihood. Rejecting the thought of earning a livelihood from Torah (see his commentary on *Avot* 5:4, and especially his letter to Joseph ibn Sham'un in 1191, "It is better for you to earn a drachma as a weaver, or tailor, or carpenter than to be dependent on the license of the exilarch [to accept a paid position as a rabbi]"; F. Kobler (ed.), *Letters of Jews Through the Ages*, 1 (1952), 207) and he decided to make the medical profession his livelihood.

Fame in his calling did not come to him at once. It was only after 1185 when he was appointed one of the physicians to al-Faḍil, who had been appointed vizier by Saladin and was virtual ruler of Egypt after Saladin's departure from that country in 1174, that his fame began to spread. It gave rise to a legend that Richard the Lionhearted "the King of the Franks in Ascalon" sought his services as his private physician. About 1177 he was recognized as the official head of the Fostat community. Ibn Danan says of him, "Rabbenu Moshe [b. Maimon] became very great in wisdom, learning, and rank." In the so-called *Megillat Zuta* he is called "the light of east and west and unique master and marvel of the generation."

These were the most fruitful and busy years of his life. His first wife had died young and in Egypt he remarried, taking as his wife the sister of Ibn Almali, one of the royal secretaries, who himself married Maimonides' only sister. To them was born their only son Abraham to whose education he lovingly devoted himself, and an added solace was his enthusiastic disciple Joseph ibn Sham'un (not Ibn Aknin, as often stated), whom he loved as a son, and for whom he wrote, and sent chapter by chapter, his *Guide of the Perplexed*. It was during those years, busy as he was with the heavy burden of his practice and occupied with the affairs of the community, writing his extensive correspondence to every part of the Jewish world (apart from the Franco-German area), that he wrote the two monumental works upon which his fame chiefly rests, the *Mishneh Torah* (compiled 1180) and the *Guide* (1190; according to Z. Diesendruck, in: HUCA, 12–13 (1937–38), 461–97, in 1185), as well as his *Iggeret Teiman* and his *Ma'amar Teḥiyyat ha-Metim*.

The following passage in the letter to the translator of the *Guide*, Samuel b. Judah ibn *Tibbon, in which he describes his multifarious cares and duties, with the aim of dissuading Ibn Tibbon from coming to visit him, has often been quoted:

> I dwell at Miṣr [Fostat] and the sultan resides at al-Qāhira [Cairo]; these two places are two Sabbath days' journey distant from each other. My duties to the sultan are very heavy. I am obliged to visit him every day, early in the morning; and when he or any of his children, or any of the inmates of his harem, are indisposed, I dare not quit al-Qāhira, but must stay during

> the greater part of the day in the palace. It also frequently happens that one or two royal officers fall sick, and I must attend to their healing. Hence, as a rule, I repair to al-Qāhira very early in the day, and even if nothing unusual happens, I do not return to Miṣr until the afternoon. Then I am almost dying with hunger … I find the antechambers filled with people, both Jews and gentiles, nobles and common people, judges and bailiffs, friends and foes – a mixed multitude who await the time of my return.
>
> I dismount from my animal, wash my hands, go forth to my patients, and entreat them to bear with me while I partake of some slight refreshment, the only meal I take in the twenty-four hours. Then I go forth to attend to my patients, and write prescriptions and directions for their various ailments. Patients go in and out until nightfall, and sometimes even, I solemnly assure you, until two hours or more in the night. I converse with and prescribe for them while lying down from sheer fatigue; and when night falls, I am so exhausted that I can scarcely speak.
>
> In consequence of this, no Israelite can have any private interview with me, except on the Sabbath. On that day the whole congregation, or at least the majority of the members, come to me after the morning service, when I instruct them as to their proceedings during the whole week; we study together a little until noon, when they depart. Some of them return, and read with me after the afternoon service until evening prayers. In this manner I spend that day.

The two major works will be described below, but something must be said of the two letters. The Arab ruler in Yemen, who, unlike the sultans in Egypt who were Sunnites, belonged to the sectarian Shiʿites, instituted a religious persecution, giving the Jews the choice of conversion to Islam or death. Not only did many succumb, but there arose among those Jews a pseudo-Messiah, or a forerunner of the Messiah who, seeing in these events the darkness before the dawn, preached the imminent advent of the Messianic Age. In despair the Jews of Yemen turned to Maimonides, who probably in 1172 answered their request with the *Iggeret Teiman* (*al-Risāla al-Yamaniyya*). It was addressed to R. *Jacob b. Nethanel al-Fayyumi, with a request that copies be sent to every community in Yemen. Deliberately couched in simple terms, "that men, women, and children could read it easily," he pointed out that the subtle attack of Christianity and Islam which preached a new revelation was more dangerous than the sword and than the attractions of Hellenism. As for the pseudo-Messiah, he was unbalanced and he was to be rejected. These trials were sent to prove the Jews.

The effect of the letter was tremendous. In gratitude for the message of hope, combined with the fact that Maimonides also used his influence at court to obtain a lessening of the heavy burden of taxation on the Jews of Yemen, the Jews of Yemen introduced into the **Kaddish* a prayer for "the life of our teacher Moses b. Maimon" (Letter of Naḥmanides to the rabbis of France, in: *Kitvei Ramban*, ed. by C.B. Chavel (1963), 341).

This remarkable tribute, usually reserved for the exilarch, has an indirect connection with the third of his public (as distinct from his private) letters, the *Maʾamar Teḥiyyat ha-Metim* ("On Resurrection"; 1191). Maimonides wrote the letter with the greatest reluctance. It was the direct result of his *Mishneh Torah* and constituted his reply to the accusation leveled against him that in this work he denied, or did not mention, the doctrine of personal resurrection which was a fundamental principle of faith among the Jews of his time. An objective study of his work does lend a certain basis to the allegation. It is true, as he indignantly protests, that he included this doctrine as the last of his famous Thirteen Principles of Judaism, but in his *Mishneh Torah* the undoubted emphasis is on the immortality of the soul and not on individual bodily resurrection. That the allegation was not based upon mere malice or envy of his work is sufficiently proved by the fact that anxious queries were addressed to him from the countries in which he was most fervently admired, Yemen and Provence, and Maimonides answered them. Abraham b. David of Posquières wrote: "The words of this man seem to me to be very near to him who says there is no resurrection of the body, but only of the soul. By my life, this is not the view of the sages" (Comm. to Yad, Teshuvah 8:2). Some Jews from Yemen however, unsatisfied, wrote to *Samuel b. Ali the powerful and learned *Gaon* in Baghdad who sent a reply, which although couched in terms of respect to Maimonides, vigorously denounced his views. It would appear that the vehemence of this reply was connected with Samuel's desire to assert his authority as *gaon* over Egypt, which he thought was being usurped by Maimonides. On the other hand, Maimonides held the exilarch Samuel (of Josiah b. Zakkai's line), the successor of the exilarch Daniel b. Ḥisdai, in higher esteem than the *gaon* Samuel b. Ali. Thus the relations between Maimonides and the *gaon* remained strained, although there was never open hostility. Joseph ibn Sham'un, in Baghdad, who had also queried Maimonides' views on resurrection, sent a copy of Samuel's reply to Maimonides and with great reluctance Maimonides felt himself compelled to write his *Maʾamar Teḥiyyat ha-Metim* in which he asserted and confirmed his belief in the doctrine.

Maimonides was active as head of the community. He took vigorous steps to deal with the Karaites, and as a result brought about the supremacy of the Rabbanites in Cairo. On the one hand he emphatically maintained that they were to be regarded as Jews, with all the attendant privileges. They might be visited, their dead buried, and their children circumcised, their wine permitted; they were however not to be included in a religious quorum (Resp. ed. Blau, 449). Only when they flouted rabbinic Judaism was a barrier to be maintained. One was particularly to avoid visiting them on their festivals which did not coincide with the dates fixed by the rabbinic calendar. One of the inroads which they had caused in orthodox observance was with regard to ritual immersion for the **niddah*. Their view that an ordinary bath was sufficient had been widely adopted among the Rabbanites. Maimonides succeeded in restoring rabbinic practice in this matter, but generally his policy toward the Karaites was more lenient in his later years, and was continued by his son Abraham. (For an exhaustive treatment of this subject see C. Tchernowitz, *Toledot ha-Posekim* (1946), 197–208.)

Maimonides made various changes in liturgical custom, the most radical of which was the abolition of the repetition of the **Amidah* in the interests of decorum. With the completion of the *Guide*, Maimonides' literary work, apart from his extensive correspondence, came to an end. In failing health he nevertheless continued his work as head of the Jewish community and as court physician. (It is doubtful whether he actually held the appointment of *nagid* as is usually stated; see M.D. Rabinowitz, Introduction to *Ma'amar Teḥiyyat ha-Metim* in *Iggerot ha-Rambam*, 220–7.)

It was during this period however that he engaged in his correspondence with the scholars of Provence in general and with Jonathan of Lunel in particular. In some instances the border line between responsum and letter is not clearly defined (e.g., his letter to Obadiah the Proselyte, see below), but, as Kobler comments, the letters of Maimonides mark an epoch in letter writing. He is the first Jewish letter writer whose correspondence has been largely preserved. Vigorous and essentially personal, his letters found their way to the mind and heart of his correspondents, and he varied his style to suit them. But above all they reveal his whole personality, which is different from what might be expected from his *Mishneh Torah* and the *Guide*. The picture of an almost austere and aloof intellectual above human passions and emotions derived from there is completely dispelled.

Maimonides died on December 13, 1204. There were almost universal expressions of grief. Public mourning was ordained in all parts of the Jewish world. In Fostat mourning was ordained for three days and in Jerusalem a public fast and the Scriptural readings instituted concluded with the verse "the glory is departed from Israel, for the Ark of the Lord is taken" (1 Sam. 4:22). His remains were taken to Tiberias for burial, and his grave is still an object of pilgrimage.

Influence

The influence of Maimonides on the future development of Judaism is incalculable. No spiritual leader of the Jewish people in the post-talmudic period has exercised such an influence both in his own and subsequent generations. Despite the vehement opposition which greeted his philosophical views the breach was healed (see *Maimonidean Controversy). It is significant that when Solomon *Luria strongly criticized Moses Isserles for his devotion to Greek philosophy, Isserles answered that his sole source was Maimonides' *Guide*, thus giving it the cachet of acceptability (Resp. Isserles 7). It was probably due to his unrivaled eminence as talmudist and codifier that many of his views were finally accepted. They were very radical at the time. To give but one example, the now universally accepted doctrine of the incorporeality of God was by no means accepted as fundamental before him and was probably an advanced view held by a small group of thinkers and philosophers. Even Abraham b. David of Posquières protested the statement of Maimonides that anyone who maintains the corporeality of God is a sectarian: "Why does he call him a sectarian? Many greater and better than he accepted this idea [of the corporeality of God] basing themselves on Scripture" (Yad, Teshuvah 3:7). C. Tchernowitz (*Toledot ha-Posekim*, 1 (1946), 193) goes so far as to maintain that were it not for Maimonides Judaism would have broken up into different sects and beliefs, and that it was his great achievement to unite the various currents, halakhic and philosophic.

Maimonides is regarded as the supreme rationalist, and the title given by Aḥad Ha-Am to his essay on him, "*Shilton ha-Sekhel*" ("The Rule of Reason"; in: *Ha-Shilo'aḥ*, 15 (1905), 291–319) included in his collected works, *Al Parashat Derakhim* (1921), has become almost standard in referring to him, and so long as one confines oneself to his three great works, the commentary on the Mishnah, the *Mishneh Torah*, and the *Guide*, a case can be made out for this view.

In the *Mishneh Torah*, Maimonides rigidly confines himself to a codification of Jewish law, refraining almost entirely from allowing his personal views to obtrude. Where he does advance his own view to which he can find no talmudic authority, he is careful, as he explicitly states in a letter to Jonathan of Lunel, to introduce it with the words "it appears to me" (cf. Yad, Sanhedrin 4:11). From his knowledge of medicine he was aware that certain disabilities in animals which in the time of the Talmud were regarded as fatal were susceptible to cure, while some which were not so regarded were in fact fatal, yet he lays it down that the talmudic view must be applied (Sheḥitah 10:12 and 13). Among the few exceptions the most striking is his outburst against belief in witchcraft and enchantment. After faithfully giving in their minutest details the talmudic description of, and laws concerning, these practices, he adds: "All these and similar matters are lies and falsehood… it is not fitting for Jews, who are intelligent and wise, to be attracted by them or believe that they are effective… whosoever believes in them, and that they are true, only that the Bible has forbidden them, belongs to the category of fools and ignoramuses and is in the class of immature women and children" (*Avodat Kokhavim* 11:16). In his work on the calendar included in the *Mishneh Torah* (*Hilkhot Kiddush ha-Ḥodesh*) he maintains vigorously that one should have recourse to works written by non-Jewish astronomers (11:1–6). At the end of *Hilkhot Temurah*, he defends the search after reasons for the biblical commandments (4:13).

In the *Guide* he allows himself more freedom, but the main difference between the two works lies in their different purpose and aim. The *Mishneh Torah* was written for the believing Jew untroubled by the apparent contradictions between revealed law and current philosophy, and its aim was to tell him how he should conduct himself in his desire to live according to the law. The *Guide*, as its name conveys, was designed for those whose faith had been weakened by these doctrines and its aim was to tell him why he should adhere to traditional Judaism. This helps to explain the contradictions between the two.

In both works one sees only the unemotional man of intellect. It is in his letters that Maimonides emerges as the warm human being, his heart open to the suffering of his people, and expressing and responding to both affection and hostility. It comes almost as a shock to read in his letter to Japheth b. Ali, when he informs him of the death of his brother David, that he remonstrates with him for not sending a letter of condolence to him on the death of his father which took place 11 years earlier though he had received innumerable such messages from all over the Jewish world, repeating the complaint twice. The letter was written eight years after his brother's death, yet he writes, "I still mourn, and there is no comfort.… Whenever I come across his handwriting or one of his books, my heart goes faint within me, and my grief reawakens" and in that letter he continues that he will never forget those days which he passed in Ereẓ Israel with his correspondent (Kobler 192–3). The personal human element is equally to the fore in the above-quoted letter to Samuel ibn Tibbon, while his letter-responsum to Obadiah the Proselyte reveals Maimonides' spirit to the full. It was surely only to his intimate disciple that he could open his heart and declare, "when I see no other way of teaching a well-established truth except by pleasing one intelligent man and displeasing ten thousand fools, I choose to address myself to the one man and take no notice whatsoever of the condemnation of the multitude" (Introduction to the *Guide*). On the other hand Maimonides is almost virulent in his opposition to songs and music: "song and music are all forbidden, even if unaccompanied by words … there is no difference between listening to songs, or string music, or melodies without words; everything which conduces to the rejoicing of the soul and emotion is forbidden." It is immaterial whether they are in Arabic or in Hebrew. "A person who listens to foolish songs with musical accompaniment is guilty of three transgressions, listening to folly, listening to song, and listening to instrumental music. If the songs are sung with accompaniment of drinking, there is a fourth transgression, if the singer is a woman there is a fifth." The references in the geonic sources to singing are only to liturgical hymns (Resp. ed. Blau, 224. cf. 269; Guide 3:8; Yad, Ta'anit, 5:14). Despite this last permission he was opposed to the insertion of *piyyutim* in the prayers (180, 207, 254, 260, 261). If the ignorant insist on them and their ways prevail, they should be said before the *Shema*, the beginning of the essential service (207).

No praise can be too high for the outer form of his works, both in language and logical method. The *Mishneh Torah* was the only work which he wrote in Hebrew, and the language is superb, clear, and succinct. He regretted that he did not prepare Hebrew versions of his other works. In answer to Joseph b. Gabir's request written in 1191 that he translate the work into Arabic, not only does he state that it would thereby lose its specific character, but that he would have liked to translate his works written in Arabic into Hebrew (Kobler 199); and when the rabbis of Lunel asked him to translate the *Guide* into Hebrew, he stated that he wished he were young enough to do so (*ibid.*, 216).

The *Mishneh Torah* is a model of logical sequence and studied method, each chapter and each paragraph coming in natural sequence to its preceding one. More impressive is the fact that in his earliest work one can so clearly discern the seeds of the later, so that it can confidently be stated that his whole subsequent system and ideas were already formulated in his mind when he wrote it. The *Shemonah Perakim* which form the introduction to his commentary on *Avot* is almost a draft of the first portion of *Sefer Madda*, the first book of the *Mishneh Torah*. When attacked on his views on resurrection he pointed out that he had included it in the Thirteen Principles which he evolved in his commentary to the tenth chapter of *Sanhedrin*. The radical view found in the very last chapter of the *Mishneh Torah* that the messianic age is nothing more than the attainment of political independence in Israel is stated in detail in that same excursus, and his original view on the possibility of the reestablishment of the Sanhedrin, which he carefully puts forward as his own ("it appears to me") and which he qualifies by the statement "but the matter must be weighed up" (Sanhedrin 4:11), is already expressed in his commentary on the Mishnah (Sanh. 1:1).

[Louis Isaac Rabinowitz]

AS HALAKHIST

Maimonides' halakhic activity began during his youth with his commentary to some tractates of the Talmud (introduction to commentary to the Mishnah). Only fragments on several tractates have survived (see S. Asaf, in: *Sinai*, 6 (1940), 103–32, on *Shabbat*; M. Kamelhar (1956) on *Yoma*): the commentary to *Rosh Ha-Shanah*, published in its entirety (by J. Brill, 1865; Y.A. Kamelhar, 1906), is of doubtful authenticity (see M.J.L. Sachs, *Ḥiddushei ha-Ra-MBa-M la-Talmud* (1963), introd. 13–23). His *Hilkhot ha-Yerushalmi* ("Laws of the Palestinian Talmud"), alluded to in his commentary to the Mishnah (Tamid 5:1), is not extant; the authenticity of the fragments published by Saul Lieberman (1947) has been challenged (Benedikt in: KS, 27 (1950–51), 329–49). It is interesting to note, in view of the fact that his famous code, the *Mishneh Torah*, embraces the whole of Jewish law, both practical and theoretical, that in both these works he confined himself to the practical *halakhah*, his commentary on the Talmud being confined to the orders **Mo'ed*, **Nashim*, and *Nezikin and the tractate **Ḥullin*, which deals with dietary laws.

Commentary to the Mishnah

It is through his commentary to the Mishnah that one can begin to review Maimonides as a halakhist. In his commentary, Maimonides sets out to explain to the general reader the meaning of the Mishnah, without having recourse to the involved and lengthy discussions in the *Gemara*, the language of which was more difficult than the Mishnah itself (*Mishneh Torah*, introd.). Out of the mishnaic and other tannaitic texts and corresponding passages in the *Gemara*, often widely scattered throughout the Talmud, Maimonides evolves the underlying principles of the subjects discussed, which a particular

Mishnah, chapter, or entire tractate presupposed. In some cases he interprets the Mishnah differently from the *Gemara* (cf. in Sanh. 1:1). It has been asserted that even during his early work as a commentator, Maimonides was at the same time a codifier, a role which he later successfully developed in the *Sefer ha-Mitzvot* and the *Mishneh Torah* (M. Guttmann, in: J. Guttmann et al. (eds.), *Moses ben Maimon*, 2 (1914), 306–30; idem, in: HUCA, 2 (1925), 229–68). Following his explanatory glosses to the mishnaic passage, Maimonides gave the halakhic decision in each Mishnah based on his reading of the discussion in the *Gemara*.

Of special significance are the lengthy introductions he included in his commentary. The general introduction which heads his commentary to the order of *Zera'im* is in reality an introduction to and history of the Oral Law from Moses until his own days. The introduction to *Avot*, known as the *Shemonah Perakim* ("Eight Chapters") is a philosophical and ethical treatise in which its author harmonized Aristotle's ethics with rabbinical teachings. In the introduction to Mishnah *Sanhedrin* (10:1), which begins with the words "All Israel has a portion in the world to come," Maimonides dealt at length with the fundamental doctrines of Judaism which are formulated in the Thirteen *Articles of Faith. Especially extensive and exhaustive is the introduction to the difficult order *Tohorot*, in which Maimonides systematizes all that had been said in talmudic literature on the subject of ritual purity and impurity. The standard Hebrew translation, the work of a number of hands, is a poor rendering of the Arabic original. A new and more faithful translation was made by Y. Kafaḥ, *Mishnah im Perush ha-Rambam …* (1963–68).

The Responsa of Maimonides

The publication of the critical editions of the responsa of Maimonides (ed. by A. Freimann, 1934; J. Blau, 1957–61) affords a better opportunity to appraise his role in the communal life of the Jews of Egypt and neighboring countries. The responsa, which were in the language of the questioner, whether Hebrew or Arabic, number 464; some of them soon found their way into halakhic literature. Although not all responsa bear the date of composition, it has been ascertained that Maimonides' responsa extend from about 1167, a short time after his arrival in Egypt, until a little before his death. The questioners include prominent scholars like R. Anatoli and R. Meshullam, *dayyanim* in Alexandria; *Jonathan ha-Kohen of Lunel; Joseph b. Gabir; Nissim of Damascus; and Samuel b. Ali, *Gaon* of Baghdad. From these responsa one learns of the growing tension between the *gaon* of Baghdad and Maimonides in connection with traveling on the high seas on the Sabbath, prohibited by Samuel b. Ali but permitted by Maimonides (ed. Blau, no. 308–9). Some of the responsa to Jonathan of Lunel, who was a disciple of *Abraham b. David of Posquières, are in essence rejoinders to the latter's criticisms, for his questions coincide with the language and style of these criticisms (ed. Freimann, introd. xliv = ed. Blau, 3 (1961), 43).

The bitter experience of his youth failed to nurture in Maimonides rabid anti-Muslim feelings, and he consistently declined to classify Muslims as idolators. Even the ritual practices connected with the Ka'ba stone in Mecca did not in his opinion deny Islam its purely monotheistic nature (ed. Freimann, no. 369 = ed. Blau, no. 448; see S. Baron, in: PAAJR, 6 (1935), 83f.). In reply to an inquiry by Saadiah b. Berakhot about the authenticity of the gnostic work, *Shi'ur Komah*, Maimonides writes: "Heaven forfend that such work originated from the sages; it is undoubtedly the work of one of the Greek preachers … and it would be a divine act to suppress this book and to eradicate its subject matter" (ed. Freimann, no. 373 = ed. Blau, no. 117; see Scholem, Mysticism (1946^2), 63ff.). Of special interest is his responsum to Obadiah the Proselyte (ed. Freimann, no. 42 = ed. Blau, no. 293), who inquired if he was permitted to say in the blessings and prayers, "Our God and God of our Fathers," "Thou who has chosen us," "Thou who has worked miracles to our fathers," and similar expressions. Maimonides' responsum, apart from its halakhic merit, is a unique human document displaying grave concern for the feelings of this lonely proselyte who was so unsure of himself. Obadiah was advised that he was to recite all those prayers in the same way as one born a Jew, that he must not consider himself inferior to the rest of the Jews. The major part of this responsum has been translated into English by F. Kobler (see also S.B. Freehof, *Treasury of Responsa* (1962), 28–34). These responsa, although confined to halakhic decisions, nevertheless display Maimonides' views on matters of doctrine and fundamentals of Judaism.

Sefer ha-Mitzvot ("Book of the Commandments")

Maimonides found all previous attempts at enumerating the traditional 613 *commandments unsatisfactory. He therefore composed the *Sefer ha-Mitzvot* in which he gave his own enumeration of the 248 positive and the 365 negative commandments. As an introduction to this work, he laid down 14 principles which guided him in the identification and enumeration of the commandments. He severely criticized the work of his predecessors, such as the enumeration of the *Halakhot Gedolot and of R. Ḥefeẓ, as well as those *paytanim* like Solomon ibn Gabirol, who composed the *Azharot*, religious hymns based on enumeration of the commandments.

Maimonides' sharp criticism of the *Halakhot Gedolot* evoked a defense of the latter by Naḥmanides, a staunch apologist "for the ancients," who in his *Hassagot* strongly criticized Maimonides, accusing him of inconsistencies. He was also challenged by Daniel ha-Bavli, a disciple of Samuel b. Ali, the anti-Maimonist. His criticisms took the form of questions which he sent to Abraham, the son of Maimonides, who replied to them. The *Sefer ha-Mitzvot*, however, was generally accepted, and a whole body of literature was produced in defense of it, apart from the general works on the 613 commandments according to Maimonides' classification and enumeration (see A. Jellinek, *Kunteres Taryag*, 1878).

The *Sefer ha-Mitzvot*, originally written in Arabic, was translated several times into Hebrew. The version by Abraham ibn Ḥasdai is no longer extant, while the translation by Moses ibn Tibbon, in its critical edition by H. Heller, is accepted as the standard text (1946).

The Mishneh Torah ("Repetition of the Law")

The *Sefer ha-Mitzvot* was not an end in itself but an introduction to the *Mishneh Torah* (Responsa, ed. Freimann, no. 368 = ed. Blau, no. 447), on which Maimonides labored for ten successive years. The purpose of the work is explained by Maimonides:

> In our days, many vicissitudes prevail, and all feel the pressure of hard times. The wisest of our wise men has disappeared; the understanding of our prudent men is hidden. Hence, the commentaries of the *geonim* and their compilations of laws and responsa, which they took care to make clear, have in our times become hard to understand, so that only a few individuals fully comprehend them. Needless to add that such is the case in regard to Talmud itself, both Babylonian and Jerusalem, and the *Sifra, Sifrei*, and Tosefta, all of which require, for their comprehension, a broad mind, a wise soul, and considerable study. Then one might learn from them the correct way to determine what is forbidden and permitted, as well as other rules of the Torah. On these grounds, I, Moses the son of Maimon the Sephardi bestirred myself, and relying on the help of God, blessed be He, intently studied all these works, with the view of putting together the results obtained from them … all in plain language and terse style, so that thus the entire Oral Law might become systematically known to all without citing difficulties and solutions of differences of view … but consisting of statements, clear and convincing, that have appeared from the time of Moses to the present, so that all rules shall be accessible to young and old … (introduction to *Mishneh Torah*).

Maimonides then set for himself the task of classifying by subject matter the entire talmudic and post-talmudic halakhic literature in a systematic manner never before attempted in the history of Judaism. The *Mishneh Torah* was divided into 14 books, each representing a distinct category of the Jewish legal system. (In Hebrew 14 is *yad* and hence the alternative name of the work *Yad ha-Ḥazakah*, i.e., "the strong hand.")

Even though the *Guide of the Perplexed* was written after the completion of the *Mishneh Torah*, Maimonides succeeded in incorporating many of its philosophic and scientific aspects into this purely halakhic work. Philosophy and science were handmaidens to theology. Hence Book 1 contains a complete system of metaphysics, Book 3 the astronomical calculations for reckoning the calendar, and Book 14 a discussion of the doctrine of the Messiah and a refutation of Christianity, Islam, and their founders. These digressions, which technically speaking are not halakhic in essence but rather ethical and philosophic, occur frequently in the halakhic writings of Maimonides.

Unlike the commentary to the Mishnah and *Sefer ha-Mitzvot* which were written in Arabic, the *Mishneh Torah* was written in a beautiful and lucid Hebrew, the like of which had not been known in halakhic literature since Judah ha-Nasi composed the Mishnah. The *Mishneh Torah* influenced the language of later codes, including the Shulḥan Arukh (see J. Dienstag, in: *Sinai*, 59 (1966), 54–75).

OPPOSITION TO THE CODE. The entire structure, form, and arrangement of the *Mishneh Torah* was a cultural and historical phenomenon unprecedented in Jewish dogmatic jurisprudence (see *Codification of Law) which both awed and shocked the scholarly world for centuries (see *Maimonidean Controversy). The architectural beauty of its structure, its logical arrangement, and ready-reference nature were the main targets for criticism, for it was feared that students would turn away from the study of the Talmud and commentaries, the source and wellspring of dynamic halakhic creativity. The severest criticism came from Abraham b. David of Posquières, an older contemporary of Maimonides, who probably equaled him in talmudic scholarship. The most serious of his charges was that Maimonides neglected to cite the sources and authorities from which his decisions were derived:

> He [Maimonides] intended to improve but did not improve, for he forsook the way of all authors who preceded him. They always adduced proof for their statements, citing the proper authority; this was very useful, for sometimes the judge would be inclined to forbid or permit something and his proof was based on some other authority. Had he known there was a greater authority who interpreted the law differently, he might have retracted… hence I do not know why I should reverse my tradition or corroborative views because of the compendium of this author. If the one who differs from me is greater than I, fine; and if I am greater than he, why should I annul my opinion…? Moreover, there are matters on which the *geonim* disagree and the author has selected the opinion of one…. Why should I rely on his choice…. It can only be one that an overbearing spirit is in him (Abraham b. David's *Hassagot* to introduction of *Mishneh Torah*).

These charges were not motivated by personal animosity, as claimed by some scholars of the Haskalah period, for on many occasions Abraham b. David traces certain sources of laws in the Code or comments upon it. At other times he is overwhelmed by this compendium (see I. Twersky, in: *Sefer ha-Yovel … Ẓevi Wolfson* (1965), 169–86). Abraham b. David's objections were shared by lesser-known scholars (I. Twersky, in: A. Altmann (ed.), *Biblical and other Studies* (1963), 161–82), who added their own criticism. During the 19th century, opposition to the *Mishneh Torah* was still a subject of controversy between S.D. Luzzatto, N. Krochmal, and others (J. Dienstag, in: Bitzaron, 55 (1967), 34–37).

In a series of letters Maimonides replied to his criticism that his intention in writing the *Mishneh Torah* was not to discourage talmudic studies, including the *halakhot* of Alfasi. On the contrary, he had lectured to his pupils on these subjects (A. Lichtenberg (ed.), *Kovez Teshuvot ha-Rambam* (1859), pt. 1, no. 140 p. 25, b–c). He regretted the omission of his sources and hoped to include them in a supplement (*ibid.*). Maimonides never realized this hope. However, practically every commentary on the *Mishneh Torah* attempted to trace its sources. If his aim in compiling the Code was "so that no other work should be needed for ascertaining any of the laws of Israel," the more than 300 commentaries and novellae which have been written on it – and their number is growing – is an ironic phenomenon that could not have been anticipated by Maimonides. The *Mishneh Torah* did not become the definitive code its venerated creator had hoped. Actually, it surpassed his hopes, for it became the major source of halakhic creativity and talmudic research equaled only by the Talmud itself.

Maimonides the Halakhist in Modern Jewish Scholarship

Finally, it is interesting to note that no other halakhic authority has been the subject of so much modern Jewish scholarship as Maimonides. The tendentious, albeit subtle, anti-halakhic orientation of many of the exponents of the Wissenschaft school and the scholars of the Haskalah (including the leaders of Reform Judaism) has dampened, if not outright discouraged, intensive research in *halakhah* per se. Some of those who did engage in this discipline, such as A. Geiger, N. Bruell, J.H. Schorr, and others, were motivated by their anti-traditional bias and sought to undermine its authority and advance the cause of modernism and reform. The preoccupation of modern Jewish scholarship with Maimonides as halakhist is out of proportion to its interest in rabbinic literature and the stream of systematic studies on the subject has continued unabated.

[Jacob I. Dienstag]

PHILOSOPHY

Maimonides was, by general agreement, the most significant Jewish philosopher of the Middle Ages, and his *Guide of the Perplexed* is the most important philosophic work produced by a Jew. The Arabic original *Dalālat al-Ḥā'irîn* was completed about 1200 and shortly thereafter was twice translated into Hebrew as *Moreh Nevukhim*. The first translation, a literal one, was made by Samuel ibn Tibbon with Maimonides' advice and was completed in 1204. The second, a freer translation, was made by the poet Judah *al-Ḥarizi a little later. In its Hebrew translations, the *Guide* determined the course of Jewish philosophy from the early 13th century on, and almost every philosophic work for the remainder of the Middle Ages cited, commented on, or criticized Maimonides' views.

While the *Guide* contained the major statement of Maimonides' position, his philosophic and theological views appeared in a variety of other writings, among which the most important are the three lengthy essays in his commentary to the Mishnah (see above), first book of the *Mishneh Torah, Sefer ha-Madda* which is devoted to God and His attributes, angelic beings, the structure of the universe, prophecy, ethics, repentance, free will and providence, and the afterlife, and the last section of the work, *Mishneh Torah, Hilkhot Melakhim* which includes a discussion on the Messiah and the messianic age.

Influences on Maimonides

In his philosophic views Maimonides was an Aristotelian (see *Aristotle), whose philosophy also contained some neoplatonic elements, and it was he who put medieval Jewish philosophy on a firm Aristotelian basis. But in line with contemporary Aristotelianism his political philosophy was Platonic. In his works he quotes his authorities sparingly (see "*Shemonah Perakim*," introduction, end), but in a letter to his translator Samuel ibn Tibbon (A. Marx, in: JQR, 25 (1934–35), 374–81) he indicated his philosophic preferences explicitly. In this letter he advises Ibn Tibbon to study the works of Aristotle with the help of the Hellenistic commentators *Alexander of Aphrodisias and *Themistius and of Maimonides' contemporary *Averroes. It appears, however, that Averroes' commentaries reached Maimonides too late to have any influence on his *Guide*. He recommends highly the works of the Muslim al-*Fārābī, particularly those on logic, and he speaks of the writings of the Muslim *Avempace (Ibn Bāja) with approval. The works of *Avicenna (Ibn Sīnā) in Maimonides' view are also worthy of study, but they are inferior to those of al-Fārābī. Of Jewish philosophers he mentions only Isaac *Israeli, of whose views he disapproves, and Joseph ibn *Ẓaddik, whom he praises for his learning, though he states that he knew only the man, not his work. He also mentions some other philosophers of whose views he disapproves. Al-Fārābī, Avempace, and Averroes interpreted Aristotle rationalistically, and it appears that Maimonides preferred their interpretations to the more theologically oriented one of Avicenna, though he relied on Avicenna for some of his views.

(For a full discussion of sources, see S. Pines, *Guide of the Perplexed* (1963), translator's introduction lvii–cxxxiv.)

Maimonides considered himself in the tradition of the Aristotelians, adapting and developing their teachings in accord with his own views; but he differed from them in the works he produced. While the Muslims had composed commentaries on Aristotle's works, summaries of his views, and independent philosophic treatises, Maimonides produced no purely philosophic work of his own, the early *Treatise on Logic* excepted. He held that the extant philosophic literature was adequate for all needs (Guide 2, introd., proposition 25, and ch. 2), and he devoted himself to specific issues, particularly those bearing on the interrelation of philosophy and religion.

Distinction between Intellectual Elite and Masses

Fundamental to Maimonides' approach is a division of mankind into two groups: an intellectual elite, who, using reason, can understand by means of demonstrative arguments, and the masses (including those scholars who study only religious law), who, using imagination, understand by means of persuasive arguments. In the light of this distinction Maimonides' works may be divided into two kinds: *Guide of the Perplexed*, addressed primarily to an intellectual elite, and his other writings, addressed to the masses.

This distinction had one further consequence for Maimonides. Maimonides identified *ma'aseh bereshit* (the account of the creation) and *ma'aseh merkavah* (the account of the divine chariot of Ezekiel) with physics and metaphysics respectively. According to the Mishnah, however (Ḥag. 2:1) one may not teach the former to two persons, nor the latter even to one, unless he is wise and able to understand by himself. Maimonides codifies this as *halakhah* (Yad, Yesodei ha-Torah, 2:12; 4:10–13) and in his commentary to the Mishnah gives as the reason for the prohibition the current philosophical opinion that the teaching of abstract matters to someone who cannot grasp them may lead to unbelief.

This prohibition against the public teaching of *ma'aseh merkavah* and *ma'aseh bereshit* posed a problem. How could he write the *Guide*, a book devoted to these esoteric topics, when putting something in writing is equivalent to teaching it in public? Maimonides solved this problem by making use of certain literary devices. First, Maimonides addressed the book to his disciple, Joseph ben Judah ibn Sham'un, who after studying with him left for Baghdad. Hence, the *Guide* in its formal aspect is a personal communication to one student. Moreover Maimonides, in a dedicatory letter at the beginning of the *Guide*, relates Joseph's intellectual history, showing that he had acquired some philosophic wisdom and that he was able to reason for himself. Hence, Joseph had fulfilled the conditions necessary for studying the esoteric disciplines.

But Maimonides was well aware that persons other than Joseph would read his work. Hence, he had to make use of other devices. Invoking modes of esoteric writing also current among Islamic philosophers, Maimonides wrote his work in an enigmatic style. Discussing the same topic in different passages, he would make contradictory statements about it. He describes this method in the introduction to the *Guide*, where he speaks of seven types of contradictions which appear in literary works, stating explicitly that he will make use of two of them. It is left to the perceptive reader to discover Maimonides' true views on a given issue.

The enigmatic nature of the *Guide* imposed great difficulties on medieval and modern commentators, and two schools of interpretation arose. Some, such as Julius Guttmann, while aware of Maimonides' method, consider him a philosopher who attempted to harmonize the teachings of religion with those of philosophy. Others, such as Leo Strauss, considered Maimonides a philosopher, whose views were in agreement with those of the rationalistic Aristotelians, and who expressed religious opinions largely as a concession to the understanding of the masses. For example, Maimonides, according to the first interpretation, believed that the world was created, while according to the second, his true view was that the world is eternal.

With all these distinctions in mind one may proceed to an exposition of Maimonides' philosophy based largely on the *Guide*.

Purpose of the Guide

Maimonides wrote his work for someone who was firm in his religious beliefs and practices, but, having studied philosophy, was perplexed by the literal meaning of biblical anthropomorphic and anthropopathic terms. To this person Maimonides showed that these difficult terms have a spiritual meaning besides their literal one, and that it is the spiritual meaning that applies to God. Maimonides also undertook in the *Guide* the explanation of obscure biblical parables. Thus, the *Guide* is devoted to the philosophic interpretation of Scripture, or, to use Maimonides' terms, to the "science of the Law in its true sense" or to the "secrets of the Law" (Guide, introd.).

God

Maimonides' first philosophical topic is God. In line with his exegetical program he begins by explaining troublesome biblical terms, devoting the major portion of the first 49 chapters of the first part of the *Guide* to this task. Representative of his exegesis are his comments on the term "image of God" (*ẓelem Elohim*), found in the opening section of Genesis. Some have argued, Maimonides states, that since man was created in the image of God, it follows that God, like man, must have a body. He answers the objection by showing that the term *ẓelem* refers always to a spiritual quality, an essence. Hence, the "image of God" in man is man's essence, that is his reason but not physical likeness (Guide 1:1).

DIVINE ATTRIBUTES. Maimonides then takes up the question of God's attributes (Guide 1:50–60). The Bible describes God by many attributes, but it also states that God is one. If He is one in the sense of being simple, how can a multiplicity of attributes be ascribed to Him? Medieval philosophers held that attributes applied to substances are of two kinds: essential and accidental. Essential attributes are those that are closely connected with the essence, such as existence or life; accidental attributes are those that are independent of the essence and that may be changed without affecting the essence, such as anger or mercifulness. Medieval logicians generally agreed that accidental attributes introduce a multiplicity into that which they describe, while they disagreed concerning essential attributes. Some, such as Maimonides' contemporary Averroes, held that essential attributes are implicitly contained in the essence and, hence, do not introduce multiplicity; others held that they provide new information and, hence, produce multiplicity. Avicenna was an exponent of the latter view, holding that essential attributes, particularly existence, are superadded to the essence. Maimonides accepted Avicenna's position on this point. Maimonides came to the conclusion that accidental attributes applied to God must be interpreted as attributes of action, that is, if it is said that God is merciful, it means that God acts mercifully; and essential attributes must be interpreted as negations (or more precisely, negations of privations), that is, if God is said to be existing, it means that he is not nonexistent.

(See also *God, Attributes of).

EXISTENCE, UNITY, AND INCORPOREALITY OF GOD. Prior to Maimonides, Islamic and Jewish *Kalām philosophers had offered arguments for the existence, unity, and incorporeality of God and for the creation of the world. Maimonides summarized the teachings of the Kalām philosophers in order to refute them (Guide 1:71–76). In the case of the existence, unity, and incorporeality of God, Maimonides held that these are legitimate philosophic issues, but that the Kalām philosophers, relying on categories of the imagination rather than reason, had not solved them correctly. In the case of creation he held that to demonstrate the creation or eternity of the world lies outside the competence of the human mind.

Maimonides prefaces his own proofs for the existence, unity, and incorporeality of God with 25 metaphysical and physical propositions, which he considers to have been demonstrated in the philosophic literature of his days. To these he adds a 26th proposition, namely, that the world is eternal. However, it appears that this proposition does not reflect Maimonides' own belief concerning the origin of the world (see below), but serves, rather, a methodological function. It can be seen readily, Maimonides implies, that if it is assumed that the world is eternal, the existence of God can still be demonstrated (Guide 2, introd.).

EXISTENCE. To demonstrate the existence of God, Maimonides makes use of four proofs current in his day: from motion, from the composition of elements (also a kind of argument from motion), from necessity and contingency, and from potentiality and actuality (causality). The common structure of all of them is that they begin with some observed characteristic of the world, invoke the principle that an infinite regress is impossible, and conclude that a first principle must exist. For example, Maimonides begins his first proof, that from motion, by noting that in the sublunar world things constantly move and change. These sublunar motions, in turn, are caused by celestial motions which come to an end with the motion of the uppermost celestial sphere. The motion of that sphere is caused by a mover that is not moved by another mover. This mover, called the Prime Mover, is the last member in the chain of causes producing motion. Maimonides uses the following example as an illustration. Suppose a draft of air comes through a hole, and a stick is used to push a stone in the hole to close it. Now the stone is pushed into the hole by the stick, the stick is moved by the hand, and the hand is moved by the sinews, muscles, etc., of the human body. But one must also consider the draft of air, which was the reason for the motion of the stone in the first place. The motion of the air is caused by the motion of the lowest celestial sphere, and the motion of that sphere, by the successive motions of other spheres. The chain of things moved and moving comes to an end with the last of the celestial spheres. This sphere is set in motion by a principle which, while it produces motion, is itself not moved. This is the Prime Mover, which for Maimonides is identical with God.

Maimonides then turned to the nature of the Prime Mover. Four possibilities exist: Either the Prime Mover exists apart from the sphere, and then either corporeally or incorporeally; or it exists within the sphere, and then either as distributed throughout it or as indivisible. It can be shown that the Prime Mover does not exist within the sphere, which rules out the last two possibilities, nor apart from it as a body, which rules out the third. Hence, it exists apart from the sphere and must be incorporeal. Maimonides shows, further, that there cannot be two incorporeal movers. Thus, it has been established that the Prime Mover exists, is incorporeal, and is one.

Maimonides' proof from necessity and contingency rests on the observation that things in the world are contingent, and that they are ultimately produced by a being that is necessary through itself. This proof was first formulated by Avicenna and was rejected by Averroes (Guide 2:1; for a more popular discussion of Maimonides' conception of God, and his attributes, see Yad, Yesodei ha-Torah, 1–2).

Creation

Maimonides next turned to the incorporeal intelligences of the celestial spheres which he identifies with the angels (Guide 2:2–12), and then to creation of the world (Guide 2:13–26). On the last subject he begins by enumerating three theories of the origin of the world: that of the Torah, that the world was created by God out of nothing; that of Plato and others, according to which God created the world out of preexistent matter; and that of Aristotle, according to which the world is eternal. A major portion of the discussion is devoted to showing that Aristotle's and his followers' proofs of the eternity of the world are not really proofs. From an analysis of Aristotelian texts Maimonides attempted to show that Aristotle himself did not consider his arguments as conclusive demonstrations but only as showing that eternity is more plausible than creation. Maimonides' own position is that one can offer plausible arguments for the creation of the world as well as for its eternity. From this it follows that a conclusive demonstration of the creation or the eternity of the world lies beyond human reason; the human mind can only offer likely, technically known as dialectical, arguments for either alternative. However, an examination of these arguments reveals that those for creation are more likely than those for eternity, and on this basis Maimonides accepts the doctrine of creation *ex nihilo* as his own. An additional reason is that Scripture also teaches creation. Maimonides' intellectual daring is apparent in his statement (ch. 25) that had the eternity of the world been demonstrated philosophically, he would not have hesitated to interpret the Bible accordingly, just as he did not hesitate to interpret anthropomorphic terms in the Bible allegorically. He also states that the principle of creation is the most important one after that of God's unity, since it explains the possibility of miracles and similar occurrences. It should be noted, however, that some interpreters understand Maimonides' esoteric teaching as propounding the eternity of the world.

If the world was created, will it come to an end at some future time? He answers in the negative and adds that the future indestructibility of the world is also taught in the Bible (Guide 2:27–29). Maimonides concludes this phase of the discussion with an explanation of the creation chapters at the beginning of Genesis and a discussion of the Sabbath, which in part is also a reminder of the creation.

Prophecy

In the introduction to the *Guide* Maimonides incidentally discussed the nature of the prophetic experience, likening it to intellectual illumination. In the present section (Guide 2:32–48) he is interested in the psychology of prophecy and its political function. He begins by listing three possible theories of how prophecy is acquired: that of the unsophisticated believer, who holds that God arbitrarily selects someone for prophecy; that of the philosophers, according to which prophecy occurs when man's natural faculties, particularly his intellect, reach a high level of development; and that of Scripture, which specifies the same development of natural faculties but adds dependence on God, Who can prevent someone from prophesying, if He so desires. According to this last view, God's role in prophecy is negative, rather than positive.

Maimonides defined prophecy as an emanation from God, which, through the intermediacy of the Active Intellect, flows first upon man's intellectual faculty and then upon his imagination. While a well-developed imagination is of little significance for the illuminative experience of the prophet, it is central to his political function. In line with the views of the Islamic Aristotelians, particularly al-Fārābī, Maimonides conceives of the prophet as a statesman who brings law to his people and admonishes them to observe it. This conception of the prophet-statesman is based on Plato's notion, found in the *Republic*, of the philosopher-king who establishes and administers the ideal state. For Maimonides the primary function of prophets other than Moses is to admonish people to adhere to the Law of Moses; this requires that the prophets use the kind of imaginative language and parables that appeal to the imagination of the masses. Maimonides characterizes three personality types: philosopher, who uses only his intellect, the ordinary statesman, who uses only his imagination, and the prophet, who uses both.

Though he discusses the phenomenon of prophecy extensively, Maimonides mentions Moses, the chief of the prophets, only in passing in the *Guide*. However, in his halakhic writings he singles out Moses for special discussion. Moses, he states, differed so much from other prophets that he and they had virtually only the name "prophet" in common. Moses' prophecy is distinguished from that of the other prophets in four ways: other prophets received their prophecy in a dream or vision, Moses received his while awake; other prophets received their prophecy in allegorical form, Moses received his directly; other prophets were filled with fear when they received prophecy, Moses was not; other prophets received prophecy intermittently, Moses received it when he wished (*Hakdamah le-Ferek Ḥelek*, Principle 7; Yad, Yesodei ha-Torah, 7:6; cf. Guide 2:35). Moses also differed from other prophets and legislators in that he conveyed a perfect law, that is, one that addressed itself not only to man's moral perfection but also to his intellectual perfection by requiring the affirmation of certain beliefs.

Nature of Evil

Maimonides begins the third part of the Guide (introd. ch. 1–7) with a philosophic interpretation of the divine chariot (*merkavah*); this exposition brings to a close that part of the *Guide* that deals with speculative matters, that is, physical and metaphysical topics (Guide 3:7–end). Next he turns to practical philosophy, discussing evil and providence first.

Maimonides accepts the neoplatonic doctrine that evil is not an independent principle but rather the privation, or absence, of good. Like the Neoplatonists and other monists he had to accept this position, for to posit an independent principle of evil was to deny the uniqueness and omnipotence of God. There are three kinds of evil: natural evils, such as floods and earthquakes, which man cannot control, social evils, such as wars, and personal evils, the various human vices, both of which man can control. Natural evils are infrequent, and, hence, the majority of evil in the world, which is caused by man, can be remedied by proper training. Maimonides also argues against those who hold that the world is essentially evil, stating that if one looks at the world at large, rather than at one's own pains and misfortunes, one finds that the world as a whole is good, not evil (Guide 3:8–12).

Divine Providence

Maimonides discusses divine omniscience and then turns to the related question of divine providence. He distinguishes between general providence, which refers to general laws regulating nature, and individual providence, which refers to God's providential concern for individual men. He lists four theories of providence that he rejects: the theory of Epicurus (see *Epicureanism), which states that everything that happens in the world is the result of chance; that of Aristotle (really that of the commentator Alexander of Aphrodisias), which states that there is only general, not individual, providence; that of the Islamic Asharites (see *Kalām), which states that the divine will rules everything – this is equivalent to individual providence extended to include all beings, animate and inanimate; and that of the Muʿtazilites (see *Kalām), which states that there is individual providence extending even to animals but not to inanimate objects. Last, Maimonides discusses the attitude toward providence of the adherents of the Torah. They all accept man's free will and God's justice. To these principles some more recent scholars (Maimonides had in mind the *geonim*, most likely Saadiah) have added the principle of *yissurin shel ahavah* ("afflictions of love"), which explains that God may cause suffering to a righteous person in order to reward him in the hereafter. Maimonides rejected it, however, stating that only an unjust God would act in this manner, and asserted that every pain and affliction is a punishment for a prior sin. Finally, Maimonides gave his own position: there is individual providence, and it is determined by the degree of development of the individual's intellect. The more developed a man's intellect, the more subject he is to divine providence (Guide 3:16–21). Maimonides used this theory of providence in his interpretation of the Book of Job, in which the characters of that book represent the various attitudes toward providence discussed above (Guide 3:22–23).

Nature of Man and Moral Virtue

Maimonides' final undertaking in the *Guide* is his explanation of the Law of Moses and its precepts. But this account is based on his philosophy of man, which he summarizes only in his "*Shemonah Perakim*." From this summary it is clear that Maimonides' philosophy of man was one current among Muslim Aristotelians. Man is composed of a body and a soul, the soul, particularly the intellect, being the form of the body. The soul, which is unitary, contains five basic faculties: nutritive, sensory, imaginative, appetitive, and rational. Of these faculties, the appetitive and rational are important for the good life and for happiness on earth and in the hereafter. Man attains happiness through the exercise of moral virtues to control his appetites and by developing his intellectual powers. In Maimonides' discussion of morality he follows Aristotle in holding that virtuous action consists of following the mean, but he holds that all should go to the extreme to avoid pride and anger (Yad, Deot, 2:3). While in his halakhic writings Maimonides embraced a morality of the mean, in the *Guide* he advocates a more ascetic life, and he particularly recommends curbing the sexual drive. As in Aristotelian thought, the moral virtues serve only a preliminary function, the final goal being the acquisition of intellectual virtues.

(For another discussion of Maimonides' moral philosophy, see Yad, Deot.)

Law of Moses

In the *Guide* 3:26–49 Maimonides discusses the reasons of the commandments. Maimonides considers a distinction made by Muʿtazilite philosophers, *Saadiah among them. These philosophers had divided divine law into two categories: rational commandments, such as the prohibitions against murder and theft, which the human mind can discover without revelation; and revealed commandments, such as prayer and the observance of holidays, which are neutral from the point of view of reason and can be known only through revelation. Maimonides understands this position as implying that the revelational commandments come from God's will rather than His reason. Against this view, Maimonides argues that all divine commandments are the product of God's wisdom, though he adds that some are easily intelligible (*mishpatim*), and others intelligible only with difficulty (*ḥukkim*). However, Maimonides adds that particular commandments have no rational principle behind them and are commandments only because God willed them.

Maimonides postulates two purposes of the Law: the well-being of the soul (intellect) and the well-being of the body, by which he means man's moral well-being. The former is acquired through true beliefs; the latter, through political and personal morality. The beliefs which a man must accept are graded according to his intellectual ability. There are also true beliefs, such as the existence of God, His unity, and His incorporeality, which everyone must accept regardless of intellectual ability; and there are beliefs, such as that God gets angry at those who disobey Him, which have primarily a political function and are considered necessary beliefs. Ordinary men will accept the Law only if they are promised rewards or threatened with punishment, and it is the function of the necessary beliefs to provide such motivation. They are unnecessary for the philosopher, who obeys the Law because it is the right thing to do regardless of consequences.

Although reasons for general moral laws can readily be found, it is more difficult to explain the numerous ritual laws found in the Bible. Maimonides explains many of them as reactions to pagan practices, and he makes use of his extensive familiarity with such books as the *Nabatean Agriculture*, which describe such practices (see *Commandments, Reasons for). Thus, for example, he explains the biblical prohibition against wearing garments made of wool and linen combined as a reaction to a pagan practice requiring priests to wear such garments. Maimonides also considers certain commandments as concessions to historical situations, such as those dealing with sacrifice. Worship without animal sacrifices is preferred, but it would have been unrealistic to require the Israelites leaving Egypt to give up sacrifices altogether. Hence the Bible commanded sacrifices, restricting, however, the times and places for them and permitting only priests to offer them. We should not infer from this, however, that Maimonides believed in a progressive development of Jewish law; in fact, he codifies all of rabbinic law in his *Mishneh Torah*. The *Guide* concludes with a supplementary section on the perfect worship of God and man's perfection.

Eschatology

Eschatology is barely mentioned in the *Guide*, although Maimonides developed it fully in other works. Following traditional Jewish teachings, he deals with the Messiah and messianic times, the resurrection of the dead, and *olam ha-ba* ("the world to come"). He proceeds characteristically by stripping these occurrences of supernatural qualities as much as possible. The Messiah is an earthly king, descended from the house of David. He will bring the Jews back to their country, but his major accomplishment will be to bring peace and tranquility to the world, thereby facilitating full observance of God's commandments. The Messiah will die of old age and be succeeded by his son, the latter, by his son, and so on. No cataclysmic events will take place during messianic times, but the world will continue in its established natural order. Maimonides calculated the year of the coming of the Messiah ("*Epistle to Yemen*"), although he generally opposed speculations of this kind (*Hakdamah le-Ferek Ḥelek*, principle 12; Yad, Melakhim, 12:2 – uncensored edition).

During messianic times the dead will be resurrected with body and soul reunited though later the human person will die again. (For his affirmation of this doctrine in reply to criticism that he rejected it, see above.) Undoubtedly, the central notion of Maimonides' eschatology is his account of *olam ha-ba*. In his view the intellect, but not the body, has an afterlife, and in that afterlife the intellect is engaged in the contemplation of God. Generally, he speaks of incorporeal intelligences (plural), implying that immortality is individual, but there are passages which suggest that immortality is collective, that is, in the world to come there exists only one intellect for all mankind (*Hakdamah le-Ferek Ḥelek*; Yad, Teshuvah, 8–10, Guide 1:41; *Treatise on Resurrection*).

Basic Principles of Judaism

Maimonides' intellectualism is reflected in the formulation of 13 principles that in his view every member of the Jewish community is bound to accept (see *Articles of Faith). Did he intend these principles as a means of developing the intellects of the masses, thus enabling them to share in *olam ha-ba*, or as a political expedient, that is, to make the masses aware of intellectual issues so that philosophers can live safely in their midst? Proponents of both views are found among Maimonides' interpreters (see A. Hyman, in: A. Altmann (ed.), *Jewish Medieval and Renaissance Studies* (1967), 119–44).

Influence

Maimonides' *Guide*, as has been noted, profoundly influenced the subsequent course of medieval Jewish philosophy. Among the extensive literature that arose were numerous full and partial commentaries on the *Guide*, most of them still unpublished. However, four of these have been printed and they appear many times with the Hebrew text of the *Guide*. They are those of Profiat *Duran (Efodi), Shem Tov ben Joseph *Ibn Shem Tov, Asher *Crescas, and Isaac *Abrabanel. In addition, the following commentaries have appeared in print: *Moreh ha-Moreh* by Shem Tov ibn *Falaquera, which also contains corrections of Ibn Tibbon's Hebrew translation based on the Arabic original (edited by M.L. Bisseliches, 1837); Yair Shiffman has published a critical edition of Shem Tov Ibn Falaquera's commentary *Moreh ha-Moreh* (Jerusalem, 2001); and a commentary by *Moses Narboni (all three reprinted in *Sheloshah Kadmonei Mefareshei ha-Moreh*, 1961). Samuel ibn Tibbon composed a philosophic glossary on the *Guide* entitled *Perush me-ha-Millot ha-Zarot asher be-Ma'amarei ha-Rav*, which has also been printed many times. One aspect of the commentary literature is the attempt to reconcile Maimonides' views with the divergent ones of his contemporary Averroes. Of commentaries and notes that have appeared on the *Guide* in more recent times are those of Solomon Maimon's *Givat ha-Moreh* (edited by Samuel Hugo Bergman and N. Rotenstreich, 1966), the notes in S. Munk's French translation of the *Guide*, and the Hebrew commentary in Ibn Shmuel's edition.

In addition to its significance for medieval Jewish philosophy, the *Guide* also had a formative influence on modern Jewish thought. Maimonides provided a first acquaintance with philosophic speculation for a number of philosophers of the Enlightenment period and served as a bridge for the study of more modern philosophy. Moses *Mendelssohn is a case in point. In addition, Maimonides became a symbol for their own philosophic endeavors; he had attempted to introduce the spirit of rationalism into Jewish teachings during medieval times, just as they tried to do in their own time. Among modern thinkers influenced in some way by Maimonides are, in addition to Mendelssohn and Solomon Maimon (c. 1752–1800), Nahman *Krochmal, Samuel David *Luzatto (who opposed Maimonides' rationalism), S.L. *Steinheim, Hermann *Cohen, and *Aḥad *Ha-Am.

Maimonides exercised an extensive influence on Christian scholastic thought. Among these scholastics are *Alexander of Hales, *William of Auvergne, *Albertus Magnus, Thomas *Aquinas, Meister *Eckhart, and *Duns Scotus. These scholastics generally quote Maimonides by name, but sometimes they cite his views anonymously. Giles of Rome composed a treatise entitled *Errores philosophorum* about 1270 (edited by J. Koch, with an English translation by J.O. Riedl, 1944), the 12th chapter of which is devoted to a refutation of Maimonides' views. (For Maimonides' influence on scholastic philosophy, see B. Geyer, *Die patristische und scholastische Philosophie* (1928), index; E. Gilson, *History of Christian Philosophy in the Middle Ages* (1955), index; Görge Hasselhoff, *Dicit Rabbi Moyses, Studien zum Bild Moses von Moses Maimonides im lateinischen Westen vom 13. bis zum 15. Jahrhundert* (Würzburg, 2004) Kaufmann, Schriften, 2 (1910), 152–89; Jacob Guttmann, in: *Moses ben Maimon*, J. Braun et al. (editors), 1 (1908), 135–230; and see also other studies by Jacob Guttman, Issachar Joel, and Isaac Husik.)

In early modern times Maimonides influenced the secular philosophers Baruch *Spinoza (see H.A. Wolfson, *The Philosophy of Spinoza* (1954), index) and Gottfried Wilhelm Leibnitz.

[Arthur Hyman]

AS PHYSICIAN

Maimonides was probably first taught medicine by his father, but, as stated above, during the seven years which his family spent in Fez, Maimonides probably had the opportunity to pursue his medical studies and mingle with well-known physicians. In his "Treatise on Asthma" he describes discussions with the Jewish physician Abu Yūsuf b. Mu'allim and with Muhammad, son of the famous Avenzoar, and others. From his commentary on drugs it may also be concluded that he received his basic medical education in Morocco. He refers to "our physicians in the West" and to Morocco and Spain. Most of the names of drugs are given there not only in Arabic but also in Berber and Spanish. The only authors quoted by name are Spanish-Moroccan physicians (Ibn Juljul, Ibn Wāfid, Ibn Samajūn), who lived one to two centuries before him, and his older contemporary al-Ghāfiqī. Maimonides was certainly very familiar with Arabic translations of the writings of Greek physicians as well as with the writings of the older Arab physicians, for he himself condensed some of them.

That Maimonides was highly regarded as a physician among the Muslims is evident from the statements of the historians Ibn al-Qifṭī (c. 1248) and Ibn Abi Uṣaybiʿa (c. 1270) as well as of the physician ʿAbd-al-Laṭīf of Baghdad, who visited Maimonides when he was in Cairo in 1201. A song of praise which was written by a grateful patient, Saʿīd b. Ṣanāʾ al-Mulk, has been preserved by Ibn Abi Uṣaybiʿa:

> Galen's art heals only the body
> But Abu-Amran's [Maimonides'] the body and the soul.
> His knowledge made him the physician of the century.
> He could heal with his wisdom the sickness of ignorance.
> If the moon would submit to his art,
> He would free her of the spots at the time of full moon,
> Would deliver her of her periodic defects,
> And at the time of her conjunction save her from waning.
> (Translation taken from B.L. Gordon, *Medieval and Renaissance Medicine* (1959), 235.)

Moreover, from certain statements made by Ibn Abi Uṣaybiʿa, it is clear to us that Maimonides also lectured on medicine and taught disciples such as his own son Abraham, as well as Joseph b. Judah ibn Shamʿun, and Rashīd al-Dīn.

Maimonides classified medicine into three divisions: preventive medicine; healing of the sick; and care of the convalescent, including invalids and the aged. His medical teachings, based on the then prevailing humoral pathology as taught by Hippocrates and Galen, are of a strictly rational character. He disapproved strongly of the use of charms, incantations, and amulets in treating the sick, and was outspoken against any blind belief in authority. He encouraged his disciples to observe and reason critically and insisted on experiment and research. In his "Treatise of Asthma" Maimonides stresses that the physician is important not only during sickness but also when the body is healthy. Unlike any other craftsman, the physician must use art, logic, and intuition. Maimonides also added that the physician must be able to take a comprehensive view of the patient and his circumstances in order to make a diagnosis of both his general condition and of diseases of individual organs.

Except for part of his Galen compendium, all of Maimonides' medical writings, most of which were apparently written in Arabic in Cairo during 1190–1204, have been preserved. The majority of these works were translated into Hebrew and Latin and helped to spread his fame in the West.

(1) *Al-Mukhtaṣarāt* is a compendium of the works of Galen for teaching purposes, of which only three, in Arabic, have been preserved.

(2) A commentary by him on the *Aphorisms* of Hippocrates, which had been translated into Arabic by the ninth-century translator Ḥunayn ibn Isḥāq, in general follows Galen's commentary; it has been only partially preserved in two defective Arabic manuscripts.

(3) *Fuṣūl Mūsā* ("The Aphorisms of Moses") is possibly the most famous and most widely quoted of all Maimonides' medical writings. It was translated into Hebrew under the title *Pirkei Moshe*, in the 13th century. In this work Maimonides included a large number of medical aphorisms and sundry information, mostly from Galen's own writings or his commentaries on Hippocrates, but also from Arab authors. On speaking of the relation between the right-hand part of the heart and the lungs (1:55), Maimonides seems to have touched on the lesser circulation, without, however, venturing further afield. The passages in 1:19 as well as 8:57 and 62 strongly indicate that he was speaking of arterioles connecting the arteries and the veins.

(4) *Sarḥ asmāʾ al-ʿuqqār* is a commentary on drugs, the manuscript of which was found in Istanbul in 1932. It consists of 56 pages of 17 lines each. In the introduction Maimonides deals with the necessity of identifying drugs by their popular names. He then lists, in alphabetical order, about 350 remedies, mainly derived from plants. The Arabic names are often followed by Greek and Persian terms as well as colloquial Spanish, Moroccan, Egyptian, and Berber names. The so-called "Prayer of a Physician" was not written by Maimonides but was added later.

(5) *Fī al-Bawāsīr* is a work on hemorrhoids and was written for a young aristocrat.

(6) *Fī al-Jimāʿa*, a treatise on sexual intercourse, was written for the sultan Omar son of Nur al-Dīn.

(7) *Maqāla Fī al-Rabw* ("Treatise on Asthma") was written in 1190. Maimonides regards bronchial asthma as largely due to nervousness, and believes that some people thus inclined react strongly to certain irritants. Correct diet and spiritual treatment, he says, have a beneficial effect on the asthmatic.

(8) *Kilāb al-Sumūm wa al-Mutaḥarriz min al-Adwiya al-Qitāla* ("On Poisons and Their Antidotes"), a very famous manuscript, includes a classic description of the various symptoms of poisoning and is of value even today. Maimonides is the first to distinguish between the various types of snake venoms and suggests the establishment of collections of antidotes in state pharmacies. For snakebites he advises cautery, local tourniquets, rest, and general treatment against shock.

(9) *Fī Tadbir al-Ṣiḥḥa* ("Guide to Good Health"), a treatise on hygiene, is one of the most popular of Maimonides' works. It was written in 1198 for the Egyptian sultan Afḍal Nūr al-Dīn Ali, who suffered from attacks of depression accompanied by physical symptoms. Maimonides teaches that physical convalescence is dependent on psychological well-being and rest. He stresses the necessity of hygienic conditions in the care of the body, physical exercise, and proper breathing, work, family, sexual life, and diet, and suggests that music, poetry, paintings, and walks in pleasant surroundings all have a part to play toward a happy person and the maintenance of good health.

(10) *Maqāla Fī Bayān al-Aʿrāḍ* ("Explanation of Coincidences") was also written for the sultan Afḍal Nūr al-Dīn Ali, who requested an explanation of the causes of his continued depression. It is a short treatise on the subject, in 22 chapters.

In the formation of his opinions on man's spiritual well-being, Maimonides' scientific and psychological experiences are closely interwoven with his religious principles. Physical and biological rules are integrated with moral and ethical principles in his world of values. To integrate oneself consciously into the natural biological laws of the world represented for

Maimonides the fulfillment of the idea of walking in the paths of science and wisdom and achieving true knowledge and perfect bliss.

[Suessmann Muntner]

AS ASTRONOMER

Maimonides did not compose a systematic treatise on astronomy, but his competence in the subject is well illustrated by a number of passages in the *Moreh Nevukhim* (*Guide of the Perplexed*) and by his treatise on the calendar, *The Sanctification of the New Moon* (*Kiddush Rosh Ḥodesh* in *Mishneh Torah*). In the *Guide* there are references to technical aspects of Ptolemaic astronomy, and it is revealed that Maimonides' disciple Joseph ibn Sham'un had studied Ptolemy's *Almagest* under him. Maimonides states that he was acquainted with the son of Jābir ibn Aflaḥ of Seville (d. c. 1150), the author of a well-known astronomical text which takes exception to some Ptolemaic principles. He also refers to a lost work of Ibn Bāja (d. 1139), concerning the principles of astronomy, that he had obviously read with care. According to Maimonides, the physical difficulties of eccentric and epicyclic spheres need not concern the astronomer, whose task is merely to propose a theory in which the motions of the planets and the stars are uniform and circular, and conform to observation. In the *Sanctification*, Maimonides describes the calendric rules that were used in the time of the Sanhedrin, the rules of the fixed calendar that apply to this day, and the astronomical determination of the beginning of the month. The third section again shows Maimonides to be competent in the technical aspects of Ptolemaic astronomy, although he made no original contribution to the subject. In 1194 Maimonides wrote a letter addressed to the rabbis of southern France strongly denouncing *astrology as a pseudoscience opposed to the true science of astronomy, an opinion rarely expressed by Jewish scholars in the Middle Ages. In this letter Maimonides stated that astrology was the first secular subject he studied, and that he had read everything available in Arabic on the discipline.

[Bernard R. Goldstein]

TRANSLATIONS

Among Maimonides' halakhic works, Y. Kafaḥ published a new Hebrew translation of the *Sefer ha-Mitzvot* (1958) from the original Arabic, on which C.B. Chavel based his English version, *The Commandments: Sefer ha-Mitzvoth of Maimonides*, 2 vols. (1967). An English translation of the entire *Mishneh Torah,* almost all of whose volumes have appeared as of 2005, is being published in the Yale Judaica Series (begun 1949). An edition with an English translation of the first two books of *Mishneh Torah,* based on the Bodleian (Oxford) codex, was published by Moses Hyamson in 1962.

The Arabic original of the *Guide* was edited, with a French translation, by S. Munk (*Le guide des égarés*, 3 vols. (1856–66); ed. by I. Joel, based on Munk's text, 1931). Samuel ibn Tibbon's Hebrew translation was first printed in Rome before 1480, and again in Venice, 1551, Sabionetta, 1553, and frequently thereafter. Yehudah Even-Shemuel (Kaufmann) edited part of this text with introductions and a commentary in three volumes (1935–59). Yehudah Even-Shemuel (Kaufman) also published a full edition of the Samuel ibn Tibbon translation, but without commentary, in 2000. Y. Kafah published the Judaeo-Arabic original with a modern Hebrew translation in three volumes in 1972. Michael Schwarz published a modern Hebrew translation from the Arabic with a modern Hebrew commentary and bibliography in two volumes in 2002. The translation of Judah al-Ḥarizi was edited, with notes, by L. Schlossberg in three parts (1851–79; 19123). Both versions were translated into Latin: that of Ibn Tibbon by J. Buxtorf (Basel, 1629) and Al-Ḥarizi's edited by A. Justinianus (Paris, 1520). The *Guide* was translated into English by M. Friedlaender, 3 volumes (1885; 1904^2; repr. 1956), and by S. Pines (1963), with introductions by L. Strauss, and the translator C. Rabin published an abridged translation with an introduction by J. Guttmann (1952). German translations were undertaken in the 19th century (R. Fuerstenthal, pt. 1, 1839; M. Stern, pt. 2, 1864; S. Scheyer, pt. 3, 1838), all based on the Hebrew version of Ibn Tibbon. There is also a modern Hebrew translation from the Arabic by A. Siman and E. Mani, and versions in Italian, Spanish, and Hungarian.

I. Efros published an English translation of Maimonides' *Treatise on Logic* (in: PAAJR, 8, 1938), together with part of the Arabic original and three Hebrew versions. He also published a revised edition of the full Arabic text (in Hebrew alphabet) based on the edition of M. Tuerker (in: PAAJR, 34 (1966), 155ff.). J. Gorfinkle translated the *Shemonah Perakim* into English under the title *The Eight Chapters of Maimonides on Ethics* (1966). The *Iggeret Teiman* was translated by Boaz Cohen, *Moses Maimonides' Epistle to Yemen* (1952), edited by A.S. Halkin. Translations by Abraham Halkin and discussion by David Hartman of *The Epistle on Martyrdom, The Epistle to Yemen,* and *The Essay on Resurrection* are found in *Crisis and Leadership: The Epistles of Maimonides* (1985). S. Muntner edited versions of many of Maimonides' medical works: *Perush le-Firkei Abukrat* ("Commentary on the Aphorisms of Hippocrates" (1961), with an Eng. introd. (*Pirkei Moshe bi-Refu'ah* ("Maimonides' Medical Aphorisms" (1959), with Eng. introd.); *Sefer ha-Kaẓẓeret* (1940; *Treatise on Asthma*, 1963); *Sammei ha-Mavet* (1942; *Treatise on Poisons and Their Antidotes*, 1966); and *Hanhagat ha-Beri'ut* ("Guide to Good Health" (1957); *Regimen Sanitasis*, Ger., 1966). Volume I of *The Medical Aphorisms of Moses Maimonides* (ed. F. Rosner and S. Muntner) appeared in 1970. Selected letters of Maimonides are to be found in English translation in F. Kobler (ed.) *Letters of Jews Through the Ages*, 1 (1952), 178–219 (see also introduction, lx–lxi).

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MAIMUNA, celebration held by all Maghrebi Jews and many Eastern communities at the end of the last day of Passover which, according to tradition, is the anniversary of the death of *Maimonides' father *Maimon b. Joseph who lived for a time in Fez. In every home, tables are set with food and drinks having a symbolic significance, varying according to local custom. These include fresh pitchers of sweet milk, garlands of leaves and flowers, branches of fig trees, and ears of wheat. Usually a live fish (a symbol of fertility) is placed on the table, swimming in a bowl. The menu includes lettuce leaves dipped in honey, buttermilk, and pancakes spread with butter and honey. There is a "lucky dip," a bowl of flour in which golden objects are placed. In some places a plate of flour is set on the table with five eggs and five beans and dates set in it. In Oran, vessels of silver and gold are included in the table decoration. On this night people eat only dairy foods and wafers made of fried dough resembling pancakes, known as *muflita*. No meat is to be consumed. The Jews visit each other, taking gifts of food. On the day following the holiday, the actual day of Maimuna, people go out to the fields, cemeteries, or the beaches and organize large social gatherings. In modern Israel Jews of Moroccan extraction celebrate the day after Passover with communal outings and picnics, and a central gathering is held in Jerusalem. The exact meaning of the word Maimuna is unknown. A suggestion that it is connected with the name of Maimun, the king of the jinns, has been questioned by scholars. In an article in *Tarbiz* (41,2, Jan–March 1972), Y. Einhorn quotes new sources to support his contention that the name Maimuna is, in fact linked with the king of the jinns.

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[Reuben Kashani]

MAINE, northernmost New England state, had an estimated Jewish population of 9,300 out of a total of 1,277,000 (0.7%) in 2001. More than 7,000 lived in the southern part of the State (in Portland, the largest city, Biddeford, Saco, Brunswick, and Bath). Other substantial communities were Bangor, approximately 1000; Lewiston-Auburn, approximately 500; Rockland approximately 200; Waterville, approximately 200; Augusta, approximately 200; and 200 in other parts of Maine in such communities as Calais, Gardner, Caribou, Rumford Falls, Old Town, Old Orchard Beach and Bar Harbor. A large Jewish summer population added considerably to this number but was difficult to estimate.

There were five congregations in Portland, including a Chabad center, three in Bangor, two in Augusta, and one each in Old Orchard, Biddeford, Augusta, Rockland and Bath.

The Jewish Community Alliance of Southern Maine, located in Portland, and the Bangor Jewish Community Council are the two representative Jewish organizations in the State. The Cedars Nursing Home, the successor to the Jewish Home for the Aged in Portland, is the only such Jewish facility in Maine. Both Portland and Bangor maintained Jewish funeral chapels and Portland also maintained a Jewish Day School. There were Hillel Foundation groups at the University of Southern Maine, University of Maine in Orono and at the private Bates, Bowdoin and Colby Colleges. In addition, the history of Jewish life in Maine was maintained through the Judaica Collection at the Sampson Center for Diversity on the Portland campus of the University of Southern Maine and through the Documenting Old Portland Jewry project.

A Jewish Film Festival has been an annual event in Portland since 1999. Camp Modin, located in Belgrade and founded in 1922, is among America's oldest overnight camps and New England's oldest Jewish camp.

Susman Abrams (1743–1830), a native of Hamburg, Germany, was the first known Jewish resident of Maine. He came to the state in the post-Revolutionary period and lived in Waldborough, Thomaston, and finally in Union where he operated a tannery. Abrams married a Christian woman but did not himself convert to Christianity.

Maine had relatively few German or Sephardic Jewish residents. The Campanal and Decoster families, with Sephardic roots, have been prominent in Maine for several decades and Joseph M. Papo, who was the executive director of the Portland Jewish Federation in 1947–48, wrote the well-regarded book *Sephardim in Twentieth Century America: In Search of Unity* (1987).

German Jews were among the earliest Jewish residents of the state and began to settle in Bangor by 1829. Bangor developed numerous Jewish institutions and a Jewish cemetery was created in Waterville in 1830.

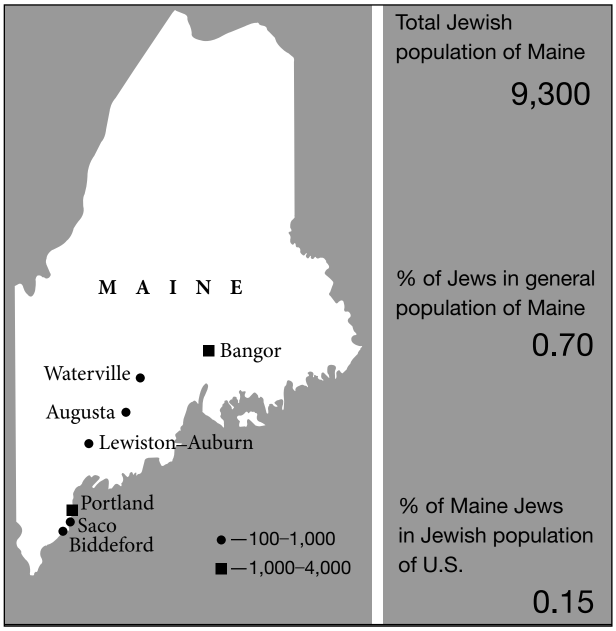
Total Jewish population of Maine
9,300
% of Jews in general population of Maine
0.70
% of Maine Jews in Jewish population of U.S.
0.15
MAINE
Bangor
Waterville
Augusta
Lewiston–Auburn
Portland
Saco
Biddeford
● —100–1,000
■ —1,000–4,000

Jewish communities in Maine. Population figures for 2001.

These Jews, many of them originating in the Boston area, came to Maine as peddlers, walking the roads of the huge state and going from farm house to farm house to sell their wares. Haiman Philip Spitz was the first modern Jewish settler in the Bangor area and helped found, along with five other Jewish families, Congregation Ahawas Achim, which was officially formed in 1849, although the Rev. Isaac Leeser's *Occident and American Jewish Advocate* mentions the formation of a Bangor congregation in November 1847. Because of economic difficulties, the synagogue and most of the German Jews who founded it, disappeared by 1856. A second group of German Jews, who came to Bangor in the 1860s and 1870s, intermarried itself out of existence within a few years. Yet, Captain A. Goldman, most likely a member of one of the Bangor Jewish families, was the only known Maine Jew to give his life in the cause of the Union during the Civil War as a member of Maine's 17th regiment.

The first German Jew known to have settled in Portland was William M. Shine, who was born in Kempen, Prussia, in 1852 and arrived in Portland in 1867. By the 1870s, there were several German Jewish families in the Portland area. The first East European Jews began to arrive in Portland in 1866 and were peddlers like the German Jews who came to Maine a few decades before them. In 1875, the Portland Lodge of B'nai B'rith purchased a site in Cape Elizabeth. The site became the first Jewish cemetery in Portland, the Smith Street Cemetery, located in what later became a part of South Portland.

But there was little organization in the Jewish community of the time, that is until 1886 when Portland celebrated its centenary on July 4. Although only a handful of Jewish families lived in the community, as Bernard Aaronson designated to speak for the small Jewish community of the time observed, "We number sixty families, and over the majority portion being of the middle or poorer class, yet content with their lot…."

That contentment was reflected in a sense of pious synagogue worship, a piety that earned Portland Jewry the nickname of the "Jerusalem of the North."

The first synagogue in Portland, Congregation Beth Judah, was founded in 1883, although informal *minyanim* were held a number of years earlier in private homes. In 1885, Reverend Israel Levine became Portland's first rabbi. A number of other synagogues were founded in the years after 1883. Congregation Shaarey Tphiloh, founded in 1904, is most likely the oldest extant synagogue in Maine, celebrating its centennial in 2004. One of the earliest Chassidic rabbis to settle in America, Rabbi Gershon Ackerman, a Brezner Chasid (from the Russian Polish town of Berezno), came to Portland in 1909 and lived in the city until 1928.

The Jews of Maine were fortunate in not having to endure a large amount of anti-Jewish sentiment. That was reserved for Maine's Catholic population, especially its French Catholic community. Know-Nothing activists in the 1840s burned down Catholic churches and tarred and feathered Catholic priests.

In the 1920s, the Ku Klux Klan of Maine, part of a rejuvenated national KKK movement, marched through the streets of several Maine communities, but aimed most of their animosity again at Maine's Catholics rather than the much smaller and less visible Jewish or African American communities.

But Maine's Jews were not immune from social restrictions. Many resorts, country clubs, and private social organizations still restricted Jews by formal or informal means. Finally, in the late 1960s, a number of non-Jewish politicians, including Maine's governor, Kenneth Curtis, decided to end, once and for all, these discriminatory practices. It was a non-Jew, Charles W. Allen (1912–2003), the father of Maine Congressman Tom Allen, a Portland lawyer and member of the Portland City Council, who led the struggle to force private clubs in Maine to open their memberships to Jews and African Americans.

Among the most important Maine Jewish family names, among others, are those of Stern, Bernstein, Povich, Berliawsky, Lown, Wolman, Lipman, Goldsmith, Marcus, Cohen, Cutler, Escovitz, Glickman, Unobskey and Alfond. They, and many other families, have contributed to the success and continuity of Jewish life in Maine.

Other Maine Jews have established their imprint on the national scene as well. Hiram Abrams (1878–1926) was a cofounder of Paramount Pictures Corporation and founded the United Artists Corporation. Shirley *Povich (1905–1997), born in Bar Harbor, was one of the best-known and beloved sports writers in American journalism who wrote for the *Washington Post*. Albert Abrahamson, born in Portland in 1905, was a professor of economics at Bowdoin College and held various positions in government including that of assistant director of the War Refugee Board, created in 1944 and the only American governmental institution that sought to rescue European Jews from the Holocaust.

Louise *Nevelson (1899–1988) was born in Russia but came to America in 1904 and settled with her family in Rockland, Maine. She became one of the most famous American sculptors. Dahlov Ipcar (born in 1917) is the daughter of another famous American Jewish sculptor, William *Zorach. She came to Maine in 1936 and settled in Georgetown. She is a renowned painter, illustrator, and soft sculptor. Linda *Lavin (born 1937) is a movie, television, and Broadway actress. William S. *Cohen (born 1940), the son of a Jewish delicatessen owner in Bangor, was elected to the United States Congress from Maine in 1972 and to the United States Senate in 1984. He was appointed the U.S. Secretary of Defense in 1997. Cohen's mother was not Jewish and when the rabbi insisted on conversion before his bar mitzvah, Cohen was angered and left Judaism.

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[Abraham J. Peck (2nd ed.)]

MAINTENANCE (Heb. מְזוֹנוֹת, *mezonot*), generally speaking, the supply of all the necessaries of the party entitled thereto, i.e., not only food, but also matters such as medical expenses, raiment, lodging, etc. (Sh. Ar., EH 73:7; see *Husband and Wife). When, however, the maintenance obligation is based on a personal undertaking (see below) and not on the operation of law, it will not cover raiment and perhaps not even medical expenses, unless the contrary is indicated by the terms of the undertaking (Sh. Ar., EH 114:12; *Rema*, ḤM 60:3; *Siftei Kohen* thereto n. 14). The liability of maintenance exists generally by virtue of law, but in the absence of any legal duty it may also be based on a voluntary undertaking (e.g., by the husband toward his wife's daughter by a previous marriage). Even though it is normally for an unfixed amount, such an undertaking will be binding and be governed by the general law of obligations (Sh. Ar., ḤM 60:2, contrary to the opinion of Yad, Meḥirah 11:6; see also *Contract; *Obligations, Law of).

The liability of maintenance by virtue of law is imposed on (1) a husband toward his wife; (2) a father toward his small children; and (3) the heirs of the deceased toward his widow. A divorced wife is not entitled to maintenance from her former husband (Sh. Ar., EH 82:6; see *Divorce), nor, generally speaking, a betrothed woman from the bridegroom (Sh. Ar., EH 55:4 and *Rema* thereto). Only maintenance between husband and wife, as a liability by virtue of law, will be discussed below (see also *Widow; *Parent and Child).

Scope of the Maintenance Obligation

The husband's duty to maintain his wife is one of the duties imposed on him by virtue of his marriage as *obligatio ex lege* (Yad, Ishut 12:2; Sh. Ar., EH 69:2). He has to provide her with at least the minimal needs for her sustenance in accordance with local custom and social standards (Yad, Ishut 12:10; Sh. Ar., EH 70:3). In addition and subject to the aforesaid, the wife's right to maintenance is governed by the rule that she "goes up with him but does not go down with him" (Ket. 61a; Tur, EH 70), i.e., the wife, regardless of the standard of living she enjoyed prior to the marriage, is entitled to a standard of living which matches that of her husband and to be maintained in accordance with his means and social standing. At the same time, she is not obliged to suffer having her standard of living reduced to one below that which she enjoyed prior to her marriage, at any rate not as compared with the standard of living customary in her paternal home with regard to family members backed by means similar to those available to her husband, even if he should choose a lower standard of living than he can afford (Yad, Ishut 12:11; Sh. Ar., EH 70:1, 3 and *Ḥelkat Meḥokek* thereto n. 1). In addition to providing for all the domestic needs of the common household and as part of his duty of maintenance in its wider sense, the husband must give his wife a weekly cash amount for her personal expenses, again in accordance with their standard of living and social custom (Sh. Ar., EH 70:3; *Ḥelkat Meḥokek* thereto n. 7). In return for this obligation, the husband is entitled to his wife's "surplus handiwork," i.e., to her earnings from work done beyond the call of her legal duty toward him (*Ma'aseh Yadeha*). The said obligation being imposed on the husband as part of his duty to maintain his wife, she may, of her own choice, waive her right to the weekly allowance in order to retain for herself such surplus earnings, just as she may waive her maintenance in order to acquire for herself the proceeds of her handiwork (*Ḥelkat Meḥokek* loc. cit.). The unspent balance of the money given the wife for her maintenance belongs to her husband, since he is only required to give her an amount sufficient for her needs (Ket. 65b; Yad, Ishut 12:13; *Pitḥei Teshuvah*, EH 70 n. 1). However, if such balance results from the wife's spending less than she requires for her own needs, it belongs to herself; she need not invest the amount of it and if she should do so, the fruits of such investment would belong to her alone (see *Dowry). Another opinion is that money given by the husband for his wife's maintenance always remains his own, except insofar as she actually expends it on the household or on her own maintenance, and therefore any balance, even if saved, belongs to him (see *Rema*, EH 70:3; *Pitḥei Teshuvah*, EH 70 n. 1; PDR 2:229 and 289).

The wife's right to be maintained in the manner described above is independent of the fact that she may be able to maintain herself out of her own property and the fact that her husband may be in financial difficulties. She will accordingly not be obliged to sell her property or to use fruits thereof, to which her husband has no right, in order to facilitate his fulfillment of his obligation to maintain her, since he has undertaken the obligation on the marriage and it is also expressed in the *ketubbah* deed in the phrase, "I shall work and support you" (see below, Sh. Ar., loc. cit. *Pitḥei Teshuvah*, EH 70 n. 2; PDR 1:97, 101f.).

Separated Parties

In general, the husband is only obliged to maintain his wife as long as she lives with him or, at any rate, if he is not responsible for the fact that they are separated (*Rema*, EH 70:12). Hence in the case of separation of the parties, it is necessary to establish which of them has left the common home.

WHEN THE HUSBAND LEAVES THE HOME. In principle the wife's right is not affected: "She was given to live and not to suffer pain" (Ket. 61a) and the husband remains responsible for her maintenance (*Mordekhai*, Ket. no. 273). To frustrate her claim, the husband must prove a lawful reason for his absence and refusal to maintain her, e.g., her responsibility for a quarrel justifying his departure (*Rema*, EH 70:12). However, even in circumstances where the husband is responsible for maintaining his wife despite their separation, it will nevertheless be presumed that he has left her with sufficient means to support herself for a reasonable period during his absence and therefore, in general, she will not be awarded maintenance during the first three months following his departure (Ket. 107a; Sh. Ar., EH 70:5). For the wife to succeed in a claim brought within this period, she must prove that her husband has left her without any means at all, or will have to rebut the above assumption in some other manner, e.g., by proving that her husband left the home as a result of a quarrel or with the intention of returning after a short interval but for some reason failed to do so (*Rema*, EH 70:12; *Beit Shemu'el* 70 n. 11; *Ḥut ha-Meshullash*, 1:6, 4).

The husband is not entitled to demand that his wife should work and support herself out of her earnings during his absence unless she has expressly or by implication consented to do this (Yad, Ishut 12:20; *Maggid Mishneh* thereto; Sh. Ar., EH 70:9; *Ḥelkat Meḥokek* 70 n. 33). This is so regardless of whether or not she has been accustomed to working prior to his departure and handing over her earnings to her husband, according to law. The court will not of its own initiative investigate the matter of the wife's earnings from her own handiwork, but will take this into account only if it emerges out of the wife's own arguments. However, if after his return the husband can prove that the wife has been working and earning during his absence, he will not be obliged to repay a loan his wife has taken for her maintenance (see below), to the extent that he proves that she was able to support herself from such earnings during his absence. In this event he will similarly be entitled to demand that she refund to him all amounts she has recovered out of his property for the purposes of her maintenance (Yad, Ishut 12:16; Sh. Ar., EH 70:5).

When the wife is entitled to maintenance but her husband leaves her without sufficient means and she does not maintain herself out of her own earnings, she has the right to borrow for her maintenance and to hold her husband liable for the repayment of such a loan (Ket. 107b; Yad, Ishut 12:19; Sh. Ar., EH 70:8). This is not the case if prior to his departure she was supporting herself by her own efforts and remained silent when he publicly disavowed responsibility for debts she might contract, thus seeming to have consented to this (*Rema*, EH 70:12; *Beit Shemu'el* 70 n. 32). The husband's duty to repay such a loan is toward his wife only and he is not directly liable to the creditor. If, however, the wife has no property of her own, or if for any other reason the creditor might have difficulty in recovering from the wife, he may claim repayment of the loan from the husband directly, in terms of the **Shi'buda de-Rabbi Nathan* (permitting the creditor to recover the debt directly from a third party who owes money to the principal debtor if the creditor has no other means of recovering from the latter (Yad, Ishut 12:19; *Rema*, EH 70:8)).

If the wife has sold some of her own property to support herself, she will be entitled to recover from her husband the equivalent of the amount realized, provided that the facts do not demonstrate any waiver of this right on her part, such as an express declaration to this effect made by her before witnesses at the time of the sale, or if at that time there was a suit for divorce pending between the parties. If proof to this effect is forthcoming, the wife will not be entitled to recover anything from her husband since it is presumed that as long as the marriage tie is in existence, she will not do anything which might bring about its complete severance and will therefore also be prepared to waive her pecuniary rights against her husband (*Rema*, EH 70:8; *Beit Shemu'el* 70 n. 29; PDR 2:289, 291f.). Whenever the wife is not entitled to a refund of the amounts she has expended, during the period of her husband's absence, the earnings from her handiwork will be loans to her (*Rema*, EH 70:8).

Third parties who of their own accord assist the wife in respect of her maintenance are not entitled to be refunded for their expenditure – neither from the wife since she has not borrowed from them, nor from her husband since he has not instructed them to do so – but they are in the position of one who "has put his money on the horns of a deer" (*Rema*, EH 70:8; see also *Unjust Enrichment). If the wife can prove that the assistance was given her in the form of a loan, the question of repayment will be governed by the aforesaid ordinary rules concerning a loan for purposes of the wife's maintenance, even if the assistance was given by her own parents (*Mordekhai*, Ket. no. 273).

WHEN THE WIFE LEAVES THE HOME. In principle the husband is not obliged to maintain his wife unless she lives with him (see above). Hence the mere fact of her leaving him, or her refusal to return to him after she has left him lawfully, provides the husband with a *prima facie* defense against her claim for maintenance, since by living apart from him she precludes herself from carrying out her marital duties, on due fulfillment of which her right to maintenance is dependent. Therefore, to succeed in a claim for maintenance in these circumstances, the wife must discharge the onus of proving facts justifying her absence from the marital home (*Rema*, EH 70:12; *Beit Shemu'el* 70 n. 34; PDR 6:33, 52f.). These may arise either from the husband's bad conduct toward her – e.g., his responsibility for a quarrel justifying in law her refusal to continue living with him together in the marital home (*Beit Yosef*, EH 70, end; Sh. Ar., EH 70:12) – or from other circumstances which are independent of the husband's blameworthy conduct toward her, such as his refusal to comply with her justified demand to move to another dwelling or to live away from her husband's relatives who cause her distress (see *Husband and Wife). In general it may be said that any reason sufficient to oblige the husband to grant his wife a divorce will entitle her to claim maintenance from him even though she may have left the home, since the fact that the husband is obliged to grant her a divorce means that he must acquiesce in their living apart; therefore her refusal to live with him entails no breach of her duties toward him. Moreover, by unlawfully withholding a divorce from his wife the husband prevents her from marrying someone else who could maintain her, and there is a rule that a husband who, contrary to law, prevents his wife from marrying another man renders himself liable to maintain her until he grants her a divorce (PDR 1:74, 77–80). If the wife leaves the home on account of a quarrel she has unjustifiably caused, and generally when she has no justifiable reason for living apart from her husband, she will not be entitled to maintenance from him.

For other cases in which the wife forfeits her right to maintenance, see *Husband and Wife (s.v. *moredet*); *Divorce.

Claim for Maintenance Cannot Be Assigned or Set Off

The husband is not entitled to set off against her claim for maintenance any pecuniary claim he may have against his wife, such as one arising from her sale, contrary to law, of her husband's property for purposes of her maintenance during his absence. His duty to maintain his wife means to provide her with the necessities of life with him, i.e., entails responsibility for her daily needs with regard to food, raiment, lodging, etc. This affords the wife a right against which pecuniary debts cannot be set off, since those two differ in their legal nature and her daily needs cannot be satisfied by a reduction of the debt she owes him (PDR 1:333, 338; 2:97, 99). If, however, the wife's claim is based on a right whose legal nature is purely pecuniary, e.g., her claim for repayment of a loan she has taken for her maintenance, there will be no bar to the husband setting off against such claim any other pecuniary claim he may have against her, if, for instance, she is indebted to him for a loan she obtained from him for the purpose of supporting her relatives – he may also set off such pecuniary claim against her claim with regard to payment of her *ketubbah* at the time of their divorce (see PDR 1 loc. cit.). The same reason that entitles the wife to receive actual payment of her maintenance prevents her from assigning this right to others (*Beit Shemu'el* 93 n. 18).

Arrear Maintenance

If the wife, although entitled to maintenance, does not bring an action for it in the court, she will be unable to claim maintenance for any period preceding the date of bringing her suit, since it will be presumed that she preferred to suffer rather than unfold her troubles before the court and her silence will therefore be interpreted as a waiver of her right for such a period (Yad, Ishut 12:22; Sh. Ar., EH 70:11). This presumption may be rebutted by evidence showing that she insisted on her rights, e.g., that she demanded her maintenance from her husband and refrained from instituting action only because of his promise to comply without recourse to the court (*Rema*, EH 80:18; *Beit Shemu'el* 80 n. 27); institution of action has the same effect for any period thereafter even if a considerable amount of time elapses before judgment is given (*Rema* 70:5; *Beit Shemu'el* 70 n. 12; see also *Limitation of Actions).

Non-payment of Maintenance: Consequences

On the husband's failure to maintain his wife in the manner to which she is entitled, the court – at her instance – will order him to do so, whether he refuses payment although he has the means to meet it or whether he lacks the means because he does not work although he is able to work and earn this amount. In other words, the husband will be ordered to pay maintenance in accordance with his potential working and earning abilities, and not necessarily his actual earnings, for he has undertaken in the *ketubbah* to work and to maintain his wife (*Rema*, EH 70:3; *Ḥelkat Meḥokek* 70 n. 12). If he has sufficient for his own needs only for a single day, he must still share this with his wife since he is liable to maintain her "with himself" (*Rema*, EH 70:3). On the other hand, as he has to maintain her "with him" only, i.e., to no greater extent than he is able in respect of himself, he will be exempt from maintaining her if he cannot afford it because he is in a position of utter poverty and unable to work and earn for reasons beyond his control (*Pitḥei Teshuvah*, EH 70 n. 2; *Perishah*, ḤM 97 n. 41). For the same reason, inability to pay maintenance is excused on grounds of the husband's need to repay regular debts, these taking preference over the former (*ibid.*). If the wife should not wish to content herself with a claim for maintenance, she may possibly be entitled to demand a divorce.

In the State of Israel

Maintenance for the wife is a matter of personal status within the meaning of article 51 of the Palestine Order in Council, 1922, and is therefore governed by Jewish law (sec. 51 thereof) even when claimed in a civil court by virtue of section 4, Rabbinical Courts Jurisdiction (Marriage and Divorce) Law, 5713 – 1953. So far as a Jewish wife is concerned, the above position was left unchanged by the Family Law Amendment Maintenance Law, 5719 – 1959, which expressly provides that the question of her maintenance shall be governed solely by Jewish law (sec. 2; see Supr. PD 15 (1961), 1056, 1058). If the husband refuses to comply with a judgment of the court for the payment of maintenance, he may be imprisoned for a period not exceeding 21 days for every unpaid installment (Executive Law 5727 – 1967, sec. 70ff.); see also Imprisonment for *Debt.

[Ben-Zion (Benno) Schereschewsky]

Maintenance (*Mezonot*) in the State of Israel

Maintenance payments in Israel are determined in accordance with Jewish law, as stipulated in Section 2 of the Family Law (Maintenance) Amendment Law, 5719 – 1959. In this respect, the position described above remained unchanged. This update will deal with a number of issues in which new arrangements were established in Israeli law, in both the rabbinical courts and the general courts.

MAINTENANCE UNDER THE LAW OF MEUKEVET MEḤAMATO (A WOMAN PREVENTED FROM REMARRYING OWING TO HER HUSBAND'S REFUSAL TO GIVE HER A GET). In Jewish law – and in Israeli law, too, which applies Jewish law – the husband's obligation to pay maintenance derives from the fact of the marriage and the husband's undertaking in the *ketubbah* to provide for his wife – an obligation that terminates upon divorce. Accordingly, where the husband is obligated to grant a divorce – and refuses – the question arises as to how this refusal affects his maintenance obligation. Under Jewish law, even if the couple do not live together, the husband remains liable for maintenance, because his refusal to grant his wife a *get* prevents her from marrying someone else, thereby denying her maintenance from a potential husband. Furthermore, in such circumstances a different set of rules applies. By law, the husband owns the wife's handiwork (*ma'aseh yadeha*) – the fruits of his wife's labor – and practically, such fruits (e.g., income) are deducted from her maintenance. But when the maintenance obligation is imposed by reason of the husband's refusal to give a *get*, the latter is not entitled to deduct her income. The explanation is that the husband's ownership of his wife's handiwork against his obligation to support his wife derives from the consideration of ill-feeling (*eivah*). In other words – it was instituted in the interests of domestic peace (*shelom bayit*) between the spouses (see *Husband and Wife). However, when the husband refuses to grant a *get* to the wife, there is no justification for entitling him to her earnings, because there is no longer an interest in fostering domestic harmony, but rather in terminating the marriage with a *get*. The Israeli Supreme Court thus ruled that a maintenance award based on the wife's inability to marry because of her husband is only applicable after the rabbinical court has ruled on divorce, in one of the following manners: forcing or obligating the husband to grant a *get*, as well as the more "moderate" case in which the court orders the parties to divorce. This principle was established by the Rabbinical Court of Appeals (*dayyanim* A. Goldschmidt, S. Yisraeli, J. Kapah; Appeal 205/5733, PDR 10, 294), and was adopted in a ruling of the Supreme Court (comments of President, M. Shamgar, CA 792/82, *Nuni v. Nuni*, 40 (3) PD 744, following Justice M. Elon, HC 644/79 *Gutman v. the Rabbinical Court*, 34 (1) PD 443, and the comments of Judge Y. Cahn in HC 661/77 *Haber v. the Rabbinical Court*, 32 (3) PD 324).

PROCEDURES. In 1975, a chapter dealing with maintenance was added to the Civil Procedure Regulations – Chapter 23 (3) of the Civil Procedure Regulations, 5723 – 1963. Its central innovation was the requirement that every statement of claim or defense dealing with maintenance be supported by an affidavit. In addition, a detailed specification had to be submitted as an appendix to any claim or defense, detailing the complete assets and income of each party (including documentation, such as wage slips for an entire year), as well as the sums that, in that party's opinion, would meet the maintenance needs of the (rival) parties. Under these regulations, the District Court (which had jurisdiction over maintenance cases at that time) conducted an initial enquiry based on the material submitted, fixing temporary maintenance accordingly, without having to conduct a separate proceeding. These regulations also established sanctions for failure to comply with the regulations, by not attaching substantiating documentation, concealing particulars, or otherwise contravening the regulations. The sanctions ranged from orders to comply with the regulations, to the possibility of accepting the other party's claims (see, e.g., the ruling of the Jerusalem District Court, AM 470/03 *Anon. v. Anon.*; AM 789/05 *AD v. AY*).

The Civil Procedure Regulations 5744 – 1984 incorporated the same maintenance provisions in Chapter 21 (Regulations 259–266). In 1995 the Family Courts Law (see Family Courts Law, 5755 – 1995) was adopted and the powers of civil instances to adjudicate maintenance cases were transferred to the Family Court. Maintenance suits are now governed by the civil procedure regulations applying to all claims adjudicated in the Family Courts (Part 3.1 of the Civil Procedure Regulations, 5744 – 1984; Regulation 258A –258GG).

Apparently, the enactment of procedure related regulations in the general court system, including with respect to the Family Court, led to the enactment of the new regulations governing rabbinical courts procedure (1993). Regulation 33 of these regulations determined that a maintenance claim must be submitted together with the form indicated in Regulation 211, and the defendant is instructed to follow suit when submitting his statement of defense. Pursuant to Regulation 211, special forms were prepared for maintenance claims in the rabbinical courts, in which, as part of the specification of data, the husband is required to declare the sums of maintenance paid prior to submission of the claim together with particulars of his income and property. A number of rulings have determined that failure to attach the specification of data form, or to properly complete it, may be taken into account when assessing the sincerity of the "inclusion" of a maintenance claim in a divorce suit in the rabbinical courts (see FF (Tel Aviv) 16981/96 *Dahan v. Dahan*; on the inclusion of maintenance with a divorce case, see *Bet Din Rabbani* – Rabbinical Court in Israel).

ENFORCEMENT OF MAINTENANCE PAYMENT. The State of Israel enforced court maintenance awards by means of the Execution Office, pursuant to the provisions of the Execution Law, 5727 – 1967. This mechanism likewise enforces maintenance awards of rabbinical courts (see under *Rabbinical Court; *Execution, Civil).

Maintenance differs, in principle, from any other monetary ruling. In a regular civil file, the court is only required to consider the question of whether the defendant is liable or not; the defendant's financial capacity to pay the sum of the claim does not affect his liability. On the other hand, liability for maintenance, in principle, is based on the financial capacity and situation of the liable party, and the sum of maintenance is fixed in accordance with a number of parameters, inter alia, the liable parties' financial ability to pay a particular sum of monthly maintenance (after he has borne his own expenses). This distinction affects the discretion exercised by the head of the Execution Office in determining how a debt is paid. Regarding a regular debt, the head of the Execution Office may, and is often compelled to, consider the debtor's financial situation, in view of which he determines whether he should pay the debt in one payment or in installments. Regarding a maintenance ruling, the head of the Execution Office does not have such discretion and must implement the court's ruling literally, inasmuch as the judicial forum that ruled on maintenance (a rabbinical court or the family court) has already considered this data and the sum of the maintenance ruling was determined on the basis of that data.

Another difference between collection of a financial debt as distinct from a maintenance debt relates to the use of imprisonment. The Execution Law and Supreme Court rulings restricted the cases in which imprisonment can be imposed against a person who fails to discharge his civil debt (see the detailed ruling of Deputy President Judge M. Elon in HC 5304/92, *Perach v. the Minister of Justice*, 47 (4) PD 715; see in detail: *Execution, Civil). In contrast, Section 74 of the Execution Law determines that regarding a maintenance debt, the head of the Execution Office may, at the request of the person entitled to maintenance, issue an arrest warrant against the debtor, even without investigating his financial ability (one of the minimal terms required for imprisonment with respect to a civil debt). The Supreme Court emphasized the difference between collection of a maintenance debt and collection of a regular civil debt: the maintenance award is fixed by a judicial instance [after having consideration for the liable party's financial situation]; the dependency of the persons entitled to the maintenance on the maintenance payments for their sustenance; the fact that a maintenance ruling is not final and the debtor may apply to a rabbinical court or the family court to alter the amount of the maintenance if there has been a change of circumstances justifying its alteration (p. 731 of the *Perach* decision).

In addition, a special social welfare law was enacted in Israel enabling receipt of maintenance payments through the National Insurance Institute (The Maintenance (Assurance of Payment) Law, 5732 – 1972). According to this law, a person with a maintenance ruling in his favor (such as a spouse or child) may present a copy of the judgment to the National Insurance Institute and the latter will pay the maintenance sum on a monthly basis (subject to a statutory ceiling; see Section 4 of the law). The National Insurance Institute acts on behalf of the person entitled to maintenance, and concurrently initiates execution proceedings against the maintenance debtor. In this way, those entitled to maintenance receive the monthly payment with dignity and without tension or pressure in the event of the maintenance debtor's failure to pay. This law is particularly effective when the maintenance debtor changes addresses and cannot be traced or absconds abroad. The difference between the sum awarded as maintenance by the Court (either Rabbinical or Family Court) and the sum actually paid by the National Insurance Institute, may be collected by the entitled party by opening a file in the Execution Office (see Section 10 of the law; AM 789/05 *AD v. AY*).

[Moshe Drori (2nd ed.)]

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MAINZ (**Mayence**; Heb. מענץ, מגנץ, מגנצא), city on the Rhine in Germany.

The Medieval Settlements

Mainz is one of the oldest Jewish communities in Germany. It is presumed that Jews came to the city as merchants in the Roman era and may even have founded a settlement there. The date of the first medieval community is uncertain. A church council in Mainz declared in 906 that a man who killed a Jew out of malice must make amends like any other murderer, and presumably there were some Jews in the city at the time. The *Kalonymus family of Lucca is believed to have moved to Mainz in 917, but the date is not completely reliable. Evidence of the existence of a Jewish community is indisputable only from the middle of the tenth century. Archbishop Frederick (937–54) threatened the Jews with forcible conversion or expulsion. They were in fact expelled by Emperor Henry II in 1012 after a priest had converted to Judaism. Soon after, however (according to Jewish sources only a month), they were allowed to return and continued to play a lively part in the trade of the city, which was a commercial center on the Rhine and Main rivers. An organized community was in existence in the late tenth century (when *Gershom b. Judah was teaching in Mainz; his son apostatized in 1012), although land for a cemetery was not acquired until the time of the expulsion (gravestones dating from the 11th–14th centuries, discovered in 1922 in the fortified inner city, came from this cemetery). Many Jews left the city in 1084 after they had been accused of causing a fire in which their quarter was also damaged; settling in *Speyer, they founded the community there.

At the beginning of the First *Crusade (1096) the Mainz *parnas*, Kalonymus b. Meshullam, obtained an order from Emperor Henry *IV protecting the Jews, but nonetheless, and in spite of an armed and spirited resistance, on May 27 more than 1,000 died – some at the hands of the crusaders and many by suicide as an act of *kiddush ha-Shem*. Kalonymus escaped with a group to Ruedesheim but committed suicide the next morning during an attack led by Count Emicho. The synagogue (first mentioned in 1093) and Jewish quarter were burned down on May 29. Twelfth-century Jews immortalized the Mainz martyrdom as an example of supreme *akedah*. The community slowly recuperated in the following years after Henry IV had permitted those forcibly converted to return to Judaism, decreeing that the Jews were also to enjoy the "king's peace" (*Landfrieden*). During the Second Crusade (1146–47) it suffered several casualties (see also *Bernard of Clairvaux). During the Third Crusade (1189–92) the Jews of Mainz were unharmed because of the resolute protection of Frederick I Barbarossa; large numbers temporarily went into hiding in Munzanberg (near *Friedberg). In 1259 Mainz Jews were ordered to wear the Jewish *badge. In 1281 and 1283 numerous Jews fell victim to the blood *libel; the synagogue was also burnt in these years. As a result of these repeated persecutions some Jews of Mainz, along with those of other German cities, wished, in 1285, to immigrate to Ereẓ Israel under the leadership of *Meir b. Baruch of Rothenburg; others escaped the boundaries of the empire. During the *Black Death (1349) almost the whole community perished; some of them in a battle against the mob, and the majority (6,000 persons) in the flames of their burning synagogue and quarter, set on fire by their own hands in *kiddush ha-Shem*.

In the next decade (following the charter of the German Empire known as the Golden Bull of 1356) Jews again began to settle in Mainz. The community did not attain its former standing, even though a considerable number of Jews settled (in 1385 they presented the council with 3,000 gulden "out of gratitude" for its protection during the anti-Jewish disturbances that had broken out in various places). With the gradual transfer, in the later Middle Ages, of *Judenschutz* ("guardianship over the Jews") to the cities, their financial obligations grew heavier. The Jewry taxes, granted to the city in 1295 and renewed in 1366, became henceforth ever more burdensome. In 1438 Mainz Jews left the city after a dispute with the council (they may in fact have been expelled); the synagogue and cemetery were confiscated and the tombstones utilized for building. In 1445 they were readmitted, only to be expelled in 1462; permitted to return in 1473, they were finally forced to leave the city ten years later. The synagogue was converted into a chapel.

The Community in the Middle Ages

Until the second half of the 12th century, the Jews conducted lively mercantile activities and from a very early date attended the *Cologne fairs. Discoveries in the area of the oldest Jewish settlement in Mainz provide evidence of commercial connections with Greece and Italy. From this period onward *moneylending became of increased importance in Mainz, as in all German communities. Records of the 12th, and especially of the 13th century, often reveal that churches and monasteries owed money to Jews. In 1213 Pope *Innocent III released all Christians in the Mainz province who were about to set out on a Crusade from paying interest on debts to Jews. Mainz Jewry also suffered when Emperor *Wenceslaus annulled debts owed to Jews (1390).

Until the Black Death, Jews were allowed to possess land in the city and were recognized as owners of houses. Mainz Jews were probably permitted to reside outside the Jewish quarter, for the protective wall, customary in other cities, was missing. A *Judengasse* is mentioned in 1218, and at the end of the century 54 Jewish houses are recorded. The Jewish community was led by a so-called *Judenbischof*, nominated by the archbishop, and by not less than four elders (Vorsteher) who together constituted the Judenrat ("Jews' council") from 1286 until the end of the 14th century. The supreme non-Jewish juridical authority was the archbishop (from 1209). A yeshivah was founded in the tenth century by the Kalonymides and became central under R. Gershom b. *Judah and his pupils and contemporaries, Judah ha-Kohen, Jacob b. *Yakar, Isaac ha-Levi, and Isaac b. *Judah. Gershom's *takkanot ("regulations"), which were applicable to the Rhenish cities, were acknowledged by all the other German communities and even by other European ones, thereby achieving the force of law, a fact which enhanced the reputation of Mainz. The chronicle of Solomon b. *Samson recounting the *kiddush ha-Shem* of 1096 regards Mainz as the main, most ancient, and most famous Jewish community on the Rhine; he praises its learning and pious way of life (see A.M. Habermann (ed.), *Sefer Gezerot Ashkenaz ve-Ẓarefat*).

From the early 12th century on, *Speyer, *Worms, and *Mainz (in Jewish sources named שו"ם (*shum*), an abbreviation made up of the first letter of their names) were recognized as the leading Jewish communities in Germany. Synodal assemblies were held in Mainz (1150, 1223, 1250), in which primarily representatives of the three leading communities took part; their resolutions, the *takkanot Shum*, were acknowledged by the rest of the communities of Germany. The Mainz rabbi, Jacob b. Moses *Moellin (1356–1427; known as Maharil), promulgated *takkanot* (chiefly concerned with ritual matters) aimed at the German and primarily the Rhenish communities. His collection of *minhagim* (compiled by his pupil Zalman of St. Goar), which rely mainly on Mainz traditions, are connected with all German and some non-German communities and were used to a large extent in the Shulḥan Arukh, *Oraḥ Ḥayyim*. Outstanding among the many notable scholars and personalities in medieval Mainz are, in addition to those already mentioned, Nathan b. *Machir b. Judah (c. 1100); *Eliezer b. Nathan (c. 1150); *Meshullam b. Kalonymus (c. 1150); *Judah b. Kalonymus b. Moses (c. 1175); and Baruch b. Samuel (1200).

Resettlement and the Modern Community

In the early modern era only a few Jews lived in Mainz. In

1513 the archbishop designated Weisenau, near Mainz, as the seat of the rabbinate for the diocese of Mainz, presumably because few resided in the city itself. These few were expelled in 1579, but a new community was reconstituted in 1583, reinforced by emigration from *Frankfurt (1614), Worms (1615), and *Hanau. A rabbi was subsequently engaged and a synagogue built (1639; see also **Landesjudenschaft*). During the French occupation (1644–48), the Jews suffered and were subsequently subjected to ever-harsher restrictions. The permitted number of Jewish families was limited to 20, and later 10 (1671); they were allowed to inhabit one special street only (ghetto).

Influenced by the **Toleranzpatent* (1784) of **Joseph II*, the archbishop-elector improved the legal position of the Jews and allowed them to open their own schools and attend general ones. After the revolutionary French occupation of Mainz (1792), the **Leibzoll* ("body tax") was abolished and on September 12 the gates of the ghetto were torn down. Until the end of the occupation (1814) the Jews of Mainz were French citizens (they sent delegates to the *Sanhedrin in Paris). The Napoleonic edict of May 17, 1808, remained in force until 1848. After the German war of liberation (1813–15), Mainz passed to *Hesse-Darmstadt. Full civil rights, promised in June 1816, were not granted.

In the mid-19th century, the community split when R. Joseph *Aub introduced ritual reforms in the newly built synagogue (1853). The Orthodox founded the Israelitische Religionsgesellschaft, with its own synagogue, and engaged Marcus *Lehmann as rabbi; he founded a Jewish school (a high school with instruction in foreign languages) in 1859. Until the Prussian law of 1876 regulating secession from religious communities, the Orthodox remained within the community and seceded only later. In modern times, too, a number of scholars originated from Mainz, notably Michael *Creizenach; Isaac *Bernays; Joseph *Derenburg; and Ludwig *Bamberger. Among the former communal institutions were the Israelite Home for the Sick and Disabled, the Jewish Sistership Organization for the Care of Jewish Antiquities, and the *talmud torah*. The Israelitische Religionsgesellschaft possessed a school (eight classes and 68 pupils), a library, and supplied religious instruction to 30 children. The communal budget totaled 220,000 marks in 1931. Twelve communities from the surrounding district were administered by the Mainz rabbinate. In the 19th century the Jewish population of Mainz increased, but its percentage of the general population remained steady: 1,620 Jews in 1828 (5.3% of the total population); 2,665 in 1861 (5.8%); 2,998 in 1871 (5.8%). From then on, both numbers and ratio declined, to 3,104 (3.7%) in 1900; 2,738 (2.5%) in 1925; and 2,730 (1.8%) in 1933.

Holocaust and Contemporary Periods

On November 9/10, 1938, the main synagogue (including the museum and library) was looted and burnt down. The Orthodox and Polish synagogues suffered similar treatment. On May 17, 1939, only 1,452 Jews remained, 70% of whom were 40 years or over. A steady flow of emigrants was partly balanced by an influx of refugees from the countryside. In March and September 1942 the majority of the community was deported to Poland and *Theresienstadt. On February 10, 1943, the final liquidation of the community, which had been moved to the hospital, took place. After the war, a new community was organized, which numbered 80 persons in 1948 and 122 in 1970 (with an average age of 53). In 1989 the Jewish community numbered 140, and about 1,000 in 2005. The increase is explained by the immigration of Jews from the former Soviet Union. In 2005 a second (liberal) Jewish congregation was founded with about 70 members. It is a member of the Union of Progressive Jews in Germany. The congregation wished to use the restored synagogue in Mainz-Weisenau, which was inaugurated in 1996, as a cultural and educational center on Jewish history and tradition for the citizens of Mainz. It also planned to build a new synagogue.

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[Bernard Dov Sucher Weinryb / Larissa Daemmig (2nd ed.)]

MAIORESCU (MAYER), GEORGE TOMA (1928–), Romanian poet and author. In *Ochii Danielei* ("Daniela's Eyes", 1963) the poem "*Amintiri ins-xîngerate*" ("Bloodstained Memories") is a nightmare evocation of his father's death in a Nazi labor camp. This versatile writer's other works include accounts of a journey to South America, a collection of love poems, and *Dialog cu secolul şi cu oamenii sại* ("A Dialogue with Our Century and Its People", 1967). He has been translated into more than 20 languages.

MAIROVICH, ZVI (1909–1974), Israeli painter. Born in Poland, he immigrated to Palestine in 1935, settling in Haifa. In 1947–48 he was a founder member of the *New Horizons* group. Mairovich arrived at abstractionism quite late. In his expressive compositions, there is always a portrait, a landscape, or a still life. He formed a link between abstract–lyrical painters, and Israel expressionists.

MAISEL, ELIJAH ḤAYYIM (1821–1912), Polish talmudist and rabbinic leader. Maisel studied at Volozhin and at the age of 20 was appointed rabbi of Gorodok. After serving for two years, he resigned the office, devoting the next ten years to study. After serving as rabbi in a number of small communities, he was appointed to the important rabbinate of Lomza, and then in 1874 to the even more important one of Lodz. He was an erudite scholar, with a great understanding of and sympathy for humanity. Though a *Mitnagged*, he was loved by the people of Lodz, most of whom were Ḥasidim. He was a firm and fearless leader, taking an active part in all the community's philanthropic and religious institutions, to assist which he devoted most of his income. When they lacked money, he would borrow and himself guarantee the repayment. If the wealthy members of the community refused to meet these debts, he changed his post, making it a condition that the new town paid his charitable debts in his old community. On one occasion the community of Bialystok offered to pay his debts in Lodz. However, not wishing to lose him, the community of Lodz immediately paid the debts. He kept open house and none who came for help was turned away empty-handed. Though lenient to others in personal religious matters, he strove with all his energies to prevent the breakdown of public religious life. He once stood on the Sabbath at the entrance of a Jewish shop until its owner promised to keep it closed in future.

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[Mordechai Hacohen]

MAISELS, ISRAEL AARON (1905–1994), South African lawyer and communal leader. Born and educated in Johannesburg, Maisels was admitted to the bar in 1930. During World War II he served in the South African Air Force with the rank of major. In 1948 he became king's counsel and was leader of the Johannesburg, as well as the South African, Bar for several years. He successfully defended Nelson Mandela and 90 other people of all races in the "Treason Trial" which ended in 1961. He was appointed a judge of the High Court of Southern Rhodesia, retiring in 1963, and later acted as a part-time judge of appeal for Botswana, Lesotho, and Swaziland. He served as arbitrator in disputes of public concern. Maisels was at various times president of the South African Jewish Board of Deputies, the South African Zionist Federation, and the United Hebrew Congregation in Johannesburg.

[Louis Hotz]

MAISELS, MOSES ḤAYYIM (**Misha**; 1901–1984), Hebrew writer. Born in Warsaw, Maisels, as a member of the staff of the Hebrew papers *Ha-Yom* and *Ha-Ẓefirah* in his native city, contributed numerous articles on contemporary and literary problems. In 1930 he emigrated to the United States where, from 1932, he was a member of the staff of *Hadoar* and, after the death of M. *Ribalow, its editor. In 1959 he emigrated to Israel where he became one of the editors of Mosad Bialik, the scholarly publishing house of the Jewish Agency for Israel. His major work, *Maḥashavah ve-Emet* (1939), is a two-volume essay: the first deals with philosophy in the past and its implications for the present; the second, with Judaism in the context of general philosophy. An abridged edition appeared under the pseudonym of M.Ḥ. Amishai (1961) and an English translation and condensation was published by A. Regelson under the name *Thought and Truth, a Critique of Philosophy* (1956). Among Maisels' translations are Upton Sinclair's *Oil*, published under the pseudonym of M. Avishai (1929); M. Balaban's Polish studies on the history of the Jews (1930–33), and on the Frankist movement (1934–35); and Louis M. Epstein's *The Jewish Marriage Contract* (1954). Maisels' passion for anonymity led him to publish under numerous pseudonyms.

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[Eisig Silberschlag]

MAISEL-SHOḤAT, HANNAH (1890–1972), Israeli pioneer and educator, wife of Eliezer *Shoḥat. Hannah Maisel was born in Grodno, Belorussia, and studied education, agronomy, and science in Russia, Switzerland, and France. Active in the Po'alei Zion movement in Russia, she settled in Ereẓ Israel in 1909, and in 1911 founded the first women's agricultural farm in Kinneret on the shores of Lake Tiberias, with 14 pupils (among them the poetess *Raḥel (Bluwstein)). In 1919, she established the first "Labor Kitchen" in Tel Aviv, and later the WIZO School for Home Economics. In 1920, she was elected to the first executive of WIZO, and in the following year she and her husband were among the founders of the first moshav, *Nahalal. From the very first years of her *aliyah* Hannah Maisel-Shoḥat realized the importance of training the young women who had come on *aliyah* in agriculture and home economics, and her initiative, vision, and activity in this sphere constitute an important chapter in the history of the development of agriculture and education in Israel. In 1929 she founded the WIZO Agricultural High School in Nahalal and was its principal from its foundation until 1960. As a leader of the *Mo'eẓet ha-Po'alot (Council of Women Workers) she was one of the organizers of the first conference of the Labor Movement in Ereẓ Israel.

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[Benjamin Jaffe (2nd ed.)]

MAIUMAS, a popular licentious feast connected with water festivals undertaken in various places (13 according to Lev. R. 5:3, et al.); four localities were named after it (see below). Information about the Maiumas festivals is provided by Melalus from Antioch in Syria. He relates that the festival in honor of Dionysus and Aphrodite was held every three years, lasted 30 days, and was celebrated with night-time stage performances. An imperial edict issued by the Emperor Commodus, who renewed the Olympic Games, included ceremonies from which income was to be channeled to the Maiumas rituals. According to Livia an attempt to prohibit the festivities – apparently by Julian the Apostate – was not a success.

(1) Maiumas near Gaza served as the port of that city. It is first mentioned in the Zeno Papyri (259 B.C.E.; Cairo Papyrus 59.006). In the fourth century it became a Christian city called Constantia Neapolis, and was consequently freed from dependence upon the pagan city of Gaza. It is identified with al-Mīnā, 2½ mi. (4 km.) from Gaza, on the Mediterranean coast. A synagogue with a mosaic pavement representing King David as Orpheus and dated to 508/9 C.E. was excavated there in 1967.

(2) A Maiumas located on the coast near Ashkelon is mentioned by Antoninus Placentinus. It is perhaps to be identified with Khirbat al-Ashraf at the entrance to the Shikma Valley (Wadi Sikrayr).

(3) Khirbat Miyāmās has been identified with Shuni, east of Caesarea, on the road linking Binyamina and Zikhron Ya'akov, identified as the village of Kfar Shumi (or Shami) from the third century C.E. mentioned in the Jerusalem Talmud (Ḥallah 58, 73). The site was probably referred to by the Bordeaux Pilgrim in 332 C.E.: "At the third mile from there [Caesarea] there is Mount Sina and there is a spring in which, should a woman bathe, she will fall pregnant." Since 1986 excavations have been conducted at the site by E. Shenhav on behalf of the Jewish National Fund. The Roman theater was uncovered and it consists of an orchestra, seating arrangements, vaults, and a pool, all of which together form an oval complex, containing stepped pools with mosaic floors, fountains, and a hostel apparently used by pilgrims. Storerooms and residential quarters were also exposed, as well as a large public building that may have served as a shrine during the water festivals performed at the site. Some of these festivities would have taken place within the semi-circular pool on the other side of the theater. This pool had a mosaic floor with built-in recesses for flags and was marked with lines and lanes. It is assumed that these denoted the directions of the water games and the positions taken by the players. Two inscriptions were exposed on the floor of the pool, one of which was complete and could be read as follows: "In the time of Flavius Marcianus son of Antipatris the most honorable consul the work of quarrying the mountain from the foundation was completed." The person mentioned may have been the governor of Caesarea in the fourth century C.E. Clearly the water games at the site continued during the early part of the Byzantine period.

(4) Betomarsea in the vicinity of Charachmoba (al-Karak) is called Maiumas on the Madaba Map and was connected in ancient sources to the Baal-Peor of Numbers 25:3–9.

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[Michael Avi-Yonah / Shimon Gibson (2nd ed.)]

MAJD AL-KURŪM. Arab village in northern Israel, 10 mi. (16 km.) E. of Acre. In the Israel War of *Independence, the village capitulated to Israel forces (Oct. 30, 1948). In 1964 Majd al-Kurūm received municipal council status. It has an area of 3.5 sq. mi. (9 sq. km.) and had a 1969 population of 3,690, most of whom were Sunnite Muslims. The village economy was based on hill farming, with olive groves, deciduous fruit tree orchards, and vegetables and local workshops, stone and marble quarries, and factories, particularly for food processing. By the end of 2002 the population of Majd al-Kurūm had tripled to 11,400 inhabitants, with income less than half the national average. Its site is assumed to be identical with the talmudic Bet Kerem ("House of Vineyards"), known for its fertile soil and rich water resources (Nid. 2:7; Tosef., Nid. 3:11).

[Efraim Orni]

MAJDAL AL-SHAMS, Druze village in the N. Golan, at the foot of Mt. Hermon. Under Israeli military administration after the *Six-Day War (1967), Majdal al-Shams was the largest of all Druze villages in the region. In 1968 it had 3,500 inhabitants whose social and economic services were greatly improved after 1967. Profits from its rich fruit orchards increased and new sources of income were created in tourism, construction of new roads (e.g., the one leading from the village to the top of Mt. Hermon), etc. In 1982 Majdal al-Shams received municipal council status. The village is spread over 4.5 sq. mi. (12 sq. km.) and reached a population of 8,240 in 2002. Income was about a third of the national average. Majdal al-Shams maintained friendly contact with the Israeli administration and close contact with the Druze community in Israel, while maintaining its contacts with the Druze community across the border in Syria.

MAJDANEK (**Maidanek**), concentration and death camp on the southeastern outskirts of *Lublin, Poland, in the Generalgouvernment, German-occupied Poland. It was also called Lublin-Majdanek and Majdan Tatarski, after the suburb of Lublin in which it was situated. Originally set up on July 21, 1941, for Soviet prisoners of war, it was soon turned into a camp for Jews and Poles with a maximum capacity for 35,000 inmates. Majdanek covered 667 acres; situated on the Lublin-Zamosc-Chelm Highway, it was ringed by two layers of barbed wire and guarded by 19 watchtowers, each 26.5 feet high. It contained 227 buildings, gas chambers, two gallows, and a small crematorium. The camp was divided into six sections which in 1943 contained a women's camp; a field hospital for Russian collaborators attached to the German army; a men's camp for Polish political prisoners as well as Jews from Warsaw and Bialystok; a men's camp for Soviet prisoners of war, civilian hostages, and political prisoners; a men's hospital camp; and a section for further expansion.

As with Auschwitz, but unlike the other major killing centers of Sobibor, Belzec, Treblinka, and Chelmno, Majdanek was also a slave labor and prisoner camp. Also, unlike the other major killing centers, which were used almost exclusively for the murder of Jews, Majdanek's prisoners were more diverse; many died from its primitive conditions, perhaps more than died in its gas chambers

The camp commandants were the SS officers Karl Otto Koch (September 1941–July 1942), Max Koegel (August–October 1942), Hermann Florstedt (October 1942–September 1943), Martin Weiss (September 1943–May 1944), and Arthur Liebenschel (May until liberation on July 24, 1944).

The first transport, consisting of 5,000 Soviet prisoners of war, arrived in the autumn of 1941. They died of starvation and exposure. The camp population was mixed: Soviet prisoners of war, Polish farmers, Ukrainians, Byelorussians and, of course, Jews. The first groups of Jews arrived from Slovakia and the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia (15,000) and then Poland (36,500). Early in 1943, 6,000 Dutch and Greek Jews arrived, followed by 74,800 Polish Jews, mostly from *Warsaw, *Bialystok, and Lublin. Altogether 130,000 Jews were sent to Majdanek in 1942–43.

Until the spring of 1942 prisoners were usually shot in a nearby forest, but from October 1942 until the end of 1943, Majdanek had three gas chambers located in one building, which used both carbon monoxide and, like Auschwitz, Zyklon B gas to kill prisoners.

Jewish prisoners who were not killed immediately were employed in various work projects in the camp or in the Lublin area. If further workers were needed in 1942, some trains en route to Belzec were stopped and Jews able to work were removed before the train resumed its journey toward the death camp.

In May 1943 some 18,000 Jews from the Warsaw Ghetto were sent to Majdanek following the Ghetto Uprising and some ghetto factories were transferred there. They were not to stay long. In the summer of 1943, 10,000 able-bodied Jews were transferred from Majdanek for work in "Hasag" camp and Auschwitz.

Toward the end of 1943 a strong partisan movement developed in the Lublin district. Uprisings had taken place in Vilna and Bialystok, and even in the death camps of Sobibor (August) and Treblinka, unnerving the Germans. In retaliation, they carried out a massacre (euphemistically named the "Harvest Festival") of 42,000 Jews, some of whom had been brought from the nearby work camps. This "action" included the machinegunning of 18,000 Jews in a single day (November 3, 1943) in front of the ditches that the victims were made to dig to serve as their own graves.

Between 170,000 and 235,000 persons died or were killed at Majdanek. Most died because of the harsh conditions, starvation and disease, torture, forced labor, and despair. The number of victims of Majdanek's gas chambers is unknown.

When the camp was liberated by the advancing Soviet armies (July 24, 1944), only a few hundred prisoners of various nationalities were still alive. In their hasty evacuation, the Germans could not destroy the camp entirely and thus a clear remnant of the camps, barracks, gas chamber, and crematoria remained. The liberation of Majdanek was covered widely. Western correspondents had entered the death camp and written stories about it. H.W. Lawrence, a correspondent for the *New York Times*, wrote: "I have just seen the most terrible place on earth." These revelations were not given the credence they deserved.

Press coverage was intense. Roman Karman, a well-known Soviet correspondent, filed this report on August 21, 1944:

> In the course of my travels into liberated territory I have never seen a more abominable sight than Majdanek near Lublin, Hitler's notorious *Vernichtungslager*, where more than half a million European men, women, and children were massacred … This is not a concentration camp; it is a gigantic murder plant.
>
> Save for the 1,000 living corpses the Red Army found alive when it entered, no inmate escaped alive. Yet full trains daily brought thousands from all parts of Europe to be coldly, brutally massacred.
>
> In the center of the camp stands a huge stone building with a factory chimney – the world's biggest crematorium … The gas chambers contained some 250 people at a time. They were closely packed … so that after they suffocated they remained standing … It is difficult to believe it myself but human eyes cannot deceive me…

In the postwar years the Polish authorities established a museum and research institute at Majdanek. Poland established an impressive memorial at Majdanek and made significant efforts to preserve the remaining buildings, which are used to portray what happened there. More than 500,000 shoes taken from prisoners filled one of the barracks.

In July 1944 the Polish-Soviet Investigation Commission began to look into the crimes of Majdanek; it published a report in September; 6 of the 1,300 people who had served at Majdanek were tried in November 1944, 4 of them were hanged. Between 1946 and 1948, 96 additional men were tried and between 1975 and 1980 16 former staff members, 6 of them women, were tried in West Germany.

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[Danuta Dombrowska / Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

MAJOR, ERVIN (1901–1967), musicologist and composer. Born in Budapest, the son of Julius *Major, he studied composition with Zoltan Kodaly and Leo *Weiner at the Budapest Academy of Music (1917–21) and philosophy at the Budapest Scientific University (1920–24). In 1930 he received his doctorate for a dissertation on the relationship of popular Hungarian music to folk music. From 1926 to 1928 he was the editor of *Zenei Szemle* and later became a member of the editorial board of the periodicals *Muzsika* (1929–30) and *Magyar muzsika* (1935–36). He was also a librarian and lecturer of composition, music theory, and history at the Budapest Conservatory and at the Budapest Academy of Music. In 1951 he became a member of the musicological committee of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. He was one of the founders of Hungarian historical musicology, specializing in the 18th and 19th centuries and in the tracing of Hungarian influence in the works of classical composers. He also contributed a number of central articles to the *Zenei lexikon* ("Music lexicon"; edited by B. *Szabolcsi and A. Tóth, 3 vols. 1930, 1965^2) and established successful methods of research, using public and private archives, periodicals, and collected editions of music. His compositions include chamber, piano, organ and choral works, and arrangements of old Hungarian melodies.

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[Israela Stein (2nd ed.)]

MAJOR, JULIUS (**Gyula Jacob**; 1858–1925), composer, conductor, pianist, and teacher. Born in Kassa (Kosice), Major studied with Liszt, Volkmann, and Erkel. He wrote symphonies, concertos, lieder, and operas, many of which demonstrate a felicitous synthesis of the Hungarian national idiom and Western European forms. His teaching activities included founding and directing the State Music Teachers' College and the Hungarian Women's Choral Association.

MAJORCA (Sp. **Mallorca**), largest and most important of the Balearic Isles. It is difficult to determine when Jews first arrived in Majorca, but it may be assumed that the settlement was ancient because of the island's location at the crossroads of the maritime trade routes and its proximity to the coasts of both North Africa and the Iberian Peninsula. The presence of Jews on the nearby island of *Minorca during the fifth century implies their presence on Majorca also, and several lead tablets (attributed to the fourth–fifth centuries) bearing the name of Samuel b. Ḥagi (or Ḥaggai) have recently been found. Practically nothing is known of the history of the island from the sixth to the eighth centuries – and even less of the history of the Jews there during that period. It appears that the Jewish settlement was destroyed when the Byzantine general Belisarius overcame the Vandals and took Majorca (534 C.E.). Similarly, few details are available on the period of the Muslim conquest. When the *Almohads attacked southern Spain (12th century), refugees from Andalusia arrived in Majorca and it may be assumed that there were some Jews among them. The earliest evidence for the presence of Jews on the island during the Muslim period is from 1135, when Ramón Berenguer III, count of Barcelona, took some Jews of Majorca under his protection.

The Beginning of Aragonese Rule

When James I of Aragon conquered Palma de Mallorca (1229–32), there were several Jews in his retinue, noteworthy being Bahye and Solomon Alconstantini, from Saragossa, whose knowledge of Arabic was greatly appreciated and when the distribution of properties took place after the conquest they were among the beneficiaries, notably Samuel *Benveniste, *alfaquim* of Count Nuño Sánchez of Roussillon. Properties were also granted to Jews who settled in other parts of the island: Inca, Petra, and Montiori. In Palma (then named Majorca, like the island itself), a residential area was set aside for the Jewish settlers in the fortress of Almudaina which was later known as "the fortress of the Jews." With the consolidation of Christian rule, Jews arrived from Marseilles and other towns of Provence-Languedoc, from North Africa, and even from Alexandria in Egypt. The king, who controlled settlement on the island, undertook to protect the permanent residential area of the Jews in the same way as other places. The Jews, however, rapidly left the fortress of Almudaina, settling in the vicinity, a move which later led to disputes. Besides the communities mentioned above, there were others in Felanitx, Sineu, Alcudia, Sóller, and Pollensa. James I also gave letters of protection to Jewish settlers from North Africa, among whom was Solomon b. Amar of Sijilmassa (1247).

From the start the Jewish settlers integrated into the economy of the island; they owned Muslim, Turkish, and Tatar slaves, whom they were accustomed to convert to Judaism, although the civil authorities and the church issued a series of decrees designed to prevent this. The papal Inquisition was very active against Jewish merchants. Between 1276 and 1343, except for the years 1285–1298, the Kingdom of Majorca that included the Balearic islands and the counties of Roussillon and Ceradagne was independent. The independent kings of Majorca pursued more or less the same policy towards the Jews that was adopted in the Crown of Aragon. Under Sancho I (1311–24) the synagogue in the city of Majorca was converted into the church of Santa Fe. With the conquest of Majorca in 1343 by Pedro IV of Aragon, a period of great achievements began for the Jews of the island. From that year on, they developed ramified commercial activity. They engaged in the international maritime trade and became renowned for their skill in crafts such as gold- and silversmithery and shoemaking. In 1250 James I confirmed the rights of the Jewish settlers, granting them further privileges in conformity with his Jewish policy in the kingdom of Aragon. The problem of interest rates was one of the most severe in the relations between Jews and Christians on the island. Many royal ordinances dealt with the subject: restrictive decrees were issued; rates which had been fixed were cancelled; and occasionally the Jews were obliged to return the interest. In other matters, James I authorized the Jews of Majorca to address their complaints directly to himself and assured them of his protection. In 1254, he assessed their property, along with that of the Jews of Minorca and Ibiza, and constituted them as an independent taxation group. The community of Barcelona nevertheless continued to influence the island communities in their administrative affairs, as well as in all other aspects of communal life. In 1269 the Jews of Palma were granted an important privilege authorizing them to purchase houses, vineyards, and any other property in and around the town and to live in the houses which they had acquired or rented. Toward the close of the 13th century, the Jews in Palma lived in the area between Temple and Calatrava streets and this quarter became the focus of Jewish life in the town until the destruction of the community.

During the early 1270s, James I authorized the Jews to trade on a credit system with the Christians in textiles, cereals, oil, linen, saffron, and other goods. The Jews of Majorca were already fairly prosperous during this period. About 1271 the community of Palma paid an annual tax of 5,000 sólidos. During the same year, together with those communities of Catalonia, *Perpignan, and *Montpellier, it granted the king the sum of 25,000 sólidos toward the expenses of his campaign in Leon. He nevertheless forbade Jews to live side by side with Christians (1273), although he authorized them to purchase new houses. James I also renewed the permit for a separate *sheḥitah* on the island. During this period, the preacher Raimon Lull, who wielded considerable power on Majorca, was active there, conducting religious disputations with the Jews with the aim of bringing them over to Christianity.

From the Time of Alfonso III (1285–95) until the Rule of Pedro IV (1343)

James I divided the kingdom of Aragon in his will, setting up the independent kingdom of Majorca under his second son James II (of Majorca). Reigning from 1276, James II confirmed the privileges which had been granted by his father. In 1285 his nephew Alfonso III seized the island from him, ruling it until 1295. Alfonso confirmed a series of privileges and decrees issued by James I and further exempted the Jews from various taxes. The Jews of Majorca granted the king a special allowance of 10,000 sólidos for his own use, and Alfonso authorized them to appeal to him against legal decisions taken by his officials, provided that the town's interests were not prejudiced by these appeals (1286). During that year, he also borrowed 20,000 sólidos from the trustees of the community. A year later, the Jews of Majorca had to assist the king with a special contribution of 30,000 sólidos. At the same time, Alfonso showed concern for the regular payments of the debts owed to them by Christians, although he occasionally granted to the latter a remission of debts for a given period. Continuing to make yearly demands for support from the Jewish community in addition to the annual tax, in 1290 he imposed a payment of 37,000 sólidos in reparation for the offense of taking excessive interest; he also collected 12,000 sólidos for the right of establishing a "Jewish street," surrounding it with a wall, and installing gates at the points of entry.

James II returned to the island in 1295, reigning there until his death in 1311, when he was followed by his son Sancho I. The situation of the Jews further deteriorated until the island was reconquered by Pedro IV (1343). From the earliest days of the independent kingdom, they were compelled to pay tithes whenever they acquired land and houses from Christians. Anti-Jewish riots broke out in 1305, and in 1309 the first *blood libel occurred on the island when several Jews were accused of the murder of a Christian child. Riots ensued; the king ordered the attackers of the Jews to be punished and the activity of Christians within the Jewish quarter to be restricted. During the same year, similar riots broke out in Inca and many Jews were killed. Nevertheless the island admitted several Jewish settlers who had been expelled from France (1306). Among these was R. Aaron ha-Kohen who studied under R. Shem Tov Falcón in Majorca and later wrote his *Orḥot Ḥayyim* there. The king even sent an emissary to reassure the Jews of their security, and this assurance was reiterated by his son, Sancho I, in 1311. When several Christians from Germany arrived in Majorca in 1314 the community of Palma accepted them as proselytes (even though they had previously been rejected by the communities of *Lérida and *Gerona), thereby arousing considerable ill feeling on the island. Under the influence of Majorca's bishop, Sancho ordered the confiscation of the synagogue of Palma, which was converted into a church, and imposed a heavy fine on the community. A year later he ordered the confiscation of the property of the Jews of Palma, but left them with enough for subsistence. After the fine was paid, Sancho was again willing to take the Jews under his protection. During the same year, a long series of regulations dealing with Jewish matters was issued. The regulations concerned community administration, taxes on foodstuffs and wine, and commerce. It was prohibited to try Jews on their festivals; any Jew who expressed his desire to convert while imprisoned was to be confronted with two other Jews, before whom he had to declare that his conversion was of his own free will; if he reconsidered his decision, he would be authorized to remain a Jew. It was also stated that the Inquisition's investigations against Jews would not take place without the consent of the king; the trustees of the community would be authorized to seize those who disregarded communal regulations and imprison them; a Jew from abroad who came to trade in Majorca would be authorized to carry on to Minorca with his goods without having to pay any additional taxes. A year later, Sancho allowed the Jews of Majorca to import goods and property acquired in Moorish countries even though he was at war with them. He also authorized the erection of a new synagogue to serve as a house of prayer and *bet midrash* but stipulated that it be less splendid then the former building. In 1331 James III, Sancho's nephew, ordered the viceroy on the island to assist the Jews in the erection of the synagogue in spite of the opposition of Pope John XXII.

After the death of Sancho in 1325, the regent Philip, who ruled in the name of James III, confirmed the existing privileges of the Jews on the island and granted them civic rights. Treating them with tolerance, he stopped the legal action against several Jewish merchants accused of smuggling goods to North Africa (after the merchants had promised to pay him a considerable sum) and in 1327 he prohibited the forced conversion of Jews and their pagan slaves. During the reign of James III (1327–43) a poll tax was imposed on the Jews of Majorca. When the Palma community refrained from paying this in 1332, the king imposed a fine on it; after some time, he reduced the fine for several families. In 1337 he granted the trustees of the Majorca community the right to punish those guilty of religious or moral offenses, but they were forbidden to expel them or to administer corporal punishment. In spite of the restriction in the rights of the Jews of Majorca to try cases of criminal law, the *dayyanim* strictly adhered to Jewish law and the customs of Spanish Jewry.

The Organization and Administration of the Majorca Communities

Details of the organization of the Palma community have come down from the close of the 13th century. In its communal and religious life Majorcan Jewry was very much influenced by the Catalan Jewish communities. The rabbis of Majorca were in close contact with those of Barcelona. In its administration, too, the community followed in the footsteps of the community in Barcelona. In 1296 the community was authorized to elect three *muqaddimūn* or trustees; the right of jurisdiction over the Jews was at first in the hands of the communal leaders, who were even authorized to expel any Jew for disreputable conduct. Throughout the period of the independent kingdom, the community was generally headed by six trustees and an executive council of eight "good men," though this council does not seem to have functioned regularly. In 1327, when the regent Philip allowed four of the trustees to dismiss a fifth who had been appointed by Sancho I, he recognized the exclusive right of the Jews of Palma to elect their own officers without any outside intervention, even from the king himself. When Pedro IV conquered Majorca in 1343, he confirmed the existing arrangements. When in 1348 the trustees wished to coopt one of the "small taxpayers" on to the committee distributing charity funds, one of the "large" taxpayers complained to Pedro IV who supported him, declaring that it was preferable that charity be distributed by those who had contributed it. In the inter-communal organization for the entire Crown of Aragon that met in 1354 it was felt that Majorca was important enough to be represented on the board. In 1356 Pedro confirmed a communal regulation excluding physicians and brokers from serving as trustees. At that time, the governor of the island appointed a "Council of Thirty" which functioned until 1374, when the king ordered that the former communal leaders were to be responsible for its administration. Members of the council were to be elected by the community itself, and assisted by members appointed on the recommendation of the wealthier taxpayers. Several regulations on the assessment of the communal taxes, which indicate an attempt to create a reasonably objective assessment system, were confirmed by Pedro in 1378. Under the influence of R. Jonah *Desmaestre, Pedro issued in 1383 a series of instructions on the organization of communal life: the right to judge criminal law was restored to the community; the right of individuals to draw up testaments was not to be infringed upon; Jews were not to be compelled to hold disputations with apostates; no Jew of Majorca would be exempted from communal taxes, nor would any extraordinary tax be imposed upon him; no Jew might claim office in the community nor would he be exempted from public office if such was imposed upon him. Confirming these regulations John I granted the trustees of Palma the additional right of trying criminal law cases with the assistance of five rabbis, either according to Jewish law or Roman law. The community of Majorca benefited from these regulations until its destruction in 1391. When the Jewish settlement on the island was renewed, it appears that these regulations were again applied until it ceased to exist.

From the Reign of Pedro IV (1343–87) Until the End of the Jewish Settlement

After Pedro IV conquered the Balearic Isles (1343), the situation of the Jews of Majorca improved. The king's retinue included the physician Maestre Eleazar ibn Ardut of Huesca and Ḥasdai Crescas, the grandfather of R. Ḥasdai *Crescas. Immediately after the conquest, Pedro exempted the Jews of Majorca from the taxes imposed upon them by James III and canceled the bonds for the payment of the poll tax. He reconfirmed the privileges which had been granted by James II, Alfonso III, and the regent Philip, and ordered that those Jews who had left the island and newcomers also be given favorable opportunities to settle there. One of the supporters of James III was an alchemist named Menahem who was brought to trial in 1345; later he entered the service of Pedro as alchemist, physician, and astrologer. In 1346, Pedro decreed that a separate quarter be built for the Jews in Inca, in order to prevent both undue familiarity and quarrels between Jews and Christians. However, it appears that this separation did not apply in practice. The island communities suffered extensively at the time of the *Black Death and during the plagues which also broke out in the 1370s and 1380s. Rioting occurred as an aftermath of the plagues, and in 1374 the Christians called for the expulsion of the Jews from the island, but both the king and the infante John endeavored to restore order.

At the end of the 1340s, the Jewish physician and scholar Judah *Mosconi (Leo Grech) left Greece to settle in Majorca. From then until the close of the century, a school of Jewish astronomers and cartographers developed on the island. Among them were Abraham *Cresques (d. 1387), who was made a *magister mapa mundorum et buxolarum*, and his son Judah. Both were also granted by royal decree the privilege of appointing all the ritual slaughterers on the island. In 1359 R. Isaac *Nifoci, an astronomer, was chosen as the companion of the king of Aragon (in 1390 he joined the rabbis of the island). In the 14th century Majorca became a center of Torah learning. *Aharon ha-Kohen of Lunel wrote his *Orḥot Ḥayyim* there. At the end of the 1360s, R. *Isaac b. Sheshet corresponded with R. Solomon Zarfati, the talmudist, who was invited to come to Majorca by Jucef Faquim. R. Vidal Ephraim Gerondi, astrologer to the infante John and Solomon Ẓarfati's rabbinical rival, died a martyr's death in 1391. During the 1380s, R. Jonah Desmaestre did much to strengthen religious observance on the island and acted as *rosh yeshivah* in Palma (Simeon b. Ẓemaḥ *Duran was his son-in-law). Together with R. Ḥasdai Crescas, he undertook the reconstruction of the communities which had been destroyed during the persecutions of 1391. The physician Maestre Aaron Abdal-Ḥagg was also well-known; in spite of the prohibition of 1356, he was appointed as trustee of the community of Palma. In 1381 Pedro IV appointed Solomon b. Abraham Benallell as *mustaçaf* ("town market supervisor") over the Jews of Majorca in appreciation of his services, also leasing him the right to manufacture soap on the island. Granting him a "rabbinical" position in Palma, he authorized him to appoint a ritual slaughterer or to slaughter for the requirements of the community.

During the second half of the 14th century, the island communities developed to the point of gaining the regard of the communities of Aragon, and in 1354 Majorca was invited to send a delegate to the supreme council of the communities of Aragon. In all this period, the Jews of Majorca carried on an intensive local trade and supplied goods from North Africa to the Spanish mainland. Others continued to engage in agriculture and crafts, but small craftsmen and owners of small plots of land were compelled to sell their land in times of difficulty; in an effort to help them Simeon b. Ẓemaḥ Duran (Resp. 1, no. 51) attempted to modify the Jewish *usury laws so that they would be able to take loans. During the 14th century, the Jews of the island still owned slaves and the problems connected with their possession which had arisen during the 13th century persisted. Essentially the prominence of the leading Jewish merchants was based on their maritime trade in the Mediterranean, with Alexandria, Sicily, Sardinia, and other places. It was these merchants who imported grain to the island in times of famine and scarcity, although they were not shipowners; there was even a series of privileges which declared that Christian shipowners must not refuse cargoes loaded on their ships by Jews. Eminent among these merchants was Don Jucef Faquim (Joseph Ḥakim) whose family had arrived on the island in 1332. In 1365 he argued before the king that he should be exempted from taxes because his property consisted of goods scattered over many countries and these possessions were insecure; the king ordered the trustees to appoint two merchants to assess his payments. In 1370 Jucef Faquim supplied grain to the army, which was quartered on Sardinia. When the Jews of Majorca complained to Pedro IV in 1351 about sailors who took some of their number into captivity and removed them elsewhere if they were not redeemed in time, he ordered that the captives be set free against the payment of a ransom of 30 livres of silver. During this period Majorca Jews also engaged in moneylending and frequent governmental measures attempted to reduce the interest rates.

The form of the Jewish *oath in force in Majorca, established by Pedro in 1352, required them to swear on a text containing the Ten Commandments only, without the addition of the reproof sections. In 1359 the king renewed the privilege which stipulated that Majorca Jews could not be tortured without explicit royal approval. In the same year, he authorized the Jews of North Africa to enter and to leave the island, against a payment of one-eighth of the price of goods which they bought or sold on the island. After the inhabitants of the town of Inca had attacked the Jews in 1373, many left the island. After several conversions had taken place, the Jews of Majorca complained to the king, who in 1373 ordered the bishop of Majorca to pay heed to the ancient decree concerning the conversion regulations (see above). In 1376 the Jews of Porreras were set upon by the local population. However, the following year Pedro intervened in favor of the Jews, ordering them to present their claims in person before the mercantile court (*consulado del mar*). During this period the king continued to impose compulsory loans on the Jewish communities (especially in 1380 and 1383).

The 1391 Persecutions

When news of the anti-Jewish riots sweeping Spain in 1391 reached Majorca, the leaders of the Jews appealed to Francisco Sa Garriga, viceroy of John I, to find a way of preventing the outbreak of similar riots on the island. It was decided to cordon off the Jewish quarter and allow no weapons inside. As soon as they heard reports of the riots in Valencia, Jews began to leave the island and those who lived in the villages moved to the towns, into the fortified Jewish quarters. In Palma the riots broke out on July 10; youths bearing crucifixes infiltrated the Jewish quarter. Although the gates were closed the mob broke them down and massacred scores of Jews. The next day the authorities made attempts to mitigate the storm, but on August 2 the riots broke out again. The community of Inca was completely wiped out, as were those of Sóller, Sineu, and Alcudia. Several leaders of the riots were captured, but the mob set them free; villagers traveled to the towns in order to share in the pillage. Many Jews died as martyrs, notably R. Vidal Ephraim Gerondi, and several distinguished personalities accepted baptism; among these were R. Isaac Nifoci, who later atoned for his act by emigrating to Ereẓ Israel, and Judah Cresques, who became a prominent courtier. A list of 111 heads of families who were converted is still extant; they were given the names of their baptismal godfathers (several of the converts were named after the viceroy, Francisco Sa Garriga). In spite of the governor's prohibition on leaving the island, many Jews fled to North Africa, among them Simeon b. Ẓemaḥ Duran, who settled in Algiers and held rabbinical office there. Majorcan Jewish settlers in North Africa speak of a Jewish community of more than 1,000 families in Majorca, prior to the massacres. The figure seems exaggerated but indicates the prestige and splendor the community had in Jewish eyes. In September 1391 the peasants demanded that the surviving Jews be baptized or put to death; in rejecting this demand the authorities explained that Christianity sought to achieve conversion through free will and not by force. However, the peasants renewed their demands a month later, and it appears that there were numerous converts at that time.

At the beginning of 1392, the authorities took steps to normalize the situation. The populace was ordered to hand back plundered property; surviving Jews and forced converts were required to provide within ten days a written list of the debts owing to them; the forced converts were called upon to appear before the viceroy and declare whether they desired to continue to live in the Jewish quarter or rent houses to Jews who had been left homeless; and the inhabitants were ordered to return the doors which they had removed from Jewish houses. The bailiff of Palma, one of the leaders of the riot, was executed in January 1392. Fearing that the island's peasants might rebel, the crown granted an amnesty to the rioters and canceled debts to Jews contracted over the previous ten years. Despite the governor's decree forbidding the forced converts to leave the island, many fled to North Africa and returned to Judaism; among them were members of the Najjār family. In January 1393, the governor prohibited further assaults on Jews; anyone molesting them would be hanged if he was of the lower class and flogged if he belonged to the nobility. Nevertheless, a new amnesty was granted to the rioters. As early as 1393, there are instances of the authorities prosecuting forced converts who had returned to Judaism.

In an attempt to reestablish the Jewish communities of the island, in 1394 the authorities invited 150 families from Portugal to settle there, and they arrived in 1395. At the same time the crown granted a writ of protection and exemption from special taxes to all Jews who had fled to North Africa and other places and wished to return to Majorca. However, their resettlement was doomed to failure. In 1413, Vicente *Ferrer visited the island and induced several members of the community to accept baptism. Seeking to undermine the position of the Jews of Majorca, Ferdinand I issued in 1413 a series of restrictions resembling the 1412 decrees of Valladolid with an additional provision prohibiting the emigration of forced converts to North Africa. There was a slight alleviation in the situation during the reign of Alfonso V, who included the Jews of Majorca in his favorable decree of 1419 which ordered that copies of the Talmud be returned to the Jews; that the system of Jewish jurisdiction be set in order; that their synagogue be restored; and that they be exempted from forced attendance at sermons. A *blood libel was perpetrated in Majorca in 1432, and in 1435 the community ceased to exist: 200 persons were converted and the remainder fled to join their coreligionists in North Africa.

The Fate of the Conversos of Majorca

The papal Inquisition was already active in Majorca during the 13th century, but it was only from the beginning of the 15th that its activities really made themselves felt. In 1407 a *Converso who had twice returned to Judaism was condemned to be burnt at the stake, and in 1410 Benedict XIII ordered that measures be taken against the Conversos of Majorca. Antonio Murta, the inquisitor of the Balearic Islands from 1420 to 1436, was responsible for the conversion of many Jews in 1435. The Spanish *Inquisition began to operate in Majorca in 1488. From the start, many Conversos were brought back to the Church. Until the close of the 15th century, 346 trials were held and 257 persons were handed over to the secular arm for the death penalty. During the 16th century, especially after 1520, the tribunal's activities decreased, but they were resumed with renewed ferocity in 1675 and 1677. In 1675, a large group of Conversos from Majorca, referred to by the Inquisition as "Portuguese," was brought to trial. Martyrs included Alonso López; others were sentenced in absentia and burned in effigy. Among those sentenced in 1677 were Pedro Onofri Cortes and Raphael Valis, who were prominent members of the Converso community. The tribunal's activities reached their peak in 1691, when 86 Conversos (including 46 women) were sentenced and another 39 reconciled with the church. From then on its activities appear to have waned. By 1771 the Inquisition had sent a total of 594 Conversos to the stake and reconciled a further 460 with the church. During the 18th century, tribunal officials occasionally arrested Jewish travelers on the Balearic Isles on the suspicion that they were Conversos. In 1718 Jacob Cardozo Nuñez of Bayonne, and Samuel Nahon and his relative Solomon Nahon of Tetuán were arrested. Cardozo was imprisoned until 1721.

Conversos in Majorca were given the name of **chuetas*, a name which persisted into the mid-20th century. They continued to live in separate quarters and all social and public advancement were denied to them. They formed a closed society in which the overwhelming majority secretly observed Jewish rites, for which they were often brought to trial. It was not until the end of the 18th century that the government attempted to alleviate their condition and in 1782 the Conversos were permitted to settle in any part of the town or the island; at the same time it became an offense to molest them by word or deed. After the French conquest of the island, the Inquisition was abolished in 1808 and the Conversos were granted further concessions. However, when Ferdinand IV returned to power (1814) the Inquisition was reintroduced and its final abolition barely improved the lot of the Conversos. In 1856 riots broke out against them once more when several prominent members of the community sought to join the exclusive *Circulo Balear* club. There was a renewed debate on the place of the *chuetas* within the island's society toward the close of the 19th century with the publication of the work of the priest José Tarongi in 1877, condemning their social ostracism and explicitly blaming the clergy for this. Also influential was the work of Vicente Blasco Ibañez, *Los muertos mandan* (1916). Jews began to take an interest in their condition. During the Republican regime in Spain (1931), a work by Garao, *La Fe Triunfante*, was republished. Written a century before it sought to stress the Jewishness of the *chuetas* as grounds for their total rejection.

[Haim Beinart]

The Jewish Quarter

The Jewish quarter of Majorca was famous for its size and prosperity. It was only at the beginning of the 14th century that the locality known as the *call* came into being. It was then that the Jews were compelled to live in a separate district. Beforehand, many of the Jews had resided in the place called *Almudaina.* The new Jewish quarter was in the district of the Temple and Calatrava. The medieval Jewish quarter included the streets known today as C. del Sol, C. Montesión, C. Montserrat, C. Calatrava and all the streets connecting between them. In Majorca there were at least four synagogues, including the Mayor and the Menor or Nueva. The two famous *rimmonim* found in the cathedral are of Sicilian origin and were bought for the cathedral in 1493. In the Archivo del Reino de Mallorca there are two beautiful ketubbot.

[Yom Tov Assis (2nd ed.)]

Contemporary Period

A small Jewish community – the first since 1435 – was established in 1971 in Palma de Mallorca, the capital of the island. This was the result mainly of the efforts of Mr. Alec Kesselman, then the supervisor of the *kasher* section of a hotel in Palma. In reply to his application the Spanish minister of justice gave approval to the establishment of the Communidad Israelita de Palma de Mallorca on July 8, 1971. In addition to services held at a hotel there were weekly services in the Palacio de Congresos, Palma. The *kasher* section of the hotel was closed, however, in 1978. The community numbered around 300 people (although some estimates were higher): most were silver- and goldsmiths and a few were small merchants. Some were successful businessmen and a few even left for Spain, where they managed to find a place in Spanish society. In the early 2000s the community maintained a synagogue.

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MAJORITY RULE, deciding a matter according to the majority opinion. In the field of the *halakhah* this rule is applied in three principal instances:

(a) determination of the binding law according to (the view of) the majority of halakhic scholars;

(b) adjudication of dispute by the majority decision of the courts' judges; and

(c) imposition by majority decision of the community, or its representatives, of a communal enactment (see *Takkanot ha-Kahal), binding on all members of the community. The basis for the majority rule is to be found in the exegesis of the scriptural phrase, *aḥarei rabbim le-hattot* (to "follow a multitude…" Ex. 23:2).

In Deciding the *Halakhah*

In the Talmud the phrase *aḥarei rabbim le-hattot* was converted into a decisory canon: "where there is a controversy between an individual and the many, the *halakhah* follows the many" (Ber. 9a). The sages of the Talmud explained the existence of this rule as a practical necessity, for if the Torah had been given in the form of an exhaustive codex, "the world could not have existed" (TJ, Sanh. 4:2, 22a; cf. Mid. Ps. 82:3). The halakhic opinion that has prevailed is that the law is decided in accordance with the view expressed by a majority of the scholars, and this is so even if in a particular matter a heavenly voice (see **Bat-Kol*) should declare that the law is according to the minority opinion (BM 59a).

The individual may continue to express his opinion that the majority has erred, but may not instruct in practice according to the minority opinion; if he actually instructs others to follow the minority opinion, he becomes (when there is a Sanhedrin) a **zaken mamre* (i.e., a "rebellious scholar"; Maim., Yad, Mamrim, 3:5–6). If a majority of scholars should arrive at the same conclusion but each for a different reason, some scholars hold this to be a majority opinion which is binding while other scholars hold the contrary view (*Maggid Mishneh*, Ishut 7:12; Maharik, resp. nos. 41, 52, 94, 102).

Some of the *geonim* and *rishonim* took the view that a minority opinion is to be preferred above a majority opinion of scholars of lesser wisdom. This question first arose in a responsum of Hai Gaon concerning a court decision on the concrete matter in issue, and not as concerns deciding of the *halakhah* in general (*Ge'onim Kadmoniyyim*, resp. no. 144; Ramban nov. Sanh. 23a; *Sefer ha-Ḥinnukh*, no. 67). Some of the scholars opposed this opinion, holding that the law is always as decided by the majority (*Haggahot Asheri*, Av. Zar. 1:3; *Siftei Kohen*, supplementary note to YD 242), while other scholars laid down that whenever the minority opinion is qualitatively superior to the majority opinion, the position is as if opinions are divided equally and either may be followed (Ramban nov. Sanh. 23a; Ritba, RH 14b). In the Shulḥan Arukh, the most authoritative code of Jewish law, determination of the *halakhah* is generally made by application of the majority rule, the author (Joseph Caro) having adopted for himself the principle that the binding *halakhah* was to accord with the opinion held in common by any two of three great halakhists preceding him, namely Alfasi, Maimonides, and Asher b. Jehiel – or with the majority opinion selected on a different basis if a particular matter had not been dealt with by the three above-mentioned scholars. See *Codification of Law.

Decision by the Court

Within its plain meaning and read within its context, the above-mentioned scriptural passage (Ex. 23:2) has reference to a judgment of the court. The sages of the Talmud derived therefrom an additional interpretation relating to the field of criminal law – in which there is need for a specific majority, i.e., of two at least: "Thou shalt not follow after the many to do evil – I conclude that I must be with them to do well. Then why is it written [to follow] after the many to change judgment? [It means that] thy verdict of condemnation shall not be like thy verdict of acquittal, for thy verdict of acquittal is reached by the decision of a majority of one, but thy verdict of condemnation must be reached by the decision of a majority of two" (Sanh. 1:6 and cf. Mekh., Kaspa 20). Some scholars explain the need for a specific majority in matters of the criminal law on the basis that in matters of the civil law no judgment solely condemns or solely absolves, since any suit involves two litigants and what is to the one's benefit is to the other's detriment; whereas in criminal law matters the judgment is condemnatory, i.e., to the detriment of the accused (Tos. to Sanh. 3b).

A majority is only required in the event that a judicial decision has to be made in a concrete case before the court, whereas in deciding the *halakhah* in the criminal law field – outside the context of instant litigation – a simple majority of one suffices as it does in all other cases (Resp. Radbaz, *Li-Leshonot ha-Rambam*, no. 1690).

The *amoraim* question how a judgment in a civil law matter, arrived at by majority decision, should be worded. It was decided, in accordance with the opinion of R. Eleazar, that the judgment must be written in the name of the court without mention being made of the names of the judges favoring one view or the other (Sanh. 30a; Maim., Yad, Sanh. 22:8); similarly, that a judgment given by a majority decision must be signed also by the judge dissenting therefrom (TJ, Sanh. 3:10; *Avkat Rokhel*, no. 19; Mabit, vol. 2, pt. 1, resp. no. 173; ḤM 19 – *Urim*, n. 4). Hai Gaon's opinion (see above) that a preponderance of wisdom should be preferred above numerical majority, also with reference to court decisions, and even that the opinion of one individual may prevail against that of the many, remained generally unaccepted in later generations. Even those who favored wisdom above a numerical majority as the basis for deciding the *halakhah*, agreed that the majority opinion was to be preferred as the basis for a judgment by the court in the concrete matter before it (*Sefer ha-Ḥinnukh*, no. 67; Ramban nov. Sanh. 23a).

Communal Decisions and Enactments

The view that has prevailed in Jewish law is that communal resolutions and enactments are passed by a decision of the majority and bind the minority (see Elon, in bibl., 11 n. 34).

This general view was dissented from by Rabbenu Jacob *Tam, who held that only after an enactment had been passed by the whole community might the majority lay down fines for transgression thereof, and that the minority could not be compelled by the community to comply with a decision of the majority to which it had been opposed (*Mordekhai*, BK 179 and BB 480). The doctrine of *aḥarei rabbim le-hattot* has been relied upon by the scholars in support of the right to pass a communal enactment by majority decision (Rosh, resp. no. 6:5).

According to some of the scholars, the ordinances of a guild or an association – as distinguished from communal enactments – must be passed with the consent of all members in order to be binding (Ramban, nov. BB 9a; *Nimmukei Yosef*, BB 9a; *Leḥem Rav*, no. 216).

In the case of a judicial tribunal, it was laid down that a majority decision is not binding unless all the judges have participated in the proceedings and the judgment is that of the majority of the full complement (Sanh. 5:5). Some scholars deduced therefrom that also a communal enactment passed by majority decision is not binding unless the minority has participated in the proceedings (Rashba, vol. 2, resp. no. 104; Maharik, resp. no. 180; Maharit, vol. 1, resp. no. 58). Since this ruling, if followed, might enable the minority to impose its will on the majority by absenting itself from the discussions of the community, it came to be laid down in the course of time that the decision of the majority shall be binding despite the minority's nonparticipation in the discussions leading thereto. The scholars supported the conclusion either on the basis of a presumption that the absentee minority impliedly agrees to accept the decision of the majority which exerts itself to participate (*Mishpat Shalom*, no. 231; *ibid., Kunteres Tikkun Olam*, "vav"), or on the basis that the minority impliedly delegates authority to the majority (*Ḥatam Sofer*, ḤM, resp. no. 116); custom too is relied upon by some scholars in support of the majority rule of those participating in the proceedings in communal legislation (Mabit, vol. 1, resp. no. 264). If the community has delegated authority to its representatives, the latter decide by majority decision, but only if the minority too is present (*Penei Moshe*, vol. 2, resp. no. 110; *Birkei Yosef*, ḤM 13:7).

[Shmuel Shilo]

Halakhic Decision-Making and the Importance of Minority Opinions

The determination of practical *halakhah* by the majority does not contradict the concept of freedom of expression nor detract from the importance of any view, even if that view is a lone view.

Early Jewish law, as reflected in the sources, is characterized by its anonymity and its uniformity. Prior to the era of *Hillel and *Shammai, halakhic disputes were rare, since any problem which arose was resolved by the Sanhedrin, which enjoyed complete judicial authority (Sanh. 88b; Tosefta, Sanh. 7:1). From the generation after Hillel and Shammai – i.e., the beginning of the first century – and until the end of that century, following the destruction of the Second Temple and a concomitant decline in the status of the Sanhedrin, the halakhic world split into two schools of thought – the School of Hillel and the School of Shammai (see *Bet Hillel and Bet Shammai). Each school practiced the law in accordance with its own beliefs, while differences even extended to legal questions with fundamental and basic ramifications:

> When the disciples of Shammai and Hillel, who had insufficiently studied, increased in number, disputes multiplied in Israel and the Torah became as two Torot (*ibid.*).

Practically speaking, this period of pluralistic halakhic rulings could not continue for long, as it led to the possibility that families belonging to one school of thought could not marry into the other, thereby dividing the nation into two separate endogamous groups. At the beginning of the second century, when the center of Jewish law moved from Jerusalem to Yavneh, with Rabban Simeon ben Gamaliel II as its head, the original uniformity in practical application that had previously existed in the *halakhah* was restored.

In deciding between the opinions of the School of Hillel and the School of Shammai, the Sages ruled that "both are the words of the living God, but the law is in accordance with the School of Hillel" (TJ, Ber. 1d).

It was this trend toward deciding between opposing views that led to the early stages in the process of redaction of various legal collections which later constituted the basis for the redaction of the Mishnah. Nevertheless, during the process of redaction of the Mishnah, the divergent views and disputes among the various *tannaim* were preserved and recorded. One reason for this is stated explicitly in the Mishnah itself (Eduyyot 1:5), namely: that should a later court of law see fit to rule in accordance with the individual opinion, it would be at liberty to do so. In the words of the Tosefta: "Rabbi Judah says: Why is the minority view recorded [in the Mishnah] alongside the majority view.… So that a [later] court that agrees with the minority view can rely on" (Tosefta, Eduyyot 1:4).

Rabbi *Samson of Sens (France, Palestine; 12th and 13th centuries) interprets the aforementioned sources as follows:

> Even though the individual opinion was not accepted in the first instance, and the majority disagreed with the individual, a later generation may arise, the majority of whom might agree to the opinion of the individual, and then the matter will be decided in accordance with their opinion. All of the Torah was transmitted to Moses in this fashion: there are considerations to purify and considerations to render impure. (Moses) was told: How long will we have to clarify every situation? He said to them: "The rule is according to the majority; however, both opinions are the words of the living God."

According to this interpretation, there is no such thing as an absolute and unequivocal ruling. In every case there are multiple considerations. While the final ruling in halakhic decision-making is indeed determined by the majority, a different majority at another period in time might arrive at a different conclusion. In the Supreme Court of the State of Israel, this justification for citing minority opinions has been presented – on the basis of the sources cited above – as an explanation for the crucial need to present minority opinions in fundamental court rulings (FH 13/80 *Hendeles v. Bank Kuppat Ha'am* 35 (2) PD 785, p. 796; HC 669/85 *Kahane v. Knesset Speaker*, 40 (4) PD 393, 404–420 per Justice Menachem Elon).

An additional explanation, that is both connected to and founded on the previous one, is the pluralistic nature of the *halakhah* – not in terms of practical actions, but in terms of opinions. The *halakhah* accepts uniformity in halakhic decision-making as an operative necessity. On the theoretical plane, however, it considers each and every opinion as important, and it sees the importance of presenting the full spectrum of halakhic views. A sage who disputes the opinion of his fellows – even after the Sanhedrin has ruled against his opinion – may continue to adhere to his opinion, so long as he does not rule accordingly for others. Such a sage will not be considered to be a "rebellious elder" (Mishnah, Sanhedrin 11:2).

This position, which sees the multiplicity of opinions and the importance of transmitting all of those opinions to the learning community as a value, may be found in the words of halakhic authorities of later eras.

Rabbi Ḥayyim ben Bezalel Ashkenazi states that, if a halakhic authority were to rule in accordance with a particular opinion on one day, and in accordance with a different opinion on the next day – "this would not be evidence of any change or deficiency which would cause us to say that the Torah has become, God forbid, as two Torahs; on the contrary – such is the way of the Torah, and both are the words of the living God" (*Vikku'aḥ Mayim Ḥayyim* (Introduction), par. 7; Poland, 16th century).

Rabbi Solomon Ephraim of Lonshitz (*Keli Yakar*, on Deut. 17:2) applies the same statement to the legal decision of a judge in a case adjudicated before him. In his opinion, in every case there are considerations in either direction, and there is no absolute ruling of pure or impure, permitted or prohibited. That is why, when a court of law rules, we must always rely on its rulings; the court has ruled in accordance with the intellectual discretion of the majority of its members, a fact that endows their opinion with obligatory validity. This, however, does not detract from the essential truth of the opposing opinion, in and of itself. Rabbi Jehiel Michal Epstein (*Arukh ha-Shulḥan*, ḤM, Introduction; beginning of 20th century) sees the diversity of opinions as the glory of the Torah. He compares it to a choir made up of many voices:

> For those who truly understand, all of the disputes of the *tannaim* and *amoraim*, the *geonim* and the *posekim* are truly the words of living God, and each of them have validity in the *halakhah*. In truth, that is the glory of our holy and pure Torah. All of the Torah is called "song," and the glory of a song is when the voices are different from each other. That is the essence of its beauty.

These words regarding the phenomenon of multiple opinions as an integral part of the world of the *halakhah*, have been cited and discussed at length in the rulings of the Supreme Court of the State of Israel by Justice Menachem Elon, in the Neiman case, in the Shakdiel case, and in the Kestenbaum case. In all of these cases he relied on those sources in order to establish the legitimacy of different and divergent opinions in the realm of *halakhah,* in the spectrum of political opinions in the State of Israel, and in the field of public administration in the State of Israel (EA 2/84 *Neiman v. Chairman, Central Elections Committee*, 39 (2) PD 225, 292–296; HC 153/87 *Shakdiel v. Minister of Religious Affairs*, 42 (2) PD 221, 263–264; CA 294/91; CA 294/91 *Burial Society v. Kestenbaum*, 46 (2) PD 464, 505–506).

[Menachem Elon (2nd ed.)]

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MAKAI (Fischer), EMIL (1870–1901), Hungarian poet and playwright. Born in Mako, Makai was the son of Rabbi Enoch Fischer. In 1884 he entered the Budapest rabbinical seminary, but during his years there he spent much of his time writing. Finally, in 1893, after much heart searching and with the encouragement of the great Jewish poet József *Kiss, he decided to give up his rabbinical studies and devote himself entirely to writing.

Makai began the first, exclusively Jewish phase of his literary career with a collection of lyric verse, *Vallásos énekek* ("Religious Hymns," 1888). This was followed by a biblical drama, *Absalon* (1891), and *Zsidó költők* ("Jewish Poets," 1892), translations from the works of leading Hebrew writers in medieval Spain. These had an epoch-making effect on Hungarian literature, and established Makai's reputation as a poet. In 1893, his paraphrase of the Song of Songs (*Énekek éneke*) was published. Unlike almost all his contemporaries, Makai was an "urban poet," a type virtually unknown in Hungarian literature.

In his second, "worldly" phase of creative writing, Makai wrote primarily about love, notably in the collection *Margit* (1895). His plays include the three-act verse comedy *Tudós professzor Hatvani* ("The Learned Professor Hatvani," 1900), depicting the life of a humorous Faustian character. From 1892 Makai translated more than 100 operettas which, by reason of his masterly metrical technique, established the style of the Hungarian operetta. They included Abraham *Golfaden's *Sulamit* and *Bar Kochba*, the former a major success on the Hungarian stage. A two-volume selection of Makai's writings was published in 1904.

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[Paul Blau]

MAKAROV, town in Kiev district, Ukraine. Jews were first mentioned in 1721, and in 1765, 217 Jews were counted there as paying poll tax. Jews were occupied in leasing and trade in alcoholic beverages. The Jewish community had grown to 848 in 1847. During the 1840s, R. Nahum *Twersky, the grandson of Menahem Nahum the Maggid of *Chernobyl, established his court in Makarov and the town became a center of Ḥasidism. The number of Jews had risen to 3,953 (c. 75% of the total population) in 1897. From the second half of the 19th century there existed within the town boundaries a Jewish farm colony with 32 families, but it was destroyed during the Civil War. Most of the shops were in Jewish hands. On July 6, 1919, a band of peasants invaded the town and looted it for eight days, also killing a few Jews. On August 15–18 the Matveenko band killed 20 Jews and looted and burned down 20 shops. When this was followed in September of the same year by a pogrom which claimed over 100 victims, perpetrated by the soldiers of *Denikin's army, the Jewish population left for *Kiev and other towns in the vicinity. Only 152 Jews remained in Makarov in 1923. Some returned and in 1926 there were 585 (out of a total population of 2,943). In the 1930s many left for bigger cities, and in 1939 there were 269 Jews (out of a total of 3,368). Makarov was occupied by the Germans on July 10, 1941, and after a while 100 Jews were executed. The others hid but were found and 149 Jews were taken to Kiev and murdered, probably in Babi Yar. In 1970 the Jewish population was estimated at about 150 (30 families). The synagogue was unused, having been closed down by the authorities.

[Yehuda Slutsky / Shmuel Spector (2nd ed.)]

MAKHSHIRIN (Heb. מַכְשִׁירִין), eighth tractate in the order *Tohorot*, in the Mishnah and Tosefta. The word *makhshirin*, the causative *hiphil* form of *kasher* ("to be fit"), means "those things which render fit," but it is here used in a technical sense. In accordance with Leviticus 11:34, 37–8, that food can become liable to ritual impurity only if it has been moistened by water, *makhshirin* is employed to refer to all liquids which have this quality. For the same reason, the tractate is sometimes called *Mashkim* ("Liquids"). It is laid down on the basis of verse 38 that there must be some intention or desire on the part of the owner that the food be so moistened, and the tractate deals primarily with these two points – the liquids which render food liable to ritual impurity and the intention of having the food moistened. Every possible cause of foods becoming moist is detailed – from rain, ordure, damp walls, absorption of water in the food's vicinity, dripping through a leak in the roof, bilge water, steam caused by rain dripping on hot iron, the juice of grapes, etc. The tractate concludes (6:4–8) with a discussion of liquids other than water which render produce susceptible to impurity. Epstein has pointed to various layers which can be detected in *Makhshirin*. According to him 1:3 belongs to the Mishnah of R. Joshua; 1:4 to that of Akiva; 5:2 and 6:2 to Meir; and 6:3 to Judah b. Ilai, Akiva's disciple. He maintains that Joshua's ascription of Mishnah 6:4 (Ter. 11:2) to "the sages" is evidence that it is an early one. Mishnah 6:8 is interesting in that, although *mishnayot* and *beraitot* usually contain only the discussions of colleagues, this Mishnah also gives disciples' questions and Akiva's reply (cf. Epstein, Tanna'im, 88). The standard text of *mishnah* 5:1 deals with a drunken man who pushes someone into the water. S. Lieberman has shown that the text is corrupt. The correct reading should be "if he pushed him in order to injure him" (*leshovero*, לשוברו not *leshokhero*, לשכרו), and is one of several mishnaic references to the prevalent custom of dangerous water sports, of which the rabbis strongly disapproved. In the Tosefta there are some passages of historical interest. One tells of the overruling by the rabbis of Joshua b. Peraḥyah's ruling declaring all Alexandrian wheat (a major source of supply) unclean (3:4) and the alterations made by the farmers of Sepphoris in their methods of harvesting in order to remove the suspicion of defilement from their produce (3:5–6). *Genizah* fragments of the tractate have been found and their alternate readings throw light on several passages (JJLG, 18 (1927), 28ff.). Neusner (1980) devoted a study to the form-critical analysis of the Mishnah, using *Makhshirin* as his primary focus. The Mishnah of this tractate was translated into English by H. Danby (1933), while J. Neusner published a translation of both the Mishnah (1991) and the Tosefta (2002).

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MAKKABIM-RE'UT (Heb. מַכַּבִּים־רְעוּת), urban community in central Israel, midway between Tel Aviv and Jerusalem. It received municipal council status in 1990. In 2002 its population was 10,700, occupying an area of 1.4 sq. mi. (3.5 sq. km.). In 2003 its municipality was united with that of the nearby city of *Modi'in.

[Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

MAKKEDAH (Heb. מַקֵּדָה), Canaanite city in the Shephelah which marked the farthest limit of the Israelite pursuit of the five kings who united to punish Gibeon but were defeated at Aijalon (Josh. 10). The kings fled to a cave at Makkedah where they were captured and executed by hanging in the Israelite camp. The city was afterward conquered and destroyed and, accordingly, the king of Makkedah is mentioned in the list of defeated Canaanite cities (Josh. 12:16). In the topographical description of Judah, it is located, with Lachish, in the southern Shephelah (Josh. 15:41). Eusebius places the city 8 mi. (c. 13 km.) to the east of Eleutheropolis (Bet Guvrin; Onom. 126:22ff.). The identification of the ancient site is uncertain.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Abel, Geog, 2 (1938), 378; Aharoni, in: *Atlas Yisrael* (1956), Map IX: 4c; J. Garstang, *Joshua-Judges* (1931), 394; Aharoni, Land, index.

[Michael Avi-Yonah]

MAKKOT (Heb. מַכּוֹת; "Flagellation"), fifth tractate in the order *Nezikin*, in the Mishnah, Tosefta, and Babylonian and Jerusalem Talmuds. The tractate deals with three separate topics and is a continuation of the preceding tractate *Sanhedrin*, as it also deals with judicial punishments administered by the courts. The first chapter discusses the laws of plotting witnesses ("*zomemim*"; Deut. 19:16–20), the kind of testimony that constitutes such plotting, when such witnesses are punishable by the sentence they intended the court to impose upon the accused, and when their punishment is merely flogging. Chapter 2 contains an exhaustive treatment of circumstances under which the inadvertent murderer is banished to a city of refuge (Num. 35:6f.; Deut. 19:2f.), those liable and those exempt from banishment, the character of the cities of refuge and the protection they afford, and the connection between the death of the high priest and the return of the manslayer to his hometown (Num. 35:25). Chapter 3 gives a list of offenses for which the penalty is flogging; discusses whether flogging is incidental to offenses punishable by death, and describes in detail the imposition of the penalty. The tractate ends with an aggadic passage on the value to Israel of the commandments and a summation of the principles which inspire them. An interesting *mishnah* (1:10) deals with capital punishment: "R. Eliezer b. Azariah says: A Sanhedrin that effects a capital punishment once in 70 years is branded a destructive tribunal. R. Tarfon and R. Akiva say: Were we members of the Sanhedrin, no person would ever be put to death. [Thereupon] Rabban

Simeon b. Gamaliel remarked: If so, they [these rabbis] would multiply shedders of blood in Israel."

The Tosefta consists of five chapters (ch. 2 is found only in the Erfurt manuscript published by Zuckermandel). Chapter 1 of the Tosefta parallels chapter 1 of the Mishnah; chapter 2, Mishnah 2:1–4; chapter 3, the remainder of chapter 2; while chapters 4 and 5 correspond to chapter 3. De Vries maintains that the Mishnah and Tosefta in this case both derive from an earlier compilation which the Tosefta follows closely, but from which the Mishnah deviated considerably. In his opinion the Mishnah was originally divided into five chapters – as is the Tosefta – and that it was later abridged into three chapters. The Babylonian Talmud has *Gemara* on all three chapters, but the Jerusalem Talmud only on the first two. In addition, the Babylonian Talmud on *Makkot* is much richer in aggadic material. It concludes with the moving story of a group of rabbis who were shocked to see a jackal emerging from the recess of the Holy of Holies. All with the exception of Akiva, burst into tears, while he laughed. He explained his joy with the observation that with this calamity the worst prophecy about the Jews had been fulfilled, and one could now anticipate that the comforting prophecy of Zechariah, "There shall yet old men and old women sit in the broad places of Jerusalem" (Zech. 8:4), would likewise be fulfilled.

Although the printed editions of the Jerusalem Talmud have no *Gemara* to the third chapter, Lieberman has shown that such a *Gemara* existed, but since the topics with which it dealt were discussed in the *Gemara* to Mishnayot in other places, the copyists omitted these duplicated discussions from the third chapter of the tractate. In fact, the early authorities quote references from the Jerusalem Talmud to *Makkot* which do not occur elsewhere in the existing text. A fragment from the Jerusalem Talmud belonging to chapter 2 of *Makkot* and found in the Cairo *Genizah* has been published by S. Wieder. Published translations of the Mishnah include one in Latin, with extracts from the *Gemara*, by J. Coccejus (Amsterdam, 1629), one in German by H.L. Strack (1910), and one in English by Danby (1933). The Babylonian Talmud was also translated into English by H.M. Lazarus in the Soncino edition (1935). Although the imposition of the penalties discussed in *Makkot* was not practiced directly in the Diaspora, yet because of its importance for the theoretical discussion of criminal law it is much discussed and frequently referred to in rabbinic literature.

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[David Joseph Bornstein]

MAKLEFF, family of Ereẓ Israel pioneers.

ARYEH LEIB MAKLEFF (1876–1929) was born in the Grodno district of Russian Poland and settled in Ereẓ Israel in 1891. At the age of 18 he moved from Jerusalem to Petaḥ Tikvah and worked on his brother's land. Eventually he settled in Moẓa and put many years of labor into the vineyard planted by his father-in-law Yehiel Chemerinski, one of the founders of the Maḥaneh Yehudah quarter in Jerusalem. As an agricultural expert he was instrumental in choosing the land for Ḥuldah before the Jewish National Fund purchased it. For 25 years his home was the center of the settlement of Moẓa. During the riots of 1929, the sheikh of the nearby Arab village, Qālūnya, promised him that Moẓa would not be attacked. Nonetheless, the settlement was stormed by its Arab neighbors, and Makleff was killed along with his wife, BATYAH ḤAYYAH (b. in Jerusalem, 1877); his son, AVRAHAM (b. 1907); and his daughters MINNAH (b. 1905) and RIVKAH (b. 1910).

MORDECHAI MAKLEFF (1920–1978), Aryeh Leib's youngest son, survived the slaughter of his family by taking shelter in a neighbor's home and grew up to become chief of staff of the Israel Defense Forces. Born in Jerusalem, he received a religious education and graduated from the Reali school in Haifa in 1938. He joined the Special Night Squads led by Orde Wingate against Arab terrorists. In 1940 he joined the British army and was sent to officers' school. He saw action in World War II with the *Jewish Brigade in Italy. In 1948 he was the commanding officer of the Haganah unit that captured Haifa and represented the Haganah in its negotiations with the Arabs of the city. He then took part in the battle for Mishmar ha-Yarden and the lightning operation to capture eastern Galilee. He headed the Israel delegation to the armistice talks with Lebanon and Syria. In 1949 Makleff became assistant chief of staff under Yigael *Yadin, and in 1952 he received the appointment of chief of staff, a post which he held for a period of one year. In 1958 he became managing director of the Dead Sea Works, and ten years later was appointed director of the Citrus Marketing Board of Israel.

MAKO (Hung. **Makó**), town in S. Hungary. Jews were first authorized to settle in Mako in 1740. In 1748 they founded a *ḥevra kaddisha* in the town, and the community was probably organized at that time. A Jewish school was also opened. The first synagogue was erected in 1814, and the magnificent great synagogue was built in 1914. After 1868 the community was split into two factions and in 1870 the Orthodox built a synagogue. There were 158 Jews in Mako in 1773, earning their livelihood mainly from trade, especially in onions which grew abundantly in the surroundings. There were also Jewish craftsmen. From 154 in 1824 the Jewish population increased to 1,200 by 1858. The Jews numbered 1,928 in 1918, 2,380 in 1920, and 1,125 in 1941. The first rabbi of the town was Jacob Selig (1773). Others were Solomon *Ullman (1826–1863), who maintained a yeshivah, and Enoch Fischer (1864–1896), the father of the poet Emil *Makai. The last rabbis were the historian A. *Kecskeméti (1898–1944) and M. Vorhand (Orthodox). The renowned journalist and publisher Joseph *Pulitzer was born in this town. After the German invasion (March 19, 1944) a ghetto was set up for the 3,000 Jews of Mako and the surrounding area. All were transferred to Szeged at the end of June and deported to *Auschwitz, with some going to Austria; only around 600 returned to reestablish a community in 1949. The synagogue was demolished in the late 1960s. In 1970 there were 98 Jews in Mako.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Á. Kecskeméti, *A csanádmegyei zsidók története* (1929); A. Scheiber, in: MHJ, 12 (1969), 5–18.

[Alexander Scheiber]

MAKOW MAZOWIECKI (Pol. **Maków Mazowiecki**; Rus. **Makov**), town in Warszawa province (before 1795 Mazovia province), Poland. An organized Jewish community is traceable to the second half of the 16th century. At the end of the 17th century a Jew, Nachman ben Nathan, was executed as a result of a blood libel. King Augustus III (1733–63) confirmed the rights of the Jewish community. According to the 1765 census, 1,258 poll tax payers, of whom 827 lived in neighboring villages, were under the jurisdiction of the Makow *kahal*. Of the 113 Jewish families (431 persons) living in Makow, 54 owned their houses; 21 families earned their livelihood as craftsmen (tailors, carpenters, tinsmiths). The Jewish population numbered 2,007 (72% of the total population) in 1808; 4,090 (90%) in 1827; 4,100 in 1856; and 4,400 in 1897. Of rabbis in Makow in the 18th century the following are known by name: Moses ben Gershon, Abraham Abish and David ben Zion Jehezkel (d. 1815), *dayyan* and *Maggid*, who was a central figure in the historical controversy between Ḥasidim and *Mitnaggedim*. Of the 19th century rabbis mention should be made of Arye Leib Zunz, Eliezer Hakohen Lipschutz, and Judah Leib Graubard. Nathan Chilinowicz founded a yeshivah at the end of the 19th century which existed until 1939.

Holocaust Period

At the outbreak of World War II, there were about 3,500 Jews in Makow Mazowiecki. Shortly after the German invasion of Poland, another 500 Jews settled there. At the end of 1940 several hundred young Jewish men were deported to the nearby forced-labor camp in Gasiewo. In September 1941 the ghetto was established. On Nov. 5, 1942, the Germans concentrated Jews still living in the smaller places of Makow county in the ghetto. A few days later (Nov. 14–18, 1942) the first deportation to the *Treblinka death camp took place, and over 500 Makow Jews were exterminated there. On Dec. 8–12, 1942, all the remaining Jews (over 4,000) were deported to Treblinka and exterminated there. No Jewish community was reconstituted in Makow Mazowiecki.

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[Stefan Krakowski]

MAKUYA. The word "Makuya" is the Japanese translation of the Hebrew phrase Ohel Moed אהל מועד, the meeting place between God and man, the dwelling place of God's Shekhinah (Ex. 29:42–43), and has been adopted by an indigenous Japanese group of Bible believers, strongly identified with the cause of Israel and believing that the Japanese people have historical connections with ancient Israel through the dispersion of the Lost Tribes. Makuya was founded in May 1948 by a charismatic leader, Abraham Ikuro Teshima (1910–73), who was then a successful businessman and ardent Christian believer. He emphasized the importance of the personal encounter with the Spirit of God and the return to the dynamic faith of the original Gospel of early Hebraic Christianity, as opposed to the dogmatic, institutionalized, European-dominated churches. He tried to revive the devastated spiritual condition of postwar Japan by proclaiming the words of the living God (Amos 8:11). He said, "The Bible is the light to all peoples and the biblical faith perfects all religions. Even today the God of Israel is living and vividly intervenes in the human society with his abundant goodness and mercy." His followers believed that he was divinely endowed with spiritual power and prophetic vision, and attributed to him many miraculous deeds by his prayers. A commentator on the Bible and prolific writer, Teshima maintained that deeper understanding of the Jewish faith, its people and history, is essential to the full comprehension of the Bible. Makuya now counts some 50,000, mainly in Japan but also in the United States, Brazil, Mexico, Greece, Israel, and other Asian countries. Their religious life is somewhat akin to the early ḥasidic movement with characteristics of *hitlahavut* (exuberant joy) and total commitment to God. The religious thinkings of Rabbi A.I. *Kook, Martin *Buber, and Abraham *Heschel are among the cherished elements of their belief. Their fervent love of the Bible and firm attachment to Zion brings hundreds of Makuya pilgrims annually to Israel. Over 250 Makuya students have been sent to Israeli kibbutzim to work together with the people of the Bible, and to study Hebrew and the biblical background. Some of them continue their academic studies in universities. They have published their first Hebrew-Japanese dictionary. The Makuya see in the establishment of the State of Israel – founded at the same time as their movement, as they stress – and the unification of Jerusalem a fulfillment of biblical prophecies. Israel is the experimental nursery of God and Jerusalem the capital of His universal kingdom; Divine history of redemption unfolds around the city of Zion. Whenever the Makuya get together they sing secular and religious Hebrew songs, many of them the songs of modern Israel. They adopt Hebrew names, observe the Sabbath, and keep a form of *kashrut*. They light candles on Friday evening, break *ḥallah,* and read from the *siddur*. Their view of the world is informed by a profound admiration for Israel and the Jewish people. Their love for Israel often finds practical expression: a Makuya volunteer was wounded in the 1967 Six-Day War and in the wake of the Israeli victory a Makuya "pilgrimage" marched through Jerusalem carrying a banner proclaiming "Congratulations on the Greater Jerusalem." In the fall of 1973, in the aftermath of the Yom Kippur War and the Arab oil boycott, Teshima and thousands of his followers staged a massive pro-Israel demonstration in downtown

Tokyo. And in 1975, when the United Nations condemned Zionism as a form of racism and racial discrimination, they sent a petition of protest containing 37,000 signatures to the UN General Secretary. Makuya show great hospitality to visiting Israelis and Jews, and it is possible to find Makuya Hebrew speakers in most important Japanese towns. To some extent their admiration for Jews derives from the Christian part of their ideology. But, in addition, it springs from the national nature of Judaism – the idea that Judaism is the religion of the Jewish people – and from Zionism. The Makuya are intensely nationalistic and, in some ways, are looking towards the redemption of the Japanese nation which will be modeled upon the redemption of Israel.

ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY: T. Parfitt, *The Lost Tribes of Israel: the History of a Myth* (2004); idem, *The Thirteenth Gate* (1987).

[Akira Jindo / Tudor Parfitt (2nd ed.)]

MALACH, LEIB (pseudonym of **Leib Salzman**; 1894–1936), Yiddish poet and dramatist. Born in Zwolen, Poland, he had a traditional education, lived in Warsaw in 1907–22, and worked at various trades until his literary talent was discovered by the novelist H.D. *Nomberg. From 1922 until his death in Paris, he lived in a number of countries, his longest stay being in Argentina. He began his literary career with songs and ballads, later turning to prose and drama. His travel sketches were widely read, and his drama *Ibergus* ("Overflow," 1926) about white slave traffic helped in the struggle against this social evil in Buenos Aires. His novel *Don Domingo's Kraytsveg* ("Don Domingo's Crusade," 1930) is an epic of adventurous and idealistic Jewish life in Latin America.

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[Melech Ravitch]

MALACHI, BOOK OF, the last (12th) book of the section of the Bible called *Minor Prophets. In the Qumran fragment 4QXIIa, however, Malachi seems to be followed by Jonah. It contains "The pronouncement of the word of the Lord to Israel by Malachi" (Mal. 1:1). The Hebrew word (Heb. מַלְאָכִי) (*mal'akhi*) means "My messenger." According to A. von Bulmerincq, the word could be a shortened form of מַלְאָכְיָה (*mal'akhiyyah*, "messenger of the Lord"). However, since this name is not found elsewhere in the Bible, the Septuagint, in which it appears as *mal'akho* ("by the hand of His messenger"), is probably right in not regarding it as a personal name. The Targum follows the masoretic text, but adds a note to the effect that "My messenger" is *Ezra: "by the hand of My messenger whose name is called Ezra the scribe." The same tradition is mentioned and accepted by Jerome. Had Ezra been the author of the book, however, it is unlikely that his authorship would have been thus concealed. In fact, the occurrence of the word in the title is naturally explained as derived from Malachi 3:1: "Behold, I send My messenger" (cf. Mal. 2:7). It is noteworthy that whereas the activity of Haggai and Zechariah is noted in Ezra 5:1; 6:14, no mention is made of Malachi, a further indication that the book, should be regarded as anonymous, the title having been added by the compiler who had given similar editorial titles to the anonymous oracles beginning with *Zechariah 9:1 and 12:1. The reason behind the separation of the Book of Malachi from the preceding Book of Zechariah is that the "Malachian" chapters constitute a characteristic unit, different from Deutero- and Trito-Zechariah (Zech. 9–11; 12–14). The separation also provides a twelfth prophetic book, corresponding to the traditional twelve tribes of Israel.

The contents of the Book of Malachi fall into six clearly marked sections introduced by a statement of the Lord or of the prophet, which is then challenged by the people or the priests, and defended by the Lord Himself in words of reproach and doom. The Lord's love for Israel, in contrast with His treatment of Edom, is emphasized at the outset (Mal. 1:2–5). The second speech reproaches the priests for their neglect of the sacrificial cult (1:6–2:9): their attitude should express a proper regard for the ritual of the Lord's worship, yet any offering, however imperfect, has been thought good enough for His altar. In this, as no doubt in other matters, the priests show themselves unworthy of their forefather Levi, by misleading "the many" into sin with their lax rulings. Let the priests, therefore, take warning, and return to their ancient ideals. This section seems to have been subsequently expanded by the insertion of 1:11–14. The aspect of God as their common father should inspire correct relations between Jew and Jew, and not such conduct as repudiating Jewish wives for the sake of marrying non-Jewish women (2:10–16). In its present form, this speech reproaches the Jews for contracting mixed marriages. The view of Ch.C. Torrey (JBL, 17 (1898), 1–15) and F.F. Hvidberg (*Weeping and Laughter in the Old Testament* (1962)) that a reproach for the adoration of foreign gods is actually meant has little to commend it. A problem, however, arises from the secondary character of 2:11b–13a, or 11–12. Several modern scholars have challenged the genuineness of this passage for literary reasons and consider it a later addition. Without these verses, 2:10–16 contains no reference to mixed marriages, but rather attacks the abuse of divorce by Jews, exhorting them to remain loyal to the wives of their youth (cf. Prov. 5:15–20). If the sacredness and religious value of marriage are implied, the reproach indicates that men were divorcing wives casually and callously. It is also possible to read the section as an attack on divorcing Jewish women for the purpose of marrying gentile women, who are described as (2:11) "daughter of a foreign god" (see below). Such a union is opposed by "the One" (2:15) who desires "divine seed" (Hebrew *zera elohim*), elsewhere called "holy seed," (Hebrew *zera kodesh*; Ezra 9:2), i.e., children who are not products of sexual intermingling with gentiles. The connection between loyalty to a Jewish wife and to God was facilitated by the characterization of marriage as *berit*, "covenant," a notion first attested in Ezekiel 16:8.

The prevalence of wrongdoing had provoked skepticism about divine justice. The fourth section asserts against these doubts that the Lord is the God of judgment and will restore the rights of the people; His messenger is already at hand to purge indifferentism from worship and immorality from conduct (Mal. 2:17–3:5). A. von Bulmerincq's assumption that Ezra is the "messenger" of 3:1 is unlikely, because the conception here is rather that of a heavenly being. According to the next section, the people's neglect in paying tithes and other sacred dues has been punished with drought, locusts, and failure of crops; however, the punctilious payment of the withheld tithes will be rewarded with abundance (3:6–12). This fifth section thus enforces the duty of giving tithes. The last section promises the despondent pious Jews vindication for themselves and punishment for the ungodly ones on the Day of Judgment (3:13–21). Religion may seem useless, warns the author, but the Lord remembers His own, and will soon distinguish them openly from the irreligious. The book closes with an appeal to observe the Law that the Lord gave to Moses at Horeb, and with the announcement that the prophet Elijah will come before the threatened judgment (3:22–24). The appeal to the "Law of Moses" is part of the redactional process of Scripture in which Torah is declared superior to the Prophets and Hagiographa. Thus, Joshua 1, which opens the Prophets, emphasizes the book of Torah. Malachi, which ends the Prophets, closes with Torah, and Psalm 1, which opens the Hagiographa opens with Torah. These concluding words are likewise an addition, namely a later interpretation of 3:1, saying that the anonymous "messenger" is Elijah. Nonetheless, the addition shares with the body of the book its deuteronomic orientation: the book evidently regards the entire tribe of Levi as priestly, the closing appeal names Horeb instead of Sinai as the mount of revelation. These facts favor an early rather than a late post-Exilic date. Other features bear this out.

Like Haggai and Zechariah 1–8, the Book of Malachi is an expression of the changed outlook of prophecy in post-Exilic times. The topics noted above clearly relate the book to the post-Exilic period, when the Temple had been rebuilt (1:10; 3:1, 10), the province of Judea was ruled by a representative of the Persian government (1:8), and there had been time enough for the loss of earlier religious enthusiasm. The three main abuses attacked in the text are the degeneracy of the priesthood (1:6–2:9), intermarriage with foreign women (2:11), and the people's remissness in the payment of tithes (3:8). These abuses, especially the second and the third, are mentioned prominently in the Book of *Ezra and Nehemiah, and are those which both reformers strenuously set themselves to correct (Ezra 9:2; 10:3, 16–44; Neh. 10:31, 33–40; 13:10–14, 23–29). The independent character of Malachi's attack against divorcing Jewish wives in order to marry foreign women (Mal. 2:10–16) suggests a date of composition prior to that of the work of Ezra (Ezra 9:2; 10:3, 16–44). This earlier date is made still more likely if the reproach against mixed marriages in Malachi 2:11b is a later insertion, one which precisely reflects the preoccupations of the time of Ezra and Nehemiah. The time of Ezra's activity, unfortunately, is uncertain. Following A. van Hoonacker and S. Mowinckel, above all, many scholars have assumed that Ezra was not active under Artaxerxes I (in 458 B.C.E.), but under Artaxerxes II (in 398 B.C.E.; cf. Ezra 7:8). The problems of mixed marriages and unpaid tithes, however, existed also in the time of Nehemiah (Neh. 10:31, 33–40; 13:10–14, 23–29), i.e., between 445 and about 424, the year Artaxerxes I died (cf. Neh. 2:1; 13:6). The insertion of Malachi 2:11b–13a may thus date from that period, and it may reasonably be inferred, therefore, that the original Book of Malachi dates prior to the age of Nehemiah and Ezra. In fact, most modern scholars agree that the prophet prepares the way for the work of those reformers.

There is no evidence of sufficient strength to substantiate a later date. The assumptions of H. Winckler (*Altorientalische Forschungen*, 2 (1898), 531ff.) and O. Holtzmann (ARW, 29 (1931), 1–21), who date the book to the first half of the second century B.C.E., are highly speculative and, at the present state of knowledge, inadmissible. The opinion of A. von Bulmerincq, who identifies the "messenger" of Malachi 3:1 as Ezra, becomes still more doubtful if Nehemiah is considered to have preceded Ezra. The period of Nehemiah's absence at the Persian court in approximately 430 B.C.E. (Neh. 13:6) has been proposed as the time of composition by S.R. Driver (*An Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament* (1897^6), 357) and A. Gelin (*Introduction à la Bible*, 1 (1957), 572), but an earlier date is the most likely. One of the chief duties of the priest was still the proclamation of the Oral Law (Mal. 2:6–9), and not as yet the solemn reading of the Written Law, as in Nehemiah 8–10. In fact, the prophet seems to be influenced by earlier deuteronomistic theories concerning the priests; at the same time, it is doubtful whether he knew the Priestly Code regulations on tithes found in Numbers 18:20–32, where the tithe is designated in its entirety for the maintenance of the levites (whereas, according to deuteronomic legislation (Deut. 14:22–29; 26:12–15), the levites only took part of the tithe). It appears that the Priestly Code, in its present form, is not presupposed by the Book of Malachi.

An earlier date for the composition of Malachi is also suggested by the allusion to the destruction of Edom in Malachi 1:3–4. The Arab invasion of this Transjordanian kingdom cannot be dated with precision, but Edom was apparently entirely taken over by Arab tribes toward the end of the sixth century B.C.E. Since the remaining Edomites still expected a restoration of their ruined country (1:4), approximately 500 B.C.E. is a more probable date for the composition of the Book of Malachi than the first half of the fifth century. A.C. Welch even thought that the book dated from the age of the prophet Haggai (520 B.C.E.). The bad harvests and locust plagues alluded to in 3:11 would then reflect the same situation as in Haggai 1:6, 9–11; 2:16–17. However, the existence of the Temple as implied by Malachi indicates a somewhat later date. All things considered, it may reasonably be assumed that the book dates from approximately 500 B.C.E.

The work reflects the various currents of thought and modes of life in the Jerusalem of about 500 B.C.E., affording an interesting and valuable glimpse of the post-Exilic community in the period between the age of Haggai and Zechariah on the one hand, and the time of Nehemiah and Ezra on the other. The situation in Judea was one of depression and discontent. The expectations which earlier prophets had aroused had not been fulfilled. The return from Babylon had brought with it none of the ideal glories promised by Deutero-Isaiah. The completion of the Second Temple (515 B.C.E.) had been followed by disillusionment over the anticipated prosperity announced by Haggai in 520 B.C.E., by consequent indifference to worship, skepticism as to divine justice, and moral laxity. In view of these conditions, the message of Malachi is to reassert the true relation of the people to their God, and to recall the nation to religious and moral earnestness, especially in regard to questions of ritual and marriage. Yet the author is no formalist. Ritual observances are of value in his eyes only as expressions of spiritual service; for example, he supposes that God does not accept offerings presented by disloyal husbands (2:13b–14). Moral and social offenses are fiercely condemned by the prophet (3:5), and from the concept of the brotherhood of all Jews under one Father (2:10), he deduces the duties which they have toward each other, and the wrongfulness of the selfish practice of divorce prevalent in his day (2:14–16).

The Book of Malachi is a significant landmark in the religious history of Israel. Despite its emphasis on the observance of ritual, it shows genuine prophetic spirit. Its denunciation of those who divorced their Jewish wives to marry "the daughter of a strange god" reflects the prophetic ideal of a permanent covenant between God and His people, which had been represented as a marital relation since the days of *Hosea. The denunciation also involves a protest against the influences of foreign marriages, the prohibition of which was to be made effective, at least in Yehud, by the reforms of Nehemiah and Ezra. The influence of the closing words of the book (3:22–24) on later messianic expectation is apparent in the Jewish post-biblical literature (Ecclus. 48:10; Suk. 52b; Mid. Ps. to 42:1; Targ., Lam. 4:22; Targ. Yer., Deut. 30:4) and in the New Testament (Matt. 17:3, 4, 10–13; 27:47, 49; Mark 9:4–5, 11–13; 15:35–36; Luke 9:30, 33; John 1:21, 25). In the New Testament the end of Malachi serves as a proof text to identify John the Baptist with Elijah.

[Edward Lipinski / S. David Sperling (2nd ed.)]

In the Aggadah

The author of Malachi was considered the last of the prophets, along with Haggai and Zechariah. Upon their death, the spirit of prophecy departed from Israel (Yoma 9b). Malachi was identified with Ezra by R. Joshua b. Korḥa and with Mordecai by R. Naḥman. The sages, however, declared that Malachi was his proper name (Meg. 15a). Targum Jonathan to the words "by Malachi" (1:1) added the gloss "who is known by the name of Ezra the scribe." R. Joshua validated this viewpoint by explaining the references in Malachi to the "daughter of a strange god" (2:11) as identical with the "foreign women" described by Ezra (10:2; Meg. 15a). Malachi was a member of the Great Synagogue, and traditions were later reported in his name (cf. RH 19b).

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MALACHI, ELIEZER RAPHAEL (1895–1980), U.S. Hebrew scholar and bibliographer. Born in Jerusalem, Malachi emigrated to the United States at the age of 17. A conscientious and diligent scholar, he began his literary career with original and translated stories, but in early life switched to scholarship. Though he wrote prolifically, he published only two books of essays: *Massot u-Reshimot* (1937), on contemporary and past writers, and *Ẓilelei ha-Dorot* (1940), on historical occurrences.

His first publication, as a boy of 15, was an essay on Hebrew newspapers, which appeared in Luncz's *Lu'aḥ Ereẓ Yisrael* (1910). In 1913 he became a contributor to the newly established monthly *Hatoren,* where he exhibited his expertise as a bibliographer in his pioneering historical survey of the American Hebrew press, which he traced from its beginnings in the 1870s. Subsequently, the monthly published his bibliography of the writings of Mendele Mokher Sforim (Sholem Yankev *Abramovitsh), which remains a model to this day. His succeeding work embraced Diaspora Hebrew periodicals, the Yiddish press, Hebrew poetry in America, Hebrew literature, historical essays, and individual bibliographies of Hebrew scholars and writers. His bibliographies of scholars include A.M. Luncz, J.N. Simhoni, S.A. Horodetsky, S. Krauss, N. Slouschz, S. Dubnow, A. Elmaleh, J. Schatzky, and S. Tchernowitz, the last of which also appeared separately as *Peri Etz Ḥayyim* (1946). His bibliographies of writers include such Haskalah figures as J.L. Gordon and Mendele Mokher Seforim and such late Hebrew writers as Bialik, Tschernichowsky, Shneur, Sokolow, Peretz, H. Zeitlin and Kabak, while his bibliographies of Hebrew writers in America – containing much information in a generally neglected field – include S.B. Maximon, N. Touroff, B.N. Silkiner, Ẓ. Scharfstein, S. Halkin, M. Ribalow, and H. Bavli. The latter was reprinted separately (*Zekher le-Hillel*, 1962). Malachi also published *Iggerot David Frischmann* (1927), a book of David Frischmann's letters, and *Iggerot Soferim* (1932), miscellaneous letters of other writers, with notes and introductions. In addition, he edited a book on the State of Israel and its history, *Yisrael* (1950). In 1955, Malachi's *Treasury of Hebrew Lexicography* appeared as an appendix to the American edition of Mandelkorn's *Concordance to the Bible*, in which Malachi provided detailed descriptions of all the biblical concordances and dictionaries that had been published in Hebrew and other languages. Some of his other work includes his bibliography of "Hebrew Educational Literature in America" (1944) and "History of the Hebrew Movement in America" (1974).

Regarded by many as the greatest Hebrew bibliographer of recent times, he was, in quantity alone, the most productive Hebrew bibliographer, having written thousands of articles. Malachi wrote mainly in Hebrew, but his body of work includes much material in Yiddish as well.

After Malachi's death, his papers – containing his collection of letters and documents – were transferred to the archive of the Ben-Zvi Institute in Jerusalem.

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[Eisig Silberschlag / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

MALACHI BEN JACOB HA-KOHEN (d. 1785–1790), Italian scholar. Little is known of his life. He was the pupil of Abraham Ḥayyim Raphael Rodrigues and of the kabbalist R. Joseph *Ergas, whom he succeeded as rabbi of Leghorn after the latter's death in 1730. He arranged Ergas' work *Divrei Yosef* for publication (Leghorn, 1742). He also drew up an order of service *Shivḥei Todah* ("Praises of Thanksgiving"; Leghorn, 1744), for the 22nd day of Shevat, an annual fast day proclaimed to commemorate the rescue of the Leghorn community from the earthquake of 1742. He lived to an old age, dying in Tripoli, where he had apparently served as an emissary for Ereẓ Israel. Malachi is best known through his work *Yad Malakhi (ibid.*, 1767), which deals with the methodology of the Talmud and the codifiers. Part 1 contains principles of the Talmud in alphabetical order; Part 2, principles of the codifiers in chronological order; and Part 3, principles of various laws in alphabetical order. His novellae and responsa are found in the works of contemporary scholars. A manuscript of his responsa, *Teshuvot Yad Malakhi*, was published by E. *Gruenhut in *Ha-Me'assef*, 5 (1900). Malachi was also a liturgical poet. He composed *Sefer Shirei Zimrah*, which includes poems and dirges, part of which was published by S. Bernstein (*Mizraḥ u-Ma'arav*, 3 (1929), 245–61). His poem written on the occasion of the inauguration of the synagogue in Leghorn in 1742 was also published in Piperno's *Kol Ugav* (Leghorn, 1846).

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[Abraham David]

MÁLAGA, port in Andalusia, S. Spain. A Phoenician-Punic necropolis has been discovered there. In the Muslim period, the Jewish quarter was located in the eastern part of the city: the cemetery was on the slopes of Gibralfaro. In 863, at the time of the heresy of the bishop of Málaga, Hostegesis, he was alleged to have attached Jews from Málaga to the regional clerical councils as specialists in the principles of Christianity. Málaga served as a refuge for *Samuel ha-Nagid and other Jews who reached there in 1013 after the Berbers captured Córdoba. Solomon ibn *Gabirol was born in Málaga (c. 1021). In the mid-11th century the Jews numbered 200 out of a population of approximately 20,000.

When Málaga was captured by Ferdinand and Isabella in 1487 there were 100 Jewish families living there, and another group of 55 Jews were living in nearby Vélez-Málaga. All these were taken captive. The Jews of the kingdom had to pay 10 million maravedis for their ransom. Abraham *Seneor and Meir of Segovia traveled through Andalusia to raise the money, and Solomon *Ibn Verga was also active.

The Catholic Monarchs had already ordered in 1490 that Málaga should be settled by Christians. The Jews and Moors, excepting certain Moors named in the royal edict, were ordered to leave Málaga within 15 days. Sixty-two exiles whose names were stated left Málaga, most of them persons in poor circumstances. Judah b. Jacob *Ḥayyat in his introduction to *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut* records how on leaving Portugal in 1493 his ship was seized by Basque pirates and brought to Málaga, where local clergy attempted to convert the captives. The community of Málaga was revived in the early 1960s by Jews from North Africa. It has a community center and is affiliated to the organization of Jewish communities in Spain.

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[Haim Beinart]

MALAKH, ḤAYYIM BEN SOLOMON (between 1650 and 1660–1716 or 1717), leader of the Shabbatean sect. Malakh was born in Kalish. Nothing is known about his early career, but he became a highly respected rabbinic scholar, kabbalist, and preacher. He was soon attracted by the Shabbatean movement and became closely associated with the Shabbatean prophet Heshel *Ẓoref in Vilna. In 1690 he went to Italy, probably on a mission on behalf of the movement, staying there several months with Abraham *Rovigo and Benjamin *Cohen, the heads of the Italian Shabbateans. They studied the writings of Isaac *Luria and *Nathan of Gaza, and Ḥayyim Malakh received their secret traditions concerning Shabbetai Ẓevi. From 1692 to 1694 he was back in Poland, active as a Shabbatean missionary among rabbinic circles. One of his students (about 1693) was the famous talmudist Mordecai Suskind Rotenburg, rabbi of Lublin. During this period he attracted the attention of R. Ẓevi *Ashkenazi, the father of Jacob *Emden, who became Malakh's bitter foe. Possibly because of a ban due to his heretical activity or possibly because of his own doubts concerning the Shabbatean theology, he went to Turkey. He stayed for two to three years with Samuel *Primo in Adrianople, becoming his fervent follower and receiving the traditions and secrets of the circle of Shabbetai Ẓevi's personal pupils. He went to Bursa (Turkey) where some outstanding Shabbateans lived, and toward the end of his stay, had a vision which caused him to return to Poland and join another Shabbatean leader, *Judah he-Ḥasid. He arrived in Zolkiew, late in 1696, and stayed for some time, finding many influential followers. From Zolkiew he sent a letter to his Italian masters informing them that he was leaving their camp since he had found the authentic spring of Shabbatean teaching in Turkey. It is quite possible that he went back to Turkey in 1697 where he seems to have met Abraham *Cardozo in Adrianople. Malakh took Primo's side in the discussions with Cardozo whose speculative dissertations he refused to read. It is not clear whether at this time or later he came into contact with the young leader of the most radical wing of the *Doenmeh sect in Salonika, Baruchiah Russo (Osman Baba), several of whose sayings were quoted by Malakh to one of his pupils (in a Shabbatean notebook, probably written in Damascus, now in Columbia University Library).

After his return he became one of the founders of the new "Association of the Ḥasidim" which advocated an immigration of ascetic scholars to Jerusalem to await the imminent coming of the Messiah. Privately this Messiah was understood to be Shabbetai Ẓevi whose return in 1706, forty years after his apostasy, had been predicted by Malakh. Apparently during these years, Malakh acquired the surname Malakh, "the angel." He became generally known by this title from the late 1690s on: whether this was because of his gifts as a preacher or because of his asceticism is unknown. Certainly he was considered the chief kabbalist of the group. In connection with the "ḥasidic" propaganda which attracted many secret Shabbateans in Poland, Germany, and the Hapsburg Empire, he spent some time in Germany and Moravia, where, at the end of 1698, he attended a council of the Shabbatean leaders of the Ḥasidim in Nikolsburg (Mikulov), an eyewitness report of which has survived. He also went to Vienna and announced that he would discuss the Shabbatean belief and teachings with any duly initiated kabbalist. Abraham *Broda, the rabbi of Prague, sent his pupils, Moses Ḥasid and Jonah Landsofer, but the dispute, which lasted two weeks, ended inconclusively. Malakh then went to Ereẓ Israel where, after the sudden death of Judah he-Ḥasid in October 1700, one faction of the Ḥasidim chose him as its leader. What exactly happened in the Shabbatean circle in Jerusalem is unknown or blurred by biased and half-legendary reports. At any rate, internal dissensions between moderate and radical Shabbateans contributed to the break-up of the group, but the precise date of Malakh's expulsion from Ereẓ Israel is unknown. It is probable that he went to Constantinople and again to Salonika, meeting with Baruchiah. Since that meeting Malakh acquired the reputation of being an emissary of the antinomian wing of Shabbateanism. This led to his prolonged persecution by the rabbinical authorities. A circular letter of the Constantinople rabbis, written in 1710, denounced him vehemently. He returned to Poland where he founded the radical sect in Podolia from which the Frankist movement sprang (see Jacob *Frank), but he also served as an emissary for some Ashkenazi groups in Ereẓ Israel. As such he is mentioned in the records of the community of *Tiktin (Tykocin) in 1708. In public he denied any Shabbatean connections, preferring to divulge his doctrine in private. Forced to leave Poland, he wandered through Germany and Holland. In 1715 he was in Amsterdam where a letter from Abraham Broda, then rabbi of Frankfurt, urging Malakh's immediate expulsion arrived soon after his departure. He died shortly after his return to Poland in 1716 or 1717. He was generally considered an expert in Kabbalah and a persuasive spokesman for the Shabbatean movement after it was forced to go underground. None of his writings has survived.

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[Gershom Scholem]

MALAMAT, ABRAHAM (1922–). Israeli Bible scholar. Born in Vienna, Malamat settled in Palestine in 1935 and received his doctorate from the Hebrew University of Jerusalem in 1951 for a thesis on the history of the Arameans written under B. *Mazar. He then spent two years at the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago studying under the Sumerologist T. Jacobsen and the Assyriologist B. *Landsberger.

Many of his writings are concerned with the relationship between the history of ancient Mesopotamia to Ancient Egypt and the Bible. He has made a major contribution through his discoveries of the relation of the ancient *Mari documents to the study of the Bible. His record and study of Mari in the third and second pre-Christian millennia contributed to our understanding of the historical background of ancient Israel. Malamat argued that much of biblical historical narrative had "telescoped" events of long periods of time.

In 1954 he was appointed lecturer in Biblical and Ancient Jewish History at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem and professor in 1964. He taught there until his retirement in 1991. Malamat taught widely around the world and trained many students. He has served as editor of the Hebrew bulletin of the Israel Exploration Society and is a member of the board and scientific council of the Israel Society for Military

History, the international editorial board of the *Zeitschrift fuer die alttestamentlische Wissenschaft*, and the *Journal for the Study of the Old Testament.*

Malamat has published over 250 papers in Hebrew, English, and German. His Hebrew works include: *Israel in Bible Times – Historical Essays* (1983–1984); *Jeremiah, Chap. One – The Prophetic* Call (1954), and *The Arameans in Aram Naharayim* (1952). A full bibliography through 1993 is available in his jubilee volume published as *ErIsr,* 24 (1993). After his retirement Malamat was a fellow at the Dinur Center for Research in Jewish History at the Hebrew University. His later publications can be found on the website of the center.

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[Elaine Hoter / S. David Sperling (2nd ed.)]

MALAMUD, BERNARD (1914–1986), U.S. novelist. Born in New York City, Malamud began to teach in 1939, went west to Oregon State College (an experience used in his third novel, *A New Life*, 1961), and later taught at Harvard. Malamud was elected president of the American PEN Club for 1980. One of the most significant of the younger generation of mid-20th century American writers, Malamud was profoundly influenced by realistic novelists such as Dostoievski. His first novel, *The Natural* (1952), about the rise and fall of a baseball hero, was a brilliant tour de force, displaying a characteristic mixture of realistic detail, vernacular language, and free-ranging symbolism and fantasy. Malamud found his true voice, however, with his second novel, *The Assistant* (1957), and a collection of short stories, *The Magic Barrel* (1958). With magnificent virtuosity and integrity, he (like Saul *Bellow) used a dialect of American English mixed with Yiddish, and succeeded in transferring to the American scene the intense moral concern, the comic yet pathetic irony, and the traditional situations of East European Jewish culture. Within the narrower Jewish world, he wrote with special love about the idealistic *shlimmazel*, the obscure and the lonely and the suffering, as in the title story of *Idiots First* (1963); this is also the case with Morris Bober, the grocer protagonist of *The Assistant*. Another recurring theme is the relations between Jews and gentiles: the New York Italian assistant falls in love with Bober's daughter and finally becomes a Jew; stories set in Italy deal with love between Jewish men and gentile women; and "Angel Levine" and "Black is My Favorite Color" are concerned with Jews and blacks. Malamud was deeply conscious of the role of the Jew as a symbol of the human tragedy. All his concerns were fused, and grew in scope and significance, in *The Fixer* (1966), which won the National Book Award and the Pulitzer Prize in 1967 and was made into a motion picture. Yakov Bok, a Russian-Jewish handyman falsely accused of ritual murder, is based on Mendel *Beilis, victim of the notorious Kiev Blood Libel of 1913. An obscure little man in flight from his heritage, Bok is thrust into a situation requiring unusual courage. The stages by which he comes to a full understanding of his responsibility, and develops the strength of will to face his ordeal, are powerfully described. Malamud said of this novel: "The drama is as applicable to the American people as it is to the Russian." *Pictures of Fidelman* (1969), subtitled "An Exhibition," uses three previously collected stories, and adds three more, about the picaresque misadventures of an American-Jewish artist in Italy. In Rome, Milan, Florence, and Venice, Arthur Fidelman seeks both "perfection of the life" and "of the work"; in each city, he works at a different art or problem, and lives with a different woman. At the end, "Prometheus Fidelman" has learned his limitations: back in the U.S., "he worked as a craftsman in glass and loved men and women." In "Pictures of the Artist," a "Jewish refugee from Israel" named Susskind is imagined preaching a sort of parody of the Sermon on the Mount. *The Tenants* (1971), a novel of clashing aspirations and dislikes dramatized by a Jewish and an African-American writer, also represents the struggle of writers appropriating subjects and histories that exhaust their sense of the human. In *Dubin's Lives* (1979), arguably one of Malamud's finest works, Dubin, a biographer whose life is lived largely in books, is forced to confront the disruptive yet life-giving nature of passion. In *God's Grace* (1982), Malamud dramatizes the Jewish dialogue with a God of awe and the understanding we have of our own finitude. Allegorical, as well as dystopian, it deals with resignation to, as well as acceptance of, freedom within limitation. Its humor is that of the pathos of human existence, driven by power and its vanities. *The People and Uncollected Stories*, composed in the main of an unfinished novel about a Jew living with an Indian tribe, was published in 1989. *Conversations with Bernard Malamud*, edited by Lawrence Lasher appeared in 1991. Malamud's *The Complete Stories* edited by Robert Giroux was published in 1997.

Malamud's contribution to American-Jewish literature remains large. (He appears as the novelist E.L. Lonoff in Philip Roth's *The Ghost Writer*, 1979). Yet his achievement also seals an epoch in which the Jew was portrayed as helpless, and forced to justify his existence. Suffering, in much of Malamud's work, marked American-Jewish life. It also was the human condition. Malamud's Jewish characters are often victimized by their sense of self. They are also often diminished by their environment, by capitalism, and by political and social malevolence. His protagonists escape a constricting life at the cost of a deeper remorse: the abandonment of their authentic selves.

A new American-Jewish literary type, one willfully accepting conditions of success and ease in America, gains its strength against the background and achievement of Malamud's art.

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[Sholom Jacob Kahn / Lewis Fried (2nd ed.)]

MALAVSKY, SAMUEL (1894–1983), **ḥazzan*. Born in Smela, near Kiev, Ukraine, Malavsky sang as a *meshorer* (see *Music) with various *ḥazzanim*. He went to the U.S. in 1914 and auditioned for Josef *Rosenblatt, thus beginning a lifelong association. Malavsky sang duets with Rosenblatt in concerts and on recordings as well as officiating as *ḥazzan* in many leading congregations. In 1947 he formed the Malavsky family choir, "Singers of Israel," with his two sons and four daughters. They achieved great international popularity through their appearances in synagogues, concerts, and on recordings. Malavsky created a unique style for his family choir by introducing a strongly marked beat and syncopation into traditional Eastern European *ḥazzanut*.

MALAYSIA, federation of states in S.E. Asia formerly under British protection. A few Jews settled in Penang, of whom the first was Ezekiel Menassah from Baghdad, in 1895. Although remaining the only Jew in the whole area for nearly 30 years he continued Jewish observances, kept a *kasher* household and welcomed visiting coreligionists. Other Jews arrived there after World War I, mostly poor peddlers. During World War II the community was evacuated to *Singapore, subsequently occupied by the Japanese. Of the Jews who settled in Penang after the war, some 20 families remained by 1963. Only three families lived there in 1969.

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MALBEN (Heb. initials מוֹסְדוֹת לְטִפּוּל בְּעוֹלִים נֶחֱשָׁלִים, *Mosedot le-Tippul be-Olim Neḥshalim* – "Institutions for the Care of Handicapped Immigrants"), agency of the *American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (JDC) for the care of aged, infirm, and handicapped immigrants in Israel. Its funds are derived mainly from the *United Jewish Appeal. The mass immigration after Israel declared its independence included thousands of old people – often the last survivors of families destroyed by the Nazis; victims of tuberculosis acquired in the concentration camps or Middle East ghettos; and others physically or emotionally incapacitated by poverty, wartime suffering, or Nazi persecution. In 1949, Malben was founded by the JDC to relieve the Israel government of the burden of caring for these immigrants. It constructed a network of about a hundred institutions, converting army barracks and whatever buildings were available into old-age homes, hospitals, TB sanitariums, sheltered workshops, and rehabilitation centers.

Once emergency needs were under control, Malben began to consolidate its programs of direct care, while cooperating with other agencies to create more municipal and regional facilities for the aged and handicapped, and to develop indirect services which would enable elderly people to live on their own as long as possible. These measures include cash relief, constructive loans to help the aged and handicapped to earn a living, employment assistance, home medical care and housekeeping services, and the establishment of "Golden Age" clubs to provide elderly people with facilities for social and community life. Malben also cooperates with the government, the Jewish Agency, and the municipalities in the fields of mental health, chronic illness, and the care of physically and mentally handicapped children and adults among the settled population. Between 1949 and 1968, Malben-JDC helped some 250,000 immigrants – every fifth newcomer and one in ten of the population – at a total cost of $164 million. It maintained a hospital for chronic invalids, 12 old-age homes and villages with 3,000 beds, and extramural services for some 48,000 persons. By the end of 1975 all the homes, hospitals, and other programs initiated by Malben had been handed over to the government and local authorities.

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[Misha Louvish]

MALBIM, MEIR LOEB BEN JEHIEL MICHAEL WEISSER (1809–1879), rabbi, preacher, and biblical exegete. The name Malbim is an acronym formed from Meir Loeb ben Jehiel Michael. Born in Volochisk (Volhynia), Malbim was a child when his father died. He studied in his native town until the age of 13, with Moses Leib Horowitz, among others. He married at the age of 14, but after a short time divorced his wife. He went to Warsaw, where he became widely known as the "*illui* from Volhynia." From there he went to Leczyca, where he married the daughter of the local rabbi Ḥayyim Auerbach, who maintained him, and he was thus able to devote himself to literary work. In 1834 he traveled to Western Europe to obtain commendations from contemporary rabbis for his *Arẓot ha-Ḥayyim* (1837), visiting, among other places, Pressburg, Amsterdam, and Breslau. In 1839, on the recommendation of Solomon Zalman Tiktin of Breslau, he was appointed head of the rabbinic court of Wreschen (district of Posen). From there he went to Kempen in 1840, where he remained for 18 years, and was therefore sometimes referred to as "The Kempener." While in Kempen he was invited to the rabbinate of Satoraljaujhely in Hungary but refused the offer. He finally agreed to accept the call of the Bucharest community, and in the summer of 1858 he was officially inducted as chief rabbi of Romania.

In Bucharest, Malbim set new *kashrut* standards, imposed restrictions on the kosher butchers, constructed a new *eruv*, personally supervised the educational institutions in town and began to attract large crowds to his sermons. All of these activities, combined with his insistence that his congregants become more observant, resulted in friction between Malbim and the enlightened intellectuals in the Jewish community, who were actually wealthy, foreign nationals. When Malbim objected to the building of a new modern synagogue, the Choral Temple, because it would include an organ and choir like the Reform synagogues in Western Europe, his opponents complained to the authorities, claiming falsely that Malbim was preaching against Christianity. In 1860, he published the first volume of his commentary on the Pentateuch – on Leviticus. In the introduction he wrote a scathing attack against Reform Judaism. His son, Aaron, passed away in 1862. This personal tragedy had a severe effect on Malbim. At the same time, his rapidly deteriorating relations with the enlightened members of his community made his position precarious. Because of Malbim's uncompromising stand against Reform, disputes broke out between him and the communal leaders of the town, leading to his imprisonment. On Friday, March 18, 1864, Malbim was arrested and jailed. He was freed only on the intervention of Sir Moses *Montefiore and on condition that he leave Romania and not return. Upon release, he was placed in a boat sailing down the Danube River. He was put ashore at the Bulgarian border town of Ruschuk. M. Rosen has published various documents which disclose the false accusations and calumnies Malbim's Jewish-assimilationist enemies wrote against him to the Romanian government. They accused him of disloyalty and of impeding social assimilation between Jews and non-Jews by insisting on adherence to the dietary laws, and said, "this rabbi by his conduct and prohibitions wishes to impede our progress." As a result of this the prime minister of Romania issued a proclamation against the "ignorant and insolent" rabbi for his effrontery in "publishing libelous letters against those eating meat from any butcher shop and he has preached against the idea of progress and freedom." In consequence the minister refused to grant rights to the Jews of Bucharest, on the grounds that the rabbi of the community was "the sworn enemy of progress" (from the official newspaper *Moniturul* March 6, 1864). Determined to refute the false accusations made against him, Malbim went to Constantinople to lodge a complaint against the Romanian government, which was then under Turkish domination. Following the rejection of his appeal and his failure to obtain the help of the Alliance Israélite Universelle (in transmitting a memorandum written in 1864 in Paris in which Malbim, with the help of Adolphe Crémieux, addressed himself to the Romanian ruler, stressing his patriotism), he was compelled to leave Romania (1864). During his wanderings in the following years he suffered persecution and calumny. He served as rabbi intermittently in Leczyca, Kherson (1869–70), Lunshitz (1870–71), and Mogilev (1872–75), and wherever he went he was persecuted by the assimilationists, the *maskilim*, and the Ḥasidim. The *maskilim* accused him of being an extremist and a rebel against the enlightenment. He was invited to Mainz, and on his way stopped at Koenigsberg, where he remained for about four years (1875–79). In 1879 he received an invitation from Kremenchug, Poltava oblast, to serve as its rabbi, but died in Kiev on his way there.

Malbim's fame and his immense popularity rest upon his commentary on the Bible, which was widely esteemed. His first published commentary was on the Book of Esther (1845), followed by one on Isaiah (1849). In 1860 his commentary *Ha-Torah ve-ha-Mitzvah* on the Sifra was published in Bucharest. His commentary on the Song of Songs, *Shirei ha-Nefesh*, was published first in Krotoszyn and then in Bucharest in 1860. The remaining commentaries to the books of the Bible were completed and issued during the years 1867–76. His commentary encompasses all of the books of the Bible except Lamentations and Ecclesiastes. Malbim's commentary on the Bible was motivated by his opposition to the Reform movement, which in his view could potentially undermine the very foundation of Judaism. He began with Leviticus and the Sifra because the Reformers attacked the very idea of sacrifice and the halakhic Midrash on Leviticus as lacking any *peshat*. He wished to combat these Reform ideas in particular and in general to strengthen the position of Orthodox Judaism in the spheres of exegesis, knowledge of Hebrew, and the exposition of the Bible according to its plain meaning, and thereby counteract and weaken the Reformers in precisely those three spheres in which they had made appreciable achievements. In his long introduction to the commentary *Ha-Torah ve-ha-Mitzvah* (1860) on the Book of Leviticus and the Sifra, Malbim refers to the Reform Synod at Brunswick in 1844, calling it a gathering of "rabbis and preachers as well as readers who butcher their communities." Because of these Reformers' negative approach, Malbim decided that "it was time to act for the Lord, and to fortify the wall around the Law, Written and Oral … so that violators could not assail and desecrate it." From that time he began to compose commentaries on the Bible with the aim of proving "that the Oral Law is the law given from heaven, and that all its words are necessary and implicit in the plain meaning of the verse and in the profundity of the language, and that the interpretation is only the plain meaning based upon accurate, linguistic rules."

His commentary to the Bible is based upon three fixed principles: In the text of the Torah and the figurative language of the prophets there are no repetitions of mere synonyms; consequently every word in a sentence is essential to the meaning in accord with the rules of the language despite the fact that they seem to be mere synonymous repetitions. Every statement conveys a sublime thought: all the metaphors are of importance and replete with wisdom for they are the words of the living God (introduction to Isaiah). In Malbim's opinion the sages had "important principles and fixed rules for the grammatical forms and the foundations of the language and of logic," according to which they understood all the words of the revelation transmitted at Sinai. He arranged these rules and principles in a special work, *Ayyelet ha-Shaḥar*, which he prefaced to his commentary on the Sifra. In it he noted 613 paragraphs (248 on linguistic usage and 365 in explanation of the verbs and synonyms) that are the foundations of tradition and the Oral Law. He stresses the superiority of the literal interpretation and complains that the commentators after David Kimḥi – except for Isaac Abrabanel – were exponents of homiletical exegesis "and no one exerted himself to breathe life into the verses by the literal method" (end of his introduction to Joshua). In his commentary on the Pentateuch, Malbim treated the narrative portions differently from the legal sections. His *peshat* commentary to the narrative portion is accompanied by questions which are the opening gambit to his exegesis. The commentary on the legal sections focuses more on the halakhic Midrash, explaining its connection to the straightforward meaning of the biblical text. Overall, his Pentateuchal commentary is accompanied by *Torah Or*, essays on the *aggadah* combined with Kabbalah and philosophy;

Remazim, hints of broader issues on the Tabernacle sections in Exodus; and *Ner Mitzvah*, which answers questions by other commentaries on the Midrash. While his commentary on the Pentateuch is meant more for scholars, the commentary on the rest of the Bible is aimed at a broader audience.

It should be noted that at the end of his commentary to Daniel, Malbim devotes himself to the calculation of the date of the redemption, which was to have been in the period 1913–1928: "We are writing these words in 1868 and according to our calculation the time of the redemption will be removed a further 60 years… for the rise of a scion of the house of David, the building of the Temple, and all the promises of the prophets will be fulfilled at the same time, and their luster will shine forth from the year 1913 to the year 1928, when the Temple will already have been established."

The following of his talmudic works are noteworthy: *Arẓot ha-Ḥayyim*, contains novellae and expositions on Shulḥan Arukh, *Oraḥ Ḥayyim* (Part 1, on chapters 1–24, 1837; Part 2, on chapters 25–31, 1861), with the novellae of his son-in-law Elijah Joel Heilprin. The work, in three parts, comprises novellae on the responsa of Moses Isserles with source references and a pilpulistic exposition of the Shulḥan Arukh. Malbim provides a synthesis of *halakhah* and natural science on the one hand, as well as *halakhah* and Kabbalah on the other hand. *Yalkut Shelomo* (1938; 1966^2) was a collection of his novellae on the tractates of the Talmud, published (1966^2) after editing by Solomon Drillich, who also prepared and arranged a new edition of *Ha-Torah ve-ha-Mitzvah*, on the Pentateuch, with the title *Sefer ha-Torah ve-ha-Mitzvah ve-ha-Ḥinnukh*, in three parts (1967). *Alim li-Terufah* (1904) is a small work consisting of an exposition of the fourth chapter of *Hilkhot De'ot* in Maimonides' *Mishneh Torah*. *Arẓot ha-Shalom* (1838) contains nine sermons which reveal the profundity of his homiletical ideas. Characteristic of this work is the fact that the sermons are based upon biblical verses only and do not rely upon rabbinic dicta. Each sermon encompasses a specific subject and is preceded by a poetic introduction. This method was regarded by some as an innovation in sermonic literature. His oral sermons were distinguished by verbal precision and strict logic. His *Erez Ḥemdah* (Warsaw 1882) contains sermons on the Pentateuch and expositions of *aggadot*. His works on language, poetry, and logic include: *Ya'ir Or* (1892), on synonymous nouns and verbs, containing 662 synonymous nouns; selections from his commentaries on synonyms found in the *Likkutei Shoshannim* (1875), and *Ha-Karmel* (1900) and arranged by J. Greenbaum; *Yesodei Ḥokhmat ha-Higgayon* (1900), a textbook on logic in 20 chapters comprising a survey on the principles of logic; *Mashal u-Meliẓah*, first published by Jehiel Brill (1867) – an allegorical play in four acts that was a visionary poem on the vice of hypocrisy. His autobiography was published in serial form in *Ha-Levanon* (vol. 2, 1865). Throughout his works Malbim quotes ideas from both Jewish and non-Jewish philosophers, including Aristotle and Kant. However, it is very difficult to know if his knowledge of their works was firsthand or secondhand from other sources.

A number of Malbim's works were translated into English. His commentary to Esther appears in two different editions: *Tournabout: The Malbim on Megillas Esther* (Southfield, Michigan, 1990), and *The Malbim Esther* (Southfield, Michigan, 1998). *Malbim on Mishley* is an abridged version published in Jerusalem (1982). *The Malbim Haggadah* appeared in 1993. E. Parkoff published *Fine Lines: A Study of the Torah's Outlook on Human Suffering Based on Malbim's Commentary on Iyov* (1994).

After his death, the Bucharest Jewish community built a Bet Midrash honoring Malbim. It became the center for Orthodox Jewish life in Bucharest until 1980 when it was destroyed by the Communist regime of Nikolai Ceacescu.

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[Yehoshua Horowitz/ David Derovan (2nd ed.)]

MALCA (**ben, ibn Malkah**), Jewish-Moroccan family name, known from the early 14th century through the kabbalist NISSIM IBN MALCA, the author of *Ẓenif Melukhah*. His son was the philosopher, Judah ben Nissim ibn *Malkah. He was strongly influenced by neoplatonic doctrines and wrote several works of which only one has been published, *Uns al-Gharīb*. This was completed in 1365 probably in Fez. Lengthy extracts from it were translated into French and published by G. Vajda (see bibl.).

JACOB BEN JOSEPH BEN MALCA (d. 1771) was a rabbinical authority in Morocco. At first, he was *dayyan* in Fez, together with Judah *Benatar and Jacob *Abensur. Of a quarrelsome disposition, he was often in conflict with his colleagues, who nevertheless respected his profound erudition in the fields of rabbinical law and casuistry. During the famine which struck Fez in 1738 he moved to Tetuan, where he was appointed *av bet din*. He left a large number of decisions on various religious subjects, some of which have been published in the works of various Moroccan authors.

KHALIFA BEN MALCA (d. c. 1750) was a member of a wealthy family of Safi. He studied in Fez with Judah Benatar and Samuel *Sarfaty and later continued his studies in his native town with Joseph Bueno de *Mesquita, where Abraham ibn Musa and Jacob Abensur were his fellow students. Having lost his fortune, he settled in Agadir, where he represented Moses Guedalla of Amsterdam. He married Deborah, the daughter of the wealthy scholar Isaac *Mendes. In 1728 a plague claimed many victims, among them his wife and one of his daughters. In 1737 he lost large sums of money when the community was plundered and its synagogue set on fire. He then traveled to Holland and London. He wrote a commentary on the *siddur* entitled *Kav ve-Naki*, and also wrote commentaries to the Shulḥan Arukh, which he entitled *Rakh va-Tov*. He was particularly remembered for his piety, and both Jews and Muslims regarded him as a saint. Up to the 1960s regular pilgrimages were still made to his tomb in Agadir.

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[David Corcos]

MALCHI, ESPERANZA (d. 1600), *kiera* who served Safiye, favorite consort of Sultan Murad III (1574–95) and mother of Sultan Mehmed III (1595–1603).

Both Esperanza and her contemporary Esther *Handali served in a period known as "The Women Sultanate," when the strong ladies of the harem were involved in a variety of internal and external intrigues and became very influential in the Ottoman court. Besides being the main supplier of jewels and other luxury items to the harem, Esperanza was Safiye's most trustworthy contact with the outside world. She influenced important nominations, mediated in diplomatic conflicts, supplied diplomatic intelligence, and communicated with foreign envoys on Safiye's behalf. In a letter in Italian, dated November 16, 1599, addressed to Queen Elizabeth I of England, Malchi described herself as "a Hebrew by law and nation." She mentions a previous gift that was presented to her mistress, the Queen Mother, by the English ambassador, and lists the gifts which are being delivered to Queen Elizabeth through the ambassador who is soon to depart to England. In return she requests the Queen of England to send "distilled waters of every description for the face and odoriferous oils for the hands […] clothes of silk or wool, articles of fancy suited for so high a Queen as my Mistress." The "articles for ladies" should be delivered discreetly through Esperanza's hands only (Kobler, *Letters*, 393–94).

As a reward for her longtime services, Esperanza and her sons received various profitable concessions, among them the control of customs in Istanbul. Her great wealth and special privileges, as well as her undisguised influence on the Sultan's mother and her interference in state matters gained her many enemies. On April 1, 1600, she was publicly stabbed to death by rebellious soldiers and her eldest son was killed the next day. Esperanza's second son converted to Islam in order to save his life and a third son managed to escape. The family's enormous fortune and estates were confiscated.

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[Ruth Lamdan (2nd ed.)]

MALDONADO DE SILVA, FRANCISCO (1592–1639), Marrano martyr in Peru. Son of the physician Diego Nuñez de Silva (d. 1616) who was reconciled by the Inquisition in 1605, Francisco was born in Tucuman (now Argentina) and studied at the University of San Marcos in Lima, Peru. He was reared as a devout Catholic, and educated as a physician. His reading of the anti-Jewish *Scrutinium Scripturarum* by the apostate Pablo de *Santa Maria (Solomon ha-Levi) led him to pose questions to his father on the relative merits of Judaism and Christianity. His father acknowledged that he was still a Jew at heart, and guided his son in studying Judaism. Maldonado was persuaded to become a secret Jew. After his father's death he moved to Chile, where he married and in 1619 was appointed surgeon of the hospital in Santiago. He continued practicing Judaism, but was denounced to the Inquisition in 1627 by his two sisters, whom he had sought to convert. Despite continued efforts by the Inquisition to shake his faith, including 14 attempts by theologians to better him in religious debates, he held fast to Judaism. After each hearing he signed his testimony "Eli Nazareno, unworthy servant of the God of Israel, alias Silva." He circumcised himself with a pocketknife and scissors and resorted to long and agonizing fasts. Though suffering from numerous ailments, he used an improvised rope made from corn husks to lower himself into other cells, where he found some Judaizers whom he fortified in their faith, also converting Catholics to Judaism. Using scraps of paper and a pen made from a chicken bone, he wrote several tracts in support of his beliefs. He was burned at the stake in Lima at the conclusion of the auto-da-fé of 1639. News of his death made a profound impact on writers like Isaac *Cardozo and Daniel Levi (Miguel) de *Barrios, although the latter confuses him with Tomás Treviño de *Sobremonte.

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[Martin A. Cohen]

°MALESHERBES, CHRETIEN GUILLAUME DE LAMOIGNON DE (1721–1794), liberal French statesman. As minister of the Maison du Roi in 1787, he was responsible with Turgot for the decree granting civic status to "non-Catholics," thus opening the way for effective action by the Jews on their own behalf. Malesherbes' main reason for wanting improved treatment of the Jews was his belief that it would lead to their conversion; he was opposed to the organized Jewish community, considering it as a state within a state. Jewish individuals were not free to convert, said Malesherbes, because they were so closely tied to the whole community. He therefore proposed that Jews be enabled to use public legal registers for their personal status, thus weakening their ties with Jewry. In spring 1788 Malesherbes set up an informal committee to study the question, coopting as advisers men well-disposed toward the Jews, including Pierre Louis *Roederer. Eight Jewish leaders were summoned to the committee, among them *Cerfberr for Alsace, Berr Isaac *Berr for Lorraine, Abraham *Furtado and D. Gradis for Bordeaux. The purpose of the committee was to conduct a preliminary inquiry on a new system for regulating the condition of French Jewry, and to prepare a memorandum. However, meetings were few and the differences between the two delegations, the "Portuguese" and the "German," were so marked that they could not reach agreement. The "Portuguese" memorandum in answer to Malesherbes' questionnaire on the current state of Judaism was later to influence the one presented by Napoleon's representatives to the *Assembly of Jewish Notables and the French *Sanhedrin. In July 1788 the delegates returned home, without having come to any decision. Malesherbes remained a staunch royalist and was later guillotined.

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[Simon R. Schwarzfuchs]

MALEV, WILLIAM S. (1898–1973), U.S. Conservative rabbi. Malev was born in Homel, Russia, and immigrated to the United States in 1908. He received his B.A. from the City College of New York in 1919; as a student at the Teachers Institute, and president of the Jewish Teachers Association (1921–22), he was persuaded by Mordecai *Kaplan to enter the rabbinate and was ordained at the *Jewish Theological Seminary in 1925. Over the next 20 years, Malev developed three thriving synagogue centers in the New York metropolitan area: the Concourse Center of Israel (Bronx, 1925–27); Kingsbridge Heights Jewish Center (Bronx, 1927–28); and the Jamaica Jewish Center (Jamaica, 1928–46). In 1946, he moved to Houston, Texas, where he built Congregation Beth Yeshurun into the state's leading Conservative synagogue and was instrumental in establishing the first day school in the Southwest United States. He was president of the Texas Kallah of Rabbis and a force on behalf of Zionism as the foremost regional orator for the *Zionist Organization of America. As president of the Houston Ministerial Association, and a weekly columnist for the *Houston Post*, Malev was a principal civic leader in interfaith and interracial affairs. He also lectured at the University of Houston. Primarily a shaper of Conservative Judaism in the Southwest, his major role in the framework of the national movement was as chairman of the *Rabbinical Assembly's Committee on College Youth (1945–46), established to build bridges between RA members and the next generation of American Jewish leaders.

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[Bezalel Gordon (2nd ed.)]

MALIK AL-RAMLĪ (of Ramleh in Ereẓ Israel; mid-ninth century), founder of the sect of Ramlites or Malikites. Like some other sectarians, Malik taught that Shavuot must fall only on a Sunday, that the fat tail of the sheep comes under the heading of forbidden fat, and that marriage to a niece is incestuous. Within a century or so the Ramlites vanished, probably having been absorbed into the larger sect of *Karaites.

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[Leon Nemoy]

MALINES (**Mechelen**), transit camp established by the Nazis in Belgium, between its two largest Jewish communities, Antwerp and Brussels, in October 1941 to concentrate Jews before transporting them to Eastern Europe. An infrastructure was already in place and a railway line led directly to the camp, which became an antechamber to death. The camp was surrounded by local inhabitants. The first group of Belgium Jews was arrested on July 22 and taken to Breendonck and then to Malines. The first transport from Mechelen was on August 4, 1942, and arrived in *Auschwitz on August 6. According to a list in the Mechelen archive, between August 4, 1942 and July 1944 there were 28 transports to the east with more than 25,257 Jews; some gypsies were transported in 1943 and 1944. All the inmates of the camp had to wear identification badges. The badges differed for the Jews in the camp. The various known symbols were: *T* = *Transport-Juden* (Jews who would be sent to the east), *Z* = citizens of the Allied countries or neutral countries, *E* = *Entscheidungsfalle*, borderline cases, whose identity required further investigation, *G* = *Gefaehrliche Juden* (dangerous Jews to be sent to punishment camps elsewhere). Jews who were married to non-Jews were sent to Drancy in German-occupied France. Members of the Committee for Jewish Defense (CDJ) which was in contact with the Belgian resistance movement, and the Catholic fighters' organization, penetrated into Mechelen a number of times in order to warn the inmates and try to liberate them. The organized Jewish community sent in packages. The camp was finally liberated by the Allies in September 1944; a few hundred Jews had managed to survive.

See *Belgium, Holocaust.

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[B. Mordechai Ansbacher / Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

MALINO, JEROME (1911–2002), U.S. Reform rabbi. Malino was born in New York City, earning his B.A. from City College in 1931. He was ordained at the Jewish Institute of Religion (later merged with Hebrew Union College, (HUC-JIR)) in 1935 and was awarded an honorary D.H.L. from Alfred University in 1958, as well as an honorary D.D. from HUC-JIR in 1960. After ordination, he became rabbi of the United Jewish Center in Danbury, Conn., a position he held for his entire career. In 1981, he was named rabbi emeritus and joined the faculty of HUC-JIR as adjunct lecturer in Homiletics; he had previously taught at Western Connecticut State University and been a member of the Commission for Higher Education for the state of Connecticut. For more than 40 years, he served as a chaplain at the federal correctional institution in Danbury (1940–83).

Malino was a leader of the *Central Conference of American Rabbis on both regional and national levels. He served as president of the New England Region of the CCAR (1961–63) and was the long-time chairman of its admissions committee (1964–73). A consistently outspoken proponent of rabbinic ordination for women, he was elected vice president of the CCAR in 1977 and president in 1979. Following his two-year term of office, he chaired the Committee on Rabbinical Growth. He was also a member of the Alumni Overseers of the HUC-JIR, which honored him by establishing the Jerome Malino Award, bestowed on the best first-year student at JIR.

Malino, a member of the National Executive Committee of the Jewish Peace Fellowship, was a pacifist and supporter of conscientious objectors to military service, even during World War II – a controversial position for a rabbi at the height of the battle against Hitler. Moreover, his advocacy of non-violence extended to the theater of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Malino also served as president of the Institute of Religion in an age of science, delivered scholarly papers at its conferences, and contributed numerous articles to professional and religious journals. In 1988 Malino received the Rabbi Israel and Libby Mowshowitz Award from the New York Board of Rabbis.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Kerry M. Olitzky, Lance J. Sussman, and Malcolm H. Stern, *Reform Judaism in America: A Biographical Dictionary and Sourcebook* (1993).

[Bezalel Gordon (2nd ed.)]

MALINOWSKI, JOSEPH BEN MORDECAI (**Troki**; d. after 1625), Karaite scholar. Joseph was the pupil of Isaac b. Abraham *Troki, and was the leading Karaite scholar in Poland-Lithuania after his teacher's demise in 1594. Malinovski completed Isaac's *Ḥizzuk Emunah* after Isaac's death. According to his correspondence (Mann, Texts, 1196–8), in 1624 he was a spiritual leader of Troki. As such he endeavored to organize the communal affairs of the Birzhe Karaite community. He established a number of ritual customs for Polish-Lithuanian communities, which were published in *Karaite Siddur* I (Vilna 1890), 456–64. Some of them were close to Rabbanite practice. In 1624 he moved to Lutsk, evidently to become a spiritual leader of the community.

He had extensive knowledge of both Karaite and rabbinic scholarship. He wrote a book *Sefer Minhagim* (IOS A 208, JNUL mic. 52984), concerning prayer, reading the Torah, etc. *Manasseh Ben Israel's press printed his composition *Ha-Elef Lekha* (Amsterdam, 1643), a long mystical liturgical poem. Simhah Isaak *Luzki wrote his commentary *Kevod Elohim* on it and they were published together (*Kevod Elohim*,Y. Algamil ed., Ramla 2000). His *Kiẓẓur Inyan Sheḥitah* on the ritual slaughter of animals was printed together with Mordecai b. Nissan's *Dod Mordekhai* (Vienna, 1830). Joseph died in Lutsk. He composed several liturgical poems, some of which had been included in the Karaite *Siddur.*

BIBLIOGRAPHY: A. Gottlover, *Biqoret le-toldot a-Karaim* (1865), 178–9; Mann, *Texts*, 2 (1935), index, 1557.

[Leon Nemoy]

MALKAH, JUDAH BEN NISSIM IBN (fl. c. 1260), philosopher, probably living in Morocco. Three of his works written in Judeo-Arabic have been preserved. (1) *Uns al-Gharīb* ("Familiarity with the Unfamiliar"), consisting of the author's own views and of a commentary on the *Sefer Yeẓirah*, preceded by a long introduction. One extract was published by H. Hirschfeld, *An Arabic Chrestomathy in Hebrew Characters* (1892), 19–31; an anonymous Hebrew abridgement was published by G. Vajda (1974); (2) a commentary on the *Pirkei de Rabbi Eliezer*; published by P. Fenton (*Sefunot* 21 (1993), 115–65); (3) *Tafsīr al-Ṣalawāt*, a commentary on the liturgy (fragment). Besides these, Judah refers to a work which he wrote on astrology, which probably bore the title *Kitāb al-Miftāḥ* ("The Key Book").

The doctrine of Judah b. Nissim rests on two fundamental theses: the unknowability of God and universal astral determinism. From the first thesis flows a metaphysics of emanation having at its apex the prime intellect, to which the functions of the first cause, and consequently those of the God of religion, have been transferred. From the second thesis flows a view of the world according to which even revealed religions are completely determined by astral influences. In the light of this, the superiority of Judaism is that it is best adapted to the demands of astral determination. The only ones who can penetrate this mystery, however, are the philosophers who are adept in the allegorical exegesis of religious texts, whereas the masses are obligated to observe the letter of the law. Judah's philosophy is in many ways similar to the Neoplatonic speculations adopted by the Islamic Ismmāʿīliyya in constructing their theology, but no precise historical connection can be established between them. His views on astral determinism are not alien to the Jewish thought of the Middle Ages (particularly that of Abraham *Ibn Ezra and certain Averroists), but they are brought to conclusions which no one else had perhaps dared to formulate with such boldness. On the other hand, the deductions which Judah drew from the unknowability of God are similar to the Kabbalah. In fact, the author was familiar with the Kabbalah and referred to it; although, besides the *Sefer Yeẓirah*, he cites only the *Bahir* and the *Razi'el*. It has been possible to establish that he availed himself of the kabbalists of *Gerona (*Azriel, Jacob b. Sheshet *Gerondi, and *Naḥmanides), and even of the Zohar. Nevertheless, he did not consider the teachings of the Kabbalah superior to those of philosophy, but rather identified the Kabbalah with philosophy. More precisely, he regarded the Kabbalah as a particular symbolic expression of God's unknowability and of astral determinism. It appears that Judah had some influence on subsequent Jewish thought, especially on Samuel *Ibn Motot and Joseph b. Abraham *Ibn Waqar.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: S. Munk, *Les Manuscrits Hébreux de l'Oratoire* (1911), 15–17; Steinschneider, Uebersetzungen, 405–6; J.M. Toledano, *Ner ha-Ma'arav* (1911), 41; G. Sarton, *Introduction to the History of Science*, 3 pt. 2 (1947), 1444; G. Vajda, *Juda ben Nissim Ibn Malka, philosophe juif marocain* (1954); idem, in: *Homenaje a Millas-Vallicrosa*, 2 (1956), 483–500; idem, in: REJ, 15 (1956), 25–71; 16 (1957), 89–92. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** M. Idel, in: *Pe'amim*, 43 (1990), 4–15.

[Georges Vajda]

MALKHI, EZRA BEN RAPHAEL MORDECAI (d. 1768), Safed talmudist and emissary. Ezra was the son of a well-known physician and scholar in Jerusalem, who had emigrated from Italy. His brother, Moses, became head of the Safed community and he was a brother-in-law of *Hezekiah da Silva and Moses *Ḥagiz. In 1749–50 Ezra went to Turkey and the Balkans as an emissary of Safed. While in Salonika he published his *Malkhi ba-Kodesh* (Salonika, 1749), laws for the night of Passover, and a commentary on the *Haggadah*, together with some halakhic novellae. He appended a note apologizing for the many errors in the work because he could not stay in the town during the printing, but was again in Salonika in 1750 when he had halakhic discussions with Joseph Samuel Modigliano. Owing to the bad economic situation in Safed, Ezra did not return there on the completion of his mission, and was appointed rabbi of Rhodes, where he remained for the rest of his life. In 1752 his signature appears on the *takkanot* of the community. His other books are *Shemen ha-Ma'or* (Salonika, 1755), on the novellae of *Zerahiah ha-Levi and *Naḥmanides on *Bava Meẓia; Ein Mishpat* (Constantinople, 1770), responsa, many of which were written during his mission, published by his disciple Raphael Jacob de Mayo; and *Einat Mayim* (Salonika, 1811), exposition and novellae on various tractates of the Talmud.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Yaari, Sheluḥei, 438–40, 884.

[Avraham Yaari]

MALKHI, MOSES (b. Ezra?; mid-18th century), emissary of Safed, Malkhi had the distinction of being the first emissary of Ereẓ Israel to visit the New World. He was in New York in the summer of 1759 for four and a half months, and it is assumed that he remained there at the request of the members of the Sephardi community "Shearith Israel" who had no rabbi, in order to arrange their religious affairs. In the account book of that community it states that they gave the emissary 18 pounds sterling for 18 week's accommodation and for provisions and traveling expenses to Newport, Rhode Island, which was then the wealthiest Jewish community in America. There he met the Christian theologian Ezra *Stiles who was greatly interested in the emissary from Ereẓ Israel. Stiles relates that Malkhi was born and brought up in Safed, and he sent a letter in Latin through him to one of the heads of the Greek Church in Ereẓ Israel requesting exact information on the geography of the country and its inhabitants which he needed for his research on the *Ten Tribes. This Malkhi must be distinguished from his namesake, Moses (b. Raphael Mordecai *Malkhi). He may have been the son of Ezra *Malkhi.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Yaari, Sheluḥei, 446; D. de Sola Pool, in: *Brandeis Avukah Annual* (1932), 356–7; G.A. Kohut, *Ezra Stiles and the Jews* (1902).

[Avraham Yaari]

MALKHI, MOSES BEN RAPHAEL MORDECAI (d. 1747), head of the Safed community in the first half of the 18th century. Moses was a brother of Ezra *Malkhi. He was head of the Jewish community of Safed for many years, and as such his signature appears first on the letters of appointment of various Safed emissaries. Malkhi was one of the intermediaries between Sheikh Zāhir al-Omar and Ḥayyim Abulafia for the renewal of the Jewish community in Tiberias in 1740. He died in Acre and was buried in Kafr-Yasīf. In the letter of the community of Safed reestablishing the Jewish community of Kafr-Yasīf written in Elul of that year, the tomb of "the distinguished rabbi Moses Malkhi of blessed memory" and that of Moses Ḥayyim Luzzato, who died that year in the plague in Acre and was buried in Kafr-Yasīf, are listed together with those of *tannaim* and *amoraim*. It may be conjectured that Malkhi also died in that plague during a visit to Acre in connection with the affairs of the Safed community.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Yaari, Sheluḥei, 431, 432, 437, 438, 501, 850.

[Avraham Yaari]

MALKHUYYOT (Heb. מַלְכֻיּוֹת; verses describing God's "sovereignty"), name of the first part of the central section of the *Musaf prayer for *Rosh Ha-Shanah. It consists of 10 verses, four from the Pentateuch, three from Psalms, and three from the Prophets; all of them proclaim God as King and anticipate the realization of His kingdom on earth. According to the Talmud (RH 32a), the number ten symbolized the ten praises sung by David (Ps. 150), or the Ten Commandments, or the "ten sayings" by which God created the world (cf. Avot 5:1). The *Malkhuyyot* prayer and two similar sections, *Zikhronot and

*Shofarot, form the *Teki'ata de-Vei Rav*. At the end of each section during the Reader's repetition (and in some rites during the congregation's silent reading), the *shofar* is sounded. The recital of *Malkhuyyot-Zikhronot-Shofarot* verses dates back to mishnaic times (cf. RH 4:5, 6) and was, most probably, part of the prayer service in the Temple. The Talmud, however, does not specify which verses had to be chosen for this purpose (RH 32a–b). The present selection and order of the verses are ascribed to the Babylonian scholar *Rav (175–247 C.E.), as are the introductory and concluding passages.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Elbogen, Gottesdienst, 141–4; Idelsohn, Liturgy, 213–4.

MALKIEL, THERESA SERBER (1874–1949), U.S. labor and women's rights activist and socialist. Malkiel was born in Bar, Russia, in what is today western Ukraine. The daughter of a well-to-do Jewish family that immigrated to New York City in 1891, she was well educated and literate in German and Russian. Supporting herself with work in the garment industry, she was a member of the Russian Workingmen's Club and later a founder of the Infant Cloakmakers Union, serving as its president. She was active in various labor organizations in New York in the 1890s, including the Socialist Labor Party (SLP) and its Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance. In 1901, tired of the factionalism of the SLP, she joined the Socialist Party of America, which became her activist home for the next two decades.

Theresa married fellow socialist (and lawyer) Leon Malkiel in 1900; their daughter was born in 1903. Theresa Malkiel gave up wage work after the family moved to Yonkers, north of New York City, but remained committed to working women and socialist politics. She took a particularly active role as an advocate for women within the Socialist Party and in 1909 was elected to the Women's National Committee (WNC), the body that oversaw the Women's Department within the party. On the WNC, she became an advocate for the establishment of International Women's Day as an annual holiday to commemorate women and promote female suffrage. With her husband, she was a founder of the socialist newspaper the *New York Call*.

Malkiel also became a member of the Women's Trade Union League, a strong advocate of female suffrage, and an indefatigable campaigner for women's rights, within the Socialist Party and in the wider society. She was a strong supporter of the great Shirtwaist Strike in New York City in 1909–10, gave speeches at several major rallies, reported on the strike in the *New York Call*, and wrote a fictional account that appeared shortly after the strike's conclusion, *The Diary of a Shirtwaist Striker* (1910). In 1914 Malkiel led the Socialist Suffrage Campaign in New York, organizing meetings, writing pamphlets, and publishing a regular column in the *Jewish Daily Forward*. Two years later, Malkiel joined a national suffrage tour sponsored by the Socialist Party. The success of female suffrage with the passage of the Nineteenth Amendment led Malkiel to run an unsuccessful campaign for the New York State Assembly as a Socialist candidate. For the remainder of her life she was active in adult education, founding the Brooklyn Adult Students Association. In 1932 she organized a summer camp for the education and naturalization of immigrant women at which she worked until her death.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: F. Basch, Introduction to *The Diary of a Shirtwaist Striker* (1990); S.M. Miller, "From Sweatshop Worker to Labor Leader: Theresa Malkiel, a Case Study," in: *American Jewish History*, 68 (1977), 189–205; E. Taitz, "Malkiel, Theresa Serber," in: P.E. Hyman and D. Dash Moore (eds.), *Jewish Women in America*, 2 (1997), 885–86.

[Thomas Dublin (2nd ed.)]

MALKIEL, YAKOV (1914–1998), U.S. philologist. Born in Kiev, Russia, educated in Berlin, Malkiel immigrated to the United States in 1940. From 1942 he was a faculty member at the University of California (Berkeley) and later professor of linguistics and Romance philology. In 1947 he became founder and editor-in-chief of the journal *Romance Philology*. He was president of the Linguistic Society of America in 1965. He was author of numerous articles and monographs dealing with historical linguistics, Hispanic lexicology, and the theory of etymology and lexicography, and he constantly attempted to mediate between general linguistics and Romance philology.

Among his works are *Studies in the Reconstruction of Hispano-Latin Word Families* (1954), *Essays on Linguistic Themes* (1968), *Yakov Malkiel: A Tentative Autobibliography* (1988), and *Etymology* (1993). He edited *Directions for Historical Linguistics: A Symposium* (1968), with Winfred P. Lehmann.

[Jonas C. Greenfield / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

MALLER, JULIUS BERNARD (1901–1959), U.S. educationist and sociologist. Born in Vobolniki, Lithuania, Maller went to the U.S. in 1921. Having received both a secular and religious higher education, Maller's professional life was divided between teaching posts at Howard University, Washington, D.C., and Yeshiva University (1949–59). He was also active in Jewish organizations. Maller devised (1929) the "Guess Who" technique, a sociometric test for use with children. His personality tests, known as the "Maller Personality Sketches" (1936) and the "Maller Character Sketches" consisted of cards with descriptions of personality or character traits, to be sorted into groups. He demonstrated that intelligence test scores at the fifth grade level were closely related to socioeconomic levels. A close relationship was shown between delinquency, density of population, and economic level. His chapter on personality tests in *Personality and the Behavior Disorders* (1944) was adopted as a standard treatment. Later he became a consultant to various government agencies in addition to his interests in Jewish education, his work with Jewish service organizations and his teaching activities. His most important publications were: *Cooperation and competition: an experimental study of motivation* (1929); *Studies in the nature of character*: volume 2; *Studies in service and self-control* (with Hartshorne and May, 1929); and *Testing the Knowledge of Jewish History*

(1932). He was also a frequent contributor to Jewish educational periodicals.

[Menachem M. Brayer]

MALLOW, plant of the genus *Malva*. Six species are found in Israel, the most common, found in almost every part of the country, being the *Malva nicaensis, Malva silvestris*, and *Malva parviflora*. During the siege of Jerusalem in 1948 the citizens of Jerusalem picked them and prepared from them a variety of dishes. The mallow is popularly known by its Arabic name *khubeiza* which means "small loaf," because its edible seeds are flat and round like Arab bread (*pittah*). Job characterizes "the juice of *ḥallamut*" ("mallow") as insipid, so that even in his distress "my soul refuses to touch them; they are as the sickness of my flesh" (Job 6:6). Despite this, the name *ḥallamut* or *ḥelmit* in the Mishnah appears to be connected with *ḥalam* meaning "healthy." It may be, however, the same as *laḥmit*, through transposition of letters, which has the same connotation as its Arabic name "small bread." The Mishnah refers to *ḥelmit* as a vegetable (Kil. 1:8) and the *Arukh* of Nathan b. Jehiel identifies it with *Malva* (mallow). The leaves of some mallows are sensitive to light, and Rashi in his commentary on the vegetable *adani* (Shab. 35b) notes: "It is a vegetable called *malva* whose leaves turn to the sun. In the morning they incline eastward, at midday they are upright, and in the evening they incline westward." The identification of the *ḥallamut* of the Bible with mallow is not certain, and it has been identified with many other plants. The JPS renders *ḥallamut* as "mallow" (AV: "white of egg"), while the AV renders *malu'aḥ* in Job 30:4 as "mallow" (JPS correctly as "saltwort"; see *Orach).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Loew, Flora, 1 (1928), 292–4; N.H. Tur-Sinai, *Sefer Iyyov*, 1 (1941), 85 f.; H.N. and A.L. Moldenke, *Plants of the Bible* (1952), 53 f.; J. Feliks, *Olam ha-Ẓome'aḥ ha-Mikra'i* (1968^2), 188–90. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** Feliks, Ha-Tzome'aḥ, 63.

[Jehuda Feliks]

MALMÖ, port in S. Sweden. The Jewish community, the third largest in Sweden, was founded by Polish Jews in 1871, when it numbered 250. In 1900 the congregation appointed its first rabbi, Dr Josef Wohlstein, and in 1903 the first synagogue was built. Most of Malmö's original Jews came from Germany and during the first two decades of the 20th century, many Jewish immigrants arrived from Poland, Russia, the Ukraine, and the Baltic countries. Many of these new arrivals settled in the nearby town of Lund, creating a separate but related Jewish community there. The closing stages of World War II saw the large-scale rescue of Danish Jews from German-occupied Denmark to Sweden by sea and at the end of the war, many thousands of survivors of Nazi concentration camps were brought to Sweden via Malmö. Many of these survivors, however, were in such poor health that they died on reaching Swedish soil, which explains the large number of Jewish "refugee graves" in Malmö. A monument to commemorate the victims of the Holocaust was later created at the cemetery by Willy Gordon, a well-known Swedish-Jewish artist. Over the decades the community grew considerably, reaching a peak of around 1,700 in the late 1960s but subsequently declining to a 2004 figure of 1,200 despite the influx of immigrants from the former Soviet bloc, in particular from Russia, the Ukraine, Estonia, and even Kirgistan.

Haquinus Stridzberg's *Kohen Gadol sive Pontifex-Maximus Ebraeorum* was printed in Malmö in 1689.

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[Ilya Meyer (2nd ed.)]

MÁLNAI, BÉLA (1878–1941), Hungarian architect. After a period in which his work leaned towards Secessionism, he returned to historicizing neo-styles. His main work was the Czech-Hungarian Industrial Bank.

[Eva Kondor (2nd ed.)]

MALOVANY, JOSEPH (1941–). Born in Tel Aviv, Malovany served as cantor at Tel Aviv's Bilu synagogue, cantor of the Israeli army, and then from 1963 to 1968 *ḥazzan* of the Yeoville synagogue, Johannesburg, and from 1968 to 1973 of the Edgeware Synagogue, London. In 1973 he was appointed chief cantor to the Ateret Ẓevi Congregation of Fifth Avenue, New York. Malovany held music diplomas from the Tel Aviv Academy of Music and Great Britain's Royal Academy and Trinity College of Music. He was also honorary president of the Cantorial Council of America and past chairman of the board of the American Society of Jewish Music. He held the academic positions of distinguished professor of liturgical music at Yeshiva University and dean of the JDC Moscow Academy of Jewish Music. Malovany possessed a brilliant spinto tenor voice and was a much sought-after artist with orchestras and choirs worldwide. He was the possessor of an extensive discography of cantorial and contemporary Jewish music. On January 26, 2004, he received the honor of being knighted as Commander of the Legion of Honor by the president of Poland in appreciation of his musical contribution to the international and Polish communities. He was the first Jewish cantor to receive this award from Poland.

[Akiva Zimmerman / Raymond Goldstein (2nd ed.)]

MALSIN, LANE BRYANT (1879–1951), U.S. fashion innovator and entrepreneur. A gifted seamstress, Lena Himmelstein immigrated alone to New York from Lithuania at 16. Not quite 20, she married Russian immigrant jeweler David Bryant, who died a few months after their son, Raphael, was born in 1900. Bryant supported herself and her son by sewing lingerie and other apparel from her apartment; in 1904 she applied for a bank loan to open a shop. From then on her name became Lane Bryant, either because a bank officer misspelled her name on a business account application or she signed her name incorrectly on that application and was too embarrassed to correct the mistake. Bryant pioneered a special line of maternity clothing which became increasingly popular. After her 1909 marriage to Albert Malsin, who became her business partner, the couple started the first mail order catalog for maternity ware. By 1917 mail order revenues netted more than a million dollars and by 1950 their sales made them the sixth largest mail order retailer in the U.S. Lane Bryant's other major innovation was ready-made clothes for stout-figured women, and this clothing line was also a great success. Bryant opened the first of many branch retail stores in Chicago in 1915. When her husband died in 1923, Lane Bryant, Inc. was grossing $5,000,000 a year.

Lane Bryant was committed to good customer service and employee benefits, offering her workers decent wages, profit sharing, group life insurance plans, and medical expenses. When the company went public she provided one-fourth of the stock for employee investment. An exemplar of corporate philanthropy, Bryant teamed up with the American Red Cross and provided any Lane Bryant customer with a wardrobe to replace clothing destroyed in a disaster; she was also a supporter of the Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society, New York Federation of Jewish Philanthropies, and other charities. She was survived by three sons, who continued to be involved with the business after her death, a daughter, and 12 grandchildren.

[Sara Alpern (2nd ed.)]

MALTA, Mediterranean island. That Jews were present there in Roman times is attested by the discovery of a catacomb with the symbol of the **menorah*. There must have been a community under Arab rule (870–1090) and in 1240 there were 25 Jewish families there and eight in the neighboring island of Gozo. During the Middle Ages the two islands were part of the Kingdom of Sicily, and a great deal is known of their history from materials preserved in the Sicilian archives. The communities came to an end with the expulsion of the Jews from Sicily in 1492. From 1530 to 1798 the islands were ruled by the Knights of St. John, who in the course of their forays against the Muslims captured and brought back to Malta large numbers of Jewish prisoners. The Societies for Redeeming the *Captives (Ḥevrot Pidyon Shevuyim) in Venice and elsewhere were mainly engaged in raising funds for ransoming the Jewish prisoners in Malta, where the Venetian society kept a permanent Christian agent. Under the latter's auspices, the Jewish slaves were able to maintain a synagogue for worship, and there was also a cemetery. A regular community, mainly deriving from North Africa, began to develop during the last days of the rule of the Knights and under British rule (from 1800). In 1804 the *blood libel raised against the handful of Jews was firmly suppressed by the English poet S.T. Coleridge, then colonial secretary on the island. The community remained small, numbering 16 families in 1968 and 60 Jews in the mid-1990s. A synagogue was opened in Valetta in 1984.

[Cecil Roth]

Relations with Israel

Israel established friendly relations and cooperation with Malta even before the latter achieved independence in 1964. In the late 1950s the leader of the Maltese Labor Party, Dom Mintoff, tried to mediate between Israel and Egypt, albeit unsuccessfully. In 1966 an Israel embassy was established with a resident chargé d'affaires, while Israel's ambassador in Rome also serves as nonresident ambassador to Malta. Israel experts assisted in the development of dairy, poultry, and afforestation projects. Trade with Malta has been modest.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: C. Roth, *The Jews of Malta* (1931; = offprint from JHSET, 12 (1928–31), 187–251); S. Assaf, *Be-Oholei Ya'akov* (1943), 107–15; Roth, Mag Bibl, 113; idem, *Personalities and Events* (1961), 112–35.

MALTER, HENRY (1864–1925), rabbi and scholar of medieval Jewish philosophy. Malter was born in the village of Bonze, Galicia. His father was his teacher and provided him with the fundamentals of a rabbinic education. Hardly past childhood, Malter became interested in secular knowledge, having somehow obtained access to *Ha-Maggid*, a Hebrew periodical with a Haskalah viewpoint. At the age of 16 in search of broader knowledge he journeyed to Lyck and from there to Berlin. While earning his living by teaching Hebrew, he prepared himself for entering the university and at the same time continued his Jewish education at the Veitel-Heine-Ephraimsche Lehranstalt. There he attracted the attention, and became the favorite pupil, of Moritz *Steinschneider, who encouraged his interest in medieval Jewish bibliography and whose book in that field, *Juedische Literatur* (1850), Malter translated into Hebrew as *Sifrut Yisrael* (1897). With his work on the influence of the 11th-century Muslim philosopher Al-Ghazzali on Jewish thought, *Die Abhandlung des Abu Hamid al-Gazzali* (1894), Malter earned a doctorate in philosophy from the University of Heidelberg. In 1898 he received a rabbinical diploma from the Lehranstalt fuer die Wissenschaft des Judentums. The newly founded library of the Berlin Jewish community then invited him to become its librarian. He held this post for a year. Malter went to the United States in 1900 at the invitation of Hebrew Union College in Cincinnati to teach medieval Jewish philosophy. He also taught Bible and rabbinic law and literature, and at the same time served as rabbi at the Shearith Israel congregation in Cincinnati. However, he disagreed with the theological attitudes of American Reform Judaism and was, therefore, in conflict with Kaufmann *Kohler, then president of Hebrew Union College; consequently, he left the college in 1907. Thereafter, in New York he collaborated with J.D. Eisenstein on the Hebrew encyclopedia *Oẓar Yisrael*, contributing articles on Jewish literature, among others. With the opening of Dropsie College in 1909, Malter assumed the chair of talmudic literature which he occupied to the end of his life. He was a stimulating teacher in Talmud and particularly in medieval philosophy and ethics. Painstaking in his scholarship, Malter published a number of important essays in the *Jewish Quarterly Review* and elsewhere. His chief published work is *Saadia Gaon, His Life and Works* (1921). The study is based on a meticulous review of every fragment, including *genizah* material, by and about the head of the Sura academy in the tenth century. It is a model of a biography of a scholar by a scholar: it deals with *Saadiah's eventful life, analyzes his works, and in a bibliographical section shows his influence by citing the numerous references to him in the course of the centuries. Two other books, both published posthumously, deal with the talmudic treatise *Ta'anit: Treatise Ta'anit of the Babylonian Talmud* (1928), critically edited on the basis of manuscripts and old editions, and *Massekhet Ta'anit min Talmud Bavli* (1930), a critical edition of the text with notes and explanations on the basis of 24 manuscripts. With Alexander *Marx, Malter edited the *Gesammelte Schriften* of Moritz Steinschneider, of which only the first volume appeared (1925).

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[Solomon Grayzel]

MALTIN, LEONARD (1950–), U.S. film critic-historian. Maltin was born in New York to lawyer and immigration judge Aaron I. Maltin and singer Jacqueline Martin (née Gould). As a 15-year-old high school student in Teaneck, N.J., Maltin took over as the editor of the film magazine *Film Fan Monthly.* Circulation of the magazine increased dramatically under the young film aficionado, and at age 18 he was contracted to produce the annual paperback reference guide *TV Movies*, now released under the title *Leonard Matlin's Movie and Video Guide*. Maltin graduated from New York University in 1972 with a bachelor's degree in journalism. He joined the faculty at New School for Social Research in 1973, leaving the magazine in 1975. He joined the television entertainment magazine show *Entertainment Tonight* as a correspondent in 1982. He also hosted a daily radio feature on home videos, broadcast in Los Angeles on news station KNX. In 1995 and 1996, he served as president of the Los Angeles Film Critics Association. Maltin served as host, consultant, and writer for a variety of cable television programs and film retrospectives; as an adjunct professor at the University of Southern California's School of Cinema and Television from 1998; and adviser to the National Film Preservation Board from 1997. Other books by Maltin include *The Disney Films* (2000^4), *Leonard Maltin's Family Film Guide* (1999), *The Great American Broadcast: A Celebration of Radio's Golden Age* (1997), *Leonard Maltin's Movie Encyclopedia* (1995), *The Little Rascals: The Life and Times of Our Gang* (1992), *Of Mice and Magic: A History of American Animated Cartoons* (1987), *Selected Short Subjects* (1983), *The Great Movie Comedians* (1978) and *The Art of the Cinematographer* (1978).

[Adam Wills (2nd ed.)]

MALTZ, ALBERT (1908–1985), U.S. playwright and novelist. Maltz, who was born in Brooklyn, wrote his first play in 1931 in collaboration with George Sklar. Entitled *Merry-Go-Round*, it was an exposé of corrupt Tammany politics in New York City. Maltz became associated with the left-wing Theater Union for which he wrote an antiwar drama, *Peace on Earth* (with George Sklar, 1934), and *Black Pit* (1935). From the late 1930s he began writing novels, notably *The Happiest Man on Earth* (1938); *The Underground Stream* (1940); *The Cross and the Arrow* (1944), which was made into a motion picture; and *The Journey of Simon McKeever* (1949). He also published essays and the scenarios for films including *This Gun for Hire* (1942), *Destination, Tokyo* (1943), and *Naked City* (1948). In 1947, during the HUAC investigation of the motion picture industry, Maltz refused to "name names" and was indicted with several other Hollywood writers. He spent nine months in prison. After his release in 1951 he settled in Mexico. A later novel was *A Long Day in a Short Life* (1957). His *Afternoon in the Jungle: The Selected Short Stories of Albert Maltz* was published in 1970.

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[Milton Henry Hindus]

MALVANO, GIACOMO (1841–1922), Italian diplomat. Born in Turin, he was secretary general of the foreign ministry from 1876 to 1885. Malvano was minister to Tokyo from 1887 to 1889 when he resumed the post of secretary general of the foreign office, which he held until 1907. Malvano was a senator from 1896 and later was appointed to the Council of State, eventually becoming its president. He was also president of the Italian Geographic Society for many years.

An opponent of Zionism, Malvano refused to assist Theodor Herzl on his visit to Rome (Jan. 26, 1904) on the ground that he was only "a modest civil servant." Herzl ironically refers to him, "He is a clerk in the wholesale firm of 'Italy, Inc.'"

[Giorgio Romano]

MALZBERG, BENJAMIN (1893–1975), U.S. psychiatric statistician and epidemiologist. Malzberg was born in New York City and from 1923 to 1928 served as statistician to the Department of Welfare of New York State. After serving on the Committee on State Hospital Problems, he moved to the New York State Department of Mental Hygiene in 1940, becoming the director of its statistical bureau in 1944, and its consultant in 1956. Malzberg performed numerous studies of a statistical and epidemiological nature. Among his early researches were "Mortality among Patients with Mental Disease" (1934); "Hereditary and Environmental Factors in Dementia Praecox and Manic-Depressive Psychoses" (with associates, 1938); "Social and Biological Aspects of Mental Disease" (1946). *Migration and Mental Disease* appeared in 1956, as did his important study *Mental Disease among Jews in New York State* (1960). *Mental Disease among Jews in Canada* appeared in 1963 and *Ethnic Variations in Mental Disease in New York State* in 1966. His studies also covered the mental health of African-Americans and alcoholic psychoses. In his studies of mental illness among Jews, Malzberg demonstrated a higher incidence of psychotic depression among Jews than among white non-Jews (as measured by hospital admissions). His research confirmed the general knowledge that the incidence of alcoholism was very low among Jews.

[Louis Miller]

MAMET, DAVID (1947–), U.S. playwright. Born in Chicago, Mamet received a B.A. from Goddard College in 1969 and taught playwriting there for a brief period. He started his theatrical career as an actor and director before his own plays were ever produced. He began writing for the stage in 1971 with *The Duck Variations*. In 1973, Mamet founded, along with three friends, his own theater company in Chicago (St. Nicholas) and remained its artistic director through 1975.

A primary theme running throughout his work is the question of whether moral people can exist in an excessively immoral world. The environment he depicts is often devoid of any emotion and spirituality, and morality, if it exists, is on the decline. The strong male characters for which Mamet is known find it difficult to survive let alone thrive in such a world. In fact, the characters that do thrive are typically devoid of morality as well. His dialogue is often a stylized, almost poetic, version of the streetwise speech found in noir films and novels.

Mamet's plays include *Sexual Perversity in Chicago* (1973), *Reunion* (1973), *Squirrels* (1974), *American Buffalo* (1976), *A Life in the Theater* (1976), *The Water Engine* (1976), *The Woods* (1977), *Lone Canoe* (1978), *Prairie du Chien* (1978), *Lakeboat* (1980), *Donny March* (1981), *Edmond* (1982), *The Disappearance of the Jews* (1983), *Glengarry Glen Ross* (1984), and *Speed the Plow* (1988), which received the Tony Award for Best Play of the Year, *Oleanna* (1993), *The Cryptogram* (1995), and *The Old Neighborhood: Three Plays* (1998).

Mamet received the New York Drama Critics Circle Award for *American Buffalo* (1977) and *Glengarry Glen Ross* (1984), for which he was also the recipient of the Pulitzer Prize for drama. The play depicts desperate salesmen and the extreme measures, from ethically questionable to positively illegal, to which they resort to sell undesirable units of real estate. Mamet has also written screenplays, among them *The Postman Always Rings Twice* (1979), *The Verdict* (1980), for which he received an Academy Award nomination for Best Screenplay Adaptation, *The Untouchables* (1987), *House of Games* (1987, also directed), *Things Change* (1988, also directed), *Glengarry Glen Ross* (1992, an adaptation of his play), *Hoffa* (1992), *The Spanish Prisoner* (1997, also directed), *Wag the Dog* (1997, adapted from Larry Beinhart's novel *American Hero*), *State and Main* (2000, also directed), and *The Heist* (2001, also directed).

The prolific author has also written novels, including *The Old Religion: A Novel* (1997), *Bar Mitzvah* (1999), and *Wilson: A Consideration of the Sources* (2001); children's books including *Passover* (1995) and *The Duck and the Goat* (1996); and nonfiction including *Writing in Restaurants* (1987), *Some Freaks* (1989), *The Cabin: Reminiscence and Diversions* (1992), and *Three Uses for a Knife: On the Nature and Purpose of Drama* (1998).

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[Jonathan Licht / Robert L. DelBane (2nd ed.)]

MAMISTABOLOB, ABRAHAM, Georgian poet, born in the village of Staliniri, formerly Tskhinvali. A collection of his poems published in 1957 includes two poems based on Jewish themes, "Wedding in the Jewish Quarter" and "The Family."

[Mordkhai Neishtat]

MAMLUKS (lit. slaves), a military class which ruled *Egypt from 1250 to 1517 and *Syria (including *Palestine) from 1260 to 1516. Under the Mamluk sultans in Egypt and Syria, local Jews often suffered at the hands of government officials and Muslim zealots, although at times the sultan and his representatives were also a restraining influence on fanatical mobs or leaders. The Mamluks were one of the most important dynasties in the history of medieval *Islam, gaining fame for stopping the *Mongol advance into Syria and for eradicating the Crusader presence in Palestine and elsewhere along the Syrian coast. They were great patrons of culture, and many buildings with the distinctive building style of the period are scattered throughout Israel, especially Jerusalem. Scholars divide the Mamluk era into almost two equal sub-periods: the Baḥrī period (1250–1382), when the dominant group was mainly composed of Qipchaq Turks; and, the Circassian period (1382–1517) when Mamluks from the northern Caucasus region were predominant, although Turks continued to play an important role. The latter period is often still mistakenly called the Burjī period. Most Mamluk sultans were themselves Mamluks of slave origin, although some were the sons of sultans.

Military slavery, primarily of pagan Turks brought as youngsters from the Eurasian Steppe, had existed in the heart of the Muslim world since the ninth century. Later referred to as Mamluks (pl. *mamālik*), these soldiers of slave origin – particularly those who became officers – played an important role in the military and political life of many Muslim states. Turks were particularly favored since they combined hardiness, horsemanship, and archery which they had begun to learn in their Central Asian milieu. These nascent skills were reinforced by years of training in military schools in which the young Mamluks were enrolled after their conversion to Islam. Generally the sons of Mamluks were excluded from this military formation: Muslim rulers had learned that the sons of Mamuks had neither the hardiness nor loyalty of their fathers and therefore there was a continual import of young Mamluks to the centers of the Muslim world. In other words, the Mamluk system was a one-generational, continually replicating military elite. On the whole, Mamluks fought in organized units of mounted archers, and were generally loyal to their patrons, be they sultans or senior officers, although there were some notable exceptions.

Mamluks were certainly important in the armies of the *Ayyubid sultans and princes, and, since the time of the dynasty's founder Saladin (d. 1193), played a key role in the war against the Crusaders. In 1250, they overthrew their masters in Egypt; ten years later, in the aftermath of their victory over the Mongols at Ayn Jalut in northern Palestine, they gained control of all of Syria up to the Euphrates River, and embarked on a 60-year war against the Mongols, whom they successfully kept at bay. The Sultan Baybars I (1260–77) was the real architect of Mamluk power, expanding and strengthening the army, reforming the judicial system and generally bringing stability to the subjects of the state, in spite of his many wars against the Mongols and Crusaders. The latter culminated in the conquest of Acre in 1291. The Mamluk Sultanate was a relatively centralized state, governed from *Cairo, although most of the military activities were in Syria. Although the Mamluk regime became increasingly oppressive and rapacious over the decades, it was never seriously threatened by internal opposition. There were, however, many cases of urban disorder and riots, often over food shortages or other economic matters. The position of the *dhimmīs ("protected people," i.e. Christians and Jews) was also a source of occasional disorder and dissatisfaction, not the least because of the many Christians (and some Jews) still employed in various government offices, some of them holding relatively high positions. Without a doubt, the Mamluk period saw an increase in anti-*dhimmī* feeling and the consequent decline of the position of these peoples. This appears to be a result of several factors: the militant rhetoric of the Mamluks themselves, engaged in holy war (*jihād*) for decades; the culmination of almost two centuries of war against the Crusaders; the apparent perception that the local Christians, while Arabic speakers, were secretly sympathetic to the enemies of the state, be they Crusaders or Mongols; the declining economic situation, which began to be felt from the mid-14th century onward, particularly after the outbreak of the Black Plague in the region in 1349; and perhaps the competition over government jobs in which members of the Muslim learned class had a particular interest. It should be noted that the lion's share of anti-*dhimmī* feelings were directed at the Christians of Egypt and Syria, a much larger group than the Jews and better represented in the government bureaucracy. The impression gained is that the acts and activities against the Jews were often side effects of steps taken against their Christian "colleagues." It appears that, during the Mamluk period, there was a long-term islamization process among the Sultanate's Christian population (certainly among the Copts of Egypt). It is difficult to gauge the exact long-term impact of the Mamluk period on the size of the Jewish community, but there was some demographic decline caused by conversions and perhaps emigration, although apparently not to the same degree as among the Christians.

The paucity of the Cairo **Genizah* documents from the Mamluk period indicates the great change in Egyptian Jewry; whereas these archives of Cairo Jewry contain many documents from the 11th and 12th centuries, there are relatively few preserved from the subsequent period. Perhaps rather than indicating only the decline of the Jewish community in Old Cairo, it may reflect the weakening of Egypt's participation in the Mediterranean trade, which was the economic basis of this particular Jewish community. In any event, the numerous Arab chronicles and other sources for the Mamluk period contain much information on the Jews. From these and various Jewish sources we can reconstruct a picture of the main developments of the Jewish community in the main provinces of the Mamluk Sultanate. The difficulties experienced by the Jews were not only with the Muslim majority and authorities, but were also related to tensions within the community and "the depressed condition of community life" (M.R. Cohen). On the whole, we can say that during the Baḥrī period there was a series of acute outbreaks of anti-*dhimmī* activity and measures, which also affected the Jewish population of the Sultanate. In the Circassian period, the anti-*dhimmī* (and therefore anti-Jewish) measures were generally less sweeping, but the Jews (and the Christians) suffered from both chronic and temporary harassments. The terms of the so-called Covenant of *Omar are mentioned time and again during the period as the model which the *dhimmīs* were expected to follow, indicating perhaps that, between the anti-*dhimmī* measures enacted and mentioned in the sources, the non-Muslims lived under easier conditions. On the other hand, the repeated acts took their toll.

When Damascus was reconquered from the Mongols in 1260, there were riots against the local Christians, which spilled over to the Jews; the latter were soon curtailed when it was remembered that the Jews had not cooperated with the Mongols. Five years later the Christians in Cairo were accused of arson. Thereupon Sultan Baybars I (1260–77), who had just returned from Syria and the conquest of Caesarea and Arsuf from the Crusaders, assembled many Christians and Jews and ordered that they be burned alive, but released them on condition that they pay a heavy tribute in annual installments. These were, however, sporadic measures, which show how Jews could be caught up in what was originally a mainly anti-Christian activity. One act directed only against Jews was in *Damascus in 1271. There the Sufi shaykh Khidr, a Rasputin-like figure who was the favorite of the sultan, attacked and expropriated the largest synagogue. However, this figure was known for his attacks on Christians too. It was mainly later that more concerted and widespread actions against the *dhimmīs* were taken, including the frequent dismissal of non-Muslim officials. One Arab chronicler, al-ʿAynī, notes that, already under Sultan Qalāwūn (1279–90), "the *dhimmīs* had been in a state of extreme humiliation and degradation." Arab chroniclers sometimes mention only measures taken against Christians, but they state explicitly that Jews suffered during the dismissal of the officials in 1293 under Sultan al-Malik al-Ashraf Khalīl (1290–93), which followed riots that broke out in Cairo in the aftermath of supposed overweening behavior by Christians. In 1301 the hatred of non-Muslims burst into severe persecution; riots occurred in several towns in Egypt and many Christians and Jews were compelled to adopt Islam, including all the Jews of Bilbeis, in Lower Egypt, according to the Jewish-Egyptian chronicler of the Ottoman period, Joseph b. Isaac *Sambari. All churches and synagogues in Cairo were closed; in Alexandria, houses of non-Muslims which were higher than those of their Muslim neighbors were destroyed. These were unprecedented acts. Furthermore, the government decreed that henceforth Christians must wear blue turbans; Samaritans, red; and Jews, yellow. The willingness of the Mamluk authorities in this case to countenance the anti-*dhimmī* disorders and to enact stringent sumptuary laws may have been strengthened by the embarrassing defeat at the hands of the Mongols in Syria at the end of 1299, so that this became a way of diverting attention and demonstrating to the population the Mamluk commitment to Islam. In 1309, however, under Byzantine pressure, several churches and a synagogue were reopened, so there were occasional rays of light in this difficult period. There were again riots against Christians in Egypt, in which Jews are not mentioned, except in so far as some Christians borrowed their clothes to escape the wrath of the mob. In 1354 there was another general persecution of the non-Muslims in Egypt. There were riots during which Christians and Jews were attacked in the streets, with the rioters "throwing them into bonfires if they refused to pronounce the *shahādatayn* [the Muslim profession of faith]" (D.P. Little). Jewish and Coptic leaders were forced to listen to a list of the sumptuary measures which theoretically had already been in force. Non-Muslim government officials were dismissed, even those who embraced Islam. This particular set of measures seems to have had some impact on the conversion of Copts to Islam; whether it affected the Jews in the same way is unclear.

The anti-*dhimmī* atmosphere was not only a result of riots or repeated enactments of sumptuary laws. The early Mamluk period saw the appearance of several anti-*dhimmī* polemical works, such as that by al-Ghāzī b. al-Wāsiṭī, as well as the *fatwas* (responsa) and essays by the famous, but uncompromising, scholar Ibn Taymiyya. In addition, sometime in the first century or so of Mamluk rule, a humiliating oath which Jews had to take when appearing in Muslim courts was reintroduced after a hiatus of some 500 years (the text of the oath, from al-Umarī's *Tarif,* is found in Stillman, *Jews of Arab Lands*, 267–68).

In the second half of the 14th century restrictive laws and various vexations followed. Non-Muslim officials were dismissed in Damascus in 1356 and in 1363. At that time Jews and Christians were forbidden to ride horses and mules. They were allowed to ride donkeys only, using packsaddles and mounted so that both feet were on one side of the animal. In public baths they had to distinguish themselves by wearing little bells around the neck, and women had to wear one black and one white shoe. In 1365 Muslim zealots in Damascus searched Jewish and Christian homes for wine and poured the wine they found into the streets and rivers. Restrictive laws were again enforced; Jewish and Christian women were forbidden to frequent the public baths. Although the frequency of these ordinances proves that the discriminatory laws were not systematically kept, it is evident that their periodic enactment humiliated Jews and Christians whose communities were sizably weakened and diminished by the end of the rule of the Baḥrī Mamluks in 1382.

The image of the non-Muslim communities in the chronicles from the reign of the Circassian Mamluks (1381–1517) is somewhat different. With the end of the crusaders' principalities, the non-Muslims were no longer accused of conspiring with the enemies of the sultan; hence, general persecutions of non-Muslims in Egypt and Syria were to a degree lessened. Nevertheless, the actions of the second Mamluk dynasty were in some ways even worse than its predecessor. The frustration of the population increased and the sultans were thus often inclined to enforce the restrictive laws on the *dhimmīs* or extort heavy contributions from them. Under Sultan al-Malik al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh (1412–19), the authorities harassed the Jews and Christians in Egypt for drinking wine. In 1417 non-Muslims were ordered to dress simply in order that they not resemble Muslim judges. Furthermore, they were forbidden to ride swift asses. Two years later non-Muslim officials were again dismissed from government posts. Al-Malik al-Ashraf Barsbāy (1422–38) readily complied with the suggestions of Muslim zealots. Immediately after his accession he dismissed non-Muslim officials, and in 1426 he again demanded distinctive signs, ordering Jews and Christians to reduce the size of their turbans and put iron rings around their necks when going to public baths. Periodically, he sent officials to search the non-Muslim quarters of Cairo for wine. In 1442, during the reign of Sultan Jaqmaq (1438–53), the dais (referred to as a *minbar* in Arabic) of a synagogue in Cairo was destroyed when it was thought that it contained anti-Muslim blasphemies, and several other Jewish institutions as well as Christian buildings were also in danger of being damaged or ruined. This same sultan prohibited in 1448 non-Muslim physicians from treating Muslims, and in 1450 reinforced the regulations regarding their dress. In 1463 Sultan Khushqadam (1461–67) solemnly reinforced all the restrictive laws imposed on non-Muslims, with the exception of those which forbade them to be physicians and money changers. The last Mamluk sultans did not introduce new restrictions, but periodically imposed heavy tribute. Arab historians report that Qa'itbāy (1468–96) did this in 1488 and 1491 and that similar contributions were extorted from the Jews in 1500 and 1501. Yet, there was another side to late Mamluk attitudes towards the *dhimmīs* which should not be ignored, namely the occasional protection of the non-Muslims against the actions of intolerant Muslim religious figures or the mob. Thus, in 1473–75, the Mamluk authorities, eventually under the direct orders of the sultan, prevented the Muslim population of *Jerusalem from expropriating a synagogue, although an enraged mob had destroyed it; the Jews were permitted to restore it. This episode shows that legalistic niceties were often enforced, and, even at a time of general anti-*dhimmī* feelings and measures, non-Muslims "could not be abused with impunity" (D.P. Little).

The decline of the Jews' situation in the Mamluk state in the second half of the 15th century, economically and demographically, is pointed out by the traveler Felix Fabri, as it is likewise vividly depicted in the letters of Obadiah of *Bertinoro and his anonymous pupil, an Italian Jew who settled in Jerusalem at the end of the 15th century. In the capitals of Egypt and Syria there were still large communities, but in the other towns they had dwindled to small groups. Everywhere they were subject to legal discrimination and had to pay special taxes, e.g., on drinking wine. Their letters also stressed the general lawlessness and anarchy from which the Jews suffered (which was, however, not only the fate of the Jews, but also that of the Christians, and often the population at large). The authors of these travelogues, however, were not aware of the great change that Egyptian and Syrian Jewry had undergone under the impact of Mamluk rule. The flourishing Jewish middle class, once the mainstay of the Jewish communities, had greatly declined under the Mamluks (probably part of the general economic decline of the Sultanate, and not a result of an anti-Jewish policy) and most Jews had become poor. Social discrimination and the hostility of the upper classes caused many of the Jewish physicians and other well-situated Jews to adopt Islam. A relatively great number of biographies of these apostates appear in the writings of Arab historians of this period. On the other hand, the Mamluk sultans allowed the Jews to retain their judicial autonomy in cases of civil law, and until the end of their rule recognized the **nagid* as head of all the Jewish communities in Egypt, Palestine, and Syria. The *negidim*, who had deputies in Jerusalem and Damascus, represented the Jews, *Karaites, and Samaritans to the government. Until the end of the reign of the Baḥrī Mamluks, the post was held by the descendants of *Maimonides. The last was David II. In the 15th century the post was filled by Jewish court physicians. The Mamluk sultans apparently did not interfere with Jewish settlement in Egypt and Syria after the expulsion from Spain in 1492. The economic decline and the overall brutalization of life in the Sultanate in the 15th century (and perhaps before) weakened the community and contributed to a worsening of relations within it, as seen by the *Genizah* document from 1442 published by M.R. Cohen in 1984. In general, in spite of the deterioration of the community, one can still state with a great deal of certitude that the legal conditions of the Jews in the Mamluk Sultanate were still superior to those of their fellow Jews in most of contemporary Europe. The economic, social, and demographic condition of the Jewish communities of Syria and Egypt was to improve discernibly under the *Ottomans, who ended Mamluk rule and gained control over these countries in 1516 and 1517, respectively.

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[Eliyahu Ashtor / Reuven Amitai (2nd ed.)]

MAMPSIS, city in the Negev. According to Eusebius it was situated between Hebron and Elath, one day's march from Thamara (Onom. 8:8). The Madaba Map shows it between Beersheba and Thamara and calls it Maps. Ptolemy also refers to it as Maps. It appears in the episcopal lists of Palaestina tertia. Mampsis is identified with Kurnub where excavations were conducted by A. Negev from 1966. The town, which is surrounded by a wall, consists of three hillocks. On the western side of the town are the remains of a palace including a guard room, audience hall, records room, and stairs leading to an upper story with balconies; nearby is a tower with office rooms. A complex of residential buildings extending over 1,900 sq. yds. (1,600 sq. m.) on the eastern hill included stables with mangers. Some of the rooms were decorated with frescoes; a hoard of 10,400 Roman tetradrachms was discovered there. Mampsis was apparently settled in about 50 C.E. and continued into Byzantine times; its ruins include two churches. A Nabatean and a Roman military cemetery were found nearby. The remains of several dams were found in the vicinity. New excavations conducted at the site in the 1990s revealed additional Nabatean-Roman remains, including buildings, pottery, and middens.

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[Michael Avi-Yonah / Shimon Gibson (2nd ed.)]

MAMRAM (or **Mamran**; ממר״ם, ממר״מ, ממרנ״י, ממר״א and at times abbreviated to מ״מ), a form of promissory note distinguished by its brevity. In Hebrew sources it is mentioned for the first time during the 12th century in the *tosafot* of *Elhanan

b. Isaac of Dampierre to the tractate *Avodah Zarah*. There is evidence of its use in Poland from the 14th century at least, but it was only during the 16th century that it became the distinctive promissory note used by Jewish merchants in their internal trade. There are various opinions on the etymological origin of this term, the most important being: a derivation from the Hebrew word המיר (*hemir*, "to change"); a contracted form of the Latin *in memoriam*; and a derivation from the word *membrana*, which in medieval Latin signified a scrap of parchment. The signature of the debtor appeared on one side of the document, while, on the other, in the same place as the signature, the sum owed and the date of payment were recorded. According to the regulations of the community councils, the document had equal validity with the ordinary handwritten promissory note even though the lengthy traditional formula was absent. Since the name of the creditor was not mentioned in the *mamram*, it was payable to the person who presented it to the debtor. As a result, the *mamram* was purchased by one person from another by simple transfer without any written documentation. The brevity of the *mamram* and the possibility of its easy transfer gave it a great advantage over the ordinary bill, encouraging its popularity. It was most common in Poland, especially during the 16th century, and the trading of *mamramim* became a frequent occurrence.

Another kind of *mamram* frequently employed in Poland during the 16th century was the blank *mamram* (in Polish *membran goły*). Its principal feature was that neither the amount of the debt nor the date of payment were mentioned. The signature of the creditor appeared on one side and the other side was blank. It is evident that a document of this kind could only exist in a society where the honesty of the debtor was taken for granted. The blank *mamram* came to satisfy the demands of the commerce practiced by the Jews of Poland during that period and it was particularly suited for use at the large fairs then held in the country. The merchant did not bring large sums of cash to the fairs because of the many dangers attendant on his journey and many deals were concluded at the fairs on short notice. Thus the merchant was in need of credit during that time and the *mamram* document satisfied his requirements. Through its use merchants could borrow unlimited sums, which in turn permitted the orderly development of business. The *mamramim* thus fulfilled the functions later provided by banks. The blank *mamram* was also different in that it was signed not by the debtor but by the person providing the credit. When in need of funds, the debtor sold it and thus received the amount he required. Because the halakhic basis of the blank *mamram* was highly dubious, some eminent rabbis objected to it and invalidated it and its use. Most authorities sanctioned it, however, because "it has already become the custom in these lands to collect by it according to the regulations of the countries." It was still in use among Polish Jews in the first half of the 19th century.

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MAMRE (Heb. מַמְרֵא), oak grove near *Hebron which was one of the favorite dwelling places of Abraham (Abram; Gen. 13:18); it is also the name of one of the clans of Hebron which was an ally of Abraham (14:13, 24). At Mamre, Abraham learned of the captivity of Lot and received the three angels (14:13; 18:1). It is described in Genesis 23:17 as having Machpelah "before" it; elsewhere, it is identified with Hebron (23:19; 35:27). In the time of Josephus, a tree some distance north of Hebron was assumed to be the "terebinth" of Abraham (Ant., 1:186; Wars, 4:533). In the Mishnah (Ma'as. 5:2), the site appears as Elath, one day's journey from Jerusalem, and in the Talmud (TJ, Av. Zar. 1:4, 38d) and the Midrash (Gen. R. 47:10) as Butnah (Butnan), the site of a famous trade fair where Hadrian sold the captives of the Bar Kokhba War into slavery. Later Christian sources refer to the site as a place of prayer; Constantine built a church there (which is shown on the Madaba Map). Jews, Christians, and pagans worshiped together there until the Arab conquest. The site is now identified with Rāmat al-Khalīl, 2 mi. (3.2 km.) north of Hebron. E.A. Mader, excavating there in 1926–28, cleared a Herodian enclosure wall, some blocks of which measure 14 × 4 ft. (4.3 × 1.2 m.). At its southwest corner was a well into which pilgrims threw gifts and money. In the eastern part of the enclosure, Constantine built a basilica measuring 60 × 50 ft. (19 × 16 m.), with a double narthex, a nave, and two aisles. Pottery from the ninth and eighth centuries B.C.E. indicates that the site was inhabited under the kings of Judah.

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[Michael Avi-Yonah]

MAMZER (Heb. מַמְזֵר), usually translated as "bastard."

Definition

"If she cannot contract a legally valid marriage to this man, but can contract a legally valid marriage to others, her offspring [from the former] is a *mamzer*. Such is the case when a man has sexual relations with any of the *ervot* ["forbidden"; see *Incest] in the Torah" (Kid. 3:12; cf. Yev. 4:13). Thus, a *mamzer* is the issue of a couple whose sexual relationship is forbidden according to the Torah and punishable by **karet* or death. Because of this a marriage between them is void (Sh. Ar., EH 4:13), and thus, for example, the issue of a union between brother and sister or between a man and a woman validly married to another at the time is a *mamzer* (see *Adultery; Yev. 45b; Maim., Yad, Issurei Bi'ah 15:1; Tur and *Beit Yosef*, EH 4; Sh. Ar., EH 4:13). On the other hand, in Jewish law – unlike in other systems of law – the mere fact that a child is born (or conceived) out of lawful wedlock does not make him a *mamzer* and he is not an illegitimate child, i.e., one whose status or rights are impaired. The parents of the *mamzer* are indeed unmarried – either in fact or since they are so considered in law because of an absolute legal bar to a marriage between them – but unlike a man and a woman who, from the legal point of view, can marry each other but do not want to, the parents of the *mamzer*, owing to the said legal bar, cannot marry each other even if they want to. If one parent is non-Jewish this fact alone does not make the child a *mamzer* (see *Marriage; Yev. 45b; Maim., Yad, Issurei Bi'ah 15:3; Tur, EH 4; Sh. Ar., EH 4:19).

Consequences of the State of *Mamzerut*

These are twofold and relate to marriage and to personal status.

(1) Marriage. The Bible lays down: "A *mamzer* shall not enter the congregation of the Lord" (Deut. 23:3), i.e., a marriage between a *mamzer* (male or female) and a legitimate Jew or Jewess is prohibited. If such a marriage is nevertheless contracted, it is legally valid but must be dissolved by divorce (see *Marriage, Prohibited). A marriage between two *mamzerim* is permitted (Yev. 45b; Kid. 69a; 74a; Maim., Yad., Issurei Bi'ah 15:33; Sh. Ar., EH 4:24) and so also is a marriage between a *mamzer* and a proselyte (Yev. 79b; Kid. 67a and *Rashi* thereto; 72b–73a; Maim., Yad, Issurei Bi'ah 15:7; Sh. Ar., EH 4:22).

(2) Personal status. The offspring of a *mamzer* (whether male or female) and a legitimate Jew or Jewess are also *mamzerim*, since "*mamzerim*… are forbidden and forbidden for all time, whether they are males or females" (Yev. 8:3) and the rule is that in the case of a prohibited union the offspring follows the status of the "defective" parent (Kid. 3:12; see *Yuḥasin*). On the other hand, as the offspring of a union between a Jew and a gentile takes the status of the mother, a child born of a *mamzer* and a gentile mother will be gentile and not a *mamzer*; thus after proper conversion to Judaism, he will acquire the status of a legitimate proselyte and the fact that his father was a *mamzer* will be wholly irrelevant (Kid. 67a, *Rashi*; Maim., Yad, Issurei Bi'ah 15:3; Tur and *Beit Yosef*, EH 4; Sh. Ar., EH 4:20).

Except with regard to marriage, as stated above, the personal status of a *mamzer* does not prejudice him in any way. His rights of inheritance are equal to those of any other heir (Yev. 22b; Maim., Yad, Naḥalot 1:7; Sh. Ar., ḤM 276:6). His birth releases his father's wife from the obligation of *levirate marriage and *ḥaliẓah*. The *mamzer* is eligible to hold any public office, the highest (i.e., that of a king), for he remains "thy brother" and "from among thy brethren shalt thou set a king over thee" (Deut. 17:15; Tos. to Yev. 45b). Furthermore, according to the Mishnah, "a *mamzer* who is a scholar [*talmid ḥakham*] takes precedence over a high priest who is an ignoramus [*am ha-areẓ*]" (Hor. 3:8).

***Asufi* ("a Foundling")**

Sometimes a doubt may arise whether a child is legitimate or not and therefore he has the status of "doubtful" *mamzer*. One such case is that of a foundling, i.e., a child found abandoned in a public place when the identity of neither parent is known; in this case it is unknown whether the parents are legitimate or *mamzerim* (Kid. 4:12; Maim., Issurei Bi'ah 15:13; Tur, EH 4; Sh. Ar., EH 4:31). If such a child is found in or near a place inhabited by both Jews and gentiles, so that it is impossible to know even if he is of wholly Jewish parentage or not, he is considered both a "doubtful" *mamzer* and a "doubtful" gentile, so that if he later marries a Jewess and then afterward she wants to marry another man, she will require a divorce because of this latter doubt (Ket. 15b; Maim., *ibid.* 15:25; Tur, EH 4; Sh. Ar., EH 4:33). If, however, such a child is found in or near an exclusively Jewish place, he is assumed to be of wholly Jewish parentage; but as the identity and hence the status of such parents (whether *mamzer* or legitimate) is unknown, he is considered a "doubtful" *mamzer* (Kid. 74a; Maim., Issurei Bi'ah 15:21; Sh. Ar., EH 4:31–36). Thus, he cannot marry either a legitimate Jewess (because he may be a *mamzer*) or a female *mamzer* (because he may in fact be legitimate). However, the suspicion of *mamzerut* only attaches to him if the circumstances in which he was found were such as to cast doubt on the status of legitimacy of his parents; for instance if it was clear that they did not care for his survival. If there is any indication at all that he was abandoned out of necessity, such as hunger or in time of war, or if there are some signs of minimal concern for his welfare and future, such as his being circumcised, clothed, or abandoned in a place (like a synagogue) where he is likely to be comparatively safe from danger or any other place where people are more likely to find and take care of him, then it is assumed that his parents are of unimpeachable status and so is he. Therefore no suspicion of *mamzerut* will be attached to him (Kid. 73b; Maim. Yad, Issurei Bi'ah 15:31; Tur, EH 4; Sh. Ar., EH 4:31).

***Shetuki* (lit. "Undisclosed")**

The other case where the status of "doubtful" *mamzer* may arise is that of a child known to be born of an unmarried Jewish mother who either refuses to disclose the identity of the father or claims not to know it (Kid. 69a; Maim., Yad, Issurei Bi'ah 15:12). Since the father's status is unknown, the child is likely to be considered a "doubtful" *mamzer* (Kid. 74a; Maim., *ibid.; Arukh ha-Shulḥan*, EH 4:47). However, if the majority of the inhabitants of the district and of those who habitually visit there are Jews of unimpeachable status, it will be presumed that the father was also of such unimpeachable status and therefore no suspicion of *mamzerut* will be cast on the child (Tur, *Beit Yosef*, Bah EH 6 (at the end); Sh. Ar., EH 6:17–18; *Beit Shemu'el* 6, n. 31; but cf. Maim., Issurei Bi'ah 18:13–15; *Arukh ha-Shulḥan*, EH 4:34). The mother can always avert the suspicion of *mamzerut* being cast on her child by declaring that the father was a legitimate Jew or a gentile. In the latter case the child takes its status from the mother (i.e., he is a Jew; Kid. 74a; Maim., Yad, Issurei Bi'ah 15:12, 14; Sh. Ar., EH 4:26; *Arukh ha-Shulḥan*, EH 4:30, 31, 56).

Karaites

Halakhic problems concerning a "doubtful" *mamzer* have arisen in connection with the *Karaites because, while their form of *kiddushin* (*kiddushei-kesef* or *kiddushei bi'ah*) may be valid according to Jewish law (see *Marriage) their method of divorce does not accord with the *halakhah*, as their *get* (bill of divorce) is not in the form prescribed by the sages. Accordingly, a Karaite woman divorced by such a *get* is not properly divorced and remains a married woman (*eshet ish*) so that any child she bears to another man whom she marries on the strength of such a *get* is a *mamzer*. Since it is impossible to determine who, throughout the generations, remarried on the strength of such invalid divorce, Jewish law casts the suspicion of "doubtful" *mamzer* on all members of that community (*Beit Yosef*, EH 4 – end; *Darkhei Moshe*, EH 4, n. 14; Rema, EH 4:37; *Turei Zahav*, EH 4, n. 24; *Ba'er Heitev*, EH 4, n. 49). Some *posekim*, however, did permit marriages between Karaites and Rabbanite Jews on varying halakhic grounds and such marriages were particularly prevalent in the 11th and 12th centuries. Especially noteworthy is the permission to contract such a marriage granted by David b. Solomon ibn Abi Zimra who based his decision on the grounds that the *kiddushin* of the Karaites are also invalid according to *halakhah*, as they are deemed to have taken place without witnesses, the witnesses of the *kiddushin* being disqualified according to *halakhah* (Resp. Radbaz, nos. 73 and 796). Thus, according to him, no stigma of *mamzerut* is to be attached to a child of a woman who married, was divorced, and then married another man, all in accordance with Karaite rites only, since – in Jewish law – she is regarded as never having been married at all. On the strength of this argument and for some additional reasons arising out of the specific circumstances of the case, in 1966 a rabbinical court in the State of Israel permitted the marriage of a non-Karaite Jewess to a Karaite man by whom she had become pregnant (see also *Oẓar ha-Posekim*, EH 4, n. 175).

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Rabbinic Efforts to Avoid Declaring *Mamzer* Status

The *mamzer* rule is intended to deter adults from violating the severe prohibitions against proscribed sexual relationships. The result, that the offspring of such illicit behavior bear the punishment of their parents' act, seems to contradict a major principle of Jewish law which punishes only the sinner (see *Punishment). The Midrash expounds on this problem (Lev. R. 32, ed. Margolis, 32:8), in its comments on the verse, "I further observed all the oppression that goes on under the sun: lo, the tears of the oppressed, and there is none to comfort them; their oppressors have power – and there is none to comfort them" (Eccl. 4:1).

The Midrash elucidates the verse as follows: "'I further observed all the oppression' – *Hanina*, the tailor, relates this verse to *mamzerim*: 'I further observed all the oppression' – These are the *mamzerim*. 'Lo, the tears of the oppressed' – [of] their mothers. [Other versions: their fathers.] They transgressed, and we banish these unfortunates? This person's father engaged in illicit sexual relations, but this person – what has he done? Of what relevance is it to him? 'There is none to comfort them,' but 'their oppressors have power' – this is the Great Sanhedrin of Israel that comes upon them with the power of the Torah and banishes them in the name of [the verse], 'no *mamzer* shall be admitted into the congregation of the Lord' (Deut. 23:3). 'There is none to comfort them' – the Holy One, blessed be He, said: I must comfort them, for in this world there is a defect in them, but in the world to come… [they are] of pure gold."

This Divine comfort in the world to come does nothing to alleviate the *mamzer*'s present condition. Thus, to reduce this injustice, the Sages developed a series of rules and presumptions so that even when there is only a remote possibility that a person is not a *mamzer*, they could legitimate him and avoid the stigma of *mamzerut* with its dire implications. Thus, a married woman, even if "it is rumored that she has been unfaithful to her husband, and everyone's tongue is wagging about her – her children are not suspected of being *mamzerim*." The explanation is the legal presumption that "most of her [the married woman's] acts of intercourse are with her husband" (Sot. 27a; Yad, Issurei Bi'ah 15:20; Sh. Ar., EH 4:15).

The Sages established an additional presumption, that a fetus could spend up to 12 months in the uterus, to enable the attribution of a child's paternity to its mother's husband. Thus, if a wife has cohabited with her husband at any time within the 12-month period prior to her child's birth, paternity is ascribed to him (Yev. 80b; Yad, *ibid.*, 15:19; Sh. Ar., EH 4:14).

Even when the mother explicitly declares that she was impregnated by someone other than her husband, her declaration is inadmissible (Sh. Ar., EH 4:29). Admittedly, in relation to a father's declaration that he is not the father of a child, the rule according to most authorities is that his declaration is valid. This claim is called "*yakir*" – based on the verb in Deut. 21:17, "He shall acknowledge [*yakir*] the first-born, the son of the hated, by giving him a double portion," i.e., the father recognizes that son as his firstborn. However, R. Simeon Kayyara of the geonic period in his *Halakhot Gedolot* limits the father's authority to grant "recognition" to determination of birthright, so that in any other case, a father's testimony rendering his son a *mamzer* is invalid: "Even if his wife is most licentious, most acts of intercourse are ascribed to the husband" (end of section 29, Hilkhot Arayot).

In addition, the Mishnah cites a tradition that "Eliyahu will not come [in the future] to declare the pure, impure – nor to declare the impure, pure; nor to distance those who are near or to draw near those who were distanced, but only to distance those drawn near by force and to draw near those distanced by force" (Eduyyot 8:7). R. Obadiah of Bertinoro interprets the citation as meaning that Eliyahu will only distance those who are publicly known to be tainted but were forcibly intermingled among the Jewish People, "but where there is a tainted individual in a particular family, but this is not publicly known, owing to the family having intermingled [into the Jewish community], Eliyahu will let it remain so and let the family retain its presumption of legitimacy." This was the basis for the Rema's ruling (Sh. Ar., EH 2:5) that if a person learns that one of the progenitors of a particular family is tainted by *mamzerut*, he may not reveal this, "but rather he should allow the presumption of their legitimacy to remain intact, for all the families that have become assimilated into Israel are legitimate in the future."

TISSUE TYPING AND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF PATERNITY. The Talmud (BB 58a) records a case where a man learns that nine of his children are *mamzerim* and only one is his real child. Before his death, the man bequeathed his property to his real child, but he did not know who the real child was. When the case was brought before R. Bena'ah, he ordered a test to determine which son, according to his characteristics, was the legitimate heir. *Sefer Ḥasidim* (section 232) discusses a method, considered scientific by the standards of the time for determining paternity. Rabbi Samuel Strashun (*Haggahot ha-Rashash*) comments on the talmudic source that R. Bena'ah refrained from employing the "scientific" test mentioned in *Sefer Ḥasidim* because by doing so he would have revealed that the other sons were *mamzerim*.

With the development of scientific means for identifying family relations by genetic testing of tissues, these principles have become more significant. Rabbinical courts have considered the validity of a scientific test that produces results that contradict juridical presumptions of Jewish law, such as the one mentioned above, that "most acts of intercourse are attributed to the husband." Rabbi Shlomo Dikhovsky (File 866/41 PDR 13, 51) rules that one must accept tissue typing intended to establish paternity for purposes of ruling on child support payments (see *Maintenance), but for establishing *mamzerut* one may disqualify reliance on tissue typing because it is not infallible (p. 60). The Rabbinical Court of Appeals has ruled in a number of cases that even for determining maintenance payments, tissue typing to establish paternity may not be used as an absolute criterion, and there is also a need for supporting evidence.

This question was brought before the Israeli Supreme Court (CA 548/78, *Sharon v. Levi*, 35 (1) PD 736 per Justice Menahem Elon), that ruled that in Israeli courts tissue typing for establishing paternity should be admitted as evidence. The court emphasized, though, "that tissue-typing would not, in every case, establish paternity." Moreover, in certain instances the court may decide not to make use of this test, when the test is liable to label a minor as "tainted," e.g., when a married woman claims that while she was married she became pregnant by someone other than her husband, and that the person by whom she became pregnant is the father of her child. If true, this statement of the married woman would result in the minor being stigmatized as a *mamzer.* In this or in similar cases involving the establishment of status, "proof provided by tissue typing is insufficient to establish paternity" (p. 748 of decision). Thus, in such cases, paternity shall be established based on the juridical presumption assumption that "most acts of intercourse are ascribed to the husband." This ruling is based on Jewish law's sensitivity to a person being stigmatized and branded by *mamzer* status and the halakhic principles of making various legal presumptions to avoid such stigmatization. Further on its ruling, the court cites some of the Jewish law sources cited above upon which it based its ruling.

In another ruling (CA 1354/92, *Attorney General v. Anon.*, PD 48(1) 711, per Justice Menahem Elon), based on these considerations, the court ruled that even when both parents give their consent to tissue typing for establishing the parenthood of a minor, such a test should not be conducted if there is risk involving the minor's best interests, inter alia raising doubts about his legitimacy, and these interests supersede the interest in investigating the truth.

The court added (pp. 739–40) that although the rabbinical courts have no reason to suspect that such testing would determine an individual's status as a *mamzer*, since only rabbinical courts have the authority to declare someone a *mamzer*, there are two reasons for discouraging such testing.

First, acceptance of such findings in a civil court might socially brand the minor, sufficient reason for prohibiting the testing. Secondly, there is no certainty that the rabbinical court will not change its stance and decide to recognize such results as sufficient to supersede the juridical presumptions assumptions cited above: "Since no one can assure us that if indeed the test is performed and if it indicates that the mother's husband is not the father of the minor, a rabbinic court would not consider the results and rule accordingly. As we have seen, the *halakhah* relies on various presumptions assumptions and fictions to preclude the tainting of a child as a *mamzer*, by reason of his married mother having been impregnated by someone other than her husband. But as we noted, according to *halakhah* as well, when it is clear that the child cannot be the offspring of the mother's husband, such as a case in which it has been proved that for 12 months there were no relations between the husband and wife, even the *halakhah*, for lack of alternative, declares the offspring a *mamzer.* Thus, several rabbinical courts have ruled against relying on tissue typing for proving paternity" (p. 740).

[Menahem Elon (2nd ed.)]

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MAN, THE NATURE OF.

IN THE BIBLE

Names of Man

The idea of man is expressed in the Bible by a number of words that reflect various aspects of his nature. The following are the most important.

ʾADAM: collective, "men, human beings," also (in prose, with the article) "mankind," *Homo sapiens*, in distinction to other creatures (Gen. 6:7), or to God (Isa. 2:17). It is occasionally used of individuals (Neh. 2:10); etymologically it may be compared with Arabic *anąm*, "creatures," "mankind." The plural is *bene ʾadam*.

ISH: "husband," "male," "individual" (Gen. 2:23–24; 13:16; 41:33; Hos. 2:18 [16]); very often used in collective sense (Josh. 9:6). In certain passages it has the meaning of "servant" or "soldier" (I Sam. 23:3, 12; cf. the expression *ʾish ha-ʾElohim*, "man of God"). The antithesis in Psalms 49:3[2] between *bene ʾadam* and *bene ʾish* apparently contrasts "men of low degree" with "men of high degree." Its etymology is uncertain. The plural *ʾanashim* is evidently from the same root as *ʾenosh*.

ʾENOSH: mostly a collective denoting the human race. Occasionally it is used of individuals (Isa. 56:2; Jer. 20:10). In antithesis to God it connotes frail, mortal man (Isa. 51:7, 12; Ps. 90:3; Job. 28:4). The word is probably related to the Arabic *anisa*, Ugaritic *ans* ("to be friendly, social"), Aramaic *enash*, and Arabic *ʾinsām* (pl. *ʾunās*, coll. *nās*). Other cognates show that it cannot be related to Arabic *anutha*, "to be weak."

GEVER: the adult male being in contrast to women and children (Ex. 10:11; Josh. 7:14). In poetry it often has a more general sense. The stem means "to be strong, mighty."

METIM: used only in plural, "males," "men," "people" (Gen. 34:30; Deut. 2:34; 4:27). In Isaiah 3:25 it may mean "warriors." The singular occurs in Ugaritic and other cognate languages and is possibly to be seen in names like Methushael and Methuselah.

According to this terminology, man is conceived as both strong and weak, as a member of the human race and of the family unit, and as an individual.

Psychological Terms

Further insight into the nature of man is furnished by certain psychological terms that describe different aspects of the human personality. *Nefesh* can denote the essence of any living creature (Gen. 2:7); it may even be equated with the blood (Gen. 9:4; cf. Lev. 17:11). It signifies the "individual," "ego," "person" (Gen. 46:26; I Sam. 1:26; Job 16:4), and hence even "body" (Ex. 21:23). *Ruʾaḥ* "spirit," is sometimes synonymous with *nefesh* (Gen. 6:17), but is also distinguished from the latter. It represents power and energy (Ex. 35:21; Isa. 31:3) that comes to man from without; it provides the impulse to higher life and finds expression in special skill (Ex. 28:3), might, or leadership (Judg. 3:10; Isa. 11:2). *Neshamah*, "breath," is not only the vitalizing element breathed into man by God (Gen. 2:7), but the divine spirit and lamp – the soul – within him (Prov. 20:27). In contrast to these spiritual aspects of man, *basar* signifies his physical nature, the living body (Gen. 2:23, 24), and, as such, it symbolizes human frailty (Isa. 40:6).

The Bible also regards certain organs as the seat of given psychological attributes. *Lev*, the "heart," is the center of thought (Ps. 45: 2[1]), conscience (I Sam. 24:6[5]; Job 27:6), and emotion (love: Deut. 6:5; anger: Deut. 19:6; joy: Isa. 30:29; hatred: Lev. 19:17; courage: Jer. 48:41, and the like). By synecdoche, the heart represents the whole inner life of man (Gen. 6:5; Ps. 51:10; Ezek. 36:26; Prov. 4:23). *Kelayot*, the "kidneys" (in artificial "biblical" English "veins"), are likewise the source of emotion and conscience, and in conjunction with "heart" describe the fundamental character of man (Jer. 12:2; Ps. 7:10; 16:7; 26:2). *Meʿayim*, "bowels," are the seat of overpowering feelings (Isa. 16:11; 63:15; Lam. 1:20); modern versions sensibly substitute "heart" for "kidneys" or "bowels" in such contexts. *Kaved*, "liver," also means "being" (Lam. 2:11; cf. *Heart). *Raḥamim* – from *reḥem*, "womb" – means "compassion" (Deut. 13:18). *Yad*, "hand," is often used in a conative sense, indicating "power" (Deut. 2:7, 24; 32:36). Other shades of psychological significance are expressed by other parts of the body, e.g., face, eyes, ears, head, and so forth.

This extensive nomenclature points to the complexity of the human personality, but is not exhaustive. The complete picture of man's nature as envisaged by the Bible can only be seen in the full context of scriptural evidence.

Man's Origin

The key is to be found in the story of man's origin (Gen. 1:27; 2:7). He is not a descendant of the gods (as in certain pagan mythologies); the term child(ren) used with reference to man in relation to God (Deut. 14:1; Ps. 2:7) has in Scripture a metaphorical connotation. Nor is man the product (as some philosophical systems hold) of the blind forces of nature. He is the artifact of God, fashioned purposefully out of two diverse elements: his body is of the earth, but it is animated by the divine breath of life (Gen. 2:7). Yet man is not a dichotomy of body and soul (a view characteristic of Orphism and Platonism), and certainly not a trichotomy (I Thes. 5:23). His is a multifaceted unitary being – *nefesh ḥayyah*, "a living person" (Gen. 2:7). Of particular significance is the concept that all human beings, irrespective of ethnic and cultural differences, stem from two common ancestors, Adam and Eve. Humanity, despite its diversification, is essentially a single family, and men remain brothers even in the face of hate and murder (Gen. 4:9–10). To this inherent Brother-hood and equality of all, even slaves (unlike the Greek view) were no exception (Job 31:13, 15). Furthermore, the world was divinely planned to be one of creaturely peace, harmony, and understanding; man, as well as other living beings, was not to destroy his fellow creatures even for food (Gen. 1:29–30; 2:19). The permission granted to Noah to eat flesh was a sad concession to a world that had lost its original idealism (Gen. 9:3). Monogamy is clearly viewed in the creation story as the proper state of marriage. Women play a pivotal role in numerous biblical stories, and there are women prophetesses, like Deborah and Huldah.

The Image of God

However, the Bible does not merely stress the creatureliness of man. It depicts him as the peak of creation. He climaxes the ascending course of the six days' work of the Beginning. He is formed by special resolve (Gen. 1:26) and in a unique manner (Gen. 2:7), and attracts to himself three of the six occurrences of the stem *bara*' ("to create") in the creation story. However, his crowning glory is contained in the statement that he was made in the divine "image" and "likeness" (for a suggested distinction between the two words see I. Epstein, in bibl., 224), which endows him with unique worth. Man alone among the creatures is capable of sustained thought, creativity, and awareness of God; the light of God is immanent in his spirit (Prov. 20:27). Hence he is given dominion (the "image" is the symbol of the Deity's presence) over the earth (Gen. 1:26, 28) and is privileged to commune with God and enjoy His fellowship (Gen. 2–3). In the language of later rabbinic literature, he became a "partner" of the Creator (Gen. R. ed. H. Albeck (1940), 73; cf. Shab. 10a). The dualism of man's status and significance within the unified framework of his psychophysical being is given unmatched expression by the Psalmist: "What is man that Thou art mindful of him… Yet Thou hast made him little less than the angels" (literally, "God-like beings"; 8:4–5).

Free Will

There is still another aspect of the divine image reflected in man, which plays a crucial role in the profound parable of the Garden of Eden. In a supreme act of self-limitation the Absolute God gave man freedom of moral choice. He could will to do right or wrong, to obey or disobey his Maker. It was heaven's greatest gift to man: he was not to be an automaton. However, the immediate consequences were calamitous. Man rebelled against the Creator; he introduced disharmony into the universal harmony. Sin was born and in turn begot suffering and death. History had begun. Israel was the first people to evince a sense of the historic.

While the Bible is unequivocal in its assertion of the reality of human responsibility for evil (Eccles. 7:29) and in condemning sin trenchantly as estrangement from and treason against God (this is the meaning of the story of Eden), it is no less emphatic in its affirmation of God's grace (Ps. 103:13–16) and readiness to forgive (Num. 14:20; Jer. 33:8). Sin is never final. It is punished, or rather punishes itself. However, retribution is part of the divine redemptive process. It helps man to seek atonement, which the divine love never fails to vouchsafe (Ezek. 33:11).

The road of redemption, however, is hard and long. Outside the Garden of Eden man's iniquity reaches new depths. Brotherhood as well as "sonship" are destroyed. Cain's example was widely imitated (Gen. 6:11). It almost seemed that the making of man was a divine error (Gen. 5–6), which only the Flood could expunge. At this point, however, a new providential principle manifests itself – the elective factor. The family of Noah is chosen from a doomed generation to be saved and to save the world. Later Abraham is elected to be a source of blessing to all mankind (Gen. 12:3). Israel, the seed of Abraham, were chosen to be "a kingdom of priests and holy nation" (Ex. 19:6). Though themselves far from perfect (Deut. 9:5), they were destined to become a light to the world (Isa. 60:3), illuminating the way of ethical and spiritual truth. To this end God made a covenant with Israel at Sinai (Deut. 5:2), which found detailed expression in the Torah. Religious and secular precepts are inextricably intermingled in the Law, for human life is a unity and must be dedicated to God's will in all its diversified aspects. God is served in the righteousness of human relationships – in love between man and man, which reflects God's image – as well as in divine worship. When the "image" is wronged, religious service becomes an abomination (Isa. 1:13–17). The path toward God is further delineated and interpreted by the Prophets, and even by figures (like Abraham, and Job, and some of Psalmists) who question God's moral government of the world. Revelation – the word of God understood in its broadest sense – is the great antidote to sin, leading man to repentance and regeneration. The relevance of this biblical teaching is not confined to Israel. In a deep sense, the Bible tells the story of Everyman in all generations. Even when Israel is the focal point of the Bible's concern, the universal concept of mankind is never ignored (Amos 9:7; Isa. 19:24–25). Israel's significance derives from its relationship to all humanity, whose significance, in turn, flows from man's relation to God. History is thus seen as the moral and spiritual drama of the human species.

The Afterlife

The beginning of that drama, with its hope and tragedy, was enacted in Eden. Inevitably the question arises: Where will the denouement take place? Has human life a divinely designed goal? Later Jewish theology, elaborated in apocryphal and rabbinic literature, answers these questions (solving at the same time the problem of theodicy) on the individual level, by postulating the belief in the afterlife. There the disembodied soul is judged, the wicked are condemned, and the righteous are rewarded with eternal bliss. This doctrine is unknown to Scripture. There is an unmistakable finality about the biblical conception of death (Ps. 146:4; Job 7:9; Isa. 38:18). The Bible is primarily concerned with the world; it seeks heaven upon earth in the form of the kingdom of God (Zech. 14:1), and continued life in descendants rather than in personal immortality (II Sam. 7:12). Nevertheless death does not mark the complete extinction of existence. The dead continue to live a shadowy, ghostlike existence in Sheol, a region of darkness and silence deep within the recesses of the earth. Yet the dead are not without consciousness (I Sam. 28: 15ff.; Isa. 14:9ff.), nor beyond God's judgment (Ps. 139:8). Two holy men escaped death altogether: Enoch (Gen. 5:24) and Elijah (II Kings 2:11). In Job there is a yearning for continued life after death (14:13ff.; 19:26); in certain psalms the definite hope is expressed that death will not end the human fellowship with God (49:16; 73:24ff.). Whether resurrection is envisaged in Isa. 26:19ff. is a matter of exegesis, but it is certainly envisaged in Daniel 12:2. The preexistence of the soul is first taught in the Apocrypha (Wisd. 8:19ff.), but Jeremiah was "a thought of God" (B. Duhm) before ever he was formed in the womb (Jer. 1:5). Thus the Bible lacks a definite theology of the afterlife, and belief in resurrection is still vague and inchoate. Yet Scripture contains undoubted intimations of immortality, on which future epochs built their religious doctrines.

The End of Days

The true goal of history, however, is to be sought in "the end of days." It will be the age of regeneration, when the work of creation will be completed in accordance with God's original plan. Man and God, and man and man, will be reconciled. The treason man perpetrated in the Garden of Eden will be transmuted into universal voluntary obedience to God's will, and the crime of Cain will be atoned for in a state of international peace and brotherhood (Isa. 2:2–4; Micah 4:1–5). The immature knowledge man acquired from the forbidden fruit will give way to a higher wisdom. For inherently knowledge is good (Prov. 8); it is man's unwise use of it that vitiates it (Eccl. 1:18). A new earth and a new heaven will issue from the new heart and spirit of man (Isa. 65:17; Ezek. 36:26), and human communion with God will be restored (Joel 3:1–2). The Garden of Eden will, as it were, become worldwide, and the pristine glory of the reflected image of God in man will be renewed. The end of days is undated. It is an elusive horizon; yet its advent remains a prophetic certitude.

[Israel Abrahams]

IN RABBINIC THOUGHT

The Physical Nature of Man

The process of human gestation, and especially the preservation of the embryo, prompted the sages to the observation that these were evidence of both God's skill and solicitude in the fashioning of man (Ber. 10a; Nid. 31a; Lev. R. 14:3, 4; 15:2, 3; 34:3). The fact that every hair of man's head is fed through a separate root is cited as further evidence (BB 16a). Man receives five parts of his body from each of his parents, and ten parts from God. From his father, he receives bones, veins, nails, brain, and the white of the eye; from his mother, skin, flesh, blood, hair, and the pupil of the eye. To his formation, God contributes breath, soul, light of countenance, sight, hearing, speech, touch, sense, insight, and understanding. Hence, the rabbinic saying that there are three partners in man – his father and mother and God (Kid. 30b; Nid. 31a; TJ, Kil. 8:3, 31c; Eccl. R. 5:10, 2). A late Midrash (Mss. *Midrash ha-Ḥefeẓ*) describes the human body as possessing ten orifices, including the navel. The marvel is, the Midrash continues, that when the child is in the embryonic state, the navel is open and the other orifices are closed but, when it issues from the womb, the navel is closed and the other orifices are opened.

In the totality of his physical structure, man constitutes a microcosm (see *Microcosm and Macrocosm). An elaborate parallel, covering 30 items, is drawn between the various components of the human body and similar features in the physical world (ARN^1:31). A hardly less complex parallel is found to exist between the organs of the human body and the structure and vessels of the Tabernacle (Mid. Tadshe, Beit ha-Midrash, Jellinek, vol. 3, 175f.; cf. the New Testament denomination of the human body as a tabernacle, II Cor. 5:1, 4; II Pet. 1:13, 14). A simpler summation of man's physical being is deciphered in the word *adam* ("man") as being an acronym (**notarikon*) for "dust" (*efer*), "blood" (*dam*) and "gall" (*marah*; Sot. 5a). They give a remarkably accurate enumeration of the 248 organs of the human body (Oho. 1:8). It may be fairly said that the rabbinic reflection on the complex mechanism of man's physical structure served as occasion for admiring reverence for the skill and wisdom with which God created him. Indeed, its unknown aspects suggested the argument that if man does not know his own body, he certainly cannot fathom God's acts (San. 39a). But for all its marvelous mechanism, it is destined, save for the soul, to return to the earth from which it originally came. Only one tiny bone remains indestructible and, in the time of resurrection, will serve as the nucleus out of which the body will be restored (Gen. R. 28:3; Eccl. R. 12:5; see **Luz of the Spine*).

Nowhere in rabbinic literature is there any denigration of the human body so characteristic of contemporary Platonic, Stoic, and Gnostic thought. On the contrary, since even the body is conceived as having been created in the image of God, man is duty bound to honor it by maintaining it in a state of cleanliness. No less an authority than *Hillel termed such action a religious duty (Lev. R. 34:3).

Character

Since Genesis describes Adam as having been both created in God's image (1:27) and formed out of the dust of the earth (2:7), the sages declare that man possesses both heavenly and earthly qualities. In four respects, he is said to resemble the animals and the angels respectively. Like the angels, he possesses the power of speech, intelligence, upright posture, and glance of the eye. In his physical aspects, he resembles the animals (Gen. R. 12:8; 14:3). Indeed, God created man because he was not completely satisfied with either the angels or the animals. The former failed to satisfy him because they lacked the evil inclination. The animals, on the other hand, lacked the good inclination. God therefore created man, who possesses both a good and evil inclination and is confronted with the need to exercise free will. This is the origin of the ambivalent character of man. If he pursues evil, he is likened to an animal; if he chooses the good, he is likened to an angel (Gen. R. 14:3, 4). The contradictory nature of man is highlighted by the legend describing the sharp difference of opinion evoked by God's taking counsel with the angels as to whether or not man should be created. The angels that favored his creation contended that man would be affectionate and a doer of justice. Those who opposed his creation claimed that he would be quarrelsome and riddled with falsehood (Gen. R. 8:3–9; in the qualities of lovingkindness, righteousness, peace, and truth are hypostatized).

Man's moral ambivalence derives from the two inclinations within him: the good inclination (*yeẓer tov*) and the evil inclination (*yeẓer ra*) (see Inclination, *Good and Evil). The fact of human individuality exhibits God's power, for although all men are cast from the same mold since all are descendants of Adam, no two men are alike (Sanh. 4:5). Their physical differences are to be noted in their voice, taste, and appearance (ARN^1 4).

In their attitude toward possessions, men fall into four distinct categories, ranging from the average to the wicked and the saint (Avot 5:10). It is assumed, as a legal principle, that all men become excited when their property is at stake (Shab. 117b, 153a). This concept is further reflected in the dictum that every artisan is hostile toward his fellow craftsmen (Gen. R. 19:6). It is assumed further, as a matter of legal principle, that in money matters no man is likely to regard himself as culpable (Ket. 105b). The rabbis look askance at him who has an excess of material things. They conclude that such a situation can only produce deplorable moral consequences (Tosef., Sot. 3:6; Ber. 32a; Sanh. 108a; Gen. R. 26:5; 28:6). Indeed, when a man is poor, he can be relied upon to have trust in God. Riches incline him to trust in his money and thus displace his piety (Tanḥ. Naso 28). For all the rabbinic recognition of the powerful influence of the economic motive on human conduct, a certain basic honesty is assumed as characteristic of all men. Hence, the assumption is made that a man makes no legal monetary claim unless there is some substance to it (Shevu. 40b), and that a man is not brazen as to deny outright the existence of his debt in the presence of his creditor (BM 3a). A man's basic character is recognizable by his drinking (how he behaves when under the influence of liquor), by his rectitude in financial transactions (Rashi's interpretation) and by his anger (to what extent he is able to control his temper). To this generalization, some add, also by his laughter (his good humor; Eruv. 65b).

Man and Woman

The difference in the origin of man and woman described in Genesis served the sages as points d'appui for their observations on the contrast between the character and psychology of man and woman. The latter, having been fashioned from a more durable substance (man's rib-bone) than man (dust of the earth), can more readily withstand disagreeable circumstances and possesses greater inurement to pain (Tanḥ. Toledot 8). A woman, moreover, is blessed with greater native intelligence (instinct?; Nid. 45b). Whose intelligence matures sooner is a matter of opinion (*ibid.*). A man is more hospitable towards guests and more generous than a woman (Sif. Num. Shlaḥ 100). An aggrieved man is more readily reconcilable than a woman (Nid. 31b). Peculiarly characteristic of woman is her proclivity to tears (BM 59a) and an inordinate curiosity (Toh. 7:9). At the time of her creation, God, anticipating woman's faults, sought to obviate them. He knew that she would be arrogant, wanton-eyed, an eavesdropper, a tattler, a meddler, and a gadabout. Hence, he fashioned her from a chaste part of man's body that is free of these faults (Gen. R. 18:2; 45:5).

Destiny

The phenomena experienced in the theophany afforded the prophet Elijah (I Kings 19:11–12) are interpreted as symbolic of the four worlds through which man must pass. The wind symbolizes the evanescent quality of the life of this world. The earthquake represents the day of death, since on it man quakes and trembles. Fire is the symbol of man's judgment in Gehenna. The "still small voice" is the Last Judgment (Tanḥ. Pekudei 3). A more elaborate articulation of the worlds (i.e., stages) through which man passes in this life describes seven distinct phases. Each phase is marked by its own characteristics, few of which are flattering (*ibid.*). All of life is clouded over by uncertainty, for a man goes on his way and knows not whether good or evil awaits him (Tan. Toledot 12). A trace of a tragic view of human destiny is to be discerned in a few rabbinic statements. Throughout his lifetime, man is caught in the impossible dilemma of either obeying his Creator (*yoẓer*) or his evil inclination (*yeẓer*). Whatever he chooses, he finds himself perpetually at odds with the other (Ber. 61a–b). Though man enters and leaves the world surrounded by love, both his entrance and exit are marked by sighing and weeping (Eccl. R. 5). The vanity of human ambition is expressed in the observation that man comes into the world with his fists clenched, as if to say, "I will grasp the whole world"; he leaves with palms outstretched, as if to say, "See what I am carrying away" (*ibid.*). Wherever man dies, there the earth will accept him, for the first man was created by God from dust gathered from the four corners of the earth (San. 38a–b; Tan. Pekude 3). Whether it were better for man to have been born or not to have been born is the subject of a prolonged controversy between the schools of Shammai and Hillel. The debate terminates with the decision that it would have been better for man never to have been born. But once having entered the world, "let him scrutinize his deeds" (Er. 13b). The pessimistic conclusion is unique and has no parallel in rabbinic literature. (Talmudic commentators have sought to temper it by interpretation. See Maharsha to Mak. 23b, and Urbach, in bibliography, pp. 224–6.)

Significance

Rabbinic thought considers all creation as having been called into being for the sake of man (Gen. R. 8:3–9); he is the only creature formed directly by the hand of God (Alphabet of R. Akiva 59); he was created last because he was to have dominion over all (Gen. R. 19:6). One man is worth the whole of creation (ARN1 31). R. Akiva is moved to exclaim: "Beloved is man who was created in the image (of God); still greater was the love in that it was made known to him that he was created in the image of God" (Avot 3:15). Man's likeness to God, a doctrine meant to emphasize the singular position of man in the world, is a common doctrine in rabbinic Judaism and occurs in a wide variety of contexts. (However, one meets the occasional notion that man was created in the image of the angels and not in that of God; (Gen. R. 14:3; 21:5). (See Ginzberg, op. cit. in bibliography, vol. 5, p. 65, note 6 for a proposed explanation of this extraordinary view.) Man's superiority over the angels is to be found in his superior wisdom (Num. R. 19:3) and in his possession of free will (Gen. R. 21:5). In poetic fashion, man is termed God's candle in the world (Tan. B. Gen. 28).

[Theodore Friedman]

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MANĀKHAH, city in *Yemen amid the high mountains of Ḥarāz (2200 m), 90 km S.W. of *San'a, on the way to *Ḥudaydah. Manākhah was a prominent commercial center and Jews from the surrounding villages would gather together on the weekly market day there, when the local Jews would also abandon their workshops and engage in trading. The Jewish community of Manākhah, one of the largest in Yemen, actually started to gain importance and size in the 1850s through Jews who had fled from *Sanʿa owing to the worsening political situation, which explains the fact that the way of life in Manākhah was the same as in Sanʿa. In the last generation it numbered 600 Jews. It was also the richest Jewish community in Yemen, excluding *Aden. Many of the Jews were businessmen, in import and export; some of them monopolized the coffee trade and even owned land. Nevertheless, they were careful to maintain an external appearance of abject poverty, and their poor houses had the appearance of prisons. In this way the local Jews could maintain good relations with the Muslims. Others were craftsmen: gold- and silversmiths, ironsmiths, carpenters, and tanners. The Jews lived in their separate walled-off neighborhood and had three synagogues. There was a local three-judge *bet din*, serving as a spiritual center for the Jewish population of nearby and far-off towns and villages, such as Muḍmār, Jirwāḥ, and Hawzān. The authority of the temporal leader (*ʿāqil*), appointed and paid by the Muslim government, was usually stronger than that of the chief rabbi. Some of the local Jewish families took part in the smuggling of Jewish orphans from Sanʿa to the Holy Land.

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[Yosef Tobi (2nd ed.)]

MANARAH (Heb. מַנָרָה; derived from the Ar. al-Manara; for a time the Hebrew name Ramim, "heights," was used), kibbutz near the Israel-Lebanese border on the Naphtali Ridge of Upper Galilee, affiliated with Ha-Kibbutz ha-Me'uḥad. Its founding in 1943 by pioneers from Germany and Israel-born youth was a bold enterprise. The settlers had to climb a 5 mi. (8 km.), steep footpath to reach the site – 2,990 ft. (920 m.) above sea level – and withstand isolation in a place where the winter is snowy and stormy, and where no water sources are present in summer. In the Israel *War of Independence (1948), the settlers held out under enemy siege. In violation of the cease-fire arrangements the surrounding positions were occupied by irregular Arab forces commanded by Fawzī al-Qāuqjī (October 1948). The area and all of Galilee were liberated by Israel's Operation Ḥiram. In the first years after 1948 the water problem was solved when a pumping installation was built to bring water from the Einan Springs in the Ḥuleh Valley 2600 ft. (800 m.) below. A highway was paved and the kibbutz, in addition to its hill farming (mainly deciduous fruit), received fields and carp ponds in the valley. Manarah also had a metal factory for electricity grids and control panels, an amplifier rental service, guest rooms, and a big, modern chicken run. In 2002 its population was 248. The crusader castle ruins of Hūnīn (Chasteau Neuf) are located nearby.

WEBSITE: www.manara.co.il.

[Efraim Orni]

MANASSEH (Heb. מְנַשֶּׁה), elder son of *Joseph and the name of one of the 12 tribes of Israel. Manasseh was born to Joseph in Egypt by *Asenath, daughter of Poti-Phera (Gen. 41:50–51). The name is said to be symbolic of Joseph's turn of fortune. Manasseh is distinguished by several traditional historical peculiarities. Whereas ten of the tribes (or 11 if Levi is included) are conceived as immediate sons of Jacob, Manasseh and *Ephraim are presented as the sons of Joseph and, thus, as the grandsons of Jacob. This feature of the tradition is in part a device to retain the number 12 as normative for the tribal roster. There are in fact two basic versions of the tribal roster:

(1) the enumeration which counts Joseph as one tribe and includes Levi and

(2) the enumeration which subdivides Joseph into Ephraim and Manasseh and omits Levi. It is commonly believed that the former is the older reckoning dating to the time when Joseph was still a single tribal entity and when Levi was as yet a secular tribe. The second is assumed to stem from a later period when Joseph broke into two segments and Levi became a priestly tribe and was dropped from the tribal roster. However, it may also be argued that the tribal league of 12 members did not become the normative until David made the old tribes into administrative subdistricts of his kingdom, in which case the version including Ephraim and Manasseh was older. Once the kingdom divided after Solomon's reign, the 12-fold tribal roster became a sacral tradition and Levi had to be included for religious reasons. To retain the number 12, Ephraim and Manasseh were coalesced under the heading

Joseph. This bracketing of Ephraim and Manasseh as Joseph within the 12-tribe roster points, however, to an older affinity between the two tribes reflected in some texts (e.g., Gen. 41:50–52; 48:8–22; Deut. 33:13–17; Josh. 17: 14–18). Ephraim and Manasseh were geographically contiguous, occupying the fertile mountains and small plains extending northward from Bethel to the plain of Jezreel in the region later to be known as Samaria. Manasseh lay to the north of Ephraim. The relationship between the two tribes is portrayed in the Bible as ethnic; they migrated into the central highlands as one people who later divided under the decentralizing pressure of settlement in rather different geographical-agricultural and cultural-political zones. It is, however, conjectured by some scholars that they were ethnically distinct and had entered the land separately, but were closely linked in a common religious conversion. The decision on this point depends largely on whether Ephraim and Manasseh are seen as Exodus tribes or are regarded as early converts to the religion brought to them by Levi or other tribes. The rivalry and struggle for priority between Manasseh and Ephraim is strongly attested to in the traditions. In most tribal lists Ephraim is named first, which reflects its political predominance as epitomized in the leadership of Ephraimites (e.g., Joshua and Jeroboam I). By contrast, some lists name Manasseh first (Num. 26:28–37), which accords with the genealogical claim that Manasseh was the firstborn of Joseph (Gen. 41:50–52). This discrepancy between Ephraim's genealogical subordination and its historical dominance has been harmonized by inserting an etiology that accounts for the greater blessing which Jacob gave to Ephraim (Gen. 48:17–20). That Manasseh is sometimes represented as having priority probably points to its larger territory and population, to the prominence of the Manassite city of Shechem, and to the tribe's political leadership under Gideon.

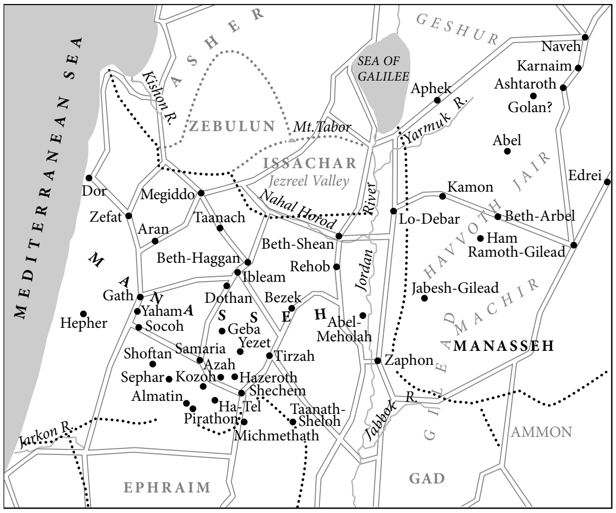

Territory of the tribe of Manasseh. After Y. Aharoni in Lexicon Biblicum, *Dvir Co. Ltd, Tel Aviv, 1965.*

Yet another traditional historical peculiarity of Manasseh is its stylization as a "half-tribe" in the central highlands west of Jordan and as a "half-tribe" in the highlands east of Jordan. It appears that colonists from the Manassite holdings in the Samarian highlands crossed the Jordan eastward and settled on the slopes of the Gilead Mountains from the Jabbok River northward to the Sea of Galilee. Since the biblical account of the conquest tradition pictured all Israel as entering the Land of Canaan from the east as a unit, the presence of Israelites in Transjordan is explained by an initial occupation of Transjordan by two and a half tribes: Reuben, Gad, and the half-tribe of Manasseh (Num. 32). There are scholars, however, who believe that all these Transjordan settlements were the result of movements from the western highlands eastward across the Jordan. Historically, the Transjordan settlement was relatively light and always tenuous prior to the monarchy; even under the monarchy it was precarious except when a strong king secured the frontiers against the Arameans, Ammonites, and Moabites. The colonization of Transjordan by Manassites was matched by Ephraimite colonization in the same region (Judg. 12:4; II Sam. 18:6), and it is strongly suspected that Reuben and Gad were either offshoots of more established tribes in the western highlands or transplants of reduced or decimated tribes originally located in cis-Jordan. That Manasseh alone was credited with territory on both sides of the Jordan is probably an index of its greater success in colonization.

Another name for Manasseh was Machir (Judg. 5:14). Machir elsewhere is credited as a major clan within Manasseh, the latter's "firstborn" and "the father of Gilead" (Gen. 50:23; Josh. 17:1). If Machir was the original name of the tribe, Manasseh would have been introduced once colonization had extended the group holdings and the need was felt for a more inclusive term. The adoption of the term Manasseh would probably also have been a function of the desire to relate the tribe more closely to Ephraim, the two being regarded as "sons of Joseph."

Manasseh's territorial holdings as described in Joshua 17 and in Judges 1:27–28 appear in an account of the tribal allotments at the time of the Conquest, which some exegetes regard as an incomplete and mutilated sketch of the tribal administrative subdistricts of David's kingdom. The boundary of Manasseh with Ephraim to the south is given with some precision. The borders with Issachar and Asher to the north have been obscured as a result of redaction of the sources. Similar uncertainty exists in delimiting the Transjordan holdings of Manasseh in relation to Gad. It is doubtful whether, before the time of David, Manasseh settled the coastal plain on the west, the Carmel highlands on the northwest, the plain of Jezreel to the north, or the plain of Beth-Shean on the northeast. In Transjordan, Manassite colonization, it is supposed, hardly penetrated beyond the crest of the Gilead Mountain Range and perhaps some distance up the Jabbok Valley. The major settlements in west Manasseh, prior to the expansion under David, were Shechem, Dothan, Tirzah, Thebez, Arumah, Ophrah, Bezek, and Arubboth. In east Manasseh the major towns were Jabesh-Gilead and Abel-Meholah. The settlements of Succoth, Penuel, Zarethan, and Zaphon, located in or around the Jabbok Valley and its juncture with the Jordan, may also have been Manassite, although some of them are attributed to Gad. Among the clans of Manasseh (Josh. 17:2–3) are Canaanite cities, such as Shechem, some of which probably remained non-Israelite down to David's time, even though surrounded by Israelites. The approximate position of several of the clans in the west Jordan highlands can be plotted on the basis of their occurrence as place names in the Samaria Ostraca (Albiezer, [A]sriel, Helek, Hoglah, Noah, Shechem, Shemida).

[Norman K. Gottwald]

In the Aggadah

Manasseh emerges in the *aggadah* as his father's right-hand man. He was sent by Joseph to spy on his brothers after they entered Egypt (Tanḥ. B., Gen. 202). He is identified as the interpreter between Joseph and his brothers (Gen. 42:23) when his father feigned ignorance of Hebrew (Gen. R. 91:8), and it was he who overcame Simeon despite his martial prowess and cast him into prison (Tanḥ, Va-Yiggash, 4). As the steward of his father's house, Manasseh also prepared the repast for Joseph's brothers (Tar. Pseudo-Jon. Gen. 43:16), and was later sent to search the sacks for the silver cup (Tanḥ. B., Gen. 197). On the flag of the tribe of Manasseh was embroidered a wild ox, an allusion to Deuteronomy 33:17, which refers to Gideon (Judg. 6:11), a descendant of Manasseh (Num. R. 2:7).

For the relationship between Ephraim and Manasseh see *Ephraim in the *Aggadah*.

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MANASSEH (Heb. מְנַשֶּׁה; perhaps "one who causes [an earlier deceased, child] to be forgotten"), king of Judah (698–643 B.C.E.), son of *Hezekiah. Manasseh ascended the throne at the age of 12 and reigned for 55 years (II Kings 21:1). In those years Assyrian power reached its pinnacle; Manasseh's reign coincided with more than half of Sennacherib's (705–681 B.C.E.), all of Esarhaddon's (680–669), and most of Ashurbanipal's (668–627). During most of Manasseh's reign, Judah was a submissive dependent of Assyria. Manasseh is mentioned, together with 22 kings of Syria, Palestine, and Cyprus, in one of Esarhaddon's inscriptions relating that he imposed forced labor upon them, making them convey timber and stones for the construction of his palace in Nineveh (Pritchard, Texts, 291). Most of these kings, including Manasseh, are also mentioned in one of Ashurbanipal's inscriptions which recounts that their armies accompanied him to Egypt in his campaign against *Tirhakah (687; Pritchard, Texts, 294). Several scholars hold that part of Manasseh's army remained in Egypt as a garrison, and that they were the first inhabitants of the Jewish settlement in *Elephantine. Further evidence of Judah's subordination to Assyria is found in a fragment of an inscription from the period between Sargon and Esarhaddon, which lists the tribute of Judah after that of Ammon and Moab, the amount of the former being smaller than that of the latter. This probably relates to the period after *Sennacherib's campaign in Judah, when the country was impoverished.

The Book of Kings does not mention any political events during Manasseh's reign, but in Chronicles it is stated that, because he did what was displeasing to the Lord, the Lord caused the Assyrian officers to oppose him and put him in chains, transporting him to Babylon, where he submitted to God's will and was returned to Jerusalem and his throne (II Chron. 33:10–13). To the degree that there is any historical validity to the story, the imprisonment was probably brought about by an attempted revolt against Assyria, and not by foreign religious practices, which would be a sign of submission to Assyria. The tradition that he was transported to Babylon appears strange, unless the Assyrian king happened to be there in response to a Babylonian revolt. It is likely that Manasseh was involved in the revolts which broke out against Assyria at the time of Shamash-shumukîn's revolt in Babylon against his brother Ashurbanipal (668–631). Further evidence of Manasseh's efforts to overthrow Assyrian domination may be seen in the fortification of Jerusalem and his appointing of officers over all the walled cities in Judah (II Chron. 33:14), although these events may refer to a later period. The account of Manasseh's return from imprisonment to the throne is given credence by the policy of Ashurbanipal, who, having exiled rebellious Egyptian princes to Assyria, came to favor Neco (671–663), the father of Psammetichus I, and returned him to Egypt as vassal ruler.

Manasseh abolished the religious reforms of his father Hezekiah and introduced alien rites into the Temple (II Kings 21:3). It has been argued that this course was forced upon him by the Assyrian overlords. Ashurbanipal imposed religious duties upon several Chaldean states in southern Mesopotamia after crushing their attempted revolt. (However, his actions in defeated territories need not be conclusive evidence concerning his policies in lands ruled by his vassals. (For a nuanced discussion, see Cogan 1993). It is significant, though, that none of the negative cultic activities attributed to Manasseh is Assyrian. Instead it appears that whereas Hezekiah had been an adherent of the "Yahweh-alone" party (Smith), Manasseh supported the majority position that ignoring other gods with a long history of worship in Israel was perilous. Indeed, the severe territorial losses suffered by Hezekiah could have been attributed to his excessive zeal for monolatry, just as the fall of Judah in 586 was attributed to Josiah's reforms by the exiled Judahites in Jeremiah 44 (Cogan). The abolition of Hezekiah's reforms was therefore part of the internal struggle in Judah between those who had supported a policy of acceptance of the ancient native cults and perhaps some newer Syro-Palestinian ones dating from the time of Ahaz, and the devout circles around the prophets. It was a ruthless struggle, and

Manasseh is described as having shed "very much innocent blood …" (II Kings 21:16). According to II Chronicles 33:12ff., Manasseh fully repented upon his return from Babylon, but this does not agree with II Kings 21:16, which relates that he died without repenting. It appears unlikely that the destruction of Jerusalem would have been so emphatically attributed to the sins of Manasseh had he completely repented as described in Chronicles.

[Jacob Liver / S. David Sperling (2nd ed.)]

In the Aggadah

Manasseh's mother was the daughter of the prophet Isaiah, and married King Hezekiah after his miraculous recovery (Ber. 10a). Manasseh and his brother Rab-Shakeh soon showed their total dissimilarity from their parents. Once, when Hezekiah was carrying his two sons on his shoulders to the schoolhouse, he overheard their conversation. One said, "Our father's bald head might do well for frying fish." The other rejoined, "It would be good for offering sacrifices to idols." Enraged by these words, Hezekiah threw his sons to the ground. Rab-Shakeh was killed by the fall, but Manasseh escaped unhurt (Dik. Sof., Ber. 10a). His name is derived from נשה (*nashah*; "he forgot"), in that he forgot his God and indulged in idolatry, murder, and other abominable acts (Sanh. 102b). After his father's death, Manasseh began to worship idols. He destroyed the altar and set up an idol with four faces, copied from the four figures on the divine throne of Ezekiel, so that from whatever direction a man entered the Temple he saw a face of the idol (Sanh. 103b). Manasseh also made another idolatrous image so heavy that it required 1,000 men to carry it. New bearers were employed daily because the king had each group executed at the end of the day's work (*ibid.*). He expunged the name of God from the Scriptures (*ibid.*) and delivered public lectures whose sole purpose was to ridicule the Torah (Sanh. 99b). He also committed incest by violating his sister (Sanh. 103b).

Manasseh sat in judgment on his own grandfather, Isaiah, and condemned him to death. The indictment against him was that his prophecies contradicted the teachings of Moses. Isaiah refused to defend himself, knowing that his efforts would be of no avail and preferring that his grandson act out of ignorance rather than from wickedness. He fled for safety and when he pronounced the Ineffable Name a cedar tree swallowed him up. Manasseh ordered that the tree be sawn in two, causing the prophet's death (Yev. 49b). Manasseh was carried off to Babylon in the 22nd year of his reign (SOR 24) and there placed in a heated oven. In his torture, he prayed in vain to the idols he had formerly worshiped, and at last besought the God of his fathers. The angels pleaded with the Almighty not to accept his penance. The plea was not accepted, God saying, "If I do not accept him I will be closing the door of repentance in the face of all repentant sinners." Immediately a wind arose and carried Manasseh back to Jerusalem (TJ, Sanh. 10:2, 28c).

Manasseh is included among those who have no share in the world to come. Despite his restoration to Jerusalem, the rabbis felt that he had forfeited eternal life because of his previous sins. R. Judah, however, held that he was also restored to his portion in paradise (Sanh. 10:2). Manasseh possessed a profound knowledge of the Torah and could interpret Leviticus in 55 different ways (Sanh. 103b). He justified his actions by pointing to the corrupt behavior of his times. R. Ashi once announced a lecture about him, saying, "Tomorrow, I shall speak about our colleague, Manasseh." That night, the king appeared to Ashi in a dream and asked him a ritual question which Ashi could not answer. Manasseh then revealed the solution to him. Amazed by the king's scholarship, R. Ashi asked why one so erudite had worshiped idols. Manasseh answered, "Had you lived at my time, you would have caught hold of the hem of my garment and sped after me" (Sanh. 102b).

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MANASSEH, PRAYER OF, brief penitential psalm incorporated among the books of the *Apocrypha. According to II Chronicles 33:11ff. Manasseh, king of Judah, repented his sins when he was taken to Babylonia in fetters (cf. also II Baruch 64:8). Shortly before the beginning of the Christian Era, an unknown author drew up a prayer appropriate for the occasion. Its style is comparatively simple and clear, concise and expressive, breathing throughout a spirit of deep and genuine religious piety. Its contents may be summarized as follows: O, God whose might and mercy are immeasurable (verses 3–7a), Thou hast promised forgiveness not for the righteous but for sinners (verses 7b–8). I have committed many iniquities and am now weighed down with sin. Therefore I confess my transgressions, and implore forgiveness (verses 11–13). Thou wilt save me in Thy mercy, and I will praise thee continually. For all the host of heaven sings thy praise, and thine is the glory for ever. Amen (verses 14–25). It is disputed whether the prayer was composed in Hebrew, Aramaic, or Greek. The theology and literary style of the prayer appear to be more in accord with the teachings of Palestinian than of Hellenistic Judaism. The two main ideas that permeate the prayer are the infinite mercy of God, and the efficacy of true repentance.

The position of this ancient prayer in biblical texts varies considerably. Its first appearance in literary history is in the *Didascalia Apostolorum*. In several Greek manuscripts (including codex B, 5th century C.E.) it is included among the 14 odes appended to the Psalter. In medieval manuscripts of the Vulgate it often follows II Chronicles. Several Syriac, Armenian, Ethiopic, and Old Slavonic manuscripts have the prayer, some at the close of the Psalter, some at the end of II Chronicles. Among printed Bibles its position varies. In editions of the Vulgate printed before the Council of Trent, the prayer stands after II Chronicles; in official printings of the Vulgate after the Council, it is placed in an appendix after the New Testament. In Luther's German Bible it stands at the close of the Apocrypha. Among English versions it usually stands among the Apocrypha before I Maccabees, although in the Geneva Bible (1560), widely used by the Puritans, it is included among the canonical books, following II Chronicles. The Roman Catholic Douai Bible of 1609–10 places it in an appendix after II Maccabees.

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[Bruce M. Metzger]

MANASSEH (Menasseh) BEN ISRAEL (1604–1657), Amsterdam scholar, printer and diplomat. Manasseh, who was born a Marrano in Lisbon or La Rochelle, was baptized as Manoel Dias Soeiro. According to an unreliable document of the Portuguese Inquisition, he was born on the island of Madeira. His father, Gaspar Rodrigues Nuñez (a nail-seller), escaped from Lisbon after appearing as a penitent in an *auto-da-fé and settled in 1613/14 in Amsterdam, where he took the name Joseph b. Israel and called his two sons Ephraim and Manasseh respectively and his daughter Esther. His mother, Antonia Soeira took the name Rachel. Manasseh made prodigious progress in his education. He became a member of the Ḥevrah for Talmud Torah at the age of 12, began to frequent the yeshivot when he was 14, made his first public oration in Portuguese when he was 15, and at 17 wrote his first book, *Safah Berurah*, a grammatical work (unpublished and known from two manuscripts). He succeeded R. Isaac *Uzziel as preacher to the Neveh Shalom congregation in 1622. In 1623 he married Rachel Abarbanel. They had three children, Gracia (Hannah), Joseph, and Samuel. His extraordinarily extensive knowledge in the theological rather than the talmudic sphere and his linguistic abilities made him a forerunner of the Jewish scholars of the 19th century who attempted to present Judaism in a sympathetic manner acceptable to the Christian world. He founded the earliest Jewish Hebrew printing press in Amsterdam (1626), where he continued to publish works in Hebrew, Yiddish, Latin, Spanish, Portuguese (and some in Dutch or English) for the remainder of his life. The first book of his press, a Hebrew Sephardi prayerbook, appeared on January 1, 1627 (13 Teveth 5387). It was financed by Ephraim Bueno and Abraham Sarphati and corrected by Isaac Aboab da Fonseca. Today it is known in only very few copies. *Penei Rabbah*, his index to the Midrashim, appeared in 1628. In 1628–29 he published Joseph Solomon Delmedigo's *Sefer Elim* and *Mayan Gannim* on religious, metaphysical and scientific matters with mathematical illustrations. Some chapters were prohibited by the Portuguese *parnasim*. He issued a number of Hebrew and Spanish biblical texts (from 1627 to 1654), Sephardi and Ashkenazi prayerbooks in Hebrew, Spanish, and Yiddish (from 1630 to 1650) and several Hebrew editions of the *Mishnah* (1631–32; 1643–44; 1646). The first part of his *Conciliador* (1632, in Spanish; 1633 in a Latin translation by Dionysius Vossius), reconciling apparently discordant biblical passages, gained him a great reputation in Christian circles (the remaining three parts appeared in Spanish only, 1641–51). This was followed by a series of works also largely directed to non-Jews: *De Creatione* (1635, Latin only); *De Termino Vitae* (1634, Latin only); *De Resurrectione Mortuorum* (1636); and *De Fragilitate Humana* (1642). Beside other minor works, he produced *Thesouro dos Dinim*, a code of Jewish law for returned Marranos (1645–47); *Piedra Gloriosa*, with (in a few copies) containing four etches by Rembrandt (1655); and *Nishmat Ḥayyim* (1651) on the nature of the soul. The Manasseh b. Israel press, which was not always in his own hands, published about 80 titles. For these works, as well as his synagogue sermons (at which gentile scholars and notables were often present), he was regarded in the world of scholarship as the leading representative of Hebrew learning. In May 1642 he was honored to deliver an official address of welcome to Queen Henrietta Maria of England, her daughter Mary, and their hosts Stadtholder Frederick Henry and his son William (II) in the Portuguese synagogue at the Houtgracht. Manasseh published his address in the same year in Portuguese (*Gratulaçaõ*), Latin, and Dutch. He had close personal relationships with luminaries such as Gerardus Joannis Vossius and especially with his son Isaac, Hugo *Grotius, Petrus Serrarius, Caspar Barlaeus, Claudius Salmasius, Paul Felgenhauer, Samuel Bochart and many more. He boasted to have written more than 200 letters to all his friends and relations, which he intended to publish separately. This never happened. Very few of these letters have survived as autographs, of which the Amsterdam University Library possesses six. Though continuing to serve the Amsterdam community in various capacities, he was never its official chief rabbi. In 1640, when he intervened in a quarrel between the synagogue authorities and his brother-in-law, Jonas Abrabanel, he was put under the ban. Despite his publishing activities, his income was never adequate, and in 1640 he planned to immigrate to *Brazil. When after the Puritan revolution the return of the Jews to England was proposed, Manasseh took a prominent share in the negotiations. In 1650 he dedicated the Latin edition of his work, *The Hope of Israel*, describing the reported discovery of the *Ten Lost Tribes in South America, to the English parliament in an effort to solicit their goodwill. At the same time, he entered into discussions with various Englishmen by correspondence and in person, on the possibility of permitting the return of the Jews; this, in his view, had messianic implications, because it would complete the dispersion of the Jews to *Keẓeh ha-Areẓ* ("the end of the earth"), the medieval Hebrew term for Angle-Terre (cf. Deut. 28:64). Because of political circumstances and his own health, Manasseh did not avail himself of an opportunity to go to England in 1652, though his friend Manuel Martinez (David Dormido *Abrabanel) and his son Samuel Soeiro conducted some negotiations on his behalf. Eventually however, he went there in 1655, and submitted his petition to *Cromwell for the recall of the Jews. Although this was not formally granted, assent was given to a subsequent petition which merely asked for permission to establish a synagogue and acquire a cemetery. This arrangement eventually proved providential, since it placed no conditions on the return of the Jews. During his stay in England, Manasseh wrote *Vindiciae Judaeorum* (1656) to defend the Jews against the attacks which were then being made on them. He was bitterly disappointed at the apparent frustration of his hopes, although Cromwell showed his personal sympathy by granting him a pension of £100 a year. He returned to Holland in the autumn of 1657, but died at Middelburg shortly after his arrival. He was buried at the Portuguese cemetery Beth Haim at Ouderkek on the Amstel, where his tomb (restored by British Jews in 1960) can still be visited. The historical facts about Manasseh b. Israel in R. Menasse's novel *Die Vertreibung aus der Hölle* (2001) are unreliable. His portrait was engraved by Salom Italia (1642). Whether a portrait etching by Rembrandt of 1636 (Bartsch 269) represents Manasseh is doubtful, and painted portraits of Manasseh by Rembrandt or by Ferdinand Bol are not known.

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[Cecil Roth / A.K. Offenberg (2nd ed.)]

MANASSEH BEN (Porat) JOSEPH OF ILYA (1767–1831), one of the forerunners of the *Haskalah in Lithuania and Russia. He was born in Smorgon, Lithuania, and was renowned as a child for his remarkable memory and intellectual precocity. He received a talmudic education in the home of his father, who was a *dayyan*. In 1784 he married and went to live in the house of his father-in-law, a wealthy merchant in Ilya. Manasseh was among the disciples and intimates of *Elijah b. Solomon Zalman, the Gaon of Vilna, and became friendly with Joseph Mazal from Viasyn, who owned an excellent Hebrew library including scientific and research works. Gradually he reached theoretical and practical conclusions tending toward increasing rationalism and called for some change in *halakhah*. In his works, his attitude to Talmud study is based on these conceptions. In several places, for example, he challenged the Talmud and Rashi's understanding of certain pronouncements of the Mishnah. He regarded natural sciences with respect and was critical of the Kabbalah. Demanding the abrogation of halakhic commands that were not an integral part of the basic, early law and that people could not carry out in actual life, he advocated the principle of alteration and leniency in *halakhah*, according to changing trends. He likewise called for a changed and orderly curriculum of traditional studies (see also *Judah Loew b. Bezalel): first the Bible, Mishnah, and *Gemara* and, for talented youth, secular studies as well.

Manasseh has been credited with the invention of several agricultural machines which the unsophisticated environment rejected. Raising the problem of the poor in Jewish society, he called for justice for them, as "the overwhelming majority of these people lack their basic needs, are hungry and thirsty, have no garment against the cold, and their spirit is faint within them." Social responsibility and service for society he regarded as a duty, even at the cost of personal advantage. He attacked the custom of *kest*, by which a newly married couple was supported for several years by the wife's parents, since he was in favor of productivization. Regarding trade as "robbery," he called for "proper leadership" to enable the Jewish masses to earn their livelihood through crafts. From time to time he suggested that the leading rabbis confer to deliberate on the problems of a "general improvement" of Jewish conditions and culture. Manasseh was persecuted. A rabbinical convention deliberated his excommunication and he was prevented from going to Berlin. He therefore completed his studies in the Polish and German languages at home and read antiquated scientific works in those languages, thus gaining a sketchy knowledge in this field. To make a living, he later worked as a private teacher in various places in Russia and Galicia. It was then that he became acquainted with Nachman *Krochmal and other Galician *maskilim*.

Manasseh was a prolific writer, but it was not easy for him to publish his writings, because none of them was issued with approbation of the rabbis. His *Pesher Davar* (Vilna, 1807) was burnt by many rabbis. When he attempted to publish his principal work, *Alfei Menasheh*, in Volhynia, the printer burned the manuscript and the copies that had already been printed as soon as he became aware of the content of the work; when it was printed in Vilna (1822), the author was required to omit a paragraph which alluded to reforms in *halakhah*. His *Binat Mikra* (Grodno, 1818), written in the form of unsystematic novellae, deals with the cantillation marks of the Bible as factors in syntax and meaning. In his pamphlet *Sama de-Ḥayyei* (Yid. trans. *Lebn-Mittel*), he sought to present his views to the people at large and to outline "proper and useful behavior for life in this world." Though he had intended to publish additional pamphlets, no more appeared, possibly because of the opposition of the rabbis and community leaders. After *Sama de-Ḥayyei*, Manasseh published anonymously the pamphlet *Shekel ha-Kodesh*, in which he apologized to those who considered him "a nonconformist in several matters," and suggested that his opponents "choose several men who would be willing to clarify their opinions with me."

Manasseh visited *ḥadarim* and encouraged young men to study mathematics and sciences. In 1827 the Jews of his native town elected him as their rabbi, but he resigned after a year, refusing to be involved in the cruelty of the *Cantonist mobilization. He died in a cholera epidemic. Most of his literary remains were destroyed in the fire which broke out in Ilya in 1884, but some extracts appeared in the second volume of *Alfei Menasheh* (1904), published by his grandson Isaac Spalter, head of a yeshivah in Smorgon. Circles of pupils and admirers cherished his memory, and using this tradition, M. *Plungian, one of the first Lithuanian *maskilim*, wrote his biography of Manasseh, *Ben-Porat* (Vilna, 1858). *Maskilim of the 19th century (M. *Lilienblum, R.A. *Braudes, and others) used Manasseh's opinions against rabbis of the old school.

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[Yehuda Slutsky]

MANCHESTER, city in northern England. Its Jewish community, the second largest in Britain, dates from about 1780, the first synagogue being founded by two brothers, Lemon and Jacob Nathan, formerly of Liverpool. A cemetery was acquired in 1794 and the first local charity was the Manchester Jewish Philanthropic Society (1804) which provided winter relief for poor resident Jews. After a temporary schism in the congregation in 1840, a more serious split followed during the rabbinate of S. *Schiller-Szinessy and led to the establishment of a Reform synagogue in 1856. Two years later, the original community moved to its new synagogue ("the Great") on Cheetham Hill still in use in the 1970s. The early settlers and community leaders came mainly from Liverpool and included a tailor, a pencutter, and an optician. Nathan Meyer *Rothschild's first residence in England was in Manchester, from where he exported cotton goods from 1798 to 1805. The second half of the 19th century brought to the city substantial merchants from Central Europe, some political refugees from the 1848 liberal risings in Europe, Romanian Jews fleeing from the 1869 persecutions, and in the 1870s young men escaping service in the Russian army. In 1871, small groups arrived from North Africa and the Levant, areas connected with the Manchester cotton industry, forming the nucleus of the flourishing 20th-century Sephardi congregations of south Manchester. The most significant influx, however, resulted from the great Russo-Polish immigration of 1881–1914. The Jews of Manchester spread northward, settling in the adjacent city of Salford and in the suburban districts of Prestwich and Whitefield. In the 20th century, the south Manchester Jews spread into the suburban areas of Cheshire.

Some of the earlier immigrants became waterproof-garment manufacturers, an industry developed by Jews which flourished until it was superseded by the technologically superior "rainproof," in the manufacture of which Jews were not prominent. The Russo-Polish immigrants followed the usual immigrant trades of tailoring and capmaking. There were also large numbers of jewelry travelers, hawkers, and street-traders. Communal institutions proliferated. The first Jewish school was founded in 1842, and by 1904, 2,300 pupils were being educated in Jewish schools. A Board of Guardians on the London pattern was founded in 1867. Many small *ḥevrot* were opened by immigrants. A weekly journal, the *Jewish Telegraph*, is published there. In the 20th century, Manchester had its own *bet din* and *sheḥitah* board and a Jewish hospital. The representative body, the Council of Manchester and Salford Jews, had 68 synagogues and organizations affiliated to it. At its peak around 1910, Manchester's Jewish population was estimated at 35,000. It probably remained at just under this figure until about the 1970s, when a decline was obvious.

As Manchester was the home of Chaim *Weizmann from 1904 to 1916, the city became the training ground of some of the outstanding British Zionists, personalities prominent also in British life: Lord Simon *Marks, Harry *Sacher, Leon *Simon, *Rebecca and Israel *Sieff. In civic life, too, Jews played an increasingly important role. Nathan and Sarah *Laski were followed by a large number of Jewish lord mayors of both Manchester and Salford. Several Jews were Labor members of parliament for Manchester constituencies, especially after 1945, including Leslie and Harold *Lever and Frank Allaun. The novelist Louis *Golding lived in Manchester and set several of his novels in the city. Even in the very recent past Manchester produced a number of communal leaders with a power base separate from London Jewry, such as Sir Sidney *Hamburger.

In the mid-1990s, the Jewish population numbered approximately 27,000. According to the 2001 British census, the first to include an optional religious question, Manchester's Jewish population totaled 21,733. It still contained more communal institutions than any British city apart from London. The community was headed by a Jewish Representative Council of Greater Manchester and Region. There were about 32 synagogues, all but three of which were Orthodox. The Orthodox community, which included a highly visible Strictly Orthodox community, maintained a local Council of Synagogues, a *Beth Din*, and a range of institutions. Remarkably, Manchester also had no fewer than 16 Jewish day schools, ranging from Strictly Orthodox to Liberal. There was also a well-presented Manchester Jewish Museum on Cheetham Hill Road. The history of the community down to recent times has been fairly well chronicled by historians such as Bill *Williams.

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burg and Manchester, c. 1850–1914 (1998); Z.Y. Wise, *A Brief History of the Jewish Community in Prestwich, Whitefield and Bury* (2003).

[Vivian David Lipman / William D. Rubinstein (2nd ed.)]

MANCHURIA, N.E. region of China, adjacent to the Soviet Union. After the Russian Revolution of 1917 many refugees sought shelter in Manchuria, including some 5,000 Jews. Most of them gravitated to *Harbin, but small groups settled in Dairen, Mukden, and other cities. Those Jews who were not employed by the Chinese Eastern Railway worked as educators, physicians, or merchants. The Japanese occupied Manchuria (1931–45); as Axis partners during World War II they accepted the antisemitic policy of their Nazi ally and their treatment of the Jews was oppressive. After the Japanese defeat in 1945, civil war broke out in Manchuria between the Chinese Nationalists and the Communists. Those Russian Jews who did not succeed in escaping before the Communist takeover eventually returned to the Soviet Union.

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[Rudolf Loewenthal]

MANCROFT, family of British politicians. ARTHUR MICHAEL SAMUEL, first BARON MANCROFT (1872–1942), English politician and philanthropist. Born into a wealthy family long-settled in the Mancroft district of Norwich, Arthur Samuel became head of one of the family shoe manufacturing concerns but retired in 1912 to devote himself to public affairs. He contributed large sums and devoted service to various causes in Norwich, including the Castle Museum and Picture Gallery, and was lord mayor of Norwich from 1912 to 1913. During World War I he worked at the War Office and later at the Ministry of Supply where he dealt with arms contracts. Samuel was elected to Parliament as a Conservative from 1918, and became parliamentary secretary to the Board of Trade and minister for the Department of Overseas Trade. From 1927 to 1929 he was financial secretary to the Treasury. In 1932 he was made a baronet and in 1937 was raised to the peerage as Baron Mancroft. His writings include the biography *Piranesi* (1910), *The Herring: Its Effect on the History of Britain* (1918), *The Mancroft Essays* (all written under the name Arthur Michael Samuel), and numerous articles on economic and financial matters. While not active in communal affairs, Lord Mancroft occasionally defended Jewish interests in and out of Parliament.

Lord Mancroft was succeeded by his son, STORMONT MANCROFT, the second baron Mancroft (1914–1987). He was undersecretary to the Home Office from 1954 to 1957, when he became parliamentary secretary to the Ministry of Defense. He entered the cabinet as minister without portfolio, but resigned in the following year. In 1964 Stormont Mancroft was the central figure in a controversy which broke out when he was appointed chairman of the Board of the Norwich Union Insurance company, with which his family had long been associated. Although he had never shown any Jewish or Zionist interests, he was removed from the post as a concession to Arab pressure.

[Vivian David Lipman]

MANDATE FOR PALESTINE. The mandate system was established after World War I by the Treaty of Versailles for the administration of the former overseas possessions of Germany and parts of the Turkish Empire. Its purpose was to implement the principles of Article 22 of the Covenant of the League of Nations, which said in paragraph 4:

> Certain communities formerly belonging to the Turkish Empire have reached a stage of development where their existence as independent nations can be provisionally recognized, subject to the rendering of administrative advice and assistance by a Mandatory until such time as they are able to stand alone. The wishes of these communities must be a principal consideration in the selection of the Mandatory.

Class A of the mandates included former Turkish provinces constituted as Palestine, Iraq, and Syria. The first two were assigned to the administration of Great Britain and the third to France. The mandates for Iraq and Syria ended in 1932 and 1936, respectively, their main purpose having been to prepare the countries to be able "to stand alone." The mandate for Palestine differed from the other "A" mandates in that its primary purpose was the establishment of a national home for the Jewish people, as stated in its preamble, paragraph 3, "putting into effect the declaration originally made on November 2, 1917 [the *Balfour Declaration] by the Government of His Britannic Majesty, and adopted by the other Allied Powers …" Moreover, the reason for the establishment of a national home for the Jewish people in Palestine is related to the recognition of "the historical connection of the Jewish people with Palestine and to the grounds for reconstituting their national home in that country" (para. 3). Great importance was attached to the wording of this paragraph, as it made it clear that Palestine was not just a country in which a national home should be built, but was taken as the historic land of the Jews. Therefore the national home is to be reconstituted, and not just constituted, there (see *White Papers).

The second article of the mandate makes it the responsibility of the mandatory power, i.e., Great Britain, to place "the country under such political, administrative, and economic conditions as will secure the establishment of the Jewish national home, as laid down in the preamble." To this is added the aim of "the development of self-governing institutions," an intentionally vague phrase that implied the gradual preparation of Palestine for self-rule as a process parallel to the establishment of the Jewish national home (particularly when compared with the Mandate for Iraq (Mesopotamia)). The fulfillment of the main purpose of the Palestine mandate was to be assured by establishing "an appropriate Jewish Agency for the purpose of advising and cooperating with the Administration of Palestine," by facilitating Jewish immigration into Palestine, encouraging close settlement by Jews on the land (art. 6), and "facilitating the acquisition of Palestinian citizenship by Jews" (art. 7). The Zionist Organization was recognized as such an agency until the establishment of the *Jewish Agency in 1929 (art. 4).

The Hebrew language was recognized as one of the three official languages of the country (art. 22). The Mandate was also to safeguard the "civil and religious rights of all the inhabitants of Palestine, irrespective of race and religion" (introd. and art. 2) and to set up the judicial system so that it assured the rights of all and respected the "personal status of various peoples and communities" and that religious interests (in particular waqfs) be "fully guaranteed" (art. 9). Also many other articles dealt with religious autonomy for the various religions strongly emphasizing this as one of the important functions of the mandate (see arts. 13, 14, 15, 23). Each community was allowed to maintain its own schools in its own language (art. 15); and no modification of the mandate was possible without the consent of the League of Nations (art. 27). According to Article 25 of the mandate, "In the territories lying between the Jordan and the eastern boundary of Palestine as ultimately determined, the Mandatory shall be entitled, with the consent of the Council of the League of Nations, to postpone or withhold application of this mandate as he may consider inapplicable," and by virtue of this saving clause, Transjordan was severed from the territory destined to include the Jewish national home (see *White Papers).

The mandate for Palestine was given to Great Britain at *San Remo on April 25, 1920, and a civil administration (which superseded the British Military Administration), headed by Sir Herbert *Samuel, was effected on July 1, 1920. The mandate itself was ratified by the Council of the League of Nations on June 24, 1922. A special American-British Palestine Mandate Convention was ratified in March 1925, as the United States was not a member of the League of Nations. In this convention the United States agreed to the terms of the mandate and Great Britain agreed that no modification in these terms would be possible without the assent of the United States (art. 7); thus any modification in the mandate needed the assent of both the League of Nations and the United States. The mandate terminated with the establishment of the State of Israel on May 14, 1948.

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[Daniel Efron]

MANDEL, ARNOLD (1913–1987), French author and journalist. Of Polish immigrant parentage, Mandel was born in Strasbourg. A libertarian radical until World War II, Mandel rediscovered his Jewish identity as a soldier in North Africa in 1940, and then in occupied France. He fled to Switzerland, where he was interned until 1944, after which he fought in the Maquis. From 1945, Mandel was one of the chief spokesmen for French Jewry. Under the influence of Samson Raphael *Hirsch and of ḥasidic mysticism, he returned to neo-Orthodoxy. His knowledge of Yiddish and of Jewish lore made him one of the few able interpreters of Yiddish literature in France. A prolific writer, Mandel defined the originality and distinctiveness of Jews – particularly French Jews – in the modern world. His works deal mainly with his search for identity in a gentile world, and with his intellectual and spiritual quest for a Judaism both modern and Orthodox. They include *L'Homme-Enfant* (1946); *Chair à Destin* (1948); *Les Temps incertains* (1950); *Les Vaisseaux brûlés* (1957); *Le petit livre de la sagesse populaire juive* (1963); *La Voie du Hassidisme* (1963); and *Les Cent Portes* (1968). Mandel contributed to most Franco-Jewish periodicals, particularly *La Terre retrouvée, Evidences*, and *L'Arche*.

[Pierre Aubery]

MANDEL, ELI (1922–1990), Canadian author. Mandel is among the most challenging writer-critics to gain prominence as part of the explosion of Canadian literary activity in the 1960s. Born in Estevan, Saskatchewan, he served in the Canadian armed forces during World War II. His first book, *Trio*, appeared in 1954, just after he completed his Ph.D. in literature at the University of Toronto. This division of labor, between working poet and active scholar and teacher, was a pattern he maintained throughout his career. In the middle 1950s Mandel taught at the College militaire royal de Saint-Jean; from 1957 until 1967 he was at the University of Alberta. He spent the remainder of his career at York University.

Mandel's published work, which reflects his varied interests and talents, includes poetry collections, volumes of personal and critical essays, as well as a number of important poetry and critical anthologies that both reflected their times and influenced the course of Canadian literary studies. The bulk of Mandel's anthologizing work took place in the early 1970s, when the Canadian literary scene was undergoing impressive growth and change, alongside the rise of a new cultural nationalism. In his published criticism, Mandel addressed a wide area of Canadian intellectual trends, from the influence of Northrop Frye to the linguistic and political implications of postmodernism. He also contributed to discussions related to regionalism and the role of ethnic writing.

Jewish themes appear intermittently in Mandel's work, but they are not central as they are in the writings of Leonard *Cohen, Irving *Layton, and A.M. *Klein. Most interesting are a 1984 essay entitled "Auschwitz and Poetry," in which Mandel explores his own efforts to address the Holocaust in his art, as well as a remarkable text called *Out of Place* (1977), which explores Mandel's family history in the Jewish prairie farming colony of Hirsch in southern Saskatchewan. In *Out of Place* Mandel juxtaposes the particularity of Jewish prairie life with questions of Canadian history, memory, and landscape, making use of a poetic method that is spare and lightly ironic. The outcome, like much of Mandel's work, is a surprisingly original view of Canadian cultural life.

Mandel's awards include the Governor General's Award in 1967 for his collection *An Idiot Joy.*

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[Norman Ravvin (2nd ed.)]

MANDEL, GEORGES (**Louis** (not Jeroboam as represented by antisemites) **Rothchild**; 1885–1944), French statesman, born in Chatou, near Paris. Mandel became a close associate of Georges Clemenceau in 1903, after joining Clemenceau's staff at *L'Aurore*, a radical daily newspaper which campaigned for the rehabilitation of Alfred *Dreyfus. When Clemenceau became prime minister in 1906, he appointed Mandel head of his office (*chef de cabinet*), a position Mandel held until 1909, and again from 1917 to 1919 in Clemenceau's war cabinet. At the peak of World War I Mandel was put in charge of the trials dealing with treason and defeatism. In 1920 he was elected a deputy and after 1935 he was appointed minister a number of times. As cabinet minister he urged France's speedy rearmament to meet the threat of German National Socialism and in 1936 he opposed Germany's remilitarization of the Rhineland. As minister of the interior in Paul Reynaud's government (from May 1940 to the fall of France), Mandel ordered the arrest of numerous suspected Nazi sympathizers and also interned Jewish refugees from Germany and Austria. After the retreat of French troops, he opposed Pétain's and *Laval's policy of capitulation and collaboration. Pétain had Mandel arrested in Bordeaux, but upon his release he went to Morocco to organize the renewal of combat. Arrested a second time, Mandel was taken to prison in France and assassinated by the Vichy militia in 1944. Mandel did not participate in Jewish community life.

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[Lucien Lazare]

MANDEL, MARVIN (1920–), U.S. politician. Mandel, born in Baltimore, Maryland, the son of East European immigrants, was raised in an Orthodox, Yiddish-speaking home. After graduation from Johns Hopkins and the University of Maryland (1942) and service in the army during World War II, Mandel practiced law in Baltimore until his election to the lower house of the Maryland legislature in 1951. In 1963 he was chosen speaker of the Maryland House of Delegates, and also served as chairman of the Maryland State Democratic Committee. As speaker, he was credited with helping push through the legislature tax reform, a fair housing law, and the repeal of the state anti-miscegenation law. When Spiro T. Agnew, Maryland's Republican governor, was elected vice president of the United States in 1968, Mandel was elected governor (Democrat) by legislature vote. Reelected twice (in 1970 and 1974), he served as governor until 1979. He also served as chair of the Comprehensive Health Planning Agency (1969); the Governor's Executive Council (1969–79); the Board of Public Works (1969–79); and the Maryland Council on the Environment (1970–79). In addition, Mandel was a member of such entities as the State House Trust (1969); the Hall of Records Commission (1969–70); the Maryland Highway Safety Coordinating Committee (1969–79); the Maryland Education Council (1969–79); and the Southern Regional Education Board (1969–79).

In 1977 Mandel was found guilty of mail fraud, racketeering, and bribery, for which he served 19 months in prison. He was pardoned by President Ronald Reagan; in 1989 the Supreme Court overturned his conviction.

Among his honors and awards, Mandel received the House of Delegates Thomas Kennedy Award in 2002. From 2003 he served as chair of the Governor's Commission on the Structure and Efficiency of State Government and a member of the Board of Regents for the University System of Maryland. A former state commander of the Jewish War Veterans, Mandel was active in Jewish communal affairs.

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[Bernard Postal / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

MANDEL, SHELOMOH (1909–1981), **ḥazzan*. Mandel was born in Nowy Zanz, Galicia. He studied *ḥazzanut*, the specific melodies and musical style of the solo cantorial singer, under Moshe Steinberg and Moshe *Koussevitzky in Vilna and music at the Warsaw Conservatory. After serving as *ḥazzan* in Warsaw and Cracow he was appointed to the Berea synagogue in Johannesburg in 1934, remaining there until he immigrated to Israel in 1974. Of a ḥasidic background, he incorporated ḥasidic melody into the traditional melodies. Among his records is one of the whole Passover Haggadah. He taught *ḥazzanut.*

[Akiva Zimmerman (2nd ed.)]

MANDELBAUM, BERNARD (1922–2001), U.S. rabbi, educator, community leader, administrator. Mandelbaum spent the better part of his professional life as one of the most important figures in the Conservative movement in the 20th century. He was born in Brooklyn, New York, received a B.A. degree from Columbia University in 1942, and was ordained at the Jewish Theological Seminary (1946), obtaining there a Doctor of Hebrew Letters degree in 1953.

Following his ordination, Mandelbaum spent 27 years at the seminary serving, inter alia, as professor of homiletics, instructor of Midrash, registrar and dean of students at its Rabbinical School, director of the seminary's department of religion and psychiatry, World Brotherhood, American Student Center in Jerusalem and Schocken Institute for Jewish Research, and program editor of *The Eternal Light*, an NBC television show. Mandelbaum, ultimately, became provost and, in

1966, in anticipation of the retirement of Louis *Finkelstein as chancellor, was elected to serve as president of the seminary, seemingly anointed as Finkelstein's successor.

While already in the mid-1950s there were stirrings within the Conservative movement to reform the prayer book and introduce a full measure of egalitarianism at worship services, 1966 became a fateful year for the seminary as it searched for a replacement of Finkelstein as chancellor. Two factions among the conservative leadership arose, one which supported Mandelbaum for the chancellorship, not only because of his intellectual credentials, proven leadership and dedicated service to the seminary, but because he was fully committed to preserving the traditional roots of Conservative Judaism. The stronger faction aspired to bring to the seminary a worthy leader who would be more amenable to the changes they sought, such as the ordination of women, through a more liberal interpretation of the *halakhah*. When Dr. Gerson D. *Cohen was selected over Mandelbaum as chancellor, the stage was set for an accelerated ideological shift in Conservatism.

Mandelbaum became president emeritus of the seminary in 1973, and accepted leadership roles, thereafter, in the American-Israel Cultural Foundation, serving as its president (1973–77) and then as executive vice president of the Synagogue Council of America and director of its Institute for Jewish Policy Planning and Research.

Among his published works are *Assignment in Israel* (1960)*; Pesikta De Rav Kahana: A Critical Edition* (1962); *The Maturing of the Conservative Movement* (1968); *To Live With Meaning* (1973); *Add Life To Your Years* (1974); *Art and Judaism: Conversation Between Yaakov Agam and Bernard Mandelbaum* (1981); and *From the Sermons of Milton Steinberg*, 2 volumes (1954–63).

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[Stanley M. Wagner (2nd ed.)]

MANDELBAUM, DAVID GOODMAN (1911–1987), U.S. anthropologist. Born in Chicago, he studied at Northwestern and Yale Universities. Mandelbaum joined the faculty of the University of Minnesota and from 1943 to 1946 served in the U.S. Army in India and Burma. In 1946 he moved to the University of California at Berkeley, becoming professor and serving as a director of educational resources in anthropological projects (1959–62). His major interests were the ethnology of Southeast and South Asia, anthropological theory, and applied anthropology. He was one of the first cultural anthropologists to undertake ethnographic research in Burma. In addition to his extensive fieldwork in southern India, he worked with the Plains Cree and Chippewa Indians in the U.S.

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[Ephraim Fischoff / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

MANDELBERG, AVIGDOR (**Victor**; 1870–1944), physician; delegate to the Second Russian Duma. Born in Berdichev, Mandelberg graduated from the faculty of medicine of the University of Kiev (1893) and settled in St. Petersburg, where he took a part in the organization of workers' circles and their intellectual activities. He was exiled for his activities to Irkutsk, eastern Siberia, in 1899 for four years, and while there, he joined the Social Democratic Labor Party, playing an active role in its organization in Siberia. Upon his release he attended his party's second congress as a delegate of the Siberian alliance and joined the Menshevik faction. He then returned to Siberia, took part in the revolutionary activities of 1905, and was elected to the Second Duma (1907), avoiding any collaboration with the three other Jewish delegates, who had joined the Kadet faction (the Russian Liberals). After the dismissal of the Second Duma and the arrest of the Social Democrats, he escaped abroad. He lived in Italy and returned to Russia with the outbreak of the revolution of 1917. When the Bolsheviks came to power, Mandelberg left for Siberia, emigrating to Palestine in 1920. He was chief physician of Kuppat Ḥolim of the *Histadrut and one of the founders of the League against Tuberculosis. In 1941 he helped found the League for Friendship with the Soviet Union (V League) and was a member of its central committee. Among his works should be mentioned: *Iz perezhitogo* ("Experiences," 1910) and *Me-Ḥayyai* (1942).

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[Yehuda Slutsky]

MANDELBROT, BENOIT (1924–), U.S. mathematician, scientist, and educator. Born in Warsaw, Poland, the nephew of the expert in mathematical analysis Szolem Mandelbrojt, Mandelbrot moved to France with his family in 1936. The need to avoid detection during the German occupation of France in World War II greatly disturbed his education, but he gained admission to the Ecole Polytechnique – one of France's leading science schools – after the occupation ended in 1944. After graduating in 1947, he gained an M.Sc. in aeronautics at the California Institute of Technology. It was in the doctoral thesis he presented for his 1952 Ph.D. at the University of Paris that Mandelbrot first used scaling, a concept that refers to the manner in which the fine details of patterns replicate those patterns' large-scale irregularities. This was to become the unifying theme of his work. He was J. von Neumann's postdoctoral fellow at the Institute of Advanced Study in Princeton when he realized that the *Hausdorff-*Besicovitch fractal dimension is not an esoteric notion of mathematics but can be used to measure roughness numerically. Mandelbrot's interdisciplinary bent led him to join IBM and apply his theories successfully to both the problem of random noise on telephone circuits and that of fluctuations in stock-market prices. In the latter case, he was able to offer a highly effective statistical method for predicting such fluctuations' riskiness over a range of time scales. Over time, his theory of fractals was found to be applicable to a very wide variety of phenomena, from turbulence to the dispersion of blood vessels through the body. Increasingly, it came to be recognized that fractality reveals an important and hitherto unrecognized characteristic of nature and natural development as a whole. The theory exerts a profound influence upon modern scientific theory, helping to provide descriptions of anything from the behavior of the human heart under stress to the shapes of mountains and clouds or the pattern of water seepage into the soil, in addition to forming a key tool in modern chaos theories. Mandelbrot synthesized these view in his book *The Fractal Geometry of Nature* (1982). The Mandelbrot set that Mandelbrot discovered and that is named in his honor is called the most complex orderly object in mathematics. Many of its properties are understandable even to young students but have not yet been proven rigorously. Early on, Mandelbrot's eclectic and wide-ranging approach meant that he was often regarded with suspicion by a scientific establishment that valued compartmentalization and specialization in a single field, but the undoubted value of his discoveries have led to wide recognition of his importance. He has been IBM Fellow and Sterling Professor of Mathematical Sciences at Yale, has held many visiting positions, and received many awards.

[Rohan Saxena / Gali Rotstein (2nd ed.)

MANDELKERN, SOLOMON (1846–1902), Russian lexicographer, Hebrew poet, and translator. Mandelkern was born in Mlynow and in his youth was among the Ḥasidim of Menahem Mendel of Kotzk. However, he soon came under the influence of Haskalah. At the age of 19 he divorced his very pious wife and went to study at the newly founded rabbinical seminaries of Vilna and Zhitomir. He also studied Semitic languages at the University of St. Petersburg. From 1873 to 1880 Mandelkern served as assistant to the government-appointed rabbi at Odessa, being one of the first to preach in Russian. During this period he studied law at the university and compiled a history of Russia, *Divrei Yemei Rusyah* (3 vols., 1875), on behalf of the "*Society for the Promotion of Culture among the Jews of Russia." Because of his personal animosity toward the editor of the periodical *Ha-Meliẓ,* Alexander *Zederbaum, Mandelkern submitted a false report of a *blood libel in Bessarabia for publication in it. When this was discovered, the periodical was forced to suspend publication, and Mandelkern, to leave Russia. He studied at Jena and afterward settled in Leipzig, where he devoted himself to research. An early supporter of Ḥibbat Zion and Herzl's Zionism, he attended the first Zionist Congress in Basle in 1897. Mandelkern's great contribution to Jewish scholarship is his monumental Bible concordance *Heikhal ha-Kodesh* (1896, 1959^{8}; abridged edition, *Tavnit Heikhal*, 1897), the fruit of 20 years of scholarly labor. This concordance was a great improvement on its predecessors and was the first to follow the Jewish arrangement of the Hebrew Bible. In later editions of the work by F. Margolin and M. Goshen-Gottstein (1967^{7}) and H.M. Brecher and A. Avrunin (1955, with an English introduction by A.M. Freedman and Hebrew bibliographical essay on concordances by A.R. Malachi) many of its imperfections were corrected. Mandelkern had also begun to work on a Talmud and Midrash concordance, which, however, remained fragmentary and has not been published. Mandelkern's output as a writer, poet, and translator of poetry was equally considerable. They include an early ode to Czar Alexander II, *Teshu'at Melekh Rav* (1866), on his escape from an attempted assassination; a love poem *Bat Sheva* (1866), which earned him praise from Adam ha-Kohen (1896^{2}); aphorisms, *Ḥiẓẓim Shenunim* (1864); and an anthology *Shirei Sefat Ever* (3 vols., 1882–1901), which contained apart from his own poetry translations of great poets from various languages. He also translated Byron's *Hebrew Melodies* into Hebrew as *Shirei Yeshurun* (1890); Mapu's *Ahavat Ẓiyyon* into German, *Thamar* (1885; 1897^{2}, without mentioning the author), and *Ashmat Shomeron* as *Suende Samarias* (1890); and into Russian *Bogdan Chmielnicki* (1878) and Lessing's *Fables* (1885). Mandelkern expended great mental and physical efforts producing his works and soliciting buyers for his concordance, even traveling to the U.S. in 1899, and late in his life suffered mental illness. He also became increasingly interested in the theory and practice of spiritualism.

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MANDELSHTAM, LEONID ISAAKOVICH (1879–1944), Soviet physicist. Mandelshtam was born in Odessa and entered the New Russian (Novorossiyskiy) University in Odessa in 1897. He was expelled one year later for taking part in student protests and completed his education at the University of Strasbourg. He returned to Russia in 1914; in 1918 he was appointed professor at the Odessa Technical Institute. In 1925 he became professor of physics at Moscow University. Mandelshtam's main scientific works were in the fields of optics, theory of oscillations, and radiophysics. In his work *Ob opticheski odnorodnykh i mutnykh sredakh* ("On optically isotropic and cloudy media," 1907) he disproved J.W. Rayleigh's theory about molecular dispersion of light and showed that the medium must be anisotropic to be able to disperse light. He made several important contributions to the nonlinear theory of oscillations, and together with N.D. Papaleksi invented a new method of creating electrical oscillations. In radiophysics Mandelshtam solved several problems of propagation of radio waves over the surface of the earth. He also proposed the idea of exact distance measurements with the help of radio waves and together with Papaleski built radiointerferometric distance measuring devices. He also wrote papers about statistical and quantum physics and relativity theory, the philosopical basis of which has been criticized lately by the scientific community. From 1931 to 1936 Mandelshtam served as coeditor with Abram Fyodorovitch *Joffe of *Khimicheskiy Zhurnal*, the journal of the Russian Physico-Chemical Society, Leningrad.

Mandelshtam was awarded the Stalin Prize in 1942 for his work on nonlinear oscillations and propagation of radio waves. In 1945 the Academy of Sciences established two prizes in his name for the best work in physics and radio-physics.

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[Gerald E. Tauber]

MANDELSHTAM, NADEZHDA YAKOVLEVNA (1899–1980), Russian writer and philologist. Mandelshtam was born in Saratov, to a lawyer father who was the son of a *cantonist and turned to Russian Orthodoxy, and a Jewish mother who was a physician. She herself was baptized as a child. She was educated in Kiev, where she studied art in the studio of the painter A. Ekster and worked as an assistant stage designer. In 1919, she met the poet O.E. *Mandelshtam, whom she married in 1921. She assisted her husband in his translation work, herself translating from English. After his exile and death, she preserved his manuscripts and helped to prepare them for publication. In 1956, she was awarded the degree of Candidate of Philological Sciences for her dissertation *Function of the Accusative in Anglo-Saxon Poetic Monuments.* Mandelshtam achieved considerable literary fame in the West following publication of her remarkable memoirs, *Hope against Hope* (1970). Her second book of memoirs, *Vtoraya Kniga* (1972), was translated into English as *Hope Abandoned* (1974). After her death her friends collected her poems, commentaries, and other materials into a third book of memoirs, published in Paris in 1987. Mrs. Mandelshtam lived in Moscow. She was buried at services conducted by the Russian Orthodox Church, with which she identified all her life.

MANDELSHTAM, OSIP EMILYEVICH (1891–1938?), Russian poet. Mandelshtam was born in Warsaw but as a child moved with his parents to St. Petersburg, where his father, a scion of an obscure Kurland branch of the well-known Mandelshtam rabbinic family, was a leather merchant and taught himself German and Russian, becoming a student of Schiller, Goethe, and Koerner. His mother, Flora Osipovna née Verblovsky, was born and educated in Vilna, belonging to an enlightened and assimilated Jewish family related to the Wengeroffs. A piano teacher and of discriminating literary taste, she passed on to her son her love for music and Russian literature.

Mandelshtam grew up in St. Petersburg. In 1907 he finished the Tenishev School, one of the best and most modern and liberal private institutions in Russia. His teacher for Russian literature was Vladimir Gippius, a pioneer of the Russian Symbolist movement. Between 1907 and 1910 he traveled in France, Germany, Italy, and Switzerland, spending one term at the Sorbonne and two at Heidelberg, where he studied Old French. Forced to interrupt his education abroad owing to financial difficulties, he converted to Lutheranism in order to be able to enter the University of St. Petersburg.

During these years Mandelshtam attended the poetic circle (*Proacademia*) of the learned Symbolist poet Vyacheslav Ivanov. His earliest poems, enclosed with his letters to Ivanov, were recently found in the latter's archives in Russia and published in the West. In these poems, as well as in the pieces selected for his literary debut in 1910 (in the pages of *Appolon*, a trend-setting journal of art and letters), young Mandelshtam emerges as a thoughtful preserver of the European Symbolist heritage and a courageous seeker of new means of poetic expression, combining Verlaine's *musique* with a conscious and creative stock-taking of the 19th-century Russian poetic vocabulary (especially that of Pushkin and Tyutchev), which receives a new and unexpected meaning in the framework of his complex symbolism.

In 1911 Mandelshtam joined the Guild of Poets (*Tsekh poetov*). Its founder N.S. Gumilev, whom Mandelshtam had earlier met in Paris, became his closest friend and literary associate, as did another member of the Guild, Anna Akhmatova. By 1912 Mandelshtam's Symbolist apprenticeship was over. Gumilev proclaimed a new poetic trend, Acmeism, demanding a "more stable balance of forces" in poetic texts and a "more accurate definition of the subject-object relationship" than the mystically inclined Russian Symbolists could provide. To these demands Mandelshtam added, in his programmatic essay "*Utro akmeizma*" ("The Morning of Acmeism"; written c. 1913 but published only in 1919), the requirement that "the conscious meaning of the word, Logos," be redefined in formal aesthetic terms and granted "equal rights" with such constructive elements of poetry as rhythm, sound texture, etc. Employing the already existing cultural codes to effect shifts of meaning, Acmeism, after some initial crises, developed into a major trend in modern Russian poetry and a powerful rival of Futurism, which sought to emancipate the poetic language from everyday meanings by purely linguistic means. In Mandelshtam's own poetry the semantic potentialities with which the poetic word is endowed through the history of its use in other poetic contexts are activated by means of elliptic riddle-like quotations that force the reader to turn to their sources in order to find a frame of reference (the so called "subtext") in terms of which an Acmeist text has to be decoded.

The essential features of this method are already evident in the compact and erudite poems of Mandelshtam's first collection, *Kamen* ("The Stone," 1913; 2nd and 3rd eds., greatly enlarged, 1916 and 1923); the title of the book represents an etymologically justified anagram of the Greek work *akme* ("sharp point," "summit,") from which Acmeism derived its name. During World War I, Mandelshtam published, in addition to *Kamen*, several remarkable literary and historical essays ("Chaadayev," "François Villon," "On the Interlocutor," etc.). The revolution of 1917 found Mandelstam in St. Petersburg. His attitude toward the Bolshevik takeover, as reflected in his poetry, gradually changed from initial revulsion ("When the October favorite of fate prepared for us/A yoke of violence and malice …") to manly acceptance of whatever "the vast, clumsy, squeaking turn of the rudder" might bring. In the spring of

1919 Mandelshtam moved to Kiev, where he met his future wife, Nadezhda Yakovlevna Khazina (see previous entry). After the arrival of the White Army, which brought in its wake a terrible pogrom, Mandelshtam moved to the Crimea, where he was jailed by General Wrangel's counterintelligence, but was freed shortly after through the intervention of a friendly White colonel. He left the Crimea for Tiflis, and was promptly jailed again as a Red spy, this time by the Menshevik secessionist government of Georgia. In the fall of 1920 Mandelshtam returned to Soviet Russia in the company of I. *Ehrenburg. Later, despite the execution of Gumilev on conspiracy charges, followed by a political drive against Acmeism, Mandelshtam and Akhmatova staunchly refused to emigrate. In 1922–23 Mandelshtam's second collection of poetry appeared first in Berlin (under the title *Tristia*, given in Mandelshtam's absence by M. Kuzmin), then in Moscow (*Vtoraya kniga*, "The Second Book"). Three longer poems composed by him in 1923, "The Horseshoe Finder," "The Slate Ode," and "1 January 1924," marked a turning point in Mandelshtam's art. Their artistic and intellectual complexity and tragic power remain unsurpassed in modern poetry.

After 1923 Mandelshtam's name disappeared from the lists of contributors to literary periodicals, and during the rest of the decade he was effectively silenced as a poet and confined himself almost entirely to prose (the publication of his collected poetry in 1928 was brought about by the personal intervention of N.I. Bukharin). A collection of autobiographical essays, *Shym vremeni* ("The Noise of Time," 1925), described by Prince Svyatopolk-Mirsky (D.S. Mirsky) as "one of the most significant books of our time," was followed by the long story "*Egipetskaya marka*" ("The Egyptian Stamp," 1928), and, in 1930, by "*Chetvertaya proza*" ("Fourth Prose"), which could not be printed in the U.S.S.R. During these years Mandelshtam was forced to make a living as a translator and in 1928 became the victim of a vicious campaign, in the course of which he was accused of "plagiarism" by A. Gornfeld, a minor literary critic (these events are described in "Fourth Prose").

In 1930, following a trip to Armenia (see *Puteshestviye v Armeniyu*. 1933), Mandelshtam resumed writing poetry, some of which he succeeded in publishing. However, in May 1934 he was arrested for having written an epigram on Stalin and sentenced to three years' exile in Cherdyn in the Urals. There Mandelshtam attempted to commit suicide as he developed hallucinations and other symptoms of mental disorder following interrogation and torture at the Lubyanka prison. An intercession by Bukharin, the last one, resulted in his transfer to a less severe place of exile, Voronezh, where, in 1935–37, he wrote his last book of poetry (known as *The Voronezh Notebooks*).

In 1937 Mandelshtam was allowed to return to Moscow. Arrested again on May 1, 1938, he was sentenced without trial to five years' hard labor and, according to unverifiable reports, died of inanition either in the Vtoraya Rechka transit camp near Vladivostok on December 27, 1938 (the "official" date of his death), or early in 1940 in a labor camp on the Kolymar River.

A major part of Mandelshtam's unpublished work was saved by the heroic efforts of his widow. Some of the Voronezh poems appeared after his "rehabilitation" in Soviet literary journals, and his *Razgovor o Dante* ("Talking about Dante"), edited by L. Pinsky and A. Morozov, was published in Moscow in 1967. However, the edition of his collected poetry, announced on three occasions by the series "Biblioteka poeta," never materialized.

In the U.S., the collected works of Mandelshtam were published by G. Struve (*Sobraniye sochineniy*, 1955; *Sobr. soch.*, 1–3, 1965–71, 2 editions).

During the 1960s intensive studies of Mandelshtam's work gained momentum in various scholarly centers, e.g., Cambridge, Mass. (R. Jakobson and K. Taranovsky, and their students), Moscow (V.V. Ivanov and his colleagues), Tartu (members of the Summer School on Secondary Modeling Systems), Uppsala (N.A. Nilsson), etc.

Jewish Themes in His Art

Unlike another modern Russian poet of Jewish origin, B. *Pasternak, Mandelshtam never renounced his spiritual Jewish identity. However, his attitude toward the world of Judaism was marked by the tragic ambivalence that no great Jewish writer working in European literature could ever escape. His autobiographical essays, *Shum vremeni*, contain a painfully frank description of an assimilated Jewish childhood in a great center of European culture, with its vulgar official brand of Judaism, ostensible pride in Jewish history, and deep day-to-day shame. He never learned Hebrew but appreciated "the admirable equilibrium of its vowels and consonants in the clearly enunciated words, which imparted an invincible power to the chants." Of the Yiddish language, he wrote with tenderness: "… that melodious, always surprised and disappointed, interrogative speech with sharp pitches on half-stressed syllables."

In his earliest poems Mandelshtam spoke of himself as "a rustling reed growing out of an evil and muddy pool to breathe forbidden life" and then sinking back into "the cold and boggy abode," "the beloved ooze" (1910). In 1915, the same image appeared in his poem about Christ (never included in his collections): "He reigned and drooped, as a lily, into the native pool, and the depth, in which stems sink, celebrated its law." In the poem about his mother's funeral (1916), Mandelshtam contrasted the "terrible yellow sun" illuminating the Jewish temple with the black sun of Apocalyptic Christianity rising at the gates of Jerusalem (the black and yellow colors of the *tallit* are associated in his poetic vocabulary with Judaism). Religious critics made much of Mandelshtam's so-called Christianity as reflected in a number of his poems and essays. In point of fact, however, Mandelshtam turned with equal enthusiasm to Chaadayev's Catholic universalism, Kautzky's Marxism, Florensky's Orthodoxy, Greek mythology, neoplatonic mysticism, medieval nominalism, the heresy of the Russian "Name-Praising" sect, and the evolutionary theories of Goethe and Darwin in his search for an "integral world view" and an "internal sense of rightness" without which he found writing poetry unthinkable. In *Tristia*, Mandelshtam actually wrote: "I drink the cold mountain air of Christianity"; but this opposition between the "water" of Judaism and the "air" of Christianity was canceled in 1923 by a belated admission: "Air can be as dark as water … Air is mixed as thickly as earth …" ("The Horseshoe Finder").

Mandelshtam's realization that the Jewish predicament cannot be escaped by turning to alien cultures and religions was expressed with greatest force in his 1920 poem addressed to Leah, the exegetic symbol of creative life. Here he predicts the eventual return of his muse to the bosom of Judaism, a reunion that he describes as "incestuous":

> Return to the incestuous bosom, whence, Leah, you have come, because you have preferred the yellow dusk to the sun of Ilion.
>
> Go! Nobody shall touch you. Let the incestuous daughter drop her head on her father's breast.
>
> Yet a fatal change must be accomplished in you: you shall be Leah, not Helen. You have been so named not because
>
> It is harder for royal blood than for any other blood to course in veins. No! You shall fall in love with a Jew, disappear in him – and so be it.

Ten years later, in "Fourth Prose," Mandelshtam wrote with a conviction born out of hard-earned experience: "I insist that writerdom, as it has developed in Europe, and above all in Russia, is incompatible with the honorable title of Jew, of which I am proud. My blood, burdened with the inheritance of sheep breeders, patriarchs, and kings, rebels against the thieving gypsyishness of the writing tribe."

The motif of the prodigal son's return to the faith and the land of his fathers found its final culmination in the "Canzona" (1931): "I shall leave the land of the Hyperboreans to fill with vision the outcome of my fate. I shall say 'selah' to the head of the Jews for his raspberry-colored caress."

Some of Mandelshtam's writings have appeared in translation: *The Prose of Osip Mandelstam*, transl., with a critical essay, by C. Brown (1967); "Talking About Dante," *Books Abroad*, Special Issue: A Homage to Dante (1965), 25–47; "Fourth Prose," transl. by C. Brown, in *Russia's Other Writers* (1970), 130–45; *Gedichte* (transl. by Paul Celan, 1959).

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[Omri Ronen (2nd ed.)]

MANDELSON, PETER (1953–), British politician. One of the best-known and most controversial of recent British politicians, Peter Mandelson was the son of a Jewish father; his mother was the daughter of Herbert Morrison (Baron Morrison of Lambeth), Britain's deputy prime minister and then foreign secretary under Clement Attlee from 1945 to 1951. Mandelson was educated at Oxford and worked as a television producer; he was elected to Parliament in 1992, holding his seat until he resigned in 2004. "Mandy," as he is widely known, became campaign manager (and chief "spin doctor") of Tony Blair, the center-left politician who became leader of the Labour Party in 1994 and was elected prime minister with a huge majority in 1997. Some within the Labour Party resented Mandelson's enormous influence. From 1997 he served as Blair's minister without portfolio, responsible for building London's Millenium Dome for 2000, and then entered the cabinet in 1998 as secretary of state for trade and industry. Later in the same year, he was forced to resign over an allegedly improper loan he had received. He returned to the cabinet in 1999 as secretary of state for Northern Ireland, but in 2001 was again forced to resign over an alleged impropriety regarding a businessman seeking British citizenship. In 2004 Blair appointed Mandelson Britain's European commissioner responsible for trade.

[William D. Rubinstein (2nd ed.)]

MANDELSTAMM, BENJAMIN (1805–1886), Hebrew author. Born in Zagare, the older brother of Leon *Mandelstamm, he received both a traditional and a secular education. In the 1840s, he moved to Vilna and became one of the extremists in Haskalah circles. In a memorandum which he presented to Max *Lilienthal when the latter visited Vilna in 1842 during his survey of the condition of Russian Jewry, Mandelstamm accused Russian Jewry of six faults which were responsible for their backwardness: (1) Russian Jews do not speak the Russian language, but rather some confused tongue; (2) they dress quaintly; (3) they do not participate sufficiently in the arts; (4) nor in the crafts; (5) they have no factories; and (6) they are neither farmers nor herdsmen.

The only solution recognized by Mandelstamm was harsh governmental intervention "forbidding the printing of the Talmud, completely removing from circulation books on the Kabbalah and Ḥasidism, dissolving the *ḥeder* thus removing the teachers (*melammedim*) who devour the children, and educating the children of Israel in Russian." When the enlightened community of Vilna established its own synagogue (*Tohorat ha-Kodesh*), Mandelstamm criticized it sharply for not daring to reform its liturgy and religious customs. In 1877 his writings and memoranda were published in Vienna under the title *Ḥazon Binyamin ben Yosef mi-Ma'aleh ha-Shekedim* (*Ḥazon la-Mo'ed*) with an introduction by Pereẓ *Smolenskin, a collection of great importance for the history of the Russian Haskalah during the 1840s. Mandelstamm also published a collection of aphorisms entitled *Mishlei Binyamin* (in *Ha-Asif*, 1885 and 1886).

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[Yehuda Slutsky]

MANDELSTAMM, LEON (**Aryeh Loeb**; 1819–1889), writer and adherent of the *Haskalah in Russia. Born in Zagare (Lithuania), Mandelstamm had a thorough religious and general education. In 1840 he became the first Jew to enroll at a Russian university (Moscow) and in 1844 graduated in Oriental languages from the University of St. Petersburg. His research concerned the history of political regimes in ancient Israel. During his student years, he produced a book of poetry in Russian (1840). In 1846, after further studies at German universities, Mandelstamm was appointed in charge of Jewish affairs in the Ministry of Education in succession to M. *Lilienthal. He was mainly concerned with establishing a network of government schools for Jews, and supervising the Jewish *ḥeder* and *talmud torah* schools. For this purpose he traveled extensively throughout the *Pale of Settlement and prepared textbooks; these were published by means of funds raised through the *candle tax, and even private Jewish teachers were required to buy them. The books, which contained texts accompanied by German translations, included selections from the Mishnah, an anthology of Maimonides' writings, the Bible along with the *Biur* of Moses *Mendelssohn and his pupils, and the *Kevod Melekh* of R. Jehiel *Heller, which stressed the Jew's religious duty to respect secular kings and rulers. Mandelstamm was dismissed in 1857 as a result of attacks by his opponents among the *maskilim* and wealthier Jews of St. Petersburg who accused him of wasting funds and engaging in activities for his own profit. During his period in office, Mandelstamm corresponded with and met Haskalah leaders and prominent Hebrew writers, often arranging for them to be given posts. After losing his job, he lived for many years in Germany where he engaged in trade and in contracting. He wrote for both the Jewish and general press, and published, in German, several collections of studies in Bible and Talmud. The translation of the Pentateuch into Russian which Mandelstamm had produced in Germany was forbidden in Russia because of the general prohibition on scriptural works which were not approved by the Church. In 1872, however, permission was given to import and reprint his work there, provided that the translation was accompanied by the original Hebrew version. Toward the end of his life Mandelstamm returned to St. Petersburg where he died forgotten and in poverty.

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[Yehuda Slutsky]

MANDELSTAMM, MAX EMMANUEL (1839–1912), ophthalmologist and leading member of the Zionist and Territorialist movements in Russia. Mandelstamm was born in Zagare, Lithuania. His father Ezekiel Mandelstamm, the brother of Leon *Mandelstamm and Benjamin *Mandelstamm, was an educated merchant who wrote a biblical lexicon entitled *The Book of Names* (1862). Mandelstamm was among the first Russian Jews to study in a Russian high school, but he received his main education at the German University of Dorpat (Estonia). After he completed his medical studies at Kharkov University, he continued his studies in ophthalmology in Berlin. Upon his return to Russia he opened a clinic in Kiev and became well known as an expert ophthalmologist throughout southern Russia. Mandelstamm also served as a lecturer in ophthalmology at Kiev University, but he left the university when his candidacy as an associate professor was not approved.

The pogroms in southern Russia at the beginning of the 1880s moved Mandelstamm into the field of Jewish public activities. He was the head of the Committee to Support Victims of Pogroms. At the conference of representatives of Jewish communities in St. Petersburg in 1881, he was the only one to support emigration from Russia as a radical solution to the problems the Jews faced there. From that time, emigration from Russia became the basis for his outlook on public affairs. In 1883 he participated along with L. *Pinsker, M.L. *Lilienblum, and H. Shapira in a meeting in Odessa at which the foundations of the *Ḥibbat Zion movement in Russia were laid. His wide-ranged organizational work then began and came to an end only after sharp opposition from the authorities.

Mandelstamm joined the Zionist Organization at the First Zionist Congress and from then on was one of *Herzl's most devoted associates and one of the most faithful political Zionists among the Russians. Herzl depicted him in *Altneuland* as the first president of the Jewish state – "an ophthalmologist from Russia, Dr. Eichenstam." He was elected to the Zionist Actions Committee and at the Second Zionist Congress was appointed deputy of the Kiev district. At the Sixth Zionist Congress, Mandelstamm was among the enthusiastic supporters of the *Uganda Scheme and fought for its acceptance even at the *Kharkov Conference. He organized the supporters of the plan to meet the challenge of the Russian Zionists. After the Seventh Zionist Congress he joined I. *Zangwill and participated in the founding conference of the Jewish Territorial Organization (JTA). The pogroms that accompanied the first Russian Revolution (1905–06) strengthened his conviction that it was imperative to organize the flight of the Jews from Russia through Territorialism. He headed the emigration office established by the Territorialists in Kiev that concerned itself basically with organizing the emigration of Jews destined for *Galveston, Texas (under the Galveston Plan) with the aim of creating a Jewish Territorialist center in the southern United States.

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[Yehuda Slutsky]

MANDL, SAADIA (1931–), architect. Born in Novi Sad, Yugoslavia, he arrived in Palestine in 1938. He studied at École des Beaux Arts, Paris, and at the Archeology School, London, spending his internship period in Rome, Paris, and Stockholm.

In 1960 he opened an independent office in Haifa; during 1968/9 he resided in Jerusalem, where he held the position of dean of the Bezalel Art School. In later years he worked from Tel Aviv / (Old) Jaffa, which he helped to reconstruct. For his achievements he was awarded the Rokach Prize. He was chief architect of the Caesarea Development Corporation and from 1965 served as chairman of the Council for the Preservation of the Architectural Heritage. For his projects in Jerusalem, he received the Uri Rozen Prize, together with Yaari and Fraenkel, and the Sandberg Prize, together with Eli Gross, "for the renewal of the Neveh Sha'anan quarter."

Mandl was considered one of the outstanding modern architects of Israel.

[Zvi Loker (2nd ed.)]

MANDRAKE (Heb. דוּדָאִים (*dūdā'īm*)), *Mandragora officianarum*, a plant of the nightshade family native to the Mediterranean region and related to the deadly *Atropa belladonna*. The mandrake is best known for its large, brown roots that can extend several feet into the ground and branch off into thick, bizarre shapes, even crudely resembling the human form. Since antiquity, the mandrake has been credited with aphrodisiac and fertility-producing powers as well as the ability to induce sleep, relieve pain, or serve as a purgative; it is one of the most frequently mentioned plants in folklore, preserved in literature from the Mediterranean basin from antiquity to the modern era.

The earliest reference may be in Ugaritic literature of the 14th century B.C.E., where the term is found in relation to the goddess of love and war, Anat, whose brother Baal sends her a message concerning peace, love, and "passion" (*ddym*). Mandrakes appear twice in the Bible, in contexts suggesting that the plant had properties conducive to sex and conception. Perhaps in a word-play with *d*(*w*)*d*, "love," it is mentioned in the Song of Songs (7:14) as having an odor that would arouse the lovers' passion. The well-known story of Rachel and the mandrakes in Genesis 30:14–17 indicates that this plant was believed to aid conception, for the barren Rachel gives her sister and co-wife Leah a night with their husband Jacob in exchange for mandrakes procured by Leah's son Reuben. The text reports that Rachel subsequently became pregnant when God heeded her. Her use of mandrakes provides an example of the magico-medical means for dealing with problems inherent in the reproductive process, part of women's religious culture in ancient Israel as in most traditional societies. That Rachel resorts to the ancient equivalent of a fertility drug is not at all contradictory to the overarching notion that divine providence is involved in overcoming barrenness; prayer along with actions we would consider magic were understood as complementary ways for women to become pregnant.

Post-biblical lore and legends refer less to mandrake's aphrodisiac qualities and more to its other medicinal properties. Digging for mandrake roots was thought to be dangerous, with the animal pulling out the roots meeting a vicarious death for its master (Jos. Wars, 7:183ff.), a risk also found in other ancient writers, such as Theophrastus and Pliny. The Talmud's prohibition against reciting biblical verses while uprooting mandrakes (TJ Shab. 6:2, 8b), may allude to their supposedly lethal quality. Maimonides (*Guide*, 3:29) mentions that superstitious people are "deluded" about them.

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[Jehuda Feliks / Carol Meyers (2nd ed.)]

MANÉ-KATZ (originally **Emanuel Katz**; 1894–1962), French painter. Mané-Katz was born in Kremenchug, Ukraine. In 1913 he went to study in Paris. He returned to Russia during World War I, working and exhibiting in Petrograd. After the October Revolution of 1917 he returned to Kremenchug, where he taught art. As the city was the scene of continued fighting during the Civil War, there was little chance for him to work and in 1921 he migrated to Paris. He painted assiduously, and a decade later won a Gold Medal at the Paris World's Fair for his painting "The Wailing Wall." In 1939, Mané-Katz was mobilized and on the fall of France was imprisoned briefly by the Germans. He managed to get to the United States, but returned to Paris after the war. Mané-Katz was an eminent Jewish representative of the School of *Paris. His output was prodigious. He painted so fervently and with so little concern for detail that he seems to be carried away by his own exuberance. His color is sometimes blatant, but rarely coarse. His smaller works, particularly those of the 1920s, show an intensity of expression and a baroque ecstasy. The subject matter of his early works is exclusively Jewish – ḥasidic rabbis, talmudic students, fiddlers and beggars of the Pale of Settlement with meager bony faces and deep-set eyes, the same haggard figures placed against an almost barren background. He later painted the sights of Paris, orchestras, bullfights, the scenery of the Riviera, portraits, and numerous flower pieces, usually with a childlike delight in raw colors. He made several sculptures. He died in Israel and left his collection, including many fine specimens of Jewish ritual art, to the city of Haifa.

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[Alfred Werner]

MANESSIER DE VESOUL (**Menssier de Vezou**; d. 1375), "*procureur-général*" and "*commissaire*" of the Jews of Languedoc'Oyl (central and northern France) during the reign of *Charles V (1364–80). He was a member of the family of Héliot de Vesoul, a banker of that town during the early 14th century, and in 1349 he himself was expelled from Vesoul. It was Manessier who, in 1359, negotiated with Charles, duke of Normandy (subsequently King Charles V) for the return of the

Jews to France and then acted as the financial intermediary between the Jews of northern France and the monarchy – to his own personal profit as well. In 1374 he secured a further ten-year extension of the Jewish right of residence in France. When the Jews were once more obliged to wear a distinctive *badge, he and all his family were exempted. It is not certain whether it was this Manessier or a namesake who was involved in a lawsuit in 1365. After his death (between June 28 and October 1375), his children, his eldest son in particular, succeeded to his functions and privileges (which included complete exemption from the payment of taxes). When his son Joseph was converted to Christianity in 1382, he recovered the family properties, which had previously been seized. Nothing is known of the family after this.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: L. Lazard, in: *Annuaire des Archives Israélites de France*, 7 (1890/91), 52–56; R. Anchel, *Juifs de France* (1946), 115f.

[Bernhard Blumenkranz]

°**MANETHO** (third century B.C.E.), Greco-Egyptian historian. Manetho, native of Sebennytos, *Egypt, served as priest in Heliopolis. Thoroughly versed in Egyptian lore, he was also associated with the religious policy of the Ptolemaic dynasty, in particular with the introduction of the cult of Serapis. Manetho was the first Egyptian to give an account of the history of his country in Greek. A number of fragments from this work are preserved in *Contra Apionem* of *Josephus, who apparently did not draw from Manetho's work at first hand, but from extracts in Hellenistic Jewish historians. The fragments fall into two categories, the first of which describes the origin of the rule of the *Hyksos in Egypt (Jos., Apion 1:73ff.). Manetho (in accordance with later Egyptian accounts) writes that the Hyksos were a nation of alien conquerors who set fire to Egyptian towns, razed the temples of the gods, and treated the natives with cruelty. After their expulsion from Egypt, the Hyksos crossed the desert on their way to Syria, and in "the country called Judea" built a town, which they named Jerusalem. Although Manetho does not mention the Jews by name, he is clearly referring to them. Josephus himself distinguishes between the first group of fragments of Manetho's writings and the second (*ibid.*, 1:228ff.), "where he had recourse to fables and current reports." In this second group of fragments it is stated that the Egyptian king Amenophis wished to be granted a vision of the gods and on the advice of his namesake, Amenophis son of Paapis, decided to purge the country of lepers and other polluted persons. He collected 80,000 people and sent them to work in the quarries east of the Nile. Afterward, acceding to their request, he assigned them Avaris, the ancient capital of the Hyksos, for settlement. Here they appointed as their leader one Osarsiph, a former priest of Heliopolis. Osarsiph decreed that his people should neither worship the gods nor abstain from the flesh of animals reverenced by the Egyptians, and cultivate close connections only with members of their own confederacy. Similarly, he sent representatives to the inhabitants of Jerusalem, who had been expelled from Egypt. Osarsiph's people defeated the Egyptians in a concerted effort, their behavior to the inhabitants being far worse than that of the Hyksos in their day. Here Manetho identifies Osarsiph with Moses.

Some historians completely deny the authenticity of Manetho's entire Osarsiph story, while some object only to his identification of Moses with Osarsiph. However, there are no convincing reasons for doubting the intended identification. The Osarsiph story throughout has much in common with such Egyptian tales as the "Prophecy of the Lamb" or the "Potter's Oracle," which could easily be fused with anti-Jewish elements. The biblical account of the Exodus challenged the Egyptians to provide a suitable answer, and anti-Jewish feelings were common in Egypt even before its conquest by the Greeks. It is therefore unnecessary to postdate Manetho's account to the later Ptolemaic period. The descriptions of the historian *Hecataeus show how easily the story of the Exodus was assimilated into the tale of the expulsion of the strangers because of calamities visited on the Egyptians. Nor was Manetho necessarily the first to combine the story of the lepers with Moses and the Jews. A synthesis, similar though not completely identical, is encountered in subsequent writers. Nevertheless, Manetho may undoubtedly be considered a central figure in the emergence of the anti-Jewish polemical writings of Alexandrian-Greek literature.

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[Menahem Stern]

°**MANETTI, GIANNOZZO** (1396–1459), Hebraist and humanist. Manetti acquired a wide knowledge of Hebrew language and literature and was even taught to speak Hebrew by a Jewish teacher (later baptized) who lived with him. Manetti took lessons also from a Florentine Jew named Immanuel (probably the loan-banker Manuelo of San Miniato), giving him instruction in philosophy in exchange. Many of the Hebrew manuscripts in the Vatican library were originally in Manetti's possession. He made a Latin translation of the Psalms, which he defended against its critics in a five-volume work. In 1447 Sigismondo Malatesta of Rimini organized a religious *disputation at his court between Manetti and Jewish scholars.

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[Umberto (Moses David) Cassuto]

MANEVICH, LEV YEFIMOVICH (**Izrailovich**: pseud. **Eten** (**Etienne**), 1898–1945), Soviet intelligence agent. Between 1910 and 1917 Manevich lived and studied in Geneva. In 1918 he volunteered for service in the Red Army and joined the Communist Party. From 1918 to 1920 he was the commissar of an armored train, the commander of a special unit. He graduated from the Higher School for Staff Service of the Command Staff (1921) and the Military Academy (1924). He served in the Intelligence Directorate of the Red Army (GRU – Glavnoye Razvedovatelnoye Upravlenie) from 1935 with the rank of colonel. From the mid-1920s until 1936 he carried out intelligence activities, mainly in Austria, Germany, Italy, and Spain. In 1936 he was arrested by Italian counterintelligence and sentenced to 12 years imprisonment. However, even in prison he continued to collect and transmit valuable information. In 1943 he was handed over to the Nazis and imprisoned in the concentration camps of Mauthausen and Melk and Ebenze. Although severely ill, he exhibited great willpower and courage by participating in the anti-fascist underground. In May 1945 he was liberated by the American army but died later that year. In 1965 he was posthumously awarded the honor of Hero of the Soviet Union.

[*The Shorter Jewish Encyclopaedia in Russian* (2nd ed.)]

MANGER, ITZIK (1901–1969), Yiddish poet, dramatist, novelist. Born in Czernowitz, his first poem was published in 1921 in the Romanian Yiddish journal *Kultur,* and his first book of poems was *Shtern Oyfn Dakh* ("Stars on the Roof," 1929), where he combined folksong and bardic simplicity with sophisticated stanzaic structures and technical skill. The poems express delight in the entire universe and find beauty and value even in suffering and sorrow. In 1929 Manger moved to Warsaw, where he published more mature poems in *Lamtern in Vint* ("Lantern in the Wind," 1933). In his *Khumesh Lider* ("Bible Poems," 1935), patriarchal figures are portrayed as Eastern Europe *shtetl* Jews. Thus when Abraham welcomes the three angels, he is the pious Reb Avrom, in a silk skullcap and smoking a pipe; in speaking to Sarah, colloquial Yiddish expressions naturally spice his conversation. Manger's *Megile-Lider* ("Scroll Songs," 1936) recast the traditional Purim play as dramatic lyrics. He added new incidents and characters to the biblical narrative, such as the rivalry between the tailor's apprentice Fastrigosse and King Ahasuerus for the love of Esther. These ironic and sentimental lyrics were enthusiastically received when staged as a musical in Israel in 1967 and again in the United States (in English, 1968; music by Dov Seltzer). Manger also adapted *A.Goldfaden's plays for a post-Goldfaden generation; most successfully *Di Kishefmakhern* ("The Witch") and *Dray Hotsmakhs* ("Three Hotsmakhs,"1936, 1937). He paid tribute to Goldfaden, Eliakum Zunser, Berl Broder, and other predecessors with imaginative essays in *Noente Geshtaltn* ("Intimate Portraits," 1938, 1961; also in *Shriftn in Proze* "Writings in Prose," 1980). His most piquant tale is the imaginative novel, *Dos Bukh fun Gan-Eydn* (1939; English tr. by L. Wolf, *The Book of Paradise*, 1965), in which Shmuel-Abba, formerly an angel and now a newborn, relates his prenatal adventures in Paradise. The story is a satire on the imagined Eden and the harsh realities of Jewish life and human foibles.

Manger was most productive in Warsaw, where he also published *Felker Zingen* ("People Sing,"1936), *Demerung in Shpigl* ("Twilight in the Mirror," 1937), *Far Yugnt* ("For the Young," 1937), *Velvl Zbarzher Shraybt Briv tsu Malkele der Sheyner* ("Velvl Zbarzher Writes Letters to Malkele the Beautiful," 1937). He left Warsaw in 1938 for Paris. After unsuccessful attempts to reach Palestine and the United States, he escaped to London where he published *Volkns ibern dakh* ("Clouds over the Roof," 1942), *Hotsmakh Shpil* ("Hotsmakh Play," 1947), and *Der Shnayder-gezeln Notte Manger Zingt* ("The Tailor-Apprentice Notte Manger Sings," 1948). In 1951 he moved to New York, where his volume of selected poems *Lid un Balade* ("Poems and Ballads") was published in 1952, and then in 1967, to Israel. His poems were translated into Hebrew, the principal European languages (English in S. Betsky, *Onions and Cucumbers and Plums* (1958), and in J. Leftwich, *The Golden Peacock* (1961)), and were included in the UNESCO anthology of world poetry in 1961. His short story "The Adventures of Hershl Summerwind" is in I. Howe and E. Greenberg, *Treasury of Yiddish Stories* (1965), 438–46. New translations of his work continued to be published.

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[Sol Liptzin / Helen Beer (2nd ed.)]

MANHEIM, BILHAH (1929–), Israeli sociologist specializing in the sociology of work and considered one of the leading scholars in the field. At the Industrial Engineering Faculty of the Technion she taught many executives how to manage human resources. Manheim was born in Germany and immigrated to Israel with her family in 1936. She received her B.Sc. from the University of Kansas in 1951. In 1953 she completed her M.A. and in 1957 her Ph.D. from the University of Illinois. From 1957 she taught sociology at the Technion and from 1959 to 1969 she lectured at Haifa University. In 1980 she became a professor at the Technion. From 1981 until her retirement in 1997 she directed the Yigal Allon Chair for Human Sciences in Work. During these years she was visiting professor at universities in the U.S. and Australia. She was also a member of several academic societies and associations as well as public bodies. She published many articles and a number of books, such as *The Influence of Reference Groups and Membership Groups on the Self-Image* (1957) and *The Human Fac-*

tor in Work (co-author, 1965). In 2003 she was awarded the Israel Prize in sociology.

[Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

MANI (**Mana II**; fourth century C.E.), Palestinian *amora*. His teachers were firstly his father *Jonah,R. Yose (TJ, Ter. 8:9, 46a; Sanh. 3:6, 21a), and then R. Judah III (TJ, Pes. 6:1, 33a; Beẓah 1:1, 60a); he also referred to Hezekiah as his teacher (TJ, Ber. 3:5, 6d, et al.). He visited Caesarea where he attended lectures by R. Isaac b. Eliashib (Ta'an. 23b) and other scholars of that town (e.g., Oshaya b. Shemi, Zerikah, etc). In his early years he lived in Tiberias, but later R. Ḥanina (or Hananiah), the head of the academy in Sepphoris, retired in his favor (TJ, Pes. 6:1, 33a) and he remained there until his death (Eccl. R. 11:3). He held halakhic discussions with Zeira II (Mak. 22a). Z. Frankel dates his death in 399 C.E. (the view of I. Halevy that it was before 355 is untenable). It is not known whether he outlived R. Judah III (the statement in Weiss, Dor, vol. 3, p. 102 is due to a mistranslation of a passage in TJ, Ber. 3:1, 6a: "When R. Judah's sister died, Mani did not attend her funeral"). He appears to have been strict and uncompromising in his halakhic rulings, and he expressed his strong doubts as to the correctness of the permission granted by his father and R. Yose for bread to be baked on the Sabbath for the army of Ursicinus (c. 353 C.E.; TJ, Sanh. 3:5, 21b), despite that fact, in a case of extreme emergency he permitted the bakers of Sepphoris to sell their bread in the market on the Sabbath for the army of Proclus (*ibid.*; see Lieberman, in: JQR, 36 (1946), 352–3). He also refused to agree that agricultural activity take place during the sabbatical year in a place called Yabluna on the grounds that it was not in Ereẓ Israel proper. On one occasion he strongly disapproved of his teacher, Judah, making appointments for money (TJ, Bik. 3:3, 65d). Most of his teachings are in *halakhah*, but the few in *aggadah* are of great interest. He explained Saul's reluctance to exterminate the Amalekites, including their children and cattle, on the grounds that they were innocent according to the Torah (Yoma 22b). He also taught that reciting the *Shema* at its proper time was greater than studying the Torah (Ber. 10b). Mani was apparently not altogether easy to get on with. Not only was he not on good terms with the patriarch and his household, who distressed him so much that he had to pray for relief, but in his domestic life he was also unhappy (Ta'an. 23b).

In addition to R. Mani, there was an earlier *amora* called Mana and it is not always certain which is meant. In Ecclesiastes Rabbah 5:4–5 both are found.

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[Harry Freedman]

MANI, family in Iraq and Ereẓ Israel. According to family tradition, the family is of Davidic origin and its name is an acrostic of *Mi-Geza Neẓer Yishai*.

ELIJAH BEN SULEIMAN (1818–1899), one of the best-known Iraqi rabbis, was born in Baghdad, where he studied at the Beit Zilka rabbinical academy and was one of the outstanding pupils of R. Abdallah *Somekh. In 1856 he settled in Ereẓ Israel, first in Jerusalem, but two years later he moved to Hebron. He played a prominent role in the development of the Jewish community there. In 1865 he was appointed chief rabbi of Hebron and retained this post until his death. By nature an unassuming and generous man, he was outspoken and adamant in matters of religious observance. He made several journeys on behalf of the Hebron community: to India in 1873; Egypt, 1872 and 1878; and Baghdad 1880. In 1879–80 a fierce argument broke out between R. Elijah and two prominent members of the community, Mercado Romano and R. Raḥamim Joseph Franco, which split the community into two factions. In the end R. Elijah's views prevailed. R. Elijah wrote several books dealing with traditional and mystical Jewish studies. Of these, the following were published: *Zikhronot Eliyahu*, a collection of religious precepts, arranged in alphabetical order, of which two parts appeared (Jerusalem, 1936, 1938); and *Karnot Ẓaddik* (Baghdad, 1867). Many of his responsa were published in the Jerusalem *Me'assef* and in the writings of contemporary rabbinic scholars.

[Abraham Ben-Yaacob]

SULEIMAN MENAHEM (1850–1924), Elijah's eldest son, was appointed *rosh av bet din* in Hebron when his father died. After the death of Ḥayyim Hezekiah *Medini, he was elected chief rabbi of Hebron. ISRAEL (1887–1966), the son of SHALOM EZEKIEL, Elijah's second son, studied law in Paris. During the British Mandate he was appointed magistrate (1927) and district judge in Jaffa (1932). In 1936 he became the first Jewish judge in the newly established Tel Aviv district court. ISAAC MALCHIEL (1860–1933), Elijah's fourth son, became a district judge in Hebron. He was an enthusiastic supporter of *Herzl. In 1901 he moved to Jerusalem to practice law. From 1926 to 1929 he was district judge in Jaffa. His sons-in-law were Daniel *Auster and Giulio *Racah. ELIJAH MOSES (1907–), great-grandson of Elijah, during the Mandatory regime served as a lecturer in the Jerusalem law school. In 1948 he was appointed judge in the district court of Jerusalem, and from 1962 he served as a justice of the Supreme Court of Israel. His brother ABRAHAM (1922–) was professor of physics at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. MAZAL (Mathilda) *MOSSERI was the daughter of Isaac Malchiel.

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MANI, EZRA (1913–2005), Israeli lexicographer. Born in Bagdad, Iraq, where he received his elementary education in Jewish schools and in the Ahiever youth movement, whose goal was to spread the Hebrew book, he immigrated to Israel in 1934, taught Arabic, enlisted in the IDF in 1948, and served in the Intelligence Department of the IDF, in which he was a colonel. Though he did not receive any academic training, he is the author of *The Mani Dictionary* on Arabic military terms and of their Hebrew equivalents, including 10,000 entries based on Arabic documents, military reviews, TV, films, and colloquial Arabic from several Arab countries. This dictionary aids Intelligence operations and to date only exists in a computerized on-line internal IDF edition. His work is considered highly original by international standards. Mani received the Israel Prize in 1976 for services to Arabic linguistics and was the first military officer to have won this prize.

MANICHAEISM, a system of religious beliefs and doctrines named after Mani or Manes (c. 215–275), who lived and taught in Persia. In his youth he seems to have associated with Jewish-Christian (Elchasaite) sectarians. Manes was put to death for his heretical doctrines, but his teachings spread from the Middle East to Rome and to North Africa where they had numerous adherents in the fourth century. Manichaean documents have also been found in Chinese Turkestan. A curious mixture of diverse gnostic, Persian-Zoroastrian, and other dualistic doctrines (see *Dualism), Manichaeism preached a severe asceticism, including vegetarianism, and survived in small and often clandestine sects into the Middle Ages.

Several heretical movements in medieval Christianity are thought to have been influenced, directly or indirectly, by Manichaean sects. Manichaean doctrines seem to have been very influential also during the first centuries of Islam, as witnessed by the anti-dualistic polemics of orthodox apologists and theologians. Dualistic attacks on traditional teachings appear in the ninth and tenth centuries and had to be countered by a polemic reminiscent in some ways of the early rabbinic polemic against gnostic dualism (*shetei rashuyyot*). Saadiah argues against dualism both in his *Book of Beliefs and Opinions* and in his polemical tract against Ḥiwi al-Balkhi. The dualism, however, which he attacked was not just of the Zoroastrian type but seems to have been indebted to contemporary Manichaeism.

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[R.J. Zwi Werblowsky]

MANI LEIB (pseudonym of **Mani Leib Brahinsky**; 1883–1953), Yiddish poet. Born in Nizhyn (Chernigov district, Ukraine), Mani Leib arrived in the U.S. in 1905 after having participated in the Russian revolutionary movement. He immediately began publishing poems in New York's leading Yiddish periodicals and in the anthologies of the American Yiddish literary movement Di Yunge, which had impressionistic, art-for-art's-sake poetic principles that Leib helped to establish and followed faithfully. Largely eschewing social concerns, he crafted formally unified poems that affirmed a belief in the ability of art to compensate for human suffering. His "sound poems" drew renewed attention to the Yiddish language through their skillful use of alliteration and repetition. His most prolific year was 1918 when 11 of his collections appeared. His ballads and tales were incorporated into the Yiddish school curriculum and formed the basis of his widespread popularity. In 1925 he was coeditor, with Zishe *Landau and Reuben *Iceland, of *Inzel* ("Island"), one of the principal anthologies of Di Yunge. His reputation continued to grow after his death, when several volumes were published: *Lider un Baladn* ("Songs and Ballads," 2 vols. 1955); *Sonetn* ("Sonnets," 1961); the former volume was reprinted in 1963 with parallel Hebrew translations by Shimshon Meltzer, and an introduction by Itzik *Manger, who was in many respects a kindred spirit. The second volume of *Lider un Baladn* contains a short autobiographical sketch as well as an extensive bibliography. Mani Leib's lifelong relationship with the poet Rochelle Weprinsky is documented in *Briv: 1918–1953* ("Letters: 1918–53," 1980).

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[Sol Liptzin / Alisa Braun (2nd ed.)]

MANILOW, BARRY (**Barry Alan Pincus**; 1943–), U.S. singer, producer, and songwriter. Born in New York, Manilow graduated from Eastern District High School in Brooklyn, after which he attended the Juilliard School of Music. Manilow entered the music business writing commercial jingles, such as "I'm stuck on Band-Aids." He became rich singing the popular "You Deserve a Break Today" (1973) commercial for the McDonald's hamburger empire. Soon after, Manilow became Bette Midler's record producer and then turned performer himself. His first record, *Mandy* (1974), went straight to number one on the charts and sold four million singles. Manilow then adapted a Chopin sonata and turned it into the hit song "Magic" (1975). Subsequently he recorded a long succession of top-selling singles (not all of which he wrote), such as "It's a Miracle" (1975), "I Write the Songs" (1976), "This One's for You" (1976), "Weekend in New England" (1976), "Looks Like We Made It" (1977), "Copacabana" (1978), "Can't Smile without You" (1978), "Even Now" (1978), "Ready to Take a Chance Again" (1978), "What a Friend You Turned Out to Be" (1983), and "Sometimes When We Touch" (1997). Rated the number one adult contemporary artist of all time, Manilow had an unprecedented run of 25 consecutive Top 40 hits in the 1970s and 1980s. In 1978, five of his albums were on the charts at the same time, a record that has been equaled only by Frank Sinatra and Johnny Mathis.

Among his innumerable honors and awards, Manilow won a Grammy ("Copacabana," 1978); an Emmy (*The Barry Manilow Special*, 1977); and a Tony (*Barry Manilow on Broadway*, 1977); and he was nominated for an Academy Award (Best Song: "Ready to Take a Chance Again" in *Foul Play*, 1978). In 2002 he was inducted into the Songwriters Hall of Fame in New York.

In 1994 his two-act musical *Barry Manilow's Copacabana – The Musical* premiered in the U.K. His next theatrical project, *Harmony*, was a musical based on the true story of the Comedian Harmonists, a talented group of male singers (three of whom were Jewish) who performed in Nazi Germany until 1934.

With more than 30 albums to his credit and reportedly having made his last grand tour, Manilow signed a long-term contract with the Las Vegas Hilton theater, performing *Barry Manilow: Music and Passion*.

Manilow wrote the autobiographical *Sweet Life: Adventures on the Way to Paradise* in 1987.

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[Jonathan Licht / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

°**MANIN, DANIELE** (1804–1857), Italian patriot. Manin's father belonged to the Jewish Medina family who had been converted to Christianity. In 1848 he became president of the revived Venetian Republic and was ultimately appointed "dictator." The revolutionary government which he headed distinguished itself by its moderation and financial profits. His cabinet included two Jews: Leon Pincherle as minister of agriculture and Isaac Pesaro Maurogonato as minister of commerce. After leading fruitlessly the heroic resistance of the city in the long siege by the Austrians, he went into exile in Paris, where he died.

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[Giorgio Romano]

MANISCHEWITZ, HIRSCH (1891–1943), U.S. Orthodox rabbi, business executive, and philanthropist. Manischewitz, who was born in Cincinatti, Ohio, was educated in Palestine at several yeshivot during 1901–14. While there he helped organize charitable organizations, and, upon his return to Cincinnati in 1914, he continued his philanthropic activities, serving as president of the Orthodox Jewish Orphan's Home. With his brothers he helped maintain the Rabbi Ber Manischewitz Yeshivah of Jerusalem from 1914 until 1943. Moving to New York in 1931, Manischewitz served from that time until his death as an officer of the family B. Manischewitz Baking Co. and helped to build it up into one of the largest manufacturers of Jewish food products in the United States. He was the U.S. representative of over 30 Palestinian and European institutions and organizations of Jewish higher learning. He also served as vice president of the Mizrachi Organization of America, and executive board member of Yeshiva College and of the Orthodox Jewish Congregations of America and Canada.

MANISSA, identical with the ancient Magnesia, today the chief town of the Turkish province bearing the same name, N.E. of *Izmir. A Jewish community probably existed in Manissa from the first century C.E., but there is no extant information on it. During the Byzantine period, there was a congregation in the town and a synagogue, Eẓ ha-Ḥayyim. After the Ottoman conquest of Istanbul, according to the Surgun system, the Sultan Mehmet II transferred the Jews of Manissa to Istanbul and the Jewish community of Manissa ceased to exist. After 1492, however, groups of Jews expelled from Spain arrived in Manissa; they founded two congregations and two synagogues, Lorca and Toledo. Later, as a result of a dispute which broke out in the town, a third congregation, Shalom, was established. At the end of the 15th century, there were more than 100 Jewish families in the town. Rabbi Eliahu Mizrachi writes in a responsum dated after 1504: "But in our case, while in the town of Magnesia people from these places stay there only occasionally, the Sephardim came and settled by themselves without any strangers among them." In the 16th century there was a yeshivah in Manissa, and in the second half of that century the physician and scholar Rabbi Shem Tov Melamed lived and wrote there and in Üsküb. A document from the year 1530/31 notes 88 Jewish families and 33 Jewish bachelors in the city. In 1543 a regulation was passed by the Toledo and Lorca congregations in which they forbade the establishment of a new congregation for a period of 20 years. In the 16th century there existed in the community a society for the ransoming of captives and a *ḥevra kaddisha* society, a cemetery, and other charity institutions. In 1575, according to a Turkish document, there were 117 Jewish households and 10 bachelors in the city.

In the 17th century there were three synagogues in Manissa before the large-scale emigration from the city. The Jews of Manissa suffered from the attacks of the Cellali gangs at the beginning of the century. These bands attacked Manissa in 1632 and plundered the Jewish community, and most of the Jews lost their property. With the rising importance of Izmir, and as a result of a plague which broke out in the town in 1617, many families left for Izmir. During this period the local rabbi was R. Aaron *Lapapa. Many Jews followed *Shabbetai Ẓevi's movement in 1665–66. During the 17th–19th centuries there existed in Manissa an Ashkenazi congregation and a Sephardi one. Three Jewish cemeteries and some tombstones from the 17th century have survived, the oldest of which is dated 1646. In 1671 the community was very poor and could not pay taxes to the government, because most of the Jews had left the city. In 1702 the traveler Tourenfort found in Manissa three synagogues, and another traveler, Pococke, wrote in 1733 that most of the merchandise in the city was concentrated in the hands of the Jews. The old charity institutions existed throughout the *Ottoman period and for halakhic questions the Jews of Manissa turned frequently to the rabbis of Izmir. In 1692 the Hebron emissary Rabbi Nissim Rozilio visited the community. In the responsa literature of the 16th and 17th centuries many regulations and *minhagim* of the community are recorded. Many old *minhagim* and traditions are mentioned in the 19th century by Rabbi Ḥayyim Falaji of Izmir. A known rabbi in the community in the 18th century was Raphael Abraham Mazliah (d. 1784).

At the beginning of the 19th century, the synagogues were renovated and a plot of land was consecrated for a new cemetery. In 1837, 200 Jews died of the plague. In 1838 the Jewish community numbered about 1,200, and in 1873 about 3,000. The main families of the community in the 19th century were Alazraki, Algranati, Gomel, Danon, Mazliah, Franco, Cohen, Levy, Ben-Djoya, Polity, Ninio, Nahom, Shikar, Shochet, Gargir, Lere'ah, Pessoah, Ashkenazi, Azar, Shalom, Buenavida, Israel, Dayan, Saban, Simsolou, Cherkerdji, Conforte, Misriel, Tobi, Beja, Mendes, Janon, Gagin, Sereno, Armaltes, Gayero, Faradji, Cheres, Mizrahi, Gourdji, and Uziel. There were blood libels against the Jews in the town in 1883 and 1893. In 1892 the first school for boys was founded, and in 1896 this was followed by a school for girls. Both were administered by the *Alliance Israélite Universelle. Rabbi Baruch Kalomity (d. 1825) was active in Manissa and Izmir. The rabbis of the community in the second half of the 19th century and at the beginning of the 20th were Abraham Mazliah (d. 1861); Moshe Mazliah, the author of the halakhic book *Em ha-Banim* (died in Jerusalem); David Gomel (d. 1904); and Ḥayyim Mazliah (d. 1906). The last *ḥakham bashi*, Rabbi Ḥayyim Nahum, was born in Manissa. At the end of the 19th century many local Jews immigrated to America, Egypt, South Africa, and other places. At the beginning of the 20th century the Jewish community numbered about 2,000, out of a total population of some 40,000. During this period two additional synagogues were built. The president of the community in 1908–18 was Bechor Abraham Gomel. After the conquest of the region by the Greeks in 1919, the Jews continued to support the Turks. They did not fly the Greek flag on their institutions and did not attend the Congress (August 1922) which demanded autonomy for Izmir and its surroundings. When the Greeks retreated in 1922, a great fire broke out in the town, as a result of which a number of Jewish institutions, including the yeshivah, were destroyed. In the late 1930s the community numbered only 30 families. The principal occupations of the Jews were commerce – the export of agricultural products (fruit, tobacco, and raisins) and the import of manufactured goods – and crafts – tailoring, shoemaking, money changing; there were also some farm owners. A few Jews served as physicians in the government hospitals, as judges, and as translators in the foreign consulates of the town. In the mid-20th century many families immigrated to the U.S., South Africa, Egypt, and Israel. By 1970 no Jews were living in Manissa. In a work by the Turkish writer Nazim Hikmet, written in 1936, there appears a historical character, a Jew who had converted to a heretical sect for which he gave his life. This Jew was Samuel, who was known by the name of Torlak Kemal of Manissa.

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[Abraham Haim / Leah Bornstein-Makovetsky (2nd ed.)]

MANITOBA, midcontinent province of Canada, bordering on North Dakota and Minnesota to the south, Ontario to the east, and Saskatchewan to the west. In 1877 the first known Jewish residents of Manitoba were Reuben Goldstein, a peddler, and Edmond Coblentz, a clerk, one of three brothers from Alsace-Lorraine. The 1881 Canadian census listed 33 Jews in Manitoba, 21 of them in Winnipeg. Among those outside Winnipeg were Dr. Hiram Vineberg, originally from Montreal and medical health officer in Portage la Prairie, and Harry Wexelbaum, a hotel operator in West Lynne.

In the spring of 1882, Manitoba's Jewish population expanded more than tenfold with the arrival of 350 refugees fleeing czarist pogroms and promised "free" homesteads. Land had previously been assigned for Mennonites, Icelanders, Scottish, and French settlers but no land was allotted for the Jews in spite of a request by Alexander Galt, Canadian high commissioner in London. Most of the new arrivals were housed in Winnipeg immigration sheds while earlier Jewish residents started an immigrant aid committee and raised $360 for immediate needs. But the newcomers did not wait for charity; men soon found work hauling lumber, women took domestic jobs, and by mid-June, 150 Jewish men were employed laying track across the prairies for the Canadian Pacific Railway. Others took to peddling and trading. The arrival of these Russian Jews was not favorably received in the Winnipeg media. The *Manitoba Free Press* commented: "… they are not likely to be of any great value to the country."

It took two years until land was found for the Jews, 300 miles west, at Moosomin, beyond the Manitoba border. By this time just 27 families were still willing to go on the land. This settlement, dubbed "New Jerusalem," was declared a failure after several years, but some of the failed farmers returned to Winnipeg to launch successful business enterprises and to help found synagogues and schools.

In 1887, land was first assigned to Jewish farm settlers within Manitoba, at Niverville, 30 miles southeast of Winnipeg, and after the turn of the century in Bender Hamlet and Camper, 70 miles north of Winnipeg. Closer to Winnipeg several Jewish farmers set up dairy farms. At one time there were reported to be Jewish merchant and farm families living in 118 Manitoba towns and villages outside Winnipeg. However, in 1961 Jews were reported living in just three – Portage la Prairie, 111; Brandon, 101; and Flin Flon, 60. In 2004, descendants of Jews who live in one farming town, Winkler, organized a memorial event and dedicated a plaque to the memory of 15 Winkler Jewish pioneer families who lived there between 1890 and 1914. Among Winkler-born Jews was Israel Nitikman, a judge of the Manitoba Court of Queen's Bench, and Ernest Sirluck, president of the University of Manitoba in 1970–76. As in Winkler, most Jews in smaller communities eventually moved on, especially to Winnipeg

The total number of Jews in Manitoba, including Winnipeg, grew from 31 in 1881, to 791 in 1891 and to 1,514 in 1901. By 1911 the number ballooned more than sevenfold to 10,741, then by more than half again to 16,669 in 1921. The population of Jews in Manitoba eventually reached 19,341 in 1931 and remained steady until 1971 when population numbers began a decline to 15,215 in 2001. The vast majority of these Jews lived in Winnipeg, the center of Manitoba Jewish life.

Jewish religious services in Manitoba were first held on Yom Kippur in 1879, in a private Winnipeg home. Regular Sabbath services began after the arrival of the Russian Jews in 1882. Some Jewish laborers celebrated Rosh Ha-Shanah that year in a tent at a railway station 40 miles from Winnipeg; they raised $100 among themselves to order a *Sefer Torah* and a *shofar* from New York. Synagogues also were established in Brandon in 1906, Portage la Prairie in 1908 and, meeting the needs of summer vacationers, in Winnipeg Beach in 1951. The first two synagogues have long been closed; the latter opens every summer. In the past, several smaller Jewish communities, including Winkler, also had synagogues or at least organized High Holiday services.

With the vast majority of Manitoba Jews congregated in Winnipeg, arguably the greatest area of Jewish impact in Manitoba was in politics – federal, provincial, and municipal. As early as 1882, Harry Wexelbaum served as a municipal councilor in West Lynne, before that community merged with the neighboring town of Emerson. Later Samuel Rosner served as mayor of Plum Coulee. In Flin Flon in Northern Manitoba, with only 60 Jews in a population of 10,200 residents during the 1960s and 1970s, Jack Freedman served as mayor for more than 10 years. Harry Trager was mayor of the neighboring town of The Pas, which could not muster a *minyan* among its 5,031 population.

Serious political activity took place in Winnipeg, where Jews often sparred politically with one another. In 1904, Moses Finkelstein of the Conservative Party was the first Winnipeg Jew elected to the city council, where Jews served continuously for most of the 20th century. In 1910, S. Hart Green (Liberal) was elected to the Manitoba Legislature, the first Jew to sit in a Canadian provincial assembly. In 1912, Alter Skaleter (Conservative) was elected to the city council, serving for five years, and was succeeded by Labour candidate Abraham A. Heaps. Heaps was a leader in Winnipeg's 1919 General Strike, and was arrested with other strike leaders. In 1926 he was elected Labour Member of Parliament from the heavily Jewish Winnipeg North riding and served until 1941. Max Steinkopf, a lawyer and leader in the YMHA and B'nai B'rith, was elected to the School Board in 1916. He supported the anti-strike Committee of 1000, which was formed in response to the 1919 General Strike. In 1920, Steinkopf was defeated by Labour candidate Rosa Alcin. In 1927 and again in 1932, William Tobias (Conservative) was elected to the Manitoba legislature. Marcus Hyman (Labour) was elected and, of special note, sponsored the first group libel law adopted in Canada. In 1959 Maitland Steinkopf became the first Jewish cabinet minster in Manitoba under Conservative Premier Duff Roblin; he declined to run again in 1966 but continued to serve the province in his capacity as chair of the Manitoba Centennial Corporation until his death in 1970.

Three prominent left-leaning politicians, Morris A. Gray, David Orlikow, and Saul M. Cherniack, began political careers as Winnipeg School Board representatives before moving to the city council and then to the Legislature. In 1962 Orlikow was elected to the House of Commons, and in 1969 Cherniack became one of three Jewish cabinet ministers in Manitoba's first New Democratic Party government, along with Saul A. Miller, who had been mayor of suburban West Kildonan, and Sidney Green. In the early 1970s, Sidney J. Spivak served as leader of the opposition Progressive Conservative Party, and Israel H. Asper sat in the Legislature briefly as leader of the Liberal Party before going on to become a media mogul and philanthropist. In 1986 Mira Spivak was appointed a Progressive Conservative senator from Manitoba; from 2004 she sat as an independent. In 2000 Anita Neville (née Schwartz), former School Board member, was elected to Parliament as a Liberal and re-elected in 2004. Also in 2004 Israeli-born Sam Katz, an entrepreneur and entertainment and sports promoter, was elected as the first Jewish mayor of Winnipeg.

[Abraham Arnold (2nd ed.)]

MANKIEWICZ, HERMAN JACOB (1897–1953), U.S. journalist, playwright, and screenwriter. Mankiewicz was born in New York City. In 1905, the family moved to Wilkes-Barre, Pennsylvania, where his father was an editor for a German-language newspaper and his mother worked as a dressmaker. In 1917, Mankiewicz graduated from Columbia with honors, having written a humor column for the *Spectator*. He worked as managing editor for the *American Jewish Chronicle* until 1918, when he enlisted as an Army flying cadet, but joined the Marines and served as a private first class. After the war he spent several years in Europe, collecting stories about the Red Cross for the organization's press office and as a correspondent for a variety of publications. Upon Mankiewicz's return to New York, he worked for the *New York World*, and in 1923 he joined the drama department of the *New York Times*. Along with Dorothy *Parker and Ben *Hecht he became a member of the Algonquin Round Table. In 1925, he was hired as the first drama critic for the *New Yorker*, a position he held for one year. Soon after, Paramount Publix Studios extended an invitation to him to join the first wave of screenwriters heading west. By 1933, he was working for Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer, having written or collaborated on a variety of films, including *Dinner at Eight* (1933) and the Marx Brothers' *Monkey Business* (1931) and *Horse Feathers* (1932). By 1939, his penchant for gambling led to his dismissal from the studio. Orson Welles hired Mankiewicz to adapt Mercury Theater dramatizations. It was during this time that Mankiewicz developed and wrote *Citizen Kane* (1941). Although the film earned him an Oscar for best original screenplay and restored his reputation in Hollywood, it was seen as a betrayal by his friends William Randolph Hearst and Marion Davies. By the end of the 1940s his health was declining and he became a recluse by the 1950s. Mankiewicz died of uremic poisoning in Los Angeles.

[Adam Wills (2nd ed.)]

MANKIEWICZ, JOSEPH LEO (1909–1993), U.S. film writer, producer, and director. Born in Wilkes-Barre, Pennsylvania, Mankiewicz worked on scripts for Paramount, MGM, and Fox. He received Academy Awards for *A Letter to Three Wives* (Best Director and Best Screenplay, 1949) and *All About Eve* (Best Director and Best Screenplay, 1950).

His early screenwriting credits include *Skippy* (Oscar nomination for Best Adaptation, 1931), *Million Dollar Legs* (1932), *Manhattan Melodrama* (1934), *Our Daily Bread* (1934), *Forsaking All Others* (1934), and *I Live My Life* (1935).

Mankiewicz produced such films as *Fury* (1936), *The Shopworn Angel* (1938), *The Philadelphia Story* (Best Picture Oscar, 1940), *The Feminine Touch* (1941), *Woman of the Year* (1942), and *The Keys of the Kingdom* (and screenplay, 1948). In 1952 he formed Figaro, Inc., and produced, wrote, and directed *The Barefoot Contessa* (Oscar nomination for Best Screenplay, 1954) and *The Quiet American* (1958). Films he directed include *Dragonwyck* (and screenplay, 1946), *Somewhere in the Night* (and screenplay, 1946), *The Ghost and Mrs. Muir* (1947), *No Way Out* (Oscar nomination for Best Screenplay, 1950), *People Will Talk* (and screenplay, 1951), *5 Fingers* (Oscar nomination for Best Director, 1952), *Julius Caesar* (1953), *Guys and Dolls* (and screenplay, 1955), *Suddenly Last Summer* (1959), *Cleopatra* (and screenplay, 1963), *The Honey Pot* (and screenplay, 1967), *There Was a Crooked Man* (1970), and *Sleuth* (Oscar nomination for Best Director, 1972).

Mankiewicz's films are characterized by their intelligence, sophistication, and witty dialogue, and a number of them demonstrate his masterful use of the flashback.

His brother HERMAN (1897–1953) was a screenwriter and producer. His son Tom is a writer and director and his son Christopher is a producer.

[Jonathan Licht / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

MANKOWITZ, WOLF (1924–1998), English novelist and playwright. Mankowitz was born and raised in London's East End. He studied English at Cambridge, then, like his father, became an antique dealer, revealing his expertise in *Wedgwood* (1953), *The Portland Vase* (1952), and *A Concise Encyclopedia of English Pottery and Porcelain* (1957) with R.G. Haggar. He turned increasingly to literature and wrote a number of books inspired by his childhood recollections of the East End. These include *A Kid for Two Farthings* (1953), the title of which was suggested by the Passover allegorical ditty **Ḥad Gadya; Make Me An Offer* (1952); *The Boychick* (1954); and *The Mendelman Fire* (1957). In his early writing, Mankowitz's Jewishness was somewhat muted, revealing itself merely in a preference for Jewish characters. His typical mingling of humor and pathos comes out strongly in the play, *The Bespoke Overcoat* (1955), a Jewish reworking of a Russian tale by Gogol. Like several of his other stories, this was made into a motion picture. Mankowitz was primarily a humorist with a talent for elaborating anecdotes, but he gradually developed a more astringent tone in his writing, e.g., *Expresso Bongo* (1960), a satire on the world of "pop" music, and in his satirical novel about film-makers, *Cockatrice* (1963). He later devoted himself to screen-writing and to publicity work in support of the Ḥasidic sect of Lubavitch. Mankowitz was the author or coauthor of a number of well-known screenplays, including *The Day the Earth Caught Fire* (1961), *Casino Royale* (1967), and *The Hireling* (1973).

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MANN, ABBY (1927–), U.S. screenwriter. Born Abraham Goodman in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, the son of a Russian Jewish immigrant jeweler, Mann grew up in a working-class area of East Pittsburgh, a largely Catholic area, and attended Temple University and New York University. Mann wrote dramas for such 1950s television programs as *Playhouse 90* and *Studio One*, and is considered a leader in the genre of the made-for-television movie; social justice issues are Mann's main inspiration. He received an Academy Award for his screenplay for *Judgment at Nuremberg* (1961), based on the postwar trial of Nazi judges. Reuniting with *Nuremberg*'s director, Stanley *Kramer, Mann wrote *A Child Is Waiting* (1963), about special-needs children, and then adapted the Katherine Anne Porter novel *Ship of Fools* (1965). Mann took Emmys for *The Marcus-Nelson Murders* (1973), the pilot for the series *Kojak*, as well as for *Murderers Among Us: The Simon Wiesenthal Story* (1989) and *Indictment: The McMartin Case* (cowritten with his wife, Myra Mann, in 1995). In 1975, Mann developed *Medical Story*, a short-lived series that cast a light on the medical world. Ten years after the assassination of Martin Luther King, Jr., Mann explored whether there was a conspiracy to kill the civil-rights leader in the miniseries *King* (1978). In 1985, he wrote *The Atlanta Child Murders*, a case that focused on Wayne Williams, a black man accused of killing young boys after procuring them for his gay father.

[Adam Wills (2nd ed.)]

MANN, ABRAHAM AARON OF POSNAN (mid-17th century), Hebrew writer. Mann, who was a *ḥazzan* in Poznan, wrote a short work, *Urim ve-Tummim* (Amsterdam, 1653), dealing with such matters as the proper way to fulfill the ethical commandments, repentance, and the way to achieve the state of *devekut* and the love of God. Instructions are also given regarding correct social behavior, in accordance with Jewish ethics, based directly on talmudic and midrashic ideas. The work is divided into short paragraphs (each beginning with a different letter of the alphabet), arranged in a *notarikon* system forming the author's name several times. The work likewise includes a short ethical poem, also arranged in a *notarikon* system, and, at the end, several brief sermons.

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[Joseph Dan]

MANN, DANIEL (**Daniel Chugerman**; 1912–1991), U.S. director. Mann was born in New York and began his career in entertainment as a musician in resorts. He served in the army in World War II, was trained at Neighborhood Playhouse in New York, began directing television productions, and was later a director for theater and for movie adaptations of the same plays, including *Come Back, Little Sheba* (1950; 1952), and *The Rose Tattoo* (1951; 1955). On Broadway, he also directed *Paint Your Wagon* (1952), *The Immoralist* (1954), and *A Loss of Roses* (1959).

Mann directed such films as *I'll Cry Tomorrow* (1955), *The Teahouse of the August Moon* (1956), *The Last Angry Man* (1959), *Butterfield 8* (1960), *Ada* (1961), *Five Finger Exercise* (1962), *Who's Been Sleeping in My Bed?* (1963), *Our Man Flint* (1965), *Judith* (1966), *For Love of Ivy* (1967), *Willard* (1971), *A Dream of Kings* (1971), *Maurie* (1973), *The Revengers* (1973), *Lost in the Stars* (1974), *Interval* (1974), *Journey into Fear* (1975), and *Matilda* (1978).

On the small screen, Mann's directorial credits include the miniseries *How the West Was Won* (1977) and the TV movies *Another Part of the Forest* (1972), *Playing for Time* (1980), *The Day the Loving Stopped* (1981), and *The Man Who Broke 1,000 Chains* (1981).

[Jonathan Licht / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

MANN, DELBERT (1920–), U.S. director. Born in Lawrence, Kansas, Mann served in the U.S. Air Force during World War II and entered the theater as stage manager and then director for repertory and summer playhouse productions. From 1949 to 1955 he directed a number of television dramas, including Playhouse 90 and Omnibus productions, and in 1955 directed the movie *Marty*, from his television adaptation of Paddy Chayevsky's drama. It earned him an Academy Award for Best Director. Mann also directed the movies *Bachelor Party* (1957), *Separate Tables* (1958), *Desire under the Elms* (1958), *Middle of the Night* (1959), *Dark at the Top of the Stairs* (1960), *The Outsider* (1961), *Lover Come Back* (1961), *That Touch of Mink* (1962), *Dear Heart* (1964), *A Gathering of Eagles* (1964), *Quick Before It Melts!* (1965), *Kidnapped* (1971), *The Pink Jungle* (1968), *Birch Interval* (1977), and *Bronte* (1983). In 1968 he began working outside the United States, directing movies premiered on television and then shown in movie theaters, including *Heidi* (1969), *David Copperfield* (1970), *Jane Eyre* (1971), and *All Quiet on the Western Front* (1979), for which he was nominated for an Emmy.

Mann's TV films include *All the Way Home* (1981), *The Member of the Wedding* (1982), *The Last Days of Patton* (1986), and *Incident in a Small Town* (1994). He also wrote *Looking Back … At Live Television and Other Matters* (1998).

Mann served as president of the Directors Guild of America (1967–71). In 2002 the DGA awarded him an Honorary Life Member Award.

[Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

MANN, FREDERIC RAND (**Maniyevich**; 1903–1987), U.S. public figure. Mann, who was born in Gomel, Russia, was taken to the U.S. at the age of two. A successful businessman, he had a varied public career. He was appointed a member of the U.S. Mint Assay Commission in 1943, served as director of commerce and city representative of Philadelphia, and as a Pennsylvania commissioner of the Delaware River Port Authority. President Johnson appointed Mann the first U.S. ambassador to Barbados (1967) and U.S. special representative to the Caribbean islands of Antigua, Dominica, Grenada, St. Lucia, and St. Kitts-Nevis (1968). Active in Jewish affairs, Mann was vice president of the American Committee for the Weizmann Institute of Science, a founder of the Israel Philharmonic Orchestra, which is housed in the Mann Auditorium in Tel Aviv bearing his name, and treasurer of Dropsie College in Philadelphia.

The Mann Center for the Performing Arts in Philadelphia, built in 1976, also bears its benefactor's name. One of the largest outdoor amphitheaters in the United States, it seats 4,000 under cover and an additional 10,000 in the open air.

MANN, HERBIE (**Herbert Solomon**; 1930–2003). U.S. jazz flautist. When Mann began his career as a flute player in the early 1950s, he was essentially the only flautist playing jazz. A product of the Manhattan School of Music, he sought models in the world of Latin music, where the flute was a much more common sound. As Mann said in interviews, "When [accordionist] Mat Matthews gave me an opportunity to record jazz on flute [in 1952], there was no tradition of straightahead jazz on the flute.… When Symphony Sid [Torin], the DJ in New York suggested I add conga drums, … the audience understood where the flute was. It was jazz, but it was Latin jazz." The Latin-jazz fusion would prove to be merely the first of many hyphenate jazz styles Mann would explore. He would register bestselling records playing jazz-funk, jazz-rock, disco-inflected jazz, Brazilian jazz, and jazz-reggae. After he was diagnosed with inoperable cancer in 1998, he even went back to his own musical roots, playing East European Jewish-influenced material. Mann's enormous commercial success was a mixed blessing; jazz purists frequently dismissed his records and playing for their ease, bordering on glibness. Regardless of the merits of his own playing, he established the flute as a jazz instrument.

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[George Robinson (2nd ed.)]

MANN, JACOB (1888–1940), scholar of the **Genizah* period and of the Jews under the *Fatimids, and particularly of the *Genizah* fragments. The son of a *shoḥet* from Przemysl, Galicia, where he received a traditional Orthodox education, Mann went to London in 1908 where he pursued his secular studies. At the same time he pursued rabbinic studies at Jews' College and qualified for the ministry in 1914. Soon after, he began publishing learned papers, including his excellent series, "The Responsa of the Babylonian Geonim as a Source of Jewish History" (in JQR, 7 (1916/17); 11 (1920/21)). The field in which he was later to distinguish himself as a great scholar was *Genizah* research. Mann for the first time undertook to collect and explain all the documents from the period preceding the Crusades to the fall of the Fatimids. His book, *The Jews in Egypt and in Palestine under the Fatimid Caliphs* (2 vols., 1920–22; reprinted with introd. by S.D. Goitein, 1970), was a masterpiece *sui generis*. By establishing the dates of a great number of the largely undated *Genizah* documents, Mann provided the chronological framework for the history of the Jews in the Near East. He revealed the great role played by the *Jerusalem gaonate in the period before the Crusades and shed new light on the various forces within the Jewish communities then living in the lands ruled by the Fatimids. Although Mann neglected the Arabic documents, abstained avowedly from drawing general conclusions, and was mainly interested in the communal history of the Jews, his work is of lasting value as a great collection of hitherto unknown sources, which he ably deciphered and annotated. After the first volume of the above-mentioned book appeared, Mann went to the United States, first as lecturer at Hebrew College in Baltimore and a year later as professor at Hebrew Union College in Cincinnati. There he taught Jewish history and Talmud and continued his research. His second major work, *Texts and Studies in Jewish History and Literature* (2 vols., 1931–35, repr. 1970), contains various documents concerning European Jewry and Geonica and texts elucidating the history of the *Karaites in the Near East and in Eastern Europe. In the last years of his life Mann embarked on the study of one of the most difficult branches of Hebrew literature, the Midrashim. In his work, *The Bible as read and preached in the Old Synagogue; a study in the cycles of the reading from Torah and Prophets, as well as from Psalms and in the structure of the Midrashic homilies*, he tried to establish the dependence of the Midrashim from the chapters of the Torah and from the *haftarot* which were read on the Sabbath on cycles of three and one-half years respectively. The first volume of the book was published in 1940. Material left by Mann for the second volume was prepared for publication by Isaiah Sonne; after the latter's death the work was continued by Victor Reichert; it appeared in 1966.

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[Eliyahu Ashtor]

MANN, MENDEL (**Mendl Man**; 1916–1975), Yiddish novelist and painter. Mann was born in Płonsk, Poland. When his art education in Warsaw was interrupted by the Nazi invasion, he fled eastwards and enlisted in the Red Army, in which he witnessed the siege of Moscow and the occupation of Berlin. After the war he settled in Łodz and published a volume of verse, *Di Shtilkayt Mont* ("Silence Calls," 1945). Following the Kielce pogrom, he moved to Regensburg in 1946, where he edited a Yiddish DP newspaper. He immigrated to Israel in 1948, where he published *Oyfgevakhte Erd* ("Awakened Earth," 1953), a collection of stories reflecting the lives of Jewish refugees living in a former Palestinian village. From 1949 he was a co-editor of *Di Goldene Keyt*. The novel, *In a Farvorloztn Dorf* ("In an Abandoned Village," 1954), is based on the life of Zionist emigrants to Palestine from Jewish villages in the vicinity of Płonsk. His most outstanding work is a trilogy of novels reflecting his wartime experiences. The constituent volumes are *Bay di Toyern fun Moskve* (1956; *At the Gates of Moscow*, 1963), *Bay der Vaysl* ("At the Vistula," 1958), and *Dos Faln fun Berlin* ("The Fall of Berlin," 1960). The action deals with fighting on the Eastern Front seen through the eyes of Jews serving in the Red Army (whose contribution is minimized to indulge Stalin's prejudice), the reactions of the Russian and Ukrainian population as the Nazis approach Moscow, the instinctive patriotism of ordinary Soviet soldiers and their aspirations for greater freedom after the war. The Nazi leaders are portrayed as histrionic charlatans. Further important prose works are *Nakht iber Glushino* ("Night over Glushino," 1957), *Di Gas fun Bliendike Mandlen* ("The Street of Almond Blossoms," 1958), a collection of stories set in Palestine, *Al Naharoys Poyln* ("By the Rivers of Poland," 1962), and a further volume of stories, *Der Shvartser Demb* ("The Black Oak," 1969). In 1961 Mann moved to Paris and became the editor of *Undzer Vort*. He built up a significant art collection and became a friend of Marc Chagall. In 1963 he edited the Yiddish section of *Sefer Plonsk ve-ha-Sevivah*, the Płonsk memorial volume. There were exhibitions of his paintings in the 1930s in Warsaw and in 1967 in Paris. His works have been extensively translated into French and German.

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[Josef Schawinski / Hugh Denman (2nd ed.)]

MANN, THEODORE R. (1928–), U.S. attorney and communal leader. Mann was born in Czechoslovakia, and came to the U.S. with his parents in 1929. After studying at various yeshivot in New York, he graduated from Pennsylvania State University and Temple University's School of Law. He was the editor of Temple University's *Temple Law Quarterly*. He clerked in the U.S. 3rd Circuit Court of Appeals and then taught at the University of Pennsylvania Law School.

For 31 years he was a senior partner at the law firm of Mann, Ungar, Spector & Labovitz, concentrating on securities fraud litigation, anti-trust litigation, and other complex commercial issues. Mann played a leading role in several major civil rights and church-state separation cases. He successfully argued cases involving the admissions policy of Girard College and challenges to Bible reading in the public schools. He also argued before the U.S. Supreme Court in *Lemon v. Sloan*, a case challenging public aid to parochial schools, and in several Sunday "blue law" cases. Mann joined the WolfBlock law firm, serving as Of Counsel in the Business Litigation Practice Group in the company's Philadelphia office.

Long active in Jewish communal affairs, he served as president of the Jewish Community Relations Council of Greater Philadelphia and of the Greater Philadelphia Council of the American Jewish Congress and as national vice president of the Congress. He was also chairman of the Jewish Council for Public Affairs and the Israel Task Force of the National Jewish Community Relations Advisory Council. Mann succeeded Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler as president of the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations, holding office until 1980. He also held official positions with the National Conference on Soviet Jewry, the American Jewish Congress, and the Executive Committee of the Israel Policy Forum. He was the founding chairman of Project Nishma and of Mazon: A Jewish Response to Hunger. In 2000, the Jewish Council for Public Affairs presented Mann with the Albert Chernin Award for his "exemplary voluntary service to the field of Jewish community relations and the leading role he has taken in defending the First Amendment and religious freedoms for all Americans."

[Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

°**MANN, THOMAS** (1875–1955), German novelist and the leader of Germany's anti-Nazi intellectuals. Mann married Katia Pringsheim (1883–1980), whose parents were both of Jewish background: Alfred Pringsheim (1850–1941), professor of mathematics at Munich University, and Hedwig Dohm (1855–1942), the daughter of the famous feminist and author Hedwig Dohm (born Hedwig Schlesinger, 1831–1919), who had married in Berlin in 1853 the political and satirical publicist Ernst Dohm (formerly Elias Levy, 1819–1883), editor-in-chief of the satirical periodical *Kladderadatsch*.

It was the Berlin Jewish publisher, Samuel *Fischer, who launched Thomas Mann on his literary career. He introduced Jewish characters in many of his masterpieces, such as *Koenigliche Hoheit* (1909, *Royal Highness,* 1916), *Der Zauberberg* (1924; *The Magic Mountain*, 1927), and *Doktor Faustus* (1947; Eng., 1949). He withdrew his short story "Blood of the Walsungs" (Waelsungenblut, 1905), the original conclusion of which could be considered antisemitic, from publication after protests of his father-in-law and published it only as a private printing and with a different ending in 1921. Before the rise of Hitler he rarely wrote on Jewish matters, but his 1907 essay "Solving the Jewish Question" stood in the tradition of emancipation ideology by advocating mixed marriage and conversion. When Jacob *Wassermann, in 1921, voiced his despair at the prevalence of antisemitism in Germany, Mann answered his fellow-novelist that Germany was the country least suited for the growth of this evil. But from 1922 Mann warned of the Nazi danger. He called Munich as early as 1923 "the town of Hitler" and fought actively against the danger ("Kampf um Muenchen als Kulturzentrum," 1926; "Deutsche Ansprache. Ein Appell an die Vernunft," Berlin, 1930). When Hitler came to power, Mann, unlike his brother Heinrich (1871–1950) and his children, at first remained silent about the Nazi regime, hoping that it would not last too long. To wait things out he chose voluntary exile in southern France and Switzerland. In January 1936 he broke his silence on the persecution of German Jews in a leading article in the *Neue Zuercher Zeitung*. While disclaiming the appellation "philo-Semite," Mann expressed his repugnance for German antisemitism as the product of a racial myth designed for the rabble, and urged Jews not to despair: having survived many storms in the past, they would outlive this new oppression too. As a Czechoslovak citizen from November 1936, the Nazis deprived him of German citizenship in December, because of his "solidarity with Jewish associates." In response to the stripping of his title of Dr. h.c. of the University of Bonn, Mann warned in his published reply already in January 1937 of the coming war. During the early Nazi years he was at work on his prose epic *Joseph und seine Brueder* (4 vols., 1933–42, *Joseph and his Brothers*, 1934–45), the most profound treatment of this biblical theme in literature. He went to the United States in September 1938, teaching as an honorary professor at Princeton University, and moved to California in 1941. From the beginning of World War II he broadcast from America through BBC London 55 speeches to German listeners ("Deutsche Hoerer!"). In 1942, when news of the extermination of the Jews reached him, Mann broadcast the information, hoping it would reach German listeners. In 1943 he called attention to the "maniacal resolution" of the Nazis to exterminate the Jews totally. He begged the United States not to cling bureaucratically to its immigration laws while millions of Jews were being massacred, but to prove by a modification of those laws that the war was indeed being waged for humanity and human dignity. He lived in California until 1952, when he moved to Switzerland. His public views on the Jewish question from the years 1936–48 were published in 1966 (*Sieben Manifeste zur juedischen Frage*, ed. by W.A. Berendsohn).

His eldest child, ERIKA MANN (1905–1969), trained as an actress, directed *Die Pfeffermuehle*, an anti-Nazi cabaret, from January 1933. She went into exile in February 1933 and was in the U.S. from 1936, became a war correspondent, and eventually settled in Switzerland. Her works include *Zehn Millionen Kinder. Die Erziehung deutscher Jugend im Dritten Reich* (1938) and *Das letzte Jahr* (1956), a biography of her father. She was an outspoken critic of post-World War II German democracy. Her brother, KLAUS MANN (1906–1949), an anti-Nazi writer and journalist, published two journals (*Die Sammlung*, 1933–35; *Decision*, 1941–42) and resumed his career in the U.S. Army as a propagandist. He wrote various novels and an autobiography, *The Turning Point* (1944; German ed., 1952). He and his sister also published *Escape to Life* (1939), about the talented victims of Hitlerism. Klaus Mann committed suicide in Cannes.

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[Sol Liptzin / Dirk Heisserer (2nd ed.)]

MANNA (Heb. מָן), referred to as "bread from heaven" (Ex. 16:4; cf. Ps. 105:40). Manna is described in Exodus as coming down in the wilderness of Sinai within the area of the Israelites' encampment every morning except on Sabbaths in the form of "a fine, scale-like thing, fine as the hoarfrost on the ground." The Israelites collected "an *Omer* a head," which they ate within 24 hours, for if left until the next morning it bred worms and rotted. When the sun shone on the ground the manna melted. The double portion collected on the sixth day, however, did not rot and sufficed also for the Sabbath when no manna fell. In form "it was like coriander seed, but white; and the taste of it was like wafers made with honey." For 40 consecutive years the Israelites ate the manna, "until they came to the land of Canaan" (Ex. 16:26–36).

Some, drawing an analogy between the manna and the quails, which also miraculously descended to the children of Israel, contend that, like the latter, the manna was a phenomenon of nature which sometimes occurs in the wilderness of Sinai. Something similar is stated by Josephus (Ant. 3:26ff.): "And to this very day all that region is watered by a rain like to that which then the Deity sent down for men's sustenance." As early as from the time of St. Anthony (c. 250–355 C.E.), Christian pilgrims tell of a tradition, current among the monks of the monastery of St. Catherine in Sinai, that the biblical manna comes from the secretion of insects on the branches of tamarisk trees, which to this day grow in the wadis of the southern Sinai mountains. Bodenheimer has suggested a similar explanation of the origin of the manna. Two genera of coccidae parasitize on tamarisk trees of the species *Tamarix mannifera*. On those growing in the Arabah Valley, in the lowlands of the southern Negev, and in Sinai, there are large numbers of the coccus *Najacoccus serpentinus minon*, which is covered with a pocket in the form of an elongated tube in which it lays its eggs. Another coccus, the *Tradutina mannipara*, lays its eggs in a cone-like pocket. These two coccidae extract the sap, rich in carbohydrates, of the branches of the tamarisk, the excess carbohydrates which their bodies cannot absorb being secreted in the form of drops of transparent liquid that congeal into white globules, composed chemically of glucose, fructose, and a very small quantity of pectin. The globules melt in the heat of the sun. A large proportion of these globules of "manna" is eaten by ants, which collect them in their nests. In years of plentiful rain, the Sinai Bedouin, who also call the globules *man*, gather as much as 600 kilograms (about 1,300 lbs.) of them, which they use as a substitute for honey.

Although there is some resemblance between this "manna" and that described in the Pentateuch, and despite the importance of the early tradition supporting that identification, it is very doubtful whether this is the manna of the Bible, lacking as it does several features of the biblical food. There is the additional fact that the nutritional value of the "manna" produced by the cocci of the tamarisk is very slight, since it contains no proteins at all, whereas the Pentateuch speaks of the manna as "bread" and as a basic food. And finally, the quantity of this "manna" is not enough to feed a tribe or even a family, let alone a nation wandering in the wilderness. Some identify the biblical manna with the *Lecanora esculenta*, a species of lichen, large quantities of which are sometimes borne by winds to the central Asian steppes and to the heights of the Atlas Mountains. This species, however, has thus far not been found in the Arabian Peninsula or in the neighborhood of Israel.

[Jehuda Feliks]

In the Aggadah

Manna was one of the ten objects created in the twilight on the eve of the Sabbath of Creation (Avot 5:6). It was ground by the angels in heaven (Tanḥ. B., Ex. 67), where manna is constantly being prepared for the future use of the pious (Ḥag. 12b). Manna deserved its name, "bread of the angels" (lit. "bread of the mighty" לֶחֶם אַבִּירִים, Ps. 78:25) because those who ate it became equal to the angels in strength. Furthermore, like angels, they had no need of relieving themselves since the manna was entirely dissolved in their bodies (Tanḥ. B., Ex. 67), and it was not until they sinned by complaining about the taste of the manna that they once again had to relieve themselves like ordinary mortals (Yoma 75b). Each day sufficient manna to sustain the Jewish people for 2,000 years fell (Tanḥ. B., Ex. 66), and this spared the Israelites the need of carrying it during their wanderings, and thus also enabled them to enjoy it while it was still hot. Receiving a new supply every day constantly made them turn their hearts to God for their daily bread (Yoma 76a).

Before the manna fell, a north wind swept the surface of the desert, which the rain then washed clean; dew next descended and was congealed into a solid substance by the wind so that it would serve as a table for the manna which next fell from heaven; it was then covered by another layer of dew which protected it from vermin and insects (Mekh., Va-Yassa, 4). The manna fell directly in front of the homes of the righteous, but the average person had to go out and gather it, and the wicked had to go far from the camp to attain their share (Yoma 75a). At the fourth hour of the day when the manna melted, it formed a river from which the righteous will drink in the hereafter. The heathens also attempted to drink out of these streams, but the manna that tasted so delicious to the Israelites had a bitter taste in their mouths. They could enjoy it only indirectly, by catching and eating animals that drank the melted manna; even in this form it was so delicious that the heathens cried, "Happy is the people that is thus favored" (Tanḥ. B., Ex. 67). There was no need to cook or bake the manna. It contained the flavor of every conceivable dish. One had only to desire a specific food, and the manna assumed its taste (Yoma 75a). To the child it tasted like milk, to the adolescent like bread, to the old like honey, and to the sick like barley steeped in oil and honey (*ibid.*). The manna exhaled a fragrant odor, and served the women as perfume and cosmetics. Together with manna, precious stones and pearls also fell down from heaven to the Israelites (Yoma 75a).

The amount of manna gathered by each family was found to correspond to the number of its members. This rendered the manna useful in solving many difficult problems. For instance, when two people came before Moses, one accusing the other of having stolen his slave and the other claiming to have bought the slave, Moses deferred his decision to the following morning, when the quantity of manna in their respective houses revealed to whom the slave truly belonged (Yoma 75a). When, many centuries later, the prophet Jeremiah exhorted his contemporaries to study the Torah, they responded by saying, "How shall we maintain ourselves?" The prophet then brought forth the vessel with manna which had been placed in the Temple, and exclaimed: "O generation, see ye the word of the Lord; see what it was that served your fathers as food when they applied themselves to the study of the Torah. You, too, will be supported by God in the same way if you will devote yourselves to the study of the Torah" (Mekh., Va-Yassa, 6). When the destruction of the Temple was imminent, the vessel with manna was concealed along with the Ark and the sacred oil. In the messianic period, the prophet Elijah will restore all those hidden objects (*ibid.*).

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MANNE, MORDECAI ẒEVI (1859–1886), Hebrew lyric poet and artist. Born near Vilna, he was sent at the age of 13 to study at yeshivot in Minsk. After his talent for painting was discovered he went to Vilna and enrolled at its school of art. He taught himself Russian and general studies, and wrote his first poems, lyrical studies of nature. In 1880 he was accepted as a student at the Academy of Arts in St. Petersburg. On the recommendation of A. *Zederbaum, Manne's studies were subsidized by A. Kaufman, a wealthy communal leader, and he served as his Hebrew secretary. He contributed poems and articles to *Ha-Meliẓ* and *Ha-Ẓefirah* under the pen name Ha-Meẓayyer ("the painter"; also Heb. acronym of – **M**ordecai **Z**evi**yel**id **R**adoshkewitz). In 1884 he went to Warsaw and contributed to Nahum *Sokolow's *Ha-Asif* and S.P. *Rabbinowitz' *Keneset Yisrael*, designing the covers of both anthologies. A victim of tuberculosis, his health deteriorated after 1884. At the end of his life he wrote a popular poem, *Masat Nafshi*, wherein he expressed his longing for Palestine. Only some of his poems and articles were published during his lifetime; his collected works appeared after his death, edited by his friend A.L. Schoenhaus (1897).

Manne's poetry displays an individual lyricism, and he is at his best in descriptions of nature, in which his talents as writer and painter fuse. His poems are clearly influenced by the classical Russian and German poetry which he translated extensively. In his critical articles he wrote that "the poem and the poetic phrase have no purpose outside themselves, they are in themselves a purpose." Manne dreamed of "artists who loved their people and their religion," and who would devote themselves to depicting the beauty, the sacred values, and the history of Israel. A list of his works translated into English appears in Goell, Bibliography, p. 34.

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[Yehuda Slutsky]

MANNE, SHELLY (**Sheldon**; 1920–1984), U.S. jazz drummer, club owner. Manne's father and two uncles were drummers so he had percussion in his blood. Although New York-born, he is most strongly associated with the "West Coast school" of post-WWII jazz and spent most of his career in Los Angeles and its environs. He got his first professional experience on transatlantic cruise ships, then played for Raymond Scott and Les Brown. But the big breakthrough for Manne came when he was hired as Stan Kenton's drummer in 1946. He enjoyed two successful stints with Kenton, proving that a swift, sure drummer could make even the Kenton behemoth swing. In between he played with Woody Herman and small groups headed by Charlie Ventura and Herman alumnus Bill Harris. After leaving Kenton for good in 1952, he relocated to the West Coast, where he was much in demand for studio work. But he continued playing live jazz whenever possible, fronting his own band, Shelly Manne and His Men. From 1960 to 1974 he was owner of and frequent performer at his own Los Angeles club, Shelly's Manne-Hole. After the club folded, he co-founded the LA 4 combo, which would last until his death 10 years later. Manne was a highly intelligent player, modest but self-assured. He stated his own rules for drummers in a 1955 piece in *Down Beat*: "I'm not in favor of the bombastic approach to drumming. A display of technique leaves me cold if a good line, good sound, and sensitivity are ignored."

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[George Robinson (2nd ed.)]

MANNES, family of musicians. DAVID MANNES (1866–1959), U.S. violinist and conductor, was interested in civic betterment. In 1912 he founded the Music School Settlement for Colored People, New York. In 1916 he founded the David Mannes School of Music, with a faculty of eminent musicians. He published an autobiography, *Music is My Faith* (1938). He married CLARA DAMROSCH MANNES (1869–1948), a pianist and the daughter of conductor Leopold *Damrosch. His son, LEOPOLD *MANNES (1899–1964), a pianist and teacher and inventor, succeeded his father as director of the Mannes School.

MANNES, LEOPOLD (1899–1964), U.S. pianist and co-inventor with Leopold *Godowsky of the Kodachrome color process. He was born in New York, the son of David Mannes, the violinist and conductor of the New York Symphony Orchestra. He studied musical composition in Rome and was an accomplished pianist. He worked with Godowsky and together they found a successful method of producing color film. They experimented in the Eastman Kodak Laboratories in Rochester, New York. In 1939 Mannes left Rochester and joined his father as codirector of the Mannes School of Music. In 1953 he reorganized it as Mannes College of Music of which he was president.

MANNHEIM, city in Baden, Germany. Jews first settled in Mannheim (which was founded in 1606) around 1652, and the first rabbi, Naphtali Herz, served from 1657 to 1671. The community was granted a highly favorable charter in 1660. A cemetery was acquired a year later (in use until 1839), and a synagogue and *mikveh* were built in 1664. In 1663 there were 15 Jewish families in the town, two of them Portuguese, founders of a Portuguese community that later maintained its own schoolteacher and enjoyed particular privileges. In 1674 the *ḥevra kaddisha* (*Kippe*) was established. By 1680 there were 78 Jewish families in Mannheim; in 1689 they aided the burghers in the defense of the city against the French; on its destruction, they took refuge in the communities of *Heidelberg and *Frankfurt. Eighty-four families had returned to the city by 1691 when a new charter was issued. Modeled on the first one, it included the Portuguese, fixed the number of tolerated families at 86 (increased to 150 in 1698), established an interest rate of 5%, and abolished the yellow *badge. The charter of 1717 (also including the Portuguese) raised the number of tolerated families to 200 and permitted an interest rate of 10%. The favorable position of the Jews there is expressed in a contemporary reference to Mannheim as "New Jerusalem." There were many local followers of *Shabbetai Ẓevi in the community, vigorously opposed by its rabbi, Samuel Helmann (1726–51). In 1708 the synagogue and *ḥeder* (*Klaus*), donated by Lemle Moses Rheinganum, was consecrated and later endowed with 100,000 gulden (it remained in use until 1940). Soon after, it was enlarged considerably. An unsuccessful attempt was made when the Jewish charter was renewed in 1765 to establish a separate Jewish quarter. Political emancipation came in 1807, followed by full civil rights in 1862. The main synagogue was consecrated in 1855. A public elementary school was in existence between 1821 and 1870. The number of families increased from 225 in 1761 to 247 in 1771, and the number of Jews in Mannheim rose from 940 in 1801, to 4,249 in 1885; 6,402 in 1913; and 6,400 (2.3% of the total population) in 1933. The community issued a monthly bulletin (1922–38) and maintained a *Lehrhaus* (school for adults) between 1922 and 1938, as well as numerous charitable, cultural, and social organizations. Jews were active in the social, cultural, and political life of the city.

The interior of the synagogue was demolished on April 1, 1933. By 1938 only 3,000 Jews remained. On November 10, 1938, the main synagogue was burnt, and the community was forced to transfer the remains of 3,586 bodies interred in the old cemetery to the public one. On October 22, 1940, some 2,000 Jews were deported to the concentration camp of *Gurs, and the remainder to Auschwitz a year later. After World War II, Jews returned to Mannheim; they numbered 68 in 1945; 386 in 1970; and 338 in 1977. A new synagogue was opened in 1957. In 1987 a new community center with a synagogue was consecrated. The Jewish community numbered 400 in 1989 and more than 500 in 2005.

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[Louis Lewin / Larissa Daemmig (2nd ed.)]

MANNHEIM, HERMANN (1889–1974), lawyer and criminologist, pioneer of the teaching of criminology in Britain. Born in Russia of German parents, Mannheim was educated in Germany. He combined his work as a judge in the Berlin criminal and appeals court with that of a professor of criminal law at Berlin University. When in 1933 his career in Germany came to an end, he had already achieved a position of both judicial and academic eminence. In 1934 Mannheim settled in England where he continued his studies in the sociological and psychological problems connected with crime and punishment and introduced the systematic teaching of criminology into British universities. His courses at the London School of Economics, where the post of reader in criminology was created for him in 1946, were attended by social scientists, lawyers, psychologists, and psychiatrists from all over the world. In those years Mannheim already wrote some of his influential books, among them: *The Dilemma of Penal Reform* (1939), *War and Crime* (1941), and *Criminal Justice and Social Reconstruction* (1946, 2nd ed. 1949, 3rd ed. 1967). He took a leading part in the establishment and the development of almost every important scientific and public activity aiming at the study of crime, the understanding of the offender, and the peno-correctional treatment of delinquents and criminals. For several years he served as president of the scientific committee of the International Criminological Society. He was co-founder and coeditor of the *British Journal of Criminology* (1950–66) and of the International Library of Criminology. The London Institute for the Study and Treatment of Delinquency and the Howard League for Penal Reform were among the causes to which he dedicated his life. In 1955 he published (together with L.T. Wilkins) his *Prediction Methods in Relation to Borstal Training*, the first examination in Britain of the efficacy of penal methods. The Home Office adopted its findings in the administration of the Borstal and prison services. His textbook, *Comparative Criminology* (2 vols., 1965), is the definitive statement on the study of crime in the United States, Britain, and Continental Europe, dealing with the causes of crime, the sociological, psychological, and physical factors involved, and also critically analyzing the various methods used in criminological research. He edited *Pioneers in Criminology,* which has become one of the basic readings for the student of criminology in the Anglo-Saxon world.

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[Zvi Hermon]

MANNHEIM, KARL (1893–1947), sociologist. Born in Budapest, Mannheim was a student of Max Weber in Heidelberg. He was professor of sociology in Frankfurt in 1930, emigrating in 1933 to London, where he taught at the London School of Economics until his death.

Combining influences coming from Marx, Dilthey, and Max Weber, Mannheim became – together with the philosopher Max Scholer – the initiator of the sociology of knowledge. This branch of sociology is based on the conviction that cognition is not a purely intellectual act but formed by vital relations that are non-theoretical in character and largely defined by the position of the actor in the social structure. Cognition is based on volition and volition, in turn, on the antecedents and concrete circumstances of a person's life. Mannheim denied that this view was leading to sociological relativism or to a disparagement of the spirit; rather, in his opinion, the mind was to be set free by the recognition of the nonrational roots of a consciousness.

After his emigration, Mannheim's interest turned largely toward the problem which was posed by the rise of Nazism, namely, how democracy in a period of mass movements could be prevented from sliding into totalitarian dictatorship. Mannheim's thesis was that *laissez-faire* liberalism, through loosening all societal bonds, would carry with it the danger of totalitarianism and that a fighting democracy would have to "plan for freedom"; the intention ought to be to guarantee the values of personality by means of social regulation. He even went so far as to suggest the cooperation of sociology and theology to that end. Mannheim's early work, *Ideologie und Utopie* (1929; Eng. trans., 1936), opposes "utopian" thinking, carried by the discontented and emphasizing change, to "ideological" thinking which is essentially conservative in nature. Still earlier appeared *Die Strukturanalyse der Erkenntnistheorie* ("The Structural Analysis of Knowledge"; 1922), "Das Problem einer Soziologie des Wissens" (in: *Archiv fuer Sozialwissenschaft und Sozialpolitik*, 53 (1925), 577–652). and "Das Konservative Denken" (in: *Archiv fuer Sozialwissenschaft und Sozialpolitik*, 57 (1927), 68–142; 470–95). The major works of Mannheim's second period are *Man and Society in an Age of Reconstruction* (1940) and *Diagnosis of Our Time* (1943). Three posthumous publications were: *Freedom, Power and Democratic Planning* (1950), *Essays on Sociology and Social Psychology* (1953), and *Systematic Sociology* (1958). Mannheim was the founder of the International Library of Sociology and Social Reconstruction, which published many well-known monographs. He had an important unofficial influence on some aspects of British government policy such as the 1944 Education Act. Mannheim contracted pneumonia and died at the age of only 53.

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[Werner J. Cahnman]

MANNHEIM, LUCIE (1899–1976), actress. Born near Berlin, she became a leading actress at the Volksbuehne, Berlin and from 1924 to 1930 appeared at the Staatstheater, Berlin where one of her roles was Nora in Ibsen's *A Doll's House*. After the Nazis came to power, she settled in England where she appeared on the London stage, repeating her success as Nora. After World War II she frequently appeared in Germany. She also appeared in a number of British films, including Alfred Hitchcock's *The 39 Steps* (1935).

MANNHEIMER, ISAAC NOAH (1793–1865), Vienna preacher and creator of a moderate, compromise Reform ritual. Born in Copenhagen, he was the son of a Hungarian *ḥazzan*. He received his general education at the local secular school and studied Hebrew literature and Talmud with R. Gedaliah Moses, the liberal pedagogue of Copenhagen. While attending the university of Copenhagen he continued with his talmudic studies. When in 1816 the Danish government issued regulations for Jewish religious instruction, he was appointed head teacher of religion (*Hauptkatechet*) and entrusted with the task of examining his students and preparing them for confirmation. The first confirmation took place with considerable fervor on May 9, 1817, with the accompaniment of organ music and in the presence of high state and university officials. He held services every Wednesday evening for adherents of Reform *Judaism that were characterized by the total elimination of the Hebrew language and the use of music by Christian composers. Mannheimer preached in the Danish language, much to the dismay of the traditional majority of the community who lodged an official protest with the government. In 1821 he went to Berlin to conduct services in the Reform synagogue, then to Vienna, and back to Copenhagen. He finally left Copenhagen to preach in 1823 in Hamburg and then went to Leipzig. At the suggestion of Lazar *Biedermann, he was asked in 1824 to officiate at the new Seitenstetten Synagogue in Vienna. Since Jews in Vienna were not permitted to constitute a community at that time, he was officially known as headmaster of the religious school. Mannheimer became one of the leading preachers of the 19th century, attracting all segments of the Jewish population; he adhered to an inspirational rather than didactic concept of preaching. His sermons, in which the *aggadah* was translated into modern terms, remained classical in form and content, yet they were the least rule bound and formalistic of contemporary sermons. Moreover, he was not reluctant to acknowledge his debt to Christian masters of the art of preaching. In his mature years in Vienna he rejected radical Reform and adopted a middle course in his service, eliminating some traditions without destroying their essence. He insisted on Hebrew as the language of worship, retained the prayers of Zion and Jerusalem, did not incorporate organ music into the service, and vigorously defended circumcision as a ritual of fundamental importance. In creating a form of worship known as "worship according to Mannheimer" (or "the Viennese rite") he prevented a split in the community, and became a pioneer in this type of service in the communities of Austria, Hungary, and Bohemia. His service was also imitated in some German communities.

Despite his moderate Reform tendencies, Mannheimer was strongly attacked by the *Orthodox community. He helped to foster reforms in religious education, retaining Hebrew as an important element and introduced birth, marriage, and death registers into the community. He also helped to found a number of charitable and cultural organizations and fought for the rights of the Jews in general society; with great persistence he sought to gain legal recognition of the Viennese community. Together with 24 Austrian rabbis he achieved the abolishment of the oath more *judaico, although his own modified form was not fully accepted. In 1842 he successfully defeated the proposal of Professor Rosas to limit the number of Jewish medical students.

During the revolution in 1848 Mannheimer delivered an eloquent eulogy on two of its Jewish victims who were buried together with Christian victims in a Christian cemetery (March 17). On March 31, 1848 he published a "Declaration on the Jewish Problem" and submitted an effective draft law to the political commission. In the same year the city of Brody elected him to the Reichstag, where, in cooperation with A. *Fischhof and the rabbi D.B. *Meisels, he succeeded in obtaining the removal of the "Jews' tax." Nevertheless, he warned the Jewish community against pleading on its own behalf. Jewish emancipation, he said, might be discussed, but only after it had been broached by the non-Jews. In the Reichstag he made a striking plea for abolishing the death penalty. The Vienna community, whose subservient attitude to the government he criticized, tried to restrict his liberal activity, in part out of concern that his outspokenness might embroil them with the increasingly reactionary forces in the government. They even sought to censor his utterances in the Reichstag. Reluctantly Mannheimer eventually withdrew from political life.

Mannheimer's most important literary work is the exemplary German translation of the prayer book and the festival prayers (Vienna, 1840, later in a number of editions). Of his sermons there have been published *Pradikender holdne ved det mosaiske Troessamfunds Andagts övelser i Modersmaalet i Sommerhalbaaret 1819* (Copenhagen, 1819), and *Gottesdienstliche Vortraege ueber die Wochenabschnitte des Jahres* (vol. 1, on Genesis and Exodus, 1834); *Gottesdienstliche Vortraege gehalten im Monat Tishri 5594* (1834). A posthumous edition of additional sermons was published by B. Hammerschlag (1876). Some of his sermons on Genesis and Exodus were translated in Hebrew by E. Kuttner and published under the title *Mei No'aḥ* (1865). Of importance, too, are his *Gutachten fuer das Gebetbuch des Hamburger Tempels* (1841), and *Gutachten gegen die Reformpartei in Frankfurt a. M. in Angelegenheit der Beschneidungsfrage* (1843).

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[Bernard Suler]

MANNHEIMER, THEODOR (1833–1900), Swedish banker. Mannheimer is regarded, together with A.O. Wallenberg, a non-Jew, as the founder of modern Swedish banking. Born in Copenhagen, he settled in Göteborg, Sweden in 1855 and began his business career in the grain trade. He turned to banking later and by 1864 had become managing director of the newly founded Skandinaviska Kreditaktiebolaget (Scandinavian Joint Stock Credit Company, now known as the Skandinaviska Enskilda Banken, or SEB), the first of its kind in Sweden. Under Mannheimer's leadership Skandinaviska Banken soon became Sweden's most important financial institution, chiefly concerned with placing securities for industry and transport. Mannheimer was also deeply involved in railway and mining enterprises. From 1870 to 1876 and from 1881 to 1894 he was a member of the Göteborg municipal council.

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[Hugo Mauritz Valentin]

MANOAH OF NARBONNE (end of 13th and first half of 14th century), Provençal scholar. No biographical details are known of him. Even the name of his father is uncertain (see Hurvitz in bibl.). Some (Geiger, according to Isaac b. Sheshet, resp. no. 85, and Samuel b. Meshullam Gerondi, *Ohel Mo'ed* pt. 1, Jerusalem 1886 ed., 88b) are of the opinion that his father's name was Simeon; others (Zunz, Gross, and the New York-Schulsinger publishers of Maimonides' Yad) without giving reasons state that it was Jacob. A third view is that there were two scholars named Manoah – one, the subject of this article, whose patronymic is unknown, and a second, the son of Simeon, mentioned in the above responsa, who was the author of *Hilkhot Terefot*. Manoah's teachers were Meir b. Simeon ha-Me'ili and Reuben b. Ḥayyim. Internal evidence suggests that he was active in Narbonne (ch. 12 of *Hilkhot Tefillah*: "the custom of this town, Narbonne" quoted in the *Shem ha-Gedolim* of Azulai).

Of his works in the sphere of rabbinical literature, that on Maimonides' *Mishneh Torah* on the laws of leavened and unleavened bread, *shofar,* the Day of Atonement, *sukkah*, and *lulav* has been published (Constantinople, 1718; with the commentary of Simeon Sidon, 1879). An additional portion on the laws of the reading of the *Shema*, prayer, and the priestly and other blessings is extant in manuscript (Moscow-Guenzburg no. 123). This may be the manuscript seen by Ḥ.J.D. Azulai (*Shem ha-Gedolim*, 1 (1852), 126 no. 46). An excerpt from this section was published by Hurvitz in *Talpioth*, 9 (1965). This work is much quoted by Joseph Caro in his *Beit Yosef* and *Kesef Mishneh*.

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[Shlomoh Zalman Havlin]

MANOR, EHUD (1941–2005), Israeli songwriter. Manor was born in Binyaminah. He began writing songs in the late 1960s, and immediately became very popular and productive, often collaborating with song composer Nurit *Hirsh as in "*Ba-Shanah ha-Ba'ah*" (1970). In the 1970s and 1980s Manor wrote songs for many musicians with a personal style, including Matti Caspi ("*Brit Olam,*" 1976); Ḥanan Yovel ("*Dor,*" 1984). and Boaz Sharabi ("*Halevay,*" 1986). He made many contributions to song festivals such as "*Abanibi*" (1978), winner of the Eurovision song contest. He also produced Hebrew versions of various foreign songs, such as the Brazilian "*Eretz Tropit Yafah*" (1978). In later years, Manor continued to work with artists of the older generation, but also with younger ones and even adopted the Mediterranean style, as in "*Hayiti be-Gan Eden*" (1999). He also translated many musicals, including *Hair* (1971) and *Chicago* (2004) as well as the plays *L'Ecole des femmes* (1987); and *Twelfth Night* (1989). Over the years, Manor edited and presented numerous productions as well as radio and television programs, especially those featuring popular songs (Israeli and foreign). Although a large part of Manor's output consists of light songs, his most famous ones achieve deep resonance on a national level, like "*Ein li Eretz Aḥeret*" (1984), and several are highly personal, like "*Aḥi ha-Tza'ir Yehudah*" (1969) and "*Yemei Binyaminah*" (1974). In 1998, Manor was awarded the Israel Prize for lifetime achievement in the field of Hebrew song. His song collections and writings include *50 Hits by Ehud Manor and Nurit Hirsh* (1969), *Mi Ra'ah et Beni – Children's Songs* (1989), *Ein li Eretz Aḥeret – Shirim ke-Biografiah* (2003), and with Zippora Shapira *Children's Rhymed Dictionary* (2001).

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[Yossi Goldenberg (2nd ed.)]

MANOSQUE, town in the department of Basses-Alpes, S.E. France. Jews are mentioned in Manosque from 1240. In 1261 the community was already sufficiently numerous to maintain two butcher's stores. Before the *Black Death in 1348, there were about 30 Jewish families in Manosque. The Jews owned at least one synagogue and cemetery. They lived in their own street, the Carriera Judaica, on the site of the present Rue Bon-Repos. When an epidemic broke out in 1364, the services of a Jewish physician were still called for. However, from 1370 on there were frequent anti-Jewish disturbances, the most violent in 1455 and 1495. In 1498 the town expelled its Jews.

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[Bernhard Blumenkranz]

MANS, LE (Heb. מנש), capital of the department of Sarthe, in western France. A Jew, Vaslinus, is mentioned as a moneylender there between 1104 and 1115. In 1138, the Jews of Le Mans were attacked by local inhabitants. They lived in the quarter formed by Rues Marchande, Saint-Jacques, Falotiers or de Merdereau, Barillerie, Ponts-Neufs and de la Juiverie, and owned a synagogue and a cemetery (in the parish of Sainte-Croix), which was also used by other Jews in the vicinity. They probably also had their own market and a hospital. Another attack upon Jews may have occurred around 1200, since several Jewish converts are found in Le Mans in 1207, and in 1216, Berengaria, the widow of Richard the Lion-Hearted, Lady of Le Mans, disposed of the so-called "school of the *Juiverie*," i.e., the synagogue. Records show the existence of a Jewish quarter during the second half of the 13th century, the Jews of Le Mans then being under the jurisdiction of the bishop. Reference to Jewish scholars of Le Mans is found in rabbinical literature from the end of the ninth century, the most celebrated being *Avun the Great (tenth century) and Elijah b. Menahem ha-Zaken (11th century). The Jews were expelled from Le Mans in 1289 at the same time as the Jews of Maine and Anjou. During World War II many of the Jews in Le Mans were deported. A new community was formed after the war, many of its members coming from North Africa. It numbered 400 in 1969. A stained-glass window dating from the 12th century depicting the allegorical defeated Synagogue can be seen in the Cathedral of Le Mans.

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[Bernhard Blumenkranz / David Weinberg (2nd ed.)]

MANSFELD, ALFRED (1912–2004), architect. Born in Russia, he went to Paris in 1933 and in 1935 to Ereẓ Israel and worked from 1936 as an independent architect, mainly in Haifa. He designed and built several housing schemes in Haifa (including Ramat Hadar), and also various public buildings, including the Institute for Jewish Studies of the Hebrew University in Jerusalem (Mount Scopus) and the Hydraulic Institute of the Technion (with M. Weinraub). In 1963, his design for the international airport at Lydda was awarded first prize. He designed and built (in partnership with Dora Gad, interior decorator), the Israel Museum in Jerusalem (1959–65). From 1949, he lectured at the Faculty of Architecture of the Technion, and from 1954 to 1956 he was dean of the faculty. In 1966 he received the Israel Prize.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: R. Pedio, *Profilo dell'architetto Alfred Mansfeld* (It., 1965), with Eng. preface.

[Abraham Erlik]

MANSO, LEO (1914–1993), U.S. painter and educator. Manso trained at the National Academy of Design, New York City, from 1930 to 1934, the Educational Alliance, and the New School for Social Research. He taught at Cooper Union, Columbia University from 1950 to 1955, and New York University. Working as a book illustrator early in his career, Manso took the position of art director at World Publishing in New York, and in 1943, worked for Simon & Schuster illustrating book covers. He made his summer studio and home in Provincetown, Mass., in 1947 and assisted in the organization of Gallery 256, the period's first regional artists' cooperative. Manso's early work reflects the influence of Abstract Expressionism: he exhibited with the American Abstract Artists, whose members included Josef Albers and Ben Nicholson. Describing himself as an "Abstract Impressionist," Manso's light-suffused art of this period testifies to his study of the Impressionists, especially Claude Monet, as well as such painters as J.M.W. Turner and Sung artists. Manso stated that his work possessed two themes: a concern with landscape and an endeavor to find a visual equivalence for certain philosophical ideals. His work developed from landscapes with rapid, thick, expressive brushwork in an Abstract Expressionist vein, such as *Bay/Dusk* (1954) and *Grey Sun* (1957) to more serene images composed of related planes of tone. Manso's collages, such as *Tanka III* (1968) are small and intimate, owing a debt to the artist's study of quattracento Italian artists and to the collages of his friend and contemporary Robert Motherwell. To study the expressive qualities of color, Manso studied Persian miniatures, Romanesque and Etruscan art, and such modern artists as Paul Klee and Pierre Bonnard. Manso traveled widely: to Mexico in 1945, where he met the artists Jose Clemente Orozco and Rufino Tamayo, to Maine the following year, to Haiti in 1958, to India, Nepal, and Africa in the early 1970s, to Italy in 1975, and again to Rome in 1980 and 1981. In 1979–80, he was artist-in-residence at the Accademia Americao, Prix-de-Rome. Manso experimented with the use of simple geometric forms, making circular supports, as in his *Vista I* (*Valley of Katmandu*) (1974), or contained large triangles within the rectangular format of the canvas or paper. The title of a 1984 collage, *Firenze*, refers explicitly to the artist's beloved Italy. The composition features tones of russet, ocher, and lavender in overlapping planes of delicate texture further enunciated by the inclusion of a handwritten letter and envelope dated 1846. Manso counted among his friends the artists Milton Avery, Jacques Lipschitz, and Kurt Seligmann. Manso participated in many group and solo shows since 1946: in New York City; Rome; Provincetown, Massachusetts; Washington, D.C.; the San Francisco Museum; and the Museum of Modern Art, among other venues. His work is owned by private collectors and by many museums, including the Museum of Modern Art, New York, the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, the Whitney Museum, the Hirschhorn Museum, and the Glicenstein Museum, Safed, Israel.

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[Nancy Buchwald (2nd ed.)]

°**MANṢŪR** (**Al**; full name: **al-Mansur Ibn Abi ʿAmir**; in Christian sources, **Almanzor**; d. 1002), chamberlain (Ar. *ḥājib*) of Caliph Hishām II (976–1013) of Spain. Al-Manṣūr in effect ruled *Umayyad Spain as virtual dictator and in 996 assumed royal titles. His reign marked the climax of the Umayyad political, economic, cultural, and military supremacy in Spain. A religious fanatic, al-Manṣūr embarked on a lengthy and successful campaign against the Christians in northern Spain (against Catalonia in 985), in which he ruthlessly destroyed Christian holy places. He, however, did not harm the Christian and Jewish communities in his domain. The responsa of R. Ḥanokh of Cordoba attest to the conversions of Jews to Islam under al-Manṣūr, who intensified and increased Muslim preaching and other religious activities. Spain was extremely prosperous during his reign and Jewish immigration therefore increased. The Jews came mainly from North Africa (present Morocco and Algeria), together with many *Berbers, whom al-Manṣūr employed in his military campaigns. The military security and economic stability contributed to an efflorescence of Jewish culture, *halakhah*, poetry, etc. (see *Spain). The 12th-century historian Abraham *Ibn Daud recalls "King" al-Manṣūr's appointment of Jacob *Ibn Jau, a wealthy and opportunistic silk merchant, to the position of *nasi* in charge of all Jewish communities in his domain. Al-Manṣūr empowered Ibn Jau to collect taxes from whomever he desired. He had Ibn Jau imprisoned one year later for not collecting enough money from the Jews. Al-Manṣūr's son ʿAbd al-Malik al-Muẓaffir succeeded him, thus founding the Amirid dynasty.

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MANSURA (**El Mansura; al-Mansura; Al-Mansurah**), town in Lower Egypt, on the right bank of the eastern arm of the Nile. Founded during the 13th century, Mansura has become an important center for the cotton commerce in modern times. There was a Jewish community from the 16th century. In 1583 and 1597 there were Jewish written deeds in Mansura. Around 1560 the physician Eleazar Scandari received the position of **sarraf* (banker) of *Mahalla al-Kubra and Mansura. The Jewish population grew under *Ottoman rule and by the 17th century there was an organized community led by the rabbis Elijah Shushi (Shoshi) and Shabbetai ha-Kohen. During the middle of the 19th century, Jacob *Saphir found 40 families in the town, most of whom had come from *Cairo and *Damietta. During the second half of the 19th century, when blood libels were brought against Jews in various Egyptian towns, the Jews of Mansura were also accused. In 1877 during Passover, the Jews were accused of having slaughtered a Muslim child in order to use his blood for the baking of *mazzot*. In the mid-19th century 40 Jewish families lived there. At the end of the century, the number of Jews was about 500 and continued to increase at the beginning of the 20th century. In 1901 the *Cairo rabbis declared the new *kiddushin* regulation in Mansura and other cities. A well-organized community was set up in 1918 and educational and charitable institutions were established. An *Alliance Israélite Universelle school was inaugurated in 1903. In 1917 the Jewish community reached 586 people, its number continuing to increase. A Zionist association was also founded in the town. After World War I there was a decrease in the population. In 1927 there were still 563 Jews there, but a few years later there were only 150 to 200 Jews left, and by 1971 the community no longer existed.

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[Eliyahu Ashtor and Jacob M. Landau / Leah Bornstein-Makovetsky (2nd ed.)]

MANSURAH, SAADIAH BEN JUDAH (19th century), Yemenite scholar living in *San'a. He was author of *Sefer ha-Maḥashavah*, which appeared under the title *Sefer ha-Galut ve-ha-Ge'ullah* (1955), which consists of seven sections written in rhymed prose. Like the *Sefer ha-Musar* of R. Zechariah al-Ḍāhri, it describes the hardships endured by the community of San'a in his time. The principal hero is Eitan ha-Ezraḥi (i.e., Abraham the Patriarch) and the narrator Ḥazmak (i.e., Saadiah, after the "*Atbash" method of interchanging Hebrew letters) is the poet himself. The narrator tells the founder of the nation of the misfortunes of Yemenite Jewry, and the latter in turn relates the servitude of Israel in the Egyptian exile. He deals with the exiles into which Israel was sent, with the return to Zion and the redemption of the people. The last section consists of eulogies of the rabbis of *Yemen and the author himself. Mansurah also wrote poems and prayers, the subject of which is exile and redemption, as well as an introduction to Yemenite poetry. In the field of *halakhah*, he wrote *Sha'ar ha-Moda'it* on the laws of *sheḥitah* and *terefot*.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: S. Mansurah, *Sefer ha-Galut ve-ha-Ge'ullah* (1955), introd.

[Yehuda Ratzaby]

MANSURAH, SHALOM BEN JUDAH (d. c. 1885), Yemenite scholar. A member of one of the distinguished families of *San'a, Mansurah was the brother of the poet Saadiah *Mansurah. In addition to his knowledge of the Torah, he also engaged in popular and natural medicine and was renowned as a practical kabbalist. In 1854 he was appointed leader of the Jews of San'a. Three of his works on Torah and *halakhah* (in manuscript) are known. In addition to his own writings, he corrected many works of others. His notes in the margins of books, both published and in manuscript (especially those of R. Yiḥya Ṣalaḥ), are numerous.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: A. Koraḥ, *Sa'arat Teiman* (1954), 45.

[Yehuda Ratzaby]

MANTINO, JACOB BEN SAMUEL (d. 1549), physician and translator. Mantino was apparently of Spanish origin but he spent most of his life in Italy. After graduating in medicine at Padua in 1521, he developed a flourishing practice in Bologna, Verona, and Venice, especially among the upper classes. At the same time he became known for his translations from Hebrew into Latin of philosophical works, mainly those of Averroës and Avicenna. In the stormy debate on the annulment of the marriage between Henry VIII of England and Catherine of Aragon he opposed Henry's supporters, thus earning the gratitude of Pope Clement VII, and at his request Mantino was appointed lecturer in medicine in Bologna in

1529. In 1533 the pope invited him to Rome where, unlike his protector, Mantino took a strong stand against the messianic claims of Solomon *Molcho. In 1534 Pope Paul III appointed him his personal physician and in 1539–41 professor of practical medicine at the Sapienza in Rome. In 1544 he returned to Venice. Five years later he left for Damascus as personal physician of the Venetian ambassador. He died soon after his arrival there.

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[Attilio Milano]

MANTUA, city and province in N. Italy, an important Jewish center in late medieval and modern times.

History

The first record of a Jewish settlement in Mantua dates from 1145, when Abraham *Ibn Ezra lived there for a while. A small Jewish community existed during the heyday of the city-republic. Sometime after the Gonzaga had become lords of Mantua, Jewish bankers were invited to start operations in the capital and province. Subsequently the Jewish population increased, reaching 3,000 by 1600. The merchant and artisan population soon outnumbered the bankers. Some 50 Jewish settlements of varying size flourished in the province, the major ones being *Bozzolo, *Sabbioneta, Luzzara, Guastalla, Viadana, Revere, Sermide, and Ostiano. The Jews were protected by a series of privileges granted them by popes, emperors, and the Gonzaga rulers. A Christian loan bank (***monte di pietà*) was established in Mantua in 1486 to compete with Jewish banking, but initially at least had little success. Anti-Jewish riots took place at Mantua in the 15th century, fostered by the Church and aided and abetted by the business competitors of the Jews. There was also an isolated case of *blood libel in 1478. At the end of the 15th century the regulation imposing the Jewish *badge was introduced in Mantua. Rioting in 1495, after Duke Francesco Gonzaga's indecisive encounter with the French forces at Fornovo, resulted in the confiscation of the house of the leading Jewish banker in the city, Daniel *Norsa, and the erection of the Church of the Madonna della Vittoria on the site. David *Reuveni visited Mantua in 1530, but failed to obtain the support of either the ruler or the Jews. Two years later Solomon *Molcho was burned at the stake there.

The Counter-Reformation began to affect the Jews of Mantua adversely in the last quarter of the 16th century. Restrictive measures and anti-Jewish propaganda culminated in riots and murder. The worst outrage occurred in 1602, when seven Jews were hanged on a charge of blasphemy at the instigation of a Franciscan rabble-rouser. Some ten years later the Jews of Mantua were confined to a ghetto. The worst disaster in their history befell Mantuan Jewry in 1629–30, when they were despoiled of their possessions during the sack of the city by the German troops and then banished. A moving account of the disaster and of the return of the survivors is the contemporary *Ha-Galut ve-ha-Pedut* ("Exile and Deliverance") by Abraham Massarani (Venice, 1634). The events of 1630 decimated the Jewish community which never quite recovered its former importance. In 1708 the duchy of Mantua came under Austrian rule. In the last quarter of the 18th century Mantua became the chief center in the struggle for Jewish civil rights in Austrian Lombardy. On the Jewish side were ranged R. Jacob *Saraval of Mantua and Benedetto *Frizzi of Ostiano who had to contend with the lawyer G.B. Benedetti of Ferrara and G.B.G. d'Arco, a political economist. During the 18th century the Jewish population increased: In 1707, 1,723 Jews lived in Mantua and in 1764, 2,114. In 1754 the guild of silversmiths threatened the Jewish ghetto and the Jews were maltreated for a month in spite of the defense of ducal troops. When in 1797 the French revolutionary army captured Mantua the ghetto was abolished, its gates were torn down, and the ghetto square was renamed Piazza della Concordia. After its recapture by the Austrians in 1799, however, several Jewish "revolutionaries" were banished from Mantua, among them Issachar Ḥayyim Carpi of Revere, who described the events in his *Toledot Yiẓḥak* (1892). The French again ruled Mantua from 1801 to 1814 and R. Abraham Vita *Cologna of Mantua was among the foremost personalities in the Napoleonic *Sanhedrin. During the last period of Austrian rule in Mantua (1814–66) there occurred yet another blood libel (1824), and in 1842 anti-Jewish riots took place. A number of Jews from Mantua began to immigrate to Milan from the end of the 18th century mainly because of greater professional and socio-cultural activities.

The Jews of Mantua, like their coreligionists elsewhere in Italy, took an active part in the Italian Risorgimento. Among them were Giuseppe *Finzi of Rivarolo, one of the "martyrs of Belfiore," and the writer Tullo *Massarani. When Mantua was incorporated in the Kingdom of Italy (1866) the last restrictions affecting the Jews were removed. At that time the Jewish population reached 2,795, its highest figure since 1603. Subsequently migration and assimilation reduced the community. In 1931 the community numbered only 669 Jews, mainly because of immigration to Milan and other Italian cities and also because of assimilation. The anti-Jewish measures of the Fascist regime (see *Italy) seriously affected the Jews of Mantua, coming to a climax under the German domination in 1943–45. A concentration camp was set up in Mantua. From the province of Mantua 44 Jews were deported to the death camps, and over 50 Mantuan Jews perished. Only some of the survivors returned to Mantua after the war. By 2000 fewer than 100 Jews lived in Mantua, but in spite of the number they maintained one of the former synagogues with services. Thanks to the active and economic support of the Mantua municipality and funds from the Italian State Ministry of Culture the Jews carried out cultural activities and were able to maintain their rich archive and library, inventoried and in part deposited at the City Hall Library of Mantua.

Cultural Life

During its heyday in the 16th and 17th centuries the community of Mantua made important contributions to the development of Jewish communal institutions in Italy. The assembly of all taxpayers elected a "large" council, which in turn elected a "small" or executive council of seven to ten members. Alongside these, several smaller executive committees functioned. The chief officers were two *massari* (ממונים). Communal regulations, especially those pertaining to taxation, were published in Hebrew at regular intervals, as were also sumptuary laws for the restriction of ostentation in clothing and festivities. The synagogues of Mantua included the Great Synagogue of the Italian rite, and several smaller synagogues of the Ashkenazi and Italian rites. The community maintained a public school system and welfare institutions, including medical services for the poor. The rabbinical court had extensive powers until the grant of Jewish emancipation. Its procedure was laid down in the *Shuda de-Dayyanei* ("Judges' Verdict") of 1677–78.

Mantua was an important Jewish cultural center during the Renaissance in Italy. Prominent scholars in the 15th century included Judah Messer *Leon, rabbi, physician, and philosopher; R. Joseph *Colon, the greatest rabbinical authority in Italy; Mordecai *Finzi, mathematician, astronomer, doctor, and banker; and Baruch de Peschiera, scholar and merchant. Abraham *Conat, a physician and talmudist, founded at Mantua about 1475 one of the first Hebrew printing presses; the first dated work issued was the *Tur Oraḥ Ḥayyim* (1476). His wife, Estellina, assisted him as a printer. Other Hebrew printers active at Mantua included Samuel Latif (1513–15), Joseph b. Jacob Shalit and Meir Sofer, both of Padua, Jacob ha-Kohen of Gazzuolo (1556–76), Samuel Norsa and his sons Isaac and Solomon (16th century); the Perugia and d'Italia families (17th and 18th centuries). The Hebrew press in Mantua was the second largest in Italy after Venice. Sixteenth-century scholars included Azariah de' *Rossi, author of *Me'or Einayim*; the versatile Abraham Yagel *Gallico; R. Azriel *Diena of Sabbioneta; the preacher Judah *Moscato; several members of the *Norsa (Norzi) family including Jedidiah Solomon Norsa, author of *Minḥat Shai*; the Provençal brothers *Moses, *David, and Judah, rabbis and scholars; Abraham Colorni, engineer and inventor; members of the *Finzi, *Cases, *Fano, *Rieti, and Sullam families; the *Portaleone family, physicians for three centuries; and Judah Leone b. Isaac *Sommo, playwright, poet, and author of the famous "Dialogues on the Theater." Mantua was the most important center of Jewish participation in the Renaissance theater. The community provided its own theater company, which put on comedies and other plays for court performances throughout the 16th and early 17th centuries. The Jews of Mantua were also active in music and the dance. The greatest Jewish composer in Mantua and the first composer of modern Jewish music was Salamone de' *Rossi, whose sister "Madama Europa" acted on the Mantuan stage. Other Jewish musicians, dancers, and actors at Mantua included Abramo Dall' *Arpa and his nephew Abramino; Isaac Massarani; Angelo de' Rossi; and Simone Basilea. In the 17th and 18th centuries there lived at Mantua the Basilea family of rabbis and scholars, including Solomon Aviad Sar-Shalom *Basilea; Judah Briel, rabbi and polemicist; Moses *Zacuto, mystic and poet; Samson Cohen Modon, rabbi and poet; Jacob Saraval, rabbi, polemicist, traveler, and preacher; the brothers Jacob and Immanuel *Frances, poets; the Cases family, rabbis, physicians, and scholars; and Samuel *Romanelli, poet and playwright. Outstanding modern Jewish personalities include Marco *Mortara, rabbi and bibliophile; Tullo Massarani, writer; and Vittore *Colorni, jurist and historian.

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[Shlomo Simonsohn / Federica Francesconi (2nd ed.)]

°**MANUEL I** (1469–1521), king of Portugal 1495–1521. He was termed Manuel the Great because of the achievements of his reign: Vasco da Gama's discovery of the sea passage to India via the Cape of Good Hope (1498) and the acquisition of Brazil (1500). For the Jewish citizens, however, Manuel's reign brought an end to their life in Portugal. Initially Manuel was well disposed to Jews. He retained the esteemed Abraham b. Samuel *Zacuto as his astronomer, and removed the Jewish disabilities imposed by his predecessor John II. But in 1496 the king entered a politically motivated marriage with Princess Isabella of Spain, daughter of *Ferdinand and Isabella, who made their consent conditional to Manuel's ridding Portugal of the Jews. On Dec. 4, 1496, an edict was passed ordering every Jew to leave Portugal before November 1497, on penalty of death. Manuel assured the Jews of every assistance in travel and free departure with their belongings. As the mass emigration got under way, Manuel realized that the loss of his Jewish citizenry would have dire economic results for Portugal. To stem the departures, he ordered all Jews desiring to emigrate to come to Lisbon, supposedly for embarkation. When some 20,000 had convened in Lisbon, Manuel herded them together for forced conversion. On May 30, 1497, he decreed that the Conversos would be free from the Church's discipline for 20 years. When the king learned soon after that the Conversos were emigrating in large numbers, he quickly withdrew their liberty to dispose of property and emigrate. When some 4,000 of the *New Christians were massacred by a Lisbon mob in 1506, Manuel responded by executing the Dominican friars who had incited the riot, and restored all previous rights and immunities to the New Christians, only to reverse his decision in the year of his death.

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Os Judeus em Portugal (1895), 275–342; S. Usque, *Consolation for the Tribulations of Israel*, tr. by M.A. Cohen (1965), 5–7, 202–5.

MANUEL, FRANK EDWARD (1910–2003), U.S. historian. Manuel was born in Boston. He was professor of history at Brandeis from 1949 to 1965 and at New York University, and then again at Brandeis from 1977 to 1986. Upon his retirement from Brandeis, he was named professor emeritus. Manuel's chief field of specialization was the history of ideas. Regarded as one of the most respected scholars of European intellectual history of the last century, Manuel was well known for his study of utopias of the 18th and 19th centuries. He also wrote about modern history, Christian-Jewish intellectual relations, psychohistory, and eminent thinkers such as Isaac Newton and Karl Marx. His book *Realities of American-Palestine Relations* (1949) was an important contribution to the understanding of American policies in Palestine from 1832. His *Utopian Thought in the Western World* (1979), which he co-authored with his wife, Fritzie P. Manuel, won the American Book Award in History, the Melcher Award, and Phi Beta Kappa's Ralph Waldo Emerson Award.

Manuel's other publications include *The Age of Reason* (1951), *The 18th Century Confronts the Gods* (1959), *The Prophets of Paris* (1962), *Shapes of Philosophical History* (1965), *A Portrait of Isaac Newton* (1968), *The Changing of the Gods* (1983), *The Broken Staff: Judaism through Christian Eyes* (1992), and *A Requiem for Karl Marx* (1995).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: R. Bienvenu, *In the Presence of the Past: Essays in Honor of Frank E. Manuel* (1991)

[Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

°**MANUEL I COMNENUS**, Byzantine emperor (1143–1180). He added humiliating procedures to the standard *oath *more judaico* requiring that the Jew spit on his circumcision. But he also continued to permit the Jews to use the older and less offensive formula of the oath. Manuel confirmed Jewish access to ordinary courts, giving them recourse to the protection of imperial law, thus abolishing the practice of having Jews summarily tried by a minor local official. Manuel had a Jewish physician who may have influenced him to moderate his position toward the Jews. The economic and cultural life of Byzantine Jewry during Manuel's reign is described by Benjamin of Tudela.

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[Andrew Sharf]

MANUSCRIPTS, HEBREW, term which includes religious and secular books, as well as letters and documents written on papyrus, parchment, hides, and paper in Hebrew characters, sometimes using them for the writing of languages other than Hebrew, e.g., Aramaic, Yiddish, Ladino, etc. Hebrew manuscripts have been preserved in archives and public and private libraries. It has been estimated that there are about 60,000 manuscripts (codices) and about 200,000 fragments, most of which have come from the Cairo *Genizah* (and a certain number from the Judean Desert).

500 B.C.E.–500 C.E.

Documents and letters, some with accurate dates, have been preserved from the period of 500 B.C.E. to 500 C.E. The most important of them are a collection of *papyri from Yeb (*Elephantine) and Assuan in Egypt (494–407 B.C.E.); papyri from Edfu, also in Egypt, are thought to belong to the third century B.C.E., as are parts of the Book of Jeremiah and fragments of II Samuel among the *Dead Sea Scrolls. The other scrolls from the Judean Desert are regarded as dating from the second century B.C.E. to the Bar–Kokhba War (132–135), including some written or dictated by him (see bibl. nos. 1–5).

500–1500

No material is available which can be proven with any certainty as belonging to the first centuries of this period. The oldest manuscripts of the period date from the end of the ninth century. Information has been published on a biblical manuscript in St. Petersburg dated to 846. On the other hand, some of the fragments found in the Cairo *Genizah* belong, without doubt, to the beginning of this period and possibly even to the end of the previous one. The development of Hebrew paleography should make it possible to determine with greater accuracy the dates of these most valuable fragments.

BIBLE AND BIBLE EXEGESIS. The oldest dated biblical manuscripts are: Prophets as vocalized by Moses b. Asher, which was found in the Karaite synagogue of Cairo and written in Tiberias in 895; Latter Prophets, with Babylonian punctuation, in the Saltykov-Shchedrin Library in Leningrad (No. 3), now the Russian National Library, was copied in 916; and a Pentateuch which was copied by Solomon b. Buya'a (who also prepared, according to a note at its end, the so-called *Keter Aram Ẓova*, later vocalized by Aaron b. Asher) in 929 and vocalized by his brother Ephraim b. Buya'a (it appears that both were active in Tiberias). This particular *Keter Aram Ẓova* (*keter*, "crown" being an appellation for a Bible codex; *Aram Ẓova*, "Aleppo") is at the Ben-Zvi Institute, Jerusalem (see bibl. nos. 5–7). There are biblical manuscripts in the Saltykov-Shchedrin Library and others, which, according to their *colophons, were written during the tenth century, but doubts have been raised as to the reliability of these colophons. Finally, there is the Bible manuscript (St. Petersburg B 19A) which was written in 1009 in Egypt. The text is complete and the date appears to be authentic.

MISHNAH, TOSEFTA, TALMUD, AND HALAKHIC MIDRASHIM. The oldest dated manuscripts of the Mishnah are: Paris Manuscripts 328/9, the complete text with Maimonides' commentary and written and vocalized by Joab b. Jehiel, the "Physician of Beth-El," from the province of Cesena (Italy), between 1399 and 1401. Individual orders (*sedorim*), written and vocalized (in part) from 1168 (*Zera'im, Nezikin, Kodashim*), are in Oxford (nos. 393, 404), and *Mo'ed* of the same set is in the Sassoon Library (no. 72). Not dated but definitely early works are: Kaufmann Number 50 (facsimile edited by G. Baer, 1929) and Parma Number 138. The oldest Tosefta manuscripts are Erfurt Number 159, which was thought to have been written in 1150, and Vienna Number 46. The oldest dated halakhic Midrashim are Sifra of 1073 (Vatican Library, no. 31) and Sifra of 1291 (Oxford, no. 151), which also includes the *Mekhilta*. The only manuscript of the Jerusalem Talmud, which was written in 1299 by Jehiel b. Jekuthiel b. Benjamin, the Physician, is at Leyden. There is also only one complete extant manuscript of the Babylonian Talmud (Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cod. Heb. 95). It was written "on the twelfth of the month of Kislev, in the year 103 of the sixth millennium" (1342) by Solomon b. Samson, probably in France (facsimile edited by H. Strack, 1912). At the end of this manuscript several minor tractates are added. Individual tractates from 1176 and after have been preserved in the Library of Florence, as well as a manuscript from 1184 in the Hamburg Library and in the Jewish Theological Seminary Library (Av. Zar., 1290).

AGGADIC MIDRASHIM. Among the extant manuscripts of aggadic Midrashim are *Genesis Rabbah* and *Leviticus Rabbah* from 1291 (*Bibliothèque Nationale* of Paris, no. 149). There is a manuscript from the same year of the *Pesikta de-Rav Kahana* in the Bodleian. The Parma Library possesses a manuscript from 1270 (no. 1240) which contains *Song of Songs Rabbah*, *Lamentations Rabbah, Tanḥuma*, *Pesikta Rabbati*, *Midrash Proverbs*, and others.

MISCELLANEA. Thousands of medieval manuscripts in the fields of philosophy and Kabbalah are extant; these are as numerous as those in medicine, astronomy, astrology, geography, and other natural sciences. A considerable number of these manuscripts are translations from Greek, Arabic, and other languages spoken and written in the countries of the Diaspora. Polemics, poetry, philology (grammar, dictionaries, *masorah*), history, sectarian literature, *halakhah* (responsa, novellae, codes, ritual compendiums), ethics, and homiletics are well represented, as is liturgy (*siddurim* and *maḥzorim*). Due to their constant use many tens of thousands of them were stored away in *genizot* after being worn and damaged. Occasionally autographs were also preserved, i.e., either manuscripts from the hand of the author, such as Maimonides' Mishnah commentary and miscellaneous writings (ed. S.D. Sassoon, 1966), or confirmations of the correctness of the copy as the one added by Maimonides to a copy of his code: "Corrected from my [original] copy, I, Moses, son of Maimon of blessed memory" (Oxford Ms. 577).

1500–1970

Manuscripts of this last period are also extant; some of them were published, some not. A considerable number of the manuscripts of this period were written in countries where there were no Hebrew presses (e.g., the Yemen). They were either contemporary works or those of earlier periods, but some were copied from printed works which had reached them from Western countries and are therefore of no original value. Manuscripts written by the authors themselves are of special importance because of their corrections. They make it possible to reconstruct the original text and compare it with other copies, either handwritten or printed editions. Early authorities, who wrote in the early years after the appearance of printing, made use of manuscripts of classic books and commentaries. In later centuries this practice naturally waned.

Owners and Other Lists

At the beginning and the end of manuscripts it was customary to note the name of the owner, with a formula such as "a man should always sign his name in his book lest a man from the street come and say it is mine." Owners, who usually were scholars, often added notes of their own to the text. At times, the names of several generations of a single family appear in these lists, and well-known names in Jewish literature and history are found among the owners, e.g., a manuscript of Maimonides' *Guide* (1472, Parma 660) belonged successively to David, Abraham, and Moses Provençal (father, son, and grandson).

Modern manuscript catalogs generally register these notes and lists in detail. The same pages were also used to commemorate family and general events, and documents which are sometimes of great historical value were also copied on them, although they may have no connection with the contents of the manuscript. Among this material are lists of books describing whole or parts of private collections. Such lists shed light on the cultural standards of various periods and environments. The prices of the manuscripts which are mentioned in them are of particular interest (see *Book trade).

Collection of the Material

The Institute for the Photography of Hebrew Manuscripts was founded in 1950 by the Israel Government (Ministry of Education and Culture) in order to enable a comparative processing and registration of all possible material. In 1962 the institute was placed under the authority of the Hebrew University and became affiliated with the National and University Library. During its 20 years of activity the Institute has photographed – mainly in the form of microfilms – approximately half of the collections of manuscripts and fragments scattered throughout the libraries of the world. The most important works which had not been previously published in the form of facsimiles were enlarged by the Institute, as were all the fragments which reached it. Some of the material has been listed in the publications of the Institute (bibl. nos. 24–27). The Jewish Theological Seminary of America houses the Louis Ginzberg Microfilm Collection, which aims at the microfilming of important Hebrew manuscripts from all over the world. The list below cites all libraries containing over 100 Hebrew or Samaritan manuscripts. The numbers of the manuscripts and fragments are given in parenthesis, and the names of the authors of the catalogs and the year of their publication are given after the colon. The numbers of the manuscripts given here are not always identical with those which are classified in the catalogs, as additions were acquired after their publication.

AUSTRIA. VIENNA: *Nationalbibliothek* (216; 308 fragments): A.Z. Schwarz (1925); *Bibliothek der Isr. Kultusgemeinde* (215): A.Z. Schwarz-Oesterreich (1932; 40 Mss. transferred to the Jewish Historical Institute, Warsaw).

DENMARK. COPENHAGEN: *The Royal Library* (244): N. Allony-E. Kupfer (1964).

ENGLAND. CAMBRIDGE: *Trinity College Library* (160): H. Loewe (1926); *University Library* (1,000; 100,000 fragments): S. Schiller-Szinessy (1876); *Westminster College Library* (3,000 fragments). LEEDS: *University Library* (371): C. Roth (Alexander Marx Jubilee Volume; 1950). LETCHWORTH: *D.S. Sassoon Collection* (1,220): D.S. Sassoon (1932). LONDON: *Bet Din and Bet Ha-Midrash* (161): A. Neubauer (1886); *British Museum* (includes the first part of the Gaster Collection, 2,467; 10,000 fragments): G. Margoliouth (1899–1935); *Jews College Library* (Montefiore Collection: 580); H. Hirschfeld, in: JQR (1902–03). MANCHESTER: *John Rylands Library* (second part of the Gaster Collection: 750; 10,000 fragments): E. Robertson (only the Samaritan Mss.; 1938–62). OXFORD: *Bodleian Library* (2,650; 10,000 fragments): A. Neubauer-A.E. Cowley (1886–1906).

FRANCE. PARIS: *Bibliothèque de l'Alliance Universelle* (338; 4,000 fragments): M. Schwab, in: REJ (1904, 1912); B. Chapira, in: REJ (1904); *Bibliothèque Nationale* (1459); H. Zotenberg (1886); *Ecole Rabbinique de France* (172): M. Abraham, in: REJ (1924–25). STRASBOURG: *Bibliothèque Nationale et Universitaire* (176; 292 fragments): S. Landauer (1881).

GERMANY. BERLIN: *Preussische Staatsbibliothek* (510): M. Steinschneider (1878–97); N. Allony-D.S. Loewinger (1957). FRANKFURT: *Stadt-und Universitätsbibliothek* (400; 10,000 fragments): R.N.N. Rabbinowitz (1888); N. Allony-D.S. Loewinger (1957; including the Merzbacher Collection; 10,000 *Genizah* fragments lost during World War II). HAMBURG: *Stadtbibliothek* 476); M. Steinschneider (1878; including the Levy Collection). MUNICH: *Bayerische Staatsbibliothek* (476): M. Steinschneider (1895); E. Roth (1966).

HUNGARY. BUDAPEST: *Hungarian Academy of Sciences* (Kaufmann Collection: 595; 600 fragments): M. Weisz (1906); D.S. Loewinger-A. Scheiber (1947); *Library of the Jewish Theological Seminary* (315; 400 fragments): D.S. Loewinger (1940).

ITALY. FLORENCE: *Biblioteca Mediceo Laurenziana* (187): A.M. Biscioni (1757). LEGHORN: *Talmud Torah* (134): C. Bernheimer (1915). A part transferred to the Jewish National and University Library in Jerusalem. MANTUA: *Comunità Israelitica* (167): M. Mortara (1878). MILAN: *Biblioteca Ambrosiana* (183): C. Bernheimer (1933). N. Allony-E. Kupfer (*Aresheth*; 1960). PARMA: *Biblioteca Palatina* (1,552): G.B. De-Rossi (1803); P. Perreau (1880). ROME: *Biblioteca Casanatense* (230): G. Sacerdote (1897). *Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana* (see Vatican, below). TURIN: *Biblioteca Nazionale* (247): B. Peyron (1880). (A great part destroyed by fire in 1904.)

ISRAEL. JERUSALEM: *National and University Library* (6,000): G. Scholem (1930); B. Joel (1934). N. Ben-Menahem (120); *Hechal Shlomo* (150): J.L. Bialer (1966–69); *Mosad ha-Rav Kook* (1,000): N. Ben-Menahem in: *Aresheth*, 1 (1959), 396–413; *Ben-Zvi Institute* (1,100); *Schocken Library* (400). RAMAT GAN: *Bar Ilan University Library* (Margulies Collection: 750). TEL AVIV: *Bialik House* (200).

NETHERLANDS. AMSTERDAM; *Portugeesch Israelitisch Seminarium Etz Haim – Livraria D. Montezinos* (160): N. Allony-E. Kupfer (1964); *Universiteitsbibliotheek* (Rosenthaliana; 305); M. Roest (1875); N. Allony-E. Kupfer (1964). LEIDEN: *Bibliotheek der Universiteit* (118): M. Steinschneider (1858).

POLAND. WARSAW: *Jewish Historical Institute* (1,500): E. Kupfer-S. Strelcyn (Przegląd Orientalisticzny; 1954–55). WROCLAW (formerly Breslau): *Jewish Theological Seminary of Breslau* (405): D.S. Loewinger-B. Weinryb, 1965 (partly transferred to the Jewish Historical Institute in Warsaw).

SWITZERLAND. ZURICH: *Zentralbibliothek* (238): L.C. Wohlberg (1932); N. Allony-E. Kupfer (1964).

U.S.A. CINCINNATI: *Hebrew Union College Library* (1,500). LOS ANGELES: *University Library* (Rosenberg Collection from Ancona; the third part of the Gaster Collection, etc., 400). NEW HAVEN: *Yale University Library* (300): L. Nemoy (Journal of Jewish Bibliography; 1938–39). NEW YORK: *Columbia University* (1,000); *Jewish Theological Seminary of America* (10,000; 25,000 fragments): E.N. Adler (1921); *JTS Registers* (1902ff.); *Jewish Institute of Religion – Hebrew Union College* (200); *Jewish Teachers Seminary Library* (120); *R.H. Lehmann Collection* (400); *The New York University, Jewish Culture Foundation Library* (114); *Yeshiva University* (1,000); *YIVO Institute for Jewish Research Library* (1,200). PHILADELPHIA: *Dropsie College for Hebrew and Cognate Learning* (256; 500 fragments): B. Halpern (1924). SAN FRANCISCO: *California State Library* (Sutro Collection, 167): W.M. Brinner (1966).

RUSSIA. ST. PETERBURG: *M.S. Saltykov-Shchedrin State Library* (now *Russian National Library*) (1,962; 15,000 fragments; including the Firkovich Collections): A. Harkavy-H.L. Strack (1875); A.I. Katsch (1957/58; 1970). *Asiatic Museum* (2,347). Moscow: *Lenin State Library* (now *Russian State Library*) (Ginzburg Collection, 2,000).

VATICAN. VATICAN: *Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana* (801): U. Cassuto (1956); N. Allony-D.S. Loewinger (1968).

[David Samuel Loewinger / Ephraim Kupfer]

Judaica and Hebraica Manuscripts in Russia

BACKGROUND. Dr. A.I. Katsh first visited the Soviet Union, Poland, and Hungary in 1956, when he arranged for the microfilming of several thousand manuscripts and rare documents of Judaica and Hebraica in various collections in those countries. It was the first, and so far the only, such undertaking by a Western scholar. In subsequent journeys behind the Iron Curtain in 1958, 1959, 1960, 1969, and 1976, he augmented this collection, which was then housed at the *Dropsie College, Philadelphia.

In this article Prof. Katsh gives an account of the five major collections of Judaica that are to be found in Leningrad and Moscow as the situation was prior to the dissolution of the Soviet Union. Today the Russian collections are accessible to scholars.

INTRODUCTION. Shortly after the Russian Revolution, the majority of the private collections of rare manuscripts on Judaica and Hebraica, which had been gathered over the centuries by Jewish scholars, disappeared. The only collections which remained were those in the possession of the Czarist government.

These collections constitute a bibliographer's paradise. They consist of a number of individual archives which include those of Israel *Zinberg, Daniel *Chwolson, Abraham Baer *Gottlober, David *Maggid and Shalom *Aleichem.

There is also valuable Hebraica material in the Academy of Tbilisi, the capital of Georgia; in the government library of Yerevan, the capital of Armenia; in Kiev, Vilna and the synagogues of Moscow and St. Petersburg.

Apart from those, however, the Russian collections consist of five major collections: the Baron David Guenzburg Collection, the Friedland Collection, the Two Firkovitch Collections, and the Antonin Genizah Collection.

THE GUENZBURG LIBRARY. The *Guenzburg Library was founded by Joseph Yozel Guenzburg (1812–78) and added to by his son Horace (1833–1909) and his grandsons David (1857–1910) and Alfred (1865–1930).

David Guenzburg was a brilliant scholar and an outstanding Orientalist who was reputed to have a knowledge of 34 languages. He founded the famous Guenzburg Academy in St. Petersburg. He was, however, also actively involved in all matters affecting the Jewish community.

In collaboration with Vladimir Stassoff, David published *L'Ornement Hebraïque*, a collection of artistic reproductions from the ancient Hebrew manuscripts in the St. Petersburg collection. In assembling their library the Guenzburgs had the help and advice of such experts as Adolf *Neubauer, who was the custodian of the Oriental Department of the Bodleian Library, and the scholar Raphael Nathan Nata *Rabbinovicz, the author of *Dikduke Soferim*.

In 1865, while the collection was in France, the renowned bibliographer Senior *Sachs was appointed its custodian. Ten years later he began work on a catalog to be called *Reshimat Sefarim Kitve-Yad be-Oẓar ha-Sefarim Shel Guenzburg* (list of manuscripts in the Guenzburg Library). The planned catalog was designed in such elaborate detail that it took 48 pages to describe the first two manuscripts. Realizing that this approach was impractical, Sachs then prepared a brief handwritten list of 831 items for the use of the family. This was apparently completed in 1887, when the Guenzburgs moved the collection from Paris to St. Petersburg, and it is now housed in the Russian State Library in Moscow. (Sachs himself, pensioned by the family, remained in Paris until his death on Nov. 18, 1892.)

A second handlist of items 832 to 1,908 was later prepared and catalogued, probably by a later scholar, by book size rather than by subject matter. Copies of these two handlist volumes are extremely rare. A Russian translation of the first 831 titles is now available in the Russian State Library. The actual number of titles may be as high as 5,000, because most of the codices list several items. However, not all the manuscripts listed in the handwritten catalogs are extant, since some were lost during the moving of the volumes from one place to another.

The manuscripts in the Guenzburg collection deal with a great variety of subjects, including Bible, Mishnah, Talmud, Responsa, Midrash, Kabbalah, philosophy, medicine, astronomy and mathematics. The biblical literature consists of 40 texts, 30 translations and 180 commentaries. Among the latter are Rashi, Ibn Ezra, Kimḥi, Naḥmanides, Levi b. Gershom and Jacob ben Asher.

The section dealing with Mishnah, Talmud and Halakhah is rich in quality and quantity (350 items) and also contains a number of works of the Gaonic period. The Responsa material includes the names of Rabbenu Gershom, Alfasi, Rashi, the Tosafists, Maimonides, David ha-Nagid, Abraham B. David, Naḥmanides, Solomon ben Adret (Rashba), Meier of Rothenberg, and Asher b. Yeḥiel. Hebrew poetry, secular and religious, is represented by Judah Halevi, Solomon ibn Gabirol, Abraham ibn Ezra, Judah Al-Ḥarizi and Immanuel of Rome. Some of the prayerbook manuscripts are illuminated in beautiful colors.

The collection includes a vast literature on the Shabbetai Ẓevi movement, works by Aristotle, as well as philosophical treatises in Hebrew (or Judeo-Arabic) by Averroes, Maimonides, Al-Ghazālī, Isaac Israeli, Jacob Anatoli, Crescas and others. Some of these works are no longer extant in the languages in which they were originally written. The Guenzburg collection includes important works on astronomy and mathematics and about 40 volumes on medicine. In addition, there are works by 19th-century Hebrew authors and scholars which are now of great value, since most of the unpublished manuscripts of the leading Jewish scholars of the 19th century were destroyed in the Holocaust. Of special interest are works by the biblical scholar Wolf Heidenheim (d. 1832), by his disciple S. Baer (d. 1897), and by the first Hebrew novelist, Abraham Mapu.

FRIEDLAND COLLECTION. The Friedland collection, housed in the Oriental Institute of the Academy of Science in St. Petersburg, contains unique manuscripts on the Bible: biblical commentaries in Judeo-Arabic, Persian, Turkish and other Middle Eastern languages; lexicography; ethics; astronomy; theology; philosophy; music; and historical material such as travel narratives, documents, archives and records of Jewish communities in Middle Eastern countries. There is a great deal of Karaitic literature. One of the rare Bibles, consisting only of the Later Prophets, bears the date 847 C.E.

A manuscript catalog begun by the late Yonah Y. Ginzburg was completed several years ago by A.M. Gasov-Ginzberg. The Oriental Institute in St. Petersburg, formerly under the direction of K.B. Starkova, has prepared an eight-volume catalog describing in detail the entire manuscript collection.

This catalog lists the following: 339 items dealing with Bible, commentaries and lexicography; 291 items dealing with philosophy, ethics, mysticism and theology; 332 items dealing with mathematics, physics, astronomy, medicine and music; 215 items dealing with Karaitic and liturgical works; 149 items of material on the Golden Age of Spain and literature of the Middle Ages, such as responsa, letters, records and documents.

The circumstances under which the Friedland collection was assembled, and its subsequent presentation to the Imperial Institute of St. Petersburg, is of more than passing interest and merits that it be given in some detail, especially in view of the fact that it explains the contents of this invaluable library.

Moses Aryeh Leib Friedland (1826–99) was a prominent Jewish leader in Czarist Russia and corresponded with all the leading rabbis of Russia in his endeavors to ease the economic and political plight of the Jews of the country during the era of the "Cantonists," when Jews were confined to the *Pale of Settlement and professions and trades were closed to them. Moreover, following the Congress of *Vienna (1814–15) some two million Jews were added from the Duchy of Warsaw or the Kingdom of Poland and draconic steps were taken by the authorities to uproot them from their settlements and change their way of life.

Into this oppressive and tyrannical atmosphere was tossed the complicated and stormy question of the *Haskalah*, the "enlightenment" movement which, according to its proponents, was to secure new standing for the Jews as a people, by means of an orderly and suitable process of integration into the life of the state. Against this background one can appreciate Friedland's leap into the battle occupying his people, which was one of the factors contributing towards the acquisition of his huge library.

Friedland did not belong to the same upper social class as the Guenzburgs. Starting from humble beginnings he traveled through the vast Russian steppes under the most trying conditions and in face of real danger, and he learned at first hand the joy of succeeding by dint of one's own labor. He felt the need to broaden the curriculum of education among Jews in Russia, by introducing into the *yeshivah* curriculum secular subjects and the Russian language. Convinced that this was the only way to salvation for the Jewish masses in Russia, Friedland ardently espoused the cause of the Haskalah and engaged in a voluminous correspondence with the great rabbis of the time in an attempt to persuade them to modernize their curriculum. Friedland's brother, Meir, was connected by marriage to Dr. Azriel *Hildesheimer. Friedland saw in his brother the ideal combination of religious and secular learning he strived for. Wherever he traveled in Russia he recorded accurate statistics concerning the size of the Jewish population, its communal institutions and his reason for demanding enlightenment and accepting the government's regulations, for under the circumstances that prevailed it was no longer possible to conceal from the authorities what was happening in Jewish communal life. All this had a direct bearing on the content of his library. Among his manuscripts is the *Kol Negidim* in four volumes, which is a veritable treasure house of information on the Jewish community of Russia during the 19th century. It consists of hundreds of letters, correspondence with the leading rabbis of his time dealing with their history and the many problems facing them. Included are the following references:

(1) The leaders of Russian Jewry at the time of Poliakoff, Guenzburg and others.

(2) Friedland's suggestion to include the teaching of the Russian language in Yeshivat Mir similar to the program in Yeshivat Volozhin.

(3) The rabbinical authorities – their attitudes to the introduction of secular education into the *yeshivot*.

(4) The Petersburg Congress of leading rabbis.

(5) The condition of Russian Jewry in Siberia, the Ukraine and elsewhere.

(6) The government requirement that every rabbi study the Russian language for six years.

(7) The controversy over deleting liturgical poems (*piyyutim*) and *kinot* in the prayers.

(8) The plan of Rabbi Isaac Jacob *Reines to establish a special *yeshivah* at Lida.

(9) The controversy between Rabbi Jacob Lifshitz and the leaders of the enlightenment movement.

In addition to these Friedland set himself the task of gleaning the treasures of Jewish learning in order to disseminate through them a knowledge of this heritage. He amassed a large collection of books, some of them extremely rare, at his own expense. These books were not limited to any one field or subject. His library was quantitatively large and qualitatively valuable, which was considered unique in the sphere of private libraries. Included also was a complete collection of the books of the Talmud, both early and late; books of rabbinical decisions (*poskim*); books of research and responsa in *halakhah*; books of meditation and thought; and numerous volumes of "enlightenment" books. Among the manuscripts in this collection are copies of Maimonides' *Guide to the Perplexed*, with numerous variants, two translations of the Koran in Hebrew by Jacob b. Israel Halevi, works by Tanḥum b. Joseph ha-Yerushalmi, Isaac b. Judah ibn Ghayyat, Judah Halevi, Solomon ibn Gabirol and Judah Al-Ḥarizi.

In the foreword to *Kehillat Moshe*, St. Petersburg 1896, S. Wiener wrote: "Moshe [Aryeh Leib Friedland], in addition to his good deeds for the general welfare of his people, and for the welfare of the individual in his support of several thousand families who bless his name, as the best known and most famous throughout the dispersion, this man also managed to build an everlasting sanctuary for the works of Jewish scholars. In this he has been eminently successful for he has collected in his home more than 14,000 of the finest works and has placed them as eternal witness for permanent safekeeping forever for all generations to come, in a building of the Asiatic Museum of the Imperial Academy of Science in St. Petersburg where, together with the museum's collection, the number of volumes listed will exceed 24,000." In my archives there is a personal letter written by S. Wiener to a friend of his, a learned scholar in Warsaw, on 12 Tevet 1891, in St. Petersburg, in which he says: "The number of books being published in the holy tongue [Hebrew] is about 10,000, and there are about 400 handwritten manuscripts. There is no treasure that compares with this except in Oxford and in London; this one is third in quantity and value." Friedland's library included "the collection which the learned grammarian Ber Bamfi of Minsk gathered throughout his life (he died on 28 Adar 1888). He spent a vast fortune on locating and building up a library of new and old and even rare volumes in all the subjects of Jewish learning and literature, the like of which has never before been seen in our city" (Naphtali Maskileison, *Alon Bachut, Ha-Meliẓ*, 1888, No. 53).

Friedland's library also contained the collection of books of Elieser Lipman Rabinowich who died in Ḥeshvan 1887 (see *Ha-Meliẓ*, No. 147). It contained also the choicest volumes collected by the prominent man of wealth, Shmaryahu Zuckerman of Mogilev (died in 1879), among which is the *Mekhilta* with the commentary on *Zeh Yenaḥameinu*, which the Gaon of Vilna studied and revised with his own hand (Wiener's foreword to *Kehillat Moshe*). Likewise included in Friedland's library were "about 2,000 volumes from the superb and valuable collection assembled throughout his life by the excellent bibliographer Joseph Mazal of Wiazin" (*ibid.*) as well as priceless volumes from various collections acquired for Friedland in Europe and other places. Friedland prized his library and was fully cognizant of its importance and value. In the initial stage he attended to his collection himself, but in the course of time – as it expanded and became more ramified – he engaged people specifically to catalog and classify the works according to subjects and to supervise and direct the progressive completion of the collection by acquiring every rare and priceless volume available in order to render his library complete.

In 1880 there appeared in **Ha-Meliẓ* an announcement which aroused consternation throughout the Jewish community. It declared that Friedland had decided to transfer his invaluable library to the Imperial Institute in St. Petersburg. It created a storm of controversy; it was considered by some as a betrayal of the Jewish people, especially since access to the institute was forbidden to Jews. Only one rabbi in Russia, Rabbi David ben Samuel *Friedmann of Karlin, at that time an active member of the *Hibbat Zion movement, while expressing his concern and sorrow at this step, tried to reason him out of it and proposed to Friedland that he transfer his library to Jerusalem. In a deeply moving letter he praised him for the labor and expense invested in this collection. The fact, however, that it would be housed in an institution closed to the Jews would result in "these volumes and the wisdom of their authors remaining locked up in darkness… Therefore, my advice to you is to establish a Jewish library in Jerusalem, the holy city, under the supervision of its rabbis, both Sephardi and Ashkenazi." He went into meticulous detail relevant to the implementation of his proposal: the binding of books, cataloging, means of keeping it up to date, budget requirements, librarians.

Rabbi Friedman's letter aroused a responsive chord in Friedland's heart. He regretted, however, that the suggestion had come too late; had it come earlier he would have accepted it.

In point of fact, Friedland was aware of the probable fate of his library, insofar as its use for Jews was concerned, if he gave it to St. Petersburg, since the authorities had closed the Jewish library in Warsaw and the Strashun Library in Vilna, and he sent 1,500 volumes of his library to the Great *Bet Hamidrash* of Dinaburg. To his consternation and dismay, however, he discovered that they had not even been taken out of their containers and he went to the expense of putting up shelves and appointing a librarian. But when the authorities refused to pay the wages of the librarian, he finally decided to give it to the St. Petersburg Institute. It was open daily and its "personnel consisted of people who regard Jewish learning very highly." Moreover, the authorities added to it some 3,000 duplicate copies of works already in their possession and undertook to appoint a special official in charge. The famous Russian Orientalist, Paul K. Kokovtsov, undertook the responsibility for its care and maintenance. Friedland consoled himself with the hope that circumstances would change. He believed that, housed within the Asiatic Museum, his library was destined to be used extensively. Many would study the volumes and contemplate their contents and would, through them, develop a familiarity with and esteem for the people which had produced men of such spirit and wisdom. The transfer of the library to the governmental institute was therefore, in Friedland's eyes – under the circumstances which then ruled the life of the Jews of Russia – a form of the most superior kind of "intercession" because as he saw it: "We shall find favor in the eyes of the government, for the benefit of our people, just as our Father Jacob placed the entire camp before him, when he went to face Esau, to ensure his safe journey."

Thus did the Friedland Library find its home in St. Petersburg.

THE FIRKOVITCH AND ANTONIN COLLECTIONS. The Firkovitch and Antonin collections are housed in the Russian State Library in St. Petersburg and contain principally *genizah* material.

The Firkovitch Collections. A native of the Crimea, Abraham *Firkovitch (1786–1874) was imbued with the notion that the Karaites of Babylonia were descended from the Ten Lost Tribes who had settled in the Crimea in the 6th century B.C.E. In his quest for documentary proof, he traveled throughout the Caucasus and the Middle East, exploring the *genizot* of ancient Jewish communities, and eventually assembled the most extensive collection of Hebrew, Samaritan and Karaitic manuscripts in the world, which was acquired in 1859 by the Imperial Library of St. Petersburg.

Some noted authorities, who checked the collection, accused him of tampering with dates on the manuscripts in order to prove his "theory" about the Karaites. Yet even his most severe critics admit that the manuscripts are extremely rare. Thus A. Harkavy and H.L. Strack wrote in 1875: "Though we, in the interest of science, deplore the numerous falsifications mentioned in our catalog, we gladly admit that A. Firkovitch, by the successful results of his tireless zeal for collecting manuscripts, assured himself everlasting recognition in the fields of Bible studies, Karaitic, and rabbinic literature." A considerable portion of the Firkovitch I collection consists of copies and molds of inscriptions found on old Jewish tombstones, mostly assembled by him while in the Crimea. These inscriptions are, in some cases, the only evidence we possess of the existence of Jewish settlements in early Crimean history. In the main, this collection consists of extremely valuable Hebrew, Karaitic and Judeo-Arabic manuscripts originating in Palestine, Egypt, Syria, and the Crimean Peninsula. When Firkovitch visited these places, the manuscripts there were still plentiful and he was able to make a choice selection. He kept the material in his possession for a good many years, studying and classifying it. He gradually compiled a handwritten catalog, which he attached to the memo when he offered to sell the collection to the Russian government in 1856. Firkovitch's catalog contains 830 items, in addition to several hundred letters and documents.

The biblical manuscripts of this first Firkovitch collection, catalogued by Harkavy and Strack, consist of five Torah scrolls written on leather, 41 scrolls written on parchment, 76 manuscripts in codex form, and 23 manuscripts containing text and translation in Aramaic, Arabic, Persian, and Tatar.

Of particular importance in the Firkovitch collection is the section dealing with disputations between the Karaites and Rabbinites.

Included are a manuscript of the *Ḥizzuk Emunah* by the Karaite scholar Yiẓḥak b. Abraham, and by Moses b. Ezra, dealing with the history of Hebrew poets of the Middle Ages, containing material not found elsewhere, and the archives of Judah al-Ḥarizi.

A large number of the manuscripts deal with poets who lived in Palestine, Egypt, and Syria.

In addition to the first Firkovitch collection, another small collection of important Hebrew manuscripts came into the possession of the Imperial Library in St. Petersburg around the year 1863. This was the collection of the Society for History and Antiquity in Odessa. Since it contained manuscripts originally belonging to Firkovitch, the authorities of the library demanded that it be added to the Firkovitch collection. Harkavy-Strack included in their catalog of the Odessa collection 35 Torah scrolls and 20 in codéx form.

This important acquisition of unique manuscripts immediately placed Russia in a favorable position for Hebrew manuscript study, especially in biblical research. The announcement of this collection and the first reports of its contents aroused great excitement among biblical scholars and manuscript collectors. According to Firkovitch's description, and supported by Prof. Daniel Chwolson, there were in this collection 13 Bibles belonging to the period from the 5th to the 9th centuries and 15 Bibles of the 10th century. In his memorandum to the Russian government, Chwolson stated: "In the future, no edition of biblical text should be considered without consulting these important early manuscripts."

The Firkovitch Collection II was acquired by the Russian Imperial Library in 1876. For a long time little was known of its contents, nor was the exact origin of its material certain. Although Firkovitch himself did not provide this kind of information, there is no doubt that the greater part of it came from the *genizot* of the old synagogues in the Crimea. A substantial number of the fragments appears to have come from the Cairo *genizah* in Egypt. A detailed description of the contents of the Firkovitch II collection was given by the late Prof. P. Kahle, who examined the material while on a visit to Leningrad. According to Kahle it includes: 1,582 items of biblical fragments with *masorah* written on parchment; 725 items of biblical material written on paper; 159 items of scrolls of the Bible on leather or parchment; over 6,000 Hebrew and Judeo-Arabic fragments; and 344 non-biblical manuscripts. The material in the Firkovitch collections and the other Hebraica collections in Russia undoubtedly comprise the largest biblical manuscript collection in the world.

The Antonin Collection. The Antonin *genizah* collection was acquired by the Russian Archimandrite, Antonin Kapustin, who lived in Jerusalem from 1865 until his death in 1894. When he learned about the discovery of the Cairo *genizah* he was among the first to be on the scene and was able to acquire a choice selection of material. Upon his death, this material went to the Government Library at St. Petersburg. The Antonin collection occupies an outstanding place, not so much for its quantity as for its quality. The fragments deal with the Bible, biblical translations in Aramaic and Judeo-Arabic, Karaite polemics, historical documents, *Kabbalah*, liturgy, medicine, theology, philosophy and *Ketubot*. They are written in Hebrew, Arabic, Judeo-Arabic, and Samaritan. The late Prof. S. Assaf in his book *Gaonic Responsa* (1929) lamented the fact that the Antonin material in Russia was not accessible to scholars, nor was a catalog available. As a result of many visits to the U.S.S.R. this author was able in 1963 to prepare and publish the only catalog of the entire Antonin material.

According to my classification, the Antonin *genizah* collection of 1,189 items represents 36 subjects ranging from biblical texts to *Zohar*, including such rare items as the Bible in Samaritan, Ibn Ezra's commentary on the Bible, and medical notes in Arabic. The proportions of these various subjects is interesting. Half the collection consists of biblical literature; liturgical material comes next with one-sixth; Talmud, Midrash, *Halakhah*, with one-seventh. This uneven proportion is due to the fact that the sacred books were in wide use among the people. Each household possessed a Bible and one or more prayerbooks. Each scholar had a Talmud and some midrashic and *halakhic* books, whereas the other non-sacred books were confined to special individuals only. The reason that so much non-religious material was found in the Cairo *genizah* at all is that the synagogue at Fostat-Cairo was also used for the offices of the rabbinical courts, where they kept the community archives. Later all this became part of the general *genizah*. Furthermore, the placing of discarded material in the *genizah* was not officially controlled; individuals merely sent their unwanted old books and papers to the *genizah*. No one examined the contents before they were stored away. Thus among the *genizah* contents are private papers, business letters and accounts, and a great number of documents in Arabic script. Prof. Harkavy, in evaluating the Antonin *genizah*, noted: "… the Hebrew and Arabic fragments … have the same origin as the material of the second Firkovitch collection, namely, from the *genizot* of Egypt. They complement each other to a great degree. Together they add great honor and glory to the Royal Public Library."

[Abraham I. Katsh]

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MA'ON (Heb. מָעוֹן, biblical Maon).

(1) City in Judah, the dwelling place of Nabal (I Sam. 25:2, 3); there was also a desert of the same name (I Sam. 23:25). Maon belonged to the seventh district of Judah (Josh. 15:55). In talmudic sources it is called Maon of Judah to distinguish it from Bet Maon near Tiberias (Mekh. Yitro 1). The place is identified with Tell Maʿīn, about 4 mi. (7 km.) S.E. of Yaṭṭa.

(2) The Maonites, a tribe, oppressed Israel along with the Zidonians and the Amalekites (Judg. 10:12). This tribe may be identical with the Meunim whose tents were destroyed by the Simeonites (I Chron. 4:41) and were later defeated by Uzziah, king of Judah (II Chron. 26:7). The area in which this tribe was located is in dispute.

(3) Site southwest of Gaza, called Menois in Roman times. It was the westernmost point of the Palestinian limes (Codex Theodosius 7:4, 30; *Notitia Dignitatum in partibus Orientis* 34:19, 2). The place is shown on the Madaba Map (mid-sixth century). Eusebius mistakenly identified it with the Madmannah of Joshua 15:31 (Onom. 130:7). It is now identified with Ḥorvat Ma'on (Khirbat al-Maʿin) near Nirim, southeast of Gaza. A kibbutz called Ma'on was established near the site in 1949. Remains of mosaic pavements and other debris show that the area contained an extensive settlement from the fourth century C.E. onward. The most interesting building is a synagogue which was excavated in 1957–58. It is oriented toward the northeast and consists of a hall, 14.8 × 11.8 m., with two rows of four columns forming the nave and two aisles. In the vicinity was a ritual bath (*mikveh*). The stone-paved aisles and narthex form a sort of ambulatory around the mosaic-paved nave. The design of the mosaic shows a vine trellis issuing from an amphora flanked by peacocks; the trellis forms medallions within which pairs of various animals are represented. The section of the pavement nearest to the apse has symbolic designs: two palm trees with doves at their bases and above them a *menorah* with two *etrogim*, a *shofar*, and a *lulav*, flanked by two lions. The Aramaic inscription mentions the congregation as a whole and three individual donors of a gold *dinar* each. The pavement, which dates to the early sixth century, has an interesting parallel in a church pavement found at nearby Shellal. They were both, according to Avi-Yonah, made in the same workshop in Gaza (see recently Ovadiah on this matter).

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[Michael Avi-Yonah / Shimon Gibson (2nd ed.)]

MAOR, GALIA (1943–), president and CEO of Bank Leumi. Maor received an M.B.A. from the Hebrew University of Jerusalem and began her banking career at the Bank of Israel in 1963. She filled a long series of positions from assistant to the manager of open markets to adviser to the director general. From 1982 to 1987 she served as the supervisor of banks. During her time in that position, the banks' manipulation of their own share prices was revealed in a major scandal. She retired from the Bank of Israel in 1989 and worked for two years as a consultant for the Somech-Haikin accounting firm. In 1991 she joined Bank Leumi, first as deputy CEO and from 1995 as CEO. Maor is considered a top-flight manager who led Bank Leumi to numerous successes, positioning it second after Bank Hapoalim in the hierarchy of Israeli banks. In 2004 she was ranked 36th in Forbes' list of the world's most successful women.

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[Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

MA'OR KATAN (**Lucerna**, **Lutzerner**, **Luzerner**), family of physicians in Vienna and Prague in the 17th century, who intermarried with the *Fraenkel-Teomim family. The family is well known mainly because of their internal correspondence from 1619, preserved in the Viennese imperial archives. The first of the family, MOSES BEN LOEB (d. 1605), was elected in 1570 and 1573 as physician of the Frankfurt community. He presented a certificate by the *bet din* of Mantua that he belonged to the Freistaedtl family there. His son, JUDAH LEIB (Leva, Leo Lucerna Hebraeus Aulicus; d. 1635), was physician and at the same time rabbi in Vienna. He built himself a synagogue in his house, and left unpublished books. His grandson, Menahem Mendel *Auerbach, describes him in his *Atteret Zekenim* (1702), para. 572. Another son, AARON, was employed by the Prague Jewish community in 1619 as physician, attending Christians as well. Through his mother and his wife he was related to Yom Tov Lipmann *Heller, who in his *Ma'adanei Melekh* on *Ḥullin* 66b acknowledges information supplied by Aaron. Besides attaining the degree of doctor of medicine he was also a doctor of physics and philosophy from the university at Padua, and was the only Jewish physician fully recognized by the Vienna medical faculty.

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[Meir Lamed]

MA'OZ ḤAYYIM (Heb. מָעוֹז חַיִּים), kibbutz in central Israel, in the Beth-Shean Valley near the Jordan River, affiliated to Ha-Kibbutz ha-Me'uḥad. It was founded in 1937 during the 1936–39 Arab riots, as the first *stockade and watchtower village east of Beth-Shean, by four groups, three of whom set out a few months later to establish further kibbutz outposts: *Kefar Ruppin, *Mesillot, and *Neveh Eitan. Most of the founders of Ma'oz Ḥayyim were Israel-born. In the Israel *War of Independence (1948), the kibbutz held an advanced defense position; it again suffered repeated shelling in the period after the *Six-Day War (1967). The kibbutz economy was based on field crops, fruit orchards, carp ponds, dairy cattle, and a factory for packaging materials. Nearby, the Ma'oz Bridge (known in Arabic as Jisr e-Shaikh Husain) spans the Jordan, over what is assumedly the ford used by the Midianites in their flight from Gideon's army; by Pompey in 63 B.C.E.; by the Arab-Muslim army in 635 C.E.; and by Saladin in 1187 when he invaded the country. Today the bridge serves a transit point between Israel and Jordan. The name, "Ḥayyim's Stronghold," commemorates Ḥayyim *Sturman, a Ha-Shomer veteran killed by Arabs on a land-purchasing mission in the Beth-Shean Valley. In 2002 the population of Ma'oz Ḥayyim was 596.

[Efram Orni / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

MA'OZ ẒUR (Heb. מָעוֹז צוּר (יְשׁוּעָתִי); "O Fortress, Rock (of My Salvation)", see: Isa. 17:10), initial words and title of a hymn sung, in the Ashkenazi ritual, in the synagogue and at home after the kindling of the *Ḥanukkah lights. The song originated in Germany probably in the 13th century (Zunz. Lit Poesie, 580); the author is an otherwise unknown poet by the name of Mordecai as shown by the acrostic of the first five stanzas. Some scholars indentify him with Mordecai b. Isaac, the author of the Sabbath table hymn *Mah Yafit*. The original *Ma'oz Ẓur* consists of six stanzas, the first expressing Israel's messianic hopes for the reestablishment of the ancient Temple worship. The following three stanzas praise God for the deliverance of Israel from the Egyptian bondage, from the Babylonian exile, and from *Haman's plot. The fifth stanza summarizes the miracle of Ḥanukkah, and the last one is a plea for the speedy redemption of Israel. The reference in it to *Admon* – as a synonym for Edom – has been understood to refer to the German Emperor Frederic Barbarossa (1121–90 C.E.). This last verse is now omitted and does not figure in most *siddur* editions, though its acrostic חָזָק (*ḥazak*, "strong"), seems to show that it is part of the original composition. Another six verses have been added to *Ma'oz Ẓur* in the course of time by various authors, the first, so it is claimed, by Moses *Isserles. The theme of these additions, too, is a plaint against persecution by Edom and Ishmael (Christians and Arabs), and a prayer for divine vengeance and redemption. An English version of this hymn, called *Rock of Ages*, was written by M. *Jastrow and G. *Gottheil. It differs slightly from the original Hebrew text, with its strong plea for vengeance. Some editions of British prayer books (J.H. Hertz, 1963, p. 950) changed the Hebrew text itself. In Conservative and Reform synagogues the English version is sung in addition to or instead of *Ma'oz Ẓur.*

Musical Rendition

The most commonly sung melody of *Ma'oz Ẓur* is of West European Ashkenazi origin and may be dated from around the early 15th century. E. *Birnbaum and A.Z. *Idelsohn, on the basis of the similarity of isolated motives, related it to a group of early Protestant chorales and a German soldiers' song. There is a much closer correspondence in the entire melodic line to the church melody *Patrem omnipotentem* which appears in several Bohemian-Silesian manuscripts, the earliest of which is dated 1474. The earliest notation attesting to the use of the melody for *Ma'oz Ẓur* so far located is found in the manuscript of Judah Elias of Hanover (1744) as a "melodic reminder" in settings of *Hodu* for Ḥanukkah. The first printed version appears in Isaac *Nathan's *Hebrew Melodies* (1815) set to Byron's "On Jordan's Banks." None of the standard sources of the 19th and early 20th centuries has the repetition of the last sentence of the stanza, which is a recent and inept "improvement." In Ashkenazi usage, from the beginning of the month of Kislev onward and during the week of Ḥanukkah, various prayers are also sung to the *Ma'oz Ẓur* melody or feature its motives. Other melodies also exist, but their distribution is limited. The melody of the Tedesco (German-Italian) Jews was first notated by the gentile composer Benedetto Marcello in his *Estro poetico-armonico* (Venice, 1724, 1803^2). It is still sung in Italy, and sometimes also in Israel and the United States. However, the standard West European Ashkenazi melody has become the dominant and representative one, in spite of objections to its "non-Jewish" character.

Sources

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[Bathja Bayer]

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MAPAI (Hebrew acronym for **Mifleget Po'alei Ereẓ Yisrael**), a social-democratic workers party that existed in 1930–68. The party was founded in 1930 through a union between *Aḥdut ha-Avodah and *Ha-Po'el ha-Ẓa'ir as "a Zionist Socialist party faithful to the ideal of national redemption and the ideal of socialism in the homeland." Among its founders were Berl *Katznelson, David *Ben-Gurion, Yitzhak *Ben-Zvi, and Yosef *Sprinzak. Mapai soon became the dominant party in the labor movement, and in the *yishuv* as a whole. It obtained 27 out of 71 seats in Asefat ha-Nivḥarim (the Elected Assembly of the *yishuv*) in 1931, and 165 out of 201 at the 1933 *Histadrut convention. At the 18th Zionist Congress in 1933, the labor delegation was the largest, numbering 138 out of 318 delegates, and four Mapai members – David Ben-Gurion, Eliezer *Kaplan, Moshe Shertok (*Sharett), and Berl *Locker – were elected to the ten-member Jewish Agency Executive, which Ben-Gurion chaired from 1935 to 1948. Mapai's approach to socialism was pragmatic rather than Marxist. Its aim was not so much the accrual of power by labor as a gradual advance, in Ben-Gurion's phrase, *mi-ma'amad le-am* ("from class to people"). It regarded labor as the central force in the nation, responsible for the achievement of national aims, and called for the unification of all the labor parties. Its main political rivals were the *General Zionists and the right-wing *Revisionists on the one hand, and the left-wing *Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir on the other, and it established an historical alliance with the religious *Mizrachi and *Ha-Po'el ha-Mizrachi and, later on, with the more moderate General Zionists. It was the leading member in the World Union (Ha-Iḥud ha-Olami) of *Po'alei Zion, and was a member of the Second (Socialist) International.

The party was divided over the Peel Commission's partition plan of 1937, but finally decided to accept the principle of partition. Later, it opted for the establishment of a Jewish

Commonwealth in Palestine after the War – a position that was approved by the *Biltmore Conference in 1942. Mapai called for participation by Jewish military units in the British army to fight the Nazis in World War II, combined with opposition to the restrictions of the 1939 White Paper on Jewish immigration and land settlement. It advocated self-defense through the *Haganah under the authority of the Jewish national institutions (Jewish Agency and Va'ad Le'ummi), and the use of physical resistance and even armed force to combat British measures against clandestine immigration, while opposing terrorist reprisals against individual Arabs and all-out rebellion against the Mandatory government.

A leftist group in Mapai, Si'ah Bet ("Faction B"), criticized the reformist tendencies of the majority, who held all the key positions. The struggle came to a head in 1942, when the Mapai convention prohibited factions within the party. As a result, Si'ah Bet broke away in 1944, supported by over half of the Kibbutz ha-Me'uḥad, and formed the Tenu'ah le-Aḥdut ha-Avodah. Despite the split, Mapai retained its absolute majority in the Histadrut, though reduced from 69.3% in 1942 to 53.8% in 1944. It remained the strongest party in Asefat ha-Nivḥarim (63 delegates out of 171 in 1944), and retained a dominant position in the Jewish Agency Executive.

During the preparations for the establishment of the State, Mapai was allotted ten seats out of 37 in the National Council and four out of 13 in the National Administration, which became the Provisional State Council (legislature), and the Provisional Government respectively when the State of Israel was proclaimed. It won 46 out of 120 seats at the elections to the First Knesset in 1949, 45 in the elections to the Second Knesset in 1951, 40 in the elections to the Third Knesset in 1955, 47 in the elections to the Fourth Knesset in 1959, and 42 in the elections to the Fifth Knesset in 1961. It ran together with Aḥdut ha-Avodah–Poa'lei Zion in the elections to the Sixth Knesset in 1965 in the Alignment list, which won 45 seats. Mapai, and later the Alignment, had the support of two to five members of associated Arab minority lists.

It was the dominant force in all the Israeli governments until 1968, holding, among others, the portfolios of Prime Minister, Defense, Foreign Affairs, Finance, Education, Agriculture, and Police. In the Jewish Agency, it held the chairmanship of the Executive and headed most of the central departments. In the Histadrut it maintained its absolute majority until 1965 and its representatives held leading positions in all its organs. Mapai nominees headed most of the local authorities. There was a Mapai mayor in Jerusalem in 1955–65, in Tel Aviv from 1959 to 1968, and in Haifa from 1951 to 1968.

Mapai was badly shaken by the *Lavon Affair that began as the *Esek Bish* in 1954. The affair finally led to a split in the party in 1965 when Ben-Gurion and a group of followers that included Moshe *Dayan and Shimon *Peres, broke away from Mapai and established a new party by the name of *Rafi. A year after the Six-Day War Mapai, Aḥdut ha-Avodah–Po'alei Zion, and Rafi became a single party called the *Israel Labor Party. In the institutions of the new party Mapai received 57% of the seats, while the other two received 21.5% each.

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[Misha Louvish / Susan Hattis Rolef (2nd ed.)]

MAPAM (Hebrew acronym for **Mifleget ha-Po'alim ha-Me'uḥedet** – The United Workers' Party), an Israeli Zionist-Socialist party, founded in 1948, when Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir merged with *Aḥdut ha-Aavodah–Po'alei Zion.

In its early days Mapam advocated radical socialist positions, based on class struggle and links with international socialism, but at the same time it also called for the concentration of the majority of the Jewish people in Ereẓ Israel. Its declared aims were the achievement of socialism in Israel through the democratic hegemony of the labor movement; the establishment of publicly owned enterprises; communal land settlement in the form of kibbutzim; state ownership of the land; cooperation with private capital while condemning all forms of profiteering and "parasitism"; a planned economy to ensure full employment, and the attainment of an egalitarian society.

In 1951 it was the main force behind the violent seamen's strike in the ZIM shipping company, which was viewed by many as an attempted revolt against the *Mapai establishment.

In the early period Mapam also advocated a pro-Soviet policy. Nevertheless, during the 1952 *Slansky Trial in Prague, at which the Zionists were accused of espionage and subversion in the Communist countries, a prominent Mapam member, Mordechai Oren, was arrested and received a 15-year prison sentence. Despite the antisemitic flavor of the trial in Prague, and the Jewish doctors' trial in Moscow, the pro-Soviet group within Mapam advocated that the party support the position of the Soviet Union. In 1954, a small pro-Soviet group within Mapam, led by Moshe *Sneh, broke away from the party, and joined the Israel Communist Party (MAKI). In the same year Aḥdut ha-Avodah–Po'alei Zion decided to break away from Mapam as well and reestablish an independent party. The background to this decision was criticism of the pro-Soviet line and Mapam's decision to accept Arab members into its ranks. Mapam advocated cooperation with the Arab working class and the belief that Israel could achieve peace with its neighbors by integrating into the Middle East. Mapam continued to run as an independent list until 1969, and then in the elections to the Seventh to the Eleventh Knessets ran within the framework of the Alignment together with the *Israel Labor Party.

Mapam was not a member of the government until after the elections to the Third Knesset in 1955, but then was a member of all the Mapai and Labor Party-led governments until 1977. Both of Mapam's historic leaders, Me'ir *Ya'ari and Ya'akov *Ḥazan, supported its entering the Alignment with the Labor Party, which greatly dampened what remained of the party's radical zeal. This trend strengthened after the elderly leaders retired from membership in the Knesset in 1974, after the elections to the Eighth Knesset. In 1974 Mapam Minister of Health Victor *Shem-Tov proposed, together with Aharon *Yariv of the Labor Party, a formula for the holding of negotiations with Palestinians, who would recognize Israel's right to exist, be willing to live in peace with Israel, and refrain from performing acts of terror. However, the Yariv–Shem-Tov formula was not accepted at the time by the Government, though almost 20 years later it constituted the basis for Israel's willingness to sign the Declaration of Principles with the PLO.

Following the elections to the Eleventh Knesset in 1984, when the Labor Party decided to enter a National Unity Government with the Likud, based on parity and a rotation in the premiership, Mapam decided to leave the Alignment, but only after the coalition agreement had been signed. Mapam ran independently in the elections to the Twelfth Knesset, and then joined with the Civil Rights Movement, and *Shinui in establishing *Meretz, in which it constituted the socialist component. In February 1997 the three components of Meretz joined into a single party, and Mapam ceased to exist as a separate party. Meretz was a member of the government formed by Yitzhak *Rabin in 1992, in which Mapam's Ya'ir *Tsaban served as minister of immigration absorption. Though Tsaban exerted little influence on the Government's policies in the sphere of economics and the peace process, he was active in the spheres of religion and state and social issues. In the years 1994–97 Ḥayyim Oron of Mapam was treasurer of the Histadrut, after running in the 1994 Histadrut elections on Haim *Ramon's Ḥayyim Ḥadashim ba-Histadrut list.

Traditionally the party's power came from the Kibbutz ha-Arẓi kibbutz movement, on the one hand, and organized urban groups, on the other. Until the 1980s it was the first group that was dominant. Later on the latter gained the upper hand. Mapam's gradual loss of strength was a function of the general deterioration of the Left in Israel.

Mapam's secretary generals since its foundation were Me'ir Ya'ari, 1948–71; Me'ir Talmi, 1973–79; Victor Shem-Tov, 1979–85; Eleazar Granot, 1985–97.

Its Knesset representation was as follows: First Knesset – 19; Second Knesset – 15; Third Knesset to Fifth Knesset – 9; Sixth Knesset – 10; Seventh Knesset – 9; Eighth to Eleventh Knesset within the Alignment: Eighth Knesset – 8, Ninth Knesset – 4; Tenth Knesset – 7; Eleventh Knesset – 6; Twelfth Knesset – 3; Thirteenth to Fourteenth Knesset within Meretz: Thirteenth Knesset – 4; Fourteenth Knesset – 3.

Until 2005 Mapam published a daily newspaper, **Al ha-Mishmar*, which closed down for financial reasons, as well as a weekly in Arabic, *Al Marsad*.

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[Susan Hattis Rolef (2nd ed.)]

MAP MAKERS. The first reference to a map is found in Ezekiel 4:1. The prophet is bidden to outline on an unburned brick, a plan of a city under siege, such as is found on Babylonian monuments. Nearer to real map making is a rudimentary map of the borders of Ereẓ Israel which Maimonides attached to one of his responsa (ed. Freimann, no. 346, 311).

The earliest examples of real maps known to have been designed by Jews belong to the so-called portolano maps, which are charts of the coastlines of the oceans, mostly of the Mediterranean, designed for the use of navigators. Portolanos are first mentioned in connection with reports on the second Crusade of Louis IX, king of France, in Tunisia in 1270. They were drawn with surprising precision and distances are also remarkably accurate. These maps, whose origin is still somewhat of a mystery, may preserve an ancient Greek and Byzantine tradition of sea charts, with Jews serving, as in other branches of science, as intermediaries between antiquity and the Middle Ages. Jews on the Spanish island of Majorca, as well as from Alexandria and Safed, have signed their names as makers of portolanos.

The 14th and 15th Centuries

Abraham *Cresques, cartographer and maker of portolanos, worked at Palma in Majorca, then part of the kingdom of Aragon. As the "master of maps and compasses" to the king of Aragon, he is said to have produced in 1376–77, together with his son, the six large leaves of the "Catalan Atlas," which were presented by his sovereign to Charles VI of France. His son Judah, also a geographer and cartographer, was forcibly baptized in 1391 and christened Jaime (or Jacome) Ribes de Majorca; he became director of the nautical observatory at Sagres. Another Jewish cartographer of Majorca – who is conjectured to have belonged to Abraham Crescas' family – was Ḥayyim ibn Rich. He, too, was converted at the time of the persecutions in 1391, adopting the name Juan de Vallsecha. He was probably the father of the Gabriel de Vallsecha who made another famous *mappa mundi* in 1439 – now one of the treasures of the Institute of Catalan Studies in Barcelona; it belonged to Amerigo Vespucci – in which the meridian of the Azores is used for the first time in the history of cartography. Another Majorcan cartographer of Jewish birth was Mecia de Viladestes, a map of whose (dated 1413) is preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris.

Other Jewish Map Makers

Judah Abenzara (or ibn Zara) is known as the maker of three portolano maps (Alexandria, 1497, in the Vatican College Library, Cincinnati; and the third with his signature followed by the words "Safed in Galilee, October 1505"). Gerard de Jode (de Judeis; 1509–1591), a maker of maps and publisher in Antwerp, was apparently of Jewish origin. A not very successful competitor of Abraham Ortelius, he published single maps and atlases. His work was based on sound geographical knowledge and was executed with elegance and technical perfection. His son Cornelius de Judeis (1558–1600) was his partner and successor. Abraham b. Jacob was an engraver at the end of the 18th century in Amsterdam. He engraved the map of Palestine in the Passover *Haggadah* which was printed by Moses Wesel in Amsterdam in 1696. It was the first map with Hebrew lettering. Aaron b. Ḥayyim of Grodno's map of Palestine appeared in his *Moreh Derekh* (Grodno, 1839²), which was printed by Meir Isaac Bajarski. Ḥayyim Solomon Pinia of Safed made a pictorial map of the Holy Land, which was edited by Joshua Alter b. Moses b. Phinehas Feinkind of Turek and lithographed by S. Litmanowitz in Turek (near Kalisz, Poland) in 1875; the text is in Hebrew. Another edition with a supplementary German text is lithographed on fabric.

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[Herrmann M.Z. Meyer]

MAPS OF EREẒ ISRAEL. Graphic descriptions of Ereẓ Israel relating to its topography and history and based on factual data, are not only extremely valuable sources for the reconstruction of the physiographic and anthropogenic conditions prevailing there at the time they were drawn, but are also nearly always far more important as documents which give evidence on contemporary developments of cartography in general. In this respect the cartographic representation of Ereẓ Israel differs fundamentally from that of any other country. The main reason for that was its unique status and its special significance for believers in the three monotheistic religions which had such a decisive influence upon the culture and history of the Occident. Consequently Ereẓ Israel became a main – at times almost a sole – object of cartography for several countries. There are innumerable maps depicting the "Holy Land," and they date back to the very dawn of cartography. Another important aspect is that there is no major break in the cartographic representation of Ereẓ Israel over more than a millennium and a half; thus the subsequent depictions of the country reflect the general developments of cartography and at times are even the principal reason for it. This resulted from the fact that the "Holy Land" was treated as a very special, even unique, geographical-historical and even cosmological object, involving specific problems as to adequate cartographic expression and therefore necessitating techniques and means that were not applied at all, or applied only partially and usually much later in maps dealing with other countries.

Ereẓ Israel in Ancient Cartography

Only four map-like documents dating back to classical times are known at present. Of these only one has been preserved in the original (Madaba Map mosaic), while the three others exist in medieval copies only.

MADABA MOSAIC. This mosaic, partly destroyed when a church floor in Madaba was unearthed, is a typical pictorial map whose subject is the biblical countries, i.e., besides the land of Israel – to which it is mainly devoted – it depicts parts of Lower Egypt, Sinai, and southern Syria. For further details see *Madaba Map. It became one of the most important and reliable sources for the reconstruction in particular of the anthropogenic landscape of Ereẓ Israel in the Byzantine period.

THE PTOLEMAEUS MAPS. In the maps which are ascribed to Claudius Ptolemaeus, a second-century Alexandrian cartographer, and which are drawn presumably to illustrate his treatise Γεωγραφικὴ ὑφήγησις (preserved only in medieval copies), Ereẓ Israel is represented in the map entitled "The fourth part of Asia." Its scale is very small; nevertheless, it is of great value since it contains much information pertinent to Ereẓ Israel in the period of the Antonine dynasty. From the cartographic point of view its greatest importance lies in the fact that (as will be detailed below) it changed thoroughly all the fundamental long-held clichés concerning the representation of the Holy Land, and introduced northern orientation and an exact scale by the use of the longitude and latitude grid.

THE PEUTINGER TABLE (TABULA PEUTINGERIANA). The Peutinger Table seems to have been one of the very common road maps in use in the Roman Empire. The original table seems to have been drawn in the third century, and the extant copy probably dates from the 13th century. It is exceedingly long in proportion to its width (682 × 33 cm.), and its main subject, to which all other details are subordinated, is a communications network of the contemporary Roman Empire, specifically emphasizing its stations and the distances between them. Originally drawn in one piece, it was apparently cut into a series of sections of equal size later on. Ereẓ Israel is depicted on it in the lower portions of the sections IX and X. It is assumed that the copy does not differ appreciably from the original; the most pronounced variances are, significantly, several "Christian" additions localizing, illustrating, and explaining sights and events of Christian-biblical interest and thus mainly found in the portion depicting Ereẓ Israel and the adjacent regions. It has been assumed, therefore, that this preserved map was copied in order to serve as a guide to pilgrims traveling to Ereẓ Israel and Rome. The map is not drawn to any scale, and the location of the provinces represented on it is dictated merely by the space provided by the elongated shape of the map which led to extreme distortions in their outlines and situation.

THE "SAINT JEROME MAPS." There are two maps known as the Saint Jerome Maps, both of these copies drawn in the third century. They are included in a manuscript in St. Jerome's *De hebraicis quaestionibus et interpretationibus nominum Veteris et Novi Testamenti*, and their contents provide evidence that the originals were produced at the time of the Church Fathers, but not necessarily by Jerome himself. Both are rather crude black-ink sketches very generalized in style and content, and were thus important as precursors of a great number of maps drawn by monks in the medieval period. One of the drawings depicts the Roman Empire according to its division into provinces, emphasizing the places of special interest to Christians. As a portion of this map is missing, only the northern part of Ereẓ Israel appears on it: the Mt. Hermon area and the sources of the Jordan (designated here as "Jor" and "Dan" – a toponymic deduction from the name of the river that prevailed throughout the Middle Ages). The second sketch contains both the whole of Ereẓ Israel and the adjacent countries, Egypt, Syria, and Mesopotamia. Some of the most characteristic features of almost all the "scholastic" medieval maps are also present here: Ereẓ Israel occupies the central part of the drawing and is represented out of all proportion to the surrounding countries, which appear as small unimportant appendages. Similarly, only places and topographical features of biblical interest appear on this map sketch.

In the Middle Ages

Although in general, cartography in the Middle Ages was of a low standard, cartography of Ereẓ Israel reached a peak in this period, both in quantity and quality. For several centuries, Ereẓ Israel was the sole, or at least the most important and prominent, subject of map making. Two kinds of maps existed in the Middle Ages:

a) World maps (*mappae mundi*), almost all of which were of an abstract nature, and were largely the work of monks. Their purpose was to explain and illustrate contemporary ecclesiastical views of cosmography and geography, which, rather than being based on a knowledge of reality, were based on the Scriptures, as interpreted by the Church Fathers and the scholastics, as well as by the writings of ancient polyhistors such as Pliny, Pomponius Hella, and Solinus. Not only was the content of these world maps decisively influenced by the Bible, even their shape (a circle or rectangle) was a result of dogmatic interpretations of certain biblical passages. The world maps are "oriented," i.e., their top denoted the East, the presumed site of Paradise (which is shown on many of these maps as a geographical actuality). In all the maps, Ereẓ Israel occupies a prominent place, in many instances as much as a sixth of the entire space (as for example in the famous "Anglo-Saxon" map). In some of the maps, which are so abstract in conception and drawing as to represent mere cartograms, Ereẓ Israel takes up so much space that the other countries tend to appear as insignificant background only. The description of Ereẓ Israel on these maps consists entirely of biblical topography, with an addition of explanations and traditional identifications of places. Furthermore, from the beginning of the Crusades up to the 16th century, Jerusalem, believed to be the "navel of the world," was placed at the very center of all world maps. This of course, dictated the whole framework, structure, and composition of the map, fulfilling the role played in present maps by the reference location of the poles and the equator. The proportionally great detail of the historio-geographical and physiogeographic facts in which traditional particulars of Ereẓ Israel were depicted or verbally denoted on the maps (such as Mt. Gilboa, Mt. Tabor, various springs, caves, trees, holy places, etc.), however, made it necessary to invent new forms for expressing such details, and this seems to have had a lasting effect upon the development of symbols and signs used in maps in the following centuries. Among medieval maps there were many sketchlike maps of Jerusalem that were generalized and geometrical and served as guides to pilgrims and Crusaders.

b) The portolano maps, which appeared in the late Middle Ages, were used mostly for purposes of navigation and were probably derived from charts developed as early as the Byzantine period. Many Jewish cartographers were involved in the production of this kind of map, in particular those of the Catalan school, centered in Majorca. The most renowned representatives of this school were Abraham and Judah (Jaime) Cresques; the latter drew the Catalan Atlas, the most beautiful and advanced project of the portolano cartography. Although on these maps Ereẓ Israel no longer occupies a disproportionate amount of space, it continues to exhibit many specific aspects, both as to content and cartographic execution. Since these maps were sea charts aimed at serving navigation, they concentrated primarily on the delineation of coastlines and the location of ports, and show hardly any details of the interior, except perhaps for a flag (banner?) signifying the political control of the country. An exception is made in the case of Ereẓ Israel, for which the relevant portion of the map shows great inland detail, such as the Jordan and its lakes, holy places, and important churches and monasteries. The Red Sea is shown in red or crimson (whereas other bodies of water are shown in blue or light green); a white strip marks the site where the Israelites are presumed to have crossed the Red Sea. It has become increasingly certain that the portolano maps served as the basis of the few regional maps made in the Middle Ages (at least the few that have been preserved). All of these maps (with one exception, which also contains Britain; see the Matthew Paris map, below) have Ereẓ Israel as their subject. Considering the period in which they were made, these are exceptional maps: (1) They are the outcome of either direct observation or factual and critically adapted information. (2) Their contents are of a topical nature, describing Ereẓ Israel during and after the time of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem, though they also contain many details based on biblical tradition – so important for every Christian pilgrim in the Middle Ages but not corresponding to the reality of the country and in contrast to the factual content of the map. (3) They generally serve a practical purpose, i.e., as guides for armies or pilgrims. (4) Some of the maps and techniques exhibit specific features that denote marked progress in cartography and were used in the maps of other countries only much later.

The outstanding medieval maps of Ereẓ Israel that have been preserved are the following: (1) A large map (2,080 sq. cm.), preserved at Florence, that is extraordinary not only with regard to its delineation of the coast, which corresponds closely to reality as is the rule with portolano maps, but also as to its wealth of detail. The details, however, are of a much lower standard; for example, the markings of locations – which is a major subject of all medieval maps – are out of proportion to the areal extension of the map. The map is oriented to the East, in contrast to the portolanos, thus reflecting the prevailing influence of the *mappae mundi* and their affinities. (2) A sketch map of Ereẓ Israel at Oxford, whose portolano origin is evidenced by its orientation to the North. It contains a great number of topical details, including some based on observation, such as a unique description of the road leading from the coast to Jerusalem. (3) Another map kept at Florence, outstanding in the quality of its illustrations and colors, but inferior in content to the two maps mentioned above. Because of its highly heraldic and ornamental designs and its wonderful coloring, it represents one of the most pronounced examples of the artistry employed in the late Middle Ages. (4) A map drawn by Matthew Paris of England (1250 C.E.), outstanding for its unique description of the road system and its allusions to caravan traffic between Ereẓ Israel and Syria. Some places, especially Acre, the most important Crusader fortress, are depicted in great detail in a separate small vignette. Paris was also the author of an illustrated road guide (England to the Holy Land) which is unique in cartography. The map has the form of a long strip and signifies with miniature designs the stops along the route between the two countries; the stops were usually churches or monasteries that pilgrims customarily visited, and even the roads leading from one stop to the next are indicated by two parallel lines. (5) Medieval cartographic presentation of the Holy Land reached its climax in a series of maps and sketches attached to a memoir by the Venetian Marino Sanuto, appealing for a renewal of crusading (*liber secretorum fidelium crucis*). The map appendage consists of a map of Ereẓ Israel, a rather stereotyped *mappa mundi*, a map of the Near Eastern countries, and a detailed, extremely accurate sketch of Acre, and a far more conventional one of Jerusalem. It is now established that at least the maps of Israel and of the Near East were drawn by Pietro Vesconte, a noted portolano cartographer. The map of Ereẓ Israel is an astounding piece of work, anticipating various future cartographical developments by several centuries. It is not only relatively exact in scale – a characteristic common to most portolanos as far as the coasts are concerned – but also exhibits a grid of longitudinal and latitudinal lines equally spaced throughout at the distance of 1 "leuca" (approx. 2,500 meters). The location of the towns and villages, at least those existing at the time, is rather exact, as are the sites of most topographic features represented in the map. Another extraordinary feature is the wealth of information (besides the usual indication of biblical sites, the areas assumedly occupied by the tribes of Israel, and pertinent remarks and explanations derived from the Bible) on the contemporary situation, based, as were the above-mentioned features of the map, on the author's personal observation and/or intensive study of the memoir. Because of its relative accuracy and abundance of detail, the map served as a pattern for other maps during the Renaissance period; however, its grid was generally replaced by the Ptolemaic latitude and longitude grid. (6) A map drawn by William Wey in the 15th century. It is a typical medieval depiction of Ereẓ Israel, in which all the elements of medieval presentation of this country are incorporated and superbly executed, in particular the pictorial embellishments and the coloring (illumination).

Ereẓ Israel in Arab Cartography of the Middle Ages

In general, medieval Arab maps were more exact, more detailed, and more comprehensive than European maps, but in technique they were far more uniform and stereotyped, employing outlines and symbols of a strictly geometric nature. In Arab maps, Ereẓ Israel did not occupy the most prominent place. The best and most comprehensive Arab map of Ereẓ Israel was made by Idrissi, whose cartographic works represent a mixture of Moslem and Western European style and content.

In Modern Times

The cartographical representation of Ereẓ Israel underwent some fundamental changes in modern times: 1. As a result of constantly growing geographical knowledge (gained from the works and maps of Ptolemaeus) and the extensive discoveries of whole continents, accompanied by the development of the sciences, in particular those dealing with the earth – its astronomical position, movements, and surface nature, Jerusalem could no longer be regarded as the "navel of the world" and ceased to be used as the center of world maps. 2. The mathematical and astronomical fixing of locations – by means of lines of longitude and latitude – based upon the method used by Ptolemaeus and arrived at by exact measurements, made it possible to establish the proper outlines of the countries and their relative size. Each map was now based on a distance scale and it was no longer possible to exaggerate the size of Ereẓ Israel in comparison with the other countries of the world. 3. However, whereas the maps of other countries usually contained only details of a contemporary nature, maps of Ereẓ Israel retained their historical character. The main purpose of these maps was to describe the topographical and geographical background of the events described in the Bible and the Gospels, and they ignored the actual landscape of the country, and in particular, the anthropogenic features (villages, roads, etc.). For this reason, a contemporary map of Ereẓ Israel (*tabula moderna*) was usually attached to the Ptolemaeus maps, made to a much larger scale, orientated to the East, and containing many traditional topographical designations. Most of these maps were based on that of Sanuto. Nevertheless, for a variety of reasons, maps of Ereẓ Israel retained their special importance in the early modern period: (1) For various historical and religious reasons (the Reformation, Bible translations), the invention of printing made maps of Ereẓ Israel the most popular and most widely distributed maps; they were also the first to be produced in print. (2) The competition resulting from the wide demand for maps of Ereẓ Israel that provided the location of sites mentioned in the

Bible, caused these maps to become generally the most splendid and beautiful ones produced in this period; this applies particularly to the signs and symbols used on the maps, the decoration of the margins, and the cartouche, i.e., the part of the map separated by an ornamental enclosure containing the title of the map, its author, the scales, sources, and so on. The historical content, that seemed to illustrate the background of the Bible and Gospels with the little contemporary geographical detailing that was available during the Renaissance period, made it possible to experiment with the maps and even led to innovations as regards scales, symbols, shading, coloring (illumination), etc. Thus the first indication of magnetic variation was made on a map of Ereẓ Israel.

EREẒ ISRAEL IN THE ERA OF ATLASES. The magnificent atlases produced during and after the Renaissance, in Western and Central Europe, usually contained at least two maps of Ereẓ Israel, which were the works of different cartographers and were scarcely compatible with each other. One of the maps forms an integral part of each atlas and is usually based on Ptolemaeus; it is oriented to the North, contains some slight changes in the delineation of the coast and some additional relief features and hydrographic details, and a wealth of place-names mentioned in the Scriptures, in the works of Josephus and so on. Thus, in essence, the map depicts Ereẓ Israel as it is shown in "The fourth part of Asia" by Ptolemaeus. There are numerous instances, however, in which the Ereẓ Israel map in the atlas is oriented to the East and is much closer in content and nature to the Sanuto map, with the important addition of the use of the astronomic longitude and latitude grid derived from Ptolemaeus. The second map of Ereẓ Israel (and sometimes even a third, produced by yet another cartographer) is found among the numerous addenda (*additamentum*) that were attached to the atlases in this period. Important Ereẓ Israel maps in this period were produced by Ortelius, Mercator, Tilemanus Sigenensis, Laicstein, Blaeu, Janszon, Homann, Sanson, Seutter, de Lille, Bonne, and d'Anville. The maps made by the last three cartographers mentioned (who represent the French school) were superior to others in the precision of their content and may be regarded as the most advanced maps prior to those of the 19th century. There were also maps of Ereẓ Israel that were attached to the numerous cosmographies published in this period (of which that by Sebastian *Muenster was the most widely distributed). Even more important, as a source for the maps appearing in the atlases, were the various works on Ereẓ Israel, which contained maps made to a large scale. Among these, mention should be made of the works of Jacob Ziegler, Adrian Adrichomius (1590), and last and most important, Hadrianus Relandus' *Palaestina ex monumentis veteribus illustrata*, which contains a number of detailed and relatively precise maps, especially one showing the relief and the consequent physiographic division of the country in the coastal plain, the mountains, the Valley of the Jordan, and the Transjordan plateaus. Only a single map of Israel, made in 1483 by Bernard Breitenbach, is based entirely on the author's personal observation and describes the country as he saw it. Combining both the medieval and modern cartographic style, the map enjoyed great popularity.

In the 18th and 19th Centuries

The first mapping of Ereẓ Israel based partly on topographical survey was made in connection with Napoleon's campaign in Egypt and Ereẓ Israel. The main result of this was a series of 47 maps of Egypt, Sinai, and Ereẓ Israel, named the Jacotin maps after their author (1810). Six of the maps depict parts of Ereẓ Israel, especially those parts through which the army passed on its invasion of the country. The scale is 1:100,000, and the maps show precise details of the areas where measurements were taken by means of the trigonometric methods that had developed in Europe by this time (based on the theodolite and the principle of triangulation). Thus, even the representation of relief on these maps was relatively exact and adequate. Relative differences in height and the diverse gradients of the slopes are shown by hachuring (i.e., expressing the gradient of the slope by discontinuous, proportionally dimensioned lines extending down from the summit to the base of the slope; the steeper the slope the shorter but thicker the hachure line and vice versa), and in general, the rest of the details shown on the maps, i.e., symbols and so on, are of a high standard. Some of the place-names are given in Arabic script, in addition to Latinized transcription. For a period of about 50 years these were the maps used in the exploration of the country.

Toward the end of the 18th century and in the first half of the 19th century, Ereẓ Israel became the subject of numerous exploratory voyages and expeditions, as though it was still "unknown territory." Although the emphasis was on the archaeological and historical aspects of the country, much attention was also paid to its natural conditions including its physiography. In particular, interest was centered on the Jordan Valley and the Dead Sea, because they formed the lowest depression on earth. The works produced by such itinerant scholars and explorers as Seetzen, Burckhardt, Buckingham, and Robinson generally included sketch maps of some areas and sites, and an overall map of the country. Outstanding among these maps is the one attached to Robinson's work, drawn by Kiepert, the well-known German cartographer. An American naval expedition, led by Lynch, executed a map survey of the Jordan River and the Dead Sea. All these works were summarized in *Erdkunde von Asien* ("Geography of Asia"), the famous work by Ritter, which also contains a comprehensive list of all known maps of Ereẓ Israel, from ancient times up to the 19th century. A companion to Ritter's work, the atlas by Zimmermann, contains detailed maps of Ereẓ Israel, to the scale of 1:333,333. All the maps listed above were used as an important source for the study of the landscape of Ereẓ Israel in the first half of the 18th century. The final work of this period of individual research and mapping was the map of Van de Velde (scale 1:315,000), one of the most beautiful maps of Ereẓ Israel of this time.

In the second half of the 19th century, the existing maps were felt to be insufficient to meet the requirements of the growing interest in the country, especially for archaeological purposes. The Palestine Exploration Fund (PEF) was established in Britain to carry out a systematic survey of Ereẓ Israel "from Dan to Beer Sheba." The work of the fund was preceded by a survey of the coastline and the adjoining hinterland, ordered by the British Admiralty (1858–62). They established not only the exact outline of the coastline but also a fixed number of points that were of great help in the survey that followed. An early project undertaken by the Fund was a survey of the Sinai Peninsula, aimed at establishing the route of the Exodus and the location of Mt. Sinai. The maps of Jebel Katerina (the presumed location of Mount Sinai) and Jebel Serbal, whose relief is expressed by form lines, are among the finest maps of the entire area. The first undertaking of the Fund in Ereẓ Israel proper was a survey of Jerusalem and its surroundings (1864), carried out with a precision hitherto not applied in the Near East. In the resulting maps the relief was presented by the hachuring method. In 1871 an expedition of the Fund, led by Conder and later on by Kitchener, embarked upon the main mapping project. The survey encompassed the entire country, from the Qasimiye River up to south of the Dead Sea, and resulted in a set of 26 sheets, made to the scale of 1:63,360 (inch to mile), as on the British topographical maps, and based on a precise triangulation (two base-lines), leveling (Acre–Sea of Galilee, Jaffa–Dead Sea), and altimetric measurements. The relief is represented by means of shading and tinting. In many instances the height is also given in figures; rivers and springs are shown in blue; the various kinds of vegetational cover are indicated by accordant symbols, as are also anthropogenic features. The maps are particularly accurate in the location of the many existing ruins of ancient places of settlement; much effort was also devoted to establishing the names of places and their proper transliteration. The Fund published its *Memoirs*, and they serve to this day as an important geographical and historical source.

"The Survey of Western Palestine" was followed by efforts to carry out a similar survey of Transjordan, which, however, failed for a variety of reasons. Only the Deutscher Palaestina Verein eventually carried out a survey of Gilead, executed to the same scale as the maps of PEF. The maps of the PEF and, to some extent, the German maps too, served as a basis for Ereẓ Israel maps that were produced up to the conquest of Palestine by the British. Among later maps based on those of the PEF, the most important was the Bartholemew map, in which the relief is expressed by contour lines and the subsequent altitude zones are also indicated by varying coloring. In World War I the existing maps were adapted to military requirements, with the help of aerial photography. The maps employed by the British army were made to a scale of 1:40,000, those of the German army to 1:50,000. Shortly before World War I a survey of the Sinai Peninsula was carried out by Newcombe, to a scale of 1:125,000; this included the Negev and the relief was represented by contour and form lines. Shortly after its establishment, the Mandatory government embarked upon a new survey of the country, using up-to-date methods. Two series of maps were printed, one a topo-cadastral set, made to a scale of 1:20,000, and the other a topographical set made to a scale of 1:100,000. This survey was also restricted to the area of Ereẓ Israel extending from the northern political boundary to somewhat south of Beersheba, and consisted of 16 sheets. In these maps the relief was presented by contour lines with a vertical interval of 25 meters. Agricultural areas appear in green and the hydrographic network in blue. The mapping was executed with comprehensive triangulation and fieldwork. Other maps produced by the Mandatory government were maps of the major cities and villages (scale 1:10,000) and a geographical map of the country (1:250,000). During the Mandatory period, efforts were also made to produce a Hebrew map of the country (Press, Brawer, Lief). These were necessarily adaptations of 19th-century maps and those issued by the government Survey Department but they made important contributions to the proper identification of localities, and the use of historical place-names and Hebrew transliteration. With the establishment of the state, "Survey of Israel" became one of its basic governmental institutions in view of the country's ever-expanding exigencies, in particular those connected with economic-demographic planning. These were met by extensive triangulation, leveling which also resulted in a dense altimetric network, new additions (Hebrew) of totally revised and updated map series 1:20,000 and 1:100,000, largely improved not only by the above-mentioned measurements but also by the thorough use of photogrammetric techniques. The 100,000 series is continuously supplemented by a far more comprehensive one at a scale of 1:50,000. The Israel Atlas (Heb. 1956–64) and its English edition (1970) – the latest additions to the series of "National Atlases" – summarize both the history and the development of the cartographic representation of the country and its present state in all the fields given to cartographic expression. In the early 21st century, the Survey of Israel was responsible for producing new maps in various fields, such as historical maps, topographical maps, regional maps, general maps, satellite maps, etc. The recent maps were produced with new techniques such as GIS (Geographical Information Systems) and satellites. The Survey of Israel was also in charge of the updating of the Israel Atlas.

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[Isaac Schattner]

MAPU, ABRAHAM (1808–1867), creator of the modern Hebrew novel. One of the principal exponents of the Haskalah movement in Eastern Europe, he is best known for his first and most successful novel *Ahavat Ẓiyyon* ("The Love of Zion," Vilna, 1853), which represents a turning point in the development of modern Hebrew literature. The son of an indigent and scholarly teacher, Mapu was born in Slobodka, a poverty-stricken suburb of Kovno, where he early acquired a reputation as a brilliant student, and, having mastered much of the talmudic learning of the day, he was considered fit for independent study at the age of 12. Following his marriage at 17, Mapu continued his studies in the home of his wealthy father-in-law in Kovno. After a brief flirtation with Ḥasidism, he resumed an interest in Kabbalah and mysticism, previously fostered by his father. This occasioned a period of close contact with Elijah *Ragoler. The chance finding of a copy of the Psalms with a Latin translation in Ragoler's home aroused his interest and he taught himself Latin, virtually an unknown study among pious Jews in Eastern Europe. Eventually he acquired a fair proficiency in French, German, and Russian, in spite of the prevailing hostility in Orthodox Jewish circles to the learning of languages. These studies plus an interest in such equally neglected subjects as Bible, Hebrew grammar, and modern literature laid the foundations of his subsequent achievements.

Throughout his life Mapu struggled to maintain his family. He became a teacher of young children and was invited in 1832 to tutor the children of a wealthy merchant in the nearby town of Georgenberg. While separated from his family for two or three years, he was drawn to the Haskalah movement, and, on his return to Kovno, he began to disseminate its doctrines among the local youth. In 1837 Mapu moved his family to Rossyieny, where he taught for about seven years. In spite of his economic hardship, Mapu found the cultural atmosphere of Rossyieny attractive. There his friendship with Senior *Sachs engendered a profound interest in the history of ancient Israel. In an attempt to improve his finances Mapu returned to Kovno in 1844. His wife died in 1846, and the following year he moved to Vilna to tutor the son of the wealthy but unlettered Judah Opatov. Despite Vilna's reputation as a great center of Haskalah, Mapu found the city no more congenial than the house of his harsh employer. On learning of Mapu's appointment to teach at a government school in Kovno in 1848, Opatov assaulted him physically. Mapu, deeply humiliated, fled the house. He avenged the insult by modeling the character of the boorish upstart, Ga'al, in his novel *Ayit Ẓavu'a* ("The Hypocrite") on his former employer. From the Hebrew writers of Vilna, however, Mapu acquired the taste for Romanticism which permeates his novels.

As the new post proved permanent, Mapu settled in Kovno and remarried in 1851. For about ten years domestic happiness and improved financial circumstances coincided with his most fruitful literary period. His growing reputation was enhanced in 1857 by the personal congratulations of the Russian minister of public institutions, Norov, a singular honor which induced Mapu to include a poem in Norov's honor in the introduction to his lost novel *Ḥozei Ḥezyonot* ("The Visionaries"). But from 1860 his health began to fail beneath the burdens of overwork and persecution by the pious opponents of Haskalah who managed to influence the censors to delay or even forbid his publications. His meager resources were further undermined by his second wife's long illness, from which she died in 1863. His later years were relieved only by a short visit to St. Petersburg in 1861, where his first acquaintance with opera appealed to his romantic imagination. The loneliness of his last years was aggravated by a disease of his fingers, which made every line he wrote an agony.

Although Mapu was 45 when *Ahavat Ẓiyyon* was published he seems to have labored on the novel, despite its modest length, for more than 20 years. While the plot may well have been originally modeled on the allegorical dramas of M. Ḥ. *Luzzatto, the influence of Senior Sachs directed Mapu's attention toward the Bible, so that the first Hebrew novel also became the world's first novel in a biblical setting. *Ahavat Ẓiyyon* won immediate acclaim, and its continued popularity is attested by at least 16 editions, as well as translations into many languages including English, French, German, Russian, Arabic, Judeo-Arabic, Judeo-Persian, Ladino, and Yiddish. The more liberal spirit prevailing in Russia during the early reign of Alexander II prompted Mapu to choose a contemporary setting for his second novel *Ayit Ẓavu'a*. Of the five parts comprising this long and rambling novel, the first was published in Vilna in 1858, the second in 1861, and the third in 1864. A second edition containing all five parts appeared posthumously in Warsaw in 1869. About ten editions show its popularity. Mapu had been simultaneously composing a third novel, *Ḥozei Ḥezyonot*, depicting the period of the pseudo-Messiah, *Shabbetai Ẓevi. Reputed to have been in ten complete parts, the work was sent to the censor in 1858, together with the first two parts of *Ayit Ẓavu'a*. Whereas the publication of the latter was subject only to irritating delays, the campaign of the fanatical opponents of Haskalah persuaded the censor to forbid publication of *Ḥozei Ḥezyonot* altogether. The manuscript disappeared, and only a seven-chapter fragment remains. Mapu never completely recovered from this loss. To avoid the persecution of his opponents, he reverted to a biblical background for his fourth and last novel, *Ashmat Shomron* ("The Guilt of Samaria," Vilna, first part, 1865; second part, 1866). Again, this achieved some ten editions.

Apart from his novels, Mapu published several books designed to improve the clumsy educational methods of his day. Two of his textbooks, *Ḥanokh la-Na'ar* and *Der Hausfranzose*, appeared in Vilna in 1859. The former outlines the author's method for teaching elementary Hebrew, while the latter comprises a primary textbook for the study of French. Written in German but with Hebrew characters, it constitutes an interesting example of the attempts made by the exponents of Haskalah to broaden the cultural interests of the Jewish community. A third textbook, *Amon Pedagog* (Koenigsberg, 1867), again deals with the teaching of Hebrew. But even within the framework of a textbook, his creative talent emerges in the form of a story, later published separately by J. Klausner under the title *Beit-Ḥanan* (Jerusalem, 1920), which is unfolded section by section to illustrate the rules to be explained. *Amon Pedagog* served as a standard textbook until the end of the century, and went through five editions.

Mapu's creativity contains both strongly imitative and highly original features. The influence of the Bible is naturally most conspicuous in the setting, style, and language of the two historical novels, *Ahavat Ẓiyyon* and *Ashmat Shomron*, which depict life in ancient Israel in the days of Isaiah. In lesser measure it also extends to *Ayit Ẓavu'a* which portrays contemporary Jewish life, mainly in his native Lithuania. Aspects of his novels were derived from other sources, principally Hebrew and French writers. His limited inventiveness is demonstrated by his frequent borrowing of dramatic devices and by the many repetitions and similarities which occur in his stories.

Of the Hebrew writers who influenced Mapu, M.Ḥ. Luzzatto's example may be discerned in the plots, dramatic devices and symbolic names, as well as in the didactic and ethical ideas, and the interest in nature. From N.H. *Wessely, whom he held in almost equal esteem, Mapu derived less specific but no less important elements, such as the linguistic narrative possibilities inherent in the Bible. Moreover, the social and educational reforms advocated in Wessely's series of open letters *Divrei Shalom ve-Emet* found an enthusiastic echo in Mapu's novels, especially *Ayit Ẓavu'a*. Among Hebrew prose writers, the Galician exponents of Haskalah, J. *Perl and I. *Erter exerted considerable influence on Mapu. From their satires on the shortcomings of society, he learned how to use melodrama and farfetched incidents. The letters and dreams which Perl and Erter frequently introduce as convenient media for their satirical purposes are a characteristic feature of Mapu's novels. Many of his characters embody their demands for radical changes in outlook and occupation in Jewish society.

Mapu's novels also owe a considerable debt to the French romantic novelists, the elder Dumas and Eugène Suë. Like Dumas, Mapu turned his attention to the national past, infusing an historical situation with heroism and romantic love, and introducing historical personages side by side with his own creations. From Dumas, Mapu learned the art of creating atmosphere and of clothing his plots in a romantic historical mantle while the influence of Eugène Suë is particularly noticeable in Mapu's novel of contemporary life. But whereas the violence and intrigue encountered in Suë's *Mystères de Paris* are perfectly in keeping with its background of the Paris underworld, the attempt in *Ayit Ẓavu'a* to superimpose such elements on a backcloth of Jewish society in Eastern Europe, which was characterized by sobriety, timidity, and a rigid control of the passionate emotions, is primarily responsible for the incongruity of the setting and the plot.

The original and creative element in Mapu's writings does not lie in the external forms of his novels. The structure, dramatic techniques, and characterizations and stereotypes personifying vice and virtue, all lean heavily on previous writers, and all display grave weaknesses and limitations. For Mapu's own generation, however, the plots, particularly of the historical novels, were the most attractive and fascinating aspect of his work, both because this literary medium was unknown in Hebrew literature and because the adventure and excitement provided so striking a contrast to the colorless lives of most of his readers. The vivid descriptions of heroism and action, the free expression of emotion, and above all the colorful scenes of a people living unrestricted in its own land inflamed the imagination of a life-starved generation. His success in arousing imagination and emotion and his ability to transfuse a somewhat dry and intellectual literature with the feelings of heroism and romantic love constitute the most striking elements of his achievement. By fostering pride in the national past and focusing attention on the land of Israel, Mapu provided an emotional stimulus for generations of young readers. Indeed, the contribution of his novels to the rise of the Jewish national movement from which Zionism later emerged must be regarded as an important factor in modern Jewish history.

Mapu's use of language was equally remarkable. The restricted vocabulary of biblical Hebrew and its limited dialogue seriously curtail its suitability for the modern novel. The narrative power of the biblical story stems, moreover, from its tantalizing brevity and its ruthless pruning of extraneous detail. The Bible story relates a series of events in sequence of time, with little analysis or speculation. It presents a skeleton narrative, leaving the reader to supply the flesh and blood. But the novel demands techniques of a different kind. It is expansive and has to supply those very elements and details which the Bible is so careful to omit. Yet Mapu adopted a medium for expansion whose main strength lies in strict omission, knowingly risking the constant comparison of his own creation with the lofty grandeur of the original. Mapu attempted to solve the problem of language by using his material to the full. The entire Bible became a source for his invention. His style constitutes a fusion of elements of the prose and the poetry of the Bible. Appropriating and refashioning at will, he molded the material to suit his purpose, while retaining much of its original spirit. In spite of the frequent introduction of entire phrases and complete images, he avoided the danger of producing a jumbled patchwork of biblical snippets. So smoothly do they merge with the texture of his own style that the result is neither an imitation nor a parody of the Hebrew Bible. This sensitivity to language is one of the most attractive features of his novels. But Mapu was well aware that he had stretched his material to the limit. In *Ayit Ẓavu'a* he deliberately introduced post-biblical elements, and himself protested that biblical Hebrew was not an adequate vehicle of expression for the modern novel. His writing may be regarded as the consummation of the neobiblical style advocated by the exponents of Haskalah. No major Hebrew novelist attempted to emulate his achievements.

Although aesthetically the least satisfying, it was *Ayit Ẓavu'a* with its emphasis on social and educational reform that exerted the most influence on subsequent Hebrew writers. The realistic elements of Mapu's social novel may be traced in the words of many writers, including P. *Smolenskin, J.L. *Gordon, R.A. *Braudes, M.D. *Brandstaedter, and S.J. *Abramovitsh (Mendele Mokher Sforim), all of whom furthered the positivist and social aspects of his work. Indeed, the realistic novel depicting the problems of contemporary society has continued to occupy a dominant position in Hebrew literature.

For the Hebrew reader, Mapu's first novel, *Ahavat Ẓiyyon*, was uniquely influential. It opened the prospect of a free and independent life to a people hopelessly fettered by political, social, and economic restrictions. Its significance lies in the fresh possibilities of art and life which it revealed, and in the new awareness it promoted. As the first Hebrew novel, it represents the first expression of a people's longing for a fuller and better life. The English translations of *Ahavat Ẓiyyon were published under various titles: *Amnon, Prince and Peasant*, tr. by F. Jaffe (1887); *In the Days of Isaiah*, tr. by A.M. Schapiro (1902; the same translation was published later under the title *The Shepherd Prince* in 1922 and 1930); *The Sorrows of Noma*, tr. by J. Marymont (1919). His letters were published by B. Dinur under the title *Mikhtevei Avraham Mapu* (1971). Following the 1928 edition of Mapu's works in five volumes, further editions were published in 1945 and 1953.

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[David Patterson]

MAQĀM, and its regional equivalents – *maqom, mugham, dastgah* and *tbā'* – designate characteristic modal scales that are identified by a multitude of individual names like *rast, buzurk, segah, dil bayāt,* etc. In a broader sense the *maqām* concept is also associated with a series of compositional principles, including the use of melodic types that are characterized by tonal material and motifs as well as a series of conventions prevalent in major centers of the world of Islam, from India to North Africa. In its most sophisticated form the concept of *maqām* and its principles are applied to many compound and cyclic vocal and instrumental compositions with contrasting parts that include various levels of improvisation. This is for instance the case of the *shashmaqom* in Uzbekistan and Tajikistan, the *Azarbaidjani maqām*, the Persian *radif*, the Turkish *fasil*, the Egyptian *wasla*, the *Irāqī maqām* and the North African *nuba* and *tbā'*. The modal scale includes a complex of rules. It is conceived as combination of several small groups of notes, whether of the same intervallic structure or not, called genera (*ajnās*, s. *jins*). As a result of this characteristic, many combinations can be created theoretically, but only a limited number have been admitted or commonly accepted and are known by their individual names. Part of the modal scale is linked to a definite pitch, and a group of notes transposed is considered to be a different entity and consequently may receive a new name. In brief, the tonal material and the structural rules are put at the disposal of the musician who in playing and singing invents new variants, improvises, and adds musical ornamentations. In addition to this, ethical and cosmological speculations are linked to the concrete application of the *maqāmāt* in diverse circumstances. Aleppan Jews are very fond of this linkage.

It has been proposed, with weighty arguments, that the puzzling designations found in the headings of many *Psalms ("upon the *sheminit*," "upon *yonat-elem-reḥokim*," etc.) may not be names of instruments, scales, or prototype melodies, but of *maqām*-like melodic schemes; and such are probably also the superscripts and subscripts of the song texts found in Assyrian and Babylonian cuneiform documents.

The Near Eastern Jewish communities use the local *maqāmāt* for the creation and classification of many of their liturgical and paraliturgical melodies. Even the cantillation of the masoretic accents is submitted to a "maqamic correlation," and is obviously affected by it in its melodic content. The following selection of "maqamic correlations" is based mainly on the research of A.Z. *Idelsohn; *maqām Sīgah* can be correlated with the Pentateuch, Ruth, Ecclesiastes, Esther, and the _*Amidah_ for the High Holy days; *maqām Bayāt* with the prophetic books and Lamentations; *maqām ʿAjam* (Persian name: *Naurūz*, "The New Year's Day"), associated with exaltation, magnificence, and actual or symbolic wedding functions and ceremonies, with Simḥat Torah, Shavuot, the seventh day of Passover, and *Shabbat Shirah; maqām Nawa* with Sabbath Eve (cf. _*Lekhah Dodi_) and Sabbath morning; and *maqām Ṣabā* with circumcisions and prayers on Sabbaths on which the weekly portion of the Bible mentions circumcision.

In several Near Eastern communities the prayer of each Sabbath and festival has its own appropriate governing *maqām*. The Aleppan _*bakkashot_ singing is entirely governed by a sophisticated maqamic organization, and between the single or grouped *bakkashot* there is a *petiḥah* (opening – a vocal improvisation), a verse or a psalm serving as a melodic vehicle for modulation from one *maqām* to the other. This attains its zenith in the performance of the sabbatical psalm (Ps. 92) wherein each verse is sung on a different *maqām*. Such modulations are also made in the solemn recitation of the Ten Commandments, the *ḥazzan* displaying his virtuosity by skillfully passing through the maximum number of *maqāmāt*. The Moroccan *bakkashot* are organized into a series of *piyyutim* corresponding to the number of Sabbaths between Succot and Passover, each having its appropriate *tbā'*.

All the above are unwritten conventions. The written indication of the *maqām* is found in all manuscript and printed collections of *piyyutim* produced in the Near East since the time of Israel *Najara, who was apparently the first to compose and organize his *piyyutim* according to this system. In his *Zemirot Yisrael* the poems are divided by *maqāmāt*, in the following order: *Ḥusseini, Rast, Dūgah, Sīgah, Nawa, Busilik* (a Turkish *maqām), Ḥusseini, Naurūz-ʿAjam, Uzāl*, and *Iraq*. The practice has continued to this day, and even recent songs have been fitted into the system, so that in the collection *Shirei Yisrael be-Ereẓ ha-Kedem* of the Adrianople community (Constantinople, 1922) the anthem **Ha-Tikvah* can be found in *maqām Nihawand*.

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[Bathja Bayer / Amnon Shiloah (2nd ed.)]

MAQĀMA (pl. *maqāmāt*), a narrative in rhymed prose, a collection of short independent stories interlaced with short metrical poems. The *maqāma* originated in about the tenth century C.E. with the Arab poet Ibn al-Fātiḥ Aḥmad ibn Ḥusaynī (Al-Hamdhānī) and reached its peak with al-Ḥarīrī of Bosra (c. 1054–1112). It was imitated in different languages (Persian, Hebrew, Syriac) and times. Derived from the Arabic word *maqām* ("place"; cf. Hebrew *makom), maqāma* refers to the public place where people gathered to listen to rhetoric; it has been translated also as "assemblies" or "sessions," alluding to the meetings themselves. In Hebrew the accepted name for this genre is *maḥberet* (pl. *maḥbarot*). In all the languages in which it was written it meant a relatively later variation in respect to the conventions of poetry that usually preceded this genre in prose. In later times it was considered no less valuable, and even more difficult, than poetry, involving its own style, content, and peculiarities. The *maqāma* was a very imaginative art of writing, full of extravagant, mannered rhetoric with a large amount of humor, and its stories included realistic or caricatured characters that could never have been introduced in a poem. It was also less formal and conventional than poetry, more realistic, like many other cultural manifestations of medieval society. However, the literary study of these compositions, and of Hebrew rhymed prose in general, has been, in the words of D. Pagis, "sorely neglected."

The classical *maqāma* was created when a narrator described the particular behavior of a talented and quick-witted hero, skillful at mockery and jest, who appeared at the "place," in the middle of the "assembly," flaunting his erudition, particularly in language and literature, and delighting listeners (and ultimately readers) with humorous remarks and stories. At the "place" he frequently encountered an acquaintance of similar abilities or the narrator himself. The two, pretending not to know each other, would engage in an amusing conversation which culminated in the mutual recognition of their friendship.

Hebrew classical *maqāma* has a rather fixed structure, with different episodes or adventures of the protagonist told by the literary narrator. A narrative frame, creating a background and describing the scene, and a more or less conventional conclusion, encloses the details of the different episodes. The language used is pure biblical Hebrew, constituted many times by a mosaic of biblical quotations (*shibbuẓ*) that receive a completely new meaning.

Shortly after they were introduced as spoken expressions, *maqāmāt* were put into writing. In the course of time other humorous stories and pieces in rhymed prose began to be called *maqāmāt* even though they did not contain the typical gay talk of the classical *maqāma*. Scholars today, however, have very different attitudes in respect to the use of the name "*maqāma*" for all kinds of narrative texts in rhymed prose. It is true that even the Arabic *maqāma* changed notably with different times and places: for instance, in al-Andalus artistic storytelling created new forms, including long narratives with single plots. In Hebrew literature from the 12th to 15th centuries there are narratives that do not have all the characteristics of the classic Arabic *maqāma*, and it is disputed among researchers whether we should use the same name for this kind of composition, or if they have to be classified as *maqāma*-like narratives, as many literary historians prefer today.

The author of the first known Hebrew *maqāma* is Solomon ibn Zakbel (*Ibn Sahl) who lived in Muslim Spain during the first half of the 12th century. Later authors of Hebrew works in this genre are Joseph *Ibn Zabara, who wrote *Sefer ha-Sha'ashu'im* and *Judah ibn Shabbetai, who wrote *Minḥat Yehudah Sone ha-Nashim*. However, the greatest writer of the Hebrew *maqāma* is Judah *Al-Ḥarizi. After translating into Hebrew, under the title *Maḥbarot Itti'el*, the *maqāmāt* of Al-Ḥarīrī (adapting their content and language to his audience), he wrote in Hebrew the *Taḥkemoni*, which contains 50 *maqāmāt*. Al-Ḥarizi said that he composed this book to prove that it was possible to use Arabic literary forms in Hebrew. Al-Ḥarizi greatly influenced such later Hebrew poets as Abraham ibn Ḥasdai, Jacob b. Eleazar, and Immanuel of Rome. Particularly worthy of mention is Isaac ibn *Sahula whose *Meshal ha-Kadmoni* (compiled in 1281), based on Jewish themes, was written in conscious contrast to the Arabic *maqāmā*. Following some Arabic models, from the 13th century a special type of *maqāmāt* also appears in Hebrew: the symbolic or allegoric one, represented, for instance, by the "Scroll of the Fawns" by Eliyahu ha-Kohen (ed. by Z. Malachi, 1986), continued in some narratives of Mattathias (15th century) or Tanhum Yerushalmi (Orient, 16th century).

The Hebrew style of the *maqāma*, especially of those written in later periods, has occasionally appealed to contemporary authors, the best example being Bialik's *Alluf Baẓlut ve-Alluf Shum* ("Lord Onion and Lord Garlic").

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[Abraham Meir Habermann / Angel Sáenz-Badillos (2nd ed.)]

MAQUEDA, small town in Castile, central Spain, on the territory of the Order of *Calatrava. Because of the resemblance to the biblical name of Makkedah (Josh. 10: 10, 28, etc.), some Jewish commentators (cf. Isaac *Abrabanel's commentary to Kings) asserted that the Spanish city had been founded by Jews from Makkedah who had been exiled by Nebuchadnezzar. Conversely, Moses *Arragel tried to demonstrate to the head of the Order of Calatrava that Makkedah in Ereẓ Israel had been founded by the king of Maqueda in Spain. The beginning of Jewish settlement in Maqueda probably coincided with the transfer of the region to the ownership of the Order of Calatrava in 1177.

In 1238, Ferdinand III ordered the community to make the Church an annual payment of 30 denarii symbolizing the amount of money received by Judas Iscariot. In 1290 the community paid an annual tax of 11,162 maravedis. During the reign of Ferdinand IV (1295–1312), the tax was reduced from 8,000 to 5,000 maravedis to dissuade the Jews from leaving Maqueda. Alfonso XI confirmed this reduction in 1316, but the amount of tax for services collected from the Jews there remained unchanged. The Jews earned their livelihood from the same occupations as the other inhabitants of the region, including agriculture.

During the persecutions of 1391 its two synagogues were sacked. In 1415, the antipope *Benedict XIII answered an appeal sent by the apostate rabbi of the community, who had been maintained from the vineyards and fields which it owned and was left without means of subsistence. Benedict authorized him to take possession of the synagogue appurtenances and property.

By the beginning of the 15th century, the community had been reestablished, and in 1430 Moses Arragel completed there the translation of the Bible into Spanish commissioned by Don Luis de Guzman, head of the Order of Calatrava. The role played in 1464–65 by R. Maymaran, rabbi of Maqueda, in persuading Conversos to return to Judaism, emerges from the trial of Ḥayyim Fichel by the Inquisition held at *Huesca in 1489. The community still paid 50,000 maravedis in taxes in 1491. The status of the community may be gauged from the fact that a meeting of representatives of the communities of Castile was convened there in the fall of 1484, when important decisions concerning the practice of usury by the Jews in the kingdom were passed. After the decree of expulsion of 1492 was issued, Ferdinand ordered that inquiries should be made among the Jews of Maqueda to discover whether they were ready to adopt Christianity. The king ordered that watch should be kept over the synagogue until its future was decided and that a register should be made of Jewish property, of the debts owed to Jews, and those they owed to others. In the folklore of the Sephardim, stories were preserved about simple-minded Jews of Maqueda of the same type as those recounted about the Jews of *Chelm.

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[Haim Beinart]

MAR (**Aram.** מַר; lit. "lord"), a term of respect and endearment used in addressing an important person. Daniel addressed the king as *mari* ("my lord"; Dan. 4:16). The rabbis related that King *Jehoshaphat rose from his throne upon seeing a scholar, embraced him, and exclaimed, "My master, my master; my teacher, my teacher" (Ket. 103b; Mak. 24a). In Babylonia *mar* was used as a deferential and respectful form of address. A son reporting his father's teachings was urged to say, "thus said my father, my master" (Kid. 31b). When *Rav acted as interpreter for Shila, the latter asked him to cease, proclaiming Rav his "master" upon perceiving his greatness (Yoma 20b). Abbaye referred to his uncle and teacher, Rabbah b. Nahamani, simply as *Mar*, without adding any name (Pes. 101a). Tavyomi's colleagues always called him *Mar* and he is therefore always referred to in the Talmud as "*Mar bar Rav Ashi" (Kid. 31b). *Mar* finally became a title preceding the name, and it became customary in Babylonia to call scholars *mar* and not *rav*. This was particularly so in the case of the two famous contemporaries of Rav, Mar *Samuel and Mar *Ukba, as well as Mar *Zutra. When a passage already quoted in the Talmud is quoted again for the purpose of further elucidation, it is introduced with the words "*Mar* said," which in the context merely means "It has been stated above" (e.g., Bet. 2a).

In modern Hebrew *Mar* is used as a term of address like the English "Mister."

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MAR BAR RAV ASHI (d.c. 468), Babylonian *amora*. Mar was the son of *Ashi. According to one passage he signed his name in a letter "Tavyomi" (BB 12b), Mar apparently being a title of honor. He is extensively quoted in the Babylonian Talmud. He possessed great authority, and according to a tradition found in Rashi (to Ḥul. 76b) the *halakhah* follows him except in two cases. He studied under his father, who headed the famous academy of Mata Meḥasya, near Sura. On the death of Ashi, Mar stayed on under his successor Maremar (Ber. 45b). His companions were Ravina (the younger, Ber. 36a), Judah b. Maremar, and Aḥa of Difti (Ber. 45b). In 455 he became head of the academy after competing for the post with *Aḥa. The *aggadah* describes his appointment as an example of prophecy having been given to fools. Mar was standing in the manor of Maḥoza when he heard a lunatic exclaim: "The man to be elected head of the academy of Mata Meḥasya signs himself Tavyomi." He quickly went to Mata Meḥasya and arrived in time to sway the voting in his favor (BB 12b). The *aggadah* also relates that Mar had great knowledge of the ways of demons and great power over them (Ḥul. 105b). Sherira Gaon in his letter reports that in the time of Mar, King Yezdegerd III, who was hostile to the Jews, was swallowed by a dragon while he was in his bed (ed. by B.M. Lewin (1921), 95). Mar had a brother Sama and a sister, and a dispute between them over the bequest of their father was arbitrated by Ravina (Ket. 69a). He was a wealthy man (Git. 7a). He was succeeded by Rabbah Tosfa'a.

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[David Joseph Bornstein]

MAR BAR RAVINA (מר בריה דרבינא), a fourth-century Babylonian *amora*, famous for his saintly character. In his youth, he was carefully tended by his mother, who provided him with clean garments every day, so that he could study in comfort (Er. 65a). Although well-to-do, he lived austerely, fasting by day except on Pentecost, Purim, and the eve of the Day of Atonement (Pes. 68b). At his wedding, a note of seriousness was struck by Rav Hamnuna Zuta who, when asked to sing for the guests, chanted to them, "Alas for us that we are to die" (Ber. 31a). An even sadder note was injected at his son's wedding when Mar, seeing that the company was in a merry mood, deliberately broke a precious cup to dampen their spirit (Ber. 30b–31a). This is probably the origin of the custom of breaking a cup at a Jewish wedding ceremony. He held that even gentiles who observed the seven Noachide laws did not thereby earn any heavenly reward (Av. Zar. 2b–3a). He also had an extremely low opinion of Balaam – the arch-prophet of the gentile world – whom he charged with bestiality (Sanh. 105a) and singled out as the only major sinner against whom biblical passages could be expounded so as to discredit him (Sanh. 106b). Mar bar Ravina had a reputation as a pious, God-fearing man (Ber. 39b; Shab. 61a), who regarded the profanation of God's name as the most heinous sin (Kid. 40a). He was also credited with miraculous escapes from grave perils (Ber. 54a). Characteristic of his piety was his prayer which is still recited at the conclusion of the Eighteen Benedictions: "O my God, keep my tongue from evil and my lips from speaking guile. And to them that curse me may my soul be silent; yea, let my soul be as the dust to all. Open my heart in thy law, and let my soul pursue thy commandments …" (Ber. 17a).

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[Moses Aberbach]

MARBURG, city in Hesse, Germany. A document dated May 13, 1317 – the first to mention Jews in Marburg – indicates that they then had an organized community and a synagogue, and lived in a special quarter. The community was annihilated during the *Black Death persecutions (1348/49), but Jews were living in the town once more by 1364. In the middle of the 15th century they were apparently expelled from Marburg; the synagogue was demolished in 1452 and the cemetery passed into non-Jewish hands. The Jewish population eventually returned, only to be driven out again by a decree of 1523. However, in 1532 Duke Philip abolished the decree and permitted the Jews to reside there for a six-year period. In subsequent years the number of Marburg Jews remained low: six families in 1744 and eight in 1776. Jews from outside the town were permitted to remain there only during the annual fairs. The number of Jews increased during the course of the 19th century, reaching 512 (2.5% of the total population) in 1905. From 1823 Marburg was the seat of the district community organization and later of the district rabbinate. The community maintained a synagogue (built in 1897), a school, a convalescent home, and a number of other institutions. Hermann *Cohen, professor at the local university, founded the Marburg school of Neo-Kantianism. In 1933 there were about 325 Jews in Marburg. On November 10, 1938, the synagogue was burned down. By May 17, 1939, only 143 Jews remained; ten survived the war, while the rest left or were deported in 1941–42. About 300 Jews lived in Marburg between 1945 and 1948; but by 1959 only 50 remained, and by 1961 the number had shrunk to 15. In 1989 a new community center was inaugurated. The building was provided by the municipality of Marburg. The Jewish community numbered 30 in 1989 and about 350 in 2005. Most of the members are immigrants from the former Soviet Union. Since the community center was too small to accommodate the increased membership, a new one was opened in 2004. This building, too, was provided by the municipality of Marburg.

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[Larissa Daemmig (2nd ed.)]

MARCEAU, MARCEL (1923–), French mime. Marceau was born in Strasbourg, the son of a butcher who was executed by the Nazis during World War II. Marceau worked for the French underground, helping Jewish children to cross the border into Switzerland. In 1944, he entered Charles Dullin's School of Dramatic Art and studied with Etienne Decroux (1898–1991). He made his début as *Harlequin* in Jean-Louis Barrault's production of *Baptiste* in 1947. That same year he formed his own company and created his famous character "Bip," a flour-faced clown always in conflict with the physical world. He wrote *The Story of Bip*, which was published in 1976, and celebrated Bip's 50th anniversary in 1997. Marceau, who is the best-known exponent of modern mime, toured either as a solo artist or with a small company in many parts of the world. In his U.S. tours in 1955–56 and 2000 he also made many television appearances. His silent eloquence and unique synthesis of corporeal mime with 19th century pantomime captured the public's imagination wherever he appeared. Most of Marceau's programs consisted of small sketches featuring "Bip," but in 1951 he created an extended drama, *The Overcoat*, based on the novel by Gogol. He also made a number of films. In 1971 he collaborated with the Hamburg Ballet on a version of *Candide*. Marceau described mime as "the art of expressing feelings by attitudes and not a means of expressing words through gestures." In 1998, French President Jacques Chirac named Marceau a Grand Officer of the Order of Merit. He was elected a member of the Academies of Fine Arts in Berlin and Munich, the Academie of Beaux Arts in France, and the Institut de France.

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[Selma Jeanne Cohen / Amnon Shiloah (2nd ed.)]

MARCK, SIEGFRIED (1889–1957), German philosopher. Marck, who was born in Breslau, became a professor there in 1924. After the Nazis came to power, he taught at Dijon, France, and from 1940 in Chicago. Marck's thought derives from the Marburg neo-Kantians. He compared the fundamental concepts of Kant, Hegel, and Marx in his *Kant und Hegel* (1917) and *Hegelianismus und Marxismus* (1922). He applied *Cassirer's and *Kelsen's concepts in his *Substanzund Funktionsbegriff in der Rechtsphilosophie* (1925). His main work, *Die Dialektik in der Philosophie der Gegenwart* (2 vols., 1929–31), develops his own "critical dialectic." Marck also wrote *Der Neuhumanismus als politische Philosophie* (1938), and *Grosse Menschen unserer Zeit* (1954).

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[Richard H. Popkin]

MARCKWALD, WILLY (1864–1950), German organic chemist. Marckwald was born in Jakobskirch, Silesia, and was professor at Berlin University from 1899. He was also director of the chemistry department of the university's physico-chemical institute. In 1910 he was appointed a privy councillor and was president of the German Chemical Society from 1928 to 1931. When the Nazis rose to power, he escaped to Brazil. Marckwald's scientific papers dealt with the physical properties of organic compounds, stereochemistry, and radioactivity. He was the first to isolate the element polonium in pitchblende, which helped toward the discovery of radium. He observed changes caused by light in the color of certain compounds, and called this phenomenon "phototropy."

Marckwald wrote *Ueber die Beziehungen zwischen dem Siedepunkte und der Zusammensetzung chemischer Verbindungen* (1888), *Die Benzoltheorie* (1898), and *Radium in Biologie und Heilkunde* (1911–12).

[Samuel Aaron Miller]

MARCOSSON, ISAAC (1876–1961), U.S. journalist and author. Born in Louisville, Kentucky, Marcosson worked on *World's Work, Saturday Evening Post*, and *Munsey's Magazine*. Specializing in finance, he wrote several books on business and commerce. He was in St. Petersburg during the Russian Revolution and recorded his observations in *Rebirth of Russia* (1917). He also wrote *Adventures in Interviewing* (1920), *The Turbulent Years* (1938), and an autobiographical work, *Before I Forget: A Pilgrimage to the Past* (1959).

MARCOUSSIS (originally **Marcous**), **LOUIS** (1883–1941), French painter. Marcoussis was born in Warsaw. As a student at the Academy of Fine Arts in Cracow he was one of the avant-garde Young Poland group which was strongly inclined to French culture. In 1903 he moved to Paris to study. When his father was no longer able to support him, he lived by contributing frivolous drawings to *La Vie Parisienne* and *L'Assiette au Beurre*. Marcoussis visited the United States in 1934 and his engravings were shown in New York and Chicago. When the Germans occupied Paris in 1940 Marcoussis and his wife happened to be staying in a village in central France where he was able to live in safety until his death the following year. Marcoussis is listed generally among the cubists. Yet in his early still lifes, the element of fantasy is stronger than the purely analytical one. He was an excellent print-maker, who made illustrations for books by Gérard de Nerval, Guillaume Apollinaire, and Tristan Tzara. In his portraits, he abandoned cubism for a tight classical style.

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[Alfred Werner]

MARCULEȘTI, Jewish agricultural colony in Bessarabia. It was founded in 1837 on an area of 549 hectares leased from a private owner by 239 settlers from Podolia. In 1888 the land was acquired by the settlers, but because of the *May Laws of 1882 it was registered under the name of a Christian property owner. According to the census of 1897 there were 1,336 Jewish inhabitants. However, the survey conducted by the *Jewish Colonization Association in 1899 records 292 families (1,534 individuals), of whom 123 were landowners (with an average of 4.5 hectares to a family). After the railway to Odessa was laid, and a station was built close to Marculesti, an impetus was given to trading mainly in farm products. The settlement gradually lost its agricultural character, and turned into a typical Jewish town. Under the agrarian reform in Romania in 1922, 105 Jews in Marculesti received plots of land. In 1901 a school was opened which was directed by the writer Shelomo *Hillels. Of the 541 members registered in the local loan fund in 1925, 195 were farmers. In 1930 the Jewish population numbered 2,319 (87.4% of the total). *Tarbut elementary and high schools functioned there during the 1930s. The colony was destroyed when the Germans and Romanians invaded Bessarabia in July 1941, after its incorporation within the Soviet Union. On the 8th of that month, about 1,000 Jews living there were murdered. In September–November 1941 a transit camp was established in Marculesti for Bessarabian Jews who were deported to *Transnistria. Ada *Maimon and Rabbi Y.L. *Maimon (Fishman), who served as the rabbi of the colony from 1900 to 1905, were born in Marculesti.

[Eliyahu Feldman]

MARCUS, AARON (1843–1916), scholar, writer on Kabbalah and Ḥasidism. Marcus was born and educated in Hamburg, studied at the yeshivah of Boskovice (Moravia) but also acquired a wider philosophical education. In 1861 he left for Cracow where he joined the Ḥasidim. Between 1862 and 1866 he made several long visits to the ḥasidic rabbi of Radomsk, Solomon Rabinowicz. He later maintained close relations with many ḥasidic leaders in Poland and Galicia. A major part of his literary work (mainly in German but with a small amount in Hebrew) was devoted to the defense of Ḥasidism and an explanation of ḥasidic doctrines and Kabbalah. His work testifies to great erudition, but has proved unacceptable by the current standards of modern critical scholarship. In his work he defended traditional Judaism against modern Bible criticism and scientific materialism. At the same time, he tried to find confirmation for new insights in philosophy and science in Jewish religious literature, particularly in the writings of Ḥayyim b. Moses *Attar, M.Ḥ. *Luzzatto, and Ḥabad Ḥasidism. Marcus was one of the few Orthodox Jews in Germany who totally adopted Ḥasidism in theory and practice. He published: *Hartmanns inductive Philosophie des Unbewussten im Chassidismus* (2 pts., 1889–90); *Der Chassidismus* (under the pseudonym Verus, 1901, 1927^3); *Barsilai, Sprache als Schrift der Psyche* (1905); an edition of Jacob of Marvège's responsa *She'elot u-Teshuvot min ha-Shamayim* with a commentary *Keset ha-Sofer*, 1895, 1957^2); *Keset ha-Sofer* (Bible annotations, largely in Ms., 1912); and *Juedische Chronologie* (vol. 1, posthumously, 1935). From 1898 to 1899 Marcus edited *Krakauer Juedische Zeitung*, a paper he published as a vehicle for his ideas. He became an enthusiastic supporter of Theodor Herzl and his *Judenstaat* (see his *Theodor Herzls Judenstaat…*, 1897; second ed. 1919 with a eulogy of Marcus), thus becoming one of the pioneers of religious Zionism, though later he turned toward the anti-Zionist Agudat Israel.

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[*Encyclopaedia Judaica* (Germany)]

MARCUS, BERNARD (1929–), U.S. entrepreneur, philanthropist. Born to Russian immigrant parents, Marcus grew up in a tenement in Newark, N.J., wanting to be a doctor. After high school, he could not afford medical training. Instead, he worked his way through Rutgers University and earned a degree in pharmacy. After college he worked at a drugstore and a cosmetics company. By the late 1970s he had worked his way up to chairman of Handy Dan, a home-improvement chain in California. He and one of his colleagues there, Arthur M. *Blank, were fired in 1978 over disagreements about the chain's future. Marcus and Blank decided to go into the home-improvement business themselves. After surveying four cities, they settled on Atlanta, Ga., as their home base, believing that it had the right market and real estate conditions to test their theory that consumers would flock to big stores offering a broad selection of home-improvement products, low prices, and friendly, knowledgeable service. In 1979 they opened three Home Depot stores. In their first year, on $7 million in sales, they lost $1 million. But they persevered and in 1981 they went public. By the early years of the 21st century, Home Depot had more than 1,500 stores in the United States, Canada, Puerto Rico, and Mexico, becoming the world's largest home-improvement retailer. With a familial structure, embracing all employees with stock options and other incentives, plus a harsh sense of competition, Home Depot helped drive Handy Dan, the Blank-Marcus nemesis, out of business. Becoming the do-it-yourself giant, providing everything from screws to electrical wiring to appliances and lawn supplies, Home Depot had more than 150,000 employees and more than $30 billion in sales. Although Marcus, the older of the founders, was chairman for more than 20 years, he and Blank saw eye to eye on almost everything. Marcus was a hands-on visionary, but he also was known for sparring with investment bankers and for telling jokes at company dinners.

Marcus and Blank became philanthropic leaders in Atlanta. While Blank gave to the Atlanta Symphony Orchestra, youth projects, and many Jewish organizations, Marcus devoted more than 20 years to the City of Hope, a cancer research center. He is also a major supporter of the nation's largest rehabilitation hospital for spinal care patients, the Shepherd Spinal Center, and a new wing of that hospital was named in honor of his wife, Billi. The Marcus Developmental Resource Center provides services and information to disabled individuals and their families. Marcus spent several years in the early years of the 21st century designing and building a $200 million aquarium, known as the Georgia Aquarium. It will have 100,000 fish, including giant groupers, octopuses, and two white beluga whales. The star attraction will be two whale sharks, the world's biggest fish, which can exceed 40 feet in length.

Marcus has given significant sums to Jewish causes. A Jewish community center in Atlanta is named for him and he was one of the founders of the U.S. Holocaust Museum. In 2000, Marcus and the governor of Georgia led a delegation to major Israeli cities to try to persuade Israeli technology companies to make Georgia their home. Marcus was international chairman of the Israel Democracy Institute, an independent political research organization in Jerusalem, and often visited Israel for both business and pleasure. He attends a philanthropic roundtable of the major American Jewish philanthropists that includes Edgar and Charles Bronfman, Michael Steinhardt, and Leslie Wexner among others.

[Stewart Kampel (2nd ed.)]

MARCUS, DAVID DANIEL (1902–1948), U.S. soldier, commander of the Jerusalem front in the Israel *War of Independence. Marcus was born on New York City's Lower East Side. In 1920 he entered the West Point Military Academy, graduating in 1924. He also studied law, and, when he left the army in 1927, was employed in the U.S. Attorney General's Office. In 1934 Mayor Fiorello La Guardia invited him to join the New York City Department of Correction, and in 1940 he was sworn in as a commissioner of correction. After the outbreak of World War II in Europe he rejoined the army with the rank of lieutenant colonel as divisional judge advocate and divisional headquarters' commander. In 1943 he was called to the Civil Affairs Division of the War Department and attended the meetings of the "Big Five." On D-Day he volunteered to participate in the airborne assault, parachuting into Normandy despite his lack of previous training. In 1945 he was on the staff of General Lucius D. Clay's military government in Germany. Recalled to Washington, he was appointed head of the War Crimes Branch. In 1947 he retired from the army with the rank of colonel and returned to legal practice, after being awarded a number of major U.S. and British decorations.

At the request of the *Jewish Agency and the *Haganah, he went to Palestine at the end of January 1948, serving as David *Ben-Gurion's military adviser under the *nom de guerre* of Mickey Stone. He immediately perceived the special spirit and conditions of the new Israel army which was emerging from the underground. After a brief visit to the United States, he returned to Israel in May 1948 and on May 28, 1948, was appointed commander of the Jerusalem front. Marcus was the first officer to receive the new rank of *alluf* (Major General). Before dawn on June 11, he went outside the perimeter fence of his headquarters in Abu Ghosh and was accidentally killed by a sentry. His body was transferred with military honors to the United States and buried at West Point. A village in Judea, Mishmar David, is named after him.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: N. Lorch, *The Edge of the Sword* (1961), index; I. Berkman, *Cast a Giant Shadow* (1962; movie, 1965).

[Jehuda Wallach]

MARCUS, ERNST (1856–1928), German jurist and philosopher. Marcus studied law and was a judge. As a philosopher, he was a Kantian who opposed the new interpretations offered by H. *Cohen and L. *Nelson. For Marcus the "thing-in-itself" remained central, deducible from reason. He developed a theory of the *a priori* "organism" which the "I" constructs. He wrote many works on Kant including *Kants Revolutionsprinzip* (1902); *Das Erkenntnisproblem* (1905), *Die Beweisfuehrung in der Kritik der reinen Vernunft* (1914), and *Kants Weltgebaeude* (1917). He also wrote *Theorie einer natuerlichen Magie* (1924). Using Kant's theory, Marcus criticized Einstein in his *Kritik des Aufbaus der speziellen Relativitaetstheorie* (1926) and in *Die Zeit-und Raumlehre Kants* (1927).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: S. Friedlaender, *Der Philosoph Ernst Marcus als Nachfolger Kants* (1930); idem, *Kant gegen Einstein* (1932).

[Richard H. Popkin]

MARCUS, FRANK (1928–1996), German-born playwright. Marcus emigrated to Britain in 1939. Originally an actor, Marcus had his own first play produced in 1950. His later works include *The Formation Dancers* (1964), *Cleo* (1965), and *The Killing of Sister George* (1965), a drama about lesbianism that was made into a successful motion picture.

MARCUS, JACOB RADER (1896–1995), U.S. rabbi and historian. Marcus was the first trained historian of the Jewish people born in America and the first to devote himself to the scholarly study of America's Jews. Through the American Jewish Archives, which he founded in 1947, and through the many books that he published during his long life, he defined, propagated, and professionalized the field of American Jewish history, achieving renown as its founding father and dean. At the time of his death, he was also the oldest and most beloved member of the Reform rabbinate and the senior faculty member at Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion (Cincinnati), where he had taught for some three-quarters of a century.

Born in New Haven, Penn., at the age of 15 Marcus came to Cincinnati's Hebrew Union College where he pursued rabbinical studies and simultaneously attended high school and then the University of Cincinnati where he specialized in Jewish history. Following service in World War I, he was ordained in 1920. He went on to obtain his Ph.D. in 1925 at the University of Berlin in general history. In Berlin, he was profoundly influenced by the historian Simon Dubnow and by the techniques of Fritz Baer.

During his time abroad, Marcus also visited Palestine. He then returned to Hebrew Union College, where he taught successfully for the next 70 years. Legions of students credited him for helping to sustain them through rabbinical school, and many of these same students turned to him again later, as rabbis, for help with their congregations or their personal problems. His students reciprocated, electing him president of the Central Conference of American Rabbis in 1949 and lifetime honorary president of the Conference in 1978.

Marcus's most important early publications consisted of a monograph on Israel *Jacobson (1928), and a popular, derivative history of German Jewry (1934). In 1938, he published a volume of carefully edited documents titled *The Jew in the Medieval World*. In 1947, he published his last significant scholarly study of German Jewry, *Communal Sick-Care in the German Ghetto*.

In the 1940s, Marcus shifted his attention to American Jewish history. During the next half-century, he worked systematically to establish American Jewish history as a scholarly discipline. He founded both the American Jewish Archives (1947) and the American Jewish Periodical Center (1956) on the campus of Hebrew Union College (Cincinnati). He served as president and later honorary president of the American Jewish Historical Society. He collected and published thousands of pages of edited primary sources. He created reference tools and a semi-annual scholarly journal, *American Jewish Archives* (1948–). He also authored *Early American Jewry* (2 vols, 1951–53), *Memoirs of American Jews* (3 vols., 1955), *The Colonial American Jew 1492–1776* (3 vols, 1970), *United States Jewry 1776–1985* (4 vols., 1989–1993), and *The Jew in the American World: A Source Book* (1996). To ensure that his work continued, he left his entire fortune in trust for the American Jewish Archives, renamed the Jacob Rader Marcus Center of the American Jewish Archives in his memory.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: S.F. Chyet, "Jacob Rader Marcus--A Biographical Sketch," in: *Essays in American Jewish History to Commemorate the Tenth Anniversary of the Founding of the American Jewish Archives under the Direction of Jacob Rader Marcus* (1958), 1–22; R.M. Falk, *Bright Eminence: The Life and Thought of Jacob Rader Marcus* (1994); G.P. Zola (ed.), *The Dynamics of American Jewish History: Jacob Rader Marcus's Essays on American Jewry* (2004), which includes a full bibliography of his writings.

[Jonathan D. Sarna (2nd ed.)]

MARCUS, JOSEPH (1897–1977), Hebrew scholar. Born in Derevno, Russia (Vilna province), Marcus was taken to the United States in 1910. He was ordained by the Jewish Theological Seminary in 1924. After briefly holding several rabbinical positions, he assisted Israel *Davidson in the preparation of the latter's *Oẓar* ("Thesaurus of Medieval Hebrew Poetry"); later he assisted *Bialik and *Rawnitzki in preparing their editions of the poems of Ibn *Gabirol and Moses *Ibn Ezra, copying for them poems from the Seminary's *genizah* collection. In the course of this work (1929), Marcus discovered a leaf from a hitherto unknown Hebrew manuscript of *Ben Sira (Ecclesiasticus). After holding positions in various Jewish libraries, followed by a brief return to the rabbinate, Marcus became librarian and instructor in medieval Hebrew literature at the Hebrew Teachers College of Boston in 1946. In 1963 he settled in Israel, where he became librarian at the Mosad ha-Rav Kook in Jerusalem.

Marcus' works include *A Fifth Manuscript of Ben Sira* (1931); *Ginzei Shirah u-Fiyyut* ("Liturgical and Secular Poetry of the Foremost Medieval Poets," 1933); *Studies in the Chronicle of Ahimaaz* (1934); *Iggerot Bialik* (1935); *Yoẓerot le-Arba Parashiyyot* (1965); and studies on the poetry of Isaac *Ibn Ghayyat.

[Raymond P. Scheindlin]

MARCUS, RALPH (1900–1956), U.S. scholar of Hellenistic Judaism. Born in San Francisco the son of the talmudic scholar Moses Marcus, Marcus was educated at Columbia, where he wrote his doctoral dissertation on *Law in the Apocrypha* (1927), and at Harvard where he studied with Harry A. Wolfson (1925–27). He taught at the Jewish Institute of Religion, at Columbia (1927–43), and at the University of Chicago (1947–56).

Marcus is best known for editing, translating, and annotating four volumes of Josephus and two of Philo in the Loeb Classical Library series. His notes show an unusual wealth of lexical and historical knowledge, and his translations are accurate and lucid. His invaluable appendixes on select points in Josephus are careful, critical monographs. His bibliographies in these volumes and in separate works (PAAJR, 16 (1946/47), 97–181; *Jewish Studies in Memory of G.A. Kohut* (1935), 463–91) show his mastery of the literature and his critical acumen. He successfully undertook the extraordinarily difficult task of translating Philo's *Quaestiones et Solutiones* from the Armenian and restored the Greek in numerous places.

Marcus' lexicon to Josephus, continuing the work of Thackeray, reached the letter *epsilon*. His 62 articles excel in etymologies, grammatical and lexical points, and in utilizing his vast knowledge of the various languages of the classical and Jewish worlds. Marcus intended to write a history of the Jews during the Second Temple period, and many of his most fertile ideas for future work in the field are found in his "The Future of Intertestamental Studies" (in: H.R. Willoughby's *The Study of the Bible* (1947), 190–208). Marcus also wrote semi-popular articles on Hellenistic Judaism for L. Finkelstein's *The Jews* and L.W. Schwarz's *Great Ages and Ideas of the Jewish People* as well as for the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*. In the controversy between H.A. Wolfson and E.R. Goodenough on Philo, Marcus strongly supported Wolfson's contention that Philo closely parallels Pharisaic Judaism (*Review of Religion*, 13 (1949), 368–81). Toward the end of his life Marcus became much involved in the controversies surrounding the Dead Sea Scrolls. He connected the Qumran Covenanters with the Essenes and discerned in them a strong gnosticizing flavor.

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[Louis Harry Feldman]

MARCUS, RUDOLPH ARTHUR (1923–), chemist and Nobel Prize winner. Marcus was born in Montreal, Canada, and educated there at McGill University. He taught at the Polytechnical Institute of Brooklyn, N.Y., 1951–64, at the University of Illinois, 1964–1978, and at the California Institute of Technology, where he became the Arthur Amos Noyes Professor of Chemistry in 1978.

Marcus was awarded the Nobel Prize in chemistry in 1992 for his mathematical analysis of the cause and effect of electrons jumping from one molecule to another, ideas which he developed from 1956 to 1965. When electrons in molecules in a solution jump from one molecule to another, the structure of both molecules changes. The occurrence of this change temporarily increases the energy of the molecular system, resulting in a "driving force" for electron transfer. It was only in the 1980s that Marcus' theories were finally confirmed by experiments. His work has been useful in understanding many complicated chemical reactions, among them photosynthesis. Marcus is also well known for his theory of unimolecular reactions in chemistry, the RRKM theory, which more than 50 years after its development is still the standard theory in the field. It treats the fragmentation of high-energy molecules, as in the atmosphere and in combustion. His research also ranges from the strange fluorescent behavior of nanoparticles to the anomalous isotopic composition of the ozone in the stratosphere and of the earliest solids in the solar system.

MARCUS, RUTH BARCAN (1921–), U.S. logician and philosopher who played a key role in many of the philosophical debates of the second half of the 20th century. Born and educated in New York City, Ruth Barcan received her B.A. in mathematics and philosophy from New York University in 1941. After her marriage to Jules Alexander Marcus, she earned her Ph.D. in philosophy from Yale in 1946. While raising her four children, she held various postdoctoral fellowships and visiting positions, including a Guggenheim Fellowship (1953–54). In 1957, she became an assistant professor at Roosevelt University in Chicago; two years later she was promoted to associate professor. From 1964 to 1970, she served as professor of philosophy and department chair at the newly established University of Illinois at Chicago, building up her department to attain national recognition. After three years as professor at Northwestern University (1970–73), she returned to Yale in 1973 and remained there as Reuben Post Halleck Professor until her retirement in 1992. Thereafter, she continued as a senior research scholar at Yale and as distinguished visiting professor at the University of California at Irvine.

Widely recognized as a leading figure in the field of philosophical logic, Barkan was well known for her contributions to modal logic, especially the Barkan formula, as well as her work on the philosophy of logic and language, epistemology, and ethics. She published numerous articles and essays over a period of 50 years, many of which appeared in the highly regarded collection of her works, entitled *Modalities* (1993). She received many prestigious awards and fellowships, including fellow of National Science Foundation (1963–64); the Center for Advanced Study, University of Illinois (1968–68); the Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences at Stanford (1979); Wolfson College, Oxford (1985–86); Clare Hall, Cambridge (1988); and the National Humanities Center (1992–93), as well as the Medal of the College de France (1986). The University of Illinois awarded her an honorary doctorate of humane letters in 1995. Marcus was actively involved in many professional organizations, serving as president of the Association for Symbolic Logic (1983–1986) and vice president of the Institut International de Philosophie (1989–92), as well as chair of the National Board of Officers of the American Philosophical Association (1977–83).

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[Harriet Pass Freidenreich (2nd ed.)]

MARCUS, SIEGFRIED (1831–1898), German inventor, born in Malchin. Marcus joined the Berlin engineering firm of Siemens und Halske in 1848 and worked on the establishment of telegraphic communication between Berlin and Magdeburg. In 1852 he settled in Vienna, where from 1860 he had his own laboratory. In 1864 he patented a petrol-driven automobile. A car he built in 1875 was preserved in the Vienna Industrial Museum. His patents included an electric lamp (1877), telegraphic relays, a microphone, a loudspeaker, electric fuses for submarine mines, and other devices which were developed by others in later years.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Zeitschrift der Oesterreicher Ingenieure und Architekten* (1928), 262; Skowronnek, in: *Umschau*, 35 (1931), 743f.; Postal, in: *American Hebrew*, 129 (1931), 405, 416.

[Samuel Aaron Miller]

MARCUS, STANLEY (1905–2002), U.S. retailer. Marcus was two years old when his family founded Neiman Marcus, but it was his merchandising talent that made the store an internationally known symbol of quality, service, luxury, and exclusivity. Born in Dallas, Texas, he was the eldest of four sons. A high school graduate at 16, Marcus entered Amherst College in Massachusetts. When a fraternity refused to admit him after learning he was a Jew, he transferred to Harvard College and joined a Jewish fraternity. He earned a B.A. from Harvard in 1925 and attended Harvard Business School for a year. He wanted to go into the book business, but his family persuaded him to join the family store, which had been founded in 1907 by Marcus's father, Herbert; his uncle, Abraham Lincoln Neiman; and his aunt, Carrie Marcus Neiman. Marcus did so in 1926 as secretary-treasurer and a director. In 1927 he created the first weekly fashion shows to be staged in an American department store. When business slumped during the Great Depression, he reached out to the middle-income market as well as Neiman Marcus's more affluent customers, declaring, "We want to sell the millionaire, his young daughter – and his secretary." He was appointed executive vice president in 1935 and was among the first retailers outside New York to advertise regularly in national fashion magazines. In 1938, he launched the Neiman Marcus Awards that are given annually to fashion luminaries. The following year, Neiman Marcus mailed its first holiday catalog, a promotion that became a well-publicized annual event, attracting international attention with such sumptuous offerings as Chinese junks, "his and her" airplanes, and a Black Angus steer, either "on the hoof" or as steaks. Marcus also initiated a series of annual "fortnights," two-week extravaganzas that featured the products of a specific country or region, a promotion widely copied by other retailers. In 1950, when his father, Herbert, died, Marcus succeeded him as president. In 1969, he helped engineer the sale of the company to Broadway-Hale Stores, a merchandising conglomerate, and a major expansion program was soon under way. In 1973, he became chairman and chief executive officer and was succeeded as president by his son, Richard. Marcus became chairman emeritus in 1975 and established his own consulting company. He was inducted into the Advertising Hall of Fame in 2000, only the second retailer to be so honored. Marcus wrote two popular books about his experiences at Neiman Marcus, *Minding the Store* (1974) and *Quest for the Best* (1978). Feisty and forthright, he was an outspoken liberal in generally conservative Dallas. In 1963, following the assassination there of U.S. President John F. Kennedy, he took out full-page newspaper ads called "What's Right With Dallas" that asked residents to respect "differing points of view" and to reject "the spirit of absolutism for which our community has suffered." From the mid-1980s until 1999, he wrote a weekly column in the *Dallas Morning News*, sounding off on everything from fashion to civil rights to the image of his native city.

His family's business, which had eventually become part of Harcourt General, was spun off in 1999 as the Neiman Marcus Group, a discrete entity that included Bergdorf Goodman and NM Direct. By 2005, the original Neiman Marcus store in downtown Dallas had evolved into 35 units throughout the U.S. with annual sales that had grown from $20.6 million when Marcus became president to more than $3.5 billion.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Dallas Morning News* (Jan. 23, 2002); *New York Times* (Jan. 23, 2002); *Women's Wear Daily* (Oct. 15, 2002).

[Mort Sheinman (2nd ed.)]

°**MARCUS AURELIUS ANTONINUS** (121–180 C.E.), Roman emperor, 161–180 C.E., adopted son and successor of Antoninus Pius; the ideal philosopher-king as envisaged by political thought of the period. Ironically enough, the years of his reign were spent in war defending the borders of the Roman Empire. In 164–5 C.E., Aurelius' general Avidius Cassius captured Seleucia and the Parthian capital Ctesiphon, bringing the Mesopotamian Jews temporarily under Roman rule. When Cassius later proclaimed himself emperor in Syria, the Jews are supposed to have supported him, as a result of which Aurelius "crushed them by means of his preses and legates" (Marcellinus, 23:3). Aurelius held a highly unfavorable opinion of the Jews of Palestine. After passing through the country on his way to Egypt, where he was harassed by their importunities and turbulence, he exclaimed "I find these people [the Jews] to be worse than the Marcomanni, the Quadi, and the Sarmatae!" (*ibid.*, 22:5). There may be an allusion to Marcus Aurelius in the *Sybilline Oracles (5:51). Possibly some characteristics of this philosopher-emperor find expression in the portrayal of the *Antoninus found in the Talmud.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: H.D. Sedgwick, *Marcus Aurelius* (1922), 216–7, 226–7; S. Krauss, *Antoninus und Rabbi* (1910).

[Uriel Rappaport]

MARCUSE, HERBERT (1898–1979), philosopher and social theorist. Born in Berlin, Marcuse studied in Berlin and Freiburg, where he was influenced by Heidegger. In World War I he served in the German army and, as a delegate from his unit, participated in the abortive German revolution of 1918–19. In his works, elements of Schillerian aesthetics, existentialist ontology, and utopian political thought are combined with a modified Marxist outlook and a modified Hegelian (dialectical) method to produce what Marcuse calls "Critical Theory": a critical, "negating" analysis of prevailing social, political, and cultural institutions and theories.

A member of the Frankfurt Institut fuer Sozialforschung, Marcuse left Germany in 1933, moving with the Institute to Geneva, then (1934) to New York. His first important work, "Neue Quellen zur Grundlegung des historischen Materialismus" (in *Die Gesellschaft*, vol. 9, 1932), an interpretation of the then newly discovered "Economic and Philosophical Manuscripts" of Karl Marx, established him as a pioneer in the exploration of "Marxist Humanism." He contributed to the Institute's *Studien ueber Autoritaet und Familie* (1936) and wrote a number of critical essays for its journal, notably "Der Kampf gegen den Liberalismus in der totalitaeren Staatsauffassung" (in *Zeitschrift fuer Sozialforschung*, vol. 3, 1934), in which Fascist-Nazi ideology is shown to be the ideology of capitalism in its monopolistic phase, and thus not so much antagonistic to, as an outgrowth of, liberalism – the ideology of capitalism in its (earlier) competitive phase.

After serving in the OSS and the State Department (1941–50), Marcuse was a fellow, successively, of the Russian research centers at Columbia and at Harvard. His first full-fledged academic appointment was in 1954, as professor of politics and philosophy at Brandeis University. He left there in 1965 to become professor of philosophy at the University of California, San Diego.

In *Reason and Revolution; Hegel and the Rise of Social Theory* (1941, 1954^2), Marcuse contrasted the negative (critical) social theory stemming from Hegel with the positive (positivistic) social theory founded by Comte. Marcuse next undertook a number of critical studies: of Freud's pessimistic theory that civilized society is necessarily repressive (*Eros and Civilization*, 1955); of Russia's Stalinized Marxism (*Soviet Marxism*, 1958); and of the repressive nature of a successful capitalist society (*One-Dimensional Man*, 1964.) Such a society, Marcuse argues, can satisfy material wants and employ industrial skills while it suppresses genuinely human needs and faculties and reduces man to a single, conformist dimension in order to maintain the established order and to secure the production of a surplus for the benefit of the ruling elements.

In later years Marcuse became something of a hero and an authority to many members of the *New Left. His essay on "Repressive Tolerance" (in H. Marcuse et al., *Critique of Pure Tolerance*, 1965), in which he argues that only progressive (i.e., radical) values and movements ought to be tolerated, while toleration should be denied to repressive (i.e., rightist) values and movements, was influential among young radicals.

Marcuse's critique of a capitalist system which satisfies – and tolerates – only those needs that it itself generates (precisely because it can satisfy them to its profit) while it perpetuates domination and exploitation is resumed in *An Essay on Liberation* (1969). He also wrote *Studies in Critical Philosophy* (1973) and *The Aesthetic Dimension* (1978).

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[Heinz Lubacz]

MARCUSE, LUDWIG (1894–1971), German essayist. Born in Berlin, Marcuse began his career as a drama critic and as the biographer of Buechner (1922) and Strindberg (1924). During his last years in Germany, he also published perceptive biographies of *Boerne (1929) and *Heine (1932). The implicit parallels between Heine's age and his own are prominent in the latter. In 1933 he emigrated to France, visited the Soviet Union, and escaped to the U.S. in 1939. In 1945 he became professor of German literature and philosophy at the University of Southern California. After 1949 he visited Germany several times and resettled there in 1962. He was increasingly drawn to the history of ideas: significant works in this field are his *Pessimismus, ein Stadium der Reife* (1953) and *Amerikanisches Philosophieren* (1959). These are stylized, luminous histories of ideas, written for the literate layman. In his autobiographical *Mein zwanzigstes Jahrhundert* (1960) he records a vast array of intellectual experiences, and presents a kaleidoscope of personalities in Germany, France, the U.S., and Israel.

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[Harold von Hofe]

MARCUSE, MOSES (late 18th century), physician and Yiddish writer who grew up in Germany. In his book *Sefer Refu'ot* ("Book of Medicines," 1790) he claims to have studied medicine at the University of Koenigsberg, but his name does not appear in the University's matriculation lists. In 1774 he went to Poland and practiced medicine in several communities. The declared aim of *Sefer Refu'ot* was to transmit elementary knowledge of hygiene in Yiddish to those to whom no doctor was available. The book appears to have gone into a second edition, but only three copies have survived, and it has become a bibliographical rarity. Large extracts from it were published by Noah Prylucki (*Zamlbikher,* 2 (1917), 1–55). Marcuse goes beyond purely medical information; as an early pioneer of enlightenment among Eastern European Jews, he calls for a change of occupations among Jews and for a different type of education. The book is important for Jewish cultural history since it records customs, living habits, and economic conditions among the Jewish masses, familiar to him as a practicing physician.

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MARCZALI, HENRIK (1856–1940), Hungarian historian. Marczali was born in Marcali, where his father, Mihály Morgenstern, was rabbi. At the University of Budapest he gained distinction as a lecturer and historical scholar, but because he refused to renounce Judaism, he was denied a full professorship until 1895. Marczali was the first Jew to obtain a chair at Budapest University. He was elected to the Hungarian Academy of Sciences in 1893, but was dismissed from his post in 1924. A historian of the positivist school and a pioneer of source criticism in Hungary, Marczali wrote many works, notably the three-volume *Magyarország története II, József korában* (1885–88; *Hungary in the Eighteenth Century*, 1910); *A magyar történet kútföinek kézikönyve* ("Handbook of the Sources of Hungarian History," 1901); and *Az 1790/1-diki országgyülés* ("The Sessions of the Diet During the Years 1790–91," 1907). Internationally recognized as one of Hungary's outstanding historians, Marczali also edited volumes 2–4 of the *Monumenta Hungariae Judaica* (1937–38).

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[Alexander Scheiber]

MARDIN, town in Southeast Turkey; population (2004), 71,100. A Jewish community existed in Mardin from the Middle Ages to the 20th century. In 1291 Abinadab b. Saadiah Halevi of Mardin copied *Maimonides' *Moreh Nevukhim* (*Guide of the Perplexed*) in Arabic. During the middle of the 14th century, a Jew of Mardin named Najīb al-Dawla Abraham b. Yeshu'ah held a government position (Neubauer, Cat, nos. 180, 1249). At the beginning of the 19th century the number of Jews was small, but an ancient synagogue and holy places, such as the so-called Cave of the Prophet Elijah, were preserved. In 1827 the traveler *David D'Beth Hillel found in the town "about six locally born, poor Jewish families with a small synagogue." *Benjamin II relates that in 1848 there were 50 Jewish families, most of whom worked on the land. They spoke Hebrew and their leader was the *nasi* Mu'allim Moses. The number of families remained unchanged during the second half of the century, but the community was dispersed during the 20th century.

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[Abraham Ben-Yaacob]

MARDUK (Heb. מְרֹדָךְ, Jer. 50:2), patron deity of the city of Babylon. Although known as a minor god as early as the third millennium, Marduk became an important local deity at the time of the advent of the First Babylonian Dynasty as can be seen mainly from the literary introduction of the *Hammurapi Stele and other documents. However, he was elevated to the rank of the chief deity and national god of Babylon only during the Middle Babylonian period and especially during the reign of Nebuchadnezzar I (c. 1100 B.C.E.; post-Kassite period) and not, as is commonly assumed, during the reign of Hammurapi (1848–1806 B.C.E.). This can be ascertained from the diffusion during the Old and Middle Babylonian periods of the name Marduk as a component of personal names or as a titular deity in legal and other procedures. Apart from its appearance in Jeremiah 50:2, the name Marduk is found in the Bible in personal names such as *Evil-Merodach and *Merodach-Baladan. In Jeremiah 50:2, the name of Marduk is paralleled by the word *bel* (Heb. בֵּל), a transliteration of the Akkadian attribute of Marduk, *bēlum*, "lord" (Sumerian *EN*), which he inherited in the second millennium from Enlil, the "former" most powerful god of the Mesopotamian pantheon. (According to the Old Babylonian conception expressed in the introduction to the Hammurapi Code, he received at this time only the *illilūtu*, the governorship of the people, which had formerly rested on Enlil.) The origin of Marduk's name is unknown but there are some suggested etymologies, the most accepted being from Sumerian (A) MAR. UTU (K), "the young bull [or calf] of Samaš [Utu] the Sungod." This explanation was well known in the Babylonian tradition. (For "the 50 names of Marduk" see below.) Another etymology, put forward by Th. Jacobsen, is "the son of the storm" (or "maker of storm"?), Marud(d)uk, which brings the form of his name closer to the Aramaic-Hebrew transliteration. Abusch understands the name to reflect original Sumerian *amar.uda.ak*, meaning "Calf of the Storm," because Marduk was never a solar deity.

Marduk's rise to the status of national god was slow but exceptionally comprehensive. It is very possible that, apart from being an historical process, his elevation was deeply influenced by his connection – not entirely proven – with Enki (Ea), the benevolent god of wisdom, incantations, and the sweet waters of the deep (Sum. *ABZU*, Akk. *apsû*), from Eridu, the most ancient holy city of Sumer.

This connection with Enki was maintained in the theology and practice of the cult of Marduk, e.g., in his identification with Asalluhi, the son of Enki, active in healing or exorcistic incantations, and in the naming of his temple in Babylon *Esagila* ("the house of the [high] raised head") after that of Enki in Eridu. Thus Marduk emerges as a national and popular god of the "second [younger] generation," who exercises influence in every walk of life as the healer and saviour of the Babylonians. In this capacity he appears in incantations, prayers, hymns, philosophical poems (e.g., *Ludlul bēl nēmeqi*, "Let me praise the God of wisdom," a variant of which was known also in Ugarit, see *Job), and epics such as the *Erra Epic*, where the "disappearance" of Marduk because of displeasure wreaks havoc in the world and brings about the temporary rule of Erra, the god of destruction.

Marduk is the hero of *Enūma eliš* ("When above …"), the Babylonian creation myth. In this myth the Son of the Storm is appointed by the gods to lead the fight against Tiāmat (Heb תְּהוֹם, "Ocean") who has planned to destroy them. In the struggle between these two personified natural elements, Marduk gains the upper hand. At the end of the didactic-cultic epic the assembly of gods praises Marduk with 50 name-exegeses and builds the *Esagila* in his honor.

Enūma eliš was read aloud in front of Marduk's statue during the *akītu* (New Year; see Klein), Babylonia's most important festival. In these ceremonies the statues of Marduk and his son Nab – (Heb. נְבוֹ) were carried from Marduk's temple in Babylon to the house of the *akītu* festival outside the city walls. The elaborate ritual of this festival, known chiefly from a late (Seleucid) edition, greatly influenced many theories about supposed parallel developments in the Israelite cult (see *Psalms, *Kingship).

The cult and theology of Marduk began its expansion during the renewed expansion of Babylonian culture beyond Babylon in the Middle Babylonian-Assyrian period. Marduk was accepted into the Assyrian royal pantheon after Aššur and other important gods. The Babylonian elaboration of the theology of Marduk, which expressed itself also in speculative identification and the absorption of the functions of other gods into that of Marduk (this was not exclusive to Marduk), as well as the identification of Marduk with the Babylonian national entity, had momentous consequences in that in the course of time Marduk became identified as a symbol of Babylonian resistance to Assyria. The conception of Marduk decisively influenced the cult of Aššur who was also elevated to a parallel or even higher position. Thus, for example, in the Assyrian version of *Enūma eliš*, Aššur takes the place of Marduk. The tension between the two nations resulted in a most decisive dislike of Marduk in the middle of the first millennium. After the "experiments" of *Tiglath-Pileser III and *Sargon, who were kings of Babylon in every respect, came *Sennacherib who during most of his reign was uniformly anti-Babylonian and "anti-Marduk," and who expressed this by destroying Babylon and *Esagila*. The emblems and statues of Marduk went into "captivity" many times. The return of the statue of Marduk, which was always connected with Babylonian resurrection, was interpreted as a theological change of destiny and as a punishment inflicted by Marduk on Babylon's enemies, as in the case of Sennacherib. Thus, this antagonism became a major issue in the entire destiny of the Ancient Near East in the middle of the first millennium. A very striking example of this antagonism is found in an Assyrian satirical, quasi-theological composition (correctly reinterpreted by W. von Soden) which, far from being an "apotheosis" of the "dead and resurrected Marduk" (as was suggested earlier), is a "mock trial" of Marduk ending probably with his "execution," as a god who – from the point of view of the Assyrians and other peoples – caused much enmity and treachery (see below). This trial is a "logical" continuation of that of the god Kingu and of his execution in *Enūma eliš*, where Marduk was the judge.

In the time of the final Assyrian period (Esarhaddon, Ašhurbanipal) and the Neo-Babylonian Dynasty, from Nabopolossar on, and again in the Early Persian period (Cyrus), Marduk was the chief god of Babylon. Because they opposed the oppressive measures of Nabonidus, the last Neo-Babylonian king, the priests of Marduk were those who made possible the peaceful occupation of Babylon by Cyrus (539; see also *Babylon; *Mesopotamia).

Marduk in the West and in the Bible

Marduk is first mentioned in the West (Syria-Palestine) in Akkadian documents from Ugarit (Middle Babylonian period around 1350; see: *Ugaritica*, 5 (1968), 792) where, as mentioned, one version of the philosophical treatise *Ludlul bēl nēmeqi* was known. Also there is an incantation letter against *nambul* ("The Wrong"; "The Bad") directing him to appear before Marduk. The first appearance of Marduk in Palestine occurs in the same period and takes the form of the personal name of Šulum-Marduk in the *el-Amarna letters (EA). According to EA 256:20, as interpreted by Albright (in BASOR, 89 (1943), 12ff.), the royal house at ʿAštartu (the contemporary king being A-ia-ab (= Job)) was called "The House of Šulum-Marduk." (Another reading for "house" is advocated by Moran, 309, but the name Šulum-Marduk remains.) Marduk was known also among the Hittites, and Middle Babylonian cylinder seals dedicated to him have been found at Thebes, Greece. In the first millennium Marduk's name appears in Assyrian and Aramean treaties from Sefire that were concluded with King Matiʾilu of Arpad (COS II, 213). In the Bible, apart from Marduk (see above), Bel (his appellative attribute) together with his son Nab – (see above) is mentioned in Isaiah 46:1 and Jeremiah 51:44. In both these prophecies divine judgment (not the judgment of a "rival" as in the case of Aššur) is pronounced against a symbolic polytheistic entity within the framework of a particular stage in history. The historical placement of these verses is difficult. Nevertheless, the announcement of biblical-prophetic judgment is consistent with the attitude of the other antagonists to Marduk and Babylon, described above.

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[Pinḥas Artzi and Raphael Kutscher]

MAREK, PESACH (**Piotr**; 1862–1920), historian of Russian Jews and Yiddish folklorist. After completing his law studies at the University of Moscow, Marek was among the founders of the Benei Zion society of the Moscow Zionists in 1884. Among his studies published in the journal **Voskhod* were articles on Jewish printing in Russia (1888), on the history of Moscow's Jews (1893, 1895, 1896), and on the Jewish Community Council of Belorussia (1903). His most important contribution was *Di Yidishe Folkslider in Rusland* ("Yiddish Folk Songs in Russia," 1901), which he compiled with Saul *Ginsburg. This volume laid the foundation for later studies in the field. Marek's sketches for a history of Jewish education in Russia, published in 1909, embraced the period from 1844 to 1873 and dealt with both traditional and secular systems of education. Marek also wrote for Russian-Jewish historical periodicals and was a contributor to the Russian Jewish encyclopedia. Due to the famine he moved to Volsk, Saratov district, and there he finalized his two works "The History of Religious Struggle" in two volumes, and "The History of the Jewish Intelligentsia in Russia."

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[Yehuda Slutsky]

MARESHAH (Heb. מָרֵשָׁה, Marissa), city in Judah connected with the families of Shelah and Caleb (I Chron. 2:42; 4:21). It was in the fourth district of the territory of the tribe of Judah (Josh. 15:44). Mareshah was one of the cities fortified by Rehoboam (II Chron. 11:8–9). It was the home town of the prophet Eliezer the son of Dodavahu (II Chron. 20:37) and possibly also of the prophet Micah (Micah 1:1; Jer. 26:18). In Persian or Hellenistic times, a Sidonian colony settled there and it served as an administrative center (Zeno Pap.

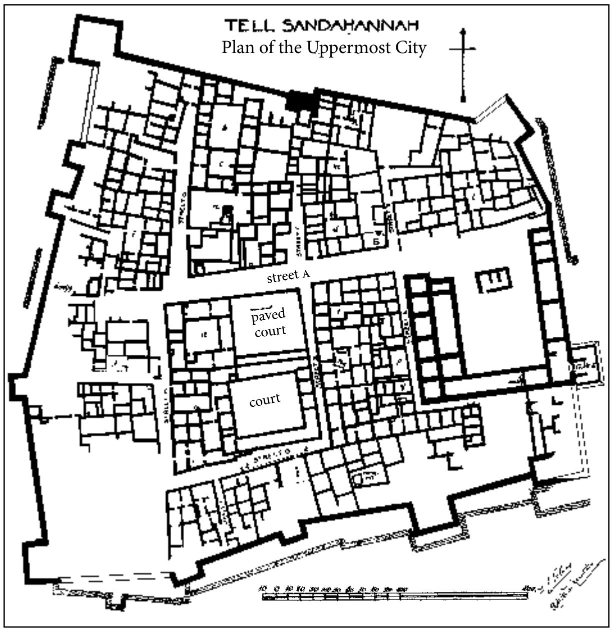

Plan of the Hellenistic city of Mareshah, dating from the second century B.C.E. *From F. J. Bliss and R. A. S. Macalister,* Excavations in Palestine, *London, 1902.*

59006, 59015, 59537). Its population, however, was mostly Edomite, and as such, Mareshah served as a base for the Seleucid armies at war with Judah Maccabee, who ravaged its territory (I Macc. 5:66; II Macc. 12:35). John Hyrcanus conquered it with the rest of Idumea and it remained in Hasmonean possession until Pompey. In 40 B.C.E., shortly after its "liberation" by Pompey, the Parthians completely destroyed it (Jos., Ant., 12:353; 14:75, 364; Wars, 1:269). After the destruction of the city, Bet *Guvrin became the center of the region. Robinson identified it with Tell Ṣandaḥanna, south of Bet Guvrin. Bliss and Macalister, excavating there in 1900, uncovered the Hellenistic stratum, which contained a city wall nearly square in plan (measurements, at its widest points: 520 ft. (156 m.) wide from east to west; 500 ft. (150 m.) wide from north to south). Inside, the town was laid out in the so-called Hippodamic plan, with streets intersecting at right angles. This plan was slightly distorted at a later stage of the town's existence. In the eastern part of the town were a marketplace and a temple. Ptolemaic inscriptions, pottery, and execration texts on limestone tablets were the main finds. In 1902, Hellenistic tombs with paintings and inscriptions were found near Mareshah. The principal tomb is decorated with representations of real and mythological animals; the inscriptions are of one Apollophanes, head of the Sidonians at Mareshah, and his family. The tomb was used from the second to the first century B.C.E. and the inscriptions indicate a gradual assimilation of the Sidonians into the Idumean and Jewish populations there. Other tombs of similar character were found in 1925 and 1962.

[Michael Avi-Yonah]

Later Excavations

Excavations undertaken in the 1980s and 1990s by the Israel Antiquities Authority under A. Kloner's direction uncovered many underground installations quarried in the limestone bedrock (oil presses, columbaria, tombs, and a sanctuary) connected to villas of the Lower City surrounding the tel (acropolis). The exploration of the largest (northwestern) tower of the Hellenistic fortification of the acropolis showed that it was inserted inside the glacis of the Persian period fortification, which, itself, modified the Iron Age II wall (of the eighth century B.C.E.). Its construction is dated to the turn of the third–second century, at the time of the Seleucid conquest of the area over the Ptolemies. An outer wall (*proteichisma*) surrounded the bottom of the tel, and an insula of the Lower City, attached to its face, consisted of a network of shops, with some craft installations, and dwellings above them. The Lower City was probably built under Antiochus IV (according to the so-called Hippodamic plan), but limited activities took place there already in the Iron Age, Persian, and Early Hellenistic periods. The rich finds comprised local and imported wares, among which the amphoras are evidence for the relation of the Levant with the main production centers of wine, oil, and probably fish products of all the Mediterranean, especially in the second half of the second century B.C.E. (Asia Minor, the Aegean, the Black Sea, Italy, and North Africa). Many ostraca were also found, including the copy of a wedding contract between Idumean families, written in Aramaic. The chronological distribution of the coins and the Rhodian amphora stamps provides a refinement of the historical events. The consequences of the destruction by Judah Maccabee lasted until the second half of the second century B.C.E., when a significant revival of the activities is evidenced by the discovery of an inscribed standard of measures, *in situ* inside a shop, made under the responsibility of two agoranomes in 143/2 B.C.E. The war of the Seleucid brothers Antiochus VIII and Antiochus IX initiated the decline of the city, the wealth of which was based on trade and agricultural production (oil and cereals), and in connection with the nearby port of Ascalon. The entrances of some of the houses were sealed, evidence for abandonment at the time of the conquest by John Hyrcanus, who did not destroy the city. The conquest took place probably in two stages: the first right after 113/2 B.C.E. – as evidenced by a funerary inscription and a hidden hoard of silver coins from Ascalon, both dating to that same year – and then around 108/7 B.C.E. – as evidenced by the last series of many inscribed lead weights, endorsed by the agoranome of that same year. This latter stage was most likely followed by the conversion of the inhabitants who remained in Idumea. The reduced occupation under the Hasmoneans seems evidenced by the two *mikva'ot* uncovered on the acropolis by Bliss and Macalister. The re-foundation by Gabinius in 57–55 B.C.E. was marked by the mint of coins under his name in Mareshah. However, no material evidence dates to the period of the Parthian destruction, in 40 B.C.E. Maresha appears to have been an Idumean city administered according to the Greek tradition (*polis*). This is strengthened by the recent discovery of a fragment of a civic inscription on stone, the first of its kind in the whole Southern Levant.

[Gerald Finkielsztejn (2nd ed.)]

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MARGALIOT (Margulies), MORDECAI (1909–1968), scholar of midrashic and geonic literature. Margaliot was born in Warsaw and immigrated to Palestine as a child; he studied at the Mizrachi Teachers' Seminary in Jerusalem and he was one of the first graduates of the Hebrew University. He taught rabbinical literature at the Hebrew University 1950–57, and from 1958 midrashic and geonic literature at the Jewish Theological Seminary in New York.

In 1938 he published a scholarly edition of *Ha-Ḥillukim she-Bein Anshei Mizraḥ u-Venei Ereẓ Yisrael* ("Differences in Religious Customs Between Babylonian and Palestinian Jewries"), a small compilation, which in his view was written in Palestine about the year 700 C.E. This was followed in 1942 by an edition of *Halakhot Keẓuvot* ascribed to *Yehudai Gaon, which, according to Margaliot, was composed in southern Italy in the middle of the ninth century.

He also edited *Midrash ha-Gadol* on Genesis (1947) and Exodus (1956); *Hilkhot ha-Nagid* (1962), on Samuel ha-Nagid as halakhist, and *Sefer ha-*Razim* (1966), a treatise on magic from the talmudic period, which he reconstructed from fragments found in various libraries. This work provided new, important insights into Jewish magic and mysticism. His major work was a critical edition of *Midrash Va-Yikra Rabbah*, 5 vols. (1953–60), which is considered to be a model of critical editing of a midrashic text. Margaliot also contributed to scholarly publications and was the editor of two popular biographical dictionaries, one on the sages of the Talmud and the *geonim, Enẓiklopedyah le-Ḥakhmei ha-Talmud ve-ha-Ge'onim*, 2 vols. (1946), and the other of later rabbinical scholars, *Enẓiklopedyah le-Toledot Gedolei Yisrael*, 4 vols. (1946–50).

Margaliot's wife Rachel wrote *Eḥad Hayah Yeshayahu* (1954, 1956^2), a defense of the unity of the Book of Isaiah.

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[Tovia Preschel]

MARGALIOT, REUBEN (1889–1971), rabbinic scholar and author. Born in Lemberg (Lvov), Margaliot qualified as a rabbi, but remained in business, eventually as a bookseller. Having been active in the Mizrachi movement in Lvov, he settled in Israel in 1935, becoming librarian of the Rambam Library in Tel Aviv. He devoted several studies to ḥasidic lore such as *Or ha-Me'ir* and *Marganita de-R. Meir* (1926, 1964); and *Hillula de-Ẓaddikaya* (1929, 1961). At a later stage he turned to Kabbalah, producing a monumental annotated edition of the Zohar (1964^4), of the *Tikkunei Zohar* (1948), of M.Ḥ. Luzzatto's *Zohar Ḥadash* (1953), and of the early kabbalistic work *Sefer ha-Bahir* (1951). He also wrote *Sha'arei Zohar* (1956), a comparative study of the Zohar's system. Margaliot also wrote on the *Emden-*Eybeschuetz controversy and received a reply from G. Scholem (1941).

Earlier he had also published sermons and homiletical material and annotations to Ḥayyim b. Moses *Attar's pentateuchal commentary *Ner la-Ma'or* (1932, 1959). He wrote biographies of S. Edels (1912); of Ḥayyim b. Moses Attar (1925); of Maimonides' son Abraham (1930), whose *Milḥamot Adonai* he published in 1953; as well as *Le-Toledot Anshei Shem bi-Lvov* (1950), on the scholars of his native city. On Talmud and *halakhah* Margaliot wrote among others *Margaliyyot ha-Yam* (novellae on tractate *Sanhedrin*, 1958) and *Nefesh Ḥayyah* on the Shulḥan Arukh *Oraḥ Ḥayyim* (1954^2). Of special interest is a study of the halakhic aspects of a political resettlement of Ereẓ Israel (*Kavvei Or*, 1921) written under the impact of the Balfour Declaration. Among halakhic studies in a more modern vein and idiom are his *Yesod ha-Mishnah va-Arikhatah* ("Foundations of the Mishnah and Its Redaction," 1956^4); and *Meḥkarim be-Darkhei ha-Talmud* ("Studies in Talmudic Methodology," 1967). Also of importance are his editions of medieval texts, particularly his annotated *Sefer Ḥasidim*, attributed to Judah b. Samuel (12th century), first published in 1924 and republished many times since. Margaliot also prepared an edition of the responsa of the tosafist *Jacob of Marvège (*She'elot u-Teshuvot min ha-Shamayim*, 1957^3); of the disputations of Naḥmanides with Pablo Christiani in Barcelona in 1263 (with a biography of Naḥmanides, 1929); and of Jehiel of Paris of 1240 (1928, 1944). He received the Israel Prize in 1957 for his research on Kabbalah and Ḥasidism.

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MARGALIT, DAN (1938–), Israeli journalist. Margalit graduated from the Hebrew University of Jerusalem and entered journalism in 1960 working at *Ha-Olam ha-Zeh*, a satirical political news magazine put out by Uri *Avneri, and then at *La-Ishah,* the women's magazine. In 1964 he joined *Haaretz* covering political and parliamentary affairs, first as a Knesset reporter covering parliamentary committees and later as a political columnist. In 1977, as the paper's Washington correspondent, he disclosed that Leah Rabin had an illegal foreign bank account, the disclosure of which resulted in the fall of the Rabin government and elections which brought the Likud to power for the first time. Well connected to the country's political leaders, in the 1980s Margalit began a parallel career as host of Education Television's *New Evening* daily interview program on current affairs, and in the 1990s as host of *Po-Politika* (later *Politika* on Israel's Channel 2), a round-table talk show in front of a live audience on topical issues. The program, while earning high ratings, often got out of hand as participants tried to outshout one another. An endearing but probing style made Margalit a popular and controversial interviewer. In 2004, following differences with the Channel 2 management, he moved to Channel 10 to present a similar program, *Politika-Plus*. In 2001 he left *Haaretz* for *Maariv* as op-ed editor and political columnist, after having served briefly in 1992 as *Maariv*'s editor following its purchase by Ofer *Nimrodi.

[Yoel Cohen (2nd ed.)]

MARGALIT, MEIR (1906–1974), actor. Born in Ostroleka, Poland, Margalit immigrated to Ereẓ Israel in 1921 and worked as a laborer in the *Gedud ha-Avodah. He began to appear on the stage as an amateur in his school days and was a member of the drama circle of the Gedud formed by Manya Arnon. He joined the Ohel studio established by the Cultural Committee and became one of its first members when it became the *Ohel theater. In his long acting career he played leading roles. He received the Israel Prize for arts in 1964.

MARGARETEN, REGINA (1862–1959), pioneer in the American kosher food industry. Born in Miskolc, Hungary, Margareten came to the United States with her husband, father, mother, and four brothers in 1884. Out of the small bakery the family opened on the Lower East Side of Manhattan came Horowitz Brothers & Margareten, which continues to manufacture matzot, noodles, and other kosher products. Regina Margareten took over management of the business after her father's death in 1885 and achieved further authority after her husband's death in 1924. As of her 95th birthday she continued her daily work as treasurer and a director of the company located in Long Island City, Queens. Her 1957 birthday celebration included some 400 family members from all over the world, including children, grandchildren, great-grandchildren, and great-great-grandchildren. A philanthropist, Margareten was active in over 100 institutions. She was president of Daughters of Zion for over 50 years. Upon her death in 1959 the faculty, the Board of Directors, and students of Yeshiva Torah Vodaath and Mesivta called her "a noble woman whose long lifetime of good deeds provided a model for all Jewry" (*New York Times*, Jan. 19, 1959).

[Sara Alpern (2nd ed.)]

MARGARITA (Margalita), ANTON (b. c. 1490), apostate and anti-Jewish writer. Although the son of a rabbi, Samuel son of Jacob *Margolioth of Regensburg, while he was still a Jew, denounced the Regensburg community to the authorities. He converted to Catholicism in 1522, and later became a Protestant. He was a lecturer in Hebrew at Augsburg, Meissen Zell, Leipzig, and from 1537 until his death, at Vienna University. In his first anti-Jewish book, *Der Gantz Juedisch Glaub…* (first published in Augsburg, 1530), Margarita modeled himself on similar writings by the apostates Johannes *Pfefferkorn and Victor von *Carben. In an attempt to ridicule the religious precepts of the Jews, their customs, and their habits, he accused them of lacking charity, of reviling Christianity (in the *Aleinu prayer), and finally of treason. The large number of Jewish prayers in his own translation included in the book reveal his ignorance of Jewish writings (as noted by Johann *Wagenseil in his Latin translation of tractate *Sotah* (Altdorf, 1674), 1105) and his scanty knowledge of Hebrew. The book formed the basis of a religious disputation between *Joseph (Joselmann) b. Gershom of Rosheim and Margarita held at the Diet of Augsburg of 1530 at the instance of Emperor *Charles v. When Joseph of Rosheim succeeded in proving that the apostate's allegations were unfounded, Margarita was imprisoned and later banished from Augsburg. However, his book was reprinted many times (Frankfurt, 1544, 1561, 1689; Leipzig, 1705, 1713) and was widely read. It particularly influenced Martin *Luther, who quoted it many times in his *Von den Juden und ihren Luegen*. Margarita was also the author of *Dar Muschiach Schon Khomen* (1534).

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[Bernard Suler]

MARGET, ARTHUR W. (1899–1962), U.S. economist. Born in Chelsea, Massachusetts, after serving with the U.S. army during World War I he taught at Harvard and at the University of Minnesota. In World War II he again joined the armed forces and rose to the rank of lieutenant colonel. After the war he was chief of the finance and economic division of the United States element of the Allied Commission for Austria and during 1947–48 was chief of the United States finance division in Paris. In 1950 he joined the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System in Washington and became the director of its international finance division. In 1961 he resigned and went to Guatemala as regional adviser to the State Department's Agency for International Development. His major publication is *The Theory of Prices*, 2 vols. (1938–42).

[Joachim O. Ronall]

MARGHITA (Hung. **Margitta**, also **Margita**; referred to by the Jews as מארגארעטען (**Margaretten**)), town in Transylvania, W. Romania. Until the end of World War I and between 1940 and 1945 it formed part of Hungary. Jews began to settle there during the 18th century. A geographical-historical description of Hungary which was published in 1799 mentions Jewish inhabitants among the Hungarians and Romanians. The first Jewish settlers appear to have come from the neighboring village Petra. A community headed by a rabbi has probably existed by the close of the 18th century. The synagogue was erected in 1862. In 1885 the community also became a center for the Jews of the surrounding region. The Jewish population numbered 944 (18% of the total population) in 1900 and 1,623 (26.7%) in 1930.

From its inception the community was an Orthodox one. The influence of Ḥasidism was felt, particularly between the two world wars. The rabbis of the community included R. Joshua Aaron Ẓevi Weinberger, author of the *Mahariaẓ* responsa (first half of the 19th century); his descendants succeeded him in the rabbinical office until the liquidation of the community. For a short period, from 1850, R. Hillel *Lichtenstein was rabbi of the town. The students of the community's yeshivah included some who came from far away, and their numbers occasionally rose to 350. The last rabbi, who perished in the Holocaust, was R. Mordecai Azriel Weinberger; he was also the last head of the yeshivah. A Jewish press functioned in Marghita between the two world wars.

After 1940, when the city was returned to Horthiite Hungary, the Hungarian-speaking local Jews discovered that the official and public attitude towards them had changed, and that Hungarian antisemitism was no better than its Romanian variant, which they had experienced during the interwar period.

At the time of the Holocaust, in the summer of 1944, the local Jews were taken to the district capital of *Oradea-Mare and deported from there to Auschwitz. After the war some Jews returned to the town, numbering about 500 in 1947. Their numbers gradually decreased through emigration to Israel and other countries, so that they were finally reduced to 10 families in 1970 (out of a total population of 12,000), and their number continued to drop, mostly through immigration to Israel and old age.

[Yehouda Marton / Paul Schveiger (2nd ed.)]

MARGO, BORIS (1902–1995), U.S. painter, graphic artist, and educator. Margo taught art at many leading American universities. Born in Wolotschisk, Ukraine, Margo studied at the Polytechnik of Art in Odessa, the Workshop for the Art of the Future (Futemas) in Moscow, and the Analytical School of Art in Leningrad. His wife was the painter and printmaker Jan Gelb. After receiving a degree from the Polytechnik, he worked as a muralist in Montreal and then moved to New York City in 1930. There, he studied and then taught at the Roerich Museum, founded by Russian Nicolas Roerich. For a time, he was artist Arshile Gorky's assistant. In 1943, he attained American citizenship, and worked in New York City and Provincetown, Massachusetts. Early in his career, Margo developed a method of printmaking called *cellocut*, a technique in which celluloid dissolved in acetone is poured onto any smooth support, including brass, aluminum, cardboard, and copper; when solidified the plastic can be worked in various ways, such as scraping and gouging with etching and woodcut tools. Margo often combined cellocut with painting and monoprinting. The titles of an exhibition of his cellocuts at the Brooklyn Museum in 1947 suggested an involvement with science and human achievement: *Yellow Dawn* (1944), *Genetic Field* (1946), and *Radar Outpost* (1947). Like Max Ernst, he applied decalcomania in painting, for example in his work *Enchanted Beach* (1938). In this process, paint on one surface is pressed and transferred to another surface, creating variously shaped and textured patches of pigment. This Surrealist imagery of *Enchanted Beach* depicts a ravaged, apocalyptic landscape, perhaps a reference to the bombed and war-torn landscapes of Germany and England; the composition is strewn with architectural ruins in and around which emerge ill-defined biomorphic shapes in earth-toned colors. However, the reference to magic and water reveals a hope for renewal even in the face of human suffering and devastation. *Enchanted Beach* shares stylistic features with the Surrealist works of Yves Tanguy, Max Ernst, Salvador Dali, Joan Miro, and Arshile Gorky, among others. In the 1950s, Margo's work often featured a thin vertical or horizontal line which possesses both an atmospheric and spiritual quality. Margo founded galleries in Orlando, Florida, and Provincetown, Mass. He received his first solo show at the Artists Gallery, New York, in 1939. Since then, Margo's work has been exhibited in a number of solo and group shows, at the Brooklyn Museum, Betty Parsons Gallery, the Museum of Modern Art, and the Whitney Museum, among other venues. In 1946, he received the Mildred Boericke Purchase Prize, First Award for cellocut print, Philadelphia Print Club. The Brooklyn Museum awarded him a Purchase Print Award in 1947, 1953, 1955, 1960, and 1964. In 1988, he was a recipient of a Pollock-Krasner Foundation Grant. His work is owned by many American museums, including the Museum of Modern Art, the Whitney Museum, the Art Institute of Chicago, and the National Museum of American Art, Washington, D.C.

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[Nancy Buchwald (2nd ed.)]

MARGOLIES, ISAAC BEN ELIJAH (1842–1887), Polish rabbi and author. Born in Kalvarija, S.W. Lithuania, the son of a rabbi, Margolies devoted himself in his early youth solely to talmudic studies. After his marriage in 1862 to the daughter of a prominent member of the community of Merech in Vilna province, he took up residence there and began to take a keen interest in the Haskalah. This interest aroused the hostility of anti-Haskalah zealots, which, together with reverses in his father-in-law's business, compelled him to seek employment elsewhere. After spending some 15 years as a teacher, particularly in the house of Ezekiel Jaffe in Kovno, Margolies was appointed rabbi of Druskinnikai in Grodno province. There too he was persecuted by the opponents of the Haskalah, and two years later he accepted the invitation of the congregation of Anshei Kalvarija in New York, where he became renowned as a public lecturer and teacher. Margolies is the author of two works, *Ma'oz ha-Talmud* (1869) and *Ma'oz ha-Yam* (1871), in which he uses his outstanding talmudic knowledge to defend the Talmud against its critics. He is also the author of *Sippurei Yeshurun* (1877), an anthology of aggadic and talmudic literature written in a pleasant and easily readable Hebrew. Margolies contributed to the Hebrew periodicals *Ha-Maggid, Ha-Shaḥar, Ha-Meliẓ*, and *Ha-Ẓefrah*.

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[Anthony Lincoln Lavine]

MARGOLIES, MOSES ZEVULUN (1851–1936), U.S. Orthodox Rabbi. Rabbi Margolies was born in the small Lithuanian city of Meretz, not far from Kovna and Slobodka. On his father's side, he was the grandson of Rabbi Abraham Margolies, chief of the *bet din* of Telshe, and of Rabbi Wolf Altschul, chief of the *bet din* of Lutzan who traced his lineage to Rashi. On his mother's side, he was the grandson of Reb Eliyahu Krosczer, the brother-in-law of the Vilna Gaon. Ordained by his uncle and by Rabbi Yom Tov Lippman Halpern, the rabbi of Bialystok in the year 1876. He served as rabbi of Sloboda for 12 years. In 1889 he was invited to assume the chief rabbinate of Boston. In 1906 he was called to the rabbinate of Congregation Kehilath Jeshurun in New York, a post which he held until his death. His primary occupation was study. The Talmud was always open on the dining room table. He began study at five in the morning and he would make a *siyyum* on the completion of the whole Talmud every year on the yahrzeit of his mother. It meant that he covered seven pages of the Talmud every day. Rabbi Margolies introduced the system which supervised the distribution of kosher meat in New York City. He served as president of the Union of Orthodox Rabbis of the United States and Canada. He founded the New York Kehillah and the Central Relief Committee (later absorbed by the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee). An early Zionist, Rabbi Margolies was a member of the Mizrachi Organization of America. He also served as president of the Rabbi Isaac Elchanan Yeshiva (which ultimately became Yeshiva University) for several years, presiding over the ordination of a generation of Orthodox rabbis.

Gifted with a sharp and crisp wit, he used it not to entertain people but to drive home a point and to help solve a problem. He was consulted by people of all religious persuasions on both personal matters and communal issues. On one occasion, he was consulted by the impresario Meyer Weisgal who had scheduled a performance of "The Romance of a People" at the Polo Grounds in New York on a Saturday night in late August which coincided with the first *seliḥot* (penitential service). The performance was to start 8:00 in the evening which, at that season of year, would involve violating the Sabbath. Weisgal wanted the rabbi to grant absolution for the Sabbath violation. "Mr. Weisgal," the rabbi responded, "You came to the wrong Moses; I would have to refer you to the original Moses. He was the one who gave us the Sabbath." A wise and witty observation ended the inquiry.

Rabbi Margolies' natural inclination in deciding questions of Jewish law was toward leniency and tolerance. He had the scholarly erudition which enabled him to back up his decisions with abundant halakhic sources. His openness to all brought him into contact with many of the lay and rabbinic leaders of the wider Jewish community. He once shared a platform at a Zionist meeting with Rabbi Stephen S. Wise who was delivering an address. Wise turned to the rabbi and then to the audience and said "Look what Zionism can do. It can bring to the same platform a goy like me and a sage like Rabbi Margolies."

His last public appearance just months before his death was at a Madison Square Garden rally against Hitler's Nuremberg laws. He had to be carried on to the stage. His hands trembled, but his voice never wavered, as he read his message. When he finished, 20,000 people rose to their feet in reverence and appreciation. He was known to many as the RaMaZ (an acronym for Rabbi Moses Zevulun). The Ramaz School in New York was established one year after his passing in 1937 by his grandson, Rabbi Joseph H. *Lookstein and Congregation Kehilath Jeshurun. It was named for him as an everlasting memorial to a giant of scholarship and leadership in the Jewish community.

[Haskel Lookstein (2nd ed.)]

MARGOLIN, ANNA (pseudonym of **Rosa Lebensboym**; 1887–1952), Yiddish poet and journalist. Born into a maskilic family in Brest-Litovsk, Belorussia, Margolin studied in the Odessa Jewish gymnasium. She came to the United States for the first time in 1906 and, working as a secretary for the philosopher Dr. Chaim *Zhitlowsky, began to publish in the Yiddish press. Subsequently, as secretary for the Yiddish anarchist newspaper *Di Fraye Arbeter Shtime*, she published short stories under the pseudonym Khava Gros. She lived in London, Paris, and Warsaw (1910–11). After she married the writer Moyshe Stanvski, the couple immigrated to Palestine, but the marriage was short-lived, and, after she bore a son, she left her husband, returning first to Warsaw, and then, in 1914, to New York. As a writer and editor for the Yiddish newspaper *Der Tog*, Margolin wrote a weekly column, "In der Froyen-Velt" ("In the World of Women") under her own name, as well as articles under the pseudonym Clara Levin. In 1919 she married the Yiddish poet Reuben *Iceland. She began to write poems under the pseudonym Anna Margolin in 1921, which she published in the prominent Yiddish papers and literary journals of the day in New York, Warsaw, and other Yiddish centers. She published a single volume of her own poems, *Lider* ("Poems," 1929) and edited an anthology, *Dos Yidishe Lid in Amerike* ("The Yiddish Poem in America," 1923). Her poems received the warmest acclaim from her contemporary Yiddish critics. Both then and now, Margolin has been perceived as the quintessential modernist woman poet. Poems in English translation appeared in: Leftwich, *The Golden Peacock*; I. Howe and E. Greenberg (eds.), *A Treasury of Yiddish Poetry* (1969); I. Howe et al. (eds.), *Penguin Book of Modern Yiddish Verse*

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[Kathryn Hellerstein (2nd ed.)]

MARGOLIN, ARNOLD (1877–1956), Ukrainian lawyer. Born in Kiev, the son of a rich sugar manufacturer, Margolin was well-known for his role in pogrom trials, and especially in the *Beilis case. He was disbarred for his stand against the czarist court authorities but his rights were restored after the revolution. After M. *Mandelstamm's death in 1912, Margolin became, together with Dr. I. Jochelman, the leader of the Territorialist Organization in Russia (see *Territorialism). In 1918 he was appointed associate justice of the highest Ukrainian court, and later deputy minister of foreign affairs in the Ukrainian government. Although he resigned in March 1919 after the *Proskurov pogrom, he nevertheless defended the *Petlyura government, considering that the pogroms were perpetrated only by the Black Hundreds (see *Union of Russian People) and other agitators. In 1919 he became the diplomatic representative of the Ukrainian government in England, and in 1922 he left London for the United States, where he was a journalist and lecturer. He was admitted to the bar association of Massachusetts in 1929 and to that of Washington, D.C., in 1936. Margolin wrote several books, among them *Ukraina i politika antanty* ("Ukraine and the Policy of Entente," 1922), *The Jews of Eastern Europe* (1926), and *From a Political Diary* (1946).

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MARGOLIN, ELIEZER (1874–1944), one of the commanders of the *Jewish Legion during World War I. Born in Belgorod, Russia, Margolin settled in Ereẓ Israel with his family in 1892 and lived in Reḥovot. He was outstanding in agricultural labor and in affairs of self-defense. With the death of his parents and the difficult economic situation in the country, he went to Australia in 1900 and worked in agriculture and trade there. During World War I he joined the Australian army. He was noted for his heroism on the Gallipoli front (1915–16) and became acquainted with Vladimir *Jabotinsky and the volunteers of the Zion Mule Corps from Ereẓ Israel. He was transferred to the French front under the command of General *Monash and achieved the rank of lieutenant colonel. Jabotinsky met with him in London and offered him the command of the Second Battalion of the Jewish Regiment, which consisted mostly of Jewish volunteers that had arrived from the U.S. and Canada, the 49th Royal Fusiliers (among its members were Izhak *Ben-Zvi and David *Ben-Gurion). Margolin accepted the offer and, with the agreement of the military authorities, arrived in Palestine in the summer of 1918 as commander of the battalion. He also cultivated friendly relations with the Ereẓ Israel volunteers of the third battalion of the Jewish Legion, disregarding the norms of military hierarchy. His battalion broke through the Turkish front on the Jordan River and captured the Transjordanian town of Salt, of which he was made military governor.

In December 1919, when the Legion was officially given its Jewish name, First Judeans, with the seven-branched *menorah* as its symbol, Margolin became its commander. Margolin constantly struggled against the hostile attitude toward the Legion of the British military command and military authorities in Palestine. But his sense of order could not be gainsaid; he never revealed his deep relationship to the *yishuv* and the first nucleus of its self-defense network to the outside world. With the riots that broke out in Palestine in the spring of 1920, the armed legionnaires were dispersed, with Margolin's knowledge, throughout the Arab villages, an act that prevented further bloodshed. Margolin argued with his superior officers for his right to command the Legion in this manner, an attitude that was not usually accepted in military circles.

With the gradual dismantling of the Legion, the British Military High Command decided to establish the Palestine Defense Force, composed of a Jewish and an Arab unit. Margolin was destined to be the commander of the Jewish unit (March 1921). Riots again broke out in Jerusalem and Tel Aviv-Jaffa (spring of 1921), and on May 1 Joseph *Brenner and his friends were killed. Jewish legionnaires, including discharged ones, took arms out from the military camp in Sarafand without Margolin's knowledge and used them to stop the riots. Margolin arrived in Tel Aviv on May 2, mobilized both in-service and discharged soldiers, and provided them with arms from the military stores. This act served as a pretext to abandon the plan of the Palestine Defense Force and finally disband the Legion. Margolin resigned from the army, rather than face a court martial, returned to Australia, and went into business. Throughout his life he longed to return to Ereẓ Israel. In 1950 his remains were transferred to Israel and reinterred in Reḥovot. A childhood friend from Reḥovot, the Hebrew author Moshe *Smilansky, described Eliezer Margolin in one of his stories, named after the Arab and Bedouin nickname for him, "Ḥawaja Nazar."

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[Getzel Kressel]

MARGOLIN, JULIJ (1900–1971), Israeli publicist, writing in Hebrew and Russian. Born in Pinsk (Belorussia), the son of a physician, Margolin spent his youth there and in the Ukraine. After World War I, he studied philosophy in Berlin. In 1936 he settled in Tel Aviv with his family and worked as a writer and journalist. However, when on a private visit to Poland in the summer of 1939, he was arrested by the advancing Russians after the outbreak of World War II and sentenced to five years in labor camps for alleged infringement of passport regulations. Margolin wrote three works in the labor camps: *The Theory of the Lie, The Doctrine of Hate*, and *On Liberty*, but they were discovered during a search of his effects before his release and were destroyed.

After his return to Ereẓ Israel in 1947, Margolin wrote a factual account of his horrifying experiences; this was one of the most detailed reports published until then on conditions in Soviet labor camps. The book first appeared in a French translation under the title *La Condition Inhumaine*, and later in New York in the Russian original, and in 1968 in a German edition.

In Israel, Margolin worked for various periodicals. He founded an Israel Association of Former Prisoners of Soviet Labor Camps and during his last years he was involved in various activities in support of Jewish emigration from Soviet Russia. He also wrote *A Tale of Millenia: A Condensed History of the Jewish People,* which appeared posthumously with a foreword by Michael Zand.

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[Erich Gottgetreu (2nd ed.)]

MARGOLIN, MOSES (1862–?), Zionist writer. After completing his studies at the University of St. Petersburg, Margolin was appointed secretary of the editorial board of the Russian *Entsiklopedicheskiy Slovar* ("Encyclopedic Dictionary") of Brockhaus-Efron and of several other Russian encyclopedias. He was active in Jewish public life, in the *Society for the Promotion of Culture among the Jews of Russia, the *Jewish Colonization Association, and other organizations. In 1904 he was one of the editors of the Russian-language Zionist newspaper, *Yevreyskaya Zhizn*. In his studies in Jewish history Margolin attempted to demonstrate the legitimacy of the historic development of the Jewish people. He deals with this in *Osnovye techeniya v istorii yevreyskago naroda* ("Basic Trends in the History of the Jewish People," 1900, 1917^2) and in *Yevreyskaya zemlya* ("A Jewish Land," 1918). Under the Soviet regime Margolin belonged to the small group of Jewish intellectuals who attempted to continue their research work in Jewish history; he contributed until 1930 to the publications which these circles published. No information about his subsequent fate is known.

[Yehuda Slutsky]

MARGOLIOT, MOSES BEN SIMEON (d. 1781), Lithuanian rabbi and commentator on the Jerusalem Talmud. Margoliot was born in Kedziniai, near Kovno, Lithuania. His pupils included *Elijah of Vilna, then a boy of seven. Margoliot served as rabbi in several communities in the Samogitia region of Lithuania.

His main claim to fame rests on his important commentary on the Jerusalem Talmud, to all intents and purposes the first of its kind. His commentary is divided into two parts: *Penei Moshe*, an explanation of the text; and *Mareh ha-Panim* which gives the parallel passages in the Babylonian Talmud, and attempts to explain the differences between the two with regard to both text and content. Only part of his commentary, to the order *Nashim* (Amsterdam, 1754), and to the order *Nezikin* and the tractate *Niddah* (Leghorn, 1770), was printed with the text in his lifetime. His commentaries to the remaining tractates were published after his death (to *Berakhot*, Leghorn, 1785?) and the full commentary was not published until 80 years after his death, together with the text of the Talmud (Zhitomir, 1860–67). It has become the standard commentary on the Jerusalem Talmud and has been printed in almost every edition, affording ample evidence of Margoliot's vast erudition in Talmud and rabbinic literature as a whole. He paid careful attention to problems of the text, and had at his disposal many early manuscripts. He was the first to realize the vital importance of the Tosefta for an understanding of the Jerusalem Talmud, and he had an ancient manuscript of it which was superior to the printed text of his day both in completeness and accuracy. Margoliot also endeavored to acquire the knowledge of the natural sciences requisite for a proper understanding of the Jerusalem Talmud. In 1779, when he was nearly 70 years of age, his name is found among the students enrolled in the botanical department of the University of Frankfurt on the Oder. His interest in botany was undoubtedly due to his desire better to understand the agricultural laws in Ereẓ Israel found in the order of *Zera'im* in the Jerusalem Talmud, but to which there is no **Gemara* in the Babylonian.

Margoliot's commentary is one of the two standard commentaries on the Jerusalem Talmud, of much greater importance than that of David *Fraenkel, and has become indispensable to the student. From his introduction to the commentary, it is clear that he wandered from country to country. For several years he served as a rabbi in Amsterdam, during which time his commentary to the order *Nashim* was printed. He was in London for some time before 1754, and was in Leghorn when his commentary to the order *Nezikin* was published there. The statement by Joshua Heschel *Lewin in his book *Aliyyot Eliyahu*, 28 that Margoliot traveled to Vilna after the publication of his commentary to *Nashim*, and there met R. Elijah of Vilna, must be regarded with reservation, because the latter never saw his commentary. In his commentary, Margoliot mentioned two of his works: *Be'er Mayim Ḥayyim*, a commentary to the tractates *Shabbat* and *Eruvin*, and *Penei ha-Menorah*, on the Pentateuch. He died in Brody, Galicia.

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[Abraham David]

MARGOLIOTH (**Margoliouth**, **Margulies**, **Margolies**, and various other spellings), family that traditionally traces its descent from *Rashi. The name derives from *margalit* (מרגלית), Hebrew for "pearl." The earliest identifiable member of the family was Jacob of Regensburg (see Jacob *Margolioth). Jacob's son Samuel may be identical with SAMUEL MARGOLIOTH, nominated elder of Great Poland and Masovian Jewry in 1527 by Sigismund I. Samuel's son was Anton *Margarita, the apostate anti-Jewish writer. Another son, MOSES (1540?–1616), was rabbi at Cracow and head of the yeshivah there. NAPHTALI MARGOLIOTH (b. 1562) embraced Christianity in 1603, as Julius Conrad Otto. He became professor of Hebrew at Altdorf and later returned to Judaism. Samuel's grandson MENDEL (d. 1652), rabbi at *Przemysl, had eight sons, all distinguished talmudists. The most outstanding member of this line, which was widely dispersed throughout Eastern Europe, was EPHRAIM ZALMAN *MARGOLIOTH. There was a MOSES MARGULIES among the first inhabitants of the Vienna ghetto, founded in 1620. His son, MORDECAI (Marx Schlesinger), was leader of the Vienna community at the time of the 1670 expulsion. Some members of the family settled permanently in Eisenstadt. Those who later returned to Vienna called themselves Margulies-Jaffe and registered themselves as "Schlesinger."

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MARGOLIOTH, EPHRAIM ZALMAN BEN MENAHEM MANNES (1760–1828), rabbi and author. Ephraim studied under his uncle, Alexander Margolioth, rabbi of Satanov, Isaac of Ostrow, author of *Berit Kehunnat Olam*, and Ezekiel *Landau. In his youth he was rabbi of Ohanov, but later left the rabbinate, according to some reports declining an offer of the rabbinate of Frankfurt. Ephraim settled in Brody and went into business, in which he was highly successful. He owned commercial establishments in Vienna and it was said of him: "From the time of the minister Saul *Wahl there has not been Torah and wealth such as belong to Margolioth." He spent most of his time in study, leaving the conduct of his business to his partner Simeon Dishze. He also studied esoteric works with a group of kabbalists at Brody, and had a sound knowledge of history. Margolioth wrote many books and exchanged responsa with the greatest rabbis of his time, with some of whom he maintained close relations. He was involved in the controversy caused by Joshua Heshel *Ẓoref's book *Ha-Ẓoref* and established the fact that it had strong leanings toward Shabbateanism. He also contended with the communal leaders of Brody over the leniency extended to the wealthy *parnasim* under the prevailing system of communal taxation and demanded their full participation in community expenditure.

Margolioth gave his approbation to a great number of books, including many by ḥasidic rabbis. His own works, which appeared in many editions, and many of his halakhic decisions have been accepted.

His works include *Beit Efrayim*, part 1 entitled *Peri Tevu'ah*, with commentary *Rosh Efrayim* (Lemberg, 1809); part 2 Shulḥan Arukh, *Yoreh De'ah* (*ibid.*, 1810); responsa *Beit Efrayim* (*ibid.*, 1818); and another collection of responsa *Beit Efrayim* (Brody, 1866); *Shem Efrayim*, on Rashi's commentary to the Pentateuch and *haftarot* (Ostrow, 1826); *Zera Efrayim* on the *Pesikta Rabbati* (Lemberg, 1853); *Yad Efrayim*, on Shulḥan Arukh, *Oraḥ Ḥayyim* (in Dubno ed. of Shulḥan Arukh, *Oraḥ Ḥayyim*, 1820). He also wrote *Ma'alot ha-Yuḥasin*, a genealogical book on the families Landau, Margolioth, etc. (Lemberg, 1900). R. Ẓevi Hirsch *Chajes of Zolkiew was among his pupils.

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[Itzhak Alfassi]

MARGOLIOTH, JACOB (d. between 1499 and 1512), rabbi of Regensburg (Ratisbon), originally from *Worms. In 1497 he corresponded with Johannes *Reuchlin on kabbalistic literature. Margolioth was considered a halakhic authority by his contemporaries and praised by them. His son SAMUEL, father of the apostate Anton *Margarita, succeeded him as rabbi of Regensburg until the expulsion in 1519; he subsequently moved to Posen (Poznan), where he served as *av bet din* of Great Poland until after 1537. Another of Jacob's sons, ISAAC EIZIK (d. 1525), was a member of the *bet din* of R. Jacob *Pollak of Prague. Jacob's *Seder Gittin ve-Ḥaliẓah* has been preserved in two copies, one made by his son Isaac (Bodl. Ms. 2010/3) and the other by his son SHALOM SHAKHNA under the title *Yam she-Asah Shelomo* (Bodl. Ms. 803). Part of his work was printed at the end of *Tur Even ha-Ezer* (Berlin, 1702). A privilege of Frederick III dated 1487 mentions a second JACOB MARGOLIOTH (d. before 1492), of Nuremberg. A halakhic declaration by him is noted in the responsa of R. Judah *Minz (no. 13), on the legality of a declaration of refusal (*me'un*) to marry. R. Elijah *Capsali named Jacob Margolioth as one of the supporters of R. Moses *Capsali in his bitter controversy (1475–80) with R. Joseph *Colon (*Likkutim Shonim*, 1869, p. 16), but it is unclear to which of the two he was referring.

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[Abraham David]

MARGOLIOTH, JUDAH LOEB (1747–1811), rabbi and preacher, one of the precursors of the Haskalah in Eastern Europe. Margolioth, who was born in Zborov, Galicia, served as rabbi in various East European communities and from 1805 in Frankfurt on the Oder. He was familiar with medieval and contemporary Hebrew scientific literature as well as with contemporary Haskalah literature. In his books of sermons, he emphasized social justice and criticized the rich. He opposed Ḥasidism but also objected to the study of philosophy which he regarded as undermining faith. Thus he criticized *Mendelssohn for advocating freedom of ideas in Judaism in his book, *Jerusalem*, but advocated the study of Hebrew grammar, the sciences, and mathematics. He wrote *Or Olam al Ḥokhmat ha-Teva* ("Light of the World – On Science," Frankfurt on the Oder, 1777). The main point of the book is the classification of the "wisdoms" into science, mathematics, physics, and metaphysics; and the art of leading men: politics, economics, and ethics. The book was well received and was enthusiastically praised by Russian and Polish rabbis. His other works include interpretations of the Torah, responsa, sermons, and linguistic studies. Margolioth's books give expression to the mood of Eastern European Jews in the early days of the Haskalah, and demonstrate the initial willingness among certain Orthodox elements to accept social reforms and even secular studies, but their disillusionment when they witnessed the radical results of Enlightenment.

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[Yehuda Slutsky]

MARGOLIOUTH, DAVID SAMUEL (1858–1940), classical scholar and Orientalist. Born in London the eldest son of the convert missionary Ezekiel Margoliouth, Margoliouth was educated at Winchester and at New College, Oxford, where he gained two first class degrees and won the probably unprecedented total of 11 university prizes; later he was a fellow of New College (1881–89). In 1889 he was appointed professor of Arabic at Oxford University (apparently without knowing Arabic, although he quickly mastered the language), holding the position until his retirement in 1937. In 1899 he was ordained and in 1913 he became moderator in Oriental languages at London University, where he also delivered the Hibbert lectures. Margoliouth was honored by many learned societies; in 1915 he was elected as a member of the British Academy, and from 1934 to 1937 he was president of the Royal Asiatic Society. Margoliouth was an outstanding scholar in the fields of Islamic history and literature and was an important editor of medieval Arabic texts. Among his extensive writings the following are of particular Jewish interest: *A Commentary on the Book of Daniel by Jephet ibn Ali…* (edited and translated, 1889); *The Place of Ecclesiasticus in Semitic Literature* (1890); *The Origin of the "Hebrew Original" of Ecclesiasticus* (1899); and *Relations Between Arabs and Israelites Prior to the Rise of Islam* (Schweich lectures 1921, published 1924). He also edited Whiston's English translation of Josephus (1906).

ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY: ODNB online.

MARGOLIOUTH, MEIR OF OSTRAHA (**Ostrog**; d. 1790), ḥasidic rabbi in Poland; a disciple of *Israel b. Eliezer the Ba'al Shem Tov. He was descended from a celebrated rabbinical family. From a very early age he and his elder brother became devoted and loved disciples of the Ba'al Shem Tov. R. Meir, who gained a reputation as one of the greatest scholars of his age, served as rabbi in Jaslo and later in Horodenka (Gorodenka); in 1755 he was appointed rabbi in the Lvov region and in 1777 was appointed *rabbi Ostraha*, a title officially confirmed by the King of Poland, Stanislas II Augustus, which established his authority over all the rabbis of the district. He wrote works on *halakhah* and Kabbalah, and also long didactic poems. His great prestige helped to promote Ḥasidism, which at that time gave it important support. He had five sons, all of whom became noted rabbis and scholars. His works are *Meir Netivim* (Polonnoye, 1791–92); *Sod Yakhin u-Vo'az* (Ostrog, 1794); *Derekh ha-Tov ve-ha-Yashar* (Polonnoye, 1795); and *Kotnot Or* (Berdichev, 1816).

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[Adin Steinsaltz]

MARGOLIOUTH (Margalita), MOSES (1818–1881), English priest. Margoliouth, who was Jewish by birth, was born in Suwalki, Poland. In his youth he studied in yeshivot, and in 1837 he left Poland for Liverpool, where, under the influence of Jewish converts to Christianity, he himself became a Christian in 1838. After his studies at Trinity College, Dublin (1840–44), he served as curate in Liverpool (1844). From 1877 until his death he served as vicar in Little Linford in Buckinghamshire. Among his works are *The Fundamental Principles of Modern Judaism Investigated* (1843 with Margoliouth's autobiography); *The History of the Jews of Great Britain* (1857); and *A Pilgrimage to the Land of My Fathers* (1858), a travelogue of Palestine. He was probably, but not certainly, a relative of the father of David Samuel *Margoliouth, whose close friend he was.

His nephew, GEORGE MARGOLIOUTH (1853–1952), like his uncle Moses Margoliouth, converted to Christianity and became an ordained priest of the Church (1881). Margoliouth excelled in biblical and Oriental studies and was in charge of the Hebrew, Syriac, and Ethiopic manuscripts of the British Museum from 1891 to 1914. His works included *The Liturgy of the Nile* (Palestine Syriac Text, Translation and Vocabulary; 1896); *The Palestine Syriac Version of the Holy Scriptures* (London, 1897); and the *Catalogue of the Hebrew and Samaritan Manuscripts in the British Museum* (3 vols.; 1909–15), which has served scholars as a key bibliographical guide to this most important collection.

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[Alexander Tobias]

MARGOLIS, GAVRIEL ZEV (1847–1935), rabbi of and leading figure in the rejectionist wing of American Orthodoxy. Born in Vilna, he studied with Rabbi Joshua of Vilna, the uncle of the Ḥafeẓ Ḥayyim. He continued with Rabbi Jacob Beirat before entering the yeshivah of Volozhin. He was ordained in 1869 and then worked with Rav Eizele Charif to publish a commentary on the Jerusalem Talmud, titled *Noam Yerushalmi*. He went on to become head of the Rabbinical Court in Dobrova and after two years moved to Yahnovka. He then returned to Grodno where he was the leading halakhic authority, succeeding his father-in-law Rabbi Nahum Kaplan. He combined the life of a scholar and communal leader. He was one of the rare rabbis to embrace Ḥovevei Zion and was a delegate to the Second Zionist Congress in Basel. When secular leadership dominated the Zionist movement, Rabbi Margolis became alienated.

After the pogroms of 1903 he fiercely opposed the Jews who had embraced the revolutionary movement and received death threats. He wanted to declare them no longer members of the Jewish community; a harsh but more moderate proposal passed the gathering of rabbis in Cracow. Political conditions were such that he welcomed and accepted an offer from Boston and arrived in the United States in 1907. Four years later, he moved to New York as rabbi of Adath Israel, a Lower East Side congregation, a position he held for almost a quarter of a century. He arrived in the United States after having served for almost 40 years as a European rabbi and was not about to accommodate himself to the American situation too easily.

He opposed Orthodox participation in the Kehillah and would not cooperate with the Agudat Harabbonim regarding *kashrut*; he thus established a separate movement Kenneset Harabbonim and attracted some significant colleagues to the fledgling organization.

He initially supported RIETS and welcomed its creation. He was one of the speakers at its opening in 1915, but as it embraced secular learning and sought to become a college and not only a yeshivah, his support turned to opposition. Moshe Sherman said: "The major thrust of his efforts to transplant the European world of Jewish piety and observance to the United States proved to be difficult" – at least in his generation when Americanization was the primary interest of immigrants and especially of their children.

He published *Shem Olam* (1905); *Torat Gavriel*, 5 volumes (1910, 1925, 1926); *Agudat Ezov* (1924); *Ginzei Margoliot Shir ha-Shirim ve-Rut* (1921); and *Ginzei Margoliot Kohelet ve-Eikhah* (1925).

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[Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

MARGOLIS, MAX LEOPOLD (1886–1932), U.S. biblical and Semitic scholar. Born in Russia, Margolis received a thorough training in Bible and Talmud as well as in modern sciences and languages in his native country and in Berlin. In 1889 he went to the United States. His first field of specialization was the text-criticism of the Talmud to which his dissertation was devoted. His earliest work reveals meticulous attention to detail, thorough mastery of the subject, rigorous application of the inductive method, and brilliance and solidity in the conclusions. At the end of his fellowship year at Columbia University, Margolis was invited by Hebrew Union College in Cincinnati to serve as assistant professor of Hebrew and biblical exegesis. During his incumbency he published his *Elementary Textbook of Hebrew Accidence* (1893), a succinct and original contribution to Hebrew grammar and phonetics, as well as several works dealing with Reform Jewish theology. In 1897 he went to the University of California at Berkeley to teach Semitic languages and in 1905 returned to Hebrew Union College as professor of biblical exegesis. He resigned from Hebrew Union College in 1910, after he and other faculty members differed with the College president regarding educational philosophy and Zionism – Margolis was a strong Zionist. He went to Europe to complete his work on his pioneering and still classic *Manual of the Aramaic Language of the Babylonian Talmud*, which appeared both in English and in German (1910). The Jewish Publication Society chose Margolis to be secretary of the Board of Editors and editor-in-chief of their new translation of the Bible into English. To this major task he devoted himself until 1917. After the translation appeared, his mimeographed *Notes on the New Translation of the Holy Scriptures* (1921), which served as the basis of the work, appeared in a tome of 646 pages for private circulation. When Dropsie College was opened in Philadelphia, Margolis became professor of biblical philology, a position he occupied from 1909 until his death. Two brief popular works *The Story of Bible Translations* (1917) and *The Hebrew Scriptures in the Making* (1922) were never expanded into full-length scholarly treatments because his energies were increasingly absorbed by his vision of a truly critical edition of the Septuagint. Choosing the Book of Joshua, he collated all the existing Greek manuscripts and by dint of minute and brilliant analysis established the principal recensions of the Septuagint, which he called Palestinian, Egyptian, Syrian, Constantinopolitan, and Mixed. On the basis of these he then recreated what he regarded as the original septuagintal text. While some scholars have differed with his underlying theory as to the nature of the Greek translation, *The Book of Joshua in Greek* (1931) is considered a work of brilliant scholarship. In the area of septuagintal studies, he also published scores of technical papers. In the field of biblical exegesis he published a brief but valuable English commentary on Micah, *Holy Scriptures with Commentary: Micah* (1908), and Hebrew commentaries on Zephaniah and Malachi in the Kahana Bible Commentary Series (1930). The book by which he is perhaps most widely known is a one-volume *A History of the Jewish People* (1927, 1962^2) written in collaboration with Alexander Marx. Within the confines of a single volume the multitude of details of nearly 40 centuries of Jewish history were compressed with conciseness, clarity, and completeness. Moreover, the entire work is informed by a broad philosophic grasp of the subject, a rare balance and objectivity of treatment, and a warm love for the Jewish people and its heritage.

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[Robert Gordis]

MARGOLIS-KALVARYSKI, HAIM (1868–1947), pioneer and administrator of Jewish settlement in Ereẓ Israel. Born in the province of Suwalki (then Russian Poland) where his parents were landowners, Margolis-Kalvaryski was active from his youth in the *Ḥibbat Zion movement. After studying agriculture in Montpellier, France, he went in 1895 to Ereẓ Israel and became the secretary of *Benei Moshe in Jaffa. He taught at the *Mikveh Israel Agricultural School and later worked at *Mishmar ha-Yarden on behalf of Baron Edmond de *Rothschild's administration. In 1900 he became administrator of the settlements that the *Jewish Colonization Association (ICA) founded in Lower Galilee. Margolis-Kalvaryski established a training farm for the settlers at Sejera and brought over Russian peasant families who had converted to Judaism. Between 1901 and 1905, Margolis-Kalvaryski founded the settlements Sejera (*Ilaniyah), *Yavne'el, *Kefar Tavor, Beit Gan, and *Menaḥemiyyah. In 1906 he was appointed manager of the settlements in Upper Galilee.

In 1913 he and Nahum *Sokolow met Arab leaders in Damascus to try to reach an understanding between them and the Zionist Movement. During World War I he defended the settlers imprisoned and persecuted by the Turks and helped establish collective settlements including *Ayyelet ha-Shaḥar, *Tel Ḥai, *Maḥanaim, and *Kefar Giladi. In 1920 Margolis-Kalvaryski negotiated with the short-lived Arab government in Damascus and attempted to save the settlements in Upper Galilee from attacks through negotiations with local Arab leaders. He became manager of the ICA setttlements in northern Palestine, a member of the Palestine Government Advisory Council, and a member of the Va'ad Le'ummi (until 1929). Between 1923 and 1927 he was head of the Arab Bureau of the Zionist Executive and between 1929 and 1931 headed the joint bureau for Arab affairs of the *Jewish Agency Executive and the Va'ad Le'ummi.

Margolis-Kalvaryski saw Ereẓ Israel as a common homeland for Jews and Arabs belonging to a Middle East federation. He was a founder of *Berit Shalom and similar groups which sought to reach agreement with the Arabs. In his later years he opposed official Zionist policy, which, in his opinion, was not sufficiently active in this direction. He wrote on Arab-Jewish relations in *She'ifoteinu*, 2, 3 (1931–33) and in *Be'ayot ha-Zeman* (1948). The moshav Margaliyyot in Upper Galilee is named after him.

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[Yehuda Slutsky]

MARGOSHES, SAMUEL (1887–1968), Yiddish journalist, editor, and Zionist leader. Born in Galicia, he early joined the Zionist movement, and immigrated to the United States in 1905. From the Jewish Theological Seminary he received his rabbinical degree in 1910 and later a doctorate in Hebrew literature. From Columbia University he received his doctorate in philosophy. After engaging in various communal, educational, and relief activities before, during, and after World War I, he began his long association with the New York Yiddish daily *The Day* in 1922. He served as editor (1926–42), English columnist, and commentator on Jewish events.

Margoshes espoused the causes both of Zionism and of Diaspora Jewry. For him the survival and growth of the Jewish people everywhere were of prime importance. The strengthening of the State of Israel, while a necessary means to achieve this objective, was for him not an end in itself. Hence, he emphasized the need for Yiddish as well as Hebrew, and the building of an American center of Judaism as well as the Israel center, both interdependent and influencing each other's development, economically, politically, and spiritually. As vice president of the Zionist Organization of America, he participated in World Zionist congresses and served on the Zionist General Council for many years.

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[Sol Liptzin]

MARGOULIES, BERTA (**O'Hare**; 1907–1996), U.S. sculptor. Margoulies was born in Lubitz, Poland. The artist's early life was marked by frequent emigration: to Belgium shortly before its invasion by Germany in World War I, to Holland, and then to England. She went to the U.S. in 1921, graduating from Hunter College in 1927. In 1928, she received a fellowship from the Gardner Foundation in Boston, which enabled her to travel to Paris for two years of study at the Académie Julien and Académie Calorossi; she also studied at the École des Beaux-Arts for a brief period. In 1931, she returned to New York City; she supported herself as a social worker while opening an art studio and taking classes at the Art Students League. The New Deal offered Margoulies many opportunities to further her career: she completed a head of Andrew Jackson for the Works Progress Administration and received a commission from the Treasury Section of Fine Arts for *Postman, 1691–1775* (1936), an historically accurate aluminum statue for the Washington, D.C., Post Office Building. Margoulies' and sculptor Concetta Scaravaglione's *Railway Mail* form part of ten aluminum figures positioned in the entrance lobby to the building. In addition, Margoulies sculpted *Woman and Deer* for the 1939 New York World's Fair garden court. With funds provided by the U.S. Treasury Department, Margoulies completed a painted plaster relief entitled *Stillman Foote Acquires Homestead of John Harrington* for the Canton, Ohio, Post Office in 1939. The following year, the artist fashioned *Tomato Sculpture*, a wall-mounted terracotta sculpture commissioned for the Monticello, Arkansas, Post Office. In the composition, male and female figures work side by side to cultivate and harvest tomatoes, a crop associated with Monticello. Margoulies' sculptures, some fashioned of beaten lead and bronze, often depicted human figures. Her simplification, stylization, and exaggeration of sculpted anatomy indicates her work's affinity with expressionism, especially that of Ernst Barlach, Kathe Kollwitz, Paula Mondersohn-Becker, and Jacques Lipschitz, among other artists. The gently smiling face of the sculpture *Walnut Boy* (1947) suggests early Greek sculpture, while the features of *Young Girl* (1936), especially her long nose and mask-like eyes, calls to mind Modigliani paintings of seated figures or Karl Schmidt-Rottloff's *Male Head* (1917). Many of her pieces possess overtly social and political themes, such as the bronze sculpture *Mine Disaster* (1942), a loosely pyramidal shaped grouping of figures awaiting news about the fate of fathers, husbands, and brothers. She also completed many pieces with Jewish themes and motifs: *Blessing Candles, Wailing Wall*, and *Promised Land*, the latter depicting a figure reminiscent of Moses with arms upraised. Margoulies won an Avery Award from the Architectural League in 1937, another award from the Society of Arts and Letters in 1944, and a fellowship from the Guggenheim Foundation in 1946. She lived in New Jersey and Massachusetts. Margoulies' work has been collected by the Des Moines Art Center, Whitney Museum of American Art, the Neuberger Museum, State University of New York, and Salisbury University, Maryland, among other places.

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[Nancy Buchwald (2nd ed.)]

MARGULES, MAX (1856–1920), Austrian meteorologist. Born in Brody, Margules lectured in Vienna on mathematics and physics from 1880 to 1882. His refusal to convert to Christianity blocked his academic advancement and he left the university to become secretary of the Central Institute of Meteorology in Vienna. He held this post for 24 years. In 1906, still refusing to convert and disappointed with his lack of academic success under the Austro-Hungarian academic system, he retired on early pension. He left the field of meteorological research, set up a chemical laboratory in his home, and concentrated on independent research. The post-World War I inflation rendered his small pension insufficient to live on, and he died from malnutrition.

Margules' first group of writings dealt with the changes of barometric pressure and their diurnal double fluctuations due to inner oscillations and waves in the free atmosphere of the earth. The second group of writings dealt with the effect of hot and cold air masses on climate. In the 1890s, he organized a network of closely spaced stations in a 60-kilometer circumference around Vienna, fitted with thermo-barographs. He showed the progress of the cold and hot waves of pressure and storms, and was able to arrive at an understanding of the phenomenon. In 1901 he showed that the kinetic energy in storms would have to be much greater in order to be produced by the pressure gradient. His conclusion later replaced the accepted theory on the generation of winds. Margules published his most important work on the energy of storms in 1903 (in *Jahrbuch der Zentralanstalt fuer Metereologie und Geodynamik*). Here he replaced "the energy of the storm" with the "potential energy of distribution of masses on the vertical plane" known as the Margules equation. This introduced a three-dimensional distribution of energy in place of the previously accepted two-dimensional distribution. He stressed that the study of air masses in their space expansion led to an understanding of their movements and proved the impossibility of understanding the problem according to methods of surface barometers only.

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[Dov Ashbel]

MARGULIES, EMIL (1877–1943), lawyer and Zionist leader. Born in Sosnowiec, Poland, Margulies became an ardent Zionist as a young man and, after his settlement in Bohemia, had a great share in the development of Zionism there and in the west Austrian district. At the Tenth Zionist Congress (1911), he submitted a new statute for the Zionist Movement. Throughout his life he was a "political" Zionist, and in 1923 he was co-founder of the Radical Zionist Fraction (Democratic Zionists), fighting against the enlargement of the *Jewish Agency by non-Zionists. Parallel to his Zionist activities, Margulies was one of the principal founders of the Czechoslovak "Jewish Party," of which he became president for a time. He also actively participated in the work on international minority problems and was a Jewish representative to the Congress of National Minorities. Margulies attained world renown through his action in the *Bernheim Petition. In 1939 he settled in Palestine, where, together with some colleagues, he opened an office for legal advice.

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[Oskar K. Rabinowicz]

MARGULIES, SAMUEL HIRSCH (1858–1922), rabbi and scholar. Margulies was born at Brzezan in Galicia; he was a descendant of Rabbi Ephraim Zalman Margolioth. *Margulies laid the foundations of his talmudic-rabbinical knowledge at home. In 1878 he entered the university and the Jewish Theological Seminary at Breslau. In 1883 he took a degree in Semitic Languages at the University of Leipzig. He served from 1885 to 1887 as rabbi of the Congregation Newe Shalom in Hamburg; from 1887 until 1890 he was the rabbi of the congregation at Weilburg, in Hesse-Nassau.

When in 1889 the Jewish community of Florence advertised in Jewish newspapers in Italy, France, and Germany that the position of chief rabbi was vacant, Margulies answered the call and he was appointed chief rabbi of Florence. Margulies' dealings with the Jewish community of Florence were not too easy at the beginning. The community looked with a suspicious eye at the foreign rabbi with distinctive Zionist ideas. Nevertheless, his personal charm as well as his teaching abilities soon established him as the undisputed spiritual leader of Florence's Jewish community.

When in 1899 the *Collegio Rabbinico Italiano was transferred to Florence, Margulies became its head, and thus trained several generations of Italian Jewish spiritual leaders. Altogether he did much to revive Jewish life and consciousness in Italy and to foster contacts between Italian and other European Jewries. He founded *Rivista Israelitica* in 1904, the learned journal of his seminary (1904–15), and was one of the initiators of the weekly *Settimane Israelitica* (later named *Israel*). Margulies also established several charitable institutions in Florence.

Margulies published several essays in Berliner's *Magazin* and in the *Monatsschrift*; he wrote *Saadja Alfajûmi's Arabische Psalmen-Uebersetzung*, published at Breslau in 1884, an edition of Saadiah's Arabic translation of the Psalms from a Munich manuscript with German translation and commentary; From his German period there are also *Zwei Pesach-Predigten*, published at Frankfurt-on-the-Main in 1888, and *Dichter und Patriot*, on the life and work of D. Levi, published at Treves in 1896. His later writings include "Schwertlied Ezechiels" (also in Hebrew, in *Scripta Universitatis… Hierosolymitanarum…*, 1 (1923)); articles in his own (*Rivista Israelitica*) and other periodicals; and volumes of sermons, among them *Discorsi Sacri* (1891, repr. 1956). An autobiographical note appeared in his *Discorsi e Scritti vari* (1923).

Margulies was a leading advocate of the 1920 "Jewish Commune" experiment in Florence, which caused disagreements between Zionists and non-Zionists Jews. Margulies died on Purim day, 1922, while he was talking to the children of the Jewish School.

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[Umberto (Moses David) Cassuto / Samuele Rocca (2nd ed.)]

MARGUL-SPERBER, ALFRED (1898–1967), German author, translator, journalist. Margul-Sperber grew up in a German assimilated family in Bukovina. After World War I, during which his family fled to Vienna, Margul-Sperber went to Paris and New York (1920–24). Returning to Bukovina, he started to work as journalist for the *Czernowitzer Morgenblatt*, soon becoming an important figure in the literary circles of Czernowitz and Vienna. In 1934 he published *Gleichnisse der Landschaft*, the first of 14 volumes of poetry which made him widely known not only for his description of the (symbolic) landscape of Bukovina, but also, especially later, as a political writer, with such poems as "Der Neger Jessy Owens U.S.A. er laeuft den olympischen Weltrekord, Fackellaeufer" (1936) and "Gespraech mit einem Kind. Aus Hitlerdeutschland 1936" (1941), in which he criticized racism and Nazism. In 1940 Margul-Sperber fled from Soviet troops to Bucharest. As a leftist intellectual he was highly regarded after 1945 in Romania, writing in the style of social realism. Poems like "Auf den Namen eines Vernichtungslagers" (ca. 1959), "Aus dunkelsten Tagen, Der Tod Mosis," and "Nach einer chassidischen Sage and Das Ostermahl" (1941) reflect the Holocaust. At the same time, Margul-Sperber was a promoter of young German Jews writing in German like Rose *Auslaender and Paul *Celan, whom he influenced in his early work.

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[Andreas Kilcher (2nd ed.)]

MARḤAB AL-YAHŪDĪ IBN AL-ḤĀRITH (d. 629), warrior of Arabia, renowned for his courage. His family is said to have been of Ḥimyarite origin and several other members gained fame as warriors. They were mentioned by many Muslim historians, and were noted for their outstanding courage. Marḥab's two brothers, al-Ḥārith and Yāsir, distinguished themselves in the *Khaybar war against *Muhammad. Zaynab, a woman famous in Islam, who attempted to poison Muhammad to avenge the death of her husband, father and uncle in that war, was also a member of the family. Arab sources refer to him as Marḥab al-Yahūdī (Marḥab the Jew), omitting mention of his father's name. The references to the woman Zaynab are somewhat confused. One source states that al-Ḥārith was "Zaynab's father and Marḥab's brother" (al-Maqrīzī, 1:314). The same source, however, refers to Zaynab as "Zaynab the Jewess, al-Ḥārith's daughter, and Marḥab's sister." Marḥab and his brother, Yāsir, both composed poetry in the *rajaz* meter. Arab historians and biographers of Muhammad state that Marḥab died in a duel during one of the battles at Khaybar. The story, as preserved by the ninth-century historians al-Wāqidī and Ibn Hishām, states that, during the siege by Muslim forces of one of the Khaybar fortresses, Marḥab threw a heavy millstone over the walls of the fort, killing Maḥmūd ibn Maslama. His cousin Ali ibn Abu Ṭālib promptly challenged Marḥab's brother to a duel and killed him. Marḥab, singing an *urjūza* (poem in *rajaz* meter), then came to avenge his brother's blood and met Maḥmūd ibn Maslama's brother, Muhammad ibn Maslama. In the duel Marḥab's sword stuck in his adversary's shield and Mūhammad then struck Marḥab a mortal blow. Marḥab's second brother, Yāsir, was also killed in a duel, while Zaynab's husband fell in battle. The distraught Zaynab, having lost her husband and her brothers, attempted to poison Muhammad in revenge, but he was saved by his foresight. There are conflicting traditions as to whether Muhammad had Zaynab killed, or released her after her conversion to Islam.

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[Shmuel Moreh]

MARḤESHVAN (Heb. מַרְחֶשְׁוָן), the post-Exilic name of the eighth month of the Jewish year, frequently shortened to Ḥeshvan (Heb. חֶשְׁוָן). Its pre-Exilic name is Bul (I Kings 6:38). The name occurs in the *Antiquities* of Josephus, **Megillat Ta'anit,* and later branches of rabbinic literature, but nowhere in the Bible. It is believed to be etymologically connected with *Arahsammu*, the Assyrian for "eighth month." The zodiacal sign of this month is *Scorpio.* Like *Kislev, it consists of 29 or 30 days in either common or leap years (see *Calendar). The 1st of Marḥeshvan never falls on Sunday, Tuesday, or Friday. In the 20th century, Marḥeshvan, in its earliest occurrence, extended from October 6th to November 4th (3rd), and, in its latest, from November 4th to December 3rd (2nd). Historic days in Marḥeshvan comprise: (1) 6th of Marḥeshvan, the marking of the blinding of King Zedekiah at the command of Nebuchadnezzar (II Kings 25:7), once observed as a fast (Meg. Ta'an. 13); (2) 7th of Marḥeshvan, the commencement in Ereẓ Israel of the Prayer for *Rain, inserted in the ninth benediction of the **Amidah* prayer (Ta'an. 1:3); (3) 17th of Marḥeshvan, the commencement of the Flood (Gen. 7:11), and of a series of fasts by pious individuals in their intercession for rain in years of drought (Ta'an. 1:4); (4, 5, 6) 23rd, 25th, and 27th of Marḥeshvan, formerly commemorative of the respective victories of the Hasmoneans and Pharisees over the Greeks, Samaritans, and Sadducees (Meg. Ta'an. 8).

[Ephraim Jehudah Wiesenberg]

MARI, one of the principal centers of Mesopotamia during the third and early second millennia B.C.E. The archaeological and epigraphical discoveries there are of prime significance for the history of Mesopotamia and Upper Syria. The Akkadian-language documents from Mari date from the Old Babylonian period and are thus centuries earlier than those of the Hebrew Bible. However, the residents of Mari were western Semites, ultimately related to the Israelites and Arameans who first surface in the late second millennium but who are best known from the first. In consequence, although there is no demonstrable direct connection with the history of ancient Israel as was once thought (see * Genesis and *Patriarchs), there are numerous linguistic, cultural, and social data from Mari that aid us in the study of ancient Israel and the Bible. Mari (sometimes *Ma'eri* in the cuneiform sources) was located at Tell Ḥarīrī, at present some 1.5 mi. (2.5 km.) west of the Euphrates, near Abu Kemal, around 15 mi. (25 km.) north of the modern Syrian-Iraqi border. It was in an optimal position for contacts with the West and its location on the river artery, yet immediately adjacent to the desert, was decisive in the shaping of its fortune and character.

A. Excavations and Discoveries

The French excavations at Mari were instituted in 1933 under the direction of A. Parrot and exploration continued as regularly as the international situation allowed. The archaeological evidence indicates that Mari was founded in the fourth millennium B.C.E. at the very beginning of the Early Dynastic period (ED I), reaching a cultural-artistic peak during the first half of the third millennium B.C.E. Dating to this period (known as "Early Dynastic II–III," or "pre-Sargonic") are a ziggurat and several sanctuaries: including a temple where the earliest list of the Mari pantheon was discovered, temples to Shamash, Ninḫursag, and Ishtar, and the pair of temples of Ishtarat and Ninni-Zaza. In the latter three, there came to light many inscribed statues of local kings (such as Lamgi-Mari, Iku-Shamagan, and Iblul-Il), lesser royalty, and courtiers. Although Sumerian culture was predominant, the character of the cultic installations, the appearance of bearded figures in art, and especially the occurrence of particular divine and private names are all clearly indicative of a basic Semitic element from earliest times, with Semitic rule there centuries before the rise of Akkad.

Since 1964, the excavations have revealed two superimposed palaces from pre-Sargonic times, most impressive in themselves, including a royal chapel with an earthen altar (cf. Ex. 20:24), the sacred tradition of which was preserved even in the Old Babylonian palace built there some 700 years later (see below). Within the palace complex, a jar came to light containing a "treasure" including a lapis lazuli bead with a votive inscription mentioning Mesannepada, founder of the First Dynasty at Ur. This indicates a close contact between Mari and Ur at an early date, as do other finds from Mari, such as shell inlays essentially identical with those of the "Ur Standard" (war panel). The pre-Sargonic palace was destroyed either by Eannatum of Lagash (mid-25th century B.C.E.) or, rather, by Lugal-zaggesi of Uruk (mid-24th century B.C.E.).

After Sargon's conquest, in the second half of the 24th century B.C.E., Mari became a vassal city within the empire of Akkad; among the epigraphic evidence from this period are the names of two daughters of Naram-Sin, king of Akkad. In the final two centuries of the third millennium B.C.E., Mari was a sort of loose dependency of Third-Dynasty Ur, flourishing anew under (local) governors who bore the title *šakkanakku* (eight of whom are known by name). Indeed, a ruler of Mari is known to have given his daughter in marriage to a son of Ur-Namma, king of Ur.

The pre-eminence of Mari throughout the third millennium B.C.E. is well reflected in epigraphic sources: in the Sumerian King List it appears as the seat of the tenth postdiluvian dynasty; in the inscriptions of Eannatum mention is made of the penetration and repulse of forces from Mari as far south as Lagash; and it also appears in the inscriptions of Sargon and Naram-Sin of Akkad. At the close of the third mil-

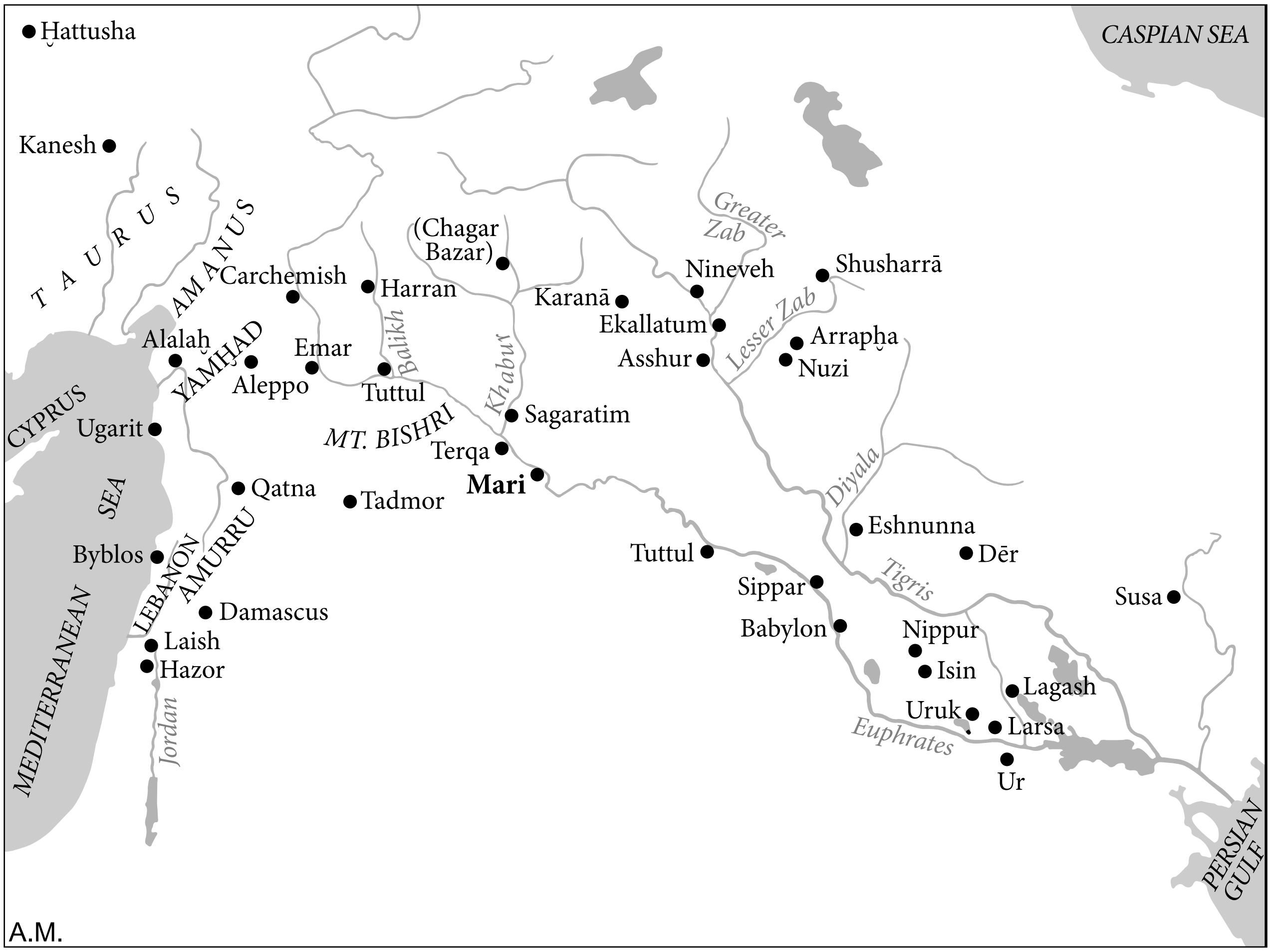
Ḫattusha
CASPIAN SEA
Kanesh
TAURUS
AMANUS
Carchemish
Harran
(Chagar Bazar)
Karanā
Nineveh
Shusharrā
Greater Zab
Lesser Zab
Ekallatum
Asshur
Arrapḫa
Nuzi
Alalaḫ
YAMḪAD
Emar
Aleppo
Balikh
Tuttul
Khabur
Sagaratim
MT. BISHRI
Terqa
Mari
CYPRUS
Ugarit
Qatna
Tadmor
SEA
Byblos
LEBANON
AMURRU
Damascus
Laish
Hazor
Jordan
MEDITERRANEAN
Diyala
Eshnunna
Dēr
Tuttul
Sippar
Tigris
Susa
Babylon
Nippur
Isin
Lagash
Uruk
Larsa
Euphrates
Ur
PERSIAN GULF
A.M.

The Near East in the Mari Age.

lennium B.C.E., Ishbi-Irra, "a man of Mari," founded the Isin Dynasty and facilitated the collapse of the empire of Third-Dynasty Ur. After an obscure period of two centuries (from which several economic texts and 32 inscribed liver models are known), Mari reached its final period of glory in the 18th century under West Semitic rule. This latter was quashed by Hammurapi, king of Babylon, and Mari never regained its former position.

In the 13th century, Tukulti-Ninurta I conquered the meager settlement there and stationed a garrison in the city for a short time. The uppermost layer on the site dates to the Seleucid-Roman period.

In the second half of the second millennium B.C.E., Mari was still sufficiently important to be mentioned in the *Nuzi documents (horses and chariots were sent there), in recently found texts at *Ugarit ("Ishtar of Mari" in an alphabetic text, and in an epithet of another deity in a Hurrian text), and in the Egyptian geographical lists of Thutmosis III and probably also of Ramses III. The land of Mari appears in the neo-Assyrian geographical treatise describing Sargon's Akkadian empire (on the basis of which W.F. Albright identified Mari with Tell Ḥarīrī, long before the start of excavations there). Finally, Mari is mentioned in a Greek itinerary, in the (Aramaic) form *Merrhan*.

THE OLD BABYLONIAN PALACE AND ROYAL ARCHIVES. The main discoveries at Mari are from the period of its domination by the West Semitic dynasties, in the last quarter of the 19th century and the first half of the 18th century B.C.E. (according to the middle chronology; or 64 years later according to the low chronology). Several temples of this period were built over corresponding sanctuaries of pre-Sargonic times – the temples of Ishtar, Ninḫursag, and Shamash; a temple of Dagan, also known as the "lions' temple" (from bronze lions found flanking its entrance), was founded by the late third millennium B.C.E. This latter deity, the biblical *Dagon, held a prime position in the West Semitic pantheon, and at Mari bore the titles "King of the Land" and "Lord of all the Great Gods."

The outstanding architectural discovery from this period, however, is the royal palace – a structure of unparalleled magnificence and widespread fame in its time. This residence, enlarged successively by each of the West Semitic rulers at Mari, reached its zenith under Zimri-Lim, with an area of about eight acres and including over 300 chambers, corridors, and courts. Besides the private quarters for the royal family and entourage, there are administrative offices, a scribal school, quarters for visiting dignitaries, a royal chapel, a throne room, and a reception chamber. Service areas included guard quarters, workshops, and storerooms. Special elegance was provided in several halls and courts by multicolored frescoes depicting chiefly ritual and mythological scenes, including an investiture of a king (Zimri-Lim?) in the presence of several deities. This ceremony takes place in an idealized garden, its trees guarded by "cherubim" and symbolically watered by four streams flowing from a single source – all reminiscent of the biblical Paradise story. Many of the figures in these murals are depicted as typical West Semites.

The discovery of greatest impact on historical and biblical research comprises the more than 20,000 cuneiform tablets from the several archives in the palace (there was no library), written in the Babylonian language (see below). The original discovery has been supplemented since 1979 by fragments of a few thousand documents discovered by Margueron's excavations. The earliest publication of the documents was begun by the Assyriologists G. Dossin (dean of the Mari epigraphers), M. Birot, J. Bottéro, Mme. M.L. Burke, A. Finet, J.R. Kupper, and the late G. Boyer and Ch.F. Jean, mostly in the series *Archives royales de Mari* (ARM). In the early years, the texts appeared in two parallel series, not necessarily at the same time: one containing cuneiform copies, and the other with transliterations, French translations, brief notes, and some form of commentary or glossary. Thanks to computer printing technology, the more recent publications often include hand copies and high-quality photographs alongside texts. The texts published so far (through ARM 29 (2005)) have shed much light on the administrative, economic, cultural, and political facets mainly of Upper Mesopotamia and Upper Syria in the 18th century B.C.E. – regions previously known only vaguely.

The archives were found to be distinguished according to subject. The political-diplomatic archives include correspondence between the king of Mari and his agents, both at the palace and abroad, as well as with foreign potentates. They provide the earliest insight into the complexities of "suzerain-vassal" relationships, diplomatic protocol, and the fluctuating alliances and plots rampant in the Ancient Near East. A noteworthy class of letters is the unusually extensive women's correspondence published, in ARM, 10, revealing the prominent role of women in activities of the realm. The outstanding case is that of Shibtu, Zimri-Lim's queen (chief wife), who enjoyed the king's utter confidence, representing his interests during his absence from the city and exercising considerable influence in her own right.

The majority of documents are economic or administrative in nature, dealing with the maintenance of the palace, official trade abroad, lists of goods, and rosters of persons in royal employ (such as a list of nearly 1,000 captives [?] from the Harran-Nahor region engaged in the manufacture of clothing for the palace). Of a unique category are the some 1,300 tablets containing lists of daily provisions for the palace, often summarized by month. Though dealing only with "vegetarian" foodstuffs and beverages, they shed light on Solomon's "provisions for one day" and possibly also his monthly quantities (cf. I Kings 4:22–23, 27 [5:2–3, 7]; cf. also Neh. 5:17–18). The royal table at Mari, known to have entertained hundreds of guests on occasion, was served by spacious kitchens – in one of which were found numerous molds for preparing fancy cakes some bearing animal and goddess motifs (cf. Jer. 44:19).

Dozens of legal tablets were also found, mostly contracts concerning transactions and loans of silver or grain (ARM, 8), revealing that the palace served as a sort of exchange. Of exceptional interest is an adoption contract which ensured the "primogeniture" of the "eldest" (i.e., first adopted) son, stipulating that he receive a double portion of the inheritance; this is in full accord with biblical law (cf. Deut. 21:15–17).

The very few literary and religious compositions found at Mari include a lengthy Ishtar ritual in Babylonian, as well as six texts in Hurrian. That Hurrian was used occasionally in diplomatic correspondence is known from the only other tablet at Mari in that language, a letter written to Zimri-Lim.

B. Mari under West Semitic Rule

The origins of the West Semitic, or "Amorite," dynasties are shrouded in darkness, though there are clues pointing to North Syria for the local line at Mari. Thus, the theophoric name element-*Lim* (perhaps derived from the word for "folk," "people"; cf. Ugaritic *l'im* and Heb. *Le'om*) is found at both Aleppo, in the dynastic name Yarim-Lim, and Mari, in the royal names Yagid-Lim, Yaḫdun-Lim, and Zimri-Lim. It is also present in the name of Yashi-Lim, ruler of Tuttul (probably the one at the mouth of the Balikh River), and Ibbit-Lim, ruler of Ebla (probably Tell Mardikh), both several generations earlier than the above. Furthermore, the title "king of Mari, Tuttul, and the land of Ḫana" was borne by both Yaḫdun-Lim (Disc Inscription) and Zimri-Lim (cf. a fragmentary inscription from Terqa, between Tuttul and Mari). And, indeed, the site of ancestor worship for both the local and the "Assyrian" dynasties at Mari lay at Terqa, around 44 mi. (70 km.) to the northwest, at the mouth of the Khabur River. Hence, the immediate origin of the West Semitic rulers at Mari would appear to be in the Terqa region.

THE REIGN OF YAHDUN-LIM. The historical figure of Yaggid-Lim, founder of the local dynasty at Mari, is vague, and none of his records have been found, though there is a seal of one Qīšti-Iliba who calls himself servant of Yaggid-Lim (*RIME* 4: E.4.6.7). Nor have many tablets from the reign of his son, Yaḫdun-Lim, been published, though in 1965 an archive of some 300 of his economic texts came to light. It is known, however, that Yaḫdun-Lim was able to stabilize his kingdom, establishing his dominance over the entire Middle Euphrates region, as is evident from the dozen known year-formulas and especially the two extant royal inscriptions from his reign (*RIME* E4.6.8; E4.6.8.1).

The shorter inscription (the "Disc Inscription") relates that Yaḫdun-Lim fortified Mari and Terqa, founded a fortress on the desert fringe (naming it after himself – Dur-Yaḫdun-Lim), and laid out an extensive irrigation system (boasting that "I did away with the water bucket in my land"). The other text, the Foundation Inscription of the Shamash temple, is a splendid literary composition relating his campaign to the Mediterranean coast and the "Cedar and Boxwood Mountain," where he obtained several types of choice wood, "and made known his might." However, this was probably only a passing episode and not a lasting conquest. Thirty-five economic texts published in 1970 are dated by two year-formulas for one Sumu-Yamam, an obscure character who ruled at Mari either before or after Yaḫdun-Lim. Also elusive is his kinship – whether to the local dynasty or otherwise – for the few other references to him, such as in a "letter to a god" (ARM, 1, 3), are inconclusive. This same letter also reveals the assassination of Yaḫdun-Lim (or Sumu-Yamam) in a court conspiracy, much to the benefit of Shamshi-Adad, scion of a rival West Semitic dynasty, who established himself in Assyria, swiftly gaining control over large portions of Mesopotamia.

THE ASSYRIAN INTERREGNUM. Yaḫdun-Lim's removal facilitated a take-over by Shamshi-Adad, who installed his son, Yasmaḫ-Adad, as viceroy at Mari. Under his father's tutelage, Yasmaḫ-Adad reorganized the local administration, cultivated ties with neighboring lands, and secured his flank against marauding nomads. Though his brother Ishme-Dagan, upon succeeding to the throne of Assyria, promised to maintain the protective policy of their father, Yasmaḫ-Adad was left adrift only three or four years later, when he was defeated by Eshnunna, a West Semitic kingdom beyond the Tigris. Altogether, Assyrian control of Mari lasted some 20 years.

THE KINGDOM OF ZIMRI-LIM. Thus, the stage was set for the advent of Zimri-Lim, the son of Yaḫdun-Lim, who in the interim had lived in exile under the wing of Yarim-Lim, king of Yamḫad (capital, Aleppo). Yarim-Lim, who had become Zimri-Lim's father-in-law, was most instrumental in restoring him to the throne of Mari. Thirty-two year-formulas are known for Zimri-Lim's reign – though many of them may have been alternate designations for the same year, for (chronologically) he cannot have ruled for so long a period. Zimri-Lim's reign, during the tumultous interval between Assyria's decline and the rise of the empire of Hammurapi, marks Mari at its apogee. It is this period which is best represented by the archives found at Mari which provide a thorough insight into the organization of the kingdom. Interestingly, several of Zimri-Lim's letters have been found in the royal archives at Tell el-Rimah (between the Upper Khabur and the Tigris), probably to be identified with the city of Karana, mentioned in the Mari correspondence. Mari had become a principal political force in Mesopotamia, alongside Babylon, Larsa, Eshnunna, Qatna, and Yamḫad (as is known from a contemporary political report). Relying heavily on his diplomatic cunning, Zimri-Lim developed an elaborate intelligence system – within his sphere of influence and beyond it. Frequent alliances, as with Yamḫad and Babylon, were designed to meet the danger of the moment – e.g., now against Eshnunna, then against Elam. His military endeavors were directed mainly against the hostile tribal federation of the Yaminites (the previously subdued Ḫanean tribes were already in his service; for both, see below). This political situation crystallized hand in hand with the development of economic ties branching out as far as the island of Dilmun (in the Persian Gulf), Elam (in the east), Arrapḫa and Shusharra (in southern Kurdistan), Cappadocia (in the north), Phoenicia and Palestine (in the west), and even Kaptara (Crete, in the Mediterranean). Indeed, tolls from caravan and riverine trade were one of Zimri-Lim's principal sources of income. This golden age at Mari came to an abrupt end, however, when Hammurapi turned on his former ally and conquered the city in his 32nd year, during the consolidation of his empire (in 1759 B.C.E. – middle chronology; or 1695 B.C.E. – low chronology). Two years later he ordered the razing of the city to the ground.

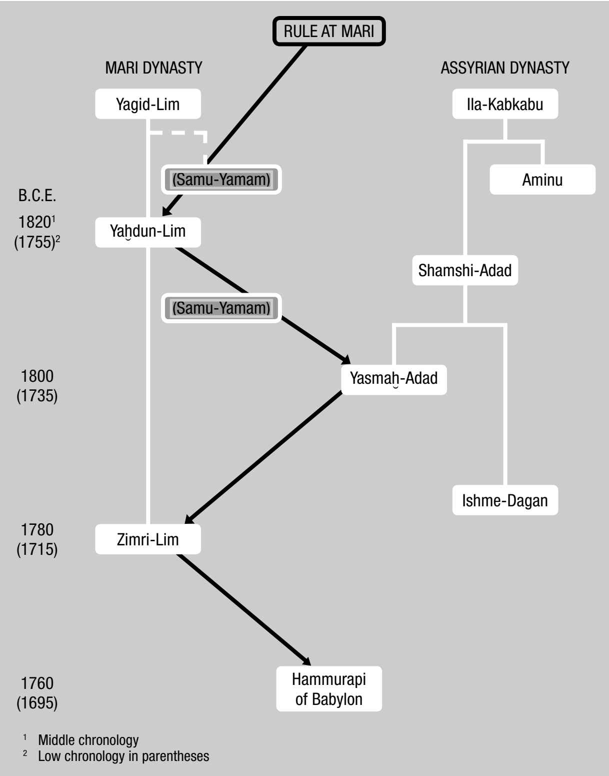

MARI AND THE WEST. Mari was bound closely with the lands to the west – Syria, and even northern Palestine – in economy, politics, culture, religion, and ethnic background. Already noted were the ties between the local dynasty at Mari and that of the kingdom of Yamḫad; Zimri-Lim's queen, Shibtu, was from Aleppo and he appears to have held land there, which was either a patrimony or received as a dowry. Similarly, the rival Assyrian dynasty at Mari secured political ties in the west through the marriage of Yasmaḫ-Adad to a princess from Qatna, Yamḫad's southern adversary. Another form of contact with the west is the already-mentioned campaign by Yaḫdun-

Lim and the later expedition by Shamshi-Adad to the Levant. Zimri-Lim is also known to have visited various places in the west: Yamḫad, where he had presented a statue to "Adad the great god of Aleppo," and Ugarit, where he was accompanied by a select bodyguard (*ṣabum beḥru*; see below).

The region farther southwest is only sparingly mentioned in the Mari archives, but references are found to Byblos on the Phoenician coast and the land of Amurru in southern Syria (the Apum of the Mari texts is most probably only that in the Khabur region, and not the one around Damascus, known from the contemporary Egyptian Execration Texts and various later sources). In northern Palestine, Hazor is noted several times in the Mari archives as the destination of diplomatic and economic emissaries. In one instance, emissaries passing through Mari are on their way to Yamḫad, Qatna, and Hazor, and a fourth place whose name is broken (the traces in ARM, 6, 23:23 may perhaps be restored to read "Megiddo," rather than "Egypt" as is sometimes proposed, which surprisingly does not appear in the Mari archives). In an economic document, Aleppo, Qatna, and Ugarit are listed, alongside Hazor ("Ibni-Adad, king of Hazor") and Laish ("Waritaldu at Laish," the later Dan north of Hazor), as destinations of large consignments of tin, a commodity of major importance among the exports to the west (it being alloyed with copper to produce bronze). On the other side of the ledger, Mari imported from the west horses and fine woods (from the Qatna region), various precious vessels of Syrian and "Cretan" style, Cypriot copper, fabrics, and garments (especially from Aleppo and Byblos), and large quantities of foodstuffs, such as honey, wine, and olive oil.

C. Mari and the Bible

The Mari documents bear indirectly upon Israelite history geographically; the "patriarchal homeland" (Aram-Naharaim, so called at a later date) lay within Mari's horizons; ethnic-linguistically, the Hebrews were of the same West Semitic (or Amorite) stock as that strongly manifest at Mari (see above); and sociologically, for the descriptions of tribalism comprise the most extensive insight into the nomadic and settled phases of the Israelite tribes.

1. PATRIARCHAL HOMELAND. The cities of Harran and Nahor (cuneiform *Naḫūr*), in the Upper Balikh Valley – which figure in the Bible as ancestral habitats of the Patriarchs – are well documented as important dependencies controlled by governors from Mari (one of whom, Itur-asdu at Nahor, is the subject of ARM, 14). Both cities were foci of tribal foment: at the temple of Sin in Harran, a treaty between the "kings" of Zalmaqum and the Yaminites was sworn against Mari; while at Nahor reinforcements had often to be called in to quell local uprisings inflamed by the *Habiru. Alongside the West Semitic peoples in this region was a considerable Hurrian element (note the typically Hurrian name of King Adalshenni, who at one time gained control over Nahor), which may well have left an imprint upon the initial ethnic and cultural composition of the Hebrews. The picture revealed in the Mari archives, of far-reaching tribal migrations (such as those of Yaminite groups) and caravan conditions between the Euphrates region and Syria-Northern Palestine, provides an analogy for the biblical narratives of the patriarchal wanderings between Aram-Naharaim and Canaan.

2. ETHNO-LINGUISTIC AFFINITIES – THE WEST SEMITIC IDIOM. Evidence for the West Semitic (or *Amorite) origin of the majority of the people figuring in the Mari documents is revealed in the onomasticon (name-stock) and specific linguistic features of the Mari dialect. Many of the hundreds of proper names known from the Mari texts are paralleled in the Bible, especially in the patriarchal narratives and the Exodus-Conquest cycle, which demonstrate a strong archaizing tendency. At Mari, where Yahweh was unknown, these names occur often with (other) theophoric (god-bearing) components; e.g., Jacob and Ishmael – i.e., *ḥaqba-ḥammu/-aḥim/* etc. and *Yasmaḥ-El/-Adad/-Baʿal/* etc. The names of the Israelite tribes of *Levi and *Benjamin also seem to have their parallels. Thus, the tribal designation at Mari, *DUMU.MEŠ-yamin(a)*, "Yaminites," bears the same connotation as Benjamin – "son(s) of the South," i.e., southerners, and it is preferable to render the logogram for "sons" as West Semitic *bini-yamina* a form conveniently homophonic with the Hebrew *Binyamin*. The West Semitic imprint on the standard Old Babylonian (OB) dialect of the Akkadian language in use at Mari is evident to a certain extent in phonology, morphology, syntax, and, especially, vocabulary. The lack of terms in OB for certain specific features in the society and way of life of the population of the Mari region necessitated the frequent adoption of West Semitic expressions in the shape of either Akkadian words employed in new, West Semitic connotations or out-and-out loanwords from the West Semitic – words well represented in biblical Hebrew (often in exalted language, as also at Mari). Besides the linguistic yield, a comparative study of the West Semitic loanwords at Mari and their Hebrew cognates may broadly illuminate the nature of the societies involved. Thus, a list of such lexical items would include the following:

Geographical terms – *ḥamqum* = Hebrew *ʿemeq*, "valley"; *k/qaṣum* = Hebrew *qaẓeh*, "(desert) frontier"; *ḥen* (as a place-name) = Hebrew *ʿayin*, "spring"; points of the compass – *aqdamātum* = Hebrew *qedem*, "east"; *aḥarātum* = Hebrew *aḥar, aḥor*, "west"; north and south were preserved in the tribal names *DUMU.MEŠ-simʾal* = Hebrew *semol*, and *DUMU.MEŠ-yamina* = Hebrew *yamin*; fauna – *ḥa(ya)rum* =Hebrew *ʿayir*, "donkey foal"; *hazzum* = Hebrew *ʿez*, "goat"; *ḥiglum* = Hebrew *ʿegel*, "calf" (referring to a zoomorphic vessel at Mari); flora – *suḥrum* = Hebrew *seʿorah*, "barley"; *ḥimrum* = Hebrew *ḥemer*, "a fermented drink"; military terms – *be(ḥ)rum* = Hebrew *baḥur*, "(select) trooper"; *bazaḥātum*, "military outpost" (cf. Heb. root *bẓʿ*); *sag/qbum*, "guard" (later Heb. *zaqif?*); note perhaps *madārum* = later Hebrew *mador (?)*, "dwelling place"; *mas/škabum* = Hebrew *mishkav*, "a lodging"; probably *sablum* = Hebrew *sevel*, "corvée"; and *yagâtum* = Hebrew *yagon*, "sorrow."

A series of West Semitic terms is also found for tribal organization and institutions (see below, Nos. 3 and 4), which were quite foreign to contemporary Mesopotamia and therefore found no adequate means of expression in the pure Babylonian lexicon; cf., e.g., the set of terms for various tribal units: *gāyum* = Hebrew goy; *ḥibrum* = Hebrew *ḥever*; and perhaps *ummatum* = Hebrew *uʾummah*. West Semitic verbs unknown in standard Babylonian Akkadian but with cognates in biblical Hebrew include the following: *ḥakûm*, "to wait"; *ḥalûm*, "to be ill"; *ḥarāšum*, "to be silent"; *naḫālum*, "to inherit, apportion"; *naqāmum*, "to avenge" (only in personal names); *qatālum*, "to kill"; *šapāṭum*, "to judge, govern" (and see below).

3. PATRIARCHAL TRIBAL SOCIETY. The Mari archives provide the most abundant and fruitful source material concerning West Semitic tribes of any Ancient Near Eastern source – shedding invaluable light on Israelite tribal society, its structure and organization, as well as its institutions. The wide range of the tribes mentioned at Mari – from fully nomadic to fully sedentary – and their confrontation with the indigenous population, bear directly upon an understanding of the gradual process of the Israelite settlement in Canaan and their ensuing relationship with its inhabitants. The most revealing material at Mari concerns the broad tribal federations of the Ḫaneans and Yaminites. The former were concentrated principally along the Middle Euphrates and comprised an appreciable segment of the general population (and of the army) of Mari. Indeed, the Middle Euphrates region became known as the "land of Ḫana," and "Ḫana" was applied also to a type of soldier and a kind of wool. The name, which was basically gentilic, also came to denote in general the generic concept of a (semi-) nomad; it seems to be in this sense that Zimri-Lim was called "king of the Ḫaneans," in parallel to "king of the Akkadians" – which together reflect the two main population strata, seminomadic and indigenous sedentary (see below). The Yaminites were in general less settled and posed the greater threat in this period, both to the rest of the population and to the authorities. In their subtribes (Ubrabu, Amnanu, Yaḫruru, Yariḫu, and the affiliated Rabbeans), they were dispersed over a wide arc from the city of Sippar (and even as far south as Uruk) and the eastern banks of the Tigris around to the Khabur and the Balikh valleys up to the Euphrates bend, where their main concentration lay. In the west, they had crossed the Euphrates toward Mount Bisir (Jabal Bishri) and encroached upon the land of Amurru in southern Syria. Little mention is made in the Mari archives of the *DUMU.MEŠ-simʾal*, the "sons of the north," who roamed the "upper country" in the Harran region, or of the Sutu, the fully nomadic tribe which appears more often in subsequent history. This latter ranged in the Syrian steppe and the Bishri mountains, raiding the adjacent oasis of *Tadmor (spelled *Tadmer* at Mari) on at least one occasion. The Mari archives are surprisingly silent on the "Amorites" as a definite tribal entity (though one reference is made to a *gāyu Amurum* as a sub-clan of the Ḫaneans); in general, the designation (both spelled phonetically and in the logogram *MAR.TU*) is restricted to the land of Amurru, far to the west, or to the military titles "great-of-Amurru" and "scribe-of-Amurru" (the latter only at Mari).

Patterns of Settlement. The tribal society depicted in the Mari archives is essentially dimorphic, i.e., it encompasses both nomadic and urban modes, with their inherent distinctions and interactions, social as well as economic. Tribal groups would sometimes undergo a gradual process of sedentation, splitting into partly settled and partly nomadic factions (cf. ARM 8, 11), or leading a life of transhumance – in the steppe or desert in the grazing season and in urban bases during the "off" months.

Depending on the stage of sedentation, the Ḫaneans and Yaminites dwelt in towns and hamlets (both designated at Mari as *ālāni*, literally, "cities"; the term *kaprum*, "village," is rare in this context) and engaged in urban-agricultural pursuits (as well as herding), or in temporary encampments (*nawūm*) and engaged in purely pastoral pursuits. At Mari, the standard Babylonian word *nawūm*, "desert, uncultivated field," or even "a savage," took on the West Semitic connotation of a pastoral abode, precisely the connotation of the Hebrew *naweh* (primarily in poetic usage in the Bible). An illustration of this dual mode of life, is found in the distinctions *Ḫana ša nawīm*, loosely, "steppe Ḫaneans," and *ḥibrum ša nawīm*, the nomadic faction of a partly settled clan (in this case, of Yaminites).

Another type of settlement originating among nomadic and seminomadic populations was the *ḥaṣārum* (pl. *haṣirātum*), which, rather than an enclosure for sheep or cattle (as usually assumed), denotes a dwelling place, as does the cognate Hebrew term *ḥaẓerim*, referring to settlements of the Ishmaelites, the Avvites, and the "sons of Kedar" (Gen. 25:16; Deut. 2:23; and Isa. 42:11 (cf. Jer. 49:33), respectively).

Tribal Leadership. The Mari archives indicate that tribal leadership was in the hands of family heads (cf. the biblical *bet-ʾav*, "family," the basic unit of the patriarchal tribal organization), called *abū bītim*, "father of the household" (pl. at Mari *abūt bītim*, a West Semitic form, equivalent to Heb. *ʾavot*). The actual tribal rulers were elevated from among these family heads, leading to the use of the term *abū bītim* for certain officials, and occasionally *abū* served as a synonym for "tribal chiefs," e.g., *abū ḫana* and *abū ldamaraṣ*. As in pre-monarchical Israel, the council of the "elders" (*šibūti*) appears in the Mari documents as a central institution, deciding on matters of war and peace, functioning in treaty making, and representing the tribe before the authorities.

A capital role in the tribal organization, unknown outside the Mari texts, is that of *sugāgum/suqāqum* (meaning unknown), whose function is somewhat vague. He may have been a sort of mukhtar, chief of a tribal unit or village appointed (or at least approved) by the Mari authorities from among the local leadership; this office (*sugāgūtum*) was sometimes purchased with money or sheep.

At the head of the tribal hierarchy stood the "kings" (Akk. *šarru*, p. *šarrāni*), who usually appear in the Mari texts as wartime leaders – again suggesting a special West Semitic connotation (in this case, military), much like the Hebrew *sar*. Thus, Yaḥdun-Lim's royal inscriptions record that he defeated "seven kings, fathers (*abū*) of Ḫana" and, on another occasion, "three Yaminite kings." This plurality of "kings" must be understood as referring to subtribal rulers that collectively comprised the tribal leadership; such a structure is also found among the Midianites (Num. 31:8; Judg. 8:12), the early Arameans (I Sam. 14:47), and perhaps the Edomites (Gen. 36:31ff.).

4. TRIBAL TRADITIONS – FUNCTIONAL AND RELIGIOUS. The convergence of the West Semitic tribes at Mari with urban Mesopotamia involved a dual process of friction and strife alongside symbiosis and mutual adaptation; this interaction between a tribal heritage and an established civilization was characteristic also of the settlement of Israelite tribes in Canaan. In Mari, this was especially evident at the court, where despite the process of assimilation of Sumero-Akkadian civilization, much of tribal tradition was still preserved. The advice of the palace prefect to Zimri-Lim on a point of protocol may thus be interpreted: "[If] you are the king of the Ḫaneans, you are, moreover, a 'king of the Akkadians.' [My lord] should not ride horses [i.e., in tribal fashion]. May my lord drive in a wagon and mules [i.e., in a "civilized" manner], and may he [thus] honor his royalty" (ARM, 6, 76:20–25). This same distinction is found, too, at the early Israelite court, though there the mule was ridden (II Sam. 13:29; 18:9; I Kings 1:33) and the horse yoked to the chariot (I Sam. 8:11; II Sam. 15:1; I Kings 1:5).

Tribal heritage from the nomadic phase did persist in spite of the curbs of sedentation and acquiescence to royal administration of Mari. Tribal customs and institutions, legal, military, and political procedures, and ritual or religious practices all find expression in the Mari texts. These traditions, largely unknown outside Mari, serve to illuminate early Israelite practices. Here are some of the major points.

Making a Covenant. In the largely illiterate society of the tribe, treaties were concluded not by means of documents but solely by symbolic acts – in the cases recorded in the Mari texts, by the ritual of "killing an ass-foal" (note the purely West Semitic expression applied here – *ḥa*(*ya*)*rum qatālum*). (Another symbolic expression in this context is *napištam lapātum*, "to touch the throat.") In one case, a possible ploy was made to introduce other animals into the ritual: in a report on a peace treaty made between the Ḫaneans and the land of Idamaraṣ, a Mari official in the Harran region tells his king that "they brought to me a whelp and a goat, but I obeyed my lord and did not give (permission for the use of) a whelp and a goat. I caused 'the foal, the young of a she-ass' (cf. Gen. 49:11; Zech. 9:9) to be slaughtered" (ARM, 2, 37:6–12). The Bible mentions a parallel ceremony, involving the cutting in two of young animals (cf. the covenant between God and Abraham – Gen. 15:9–10; and one with the leaders of Judah during the Babylonian siege of Jerusalem – Jer. 34:18–19). In all these ceremonies, the common denominator is the ritual sacrifice of young and tender animals.

Census. The Mari authorities used to take periodic censuses of the tribes, both nomadic and settled. This activity was denoted by the terms *ubbubum* (D-stem of *ebēbum*), "to cleanse," and its derivative *tēbibtum* (literally, "cleansing," "purification"), and is most likely West Semitic in origin. The purpose of the census seems to have been military conscription, taxation, and land distribution, although at least originally it was accompanied by a ritual of purification, similar to that associated with the census of the Israelites in the wilderness (which involved a tax, the payment of which was regarded as a ritual expiation, Heb. *kippurim*; cf. Ex. 30:11–16). Some scholars, however, view the *tēbibtum* as a purely administrative procedure to clear persons or property of legal or financial claims (as would be indicated by the fact that it is carried out by secular, not religious, officials).

Patrimony. The Mari legal documents employ, inter alia, the West Semitic term *naḥālum*, "to inherit or apportion," in referring to land transfers effected within a quasi-familial inheritance framework and not in the normal sales procedures. This type of transaction was inherently a part of the patriarchal tribal system, in which land ownership was not on an individual basis but was a patrimony (*niḫlatum* at Mari = Heb. *naḥalah*). The patrimony could not, theoretically, be transferred other than by inheritance, and, therefore, various means were contrived to circumvent this rule. The Israelites upheld a similar custom, where the patrimony was considered an inalienable possession, "the Israelites must remain bound each to the ancestral portion of his tribe" (Num. 36:7; cf. Lev. 25:13, 25–28; I Kings 21:1ff.; Ezek. 46:16–18).

The "Judge." The Mari documents employ several derivatives of the West Semitic root *špṭ* (verb: *šapāṭum*; participle: *šāpiṭum*; abstract nouns: *šipṭum* and *šapiṭūtum*), which may serve to elucidate the biblical cognates *shafoṭ, shofeṭ*, and *mishpaṭ*, usually translated as "judge" (verb and noun) and "norm or law," respectively. However, neither in the Mari documents nor in the Bible is the primary connotation of these terms judicial (for which the Akkadian employs *dayānu*); rather, they connote the much broader concept of governorship and rule. Thus, the *šāpiṭum* and his counterpart in the Book of Judges, the *shofeṭ*, were actually prominent tribesmen who had acquired an authority far exceeding that of a mere "justice" (and cf. the later Punic *suffetes*). The expression *šipṭam nadānum/šakānum*, met with in the Mari documents, corresponds to the bibical *sim mishpaṭ*, "lay down a ruling" (by a duly authorized person) employed in connection with the authoritative acts of a Moses, a Joshua, and a David (cf. Ex. 15:25; Josh. 24:25; I Sam. 30:25).

The Ban. A peculiar expression at Mari, *asakkam akālum* (lit. "to eat the *asakku*"), refers to the infringement of a taboo or the profaning of something revered, and may be a loan translation of some West Semitic concept paralleling that of the biblical ban (**ḥerem*). The *asakku* of a particular deity, and/or king, is frequently invoked in penalty clauses of contracts, in oaths, and in royal decrees as the sacrosanct and inviolable element. The closest parallel between Mari and the biblical practice is in the imposition of the ban on spoils of war (cf., e.g., the Achan incident, Josh. 7). However, whereas the biblical ban functioned on a purely religious plane (whatever was banned was exclusively God's), the taboo at Mari was applicable also on a human level, and its infringement there, though theoretically still considered a capital offense, was expiated by payment of a simple fine.

God of the Father. Among the central religious concepts of the Hebrew Patriarchs is the "God of the/my/your/his father," i.e., a personal, innominate deity, revered by subsequent offspring (cf. Gen. 28:13; 31:5, 29, 42, 53; 32:10; 49:25; Ex. 3:6, 15; 15:2, etc.). A direct parallel occurs in one Mari text, where the king of Qatna swears "by the name of the god of my father" (ARM, 5, 20:16; and cf. Gen. 31:53), and in another where Hammurapi (undoubtedly Yarim-Lim's successor as king of Aleppo) is appealed to "by the name of (the god) Adad, Lord of A[leppo] and the god of [your] father" (ARM, 10, 156:10–11). It is significant for the biblical comparison that both instances are in the west, as are all other references to such a deity outside Mari – in the slightly older Assyrian tablets from Cappadocia, the later texts from Ugarit (in Akkadian, Ugaritic, and Hurrian), and, again at Qatna, in temple inventories and in an Amarna letter sent from there.

[Abraham Malamat]

Prophetic Revelation. One phenomenon at Mari that has drawn the attention of biblicists is that of apostolic prophecy, in which individuals, male and female, deliver messages, often unsolicited, in the name of a god. Before the discovery of Mari the Hebrew phenomenon of apostolic prophecy had tended to be viewed in isolation, and often treated as a unique phenomenon.

At Mari we can distinguish between the intuitive manticism of the apostolic prophet, and the mechanical manticism of the diviner who examines the entrails of animals, primarily sheep livers, for divine messages and decisions. His learned arts are considered authoritative, as shown by the fact that he is regularly called upon to authenticate the message of the prophet, often an ecstatic. The Mari prophets are often professionals, but sometimes ordinary people. The professionals are (1) *āpilu* (masculine) *āpiltu* (feminine), "answerer," attested once as *aplû,* "the one answered"; (2) *muhhû* (masc.)/*muhhûtu* (fem.), "ecstatic"; (3) *assinnu*, a cultic functionary of a goddess, possibly a eunuch; (4) *qammatum*, etymology uncertain, perhaps referring to a distinctive hair style; (5) *na/ābû* (see *Emar), the least attested but closest etymologically to *nabi*, the most common biblical word for "prophet." Derived from the verb *nabû*, "call," this is either a passive participle, "the one called," or an active participle, "the caller." It is noteworthy that in our extant texts the *muhhûm* prophesies in the name of two gods in whose name the *āpilum* does not prophesy: Itur-Mer, the chief god of Mari, and the goddess Anunitum.

All the male and female divinities in whose name prophecies are delivered are high gods. Some of the goddesses, Belet-Ekallim; Anunitum, and Diritum, are manifestations of Ishtar, worshipped in Mari and its surroundings. Dagan is the god to whom the most prophecies (16) are attributed, followed by Hadad (7). Among the goddesses the most frequent is Anunitum.

In most instances the prophets spoke their words in those temples to which they were connected. This suggests that these prophets routinely prophesied in their temples, and that only a small number of their prophecies have reached us. In addition, it is likely that most of the prophecies directed to the king were uttered publicly in the royal palace and did not require reduction to writing, in contrast to those prophecies communicated from afar by royal officials, and accordingly, preserved for posterity. Only the activity of the *muhhûm* is attested outside Mari; at Andarig, Babylon, and Yamhad (Aleppo). Sometimes the prophets specify that they are god's messenger by use of the verb *šapāru*, "send," the semantic parallel of *šālaḥ,* regularly said of the Hebrew prophets and by them. In one case a prophet describes his mission by the verb *šūhuzu,* "instruct," indicating that he was instructed to deliver his message.

The Mari letters provide important descriptions of the circumstances in which prophecies were delivered. The writers describe the prophet's arrival, his standing up in order to deliver the prophecy and the like, as well as the verb used by the prophet to describe the message. What follows are some specific examples describing the delivery of the message arranged by prophetic category.

āpilum: He is described variously as speaking, as coming and speaking, standing up and speaking, and standing and shouting at length at the gate. Sometimes he comes to the palace gate and writes his message to the king; or he dictates his prophecy to a reliable scribe. Finally, he may come and claim that the god has sent a message to the king through him.

muhhûm: The method of delivery agrees in some respects with that of the *āpilum* but differs in others. Of the *muhhû* it is said simply that he delivers his message, or, he comes and delivers his message, or, he comes and speaks emotionally and forcefully. He calls out repeatedly. It must be noted that his activity is never described by the verb *namhû*, "to act crazed," "to become ecstatic," which demonstrates that the verb is never used of a professional ecstatic, but only of an *assinnum* or any ordinary man or woman overcome by ecstasy (see below). Prophecy described as being "given" (*têrtam nadānum*) is uttered by the *mahhû* and the *assinnum*, but never by the *āpilu*.

Ordinary people: A woman speaks her message; a married woman comes and says that Dagan sent her. Someone's daughter or serving girl becomes ecstatic (*namhû*) and speaks. An unidentified man becomes ecstatic and speaks.

Virtually all the prophecies that have reached us were uttered either in Mari when Zimri-Lim was away, or were uttered elsewhere in the kingdom when Zimri-Lim was at Mari. We may assume that ordinarily when the prophet spoke directly to the king his words were not committed to writing, and accordingly, are not preserved. At the same time it should be noted that all of the royal officers, commanders, and priests were obligated to provide the king with all information relevant to the welfare of the kingdom that reached him. Some of these functionaries were bound by oath to convey that information orally or in writing. Apparently, this is why they felt the need to convey the prophetic messages to the king. Some examples follow of the writers of the prophetic letters and the prophets involved:

1) *āpilum*: The writers of the letters hear a prophecy and relate it to the king, or send it in writing to the king. At times the *āpilum* himself sends his words in writing to the king either directly or through an intermediary. He may also write to the queen, who delivers the message in writing to the king.

2) *muhhûm*; In contrast to the *āpilum*, the *muhhûm* never writes the king, but he may speak to the king directly. In most cases someone who has heard his words writes them down and sends them to the king. The queen writes to the king about a prophecy that she has heard personally, or she relates that someone who heard the prophecy of the *muhhû* has written her about it. There are instances in which a priest or a governor hears a prophecy in a temple and writes it down and sends it to Bahdi-Lim, governor of Mari who rewrites it and sends it to Zimri-Lim.

3) *qammatum*: The *qammatu* comes to the (female) letter-writer who writes the king.

4) *assinnu*: Someone who heard his words writes the king, or, he comes to the queen and she writes the king.

5) The category of prophecy has not survived: Someone hears a prophecy and writes the king, as required by his position. Sometimes the prophet speaks to Queen Shibtum and she writes to Zimri-Lim. Finally, a female prophet turns to Itur-Asdu, a prefect of Zimri-Lim at Nahur who sends her words to Zimri-Lim.

There are instances in which a god speaks from the throat of the prophet in the first person:

1) *āpilum*: One formula describes how the *āpilum* quotes the words of the god: Thus (says) the *āpilum* of Shamash: Thus (says) Shamash; or: Abiya the *āpilum* of Addad, Lord of Halab (Aleppo), came to me and thus he said to me: Thus (says) Adad. In contrast, sometimes the *āpilu* speaks through the throat of the prophet: The *aplû* / *āpilu* of Dagan of Tutul stood up and said thus: "I shall gather you … I shall hand you over." This is true as well of the prophecies of Adad, Lord of Kalassu, and Adad, Lord of Halab. In both cases they speak from the throat of the *āpilu.*

Thus far, the Mari texts have not yet produced an Amos or a Hosea. Nonetheless, one finds the same kind of prophetic call for social justice known from the Bible. Letter A.1968 (Roberts, 166–69) reports that Abiya the *āpilum* of Halab sent to Zimri-Lim reminding him the king that it was the god who restored him to his ancestral throne and had given the king the weapons with which the god had fought the sea(!) It was the god who anointed Zimri-Lim so that none might stand in his way. The god then commands the king, "When someone who has a lawsuit calls to you saying, 'I have been wronged,' stand up and judge his lawsuit" (Akkadian: *dīnšu din*). Similarly, in A.1121+ A.2731 (Roberts, 172–77), an *āpilu* sends to the king: "When an oppressed man or woman calls out to you, 'render their judgment'" (Akkadian: *dīnšunu din*).

The very manifestation at Mari of intuitive divination – revealing a consciousness of prophetic mission among West Semitic tribes in a period predating Israelite prophecy by centuries – places the history and investigation of Near Eastern prophecy in general, and both earlier and later biblical prophecy in particular, in an entirely new perspective (see also *Prophets and Prophecy).

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MARIAMNE (Mariamme).

MARIAMNE I (60?–29 B.C.E.) was the daughter of *Alexander the son of Aristobulus, the granddaughter of John Hyrcanus, and the second wife of *Herod. Herod's aim in contracting this marriage was to establish his standing with the royal house. Herod was only betrothed to her, but not yet married, when in 40 B.C.E. he was forced to flee to Idumea from Antigonus, who was supported by the Parthians, and he had placed Mariamne together with the other women of the royal household in the fortress of Masada for safety. When Herod's sovereignty over Judea was ratified by the Roman senate on the recommendation of Mark Antony, he went in 37 B.C.E. to Samaria to marry Mariamne while his army was still besieging Jerusalem. Herod's love for Mariamne was unbounded, but it was met by hatred of him on her part, because Herod had put to death practically all the members of her family. Aware of Herod's feelings for her, she was bold enough to speak harshly to him, which others feared to do. In addition to this, however, her anger was directed against the rise of the new dynasty which had replaced her own – the *Hasmonean – and this caused her to act disdainfully toward the members of the royal Idumean family, particularly to Herod's mother and his sister Salome. As a result these two harbored a grudge against her and were malevolently provocative toward her, fabricating such libels about her as that she had sent her portrait to Antony in Egypt.

When Herod went to visit Antony he entrusted his wife to Joseph, the husband of Salome, ordering him to put Mariamne to death should Antony sentence him to death. Joseph informed Mariamne of this with the intention of showing her how great was the love Herod bore her. When Herod returned from his journey he discovered from Mariamne that Joseph had revealed this secret order to her. According to one account in Josephus, it was then that in his rage Herod ordered both Joseph and Mariamne to be put to death. A parallel account, however, is given by Josephus in the section dealing with Herod's journey to Octavius at Rhodes after the battle near Actium. The first story belongs to the period before 31 B.C.E., while the second is later. It seems that both stories were true, but that the execution of Mariamne took place in 29 B.C.E., and that on the previous occasion Herod did not go so far as to murder his wife. Mariamne bore Herod three sons and two daughters. One of the sons died in his youth. The other two, Alexander and Aristobulus, were executed on the order of their father in 7 B.C.E.

MARIAMNE II (d. circa 20 B.C.E.), the daughter of Simeon b. Boethus the high priest, was the third wife of Herod. She belonged to a priestly family from Alexandria. Her son, also named Herod, was designated to succeed to the throne after Antipater. It was because of this that although Mariamne II knew of Antipater's intentions to kill his father, she held her peace. As a result, when the plot of Antipater was discovered, Herod erased from his will the name of his son Herod II as his heir and sent Mariamne away.

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[Abraham Lebanon]

MARIANOS (sixth century), artist who – together with his son Ḥanina – designed the pictorial mosaic floor of the Bet Alfa (Ḥefẓi-Bah) synagogue near Beth-Shean. Their names also appear in an ornamental mosaic floor adjoining a synagogue at Beth-Shean. They are known only through these two mosaics. The inscription in Greek at Bet Alfa reads: "May the craftsmen who carried out this work, Marianos and his son Ḥanina, be held in remembrance." Below this inscription, a partially destroyed Aramaic legend dates the mosaic to the reign of the Byzantine emperor Justin (I), viz., 518–527 C.E. It is clear that, as local Galilean artists, they worked in the standard Greco-Oriental manner of the time, combining Eastern frontality, patterning, and lack of modeling and perspective, with Western costumes, composition, and mosaic technique. The similarity of their work to mosaics in other sixth-century synagogues of the Palestinian littoral indicates that they followed standard patterns. The style of their work appears to reflect rug designs. In the Bet Alfa mosaic the motifs of the border designs and of two of the three panels, that of the zodiac and of the holy symbols, are paralleled elsewhere (e.g., the sixth-century synagogue of Tiberias). The third panel located just inside the entrance to the prayer room depicts the sacrifice of Isaac, combining an artistic and symbolic complexity that belies the direct, seemingly naive manner in which the mosaic is worked. (See *Bet Alfa.)

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[Bernard Goldman]

°**MARIA THERESA** (1717–1780), empress of Austria from 1740, the first female heir to the Hapsburg throne as a result of the "Pragmatic Sanction" (1713). She continued the hostile policy of *Charles VI, her father, against the Jews. Her passionate hatred, nurtured from childhood, culminated in the expulsion of *Prague Jewry (1744), which she revoked in 1748 after international intervention on behalf of the Jews. She declared in 1777 that she knew "no worse plague for the state than this nation, because of its deceitfulness, its usury," and noted that the Jews "bring the state more harm than good." She granted audiences to Jews from behind a partition. In spite of this, she profited from the services of such individuals as Diego d'*Aguilar, Israel von *Hoenigsberg, and Wolf Wertheimer. Pursuing a mercantilist policy on the advice of Joseph von Sonnenfels she granted special privileges to Jews, allowing them to establish factories with the condition that gentile labor be employed. She forbade the baptism of Jewish children against the will of their parents, and in 1754 issued the *General Polizey Ordnung* ("statute") for Moravian Jewry based on the long-standing *Shai Takkanot*. In 1742 she confirmed the judicial autonomy of Lombardian Jewry (reconfirmed in 1752 and 1764), and in 1744 refrained from carrying out her intention of expelling the Jews from *Naples. In 1753 she permitted the reestablishment of a prayer room at *Usov (Maehrisch-Aussee) and in 1762 reconfirmed the privileges of Mantuan bankers. The unified toleration tax introduced in 1749 in Hungary was called "*malke-geld*" ("queen money"); it was fear for the loss of the revenue from this tax that induced the empress to prohibit the spread of blood libels in 1764. Despite her concern for ensuring the revenues of the kingdom, her hatred of the Jews found frequent expression. In 1746 she ordered the expulsion of Jews from Buda (Ofen; see *Budapest) and *Timisoara, and in 1774 she expelled the Jewish community from *Hodonin (Goeding), her private domain. In 1752 she had a census taken of the Jews living in Vienna, checked personally on them every three months lest their number multiply illegally, and in 1764 issued a new statute for Lower Austria. Her reign was characterized by the attempt to modernize and centralize the country. As a result of the annexation of the former Polish territories Galicia (1772) and Bukovina (1775), the Hapsburg monarchy became the country with the largest population of Jews.

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[Meir Lamed / Bjoern Siegel (2nd ed.)]

MARI BEN ISSUR (first half of the fourth century), Babylonian *amora*. Mari's father was a non-Jew who became converted to Judaism after his son was conceived and was henceforth known as Issur the Proselyte (BB 149a). According to Rashi (Bet. 16a, BM 73b) his mother was Rachel, the daughter of Samuel (Mar or Samuel Yarḥina'ah) who had been taken captive (Ket. 23a); Mari is therefore identical with the Mari b. Rachel and the "Mari, the son of Samuel's daughter" who are often mentioned in the Babylonian Talmud, and he was called after his mother because of his non-Jewish paternity. This view is upheld by Samuel b. Meir (Rashbam to BB 149a) but is contested by the *tosafot* (ad loc.) since according to the Talmud the daughters of Samuel were ransomed from captivity in Ereẓ Israel and married Simeon b. Abba, one after the other, all dying shortly after the marriage (Ket. 23a; TJ, Ket. 2:6, 26c). Moreover there is a chronological difficulty in identifying the daughter of Samuel, who died in 256, with the mother of Mari, who died in the second half of the fourth century. Issur, after his conversion to Judaism, became friendly with R. Safra (BM 31b) and particularly with Rava and under their influence Mari attended the *bet midrash* and devoted himself to study. Issur left Mari 12,000 *zuz* which he deposited with Rava (BB 149a). Mari had two sons: Mar Zutra and Adda Saba, contemporaries of Ashi (Kid. 65b).

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[David Joseph Bornstein]

MARIBOR (Ger. **Marburg**), town in Štajersko (Steiermark) province of Slovenia. Jews lived there from the Middle Ages, arriving from the north, mostly from the Rhineland area. They were moneylenders and artisans, known only by their first names, such as Meyer, Isaac, or Mosch (Moses). Among the moneylenders was an Abraham ben Jacob, and Rabbi ben Petaḥya Isserlein as well as his grandchildren are on record in the 14th century.

Jews lived in a ghetto from 1277; they had to wear a yellow badge. Rabbi Isserlein, locally mentioned as Israel Marburg, worked in Maribor some time in the 1430s. The Jewish physicians, Hayyim and Michael, are noted in documents. To arbitrate disputes between Jews and Christians, a special court was established, consisting of eight judges, four of them Jewish, presided over by a Christian. Later, however, a one-man office, called *Judenrichter* (Judge of the Jews), came into existence.

In 1465 the Jewish quarter was surrounded by a wall, parts of which still exist, called "Židovski stolp" (Jew's tower). It formed part of the city's fortifications. By the edict of Emperor Maximilian I of March 1496 all Jews were expelled. They migrated to Burgenland in the north or westward to Trieste and Istria, some even wandering to Poland. In 1501 the synagogue was converted into the Church of All Saints. Only in the second half of the 19th century were Jews re-admitted to Maribor. They were linked at first to the Graz community (Austria), later to that of Varaždin (Croatia). In the early 1930s about a hundred Jews were noted.

No Jews now live in Maribor. The synagogue was preserved and renovated and is used as a cultural center.

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[Zvi Loker (2nd ed.)]

MARIENBAD (Czech. **Mariánské Lázně**), town in W. Bohemia, Czech Republic. The first Jew settled in Marienbad in 1820; prior to this time Jews only went to Marienbad during the health cure season. The Jewish community grew, as did the town, during the 19th century, drawing its settlers mainly from the Drmouly (Duerrmaul; see *Chodová Planá) and *Lázně Kynžvart (Koenigswart) communities. Many foreigners also settled there. Instrumental in the development of Marienbad was the professor and balneologist Samuel Basch, whose statue was removed by the Nazis, and reerected in 1970. On the initiative of Prague notables a Jewish hospice with a prayer room was built in 1861, with the help of gifts from Jewish visitors. Another balneologist, Heinrich Enoch *Kisch, also lived in Marienbad, contributing greatly to its development. He was the head of the Jewish hospice and a street was named for him. In 1875 a congregation was constituted and in 1884 a synagogue was dedicated. Marienbad was very popular among Russian Jewry at the end of the 19th century. According to the municipal election statute (in force until 1918), no Jew could be elected to the municipal council. The community numbered 405 in 1930 (3.3% of the total population). In 1937 the great assembly (*Keneset ha-Gedolah*) of *Agudat Israel was held in Marienbad. The World Council of Agudat Israel was held there in 1947. At the time of the Sudeten crisis (1938) most of the community left the town; those who remained were arrested by the Nazis. The synagogue was burned down and its site is now a park. In 1945 a community was refounded. It was made up mostly of Jews from Carpatho-Russia who had opted to live in Czechoslovakia rather then in their country of birth. Some were demobilized soldiers of the Czechoslovak army in the Soviet Union. It numbered 196 in 1949. For a period of time there was a yeshivah for survivors of the Nazi persecutions in the town. In 1970 Marienbad was a center of Jewish life in Czechoslovakia as its Jewish old-age home (with a prayer room and a *kasher* restaurant) had about 100 residents from all over the country. The old age home and prayer room were closed in 1972.

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[Meir Lamed]

MARIJAMPOLE (Rus. **Mariampol**), city in S. Lithuania. In 1856 there were 2,853 Jews in Marijampole; in 1897 there were 3,268 (c. 49% of the total population); and on the eve of World War I, 5,000. Many of them were admitted to Russian boys' and girls' secondary schools. In addition to the traditional *ḥadarim*, a "reformed *ḥeder*," where Hebrew was the language of instruction, was established. During World War I the Jews were expelled and a number were imprisoned for allegedly collaborating with the enemy. In 1923 there were 2,545 Jews (21% of the total). The majority of them earned their livelihood from trading in agricultural produce and small industry. There were also some landowners and smallholders. The Jews of Marijampole engaged in extensive nationalist political and cultural activities. They established welfare and cultural institutions of a high standard, including the first Hebrew secondary school in Lithuania (1919). There was also a farm which provided training for *ḥalutzim* in the vicinity of the city. When the Germans occupied the city in 1941, the Jews were concentrated in a local ghetto together with other Jews from the surrounding area. Over 7,000 of them were massacred at the beginning of September 1941.

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[Dov Levin]

MARIL, HERMAN (1908–1986), U.S. painter. Born in Baltimore, Maryland, Maril painted seascapes and landscapes, often of the Cape Cod area. He studied at the Maryland Institute of Fine Arts, participated in federal works projects during the Depression, and painted during his World War II military service. He taught painting, drawing, and watercolor at the University of Maryland until his death, while exhibiting in galleries in New York, Washington, D.C., and Baltimore. He created lyrical works in oil, watercolor, and ink which referenced landscape, seascape, and sports subjects with various levels of modernist abstraction. Maril's careful, balanced compositions are characterized by rich, even sensuous color, large, simplified shapes and forms, and a flattened picture plane. The artist worked in the American Scene style in the 1930s but soon developed a personal idiom which incorporated the tenets of modernism: spare, broad swathes of color, emphasis on facture, flattened forms, and a purging of details. While working in the 1950s Maril never adopted an Abstract Expressionist style, but continued to develop his robust, individualized vision, indebted to the socially attuned work of such artists as Raphael Soyer, Ben Shahn, and Lyonel Feininger. His subjects range from Matisse-inspired goldfish in a bowl, to farmyards and skyscrapers. While working in New York in the 1930s, he met a number of other artists, including Soyer, Marsden Hartley, Mark Rothko, and Chaim Gross. In 1935, the art critic Olin Dows characterized Maril's abstract art as possessed of a personal style, despite his indebtedness to Picasso, Braque, and Mondrian, among other artists of the first quarter of the 20th century. While living in Cape Cod and Baltimore, Maril traveled to California, Mexico, Italy, and Spain. His acquaintance with Duncan Phillips, founder of the Phillips Collection in Washington, D.C., boosted the artist's success and visibility, garnering him exhibitions, WPA projects, including a post office mural in Scranton, Penn., and notice by Eleanor Roosevelt, who hung one of his paintings in the White House. With another nod to Matisse, Maril's work between the 1950s and his death prominently feature open windows and doors, which interweave exterior and interior on the surface of the work. The Phillips Collection owns 13 of Maril's works. Maryland University College in Adelphi, Md., has exhibited a permanent retrospective of Maril's work since 1986. Over 60 museums in the United States and Europe own examples of Maril's work, including the Baltimore Museum, the Cleveland Museum, the Corcoran Gallery, the National Museum of American Art, the San Francisco Museum, the Whitney Museum, and the Walters Art Museum.

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[Nancy Buchwald (2nd ed.)]

MARINI, SHABBETHAI ḤAYYIM (**Vita**; c. 1690–1748), rabbi, poet, and physician. Born in Padua, Marini studied there under Isaac Ḥayyim Cohen de *Cantarini, whom he succeeded in the rabbinate of the town. Marini was renowned for his sermons which fascinated not only members of the Jewish community but many educated Christians as well. He was also held in high esteem as a physician.

Marini's main work is a Hebrew translation of the first three books of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, based on the Italian paraphrase by Giovanni Andrea dell' Anguillara. Originally Marini planned a joint translation with Isaiah *Bassano. Marini, however, completed the translation alone, and it is not certain whether Bassano's 100 octaves are included in Marini's 850. The translation, entitled "*Shirei ha-Ḥalifot le-Oved*," was to have been published in Mantua, but Marini died when only one sheet had been printed. The original manuscript of the translation is in the municipal library in Mantua (Ms. 77 Comunità Israelitica). Others are: Parma, de Rossi, Ms. 1110 Budapest, Kaufmann Ms. 547; British Museum, Ms. Add, 26916, Vienna, Ms. 91. A longer excerpt of the translation was published in S.D. Luzzatto's letters.

Marini also wrote numerous poems for special occasions, including an elegy on the death of his teacher Cantarini and a wedding poem which could be read either as Italian or as Hebrew. The Mantua and the Vienna manuscripts of the Ovid translation contain 34 of Marini's poems (mostly sonnets), and a fragment of his poetic paraphrase of *Pirkei Avot. Isaiah Romanin wrote an elegy on Marini's death (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Mich. 439, fol. 376).

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[Jefim (Hayyim) Schirmann]

MARINOFF, JACOB (1869–1964), Yiddish poet, editor, and publisher. Born in Russia, he received a traditional *kheyder* education. He immigrated to England, then the U.S. and lived briefly in Denver, where he worked with *Yehoash and Dr. Chaim Spivak to found the Jewish Tuberculosis Sanitorium. From 1895 he contributed poems to Yiddish periodicals. In 1909 he and Joseph *Tunkel cofounded *Der Groyser Kundes*, a journal of political and social satire, internationally important also as a watchdog of the Yiddish press and of Jewish institutions. Among the contributors to the weekly were *Sholem Aleichem, Yehoash, A. *Reisen, M.L. *Halpern, and M. *Nadir, as well as cartoonists Z. Maud, S. Raskin, and L. Israel (Lola). Marinoff wrote three volumes of verse: *Shpil un Kamf* ("Play and Struggle," 1938), *Mir Veln Zayn* ("We Want to Be," 1944) and *Shtark un munter* ("Strong and Hearty,"1947) and coedited a collection, *Humor un Satire* ("Humor and Satire," 1912, from *Der Groyser Kundes*).

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[Sol Liptzin / Edward Portnoy (2nd ed.)]

°**MARITAIN, JACQUES** (1882–1973) and **RAÏSSA** (1883–1960), French writers who took a positive stand on the Jewish issue during the Nazi era. Raïssa Oumansoff, a Russian Jew, was taken to Paris as a child, and there in 1904 she married Jacques Maritain, a Protestant by birth and a former disciple of Henri *Bergson, who became one of the foremost protagonists of neo-Thomism. Having lost touch with their respective religions, the Maritains became Catholics in 1905. These experiences were sensitively narrated by Raïssa Maritain in *Les grandes amitiés* (1941; *We Have Been Friends Together*, 1942). The conversion, which pained and scandalized their families, paradoxically induced the young couple to meditate on the Jewish destiny. Raïssa's poems, essays, and diary reveal a very pure, mystical approach, the source of which she described: "My maternal grandfather was a Ḥasid, and my father's father was a great ascetic sage. This is my inheritance." Through Raïssa, Jacques Maritain learned that "inspiration and spiritual sources of life come from the people chosen by God." When the times demanded that he speak up for the Jews, the philosopher became the man of action. From the moment the Nazi persecutions began, Maritain spoke out and he continued to champion the Jews while an exile in the U.S. during World War II, as French ambassador to the Vatican after 1945, and following the establishment of the State of Israel. Jacques Maritain's many articles and statements on the subject (1926–61) were collected by the author in a single volume, *Le Mystère d'Israël* (1965).

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[Brother Marcel-Jacques Dubois O.P.]

MARITIME LAW. The Talmud discusses many laws concerning shipping, and sea and river journeys – such as the sale of ships, instances of shipwreck salvage and rescue, rules of passage at sea, lading and charter agreements, and also various details of the laws of the Sabbath and ritual purity applicable to ships. Such laws do not, however, serve to create a distinct branch of maritime law proper, since they are interwoven into the wider principles of the laws of *contract and *damages (contrary to the view expressed by J. Dauvillier, in *Revue Internationale des Droits de l'Antiquité*, 6 (1959), 33–63). Although in this field special shipping customs, if any, are followed, this is no more than an application of the general principle of contract law relating to local or trade customs (Rashba, Resp., vol. 2, no. 268).

With regard to the sale of ships, as with other sales, reference is made to accessories which are customarily sold with the ship and others which are considered as being independent and must therefore be purchased separately (BB 5:1). It is also stated that it was the practice of shipowners to receive not only the hire for the ship but also payment for its loss if shipwrecked (BM 70a). On arrangements for sea traffic it is stated: "Where two boats sailing on a river meet; if both attempt to pass simultaneously, they will sink; whereas if one makes way for the other, both can pass [without mishap]. Likewise if two camels met each other while on the ascent of Beth-Horon [which is a narrow pass; see Josh. 10:10 and 11]… if one is laden and the other unladen, the latter should give way to the former; if one is nearer [to its destination] than the other, the former should give way to the latter. If both are equally near or far, make a compromise between them, and the one [to go through] must compensate the other" (Tosef. BK 2:10; Sanh. 32b). If a person hires a ship for carriage of cargo and it sinks in mid-journey, he must pay for half the journey; if, however, he hires a specific ship for shipping a specific cargo, he loses the hire if he has already paid for it but is not obliged to pay if he has not already done so (BM 79b and Tos.). In a case where a man hired boatmen to deliver goods, stipulating that they guarantee against any accident (see **Ones*) occurring on the way, and the river dried up during the journey, it was held that the boatmen had not guaranteed against this possibility since such an accident was not foreseeable (Git. 73a).

Various *halakhot* were decided with regard to shipwrecks. Thus when a boat is in danger of sinking and part of the cargo is thrown overboard to lighten the vessel, the resulting loss is not apportioned equally amongst the cargo owners, nor is it calculated according to the value of the goods of each owner, but the loss is apportioned according to the weight of the cargo of each owner – provided that this does not conflict with local maritime customs (BK 116b). In one instance a donkey being transported threatened to sink the boat and was thrown overboard, whereupon it was decided that no compensation was payable to its owner, since the deed was justified on the grounds of self-defense, the donkey being considered as pursuing with intent to kill (BK 117b). An interesting *halakhah* concerning maritime insurance is related: "The sailors can stipulate that whoever loses a ship shall get another one, but if the boat was lost due to his own negligence or if he sailed to a place to which boats would not normally sail, he would not be provided with another boat." The same rule applies also to carriers on land (Tosef. BM 11:26; BK 116b).

In the post-talmudic period many responsa dealt with trade customs (see e.g., Rashba, Resp., vol. 2, no. 268), some of them marine customs. Solomon b. Abraham *Adret (Rashba), who lived in Barcelona, where the well-known collection of marine customs *Consulat de Mar* was compiled, records the custom of depositing goods with a merchant traveling by sea for the latter to trade therein at the risk of the depositor – leaving the sailor exempt from liability for accident (his resp. vol. 2, no. 325; vol. 1, no. 930 and cf. no. 924). Also mentioned is the custom of paying the full wages, even if the journey for which the employee was hired was not completed due to accident overtaking the employer (Rashba, Resp., vol. 6, no. 224).

In the State of Israel maritime law is based on Israeli legislation, conforming with the law of the maritime nations in those matters and also with Ottoman-French laws and English law.

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[Shalom Albeck]

MARIX, ADOLPH (1848–1919), U.S. naval officer. Born in Germany he was taken to the United States by his father, Henry Marix, who was an official translator to the U.S. Treasury. Adolph Marix was appointed to the U.S. Naval Academy at Annapolis and in 1872 joined the judge advocate-general's department. He commanded a number of ships between 1894 and 1898 including the U.S.S. *Maine* until shortly before its mysterious sinking in the Bay of Havana. Marix was appointed judge advocate in the court of enquiry into the sinking, and his findings led to the U.S. declaration of war on Spain. Subsequently, he was president of the navy board which experimented in the use of submarines and in 1908 was promoted to rear admiral, the first Jew to attain that rank.

MARK, BERNARD (**Berl**; 1908–1966), scholar and historian. Born in Lomza, Mark studied law at Warsaw University. Prior to World War II, he published articles in Polish and Yiddish on literary history and edited left-wing periodicals. Between 1932 and 1939, he published a two-volume work in Yiddish entitled *Geshikhte fun di Sotsiale Bavegungen in Poyln* ("The History of Social Movements in Poland," 1938–39). During World War II, he lived in the Soviet Union, where he was active on the Jewish*Anti-Fascist Committee, and in the Związek Patriotów Polskich ("Polish Patriots' Union"). In Moscow he published his first work on Jewish anti-Nazi uprisings in Poland. Upon returning to Poland (1946), he published a series of essays and collections of documents on Holocaust subjects. In 1949, Mark was appointed director of the *Jewish Historical Institute in Warsaw, and editor of its *Bulletin* and *Bleter far Geshikhte*. In 1954 he was appointed an associate professor. Mark visited Israel in 1957 and lectured at the Second World Congress of Jewish Studies. He strengthened the ties between the Jewish Historical Institute and research institutions in Israel, e.g., *Yad Vashem and the Central Archives for the History of the Jewish People (Jerusalem). His main works are *The Extermination and the Resistance of the Polish Jews During the Period 1939–1944* (1955); *Dokumenten un Materialen vegn Oyfshtand in Varshever Geto* (1953); *Der Oyfshtand in Varshever Geto* (1963), translated into Polish, German, and Dutch; *Di Yidishe Tragedye in der Poylisher Literatur* (1950); *Di Umgekumene Shrayber fun di Getos un Lagern un Zeyere Verk* (1954); *Der Oyfshtand in Byalistoker Geto* (1953^2); and *Di Geshikhte fun Yidn in Poyln* (1957). **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** A. Grabski, *Dzialalnosc komunistow wsrod Zydow w Polsce, 1944–1949* (2004), index.

[Nathan Eck]

MARK, JULIUS (1898–2002), U.S. Reform rabbi. Mark was born in Cincinnati, where he earned his B.A. from the University of Cincinnati in 1921 and was ordained at Hebrew Union College in 1922. He served as rabbi of Temple Beth El in South Bend, Ind. (1922–26), and the Vine Street Temple in Nashville, Tenn. (1926–48) before becoming rabbi of New York City's Temple Emanu-El. Under Mark's leadership, Emanu-El more than doubled in size (to 3,200 families) and grew to become the largest Jewish congregation in the world. During World War II, he joined the U.S. Navy and served for several years as Jewish chaplain to the Pacific Fleet, rising to the rank of lieutenant commander on the staff of Fleet Admiral Chester W. Nimitz. Returning to civilian life, he served on the executive committee of the United States Commission for UNESCO; as a life trustee of the Federation of Jewish Philanthropies; on the boards of the National Conference of Christian and Jews and the Anti-Defamation League; as honorary vice chairman of the Lighthouse for the Blind; and as honorary president of the American Jewish Encyclopedia Society. He also joined with the clergy of neighboring churches to work for social justice in New York City.

In the service of Reform Judaism, Mark was a member of the governing board of the World Union for Progressive Judaism, a member of the Executive Board of the *Central Conference of American Rabbis, and chairman of the CCAR-UAHC Commission on Justice and Peace. He also served two terms as president of the *Synagogue Council of America. For his many contributions, he received the Human Relations Award of the Methodist Church (1963); the Gold Medallion for Courageous Leadership of the National Conference of Christian and Jews (1966); Clergyman of the Year Award from Religious Heritage of America (1969); and repeated recognition from the State of Israel Bonds Organization (1967, 1968, 1970). Five colleges and universities awarded him honorary doctorates in law, divinity, humanities, sacred theology, and humane letters. Among the books Mark wrote was *Reaching For the Moon* (1959). Rabbi Ronald B. Sobel and Sidney Wallach edited a collection of papers entitled *Justice, Justice Shalt Thou Pursue* on the occasion of Mark's 75th birthday, as an expression of gratitude of the Jewish Conciliation Board with whose services and leadership Mark has long been identified.

[Bezalel Gordon (2nd ed.)]

MARK, MARY ELLEN (1940–), U.S. photographer. After growing up in suburban Philadelphia, Mark earned a bachelor's degree in painting and art history but decided she was not good enough to be a painter. She then earned a master's in photojournalism at the University of Pennsylvania, having chosen photography almost at random, she said, and falling in love with the camera the moment she held one in her hand. "From the very first night, that was it," she said. "I became obsessed by it. I knew immediately it would be my life's work. I knew I had a chance of being good at it." The camera proved her ticket to independence.

After traveling around Europe, Mark sought work in the late 1960s shooting film stills for Hollywood productions. It led to her first large-scale project. While shooting at the Oregon State Mental Hospital in 1973 for *One Flew Over the Cuckoo's Nest*, she befriended the hospital's director and was permitted to spend time living with and shooting the women of the institute's maximum security Ward 81 in 1976. This series of photographs is sentimental and disturbing at the same time, and fulfilled Mark's goal to portray the lives of "people who haven't had the best breaks in society." The book *Ward 81* was published in 1979. "For years I'd planned to go live in a mental hospital," she said. "I wanted to see if I could feel something of what it was like to be set aside from society." At her own expense, she lived in the state's only locked ward for women. "I think I was interested because my father had several nervous breakdowns and was hospitalized several times," she said.

With a special affinity for working with women, she turned her attention to the brothels of Bombay, India, in 1978. She encountered violent resistance from some of her would-be subjects, but she befriended a few, leading to a series of color photographs published as *Falkland Road: Prostitutes of Bombay* in 1981. She said the book "was meant almost as a metaphor for entrapment, for how difficult it is to be a woman." She did a series on Mother Teresa of Calcutta for *Life* magazine, published as *Photographs of Mother Teresa's Missions of Charity in Calcutta* in 1985 as well as a series depicting street children in Seattle who turn to prostitution and drugs as a means of getting by. That work led to the film *Streetwise*, directed and photographed by her husband, Martin Bell; it was nominated for an Academy Award. It was in Seattle, in 1983, that she befriended a 12-year-old, Erin Blackwell ("Tiny"), a child prostitute whom she photographed over the years as Tiny had five children with five different fathers. She first photographed the Damm family of Los Angeles, a husband, wife, and two children, in 1987, after they had been thrown out of a shelter and were living in their car. In one picture, the mother and father sprawl in the front seat of the car as the children peer anxiously out the back window. In 1994, with two more children and the parents seriously into drugs, the family was again Mark's subject, squatting in squalor but still a family, at a rundown ranch in Llano, California. In October 2003 she published *Twins*, featuring 20 × 24 Polaroid prints of twins.

Mark published 14 books and won many awards, including the second Cornell Capa Award of the International Center of Photography, and her images have been shown worldwide.

[Stewart Kampel (2nd ed.)]

MARK, YUDEL (1897–1975), Yiddish educator, philologist, and author. Born in Palanga, Lithuania, Mark became active in Jewish politics while studying at Petrograd University (1915–18). In Libava (Liepaja), Latvia, he organized the local branch of the Yidishe *Folkspartei, later becoming the secretary-general of the Jewish National Council in Lithuania (1923), and secretary and vice president of the Folkspartei in the same country. From 1930 to 1934 he was the editor of the daily *Folksblat*. Mark was the founder (1920) and principal of the Yiddish Real-Gimnazye of Vilkomir (Ukmerge), the first of its kind in Lithuania, and between 1927 and 1930, taught Yiddish at various schools and seminaries. After settling in the U.S. in 1936, Mark continued his activity in the field of Yiddish education. He settled in Israel (Jerusalem) in 1970.

Mark's first literary publication appeared in the Kovno (Kaunas) daily *Nayes* (1921), and he subsequently contributed extensively to a wide range of Yiddish political, literary, and educational publications, such as *Eynheytlekhe Folkshul* (1922). In addition he edited various Yiddish periodicals, His books include a Yiddish school grammar, *Shul-Gramatik* (1922), various textbooks on Yiddish language teaching, Yiddish literature, Jewish history (*Der Yidishe Poyps*, c. 1947; *Dovid ha-Reuveni un Shloyme Molkho*, 1941), biography, as well as children's books in Yiddish. Among his translations into Yiddish are works of Thomas Mann and Erich Maria Remarque. He also edited various books, notably the *Groyser Verterbukh fun der Yidisher Shprakh* (2 vols., 1961) jointly with Judah A. *Joffe; further volumes were in preparation (1971).

Among Mark's attainments as a linguist are his numerous studies on Yiddish grammar and style, on the Hebrew-Aramaic component in the Yiddish language, and his stylistic analyses of the Yiddish authors. He was also the editor of the *YIVO's *Yidishe Shprakh* (1941–68).

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[Mordkhe Schaechter]

MARKAH (Heb. מרקה; fl. second half of fourth century C.E.), well known and venerated Samaritan poet who wrote in Aramaic. The great esteem in which he is held by Samaritan tradition is shown by his epithet "Founder of Wisdom" in the Samaritan chronicle *Tolidah* or "Fountain of Wisdom" (Yanbūʿ al-Ḥikma) in that of *Abu al-Fat and by the legend that the name Markah (מרקה) was bestowed upon him because it has the same numerical value as the name Moses (משה), which no other human being is allowed to bear. Actually, Markah is an Aramaized form of the Latin name Marcus. According to the Samaritan chronicles, he was the son of the liturgical poet Amram Darah whose byname, Tūta, is explained as a development of the Latin name Titus.

Like his father, Markah wrote liturgical poems, part of which belong to the earliest portions of the Samaritan common prayer book, the *Defter* (see *Samaritan Language and Literature). His style is more elaborate than that of his father, and none of his poems is composed in the style of "Verses of Durran" (see *Amram Darah). The verses of his poems are arranged in an alphabetic acrostic and the number of lines in each verse is nearly always equal. Once his name is contained in the acrostic of the first four verses of a poem. Through his terse and polished style, he succeeds in conveying the fiery religious feelings of his soul. That is why many of his expressions became fixed figures of speech used by later Samaritan poets.

The work that established Markah's fame and gained him the epithet "Founder of Wisdom" is his great midrashic composition *Meimar* or *Tevat Markah*, a compendium of exegetical and theological teachings. It is divided into six books, the main subjects of which are the wonders revealed to Israel from Moses' call to Israel's victory at the Red Sea; a commentary on Exodus 15; a commentary on Deuteronomy 27:9–26; the commission of Joshua and instructions to various classes of the people, whereby priests are witnesses to Israel and to themselves; a commentary on Deuteronomy 32; Moses' death; speculations about the 22 letters of the alphabet. There are many thoughts and figures of speech shared by this work with Markah's poems. All extant manuscripts, the earliest dating from the 14th century, contain recognizable later additions.

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[Ayala Loewenstamm]

MARKEL, LESTER (1894–1977), U.S. journalist who was responsible for changing the nature of the Sunday newspaper. Born in New York City and trained at Columbia University's School of Journalism, Markel was from 1923 to 1964 Sunday editor of the *New York Times*. It was he who conceived the idea of separate Sunday sections, which would bring the reader the news in greater depth than was possible in daily papers. He was personally responsible for the *Times Magazine*, the "Book Review," and the "Arts and Leisure" section. In 1935 he instituted the "News of the Week in Review," a report in perspective of the week's events, which won Markel and the *New York Times* a Pulitzer Prize. Markel wrote and lectured widely. In 1951, he founded the International Press Institute to foster the free flow of information and freedom of the press in general. In 1964, he became associate editor of the *New York Times* and head of its department of public affairs. He also started a television series in which he and others discussed the news in depth.

[Stewart Kampel]

MARKEL-MOSESSOHN, MIRIAM (1839–1920), Hebraist, translator, and journalist, who exercised a profound influence on the *maskilim* of her day, particularly Judah Leib *Gordon (1831–1892) who dedicated to her "Koẓo shel Yod" (The Tip of the Yod), his 1876 poem satirizing the treatment of women in traditional Jewish society. Born in Volkovyshki (Vilkaviskis), Lithuania, to Ḥayyah and Shimon Wierzbolowki, an affluent merchant, Markel-Mosessohn underwent rigorous training in Hebrew language and literature from an early age with the assistance of private tutors and also received a thorough grounding in secular subjects, including German and French.

Miriam married Anshel Markel-Mosessohn (1844–1903) when she was 24 and the groom 19. The couple, whose 40-year marriage was childless, shared a love for Hebrew and was committed to its revival. Anshel supported his wife's literary efforts, granting her freedom and financial backing to travel to pursue the publication of her work. Markel-Mosessohn corresponded briefly with Abraham *Mapu and maintained a 20-year professional and personal correspondence with Gordon, although the two never met. With Gordon's support, the first volume of Markel-Mosessohn's Hebrew rendition of the German history book *Die Juden und die Kreuzfahrer unter Richard Lowenherz* by Eugen Rispart appeared in 1869 as *Ha-Yehudim be-Angliyah*. The second volume of the translation was not published until 1895, apparently because of Markel-Mosessohn's poor health and financial problems. In 1887 she briefly became the Viennese correspondent for *Ha-Meliẓ*, the newspaper Gordon edited; however, after publishing only four articles, she abruptly renounced authorship, claiming "my desire and my ability are not one and the same."

Markel-Mosessohn succeeded in entering the rarefied, male world of Hebrew letters during the very period in which the language was being revived, but the strict pronouncement and observance of gender differentiations by the leaders of the **Haskalah*, distinctions which Markel-Mosessohn herself accepted, precluded her from obtaining the status of *maskil*. Copies of Markel-Mosessohn's letters to Judah Leib Gordon and other literary papers are housed at the Jewish National and University Library Archive, Hebrew University of Jerusalem.

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[Carole B. Balin (2nd ed.)]

MARKET DAYS AND FAIRS. The nomadic nature of early medieval trade and the wide-ranging contacts of Jewish merchants throughout the period made Jewish traders early and eager participants in market days and fairs, in spite of the religious and social problems attendant on such participation, especially in Christian countries. As merchants were prominent in European Jewish leadership and *autonomy, fairs were suitable meeting places for deliberating Jewish affairs. Around 825 Archbishop *Agobard complained that the day on which the *Lyons weekly market was held had been changed from Saturday to suit Jewish traders. In the following three centuries there are many references in both Hebrew and Christian sources to Jews attending fairs, particularly in cities of the Rhineland such as Cologne and *Treves. *Gershom b. Judah mentions a fair at a sea or river port during which the assembled merchants from various communities enacted an ordinance. *Champagne and *Provence, believed to be where the fairs began, had many Jewish communities, whose members in all probability participated in them. Jewish attendance at markets and fairs decreased after the era of the *Crusades when moneylending and pawnbroking became the major source of Jewish livelihood in northwestern and central Europe. In other areas, where the trade in goods formed an important Jewish occupation, their attendance continued.

The 16th century, in Eastern and subsequently in central Europe, witnessed the creation of economic and social patterns adapted to the attendance of large numbers of Jews of various fairs and markets. In *Poland-Lithuania it was expressly forbidden to fix the dates of fairs and markets on the Sabbath or Jewish holidays. The Jews' commercial rights at fairs and markets were the only ones not challenged by competing Christian merchants. When persecutions in 1539–40 resulted in Lithuanian Jews ceasing to travel to fairs, the nobility appealed to the king to suppress the persecutions at once. One of the most important fairs was the "Gromnice" (February 2), when many Jewish merchants and heads of communities convened at *Lublin; much trade was done and debts and taxes were gathered. Others fairs took place in *Brody, *Gniezno, *Gdansk (Danzig), *Torun, *Lvov, and *Cracow, and there were innumerable lesser ones as well. As the fairs bore the names of their patron Christian saints, these became common usage and were inscribed on official and business documents. The distinctive creation of Polish Jewry, the *Councils of the Lands, was an outgrowth of a *bet din* which officiated at the Lublin fairs. Meetings of the councils took place there regularly, twice a year, during the 16-day spring and summer fairs; sometimes they were held during the *Jaroslaw fairs in the fall. The Lithuanian Council also convened during fairs, and common sessions took place at *Leczna. One of the tasks of the Councils was regulating the nomination of a *parnas and *dayyan for the duration of the fair. As both positions carried wide powers, they had to be judiciously distributed among the contending lands. In Poland-Lithuania the social aspects of the fair were as significant as the economic and communal leadership ones. N.N. *Hannover described a mid-17th-century fair: "the head of the yeshivah journeyed with all his pupils to the fair on market day … and at each fair there were hundreds of heads of yeshivot, thousands of pupils, and tens of thousands of youths and Jewish merchants.… And whoever had an eligible son or daughter went to the fair and arranged a match, for everyone could find one to his liking. And at every fair hundreds of matches were made, and sometimes thousands; and the children of Israel, men and women, wore kingly vestments at the fair" (*Yeven Meẓulah*, 1966, 86f.). Meir b. Gedaliah (Maharam) of *Lublin (1558–1616) described another aspect of Jewish life at the fairs: "It is a regular custom that at every fair a place is determined as a synagogue for daily prayer, and every Sabbath scholars and yeshivah students and leaders of the land and people congregate there and read the Torah" (Responsa, 84).

Jews had been expelled from Breslau in 1455, but they were never absent from the fairs. In 1537 the municipal council opposed an attempt by Ferdinand I to levy a special poll tax on Jewish visitors to the fairs. A century later, at the request of the textile guilds and the imperial authorities and despite the opposition of the local merchants, Jews were permitted to be in the town a few days before and after the fairs. In 1697 the authorities divided the Jews into five categories whose duration of stay depended on the scope of their economic transactions.

Jews attended the fairs as a corporation of merchants based on their communities or countries of origin. These corporations were also responsible for nominating their officials: a *parnas ha-yarid*, in charge of keeping order and representing the fair corporations; a *dayyan ha-yarid*, who held regular judicial authority and was empowered by the chief rabbi of the land (first mentioned in 1698); supervisor of ritual law; and *shames* (*shammash*), the distinctive Breslau functionary, who was permitted to remain between the fairs and guarantee the continuity of business transactions. First mentioned in 1673, he was elected by his *Judenschaft*, authorized by the Councils of the Lands, recognized by the Breslau municipal council, sworn in, and allowed to wear a sword. In 1696 there were ten *shamosim* at the fair, one each for the four Polish lands and one for Bohemia, *Moravia, *Glogau, *Posen, *Leczno, and *Zuelz. The number of Jewish visitors at a fair in 1685 was 332, and they practically monopolized Polish trade, particularly in textiles, silks, spices, tobacco, and above all in furs.

Jewish attendance at fairs within the Austrian Empire was encouraged by Emperor *Maximilian I, who in 1494 permitted Jews to attend markets in the imperial cities from which they had been expelled on payment of three florins *Mautgeld* ("body tax"; see *Leibzoll). This right, confirmed by his successors in return for extraordinary taxation, became the legal cornerstone of Jewish economic activity. *Joseph II eventually abolished the *Leibzoll* and declared all markets open to Jews (1782/83). In practice, however, many restrictions remained in force until 1848. At *Brno, for example, the Jews were allowed to enter through only one gate (*Judentor*) at fixed hours, were restricted to one market, and forced to lodge in one inn, the

Neue Welt in the Krona suburb. They struggled for many years for the right to erect stalls. Complaints by Christian merchants against underselling and inferior wares were continuously raised, and peddlers (called *pinkerljuden*) were particularly harassed at the Brno fairs. The Council of Moravia regulated the supervision of dietary laws at the fairs, distributed stalls before the fairs commenced, and prohibited the Jews from being at the fair on the day before it opened. There was a tendency to establish Jewish communities near locations of major and minor markets and fairs.

There were a great many fairs in central Europe. Many Jewish calendars recorded dates of fairs, which Jews attended as peddlers who both bought and sold wares, as merchants buying goods wholesale for retailing, and sometimes as popular performers like jugglers. Registers of the special scales for weighing feathers at the *Linz markets of 1594 and 1603 show that there were 131 Jewish traders in feathers and only 12 Christian dealers. Other important commodities were leather, skins, old clothes, and new clothes and textiles imported from Bohemia. In 1714 Bohemian "*Federjuden*" had to have special permission to attend because of the plague. About 300 Jews dealing in similar articles attended the *Krems fairs annually; in 1701 the Moravian Jews boycotted it because a Jew had been arrested as a thief.

The records of Zurzach fairs in Switzerland mention the *Judengeleit* (*Leibzoll*), a tax of between 7 and 19 batzen according to age and wealth which was a considerable source of income. The number of Jews attending grew from about 150 in the mid-18th century to about 200 at its close; most foreign Jews were from Gailingen, *Hohenems, and communities in *Baden, *Alsace, and Swabia, which were composed primarily of peddlers and merchants. More than three-quarters of the households of the nearby communities of Endingen and *Lengnau attended these fairs. Although Jews were not tolerated throughout most of Switzerland, they were allowed and encouraged to attend the fairs, particularly the *livestock merchants. In France in 1741, the controller-general of finances wrote a circular letter to all provincial governors asking them about the commercial activities of the Jews. Unanimously they replied that Jews should not be excluded from the fairs and markets because they helped keep down prices. The monopolistic guilds were forcing up prices, while the outside merchants, who came for the duration of the fair, forced them down. An endemic source of strife and litigation between Jews and local merchants and the authorities was the constant attempt to sell outside the market, or not on market days, or on the way to or back from markets, or to remain in the area after the fair was over. In Italy Jews were to be found at the major fairs and often participated in the festive processions which inaugurated them. The community of *Mantua bought and erected stalls at the fairgrounds for its members; there was an unsuccessful attempt to prohibit their use in 1740. A Jewish community had the right to tax Jewish merchants attending the fairs for the use of communal amenities. In 1720 the Jewish communities of the duchy of Parma tried, without success, to tax Jewish merchants attending the Parma city fairs (where there was no community). A long dispute (1748–51) between the community of *Verona, which had attempted to exact a business tax from foreign visitors at the fairs, and the communities of Mantua, *Ferrara, and *Modena ended with rabbinical authorities in Italy and Germany deciding against Verona's action.

European rulers were aware of the economic benefits resulting from Jewish participation in fairs. Joachim II, elector of *Brandenburg, expelled the Jews in 1510 but subsequently allowed them to attend fairs. After the 1573 expulsion from Brandenburg, Posen Jews regularly received permission to attend the *Frankfurt on the Oder fairs. Elector Frederick William (1640–88) encouraged Polish Jews to attend fairs in his realm long before he admitted 50 Jewish families from Austria to settle and trade freely throughout his lands (1671). Though Jews were rigorously excluded from *Saxony, the internationally important *Leipzig fairs needed Jews to participate in large numbers. Between 1675 and 1764, 82,000 Jews attended the biannual *Leipzig markets; their number fluctuated according to political and economic factors, but grew steadily from about 400 a year in the mid-17th century to twice that amount by the end of the century and continued to grow; they generally constituted about one-fifth of the total attendance. Their number increased from an average of 1,073 in the 1780s to 3,370 in the 1800s and 6,444 in the 1830s, when they formed around one-quarter of the participants. Between 1675 and 1764 the majority of Jewish participants came from Central Europe, though the number of East European Jews was increasing slowly, eventually amounting to one-third of the total Jewish attendance in the early 19th century. The attendance lists of the fairs offer a true mirror of 18th-century Jewish society. Members of the leading families attended (see *Bacharach, *Fraenkel, *Gomperz, *Ephraim, Itzig families, and Samuel *Oppenheimer, David *Oppenheim, and Samson *Wertheimer). *Glueckel of Hameln recorded her husband's transactions at fairs with Jost *Liebmann, the Court Jew. The leading *Court Jews of the day, Alexander David, Behrend *Lehmann, and Leffmann *Behrends, were also present. Jewish visitors to Leipzig congregated in the Bruehl, which became in effect a Jewish quarter for the duration of the fairs. The *Landrabbiner* of *Anhalt had rabbinical jurisdiction there and those who died at the fair were buried in Dessau. At Leipzig Jews bought wares worth about half a million thalers annually between 1773 and 1775, primarily textiles. Officially they sold wares worth one-fifth of that amount, but the sales figure was not the true one, for the "sales tax" (*Wagegold*) was 1% of all sales; it was not until 1813 that it was reduced to 0.5%, the same as the Christian tax. In addition the city exacted a high entrance fee. "*Volljuden*," who did not enjoy special privileges and protection and were the majority, paid six thalers each and three for a wife or servant. Jewelers paid eight thalers and cooks (*Judenkoch*) ten thalers and 12 groschen.

In the *Pale of Settlement and Austrian Galicia the market square and the regular market days became the center of the *shtetl* and the heart of its economy. To a large extent the economic and social life in these townships was regulated by buying from peasants and selling to them on the fixed market day in the appointed place; taverns were therefore erected around the market square. Jewish emigrants carried over this type of market (with some changes) into large cities in Western Europe; an example is the Petticoat Lane Market in London.

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[Henry Wasserman]

MARKISH, PERETZ (1895–1952), Soviet Yiddish poet, novelist, and playwright. Born in Volhynia, Markish received a traditional Jewish education and prepared for entrance to a university. He began writing Russian poetry at age 15 and Yiddish poetry in 1918–19, when he published in the Kiev journals *Eygns* and *Baginen*, whose contributing writers and editors broke with past models of artistic representation to craft a new revolutionary Jewish culture. Markish stood out among other Yiddish poets, like David *Hofstein and Leib *Kvitko, for his creative admixture of German expressionism and Russian futurism. His first book of poetry, *Shveln* ("Thresholds," 1919), made his reputation as *the* poet of the new generation. He moved briefly to Moscow before leaving for Warsaw in late 1921, where he helped found the Yiddish modernist movement through his participation in the literary group, *Khalyastre* ("The Gang"), and by co-founding *Literarishe Bleter*. His poem "Hunger" appeared in the second edition of the Moscow *Shtrom*, and in 1922 he published *Di Kupe* ("The Heap"), an epic poem that commemorated the 1921 pogroms that swept the Ukraine. In 1926, he returned to Moscow, where he became one of the most prolific writers of Soviet Jewish letters, publishing in the Kiev journal *Royte Velt* and the Minsk journal *Shtern*. Markish's career reflected a general shift away from modernism and poetry to socialist realism and prose, as demonstrated in his first novel, *Dor oys, dor ayn* ("Generations," 1929), which describes the tension between modernity and tradition in a Jewish family during the Revolution. Markish quickly rose to a position of power in the Union of Soviet Writers (established 1932), and during the Great Purges of 1936–38 he denounced defendants at one of the trials in a poem whose publication showed Markish to be firmly established within the Soviet system. During World War II, he wrote the play *Kol Nidre*, and in 1942 joined the leadership of the Jewish *Anti-Fascist Committee (JAFC), which served as the center of Jewish cultural life during and after the war. Markish's last major work, the 1948 epic poem *Milkhome* ("War"), chronicles a wide spectrum of wartime experiences, focusing particularly on the plight of the Jews. In January 1949, during the antisemitic anti-cosmopolitan campaign, several major cultural figures who worked in Yiddish, Markish included, were arrested. In 1952, he and several others were convicted of anti-Soviet activities, spying, and bourgeois nationalism and were shot. Rehabilitated after Stalin's death, Markish's poems were again published in 1957 (in Russian translation only). His novel of Polish-Jewish heroism during World War II, *Trit fun Doyres* ("The Footsteps of Generations,"1966), was published posthumously in Soviet Russia; ironically, the novel is replete with praise for the regime and political system.

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[David Shneer (2nd ed.)]

MARKON, ISAAC DOV BER (1875–1949), Russian scholar and librarian. Markon was born in Rybinsk on the Volga and studied at the St. Petersburg University under D. *Chwolson and at the *Hildesheimer Rabbinical Seminary and the University of Berlin. He was librarian at the Imperial Public Library in St. Petersburg (1901–17), instructor at the Higher Courses of Oriental Studies (1908–11), instructor and later professor of Jewish studies at the university in St. Petersburg (1917–20), and professor at the Belorussian University at Minsk (1922–24). He also served for a time on the scholars' advisory committee for the Czarist Ministry of Education. For four years he was an editor of the Russian Jewish encyclopedia *Yevreyskaya Entsiklopediya* and planned the publication of a new encyclopedia, *Oẓar ha-Yahadut*, of which a prospectus appeared in 1914. He founded and edited the quarterly *Ha-Kedem* (with A. Sarzowski) which appeared from 1907 to 1909 in Hebrew and German. Markon left Russia for Berlin in 1926 where he joined the editorial staff of the *Encyclopaedia Judaica* and the *Eshkol Enẓiklopedyah Yisre'elit*, in charge of the departments of *Karaism and bibliography. For a time he also lectured at the Rabbinical Seminary. In 1928 Markon was appointed librarian of the Hamburg Jewish community. As he was a Jewish Soviet citizen, he was expelled from Germany in 1938. He went first to Holland and in 1940 escaped to England, where he joined Montefiore College at Ramsgate.

Markon's first step in Jewish scholarship was his prize-winning comparison of Christian canonical with talmudic and Karaite marriage law (Russ., 1901). In the same field are his *Mekorot le-Korot Dinei Nashim* (about laws relating to women) 1, pt. 1 (1908) and various editions of Karaite works. Markon also published a study of the Slavonic glosses in the *Or Zaru'a* by Isaac b. Moses of Vienna (1906). With D. Guenzburg he edited the *Festschrift… A. Harkavy* (1908). Autobiographical reminiscences by Markon appeared in *Meẓudah* (2 (1944), 187ff.; 3 (1945), 341ff.; 4–6 (1948), 474ff.) as well as in some of his letters in G. Kressel (ed.) *Genazim* (1 (1961), 244ff.).

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MARKOVA, ALICIA (1910–2004), British-born prima ballerina who joined Diaghilev's Les Ballets Russe in 1925 when she was just 15 years old. She was one of the famous "Baby Ballerinas" of the company. Her real name was Alice Lillian Marks, a name which, for Diaghilev, was not Russian or at least not French enough to appear in his company's programs. So without being asked, she was named Markova. Many years and famous roles later, she became – by order of Queen Elizabeth – Dame Alicia.

Markova created many of the central roles in the ballets of Balanchine, Ashton, and other contemporary choreographers. In 1931 she was back in her native London and joined the first professional ballet company in the U.K., the Ballet Rambert, founded and directed by another daughter of a Jewish family, one more dancer whose name was changed by Diaghilev because Miriam Rambam-Ramberg sounded too Jewish and not Russian enough and thus became Marie *Rambert. With this company Markova danced for many years as well as with the Vic-Wells Ballet, which later became The Royal Ballet.

Markova danced the leading roles in the classics as well as in new, contemporary works, such as Ashton's *Façade*, Tudor's *Lysistrata*, and De Valois' *The Rake's Progress*. She was the prima ballerina of the London Festival Ballet in the 1950s. She stopped dancing in 1962 and in the years 1963–69 Markova was the ballet director for the New York Metropolitan Opera Ballet.

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[Giora Manor (2nd ed.)]

MARKOVITS, RODION (**Jakabs**, 1888–1948), author and journalist. Following capture by the Russians during World War I, Markovits later became a political commissar in the International Brigade fighting with the Red Army after the October Revolution. His *Szibériai garnizon* (1927; *Siberian Garrison*, 1929) enjoyed worldwide success in translation. Two later works were *Aranyvonat* ("The Golden Train," 1929) and *Reb Áncsli és más avasi zsidókról szóló széphistóriák* ("Reb Anschel and Other Jewish Stories," 1940).

MARKOWITZ, HARRY M. (1927–), economist and Nobel Prize winner. Born in Chicago, Markowitz received his higher education, B.A. through Ph.D. (1954), at the University of Chicago. He was on the research staff of the Rand Corporation and technical director of Consolidated Analysis Centers, both in Santa Monica, California. After serving as a professor at UCLA (1968–69), he moved to New York where he was president of the Arbitrage Management Company (1969–72), worked as a private consultant (1972–74), and was a member of the research staff of T.J. Watson Research Center of IBM (1974–83). From 1982 he was been the Speiser Professor of Finance at Baruch College of City University of New York. From 1990 he was research director at Diawa Securities Trust.

In 1990 he shared the Nobel Prize in economics with William Sharpe of Stanford University and Merton Miller of the University of Chicago "for their pioneering work in the theory of financial economics." For Markowitz, the Nobel award was in honor of his theory, first defined in the 1950s, of "portfolio choices," which showed that investors would do best if they built up a diversified investment portfolio. His theory sought to prove that a portfolio that mixes assets in order to minimize risk and maximize return could be practical. His techniques for measuring risk associated with various assets, and his techniques for mixing assets, became standard investment methods. His work on portfolio theory paved the way for financial microanalysis to become an accepted area of research in economic analysis.

Markowitz also developed Simscript, a computer language that is used to write economic-analysis programs.

Books by Markowitz include *Portfolio Selection: Efficient Diversification of Investment* (1959), *Mean-Variance Analysis in Portfolio Choice and Capital Investments* (1987), and *The Theory and Practice of Investment Management Workshop* (with F. Fabozzi and L. Kostovetsky, 2004).

[Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

MARKS, HARRY HANANEL (1855–1916), British journalist and politician. Born in London, Marks was a son of David Woolf Marks (1811–1909), a prominent Reform rabbi. He took up journalism in the U.S. and worked five years on the *New York World* and *Daily Mining News*. Returning to England in 1883, he established and edited *Financial News* and wrote a book, *Small Change, or Lights and Shades of New York* (1882). In 1889–98 he was a member of London County Council and was elected a Conservative member of Parliament in 1895–1900 and 1904–09. Marks was a bitter anti-Zionist. In 1879, however, he wrote a satirical work denouncing antisemitism, *Down With the Jews! A Meeting of the Society for Suppressing the Jewish Race.*

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MARKS, HAYMAN (1772–1825), early U.S. merchant and Mason. Marks, whose place of birth is unknown, was among the early Jewish settlers of Richmond, Virginia. Mention of him is found in several documents involving litigation. A well-known citizen of Richmond, he was one of the signers of a petition to the Virginia legislature asking for the incorporation of a bank there. Marks later moved to Philadelphia, where he became active in Congregation Mikveh Israel, ultimately becoming its president (1815–18). Marks was known to be a member of the Masonic fraternities of both Richmond and Philadelphia. His wife was Grace Judah, of the New York *Judah family.

MARKS, MARCUS M. (1858–1934), U.S. clothing manufacturer, civic official, and philanthropist. Marks was born in Schenectady, N.Y., and joined his father's clothing manufacturing firm, M. Marks and Son, which he later headed (1890–1913). From 1913 to 1917 Marks served as Manhattan borough president under the reforming mayor John P. Mitchel, establishing open public markets, welfare work, and joint trial boards for civil service employees. He was active in a variety of public causes. He was president of the National Daylight Association in 1917. As president of the National Association of Clothiers, he promoted the idea of cooperation among merchants, particularly in labor relations. As a member of Theodore Roosevelt's Nobel Prize Committee on Industrial Peace, Marks mediated many labor disputes. He was a founder and leader of several peace groups, of the Educational Alliance, of the Hospital Saturday and Sunday Association, and of the Tuberculosis Preventorium for children. An advocate of university exchange study between the U.S. and Europe, he served as chairman of the selection committee of the Institute of International Education.

MARKS, SAMUEL (1845–1920), South African industrialist and financier. Marks, who was born in Neustadt-Sugrind, Lithuania, emigrated to the Cape in 1868. With the Lewis brothers, he founded the firm of Lewis and Marks, which eventually controlled large industrial and mining undertakings in the Transvaal. The partners began as traveling traders ("tochers"). When diamonds were discovered they moved to Kimberley, where they opened the first general store in a prefabricated wooden building brought from the Cape by wagon. Lewis and Marks established themselves in the Transvaal in the 1880s, first on the Barberton gold workings and later on the Rand and in Pretoria. Marks, who was popularly known as Sammy, was noted for his salty humor and his fondness for biblical quotations. He understood the Boer outlook, particularly that of his friend President Kruger. He assisted the Transvaal government financially, obtained industrial concessions, and acquired land on the Vaal River on which he founded the town of Vereeniging. He developed rich coal deposits in the area, established fruit farms, and planted extensive forests. He also started the manufacture of bricks, glass, and leather goods and pioneered the steel industry. In 1897 Marks accompanied a deputation to Kruger asking, with indifferent results, for the repeal of laws which placed disabilities upon Jews in common with other non-Protestants and *uitlanders* ("foreigners"). In the conflict between the Boers and the British he commanded the respect of leaders on both sides and was a mediator in the negotiations which ended the South African War in 1902. He served as a senator in the first Union Parliament in 1910. Marks donated £10,000 for the statue of President Kruger which now stands in the center of Pretoria. In 1896 he helped endow the first chair in Hebrew studies at the South African College, later the University of Cape Town, and in 1905 founded a Hebrew school in Pretoria.

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MARKS, SIMON, BARON (1888–1964), British businessman, philanthropist, and Zionist. Born in Leeds, Simon Marks was the son of Michael Marks, who emigrated in 1882 from Russia to the U.K. where he began as a peddler. In 1884 he opened a market stall in Leeds and later a number of Penny Bazaars in the Midlands. They grew into the great multiple-store chain of Marks & Spencer Ltd. Simon Marks was elected chairman of the board in 1917 and from then on, until he died at his office desk, steered the firm to phenomenal commercial and financial success. His close business associate was Israel Moses (later Lord) *Sieff; they had married each other's sisters. The high quality of their goods and business probity set a tradition in British retail merchandising. Indeed it was said that they were largely responsible for a quiet revolution in British life by raising living standards through making high quality goods available at popular prices. "Marks and Sparks" remains probably the best-known and most famous of all British high street retail chains, although its founding families largely severed their direct connection with the firm in the 1980s.

From their mid-20s Marks and Sieff were loyal and devoted supporters of Chaim *Weizmann in his Zionist activities originally in Manchester and later in London, and were joined by other members of their families. In 1919 Marks went as secretary of the Zionist delegation to the Versailles Peace Conference. Later he became chairman of the Keren Hayesod Committee, vice president of the Zionist Federation and in 1950 was elected a member of the Zionist Exceutive. He was president of the Joint Palestine Appeal at his death. Marks participated with Weizmann and the Zionist leadership in political negotiations with successive British governments and in other Zionist efforts until the State of Israel was established. He and Lord Sieff were leading contributors to the Daniel Sieff Research Institute (1934) and later in the Weizmann Institute of Science (1949) both at Reḥovot, Israel. Their personal and family trust benefactions to public causes in Britain and Israel totaled tens of millions of pounds over six decades. The Marks and Sieff families were reputed to have been the greatest donors to Zionist causes in the Diaspora.

Marks rendered distinguished public service in the period between and during both world wars. He helped to found the Air Defense Cadet Corps in Britain in 1938 and headed wartime production coordination in the London and southeast England area. He was also an adviser to the Ministry of Petroleum Warfare and one of the first directors of British Overseas Airways. In 1944 he received a knighthood and 1961 was created a baron.

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[Julian Louis Meltzer (2nd ed.)]

MARKSON, AARON DAVID (1882–1932), Hebrew author and educator. Born in Lithuania, Markson went to the United States in 1904, and taught Hebrew in New York and other cities. He contributed essays and stories to Hebrew periodicals, edited a miscellany *Mi-Keren Zavit* (1921), and translated Mark Twain's *The Prince and the Pauper* (1923). His writings were posthumously collected in *Kitvei A.D. Markson* (1938), which also contains autobiographical material, a brief memoir by his daughter, and evaluations of his work by several authors.

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[Eisig Silberschlag]

MARKUS, LUDWIG (1798–1843), historian. Born and educated in Dessau, Germany, he studied medicine at the University of Berlin, but abandoned it to take up philosophy and astronomy. In 1825 he moved to Paris, and from 1830 until 1838 he taught German at the Royal College at Dijon.

Markus was an active member of the Society for Jewish Culture and Science in Berlin, and one of his lifelong passions was the study of the Falashas (*Beta Israel) of Abyssinia. This earned him Heinrich *Heine's sobriquet, "King of Abyssinia." He wrote *Histoire des Wandales* (1836) in which he traced the rise and collapse of the Vandal empire in Africa, and in 1842, published *Géographie ancienne des états Barbaresques*. Suffering from recurrent fits of depression, especially after the death of his mother, he moved back to Paris 1838 and died there penniless in an insane asylum. Baroness de Rothschild paid for the funeral, and Heine wrote an obituary.

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[George Schwab / Bjoern Siegel (2nd ed.)]

MARLÉ, ARNOLD (1889–1970), German actor. Born in Prague, Marlé trained in Munich and was active as an actor and director in Munich and Hamburg. In 1933 he left Germany for Czechoslovakia, working at the German Theater in Prague from 1934 to 1937. In the 1930s, he accompanied Leopold Jessner's group to Holland and London. In 1939 he immigrated to London. He began appearing in English-language films in 1942 and later also played in television series and on the British and American stages. His wife, Lilli Freud-Marlé, whom he married in 1917, was a niece of Sigmund *Freud, and became known as a reciter of poetry in various European cities.

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[David Rees (2nd ed.)]

MARLI, SAMUEL (Raphael) BEN MAẒLI'AḤ (d. 1617), Italian rabbi and author. One of the outstanding scholars of Italy, Samuel, like his father, served in a variety of offices in the Mantua community and was in charge until his death of collecting funds for Ereẓ Israel. In 1587 he was appointed rabbi of the community and was apparently also the head of a yeshivah. According to S.D. Luzzatto, his name means "of Arles." During the time Marli was rabbi, the Jews of Mantua were confined to a ghetto prepared for them at their own cost, and Marli was one of the members of the committee which dealt with matters affecting the ghetto. His signature is found on many of the community's documents and regulations. He was highly praised by the scholars of his time, and although he published no works, a few of his responsa and letters have been published in the works of his contemporaries and preserved in manuscript. Some of his *piyyutim* were published in the *Ayyelet ha-Shaḥar* and in the *Siddur mi-Berakhah* of Italian rite (Mantua, 1653), as well as later in Schirman's *Mivḥar ha-Shirah ha-Ivrit be-Italyah*. Marli prepared and may have published a special essay which is still in manuscript, "to demonstrate to the nations and princes that a Jew is not permitted to curse or to act wrongly toward any man." He is also mentioned among those who supplied Azariah dei Rossi with material for his *Me'or Einayim*, and was among the rabbis who forbade the use of the *mikveh* of Rovigo (Moses Porto in: *Palgei Mayim*, p. 55). Hananiah Eliakim Rieti composed a eulogy on his death.

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[Itzhak Alfassi]

°**MARLOWE, CHRISTOPHER** (1564–1593), English playwright. *The Jew of Malta* (c. 1590) portrays the monstrous Jew, Barabas; T.S. Eliot described the play as a savage farce. Indeed it has elements of melodrama and exaggeration which suggest that Marlowe was not completely serious in his portrayal of the Jew. Barabas is a rich merchant whose wealth is expropriated and whose house is turned into a nunnery by order of the governor of Malta. In revenge, Barabas indulges in an orgy of slaughter, poisoning his daughter Abigail, her lover, and many others. Malta being besieged by the Turks, Barabas enters upon a career of political intrigue, first betraying the island to the enemy and then plotting the destruction of the Turkish commander. But Barabas is himself betrayed and perishes in a boiling cauldron. The story represents a mingling of traditional antisemitism (in the Middle Ages the Jews were often charged with poisoning the wells) with the late 16th-century taste for the "political thriller." Barabas, a disciple of Machiavelli, practices political stratagems with a view to gaining power in the state. From this point of view his Jewishness is no more than incidental, the main interest being focused on his "Italian" villainy. Barabas' conspiracy with the Turks may have been suggested by the career of Joseph *Nasi. *The Jew of Malta* was almost certainly in Shakespeare's mind when he wrote *The Merchant of Venice* some years later. Like Shakespeare's Jew, Barabas has a beautiful daughter who becomes a Christian, and a comic servant, Ithamore, who directs the audience's laughter against the Jew. This latter feature may be a relic of the medieval religious drama in which the Devil was frequently accompanied by a comic figure, the Vice. In spite of his negative portrayal of the Jew, Marlowe undoubtedly projected into the portrait some of his own restlessness as well as his notorious dislike of the Establishment. But Marlowe's work differs markedly from Shakespeare's depiction of Shylock in being two-dimensional, in contrast to Shakespeare's ambiguous and three-dimensional portrayal of his Jewish character.

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[Harold Harel Fisch]

MARMOR, KALMAN (**Ẓevi**; 1879–1956), Yiddish scholar and activist. Born in Mishagola, near Vilna, he immigrated to Switzerland in 1899, where he studied at the universities of Freiburg and Berne, before settling in the U.S. in 1906. He joined the Po'alei Zion, co-founded the World Union of Po'alei Zion, and became the editor of its weekly, *Der Yidisher Kemfer.* In 1914 he joined the American Socialist Party and in 1919 the American Labor Alliance, which became the Workers Party and later the Communist Party. Marmor began his literary career in 1901 in *Der Yidisher Arbeter,* published by the Bund, and contributed to Yiddish periodicals in Europe and the U.S. In 1922 he joined the New York Yiddish Communist daily *Morgen Frayhayt* and remained a contributor until his death.

From 1933 to 1936, he lived in Kiev, working in the Institute for Jewish Studies of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, where he prepared editions of the works of Aaron *Liebermann, Joseph *Bovshover, and David *Edelstadt. His monograph on Liebermann, as well as the collection of Liebermann's works which he annotated and translated into Yiddish, were lost when the Institute was liquidated by the Soviet government in 1936. As a U.S. citizen, Marmor was freed, having rescued Liebermann's letters, which were later published in New York. The first two volumes of his edition of the works of David Edelstadt, written from an extreme party perspective, were published in Moscow in 1935. The manuscript of the third volume found its way to the YIVO Institute in New York. In his long career Marmor was a committed Zionist, Po'alei-Zionist, Socialist, and Communist, an expert on the history of Yiddish and Hebrew literature, on Jewish, Arabic, and Greek philosophy, and on the history of socialist and revolutionary movements; he was a productive writer, an able researcher and collector of historical material. His publications include *Der Onhoyb fun der Yidisher Literatur in Amerike* (1944), *Dovid Edelshtat* (1950), *Yoysef Bovshover* (1952), *Yankev Gordin* (1953), his autobiography, *Mayn Lebns-Geshikhte* (2 vols., 1959), and his 10-volume edition of the complete works of Morris Winchevsky (1927).

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[Elias Schulman / Jerold C. Frakes (2nd ed.)]

MARMOREK, ALEXANDER (1865–1923), bacteriologist and Zionist leader. He was born in Mielnice, Galicia, and studied in Vienna and at the Pasteur Institute in Paris, where he became assistant and subsequently *chef de travaux*. Early in his studies, he discovered an antidote (antistreptococcus) against puerperal fever. In 1903 he addressed the Paris Académie de Médecine and claimed the discovery of the toxin of the tubercle-bacillus and of the antituberculosis vaccine. This discovery was hotly debated in expert circles and was finally accepted as an invariably successful cure if prescribed up to a certain stage of the disease. With this discovery, Marmorek also initiated the serum study that led to the modern treatment of typhus and diabetes. Marmorek was also an ardent Zionist. In Vienna he belonged to *Kadimah, the first students' society to join *Herzl after the publication of *Der Judenstaat*. With his brothers Oscar and Isidor, he belonged to the circle of Herzl's closest friends and was repeatedly consulted on political steps contemplated by the Zionist leader. He was elected member of the Zionist General Council at the first 11 Zionist congresses (1897–1913). After Herzl's death Marmorek remained an adherent of Herzl's political Zionism and, next to Max *Nordau, became the foremost spokesman of the opposition, when "practical" Zionists assumed the movement's leadership in 1911. After World War I he strongly opposed *Weizmann's policies and refused to participate at the 12th Zionist Congress (1921). In his articles and speeches he emphasized that the Palestine Mandate was not the fulfillment of Herzl's idea of a Jewish state. Marmorek was chairman of the French Zionist Federation and one of the co-founders of *L'Echo Sioniste*, the Zionist monthly published in Paris. He founded the Jewish Popular University in Paris, chiefly for the benefit of foreign Jews who settled there. As a foreign national he was unable to remain in Paris during World War I and served as a doctor with the Allied armies in Eastern Europe.

His brother OSCAR (1863–1909) was an architect and Zionist leader. Born in Skala, Galicia, he studied in Vienna and Paris. He built a great number of important buildings in Vienna and Austria and also some synagogues, in which he attempted a style based on his studies of old Jewish architecture. He attained fame through his pavilion "Venice in Vienna" at the world exhibition of 1900 in Vienna.

Oscar Marmorek joined Herzl after the publication of *Der Judenstaat* and was elected to the Zionist Executive at the first six Zionist congresses. He was a co-founder of *Die *Welt.*

Herzl depicted him in *Altneuland* as Architect Steineck. He died by his own hand.

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[Oskar K. Rabinowicz]

MARMORI, HANOKH (1948–), Israeli graphic artist and editor. Marmori studied history and theater at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem and graphic design at the Bezalel Academy of Arts. A satirist, he began his writing career on the university newspaper, contributed to the popular television satirical program *Niku'i Rosh* ("Clearing the Head"), and co-wrote a satirical column in the political weekly *Ha-Olam ha-Zeh*. In 1980 he joined the Schocken newspaper chain, first as the founding editor of the Tel Aviv local newspaper *Ha-Ir*. In 1984 he moved to *Ḥadashot*, the failed Schocken attempt to launch a popular newspaper, where he was occupied in writing mostly for the newspaper's magazine and supplements. In 1988 he was appointed deputy editor of the *Haaretz* daily newspaper, and following the death of its veteran editor Gershon *Schocken in 1991 was appointed to succeed him. Deploying his graphics background, Marmori succeeded in turning a dullish newspaper into one with an attractive layout, but without losing its character as a thoughtful and stimulating maker of opinion. A daily culture and entertainment supplement and a weekly book supplement were added, together with expanded news coverage, notably in the fields of economics and sport. Notwithstanding his close ties with Amos Schocken, who succeeded his father Gershon Schocken as publisher, differences eventually arose between the two men. Disagreements within the editorial board over the Intifada beginning in 2000 found Schocken taking a more left-wing position together with some other board members while Marmori took a more centrist view. In 2004 Schocken's plans to further enlarge the economics section of the paper into a separate entity called "The Market," outside the editor's direct responsibility, led Marmori to resign. He left active journalism to head the Department of Visual Communications at the Bezalel Academy of Arts. In 2004 he was awarded the Sokolow Prize for journalism.

[Yoel Cohen (2nd ed.)]

MARMORSTEIN, ARTHUR (1882–1946), rabbi, scholar, and teacher. Born in Miskolc, Hungary, Marmorstein was descended from a long line of Hungarian rabbis known not only for their talmudic learning but also for their familiarity with secular literature. He studied at the yeshivah of Pressburg and the rabbinic seminaries of Budapest and Berlin. After visiting libraries for some time in England, Italy, and France, transcribing manuscripts, Marmorstein served for six years as rabbi at Jamnitz (Jemnice), Czechoslovakia. From 1912 until his death he taught at Jews' College, London. Marmorstein's scholarship embraced many subjects. His initial training at the universities was in Semitics, with special emphasis on Assyriology. He was particularly fascinated by the aggadic sections of the Talmud and by liturgy. Though Marmorstein contributed to many areas of Jewish scholarship, he is noteworthy for his studies in rabbinic theology, the subject of his two important volumes *Doctrine of Merits in Old Rabbinic Literature* (1920) and *Old Rabbinic Doctrine of God* (2 pts., 1927); both were reprinted in one volume with an introduction by R.J. Zwi Werblowsky (1968). Other important essays on rabbinic theology by Marmorstein were collected and published under the title *Studies in Jewish Theology* (1950). Marmorstein's work is characterized by painstaking detail in the collection of sources, which are important for the study of rabbinic religion.

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[Alexander Tobias]

MARMUR, DOW (1935–), rabbi, teacher, author. Marmur was born in Sosnowiec, Poland, an only child in a Po'alei Zion (left) family. In 1939, the family moved to the Lvov region, escaping the German invasion. They were deported to Siberia in 1940 by Soviet authorities but, following Operation Barbarossa, released and found refuge in Uzbekistan, where they remained until their repatriation to Poland in 1946. Although largely unschooled, the young Marmur had already learned four languages.

The family moved to Gothenburg, Sweden in 1948, where Marmur not only learned Swedish but English, German, and Hebrew as well. Attracted to Liberal Judaism, he entered the Faculty of Religion at the University of Stockholm in 1956, the same year he married Fredzia Zonabend, a survivor of the Lodz ghetto. Not feeling fulfilled at university, Marmur and his wife moved to London, where he entered the Leo Baeck College. Under the tutelage of several luminaries, including Ignaz *Maybaum, he graduated in 1962 and was already serving as rabbi of South-West Essex Reform Synagogue in Ilford. In 1969, he became rabbi of North-Western Reform Synagogue in Alyth Gardens and in 1983 moved to Toronto to become rabbi of Holy Blossom Synagogue, the largest Reform congregation in Canada. He remained at Holy Blossom until his retirement in 2000.

Marmur wrote six books, notably *Beyond Survival* (1982); *The Star of Return* (1991); and an autobiography, *Six Lives* (2004). He has wrote extensively in newspapers and journals, taught at St. Michael's College, University of Toronto, and was a fellow of Massey College, University of Toronto. An ardent Zionist, he also served as the first chair of ARZENU, the international movement of Reform Zionists; president of ARZA Canada, the Association of Reform Zionists of America; vice president of the Canadian Zionist Federation, and as a member of the executive of the World Zionist Organization. After retirement, he became Interim executive director of the World Union for Progressive Judaism in Jerusalem.

Marmur was a champion of progressive social causes in Canada and Israel, where he remained sympathetic to the peace movement. He was founder of the Polish-Jewish Heritage Foundation of Canada, which seeks to build bridges between Poles and Jews.

[Frank Bialystok (2nd ed.)]

MAROR (Heb. מָרוֹר), the traditional "bitter herb" which the children of Israel were commanded to eat with unleavened bread and the paschal offering both in Egypt (Ex. 12:8) and "throughout their generations" (Num. 9:11). The plural, *merorim*, occurs in the Bible in the verse: "He hath filled me with *merorim*, he hath sated me with wormwood" (Lam. 3:15), referring to a bitter vegetable, parallel to wormwood (cf. Deut. 32:32). The rabbis included under *merorim* plants whose common features are "bitterness, possessing sap, with a grayish appearance" (Pes. 39a), meaning wild or cultivated vegetables, with leaves of a silvery-grayish-green color, that have a milk-like sap and leaves with a bitter taste. This definition can apply to a number of plants, particularly some of those belonging to the family of Compositae. Thus the Tosefta and the Talmud (*ibid.*) enumerate a number of such vegetables with which the duty of eating *maror* on the night of the *seder* can be fulfilled. The Mishnah enumerates five: *ḥazeret* ("*lettuce"); *olshin* ("chicory," see *vegetables); *tamkah* (according to Maimonides, "wild chicory" but impossible to identify with certainty); *ḥarḥavina*, a plant of the family of Umbelliferae, of which the most common is *Eryngium creticum*; and *maror*. Some of the Compositae are called *murār* or *marāra* in Arabic. In the Jerusalem Talmud *maror* is described as a "bitter vegetable with a silvery appearance, and possessing sap" (Pes. 2:5, 29c; the same description as the Babylonian Talmud gives for all the varieties of *merorim*). These characteristics agree most with the plant *Sonchus oleraceus*, called in Arabic *murār*. This is a weed, widespread in gardens, fallow fields, and on the roadsides throughout Israel. Its soft leaves are at times eaten as salad by the poor, some also eating the juicy root. The plant is filled with a milk-like sap, the underside of the leaves is a bluish-silvery color, and the green plant has a bitter taste and is hardly edible. According to Pliny, "this is a healthy food, recommended as a remedy for various ailments" (*Historia Naturalis* 22:88–90; 26:163). The Samaritans use only the leaves of the wild lettuce *Lactuca scariola* for *maror*.

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[Jehuda Feliks]

°**MARR, WILHELM** (1819–1904), German antisemite. Marr, the son of a famous theater personality, was of Lutheran descent; the still frequently heard assertion that he was Jewish has no basis in fact. His political career began among left-wing exile circles in Switzerland, from which he was expelled in 1843. Back in his native Hamburg, he participated as an ultraleftist in the revolution of 1848. But the return of the old regime persuaded Marr to "resign from the democratic movement" and to spend the next decade trying to establish himself in North and Central America. By the time he came back to Hamburg, his political outlook had changed completely. No longer the champion of progressive causes, he used his undoubted journalistic skills to champion black slavery, condemn proletarian emancipation, and to attack Jews. In 1862, his *Der Judenspiegel* ("A Mirror to the Jews") made a racially based argument against Jewish equality. The pamphlet provoked slight interest and soon disappeared. Seventeen years later, however, when Germany was in the throes of economic and social turmoil, Marr returned to the so-called Jewish Question with his influential bestseller, "The Victory of Jewry over Germandom, Considered from a Non-Religious Point of View," which went through 12 editions, all in 1879. He repeated many of his arguments from 1862, but now they appeared in a world-historical context, lodged in a systematically racist framework, and were made all the more potent because of the author's insistence that Jews had been engaging in an 1,800-year worldwide conspiracy against gentiles that was about to culminate in their absolute victory. In the last edition of the book, Marr recruited members for his Antisemiten-Liga (Antisemites' League). Although his attempt to form a political organization dedicated to solving the Jewish Question failed almost immediately, Marr alerted more powerful forces in German society to the utility of antisemitism as a tool of political mobilization. Both the word and the movement entered German and then European political culture at this time, never again to leave it. The irascible Wilhelm Marr, on the other hand, already 60 years old, was soon cast aside by antisemites of the younger generation. He died in obscure poverty in 1904.

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[Richard S. Levy (2nd ed.)]

MARRAKESH, one of the former capitals of *Morocco, situated at the foot of the High Atlas Mountains. They city was founded in the latter half of the 11th century by the *Almoravid dynasty. A Jewish community was established there soon thereafter, coming from different parts of southern Morocco. Many were subsequently barred from inhabiting the city while others were persecuted by the *Almohads in the 12th century and had to disperse. A Jewish community was revived there during the course of the 13th century but Jews faced further persecution, death, and expulsion. Only under the Merinid dynasty in the latter half of the 13th and 14th centuries were Jews permitted to resettle in Marrakesh and their numbers grew in the late 15th century through the arrival of Sephardi refugees expelled from the Iberian Peninsula. Nevertheless, the main group of Marrakeshi Jews originated from the Atlas Mountains. Iberian Jews (Spanish and Portuguese), however, took control of communal affairs. From 1557 onward, the Sa'di dynasty concentrated all the Jews in a Jewish quarter of their own, known as the *mellah*. While the Jewish community numbered approximately 25,000 in mid-16th century, thousands perished throughout that century in epidemics. The Sa'di sultans, who were descendants of the Prophet *Muhammad and originated from the Arabian Peninsula, enlisted the Jews of Marrakesh as their trade agents and entrusted to them the management of local industries. With the ascendance of the Alawite dynasty in the latter half of the 17th century, its sultans, also descendants of the Prophet, did not always display tolerance toward the Jews of Morocco. This was evidently the case with Sultan Mulay Isma'il, who in the 1670s exposed the Jews of Marrakesh to horrible atrocities.

In the 18th century Marrakesh lost its status as the central capital of Morocco in favor of *Fez. Notwithstanding, commercially and economically, the city preserved its position as a vital center for southern Morocco. There were flourishing *yeshivot* in Marrakesh and bustling activity by talmudic scholars belonging to the prominent Corcos and Pinto families, as well as kabbalists. The Jews under the Alawite sultans in the late 18th and throughout much of the 19th centuries played a preponderant role in the local economy and their social and political situation improved markedly. There were efforts by fanatical Muslim leaders to forcibly convert Jews to Islam, but the intervention of international Jewish organizations such as the Paris-based *Alliance Israélite Universelle (which also opened schools in Marrakesh at the beginning of the 20th century) and European consuls stationed in Morocco, foiled their efforts.

Under the leadership of Si Madani al-Glawi, the governor of Marrakesh and its environs, who belonged to the "great families" connected with the Alawite dynasty and the *makhzan* (Moroccan government), the Jews of southern Morocco enjoyed much influence. In 1908–09, while entrusted by the *makhzan* to bolster Alawite influence in the south and Marrakesh, Glawi, who then served as the sultan's chief minister (grand *wazir*), bestowed on the Marrakeshi Jewish elite considerable economic and social privileges. He also lifted exorbitant taxes imposed on the Jews of Marrakesh and Taroudant in the period immediately preceding his rise to power. Glawi maintained intimate social and economic ties with the leader of the Jewish community in Marrakesh – the illustrious Joshua Corcos of the influential *Corcos family. The latter community president was perhaps the most important Moroccan Jewish leader in many centuries.

Under French colonial domination (1912–1956), in which the French protectorate collaborated with the Alawite dynasty in managing Moroccan affairs, the position of the Jews improved immeasurably. They were now exposed to modern ideas through French education, employment in private and public administration, and the liberal professions. Zionist influences penetrated the community in the interwar years like other political currents prevalent in the modern Jewish world.

Until 1920 the Jewish quarter of Marrakesh was the largest in Morocco. The 1920s and 1930s changed this. Although the Jewish population of Marrakesh was greater than in Fez or *Tangier, *Casablanca on the Atlantic coast emerged steadily as the largest and most important Jewish community through internal migrations from all parts of the country. Thus, if in 1912, 15,700 Jews dwelt in Marrakesh (compared to 7,000 in Casablanca), and 25,646 in 1936 (compared to 38,806 in Casablanca), in 1951, five years before the end of French colonial presence, the Jews of Marrakesh numbered 18,500 whereas Casablanca Jewry was 75,000 strong. The reason for the decline in the Marrakeshi Jewish population was attributed to internal migration to Casablanca and other coastal cities and to *aliyah* under the auspices of the Jewish Agency. As in other major Moroccan cities, Jewish bodies such as the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee, the ORT vocational network, the Alliance Israélite Universelle, educational departments of Oẓar ha-Torah, and the Jewish Agency extended their activities and offered vital services. These efforts either helped those Jews who stayed behind to improve their lot, or facilitated their integration into French, Canadian, and Israeli societies. In 2005, there were several dozen Jews left in Marrakesh.

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[Michael M. Laskier (2nd ed.)]

MARRANO, term of opprobium used to denigrate the New Christians of Spain and Portugal. Various origins for the term have been suggested. These include the Hebrew *marit ayin* ("the appearance of the eye"), referring to the fact that the Marranos were ostensibly Christian but actually Judaizers; *moḥoram attah* ("you are excommunicated"); the Aramaic-Hebrew *Mar Anus* ("Mr. forced convert"); the Hebrew *mumar* ("apostate") with the Spanish ending *ano*; the Arabic *mura'in* ("hypocrite"); and the second word of the ecclesiastical imprecation *anathema maranatha*. However, all such derivations are unlikely. The most probable, as clearly shown by Farinelli's study, is from the Spanish word meaning swine, a word already in use in the early Middle Ages, though Y. Malkiel argues plausibly for a derivation from the late Arabic *barrān, barrānī*, meaning an outsider or stranger, and a coalescence of this word with the term marrano "pig, pork" derived from Latin *verres* "wild boar." The term probably did not originally refer to the Judaizers' reluctance to eat pork, as some scholars hold. From its earliest use, it was intended to impart the sense of loathing conveyed by the word in other languages. Although romanticized and regarded by later Jewry as a badge of honor, the term was not as widely used, especially in official circles, as is often believed. In Latin America as a rule it is not found in official documents and there is little evidence of its unofficial use in most places.

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[Martin A. Cohen]

MARRANO DIASPORA. New *Christians began to leave *Spain in the wake of the mass conversions of 1391 and *Portugal after the forced conversions in 1497. The tide of emigration ebbed and flowed, but was always stimulated by the advent of new disasters, such as the introduction of the *Inquisition into Spain in 1481 and Portugal in 1536, and the recrudescence of intensive persecution of the Marranos, as in Portugal after 1630. To stem this continuing exodus, as early as the last decade of the 15th century the authorities in both countries issued decrees prohibiting the emigration of New Christians, and these were frequently renewed. Even the so-called irrevocable permission to emigrate which the New Christians purchased from Philip III in 1601, during the union of Spain and Portugal, was short-lived, being rescinded in 1610. However, these decrees were frequently evaded: Marranos regularly left the Peninsula clandestinely, or secured permission to take business trips abroad from which they never returned. There are even cases of their leaving for the ostensible purpose of making a pilgrimage to Rome. Once the authorities became aware of such stratagems they tried to intercept Marranos as they moved through Europe to places where they could practice Judaism openly, and men like Jean de la Foix in Lombardy acquired notoriety for his inhuman treatment of those who fell into his hands. There were even instances where the highest authorities in the Peninsula closed their eyes to New Christian emigration, particularly when it involved their settling in Latin *America, where their skills and enterprise were desperately needed. Furtively and openly, in trickles and in torrents, thousands of New Christians left the Iberian Peninsula during the nearly three and a half centuries of the Inquisition's power.

Not all the New Christians leaving the Peninsula were secret Jews. Many were devout Catholics and had no intention of changing their faith; others were religiously ambivalent or even apathetic. Some of these may have shared the general insecurity of all New Christians in the Peninsula; some may have feared implication in inquisitional proceedings because of the activities of their relatives or friends; some may have wished to hide their Jewish origins in foreign lands; and others may simply have been attracted by new challenges and opportunities. It was people like these who evoked apologies for Judaism such as Samuel *Usque's classic *Consolaçam às tribulaçoens de Israel* (1553; *Consolation for the Tribulations of Israel*, 1965), intended to persuade them to return to their ancestral religion. At the same time, considerable numbers of the New Christians were Marranos, or secret Jews, and were passionately dedicated to Judaism. This was particularly true of the Portuguese New Christians. By the 16th century the term "Portuguese" was already synonymous with the word "Jew" in much of Europe, Asia, and Latin America. During the Inquisition's extended sway over the Peninsula, the emigrating Marranos could plan to travel to four different kinds of countries: Muslim lands, Protestant territories as they came into being, Catholic countries outside the jurisdiction of Spain and Portugal, and Catholic countries within the peninsular orbit.

Muslim Countries

These were the most natural places of refuge for Marranos seeking to live openly as Jews, for they were the archenemies of the Christians and Spain and Portugal were particularly hated. *Morocco had already become a haven of refuge for both Jews and Conversos at the end of the 14th century, but many more Jews and Marranos were attracted to the Ottoman *Empire at the end of the 15th century and during the 16th. Sultan Bayazid *II (Bajazet II; 1481–1512) mocked King Ferdinand for impoverishing Spain and enriching the Ottoman Empire through his expulsion of the Jews. In the 16th century numerous cities in the Ottoman Empire had Jewish settlements, among them *Cairo, *Jerusalem, *Safed, *Damascus, *Constantinople with some 50,000 Jews, and *Salonika where the population of the Marranos exceeded that of the other Jews and the non-Jews as well.

Protestant Countries

Next to the Muslim countries the Protestant lands offered the best prospects, for here too the Catholics were detested, and the Inquisition was a hated institution because it was no more tolerant of Protestant heretics than Judaizers. In places like *England and *Hamburg and other German cities, Marranos began their existence as titular Catholics and secret Jews before the Reformation. They continued in this double life long after those areas had broken with Rome, for the Protestant authorities were not eager to grant official acknowledgment to the presence of Jews in their midst. In Hamburg, destined to become one of the wealthiest and most productive Marrano centers, the settlement of Jews was not officially authorized until 1612 and Jewish public worship not until 1650. In England, where Jews had been expelled in 1290, the Marranos who settled originally in *London and *Bristol were never officially acknowledged as Jews. Spokesmen for the Marranos, both Christians and Jews, including Manasseh Ben *Israel, failed in their efforts to secure the formal recognition of Jewish resettlement. Rather than being officially granted, the resettlement was "connived at": the question was simply ignored and Marranos were allowed to live undisturbed as Jews. Actually this connivance, or de facto resettlement through official silence, proved salutary for the Jews, since the failure to grant official permission for their presence made it impossible to impose particular disabilities on them. From the middle of the 17th century at least, the Marranos were treated like all other nonconformist citizens. In 1664 the crown granted Jews an official charter of protection, thus further facilitating the development of the Marrano community. The ex-Marranos and their descendants continued to be the dominant element in British Jewry until the 19th century.

In *Amsterdam the Marranos did not arrive until around 1590, some 11 years after the Union of Utrecht (1579) and the birth of the United Provinces of the Netherlands as a Protestant state. Here too they had to wait until 1615 before Jewish settlement was officially authorized, but the Marranos in Amsterdam differed from those in other Protestant countries in that they openly practiced Judaism almost from the moment of their arrival. Thanks to the Marranos, Amsterdam became one of the greatest Jewish centers in the world in the 17th century; it had some of the finest academies and produced some of the greatest Jewish thinkers. Amsterdam was also a haven for oppressed Jews from other places, including France in 1615 and Eastern Europe after the *Chmielnicki massacres (from 1648). Erstwhile Marranos from Holland were among the first settlers in Surinam and Curaçao, where a substantial Sephardi community came into being after 1650. Other former Marranos were also found in Barbados and in other parts of the West Indies, including Martinique and the Leeward Islands.

Other Catholic Countries

The Catholic lands outside the control of Spain and Portugal did not offer so secure a haven as the Ottoman Empire or the Protestant countries, but they had the advantage of being outside the orbit of the peninsular Inquisitions. At the same time these areas were not without their inherent dangers, in the form of envy or rooted prejudice on the part of the local population, pressures from the Spanish and Portuguese Inquisitions upon the local authorities, and even the possibility of persecution galvanized by local initiative, and, in the case of the Papal States, an indigenous Inquisition. As a result, the existence of many of these Marrano communities, even if unclouded and prosperous for a time, was seldom free from molestations.

In the Papal States the Marranos' presence was noticeable in places like *Rome and even more so the seaport of *Ancona, where they thrived under benevolent popes like Clement VII (1523–34), Paul III (1534–49), and Julius III (1550–55). They even received a guarantee that if accused of apostasy they would be subject only to papal authority. But Paul IV (1555–59), the voice of the Counter-Reformation, dealt them an irreparable blow when he withdrew all protection previously given the Marranos and initiated a fierce persecution against them. As a result of the anti-Marrano campaign, 25 Judaizers were burned alive in the spring of 1556; 26 others were condemned to the galleys, and 30 more who had been arrested were liberated only after they had paid a substantial bribe. Thanks to the intervention of the Marrano patroness, Gracia Mendes *Nasi, the sultan at Constantinople secured the release of all Marranos who were his subjects. Plans were laid to boycott Ancona and transfer all the Marranos' former business to neighboring *Pesaro, in the friendlier territory of the duke of Urbino, but the project failed, and the duke even expelled the Marranos from his territory. A document of 1550 indicates that there were some Marranos among the Spanish and Portuguese merchants in Florence who traded on a large scale with Spain and her colonies. In *Ferrara, under the house of Este, the Marranos formed a large and thriving community by the middle of the 16th century, one of the most notable in their entire Diaspora. The dukes protected them until 1581, when Duke Alfonso II, bowing to ecclesiastical pressure, allowed many of them to be arrested. Three were eventually sent to Rome to be burned at the stake in February 1583. Marranos settled in *Venice in the 15th and early 16th centuries but were subjected to decrees of expulsion in 1497 and again in 1550. Thereafter the city policy began to change. Venice not only welcomed Marranos but kept the Inquisition at bay. Theologians like Paolo Sarpi even claimed that the Judaizers were outside the jurisdiction of the Inquisition because they had been baptized by force. Equally fortunate was the situation in the grand duchy of *Tuscany. In an attempt to woo the Marranos to Pisa and *Leghorn, Ferdinand II issued a charter in 1593 granting them protection against harassment in matters of faith. As it was in decline at the time, Pisa did not attract many Marranos, but Leghorn did: the community there thrived and by the end of the 18th century its population approached 5,000. Emmanuel Philbert granted a special privilege to induce Jews to settle in the duchy of Savoy, intending mainly to settle Marranos from Spain and Portugal in Nice in order to develop the city into a central trading port with the East. The privilege enraged Philip II of Spain, who considered the whole plan as seriously damaging Spain's interests in the Mediterranean as well as an incitement to Marranos to return to Judaism. The joint pressure of Spain and the Holy See led to the rescinding of the privilege and on Nov. 22, 1573 the duke ordered a group of Marranos who had returned to Judaism to leave his territory within six months. This decree was probably not put into effect until 1581 when Charles Emmanuel I ordered the expulsion of all Portuguese Jews from the duchy.

In *France the Marranos had to maintain some semblance of Catholicism for more than two centuries, but they were seldom molested in their secret practice of Judaism. Though they were called "New Christians" or "Portuguese merchants," their Jewishness was an open secret. In the large settlements they lived in their own quarters, had their own burial grounds, developed their own schools and communal institutions, and even trained their own rabbis after first importing them from abroad. In the course of time they gradually reduced their Catholic practices and eventually abandoned Church marriage and even baptism. In 1730 they were officially recognized as Jews. Their more formal communities were situated at *Bordeaux and *Bayonne and there were numerous lesser settlements in such places as *Toulouse, *Lyons, Montpellier, La *Rochelle, *Nantes, and *Rouen. Bayonne was the center of a cluster of communities, including *Biarritz, *Bidache, *Peyrehorade, and *Saint-Jean-de-Luz. In this last town the Marranos had the misfortune of being expelled in 1619, and then, after a partial return, seeing the town captured by the Spaniards in 1636.

Other Territories

But in the far-flung Spanish and Portuguese possessions, in the Aragonese territories of *Sicily, *Sardinia and *Naples, in *Hapsburg territories like Flanders, or the colonial territories in the Far East or in the Americas, the situation of the Marranos was always precarious. There they lived continually under the shadow of the Inquisition; even where a tribunal of the

Holy Office was not in operation, there were episcopal Inquisitions and occasional inquisitional "visitors" sent from the home countries to galvanize the search for heretics. Sicily and Sardinia, with Inquisitions introduced in 1487 and 1493 respectively, were practically free of Judaizers by the middle of the 16th century. There was opposition to introducing the Spanish Inquisition into Naples, but the papal Inquisition took over and managed to destroy most of the Marrano community by the middle of the 17th century. The situation of the Marranos was no less precarious in *Antwerp, where they began to arrive early in the 16th century, frequently to begin a trek across Europe to the Ottoman Empire. In 1526 New Christians' stay in the city was restricted to a 30-day period and though settlement was fully authorized 11 years later, Judaizing was strictly prohibited. With the decline of Antwerp, the center of Marrano life in the Low Countries shifted to Amsterdam.

In their colonies the Portuguese set up an Inquisition at *Goa and the Spaniards established one in the *Philippines. Episcopal Inquisitions were always present in Latin America: *Brazil never had a formal tribunal, but tribunals were established in the Spanish colonies at Lima (*Peru, 1570), Mexico City (1571), and Cartagena (1610). Latin America in particular attracted considerable numbers of New Christians. The advantage of these territories was that they offered the New Christians a familiar culture and the possibility of direct even if infrequent contact with the mother countries. For New Christians wishing to live fully as Catholics, the distances from the Peninsula and the sparseness of the population of most of the territories aided in the obliteration of the record of their Jewish origins. On the other hand, these factors also facilitated the Marranos' practice of Judaism.

Activities of the Marranos

Religious considerations were important in determining the direction of the flight of many of the Marranos, but they were not the only ones. Of great and sometimes decisive importance were the economic and social opportunities available in the various lands open to them at the time of their escape. These opportunities often made it more desirable for Marranos to continue living as secret Jews in Catholic lands (even those under Spanish and Portuguese domination) than to seek a refuge where they could practice Judaism openly. Conversely, in each of the territories where the Marranos – or for that matter all New Christians – appeared, they were allowed to enter and remain because they served definite economic, social, and political ends. In almost every one of their new homes they quickly rose to prominence in international and domestic trade, and banking and finance. They helped to establish great national banks and were prominent on the stock exchanges. They played an important role in large trading companies, such as the Dutch East Indies and West Indies Companies, and even in the rival company established at Portugal to help oust the Dutch from Brazil. As well as insurance companies, they established manufacturing plants for soap, drugs, and other items, and made signal contributions in minting, handicrafts, armaments, and shipbuilding. In the area of international trade they assumed virtual dominance and controlled, frequently to the point of monopoly, the traffic in such commodities as coral, sugar, tobacco, and precious stones. The Marranos' common background and culture, their presence in the leading commercial centers, and often their ties of kinship, enabled them to establish an efficient and closely knit international trading organization. Great banking and trading families, like that founded by Francisco Mendes at Lisbon, had branches throughout Europe. The Marranos' international connections served to stimulate communications between nations and their separate competitive development. In this way the activities of the New Christians fostered the stability of their countries of settlement and facilitated their transition from a medieval to a modern economy. The Marranos also attained prominence in the professional life of the lands of their dispersion. From their midst came great diplomats like João Miguez, the duke of Naxos (Joseph *Nasi), and his mother-in-law, Gracia Mendes Nasi (Beatriz de Luna), who also distinguished herself as a great philanthropist and patron of the Jewish arts, as well as the equally colorful Diego Texeira de Sampaio (Abraham Senior *Texeira). The Marranos produced scientists like Immanuel Bocarro Frances, distinguished physicians like Amatus *Lusitanus (Juan Rodrigo), Elijah Montalto (Felipo Rodrigues), and Antonio Ribeiro Sanchez, and a host of other distinguished names in secular literature, theater, and music.

Reciprocally, many of the states and nations in their Diaspora gave the Marranos an opportunity to develop their own institutions and culture. The printing press became a foremost instrument in the development of this culture. Ferrara's press, which published the famous translation of the Bible into Spanish and Samuel Usque's *Consolaçam as tribulaçoens de Israel* in Portuguese in addition to liturgical and other works, was the center of Marrano culture in the middle of the 16th century. By the end of the 16th century, Venice had the leading press and in the next century it was situated in Amsterdam. Other cities, too, like Leghorn, Hamburg, and London, had important presses, and printing in numerous smaller places helped to spread further Jewish culture. Especially noteworthy is the extensive literature published by these presses. Including prayerbooks and sermons, books of precepts and customs, translations into Spanish and Portuguese of classics in Jewish philosophy and thought, apologetical works and polemics, and also novels, poetry, and plays, it was particularly directed toward the Marranos who had left the Iberian peninsula and sought to find themselves in Judaism, although still assailed by doubts.

Marrano writers of note are far too numerous to mention them all. Among the more important ones were such men as the apologists Immanuel *Aboab, Saul Levi *Morteira, Lorenzo *Escudero (Abraham Ger or Abraham Israel Peregrino), Isaac *Cardozo, Isaac Orobio de *Castro, and David *Nieto; poets like David Abenatar *Melo, Daniel Lopez *Laguna, Solomon Usque, João (Moses) Pinto *Delgado, and Daniel Levi (Miguel) de *Barrios; playwrights like Antonio Enriquez *Gomez and Antonio Jose da *Silva; and versatile writers like the prolific Joseph Penso de la *Vega, writer of plays, short stories, and one of the earliest and most comprehensive treatises on the stock exchange. Many Marranos also attained fame outside the Jewish fold. The aristocracy of many societies in Europe and the Americas was enriched by these people and their descendants. Frequently, like Benjamin *Disraeli, they attained the highest diplomatic, military, and administrative positions. Like their Jewish counterparts, they also made a name for themselves in the business and cultural world.

An authentic Marrano community was discovered by Samuel *Schwartz in Portugal in 1917; and from time to time there emerge individuals or even groups whose faith is not Jewish who have retained some of the practices and customs of the Marranos, at times even without awareness of their Jewish ancestry.

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[Martin A. Cohen]

MARRE, SIR ALAN (1914–1990), British civil servant. Alan Marre, the son of Joseph Moshinsky, a tobacconist in London's East End, won a scholarship to Cambridge and entered the British civil service in 1936. Marre rose in the administrative civil service to become second permanent under-secretary in the Home Office Department when, in 1971, he was appointed Britain's second ombudsman (officially, the parliamentary commissioner for administration), holding the post until 1976. As ombudsman, Marre investigated complaints of maladministration by government departments, an unusually sensitive post. In addition, in 1973–76 he was also the first health service commissioner, performing a similar role for the British health service. Marre also headed a number of other well-known investigations, especially the government inquiry into the welfare of children affected by thalidomide who had not benefited from previous financial settlements. He was knighted in 1970.

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[William D. Rubinstein (2nd ed.)]

MARRIAGE. This article is arranged according to the following outline:

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THE CONCEPT

In Jewish teaching, marriage is the ideal human state and is considered a basic social institution established by God at the time of creation.

In the Bible

The purposes of marriage in the Bible are companionship and procreation: "It is not good that the man should be alone; I will make him a help-mate for him … Therefore shall a man leave his father and his mother, and shall cleave unto his wife, and they shall be one flesh" (Gen. 2:18, 24); and "Be fruitful, and multiply, and replenish the earth …" (Gen. 1:28). The biblical conception of marriage is essentially monogamous (Gen. 2:24), and although in biblical times polygamy was common among the upper classes (Judg. 8:30; II Sam. 5:13; I Kings 11:1–8), the many references to marriage in the *Wisdom literature seem to take it for granted that a man had only one wife (Ps. 128; Prov. 12:4; 18:22; 19:14; 31:10–31; Ecclus. 25:1; 26). The prophets using marriage as a metaphor for God's attachment to Israel (Isa. 61:10; 62:5; Ezek. 16; Hos. 2:21–22; also Song of Songs, if interpreted metaphorically) clearly have monogamous marriage in mind, since God did not enter into such a special relationship with any other people.

Marriages were usually arranged by parents (Gen. 21:21; 24; 28:2), but the bride's consent was asked on occasion (Gen. 24:5, 58), and romantic unions were not uncommon (Gen. 29:20; Judg. 14; I Sam. 18:20; II Sam. 11:2–4; I Kings 2:17; II Chron. 11:21). It was usual to marry within the clan (Gen. 24:4; 28:2; 29:19), and in a leviratic situation (*levirate marriage) this was obligatory (Gen. 38:9; Deut. 25:5; Ruth 3:12–13). Certain marriages, involving close relatives (Lev. 18; 20; Deut.

23:1–8; 27:20–23), priests, widows, and divorced women (Lev. 21:7; Deut. 24:4), are forbidden. While marriages outside the clan occurred, they were strongly opposed both as a measure against idolatry (Ex. 34:15–16; Deut. 7:3–4; 28:4), and to preserve Jewish distinctiveness (Ezra 9:12; 10:17; Neh. 10:31; 13:23–28). Fruitfulness in marriage is a great blessing and childlessness a tragedy and disgrace (Gen. 8:17; 9:1, 7; 13:16; 17–18; 22:17; 30:1–23; Ps. 127:3–5; 128). Marriage is the means to true companionship: "Whoso findeth a wife findeth a great good" (Prov. 18:22; cf. 12:4; 14:1; 19:14; 31:10–31); "live joyfully with thy wife whom thou lovest" (Eccles. 9:9). But where marital harmony no longer prevails (particularly in the case of the wife's *adultery), the marriage can be dissolved by *divorce (Deut. 24:1–4), though Malachi (2:14–16) warns that God deplores the resort to divorce.

In Sectarian Teaching

The Essenes in general rejected worldly pleasures, including marriage, and practiced continence (Jos., Wars, 2:120). The Covenanters of Qumran did not appear to have been strictly celibate as once was thought. It is clear that some members married and had children (*Zadokite Document*, 20:7–8; 13:20; *Damascus Document*, 4:7). The *Order of the Community* ruled that a young man should not have intercourse before 20 years of age (1:4–11). Archaeologists have found the remains of a few women and children at Qumran but it is not clear to what extent this indicates marriage. The New Testament has a negative attitude to the sexual impulse and regards celibacy as a higher ideal than marriage (Matt. 19:10; I Cor. 7). Marriage is a concession to human weakness (I Cor. 7), but once entered into, it is a sacrament dissolved only by death (Matt. 19:16; Mark 10:9); though some hold that Jesus allowed divorce in cases of adultery (Matt. 5:31–32; 19:9; Mark 10:12; Luke 16:18).

In Rabbinic Literature

In contrast, rabbinic teaching sees celibacy as unnatural. It is not he who marries who sins; the sinner is the unmarried man who "spends all his days in sinful thoughts" (Kid. 29b). Marriage is not only for companionship and procreation; it also fulfills one as a person: "He who has no wife is not a proper man" (Yev. 63a); he lives "without joy, blessing, goodness … Torah, protection … and peace" (Yev. 62b); he may not officiate as high priest on the Day of Atonement (Yoma 1:1), and probably not as **sheli'aḥ ẓibbur* on the High Holy Days (Isserles to Sh. Ar., OH 581:1, based on Yoma 1:1 and Yev. 37b). Sexual desire is not evil or shameful. When regulated and controlled in marriage, it serves beneficial ends: "Were it not for the *yeẓer ha-ra* ("evil inclination" here sexual urge), no man would build a house, marry a wife, or beget children" (Gen. R. 9:7). He who, by denying his legitimate instincts, fails to produce children "is as if he shed blood, diminished the Image of God, and made the *Shekhinah* depart from Israel" (Sh. Ar., EH 1:1, based on Yev. 63b–64a), and he will have to account for his actions in the world to come (Shab. 31a). Marriage is so important that a man may sell a Torah scroll in order to marry (Meg. 27a) and a woman will tolerate an unhappy marriage rather than remain alone (Yev. 113a; Kid 7a). One should never approach marriage lightly. To make a successful match is as hard as the parting of the Red Sea (Sot. 2a, et al.), and it requires the infinite wisdom of God himself (Gen. R. 68:3). Hence, although in one view a person's marriage is predestined (Sot. 2a), the individual must choose wisely: "Hasten to buy land; deliberate before taking a wife" (Yev. 63a). Marriage should not be for money (Kid. 70a), but a man should seek a wife who is mild-tempered, tactful, modest, and industrious (Sot. 3b), and who meets other criteria: respectability of family (Ta'an. 4:8; BB 109b), similarity of social background (Kid. 49a) and of age (Yev. 44a; Sanh. 76a–b), beauty (Ber. 57b; Yoma 74b), and a scholarly father (Pes. 49b). A man should not betroth a woman until he has seen her (Kid. 41a). Early marriage is preferred: "18 for marriage" (Avot 5:21). If one is not married by 20, God curses him (Kid. 29b–30a). Only a person intensively occupied in Torah study, e.g., *Ben Azzai, may postpone marriage (Yev. 63b; cf. Ket. 63a; Sot. 4b); though in Babylon it was suggested that one should first marry and then study (Kid. 29b). A practical order of procedure, derived from Deuteronomy (20:5–7), states; "First build a house, then plant a vineyard, and after that marry" (Sot. 44a). As far as a girl is concerned, if her father does not find her a husband while she is young (from the age of 12), she may become unchaste and he will have transgressed the commandment in Leviticus 19:29: "Profane not thy daughter to make her a harlot" (Sanh. 76a).

Polygamy, while theoretically still possible, was discouraged, and was almost unknown among talmudic rabbis. Marriage was not a sacrament in the Christian sense, since its dissolution through divorce, though regrettable, was possible. It is **kiddushin*, a sacred relationship (analogous to **hekdesh*), whereby the wife is consecrated to her husband and forbidden to all others during the duration of the marriage (Kid. 2a–b). At the same time, it is not a mere legal contract devoid of spiritual content. Thus, while the husband acquires rights over his wife's *ishut* ("wifehood"), though not over her person, and he undertakes duties toward her, e.g., supplying her with food and clothing, and adhering to the conjugal rights (Ex. 21:10), both parties must seek to raise their marriage to the highest level by means of mutual consideration and respect. The husband must deny himself in order to provide for his wife and children (Ḥul. 84b). He must not cause his wife to weep (BM 59a). If he loves her as himself and honors her more than himself, he will merit the blessing in Job (5:24) "And thou shalt know that thy tent is in peace" (Yev. 62b). If husband and wife are worthy, God will dwell with them; otherwise, there will be a consuming fire between them (Sot. 17a; PdRE 12). The rabbis, like the prophets, use marriage to symbolize other perfect relationships: e.g., God and Israel, Israel and the Torah, and Israel and the Sabbath.

In Medieval and Modern Times

The positive attitude of the rabbis to marriage was maintained in post-talmudic literature and Jewish practice. Asceticism and celibacy continued to be rare. Polygamy was finally prohibited among Ashkenazi Jews by a ban attributed to R. *Gershom b. Judah (see *Bigamy; *Monogamy). Early marriage became general practice. Divorce, though relatively easy to obtain, was not common, partly due to the social pressures of the closed Jewish society since the family was firmly established as the basis of Jewish life (see I. Abrahams, *Jewish Life in the Middle Ages* (1932^2), 99 ff.). With the cultural changes which followed the emancipation, the Jewish marriage rate tended to be lower than the non-Jewish one, divorce and mixed marriage increased, early marriage was uncommon, and the urban Jewish birth rate fell (see A. Ruppin, *The Jews in the Modern World* (1934), 277 f., 316 ff.; J. Freid (ed.), *Jews and Divorce* (1968)). These trends intensified after World War II as environmental attitudes were increasingly being reflected among Western Jewry. Marital stability has been relatively less and traditional moral codes have been questioned. To counteract these tendencies, Jewish communities are promoting marriage education and guidance, largely through rabbis and social welfare agencies.

[Raymond Apple]

MARRIAGE CEREMONY

In the Bible

There is hardly any data about the marriage ceremony in the Bible. The act of marriage is called simply "taking" ("when a man taketh a wife," Deut. 24:1; "and there went a man of the house of Levi, and he took a daughter of Levi," Ex. 2:1). However, from the story of Jacob and Leah it is obvious that some sort of celebration took place: "And Laban gathered all the people of the place and made a feast" (Gen. 29:22) and later, when Jacob complained that he had been cheated and demanded Rachel, the daughter for whom he had worked, he was told: "Wait until the bridal week of this one is over and we will give you that one too" (Gen. 29:27). No details are recorded as to the nature of the feast or the bridal week. The same is true in the case of Samson (Judg. 14:12) except that there it is said that the groom posed a riddle to his companions and gave them the seven days of the feast to solve it. It appears that processions for both the bride and groom were a central part of the celebrations and were accompanied by music (Ps. 78:63; I Macc. 9:39) and there is ample reference to special marriage attire and adornment. From Deuteronomy 22:15 it seems that the exhibition of evidence of the bride's virginity (the blood-stained sheet) was part of the ceremony. It is reasonable to presume that even in the earliest times the act of marriage must have been accompanied by some ceremony; the biblical authors, however, give no direct description of it and usually refer to it only in passing or as a figure in their imagery.

In the Talmud

In the talmudic period – and presumably for a considerable time before then – the marriage ceremony was in two parts. The first, called *kiddushin* or *erusin* (betrothal; but see below, Legal Aspects, for the difference between this concept and what is commonly called betrothal), was effected by the bridegroom handing over in the presence of two witnesses any object of value (more than a *perutah*) to the bride and reciting the marriage formula, "Behold, you are consecrated unto me with this ring according to the law of Moses and Israel." On this occasion two benedictions were recited, one over wine and the other for the actual act. The second reads: "Blessed art Thou, O Lord our God, King of the universe, who has hallowed us by Thy commandments, and hast given us command concerning forbidden marriages; who hast disallowed unto us those that are betrothed (to us – variant in some rites), but hast sanctioned unto us such as are wedded to us by the rite of the nuptial canopy and the sacred covenant of wedlock. Blessed art Thou, O Lord, who hallowest Thy people Israel by the rite of the nuptial canopy and the sacred covenant of wedlock" (Hertz, Prayer, 1011). This benediction is already recorded in the Talmud (Ket. 7b), and since cohabitation of the bride and groom was forbidden until the second ceremony, the *nissu'in* (see below, and Legal Aspects), which in the case of a virgin usually took place a year later, it appears that the benediction was in fact a warning to the betrothed couple not to cohabit until that ceremony.

The second part of the ceremony took place at a later date and was called *nissu'in* (marriage proper). It was also called *ḥuppah* (see below) after either the groom's house to which the bride was led or the canopy, symbolic of that house, under which the ceremony took place. Originally *nissu'in* was effected by the bride entering the groom's house and cohabiting with him. On the occasion of the *nissu'in* a series of benedictions was recited (see below). After this stage the couple were completely married and liable to all the responsibilities and privileges of that state (see also below, Legal Aspects).

There is ample evidence in the Talmud that the wedding ceremony was accompanied by great rejoicing and some times even hilarity. The question of how one should dance before the bride was discussed and even occasioned a difference of opinion between the schools of Hillel and Shammai (Ket. 16b–17a). Although Rashi interprets the phrase "*keiẓad merakdim*" used there as meaning "what does one say" in order to fit the continuation of the text, the phrase must be understood in its literal sense "how does one dance." Judah b. Ilai is recorded as having danced before the bride with a myrtle branch and Samuel b. Rav Isaac was rebuked by his colleagues for having performed what seems to have been a juggling dance. The Talmud, however, justified his behavior entirely. Rav Aḥa went so far as to dance with the bride on his shoulders, something which astonished the other rabbis (Ket. 17a). Indeed the custom of shattering a glass at the marriage ceremony (see below) stems, according to the medieval commentators, from Mar berei de-Ravina and Rav Ashi who deliberately smashed expensive glassware at their sons' weddings in order to reduce the unseemly hilarity of the rabbis who were present (Ber. 31a). Until the destruction of the Temple both the bride and groom wore distinctive headdresses, sometimes of gold (Sot. 9:14, 49a; Git. 7a; for details see *Crowns, Decorative Headdresses, and Wreaths). For the marriage of a virgin (as opposed to a widow or divorcee) special rites took place. She went out in a *hinnumah* (variously interpreted as a bridal veil or a special bridal litter used in the marriage procession); dried corn was distributed to the children (Ket. 2:1); games were played before the bride; a goblet of tithe wine was passed before her; according to some, a sealed (opened for a widow or divorcee) barrel of wine was used instead (Ket. 16b). The performance of all these ceremonies was sufficient evidence that the bride had been a virgin and was thus entitled to the larger *ketubbah* (see *Virgin). The bridal procession took precedence over a funeral procession and King Agrippa was praised by the rabbis for giving right of way to a bridal procession although his, being the royal procession, had precedence. At Tur Malka the disturbances which destroyed the town were started, according to talmudic legend, when Roman legionnaires took the hen and rooster which led a marriage procession as a fertility symbol (Git. 57a). Participation at the marriage ceremony and celebrations was considered a *mitzvah* and he who entertained the bride and groom was compared to one who had sacrificed a thanksgiving offering (Ber. 6b). The groom was required to devote at least three days to the preparation of the wedding feast and even if a parent of the bride or groom died on the set day of the marriage its consummation took place and the funeral was held afterward (Ket. 3a). The wedding of a virgin originally took place on a Wednesday (Ket. 1:1). This is explained in the Babylonian Talmud by the fact that the court sat on Thursdays and thus if the groom claimed that the bride had not been a virgin he could immediately complain to the court. However, it does appear that superstition was involved and that Wednesday was considered an auspicious day (cf. TJ, Ket. 1:1). A widow was married on Thursday so that her husband should devote at least three days to her without going back to his work. However, even in talmudic times the requirement that weddings be held on specific days fell into disuse for which a variety of reasons is given. It seems that in talmudic times the exhibition of the stained bridal sheet was discouraged. Originally the *shushbinim* ("friends," i.e., groomsmen) were appointed to ensure that no trickery was employed by either side (Tosef., Ket. 1:4 and Ket. 12a). For a virgin seven festive days were celebrated which, for the bride and groom, had something of the status of a religious holiday. The marriage benedictions were recited at meals (for details see below) and neither bride nor groom was allowed to mourn.

Post-Talmudic Period

The most important development in the marriage ceremony was the joining of the two parts, *erusin* and *nissu'in*, into one ceremony performed at one time. This took place during the Middle Ages and was presumably because of the uncertain and perilous conditions in which the Jews lived. It was also exceedingly inconvenient to have an interval between the two ceremonies since on the one hand the parties were prohibited from cohabiting while on the other all the stringencies of the married status applied to them. Thus from the beginning of the 12th century it became customary to perform both ceremonies together, a practice which has been universally followed except for a few Oriental communities (see Freimann, bibl., 29 ff.). Other developments are the addition of various prayers to the ceremony, the inclusion of a sermon by the officiating rabbi and, in some present-day communities, the invocation of a blessing on the bridal couple.

The ceremony may be performed anywhere. In many communities – particularly Sephardi and Oriental – it is performed inside the synagogue although there are halakhic opinions against it. In some places it is performed in the hall where the subsequent festivities are held and among some circles (ultra-Orthodox Jews and Ḥasidim and generally among Ashkenazim in Israel) it is invariably performed in the open. This latter custom is perhaps due to the fact that ideally the ceremony takes place after nightfall and the stars above are associated with God's assurance to Abraham that He would "make your descendants as numerous as the stars of heaven" (Gen. 22:17; see Isserles to Sh. Ar., EH 61:1). In the western hemisphere Sunday is a popular day for weddings because of the convenience to the guests, while Tuesday is favored in Orthodox circles because of the repetition of the sentence "And God saw that this was good" in the biblical account of the creation on that day (Gen. 1:10, 12). However, any day of the week is valid except Sabbath; also festivals, the three weeks between the 17th of Tammuz and the Ninth of Av, and the *sefirah* period between Passover and Shavuot (there are exceptional days in the last-mentioned period, notably Lag ba-Omer: see *Omer). According to the general Sephardi custom marriages are not performed on Lag ba-Omer but are performed from the following day onward. Usually a person in mourning for a parent does not marry until the year of mourning is out although in certain circumstances it is permitted to marry earlier (Sh. Ar., YD 392). There are no specific requirements for the way in which the bride and bridegroom dress. It is customary for the bride to wear white and for her to have a headdress and a veil. The bridegroom in some Orthodox circles wears a **kitel* either as an evocation of death or since his wedding day is compared to the Day of Atonement when the *kitel* is worn. In some communities the bridegroom wears a *tallit*, as does, in some, the officiating rabbi. In many Oriental communities brides wear elaborate costumes richly embroidered and ornamented which were loaned from bride to bride; the Yemenite bridal costume is an outstanding example (see also *Dress).

The ceremony is presently performed as follows. Before being led to the *ḥuppah* (wedding canopy; see below) the bridegroom, in the presence of witnesses, undertakes, by an act of *kinyan* (see *Acquisition) the obligations of the *ketubbah*. This is done by the groom taking a piece of cloth, handkerchief, or some other object from the officiating rabbi, lifting it, and returning it. The witnesses then sign the document and in many communities (including the State of Israel) the groom also signs. The groom is then escorted to the place where the bride is waiting (many modern synagogues have a special bride's room) and lets down her veil over her face, at which time the rabbi or cantor pronounces the blessing invoked on Rebekah "O sister! May you grow into thousands of myriads" (Gen. 24:60). This ceremony is known in Yiddish as "*bedeken di kale*" (lit. "covering the bride") and is not practiced by Sephardi Jews. The groom is then led to the *ḥuppah* by his and the bride's father (or two other male relatives or friends if he or the bride has been orphaned) and stands facing Ereẓ Israel, in Israel itself facing Jerusalem, and in Jerusalem facing the Temple site. The bride is then led to the *ḥuppah* by her mother and the groom's mother, usually to the accompaniment of a blessing of welcome chanted by the rabbi or cantor, the text of which is: "He Who is supremely mighty; He Who is supremely praised; He Who is supremely great; May He bless this bridegroom and bride." It is customary among Ashkenazim for the bride to be led in seven circuits around the groom which is presumably to be associated with the magic circle to ward off evil spirits. The bride then stands at the right hand of the groom, and, where customary, the rabbi delivers the sermon; the ceremony proper then begins. The rabbi recites the blessing over a goblet of wine and the marriage blessing (see text above) after which the father of the bridegroom gives the goblet to the bridegroom and he drinks, and then the mother of the bride gives the bride the goblet, from which she drinks. In many communities the officiant gives the goblet to the bride and groom. The groom then places the ring (see below) on the forefinger of the bride's right hand and recites the marriage formula (see above). In some communities the glass is crushed by the groom at this stage. The *ketubbah* is then read out loud by the rabbi or some other man whom the bridal couple wish to honor. In many communities it is read in the original Aramaic and followed by a précis in the vernacular; in Israel a Hebrew précis is often substituted. The purpose of the reading of the *ketubbah* is to divide between the two parts of the ceremony. The celebrant (rabbi, cantor, or some other person) then recites the seven marriage benedictions (see below) over a goblet of wine. In many places it is customary to have different men recite the different benedictions. The father of the bride then gives the groom to drink from the goblet and the mother of the groom does likewise to the bride. In most rites the groom crushes a glass under his right foot and where customary the rabbi invokes the *priestly blessing. The couple are then escorted to a room where they remain alone for some time, usually breaking their fast together (see below, Legal Aspects, for reasons). The breaking of the glass by the groom is explained by some authorities as a token of the seriousness desirable in even the most happy moments (see above, In the Talmud); however, the act has become understood over the ages as a sign of mourning for the destruction of Jerusalem. In some communities the bridegroom threw the glass against a special wall instead of treading on it. It has been suggested that originally the glass was broken to frighten away evil spirits. In some rites the memorial prayer, *El Maleh Raḥamim*, is recited for departed parents if either member of the couple is an orphan.

THE MARRIAGE BENEDICTIONS. These benedictions, commonly known as the *Sheva Berakhot* (Heb. "seven benedictions" – when recited with the benediction over wine) are recorded in the Talmud (Ket. 7b–8a) where they are called *Birkat Ḥatanim* ("the bridegroom's benediction"). When recited under the *ḥuppah* the benediction for wine precedes the other six which are:

1) "Blessed art Thou … who hast created all things to Thy glory.

2) … Creator of man.

3) … who hast made man in Thine image, after Thy likeness, and hast prepared unto him, out of his very self, a perpetual fabric. Blessed art Thou, O Lord, Creator of man.

4) May she who was barren (Zion) be exceedingly glad and exult, when her children are gathered within her in joy. Blessed art Thou, O Lord, who makest Zion joyful through her children.

5) O make these loved companions greatly to rejoice, even as of old Thou didst gladden Thy creature in the garden of Eden. Blessed art Thou, O Lord, who makest bridegroom and bride to rejoice.

6) Blessed art Thou … who hast created joy and gladness, bridegroom and bride, mirth and exultation, pleasure and delight, love, brotherhood, peace, and fellowship. Soon O Lord, our God, may there be heard in the cities of Judah, and in the streets of Jerusalem, the voice of joy and gladness, the voice of the bridegroom and the voice of the bride, the jubilant voice of bridegrooms from their canopies, and of youths from their feasts of song. Blessed art Thou, O Lord, who makest the bridegroom to rejoice with the bride" (Hertz, Prayer, 1013).

This series of benedictions raises some problems from the point of view of their formulation since normally only the first should begin with the formula "Blessed art thou …." Rashi (to Ket. 7b–8a) gives the following explanation. The first benediction is not for the bridal couple but in honor of the assembled congregation; the second is a benediction in honor of the creation of Adam and the next three are for the couple being married, while the last is an invocation for all Israel including the couple. The series begins with the blessing over wine because of its festive nature. The blessings are recited at the marriage ceremony and at every meal during the next seven days at which there is "a new face," i.e., somebody who was not present at any previous recitation for that couple. This rule applies to all the seven days except the Sabbath, which is itself considered to be a "new face." At the meals the series is recited immediately following the Grace after Meals, which itself is introduced by a special invocation. The series then ends with the benediction over the wine and both the bride and groom and the person who led the Grace drink from the wine. A *minyan* (ten males) is required for the recitation of the marriage benedictions both at the *ḥuppah* and after the grace; if no *minyan* is present the last of the marriage benedictions may be recited as long as there are three males (Sh. Ar., EH 62 and see also: *Grace after Meals). In talmudic times special formulas were added to the grace after meals for some considerable period before the actual wedding and after it. The present-day custom is limited to the recital of the benedictions for the seven-day period immediately following the wedding, except in the case of a marriage between a widower and widow when it is recited on the first day only.

ḤUPPAH (HEB. חֻפָּה). The term originally referred to the bridal canopy or the bridal chamber (Gen. R. 4:4) and sometimes to the wedding itself (Avot 5:21). In ancient times the *ḥuppah* was the tent or room of the groom into which, at the end of the betrothal period, the bride was brought in festive procession for the marital union (cf. Ps. 19:6; Yad, Ishut 10:1). In talmudic times it was customary for the father of the bridegroom to erect the *ḥuppah* (Gen. R. 28:6; Ber. 25b; Sanh. 108a). In *Bethar (near Jerusalem) the custom was to make the staves or beams of the *ḥuppah* from a cedar and pine tree which were planted for this purpose at the birth of male and female children respectively (Git. 57a). The *ḥuppah* was sometimes made of precious scarlet and gold cloth (Sot. 49b; TJ, Sot. 9:16, 246). The Talmud tells that God made ten *ḥuppot* for Adam and Eve and that He will build such *ḥuppot* for the pious in the world to come (BB 75a). In the early Middle Ages, the *ḥuppah* was not usually used at weddings; this is obvious from the phrasing of Isserles (Sh. Ar.) who regarded it as a novelty (Isserles to Sh. Ar., YD, 391; *ibid.*, EH 55:1). In France the groom covered the bride's head with his *tallit* as a symbol of his sheltering her. This custom was based upon the words of Ruth to Boaz: "Spread … thy cloak over thy handmaid; for thou art a near kinsman" (Ruth 3:9). This ceremony was also called *ḥuppah* and was the custom among the Jews of North Africa. Since in talmudic times the *ḥuppah* was the place of marital union and therefore required privacy, medieval responsa dealt with the question whether the act of entering the *ḥuppah* was sufficient to constitute marriage or whether it was only to be regarded as a symbol which would still require the couple to retire in privacy (cf. Tos. to Suk. 25b and see below, Legal Aspects). In the late Middle Ages the *ḥuppah*, consisting of a cloth spread on four staves, was placed inside the synagogue (Isserles to Sh. Ar., YD 391:3), but later it was moved to the courtyard of the synagogue, either because it was deemed improper to have the *ḥuppah*, as a symbol of the marriage tent, erected inside the synagogue or because of the need to accommodate the wedding party (and see above). In modern Israel, for the weddings of soldiers on active duty, the *ḥuppah* often consists of a **tallit* which is supported by four rifles held by friends of the bride and groom.

THE RING. Although the act of marriage can be effected in different ways (see below, Legal Aspects) it has become the universal Jewish practice to use a ring, except in a very few Oriental communities where a coin is used. The ring, which must belong to the bridegroom, should be free of any precious stones but can be of any material (usually it is of gold or some other precious metal) as long as its value is more than a *perutah*, the smallest denomination of currency in Talmud times. In the ceremony the groom gives the ring to the bride as an act of acquisition and the bride, by accepting it, becomes his wife. Generally the groom places the ring on the forefinger of the bride's right hand; there are, however, many varied customs as to which finger the ring is placed on. In some Reform and Conservative congregations in the U.S. the "double ring" ceremony is practiced in which the bride also gives a ring to the groom and recites a marriage formula. Since, according to the *halakhah*, it is the groom who is acquiring the bride, this innovation raises serious halakhic doubts which, according to some authorities, even affect the validity of the marriage.

[Raphael Posner]

VARIOUS CUSTOMS. The marriage ceremony marks a crucial period in man's life cycle and it is only natural that it became surrounded by a multitude of different customs which generally had one of two purposes: to protect the couple from malignant spirits and to invoke God's blessing of fertility on the marriage. Many of the customs were adopted by the Jews from their non-Jewish environment and thus some are of almost a universal character. Many customs, however, are merely manifestations of the goodwill and joy felt at the happy occasion. Among Ashkenazi Jews the most widely practiced customs, besides breaking the glass which has been interpreted as a defense against evil spirits (but see above) are that the women leading the bride to the *ḥuppah* carry lighted candles as do other members of the marriage party and that the bride makes seven circuits around the groom under the canopy. It is customary for the bride and groom to refrain from seeing each other for a time preceding the wedding. The actual duration of this period varies in the different communities from about one week to one day, i.e., that of the wedding itself until the ceremony. The bridegroom has precedence over all others to be called to the Torah reading on the Sabbath before the wedding (a ceremony known as *oyfrufn* in Yiddish) and in some Ashkenazi communities the bride, if she is an orphan, visits the cemetery some time before the wedding. The bride and groom usually fast on the day of the wedding itself until after the ceremony unless it takes place on a day when fasting is forbidden, such as a new moon. A peculiar custom, common in Eastern Europe as well as in Oriental communities, was for the bride and groom to attempt to tread on the other's foot at the end of the ceremony, the one who succeeded thus being assured of dominance in their life together. In many places among both Ashkenazim and Sephardim it was and is customary to throw rice, wheat, nuts, and candies at the groom on various occasions during the marriage cycle: at the wedding itself, and particularly when the groom was called to the Torah reading on the Sabbath prior to the wedding. The bride's entry into her future home was marked by many ceremonies. In Libya and Djerba the groom would drop an earthenware pitcher of water from the roof and the bride would enter the house by walking through the water and broken pottery. In Jerusalem the Sephardim used to break a specially baked cake, called *ruskah*, above the heads of the bride and groom, while in Baghdad a loaf was cut above the head of the groom.

In Afghanistan a fowl was slaughtered to mark the occasion. In Djerba the bride broke open eggs on the doorposts of the house and in Daghestan and Gruzia (Russian Georgia) the doorposts were smeared with butter and honey. In Salonika the groom would stand at the head of the stairs when the bride first entered the house and scatter sweetmeats, rice, and coins at her feet as she came in. In Georgia the groom would set a white fowl free from the roof of the house on that occasion and drop rice, wheat, and raisins on the bride's head. In Libya the groom broke the glass at the wedding ceremony when it was almost full of wine which would spill on the floor as a sign of plenty; whereas the groom in Georgia would put the wedding ring into the glass of wine after he had drunk from it, give it the bride to drink, extract the ring, and formally present it to her with the declaration. In Kurdistan the bride would hold a male infant as the assembled guests called out "May your first be a boy too." In Morocco fish was always served at the wedding meal and the subsequent festivities as a fertility symbol and in Salonika the groom would buy live fish and put them in water in a brass bowl; on the eighth day after the wedding the bride jumped three times over this bowl to the blessings of the guests "May you be as fertile as the fish." In Persia the groom would plant three sticks in the courtyard of his house and uproot them on the sixth day after the wedding and throw them behind him to ward off evil spirits. In most Oriental communities the *ḥinnah* is celebrated the night before the wedding. In this ceremony the women of both families and female friends (men are entirely excluded) gather at the home of the bride and there her hands are painted with red henna. This ceremony is to ward off the evil eye and is sometimes accompanied by a ceremonial compounding of the dye by the bride's mother and feeding the bride seven times during the evening. Among the mountain Jews of Libya nearly all weddings take place two days before Sukkot. On the second day of the festival all the grooms participate in foot races symbolic of "And he is as a bridegroom coming out of his chamber, and rejoiceth as a strong man to run his course" (Ps. 19:6). Afterward celebrations are held at their homes. In all communities the groom is honored on the Sabbath after his wedding at the synagogue, where he is given precedence to be called to the reading of the Torah. In some communities special *piyyutim* are recited on this occasion and in many the groom is seated in a place of honor with a ceremonial canopy spread above him (Kurdistan). In Libya a second Torah scroll is taken out and an additional section (Gen. 24:1–4) is read. This is also the custom in Tunisia where the section is translated into Arabic. In Tunisia the groom is invited to the bride's home on the Sabbath preceding the wedding and has to find a roast chicken which has been especially hidden. On the fifth day after the wedding a competition between bride and groom is arranged in which they each have to dissect a large cooked fish for serving. The groom is always at a disadvantage in that he is given a blunt knife. In some communities (Afghanistan and, in a modified form, Yemen) it was sometimes customary to arrange a private wedding ceremony the night before the announced day. On the morrow the announced ceremony would also be held. This was in order to outwit evil spirits or malicious persons who had cast spells on the couple. At the ceremony it was also common for a relative of the couple to hold a pair of scissors and cut paper or cloth for its duration. In Kurdistan the officiating rabbi would publicly warn the assembled guests not to cast spells. The custom of examining the bride's linen after the first night for spots of blood as a proof of her virginity was very widespread and is still practiced in some Oriental communities. The mother of the bride would preserve the sheet or underclothing to uphold the family honor if later required.

[Reuben Kashani and Raphael Posner]

LEGAL ASPECTS

In Jewish law, marriage consists of two separate acts, called *kiddushin* and *nissu'in* respectively. The *kiddushin* (also called *erusin*) is an act performed by a man and a woman which leads to a change in their personal status, i.e., from bachelorhood to a personal status which remains unchanged until the death of either party or their *divorce from one another. However, the *kiddushin* alone does not bring about all the legal consequences of this change of status, as all those will follow only from a further act between the parties, namely the *nissu'in*. The common usage of the term *erusin*, which refers merely to *shiddukhin*, i.e., engagement (see *Betrothal), is therefore not identical with its legal meaning.

Modes of Effecting *Kiddushin*

There are three ways of effecting a *kiddushin*, namely by way of *kesef* ("money"), *shetar* ("deed"), or *bi'ah* ("cohabitation").

KESEF. The bridegroom, in the presence of two competent witnesses, transfers (see *Acquisition) to his bride money or its equivalent – today normally an unadorned ring – to the value of at least one *perutah*, for the purposes of *kiddushin*. It is customary for the bridegroom – after the officiating rabbi has recited the *Birkat ha-Erusin* – to place the ring on the bride's right-hand forefinger while addressing her with the words: *Harei at mekuddeshet li be-tabba'at zo ke-dat Moshe ve-Yisrael* ("Behold, you are consecrated unto me by this ring, according to the law of Moses and of Israel"; Kid. 2a; 5b; *Rema* Sh. Ar., EH 27:1); i.e., by transferring the ring to the bride the groom signifies his intent to reserve her exclusively to himself and by accepting it she signifies her consent. Hence it is necessary that the ring belong to the bridegroom and not to the bride, since a person cannot alienate something that is not his own, nor can a person acquire something that already belongs to him (Kid. 5b; 6b; 47a; Sh. Ar., EH 27:1, 7; 31:2).

SHETAR. In the presence of two competent witnesses, the bridegroom hands over to the bride a deed in which is written, besides the names of the parties and the other particulars required for the purposes of a *kiddushin* by *shetar*, the words, "Behold you are consecrated unto me with this deed according to the law of Moses and of Israel" and the bride accepts the deed with the intention of thereby becoming consecrated to the bridegroom (Kid. 9a; Sh. Ar., EH 32:1, 4). Delivery of the deed is therefore not merely evidence that the *kiddushin* has taken place before, but is the means whereby the tie is created, and in this respect it differs from the **ketubbah* deed which the bridegroom has to give to the bride after completion of the *kiddushin* (see also *Civil Marriage).

BI'AH. If a man in the presence of two competent witnesses, addresses to a woman the words, "Behold you are consecrated to me with this cohabitation according to the law of Moses and of Israel," and in their presence he takes her into a private place for the purpose of *kiddushin*, she will, upon their cohabitation, be reserved to him (Kid. 9b; Sh. Ar., EH 33:1). Although valid this mode of *kiddushin* was regarded by the scholars as tantamount to prostitution, and they decreed that any person employing it was punishable by *flogging (Kid. 12b; Yad, Ishut 3:21; Sh. Ar., EH 26:4; 33:1). On the other hand, this mode of *kiddushin* has served as the basis for the halakhic presumption that a man does not cohabit with a woman for the sake of prostitution (Git. 81b; *Rema* EH 33:1), and for the various rules founded on that presumption see *Husband and Wife; *Divorce.

In practice, in present times, only *kiddushei kesef* is observed since the other two modes of *kiddushin* have long become obsolete. The version "Behold you are reserved … according to the law of Moses and of Israel" (which does not appear in the TB and is only found in the Tosefta (Ket. 4:9) and in the TJ, where the version is "according to the law of Moses and of the Jews" (*Yehudai*; Ket. 4:8)), means that the bridegroom reserves the bride unto himself "according to the law of Moses" – i.e., the law of the Torah – "and of Israel" – i.e., in accordance with the rules of the halakhic scholars as applied in Israel, so that the *kiddushin* shall be valid or void in accordance with the regulations laid down by the scholars (Yev. 90b; Ket. 3a; Git. 33a; *Rashi* and Tos. ad loc.; see also *Rashbam* and Tos. to BB 48b). The version thus formulated provided the basis for the *halakhah* which empowered and authorized the scholars, in certain circumstances, to invalidate a *kiddushin* retroactively in such a manner that even if it was not defective in principle it was deemed to be void *ab initio*. The question whether this power to make regulations for the annulment of the *kiddushin* is conferred also on the rabbis of the times after the redaction of the Talmud has remained in dispute. One opinion is that a *kiddushin* which is valid according to talmudic law, even though it is celebrated contrary to a *takkanah* which expressly prohibits the celebration of a *kiddushin* in any manner except as therein provided (e.g., in the presence of a rabbi and a quorum of ten), will not be declared void *ab initio* and the woman will not be free to marry another man unless she first obtains a divorce (out of precautionary stringency; Resp. Ribash no. 399; see also Resp. Rashba, vol. 1, nos. 1185 and 1206 where no absolute decision is arrived at; Resp. Ḥatam Sofer, EH 1:108; ET, 2 (1949), 137–40; Elon (1988), 2:686–712; Elon (1994), 2:846–79; see also **Agunah, *Takkanot*).

The *Nissu'in*

The act of *nissu'in* requires that the bride, after completion of the *kiddushin*, be brought to the bridegroom under the *ḥuppah* before two competent witnesses, for purposes of the marriage proper, i.e., the *nissu'in* "according to the law of Moses and of Israel." There are different opinions concerning the import of the term *ḥuppah*. One view is that the bride must be brought to the home of the groom for the *nissu'in* (Ran to Ket. 2a; *Beit Shemu'el* 55, no. 4), an interpretation forming the basis of the present custom of bringing the bride to a place symbolizing the domain (*reshut*) of the bridegroom, i.e., to the place where a canopy is spread across four poles and where the bridegroom is already waiting. According to another opinion *ḥuppah* embraces a private meeting (יִחוּד) between bridegroom and bride, at a place set aside for the purpose, as an indication of their marriage proper (Ket. 54b; 56a; Rosh 5:6; Yad, Ishut 10:1, 2; Isserles EH 55:1; 61:1; Sh. Ar., EH 55:2). In order to dispel doubt, custom requires that, in addition to *ḥuppah*, the couple also have the said private meeting.

Legal Consequences

As already indicated, the legal consequences of the act of *kiddushin* differ from those of the act of *nissu'in*. The *kiddushin* creates a legal-personal tie between the parties which can only be dissolved upon divorce or the death of either party, and the *arusah* ("affianced bride") is regarded as a married woman (*eshet ish*) for all purposes under the *de-oraita* law, which thus renders invalid a *kiddushin* between herself and any other man (Kid. 5; Yad, Ishut 1:3; Sh. Ar., EH 26:3). The *arus* too is prohibited, as is a married man proper, from taking an additional wife, and although in his case the prohibition stems not from the *de-oraita* law but from the *ḥerem de-Rabbenu Gershom* (see *Bigamy), the prohibition for the *arus* is as stringent as it is for a married man proper (*Rema* EH 1:10; *Oẓar ha-Posekim* EH 1, n. 65; other scholars differ, see *Taz* EH 1, n. 15). *Kiddushin* alone, however, does not serve to call into being the mutual rights and duties existing between husband and wife (see *Husband and Wife), and, in particular, cohabitation between them is prohibited (*Rashi*, Ket. 7b; Sh. Ar., EH 55:1, 6). This prohibition is also contained in the Consecration Blessing in the words, "and has prohibited us the *arus* but has permitted us those who are married to us by *ḥuppah* and *kiddushin*" (see Ket. 7b and Sh. Ar., EH 34:1). The *arus* is also not liable for the maintenance of his bride except after the lapse of 12 months from the time of the *kiddushin*, or any lesser period of time agreed upon between them, and then only if he has failed to marry her notwithstanding her demand and readiness to be married to him (Ket. 2; 57a; Sh. Ar., EH 55:4; 56:1, 3 and commentaries). The *arusah* also has no *ketubbah*, unless the bridegroom executed such a deed in her favor at the *kiddushin* stage (Ket. 54b; Sh. Ar., EH 55:6). The absolute change in their personal status, with all the rights and duties it entails, is created by the *nissu'in*.

Manner of Celebrating *Kiddushin* and *Nissu'in*

In order to avoid irregularities which might possibly bring about complications, custom decrees that the *kiddushin* be solemnized by a rabbi who supervises that everything is done according to law. It is also the generally accepted custom that there shall be present at least a *minyan* (ten men). Custom further decrees that the bridegroom shall always recite the above-mentioned formulation in the precise words, "Behold, you are consecrated … etc."; although post-factum the *kiddushin* will not be invalidated if any like version with a similar content is used, any change in the recognized version should be avoided at the outset (Yad, Ishut 10:6; Resp. Rosh 37:1; Sh. Ar., EH 55:3 and *Rema* EH 61). The presence of two competent witnesses at both stages of the marriage ceremony is mandatory; as they do not merely serve as eyewitnesses but their presence is an essential part of the legal act, their absence will invalidate both the *kiddushin* and the *nissu'in*. Hence if a man and a woman acknowledge that there were not two witnesses present at their marriage, their acknowledgement (*hoda'ah*) that they are married will not serve as a basis for determining that this is the case (Kid. 65a; Yad, Ishut 4:6; Sh. Ar., EH 42:2). Conversely, if two competent witnesses testify to the celebration of a marriage between a particular couple, they will be regarded as duly married notwithstanding their own denial of the fact (Warhaftig, 132, 139). For a full description see above. Theoretically, *kiddushin* being an act of legal effect, it may also be performed between the parties through an agent; i.e., the bridegroom may appoint an agent to enter, on his behalf, into a *kiddushin* with a particular woman and the woman may do likewise for the purpose of accepting *kiddushin*. However, it is a *mitzvah* for each personally to take and be taken in marriage (Yad, Ishut 3:19; Sh. Ar., EH 35; 36). Similarly, in principle, the couple may celebrate a conditional *kiddushin* in such a manner that, provided all the rules applicable to conditions are observed (Sh. Ar., EH 38:2) and the condition itself fulfilled, the *kiddushin* will be valid from the start, or from the time of fulfillment of the condition, in accordance with the stipulation of the parties, but will be invalid if the condition is not fulfilled (Sh. Ar., EH 38). However, on account of the possible complications arising therefrom, and the stringency of the laws concerning a married woman, no conditions are permitted in *kiddushin* or *nissu'in*.

Legal Capacity of the Parties

Since marriage is an act of legal effect, it can be celebrated only by parties who have legal capacity. Hence if one of the parties to a marriage is a minor, acting independently, it will be invalid. In Jewish law a male is a minor (*katan*) until the age of 13 years; from the age of 13 years and one day he is a major (called *gadol*) and only then may he contract a valid marriage (Kid. 50b; Yad, Ishut 2:10; 4:7; Sh. Ar., EH 43:1). A female is a minor (*ketannah*) until the age of 12 years; from the age of 12 years and one day until the age of 12½ years she is called a *na'arah* (Yad, Ishut 2:1). Although as a *na'arah* she is considered a major (*gedolah*; Yad, Ishut 2:6), her marriage (when she is acting independently) will only be valid if she is orphaned of her father, but if he is alive, since a *na'arah* remains under her father's tutelage (*reshut*), her marriage, when she is acting independently will be valid only after the tutelage ceases to exist, namely when she becomes a *bogeret*, i.e., when she reaches the age of 12½ years and one day (Kid. 43b; 44b; Yad, Ishut 2:2; 3:11–13; 4:8; and Gerushin, 11:6; Sh. Ar., EH 37:11; 155:20, 21; see also *Legal Capacity). As regards the validity of a marriage entered into by a minor represented by his parents, see *Child Marriage.

For the same reason, i.e., lack of legal capacity, a marriage to which an idiot (*shoteh*) is party will be invalid when it is clear that such a party is a complete idiot (Yev. 69b; 96b; Sh. Ar., EH 44:2; 67:7). However, if such person be of sound, although weak, mind his marriage will be valid (Tur and *Beit Yosef*, EH 44; the statement attributed to Isserles, in Sh. Ar., EH 44:2 is apparently a printing error; see *Beit Shemu'el*, ad loc., n. 4; *Ḥelkat Meḥokek*, ad loc. n. 2). In case of doubt as to the soundness of a person's mind, as when he has lucid intervals, his *kiddushin* will, out of apprehension, be regarded as a doubtful *kiddushin* and the parties will not be permitted to marry anyone else except after their divorce (out of precautionary restriction גט מחומרא (Sh. Ar., loc. cit.). A *deaf-mute (*ḥeresh*, Yad, Ishut 2:26) is precluded, by Pentateuchal law, from entering into a *kiddushin* since his/her legal capacity is the same as that of the minor or the idiot. However, the scholars regulated that a *kiddushin* entered into by a deaf-mute shall be valid (Yev. 112b; Yad, Ishut 4:9; Sh. Ar., EH 44:1), but they did so without creating any obligations between parties to such a marriage. Hence if one of the parties is a deaf-mute, none of the legal obligations flowing from marriage will devolve on them – neither the obligation of *ketubbah* (i.e., in places where no *ketubbah* deed is written), nor of a *ketubbah* condition, nor of maintenance (Sh. Ar., EH 67:8–10), except possibly where a deaf-mute expressly undertakes these pecuniary obligations in the *ketubbah* deed (PDR 8:65, 69–71, 74–77). The *ḥerem de-Rabbenu Gershom* does not apply to a husband who was a deaf-mute at the time of his marriage, nor does a deaf-mute's express undertaking not to take an additional wife or not to divorce his wife against her free will have any binding force, since he is incapable of undertaking obligations – at any rate as regards matters of a non-pecuniary nature (PDR loc. cit.).

[Ben-Zion (Benno) Schereschewsky]

Kiddushin Conducted by Deception, Fraud, or in Jest

The tannaitic literature (Kid. 3:1; 58b) states that if a person sent an agent to betroth a wife for him, and the agent went and betrothed her for himself, the betrothal is valid, except if "he [the agent] treated him (the principal) deceptively." The talmudic commentators explain that this statement emphasizes that although the act was fraudulent, it does not invalidate the *kiddushin*, which are valid by Pentateuchal law, nor do the rabbis invalidate the *kiddushin* because of the agent's fraudulent act against the principal prior to the *kiddushin* (Tos. ad loc; Nov, Rashba Kid. 58b). Fraudulent *kiddushin* include frauds against the woman, e.g., where a man betroths a woman in jest or coercively, or by giving her a ring in the presence of two witnesses, but against her will or understanding. Although the woman's consent is absent in these cases of *kiddushin*, the rabbis require the woman to accept a *get* (bill of divorce), in view of the doubt that perhaps these *kiddushin* are valid (see *Agunah). This requirement of a *get* led to problems of *iggun* when the husband refused to give a *get* (see *Agunah). As a result, to prevent fraudulent *kiddushin*, many Jewish communities enacted regulations regarding marriage ceremonies and how they should be conducted, such as conducting the *kiddushin* in the presence of ten persons, in the presence of a rabbi, etc. Such regulations appear as early as the geonic period (S. Assaf, *Teshuvot ha-Geonim*, para. 113, p. 101), and later in Ashkenaz (the Franco-German center) and in North Africa. The regulations enacted in the geonic period annulled all *kiddushin* conducted contrary to these rules. At later periods, sanctions were imposed on the offenders, but halakhic authorities were hesitant and questioned their authority to annul such *kiddushin*. A responsum by the sages of 12th-century Ashkenaz (Resp. Raban, EH, vol. 3 no. 47:2) reflects the differences of opinion between the sages of Worms and Speyer, and those of Mainz. The former argued that since the one who fraudulently betrothed the woman acted "improperly," the act of *kiddushin* should be invalidated and annulled. In contrast, the sages of Mainz reasoned that after the completion of the Talmud, rabbis are no longer empowered to annul *kiddushin*, and thus such a step could not be taken (see *Agunah; *Takkanot). When a similar case was brought before the Rosh (Resp. Rosh 35:2), he ruled that the sages are not empowered to annul the *kiddushin*, but since the *kiddushin* were fraudulent, similar to other instances in which the *geonim* ruled that the husband may be forced to give his wife a bill of divorce, the husband may be compelled to divorce his wife, and this would not be a coerced *get* (*get me'useh*; see *Divorce). In another responsum, he rules that when *kiddushin* is performed contrary to a regulation enacted by the community stating explicitly that *kiddushin* performed in opposition to the regulation would be annulled, these fraudulent *kiddushin* may be annulled (*ibid.* 35:1). Rashba took a similar view, and stated that in places where such a regulation had not been enacted, the rabbinical court should impose fines and even corporal punishment in order to deter fraudulent *kiddushin* (Resp. Rashba, vol. 1, no. 551).

Doubtful *Kiddushin*

The legal status of certain *kiddushin* is sometimes doubtful. Tannaitic literature provides two categories of cases of factual doubt which create doubtful *kiddushin*. In the first case the doubt relates to whether the *kiddushin* was conducted properly, for example whether or not the object given for *kiddushin* was in fact worth a *perutah* (Tos. Yev. 5:3). In the second case the doubt is created by a dispute in the public perception of the act that was performed, for example, the suspicion that the object used for the betrothal, while not worth a *perutah* in that particular location, may be worth a *perutah* somewhere else. The result would be that while the woman would not be regarded as betrothed in one location, she would be regarded as betrothed in another location, and hence the *kiddushin* is considered doubtful (Kid. 12a). Doubtful *kiddushin* may also ensue from a legal doubt, when it is not known, or there was no decision, whether a certain act of *kiddushin* was valid or not; such a case is treated stringently, and the woman is doubtfully betrothed. For example in a situation where a man gave the money for *kiddushin*, but the woman (instead of the man) recited the sentence to be said after the giving of the money (see above; Kid. 5b).

In some instances in the post-talmudic literature, a majority of *posekim* rule that even when the *kiddushin* do not take effect, for instance, *kiddushin* in the presence of only one witness (Rema EH 42:2), stringency is appropriate (Yad, Ishut 4:6; *Semag*, Hilkhot Kiddushin), and we should consider such cases as doubtful *kiddushin*. Accordingly, it was ruled that due to the severity of relations with a married woman: "in these generations they imposed all the stringencies of the *posekim* in divorce and marriage" (Resp. Radbaz, vol. 4, no. 129; Resp. Maharashdam, EH 13), except for in cases where the *kiddushin* was additionally flawed, or would cause the woman to become an *agunah*, in which case stringency is not applied (Resp. Maharashdam, *ibid.*).

Determining *kiddushin* as doubtful results in stringencies in two directions. On the one hand, in order to be married to another man, the woman requires a *get* and on the other hand, if another man betroths her, he too is considered doubtfully betrothed to her. In practice, under certain circumstances, if the parties wish to marry, they are required to conduct a second *kiddushin*; and if they do not desire to continue a shared life, the husband might be compelled to give her a *get*. Incidental to divorce, the woman might be prohibited to marry a Cohen (see *Marriage, Prohibited), which has led many authorities to criticize the proclivity to stringency in determining doubtful *kiddushin* and ordering divorce as a precautionary measure (*get le-ḥumra* – גט לחומרא; Resp. Maharshal, no. 21; Resp. Radbaz, no. 382).

A national rabbinical conference held in Jerusalem in 1950 instituted the "*ḥerem de-Yerushalayim*," which, inter alia, enacted that "no Jewish man and woman may engage in *kiddushin* and *erusin* [= *kiddushin*] other than by a proper wedding ceremony, with a quorum of ten men, which is then recorded in the offices of the rabbinate in every location. This prohibition carries with it a severe *ḥerem* (= ban) by which any man who betrothed a woman, other than in a proper wedding ceremony, must divorce his betrothed with a bill of divorce in accordance with Jewish law." The *ḥerem de-Yerushalayim* is recognized by Israeli law as part of the binding Jewish law for marriage (HC 130/66, *Segev v. Rabbinical Court of Appeals*, 21 (2) PD, p. 505, 525, per President Agranat). Today, most marriages are conducted under the supervision of a rabbi authorized by the Chief Rabbinate, and therefore the question of doubtful *kiddushin* can generally arise only in one of the following instances:

1. Civil marriage. For civil marriage and its validity as doubtful *kiddushin*, see *Civil Marriage.

2. Cohabitation without marriage (*yedu'im ba-ẓibbur*). See *Concubine.

3. Private marriage. The *ḥerem de-Yerushalayim* does not state that privately conducted *kiddushin* would be declared null and void. The Israeli Supreme Court has often addressed questions concerning the status and validity of private marriages. These marriages may be performed for any of a variety of reasons; for example, when because of various prohibitions (see *Marriage, Prohibited), the parties cannot be married by the Israeli rabbinate, and the parties circumvent this by conducting a full but private marriage ceremony. Another example is when parties who are able to be married by the rabbinate prefer not to have a rabbinically approved ceremony. These cases are a focus of friction between the rabbinical courts (that have exclusive jurisdiction in marital law) and the civil courts. The rabbinical court refuses to recognize such marriages, on the grounds of not "aiding transgressors." In contrast, the civil court system recognizes marriages of parties forbidden by Jewish law to be valid. In this context the civil court distinguishes between the "religious" component, which prohibits the conducting of the marriage, and the legal component, which despite the religious prohibition, gives legal validity to such unions. This distinction is derived from the rabbinical court's perception that such marriages are, minimally, "doubtful marriages," which, as a precautionary measure, require divorce. However, the recognition afforded by the civil court only affects the legal civil status of the couple (such as the registration of the marriage), and not the enforcement of the parties' mutual obligations from such a marriage. In the event of a private marriage, when the parties were eligible for a rabbinical marriage, but chose otherwise, the Supreme Court refused to validate such marriages and declare that the parties could register as married. The Supreme Court was guided by its perception of public policy stating that: "This judicial policy of invalidating private marriages is founded on the principle of maintaining the public good, proper administration, and basic social order, which are especially significant in determining the validity of the status of the marriage and the consequences ensuing from this status, for both the relationship between the parties and their relationship with the public as a whole" (CA 32/81, *Zonen v. Shtal*, 37(2) PD, p. 766; Justice Menachem Elon).

[Menachem Elon (2nd ed.)]

In the State of Israel

Matters of marriage in the State of Israel are governed by Jewish law, in accordance with the provisions of sections 1 and 2 of the Rabbinical Courts Jurisdiction (Marriage and Divorce) Law, 5713/1953. As regards the customs relating to the celebration of *kiddushin* and *nissu'in, takkanot* were issued at an Israeli rabbinical conference in 1950, imposing a strict ban on anyone solemnizing *kiddushin* and *nissu'in* contrary to the accepted customs.

By virtue of the Marriage Age Law 1950 (as amended in 1960) a woman may not be married before the age of 17 years. This law further renders it a punishable offense for any person to marry a woman under the age of 17 years (it is no offense for the bride), or to solemnize or assist in any capacity in the celebration of the marriage of such a woman, or for a father or guardian to give her away in marriage, unless prior permission of the competent district court has been obtained – the latter being empowered to give this on the grounds specified in the law (see *Child Marriage). No minimal age is specified for the bridegroom. This offense, although punishable, has no effect on the personal status of the parties; i.e., if the marriage is valid according to Jewish law, the fact that the offense has been committed will in no way affect the validity of the marriage, whether the question arises in relation to a matter of Jewish or of civil law, in the rabbinical or in the civil courts. However, in the event of a marriage with a woman below the said minimum age, the law provides that application may be made to the rabbinical court – by the persons and in the circumstances specified in the law – in order to oblige the husband to grant his wife a divorce. It must be emphasized that this provision does not create grounds for action for divorce under Jewish law, so that in fact it is a dead letter, for in matters of divorce the rabbinical courts apply Jewish law only.

[Ben-Zion (Benno) Schereschewsky]

The Marriage Age Law was amended in 1988, and the Law currently has the same age requirement for both males and females.

CONTEMPORARY INNOVATIONS

Several opposing tendencies have brought significant changes to Jewish wedding practices during the last quarter of the 20th century, particularly in North America. One trend is characterized by the recovery and reinstatement of certain traditional nuptial rituals, often as part of a rejection of a growing conformity of Jewish marriage customs to Protestant models during the 1950s–70s. Thus, in the early 21st century, it is not uncommon for both bride and groom to immerse in the *mikveh* during the week prior to the wedding. The *badeken* ceremony is frequently performed following a *tisch* for the groom, and there may be a *tena'im* ceremony where the mothers of the bride and groom break a plate.

At the ceremony itself Wagner's *Lohengrin* Wedding March has generally been replaced by Jewish music and brides, and often grooms, now walk to the *ḥuppah* with both parents, rather than the bride on the arm of her father. The use of some form of *ketubbah* has been reinstated in the Reform movement, alongside several of the traditional *sheva berakhot* (wedding benedictions). Brides and grooms from all movements often prepare wedding booklets explaining aspects of the traditional Jewish wedding ceremony so that their Jewish and non-Jewish guests will be able to follow the proceedings.

On the other hand, there has also been an effort to make the traditionally unilateral wedding ceremony as egalitarian as possible. With the exception of the Ashkenazi custom of circling the groom seven or three times, sipping wine twice, and putting out a hand for the ring to be slipped on her finger, the Jewish bride is passive during a traditional Jewish wedding ritual and in the preparatory ceremonies that precede it, as when the *ketubbah* is signed and witnessed. The most common egalitarian innovations include replacing the traditional language of the *ketubbah* with reciprocal wording concerning the obligations of bride and groom to each other (this innovative *ketubbah* may be in Aramaic, Hebrew, or English, or a combination of two or more of these languages); both bride and groom participate in *kinyan* and sign the *ketubbah* prior to the *ḥuppah*; the groom circles the bride after the bride circles the groom; a double ring ceremony with both bride and groom speaking and placing a ring on the other's finger (usually the groom says the traditional formula and the bride says some variation of it or recites a verse from the Song of Songs); and the inclusion of women among those eligible to officiate, read the *ketubbah*, and say one of the *sheva berakhot*.

Since 1990, more radical departures from *halakhah* have also become frequent. Within the Reform, Reconstructionist, and Humanist movements, these may include the use of specially written *ketubbot* at interfaith weddings and at gay and lesbian commitment ceremonies and marriages, where the couple often stands under a *ḥuppah* and breaks a glass. Some of the interfaith ceremonies are syncretistic, which has elicited protests from the liberal and progressive denominations, as well as the more traditional movements.

[Rela M. Geffen (2nd ed.)]

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MARRIAGE, PROHIBITED. A marriage is prohibited whenever there is a legal impediment to a *kiddushin* (see *Marriage) between the particular parties. In some cases the prohibition has the effect of rendering the marriage, if it is celebrated nevertheless, null and void *ab initio*; in other cases it does not invalidate the marriage, but provides a ground for having it terminated by divorce.

Prohibited and Void

This category includes (1) marriages which are גִּלּוּי עֲרָיוֹת (*gillui arayot*) according to pentateuchal law, i.e., punishable by **karet* or death, namely: (a) marriages between parties related to one another within the prohibited degrees of kinship: i.e., the marriage between a man and his mother, daughter, sister, and certain other relatives (Lev. 18:6ff.; Kid. 67b and codes); the marriage between a man and the sister of his wife is also void during the latter's lifetime (i.e., even after divorce), as is marriage with his brother's widow (except in the case of the levirate widow) or divorced wife: such marriages are punishable by *karet* (Yad, Issurei Bi'ah, 2:1, 9; Sh. Ar., EH 15:22, 26; 44:6; see also *Levirate Marriage); and (b) marriage between a man and a married woman, such *adultery being punishable by death (see also *Bigamy); (2) A marriage with a non-Jewish partner (Sh. Ar., EH 44:8; see also Mixed *Marriage); (3) Other cases enumerated in Shulḥan Arukh, *Even ha-Ezer* 15.

Prohibited but Valid

In this category are included marriages which, although prohibited, do not constitute *gillui arayot* according to pentateuchal law and therefore are valid and not terminable unless by the death of either party or by divorce (Sh. Ar., EH 15:1; 18; 44:7). Since these marriages are nevertheless prohibited and remain tainted with the prohibition during their subsistence, their dissolution by divorce is generally compelled, whether or not either or both of the parties consented to, or had prior knowledge of, the true situation. Marriage prohibitions of this kind derive either from the pentateuchal law imposed and punishable as a plain prohibition only (Yad, Ishut 1:7) or from the rules laid down by the scribes, i.e., marriage prohibited, as "incest of a secondary [minor] degree," not by the Torah but only by rabbinical enactment (*ibid.*, 1:6; Sh. Ar., loc. cit.). The following are examples of such prohibitions:

(1) A married woman who has sexual relations with anyone but her husband becomes prohibited to the latter as well, and also to her lover even after her divorce from her husband (Sotah 27b; Sh. Ar., EH 11:1; 178:17). If she has had sexual relations of her own free will, she is prohibited to her husband forever, i.e., he must never remarry her after divorce from him even if in the meantime she has not married anyone else (Sh. Ar., EH 13). If she has been raped (see *Rape), she is prohibited to her husband only if he is a priest, but, if he is an ordinary Israelite, she is permitted to him. He need not divorce her and, if he has done so, he may remarry her provided she has not married someone else in the meantime (Sh. Ar., EH 6:10, 11). Similarly, the adulteress is also prohibited for all time from marrying her lover, i.e., even after divorce from her husband or his death (Yev. 24b and Rashi ad loc.; Sh. Ar., EH 11:1). This is because her lover has destroyed her family life, inasmuch as, owing to the adultery, he has rendered her prohibited to her husband. By the same token, and, because the wife of an ordinary Israelite does not become prohibited to her husband when someone else has sexual relations with her against her own free will, some scholars are of the opinion that, although beforehand she is prohibited to such a lover in order to penalize him, if they have nevertheless married each other, he will not be compelled to divorce her (Sh. Ar., EH 11; *Ba'er Heitev* n. 5 and *Beit Shemu'el* n. 2; but cf. *Rema*, EH 159:3, and *Ba'er Heitev* n. 6; *Oẓar ha-Posekim*, EH 11:1, n.44).

(2) A divorcee who has remarried and her second marriage has also been terminated (by divorce or death) is therefore prohibited to her former husband, in terms of an express prohibition in pentateuchal law (Deut. 24:4).

(3) A priest is prohibited by an express prohibition in the pentateuchal law from marrying a divorcee, a *zonah*, or a **ḥalalah* (see Lev. 21:7; Sh. Ar., EH 6:1). This prohibition is still in force (*Rema*, EH 3:6; PDR 5, 219, 221) despite the lack of certainty that all those known as priests are in fact the descendants of Aaron, for all of them are merely presumed to be priests (Yad, Issurei Bi'ah, 20:1). A divorced woman remains prohibited to a priest even if after her divorce she has remarried and become a widow (*Ḥokhmat Shelomo*, EH 6:1; Sh. Ar., EH 66:11, Isserles, *Ḥelkat Meḥokek*, 66, n. 41). A priest is forbidden to remarry even his own former wife (Resp. Ribash no. 348; see also *Divorce). For the purposes of the above prohibition, the term *zonah* is not to be interpreted in its ordinary sense – i.e., a woman who has sexual relations other than within matrimony (Yev. 61b). Here it refers to a woman who is not a Jewess by birth, such as a proselyte, and also to a woman who has cohabited with a man to whom she must not be married by virtue of a general prohibition (i.e., not one relating to the priesthood as such) e.g., if she has cohabited with a non-Jew or a **mamzer* (Yev. 61a and Rashi; Sh. Ar., EH 6:8).

(4) A Jewish man or woman must not marry a *mamzer* (*et*). For details see **Mamzer.*

(5) A married man is prohibited, according to the decree of Rabbenu *Gershom, to marry another woman while his marriage still subsists. If contracted, the second marriage is valid but the parties will be compelled to divorce (see *Bigamy).

(6) Marriage with a divorcee or widow is prohibited before the lapse of 90 days from the date of her acquiring her new status; in order to avoid doubt concerning the descent of her offspring; similarly, for the good of her child, it is forbidden to marry a pregnant woman or nursing mother until the child has reached the age of 24 months (Sh. Ar., EH 13:1, 11–14; for further instances of prohibited, but valid marriages see Sh. Ar., EH 15).

Legal Consequences of Prohibited Marriages

FAMILY LAW ASPECTS. So far as the parties themselves are concerned, no legal consequences at all attach to a marriage which is forbidden as עֶרְוָה (incestuous) according to pentateuchal law, and there is therefore no need for them to be divorced (Sh. Ar., EH 15:1, and Ha-Gra thereto, n. 3; Sh. Ar., EH 44:6); their children will be *mamzerim*. Only a marriage of a married woman to another man, although invalid, requires that the woman obtain a divorce not only from her husband but also from the paramour (see *Divorce; *Bigamy; **Agunah*).

In the case of prohibited but valid marriages either party is entitled to demand a divorce, whether or not either or both parties were aware of the impediment at the time of the marriage or at any time thereafter. In case of the other party's refusal, divorce may be compelled, except in the case of a marriage contracted within 90 days of dissolution of the wife's previous marriage (*Rema*, EH 13:10). The need for divorce is also relaxed with reference to marriage with a pregnant woman or nursing mother (PDR 4:60). On the status of children born of such marriages, see **Yuḥasin.*

CIVIL LAW ASPECTS. Since the law requires that a prohibited marriage be dissolved, there is no place for the imposition of reciprocal marital rights and duties which are designed to sustain the marriage. In principle this is the position whenever the husband has married his wife without knowing that she is prohibited to him (לֹא הִכִּיר בָּהּ, *lo hikkir bah*). However, if he has done so knowingly, there will be no justification for his release from a husband's marital duties, and these he must fulfill, with the exception of those likely to impede dissolution of the marriage. This distinction between the husband's knowledge or lack of it is drawn mainly in regard to the most important cases of prohibited but valid marriages, i.e., cases of plain prohibition (אִסּוּרֵי לָאו, *issurei lav*); (for the prohibitions concerning other cases of prohibited marriage, see Sh. Ar., EH 116:2ff.). Since a man who marries without knowing that his wife is prohibited to him is released from all the marital duties of a husband, the wife will not be entitled to receive her "main" or minimal **ketubbah* and therefore also not to fulfillment of the ketubbah conditions since "the *ketubbah* conditions are as the *ketubbah* itself" (Ket. 54b and Rashi ad loc. s.v. *tena'ei ketubbah*; see also *Husband and Wife). Similarly, the wife will not be entitled to *maintenance, either during the husband's lifetime or as his *widow (Yad, Ishut 24:2; Sh. Ar., EH 116:1). In the same way, the wife too will be released from all her matrimonial duties, since these are imposed on her by law only in return for her husband's actual fulfillment of his duties toward her (see **Ketubbah*; *Husband and Wife; *Dowry). The husband will, however, remain liable for her *ketubbah* "increment" (*tosefet ketubbah*), as this is not an obligation imposed on him by law but one that he has voluntarily undertaken to fulfill for as long as she is willing to remain his wife, and this the law has forbidden her to do, independently of her own will in the matter (Yad, Ishut 24:3; Taz, EH 116, n. 3).

In cases where the husband knowingly contracts a prohibited marriage, the scholars regulated that in principle he should not be released from any of the matrimonial duties imposed upon the husband by law. Hence, in these circumstances he, or his estate, will be liable to his wife or widow for her *ketubbah* (including the *tosefet*) as well as its conditions as in every regular marriage. However, since everything should be done in order to bring about the dissolution of such prohibited marriages, the scholars further ruled that the husband was exempt from maintaining his wife during his own lifetime, in order to discourage her from remaining his wife (Sh. Ar., loc. cit, and *Taz* n. 1). He will consequently not be entitled to her handiwork, since he is entitled to this only in return for actually maintaining her. Divergent opinions are expressed in the codes concerning the husband's usufruct of his wife's property. According to some of the *posekim* the husband does not have this right, since it is in return for the obligation to ransom his wife from captivity, a duty which does not hold in the case of a prohibited marriage (see *Dowry) as marital life with her is forbidden to him; therefore the husband must return the equivalent of any benefit he may have derived from this source (see, e.g., Yad, Ishut 24:4 and *Maggid Mishneh* ad loc.). Other *posekim* are of the opinion that only when the wife is taken captive must the husband make available for purposes of her ransom, the equivalent of the fruits of her property that he has enjoyed, but otherwise he will be exempt from compensating her in this regard (see, e.g., *Ḥelkat Meḥokek* n. 4 and *Beit Shemu'el* n. 2 to EH 116). Since the marital rights afforded by law to the wife in respect of her husband are conditional on the existence of corresponding legal duties of her husband toward her and, in the same way, the wife's duties to her husband do not exist independently but are in return for her enjoyment of her rights against him (Yad, Ishut 12: 1–4) – a position which depends on his knowledge or ignorance of the prohibited nature of the marriage – her knowledge or ignorance in this respect is of no legal significance.

In the State of Israel

Apart from rules of private international law, the problem of prohibited marriages is governed by Jewish law (see sects. 1, 2 of the Rabbinical Court Jurisdiction (Marriage and Divorce) Law, 5713/1953.

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[Ben-Zion (Benno) Schereschewsky]

MARRUS, MICHAEL R. (1941–), Canadian historian, author. Marrus was born in Toronto, Canada. He is one of the foremost Canadian historians of modern Europe, specializing in the Jews of France and in the Holocaust. He received his B.A. at the University of Toronto in 1963, and his M.A. and Ph.D. at the University of California, Berkeley in 1964 and 1968, respectively. In 1968 he joined the Department of History at the University of Toronto and served as dean of the School of Graduate Studies from 1997 to 2004. He was the Chancellor Rose and Ray Wolfe Professor of Holocaust Studies from 2000. Marrus was also affiliated with St. Antony's College (Oxford), the University of California, Los Angeles, the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, and the University of Cape Town. He was the recipient of numerous awards, including appointment as a fellow in the Royal Society of Canada and a Guggenheim Fellowship; he was a fellow of the Holocaust Royal Historical Society. Marrus published more than 100 articles, reviews, and books. His most notable works include *The Politics of Assimilation: A Study of the French Jewish Community at the Time of the Dreyfus Affair* (1971); with Robert Paxton, *Vichy France and the Jews* (1981); *The Unwanted: European Refugees in the Twentieth Century* (1985); *The Holocaust in History* (1987); and *Mr. Sam: The Life and Times of Samuel Bronfman* (1991). He was editor of *The Nazi Holocaust: Historical Articles on the Destruction of European Jews* (15 vols., 1992) and *The Nuremberg War Crimes Trial, 1945–46: A Documentary History*, (1997); and coeditor of *Contemporary Antisemitism: Canada and the World* (2005). Among his most important contributions to the study of the Holocaust are his works dealing with the Vichy government and the Third Reich, the Nuremberg War Crimes Trial, and the role of the Vatican during the Holocaust. In 1999 Marrus was appointed to an interfaith team of historians, the Catholic-Jewish Historical Commission on the Vatican and the Holocaust, charged with examining the role played by the Vatican during the Holocaust.

[Frank Bialystok (2nd ed.)]

MARSALA, town in Sicily. Though Jews probably lived in Marsala in Roman times, the first mention of them is made in the city statutes of the Norman period restricting the rights of Jews and Muslims with regard to property claims. In 1282, after the Sicilian Vespers, King Peter II of Aragon ordered the restitution of property of the Jews of Marsala lost during the upheavals of the uprising. In 1321, following the complaints of the Jews in the area of Val di Mazara (which included Marsala), the Infante Peter ordered the officials in Marsala to prevent the bishop and church in Mazara from exercising jurisdiction over the local Jews because they belonged to the Crown according to their status as serfs of the Royal Chamber. The Jews are then mentioned in a royal decree of 1374, in which approval was given for the enlargement of the synagogue. Toward the end of the 14th century the community protested against the abuses inflicted on them by the citizens, who forced them to attend church functions, and stoned them when they returned to their own quarter. Royal decrees of 1402 and 1405 exempted the Jews from the authority of the bishop, restored the ritual bath which had been confiscated, and restricted the taxes paid by the Jews to one-tenth of those imposed on the whole town. Every year, on October 16, councillors (*proti*) were elected to administer the community affairs. On the expulsion of the Jews from Sicily in 1492, about 2,600 Jews were forced to leave the town. The synagogue was converted into a church.

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[Sergio Joseph Sierra / Nadia Zeldes (2nd ed.)]

MARSCHAK, JACOB (1898–1977), U.S. economist. Born in Kiev, Marschak taught at the University of Heidelberg from 1930 to 1933. From 1933 to 1939 he lectured at All Souls College, Oxford, and was the director of its Institute of Statistics. During this period, his articles on measurement of economic variables and estimation of economic relationships provided the foundation for the field of econometrics. In 1940 he became professor of the graduate faculty of the New School for Social Research in New York City, which he left in 1942 to teach at the University of Chicago, directing at the same time the Cowles Commission for Economic Research (1943–48). In 1950 he became a consultant of the RAND Corporation and a member of an inter-society committee on the training of social scientists in mathematics. He was a professor of economics at Yale from 1955 to 1960. His major interests were microeconomics, econometrics, and business administration. In 1960 he went to teach at the University of California at Los Angeles, with a joint appointment as professor in the School of Business Administration (now Graduate School of Management) and the Department of Economics. He became professor emeritus at UCLA in 1965 and served as director of the Western Management Science Institute (1965–69).

Over the years, Marschak served as president of the Econometric Society; vice president of the American Statistical Association; fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences; member of the National Academy of Sciences; and president of the American Economic Association.

In the 1920s Marschak helped a number of his fellow Russian intellectual exiles to establish a life for themselves in the United States. In the 1930s he took part in assisting scholars who were refugees from Nazi Germany. Subsequently, he helped the newer emigrant intellectuals from the Soviet Russia.

Marschak's publications include *Kapitalbildung* (with Walther Lederer, 1936), *Economic Aspects of Atomic Power* (co-editor, 1950), *Studies in Econometric Methods* (with W.C. Hood et al., 1953), *Income, Employment, and the Price Level* (1965), *Economic Theory of Teams* (with R. Radner, 1972), and *Economic Information, Decision, and Prediction* (1974).

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[Joachim O. Ronall / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

MARSEILLES, capital of the department of Bouches du Rhône; second largest town in France. The earliest recorded presence of Jews in Marseilles can be traced to the sixth century. In 574 there was a sufficient number to provide asylum for the Jews who fled from *Clermont-Ferrand to escape the coercive measures by Bishop *Avitus to convert them. In 591 Bishop Theodore of Marseilles also attempted to compel the Jews of the town to accept baptism, but Pope *Gregory I intervened in their favor. Although scant information is available on the Jews of Marseilles during the early Middle Ages, the importance of their settlement there is confirmed by the names of sites alluding to them. At the close of the tenth century there is mention of a *valle Judaica* in an area of fields and vineyards and at the end of the 11th century, of a vineyard named *rua Judaica*. During the 12th century, the Jews formed two communities; one in the upper part of the town, which was under the jurisdiction of the bishop; the other in the lower town, which belonged to the viscount. Both communities were placed under the authority of the bishop. (It was this right which Frederick I Barbarossa ratified for Bishop Peter in 1164.) The two communities are mentioned by the traveler *Benjamin of Tudela, who also indicates that the yeshivot and the scholars were established in the upper town. As might be expected, the merchants settled in the lower part in the vicinity of the port. There they traded with Palestine, Egypt, North Africa, Spain, and Italy, dealing mainly in wood, spices, textiles, metals, pharmaceutics, various products for dyeing, and slaves. Commercial partnerships with Christians were very common. They rarely engaged in moneylending, although toward the end of the 12th century they did advance loans to the Monastery of Saint Victor and to the squire of Trets. In 1257 the statutes of Marseilles granted Jews the status of citizens. Nevertheless they were subject to some important restrictions. Jews were prohibited from working in public on Christian festivals, or from taking an oath in a lawsuit against Christians, and no more than four Jews were allowed to embark on a ship bound for Egypt. By at least the middle of the 14th century, all the Jews of the town had united into a single community, led by three officers who administered the schools, the three synagogues, the almshouse, and the *mikveh*.

In the 14th century, Jews were granted equality with other citizens of Marseilles, yet they continued to have special privileges. Thus, although it was forbidden for all other citizens to sell flour in any place but on the bridge, a municipal ordinance of 1359 authorized Jews to sell or buy flour for unleavened bread (*maẓẓot*) in the Jewish quarter. Similarly, an ordinance issued in 1363 stipulated that whereas all other inhabitants were to sweep the street before their houses on Saturday, Jews were permitted to do so on Friday. Finally, in 1387 Jews were exempted on evenings of Jewish festivals from the general obligation to walk about with a lamp after curfew.

Although they lived in an international trading port, the Jewish population remained relatively stable. For much of the Middle Ages, new arrivals in the town constituted little more than 10% of the population. (An important exception was in 1351, after an influx caused by the *Black Death persecutions, when the percentage of new arrivals in the community reached 30%.) Although Jews did not generally participate in the maritime trade, limiting their transactions mainly to Spain, they were well represented in the town's urban commercial life, many of them acting as brokers. The Jewish surname Sabonarius has led to the belief that it was the Jews who introduced the soap industry to Marseilles. They had a virtual monopoly over coral craftsmanship, although those engaged in this occupation made very little money. Poorly off, too, were the Jews who earned their livelihood as laborers, porters, stonecutters, and tailors. Since they dealt only in small sums, even Jewish moneylenders were not noticeably wealthy. Jews did, however, distinguish themselves in the medical field, the number of Jewish physicians in the town often exceeding that of their Christian colleagues. During the 15th century, Jewish economic life experienced a setback and economic activity was reduced to the retail trade, mainly the sale of wheat and textiles. Jews also suffered more than the rest of the population when the town was plundered by the Aragonese in 1423. Most of them became impoverished, and struggled to recover economically.

Late in 1484 and early in 1485, shortly after the incorporation of *Provence into France (1481), the Jewish quarter of Marseilles was attacked. In the wake of plunder, destruction, and murder, the Jews of Marseilles began to flee. In 1486, however, the municipal council curbed their emigration and drew up an inventory of their belongings. The ensuing period is marked by severe upheavals in the composition of the community, as reflected in the extant lists of the heads of families; at least one half of the community's members were relatively new arrivals. Jews from Spain began to arrive in large numbers, particularly after 1491. Many shipowners in Marseilles amassed fortunes as a result of their expulsion in 1492. Spanish Jews hired vessels at exorbitant prices to transport them to Italy and Constantinople, and many of these ships called at the port of Marseilles. At times, the exiles attempted to remain in the city without the authorization of the municipal council. A general expulsion order for Provence was issued in 1500 and enforced in 1501. For about 20 years, conversions increased considerably as great numbers of Jews chose baptism to evade expulsion.

The 12th-century Jewish traveler Benjamin of Tudela refers to Marseilles as a "town of learned men and scholars." Among those he mentions is R. *Isaac b. Abba Mari of Marseilles, a renowned commentator and author of prayers. Several members of the Ibn *Tibbon family also lived in Marseilles, or were born there. (Records of a rabbinical lawsuit in this family about 1250 mention family relationships and marriages between the Jews of Marseilles and those of *Naples, *Aix-en-Provence, and *Montpellier.) *Nissim b. Moses of Marseilles was the author of a commentary – which some regard as "almost rationalist" – on the Pentateuch, entitled *Sefer ha-Nissim* or *Ma'aseh Nissim*. Samuel b. Judah ha-Marsili (also known as Miles Bonjudas), born in Marseilles in 1294, translated several philosophical and scientific works from Arabic into Hebrew. Other scholars born in the city include Judah b. David (also known as Bonjudas Bendavi or Maestre Bonjua), a talmudist and physician of the late 14th/early 15th century, and the talmudist and commentator Jacob b. David *Provencal (second half of the 15th century), both of whom emigrated to Italy.

In the second half of the 17th century, a second community was established in Marseilles for a brief period. As a result of an edict issued by Louis XIV in 1669, which granted tax exemption to the port of Marseilles, two Jews of Leghorn, Joseph Vais Villareal and Abraham *Athias, settled there in 1670 with their families. Their commercial success rapidly attracted other Jews. The local authorities soon protested against the presence of Jews and particularly objected to the existence of two places of Jewish worship. They obtained an expulsion order which was carried out in 1682. Despite successive renewals of the expulsion order, a new community was founded in 1760. About 1768, it owned a small synagogue and in 1783, it erected a cemetery. Although the community's membership remained relatively stable, a split occurred at the end of 1790, and both the municipality and the civil court were called upon to intervene to settle the differences. Forcibly reunited, the community established a new synagogue and a cemetery in 1804. The community was then composed of about 300 members, of whom over one third were living in poverty. The Jewish population increased rapidly to 450 in 1808, 1,000 in 1821, and 2,500 in 1865. As a result, several new institutions were established, including schools for both boys and girls, a poorhouse, and a synagogue on the Rue de Breteuil that remains in use today.

Holocaust Period and After

Between 1940 and 1942, Marseilles, along with *Lyons, was the city in the southern or "free" zone where the greatest number of Jews and Jewish organizations and institutions found sanctuary from the German invasion. After the Allied landing in

North Africa and the German occupation of France in November 1942, there was a vicious hunt for Jews in Marseilles, which led to mass arrests and deportations. At the same time, the resistance movement increased its activities in the city. The synagogue on Rue de Breteuil was pillaged, the facade destroyed, the prayer books and the Torah scrolls burned. With the defeat of the Germans, about 5,000–10,000 Jews remained in Marseilles. The population, which was comprised of refugees from Provence and Alsace, immigrants from Eastern Europe, and Sephardi Jews from the eastern Mediterranean and from North Africa, gradually rebuilt the community and its institutions, including the Rue de Breteuil synagogue. The former military camp of Grand Arenas near Marseilles became a transit camp for Jewish survivors migrating to Palestine. Beginning in 1956, the city attracted Jewish immigrants from North Africa, and in 1962 it became their main port of entry into France. In 1969, there were an estimated 65,000 Jews in Marseilles. In 1987, the Jewish population stood at 70,000, making it the third largest Jewish community in Western Europe. Although the community's buildings and institutions expanded, they could not keep pace with the population growth. In 2002 Marseilles and the immediate vicinity was said to have over 40 synagogues. It also had three community centers, a Jewish primary school, an *ORT vocational school, and a network of institutions and organizations including youth movements, kosher restaurants, and *mikva'ot*. A consulate general of Israel was located in Marseilles.

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[Bernhard Blumenkranz / David Weinberg (2nd ed.)]

MARSHAK, SAMUEL YAKOVLEVICH (1887–1964), Zionist and Russian poet. Marshak was born in Voronezh. Though his father received a solid religious education, Marshak himself seems to have experienced traditional Judaism only when he lived, as a child, with his observant grandparents in Vitebsk. There, for two years, he studied Hebrew with a teacher by the name of Khalameyzer, whom he lovingly remembered and described in his childhood reminiscences *V nachale zhizni* ("At Life's Beginning," 1960). But it seems that he mastered Hebrew, as well as ancient and modern Jewish literature, sufficiently well to be able to translate it into Russian. Marshak received his formal education in Russian high schools in St. Petersburg and also in the Crimean town of Yalta, where he lived in Maxim *Gorki's house.

According to his second autobiographical note "*O sebe*" ("About Myself"), published posthumously as an introduction to the eight-volume collection of his writings, he "began being published in almanacs in 1907." But actually his first verse had already appeared in Russian-language Jewish journals (*Yevreyskaya Zhizn, Molodaya Iudeya*) in 1904–07, all of them enthusiastically Zionist, such as poems on the death of *Herzl ("*20 Tammuz*" and "*Na grobe*"), poems based on biblical themes (from Ezekiel and Song of Songs), on midrashic legends, about the Spanish Inquisition, and programmatic Zionist poetry (especially for youth), etc. Later he published his poetry, including translations from *Bialik, in the Zionist *Razsvet*, in which, after a visit in 1911 to Ereẓ Israel, he also published his observations and impressions of the various Jewish communities in the country. In his poem "Palestina," published in 1916 in *Yevreyskaya Zhizn*, he contrasted the Jewish plight in Russia during World War I to the elation he experienced in Ereẓ Israel. His poem "*Ierusalim*," which depicts his journey to the Holy City, was included in the Russian-language anthology of Jewish poetry *Safrut* (1918). The *Evrejskaya Anthaloga* ("Hebrew Anthology"), which appeared in Moscow in 1918, edited by L. *Jaffe and V. *Khodasevich, published Marshak's translations from Bialik, Z. *Shneur and D. Shimonovich *(Shimoni).

As a high school student, during his stay in Gorki's house in Yalta, he was active until the summer of 1906 in organizing Zionist youth circles of Molodaya Iudeya ("Young Judea"). Under the influence of the clandestine *Po'alei Zion delegate, Isaac Shimshelevich (later Izhak *Ben-Zvi, the second president of Israel), Marshak became an activist of the illegal Po'alei Zion movement, and his address at Gorki's house even served as a liaison between the center of the movement in Poltava and its delegate in the Crimea. According to Ben-Zvi's letters, seized by the Czarist police, Marshak was active in organizing the Po'alei Zion branch in Yalta and the distribution of *Yevreyskaya Rabochaya Khronika* ("Jewish Workers' Chronicle"). During his stay in London (1912–13) Marshak was still in touch with Po'alei Zion, and Ber *Borochov mentions him in one of his letters to a London friend. Thus, from his high school days in Yalta until after the Russian Revolution, when he participated in the editing of the Russian-language anthologies of Jewish literature in Moscow, Marshak was a dedicated Zionist. This chapter in his life has been completely omitted from Marshak's biographies and autobiographical notes published in the Soviet Union.

[Matityahu Minc]

Most historians of Russian writing would probably accept Marshak's designation by his friend Maxim Gorki as the founder of Soviet children's literature. His first children's book was *Detki v kletke* ("Children in a Cage," 1923). There is hardly a Russian child or young adult who does not know some of Marshak's verse by heart. His nursery rhymes, songs, and verse form part of the Soviet kindergarten and school curriculum, and his plays have long been among the mainstays of the Soviet children's theater. There are few ideological elements in his verse, in which he usually exhorts children to be truthful, to obey their parents, to study diligently, and to be kind to animals. Four volumes of his writings, including his first autobiographical note, appeared in 1957–60. Marshak was also famous as a translator of the great European poets, including Shakespeare, Blake, Byron, and Heine.

Marshak's sister, YELENA YAKOVLEVNA ILINA (pen name of Liya Yakovlevna Preis, 1901–1964), was a well-known children's writer in her own right, and his brother, M. ILIN (pen name of Ilya Yakovlevich Marshak, 1895–1953), was probably the best-known Soviet writer of popular science, particularly for children. He won the Stalin Prize four times (1942, 1946, 1949, 1951), and the Lenin Prize in 1962.

[Maurice Friedberg]

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MARSHALL, DAVID SAUL (1908–1995), Singapore labor politician, lawyer, and diplomat. Marshall was born of a Sephardi family of Iraqi origin. He went to London to study, and, after being admitted to the English bar, returned to Singapore to practice law. He entered politics as a member of the Legislative Assembly and became president of the Workers' Party. When the island was granted partial independence in 1955, Marshall led the United Labor Front party to victory in the elections and became chief minister and minister for commerce, serving in these positions until 1956. Marshall was president of the Singapore Jewish Welfare Board from 1946 to 1953. From 1978 to 1993 Marshall served as Singapore's ambassador to France, Spain, Portugal, and Switzerland.

[Moshe Rosetti]

MARSHALL, LOUIS (1856–1929), lawyer and communal leader. Born in Syracuse, New York, the son of German-Jewish immigrants, Marshall graduated from Syracuse High School and served a two-year apprenticeship in a local law office. In 1876 he left for New York City where he completed the two-year Columbia Law School course in one year. Returning to Syracuse, Marshall joined a prominent law firm and in 1894 became a partner in the leading New York firm of Guggenheimer, Untermyer, and Marshall.

Marshall specialized in constitutional and corporate law. Many of the numerous cases that he argued before the U.S. Supreme Court were of major constitutional significance. His legal eminence was recognized by appointment or election to three constitutional conventions in New York State (1890, 1894, and 1915). Although he never sought public office, he was at one time seriously considered for appointment to the Supreme Court. A leading supporter of the Republican Party, Marshall participated in local and national politics, led in the establishment of the New York State College of Forestry, and served on numerous non-sectarian committees and boards.

In New York City, Marshall joined the German-Jewish elite and quickly became the chief spokesman for this group in matters affecting the Jewish community at home and abroad. His national leadership became evident in 1911 during the successful campaign against the United States-Russian Commercial Treaty of 1832, which was being used by the Czarist regime to discriminate against American Jews. Marshall's eloquence, legal knowledge, and skillful management, joined with intense public pressure, resulted in congressional action leading to abrogation of the treaty. In 1912 Marshall became president of the American Jewish Committee and held this post until 1929. During World War I, he participated in a bitter internal power struggle within the Jewish community over the establishment of an American Jewish Congress in preparation for peace negotiations. Playing a key role as mediator, Marshall joined the Jewish delegation to the Paris Peace Conference in 1919, where he supported the granting of national minority rights to the Jews of the new East European states.

Marshall vigorously attempted, without success, to block the American publication of the antisemitic Protocols of the *Elders of Zion, imported from Europe in the immediate postwar years. American Jewry was shocked when the *Dearborn Independent*, a publication owned by Henry Ford, embarked in 1920 on a crusade to popularize and elaborate the distortions and misrepresentations emanating from the *Protocols*. Unable to dissuade Ford directly, Marshall utilized quiet pressure and influential intermediaries in an attempt to abate this antisemitic campaign. Finally, in 1927, after lawsuits brought by individuals maligned by the *Independent*, Ford agreed to cease his attacks and to sign a formal apology to the Jews prepared by Marshall.

Marshall participated in the legal defense of Leo *Frank, who was convicted and subsequently lynched in Georgia for a murder he allegedly committed in 1913. He played a significant part in the campaign to delay the imposition of progressively harsher immigration-restriction legislation. His intervention in 1922 helped reverse Harvard University's announced intention to impose a quota system on Jewish students. He quietly opposed the powerful Ku Klux Klan and vigorously condemned the perpetrators of the Massena ritual murder libel in 1929.

Marshall was a dedicated Jew. He served as president of Temple Emanu-El in New York, the most important Reform Jewish congregation in the United States. At the same time, he served as chairman of the board of directors of the *Jewish Theological Seminary. During World War I, he was president of the American Jewish Relief Committee and helped organize and guide the *American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee. Although not a political Zionist, Marshall acknowledged the need for Palestine as a center of Jewish settlement, especially after the United States severely limited immigration in the early 1920s. He cooperated with Chaim *Weizmann in attempting to arrange a *modus vivendi* which would allow wealthy and influential non-Zionists to share in the support of Palestine without actually becoming Zionists. Weizmann's and Marshall's efforts, opposed by Stephen Wise and other American Zionists, finally came to fruition after many years of discussion. In August 1929, shortly before Marshall's fatal illness, a pact was ratified in Zurich for the establishment of a *Jewish Agency, which would include both Zionists and non-Zionists in the management of Jewish colonization in Palestine under the terms of the British mandate. Marshall's death was a blow to the full implementation of the venture, but his work helped create a tradition of American non-Zionist support that was of great value in the crucial decade after World War II.

Believing in the indivisibility of civil rights, Marshall was a consistent champion of other minorities. Active in the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, he fought major legal battles on behalf of blacks. In 1920, alarmed at hysterical anti-Bolshevism, Marshall defended five socialist assemblymen, who were refused their seats in the New York State Legislature.

Marshall's period of leadership coincided with the great era of mass Jewish immigration to the United States and the integration of the immigrants into an urbanized, industrialized society. Representing the native Jewish establishment, he nevertheless displayed a remarkable sensitivity to the needs and desires of the Jewish immigrants, encouraging, guiding, criticizing, but not patronizing. Aided by American democratic traditions and the political power of Jewish voters, Marshall generally used the traditional methods of intercession and quiet diplomacy to achieve his ends. While not uniformly successful, his dignity, sincerity, devotion, and strength combined to produce what a contemporary called "the foremost leader of American Judaism… the American Jew par excellence."

His son, GEORGE MARSHALL (1904–), conservationist, served as an economist with the National Recovery Administration from 1934 to 1937. Marshall devoted his efforts to the cause of conservation. He was managing editor of *The Living Wilderness* from 1957 to 1961 and was a director of the Sierra Club and the California Conservation Council.

Another son, JAMES MARSHALL (1896–1986), lawyer and educator, studied law at Columbia University and was associated with his father's firm, Guggenheimer, Untermyer, and Marshall from 1920 to 1930. After independent practice from 1930 to 1934, he became a member of the firm of Marshall, Bratter, Greene, Allison and Tucker. In addition to numerous other civic responsibilities, Marshall was a member of the New York City Board of Education from 1938 to 1952 and served as its president from 1938 to 1942. Active in Jewish communal life, he held important posts in the American Jewish Committee, Joint Distribution Committee, Jewish Publication Society, and American Friends of the Hebrew University.

A third son, ROBERT MARSHALL (1901–1939), served as director of the forestry division of the U.S. Office of Indian Affairs from 1933 to 1937. He became chief of the division of recreation and soil conservation of the U.S. Forest Service and held the position until his death.

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[Morton Rosenstock]

°MARSUS, C. VIBIUS, successor to Petronius as Roman governor of Syria (42 C.E.). Marsus appears to have regarded the Judean king Agrippa I with more than the average Roman suspicion toward Jewish leaders and went so far as to inform the emperor *Claudius of these suspicions. When Agrippa began to fortify the walls of the northern side of Jerusalem, the act was immediately reported by Marsus to the emperor. Claudius ordered the immediate cessation of the fortification, suspecting that a revolution was at foot. Marsus again intervened in Judean affairs when he disbanded the meeting of vassal kings convened by Agrippa at Tiberias. From that time, according to Josephus, Agrippa was at odds with Marsus. Marsus was succeeded in Syria by Cassius Longinus in 45 C.E.

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[Isaiah Gafni]

MARTHA, daughter of Boethus, mentioned in Mishnah Yev. 6:4 (cf. Sifra, Emor ch. 2:6) as a widow who was betrothed to *Joshua b. Gamla. According to this Mishnah, Joshua, who was subsequently appointed high priest, was nevertheless permitted to consummate the marriage. Martha's sons are mentioned in Tosef. Yoma 1:14 as priests serving in the temple, but it is not clear whether these are the children of Joshua b. Gamlia, or of her first husband, who may also have been a priest. A tannaitic midrash already uses Martha as a paradigmatic figure of an extremely wealthy widow (cf. Yer. Ket. 5:11, 30b), and the Talmud (Yev. 61a) relates that she paid King Yannai a small fortune in order to assure that Joshua b. Gamlia would be appointed as high priest. In the *aggadot* concerning the fall of Jerusalem (Git. 56a), Martha is portrayed as one of the wealthiest women in the period preceding the destruction of the Temple (70 C.E.), who was forced during a time of famine to venture out on her own to seek a morsel of food. When some excrement came into contact with her skin she died, thus fulfilling the prophecy of Moses in Deut. 28:56. Presumably the traditions concerning Miriam, daughter of Boethus (Lam. R., 1:47), whose family rose to a position of prominence in Herod's time, are also a later literary development of the tannaitic traditions concerning Martha, daughter of Boethus.

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[Stephen G. Wald (2nd ed.)]

°MARTI, KARL (1855–1925), Swiss-German Bible scholar. Marti studied at Basel in Switzerland with Emil Kautzsch, and with Franz Delitzsch at Leipzig in Germany. He taught at Basel university (1881–91) and was professor of theology (from 1895) and of Semitic philology (from 1901) in Bern(e) until his death. Marti wrote critical studies on Jeremiah (1889) and Zechariah (1892), and a concise grammar of biblical Aramaic (1896; 19112). He edited the second edition of A. Kayser's *Theologie des Alten Testaments* (1894; 19075), bearing the title *Geschichte der israelitischen Religion*, a critical evaluation of biblical religion based on the *Wellhausen-Graf reconstruction of Israel's history. Though a staunch Wellhausenian with regard to the biblical texts, Marti paid more attention to the ancient Near Eastern world in which they were produced. In the *Kurzer Hand-Commentar zum Alten Testament*, of which he was a co-editor, he wrote the volumes on Isaiah (1900), Daniel (1901), the Minor Prophets (1904), and the introductory volume, *Die Religion des Alten Testaments unter den Religionen des vorderen Orients* (1906; *The Religion of the Old Testament*, 1907). In the series *Die Heilige Schrift des Alten Testaments* he annotated Deuteronomy (1909), Daniel, and the books of Joel, Obadiah, Zechariah, Haggai, and Malachi of the Minor Prophets (1910). Among his numerous articles on biblical studies and Judaica there is a strongly biased one on the nature of the Christian mission to the Jews ("Zur Judenmission," in: *Kirchenblatt für die reformierte Schweiz*, 1886). Yehezkel *Kaufmann was a student of his.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: For a bibliography of K. Marti's writings until 1923, see: W. Baumgartner, in: BZAW, 41 (1925), 323–31. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** C. Begg, in: DBI, 2:132.

[Zev Garber / S. David Sperling (2nd ed.)]

°**MARTIAL** (**M. Valerius Martialis**; c. 40–104 C.E.), Roman epigrammatist. Martial ridiculed the Jewish rite of circumcision (*Epigrammaton*, 7:55) and speaks mockingly of women who fast on the Sabbath (*ibid.*, 4:4). In common with other classical writers (e.g., Augustus, Strabo, Pompeius Trogus, Persius, and Petronius), Martial confuses the Sabbath with a fast day, probably the Day of Atonement. He referred to licentious Jews who shared vices with their fellow Romans (*ibid.*, 7:30). Martial scolded a circumcised rival poet from Solymae (Jerusalem) for plagiarizing his verses, while criticizing them (*ibid.*, 11:94). In common with other Roman satirists (e.g., *Juvenal), he depicts unfavorably Jewish life in Rome, expressing indignation at the constant growth of that community which he considered strange.

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[Solomon Rappaport]

°**MARTIN**, name of five popes, two of whom were significant in Jewish history.

MARTIN IV pope 1281–85. Although he employed a southern French Jewish physician, Martin IV was generally repressive in his actions concerning the Jews. He directed the inquisitors to proceed against lapsed Jewish converts (March 1, 1281), and issued an instruction to the archbishops and bishops of France not to hamper the work of the Inquisition, even suspending the right of sanctuary in the case of Jewish converts suspected of falling away from the faith. A series of articles specifying reforms for Portugal (1284) is partly concerned with the position of the Jews.

MARTIN V pope 1417–31. On the whole Martin V was well-disposed toward the Jews. In the first two years of his reign he confirmed the Jews of Germany, Savoy, and Rome in their former privileges, and received favorably a delegation of Italian Jews and another from Spain. In 1419 (and again in 1422 and 1429) he issued a bull protecting the Jews in their synagogues. He resisted the imposition of the *badge, but ordered the Jews to abstain from work on Sundays and feast days. His aim seems to have been to encourage the fullest possible intercourse between Jews and Christians, excepting from his protection only those Jews who conspired to overthrow the Christian faith. His personal relations with Jews appear to have been good: he employed Elijah b. Shabbetai Be'er as his physician and gave the Jewish physicians in the Papal States every encouragement in the practice of their profession. Martin may have been the pope who discussed theology with Aaron b. Gerson Abulrabi of Catania. To some extent he seems to have striven to moderate the worst excesses of the Inquisition. In 1418, after receiving a complaint that the Jews of Avignon practiced sorcery, infected simple Christians with Jewish superstitions, and demanded interest at a rate of 10%, he instructed the local inquisitor to proceed against them, but he soon attempted to restrain the inquisitor's zeal. The same situation was repeated in his dealings with John of *Capistrano, against whose excesses many of his edicts of protection were probably directed. Thus in 1422 he issued an edict forbidding forcible baptism, since "a man who is known to have undertaken Christian baptism unwillingly rather than of his own accord cannot be supposed to possess true Christian faith," but barely a year later he was induced to withdraw it. In May 1427 John of Capistrano persuaded the queen of Naples (Joanna II) to cancel the privileges of the Jews in her kingdom, but Martin's intervention resulted in the repeal of this edict in the following August.

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[Nicholas de Lange]

MARTIN, BERNARD (1928–1982), U.S. rabbi and educator. Martin was born in Seklence, Czechoslovakia, and educated in the U.S. He was ordained as a rabbi at Hebrew Union College in 1951, receiving his M.H.L. degree with highest honors. He pursued a combined career as pulpit rabbi and scholar, and received a doctorate in philosophy from the University of Illinois in 1960.

Martin served as rabbi of Sinai Temple in Champaign, Ill., from 1951 to 1957, with a leave of absence to serve as a chaplain in the U.S. army in Japan from 1953 to 1955. He was associate rabbi of Sinai Temple in Chicago from 1957 to 1961 and then senior rabbi of Mount Zion Temple in St. Paul, Minn., until 1966. He held a "centrist" position in the Reform rabbinate, welcoming increased use of Hebrew and ritual, while urging the formulation of "a statement of Jewish theological belief that will satisfy both the mind and heart of the groping and intellectually sophisticated contemporary Jew." Martin also served on the boards of Jewish and civic organizations in St. Paul, including the Jewish Fund and Council, Talmud Torah, Jewish Community Center, Council on Religion and Race, and Zionist District.

In 1966, Martin accepted a professorship at Case Western Reserve University in Cleveland, where he became chair of the department of religion in 1967 and Abba Hillel Silver Professor of Jewish Studies in 1968. He was active in the American Academy for Jewish Research, Academy for Jewish Philosophy, and American Academy of Religion, among others, and served from 1975 to 1981 as editor of the CCAR *Journal*, published by the Central Conference of American Rabbis.

Martin's first book was *The Existentialist Theology of Paul Tillich* (1963). He then developed a specialty in the Russian Jewish existentialist Lev Shestov, editing *Great Twentieth Century Jewish Philosophers* (Shestov, Rosenzweig, Buber, 1969) and *A Shestov Anthology* (1970), and translating Shestov's *Athens and Jerusalem* (1966), *Potestas Clavium* (1968), and *Speculation and Revelation* (1982). Martin's works on Judaism include *Prayer in Judaism* (1968), *Contemporary Reform Jewish Thought* (ed., 1968), *A History of Judaism* (vol. 2: *Europe and the New World*, 1974), *Movements and Issues in American Judaism* (ed., 1978), and a historical novel on Shabbetai Zevi, *That Man from Smyrna* (1978). Martin translated and edited Yiddish works, including literary historian Israel Zinberg's magnum opus, *A History of Jewish Literature* (12 vols., 1972–78) and Dovid Bergelson's novel, *When All is Said and Done* (1977).

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[Mark L. Smith (2nd ed.)]

MARTIN, DAVID (1915–1997), Australian poet and novelist. Born Ludwig Detsinyi in Budapest, Martin was educated in Germany, but left in 1935 with the rise of Nazi power, spending a year on a kibbutz in Ereẓ Israel. He fought in the Spanish Civil War, and lived in London from 1938, working for various newspapers and the European Service of the B.B.C. He moved to Australia in 1949, and was briefly editor of the *Sydney Jewish News*. His works include verse collections such as *Battlefields and Girls* (1942); *From Life* (1953); and *The Gift* (1966); and the novels, *Tiger Bay* (1946); *The Stones of Bombay* (1950); *The Young Wife* (1962); and *The King Between* (1966). Martin contributed stories, criticism, and occasional verse to Jewish publications in England, the U.S.A., and Australia. One of his best-known poems, "I am a Jew," was published in his *Collected Poems, 1938–1958* (1958). His other major Jewish works are a play, *The Shepherd and the Hunter* (1946), dealing with the Palestine problem in the 1940s, and the autobiographical novel, *Where A Man Belongs* (1968), which deals with aspects of contemporary Jewish life. Martin was a member of the Australian Communist Party from 1951 until 1959 and remained on the left until the end of his life, advocating a policy of "armed neutrality" for Australia in the 1980s. He wrote an autobiography, *My Strange Friend* (1991).

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[Greer Fay Cashman]

MARTIN, TONY (**Alvin Morris**; 1912–), U.S. actor and singer. Born in San Francisco, Martin sang over a national radio network in 1932, and was signed for the popular radio show of George Burns and Gracie Allen. His lilting tenor and good looks led to film contracts.

After the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor in December 1941, Martin enlisted in the U.S. Armed Forces, serving first in the Navy and then with the Army in the Far East. He also sang for a time with the Army Air Forces Training Command Orchestra directed by Glenn Miller. He received several military honors, including the Bronze Star.

Martin combined his singing with acting, notably in the film *Casbah* (1948), in which he played Pepe Le Moko, the jewel thief. Some of Martin's other films include *Follow the Fleet* (1936), *Banjo on My Knee* (1936), *Sing and Be Happy* (1937), *Kentucky Moonshine* (1938), *Ziegfeld Girl* (1941), *Till the Clouds Roll By* (1946), *Two Tickets to Broadway* (1951), *Easy to Love* (1953), *Here Come the Girls* (1953), *Deep in My Heart* (1954), and *Let's Be Happy* (1957).

Martin had a successful recording career as well. His biggest hit song was "There's No Tomorrow" (adapted from the classic Italian song "O Sole Mio"). Some of his other popular hits include "South of the Border," "It's a Blue World," "Tonight We Love," "To Each His Own," "It's Magic," "La Vie En Rose," "I Get Ideas," "Domino," "Kiss of Fire," "Stranger in Paradise," and "Walk Hand in Hand."

Martin was active on radio from the 1930s to the 1950s on shows such as Walter Winchell's *Lucky Strike Hour,* along with his own programs. He then moved to television, where he appeared on variety shows and hosted *The Tony Martin Show* (1954–56). In 1955 he was nominated for an Emmy for Best Male Singer.

Martin married actress Alice Faye in 1936; they divorced in 1940. He married dancer/actress Cyd Charisse in 1948. He formed a nightclub act with Charisse in 1964, and for many years the couple performed on the cabaret circuit in the U.S. and abroad.

[Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

°**MARTINEZ, FERRANT**, archdeacon of Écija, one of the leading anti-Jewish agitators in Castile during the last quarter of the 14th century. Preaching in public in *Seville, Martínez demanded that the 23 synagogues in the town should be destroyed and the Jews confined to their own quarter. As vicar-general of the archbishop of Seville, he secured the right of jurisdiction over the Jews of the town and its environs and demanded their expulsion from Écija and other rural districts. In 1378 the Jewish community of Seville appealed to King Henry II of Castile, but his letter to the archdeacon commanding him to desist was ignored. The Jews turned to his successor John I in 1382 but John's edict of 1383 also did not deter Martínez. In 1388 the Jewish community of Seville finally resolved to summon the archdeacon before the supreme court of the crown. In his defense, Martínez claimed that his actions were beneficial to Church and crown and that he had acted with the consent of his superior, the archbishop. Due to the intervention of Queen Leonora in favor of the archdeacon, little resulted from the trial. Even the archbishop of Seville's prompt removal of Martínez from office was fruitless, for after the deaths of King John and the archbishop in 1390 the archdeacon was reinstated to his former position. Immediately after his reinstatement, he ordered that all synagogues within his jurisdiction be destroyed. The intervention of King Henry III, who demanded that Martínez rebuild the synagogues and resign from office, went unheeded. As a result of his continued activities, riots broke out throughout Castile in 1391 and spread rapidly to Aragon. In the ensuing destruction and massacres, many Jews were forced to accept baptism. In 1395 Martínez was imprisoned on the order of the king, but he was soon released; after his death the people revered him as a saint.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Baer, Urkunden, 1 (1929), 699ff.; 2 (1936), 210ff., 231ff., 244ff.; Baer, Spain, 2 (1966), index s.v. *Ferrant Martinez.*

°**MARTÍNEZ DE OVIEDO, GONZALO** (d. 1340), majordomo (*dispensero de la casa del rey*) of King Alfonso XI of Castile. He instigated the proposal to expel the Jews from the kingdom of Castile. When in the royal service, Martínez enjoyed the protection of the Jewish courtier Joseph de *Écija. According to Solomon *Ibn Verga in *Shevet Yehudah*, he was jealous of his Jewish master and petitioned the king to sell him Joseph and nine other Jews, including the physician Samuel *Ibn Waqar. The king granted his request and the two courtiers R. Joseph and R. Samuel died under torture in prison. Martínez' influence increased until he was appointed head of the Order of Alcántara. When Abu al-Malik, son of the sultan of Morocco, declared war on Castile in 1339, Martínez advised Alfonso to expel all the Jews from the kingdom and confiscate their property. In spite of the objections of some of the court ministers, the king accepted his suggestion and the Jews of several towns were arrested and their property seized. Martínez led the troops who defeated the Moroccan army, but after his victory he lost favor with the king, probably as a result of the intervention of Alfonso's mistress Doňa Leonor de Guzmán; he was arrested, charged as a traitor, and executed by royal command. Ibn Verga relates that all the tyrant's property was sold to Jews and his ring handed over to the courtier Moses, probably Moses *Abzardiel.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Baer, Spain, 1 (1961), 354ff.; S. ibn Verga, *Shevet Yehudah*, ed. by A. Shochat (1947), 53ff.

°**MARTINI, RAYMOND** (1220–1285), Spanish Dominican friar and polemicist. Born in Subirat, Catalonia, Raymond lived for a long time in a monastery in Barcelona, temporarily also in Tunis where he engaged in missionary activity among Jews and Arabs. He studied Hebrew and other Oriental languages at the college of Murcia, founded to train selected friars in the conduct of religious disputations with Jews and Muslims for the purpose of converting them to Christianity. Raymond was able to read rabbinical writings with ease. He took an active part in the disputation with Naḥmanides at *Barcelona in 1263 where Pablo *Christiani was the Christian spokesman (see *Barcelona, Disputation of). In 1264 he was appointed a member of the first censorship commission to examine Jewish books for passages allegedly offensive to Christianity. After the disputation of Barcelona, Raymond Martini became one of the chief executors of the anti-Jewish policy of the church.

Raymond's main work is his *Pugio Fidei* ("The Dagger of Faith"; c. 1280), divided into three parts of which the second and third are devoted to anti-Jewish polemics. The last part contains extracts from the Talmud, the Midrash, and later rabbinical writings (Rashi, etc.). The book is clearly an attempt to regain the ground lost after the Christian failure in the disputation of Barcelona. Raymond's polemics are innovative in that he derives his "proofs" of the truth of Christianity or falsehood of the Jewish faith not solely from the Old Testament but mainly from the Talmud and other rabbinical literature. Thus, according to Raymond, Jesus is also announced as Messiah in the *aggadah*, and the talmudic passage, according to which "the commandments will be abolished in the Hereafter" (Nid. 61b) after the advent of the Messiah, heralds the abrogation of the Jewish laws after the advent of Jesus. Furthermore, Raymond claims that the emendations to the Bible undertaken by Ezra's collaborators and cited in the Talmud as *tikkun soferim* have distorted the original text. But his own interpretation of the aggadic text was not always correct, and by arbitrary grouping of sentences out of their original context he often gave them a christological meaning.

Pugio Fidei became the most important and widely circulated medieval anti-Jewish polemic, and supplied polemical source material to disputant friars, Christian scholars, and Jewish apostates (see *Nicholas of Lyre, *Abner of Burgos, *Pablo de Santa Maria, *Arnold of *Villanova, Joshua *Lorki (in his *Hebraeomastix*, especially for the disputation of *Tortosa)). The manuscript, which was lost for a long time, was brought to light by Justus Scaliger and published by Joseph de Voisin under the title *Pugio Fidei… adversus Mauros et Judaeos* (Paris, 1651). A second edition was published by I.B. Carpzov (Leipzig, 1678), who added an anti-Jewish preface "*Introductio in Theologiam Judaicam*" and a biography of the author. Another anti-Jewish book written by Raymond Martini, *Capistrum Judaeorum*, was less important and never printed.

Solomon b. Abraham *Adret took part in a disputation with Raymond or with one of his disciples. Adret wrote a small apologetic work refuting Raymond's main fictitious proofs from the *aggadah* for the validity of Christianity, without mentioning the author's name or work. These refutations, as well as a detailed defense of *tikkun soferim* against charges of forgeries of the biblical text, are also included in Adret's aggadic commentary *Ḥiddushei Aggadot* (see: Rashba, Resp., 4 (1958), nos. 31 and 187, and J. Perles, 30–56, Heb. sect.).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Baer, Spain, index; idem, in: *Sefer Zikkaron le-Asher Gulak…* (1942), 29 ff.; A.L. Williams, *Adversus Judaeos* (1935), 248 ff.; J. Rosenthal, in: *Perspectives in Jewish Learning*, 3 (1967), 48 ff.; Graetz, Gesch, 7 (1894), 124 f., 150 ff.; J. Quetif, *Scriptores Ordinis Praedicatorum…*, 1 (Paris, 1719), 396–8; Wolf, Bibliotheca, 1 (1715), 1016 ff.; 3 (1727), 989 ff.; 4 (1733), 572 ff., 968; J. Perles, *R. Salomo b. Abraham b. Adereth* (Ger. 1863), 54 ff., 77 f.; S.M. Schiller-Szinessy, in: *Journal of Philology*, 16 (1887), 131–52; L. Levy, in: ZHB, 6 (1902), 30 f.; P. Browe, *Judenmission im Mittelalter und die Paepste* (1942), 77, 103 f., 108, 120, 122, 272; S. Lieberman, *Sheki'in* (Heb. with Eng. summary, 1939), index; idem, in: HJ, 5 (1943), 91; Zunz-Albeck, Derashot, 144–5; H. Merḥavyah, *Ha-Talmud bi-Re'i ha-Naẓerut* (1970), index.

[Bernard Suler]

MARTON, ERNÖ JECHEZKEL (1896–1960), editor and leader of Transylvanian and Hungarian Jewry. Born in Dicsőszentmárton (now Târnăveni, Romania), Marton was the son of the city's rabbi. Toward the end of World War I, he participated in Hungarian public life and in 1918 he was appointed general secretary to the district governor. But he quickly left this position, moved to Kolozsvár, and took part in the "Zionist revolution" that was then taking place among the Jews of Transylvania. He joined the group that established the Hungarian-language Zionist newspaper *Uj Kelet* ("The New East") and was soon appointed editor in chief (1919). From then until his death he was editor of the paper (in Cluj and later in Tel Aviv). Marton was elected to major posts in the Zionist movement in Transylvania.

Marton was one of the founders and leaders of the Jewish Party in Romania and succeeded in convincing Romanian politicians to view the Jews of Transylvania as a national minority. In 1919 he was elected to the city council of Cluj on behalf of the Jewish Party and was appointed vice mayor. In 1932 he was chosen on the same list as a member of the Romanian parliament, where he defended the rights of the Jews.

During World War II, with the reannexation of Cluj to Hungary (1940), the publication of *Uj Kelet* was discontinued. Marton moved to Budapest and joined the executive of the Hungarian Zionist Movement. In 1944, when the Nazis occupied Hungary, he moved to Bucharest and organized rescue activities on behalf of Hungarian Jewry. He renewed his ties with Romanian politicians and designed a program for the large-scale rescue of Hungarian Jews. With the liberation of Hungary, Marton headed a convoy to Budapest to organize welfare programs for the survivors of the ghetto. In 1946 Marton settled in Palestine. Two years later, together with David Dezsö Schoen, he renewed publication of *Uj Kelet* in Tel Aviv. He also founded the World Federation of Hungarian Jews and was its first chairman. In addition to numerous articles that appeared for decades in his newspaper, he also published books of ideological problems of Zionism. His most important work is *A magyar zsidóság családfája* ("Family Tree of Hungarian Jewry," 1941), in which he developed new theories on the history of the Jews in Hungary. The book also appeared in English translation in *Hungarian Jewish Studies* (1966), 1–59.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: B. Vágó, in: *Hungarian Jewish Studies* (1966), 177–222.

[Yehouda Marton]

MARTOV, JULIUS (**Iulii Osipovich Tsederbaum**; 1873–1923), Russian revolutionary, leader of Menshevism. Born in Constantinople, where his father represented the Russian Steamship Co. and trade companies, Martov was the favorite grandson of Alexander *Zederbaum, the Hebrew writer and founder of *Ha-Meliẓ*, but his father, Osip, was a conscious assimilationist. Active in revolutionary student circles in St. Petersburg, Martov was arrested and exiled to Vilna, where he worked from 1893 to 1895 in the Jewish social democratic organization (which in 1897 became the *Bund). In a programmatic address (later published as *A Turning Point in the History of the Jewish Labor Movement*), Martov urged the creation of a "separate Jewish workers' organization to lead the Jewish proletariat in the struggle for its economic, civil, and political emancipation"; it would use Yiddish as its language of agitation and champion "equality of rights for Jews."

Returning to St. Petersburg in October 1895, he joined *Lenin as co-founder of the "Union of Struggle for the Emancipation of the Working Class," was arrested in 1896 and was exiled to Siberia. After his term of exile, Martov, together with Lenin and Alexander Potresov, founded the Marxist journal *Iskra* and joined its editorial board abroad (1901–05). He participated in *Iskra*'s crusade against revisionism and "economism" and, reversing his earlier stand on the Jewish question, vigorously opposed the national "separatism" of the Bund, urging Jewish socialists to "assist the organization of the vast majority of the [Russian] proletariat" rather than waste their revolutionary talents on their "own little corner" in the *Pale of Settlement.

Martov broke with Lenin at the Second Congress of the Russian Social Democratic Party (1903), opposing his bid for personal domination of the party. He led Menshevik opposition to Lenin's scheme of a narrow party of professional revolutionaries, advocating a broad, inclusive workers' party adapted to Russian semi-illegal conditions.

During the 1905 Revolution Martov returned to Russia, worked in the St. Petersburg soviet and edited Social Democratic newspapers. In 1906–12 he lived abroad, mainly in Paris, where he edited the Menshevik *Golos sotsialdemokrata*. He supported cooperation with the Bolsheviks and sought to combine legal with underground activities.

During World War I Martov was a central figure of the pacifist Zimmerwald movement. He thwarted Lenin's attempt to turn the movement into a Bolshevik-dominated tool for civil war and the destruction of the Second International. Upon his return to Petersburg on May 9, 1917, Martov led the faction of Menshevik-Internationalists, who opposed the "defensist" policies of the Menshevik majority and advocated the establishment of a popular front government.

After the Bolshevik seizure of power in October 1917, Martov, together with Raphael *Abramowitz, urged the creation of a socialist coalition government in a vain attempt to prevent the Bolsheviks from establishing a minority dictatorship. He became the leader of a vociferous, semi-loyal opposition that tried to function in the Soviet system by making the Bolsheviks respect their own Soviet constitution. Martov denounced the Bolshevik terror, whether directed against "bourgeois" newspapers, liberal parties, the Czar's family, church dignitaries, or Socialist Revolutionaries, and thus became the revolution's "true voice of conscience." But he supported the Soviet regime against counterrevolution and foreign intervention. When the Menshevik Party was finally outlawed, Martov was allowed to leave Russia (1920). He settled in Berlin to lead the Mensheviks in exile and assist the underground Menshevik remnant in Russia. He edited the *Sotsialistichskii Vestnik* and was a leader of the short-lived "Vienna International," which tried to thwart the Comintern's bid to take over the Western independent left-wing parties.

Brave, honest, and gentle, and a beloved figure of Russian and European socialism – even the Bolsheviks mourned him as their "most sincere and honest opponent" – Martov personified the dilemma of revolutionary socialists with humanitarian and democratic commitments when facing the amoral authoritarianism of Lenin and the Soviet regime.

Martov believed that the advent to socialism would also solve the problem of the Jewish people. He was deeply shaken by the pogroms of 1905–06 and by the *Beilis trial, remained personally involved in the struggle against antisemitism, and wrote a little book, *Russkii narod i evrei* ("The Russian People and the Jews," 1908).

His works, fragmentary and scattered, include *Istoriia rossiiskoi sotsial-demokratii* ("History of the Russian Social Democracy," 1918; published in German translation as *Geschichte der russischen Sozialdemokratie*, Berlin, 1926); *Obshchestvennye i umstvennye techeniia v Rossii 1870–1905* ("Social and Intellectual Trends in Russia 1870–1905," 1924); *Razvitie krupnoi promyshlennosti i rabochee dvizhenie v Rossii* ("The Development of Heavy Industry and the Workers' Movement in Russia," 1923). He was chief editor of the monumental Menshevik study *Obshchestvennoe dvizhenie v Rossii v nachale XX veka* ("The Social Movement in Russia at the Beginning of the 20th century," 4 vols., 1909–14), which is his major scholarly achievement. His moving autobiographical *Zapiski sotsialdemokrata* ("Notes of a Social Democrat," 1923) is his literary masterpiece.

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[Israel Getzler]

MARWICK, LAWRENCE (1909–1981), librarian and Oriental scholar. Born in Poland, Marwick immigrated to the United States in 1929. During World War II he served in the U.S. intelligence corps. From 1948, for more than 30 years, he was head of the Hebraic section of the U.S. Library of Congress. After the war he was the assistant director of the Board of Jewish Education in St. Louis. In 1954–56 he lectured in Arabic and Islamic studies at Dropsie College and from 1961 in modern Hebrew literature and Arabic at New York University. Marwick was a member of the American Academy of Jewish Research and the board of governors of Dropsie College.

He wrote *A Handbook of Diplomatic Hebrew* (1957) and edited Solomon B. Jeroham's *Arabic Commentary on the Book of Psalms, Chapters 42–72* (1956). He also wrote *Biblical and Judaic Acronyms* (1979) and compiled *Diplomatic Hebrew: A Glossary of Current Terminology* (1980).

In 1993 the Library of Congress published *Yiddish American Popular Songs, 1895 to 1950*, a bibliographic catalog of Yiddish music based on Marwick's work. He had compiled entries of more than 3,000 Yiddish songs from the Catalog of Copyright Entries. Focusing on Yiddish-American plays and sheet music that had been deposited in the Library of Congress for copyright registration but were virtually unknown to scholars, Marwick's work provides a historical perspective on the evolution of Yiddish music in America. Musicologist Irene Heskes completed the volume for publication.

[Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

MARX, ADOLF BERNHARD (1795–1866), German musicologist. Born in Halle, he was originally a lawyer, but in 1830 became professor of music at Berlin University, a post that had been intended for but declined by the 21-year-old Felix Mendelssohn. In 1850 he helped to found the school still known as the Stern Conservatory and taught there till 1856. He wrote operas, lieder, a piano sonata, a symphony, and an oratorio *Moses* (1843), but achieved no importance as a composer. His theoretical and critical works, however, retain their value, the most important being a four-volume work on composition, *Die Lehre von der musikalischen Komposition* (1837–47); *Ludwig van Beethoven, Leben und Schaffen* (1859); *Gluck und die Oper* (2 vols., 1863); and a work on the interpretation of Beethoven's piano works (1863). Marx's memoirs, *Erinnerungen aus meinem Leben*, were published in two volumes in 1865, and a collection of his articles appeared in three parts, from 1912 to 1922.

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[Alfred Einstein]

MARX, ALEXANDER (1878–1953), historian, bibliographer and librarian. Born in Elberfeld, Germany, Marx grew up in Koenigsberg (East Prussia). His studies were interrupted by a year in a Prussian artillery regiment where he excelled in horsemanship. Later he studied at the University of Berlin and at the *Rabbiner-Seminar (Berlin), marrying in 1905 Hannah the daughter of D.Z. *Hoffmann, rector of the Seminar. In Berlin, he was influenced by Moritz Steinschneider. In 1903 Marx accepted Solomon Schechter's invitation to teach history at the Jewish Theological Seminary of America and be its librarian.

His mastery of the materials of history and of languages became proverbial. He published articles in many languages and was at home in classical and Semitic languages. Marx contributed monographs and articles to journals on a wide variety of subjects, published two volumes of collected essays (*Studies in Jewish History and Booklore* (1944); *Essays in Jewish Biography* (1947)), and with Max L. *Margolis wrote *A History of the Jewish people* (1927, 1962^2). This pioneering work, stressing economic and social life, organization and legal status, offers the general reader a soundly researched, authoritative, and objective Jewish history in one volume. Marx amassed a private collection of 10,000 books. The JTS library on his arrival in 1903 contained 5,000 volumes and 3 manuscripts. At his death it possessed 165,000 books and over 9,000 Hebrew, Samaritan, Aramaic, and Yiddish manuscripts, comprising the largest Judaica collection in the world. Marx's ability to determine a manuscript's age merely by looking at it was legendary. His annual reports of the library's growth, containing a detailed description of materials acquired, were eagerly awaited by bookmen and scholars.

In 1926 Marx was elected to the Medieval Academy of America; he served as president of the American Academy for Jewish Research (1931–33), president of the Alexander Kohut Memorial Foundation, vice president of the American Jewish Historical Society, and member of the publications committee of the Jewish Publication Society of America.

His sister, Esther, married S.Y. *Agnon.

[Morris Epstein]

His brother MOSES (1885–1973) was also a bibliographer and librarian. Best known for his contributions to the field of Hebrew incunabula and 16th-century Hebrew printing, he was a founder of the Soncino Gesellschaft and a Berlin publisher. He issued, inter alia, bibliophile editions of early works by his brother-in-law S.Y. Agnon, and co-edited with Aron Freimann in the 1920s the *Thesaurus Typographiae Hebraicae Saeculi XV*. In 1926 he went to the United States and joined the staff of the Hebrew Union College Library in Cincinnati. Retiring as head cataloger in 1963, he served briefly as curator of rare books and then settled in Israel. Much of Marx's research in early Jewish printing remained unpublished.

[Stanley F. Chyet]

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MARX, KARL (1897–1966), German editor and publisher. Born in Saarlouis, Marx served in the German army in World War I and then worked as a freelance writer for the Havas news agency. He was prominent in politics during the Weimar period, particularly because of his work in the organization of German democratic youth movements. In 1933 he fled Germany and eventually reached England. He returned to Germany in 1946 and was co-founder of a Jewish communal paper for the British zone that later became the *Allgemeine Unabhaengige Juedische Wochenzeitung* (Dusseldorf), which advocated reparations and diplomatic relations with Israel and opposed neo-Nazi manifestations.

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[Monika Halbinger (2nd ed.)]

MARX, KARL HEINRICH (1818–1883), German social philosopher and the chief theorist of modern socialism. Marxism became in the 20th century a new creed for hundreds of millions of socialists, often hardening into a dogma, particularly in the communist movement and in the Soviet Bloc, the People's Republic of China, and other communist countries. Born in the Rhineland town of Trier (then West Prussia), Marx was the son of Jewish parents, Heinrich and Henrietta Marx. Heinrich Marx became a successful lawyer, and, when an edict prohibited Jews from being advocates, he converted to Protestantism in 1817. In 1824, when Karl was six years old, his father converted his eight children. Karl Marx was educated at the high school in Trier and studied history and philosophy at the universities of Bonn and Berlin. He was strongly influenced by Hegel's philosophy and joined a radical group known as the Young Hegelians. In 1841 he received his degree of doctor of philosophy at the University of Jena where he presented his dissertation on the "*Differenz der demokritischen und epikureischen Naturphilosophie*." When his connection with the Young Hegelians prevented him from obtaining a teaching position at the University of Bonn, he turned to journalism. He became the editor of the liberal Cologne daily *Rheinische Zeitung* in 1842. In the following year he married Jenny von Westphalen, daughter of a high Prussian official. Soon afterward, the *Rheinische Zeitung* was suppressed and the young couple went to Paris where Marx expected to edit the *Deutsch-Franzoesische Jahrbuecher*. In fact only one issue was brought out (1844).

The young Marx's ideas attracted the attention of older radicals and socialists. Moses *Hess, one of the editors of the *Rheinische Zeitung*, wrote in a letter to the German-Jewish writer Berthold *Auerbach: "Dr. Marx, as my idol is called, is still a very young man; he will give medieval religion and politics their last blow. He combines the deepest earnestness with the most cutting wit. Imagine Rousseau, Voltaire, Holbach, Lessing, Heine, and Hegel united in one person. I say united, not lumped together – and you have Dr. Marx." While evolving from his philosophy as a Young Hegelian to his own concept of man as creating himself by labor, he transmitted in his writings a passionate yearning for a new, free society in which socialist man will transcend the imposed "alienation" from state – controlled society and from his labor and its fruits. An article contributed to the *Deutsch-Franzoesische Jahrbuecher* by Friedrich Engels led to a lifelong friendship between Marx and Engels. Engels, a fellow Rhinelander of socialist and Hegelian leanings, was the son of a wealthy industrialist with factories in Germany and England and was able to support Marx financially for the rest of his life. Marx, who maintained personal friendly contact with Heinrich *Heine, was one of the editors of *Vorwaerts*, a German newspaper published in Paris, which contained sharp attacks against the Prussian government. Its ambassador in Paris protested and Marx was expelled from France.

He went to Brussels where he wrote "*Misère de la philosophie, Response a la philosophie de la misère de M. Proudhon*" (1847), an attack on the Utopian social order advocated by Proudhon. Marx argued that the capitalistic society leads to the strengthening of the proletariat, a class which of necessity must become revolutionary and must overthrow the contemporary social organization based on exploitation. Socialist theorists should not waste their time in describing how society should be ideally built, but rather analyze what is going on in the present world.

In 1845, while in Brussels, Marx was forced to renounce his Prussian citizenship, and thus became "stateless." (Sixteen years later he vainly tried to regain it with the help of Ferdinand *Lassalle. He also applied for British citizenship, but the Home Office rejected his application (1874) on the grounds that "this man was not loyal to his king.") Marx cooperated with the "League of the Just" which became "The League of the Communists" (Bund der Kommunisten) which had its headquarters in London. He attended its second congress in London at the end of 1847 and together with Engels presented a new program for the League called *The Communist Manifesto.* It was published in February 1848 under the title *Manifest der Kommunistischen Partei* and rapidly became the best known work of modern socialism. It began with the words "A specter is haunting Europe – the specter of Communism," and postulated that "the history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggles. Freeman and slave, patrician and plebeian, lord and serf, guild-master and journeyman, in a word, oppressor and oppressed, stood in constant opposition to one another, carried on uninterrupted, now hidden, now open fight, a fight that each time ended, either in a revolutionary reconstitution of society at large, or in the common ruin of the contending classes." It ended with the words, "The proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains. They have a world to win. Working men of all countries, unite!" A month after the publication of the Manifesto, Marx was expelled from Belgium and went to Paris. He left for Cologne soon afterward, following the outbreak of revolution in Germany, and became editor of the Cologne daily *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*. When the revolution failed and political reaction set in, he was expelled first from Cologne and then from Paris. He settled in London soon afterward where, in spite of the financial assistance that he received from Engels, he led the hard life of a political exile until his death.

From 1852 to 1861 Marx partly supported himself by being the London correspondent of the *New York Tribune*, commenting on current world affairs. He also drafted a resolution of English workers congratulating Abraham Lincoln on his election as president of the United States. For years he was an almost daily visitor to the British Museum Library, where he studied the great economists, many governmental "Blue Books" on industrial and labor relations, gathering material for his magnum opus "*Das Kapital, Kritik der politischen Oekonomie*" the first volume of which appeared in Hamburg in 1867. (Volumes 2 and 3 were completed and edited by Engels in 1885 and 1893 respectively.) Marx's other writings include *Die Klassenkaempfe in Frankreich 1848–1850* (1850; Eng. translation *The Civil War in France*, 1852); *Der achtzehnte Brumaire des Louis Bonaparte* (1852), and *Zur Kritik der politischen Oekonomie* (1859; Eng. trans. *Critique of Political Economy*, 1904).

Marx was not only a theoretician, he also took active part in the labor and socialist movement, and especially in the International Workingmen's Association (The First International), being a leading member of its General Council. But he lacked the qualities of a popular leader and his followers constituted a small minority of the association.

Marx's System

Marx had an exceptionally powerful mind and a rare capacity for research; his knowledge was encyclopedic. His influence on the modern world has been compared to that of the great religions, or Newton and Darwin. His work is the more difficult to understand as *Das Kapital* remained unfinished, and certain aspects of his doctrine only slightly sketched. His (and Engels') system – Marxism – is also known under the names of "economic" or "materialistic determinism," "dialectical materialism," or "scientific" (as opposed to "utopian") socialism. From Hegel he took the dialectical method, but ultimately applied it in a sense opposite to Hegel's idealist philosophy.

In what Marx calls "the social production" men enter into relations that are indispensable and independent of their will. These "relations of production" correspond to a definite stage of development of the material powers of production. The totality of these "relations of production" constitutes the real basis on which rises a legal and political "superstructure," and to which correspond definite forms of social consciousness. The consciousness of men does not determine their existence, but on the contrary, is determined itself by their social existence. At a certain stage of their development, the "material forces of production" come in conflict with the existing "relations of production" or – what is but a legal expression of the same thing – with "the property relations" within which they had been at work before. From forms of development of the forces of production these relations turn into their fetters. Then comes the period of social revolution. With the change of the economic basis the entire immense superstructure is more or less rapidly transformed. The bourgeois relations of production are the last antagonistic form of the social process of production, the productive forces in the womb of bourgeois society creating the material conditions for the ultimate socialist solution of that antagonism.

Marx's theory of value, which he considered as the very basis of his whole economic theory, was critical of all of past political economics (even of the Ricardian). The value of a commodity, according to Marx, is determined by the amount of labor socially necessary for its production. Of indispensable importance in the system is Marx's concept of "surplus value." The activity of the capitalist employer is represented by the formula M-C-M^1. With money (M), he buys the commodities (C) needed for production, and then sells the finished product for money (M^1). It is evident that M^1 is larger than M, else the whole process would involve no more than gratuitous trouble to the capitalist. Thus the labor power produces more than its value. This surplus value is the evidence and measure of the exploitation of the laborer by his employer.

Marx and the Jews

Marx's father Heinrich, whose original name was Hirschel ha-Levi, was the son of a rabbi and the descendant of talmudic scholars for many generations. Hirschel's brother was chief rabbi of Trier. Heinrich Marx married Henrietta Pressburg, who originated in Hungary and whose father became a rabbi in Nijmegen, Holland. Heinrich received a secular education, obtained a law degree, detached himself from his family and eventually also from his religion. Marx's mother spoke German with a heavy Dutch accent and never learned to write a grammatical letter in German. Intellectually she had little in common with her husband and son.

Karl Marx's attitude to Jews and Judaism has been discussed from different points of view, and therefore it is not surprising that it evolved into what was later described as "self-hatred," too. At the age of 15 he was solemnly confirmed and became deeply attached to Christianity and German culture. Great influence on him was exercised by his future father-in-law, Baron Johann Ludwig von Westphalen, who was a neighbor of his family. But later his relations with other members of his wife's aristocratic family became strained. For them he was a Jew, an atheist, a nonconformist, a man lacking in good manners.

Marx's first essay in the *Deutsch-Franzoesische Jahrbuecher* was entitled *Zur Judenfrage* ("About the Jewish Question"), in which he criticized Bruno Bauer's book on the topic. Bauer had insisted that the Jewish question was essentially a religious one, insoluble unless the Jews gave up their faith and joined the society of the state as atheists or non-Jews. Although Marx favored political emancipation of the Jews, he used violent anti-Jewish language to present his view. Judaism for him was synonymous with the hated bourgeois capitalism. "The chimerical nationality of the Jew is the nationality of the merchant, of the moneyed man generally.…" "What is the secular basis of Judaism? Practical need, self-interest. What is the worldly cult of the Jew? Huckstering. What is his worldly god? Money … Out of its entrails bourgeois society continually creates Jews.… Emancipation from huckstering and from money, and consequently from practical, real Judaism, would be the self-emancipation of our era." Marx's essay is a striking evidence of his complete ignorance of Jewish history and culture, an ignorance surprising in light of his otherwise encyclopedic knowledge. Marx expressed his antagonism to Jews on a number of occasions: in his "Thesis on Feuerbach," in his articles for the *New York Tribune*, and in *Das Kapital*. In his private correspondence there are many derogatory references to Jews, who were for him the symbol of financial power and capitalist mentality, and also to Ferdinand Lassalle to whom he referred in his letters to Engels in typical antisemitic clichés. The only sympathetic account of Jews to emerge from Marx's pen is that which described their life and tribulations in the city of Jerusalem (*New York Tribune*, April, 15, 1854).

Compared with this point of view, which positions Marx in an antisemitic context, new research has emphasized the fact that he did not criticize Jews as Jews but as representatives of capitalism. These studies point to his closeness to other contemporary Jewish intellectuals like Moses Hess in *Ueber das Geldwesen* (1845).

For six years Marx lived in London at 28 Dean Street, the house of a Jewish lace dealer. While on a holiday, he met the Jewish historian Heinrich *Graetz in Carlsbad and sent him his book on "The History of the Commune" as a present. Two years prior to his death the wave of anti-Jewish pogroms occurred in Russia (1881) and the influx of Jewish immigrants into London began. But there is no evidence of Marx's reaction to these events. His beloved daughter Eleanor, however, who acted as his secretary, considered herself Jewish, took interest in her ancestors, and had a warm appreciation for the Jewish workers in the East End of London. (She committed suicide in 1898 after an unhappy marriage to Edward Aveling.)

Marx's Jewish origin became a catalyst of anti-Jewish emotions. Already his rival in the First International, the Russian anarchist Michael *Bakunin did not refrain from anti-Jewish outbursts while attacking Marx. Later it served right-wing propagandists, particularly the fascist and Nazi regimes of the 1930s and 1940s, as a means to spice their anti-socialism with outright violent antisemitism. They used the term "Marxism" as denoting a sinister, worldwide "Jewish" plot against their national interests. In the Soviet Union, where Marxism-Leninism became the obligatory ideology, Marx's Jewish origin was generally mentioned in research works and encyclopedias until the 1940s, but from the later 1940s, when *Stalin's policy became anti-Jewish, it has been studiously concealed.

Collected Editions

The Marx-Engels (later the Marx-Engels-Lenin, and still later Marx-Engels-Lenin-Stalin) Institute in Moscow started in 1927 the publication of an academic edition of the collected works of Marx and Engels. In 1935 the publication was interrupted. There appeared the following: *Marx-Engels, Historisch-kritische Gesamtausgabe; Werke, Schriften, Briefe* first part: *Saemtliche Werke und Schriften mit Ausnahme des "Kapital"* (7 vols., 1927–35); third part: *Der Briefwechsel zwischen Marx und Engels* (4 vols., 1929–31). The volumes published thus far include the writings of Marx and Engels up to 1848 and all the known correspondence between Marx and Engels, 1844–83. The early volumes were edited under the direction of D. Ryazanov. An earlier collection is Franz Mehring's edition, *Aus dem literarischen Nachlass von Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels und Ferdinand Lassalle* (4 vols., 1902). D. Ryazanov edited the *Gesammelte Schriften von Karl Marx und Friedrich Engels 1852 bis 1862* (2nd ed., 1920). For a bibliography of Marx's works, see Ernst Drahn, *Marx-Bibliographie* (2nd ed., 1923). Reliable and good selective bibliographies on Marx, Engels, and cognate subjects are found in Donald Drew Egbert and Stow Persons (eds.), *Socialism and American Life* (vol. 2, 1952, pp. 34ff., and passim). After World War II a new edition of Karl Marx' and Friedrich Engels' works, *Werke* (ed. by the Institute of Marxismus-Leninismus beim ZK der SED), was published in the German Democratic Republic in 39 volumes and one supplementary volume in two parts and two index-volumes from 1956 until 1971 (abbrev. MEW). Another similar new edition of Karl Marx' and Friedrich Engels' works was begun in 1975 as *Gesamtausgabe* (ed. by Institut fuer Marxismus-Leninismus beim ZK der KPdSU and the Institut fuer Marxismus-Leninismus beim ZK der SED), and continued, after the fall of the Communist regime in Russia and East Germany, by the International Marx-Engels Foundation in Amsterdam (Abbrev. MEGA^2).

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[Schneier Zalman Levenberg / Lars Lambrecht (2nd ed.)]

MARX BROTHERS, U.S. theatrical comedy team. Zany and irreverent, their wild and impromptu humor appealed to lowbrows and intellectuals alike. Originally, there were five Marx Brothers. All were part of a vaudeville act called "Six Musical Mascots" (their mother, Minnie, a sister of the vaudeville actor Al *Shean, was the sixth). The brothers, all born in New York, were CHICO (LEONARD, 1891–1961), HARPO (ADOLPH, later ARTHUR, 1893–1964), GUMMO (MILTON, 1894–1977), GROUCHO (JULIUS, 1895–1977), and ZEPPO (HERBERT, 1901–1979). When their mother left the act, they became "The Nightingales" and played in vaudeville as singers and comedians until they reached the Palace Theater in New York in 1918. They made their Broadway debut in 1924 in a revue called *I'll Say She Is*. By that time, the brothers had developed a distinct comic style. CHICO donned a pointed hat over a deadpan face and affected an Italian accent. He was also an accomplished piano player, and he frequently broke the comedy with a turn at the keyboard. HARPO, with a battered hat over a frizzled wig of blond curls, never spoke during the act. He used two means to communicate – a bulb horn on stage and a romantic harp. He played the harp at concerts as well as in films. GROUCHO, wearing a swallowtail coat, chewing a long cigar and wearing a large black moustache, was master of the insult. After the brothers' film career had ended, Groucho confirmed his reputation as a wit as the master of ceremonies on a TV weekly quiz show. ZEPPO, the straight man of the team in the movies, left the act in the early 1930s, and became a successful theatrical agent. GUMMO, who was in the act only briefly, also became a successful agent. Their succession of stage and film comedies – such as *The Cocoanuts* (1929); *Animal Crackers* (1930); *Horsefeathers* (1932); *Duck Soup* (1933); *A Night at the Opera* (1935); and *A Night in Casablanca* (1946) – were considered cinema classics which continued to attract audiences on their many replays. Harpo's autobiography, *Harpo Speaks*, appeared in 1961. Groucho wrote *Groucho and Me* (1959), an autobiography, and *Memoirs of a Mangy Lover* (1963). His prolific and unconventional correspondence was published as *The Groucho Letters* in 1967. The Library of Congress asked him for the letters and papers, which included the manuscripts of his books. In one celebrated letter, he wrote Gov. William Scranton of Pennsylvania in 1964 to tell him he had heard him mispronounce a Yiddish term. "If you are going to campaign in Jewish neighborhoods," Groucho counseled, "rhyme mish-mash with slosh."

The comedy world of Groucho, Chico, and Harpo was wildly chaotic, grounded in slapstick farce, lowbrow vaudeville corn, free-spirited anarchy, and assaults on the myths and virtues of middle-class America. Groucho was larger and more antic than life. His humor was based on the improbable, the unexpected, the outrageous. *Animal Crackers* gave Groucho his most celebrated character, Capt. Jeffrey T. Spaulding, a bumbling African explorer ("My name is Captain Spaulding, the African explorer," Groucho sang, "did someone call me schnorrer?"). Groucho was a master of the ad lib and refused to follow the scripts of his plays and movies, although some of them were turned out by such masters of comedy as George S. *Kaufman and S.J. *Perelman. Groucho supplemented his meager formal education by reading omnivorously. For some years he carried on a correspondence with the poet T.S. Eliot, and in 1965 he was invited to speak at a memorial for Eliot. Typically, he used the occasion to say something outrageous: "Apparently Mr. Eliot was a great admirer of mine – and I don't blame him."

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[Stewart Kampel (2nd ed.)]

MARYAN (pseudonym of **Pinchas Burstein**; 1927–1977), U.S. painter. Born in Nowy-Sacz, Galicia, Poland, the artist was deported at the age of 12 to concentration camps, including Auschwitz. All of his family perished in the camps. Maryan survived but with one leg amputated. He spent three years in German displaced persons camps, working as a stage designer for detainee-organized Jewish drama groups. In 1948 he immigrated to Israel, studying art for a short period at the New Bezalel School of Art, Jerusalem. In 1950, he traveled to Paris and attended the École des Beaux-Arts, where he studied lithography. In Paris, he was briefly affiliated with the CoBra group, as well as the artists of the École de Paris. Paris also exposed Maryan to the influence of such artists as Pierre Soulages, Victor Brauner, and Jean Dubuffet. Maryan relocated to New York in 1962, where he became a successful artist and illustrator. He attained American citizenship in 1969, further changing his name from Maryan to Maryan S. Maryan. The artist's unsettling compositions, what he termed "truth-paintings," depict traumatized, ravaged, and distorted figures posed frontally in a shallow space, references in part to Maryan's recollections of the Holocaust. In the 1950s, Maryan composed Jewish figures with prayer shawls and phylacteries. Later, these religious adornments are abstracted, contributing to the striped bloated appendages characteristic of so much of Maryan's mature compositions; they also recall the striped garb of concentration camp prisoners. Many of Maryan's figures are bound, twisted, and penetrated, with mouths agape, genitals sometimes visible in a show of both exhibitionism and terrible vulnerability. His figures exude all manner of bodily fluids from every orifice, often in large, stylized drops. Beginning in the 1960s, Maryan titled his biomorphic figures "Personages" in reference to their theatrical aspects. Many of these compositions reference the Holocaust directly: for example, his 1962 painting *Personage* depicts a mocking Nazi stormtrooper tinted a garish yellow. This figure mockingly challenges the viewer at some ominous game, suggested by the blood-red chess pieces positioned at the end of a tilting table. The artist continued the motif of the Nazi soldier in many works in 1962–63, repeating an iconography of hat, armband, and repugnant facial features. Maryan's "Personages" often bear some sort of insignia or suggestions of military authority. However, the artist unmoors these singular, isolated figures from any narrative content, mocking their authority, and depicting them as impotent and ridiculous. Maryan subverts the distinction between torturer and sufferer, master and servant, self and other, often combining these players into a single figure. Maryan made a film in 1975 entitled *Ecce Homo.* In addition to stock images of famous persons ranging from Pope Pius XII to Moshe Dayan and Jesus, the film featured a series of Maryan's drawings, and the artist himself in various costumes relating his memories of the concentration camps. He illustrated Kafka's *The Trial* in a 1953 edition, *Golem* (1959), and *La Ménagerie Humaine* (1961). In 1956, the French government commissioned him to design a tapestry for the Monument to the Unknown Jewish Martyr in Paris. His work influenced Philip Guston and Peter Saul. From 1949, Maryan had numerous solo shows in such cities as Jerusalem, Paris, Amsterdam, Munich, New York, and Chicago. His art is represented in museums around the world, including the Art Institute of Chicago; the Musée national d'Art Moderne, Paris; Museum Moderner Kunst Stiftung Ludwig Vien, Vienna; the Museum of Modern Art, New York; the National Museum of Modern Art, Washington, D.C.; the Nationalgalerie, Staatliche Museen, Berlin; and the Tel Aviv Museum of Art.

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[Nancy Buchwald (2nd ed.)]

MARYLAND, state on the E. coast of the U.S., one of the 13 original states. A one-crop tobacco economy and the existence of few major towns caused Jews, with rare exceptions, to avoid the colony during the first century and half after its establishment in 1634. David Fereira, a Jewish tobacco trader from New Amsterdam, appeared in Maryland as early as 1657 and later the same year colonial records mention a Jewish physician, Jacob Lumbrozo, who was also engaged in trade. Lumbrozo, a colorful figure who was often in conflict with his neighbors, was arrested in 1658 for blasphemy after offending Christians colonists during a conversation about religion. He was released before trial, however, due to the proclamation of a general amnesty. After the 1740s, with the growth of commerce in the colony, individual Jews appeared in Annapolis, Fredericktown (now Frederick), and a

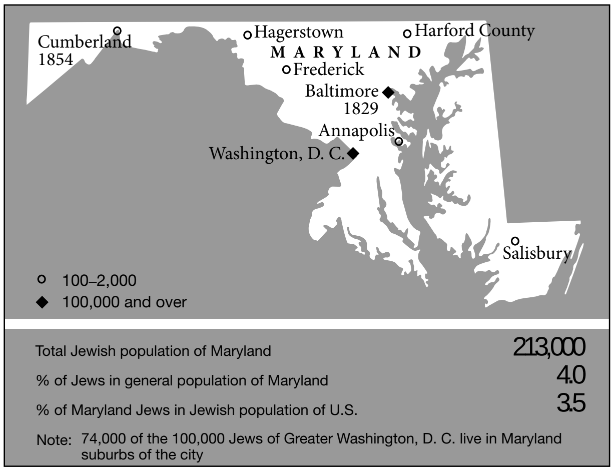
Cumberland
1854
Hagerstown
Harford County
MARYLAND
Frederick
Baltimore
1829
Annapolis
Washington, D. C.
Salisbury
○ 100–2,000
◆ 100,000 and over
Total Jewish population of Maryland 213,000
% of Jews in general population of Maryland 4.0
% of Maryland Jews in Jewish population of U.S. 3.5
Note: 74,000 of the 100,000 Jews of Greater Washington, D. C. live in Maryland suburbs of the city

Jewish communities of Maryland. Population figures for 2001.

few other towns, but a Jewish community with supporting institutions did not emerge until the period of the American Revolution, when Baltimore became one of the region's leading ports and attracted several Jewish families. By 1825, there were about 150 Jews in the new state. Although Baltimore Jews like Solomon *Etting and Jacob *I. Cohen, Jr., achieved a degree of prominence in the larger, non-Jewish community, the state constitution barred them from holding public office unless they would submit to a Christian oath. This requirement was finally removed with the passage of the 1826 "Jew Bill," which was championed by the non-Jewish legislator Thomas Kennedy.

Between 1830 and 1870 over 10,000 Jews, primarily from Germany and other areas of Central Europe, settled in the state. Eastern European Jews began to trickle into Maryland during the 1850s and arrived in large numbers from the 1880s. While the vast majority of Jewish immigrants were drawn to Baltimore, Jews also settled in smaller towns as peddlers and merchants. In 1853, the first congregation outside Baltimore was established in Cumberland, an important trading and transportation center in the western part of the state. By the time mass immigration ended in the mid-1920s, there also existed congregations in Frederick, Hagerstown, Annapolis, Frostburg, Brunswick, and Salisbury. Statewide, the Jewish population reached about 40,000 in 1900 and grew to 65,000 by the end of the immigrant period.

In the years following World War II, Jews entered more fully into the life of the general community and were among the state's top officeholders. Marvin *Mandel, a Baltimore native, served as governor from 1969 to 1979. This period was one of great demographic change, with more than 50,000 Jews from Washington, D.C., settling in the nearby Maryland suburbs of Montgomery and Prince Georges counties. By 1998, this region was home to 104,500 Jews and had come to rival Baltimore and its surroundings (Jewish population 94,500) as the state's largest Jewish population center. Jews also increasingly established themselves in areas outside the Washington suburbs and Baltimore, with 10,000 residing in Howard County, almost 2,000 in Annapolis, and more than 1,000 in Frederick and in Harford County. Overall, the estimated Jewish population of Maryland in 2001 was 213,000 out of a total of 5,311,000.

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[Eric L. Goldstein (2nd ed.)]

MARZOUK, MOSHE (1926–1955), *Cairo-born *Karaite Jew of Tunisian origin who was tried by a military court in Cairo on charges of spying for Israel and was executed on Jan. 31, 1955. In 1954 three Jews were arrested in *Egypt and accused of setting fire to the USIS Library in *Alexandria. Their arrest led to the discovery of a spy ring in Egypt and the imprisonment of ten other Jews, among whom were Marzouk and Samuel Azaar. Two of the prisoners managed to escape and the others were brought to trial on Dec. 10, 1954. According to the indictment, the accused had gathered information for Israel, carried out acts of sabotage, and spread false reports in Egypt designed to create public unrest. During the course of the trial, Max Bennet – described as the leader of the ring – committed suicide, after which Marzouk became the chief suspect. It was alleged that he had organized the Cairo group, had been trained in Israel, and had arranged wireless transmissions to Israel.

During his student days at the Cairo Medical School, Marzouk had become convinced that the future of all Egyptian Jews lay in their migration to Ereẓ Israel. He dedicated his life to the realization of his Zionist ideals and, while working as a doctor at the Jewish Hospital, organized the self-defense of the Cairo Jewish Quarter, helped to send young Jews to Israel, and, although he himself could have left, stayed at his post and worked for Israel.

SAMUEL AZAAR (1929–1955), native of Alexandria of Turkish parentage, had been active in Zionist youth movements at an early age. A youth of great promise, he was awarded a scholarship that enabled him to study electronic engineering. Like Marzouk, he chose to stay in Egypt and carry out his mission. During the trial he was described as the head of the Alexandria group and was accused of operating an underground workshop to manufacture sabotage devices.

The trial of the ten defendants came to an end on Jan. 27, 1955. Two were acquitted, six were sentenced to prison terms ranging from five years to life, and Marzouk and Azaar were sentenced to death. In Israel, "Kedoshei Kahir" (the Martyrs of Cairo) as they came to be known were honored and commemorated in various ways.

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[Mordechai Shalev]

MASADA (Heb. מְצָדָה, *Meẓadah*), Herod's palatial fortress and the last stronghold during the Jewish War against Rome (66–73/74 c.e.).

Geography

Masada is situated on an isolated rock plateau on the eastern fringe of the Judean Desert near the western shores of the Dead Sea, south of En Gedi. It is a mountain bloc that rose and was detached from the fault escarpment, surrounded at its base by two wadis. The rhomboid shaped rock is approximately 1,950 ft. (600 m.) long and approximately 1,000 ft. (300 m.) wide in its center. The plateau at its top rises 1,475 ft. (450 m.) above the Dead Sea level. The site was close to two ancient routes: one that crossed the center of the Judean Desert leading to southern Moab and one that connected Edom, Moab, and the Arava Valley with En Gedi and Jerusalem. The remote location and natural defenses of Masada made it an exceptional fortified site during the Second Temple period. The natural approaches are steep and arduous and include the "snake path" mentioned by Josephus on the east, and approaches on the cliff's northern and southern sides.

The name Masada appears in Flavius Josephus' writings in Greek transcription. It derives from the Hebrew and Aramaic word *meẓad* ("stronghold"). Masada is mentioned in a divorce deed and an *ostracon* (inscribed pottery sherd) that were uncovered in the Murabbaʿat caves.

Sources

The only significant source of information about Masada is the writings of Flavius *Josephus (Ant., 14, 15; Wars, 1, 2, 4, 7). Josephus was the commander of Galilee during the First Jewish Revolt, who later surrendered to the Romans at *Jotapata (Yodfat). At the time of Masada's siege he was in Rome, where he devoted himself to chronicling the history of the Jews and thereafter the occurrences of the revolt. He presumably based his narration upon the field commentaries of the Roman commanders that were accessible to him. Masada is also briefly mentioned by Strabo (*Geography* 16, 2:44) and Pliny the Elder (*Natural History* 5:17, 73), which was the source for Solinus (third century c.e.?) and Martianus Capella (c. 400 c.e.).

History

Josephus provides us with two versions regarding the identity of the founders of the fortress at Masada. In one passage he attributes the first construction to "ancient kings" (Wars, 4:399). According to another passage, Masada was first fortified by "Jonathan the High Priest" (Wars, 7:285). Scholars disagree as to the identity of this Jonathan – whether he was referring to the brother of Judah Maccabee (mid-second century b.c.e.) or Alexander *Yannai (103–76 b.c.e.), who was also called Jonathan.

During an uprising against the house of Antipater, Masada came under the rule of Felix in 42 b.c.e. It was *Herod who soon seized back control of the fortress (Ant., 14:296; Wars, 1:236–38).

In 40 b.c.e. Herod fled from Jerusalem to Masada with his family to escape from Mattathias Antigonus, who had been made king by the Parthians. He left his family, his brother Joseph, and 800 men there to defend it against a siege by Antigonus (Ant., 14:361–2; Wars, 1:264, 267). According to Josephus the defenders almost died of thirst during the siege but were saved when a sudden rainstorm filled the creeks and pits on the summit of the rock. Herod, returning from a trip to Rome, raised the siege and carried his family off to safety (Ant., 14:390–91, 396, 400; Wars, 1:286–87, 292–94). As a result: "Herod furnished this fortress as a refuge for himself, suspecting a twofold danger: peril on the one hand from the Jewish people, lest they should depose him and restore their former dynasty to power; the greater and more serious from Cleopatra, queen of Egypt" (Wars, 7:300). During his reign, Herod transformed Masada into a palatial fortress, providing it with luxurious palaces, bathhouses, well-stocked storerooms, cisterns, all encircled with a casemate wall.

Following the death of Herod in 4 b.c.e. the site was in the boundaries of Herod Archelaus' kingdom. After his removal from power by the Romans and the annexations of Judea to the Roman Empire in 6 c.e. it can be assumed that a Roman garrison was probably stationed there until the outbreak of the First Jewish Revolt in 66 c.e. Masada was captured "by stratagem" in that year by a band of *sicarii* under the command of *Menahem son of Judah (Wars, 2:408, 433). This group was named after a curved dagger, the *sica*, which they carried. After Menahem was murdered in Jerusalem, his nephew, *Eleazar ben Jair, fled Jerusalem to Masada and became the commander of the rebel community on the mountain until its fall in 73/74 c.e. Masada became a place of refuge for a heterogeneous population, apparently including *Sicarii*, Essenes, and Samaritans. *Simeon bar Giora also stayed there for a time. The last of the rebels fled to Masada from Jerusalem in 70 c.e. In 73/74 c.e. the Roman governor, Flavius Silva, marched against Masada. After a siege that lasted a few months, the Romans breached the wall of the fortress and set ablaze the inner wood and soil wall. When the hope of the rebels dwindled, Josephus put in Eleazar ben Jair's mouth two speeches in which he persuaded his followers to take their own life rather than fall into the hands of the Romans. Josephus narrated these occurrences that ended in the mass suicide of 960 men, women, and children and the burning of the buildings and stores of food. The gloomy end of Masada was told by two women who together with five children survived by hiding in one of the cisterns. After Masada's conquest, Silva left a garrison there.

The Church Fathers note that during the Byzantine period a monastery was established in a place named "Marda," which some scholars identify with Masada (Cyril of Scythopolis, *Vita Euthymii* 11; Johannnes Moschus, *Pratum Spirituale* 158).

History of Exploration

Masada was identified for the first time in 1838 by the Americans E. Robinson and E. Smith who viewed the rock which the

Arabs called al-Sabba through a telescope from En Gedi. The site was first visited in 1842 by the American missionary S.W. Wolcott and the British painter Tipping and next by members of an American naval expedition in 1848. Ten years later, F. de Saulcy drew the first plan of Masada. C. Warren in 1867 heading the "Survey of Western Palestine" climbed Masada from the east along the "snake path" and in 1875, C.R. Conder, on behalf of the survey, drew plans which were the most accurate up to that time. Sandel discovered the water system in 1905. The first detailed study of the Roman camps was made by A.V. Domaszewski and R.E. Bruennow in 1909. Others followed in the beginning of the 20th century, foremost among them, the German A. Schulten, who surveyed Masada for a month in 1932. Aerial photographs were the basis for the studies of C. Hawks (1929) and I.A. Richmond (1962).

The major impetus for the extensive excavations of the site was provided by Israeli scholars, especially S. Guttman, who correctly traced the serpentine twistings of the "snake path" and with A. Alon studied Herod's water system (1953). He also excavated and restored the walls of one of the Roman camps (Camp A). Large-scale Israeli surveys were conducted in 1955 (headed by M. Avi-Yonah, N. Avigad, Y. Aharoni, and S. Guttman) and again in 1956 (headed by Y. Aharoni and S. Guttman) which established the general outline of the buildings and prepared new plans of the rock. Masada was mainly excavated between 1963 and 1965 by Y. Yadin with a large staff of archaeologists and thousands of volunteers from all parts of the world. Large percentages of the built-up area of the mountain were uncovered as well as probes in Camp F, and restoration of the buildings was carried out at the site simultaneously. A small-scale excavation was conducted by E. Netzer in 1989. Excavations were resumed on top of Masada in 1995 under the direction of E. Netzer and G. Stiebel on behalf of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. Several seasons were conducted between 1995 and 2000, focusing on the Northern Palace complex, the northwestern sector of the site, the Roman breach, the eastern section of the casemate wall, the Byzantine church, and water installations throughout the mountain. In 1995, a short season was conducted in Camp F and the Roman ramp under the direction of G. Forester, B. Arubas, H. Goldfus, and J. Magness.

Archaeology

EARLY PERIODS. As in many Judean Desert sites, evidence of a Chalcolithic occupation (mid-fifth–fourth millennium B.C.E.) including botanical remains, textiles, mats, and pottery sherds were found in a small cave on the lower part of the southern cliff. Few sherds, but no architectural remains, were uncovered on the plateau from the Iron Age II (tenth–seventh centuries B.C.E.).

The nature of the Hellenistic presence at Masada is still enigmatic. None of the buildings uncovered to date may be attributed to the pre-Herodian era but possibly two cisterns, located in the eastern sector and the southeast cliff. In addition, merely one oil lamp derives from that period of time. However, Josephus' testimony concerning the identity of the founders of Masada need not necessarily be taken as contradictory, for it may be narrating sequential occurrences, as indeed emerges from the numismatic finds. The dozen Ptolemaic coins from the third century B.C.E., mainly of Ptolemy II, appear to agree with the reference to "ancient kings" (Wars, 4:399) as the original builders, while the allusion to "Jonathan the High Priest" (Wars, 7:285), clearly a Hasmonean ruler, is supported by the discovery of four coins of John *Hyrcanus I (130–104 B.C.E.) and dozens of Alexander Yannai's coins (103–76 B.C.E.).

HERODIAN PERIOD. Two square enclosures, facing the outlet of the "snake pass," were noticed in aerial photographs. Although claimed to represent the camp of the pioneer force of the Roman army during the siege of 73/74 C.E., the larger enclosure of the two clearly antedates Camp C and appears to reflect indeed a chronological rather than technical stage. Being a camp of an earlier episode it was seemingly erected during the siege that Mattathias Antigonus laid against Herod's family and supporters in 40 B.C.E.

The major construction period of Masada was under King Herod's rule. Netzer demonstrated that the works were carried out in three chronological phases. During the first were built three small palaces, the core of the Western Palace, a building in the upper terrace of the Northern Palace, and soldier barracks, all exhibiting a structure with a central courtyard, as well as three dovecotes (*colombaria*). The Northern Palace complex, consisting of the public storerooms, the large bathhouse, and Northern Palace, the expansion of the Western Palace, and the water system were seemingly erected during the second phase, while the main feature to be constructed in the third phase was a casemate wall (double wall divided into rooms) that enclosed the perimeter of the plateau. The stone for the constructions derives from two sources: the walls were built from the local dolomite stone which was cut in quarries on top of the mountain and in the huge water cisterns, whereas the more elaborate architectonic features, such as the pillar drums, capitols, and architrave's parts, were shaped from non-local softer stone. A large group of iron chisels from that period was uncovered at the site. The mason markings, of Hebrew letters, visible on all pillar drums, indicate the origin of the stone cutters.

The Northern Palace Complex. Herod constructed the most important buildings in the northern part of Masada – the highest point of the rock ("acropolis"). The Northern Palace was serviced by public storerooms, administrative buildings, and large bathhouse.

The main entrance to the Northern Palace complex was through its south part, near Building no. VIII, which seemingly served as the "commandant's residence." The excavations of Netzer and Stiebel revealed the varied features of the main entrance, the dominant building of which is a large hall that occupies the eastern part of the courtyard. It was originally decorated with stucco reliefs and apparently served as a reception hall for Masada's visitors. Together with the "commandant's headquarters," west of the courtyard, this hall formed a lavish entrance, that made it possible to monitor the incoming goods and visitors.

Northern Palace. Josephus gives a detailed account of a royal palace situated beneath the walls of the fortress. This palace enjoyed improved climate conditions and commanded a magnificent view of the surroundings as far as En Gedi. It was built in three tiers, the upper containing the living quarters whereas the lower ones were designed for pleasure. The upper terrace is an extension of the narrow tip of the summit and contains a large semicircular balcony bounded by a double wall. A four-room building south of it with two rooms on each side of a court was apparently Herod's private abode. It is decorated by a typical Roman-style black and white mosaic floor in geometric designs. The walls and ceilings were decorated with frescoes. To the south a great white plastered wall separated the palace from the rest of Masada and left only a narrow passageway at its eastern end for a staircase. Columns had probably stood on the facade of the building and around the semicircular balcony. G. Forester showed that the plan of the upper terrace was directly influenced by villa Farnesina in Rome, which is attributed to Marcus Agrippa, Herod's benefactor and close friend in Rome. Descent to the lower tiers was through a flight of stairs, parts of which survived in the middle and lower terraces. The middle terrace, approximately 65 ft. (20 m.) beneath the upper one, contained two concentric circular walls which served as a platform for a columned building. A staircase on the west led to the upper level and on the east stood a large room with traces of frescoes; between them was a roofed colonnade, seemingly a library. This terrace was apparently designed for relaxation and a leisurely enjoyment of the view. The bottom terrace, approximately 50 ft. (15 m.) below the middle one, tapers to a narrow point; great supporting walls were built to form a raised, nearly square platform which was surrounded by low walls forming porticoes. Both the inner and exterior walls contained columns composed of sandstone drums plastered and fluted to resemble large monolithic columns. Frescoes on the lower part of the walls were painted to imitate stone and marble paneling. In the eastern corner of the terrace was a small bathhouse built in Roman style.

One of the difficult aspects in the study of the past is to determine the exact time of transition. Herod represents such a case, for in his time Roman trends diffused into the dominant Hellenistic style. Hence, the upper terrace of the Northern Palace was built in Roman style, while the middle terrace is completely Hellenistic in nature. The lower terrace was furnished with a Roman-style small bathhouse.

Bathhouse. South of the Northern Palace was a large bathhouse with four rooms and a court built in traditional Roman style. The bather would enter the dressing room (*apodyterium*), from which one could have enjoyed the tepid room (*tepidarium*), hot room (*caldarium*), and cold room-stepped pool (*frigidarium*).

The floors of all rooms, except the last, were decorated by mosaic floors which were later replaced by pink and black triangular tiles (*opus sectile*), while the walls were decorated by frescoes. A Greek inscription praising the tyche was found on the walls of the dressing room. This room underwent changes during the revolt when an immersion pool and a bench made from dismantled pillar drums were constructed there. The largest room, the hot room, was heated through a *hypocaust* system beneath it and its floor stood on about 200 tiny columns, mostly made of bricks. A furnace drove hot air which heated the floor and the double walls that were furnished with clay pipes. Hot water flowed into a bathtub and quartz fountain set in the room's niches.

The bathhouse was used by the rebels and a charcoal graffiti of the *Legio x Fretensis* indicates the presence of the conquering Roman soldiers.

Storerooms. Under the northeastern corner of the synagogue building, Netzer and Stiebel uncovered, in 1995, a storage cave from the early days of King Herod's reign. Sixteen storage jars were found *in situ*, alongside wine amphoras. The cave appears to antedate the construction of the large storeroom complex. It was presumably destroyed in the severe earthquake of 31 B.C.E., the damage of which is discernible at Qumran.

During the second construction phase public storerooms were built east and south of the bathhouse. The long and narrow rooms were designed to hold food, liquids, and weapons: "For here had been stored a mass of corn, amply sufficient to last for years, abundance of wine and oil, besides every variety of pulse and piles of dates" (Wars, 7:296). The discerning taste was evident in the contents of the storerooms, which included a uniquely large number of inscription-bearing vessels (*tituli picti*). Among the inscribed jars was a group noting a shipment of wine to Herod, King of Judea, in 19 B.C.E. (the year of the consul C. Sentius Saturninus), from southern Italy by a supplier named Lucius Lanius. Indeed, Josephus mentions that Herod had a special wine servant. In a manner appropriate to a gourmet like Herod, one inscribed vessel was found to exhibit the name of the celebrated fish sauce *garum* – a product of southern Spain. Fish bones from this delicacy were found adhering to the inner face of this vessel. Following the Roman custom, the king ended his banquets with apples imported from Cumae, Italy.

It seems that valuable goods, like jars containing balsam, or weapons and raw materials sufficient to equip 10,000 warriors, were stored in a group of three storerooms that is situated in the southwest wing of the Northern Palace complex. The entrance to these storerooms was monitored by a guard room. Weapons from Herod's time were found at Masada, most notably a sheathed *gladius Hispaniensis* (Spanish sword) and several groups of dozens of spare armor scales.

Near these storerooms was located the service entrance to the Northern complex. Interestingly, the expedition of Netzer and Stiebel excavated courtyard 174, under the floor of which two early phases corresponding to the first and second Herodian building phases were uncovered. It is the first time that stratified material in sealed archaeological contexts from Herod's time was found.

Western Palace. On the western side of Masada Herod erected the Western Palace complex. Covering an area of nearly 37,500 sq. ft. (4,000 sq. m.) it is the largest building found on the site. Yadin attributed ceremonial functions to this Palace, a notion rejected by Netzer, who assigned this function to the Northern Palace. The Western Palace was a self-sufficient unit and consisted of four wings: official wing ("the core"), storeroom wing, service wing, and administrative wing.

The official wing was built around a large central court with a large reception hall leading into a room interpreted by Yadin as the throne room. This notion is based on four depressions in the plastered floor in which the legs of the canopied throne may have been set. In the hall was a magnificent, richly colored mosaic pavement with circles and border ornaments of plant and geometric designs. Recently a charcoal "blueprint" of this mosaic was found on a nearby plastered wall. This wing also contained service rooms as well as bathrooms with tubs, a steeped cold water pool, and other installations, all paved with mosaics. During the period of the revolt, parts of the Palace were clearly used for public functions by the rebels' community, such as a storeroom, bakery, and smithies (see below).

Water System. One of the most impressive engineering projects at Masada is the water system Herod constructed to ensure an adequate supply of water. The system included dams that diverted floodwater of the two wadis, west of Masada, into two plastered channels that fed a dozen large cisterns. The cisterns were hewn on two parallel levels into the rocky slope. Each cistern had a capacity of up to 140,000 cu. ft. (4,000 cu. m.) and together could hold about 1,400,000 cu. ft. (40,000 cu. m.). The cisterns are mostly square in shape and have two openings, one leading from the aqueduct and a second, higher one connected with an inner staircase for drawing out water. Pack animals then bore the water up to the cisterns on the mountaintop. The pass leading from the upper level of the cisterns ended in a gate just south of the Northern Palace ("water gate"). Another pass led from the lower level to the "snake pass."

Casemate Wall. Towards the end of his reign, Herod enclosed the entire summit of Masada, except for the northern tip, with a casemate wall (a double wall with the inner space divided into rooms). Its circumference measures about 1,530 yards (1,400 m.) which corresponds exactly with the 7 *stadia* of Josephus' description. About 70 rooms, 30 towers, and four gates were found in the wall. The gates consisted of a square room with two entrances, benches along the walls, stone slab pavements, and "masonry-style" stucco decoration. They include the "snake path" gate in the northeast; the western gate in the middle of the western wall, the location in which the Byzantine gate was later erected; the southern ("cistern") gate which led to a group of cisterns; and the northern ("water") gate near the bathhouse which served mainly for bringing water from the upper row of cisterns and was probably also the gate for the northern part of Masada.

From the period when the Roman garrison was stationed at Masada between the time of Herod and the Jewish War hundreds of coins were found from the reigns of Herod Archelaus, Agrippa I, and all Roman procurators.

Period of the Revolt (66–73/74 C.E.)

The site of Masada appears to be a microcosm of the material culture of Second Temple Judea and even beyond. The many finds from this brief eight/seven-year period throw much light on the character of the rebels, their way of life at Masada, and the end of the Jewish War. The rebels made use of the casemate wall's rooms for dwelling. They divided the rooms into small units and erected clusters of shacks constructed of mud and small stones adjoining the wall and other buildings. Cooking stoves and niches for the cupboards were built into the wall. In rooms which had not been burned remains of their daily life were strewn on the floors: clothing, leather, baskets, glass, stone and bronze objects, etc. Piles of charcoal with remnants of personal belongings indicate that they had collected all their possessions at the end and had set fire to them. Hundreds of coins and several scroll fragments were found in the rooms. The towers on the wall seemingly served mainly as public rooms or workshops. One of the workshops in the western casemate wall (L. 1276) was identified as a tannery. However, ecological considerations and the nature of the plastered installations and cross beams discovered there indicate this tower had been transformed into a laundry.

The Herodian palaces were not used for dwellings but rather functioned as command posts, public buildings, etc. Their decorative architectural parts were dismantled for building materials and furniture: floors, roofs, columns, tables, etc. A prominent place was given to the Western Palace. The biggest storeroom at Masada (L. 502) was used for storing food. When excavated, lines of vessels were found, each of which was marked by an *ostracon* declaring the purity or impurity of the line. Next to this storeroom was located the central bakery of Masada (L. 493). A huge oven (*furnus*, פורנא) with two grinding posts on each side of the door was uncovered. This domed oven, 3 m. in diameter, was capable of producing hundreds of loaves of bread, the distribution of which was seemingly done in a centralized manner in the nearby courtyard (L. 401), where many receipts mentioning bread were found. These ostraca instruct that on day X was the handing over of Y amount of loaves to Z, the head of an extended family or group of people, who was always a male, manifesting the patriarchal atmosphere of the period. Two smiths, in which iron trilobite arrowheads were forged, are reported from the Western Palace as well.

MATERIAL CULTURE. The historical narration of Josephus and even more the archaeological finds indicate that the community of the rebels was in fact rather heterogeneous and dynamic in nature.

Coins. Numerous coins struck during the Jewish War (66–70 C.E.) were found both in large hoards (of 350, 200, and 100 coins) and in small numbers. Mostly ordinary bronze coins, they also include 37 silver shekels and 35 half-shekels representing all the years of the war and including the rare Year Five. This was the first discovery of shekels in a dated archaeological stratum.

Epigraphy. Outside Qumran, the site of Masada yielded the largest collection of epigraphic finds in Israel. The collection consists of several hundreds of Hebrew- and Aramaic-inscribed ostraca and 14 parchment documents and one papyrus in Paleo-Hebrew characters.

Ostraca. More than 700 ostraca were found, mostly written in Hebrew or Aramaic. Since they can be dated exactly between 66 and 73/74 C.E. they are of great paleographic value and they also shed much light on the organization of life at Masada and the national and religious character of the defenders who scrupulously observed the ritual laws. About half of them were found near the storerooms. These bore single or several letters in Hebrew and may have been connected with the rebels' community rationing system during the siege. Others indicate tithes and names on others may be those of priests or levites.

Scrolls. Parts of 14 biblical, apocryphal, and sectarian scrolls found at Masada are the first scrolls discovered outside of caves in a dated archaeological stratum. The biblical scrolls are mostly identical with the Masoretic Text but some show slight variations. These include parts of the books of Psalms, Genesis, Leviticus, Deuteronomy, and Ezekiel. Apocryphal scrolls include part of the original Hebrew text of the Wisdom of Ben Sira 39–44, dated to the first century B.C.E., and several lines of the Book of Jubilees.

A fragment of a sectarian scroll of the Songs of Sabbath Service is identical with a scroll found at Qumran. Other small fragments exhibit phrases that appear to be sectarian in nature. It is important for dating the Dead Sea Scrolls and because it indicates that members of the Dead Sea Sect (apparently Essenes) took part in the Jewish War.

This applies also to a papyrus scroll noting in Paleo-Hebrew script the idiom "Har Gerizim" (Mount Gerizim), which is the holy mountain of the Samaritans, the location of their temple. This indicates the presence of Samaritans amongst the rebels' community at Masada.

RELIGIOUS LIFE. *Mikva'ot (Ritual Baths).* Masada was the first site in which ritual immersion pools (*mikva'ot*) were recognized as such, an installation that came ever since to be a *fossile directeur* of Jewish settlements. The plastered, commonly stepped, pool had a source for rainwater that flowed directly into it. A relatively large number of *mikva'ot* was uncovered at Masada. Two were constructed in the southeastern sector of the casemate wall (L. 1197, 1162), one in the Northern Palace complex's administrative wing (L. 151), and near the synagogue (L. 1301). Another *mikveh* was documented in a cave in the southern cliff (L. 2006/1), in small palace XI (L. 601), and near the middle terrace of the Northern Palace (L. 67). To this group we may add two plastered pools, from the time of the revolt, that were built in the Large Bathhouse (L. 105, 104). It was suggested that during the revolt the stepped pools were in the *frigidaria* of the lower terrace of the Northern Palace (L. 8), in the Large Bathhouse (L. 107), and in the Western Palace (L. 546), and in the courtyard of the Large Bathhouse (L. 103, 112).

A unique public *mikveh*, with a dressing room, in the walls of which locker-like niches were used for the depositing of the bathers' clothes (L. 625), was excavated near Building XI. The *mikveh* that was constructed during the time of the revolt differs from any other example at Masada and is much akin to the examples uncovered at Qumran.

The "Essenes' Quarter." Interestingly, the entrance of this immersion complex turns towards Building XIII. The closest structure, situated in the northern annex of Building XXI, is a hall built in the time of the revolt (L. 809). This is an elongated hall with a bench extending along three sides of the wall and a low bench along its axis. The excavators named it *bet midrash* (religious school). However, its features appear to concur well with the "dining hall" at Qumran, a structure that according to the accounts of Pliny the Elder and Josephus was used by the Essenes for ritual activity. Hence it may be proposed to identify this area as the "quarter of the Essenes" at Masada, the presence of which is further attested in the characteristic sectarian documents that were found at the site.

Synagogue. A rectangular building located in the northwestern sector of the casemate wall was seemingly used as a stable in the first half of the first century C.E. During the time of the revolt its plan was transformed into a large hall with two rows of columns in the center and a back service room. A series of four peripheral tiers of plastered benches were built along the walls. The building was identified by Yadin as a synagogue. Examples from that period of time are known from Herodium and more decidedly at Gamala. This identification was further supported by the discovery of parts of two biblical scrolls, Ezekiel and Deuteronomy, buried in pits dug into the floor of the back room (possibly a *genizah*; a ritual deposition of religious documents). An ostracon inscribed *ma'aser kohen* ("priest's tithe") was uncovered in the main hall.

Human Remains. Twenty-five skeletons of men, women, and children were found thrown in a heap in a small cave on the southern cliff. Although the skulls were reported by Yadin to be of the type found in the Bar Kokhba caves in Naḥal Ḥever, the fact that pig bones were found with the skeletal remains may suggest according to Zias that they belong to the Roman soldiers killed in 66 C.E. Skeletal remains of three individuals were uncovered in the lower terrace, including a woman's scalp and braids and leather sandals. They were claimed by Yadin to represent a rebels' family. However, the condition of the three skeletons and the fact that many protein-rich bones are missing may indicate that the bodies were dragged there by hyenas.

THE ROMAN SIEGE. Despite the fact that Masada was the last rebel stronghold in Judea, it seems that the Roman considerations for commencing the Masada campaign, three years after the triumphant parade celebrating the victory over Judea took place in Rome, were not security but rather financial gain. The rebels' presence at Masada, which formed a base for raids, endangered a highly profitable resource – the balsam plantations of En Gedi. According to Pliny the Elder within five years of the suppression of the revolt, a staggering sum of 800,000 sesterces was obtained from the perfume trade in Judea. Indeed, the balsam trade is mentioned in two Latin military documents from Masada.

The Roman siege system at Masada appears to be one of the most complete and best preserved in the Roman world. Under the command of Flavius Silva a Roman force of 7,000–8,000 soldiers deployed around Masada in eight camps. The fortress was surrounded with a 2.17 mi. (3.5 km.) long siege wall (circumvallation), the flat eastern sector of which was fortified by towers to prevent the nearly 1,000 rebels from escaping and attacking the Roman force. All of the architectural elements of this system were of dry-constructed fieldstone. Taking into consideration the historical information concerning the length of the siege works at Jerusalem and the calculations of the working capacities of trained soldiers it seems that the construction of the camps and siege wall at Masada did not exceed a period of two weeks. The Roman military body consisted of the Legion X Fretensis and six auxiliary units. The legionaries were garrisoned in the two large camps, one in the east (B) and one in the northwest (F) which served as Silva Flavius' headquarters. A rare pay record of a legionary cavalryman, one Gaius Messius, was uncovered at Masada. The six small camps were located at strategic points around the base of the mountain commanding the ascents and possible escape routes. Camp H, which was built south of the fortress on higher elevation, allowed the Romans to observe part of Masada's summit. Communication was ensured by a trail that climbed the fault escarpment and connected all camps. Surveys, aerial photographs, and excavations of the camps indicate that the soldiers were housed in leather tents which were pitched over low walls and secured by iron pegs. In many of the *contubrenia* (eight-man tents) a raised bench was found along their walls. Small hearths, for cooking, were built in front of the tent units. Three larger ovens, which were presumably intended for bread baking, were found west of Camp F. Water was apparently brought in from the oasis of En Gedi by Jewish captives.

Roman military attention focused on a narrow section of the west wall of the fortress. The main undertaking was to provide the platform for the effective operation of the battering ram against Masada's wall. For this end an assault ramp (*agger*) was erected. Hewn from the nearby white spur, a mass of earth and stones that was stabilized by tamarisk and date-palm branches was laid on the natural spur of the western slope. A stone platform paved the head of the ramp in order to allow the 60-foot siege tower to be raised. The siege engines were most likely constructed in a secured courtyard ("bauplatz") located west of the ramp. Roth's work suggests that the completion of the entire siege works at Masada would have been achieved in a matter of two months.

During the excavations of Netzer and Stiebel's expedition four rooms of the Western casemate wall were excavated for the first time. The section directly above the ramp is entirely missing, in all likelihood being breached by the action of the battering ram. According to Josephus the rebels built an inner wall made up of wooden beams and soil. Mapping the burn pattern of the buildings at Masada, E. Netzer proposed that the lack of conflagration signs in many of the structures was the result of an intentional dismantling of the ceilings for the purpose of the inner wall's construction. *Ballista* balls shot from torsion artillery machines, arrowheads, and slingshots were found in the breach's immediate environs, testimony to the battle that raged there. The defenders' return fire included slingshots, arrows, and large rolling stones. This was seemingly the purpose of the scavenged wagon's wooden wheel that was found on the floor of the adjacent tower. There were apparently few casualties on the Roman side. A unique Latin medical care manual details the treatment of wounded and sick Roman soldiers. One typical burial of a Roman soldier, consisting of a cooking pot that contained cremated human remains, was found west of Masada.

The Mass Suicide. According to Josephus, when the Romans penetrated the fortress, they came face to face with the multitude of nearly 1,000 dead rebels. Apparently, this act of suicide was honored by the conquerors. The discovery of a group of ostraca near the Large Bathhouse, each inscribed with a single name and all written by the same person, including the name "ben Jair" (son of Ya'ir), led Yadin to the conclusion that these were the lots described by Josephus. According to his account the last ten survivors at Masada drew lots to choose who would kill the other nine and then himself. It should be noted that over 200 ostraca were also found in this location, and they all seem to be more likely part of the administrative organization of the rebels (tags or coupons) rather than the actual "lots." This notion is seemingly strengthened by the recent discovery of an ostracon bearing one of the names that appears in the "lot" group by Netzer and Stiebel. Nonetheless, the association of the "ben Jair" tag with the commander of the rebel community seems to be very likely.

The Aftermath. After the fall of Masada a Roman garrison cleared the site; scattered remains of this activity were found on top of Masada. This garrison erected a small camp within the boundaries of Camp F, in which it was stationed for several decades (F2). The latest coin that was uncovered at the site is a silver coin from Trajan's days dating from 112 C.E.

Byzantine Period

Following the abandonment of the site in the early second century C.E. Masada remained uninhabited for a few centuries. During the fifth century C.E. a monastery (*laura*) was founded at Masada, after a series of earthquakes had caused considerable damage to many of the buildings. Some of the scholars identify this monastery with a site named Marda (lit. "fortress"), noted by the Church Fathers. The group of hermits erected a small church with mosaic pavements of which little remains aside from a rich colored floor in a side room with medallions containing representations of a basket with a cross, fruits, and vegetal designs. These mosaics were locally manufactured. Remnants of this production were discovered near Building XII at the center of Masada. Fragments of the church's marble screen and window glass were uncovered in and near the building. West of the church was a refectory and kitchen. These last occupants of Masada dwelt in small stone cells scattered over the summit and in caves. With the rise of Islam in the seventh century C.E. this settlement apparently ceased to exist.

Modern Era

In many respects the perception of the episode of Masada by Israeli society, throughout the 20th century, mirrors the history of the state. The Hebrew translation in 1923 of *The War of the Jews* by Josephus, as well as the poem "Masada" by Lamdan published in 1927, brought Masada closer to the hearts of the young people in the country's Jewish community. S. Guttman, who led numerous trips to the mountain, was particularly instrumental in transforming Masada into a symbol of defiant resistance and the choosing of death over a life of slavery, in particular for Zionist and, later, Israeli youth. This trend appears to have climaxed in the late 1960s–early 1970s, when one of its manifestations was the swearing of the oath of allegiance by the recruits of Israel's Armored Corps on the summit of the site: "Masada shall not fall again." However, the last three decades witnessed a gradual shift in public perception, which was now determined more by political affiliation. Since the opening of Masada's National Park (1966) and the construction of a cable car (1971), it has become one of Israel's most visited tourist sites. In 2001 Masada was inscribed on the UNESCO World Heritage List.

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[Guy D. Stiebel (2nd ed.)]

°**MASARYK, JAN GARRIGUE** (1886–1948), Czechoslovak diplomat and statesman, son of president Thomas G. *Masaryk. From 1925 to 1938 Masaryk was his country's envoy in London, but resigned after the Munich Pact (Sept. 30, 1938), which compelled Czechoslovakia to give up the Sudetenland. In 1940 he was appointed foreign minister of the Czechoslovak exile government in London and retained the post after Czechoslovakia's liberation in 1945 and after the Communist takeover on Feb. 25, 1948. On March 10, 1948, his corpse was found beneath the window of the Czernin Palace in Prague, in which the Foreign Ministry was situated. It is still controversial whether he was murdered for political reasons or committed suicide. During his stay in London he formed ties of friendship with Chaim *Weizmann and became an ardent supporter of Zionism. He fought against antisemitism during and after the Nazi period. In one of his speeches, Masaryk stated: "Every antisemite is a potential murderer whose place is in prison." Due to his intervention, Czechoslovakia allowed the Jewish refugees of the *Beriḥah to cross its territory and actively supported the proposal to establish a Jewish state. He believed that "to establish a Jewish state is one of the greatest political ideas of our time." In the years of Israel's War of Independence (1948–49) Masaryk assisted in arranging the export of Czechoslovak weapons to the struggling state. The Mauser rifles with the Czech lion were known as "Czech rifles" and played an important part in the defense and conquest of the Jewish part of Jerusalem and other localities where critical fighting took place.

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[Chaim Yahil / Yeshayahu Jelinek (2nd ed.)]

°MASARYK, THOMAS GARRIGUE (1850–1937), Czech philosopher and statesman, first president of *Czechoslovakia from its foundation (1918) until his retirement (1935). Born into a poor family in Hodonin (southern Moravia), as a child he was imbued with the popular Catholic antisemitism of his surroundings and was brought up to believe in the *blood libel. Impressions gained from Jewish schoolmates and a peddler made him change his opinions, a stage which he expressed in a sketch, *Ná pan Fixl* ("Our Mr. Fuechsel"). He studied at Vienna University where Theodor *Gompertz was one of his teachers. In 1882 he was appointed professor of philosophy at the newly founded Prague Czech University. He founded his "Realistic Party" and was elected to the Austrian parliament in 1907, and again in 1911. In his *Scientific and Philosophical Crisis of Contemporary Marxism* (1898) he asserted that, contrary to Marx's definition, Jews are a homogeneous nation, although they have given up their language. Masaryk conceived Zionism mainly in the moral sense. Impressed by the views of *Aḥad Ha-Am, he published in 1905 an essay on him. Believing that it was impossible to be a Christian and an antisemite, Masaryk considered that it was his duty to eradicate antisemitism from his people. In 1899 he took a leading stand in the *Hilsner blood libel case, "not to defend Hilsner, but to defend the Christians against superstition," publishing two pamphlets on the affair (see bibliography of Hilsner). He was attacked by the antisemitic mob and his university lectures were suspended because of student demonstrations against him. Similarly, in 1913 he came to the defense of Menahem Mendel *Beilis. He was enthusiastically received by U.S. Jewry upon his visit there in 1907. As a political émigré during World War I, he established connections with Jewish and Zionist leaders such as Louis Brandeis, Julian Mack, Louis Marshall, Stephen Wise, and the Bohemian-born congressman Adolf Joachim Sabath as well as with Naḥum Sokolow and later Weizmann. When elected president of Czechoslovakia (1918) he declared that Jews would enjoy equal rights with other citizens and expressed sympathy with Zionism. He also supported the claims for recognition of the right of a Czechoslovak citizen to declare his nationality as Jewish.

By his personal example Masaryk did much to combat antisemitism in Czechoslovakia. In 1927 he visited Palestine, taking a special interest in the new settlements, their social problems and aspirations, and the newly established Hebrew University. In 1930 a Masaryk forest was planted near Sarid, and in 1938 *Kefar Masaryk, a settlement founded by pioneers from Czechoslovakia, was named after him. Tel Aviv conferred honorary citizenship on him in 1935.

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[Chaim Yahil]

MĀSHĀʾALLAH (Heb. **Manasseh**) **B. ATHAÑ** (754–813), astronomer. Mashāʾallah was probably born in Egypt, which is possibly the reason why he was also called al-Miṣrī, the Egyptian, but part of his life was spent at the court of the caliphs al-Manṣūr and al-Maʾmūn in Damascus. His name appears in many different versions, such as Macha Allah al Mesri, Mashallah, Messahalla, Messahalac, Messalahach, Masalla, Mescallath, Macelama, Macelarama – mainly due to distortions in Latin manuscripts.

Mashāʾallah was one of the earliest independent and original scientific thinkers and scholars. His main efforts led to the transfer of astronomical knowledge from the East to the West by means of later translation; he also adapted Arabic data for the Cordoba astronomical tables. Unfortunately, none of his writings appears to have survived in the original texts and the main source is Latin translations, some of which give rise to confusion, since they list the same works under different titles. Mashāʾallah may also have written an interesting astrological treatise in Hebrew *Sheʾelot*, which was translated about 1146–48 by Abraham *Ibn Ezra. In 1493 and again 1519 there appeared in Venice a smaller treatise on lunar and solar eclipses, *Epistola de rebus eclipsium et de conjunctionibus planetarum in revolutionibus annorum mundi…* translated by Johannes Hispalensis from a Hebrew text. Some of the available manuscripts list 12 short chapters, all beginning with the words "Mashāʾallah says…" His treatise on the astrolabe was translated into Latin and English (R.T. Gunther, *Chavuv and Messahalla on the Astrolabe* (1929). A crater on the moon is named after him.

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[Arthur Beer]

MASHĀʿIRĪ, AL-, family in Iraq. The al-Mashāʿirī family members in Babylonia during the 13th century included some distinguished personalities who occupied important positions in the state. They are mentioned by *Eleazar b. Jacob in his poems (see *Divan R. Eleazar b. Jacob ha-Bavli*, Jerusalem, 1935). They included: ISAAC MUHADHDHIB AL DAWLA IBN AL-MASHĀʿIRĪ and his sons, ELEAZAR, ELIEZER, and OBADIAH (poem 8); and ELEAZAR AMĪN ABU (or IBN) MANṢŪR IBN AL-MASHĀʿIRĪ and his sons, EZEKIEL, YESHUʾAH, and ISAAC (poem 185). The nature of their public positions is unknown. In the Arabic chronicle of Ibn al Fūṭī, a Jewish state official named MAHADHDIB AL-DAWLA NAṢR MASHĀʿIRĪ is mentioned. In 1284 during the rule of the *Mongol governor Arghūn (1284–91), he was appointed adviser in affairs of the state to the government dīwān. In 1289, when *Saʿd al-Dawla ibn al-Ṣāfi became vizier of the Mongolian Empire, he, in turn, appointed Muhadhdhib al-Dawla Naṣr as commissioner of Babylonia. Muhadhdhib occupied this position until his assassination in 1291. Some scholars believe that he is the same person as the above-mentioned Isaac Mahadhdhib al-Dawla.

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[Abraham David]

MASHASH, SHLOMO (1909–2003), Sephardi rabbi. Mashash was born in *Meknes, Morocco, and received his rabbinic education in Yeshivat Pahad Yitzhak. In 1931 he was appointed head of the Jewish school and *talmud torah* in Meknes, remaining there until 1949, simultaneously serving as head of the local yeshivah until 1947. In 1937 he founded a society Dovev Siftei Yeshenim for the purpose of publishing works of early rabbinic authorities still in manuscript, and in 1944 established an institution for the training of religious officials.

In 1949 Mashash was appointed *dayyan* in the Regional Beth Din of *Casablanca, in 1959 chief rabbi, and in 1977 he was appointed Sephardi chief rabbi of *Jerusalem.

Mashash published a number of rabbinical works, most of which include the word Shemesh – an anagram of his name – in the title. They include *Mizraḥ Shemesh* on ritual law (Casablanca, 1962), *Tevuot Shemesh* on the Shulḥan Arukh, and *Beth Shemesh* on the Talmud and *Maimonides.

MASHGI'AḤ (Heb. מַשְׁגִּיחַ; "overseer" or "inspector"), designation of the person entrusted by the rabbinate with the supervision of *kasher* butcher shops, food factories, hotels, and restaurants. He is to ensure that the food products sold or prepared in those places comply with the requirements of the traditional *dietary laws. The *mashgi'aḥ* must be an observant Jew and know all the particulars of the dietary laws. He is, however, not competent to decide on his own whether a product is *kasher* or not. In some places the *mashgi'aḥ* is also called *shomer* (i.e., "watchman").

MASHIV HA-RU'AḤ (Heb. מַשִּׁיב הָרוּחַ; "He causes the wind to blow"), a phrase in the *Amidah prayer, inserted after the first verse of the second blessing. It has two variants. The one for the winter season, "Thou causest the wind to blow and the rain to fall" is said from the last day of *Sukkot (after the Prayer for *Rain) until the last day of *Passover (until the Prayer for *Dew), and "who causest the dew to descend" is recited during the summer months in Ereẓ Israel, but only in the Sephardi ritual elsewhere. The praise of God as the dispenser of rain is referred to in the Mishnah (Ber. 5:2; Ta'an. 1:2) which ordains that it should be mentioned together with resurrection of the dead, as the sustenance of the living and the resurrection of the dead are both manifestations of the *gevurot* ("powers") of God. Another prayer for rain is recited in the ninth blessing of the *Amidah*.

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MASIE, AARON MEIR (1858–1930), physician. Born near Mogilev, Belorussia, Masie studied at the yeshivah in Mir and moved to Berlin in 1878, where he joined the Union of Hebrew Socialists, founded by Aaron *Liebermann. In 1879 he was sentenced to a term in prison together with his comrades. Set free, he went to Zurich where he attended the Institute of Technology and came under the influence of Russian socialists, leading to his activity in the student revolutionary movement. Deeply affected by the 1881 pogroms, Masie actively supported the idea of a Jewish state. He joined the Jewish nationalist movement, and decided to study medicine so that he might have a profession which would be useful in Ereẓ Israel. Graduating in 1887, he went to Paris where he specialized in ophthalmology, and in 1888 he settled in Rishon le-Zion. There he was appointed medical officer for the Rothschild settlements in Ereẓ Israel.

From 1900, he lived in Jerusalem where he was active in medicine and in various cultural spheres. He was mainly interested in the revival of Hebrew and saw his life task in the development of a Hebrew terminology in medicine and in the natural sciences. A member of the Va'ad ha-Lashon, he advised Eliezer *Ben-Yehuda in medical terminology. He published a monograph, *Maḥalat ha-Shivtah* ("Meningitis," 1910), and articles in *Ha-Ẓefirah, Ha-Or, Ha-Refu'ah* (vol. 2, 1923), and *Leshonenu* (vols. 1 and 2, 1928–30). Masie's dictionary of medical terms, *Sefer ha-Munaḥim li-Refu'ah u-le-Madda'ei ha-Teva*, was completed by S. *Tchernichowsky and published posthumously in 1934.

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[Joseph Gedaliah Klausner]

MASKILEISON (Maskil le-Eitan), ABRAHAM BEN JUDAH LEIB (1788–1848), Russian rabbi and author. Born in Radoshkovich, Belorussia, Maskileison studied under his father, who was *av bet din* of Khotimsk in the district of Mogilev. Abraham served as *av bet din* in Novogrudok. Toward the end of his life he moved to Minsk, where he died. He lived in poverty all his life. He was the author of *Maskil le-Eitan* (Vilna, 1818), novellae to the tractates of orders *Mo'ed* and *Kodashim*. His reputation as a result of this work was such that the title of his book (from Ps. 88:1) became his own designation and family name. *Be'er Avraham* (1844), his novellae to tractate *Berakhot* and the order *Mo'ed*, was published by his son Aaron. In the introduction Abraham lists the seven aims of the work among which were to give explanations of those passages of Talmud in which the tosafists found difficulties, an exposition of those passages of Rashi where the tosafists disagree with him, and a profound examination of those laws of Maimonides for which the commentators were unable to find sources.

Some of his works were published posthumously: *Naḥal Eitan* (1855), published by his son Naphtali, contains novellae on the first two parts of Maimonides' *Mishneh Torah* as well as novellae by Maskileison's brother Moses Nisan, compiled when he was 16. *Mizpeh Eitan*, novellae and glosses to tractates of the Talmud, was published in the Zhitomir edition of the Talmud (1858–64). It was subsequently republished in the Vilna Talmud with additional material to the author's manuscript entitled *Tosefet Merubbah. Yad Avraham* (Vilna, 1880) is on the Shulḥan Arukh, *Yoreh De'ah*. His glosses and novellae on Maimonides' *Mishneh Torah* were assembled from various manuscripts and collected in the *Yad ha-Ḥazakah* (1900) under the title *Yad Eitan*. Comments and novellae on the *Ein Ya'akov* were assembled in *Ahavat Eitan* (1883–84). His notes on the *Sifrei* were published in S. Luria's edition (1866).

His sons included Aaron, Moses Nisan, and Naphtali. MOSES NISAN was *av bet din* of the community of Shumiachi and author of the *Ḥikkrei Halakhot* (1875), consisting of 32 halakhic studies, *pilpulim*, and *novellae*. Particularly well known was NAPHTALI (1829–1897), a book dealer and an accomplished scribe and poet, to both talmudists and *maskilim*. His main work is his critical edition, with additions, of the *Seder ha-Dorot* (1877–82) of Jehiel *Heilprin. Aaron's son was ABRAHAM ISAAC MASKILEISON (1840–1905), born in Smolevichi, where in 1874 he was appointed rabbi, an office he held for 15 years. He then served in Haslovich. He was a member of Ḥovevei Zion. In 1904 he was appointed rabbi of Stoypitz where he remained until his death. He left works in manuscript which were lost. Reuven *Katz, the chief rabbi of Petaḥ Tikvah, was his son-in-law.

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[Yehoshua Horowitz]

MAṢLI'AḤ ṢĀLIḤ (d. 1785), Babylonian liturgical poet. He and his son NISSIM (d. after 1816) wrote poems and *piyyutim* on various subjects. Some of these were published in regular and festival prayer books according to the rite of the Jews of *Baghdad and its surroundings. Others were published by A. Ben-Jacob in *Shirah u-Fiyyut shel Yehudei Bavel ba-Dorot ha-Aḥaronim* (1970) which includes poems written in the Spanish meter in honor of events and personalities (rabbinical emissaries, etc.). Ṣāliḥ held the rabbinical seat of Baghdad from 1773 to 1785, and enquiries were addressed to him from *Syria, Persia, Kurdistan, and other places on halakhic problems and community organization. Torah novellae of the father and the son are to be found in the works of their contemporaries.

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[Abraham Ben-Yaacob]

MASLIANSKY, ZVI HIRSCH (1856–1943), popular Yiddish orator, the most eloquent and influential *Maggid* on the American scene at his time. Masliansky was born in Slutsk, Belorussia. He taught at the Polish *talmudei torah* and at the yeshivah of Pinsk (1882–90), where one of his students was Chaim Weizmann. Stirred by the pogroms of 1881, he became a proponent of the idea of a return to Zion. He was active in Ḥibbat Zion, and fellow-Zionists M.M. Ussishkin, M.L. Lilienblum, Aḥad Ha-Am, and L. Pinsker encouraged him in his activity as a wandering preacher of Zionism. His fame as an impassioned orator spread rapidly throughout Russia. Compelled to leave the country in 1894, he undertook a lecture tour of Central and Western Europe and in 1895 emigrated to New York. During the three decades that followed, he helped popularize Zionism, wielding a great influence upon Yiddish-speaking immigrants, especially through his Friday evening sermons at the Educational Alliance on East Broadway. He combined the qualities of a *maggid* and those of a modern speaker. He was able to hold the attention of a popular audience and scholars as well. His imposing figure further strengthened the impression he made. He was also active in U.S. Zionist organizations.

Masliansky founded and coedited the daily *Die Yidishe Velt* (1902–05). His Yiddish sermons were published as *Masliansky's Droshes fir Shabosim un Yomim Toyvim* (2 vols., 1908; Eng. tr. *Sermons by Reverend Zevi Hirsh Masliansky*, 1926). He also published a memoir, *Fertsik Yor Lebn un Kemfn* ("Forty Years of Life and Struggle," 1924), and a collection of Hebrew articles, *Kitvei Masliansky* (1929).

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[Sol Liptzin]

MASLOW, ABRAHAM H. (1908–1970), U.S. psychologist. Maslow was professor and chairman of the psychology department at Brandeis University from 1951. He was president of the American Psychological Association. Maslow was best known as a personality theorist, interested in motivational structure. In his work, he conceptualized within a phenomenological frame of reference that emphasizes the inherent goodness of man. He postulated a hierarchical theory of human motivation, wherein needs arrange themselves in a hierarchy from basic biological needs to those of self-esteem and self-actualization. Maslow's books include: *Principles of Abnormal Psychology* (1951) with B. Mittelmann; *Motivation and Personality* (1954); *New Knowledge in Human Values* (1959); and *Toward a Psychology of Being* (1962).

[Manny Sternlicht]

MASLOW, SOPHIE (1911–), U.S. dancer and choreographer. Maslow was born on the Lower East Side of New York. She joined the Martha Graham company in 1931 and became a member of the New Dance Group in the mid-1930s and its artistic director in 1968. From 1942 to 1954 she performed in the Dudley-Maslow-Bales trio and choreographed many works for that company. Maslow's first works reflected social unrest, exemplified by *Dust Bowl Ballads* (1941) and *Folksay* (1942). *The Village I Knew* (1949), based on a story by *Shalom Aleichem, portrayed a Jewish village in Czarist Russia. She re-staged this work when she worked in Israel with the *Bat-Sheva company (1950). Her other works were *Manhattan Transfer* (1953); *Champion* (1948); *Celebration* (1954), based on Israeli song and dance material; and *Poem* (1963). From 1951 she frequently choreographed the annual Ḥanukkah Festival at Madison Square Garden. In 1991 she received the Award of Artistry of the American Dance Guild.

[Amnon Shiloah (2nd ed.)]

MASNUT, SAMUEL BEN NISSIM (13th century), talmudist and leader of Aleppo Jewry. Scarcely any biographical details are known of him, even the place from which his family originated being uncertain since some manuscripts mention Toledo and others Sicily. Judah *Al-Ḥarizi, who visited Aleppo about 1218, waxed eloquent in praise of "Samuel b. Rabbenu Nissim of Aleppo." He wrote a special composition in his honor called *Iggeret Leshon ha-Zahav* (published by Z.H. Edelmann in *Divrei Ḥefeẓ*, 1853). Because of the similarity of the names and the places, scholars are inclined to regard the two as identical, in spite of an explicit statement by Samuel in one of his commentaries (Dan. 7:25) to the effect that it was written in 1276, which would make him about 90 years old at the time. Masnut's renown rests on his extensive midrashic commentary, *Ma'yan Gannim*, which apparently embraced most, if not all, of the Bible. The following parts have been published: Genesis (1962), which the editor entitled *Midrash Bereshit Zuta*; Job (1889); and Daniel and Ezra (1968). His commentary on Chronicles is extant in manuscript and is remarkably similar verbally to the commentary of David *Kimḥi. Fragments of his commentary on Numbers have also been preserved. Masnut's work is totally unlike other midrashic commentaries, even those of *David ha-Nagid and Jacob b. Hananel *Sikili – who were near him in place and time and bear some resemblance to him – in that he rarely uses his own words in the presentation of his commentary. It is, in effect, a verbal amalgam of different and independent midrashic sources woven together into a unique exegetical fabric. His familiarity with halakhic and aggadic sources (for which he rarely gives references) is quite exceptional. His books contain important halakhic material for research on the history of *halakhah, the texts of the Talmuds and the Midrashim, and particularly the various Aramaic *targumim, of which he made frequent use. A *piyyut* by Masnut for the morning service of the Day of Atonement has been preserved in the liturgy of Algeria and Tunisia.

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[Israel Moses Ta-Shma]

MASON, JACKIE (1931–), U.S. comedian. Born in Sheboygan, Wisconsin, and raised on the Lower East Side of Manhattan, Mason (Jacob Maza) was ordained a rabbi, in a family of rabbis, before he became a comedian. His three brothers were rabbis and their father, grandfather, and great-grandfather were rabbis, too. In the early 1960s, Mason was one of the country's hottest comics, appearing frequently in nightclubs and on television. He delivered his bold monologues in a Yiddish-inflected New York voice, and became instantly recognized for his sharp and funny comments on Jewish and American life. He became a regular on the nation's leading variety program, *The Ed Sullivan Show*, only to fall into disfavor in 1962 during a live telecast when Sullivan interpreted a finger gesture Mason made as a lewd insult. Mason was ousted from the show and although he sued Sullivan for libel and won, he did not appear on the show again for 18 months. The incident cast a pall over Mason's career for more than a decade. But in 1984, Mason opened in Los Angeles in a one-man show, *The World According to Me!,* and convulsed audience after audience. He moved the show to Broadway in 1986, and it had a run of more than two years. Mason won a Tony Award and other honors, and the show toured the United States and Europe for two years. Mason returned to Broadway with the one-man shows *Jackie Mason: Brand New* (1990), *Jackie Mason: Politically Incorrect* (1994), *Love Thy Neighbor* (1996), *Much Ado About Everything* (1999), and *Prune Danish* (2002). He also had a variety of small film roles and his distinctive "Jewish" voice appeared in voice-overs and in animated cartoons. Mason, who had strong conservative political views, had several radio and television interview programs, often teaming with the divorce lawyer Raoul Felder, with whom he published The *Jackie Mason, Raoul Felder Survival Guide to New* York (1997) and *Jackie Mason and Raoul Felder's Guide to New York and Los Angeles Restaurants* (1996). Mason's offhand and tasteless comments sometimes got him into trouble. In 1991, when David Dinkins, an African-American Democrat, was campaigning for mayor of New York City, Mason called him "a fancy *shvartze* with a mustache." After protests from groups like the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Mason apologized.

[Stewart Kampel (2nd ed.)]

MASORAH. This article is arranged according to the following outline:

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1. THE TRANSMISSION OF THE BIBLE

The transmission of the Bible is as old as the Bible itself, according to the ancient tradition in *Avot* that "Moses received the Torah from Sinai and handed it on to Joshua and Joshua to the elders and the elders to the prophets and the prophets handed it down to the men of the Great Assembly" (Avot 1:1). This concept of "Torah" which is handed down from generation to generation includes all of the Bible as it developed, with all the components which accompanied it and were added to it and which also shared in its holiness. As the form of the Bible became increasingly canonized and set in all its specific details, the tradition of reading the text and its exact pronunciation grew and became closely attached to it, developing together with it, and being handed down from father to son through the generations.

1.1. THE SOFERIM

The work of the transmission of the Bible was by its very nature destined to be in the hands of *scribes (*soferim*), transcribers who were skilled in the exact copying of the Bible and were therefore legally recognized as people knowledgeable in Torah, and who were accomplished scholars of it. The term *soferim*, which in the beginning was a term for scholars of the Torah in general (*divre soferim*, Sanh. 11:3), in time became limited to those scholars who specialized in the Written Law and in its exact transmission. Some were transcribers, and in this capacity they were called also כותבנים (*kotvanim*; "skilled *kotvanim* were in Jerusalem," TJ, Meg. 1:11 (71d)) or לבלרים (*lavlarim* – *librarius* = *libellarius*; thus, "R. Meir was a *lavlar*"; Eruv. 13a), while others were teachers and instructors of school children ("and the *sofer* (scribe) teaches according to his way"; Tosef. Meg. 4:38). The main interest of these scribes was the preservation of the text of the Bible, and they are credited with a number of rules and regulations which were established for this purpose. It is not known who those scribes were, but some of the scholars of the Talmud are conspicuous by their special interest in every legal discussion dealing with the problem of the text of the Bible, its transcription, and its teaching, such as R. *Meir (TJ, Ta'an. 1:1 (64a); TJ, Meg. 4:1 (74d); Eruv. 13a; Sot. 20a et al.), R. Hananel (TJ, Meg. 1:11 (71c, d); Meg. 18b et al.), and R. *Samuel b. Shilat (TJ, Meg. 71c, d; BB 8b, 21a; Ket. 50a). This preoccupation with the exact transmission of the Bible gradually became important, and the term *sofer* tended to lose its original connection with *sefer* ("book") and came to designate all learned people. Thus the original meaning of the term became obscured through its connection with the act of counting by the preservers of the text, as stated in the Talmud (Kid. 30a): "Therefore the ancients were called *soferim* (סופרים), because they counted (היו סופרים) all the letters in the Torah…." Originally the activity of the *soferim* and the preservers of the exact version of the Bible was an oral one. The main point of their work was instruction in the reading of a text lacking vocalization and accentuation signs, and passing this reading on orally from generation to generation. Since the text was holy it was not permissible to add anything to the skeleton of the letters of the Bible, and only a small part of what they established as reading aids was noted in the sacred text, that is, the very text which to this day has served for the public reading prescribed by the *halakhah*. It can be said that those items which did penetrate into the holy text did so during the very earliest period of its development with the result that they too became sanctified. Anything which did not find a place in the text itself, such as the vocalization and the accentuation signs and the various masoretic notes, at first had to be transmitted orally, and even when they were committed to writing they were still not allowed to be introduced into the sacred text.

1.2. WRITTEN TRANSMISSION

There are two types of items which penetrated into the holy text itself:

(1) those connected with the methods of writing the text – the pages, the lines, the marking of the lines, the division into sections, the manner of setting out the songs (*Shirat ha-Yam, Shirat Ha'azinu*, and others), and the order of the books;

(2) irregularities in the script and in the actual writing – dots above the letters, suspended letters, isolated *nuns*, large letters, small letters, and the like.

1.2.1. Methods of Writing

Most of the matters connected with the writing of the Bible are closely regulated by the *halakhah* and the customs of earlier generations. This applies especially to the Torah. Since it serves for the public reading in the synagogue it must comply with exact ritual conditions, without which the reader and the listener do not fulfill the religious duty of reading the Torah. These laws and customs became established during the time of the Talmud and were collected after a time in the tractate *Soferim* (which was presumably edited not later than the eighth century C.E.), and in the legal compilations of the rabbinic authorities (such as Maim. Yad, Hilkhot Sefer Torah). These instructions deal with the actual form of the book (the scroll, the size of the parchment and the pages), the writing (the size and shape of the letters, the addition of **tagin* [tittles, crowns] on the letters שעטנ״ז ג״ץ – Men. 29b), the writing materials (the parchment and ink), the manner of writing (marking guidelines, structure of lines), the arrangement of the text (the spacing of letters and words, the division into sections, the linear arrangement of the songs in the Torah, *Shirat ha-Yam, Shirat Ha'azinu*, the beginnings of the columns – the first letter generally being *waw*, except for ביהשמ״ו) and other topics connected with the laws of the reading and the care of the scroll. These laws apply only to scrolls which are intended for public reading, not those which are not for ritual use.

Since these matters are governed by the *halakhah*, they are not considered part of that which is usually called "Masorah," although they are also, by their very nature, included among all the matters connected with the writing of the Bible that are handed down from generation to generation. Although the term "masorah" today includes all the matters connected with the writing and recitation of the Bible, it is not permitted to write them in a copy intended for public reading. These items could be written in the margins and even in the text itself only after some time, when people began to make copies of the Bible in the form not of a scroll but of a codex (מצחף) meant for the everyday study and teaching of the Bible.

1.2.1.1. THE ORDER OF THE BOOKS. The order of the books of the Bible and the division of the texts into sections is the same for the scrolls and the codices. The oldest arrangement of the 24 books of the Bible is mentioned in a **baraita* (BB 14b) and adopted also by Maimonides (Yad, Hilkhot Sefer Torah 7:15). In it, the order of the Pentateuch and the Early Prophets is the same as it is commonly accepted today, but the order of the Latter Prophets is: Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Isaiah, and the Minor Prophets – the order which was kept later in the German and the French manuscripts (sometimes also with Isaiah preceding Ezekiel), as opposed to the Oriental and Spanish manuscripts whose order is that which is common today.

The order of the Hagiographa as found in the *baraita* (and also by Maimonides, Yad, Hilkhot Sefer Torah 7:15) is Ruth, Psalms, Job, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Song of Songs, Lamentations, Daniel, Esther, Ezra (and Nehemiah), Chronicles – but this order was followed in only a few isolated manuscripts. In the manuscripts of the Oriental and Spanish masoretes the order is as follows: Chronicles, Psalms, Job, Proverbs, Ruth, Song of Songs, Ecclesiastes, Lamentations, Esther, Daniel, Ezra (and Nehemiah); while in the German-French manuscripts and in most of the printed editions of today the order is: Psalms, Proverbs, Job (the term אמ״ת comes from the initials of these three in reverse order), Song of Songs, Ruth, Lamentations, Ecclesiastes, Esther, Daniel, Ezra (and Nehemiah), Chronicles. See *Bible: Canon.

1.2.1.2. SEDARIM AND PARASHIYYOT. The accepted order of the books rejects the Babylonian tradition, as listed in the *baraita*, in favor of the Palestinian and other traditions. However, the Babylonian tradition was followed in the division of the Torah into short units for recitation in the synagogue (see *Torah, Reading of the). In Palestine the reading of the Torah was completed once in three years (see *Triennial Cycle) and therefore the Pentateuch was divided into 154 (or, according to another version, 167) weekly portions called סדרים (*sedarim*). In Babylonia the full cycle of the reading of the Torah was completed in one year, so that the Torah was divided into 54 פרשיות (*parashiyyot*), weekly portions (סדרות or *sedres* in Yiddish) and that division is followed today, in continuance of the Babylonian tradition. The *sedarim* which served in the Torah as units for the (Palestinian) weekly portions for public ritual reading were applied to break also the text of the whole Bible into small units. However, since in the Prophets and Hagiographa this division was hardly necessary for use even in ancient times, except for some definite small parts (*haftarot, megillot,* etc.), there are differences in manuscripts as to the exact location of the divisions and even in the number of *sedarim.*

1.2.1.3. SECTIONAL DIVISIONS (PETUḤOT AND SETUMOT). The division of the body of the text into sections is an ancient one, and unlike the above-mentioned division into *sedarim* and *parashiyyot*, involves the very copying of the text whether in a scroll or a codex. These sections are of two kinds, with the type of space preceding them varying:

(1) a *parashah petuḥah* (open *parashah*) which starts at the beginning of a line, the preceding line being left partly or wholly blank (in some manuscripts and print editions this is indicated by פ);

(2) a *parashah setumah* (closed *parashah*) which begins at a point other than the start of a line, whether the preceding section ended in the preceding line (at its end or not) or whether it ends in the same one, in which case a space of approximately nine letters is left between the two sections (in some print editions this is noted by ס). This ancient division is attested to in the Babylonian Talmud (Shab. 103b): "a *parashah petuḥah* should not be made *setumah*, a *setumah* should not be made *petuḥah*." *Sifra* to Lev. 1:1; 1:9 asks: "And what purpose did the פיסקות (sections) serve? To give Moses an interval to reflect between *parashah* and *parashah* and between issue and issue." Despite their antiquity different traditions or customs developed on the matter of the *parashiyyot*, as to the placing and number of each type. In printed editions today there is a great degree of uniformity in the Torah due mainly to the halakhic fixing of this issue and that of the shape of the songs by Maimonides following *Ben-Asher (Yad, Sefer Torah 8:4).

1.2.2. Irregularities in the Writing

Various irregularities in the actual shape of the writing are part of the copied text. These go back to early sources and are discussed here in their assumed chronological order.

1.2.2.1. EXTRAORDINARY POINTS. There are dots over 15 words in the Bible and sometimes also under them, one dot over each letter of the word or over some of the letters. The words are distributed as follows: ten in the Torah (in the tenth place in the Torah, Deut. 29:28, the dots in most traditions cover 11 letters of three words – all but the last letter – לנו ולבנינו עד, four in the Prophets, the dots being above in each case, and one word with a varying number of dots in the Hagiographa (לולא; Ps. 27: 13), where there are dots also beneath the word. There are different traditions on the details. (See the full lists in the *Masorah Magna* for Numbers 3:39, and in *Okhlah we-Okhlah* (ed. S. Frensdorff, 1864), §96, with the additional bibliography there.) These dots are a very ancient tradition, the evidence concerning some of them going back to the second century C.E.; see, for example, R. Yose in the Mishnah (Pes. 9:2) concerning the *he* with a dot, in the word רחקה (Num. 9:10). A comprehensive list of the location of these dots in the Torah is already found in *Sifre Numbers* chap. 69 (ed. Horovitz p. 64–65), R. *Simeon bar Yoḥai being mentioned there; and further evidence is to be found in the Talmud and in the Midrashim. (The references were noted in the *Arukh ha-Shalem* under "*naqad*" and to these should be added Ber. 4a; Naz. 23a; Hor. 10b.) There have been various theories put forth concerning the origin and meaning of these dots (see L. Blau, *Masoretische Untersuchungen* (Strassburg, 1891), 6–40; *Zur Einleitung in die Heilige Schrift* (Budapest, 1894), 113–20; R. Butin, *The Ten Nequdoth of the Torah* (Baltimore, 1906, repr. New York, 1969); S. Lieberman, *Greek and Hellenism in Jewish Palestine* (Jerusalem 1962), 182–184). However, they do not belong to the system of vocalization and they also appear in Torah scrolls designated for public recitation.

1.2.2.2. "ISOLATED" LETTERS. The isolated letters (אותיות מנוזרות) are the nine signs which appear between verses – in the Torah before and after the section of ויהי בנסע הארן (Num. 10:35–36), and seven in Psalms, chapter 107 (there are differences of opinion as to their exact place and number.) Rather than being referred to by the name אותיות (letters), they are already called סימניות (signs) in a *baraita* (about the Torah – Shab. 115b: ARN 34, 4; about Psalms – RH 17b). Their form was not fixed in the ancient sources and the scribes were quite liberal in the manner in which they marked them. There is early evidence that these *simaniyyot* were nothing but simple dots. This is the impression given by *Sifre Numbers*, ch. 84 (ed. Horovitz, p. 80), already in the name of R. Simeon (second century C.E.). As time passed, these signs assumed various shapes and changed names accordingly. In tractate *Soferim* (prior to the eighth century) 6: 1, it is called, according to the version of various manuscripts, שיפור (horn) – perhaps the sign really resembled a *shofar*, "and it appears indeed in the section on travels (ויהי בנסע)" – or שיפוד (spit), which is reminiscent of the sign of the ὀβελός (= spit). In *Diqduqe ha-Teʿamim* (ch. 2) the term אותיות מנוזרות is found, and according to *Dunash b. Labrat it is האותיות המנזרים (*Teshuvot al Menaḥem*, ed. Filipowski, p. 6a). The term is neutral and does not indicate the shape of the sign, and according to the basic meaning of its root it refers to letters which are separated from the consonantal text. In the manuscripts the sign developed into the shape of a reversed *nun*. It is not known whether all of it was reversed ׆ (see *Okhlah we-Okhlah*, §179), or only its top or bottom, and there was much confusion about it in the commentaries (see *Minḥat Shai* on Num. 10:35; *Naḥalat Yaʿakov* on tractate *Soferim* 6:1). There were even those who wrote it into the text itself in the place of regular *nuns* of the text (see also Ginsburg, *The Massorah*, vol. 2, p. 259, §15a). Later the names of these signs, too, were interchanged with the name for the regular reversed *nun* (see below 1.2.2.5). Hence the *otiyyot menuzzarot* became נונין מנוזרות (see *Masorah Magna* to Ps. 107:23), which was explained, following נזרו אחור, "they turned backward" (Isa. 1:4), to mean reversed *nun* (*Minḥat Shai* on Ps. 107:23), though there is no linguistic support for this interpretation. If the opinion already expressed in ancient sources regarding the signs in the Torah is generally accepted, that is, that the purpose of these signs is to separate the section "when the ark set forward" as if it were a book by itself, there is no similar consensus of opinion concerning the signs in Psalms (see S. Lieberman, *Greek and Hellenism in Jewish Palestine* (Jerusalem 1962), 178–181).

1.2.2.3. SUSPENDED LETTERS. There are four suspended letters אותיות תלויות in the Bible: the *nun* of מנשה (Judg. 18:30), and the *ʿayin* in the words מיער (Ps. 80: 14), רשעים (Job 38: 13), and מרשעים (Job 38:15). The tradition concerning them is quite ancient, going back to the third century C.E. (see *Samuel b. Naḥman in TJ, Bet. 9:3, 13d: ARN 34, 4) and to later sources. In most instances midrashic explanations on these suspended letters are also mentioned.

1.2.2.4. LARGE AND SMALL LETTERS. The custom of writing some letters differently – smaller or larger than usual – never became halakhically fixed. Thus there are several discrepancies between the various manuscript texts of the Bible. Even the lists of the Masorah are not uniform: Ginsburg compared some ten different lists (*The Massorah*, vol. 4 (1905), 40–41). The number of large letters is greater than the number of small letters. One of the large letters is already indicated in the Talmud (Meg. 16b) in the name of R. Johanan (third century C.E.). In *Soferim* 9:1–7 at least four large letters and one small one are mentioned. Their number grew as time passed, but in the older manuscripts, such as those of *Aleppo and Leningrad, there are still relatively few of these letters.

1.2.2.5. OTHER ODD LETTERS. For these there is generally no evidence in ancient sources. The Talmud (Kid. 66b) mentions in the name of R. Naḥman (third century C.E.) a וי"ו קטיעה in the word שלום (Num. 25:12), which is explained as a *waw* with a crack in the middle, but it is not certain that they did not mean a *waw* which was cut short, that is, a small *waw*. Maimonides (Yad, Sefer Torah 7:8) lists "[and] odd letters like winding (לפופות) *pes*, and the crooked (עקומות) letters." The *Masorah Parva* mentions a נון עקומה ("crooked *nun*": ואני, Ex. 3:19), as well as נון הפוכה ("an inverted nun"; בחרן, Gen. 11:32), and קופין דבוקין ("attached *qufin*": בקמיהם, Ex. 32:25; see also *Okhlah we-Okhlah*, §161). The *Masorah Marginalis* of the

Venice Bible (1525) states that the second lamed in the word לגלגלתם (Num. 1: 22) עשויה כמגירה וזקופה ואין לה כובע בראשה (“is shaped like a saw, stands upright, and has no cap on its head”). Seligman *Baer described at length the shape of the various odd letters in his book *Tiqqun ha-Sofer we-ha-Qore* (Roedelheim (1875^2), p. 18 of supplement).

1.3. ORAL TRANSMISSION

Apart from these matters which mainly are connected with the very writing of the Bible – and there could not be copying without their clear establishment – all of the other issues were originally part of oral transmission. The notes concerning the text of the Bible and the instructions for its proper pronunciation and its exact copying were handed down orally from generation to generation before they were set down in writing. It may be assumed that these notes were permitted to be written down and were actually committed to writing with the institution of the use of the codex among the Jews – apparently in the sixth or seventh century C.E. Therefore one must differentiate quite clearly between the oral Masorah which is endless and cannot be defined even though there are allusions to it and evidence thereof, and between the written Masorah whose notations were written in the margins of the codices and which is called simply “the Masorah.”

1.3.1. Ancient Evidence

In addition to the main evidence offered by the very existence of the text which was passed down from father to son and from teacher to student, there is an explicit statement about the oral transmission in the name of R. Isaac (about the third generation of Palestinian *amoraim*, at the end of the 3rd century C.E.): “R. Isaac said, מקרא סופרים ועטור סופרים וקריין ולא כתיבן וכתיבן ולא קריין were handed down as Law to Moses at Sinai” (Ned. 37b–38a). All the items listed there are thus considered as coming from a most ancient period, when it was not yet possible to list the items – there were neither signs to use (vocalization and accentuation) nor permission to write down such signs.

1.3.1.1. MIQRAʾ SOFERIM. The saying of R. Isaac continues with an explanation: מקרא סופרים – ארץ שמים מצרים. Despite all the explanations which have been given to *miqraʾ soferim* (see the comment attributed to Rashi which is probably that of *Gershom b. Judah Meʾor Ha-Golah and see R. Nissim ad. loc.), it seems that *miqraʾ* is to be taken in its literal meaning – the correct “reading” of the words as handed down by the scribes. The three words cited above are an example of the possibilities for various readings of words whose pronunciation can be known only by the transmitted reading of the *soferim*. Similar to this is the principle in the Talmud (Sanh. 4a and elsewhere) that the text as read (with vowels) is authoritative יֵשׁ אֵם לַמִּקְרָא, that is, the accepted pronunciation is to be followed in establishing the meaning of the text (as opposed to יש אם למסורת, i.e., the consonantal text – the actual letters – is authoritative; see below).

1.3.1.2. ʿIṬṬUR SOFERIM. The other items listed by R. Isaac are also a very ancient tradition which was not permitted to be written down and which was transmitted orally from generation to generation: *ʿiṭṭur soferim* are apparently omissions (עטר “to remove” in Aramaic; see *He-Arukh* s.v., quoting R. *Hai b. Sherira, and additional explanations in *Minḥat Shai* to Num. 12:14) of the conjunctive *waw* as evidenced by the examples which are listed there: עיטור סופרים – אַחַר תַּעֲבֹרוּ (Gen. 18:5), אַחַר תֵּלֵךְ (Gen. 24:55), אַחַר תֵּאָסֵף, (Num. 31:2), קִדְּמוּ שָׁרִים אַחַר נֹגְנִים (Ps. 68:26), צִדְקָתְךָ כְּהַרְרֵי אֵל (Ps. 36:7). Possibly other omissions are also to be included.

1.3.1.3. QERE WE-LAʾ KETIV; KETIV WE-LAʾ QERE. The last two items – words which are to be read although they are not written (*qaryan we-laʾ ketivan*) and conversely, words which are not to be read although they are written (*ketivan we-laʾ qaryan*) – issues which are discussed later on – are also an ancient tradition and could not be written down until long after the statements were made. They are listed thus: – קריין ולא כתיבן פרת דבלכתו (II Sam. 8:3); איש דכאשר ישאל איש בדבר האלהים (II Sam. 16:23); באים דנבנתה (Jer. 31:37); לה דפליטה (Jer. 50:29); את דהגד הוגד (Ruth 2:11); אלי דהגורן (Ruth 3:5); אלי דהשעורים (Ruth 3:17); הלין קריין ולא כתבן. וכתבן ולא קריין – נא דיסלח (II Kings 5:18); זאת דהמצוה (Deut. 6:25); ידרך דהדורך (Jer. 51:3); חמש דפאת נגב (Ezek. 48:16); אם דכי גואל (Ruth 3:12); הלין כתבן ולא קריין. This list in *Nedarim*, like the two which preceded it, is a sample and not complete. It is also not in complete agreement with the detailed lists of the Masorah for our texts. A correct list is found, for example, in *Okhlah we-Okhlah*, §97 and in it there are ten *qere we-laʾ ketiv* (it does not include Ruth 2:11), and eight *ketiv we-laʾ qere* (and it does not include Deut. 6:25).

1.3.1.4. QERE. Although ordinary *qere* notes were not explicitly mentioned in the Talmud, it is clear that they too are to be included in *miqraʾ soferim*, and the tradition of the *qere*, that is, words which are to be read differently from the form in which they are written, is ancient and returns to oral transmission.

1.3.2. The Verses

The above also applies to the division into verses. Here too we have an ancient tradition (so ancient that it is generally in agreement with the Samaritan reading) which was handed down orally. This antiquity is evident from the meaning of *miqraʾ soferim* which really means the complete reading including the transmitted vocalization and the transmitted division. Undoubtedly the division of the text into minimal units – the verses, and even the division of every unit into its parts, the accents – is also part of correct transmitted division. This transmission, like all oral transmission, while it strives for great precision and generally achieves it, still contains some doubtful instances and contradictions between different transmissions which have to be decided.

There is evidence in talmudic literature for the existence of the tradition of division into verses, a division which was handed down orally and was not permitted to be marked in the text. Evidence similarly exists about a tradition of internal verse division by accentuation and about differing traditions concerning both division of the text into verses and the division within verses and about reaching decisions concerning these differences.

One statement was repeated in three main versions as seen in the table below.

A comparison of sources in the rabbinic literature on ancient oral traditions regarding the biblical text: division into verses, vocalization, accentuations, etc.

Upon study one clearly sees the difference between the two Babylonian sources (vs. 1) and the two Palestinian sources, TJ and Gen. R. (vs. 2, 3). In the Babylonian sources there is no mention of הכרעים ("decisions") or הכרעות וראיות ("decisions and proofs") and there is a difference between the Babylonians and the Palestinians in the method of study and interpretation of (ראשי) פסוקים and (פסקי) טעמים. Their common factor is that in all of them the verses, the accents, and the traditions (*masorot*) are linked to Ezra the Scribe, i.e., to a very early period.

Regarding the division into verses there is even earlier evidence, from the Mishna: "He that reads in the Torah may not read less than three verses (פסוקים); he may not read to the interpreter more than one verse (at a time), or, in the Prophets, three" (Meg. 4:4); and there is the statement in *Kiddushin* 30a, that derives from the period of the *tannaim* (Bacher, ערכי מדרש 92), which lists, among other things, the middle verse of the Torah (והתגלח; Lev. 13:33).

There is evidence of some confusion as to the verse division in some sections: Rav. Joseph [third century C.E.] asks "to which half does והתגלח belong?" (the reference is to the word *we-hitgallaḥ* which is considered to be the middle of the Torah with regard to verses; does it belong to the first or the second half?). *Abbaye answered him: "Verses can be counted" (in contrast to what was said before about *plene* and defective spelling, about which R. Joseph states that in Babylonia they are not experts in it and that it is therefore impossible to establish the number of the letters of the Bible). Rav Joseph replied: "We are also not expert in the division of verses, because when Rav Aha bar Ada came [to Babylonia], he said that in the West [i.e., Ereẓ Israel] they divide this verse into three: And the Lord said to Moses: "Behold I come to you in a thick cloud" (Ex. 19:9)" (Kid. 30a). It follows, therefore, that the Babylonian scholars were also not expert in the division of the text into verses. It can be assumed that the Palestinians were more particular than the Babylonians in the transmission of the text of the Bible. Indeed, there are considerable differences between the number of verses recorded in the Talmud and our texts of the Bible. (See Kid. *ibid.*: The Rabbis taught: "there are 5,888 verses in the Torah" – according to the Masorah the number is 5,845.) For Psalms and Chronicles the numbers are completely different and there was, apparently an error somewhere. In any event, this statement is the primary source about the difference in the text between the Palestinians and the Babylonians.

The term ראשי פסוקים ("beginnings of the verses") in contrast to פסוקים ("verses") in the above quotation does not indicate a substantive difference between the two countries but is a terminological difference only. The division into verses requires the notation of either the beginnings or the ends of the verses and it makes no difference which. The term "beginnings of the verses" from the Palestinian sources has a continuation in additional, later Western sources, e.g., *Soferim* 3:7: "A book which he punctuated, wherein he marked the beginnings of

TB Megillah 3a and TB Nedarim 37b	TJ Megillah 4:1 (74d)	Genesis Rabbah 36
אמר רב איקא בר אבין אמר רב חננאל אמר רב: מאי דכתיב (נחמיה ח, ח) ויקראו בספר תורת האלהים מפורש ושום שכל ויבינו במקרא. ויקראו בספר תורת האלהים – זה מקרא, מפורש – זה תרגום, ושום שכל – אלו הפסוקים, ויבינו במקרא – אלו פיסקי טעמים, ואמרי לה: אילו המסורות.	רבי זעורא בשם רב חננאל: ויקראו בספר תורת – זה המקרא, מפורש זה תרגום, ושום שכל – אילו הטעמים, ויבינו במקרא – זה המסורת, ויש אומרים: אילו ההכריעים, ויש אומרים: אילו ראשי פסוקים.	רבי יודן אמר: מיכן לתרגום, ה"ה ויקראו בספר תורת האלהים – זה מקרא, מפורש – זה תרגום, ושום שכל – אילו הטעמים, ויבינו במקרא – אילו ראשי פסוקים. רבי חייא בן לוליני אמר: אילו תנאות [נ"א: ההכרעות והראיות]. רבנן דקיסרי אמרי: מיכן למסורות.
Rav Iqa bar Abin said in the name of Rav Hananel who spoke in the name of *Rav: What does it mean 'And they read in the book of the Law of God, distinctly; and they gave the sense, and caused them to understand the reading' (Neh. 8:8)? 'And they read in the book of the Law of God,' refers to מקרא (biblical text)); 'distinctly' refers to תרגום ([Aramaic] 'translation'); 'and they gave the sense' refers to הפסוקים (הפסוקין; the verses); 'and caused them to understand the reading' refers to the פיסקי (פיסוק) טעמים (the division(s) of the accents); others however say that this refers to המסורות (המסורת, the tradition(s)).	R. Ze'ora said in the name of R. Hananel: 'and they read in the book of the Law of God' refers to מקרא; 'distinctly' refers to תרגום; 'and they gave the sense' these are הטעמים ('the accents'); 'and caused them to understand the reading' refers to המסורת ('the tradition'), and some say to ההכריעים ('the decisions') and some say to the ראשי פסוקים ('beginnings of the verses').	R. Yudan said: herefrom (is understood) the *targum*; 'and they read in the book of the Law of God' refers to מקרא; 'distinctly' refers to תרגום; 'and they gave the sense' these are הטעמים ('the accents'), 'and caused them to understand the reading' refers to ראשי פסוקים ('the beginnings of the verses'). R. Hiyya b. Luliyani said: these are the תנאות (another reading has ההכרעות והראיות). The rabbis of Caesarea said: herefrom (are understood) the מסורות (traditions).

the verses, should not be (publicly) read." Similarly *Diqduqe ha-Teʿamim*, chapter 10, has "the chapter of the beginnings of the verses." In contrast there is an indication for the actual marking of the beginnings of the verses in Babylonia itself (of a later period, of course) as found in texts using the Babylonian vocalization system (see Kahle, M.d.O. text, 35a).

Differences with regard to the details of the verse division existed not only between the West and the East, but within the same tradition itself. Sometimes there are differences between the division into verses and the division into sections, which is older; the פסקא באמצע פסוק ("paragraphs [which end] within verses") are evidence of that (e.g., Gen. 35:22; Num. 26:1 (some texts = 25:19), etc.). However, there are differences in detail between printed texts and manuscripts.

1.3.3. Accentuation

There is evidence for the antiquity of the accents earlier than the above mentioned source (1.3.2.) and again the reference is not to the written signs, which were set relatively later, but to the tradition of reading the verses with the necessary accents and pauses, which was passed from generation to generation. A teacher of children should not receive payment for teaching Torah, but he can take שכר פיסוק טעמים ("a fee for [teaching] accentual division"; Ned. 37a). Even here, as with all oral transmission, doubts developed concerning the parsing and the accentual division and it is possible that the word הכרעים (הכרעות, תנאות) refers to just that in the Palestinian version of the above-mentioned saying. Thus there are words in the biblical text whose syntactical adhesion is undecided; "Issi b. Judah said: there are five verses in the Torah the construction of which is uncertain: שאת (Gen. 4:7); משקדים (Ex. 25:34); מחר (Ex. 17:9); ארור (Gen. 49:7); וקם (Deut. 31:16)" (Yoma 52a/b). For similar doubts, see, for example, TJ, *Beẓah* 2:4 (61c) for 1 Chr. 29:21; Yoma 52a for 1 Kings 6:19; *Bava Meẓia* 58a for Lev. 5:21; *Bava Meẓia* 73b for Lev. 25:46. Most instructive is the question of R. *Ḥisda (Hag. 6b; Yoma 52b): "Rav Ḥisda asked: How is this verse (Ex. 24:5) written? 'And he sent the young men of the children of Israel and they offered burnt offerings,' meaning sheep; 'and they sacrificed peace offerings of oxen to the Lord'; or were both types of sacrifices of oxen? [i.e., does the word "oxen" refer to the second half of the verse only and thus the peace offerings were oxen but the burnt offerings were not, but sheep, or does the word "oxen" refer to all the verse and thus both the burnt offerings and the peace offerings were oxen?] What difference does it make (what they sacrificed on that occasion in the wilderness)? Mar *Zutra said לפיסוק טעמים (the division of the accents [= punctuation])"; i.e., this question has no practical relevance, other than for the issue of correct punctuation, that is, how one is to read the verse and where to pause in it.

This tradition of reading with stress and pauses involved the tune with which one should read the Bible. According to R. Johanan (Meg. 32a): "He who reads (קורא) without melody (נעימה) and studies (שונה) without a tune (זמרה) is referred to by the verse 'And wherefore I gave them statutes which were not good…' (Ezek. 20:25)." This evidence of reading the Bible and the Mishnah (שונה) with a tune has an even more ancient basis, at least as far as the Bible is concerned. Thus the reason of R. Akiva for the custom of "Why do people not clean themselves with the right hand but rather with the left hand" is "Because one shows the טעמי תורה with it [the right hand]" (Ber. 62a). The טעמי תורה ("accents of the Torah") which are shown by hand are the signs of conducting with the movements of the hand according to the tune, as attested to by Rashi (Ber. 62a): "*Taʿame Torah*: The tunes of the reading accents of the Pentateuch, the Prophets, and the Hagiographa, whether by signs in the book, whether by raising the voice, and with the notes of the melodies of the tune of *pashtaʾ* and *dargaʾ* and *shofar mahpakh*; he (the reader) moves his hand according to the melody; I have seen readers who come from the land of Israel do it." This is, therefore, an ancient custom which was followed in Palestine still in the days of Rashi (the 11th century). There is also explicit evidence of the custom in *Maḥberet ha-Tījān* (J. Derenbourg, *Manuel du lecteur* (1871), p. 108): "And know that the grammarians have a hand movement for every accent in addition to the melody articulated by the mouth…" This custom continues among Yemenite Jews to this day.

During the entire period of the Talmud the accents had no written signs and it is generally accepted that the invention of the vocalization signs took place at the same time as the invention of accentuation signs. At the only place where סימני טעמים ("accent signs") are mentioned in the Talmud (Eruv. 21b) the term is usually interpreted according to this assumption: "Rava explained: what is the meaning of 'he also taught the people knowledge; yea, he pondered, and sought out and set in order many proverbs' (Eccl. 12:9)? 'He taught the people knowledge' means he taught them with סימני טעמים (accent signs)." "Accent signs" are explained as not being necessarily written signs (see Rashi ad loc.). Yet, perhaps the term "accent signs" may be understood in its literal meaning? There is no clear evidence either way and it is not impossible. However, if it is to be understood as accent signs, one must date the invention of the accent signs to an earlier period – that of *Rava, about the first half of the fourth century.

1.3.4. The Masorah

The Masorah referred to in the above sources (1.3.2) as *masoret* or *masorot* has already been discussed. Undoubtedly, it means the traditions concerned with the writing of the text with regard to plene and defective orthography. There is evidence in talmudic literature to this effect, such as the principle that יש אם למסורת (Sanh. 4a and elsewhere); that is, the spelling as handed down in the tradition (*masoret*) is decisive, i.e., the tradition of writing with or without the *matres lectionis* (as opposed to יש אם למקרא "the reading of the text is authoritative" – i.e., the common reading and pronunciation – see above). It seems that the statement of R. Akiva, מסורת סייג לתורה "*masoret* is a fence for the Torah" (Avot 3:13), also refers to the same thing, i.e., that the written text as handed down with all the details is a fence of defense for the Torah. Even in this matter we learn of the precision of the Palestinians, as from the statement of R. Ishmael to R. Meir who was a scribe (Eruv. 13a): "Be careful in your work, for your work is the work of the heaven; lest by your omitting one letter or adding one letter the whole world be destroyed." In contrast to this there is the lack of precision on the part of the Babylonians, as admitted by Rav Joseph, the Babylonian *amora* (Kid. 30a): "They [the Palestinians] are expert in חסרות ויתרות (= defective and plene spelling, *matres lectionis*); we are not expert."

This is the source of the lists of differences between the Palestinians and the Babylonians – the differences between מערבאי (Westerners) and מדנחאי (Easterners) – which are mainly variants in spelling and in the manner of the writing (in one or two words). These lists, which include about 200 to 250 variances – there are differences between the various manuscripts as to number and detail – cover mostly the Prophets and the Hagiographa and less the Pentateuch.

The care about the orthography and the *matres lectionis* is the justification for the rule יש אם למסורת and opened the way for many homilectical interpretations based on the spelling of the letters (especially when it allows for a reading different from that of the traditional pronunciation). The largest collection of this type of interpretation is in "*Midrash Ḥaserot wi-Yterot*'" (from the ninth or tenth century) which is devoted completely to it. Even earlier than this the sages had arranged lists for remembering words which are written with and without *matres lectionis*, e.g., *Soferim*, ch. 7. They are, in fact, the beginnings of the lists of the written Masorah which are based on the short and sketchy notes on peculiarities of spelling or form in the text, marked in the margins of the books. With that we come to the written Masorah.

2. THE MASORAH AND THE BEGINNINGS OF GRAMMAR

The purpose of the Masorah, whether it be oral or written, was clearly and undoubtedly the precise preservation of the holy text. This purpose was the primary thrust for the occupation with grammar after a period of many years. In this respect the development and growth of Hebrew grammar is different than that of other ancient grammars; although it was influenced by them – to a smaller or greater degree – it differs from them in its motivation and its beginnings.

2.1. GENERAL

Other peoples also came to occupy themselves systematically with language and grammar because of the need to preserve their holy texts: the Indians on the one hand and the Arabs, to some degree, on the other.

2.1.1. The Indians

From the time the Indians felt that they were drawing further and further away from their ancient language, Sanskrit, the language of the Vedas, their holy writings, and that they were facing the danger of forgetting that language and that thus the holy writings were liable to be forgotten or – at least – to be corrupted, they turned to the study of the ancient language as a means for preserving the holy writings. Their approach was analytical (the word "grammar" in Sanskrit is *wyākarana* = analysis) and they analyzed the holy text into small units in order to recognize each unit and to write it down so that it would not be forgotten. This is actually a descriptive method which establishes the minimal units – mainly morphological and phonological – and lists them in all their details. The inventory lists of Sanskrit are in fact the perfect means for realizing the goal which the Indian grammarians had set for themselves, the preservation of their holy texts in the ancient, original language.

The greatest Indian grammarian of the ancient period was Panini, whose descriptive grammar became known in Europe only in the 19th century and greatly influenced modern linguistics and the structural-descriptive school. However, Panini lived in the fourth century B.C.E., and he certainly had no influence on the Hebrew Masorah. The aim was the same – preservation of texts – and such an aim does not stem from foreign influence but is an internal, original need. The means, therefore, for achieving this goal would be completely different in each case.

2.1.2. The Arabs

While the Arabs are much closer to the Jews, both geographically and chronologically, their principal motive was the need to preserve the language, and not particularly their holy writings. The territorial expansion of the Arabs and the consequent dominance of Arabic in all the area of their empire exposed the language to the penetration of foreign influences from the languages of the conquered peoples. The purity and clarity of Arabic was in danger and a call went out in the first years after the Islamic conquests – it mentions the name of the fourth caliph, Ali – to make efforts to maintain its purity (*luḡa faṣīḥa*). The first Arabic grammarians set the rules of the language on the basis of the language of their ancient poets and the Koran. The religious power of the Koran, which is written in the dialect of the Quraysh tribe, the tribe of the prophet, and its distribution among the believers made its language – with all the adjustments made in it – into the model Arabic language. Thus the preservation of the language of the holy writings was not the main purpose of the grammarians, but rather the preservation of the purity of Arabic against foreign influences of non-Arabs who adopted Arabic as their language and spoke it. Due to the status of the Koran in Islam, knowledge of the Arabic language and grammar became a religious science, one of whose purposes was also the correct interpretation of the Koran and the other holy writs (the *Hadith).

At this point the aims of Hebrew and Arabic grammar have become identical, but the beginnings are completely different, both as far as motivation and early methodology are concerned. The oral Masorah for the preservation of the text of the Hebrew Bible was a living study for the Jews for hundreds of years before their contact with Islam and before the necessity for dealing with the language systematically was felt. However, the situation is analogous to some degree. In the same way that the Arabs came to study the language because of an internal, practical need, yet drew the methodological tools from outside, mainly from Greek language science, the Jews came to deal with language – with the Masorah – from an internal, practical need, and in that they preceded the Arabs. However, they also took the methodological tools for the development of grammar as a science at a later period from outside, mainly from the Arabic grammar.

2.1.3. The Syrians

Alongside these two peoples, the Indians and the Arabs, among whom the science of language developed, mention must be made of the Syrians, who were not very original in their treatment of language but who do have a point in common with the Jews. The Syrians were influenced both by the Arabs and by the Greeks. Next to the Indians, the Greeks are in reality the originators of the science of language, without any connection to a holy text but from a philosophical approach to literature and speech. The first grammatical works of the Syrians are translations from the Greek, yet for all the lack of originality in Syrian literature, including grammar books – and perhaps because of it – a need was felt for preserving the text of the holy writings, the Peshitta, in all details concerning its reading and pronunciation. This aim became intensified all the more when Syriac ceased to be a spoken language and, later, even a literary medium. In this it has something in common with Hebrew, and there are several points of contact between the Syrian Masorah and the Hebrew written Masorah. Like Hebrew, Syriac developed a system, or a set of systems, of dots and other signs to mark vowels, accents, and other diacritical marks. These systems became more and more sophisticated as time passed. One of the challenges of research into the Masorah has been the establishment of the relationship between the two traditions, the Hebrew and the Syrian, i.e., which is the original and influenced the other, and which came later and imitated the other. This applies to the method of notation, to the signs themselves and to the terminology. This question cannot be decided unequivocally, but in any case, it is clear that the beginning of the Hebrew Masorah – that oral system which is as ancient as the public reading of the text of the Bible and which was finally written down – undoubtedly precedes the Syrian Masorah, for the translation of the Peshitta is relatively late. The fact that Syriac manuscripts with diacritical marks from the fifth century have been found and that they therefore precede the dated Hebrew manuscripts which have vocalization and accentuation signs by about 300 years cannot affect this basic consideration.

2.2. AMONG THE JEWS

2.2.1. The Codex

When did the Masorah begin to be committed to writing? Since we do not have ancient dated manuscripts, one must accept external proofs. As already stated, the prerequisite for writing the Masorah systematically was the institution of a change in the means of writing and the abandonment of the common use of the scroll. The codex is a more sophisticated form for writing than the scroll; it consists of units of leaves of parchment or paper which are placed – bound – between two plates of wood. Every unit had a number of sheets, most often apparently five (hence the Hebrew word קונטרס, *qunteres* (= *quinternus*)). The codex was already in use by the Romans in the fourth century C.E. and perhaps earlier. It is first mentioned in Jewish literature in the *Halakhot Gedolot*, that is, in the eighth century and at the latest in the first half of the ninth century, by the name מיצחף (*mizḥaf*) which is borrowed from the Arabic *muṣḥaf.* A codex is not valid for the public ritual reading of the Torah, and it has wide margins where different notes could be marked.

2.2.2. Dating

Despite the fact that actual evidence for the conditions necessary for the writing down of the Masorah is rather late, there is clear evidence from other sources that the Masorah was committed to writing prior to the eighth century. This evidence can be considered reliable in the light of the fact that scrolls which were invalid for ritual reading also served, as it seems, for the noting of Masorah. Scrolls of this type were also found in the Cairo *Genizah*. The evidence points to a period of 200 years within which vocalization and accentuation signs were initiated: not before the sixth century nor later than the seventh.

The *terminus a quo* is based on a number of facts:

(1) Jerome (end of the fourth century-beginning of the fifth) states explicitly (in his commentary on the Bible) that the Jews did not have signs to note the vowels (he does not speak of accents).

(2) In the Jerusalem Talmud (which was completed in the first half of the fifth century) and in the Babylonian Talmud (which was completed at the end of the fifth century) there is no mention of vowel and accentuation signs; similarly there is no mention of them in the earliest Midrashim. This evidence of silence is undisputed, especially in the light of interpretations like that in *Song of Songs Rabbah* on the sentence (Songs 1:11) תורי זהב נעשה לך עם נקדות הכסף "We will make thee circlets of gold (תורי זהב) with studs (*nequddot*) of silver (נקדות הכסף)": 'With studs of silver' – R. *Abba b. Kahana said these are the letters. R. *Aḥa said these are the words. Another interpretation: 'We will make thee circlets of gold' means the writing; 'with studs of silver' means the stylus lines (drawn on the parchment)." In this context a homiletic interpretation of נקודות to signify vowel points is obviously called for, yet none is found. Evidence from late Midrashim is obviously not reliable; for example in *Exodus Rabbah*, ch. 2:6 (to Ex. 3:4) פסק (*paseq*) is actually mentioned, but this Midrash is later than the tenth century. It follows, therefore, that the use of the vowel and accentuation signs was not instituted before the sixth century.

The *terminus ad quem* is established by a number of indirect proofs:

(1) Phinehas Rosh ha-Yeshivah is one of the early masoretes about whose work in Masorah and vocalization there is definite knowledge, and he lived in the first half of the ninth century at the latest. This suggests that vocalization and accentuation signs were already in use before then.

(2) Asher b. Nehemiah (the grandfather of Aaron Ben-Asher) lived apparently at the same time as Phinehas, and his grandfather Asher was the "great elder," the founder of the dynasty of famous masoretes who dealt with vocalization and accentuation signs like his descendants. This Asher the Elder must have lived in the second half of the eighth century at the latest, which means that the vowel and accentuation signs were fixed before that time.

(3) In the ninth century there was already no definite knowledge as to who invented the vowel and accentuation signs, and so we hear from Natronai Gaon of Babylonia (d. 858) in his prayer book, *Me'ah Berakhot*: "The vowel signs (*niqqud*) were not given at Sinai but the sages marked them for signs." Thus in the first half of the ninth century, although vowel and accent signs were known and accepted, the inventors were already unknown. It can be assumed therefore that the institution of their use preceded that time by several centuries. In the eighth century there were sages dealing with punctuation (see above); the latest possible time for the first use of vocalization and accentuation signs is therefore the seventh century.

2.2.3. The Invention of Punctuation

Today there is general agreement as to when the use of punctuation (including accentuation signs) was begun, but this was not always so. All scholars agreed that the tradition of pronunciation and the tradition of reading with pauses and melody are ancient, and that (without going into any detailed explanation of the phrase "law handed down to Moses at Sinai") they were handed down by the earliest sages. An allusion to this is the talmudic expression *miqra' soferim* (see above 1.3.1.1.), which is also considered as law handed down to Moses at Sinai.

2.2.4. Karaites and Rabbanites

There was, however, a difference of opinion with regard to the graphic signs, a point which was part of the general controversy between the *Karaites and the *Rabbanites. The Karaites, who did not accept the Oral Law as binding and whose whole heritage stems from the Bible as it stands (חפישו באוריתא שפיר), naturally considered the text of the Bible holy in its entirety – including every detail of vocalization and accentuation. The Karaite view found its most complete expression in Judah *Hadassi's book *Eshkol ha-Kofer* (written in 1149): "And the Torah scrolls should be pointed with vowels and accents… for without vowels and accents God did not give them… for the writing of our God was 'graven upon the tablets' (Ex. 32: 16) so was their writing full with vowel and accent signs and not lacking in vowel and accent signs" (Judah b. Elijah Hadassi. *Eshkol ha-Kofer* (1836, repr. 1969), 70a).

But the Rabbanites considered only the consonantal text to be holy, and the inclusion of vowel and accent signs makes a scroll invalid for public ritual reading. Therefore, as far as they are concerned the signs are late. This view is expressed in the statement of Natronai Gaon, "the vowel signs were not given at Sinai but the sages marked them by signs." A fuller statement is that of Simḥah b. Samuel of Vitry, France, a disciple of Rashi, in his *Maḥzor Vitry* (written about 1100): "for the descriptions of the melodies were said to Moses: which tears out (תולש), stands straight (זוקף), sits (יושב), stands (עומד), goes up (עולה), goes down (יורד), and leans (מונח) [referring to accent names]; but the signs of the melodies (= accents) were set by the *soferim*" (ed. by S. Hurowitz (Nuremberg, 1923), p. 462).

However, the Rabbanites were not unanimous; some shared the Karaite view, others thought that the punctuation signs were ancient and if Moses did not receive them at Sinai, at least it was Ezra the Scribe who set them. The matter was explicitly decided by Abraham *Ibn Ezra in *Sefer Zaḥot* (ed. Lippmann, p. 7a): "Thus is the custom of the Tiberian sages, and they are the source, for from them came the masoretes and we received all the punctuation from them." The whole question was again clarified by R. Elijah Baḥur *Levita in *Masoret ha-Masoret* in the third introduction (ed. Ginsburg, p. 121–31). Following them, it was generally accepted – with the exception of a few dissenters (J. Bachrach, *Ishtadalut im Shedal*, Warsaw, 1896–97) – that the vocalization and accentuation signs were invented by the masoretes.

3. THE WRITTEN MASORAH

The written Masorah can be divided into categories:

(1) the masoretic notes in the margins of the text and the longer lists which accompany the text or are appended to it – the *Masorah* in the narrow sense;

(2) the graphemes which, by their very nature, are of two types: (a) the vocalization signs; (b) the accentuation signs.

As far as chronology is concerned, it is difficult to differentiate between the two main categories and particularly between the two types of graphemes. It can be assumed that once it was permitted to write on the manuscript of the text itself, signs were permitted to be used. However, for reasons of convenience, we shall treat them here in three separate paragraphs.

3.1. THE MASORAH (NARROW SENSE)

3.1.1. The Term

The early sages explained the term as deriving from מסר ("to hand over"), i.e., something which was handed down from generation to generation: the text of the Bible which is precisely transmitted (as stated e.g. by Elijah Levita at the beginning of his third introd. to *Masoret ha-Masoret*; ed. Ginsburg, 102–3). Others explained the term and the related one מָסֹרֶת as derived from the root אסר ("to bind"; cf. commentaries to Ezek. 20:37, *מַאֲסֹרֶת > מָסֹרֶת), that is, something which is bound and gathered: the detailed instructions for reading joined together to the text (thus Bacher and Levias). Most convincing is the explanation of S.D. *Luzzatto, who proves that מסורת and סימן ("sign") are synonyms, arrived at by extended meaning. At first they said "he handed (מסר) a sign (סימן) to them" and later the sign which was transmitted was called *masoret*. The expression מסורת סייג לתורה ("*masoret* is a fence for the Torah") thus means that the devices concerning the writing with and without *matres lectionis* (and also those for the talmudic laws) are a fence – an aid – for remembering the Torah. The expression יש אם למסורת (see above, 1.3.4.) is also nicely explained according to this, i.e., that the written sign or the letter is authoritative.

Z. Ben-Ḥayyim has suggested a new explanation which seems plausible. He has demonstrated that the verb מָסַר can also mean "to count" (סָפַר) both in Hebrew and in Samaritan Aramaic. Indeed, counting was a large part of the work of the masoretes, according to the Talmud (Kid. 30a): "Therefore the early sages were called *soferim* for they counted (היו סופרים) all the letters of the Torah…" In the period following the Talmud the term "*sofer*" more and more came to refer to a skilled scribe and copyist of the Bible, while the wisdom required in the work and the understanding and exact knowledge of the text needed a special name, and for that a noun from the root מסר synonymous to ספר began to be used, i.e., מָסוֹרָה *masorah* (and this without detracting from the older meaning of *masoret* = sign). The form מָסוֹרָה which is found in a poem of Hai Gaon (d. 1038) is from Palestinian Aramaic where it serves as a participle, that is in Hebrew מוֹסֶרֶת ("counting"), and it is this name which fits the skill of noting the peculiar details in the biblical text. This form was even translated correctly in various participial forms in Hebrew מָסֵרָה, מוֹסֵרָה (these two in the plural in the Leningrad Codex of 1009) and in Arabic *māsira* (*Kitāb jāmiʿ al'alfāẓ* by David b. Abraham Alfāsī in the tenth century). From then on the verb is used in the basic conjugation, *qal,* מָסַר (in the colophon to the Aleppo Codex and in manuscripts of the second collection of Firkovich in St. Petersburg: no. 9 – the beginning of the tenth century; no. 39 – from the year 989; and no. 144 from the year 1122) and in the *piʿel* conjugation (in a manuscript in the same collection: no. 17 – from the year 930) with the meaning "to write Masorah."

3.1.2. Definition and Scope

In the Masorah (in the narrow sense) everything that is written outside of the biblical text, but accompanies it, is included. This is even stated in one of the oldest chapters which describe the Masorah, "and he commanded to write one outside (מבחוץ) and one inside" (*Dikduke ha-Teʿamim*, ed. Baer-Strack §8, and cf. §63, and *Maḥberet ha-Tījān* ed. D. Derenbourg, 127, 129–31), and it seems that the term החיצונים ("the external ones" – *Diqduqe ha-Teʿamim*, ed. Dotan, ch. 2) includes all the notes listed outside of the text. These notes vary in their degree of importance to the text, antiquity, trustworthiness, and degree of agreement in various manuscripts. It is therefore convenient to follow here an external-technical division of these notes and not one based on their nature. The modern commonly accepted technical division is the following:

(1) *Masorah Parva* (Small Masorah);

(2) *Masorah Magna* (Great Masorah) which is further divided into: (a) Marginal Masorah and (b) Final Masorah (written at the end of the text).

3.2. THE MASORAH PARVA (QETANNA)

The notes of the *Masorah Parva* are expressed in extreme brevity and generally by abbreviations. These notes are listed in the manuscripts at the margins of the biblical text, mostly at the right or left. There is a small circle (or star) in the text over the word to which the note of the Masorah is directed. In the fragments of the Bible with Babylonian punctuation, the *Masorah Parva* is sometimes written in small letters between the lines of the text, each comment above the word to which it refers.

3.2.1. The Qere and Ketiv

The most important notes in the *Masorah Parva* for the purpose of the reading are those of *qere* (including *qere we-la' ketiv* and *ketiv we-la' qere*, "read although not written," and "written but not read," respectively; see above, 1.3.1.3.). Initially all the notes were written together, but in a few manuscripts and especially in printed editions, the notes concerning *qere* were emphasized more than the others.

3.2.1.1. METHODS OF NOTATION. *Qere* קְרֵי (the passive participle in Aramaic = the read [Hebrew קְרוּא]) means the form of the word as it should be read – ignoring the written letters. The vocalization and the accentuation signs which are diacritical marks for correct reading are adjusted, therefore, only to the form which is read and not to the written form. Yet there is an ancient custom, which was followed in most of the printed editions, to write the vowel and accent marks of the *qere* upon the skeleton of the letters of the *ketiv* כְּתִיב (= the written) and to write the consonantal skeleton of the form which is read without its vocalization and accentuation signs as a masoretic note in the margin: for instance, inside the text (Josh. 20: 8) גֹּלָ֥ן and in the margin: גולן ק̇ (= קרי = "read"); inside the text (Isa. 36:12) שֵׁ֣ינֵיהֶ֔ם and in the margin מימי רגליהם קרי. When the change involves only one or two letters sometimes only this difference is shown, e.g., לְכַשְׂדָּיֵ֑א (Dan. 2:5) and in the margin: אי ק̇ (= לכשדאי קרי).

3.2.1.2. THE DEVELOPMENT. The older method of marking the *qere* was to note in the margin, or in the Babylonian system to mark sometimes between the lines, only that portion of the word in which there is a change. This method is quite frequently used in the Palestinian system. The full word containing the variant reading is found in relatively later texts.

3.2.1.3. THE SYMBOLS. There is noticeable development also in the manner of notation. In the earliest stage only the letter which was different was noted in the margins (when the *qere* indicated a change in letter), such as in the Palestinian vocalization אעבוד (Jer. 2:20), and in the margin ּ̈ן (that is, *qere*: אעבור). In the course of the development there was noted alongside the form of the *qere* in the margins – in all the vocalization systems – a sign resembling a final ן or a ז whose meaning has not been explained. It has been suggested that if it is a *nun* it refers to the word קרן (in Aram. "they are reading"), or it is an abbreviation of נוסחא ("version"). If it is the letter *zayin* it may refer, as Yeivin suggested, to the Greek term זיטימא (= ζήτημα = "the sought for, the desired [reading]," a term found once in an ancient masoretic list (Ginsburg, *Massorah*, 3, p. 278; *Diqduqe ha-Te'amim*, ed. Dotan, p. 73) not exactly in the sense of *qere*. There is, however, no proof for these suggestions since the full word is never found instead of the symbol in a *qere* note. It seems that it is nothing more than a sign which was generally agreed upon and not a letter of the alphabet (cf. another sign of the Masorah, which came to resemble a reversed *nun* – see above 1.2.2.2.).

As time passed קרי or its abbreviation קׄ (was written in addition to this sign alongside or under the *qere* version. In Babylonian manuscripts קרן ("reading") is also found written out. In these texts the sign כתׄ ("*ketiv*") too is occasionally found written over the forms of the *ketiv* which are in the text itself. Another notation found in a few manuscripts and used in each of the punctuation systems to note the *qere* where one letter in the *ketiv* form is extra, is יתיר ,'יתי, for example, אֲנָוֹשָׁא (Dan. 4: 14) in the margin: יתיר וׄ. A note of this type also may, sometimes does denote a spelling with *matres lectionis*, such as הֲקִים (Dan. 3:5, 7) in the margin: יתיר יׄ; also עֲלֶינָא (Ezra 4:18) in the margin: יתיר יׄ.

3.2.1.4. VOCALIZATION OF THE QERE. In the manuscripts there are different methods for attaching the vocalization of the *qere* to the skeleton of the letters of the *ketiv.* In some the order of the vowels as they should be is retained and no attention is paid to the letters such as וּמְבַלֲהִים (Ezra 4:4) *qere* ומבהלים; in others each vowel is attached to its proper letter according to the *qere* and thus the order of the vowels is distorted: וּמְבַלְהֲים. This, however, does not happen in every instance. Sometimes there is inconsistency within the same manuscript.

3.2.1.5. QERE WE-LAʾ KETIV (READ AND NOT WRITTEN). The *qere we-laʾ ketiv* notations indicate the reading of a word which is not in the written text. In the space in the text where the word is to be read, its vowels and accentuation signs are generally written in (although sometimes they are not marked at all). In some manuscripts the word *qere* alone is written outside of the text.

3.2.1.6. KETIV WE-LAʾ QERE (WRITTEN AND NOT READ). The *ketiv we-laʾ qere* notations are those which direct the reader not to read a word which is written in the text, and thus it appears in the text without vowels or accentuation signs. In this case too there are instances where the phrase לא קרי alone is noted. This term or its abbreviation, לׄקׄ, may also refer to individual letters; in other words it is an abbreviated method for noting a *qere* form which differs from the *ketiv* only in the omission of letters, for example, אַרְתַּחְשַׁסְתְּא and in the margin: אׄלׄקׄ (Ezra 8:1, Leningrad Ms.) that is,אׄ לא קרי (= aleph not read), namely, read אַרְתַּחְשַׁסְתְּ.

3.2.1.7. THE SCOPE OF QERE. There are differences between manuscripts and between printed editions with regard to the number of *qere* notations; some versions mark the *qere* very frequently while others do so rarely. This refers of course to those instances where the remark concerning *qere* is not required and the reading can be understood without it, especially when the difference is with quiescent letters, like בָּנָו (Deut. 33:9), הַמּוֹרְאִים (II Sam. 11: 24), etc. Some manuscripts note *qere* for these and some merely have a masoretic note, חסר (*ḥaser*), מלא (*maleʾ*), or יתיר (*yattir*), etc. Some make no comment at all. Thus there is no fixed number of *qere* notations in the Bible. Elijah Levita, for example, counts 848 cases (*Masoret ha-Masoret*, the third introduction, ed. Ginsburg, p. 115), and he is not a maximalist.

3.2.2. Types of Qere

Essentially there are four or five main types of *qere* notations in addition to *qere we-laʾ ketiv*, which are really words omitted from the text, and in addition to *ketiv we-laʾ qere*, which is actually not a *qere* but a *laʾ qere* instruction ("not read").

3.2.2.1. EUPHEMISMS. Strong language is changed to euphemisms. This is a substitution which dates back to the time when Hebrew was a spoken and understood language. Evidence for this type of change is already found in the Tosefta (Meg. 4:39–41): "Every derogatory written expression is replaced by one of refinement, e.g., 'Thou shalt betroth a wife and another man shall ravish her (ישגלנה)' (Deut. 28: 30): every place where ישגלנה is written, they read יִשְׁכָּבֶנָּה (shall lie with her); 'with the boil of Egypt, and (בעפלים) [unknown disease]' (Deut. 28:27); every place where בעפלים is written, they read it as בַטְּחוֹרִים… (with the hemorroids)." Cf. a better version in Meg. 25b.

3.2.2.2. CORRECTION OF FORMS. Archaic forms or grammatically exceptional forms are substituted by a standard one, e.g., the suffix of the second person feminine – קראתי > קָרָאת (Jer. 3:4), לכי > לָךְ (II Kings 4:2), בניכי > וּבָנַיִךְ (II Kings 4:7), and, e.g., the suffix of the verb in the perfect, plural third person feminine נצתה > נִצְּתוּ (Jer. 2:15), etc.

3.2.2.3. CORRECTION OF ERRORS. Errors, or what appeared to the masoretes to be errors, are corrected. These are likely to be of various types, as metathesis, substitution of letters, the omission or addition of letters, changes in the division of the words, the substitution of whole words, and so on, such as ותראנה > וַתָּאֹרְנָה (I Sam. 14:27); יך > יַד (I Sam. 4:13); ויעש > וַיַּעַט (I Sam. 14:32); הזאתה > הַזֹּאת (Jer. 26:6): שלל > הָשָּׁלָל (Sam. 14:32); שם הפלשתים > שָׁמָּה פְּלִשְׁתִּים (II Sam. 21:12); העיר > חָצֵר (II Kings 20:4) and so on.

3.2.2.4. MALEʾ AND ḤASER (PLENE AND DEFECTIVE). Changes in the spelling because of *matres lectionis*. It is with regard to this group that variants in the different manuscripts are the most frequent. Some manuscripts note them as a version of *qere*, whereas others ignore them, because it is possible to read the *ketiv* with the vowels of the *qere* and not make an error (for examples see above, 3.2.1.7.).

3.2.2.5. QERE PERPETUUM. In addition to the above types of *qere* there are others which are not noted at all, the *qere perpetuum*. These were handed down orally from generation to generation and one must observe them even though there is no *qere* notation concerning them. In these instances the vocalization of the *qere* is attached to the *ketiv*. Among there are the name of God, which is read differently from the way in which it is written; in the Torah the feminine third personal pronoun is הִוא (except for 11 places where it is הִיא); נַעֲרָה is written in the Torah without the *he* (except for one place, Deut. 22:19); the name of the city Jerusalem is written without the second *yod* (except in five places) but it is always read יְרוּשָׁלַיִם; the name יששכר is always read יִשָּׂשכָר (Issachar) – at least in the Ben-Asher version – see below). Some have suggested to consider other forms as examples of *qere perpetuum*, for example, שְׁנֵים, שְׁתֵּים which are supposed to be שְׁנֵי, שְׁתֵּי, (see *Gesenius §17c, 97d), but there is no evidence for this.

3.2.3. The Masoretic Notes

The other notes of the *Masorah Parva* point out forms in the text concerning which there is some apprehension that the reader or the scribe-copyist will err, that is, spelling with or without the *matres lectionis* (plene or defective), certain vowels or accentuation signs, certain grammatical forms, the joining of certain particles, the unusual combination of words, and so on. In most of the masoretic notes the view is descriptive-comparative and not normative. In general the question is not what is the standard form and does the item in question deviate from it, but rather what is the common form and is the item in question different from the common form – whether or not it be standard or exceptional itself – and does the item belong to the majority or the minority. This last principle necessitates the constant enumeration of the forms in the various divisions of the text (in the entire Bible, in one of the three parts of the Bible, in a book, or even in a specific section), and reference to this number.

3.2.3.1. TERMINOLOGY. Below is a list of the common terms in the Masorah and their usual abbreviations. From the definitions and examples the nature of the notes of the *Masorah Parva* will become clear. It is to be noted that most of the terms of the Masorah are Aramaic, which in fact is itself an indication of the time of the creation of this terminology: ליתא, לית = ל̇ ("there is none [like it]"): בְּצַלְמוֹ (Gen. 1:27), ל̇ (the word in this form does not occur again in the Bible); ב̇, ג̇, ד̇, etc., "enumeration": וְשָׁמָיִם (Gen. 2:4), ד̇ (this word with the conjunctive *waw* occurs four times in the Bible); מלא = מ״ל, מל̇ ("*plene*," i.e., with *matres lectionis*): בְּעִצָּבוֹן (Gen. 3: 17), ל׳ ומ״ל (= לית ומלא); the word does not occur again in the Bible and here it is written with the *waw*): תּוֹלְדוֹת (Gen. 2:4), ב׳ מ״ל דמ״ל (= ב׳ מלא דמלא; this word is found twice in the Bible with two *waws*); יתיר ("*plene*"; see above, 3.2.1.3.): וּמְהָקֵים (Dan. 2:21), ל̇ ויתיר י̇ (the word does not occur again and here it is written with *yod*); חסר = חס׳ (defective, "deficient," i.e., without *matres lectionis*): גְּחֹנְךָ (Gen. 3:14), ל׳ וחס׳ (occurs only here and written without *waw*); ריש פסוקא or ראש פסוק = ר״פ (the beginning of a verse); אֶל־הָאִשָּׁה (Gen. 3:16), ל׳ ר״פ (this combination appears nowhere else at the beginning of a verse); דסמיכי = דסמיכ׳, דס׳ (together): חַיַּת ◦ הָאָרֶץ (Gen. 1:25), י׳ דס׳ (these two words are found together 10 times); בתורה = בתו׳ (in the Torah): שֵׁמוֹת (Gen. 2:20), ט׳ מלאי׳ בתורה (this word is written in the Torah nine times with the *waw*); אורייתא = אוריית׳, אורי׳ (Aramaic for Torah): וּשְׁמֹנֶה (Gen. 5:7), כל אוריית׳ חס׳ (without the *waw* throughout the whole Torah); בסיפרא = בספ׳, בסי׳ (in this book of the Bible): חָרְבוּ (Gen. 8:13), ב׳ בספ׳ (occurs twice in the Book of Genesis); בנביאים or בנביאי = בנביא׳ (in the Prophets): וַתָּבוֹא (Ezek. 22:4), י׳ מל׳ בנביא׳ (occurs 10 times in the Prophets with the second *waw*); בכתובים or בכתיביא = בכתיב׳, בכת׳ (in the Hagiographa): הֲלוֹא (Ruth 2:8), ט׳ מל׳ בכת׳ (nine times with *waw* in the Hagiographa); בענינא, בענין = בעני׳, בעינ׳ (in this context): וַיִּהְיוּ כָּל־יְמֵי (Gen. 5:8), ז׳ בענין (this combination occurs seven times in this section, i.e., in the section of the generations from Adam to Noah. In contrast, וַיְהִי כל־ימי occurs there three times); בלישנא = בלש׳, בליש׳ (in the language, i.e., 1. root, basic form; 2. meaning):

1. הֵינִיקָה (Gen. 21:7), ה׳ מ״ל בליש׳ (there are five words from the same root written with two *yods*). This is the only occurrence of this form, but there are four others from the same root ינק which are written with two yods: מֵינִיקוֹת (Gen. 32: 16), לְהֵינִיק (1 Kings 3:21), מֵינִיקֹתַיִךְ (Isa. 49:23), הֵינִיקוּ (Lam. 4:3), and see *Minhat Shai* to Ex. 2:9.

2. וַיָּגֶל (Gen. 29:10), ב׳ בתרי ליש׳ (the word occurs twice in this form, with two meanings. Here it means "and he rolled" – the *hifʿil* of גלל; in Ps. 16:9 it means "and he rejoiced" the *qal* of גיל). בטעמא = בטע׳, בט׳ (with the accent): וַיֹּ֫אמֶר (Gen. 22:2), י״ד בטע׳ (this word occurs 14 times with this accent).

In addition to this group of terms there are also basic grammatical expressions: דגש (*dageš*) and רפי (*rafeh*), מלעיל (*milleʿel*) and מלרע (*milleraʿ*), זכר (masculine) and נקבה (*feminine*), קמץ (*qameṣ*) and פתח (*pattaḥ*), and the names of the other vowels and accentuation signs. For a more comprehensive list of terms see Yeivin, *Introduction to the Tiberian Masorah*, pp. 80–120.

3.2.4. The Babylonian Masorah

The *Masorah Parva* and the *Masorah Magna* are appended also to texts of the Babylonian system (see 5.2.). They are slightly different from the Tiberian system (see above), but the main difference is in the very paucity of masoretic notes – for most of the parts of the Bible there is no Masorah or there is very little – and in their terminology.

3.2.4.1. TERMINOLOGY. Some of the terms are the same in the two systems; the following are the most important terms which are unique to the Babylonian Masorah: דקרן = דק׳ (Aram. "which is read") = in most cases equal to Tiberian

ל׳; בעל׳, בע׳ = בעלמא (in the whole Bible [opposed to a part of it]; there is no exact parallel for it in the Tiberian system); שלמא, שלם = של׳, ("complete") = Tiberian מל׳ (a Babylonian term found in some Tiberian Mss., especially the earliest ones, e.g., British Library, Or. 4445). The Babylonian system is particularly different in that there is almost no counting of words in it except for that implied by the terms דק׳.

Some grammatical terms are named differently, such as the following names of vowels: מיצף פומא = מיצ׳ פומא, מיצ׳ (Aram. "contraction of the mouth") = *qameṣ*; מיקפץ פומא = (*ditto*) = *qameṣ*; מיפתח פומא ("opening of the mouth") = פיתחא = *pattaḥ*; so too some of the names of the accents: אתנח סיחפא = (*ʾetnaḥ*); שידיא = סגול (*segol* and other accents with similar pausal value); אוקומי, אוק׳ (a major disjunctive); *zaqef.* Other grammatical terms named differently are קיפיא, קיפ׳ = (רפה *rafeh*): ניגראה = ניג׳ (= מלעיל in all its usages); דיגרא (= מלרע in all its usages). For a comprehensive list and discussion of the Babylonian Masoretic terminology see I. Yeivin, *Babylonian Masorah*, pp. 54–55: Y. Ofer, *Babylonian Masorah*, pp. 39–59; N. Reich, *Shalshelet*.

3.2.4.2. CONTAMINATION OF MASORAH. In some cases we find a mixture of the Masorah. Some Tiberian codices show a certain degree of Babylonian influence in terminology or even in essence. The best example of sporadic absorption of Babylonian terms is the Tiberian Pentateuch codex London Or. 4445 (see Dotan, *Babylonian Residues*), and isolated cases may be found in other manuscripts too (e.g., the Aleppo codex). The best example of a Tiberian codex where the essence, the very readings, of the Masorah is by nature often Babylonian or close to Baylonian is the Pentateuch codex Gottheil 14 (למ), which was apparently an adaptation of the Babylonian Masorah (see Breuer, *Masorah Magna* למ).

The contamination of Masorah is also found in the opposite direction, where a Babylonian manuscript is mixed with Tiberian Masorah (Tiberianization). The most representative example is the codex Petropolitanus of the Latter Prophets (dated 916).

3.2.5. The Palestinian Masorah

In the texts vocalized in the Palestinian system there are almost no masoretic notes, except for the *qere* notations. In the few fragments where there are masoretic notes, they are the same as in the Tiberian system; most common are the basic terms: ל׳, חס׳, מל׳ (מלי), בט׳, בס׳, דגש and also the letters used for numbers. All of these signs are generally written between the lines above the relevant words, but occasionally also in the margins.

3.2.6. Deviating Versions

3.2.6.1. MADINḤAʾE. Other opinions are also cited in the Masorah. The degree to which they are mentioned obviously depends upon the masorete or transcriber of the manuscript. The most common case is the mention of the Babylonian version מדנחאי (Easterners), as opposed to the מערבאי (Westerners), for example, וּפִנְחָס (1 Sam. 1:3) למערבאי חס׳ למדנחאי מ״ל (= defective according to the Westerners [Palestinians], plene [with *yod*, ופינחס] according to the Easterners [Babylonians]).

3.2.6.2. VERSIONS OF PARTICULAR MASORETES AND MANUSCRIPTS. Some masoretes are even referred to by name in the Masorah, e.g., in the Leningrad manuscript of 1009: Ben-Asher (Dan. 7: 10), Ben-Naphtali (Isa. 44:20), Rav Phinehas Rosh ha-Yeshivah (Job 32: 3), the Tiberians בעלי טבריה (Prov. 3:12). In some manuscripts Moshe Moḥeh and others are mentioned too. In the margins one finds sometimes variants of Biblical manuscripts which served as exemplary models and upon which it was customary to rely. Thus, for example, in the Leningrad manuscript the (רבה) מחזורה רובה is mentioned and in other manuscripts ספר הללי, ספרי אספמיא, and others (the term ספר מוגה does not apparently refer to a specific manuscript). Citing variant versions was intended either to reinforce the version of the text or to bring to the attention of the reader another version which is, in the opinion of the masorete, also worthy of being considered.

3.2.6.3. SEVIRIN. There is another type of variant version which is different from all these in that it is cited in order to be rejected, i.e., in order to prevent possible error by the reader. These variants, which are occasionally more reasonable than the text, are called סבירין, סביר (*sevir, sevirin* = "there are some who believe [that the text is…]"); סבירין ומטעין ("there are those who believe and err [that the text is…]"); and in the Babylonian Masorah דמשתבשין בהון, מיש׳ (= there are some who err in them), דחזי ליה, דחזי (= which fits it [the text] better). For example, הַשֶּׁמֶשׁ יָצָ֣א עַל־הָאָ֑רֶץ (Gen. 19:23): ג׳ סבירין יצאה (in three places יָצָא is written and some think better to read it יָצְאָה; they are not correct and it is not to be read that way). ב׳ סבירין בכל ומטעים: (Ex. 21:30) וְנָתַן פִּדְיֹן נַפְשׁוֹ כְּכֹל אֲשֶׁר יוּשַׁת עָלָיו (in two places some think it should be read בכל instead of ככל and they are wrong). There are also cases where the term מטעים is a warning about a possible error and not a record of a version.

The number of cases of *sevirin* is not uniform and varies from dozens of *sevirin* in some of the older manuscripts to about 350 in later editions (such as the C.D. Ginsburg edition of the Bible). These differences stem from the fact that some manuscripts completely ignore the *sevirin* version in many places, while others bring the errant version, *sevirin*, as *ketiv* and the correct version as *qere*. Although the origin of some of these variants is clearly ancient, it seems that the number of logically possible – but rejected – variants increased with time and the copying of the manuscripts.

3.3 THE MASORAH MAGNA (GEDOLA)

A large part of the notations of the *Masorah Parva*, with the exception of the *qere* notations and the indications of unique forms (ל׳), etc., occur in greater detail in the *Masorah Magna*. In principle the *Masorah Magna* is a detailed explanation and expansion of the *Masorah Parva*; it does, however, contain additional notes, the abbreviations of which do not occur in the *Masorah Parva*.

3.3.0.1 METHOD OF NOTATION. Owing to its length the *Masorah magna* was not written at the side of the text but in either the upper or lower margin of the page, or in both, and, in a few manuscripts, also in the side margins. The *Masorah Magna* is a continuous text of a few lines on every page, and not like the Masora parva where letters and abbreviated words are written opposite the relevant word in the text. However, sometimes there was not enough space on the page and the scribes would leave part of it, especially the long lists, for the end of the book.

The details of the *Masorah Magna* generally include the citation of all the words or parts of the verses which contain a certain form, for which only the number is listed in the *Masorah Parva*: for example: וְנֹחַ (Gen. 6:8) – *Masorah Parva*: ג׳ ר״פ (it occurs three times in this form – with the conjunctive *waw* – at the beginning of a verse); *Masorah Magna*: ונח. ג׳ ר״פ וסי׳ ונח מצא חן (Gen. 6:8), ונח בן שש מאות שנה (Gen. 7:6), ונח דניאל ואיוב (Ezek. 14: 20).

3.3.1. The "Simanim" (Mnemonic Devices)

The detailing of the verses or parts of verses is often introduced by the term וסימנהון (= "and their sign") or its abbreviation, וסי׳, וסימ׳. This term (in addition to its later use for denoting chapters of the Bible) serves mainly to mark the mnemonic devices which the masoretes fixed for remembering the itemized biblical verses. These devices are of various types. Sometimes they are like the devices in the Talmud which are made up of initials. For example, in order to remember the sequence in which the seven nations are listed the masoretes gave various arrangements of initials as *siman*:

כתמפו״ס (Ex. 3:8, 17) = הכנעני והחתי והאמרי והפרזי והחוי והיבוסי
כמתפס״ו (Jos. 11:3) = הכנעני ממזרח ומים והאמרי והחתי והפרזי
והיבוסי בהר והחוי
כתמפס״ג (Neh. 9:8) = הכנעני החתי האמרי והפרזי והיבוסי והגרגשי

Likewise the *siman* for the words וַיְחִי־שֵׁת (Gen. 5:6), *Masorah Magna:* ויחי שת ה׳ בטעם וסי׳ שילנ״ע שת ירד למך נח עבר, i.e., in the generations from Adam to Noah (Gen. 5) and from Noah to Abraham (Gen. 11) only five names occur bearing this accent – *zaqef gadol* – and the mnemonic device for remembering these names is שילנ״ע. The device for listing the daughters of Zelophehad (Num. 26:33 and Jos. 17:3) מוחמ״ו (מחלה ונעה חגלה מלכה ותרצה) is found both in the Tiberian and in the Palestinian *Masorah Magna*, and it is at variance with other *simanim* – מנוו״ו (Num. 27:1), and מתוו״ו (Num. 36:11). Another example: יִבְחָר (Josh. 9:27) – *Masorah Magna*: יבחר ה׳ קמצין בקריאה וסי׳ שלש פעמים בשנה יראה כל זכורך (Deut. 16:16), בבוא כל ישראל לראות את פני (Deut. 31:11), ולמזבח ה׳ עד היום ביהושע (Josh. 9:27), המסכן תרומה עץ לא ירקב (Isa. 40:20), מי זה האיש ירא (Ps. 25:12), וסימ׳ שבז״הם – i.e., יִבְחָר vocalized with *qameṣ* occurs five times in the Bible, and from those five instances we derive the mnemonic (שבז״הם): שלש בבוא ולמזבח המסכן מי

Frequently, however, the mnemonic device is not a set of initials, but a full Aramaic sentence, in which each word represents a verse: Thus, on the word וָטוֹב (1 Sam. 2:26) the *Masorah Magna* reads: וטוב ה׳ קמצין בקריאה וסי׳ ואל הבקר רץ אברהם ויקח בן בקר (Gen. 18:7), והנער שמואל (1 Sam. 2:26), ושמו שאול בחור וטוב (1 Sam. 9:2), וימצאו מרעה שמן (1 Chron. 4:40), הוספת חכמה וטוב (1 Kings 10:7), וסי׳ בלשון תרגום שמואל טליא בחירא רהט ואשכח חכמתא. Namely, the word וָטוֹב vocalized with *qameṣ* is found five times in the Bible, and the substitution of an Aramaic word for each of the five verses (not necessarily in the order of occurrence in the Bible) results in an understandable sentence: שמואל טליא (= הנער שמואל, "the lad Samuel"; 1 Sam. 2:26), בחירא (= בחור "chosen man": 1 Sam. 9:2), רהט (= רץ "ran"; Gen. 18:7), ואשכח (= וימצאו / וימצא , "and he found / and they found"; 1 Chron. 4:40), חכמתא (= חכמה, "wisdom"; 1 Kings 10:7); thus (the *siman* in Aramaic is: "the chosen lad Samuel ran and found wisdom".

This type of *siman* is very frequent and there is more than a bit of sophistry and amusement in it. There are even longer *simanim*, as e.g., the mnemonic for the word לָאוֹר (Micah 7:9) is: צוח סמיא וסבר למיפק בצפרא וקם בלילא (= the blind one called out and hoped to get out in the morning and got up at night). For the word לוֹ (Gen. 17:18) there is a sentence of 22 words, and even longer ones are extant. In some manuscripts devices like these were found even in Arabic (A. Dotan, "Masora in Arabic Translation").

3.3.2. Accumulative Masorah

The most common notations of Masorah Magna, discussed so far, apply to forms of words which occur a number of times in the Bible. There is another type of *Masorah magna* notations which list words that occur only once and which are marked in the *Masorah Parva* by לית. In recent research such lists are termed "Accumulative Masorah" (in Hebrew: מסורה מצרפת), for they list together unique words of a certain common peculiarity, such as a common beginning, e.g., an initial letter *teth*: טֶבְעוּ, טְאֵב, טָרְחֲכֶם, טְמוּנֵי etc.; a common ending, e.g., ־ִיחַ: מַשְׁלִיחַ, מֵגִיחַ, לְהָנִיחַ etc.; a common vocalization, e.g., a *qameṣ* in words starting with *shin*: שָׁאָג, שֻׁדַּד, שְׁלָח, שְׁכָב, שְׁלָשׁ- etc.; or even a common combination of words, e.g., combinations with הארץ: כברת הארץ, ואלהי הארץ, ובכל הארץ, ותעש הארץ etc. Sometimes an Accumulative Masorah may consist of pairs (זוגין) of unique similar words or combination of words differing in only one detail from each other, e.g. words with or without an initial *waw*: נשאתני/ונשאתני, נדמה/ונדמה, נמליך/ונמליך etc.; or e.g., combinations with or without *he* in the second word: אנשי שם/אנשי השם, אשרי איש/אשרי האיש, אחיכם אחד/אחיכם האחד etc.; and many more variations of accumulation of unique words or sometimes even pairs of unique words. The items in these lists may have no definite order or they may be arranged by order of their occurrences in the Bible or alphabetically or by the order of some other principle (A. Dotan, *The Awakening*, pp. 31–44).

3.3.3. The Babylonian Masorah

The Babylonian *Masorah Magna* does not differ from the Tiberian in principle, but it is more limited in scope and methods of expression. In contrast to the Babylonian *Masorah Parva*, which is written in ancient manuscripts, especially in those vocalized with the simple Babylonian vocalization, between the lines, the *Masorah Magna* is recorded in the margins at the sides or the top and bottom. In texts vocalized according to the composite Babylonian system, there was not enough space between the lines; the *Masorah Parva* was written at the sides and the *Masorah Magna* at the top and bottom. In all the periods there were mixed texts, influenced by other vocalization systems, and this influence finds expression in the masoretic notes, in their terminology, and even in their methods of writing. A detailed description is now available in Y. Ofer, *Babylonian Masora.*

3.3.4. The Palestinian Masorah

The Palestinian *Masorah Magna* is even more limited in scope. Its few notes are mainly written in the bottom borders and occasionally at the top, too. The *Masorah Parva* is written in the side margins or between the lines. In its content – terminology and methods of expression – the Palestinian Masorah is closer to the Tiberian than to the Babylonian, although the influence of the Tiberians must be taken into account. In scope it is closer to the Babylonian Masorah and is even shorter than the latter, which is undoubtedly due to its very early date.

3.3.5. Agreement between the Masorah Magna, The Masorah Parva and the Text

In essence the *Masorah Magna* complements the *Masorah Parva* – particularly in the Tiberian Masorah, which has been transmitted to us in sufficient quantity to allow a comprehensive study – and it is entirely logical to expect a fixed relationship between the two, as between any text and its extension. However, only rarely is this the case.

3.3.5.1. LACK OF AGREEMENT. There are many instances where there are notes in the *Masorah Parva* for which there are no counterparts in the *Masorah Magna* and vice versa. Furthermore, sometimes there is disagreement between the masoretic notes and the version in the text itself; for example, one finds occasionally the gloss לית מלא (not found elsewhere *plene*) in the margin, while in the text the word is actually written defectively, without *matres lectionis.*

3.3.5.2. METHODS OF COPYING. These differences between the two Masorahs themselves and between them and the sacred text increased as time passed. In early manuscripts such instances are still rare, but in later manuscripts they become more common. The cause is to be found in the method of copying the manuscripts. The precision was preserved as long as the manuscripts of the Bible text were copied by experts, each one a skilled craftsman – the scribe in the writing of the consonantal text and the learned masorete (המלמד) in the placing of the vowels, the accentuation signs, and the masoretic notes – a division of labor that was maintained generally in the earliest period, the ninth, tenth, and 11th centuries, and perhaps even later. In this way the masorete did his work on a consonantal skeleton which was transcribed for him by an expert scribe. When the consonantal text did not agree in every detail with the Masorah that he followed, he was able to correct the writing (mainly to add or remove *waws* or *yods*). Even so there were discrepancies between the text and the Masorah. For the masoretes, even the most expert, generally did not create the Masorah, but merely transmitted it as they had received it from their forerunners, sometimes adding new notes or amending notes that were inadequate. They undoubtedly used older manuscripts and older lists of Masorah from which they transferred the notes – obviously with deep understanding – onto the new copy in front of them. As the years passed the masoretic material increased by virtue of the innovations and additions of each generation, while the selectiveness of the masoretes became less and less severe. The degree of coordination between the various notes of the Masorah itself and between the Masorah and the text of the Bible decreased as the quantity of the masoretic notes grew. Furthermore, the separation between the two types of notes, the *Masorah Magna* and the *Masorah Parva*, was not maintained and more and more long notes of the type of the *Masorah Magna* were recorded in the margins, the place of the *Masorah Parva*.

3.3.5.3. THE NON-CRYSTALLIZATION OF THE MASORAH. It can be said that there never was one single uniform Masorah. One can assume that the early, great masoretes composed an exact Masorah which fitted a specific text of the Bible. A version like this was, therefore, "the Masorah of so-and-so," but not THE Masorah. Even though no such perfect version is extant, we do know that they existed; for example, the Masorah of Ben-Asher וקאל פי מאסרתה ("and he said in his Masorah"). Versions of this type served as exemplary models for later masoretes, but some of them followed the principle that the more models the better, which ultimately had an unfortunate effect.

3.3.5.4. ORNAMENTATION OF THE TEXT. As time passed copying the text became a less intelligent work, and there were copyists who lacked all understanding of the Masorah, to the extent that some of them used the material of the Masorah for mere ornamentation of the text. They created frames for the text out of the lines of the Masorah; they sketched geometric patterns, pictures of animals in the margins of the pages; they even wrote names, such as the name of the scribe or that of the owner, using masoretic notes as fillers. The masoretic material was not copied to fit each page of text exactly, but according to aesthetic and space criteria. In some places the copyist stopped the copy in the middle of a masoretic note for lack of space, or copied an irrelevant note to fill the space. Manuscripts like these, some of which are most ornate, are worthless for the study of the Masorah.

3.3.6. Jacob ben Ḥayyim ibn Adonijah

3.3.6.1. EDITING AND ARRANGING THE MASORAH. Jacob b. Ḥayyim ibn Adonijah of Tunis (c. 1470–c. 1538) tried to correct this situation. He was employed as a proofreader in the printing house of Daniel *Bomberg in Venice at the beginning of the 16th century. He collected a large number of manuscripts of the Bible and from them edited a new clear version of the Masorah. He corrected the errors in it and adapted it to that text of the Bible which seemed to him to be the most correct version. In addition he arranged most of the notes of the *Masorah Magna* in the alphabetical order of the words to which they are directed and printed them in a lexical list at the end of the Bible. The Masorah of Ben Ḥayyim was printed with the second edition of the Rabbinic Bible published by Bomberg – *Miqra'ot Gedolot*, Venice 1524–25, and it was issued in a scholarly edition by S. Frensdorff, *Die Massora Magna* (Hanover and Leipzig, 1876; repr.: New York, 1968).

3.3.6.2. CROSS REFERENCES. Besides his correction of errors, Jacob b. Ḥayyim's innovation was to introduce cross references for parallel comments and to add the systematic list at the end. This was the first attempt to arrange all the masoretical notes alphabetically.

3.3.6.3. HIS TERMINOLOGY. In this arrangement every alphabetical unit is called a מערכת (*maʿarekhet*) and the whole came to be called מסורה מערכית (*Masorah maʿarakhit*). Ben Ḥayyim himself named the collection at the end מסורה גדולה or מסורה רבתא while for the marginal notations he used the name מסרה or מסורת alone or מסרה אמצעית (middle Masorah; see his introduction, ed. Ginsburg, pp. 82–83). This terminological differentiation, like his systematic arrangement, is unique to Ben Ḥayyim. Yet he was not the first in moving part of the *Masorah Magna* to the end of the text. The early Masorah copyists had already preceded him in that in the ancient manuscripts. They had had to draft long lists for which there was no room on the pages; and so they copied them together at the ends of the books. In the manuscripts, therefore, there was no essential difference between the lists of the *Masorah Magna* on the page and those at the back of the book, but for practical reasons, the lists which were longer and more comprehensive in their content were recorded at the end.

3.3.6.4. THE ACCEPTED TERMINOLOGY. This situation necessitates precision in our concept of the terminology of the Masorah. A differentiation must be made between ancient manuscripts and the codified orderly Masorah of Ben Ḥayyim, which had been for many years the one referred to when one speaks of Masorah. One can say that the *Masorah Magna* is divided into a marginal Masorah and a final Masorah. In the ancient manuscripts the final Masorah includes summation lists, which deal with complete books or sections of books (see below), and long systematic lists of Masorah for which there was no place in the margins. In Ben Ḥayyim's work the final Masorah includes a lexical arrangement of most of the words, discussed in the *Masorah Magna* sometimes with the details of the masoretic notations.

3.3.7. Summary Lists

The summary lists which are at the end of the books (and sometimes at the beginning) are tallies of the verses, the *parashiyyot* (weekly portions) and the *sedarim* of the books and parts of the Bible, and also the totals of words and letters, the mid-point in the count, the quarter point, and so on. In ancient manuscripts there are also general summation lists taken from various sources, like the names of the authors of the books (BB 14b), the chronology of the books ("the number of the years of the books"), a list of the prophets who prophesied about Israel, a list of the 18 emendations of the scribes (תיקוני סופרים; found in different Midrashim), a list of large and small letters in the Bible and other peculiarities, a lists of the *paseqs* (as opposed to the accent *legarmeh*), a list of *pattaḥs* with *ʾetnaḥ* and with *sof pasuq* (instead of the pausal form which requires *qameṣ*) and so on.

3.4. THE INDEPENDENT MASORAH

Fragments of manuscripts were discovered in the Cairo *Genizah* which appear to be remnants of independent works of Masorah; that is, works which contain masoretic notes in the order of the books of the Bible but without an accompanying biblical text. It is possible that these works go back to a very ancient period, perhaps even to the time when it was not permitted to write the Masorah in the margins (see above, 2.2.2.). Such fragments were also discovered of the Babylonian Masorah and a few of the Palestinian Masorah. Some of these works contain topical lists of Masorah, i.e., lists arranged according to specific subjects, like exceptional spellings, specific issues about vocalization, unique words, and so on. One independent work in which the notes do not follow the text of the Bible but are arranged systematically according to topics is *Okhlah we-Okhlah*. This work has the widest scope of all those known to us, comprising almost 400 lists of Masorah. The lists, arranged alphabetically, contain unique words with a common characteristic, or pairs of words which differ from each other in one detail, extraordinary spellings, vocalizations, or accents, and so on. The book gets its name from the first two words of the first list, which enumerates alphabetically pairs of unique words, one occurring with the conjunctive *waw* and the other without it. This list begins with the pair אָכְלָה, וְאָכְלָה. The book was also known to the early scholars by the name of מסורת הגדולה (*Masoret ha-Gedola*), and in Arabic אלמאסרה (*al-māsirah* – the Masorah) by Saadia Gaon in his Grammar book, and אלמאסרה אלכבירה (*al-māsirah al-kabîrah* = the great Masorah) by David ben Abraham al-Fāsî in his dictionary. The name *Okhlah we-Okhlah* is mentioned already by Jonah *Ibn Janāḥ in his dictionary (*Sefer ha-Shorashim*, entry חלך). The book was first published by S. Frensdorff (Hanover, 1864) according to the Paris manuscript; it was published again by F. Díaz Esteban (Madrid, 1975) according to the first part of the Halle manuscript and later by B. Ognibeni (Madrid-Fribourg, 1995) according to the second part of the Halle manuscript. Most of the lists in this book are known from other sources in the marginal Masorah or from independent manuscripts, but here they are more complete and were apparently taken, in part, from an ancient source. However, the work also contains lists from relatively late periods, and it follows that the book is not a uniform work, a fact which can be strengthened by the existence of more than one version of the book. The exact date of its editing has not been established, though there is evidence of its antiquity and it was certainly not edited later than the tenth century.

3.5. THE MASORAH TO TARGUM ONKELOS

Masoretic notes were also appended to Targum *Onkelos, which was considered the official translation of the Torah for the purpose of public reading and which, therefore, also came to be considered sacred to some extent. The purpose of these notes was to preserve the text of the Targum exactly and to achieve precision in the manner of translation from the Hebrew original: which Aramaic roots are used in translating the same Hebrew root, and the number of times that each translation occurs, etc. It counts the words much less than does the biblical Masorah. It does list changes in vocalization and in pronunciation of the Targum and even discrepancies between various versions of translation, such as the Nehardean and Suran, and it takes a position against other possibilities (possible errors, משתבשין, מטעין). Since the main interest of this Masorah was the manner of translation, terms such as דמתרגמין and דמיתרגם (= which is translated) and their abbreviations are quite common. An example is שְׁבוּ (Gen. 22:5): שבו דמתרג׳ אוריכו ג׳ באורי׳ ("שבו is translated אוריכו (= wait, instead of תיבו = sit) three times in the Torah") – שבו לכם פה (Gen. 22:5); שבו לנו בזה (Ex. 24:14); שבו נא בזה (Num. 22:19).

The Masorah notes of the Targum were sometimes written in manuscripts on the margins of the Targum and sometimes in lists in independent works arranged according to the order of the biblical text. The Targum also has a Tiberian Masorah as well as a Babylonian one with Babylonian vocalization. The terminology of this Masorah, whether Tiberian or Babylonian, does not differ much from the terminology of the biblical Masorah.

4. THE DIACRITICAL POINTS

The written Masorah was divided here into two categories (see above, 3.). We have dealt with the first – the notes and the abbreviations which accompany the text externally or are appended to it – Masorah in the narrow sense. We now turn to the second category – the graphemes – i.e., the system of signs (the vowel and accentuation signs) which are added to the letters in order to constitute, together with them, a complete orthographic system including all the information necessary for exact reading and recitation.

Just as the Masorah in the narrow sense began with a relatively few early attempts at abbreviated notes and developed into a large sophisticated system of short and long notes and even complete rules, it can be assumed that the graphemes also had their beginning in a few signs which were most necessary for reading and for distinguishing between similar forms, and only in the end, after long development, became a fully crystallized system of vowel and accentuation signs. For this assumption, in the opinion of many scholars, there is proof in vestiges from the ancient period.

4.1. GRAETZ'S THEORY

According to this opinion, in the period before the invention of vowel signs as they are known, diacritical points were used in Hebrew to distinguish between words which were identical in writing – homographic – but whose pronunciation differed by one vowel. A dot above the word marked the pronunciation with the fuller vowel; a dot under the word noted the pronunciation with the weaker vowel. There are, however, no manuscripts in which there is any trace of these signs, and their very existence is postulated only by the theory of Graetz.

4.1.1. Details of the Proof

4.1.1.1. ANCIENT USAGE OF "MILLEʿEL" AND "MILLERAʿ".
Graetz found in various lists of the Masorah in *Okhlah we-Okhlah* that the terms מלעיל (*milleʿel*) and מלרע (*milleraʿ*) were used, in addition to their regular common meanings, (paroxytone and oxytone), in other meanings as well. These lists (§§ 5, 11, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50) in Frensdorff's edition contain unique homographic pairs which differ in one vowel only. One member of the pair is called *milleʿel* and the other *milleraʿ*. It is evident that these terms do not have a fixed but a changing meaning, and they mark the difference between vowels. Thus the following are so termed:

Milleʿel		Milleraʿ	
אַדֹּן	(Neh. 7:61)	אַדָּן	(Ezra. 2: 59)
אֲמֹר	(Ezek. 25:8)	אֲמָר־	(Prov. 25:7)
בְּמֹעַל	(Neh. 8:6)	בְּמַעַל	(Josh. 22:22)
הַמְשֹׁל	(Jud. 9:2)	הַמְשֵׁל	(Job 25: 2)
לִשְׁבוּיִם	(Isa. 61:1)	לִשְׁבָאיִם	(Joel 4: 8)
קְרָאֻנִי	(Jer. 13:22)	קְרָאַנִי	(Job 4:14)
יְחַיֻּנוּ	(II Kings 7:4)	יְחַיֵּנוּ	(Hos. 6:2)
נֻתַּץ	(Judg. 6:28)	נִתַּץ	(II Chron. 33:3)
נְתָן־	(Gen. 38:9)	נְתַן־	(II Kings 23:11)
זָרֻעַ	(Ps. 97:11)	זֵרוּעַ	(Lev. 11:37)
נָפְלוֹ	(I Sam. 29:3)	נִפְלוֹ	(II Sam. 1:10)

All of these are in list no. 5 in *Okhlah we-Okhlah* (which is also cited in the terminal Masorah in the *Miqraʾot Gedolot* of Jacob b. Ḥayyim, letter *ʾalef*, list no. 24). It can be seen that forms with *qameṣ*, for example, are sometimes called *milleʿel* (נָפְלוֹ, זָרֻעַ, נְתָן-) and sometimes *milleraʿ* (לִשְׁבָאיִם, אֲמָר-, אַדָּן); this is not an indication of a definite marking of the vowel, but only its relation to the vowel which is parallel to it and which can occur in that position. Thus in the list the vowel *o* is called *milleʿel* while the *milleraʿ* is *å* (this Tiberian vowel is parallel to the two types of *qameṣ*, called today *qameṣ gadol* and *qameṣ qaṭan*, but which in the Tiberian pronunciation constituted one vowel quality – see below), *a*, and *e*; the vowel *u* is contrasted to *å, a, e, i*; and the *å* is contrasted to *a, e, i*.

In some lists of pairs of unique homographs the terms signify other constrasts:

Milleʿel		Milleraʿ	
וַיִּחְיוּ	(Ezek. 37:10)	וְיִחְיוּ	(Ezek. 37:9)
בַּחֶרֶט	(Ex. 32:4)	בְּחֶרֶט	(Isa. 8:1)
לַנְּבִאִים	(Jer. 23:9)	לִנְבִאִים	(Amos 2:11)
וַיְעִדֻהוּ	(I Kings 21:13)	וִיעִדֻהוּ	(I Kings 21:10)
וַתְּלַבֵּב	(II Sam. 13:8)	וּתְלַבֵּב	(II Sam. 13:6)
כֶּחָתָן	(Isa. 61:10)	כְּחָתָן	(Ps. 19:6)
וָאֶקְחָה	(Zach. 11:13)	וְאֶקְחָה	(Gen. 18:5)
כָּאֲרָזִים	(Songs 5:15)	כַּאֲרָזִים	(Num. 24:6)
וָבֹקֶר	(Ps. 55:18)	וּבֹקֶר	(Ex. 16:7)

from lists no. 11, 45–50 of *Okhlah we-Okhlah* (ed. Frensdorff).

Here too the forms with a *pattah*, for example, are sometimes called *milleʿel* (וַיִּחְיוּ, בַּחֶרֶט, etc.) and sometimes *milleraʿ* (כַּאֲרָזִים, etc.), and here too it only indicates the relationship to the vowel parallel to it which can possibly occur in that position. Consequently, in these lists, the forms called *milleʿel* are those whose formative letters (ו, ב, כ, ל) have a vowel (a, å, ɛ), in contrast to those forms called *milleraʿ* in which the formative letter has a *šewa* or one of its morpho-phonological substitutes (*u, a, i*).

4.1.1.2. THE DIACRITICAL POINT IN SYRIAC. These uses of the terms *milleʿel* and *milleraʿ* did not seem to Graetz to fit their regular meaning in which they are also used in the lists of the Masorah such as *Okhlah we-Okhlah* (ed. Frensdorff), lists no. 32, 51, 225, 226, 372 and 373. However, this manner of distinguishing between homographs of different pronunciation did exist in Syriac and a dot was used to mark this distinction: a dot above a word (more precisely, above the letter) marked a fuller, stronger pronunciation, and a dot below it marked a finer, weaker pronunciation or even the complete lack of a vowel; thus, for example, the Syriac words עבדא, קטל, מלכא, טבא, הו, הי, הנון, מן, when they are marked with a dot above, their (Eastern) pronunciation is *ʿ^evaḏā*, *qāṭɛl* or *qaṭṭɛl*, *malkā*, *ṭāvā*, *hau*, *hāi*, *hānōn*, *mān*, but when they have a dot beneath them the pronunciation is: *ʿavdā*, *q^eṭal*, *mɛlkā*, *ṭɛbbā*, *hū*, *hī*, *hɛnnōn*, *mɛn*.

4.1.1.3. DEVELOPMENT IN HEBREW. By analogy to Syriac, Graetz reached the conclusion that in Hebrew the terms *milleʿel* and *milleraʿ* also indicated the place of a dot above or below the word, and that they thus served also in Hebrew to mark the "fuller" vowel in contrast with the "weaker" vowel. The nature of the concepts "full" and "weak" and their synonyms have been explained in various ways by different scholars: some of them considered it to be a quantitative concept (long/short – thus Frendsdorff), others a qualitative one (dull, closed/bright, open – Kahle). This distinguishing dot had in Hebrew the additional function of marking contrasts in stress: on the penultimate syllable and on the ultimate one. This last use was not found in Syriac and constitutes therefore an additional development in Hebrew. However, this use too is ancient, being found in older sources of the Masorah: cf. David b. Abraham (middle of the tenth century), *Kitāb Jāmiʿ al-ʾAlfāẓ* (ed. Skoss. vol. 1, p. 185, 1. 149 f.).

Graetz's theory on the source of the terms *milleʿel* and *milleraʿ*, and subsequently as to the origins of the vowel signs in Hebrew, has been unanimously accepted.

4.1.2. Refutation

However, in the entire inventory of Hebrew manuscripts there is not one example of dots above and below to mark such a distinction, especially not the distinction between different vowels. The very existence of these dots is unproven, based on a supposition which itself is open to doubt. The theory assumes diacritical dots which were borrowed from Syriac but which in fact did not remain in Hebrew; only the terms remained. These, however, do not exist and never did exist in the supposed source language, Syriac. One cannot explain the "disappearance" of the diacritical dots from Hebrew by pointing to the full Tiberian vocalization which made them superfluous, for the same process would apply just as well to Syriac, and yet, there the dots remained alongside the vocalization. Furthermore, a single example was discovered in a manuscript in which the point of stress in a word is noted by a dot under the word even on the penultimate syllable (cf. Rabin's comment in *Textus* II, p. 106. n. 11). While it is doubtful whether one can learn about a system from one lone example, clearly such an example can serve as evidence to the contrary.

4.2 MILLEʿEL AND MILLERAʿ

4.2.1. Development of the Usage

4.2.1.1. TONAL MEANING. It is possible to offer a satisfactory explanation for the two meanings without involving non-existent diacritical dots, both for the vocalic and tonal meanings. With regard to the tonal meaning, the use of למעלה, למעלן, למטה, למטן, to indicate earlier and later locations in a continuous text is an ancient usage in Hebrew which goes back to rabbinic Hebrew. This use is rooted in general writing practice and is widespread and accepted in most languages (cf., Eng.: below, above; Fr.: ci-dessous, ci-dessus; Lat.: infra, supra) to note different places in the linear sequence of the written text. These terms were actually begging to be used and in any event are self-evident. Certainly there is no need to revert to the Syriac orthographical customs to explain them.

4.2.1.2. VOCALIC MEANING. The vocalic meaning of *milleʿel/milleraʿ* goes back to an ancient idea concerning the theory of vowels in Hebrew which was stated in the fifth chapter (concerning the vowels) of *Kitāb Faṣīḥ Luġat al-ʿIbrāniyyīn* by *Saadiah Gaon. According to this theory the vowels are arranged as a scale, at the top of which is the *ḥolem* and at bottom the *ḥireq*. Such an arrangement of the vowels fits a certain morphological theory which is not relevant here, and in any event. There were a number of other such arrangements which were based on different principles, as Z. Ben-Ḥayyim has shown. One of them was based on the phonetic principle of the origins of the vowels *o*, *u*, *å*, *a*, *ɛ*, *e*, *i*. The vowels are arranged as a scale (from the top to the bottom): each vowel is above (*milleʿel*) those which follow it and below (*milleraʿ*) those which precede it. Thus *qameṣ* is *milleraʿ* in relation to *ḥolem* and *šuruq*, and *milleʿel* in relation to *pattaḥ*, *ṣere*, and *ḥireq; pattaḥ* is *milleraʿ* in comparison to *qameṣ* and *milleʿel* in comparison to the *šewa* and its alternates. The vocalic use of the terms *milleʿel* and *milleraʿ* which is also undoubtedly ancient, can thus be explained.

4.2.1.3. CONNECTION BETWEEN THE MEANINGS. Which meaning of this pair of terms preceded the other is still difficult to establish; it is possible that there is a connection between them by way of homographic pairs, such as, וְנִקְּתָ֫ה (Num. 5:28) / וְנִקָּ֫תָה (Isa. 3:26), which appear in the *ḥad milleraʿ we-ḥad milleʿel* list of pairs (*Okhlah we-Okhlah*, list no. 51). Although the reference in this list is to the tonal meaning of the terms, in this specific pair the vocalic sense would also be applicable.

4.2.2. The Babylonian Terms

The terms ניגרא and דיגרא (of doubtful etmyology), which are used in the Babylonian Masorah as parallel to *milleʿel* and *milleraʿ*, have a tonal meaning, that is, paroxytone and oxytone. Yeivin (*The Hebrew Language Tradition as Reflected in the Babylonian Vocalization*, pp. 246–53) cites additional occurrences of the Babylonian terms with different meanings (some of them doubtful) but none of these cases exhibits a vocalic meaning parallel to the Tiberian terms (Yeivin, p. 253).

4.2.3. The Parallel Usage of Qameṣ and Pattaḥ

However, in place of the pair of terms *milleʿel* and *milleraʿ* in the vocalic sense, the terms קמץ and פתח are used. This use is found in a manuscript (published by Ginsburg, *The Massorah*, 2 (1883), 310–311, §§ 606a, 606b) in which there are two versions of the list of Masorah which appears in a fuller and more precise form also in *Okhlah we-Okhlah* (§5). Instead of the terms *milleʿel* and *milleraʿ* the terms *qameṣ* and *pattaḥ* are used: there they are not the names of specific vowels but are used in a relative sense like *milleʿel* and *milleraʿ*: i.e., a more contracted (קמוץ) vowel versus a more open (פתוח) vowel.

4.3. RELATIVE NOTATION

4.3.1. Vowels

This use of the terms *qameṣ* and *pattaḥ* belongs to a most ancient period in which they did not as yet serve to note definite vowels. The vestiges of this use, both of the terms *qameṣ* and *pattaḥ* and the terms *milleʿel* and *milleraʿ*, indicate that in the period which preceded the invention of vowel signs a system of relative notation of vowels was followed. In a period when no vowel notation existed it was necessary to indicate the vowels which distinguish between homographs, generally in homographic pairs. There was, however, no need for a complicated system of terms (and there is no evidence for signs); a relative distinction was sufficient: a vowel higher in the scale of vowels (further back in pronunciation), more closed, in contrast to the other possibility, lower, more open.

4.3.2. Accents

This custom of relative notation and marking also existed apparently for the accentuation signs; the vestiges of relative terms like אוקומי, which marks a major disjunctive, may serve as an indication. It is possible that the terms שידיא (not שיריא; see N. Reich, *Shalshelet*) and ניגרא (when used as an accent's name), and others, had this connotation: it is even possible that the origin of the accentuation signs was in signs which had a relative meaning only (see below). In summation: among the Hebrew vocalization signs there are no diacritical dots of the type which were used in Syriac, and it is doubtful if there ever were. The only signs known in Hebrew are the defined marks of vocalization and accentuation.

5. VOCALIZATION AND ACCENTUATION

There are three graphic systems of vocalization and accentuation for Hebrew: Palestinian, Babylonian, and Tiberian. There is no imperative connection between the pronunciation traditions in Hebrew and the graphic systems which were used; one graphic system is not necessarily specific to one of the traditions of pronunciation, and therefore a certain tradition of pronunciation is not necessarily limited to one system of notation. One can assume, though, that each one of the systems developed against the background of one defined tradition of pronunciation. Only graphic systems are relevant to this discussion since they are part of the development of the written Masorah (but see *Pronunciations of Hebrew).

The vocalization and accentuation signs in each system constitute a complete indivisible set of graphemes to guide the reader in exact reading, including not only the correct pronunciation of the words but also the correct intonation of the verses and, as pointed out above, precise cantillation. This being the case, the accentuation and vocalization will be treated together in each one of the systems. The period in which punctuation began has already been discussed above (2.2) and, as has been stated, it is not possible to establish exact dates. However, the postulate of a relative date for each of the systems in relation to the other two has been accepted. The Tiberian system is the most sophisticated and complete in the items which it transmits, and there is no doubt that, in the state in which it is known, it is the most recent (for details, see below). Most scholars tend to believe that the Palestinian is the older of the other two systems. However, since these two systems developed in different countries, Babylonia and Palestine, and since at the beginning of their development there was no contact between them, and since the signs differ in the two systems (letters in the Babylonian and dots in the Palestinian), it is impossible to arrive at a definite decision in this question on the basis of the data available today. In line with the generally accepted opinion the Palestinian system is discussed first; however, this is not meant to indicate a view on the relative dating of the systems.

5.1. THE PALESTINIAN SYSTEM

5.1.0.1. THE TERM. This system is so named because many of the texts in which it is used show signs of Palestinian origin (mainly the *piyyutim*). The term נקוד ארץ ישראל is already found in *Maḥzor Vitry* (ed. Hurwitz, Nuremberg (1923), 462) in the commentary on *Avot* attributed to Jacob b. Samson (12th century) of France; however there is no proof that this term refers to the system called Palestinian.

5.1.0.2. THE STATE OF TRANSMISSION. The Palestinian is not a crystallized system. Almost every one of the manuscripts has a number of individual and characteristic traits with regard to the use of signs. It is possible to point to the common and similar aspects but not to all the deviations of each manuscript. For what we find in the manuscripts is actually a system in development. Scholars endeavor to fix the date of a text on the basis of the degree of progress shown by the use of the signs in it: the oldest manuscripts (apparently from the eighth century) have generally very few signs, sometimes no more than one or two for a word and sometimes not even that; and even the latest of them never reach the stage of fully marking each vowel and its nuances, as is the case in the Tiberian system.

5.1.0.3. TYPES OF TEXTS. In this matter a distinction must be made between texts of the Bible, at times including an Aramaic translation, as opposed to texts of **piyyut*. The amount of vocalization is generally fuller in the latter, while the biblical texts, which had a strong tradition of reading, have relatively fewer vocalization signs but many accentuation signs. It seems that the precise cantillation was likely to trouble the educated reader more than the pronunciation of the biblical words. Therefore, vowel signs in ancient biblical texts are mainly in places where there was room for error in the reading and at points where the orthography allowed different pronunciations. When the spelling is plene, with *waw* or *yod*, one almost never finds vowel signs in ancient manuscripts.

Additional evidence of the fluency of the reader of the Bible text is offered by the סירוגין (intermittences) texts. These are manuscripts written in a system of abbreviation in which generally only the first word of every verse is written in full and of the rest only the important words, or those which cause problems, are indicated by one or there letters of each with the vowel or accentuation sign, or both, as a mnemonic device. Manuscripts of *serugin* are already mentioned in the Talmud (e.g., Git. 60a). and Rashi certainly saw examples of them, for he comments: "At the beginning of the text [= the verse] was written the full word and at the end initials." It is clear that these texts of *serugin* with the vowel and accentuation signs served as an aid to the reader when he read from a text complete but unvocalized (because of its sanctity), and to the reader or copyist who knew the text by heart and needed only a few reminders.

As time passed this high standard of knowledge declined and more notations were needed. This need is also evidenced in the later manuscripts where there are more signs and by the fact that in some of the manuscripts signs were added by a second hand. Sometimes there is evidence that signs were added by a third and fourth hand, depending on the transfer of the manuscript to owners whose knowledge of reading was less developed. For that reason there are many Palestinian manuscripts which contain vocalization by several hands, into which signs of other vocalization systems, with more detailed notation, have been mixed (see below, 5.5).

5.1.1. The Vowel Signs

In the presentation and explanation of the signs one must refrain as much as possible from drawing parallels with the Tiberian system, at least as long as the influence of this system or the Tiberian tradition of pronunciation is not being discussed, since at times the signs are anchored in a different reading tradition, i.e., with different grammar, and the comparison is likely to give a distorted impression. The values of each sign will therefore be described by phonetic signs, out of a desire to be faithful – as much as it is possible today – to their original pronunciation. The presentation is schematic, deviations of details, even quite numerous, are neglected for the sake of clarity.

5.1.1.1. THE SIGNS. The following are the vowel signs (they are located above the letter and a little to the left of it) and reference here is to quality only. There is no marking for quantity (length) in this system.

מ֔ = *i*. This is the only sign which has hardly any changes in form or meaning in the different manuscripts.

מ֒ or מ֞ = *e* in all its nuances. The first sign is the most common and in the ancient manuscripts it is used exclusively, but there are manuscripts in which both signs are used side by side without distinction. In individual, relatively late manuscripts there is a distinction or the beginning of a distinction, apparently through the influence of the Tiberian system, so that מ֞ parallels *ṣere* and מ֒ parallels *segol* and sometimes mobile *šewa* as well.

מ̄ or מ̍ = *a* in all its nuances (if it did really have different nuances). In the ancient manuscripts the two signs are used side by side with precisely the same meaning. In some relatively late manuscripts there is a distinction, apparently through the influence of the Tiberian system, so that מ̄ is parallel to *pattaḥ* and מ̍ parallels the Tiberian *qameṣ* in all its variations, even in a position where it parallels in certain traditions (such as the Sephardi and apparently the Palestinian) not *a* but *o*. A *qameṣ* of the latter type is marked in ancient texts by the sign for the vowel *o* (מ֘). The transition stage between the original use of the signs and this completely "Tiberianized" usage can be found in a number of manuscripts in which one can see the beginning of Tiberian influence. They evidence a tendency to use those signs as parallels to the Tiberian *pattaḥ* and *qameṣ*, whose value was therefore *a*, and also – and this applies especially to the sign מ̍ – as parallels to the *qameṣ* pronounced in other traditions, as stated above, with a nuance of *o* ("*qameṣ qaṭan*"). This Tiberian influence is not necessarily in regard to pronunciation, i.e., that the sign expresses in effect the same pronunciation as the signs מ̄, מ̍, מ֘, but is mainly a graphic analogy, that is, the sign מ̍ (in the main) parallels the Tiberian sign ◌ָ in all of its pronunciations, and one cannot deduce anything regarding a change in the pronunciation of the Palestinian text.

מ̈ = *o* in all its nuances. In relatively late texts, which were under the Tiberian influence, the vowel *o*, which paralleled the Tiberian *qameṣ* in a closed, unstressed syllable ("*qameṣ qaṭan*" and others like it) was removed from the range of this sign. Kahle's supposition that this sign marks the vowel *u* in exceptional manuscripts is not proven, for it seems that there we have a different realization of the phoneme *u*, that is, a different pronunciation of the form (for example רֹחֹצת, Ezek. 16:4, does not necessarily show the pronunciation to be as the Tiberian רֻחַצְתְּ, but rather רֹחַצְתְּ, a form which is incidentally found in the Babylonian tradition, and before *reš* in the Tiberian tradition, for example קֹרַצְתִּי, Job 33:6).

מ̈ (and in individual mss. מ̈) = *u*. There are a number of instances, especially in *piyyutim*, of the use of this sign in place of the Tiberian *ḥolem*. However, that is no proof that the sign marked the vowel *o*. It seems more likely that there is here a different realization of the phoneme *u* under specific conditions. Therefore, it represents differences in the pronunciation tradition and not differences in notation. There is evidence for the allophonic realization, although not strictly parallel, of the phonemes of the back vowels also from other pronunciation traditions, such as the Samaritan tradition (which is Palestinian as well) in which, as Z. Ben-Ḥayyim has demonstrated, *ŏ* is an allophone of *ū* in closed syllables. Therefore there was no need to distinguish graphically between the two vowels (see below 5.6.); and as much is evident, although less consistently, from the Greek transcriptions of biblical Hebrew, from Galilean Aramaic, and from mishnaic Hebrew, in which, equally, as E.Y. *Kutscher has shown, *o* is an allophone of *u* (apparently, mainly short unstressed).

There is no sign for the *šewa* and when there is a sign in a place where we would expect *šewa* – though in most cases there is no sign – it is always a sign of one of the vowels (mostly *e* or *a*).

5.1.1.2. HISTORY OF THE SYSTEM. The Palestinian system is basically phonematic and it does not make finer distinctions than to note the five cardinal vowels, at least in its most ancient stage as known to us. There are no nuances of vowels and no notation of quantity. Yet one cannot ignore the fact that six signs are used to denote the five vowels. That is, there are two signs of equal value to mark *a*. (The two signs for the noting of *e* are, as stated, the product of a relatively later stage). This is unimaginable in a primitive, economic graphic system such as this. Dietrich's attempt to account for the duplication by reasons of calligraphy (מׅ only above *lamed*, מ̄ above the other letters) agrees neither with the manuscripts nor with the manner of this system in notation (compare the clear and definite distinction between מׅ and מ̇. One cannot escape the conclusion that the signs of the Palestinian system were not used, in the manuscripts which came down to us, in their original function. In their original employment there were of necessity two different vowels, probably *å* and *a*, designated by two different signs. For this reason only, two distinct signs were fixed. However, no vestiges have remained from this period, or from this use of the signs. The system was adopted by vocalizers whose tradition of pronunciation did not distinguish between the two vowels (exactly as occurred afterwards with the Tiberian vocalization), and they used the two signs indiscriminately. The original Palestinian system, which we do not have, was therefore not similar to the Sephardi tradition of pronunciation but was closer to the Tiberian tradition. It was closer, but not however identical; for in its original form it had only one *e* vowel and not two. Thus it was a tradition of pronunciation which had six vocalic qualities, as opposed to the Tiberian tradition which had seven qualities and the Sephardi which had five. The influence of the Tiberian tradition upon relatively later texts of the Palestinian system is, therefore, something of a restoration of the original situation, at least with regard to the signs מׅ and מ̄.

5.1.2. The Diacritical Signs

In addition to the vowel signs there are also a number of diacritical marks to distinguish between different pronunciations of the same letter. These marks occur in the Palestinian texts with even less frequency than the vowel signs.

5.1.2.1. ŠIN-SIN. To distinguish between the two pronunciations of the ש, the marks שֽ, שׁ̈, ש̑, שׁ, ·ש are used for *šin*, and in contrast to them שׂ, שׂ, שׂ, שׂ, שׂ are used for *sin*; in addition, mostly in the texts of *piyyutim*, there is yet another sign for *sin*, ש֗, with its variations ש֗, ש֗, which has no counterpart in a sign for *šin*. In the other texts, too, in most of the places where there is a sign to distinguish between the two pronunciations, it indicates the sin alone.

5.1.2.2. MAPPIQ AND DAGEŠ. The last sign mentioned, with its variations (–, –, –), is not specifically a sign to mark *sin*, but a general diacritical mark which serves to distinguish between different pronunciations of the same letter. Thus, it is also used to mark the consonantal pronunciation of a letter which may also be quiescent, mostly consonantal *he* (גֹּובה֗), not only for the *he* with *mappiq* at the end of a word (כׅפיה֗, sometimes also the consonantal *waw* (ועֲנו֗תךׅ) and the consonantal *ʿalef* ([נאׅל֗]מה). In addition, though in fewer instances, it denotes a *dageš*, originally only the geminative *dageš* (*ḥazaq, forte*) and later, perhaps under Tiberian influence, also the explosive *dageš* (*qal, lene*). It is also found at times even in places where the Tiberian vocalization is likely to have the *dageš* of *ʾate meraḥiq* (or *deḥiq*; ראׅוך מׅים, ניכללה לו); it is marked, according to Levias, even in the last letter of the first word (חׅנה֗ בה). It is infrequently used in an exceptional manner, as a *dageš* at the beginning of a syllable which was preceded by a syllable that ended with a laryngeal (*ḥ* or *ʿ*), such as ואׅחמ֗ל, a use which is found at times also in manuscripts in the Tiberian system (with a *dageš* sign).

5.1.2.3. RAFEH. The opposite of the above signs is –̂, which is apparently a development of ⁼ in which form it is also found sometimes (and it is thereby close to the Tiberian *rafeh* sign). This sign denotes the opposite of the *dageš*, both *lene* and *forte*, especially where there is the possibility of error in the reading and there is need to emphasize the lack of *dageš*. In a few manuscripts this sign is used mainly in its ancient form (–̄) to cancel extra *waws* and *yods* in the *scriptio plene* of the *piyyutim*, and in its later rounded form (–̑) also to note quiescent *ʾalef* in biblical manuscripts. Because of this it is difficult to accept the opinion (of Kahle and others) that in a few manuscripts where this sign occurs above the letters *waw, he, ḥet*, and *ʿayin* it marks precisely their consonantal pronunciation (i.e., consonantal *waw*, and *he, ḥet*, and *ʿayin* which did not become silent). With regard to the *h*, *ḥ*, and *ayin* there are only a few examples and at least a part of them allow for a different explanation. As to the letter *waw,* on the face of it the sign refers to a consonantal pronunciation. However, one should not consider the sign's purpose to mark consonantal pronunciation, which is the opposite of its meaning in all of its other contexts, but rather as a sign which indicates the *rafeh* pronunciation of the *waw* [*v*], actually just like a fricative (*rafeh*) ב, namely, ו̑ = ב̑. This indeed was the pronunciation of the *waw* by Palestinians according to the testimony of Mishael b. Uzziel (*Kitāb al-Khulaf,* ed. Lüpschitz, 20; similar indirect evidence in David b. Abraham, *Kitāb Jāmiʿ al-ʾAlfāẓ*, ed. Skoss, 2 (1945), 451 and likewise in other sources). Emphasis like this of the pronunciation of *waw* by the sign –̑ is likely to serve as a counter-direction for the Babylonian pronunciation of the *waw* as [*w*], a pronunciation which is also attested to by Mishael b. Uzziel, or perhaps it was a counter-direction to the consonantal plosive pronunciation of the *waw* as [*b*], a pronunciation which was common in Palestine itself, though by the Samaritans.

Alongside of the sign –̚ and its variants for the noting of a pronounced consonant, a dot under *he* (ה̣) is used in some biblical texts – and in a few isolated manuscripts a dot in the *he* itself (הּ) as in the Tiberian system – to note the consonantal nature of the *he*, apparently already through Tiberian influence.

In summation, unlike the relative consistency of the vocalic notation, there was relatively little uniformity in the diacritical marks of the Palestianian system. This is quite natural, since all that was needed was a distinguishing sign, and not necessarily an agreed one, to indicate the other possible pronunciation, generally, the less frequent one, of the letter: *šin* versus *sin*, consonantal, *waw* and *yod*, consonantal *he*, etc.

5.1.3. The Accentuation Signs

5.1.3.1. FORMATION AND CHRONOLOGY. The accentuation signs are apparently more ancient than the other two types of signs, and anyhow older than the vowel signs (some reasons advanced in 1.3.3.). This is substantiated by perhaps the most decisive proof: the use of a single isolated dot to mark some of the accentuation signs. In the notation of the vowels and among the other diacritical marks the single dot is not used at all. It stands to reason that the single dot was already used for another purpose, for the notation of accents.

In addition to this, most of the signs in the oldest extant manuscripts of the Bible are accentuation signs and only here and there is a vowel sign inserted; obviously, one reason – among others – is that the correct punctuation and cantillation of the biblical text posed a more serious problem for the reader than the pronunciation. On the other hand, the set of accentuation signs differs from that of the vowel signs in that it is less uniform, and less governed by rules. It is difficult to generalize from all of the biblical manuscripts, or even the majority of them, that a specific accentuation sign was always used for the same purpose. This means that different signs were used to mark the same accent in different manuscripts – a situation which does not exist among the vowel signs. It follows that what we have is a set of accentuation signs along different stages of development, and we possess neither any manuscript nor any set of accentuation signs about which we can state with certainty that it is the ultimate stage of development, i.e., *the* set of Palestinian accentuation signs.

In spite of this, one may yet claim that the vowel signs are older than the accentuation signs, since the vowel signs are already fixed and uniform even in the most ancient manuscripts, while the accentuation signs are seen to be continually changing in the manuscripts. This claim, though, is only apparently valid. According to this supposition the abstention from the use of the single dot in vocalization would be unimaginable, since it is a diacritical mark which is just waiting to be used and is quite natural (as found in the writing systems of other languages). Furthermore, the double usage of a few signs, such as –̈, –̄, –̍, which mark both vowels and accents, would not be understandable.

It seems that the two sets of signs had two cycles of growth: (a) the growth cycle of the accentuation signs (the older) in the biblical text; (b) the growth cycle of the vowel signs (relatively later) in non-biblical texts, mainly in *piyyutim*. The essential difference between the two types of texts, with the different nature of the demands that each made on the reader, as well as the different expectations of the reader from each type of text, evidently brought about the divergent crystallization of the two sets of signs.

(a) The Bible was the first text which required additional signs as reading aids. Chronologically their addition may have preceded even the beginnings of the ancient *piyyut*. These aids consisted only of the most primitive, simple mark – the single dot – and their function was to guide the educated reader, who was generally fluent in the pronunciation of the words, as to the manner of punctuation and cantillation of the verses. However, this notation did not necessarily have to be unequivocal, since, as is well known, the accentuation signs in the more developed systems, too, are relative, i.e., they designate the measure of pause in one place in a verse in relation to a greater or smaller measure of pause in another place in the same verse. It follows that in the highly developed accentuation systems (not in the Palestinian) each accentuation sign denotes the relativeness of the punctuation. Yet one need not assume that this rule necessarily held in earliest times. It seems likely, and there is evidence for it, that one specific sign served to mark pauses of different strength (see for example the many uses of the sign −̣ precisely in the most ancient manuscripts). In the most primitive system it was sufficient, therefore, to note the very fact that there is a pause, without necessarily indicating its degree; for that purpose there was no imperative need for a uniform set of signs (cf. the section on diacritical signs – 5.1.2. – which also did not necessarily have to be uniform, for the same reason). It is only natural that scribes would not consider themselves bound to a specific set of signs, even an older and more prestigious one, and that they improvised and varied the notation system. As time passed they added signs, to indicate differences and note the degrees of the pause. They also did not refrain from using the double dot and the line, which are more complex forms, and which in part had in the meantime been fixed for other functions in the cycle of non-biblical texts.

(b) The other growth cycle of signs occurred in non-biblical texts, the *piyyut*. Here, too, additional signs were needed as reading aids. The main problem with *piyyut* was however not in the punctuation, but in the actual reading of relatively new texts, which had not been handed down from generation to generation but had recently been written in a difficult language not always understood by the reader. Here a system of vowel signs was imperative, and had to be, by its very nature and for its main purpose, unequivocal: each sign had to have, at least originally, only one function and only one meaning, so that it should note only one vocalic quality (or, to be more precise, one range of a set of vocal nuances which the reader felt to be one vowel – in other words: a phoneme). At the time that these signs were fixed for the vowels – six signs (to denote six qualities; see above, 5.1.1.2.) – they were apparently free of any other significance even in the area of accentuation. These signs remained unchanged, except for slight variations (מ̈, מ̇), without the slightest deviation in function, except for changes which took place following modification in the tradition of pronunciation (מ̄, מ̍, cf. above, 5.1.1.1.).

Alongside this stability and regularity in the use of the vowel signs there arose in the growth cycle of the biblical texts, sets of accentuation signs which were relatively "free": as they developed and more signs were added, no attention was paid to the other growth cycle, in which rules had already been established concerning the vowel signs. As long as the two systems were not mixed no difficulties were encountered, but when the punctuators of biblical texts added vowel signs to the Bible they sometimes found themselves forced to use vowel signs which had in the meantime come to be used as accentuation signs in the system which they followed. This is the source of the duplicate use of a few signs in some of the biblical texts.

5.1.3.2. THE (21) PROSE BOOKS. The identification of the Palestinian accent signs with Tiberian equivalents should perhaps *prima facie* be avoided, as was the case with the vocalization signs. However, with regard to the actual division of the verses of the Bible there are, in general, no major differences between Palestinian manuscripts and the Tiberian text; therefore in this case the Tiberian terminology can be used to identify the accentuation signs. This will, however, be done only after the presentation (independent of the Tiberian system) of the function of each sign.

5.1.3.2.1. Disjunctives. The largest disjunctive which separates a verse from the one which follows it (henceforth D$_1$) is in most cases not marked at all. The external technical marks (generally two dots – a colon) are sufficient to note the end of a verse. In the few instances where the end of a verse is indicated by an accentuation sign, use is made of the basic sign – the single lower dot מ̣, which also notes a number of other pauses. It denotes the main divider of a verse into two, its prelude accent, the divider of the first half of the verse and, placed in different positions, the single dot also indicates a number of other accents.

This can be presented in a schematic way approximately as follows:

An average verse is generally divided into a main division by מ̣ (henceforth D$_2$, with the function of *ʾetnaḥ*), its prelude accent (henceforth D$_{2p}$, in the function of *ṭippeḥa* and identical with D$_{1p}$) being מ̣. This main disjunctive, D$_2$, is also missing at times, yet less frequently than the last disjunctive in the verse, D$_1$. Generally, however, the scribes show a great degree of consistency with the notation of the prelude accent of both of them, D$_{1p}$, D$_{2p}$ (henceforth D$_{1-2p}$). In some manuscripts instead of the lower dot of D$_2$ the sign מַ or מ̇ or, in the Tiberianized texts, מ̭, is used. Instead of the dot of the prelude accent D$_{1-2p}$, which occurs in a number of texts also inside the letter, מּ, the sign מַ or מ͔ is found in some texts; i.e. in the function of *ṭippeḥa-ʾetnaḥ*, מַ–מ occur in some manuscripts, and in others מַ–מ͔, while in others מ̇–מ̣ instead of the most common pair מ̣–מ̣ or מ–מ̣.

A secondary division of each one of the two parts remaining after the first division (henceforth D$_4$ – the function of the *zaqef*) is sometimes also noted by a lone dot above the word מ̇, but in some manuscripts a specific sign was used for this מ̍, and in certain others not necessarily Tiberianized ones – even מ̇̇. Yet even in the manuscripts in which the sign is מ̇ and is identical with the main pausal form, D$_2$, it is easy to distinguish between them with the aid of the prelude accent (henceforth D$_{4p}$ – the function of *pašta*) which always has the same form מ̈, irrespective of the form of the major disjunctive D$_4$.

When the first part of the verse is very long it is likely to be divided by a special major disjunctive (henceforth D$_3$ – with the function of *segol*) which is generally noted by a single dot above the word, מ̇. In a number of manuscripts it had a special place set aside for it, above the word and to the left, that is, as a postpositive sign ˙מ, or as a single lower dot מ̣. The prelude accent D$_{3p}$ (with the function of *zarqaʾ*) is also a postpositive sign in the form of ʹמ or ,מ, sometimes identical with its major disjunctive, ˙מ, and sometimes occurring as a sublinear point .מ or מ̣.

When there is a need for an additional division in the domain of the prelude accent D$_{1-2p}$ the accent adjacent to it will be מֶ, and in one manuscript מׅ (henceforth D_{1-2pD} – with the function of the *tevir*).

An additional division larger than the prelude accents in the domain of the accents D_3, D_4, D_{1-2p} is designated by D_5, (with the function of *revia*ʿ) which was marked מ̄ or מׄ or מ֗. The domain of this accent and the domain of the prelude accents D_{3p}, D_{4p}, D_{1-2p} are likely to be subdivided by a series of accents of lesser pausal strength which have various forms, and they are (in the order of their frequency and their increasing pausal strength): מ֜ or מ֝ or מ֗ (a sort of *gereš*), ׳מ or מ֭ or ˙מ (a sort of *munaḥ legarmeh*), מ̈ or מ֬ or מ֩ (a sort of *teliša*ʾ *gedola*), מ֬ or מ̆ or ״מ or מ̆ or ˙מ (a sort of *pazer*). All of these signs have similar functions, and it is difficult to establish with certainty their Tiberian parallels, both because of the lack of consistency of marking them and because of the possibilities of interchange among them even within the "precise" Tiberian system itself. Furthermore, particularly with regard to these accents, which are low in their pausal strength, the penetration of Tiberian influence can be recognized, such as מ֡ (similar to *pazer*) and מ֠ (similar to *teliša*ʾ). On the other hand, it is difficult to establish with certainty the origin of some of the signs, of which at least a number may be thought, to the same degree, to have originated in the Palestinian system and from there moved to the Tiberian. This theory is offered as a supposition for some of the signs which are parallel to *teliša*ʾ *gedola* and to *pazer*, but seems almost certainly correct for the sign parallel to *gereš* (מ֝ or מ֜).

5.1.3.2.2. Conjunctives. While the marking of the disjunctive accents was never complete and words which require a pause are quite often found without a pausal sign, the necessary joining of words was never marked regularly but only in relatively rare instances. The sign for joining is either a dot between words (מ · מ) or, infrequently, a short, small slanted stroke (מ ⁄ מ) and is independent of the nearby pausal accents. This marking for joining of words is quite random; sometimes it appears to point up the need for connection, but one cannot always find an explanation for it. It occurs both in positions which in the Tiberian system would have a conjunctive accent (*mešaret*: lit. servant) and in those which would have a *maqqaf.* It is doubtful however whether one can consider it an accentuation sign in the full sense of the word. There is only one exception to the above: in a number of manuscripts the sign מ̱ is specifically used for words which in the Tiberian system have the conjunctive accent *teliša*ʾ *qeṭanna*. It is possible that this mark is the beginning of the emergence of a conjunctive accent, i.e., a sign which indicates not only the punctuation, but also a specific melody. However, this is by no means certain since the sign also occurs in positions where a slight pause might be called for according to the context. Thus, even this mark may be no more than a pausal accent, albeit a very slight one, which corresponds to a conjunctive accent in the Tiberian system. This is not true of the sign מ֥, which occurs with great consistency in one manuscript and corresponds there to the Tiberian conjunctive *merk̲a*. Other signs such as מְ, מ֬ have no fixed function in isolated manuscripts and it is difficult to draw conclusions concerning them.

The Palestinian system is also the most primitive of all the systems in that the marks are not placed over the stressed syllable; that is, one of the three functions of the accents had not yet been developed in it. This use of the accentuation signs did not reach even the texts which were already influenced by the Tiberian system. It is, however, customary in the סירוגין (intermittences; see also 5.10.3) texts where the accent is naturally marked on the single letter which represents the word, which is usually a letter of the stressed syllable. (Concerning the use of the Tiberian signs within the Palestinian system, especially in the domain of conjunctives, see below, 5.5.)

The names of the accents in the Palestinian system are not known and there is no way of connecting the names known to us from various masoretic notes with them.

5.1.3.3. THE (3) POETICAL BOOKS. The accentuation signs for Psalms, Proverbs, and Job are very rare in the Palestinian system and occur in very few manuscripts. The following are the signs and their functions in verse division.

5.1.3.3.1. Disjunctives. The major disjunctive, which separates one verse from the next (D_1), is never marked. If it has a prelude accent (D_{1p}), it is marked מ֜. The verse itself may be divided into a main division (D_2) by מׄ and sometimes also by מ֔ (with the function of ʿ*ole we-yored*), the prelude of which is מ֜ on the first word (D_{2p1} with the function of *revia*ʿ *qaṭan*) or מ֗ or מ֭ on the second word (D_{2p2} with the function of *ṣinnor*). However, in most instances, since the verses are short, they are not divided by the major disjunctive (D_2), but by the smaller disjunctive (D_3) which is marked מׄ (with the function of ʾ*etnaḥ*), the prelude accent (D_{3p}) of which is מׅ (with the function *deḥi*). The disjunctive D_3 is sometimes marked also מׅׄ, apparently when there is no prelude accent D_{3p} preceding it. Even when D_3 divides the verse it is noted only infrequently in the manuscripts because it is self-evident, both from the arrangement of the text (generally there is a space in the line at the point of the main division) as well as from the notation of the prelude accent D_{3p}, which announces a D_3 even when it is not marked (see above concerning the omission of D_1). A major disjunctive within the domain of D_2 and D_3 is D_4 which is marked as מ֜ (with the function of *revia*ʿ *gadol*). This sign is therefore common to D_{1p}, D_{2p1} and D_4 and thus parallels the three *revia*ʿ*s* of the Tiberian system: *revia*ʿ *mugraš, revia*ʿ *qaṭan*, and *revia*ʿ *gadol*, respectively. Additional signs, occurring infrequently, with the function of minor disjunctives are: מ֔ (as *mahpak̲ legarmeh*), מׄ (with the function of ʾ*azla*ʾ *legarmeh*) and once מ֗ (perhaps with the function of *pazer*). A sign similar to the last or מ֗ (or perhaps מ֓) denotes on one occasion a disjunctive (with the function of *šalšelet gedola*).

5.1.3.3.2. Conjunctives. The connection between the words is marked even less consistently in the poetical books than in the other 21 books of the Bible. However, when it is marked, a dot between the words in the middle of the line is used (מ · מ) and sometimes also a dot is added above the first word (מ · מׄ). This sign is not dependent on the context of disjunctives, except for ·מׄ֒ which is specifically used for words that have in the Tiberian system a conjunctive *mahpaḵ* (cf. above, the sign of the *mahpaḵ legarmeh*). In one place it is possible that מׄ serves as the parallel of the Tiberian conjunctive *šalšelet qeṭanna*.

5.2. THE BABYLONIAN SYSTEM

5.2.0.1. THE TERM. This system was called Babylonian in accordance with references by a number of early scholars. The following are the most important and the most unequivocal; they undoubtedly refer to a specific vocalization system and not to a different pronunciation tradition:

(1) *Nissi b. Noah (a Karaite scholar of the 11th century): "to learn points (= vowels), conjunctives, accent pauses, defective and plene spellings of the people of Šinʿar" (= Babylonians; S. Pinsker, *Lickute Kadmoniot, Zur Geschichte des Karaismus und der karaeischen Literatur*, Vienna, 1860, p. מא);

(2) the colophon of a manuscript of the Torah with Targum Onkelos from 1311 (Parma, De Rossi Library, no. 12): "this Targum was copied from a book which was brought from Babylonia and which was pointed above [the line] with the vocalization of the land of Assyria, and R. Nathan b. R. Machir b. R. Menahem of Ancona… changed it, corrected it, and copied it to the Tiberian vocalization" (Zunz, *Zur Geschichte und Literatur*, p. 110).

5.2.0.2. EXPANSION AND CHRONOLOGY. The name "Babylonian vocalization" refers to the birthplace of the system and not to the expansion of its use. There is no doubt that it was used beyond the borders of Babylonia and reached, according to Jacob al-*Kirkisānī (937), Persia, the Arabian Peninsula, and Yemen; Yemenites have used manuscripts with Babylonian vocalization until today. We are not dealing here with the Babylonian tradition of pronunciation, but only with the graphic system.

The most ancient dated manuscripts which are vocalized in the Babylonian system, including accentuation signs, are a Cairo *Genizah* fragment now in Cambridge which was written in Persia, in 904 (H.P. Rueger, VT, 16 (1966) 65 f.), and a complete manuscript of the latter Prophets from the year 916 (Peterburg, the first Firkovich collection, no. B 3 = Petropolitanus). The early date of the latter does necessarily indicate a relatively ancient state of vocalization and accentuation.

The texts with Babylonian vocalization show great development, more than is found in any other system; and they can be classified into a number of groups according to various criteria, such as that of I. Yeivin (*The Hebrew Language Tradition as Reflected in the Babylonian Vocalization* (1985), pp. 21–23) who discerned three stages: the ancient, the intermediate, and the later; and he divides the linguistic material into five types according to characteristics of pronunciation, beginning with the ancient Babylonian pronunciation (type V) and continuing to the completely Tiberian pronunciation with Babylonian signs (type I).

5.2.0.3. MADINḤAʾE READINGS. It would stand to reason that the texts vocalized in the Babylonian system should correspond to the Madinḥaʾe (Eastern) versions of the Masorah, although they include almost no vocalization issues but mostly differences of plene and defective spelling, differences of *qere* and *ketiv* and differences in division of words. That is why Elias Levita (*Massoreth Ha-Massoreth*, edit. C.D. Ginsburg, p. 113) considered the official lists of variants (חילופין) between the Westerners and the Easterners (for Prophets and Hagiographa only) as preceding the invention of the vocalization and accentuation signs. However, there are many manuscripts vocalized in the Babylonian system which contain many readings that correspond to the Western (*Maʿarvaʾe*) versions and vice versa. Still, in the Babylonian sources a large number of readings, sometimes the majority, correspond to the Eastern (*Madinḥaʾe*) tradition and they correspond with it more than any Tiberian manuscripts do. It can be assumed that mistakes occurred in the transmission of the lists of variants between *Maʿarvaʾe* and *Madinḥaʾe*, and also one cannot ignore the possibility that perhaps the term *Madinḥaʾe*, like its counterpart, *Maʿarvaʾe*, was a broad geographical concept, and that a universally accepted, uniform text for all the minute details never did exist, neither in the West nor in the East. It follows therefore that a list of variants based on one of the versions can neither invalidate nor establish the Babylonian nature of any source.

Everything stated above concerning the consolidation and uniformity of the Palestinian system applies also to the Babylonian system, although not to the same degree. This system also came down to us in different stages of development, and in it too there are great differences between the various manuscripts; here, too, the punctuation is not complete, and there are differences between manuscripts with regard to the degree of punctuation in them.

5.2.1. The Vowel Signs

5.2.1.1. THE SIMPLE SYSTEM. There are two sets of signs in Babylonian vocalization:

(a) the regular Babylonian set, which consists (in part) of lines, whose origin is in letters, and (in part) of dots;

(b) a set which consists entirely of dots and is relatively rare.

5.2.1.1.1. The Signs. The signs are located in each case above the letter and to the left of it:

מׄ = *i* is used in both sets and it sometimes has the shape of a small *yod*. מ̈ = *e* is used in both sets. מ̉ is used in the regular set and it is shaped like a small *ʿayin* with different angles (also מ̍); in the dot set its counterpart is מ֒. The phonetic value of the sign has not been sufficiently clarified. It occurs in positions which correspond to the *pattaḥ* and *segol* in the Tiberian system, and it might have been pronounced like one of them, that is, *a* or ɛ (in which case that vowel of the two which is not extant in the Babylonian system would have merged with its remaining companion). It seems, however, more reasonable that it was pronounced as a medium vowel between *a* and ɛ, and this has been the pronunciation of Yemenite Jews until today in certain circumstances. The sign is called in the Babylonian Masorah מיפתח פומא ("opening of the mouth") or פיתחא ("opening") פיׄת for short. מ̌ is used in the regular set and has the shape of *ʾalef* with one leg missing; in the dot set מׅׄ (or מׄ) serves as its counterpart. Apparently the phonetic value of the sign was *å* and it corresponds to the Tiberian *qameṣ* (the opinion that its value was *ā* is untenable). Its names in the Babylonian Masorah are: מיקפץ פומא or מיצף פומא (מיצׄ פומא for short; "contraction of the mouth") and sometimes אימצא (אימׄ for short) from the root אמץ, whose meaning is also "bringing together" (see Yalon, *Leshonenu*, 32 (1968), 2–4). מ֞ = *o* is used in both sets. מ֜ = *u* is used in the regular set and it sometimes has the shape of a small *waw*. Its counterpart in the dot set is מ֨. מ֯ = *šewa*. It is called חיטפא (חיטׄ for short) in the Babylonian Masorah. This sign denotes both mobile and quiescent *šewa*, although the mobile *šewa* is marked more frequently. In only a certain type of manuscript it is the sign for mobile *šewa* exclusively, and the quiescent *šewa* is not marked at all. The realization of the Babylonian *šewa* may have been close to its Tiberian equivalent (see 5.3.1.2).

5.2.1.1.2. The Two Sets and Syriac. The dot set is used exclusively in only a few manuscripts. Generally it was mixed with the signs of the regular set. Both of these sets have counterparts in the two Syriac vocalization systems: the vocalization system of Eastern Syriac, which is one of dots, and that of Western Syriac, which is a system of signs made up of letters (albeit Greek). Two of the signs have the same form in the Babylonian dot set and in the Eastern Syriac system and their functions are surprisingly similar: מׄ, מׅׄ – the first denotes *ā* in Syriac and *a*/ɛ in the Babylonian: the second signifies *a* in Syriac and *å* (in the opinion of some, *ā*) in the Babylonian. Kahle believes that this indicates a connection between the Babylonian system and the Eastern Syriac, though not in the known form which goes back to the eighth century, but to an earlier stage of which there are no traces. It is difficult to accept this theory, since in the meantime we have come to know from the material reviewed by J.B. Segal (*The Diacritical Point and the Accents in Syriac*, pp. 152–3) the shapes of signs dating even earlier than the eighth century. From this material it is clear that in the seventh century and even earlier the form of the sign for the vowel *ā* in Syriac was מׅׄ (and not מׄ). The possible solution lies, therefore, in one of two directions: either the Babylonian system followed the late stage of Syriac, i.e., after the eighth century (but such a late date for the formation of the Babylonian system does not seem reasonable and even Kahle did not consider it), or the influence was in the opposite direction and it was the Syriac that followed the Babylonian.

5.2.1.1.3. The Antiquity of the Two Sets. Kahle feels that of the two Babylonian sets the dot set is the older, because it is simpler, because it is similar to the vocalization of Eastern Syriac (but see above), and because it is found in its purest state in a relatively early manuscript. The regular set developed, in his opinion, from the dot set. Yeivin does not agree, especially since there are older manuscripts than the one mentioned in which the regular set is used. In his opinion the dot set is just another set, ancient in itself, but not necessarily older than the regular set. It is possible that the two sets were used at the same time and that the dot set was used in a certain geographical area or by a specific school. His opinion seems reasonable. Furthermore, only the regular set, which uses letters, combines with the Babylonian accentuation, which too uses letters, to form a complete system. In any event, the dot set was preserved only briefly and was rejected in favor of the regular set. Two of its signs, however, (מׄ, מ֨) were preserved in the regular set with a special function (see below).

5.2.1.2. THE COMPOUND SYSTEM. As time passed, the Babylonian vocalization system was improved and signs were added to indicate further differentiations, mainly to note the special nature of the vowel which was influenced by the syllable structure (not, however, quantitative signs). The special signs which were added are, for the most part, graphemes composed of two signs. The system that evolved was the compound Babylonian vocalization system.

5.2.1.2.1. The Signs. There are a few signs *under* which there is an additional horizontal line when the vowel occurs in an unstressed syllable closed with a *šewa*, and a horizontal line *above* them when the vowel occurs in an unstressed syllable, open or closed by *dageš forte*. The details of the signs are not uniform in all the manuscripts. There are manuscripts which contain special signs and exceptional forms, and it is difficult to find two manuscripts whose use of vowel signs is completely identical. The main signs which occur rather frequently are the following:

(1) a sign to mark a vowel in an open, unstressed syllable (including syllables where the Tiberian vocalization has a *ḥataf* with a laryngeal consonant) or an unstressed syllable closed by quiescent *šewa*: מ̱̇ (= *i*), מ̱̈ (= *e*), מ̱ׄ (= *a*), מ̱̌ (= *o*), מ֨ (= *u*);

(2) a sign to mark a vowel occurring in an unstressed syllable closed by *dageš*: מ̄ (= *i*), מ̄̌ (= *a*), מ̄֜ (= *u*).

5.2.1.2. Perfect and Non-Perfect. Yeivin differentiates between perfect and non perfect compound vocalization. In the former there are special signs for each type of syllable and they are used consistently. In the latter, the sets of signs are incomplete, that is, there is a special sign for only one type of syllable, or the special signs are used only for certain vowels and not for all of them, or the simple and compound signs are mixed together without differentiation. The phenomenon of lack of perfection is found in three types of manuscripts:

(1) ancient ones, in which the compound vocalization had not yet reached its full maturity;

(2) manuscripts in which there is a mixture of the two systems;

(3) late manuscripts in which only some signs of the compound vocalization were chosen for use.

5.2.1.2.3. Tiberian Influence. The increase of Tiberian influence in late manuscripts is evidenced in grammatical forms and in the reading tradition, and is even found in the set of graphemes. This is particularly noticeable in late manuscripts in which there are attempts to introduce a special sign parallel to the Tiberian *segol*. For this they used:

(1) מ̈ (in place of מ́) as the parallel of *segol*, and this in addition to its function as the equivalent of the Tiberian *ṣere*; this sign sometimes occurs as an addition to the original sign and above it (מ̈́) to note the nuance with which one is to pronounce מ́;

(2) מ⸫ (an inverse Tiberian *segol*);

(3) מ⸪ – the parallel to מ́ from the dot set, which by way of differentiation was specifically used for the *segol*.

5.2.2. The Diacritical Signs

Certain additional diacritical marks are used to distinguish between different pronunciations of the same letter.

5.2.2.1. ŠIN-SIN. To mark ש = š a small *šin* above the letter is used ($\overset{\text{ש}}{\text{ש}}$) and to mark ש = ś a small *samek* is placed above the letter ($\overset{\text{ס}}{\text{ש}}$). These signs are rarer than the vowel marks, especially in ancient manuscripts. Only in some relatively late manuscripts do they occur almost regularly.

5.2.2.2. MAPPIQ, DAGEŠ, RAFEH. The consonantal nature of a *he* at the end of a word (*mappiq*) is sometimes marked by a small *he* above the letter ($\overset{\text{ה}}{\text{ה}}$).

A *dageš* is marked by placing a small *gimmel* above the letter ($\overset{\text{ג}}{\text{מ}}$ and later also מ̂) which perhaps alludes to its Babylonian name דיגשא (abbreviated as 'דיג', דיגש). The first letter of the name was not chosen as usual, since a small *dalet* ($\overset{\text{ד}}{\text{מ}}$) is used as one of the accentuation signs (another proof that the system of accentuation signs is the earlier).

The *rafeh* nature of a letter is sometimes marked by a small *qof* above the letter ($\overset{\text{ק}}{\text{מ}}$), which is an abbreviation of its Babylonian name קיפיא (abbr. 'קיפ) and means "light" according to H. *Yalon (*Sinai, Sefer Yovel* (1958), 239).

These signs are ambiguous, since they show both gemination (*dageš forte*) or the lack of it and note the plosive pronunciation of בגדכפ"ת (*dageš lene*) or their pronunciation as fricatives. They are used only infrequently, mainly in places where a misunderstanding might arise. In manuscripts using the dot set exclusively, these marks are not added.

To mark *ʾate meraḥiq* (or *deḥiq*) a dot in the center of the line between the words is used in a few manuscripts: חלילה · לנו (Josh. 24:29), which means that the dot is not a *dageš* (cf. Dotan, in *Fourth World Congress of Jewish Studies*, 2 (1968), Hebrew part, 105), although in some manuscripts, some of them late, the sign of a *dageš* or its substitute (the preceding vowel marked by the sign for a syllable closed by a *dageš*) is given in these instances.

5.2.3. The Accentuation Signs

5.2.3.1. THE NATURE OF THE NOTATION. Unlike the Palestinian system of accentuation signs, the Babylonian accentuation signs have reached us as a series of fixed marks above the letter, most of which are small letters or parts of them. The division of the verses according to the Babylonian Masorah sometimes differs, especially in ancient manuscripts, from the Tiberian division, and at times a comparison with the Tiberian system is liable to give a false impression. Some of the Babylonian signs have slightly different functions in different manuscripts and it seems that a shift of their pausal strength occurred with the passage of time. This together with the fact that in the relatively late manuscripts, especially in those vocalized with the compound vocalization, accentuation signs are marked over the stressed syllable, make it possible to classify the manuscripts as earlier or later according to their use of the accentuation signs. This classification tallies in general, but not always, with that of the vowel notation.

In the Babylonian system there are no conjunctive accents at all. However, there are manuscripts, mainly those vocalized with compound vocalization, in which the vocalizer or a second hand wrote in the conjunctive Tiberian signs, and they obviously are placed with the stressed syllable.

As opposed to the Tiberian situation there is no difference in principle between Prose and Poetical books. The same signs are used in both, but the degree of subdividing the verses is not as great in the Prose books and the possible arrangements of the accentuation signs are not as numerous because of the brevity of the Poetical verses.

5.2.3.2. TYPES OF ACCENTUATION. A gross, incomplete classification into three types of manuscripts according to their use of accentuation signs was suggested by A. *Spanier (1927). The functions of the accentuation signs are presented here in a general way according to the most ancient situation (group *a*) and will be followed by the main changes in the functions of the signs in the groups which Spanier called a, b, and c. A more precise grouping was suggested by R. Shoshani (2003), who maintains a fourfold subdivision: early *a*, later *a* as one group; and *b* and *c* as parts of the latest group.

5.2.3.3. THE ACCENTS. There is no accentuation sign for the last word in a verse. Sometimes there is no sign separating the verses but occasionally there is a sign at the end of the verse, in group *a* mostly: occasionally signs such as: $\overset{\circ}{-}$ or $\overset{\text{פ}}{-}$, and sometimes, at the beginning of the verse (cf. *Soferim* 3:7), a sign like ° or ˄ . The main pause of the verse is marked by $\overset{\wedge}{-}$ (סיחפא; equal to the sign of the Tiberian *ʾetnaḥ*, but above the line; this and the next sign are the only Babylonian signs not shaped as letters). The next largest pause, whether within the domain of $\overset{\wedge}{-}$ or within the domain of the end of the verse, is marked by $\overset{\text{ז}}{-}$ (apparently an abbreviation of the accent name זקף or זיקפא). As the main or single pause within the domain of $\overset{\text{ז}}{-}$, $\overset{\text{ת}}{-}$ is used (perhaps an abbreviation of תיברא), and when it is not the only one and there is place for an additional pause after it, $\overset{\text{נ}}{-}$ is used (like a slanted *nun*) as a final, small pause before $\overset{\text{ז}}{-}$. The accent $\overset{\text{נ}}{-}$ is not imperative, and when there is need for only one pause, even a small one, in the domain of $\overset{\text{ז}}{-}$ it will be $\overset{\text{ת}}{-}$. The smallest pause before $\overset{\wedge}{-}$ is $\overset{\vee}{-}$ (רימיא), and this accent serves as a prelude before $\overset{\wedge}{-}$. In general $\overset{\wedge}{-}$ is not marked, but only its prelude $\overset{\vee}{-}$ (which is also sometimes omitted). The smallest pause before the final word of the verse is $\overset{\text{ד}}{-}$, sometimes $\overset{\text{די}}{-}$ or

$\overset{\text{דיח}}{\text{—}}$ (apparently abbreviations of דחי or its Aramaic דיחיא, in one manuscript $\overset{\llcorner}{\text{—}}$), and it therefore parallels $\overset{\vee}{\text{—}}$ which precedes $\overset{\wedge}{\text{—}}$. Another disjunctive within the domain of both $\overset{\wedge}{\text{—}}$ as well as the end of the verse – occurring after $\overset{\text{ז}}{\text{—}}$ and weaker than it, and before $\overset{\vee}{\text{—}}$ or $\overset{\text{ר}}{\text{—}}$ and stronger than they are – is $\overset{\text{ח}}{\text{—}}$ (apparently an abbreviation of חָזֵר). This sign is likely to be repeated several times when necessary (perhaps this is the origin of its name *ḥazer*). The $\overset{\text{ח}}{\text{—}}$ is likely to divide the domain of $\overset{\text{ת}}{\text{—}}$ (and may be repeated) when this is the main or only pause in the domain of $\overset{\text{ז}}{\text{—}}$. $\overset{\text{ט}}{\text{—}}$ (apparently an abbreviation of טרס) is used as a pause in the domain of $\overset{\text{ח}}{\text{—}}$ and in that of $\overset{\text{ל}}{\text{—}}$. Sometimes $\overset{\text{נ}}{\text{—}}$ (perhaps an abbreviation of ניגדא = the Tiberian accent *legarmeh*) is used as a pause in the domain of $\overset{\text{ח}}{\text{—}}$. The accent $\overset{\text{ש}}{\text{—}}$ (a half-*shin* or a broken *shin*, perhaps alluding to the accent name שידיא or שיריא) parallels the Tiberian accent *segol*, but, unlike it, may appear also in the second half of the verse after the accent $\overset{\wedge}{\text{—}}$, instead of the first $\overset{\text{ז}}{\text{—}}$ in the half-verse. The accent $\overset{\text{ש}}{\text{—}}$ is divided by $\overset{\text{ח}}{\text{—}}$ or by $\overset{\text{נ}}{\text{—}}$, or by the sequence $\overset{\text{נ}}{\text{—}}$ $\overset{\text{ח}}{\text{—}}$ (with $\overset{\text{ח}}{\text{—}}$ being the stronger of the two), and sometimes $\overset{\text{נ״}}{\text{—}}$ (?ניחלא; some see it as parallel to צינורי – *zarqa*) is the last divider before $\overset{\text{ש}}{\text{—}}$. The accent $\overset{\llcorner}{\text{—}}$ (similar to a half *ṭet*) is used as a small disjunctive within the domain of $\overset{\text{נ״}}{\text{—}}$ or $\overset{\text{נ}}{\text{—}}$.

In group *a* the accentuation signs are not placed over the stressed syllable. The accent $\overset{\text{ש}}{\text{—}}$ and its prelude accents are used not only in place of the Tiberian *segol* (i.e., as a substitute for the first *zaqef*) but also in the second half of the verse (as a substitute of the first *zaqef* after $\overset{\vee}{\text{—}}$).

In group *b* the accentuation signs are placed on the stressed syllable. The accent $\overset{\text{ת}}{\text{—}}$ is weaker in pausal strength than $\overset{\text{ח}}{\text{—}}$. The accent $\overset{\text{ש}}{\text{—}}$ always parallels the Tiberian *segol*. There are additional changes compared to group *a*, mostly of minor importance.

In group *c* everything is the same as in group *b* except that the accent $\overset{\text{ת}}{\text{—}}$ is split. It is used only within the domain of $\overset{\vee}{\text{—}}$ and $\overset{\text{ר}}{\text{—}}$, while in the domain of $\overset{\text{ז}}{\text{—}}$, $\overset{\text{י}}{\text{—}}$ (apparently an abbreviation of יתיב) is used instead.

As indicated, there is no separate set of accents for the three Poetical books. The same accents are used, but their actual distribution is affected by the constant brevity of the verses in these books. In principle there is no difference. Thus there is no accentuation sign for the final word of the verse. The separation between the verses is marked as in the other books. The main pause is noted by $\overset{\wedge}{\text{—}}$, which is generally omitted, and the notation of the pause preceding it is sufficient. The second half of the verse is divided by $\overset{\text{ז}}{\text{—}}$, and often, when the verse is very short, $\overset{\text{ז}}{\text{—}}$ is the main divider of the whole verse (without $\overset{\wedge}{\text{—}}$). Because of the brevity of the verses the $\overset{\wedge}{\text{—}}$, the divider before $\overset{\vee}{\text{—}}$, may be used as the only divider of the verse. Such and similar situations may occur also in short verses of the Prose books.

This is not, therefore, a different system of notation, as in the Tiberian, but the utilization of the same signs as in the Prose books in a more limited manner, in accordance with the special conditions required by the short verses of Psalms, Proverbs, and Job.

5.3. THE TIBERIAN SYSTEM

5.3.1. The Vowel Signs

Unlike its predecessors, the Tiberian vocalization has reached us as a consolidated, uniform, and complete system, although in some isolated and exceptional manuscripts there are remnants of other systems, such as the Palestinian sign מׄ to denote *o* (cf. Kahle, *Masoreten des Westens*, 1 (1927), 35).

5.3.1.1. THE VOWELS. There are seven vowels, for which there are eight signs, and it is clear that they do not indicate quantity in any way. This system, like its predecessors, was used by different communities and by people who had different traditions of pronunciation and who interpreted the signs and read them accordingly. In the Tiberian tradition in which the signs were created, their phonetic values are approximately as follows:

מִ = *i*; מֵ = *e*; מֶ = *ε*; מַ = *a*, this sign is generally under the letters like the others, but when it serves as a furtive *pattaḥ* in the ancient manuscripts, it precedes the letter (גָבֹהַ). מָ = *å*: the original shape of the sign is a line and a dot under it. Only in printed books were they joined. Some believe (as Abraham ibn Ezra already did in *Sefer Ẓaḥot*, ed. G.H. Lippmann, p. 3b) that the sign $\underset{\cdot}{-}$ denotes the combination and mixture of the two vowels *a, o*, in order to indicate a vowel which is somewhere between the two, i.e., a back *a*. However, the sign was fixed from the start and was used as one vowel of definite quality. Only later and in the Sephardic tradition was it considered a representation of two vowels: *a* (a wide *qameṣ gadol*) and *o* (*qameṣ qaṭan*); מֹ, מוֹ = *o*, when adjacent to a *waw* the vowel is placed over it; מֻ, מוּ = *u*, the two signs have exactly the same value. When a *waw* was adjacent to the letter in the biblical text it was marked with a dot; when there was no adjacent *waw* it was marked with three dots below. The vocalizers neither added to nor deleted from the sanctified orthography of the Bible.

5.3.1.2. THE ŠEWA AND THE ḤAṬEFS. Besides the eight signs, an additional one is used, מְ, to indicate the furtive nature of the consonant. This furtiveness does not have a fixed value but changes according to the position of the sign within the word. Sometimes it indicates total furtiveness – a "zero" vowel (quiescent *šewa*) and sometimes it indicates a partial furtiveness of a vowel (mobile *šewa*). The nature of the furtive vowel changes again according to the position of the sign within the word according to the Tiberian tradition: preceding a laryngeal, it resembles the vowel of the laryngeal; preceding a *yod* it becomes *i*; in all the other cases, it is pronounced *a*. On the rare occasions when this sign is accompanied by a *gaʿyah* (*šewa-gaʿyah*; see below 5.3.2.2.6), it is pronounced as a full vowel (according to the above conditions).

This sign therefore has many functions: it can denote the lack of a vowel, a furtive or very short vowel, or any full vowel. In this it differs from the whole Hebrew graphemic system. One can explain its function by the theory that it was first used to divide a word into syllables, that is, as a sign to indicate the boundaries of a syllable. A sign of this type is likely to appear in a variety of phonetic garb according to the structure of the syllable and its position between the syllables adjacent to it within the word (in general: at the end of a syllable – quiescent, at the start of a syllable or as an independent syllable – mobile). This sign, which was basically a punctuation sign within the word, is apparently borrowed from the Syriac accentuation system, where such a sign (albeit within the line) with a similar name (*šewaya*) is a divisional accent, i.e., a sentence divider.

When the vocalic nuance of this sign is fixed in one of the three vowels, *a*, *ɛ*, *å* it combines with the respective vowel sign מֲ, מֱ, מֳ and its phonetic value is then the furtive, short pronunciation of these vowels.

5.3.1.3. THE NAMES OF THE VOWELS. For the Tiberian system, more than for any other system, the names of the vowels (the ancient Hebrew term for them is מלכים "kings" and later תנועות as a loan translation of the Arabic *ḥaraka* = movement) can be traced. Apparently several series of names were applied to them in the beginning (according to the changing needs and conditions). As time passed the names became intermingled and in masoretic notes and in the works of the earliest grammarians we find the terms from different series being used side by side. One can schematically reconstruct the series approximately as follows:

(1) The most primitive series has no names, but a number of sounds which express the vowels: אִי, אֵי, אֶי (אֶ, אֶה), אַ(ה), אָ(ה), אוֹ, אוּ. One can assume that the vowels were thus called even before the invention of the vowel signs, these names being used orally and could not be written simply for lack of graphic signs for them. Only after the introduction of vocalization did it become possible to use these appellations in writing, and then we do find them, though rarely.

(2) A series in which the vowels are named according to the labial movements, whether closed or open, and the names were therefore derived from קמץ (close, contract) and פתח (open). These terms and their derivatives (such as קמצה, פתחה and so on) were first used in a broad sense – a closed vowel versus an open vowel. *Qameṣ* thus applied at first to the vowels *å*, *e*, while *pattaḥ* (sometime also פשט) applied to the vowels *a*, *ɛ*. As time passed special names were determined for *e* – קמץ קטן and for *ɛ* – פתח קטן (also [צבחד] פשט צבחר), while *qameṣ* and *pattaḥ* marked only one vowel each, *å, a*. Later we find these special names: קמץ שלם (*kāmil* in Arabic), רחב, גדול and also פתח גדול. קמץ פום also apparently belongs to this series for *u*, and perhaps also מלָא פום for *o* (in a later period in Europe מלופום is used to indicate וּ). It is difficult to establish the name of the vowel *i* in this series; perhaps it was שפילתא (= the low one) because it stands lowest in the scale of the vowels.

These names also are not directly connected with vowel signs. It is therefore possible that, like the above primitive series, they were instituted before the invention of the vowel signs; but some of the names were used in a later period as well.

(3) In the third series the vowels are named according to their symbols: נקודה אחת ("one point"; *i*), שתי נקודות ("two points"), שלוש נקודות ("three points"), נקודה בתוך הוי"ו ("a point within the *waw*"; *u*), נקודה עליונה ("upper point"; *o*,) and similar names in Aramic and Arabic. Only *qameṣ* and *pattaḥ* were employed as before. These names of course, came into use after the invention of vowel signs and while they made for a brevity of language – as for example, when a word was said to have שש נקודות ("six dots") by which term two *segols* were meant, and so on – there is ambiguity (two dots = מֵ, מְ, three dots = מֶ, מֻ) and apparently because of this the series did not prevail.

(4) This series of names, in use until the present day, is based on the type of sound produced (some of the names are in Aramaic): מִ – חרק ("a squeak"); מֵ – צרי (from the Aramaic for "splitting," i.e. "splitting of the lips"); מֹ – חלם (meaning "completeness," i.e., a vowel using the whole mouth, *melaʾ pum*); מֻ, מוּ – שרק ("whistle, hiss"). Only מֶ – סְגוֹל ("cluster" in Aramaic) stems from the similarity of the sign to a cluster [of grapes]. *Qameṣ* and *pattaḥ* also continued to be used in this system. The orthography of the new names is without *matres lectionis*, and there has been disagreement as to their forms. Often they were segholate names: חֶרֶק, חֶלֶם, שֶׁרֶק, and also צְרִי, צֶרִי and even צְרֵי. From approximately the 11th century the custom of introducing the indicated vowel within the name began to spread, and from then on the orthography חירק, חולם, שורק, צירי became common. Since the time of the *Kimḥis the name קִבּוּץ שפתיים or קִבּוּץ is specifically used for the sign מֻ. This name was formerly a synonym for *šuruq* and as a translation of the Arabic *damm* (contraction), it also indicated the *o, u* group of vowels.

The name *šewa* (שְׁוָא known also by the spellings שבא, שוה, שבה) for the sign מְ is relatively newer than the other names, for when Saadiah Gaon uses it for the first time he finds it necessary to describe it: *šewa ʾaʿni nuqṭatayn qāʾimatayn* ("*šewa*, that is, two upright dots"; commentary to *Sefer Yeẓirah*, 4:3), which he does not do for the other names. The name חטף is apparently older than *šewa*, although after a certain time it was used specifically for the *šewas* which are joined to a vowel, *ḥaṭaf pattaḥ, ḥaṭaf segol, ḥaṭaf qameṣ.*

5.3.2. The Diacritical Signs

5.3.2.1. THE PRONUNCIATION OF CONSONANTS. *5.3.2.1.1. Šin-Sin.* The single dot is employed as a diacritical sign to distinguish between the two pronunciations of ש : שׁ = š, this dot sometimes is assimilated into a preceding *ḥolem* ;(מֹשֶׁה) שׂ = ś, this dot is sometimes assimilated into the *ḥolem* of the same letter (שֹׂנֵא).

5.3.2.1.2. Dageš. A dot within the letter marks both a plosive *dageš* (*lene*) in בגדכפ"ת and also the geminative *dageš* (*forte*) in all of the letters except אהחע"ר. An unusual *dageš* does occasionally occur in the *reš* (but there is no connection between it and the various statements concerning the double pronunciation of the *reš*, in which a *reš* with *dageš* is also mentioned). According to the Masorah the *dageš* occurs also in the *ʾalef* four times in the Bible (although there are manuscripts in which it occurs more often) but these seem to belong to the category of *Mappiq*. Therefore the *dageš* in בגדכפ״ת is ambiguous (*lene* or *forte*) and its function is determined only by the context. The term דגש and its synonyms (דגשה etc.) are explained according to Syriac, in which the verb *degaš* = to pierce, to make a hole. If this etymology is correct, the name was adopted in the Tiberian vocalization because of the sign's shape and thence it was borrowed into the Babylonian Masorah.

A special type of *dageš* is that of *ʾate meraḥiq* (or *deḥiq*), which in origin is not a geminative *dageš* but a dot used to mark the separation of two connected words, so that they should not be joined together (cf. Dotan, in *Fourth World Congress of Jewish Studies*, 2 (1968), Hebrew part, 101–5, and see especially n. 23). Because this dot is identical with the sign of the *dageš*, as time passed it was taken to be a *dageš forte*, denoting geminate pronunciation, and is so pronounced in various communities.

5.3.2.1.3. Rafeh. The sign of the *rafeh* (בֿ) is the opposite of the *dageš lene* and indicates the lack of the *dageš* in the spirant בגדכפ״ת. It does not occur regularly even in ancient manuscripts. In addition to this main function, it is sometimes used in an irregular manner above the letters א and ה to note quiescence, and also, infrequently, to mark the lack of *dageš forte*, that is, to point out the lack of gemination of certain letters. The frequency of this sign varies in the different manuscripts, and with the passage of time it stopped being used altogether since it was tautological.

5.3.2.1.4. Mappiq. Another dot marks the consonantal nature of a final *he*. Generally this dot is located in the center of the *he* (הּ), but there are manuscripts in which it is written in the lower part (הּ), or even under it (הִ).

Additional usages of the signs enumerated here, such as *dageš lene* in letters other than בגדכפ״ת, or a *mappiq* in the letters *alef, waw* and *yod*, etc., are found in exceptional manuscripts, and they must be considered as the influence of a vocalization system which was not accepted (see below 5.4).

5.3.2.2. THE GAʿYAH. The sign מֽ which is generally written to the left of the vocalization sign (in ancient manuscripts also sometimes at the right) is a reading aid that serves various purposes, but basically it can be considered a device to improve the phonetic structure of a word. The condition for such use is sometimes rooted in the musical-accentual context of the word.

5.3.2.2.1. The Name. The ancient, original name is געיה (גַּעְיָה, גְּעִיָה, גֵּעְיָה, גֵּעֲיָה, גְּעִיָה; געה = "to cry aloud") and the masoretes distinguished various types. As time passed its usage changed in the manuscripts; the scribes used to note more of one type and less of another. This situation continued until grammarians tried to organize the method of notation according to rules and norms, part of which were artificial, while others had no basis in the realities of ancient manuscripts. The first to organize the rules of *gaʿyah* was Jekuthiel b. Judah ha-Nakdan (יהב״י), who lived in the first half of the 13th century.

In the most general way one can distinguish between the main types of *gaʿyah* as follows:

5.3.2.2.2. Minor Gaʿyah. A minor *gaʿyah* occurs in a closed syllable. There are many varieties of this type, and the distinction between them is a matter requiring detailed description. One of the most common types, whose definition is already found in *Dikduke ha-Teʿamim* by Aaron Ben-Asher, is the *gaʿyah* that occurs in a closed syllable which is the third before the stress when the syllable adjacent to the stress is a furtive syllable (that is, a clear mobile *šewa* or a *ḥatef*), or the *gaʿyah* which occurs in a closed syllable that is the fourth before the stress when the syllable adjacent to the stress and also the third before it are furtive syllables: וַֽיְדַבְּרוּ, הַֽכְּנַֽעֲנִי.

There is no certainty as to how this *gaʿyah* was realized but it seems that it marked some delay in the pronunciation or melody, or in both. Its special phonological conditioning was also instrumental in phonetic realization, particularly of the *šewa*. For example, וְהִֽתְפַּלְלוּ – the *gaʿyah* in the *he* also indicates a mobile *šewa* for the ל.

This type is already called געיה קטנה (minor *gaʿyah*) in ancient sources connected with *Diqduqe ha-Teʿamim* and is apparently the name for all the *gaʿyot* of this type. The minor *gaʿyah* is the most common in the best ancient manuscripts, among them Leningrad B19a and the Aleppo codex, and it has a greater degree of regularity than the other types of *gaʿyah*. In spite of this, however, the reason for these *gaʿyot* was not clear, nor apparently were their precise conditions understood, although their connection to the accentuation system was obvious and they occur more often with disjunctive than with conjunctive accents. Because of this lack of clarity, and perhaps also because of uncertainty concerning the realization of the *gaʿyot*, the scribes disregarded them when they were copying and their frequency diminished as time passed. Unlike the type listed below, which generally did affect pronunciation, the minor *gaʿyah* seemed without a defined purpose and difficult to understand.

5.3.2.2.3. The Terminology. Strangely enough, the confusion as to its purpose led Jekuthiel ha-Nakdan to establish the name of the minor *gaʿyah* as געיה כבדה ("heavy" [in the sense of: difficult] *gaʿyah*) as he himself states (*Shaʿar ha-Metigot*, ed. Gumpertz, in *Leshonenu*, 22 (1958), 142): "Therefore I called them heavy, for the heart of many sages is heavy for not having understood them and they did not show them in their function … and the second [reason] that I called them heavy and different from the first ones is that the gate which is open for the light ones is closed for these which are heavy…" This name, used by a few scholars even today, thus has no justification, despite Yeivin's opinion (*The Aleppo Codex of the Bible* (1968), p. 93, n. 3). In fact, there is evidence that such a name in Arabic was used precisely to indicate the following type of *gaʿyah*.

The process of the decline of the minor *gaʿyah* was slower in the Sephardi manuscripts, and Jekuthiel ha-Nakdan (apparently of Prague) already declares that it had disappeared from most of the non-Sephardi manuscripts.

5.3.2.2.4. Major Gaʿyah. This *gaʿyah* occurs in an open syllable. Here, too, there are several types, and all of them occur in a syllable which is separated from the stress by at least one syllable. In the separating syllable, however, different kinds must be distinguished: it is likely to be a vowel (וְשָֽׁמַרְתָּ, הֶֽחָכָם), or a compound *šewa* (פָֽעֳלוֹ, אֶֽעֱשֶׂה, נִֽאֲצוּ, יַֽעֲקֹב) or a simple mobile *šewa* (יֵֽרְדוּ, אָֽסְנַת).

There are a number of proofs that this *gaʿyah* is the one which is called געיה גדולה (major *gaʿyah*) in ancient sources (Dotan, ed., *Diqduqe ha-Teʿamim*, pp. 286, 302); in the treatise on the *šewa* (in: Kurt Levy, *Zur masoretischen Grammatik* (1936), pp. ד, ה) it is called *gaʿyah ṯaqīlah* (heavy *gaʿyah*).

This *gaʿyah* neither occurs regularly nor follows general rules in the ancient manuscripts. In comparison to the minor *gaʿyah*, which is found marked with a very great degree of consistency, we can find no full consistency in the notation of the major *gaʿyah* in the different ancient manuscripts, not even in the best of them. Inconsistency is also found within a single text. Yet, as time passed, the major *gaʿyah* became more and more common in the manuscripts until it was marked with great regularity and consistency in every open syllable. This adherence of the scribes to the major *gaʿyah* at the same time that they turned away from the minor *gaʿyah* is part of the process of systematization of the rules of the *gaʿyah*, a process whose beginnings were among non-Sephardi scribes but which ultimately became accepted by all. The Sephardi Menahem di Lonzano (second half of the 16th century) complains about it: "I am weary of my life through the abundance of the extra *gaʿyot*, which are superfluous, which the Ashkenazim put in their books and called them *meteg* (= bridle), while I have called them bridle (= *meteg*) for the ass. They are a nuisance to me I am weary to bear their correction for they are more than the grasshoppers and are indeed infinite in number" (*Or Torah*, Amsterdam, 1659, p. 2b).

5.3.2.2.5. Development. One can assume that the origin of the major *gaʿyah* as a sign to distinguish between the mobile and the quiescent *šewa*, i.e., the basic location of the sign is in an open syllable preceding a mobile *šewa*, and from here it spread to other open syllables (as above). However, there was no regularity in the notation of this *gaʿyah* neither before a simple *šewa* nor in the other positions. It was only in the late Middle Ages that this sign was used more and more, since the scribes considered it a sign to indicate a necessary phonetic entity which exists in pronunciation, whether the sign points to it or not, according to the statement of Jekuthiel ha-Nakdan (ed. Gumpertz, in *Leshonenu*, 22 (1958), 141): "And the custom that many followed – not to point them [i.e., the *gaʿyot*] everywhere because they are very numerous throughout all of the Bible and the vocalizers said [if] we will write them in every instance their number will exceed that of the accents, and perhaps the readers will go astray because of them and will forget the normal accents because of the abundance of *metegs* (מתיגות) while the wise man will know them by himself even if the vocalizers lightened their burden and did not indicate each of them." This statement practically permits major *gaʿyahs* to be added to every open syllable even in places where they are not written according to the Masorah.

This situation is completely different from the concept which was common at the start of Hebrew grammar and which is manifest in the ancient manuscripts. Here the major *gaʿyah* was the main indicator of the mobile *šewa*. There are quite a number of rules, both in *Diqduqe ha-Teʿamim* and in works of Masorah related to it, from which it is clear that only a *šewa* which is preceded by a *gaʿyah* is mobile and a simple *šewa* in the middle of a word which is not preceded by a *gaʿyah* is always quiescent (except for known types). There is corroboration for this also in the writings of the early grammarians (Allony collected the evidence for it). If so, the major *gaʿyah* is not a "self-evident" diacritical mark, but, to the contrary, has phonetic significance. While the above evidence derives from the facts, it is difficult to accept it, for it would mean that the pronunciation of the words, especially those with a *šewa*, varied according to different manuscripts, even in one single text. Such arbitrariness in the exact pronunciation of biblical Hebrew, which each generation labored to preserve and transmit faultlessly, seems unlikely.

It is difficult to explain this phenomenon, and on the other hand it is easy to understand the tendency of the later masoretes toward unification and systematization. The major *gaʿyah* became, as time passed, the only *gaʿyah*. In addition to its function as an indicator of the "mobility" of the *šewa* or the length of the vowels, it was considered – in order to take into account also the instances in which the *gaʿyah* did not precede a simple *šewa* – also a sign indicating the phonetic *Gegenton* to the main stress, a function which fits all the types of the major *gaʿyah*. In this capacity it became known more and more as מתג (*meteg*), and Jekuthiel ha-Nakdan already used this term along with מתיגה (*metigah*).

5.3.2.2.6. Šewa-Gaʿyah. his is a *gaʿyah* which occurs in a furtive syllable, that is, in a syllable with a mobile *šewa*, or with a *ḥaṭaf pattaḥ* or a *ḥaṭaf segol* (henceforth called *šewa-gaʿyah*). It is generally marked to the left of the *šewa* or *ḥatef* (◌ְֽ, ◌ֱֽ), and in ancient manuscripts it sometimes is marked to the right (◌ְֽ, ◌ֲֽ); with the *ḥatefs* it is sometimes between the *šewa* and the vowel (◌ֲֽ, ◌ֱֽ).

Nothing is known about the conditioning of this *gaʿyah*. It is found in manuscripts without any regularity; it is more common in the Poetic books (Psalms, Proverbs, and Job) than in the other books, and it is mainly noted at the beginning of the word. On the other hand, we do know quite clearly its purpose – to indicate the pronunciation of the *šewa* as an actual full vowel. This is attested to by the rules of pronunciation of the *šewa* copied in different sources in Masorah literature. In this it has a common feature with the major *gaʿyah*; for a *šewa* which is pronounced as a full vowel has ceased to constitute a furtive syllable and has become open, and the *gaʿyah* which occurs in it is similar to a major *gaʿyah*. *Šewa-gaʿyah* never occurs in the syllable before the stress; it requires a separation of one syllable at least between it and the stressed syllable, just like the major *gaʿyah*.

On the other hand, there is rather general agreement in the notation of the *šewa-gaʿyah* in ancient manuscripts, and in that it bears a similarity to the minor *gaʿyah*. Yet, unlike the minor *gaʿyah, šewa-gaʿyah* was not rejected from the text; it is still copied today in most of the editions of the Bible. The reason for this is that because of its relative rareness and because of its special method of notation (next to the *šewa* and not next to a vowel like the other two types of *gaʿyah*) it was considered an anomaly and an exceptional sign, and like the other exceptional signs of the Masorah it was treated with special respect.

5.3.2.2.7. Haʿamadah. This is a *gaʿyah* of a special type which perhaps does not merit the name *gaʿyah*, though it is noted in the same manner. It is better to call it, for the purpose of differentiation, by the name given by Jekuthiel ha-Nakdan and following him, by Wolf *Heidenheim, **העמדה** ("causing to stop"; although this name is used also for *gaʿyah* in other places).

The function of the *haʿamadah* is to emphasize, perhaps by a slight pause, the pronunciation of a sound which was likely to be swallowed. This danger threatens unstressed sounds at the end of a word which is connected to the following one, and in these instances *haʿamadah* is likely to occur (and its function is then similar to that of the *dageš* of *ʾate meraḥiq* – see above, 5.3.2.1.2.). It is a relatively rare sign and there is no consistency in its notation. In this position, that is, in an unstressed syllable at the end of a word which is connected to the following (whether by a *maqqaf* or by a conjunctive accent) which is (generally but not always) stressed at the beginning, it is likely to occur before a laryngeal consonant, e.g., סְלֹ֣חַֽ ל֒וֹ (Deut. 29:19); נִֽשְׁבַּֽע־לִ֜י (Gen. 24:7); הֲשָֽׁמַֽע עָ֗ם (Deut. 4:33) – and even with another consonant where the stress is retracted from it, mainly when the vowel is *ṣere*, e.g., נָ֣בֵֽל צִ֔יץ (Isa. 40:7); בֹּ֣צֵֽעַ בָּ֑צַע (Prov. 1:19); or sometimes even with other vowels and without the retraction, e.g., פַּדֶּ֖נָֽה אֲרָ֑ם (Gen. 28:5), עֲבָדֶ֖יךָֽ אֵ֑לֶּה (II Kings 1:13), וּפָנִ֣יתִֽי אֲנִ֗י (Eccl. 2:11), וַיֵּנִקֵ֤הֽוּ דְבַשׁ֙ (Deut. 32:13).

In ancient manuscripts the *haʿamadah* is found more than in the recent editions of the Bible. But even in the ancient texts there are no fixed rules and there is disagreement among the manuscripts. Yeivin (*The Aleppo Codex of the Bible* (1968), 180 ff., 271 ff.) described and discussed the situation in the Aleppo codex and in related manuscripts.

5.3.3. The Accentuation Signs

The Tiberian system, unlike the other two, was a consolidated, complete system of disjunctive accents and conjunctive accents with defined functions, complete orderliness, and a very uniform textual transmission. This is the result of improvement after improvement, and it can be considered the zenith of the development of the graphemes in Hebrew.

5.3.3.0.1. The Functions. In addition to the two functions which the accentuation signs perform in the other systems – dividing the verse, and setting the melody of the reading of the text – in the Tiberian system they also indicate the point of the stress in the word. This is very important not only for the correct reading of the Bible but also for recognizing the grammatical structure of the language: the Tiberian system of accentuation is the only means for establishing the stress structure of ancient Hebrew.

As a musical guide for reading, this system is also more sophisticated than the others: for actually one fixed sign would have been sufficient for indicating the lack of pause; and it was only for musical variation that different signs were established for words which are connected in different contexts, the conjunctive accents.

Its sophistication and completeness as a system of punctuation are manifest also in (1) the fact that its signs are attached to each and every word and they indicate different degrees of pause as well of juncture (= "zero" pause); (2) the fact that the value of each punctuation sign (= accent) is relative, and changes according to its position within the verse, the length of the verse, and the relationship to the other accents within it.

5.3.3.0.2. The Principles of Parsing. The principles of parsing of the system are varied:

(1) each division is always into two only – a dichotomy, i.e., the result of every division is always only two smaller units and never more;

(2) the dichotomy continues time after time in every one of the resultant units until there remain in each small unit only two words (which do not have to be divided) or until all the accentuation signs have been used and there are technically no more possibilities for indicating another division.

5.3.3.1. THE (21) PROSE BOOKS. The Tiberian accentuation signs are a system of dots and lines, some simple, others compounded. The names of the signs are in part Aramaic and in part Hebrew, and they sometimes refer to the melody or to the manner of reading, sometimes to the shape of the sign, and at other times to the hand movement which accompanied the melody in the ancient period (see 1.3.3.).

5.3.3.1.1. Disjunctives. מֽ – סילוק (cessation; also סוף פסוק – end of the verse). It occurs only at the end of a verse and it is located only on the stressed syllable (this is not to be confused with the *gaʿyah* sign, which does not occur with the stressed syllable). מ֑ (originally מ̭) – אַתְנָח, אֶתְנַחְתָּא, אַתְנָחָה ("rest"). מ֔ – זָקֵף קטן (זקף = erect, upright – perhaps referring to a hand movement or to the shape of the sign). מ֕ – זקף גדול, a variant of זקף קטן used in specific conditions. מ֒ – סְגוֹל, סְגוֹלְתָּא (Aramaic: a [grape] cluster – refers to its shape). This is a postpositive sign – always written at the end of the word, but in some editions of the Bible it is placed an extra time on the stressed syllable in penultimate words. | מ֓ – שַׁלְשֶׁלֶת (chain; refers to the shape of the sign and perhaps to the melody as well). A rare accent, it appears only seven times in the 21 books. מ֖ – טִפְּחָא, טִפְּחָא (perhaps "handbreadth" – refers to the hand movement, or perhaps to a (musical) stroke). מ֗ – רְבִיעַ (Aramaic: resting). מ֙ – פַּשְׁטָא, פָּשְׁטָא (extending, stretching; of either the melody or the sign, the line), sometimes named also יתיב (see below). A postpositive sign – always written at the end of a word and in penultimate (*mille῾el*) words also on the stressed syllable (thus, by the exact manner of notation, it is differentiated from the conjunctive *ʾazlaʾ*). מ֚ – יְתִיב (Aramaic: settled down – referring to the melody or the pause). It is also used as a general name for this accent and the preceding one. A variant of the preceding accent in specific conditions, it is a prepositive accent – located always at the beginning of the word, and to the right of the lower vocalization sign. מ֮ (originally מ֘) – זַרְקָא, צִנּוֹר. The second is the ancient name (hook) and it refers to the original shape of the sign. The first is the common name and it means "throwing," perhaps referring to the movement of the hand, or to a scattered melody. This sign is postpositive – placed precisely like the *segol* (see above). מ֛ – תְּבִיר (Aramaic: broken), תְּבְרָא, תָּבְרָא, referring to the broken melody. מ֠ (originally מ֠) – תְּלִישָׁא גדולה (תלישא = plucking out). The meaning is not certain, and it appears to refer more to the hand movement than to the melody. *Gedola* distinguishes it from the conjunctive accent of the same name. The sign is prepositive, always placed at the beginning of a word, and in some editions of the Bible it is placed an additional time on the stressed syllable when the stress is not at the beginning of the word. מ֡ (originally מ֡, מ֡) – פָּזֵר: it apparently does not refer to the melody, but to the sign (פַּזְרָא, Aramaic = whip). It is also called פזר קטן. מ֟ (originally מ֟) – קַרְנֵי פָרָה (= cow's horns), referring to the ancient form of the sign. It is also called פזר גדול. A variant of the preceding, it is a rare sign which appears only 16 times in the 21 books. מ֜ – גֵּרֵשׁ, גְּרָשָׁה, גָּרֵשׁ, גֶּרֶשׁ ("expulsor"), one of the ancient names for *ga῾yah*, which moves ("expels") the syllables apart; the term was applied to this sign because of its similarity to the shape of the *ga῾yah* (a vertical line). One also finds it called גרש קטן (*gereš qaṭan*) to distinguish it from the following accent. Its ancient name is טֶרֶס (Aramaic: bar) on account of its shape, and that name is sometimes used for this accent and the following one. מ֞ – גֵּרְשַׁיִם, שני גְּרִישִׁין, גרש גדול, a variant of the *gereš* in specific positions. מ֣ ׀ – מֻנָּח לְגַרְמֵהּ, an abbreviation of the name שופר מונח לגרמיה ("trumpet, horn [sustained] by itself"). The vertical line between the words separates this pausal accent from the conjunctive accent similar in shape (*munah*).

5.3.3.1.2. Conjunctives. מ֣ – מונח. This is an abbreviation of שופר מונח, which was the name of one of the types of accents that were called by the name שופר (horn, trumpet). The distinction between these types was not preserved, neither in the name nor in the sign. מ֤ – מַהְפָּךְ. An abbreviation of שופר מהפך ("inverted horn") or מְהֻפָּךְ or שופר הפוך. It is always placed under the stressed syllable and to the left of the vowel sign, and thus it is differentiated from the disjunctive *yetiv*. מ֥ – מֵירְכָא (Aramaic: prolonging) and also מְאָרְכָה, and מַאֲרִיךְ. In the ancient manuscripts it had the same shape as the *ga῾yah* and caused confusion. מ֦ – מֵירְכָא כפולה (double): a rare conjunctive, found only 14 times in the 21 books. מ֧ – דַּרְגָּא ("grade," "scale") referring to the sign and perhaps to the melody (Ar. *daraja* = "to sing quaveringly"). Its rare name שִׁישְׁלָא, שַׁלְשֶׁלֶת ("chain") perhaps goes back to a sign similar to a *šalšelet* (מ֓) from which this sign was shortened. מ֨ – אַזְלָא, אָזְלָא, אָזֵל ("going on"), the ancient name of the sign. Another name is קַדְמָא ("antecedent"), perhaps because it very often occurs before *gereš*. It is always written on the stressed syllable and it is thereby differentiated from the disjunctive *pašṭaʾ*. מ֩ (originally מ֩) – תְּלִישָׁא קטנה. The sign and the name are equal to those of the disjunctive and apparently denoted the same melody. The distinction is made by the position of the sign – postpositive, always at the end of the word, and in some editions of the Bible it is written an additional time over the stressed syllable in words with penultimate stress. מ֪ (originally מ֪, מ֪) – יֶרַח בֶּן יוֹמוֹ ("a day old moon") referring to its ancient form (מ֪) which is similar to the shape of a new moon (better: יָרֵחַ). The ancient name is גַּלְגַּל ("wheel") also referring to one of the ancient shapes, perhaps the oldest. Since it serves as a conjunctive for *qarne parah* only, it is as rare, found only 16 times in the 21 books.

5.3.3.1.3. Main Rules of Dichotomy by the Disjunctives. The accentual division of verses is generally logical, its purpose being to guide the reader in his recitation. Therefore it is frequently subordinated to considerations of rhythm and even of melody. The length of the verse and the distance of the dichotomy from the end of the verse are sometimes likely to cause a division at variance with the division required according to the syntactical analysis.

The accent which indicates the end of the verse is always *silluq*. A verse is usually divided by *eʾtnaḥ*, sometimes by *zaqef*, and infrequently even by *ṭippeḥa* – all according to the length of the verse and the distance between the place of the division and the end of the verse. The further the division occurs from the end of the verse the more likely it is that an *ʾetnaḥ* will be used.

The two hemistichs which result, that of *ʾetnaḥ* and that of the *silluq*, are each likely to be further subdivided by a *zaqef* (*qatan* or *gadol*), at a certain distance from the *ʾetnaḥ* or the *silluq*, or by a *ṭippeḥa* near them. *Tippeḥa* is used as a prelude accent and must occur in any event after the *zaqef*. When many divisions are required the *zaqef* is likely to be repeated a few times. In place of the first *zaqef* of the hemistich of the *ʾetnaḥ*, a *segol* is likely to occur.

The *zaqef*'s hemistich (to its right) is likely to be divided by *pašṭaʾ*, and when long by *revi῾a*, and then a *pašṭaʾ* follows.

The hemistich of the *segol* is always divided by *zarqaʾ* (as a prelude), and when it is long, by a *revia῾*, and then *zarqaʾ* will also occur after the *revia῾*.

The hemistich of the *ṭippeḥaʾ* is likely to be divided by *tevir*, and when it is long also by *revia῾*, and then the *tevir* will also come after the *revia῾*.

The hemistich of the *revia῾* is likely to be divided by *munaḥ legarmeh, gereš, telišaʾ gedola* or *pazer*, all according to the distance of the division from the end of the hemistich. *Munaḥ legarmeh* or *gereš* will occur close to its end and the *pazer* at a distance from it. A *pazer* can be repeated if necessary.

The hemistichs of the *pašta*ʾ, *zarqa*ʾ, or *tevir* are likely to be divided by *gereš*, *teliša*ʾ *gedola* or *pazer*, all according to the distance of the division from the end of the hemistich – *gereš* in a closer position and *pazer* at a distance. A *pazer* can be repeated it necessary.

The hemistichs of *pazer*, *teliša*ʾ *gedola*, and *munaḥ legarmeh* are not subdivided. That of *gereš* is sometimes divided, irregularly, by a *teliša*ʾ *gedola* and *pazer*.

These main rules have many by-rules and laws of transformation of accents causing changes and the use of variant accents conditioned by musical considerations.

5.3.3.1.4. Rules of Joining the Conjunctives. For each of the disjunctives there is a specific conjunctive which is joined to it. This joining of the conjunctive is not always imperative and even the number of the conjunctives which are added to a disjunctive depends upon the context and the verse structure. Sometimes only one conjunctive is added, sometimes more, up to a maximum of six conjunctives with certain disjunctives. Below is a list of the conjunctives which can join each disjunctive, arranged in reverse order, from the disjunctive backward:

silluq – its conjunctive is *merka*ʾ.

ʾ*etnaḥ, zaqef qaṭan, segol* – conjunctives: *munaḥ, munaḥ.*

*tippeḥa*ʾ – its conjunctive is *merka*ʾ (14 times in the Bible: double *merka*ʾ, *darga*ʾ).

*revia*ʿ – its conjunctives are *munaḥ, darga*ʾ, *munaḥ*.

*pašta*ʾ – the conjunctives are *mahpak* (or *merka*ʾ), ʾ*azla*ʾ (or *munaḥ*), *teliša*ʾ *qeṭanna, munaḥ, munaḥ, munaḥ.*

*zarqa*ʾ – the conjunctives are *munaḥ* (or *merka*ʾ), ʾ*azla*ʾ (or *munaḥ*), *teliša*ʾ *qeṭanna, munaḥ.*

tevir – its conjunctives are *darga*ʾ (or *merka*ʾ), ʾ*azla*ʾ (or *munaḥ*), *telia qeṭanna, munaḥ.*

*teliša*ʾ *gedola* – the conjunctives are *munaḥ, munaḥ, munaḥ, munaḥ, munaḥ.*

pazer – its conjunctives are *munaḥ, munaḥ, munaḥ, munaḥ, munaḥ.*

qarne parah – the conjuctives (at least two) are *yeraḥ ben yomo, munaḥ, munaḥ, munaḥ, munaḥ, munaḥ.*

gereš – its conjunctives are ʾ*azla*ʾ (or *munaḥ*), *teliša*ʾ *qeṭanna, munaḥ, munaḥ, munaḥ.*

geršayim – its conjunctive is *munaḥ.*

munaḥ legarmeh – conjunctives: *merka*ʾ, ʾ*azla*ʾ (or *munaḥ*).

5.3.3.2. THE (3) POETICAL BOOKS. *5.3.3.2.1. Disjunctives.* מֽ – סילוק, to mark the end of a verse. מ֥֫ – עולה ויורד ("ascending and descending"), referring to the melody. The upper sign is pretonic. מ֑ (originally מ֢) – אתנח. מ֗ – רְבִיעַ. In ancient manuscripts it is a disjunctive accent replacing ʾ*etnaḥ* as main divider of the domain of *silluq*. In later manuscripts and in printed editions it takes the shape of the following (*revia*ʿ *mugrash*) and both are regarded as one and the same accent. Originally there were four disjunctive accents in which the sign and the name *revia*ʿ appear: *revia*ʿ, *revia*ʿ *mugrash, revia*ʿ *gadol, revia*ʿ *qaṭan.* מ֝֗ – רביע מֻגְרָשׁ (*revia*ʿ *gerešatum*), a relatively late term. Formerly it was called *ṭippeha*ʾ, for its functions are similar to those of *ṭippeha*ʾ in the other 21 books. The sign of the *gereš* (the first of the two marks) is prepositive. In the ancient manuscripts a distinction is made between a *revia*ʿ which has a *gereš* (as shown here) and a *revia*ʿ which does not (see above), which is also a disjunctive in the hemistich of the *silluq*, but is not preceded by ʾ*etnaḥ* (it is a substitute for the ʾ*etnaḥ* itself). The conjunctives of these two accents are different. | מ֓ – שלשלת גדולה, a variant of the preceding one in specific conditions. The vertical line between the words separates this disjunctive from a similar conjunctive (*šalšelet qeṭanna*). מ֗ – רביע גדול, a disjunctive in the hemistich of ʿ*ole we-yored* or ʾ*etnaḥ* or *revia*ʿ (which is a substitute for ʾ*etnaḥ*). מ֮ (originally מ֘) – צינור, זרקא: a postpositive sign, placed at the end of the word to differentiate it from another sign of a melody similar to it. מ֭ – דְּחִי ("thrust back") referring to its being prepositive, which differentiates it from a similar conjunctive accent. Sometimes one also finds the names טרחא, טפחא and even יתיב for the disjunctive, no distinction being made between the names. In a few places the position of the stress was indicated by a sign similar to *ga*ʿ*yah* or *merka*ʾ (or even *tippeḥa*ʾ). In some individual manuscripts the sign מ֛ (*tevir* in the 21 books) is used instead of *deḥi*. מ֗ – רביע קטן, a minor disjunctive in the hemistich of ʿ*ole we-yored*. There is no difference in shape between this sign and *revia*ʿ *gadol*, but there is a difference in their respective conjunctives. מ֡ (originally מ֡, מ֡) – פזר. | מ֨ – אזלא לגרמיה. The vertical line after the word distinguishes this disjunctive from the conjunctive sign similar to it (ʾ*azla*ʾ). | מ֤ - מהפך לגרמיה; a variant of the previous accent in specific conditions. The vertical line after the word distinguishes this disjunctive from the conjunctive which is similar to it (*mahpak*).

5.3.3.2.2. Conjunctives. מ֥ – מירכא. מ֣ – מונח. מ֬ – עִלּוּי ("elevation," "raising"), an abbreviation of שופר עילוי. This is the ancient name of one of the types of accents which were called *shofar* (horn, trumpet), and it was so named because of the ascending melody. Only in a relatively late period did it refer to the sign of the *shofar* which was written above, that is, upper, superior *shofar*. Another name is מונח מלמעלה – with the same meaning. מ֤ – מהפך. מ֖ – טַרְחָא, a name apparently derived from טֹרַח ("burden") and meaning, consequently, laboring, heaviness. It is sometimes also called טפחא. It is always placed under the stressed syllable and it is thus differentiated from the disjunctive *deḥi*. Some of the early scholars differentiated between three types of *ṭarḥa* according to the disjunctive which they join: before *silluq* – נטויה ("inclined"), מאילא (from the Arabic *mā*ʾ*ilah* ="inclining," see below, 5.3.3.3.2.1.); before ʾ*etnaḥ* (or its substitute) – דְּחוּיָה (= "thrust back"); before *revia*ʿ *mugraš* (or *šalšelet gedola*) – שׁוֹכֵב ("reclining"). מ֨ – אזלא. מ֪ – גַּלְגַּל ("wheel"). Two different signs merged in this one, but they are still found separately in ancient manuscripts: מ֪ – the conjunctive for a *pazer* (and apparently the name *galgal* refers to this; it is also used in the 21 books), and מ֢ (in the form of an inverse ancient *ʾetnaḥ*) – which is used as a conjunctive for *ʿole we-yored*. מ֓ – שלשלת קטנה, a rare accent which appears only eight times in Psalms, Proverbs and Job.

5.3.3.2.3. *Main Rules of Dichotomy by the Disjunctives.* The relative brevity and parallel structure of most of the verses in Psalms, Proverbs, and Job were liable to cause monotony in the reading and even in the melody. In order to avoid this, special accents were used which allowed for more variety of tone than in the other books. These different accents based on the context, and even more on the syllable structure of the words themselves, helped reduce the monotony.

Here, too, the sign which marks the end of the verse is always *silluq*, although a few manuscripts do not mark it at all. A verse is divided by *ʿole we-yored*, or by *ʾetnaḥ* and infrequently even by *reviaʿ* (which in later manuscripts and editions is then marked with additional prepositive *gereš*) – all according to the length of the verse and the distance of the point of division from the end of the verse. The further the division is from the end of the verse, the more *ʿole we-yored* is used.

The hemistich of *ʿole we-yored* is likely to be divided by *reviaʿ qaṭan* at the first word or by *ṣinnor* at the second word and by *reviaʿ gadol* at the third word and further. When the hemistich is divided by *reviaʿ gadol*, a *ṣinnor* or *reviaʿ qaṭan* will be used, in any event, for an additional division between it and *ʿole we-yored*.

The hemistich of *ʾetnaḥ* is likely to be divided by *deḥi*, and when it is long, by *reviaʿ gadol*, and then it is possible that *deḥi* will also occur after the *reviaʿ gadol*.

The hemistich of the *silluq* which remains after the division by *ʾetnaḥ* (or by *ʿole we-yored*), is divided again by *reviaʿ mugraš*; and when *reviaʿ mugraš* is far from the *silluq*, there is a second, smaller division made by the disjunctive *ʾazlaʾ legarmeh* or *mahpaḵ legarmeh* (according to the structure of the word and the context of the accents). In special situations *šalšelet gedola* will occur instead of *reviaʿ mugraš*.

The hemistich of *reviʿa mugraš* or *šalšelet gedola* is not further subdivided. However, when *reviaʿ mugraš* is used instead of *ʾetnaḥ* (and it is then written in the ancient manuscripts without *gereš*), it is likely to be divided in the same manner as the hemistich of the *ʾetnaḥ* (see above).

The hemistichs of the *reviaʿ qaṭan* and *pazer* are likely to be subdivided only by *ʾazlaʾ legarmeh* or *mahpaḵ legarmeh*. The hemistich of *ʾazlaʾ legarmeh* is never subdivided.

Often enough these rules, or at least some of them, are not put into effect because of very precise rules of transformation. These rules, which are based upon musical considerations, cause the exchange of one disjunctive for another, or the replacement of a disjunctive by a conjunctive. In most cases of substitution the conjunctive accents of the original division remain in their positions and it happens, therefore, that sometimes the conjunctives of one disjunctive serve another disjunctive, or even another conjunctive. In order to trace a verse's division one must therefore take the rules of transformation into consideration. Sometimes even in a place where there is a conjunctive, the intention of the accentuators was a pause, and only the melody is that of the conjunctive. The opposite phenomenon – a disjunctive occurring for a musical reason in a place where no division is needed (prelude accent) – is very common in the accents of Psalms, Proverbs, and Job, and even more in the accents of the 21 books (see above).

5.3.3.2.4. *The Use of Conjunctives.* The rules of the conjunctives in Psalms, Proverbs, and Job became very slack with their transmission throughout the generations. While the musical side influenced their selection even more than in the 21 books, these rules were most complex and dependent upon the syllabic structure of the words, the number of conjunctives, and the distances from the disjunctive. Despite all these rules, the exceptions were still quite numerous. Furthermore, the reading tradition for the books of Psalms, Proverbs, and Job was not preserved by the various Jewish communities, and the system of the signs – and even more so, the rules behind them – were not understood by the scribes and printers, and they lacked all meaning for the readers. This accounts for the fact that as time passed the manuscripts – and even more so, the printed editions – differed from one another more and more, until complete confusion was reached in the rules of the conjunctives. The rules of the disjunctives also suffered, but to a lesser degree. Even in ancient manuscripts with an excellent textual tradition, the rules of the conjunctive are very complicated and sometimes there are no rules but different parallel possibilities for the conjunctive accents without any obvious causality. I. Yeivin has described the situation as found in the Aleppo codex (*The Aleppo Codex of the Bible* (1968), 281–350).

5.3.3.3. SPECIAL SIGNS. In addition to the accentuation signs, which have been treated until now, each of which indicates both a degree of pause and a melody (the noting of the place of stress in a word is restricted to the Tiberian system), there are a number of other signs used in the Tiberian system of accentuation, each for only one of the following purposes.

5.3.3.3.1. *Signs for Pause and not for Melody.* 5.3.3.3.1.1 Paseq. The sign ׀ מ (a vertical line between words; originally a small line ׀ מ) – פָּסֵק (Aramaic: cutting off), פְּסִיק (Aramaic: cut off); a symbol for punctuation only and not for melody. It occurs only after conjunctive accents and indicates a pause. One should consider it an additional improvement in the system of accentuation, for it is a sign used to complete the punctuation system after the system of the melody was stabilized. With regard to its phonetic influence upon the pronunciation of the word it is also like a disjunctive in that it voids the fricative nature of בגדכפ״ת at the beginning of the following word; that is, it cancels the fricativeness which is caused by the conjunctive accent near it. A distinction should be made between a *paseq* which is wont to occur after any one of the conjunctives as opposed to the similar sign which goes with one of the disjunctives: *šalšelet, munaḥ legarmeh, šalšelet gedola,*

ʾazlaʾ legarmeh, mahpaḵ legarmeh. With these disjunctives the sign is part of the accentuation. To distinguish between the two kinds, the masoretes arranged lists of the *paseqs* (פסיקְתָא) found in the Bible. The lists are not identical, but in general the number of *paseqs* reaches about 400. Already in Ben-Asher's *Dikduke ha-Teʾamim* five rules for *paseq* were enumerated, and in effect it was possible to explain most of the *paseqs* in the Bible with the aid of a set of rules. Yet these rules did not always work, and one cannot explain why they were not applied in every instance.

The five *paseq* rules of Ben-Asher may be sorted into two main categories of means for perfection:

(1) In a unit of mostly two words, which according to the principle of dichotomy needs no further division, the *paseq* occurs nevertheless to indicate division for a definite, phonetic or punctuational-exegetic, reason:

(a) a phonetic need – to separate between equal or similar consonants at the boundaries of adjacent connected words in order to avoid assimilation and, consequently, wrong joining of the words. Mostly the sonorants ל, מ, נ are involved, e.g. בָּבֶ֙ל ׀ לְגַלִּ֤ים ׀ מְעוֹן־תַּנִּ֛ים (Jer. 51:37);

(b) a punctuational need – to separate between a pair of identical or similar words, e.g., י֣וֹם ׀ י֑וֹם (Gen. 39:10), הִמּ֧וֹל ׀ יִמּ֛וֹל (Gen. 17:13);

(c) an exegetic need – to separate between words, one of which is a name of God, which are joined according to the accentuation needs, but their conjunction is liable to allow for a different understanding, in which God's name would be profaned, e.g. אִם־תִּקְטֹ֖ל אֱל֥וֹהַּ ׀ רָשָׁ֑ע (Ps. 139:19) – "if Thou shall kill, O God, the wicked," (not "if you kill the wicked God");

(d) an exegetic need – to separate between words in order to avoid an understanding arising from the division of the accentuation and which seems either wrong, impossible or unacceptable, e.g. יִשְׁמַ֤ע ׀ אֵ֨ל (Ps. 55:20), עָשׂ֣וּ ׀ כָּלָ֑ה (Gen. 18:21).

(2) in a unit of three words or more to separate words which should be separated according to the context, but for which proper disjunctives do not exist in the accentuation system to show this separation. This refers mainly to an additional division of the hemistichs of the smallest disjunctives – *pazer, telišaʾ gedola* and sometimes *gereš* – which cannot be further divided with accent signs: e.g. וַתִּשָּׂ֨א אֹתִ֥י ר֣וּחַ ׀ בֵּֽין־הָאָ֣רֶץ וּבֵ֣ין הַשָּׁמַ֔יִם (Ezek. 8:3).

Recently another early attempt to formulate rules for the occurrence of *paseq* was detected in Saadia Gaon's longer commentary to Exodus (Y. Ratzaby, *Rav Saadya's Commentary on Exodus* (Jerusalem 1998), pp. 224, 394–5), where he formulates five rules of his own, two of which do not coincide with Ben-Asher's rules (see Dotan, *Paseq*).

However, all the above are not rules for the placement of the *paseq*, but categories according to which one can classify and understand most of the *paseq* occurrences. Yet there are many places in the Bible which come under these classifications and a *paseq* is not found there. A relatively small part of the *paseqs* are not explained even according to these classifications, and there is no doubt that hidden explanations and exegetical homilies played a part in the placing of the *paseq*, as with the accentuation signs.

5.3.3.3.1.2. Maqqaf. The sign מ־ (originally an extremely small line which joined words) – מַקֵּף, מַקַּף ("binder"), is only a conjunctive sign and has no melody. It indicates that the word before it is connected to the next word; the first word has no accent of its own, and the melody indicated by the sign occurring with the word that follows it applies to it too. The *maqqaf* usually connects two words, sometimes three or even four and the dominant melody is indicated by the accent of the last word. The *maqqaf* can be classified into three main types:

(a) that which connects any type of small word, mostly prepositions and conjunctives, but also nouns, names, and other parts of speech, and makes it proclitic;

(b) that which connects a word whose stress is ultimate, although it is not a short word, to a word whose stress is at the beginning, in order to avoid adjacency of the stresses. By this connection the melody of the first word is voided, but it is doubtful whether its stress is completely cancelled. It seems that in these cases the stress regresses (נָסוֹג אָחוֹר) and is sometimes indicated by a *gaʿyah*; sometimes it is not indicated but the regression does exist in the pronunciation (latent regression);

(c) that which connects words which the accents (the conjunctives) were insufficient to connect, or some other difficulty in the accentuation left unconnected. This is another improvement in the system of accentuation, parallel to the *paseq*, but for conjunctive needs.

The rules of the *maqqaf* are only partially fixed (especially for type a), and there are variants with regard to details between different editions of the Bible. There are also principle differences between the Poetic books (Psalms, Proverbs, and Job) and the Prose books of the Bible. In ancient manuscripts the *maqqaf* was sometimes omitted, apparently through scribal error.

5.3.3.3.2. *Signs for Melody and not for Pause.* Signs for pause only are common to all 24 books of the Bible since they do not have any special melody. However, the signs for melody only are of necessity different in the two groups of books.

To this category belongs every conjunctive serving as a secondary accent in a word where another accent, disjunctive or conjunctive, marks the main stress. In this case the secondary conjunctive accents have no other function but melody. Signs serving solely for melody are the following:

5.3.3.3.2.1. The (21) Prose Books: (a) The sign מ֙ׄ (a sign similar in shape to *ʾazlaʾ* or *paštaʾ* occurring on a word with *zaqef qaṭan*) – it is called מַקֵּל (= "stroke," "rod") and also חֹטֶר ("rod"), because of the shape of the sign. Other names are: דָּרְבָן ("spur," "goad"), or its Arabic parallel, *hamza*, whose Hebrew spelling המזה was understood by copyists, who did not know Arabic, as a Hebrew noun with the article which they pronounced מַזֶּה. We also know of the names מְתִיגָה ("bridling") which was used equally for *gʿayah*, מַרְאֵה מָקוֹם ("indicator"), and פשט קטן because of its graphic similarity to the sign of the *pašta*ʾ. The *maqqel* is used in a word with *zaqef qaṭan* when there is no *pašta*ʾ or *yetiv* before it as a prelude accent, and when the conjunctive *munaḥ* does not precede the word or occur within it. That means that it is used as a sort of a prelude melody for *zaqef*, when the *zaqef* does not have another prelude accent in the form of *pašta*ʾ or *munaḥ*. The *maqqel* is always located in the closed syllable which is furthest from the stressed syllable and separated from it by at least one syllable (a mobile *šewa* is considered a syllable for this purpose) and it never occurs in a syllable which has *g*ʿ*ayah*; e.g., וְהִ̀תְקַדִּשְׁתֶּ֔ם (Lev. 20:7), שְׁמָ̀ר־לְךָ֔ (Ex. 34:11). In general the *maqqel* is not used at the beginning of a word, except in special cases.

(b). The sign מְ֖ (a sign similar to a *ṭippeḥa*ʾ which occurs in the same word with ʾ*etnaḥ* or *silluq*) is called מאילא and commonly pronounced מְאַיְלָא. Wickes believes that one should pronounce it מָאיְלָא as Ar. *māʾilah* from *māla* = to incline, to be inclined, and thus the name parallels the Hebrew names for this sign which are less common (נְטוּיָה and דְּחוּיָה) and have the same meaning.

The *meʾayla* is one of the peculiarities of the Masorah. It has no rules and occurs under no special conditions 15 or 16 times in the Bible: five times with a *silluq*, 10 or 11 times with an ʾ*etnaḥ*; and it is located at the position of the major *ga*ʿ*yah* in the word (e.g., לְדֹ֖רֹתֵיכֶֽם – Num. 15:21). Sometimes when the disjunctive applies to two words joined by *maqqaf*, it is located in the original position of the accentuation sign of the first word (e.g., וַתֹּאמַ֖רְנָה־לָּ֑הּ – Ruth 1:10). It thus serves as a secondary accent in a disjunctive word and one can assume that its melody was like that of the *ṭippeḥa*ʾ, and hence the similarity of the signs. Indeed, where a *meʾayla* is used one never finds a *ṭippeḥa*, while a conjunctive accent of *ṭippeḥa*ʾ can precede the *meʾayla*. Yet the opinion that the *meʾayla* is a disjunctive cannot be accepted. Most of the cases of *meʾayla*, but not all of them, can be explained as contamination of two versions, one with *maqqaf* and one with the disjunctive *tippeḥa*ʾ. In the works of the Masorah this sign is considered a conjunctive.

5.3.3.3.2.2. The (3) Poetical Books: (a) *Ṣinnorit*. The sign מ֘ (originally מ̀) is called צִנּוֹרִית (little *ṣinnor*), and its form is like that of the pausal accentuation sign *ṣinnor*, from which it is differentiated by the position of its notation. It is a pretonic sign and occurs in an open syllable adjacent to the stress in a word with the conjunctive *mahpak*, e.g. בְּתוֹכָ֘חֹ֤ות (Ps. 39:12), גָּ֘דֹ֤ול (Ps. 96:4), and rarely also in a word with the conjunctive *merka*ʾ e.g. הוֹשִׁ֘יעָ֥ה... הַצְלִ֘יחָ֥ה (Ps. 118:25). There is no doubt that it indicates a prelude melody for that of the conjunctive. Since it is joined only to the conjunctives, it is considered a "servant" for the "servants" (conjunctives), and it is thus also called עבד ("slave"). It occurs regularly in a word that has a *mahpak* – which is used as a conjunctive for these accents: *revia*ʿ *gadol* and ʾ*azla*ʾ *legarmeh* – on the first word that precedes them; *deḥi* – on the second word preceding it; *silluq*, ʾ*etnaḥ*, and *revia*ʿ (*mugraš* – the substitute for ʾ*etnaḥ*), on the third word preceding them. It does not occur regularly in a word with *merka*ʾ, and there are variants among the printed editions and manuscripts of the Bible. It is likely to be found mainly in a word with *merka*ʾ which is used as a conjunctive before the accents *silluq*, ʾ*etnaḥ*, and *revia*ʿ *mugraš* – on the first word preceding them.

(b) *Metiga*. The sign מ֒, similar to the *maqqel*, is known from a few manuscripts and from works of Masorah in which it is called *hamza* in Arabic and מתיגה in Hebrew, names which are also used for *maqqel*. The *metiga* is a pretonic sign. It is used in a syllable adjacent to the stress of a word with a *merka*ʾ which serves as the conjunctive for either the accent *silluq* or *revia*ʿ *mugraš*, in the first word preceding it. Thus the *metiga* was used as a prelude melody for *merka*ʾ. It disappeared from most manuscripts and from all printed editions of the Bible.

5.4. THE NON-CONVENTIONAL TIBERIAN SYSTEM

In many Bible manuscripts graphemes of the Tiberian system are used in different manner from that set by the Tiberian vocalizers. This was due to: (1) a tradition of pronunciation which differs from the Tiberian; (2) a different method of notation and different rules for the use of some of the Tiberian graphemes.

The most famous of these manuscripts is the Codex Reuchlinianus of the Prophets, which was written in 1105/6 C.E. There is no uniformity in these manuscripts and this system, unlike the conventional Tiberian system, is not consolidated. Thus, like the Babylonian and Palestinian systems, it came down to us in stages of development and its various characteristics are not found in every manuscript. Inconsistency in details of vocalization is found even in the same manuscript.

5.4.1. The Typifying Characteristics

This system is distinguished from the regular Tiberian system by elements whose origin is in a different tradition of pronunciation; and by Tiberian symbols which are used according to different principles. No manuscript contains all traits of both these characteristics, especially some of the second category, also occur at times in regular Tiberian texts.

5.4.1.1. THE PRONUNCIATION TRADITION. The main traits of a different tradition of pronunciation are as follows:

(1) The lack of distinction between *qameṣ* and *pattaḥ* and between *ṣere* and *segol*; but even this typifying characteristic is not common to all manuscripts of this type.

(2) –וְיְ, –בְּיְ, –לְיְ at the beginning of a word becomes –וִי, –בִּי, –לִי.

(3) –יְ at the beginning of a word becomes – יִ.

(4) The lack of furtive *pattaḥ* before –ח, –ע (written as –חְ, –עְ), unless ī (–ִי) and in a number of manuscripts even *ū* (–וּ) preceded them; also its absence before –הּ (written as הְּ or הּ only). Whether this characteristic is rooted in a different tradition of pronunciation is doubtful. Perhaps it is only a graphic variant in the system, that is, the consonants –הּ, –ח, –ע in the final position are always pronounced with the preceding glide vowel, and there is no need to write it in. The *pattaḥ*

only following *matres lectionis* י, ו (before ח, ע), i.e., in a position where there are graphic conditions for its notation, reinforces this possibility.

5.4.1.2. VOCALIZATION. The principles of different notation in vocalization are:

(5) The principle of the *dageš lene* – that the *dageš* is placed in a letter at the beginning of a syllable which is preceded by one that ends in a consonant – is extended to the letters ז, ט, ל, מ, נ, ס, צ, ק, ש (hence it applies to all the letters except א, ה, ח, ע, ר, ו, י). The notation of the *rafeh* is correspondingly extended to these letters in an almost regular manner; it is added to a letter which is at the beginning of a syllable preceded by one that ends with a vowel. This characteristic is very frequent although its execution is not always perfect, and the symbols are also found outside the above conditions. In the opinion of Morag its function was to remove the doubt about the *šewa*: a *dageš* would indicate that the *šewa* preceding it (at the end of the preceding syllable) was quiescent, and *rafeh* would indicate that the *šewa* preceding it was mobile. From here the distinction was transferred to positions in which there is no *šewa* at the boundary of the syllables and also to the beginning of a word.

(6) A *dageš* in א and ה indicates their consonantal nature; *rafeh* above them (אֿ, הֿ) indicates that they are *matres lectionis*.

(7) וֿ – in the middle of a word indicates that the letter is a consonant; וּֿ, וּ, וֿ – indicates its consonantal nature at the end of a word. יֿ indicates its consonantal nature at the beginning and in the middle of a word; יְ, יּ, יֿ – a consonant at the end of the word.

(8) The *mappiq* is written at the bottom of the *he* - הּ.

(9) שׁ = š; שׂ (or ·ש) = ś; and the *dageš* is written above the letter: שּׁ = š with *dageš*, שּׂ = ś with *dageš*.

(10) Instead of *qameṣ* in a closed, unstressed syllable (our *qameṣ qaṭan*) מֳ is written and in some isolated manuscripts מֹ.

(11) Instead of a mobile *šewa* preceding a consonantal *yod* with any type of vowel, a *ḥireq* is written (בִּיָד), equivalent to actual Tiberian pronunciation.

(12) The consonants ח, ע are written with *šewa* even at the end of a word, and sometimes also the consonantal ה.

(13) When *ḥatefs* occur with ה, ח, and sometimes א too, the *šewa* sign is written above the vowel sign and within the letters: הֲ, חֳ, אֱ.

(14) With the letter ח and sometimes also with ע within a word, a *ḥaṭaf pattaḥ* occurs in place of quiescent *šewa*. It would seem that this is not a major change in pronunciation but in the notation only (which originated perhaps with the perception of a slight vocal glide adjacent to the ח). The nature of the *šewa* is established, as in the other cases, by the *dageš* or *rafeh* in the adjacent letter: שָׁמָּעֲנוּ before a *dageš*, quiescent; הַכֹּהֲנִים – before a *rafeh*, mobile. This is not done consistently, however. The opposite tendency is seen in ancient manuscripts: a simple *šewa* is used everywhere, even in such positions where in the regular Tiberian system we would find definite *ḥatefs*.

5.4.1.3. ACCENTUATION OF THE (21) PROSE BOOKS. The following characteristics occur in the 21 books:

(15) Two different accents are used as conjunctives before *zaqef*: the regular *munaḥ* (מ֣) and the sign מ֤ (a type of inverse *mahpak̠*). The latter is used as the single conjunctive of *zaqef* when the stress is at the beginning of the word, or as the first of two conjunctives before *zaqef* in any situation of stress. In the other instances the regular *munaḥ* is used. These conditions fit those of the conjunctive שופר מְכַרְבֵּל (for its meaning see Dotan, ed., *Dikduke ha-Te'amim*, p. 341, note 108), which are found in various works of Masorah (for example, *Maḥberet ha-Tījān*, ed. Derenbourg, p. 95).

(16) No conjunctive occurs within a word with a *zaqef* even in cases where it should occur according to the regular Tiberian system.

(17) There is no *geršayim* (מ֞), and *gereš* (מ֜) is used instead in every instance.

(18) The sign of the conjunctive *darga* is similar to the *šalšelet* below the word (מ֧); cf. also the Aramaic name of *darga*, שישלא (= chain), and even the Hebrew שלשלת.

5.4.1.4. ACCENTUATION OF THE (3) POETICAL BOOKS. (19) Instead of the disjunctive *deḥi* (מ֭), the sign of *tevir* (מ֛) is used with the same function.

(20) There are distinctions made between the types of *revia*ʿ: *revia*ʿ *gadol* מ֞ (like a doubled *gereš*, but the first mark is prepositive and the second is above the stressed syllable); *revia*ʿ (which is not preceded by ʾ*etnaḥ*) מ֓ or מ֗; and other signs and distinctions similar to these.

(21) There are deviations from the regular Tiberian system with regard to the rules of the conjunctives, and they are different in the various manuscripts.

(22) The use of *ṣinnorit* (in words with *mahpak̠* and *merk̠a*ʾ) is more frequent and more consistent than in the regular Tiberian system, and also the *metiga* (above 5.3.3.3.2.2.) (in words with a *merk̠a*ʾ) is more common.

More sign variations and markings of peculiarities as used in some manuscripts were brought by Yeivin (*The Accentuation*, 1992).

5.4.1.5. OTHER SIGNS. (23) To distinguish between the *legarmeh* signs (*munaḥ legarmeh, ʾazlaʾ legarmeh, mahpak̠ legarmeh*) and the *paseq*, there is לגׄ or פסׄ written in the margin among the masoretic notes almost regularly.

(24) The omission of the *maqqaf* is more common than in the regular Tiberian manuscripts and apparently not necessarily because of oversight of the scribes.

(25) There is a much more extensive use of *gaʿya* than in the ancient Tiberian manuscripts, especially the different types of major *gaʿya*.

The above is thus a summarized list of the main differences found in most of the manuscripts. There are additional characteristics found in one or another isolated manuscript, which have not been listed above. These characteristics seem to indicate a definite tendency, but this tendency reveals itself in various stages of development and crystallization, namely, a pronunciation other than that known as Tiberian, and the use of the Tiberian graphemes in a way differing from the common one found in conventional Tiberian manuscripts. However, the manuscripts differ even among themselves in regard to the degree of development or perfection in each of these two divisions. Some of them show marked differences from the Tiberian tradition of pronunciation, especially with regard to the pronunciation of the vowels, and others – a minority of the manuscripts – are closer to it, at times almost identical. Furthermore, in some manuscripts the non-conventional use of the Tiberian graphemes seems to be inconsistent, random, while others have a more complete and precise method approaching systematization which does not leave one letter without a symbol.

5.4.2. An Analysis of the System

In all fairness it must be said that the variant usage of graphemes, the different graphic method, is in itself insufficient to separate this vocalization system from the Tiberian tradition. Yet, since this method is usually associated with the indication of non-Tiberian pronunciation, especially its substitution of *qameṣ* for *pattaḥ* and *ṣere* for *segol*, and vice versa (characteristic 1 above) – all the others are not necessarily non-Tiberian characteristics – it is clear that this entire system is non-Tiberian. Even if isolated manuscripts have been found in which the free substitution of these vowel signs does not occur, their very scarceness and even their relative lateness testify to the fact that they constitute something of a further improvement of the system in order to bring it closer to the regular Tiberian system.

5.4.2.1. PALESTINIAN-SEPHARDI. The lack of distinction between *qameṣ* and *pattaḥ* and between *ṣere* and *segol* is common to the Palestinian and to the Sephardi pronunciation traditions. The rest of the characteristics of pronunciation are not necessarily typifying for either of these two traditions. For example, characteristic 2 is also found in the Tiberian tradition itself in the school of *Ben-Naphtali, and vestiges of it can even be discerned in manuscripts and various editions of the accepted Tiberian text, e.g., בִּיקְּרוֹתֶיךָ (Ps. 45:10); וִילְלַת (Jer. 25:36); לִיקְּהַת (Prov. 30:17). It is difficult to decide one way or another even according to the graphic method. Most of the characteristics are neutral; some no doubt reflect ancient Tiberian characteristics (15, for example), while others are not necessarily specific to Palestine but are also found in the Babylonian tradition and sometimes in the Tiberian tradition as well (19, for example). Only two characteristics seem to be common to this system and the Palestinian – the way of noting the diacritical dots in the letters הּ, שׁ, שׂ (characteristics 8,9). However, Palestinian manuscripts which follow this method of notation reveal clear signs of Tiberianization with regard to the notation of vowels, and diacritical signs such as these are not found in purely Palestinian manuscripts. The noting of the *mappiq* in the lower part of ה is also found, for instance, in the Tiberian vocalization of the Kaufmann manuscript of the Mishnah. Then even this loose connection between the two systems loses its significance.

5.4.2.2. GEOGRAPHICAL AND CHRONOLOGICAL DISTRIBUTION. On the other hand, one must consider the fact that the manuscripts vocalized in this manner are most widespread in European libraries; even those from the *Genizah*, at least some of them, originated – as N. Allony has emphasized – in Western European countries (especially Germany), and not necessarily in the East. The dated manuscripts among them range from the 11th century to the 14th. The pronunciation of the vowels during that period among the Jews of Western Europe, including the Ashkenazi Jews of Germany and France, was similar to that of the Spanish (Sephardi) Jews. The system under discussion is just a further verification of this fact, which was first pointed out by Yalon (*Leshonenu*, 3 (1931), 204). Thus the tendency of the system is in this direction, too, toward the Sephardi-Ashkenazi pronunciation tradition, no less and perhaps more than its attraction toward the Palestinian pronunciation tradition.

5.4.3. The Relationship to the Conventional Tiberian System

Various opinions have been expressed concerning the relationship of this system to the conventional Tiberian vocalization system. Different names for this system have also been offered according to these opinions.

5.4.3.1. BEN-NAPHTALI. Kahle focused on one characteristic (2) which is common to these manuscripts and to the Ben-Naphtali versions of the Tiberian tradition. Although he did not find additional principal characteristics common to this system and to the Ben-Naphtali tradition, and despite the fact that most of these manuscripts do not accord with a large part of the Ben-Naphtali readings, he did not hesitate to name the whole system "the Ben-Naphtali System."

5.4.3.2. OTHER NAMES. It has become clear that this opinion is unfounded, and other suggestions have been offered in regard to the system. Some consider it a more primitive system than the conventional Tiberian and suggest that it be considered as "proto-masoretic" or "pre-masoretic" (thus Sperber and Díez Macho); others take it to be a more sophisticated system than the Tiberian, trying to reach complex phonetic notation, and therefore they date it later, hence it would be necessarily "post-masoretic." Because of its connection with the pronunciation tradition of the Palestinian vocalization, it has been suggested to call it the "fuller Palestinian" system (Morag) or the "Palestinian-Tiberian" system (Allony and later also Morag). These two names are based on the assumption that the system under discussion is nothing more than an expansion of the Palestinian vocalization, that is, the transmission of the Palestinian pronunciation in a fuller manner with the aid of Tiberian signs. Yet even the theory of the lateness of the system has not universally been accepted, and the idea has formed that these manuscripts are not of a uniform nature. Díez Macho has suggested that the manuscripts be divided into three groups according to their chronological-typological parallels to the Tiberian system, and then they would show both pre- and post-masoretic vocalization of this type.

Two other names which have been suggested are based on dissatisfaction with the chronological connotations of the names – which are no more typifying – and from the connection with the Palestinian system of vocalization, which is based on conjecture and interpretation of facts and not on actual facts. Since this is a system which differs from the traditional one, the name "non-masoretic" has been suggested (Yeivin). Yet this too misses the mark, for even if the system does not agree with our Masorah, which was universally accepted, it is still within the range of the concept Masorah, and even these manuscripts have their masoretic notes. A more recent suggestion was "Expanded Tiberian" (Yeivin) indicating the wider range of its graphemes but saying nothing about the nature of the system. According to the term "non-receptus" (Goshen-Gottstein) the system is one of two Tiberian systems which developed at the same time, both representing the same Tiberian reading tradition by different graphic systems. The difference between the two systems is that one was accepted (*receptus*) and the other was rejected. Following this opinion it is in that minority of manuscripts in which the free interchange of the vowel signs (characteristic 1) does not occur, that we find the main principle of our system; while the vast majority of manuscripts in which this interchange does occur shows no more than a late subsystem with characteristics of Sephardic pronunciation. Not only does such a presentation disagree with the facts, but it is also not fitting to describe a system which was accepted by large Jewish communities for hundreds of years, until the 15th century or perhaps later, as *non-receptus* only because it is not accepted today. Moreover, this system of vocalization was so thoroughly accepted in Western Europe that it was considered the official system of the Jews there and, as Allony has illustrated, they called it by the name הניקוד שלנו ("our vocalization"), as follows from the commentary to *Avot* in *Maḥzor Vitry* (see above, 5.1.). They presented it in explicit contrast to even the conventional Tiberian system as "ours." They vocalized not only the Bible with it, but also prayer books, texts of *piyyutim*, Mishnah etc.

5.4.3.3. DEFINITION OF THE SYSTEM. Without going into the question of the relation of the system to the Palestinian or Sephardi tradition or into the question of the time of its growth and its relation to the accepted Masorah, we remain with one clear fact: this is a system which uses the Tiberian graphemes to denote a non-Tiberian pronunciation; it is a "non-Tiberian" use – that is, not accepted by the Tiberians – of the Tiberian graphemes. Thus the most fitting name is the "Tiberian Non-Conventional" system. This was a system which intended to present a Palestinian-Sephardi pronunciation by means of Tiberian graphemes. The terms "Palestinian" and "Sephardi" are nothing more than different names for a pronunciation tradition of five vowels and from this aspect they are synonymous. They differ from each other only with regard to the origin of the system. From the widespread distribution of most of the manuscripts one can consider this is an attempt of Sephardim and of Ashkenazim whose pronunciation was Sephardic to use Tiberian symbols for their own pronunciation, i.e., "Sephardi vocalization," which first developed in Europe. However, a similar pronunciation is known also in the East, mostly within the boundaries of Palestine; but its special system of notation – the Palestinian vocalization – was not sufficiently developed and when the Tiberian vocalization was instituted, those who practiced the five-vowel pronunciation adopted it for themselves, adapted it to their needs, improved it, and made it even more phonetic. Since this vocalization was fitting for every Sephardi pronunciation, it was transferred afterwards to Europe where it spread. If this was indeed the process, it was something of a repetition of the history of the Palestinian vocalization, which was also an adapted system for a five-vowel pronunciation that was originally set for a six-vowel pronunciation tradition (see above, 5.1.1.2.). Those who followed the Palestinian tradition of pronunciation repeated, therefore, the conduct of their ancestors who adopted a different vocalization system and adapted it to their needs. It follows from this that Hebrew never had a graphic system which was originally intended for a five-vowel pronunciation tradition.

5.5. THE CONTAMINATION (MIXING) OF THE SYSTEMS

Although the non-conventional Tiberian notation is a mixture of Tiberian signs and non-Tiberian pronunciation, because of its other characteristics, its uniqueness, and the relative systematization of the manuscripts one must define it as a "system" in its own right. But, indeed, the principle of mixing the systems was not strange to the masoretes and the Hebrew scribes. It turns out that the various systems were not limited to closed communities with no contact between them. The cultural connection between the dispersed Jewish communities was close and active throughout the generations, and there is no doubt that this also included mutual influences in the realm of language between communities which were geographically or spiritually close. Of necessity the scribes everywhere were trained in the methods of writing Hebrew, as this language was the connecting link between the scattered Jewish communities. It is not only shapes of letters which are included in the methods of writing, but also the signs of the different vocalization systems. This knowledge of vocalization systems, the initial purpose of which was to gain a passive knowledge so as to understand written records from other places, ultimately led to the use of these signs to a greater or lesser degree, sometimes in order to complete the local method of writing and sometimes for other needs. See also above 3.2.4.2. Contamination of Masora.

5.5.1. Transcriptions

One of the most extreme instances of the mixture of systems is seen in extant manuscripts of the Bible in Arabic transcription (Arabic script being in itself quite rare among medieval Jews) with Tiberian vocalization and accentuation signs. These manuscripts were common among the Karaites in the tenth and 11th centuries and for a short time after, apparently to prevent the holy manuscripts in Hebrew script from being used as reading primers.

5.5.2. Process of Tiberianization

The major mixing is that of the vowel and accentuation signs. Indeed, most of the mixed manuscripts have as their general trend the increased use and dominance of the Tiberian system, both in pronunciation and in graphic notation. With regard to pronunciation, we see that this is the process of Tiberianization that was ever-increasing in all the vocalization systems (Palestinian as well as Babylonian) and affected the set of signs of the systems themselves. It left its traces also in both the phonology and the morphology of the language in each of the systems. In the appropriate sections above, references were made to the specific stages in both the Palestinian and the Babylonian vocalizations in which the influence of the Tiberian pronunciation increased. As time passed this admixture became part of the actual development of these vocalization systems.

5.5.3. Types of Mixture

There are several types of mixture in graphic notation:

(1) An a priori mixture made by the first scribe. One must examine the degree of mixture and its purpose:

(a) A systematic mixture for the purpose of completeness, adding a series of graphemes which do not exist in the original system of the scribe. An example is the Leningrad manuscript of the Prophets from 916, which is voweled and accented with the complex Babylonian system with a mixture of Tiberian signs for all the conjunctive accents, the *dageš*, the *rafeh*, the *maqqaf*, and other Tiberian signs. Examples are also found, although to a lesser degree, in the Palestinian system which was mixed with Tiberian symbols, especially the signs of the conjunctive accents.

(b) A random mixture of signs from two systems, for no apparent reason, which sometimes seems to be merely the result of the expertness of the scribe in the two systems. There are examples of Palestinian/Tiberian and Babylonian/Tiberian mixtures.

(c) A mixture of isolated signs from a different vocalization system for the purpose of ornamentation, mostly in masoretic notes, but also in other instances. Examples of that are usually found in Tiberian texts in which isolated Babylonian signs (for example the Aleppo codex), or isolated Palestinian signs, as well as others had been added.

(2) A mixture for the purpose of changing the original writing by a later scribe (second, or third, etc.). Here, too, one must examine the goal:

(a) The correction of pronunciation by a later scribe in a manuscript which was vocalized originally according to a different pronunciation tradition. Manuscripts with Babylonian vocalization in which a later scribe changed the system to a Tiberianized Babylonian are an example of this type. There are also a large number of Yemenite manuscripts of this kind. Non-conventional Tiberian manuscripts which were corrected to the conventional Tiberian are another example. For all of these we do not refer to additions only, but to erasures and major changes as well.

(b) Another purpose was the transition from one tradition of pronunciation to another, in most cases because of the passing of the manuscripts from hand to hand and the request of the new owners to add the vocalization according to their system. Generally, the former one was not erased; a new one was merely added alongside the old. The transition from Palestinian to Tiberian, Babylonian to Tiberian, and rarely from Babylonian to Palestinian, are examples of that. We also know of the systematic transcription from one vocalization system to another in the course of the copying of manuscripts which wandered from one place to another. Apparently there were special experts for this work, according to the testimony of that colophon (see above, 5.2.0.1.): "This *targum* was copied from a book which was brought from Babylonia and which was vocalized above [the line] with the vocalization of the land of Assyria and R. Nathan changed it … and corrected it and copied it in the Tiberian vocalization." Thus in copying the manuscript, they also "changed" its vocalization. A manuscript from faraway places required an adaptation of the vocalization; but when the entire manuscript was not recopied, this adaptation already meant a contamination of the vocalization systems.

Changes like these were sometimes the work of several scribes who altered and corrected one after the other until one finds several hands having dealt with the vocalization of a single manuscript. The possibility of consistency would become less and less as more hands handled a manuscript. One who wishes to trace the methods of vocalization of mixed manuscripts such as these will find that he must learn to know the different scripts, the different colors of ink, and other such factors, in order to be able to distinguish between the various notations of each one of the vocalizers. The vocalization of these manuscripts cannot be considered uniform; the notation of each vocalizer must be investigated by itself.

5.6. THE SAMARITAN SYSTEM

The reading tradition of the Samaritans constitutes a branch of its own among the reading traditions of the Jews, both for Hebrew and Aramaic, and it developed as an independent offshoot, sometimes in contact with the local Hebrew tradition or traditions. The Samaritans cherished the exact transmission of the language from generation to generation no less, and perhaps even more, than the Jews, as it was a characteristic policy in their attempt at preserving and nurturing everything which had some Samaritan uniqueness in which they differed from the Jews. They also developed an entirely separate and distinct vocalization and accentuation system for themselves. It is possible that the impetus for this came from contact with the Jews and from an attempt to imitate them, but the development of the system and its details are different from the Jewish systems. In this matter, the vocalization system is distinct from the accentuation system; the former is built according to the pattern of the Jewish systems and some of the signs are identical or similar to the Palestinian vocalization which originated in the same area as the Samaritan; the accentuation system, however, is of a type completely different from the Jewish systems and closer to the Syriac system (see below).

5.6.1. The Vowel Signs

5.6.1.1. THE PROBLEMS. The Samaritan vocalization system, like the primitive strata of the Jewish vocalization systems, does not mark all the vowels consistently, but mainly those which are likely to prevent error and especially those in syllables in which there are no *matres lectionis*. The number of manuscripts containing vocalization is extremely small and their use of signs is not uniform. In any event, it is difficult to establish the exact meaning of the signs, and it is known that their functions changed as time passed. In fact almost every sign refers to more than one vowel quality. Some of the Samaritan grammarians and masoretes already did not know the exact meaning of the signs and did not use them in their works except by rote and as a tradition of their teachers, and thus their testimonies are not uniform and do not agree with the traditional Samaritan pronunciation or with the structure of the language. For hundreds of years now these vowel signs have had no practical use. Only through a comprehensive historical-comparative investigation is it possible to trace the original use of the signs and their later applications and to follow the various layers which are discernible in the set of signs. Such an examination was made by Z. Ben-Ḥayyim and the following description is based upon his conclusions.

As in the other vocalization systems of Hebrew there is no indication of quantity in this system either and the suppositions of scholars who thought that they had found signs for length were based on false premises. Even the similarity of some signs to the Palestinian is only apparent. In fact, the two systems have only two signs in common; the two of one pair have different uses, while the other two are only somewhat similar. Since the two which are alike are basic grapheme signs (–, ˈ), which are likely to be adopted independently in any vocalization system, there is no need to assume borrowing or dependence of the Samaritan system upon the Palestinian, even though both of them were native to approximately the same region.

5.6.1.2. THE VOWEL AND DIACRITICAL SIGNS. There are ten signs in the Samaritan system: nine signs for vowels and one diacritical sign for the *dageš*. However, since some of the vowel signs are sometimes used with the function of a diacritical sign or embody within them a combination of a vowel sign and a diacritical sign, it is more convenient to deal with them together. Six of the ten signs belong to the ancient layer, that is, they are assumed to have been used at the beginning of Samaritan vocalization (there are no biblical manuscripts of this layer), and the others are substitutes and later developments. All ten are never used in one and the same manuscript. There are no dots at all in the Samaritan vocalization as known today, and the six basic signs all consist of lines and angles, which are placed above the letter and a little to the left. According to the Samaritan grammarians the signs are parts of Samaritan letters.

מ˂ – *i* (sometimes a kind of *e* which is derived from a final post-tonal *ī*). The grammarians called it by the Arabic names of this vowel, *kasr* or *ḫafḍ*, and according to a Samaritan grammarian the sign is part of the letter adjacent to *yod* – i.e., *ṭet* (ࠈ).

מ̌ – *e*. One of the three types of the *fatḥ*, called by the grammarians *fatḥ al-nidāʾ* (the *fatḥ* of exclamation), and they considered it part of the letter *ʾalef* (ࠀ).

מ̍ – *å* (according to Ben-Ḥayyim's notation). One of the three types of *fatḥ*, called by the grammarians *fatḥ al-ʾīmāʾ* (the *fatḥ* of indication), and they considered it part of the letter *he* (ࠄ).

מ̂ – *o, u*. This sign was called by the grammarians *ḍamm*, the Arabic name of the vowel, and they considered it part of the letter *waw* (ࠅ). There was no need for two different signs since the two vowels are allophones in complementary distribution: *u* – only in an open tonal or pretonal syllable (and then it is long), *o* – only in an open, post-tonal syllable or in a closed syllable (and then it is always short).

מ̄ – *a*. This is also one of the three types of *fatḥ* and was called by grammarians *fatḥ al-ʾiḫā* (the *fatḥ* of brotherhood) and sometimes just by the name *fatḥ*; they believed it to be part of the letter *ḥet* (ࠇ) or *ʿayin* (ࠏ).

מ˃ – A diacritical sign only, it indicates gemination (*dageš forte*). The grammarians called it by the name of the corresponding Arabic sign, *shadd*, and they considered the sign to be part of the the letter *qof* (ࠒ) of the Hebrew word *ḥazaq*, which indicated the *tašdīd* according to them.

These basic signs were used in a rather ancient period, according to Ben-Ḥayyim even prior to the Arabic-speaking period of the Samaritans. Obviously their Arabic names are later. As Arabic influence increased after the conquest, other signs penetrated the system; they can be seen as direct borrowings from the Arabic system of graphemes. These signs are not listed in the works of the grammarians:

מ́ – a stylized form of מ̄, perhaps under the influence of the Arabic *fatḥa*. מ̉ – a substitute for מ̂, and it is actually the Arabic sign of *ḍamma*. In an even later period the precise use of part of these signs declined and was forgotten, especially the מ̄ which indicates sometimes even *i*. Sometimes the sign came to mark the fuller pronunciation of a consonant in the environment of the vowel, e.g., to indicate the plosive pronunciation of *waw* (עשו̄ *ʿīšab*), or to indicate the gemination of the consonant. In the course of time, apparently not before the 13th century, the necessity arose to mark a pronounced *ʾayin* (as the outcome of either an original *ʾayin* or an original *ḥet*) occurring almost always at the beginning of a word (as a result of two adjoining weakened gutturals: אח, אע, הח, הע). This sound has two signs. عـמ–*ʿa*, a prepositive sign. It is apparently a combination of the Arabic letter ع with the basic vowel sign for *a* – מ̍. The combination מ̍ع is also found in a manuscript and it is apparently the source of the cursive combinations عا.

מؑ – ʿ*a*, a prepositive sign. It is but the Arabic letter ع. There were scribes who abstained from using an additional sign for the vowel, since the vowel of the consonant ʿ is always *a* in any event. This use of the Arabic letter ʿayin as a diacritical sign is borrowed from the Arabic custom to use that letter as a diacritical sign. In Arabic, however, unlike Samaritan usage, it denotes a consonantal *ʾalef* (that is, an *ʾalef* which is to be pronounced almost like an *ʿayin*), this mark being in fact the sign of the *hamza* (ء) which is a shortened Arabic *ʿayin*. Moreover, Arabic manuscripts have been found in which a full *ʿayin* is used to indicate *hamza* (أ) just like the aforementioned Samaritan sign.

5.6.2. The Accentuation Signs

For Samaritan as well it can be clearly established – perhaps more clearly than for the other systems – that the accentuation signs are older than the vocalization signs: whereas all the names of the vowels are Arabic, all the names of the accents are Aramaic. Nonetheless, this does not constitute evidence of the origin of the vowel signs in the period of Arabic speech of the Samaritans, but simply that at the time when the accentuation signs already had names – and this was still in the period of Aramaic speech of the Samaritans – the vowel signs did not have names as yet. It follows from this that the set of vowel signs was not yet fixed at the time that the set of accentuation signs was already established and firmly set. The accents are called by the Samaritans סדרי מקרתה (*sēdāri maqrāta*, "arrangements of the Scripture"); they are ten in number and are listed in the works of Samaritan grammarians (see the edition of Ben-Ḥayyim). They are located always at the end of a group of words to which they apply. These are the signs and their names:

נגד – מ̈ ("leading"); פסק – מ⁝ ("cutting"); אנחו – מ̊ ("rest"); ארכנו – מ/ ("an order," as Ben Ḥayyim has proved); שיאלה – מ:< ("a question"); זעיקה – מ·- ("a call"); אתמחו – מ:< ("a wonder"); בעו – מ·< ("a request"); זעף – מ:= ("a rebuke"); תורו – מ:ı ("instructing").

It is clear from the nature of the translations of the terms that the main function of the accents is that of pausal signs which indicate the types of speech in the syntactical units preceding them, and thus also indicate the manner of reading and the melody, but not in the detailed way of the other systems which indicate an accent for almost each word. Needless to say, they do not show the position of the stress in the word. In this function of an exegetical-syntactical guide to the text they are similar to the Syriac accents. The names of some Samaritan accents are etymologically related to the names of Syriac accents, e.g., (according to the order above): נגודא, פסוקא, מנחתא, מניחנא, משאלנא and others which are close to them in meaning, such as: פקודא (= ארכנו), קרויא (= זעיקה), מדמרנא, אתדמרנא (= אתמחו) and perhaps also מצלינא (= בעו).

The division of speech into different types is rooted in the writings of the medieval grammarians (already dating from Saadiah Gaon among the Jews) and goes back to Greek philosophy (Aristotle). It is not, therefore, necessary to consider the Samaritan accentuation system as a borrowing from Syriac, although it might be that it is an imitation.

Already in ancient times the precise functions of the signs were forgotten and there is no regularity in their usage in the Samaritan manuscripts. One grammarian from the end of the tenth century (Ibn Dartha) still knew their exegetical-syntactical functions, but had nothing to say of the melody which accompanies them. No need to say that the reading handed down from generation to generation until today is not connected at all to any written system of accentuation signs, all the more so as there is no extant uniform system.

In the Samaritan orthography a dot is used regularly to separate words. This dot is neither an accentuation sign nor a regular punctuation (or conjunction) sign, but a continuation of the ancient orthographic custom of the Canaanite and Hebrew inscriptions in which the dot is used to separate words.

6. MASORETES AND GRAMMARIANS

The entire vast creation of the Masorah and the various systems of vocalization and accentuation are anonymous. The names of a few masoretes and even the works of some of them are indeed known, but there is no possibility of attributing the entire endeavor or even a part of it to any specific sage, in spite of all the attempts to do so. It is even an error to attribute the Tiberian vocalization, for example, to the family of masoretes of Asher the Elder, an opinion sometimes expressed. To the same degree it is an error to speak of the "Ben-Asher text" of the Bible when one is referring to the entire Tiberian version of the Bible.

A survey of the activity of anonymous works and of certain masoretes whose names are known can thus be done parallel to the survey of the development of the Masorah, but not combined with it. Knowing their approximate times a list of masoretes in assumed chronological order can be arranged, but the position of each in the general process of development or his contribution to the general creation of the Masorah cannot be established.

6.1. THE FIRST MASORETES

6.1.1. Dosa ben Eleazar

The Masorah concerning the total number of verses in the Bible is attributed in a well-known masoretic note quoted in several sources – among them in a manuscript of *Okhlah we-Okhlah* – to Dosa ben Eleazar (apparently end of the fourth century-beginning of the fifth). He received it from his teachers from whom it goes back to Rav Hamnuna, the Babylonian *amora* (end of the third century) whom it reached from Palestinian sources more than one hundred years earlier. This is thus the first testimony, apart from various hints in talmudic literature, about masoretic activity, that mentions the names of sages and points to Palestine as the source and the example for the Babylonian sages.

6.1.2. Moses Moḥeh

Primacy is apparently granted by Solomon b. Yeruḥim (Jeroḥam) (a Karaite early in the tenth century) in his *Muqaddimah* to the decalogue (Pinsker, *Likkute Kadmoniot*, p. 62) to the sages Rav מוחה (error in the manuscript: אחא) and to his son Moses (ובנו משה) as מתקני הנקוד הטבראני. Pinsker, however, has already pointed out that מתקני does not mean inventors (*Einleitung in des Babylonisch-Hebräische Punktationssystem*, p. 10). On the other hand, Rav Moses Moḥeh (not Moses ben Moḥeh) is known from a list of masoretes in the "Treatise on the Šewa", and he is later than the eighth century; therefore the testimony of Solomon is open to doubt. There is in any case no evidence about the inventors of vocalization.

6.1.3. Other Masoretes

Various masoretes are mentioned by name in works of Masorah and in masoretic notes. The details of their activities are not known and it is usually only the details of a reading which are cited with their names. One of the earliest of them is Phinehas Rosh ha-Yeshivah (no later than the first half of the ninth century and perhaps even earlier than that). It is known that he followed a system of marking the mobility of certain *šewas* by means of a *ḥaṭaf pattaḥ*. The most famous of the masoretes are the descendants of Asher the Elder (the Great), a family of five generations, the last two of whom were Moses and his son, Aaron Ben-Asher.

A schematic division of the early masoretes into three major generations was suggested by Yeivin (*Textus*, IX, כג–כד). The first generation (about the second half of the eighth century or even earlier) was still occupied mainly in matters pertaining to plene and defective spelling and *qere/ketiv*. In this context the schools of מערבאי and מדנחאי, and scholars like Moses Moḥeh and others are mentioned. The scholars of the second generation (not later than the middle of the ninth century) differed mainly in matters of *maqqefs* and conjunctive accents, and sometimes also in matters of vocalization. Among these scholars are משה מוחה (Moses Moḥeh – again!), Phinehas Rosh ha-Yeshiva and others. In the third generation (about the first half of the tenth century) mainly matters of *gaʿya* were the issue, rarely letters, vowels, and accents. Here the main actors are Aaron Ben-Asher and Moses Ben-Naphtali and their schools. This division can serve as a tentative outline for a general view.

6.2. AARON BEN-ASHER AND HIS PERIOD

6.2.1. Diqduqe ha-Teʿamim

Precise details about a work of Masorah by the father Moses *Ben-Asher are not known, but his son, Aaron, was the first masorete who in addition to manuscripts of the Bible and readings which are attributed to him also left a well-defined work of Masorah and grammar, ספר דקדוקי הטעמים. Aaron Ben-Asher collected in this book different rules regarding vocalization and accentuation from among the rules of the Masorah which were continuously being copied in the margins of the manuscripts of the Bible and in independent works which were part of the Masorah literature. The collection of Aaron Ben-Asher is the first known by the name of the author. It is also the first such work compiled with a grammatical aim, and not just as a collection of masoretic peculiarities, whose compiler adapted it and added his own rules in order to make it correspond to his readings. The original version of the work was published in the Dotan edition (1967); the previous edition, of Baer and Strack (Leipzig 1879), included a wide collection from masoretic literature but did not pretend to reflect the scope of the authentic, original work. The central subject of the work is the problem of the *šewa*, its mobility in the context of certain accents and the methods of marking the *šewa*. However, other rules of vocalization and accentuation, which are not germane to the *šewa*, also occur.

6.2.2. His Other Works

Other works of his have not reached us, but it is known that he wrote a Masorah, and it is apparently the one which was added to one of the manuscripts of the Bible that he vocalized and to which he added the masoretic notes. He also arranged a list of words, ב׳ בתרי לישני ("two [words] of two meanings"), homophonic pairs from the Bible recently discussed by Dotan (*The Awakening of Word Lore*, 87ff.). There are also allusions to his having written an additional work concerning grammatical matters.

6.2.3. Biblical Manuscripts

The manuscripts of the Bible whose vocalization is attributed to Aaron Ben-Asher are as follows:

(1) the Leningrad manuscript B19a, which was written in 1009 and whose vocalization was adjusted to the system of Aaron Ben-Asher, as attested by the colophon at its end;

(2) the Aleppo Codex, of which less than two-thirds of Scripture remain, also has genuine vocalization which corresponds to the system of Ben-Asher, but it, too, was apparently not vocalized by him, although a later colophon which was added to the manuscript attributes the vocalization to him.

The British Library Pentateuch manuscript Or. 4445, which had also been attributed to Aaron Ben-Asher (Kahle and others), was established as a pre-Ben-Asher manuscript (Dotan, *Reflections*). Likewise the Cairo Codex of the Prophets, written in 895 C.E. by Moses Ben-Asher (father of Aaron), published in Madrid with its Masora, is no longer regarded as part of the Ben-Asher school, but on the contrary represents a text closely related to Ben-Naphtali.

6.2.4. Kitāb al-Ḫulaf

Some of the biblical readings of Aaron Ben-Asher are known from the work of Mishael b. Uzziel, *Kitāb al-Ḫulaf allaḏī bayn al-Muʿallimayn ben Asher wa-ben Naftali* ("The Book of Differences between the two Masters, Ben-Asher and Ben-Naphtali"). This is a collection of the points of controversy and agreement between the two masters of the Masorah, which was collected – after their death – from manuscripts which they had vocalized. Some of the differences are stated in the form of rules and variants of principle, while the majority are lists of details. The date of the author has not been established precisely (not before the first half of the 11th century nor after the 12th century). This work is an important source for the readings of Ben-Asher and the only one for the readings and the method of his famous disputant, Moses b. David Ben-Naphtali, from whose works nothing is extant, except for a few fragments of the Bible which perhaps reflect his method of vocalization. The lists of variants were copied and recopied many times in the Middle Ages and consequently a large number of errors were introduced. Even the first name of Ben-Naphtali became confused in the transmissions of the copies.

6.2.5. Ben-Naphtali

As a consequence of the decision in favor of the readings of Ben-Asher, as opposed to the readings of Ben-Naphtali, which originated in ancient times and was further strengthened by the support of Maimonides for the Ben-Asher version (albeit only with regard to the division of *parashiyyot setumot* and *parashiyyot petuḥot* and for the manner of the writing of the songs in the Pentateuch), the readings of Ben-Naphtali were more and more rejected from most of the accepted versions of the Bible. As time passed even the details of his readings were forgotten, so much so that all exceptional readings which deviate from the accepted version were ascribed to him. For example, Elijah Levita identifies Ben-Naphtali (he calls him Jacob Ben-Naphtali) with the Eastern version ("*Madinḥaʾe*") *(Masoret ha-Masoret*, the third introd., ed. C.D. Ginsburg, (1867), 114) and Pinsker still subscribed to that idea. Moreover, recently Kahle identified the non-conventional Tiberian system with Ben-Naphtali (see above, 5.4.3.1.). Actually, Moses Ben-Naphtali too is one of those who shaped the Tiberian version of the Bible and only within this framework are there differences between him and others over the minutest details, mainly over *gaʿyot* and less over conjunctive accents and so on.

6.3. THE ANONYMOUS CODIFICATION OF THE MASORAH

Ben-Asher's work of compilation draws on a vast literature which remains shrouded in anonymity. This literature is presented to us in bits and pieces on the pages of the Bible and in fragments of rules, just as it was handed down from generation to generation. Yet, even in very early times there were those, also anonymous, who collected it into larger works. One product of this type is the book *Okhlah we-Okhlah* (see above, 3.4.).

6.3.1. Hidāyat al-Qāri

6.3.1.1. THE TREATISE AND ITS TRANSFORMATIONS. *6.3.1.1.1. Hidāyat al-Qāri.* Another work of the above nature, originally written in Arabic, is *Hidāyat al-Qāri* ("The Direction of the Reader"), is a manual of instruction of the correct reading of the Bible and yet another step toward the formulation of grammar since it contains a system of rules based on masoretic notes and tries to introduce order and method into them. It has three main parts: the letters, the vowels, and the accents for the 21 prose books and for the three poetical books, all parts being sets of rules for instructing the proper reading of the Bible – reading in the expanded sense: both pronunciation and melody; hence its name. The work used to be regarded as one of the main examples of the anonymous type of masoretic literature, until Eldar (*Art of Correct Reading*, p. 40–43) drew attention to a Geniza fragment where the work was ascribed to the eleventh-century Karaite grammarian, Abū al-Faraj Hārūn. This connection has not yet been corroborated by substantial evidence of grammatical affinity by Abū al-Faraj's other works.

Most of the work, which is not extant in its entirety, is still in manuscript, but was extensively discussed by Eldar (ibid.). The manuscripts, however, are not uniform and it seems that the work passed through many transformations: abridgments, adaptations, and translations. An abridgment (*al-Muḫtaṣar*; partly published by Eldar, *Leshonenu*, 50 (1986), 214–31) or even abridgments were made from the original Arabic source. The shorter version was translated into Hebrew more than once, and by more than one translator. The abridgments and translations do not always contain the same parts of the work; even the original order of the parts changes and differs in the various versions. Moreover, parts of the work were adapted, especially from the Hebrew version, and were incorporated into other works as citations or as an integral part of new works. An attempt to reconstruct the history of the text of the work has been made by Eldar (*Art of Correct Reading*, 15–19) who tried to establish the precise relationship of all the transformations to one another and to the original.

6.3.1.1.2. Horayat ha-Qore – European Branch. As matters seem, the abridgement (*al-Muḫtaṣar*) wandered to various countries, Germany, Italy, Turkey, Yemen, and was translated into Hebrew several times independently, and adapted respectively in different ways. One abridgement brought to Mainz and translated into Hebrew also kept the Hebrew equivalent of the original title *Horayat ha-Qore* ("The Guidance of the Reader"). The abridgement that reached Italy came down to us in two Hebrew copies, the earlier one as *Toḵen Ezra*, and the later one bearing the name *Taʿame ha-Miqra* ("The Accents of the Bible"). The latter attributed, undoubtedly by mistake, to R. Judah *Ibn Balʿam (end of the 11th century). It is only this version that was published; in two parts (*Poetical Accents* and *Prose Accents*) in the middle of the 16th century by J. Mercerus (Mercier).

6.3.1.1.3. ʿAdat Devorim. One transformation of the *Muḫtaṣar* is found in the Hebrew compilation *ʿAdat Devorim* ("A Swarm of Bees") which was written by Joseph ha-Qostandini ("from Constantinople") not earlier than the second half of the 11th century. In it he incorporated large parts of the original work in Hebrew translation. It was published by R. Peretz (1984).

6.3.1.1.4. Maḥberet ha-Tījān – Hebrew and Arabic Versions. The original Arabic work wandered also to Yemen where two abridgements were made, one in Arabic and one in Hebrew.

While the first is a uniform text, the second is an eclectic work much enlarged by additions from other sources.

These most important adaptations, which went beyond the original to a certain degree and are copied together with Yemenite Pentateuchs (*tāj*), are usually named *Maḥberet ha-Tījān* (in Hebrew and in Arabic), which were both published: the first Hebrew version by Derenbourg with the mistaken title of *Manuel du lecteur* (1870), which is a translation of the name of the original work, but which certainly was not the title of the adaption; and the second, an abridged version in Arabic, by Neubauer, under the title *Petite grammaire hébraïque provenant de Yemen* (1891).

6.3.1.1.5. Other Works. There are quotations from the offspring of the work also in *Ḥibbur ha-Qonim* by R. Samson ha-Naqdan (first half of the 13th century); *Darkhe ha-Niqqud we-ha-Neginot* (attributed to R. Moses ha-Naqdan) as well as in other works also dependent remotely on *Hidāyat al-Qāri*.

6.3.1.2. ITS SOURCES AND TRADITION. *6.3.1.2.1. Distribution, Chronology, and Pronunciation Tradition.* The various adaptations and translations of the work were found throughout the dispersed Jewish communities; among them are translations which were made in Germany, such as one of the versions of *Horayat ha-Qore*; some of the adaptations were made in Byzantium, as *ʿAdat Devorim* by Joseph ha-Qostandini, and some apparently in distant Yemen e.g., *Maḥberet ha-Tījān* (concerning the assumed Yemenite origin of the Hebrew treatise, see Dotan, ed., *Dikduke ha-Teʿamim*, p. 334, note 9). Undoubtely these are not the only countries to which the work was brought. Adaptations of a work like this, by their very nature, leave an impression of their locale upon it, and sometimes the adaptation itself was made only in order to adjust the work to the local pronunciation and reading customs, etc. As it became clear after Eldar's studies, the original *Hidāyat al-Qāri* stems from Palestine and follows the Tiberian pronunciation and vocalization. There is no real basis to determine the exact date, but from one of the Arabic fragments it appears to have been written in Palestine, in the atmosphere of the conflict between the various traditions of pronunciation for dominance over the language. The author came to prove the superiority of his Tiberian tradition and its ancient roots. This fact is probably enough to make it necessary not to date him any later than the tenth century. From the stand he adopts in his readings and rules between the schools of Ben-Asher and Ben-Naphtali, it seems that he is indifferent to both of them, a fact which strengthens the dating suggested. Sometimes he goes his own way, although at times he reveals a closer affinity to the rules and detailed readings of Ben-Naphtali than to those of Ben-Asher.

6.3.1.2.2. Influence of Local Elements. These statements do not apply to the offsprings and adaptations of the original work, certainly not with respect to date and, apparently, not even with regard to pronunciation tradition. There remains room for investigation whether or not other elements penetrated it – the Sephardi, for example (as per Yalon's view). One should not look for a common denominator between the original and its adaptations, nor even between the adaptations themselves. While every adapter, translator, and person who made an abridgment stressed that which was preferable to him and included it in his version – whether particularly the letters and the vowels or the accentuation, etc. – he sometimes omitted that which contradicted his own custom and even added, when necessary, material from the Masorah and from other sources. The result was that the original work, *Hidāyat al-Qāri*, branched out and became a large number of works whose common denominator was the systematization and codification of the minutiae of Masorah and their crystallization into clear rules for the reader – an important step toward systematic grammar.

6.3.2. Works on the Šewa

Another work of the above type, although apparently unconnected genetically with these works, is the Arabic treatise which deals with the rules of the *šewa*, which was published by Kurt Levy (1936), and is known in modern research as the "Treatise on the *šewa*." In this case not only is the author anonymous, but the work has no title. The assumption is that it was written approximately in the middle of the tenth century. This work also contains directions to the reader, and more than any of the adaptations of *Hidāyat al-Qāri* it literally integrates quotations from the rules of the Masorah, and even their rhymes – some of those which were used by the author of *Dikduke ha-Teʾamim*. Unlike the other works this is a deep, comprehensive treatise on a subject which though narrow is central to the field of Tiberian pronunciation. It contains most of the information which we have on the *šewa*. A fragment in Arabic entitled סדר הסימנים, dealing with rules of vowel alternation (published by Allony, *HUCA*. 35 (1964)) was suggested by Eldar (*Teʾuda*, 6 (1988)) to have been part of one and the same anonymous grammatical treatise in which the *šewa* and the Hebrew vowels were discussed, perhaps together with other grammatical issues. Anonymous works of this type are rather numerous and most of them are still in manuscript and scattered in libraries. Only a few have been published, such as the anonymous treatise in Arabic on the *šewa* which Allony published (*Leshonenu* 12 (1943/44). This anonymous literature is thus still far from being exhausted.

6.4. THE PERPETUATORS OF THE WAY OF THE MASORAH

Although most of the above works have a grammatical approach they are only on the threshhold of grammar and can still be classified as Masorah literature. They do however constitute a start and the beginnings of grammatical works. Many grammarians in the Middle Ages had to depend, if albeit reluctantly, upon these works and they drew upon them. In almost every one of their writings one finds a connection to the Masorah and its literature. At the same time however there were sages who continued their work on the Masorah for its own sake, whether for the clarification of versions or for the vocalization and the actual formation of the text. There were also scholars who gave Masorah a central place in their works and did not consider it a subordinate to grammar, vocalization, and accentuation. Only the most famous ones are discussed here, in chronological order.

6.4.1. Meir ben Todros ha-Levi Abulafia

In his book *Masoret Seyag la-Torah* Meir ben Todros ha-Levi *Abulafia (רמ״ה; D. 1244) deals mainly with plene and defective spelling in the Torah. His comments are arranged alphabetically in dictionary form according to the roots of the words. After them he adds excerpts from the Masorah which deal with various particles and the peculiarities in the writing of a Torah scroll, the form of the Songs, and the open and closed parashiyyot. His book was a basic work for scribes and for publishers in following generations.

6.4.2. Jekuthiel ben Judah ha-Kohen ha-Naqdan

Jekuthiel's (abbr. as יהב״י; first half of the 13th century) book *ʿEn ha-Qore* is a collection of masoretic-grammatical notes dealing with vocalization and accentuation for the Pentateuch and the Book of Esther. The work is arranged according to the order of the verses and includes a general introduction which deals with various methodological questions, such as the rules of the *gaʾyot*. This book, with its rules and its vocalization variants, was the basis for a whole school of grammarians and editors of the text of the Bible.

6.4.3. Menahem ben Solomon ha-Meiri

Ha-*Meiri (1249–1316) was considered one of the *posekim* ("deciders") for everything connected with the writing of the Bible and scribal customs. His book *Kiryat Sefer* consists of two parts. The first contains the halakhic laws for writing a Torah scroll, and the second is a collection of Masorah issues having rules on reading and pronunciation, plene and defective spelling, open and closed *parashiyyot*, and various other matters of Masorah.

6.4.4. Jacob ben Ḥayyim ibn Adonijah

*Jacob ben Ḥayyim ibn Adonijah (15th/16th century) was the first to publish a text of the Bible which had been selected carefully from a large number of manuscripts and was accompanied by the notes of *Masorah Parva, Masorah Magna*, and *Masorah Finalis* (see 3.3.6.1.) which were likewise gathered and selected from many manuscripts. This text is the *Mikraʾot Gedolot* edition of the Bible which was published in Venice, in 1524–25, by Daniel Bomberg, who employed Ben Ḥayyim as a proofreader. This edition became known as the "accepted" version of the Bible, "the Masoretic Text," upon which everyone has relied and which all have copied and imitated. Even the Masorah which was published in this edition has been unjustly recognized ever since as the exclusive text of *the* Masorah. In fact Ben Ḥayyim's work has been considered as the codification of the Masorah, and for generations has been the only complete Masorah in print, up to the 20th century when the Ben-Asher codices (Leningrad and Aleppo) started to appear in print. Ben Ḥayyim also printed for the first time other works together with the *Masorah Finalis*: the *Diqduqe ha-Teʿamim* of Aaron Ben-Asher (see 6.2.1); דרכי הנקוד והנגינות attributed to Moses ha-Naqdan; various lists of Masorah, some of them resembling those in *Okhlah we-Okhlah*, as well as lists of variants between the Western and Eastern traditions and between Ben-Asher and Ben-Naphtali for the Torah.

6.4.5 Elijah Baḥur ben Asher ha-Levi (Levita)

Elijah *Levita (1468/9–1549), a grammarian and lexicographer, is also worthy of being considered a masorete because of his book *Masoret ha-Masoret* which was published in Venice, in 1538. He presents a historical survey of the Masorah, the vocalization and the accentuation, and proves that they were not given at Sinai but were fixed by the masoretes. He also describes the Masorah, its methods, types and terminology along with examples. This book can be considered the prime work of the Masorah and a clear, convenient guidebook for the student.

6.4.6. Menahem ben Judah di Lonzano

In his *Or Torah*, Menahem ben Judah di Lonzano (end of the 16th century), gives masoretic comments only on the Pentateuch. The work is arranged in the order of the biblical text. Apparently he uses the text of Ben Ḥayyim as his base and adds comments to make the text more precise also with regard to matters of orthography, but mostly on issues of vocalization, accentuation, and *gaʿyahs*; this was done on the basis of many manuscripts and works of earlier scholars. Jedidiah Solomon Raphael of *Norzi (see below) valued his opinion highly.

6.4.7. Minḥat Shay

Jedidiah Solomon Raphael b. Abraham of Norzi (16/17th century) wrote the most important and the most comprehensive book dealing with Masorah. It contains an introduction and comments upon the entire Bible in the order of the text with regard to matters of Masorah, orthography, vocalization, accentuation, *gaʿyahs*, the form of the Songs and the *parashiyyot*, even the tittles (*tagin*) of the letters and other exceptional items in the text. At times he even discusses questions of grammar and meaning. His comments bear upon almost every word about which there is room for error, a variant reading, or any other problem. Although his remarks are based mainly on the Bomberg Bible edition of 1546–48 and as Bester (*Addenda to Minḥat Shay*, 33–37) has shown, his book in fact constitutes a type of correction to and improvement of the Ben Ḥayyim text of the Bible. From his time on editors of the Bible have considered themselves permitted to make corrections in the text of the *Mikraʾot Gedolot* according to him. He called his book, which was finished in 1626, גֹּדֵר פֶּרֶץ ("the repairer of the breach"), but the title was changed by its first publisher (only in 1740–42 was it printed for the first time) to מִנְחַת שַׁי *Minḥat Shay* (שי being the initials of Solomon Jedidiah) and it remains known by that name. This book is the most famous of all the works of Masorah. A critical edition of

Minḥat Shay on the Torah was published by Z. Betser (2005, posthumously).

6.4.8. The Yemenites

Two Yemenite scholars who were active at about the same period should be mentioned. Yaḥya *Bashiri (abbr. מהרי״ב or מהריב״ש; end of the 17th century), was a well-known sage, scribe, copyist, and calligrapher; his work *Ḥavaẓẓelet ha-Sharon* on the letters of the alphabet and matters of Masorah, vocalization, and accentuation is extant in manuscript form. Comments in his name are also incorporated in the work of Yaḥya b. Joseph *Ṣāliḥ (abbr. מהרי״ץ, second half of the 18th century), the other Yemenite scholar, who in his *Ḥeleq ha-Diqduq* comments upon the whole Torah in the order of the text on matters of vocalization and accentuation, on other issues of Masorah and even, sometimes, on actual grammatic issues. The book is based upon the comparison of manuscripts, mostly Yemenite, and printed editions. This book holds the same position among the Jews of Yemen as *Minḥat Shai* among the other communities.

6.4.9 Wolf Benjamin Ze’ev ben Samson Heidenheim

Wolf Benjamin Ze’ev ben Samson Heidenheim (abbr. רוו״ה; 1757–1832) marks a turning point in the chain of those who dealt with Masorah, in that besides working on the text of the Bible itself and producing new editions thereof he also systematically discussed problems of Masorah and its rules. He edited five different editions of the Pentateuch: *Torat Elohim* (only the beginning), *Meʾor ʿEnayim, ʿEzrat ha-Sofer, Modaʿ la-Bina*, and *Torat Moshe*, as well as the Book of Psalms and others. His editions are outstanding for their precision and his choice of the text is based upon ancient sources, both manuscript and print, especially on Jekuthiel ha-Kohen, Menahem di Lonzano, and Jedidiah Norzi. Very important textual and masoretic comments of his own accompany the text. In the Pentateuch *Meʾor ʿEnayim* he even printed the text of Jekuthiel's *ʿEn ha-Qore* in the margins. No less important is his contribution to the study of the Masorah and the rules of the accentuation in his book *Mishpete ha-Teʿamim*, in which he lists, in great detail, the rules of the accentuation of the 21 books, in general according to citations from early sources beginning with Ben-Asher. He thereby consciously withdraws from the analytical approach of the Christian and Jewish scholars of accentuation and returns to the methods of the early sages, in his method of discussing accentuation and in the importance which he ascribes to a clear and well-established text. He laid down the foundations of the rules of the *gaʿyah* and the *maqqaf* in the last chapter of his book.

6.4.10. Seligmann Isaac Baer

*Baer (1825–1897) continued the way of Heidenheim and completed his activity. Baer continued in the area of clarification of the text of the Bible and edited a new version of the text for almost every book of Scripture, mainly for those which his predecessor did not publish: Genesis, all the Prophets and the Hagiographa (called the Baer-*Delitzsch edition, although the latter only added prefaces). In the investigation of the Masorah he completed the work of his predecessor and wrote precise rules for the accentuation of Psalms, Proverbs, and Job, in his book *Torat Emet*. This book is arranged on the pattern of *Mishpete ha-Teʿamim*, but unlike it, it is almost entirely the work of the author and does not draw on earlier sources. Baer elaborated a rather consolidated system for the rules of accentuation and *gaʿyahs* and other masoretic issues on the basis of early works and manuscripts. This study brought him to the conclusion that he was closely approaching the original "correct" version of the Bible. He edited the text of the Bible in the light of that conclusion and many of his readings are based exclusively on his own views. He did not hesitate to alter manuscript readings to fit his ideas, for example in the list of variances between the western and eastern traditions and between Ben-Asher and Ben-Naphtali, which he published from manuscripts in the appendices to his editions of the Bible, he adapted the Western readings and those of Ben-Asher which were in the manuscripts to the readings of his edition of the biblical text, since he was certain that he had succeeded in establishing the Ben-Asher version and that on the strength of it he could correct even the manuscripts' readings.

The Baer version was used for a long time, especially because of Delitzsch, as the accepted, "scientific" version, and the scientific grammars, such as *Gesenius-*Kautzsch, were based on it. Even the rules of accentuation in his *Torat Emet* are based, first and foremost, upon his own version of the Bible. This also applies to the detailed rules of the *meteg* which he published in German. Although taken from his predecessors, especially from Jekuthiel ha-Kohen and Heidenheim, and supplemented, these rules are actually a near-complete development of the theory of the *meteg* as Baer saw it. His approach to manuscripts is manifest in his edition of various texts including the *Diqduqe ha-Ṭeʿamim* of Aaron Ben-Asher. His treatment of the manuscripts and his corrections (without any indications to the reader) do not accord with modern methods of textual criticism. In his edition of *Diqduqe ha-Ṭeʿamim* he made little attempt to define the work or its scope. His main aim was to collect Masorah texts in order to clarify the "correct" text of the Bible.

6.4.11. Later Scholars

Despite Baer's shortcomings (as stated above), his erudition and great expertness in the Masorah should not be underestimated. Other scholars of his time did not encompass the entire range in which Baer was active, and it is doubtful whether one should properly consider them along with the masoretes. S.D. *Luzzatto and, more than he, W. Wickes, made a significant contribution to the study of accentuation and to the consolidation of its theory with regard to its grammatical description. In contrast to them, C.D. Ginsburg and P. Kahle played a major role primarily in publishing ancient texts from manuscripts: Ginsburg mainly published many texts of all types of Masorah; and Kahle, biblical texts in Tiberian vocalization (the Leningrad manuscript – see above, 6.2.3.) as well as fragments of the Bible with Babylonian and Palestinian vocalization.

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MASORETIC ACCENTS (Musical Rendition).

HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT

In Jewish tradition, the formal reading of certain of the books of the Bible in worship and in study is carried out with a musical intonation linked closely with the masoretic accents of the text and governed by fixed rules and practices (see *Masorah; in supplementary articles). Public reading from the Bible is attested much earlier than the establishment of the written systems of accentuation. In the Bible itself, such readings are mentioned only in connection with special occasions (cf. Deut. 31:12; II Kings 22:1–3; Neh. 8:8, 10:30). The practice was not a prominent part of the Temple liturgy but became so in the *synagogue. Talmudic sources attest the detail with which the practice was regulated, citing the choice and order of the scriptural passages for Sabbaths and weekdays (Monday and Thursday) and the feasts, the qualifications of the reader, the translation of each verse into the vernacular, the *somekh* ("supporter") who aided the reader, or the replacements of the lay reader by a specialist (sometimes the *ḥazzan). As to the musical element, the sources merely say that the Bible was to be read and studied only by melodic recitation (cf. Meg. 32a; Song R. 4:11). It is doubtful whether the terms *pissuk/piskei teʾamim* (the division by the *teʾamim*) refer to the melodic element, al-

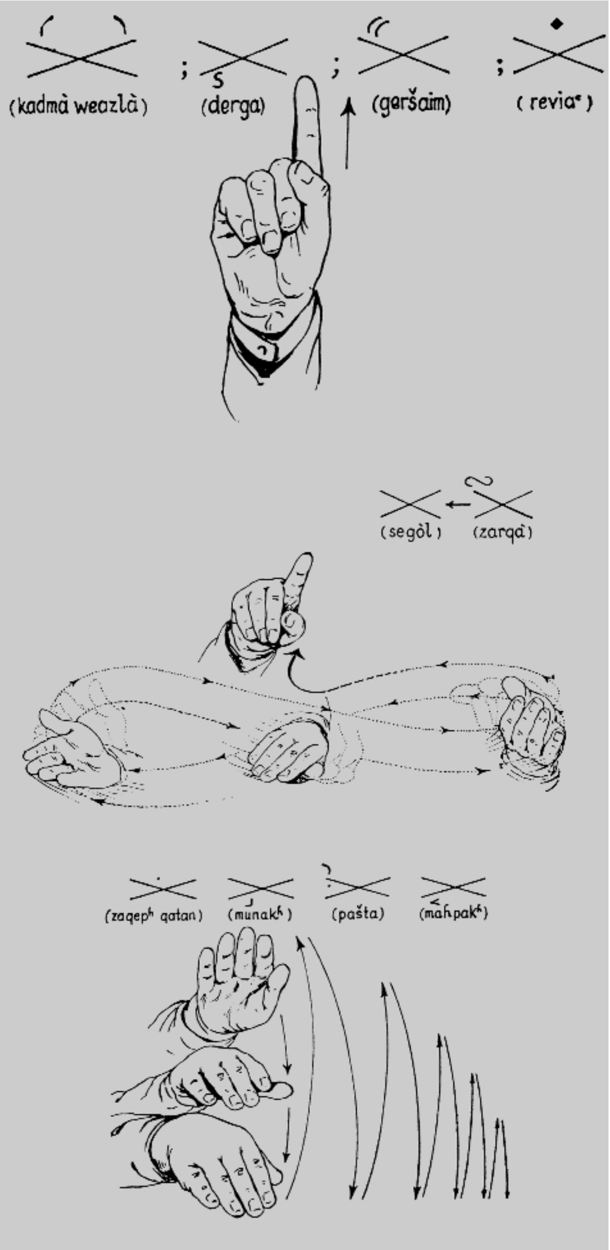

Figure 1. Hand movements indicating the accents and their melody, used as memory aids and prompting signs for the reader. Shown here are the movements still practiced in Rome. Several other communities preserve relics of a similar practice, although the movements are not identical. From I. Adler, "Histoire de la musique réligieuse juive," in J. Porte (ed.), Encyclopédie des musiques sacrées, *vol. 1, 1968, 472–3.*

though they are connected with the aide-memoire movement of the reader's or *somekh's* hand (Meg. 3a; Ned. 37a; Ḥag. 6a; see Figure 1). The talmudic usage of the term *te'amim* is still not sufficiently clear; however, considering the strict regulation of every other element of the scriptural reading, it is inconceivable that the melodic rendition could have been left to the ad hoc invention or choice of the reader.

A comparison with the practices of "scriptural" reading in other religious traditions – such as Vedic recitation in India or Buddhist recitation in Japan and other countries – reveals that none is spoken or sung but they are "cantillated"; that this cantillation is based upon strict conventions handed down by oral tradition (which were described explicitly only in the respective Middle Ages of each culture); and, most important, that a basic similarity of constructive principles (not of melodic content) can still be recognized in all such practices throughout the Asian continent, including all Jewish traditions throughout the Diaspora. The melodic structure in all these traditions is of the kind defined by Curt *Sachs as "logogenic," where the musical element is generated by the words, bonded to the verbal and syntactical structure, and subordinated to the communication of the text, with no attempt at musical autonomy.

This "pan-Asiatic" style must already have been present in cantillated Bible reading in the synagogue preceding the period in which the system of written accents began to be developed. The Tiberian system of accent signs and vowel signs and their functions was based on existing practices not only of the pronunciation and grammatical basis and syntactical structure of the text, but also of its musical rendition. The earliest surviving treatise of this system, *Ben-Asher's *Dikdukei he-Te'amim*, mentions the *ne'imah* (melody) in the characterization of several of the accents. Neither this nor the preceding "Palestinian" and "Babylonian" systems seem to show the intention of establishing a complete correspondence between each accent sign and a specific and different melodic motive, which implies that no such correspondence existed in practice at that time, and that there was no intention on the part of the masoretes to create it artificially.

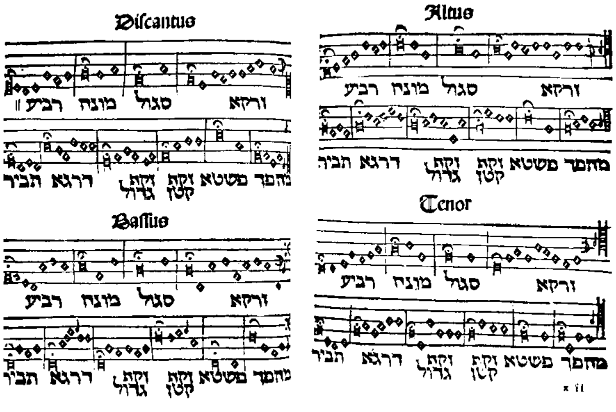

Figure 2. The earliest known notation of Pentateuch cantillation. Western Ashkenazi perhaps notated by Johann Boeschenstein. In J. Reuchlin, De accentibus et orthographia linguae hebraicae, *Hagenau, 1518, fol [83b]–[87a]. First opening, fol. [83b]–[84a]. The motives are given in the tenor part, while the* discantua, *altus, and* bassus *parts are mere harmonizations in contemporary art-music style, added arbitrarily to enhance the presentation. Jerusalem,* J.N.U.L.

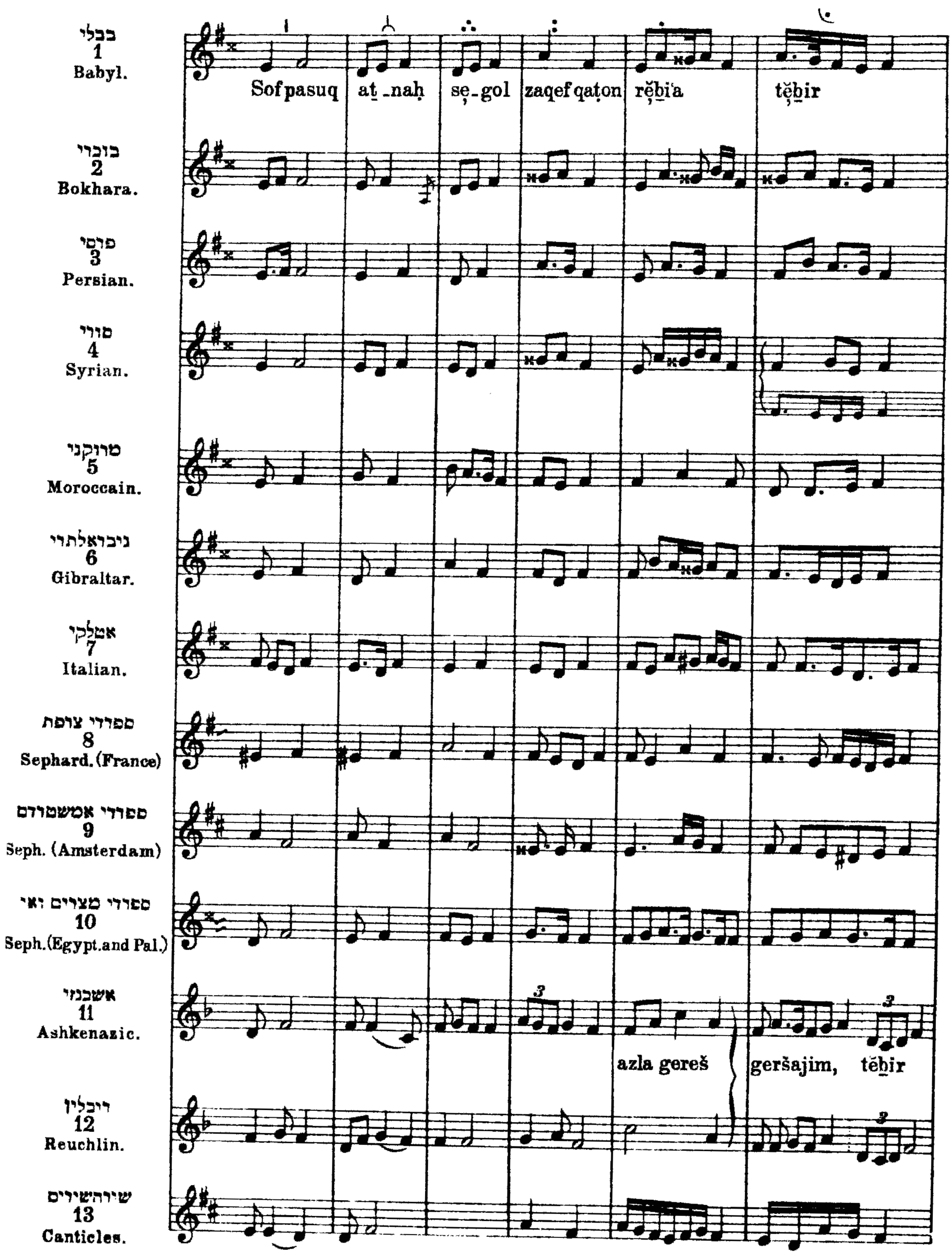
בבלי
1
Babyl.
Sof pasuq
at-nah
se-gol
zaqef qaton
rěbi'a
těbir
בוכרי
2
Bokhara.
פרסי
3
Persian.
סורי
4
Syrian.
מרוקני
5
Moroccain.
גיבראלתרי
6
Gibraltar.
איטלקי
7
Italian.
ספרדי צרפת
8
Sephard. (France)
ספרדי אמשטרדם
9
Seph. (Amsterdam)
ספרדי מצרים וא״י
10
Seph. (Egypt. and Pal.)
אשכנזי
11
Ashkenazic.
azla gereš
geršajim, těbir
ריכלין
12
Reuchlin.
שירהשירים
13
Canticles.

EXAMPLE 1. Beginning of A. Z. Idelsohn's comparative table of Pentateuch cantillation motives. From A. Z. Idelsohn, Melodien, *vol, 2, 1922, 44 and 45, also reproduced in his* Music, *44–45.*

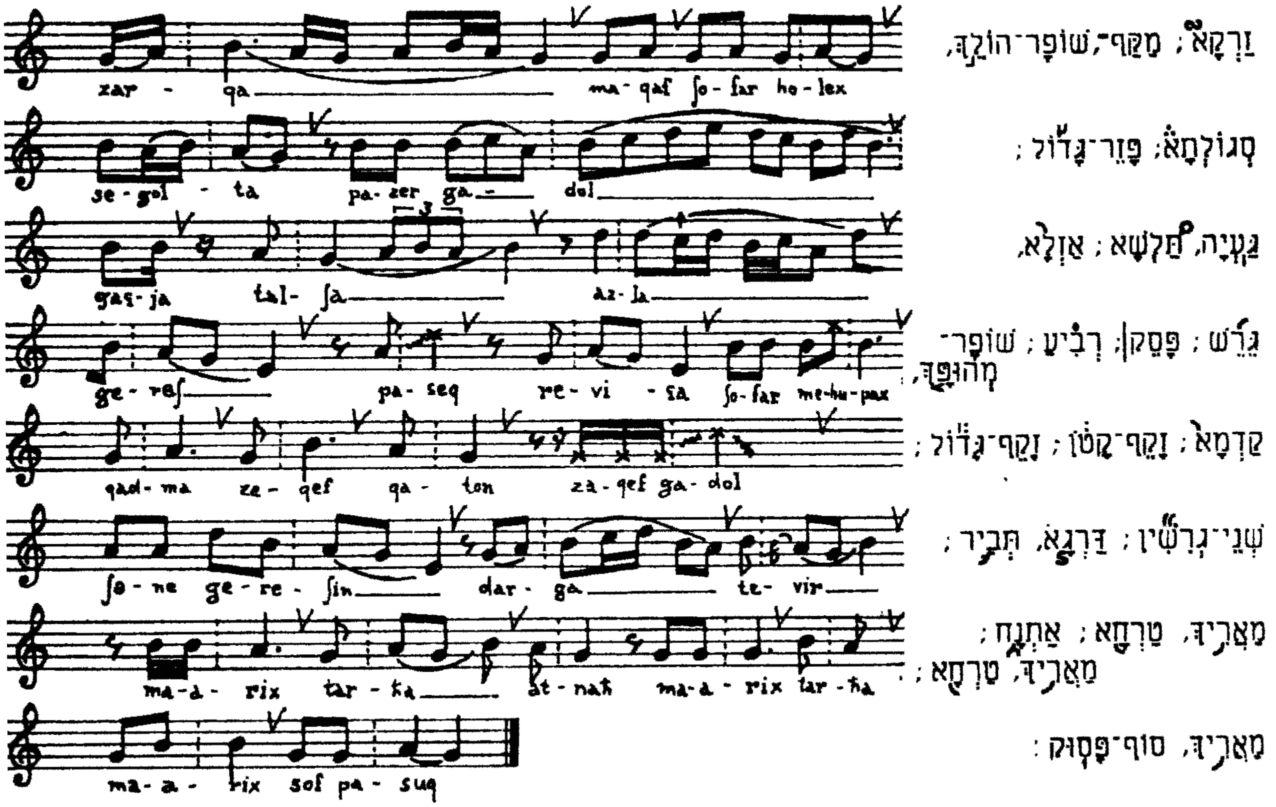
zar - qa ma- qaf ʃo- far ho- lex
זַרְקָא֮ ; מַקַּף־שׁוֹפָר־הוֹלֵךְ,
se- gol - ta pa- zer ga- dol
סֶגוֹלְתָּא֒ ; פָּזֵר־גָּדוֹל ;
gaʕ- ja tal- ʃa az- la
גַּעְיָה, תְּלִשָׁא ; אַזְלָא,
ge- reʃ pa- seq re- vi - ʕa ʃo- far me-hu-pax
גֵּרֵשׁ ; פָּסֵק ; רְבִיעַ ; שׁוֹפָר־מְהֻפָּךְ,
qad- ma ze- qef qa- ton za- qef ga- dol
קַדְמָא ; זָקֵף־קָטֹן ; זָקֵף־גָּדוֹל ;
ʃe- ne ge- re- ʃin dar- ga te- vir
שְׁנֵי־גְרִשִׁין ; דַּרְגָּא, תְּבִיר ;
ma- a- rix tar- ħa at- nah ma- a- rix tar- ħa
מַאֲרִיךְ, טַרְחָא ; אַתְנָח ; מַאֲרִיךְ, טַרְחָא ;
ma- a- rix sof pa- suq
מַאֲרִיךְ, סוֹף־פָּסוּק :

EXAMPLE 2. "Table of Accents" for the Pentateuch, as read in the ḥeder *in Tunis, with different intonation from the one used regularly in the synagogue. Such a cantillated sequence of the accent names is used for* ḥeder *instruction in many communities, often being called, from its initial motive,* lu'aḥ zarka *(*zarka *table). Transcribed by A. Herzog from a version recorded by him in Jerusalem in 1962. From A. Herzog.* The Intonation of the Pentateuch in the Ḥeder of Tunis, *1963, 9, ex. 3b.*

Comparative studies of the living traditions of the present and the evidence gleaned from the medieval and later masoretic treatises reveal that only in the Ashkenazi Diaspora was the system developed and augmented with the aim of having each accent sign expressed by a distinct melodic formation. The farthest point along this path is reached by the Ashkenazi cantillation of the Torah. Even there, however, one finds different accent signs expressed by identical melodic formations (e.g., *segol, zakef,* and *tippeḥa* in the "Polish-Lithuanian" tradition), or identical accent signs expressed by different melodic formations (e.g., the *darga* preceeding a *tevir* as against the *darga* preceding a *munaḥ-revi'a*, in the Western Ashkenazi tradition). Other traditions are still more limited in their repertoire of distinct melodic motives and content themselves with the expression of the divisive accents, or even of the major divisive accents only. This style is probably not the result of any erosion or loss of knowledge, but may well be the surviving evidence of the earliest stages of the system, perhaps even of the Proto-Tiberian or Palestinian or Babylonian ones. In all traditions, the rendition of the accents of the prophetic books, the *haftarah*, and the Hagiographa is also partial and selective as is their rendition in the special style used for study in the *ḥeder.

Practice

The musical rendition of the text in conformity with the accent signs is based on the convention (as described above) of each sign or group of signs representing a certain melodic motive. The graphic symbol does not stand for an absolutely predetermined sequence of tones. As in all music cultivated by oral tradition, the motives exist as "ideals" to be realized in performance, within certain margins of flexibility. Preservation of the "ideals," i.e., the style, is assured by several factors: the support of the well-defined and strict doctrine of the grammatical and syntactical functions of the accents; the deliberate teaching, by which the tradition is handed on from generation to generation; and the constant public practice of the system in the synagogue, where not only the layman's rendition (when "called up to read") but even that of the specialized reader, *ba'al kore* – not always, and in some communities never, identical with the *ḥazzan* – is always subject to the critical ear of the more learned members of the community. The margin of flexibility, on the other hand, makes it possible to link, or rather blend, the motives as they are recalled and enunciated successively by the reader so as to create a melodic organism. The style itself remains constant, but each reader may interpret it with a certain individuality and will never

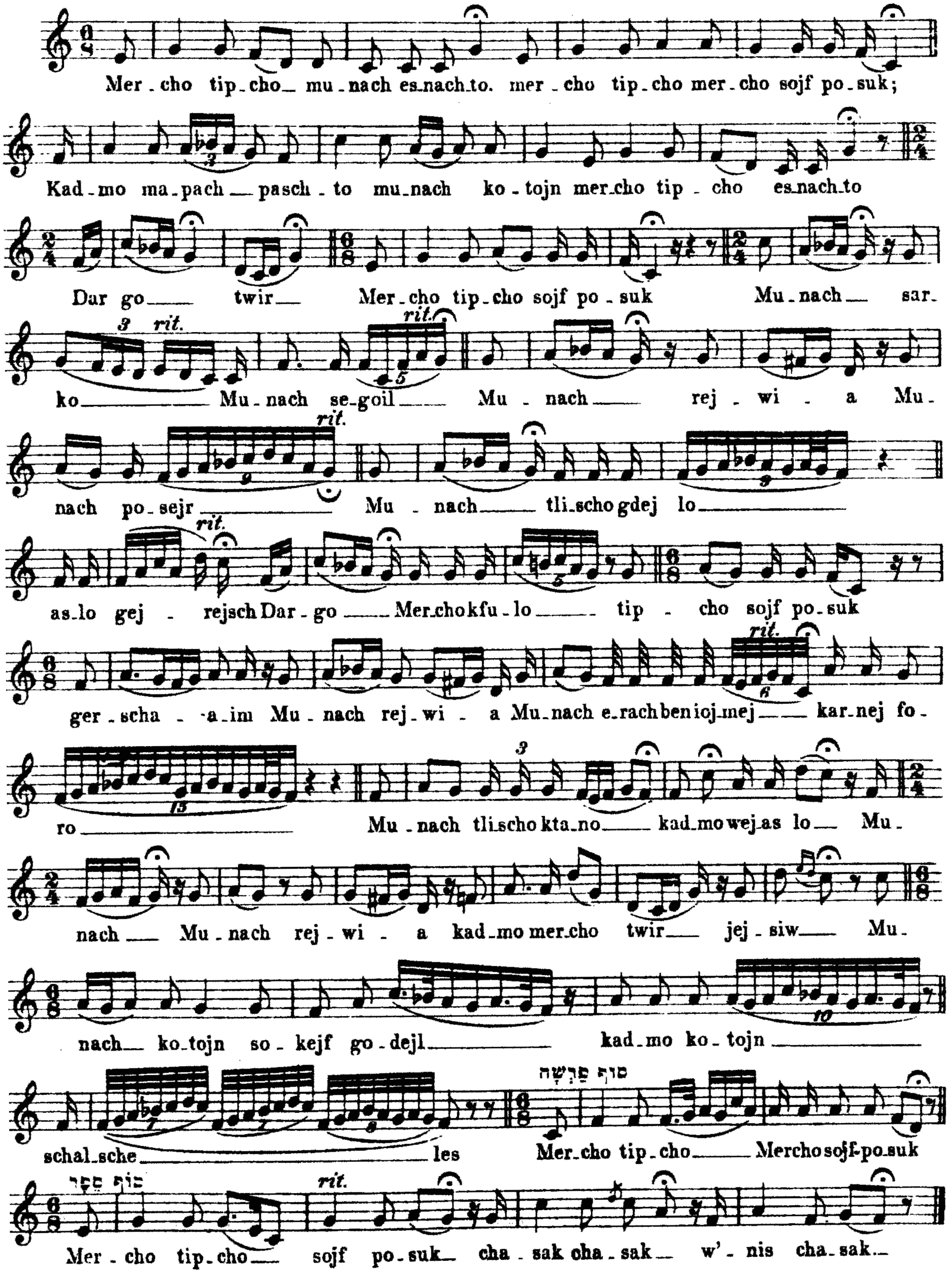
Mer - cho tip - cho mu - nach es - nach - to. mer - cho tip - cho mer - cho sojf po - suk;
Kad - mo ma - pach pasch - to mu - nach ko - tojn mer - cho tip - cho es - nach - to
Dar go twir Mer - cho tip - cho sojf po - suk Mu - nach sar -
ko Mu - nach se - goil Mu - nach rej - wi - a Mu -
nach po - sejr Mu - nach tli - scho gdej lo
as - lo gej - rejsch Dar - go Mer - cho kfu - lo tip - cho sojf po - suk
ger - scha - a - im Mu - nach rej - wi - a Mu - nach e - rach ben ioj - nej kar - nej fo -
ro Mu - nach tli - scho kta - no kad - mo wej - as lo Mu -
nach Mu - nach rej - wi - a kad - mo mer - cho twir jej - siw Mu -
nach ko - tojn so - kejf go - dejl kad - mo ko - tojn
schal - sche les Mer - cho tip - cho Mercho sojf - po - suk
Mer - cho tip - cho sojf po - suk cha - sak cha - sak w' - nis cha - sak
rit.
סוף פרשה
סוף ספר

EXAMPLE 3. "Table of Accents" for the Pentateuch, according to the Eastern Ashkenazi ("Poland-Lithuania") tradition. From S. Kisselgoff, A. Zhitomirsky, and P. Lwow (eds.), Lider-Zamlbuch far der yiddisher shul un familye, *1924³, 133.*

repeat his previous performance precisely when he reads the same passage upon another occasion.

Theoretically, the accent signs are divided into only two categories: the accents of the "twenty-one books" (טעמי א"ך) and those of the Psalms, Proverbs, and Job (טעמי אמ"ת). In practice, the musical renditions show a much greater diversity of styles. These are determined by

(1) the text, i.e., the specific book, chapter, verse, or contents;

(2) the liturgical circumstances;

(3) the medium of performance;

(4) regional stylistic traditions;

(5) the above-mentioned margin for individual interpretation.

STYLE DETERMINED BY TEXT. Separate melodic conventions exist for the Pentateuch (Torah), the prophetic books (*haftarah*), and for several of the Hagiographa (cf. The Five *Scrolls, Musical Rendition). These may not be interchanged, and explicit prohibitions are found in several rabbinic sources (e.g., *Sefer Ḥasidim*, par. 302). Nevertheless there is a kind of infiltration of motives from one book to the other, as evinced by the appearance of motives from the cantillation of the Torah in that of the *haftarah*. Some motives may also be common to more than one book, such as certain motives in the cantillation of the Book of Esther and Lamentations in the Ashkenazi tradition. In principle, however, each book has its distinct and characteristic "melody," i.e., melodic style.

Most regional traditions have special "festive" styles for the reading of certain chapters or paragraphs – the Song of the *Sea, the *Decalogue, and often also for the Blessing of Moses (Deut. 32) and the Priestly *Blessing (Num 6:24–26), and also a "low" intonation for the "rebuking" text of Deut. 28:15–68. The Ashkenazi tradition is particularly rich in special intonations. A kind of "roster formula" is used for some verses in the story of the wanderings in the desert (Num. 10 and 33). Another intonation emphasizes the importance of certain single verses in the Torah (see A. Baer, *Baal T'fillah* (1883^{3}), 39–40, nos. 117, 118, 121). Another one is used for the dramatic turning points in the Book of Esther (1:22; 2:4, 15, 17; 3:15; 4:1, 14; 5:7, 13:6, 10). Chapters and verses referring to calamities, such as several verses in the Book of Esther, are read in the style of the Book of Lamentations. Verses or parts thereof which denote supplication and the request for pardon are intoned in the style in which the Torah is read on the High Holy Days (see below). In the reading of the Book of Esther in the Ashkenazi tradition there is even one "quotation" from the prayer mode of the High Holy Days (Esth. 6:1) and another from that of the *seliḥot (*ibid.* 6:3).

STYLE DETERMINED BY LITURGICAL CIRCUMSTANCES. During the three pilgrimage festivals the reading is more festive, with more ornamentations and prolongations. The atmosphere of the Ninth of *Av influences the reading of the *haftarah* on the preceding Sabbath, the reading of the Torah on the Ninth of Av itself, which should be in a "low" voice and is sometimes rendered "almost without the accents," and its *haftarah* (which is often read with a verse-by-verse translation into the vernacular – Arabic or Ladino). The Ashkenazim of Holland read the Torah on the Ninth of Av in a style related

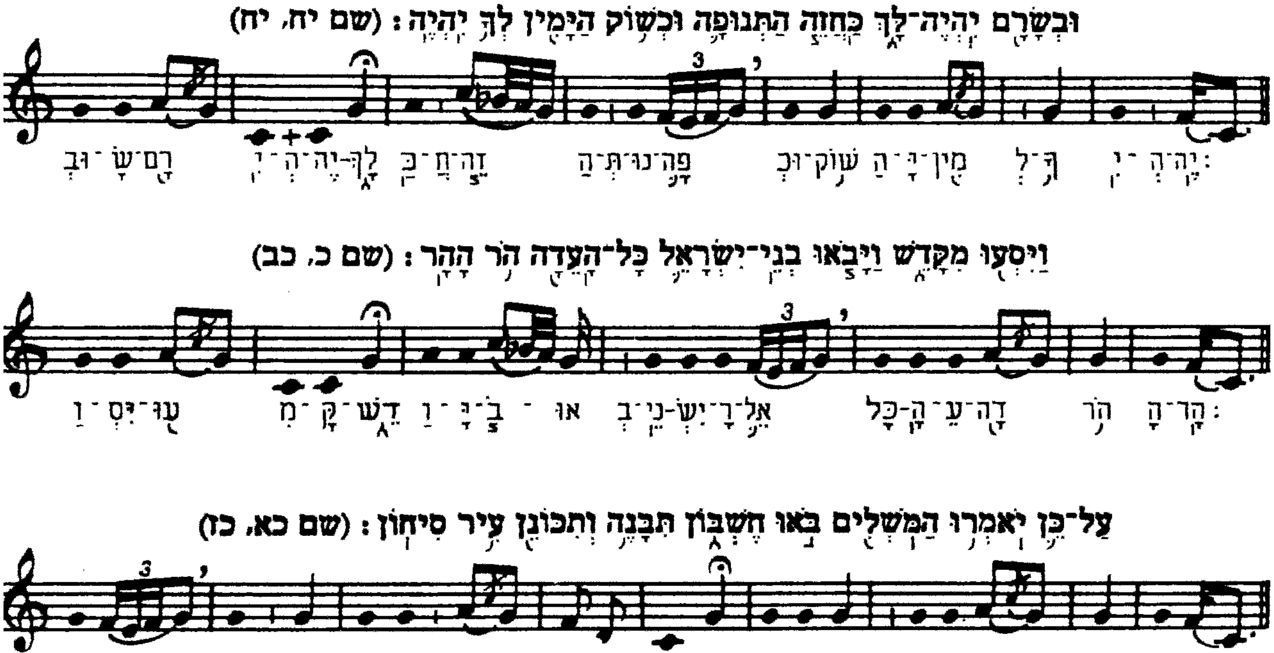
ובשרם יהיה־לך כחזה התנופה וכשוק הימין לך יהיה׃ (שם יח, יח)
ויסעו מקדש ויבאו בני־ישראל כל־העדה הר ההר׃ (שם כ, כב)
על־כן יאמרו המשלים באו חשבון תבנה ותכונן עיר סיחון׃ (שם כא, כז)

*EXAMPLE 4. Analytical presentation of three formations of the "*tevir *complex" in the combination of* tevir, etnaḥta, *and* sof pasuk, *in the reading of the Pentateuch, Eastern Ashkenazi tradition. From J. L. Ne'eman, Ẓelilei ha-Mikra, vol. 1, 1955, 110.*

to the *haftarah* style of the Polish-Lithuanian region. On the High Holy Days and Hoshana *Rabba, the Ashkenazi tradition has a special style for the reading of the Torah ("in a low melody, as if plaintive," as mentioned in the *maḥzor* ed. Sabionetta, 1557). On the Sabbath nearest to the wedding day, among some Near Eastern communities, the section "And Abraham was old" (Gen. 24) is read in front of the bridegroom in a special festive style. Other modifications applied on Hoshana Rabba and Shavuot are described below.

STYLE DETERMINED BY THE MEDIUM OF PERFORMANCE. When part of the regular prayer service, the reading of the Torah, *haftarah*, or Scrolls is always carried out by a single reader. On certain other occasions, however, the reading may become communal. On the night of Hoshana Rabba and Shavuot, when there are assemblies for "studying" the Torah, chapters or sections are cantillated in alternation by several members of the group. The style is an abbreviated version of the regular Torah style, or that of the study of the Torah in the *ḥeder*. Cantillation by the entire congregation according to the accents is found in the Sephardi communities for the **Shema Yisrael* (i.e., Deut. 5:7 and 11:19) during prayer and for the "Thirteen Divine Attributes" (i.e., Ex. 34:6–7) during the *seliḥot*. In the *ḥeder*, the study of the Torah is traditionally carried out through constant, loud repetition by all the children together. This was done in many communities in a special intonation, related to the accents but more simple in structure than the one practiced by the adults in the synagogue. There are also other kinds of "*ḥeder* tunes" based upon the sequence of accented (long) and unaccented (short) syllables in the text, similar to those found in the group recitation of passages from the Mishnah and other prose texts in many Near Eastern communities (cf. *Talmud, Musical Rendition). It can be assumed that the "*ḥeder* tunes" have remained unchanged for very long periods, since under these circumstances there is no inducement, or indeed any possibility, for personal expression and initiative and the melodic element is wholly subjugated to the pedagogical task.

REGIONAL STYLISTIC TRADITIONS. A.Z. Idelsohn's assumption (see bibliography, and frequently repeated in later writings) that the living traditions of masoretic cantillation developed out of one common – i.e., pre-Exilic – base does not seem to be confirmed by a more thorough examination. This is one of the central problems in research of Jewish music (cf. *Music, Introduction), and, by its very nature, this research is particularly prone to conscious or unconscious wishes to justify a foregone conclusion that there is, indeed must be, a common base. In the present state of research, it may tentatively be proposed that while the principle of cantillation as such is a common heritage (see introduction, above), the diverse regional and functional styles observable today stem from an albeit small number of distinct source styles. It can be assumed that several "melodies" for the reading of the Bible were current and equally legitimate at the time in which the forms of synagogal worship began to be stabilized. Later, by processes which we are unable to reconstruct, some of these "melodies" and melodic elements were accepted as normative by one or several communities, were attached to specific books, and were sanctified by custom. It must always be remembered that the accent signs themselves are not, and never were, a sound script with the same possibilities and limitations of the music

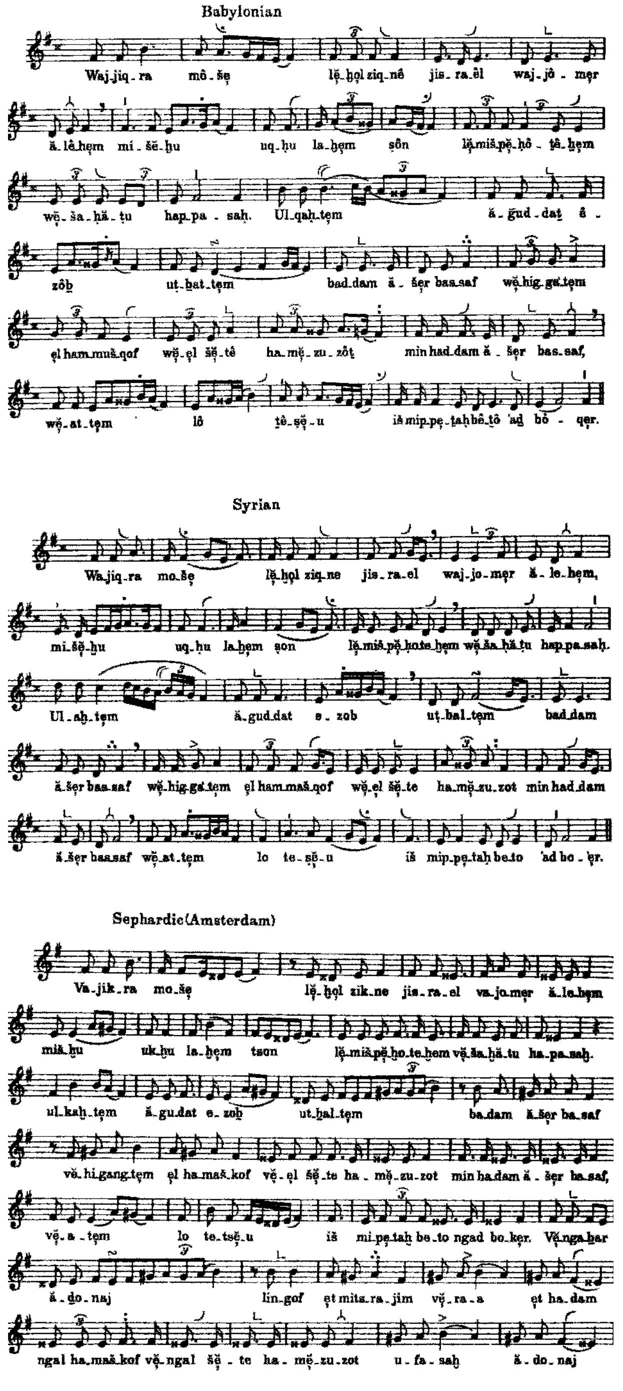
Babylonian
Waj_jiq_ra mô_šẹ lẹ_ḥol ziq_nê jis_ra_êl waj_jô_mẹr
ă_lê_hẹm mi_šẹ_ḥu uq_ḥu la_ḥẹm ṣôn lẹmiš_pẹ_ḥô_tê_ḥẹm
wẹ_ša_ḥă_ṭu hap_pa_sah. Ul_qaḥ_tẹm ă_gud_dat ê_
zôb ut_bat_tẹm bad_dam ă_šẹr bas_saf wẹ_hig_gạ_tẹm
ẹl ham_maš_qof wẹ_ẹl šẹ_tê ha_mẹ_zu_zôt min had_dam ă_šẹr bas_saf,
wẹ_at_tẹm lô tẹ_ṣẹ_u iš mip_pẹ_taḥ bê_tô 'ad bô_qẹr.
Syrian
Wajiq_ra mo_šẹ lẹ_ḥol ziq_ne jis_ra_el waj_jo_mẹr ă_le_hẹm,
mi_šẹ_ḥu uq_ḥu la_ḥẹm ṣon lẹ_miš_pẹ_ḥo_te_ḥẹm wẹ_ša_ḥă_ṭu hap_pa_saḥ.
Ul_aḥ_tẹm ă_gud_dat e_zob ut_bal_tẹm bad_dam
ă_šẹr bas_saf wẹ_hig_gạ_tẹm ẹl ham_maš_qof wẹ_el šẹ_te ha_mẹ_zu_zot min had_dam
ă_šẹr bas_saf wẹ_at_tẹm lo te_ṣẹ_u iš mip_pẹ_taḥ be_to 'ad bo_qẹr.
Sephardic(Amsterdam)
Va_jik_ra mo_šẹ lẹ_ḥol zik_ne jis_ra_el va_jo_mẹr ă_le_ḥẹm
miš_ḥu uk_ḥu la_ḥẹm tson lẹ_miš_pẹ_ḥo_te_ḥẹm vẹ_ša_ḥă_tu ha_pa_saḥ.
ul_kaḥ_tẹm ă_gu_dat e_zob ut_bal_tẹm ba_dam ă_šẹr ba_saf
vẹ_hi_gang_tẹm ẹl ha_maš_kof vẹ_ẹl šẹ_te ha_mẹ_zu_zot min ha_dam ă_šẹr ba_saf,
vẹ_a_tẹm lo te_tsẹ_u iš mi_pẹ_taḥ be_to ngad bo_kẹr. Vẹ_nga_bar
ă_do_naj lin_gof ẹt mits_ra_jim vẹ_ra_a ẹt ha_dam
ngal ha_maš_kof vẹ_ngal šẹ_te ha_mẹ_zu_zot u_fa_saḥ ă_do_naj

EXAMPLE 5. Exodus 12:21-22 as rendered in the "Babylonian" (Iraq), "Syrian," and Amsterdam Sephardi communities. From A. Z. Idelsohn, Melodien, *vol. 2, 1922, preface, 33, 34, 37.*

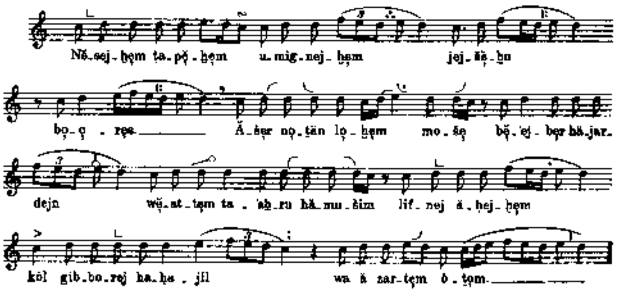
Nĕ-sej-hẹm ta-pṓ-hẹm u-mig-nej-hẹm jej-šẹ-bu
bọ-ọ-rẹṣ Ă-šẹr nọ-tān lọ-hẹm mo-šẹ bĕ-'ẹj-bẹr hā-jar-
dejn wẹ-at-tẹm ta-'ab-ru hă-mu-šim lif-nej ă-hej-hẹm
kŏl gib-bo-rej ha-ha-jil wa ă zar-tẹm ŏ-tọm

EXAMPLE 6. Intonation of the Prophets, Yemenite tradition (Josh. 1:14). From A.Z. Idelsohn, Melodien, *vol. 2, 1922, preface, 47.*

notation which developed in Western Europe. They are only reference aids to the evocation of "motivic ideas" which, in themselves, are an orally transmitted patrimony. Some late medieval and renaissance writers mention the "style of the Sephardim," but with hardly any concrete definitions which would enable its character to be understood (Simeon b. Ẓemaḥ *Duran, *Magen Avot*; the Karaite Elijah *Bashyazi (1420–90) in his *Sefer ha-Mitzvot* (ed. 1870), fol. 71 and 81; Elijah *Levita in his *Tuv Ta'am*).

The living traditions of the present may be classified according to five major regional styles:

(1) Yemenite,
(2) Ashkenazi,
(3) Middle Eastern and North African,
(4) Jerusalem Sephardi,
(5) northern Mediterranean local diverse styles.

(1) The Yemenite Style

This is particularly rich in distinct sub-styles for the biblical books and for particular chapters and in various divisions among single and group performers. One of the "*ḥeder* tunes," built upon the pentatonic scale, is related to the Ashkenazi Torah style.

(2) The Ashkenazi Style

This is the earliest to be documented in musical notation, in Johannes *Reuchlin's *De accentibus…* (1518) and soon afterward by several other scholars. The melodic elements have been pre-

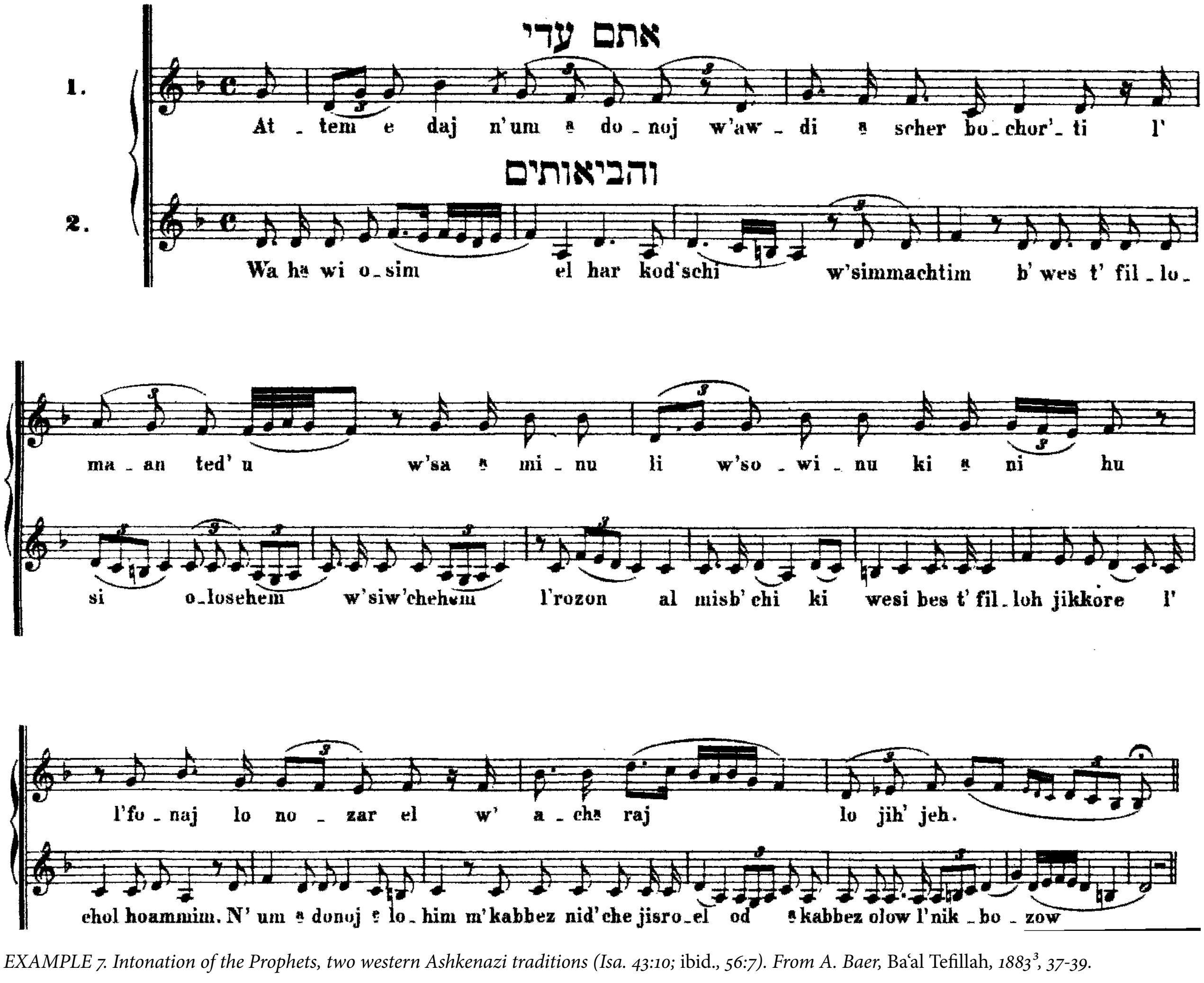
אתם עדי
1.
At - tem e daj n'um a do - noj w'aw - di a scher bo - chor'- ti l'
ma - an ted' u w'sa a mi - nu li w'so - wi - nu ki a ni hu
l'fu - naj lo no - zar el w' a - cha raj lo jih' jeh.
והביאותים
2.
Wa ha wi o - sim el har kod'schi w'simmachtim b' wes t' fil - lo -
si o - losehem w'siw'chehem l'rozon al misb' chi ki wesi bes t' fil - loh jikkore l'
chol hoammim. N' um a donoj e lo - him m'kabbez nid'che jisro - el od a kabbez olow l'nik - bo - zow

EXAMPLE 7. Intonation of the Prophets, two western Ashkenazi traditions (Isa. 43:10; ibid., *56:7). From A. Baer,* Ba'al Tefillah, *1883*^{3}*, 37-39.*

served most tenaciously among the Western Ashkenazi communities, including southern Germany. The Eastern Ashkenazi Torah style (known as "Polish-Lithuanian") is somewhat different from the Western one. The *haftarah* style is particularly developed in Eastern Europe, and is nowadays common to both the Eastern and Western Ashkenazi communities.

(3) The Middle Eastern and North African Style

This is the style designated by Idelsohn as "Oriental." Its distribution, with many sub-styles, ranges from Cochin to Algeria, through Persia, Bukhara, Iraq, Syria, Kurdistan, the Caucasus, and North Africa. There is a close connection between this and the styles of the European Sephardi communities in Italy, France, Holland, England, and America. It can also be traced in some Balkan communities (those of the "Romaniote" rite). Its influence is also noticeable in the intonation of the Song of Songs of the "Polish-Lithuanian" tradition. The earliest notation of this style was published in 1699 in the Hebrew Bible edited by Daniel Jablonski, to whom it was given by David de Pinna, a *parnas* in the Portuguese community of Amsterdam.

(4) The Jerusalem Sephardi Style

This is the style designated by Idelsohn as "Oriental Sephardic." It is found around the eastern shores of the Mediterranean, from Turkey and the Balkan communities to North Africa, and centered in Ereẓ Israel. Due to the prestige of its association with Jerusalem and Ereẓ Israel, it overlaid and frequently even ousted many local traditions throughout the Mediterranean countries. The Torah style in this tradition cannot represent the pre-expulsion Spanish tradition, since it is found neither in North Africa nor among the European Sephardim, but is based upon the Maqam *Sigah*. It seems to be a relatively recent development, but this phenomenon needs further study before a conclusion can be confirmed.

(5) The Northern Mediterranean Styles

Several communities in this area, such as Rome and *Carpentras (in Provence), have distinct local styles of their own. The Carpentras tradition survives only in notation (M. and J.S. Cremieu, *Zemirot Yisrael*, c. 1887), since the community itself no longer exists.

In Israel, the "ingathering of the exiles" has caused a major deterioration in many of the local and regional traditions brought into the country, since the immigrants often could not keep up their homogenous associations centered around the synagogue. The breakdown of the traditional education system (there is no organized *ḥeder* of any community except the East Ashkenazi) has also broken the chain of tradition. The regional styles tend to disappear, yielding to two dominant and dominating styles: the East Ashkenazi is gradually adopted in most Ashkenazi synagogues and the "Jerusalem Sephardi" prevails, especially for the reading of the Torah, in the synagogues of all the Near Eastern and North African communities. In the latter, the virtuoso status and ambitions of the *ḥazzan* or *ba'al kore* and the influence of the maqam-based Arabic art music at present come near to completely eroding the traditional base of masoretic cantillation proper.

See also articles on the musical traditions of the various major communities.

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[Avigdor Herzog]

MASSACHUSETTS, New England state of the U.S. Massachusetts had a population of 6,357,000 in 2001, of whom 275,000 were Jews. Both the Jewish population and the state population have been relatively stable during the past 35 years. In 1917 the state's Jewish population was 190,000; by 1937 it had risen to 263,000, dropping to 223,000 in 1959, and then rising over the following decade to 260,000. Nearly 80% of the Jews in the state live within an hour's ride of *Boston.

In 2000, the Greater Boston metropolitan area, embracing large sections of New England, was the sixth-largest Jewish metropolitan area in the United States, including some 10,500 Jews from the former Soviet Union, most of whom arrived after 1985. More than half of the community's Jews were engaged in professional and technical work, and 40 percent of Jewish adults held advanced degrees. The number of Jews also significantly increases during the school year as the number of colleges and universities in the Boston area and in all of Massachusetts is high and the Jewish student population significant.

The shift from the older neighborhoods in and around Boston to the suburbs created substantial new Jewish communities in Newton-Wellesley-Brookline; Cambridge-Belmont-Lexington-Concord-Waltham-Woburn; Natick-Framingham; the Massachusetts Bay north shore towns of *Lynn, Swampscott, Marblehead, Nahant, Salem, and Saugus; and the southern suburbs. Over the last generation thousands of Jewish scientists, engineers, and manufacturing entrepreneurs have found employment in the industrial complexes that line Route 128 west of Boston, and they have given a new élan to the Jewish communities that have sprung up in the expanded Boston suburbs. In the late 20th and the early 21st centuries the high-tech industries attracted many young Jews who easily made the transition from college to industry.

Beyond metropolitan Boston there were 35 cities and towns with 100 or more Jewish residents. The largest Jew-

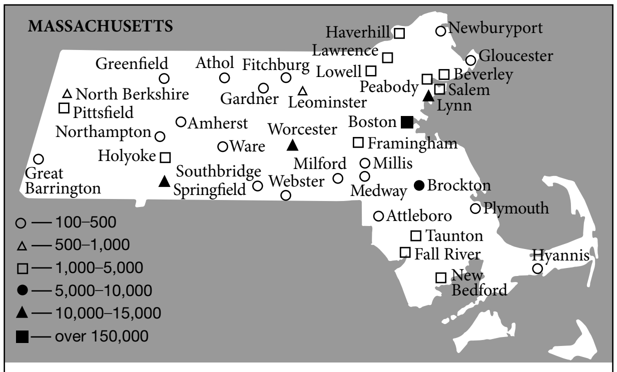

Total Jewish population of Massachusetts	275,000
% of Jews in general population of Massachusetts	4.3
% of Massachusetts Jews in Jewish population of U.S.	4.9

Jewish communities in Massachusetts. Population figures for 2001.

ish populations were to be found in *Springfield (10,000), *Worcester County (12,000), *Fall River (1,100), Andover (2,500), Amherst area (1,300), New Bedford (2,600), Lowell (2,000), Pittsfield and Berkshire County (4,000), Haverhill (2,300), and Holyoke (1,300). Several areas, which were once considered virtually off-limits to Jews, now have synagogues and thriving Jewish communities. Synagogue life on Cape Cod, including Martha's Vineyard and Nantucket, is active, and there is ongoing Jewish life during the winter months. Many Jews who had previously enjoyed the rich cultural life of the Berkshires have chosen to live there year-round and to participate in the active Jewish life now afforded in these communities.

At the beginning of the 21st century there were about 250 synagogues in 85 communities, most of them erected in the 1960s and beyond either as the first houses of worship in newly settled areas or as replacements for older sanctuaries in communities where Jewish residence antedated the massive move out of Boston.

Early History

Aaron *Lopez, a ship owner, was the first Jew naturalized in Massachusetts (at Taunton, 1752). In 1777 he founded the first Jewish community in Massachusetts, at Leicester near Worcester. The families of Lopez and of Jacob Rodriguez *Rivera, numbering 61 people, stayed in Leicester until after the Revolution.

Massachusetts' first permanent Jewish community was established in the late 1830s in Boston, where Central European settlers established the state's first Jewish congregation, Ohabei Shalom, in the 1840s. For about 100 years the Boston Jewish community exercised a powerful influence on the growth of new settlements throughout the state.

The first Jews to take up permanent residence outside Boston were German and East European peddlers who replaced the itinerant Yankee traders in the 1840s and 1850s. Typical of these was Abraham *Kohn, later a figure in the Republican Party in Illinois. In 1842 and 1843, Kohn carried a pack through central and northern Massachusetts, praying alone in the fields, sometimes with his brother and partner, Judah, or with other Jewish peddlers he met on the way. Peddlers like Kohn settled down and became storekeepers; they were followed by tailors, watchmakers, cigarmakers, shoemakers, and dealers in dairy products, leather goods, provisions, lumber, and kerosene.

These merchants established themselves in the factory and mill towns, including Pittsfield (1850), where most were of German origin; Worcester (1860); Holyoke (1873; first congregation, Agudas Achim, founded 1895); Springfield (1881); Fall River (1881); Lawrence (late 1880s); Lynn (1893); and Haverhill (1897). Some Sephardi Jews lived in New Bedford, which has a Jewish cemetery said to date from the post-Revolutionary era, as late as the 1850s, when the first German Jews arrived. One of these was Leopold *Morse, who served in Congress from a Boston district in 1877–85 and again in 1887–89. A burial society, Bnay Israel, was formed in New Bedford in 1857. The first Jewish burial took place the same year. East European Jews arrived in New Bedford about 1877, the earliest of them being Isaac Goodman and Simon Siniansky. The first *minyan* was formed in 1879; services were held in Siniansky's house. The first congregation, Ahabath Achim, was founded in 1893 and purchased a cottage house as its first synagogue. A new synagogue was dedicated in 1899. In 1898 Congregation Chesed Shel Emes was incorporated; it occupied a new synagogue building in 1903. Springfield also had a colony of Sephardi Jews in the 1830s, but the first Russian arrivals found no trace of them. German and Polish Jews arrived in Worcester in the late 1860s.

Contemporary Life

Massachusetts is the home of several major national Jewish institutions: the nonsectarian *Brandeis University, in Waltham, and the National Yiddish Book Center in Amherst and the Jewish Women's Archive in Brookline. The *Menorah Society, the first Jewish intercollegiate movement, was organized at Harvard University in 1906.

Jewish students and Jewish studies give Massachusetts a unique flavor. In 2004 there were approximately 90 dedicated staff positions in Jewish studies at seven major private universities in the Boston area with over 30 more similar positions at the universities in Worcester and the Amherst area. Internationally renowned graduate programs in Jewish Studies are found at Massachusetts universities, including the only graduate Ph.D. program in Holocaust and Genocide Studies. The Hebrew College, which has moved from Brookline to Newton, now has a non-denominational rabbinic program with Arthur Green, a distinguished scholar of Ḥasidism, as its founding dean. Several universities had Jewish presidents in the last quarter of the 20th century and into the 21st. Among them, Harvard has a Jewish president, Lawrence *Sommers, and MIT has had Jewish presidents. Brandeis has always had a Jewish president.

Jewish charitable institutions are coordinated by the Combined Jewish Philanthropies of Greater Boston and by counterpart organizations in 12 other cities, including Jewish welfare federations in Berkshire County, Merrimack Valley (serving Andover, Haverhill, Lawrence, Lowell, Newburyport and 27 surrounding communities), New Bedford, Northshore, Springfield, and Worcester.

Hillel Foundations are found at the following Massachusetts colleges: Amherst College; Babson College; Bentley College; Berklee College of Music; Boston College (a Jesuit University); Boston University; Brandeis University; Clark University; College of the Holy Cross (a noted Roman Catholic College); Curry College; Emerson College; Fitchburg State College; Framingham State College; Hampshire College; Harvard University & Radcliffe College; Hebrew College; Lesley University; Massachusetts Bay Community College; Massachusetts Institute of Technology; Mount Holyoke College; New England College; New England Conservatory of Music; Newbury College; Northeastern University; Quinsigamond Community College; Salem State College; Simmons College; Smith College; Springfield College; Suffolk University; Tufts University; Tufts University Veterinary School; UMASS Medical School; University of Massachusetts, Amherst; University of Massachusetts, Boston Harbor; University of Massachusetts, Dartmouth; University of Massachusetts, Lowell; Wellesley College; Wentworth Institute of Technology; Western New England College; Westfield State College; Wheaton College; Wheelock College; Williams College; and Worcester Polytechnic Institute. The presence of Hillel on campus was often symbolic of the Jewish presence. Brandeis has three chapels at the center of its campus – Catholic, Protestant, and Jewish – emblematic of the three great religions of mid-20th-century America. When the new Hillel at Harvard opened, a procession of Torah scrolls marched through the campus. One speaker said that the movement of Hillel from the periphery of the campus to its center reflected the journey of Jews at Harvard and indeed throughout American intellectual life.

Jewish community centers (JCCs) and YM-YWHAs are affiliated with the Greater Boston Associated JCCs, and similar institutions are maintained in Framingham and Marblehead, Newton, North Dartmouth, Peabody, Springfield, Stoughton, Westboro, Worcester, Brighton, and Brookline. Jewish weeklies are published in the state: the *Jewish Advocate*, in Boston; *Metro-West Jewish Reporter*; the *Jewish Journal/North of Boston*; the *Jewish Chronicle*, in Worcester; and the national monthly *Sh'ma*, which is published by Jewish Family and Life in Newton.

George Feingold, who was the Republican nominee for governor when he died in 1958, was the first Jew to win statewide elective office, serving three terms as attorney general (1952–58). Springfield, Worcester, Holyoke, and Pittsfield (Daniel Englander, elected 1902) have had Jewish mayors. In 1961 Jacob J. Spiegel was named to the State Supreme Court, the first Jew to serve in that office. Abraham *Ratshesky was ambassador to Czechoslovakia under President Hoover (1930–32). David K. *Niles was one of President Franklin D. Roosevelt's key White House aides and later served President Truman in a similar capacity (1942–51). Maxwell M. *Rabb served as secretary to the cabinet under President Eisenhower (1953–58). Steven *Grossman was chairman of the Democratic National Committee and ran unsuccessfully for governor as did Robert *Reich, a Brandeis professor and former Clinton secretary of labor. Politics in Massachusetts is considered the domain of the Irish. Boston has never had a Jewish mayor. Remarkably there have only been two Jewish congressmen, Barney *Frank and Leopold *Morse. Franklin Delano Roosevelt appointed Charles E. Wyzanski, Jr., to the United States District Court; Richard Nixon appointed Frank H. Freedman; Jimmy Carter, Rya Zobel; Ronald Reagan appointed Mark L. Wolf; Bill Clinton, Nancy Gertner and Patti Saris. Three Jewish sons of Massachusetts have served on the Supreme Court: Louis *Brandeis, Felix *Frankfurter, and Steven *Breyer.

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[Bernard Postal / Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

MASSADAH (Heb. מַסָּדָה), kibbutz in northern Israel, in the Jordan-Yarmuk valley, affiliated with Iḥud ha-Kevuẓot ve-ha-Kibbutzim. Massadah was founded in 1937, during the Arab riots, as a *stockade and watchtower by pioneers from Poland. In the Israel *War of Independence the village had to be evacuated before the onslaught of the Syrian army (May 1948) and was completely razed, but the site was taken back 24 hours later by Israel forces and the kibbutz was rebuilt. After the *Six-Day War (1967), the village came frequently under shelling. Its farming was based on avocado and palm plantations, citrus groves, field crops, and dairy cattle. The kibbutz also operated guest rooms. In 1968 the population of the kibbutz was 285. In the mid-1990s it rose to 350, but then dropped to 288 in 2002.

WEBSITE: www.massada.co.il.

[Efraim Orni / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

MASSARANI, TULLO (1826–1905), Italian author and statesman. Born in Mantua, Massarani studied law and painting, at the same time taking part in the conspiratorial struggle for the unification of Italy. As a result of the failure of the 1848 revolution and his collaboration with Mazzini's followers, he had to take shelter in Switzerland and later lived the life of a refugee in Germany and France. On the proclamation of the Kingdom of Italy in 1860 he returned to Milan. He was elected to parliament for three legislative periods (1860–67), and in 1876 was appointed senator. He also held municipal offices.

An extremely prolific writer, Massarani introduced the works of Heinrich *Heine to Italian readers. He left a great number of critical essays, historical, political, and autobiographical writings, translations and verse, which were collected after his death in 24 volumes (1906–11). Massarani's criticism does not delve beneath the surface, but reveals a broad and up-to-date culture in which scholarship is blended with a journalistic approach. Among his most important works are *L'idea italiana attraverso i tempi* (1869), *Eugenio Camerini, i suoi studi e i suoi tempi* (1877), and *Carlo Tenca e il pensiero civile del suo tempo* (1886). During his latter years he devoted himself to an original and erudite study of laughter (1900–02). Massarani's essays earned him a high reputation among European art critics, and in 1878 he was elected chairman of the international jury of art at the Paris Exhibition.

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[Giorgio Romano]

MASSARANO, JACCHINO OR ISACCHINO (16th century), Italian choreographer. In 1583 he was commissioned to provide the dances for Bernardo Pino's *Gli Ingiusti Sdegni* which was performed by the Jewish Theater in Mantua in honor of the marriage of the duke's heir, Vincenzo Gonzaga, who was an intimate friend. The following year, when Vincenzo visited Ferrara, he was sent to supervise a similar performance there. In 1591, the poet Manfredi corresponded with Massarano and also commissioned him to supervise dances for him. When Giovanni Guarini's *Pastor Fido*, the most famous play of its day, was staged at the ducal palace in Mantua in 1598, Massarano was commissioned to supervise the "Blindfolded Dance" for the ballet. He was also appointed choreographer for one of the Jewish theater's biggest performances, *Accessi de Amor fatta* by Niccolo Grassi, in 1605, when 64 members of the company took part, and in the following year he choreographed the Tasso's *Delli Intreghi de Amor.* Massarano was also a composer, teacher, and singer. He was father of Abraham Massarano, historian and author of *Ha-Galut ve-ha-Pedut* (Venice, 1634).

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MASSARY, FRITZI (**Friederike Massarik**; 1882–1969), Vienna-born actress and singer. In 1903 she converted to Protestantism. Massary made a reputation in musicals on the Berlin stage and created numerous roles in works by Leo Fall, Oscar Straus, and others. After leaving Nazi Germany she appeared in London in Noel Coward's *Operette*, 1938, her last appearance on the stage. In 1939 she settled in California. Her husband and partner on stage was Max Pallenberg, the German actor. Her style as a singer served as a model for modern diseuses.

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[Marcus Pyka (2nd ed.)]

MASSEKHET (pl. **Massekhtot**; Heb. מַסֶּכֶת, pl. מַסֶּכְתּוֹת; lit. "a web," idiomatically a tractate; cf. Lat. *textus*), a main subdivision of each of the six orders, or *sedarim*, of the Mishnah. Each mishnaic order is divided into a number of *massekhtot*; each *massekhet* is divided into chapters, and each chapter into Mishnayot or paragraphs in the Babylonian Talmud and into *halakhot* in the Jerusalem Talmud. The total number of tractates of the entire Mishnah, which was originally 60, was subsequently, by a further minor subdivision, increased to 63. *Massekhet* also designates the corresponding *Gemara* tractates. Beginning with the *editio princeps* (1520–23, Venice), in all standard editions of the Babylonian Talmud each *massekhet* has a fixed number of folio pages. The most voluminous tractate, numbering 176 folios, is *Bava Batra*; the smallest is *Horayot* numbering 14. In the Jerusalem Talmud the original pagination of the tractates has been preserved only in the Venice edition of 1522–23, and in its later reprints. As there is no *Gemara* on all mishnaic tractates, the number of *massekhtot* in the Babylonian Talmud is only 37 and in the Jerusalem Talmud 39. Occasionally the term *massekhet* is also applied to rabbinical books outside the Talmud. See also *Talmud; *Mishnah; and Minor Tractates.

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[Jacques K. Mikliszanski]

MASSELL, SAM JR. (1927–), U.S. lawyer and politician. Born in Atlanta, Georgia, Massell received his Bachelor of Commercial Science degree from Georgia State University and a Bachelor of Laws from Atlanta Law School. He served as a flying instructor in the U.S. Army Air Force during World War II. He worked in the commercial real estate industry for 20 years and 13 in the travel business before stepping into the political arena. In 1961 he made his first attempt to win public office and was elected to the office of vice-mayor as a Democrat. He held the position until 1969 when he was elected Atlanta's youngest and first Jewish mayor with a victory margin provided by a white liberal and poor black coalition. In the course of the campaign Massell charged that members of the "power structure," meaning the corporations and civic groups who had long ruled Atlanta, were antisemitic. He served as mayor until 1974, when he lost the re-election.

From 1988 Massell was the president of the Buckhead Coalition, a group of CEOs of major companies in Buckhead, an upscale area of Atlanta. Serving as a chamber of commerce for the neighborhood, the coalition's first successful project, in 1989, was to have Georgia Highway 400 extended through Buckhead. Massell also spearheaded the creation of the Community Improvement District in Buckhead, wherein business property owners impose taxes on themselves to improve the community and then seek matching federal grants.

Active in Jewish affairs, Massell was a member of the American Jewish Committee, Jewish War Veterans, and the B'nai B'rith. He was also instrumental in breaking down ethnic and religious barriers in his community, bringing the Reform community together with the Conservative and Orthodox, as well as reaching out to help integrate the Sephardic and Russian populations.

[Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

MASSERMAN, JULES HOMAN (1905–1994), U.S. psychiatrist and psychoanalyst. Born in Chudnov, Poland, Masserman was taken to the United States in 1908. He grew up in Detroit, Michigan, and received his medical degree from Wayne University. Masserman first taught at the University of Chicago. In 1952 he was appointed professor of neurology and psychiatry at Northwestern University's medical school, where he taught until the 1970s and served for several years as co-chairman of the psychiatry department. Masserman's thought and experience in psychiatry and psychotherapy are set forth in his textbook, *The Principles of Dynamic Psychiatry* (1946, 1961) and in *The Practice of Dynamic Psychiatry* (1955). These works represent a theoretical and clinical attempt to correlate various physiological and psychological concepts of behavior into a comprehensive system (biodynamics), and to base a therapy upon this. He conducted many animal experiments to check, clarify, and extend psychological premises about human beings. He also added "un-defenses," such as the general delusion of invulnerability and immortality by which man denies danger and death, to the Freudian concepts of defenses against anxiety.

Masserman's later works include *Biodynamic Roots of Human Behavior* (1958), *Transcultural Problems of Youth* (1969), the autobiographical *A Psychiatric Odyssey* (1971), *Handbook of Psychiatric Therapies* (1972), *Man for Humanity* (1972), *Theory and Therapy in Dynamic Psychiatry* (1973), *The Psychiatric Examination* (with J. Schwab, 1974), *Psychiatry and Health* (1986), *Psychiatric Consultations for Public Organizations* (1989), and *Sexual Accusations and Social Turmoil: What Can Be Done* (with his wife, Christine Masserman, 1994).

He also directed many instructional motion pictures, such as *The Dynamics of Experimental Neurosis* (1944). He edited the annuals *Science and Psychoanalysis* and *Current Psychiatric Therapies*, and was associate editor of *Psychosomatics*. He was president of the American Academy for Psychoanalysis and of other learned associations, such as the American Society for Group Therapy, the American Association for Social Psychiatry, the American Society for Biological Psychiatry, the International Association of Social Psychiatry, and the American Psychiatric Association, and served as honorary president for life of the World Association for Social Psychiatry.

Masserman retired from his clinical practice in 1989 after fending off a flurry of accusations by former female patients of having been drugged and sexually abused. Although Masserman denied the allegations and no criminal charges were made, some of the malpractice cases were settled out of court and he was suspended from the Illinois Psychiatric Society for five years.

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[Louis Miller / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

MASSU'OT YIẒḤAK (Heb. מַשּׂוּאוֹת יִצְחָק), moshav shittufi on the Coastal Plain, 8 mi. (13 km.) N.E. of Ashkelon, affiliated to the Ha-Po'el ha-Mizrachi Moshav movement. Massu'ot Yiẓḥak was originally founded in 1945 by pioneers from Hungary and Czechoslovakia as a kibbutz in the Hebron Hills, the second village in the Eẓyon Bloc, under the name Massu'ot ("Beacons"). The name Yiẓḥak was added in honor of Chief Rabbi I.H. *Herzog in a ceremony attended by him. Along with the other three settlements of the Eẓyon Bloc, Massu'ot Yiẓḥak fell in the Arab Legion's onslaught (May 13, 1948), and was completely destroyed, its surviving defenders being taken to Jordan as prisoners of war. After their release and return to Israel, they established their village on the present site (1949), several years later deciding to go over to the moshav shittufi settlement form. In 1969 the village was based on intensive agriculture and had a metal factory. Over the years the metal factory was replaced by the successful Albaad wet wipes factory. Farming included dairy cattle, field crops, poultry, avocado plantations, and some smaller branches. The population in 1968 was 403; in 2002, 548.

[Efram Orni / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

MASTBAUM, JOEL (1882–1957), Yiddish short story writer and novelist. Born in Miedzyrzec, Poland, he lived in Warsaw from 1905, and from 1906 published extensively in the Yiddish press: feuilletons, short stories, folk tales, travel impressions, and chapters of novels. In 1933 he immigrated to Palestine and wrote stories about life there, collected in *Yidn in Erets-Yisroel* ("Jews in Palestine," 1935). Overtaken by World War II while visiting Poland, he nonetheless managed to return to Tel Aviv and describe his 60 days under the Nazis. His short stories, which were collected in several volumes beginning in 1912, have a romantic tonality. His first novels, *Fun Roytn Lebn* ("Red Life," 2 vols., 1912), about the revolutionary youth of 1905, and *Marita's Glik* ("Marita's Fortune," 1919), about three Jewish generations in Poland, had several editions in Yiddish, and were translated into Hebrew. *Nokhemkes Vanderungen* ("The Wanderings of Nokhemke," 1925), an adventurous romance beginning in a Polish town and ending in Buenos Aires, was followed by *Naye Mentshn* ("New Men," 1926). From a projected trilogy of Palestine between 1933 and 1948 only the first volume, *Der Koyekh fun der Erd* ("The Power of the Earth," 1951), was published.

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[Melech Ravitch]

MASTEMA (Heb. מַשְׂטֵמָה), the name of the devil in the Book of *Jubilees. He is there identical with Satan and on one occasion the author speaks also (1:20) about spirits of Belial. Like other works originating in the broader movement within which the Dead Sea Sect came into existence, the Book of Jubilees is characterized by a dualistic trend, and in it the devil Mastema plays a great role, being the opponent of the forces of righteousness. He is the chief of evil spirits. After the flood a tenth part of his spirits received permission from God to execute the power of his will on the sons of men and the other nine parts were imprisoned in the place of condemnation. Not God, but Mastema caused Abraham's testing by proposing that God should require Abraham to sacrifice Isaac in order to test his love and obedience. He, and not God, sought to slay Moses on his return to Egypt at the lodging place (Ex. 4:24) and he also helped the Egyptian sorcerers against Moses and slew all the firstborn in the land of Egypt.

The name is found in Hosea 9:7, 8 as a common noun meaning "enmity." It was not translated in the Greek version of the Book of Jubilees but transcribed in Greek characters, and thus it came into the Latin and Ethiopian versions of the book. But the normal meaning of the name is seen in the term "the prince of the Mastemah" (*sar ha-Mastemah*) in the same book, meaning also "the prince of enmity." The same title occurs in its Hebrew original in the introduction of the medieval Hebrew Book of Asaph the Physician in the same context as Mastema in Jubilees chapter 10, an additional indication that this introduction depends on a Hebrew Book of Noah written by an ancient Jewish author from the same circles as those in which the Book of Jubilees originated. Mastema, i.e., the Satan, is also mentioned in the (Greek) Acts of Philip chapter 13 (*Acta Apostalorum Apocrypha*, 2 (1903), 7). The common noun *mastema* occurs in the Dead Sea Scrolls in connection with Belial, another name of the Satan frequent in the Dead Sea Scrolls and similar literature, where he is also named "the angel of Mastema." Thus the term is typical of the whole dualistic trend in ancient Jewish literature.

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[David Flusser]

MASTER, ARTHUR M. (1895–1973), U.S. cardiologist. Born in New York City, he graduated with an M.D. from Cornell University (1921). He received his clinical and research training in Mount Sinai Hospital, New York, and with Sir Thomas Lewis at University College Hospital, London, before his appointment as head of cardiology at Mount Sinai. During World War II he was consultant cardiologist at the National Naval Medical Center in Bethesda, Maryland (1942) and served with the U.S. Navy in the Pacific. He was appointed clinical professor of medicine at Columbia University, New York (1947). Master's clinical research concerned the development of the ECG (electrocardiogram) in the diagnosis of heart disease. The stress test named after him detected cardiac insufficiency during exercise and in principle remains a part of standard diagnostic procedures.

[Michael Denman (2nd ed.)]

MASTIC, the shrub *Pistacia lentiscus*, known as "medicinal mastic." It exudes a gum which in the Midrash is called *mastikhe*. It has been identified by some with the *lot* (AV "myrrh," JPS "laudanum") mentioned among "the choice products of the land" which Jacob sent to Egypt with his sons (Gen. 43:11; Gen. R. *ibid.*; but see *laudanum). The Tosefta (Shab. 12:8) states that *mastikhe* may not be chewed on the Sabbath since it is a medicine. Dioscorides states, "Its gum serves for medicine and tooth powder. It is smeared on the skin of the face to make it shine. When chewed it sweetens the breath and contracts the gums. The best mastic comes from the island of Chios" (*De materia medica* 1:89). To the present day a special variety of the shrub whose gum is sold as medicinal mastic is grown on the island of Chios. It is widely distributed throughout Israel, particularly in the wadis of the Judean hills, but the medicinal properties of its sap have not yet been tested. It would appear that it is to be identified with *bakha* (pl. *bekha'im*) of the Bible (II Sam. 5:23; I Chron. 14:14–15; AV "mulberry"; RV "balsam"), the name being connected with the "weeping" (*bokhim*), i.e., the excretion of the sap. The valley through which the pilgrims walked to the Temple was called *emek ha-bakha* (Ps. 84:7) because of the shrubs of that name growing there. The phrase was however regarded as meaning "the vale of tears" and it thus became a synonym for the exile.

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[Jehuda Feliks]

MAT, MOSES (c. 1551–c. 1606), Galician rabbi. Mat was born in Przemysl where his father Abraham died a martyr's death. An intimate disciple of Solomon Luria, he taught in Belz. Subsequently he lived in Vladimir-Volynski, where his father-in-law resided and where Mat wrote his *Matteh Moshe*, a compendium of Jewish ritual law. The book was completed in 1584 and printed in Cracow about six years later, when Mat was already rabbi and head of the yeshivah of Przemysl. Later he lived in Lyuboml. He spent the last years of his life in Opatow. In 1590 Mat was one of the leading rabbis of Poland who signed an ordinance strictly forbidding the "buying" of rabbinical positions. Mat also wrote: *Taryag Mitzvot* (Cracow, 1581), a versification of the 613 commandments, which he composed at the age of 22; a commentary on the Pentateuch and on the Five Scrolls with a supercommentary on the commentary of *Rashi on these books, both of which were published after his death by his son ABRAHAM under the title *Ho'il Moshe* (Prague, 1611); and *Minhagei Maharshal* (printed in the 1870 Przemysl edition of Jacob Ẓemaḥ's *Nagid u-Meẓavveh*) which describes the customs and conduct of his teacher, Luria. Some of Mat's responsa are quoted or mentioned by his contemporaries Benjamin *Slonik and Joel *Sirkes. In his *Ho'il Moshe* he mentions novellae which he wrote on the treatise of *Yevamot*, but which have not been published.

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[Tovia Preschel]

MATALON, ELI (1924–1999), Jamaican politician. Matalon, a member of a prominent Jamaican Jewish family of Syrian origin, was born in Kingston and served as an officer in the Royal Canadian Air Force during World War II. In 1971, he was elected mayor of Kingston and St. Andrew. When the People's National Party came to power in February 1973, he was appointed to the Upper House as minister of state attached to the Ministry of Education, with a seat in the cabinet. On the appointment of the minister of education as governor-general, Matalon resigned from the Upper House and successfully contested the constituency of Eastern Kingston and Port Royal thus rendered vacant, becoming the first Jew to be elected to the House of Representatives in independent Jamaica. He was subsequently appointed minister of education. Matalon was one of the founders of the Hillel Academy, a primary school sponsored by the Jewish community in 1969, and served as vice chairman from its inception until he was obliged to resign in March 1973, on his appointment to the cabinet. In 1974 Matalon was appointed minister of national security and justice, a newly created post, in the Jamaican government, retiring in 1976. In later years he lived in Miami, Florida, where he died.

MATALON, RONIT (1959–), Israeli writer. Born to Egyptian-Jewish parents in a new immigrant town near Tel Aviv, Matalon later studied literature and philosophy at Tel Aviv University. She worked as a journalist at Israeli Television and the daily *Haaretz*. Matalon was a member of staff at the Camera Obscura School of Arts in Tel Aviv. Her first publication was a book for children, *Sippur she-Mathil be-Levayah shel Naḥash* ("A Story Which Begins with a Snake's Funeral," German 1999). Following her first collection of stories, *Zarim ba-Bayit* ("Strangers in the House," 1992), she published her novel *Ze im ha-Panim Elenu* ("The One Facing Us," 1998), a complex, postmodernistic family saga, coalescing text and photo material, foregrounding feminine as well as ethnic concerns. Her second novel *Sarah Sarah* was translated into English in 2003.

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[Anat Feinberg (2nd ed.)]

MATA MEḤASYA, town situated in S. Babylonia, on the Euphrates River near *Sura where the river divides into two. In geonic responsa Sura is often identified with Mata Meḥasya; thus Sherira Gaon in his famous letter at the end of the tenth century (ed. by B.M. Lewin (1921), p. 79, Spanish version) wrote that "after Rav came to Babylon in 219 he left Nehardea moving to a place where there was no Torah, viz., Sura, which is Mata Meḥasya" (the French version reads: "Sura which is called Mata Meḥasya"). The same identification is found in the work of Benjamin of Tudela in the 12th century. However, it would seem that the two places are not identical. They were two separate settlements near each other; and elsewhere in his letter (p. 84) Sherira Gaon explicitly distinguishes between the two places, stating that the school of Huna, the pupil and successor of Rav in the academy of Sura, was situated "near Mata Meḥasya." The Talmud also clearly distinguishes between the two places (Beẓah 29a). Mata Meḥasya is not mentioned in the Talmud before the time of *Ashi, who headed the Sura academy in the years 367–427. He extended the academy and transferred it to Mata Meḥasya (pp. 90–92). Of its inhabitants Ashi said: "The people of Mata Meḥasya are 'stouthearted' (cf. Isa. 46:12), for they see the glory of the Torah twice a year [in the **kallah* months of Adar and Elul], and never has one of them been converted" (Ber. 17b). R. Mesharsheya praised the scholars of Mata Meḥasya, saying: "Rather sit on the rubbish heap of Mata Meḥasya than in the palaces of Pumbedita" (Hor. 12a).

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[Moshe Beer]

MATAS, DAVID (1943–), Canadian lawyer, writer, human rights activist, teacher. Matas was born in Winnipeg and had a conventional Jewish childhood in the city's South End. His was the first bar mitzvah in the Herzlia Synagogue in 1956. Following a B.A. in mathematics and economics at the University of Manitoba (1964) and an M.A. in economics at Princeton (1965), he traveled to Oxford for his legal education, receiving the B.A. (Juris) (1967) and B.C.L. (1968). Returning to Canada, he served as clerk to Chief Justice John Cartwright in 1968–69, as a member of the Canadian government's Foreign Ownership Working Group in 1969, and as special assistant to the federal solicitor general in 1971–72. After six years with a Winnipeg law firm, in 1979 Matas established a private practice in Winnipeg specializing in refugee, immigration, and human rights law. These areas, and his outspoken opposition to Nazi war criminals who found safe harbor in Canada, drove his professional, scholarly, and community activities. He argued several cases dealing with war crimes and hate propaganda before the Supreme Court of Canada, notably those of John Ross Taylor (1990), Imre Finta (1994), Canadian Liberty Net (1998), and Malcolm Ross (2001). He wrote numerous scholarly and journalistic articles and seven books on these topics, including *Justice Delayed: Nazi War Criminals in Canada* (1987), *Bloody Words: Hate and Free Speech* (2000), and *Aftershock: Anti-Zionism and Antisemitism* (2005), and taught courses in these areas at McGill University and the University of Manitoba. He was senior legal counsel to both Amnesty International Canada (from 1980) and B'nai B'rith Canada (from 1989), and was a member of the Canadian delegation to the UN General Assembly (1980), Task Force on Immigration Practices and Procedures (1980–81), Legal Committee on War Crimes of the Canadian Jewish Congress (1981–84), Manitoba Association for Rights and Liberties (1983–87), B'nai

B'rith's League for Human Rights (from 1983), Helsinki Watch Group (from 1985), International Defense and Aid Fund for South Africa (1990–91), Canada-South Africa Cooperation (1991–93), Canadian Council for Refugees (1991–95), International Center for Human Rights and Democratic Development (1997–2003), and the Canadian delegation to the UN Conference on an International Criminal Court (1998). His outstanding contributions were honored by the Manitoba Association for Rights and Liberties, National Council of Jewish Women, Lord Reading Law Society of Montreal, Shaare Zedek Hospital Foundation, League for Human Rights of B'nai B'rith, and Legal Education Association.

[James Walker (2nd ed.)]

MATHEMATICS.

Bible

The Bible does not deal directly with proper mathematical subjects; however there are some parts that do relate indirectly to different mathematical topics. These are widely discussed by the various commentators on the Bible and Talmud: the ratio of 300:50:30 between the three dimensions of Noah's ark (in the past, a basic ratio in shipbuilding), the mathematical model of a rainbow, the number of 220 sheep and goats sent by Jacob to Esau (220 as the first number of the smallest pair of amicable numbers), the calculations of the visibility of the crescent of the new moon, the total amount and volume of the daily *manna, Moses' financial report on the donations for the building of the Tabernacle (*mishkan*), the commandment of keeping exact measures and balances, chance and probability in relation to the fair division of the land of Israel, lot-drawing to insure the fair division of holy duties and privileges, the curve of "projectile motion" in relation to the unintentional killing of a man by throwing a stone, the surprising distribution of the 12 tribes into two equal groups of six on Mt. Gerizim and Mt. Ebal, and more.

The members of the tribe of Issachar were known as "*Marei de-Ḥushbena*" – the masters of calculations – as their elders specialized in astronomical and calendar calculations. Christian scholars have dealt extensively with Bible mathematics. Among others, an early 18th-century scholar, J.J. Schmidt published an interesting tractate called *Biblicus Mathematicus* (Zuellichau, 1732) in which many biblical-mathematical subjects are discussed, often based on Jewish sources. In another tractate there is a report on a request to the rabbinical court of Frankfurt to elaborate upon the issue of the geometry of the "Sea of Solomon" in the holy Temple. Many examples of biblical mathematics can be found in *Be'er Hetev* (Vilna, 1866), a commentary on Leviticus by R. Aryeh Huminer.

Sefer Yeẓirah

According to ancient Jewish tradition, *Sefer Yeẓirah* is ascribed to Abraham, as stated at the end of *Sefer Yeẓirah*. Others ascribe the authorship of the current version of *Sefer Yeẓirah* to R. Akiba (second century). At its very beginning, "*sefar*" (arithmetic = the wisdom of mensuration and numbers) is mentioned as one of three dimensions in which the world was created (*Kuzari and others). *Sefer Yeẓirah* deals extensively with permutations and combinations of the 22 letters of the alphabet. The end of Chapter 4 concludes with the statement that the number of permutations of all the 22 letters of the alphabet – [22! = 1,124,000,727,777,607,680,000] – is a number "which the mouth cannot speak and the ear cannot hear." (It would take 3,564,182,926 people and more than 10,000 years to speak out this number, even at a rate of one number per second.) R. Joseph ben Kalonymos (the elder; mid-13th century), in his commentary to Chapter 2 – erroneously ascribed to R. Abraham ben David (1120–1198) – was one of the earliest to use the decimal system to express large numbers using Hebrew letters. This was noticed by R. *Elijah of Vilna (1720–1797), who indicated that the Hebrew word "חוא״ג" which appears in the calculations is actually the result of 144 × 22 = 3,168, written in Hebrew numerals.

Mishnah and Talmud

The Mishnah and Talmud, dealing with all aspects of daily life, discuss many mathematical subjects. Yet the main reason for dealing with mathematics was mostly either to bolster the study of the Bible and its commandments or to clarify everyday applications of mathematical methods. As is clear from tractate *Avot*, the study and transmission of pure mathematical knowledge per se were matters of secondary importance. Nevertheless, for many practical halakhic issues, a considerable body of basic mathematical knowledge is required. The following are a few examples only: the basics of plane geometry in connection with the measuring of the Sabbath **eruv* boundary (2,000 cubits) over hills and ditches (methods of leveling); elements of knot theory in relation to the Sabbath laws; the layout of family graves; the mathematics of calculating an optimal seeding area without violating the biblical laws of prohibition of sowing with mixed seeds; the number of grapes that are within a circle with a given radius (i.e., Gauss' circle lattice point problem); the mathematics of inheritance leading to geometric progressions and exponential equations; the calculation of square roots leading to irrational numbers; the mensuration of circular and polygonal geometric forms or the proper division of assets among people with different kinds of claims. Another well-known topic is found in tractate *Kinnim*, the last in the Mishnah order *Kodashim*. Among other things, it deals with the laws concerning the "confusion of birds," e.g., birds assigned as sin offerings mixed up with those assigned as burnt offerings. Especially the last chapter requires advanced algebra and logic. Among the more recent mathematical commentaries are those by Moshe Koppel of Bar-Ilan University (1998) and B. Engelman of the Nahal Sorek Nuclear Research Center (1992). Knowledge of basic trigonometry and astronomy was needed for the fixing of the new month by reckoning and calculating. The exact methods used by the rabbinical court (*bet din*) were not made public. It was Maimonides who described appropriate calculations in his "Laws of Sanctification of the New Month" in his *Mish-*

neh Torah. Many of these topics were discussed and elaborated upon by commentators throughout the ages. It has to be remembered that most of these scholars had acquired their knowledge autodidactically and lacked any formal education. From a comment by R. Hai Gaon on Mishnah *Kelim* (16:1; 24:7) it seems that the Pythagorean writing table (abacus) and "Indian arithmetic" (i.e., numeration system and numerals) were known and in use at this time (Smith 2, 177). Although the Mishnah and Talmud use an approximation of 3 for the better value of 3.1415… for π, it is clear from various discussions in the Talmud, that the **amoraim* must have been aware of much better values for both π and $\sqrt{2}$.

The Mishnah and Talmud mention a few individuals as having outstanding mathematical knowledge. Rabban *Gamaliel, who used a Heron-type of dioptra to reckon distances; R. *Eleazar Ḥisma and R. *Johanan ben Gudgada, whose vast mathematical knowledge was described as enabling them to estimate "the number of drops in the sea"; R. *Zadok, who revealed to the Romans an advanced system of finger-calculation as well as the underlying mathematics of what later came to be known as the "Roman Statyra" (steelyard). R. *Joshua b. Hananiah – called the Escolasticus – was versed in astronomy and mathematics, R. *Abbahu is mentioned as having calculated the length of the cycle of service of the different tribes in the Holy Temple. The *amora* *Samuel Yarḥina'ah was versed in calendar calculations. This enabled him to calculate the calendar for the Diaspora for more than 60 years in advance. Nevertheless this knowledge was called "simple calculation," as it did not show a deeper understanding of Jewish law proper. In the name of the *amora* *Adda a more accurate estimate of the duration of the seasons is reported. The Talmud also mentions a "*Kippah shel Ḥesbonot*," i.e., a covered place outside Jerusalem serving people visiting the holy city in arranging their financial calculations and transactions.

MISHNAT HA-MIDDOT. Bible commentators of the Middle Ages mention the existence of a treatise called the *Baraita of 49 Rules* (*Middot*). This treatise from the tannaitic era was said to contain geometrical formulas and calculations. It was Abraham ben Solomon, the son of R. Elijah of Vilna (the Gaon of Vilna) in his *Rav Pe'alim* (Warsaw, 1894), who first drew attention to this treatise, though no existing copy of it was known. In 1864 Moritz Steinschneider found a Hebrew mathematical manuscript, identified it as *Baraitat ha-Middot* and published it in 1864. A critical edition including the geometrical drawings omitted by Steinschneider was published by the mathematician Hermann Schapira in 1880 as *Mishnat ha-Middot*. Among others things, *Mishnat ha-Middot* contains the Pythagorean formula allowing the calculation of the square root of 2 and uses a value of $3\frac{1}{7}$ for π. Haim Horovitz of Frankfurt tried to prove that this *Mishnat ha-Middot* was actually part of a Tosefta to the Mishnah tractate *Middot* (describing the measurements of the Holy Temple). This suggestion was later supported by the discovery of additional fragments and accepted by Solomon *Gandz in his critical edition of the *Mishnat ha-Middot*. This suggests that the *Mishnat ha-Middot* is one of the oldest known Hebrew mathematical works.

The Era of the *Geonim*

R. *Nahshon bar Zadok, who headed the yeshivah of *Sura from 874 to 882, stated that the order of the weekdays on which any particular festival occurs in successive years repeats itself after a cycle of 247 years. Thus he was able to arrange these years and their characteristic dates in 14 tables. This system is known as "*Iggul de-Rav Nahshon*" (R. Nahshon's cycle). R. Abraham Azulai (1570–1643) explains in Nahshon Gaon's name the concept of "amicable" (or "friendly") number pairs. He also mentions the common belief in the peacemaking powers of these pairs of numbers. This was known to Jacob and explains the number of 220 sheep and goats that Jacob sent to his brother. The suggestion has been made that R. Nahshon Gaon received this information from his contemporary Thabit ibn Qurra (836–901), a Sabbean mathematician in Baghdad famous for his work in amicable numbers. R. *Hai ben Sherira (939–1038), head of the yeshivah of *Pumbedita, in one of his responsa, explains the use of the Heron-type dioptra used by Rabban Gamaliel. His mathematical description of the various methods is practically identical to the way Heron himself described it in his book, including the accompanying diagram. This gives rise to the conjecture that R. Hai Gaon was familiar with the original source of Heron himself. The *gaon* who dealt most extensively with mathematical subjects was R. *Saadiah ben Joseph (892–942), head of the yeshivah of Sura. Examples are his commentary on *Sefer Yeẓirah* and his *Sefer ha-Yerushot* ("The Book of Inheritances"). The latter is an extensive mathematical-halakhic text showing how to divide an inheritance according to Jewish law. Other figures from this era who commented on mathematical subjects were Rabbenu *Hananel ben Ḥushiel, head of the yeshivah of Kairouan (980–1050), in his commentary to the Talmud and R. *Shabbetai Donnolo (913–c. 982), an Italian physician and writer on medicine, in his *Taḥkemoni*, a commentary on *Sefer Yeẓirah*.

11th and 12th Centuries

FRANCE. The *tosafists concentrated their literary efforts on the elucidation of the Bible and the Talmud and did not hand down much mathematical work per se. Although they had no formal education in mathematics, and in most cases had no possibility of learning from Greek or Latin sources, they did acquire some basic knowledge in an autodidactic way. Thus they commented on various talmudic discussions involving arithmetic and simple geometry. On the one hand their comments show a basic knowledge of arithmetic, e.g., in proposing several ways to calculate the connection between the basic halakhic unit of a ¼ of a log (*revi'it*) and the required amount of 40 *se'ah* of pure water for the ritual bath – the **mikveh* – yet it seems that some of the tosafists were unaware of the Pythagorean law and did not have a good approximation of π or of irrational numbers like $\sqrt{2}$ or $\sqrt{5}$. But evidently they were aware that surveyors used a better value than 3. They also used a method of applying and proving the Archimedean formula for the calculation of the area of a circle based on the radius and the circumference. It is highly probable that they adopted the method of their Spanish contemporary R. *Abraham bar Ḥiyya. His geometrical treatise *Ḥibbur ha-Meshiḥah ve-ha-Tishboret* ("Treatise on Mensuration and Calculation") was written for the rabbis of southern France. *Rashi (1140–1205), the forerunner of the tosafists, himself used a very interesting geometric method for calculating the square root, a method which had its sources in the Jerusalem Talmud. One of the tosafists, R. *Asher ben Jehiel (called the "Rosh"; c. 1250–1327), raised the following question: Why does the Talmud, as a book of law, discuss an inaccurate approximation of 3 for the value of π rather than using a better value, which had been known for a long time? The place for such an excursus would be a geometry text and not the Talmud. In reply, he showed that the famous Mishnah in question (Er. 1:6) was not intended to teach a geometrical principle but rather to introduce the halakhic rule that in certain instances this approximate value of 3 should be used. After his escape from Germany to Spain, R. Asher ben Jehiel asked one of his disciples – the astronomer R. Isaac ben Joseph *Israeli – to elaborate on the Pythagorean law and other geometric principles. It was in response to this request by R. Asher ben Jehiel that he wrote his famous trigonometric-astronomic treatise *Yesod Olam*.

SPAIN AND PORTUGAL. In Spain and Portugal Jewish intellectual and scientific growth continued to flourish. There was a lively exchange of mathematical knowledge between Jews and Arabs, and many Arabic mathematical ideas are reflected in Jewish literature. Likewise Jews contributed much to the Arabic corpus of scientific knowledge. Thus one finds much more elaborated mathematical ideas in both talmudic literature proper and original mathematical works.

Among the best-known mathematical figures of the 11th and 12th centuries was the above-mentioned Abraham bar Ḥiyya. Until the publication of *Ḥibbur ha-Meshiḥah ve-ha-Tishboret* in 1910, this mathematical magnum opus was known only in manuscript. This text is probably the earliest post-talmudic mathematical text per se. The author states that the reason he compiled the discourse was the lack of knowledge of geometry among the Jews of southern France. As he writes in his introduction, the text was meant to serve as a textbook for judges who had to deal with legal issues concerning the surveying and measuring of fields. Towards the end Bar Ḥiyya provides an interesting demonstration – using a model built from concentric circles of thin rope – of the Archimedean formula for the calculation of the circle's area based on its radius (r) and its circumference (C) [$\frac{1}{2}\cdot c\cdot r$], without actually using the value of π. It is this very demonstration that is used by the tosafists in their Talmud commentary. Bar Ḥiyya gives the fair approximation of 1.4143 ($1\frac{2}{5} + \frac{1}{10}$) for the square root of 2 and 3.141593 for π. He was also among the first to introduce to Europe the complete solution of quadratic equations. This fine textbook was translated by Plato of Tivoli in 1145, just a few years after the death of Bar Ḥiyya, under the title *Liber Embadorum*.

Other works by Bar Ḥiyya dealing with mathematics are *Ẓurat ha-Areẓ* ("Form of the Earth"), a basic introduction to spherical trigonometry and astronomy, and *Sefer ha-Ibbur* ("Book of Intercalation"). Based on a statement by Maimonides, it seems that he knew this text. Another work of his is *Yesodot ha-Tevunah u-Migdal ha-Emunah* ("The Foundations of Understanding and the Tower of Faith"), an encyclopedia on arithmetic, geometry, optics, astronomy, and music. Parts of it were translated into Latin by the Hebraists Sebastian Münster (1488–1552) and his disciple Erasmus Oswald Schreckenfuchs (1511–1575).

ABRAHAM B. MEIR IBN EZRA. *Ibn Ezra (1092–1167), a tosafist, was one of the most prolific commentators on the Bible, who at the same time also wrote extensively on mathematics. The best known of his mathematical contributions are *Sefer ha-Shem* ("Book of the Holy Name"), *Sefer ha-Eḥad* ("Book of the Number 1"), *Sefer Keli ha-Neḥoshet* ("Book of the Copper Instrument [i.e., the astrolabe]"), and *Sefer ha-Mispar* ("Book of Numbers"). (Some 100 years later, Jacob b. Machir ibn Tibbon, known as Profatius Judaeus, invented an improved version of the astrolabe, known as the quadrant.) Ibn Ezra also translated into Hebrew the commentary of al-Biruni on al-Khwarizmi's tables. In the introduction to this work he gives an historical account on the involvement of Jews in the introduction of Indian mathematics to the Arabic world. Ibn Ezra is one of the earliest Hebrew writers to introduce the "0," which he called *galgal* (wheel). In his *Sefer ha-Mispar* Ibn Ezra presents many exercises, which also appeared more than 250 years later in the *Sefer ha-Mispar* of Elijah *Mizraḥi. In addition, Ibn Ezra deals with the mathematics of inheritance and with the history of PI and mentions perfect numbers. He is also famous for his "prisoner problem," a mathematical puzzle first presented by *Josephus Flavius in his *Jewish War* and which is often used in introductory courses in mathematical programming. Many scientific articles have been written on Ibn Ezra's mathematical writings.

MAIMONIDES. Aside from a short tractate on calendar calculations, the works of Maimonides (1135–1204) are primarily nonmathematical. Yet in his Mishnah commentary Maimonides mentions that the ratio between the circumference of a circle and its diameter (π) cannot be expressed as a ratio of two natural numbers, and that this fact is not due to a lack of our understanding but is in the very nature of this number. He further states that there is no possibility to know the exact value of this ratio, that mathematicians have written various treatises on this subject, and that the approximation used by scientists is $\frac{22}{7}$. Yet in his halakhic *Mishneh Torah* Maimonides requires the use of the old talmudic (and Babylonian) approximation of 3. A similar statement by Maimonides relates to two other irrational numbers, namely $\sqrt{2}$ and $\sqrt{5000}$. It is interesting to note that in the Western world it was Lambert (1728–1777) who first proved the irrationality of π in 1761. Much has been written in rabbinic literature about Maimonides' geometrical explanation of the *mishnayyot* in *Kilayim* 3:1 and 5:5. In his *Moreh Nevukhim* (*Guide of the Perplexed*), Maimonides mentions the difficulty in imagining the concept of the hyperbola and its asymptote, i.e., a curved line and a straight one, constantly approaching one another ad infinitum, without ever meeting. This subject – including the detailed explanations of the Jewish writers – was later elaborated by S. Motot, a 14th-century Jewish mathematician, and by Francesco Barozzi in his *Admirandum Illud Geometricum Problema, Tredicim Modis Demonstratum* (Venice, 1585).

13th and 14th Centuries

LEVI BEN GERSHOM. *Levi ben Gershom (Ralbag/Gersonides; 1288–ca. 1344) was probably the most advanced Hebrew mathematician of his generation. Widely known for his biblical commentaries, he dealt with all the three branches of Arabic mathematics: arithmetic, geometry, and trigonometry. An extensive corpus of research about Gersonides has come into being (spearheaded by Bernhard Goldstein of Yale University). A comprehensive bibliography on Gersonides has been published by Menachem Kellner of Haifa University (1992). Gersonides mentions both Abraham Ibn Ezra and Abraham bar Ḥiyya as sources from which he derived some of his knowledge. His arithmetical works – *Ma'aseh Ḥoshev* ("The Practice of Arithmetic") and "De numeris harmonicis" have been studied since the publications of *Ma'aseh Ḥoshev* by R. Joseph Carlebach of Hamburg, and some years later, at the beginning of the 20th century, by Gerson Lange. A hitherto missing part of problems of *Ma'aseh Ḥoshev* has been published by S. Simonson of Stonehill College. In this treatise Gersonides deals with arithmetic, algebra, and combinatorics. The short tractate on harmonic numbers was written as a response to an inquiry by Philip of Vitry, the bishop of Maux, shortly before Gersonides passed away. Another mathematical work is a commentary on Euclid's *Elements*. Gersonides' text on trigonometry, *De sinibus, chordis et arcubus* (originally written in Hebrew but immediately translated into Latin) is a commentary on the relevant chapters of Ptolemy's *Almagest* and was originally part of Gersonides' major work *Milḥamot Adonai* ("The Book of the Wars of the Lord"), part v, ch. 1. It was omitted in the printed Venice edition of 1560. In it, Gersonides presents a proof of the theorem of sines. He had arranged for a translation into Latin which is still extant. Carlebach showed that Gersonides was the inventor of the "cross-staff" (sometimes called "bacculus" or "Jacob's staff"), a simple yet powerful surveying device which allowed nautical and astronomical measurements. Carlebach even reconstructed a model of this instrument following Gersonides' description. The Jacob's staff was in use until the 17th century.

IMMANUEL BEN JACOB BONFILS. Another Jewish mathematician of this era is Immanuel ben Jacob *Bonfils of Tarascon (1300–1377), a contemporary of R. Levi b. Gershom. He is known as *Ba'al Kenafayim* after his astronomical tables published under the name of *Shesh Kenafayim* ("Six Wings"). Bonfils taught astronomy and mathematics at Orange for some time. He also was one of the forerunners of exponential calculus, some 150 years before its adoption in Europe, as is evident from his *Derekh Ḥilluk*. A great number of his many mathematical and astronomical works are still in MS. A special volume on the history of science in the Middle Ages by G. Sarton was called *Six Wings* after Bonfils' astronomical tables.

Important findings relating to Jewish mathematics in the 12–14th centuries have been contributed by various researchers, among them G. Freudenthal, G. Safatti, T. Levy, and D. Zeilberger.

15th Century

MOSES BEN ABARAHAM PROVENCAL. Moses ben Abaraham *Provencal (1503–1575) was considered one of the greatest talmudists and most illustrious scholars of Italian Jewry in the Renaissance period. For many decades he was rabbi of the Italian community of Mantua, which therefore became a center of talmudic study. His mathematical knowledge is evident from his *Be'ur Inyan Shenei Kavvim*. In his *Guide of the Perplexed* Maimonides mentions the concept of the asymptote, a straight line constantly approaching a curved line without ever touching it, referring to the *Conics* of Appolonius. Provencal wrote a four-page Hebrew explanation of this subject, which was added to the Sabionetta (1553) edition of the *Guide of the Perplexed*. This *kuntres* (pamphlet), which became famous, was translated into Italian by Joseph Shalit (Mantua, 1550) and was included in the well-known volume on the concept of the asymptote by Franceso Barocius (Venice, 1586). The latter also contains geometric explanations by other Jewish commentators on the *Guide of the Perplexed*. The subject itself became a major topic of rabbinical mathematics and was discussed in rabbinical literature from the 14th to the 19th centuries. It has been suggested that Provencal was familiar with Simon Motot's book on algebra. In his pamphlet, Provencal includes an explanation of the Greek concept of the "mean and extreme proportion" (the "golden section") and proofs related to the connection between the lengths of the sides of a regular hexagon and a regular decagon, both inscribed to the same circle. This concept, described by Euclid and mentioned by Joseph *Albo in his *Sefer ha-Ikkarim*, inspired many discussions in the rabbinical literature, mainly because of the lack of knowledge of the proper definition of the Greek concept of "mean and extreme proportion." Provencal specifically refers the reader to the source in Euclid's *Elements*.

MORDECAI COMTINO. Mordecai Comtino (1420–d. before 1487) was the teacher of R. Elijah ben Abraham *Mizraḥi. He was on friendly terms with the Karaites and was the teacher of two of their leaders, Caleb *Afendopolo and Elijah *Bashyazi. His literary output includes *Sefer ha-Ḥeshbon ve-ha-Middot* on arithmetic and geometry and commentaries on Abraham Ibn Ezra's *Sefer ha-Eḥad, Yesod Mora*, and *Sefer ha-Shem*, in which various mathematical subjects are discussed. His *Sefer ha-Ḥeshbon ve-ha-Middot* was known only in manuscript until a careful analysis and partial translation was published by Moritz Silberberg of Schrimm in 1905. The plan of this treatise follows a statement of the Greek Nichomachus of Gerasa regarding the logical order of basic mathematical subjects. Following Ibn Ezra, Comtino introduces the full decimal numeration, including the "0," which again he called "*galgal*" (the wheel). After introducing standard subjects in the first part, on arithmetic, Comtino deals with the measurement and division of plane figures and then proceeds to calculation of volumes of geometrical bodies and their parts. He also provides a detailed vocabulary of the different scientific terms. A special addition is the collection of problems part of which are borrowed from Ibn Ezra. Mizraḥi in his *Sefer ha-Mispar* (see below) drew upon some of the problems presented by Comtino. Besides this, Comtino also dealt with the construction of astronomical instruments.

ELIJAH BEN ABRAHAM MIZRAḤI. Mizraḥi (Re'em; c. 1450–1526) is known primarily from his famous supercommentary to Rashi's Bible commentary. Mizraḥi's mathematical works are *Sefer ha-Mispar* (Constantinople, 1534), on arithmetic, and a commentary on Ptolemy's *Almagest* (no longer extant). The former book became a standard text for the study of arithmetic. It deals with whole numbers, fractions, and mixed numbers, with the extraction of the square and cube roots, proportions, and arithmetical and geometrical problems. In his lengthy introduction he describes the importance of the study of mathematics as a bridge between the different sciences. *Sefer ha-Mispar* is based on Ibn Ezra's *Sefer ha-Mispar* and the mathematical work of his teacher Mordecai Comtino (see above). A Latin abridgment by Sebastian Muenster was published by his disciple Schreckenfuchs (Basel, 1546). At the end of the 19th century an in-depth description of *Sefer ha-Mispar* (*Die Arithmetik des Elija Misrachi*) was published by Gustav Wertheim (Frankfurt, 1893). An excerpt and analysis of those of his mathematical problems related to physics (*Ueber physikalische Aufgaben* by Elia Misrachi) was prepared by E. Wiedeman in 1910.

MORDECAI B. ABRAHAM FINZI. *Finzi (c. 1407–1476), a banker and mathematician, was known mainly for his mathematical and astronomical works, which included *Luḥot*, tables on the length of days (published by Abraham Conat, Mantua, c. 1479), and an astronomical work entitled *Netiv Ḥokhmah* (unpublished). He translated into Hebrew the *Algebra* of the Arab mathematician Abu Kamil Soga (c. 850–930). In 1934, a young Jewish mathematician by the name of Joseph Weinberg, submitted a critical edition of Finzi's translation as a thesis to the University of Munich. (Weinberg later was murdered by the Nazis.) An English translation of Finzi's commentary on Abu Kamil's *Algebra* was published in 1966 by Martin Levey. Finzi also translated into Hebrew various works on astronomy and geometry, wrote commentaries on some of them, described and explained recently invented astronomical instruments, and wrote treatises on grammar and mnemonics.

ABRAHAM BEN SAMUEL ZACUTO. *Zacuto (1452–c. 1515) was known as a talmudic scholar, historian, mathematician, and astronomer. He was appointed professor of astronomy and mathematics at the University of Salamanca. His famous almanacs and astronomical tables became a principal base for Portuguese navigators. Thus, Columbus, whom he met in Salamanca, was able to garner important information before his famous expedition. Using the tables of Zacuto, Columbus was able to predict an eclipse of the moon and so save the lives of his men by demonstrating to hostile natives that he could shut out the light of the sun and moon. R. *Levi ben Habib, a contemporary of Zacuto, remarks in one of his responsa that Abraham Zacuto wrote a commentary on the Talmud, from which he quotes a small geometrical explanation. Zacuto's well-known *Sefer Yuḥasin* contains several references to mathematics.

16th and 17th Centuries

DAVID B. SOLOMON *GANS. The astronomer, mathematician, and historian David b. Solomon *Gans (1541–1613) was raised and educated in the home of R. Moses *Isserles, the Rema. He also belonged to the circle of *Judah Loew ben Bezalel (the Maharal). Gans was in close contact with Tycho Brahe and Johann Kepler. Besides his history, *Ẓemaḥ David*, Gans compiled an astronomical-mathematical textbook called *Neḥmad ve-Na'im* (Jesnitz, 1743), an extract of which appeared in Prague in 1612 under the name of *Magen David*. In the preface to *Neḥmad ve-Na'im* he presents an abridged history of the transmission of mathematics and astronomy among the Jews, based on Jewish sources. The main part is devoted to pre-Copernican celestial mechanics, whereas toward the end he introduces basic instrumentation as well as trigonometry and its applications in daily life, enriching the text with many contemporary examples.

MENAHEM ZION PORTO (RAFA). Porto was an Italian rabbi born in Trieste toward the end of the 16th century; he died in Padua around 1660. He was an excellent mathematician and astronomer. His works were highly praised by Andrea Argoli and extolled in Italian sonnets by Tomaso Ercaloni and Benedetto Luzzatto. In 1641 Gaspard Scüppius, editor of the *Mercurius Quadralinguis*, recommended Porto, in terms that were very complimentary to the rabbi, to Johannes *Buxtorf (the younger), with whom Porto later carried on an active correspondence. Among other works, Porto published a "Handbook for the Merchant" (*Over la-Soḥer*, Venice, 1627), a compendium of basic arithmetic and many examples of business calculations for merchants. He also published a two-volume treatise of close to 400 pages – חכמתם ובינתכם לעיני העמים – *Porto Astronomico* – dealing with trigonometry and astronomy.

JOSEPH SOLOMON ROFE DELMEDIGO. *Delmedigo (YaSHaR; 1591–1655) studied mathematics, mechanics, and astronomy under Galileo at Padua. His major work, *Elim* (Amsterdam, 1629), is a classic compendium of 16th-century mathematics, physics and astronomy, and scientific instruments. He describes his use of Galileo's telescope to observe the planet Mars. Delmedigo displays a profound knowledge of the Greek, Renaissance, and contemporary literature dealing with mathematics and physics. The first part of *Elim* contains mathematical discourses dealing with both classical problems of Greek mathematics like the solution of the famous Alexander problem leading to Diophantine equations, the trisection of angles using the Conchoid of Nichomedes, the calculation of the octagon, and post-Renaissance mathematics like the solution of the cubic equations or the "squaring" of a circle, and the $^{355}/_{113}$ and Ludolphine approximations to π. In *Mayan Ganim* Delmedigo deals mainly with spherical trigonometry, with the proof and application of the law of sines, the history of trigonometry, the prosthaphaeresis (trigonometric formulas for the conversion of a product of functions into a sum or a difference), and the law of tangents of the sine function. *Gevurat Adonai* deals mainly with astronomy but has some mathematics as well. Another part, *Ma'yan Ḥatum*, is devoted mainly to the discussion of physical problems and paradoxes – mostly from Aristotle's *Mechanical Problems* – as well as to topics from early 17th-century classical physics.

JAIR ḤAYYIM BACHARACH. *Bacharach (1638–1702), rabbi of Worms, had a keen interest in mathematics. His first volume of responsa, *Ḥut ha-Shani* ("Scarlet Thread," Frankfurt, 1679) contains a lengthy responsum (§98) dealing first with talmudic metrology and then, in the second part, with many mathematical subjects. His main source is *Gevurot Adonai* by Joseph Solomon Delmedigo (see above). He mentions Hero's formula for extracting the square root, the (Roman) system of finger calculation, the approximation of a circle's circumference by polygons, mathematical problems from the *Sefer ha-Mispar* of R. Elijah Mizraḥi (see above), the famous Alexander problem from R. Joseph Solomon Delmedigo, and others. In his second volume of responsa *Ḥavvat Ya'ir*, Bacharach deals at length with the Euclidean concept of "mean and extreme proportion" (the golden section) mentioned by R. Joseph Albo in his *Sefer ha-Ikkarim* (Responsa §111).

MOSES HEFETZ GENTILI. In both his *Ḥanukkat ha-Bayit* (Venice, 1696), on the architecture of the Temple, and *Melekhet Maḥshevet*, a commentary on the Torah (Venice, 1710), Gentili (1663–1711) presents material that reflects mathematical thinking. Referring to the weekly portion of Noah, he describes Descartes' mathematical model of the rainbow and in his commentary to the weekly Torah portion *Ma'asei*, he describes Tartaglia's model for the motion of a projectile. In *Ḥanukkat ha-Bayit* he makes extensive use of the "Pythagorean theorem" in discussing the structure of the altar.

ELIJAH BEN SOLOMON ZALMAN OF VILNA. Already in his very early life *Elijah ben Solomon Zalman (the Vilna Gaon; 1685–1779) showed great interest in the study of mathematics and astronomy as an aid to furthering and deepening the study of Jewish law. In his halakhic commentary on the Shulḥan Arukh he added a great number of notes which disclose his profound mathematical and astronomical knowledge. He encouraged his students to translate basic mathematical texts into Hebrew, and even wrote a small and very concise tractate on arithmetic, geometry, and trigonometry with an introduction to basic astronomy (*Ayil Meshulash*, 1834). An analysis and description of *Ayil Meshulash* was published by Elias Fink (*Eliah Wilna und sein elementar-geometrisches Compendium*, Frankfurt, 1903). Fresh interest in this compendium was aroused with the publication of a new edition with a modern Hebrew commentary. One of his students, Baruch *Schick, a rabbi and physician, published various Hebrew texts on astronomy and medicine as well as a Hebrew translation of the first six books of Euclid's *Elements*.

RAPHAEL LEVI OF HANOVER. Raphael Levi *Hannover (1685–1779) showed his mathematical talent already as a child, when studying at the Jewish orphanage. One day, upon returning from his studies, observing the construction of the new royal stables in Hanover, he was able to prevent a serious engineering mistake. This drew the attention of Leibniz, the famous mathematician, who after meeting the young Raphael Levi offered to pay part of his tuition and to tutor him privately in mathematics and astronomy. In the last paragraph of his *Tekhunat ha-Shamayim* (Amsterdam, 1756) on geometry, trigonometry, astronomy, and calendar-making, Levi describes and strongly supports the Copernican system. In an addendum, Raphael Levi's disciple Moses Titkin elaborates a few difficult talmudic passages connected to mathematics. In addition to the Hebrew works, Raphael Levi also invented a system of using logarithms in currency conversions and wrote two mathematical compendia in German: (1) *Wechsel-Tabellen Tractaetgen* (Hanover, 1746), tables for currency conversion, and (2) *Vorbericht vom Gebrauch der neuerfundenen Logarithmischen Wechsel-Tabellen* (Hanover, 1747), a preliminary report on the use of the newly invented logarithmic currency conversion method. This latter text contains a good deal of advanced exercises and numerical examples. He also left a Hebrew manuscript of the first part of an introduction to algebra.

Among many other individuals who dealt with mathematical subjects were R. Yom Tov Lipmann *Heller Wallerstein (1579–1654), a disciple of the Maharal, who used his extensive knowledge of mathematics and astronomy throughout the whole of his commentary *Tosefot Yom Tov* to the Mishnah. R. David *Nieto of London (1654–1728), in his *Kuzari Sheni*, devoted a whole chapter to the explanation of some of the geometrical issues discussed in the Talmud and the commentary of the tosafists and many others.

18th Century

The expansion of general knowledge caused a shift in the content of rabbinical mathematics, from basic arithmetic and geometry only to a much broader scope of talmudic subjects related to mathematics. This was made possible by the availability of the Hebrew texts of Abraham Ibn Ezra, Elijah

Mizraḥi, Joseph Solomon Delmedigo, and others mentioned above. Topics like cubic equations, arithmetic and geometric progressions, logarithms, spherical trigonometry (for calculations not connected directly to astronomy), the use of trigonometric tables, logarithms, and methods similar to calculus – like analysis of functions for maxima and minima – were used. This brought forth a great number of texts containing mathematical excursus.

At the beginning of the 18th century R. Samuel Schotten mentions in his *Kos ha-Yeshu'ot* (Frankfurt, 1711) his plan to publish a collection of talmudic-mathematical essays. His basic knowledge in mathematics enabled him to give several approbations to Hebrew astronomical texts. Some years later *Jonathan of Ruzhany published his *Yeshu'ah be-Yisrael*, a commentary on the laws of *kiddush ha-ḥodesh* (concerning the blessing of the New Moon) in Maimonides' *Mishneh Torah* (Frankfurt, 1720). This tractate has an interesting appendix on some *halakhot* requiring basic mathematical knowledge. In the same year, Jonathan published a compendium of three astronomical works which naturally contain various mathematical elaborations. Some years later R. Emanuel Hai Rikki (1680–1744) published his *Ḥoshev Maḥashavot* (Amsterdam, 1727), an interesting halakhic-mathematical discourse of 70 short chapters based on an inquiry concerning the measurements of a *mikveh* (ritual bath). Within these discussions he elaborates the subject of measuring the circumference of a circle, the calculation of √2, and the concepts of asymptotes, and shows how to calculate and to graph two curved functions, each approaching the other without ever touching it. R. Jonah *Landsofer's *Me'il Ẓedakah* (Prague, 1757) contains a responsum (§28) – an answer to an inquiry from a "learned man well versed in geometry" – elaborating the geometrical aspects of the altar in the holy Temple as discussed in the Talmud. This subject is often discussed in talmudic literature. In his answer, Landsofer shows his profound knowledge of the relevant texts and also provides a proof of the Pythagorean Theorem. This responsum follows the previous one (§27) dealing with the area calculations of various shapes, all of the size of a "lense." In 1794, David Pivani published *Zikhron Yosef*, a textbook on arithmetic, geometry, and plane and spherical trigonometry. In the introduction he explains some of the geometrical aspects underlying Maimonides' commentary to the Mishnah *Kila'im* 5:5. Three years later, David Friesenhausen published his *Kelil ha-Ḥeshbon* (Berlin, 1797), in collaboration with the Jewish Freeschool in Berlin. This text, an introduction to algebra, contains a variety of challenging examples and exercises. Among the more interesting topics are arithmetical and geometrical series, cubic roots, and Lambert's law concerning the brightness of an illuminated surface.

Towards the end of the 18th century and in connection with the social emancipation and the resulting assimilation of the Jews, Jewish mathematics began to develop into two main streams: the traditional Jewish talmud scholar who used mathematical knowledge mainly for the purpose of expounding religious subjects and the new type of a modern mathematician of Jewish origin who pursues mathematics as an academic profession.

19th Century

The study of mathematics in the 19th century is widely characterized by the efforts of the *Haskalah movement to introduce general secular education among the Jews. It was one of the goals of the Haskalah to show that the Jewish people too have a basic mathematical tradition. Therefore one finds regular contributions on mathematics in periodicals like *Sulamith* in German, *Ha-Me'assef*, *Ha-Ẓefirah*, and *Ha-Carmel* in Hebrew – dealing with the study of mathematics in the framework of talmudic studies or dealing with mathematical problems as such. One of the first texts of the 19th century was *Beirurei ha-Middot* by Tovia Segal of Horoshitz (Prague, 1807), on the geometry of Sabbath distances and diameters of levitical cities. This text contains an introduction to geometry and trigonometry using logarithms. At the beginning of the 19th century Meyer Hirsch published a textbook/collection of exercises on geometry, *Sammlung Geometrischer Aufgaben* (Berlin, 1809). This collection of problems was used in Germany for almost a century and contains a formula proposed by the 15th-century Simeon ben Ẓemaḥ *Duran. A little later (1828–31) Michael *Creizenach, a teacher at the Frankfurt Philantrophin Reform school, published a series of textbooks on descriptive geometry, algebra, and technical geometry. In the first quarter of this century the first Hebrew article on "binary numbers" (a basic concept in computer engineering and digital electronics) was written by R. Zechariah *Jolles. (The author passed away two years before George Boole published his paper taking up again the concept of "binary numbers" in 1854.) Jolles' paper is basically a translation and elaboration of Leibniz's famous paper on the same subject. It is included, among other mathematical writings, in his *Ha-Torah ve-ha-Ḥokhmah* (Vilna, 1913). In 1834 Ḥayyim Selig *Slonimsky published his *Mosdei Ḥokhmah*, an introduction to mathematics. A second edition of David Friesensohn's *Kelil ha-Ḥeshbon* was reprinted in Zolkiev in 1835. In 1845 the famous Leopold *Kronecker (baptized 1863) began his brilliant career as mathematician after receiving his Ph.D. In 1856 the great historian of mathematics Moritz Cantor published his fundamental paper "Ueber die Einfuehrung unserer gegenwaertigen Ziffern in Europa" ("On the Introduction of Our Present Numerals in Europe"). Later on he published his monumental *Vorlesungen ueber Geschichte der Mathematik* ("Lectures on the History of Mathematics"), which is considered as marking the beginning of the modern history of mathematics. In keeping with the spirit of the Haskalah, the works of Joseph Solomon Delmedigo were reprinted (Odessa, 1865) as was *Shevilei de-Raki'a* by Eliah Hochheim (Warsaw, 1863). The editor of this tractate, Baruch Lowenstein, added a monograph of his own, *Bikkurei ha-Limmudiot* ("Firstlings of Mathematics"), discourses on various historical topics in Jewish mathematics. About the same time Ẓevi ha-Cohen *Rabinowitz published his fine series of Hebrew texts on popular experimental physics, *Yesodei*

Ḥokhmat ha-Teva (Warsaw, 1865), including special parts on mathematics and a short bibliography of Hebrew mathematical works. In those years Yom Tov Lipman *Lipkin – a son of the famous R. Israel *Lipkin Salanter, the founder of the *Musar movement – invented the "Lipkin linkage," a mechanical device to transform circular motion into linear motion, and became a famous mathematician who contributed mathematical problems to the *Ha-Ẓefirah* periodical. In the last quarter of the 19th century the first modern systematic texts on Jewish mathematics appeared: Baruch *Zuckermann's *Das Mathematische im Talmud* (Breslau, 1878; see J. Szechtman, "Notes on Dr. Zuckerman's 'Introduction to his Mathematical Concepts in the Talmud,'" in: *Scripta Mathematica*, vol. 25 (1960), pp 49–62). The most important work in this field is Moritz *Steinschneider's series of articles on Jewish mathematics, published between 1893 and 1898 in Ennestroem's *Bibliotheca Mathematica*. Part of these articles (covering the 9th–16th centuries) were reprinted as *Mathematik bei den Juden* in 1964. Additional relevant information can be found in Steinschneider's contributions to the famous *Realencyclopaedie* by Ersch and Gruber. This was made possible with the opening of German and Italian libraries, allowing the study of ancient Hebrew mathematical manuscripts and books. In 1879 Hermann *Schapira, at that time still a student in Heidelberg, edited and published a German translation of the *Mishnat ha-Middot*, discovered by Steinschneider in 1864. Towards the end of the 19th century Gustav Wertheim published *Elemente der Zahlentheorie* (Leipzig, 1887) and some years later an interesting monograph on the mathematics of Elijah Mizraḥi (*Die Mathematik des Elia Misrachi*, Frankfurt, 1893). A year later Israel Michel Rabbinowits of Paris published a Hebrew introduction to the Talmud containing an interesting appendix on the extraction of square roots, based on Heron's algorithm, as well as a discussion of negative and irrational numbers (*Mavo le-Talmud*, Vilna, 1894).

[Shimon Bollag (2nd ed.)]

20th Century

Jewish mathematicians continued to make major contributions throughout the 20th century and into the 21st, as is evidenced by their extremely high representation among the winners of major awards: 27% for the Fields Medal (the "Nobel Prize of Mathematics") and 40% for the Wolf Prize. Of those still active around the outset of the 20th century mention may be made of Rudolf Otto Sigismund *Lipschitz (1832–1903), whose contributions to mathematics and physical mathematics were mostly in the theory of numbers, the computation of variations, progressive series, and the theory of potential and analytic mechanics. With the French mathematician Augustin Louis Cauchy (1789–1857), he proved the theorem of prime importance in differential calculus and equations concerning the existing solutions to the equation $dy/dx = f(x,y)$. Herman *Minkowski (1864–1909) is entitled to nearly all the credit for creating the geometry of numbers. He was one of the earliest mathematicians to realize the significance of *Cantor's theory of sets at a time when this theory was not appreciated by most mathematicians. The later work of Minkowski was inspired by *Einstein's special theory of relativity which was first published in 1905. He produced the four-dimensional formulation of relativity which has given rise to the term "Minkowski space." James Joseph *Sylvester (1814–1897) dominated the development of the theories of algebraic and differential invariants, and many of the technical terms now in use were coined by him.

In Italy Vito *Volterra (1860–1940) wrote numerous papers on partial differential equations, integral equations, calculus of variations, elasticity, and topology, and initiated the subjects of functionals and mathematical biology. Tullio *Levi-Civita (1873–1942) developed the absolute differential calculus, which was the essential mathematical tool required by Einstein for his development (in 1916) of the general theory of relativity. Levi-Civita's most important contribution in this field was the theory of "parallel displacement." He also produced significant papers on relativity, analytical dynamics, hydrodynamics, and systems of partial differential equations.

Two outstanding French mathematicians were Jacques Salomon *Hadamard (1865–1963), who produced important work in analysis, number theory, differential geometry, calculus of variations, functional analysis, partial differential equations, and hydrodynamics, and inspired research among successive generations of mathematicians, and Laurent *Schwartz (1915–2002), whose work broadened the scope of calculus and brought Paul Dirac's ideas of "delta functions" in quantum mechanics within the scope of rigorous mathematics. For this work he was awarded the Fields Medal in 1950.

Another winner of the Fields Medal was Paul Joseph *Cohen (1934–), for his fundamental work on the foundations of set theory. Cohen used a technique called "forcing" to prove the independence in set theory of the axiom of choice and of the generalized continuum hypothesis. Felix *Hausdorff (1868–1942) was also an authority on set theory and its applications to sets of points and real analysis. His textbook *Mengenlehre* (Leipzig, 1935) is recognized as one of the great classics of set theory. The depth and simplicity of his research into fundamental problems was a source of inspiration in the rapid development of modern mathematics.

Johann Ludwig von *Neumann (1903–1957) sought to develop the subject of quantum mechanics as a mathematical discipline, which led him to research in Hilbert space and the initiation of continuous geometry. In addition, Von Neumann made important contributions to measure theory, ergodic theory, continuous groups, topology, classical mechanics, hydrodynamic turbulence, and shock wave, and was a pioneer of game theory. Issai *Schur (1875–1941) specialized in the theory of numbers, particularly with regard to finite groups and their representations. He is widely known as the author of "Schur's lemma," which states that the only operators that commute with a unitary irreducible representation are the scalar multiples of the identity operator. Schur is also credited with extending the finite group theory to compact groups, and is noted for his work in the representation theory of the rotation group. André *Weil (1906–1998) contributed widely to many branches of mathematics, including the theory of numbers, algebraic geometry, and group theory. Norbert *Wiener (1894–1964) invented the science of cybernetics. As a mathematician, Wiener's main innovation was to develop a mathematics based upon imprecise terms reflecting the irregularities of the physical world. He sought to reduce these random movements to a minimum in order to bring them into harmony. During World War II, he applied his concepts to work connected with antiaircraft defense, and this led to advances in radar, high-speed electric computation, the automatic factory, and a new science he created called cybernetics, a word he coined from the Greek word for "steersman," meaning the study of control. This followed his attempt as a mathematician to find the basis of the communication of information, and of the control of a system based on such communication. Wiener suggested the use of cybernetics in diagnostic procedures and indicated the similarity between certain types of nervous pathology and servomechanism (goal-directed machines such as guns which correct their own fixing malfunctioning). See also Benoit *Mandelbrot and Robert *Aumann.

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MATKAH, JUDAH BEN SOLOMON HA-KOHEN (Ibn Matkah; first half of 13th century), author of the *Midrash ha-Ḥokhmah,* commonly considered the first of the great medieval Hebrew encyclopedias of science and philosophy. Judah was born in Toledo and belonged to the Ibn Shoshan family. He is listed in various books by the name Ibn Matkah. However, there seems to be little ground for maintaining this appellation, since in the sources it appears only once, in a 16th-century manuscript of the *Midrash ha-Ḥokhmah*, and there not in the body of the text but in an annotation at the top of the page.

Judah was a disciple of Meir ha-Levi *Abulafia. At the age of 18 he became engaged in a correspondence with one of the scholars at the court of Emperor Frederick II, as a result of which he eventually moved to Italy. It is not known which position he held at the court, nor where he resided, perhaps in Lombardy. Around 1247 he composed the Hebrew version of his encyclopedia, which, according to his own testimony, he wrote originally in Arabic when still in Spain. The Arabic original has not been preserved. The *Midrash ha-Ḥokhmah* consists of an introduction, two parts, and three treatises. The first part provides a survey of Aristotelian logic, natural philosophy, and metaphysics, primarily based on Ibn Rushd's Middle commentaries on these works, but occasionally also on other sources. The first treatise, an explanation of verses from Genesis, Psalms, and Proverbs, follows this part. The second part is devoted to geometry (based on Euclid's *Elements*), astronomy (based on Ptolemy's *Almagest* and al-Bitruji's *Principles of Astronomy*), and astrology (based on Ptolemy' s *Quadripartitum*). To this part two treatises on the letters of the Hebrew alphabet and talmudic *aggadot,* respectively, are appended. Only the first treatise (Goldberg 1981) and the section on astrology (Spiro 1886) have been edited so far. There are two complete manuscripts of the work (Bodleian Library, Mich. 551 and Vatican ebr 338) and some 40 more of parts of the text; for a complete list see Manekin's Addendum in Harvey 2000, 475–79). It has not yet been established with certainty whether Judah ha-Kohen wrote other works (Langermann, in: Harvey 2000).

The *Midrash ha-Ḥokhmah* thus presents a combination of secular and religious knowledge. It constitutes the first systematic Hebrew survey of Aristotelian natural philosophy and metaphysics as interpreted by Averroes. In composing his encyclopedia Judah aimed at disseminating scientific secular learning, while at the same he sought to convey that true knowledge, or "divine wisdom," cannot be attained by Aristotelian metaphysics but by traditional Jewish religious learning. Throughout his work he displays a critical attitude towards Aristotelian philosophy. His encyclopedia should be seen as an attempt to delineate the value of secular knowledge against the background of the Maimonidean controversy and the debate about the permissibility of the study of secular science.

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[Resianne Fontaine (2nd ed.)]

MATLIN, MARLEE (1965–), U.S. actress. Born in Morton Grove, Illinois, Matlin lost most of her hearing at 18 months after a bout with measles. She learned English, Hebrew, and sign language at Chicago's Congregation Bene Shalom / Hebrew Association for the Deaf and made her acting debut at age seven as Dorothy in a children's theater version of *The Wizard of Oz*. In 1987, at the age of 21, she won the Academy Award for Best Actress for her role as Sarah Norman in *Children of a Lesser God,* the youngest performer ever to receive the award and the only hearing-impaired person to be awarded the prize. Subsequently Matlin acted in numerous films, including *Walker* (1987), *It's My Party* (1996), *Hear No Evil* (1993), and *What the Bleep Do We Know?* (2004). She also appeared in numerous television series, including *Picket Fences* (1992), for which she won an Emmy; *ER* (1998); *Law and Order* (2004); *The West Wing* (2001, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005); and *Desperate Houswives.*(2005). When not acting, Matlin works with various charity organizations such as the Children Affected by AIDS Foundation, the Elizabeth Glaser Pediatric AIDS Foundation, the Starlight Foundation, and the Red Cross Celebrity Cabinet. Matlin is also the author of *Deaf Child Crossing* (2002), a novel based on her own childhood experiences. In 1993 Matlin married Kevin Grandalski (in Henry Winkler's back yard). Together, they have three children.

[Alex Frankel (2nd ed.)]

MATLIN, MOSHE MEIR (1855–1927), Orthodox rabbi. Born in Slutzk, Lithuania, he went to Kovno to study with Rabbi Isaac Elchanan Spector, who was chief rabbi of Kovno, and was ordained there. In 1891 he came to New York at the invitation of Rabbi Jacob Joseph to become a *dayyan* in the newly formed *bet din*. He then headed the *kashrut* supervision for Rabbi Jacob Joseph. For two decades he was a *mashgi'aḥ* for kosher meats and wine while teaching Talmud privately. When his son was ready for yeshivah he helped establish the Rabbi Isaac Elchanan Theological Seminary, named in honor of his mentor, and he offered lectures there though he was not a regular member of its faculty. He was also a founder of the Agudat ha-Rabbonim, which was linked to RIETS. Because of his deteriorating health, he tried moving to Montana and farming, but he could not attract others to so rural a life and apparently he was not a skilled farmer. He then moved to Sioux City, Iowa, where he served as a rabbi and *kashrut* supervisor for major meat companies.

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[Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

MATRIARCHS, THE. The four "mothers" (*arba immahot*) of Jewish liturgy. In the Bible, *Sarah, *Rebekah, *Leah, and *Rachel are, somewhat asymmetrically, the wives of the three *patriarchs, *Abraham, *Isaac, and *Jacob. All except Rachel were buried in the Cave of Machpelah. Sarah is to be the mother of nations and kings (Gen. 17: 15–16), while Rebekah is to produce myriad offspring who will seize the city gates of the foe (Gen. 24:60). The matriarchs played significant roles in the Genesis story, especially to insure the succession of their sons to the divine promise first given to Abraham. Sarah insists on the expulsion of Hagar in order to eliminate Ishmael as a rival claimant to Isaac (Gen. 21:10). Rebekah initiates Jacob's deception of Isaac so as to ensure that Jacob receive the birthright (Gen. 27). In Jewish tradition, the names of the matriarchs are specifically mentioned in the *Mi-she-berakh* prayer after the birth of a child and in the parental blessing of a daughter on the eve of Sabbath. However they are not named in other Orthodox liturgy. In recent times, under the influence of feminism, they are mentioned in prayers alongside the patriarchs in many non-Orthodox liturgies. Jacob's lesser wives Bilhah and Zilpah have not yet attained matriarchal status even among the heterodox.

MATRIMONIAL PROPERTY.

In Jewish Law

GENERAL. In Jewish law, spousal property relations are regulated by the *ketubbah*. Maimonides describes how, when a man marries, he undertakes to provide his wife with ten things and is entitled to four things (Yad, Ishut 11:1–4; see at length *Husband and Wife). In general, according to Jewish Law each of the spouses has a specific role which determines the scope and nature of their respective rights to property and other rights and obligations. According to this view, the husband is analogous to a "foreign minister" or "finance minister" of the family and thus bears the legal obligation of supporting the family, which under Jewish Law is exclusively the husband's obligation. In order to discharge this obligation, he has possession and control of the property belonging to himself or his wife. Any property acquired during the course of the marriage is his, such that property bought with his own money belongs to him, while property bought by the wife with money that she earned is usufruct (*nikhsei melog*) – in other words, the principal belongs to her, while the control thereof, including the benefit of its proceeds, belongs to the husband, being intended for household needs.

In Israeli Law

Since the early 1960s, a doctrine of "presumption of joint property between spouses" has developed in Israeli law. Initially, the Israeli Supreme Court recognized the presumption as governing the relationship between the couple vis-à-vis the estate tax authorities. Accordingly, where an apartment was registered exclusively in the name of a deceased husband, the Court ruled that half of it belonged to the wife, by force of the presumption of joint property, and therefore the husband's estate only included half of the apartment (CA 300/64 *Berger v. The Estate Tax Administrator*, 19(2) PD 240). Gradually however, the doctrine was recognized and applied in relations between the spouses themselves. The *Aftah* decision, delivered by a bench of five justices, is generally regarded as the landmark decision on this subject (CA 595/69 *Aftah v. Aftah*, 25(1) PD 561). Since then, Israeli case law regarding the joint property presumption has developed at all judicial levels, from the Family Court through to the Supreme Court. This has been regarded by some as an example of Israeli common law.

The doctrine, in essence, is based on the presumption that a couple living together harmoniously intend that all property acquired during the course of the marriage will be jointly owned in equal shares by both partners, even if registered in the name of one of them. The legal force of this presumption was originally based on what was perceived as the presumed intention of the parties. Case law notes that this intention is presumed even when the husband and wife have different levels of earnings, even when the wife does not work but takes care of the house and children, leaving to her husband the task of supporting the family. The parties were presumed to have intended that the family's income and its accumulated assets would be their joint property. Case law extended the scope of this presumption to include partnership in future assets, such as pension rights, continuing education funds, life insurance, etc. In the early stages of its development, the Court ruled that it applied to a couple's apartment, but that regarding commercial property, a greater level of proof was required to prove the intention of joint ownership. Over the years this distinction was abolished, and today the doctrine applies to all of the couple's assets, regardless of whether these consist of the couple's apartment or of other forms of savings, business assets, reputation, etc. At all events, the Supreme Court held that with respect to the couple's apartment, there could be cases in which it would be regarded as joint property even when purchased before the marriage, and part of the purchase price was paid during the course of the marriage (CA 806/93, *Hadari v. Hadari*, 48(3) PD 685).

As the doctrine developed, the empirical-consensual aspect was abandoned, and several judicial pronouncements indicated that the doctrine of joint spousal property is based on the principle of equality between spouses, in accordance with the general principles of the Israeli legal system, which regards equality as a fundamental value.

In 1973, the Spouses (Property Relations) Law, 5733 – 1973, was enacted. Pursuant to the law, a married couple constitutes a kind of obligatory delayed partnership that only finds expression when the marriage is terminated (by divorce or death). Until such time, the couples' assets are separated. Upon termination of the marriage (either through death of divorce), an accounting is made of the couple's assets; if more than half the assets are owned by or registered in the name of one of the spouses, that person pays half of the difference to his spouse (CA 1229/90 *Hanokh v. Hanokh*, 45(5) PD 584). Section 5(a) of the law explicitly provides that gifts and inheritances received during the course of the marriage are not considered as joint property.

There is disagreement in the case law as to whether the joint property presumption – which was a judicial, and not a legislative creation – applies to couples married after January 1, 1974 (the date that the new law came into force), or whether the only applicable law for the latter is contained in the provisions of the aforementioned law, that establishes an obligatory delayed partnership. This controversy is mainly relevant when deciding on whether a party is entitled to claim half of the property prior to termination of the marriage, pursuant to the partnership doctrine, or whether a spouse's right to claim it arises only on the day that the marriage is terminated (on this matter see CA 1915/91, *Yaakobi v. Yaakobi*, 49(3) PD 529).

THE SUPREME COURT'S POSITION VIS-À-VIS RABBINICAL COURT DECISIONS. Since the early days of the State, the position of the Israeli Supreme Court has been that the rabbinical court must apply religious law, i.e., Jewish Law, not only in matters of personal status (e.g., the validity of marriages and divorces), but also in cases involving financial matters, insofar as "the nature of a Jewish religious court is to rule according to the religious laws of Israel" (CA 22/49 *Levanon v. Elmeliah*, 3 PD 68, 80; *per* Justice M. Silberg; see also HC 323/81 *Wilozni v. The Rabbinical Court of Appeals*, 36(2) PD 733, *per* Justice Menachem Elon). In its capacity as the High Court of Justice, the Supreme Court had traditionally taken this approach when confronting questions of whether to vacate rabbinical court judgments on financial and property disputes between couples. Questions of this nature were adjudicated by the rabbinical courts in accordance with Jewish Law, as part of their incidental jurisdiction, when arising in the course of divorce proceedings (see *Bet Din, addendum). For example, one case concerned an apartment given by the husband to his wife during the course of a marriage, and subsequently registered by the husband in the wife's name. The rabbinical court was required to decide whether the gift was absolute or conditional, and in doing so it applied the Jewish Law, which in such a case presumed that the gift was conditional, having been given "subject to the understanding that if she leaves him, he would not be regarded as having given it to her." The Supreme Court rejected the wife's argument that the rabbinical court exceeded the limits of its jurisdiction (HC 609/92 *Boehm v. The Rabbinical Court of Appeals*, 47(3) PD 288; *per* Deputy President Justice Menachem Elon).

Nonetheless, in a later decision, Justice A. Barak (then deputy president, and subsequently president of the Supreme Court) held that the Supreme Court's judicially created joint property doctrine must also be applied in the rabbinical court. His first argument was the obligation to act in accordance with the Woman's Equal Rights Law, 5711 – 1951, and the second, broader, argument was that the rabbinical courts are subject to the Israeli secular law with regard to property relations. Essentially, the underlying rationale of the decision is that Israeli civil law is territorial, and thus obligates all legal forums, including the religious or rabbinical courts (HC 1000/92 *Bavli v. The Rabbinical Court of Appeals*, 48(2) PD 221). (In accordance with this approach the Supreme Court also intervened when the rabbinical court ruled, in accordance with Jewish Law, on a matter involving an injunction against leaving the country. The Supreme Court's position was that the Israeli civil law should be applied, rather than the religious law on whose basis the rabbinical court had ruled – HC 3914/92 *Lev v. The Rabbinical Court of Appeals*, 48(2) PD 491.)

In an article published several years after his retirement from the bench, Professor Menachem Elon wrote a comprehensive critique of these decisions. Elon emphasized that the deviation from the Supreme Court's consistent position, whereby rabbinical courts rule in accordance with the religious law, was unjustified on a substantive level, as well as constituting a blow to the independence of the rabbinical courts and their ability to develop Jewish Law. In his article, Professor Elon proposed a number of options for the application of the joint property doctrine in accordance with Jewish Law (see *Minhag; *Dina de-Malkhuta Dina; and see Bibliography, Elon, "These Are Obiter Dicta" ("*Eleh Hen Imrot Agav*")). Professor Elon also warns that decisions such as these are liable to create tension between the various judicial forums, thereby jeopardizing the fundamental values of the legal system, which aspire, inter alia, to preserve peace and attain practical solutions to controversies between parties. Professor Elon further noted that decisions of this kind, while aspiring to harmony within the legal system, cause two other sources of disharmony: (a) between the law of the State and Jewish Law, which is the national law of the Jewish people, and (b) between the past (when the Jewish Law was developed) and the present and future, inasmuch as acceptance of Barak's position compromises the ability of the Jewish Law to develop, given that, in practical terms, the rabbinical courts in the State of Israel are the only forum in which Jewish Law is applied in an operative manner (see also the addendum to the entry *Bet Din).

RABBINICAL COURT'S RESPONSE TO THE SUPREME COURT'S POSITION. In their respective responses to the *Bavli* decision, the *dayyanim* of the Rabbinical Court of Appeals were divided. Rav Shlomo Dikhovsky opined that the rabbinical courts were obligated to rule according to the joint property doctrine by force of the rule "*dina de-malkhuta dina*" (see his article cited in Bibliography). He contended that halakhic rulings should be consonant with the halakhic view that *dina de-malkhuta* also applies in Israel. Moreover, the rule applies equally to legislation enacted in a democratic regime and to laws that are the product of judicial legislation. Inasmuch as the Israeli Supreme Court and the Knesset itself views court decisions as a part of the binding legal system of the State, there is no difference between judicial decision and legislation. Therefore, in his opinion, such case law should not be subject to the distinction that the halakhic authorities make between explicit legislation – to which "*dina de-malkhuta dina*" applies – and to rulings that are the result of local judicial discretion, in which the rule is inapplicable. All citizens of the State are cognizant of the "joint property rule" and guide their conduct accordingly, giving it the status of a custom (see *Minhag). Moreover, the fact that it is anchored in Jewish practice militates in favor of its acceptance by force of "*dina de-malkhuta dina*." Such is the case regarding the joint property doctrine, insofar as it derives from case law. Rabbi Dikhovsky finds halakhic anchorage for the Supreme Court's doctrine of joint property in the pre-nuptial written conditions (*tena'im*) agreed upon by the couple. The *tena'im* provide that the couple "will have equal control of their assets, and will not smuggle or hide them from one another, but rather will live together in love and affection." Based on his interpretation of this document, R. Joseph Colon (Resp. Maharik, no. 57), imposed a ban on a husband who smuggled assets from his wife. Rabbi Dikhovsky contends that an additional step should be taken, by declaring that in our generation the presumption regarding the couple is not confined to their reciprocal trust that neither of them will smuggle assets away, but rather is broader, and confers the wife actual control over half of the assets acquired by her husband (in this matter he also relies on *Resp Maharsham* 1.45, dealing with a gift that the wife received from her sister).

The Spouses (Property Relations) Law, 5733 – 1973 provides that the law also applies to rabbinical courts, in the absence of explicit agreement that the religious law will apply (Section 13 of law). Following the enactment of this law, the presumption is that every couple who married after its enactment knew that this was the legal position, and thus consented to premise their financial relations on the joint property rule. Under such circumstances, the rule of "*dina de-malkhuta dina*" should clearly be applied to such couples, and the rabbinical court should rule according to the joint property doctrine, and certainly to its delayed version regarding couples married after January 1, 1974.

When the parties agree to have their property disputes governed by secular law, that agreement should be honored, and the rabbinical courts should apply the joint property doctrine, by force of that agreement. Rabbi Dikhovsky ruled accordingly when on appeal, he overturned a decision of the Regional Rabbinical Court that refused to apply the joint property doctrine even though both of the parties had previously signed an agreement that the rabbinical court would rule according to this doctrine. In addition to the rationale of honoring the parties' expressed will, Rabbi Dikhovsky warned that failure on the rabbinical court's part to apply the joint property doctrine is liable to impair its status, and result in the loss of its jurisdiction over financial and property matters, even in its current limited format (the decision in its entirety is published after the article in *Teḥumin,* 18 (1998), 18ff.).

A different opinion on the matter was expressed by Rabbi Avraham Sherman – also a *dayyan* on the Rabbinical Court of Appeals (see *Teḥumin,* 19 (1998), 32–40; 20 (1999), 205–20). In his view, legislative enactments and legal pronouncements that stem, not only from the imperative of creating an orderly society and correcting faults occasioned by particular circumstances, but which rather reflect the world view of the legislators and the judges of the state courts, do not fall within the ambit of "*dina de-malkhuta dina*," because this contradicts the world view of the Torah. Empirically, it cannot be claimed that the "joint property doctrine" is a custom accepted by all, nor may one, on that basis, make a presumption that all married couples marry with the intention of distributing their assets equally. Furthermore, it is difficult to anchor the joint property doctrine in Jewish Law. When the law concerned is one that is intended to regulate the financial relations between a husband and wife, and not the well-being of the society and the State, the rule of "*dina de-malkhuta dina*" does not, according to this view, apply. Rabbi Sherman argues with Rabbi Dikhovsky regarding the significance of the written conditions, but the main thrust of his argument is on the theoretical level: is it appropriate to adopt the Supreme Court's ideology, which is classified, in his view, as "the laws of the [non-Jewish] nations," or to act according to the original Jewish law without deviating from it.

According to Rabbi Sherman, it is precisely the Supreme Court's rationale for the joint property doctrine – namely, that it is a revolutionary step that alters relations within society, and intended to promote and ensure social justice based on gender equality – that justifies rejection of this doctrine by the rabbinical courts, which should rather continue to adhere to the traditional position of Jewish Law. He adds that it is precisely the application of the joint property doctrine, supplemented by the husband's continued exclusive obligation to support his wife and children, which creates inequality and, rather than equalizing the parties' status, confers a preferred status on the wife.

APPLICATION OF JOINT PROPERTY PRESUMPTION TO "COMMON LAW" SPOUSES. Another question that the Israeli legislature and case law was required to address in this (and other) contexts concerns the phenomenon of couples that were not married in a religious or civil ceremony, but live together as a couple and raise families. In the beginning of the 1980s the Supreme Court decided by majority that the joint property presumption applies to such couples, relying on its conclusion that their way of life attested to their intention to be partners in their property (CA 52/80 *Shahar v. Freedman,* 38 (1) PD 443, *per* justices Barak, Bach). In his dissenting minority opinion, Justice Sheinbaum argued that the joint property presumption should not be extended by way of judicial legislation to include common law spouses. Justice Sheinbaum reasoned that the parties had knowingly and intentionally decided to live as a couple without binding themselves by a ceremony of marriage. As such, in the absence of a formal agreement between them, the application of the joint property presumption would not be consistent with their expectations and anticipations regarding the nature and consequences of their connection, to which they had given expression by their failure to entire into the binding legally recognized marriage. Furthermore, the aforementioned law of 1973 omitted granting any recognition of the "common law spouses" or "common law marriages" and hence there is no justification for applying the presumption by way of judicial legislation.

In later rulings the Supreme Court extended the scope of the joint property presumption as it applied to common law marriage, stating that it was not limited exclusively to their domestic assets, but also covered their commercial assets, although a higher level of proof should be required to persuade the court to apply the joint partnership presumption with respect to commercial assets or other non-domestic assets (CA 4385/91 *Salem v. Carmi*, 51 (1) PD 337).

The Supreme Court further held that where one of the partners in a common law marriage was killed in an accident, the surviving partner should be entitled to the same compensation (as a dependent) awarded by law to a surviving spouse who was legally married to the deceased (CA 2000/97 *Lindorn v. Karnit*, 55 (1) PD 12).

The common law spouse's right to the pension of a government employee, or of a soldier killed in action, was already recognized by Knesset legislation in the early years of the State of Israel.

Conclusion

Israeli law's approach to gender equality is not unique to the question of spousal assets, but rather is broader in its scope. In the early 21st century, the Supreme Court considered equality as one of the constitutive values of Israeli law, and found anchorage for it in the Basic Law: Human Dignity and Freedom (notwithstanding that this subject is not explicitly mentioned in this law; see *Human Dignity and Freedom). In a famous decision concerning the matrimonial property of a couple that immigrated from Iran, President Barak stated that according to the principle of good faith, it is presumed that the couple intended that the infrastructure of their relationship would be based on the basic principles of the legal system of Israel, one of which is the principle of equality. Therefore, by applying the doctrine of joint property, a social goal is accomplished, leading to the promotion of social justice (CFH 1558/94 *Nafisi v. Nafisi*, 50 (3) PD 573, 605.

We have noted the various approaches of the *dayyanim* of the Rabbinical Court of Appeals. It remains to be seen how the rabbinical courts will in fact rule in matters regarding spousal assets. In any event, the rabbinical courts (the regional and the Rabbinical Court of Appeals) decided that where each of the spouses owned an apartment prior to their marriage, there is no presumption of joint property, and they based their judgment on section 5 of the Spouses (Property Relations) Law. When their ruling came before the Supreme Court, President A. Barak did not interfere with their ruling, and rejected the petition against the Rabbinical Court (HC 3995/00 *Anon. v Rabbinical Court of Appeals*, 56 (6) PD p. 883).

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[Moshe Drori (2nd ed.)]

MATSAS, JOSEPH (1918–1986), Greek merchant, partisan, and researcher, the foremost Jewish intellectual in Greece after World War II. Matsas lived most of his life in *Ioannina and devoted himself to his city, to his Jewish community, and to the research of the Jews in Ioannina and Greece.

Coming from a line of merchants, he owned a glass product store in the heart of the Ioannina bazaar, where Ioanniote Jewish merchants had worked and thrived for generations. By the beginning of World War II, he had finished his studies in philosophy at Aristotle University in Thessalonika (Salonika) and was teaching high school in a village near Kilkis. When the ghettoization process started in Salonika in late January–early February 1943, the youth of the Jewish community started to flee in small numbers to the mountains in order to join the partisans. The Jews were welcomed by the military arm ELAS, which belonged to the leftist resistance movement EAM (The National Liberation Front), and Matsas was one of the first to leave to join.

After facing great difficulties in escaping from Salonika, crossing rivers and avoiding German-controlled bridges, he reached the partisans. Since he had been a fighting soldier in the Greek army in the Albanian campaign, he was integrated into ELAS as fighting combatant, together with nine other Jews in a unit of 40 men. At the end of 1943, he went with his unit to Western Macedonia where the allies dropped equipment to them by parachute. In general, his unit lived under difficult circumstances in the mountains of Pieras, Vermious, and Pindou.

After the war Joseph Matsas established himself in Ioannina. In 1945 he was president of the Ioannina Jewish Council and in 1947 Matsas became the secretary of the Jewish community.

Matsas's main scholarly contribution lay in his research on the language, culture, and ancient traditions of the Romaniot Jews of Ioannina. His research into Judeo-Greek was a pioneering and valuable scholarly effort. In Ioannina in 1953 he published *Yianniotika Evraika Tragoudia* ("Greek Jewish Songs"), which consisted of 16 hymns taken from two manuscripts written between 1853 and 1870, translated into modern Greek. In 1955 he also published *Ta Onomata Ton Evraion Sta Ioannina* ("The Names of the Jews of Ioannina").

In the field of poetry he researched Judeo-Greek *kinot* (elegies) from Corfu from as early as the 13th century. He uncovered valuable collections of centuries-old Judeo-Greek **piyyutim* from Ioannina and contributed research and documentation to Jerusalem's *Ben-Zvi Institute on Judeo-Greek poetry and language. He published several articles on the unique festivities of the Sicilian Purim celebrated in Ioannina.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: R. Dalven, *The Jews of Ioannina* (1990); Y. Kerem, *The History of the Jews in Greece, 1821–1940. Part I* (1985); idem, "*Darkhei Haẓalah shel Yehudim be-Yavan be-Milḥemet ha-Olam ha-Sheniyyah,*" in: *Pe'amim*, No. 27 (1986), 77–105.

[Yitzchak Kerem]

MATSAS, NESTORAS (1932–), Greek author, painter, and motion picture director. Born in Athens, Matsas was in hiding during the Nazi occupation of Greece. During this time he was baptized into the Greek Orthodox Church, but his Jewish background and tragic memories of the war were to find expression in several of his books. When he was only 16 some of his stories appeared in the periodical *Nea Estia*. In 1950 he published three plays: *Animenei* ("Unmarried"), *Fleghomeni batos* ("Burning Bush"), and *Yiom Kipur* ("Yom Kippur"). *Animenei*, written in collaboration with K. Asinakopoulos, was a considerable stage success. His first novel was *Klisti ourani* ("Closed Heavens," 1955), a story of life in the slums of Athens. He also published several volumes of short stories. Two of Matsas' most significant earlier works are on Jewish themes. *I meghali irini* ("The Great Peace," 1957), a collection of three short novels, dealing with an Athens Jewish family, is dedicated to the author's father "who sleeps in the barren earth of Auschwitz." Another novel, *O Messias* ("The Messiah," 1959), describes the tragic fate of a Greek Jew who survives imprisonment in Dachau but who, on his return to Greece, entertains the delusion that he is the Messiah. Other books by Matsas include two children's novels, the prizewinning *Khoris aghapi* ("Without Love," 1960) and *To koritsi me t'asteria* ("The Girl with the Stars," 1968); *To paramithi tou Theofilou* ("The Fairy Tale of Theophilos," 1963), a fictional biography of a Greek painter that was awarded the National Prize for literature; *Plevsate vorios Sporadhon Skyiathos* ("Travel North to the Sporades, Scyathos," 1964), verse written in the style of the Psalms and containing "Letters from Joseph to the sleeping Rebecca"; and *O mikros stratiotis* ("The Little Soldier," 1967), an anti-war novel. Later in his literary career, he returned to chronicling his Holocaust experience in hiding in Athens in his book *I Istoria Ton Hamenon Peristerion: Imerogio Enos Paidou Ston Emfilio* ("The History of the Lost Pigeon: Diary of a Boy in the Civil War," 1995). He also wrote the popular biography of Alexander the Great titled *To Hirografo Tis Babilonas, Megalexandro Apomnimonevmata* (1980), which was translated into French as *Les Memoires D'Alexandre Le Grand, d'apres Le Manuscrit de Babylone* (1983). Matsas wrote the scripts for many documentary films and directed feature films.

[Rachel Dalven / Yitzchak Kerem (2nd ed.)]

MATT, C. DAVID (1887–1951), U.S. rabbi. Born in Kovno, he was raised in Philadelphia where he came with his family in 1890. C. (Calman) David Matt grew up in Rabbi Bernard Levinthal's synagogue; Levinthal's sons Rabbi Israel Levinthal and Judge Louis Levinthal were literally life-long friends and spoke at his funeral. He went to public school, Yeshiva Mishkan Israel, and Gratz College. He earned his B.A. in 1909 at the University of Pennsylvania and was ordained at the Jewish Theological Seminary in 1913.

As a young rabbi he served in Adath Jeshurun in Minneapolis, the first English-speaking rabbi the then 18-year-old Orthodox congregation ever had, and oversaw the transition toward a newly emerging Conservative Judaism. He laid plans for a new building and organized the religious school. He was the associate editor of the *American Jewish World*. During World War I, he served as a volunteer representative of the Jewish Welfare Board at Fort Snelling. After 15 years he left for Beth David in Buffalo (1927–29), where he served two years, and then went back to Philadelphia, where he served as rabbi of the West Philadelphia Jewish Community Center. He remained there for the rest of his life. Matt was an ardent Zionist and served as president of the Philadelphia Board of Rabbis and of the local Rabbinical Assembly.

Matt's columns appeared in the *American Jewish World* and the *Anglo-Jewish Press*. His work also included texts of radio sermons, 1920s–1950. He worked as an arbitrator in the Jewish community in Philadelphia, particularly during a dispute among *mohelim*. Also of note is his list of yeshivot in Europe and Palestine in the 1930s, with estimates of the sizes of their student bodies. These reflect Rabbi Matt's efforts to raise money for the yeshivot. He had, in the words of Israel Levinthal, "a poetic soul, which made him a dreamer and interpreter of Israel's fondest hopes in beautiful verse." Louis Levinthal spoke of his "simplicity, his earnestness and sincerity."

He made his mark as a poet and published his sermons. Among his five children were Rabbi Herschel Matt, himself a sensitive poet and liturgist. His grandson Daniel Matt is translating the Zohar into English in a multi-year project that has gained wide respect. C. David Matt's papers are found at the Jewish Theological Seminary.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: P.S. Nadell, *Conservative Judaism in America: A Biographical Dictionary and Sourcebook* (1988); C. David Matt, *Collected Poems* (1953).

[Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

MATTATHIAS, priest from the village of Modi'in, and first leader of the uprising of the *Hasmoneans against *Antiochus IV Epiphanes (167 B.C.E.). A number of discrepancies appear regarding the genealogy of Mattathias, and it is not certain that he was a native of Modi'in. According to I Maccabees 2:1 Mattathias was "the son of Johanan, son of Simeon, a priest of the family of Joarib" (יְהוֹיָרִיב; cf. I Chron. 24:7) who "moved away from Jerusalem and settled in Modi'in." Josephus twice alludes to Mattathias' background. In Antiquities 12:265 he is described as "living in Modi'in in Judea… the son of Johanan, the son of Simeon, the son of Asamonaius, a priest of the family of Joarib, and a native of Jerusalem." In Wars 1:36 Mattathias is called simply "son of Asamonaius, a priest of a village called Modi'in." It appears that the name "Asamonaius" or "Hasmonean" is a family title, although later rabbinic tradition regards "Hasmonai" as a particular person e.g. "…'neither did I abhor them' [Lev. 26:44] – in the days of the Greeks, when I raised up for them Simeon the Righteous and Hasmonai and his sons, and Mattathias the high priest" (Meg. 11a; some variants however omit "Hasmonai and his sons"). The anachronistic description of Mattathias as high priest is also found in tractate *Soferim* (20:6, ed. M. Higger (1937), 346), and was inserted into the special prayer recited on Ḥanukkah.

Although a number of minor differences exist, the general descriptions of Mattathias' activities, transmitted by Josephus and in I Maccabees are fairly similar. A company of Greek officers arrived at Modi'in with the intention of forcibly implementing the king's ordinances regarding sacrifices to idols. As Mattathias was held in high esteem by the villagers, he was ordered to begin the sacrificial offerings. When Mattathias refused, another Jew proceeded to fulfill the officer's command. Mattathias then attacked and killed both that Jew and the Greek officer at hand (named Appeles in Jos., Ant.; Bacchides in Jos., Wars), and together with his sons and a number of similarly minded fellow countrymen sought refuge in the desert and mountains of Judea. One such group of fugitives was attacked on the Sabbath. Refusing to defend themselves on the day of rest, the group, numbering about 1,000, was almost totally annihilated. This led Mattathias to decree that defensive military action is permissible on the Sabbath (cf. M.D. Herr, in: *Tarbiz*, 30 (1961), 243–4). Both I Maccabees and Josephus further attribute to Mattathias the circumcision of all those uncircumcised children brought up under the influence of enforced Hellenization. Mattathias led the rebellion for only one year, and before his death appointed two of his five sons to continue as leaders of the revolt: *Judah Maccabee was declared military commander and Simeon the *Hasmonean counselor. Of Mattathias' other three sons, *Johanan b. Mattathias and *Eleazar b. Mattathias both met violent deaths during the early years of the uprising while *Jonathan, who succeeded Judah, was killed by treachery in 161 B.C.E.

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[Isaiah Gafni]

MATTATHIAS (or **Mattityah ben Moshe**?; 15th century), Spanish or Provençal Hebrew poet. Mattathias has sometimes been identified with *Mattathias ha-Yiẓhari, one of the masters who represented the Jewish communities of Aragon at the Tortosa disputation (1413–14) and the author of a commentary on Psalm 119 with references to the disputation, a commentary to *Pirkei Avot* (preserved only in part), and a lost homiletical commentary to the Pentateuch. This identification is not accepted by all scholars. Z. Malachi has even shown that it is very unlikely.

The **maqāma Aḥituv ve-Ẓalmon*, attributed to Mattathias and written before 1453, was inspired by the religious *disputations held in Spain. Its action is simple. The pagan queen of a legendary island sends three messengers, Zalmon, Eker, and Ahitub, to inquire into the religions of the world. Seven years later, the messengers return and engage in a stormy discussion. Zalmon, who was in Hebron and became converted to Islam, accepts the arguments of Ahitub, himself converted to Judaism in Spain, and becomes a Jew. Eker, converted to Christianity in Constantinople, argues in favor of that religion; however, since the queen and her court, persuaded by Ahitub, have also adopted Judaism, Eker hangs himself in anger, bringing the story to an end. Most of this narrative is still in manuscript.

Another allegoric *maqāma, Begidat ha-Zeman*, in which the characters receive symbolic names, that was likewise written around 1450, also bears the name of a poet known as Mattathias; it is almost certain that both *maqāmāt* were written by the same author. Both narratives, with clear pedagogic, apologetic, and moral purpose, resemble each other in style and vocabulary. The second is written in the first person and the personal element is important. The author repents the sins of his youth, describing his experiences so that his tale might serve as a warning. It was printed in 1560 (Tihingen) and three more times before the end of the 17th century. Z. Malachi has found in this composition some autobiographical clues: according to him, the book was written in 1450 in Aix-en-Provence, when the author was 50 years old; he was probably born in Spain and left for France at the age of 19, becoming familiar with Ashkenazi culture.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Schirmann, Sefarad, 2 (1956), 648–62; Assaf, in: *Ba-Mishor*, 7 no. 286 (1946), 8; Zunz, Gesch, 129; Renan, Ecrivains, 432–3; Gross, Gal Jud, 256–7; Davidson, Oẓar, 4 (1933), 451. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** Y. Baer, *A History of the Jews in Christian Spain* (1966), 173ff.; M.A. Shmidman, in: I. Twersky (ed.), *Studies in Medieval Jewish History and Literature* (1979), 315ff.; Schirmann-Fleischer, *The History of Hebrew Poetry in Christian Spain and Southern France* (Hebrew, 1997), 657–68; Z. Malachi, in: R. Nettler (ed.), *Medieval and Modern Perspectives on Muslim-Jewish Relations* (1995), 129; idem, in: *Jewish Studies at the Turn of the Twentieth Century*, 1 (1999), 454–58.

[Yonah David / Angel Sáenz-Badillos (2nd ed.)]

MATTATHIAS BEN SIMEON, son of *Simeon the Hasmonean. During the winter of 135 B.C.E., Mattathias, together with his mother and brother Judah, was seized at a banquet given in Simeon's honor by his son-in-law *Ptolemy, who was governor of Jericho. Simeon was killed, probably at the instigation of the Syrian monarch Antiochus VII Sidetes, but a third son of the high priest, John *Hyrcanus, managed to escape. Ptolemy withdrew to the nearby fortress of Dok, where the two brothers and their mother were tortured in full view of the grief-stricken Hyrcanus, who was unable to take the stronghold. When the sabbatical year came around, it was impossible to maintain an army for any great length of time, and Hyrcanus was forced to withdraw. Ptolemy thereupon killed the woman and her two sons and fled to Philadelphia (but according to Maccabees they were slain together with their father; I Macc. 16:15ff.; Jos., Wars, 1:54ff.; Jos., Ant., 13:228ff.).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Schuerer, Hist, 66; Graetz, Hist, 1 (1891), 530.

[Isaiah Gafni]

MATTATHIAS HA-YIẒHARI (14th–15th century), Spanish scholar. He was a descendant of a Narbonne family which immigrated to Aragon after the expulsion from France in 1306. Mattathias, who had a profound knowledge of philosophy, was apparently a pupil of Ḥasdai *Crescas. A commentary on Psalm 119 is attributed to him (Venice, 1546, partly translated into Latin by Philippe d'Aquin, Paris, 1629). Mattathias also wrote a number of other works, including a commentary on *Avot* (extant in Ms.) and homiletical explanations to the Pentateuch, known only by later references. It is possible, however, that at least some of them were written by an earlier Mattathias ha-Yiẓhari, perhaps his grandfather. He played a prominent but not overly courageous part in the Disputation of *Tortosa (1413–14), where he was one of the representatives of the Saragossa community.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Baer, Spain, index; Renan, Ecrivains, 432f.; S. Buber, *Midrash Tehillim* (1891), introd.; A. Pacios López, *Disputa de Tortosa* (1957), index.

MATTERSDORF (official name since 1924, **Mattersburg**; Hung. **Nagymarton**), town in *Burgenland, Austria; one of the "Seven Communities," and after 1813 one of the "Five Communities." The town was traditionally divided into two districts, Izraelita-Nagymarton and Keresztény ["Christian"]-Nagymarton. The Jewish neighborhood comprised a separate administrative unit (see *Politische Gemeinden*) until 1902. Jews are traditionally believed to have settled there in about 800 or 1222. A tablet on the synagogue wall dates its building to 1354. At any rate, Jews were already living there before the Turkish conquest in 1526, when Mattersdorf absorbed numerous refugees from *Sopron. In 1569 there were 67 Jews living in 11 houses. After 1622 the community came under the protection of the Esterházy family. In 1694 the Esterházys granted the Seven Communities letters of protection, subsequently renewed four times and newly formulated in 1800. Some of the Jews were expelled by Leopold I in 1671 but were allowed to return in 1675. The community was looted several times by the Turks. In 1744, some 352 Jews inhabited 30 houses; in 1770, 179 Jewish families were registered; in 1785, some 767 persons lived in 43 houses; permission was granted to build 12 more houses in 1818. They paid fees to the towns of Sopron and Wiener *Neustadt for the right to trade within their boundaries. In 1848 there were 1,500 Jews in the town (one-third of the total population). From the beginning of the 20th century their numbers declined due to emigration to larger towns; in 1902 they had fallen to 752 and at the time of the *Anschluss* (1938) to 511.

The centuries-long autonomy gave rise to a powerful communal regime, which regulated not only religious but also economic and social life. Among the prominent rabbis who served the community were Gershon b. Abraham *Chajes; Jeremiah *Mattersdorf; Issachar Baer b. Samson *Bloch; Moses *Sofer; and Simon *Sofer. The Mattersdorf yeshivah attracted students from all over Europe. In 1938 the Nazis destroyed the synagogue and other communal institutions and damaged the Jewish quarter. Part of the community emigrated and the remainder were deported to the death camps. The remains of the Jewish quarter were demolished during development projects, and by 1970 only an old cemetery was left to commemorate this ancient community. About 7,000 documents from the community's archives have been preserved in the central state archives in Eisenstadt. A Kiryat Mattersdorf was founded in Jerusalem in 1963, and some of its inhabitants originated from there.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: MHJ, 1–12 (1903–69), indexes; F.P. Hodik, in: M. Gold (ed.), *Gedenkbuch der untergegangenen Judengemeinden des Burgenlandes* (1970); 91–115; J.J.(L.) Greenwald (Grunwald), *Mazzevet Kodesh* (1952); M. Pollák, in: IMIT (1900), 164–6.

[Yehouda Marton]

MATTERSDORF, JEREMIAH BEN ISAAC (d. 1805), Hungarian rabbi and author. Born in Oswiecim, Galicia, Mattersdorf originally had the family name of Rosenbaum, but took the name Mattersdorf after serving as rabbi of the community of that name in Burgenland. He was appointed rabbi of Mattersdorf (now Mattersburg) around 1770 and stayed there until about 1801, when he went to Abaujszanto, remaining there until his death. Mattersdorf was renowned for his extensive knowledge of *halakhah*. His spiritual authority extended beyond the borders of Hungary. In 1791 he gave his approbation to the edition of the Talmud published by Joseph Hraschanszky, who called him one of the most distinguished rabbis of the generation. In Mattersdorf he headed a yeshivah which had among its students Aaron *Chorin, the pioneer of religious reform in Hungary. Among Mattersdorf's works is a commentary to Ḥayyim Shabbetai's *Moda'a ve-Ones* (Lemberg, 1798) under the title *Moda'ah Rabbah*, published along with his son Joab Mattersdorf's commentary *Moda'ah Zuta*. He gave approbations to a number of works, and is mentioned in the responsa of Moses *Sofer. L. Loew states that he wrote the comments on the *Sha'arei Shibbolet* of Isaac b. Reuben, but this work has been attributed to other authors.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: L. Loew, *Gesammelte Schriften*, 2 (1890), 257; M. Pollák, in: IMIT, (1900), 164–6; J.J.(L.) Greenwald (Grunwald), *Ha-Yehudim be-Hungaryah* (1913), 53 f.; P.Z. Schwartz, *Shem ha-Gedolim me-Ereẓ Hagar*, 1 (1913), 51b no. 243.

[Yehouda Marton]

MATTHAU, WALTER (1920–2000), U.S. actor. Born in New York to Russian immigrant parents, Matthau started out selling soft drinks and playing bit parts at a Yiddish theater at age 11. After graduating from Seward Park High School, he worked as a forester, gym instructor, and boxing coach for police officers. During World War II he served on an Army Air Force bomber in Europe and returned home a sergeant with six battle stars. Afterwards he attended acting classes and performed on Broadway. Matthau appeared in more than a dozen Broadway plays, among them *Anne of the Thousand Days* (1949), *Will Success Spoil Rock Hunter* (1955), *Once More, with Feeling* (nominated for a Best Actor Tony, 1959), *A Shot in the Dark* (won a Tony Award for Best Supporting Actor, 1962), and *The Odd Couple* (Best Actor Tony, 1965).

Matthau made his film debut in *The Kentuckian* in 1955 and from then acted in more than 40 films, including *Gangster Story* (1960), *Lonely Are the Brave* (1962), *Charade* (1963), *Fail-Safe* (1964), *Goodbye, Charlie* (1964), *Mirage* (1967), *Hello Dolly!* (1969), *Cactus Flower* (1971), *A New Leaf* (1972), *Plaza Suite* (1972), *Charley Varrick* (1973), *Pete 'n Tillie* (1974), *The Laughing Policeman* (1974), *The Taking of Pelham One Two Three* (1974), *Earthquake* (1974), *The Bad News Bears* (1976), *House Calls* (1978), *Hopscotch* (1980), *California Suite* (1980), *Little Miss Marker* (1981), *Pirates* (1986), *JFK* (1991), *Dennis the Menace* (1993), *I.Q.* (1994, as Albert Einstein), *I'm Not Rapaport* (1996), and *Hanging Up* (2000).

In 1966 Matthau won an Oscar as Best Supporting Actor for his role as "Whiplash Willie" Gingrich in *The Fortune Cookie*, co-starring with Jack Lemmon with whom he appeared in a number of films, including *The Odd Couple* (1968), *The Front Page* (1974), *Buddy, Buddy* (1981), *Grumpy Old Men* (1993), *Grumpier Old Men* (1995), and *The Odd Couple II* (1998). Matthau was nominated twice for Best Actor Oscars, for his roles in *Kotch* (1971) and *The Sunshine Boys* (1975).

Matthau appeared in several TV movies, such as *Awake and Sing!* (1972), *The Incident* (1990), *Mrs. Lambert Remembers Love* (1991), *Incident in a Small Town* (1994), and *The Marriage Fool* (1998).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: R. Edelman and A. Kupferberg, *Matthau: A Life* (2002); C. Matthau, *Among the Porcupines: A Memoir* (1992); A. Hunter, *Walter Matthau* (1984).

[Jonathan Licht / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

MATTHIAS BEN THEOPHILUS, the name of two high priests at the close of the Second Temple period.

Matthias ben Theophilus I (early first century C.E.)

MATTHIAS BEN THEOPHILUS I was for all practical purposes the first high priest originating from Ereẓ Israel to be appointed by Herod after *Aristobulus III. He succeeded *Simeon b. Boethus, the king's father-in-law, and preceded Joezer b. Boethus (see *Boethusians). Josephus notes that Matthias was a Jerusalemite (Ant., 17:78). He also relates that on one occasion Matthias was prevented from officiating on the Day of Atonement through being ritually unclean, and *Joseph b. Elem had to officiate in his place (*ibid.*, 165). This incident is also recorded in the Talmud (Yoma 12b; TJ, *ibid.*, 1:1, 38d). Herod, although on his deathbed, replaced Matthias as he held him partially responsible for the disorders in the Temple caused by the two patriots, Judas b. Sepphoraeus and Matthias b. Margalus. It would appear that Matthias was connected in some way with the house of *Anan and presumably it was no coincidence that one of Anan's sons was named Matthias (Jos., Ant., 19:316, 342) and another *Theophilus (*ibid.*, 18:123; 19:297). It is possible that the elder Anan married the daughter of Matthias.

Matthias ben Theophilus II (late first century C.E.)

MATTHIAS BEN THEOPHILUS II was appointed high priest by Agrippa II in succession to *Joshua b. Gamala (*ibid.*, 20:223). It seems probable that he was the son of Theophilus b. Anan. His period of office witnessed the outbreak of the Jewish War (66 C.E.).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: MATTHIAS BEN THEOPHILUS I: Derenbourg, Hist, 160; Schuerer, Gesch, 2 (1907^4), 270 no. 5; Klausner, Bayit Sheni, 4 (1950^2), 163, 165; A. Schalit, *Koenig Herodes* (1969), 635, 638. MATTHIAS BEN THEOPHILUS II: Graetz, Hist, 2 (1893), 249 ff., 752 ff.; Schuerer, Gesch, 2 (1907^4), 273, no. 27; Klausner, Bayit Sheni, 5 (1951^2), 24, 235.

[Menahem Stern]

MATTIAH (Mattityahu) BEN ḤERESH (second century C.E.), *tanna*, mentioned twice in the Mishnah (Yom. 8:6, Avot 4:15), and a few times in the tannaitic midrashim. One tannaitic midrash lists Mattiah among a group of scholars who fled Ereẓ Israel (apparently after the fall of *Betar), who, as they were leaving, were overcome with the love of Ereẓ Israel, tore their clothes, and proclaimed, tears streaming from their eyes, that one who dwells in Ereẓ Israel is as if he has fulfilled all the commandments of the Torah (Sif. Deut. 80). Another tannaitic midrash (Mekh. of R. Ishmael, Baḥodesh 7) relates that Mattiah once went to visit R. Eleazar Hakappar in Lydda to inquire about one of R. Ishmael's teachings. According to the Babylonian Talmud (Sanh. 32b) Mattiah founded a yeshivah in Rome, and, according to the Talmud, when *Simeon b. Yoḥai visited Rome to protest to the emperor against the Palestinian governor's emergency decrees, Mattiah consulted him on points of *halakhah* and *aggadah* (Me'il. 17a; Yoma 53b).

In Mishnah Yoma (8:6) Mattiah applies the principle that Sabbath prohibitions may be overruled in order to save human life to a specific case, but he is not accredited as the author of the principle itself (cf. Tosef. Shab. 15:17, Yoma 85b). He is quoted in both the Babylonian and Jerusalem Talmuds (e.g., Yev. 61b; TJ, Sanh. 10:1, 27c). His most famous maxim is: "Be a tail to lions, and not a head to foxes" (Avot 4:15; in TJ, Sanh. 4:10, 22b), which stands in contrast to the Roman proverb, "Be a head to foxes, rather than a tail to lions" (cf. Zohar Ḥadash, Song, 18b). In the later *aggadah* Mattiah's piety became legendary. The *Tanḥuma* relates that on one occasion, he deliberately blinded himself rather than be seduced by Satan (who appeared to him in the guise of a beautiful woman). He only accepted healing at the hands of the angel Raphael, after a divine promise that he would not be tempted again (Yal., Gen. 161).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Hyman, Toledot, 913–5, s.v.; Bacher, Tann, 1 (1903^2), 380–4.

[Stephen G. Wald (2nd ed.)]

MATTNAH (second half of third century C.E.), Babylonian *amora*. He studied under *Samuel (Mar Samuel) and was considered one of his outstanding pupils (Er. 6b; Mak. 3b). He quotes numerous halakhic decisions in his name (Ket. 43b; Nid. 27a; et al.) He also studied under *Rav (Shab. 24a). He was a younger colleague of Judah b. Ezekiel (Kid. 70b), and when, after the death of Rav and Samuel, R. Judah taught at Pumbedita, Mattnah taught at the neighboring town of Popuna (Ḥul. 139b). He is one of the authors of the tradition that the fourth blessing of the Grace after Meals ("He who is good, and bestows good") was instituted by the rabbis after permission was granted to bury the slain of *Bethar, whose bodies had miraculously not decomposed (Ber. 48b). Matthah had three sons, Aḥadboi, Tobi, and Ḥiyya (Nid. 60b; BB 151a), all of whom were scholars. Among the sages of the next generation who were his pupils and who quote decisions in his name was R. Zeira (Ber. 36a). Another *amora* called Mattnai lived in the fourth century. He was a pupil of Ḥisda (Kid. 32a), and a colleague of Abbaye (Ket. 35b).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Hyman, Toledot, 915–7.

MATTUCK, ISRAEL I. (1884–1954), Liberal rabbi. Born in Lithuania, he came as a child to the United States with his family and grew up in Worcester, Massachusetts. A graduate of Harvard University, he was ordained at the Hebrew Union College in 1910 having only spent two years in residence. He held a pulpit in Far Rockaway, New York, for a year and then went to England to serve a young congregation, the Liberal Synagogue in London. He served as senior minister for 36 years and then after 1947 was minister emeritus. Under his leadership the synagogue grew into one of the largest synagogues in London. The building that he helped build was bombed in World War II, but Mattuck lived to see it restored and rededicated. He was succeeded by his disciple and son-in-law Rabbi Leslie Edgar.

He was a leading figure, perhaps the leading figure in English Liberal Jewry, its philosopher and its public face. He was known as one of the "Three Ms": Montagu, Montefiore, and Mattuck. He helped form the Union of Liberal and Progressive Synagogues and helped establish the World Union for Progressive Judaism in 1926 and served as its first chairman from 1926 until his death. He was chairman of the Society of Jews and Christians. He compiled and edited the Liberal prayer book, first in three volumes in 1923–26 and in a revised edition in 1937.

He is the author of several books: *What Are the Jews* (1939); *The Essentials of Liberal Judaism* (1947); *Jewish Ethics* (1953); and *The Thought of the Prophets* (1953). His last two works were written after a long illness that afflicted his body, but left his mind as clear and lucid as ever.

He also edited *Aspects of Progressive Jewish Thought* (1955), which was dedicated in honor of Leo Baeck's 80th birthday. It was published posthumously.

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[Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

MA'TUK, SULAYMAN BEN DAVID (18th century), *paytan* and astronomer who lived in Baghdad. Ma'tuk was a descendant of R. Ma'tuk, the *nasi* of the Jewish community of 'Ana. The latter fled to Baghdad with his family in the first quarter of the 17th century, under the threats of the tyrannical governor who had persecuted the community. Of Sulayman's *piyyutim*, 16 are known, and about half of them were included in books published in Baghdad and India; they are still familiar to Iraqi Jews. During the lifetime of his grandson R. Judah b. Jacob, the family name was changed to Yehuda. The family's descendants include two modern scholars, the brothers R. Isaac Yahuda and Prof. Abraham Shalom *Yahuda.

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[Abraham Ben-Yaacob]

MATZ, ISRAEL (1869–1950), U.S. manufacturer, philanthropist, and patron of Hebrew literature and scholarship. Matz, who was born in Kalvarija, Russian Poland, immigrated to America in 1890. He became an accountant, later entering the drug business. In 1906 he founded the Ex-Lax Company and served as its president. Long an admirer of Hebrew authors, Matz aided Eliezer *Ben-Yehuda in the publication of his Hebrew-language thesaurus. From 1922 to 1925 he was publisher of the Hebrew monthly *Ha-Toren*, edited by Reuben *Brainin. Matz was also a founding patron and honorary chairman of the Hebrew monthly *Bitzaron*. He established the Israel Matz Foundation in 1925 for the support of Hebrew authors. A pioneer Zionist, in 1928 he founded a company in Palestine called Gan Ḥayyim for the development of an orange plantation. Matz also contributed to various schools of higher learning.

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[Jacob Kabakoff]

MATZAH (*maẓẓah*; **matzo**; Heb. מַצָּה), unleavened bread made from one of five species of grain – wheat, barley, spelt, rye, and oats – mentioned in the Torah, and the only bread which is permitted for use during *Passover. *Matzah* (pl. *matzot*) is the object of a specific commandment calling for *matzah* to be eaten on Passover because the children of Israel "baked the *matzot* of the dough which they had brought forth out of Egypt, for it was not leavened; because they were thrust out of Egypt and could not tarry" (Ex. 12:39) – the speed with which *matzot* are prepared identifies it with the bread made in the Bible, when there was no time to prepare ordinary bread (cf. Gen. 18:6; 19:3). To fulfill the biblical precept on the first night of Passover, the *matzah* must be made from "guarded" grain, and must be processed with the intent – *kavvanah* – of fulfilling the commandment. Only grains capable of fermentation are valid for the manufacture of *matzah*, and such grains are therefore limited to the five species. In practice, however, only wheat has been used historically.

Ashkenazi *matzah* is a hard thin wafer, while Sephardim make softer, thicker *matzot* by using a much more watered batter. This soft *matzah* does not have a long shelf life, which necessitates baking and freezing it shortly before Passover, and indeed, before the advent of freezers, Sephardim baked *matzah* daily during the holiday.

Matzah is referred to as *leḥem oni*, "the bread of affliction" (Deut. 16:3). On this basis the *Karaites, who interpreted the Bible literally, make *matzah* only from barley, which was used to make the poor man's bread. The same phrase is used in the talmudic discussion of whether *matzah* made from flour mixed with wine, oil, honey, or eggs instead of water may be used on Passover. Although it is not regarded as fermenting if there is no admixture of water, *matzah* made from any such ingredient is forbidden on the first night since it constitutes "*matzah ashirah*," the "*matzah* of opulence," in contrast to the "bread of affliction" (Pes. 36a). Generally, *matzah ashirah* was permitted only for the sick or the aged (OḤ 462). Rashi, and subsequent Ashkenazi decisors (*posekim*), give credence to the concern that liquids other than water increase the rate of fermentation, and therefore prohibit healthy people from using egg *matzah*, i.e., *matzah ashirah*, for all of Passover. In recent years, people with celiac – an intestinal disorder with a dangerous reaction to the gluten in wheat – have been able to fulfill the *mitzvah* with oat *matzah* made from a specific non-gluten strain of oats. Spelt *matzah* is also commercially available for people with medical needs.

The Duty of Eating *Matzah*

Whereas the prohibition against eating *ḥameẓ* or having it in one's possession applies to the whole of Passover, the positive commandment of eating *matzah* generally applies only to the first night (in the Diaspora the first two nights). According to R. *Elijah of Vilna, one fulfills a commandment to eat *matzah* on the other days of Passover as well. In Temple times, this duty was based on the verse "with *matzah* and bitter herbs shall they eat it," i.e., the Paschal lamb, and is also based on the verse "In the evening ye shall eat *matzot*" (Ex. 12:18). In many circles, only "*matzah mitzvah*," i.e., *matzot* baked on Passover eve, is used at the *seder*. This is reminiscent of the Passover sacrifice, which in Temple times was offered on Passover eve and eaten at the *seder*. There is also the widespread custom of eating only "*matzah shemurah*" on the night of the *seder*, although some, as a special act of piety, eat it throughout the festival.

One must abstain from eating *matzah* on the eve of Passover beginning with sunrise on the 14th of Nisan, but a longtime ḥasidic custom was also adopted to abstain beginning at Purim a month before, while others refrain for two weeks starting with Rosh Ḥodesh Nisan.

The Flour

The manifold precautions which must be taken at the various stages of the *matzah*'s production are designed to prevent any fermentation whatsoever of the flour. The flour suitable for the baking of *matzah* can be divided into three categories of decreasing stringency:

(1) "guarded flour," which is closely supervised from the time the wheat is harvested and is used for the preparation of *matzah shemurah*;

(2) "Passover flour," where supervision to prevent fermentation begins with the milling of the wheat;

(3) "ordinary flour," which does not have supervision until the point of being mixed and is used to make "ordinary," or machine, *matzah*.

The Preparation

Under normal conditions of climate and temperature, flour mixed with water begins to ferment in approximately 18 minutes. Should the water be above room temperature, however, the process is accelerated, but it can be delayed by the continual manipulation of the dough. In order to prevent water from becoming too warm, only "*mayim she-lanu*" – "water which has rested" (Pes. 42a) – i.e., water which has been left in a vessel overnight to reach room temperature – is used in the baking of *matzah*, and thereafter the mixture of flour and water is constantly manipulated until it is ready for baking. Care must be taken that the whole process from kneading to final baking does not exceed the 18 minutes. No ingredients other than flour and water are permitted for Passover *matzah*. Although it is accepted by most decisors that salt is not a fermenting agent, its use in *matzot* is forbidden in order to prevent fermentation (Sh. Ar., OḤ 455:5). Some Yemenites, however, do have the custom of baking their Passover *matzah* using salt.

Over decades, special equipment was developed for the baking of hand-made *matzah*, which can be found almost universally throughout the Jewish world. Immediately after the flour is first mixed with water, the relatively dry batter is kneaded using a specially designed smasher, in which the batter is placed on a flat surface and a hinged bar is used to pummel the dough. The dough is then flattened by using rollers made only of solid pieces of wood or metal without crevices, to prevent the possibility of pieces of dough getting wedged and becoming *ḥameẓ*. Perforation of the dough, after being rolled into shape and before baking, enables air bubbles to escape, and prevents the dough from rising and swelling during baking. The holes are made by rolling a small wheel with sharp teeth attached to a handle, known as a "reddler," back and forth across the dough.

Machine-made *Matzah*

The industrial revolution combined with a growing urban population across Europe resulted in the amounts of traditional hand-made *matzah* produced being insufficient to provide enough *matzot* for everyone in need. The result was the introduction in 1838 of the first primitive machine that rolled *matzah*. Twenty years later, a bitter halakhic debate ensued over its permissibility, owing to the fear that the machine process might cause fermentation, and also whether a machine was able to fulfill the requirement of *matzah* being made with the proper intent. The dispute continued for more than half a century, until the machines improved technically and the rabbinic authorities began to accept those superior machines. Today the tons of world *matzah* – over $100 million in sales – are produced primarily by two major companies in the U.S.: Manischewitz, which built the first *matzah* factory in the United States, and Streit's, as well as a dozen factories in Israel.

A major shortage of *matzah* for the Jews of Russia occurred in 1917 with the collapse of czarist rule and the takeover by the Communists, and again beginning in 1929, with the collectivization of farms by Stalin. The crisis became so severe that world Jewry was called upon to help provide the Passover needs of the Jews of Russia. During the two world wars, the widespread mobilization of Jewish soldiers created an additional need for *matzah* distribution never before experienced in modern Jewish history. Organizations such as the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee and the Jewish Welfare Board provided *matzot* for them and for needy Jews around the globe.

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[Ari Greenspan, Ari Z. Zivotofsky, and Elli Wohlgelernter (2nd ed.)]

MATZENAUER, MARGARETE (1881–1963), contralto, later soprano, singer. Born in Temesvár (then Hungary), Matzenauer grew up in musical surroundings and began to study singing at an early age, first in Graz and later in Berlin. Her operatic debut was in Strasbourg (1901) and she remained there for three years; she then sang contralto roles at the Munich Court Opera, specializing in Wagnerian roles and also appearing at Bayreuth. From 1911 to 1930 she was a leading singer; both in soprano and contralto ranges, although after 1914 she called herself a soprano. Matzenauer was most famed for the grandeur and richness of her Wagnerian tones, but she also sang in other operas, notably by Verdi, Strauss, and Janacek. After her Carnegie Hall farewell in 1938, she retired to California, where she lived until her death.

[Max Loppert (2nd ed.)]

MAURITIUS, island in the Indian Ocean about 500 mi. E. of Madagascar, where Jewish refugees from Central Europe – passengers of the *Atlantic* – were put into detention during World War II after being forcibly deported from Palestine by the British as "illegal" immigrants (see *Patria). On their arrival in Mauritius (Dec. 26, 1940), they numbered 1,580 persons: 1,320 landed in Haifa on Aug. 26, 1945, after the ban on their return was rescinded; 128 died while in Mauritius; 212 men joined the Allied forces, 56 of whom entered the *Jewish Brigade. About 60 children were born after the original strict regulation on separation of the sexes in the camp was abolished. The detainees consisted of a Maccabi-He-Ḥalutz transport from Czechoslovakia, remnants of the Jewish community of Danzig, and a transport launched from Vienna. They were interned in the town of Beau Bassin, the men in a former prison, the women in adjacent huts of corrugated iron. They were not brutally treated, but were afflicted by tropical diseases, such as malaria, and by a lack of suitable clothing; food was often inadequate. Considerable moral and material assistance was given by Jewish organizations, particularly the South African Jewish Board of Deputies, the South African Zionist Federation, and the Jewish Agency. The detainees conducted manifold communal and cultural activities; they struggled for release and retransfer to Palestine through the

Zionist Association of Mauritius, to which about 70% of the detainees belonged. Their struggle was supported by official Jewish institutions which regarded the "Exile in Mauritius" as a political challenge and an infliction of needless suffering upon refugees from the Holocaust through the implementation of the anti-Jewish Palestine White Paper of May 1939. The ultimate liberation of the detainees was hailed as a moral and political success for the Zionist movement.

[Aharon Zwergbaum]

In 1946 the St. Martins Jewish Cemetery, where Jewish detainees who died on the island during the war are buried, was entrusted to the South African Jewish Board of Deputies. Since that date the SAJBD, in cooperation with local benefactors (both Jewish and non-Jewish) and in recent years in partnership with the African Jewish Congress, has overseen its maintenance, including an extensive restoration project in 2001. Towards the end of the 20th century, a steady trickle of Jews began settling in Mauritius. In 2004, there were an estimated 60 Jews living permanently there. These were primarily engaged in tourism (three leading hotels were under Jewish management), agriculture, and the diamond and burgeoning textile industries. Plans were afoot for the opening of a Jewish community center, incorporating a synagogue, in the first half of 2005.

[David Saks (2nd ed.)]

Relations with Israel

In 1960, while Mauritius was still a British colony, Israel, represented by a consul general, extended it technical aid particularly through scholarships for young Mauritians to study medicine in Jerusalem and technical assistance on the spot. Mauritius became independent in 1968 and joined the United Nations. An Israel delegation attended the celebration, and full diplomatic relations were established between the two countries, Israel's ambassador in Tananarive (Malagasy) serving as non-resident ambassador to Mauritius. Offers for new scholarships in Israel, as well as Israel assistance by experts in agriculture and other fields, were accepted by Mauritius. Mauritian professionals trained in Israel founded a Mauritius-Israel Friendship Society. Strong Indian influence in Mauritius, as well as Muslims of Pakistani origin who constitute 20% of its population, make themselves felt in Mauritius' attitude and policy toward Israel. The general attitude to Israel, however, is basically friendly, with the elder generation still remembering with sympathy the Jewish refugees from Europe exiled there in 1940, and the mutual relations between the countries remained fruitful.

[Zvi Loker]

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MAUROIS, ANDRÉ (originally **Emile Herzog**; 1885–1967), French biographer, novelist, and essayist. Born in Elbeuf, Maurois was descended from Alsatian industrialists who moved to Normandy after the Franco-Prussian War. Raised in a staunchly patriotic home, he experienced antisemitism as a student at the time of the *Dreyfus Affair and was influenced by the philosopher Alain (Emile Chartier). He spent ten years in his father's factory and his experiences there were later used in his fiction. A French liaison officer and interpreter with a Scots division during World War I, he published a light-hearted book about his British army comrades, *Les Silences du Colonel Bramble* (1918; Eng. tr., 1919) using his pseudonym, André Maurois, for the first time. He followed it with *Les discours du docteur O'Grady* (1922). Maurois earned a reputation as an acute interpreter of the English scene and as an outstanding biographer. During the 1920s and 1930s he published *Ariel, ou la vie de Shelley* (1923; Eng. tr., *Ariel*, 1924); *La vie de Disraeli* (1927; Eng. tr., 1927); *La vie de Lord Byron* (1930; Eng. tr., 1930), and historical works such as *Edouard VII et son temps* (1933; Eng. tr. 1933) and *Histoire de l'Angleterre* (1937; Eng. tr., 1937). In writing his biographies, Maurois combined documentation, erudition, and imagination, to unfold the psychological development of his subjects. His books in this genre include studies of Voltaire (1935), Chateaubriand (1938; Eng. tr., 1938), George Sand (1952; Eng. tr., 1953), and Hugo (*Olympio*, 1954). Two outstanding biographies were *A la recherche de Marcel Proust* (1949; *Proust, a biography*, 1950) and *Promethée, ou la vie de Balzac* (1965). Maurois also wrote short stories and several semiautobiographical novels, notably *Bernard Quesnay* (1926; Eng. tr., 1927); *Climats* (1928; *Whatever Gods May Be*, 1929; and *Le cercle de famille* (1932; *The Family Circle*, 1932). In the first of these he told the story of his refugee Alsatian family.

After the armistice of 1940, Maurois supported the Vichy regime, but then violently opposed Hitler and fled to the U.S., where he taught at Princeton until the end of the war. He claimed that the Jews of the Diaspora had to choose segregation, assimilation, or some difficult intermediate path. Himself a convinced assimilationist, he nevertheless remained interested in problems of Jewish identity, to which he referred in the first part of his *Mémoires* (1942; *I Remember, I Remember*, 1942). In later years he confessed to "a deep sadness" within himself and praised the intellectual enrichment which the Jews had brought to French literature. Maurois' other works include: *Aspects de la biographie* (1928; Eng. tr., 1929); *Magiciens et logiciens* (1935; *Prophets and Poets*, 1935); *Histoire des Etats-Unis* (2 vols., 1943–44; Eng. tr., 1948); and *Histoire de la France* (1947; Eng. tr., 1949); and the autobiographical works *Portrait d'un ami qui s'appelle moi* (1959) and *Mémoires 1885–1967* (1970). His collected works appeared in 16 volumes (1950–55). He was elected to the French Academy in 1938.

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[Sidney D. Braun]

°**MAURRAS, CHARLES** (1868–1952), French nationalist writer and antisemitic politician. In association with *Daudet, Maurras founded L'Action *française – both the newspaper and the movement by that name. His call for a return to the traditional values of "*la vieille France*" and his extreme political attitudes are reflected in all his books, especially *Quand les Français ne s'aimaient pas* (1916), *Mes idées politiques* (1937), and *La contre-révolution spontanée* (1943). Maurras' love of monarchy, hierarchy, and the rural virtues was paralleled by his hatred of the republic, democratic institutions, and the "*métèques*" (a word he coined himself), i.e., recently naturalized foreigners, and above all the Jews. He believed that the Jews – together with their allies the Freemasons, the Protestants, and the *métœques* – sought to control the entire political life of France. The *Dreyfus Affair (which obsessed him for the rest of his life) was for him the supreme example of Jewish dominance. Nevertheless, his passion for the French nation did not prevent Maurras from welcoming Hitler as a savior from democracy and the Jews, and he hailed the German invasion of France in 1940 as the "divine surprise." When the Jews in occupied France were forced in May 1942 to wear the Jewish badge, Maurras regarded it as a suitable opportunity to rid France, too, of the "Jewish scourge." For his subsequent collaboration with the Germans, Maurras was condemned in January 1945 to life imprisonment.

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MAUSS, MARCEL (1872–1950), French ethnologist, sociologist, historian of religion, and polyhistorian. Born at Epinal, Mauss was a nephew of Emile *Durkheim, who guided his education and greatly influenced him. His early interests were mainly philosophy and the history of religion. He taught the latter subject throughout his life, but enriched the entire domain of social science and contributed to the growth of the French school of anthropology. Mauss was professor of the history of religions of noncivilized peoples at the Ecole des Hautes Etudes in Paris and also taught at the Collège de France. In 1925 he helped to found the ethnological institute of Paris University, of which he became joint director. He worked with his uncle in both practical and theoretical studies, carrying forward some of Durkheim's basic ideas such as the total social fact, collective representations, and the correspondence of morphological social structure with moral, legal, and symbolic facts. He was one of the team of young scholars assembled by Durkheim for his journal *L'Année sociologique* (1898–1913), and directed its section on religion. He revived the journal after World War I. Of Mauss's works on anthropology, the best known outside France is *Essai sur le Don* (1926; *The Gift*, 1954), an elaborate study of the relation between exchange patterns and social structure. Mauss was active in French political life participating in the support of *Dreyfus, and in the socialist and cooperative movements. He never recovered from the mental breakdown caused by the brutalities of the German occupation, though he published two more works before his death.

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[Ephraim Fischoff]

MAUTHAUSEN, Nazi concentration camp in Austria, 12½ mi. (20 km.) S.E. of Linz, established in April 1938 shortly after the annexation in March of Austria to the Third Reich. The *SS employed its prisoners in the local granite quarry called "Wienergraben," that was incorporated into the camp. Initially, Mauthausen served as a concentration camp for Austrian anti-Nazis. The first commandant was Albert Sauer. Its commander from February 1939 to May 1945 was Franz Ziereis about whom it was stated that "he gave his son 50 Jews for target practice as a birthday present" (see Presser, p. 54). Starting as a satellite of *Dachau, Mauthausen became an independent camp in the spring of 1939, and expanded continually, with several satellites of its own throughout Austria (Gusen, Ebensee, and others) by the end of the war. After the outbreak of World War II Mauthausen became a camp for anti-Nazis from all over occupied Europe and in 1940 was graded category III, the harshest category of concentration camps (Dachau was in category I). Mauthausen received the so-called "protective custody" prisoners whose "return was not desired" (RU = *Rueckkehr unerwuenscht*; see *Camps, Concentration and Extermination). Himmler specially ordered the death of a prisoner in Mauthausen to be communicated to his family only after incineration. The camp had the highest death rate for those in "protective custody" of all the concentration camps. Mauthausen was used for political prisoners. Of over 10,000 Spanish Republicans who were interned there early in 1941, handed over by the Vichy regime, only 1,500 were still alive after one year.

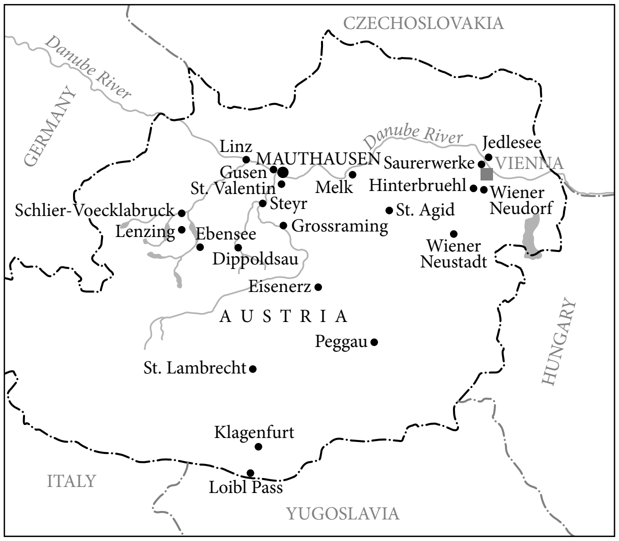

Mauthausen and its satellite camps. Based on H. Marsalek and J. Kohl, Wegweiser durch das ehemalige Konzentrationslager Mauthausen *(1960).*

Work conditions were intolerable; the prisoners had to carry heavy stones up the 186 steps of the "Wienergraben." It was called Death's Way. In November 1941 Russian prisoners of war began arriving, destined for immediate death through overwork and starvation. Though able bodied and trained for military combat, they did not engage in an uprising until February 1945; their revolt was unsuccessful and many were killed. The camp authorities used a special measuring installation to shoot their victims in the nape of the neck. Prisoners were also killed by phenol injections or gassed at the euthanasia installation at Hartheim until a gas chamber was constructed in one of Mauthausen's three sections. From the beginning of 1942 prominent citizens from occupied territories arrested under the "night and fog decree" were brought there. Recaptured prisoners of war were executed under the "bullet decree" (*Kugel-Erlass*). When prisoners of other camps were caught for clandestine activities, those not immediately executed were sent to Mauthausen for punishment. Following *Heydrich's death, hundreds of Czech prisoners were killed.

In May 1941 about 400 Jewish "hostages" from *Amsterdam arrived via *Buchenwald; they were all killed within three days in the forced-labor quarry which also served as a site for execution. There were another two shipments of Jews from Holland to Mauthausen (end of 1941 and 1942) who were killed after a short time in the camp. Up to 1944 Jews were never allowed to live for more than three days. When in early 1945 the camps in the East were evacuated, thousands of prisoners from *Auschwitz, including Jews, were brought to Mauthausen; thousands of Hungarian Jews who had slaved building fortifications at the so-called "Southeast Rampart" were also brought to camp. The name of Mauthausen was particularly feared by Holland's Jews, and the Germans took advantage of this fear to suppress resistance to their measures against the Jews. Jews in Mauthausen were singled out for especially cruel treatment compared to that given non-Jews (see *Anklageschrift in der Strafsache gegen Fritz Woehrn et al.* (1968), 98–102, 228–35). Shortly before the capitulation it was planned to murder all Mauthausen prisoners in a subterranean aircraft-construction hangar in Gusen, but the plan was not carried out. Mauthausen was liberated by U.S. troops in May 1945. In the main camp the prisoners had rebelled. Ziereis hid in the camp but was shot by a U.S. patrol several days later when he tried to escape. According to camp records – and they may be an understatement – 199,404 were interned at Mauthausen; 119,000 died. Of those who died, as often due to work conditions and lack of food as to the gas chambers or killing fields, 38,120 were Jews.

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[Yehuda Reshef]

MAUTHNER, FRITZ (1849–1923), German journalist, author and philosopher. Mauthner, who was born in Horice, Bohemia, came of an assimilated family and remained estranged from Judaism. His *Erinnerungen* (1918) provides a fascinating account of his early upbringing in Prague, portraying also the situation of Jews between three cultures and languages – German, Czech, and Jewish – within the national conflict in Bohemia. After law studies at Prague he settled in Berlin, where he became editor of the *Magazin fuer Literatur* and wrote reviews for the *Berliner Tageblatt*, which he directed from 1895. A naturalistic writer and a socialist, he was a co-founder of the *Freie Buehne*, but later turned to writing historical fiction and philosophical works. Mauthner first attracted attention with *Nach beruehmten Mustern*, witty parodies of 22 of his contemporaries including Berthold *Auerbach, Gustav Freytag, Paul *Heyse, and Richard Wagner, which he wrote for the *Deutsches Monatsblatt* from 1879, before they were published as a book in 1897. This was followed by many novels, novellas, satirical sketches, and fairy tales. One of these is the novel *Der neue Ahasver. Roman aus Jung-Berlin* (1882), in which he showed how assimilation was rejected by antisemitism. While he was successful as a satirical journalist, and much less so as a novelist, he was highly regarded – and remained so – for his philosophical works, which had a great influence on modern philosophy (e.g., Ludwig *Wittgenstein) and literature (e.g., Hugo von *Hofmansthal). His main work were the *Beitraege zu einer Kritik der Sprache* (3 vols., 1901–2), on which he worked from 1893. Following Friedrich Nietzsche as well as Ernst Mach and arguing that thinking never allows access to reality but is always mediated by language, he dealt with the psychology and science of language, and with the role of grammar and logic. In his *Woerterbuch der Philosophie, neue Beitraege zu einer Kritik der Sprache* (2 vols., 1910) he expanded his work on philosophical ideas; here he subjected more than 200 philosophical concepts to critical examination. A militant agnostic, Mauthner was denied academic appointments because of his anti-religious stand and political views. He radicalized his skepticism in his last literary work, *Der letzte Tod des Gautama Buddha* (1912), preaching an areligious, skeptical mysticism without God, as well as in his last and encyclopedic, philosophical work, *Der Atheismus und seine Geschichte im Abendlande* (4 vols. 1920–23), where he claimed that all dogmas – religious or scientific – were mere human inventions and that their origin, efflorescence, and decline had their basis in history. Mauthner then sought to show how the West had begun to shake off the once dominant concept of God. His work was thus intended to trace the disintegration of this concept, an "anthropomorphic illusion" that had held peoples spellbound for several millennia. From 1911 until his death he lived in Meersburg at Lake Constance, where he also edited the *Bibliothek der Philosophen*.

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[Sol Liptzin / Andreas Kilcher (2nd ed.)]

MAUTNER, KONRAD (1880–1924), Austrian folk song collector, publisher of important primary sources on folk song and music, folk art and costume, and industrialist whose family was of Bohemian origin. In 1893, his father Isidor founded the largest textile business of the monarchy. Konrad Mautner studied in Vienna with private teachers and in Schotten high school. In 1902 he left for a year in the U.S., where he worked for his father's textile concern. In 1909 he married Anna Neumann, his cousin, whose family comprised large-scale silk manufacturers. She was, like her husband, talented and interested in art. With the advent of the Nazis the family had to leave Austria. From his childhood, Mautner used to spend his vacations with his parents in Goessl on Grundsee, where he practically grew up together with local inhabitants. In 1910 he prepared for publication a collection of the "Steyerische Rasplwerk," folk songs, as a documentation of his happy childhood and youth years in that region. Verlag Staehelin and Lauenstein, publisher of limited editions, produced this material in a luxury edition of 400 copies. The volume included old songs and street verses that Mautner heard and sang in Gössl and which he transcribed and illustrated by hand drawings. This volume was the first Austrian musical village monograph, which because of its naiveté transmitted the picture as a whole. Since it was based on personal memory, it was held at that time to be of no importance, because of the doubt as to whether the songs were authentic according to the criteria of folk song research of that time. Today, however, its significance is realized. Later, Mautner was in close contact with the professional world, and published one more volume from Salzkammergut, a town in the Austrian province Steiermark, as well as numerous journal articles. In 1914, the Musical Historical Center of the War Ministry used him (together with other professional people) for collecting soldiers' songs. He worked together with Viktor von Geramb on the book of native costumes in Steiermark (*Steirische Trachtenbuch*) that was published only after his death. Mautner's articles in the field of folk song research are characterized by precise observation of the subject and artistic intuition as well as by early use of technical facilities (phonograph, etc.).

[Gerlinde Haid (2nd ed.)]

MAWZAʿ, a town situated in the Tihāma in west *Yemen about 97 km southwest of Taiz, in an inhabited area of land which the streams of rainwater provide with sweet water. Consequently, the land is quite fertile. The town is one of the oldest ports in Yemen, connecting the country with Africa and the Indian Ocean. The temperature and humidity there are very high. The town is famous for its tombs and domes. It was connected with a crucial event in the history of the Jews of Yemen in 1679, which remained in the historical memory of the Jews of Yemen as *Galut Mawzaʿ* (The Expulsion of Mawzaʿ), when apparently all of them were expelled to the salty and barren stretch of land off the town, notorious for its harsh, hot climate. The expulsion, ordered by Imam Aḥmad ibn Ḥasan (1676–1681), was the culmination of a series of anti-Jewish measures responding to the Jewish messianic movement in Yemen in 1666/7 among the followers of *Shabbetai Zevi. After a long and comprehensive debate by the Muslim scholars of both religious schools, the Zaydi and the Shāfiʿi, Imam Ismāʿīl (1646–1676) confirmed their ruling that by the fact that a group of Jews in Yemen had taken some practical steps to materialize the Jewish vision of messianic redemption, the whole community had violated the agreement of ***dhimma*** with the Muslim kingdom. The full meaning of that ruling was that they were no longer entitled to government protection and that no Jews were permitted to live there anymore. Imam Ismāʿīl decided then to expel all the Jews from his country but left the practical implementation to his heir Imam Aḥmad. Immediately after this the new imam ordered the destruction of all synagogues and prohibited public prayer by Jews. As the Jews rejected the offer to convert and to live in Yemen as Muslims, Imam Aḥmad commanded in 1679 that all Jews leave their places and be sent by boat to the Muslim Moghul kingdom in India. But for some reason, probably practical difficulties, this plan could not be carried out and the Jews stayed for more than one year near Mawzaʿ. This event was the worst calamity that befell the Jews of Yemen in their long history. The houses that the Jews had left behind were destroyed or sold cheaply, and all their valuables were either lost or stolen. Many died en route, and those who reached Mawzaʿ suffered from disease and starvation; as many as two-thirds of the exiles did not survive. The Jews also lost many of their ancient traditions as they could not carry with them most of their old manuscript writings nor their communal books and archives. The event was well documented in both Muslim sources as well as in Jewish ones, especially in the poems of R. Shalem *Shabazi, Yemenite Jewry's greatest poet who went into exile with his coreligionists. The expulsion deprived Yemen of all its Jewish artisans, and the Muslim population soon came to realize that they could not do without them. Step by step the Jews started to return to their places, but were forced to build new neighborhoods outside the town walls. The district governors petitioned the central authorities in *Sanʿa to bring the Jews back, and a year after their expulsion the Imam permitted their return. During the aftermath of the expulsion the Jewish communities sank into a deep social, economic and spiritual crisis (many hundreds converted to *Islam), from which they recovered only after many years.

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[Yehuda Ratzaby / Yosef Tobi (2nd ed.)]

°**MAXIMILIAN I** (1459–1519), king of Germany from 1486 and Holy Roman emperor from 1493. His Jewish policy, like that of his father, *Frederick III, was erratic and motivated by financial considerations. In 1496 he expelled the Jews from *Carinthia and *Styria, after the estates there had undertaken to reimburse him for the loss of Jewish taxes, but he permitted them to settle in *Burgenland. He forbade Jews to live in *Vienna, with the exception of his agent Hirschel of Zistersdorf, with whom he "had to have patience" because he was so much in his debt. In 1509 he gave power to Johannes *Pfefferkorn to confiscate Jewish books and to destroy those which were offensive to Christianity. Reversing this decree in 1510, he ordered expert opinions to be asked from the universities as well as from Johannes *Reuchlin, Victor von *Carben, and Jacob van *Hoogstraaten. After banning Reuchlin's *Augenspiegel* in 1512, a year later he ordered both sides to keep silent. He issued a decree forbidding rabbis to apply the **ḥerem* (ban) against those appealing to gentile courts. Under his rule, *Joseph (Joselmann) b. Gershom of Rosheim became the *shtadlan* of German Jewry, and in Moravia the first **Landrabbiner* was appointed.

MAXIMILIAN II (1527–1576), from 1564 ruler of the Hapsburg dominions and Holy Roman emperor, successor to *Ferdinand I. His policy toward the Jews was generally lenient, though he suspected them of supporting the Turks. In 1567 he reaffirmed the charters of Bohemian Jewry, promising to maintain their rights to practice trades they had previously engaged in, and issued decrees against usury. Foreign Jews were forbidden to trade in his dominions without explicit license. Against the will of the local ruler, in 1570 he permitted the Jews free passage through the duchy of *Brunswick (Braunschweig), and asked the *Worms municipality not to harass its Jews because their rights were long standing. While permitting seven families to settle in Vienna in 1571, a year later he decided to concentrate them in one building in the center of the city for easier surveillance, then expelled them in the same year. Maximilian was the first to grant a Jewish craftsman, a diamond cutter from *Breslau (Wroclaw), a permit to pursue his craft. The baptized Jew, Paul Rizius (Ricci, d. 1542), was his court physician.

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[Meir Lamed]

MAXIMON (Maximowski), SHALOM DOV BER (1881–1933), essayist and educator. Maximon, who was born in Skvira, left Russia at the age of 21 and traveled to Galicia, Switzerland, France, and England. In London he met Aḥad Ha-Am who exerted a permanent influence on his writings. He was also befriended by Brenner who published his first article in *Ha-Me'orer*. In New York, he was employed by the Bureau of Jewish Education and edited a paper for children, *The Jewish Child*. He was also one of the founders and editors of the monthly *Ha-Toren* in 1913 and edited the pedagogical journal *Shevil ha-Ḥinnukh* for two years (1927–29). He was a member of the faculty of Hebrew Union College School for Teachers in New York and in 1930 was appointed registrar of Hebrew Union College in Cincinnati, Ohio. Maximon contributed articles to Hebrew periodicals in Europe and Palestine. Most of his articles were collected in his book *Gevilim* ("Rolls of Parchment," 1925).

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[Eisig Silberschlag]

°**MAXIMUS, MAGNUS CLEMENS** (**Maximus the Usurper**; d. 388 C.E.), Roman emperor 383–388. A native of Spain, Maximus was proclaimed emperor by the army in Britain in 383. To secure his position Maximus invaded Gaul and occupied it, defeating the western emperor Gratian. In a treaty negotiated with the eastern emperor Theodosius, Maximus received recognition of his conquests in return for an assurance that he would honor the sovereignty of Valentinian II (Gratian's brother) in Italy, Western Illyricum, and Africa. He violated his promise and he invaded Italy in 388. Theodosius together with the Franks, Goths, Alanis, and Huns took up arms against him, and within two months Maximus was deserted by his troops and forced to take refuge in Aquileia. He subsequently capitulated and was executed in August 388.

The relationship between Maximus and the Jews is difficult to establish because of the paucity of sources available. The only substantial document of relevance is a letter sent by St. Ambrose to the emperor Theodosius In December of 388. In it, St. Ambrose admonishes Theodosius for his punishment of those involved in the burning of a synagogue in the East. He argues that the imperial punishment imposed upon those involved in the crime should be rescinded, and that the local bishop who instigated the affair should not be held financially responsible for the renovation of the synagogue. St. Ambrose reminds Theodosius of the many offenses committed against Christians by the "scheming Jews," and goes on to suggest that penalties for civic offenses should be viewed differently when there are religious considerations. He further asks the question: "Shall a place be provided out of the spoils of the Church for the disbelief of the Jews?"

To illustrate his point Ambrose utilized the recent example of Maximus. According to Ambrose, Maximus condemned the burning of a synagogue in Rome on the basis that it was a breach of public order. Ambrose records the hostile reaction of the Roman people to this course of action, their charges that Maximus had converted to Judaism, and their grim prophecies of Maximus' downfall. Ambrose clearly hoped that Theodosius would profit from the mistake of his former adversary, and adopt a more lenient attitude toward those involved in Jewish persecutions.

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[John M. O'Brien]

MAXWELL, ROBERT (1923–1991), British publisher. Maxwell was born Jan Ludvik Hoch, son of a poor Jewish farm laborer, in Solotvino in the Carpathians, then part of Czechoslovakia. Although his family was Orthodox , he appears to have abandoned Judaism at about the time he left his native village and traveled to Budapest. Maxwell later stated, "I ceased to be a practicing Jew just before the war… I certainly do consider myself a Jew. I was born Jewish and I shall die Jewish." After the German occupation of Czechoslovakia in March 1939, Maxwell made his way to Hungary where he was arrested at the end of the year. He escaped and made his way to southern France where he joined members of the free Czech forces with whom he was transported to Britain in 1940. After a spell in the Czech Legion and the British Pioneer Corps, he joined the North Staffordshire Regiment in 1943 and served with distinction during the campaign in Northern Europe. He was decorated with the Military Cross in 1945 and had risen from the rank of corporal to captain by the end of the war. He served with the Allied Control Commission in the British Zone of Occupation in Germany in the department of Public Relations and Information Services Control. At this time he also engaged in commercial activities and following his demobilization in 1947 he entered business, specializing in import and export between Britain and Eastern Europe where he established extensive connections. He first entered publishing by way of an agreement to distribute German scientific periodicals in 1947. Two years later he acquired Pergamon Press, although he lost control of the company for a time in the early 1970s when his business activities were subjected to a critical report by the Department of Trade and Industry. In 1981 he bought the British Printing and Communication Corporation, of which he was chairman, and in 1984 acquired Mirror Group Newspapers (MGN). As chairman of MGN he became the publisher of several mass-circulation titles. Pergamon Press was the world's largest distributor of scientific periodicals. Between 1964 and 1970, Robert Maxwell was Labour Member of Parliament for Buckinghamshire. By the 1980s, Maxwell had acquired a major international business empire, which included *The Daily Mirror* and *The People* newspapers in Britain, the *New York Daily News*, and the famous publisher Macmillan, as well as a range of firms in Europe. In 1990, Philip Beresford's *Book of the British Rich*, the predecessor to the *Sunday Times*' "rich lists," claimed that Maxwell was then Britain's tenth richest man, worth an estimated £1.1 billion. He was active in various philanthropic causes and was chairman of the National AIDS Trust. In 1986 he was involved in the financing of the Commonwealth Games in Edinburgh and had an interest in several football clubs, notably Oxford United and Derby County. Most of his own family perished in the Holocaust and in 1988, he provided £1 million to fund the major international conference on the Holocaust, "Remembering for the Future," which took place in London and Oxford. Maxwell had business interests in Israel – Pergamon Media purchased a 45% stake in Modi'in Publishing House which owned the Israeli daily newspaper *Ma'ariv* – and invested in Scitex, Keter Publishing House, and Teva Pharmaceutical Industries Ltd.

Maxwell's downfall apparently came through unwise expansions and, unusually for a successful tycoon, overly generous payments for the acquisition of new assets, together with a secretive operating style in which no one but Maxwell himself understood the complexities of his business empire. Components of his business empire ran into difficulty in the business downturn of the late 1980s, and he was accused of raiding the assets of others to support them, including the MGN's pension fund. By the second half of 1991 the British Fraud Squad had compiled a lengthy dossier on Maxwell, and rumors of his true position increasingly surfaced in the press. On 5 November 1991 Maxwell disappeared from his yacht near the Canary Islands. His death caused a worldwide sensation. It has never been ascertained whether his death was caused by suicide, accident, or murder, and many conspiracy theories later came to the fore, especially those in which various intelligence agencies (including the Israeli Mossad) were responsible for his death. At his death, his debts totaled at least £400 million, with some estimates putting his total debt as high as £2.2 billion.

Like many self-made tycoons, Maxwell was widely regarded in a negative light. Consequently, his very notable record of charity and the scale of the business empire he briefly organized have largely been forgotten.

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[David Cesarani. / William D. Rubinstein (2nd ed.)]

MAXY, MAX HERMAN (1895–1971), Romanian artist, and director of the Art Museum of the Socialist Romanian Republic. Maxy was born in Brăila, educated at a Jewish school and studied at the school of Belle Arté. He completed his studies in Berlin and in 1925 exhibited with the "November Group." In the 1930s he exhibited in Rome, Paris, the Hague, and Brussels. He designed sets and costumes at the company of Vilna for *The Night in the Old Market* of *Peretz and *Shabbetai Ẓevi*.

MAY, ELAINE (1932–), U.S. screenwriter, director, and actress. Born Elaine Berlin in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, to Yiddish theatrical actor Jack and actress Jeannie Berlin, May began acting on stage as a child in the Yiddish theater run by her father. She married Marvin May in May 1949; the couple had one daughter together, Jeannie Berlin, before divorcing. May studied at the University of Chicago and Playwrights Theater in 1950. She then joined the Compass Players in 1953 and began working with fellow member Mike *Nichols in 1955. Along with Alan *Arkin, Barabara Harris, and Paul Sills, Nichols and May went on to found the improvisational group the Second City. In 1957, the pair developed a nightclub act based on sophisticated parodies of popular culture and mock interviews. Nichols and May spent the next few years appearing in cabaret shows, on television programs, and on Broadway with their show *An Evening with Mike Nichols and Elaine May* (1960). The pair produced several albums together, even winning a Grammy in 1961, the same year they amicably brought their partnership to an end. In 1967, May appeared in the films *Bach to Bach*, *Enter Laughing*, and *Luv*. May honed her playwriting through the 1960s, and in 1969 produced her one-act play *Adaptation*. Her first credited screenplay was *A New Leaf* (1971), which she costarred in and directed. In 1972, May directed Neil Simon's *The Heartbreak Kid* (1972). When May came in over budget and past deadline on a film she wrote and directed, *Mikey and Nicky* (1976), Paramount tried to remove her from the project. Her next screenplay, *Heaven Can Wait* (1978), an update of *Here Comes Mr. Jordan* (1941), was cowritten with its star Warren Beatty. While the film received mixed reviews, it did well at the box office and received an Academy Award nomination. But May won the Oscar that year as best supporting actress in *California Suite* (1978). While uncredited, May helped rewrite *Reds* (1981) and *Tootsie* (1982). May and Beatty reunited for *Ishtar* (1987), a project so marred by cost overruns that it became one of the largest financial failures in motion picture history. May wrote the screenplay for *The Birdcage* (1996), an adaptation of *La Cage aux Folles* directed by Nichols, and the pair teamed up again for *Primary Colors* (1998), which earned May another Oscar nomination. In 2000, she appeared in the Woody Allen film *Small Time Crooks*.

[Adam Wills (2nd ed.)]

MA'YAN BARUKH (Heb. מַעְיַן בָּרוּךְ), kibbutz on the Israel-Lebanese border near the Tannur waterfall, affiliated with Iḥud ha-Kevuẓot ve-ha-Kibbutzim. It was founded in 1947 by South African and Rhodesian World War II veterans, joined by Israel-born youth and immigrants from the United States, Great Britain, and other countries. Its founding at the time was regarded as an act of defiance against the British administration which imposed martial law on Tel Aviv and the Jewish sectors of Jerusalem. In the Israel *War of Independence (1948), the kibbutz resisted strong Syrian contingents who attempted to penetrate into the Ḥuleh Valley, and in the years preceding the *Six-Day War (1967) Ma'yan Barukh was repeatedly shelled by the nearby Syrian positions. Its economy was based on fruit orchards, irrigated field and garden crops, and dairy cattle. The kibbutz maintained a local museum. Its name, "Baruch's Spring," commemorates Baruch (Bernard) Gordon, a South African Zionist. In the mid-1990s, the population was approximately 360, dropping to 305 in 2002. The kibbutz operated a steel factory and ran its dairy farm in partnership with kibbutz *Loḥamei ha-Getta'ot. The kibbutz also operated guest rooms and water recreation facilities at the nearby Jordan River.

[Efram Orni / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

MA'YAN ẒEVI (Heb. מַעְיַן צְבִי), kibbutz in central Israel, on Mt. Carmel near Zikhron Ya'akov, affiliated with Iḥud ha-Kevuẓot ve-ha-Kibbutzim. It was founded in 1938, initially as a *stockade and watchtower settlement, by pioneers of Maccabi ha-Ẓa'ir youth from Germany, Austria, and Czechoslovakia. In 1969 Ma'yan Ẓevi had 540 inhabitants. In the mid-1990s the population was 612, dropping to 491 in 2002. The farm economy was based on avocado plantations, citrus groves, and field crops, carp ponds below on the Carmel Coast plain, and dairy cattle and poultry. The kibbutz also operated factories for optical equipment (Scopus, Meprolight, the latter specializing in military and security needs). The name, "Spring of Ẓevi," commemorates Ẓevi Henri Frank, a director of the *Jewish Colonization Association (ICA) in Palestine.

[Efram Orni / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

MAYBAUM, IGNAZ (1897–1976), Reform rabbi and theologian. Born in Vienna, Maybaum served as rabbi at Bingen (Rhineland), Frankfurt on the Oder, and Berlin. In 1939 he immigrated to England. From 1947 to 1963 he was minister of the Edgeware Reform Synagogue (London) and lecturer on theology and homiletics at the Leo Baeck College (established 1956). In addition to publications in his German period (*Parteibefreites Judentum*, 1935; *Neue Jugend und alter Glaube*, 1936) he wrote books in English including *Synagogue and Society* (1944); *Jewish Mission* (1951); *Sacrifice of Isaac* (Leo Baeck College Publication, no 1, 1959); *Jewish Existence* (1960); *The Faith of the Jewish Diaspora* (1962); and *The Face of God after Auschwitz* (1965). In his writings Maybaum considers the theological and religious problems presented by the Holocaust and the dual existence of the Jewish people in the Diaspora and its ancient homeland. He was a nephew of Sigmund *Maybaum.

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MAYBAUM, SIGMUND (1844–1919), rabbi and lecturer on homiletics. Born in Miskolc, Hungary, Maybaum studied at the yeshivot of Eisenstadt (under I. *Hildesheimer) and Pressburg (Bratislava) and at the university and rabbinical seminary of Breslau. He officiated as rabbi in Dolni-Kubin, Hungary (1870–73), and Zatec, Bohemia (1873–81). In 1881 he was called to Berlin, where from 1888 he also lectured on homiletics at the *Hochschule fuer die Wissenschaft des Judentums. In 1903 he was appointed professor. Active in the association of rabbis in Germany, in 1897 Maybaum was among those rabbis who protested against the idea of convening the Zionist Congress in Germany. His works include *Die Anthropomorphien und Anthropopathien bei Onkelos und den spaeteren Targumim* (1870), *Die Entwicklung des alt-israelitischen Priestertums* (1880), *Die Entwicklung des israelitischen Prophetentums* (1883), and *Juedische Homiletik* (1890). His important article on the life of Leopold *Zunz appeared in 1894 (in the 12th report of the Hochschule). Maybaum was an excellent preacher and his sermons were published in several volumes. A jubilee volume was published on the occasion of his 70th birthday.

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[Nahum N. Glatzer]

MAYER, ARNO JOSEPH (1926–), U.S. historian. Born in Luxembourg, Mayer fled the Hitler menace and found refuge in the U.S. (1940). He served in the U.S. Army in World War II, during which time he was assigned the duty of tending to Wernher von Braun after the German rocket scientist was taken into custody by the American forces. Following his military service, Mayer studied at the Geneva Institut des Hautes Études Internationales and received a Ph.D. in political science from Yale University. After teaching at Brandeis and Harvard, he was a professor of history at Princeton from 1961 to 1999. Upon his retirement, Mayer became professor emeritus of history at Princeton. His research was in the field of 20th-century diplomacy.

His major works include *Political Origins of the New Diplomacy, 1917–1918* (1959), which deals with the impact of the military stalemate; *Politics and Diplomacy of Peacemaking* (1967), a study of Wilson's war aims and the effect of Communism upon them; *Dynamics of Counterrevolution in Europe, 1870–1956* (1971); *The Persistence of the Old Regime: Europe to the Great War* (1981); *Why Did the Heaven Not Darken? The "Final Solution" in History* (1988); and *The Furies: Violence and Terror in the French and Russian Revolutions* (2000).

[Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

MAYER, DANIEL (1909–1996), French socialist politician. Born in Paris, Mayer was a journalist by profession, and wrote for the socialist newspaper *Le Populaire*. After the fall of France during World War II, he reorganized the Socialist Party, clandestinely editing the *Populaire*, and after the liberation became its general secretary. Mayer was a member of the Chamber of Deputies from 1946 to 1958 and from 1946 to 1949 held a number of ministerial offices – labor, public health, and veteran's affairs. He was also president of the parliamentary committee on foreign affairs. He left parliament in 1958 to devote himself to the League for Human Rights of which he was president. In July 1977 he was elected president of the World Federation of the Human Rights League. Mayer was an active figure in Jewish affairs as president of ORT. When French policy toward Israel took a hostile turn, Mayer emerged as a vigorous defender of the Israeli cause both as a speaker and writer. His publications include *Etapes yougoslaves: producteur citoyen, homme* (1962); *Pour une histoire de la gauche* (1966); and *Les Socialistes dans la Résistance* (1968).

[Shulamith Catane]

MAYER, GUSTAV (1871–1948), German historian. Born in Prenzlau (Brandenburg), Mayer studied economics in Berlin and Freiburg and later worked as a journalist. Because of his criticism at the end of World War I his academic career came to a standstill and only in 1920 did he become professor of history, democracy, and socialism at the University of Berlin. He wrote extensively on socialism and the history of the German labor movement. Gustav's unbiased writings contributed to the appreciation of the historical significance of *Lassalle, *Marx, and his friend Friedrich Engels, about whom Mayer wrote an important biography. Among his books were: *Johann Baptist von Schweitzer und die Sozialdemokratie* (1909); *Die Anfaenge des politischen Radikalismus im vormaerzlichen Preussen* (1912); *Der deutsche Marxismus und der Krieg* (1916); *Aus der Welt des Sozialismus* (1927); *Bismarck und Lasalle, ihr Briefwechsel und ihre Gespraeche* (1928); *Friedrich Engels, eine Biographie* (2 vols., 1933; Eng., 1936). When the Nazis came to power Mayer emigrated to Holland where in 1949 his *Erinnerungen – Vom Journalisten zum Historiker der deutschen Arbeiterbewegung* was published. He refused to go back to Germany after World War II because he felt that German-Jewish symbiosis had failed.

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[Bjoern Siegel (2nd ed.)]

MAYER, LEO ARY (1895–1959), Orientalist. Born in Stanislav (Austrian Poland), he settled in Palestine in 1921 and was successively inspector of antiquities and librarian and keeper of records for the Department of Antiquities. In 1925 he was appointed lecturer in the Institute of Oriental Studies of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. From 1932 to 1958 he was professor of Near Eastern art and archaeology there. He held numerous positions: head of the Institute of Oriental Studies; dean of the faculty of humanities; rector of the Hebrew University (1943–45); president of the Israel Exploration Society (1940–59); and president of the Israel Oriental Society. With E.L. Sukenik, he excavated the Third Wall of Jerusalem and with A. Reifenberg the Eshtemoa synagogue. Mayer specialized in Islamic art, costume, epigraphy, and numismatics. His published works include *Saracenic Heraldry* (1933), *Mamluk Costume* (1952), bibliographies of Jewish art and numismatics, and a comprehensive work on Muslim artists, *Islamic Architects and Their Works* (1956). A museum of Islamic art and culture in Jerusalem was named after him.

[Michael Avi-Yonah]

MAYER, LEOPOLD (1827–1903), U.S. community leader and businessman. Mayer, who was born in Abendheim, Germany, immigrated to the United States in 1850. Settling in Chicago, he engaged in private tutoring of Hebrew and German and became known as "Lehrer Mayer." Mayer exerted great influence on the development of the new Jewish community in Chicago, particularly in religious education and in the movement toward Reform Judaism. In 1851 he conducted the first bar mitzvah service at Kehillath Anshe Maarab (K.A.M. Congregation) and also was a founder of the Hebrew Benevolent Society. In the former, Mayer advocated reforms in worship, including the adoption of the "living language German" in the ritual and preaching, but was unsuccessful in this effort. In 1859 he joined eight others, including Bernard *Felsenthal, to form the Jewish Reform Society (Juedischer Reformverein), which in 1861 founded Sinai Congregation, the first Reform congregation in the city. Mayer actively espoused the Union cause in the Civil War, and, with several other Jews, raised $10,000 to outfit a Jewish company of 100 recruits who formed the Concordio Guard. Later he and his brother entered the banking business.

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[Morris A. Gutstein]

MAYER, LEVY (1858–1922), U.S. attorney. Mayer was born in Richmond, Virginia, and was brought up in Chicago. He graduated from Yale Law School, and in 1876 he became assistant librarian of the Chicago Law Institute, a position he held for six years. During this period he edited and revised the works of Judge David Rorer on interstate law, published as *American Interstate Law* (1879). Mayer became associated with the law firm Kraus, Mayer, and Stein, which he ultimately headed when it became Mayer, Meyer, Austrian and Platt. His major interest was corporation law, and he became one of the leading corporation lawyers in the country. He was a founder of many U.S. and international corporations and was identified with some celebrated law cases. Mayer served as a member of the State Council of Defense of Illinois during World War I. He was a member of the American Economic Association and the American Academy of Political Science. He was associated with the Zion Temple in Chicago and was secretary of the Zion Literary Society.

[Morris A. Gutstein]

MAYER, LOUIS BURT (1885–1957), U.S. motion picture executive. Born in Russia, he was taken to Canada at the age of two. In 1907 Mayer bought a burlesque theater in Haverhill, Massachusetts, began showing films there, and soon owned all the theaters in the city. Moving to Hollywood in 1918, he formed the Louis B. Mayer Pictures Corporation, which merged to form Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer in 1924, with Mayer as vice president in charge of production. His bold use of talent and his gift for understanding public taste made MGM enormously successful. He made *The Merry Widow* in 1925, and he turned the early Goldwyn production of *Ben Hur* (1927) into one of the greatest of silent pictures. A string of money-making successes included *The Good Earth* (1932), the *Andy Hardy* series, and *Treasure Island* (1950).

Mayer was a great exponent of the star system. In addition to "finding" Greta Garbo and Greer Garson, he helped to establish such stars as Norma Shearer, Lon Chaney, Joan Crawford, and Clark Gable. The powerful "L.B.," as he was called, liked films with children and presented such child stars as Jackie Cooper, Mickey Rooney, Peter Lawford, Judy Garland, and Elizabeth Taylor. He also knew how to find managerial talent. At MGM, where he remained a power until 1951, he had a series of brilliant production men, from Irving Thalberg to Dore Schary. For seven years he was the highest paid executive in the United States. From 1931 to 1936, he was president of the Association of Motion Picture Producers.

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[Harvey A. Cooper]

MAYER, RENÉ (1895–1972), French politician who was prime minister of France in 1953. Born in Paris, Mayer became a lawyer and fought in the French Army in World War I. In 1919 he was made an auditor in the Conseil d'Etat and was later given a senior post as Maître des Requêtes. He lectured at the Ecole Libre des Sciences Politiques from 1922 to 1932. He was vice president and secretary-general of the Chemins de Fer du Nord and from 1933 to 1940 was administrator of Air France, but in September 1940 was compelled by the Vichy government to give up these positions and shortly afterward he joined the Resistance. Mayer became a member of the French Committee for National Liberation in 1943 and in the following year was made minister of transport in the provisional government. He was elected to the National Assembly as a Radical Socialist in 1946 and was made minister of finance in the Pleven cabinet (1947–48). From 1949 to 1951 he was minister of justice in successive governments and after serving as minister of finance for a second term (1951–52), he became prime minister in January 1953. As prime minister, Mayer based his policy on friendship with Great Britain and a strong European defense community. His government fell the following May and Mayer was later active in the movement for European integration, becoming chairman of the Coal and Steel Authority (1955–58). Mayer played an active part in Jewish affairs and was a member of the Central Consistoire of French Jews. He was a member of the executive of the *Alliance Israélite Universelle and, after 1946, its vice president.

[Shulamith Catane]

MAYER, SIR ROBERT (1879–1985), British patron of music and philanthropist. Mayer was born in Mannheim, Germany, the son of a hops merchant. He emigrated to Britain at the age of 17, working as a stockbroker and then as a successful non-ferrous metal dealer. Through his non-Jewish wife, a soprano singer and music patron, Mayer himself became involved as an organizer and sponsor of musical concerts for children, a series which spread throughout Britain and became well known. In 1932, in collaboration with Sir Thomas Beecham, he founded the London Philharmonic Orchestra. Mayer devoted his long life to introducing children to music and to assisting young musicians. He was a supporter of many other charitable causes, including the Anglo-Israel Association. Mayer was knighted in 1939 and was made a Companion of Honour (C.H.) in 1973. He also received many other honors, dying at the age of 105. Mayer wrote an autobiography, *My First Hundred Years* (1979).

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[William D. Rubinstein (2nd ed.)]

MAYER, SALLY (1875–1953), Italian Jewish leader and philanthropist. Born in Alsheim, Germany, Mayer settled in Italy in 1891 and gave a great impetus to the paper industry of the Vita family, which, thanks to his activity, became one of the country's most important economic concerns. He was also active in Jewish and Zionist affairs. After World War II, he became president of the Milan Jewish community, the second largest in Italy, to which he devoted himself with great energy. He rebuilt the synagogue of Milan, destroyed in an air raid, and reopened the Jewish school there. All other Jewish and Zionist organizations in Milan and Italy, however, also benefited from his generosity and dynamism. Mayer was also a patron of non-Jewish welfare institutions in Milan and in Abbiate Guazzone, where his paper mills were located.

His son, ASTORRE MAYER (1906–1977), born in Milan, graduated as an engineer and carried on and expanded his father's enterprises in both the industrial and Jewish fields. For some years he was president of the Italian Zionist Federation and led the Jewish community in Milan. He also was honorary consul general of Israel there. He was president of the Standing Conference on European Jewish Community Service and other Jewish welfare and cultural institutions. Mayer also promoted important industries in Israel, the foremost being the Ḥaderah Paper Mills, of which he was a founder.

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[Giorgio Romano]

MAYER, SALY (1882–1950), Swiss Jewish leader and representative of the *American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee in Switzerland. Mayer was born in Switzerland where he established a successful knitwear factory. He was a member of the Municipal Council of St. Gallen and chairman of the Association of Jewish Communities in 1936. During his term of office, the Association joined the World Jewish Congress. In 1938 he was involved in negotiations with the Swiss government regarding the immigration of Jews but could not overcome the anti-immigrant feeling in Switzerland and thus Swiss policy remained restrictive. In October of that year the Swiss requested that the passport of Jews from Germany be marked with the letter *J* to distinguish it from non-Jewish passports. During World War II Mayer was appointed director of the Swiss office of the American Joint Distribution Committee, in which capacity he maintained contact with the Jewish communities in German-occupied territories and was responsible for the transmission of funds from the JDC. The initial sum at his disposal was a paltry $6,370 in 1940, less than half that sum in 1941. After the Japanese occupation of China in 1941, he was responsible for the transmission of JDC funds for maintaining approximately 25,000 refugees in Shanghai under Japanese occupation. With the United States at war, American money could not be transmitted directly to enemy countries. A ruse was worked out where the Joint supported the Swiss Jewish Community's efforts to help their own refugees and the Swiss Jewish community would funnel funds to China. He was also involved in attempts to rescue Jews from the Germans. He participated in the Europa Plan of 1942 with the working group in Slovakia whereby, on payment of two to three million dollars provided by Jews in free countries, the remaining million Jews in Europe were to be saved from extermination. In his bitter memoirs Rabbi Michael Dov Weissmandel accused Mayer of ineffectiveness and bad faith. In reality his options were limited as the Joint in Lisbon did not approve the transaction, so Mayer was forced to send Swiss money illicitly to Bratislava. When adequate sums were not available, Mayer proposed that the money be deposited in blocked accounts in Switzerland until the end of the war. The negotiations dragged on until August 1943, when they were broken off on the orders of Himmler. With the knowledge of Himmler, Mayer negotiated with an S.S. delegation headed by Kurt Becher for the ransom of Jews from Hungary. His hands were tied by the American and Swiss governments, which would not permit the transfer of money and the Joint dissociated itself from these negotiations. Still Mayer arranged for a meeting between Becher and the representative of the *War Refugee Board, the arm of the American government committed to rescue and the only arm of the American government with the freedom to negotiate with the enemy. He could not provide substantive funds and he provided some equipment to buy some time. He was able to achieve a significant – albeit meager – result. Two transports numbering 1,391 – mostly Hungarian Jews – arrived in Switzerland from Bergen-Belsen, while 17,000 others were brought to Vienna.

After the war, he was accused from many sides. Hungarian Jewish leaders accused him of not meeting the Nazi ransom. He, in turn, accused them of financial impropriety. He continued to work for the JDC after the war, working with survivors and with the JDC efforts in Hungary and Romania.

The accusations hurled at him are a manifestation of the desperate conditions of his accusers and their inability to perceive how limited – how few – his options were. To the outside world, Mayer may have seemed the gateway to Jewish power; he lived with the reality of his own powerlessness, especially when judged by the scope of the needs he was asked to meet.

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[Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

MAYIM AḤARONIM (Heb. מַיִם אַחֲרוֹנִים; lit. "latter waters"), term for the ritual washing of the hands after a meal, and before the recitation of the Grace After Meals. The twofold injunction "Sanctify yourselves and be ye holy" (Lev. 20:7) was interpreted as commanding ritual ablution both before the meal and before the recitation of the Grace After Meals (Ber. 53b). The *amoraim* even contended that *mayim aḥaronim* was more important than washing before the meal (Yoma 83b; Ḥul. 106a). According to the Talmud, the duty was particularly insisted upon in order to prevent the danger of touching one's eyes with the salt which was used as a condiment during the meal (Ḥul. 105b). Because the variety of salt referred to by *Judah b. Ḥiyya in the Talmud was a particularly potent one (*melaḥ sedomit*, "salt of Sodom"), containing an admixture of the acrid potash of the Dead Sea, *tosafot* (*ibid.*) maintained that the duty did not apply in France, where this particular salt is not to be found. This view is contested, however, by the Shulḥan Arukh (OḤ 181:10). No blessing is said before the performance of *mayim aḥaronim* (Sh. Ar., OḤ 181:7).

MAYKAPAR, SAMUIL MOYSEYEVICH (1867–1938), pianist, composer, teacher, and writer. Born in Kherson, Ukraine, Maykapar graduated from the Law School of St. Petersburg University (1890) and from the St. Petersburg Conservatory as a pianist in 1893. From 1894 to 1896 he continued his studies with Leshetitzky in Vienna. The period 1898–1910 was divided between Moscow (1898–1901), Tver (where he founded a music school, 1901–03), and Germany (1903–10). From 1910 to 1930 he taught in the St. Petersburg Conservatory (from 1917 as a professor). Maykapar often worked as a concert pianist, in ensembles with Auer and Grzhimali. His short piano pieces for children remain popular, especially *Biryulki* ("Spillikins"), *Bagatelles*, and *The Marionette Theater.* He also composed chamber music and a sonatina for violin and piano. His writings include *Muzykal'nyi slukh: ego znachenie, priroda, osobennosti i metod pravil'nogo razvitia* ("The Musical Ear: Its Significance, Nature, Peculiarities and a Method of Proper Development," 1890, 1915^{2}); a study on Beethoven (1927), an autobiography, *The Years of Study* (1938), and other works.

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[Marina Rizarev (2nd ed.)]

MAY LAWS, a series of "temporary laws" applying to Jews confirmed by Czar Alexander III in May 1882 and repealed in March 1917 by the revolutionary provisional government. The pogroms which broke out in southern Russia in 1881 brought the Jewish problem into prominence. Reports by higher government officials placed the blame on the Jews and pointed to the failure of the relatively liberal policy of Alexander II. On the basis of these reports, the minister of the interior Ignatiev wrote to Czar Alexander III:

> The principal, indeed exclusive cause of this [anti-Jewish] movement is the economic situation; over the last 20 years the Jews have gradually gained control of commerce and industry; they have also acquired, mainly by purchase or lease, much land, and by their unity they have generally made every possible effort to exploit the general population, especially the impoverished classes. They have thus fomented a wave of protest, which has taken the unfortunate form of violence. Now that the government has firmly suppressed the riots and lawlessness in order to protect the Jews, justice demands that it immediately impose severe regulations which will alter the unfair relations between the general inhabitants and the Jews and protect the former from the harmful activity of the latter.

Accordingly, on Aug. 22 (Sept. 3), 1881, the czar ordered the formation of special committees in the districts inhabited by Jews. Composed of representatives of the various classes and communities and presided over by the governor of the province, the committees were to determine "which kinds of Jewish economic activity had a harmful effect on the lives of the general inhabitants." This directive predetermined the attitude adopted by the committees. During their deliberations of September-October 1881 accusations against the Jews were made by the representatives of the peasants and townspeople, while the Jewish representatives endeavored to defend themselves. Their conclusions were passed on to a special committee formed to draft legislation. While the latter was in session during the winter of 1882, an anti-Jewish campaign was fomented by the press (with the support even of the Russian revolutionary movement Narodnaya Volya) and there were renewed outbreaks of violence in towns such as Warsaw and Balta. With the consent of the government, Jewish leaders assembled twice in St. Petersburg (September 1881 and April 1882) to discuss the government proposals, the most far-reaching of which suggested a planned mass emigration of Russian Jewry or the settlement of many Jews on the plains of Central Asia. Against these extreme measures some intercessionary moves were made behind the scenes, and outraged liberal public opinion in Western Europe also had some influence.

As a result, the "temporary regulations" of May 3 (15), 1882 stated: (1) Jews are forbidden to settle outside the towns and townlets; (2) deeds of sale and lease of real estate in the name of Jews outside the towns and townlets are canceled; and (3) Jews are prohibited from trading on Sundays and Christian holidays. The "temporary laws" satisfied the demands of the Russian rural merchant class that sought to be rid of its Jewish rivals in the villages of the Ukraine and Belorussia. In effect they were a contraction of the *Pale of Settlement, since Jews were confined to towns and townlets only. These laws were binding in the 15 "Russian" provinces of the Pale of Settlement (but not in the provinces of the "Kingdom of Poland"). Until 1904 they also applied to those Jews who had been granted the right of residence throughout the empire (with the exception of university graduates). The police were charged with the implementation of these laws, which became a source of constant police extortion and harassment of Jews still living in the villages. Over the years, the May Laws were interpreted with increasing severity. Thus in 1887 the Jews living in villages prior to 1882 were forbidden to move from one village to another.

Examining the legislation concerning the Jews between 1883 and 1888, the Pahlen Commission condemned the "temporary laws" and advocated that they be abolished, but its recommendations were rejected by the government. At the beginning of the 20th century, criticism of the "temporary laws" was voiced by the generally anti-Jewish Russian ministers of the interior Sipyaghin and *Plehve. It was decided on May 10, 1903, to authorize Jewish residence in 101 villages, which in the meantime had developed and in practice became townlets. On the outbreak of World War I, there were 300 villages of this kind. Echoes of the May Laws are found in the Jewish literature of Russia (cf. Shalom Aleichem, *Tevye der Milkhiger*; Ḥ.N. Bialik, *Ha-Ḥaẓoẓerah she-Nitbayyeshah*; S. Ben-Zion, *Ḥayyim shel Parnasah, etc.*).

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[Yehuda Slutsky]

MAYMERAN (**Maimoran**, **Mimran**), family of rabbis and diplomats in *Morocco and *Algeria, originally from *Marrakesh. R. MEIR MAYMERAN (early 17th century) of Ereẓ Israel sent a letter recommending Isaac Cansino to collect funds in *Oran (Algeria) for his *hekdesh* ("poor house"). Maymeran was the head of a largely *Shabbatean Marrakesh community in the second half of the 17th century. The two best known members of the Maymeran family were JOSEPH (d. 1683) and his son ABRAHAM (d. 1723), who served as financial advisers to the ruler Moulay Ismail (1672–1721) in *Meknès. Joseph was instrumental in formulating and negotiating the commercial treaties between Morocco and the Netherlands in 1682. According to the priest Busnot, Joseph played a major role in bringing Ismail to power, but Ismail caused Joseph's downfall with an "accident." Abraham succeeded his father as the king's favorite, continuing the negotiations with the Dutch and obtaining commercial privileges from the British and French as well. Abraham was involved in ransoming captives in 1688, and like his father was the head of Moroccan Jewry, on whose behalf he attempted to lighten the king's heavy taxation. His rival in the community was Moses *Benatar. Abraham's nephew SAMUEL negotiated with the English and the Dutch, and a relative, Moïse, dealt with the French.

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MAYNARD, FREDELLE BRUSER (1922–1989), writer. Born in Foam Lake, Saskatchewan, to Boris and Rona Bruser (née Slobinsky). She studied English literature (Honors B.A., University of Manitoba (1943); M.A., University of Toronto (1944); Ph.D., Radcliffe College, Harvard University (1947)). Maynard belongs to a generation of Jewish Canadian women writers that included Miriam Waddington and Adele Wiseman. She is perhaps best known for *Raisins and Almonds* (1972) and *The Tree of Life* (1988), two autobiographical works in which she asks "Who am I?" and emphatically concludes: "Woman and Jew, I am also my parents' child." The interest of these volumes thus lies in their combination of a vivid portrayal of family dynamics with a pointed representation of the social conditions that affect the life of a Jew and a woman at a particular historical juncture. Maynard's recollections of her gentle artist-turned-shopkeeper father in *Raisins and Almonds* are presented against the backdrop of her experience of growing up "Jewish and alien" in the small towns of western Canada during the 1920s and 1930s. *The Tree of Life* explores Maynard's complex relationships with her mother, sister, her gentile husband, the artist Max Maynard (they divorced shortly after the publication of *Raisins and Almonds*), and two daughters Rona and Joyce, while also demonstrating the repercussions of a pervasive gender discrimination that made academic employment unattainable even for somebody with her stellar record. Discouraged but not defeated, Maynard began a successful journalism career that would span four decades, writing about education, child care and development, health and medicine, and family relationships in Canadian and American publications such as *Good Housekeeping*, *Ladies' Home Journal*, *Family Circle*, *Woman's Day*, *Chatelaine*, *Parents*, and *Reader's Digest*. During the 1970s and 1980s Maynard was the initiator and host of two popular Ontario parenting shows one of which was *Parents and Children*. Maynard also published two books on parenting and child care: *Guiding Your Child to a More Creative Life* (1973), and the controversial *The Child Care Crisis* (1985), in which she advocated stay-at-home parenting over day-care during a child's formative years. Further light on Maynard's life is shed by autobiographical writings by her daughters, including Rona Maynard's personal journalism in various magazines (she was editor of *Chatelaine* for ten years until 2005), and Joyce Maynard's memoir *At Home in the World* (1998). Maynard's papers are at the University of Manitoba Archives and Special Collections.

[Bina Toledo Freiwald (2nd ed.)]

MAYSE-BUKH ("Book of Stories"; Heb. מַעֲשֶׂה, "story"). Like many other folk-books, the *Mayse-Bukh* is a vast anonymous collection of stories and folktales, legends and oral traditions handed down from generation to generation orally and later recorded in writing in Yiddish. The book contains much from the talmudic *aggadah* and Midrash, here translated into the vernacular and copied and recopied by various writers who also adapted and judaized material from other traditions.

The *Mayse-Bukh* was first published in Basel in 1602 under the title *Eyn Shoen Mayse Bukh* by Jacob b. Abraham of Mezhirech (also known as Jacob Pollak or Bukhhendler), who is known to have been a compiler of religious textbooks, printer, publisher, and bookseller. The *Mayse-Bukh* with its

255 stories was compiled in the latter part of the 16th century, certainly not before 1580, the year when the book *Kaftor va-Feraḥ* by the mystic Jacob Luzzatto was published in Basel, from which the author of the *Mayse-Bukh* borrowed several stories to supplement his collection. However, it is clear that much of the narrative lore included in the book derived from earlier generations; extant manuscripts of Yiddish *mayses* ("stories") bear witness to a lively and continuous productivity in the field of creative narrative traditions.

The *Mayse-Bukh* is part of the folk-literature in Yiddish designed for the use of the common man untutored in the holy language and its literature, and for women who for the first time had access to a written language and through it to education. The rhetorical style mirrors the transition from an oral to a literary tradition. The collection became quite influential, in that the *mayse* became such a foundation for later prose narrative that, even up to the present, Yiddish authors have continued to draw inspiration from it. The book aims to provide a substitute for the widely circulated popular secular literature of the period, which the compiler of the *Mayse-Bukh*, like many others before him, considered impious. His collection, intended to replace this literature and provide a new kind of "*aggadah* in the vernacular," is permeated with a spirit of piety to strengthen the reader's faith.

The *mayse* corresponds to the Christian *exemplum* and serves to teach conduct and ethical principles, while also providing entertainment for the masses. As such, the *Mayse-Bukh* follows the example of numerous medieval Hebrew collections designed to inculcate a moral dictum by way of a narration. It thus had a powerful influence on Old Yiddish didactic literature. The moral of the story was usually appended at the end of the tale and concluded with the hope for an early arrival of the Messiah. Despite his piety, the compiler of the *Mayse-Bukh* did not resist the trend of his time, but, according to popular taste, he included various anecdotes, merry tales and fabliaux, often in keeping with the Italian or French *conte* and German fable collections, with their licentious, sometimes satirical, tone. The author drew profusely on non-Jewish sources, altering the plot or its characters where possible and adapting the tale to suit a Jewish sensibility. In this rich collection, Eastern themes mingle with Western material, and midrashic stories with legendary lore. A product of its times and a reflection of its own problematics, the *Mayse-Bukh* provides a key to understanding Ashkenazi literature, culture, and society in their Germanic context of the early modern period. Between the first edition of Basel in 1602 and the year 1763, 12 subsequent editions were published. Even in the 19th century several shorter and modernized versions appeared. The popular *Mayse-Bukh* nourished to a great extent ethical literature in Yiddish and served as a model for similar collections which were later composed and incorporated into folk-literature.

The *Mayse-Bukh* consists of three parts. The main section is devoted to stories from Talmud and Midrash, drawn in part from the *Ein Ya'akov*. The second contains a cycle of 27 legends and narrative traditions centered around R. Samuel and his son R. *Judah he-Ḥasid (the "Pious"), the great mystics of medieval Germany, and the authors of the *Sefer *Ḥasidim*. These stories early entered the oral tradition and were later recorded in Hebrew as well as in Yiddish. The third part consists of a variety of narrative material: medieval stories about *Rashi, *Maimonides, and the story of the Jewish pope.

See Yiddish *Literature, *Exemplum.

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[Jacob J. Maitlis / Astrid Starck (2nd ed.)]

MAYSLES, ALBERT (1926–) and **DAVID PAUL** (1932–1987), U.S. directors. Born in Brookline, Massachusetts, the brothers attended Brookline High School and studied psychology at Boston University. Albert taught psychology at Boston University in the late 1940s and in 1955 traveled to the Soviet Union to make his first film, *Psychiatry in Russia*. In 1956, David worked as a production assistant on the Marilyn Monroe films *Bus Stop* and *The Prince and the Showgirl*. In 1957, the brothers took a motorcycle trip together from Munich to Moscow. While in Poland, they focused on the student protest movement as the subject of their first film together, *Youth in Poland*. The next documentary for the brothers, *Primary* (1960), focused on the 1960 Democratic primary election campaigns of Kennedy and Humphrey. In 1962, they formed their own production company, Maysles Films, Inc., which made commercials and industrial films to support their *cinéma vérité* style of documentary filmmaking. Their next films were *Showman* (1962) and *What's Happening: The Beatles in the USA* (1964). In 1965, they released *Meet Marlon Brando*, which followed the actor during publicity interviews, and received a Guggenheim Fellowship. The brothers found themselves caught in the middle of a debate on objectivity in documentary filmmaking with the release of the National Society of Film Critics award-winner *Salesman* (1968), which portrays four door-to-door high-pressure Bible salesmen in Boston who sell to poor Catholic families. They returned to rock 'n' roll with *Gimme Shelter* (1970), a film that follows Mick Jagger and the Rolling Stones on a North American tour and ends with the infamous concert at Altamont Speedway in California during which a murder occurred. The Maysles' *Grey Gardens* (1975) portrayed Jacqueline Kennedy Onassis' cousins, Edith and Edie Beale, an eccentric mother and daughter living in a decaying East Hampton mansion. The brothers also produced films on celebrated artists Christo and Jeanne-Claude, including the Academy Award-nominated *Christo's Valley Curtain*

(1974) and *Running Fence* (1978). David died of a heart attack in New York in 1987. Later that year, Albert received the Emmy Award for the brothers' *Vladimir Horowitz: The Last Romantic* (1986). Albert continued to direct such films as *Christo in Paris* (1991), *Abortion: Desperate Choices* (1993), *Umbrellas* (1994), *Letting Go: A Hospice Journey* (1996), and *The Gates – A Project for New York City* (2005).

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[Adam Wills (2nd ed.)]

MAYZEL, MAURYCY, last president of the Warsaw Jewish community before the Holocaust (1937–39). In the elections held in 1936, after *Agudat Israel had been in power for six years, the *Bund increased its strength to become the largest party. As the three most prominent groups (the Zionists, the Orthodox, and the Bund) could not reach agreement on the establishment of an effective administration, the government dissolved the community council. Mayzel was appointed community president, and a committee of independent personalities, including Adam *Czerniakow, Mark Lichtenbaum, Kaminer (Orthodox), and the lawyer Zondelewicz, was formed to assist him. Mayzel himself was a leader of the merchants' association and an assimilationist in outlook. The attitude of the parties' delegates and the public toward the government appointment was negative. Mayzel was essentially an administrator who sought to assure regular and vital services while obeying the instructions of the authorities; the latter supported him in the face of violent criticism from the public and the Jewish press. Mayzel promoted the publication of the important trilingual organ of the Warsaw community *Glos gminy Zydowskiej* (1937–39). When the Nazis invaded Poland, he fled from Warsaw; the mayor of Warsaw appointed Adam Czerniakow in his place.

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[Moshe Landau]

MAYZEL, NACHMAN (1887–1966), Yiddish editor, literary critic, and historian. Born in Kiev, Mayzel stemmed from a family of rabbis and rich Kiev merchants and was related to the Yiddish novelists Dovid *Bergelson and *Der Nister, whose fame he helped to spread. He made his debut with essays in Hebrew (1905) and in Yiddish (1909), and, after the Revolution of 1917, founded the publishing house, Kiev Farlag, which issued more than 100 books. He also edited periodicals and anthologies of the Kiev Culture League. Settling in Warsaw in 1921, he helped to found its Culture League and continued his activity as editor and literary critic. He later described this dynamic period in his volume *Geven Amol a Lebn* ("There Used to Be a Life," 1951). In 1924 he co-founded and co-edited the weekly *Literarishe Bleter*, which exerted a significant influence upon Yiddish literary activity in Poland between the two world wars; he also played a central role in organizing the Yiddish Pen Club (1927). He participated in the Jewish World Congress of Culture (1937) in Paris, which launched YKUF, the international Yiddish Culture League. Immigrating to New York in 1937, he furthered the growth of YKUF's American section and edited its monthly organ *Yidishe Kultur* from 1939 to 1964, and then settled in Israel at Kibbutz Alonim. Mayzel was a prolific writer, composing more than 40 books and hundreds of major articles. *Noente un Vayte* ("Close and Distant People," 2 vols., 1924–26) contained his most valuable early articles. His studies on I.L. *Peretz and on Sholem Yankev *Abramovitsh contributed important new knowledge. His book *Dos Yidishe Shafn un der Yidisher Shrayber in Sovetnfarband* ("Yiddish Creativity and Yiddish Writers in the Soviet Union," 1959) surveyed, in 20 essays, Russian Yiddish literature from 1917 until the tragic autumn of 1948 when Yiddish cultural institutions were liquidated and their leaders silenced. In his last years in Israel he completed studies on Chaim *Zhitlowsky (1965) and on the influence of national literatures upon each other, with special emphasis on the influence of foreign literatures upon Yiddish writers (1966).

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[Sol Liptzin]

MĀZANDARĀN, region called Tabaristān in the early Islamic period, situated in the southern part of the Caspian Sea, north of Alborz Mountains and east of Gilān. Its length extends to a maximum of 320 km. and its width to 96 km. The oldest reference to the existence of Jews in Māzandarān is in the Persian Chronicle of Eskandar Beg (vol. 2, pp. 900–1) which points to the transfer by Shah *'Abbās I of 100,000 non-Muslim captives of Georgia to Māzandarān and Farah-Ābād south of Caspian Sea, most probably around 1616/17. Farah-Ābād is also mentioned in the Chronicle of *Bābāi ben Lutf (17th century), as if it was built by the transferred Jews of Georgia. There is no mention of Jews in Farah-Ābād during the 19th century. The cause of their disappearance is not known.

Another important city in Māzandarān is Bārforush, whose name was changed by the Iranian Majles to Bābol around 1935. According to Fraser (1826), Farah-Ābād was a large, prosperous city of 200,000 inhabitants. On his second trip (1838), he was not impressed by the city which was populated by only 30,000 inhabitants. No reason was given for this drastic change, but it is possible that the main reason was the deviation in trade routes to Europe from Bārforush to Rasht. H.A. Stern, a Christian missionary who visited the

Jewish community of Bārforush in 1852, gives us the following information: "150 Jewish families live among 20,000 inhabitants. They have six synagogues. In the past they suffered bitter persecutions. They constantly quarrel among themselves and for this reason some of them have willingly embraced Islam." Stern also writes, "The sorrows and sufferings of the living [the Jews of Bārforush] being, however, insupportable and overwhelming enough, their enemies to satiate their intense and inhuman hate, with an invective cruelty which makes the heart recoil, and the soul shudder, exhume ten, fifteen, or even twenty, recently deceased Israelites, and these amidst wild shouts and pious ejaculations they consume on a lofty funeral pyre." Stern calls this "a savage exhibition of bigotry and fanaticism." About 14 years after Stern's visit, the Muslims of the city attacked the Jews in their Mahalleh, killed 18 men and 6 women, and wounded many of them. Two of the 18 were burned to death with inflammable material. The rest of the Jews fled to find shelter in the jungles around the city. The horrible news reached the British consul, A.H. Mounsey, who complained to Nāser al-Din Shah. The shah simply announced he could do nothing against the fanatical Muslim clergy. The massacre of Bārforush Jews also drew the attention of the Jewish leaders in Paris.

There were in Māzandarān other towns where Jews lived, such as Sāri, Āmol, and a few other small settlements. During the first half of the 20th century many Jews left Bārforush and other towns of the province and went to live in Tehran. After 1948, a majority immigrated to Israel. There is no mention of Jewish communities in Bārforush or in any other places in Māzandarān after the 1979 Islamic revolution in Iran.

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[Amnon Netzer (2nd ed.)]

MAZAR, AMIHAI (1942–), Israeli archaeologist, with a specialist interest in the Bronze and Iron Ages, and the relationship between archaeology and biblical history. Born in Haifa, Mazar began his studies in 1966 at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, completing his Ph.D. in 1976, and serving there as lecturer from 1977 to 1981 (as well as at the Ben-Gurion University, Beersheba). A senior lecturer at the Institute of Archaeology at the Hebrew University from 1982, Mazar was appointed associate professor in 1986 and from 1994 was the incumbent of the Eleazar Sukenik Chair in the Archaeology of Israel. Numerous academic duties included serving as head of the Institute of Archaeology (1995–98) and as a member of the Archaeological Council of Israel (1994–99) and the Council of the Israel Antiquities Authority (2001–5). Following his survey of the aqueducts of Jerusalem in 1968, Mazar conducted important excavations at Tel Qasile (1971–74, and later in 1982–90), at Tel Batash, biblical Timnah (with G.L. Kelm, 1977–89), and at Giloh near Jerusalem (1978–82). From the late 1980s Mazar directed the Beth Shean Valley Archaeological Project, with excavations at Tel Beth-Shean (1989–96) and, more recently, excavations at Tel Rehov (from 1997). A frequent participant in international scientific meetings and conferences, Mazar was a prolific writer with many scientific papers, monographs, and books to his credit. He is probably best known to students of archaeology as the author of *Archaeology of the Land of the Bible* (*ca. 10,000–586 B.C.E.*), which was published in English in 1990, with subsequent translations into Portuguese, Russian, and Japanese. Important monographs have also appeared under his authorship on the Tel Qasile and Tel Batash excavations. Mazar participated in the important tenth/ninth-century chronology debate (see his paper "Iron Age Chronology: A Reply to I. Finkelstein," in: *Levant*, 29 (1997), 157–67). Mazar's strength in his publications was in the reasoned and balanced approach he took to archaeological materials, one which has influenced many of the younger generations of Israeli archaeologists. Mazar is regarded as a very loyal mentor to his students.

[Shimon Gibson (2nd ed.)]

MAZAR (Maisler), BENJAMIN (1906–1995), Israeli archaeologist and historian. Born in Ciechanowiec in Poland, he studied at the universities of Berlin and Giessen. In 1929 he settled in Palestine, becoming the secretary of the Jewish Palestine Exploration Society (1929–43). Mazar joined the staff of the Hebrew University in 1943 and in 1951 he was appointed professor of the history of the Jewish people in the biblical period and the archaeology of Palestine. He was appointed rector of the university in 1952 and president in 1953, holding both positions until 1961. In 1959 he became president of the Israel Exploration Society. He was also chairman of the Archaeological Board of Israel and a member of the Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities. In 1968 he received the Israel Prize for Jewish Studies. Mazar directed archaeological excavations at *Ramat Raḥel (1931), *Bet She'arim (1936–40), Tell Qasile (1949 ff.), and *En-Gedi (1957–66). He conducted the historic excavation along the outside of the southern and western sections of the Temple enclosure in Jerusalem and the Tyropoeon Valley (1967 ff.). Besides over 300 articles, including excavation reports, Mazar has published *Untersuchungen zur alten Geschichte und Ethnographie Syriens und Palästinas* (1930); *Toledot ha-Meḥkar ha-Arkheologi be-Ereẓ Yisrael* ("History of Palestine Exploration," 1935); *Toledot Ereẓ Yisrael* ("History of Palestine" part I, 1937); *Israel in Biblical Times* – a Historical Atlas (1941); and the first volume of *Beth Shearim* (1944, 1957^2). He headed the editorial board of the biblical encyclopedia *Enẓiklopedyah Mikra'it* (1950–89). An important collection of Mazar's articles was assembled in S. Ahituv and B. Levine (eds.), *The Early Biblical Period: Historical Studies*

(1986). Over a period of two generations Mazar trained most of the Israeli archaeologists and Bible scholars.

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[Michael Avi-Yonah / S. David Sperling (2nd ed.)]

MAZE, IDA (1893–1962) Yiddish poet. Born near Kapuly, Belarus; she arrived in Canada with her family in 1907, eventually settling in Montreal. Her family, the Zhukovskys, were distantly related to Sholem Yankev *Abramovitsh (Mendele Mokher Sforim) and were intellectual though poor. She began writing poems of grief in 1928, following the death of her eldest son. These poems were collected in *A Mame* ("A Mother," 1931). Throughout her career the majority of her poems were either for children or about her children (she had two surviving sons); some of them took in natural themes. Her talents lay chiefly in her ability to write engrossing, fluid, and sometimes urgent rhythms and rhymes. Her later books were *Lider far Kinder* ("Poems for Children," 1936), *Naye Lider* ("New Poems," 1941) and *Vaksn Mayne Kinderlekh* ("Grow, My Little Ones," 1954). An autobiographical novel, *Dinah*, was published posthumously (1970). More important than her own output, however, was her role in the Montreal Yiddish artistic community which centered around the Jewish Public Library. Her apartment served as a literary salon for writers at every level, the more famous coming simply to read aloud and find literary companions while the lesser known workshopped their poems with a critical audience. In addition to this, Maze spent most of her time arranging visas, work permits, or actually finding jobs for the Yiddish-speaking refugees who came through Montreal. Although much of her aid went to Yiddish writers, she was as generous with the lesser as with the major talents. Canadian historian David Rome reported her appeal on behalf of one struggling poet: "He needs help, not only because he is penniless and his family is falling apart, but because he doesn't have a speck of talent" (Massey, 54). These endeavors earned her the nickname "the mother of Yiddish writers." Among those who spent a great deal of time in her apartment were Melech *Ravitch, Rokhl *Korn, and J.J. *Segal. Visitors from the United States included Kadya *Molodowsky, Moyshe *Nadir, and H. *Leivick. The English-language poet Miriam *Waddington, whose family spoke Yiddish at home, attended these salons as a teenager. Maze's impact seems to have largely consisted of imparting by example her ideas about literature: its place as a feature of everyday life, in which every member of society is equally implicated and from which every individual of whatever talents could draw his or her own intellectual sustenance.

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[Faith Jones (2nd ed.)]

MAZEH, JACOB (1859–1924), Zionist leader and Hebrew writer. Born in Mogilev, Belorussia, he was orphaned in childhood and given a traditional education in his grandfather's home. Later he read and was influenced by the Haskalah, in particular by the works of E. *Zweifel. At the age of 16, he entered a Russian secondary school in *Kerch, Crimea, and in 1886 completed his studies at the law faculty of the Moscow University. After the pogroms of 1882, he joined the *Ḥibbat Zion movement and was one of the founders of the Benei Zion Society (1884). In his article *Elleh Hem ha-Ashamot* in *Ha-Meliẓ (1888) Mazeh rebuked his generation for negligence in the education of their children, charging exorbitant rates of interest, forging currency, evading public welfare activities, despising work, and "lack of positive love of our fathers." He represented the Benei Zion at the founding conference of the Committee for the Support of Farmers and Craftsmen in Palestine (Odessa, 1890), and organized a group of wealthy men for settlement in Ereẓ Israel. Traveling there as their emissary, he even opened negotiations for the purchase of the *Mahanaim tract of land in Galilee for the project, which was brought to a halt as a result of the Moscow expulsion (1891).

In 1893, after S.Z. *Minor was removed from his position as **kazyonny ravvin* (government-appointed rabbi) of the Moscow community, Mazeh was appointed as his successor. Being both a *maskil* and a man steeped in Jewish tradition and nationalism, he was an exception to the usual type of *kazyonny ravvin*. He became the spiritual leader of his congregation and its representative before the local authorities, who were noted for their hatred of the Jews. A brilliant orator, Mazeh was well known for his numerous activities in Jewish public life, which included the promotion of Hebrew culture and the founding of the Ḥovevei Sefat Ever Society. His appearance as the defense expert on Jewish law at the *Beilis trial in Kiev (1912), when he refuted the evidence of the prosecution "experts", made him famous among Jews everywhere. After the 1917 Revolution, he was a deputy at the all-Russian Constituent Assembly representing the Jewish National List and was also among the founders and devoted workers of the *Tarbut organization. He supported the *Habimah theater during its early years. With the establishment of the Soviet regime, Mazeh interceded with the authorities in order to assure the rights of Hebrew language and culture. In 1920 he participated in the last Zionist Council of Russia. He refused to sign the declaration of the representatives of the various religions in which they denied that religion was persecuted in the U.S.S.R. In his last years, deprived of his functions under the Communist regime, Mazeh wrote his memoirs, which are marked by dignity and humor. He was unable to complete them as he became blind in 1922. The chapters which were brought out of Russia and published in Ereẓ Israel (*Zikhronot*, 4 vols., 1936) are a valuable source for the history of Russian Jewry and Hebrew literature. Mazeh wrote under the pseudonyms Saadiah, Jacob ha-Kohen, Aharoni, and Kochav. Thousands of local Jews took part in his funeral in Moscow.

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[Yehuda Slutsky]

MAZER, U.S. family of business executives. ABRAHAM MAZER (1876–1953) was born in Goshcha, Ukraine. He went to the United States at the age of 17 and started a paper business in Hartford, Connecticut, later managing it from New York City. In 1952 the company, the Hudson Pulp and Paper Corporation, had a sales volume of $36 million and plants in four states, and held half a million acres of woodland in Florida and Maine. Mazer played a leading role in the United Jewish Appeal, the Federation of Jewish Philanthropies, and the Jewish National Fund. He supported Yeshiva University in New York and the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, and founded the Abraham Mazer Free Loan Bank of Israel. His three sons, JACOB (1898–1968), JOSEPH M. (1899–1979), and WILLIAM (1905–1998), took over the corporation's executive posts. They were active in Jewish charity work, taking a special interest in undertakings benefiting Israel. The family sponsored the American-Israeli Paper Mills in Ḥadera, Israel.

MAZKERET BATYAH (Heb. מַזְכֶּרֶת בַּתְיָה; "Memory of Batyah"), moshavah with municipal council status, in the Coastal Plain of Israel southeast of Reḥovot. Its name commemorates Baron Edmond de *Rothschild's mother. It was the first village founded upon Baron Edmond de Rothschild's initiative (1883), and was known up until the early 1900s mostly by the name of Ekron (see *Kiryat Ekron). The name Ekron was given in the desire to identify the moshavah with the biblical site *Ekron from which the neighboring Arab village ʾAqīr (اقير) also took its name. Baron Rothschild worked to give the village a truly rural character, and was aided by the *Ḥibbat Zion movement in bringing some Jewish families who had been farmers in Russia to settle at Mazkeret Batyah. Until the 1940s, when rich groundwater reserves were tapped, the village's progress was slow, not only because little water was available but also because of bad communications. After the change, citrus groves became prominent. New immigrants settled there and more arrived in the first years after 1948. A further phase of expansion began in the mid-1960s and by 1969 the village had 845 inhabitants. By the mid-1990s the population had risen to 3,410, more than doubling to 7,300 in 2002, on an area of 2.7 sq. mi. (7 sq. km.). Residents earn their living in farming, industry, and commerce and also work outside the settlement.

[Efraim Orni / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

MAẒLI'AḤ (Heb. מַצְלִיחַ), moshav in central Israel, near Ramleh, affiliated with Tenu'at ha-Moshavim. Founded in 1950 by *Karaites from Egypt, it was named after Sahal b. Maẓliaḥ, a Karaite leader who lived in Jerusalem, and it is one of the principal Karaite centers in Israel. In 1969 Maẓli'aḥ had 690 inhabitants, rising to 1,030 in 2002 after expansion. Residents earned their livelihoods in farming (about 20 active farms), small enterprises, and work outside the settlement.

[Efraim Orni / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

MAẒLI'AḤ BEN SOLOMON HA-KOHEN (d. 1139), the first of the Egyptian *geonim*. His father, R. *Solomon b. Elijah ha-Kohen, left Tyre and settled in Ḥadrak (near Damascus), where he founded the Yeshivah Ereẓ ha-Zevi. Upon his father's death, R. Maẓli'aḥ, who had no doubt studied at the yeshivah when it was still in Tyre, headed this institution. For some unknown reason R. Maẓli'aḥ left Syria and arrived in Fostat in 1127. The yeshivah which he founded within the synagogue of the Jerusalemites occasionally rivaled that of Damascus because its leaders felt that it also possessed the right to refer to itself as yeshivat Ereẓ ha-Ẓevi (i.e., of Ereẓ Israel). R. Maẓli'aḥ assumed the title of *rosh yeshivat Ge'on Ya'akov* ("*rosh yeshivah* of the Glory of Jacob"). It appears that his spiritual influence was important and that it extended to the whole of Yemen. Many letters and documents issued by his *bet din* are extant. Upon his death, he was succeeded by R. Moses b. Nethanel ha-Levi, who was his deputy and *av bet din* in the yeshivah.

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[Abraham David]

MAẒRANUT (Heb. מַצְרָנוּת; "abutter"), the right of preemption available to the owner of land over the abutting land of his neighbor, when the latter is sold. The rule is not a provision of strict law but is derived from a rabbinical enactment to compel any prospective purchaser to yield to the abutting neighbor, in terms of the Pentateuchal injunction to "do that which is right and good in the eyes of the Lord" (Deut. 6:18; see also BM 108a and Rashi *ibid.*). For the other prospective purchaser does not sustain a great loss, since he will find land elsewhere, and should not burden the abutting neighbor with property in two separate localities. The right of the *maẓran* ("abutting neighbor") is a proprietary right (*in rem*) in the neighboring land itself (*Nimmukei Yosef* BM *ibid.*), similar to the right of a creditor in the case of lien or mortgage and other *jura in re aliena*. In applying this enactment, the scholars did not impose on the purchaser a duty to resell the land to the abutter, but rather endowed the abutter with the right to receive the land on the conclusion of the (putative) sale – without any additional act of acquisition being required – the purchaser thus becoming the agent of the abutter in regard to all the conditions of the sale to which the former agreed. Accordingly the purchaser is subject to all the laws governing an agent and holds the land in question on behalf of the abutter, the latter only acquiring actual title to it if and when he pays the price paid by the purchaser and fulfills the remaining terms agreed by the purchaser. As the abutter's right originates from the purchaser's obligation to "do what is right and good," if the latter is a non-Jew – to whom the obligation is not applicable – the corresponding right will also not accrue to the abutter (Rashi to BM 108b). The abutter also forfeits his preemptive right if he had indicated, by speech or conduct, that he does not wish to avail himself thereof (Sh. Ar., ḤM 175:32).

The abutter's right or preemption, being an application of the equitable principle to "do what is right and good," is a flexible right (Resp. Rashba vol. 1, no. 915) and does not prevail where it is not supported by the factors of "right and good." Thus the law of *maẓranut* does not apply if the exercise of the preemptive right would cause loss to the seller or purchaser or any loss to the public in general, or if the abutter were to derive no benefit therefrom. Consequently, the law of *maẓranut* is not applicable to a gift (BM 108b) as the recipient cannot get another gift in its stead and he would therefore suffer a loss (Ran, Kid. 59a). For the same reason the right of preemption is precluded when the purchaser is a woman since "it is not fitting for her to search in many places." Nor does the right exist in the following cases: when the purchaser is a co-owner of the land together with the seller, or if he is the mortgagee, for a sale of the land to such parties invokes the factors of "right and good" in their own cause; when the coins offered by the purchaser are of greater weight or more marketable than those offered by the abutter, for here the seller would lose; when all the seller's assets are sold to a single purchaser, lest the sale as a whole is prejudiced; when the landowner sells a distant field in order to purchase one that is nearer, or when the land is sold to defray funeral expenses or taxes or to provide maintenance for a widow, or when an orphan's land is sold, for in such cases the seller would suffer if he waited for the abutter. Furthermore, an abutter who wishes to cultivate the land must yield to a purchaser who wishes to build a house there, as public interest prefers habitation. Similarly, the preemptive right is excluded whenever its exercise would cause a loss in any other manner to the seller or purchaser, provided only that the judge is satisfied that there is no evasion of the abutter's right (*ibid.*).

The law of *maẓranut* is mentioned neither in the Mishnah nor in the Palestinian Talmud, but only in the Babylonian Talmud by the *amoraim* of Babylonia. It may be assured that in Ereẓ Israel conditions were not such as to justify the application of the preemptive right on the equitable ground of doing "right and good." The scriptural injunction teaches that the standards of proper conduct between man and his fellow are determined in accordance with the prevailing circumstances of the time and place and the scholars applying it created different rules accordingly (*Maggid Mishneh* to Maim. Yad, Shekhenim concl.). In post-talmudic times the right of preemption was customarily applied (in France, Germany, Spain, and in the Orient) and, in many places, also in relation to buildings even though it is doubtful whether the law was so extended in the talmudic period (*Piskei ha-Rosh* BM 9:34). In modern times the law of *maẓranut* has been less and less frequently applied although the rabbinical courts of the State of Israel have given several decisions in which various problems have been determined in accordance with these laws.

In the State of Israel the law of *maẓranut* was abolished by the Israel Land Law, 1969.

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[Shalom Albeck]

MAZUR, ELIYAHU (1889–1973), communal worker and businessman in Poland and Israel, son of Ẓevi Meir Mazur, rabbi in Zagorow and later in Warsaw. His public activity encompassed political, economic, and social fields. He was a member of both the world executive of *Agudat Israel and of its executive board in Poland. He served as president of the Jewish community council (*kehillah*) of Warsaw from 1931 to 1937, when Maurici *Meisel was appointed commissar by the government. He also acted as director of the administrative council of the Ḥakhmei Lublin yeshivah. Mazur was the largest importer of rice in Poland, and he established rice-processing factories in the port of Gdynia. He was a member of the board of the Polish chamber of commerce. In 1940 he escaped from Poland and immigrated to Ereẓ Israel, where he continued to pursue his public and economic activities. He set up a diamond factory with his brothers in Tel Aviv, becoming a central figure in the country's diamond industry. In 1948 he was elected to the first *Knesset as a delegate of Agudat Israel.

[Yitzchak Arad]

MAZUR, JAY (1932–), U.S. labor leader. Mazur was born and raised in the Bronx, the son of immigrants, and spent his professional life in the organized labor movement. He became president of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, spearheaded its historic merger with the Amalgamated Clothing & Textile Workers Union, and was elected first president of the merged group, the Union of Needletrades, Industrial and Textile Employees (UNITE). Mazur, whose father was a coat presser, joined the ILGWU when he was 18, focusing on organizational and educational efforts for Dressmakers' Local 22. He graduated from the ILGWU's Training Institute in 1955 and became director of organization and education for Beltmakers' Local 40. While rising through the ranks, he resumed his formal education at night, earning a B.A. in Industrial Relations from the City University of New York in 1965 and an M.A. in Labor Studies from Rutgers University in New Jersey in 1977. He was appointed managing secretary of the Blouse, Skirts & Sportswear Workers' Local 23–25, then the union's biggest local, in 1977, embarking on a hard-fought campaign to organize workers in New York City's Chinatown. In 1983 he was named general secretary-treasurer of the ILGWU. He succeeded Sol C. *Chaikin as president in 1986, inheriting a union with a declining membership. Increased competition from low-wage countries, a surge of imports, and the growth of multinational apparel and textile firms had further depressed membership in the two leading garment unions. From a combined peak of almost 1 million in the 1960s, membership tumbled to about 355,000 by the mid-1990s. In 1995 Mazur and ACTWU president Jack Sheinkman were able to merge both unions and Mazur was named UNITE's first president. Even though membership kept shrinking, falling to 250,000 in the next decade, the merger helped both unions survive at a critical time. It gave them a greater voice in government and social affairs and a stronger negotiating position with management. Mazur, who was on the executive boards of the AFL-CIO and the Central Labor Council, retired from UNITE in 2001 and was succeeded by Bruce S. *Raynor, but his efforts on behalf of workers did not stop. He was a vocal opponent of free trade, and a passionate lobbyist for anti-sweatshop legislation, a higher minimum wage, and the right of workers to organize. A leading advocate for the rights of immigrants, he was named to the boards of the Work in America Institute and the International Rescue Committee and appointed a vice president of the National Immigration, Refugee and Citizenship Forum. In 1999, President Clinton appointed him to the Advisory Committee for Trade Policy and Negotiations. He was on the presidium of the International Textile, Garment & Leather Workers Federation, president of the National Committee of Labor Israel-Histadrut, and a member of the Council of Foreign Relations. He was also a member of the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Council and the U.S.-South Africa Business Development Committee.

[Mort Sheinman (2nd ed.)]

MAZURSKY, PAUL (1930–), U.S. director, producer, screenwriter, and actor. Born in Brooklyn, New York, Mazursky began work in films as an actor, playing a small part in Stanley Kubrick's first film, *Fear and Desire* (1953), and a juvenile delinquent in *The Blackboard Jungle* (1955). He then turned to writing for television (*The Danny Kaye Show*) in collaboration with Larry Tucker. They also helped create the pilot for the TV series *The Monkees*. In 1968, Mazursky and Tucker wrote the screenplay for *I Love You, Alice B. Toklas*. In 1969, Mazursky directed his first film, *Bob & Carol & Ted & Alice*. He and Tucker also wrote the screenplay, which earned them an Oscar nomination. Mazursky followed this by directing a host of motion pictures, many of which he also wrote and produced. His films include *Alex in Wonderland* (1970); *Blume in Love* (1973); *Harry and Tonto* (Oscar nomination for Best Screenplay, 1974); *Next Stop, Greenwich Village* (1976); *An Unmarried Woman* (Oscar nomination for Best Picture and Best Screenplay, 1978); *Willie and Phil* (1980); *Tempest* (1983); *Moscow on the Hudson* (1986); *Down and Out in Beverly Hills* (1986); *Moon over Parador* (1988); *Enemies: A Love Story* (Oscar nomination for Best Screenplay, 1989), based on an Isaac Bashevis Singer short story; *Scenes from a Mall* (1991); *The Pickle* (1993); and *Faithful* (1995).

For television he directed the TV movies *Winchell* (1998) and *Coast to Coast* (2004).

Mazursky wrote *Show Me the Magic: My Adventures in Life and Hollywood*, a collection of autobiographical anecdotes (1999).

[Jonathan Licht / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

MAZUZ, MENI (1955–), Israeli attorney general. Mazuz immigrated to Israel with his family shortly after his birth in Tunisia, settling in the town of Netivot. He completed his legal studies magna cum laude at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem and did his law clerkship in the High Court of Justice department of the State Attorney's Office (which processes petitions to the Supreme Court in equity matters). In 1981, he received his law license and appeared as an attorney in both civil and criminal matters at the State Attorney's Office. He later became responsible for the High Court of Justice department. In 1992–95 Mazuz served as legal advisor and member of the Israeli delegation in negotiations with the Palestinians and Jordanians and headed the legal team which negotiated the Gaza and interim agreements with the Palestinians. In 1994, he was appointed deputy attorney general. He specialized in military and security matters related to the Israel-Palestine entity relationship, international peace and agreements, the Population Registry, and local council planning and building. Mazuz initiated legislative efforts regarding the Court Law which led to a reform in the Israeli judicial system. He wrote legal commentary on this subject and also played a leading role in legislation amendments to the General Security Law, which deals with the status, authority, and supervision of Israel's intelligence community.

In February 2004, Mazuz was appointed attorney general and undertook an administrative reorganization of the office to achieve a clear separation between the prosecutor and the political system. During his first year in office he reviewed traditional positions of the government in various fields. He emphasized alternate methods of law enforcement and limitations on the connection between elected officials and members of the elective body and adapted an egalitarian approach to single-sex couples in regard to social and property rights.

During his term in office, he initiated substantial reforms in several fields, including appointment and supervision of civil servants, budgetary allocations for political parties, and creation of the state agency responsible for monitoring and supervising the Planning and Construction Law. His decisions on various subjects, including the security fence between Israel and the Palestinian West Bank, emphasized the obligation of the State of Israel to recognize human rights and international principles of law.

[Leon Fine (2nd ed.)]

MAẒẒUVAH (Heb. מַצּוּבָה), kibbutz near the Israel-Lebanese border S.W. of Ḥanitah, affiliated with Iḥud ha-Kevuẓot ve-ha-Kibbutzim. Founded in 1940 by *Youth Aliyah graduates originating from Germany and Austria, Maẓẓuvah joined Ḥanitah and *Eilon as a third border outpost in western Galilee. In its initial years, the kibbutz was confronted with the task of heavy reclamation work on its hilly soil, a lack of water and high incidence of malaria, and with sea winds damaging fruit orchards. By 1948 most of these difficulties had been overcome. In 1969, Maẓẓuvah's economy was based predominantly on hill farming (fruit orchards) and a spinning mill. Later it developed citrus groves, fruit orchards, and poultry farming. The spinning mill closed down in 2003, causing a severe economic crisis in the kibbutz. In the mid-1990s, its population was approximately 600, dropping to 507 in 2002, with about a third above the age of 70. The name dates back to talmudic times (Tosef., Shev. 4:9; TJ, Dam. 2:1, 22d); and is preserved in the Arabic name for the site, Khirbat Maʿṣūb. Remnants were found of antique buildings, including a Greek tomb with a Greek and Phoenician inscription dating from 222–221 B.C.E. testifying that an Astarte sanctuary had been erected at the spot.

[Efraim Orni / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

ME-AM LO'EZ, an 18th-century ethico-homiletical Bible commentary in *Ladino, the outstanding work of Judeo-Spanish literature. The commentary, conceived on an encyclopedic scale, was begun by Jacob *Culi, who felt that, after the chaos left by the *Shabbetai Ẓevi heresy, there was a need for the reabsorption of the masses into Orthodox Judaism. Because of their ignorance of the Hebrew language they had no access to traditional literature, and gradually turned away from religious observance. As is clear from his preface to the first volume, on Genesis, this is what Culi had in mind when, in about 1730, he undertook the writing of this work. His aim was to popularize Jewish lore by means of extracts from the Mishnah, Talmud, Midrash, Zohar, and the biblical commentaries – in fact all the branches of rabbinical literature – translated into the Ladino vernacular. Culi originally intended to call his work *Beit Ya'akov*, but quoting from Psalms 114:1, "When Israel went forth out of Egypt, the house of Jacob from a people of strange language," he finally called it by the original Hebrew of that phrase, *Me-Am Lo'ez*. Written in an unpretentious, popular style and in an attractive form, *Me-Am Lo'ez* was to put the elements of Jewish life at the disposal of people unable to use the sources. It deals with all aspects of Jewish life, and often with life in general, with history, ethics, philosophy, and biblical exegesis. It comments on the prescriptions of the Law and clarifies them with a profusion of detail. Culi's idea was to compile the first part of his commentary around the weekly portion of the Pentateuch, assembling, verse by verse, all the material that had any bearing on the section. This was linked together by anecdotes, legends, historical narrative, and folklore. The easy, colloquial style of the work gives it a conversational quality. Culi's popular style that fully suited his educational goals was unique in the way he dealt with aggadic Midrash. He did not quote the names of the rabbinic sages or the verses found in Midrash. He freely retold the stories in his own language, often combining a number of sources into one fluid story. On the other hand, he was loyal to his sources. Almost 300 years after Columbus, Culi still writes about the sun circling the earth, based on the Midrash. The first volume of *Me-Am Lo'ez* was published in Constantinople in 1730. No work designed to instruct the Jewish masses had ever proved so popular. In Turkey printing of the work was done a few pages at a time, distributed prior to Shabbat, and then bound when the volumes were complete.

When Culi died in 1732 he was about to publish his commentary on the first part of Exodus. He left many unfinished manuscripts on the other books of the Bible, which later writers used as the basis for their continuation of his work. Isaac b. Moses Magriso completed the volumes on Exodus (2 vols., Constantinople, 1733, 1746), Leviticus (1753), and Numbers (1764). Isaac Behar Argśeti wrote only a part of his commentary on Deuteronomy (1772). Both Magriso and Argśeti followed Culi so faithfully that the *Me-Am Lo'ez* on the Pentateuch may be considered a unified work. Using the same method, others sought to cover the rest of the Bible and complete the undertaking. Joseph di Trani of Constantinople wrote on Joshua (2 vols., 1850, 1870); Raphael Ḥiyya Pontremoli on Esther (1864); Raphael Isaac Meir ibn Venisti on Ruth (1882); Isaac Judah Abba on Isaiah (1892); Nissim Moses Abod on Ecclesiastes (1898); and finally Ḥayyim Isaac Sciaky worked on the Song of Songs (1899). There may have been other volumes, written in the spirit of Culi, that are no longer extant or that were destroyed before printing. One such work was Isaac Peraḥyah's commentary on Jeremiah, lost in the 1917 fire in Salonika. The commentaries on Genesis and Exodus were the most popular. There were at least six editions of Genesis between 1730 and 1897, and eight of Exodus between 1733 and 1884. The different places of printing show the popularity of the work among the Sephardim of Turkey and the Balkans, and there was even a partial Arabic translation in North Africa. Those who did not own the expensive complete set (sometimes given as a dowry) studied it in reading groups. For a long time the *Me-Am Lo'ez* was the only literature for thousands of Sephardi Jewish families, and its reading was often considered a religious duty. It was so well thumbed by generation after generation that very few sets remain in existence. The *Me-Am Lo'ez* played a role in Sephardi culture parallel to, but wider than, that of the Yiddish *Ẓe'enah u-Re'enah* in the Ashkenazi world, its main difference being that it was not intended primarily for women. As a vast synthesis of everything that had been written in Hebrew, the *Me-Am Lo'ez* was directed to all – men, women, and even children. A Hebrew translation was undertaken by Shmuel Yerushalmi, titled *Yalkut Me-Am Lo'ez*. From 1967 through 1979, he published 20 volumes, which included his own "*Me-Am Lo'ez*" commentary on the books of Samuel, I Kings, Ecclesiastes, Ruth, and the Song of Songs. All of *Yalkut Me-Am Lo'ez* has appeared in English translation (New York, 1977–94). In addition, an edition in Latin transliteration was initiated by the Ibn Tibbon Institute at Granada University, Spain (*Meʿam Loʿez, El gran comentario bíblico Sefardí*, vol. 1, 1964). Unfortunately, the apparent lack of knowledge of Ladino and Turkish led to an edition with many inaccuracies. *Yalkut Me-Am Lo'ez* has been translated into a number of other languages, including Russian. Thus, *Me-Am Lo'ez* continues to be a source of knowledge and inspiration to this day.

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[Henri Guttel / David Derovan (2nd ed.)]

MEARS, OTTO (1841–1931), U.S. railroad builder. Mears was born in Russian Lithuania and was brought to California in 1854. He served in the Civil War. In 1865 he settled in Saguache County, Colorado, as a merchant, later becoming county treasurer and Indian commissioner. He was a road and railroad builder, constructing most of the principal roads in southwest Colorado, building a railroad in Ouray County in 1888, and participating in building and later serving as president of the Denver and Rio Grande Southern Railway. Mears was a presidential elector (1876), lieutenant governor (1883), and state capitol commissioner (1889). A monument honoring him is near Ouray.

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[Robert E. Levinson]

MEAT (Heb. בָּשָׂר, *basar*), the flesh of animals permitted for consumption. (For its meaning as human flesh and symbolic connotation, see *Flesh.) The Talmud points out (Sanh. 59b) that according to the biblical account the consumption of meat was forbidden from Adam until Noah (Gen. 1:29) and was specifically permitted first to Noah (*ibid.* 9:3). Apart from this, however, there is no suggestion of vegetarianism in the Bible. On the other hand, meat is never included among the staple diet of the children of Israel, which is confined to agricultural products, of which the constantly recurring expression in the Bible is "grain and wine and oil" (Deut. 11:14), or the seven agricultural products enumerated in Deuteronomy 8:8. (It has however been suggested that Deuteronomy 11:15 refers to the eating of meat.) In point of fact, meat was regarded in the Bible as a luxury for which the children of Israel would yearn "when the Lord enlarges your territory" (Deut. 12:20), and the lusting of the children of Israel after the "fleshpots of Egypt" (Ex. 16:3 and Num. 11:4) was regarded as highly reprehensible. From Deuteronomy 12:20–22, R. Ishmael (Ḥul. 16b–17a) deduces that during their sojourn in the wilderness the children of Israel were permitted to eat only meat from an animal which had actually been sacrificed and that it was only when they entered the Land of Israel that "meat of desire," i.e., the meat of all permitted animals, could be eaten as desired without the animal being sacrificed. R. Akiva, however, interprets it to mean that in the wilderness any method of killing an animal, even stabbing (*neḥirah*), was permitted, but that after their entry into the land only the meat of animals which had been slaughtered by *sheḥitah* could be eaten. All agree, however, that the reference is only to "cattle" which could be offered as sacrifices, but that the meat of "beasts" (nondomesticated animals, the "gazelle and the hart") was freely permitted (cf. Deut. 12:22). That the flesh of birds was permitted is clear from Exodus 16:13 and Numbers 11:31–33. The only limitation on the consumption of meat to non-Jews ("the children of Noah") is the prohibition against meat cut from a living animal (based on Gen. 9:4; see *Noachide Laws). For Jews however only the flesh of "clean" animals was permitted, and that, only after *sheḥitah* and the removal of forbidden blood and fat. The seething of meat in milk was forbidden (Ex. 23:19 et al.) and interpreted to include eating meat and milk together or deriving any benefit from it. It has been suggested that this prohibition is because such practices were connected with heathen fertility rites (Maim. *Guide* 3:48; see *Dietary Laws). In the talmudic period, meat was regarded as the diet of the well-to-do, and as a feature of festive occasions rather than a staple diet. It was regarded as obligatory only on Sabbaths and festivals since "there is no joy without meat and wine" (Pes. 109a). The immensely wealthy Eleazar b. Azariah laid it down that only a person who possesses 100 *maneh* may eat meat daily; otherwise it should be eaten only on the Sabbath. In the amoraic period, however, it seems to have become more common. In Ereẓ Israel, R. Johanan said that owing to the prevailing physical weakness, "whoever has a penny in his pocket should run to the shopkeeper" (to buy meat daily), while the Babylonian Naḥman said that one should even buy it on credit (Ḥul. 84a). Its nutritive value was recognized. It was specially recommended for pregnant women as they would thus have robust children (Ket. 60b–61a). On the basis of homiletical exposition of Leviticus 11:46, R. Judah ha-Nasi suggested that only those engaged in the study of the Torah were permitted to indulge in meat (Pes. 49b). Poultry was more highly regarded as a delicacy than meat, and meat than fish (Num. R. 21:25). Of poultry the most delectable was the chicken, of meat, the ox (BM 86b). Among the things to be avoided by a convalescent, since they "bring on his sickness again in a severe form," are "beef, fat meat, roast meat, and poultry" (Ber. 57b). As the consumption of meat was associated with joy, abstention from it was a symbol of mourning. For the same reason meat is not eaten by a mourner on the day of burial or in the period of national mourning from the first until the Ninth of *Av (Sh. Ar., OḤ 551:9). After the destruction of the Temple there were those who sought to adopt asceticism, including abstention from meat, but it was strongly opposed (BB 60b).

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[Louis Isaac Rabinowitz]

MECHOULAM, RAPHAEL (1930–), Israeli organic chemist. Mechoulam was born in Sofia, Bulgaria. He received his

M.Sc. in biochemistry from the Hebrew University of Jerusalem (1952) and his Ph.D. at the Weizmann Institute, Reḥovot (1958). After postdoctoral studies at the Rockefeller Institute, New York (1959–60), he was on the scientific staff of the Weizmann Institute (1960–65) before moving to the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, where he became professor (1972) and Lionel Jacobson Professor of Medicinal Chemistry from 1975. He was rector (1979–82) and pro-rector (1983–85). His main research interests concern the chemistry and actions of *Cannabis sativa* (marijuana) constituents and related substances (endocannabinoids) synthesized naturally in body tissues, particularly in the nervous system. This work has important implications in physiology, as the endocannabinoids represent a new type of neuromodulators, and in medicinal chemistry, as these compounds are exploited for their actions in psychiatric, neurological, and inflammatory diseases and as appetite-promoting agents. In 1994 he was elected a member of the Israel Academy of Sciences. His honors include the Kolthof Prize in chemistry from the Haifa Technion (1994) and the Israel Prize in chemistry (2000).

[Michael Denman (2nd ed.)]

MECKLENBURG, former duchy in Germany. Before the middle of the 14th century Jews were to be found in Wismar, Rostock, Parchim, Krakow, Guestrow, Schwerin, Friedland, and perhaps also in Borzenburg and Malchin. A Jewish community is first mentioned in 1279 at Rostock and there were communities from around the same time in Parchim and Guestrow. The other cities had only a few families. The Jews were allowed to engage only in moneylending. A Jew, Salathiel, bought a house and loaned money to the duke and to the city of Schwerin. Accusations of desecrating the *Host in Krakow am See (1325) and Guestrow (1330) and the *Black Death persecutions in Rostock, Parchim, and Wismar practically wiped out Mecklenburg Jewry. After another accusation of desecrating the Host, in Sternberg in 1492, 27 Jews were burned at the stake and all Jews were expelled from the duchy.

From 1679 Jewish merchants from Hamburg, often of Sephardi extraction, were granted letters of protection and commercial privileges, and some became Court Jews. One of them, Michael Hinrichsen (Portugies) of *Glueckstadt (d. 1710), court jeweler and tobacco agent, settled in Schwerin, where he rapidly gained ascendancy. He employed a rabbi so that he might study Talmud with him, and opened a synagogue in his home. He was the first Jew in Germany to be freed (in 1701) from payment of the **Leibzoll* ("body tax") for his lifetime. His descendants continued to hold leading positions in Mecklenburg economic and public life for five generations. The first *Landesrabbiner*, Jeremias Israel, appointed in 1763, was a member of his family. A growing number of communities were established by privileged Jews and their households despite a 1755 enactment making illegal all forms of landholdings. Tax records of 1760 show 141 taxpaying Jews residing legally in the duchy. In this period the history of Mecklenburg Jewry is linked with that of O.G. Tychsen (1734–1816), Orientalist, professor, and unsuccessful missionary, who meticulously recorded the history of the local Jews as well as supporting their emancipation. A ducal order (May 30, 1772), that burials be postponed for three days in order to eliminate the possibility of "false" deaths, induced the Jews of Mecklenburg to apply to Moses *Mendelssohn, who advised them to erect burial halls, a decision which was contested by more Orthodox rabbis.

On Feb. 22, 1811, M.R. Hinrichsen and I. Mendel presented a petition for emancipation. Although the estates demanded basic reforms in Judaism, the liberal duke, Franz Friedrich I (d. 1839), nonetheless issued an emancipatory edict two years later (March 25, 1813), based on the Prussian model. Markets were not to be held on Jewish holidays and support was given to Jewish rights within the German Confederation. On Sept. 11, 1817, under pressure from the estates, the duke suspended emancipation. During the *Hep! Hep! disturbances (1819) troops had to be called in to Guestrow to suppress the riots. The estates continued to oppose the duke's liberal attitude toward individual Jews and rejected a law of 1830 granting the Jews occupational and economic liberties. In 1847 the estates at last supported emancipation, which endured briefly until 1850; the Jews were not fully emancipated until 1869.

In 1839 statutes were enacted granting autonomy to rabbinical organizations. A year later Samuel *Holdheim was elected *Landesrabbiner* and introduced far-reaching and controversial reforms. Holdheim was active in the struggle for emancipation and succeeded in having the degrading medieval formula of the Jewish *oath changed. He was followed by the even more radical David Einhorn (1847–51), whose denial of circumcision as a prerequisite of Judaism was attacked by Franz *Delitzsch, the Christian missionary and scholar. For the sake of peace, and on the order of the government, the rabbinate was subsequently filled by Orthodox rabbis.

Mecklenburg Jewry increased from 2,494 persons in 1810 to 3,318 (0.64% of the total population) in 1845. The small communities (11 with more than 100 persons in 1850) subsequently declined numerically, and due to the emigration of Jews to the big cities, the larger ones did not grow. The numbers decreased to 1,413 (0.22%) in 1910 and to 1,225 in 1932. Rostock, the largest city, which excluded Jews until 1867, was then the main community, with about 350 members, followed by Guestrow (120), Parchim (48), and Schwerin (200). The fate of Mecklenburg Jews during World War II was similar to that of the rest of German Jewry. In 1990, very few Jews resided in the state of Mecklenburg.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Germ Jud, 2 (1968), 528–9; L. Donath, *Geschichte der Juden in Mecklenburg* (1874); Neuman, in: *Juedische Familien Forschung*, no. 5 (1926), 98–101; Gruenfeldt, in: *Zeitschrift fuer Demographic und Statistik der Juden 8* (1912), 1–7; Silberstein, in: *Festschrift zum 25 jaehrigen Bestehen der juedischen theologischen Seminars Fraenkelscher Stiftung*, 2 (1929), 303–66; idem, in: *Festschrift zum 70 Geburtstage Martin Philipson* (1916); Sterling, in: HJ, 12 (1950), 134; H. Kellenbenz, *Sephardim an der unteren Elbe* (1958), 436–46; H.

Schnee, *Die Hoffinanz und der moderne Staat*, 2 (1954), 293–315; 5 (1965), 105ff., S. Stern, *The Court Jew* (1950), index.

[Henry Wasserman]

MEDALIE, GEORGE ZERDIN (1883–1946), U.S. lawyer and Jewish community leader. Medalie was born in New York's Lower East Side to Russian immigrants. He served as assistant district attorney of New York County (1910–15). Subsequently founding his own law firm, Medalie also served in various advisory and public legal capacities. As U.S. attorney for the Southern District of New York from 1931 he vigorously prosecuted racketeers and smugglers. One of several assistants whom he later helped attain public careers in elective office was Thomas E. Dewey. Medalie himself was the Republican nominee for the U.S. Senate in 1932. In 1945 Dewey, then governor of New York, appointed him to an interim term as associate justice of the Court of Appeals, the highest state court. Medalie was prominent in local legal associations and was a leader of the New York Jewish Community. He was on the board of directors of both the Joint Distribution Committee and the UJA. As chairman of the American Jewish Committee's Overseas Committee, he devoted his efforts to securing equal rights for Jews in the countries to which they returned after World War II. From 1941 to 1945 he served as president of the Federation of Jewish Philanthropies. As president of the Jewish Board of Guardians in 1931 Medalie gave strong support to the development of psychiatric casework. He was chairman of the Mayor's Committee on Unemployment Relief during the Depression and served on many other government committees.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: AJYB, 48 (1946–47), 93–100; J. Willen, in: AJYB, 42 (1946–47), 93–100 (portrait).

MEDALISTS. Pewter, seal, and gem engraving were traditional Jewish professions, often handed down from father to son through several generations. By the 18th century, this practice had developed into medal engraving and Jewish medalists were employed at several Protestant courts of northern Germany and Scandinavia. Members of the *Abraham-Abramson family were among the leading 18th-century medalists. The Jacobson family rose to prominence at Copenhagen in the same period. Philipp *Aron, active from about 1750 to 1787, and his brother Abraham (1744–1824), did portrait medals for the courts of Mecklenburg and Stockholm, as did Meir Loeser and his son Nathan at the turn of the century. About the same time Abraham Jacobs and Abraham Heilbut spent their active careers working in their native Hamburg. An important 18th-century Russian medalist was Samuel *Judin, while the *Simon family flourished in Belgium and France. The three *Wiener brothers from Belgium are considered among the finest 19th-century medalists, as were Avenir and Abraham *Griliches in Russia. France was the home of several distinguished 19th-century Jewish medalists such as René Stern, court engraver to Napoleon III, and E.A. Soldi. One of the few Jewish medals by the French sculptor Emmanuel Hannaux has an excellent portrait of Narcisse *Leven, president of the Alliance Israélite Universelle. S.F. *Beer engraved the commemorative for the Second Zionist Congress. Aaron Kohn (early 19th century, Germany) is noteworthy for his religious medals, such as his 1817 **Tashlikh* prayer and his 1837 circumcision medals. In the same period Asher Wappenstein (1780–1852) of Vienna engraved patriotic commemoratives. I.W. Loewenbach of Munich struck Bavarian nationalist medals from the 1820s through the 1860s. He also did the earliest German synagogue medal, issued in 1826 for the new synagogue at Munich. H. Oppenheim is well known for his medals dealing with his home city of Frankfurt on the Main. On the other hand, Leo Horovitz, son of the Frankfurt rabbi Marcus *Horovitz, concentrated mainly on Jewish subjects. Dutch Jewish medalists of this period were M.C. de Vries Jr., A.L. Snoeck, and Jacques *Elion, the last having been preceded by his father Samuel Cohen Elion. Two Americans, both born in the Austrian Empire, achieved distinction. One was Moritz *Furst; the other, Isidore Konti, a gifted sculptor as well, struck the 1905 commemoration of the 250th anniversary of Jewish settlement in the United States. Among 20th-century Jewish medalists are Victor D. *Brenner (U.S.), Benno *Elkan (Germany and England), and Harald Salomon (Denmark). Fulop O. Beck (b. 1873) is considered one of the best medalists of the 20th century; though baptized he executed medals for many important Jews. Ede Telcs (1872–1958), also a Christian convert, became the official medalist for Hungary during World War I. Other noted 20th-century Jewish medalists include the Germans Hugo Kaufmann and Arnold *Zadikow; the Austrians Emil Fuchs and Arthur Loewental; the Dutch Loecki Metz; the Hungarian István Csillag; the French Boris Bernstein, Simon Goldberg, and Esther Gorbato; Paul *Vincze, in England, as well as the Americans Abram Belskie, Michael Lantz, Albert W. Wein, and Adolph Block. The American sculptors Leonard Baskin and William *Zorach have done occasional medals. Boris *Schatz, Ivan Sors, F.J. Kormis, and A. Eisenberg are known for their medals of Jewish subject matter. Israel had a new group of medalists, including Miriam Karoli, Zvi Narkiss, Gabriel and Maxime Shammir, the team of Rothschild and Lippmann ("Rcli"), Alex Berlyne, Mordechai Gumpel, Jacob Zim, Josef Bass, and Moshe Zipper.

See *Medals.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: L. Forrer, *Biographical Dictionary of Medalists* (1902–30); D.M. Friedenberg (ed.), *Great Jewish Portraits in Metal* (1963); idem, in: *The Numismatist* (July 1969); O.C. Gaedechens, *Die neuren Hamburgischen Muenzen und Medaillen* (1843); T. Hoffmann, *Jacob Abraham und Abraham Abramson – 55 Jahr Medaillenkunst (1755–1810)* (1927); L. Kadman, *Israel's Money* (1963); M. Stern, *Aus dem Berliner Juedischen Museum* (1937).

[Daniel M. Friedenberg]

MEDALS. The significance of Jewish medals is both historical and artistic; they illustrate the history of the Jews in the widest sense of the word. (See Table: Jewish Medals). Opinions widely differ on the classification of Jewish medals. Bruno Kisch (see bibliography) gives the following classification:

1. Symbolic representation, biblical personages and scenes, imitation shekels, and biblical medals. (This group should really not be included among Jewish medals, since in most cases they were made neither by, nor for Jews.)

2. Medals referring to political events in connection with Jews, such as the granting of religious freedom, Zionistica, etc.

3. Medals referring to Jewish communities, inaugurations and jubilees of synagogues, or institutions, schools, etc.

4. Medals of Jewish personalities, such as rabbis, physicians, philanthropists, etc.

5. Marriage and anniversary medals, tokens, amulets.

Though no medals exist from talmudic or biblical times, the Talmud (BK 97b) speaks of portrait coins bearing the likeness of biblical personages. Probably the oldest Jewish medal extant (1497 or 1503) is one associated with the name of Benjamin b. Elijah Be'er the physician, with a long and enigmatic Hebrew inscription with a text also in Greek and Latin, surrounding what may be intended to represent a Roman emperor. In the 16th century, during the Renaissance, portrait medals were made by or for rich Jewish families. The best known of these is that of Gracia *Nasi (1556), in all probability the younger of the two ladies known by that name. Dating roughly from the same period are the portrait medals of Elijah de Latas (or Lattes; 1552) and Abramo Emanuele Norsa (1557). Mention may be made also of the medals struck for Marranos in Antwerp, such as Luis Perez (1597) and Ursula Lopez, widow of Martin Perez (1580).

At the end of the 17th century, the so-called "*Korn Jude*" medals are found, a typical example of antisemitica. These medals, made of silver, copper, and tin, all show more or less the same picture: on the front a bearded man wearing a Jew's hat, a stick in his hand, and carrying a sack of grain on his back, on which sits the devil who rips the sack open. Around this picture is the inscription "*Du Korn Jude*" and under it a date with the word *Theurezeit*. On the reverse side is a corn measure and the verse (Prov. 11:26): *Wer Korn inhaelt, dem fluchen die Leuthe. Aber Seegen kommt ueber den, der es verkauft, Sprueche* ("He that withholdeth corn, the people shall curse him; but blessing shall be upon the head of him that selleth it," Proverbs). Other examples of antisemitic medals are the "Federjude" medals of the same period. The figure represented is a Jew in a feather hat, carrying a large sack on his back and a money bag in his hand. Similarly anti-Jewish feeling in Germany is expressed by the medals struck on the occasion of the execution of Jew "Suess" *Oppenheimer in 1738. The medals are in silver, lead, and bronze. In the 18th and 19th centuries baptism was for many Jews a way out of the difficult circumstances in which they lived, and this led to the striking of baptismal medals. Among such is a satiric medal in silver, circa 1700. On the front is a clergyman holding a Bible, who pours water on the head of a kneeling Jew carrying a millstone around his neck. On the reverse side is an antisemitic text, and on the rim *Wenn die Maus die Katze frisst, dan wird ein Jud ein wahrer Christ* ("When the mouse eats the cat, then a Jew becomes a true Christian"). Political accusations against the Jews were also known. When in 1686 the city of Ofen (the old German name for Buda, see *Budapest) was captured from the Turks by Leopold I of Austria, the Jewish community was massacred. As a memento of the event a satiric medal was struck showing a Turk and Jew melting metal in a furnace, the Turk holding the tongs and the Jew the bellows, while ingots appear at the bottom. "Who mints money for peace now that the Turk and Jew are tired of war?" is the ironic inscription.

Two medals were struck on the occasion of the fire in the Judengasse at Frankfurt on the Main in 1711, one in three variants. That with the variants by Christian Wermuth is one of the most vicious antisemitic pieces extant. In 1735 a medal

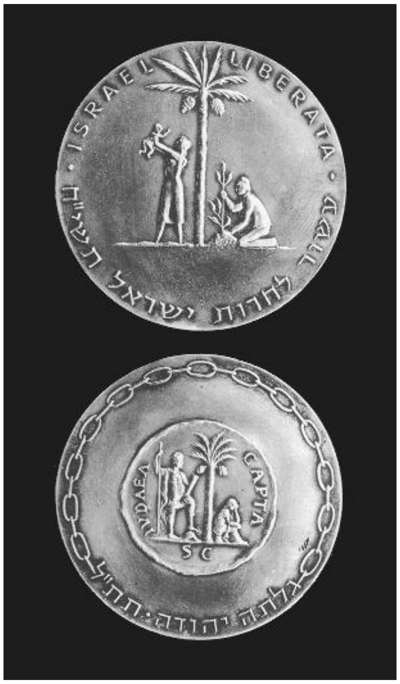

"Israel Liberata" coin celebrating the 10th anniversary of the State, 1958. The reverse is a facsimile of a "Judaea Capta" coin recording Vespasian's conquest in 70 C.E. Courtesy Israel Government Medals and Coins Corporation, Jerusalem.

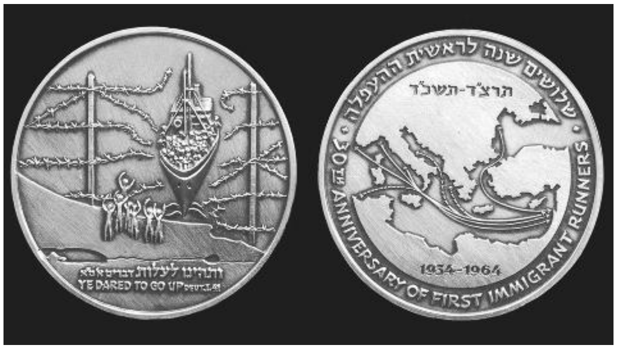

Israel medal marking the 30th anniversary of the beginning of immigration blockade-running, 1964. Courtesy Israel Government Medals and Coins Corporation, Jerusalem.

Selective List of Jewish Medals

1. Renaissance Medals

1503 (or 1497)	Benjamin ben Elijah Be'er (medallion)
1552	Elijah de Latas (De Lattes) and his mother, Rica de Latas
1556	Gracia Nasi
1557	Abramo Emanuele Norsa (Norcia)

2. Jewish Emancipation Medals

1745	Repeal of Edict of Maria Theresa expelling Jews from Prague and Bohemia
1781	Edict of Toleration of Emperor Joseph II
1782	idem, issued by Dutch Jews after Emperor visited the Netherlands (four variants)
1790	Homage to Landgrave Ludwig X of Hesse and Darmstadt
1790	Homage to Landgravine Louise Caroline Henriette of Hesse and Darmstadt (two variants)
1796	Emancipation of Jews in Batavian Republic (i.e. Holland)
1805	Alexander I of Russia frees Jews from a special tax
1806	Sanhedrin of Napoleon
1808	Enfranchisement of the Jews of Westphalia (by Abraham Abramson)
1836	Homage to Gabriel Riesser (for role in German Jewish emancipation)
1840	Montefiore and Crémieux at Cairo on behalf of Jews held in accusation of ritual murder (The Damascus Affair)
1846	Jubilee of emancipation of Jews in The Netherlands
1848	Emancipation of Jews in the Kingdom of Sardinia (Dedication to Count Roberto d'Azeglio)
1848	Commemoration of the German Revolution (a plank listed on medal is "Emancipation of the Jews")
1854–55	Presentation by Italian Jews to Albert Cohen, 15th Sivan 5614, on his receiving assurances from Sultan Abdal-Mejid that the Jews in Palestine would receive equal rights with Christians
1860	Proclamation of Right for Jews in Galicia, Bukovina, and Cracow to buy real estate (for Franz Joseph I)
1864	Intercession in Morocco of Sir Moses and Lady Judith Montefiore
1881	100th Anniversary of Joseph II's Edict of Toleration

3. Commemorative Medals (Including a few antisemitic because of their importance)

1670	300th Anniversary of the alleged desecration of the Host at Brussels. This medal was reissued in 1820, on the 450th anniversary and then again in 1870, the last being philosemitic
1686	Participation of the Jews in the defense of Ofen (Buda) against Austria (two variants)
1696	Satire on the followers of Shabbetai Ẓevi (Christian in origin)
1700	The Useless Baptism of Jews
1711	Fire in Frankfurt on the Main Ghetto (three variants by C. Wermuth; separate one by Johann Linck)
1721	Fires in the Frankfurt Ghetto
1738	Hanging of Jew Suess (five variants); also portrait
1791	Wilhelm (Jewish) School in Breslau, Jewish
1800	Inauguration of the Adat Jeshurun (Reform) Synagogue in Amsterdam
1810	Building of the Bordeaux Synagogue
1826	Dedication of the New Synagogue in Munich, by I. W. Loewenbach, Jewish medalist
1841	Hamburg Jewish Hospital (Solomon Heine on obverse as benefactor)
1841	Opening of the Jewish Home for Aged at the Hague; by J. Weiner, Jewish medalist
1841	Opening of the New Maastricht Synagogue
1841	25th Anniversary of the Jewish Loan Institute at Hamburg
1843	Laying of the Foundation Stone of the Hebrew National School at Birmingham
1843	First Jewish Girl's Confirmation at Warsaw; by Eichel, Jewish medalist
1848	Destruction of the Rothschild Chateau at Surenne

4. Important Early Tokens

1671 and 1714	Burial Pass permits for the Amsterdam Ḥevra Kaddisha
1679–1812	English "Jew Brokers" Medals
c. 1780	Moses Benjamin Foa
1780–1793	Lord George Gordon as a Jew (nine variants)
1790	Daniel Mendoza (five variants)
1791	Mendoza and Ward

5. Important Portrait Medals Before 1850

1735	Eleazar b. Samuel Shmelka, welcomed as rabbi by Ashkenazi community of Amsterdam (by Joel, Jewish medalist)
c. 1774	Moses Mendelssohn (by Jacob Abraham and son, Abraham Abramson)
1793	Daniel Itzig's 70th Birthday (by Abraham Abramson)

Selective List of Jewish Medals (cont.)

1794	Homage to Marcus Herz (by Jacob Abraham and Abraham Abramson)
1803	73rd Birthday of Lipmann Meyer (by Anton Friedrich Koenig)
c. 1816	Memorial to Gershom Mendes Seixas (by Moritz Furst)
1836	Memorial to Nathan Mayer Rothschild (pub. by Hyam Hyams)
1837	Memorial to Ludwig Boerne (by H. Oppenheim)
1837	Elias Henschel (Breslau): 50th Anniversary of graduation as doctor (by Lesser – possibly a Jew)
1939	Johann Stieglitz
1842	Memorial to Chief Rabbi Solomon Hirschel (pub. by Hyam Hyams)
1844	70th Birthday of Solomon Mayer Rothschild
1846	"Rachel," Elisa-Rachel Felix
1847	Giacomo Meyerbeer
1847	Jubilee of Ḥakham Isaac Bernays of Hamburg

was struck in Amsterdam – by Joel Levi – with a Hebrew text to mark the arrival there of Eleazar of Brody, who had been invited to become rabbi of the Ashkenazi congregation. A portrait of Moses *Mendelssohn, one of the forerunners of the Emancipation in Germany, was made about 1774 jointly by the Jewish medalist Jacob Abraham (1723–1800) and his son, Abraham Abramson (1754–1811). The Emancipation of the Jews was the occasion of commemorations and frequently led to the striking of medals. (The most important medals in this group are listed in Section 2 of the appended list.) The Emancipation of the Jews caused a revival of Jewish communities especially in Western Europe, and an extensive development of Jewish intellectual life. In Germany and Austria, in particular, hundreds of medals were struck on the occasion of various events.

Large numbers of Jewish medalists and sculptors were engaged in the making of medals. Besides the German and Dutch medals there are also a number of French, Italian, and English medals, many American and a few Polish, Scandinavian, and Russian ones.

[Arthur Polak]

In Israel

The first commemorative medals and coins were issued in Israel in 1958 on the tenth anniversary of the state, as part of the activities of the Anniversary Committee set up by the Prime Minister's Office. In 1961 a special Israel Government Coins and Medals Corporation was set up, whose charter provides for a board of directors on which a number of ministries are represented and which appoints a director general. State medals are struck for the following purpose: to commemorate events of national or international significance in the field of culture, science, history, and the various stages of Israel's development and achievement. In keeping with Jewish tradition, living personalities are not commemorated. Commemorative coins are issued by the Bank of Israel and are legal tender, while official state medals are the monopoly of the Coins and Medals Corporation. Apart from the purposes mentioned, these coins and medals have a great publicity value both among Diaspora Jews and in official circles of other states. They earn revenue and foreign currency for the Israel treasury; the income is earmarked for the restoration and preservation of historical sites in Israel.

The first medal issued in 1958 was the Liberation Medal showing the Roman "Judaea Capta" coin on the obverse and "Israel Liberata" on the reverse. This was followed by the Valor medal of 1959, with the symbol of the Israel Defense Forces on the obverse and the Trumpeldor Memorial on the reverse. A medal of the same year commemorated the jubilee year of the founding of Tel Aviv, while a Bar Kokhba medal was struck in 1960, after the Bar Kokhba letters were found in the Dead Sea Caves. More than 100 subjects had been commemorated by 1970, among them the Warsaw Ghetto Rising (1963), Masada (1964), the Rothschild family (on the opening of the new Knesset, 1966), the Sinai Campaign (1966), the Jewish Legion, the Balfour Declaration (1967), and El Al Airlines (1969). There is also a very popular bar mitzvah medal (1961).

Commemorative coins are issued every year on the occasion of Israel Independence Day (1958–). A series of Ḥanukkah coins was struck (1958–63), as well as special gold coins to mark the Herzl centenary (1960), the Six-Day War of 1967, and the reunification of Jerusalem (1968). Half-shekels (1961, 1962) to be donated to charity on Purim, and Redemption of the Firstborn shekels (1969) for the *Pidyon ha-Ben* ceremony have been struck for religious use.

Each medal and coin is accompanied by an illustrated prospectus, in various languages, telling the story behind the medal, as well as numismatic technical details such as mintage figures, metal, weight, diameter, name of the artist, and the place of striking. In order to distinguish state medals from privately issued medals, official medals carry on their edge the emblem of the state and the words "State of Israel" in Hebrew and in English and are engraved with serial numbers. After minting the designated number of medals, the dies from which they were struck are destroyed in the presence of official witnesses. Official catalogs are issued periodically by the corporation and are also published in the *Israel Numismatic Bulletin.*

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[Yitzhak Avni and Israel Sedaka]

MEDEM, VLADIMIR (pseudonym **M. Vinitski**; 1879–1923), prominent *Bund leader in Russia and Poland. He was born in Libau (Liepaja), Courland, to an army medical officer, who was an extremely assimilationist liberal and had him baptized into the Orthodox Church. In his youth Medem regarded himself as a Russian, and the influence of his association with Jews at the secondary school of Minsk was only revealed later. He studied law in Kiev, became acquainted with the writings of Plekhanov and Lenin, and identified himself ideologically with Marxism. As a result of his role in a students' strike (1899), he was expelled from the university, and after a brief term of imprisonment was exiled to Minsk under police supervision. He was influenced there by leaders of the Bund: Gershuni, Temin, and Kaplan. His interest in the Jewish masses was now aroused and he felt himself attracted to them. This evolution, which led him to join the Bund, became for him the way back to Jewish identity. It was precisely this lengthy journey which later won him admiration within the Bundist masses. He was a member of the Bund committee of Minsk and wrote for its organ, *Der Minsker Arbeter*.

After being imprisoned and suffering from a kidney disease, he succeeded in escaping to Berne, Switzerland. He was active in the Russian student circles there and at the end of 1901 was elected first secretary of the Bund organization abroad. He represented the Bund at the Second Convention (1903) of the Russian Social Democratic Party in London. After the convention he was appointed to the Committee Abroad of the Bund. During the years 1905–08, Medem was also active in Russia as one of the leading contributors and editors of the Bund newspapers *Posledniya Izvestiya* and *Nashe Slovo*. At the Seventh Convention (1906) of the Bund, he was elected to its central committee. He was deeply concerned with the national question, and it was he who formulated the so-called neutralist attitude toward the future fate of the Jewish nation which was adopted by the Bund as its official position ("neutralism"). It was only in 1910 that he began to retreat from this position and recognized the need for a positive attitude on the national future of the Jews. He was among the first to call for an active interest by the Bund in the Jewish community organization (*kehillah*); he demanded actual action in the question of Yiddish schools, the right to rest on the Sabbath, and the right of employment for Jewish workers. He played an active role in the revival of the Bundist press during the years 1912–13 (*Lebnsfragen*, Vienna, and *Di Tsayt*, St. Petersburg). In 1915, as a result of the Russian retreat during World War I, he was freed before completing a two-year term of imprisonment in Warsaw. During the German occupation he was the ideological leader of the Bund in Poland. He began to speak and write in Yiddish. His anti-Zionist writings became increasingly violent, but he renewed the demand for Jewish national-cultural autonomy. He was even in favor of collaboration with middle-class elements in the field of Yiddish culture. During the years 1919–20, when pro-Communist tendencies gained the upper hand within the Bund, Medem found himself isolated in his violently critical attitude toward Bolshevism and its methods. At the beginning of 1921 he immigrated to the U.S. where he contributed to the Jewish daily, **Forward*. His autobiography (*Fun Mayn Lebn*, 2 vols., 1923) is of both literary and historical value. Cultural and educational institutions in Poland were named after him.

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[Moshe Mishkinsky]

MEDES AND MEDIA (Heb. מָדַי; in Akkadian inscriptions: *Madai*), a people of Indo-Iranian origin, closely related to the Persians, who inhabited the mountainous area of Iran and the northeastern and eastern region of Mesopotamia. The Medes, located in the Kermanshah-Hamadan (Ecbatana) region, are more prominent in Assyrian texts than the Persians. The Assyrian kings distinguish two groups of Medes inside the empire, and the distant Medes (*madaya rūqūti*). In the biblical passage enumerating Noah's sons, Madai, the progenitor of the Medes, like those of other Indo-Iranian peoples, is included among the sons of *Japheth (Gen. 10:2). In datable sources Medes are first mentioned in the historical inscriptions of the Assyrian kings of the end of the ninth century B.C.E., Shalamaneser III and his son Shamshi-Adad V. The Assyrian kings in military campaigns against Media, which then stretched southeast of Lake Urmia, inflicted heavy losses on its population. Although the Medes did not as yet have a central kingdom, they succeeded in repelling the Assyrian kings in sporadic encounters and by evasive tactics. In the eighth century B.C.E., *Tiglath-Pileser III, in his campaigns, which extended from *Ararat (Urartu) to the mountains south of the Caspian Sea, subdued the Medes. Annexing Media to Assyria, he deported 65,000 of its population, whom he replaced with inhabitants of other countries. However, in the days of *Sargon II, at the end of the eighth century B.C.E., Media, under the leadership of a Median called Dayaukku, revolted against Assyria. In Sargon's military operations conducted in 716–15 B.C.E. against the centers of revolt, Dayaukku was captured and exiled to Hamath in Syria, whereupon 22 Median rulers, submitting to the sovereignty of Assyria, presented a gift to the king. Dayaukku is undoubtedly identical with Deioces, who is mentioned by Herodotus (1:96–101) as having united the tribes of Media and as having been its first king, reigning for 53 years. However, according to contemporary Assyrian sources, he was merely the forceful local chieftain of a region lying between Assyria and Ararat. Apparently a later tradition attributed to him a royal title and the establishment of the Median Empire. Media became a united empire under the leadership of Kaštarita (according to the Persian pronunciation; in Assyrian: *Kastarītu*), who formed a military pact against the Assyrians in the region of the Zagros Mountains and rose to be king of Media (in the first half of the seventh century B.C.E.). The present tendency is to identify Kaštarita with Phraortes king of Media who, according to Herodotus (1:102), reigned 22 years, subdued the Persians, and was killed when advancing on Nineveh. Having consolidated their position at the end of the reign of Ashurbanipal king of Assyria (668–627 B.C.E.), the Medes, in the wars between Babylonia and Assyria in the days of the last Assyrian kings (626–616 B.C.E.), joined forces with the Babylonians, attacked Nineveh, and, after conquering it, assisted in the capture of Haran. The Medes (called in contemporary Babylonian documents *Ummān manda*, an old traditional term for barbarians) were then ruled by Cyaxares (i.e., native Huvaxšra; in Babylonian sources: *Umakištar*), who, Herodotus reports (1:100–4), defeated the Scythians. After the overthrow of Assyria, Cyaxares extended his sway over the northern part of the Assyrian Empire, as well as over large sections of Iran, Armenia, and Asia Minor. When unable in 500 B.C.E. to conquer Lydia, Cyaxares, through the mediation of the kings of Babylonia and Cilicia, made a treaty with the Lydians. This consolidation of Media under Cyaxares, constituting as it did a danger to Babylonia, finds expression in utterances of the prophets of Israel who saw in the army of Media a relentless foe rising to destroy Babylonia (Isa. 13:4–6, 17–19, 21:1–10) and uniting with other northern peoples to bring about, at God's command, the overthrow of the kingdom of the Chaldeans (Jer. 51:11–14, 25–36). Astyages (Ass. *Ištumēgu*) the son of Cyaxares and the last king of Media (584–550 B.C.E.) attempted to oust Babylonia from the region of Haran. However, after *Cyrus king of Persia had revolted against Astyages and defeated him, Media became part of the Persian Empire (550 B.C.E.). The revolts which broke out against Persian rule at the beginning of *Darius I's reign were unsuccessful, and Media was incorporated into two Persian satrapies (the 11th and the 18th). Nevertheless it occupied an honorable and special position in the Persian Empire, as is reflected in the biblical combination (in Esther and Daniel) of "Persia and Media" or "Media and Persia," e.g., "the seven princes of Persia and Media" (Esth. 1:14); "the kings of Media and Persia" (10:2); or "the laws of the Persians and the Medes" (1:19). The Bible apparently expresses a view, then prevalent, about the part played by the two empires in the historical events preceding the fall of Babylonia. According to this view, not only did the one empire supplement the work of the other but the Persian Empire was the natural heir of Media. Echoes of this view appear in Daniel's vision of the destruction of Babylonia by the Medes and Persians (Dan. 5:26–28; cf. 6:1, 29; 8:20) as well as in the prophecies in Isaiah and Jeremiah concerning the overthrow of Babylonia by Media (see above). It is difficult to reconcile elements of the literary sources with archaeological evidence. Ecbabtana has not yet been excavated but three other sizable Median sites of the seventh century were deserted by the sixth. No Median writing has been found, though some words that are either Median or part of Medo-Persian *koinē* have been identified in Old Persian inscriptions, nor has any distinctively Median style in art been identified.

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[Samuel Abramsky / S. David Sperling (2nd ed.)]

MEDIATION, an alternative means for the resolution of disputes in which the mediator, a neutral professional, meets with the parties to the dispute and aids them in reaching an agreed upon resolution. Unlike a judge, the mediator has no authority to render a decision in the dispute. In the mediation process, the parties are given the opportunity to express themselves, to voice their arguments, and to reach, by themselves, a solution that is appropriate for them.

Mediation is appropriate for the resolution of most types of disputes, be they commercial disputes, private disputes, disputes regarding the family, or even public disputes and international disputes between states.

Jewish legal literature contains many sources that refer to disputes. Many of these sources point to the increase in litigation and consider the use of the judicial process, terminating in a definitive judicial decision as the preferred method to resolve disputes.

Alongside this approach, there are many sources that refer approvingly to making peace between parties, whether this is achieved by a *dayyan* (rabbinical court judge) in the rabbinical court who works out a "compromise" between the parties (see *Compromise), or by means of mediation that takes place outside the court. It seems that it was not coincidental that the Israeli legislature, in Section 2 of the Foundations of Law Act, 5740 – 1980, provided that "peace" is one of the values according to which the court is obligated to act in the case of a lacuna, a unique provision in comparison to legal systems in other countries. Thus, where the court encounters a legal question which must be resolved, and it is not addressed in legislation or case law and cannot be resolved by way of analogy, the court is instructed to decide "in light of the principles of freedom, justice, equity and peace of the Jewish tradition."

An expression of the important role of "peace," alongside that of "law" as a means to dispute resolution, may be seen in the Book of Zechariah, 8:16, "…execute the judgment of truth and peace in your gates." The Mishnah in *Avot* elaborates upon this verse, stating: "The world exists on three foundations: On truth, on judgment, and on peace." The verse from the Book of Zechariah served as the basis for the teaching of the sages in the Mishnah, as follows: "What is the judgment that contains peace? Let it be said: it is compromise." The Maharsha – Rabbi Samuel Edels, a rabbinic sage in Poland in the 16th century – commented as follows: "Compromise is arrived at with the agreement and willingness of both of the parties, which is not the case with judgment." (For further explication of this subject see the opinion of Justice Menachem Elon in CA 61/84 *Biazi v. Levi*, 42(1) PD 446.)

As opposed to modern legal systems that view the court as a central means for conflict resolution, the Torah commands each individual – and not just the legal institution – to try to bring about accord between opponents in a dispute. An expression of this is found in the Mishnah in tractate *Pe'ah*, that is recited daily in the morning prayers: "These are things that have no measure [that the reward for them is immeasurably great] …a person enjoys their interest in this world and the principle awaits him in the world to come: … and making peace between people and between a husband and his wife" (the last phrase, "between a husband and his wife," does not appear in all of the ancient manuscripts of the Mishnah, but is found in some of the versions of the prayer and is common in the Sephardi and the Eastern versions of the prayer).

In his classic commentary on the Mishnah, the author of *Tiferet Yisrael*, Rabbi Israel Lipschutz (Germany, 18th century), discusses the special expression "bringing peace" rather than "making peace," and he comments as follows:

> Bringing peace – even if the two parties do not desire it, one should go to the trouble of persuading them to come together and bring about peace between them. And this is the reason that the *tanna* did not say "to make peace" but rather "to bring peace," in other words, to bring counsel from afar in order to compel them by his soft words to bring peace between them.

In the Midrash, the figure of Aaron the Priest, about whom it was said in the Mishnah (Avot 1:12) that he "loved peace and pursued peace," serves as the archetype for the commandments of bringing about peace. The Talmud even contrasts between Moses, the head of the judges and Aaron's brother, and Aaron, who serves as a symbol for mediators seeking to resolve disputes outside of court: "Moses used to say: The law must be carried out to its fullest, but Aaron loved peace and pursued peace, and made peace between people." Rashi commented "Because he would hear the disputes between them *before they came before him for a judgment*, he would pursue them and impose peace between them." In other words, as is the case with modern day mediation proceedings, the "mediator," Aaron the Priest, met with the parties before the legal hearing and outside of the "court," in order to spare them the pain and suffering that accompany the legal proceedings.

The end product of mediation, unlike a legal proceeding, is not a legal decision in which one side prevails and the other side feels that he has lost, but rather the end of the conflict and its resolution in a "peaceful" manner, in which both sides feel that they are satisfied.

An interesting description of the mediation process is found in *Avot de-Rabbi Nathan* (12:3): "Two people had quarreled with one another. Aaron went and sat with one of them. He said to him: My son, look what your friend has done, his heart is distraught and he has torn his clothes (out of sorrow regarding the quarrel), and he is saying: Woe is to me, how will I raise up my head and look at my friend? I am embarrassed in his presence, because I am the one who wronged him. And he [Aaron] sits with him until he removes the jealousy from his heart. And Aaron then goes and sits with the other party and says to him: My son, see what your friend has done, his heart is distraught and he has torn his clothes and he is saying: Woe is to me, how will I raise up my head and look at my friend? I am embarrassed in his presence, because I am the one who wronged him. And he [Aaron] sits with him until he removes the jealousy from his heart. And when they met [the two opponents who carried on the dispute between them], they embraced and kissed one another."

According to the description in this Midrash, Aaron the Priest uses a technique similar to that used by contemporary mediators, of holding separate mediation meetings alongside the joint meetings, with the goal of aiding the parties to end the dispute. In this respect as well, the difference between the mediation process and a court proceeding, which has to be held in the presence of both of the parties, is readily apparent.

It is not unusual for a dispute between parties to be so serious that the two parties cannot communicate with each other. Due to the lack of trust between them, each one is suspicious of the other and holding separate meetings allows them to express themselves freely in front of the mediator and to talk about their feelings in a calm and non-threatening atmosphere, without worrying that what they say will be conveyed to the other party. In this manner, the mediator can assist each of the sides to identify his interests and needs, and to understand the interests of the other party. In the case described in *Avot de-Rabbi Nathan*, the mediator uses "neutral" language, while emphasizing points that are likely to lead to a resolution of the dispute. Aaron the Priest emphasizes the sorrow of the other party to create an opening to decrease the tension between the parties and to encourage discussion between them. Unlike a judge, the mediator does not express an opinion regarding the dispute before him. He abstains from "awarding grades" to the parties to the dispute, does not appraise their character, and does not judge their deeds. His role is purely one of assisting in carrying out the negotiations between them to resolve the dispute.

In Court Decisions in Israel

Israeli law accords a wide degree of expression to the desired place of reaching a compromise by the court, relying on the position of the Jewish Law sources regarding this matter (see, for example, CA 807/77 *Sobol v. Goldman*, 33(1) PD 789, per Justice Elon and HCJ 2222/99 *Gabai v. The Rabbinical Court of Appeals*, 54(5) PD 401; see *Compromise). However, a distinction must be made between a compromise arrived at by a judge and a mediation proceeding handled by a neutral professional outside of the courtroom. Section 79c of the Courts Law [consolidated version], 5744 – 1984, refers to mediation, along with compromises that take place within the court, as appropriate proceedings for the resolution of disputes. Pursuant to that section, "the court may, with the agreement of the parties, transfer a matter in litigation to mediation." If the parties reach an agreement in the mediation, the court is authorized to give the agreement the force of a judgment. Detailed regulations have been enacted to govern the mediation process.

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[Elisheva Hacohen (2nd ed.)]

MEDICINE. From the beginning of their history until modern times Jews have exercised a tremendous influence on the development of medical science. They have always been solicitous in their care for the sick and held the medical profession in great esteem. In ancient times medicine and religion were closely connected. The priests were the custodians of public health. The dispute as to the propriety of human interference in sickness – regarded as divine retribution – ceased to trouble the Jews, because they came to regard the physician as the instrument through whom God could effect the cure. Jewish physicians therefore considered their vocation as spiritually endowed and not merely an ordinary profession. By the same token, great demands were made of them, and the ethical standards have always been very high.

The importance of medicine and physicians among the Jews is best seen in the long line of rabbi-physicians, that started during the talmudic period and continued until comparatively recently. Various factors were responsible for this combination of professions. Medicine was sanctioned by biblical and talmudic law and had an important bearing upon religious matters. Since teaching or studying the word of God for reward was not considered ethical, the practice of medicine was most often chosen as a means of livelihood. This trend was further strengthened by the fact that during the greater part of the Middle Ages the Jews were excluded from almost all other occupations, including public office, and medicine was left as one of the few dignified occupations by which they could earn their living.

Jews have contributed to medicine both by the creation of new medical concepts and by the transmission of medical knowledge. It was through the medieval Jewish physician-translators that the medical knowledge of the East and much of ancient Greek medical lore was preserved and transmitted to the West. A general survey of Jews in medicine may be divided into three broad periods:

(a) biblical and talmudic times, which covers the period from antiquity until roughly the fourth to fifth centuries C.E.;

(b) a middle period from approximately the sixth century C.E. to the beginning of the 19th century; and

(c) the 19th and 20th centuries, during which Jews throughout the world have excelled not only in the practice of medicine but in all fields of medical research and teaching. It is significant that over 20% of all winners of the Nobel Prize for medicine up to the end of the 1960s were Jewish.

The high standard of medical science in Israel must be mentioned. Not only have Israeli physicians successfully met the challenge of medical problems in a developing country with a mixed population, but they have continued the ancient Jewish medical tradition by teaching and giving practical aid to those developing countries striving to attain the scientific levels of the 20th and 21st century.

IN THE BIBLE

The main source of information on ancient Hebrew medicine is the Bible, which refers to medicine as it pertains to religious or civil laws or when important characters are involved. No general ancient Hebrew medical documents are extant, although the Talmud reports that King *Hezekiah canceled the "Medical Book" (Ber. 10b; Pes. 56a) and that a scroll on pharmacology was lost. From earliest times, the Jewish faith sought to suppress *magic customs and practices in every field of life, including those concerned with the health of its members. The Hebrews were doubtlessly influenced in their medical concepts and practices by the surrounding nations, particularly by Egypt, where medical knowledge was highly developed. Prevailing superstitions and beliefs in magic medicine were far less accepted and practiced by the Jews, however, than by their neighbors. But like their contemporaries, the ancient Hebrews attributed health and disease to a divine source.

Healing was in the hands of God and the role of doctors was that of helpers or instruments of God. There are numerous references to physicians and men of healing throughout the Bible. It is always implied, however, that although man may administer treatment, it is God who heals: "I am the Lord that healeth thee" (Ex. 15:26). The title *rofe* ("healer") was therefore never adopted by ancient Jewish physicians; where it occurs it invariably refers to foreign doctors, who were usually assumed to be helpless because they were not aided by God. Pharmacists and midwives are also mentioned. Hebrew priests had no authority as physicians but rather held the position of health wardens of the community, charged with enforcing the laws pertaining to social hygiene.

The uniqueness of biblical medicine lies in its regulations for social hygiene, which are remarkable not only for their period but even by present-day standards. Hygiene and prophylaxis became religious dogmas intended for the welfare and preservation of the nation. Of the 613 commandments, 213 are of a medical nature. Prevention of epidemics, suppression of prostitution and venereal diseases, frequent washing, care of the skin, strict dietary and sanitary regulations, rules for sexual life, isolation and quarantine, the observance of a day of rest – the Sabbath – these and other provisions inhibited the spread of many of the diseases prevalent in neighboring countries.

The Hebrews were aware of the fact that contagious diseases are spread by direct contact as well as by clothing, household utensils, etc. To prevent the spread of epidemics or infectious maladies they therefore compiled a series of sanitary regulations. These included precautionary or temporary isolation, quarantine, burning or scalding of infected garments and utensils, thorough scrubbing and smoking out of houses suspected of infection, and scrupulous inspection and purification of the diseased person after recovery (Lev. 13–14). Anyone coming into contact with a corpse or carrion, or suffering from purulent discharges from any part of his body, also required a thorough cleansing of himself and his belongings before being allowed back into the encampment (Num. 19:7–16; Lev. 15:2–13). The garments, weapons, and utensils of soldiers returning to the camp after a battle had to be thoroughly cleansed and disinfected to prevent the spread of diseases possibly picked up during contact with the enemy (Num. 31:20, 22–24). The danger of infectious bowel diseases spreading through excrement was also recognized and the Bible instructs how to keep the camp clean (Deut. 23:13–14).

Diseases and Remedies

Many diseases are mentioned in the Bible. Among them are *shaḥefet* – phthisis (Lev. 26:16); *ʿafolim* – leishmaniasis (Deut. 28:27); *yerakon* (*yeraqon*) – ikterus (Deut. 28:22); *sheḥin poreʾaḥ aʾvʿabuʾot* – pemphigus (Ex. 9:9); *zav* – gonorrhea-leukorrhea (Lev. 15); *dever* – pest (Deut. 28:21); *shivron motnayim* – lumbago (Ezek. 21:11); *nofel ve-galui ʿenayim* – epilepsy (Num. 24:4); *rekav* (*reqav*) *ʿaẓamot* – osteomyelitis (Prov. 14:30). Although not specifically mentioned by name, eye diseases such as blepharitis ciliaris and gonorrheal ophthalmia undoubtedly existed, and senile cataract probably occurred frequently among the ancient Hebrews: "Now the eyes of Israel (Jacob) were dim for age so that he could not see" (Gen. 48:10). The dimness of sight rather than blindness is indicative of cataract. Various forms of skin disease are referred to in Deuteronomy: "The Lord will smite thee with the boil of Egypt, and with the emerods, and with the scab, and with the itch, whereof thou canst not be healed" (Deut. 28:27). The Hebrew word *ẓaraʿat*, which has been translated as leprosy, was probably a generic term for a number of skin ailments, many of which were considered curable (Lev. 13). However, leprosy in the modern sense was also known, and rigid quarantine, which did not exclude kings (II Chron. 26:21), was imposed on lepers. The term *maggefah* refers to plague, epidemics, and contagious diseases in general, very often of a venereal type. A bubonic plague described in I Samuel 5 mentions rodents, who are known to be carriers of the disease. Various types of wounds are mentioned: *makkah* is the generic term for wound; *makkah teʾriyyah* is a festering wound; *makkah ʾanushah*, a wound which will not heal, often fatal; *peẓaʿ*, a stab wound; *ḥabburah*, a boil or hematoma; and *mazor*, a septic boil.

With the one exception of the incurable serpent bite (Num. 21:9), biblical remedies and treatments are all of a rational character and do not involve incantations or magic rites, nor do they include the so-called "filth pharmacy." Biblical therapeutics consisted of washing; the use of oils, balsams, and bandages for wounds and bone fractures; bathing in therapeutic waters (II Kings 5:10), especially in the case of skin diseases; sun rays, medicated drinks, etc. Among medicaments mentioned by name are myrrh, sweet cinnamon, cassia, galbanum, niter, and the mandrake (*dudaʾim*) which was considered to possess aphrodisiac properties. The modern method of mouth-to-mouth artificial respiration was also known, as testified by the accounts of Elijah and Elisha (I Kings 17:22; II Kings 4:34–35). The only surgical operations mentioned are circumcision and castration, and these were not specifically Jewish practices. *Embalming, though unusual, was not forbidden.

Anatomical Knowledge

The Hebrew had more than a passing knowledge of anatomy. This is attested by the language used in instructions concerning methods of sacrifice and by passages of poetry where the names of organs and limbs are used metaphorically. The heart is mentioned frequently as the seat of emotion and intellect, and the functions now ascribed to the brain were then thought to emanate from the heart. No word for brain is mentioned; the word *moʾaḥ* in Job refers to marrowbone.

It is interesting to note that the Bible has a distinctive nomenclature for parts of the body and types of illnesses. Thus, for example, body defects or deformities are described solely by words constructed in the *piʿel* grammatical form: *ʾiṭṭer* – paralyzed, left-handed; *ʾillem* – dumb; *ʿivver* – blind; *pisseʾaḥ* – lame; *gibben* – hunchback. Descriptions of mental or nervous diseases appear in the *piʿalon*-form: *dikkaʾon* – depression; *shiggaʿon* – madness; *iẓẓavon* – nervousness; *ʿivvaron* – mental blindness; *shikkaron* – drunkenness. Somatic illnesses appear in the *paʿelet* (*paʿalat*) form: *dalleket* (*dalleqet*) – inflammation; *shaḥefet* – tuberculosis; *yabbelet* – acne; *ʿaẓẓevet* – neuritis; *baḥeret* – leukoderma, vitiligo; *sappaḥat* – psoriasis; *ẓaraʿat* – lepra, skin diseases; *gabbaḥat* – loss of hair. Trauma of the body is formed according to the *paʿul* model: *shavur* – fractured; *ḥaruẓ* – split; *maʿukh* – crushed; *natuk* (*natuq*) – disjointed; *raẓuẓ* – smashed; *ẓaruʿa* – infected; *paẓuʿa* – wounded. Many anatomical terms have the ancient two-letter root, while most Hebrew words derive from three letters. Thus לֵב *lev* –

heart; דָּם *dam* – blood; פֶּה *peh* – mouth; חֵךְ *ḥekh* – gums; שֵׁן *shen* – tooth; יָד *yad* – hand.

THE TALMUDIC ERA

The period surveyed in this section extends roughly from the second century B.C.E. to the sixth century C.E. The historical events of that period had a profound influence on the thought and way of life of the Jews and consequently on the development of Jewish medical art as well. As a result of the Babylonian Exile, of Greek rule followed by the Hasmonean Wars, the rise of Christianity and the Exile after the destruction of the Second Temple, the Jewish community became wide open to influences from neighboring countries and to foreign philosophies, which had their effect on every walk of life, including medicine.

Sources and Influences

The sources for this period are the Apocryphal books, Greco-Roman writings of Jews and non-Jews, the Mishnah, the Jerusalem and Babylonian Talmuds, the Midrashim, and, in part, the recently discovered Dead Sea Scrolls. None of these sources is a medical book as such. Except for a few cases, such as the praise of medicine and the physician by *Ben Sira, medical matters are dealt with mainly to illustrate points of ritual, or civil and criminal law. In the Talmud, a few medical matters are dealt with extensively in the tractates *Ḥullin, Nega'im*, and *Bekhorot*. The influence of Persian and Babylonian magic medicine is clear from references to *amulets, the *evil eye, *demons, etc. The Greek influence on Jewish medical thought was considerable, but we find that the scholars were not blind adherents of the humoral pathology, but rather followers of anatomic pathology. This was doubtless based on their experiments and observations of sick animals before and after slaughter, as well as on their studies of human bodies and corpses. One of the interpretations given to the name of the sect known as *Essenes is איסיים, "healers." Their medicine mainly influenced Christian medicine and medical thought. They studied and collected herbs and roots for healing purposes, though their chief remedies were prayer, mystic formulas, and amulets. Abiding faith was all that was considered necessary for curing physical and mental diseases as well as chronic defects such as blindness, lameness, and deafness. The medicine mentioned in the New Testament is almost entirely of this type of miracle cure. By contrast, the attitude of Jewish scholars of the time, and later those of the Talmud, is generally a scientific one.

The talmudic attitude toward the sanctity of human life and the importance of health is expressed in numerous statements: "The saving of life (*pikku'aḥ nefesh*) takes precedence over Sabbath" (Yoma 85a). "Whoever is overzealous in fasting should be regarded as a sinner" (Ta'an. 11a). It was also decreed that when treating the sick or a woman in childbirth, even though no danger to life was involved, the sanctity of the Sabbath could be profaned.

Status of the Physician

The Talmud does not regard calling upon a physician for medical aid as a failure to rely upon God to restore health: "Whoever is in pain, let him go to the physician" (BK 46b). The profession of physician – as an instrument of God – was held in high esteem: "Honor the physician before need of him. Him also hath God apportioned.… The skill of a physician shall lift up his head; and he shall stand before nobles …" (Ecclus. 38). The Talmud enumerated ten things that must be in a city where a scholar lives, and these include a physician and a surgeon. From this statement it may also be concluded that the number of practicing physicians was relatively great.

Specialists as known in Egypt did not exist. However, the Talmud names two types of physician, *rofe* and *rofe umman* ("skilled physician" and "surgeon"). Patients visited the physician in his home and not, as in Greece, in the marketplace. A special regulation was therefore enacted which required anyone renting premises to a physician to obtain the prior agreement of his neighbors, since the cries and noise of visiting patients might disturb them (BB 21a). *Hospitals were apparently nonexistent in this period, although certain temple halls, and later on, parts of the poorhouses and synagogues, were set aside for the sick. However, mention is made of operation rooms, which had to be walled with marble for cleanliness – "*battei shayish*." There were communal or district physicians, whose duties included assessing the character and extent of any physical disability sustained in cases of injury in order to determine damages (Sanh. 78a). They were also required to judge the degree of physical endurance of a person sentenced to corporal punishment (Mak. 22b). "The victim of an assault could refuse to be treated by a physician coming from a distance since he would not be sufficiently concerned with the welfare of his patient" (BK 85a).

A physician had to receive adequate fees, and free medical service was not approved because "a physician who takes nothing is worth nothing" (BK 85a). At the same time, Jewish physicians had special consideration for the poor and needy – a tradition which was maintained throughout the centuries. Abba Umana (fourth century C.E.) was reputed as a physician and a charitable man. In order not to discourage needy patients he would hang a box on the wall where anyone could put in, unnoticed, the fee he thought he could afford for medical treatment. Abba Umana refused to take fees from poor students and would return them their money so that they could use it for convalescence (Ta'an. 21b). If, in spite of every care, a licensed physician injured a patient or caused his death, he was not – as among many other peoples – held guilty (Sanh. 84b). Jewish physicians were apparently organized in some type of guild which had as its insignia the *ḥarut* – the branch of a palm or a balsam bush (Jews at that time regarded balsam as the best remedy for wounds; cf. Pliny, Hist. Nat., 12:54).

Jewish doctors had an excellent reputation and practiced throughout the then-known civilized world. A physician Theudas is mentioned in *Bekhorot* (4:4) as a famous doctor from Alexandria. Aulus Cornelius *Celsus, writing in the first century C.E., refers to salves compounded by skilled Jewish physicians. *Galen reports on the Jewish physician Rufus Samaritanus in Rome in the first-second centuries C.E. Similar references are made by Marcellus Empiricus, Aetius of Amida, and Paulus of Aegina. Pliny (Hist. Nat., 37.60.10) mentions a "Babylonian physician – Zechariah," undoubtedly a Jew, who dedicated his medical book to King Mithridates. The emperor Antoninus Pius (86–161 C.E.) requested R. Judah ha-Nasi to supply him with a physician for his house slaves from among his circle of students. The personal physician of St. Basil (c. 300 C.E.) was the Jew, Ephraim. The bishop Gelasius refers to his Jewish physician Telesinus as his "trusted friend." At the same time, numerous restrictions against Jewish doctors were already being promulgated by Christian bishops and emperors. These only serve to show how large the number of practicing Jewish physicians was at the time.

The study of medicine was included in the curriculum of talmudic schools and many Talmud scholars were themselves physicians. Among them were R. Ishmael, R. Ḥanina b. Dosa, R. Hananiah b. Ḥama, Joseph ha-Rofe of Gamla, Tobiah ha-Rofe of Modi'in, and Minjomi (Benjamin). The most distinguished of them was *Samuel b. Abba ha-Kohen, also called Mar Samuel Yarḥina'ah (165–257), to whom many remedies and much anatomical knowledge is attributed. He was also the personal physician of the Persian king, Sapur. In addition, the Talmud mentions *askan bi-devarim*, which might be described as a research scientist, who occupied himself more with the study of animal and human anatomy and physiology than with the actual practice of medicine.

Talmudic Anatomy

The preoccupation with regulations concerning ritually unclean meat, the physical qualifications for priesthood, rules concerning menstruous women, defilement, etc., accounts for the extraordinary anatomical knowledge of talmudic scholars. For full details see *Anatomy.

Talmudic Embryology

A great deal of material on this subject can be found in the Talmud and in the Midrashim, some of it of an imaginary or legendary character but most of it surprisingly accurate. Abba Saul describes the development of an embryo in its sixth week (Nid. 25b). Simlai describes the parts, posture, and nourishment of an embryo in the womb. Scholars accepted the opinion that the embryo is a living organism from the time of conception (Sanh. 91b). In contrast to Aristotle, who regarded the seed as a mosaic of individual creative factors corresponding to each of the parts of the human body and assumed that each limb is derived from the parallel limb of the father, the talmudic scholars regarded the seed as one single summary of all the creative forces of the organism and did not acknowledge the individual influence of one limb on the embryo. "The seed is mixed, otherwise blind would beget blind and one-limbed a one-limbed" (Ḥul. 69a). The Talmud also accepts the equal share of the male and female in forming the organism.

Pathology and Etiology

In examining the ritual fitness of animals and the cleanliness and purity of members of the community, talmudic scholars had numerous opportunities of observing and diagnosing diseases. They described various pathological conditions of the lungs and knew the existence of pulmonary infections (Ḥul. 47b). Disturbances of the circulatory system were recognized by the paleness or flush of the body (Yev. 64b). The diagnosis of certain skin diseases was determined according to the form, temperature, and secretion of the wound and the color of the hair round it. The observation of such a wound could last up to three weeks (Neg. 10). Scholars were able to recognize macula of the cornea, keratitis, and detached retina (Bekh. 38a). R. Ishmael describes diphtheria as an epidemic disease which causes painful death through strangulation. The pathology of hemophilia as a lack of viscosity in the blood preventing coagulation is described, and the circumcision of an infant in a hemophilic family was forbidden. It was also recognized that the female is the transmitter of this disease (Yev. 64a; Ḥul. 47b). A large number of lung, liver, kidney, and stomach diseases were described as being caused by worms (Ḥul. 48a; Shab. 109b; Git. 70a). Lack of fluids was thought to lead to digestive disturbances (Shab. 41a). It was recognized that fear accelerates the pulse and causes heartbeats (Sanh. 100b); that falling from a great height may cause fatal internal injury (Ḥul. 42a); that injury to the spinal cord causes paralysis (Ḥul. 51a); and that restraint of the gall causes jaundice. Fevers and colds were thought to be caused by negligence (BM 107b). According to R. Eleazar the gall (humor) and according to Mar Samuel the air (pneuma) could cause disease. It was generally accepted that blood is the chief cause of disease (BB 58b). Overeating, excessive drinking of intoxicants, and sexual excesses were also thought to cause disease. It was realized that animals and insects, in particular flies, are carriers and transmitters of infectious diseases (Ket. 77a), and that contaminated water may also cause illness (Av. Zar. 30a).

Remedies, Treatments, and Surgery

The medicines mentioned in the Talmud include powders, medicated drinks, juices, balsams, bandages, compresses, and incense. Meat and eggs were considered to be the most nourishing foods (Ber. 44b); fried food or food containing fat was regarded as difficult to digest (57b). The eating of vegetables throughout the year and the drinking of fresh water at every meal were recommended (*ibid.* 57b; 40a). Baths and mineral waters were regarded as general strengthening tonics and as therapeutics for certain skin diseases (Shab. 40a; 109a; Ket. 77b). Herbs were used for constipation and purges were recommended in serious cases, except for pregnant women (Pes. 42b). The use of opium as an analgetic and hypnotic drug was known, and warning was given against overdosing (TJ, Av. Zar. 2:2, 40d). Anything useful for healing purposes was permitted at any time, even on the Sabbath (Ḥul. 77b). Surgeons operated in special halls – "*battei shayish*" (see above). "Sleeping drugs" – *sammei de-shinta* – were used as anesthetics. From descriptions of operations we learn of trepannings, amputations, and removal of the spleen (cf. Sanh. 21b; Ḥul. 57a; Git. 56a). A cesarean was also performed, but it is not clear whether the operation was done on a living or on an already dead body. In general, the life of the mother had priority and therefore the killing of a fetus during a difficult birth was allowed (Tosef., Yev. 9:4). Wound edges were cut in order to ensure complete and clean healing (Ḥul. 54a). Surgeons wore special operation aprons (Kelim 26:5).

Hygiene and Prophylaxis

The main contribution of talmudic medicine lies not so much in the treatment of illness but rather, as in the Bible, in the prevention of disease and the care of community health. The hygienic measures advocated were of a practical as well as of a religious, ethical nature. A principle which recurs a number of times is that "bodily cleanliness leads to spiritual cleanliness" (Av. Zar. 20b; TJ, Shab. 1:3, 3b). Hygienic regulations applied among other things to town planning, climatic conditions, social community life, family life, and care of the body. Mention is made of a disinfectant composed of seven ingredients used for cleansing infected clothing (Zev. 95a). A town was required to have a physician and a bathhouse. Clothing had to be changed before eating. Mar Samuel declared that diseases may be carried by caravans from land to land (Ta'an. 21b). Members of a family with a sick person among them were to be avoided. The digging of wells in the neighborhood of cemeteries or refuse dumps was forbidden (Tosef., BB 1:10). It was forbidden to drink uncovered water for fear of snake venom (Av. Zar. 30a). Food had to be fresh and served in clean dishes. Kissing on the mouth was discouraged, and kissing only on the back of the hand was recommended in order to prevent contagion. During epidemics, the population was advised to avoid crowding in narrow alleyways because of the danger of contagion in the air. For body care, the Talmud recommends physical exercises, massage, sunlight, employment, and above all cleanliness. Mar Samuel states: "The washing of hands and feet in the morning is more effective than any remedy in the world" (Shab. 108b). Excesses of any kind were regarded as harmful. The Talmud also concerned itself with the health of future generations and forbade marriage to epileptics or the mentally retarded (Yev. 64b; 112b). Surprisingly enough, talmudic pathology had very little influence on medieval medicine, not even on such outstanding physicians as *Maimonides and Isaac *Israeli, who were certainly well versed in the Talmud. The medical authority of Galen was so preeminent that all other medical theories and practice were regarded as banalities or even heresy. Scholars warned against the unselective use of talmudic remedies because they are not equally effective in all countries and at all times. Nonetheless, the hygienic laws and regulations of the Talmud, as well as many of its anatomical and pathological findings, appear in the light of modern knowledge to have enduring validity.

THE MIDDLE PERIOD

The medieval period of Jewish history does not coincide exactly with the common historical definition of the Middle Ages in Western civilization, but may be said to extend from the second-third centuries C.E. until the 19th century when, in most Western countries, Jews were granted full emancipation.

The large variety of climates, environments, and customs to which the Jewish people were exposed during their migrations in exile naturally had a profound influence on the development of their medical thought and knowledge. Thus, for example, there is a description of *diabetes mellitus* in the writings of Maimonides. According to him, this was a disease quite common in the warm Mediterranean countries with which he was acquainted but practically unknown in Northern Europe. Talmudic scholars give a precise description of *ratan* ("filariasis") and its treatment – a malady unknown in Europe. Similarly, the prevalence of eye diseases in the Orient greatly encouraged the development of ophthalmology and, when Jewish eye doctors migrated to Europe, they quickly acquired an excellent reputation among their Christian colleagues.

However, the merit of Jewish doctors of that period lay not only in their individual achievements as physicians, but in their work as translators and transmitters of Greek medicine to the Arabs and later on of Arab medicine to Europe. Jewish scholars, and among them physicians, had command of the three most important scholastic languages of the time – Latin, Arabic, and Hebrew – and, in some cases, Greek. This enabled them to translate most of the Arab and Greek medical works into Hebrew and Latin or vice versa. Knowledge of Hebrew was considered extremely important in the study of medicine. The English scholar Roger *Bacon (c. 1220–c. 1292) declared that Christian physicians were ignorant in comparison with their Jewish colleagues because they lacked knowledge of the Hebrew and Arabic in which most of the medical works were written. Vesalius, the great 16th-century anatomist, made a point of learning Hebrew to facilitate his studies, and gives Hebrew terms together with their Greek equivalents in his work *Fabrica* (see also *Frigeis, Lazaro De). Mosellanus, in his rectorial address at the University of Leipzig in 1518, urged Christian medical students to learn Hebrew so that they might study the medical lore "hidden in the libraries of the Jews." The close religious and family ties linking the various Jewish communities also helped to spread medical knowledge and facilitate rapid communication. As merchants and travelers the Jews met the best minds of their period and became acquainted with drugs, plants, and remedies from many parts of the world.

Nevertheless, although Jewish physicians were frequently held in great esteem by their non-Jewish colleagues as well as by kings and bishops, they suffered from persecution and restrictions, especially in the Christian world. From the fourth century C.E. onward there were innumerable regulations, papal bulls, and royal ordinances forbidding Jewish physicians to practice among non-Jews, to hold official positions and, later on, to study at universities. The fact that, despite these threats and restrictions, Jewish physicians continued in their profession and even held high positions at the courts of the very authorities who preached against them, attests to the esteem with which they were regarded for their medical skill. In this respect the Muslims were much more tolerant: although persecutions of Jews erupted from time to time in Muslim territories, physicians were not singled out, and consulting them was not forbidden.

The large number of Jewish physicians during these centuries may also be explained by the fact that Jews still regarded the medical profession as a spiritual vocation compatible with the career of a rabbi. Many scholars took up the medical profession as an honorable way of earning a living. This was made comparatively easy because the curriculum of talmudic schools often included the philosophies and sciences of ancient and contemporary times. Very often, therefore, medieval Jewish physicians were simultaneously rabbis, scholars, scientists, translators, grammarians, or poets, and as men of wide general knowledge they frequently attained high official positions in the countries in which they lived.

The Byzantine Era

While Greek science and culture declined in the Byzantine Empire and the Jews living there suffered under oppression, Jewish, as well as Nestorian and Jacobite, physicians and scholars sought to save what they could of Hellenistic science. The Babylonian talmudic centers of Sura and Pumbedita flourished at this period. Although the teaching languages of the period were Hebrew, Syrio-Aramaic, and Persian, it was Greek medicine which was taught, strongly influenced by Hebrew, Babylonian, Persian, and Indian traditions. This becomes apparent from the medical work left by Asaph b. Berechiah, called *Asaph ha-Rofe or Asaph Judaeus, who lived about the sixth century C.E. somewhere in the Middle East. Together with Johanan b. Zavda, Judah ha-Yarḥoni, and other Jewish scholars, he founded a medical school. His work, the oldest known medical book written in Hebrew, encompasses all the then-known wisdom of Greek, Babylonian, Egyptian, and Persian medicine, as well as something of Indian medicine. His medical technique is based on old Hebrew traditions. No Arab influence is apparent, which points to the fact that the book was composed before the seventh century. Most of the remedies mentioned were known in the Middle East generally. The book includes chapters on anatomy, embryology, physiology, hygiene, fever and pulse lore, urology, and a rich antidotarium. The oldest known Hebrew translation of the *Aphorisms* of Hippocrates, as well as chapters of Dioscorides and Galen, are also to be found in it. The book contains a "physician's oath," modeled on Hippocrates but far surpassing it in ethical content. The book of Asaph is not only significant to modern historians: it had considerable influence on medical history, particularly as far as Hebrew medical terms are concerned.

The Arab Period in the East

Following the Arab conquest of the Middle East and Spain, Jewish communities and centers of learning started to flourish at Faiyum in Egypt, Kairouan in Tunisia, and Cordova in Spain. Studies often included ethics, philosophy, sciences, and medicine. Students acquired experience in medicine by assisting practicing physicians. About a hundred years after the Arab conquest of the Middle East, the name of the Jewish physician Māsarjuwayh of Basra is mentioned as the first of a long list of men who translated a great number of Greek and Syrian works into Arabic. Unfortunately all his works have been lost, and he only appears as a frequent reference. Rabbān al-Ṭabarī (Sahl), a Jew converted to Islam who lived in Persia at the beginning of the ninth century, was a noted physician, mathematician, and astronomer. He was the first to translate *Ptolemy's *Almagest* into Arabic. His son Ali al-Tabarī Abu al-Ḥasan, also a convert, served as court physician to caliphs from 833 to 861, and was renowned as an ophthalmologist. His *Paradise of Wisdom* dealt with medicine, embryology, astronomy, and zoology and was one of the first original Arabic medical textbooks. He is best known as the teacher of the Arab physician Rhazes. One of the most outstanding medical personalities of the period was Isaac Judaeus (Isaac Israeli). He is believed to have been the first medical author in Arabic whose works were brought to Europe, and his books on fever, diet, uroscopy, and the ethical conduct of physicians were regarded as classics for several hundred years. His outstanding pupils were Abu al-Jazzār (a non-Jew) and *Dunash b. Tamim. It was said of him that he "lived a hundred years, was unmarried, shunned riches, and wrote important books more precious than silver or gold" (Saʿid b. Ahmad, tenth-century Arab scholar). Israeli's books were first translated into Latin by the monk Constantinus Africanus (1020–1087) and were all printed in Lyons in 1515.

Jewish physicians also flourished in Europe during this period. Among them was Zedekias (d. 880), the first registered Jewish doctor in Franco-Germany. He was personal physician to Louis the Pious and to his son Charles the Bald, and was known as the "wonderful physician" (Muenz).

The School of Salerno

From the ninth to the 12th century a medical study center existed in Salerno in southern Italy uninfluenced, either deliberately or by accident, by the Arab culture which penetrated into Southern Europe. The beginnings of the School of Salerno are associated with the name of the distinguished Jewish physician Shabbetai *Donnolo, of Oria, Calabria. His most famous medical work, *Sefer ha-Yakar*, lists 120 different remedies and their composition. Greek medicine is often referred to and Hebrew terms such as those used by Asaph ha-Rofe are frequently found in it. There is, however, no evidence that the author knew or accepted Arab medical wisdom, even though by that time many Arabic medical works had reached southern Italy by way of the Saracens of Sicily. It is interesting to note that *Sefer ha-Yakar* was also the first Hebrew prose written on European soil. References to other Jewish physicians practicing in Salerno and to Hebrew as a language of instruction are to be found in various records of the time. Benjamin of Tudela (12th century) refers to the physician Elijah whom he met when visiting Salerno. On the whole, however, the Jews who transmitted Arab philosophy and medical science had little influence on the School of Salerno, which endeavored to uphold the Greek medical tradition.

The Arab-Spanish Period

The Jews played an influential part in the cultural history of the period, starting with the Arab conquest of Spain in the eighth century and ending with their final expulsion from Granada in the 15th century. As statesmen, physicians, mathematicians, philosophers, and poets they attained high positions at the courts of both Moorish and Christian princes. At the Caliphate of Cordova (tenth century) was *Ḥasdai ibn Shaprut who, together with a monk, translated Dioscorides from Greek into Arabic. About a century later, Ephraim b. al-Zafran served as physician to the caliph of Egypt. Zafran was a renowned author and bibliophile and left a library of over 20,000 books. Another famous Jewish physician of the 11th century was Salāma ibn Ramḥamūn who lived in Cairo and whose works include a treatise on the causes of scant rainfall in Egypt and another discussing why Egyptian women grow stout early in life. *Judah Halevi (end of 11th century), the famous Spanish poet-physician, exerted great influence on his contemporaries and on later generations. Jonah ibn Bikhlarish (11th century) of Andalusia, court physician to the sultan of Saragossa, was one of the first Jewish scholars to learn Latin. In about 1080 he compiled a dictionary of drugs in Syriac, Persian, Greek, Latin, and Spanish which is believed to be the earliest work of its kind. Sheshet b. Isaac *Benveniste, who served as court physician to the king of Barcelona, was the author of a famous gynecological treatise in Arabic. The most important Jewish physician-philosopher of the period was Maimonides. Born in Cordova, he fled with his family to North Africa and soon attained a worldwide reputation as a religious legislator, philosopher, and physician. In 1170 he became personal physician to the family of Sultan Saladin of Egypt and continued to serve them until his death. Maimonides wrote ten medical works, of which the most important ones were *Pirkei Moshe* ("Aphorisms of Moshe") and *Regimen Sanitatis*. Maimonides' whole concept of medicine is based on the conviction that a healthy body is the prerequisite for a healthy soul. This enables a man to develop his intellectual and moral capabilities and leads him toward the knowledge of God and thus to a more ethical life. He regards healing as the art of repairing both the defects of the body and the turmoil of the mind. A physician must therefore have not only the technical knowledge of his profession, but also the intuition and skill to understand the patient's personality and environment. Maimonides divides medicine into three main fields: preventive medicine – the care of the healthy; the curing of the sick; and the care and treatment of the convalescent, including the aged. Though leaning heavily on the medical teachings of the ancient Greeks, Maimonides warns against blind belief in so-called authorities and upholds the value of clear thought and experiments. His medical observations, diagnoses, and methods of healing mentioned in his works on asthma, poisons, his medical responsa, and commentaries on the *Aphorisms* of Hippocrates contain innovations in their day and many of them are still valid. Maimonides wrote his medical books in Arabic: most of them were soon translated into Hebrew and Latin.

Southern France

At the end of the 12th and the beginning of the 13th century, Jewish centers of learning were established in southern France – in Avignon, Lunel, Montpellier, Béziers, and Carcassonne. Conditions for Jews in these regions were generally somewhat better than those in Spain, although they did not escape restrictions, expulsion, and persecution. For a period of two to three hundred years, papal bulls and Synod decrees alternated in forbidding and then allowing Jewish physicians to practice their profession. The principal service rendered by Jewish scholars of southern France, many of whom had emigrated from Spain and Portugal, was the translation of Arabic works into Hebrew and Latin. Since some of the original Arabic works had been lost, it was only through their Hebrew translations that they were preserved. The important early 11th-century medical work, the Canon of *Avicenna, was translated into Latin and Hebrew a number of times. The work of translation was accompanied by great scholarly activity. The medical school of Montpellier owed its foundation largely to Jewish scholars, and various records mention "private" schools in which Hebrew law, science, and medicine were taught for a stipulated fee. During the 15th and 16th centuries, when certain universities were closed to Jews, Hebrew translations of Arabic and Greek medical works were made specifically for Jewish medical students.

The most notable of the long list of distinguished translators was the *Tibbon family (Judah b. Saul, Samuel, Moses), who during the 12th and 13th centuries translated most of the well-known scientific and philosophic works, including those of Maimonides, from Arabic into Hebrew. Other eminent translators of the period were Jacob b. Makhir (Prophatius Judaeus), a member of the Tibbon family; Zerahiah ibn Shealtiel Ḥen; and Jacob ha-Katan, translator into Hebrew of Nicolai's antidotarium and of Averroes' treatise on diarrhea. Of special interest is Abraham Shem Tov of Tortosa, who practiced in Marseilles toward the end of the 13th century. His works, especially his translation of Abu al-Qāsim al-Zahrāwī's *al-Tatzrif*, are of particular importance because he introduced a new Hebrew terminology based mainly on terms used in the Talmud. In other works he deals with the necessity of studying basic sciences with apprenticeships in hospitals, and with the behavior required of the physician when visiting patients, especially poor ones. Another distinguished translator-physician was Moses Farrachi b. Salem (Ferragut) of the 13th century. He studied medicine at Salerno, and at the request of the king of Naples translated Rhazes' *Continens* and other Arabic medical works into Latin.

Jewish influence was so strong that in Montpellier, portraits of Jews were included in the marble plaques commemorating the early masters of the university. Apparently there was also a Jewish school of medicine in Lunel, which did not, however, attain the eminence of the University of Montpellier. A large part of the information on the early history of the latter and its relations with Jewish scholars is to be found in the history written by one of its graduates, Jean *Astruc (1684–1766), a man of Spanish-Jewish descent, later professor of medicine there and subsequently physician to Louis XV. The Saporta family, also of Marrano descent, has a prominent place in the history of Montpellier during the 16th century. Louis (I) Saporta came from Lerida, was appointed city physician in Marseilles in 1490, and from 1506 to 1529 served as professor at Montpellier University. His son Louis (II) studied medicine there, and his grandson Antoine became successively royal professor, dean, and chancellor of the university (1560). His great-grandson Jean became professor in 1577 and vice chancellor in 1603. The family then immigrated to the French colonies of America and the name does not appear in the later history of Montpellier. The Sanchez family, already well-known in Portugal and Spain, also became prominent in medicine in southern France. The most distinguished member was Francisco *Sanchez (1562–1632), who was appointed professor of medicine and philosophy at Montpellier and later at Toulouse, and published many medical treatises. Jean Baptiste Silva (1682–1742), a native of Bordeaux who graduated in medicine from Montpellier, became physician to the grand duke of Bavaria, Prince Luis Henry of Conde, and Voltaire.

Benvenutus Grapheus, from Jerusalem, one of the most famous eye doctors of the Middle Ages, lived in the 12th century. He taught and practiced in Southern Europe and probably also in Salerno. His observations of and recommended cures for eye diseases prevailing in Southern Europe and other Mediterranean countries are of extraordinary accuracy and his works, which were translated into many European languages, were the most popular textbooks on ophthalmology of the period. There were also Jewish women physicians practicing at this time. Among them was Sarah La Migresse, who lived and practiced in Paris toward the end of the 13th century. In Marseilles a record has been found of an agreement signed in 1326 between Sara de Saint Gilles, widow of Abraham, and Salvet de Bourgneuf, whereby the former undertook to teach the latter "Artem medicine et physice," and to clothe and care for him for a period of seven months. In return, Salvet agreed to turn over to his teacher all his fees as physician during that period. Sarah of Wuerzburg received a license from Archbishop Johann II in 1419 and developed a lucrative medical practice. Rebekah Zerlin of Frankfurt (c. 1430) became famous as an oculist.

Christian Spain and Portugal

During the major part of the 13th and 14th centuries Jewish physicians in Catholic Spain enjoyed the protection and support of the reigning monarchs though toward the end of that period the Inquisition became more active. The list of prominent physicians of that period is a long one and only a few can be mentioned here. One of the most important was al-Fakhār (d. 1235), who received the title of *nasi* ("prince") at the court of Ferdinand III in Toledo. Another, Nathan b. Joel *Falaquera (second half of 13th century), wrote a medical book in Hebrew on the theory and practice of medicine, therapeutics, herbs and drugs, and hygiene. He used medical and botanical terms found in the Talmud. Abraham b. David Caslari of Narbonne and Béziers was the author of *Aleh Refu'ah* ("The Leaf of Healing," 1326), a treatise on fevers, divided into five books, to be used as a vademecum on these matters, and of a treatise on pestilential and other fevers, written in 1349 when the Black Death decimated the population of Provence, Catalonia, and Aragon. In 1360, Meir b. Isaac *Aldabi, a native of Toledo who went to Jerusalem in the middle of the 14th century, completed his comprehensive *Shevilei Emunah*, a collection of philosophic, mystic, and talmudic teachings including chapters on human embryology, anatomy, physiology, pathology, and rules of health.

AFTER THE EXPULSION. At the end of the 15th century the Jews were expelled from Spain and Portugal. Even before that many eminent physicians had immigrated to North Africa, Turkey, Greece, Italy, and Holland. Many were forced converts and some continued to practice in Spain and Portugal until the 18th century, despite their precarious position in those countries, where they were under constant threat of persecution. It is a historical fact that the Marranos and their descendants were leaders and pioneers in medicine in Europe and Asia for several centuries, from the Renaissance until modern times. Many of them distinguished themselves particularly in medical literature. The 16th century was a time of immense exploration, discovery, and progress. During this period – the beginning of the medical renaissance – many distinguished Jewish physicians, fleeing the Iberian Peninsula, won a worldwide reputation in other lands. Among them was *Amatus Lusitanus, who studied and practiced in Salamanca, Lisbon, Antwerp, Italy, and Greece and whose life was a saga of adventurous flights from one country to another. His principal works were *Centuria*, the description of 700 cases of disease, and a translation of and commentary on Dioscorides. He is also famous for his unrelenting battle against superstition and medical quackery.

SOME DISTINGUISHED FAMILIES. Abraham b. Samuel *Zacuto, called Diego Roderigo, was born in the Spanish city of Salamanca in 1452 and immigrated to Portugal and Tunis, where he became famous as a physician and astronomer. His great grandson, *Zacutus Lusitanus, born in Lisbon in 1575, became a physician in Salamanca and later fled to Amsterdam, where he became one of the foremost critics of his time. He wrote a history of medicine in 12 volumes, *De medicorum Principum*, and was also known for his code of ethics for physicians, *Introitus medici ad praxim*.

Dionysus Brudus (1470–1540), a physician at the Portuguese court who later lived in Antwerp, wrote important works on Galenism and on phlebotomy. His son Manuel Brudus practiced in Venice, England, and Flanders and published works on diet for febrile diseases which were widely read. Luiz Mercado (16th–17th century) of Valladolid wrote a medico-philosophical work *De Veritate* (1604), as well as numerous works on fevers, gynecology, pediatrics, hereditary diseases, and infectious maladies. Isaac *Cardozo, born in Portugal in 1610, became court physician to King Philip IV in Madrid. The 15th-century physician and poet Francesco Lopez de Villalobos was one of the first to describe lues (syphilis). In 1498 he also published a description of bubonic plague. Roderigo *Lopez was an internist and anatomist who fled the Inquisition in 1559 and became physician to Queen Elizabeth I of England. In 1594 he was accused of plotting to poison Elizabeth and sentenced to death.

The family of de *Castro produced many distinguished physicians. The most famous was Roderigo de Castro (c. 1550–1627), author of a gynecological work, *Universa Muliebrium Medicina*, and physician to the king of Denmark and various German dukes and princes. His son Benedict de Castro (b. 1597) started practicing in Hamburg and later became physician to the queen of Sweden. He was the author of *Apologia*, a medico-historical work which described the achievements of Jewish doctors and defended them against antisemitic charges. Orobio de Castro fled the Inquisition and settled in Amsterdam, where he became a famous physician and leader of the Jewish community. Jacob de Castro Sarmento (1692–1762), born in Portugal, settled in England and was admitted as a fellow of the Royal Society in 1730. His work *Agua de Inglaterra* reveals a profound knowledge of the therapeutic properties of quinine. The 18th-century Jacob Rodrigues *Pereira was a pioneer in the education of deaf-mutes. Born in Spain, of Marrano parents, he escaped the Inquisition, settled in Bordeaux, and embraced Judaism. At the age of 19 he started his campaign for improving the status of the deaf-mute, and continued in his chosen task for 46 years, showing great ability in teaching speech to the congenital deaf-mute. He invented a sign language for the deaf and dumb. The fate of Antonio Ribeira Sanchez illustrates how far-reaching was the influence of Jewish physicians at that period. A Portuguese Marrano, he fled from the Inquisition to Holland at the beginning of the 18th century and became the pupil of the famous Dutch physician, Boerhaven. In 1740 he went to Russia as personal physician to the czarinas Elizabeth and Catherine II. However, when his Jewish origin became known he was threatened with death and with great difficulty escaped to Paris, where he became an eminent physician and introduced soblimat into the therapy of syphilis.

A large number of Jewish physicians also settled in Turkey, where private citizens as well as sultans, viziers, and pashas valued their skill and medical knowledge and their high standard of ethics. In the 15th century Joseph *Hamon, a Granada physician, went at an advanced age to Constantinople, where he became court physician. For almost a century some member of the Hamon family held the position of court physician and exercised great public influence. Marrano physicians were also among the East India pioneers. Foremost among them was Garcia de *Orta, born in Portugal. In 1534 he went to India and there studied and collected Oriental plants and drugs. His *Colloquios dos simples Drogas e cosas medicinas de India*, which appeared in 1563 in the form of dialogues, is not only the first but also the most important contribution on this subject to European medicine of that time. Twelve years after his death his body was exhumed and burnt by the Inquisition as a suspected Jew. To this same group belongs Cristoval d'*Acosta (1515–1580), a Marrano physician and botanist born in Mozambique, who lived and traveled in India and in the Middle East. He completed and enlarged the work of de Orta.

Italy

Numerous Italian Jewish physicians were also rabbis and leaders of their communities, especially in Rome, Ferrara, Mantua, and Genoa. The Italian universities, notably those of Padua and Perugia, were among the few that allowed Jews to enter the medical faculties at a time when most other European universities were closed to them. The Jewish communities of Italy were also enriched by the influx of Jewish and Marrano scholars and physicians fleeing the persecution of the Inquisition in other countries. At various periods Jews acted as personal physicians to popes, cardinals, bishops, and dukes. Thus Pope Nicholas IV (1287–92) had at his court the physician Isaac b. Mordecai, better known as Maestro Gajota. In 1392 Boniface IX made Angelo, son of Manuele the Jew, his physician and familiar. Immanuel b. Solomon, known as *Immanuel of Rome, was a practicing physician of note, who wrote on various physical and psychic ailments. *Hillel b. Samuel of Verona, who practiced in Ferrara, was a physician and translator of distinction. Another famous physician and translator was *Kalonymus b. Kalonymus, a native of Arles in southern France who later moved to Rome. He translated some of Galen's writings from Arabic into Hebrew and became famous for his accuracy and literary style. Special privileges and tax exemptions usually accompanied the appointment of court physicians. However, the periods of leniency to Jews were usually followed by periods of restriction and persecution. It has been suggested that the popularity of Jewish physicians in Italy in spite of the innumerable restrictions, the bitter attacks, and the calumnies was due to the superstitious belief of Christians in the "magic" arts of the Jews. They also admired Jewish doctors for their unselfish devotion to their calling, and it is not irrelevant that there was a scarcity of Christian physicians, especially during times of epidemic.

THE 15TH AND 16TH CENTURIES. A number of distinguished Italian Jews appeared in the field of medicine during the 15th and 16th centuries. Saladino Ferro d'Ascoli (15th–16th century) was acknowledged as the leading pharmacist of his time, and his work on pharmacology was the basic textbook for all pharmacists until the 18th century. Bonet de *Lattes (d. 1515), a native of Provence, became physician to Popes Alexander VI and Leo X. He also served as judge of the highest Italian court of appeal and rabbi to the Jewish community of Rome. Philotheus Eliajus Montalto (d. 1616) fled to Italy from the Portuguese Inquisition. In 1606 he became physician to the Grand Duke Ferdinand of Florence and in 1611 personal physician to Queen Marie de Medici of France. By order of the queen he was buried in a Jewish cemetery in Amsterdam. His work *Archipathologia*, dealing with diseases of the nervous system and mental disturbances, was widely used in his time and often referred to by later medical writers. Roderigo de Fonseca in the 16th century earned his reputation by his clear diagnoses and descriptions of internal diseases, fevers, surgery, and pharmacology. Benjamin *Mussafia distinguished himself as physician, philologist, scholar, and rabbi. He served as personal physician to the Danish king Christian IV. One of the most outstanding personalities of the time was Rabbi Jacob *Ẓahalon, born in Rome and later physician in Ferrara. In his book *Oẓar ha-Ḥayyim* he described contemporary hygienic measures as well as the bubonic plague in Rome in 1656. He used numerous new Hebrew medical terms and redefined the moral obligations of the Jewish physician to his profession. Joseph Solomon *Delmedigo studied medicine in Padua and was a pupil of Galileo. After many years of study and travel he settled in Poland and became personal physician to Prince Radziwill. He is famous as a rabbi, physician, philosopher, and mathematician. During the 17th and 18th centuries the family of Conegliano became prominent as physicians and medical teachers in Venice. David de Pomis (1525–1593) of Spoleto became physician to Pope Pius IV. Apart from various medical treatises, he wrote the famous *De Medico Hebreo Enarratio Apologica*, a scholarly defense of the Jewish physician. The Jewish community in Italy, however, declined during the second half of the 17th and the 18th centuries. Only with the French Revolution and the conquest of Italy by Napoleon did the Jews of Italy come into their own again.

The Northern Countries

In the northern countries – Germany, Poland, Russia – there were Jewish physicians of note only from the middle of the 17th century onward, many of them refugees from the countries of the Inquisition. However, as early as the 11th century a medical book had been written in Hebrew by R. Saadiah of Worms. Gradually, the universities of the German states opened their doors to Jews. Around the middle of the 17th century the grand duke of Brandenburg permitted Jews to enter the University of Frankfurt on the Oder. One of the first to study there was Tobias b. Moses *Cohn of Metz. However, he was unable to obtain his degree and therefore went to Padua to receive his M.D. He practiced in Poland and later became physician to five successive sultans in Constantinople. His *Ma'aseh Tuviyyah* is almost an encyclopedia and includes medicine, sciences, philosophy, and part of a dictionary. From the beginning of the 18th century the number of practicing Jewish physicians in Germany, Czechoslovakia, England, and Poland increased. Jewish physicians of that period include Marcus Eliezer *Bloch, a famous general practitioner in Berlin during the mid-18th century; Gumperz (Georg) Levison, who distinguished himself as a practitioner, medical author, and organizer in England and in Sweden during the second half of the 18th century; Elias Henschel, a pioneer in modern obstetrics; and Marcus *Herz, an outstanding philosopher, teacher, and physician.

[Suesmann Muntner]

THE MODERN ERA

19th Century

When Joseph II of Austria proclaimed the Act of Tolerance in 1782 and when, shortly thereafter, the French Revolution brought in its wake emancipation to Jews throughout Western Europe, the gates of European medical schools were thrown open to Jewish students. The importance of the contribution made by Jewish doctors to subsequent medical progress is enormous. The quality and quantity of this contribution is reflected in rosters of Nobel laureates and winners of other awards, dictionaries of eponymic syndromes and diseases, and lists of medical authors and investigators. Spanning nearly two centuries and extending over many lands, Jewish participation in modern medicine defies rigid categorization within frameworks of countries and centuries. Frequent demographic changes have occurred as a result of global events which did not always coincide with the "turn" of a century. In fact, a future historian might choose the 1930s as the watershed decade, during which the mainstream of Jewish medical activity became diverted from Europe to America, coinciding with the rise of American medicine vis-à-vis that of Europe.

The geographic distribution of Jews practicing medicine in the 19th century reflected the incongruity between the size of Jewish communities and their number of medical practitioners and scientists. Because of restrictions practiced by Russian medical schools, the youth of the world's largest Jewish community went abroad to pursue their medical studies. Those who returned had to pass special examinations in order to obtain a license. Not until 1861 were they admitted to the army and civil service, and only in 1879 were they granted permission to live beyond the *Pale of Settlement. Even when Jewish physicians successfully overcame the main restrictions and hardships, they were rarely permitted to participate fully in university-centered medical activities.

On the other hand, Jewish doctors were extensively involved in the academic-scientific life of Central and Western Europe. In Austria and Germany, this involvement did not, however, come about suddenly. Although the gates of the universities were open for admission, the inner doors to academic recognition remained partially closed during the first half of the century. At best, a Jew could hope to become a *privatdocent* or a "titular" professor. And even after the struggle for academic recognition had been won, Jews were not welcome in "establishment"-controlled specialties, such as surgery. As a result they tended to cultivate fields that did not attract their non-Jewish colleagues.

An outstanding example of this trend is dermatology-venereology. When Ferdinand von Hebra took over the Kraetze Klinik in Vienna, he was able to recruit only Jewish assistants, some of whom – Moritz *Kaposi, Isador Neumann (1832–1906), and Heinrich Auspitz (1835–1886) – became world famous. In Germany, where dermatology was often referred to disdainfully as "Judenhaut," Paul *Unna, Oskar *Lassar, and Josef *Jadassohn established reputations as pathfinders in their specialty. In Switzerland Bruno Bloch (1878–1933) made Zurich an international teaching center. The predilection for neglected fields may also account for Jewish preeminence in biochemistry, immunology, *psychiatry, and in hematology, histology, and microscopic pathology – sciences which were collectively referred to at the time as "microscopy." The microscope attracted Jewish physicians, many of whom combined the study of microscopy with the practice and teaching of clinical medicine. Outstanding among these men were Ludwig *Traube, a great teacher and pioneer of experimental pathology, anatomy, and neurohistology; Robert *Remak, a pathfinder in embryology, neurohistology, and electro-therapy; Moritz *Romberg, the founder of neuropathology; and the surgeon Benedict *Stilling, whose discovery of nerve nuclei was a turning point in basic neurology. These investigators laid the foundation of modern neurology, which numbered among its great names Leopold *Auerbach, Ludwig *Edinger, and Herman *Oppenheim – discoverers of many neurologic disorders now bearing their names.

Microscopy was also pursued by investigators who were exclusively devoted to basic science. To this category belong the histologist-anatomist Jacob *Henle, who anticipated the germ theory of infection; Gabriel *Valentin, who enriched every branch of basic science; the histologist-pathologist Julius *Cohnheim, who proved that pus cells are derived from the blood; the physiologists Hugo *Kronecker, Rudolf *Heidenhain, Nathan Zuntz, and Hermann *Munk, who were trailblazers in this field; and Carl *Weigert, whose novel concepts and staining techniques advanced many sciences, particularly bacteriology. Jewish contributions to bacteriology date back to the botanist Ferdinand Cohn (1828–1898), who established the vegetable nature of bacteria (1853). These contributions increased during the latter part of the century when bacteriology and the allied science of immunology became integral parts of medicine. Jews became conspicuous in the discovery of bacteria and the development of immunologic methods for diagnosing and preventing bacterial infection. Prominent in this field were Fernand *Widal, who devised a test for typhoid fever and for its prevention; Mordecai Waldemar *Haffkine, who prepared vaccines against cholera and plague; August von *Wasserman, who researched anti-toxins and antisera; and Nobel laureate Paul *Ehrlich, the father of hematology, chemotherapy, and theoretical immunology.

At the same time, clinical medicine was also receiving Jewish contributions. Among the outstanding internists were Heinrich von *Bamberger, for his contributions to cardiology; Hermann *Senator, for his work on the kidney; and Ottomar Rosenbach (1851–1907), for his researches in functional disease and psychotherapy. Outstanding pediatricians were Edward Henoch (1820–1910) who described a bleeding disease named after him; Adolf *Baginsky who investigated nutrition and infectious diseases; and Max Kassowitz (1842–1913) who shed light on congenital syphilis and rickets. Jews were also prominent in otolaryngology, a specialty founded by Adam *Politzer, and in ophthalmology, with the contributions extending from 1810, when George Gerson (1788–1844) investigated astigmatism, to the close of the century, when Karl *Koller began to use local anesthesia in the treatment of eye diseases. Obstetrics and gynecology owe much to Samuel *Kristeller, Wilhelm Freund (1833–1917), and Leopold *Landau for new concepts, observations, and operative techniques. X-ray therapy was founded in 1897 by Leopold Freund (1868–1944). Even surgery, a specialty not too accessible to Jews, numbered many notables. Anton Wolfeer (1850–1917) performed the first gastroenterostomy in 1881, James Israel (1848–1926) pioneered urologic surgery, and Leopold Von Dittel (1815–1898) devised new surgical techniques and instruments. Jewish doctors also contributed to the history of medicine. Noted historians were August *Hirsch, Judah *Katzenelson, and Julius *Pagel.

It is apparent from some of the aforementioned names that Jewish contributions to medicine were not confined to German-speaking countries. In France, many Jewish doctors attained eminence. Julius Sichel (1802–1868) established the first eye clinic in Paris in 1830; Michel Levy (1809–1872) introduced new concepts in the field of public health; Georges Hayem (1841–1933) pioneered hematology; and Fernand Widal made a world impact with his work on the detection and prevention of typhoid fever. In Denmark the great anatomist Ludvig *Jacobson and the pioneer in occupational diseases, Adolph *Hannover, were active during the first half of the century; and the epidemiologists Carl *Salomonsen and "the father of pediatrics in Denmark," Harold Hirschprung (1830–1916), during the second. Holland was the home of the physiologist Van Deen (1804–1869); Italy of the anatomist-physiologist-psychiatrist, Cesare *Lombroso, whose views on criminology have now been discredited; and Poland, of the anatomist Ludwig *Hirszfeld, the neurologist Samuel Goldflam (1852–1930), and the ophthalmologist Ludwig *Zamenhof, the creator of Esperanto. England knighted its greatest laryngologist Sir Felix *Semon. Even restrictive Russia honored the distinguished ophthalmologist Max *Mandelstamm with the title "Privatdocent" and the physiologist, Elie de-*Cyon, with a professorship (1872).

In America, where the Jewish community was small and medical science was not yet advanced, Jewish contributions to medicine were modest, and as often related to organization, administration, and the foundation of hospitals as to scientific pursuits. The ophthalmic surgeon Isaac Hays (1796–1879) was editor of the influential *American Journal of Medical Sciences* (1827) and one of the founders of the American Medical Association. Jacob da Silva *Solis-Cohen, a pioneer in laryngology who performed the first laryngectomy for laryngeal cancer

(1867), was the acknowledged "father" of organized instruction in his specialty. Another "father" – that of American pediatrics – Abraham Jacobi was the founder of the American Pediatric Society and in his later years (1910), the president of the American Medical Association. Jewish doctors were also active in establishing and staffing Jewish hospitals that provided training for Jewish interns and residents. In time these hospitals became important research centers affiliated with medical schools that absorbed many Jewish students.

Challenges to Jewish Medical Scientists and Clinicians

Medicine has undergone profound changes since the start of the 20th century. Advances in medical science have gradually transformed clinical practice from a largely pragmatic skill based on anecdotal experience into a discipline underwritten by verified laboratory and clinical observations. The increasing pace of scientific discovery continues to offer therapeutic possibilities of unprecedented complexity and expense. Medical teaching has changed from apprenticeship to individual teachers with varying degrees of skill and knowledge to organized instruction in universities with courses and teachers with appropriate academic credentials. Before the 1950s patients were rarely given explanations for their illnesses and treatment. Patients now have ready access to medical knowledge and expect to be involved in decisions about their clinical management. They also have increasing expectations in terms of the standards of medical care. Change in attitude and technical advances have made ethics an integral part of clinical practice. In general, an overview of the Jewish contribution to medicine in modern times must consider advances in scientific knowledge, the application of this knowledge to clinical practice, medical education, the organization of medical practice, and the proper education and participation of patients.

Medicine in the Jewish world must take account of four special factors. Firstly, clinical decisions are often influenced by Jewish ethics that differ in varying degree from the constraints related to other forms of religious adherence. Secondly, antisemitism culminating in the Holocaust profoundly affected the lives of Jewish medical scientists and doctors. Thirdly, there is a strong incentive to apply research and clinical skills to diseases to which Jews are genetically predisposed (see *Hereditary Diseases). Finally, the establishment of the State of Israel created the need for sophisticated medical research, teaching, and services in a region of initially endemic infectious diseases in the face of massive immigration, wars, and continuing terrorism.

Conctributions to Medical Science

Advances in clinical medicine have followed progress in the biomedical sciences and the development of novel technologies. Biomedical research in the last quarter of the 20th and the beginning of the 21st centuries is characterized by better understanding of the molecular and pathological processes, the deciphering of the human genome, and the elucidation of complex intra-cellular processes. These have led to the engineering of disease-specific and targeted therapies and the development of non-invasive technologies. Jewish researchers and clinicians have made significant contributions to these advances.

Jewish contributions to the advances in basic science that have transformed medical practice are considered in the entry *Life Sciences. Often the implications of these discoveries for medicine are not initially apparent. There are additional areas of scientific research that are from the outset more clearly relevant to medicine to which Jews have made important contributions. However in medical as in scientific research it has become increasingly difficult to single out specifically Jewish contributors to a global enterprise that is for the most part now carried out by large, interdisciplinary teams, often working in different institutes.

INFECTIOUS DISEASES. At the beginning of the 20th century infections were the major causes of human morbidity and mortality. Increased understanding of immunity and natural resistance to infection lead to diagnostic and eventually therapeutic advances. August von *Wasserman introduced the first diagnostic test for syphilis (1906).

Bela *Schick devised a diagnostic test for detecting exposure to C. diphtheriae, the cause of diphtheria. Michael *Heidelberger's work on antibody structure and function laid the basis for protection against and treatment of infections with preformed antibody (passive immunization). Developments in vaccine production (active immunization) made it possible for Jonas *Salk and Albert *Sabin to produce vaccines with the potential ability to eliminate poliomyelitis.

Advances in drug production also reduced the threat of infection. *Ehrlich's dream of a "magic bullet," which would selectively destroy bacteria as salvarsan does spirochetes, has been partially realized by the discovery of sulfonamides and antibiotics. In 1940 Sir Ernst Boris *Chain isolated penicillin, the first naturally occurring antibiotic to be discovered. Streptomycin was isolated in 1944 and neomycin in 1948 by Selman *Waksman of Rutgers University. Harry Eagle (1905–1992) and Maxwell Finland (1902–1987) made important contributions to progress in antibiotic therapy by devising accurate methods for measuring the potency, anti-bacterial specificity, and safety of antibiotics. Unfortunately, microbial resistance to antibiotics threatens to reverse the relative security achieved in the golden age of drug treatment. Stanley Farber discovered one important mechanism in the development of antibiotic resistance, namely the ability of gene fragments called plasmids to confer resistance on previously susceptible bacteria. Combating infection also depends on the efforts of scientists who understand the biology and epidemiology of infection, as exemplified by the research of Baruch *Blumberg and Barry Bloom. Astute clinical observation is also part of the process of controlling infections, as illustrated by Saul Krugman's elucidation of the many causes of "infectious hepatitis."

CELL BIOLOGY AND CANCER. The links between cell biology and cancer research are prime examples of the contributions of basic research to medicine. For example the formation of new blood vessels (angiogenesis) is essential for tumor growth and metastasis. Judah *Folkman's discoveries in this field point the way to new forms of treatment that may interdict this process. The application of basic genetics to the biology of malignant cells has illuminated many areas of cancer research where inherited or acquired mutations are fundamentally important. A pertinent example is the work of Bert Vogelstein (1949–) in understanding the molecular basis of colo-rectal cancer. Long-held hopes of manipulating patients' immune system to reject cancer have been greatly encouraged by the innovative work of George *Klein.

BLOOD DISORDERS. Advances in immunology have improved our understanding of many hematological diseases and have also influenced clinical practice. Gerald *Edelman's research on immunoglobulin structure clarified the nature of myeloma and other neoplastic diseases characterized by abnormal immunoglobulin production. The discovery and classification of blood groups by Karl *Landsteiner, and his associates Philip *Levine and Alexander Wiener (1907–1976), rationalized the hitherto haphazard and dangerous practice of blood transfusion. Their findings also revealed the nature of blood disorders resulting from immune attacks on blood group antigens, notably hemolytic disease of the newborn. Jewish investigators have contributed to the solution of other hematological problems. William *Damashek was responsible for the logical classification of many immune-mediated and neoplastic blood diseases and was also an innovator in treating leukemia with anti-proliferative drugs. Robert B. Epstein (1928–) collaborated with E.D. Thomas in the first successful bone marrow transplantation. Louis Klein *Diamond made major advances in classifying and characterizing many blood disorders of infancy and childhood. Ernest Jaffe (1925–) contributed to the understanding of hemoglobin synthesis. Ernest Beutler (1928–) elucidated many facets of iron metabolism in red cell formation and proposed a means of tracing the cellular origin of many bone marrow-derived diseases. Maxwell *Wintrobe developed hematology as a laboratory and clinical discipline.

IMMUNOLOGICAL DISEASES. Jewish scientists have made outstanding contributions to understanding the molecular basis and clinical manifestations of disordered immunity, a field that has assumed increasing importance in allergy, transplantation medicine, and auto-immunity. Alexander *Besredka of the Pasteur Institute in Paris was a pioneer in allergy research. Current understanding of the pharmacological basis of allergic disorders owed much to the findings of Baruj *Benacerraf. Ernest Witebsky (1901–1969) and Felix Milgrom (1919-) made important observations on immune mechanisms underlying auto-immune diseases. Robert Schwarz (1928-) introduced new experimental and therapeutic strategies based on the concept that the immune system in auto-immunity loses the ability to distinguish between self and non-self, a defect termed "loss of tolerance." Peter *Lachmann helped delineate the role of a disturbed complement system in these diseases. Fred *Rosen (1930–2005) was a world authority on the management of inherited immunodeficiency diseases in childhood. The availability of monoclonal antibodies arising from Cesar *Milstein's work has provided immense benefits for research and clinical practice in many fields.

NUTRITIONAL DISEASES. Casimir *Funk introduced the idea of vitamin (which he called "vitamines") deficiency to nutrition and medicine. He recognized that beriberi is caused by nutritional deficiency and he also isolated nicotinic acid, a member of the vitamin B complex. Joseph *Goldberger deduced that pellagra is a disease resulting from vitamin deficiency. In the 1920s Alfred Hess, working in parallel with Harry Steenbock, started the important field delineating the relationship between vitamin D deficiencies, rickets, and other bone disorders.

METABOLIC DISEASES. Progress in understanding metabolic diseases went through many transformations of approach and technique in the 20th century to which Jewish scientists and physicians made crucially important contributions. Mapping biochemical pathways in health and disease has depended on laboratory discoveries in experimental animals, the introduction of ethically acceptable methods of investigation in humans, improved techniques of laboratory analysis, and the adaptation of molecular genetics to this field.

The high prevalence rate of many metabolic diseases in Jewish populations makes this an area of especial Jewish interest. Diabetes mellitus, now recognized as occurring in two main forms, is a compelling example. In 1899, Oskar Minkowski (1855–1931) demonstrated the association of diabetes with the pancreas, and in 1920 Moses Barron (1883–1961) described observations of the pancreas that suggested the experimental approach that led to Banting and Best's momentous discovery of insulin. Rachmiel Levine (1910–1998) showed that insulin promotes the transport of glucose from blood to cells, a process termed "the Levine effect." Progress in other fields was helped by observations by Jewish biochemists such as Seymour Reichlin and more fundamentally by the description of major metabolic pathways by Max *Meyerhof and Hans *Krebs and many others. A key example of the interrelationship between genetic predisposition to metabolic problems such as type II diabetes, disorders of lipid metabolism, and obesity is provided by the observations of Jeffrey Friedman, Sir Philip *Cohen, and other investigators.

ENDOCRINE DISEASES. Endocrine diseases illustrate the need to draw together many disciplinary themes in order to understand disease mechanisms and predisposition to these diseases. Jewish medical scientists have contributed to the genetic, metabolic, pharmacological, and immunological studies needed to explore the basis of endocrine diseases such as diabetes and thyroid disease. However, central to advances in this field was the development of precise methods for measuring hormone levels for research and clinical purposes. Rosalyn Sussman *Yalow and Andrew *Schally were largely responsible for the assay techniques that made these measurements possible and which also accelerated research in many other fields.

HEART, LUNG, AND KIDNEY DISEASES. The fields of cardiovascular, pulmonary, and renal diseases have many pioneering Jewish contributors. Arthur *Master introduced the concept of coronary insufficiency and the "Master Step Test" for its detection; Louis Katz (1897–1973) elucidated the principles of cardiovascular hemodynamics, metabolism, and electro-physiology, research fields also enriched by Simon Dack (1908–1994), Richard Bing (1909–), Eugene Braunwald (1929–), and Eliot Corday (1913–1999). Michel Mirowski (1924–1990) invented the automatic implantable cardiodefibrillator (AICD) which transformed the management of life-threatening cardiac arrhythmias. The gradual introduction of surgical methods of treating cardiovascular problems necessitated the development of increasingly sophisticated biotechnology to which Adrian Kantrowitz (1918–) has made many indispensable contributions. New approaches to the study of pulmonary circulation have been introduced by Alfred P. Fishman (1918–). Arthur Maurice Fishberg (1898–1992) correlated the pathological and clinical manifestations of kidney disease. In 1934 Harry Goldblatt (1891–1977) demonstrated the mechanism of secondary hypertension caused by renal vascular disease. Kurt Lange (1906–?) investigated immunologic, biochemical, and pathological facets of kidney disease in children.

GASTROENTEROLOGY. At the turn of the 20th century, Max Einhorn (1862–1953) and Samuel Weiss (1885–?) were amongst the first clinicians to develop gastroenterology as a medical specialty. In 1931 Burrill *Crohn described the inflammatory bowel disease named after him and Heinrich Necheles (1897–1979), Joseph Kirsner (1909–?), and Leon Schiff (1901–?) extended our understanding of the pathophysiology and therapy of many gastrointestinal and liver diseases. Increasing knowledge produced a need to establish departments devoted to research and treatment of patients with these disorders of the kind set up by Henry *Janowitz at Mount Sinai Hospital, New York.

NEUROLOGY. Progress in clinical neurology is largely dependent on increased understanding of brain structure and function. Jewish scientists have participated in this problem from the early days of Joseph *Erlanger's research on nerve conduction to Richard *Axel's dissection of the pathways relevant to olfactory function. Among the clinical neurologists who made the first attempts to correlate disease and basic pathology were Bernard Alpers, who studied neuro-syphilis and vascular degenerative diseases; Benjamin Boshes, who investigated Parkinson's disease; and Leo Alexander who investigated multiple sclerosis. Israel *Wechsler compiled one of the first systematic textbooks on clinical neurology (1927) which became a standard work.

DERMATOLOGY. The longstanding interest of Jewish physicians in skin diseases might traditionally be said to have begun with the Bible. Marion Sulzberger (1895–1983), a pupil of Bruno Bloch of Zurich, Stephen Rothman (1894–1963), Herman Pinkus (1905–1985), and Louis Forman were amongst the first dermatologists to appreciate the need to underpin merely descriptive diagnosis with systematic observations of pathological changes readily observed in this most accessible of human organs. Edmund Klein (1922–1999) was an early winner of the Lasker Award for Clinical Medical Research in recognition of his pioneering treatment of skin diseases, and especially pre-malignant diseases.

RHEUMATOLOGY. Rheumatology is a relatively young but important clinical specialty because of the high incidence of debilitating joint diseases especially in the elderly. The prospects for controlling rheumatoid arthritis have been greatly increased by the successful application of monoclonal antibody techniques. Morris *Ziff was influential worldwide in establishing the essential links between basic science and clinical practice in this discipline.

PEDIATRICS. The demanding technical and psychological challenges of health care in infancy and childhood have intrigued many Jewish scientists and clinicians. In the early stages of its development, Abraham Jacobi (1830–1919) was largely responsible for the emergence of pediatrics in the U.S. Isaac A. *Abt and Julius Hess (1876–1995) were pioneers in child nutrition and care of the premature infant. Henry *Koplik added to knowledge of infectious diseases in children, and Louis *Diamond contributed to pediatric hematology. Sidney Farber (1903–1973) transformed the outlook for childhood leukemia by introducing new anti-proliferative drugs and a regime of comprehensive management. The universally known Dana-Farber Cancer Institute commemorates his achievements. In addition, Alexander Nadas (1913–2000) was a pioneer in pediatric cardiology and Henry Shwachman (1910–1986) was among the first clinical scientists to appreciate the complexities of cystic fibrosis.

SURGERY, OBSTETRICS, AND GYNECOLOGY. Jewish doctors have made many contributions to the rapidly developing scope of surgery, obstetrics, and gynecology. Charles Elsberg (1871–1948) introduced new methods in the treatment of spinal-cord tumors. Markus *Hajek of Vienna devised new techniques in nasal and laryngeal surgery. A pioneer in thoracic surgery, Max Thorek (1880–1960) founded the International College of Surgeons, and Irving Cooper (1922–1985) introduced an operative procedure for the treatment of Parkinson's disease. In obstetrics, Joseph de Lee (1869–1942) contributed an authoritative textbook and original papers and was an outstanding teacher and clinician. Isidor S. Rubin (1883–1958) made many important contributions to gynecology, including the test for fallopian tube patency when investigating sterility. Lord Robert *Winston's achievements include a worldwide reputation for his contributions to solving the problems of female infertility.

RADIOLOGY. U.S. Jewish radiologists have enriched every branch of their specialty. Outstanding contributions have been made by Hymer Friedell (1911–) to radiation biology, by Harold G. Jacobson (1912–2001) to neuroradiology, and Leo Rigler (1896–1979), who was president of the American Radiologic Society, to the radiology of the chest and abdomen. Gustav *Bucky invented the X-ray diaphragm that bears his name.

DRUGS AND THERAPEUTICS. Advances in pharmacological knowledge and drug design, testing, and production have transformed the management of virtually every acute and chronic disease. In addition to the development of anti-microbial agents, this is an area to which Jewish scientists and clinicians have made so many contributions that selected examples must suffice. Isidor Ravdin (1894–1972) was a pioneer in anti-cancer chemotherapy. Gertrude *Elion developed the immunosuppressive drug azathioprine, the first anti-viral drug acyclovir, and allopurinol used to treat gout. Ralph Alexander *Raphael's discoveries illustrate how a profound understanding of organic chemistry can be translated into innovative drug design active against a wide range of diseases. Josef Fried (1914–2001) developed anti-inflammatory steroids and Gregory Goodwin *Pincus (1903–1967) and Carl *Djerassi developed the first successful female, oral contraceptive drugs. The successful career of Max *Tishler (1906–1989) also showed the increasing importance of combining scientific and entrepreneurial skills in drug development. This point is emphasized by the increasing dominance of bioengineering companies able to exploit advances in genetics and other fields. The innovative achievements of Robert S. *Langer are a pertinent example. Jewish scientists have also made key contributions to anti-HIV treatment. They include Jerome Horwitz, who synthesized the first drug that inhibits the viral enzyme reverse transcriptase, and Irving Sigal (1953–1988), who first showed the efficacy of drugs which inhibit viral proteases. Sigal died in the terrorist bombing of Pan Am flight 103.

PATHOLOGY. Jewish pathologists made important contributions at the stage when pathology was developing from an observational skill into one demanding more widely based scientific insight and knowledge. The efforts of Hans Popper (1905–1988) and Fenton Schaffner (1920–2000) clarified the pathology of liver disease. David Spain (1913–) in cardiac pathology and Averill Liebow (1911–1978) in pulmonary pathology performed a similar service. Benjamin Castleman (1906–1982) described the pathology of the parathyroid glands and a proliferative disease of the immune system which bears his name and is a paradigm for many, more common diseases of a similar nature. Paul *Klemperer's imaginative interpretation of the damage inflicted by "connective tissue diseases" laid the basis for what are now known as multi-system autoimmune diseases.

PUBLIC HEALTH. Jews helped to lay the foundations of public health and hygiene in the U.S. and elsewhere. Sigmund Goldwater (1873–1942) founded the first occupational disease clinic in New York in 1915. His contemporary Milton J. Rosenau (1869–1946) promoted important measures for preventing epidemics of infectious diseases in the Americas and elsewhere. Jeremiah Stamler (1919–) was one of the first investigators to conduct epidemiologic studies on environmental factors influencing coronary heart disease.

HISTORY OF MEDICINE. While many Jewish doctors were making history, some were writing it. Outstanding early historians were Max Neuberger (1868–1955) in Austria, Charles *Singer in England, Arturo Castiglioni (1874–1953) in Italy, and Harry *Friedenwald, Victor Robinson (1886–1947), and Saul Jarcho (1906–2000) in the U.S.

EDUCATION AND PUBLICATION. Jews have played a prominent part in the interrelated fields of medical education and publication. Abraham *Flexner is still remembered for his "Flexner Report" (1906), which charted the subsequent course of medical education in the United States. After World War II a steadily increasing number of Jews have joined the teaching staffs of medical schools. Many have also contributed to teaching as textbook authors and by editing medical journals. The well-known medical editor, Morris *Fishbein, edited the *Journal of the American Medical Association* (1924–49) and played a leading role in shaping American healthcare policies. Alexander Gutman (1902–1973) edited the *American Journal of Medicine* and Alfred Soffer (1922–) was editor of *Chest*. Subsequently there has been an at least commensurate increase in the numbers of Jewish medical scientists and teachers needed to meet the enormous demand for journals, books, and education at all levels.

Advances in research and education have also created a demand for medical scientists with the rare combination of the research expertise and administrative skills needed to run vast institutions of unprecedented complexity. Jewish scientists with these capabilities include Arnold Levine at the Rockefeller, Walter *Bodmer, Sir Gustav *Nossal, Harold *Varmus, and Philip Fialkow at the University of Seattle.

Jewish Medicine in the Diaspora

UNITED STATES. The early years of the 20th century witnessed a continued immigration to the U.S. that changed the "ethnic" and cultural pattern of American Jewry and its medical representation. The first Jewish doctors in the U.S. were of Sephardi origin. During the second part of the 19th century Jewish immigrants from Germany assumed leading roles in communal affairs and medicine. Russian Jews, who began emigrating after the pogroms of the 1880s, added a third element, which was destined to grow in numbers and influence. Later, the U.S. gained new immigrants from the Jewish population that had moved to East European countries when these broke away from the Russian and Austro-Hungarian empires after World War I. These Jews were again unsettled by unfavorable economic and political conditions.

Jewish emigration from Europe to the U.S. yet again increased sharply in the 1930s with the rise of the Nazi Party. After World War II the majority of those who escaped the Holocaust immigrated to the United States or Israel. Physicians who found refuge in America arrived at a propitious time. The 1930s and 1940s marked the beginning of the current golden age of scientific medicine, ushered in by the discovery of antibiotics and cortisone and advances in molecular biology and medical technology. With the decline of traditional European centers, the United States became the new world center of scientific and medical activity with Jewish immigrants joining the country's extraordinarily creative universities and institutes. Rid of vestiges of intolerance and receptive to new talent, the country's medical establishment and public welcomed the newcomers. Jewish hospitals, such as Mount Sinai in New York and Michael Reese and Mount Sinai in Chicago, as well as non-Jewish hospitals, research foundations, and universities absorbed many of them into the mainstream of medical progress. By the 1980s Jewish physicians in the United States greatly outnumbered those in other countries. In the State of New York alone there were 7,500 practicing Jewish doctors compared with 5,500 in Israel and 3,000 in France. Overall 9% of U.S. physicians were Jewish, compared with a 3% representation in the general population. More than 17,000 of the approximately 27,000 U.S. Jewish physicians in private practice resided in the thickly populated states of New York, California, Illinois, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and Massachusetts. Of these, approximately 4,700 were general practitioners, 6,500 specialists in general medicine and its branches, 3,000 in surgery, 2,900 in obstetrics and gynecology, 1,000 in ophthalmology, 800 in radiology, 650 in dermatology, and 600 in otolaryngology. However the distribution among medical specialties was uneven. Whereas only 5% of doctors in occupational medicine were Jewish, they comprised 20% of general physicians and more than 30% of psychiatrists. This predominance in numerical terms is likely to have persisted but is difficult to quantify and compare with earlier periods. There has been increasing specialization marking the virtual demise of the "general internist" and the current Jewish population is less homogeneous compared with the initial immigrant Jewish population. However, the Jewish contribution to U.S. and thereby to medicine worldwide should not be assessed simply in terms of the numbers of practicing physicians but should also take account of Jewish contributions to medical science and education.

CANADA. Jewish doctors and medical scientists in Canada also benefited from the opportunities available in the U.S. to improve the provision of medical services and education. Their numbers included the pediatrician Alton Goldbloom (1890–1962) and Arthur Vineberg (1903–1988), who developed techniques for improving blood circulation to diseased heart muscle.

WESTERN EUROPE. The countries of Western Europe other than Germany and Austria had long settled Jewish communities whose numbers were increased by refugees from Russia at the beginning of the 20th century and from Nazi persecution in the 1930s. Jewish doctors are well represented in clinical practice and in academic centers. Their contributions to medicine and medical science in the United Kingdom are reflected by the high national honors accorded to Sir Ludwig *Guttmann for his work on rehabilitation, and to Lord *Cohen, Lord Rosenheim, Lord Turnberg, Sir Raymond Hoffenberg, and Sir George Alberti for their achievements in clinical medicine, teaching, and research. French scientists made important contributions to the formative stages of molecular biology and the contributions of Jewish medical scientists in France are illustrated by the achievements of Jean Hamburger (1909–1992) in renal transplantation. Switzerland's Jewish community of indigenous and refugee medical scientists has included Tadeus *Reichstein, who isolated cortisone, and Pierre Rentchnick (1923–), the foremost authority on public health and hygiene in a country which traditionally takes these subjects very seriously. Sweden sheltered the Nobel Prize winner Robert *Barany and is now the home of the cancer research specialist George *Klein and of the endocrinologist Carl Luft, well-known for his research on diabetes. The Jewish medical academic communities of Germany and Austria were extinguished by the Nazis and the preeminence of these countries in research and practice thereby passed to the countries where Jewish refugees settled.

RUSSIA AND THE FORMER SOVIET UNION. World War I, the Russian Revolution, and the *Balfour declaration had demographic and political consequences that profoundly influenced Jewish participation in medicine. Many Russian Jews moved to large university centers, where they had been forbidden to reside. As a result of this movement and of the new policy of open university admissions, the number of Jewish doctors greatly increased. Unofficial admission quotas reappeared during the later years of Stalin's rule. However, neither their number nor their achievements can be readily determined because of the isolation of Russian Jewry from the Western world.

POLAND AND EASTERN EUROPE. Despite poor economic conditions, Jews in pre-Hitler Poland maintained 40 hospitals where many of the country's 3,500 Jewish doctors provided services. Poverty, backward technology, and a hostile academic environment prevented Jewish scientists from attaining the achievements reached by their colleagues in Western Europe. Still, their contributions were far from negligible. Edward Platau, the doyen of Polish neurologists, researched meningitis and brain tumors. Adolf Beck investigated nerve physiology and Henry K. Higier explored the autonomic nervous system. Samuel Goldflam studied reflexes and the diseases myasthenia gravis and periodic paralysis. Zygmunt Bychowski investigated traumatic epilepsy and multiple sclerosis. Anastaszy Landau was prominent in metabolic research, Stanislaus Klein in hematology, Seweryn Sterling in social medicine, and Gerszon Lewin in tuberculosis. Aron Solowieczyk, who was killed during the Warsaw ghetto rising, was prominent in surgical research. But the scientific potential of Jewish doctors in Poland was not destined to develop. During the German occupation, Jewish doctors devoted their energies to caring for people doomed to starvation, torture, and death. Many distinguished themselves by acts of dedication and heroism and over 2,800 were killed. The tragic events in Poland were paralleled by similar developments in other German-occupied territories.

SOUTH AMERICA AND MEXICO. In the early part of the 20th century, geographic remoteness meant that Jewish contributions to medicine in Latin America received less recognition abroad than they deserved. Nevertheless, the large communities in South America were reinforced by immigration from Europe ensuring that Jewish medical scholarship thrived, even if not to the extent enjoyed by colleagues in North America. Since World War II the opportunities to contribute to advances in medical research have suffered from political instability and periods of economic decline. In Argentina, where Jewish immigration began in 1889, the figure of the pioneer physician Noah Yarchi is still remembered and revered. The doctors who followed in his footsteps helped sustain the health and morale of the colonists and the early settlers in the cities. With the establishment of the Ezra Hospital in Buenos Aires in 1921, a center was provided for medical activity; it grew in importance as the Jewish population increased. Jews have been prominent in every phase of the professional and academic life of the country; Professor Quiroga was president of the Academy of Medicine of Buenos Aires and Ricardo Rodriguez dean of the Medical Faculty of La Plata. Jewish physicians published the Journal *Archives de Medicina Argentina-Israel.*

For a long period the Jewish population in Brazil was 140,000, and much lower in other Latin American countries. Jewish participation in medicine increased significantly after the arrival in the 1930s and 1940s of refugee doctors who brought the sophisticated approach of European medicine. Many Jewish physicians rose to eminence. Victor Soriano of Montevideo, Uruguay, was the editor of the *World Journal of Neurology.* Mexico had 120 Jewish doctors in 1970, many of whom attained professional distinction. Characteristic of the medical pioneers' sense of Jewish identity was their publication of the medical journal *Ars Medici* early in the century, when their numbers were very small.

SOUTH AFRICA. At the peak of communal activity South Africa had about 750 Jewish doctors who made major contributions to medical research, education, and practice. Among these were Philip *Tobias, president of the Royal Society of South Africa, Maurice Shapiro, the immuno-hematologist who became head of the country's transfusion services, the gynecologist S. Joel Cohen, the physician M.M. Sussman, the cardiologist Valva Shrir, and the surgeon Jack Wolfowitz. The plastic surgeon Jack Penn (1909–1996) carried out many facial reconstruction operations on Israeli soldiers wounded in the War of Independence and subsequently became honorary visiting professor of plastic surgery at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. During the period of political uncertainty before the country achieved independence many doctors immigrated to the United Kingdom, the U.S., and Israel. Those achieving distinction include Israel Chanarin, the hematologist and expert on megaloblastic anemias, and Anthony Segal, the authority on the white blood cells called neutrophils.

Medical Science and Practice in Israel

Sussman *Muntner, Joshua O. *Leibowitz (1895–1993), who was professor of medical history in the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, and David Margalit have fully described the history of medicine in Palestine under the Mandate and in the early years of the State of Israel. At the beginning of the 20th century infectious diseases were rampant in Palestine. Clinics established by European Jewish communities provided medical care for the Jewish population of Jerusalem. These clinics became hospitals that expanded to meet the needs of a modern city, notably Bikkur Ḥolim, established in 1843, and Sha'arei Ẓedek, established in 1902. Fortunately for the needs of the Jewish population, physicians were prominent in the Zionist movement since its inception. The first Jewish physician in Palestine, Simon Fraenkel, was sent to Jerusalem in 1843 by Moses Montefiore. Menahem Stein was the first Jewish doctor in Jaffa (1882), Hillel *Joffe the first in Haifa (1890), and Bathsheba Yunis (1880–1947) the first in Tel Aviv. Leib Pashkovsky was the first surgeon to settle in Palestine (1906). In 1912, the year a medical association was founded in Tel Aviv, there were 35 Jewish doctors in the country, the majority specially trained in ophthalmology, dermatology, and parasitology in order to cope with the country's most prevalent diseases. Prominent among the early specialists were the ophthalmologist Aryeh *Feigenbaum, the dermatologist Aryeh Dostrovsky (d. 1975), and the bacteriologist and founder of the Pasteur Institute in Jerusalem (1913), Israel J. Kligler. Other notable doctors were Aryeh Boehm, who was responsible for many improvements in public health, and the otorhinolaryngologist Moshe Sherman, founding president of the country's first Medical Association. Although public health remained a major preoccupation, increased control of malaria, rabies, trachoma, and other infectious diseases allowed more scope for other specialties to develop.

After the Balfour Declaration, the number of Jewish physicians in Palestine increased sharply and their pace of immigration accelerated with each wave of persecution in Europe. Health services improved under the Mandate with an expanded network of clinics and public health measures including an immunization program. Thus a medical infrastructure was in place when the State was established which could cope with the added demands of immigration and the War of Independence. With subsequent expansion, Israel had approximately 27,000 physicians in the early 21st century, so that the ratio of doctors to population has become one of the most favorable in the world. The country had some 47,000 nurses, of whom 50% were registered. As a result Israel had a very low infant mortality rate (7.5 per 1,000 live births) and long life expectancy (79.1 years on the average for women and 75.3 years for men). Medical care is provided by a network of hospitals and clinics, many affiliated to the health funds, the

Ministry of Health, or other organizations like *Hadassah and *Magen David Adom. The hospitals and medical services are also geared to deal with the emergencies arising from wars or terrorist attacks.

Mental health, rehabilitation, and social support services are also highly developed.

Advanced methods of treatment developed elsewhere in the world have also been promptly introduced into Israeli clinical practice. The Hadassah Hospital carried out its first successful *in vitro* fertilization ("test-tube baby") in 1982 and heart transplantation in 1983.

The Israel Medical Association, founded in 1929, helped to raise the standards of the profession and to improve service to the public during the difficult years of economic hardship and political and military tension. The Association's official organ, *Harefuah*, founded in 1913, has maintained a high scientific and journalistic standard. The Non-Resident Fellow Project of the Association has helped forge close links with Jewish doctors in the Diaspora. There is also an extensive network of academic exchanges and collaboration between institutes and individuals in Israel and other countries.

Medical research and education have had a consistently high priority, even before the establishment of the State. Moshe Prywes (d. 1999), editor of the *Israel Journal of Medical Sciences*, founded in 1965, contributed to medical education, and Hanoch Midwidsky to the promotion of postgraduate studies. Most medical research is now carried out at the country's four medical schools, namely the *Hebrew University of Jerusalem (founded in 1949), *Tel Aviv University (founded in 1965), *Ben-Gurion University (founded in 1974), the *Haifa Technion (founded in 1969), and their affiliated hospitals. Biomedical science is performed in the relevant faculties of these universities, at *Bar-Ilan University, which does not have a medical school, and at the *Weizmann Institute of Science.

The first research priority was the control of infectious diseases. Saul *Adler, a world authority on parasitology and tropical medicine, directed research on amebiasis, leishmaniasis, and relapsing fever. Zvi *Saliternik was responsible for the elimination of malaria and the parasitic disease schistosomiasis. Subsequently attention could be turned to the disorders prevalent in the developed world and to genetic disorders prevalent in various Israeli populations. Clinical research was linked to improving teaching and patient care in all branches of medicine.

Chaim Sheba, surgeon-general of the Israeli army, oversaw the rise in medical standards. Bernhard and Hermann *Zondek continued their endocrinologic research, interrupted by the European upheaval, and Moshe *Rachmilewitz, professor of medicine at Hadassah Hospital Medical School, carried out much-cited studies of folate and vitamin B12 deficiency and metabolism. Bracha *Ramot organized a modern hematological service at the Tel Hashomer (Sheba) Hospital and undertook a systematic program of investigation of the prevalence and management of inherited disorders of hemoglobin synthesis. Andre de Vries (1911–1996) was a distinguished physician and hematologist at the Beilinson (Rabin) Hospital. Karl Braun initiated research programs in cardiology and Lipman *Halpern in neurology. Under the leadership of Bruno Lunenfeld (1927–), the Tel Hashomer (Sheba) Hospital became a world center in research and treatment for female infertility. In the same institute Baruch Padeh had laid the foundations for clinical genetics in the country. David Erlick in Haifa improved techniques of renal transplantation. Isaac Michaelson developed ophthalmological services at Hadassah Hospital and used his expertise to treat patients with trachoma and other sight-threatening diseases in Africa. Michaelson was thereby amongst the first who initiated Israel's continuing medical collaboration with disadvantaged countries. He was also amongst the first clinical scientists to realize the importance of angiogenesis (new blood vessel formation) in retinal disease; an international medal and series of conferences have been named in his memory.

Latterly the pace of research has quickened and there is room to mention only a few of the outstanding contributors. Rina *Zaizov (1932–2005) organized a national center for pediatric oncology. Marcel *Eliakim of Hadassah Hospital has made important advances in the field of liver diseases. Yehezkiel *Stein of the same hospital is an international authority on lipids and atherosclerosis (vascular degeneration). Mordechai Pras of Tel Hashomer Hospital is an international expert on amyloidosis and Rami *Rahamimoff's work on nerve transmission in health and disease is also universally respected. The advances in basic immunology made by Michael *Sela and Ruth *Arnon at the Weizmann Institute have been adapted to many promising strategies for treating multiple sclerosis and auto-immune diseases. Michel *Revel's research on the antiviral interferon system also has important clinical implications. Irun Cohen's immunological studies at the Weizmann Institute on experimental and clinical auto-immune diseases and novel ideas on treating these diseases have attracted continued international attention. Stem cell research is an active area of research carried out in a fully coordinated program involving the country's major academic research centers and biotechnology companies. Sophisticated medical bioengineering is also an area of intense research activity.

The current organization of medical departments in acute care hospitals in Israel has changed from the classical European model with its fully autonomous medical wards to broader-based departments in which all medical sub-specialties are represented, providing comprehensive, multi-disciplinary medical care. In parallel with the remarkable developments in new therapeutic approaches a more realistic view has grown of scientific medicine's limitations and an understanding of the patient's rights. This has introduced a new field in medicine that includes palliative care, safeguarding the quality of life of patients and their families, and their right to be involved in decisions affecting medical management and the end of life. This progressive approach is now being adopted by the Israeli public and medical community with appropriate legal backing. There has also been striking progress in the provision of medical teams able to participate in disaster relief anywhere in the world.

[Samuel Vaisrub / Michael A. Denman,
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MEDICINE AND LAW.

This article is arranged according to the following outline:

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- **Judicial Decision – A Value Determination**
  - THE VALUES OF A JEWISH AND DEMOCRATIC STATE
- **In the Image of God**

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INTRODUCTION

The issues involved in medicine and *halakhah* are basic concerns, discussed and debated in every society today. Their analysis and resolution encompass many issues, related to law and values, justice and ethics, philosophy, and way of life. This is true of every society which examines its path and strives to shape its own identity.

The subjects involved in medical *halakhah* are a living, vital element in Jewish law and in the life of the Jewish people – "living" and "vital" in the most literal sense, pertaining to the content of life and its very being. The worlds of *halakhah* and of medicine are interconnected with one another. For generations many of the greatest rabbis, *posekim*, and Jewish thinkers have been physicians by profession.

Moreover, the questions, principles, and proposed solutions in the fields of medicine and healing touch upon the life of every single person. Hence, the discussion and debate concerning them and the questions involved in their application and their resolution are the concern of the public at large. This being so, a good portion of the subjects of medicine and therapy, the difficulties inherent in them and the solutions proposed, are not merely a matter for theoretical discussion, restricted to the world of experts and professionals, but are matters of concern to the entire society, collectively and individually. It follows that analysis of these matters is greatly influenced by various commonly held worldviews, which influence the thinking of everyone in society, both collectively and individually. As a result, analysis of medical practice and therapy, of what is permitted and prohibited, as well as the pursuit of solutions that are correct and appropriate according to both halakhic and human criteria – are all highly influential in educating the public and forming the attitudes of the individual. These are issues of immediate relevance, with which our society is constantly concerned, studying them and analyzing them. It is therefore proper that the matters written and spoken on these matters be intended not only for professionals, but for the general interested public as well, as this material is of the utmost importance for anyone seeking an understanding of the ways of the Creator, the greatness of His Torah, and the depths of faith, and who wishes to understand the meaning of Torah, of faith, and of Judaism.

Judicial Decision – A Value Determination

Any concrete issue in the area of law and medicine that reaches the courts and thus requires a judicial decision, must of necessity require establishing a position regarding morals and values. Most issues of law and medicine that come before the court do not involve monetary obligations or financial rights, nor do they touch upon rights of ownership or criminal liability in terms of an offense against an explicit or implicit provision or section of the law. Rather, their aim is generally to establish a duty, right, or permit which is fundamentally rooted in value or moral judgments, which have been infused with a legal definition. This is particularly true of those cases in which the judicial decision involves not only law and medicine, but also involves the special realm of the family unit, the relationship between parent and child, and the relationship between spouses.

These questions have been explicitly addressed in the literature dealing with these issues, and in the decisions of Justice Menachem Elon in the Israeli Supreme Court. In the introductory comments of his decision in the case of the minor Yael Shefer (CA 506/88, *Yael Shefer, Minor by way of her mother v. State of Israel*, 48 (1) PD 87, 96–97), which will be discussed below, Justice Elon wrote the following:

> The subject at hand is a very difficult one. It reaches the depths of human values and ethics and the heights of the philosophical thinking of generations past and present. The issue touches upon the cultural and spiritual make-up of our society. Indeed, we have postponed giving our opinion in this case so that we might fully examine the nature and essence of these values, thereby fulfilling the command: "Be moderate in judgment." […] "Against your will you are created, and against your will you are born; against your will you live, and against your will you pass on." Such was stated in the teachings of the Sages. […] "Against our will" we sit to decide the case before us. The angel of judgment stands above us and commands: "Decide!" The judge is required to adjudicate even such controversial matters so that the patient may be informed of his rights and duties, so that the physician may know what his profession forbids, permits, and requires him to do, and so that all those who assist the patient – to whatever extent – may understand their rights and obligations. "Against our will" we adjudicate all these matters, for we are not at all confident that we have fully mastered all these fundamental issues, or that we are equipped with all of the information and knowledge that we need to decide our case. Nevertheless, we cannot abdicate our judicial responsibility, and we must probe, weigh, and state our opinion.

Further on we will examine a number of general principles, as expressed in the Knesset legislation and case-law, especially in the rulings of the Israeli Supreme Court.

THE VALUES OF A JEWISH AND DEMOCRATIC STATE. When dealing with the subject of medicine and law we confront the inherent tension of the fact of Israel being a Jewish state and its being a democratic state (for expansion on this point see: *Values of Jewish and Democratic State). In the *Shefer* case (pp. 106–107) Justice Elon defined the values of the Jewish state:

> The interpretation of the values of the State of Israel as a Jewish state is thus determined by the values of the Jewish tradition and the legacy of Judaism – that is, the conclusion reached through a study of the basic values contained in the sources of the Jewish tradition and Judaism's legacy. In carrying out this interpretative endeavor we will be fulfilling the wishes of the legislator in defining the values of the State of Israel as a Jewish state […] by giving the appropriate interpretation of the values of the State of Israel as a Jewish state […].

Regarding the synthesis between the values of Judaism and those of democracy, especially in the sensitive realm of medicine and law, Justice Elon contended that in a situation of conflict between the Jewish component and the democratic component, priority should be given to the Jewish component. Hence he wrote (*ibid.*, 167–70):

> As instructed by the legislature in the Basic Law: Human Dignity and Freedom, we have examined the values of a Jewish state and those of a democratic state in the vast and multifaceted areas of medicine, *halakhah*, and law. As required, we have analyzed the sources of both systems in detail, and have examined the meta-principles of each system and the basic rules derived from these principles – both expansive and restrictive. And conducting this analysis, we are instructed to arrive at a synthesis that will achieve the dual-value goal of the Basic Law: Human Dignity and Freedom – to anchor in the laws of the State of Israel its values as a Jewish and democratic state. The natural way of achieving this synthesis is to find the common ground between the Jewish and democratic systems – the principles that they share, or at least those that can be used to integrate the two systems […], since active euthanasia negates the essence of the State of Israel as a Jewish state, as we observed above, the synthesis between the two norms – "the values of a Jewish and democratic state" – requires us to give preference to conclusion that would be reached by applying the values of a Jewish state, and to *use these values* to interpret the phrase "the values of a… democratic state." […]
>
> The values of a *Jewish* state, whose roots are planted in the basic concepts of the dignity of the human being created in the image of God, the sanctity of life, and the prevention of pain and suffering, concepts which have stood the test of generations and which have nurtured and sustained the entire world – are the true guidelines for arriving at the correct synthesis between the values of a Jewish and democratic state.

In the Image of God

A person's fundamental right to physical and mental well-being and integrity bears a special character in Jewish law, stemming from its basic conception of the source of a man's right to his life, body, and dignity. In this respect Justice Elon wrote the following in EA 2/84 *Neiman v. Chairman, Central Elections Committee*; *Avneri v. Chairman, Central Elections Committee*, 39 (2) PD 225, 298:

> The foundation of the worldview of Judaism is the concept of the creation of man in the image of God (Genesis 1:27). This is how the Torah begins, and from it the *halakhah* derives fundamental principles concerning the worth of every human being, whoever he may be, and the right of every person to equal and loving treatment. He [R. Akiva] would say: "Beloved is man, for he was created in the image [of God]; but it was an act of greater love that it was made known to him that he was created in the image [of God], in that it is stated (Genesis 9:6): 'In His image did God make man.'"

Jewish law generally, and especially over the last few generations with the tremendous advances in medicine and its needs, has encountered a plethora of problems that emerge as a result of the conflict between the value of the sanctity of life and the value of prevention of pain and suffering and other considerations. However, the point of departure and the basic foundation for this confrontation was always, and has remained, the meta-value of the sanctity of life, and the combination of the right and duty to preserve the image of God. In the *Shefer* case, Justice Elon elaborated on the principle of Man's creation in the Image as the guiding conception in the subjects related to medicine and law, writing inter alia (pp. 115–116):

> The basic right to bodily integrity and mental well-being has a special meaning in Jewish law, which stems from its basic philosophical outlook regarding the source of one's right to life, bodily integrity, and dignity […] The creation of man in the image of God is the basis of the value of each person's life. "Therefore the creation of humankind started with the creation of a single individual, to teach that whoever removes a single soul from this world is regarded as if he had caused the whole world to perish; and whoever keeps one single soul alive in this world is regarded as having preserved the whole world" (Mishnah, Sanh. 37a, as cited in Yad, Sanhedrin 12:3; see also Menachem Elon, *Ha-Mishpat ha-Ivri* (1988^{3}), p.1426, and n. 303). As we stated elsewhere (LA 184/87, 151, 184, *Attorney General v. Anon.*, 42 (2) PD 661, 676): "the fundamental principle that must guide the court is that we are not authorized or allowed to make any distinction based on the 'worth' of an individual – whether poor or rich, physically healthy or disabled, psychologically strong or mentally ill. All human beings, created in the image of God, are equal in value." The creation of man in the image of God is the underlying foundation of the supreme value of each person's life, and it is the source of the fundamental rights of human dignity and freedom. (See. Cr. A. 2145/92, *State of Israel v. Guetta*, 46 (5) PD 704, 723–724.) The principle that "In His image did God make man" – every man, no matter who he is – whose source is as stated, is in the world of Judaism, has been accepted by many varied cultures and legal systems, as the foundation for the supreme value placed on human life. The only exceptions are those cultures which historically have discriminated between one man and another, between the physically healthy and the disabled, psychologically strong and mentally ill (such as in the philosophy of Plato or the Greek city of Sparta; see *infra* par. 59 […]).
>
> "In His image did God make man" is the philosophical and analytical basis for the unique approach of Jewish law regarding the supreme value of the sanctity of human life – the sanctity of the divine image in which man was created – and the many consequences that follow in various areas of the law, including the important areas with which we dealt in the instant case. As we shall see, Jewish law has grappled, especially in recent times, with the tremendous advances in medicine, and with the many problems that have arisen as a result of the clash between, inter alia, the value and sanctity of life and the value of preventing pain and suffering. Yet the lodestar is and has been the supreme value of the sanctity of human life, and the right and obligation to protect the divine image of humankind.

PHYSICIAN'S DUTIES AND PATIENTS' RIGHTS

Initially, during the tannaitic era, it was established that it is permitted for a physician to heal. The Talmud derives this from the verse (Exod. 21:19): "'He shall cause him to be thoroughly healed' – This teaches that the physician is given permission to heal" (Bava Kamma 85a). This implied rejection of the approach prevalent in various philosophies and religions at that time, and later as well, even in some statements by Jewish thinkers, that one should not heal a person whom God has made ill, because there should be no intervention in what Heaven has decreed (Rashi, at BK 85a, s.v. *Nitna reshut; Kitvei Ramban,* Chavell ed. (Jerusalem 1964), vol. 2: *Torat ha-Adam*, at 42). Other tannaitic halakhic rules established that an expert physician who inadvertently caused damage is exempt, as a matter of public policy (Tosefta, Git. 4:6, Zukermandel ed.), for otherwise physicians would be unwilling to perform their duties (Resp. *Tashbez*, vol. 3 no. 82).

During the period of the *rishonim* the view was articulated that the physician's work is not only permitted, but is an obligation and constitutes the fulfillment of a commandment. Maimonides held that this is based on the duty to save life found in Jewish law whereby a person is obliged to save his fellow man who is in danger, "with his body, his money, or his knowledge (Yad, Nedarim 7:8). According to Naḥmanides, "any physician who is knowledgeable is obligated to heal, and if he refused to do so he is considered to have shed blood" (*Sefer Torat ha-Adam, Kitvei ha-Ramban,* ed. Chavel, 2:41–42). Thus, the permission given the physician to heal also has the status of a commandment (*mitzvah*), intended to dispel the physician's hesitation at the prospect of healing others due to his fear of erring and injuring others (see Resp. *Da'at Kohen*, no. 140). Another principle operating in the context of the physician and treatment in Jewish law is based on the verse "Love your fellow as yourself." In *Sharon v. Levi* (CA 548/78, *Sharon v. Levi*, 35 (1) PD 735, at 755) Justice Elon wrote as follows:

> It is instructive to observe how this basic right was viewed in Jewish law. "One who strikes a blow causing damage less than a *perutah* (i.e., that did not cause any real injury) transgresses a negative commandment (Sanh. 85a; Yad, Hovel u-Mazik 5:1–3). Even if the victim consents to being struck, his consent has no validity (BB 92a; Sh. Ar., ḤM 420:1ff.; *Shulhan Arukh Ha-Rav*

> ḤM, Hilkhot Nizkei Guf ve-Nefesh ve-Dineihem 4; according to the law, it is also forbidden for a person to injure himself – BK, Yad, ad loc.). This being so, on what basis can one person let blood of his fellow, even if it is necessary to do so in order to heal him? In the view of the *amora* R. Matna (Sanh. 84b) permission to do so is not based on the consent of the patient, whether expressed or implied, for the consent, as stated, is immaterial. Rather, it is a rule derived from the verse "Love your fellow as yourself" (Lev. 19:18), from which one can infer, as Rashi put it, that "each Jew was cautioned not to do to his fellow that which he does not want done to himself" (Rashi, Sanh. 84a, s.v. *ve-ahavta le-re'akha kamokha*; see also *Kitvei ha-Ramban, Torat ha-Adam* (ed. Chavell, Mossad ha-Rav Kook), 41–42; M. Elon, "*Ha-Halakhah ve-ha-Refu'ah ha-Ḥadishah*," in: *Molad*, 4 (NS), 27 (1971), 228, 232).

The philosophic-halakhic basis for permission to wound a sick person in order to cure him as deriving from the fundamental Biblical command "Love your fellow as yourself" is cited by Naḥmanides as a guiding accepted principle in the context of the physician and medicine in the world of *halakhah*: "The person who wounds another to cure him (for medical treatment) is exempt, and it constitutes the performance of a positive precept, as it states 'Love your fellow as yourself'" (*Torat ha-Adam*, *ibid.*, p. 43).

Rabbi Eliezer Waldenberg, a leading contemporary authority in the area of halakhic-medical law, wrote the following comment on these words of Naḥmanides:

> We require that the commandment to heal be inferred from the verse ("Love your fellow as yourself"), and it is insufficient to rely on the principle that "nothing stands in the way of saving a life" to justify the physician's privilege to wound in order to heal (referred to by Naḥmanides, and cited by the Tur and Shulhan Arukh), because the inference from "Love your fellow as yourself" teaches that there is an obligation to heal even when there is clearly no danger to life, but only pain or danger to a limb.

The Physician and the Judge

Both Naḥmanides and Rabbi Kook (*Torat ha-Adam*, *ibid.* p. 41–42; Resp. *Da'at Kohen*, no. 140 (Rabbi Abraham Isaac *Kook – the first chief rabbi of Israel)) drew an illuminating analogy between the physician treating a patient and a judge presiding over a court. The judge's duty to judge the people in each generation and in all matters is portrayed in the Talmud as giving rise to a soul-searching dilemma, phrased as follows (Sanh. 6b):

> The judges should know whom they are judging, before Whom they are judging, and Who will exact punishment from them, for it is stated: "God stands amidst the community of God, in the midst of judges (*elohim*) He will judge" (Psalms 82:1). Similarly, regarding Jehoshaphat it is stated: "He charged the judges: Consider what you are doing, for you judge not on behalf of man, but on behalf of the Lord" (II Chronicles 19:6). Perhaps the judge will say, "Why do I need this anguish?" Therefore it is stated, "And He [God] is with you when you pass judgment" (Chronicles, ad loc.; Rashi, Sanh. 6b – "For He is with your hearts, as your hearts incline as to the matter"). A judge can only rule in accordance with what his eyes see. (Rashi adds, Sanhedrin, ad loc., "If he attempts to render a just true judgment, he will not be punished.")

Similarly, the work of a physician imposes great responsibilities and corresponding demands on his conscience, accompanied by much anguish. For this reason, Naḥmanides concludes that the laws pertaining to a physician who is as careful as he should be when dealing with life-and-death situations are the same as those applicable to a judge who seeks to render a just and true judgment. If they are unaware that they have made a mistake, they are both exempt, by both human and divine law.

Yet in one fundamental respect – which goes to the root of the matter – the physician's responsibility is greater than that of the judge. If an authorized judge (one who judges "with the permission of the court") becomes aware of his inadvertent mistake, he remains exempt even by divine law. By contrast, if a physician becomes aware of his unintentional mistake, while he remains exempt by human law, he is nevertheless liable by divine law. Indeed, if his mistake caused someone's death, he is subject to the penalty of exile [to a city of refuge]. The physician and the judge are partners to the heartbreak and ethical dilemmas inherent in their work. Each of them attempts to ease these agonizing dilemmas by following his conscience, based on "what his eyes see" or, as formulated by R. Menahem ha-*Meiri, by acting according to "what his eyes see, his ears hear, and his heart understands" (*Bet ha-Beḥirah,* Ketubbot 51b). See also Maimonides (Guide 3:34), who writes that the judge adjudicates in accordance with a general norm, whereas the physician treats each patient in accordance with his own specific condition and sickness. This is the essence of the physician's duty which obligates him to cure the specific ailment that confronts him, according to the particular circumstances and condition of the patient.

Regarding the analogy between the physician and the patient, Justice Elon made the following comments in the *Shefer* case (*ibid.*, pp. 108–9):

> It should be noted that the principles governing the professional behavior of the physician intertwine law and ethics, compliance with the strict law and going beyond the law (*lifnim mi-shurat ha-din*), the nature of the *halakhah,* and the nature of the world. Following the example set by Naḥmanides' *Torat ha-Adam,* these principles appear in separate sections in the later halakhic codes – *Arba'ah ha-Turim* of Jacob b. Asher and the Shulḥan Arukh of Joseph Caro (YD, beginning of sec. 315 ff.). Incidentally, it bears mention that Maimonides' *Mishneh Torah* does not contain any codification of the laws relating to the physician. Maimonides comments on this matter in the fourth chapter of *Hilkhot De'ot*, but only to deal with the proper regimen required to maintain a healthy body. It is certainly instructive that these codifiers, who as a general rule do not include in their codes those laws that have no practical relevance, and hence do not codify such laws as those relating to the exile of an unintentional murderer to a city of refuge, nevertheless include the rule that a physician who causes death and then becomes aware that he has erred should be exiled (Tur and Sh. Ar, ḤM 425:1). They do so in order to demonstrate the

> deep responsibility born by the physician, in that even when there is no legal sanction, he is liable, in cases of negligence, to be exiled to a city of refuge, to grieve and to give an accounting of his life. This dilemma of medical practice – where, on the one hand, there is the commandment not to refrain from healing others while, on the other hand, there is the sense of "why do I need this trouble?" – has become greater and more pronounced as a result of the tremendous advances in modern medicine and in light of contemporary legal and philosophical thinking concerning fundamental rights and meta-principles. Today – even more so than previously – both the judge and the physician continue to be partners to this dilemma. Both carry the responsibility and both seek to do justice in their profession, each in his own field – the judge to reach a truly correct decision and the physician to achieve true healing. This guideline of searching out the essential truth – the full meaning of which will be explained below – serves as a road-map – complex and difficult, yet indispensable – for resolving the important, grave, and complex questions that lie at the doorstep of the physician and judge alike. As is generally the case with regard to such basic questions, there are fundamentally different approaches that create a profound sense of awe as one proceeds to grapple with and apply them.

The Patient's Obligation to be Healed and his Right to Choose Medical Treatment

In the world of Judaism, just as the physician is obligated to heal, so too, as may be seen from our above discussion, the patient is obligated to be healed. Moreover, one who refrains from being healed violates the Scriptural verses "You shall guard yourselves well" (Deut. 4:15) and "For your own life-blood I will require a reckoning" (Gen. 9:5). The obligation of a person to be healed from a life-threatening illness takes precedence over almost all of the commandments of the Torah. When a physician determines that to become cured one must desecrate the Sabbath, a patient who refuses to accept treatment involving the desecration of the Sabbath "is considered to be 'a pious fool,' …we compel him to do [what the physician has ordered]" (Resp. Radbaz, vol. 4, no. 1339; Sh. Ar., OḤ 328:10, and commentaries ad loc.). In such circumstances, preferring observance of the commandment over medical treatment is considered "a commandment performed through sin" (Resp. Mahari Asad, OḤ no. 160). The patient's wishes are to be followed, however, when he seeks to improve the medical care he is receiving, but the physicians disagree with him. This is based on the verse "The heart knows its own bitterness" (Prov. 14:10; Yoma 82a–83a; Sh. Ar. OḤ 618:1; A. Steinberg (ed.), *Enẓiklopedyah Refu'it Hilkhatit*, vol. 2, pp. 24–26, 443–45).

According to Jewish law, the patient is not only obligated to seek a cure, he also has a basic right to receive treatment from a physician of his choice whom he trusts. This rule is derived from the teachings of the Sages, and became established *halakhah* in the Shulḥan Arukh, which rules that "If Reuben vowed not to benefit Simeon, and Simeon fell ill, Reuben may treat him… even with his own hand, even if there is another physician who can treat him" (Sh. Ar., YD 221:1).

In relation to this ruling, Justice Elon wrote the following in the *Tamir* case (APP 4/82 Cr. App. 904/82, *State of Israel v. Tamir,* 37 (3) 205–206:

> It is well-established law, based on the principle of the personal liberty of every person created in the image of God, that no person's bodily integrity may be infringed without his consent […]. This basic right includes the right to select the physician to whom his treatment will be entrusted; making such a choice is integral to his fundamental right to maintain his bodily integrity and mental well-being and not to be "harmed" thereby except with his consent […] An instructive expression of this principle may be found in the teachings of our Sages. The Mishnah states (Nedarim 4:4): "If one was forbidden to derive benefit from another person… he may [nevertheless] be cured by him," i.e., when one person vowed not to benefit from another person, or his fellow man vowed not to benefit to him, he may nevertheless benefit from the medical services of the other person, for the duty to heal and the right to be healed in body and soul "is a commandment" (Yad, Nedarim 6:8). The Jerusalem Talmud states that this rule not only applies where there is only one physician available – i.e., the fellow from whom he has vowed not to receive benefit – but even if another physician is available, and he may avail himself of the medical treatment of the other physician, the patient may nevertheless choose to consult the doctor from whom he vowed not to receive any benefit, for "not every person is able to cure him" (*Nimmukei Yosef* to Rif, Nedarim 41a). This is in accordance with the codified rule that "If Reuben vowed not to benefit Simeon, and Simeon fell ill, Reuben may treat him … even with his own hands, even if there is another physician who can treat him." In medical treatment, the personal trust between the patient and the physician of his choice is extremely important, for which reason "even if there is another physician who can treat him, that physician [i.e., the one from whom he vowed not to benefit], if qualified, is under a duty to treat him, for the saving of life is sacred" (*Ritba*, to *Rif,* Ned. 41b).

OBLIGATION AND REFUSAL TO RECEIVE MEDICAL TREATMENT. The fundamental rule of Jewish law regarding the physician's duty to treat, and the patient's obligation to be cured, is subject to a number of qualifications, which have proliferated in our generations and which limit the possibility of treating a patient against his will. R. Jacob Emden, one of the leading halakhic authorities of the 18th century (*Mor u-Keẓi'ah*, OḤ 322), laid down the following conditions under which the patient is obligated to seek a cure and under which "he is not listened to, if he rejects suffering and chooses death over life." Accordingly, the duty only applies where the physician is familiar with the sickness "in absolute and clear certainty," the case concerns a patient who at that time was referred to as "a patient with a clear sickness and obvious wound"; the treatment that the physician wishes to use was "definitively checked and certain"; and the patient's life is in danger. In the event that these conditions do not exist, the patient's consent is required for medical treatment, and he is permitted to refuse medical treatment. In contemporary times, many *posekim* have dealt with these cases, enumerating additional cases in which the patient's consent is required. R. Moshe Feinstein, one of the great halakhic decisors of our generation (see responsum of R. Moshe Feinstein quoted in *Piskei Halakhah Refuah u-Mishpat,* ed. S. Shachar (1989), p. 101), wrote that, when giving treatment against a patient's will, in addition to the need for a high probability of success, account must also be taken of the negative influence of treatment given against his will. According to another opinion, if the patient can be expected to suffer even after the medical treatment, providing grounds for assuming that he would not have agreed to such medical treatment before it was given, then it cannot be administered in the first place without the patient's consent (*ibid.,* 104). Another view was that, given the large number of cases in which there was no certain medical opinion, all non-consensual medical treatment should be avoided, unless there is a definite danger of death (A. Steinberg (ed.), *Enẓiklopedyah Refu'it Hilkhatit*, vol. 2, Informed Consent, p. 30, nn. 86–87; cf. Rabbi S. Raphael, "*Kefiyyat Tippul Refu'i al Ḥoleh,*" in: *Torah she-Beal Peh*, 33 (Jerusalem, 1992)).

EUTHANASIA

In recent years a number of factors have combined to bring the subject of *euthanasia to the forefront of discourse in the world of medicine and *halakhah*. The awesome advancement in science and medicine resulting from technological progress has facilitated the prolongation of human life in its final stages. However, this prolongation has not always led to improvement in the quality of life, and on occasion even sentences people to grave physical and mental pain. Doctor-patient relations have also undergone a metamorphosis, from the paternalistic approach whereby the doctor decides what is best for the patient, to an approach based on patient autonomy, whereby the competent patient can decide for himself, and his informed consent is therefore required for any medical proceeding. A large number of people are involved in the treatment of a terminally ill patient, of different cultural backgrounds and outlooks, and consequently bringing with them varied opinions as to how to treat the terminally ill patient. The general public today is also far more concerned with moral problems pertaining to medicine in general, and specifically those relating to the terminally ill. Limited medical resources do not always suffice to provide all possible medical options for all those requiring it, and occasionally these, too, are considerations in the decision making process in relation to these patients.

We shall now present the sources underlying the halakhic approach to this subject, and the manner in which the *halakhah* relates to the subject in modern times in general, and in the State of Israel in particular. In the *Shefer* case (*Shefer v. State of Israel* 48 (1) PD 87, 131–132), Justice Elon wrote the following:

> There have always been serious and complex moral problems regarding the end of one's stay on this earth. Jewish law includes various rules dealing with the medical care to be given, as well as other issues of civil and religious law, concerning the person who is terminally ill or dying (= *goses*). Jewish law distinguishes between these states, but there are disagreements as to their precise definitions and halakhic consequences. In any event, this is not the place to elaborate.… Regarding this terminal state, Jewish law emphasizes the importance of even ephemeral or brief life (*ḥayyei sha'ah*), so long as "the candle flickers…" This is also true in non-Jewish cultures, evidence of which we find as early as the Hippocratic oath, which states, inter alia: "I will not give poison to any person, even if he requests it; and I will not offer it." Some cultures, however, did not have this approach…
>
> These medical-legal problems, involving fundamental questions of values, have grown more complex and difficult in recent years, provoking much discussion and dispute in the medical and legal communities, as well as among philosophers, clergymen, and the general public. On the one hand, the awesome advance in science and medicine resulting from technological progress has allowed the prolongation of life, by preventing the spread of disease and by various artificial means; on the other hand, the *prolongation* of life has not always led to improvement of its *quality.* At times, prolongation of life brings with it physical and mental pain, and the disruption of day-to-day life. In addition, a patient in such circumstances today may find himself in a hospital or other institution, attached to various machines which keep him alive, and not – as in the past – within the walls of his own home, with his family and loved ones in the natural environment in which he lived and flourished. Those who must deal with these problems are primarily the patient himself and his family, in addition to physicians, legal scholars, clergymen, and philosophers. The problems that arise involve grave and fundamental moral, religious, and ethical questions. The basic question is: who understands all of these factors sufficiently to be competent to decide what is the proper life span of a person and whether to shorten or to refrain from prolonging it.

The Bible

The prohibition on taking a human life is one of the gravest offenses in the Torah, and mankind as a whole was admonished against this offense at the dawn of its history: "Whosoever sheds the blood of man, by man shall his blood be shed, for in His image did God make man" (Gen. 9:6; see at length in *Homicide, and *Noahide Law). The Bible records a case which serves as a proof text for the view that killing a man even where it is clear that there is no chance that he will continue to live is nevertheless murder. At the end of the war between the Israelites and the Philistines during the days of Saul, Saul understood that the Philistines were about to kill him, and therefore decided to kill himself with his own sword. Scripture relates that Saul only injured himself after this attempted suicide, and then asked an Amalekite youth to complete the act. Saul's condition at that stage was analogous to that of a terminally ill patient, who clearly and lucidly requested the hastening of his death in order to redeem him from his suffering. The Amalekite youth complied with his wishes and killed him. Nevertheless, David subsequently ruled that the Amalekite youth was liable for the death penalty as a murderer (I Sam. 31:3–4; II Samuel 1 and 16; see Radak and Ralbag, ad loc.) From this Biblical story it emerges that that the active killing of a person who is dying is forbidden, even under those conditions, and even if the patient requested it (Ralbag, *ibid.*, *Sefer Ḥasidim*, ch. 315; Ralbag and Radak further suggested interpreting that in fact the youth did not actually kill Saul, but rather just said that in order to find favor in David's eyes).

In Talmudic Literature

As a rule, so long as the person's soul has not departed he is regarded as alive. The treatment of the terminally ill is dealt with directly in tractate *Semaḥot*, which stipulates those actions that may be performed on a dead person, and which are forbidden with respect to a living person: "A *goses* is considered a living person in all respects… One may not bind his jaws… one may not move him… one may not close the eyes of the dying [patient]. Whoever touches or moves him sheds blood…." (Semaḥot 1:1–4; Shab. 151b).

The Mishnah in Tractate *Yoma* (8:6) states that "Any chance of saving a life takes precedence over the Sabbath." Accordingly, in the event of a landslide, where there is a chance that a person is trapped beneath the debris, the debris should be removed until it is certain that no living person is trapped thereunder. Tractate *Yoma* 85a adds that, even if the person found under the debris was mortally wounded, and it is clear that he will soon die, one continues to desecrate the Sabbath to save him by removing the debris. Thus, this source indicates that even short-term life is considered life. The halakhic decisors of the present generation disputed whether this source implies that everything possible should be done to prolong life, even if only temporary, or whether the laws of the Sabbath do not necessarily provide a basis for the duty to prolong life (Resp. *Ẓiẓ Eli'ezer*, 5; *Kuntres Ramat Raḥel*, 28; Resp. *Minḥat Shelomo*, 91.24).

Regarding a person about to die and experiencing intense suffering, the aggadic sources adopt a different attitude. The Talmud (Av. Zar. 18a) relates the story of R. Hanina b. Teradyon (second century C.E.) who was taken to be executed by the Romans as punishment for publicly teaching Torah. In order to ensure that the execution would be protracted and particularly cruel, the Romans soaked pads of wool in water and placed them over his heart "to delay the departure of his soul." When the executioner offered to stoke the flame and hasten his death by removing the pads, R. Hanina agreed, and swore that by that act the executioner had secured his place in the World to Come. The halakhic decisors offer a variety of explanations for the positive attitude taken by the Talmud to this act, but the story itself indicates that when a person is about to die and experiencing intense suffering, it is permitted to hasten his death even by way of a positive action – e.g., increasing the flame, and even by an act of "removing the impediment" – here, taking away the sponges.

Another case cited by the Babylonian Talmud (Ket. 104a) describes the death of R. Judah ha-Nasi, who towards his death was in unbearable pain. His students succeeded in preventing his death by their incessant prayers for Heavenly mercy. His handmaid, noting the intensity of his suffering, threw a jar on the ground, thereby momentarily causing them to cease praying, and at that moment Rabbi Judah died. This story has been cited as proof that it is permitted to avoid prolonging the life of a terminally ill patient (*Iggerot Moshe*, ḤM, vol. 2 no. 73.1).

Halakhic Rulings

The halakhic rulings sharply distinguish between the active hastening of death, which is forbidden, and the removal of a life-prolonging impediment, which is permitted under certain conditions.

The various acts cited above as being prohibited in respect of the *goses* are enjoined because they are liable to actively hasten the death of the terminally ill (see Sh. Ar., YD 339:1; s.v. **goses*; *Talmudic Encyclopaedia* (Heb.), 5, 393ff.).

Actively hastening death is forbidden even in cases where the patient is suffering acutely: "It is forbidden to hasten his death, even if he is dying and both he and his relatives are suffering intensely" (*Ḥokhmat Adam*, 91.14), "and even if we see that he is suffering intensely, and that it is better for him to die, we are prohibited from performing any act to hasten his death" (*Arukh ha-Shulḥan,* YD 339:1; *Nishmat Avraham*, YD 339:4).

This prohibition applies even where the patient himself requests it, an analogy being drawn from Maimonides' ruling that one may not take ransom from a murderer in order to exempt him from the death penalty, even if the blood avenger (i.e., the victim's relative who may exact the murderer's life as retribution for the murder) agrees, because "the life of the victim is not the property of the 'blood avenger,' but rather belongs to God" (Yad, Roẓe'aḥ u-Shemirat ha-Nefesh 1:4).

On the other hand, the prohibition on passive euthanasia is not absolute and the *halakhah* distinguishes between various forms of passive euthanasia, the prevention of suffering to the patient being a paramount consideration. R. Judah he-Ḥasid (Ashkenaz, 12th century; *Sefer Ḥasidim*, ch. 723 (ed. Mossad ha-Rav Kook)) addresses the issue and rules that, even though it is forbidden to perform any action that hastens death, there is no place for actions that delay a natural death. "We do not act to delay a person's death. For example, if a person is dying and there is a man chopping wood near his house so that the soul cannot depart, we remove the woodchopper from there. Moreover, we do not place salt on his tongue to prevent his death. But if he is dying and he says that he cannot die until he is placed somewhere else, he is not to be moved from there (i.e., from where he is)."

According to this view, artificially delaying the soul's departure causes unnecessary pain and suffering to the *goses:* "Do not feed the *goses*, for he is unable to swallow, but water should be put into his mouth…and one does not shout at the time of the soul's departure, so that the soul does not return and suffer unbearable pain…" (*ibid.*, 234).

Joshua Boaz ben Simon Baruch (Italy, 16th century) in his glosses on Alfasi, MK 26b, in *Shiltei ha-Gibborim*, in explaining this passage in *Sefer Ḥasidim* states that it is permitted to discontinue an external act which prolongs the life of the *goses*, but it is forbidden to move him from his place and place him elsewhere, or to do any other action in order to hasten his death (*ibid.*, 234). This opinion was codified and incorporated into the ruling of the Rema, at Sh. Ar., YD 339:1.

The life-preserving measures dealt with in these sources essentially reflect popular beliefs prevalent in those days. The task facing contemporary authorities was to translate and apply these examples to the life-preserving measures utilized by modern medicine. In that context, it was held that an artificial respiration machine or other artificial life-support mechanisms are analogous to the "grain of salt"; thus it was held that they can be removed in order to discontinue the artificial prolonging of the dying patient's life. Therefore, "once the physicians have determined that he cannot be cured (i.e., it is clear that he will not recover), it is clearly permissible to disconnect the patient from the machine to which he is connected." Furthermore, it was even held that "not only is it permitted to disconnect the respirator, *but there is an obligation to do so.* For man's soul is the property of God and has not God already taken the soul from this person, for as soon as the machine is removed he will die. And quite the opposite, by using the artificial respirator we leave his soul inside him and cause it (the soul, not the dying person) pain due to its inability to depart from the body and arrive at its resting place" (Rabbi H.D. Halevi, bibliography). A similar ruling was given by R. Eliezer Waldenberg (Resp. *Ẓiẓ Eli'ezer*, vol. 13, no. 89; cf. R. Solomon Zalman Auerbach, Resp. *Minḥat Shelomo*, 91.24).

R. Ovadiah Hadayah (Resp. *Yaskil Avdi*, YD, vol. 7, no. 40) held that a *goses* is "any patient regarding who all the physicians have given up hope and have determined that he will not recover from his sickness."

In other responsa, Rabbi Moses Feinstein (Resp. *Iggerot Moshe*, YD, vol 2., no. 74, 73.1, 74.1) and Rabbi Auerbach (Resp. *Nishmat Avraham*, Yad Vashem, 245) make additional distinctions relating to this question, such as the distinction between medical assistance that actually alleviates the patient's suffering (such as oxygen), which it is mandatory to administer to him, and administering other medicines, and the distinction between standard medical treatment, which the doctors are duty bound to continue administering to the patient, and non-standard medical treatment.

Summing up the position of Jewish law on this subject, Justice Elon wrote in the *Shefer* case:

> In Jewish thought, various overarching principles and values operate within the context of this momentous and complex labyrinth of *halakhah* and medicine. Such principles include the sanctity of human life, based on the meta-principle of man's creation in the image of God; the fundamental precept to "love your fellow as yourself"; the alleviation of pain and suffering; the obligation of the physician to cure and of the patient to be healed; the right of the patient to refuse medical treatment; the decision-making approach of "her ways are pleasant ways"; the requirement that "the laws of our Torah must accord with reason and logic"; as well as other principles discussed above.
>
> The point of departure in the extensive, difficult, and complex area of law and medicine is the supreme value of the sanctity of life. This supreme value is based, as stated, on the meta-principle of man being created in the image of God, with all that implies. Therefore, the standard of the *worthiness* of a person does not exist, nor could it exist. The law for a physically or mentally handicapped person is the same as that for a healthy person; we do not measure the degree of health of the body or mind. Similarly, no standard exists with respect to the *length* of a person's life. The same rules apply to a person who has only a short period to live and one who is expected to live a long life: the flickering candle still burns and illuminates. Therefore, *actively* hastening death, or acting to shorten life – even if termed "mercy killing" – is absolutely forbidden, even at the behest of the patient. The obligation, in such situations, is to ameliorate the patient's pain and suffering in every possible way.
>
> The situation is different with regard to *passive* euthanasia, the non-prolongation of life, known in Jewish law as the "removal of the impediment." Passive euthanasia is permitted and, according to some authorities, even mandatory in certain cases, after taking into account such factors as the fundamental principle of minimizing the patient's physical and mental pain and suffering, the wishes of the patient, the negative consequences of treating the patient against his will, and the various types of treatment – ordinary or extraordinary, natural or artificial, etc.
>
> Similar considerations apply when considering the necessity for consent by the patient. In principle, the obligation of treatment is incumbent upon both the physician and the patient, especially when the treatment is necessary to save the person's life. However, apart from those cases involving immediate danger to life, this principle has been progressively limited, and in various situations the patient… may not be treated against his will…. The consideration of individual autonomy in the decisions of the halakhic authorities came about largely as a consequence of momentous developments in our generation in the field of medicine and the struggle of the halakhic authorities to deal with them. At times, what is determinative is not the opinion of the physician… but rather that of the patient himself, for it is forbidden to "actively cause him to suffer." Great significance is accorded to the adverse effect that undesired treatment may have on the patient: "The very fact that he is compelled [to undergo the operation] will further endanger him." This illustrates the methodology of the *halakhah* – it develops and creates itself through the process of case-by-case decision making.
>
> All these and similar questions dealt with by a growing body of contemporary halakhic responsa attest to the diversity of halakhic views on these difficult, tragic questions pertaining to the relationship between the sanctity of life and prevention of pain and suffering, both mental and physical, with all their implications.

In the State of Israel

The question of shortening, or failing to prolong, the life of a terminal patient has engaged many scholars and writers in the realms of *halakhah*, medicine, philosophy, and law. Over the past few years, with the development of new technological and diagnostic measures at the disposal of the medical system, the courts are often required to decide on these questions. Section 309 of the Israeli Penal Law criminalizes active euthanasia – i.e., an act that causes the shortening of a patient's life – classifying it as murder. The Israel Supreme Court addressed the issue of the scope and essence of this offense in the *Shefer* case (CA 506/98 *Yael Shefer v. State of Israel*, 48 (1) 87), giving a leading judgment on the subject. The case concerned a little girl suffering from Tay-Sachs, an incurable genetic disease, and it was undisputed that her days were numbered. Her request (filed by her mother as her guardian) was that in the event of her condition deteriorating, the hospital should refrain from administering life-prolonging treatment. Justice Menachem Elon dealt at length with the aforementioned sources and analyzed the problem from the perspective of the need to strike a balance between the Jewish values of the State of Israel and its democratic values. The court held that, in that case, the mother's request to allow discontinuation of treatment could not be granted, because on the basis of the medical testimony presented to the court, the child was not suffering, her dignity was preserved and, as such, the sanctity of her life, even in its state of being terminally ill, was the sole and determinant value, and any interference and harm to life contravened the values of a Jewish, democratic state.

For additional judgments dealing with this subject, see: OM 528/96 *Bibes v. Tel Aviv-Jaffa Municipality* (Tel Aviv District Court); OM 2242/95 *A.A. v. Kuppat Ḥolim Kelalit*, 2 PDM, 1995, 235; OM 1030/95 *Gilad v. Soroka* (Beersheba District Court).

In order to discuss and formulate a bill regulating policy in this area, the Ministry of Health appointed a committee, headed by Prof. Abraham Steinberg (referred to as the Steinberg Committee). In 2002, the Asher Committee published conclusions. The report discussed the moral, religious, medical, psychological, social, and legal aspects of the problem, and formulated a draft bill. This bill deals with the various categories of dying patients, including those who are legally competent and those who are not, the different forms of treatment, the status of professional caregivers and of the family, and establishes frameworks for the solution of individual problems, as well as for adoption and review of decisions. The draft bill on the subject conformed with the approach of Jewish law to this subject, and was adopted by the Israeli Legislature as binding law in December 2005.

The section defining the purpose of the Terminally Ill Patient Law, 5766 – 2005 (Section 1) stipulates as follows:

(a) The purpose of this law is to regulate the medical treatment of a patient regarding whom it was determined that he is terminally ill, pursuant to the principles set forth in this Law, based on an appropriate balance between the value of the sanctity of life and the value of individual autonomy and the importance of quality of life.

(b) This law is based on the values of the State of Israel as a Jewish and democratic state, and fundamental principles in the realm of morality, ethics and religion.

Basic Principle of the Law (Section 2):

In prescribing the medical treatment for a terminally ill patient, his medical condition, his will, and the degree of his suffering are the exclusive considerations.

The law provides the following definition of a terminally ill patient (Section 6):

(a) An authorized physician may determine that a patient is terminally ill, if satisfied that the patient is suffering from an incurable illness, and that his life expectancy, even upon receiving medical treatment, does not exceed six months.

(b) An authorized physician may determine that a terminally ill patient is dying if satisfied that his medical condition is such that a number of vital systems in his body have ceased to function, and that his life expectancy, even upon receiving medical treatment, does not exceed two weeks.

The law explicitly prohibits active euthanasia, or assisted suicide, or discontinuation of ongoing medical treatment:

12. Nothing in the provisions of this law shall permit any act, even if constituting medical treatment, that is intended to kill, or which will almost certainly result in death, irrespective of whether or not it was motivated by kindness and compassion, and irrespective of whether or not it was at the request of the terminally ill patient, or of any other person.

13. Nothing in the provisions of this law shall permit any act, even one constituting medical treatment, that contributes to assisted suicide, irrespective of whether or not it was motivated by kindness and compassion, and irrespective of whether or not it was at the request of the terminally ill patient, or any other person.

14. Nothing in the provisions of this law shall permit the discontinuation of the medical treatment of the terminally ill, which is liable to cause his death, irrespective of whether or not he is legally competent […]

Nevertheless, the law does allow the physician to refrain from providing medical treatment to a terminally ill patient (§8) or to refrain from the renewal of medical treatment (§14):

8 (a). Where a legally competent terminally ill patient does not want his life prolonged, his will should be honored and medical treatment withheld […]

14. […] However, it is permitted to refrain from the renewal of medical treatment, which was disrupted inadvertently or not in contravention of the provisions of any law, and it is similarly permitted to refrain from the renewal of periodic medical treatment […]

The law also regulates the treatment of a terminally ill minor (§§19–21), and of a terminally protected person. Moreover, the law regulates the methods whereby a terminally ill patient can give advance living notice of his wishes concerning the medical treatment that he wishes to receive (ch. 5 of the law). The law further appoints an institutional committee, comprising inter alia a clergyman of the same religion as the patient, to rule on doubtful situations pertaining to the treatment of the terminally ill patient.

ORGAN TRANSPLANTATION

Organ transplantation is a new medical technology for the replacement of organs, parts of organs, or tissues that have reached terminal failure, by organs, parts of organs, and tissues that are functional. The transplanted organ may be taken from one part of the person to another, from one person to another, or from an animal to a human being. The transplanted organs may be artificial or natural, complete (e.g., kidney, heart, liver, etc.), or partial (e.g., heart valves, skin, bone, etc.).

The basic issues involved in organ transplant in Jewish law depend upon the classification of organ being transplanted, being divided into four categories: (a) whether transfer of an organ from the body of the deceased is permitted – a question that arises primarily with respect to cornea and heart transplants; (b) determining the moment of the donor's death – an important issue in the context of heart transplants; (c) whether or not a person is permitted to endanger himself to save his fellow-man – a question that arises in the context of kidney transplant and other transplants involving a donation from a living person; and, if it is permitted, is he obligated to do so; (d) whether a child or person who is otherwise legally incompetent may serve as a donor.

Cornea Transplants

The questions raised by cornea transplants are common to all forms of transplant in which the transplanted organ is taken from the dead donor. Under what circumstances may an organ removed from a dead person's body serve for the recuperation of another person (see *Medical Experimentation)?

The *posekim* discuss whether the removal of an organ from a dead person violates the prohibition of deriving benefit from the dead person, the majority opinion being that it does not (Resp. Radbaz, vol. 2, no. 648; *ibid.,* vol. 3, no. 648 (1009); Resp. *Shevet Yehudah*, pp. 313–22). It was further ruled that there was no prohibition of postponing burial entailed in transplants from a dead person to a living person (see: Deut. 21:22–23; Sanh. 44b, and other sources), nor is it considered as neglect of the positive precept of burying the dead organ, because the organ is restored to functionality by the act of being transplanted into a live body, and is hence not classified as "flesh of the dead" (Resp. *Shevet Yehudah*, *ibid.*; Resp. *Seridei Esh*, vol. 2, no. 120; Resp. *Yabi'a Omer*, vol. 3, YD no. 22). The *posekim* also discussed whether the removal of an organ from the dead person's body transgresses the prohibition of mutilating the dead body. According to one view, in order to avoid this prohibition there is a need for a prior living consent to the act (Resp. *Shevet Yehudah*, *ibid.*), and according to another view, it is permitted to remove the organ even without prior living consent in cases of great need, even if it does not involve the saving of a life (H.D. Halevi, in: *Assia*, 4 (1983), 251–59).

Most contemporary halakhic decisors take the view that, if, when confronted by a patient requiring a transplant, his condition is defined as life threatening (*pikku'aḥ nefesh*), and if the donor agreed while still alive to have his organs taken, it is permitted to remove his organs after his death to transplant them into a live person; there are those who even rule that this is a *mitzvah* – i.e., a religious duty. The family must, however, consent to the removal of an organ from their deceased relative, for purposes of a transplant (Resp. *Iggerot Moshe*, YD 174:4).

Heart and Liver Transplants

The central issue involved in the context of heart and liver transplants is determination of the moment of death. Today, both the heart and the liver can only be transplanted if the donor's circulatory system is still functional. From the moment the heart stops beating, the blood stops circulating and it is no longer possible to transplant that heart. Thus, in order to successfully transplant a heart, the state of death must be determined prior to the cessation of heartbeat in the donor's body. The question then arises as to whether a person suffering from irreversible brain damage or from actual brain death, but whose heart continues to beat, is considered halakhically alive or dead. Accordingly, the question of whether heart or liver transplants can be permitted touches on the question of determination of the moment of death according to the *halakhah*. In any event, the life of a terminally ill or dying patient cannot be artificially prolonged solely to enable use of his organs for transplanting purposes, because one life may not be set aside to ensure another life (*ein doḥin nefesh mipnei nefesh*), and the life of the dying person may not be set aside for the sake of the healthy person's life (Resp. Iggerot Moshe; *Minḥat Yitzḥak*).

According to certain authorities, it is absolutely forbidden to remove an organ from a person defined as brain dead (Resp. *Ẓiẓ Eli'ezer*, vol. 10, nos. 25, 85, and 86; *Iggerot Moshe*, YD 2:174), while others permit it (Israeli Chief Rabbinate; see *Teḥumin*, 7 (1986), 187–92).

Kidney Transplants

A kidney transplant is performed, inter alia, by a healthy person donating one of his kidneys to another person whose kidneys are non-functional. The question that arises here is whether the donor is permitted to place himself in danger in order to save another. Since, as stated, the donation is from a living person, an additional question sometimes arises – whether a kidney may be taken from a person who is unable to express his consent, such as a child or a mentally incompetent individual and, if so, who is entitled to consent on his behalf?

An important principle in Jewish law is that "whoever could have rescued, but failed to do so, transgresses the commandment, 'Do not stand idly by the blood of your fellow'" (Lev. 19:16; see Sanh. 73a; Yad, Roẓe'aḥ u-Shemirat ha-Nefesh 1:14–16; Tur, ḤM 426). Maimonides stated that this prohibition is "one of the most severe, because whoever destroys one single soul… is regarded as if he had destroyed the entire world, and whoever preserves a single soul…is regarded as having preserved the entire world" (Yad, *ibid.*; regarding the halakhic duty to save life in a similar context, see the comments of Justice Beiski, Cr. App. 527/85 *Kurtam v. State of Israel*, 40 (3) PD 673, at 696–97).

When there is no danger to the rescuer, his obligation is absolute. The difficult question is: To what extent is a person required, or perhaps, allowed, to endanger his own life to save another's? This question has troubled the halakhic authorities.

Some hold that a person must expose himself to a possible danger, when necessary to rescue his fellow from a danger that is certain (*Beit Yosef* to Tur, ḤM 426); but many disagree (*Sema*, to Sh. Ar., ḤM 426, par. 2). A recent halakhic authority aptly summarized the law as follows: "It all depends on the circumstances. One should weigh the situation carefully and not be overly self-protective … Whoever saves a single person is regarded as if he saved an entire world" (*Arukh ha-Shulḥan*, ḤM 426:4. For sources discussing this difference of opinion, see: R. Ovadiah Yosef, "*Teshuvah be-Heter Hashtalat Kilyah*," in: *Dinei Israel*, 7 (1976), 25–43; idem, "*Be-Din Terumat Kilyah*," in: *Halakhah u-Refu'ah*, 3:61–63; idem, Resp. *Yeḥaveh Da'at*, vol. 3, no. 84).

The removal of an organ from a person's body in order to save another person's life is discussed by the halakhic authorities in the context of danger to the donor. But this discussion entails a further inquiry: Is there any basis at all for obligating a person to donate an organ to save someone else? The following answer was given by the outstanding halakhic authority, David ibn Zimra (Radbaz), a 16th-century rabbi of Egypt and Israel, against the tragic-heroic background of the Diaspora, and the government's treatment of its Jewish minority (Resp. Radbaz, vol. 3, no. 1052): "You have asked me… [what should one do] if the government says to a Jew: 'Allow us to sever one of your limbs, which will not cause your death, or we will kill your fellow Jew!'"

Radbaz answered that, even if it is certain that the amputation is not life-threatening, there is no obligation to allow it. One is *permitted* to allow the amputation, and it would be an act of great piety to do so. Radbaz's summary is instructive: "and furthermore, it is written 'Her ways are pleasant ways' (Prov 3:17). [This means that] the laws of our Torah must accord with reason and logic. How then can we suggest that a person should allow his eye to be blinded or his arm or leg amputated in order that someone should not be killed? Therefore, I do not see such an act as a legal obligation, but as one of pious behavior. Happy is the lot of anyone who can bring himself to do such a thing. [But] if there is any possible danger to his life, he would be a pious fool, because his doubt has priority over the certainty of his fellow." (Regarding the principle of "Her ways are pleasant ways" in the determination of *halakhah*, see: Menachem Elon, *Ha-Mishpat ha-Ivri* (1988), 3:323ff.; idem, *Mafte'aḥ ha-She'elot ve-ha-Teshuvot shel Ḥakhmei Sefarad u-Ẓefon Afrikah, Mafte'aḥ ha-Mekorot* (vol. 1, 1981), Introduction, p. 25.)

The removal of a person's organ in order to save his fellow, even if not involving danger to the donor, cannot be compelled, because it violates the principle that the ways of the Torah are pleasant, and "the laws of our Torah must accord with reason and logic." Based on this, it is inconceivable that a person could be compelled to donate an organ from his body to save another person, although such behavior would be considered an act of piety, on a voluntary basis, and it is desirable that a person do so, beyond the letter of the law (see also Resp. Radbaz, vol. 5 of *Leshonot ha-Rambam*, no. 212 (1682), and the attempt to reconcile these two responsa, which goes beyond the scope of this article).

This responsum of Radbaz is one of the central texts in the discussion among contemporary halakhic authorities regarding a kidney donation for transplantation in the body of another person. The issues considered include that of potential risk to the donor, whether an individual may wound himself, and similar halakhic questions. Opinions differ. Some forbid kidney donation (Resp. *Ẓiẓ Eli'ezer*, vol. 9, no. 45; vol 10, nos. 25, 7, 28; and cf. Weiss, Resp. *Minḥat Yiẓḥak,* vol. 6, no. 103), but most authorities hold that, although one is not obligated to donate, it is an act of great piety when there is no risk to the donor (M. Feinstein, Resp. *Iggerot Moshe,* YD, vol. 2, no. 174:4; responsum of R. Solomon Zalman Auerbach, quoted in *Nishmat Avraham,* YD 157:4, at 66–67 (1985); responsa of R. Ovadiah Yosef, sources cited above; Rabbi H.D. Halevi, in: *Assia,* 4 (1983), 251–59; Rabbi Y. Silberstein, in: *Halakhah ve-Refu'ah,* 4 (1985), 156–57; Rabbi S. Dikhovsky, *Ne'ot Desheh,* 2:154–155). In our generation those who ruled that it was forbidden for a living person to donate a kidney claimed that it may be dangerous, and it is forbidden to a person to put himself in a state of danger (*Ẓiẓ Eli'ezer;* Resp. *Minḥat Yiẓḥak*). There were those who permitted a living person to donate his kidney, regarding it as an act of piety, but there is no obligation to do so (Resp. *Iggerot Moshe*, YD, vol. 2, no. 174:4). And among those who permit it there were those who ruled that the donation of a kidney from a living person is not only permitted, but it constitutes a *mitzvah,* and failure to fulfill it violates the prohibition of "Do not stand idly by the blood of your fellow," because the risk is minimal and the chance of the remaining kidney being damaged in the future is sufficiently remote so as not to be regarded as even being remotely dangerous (see Rabbi Ovadiah Yosef, in: *Dinei Yisrael,* 7 (1976), 25–43; Resp. *Yeḥaveh Da'at,* vol. 3, no. 84).

Legally Incompetent Person

In certain cases the most appropriate donor in terms of tissue classification is a legally incompetent person. There is no halakhic permission for the removal of a kidney from a legally incompetent person for the purpose of a transplant. This is the case when dealing with one who is mentally incompetent. This prohibition applies unless it is clear that the legally incompetent person derives clear benefit from the donation, and it is performed exclusively for his benefit, and provided that there are no other means of ensuring that benefit (Justice Elon, LCA 184/87, 698/86 *Anon. v. Anon.* 42 (2) PD 661. See also: Rabbi M. Meiselman, *Halakhah ve-Refu'ah,* 2 (1981), 114, who wrote that if the majority of sons or brothers donate kidneys to their relatives, there is a presumption based on common sense that the legally incompetent person would also have given his consent. Justice Elon rejected this view).

Regarding blood and bone marrow donations, it was ruled that these are permitted since they do not involve any danger, and the material regenerates. It is therefore a *mitzvah* for members of a family to volunteer to do so when required in order to save a life, and in such cases lenient rulings are given even with respect to the legally incompetent person (*Nishmat Avraham*, YD 349:3). If the donor refuses, according to some authorities he cannot be compelled, the donation being considered as an act of piety, while according to other authorities, he can be compelled (Resp. *Shevet Halevi*, vol. 5, no. 219).

In the famous case of *Anon. v. Anon.* (LCA 184/87, 698/86 *Anon. v. Anon.* 42 (2) PD 661), Justice Elon discussed the issue of whether it is permitted to remove the kidney from a mentally disabled adult to be transplanted in his father-guardian's body and, if so, who has the authority to grant such permission, and under what conditions and circumstances. In keeping with his judicial practice, Justice Elon relied on precedents from Jewish law (as shown above) and on the legal sources and practices of other democratic states, attempting to synthesize between them. Justice Elon concluded his judgment in this case as follows (*ibid.*, 689–90):

> The general rule is that the sole criterion for allowing the removal of a kidney from the protected person's body for transplantation is whether the removal benefits the *protected* person. The court must weigh up and balance, in accordance with the conditions detailed above, the extent of the benefit to be gained by the protected person as a result of the transplant into the donee's body, against the damage that may be caused to him by the removal of the kidney and the fact that he will be left with only one kidney. The balancing process must be based on the specific circumstances of the protected person, in his current condition, as it may be in each particular case that comes before the court. The court will allow the transplant only if the result of this balancing definitively establishes that the transplant will clearly and substantially benefit the protected person […].
>
> How can the court perform this balancing? One can point to a number of tests, which are not exclusive, but will be applicable in most situations.
>
> (A) *Factors in Assessing the Benefit to the Protected Person*
>
> 1. The extent of the protected person's dependence on the support of the donee;
>
> 2. The existence of alternatives to assure the support and necessary care of the protected person at a level comparable to that which he would receive as a result of donating the kidney. These include other possible donors, whether dialysis is a sufficient remedy, and whether there are sources of support, without the donee;
>
> 3. The likelihood – both relative to the alternatives and absolutely – that the transplant will be successful and, if so, the extent to which it will increase the donee's life expectancy, and the significance of that increase for supporting the protected person;
>
> 4. The life expectancy of the protected person and the number of years during which he will need support and, in particular cases, his interest in helping his family members or in avoiding guilt feelings, when this interest is clearly proved. This interest must exist at the time of the transplant, if only to a limited extent, and must be expected to increase progressively.
>
> (B) *Factors in Assessing Harm to the Protected Person*
>
> 1. Physical damage and side effects
> (a) due to the surgery;
> (b) due to being left with one kidney.
>
> 2. Mental damage to the protected donor
> (a) as a result of the surgery and hospitalization;
> (b) as a result of the removal of the kidney without his understanding or consent.
>
> 3. Limitation on his future actions as a result of being left with one kidney, taking into account his situation as a mentally disabled individual, both from the point of view of protecting his health and considering the fact that he will not be preferred for dialysis or transplant should he ever need it.

In light of the circumstances of the particular case, the Supreme Court ruled against the transplanting of the kidney of the mentally disabled son into his father. Justice Elon concluded his opinion with the following observations (*ibid.*, 700–1):

> The question before us is difficult and painful. We have a father, devoted to his son, who removed him from an institution and cared for him with love and dedication. We have no doubt that the father's request for the kidney was made because he was told that his son would not be hurt and because he was convinced that it was in the son's best interest that his father enjoy a long life and continue to care for him. But we, as a court, are instructed, by law and morality, to look at the total picture in this situation. We must keep in mind that at issue is the invasion of a person's body and the removal of one of his vital organs – an organ which does not regenerate and for which there is no substitute. Moreover, the donor does not understand what is happening to him and what is being taken from him. How disingenuous and possibly even cynical it is to use the term "donation" to describe the taking of a kidney under these circumstances.
>
> Scholars and thinkers have discussed the social, familial, and psychological pressures operating when an individual needs to decide whether or not to donate a kidney to a family member. Indeed, even when referring to a totally healthy person, it is doubtful that the proper term is "donation," since a donation is essentially linked to the idea of "if his heart so moves him" (Exodus 25:2). A fortiori, there is certainly doubt in our case, under the aforementioned circumstances. Not only is there no donation here made out of generosity, but this is a prime example of coercion. This is a serious matter that could severely damage the cultural and spiritual fabric of our society. As a court, we are the "father" of the legal incompetents, of those who do not understand and cannot consent or decide on their own, and we must protect those unfortunates to maintain their dignity as human beings. As such, we are not superior to the father before us, who sired the child and cared for him his whole life. We would never think that. But we are appointed by law to weigh all the considerations – legal, halakhic, and ethical – that arise in these situations, and in this respect, and only in this, do we take precedence over the father. By examining all the considerations and balancing them, we have concluded that we should not allow the removal of the kidney from the son for the father. We again urge that all efforts be made to obtain a transplant for the father from a cadaver so that he can continue caring for his son.

Trafficking in Organs

Commerce and organ donation are contradictory concepts; "doing business" with human organs conflicts with fundamental spiritual and ethical values. Recently, learned scholars, halakhists, philosophers, and ethicists have discussed the reasons for prohibiting the sale of human organs. For example, it is customary to pay for the donation of blood to a blood bank, because the body replenishes the blood, and the donation does not endanger the donor. The same is true for donations of bone marrow. But giving up a kidney in exchange for money raises grave doubts and difficulties. The essential question here is: Where will the "slippery slope" end? Societal, psychological, and economic pressures may bring us to an "organ market" of "spare parts," and to a situation where the bodies of the poor become "supply depots" for the rich. The actuality is that the rich will not sell any of their bodily organs but the poor – even when they have no relationship with the donee – are likely to sell their organs to rescue themselves from poverty and need. This is an ominous prospect from the perspective of human dignity and value. Therefore, as a general rule, we should avoid setting foot on this slippery slope, and any allegedly exceptional circumstances should be evaluated case by case and with great care (Elon, *ibid.*).

In the year 2003 Knesset Member Zahava Gal-On presented a draft bill to prevent trafficking in organs, known as the "Bill to Outlaw Trafficking in Organs."

THE LEGAL POSITION IN ISRAEL. The Anatomy and Pathology Law, 5713 – 1953 defines the ways in which organs may be removed from a cadaver for transplant purposes:

> 6. Anatomical-pathological operations
>
> (a) A physician may operate on a body in order to ascertain the cause of death or to use a part thereof for the curative treatment of a person if it has been confirmed by a certificate signed by three physicians authorized on that behalf in accordance with the regulations that the operation serves one of the said purposes.
>
> (b) (1) The body of a deceased person shall not be dissected before the expiration of five hours after notice of the death is given to a relative. Sabbaths and Jewish holidays or, in the case of a non-Jewish relative, the Sabbaths and holidays of his community, shall not be included in the count of the said five hours.
>
> (2) Notwithstanding the provisions of paragraph (1), where the dissection is required in order to use a part of the body for the curative treatment of a person, reasonable notice to such effect shall be given to a relative before the dissection.
>
> (c) (1) Where the need to use a part of the body of a deceased person to save a person's life becomes apparent, the period referred to in subsection (b) shall be replaced by the period up to the latest time at which it is possible to remove the part from the body for use as aforesaid. If notice under subsection (b) cannot be given by the said time, owing to the impossibility of locating a relative, a dissection under this subsection may be performed provided that a reasonable attempt to give notice has been made.
>
> (2) Without prejudice to the generality of the provisions of paragraph (1), the use of the cornea of a deceased person for a transplant to save a person from blindness, the use of a part of the body of a deceased person to prevent a defect of vision or hearing, and the use of a kidney or of skin tissues of a deceased person for a transplant to save a person's life are uses of parts of a body for the saving of a life.
>
> 6A. Restrictions
>
> (a) Where a deceased person has left any relatives, his body shall not be dissected under section 6 – except under circumstances referred to in section 6(c) – unless the following two requirements are also met:
>
> (1) the spouse or, in the absence of a spouse, the children or, in the absence of children, the parents or, in the absence of parents, a brother or sister of the deceased has or have consented;
>
> (2) no relative of the same degree of relationship as a consenting relative, and no relative of the degree which, in the circumstances of the case, is next in the order of degrees appearing in paragraph (1), have objected in writing.
>
> (b) Where the person in his lifetime objected in writing to his body being dissected, then, notwithstanding the provisions of section 6 or any consent of a relative under subsection (a), the dissection shall not be performed.
>
> (c) Where the person consented to his body being dissected, it may be dissected notwithstanding any objection by a relative.
>
> (d) In the circumstances referred to in section 6(c), a body may be dissected unless the person in his lifetime objected in writing to his body being dissected or unless his spouse or one of his parents or children objects thereto in writing.
>
> (e) Where the person has left no relatives, his body shall not be dissected unless he consented thereto in his lifetime.
>
> (f) The provisions of this section shall be in addition to those of section 6.

The law provides (§6D), that "the provisions of section 6A shall not apply in wartime or at the time of a large scale terrorist act or an accident or disaster causing numerous casualties." Furthermore, Section 6A established a penalty of three years' imprisonment for a person transgressing the provisions of the law.

An additional aspect of organ transplants from a dead body dealt with in Israeli case law is the determination of the moment of death. The question of the moment of death was dealt with by the Israeli courts in the context of criminal law. In one of the cases the court was required to determine responsibility for the death of a person who was shot in the head, mortally wounded, and rushed to hospital, where the doctors succeeded in saving his life by connecting him up to the life-support machines. With his family's consent, the victim was subsequently disconnected from these devices. The question arises: Who was responsible for his death – the gunman or the doctor? Did the victim's disconnection from the life-support system sever the causal connection between the victim's death and the murderer's act?

Another case in which the same question arose was the *Belker* case. In 1986 an indictment was submitted against Yehezkel Belker for attacking his wife, throwing her out of the window of their fourth floor apartment, and causing her mortal injury. The woman was rushed to hospital, and when efforts to save her had all failed, her death was established on the basis of brain death. The deceased remained connected to the life-support machines until her family living abroad consented to the donation of her organs. When her husband was indicted for murder, he claimed that the woman's death was not the result of his attack, but rather, was the direct result of her being disconnected from the respiratory machine by the medical staff. Ruling on this claim required the court to address the question of the moment of death, and to decide as to whether the medical determination of brain death should also be regarded as a legal determination. The District Court ruled that brain death is death for all intents and purposes, on which basis it convicted him of murder. The husband appealed to the Supreme Court (Cr. A. 341/82) 42 (1) *Nathan b. Yehezkel Belker v. State of Israel* PD 1) which ruled (per Justice Beiski) that, in accordance with the accepted rules for determination of death (as established by the Harvard Committee), and provided that the determination of death was made by an independent medical team not belonging to the team performing the transplant and/or the team actually treating the patient, a determination of brain death is considered as death for all intents and purposes. In such a case a death certificate may be issued and medical treatment terminated. Such a determination of death is in turn valid for all other legal or social purposes, including an indictment for murder. The Court recommended that the issue of determination of death be regulated by legislation. In this context, Justice Strasbourg-Cohen's comments bear mention. She ruled that, even had the trial court adopted the previous criterion of cardiac death, the doctor's action in disconnecting the life-support machines would not have severed the causal connection between the act of the accused and the death of the deceased. Absent the actions of the accused, the final result would not have occurred, and had the doctors not interfered, the death would have occurred immediately following the attack.

The Ministry of Health issued a Director-General circular, updated several times, stipulating provisions for the determination of brain death. The circular was published in 1996 (Director-General Circular 10/96; the most recent as of 2005), the first section of which cites portions of the Supreme Court judgment with respect to the validity of brain death determination. The second section provides guidelines for the categories of examinations to be conducted for diagnosing death. The circular stipulates a series of preconditions, necessary conditions, and auxiliary tests for determining brain death.

ARTIFICIAL INSEMINATION

Artificial insemination is the medical procedure whereby sperm is injected into the vagina or womb of the woman without the act of sexual intercourse. A distinction is made between three categories of artificial insemination, in accordance with the source of the sperm: (1) husband insemination – where the husband contributes the sperm; (2) donor insemination – where a man who is not the wife's husband is the donor or where the sperm is taken from a sperm bank; and (3) mixed insemination, using a mixture of the husband's sperm with that of a donor. The processes of fertilization in the woman's womb, pregnancy, and birth, continue naturally after the artificial insemination, as in any normal impregnation. Artificial insemination can only take place under conditions in which there is no defect in the woman's fertility, either anatomically or physiologically (see below: fertilization outside the body – *In Vitro* Fertilization). Rabbi Eliezer Waldenberg begins his lengthy responsum on this topic with the following comments:

> Physicians have recently invented a new method by which a woman can become pregnant via artificial means, without sexual intercourse. Sperm is obtained from a donor, and when a woman desires to become pregnant without intercourse she is inseminated artificially, becomes pregnant, and gives birth. This method is most often used when a married couple is unable to have children due to an impediment on the part of the husband. While they do not wish to get divorced, the wife desires to have a child. In these circumstances, some physicians perform artificial insemination so that the wife may become pregnant and give birth. The question asked is whether such a procedure is permissible under Jewish law, and what is the status of the resulting child.

In considering the procedure of artificial insemination, modern halakhists refer to aggadic precedents indicating that the talmudic and mishnaic Sages were aware of the possibilities of impregnation other than by way of natural means. Inter alia they cite the *aggadah* of the birth of Ben-Sira from Jeremiah's daughter, who conceived from her father's seed that remained in the bath in which she bathed (see: *Ḥelkat Meḥokek*, EH 1:8; *Mishneh la-Melekh* on Yad, Ishut 15:4; Hidda, *Birkei Yosef* (vol. 2, 1989), EH 1:14; Rabbi D. Bardugo, Resp. *Mishpatim Yesharim* (1891), vol. 1, no. 396).

Moral and Halakhic Considerations

We already mentioned above that issues of *halakhah* and medicine generally pose a plethora of moral and halakhic questions, particularly where they involve technological innovations. For this reason, halakhic discussion of these issues is not confined to conceptual issues alone, but also encompass policy considerations. One such consideration relates to the uncertainty surrounding the issue of the lineage (*yiḥus*), of the child born as a result of using donor sperm. This uncertainty conflicts with the basic halakhic aspiration for certainty in matters of lineage, i.e., certainty regarding the family they belong to (see Rashi, Yevamot 42a, s.v. *u-le-zarakha aḥarekha*). There are also several other general policy issues, transcending the problematics of lineage. The morally-based questions and fears that have typified the dialogue on these questions throughout the world are of equal concern to modern halakhists. They too are apprehensive about the danger of crossing of traditional borders, coming in the wake of scientific progress. For example, it has been stated that bringing children into the world should be the result of spousal relations involving marital love and intimacy, and not of mechanical laboratory techniques (see P. Shiffman, *Dinei Mishpaḥah be-Yisra'el*, 2 (1989), 105; E. Jacobovitz, *Ha-Refu'ah ve-ha-Yahadut* (1966), 235). In this context, the following comments of Rabbi E. Waldenberg are germane:

> And especially when we have already read that the final result of test-tube fertilization is that sooner or later it will lead to the creation of a test-tube baby, i.e., the entire pregnancy will take place and terminate outside the woman's body, in the test tube itself, by way of simulating the conditions inside the womb; and then, by means of an astonishing procedure known as cloning, human beings will be produced by the implantation or transpondation of the nucleus from a mature cell into an enucleated human egg, after which the reproductive process of the regular cell operates and continues to develop into a embryo, and this is the name that they give to a complete biological creation, in accordance with certain previously determined parameters to reproduce the specific characteristics desired by its creators. And if this happens – can such infants be called "offspring," with full lineage to their progenitors who wish them to be considered their genetic offspring? For in addition to the abnormal form of production and bringing children into the world, it also causes the destruction and loss of the human image, and chaos will reign with respect to the whole field of procreation, which will become a laboratory devoid of any humaneness. This problem has already been predicted by scientists, who have expressed their deep anxiety over the anticipated scenarios – a new generation will emerge and all those witnessing it will exclaim "new ones have come, who were unimagined by their forefathers, [so that we] see creatures of this kind, almost without free choice, and human form."

ARTIFICIAL HUSBAND INSEMINATION. Various *posekim* take the view that the husband is forbidden to emit semen for the purpose of inseminating his wife, due to the prohibition of "destruction of seed," because at the time of masturbating for the purpose of ejaculating the semen, its emission is in vain, and the fact that the physician subsequently uses the semen for fertilizing the woman is to no avail. Furthermore, there is a possibility that the woman will not be fertilized by that semen, and as a result the semen will retroactively transpire to have been emitted in vein. However, the predominant halakhic opinion is that the procedure does not involve "destruction of seed" when emitted by the husband for purposes of fertilization, because the procedure is a remedial one, for purposes of a *mitzvah*, and it does not matter whether the end is attained by natural means or otherwise. At the same time, a number of limitations were imposed: the permission is limited to parties who have been childless for a period of ten years, and who in the absence of fertilization are liable to divorce. Two physicians must decide that the procedure is effective, i.e., that the woman does not suffer from any fertility problem and that there is a reasonable chance that the husband's sperm will succeed in impregnating the wife; the doctors must take special care not to exchange the husband's sperm for another person's sperm. In the event that fertilization is prevented due to early ovulation of the woman, as a result of which she is unable to purify herself from her *niddah* status at the appropriate time to allow fertilization by natural means, there are opinions that permit husband artificial insemination. The *posekim* also debated the question of whether the husband fulfills the commandment of procreation in the case of artificial insemination. The accepted view is that the husband does so, because the commandment is not dependent on the act of intercourse, but rather on the result of the birth of a live fetus.

NON-JEWISH DONOR INSEMINATION. A different set of problems arises in Jewish law regarding artificial insemination from a donor other than the husband. The central question is whether artificial insemination is permitted at all with the sperm of a man other than the husband, and if not, are there any circumstances in which it is permitted, and subject to what limitations. Is the woman thereafter permitted or forbidden to her husband, as in the case of an adulterous wife, and what is the lineage and the status of the child?

Non-Jewish Donor. While all *posekim* agree that *de jure* there should be no insemination even from a non-Jewish donor, there are nevertheless those who permit it in the case of sad, despairing parents who yearn for a child. A child born under these circumstances is a Jew for all intents and purposes.

JEWISH DONOR INSEMINATION. There is broad halakhic consensus that artificial insemination of a woman from the sperm of a Jewish donor is prohibited. A variety of reasons are given for this prohibition: some moralistic, based on the classic model of the family in the Jewish philosophy, and others halakhic, related to the uncertainty of the identity of the donor-father. At the same time, the halakhists dispute whether a married woman impregnated by a Jewish donor is prohibited to her husband. One view is that a woman artificially impregnated by semen of a donor is not prohibited to her husband, because there was no act of forbidden intercourse involved, and Torah law only forbids a woman to her husband and to her lover if an act of forbidden sexual relations was involved. Among the supporters of this view were the Sephardi chief rabbi, Rabbi Ouziel (Resp. *Mishpetei Uziel*, EH 19); Rabbi M. Feinstein (Resp. *Iggerot Moshe*, EH, nos. 10, 11, 71); Rabbi Y. Breisch (Resp. *Ḥelkat Ya'akov*, vol. 1, no. 24); Rabbi E.Y. Waldenberg (Resp. *Ẓiẓ Eli'ezer*, vol. 3, no. 24); Rabbi Y.Y. Weinberg (Resp. *Seridei Esh*, 6), and other leading *aḥaronim*. The position prohibiting the wife to her husband is based on the interpretation of the biblical verse, "you shall not lie carnally with your neighbor's wife," as extending to any implantation of semen in the woman's womb. Among the proponents of this view are R. Jonathan Eybeschutz (*Benei Ahuvah,* Ishut, 15); Rabbi J.L. Zirelson (Resp. *Ma'arkhei Lev*, 73); and the rabbi of Satmar, R. Yoel Teitelbaum ("*Teshuva bi-devar Hazra'ah Melakhutit be-Zera Ish Aḥer*," in: *Ha-Ma'or,* 16:9–10 (Sept.–Oct. 1964), and others.

The *posekim* also disputed the question as to whether the child was regarded as the child of the sperm donor, in which case he would be prohibited against marrying members of the sperm donor's family, he would be the donor's heir, and the donor would be regarded as having fulfilled the commandment of procreation. Some ruled that the child would be regarded as his real son, while others argued that this ruling only applied for purposes of stringency and not for leniency, i.e., that the child was forbidden from marrying, for example, the daughter of the sperm donor, but does not inherit him. The *posekim* were divided over whether, in the event of his marrying the daughter of the donor, his offspring would in turn be considered a *mamzer.*

ANONYMOUS DONOR. Where the donor's identity is unknown – e.g., when taken from a sperm bank – it has been suggested that, even according to the view that the offspring of artificial insemination is not a *mamzer,* in such a case he would be classified as a *shetuki* ("undisclosed"); see: **Mamzer/shetuki*). Some *posekim* wrote that, in the case where the sperm comes from outside of Israel, where there is a non-Jewish majority, it may be presumed that the sperm belongs to a non-Jew and therefore the offspring is legitimate.

Where the sperm is mixed with that of the husband, the *posekim* wrote that it should be regarded as if it was exclusively the outside donor's sperm, because the husband's sperm is inactive and the mixture is intended to placate the husband psychologically. In such a case, the husband is also regarded as having transgressed the prohibition of "destruction of seed."

Artificial Insemination in Israeli Law

The Israeli legislator enacted the Public Health (Sperm Bank) Regulations, 5739 – 1979, under which "No person shall manage a sperm bank, or be engaged therein, unless that sperm bank was recognized by the director, and in accordance with the conditions of recognition. The director shall not recognize a sperm bank unless it is managed in a hospital and as a part thereof. For purposes of the regulation, "manager" has the same definition as in section 1 of the Public Health Regulations, *viz*. the director general of the Ministry of Health, or person empowered by the director to enact these regulations." Following Supreme Court consideration of the matter, a clause limiting the rights of unmarried women to receive treatment for *in vitro* insemination treatment was repealed, so that today, subject to certain conditions, an unmarried woman is entitled to receive a sperm donation.

ARTIFICIAL INSEMINATION IN HALAKHIC CASE LAW. The first decision on this subject was given by the Jerusalem Rabbinical Court on November 6, 1975, and published by the *av bet din*, Rabbi Eliezer Waldenberg (presiding with Rabbis Y. Cohen and Y. Attiah) in his book *Ẓiẓ Eli'ezer,* vol. 3, no. 97. The litigants in the regional rabbinical court were a childless couple. Without her husband's knowledge, the wife had been treated by a doctor who performed an artificial insemination procedure from a sperm bank. The treatment led to positive results, and the woman became pregnant from foreign donor sperm. Upon becoming aware of this, the husband filed for divorce. The woman conceded the truth of his claims, but claimed in her defense that a medical examination had confirmed that the husband was sterile, and unable to father a child. She had requested that her husband agree to adoption, but had received a negative answer. Wanting a child of her own, she had taken a path that enabled her to become pregnant. The Bet Din was confronted with the legal question as to whether the woman's consent to be artificially inseminated from donor sperm without her husband's knowledge provided grounds for divorce, even though it had not yet ruled on the question of whether the wife was forbidden to her husband, having become impregnated in that manner. Another question to be decided was the legal import of the husband's refusal to adopt, against the background of his infertility. The Bet Din Court accepted the husband's claim, compelled the wife to receive a *get*, and further ruled that the woman had forfeited her *kettubah*. Following is an excerpt from the judgment:

> In consenting to the sperm of another man to be injected into her, the woman betrayed both her husband and God, and she is therefore obligated to receive a *get* from her husband. She cannot stipulate any financial conditions prior to the giving of the *get*, nor request that her husband transfer the apartment currently under both of their names into her name alone.

In explaining the reasons for its decision, the head of the Rabbinical Court (*av bet din*), presented a comprehensive excursus on the issue of artificial insemination and its halakhic ramifications, concluding that there could be no greater abomination. Notwithstanding the opinion that the wife was not forbidden to her husband when she resorted to this method with her husband's consent, it was not disputed that the wife was obliged to receive a *get* when the treatment and the pregnancy were without his knowledge. The upshot of this ruling was that the wife had no recourse to the defense plea that her husband had refused her request to adopt despite his proven infertility. Because: "if she required a solution to the problem then she had the opportunity of coming to the Rabbinical Court and making that claim, and to request that her husband be compelled to give her a *get pitturin*, and she would have found an attentive ear." The Rabbinical Court thus took a positive view of the defendant's desire for a child of her own, to the extent of being willing to compel her husband to divorce her, had she so requested. But, "there is a vast chasm between this, and the commission of an act 'that undermines the very foundations of the family unit between her and her husband, and which the halakhic authorities had unanimously condemned.'" According to the Bet Din the wife's yearning for children did not ameliorate the gravity of her action, which was all the more severe in that she had concealed it from her husband. Regarding that point, it added the following remarks in its decision:

> At all events, should the husband desire to give her a *get* for that reason – namely, that she had undergone artificial insemination without his knowledge, even though she had not become pregnant thereby – the wife should be compelled to receive a *get pitturin*, both because of the halakhic dispute in this matter as stated, and furthermore, because the actual commission of this abomination in her body without her husband's knowledge places her in the category of a woman who has transgressed Mosaic law and Jewish practice, and the law applying to her should therefore be the same… Moreover, there is also a view that the act itself makes her prohibited to her husband, and the husband can therefore claim, "I choose to abide by that opinion," and he cannot be forced to give a *kettubah*.

The last (as of 2005) Rabbinical Court decision on the matter was also given in the Regional Rabbinical Court of Haifa, on 6th Av, 5737 – 1977. The parties were a husband and wife with a four-year-old mentally retarded child, diagnosed as having a particularly low intelligence level. The child was born following the woman undergoing artificial insemination from donor sperm. The husband consented to this treatment due to the fact, not denied by the parties, that he was unable to fertilize the wife. Both parties petitioned the Bet Din. The wife requested the Bet Din to order the husband to pay maintenance for herself and the child, asking for a high sum, in accordance with the rule *olah imo* (lit., "she goes up with him") – i.e. that her maintenance increases by reason of his high earnings, and by reason of the treatment of the retarded child who required special equipment. The husband filed for a *get,* claiming that his wife's act was a ground for divorce, because the artificial insemination from the sperm of a donor was tantamount to an act of sexual license, making the wife forbidden to her husband. As such, there were grounds for exempting him from her maintenance, and he was therefore also exempt from the obligation of child support. The Bet Din was requested to rule on the question of whether the defendant could be compelled to pay child support when it was not disputed that the plaintiff's (wife) child was not the defendant's (father) child. The question arose: What is the legal significance of the defendant's consent to this medical procedure? The Bet Din in the first instance dismissed the husband's divorce suit, obligating him to pay maintenance for the wife and child support for the child, whose treatment necessitated huge expenses. Explaining the reasons for its decision, the Bet Din expressed its opinion:

> …in support of the opinion that denies even a shadow of illicit sex in the act of artificial insemination, which might have provided a ground for divorce or even the forfeiture of maintenance. And as the foremost decisors of our generation have ruled […] the exemption from maintenance applies – when the insemination was performed in defiance of the husband's will and without his being aware of it. From this it may be inferred quite simply that, if it was done with his consent, and he was aware of it – he is liable to support the child born from that insemination.

Regarding the wife's claim for maintenance, the Bet Din added another reason:

> Since he agreed to this procedure, he assumes all of the obligations arising therefrom, according to the law of a guarantor, and there is no doubt that under these circumstances expression is given to all of the conditions that would compel a guarantor (even though it could be claimed that he assumed an undertaking for normal offspring, and that his undertaking was limited to those circumstances, but since he did not limit his undertaking he should also be liable for irregular expenses which are occasioned by the offspring).

Does this decision support the conclusion that, in the Bet Din's opinion, artificial insemination from a donor with the husband's consent does not constitute illicit sexual relations which would prohibit the wife to her husband and obligate her to receive a *get*? This would seem to be the reasonable conclusion, subject to some degree of reservation based on the fact that the decision does not indicate whether the Bet Din in principle negates the very act of artificial insemination, or whether under the special circumstances of the case, in which the husband consented to the treatment, it is removed from the category of illicit sexual relations or, in the words of the Bet Din "denies even a shadow of illicit sex in the act of artificial insemination." At all events, in our opinion, the Bet Din does not view the aforementioned act as constituting grounds for divorce, because the wife was not prohibited to her husband as is a woman who is unfaithful to the husband while married to him. However, since the Bet Din did not see how it could oblige the defendant to support a child who was not his own, based on the law of child support, it was forced to obligate him by force of the law of a guarantor. It therefore emerges that the husband's consent has practical significance with respect to maintenance. In other words, his consent is tantamount to an implicit assumption of liability for all of the financial consequences of the act of insemination.

An interesting comparison may be drawn between the aforementioned rulings of the rabbinical courts and the ruling of the Israeli Supreme Court. In the sole decision given to date in a civil court concerning the issue of artificial insemination from the sperm of a donor the husband's consent to the treatment was one of the main foundations. The litigants were a married couple that had remained childless after several years of marriage, due to a defect in the husband's ability to produce functional sperm cells, and a disturbance in the woman's ovulation process. With the husband's consent, the woman underwent artificial insemination, which was successful, and the woman gave birth to a daughter. About one year later disputes erupted between the spouses and, after failing to reconcile their differences, the woman filed a maintenance action against her husband, on behalf of herself and for her daughter. In the course of the trial, the couple was divorced, and the court was thus left to adjudicate the daughter's child support suit against her father. The District Court obligated the father to pay child support, and the father appealed the decision to the Supreme Court (CA *Salma v. Salma*, 448/79, 34 (2) PD 778). President Y. Kahn wrote the judgment, in which he accepted the "additional reason" invoked by the District Court, and which was the basis of the judge's decision to obligate the father to pay child support. He wrote as follows:

> By agreeing to his wife undergoing artificial fertilization, the defendant agreed to the addition of another person to his family… the defendant's consent should be regarded as including an implicit undertaking to support the minor that would be born as a result of the fertilization…When a person agrees to his wife being fertilized by way of artificial fertilization, he agrees and undertakes by implication both to his wife and for the benefit of the child to be born, to support and feed the minor to be born from that fertilization.

Two things may be inferred from this decision: (a) When the husband consents to his wife's fertilization by artificial insemination from the sperm of a donor, he undertakes to bear all of the consequent costs – financial and otherwise – with respect to the child to be born from that act; (2) The husband's undertaking to his wife for child support, which flows from his consent to this form of treatment, is unrelated to the legal connection that existed at the time of the suit, or thereafter, between the child's mother and the defendant.

In a recent ruling handed down by the Israeli Supreme Court (HC 2458/01 *Mishpaḥah Ḥadashah v. Committee for Approving Surrogate Agreements* (not published)) on the topic of *in vitro* fertilization (see below), Justice Englard referred to the position of Jewish law regarding this issue:

> When dealing with a case of a donor to a married woman, importance attaches to the donor's identity [and the] the distinction between a Jewish donor and a non-Jewish donor. According to all opinions, it is halakhically prohibited to use, *de jure,* the sperm of another Jew. In principle, sperm insemination of a Jewish donor who is not the husband of the married woman is regarded as disgraceful and an abomination. See Rabbi E.Y. Waldenberg, Resp. *Ẓiẓ Eli'ezer*, vol. 3, no. 27; Rabbi Y. Breisch, Resp. *Ḥelkat Ya'akov* (1992), EH 12; Rabbi Y.Y. Weinberg, Resp. *Seridei Eish* (1999), vol. 1, no. 79. Halakhically speaking, certain *posekim* take the view that the offspring from donor sperm is a *mamzer* for all intents and purposes. Others rule that he is of doubtful *mamzer* status. There are also those who rule that, in the absence of intimate relations, i.e., without prohibited intercourse, the offspring is categorically not a *mamzer.* For a discussion of the opinions of the first view, see, e.g., Rabbi E.Y. Waldenberg, Resp. *Ẓiẓ Eli'ezer* (1967), vol. 9, no. 51; Resp. *Yaskil Avdi*, *ibid.* For the second view, see Rabbi S.Z. Auerbach, "*Hazra'ah Melakhutit*," in: *Noam*, 1 (1958), 145, 165. For the third view, see Rabbi Moses Feinstein, Resp. *Iggerot Moshe* (1961), EH, vol. 1, no. 61; Resp. *Ḥelkat Yaakov*, *ibid.* For additional sources, see Rabbi D.M. Kroizer, "*Hazra'ah Melakhutit*," in: *Noam*, 1 (1958), pp. 111, 119f.
>
> There are authorities who hold that, where the donor is unknown, the offspring is a "*shetuki*" regarding whom there is also a doubt regarding *mamzerut.* See Resp. *Seridei Eish*, *ibid.*; Resp. *Ḥelkat Ya'akov*, *ibid.,* notes to EH, 20, n. 11.
>
> Another grave concern regarding the anonymous donor pertains to the possibility of a future marriage of a brother and sister. See Resp. *Iggerot Moshe*, *ibid.*; Resp. *Seridei Eish*, vol. 1, no. 69; Resp. *Ẓiẓ Eli'ezer* (1951), vol. 3, no. 27.
>
> Regarding a non-Jewish anonymous donor: All of the *posekim* agree that *ex ante* his sperm should not be used, for the act is disgraceful. Nevertheless, in this case there is no halakhic fear of *mamzerut* or marriage of a brother and sister. Consequently, the procedure of artificial insemination was permitted for cases in which the parents are in a state of acute distress and greatly desire a child. For this view, see the aforementioned article Resp. *Iggerot Moshe*, *ibid.,* and the article cited of Rabbi S.Z. Auerbach. For the view that prohibits this treatment under all circumstances, see: Resp. *Ḥelkat Ya'akov*, *ibid.,* EH, no. 14; Rabbi Y.Y. Weiss, Resp. *Minḥat Yiẓḥak* (1939), vol. 4, no. 5; cf. Resp. *Seridei Esh* (1966), vol. 3, no. 5. In the case of an unmarried woman, while there is no fear of *mamzerut*, there is still the fear of a sister and brother marrying, and the offspring being a *shetuki*. A compilation of the various problems raised in the letters of the *posekim* appears in A. Steinberg, *Enẓiklopedyah Hilkhatit Refu'it* (1988), entry: *Hazra'ah Melakhutit,* pp. 148–61.

IN VITRO FERTILIZATION (SURROGATE MOTHERHOOD)

In vitro fertilization is the act of fertilizing the woman's eggs outside the woman's body by means of sperm cells and, after fertilization, returning the fertilized embryo to the woman's womb, or freezing the embryo for the purpose of returning it at a later stage. The offspring of that procedure is popularly known as a "test-tube" baby, referring to the initial stage of fertilization in the test-tube. A woman carrying an embryo for another woman, with the intention of giving her the child born to that woman, is called a surrogate or host mother. All of the scientific, halakhic, moral, and legal issues pertaining to husband or donor sperm required for fertilizing an egg in a Petri dish are identical to those arising in the context of artificial insemination (see above Artificial Insemination). This entry discusses those unique aspects of *in vitro* fertilization that do not exist in artificial insemination.

The halakhic discussion in the entry on *in vitro* fertilization is introduced by Prof. Rabbi Abraham Steinberg with the following statement:

> Notwithstanding the immense medical-technological progress in the field of *in vitro* fertilization, as in the field of genetic engineering, none of this contradicts the basic foundations of Judaism, and the belief in the creation of the world and of humankind exclusively by the Almighty. In all these procedures, the creation involves making "something from something," and there is no possibility of creating "something from nothing." ….The Jewish outlook does not accept the conception that demands the preservation of the law of nature, and therefore eschews human and technological interference in natural processes. To the contrary, humankind is a partner to the Almighty in the improvement of the world in all realms.

In Vitro Fertilization Between Husband and Wife

Several halakhic authorities permit *in vitro* fertilization between a husband and wife provided that all precautions are taken to prevent the mixing of the husband's sperm with alien sperm, and provided that the couple have no other possibility of building their family. According to the permitting authorities (see inter alia, *Nishmat Avraham*, EH, 1.e.3) a "test-tube" baby for all intents and purposes continues his parents' lineage, and halakhically this procedure is deemed identical to artificial insemination. Accordingly, those who permit artificial insemination between husband and wife also permit *in vitro* fertilization. However, certain halakhic authorities prohibited this procedure, based on moral considerations: for example, the fear that it would create reproductive-societal havoc, and the fear of mixing up sperm and the consequent defiling of the sanctity and purity of lineage in the Jewish people. There are also those who prohibited it on halakhic grounds, even between a husband and wife. One explanation for the distinction between *in vitro* fertilization and artificial insemination is that in the latter the sperm is injected directly into the woman's womb, so that the procedure does not involve destruction of seed should the procedure be unsuccessful, whereas in the case of *in vitro* fertilization the seed is placed in a Petri dish, so that if the fertilization is unsuccessful, it is considered as seed destruction. A second explanation is that the need for artificial insemination is generally the result of the husband's infertility and according to certain views, the prohibition of destruction of seed does not apply to a sterile male. In *in vitro* fertilization, the problem is generally the woman's, and therefore the prohibition on seed destruction is valid regarding the husband. Those authorities permitting it claim that the prohibition of seed destruction does not apply when performed for the purpose of bringing a child into the world, and that even in natural intercourse some of the sperm is spilt and lost. Therefore, in *in vitro* fertilization, since it is intended to bring a child into the world it is not considered as being a vain emission of sperm.

In Vitro Fertilization by Egg Donation

The very act of *in vitro* fertilization using a donor egg involves several prohibitions, the gravest of which is the fear of social havoc, confusion of lineage, and the possibility of incest between the egg-donor's children. Certain stringent authorities also wrote that the prohibition is not on the act per se, but that it is seen as one that ought to be avoided *ab initio.* In any event, every effort must be made to ascertain the identity of the donor, and to enact whatever regulations are required to avoid any mishaps in this regard.

Where the woman donated the egg, which was subsequently fertilized in a test tube, the fertilized embryo then being implanted in the womb of another woman, the question of the definition of maternity arises. Whom does the *halakhah* view as the child's mother: the biological mother (egg donor) or the host mother, in whose womb the embryo develops?

Some posekim take the view that the genetic mother has the status of mother in terms of *halakhah* (see I. Warhaftig, "*Kevi'at Imahut – be-Shulei ha-Devarim*," in: *Teḥumin*, 5 (1984), 268). Nevertheless, the majority view is that halakhically, the host mother is considered as the mother (see Rabbi Z.N. Goldenberg, "*Yiḥus Imahut be-Hashtalat Ubar be-Reḥem shel Aḥeret*, *ibid*., 248; *Ẓiẓ Eli'ezer* (1992), vol. 19, no. 40). Finally, there are some authorities who contend that both women are seen as related to the progeny, specifically for purposes of definition of incestuous relations (see Z. Lev, "*Tinok Mavḥenah – Ma'amad ha-Em ha-Pundeka'it*," in: *Emek Halakhah,* 2 (1989), 163, 169).

The view of most *posekim*, that the surrogate mother is also considered the mother from a halakhic perspective, relies inter alia on an ancient aggadic tradition that this kind of situation occurred between the matriarchs Rachel and Leah in their respective pregnancies with Dinah and Joseph. According to the tradition, in her final pregnancy, Jacob's wife Leah was carrying a son in her womb. At that time Jacob had already fathered ten sons: six from Leah's womb, two from Bilhah, and two from Zilpah. This meant that, had she given birth to the son in her womb, he would have been the 11th son of Jacob (who was predestined to have a total of 12 sons), and Rachel would only have been able to give birth to one son. Leah did not want Rachel to have only one son, which would have reduced her stature to below that of the handmaids, who had two each, so she prayed that she not give birth to the son, so that Rachel would be able to give birth to the two sons who were still to be born. According to one version of the *aggadah*, the embryo in Leah's womb turned into a girl (Ber. 60a), while according to another version, the switch of gender was attained by another method. After praying that she not be the one to give birth to the male child in her womb, the sisters' embryos were switched: the male in Leah's womb going into Rachel's womb, and the female in Rachel's womb to Leah (see *Midrash Sekhel Tov* (ed. Buber), Gen. 30, s.v. *ve-aḥar yaledah*).

In Vitro Fertilization in Israeli Legislation

In 1987 special regulations concerning *in vitro* fertilization were enacted – The National Health (*In Vitro* Fertilization) Law 5727 – 1987. In 1996 the State of Israel enacted the Agreements Relating to the Carrying of Embryos (Approval of the Agreements and Status of Offspring) Law, regulating the subject of surrogacy. The Israel Supreme Court (HC 2458/01 *Mishpaḥah Ḥadasha v. the Approvals Committee for Surrogacy Agreements*) (not yet published), addressed the question of whether these legislative arrangements for carrying embryos, which prima facie do not apply to a woman without a male spouse, are not discriminative. The court did not rule on the matter, referring it back to the Legislature.

The Israeli Supreme Court delivered two long and detailed rulings on the subject of *in vitro* fertilization in general, and specifically, on the right of parenthood (CA 5587/93 *Daniel Nahmani v. Ruthy Nahmani* et al., 50 (4) PD 661). After a number of years of childless marriage, and after Ruthy Nahmani had undergone a total hysterectomy, rendering her unable to become pregnant by natural means, the couple decided to bring a child into the world by way of *in vitro* fertilization. The eggs taken from Ruthy's womb were fertilized by the sperm of her husband, Danny, and frozen in the hospital. The couple contracted with an American institution for the purpose of locating a surrogate mother who would carry their child. However, prior to reaching that stage, Danny left their domestic home, went to live with another woman, created a new family, and fathered a daughter while still legally married to Ruthy, who refused to accept a divorce. Ruthy turned to the hospital with the request to be given the fertilized eggs in order to continue the surrogacy proceeding. When the hospital refused her request, she applied to the Haifa District Court, which granted her request. In its first adjudication on the appeal against the District Court's decision, the Israeli Supreme Court accepted Danny Nahmani's appeal in a majority decision. In a further hearing (CFH 2401 /95 *Ruthy Nahmani v. Danny Nahmani et al*, 50 (4) PD 661) the previous decision was reversed and Ruthy Nahmani's appeal was accepted in a majority decision.

Regarding the issue of abortion in Jewish law, see separate entry *Abortion.

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[Menachem Elon (2nd ed.)]

MEDINA (Ar. **Madīna**; ancient name, **Yathrib**), city in fertile valley of the *Hejaz in northern *Arabia. Along with *Tayma and *Khaybar, Medina was a leading Jewish community in ancient Arabia. Prior to the expulsion of most of Medina Jewry by *Muhammad (620s) the oasis was largely inhabited by Jews. According to legend, the Jewish community dates from Moses' war against the Amalekites, the Babylonian Exile (c. 586 B.C.E.), Antiochus IV's persecutions, and the defeat by Rome (70 C.E.). In any case, by the early centuries of the Christian era the population of Medina consisted mostly of Jewish tribes (according to some Arabs, up to 20 tribes), either of Judean-Palestinian, mixed Judeo-Arabic, or Arab proselyte origin. Remains of their life survive, including castles, courtyards, and wells, the first of which were dug by the *Naḍīr tribe who inhabited the best lands and cultivated date palms west of the city. The two other major tribes were the *Qurayẓa, who occupied an area in the southeastern part of the town, and the *Qaynuqāʿ, who were among the earliest settlers and resided in the central market. Other tribes included the Thalaba (northeast of the city) and the Anī, a tribe of Arab proselytes who lived in the Qubā area (south of Medina). There was a continuous Arab migration to the area and many Arab tribes assimilated into the Jewish milieu, accepting Judaism and acquiring skills such as writing, which up to that time was known only by Jews. The two major Arab tribes, the Aws and the Khazraj, settled in the area, coming from South Arabia in the middle of the fifth century. They came because the breaking of the Ma'rib dam had ruined their lands. Some of the Arabs lived among the Jews, others in areas far from Jewish settlement. They were subjects of the Jewish tribes. The Khazraj gained some independence from the Jews in later times after a bloody battle, which according to legends broke out as a result of the Jewish king Faytun's demand to exercise the *jus primae noctis* on Arab subjects. Henceforth domination of Medina gradually passed to Arabs; the Jewish tribes aligned themselves with the Aws or the Khazraj, who threatened to confiscate the Naḍīr lands. Fighting between these two major tribes and their Jewish clients (Naḍīr and Qurayẓa with Aws; the Qaynuqāʿ with the Khazraj) characterized the sixth century and is recalled in Arabic poetry, including that of the Jew *Samuel b. Adiya. The bloody battles ended with the victory of the Aws and peaceful settlement with the Khazraj. Shortly before Muhammad's arrival in Medina the Jewish population had reached between 8,000 and 10,000, forming a majority of the city's inhabitants. The presence of so large and vital a Jewish community (though Arabic in language, customs, and behavior) provided an atmosphere conducive to the acceptance of monotheism among Arabs. Hence, Muhammad's message found a receptive audience among many Arabs and a few Jews. Most Jews, however, scorned Muhammad, deriding his prophetic pretensions and adaptations of biblical material. Concerned about the effect of such vehement opposition, Muhammad began to expel the Jewish tribes with whom he had formerly signed an agreement. The Qaynuqā and the Naḍīr were expelled from Medina in 624 and 626, respectively. The Qurayẓa men were annihilated in 627 and the women and children were sold into slavery. The Jewish tribes apparently did not assist one another or unite against the common enemy, each meeting its fate as an individual tribe. The small Jewish population which remained in Medina was powerless and could not cause Muhammad much trouble. The community eventually dwindled and died out.

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[Ze'ev A. Maghen (2nd ed.)]

MEDINA, AVIHU (1948–), lyricist and composer. Medina was born in Tel Aviv to Yemenite parents. His mother's family arrived in the country in 1906 and settled in Jerusalem; his father, who came from Yemen in 1939, was a *ḥazzan*. Avihu graduated from Kibbutz Kissufim High School. After his military service (1970), he began writing lyrics and composing their melodies. His first song, "*Al Tira Yisrael*," won the third prize in the first festival of Oriental communities' songs held under the auspices of Israel's state radio in 1971. For the next ten years he was to receive first prize in a number of festivals. Among the songs he wrote are "*La-Ner ve-la-Besamim*" ("For the Candle and the Perfumes"), "*Kinnor David*, *Barekhenu*" ("Bless Us"), "*Peraḥ be-Ganni*" ("Flower in My Garden"), "*Al Tashlikheni*" ("Don't Cast Me Away"), "*Shabbeḥi Yerushalayim*" ("Praise Thee Jerusalem"), "*Bein ha-Tov la-Ra*" ("Between Good and Evil"). His songs were performed by some of Israel's best artists, such as Shimi Tavori, Zohar *Argov, Boaz Sharabi, Ofra *Haza, Eyal Golan, Deklon, and many others.

In 1991 Avihu began singing his own songs. In 1994 Omanut La-'am awarded him the "Silver Cylinder," which is the crowning prize for the most popular artist. In 1995 he received the Writers and Composers Prize for lifetime achievements in the field of light music. Avihu Medina has released nine albums – the ninth, *Ein Li Mano'aḥ,* in 2004 – and a book of songs, *Simanim shel Derekh*.

Medina, a leading figure in the period of Ethnicity, devoted much of his time to the promotion of "Mediterranean Israeli music." He believes that "it is a style born of traditional and cultural Jewish roots and of the Israeli experience in all its forms."

He is the chairman of the Israeli song department on the Committee for Art and Culture.

[Nathan Shahar (2nd ed.)]

MEDINA, SAMUEL BEN MOSES DE (known by the acronym **Maharashdam**; 1506–1589), rabbi, halakhic authority, and communal leader of *Salonika. Medina was descended from a distinguished family of scholars which originated from Spain. He was one of the three outstanding **posekim* of Salonika of the 16th century, the others being Joseph ibn *Lev and Solomon b. Abraham ha-Kohen. Medina was dogged by misfortune throughout his life. Orphaned in his childhood, his sister and two of his sons-in-law died in his lifetime and the burden of the maintenance of his widowed daughters and their many children fell upon him. The death of his elder brother, a man of means who had educated him and supported him financially, added to these burdens. The death of his eldest son left a permanent mark on him and affected his health. He was obliged from time to time to undertake journeys, in all probability in order to improve his financial position. Until his position in Salonika was established, he devoted himself completely to study, finding in it consolation for his sorrows. Medina founded a yeshivah in Salonika in which he introduced the system of teaching of the great Spanish talmudic scholars from the time of Isaac *Campanton and his successors. It had many disciples, a number of whom became famous and he himself says that some of them were worthy of heading yeshivot themselves. They include Aaron Abayuv, Joseph ibn Ezra, Abraham di Boton, David Naḥmias, and Abraham ibn Aruz. The yeshivah was supported by Donna Gracia Mendes (*Nasi) and was highly praised by his contemporaries.

Medina was the accepted halakhic authority both in his own and succeeding generations for European Turkey and the Balkans. Queries were addressed to him from all parts of the Ottoman Empire and Italy and his published responsa number over 1,000. Jacob Alfandari (*Maggid me-Reshit*) compares him and Solomon ha-Kohen to "Maimonides and the Rosh (Jacob b. Asher) in their time." Ḥayyim *Shabbetai says of him: "He was an expert judge and of encyclopedic knowledge and one must not deviate an iota from his decisions" (*Torat Ḥayyim* 3:70). Some even went so far as to take an oath by the names of these two rabbis to give authority to their decisions (Aaron Sasson, *Torat Emet* 80). Although many scholars such as Isaac Adarbi, Moses of *Trani, Jacob Samut, and even his own maternal grandson Samuel Ḥayyun disagreed with him, his decision always prevailed. His decisions were incorporated in those of Eastern European scholars in later generations. For historians his responsa constitute a most important source for the period in all its aspects, and his decisions are often quoted in modern times by judges in Israel in support of their decisions.

Medina's personality and character emerge clearly from his many responsa. He imposed his authority on litigants by the power of his personality and succeeded in enforcing just compromises even when there was no basis for them in law. This firmness and self-confidence were revealed even in his youth (cf. J. Caro, Responsa *Avkat Rokhel*, 219). They find striking expression in his stern rebuke to the scholars of Safed, who included Caro, for presuming to intervene in the affairs of the community of Salonika (Resp. YD 80) and he did not refrain from sharp and vigorous language, especially in his polemics.

Medina was original in his method. He would give a decision in accordance with his own judgment when he found no precedent in the *halakhot* of his predecessors. Utterly fearless, he was alert to all problems which arose from the special circumstances of his time and place, and many of his responsa deal with the social and economic problems which exercised the minds of his contemporaries. Medina applied himself to the communal organization of the Spanish exiles, which he established on a solid juridical basis. In the controversies which reigned in Salonika and elsewhere as a result of the glaring gap between the rich and the poor, Medina maintained the right of the wealthy members of the community to regulate the direction of communal affairs. According to him it was not numbers but quality which counted and it was right that, as had been the custom in Spain, the leadership of the community should be in the hands of those who bear its financial burden, providing they were loyal to religious principles. With all his respect for local custom, he strove to make it accord with the *halakhah* as he saw it. Where that custom differed from that in force in Spain, he justified the latter on halakhic grounds and encouraged its gradual adoption, whether in the liturgical usage or in matters of *sheḥitah*, etc. Unlike his predecessors his consistency in this matter did not meet with great opposition. Medina's decisions with regard to **anusim* are important and are stamped with the same original approach as he showed in other matters for which there was no legal precedent. He regarded the community of Salonika and especially its educational institutions as being in a unique position, and as a result demanded a greater financial support for them than for the institutions in Ereẓ Israel.

Side by side with his intensive halakhic activity Medina filled certain communal offices. He was the rabbi of the most important and largest congregations of Iberian communities in Salonika among them those of "Gerush" (i.e., of the exiles) and Lisbon, and went to Constantinople on missions on behalf of Salonika. He was called on to decide in the serious disputes which arose in Salonika and other communities, and succeeded in preventing schisms. His authority is seen in the fact that his signature appears on the majority of the communal regulations (*haskamot*) which have come down. Unlike many of his contemporaries of Spanish provenance Medina did not engage in Kabbalah, nor did he enter deeply into philosophy and secular studies. He was the man of *halakhah* and the communal leader par excellence. Despite his often unsatisfactory financial position he refused to take advantage of the exemption from taxes granted to scholars. Toward the end of his life legends were woven about him.

Medina's responsa were published during his lifetime in two volumes (Salonika, 1585?–87) and an improved edition in three volumes (Salonika, 1594–98). A considerable number also appear in the works of other scholars, while others are still in manuscript. Thirty of his sermons were published in *Ben Shemu'el* (Mantua, 1622) and his novellae on a number of tractates of the Talmud are still in manuscript.

Medina's son Moses was a man of means and a scholar. He was responsible for the founding of a Hebrew printing press in Salonika in 1594 and published his father's responsa. He succeeded his father as rabbi of the Portugal community in Salonika.

Moses had two sons, Judah and Shemaiah. The former, a *dayyan* in Salonika, was murdered by an assassin hired by a Jew because of a verdict given against him. This tragedy caused his brother, who was also a scholar and communal leader of Salonika, to move to Venice where he became one of its scholars. He published his grandfather's *Ben Shemu'el*, and some of his poems were published in *Ḥadashim la-Bekarim* (Mantua, 1622).

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[Joseph Hacker]

MEDINA, SIR SOLOMON DE (c. 1650–1720), army contractor and the first professing Jew in England to receive a knighthood. He was born in Bordeaux as Diego de Medina, but lived in Holland until William of Orange's invasion of England in 1688, which he helped to finance. An English example of the *Court Jew, he was principal army contractor to the duke of Marlborough during the War of the Spanish Succession (1701–14), supplying money, provisions, and particularly intelligence. These transactions ultimately contributed to the duke's downfall. Medina was active in and contributed generously to the London Sephardi community but died abroad in poverty. He is wrongly identified with the Jew whose bankruptcy was blamed by *Voltaire for his financial difficulties.

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[Vivian David Lipman]

MEDINACELI, town in Castile, N. Spain, near Sigüenza. A Jewish community existed there as early as the 12th century. The *fuero* ("municipal charter") of Medinaceli gave the Jews a status equal to that of the Christians and Moors in legal matters. In the 13th century the community numbered 20 to 30 families. Jewish occupations included agriculture, viticulture, commerce, and crafts. In 1280 Abraham of Medinaceli made an agreement, valid for four years, with the bishop of Sigüenza to open and exploit salt mines (see *Salt Trade). The bishop was to supply Abraham with the necessary equipment, finance the project, and provide him with lodging. In 1290 the communities of Medinaceli and Sigüenza together paid annual taxes and services amounting to 34,217 maravedis, which indicates considerable prosperity. The community continued to exist throughout the 15th century. It was taxed 91 castellanos in 1485 as a contribution to the war against Granada. The synagogue, which passed to the Church after the expulsion of the Jews from Spain in 1492, was restored by the government.

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[Haim Beinart]

MEDINA DEL CAMPO, town in N. Castile, between *Olmedo and Rueda. The Jewish community was particularly prosperous during the 13th century: in 1290 its annual tax amounted to 44,000 maravedis. By the 14th century the community consisted of between 50 and 100 householders. In 1313 the regulations on Jewish affairs of the regional council of *Zamora were applied to Medina del Campo. They covered the employment of Christians in Jewish homes, the distinctive badge to be worn by the Jews, the prohibition on practicing medicine, interest rates, and the dismissal of Jews from public functions. Nothing is known of how the community fared during the persecutions of 1391, but afterward a *Converso community existed there. In 1459 Medina del Campo was the center of the activities of the monk *Alonso de Espina against Conversos suspected of practicing Judaism. During that year he found 30 Conversos who had undergone circumcision. Some of the Conversos prepared to depart for North Africa. One of them, the physician Magister Franciscus, circumcised himself and immigrated to Ereẓ Israel. Therefore, like *Huesca and Ciudad Real, in the 1450s and 1460s Medina del Campo was a center for the return to Judaism. After the edict of expulsion (1492), those who left the town presumably crossed the borders of the kingdoms of Navarre and Portugal. The last rabbi of the community was Isaac Uzziel, who probably settled in Salonika after the expulsion.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Baer, Spain, index; Baer, Urkunden, 2 (1936), index; B. Llorca, in: *Sefarad*, 2 (1942), 119; A. Marx, *Expulsion of the Jews from Spain* (1944), 85, 100; Suárez Fernández, Documentos, index.

[Haim Beinart]

MEDINA DE POMAR, town in Castile, N. Spain. The Jewish settlement here was one of the flourishing communities in 13th-century Castile. Like other Jews in the area, Jewish residents of Medina de Pomar owned vineyards and lands and engaged in commerce and crafts. Joseph Nasi and Abraham *Benveniste de Soria, both of Medina, supplied grain and money to the army stationed on the border in 1429–30. On March 12, 1475, two Jewish cloth merchants, Josi Leal and Moses Sasson, complained that the authorities had prohibited visiting Jews from trading and buying goods in Medina. Conversely in 1490 the Jews of Medina complained to the crown that the Bilbao municipal council had banned visiting Jews from staying there overnight and that they had therefore been unable to attend the fair at Medina del Campo. After the edict of expulsion of the Jews from Spain in 1492, the Jews of Medina de Pomar asked the crown for redress because the Christians had refused to pay their debts. Ferdinand and Isabella ordered the municipal authorities to deal with the matter expeditiously to enable the Jews to leave on time.

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[Haim Beinart]

MEDINAH. In Hebrew writings emanating from the Muslim-influenced areas, *medinah* is used to mean city. In Ashkenazi culture, especially in the later Middle Ages and early modern times, *medinah* denotes a region embracing several or many communities organized as a territorial unit for the purpose of *autonomy and leadership.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: J. Katz, *Tradition and Crisis* (1961), 122–34.

MEDINI, ḤAYYIM HEZEKIAH BEN RAPHAEL ELIJAH (1832–1904), rabbi. Medini was born in Jerusalem. He studied under Isaac *Covo and Joseph Nissim *Burla. His father died in 1853, and in that same year he traveled to Constantinople where he stayed for 14 years. For a while he earned his living as a private tutor but lectured publicly without remuneration. He attracted many disciples, some of whom later became rabbis. From 1867 to 1899 he was rabbi of Karasubazar in the Crimean peninsula and succeeded in raising the previously low spiritual standard of the community. He instituted local *takkanot*, abrogated strange customs or amended and restored them to their proper origin, and founded schools and yeshivot. He opposed *Firkovich, showing that his claim that the people of Crimea were descended from the Karaites was without foundation. He was an ardent Zionist, and in his works there are many passages extolling the virtue of settling in Ereẓ Israel, the forthcoming redemption, and on the duty of settling in Israel and supporting its poor. He became seriously ill in 1878 and it seems that he was then given the additional name of Ḥayyim. In 1899 he returned to Jerusalem where he was received with great honor. His books won for him a reputation, and religious and halakhic problems were addressed to him from the whole Jewish world. In 1901 he heard that there was a proposal to appoint him *rishon le-Zion* (Sephardi chief rabbi), but unwilling to accept this office, he moved to Hebron where he served as rabbi until his death. He founded a yeshivah there, meeting part of its maintenance from his private resources. His fame as a man of saintliness spread to the non-Jews who honored him and regarded him as a wonder worker.

Medini's fame rests principally on his *Sedei Ḥemed*, which he began in the Crimea, a halakhic encyclopedia of exceptional originality, 13 of the 18 volumes of which were published during his lifetime (Warsaw, 1891–1912). It is one of the most monumental halakhic works, and is still extensively used. It contains rules of talmudic and halakhic methodology, an alphabetical list of the various laws, and responsa. In addition, it contains bibliographical research and articles on the lives of Jewish scholars and of the history of Ereẓ Israel. At the beginning of volume 14 is his lengthy ethical will which reflects his lofty spiritual and moral stature. He wrote a supplement to it, entitled *Pakku'at ha-Sadeh* (in *Ha-Me'assef*, 5, Jerusalem (1900), supplement). Among his other works are *Mikhtav le-Ḥizkiyyahu* (Smyrna, 1868), talmudic novellae and responsa on *Oraḥ Ḥayyim*; *Or Li* (*ibid.*, 1874), novellae and responsa – published anonymously in memory of his only son who died in 1868; *Ne'im Zemirot* (Warsaw, 1886), *piyyutim* which it was the custom to recite every morning. Several of his poems were published at the beginning of *Sedei Ḥemed*, volume 6. Many of his responsa and approbations are to be found in the works of contemporary rabbis.

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[Abraham Ben-Yaacob]

MEDITATION (Heb. *Hitbonenut*), a term which first appears in kabbalistic literature, from the middle of the 13th century, referring to protracted concentration of thought on supernal lights of the divine world and of the spiritual worlds in general. Many sources, however, in this connection use the terms **kavvanah*, or **devekut* ("cleaving") of thought to a particular subject, and of "contemplation of the mind." The kabbalists did not distinguish between the terms meditation and contemplation – a distinction prevalent in Christian mysticism. In the kabbalistic view, contemplation was both the concentrated delving to the depths of a particular subject in the attempt to comprehend it from all its aspects, and also the arresting of thought in order to remain on the subject. The arresting and delving in spiritual contemplation do not serve, therefore, to encourage the contemplating intellect to advance and pass on to higher levels, but first of all to gauge to the maximum its given situation; only after having tarried in it for a protracted period does the intellect move on to a higher step. This, then, is contemplation by the intellect, whose objects are neither images nor visions, but non-sensual matters such as words, names, or thoughts.

In the history of the Kabbalah a different contemplation preceded this one: the contemplative vision of the *Merkabah, for which the ancient Merkabah mystics of the tannaitic and amoraitic period strove, and which was described in the *Heikhalot Rabbati* of the *heikhalot* literature. Here the reference is to an actual vision of the world of the chariot which reveals itself before the eyes of the visionary. Therefore the term *histakkelut* is used here in the exact sense of the Latin term *contemplatio* or the Greek *theoria*. The contemplation of the Merkabah mystics, in the first period of Jewish mysticism, provided the key, in their opinion, to a correct understanding of the heavenly beings in the heavenly chariot. This contemplation could also be achieved by way of preparatory stages which would train those who "descend to the Merkabah" to grasp the vision and pass on from one thing to another without being endangered by the audacity of their assault on the higher world. Even at this stage, the vision of the Merkabah is bound up with immunization of the mystic's senses against absorption of external impressions and concentration through an inward vision.

In the Kabbalah, the conception of the ten *Sefirot*, which reveal the action of the Divine and comprise the world of emanation, was superimposed upon the Merkabah world. This contemplation of divine matters does not end, according to the Kabbalah, where the vision of Merkabah mystics ended, but is capable of ascending to greater heights, which are no longer the objects of images and vision. The concentration on the world of the *Sefirot* is not bound up with visions, but is solely a matter for the intellect prepared to ascend from level to level and to meditate on the qualities unique to each level. If meditation activates at first the faculty of imagination, it continues by activating the faculty of the intellect. The *Sefirot* themselves are conceived of as intellectual lights which can only be perceived by meditation. The Spanish kabbalists in the 13th century knew of two types of meditation: one which produces visions similar in kind if not in detail to the visions of the Merkabah mystics, and the second which leads to the communion of the meditating mind with its higher sources in the world of emanation itself. *Moses b. Shem Tov de Leon describes in one of his books how an intuition of the third *Sefirah* (*Binah*) flashes up in the mind through meditation. He compares this to the light which flashes up when the rays of the sun play on the surface of a bowl of water (MGWJ, 1927, 119).

The instructions on the methods to be employed in performing meditation form part of the hidden and secret teachings of the kabbalists which, apart from some general rules, were not made public. The kabbalists of Gerona mention it in connection with the description of the mystic *kavvanah* in prayer, which is described as a meditation concentrating upon each word of the prayer in order to open a way to the inner lights which illuminate every word. Prayer, according to this idea of meditation, is not just a recitation of words or even concentration on the contents of the words according to their simple meaning; it is the adherence of man's mind to the spiritual lights and the mind's advancement in these worlds. The worshiper uses the fixed words of the prayer as a banister during his meditation which he grasps on his road of ascension so that he should not be confused or distracted. Such meditation results in the joining of human thought to the divine thought or the divine will – an attachment which itself comes to an end, or is "negated." The hour of prayer is, more than any other time, suitable for meditation. *Azriel of Gerona said: "The thought expands and ascends to its origin, so that when it reaches it, it ends and cannot ascend any further … therefore the pious men of old raised their thought to its origin while pronouncing the precepts and words of prayer. As a result of this procedure and the state of adhesion which their thought attained, their words became blessed, multiplied, full of [divine] influx from the stage called the 'nothingness of thought,' just as the waters of a pool flow on every side when a man sets them free" (*Perush ha-Aggadot*, 1943, 39–40). In such meditation, which progresses from one stage to another, there was also a certain magic element, as can clearly be deduced from the detailed description in another piece by Azriel called *Sha'ar ha-Kavvanah la-Mekubbalim ha-Rishonim*. Meditation does not only ponder and penetrate its object; it has the power to bring about changes in its object and likely to cause transformations as it reaches the common root of opposing extremes. In most descriptions of the methods of meditation which were preserved from the golden era of Spanish Kabbalah, however, this magic element was concealed or completely glossed over in silence.

A detailed elaboration of the doctrine of meditation is to be found particularly in the teachings of Abraham *Abulafia. The whole of his *Ḥokhmat ha-Ẓeruf* was designed, he believed, to teach a lasting and safe approach to meditation. It consists principally of instruction concerning meditation on the Holy Names of God and, in a wider sense, meditation on the mysteries of the Hebrew alphabet. This meditation, which is not dependent on prayer, was described in his more important manuals as a separate activity of the mind to which man devotes himself in seclusion at given hours and with regular guidance by an initiate teacher. Here again the point of departure is the mortification of the activity of the senses and the effacement of the natural images which cling to the soul. Meditation on the holy letters and names engenders pure rational forms in the soul, as a result of which man is able to comprehend the exalted truths. At certain stages of this meditation, there appear actual visions, such as are described in the work *Ḥayyei ha-Olam ha-Ba* for instance, but these are only intermediate stages on the road to pure contemplation of the mind. Abulafia negates from its very start the magical element which was originally attributed to such meditation.

The difference between the Christian and the kabbalistic doctrines of meditation resides in the fact that in Christian mysticism a pictorial and concrete subject, such as the suffering of Christ and all that pertains to it, is given to the meditator, while in Kabbalah, the subject given is abstract and cannot be visualized, such as the Tetragrammaton and its combinations.

Instruction in the methods of meditation were widespread in the works of early kabbalists and these methods continue to be found after the expulsion from Spain among several kabbalists who were influenced by Abulafia. An anonymous disciple of Abulafia has left (in *Sha'arei Ẓedek*, written in 1295) an impressive description of his experiences in the study of this meditation. The works *Berit Menuḥah* (14th century) and *Sullam ha-Aliyyah* by Judah *Albotini, one of the exiles from Spain who settled in Jerusalem, were also written in the same spirit.

The most detailed textbook on meditation into the mystery of the *Sefirot* is *Even ha-Shoham* by Joseph ibn Ṣayah of Damascus, written in Jerusalem in 1538 (Ms. National and University Library, Jerusalem; see G. Scholem, *Kitvei Yad be-Kabbalah* (1930), 90–91). The kabbalists of Safed paid much attention to meditation, as is evident from *Sefer Ḥaredim* (Venice, 1601) of Eleazar *Azikri, from chapter 30 in Moses *Cordovero's *Pardes Rimmonim* (Cracow, 1592), and the *Sha'arei Kedushah* of Ḥayyim *Vital, part 3, chapters 5–8, propounds his doctrine on the subject. Here the magic aspect attached to meditation is once more emphasized, even though the author explains it in a restricted sense. The last steps in the ascension of the meditating mind which seeks to bring down the influx of the supernal lights to earth require meditatory activities of a magic nature, which are known as *Yiḥudim* ("Unifications"). The practical importance of these doctrines, whose influence can be recognized throughout the whole of late kabbalistic literature, should not be underrated. The doctrines of adhesion and meditation in 18th-century Ḥasidism are also definitely based on the form given to them in Safed. This doctrine was not written down in its entirety in the writings of Isaac *Luria's disciples and its major part was preserved orally. In Jerusalem's kabbalistic yeshivah Bet El practical guidance on meditation was handed down orally for about 200 years and the initiates of this form of Kabbalah refused to make the details of their practice public knowledge.

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[Gershom Scholem]

MEDNICK, MARTHA TAMARA SCHUCH (1929–), U.S. psychologist and pioneer in the psychology of women. Mednick was born in New York City to working-class immigrant parents from Eastern Europe. She received B.A. and M.A. degrees from the City College of New York. In 1952 she joined her husband, Sarnoff Mednick, as a graduate student at Northwestern University, receiving a Ph.D. in clinical psychology in 1955. Mednick made a number of moves based on her husband's career, had two daughters, and did some collaborative work with him, first on a personality test and later on a measure of creative thinking. By the time of their divorce in 1964, Mednick was affiliated with the Institute for Social Research at the University of Michigan. Shortly afterward, she became a member of the psychology department at Howard University, was appointed a full professor in 1971, and remained there until her retirement in 1995.

Mednick was very important as a mentor and a pioneer in the psychology of women. In 1972, she co-edited with Sandra Schwartz Tangri a special issue of the *Journal of Social Issues* entitled "New Perspectives on Women," which she later expanded into the book *Women and Achievement* (1975). She helped establish and served as president of the psychology of women division of the American Psychological Association (1976–77) and was also president of the Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues (1980–82). Her research focused on race, class, and sex issues in the psychology of achievement. Many of her studies were published with students from Howard University and a list of these students reads like a *Who's Who* of African American women psychologists. Mednick received the Carolyn Wood Sherif Award from the Division of the Psychology of Women in 1988 for her teaching, mentoring, and scholarship in this field.

Mednick was also important in facilitating contact between American and Israeli feminist psychologists. With Marilyn Safir, a psychologist at the University of Haifa, and Dafna Izraeli, a sociologist on the faculty of Bar-Ilan University, Mednick organized the first international interdisciplinary congress on women held at Haifa University in 1981. The collection of papers from the first conference, entitled *Women's Worlds* (1985), highlighted research by Americans, Jewish Israelis, Palestinian, and Arab women.

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[Rhoda K. Unger (2nd ed.)]

MEDRES, ISRAEL JONAH (1894–1964), Yiddish journalist. Born in Lekhovich (Lyakhovichi), Minsk province, Belorussia, Medres studied at the Lida Yeshivah before immigrating to Montreal. From 1922 to 1964 he was a full-time staff writer for the Montreal daily, *Der Keneder Adler* (*The Jewish Daily Eagle*). His numerous articles (many reprinted in Yiddish publications worldwide) and two books, *Montreal fun Nekhtn* ("Montreal of Yesterday," 1947) and *Tsvishn Tsvey Velt Milkhomes* ("Between Two World Wars," 1964), provide a wealth of information about almost every aspect of Jewish immigrant life in early 20th-century Canada.

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[Vivian Felsen (2nd ed.)]

MEDVED, MICHAEL (1948–), author, radio personality. Medved was born to physicist David Bernard and chemist Renate Medved (née Hirsch) in Philadelphia, Penn. At the age of six, he moved with his family to San Diego, California, where David worked as a defense contractor for Convair. The family later moved to Los Angeles, where Medved attended Palisades High School. Medved began his undergraduate work at Yale University at 16 and graduated with a Bachelor of Arts degree in U.S. history from Yale University in 1969. He attended Yale Law School from 1969 to 1970 and taught at a Hebrew day school in New Haven, Conn. Medved worked as creative director and advertising copywriter for Anrick, Inc. in Oakland, Calif., from 1972 to 1974. Ten years after his graduation from high school, Medved and his fellow Palisades alumna David Wallechinsky interviewed their fellow classmates for the bestseller *What Really Happened to the Class of '65?* (1976). Medved moved to Los Angeles to write NBC's adaptation of his book. In 1978, he co-wrote the book *The 50 Worst Films of All Time* with his brother Harry Medved, which led to the sequels *The Golden Turkey Awards: The Worst Achievements in Hollywood History* (1980), *The Hollywood Hall of Shame: The Most Expensive Flops in Movie History* (1984), and *The Son of Golden Turkey Awards* (1986). In 1979, Medved published *The Shadow Presidents: The Secret History of the Chief Executives and Their Top Aids* (1979). In 1980, Medved dropped his affiliation with the Democratic Party and joined the GOP. Medved became CNN's film critic from 1981 to 1983. He spent a year with a hospital staff and published *Hospital: The Hidden Lives of a Medical Center Staff* (1983), a bestseller that detailed the emotional problems of doctors and nurses. Medved and his second wife, Diane Elvenstar, a clinical psychologist and writer, were active in Pacific Jewish Center, a Traditional Jewish congregation in Venice, Calif., that Medved co-founded to attract unaffiliated Jews. In 1985, Medved served as co-host with Jeffrey Lyons of the Public Broadcasting Service program *Sneak Previews*, a position he held for 12 years. In 1993, Medved became chief film critic for the *New York Post* and Hollywood correspondent for London's *Sunday Times*. Medved's criticism of Hollywood earned him guest spots on the conservative radio program hosted by Rush Limbaugh. Soon after Medved accepted an offer from a Seattle talk radio program to host his own daily three-hour show and moved to Washington state in 1996. By March 1998, Medved was broadcasting nationally to 40 stations, and by October 1999 his show was heard on 100 stations.

[Adam Wills (2nd ed.)]

MEDVEDEV, MIKHAIL (**Meyer Yefimiovich Bernstein**; 1852–1925), tenor. The son of a rabbi, he appeared as a boy *meshorer* and was encouraged by *Shalom Aleichem to study singing. While still a pupil at the Moscow Conservatory, he was chosen by Tchaikovsky and Nicolai Rubinstein for the first performance of the role of Lensky in *Eugene Onegin* (1879). He was a soloist at the Kiev Opera from 1881, at the Bolshoi Theater in Moscow from 1891 to 1892, and then at the Petersburg Imperial Opera. He toured the United States (1898–1900) and taught at Moscow, Kiev, and Saratov. Medvedev was admired both for his voice control and for his dramatic interpretations.

MEDZIBEZH (**Medzhibozh**; Pol. **Miedzyborz**; Yid. **Mezhibezh**), small town in Khmelnitsky district (former Kamenets-Podolski district), Ukraine; until 1793 in Poland and then under Russia, until 1917 in the province of Podolia. Large fairs were held there which attracted many Jewish merchants. The Jewish community of Medzibezh is one of the oldest in the Ukraine – Jews are mentioned there in 1518 – and until the *Chmielnicki persecutions of 1648 one of the largest in Podolia. During the first half of the 17th century, Joel *Sirkes officiated as rabbi. The community suffered severely at the hands of the Cossacks in 1651, 1664, and again at the beginning of the 18th century. In 1765 there were 2,039 Jews registered in the community of Medzibezh and the nearby villages. The founder of Ḥasidism, *Israel b. Eliezer Ba'al Shem Tov, made the town his seat from about 1740 until his death in 1760 and was buried there. The *ẓaddikim* *Baruch b. Jehiel, Israel's grandson, and R. *Abraham Joshua Heschel of Apta also lived and were buried there. From 1815 to 1827 a printing press published ḥasidic and kabbalistic works in Medzibezh. From 1,719 in 1847 the number of Jews grew to 6,040 (73.9% of the total population) in 1897, then fell to 4,614 (58.2%) in 1926. In the 1920s there existed a Jewish Council, a Yiddish newspaper was published, and a Jewish kolkhoz was founded. In 1939 the number of Jewish population dropped to 2,347 (52% of the total population). The town was occupied by the Germans on July 8, 1941. Later a ghetto was established, and on September 22, 1942 (Yom Kippur), 2,588 Jews were murdered by the Germans and Ukrainians. The murders continued until October 31, when the last Jews were killed.

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[Yehuda Slutsky / Shmuel Spector (2nd ed.)]

MEED, BENJAMIN (1918–), leader of Holocaust survivors in the United States. Meed was born Benjamin Miedzyrzecki in Warsaw, Poland, and at the age of 16, he joined the Jewish Labor Bund. After the creation of the Warsaw Ghetto, he obtained false papers and escaped to the Aryan side where he lived posing as a Pole. His parents survived hiding in a hut on an old cemetery. At one point Meed intended to go to the Hotel Polski for its promise of emigration but his brother pleaded with him to take his place. Meed consented and his brother was never heard from again. Around this time, he married Feyge (Vladka) Peltel (see *Meed, Vladka), also a member of the Bund and an important courier and arms purchaser for the resistance. After the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising, he continued to work with the Bund helping provide hiding spaces for other Jews.

The couple immigrated to the United States in 1946, where Meed became a businessman and importer. In 1966, he helped form and became president of the Warsaw Ghetto Resistance Organization (WAGRO) and devoted the remaining years of his life to representing the survivors. He organized the annual Yom Hashoah ceremony in New York City, the largest such gathering in the United States, that brought American presidents and Israeli prime ministers to Temple Emmau El. When the survivors wanted to organize their first gathering in Jerusalem in 1981, Meed helped organize the *American Gathering of Jewish Holocaust Survivors, which brought together nearly 5,000 survivors and their children. Meed also pioneered the Registry of Holocaust Survivors, which facilitated the reunion between survivors long thought to be lost to each other. The Registry now contains more than 100,000 entries organized by name – original and maiden as well as current – city of birth, camps of incarceration, and cities of postwar habitation.

In 1983 a gathering was held in Washington, DC, where 20,000 survivors assembled. Meed hosted President Ronald Reagan, Vice President George H.W. Bush, and the Senate and House leaders, who addressed the survivors in front of the Capitol and on the National Mall. Subsequent gatherings were in Philadelphia, New York, and Miami, and again in Washington, to celebrate the 10th anniversary of the *United States Holocaust Memorial Museum. Meed was instrumental in creating the Museum; first serving on the Advisory Council of the President's Commission on the Holocaust and later on the United States Holocaust Memorial Council where he chaired the Days of Remembrance Committee and the pivotal Content Committee that assured the presence and participation of Holocaust survivors, most especially after Elie Wiesel resigned as chairman in 1986. His role became more central as there was fear that without Wiesel the *neshamah*, the soul, of the Museum, would flounder. Under Meed's leadership, the Committee brought together scholars and survivors, communal leaders and Council members to assure the intellectual, aesthetic, historical, and spiritual content of the Permanent Exhibition.

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[Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

MEED, VLADKA (1921–), World War II resistance fighter and educator. Born Feyge Pelte in Praga (Warsaw district), Poland, she joined the youth arm of the Jewish Labor Bund at age 14 and was thereafter active in its activities through the time of the creation of the Warsaw Ghetto. She then joined the ZOB (Jewish Fighting Organization) when it was formed after the great deportations of the summer of 1942, when more than 265,000 Jews were shipped from Warsaw to Treblinka. Because of her flawless Polish and red hair, Meed could pass as non-Jewish. She worked as a courier, smuggling arms into the ghetto and helping children escape out of it.

Meed's mother and brother were among those who were deported. She recalled: "There was very little left to fear … I was depressed and apathetic." However, despair gave way to fierce determination after she heard Abrasha Blum, a member of the Jewish Coordinating Committee that sought to unite the diverse political factions of the ghetto, give a rousing speech calling for armed resistance. As a courier she used the name Vladka, a name she kept even in freedom. Among her most important missions was to smuggle a map of the death camp of Treblinka out of the ghetto in the hope that solid information about the killing would spur a serious response in the West. She brought dynamite into the ghetto, which required not only courage, but also money to "grease" the path in and out. After the Ghetto Uprising she continued supplying money and papers for Jews in hiding.

In her writings she alludes to the loneliness and pressure of her double life only in passing: "You can be my friend," she said to Benjamin Miedzyrzecki (Meed), who was also passing as an Aryan and who would later become her husband, "because if I don't come back, I want someone to care that I am missing." She married Benjamin Meed in 1943 and was the only member of her family to survive the Shoah.

Immediately upon arrival in the United States in 1946, Meed traveled extensively as a living eyewitness to the Uprising. In 1948 she published "On Both Sides of the Wall," in Yiddish, one of the earliest accounts of the Ghetto Uprising and still one of the most compelling.

When her husband, Benjamin Meed, assumed leadership of the survivor community, Vladka Meed organized a teacher training program, co-sponsored by the *Jewish Labor Committee and the *American Gathering of Jewish Holocaust Survivors, one of the earliest such programs that took American teachers from the public school system and brought them to Poland and Israel to experience a Seminar on the Holocaust and Resistance. For almost 20 years, she unfailingly led the mission, which was suspended during the Intifada and resumed in 2005. Meed helped produce a dedicated and informed cadre of teachers throughout the United States. Central to this program were the direct testimonies of survivors, none more impressive than Vladka Meed's.

[Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

MEEROVITCH, MENACHÉ (1860–1949), member of *Bilu and one of the key figures in Jewish settlement in Ereẓ Israel.

Born in Nikolayev, south Russia, Meerovitch graduated from a government institute as an agronomist. After the 1881 pogroms in south Russia, he participated in the establishment of the first *Ḥibbat Zion association in Warsaw and joined the Bilu society. At the end of 1882 he went to Constantinople and took part in the activities of Bilu's political bureau, which was trying to obtain Turkish consent to Jewish agricultural settlement in Ereẓ Israel. He then joined his comrades at *Rishon le-Zion and was active in the settlement's public life.

Meerovitch, who used the pen name Mi-Ziknei ha-Yishuv, wrote letters and articles on life in Ereẓ Israel that were published in the Russian Jewish press, the Yiddish- and German-language Zionist press, and Hebrew papers. He was one of the first to discuss practical agricultural problems and, in 1893/94, edited the first agricultural paper in the country, *Ha-Ikkar* ("The Farmer"). In his Russian book *Opisaniye Yevreyskikh Koloniy v Palestine* ("A Description of the Jewish Settlements in Palestine," 1900), he summarized the achievements of Ereẓ Israel agriculture in its first 25 years.

Meerovitch was active in the work of the Ḥibbat Zion association in Jaffa and headed it from 1903 to 1904. He was among the founders of Aguddat ha-Koremim (Vintners Association) in 1903 and of the Judean Settlement Association in 1913. During World War I he participated in the Jewish community's representative body to the Turkish authorities. From 1918 to 1920 Meerovitch was a member of the Va'ad Le'ummi. His articles and memoirs are of great importance to the historian of Jewish settlement in Ereẓ Israel. Some were collected in book form during his later years: *Ḥevlei Teḥiyyah* ("Pangs of Resurrection," 1930); *Me-ha-Shevil el ha-Derekh* ("From the Path to the Road," 1935, with an annotated list including an index of his articles); *Minḥat Erev* ("Evening Rest," 1940); *Mi-Bilu ad va-Ya'apilu* ("From Bilu to Immigration," 1947). The moshav Talmei Menasheh in the Coastal Plain is named after him.

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[Yehuda Slutsky]

°**MEGASTHENES** (c. 350–290 B.C.E.), ambassador of Seleucus Nicator at the court of the Indian king, Chandragupta. Megasthenes wrote a work on India idealizing the Indians. He apparently included in this work idealized descriptions of the Jews, whom he probably knew firsthand while at the court of Seleucus, to judge from his statement that both the Jews and Brahmans had already taught everything concerning nature that was taught by the ancient Greek philosophers.

MEGGED, AHARON (1920–), Israeli writer. Born in Wloclavek, Poland, his family immigrated to Palestine in 1926. He joined kibbutz Sedot Yam and worked at the port of Haifa. Megged left the kibbutz in 1950 and settled in Tel Aviv where he edited the journal *Ba-Sha'ar*. Together with a number of friends, he founded the biweekly literary magazine *Massa*, which became the weekly literary supplement of the daily *La-Merḥav*. From 1960 to 1971 he served as Israel's cultural attaché in London.

In his prose, which often has strong autobiographical elements, Megged moved from the realism of his early works to surrealism and back to realism. His first short story collection, *Ru'aḥ Yamim* ("Sea Winds," 1950), was inspired by life in Sedot Yam. *Ḥedvah va-Ani* ("Ḥedvah and I," 1964), a realistic novel, tells of the misfortunes of a kibbutz member who had to leave the kibbutz, much against his will, at the insistence of his wife. The protagonist is the first example of Megged's antihero, so typical of his later writings. Lonely, tortured by thoughts of his shortcomings, fearing above all ridicule and abasement, the antihero is always the outsider in an otherwise congenial and united society. In *Mikreh ha-Kesil* (1960; *Fortunes of a Fool*, 1962), he is the only "good man" who fails to join the "society of the wicked." Megged's most ambitious work, the novel *Ha-Ḥai al-ha-Met* (1965; *The Living on the Dead*, 1970), describes in unflattering terms modern Israeli society, and makes the accusation that the great expectations of the first pioneers have not been fulfilled by their successors. One of the most prolific and popular Hebrew writers, Megged mirrors the changes in Israeli society, highlighting moral standards and appealing for tolerance. *Masa be-Av* ("A Journey in the Month of Av," 1980) reflects on the Yom Kippur War and its repercussions; *Ga'agu'im le-Olga* ("Longings for Olga," 1994) depicts the unique relationship between a clerk with literary ambitions and a young Russian woman who becomes his muse; while *Dudaim mi ha-Areẓ ha-Kedoshah* ("Love-Flowers from the Holy Land," 1998) is the story of Beatrice, a devout Protestant who arrives in Palestine in 1906 in order to paint pictures of flowers mentioned in the Bible and gets entangled in local Arab-Jewish affairs. In *Foygelman* (1987; *Foigelman*, 2003), Megged portrays the fate of a Yiddish poet who hopes to find a new home and a sympathetic readership in Israel and encounters instead a total lack of interest in Yiddish as well as in the Diaspora past. Some of Megged's novels deal with authors and writing, describing with a fine sense of humor, often satirically, the literary milieu. Thus, for instance, the novel *Ha-Gamal ha-Me'ofef ve-Dabbeshet ha-Zahav* ("The Flying Camel and the Golden Hump," 1982; German translation, 1991) which focuses on the animosity between an Israeli writer and his neighbor, a literary critic, or *Nikmat Yotam* ("Yotam's Vengeance," 2003), which tells the story of a frustrated translator of Greek classics into Hebrew. Like many of Megged's novels, *Yarḥei ha-Devash shel Profesor Lunẓ* ("The Honeymoons of Professor Lunz," 2004) is a satire on Israeli society, relating the story of a bizarre marriage between an aged scholar of ancient Eastern studies and his second wife, Ayala, a student 50 years his junior.

Megged, a member of the Academy of Hebrew Language, was president of the Israel Center of PEN (1980–87). He received the Bialik Prize, the Brenner Prize, and the Agnon Prize and in 2003 was honored with the Israel Prize for literature. His stories and novels have been translated into several languages and his plays, including *Genesis, Hannah Szenes*, and the comedy *I Like Mike*, have been produced in Israel and abroad. "Tears" is included in G. Abramson (ed.), *The Oxford Book of Hebrew Short Stories* (1996); "Hannah Senesh" in M. Taub (ed.), *Israeli Holocaust Drama* (1996); "The Name" in G. Ramras-Rauch and Y. Michman-Melkman (eds.), *Facing the Holocaust* (1985); "The First Sin," in H.S. Joseph, *Modern Israeli Drama* (1983). A list of his works translated into English appears in Goell, Bibliography, and further information is available at the ITHL website at www.ithl.org.il.

His brother MATTI (Matityahu) MEGGED (1923–2003), poet and literary critic, wrote a number of works that made their mark on the modern Hebrew literary scene. *Ha-Migdal ha-Lavan* (stories, 1949) and *Or ha-Soreg* (novel, 1953) are among his best-known fictional works; *Ha-Drama ha-Modernit* (1966), a collection of essays on drama, and *Dostoevski, Kafka, Beckett* are critical works. He lectured on Hebrew literature at the University of Haifa.

Aharon Megged's wife, EDA ZORITTE-MEGGED (1926–), began publishing essays in 1955. She published her first novel, *Periḥah Afelah* ("Somber Blossoming"), in 1969. Four novels followed, including a novel about Herzl's wife (*Ishto ha-Menudah*, 1997; German translation, 2001) and *Ahavat Ḥayyim* (2000). Zoritte also wrote a monograph on Nathan Alterman (1973), and biographies of the poets Amir Gilboa and Avot Yeshurun.

Aharon Megged's son EYAL MEGGED (1948–), poet and novelist, was born in New York and grew up in Tel Aviv. He studied philosophy and art history and published his first collection of poems in 1972. This was followed by further poems, stories, and five novels, including *Barbarossa* (1973), *Ḥesed Ne'urayikh* ("Early Grace," 1999; German, 2005), and *Ḥayyei Olam* ("Everlasting Life," 2001).

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[Gitta (Askenazy) Avinor / Anat Feinberg (2nd ed.)]

MEGIDDO (Heb. מְגִדּוֹ), ancient Canaanite and Israelite city, identified with Tell al-Mutasallim on the southern side of the Jezreel Valley, approximately 22 mi. (35 km.) S.E. of Haifa. The site was excavated in 1903–05 by G. Schumacher and in 1925–39 by the Oriental Institute in Chicago, under the direction of C.S. Fisher, P.L.O. Guy, and G. Loud. Small additional soundings were made by Y. Yadin in 1960 and later years. A Tel Aviv University-led expedition under the direction of I. Finkelstein and D. Ussishkin renewed the excavations in 1992. The excavations revealed the existence of over 20 levels, beginning with the Neolithic and Chalcolithic periods. In the Early Bronze Age the first temples were built, as well as a round high-place and a wall, 26 ft. (8 m.) thick. The temples consist of a monumental temple with long corridors, dating to the Early Bronze I (c. 3000 B.C.E.), and three later temples, of the megaron type, dating to the Early Bronze Age III, in the second half of the third millennium B.C.E. The Middle Bronze Age city was surrounded by a strong system of earthworks – embankment and glacis. The construction of the great "Migdal" temple in the cultic compound may also date to this period. A statue of an Egyptian official called Thuthotep, which was found in the excavations, was interpreted by some scholars as indicating that an Egyptian governor probably resided there at that time. The transition from the Middle to the Late Bronze was seemingly peaceful. In approximately 1469 B.C.E. Pharaoh Thutmosis III appeared before the walls of Megiddo, after passing through the Aruna Valley giving the city access to the coast. He overcame a coalition of Canaanite city-states and captured the city after a siege of seven months. From then until Stratum VII the city remained under Egyptian sovereignty. In the el-Amarna period, the king of Megiddo, Biridiya, was hard pressed by the Apiru and Labayu of Shechem (EA, 242–5). The Late Bronze Age city witnessed the erection of an elaborate palace as well as continuity in the "Migdal" temple. A hoard of ivories found in the palace reveals Egyptian, Hittite, Aegean, and local cultural influences. A cuneiform tablet which dates to this period contains a fragment of the Gilgamesh epic. Late Bronze Megiddo also yielded inscriptions from the days of Ramses III and Ramses VI, meaning that it was not destroyed until the second half of the 12th century B.C.E. Dramatic evidence for the destruction of this city was found in the palace and the nearby gate. The next city, Stratum VI (late 11th and early 10th centuries B.C.E.), had many features similar to that of the previous one. Its material culture continued late second-millennium traditions. This city too was destroyed in a fierce conflagration.

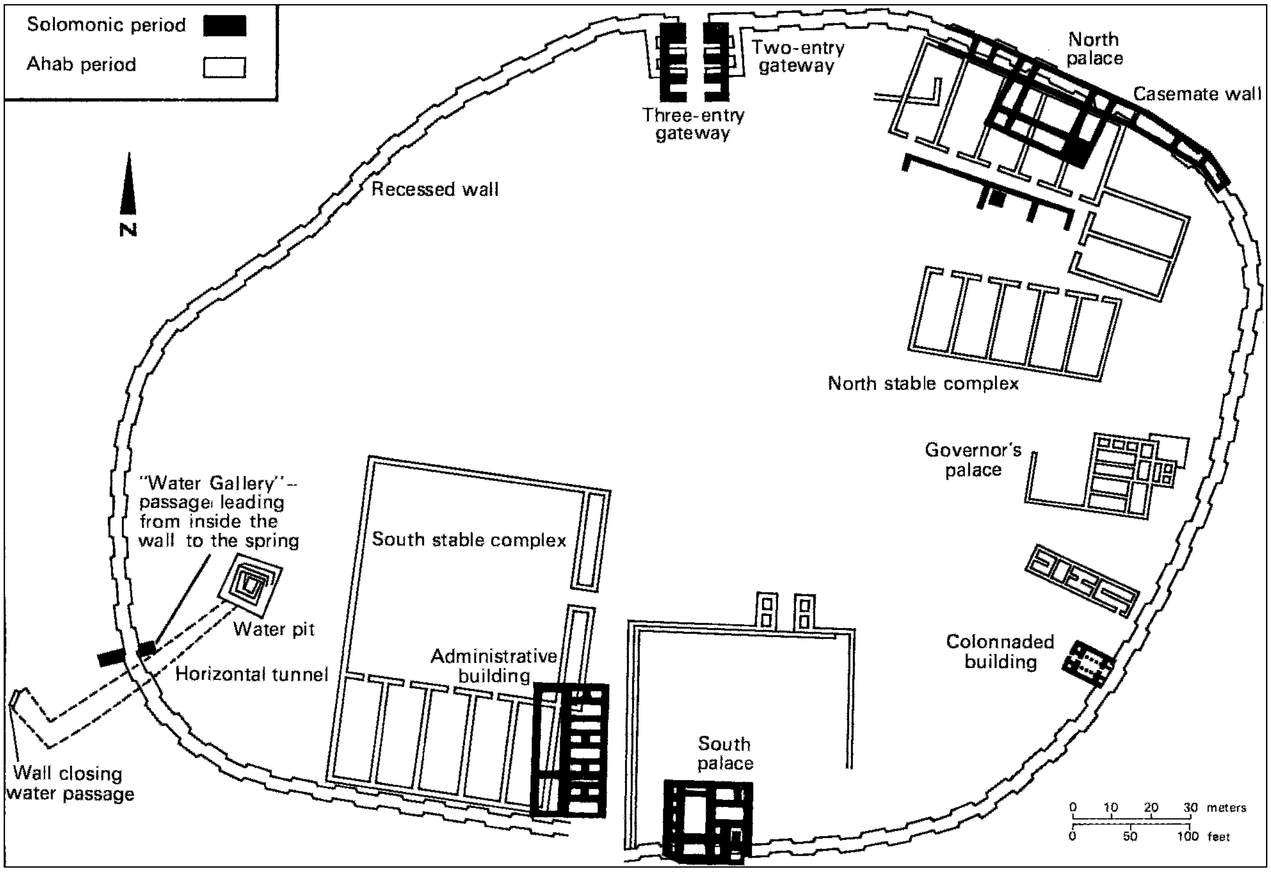
Solomonic period ■
Ahab period □
N
Two-entry gateway
Three-entry gateway
North palace
Casemate wall
Recessed wall
North stable complex
Governor's palace
"Water Gallery"– passage leading from inside the wall to the spring
South stable complex
Water pit
Horizontal tunnel
Administrative building
Colonnaded building
Wall closing water passage
South palace
0 10 20 30 meters
0 50 100 feet

Plan of Megiddo in the time of Solomon and Ahab (tenth-ninth century B.C.E.). Based on Encyclopedia of Archeological Excavations in the Holy Land, *Jerusalem, 1970.*

According to biblical tradition, Megiddo did not fall to Joshua, although its king was defeated (Josh. 12:21; cf. Josh. 17:11–13; Judg. 1:27–28). Solomon built the city (I Kings 9:15) and included it in his fifth district (I Kings 4:12). According to archaeologist Yigael Yadin, the Iron Age gate with three guardrooms is identical in plan with the gates at Hazor and Gezer and therefore should be related to the biblical testimony on the building activities of King Solomon. Two palaces built of well-hewn ashlar masonry and probably adorned with proto-Aeolic capitals were also associated by Yadin with King Solomon. Other scholars date the Megiddo gate to the ninth or eighth century and the two palaces to the ninth century. According to this view they should be associated with the Northern Kingdom of Israel. The next city at Megiddo was largely occupied by two units of five rectangular stables and one unit of two stables, with feeding troughs between pillars and a supposed capacity of 450 horses. Yadin attributes these stables to the time of King Ahab, who rallied 2,000 chariots against Shalmaneser III at the Battle of Karkar. Other scholars date them to the days of Jeroboam II, in the first half of the eighth century. A rock-cut water installation, probably built in the days of this city, consists of a shaft 81 ft. (25 m.) deep, with stairs leading to a horizontal tunnel 224 ft. (70 m.) long and to a spring in the slope of the hill, which was thus connected with the city inside the walls. The Israelite city perished in 732 B.C.E. with the conquest of Tiglath Pileser III. The Assyrian king made Megiddo the capital of a province, which included Galilee and the Jezreel Valley. Stratum III features the remains of the Assyrian city. It was rebuilt on a uniform plan, with two large public buildings in the Assyrian style. Stratum II probably dates to the second half of the seventh century B.C.E. King Josiah of Judah was killed by Pharaoh Necho at Megiddo. To this event can be attributed the association of war with the Megiddo Valley in Zechariah 12:11 and with *Armageddon in Revelation 16:16. The last settlement at Megiddo was a small city of the Persian period. Field Marshal *Allenby defeated the Turks at Megiddo in 1918. On his visit to Israel in 1964 Pope Paul VI was received by President Shazar at Tell Megiddo. In 2005 Megiddo was registered as a World Heritage Site.

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[Michael Avi-Yonah / Israel Finkelstein
and David Ussishkin (2nd ed.)]

MEGILLAH (Heb. מְגִלָּה; "scroll"), designation of each of the five scrolls of the Bible (*Ruth, *Song of Songs, *Lamentations, *Ecclesiastes, *Esther). When the scroll is not specifically named, the term *Megillah* most commonly refers to the scroll of Esther which is read on *Purim.

See Scroll of *Esther; *Scrolls, Five.

MEGILLAH ("Scroll"), tenth tractate in the order *Mo'ed*, in the Mishnah, Tosefta, and Babylonian and Jerusalem Talmuds. *Megillah*, in four chapters, deals with liturgical readings from the Bible, especially with the reading of the *Scroll of Esther on *Purim to which the word *megillah* particularly refers, and with related subjects. The regulations concerning the reading of the Scroll of Esther on Purim are largely dealt with in the first two chapters of the tractate. Chapter 1 is primarily concerned with determining on which day of Adar the *megillah* is to be read, there being a difference between walled cities on the one hand and open towns and villages on the other. Only the first half of this chapter (*mishnayot* 1–4) deals with the *megillah*, while the remainder (5–11) is a collection of various *halakhot*, which were included because they are all introduced by the same formula ("The only difference between A and B is …"). According to J.N. Epstein (Tanna'im, 257) this group belongs to the Mishnah of R. Akiva (Tosef. 1:7–21, gives a similar but longer group of such *halakhot*). Chapter 2 first discusses the appropriate way of reading the *megillah*, e.g., whether reciting by heart and reading in a language other than Hebrew are valid. It goes on to deal with the technicalities of writing a *megillah* to be used for public reading, e.g., whether it must be written on parchment, or whether paper may be used. Among other questions discussed is the qualification of the reader, and whether women or minors are fit to read it. There is also much extraneous matter in this chapter. Chapter 3 starts with a discussion on the sanctity of the synagogue and its appurtenances, but its main contents are the public readings from the Pentateuch and *haftarah*. Chapter 4 continues with the main subject but deals with other liturgical questions (e.g., public reading of the *Shema*, priestly blessings, etc.). The sequence of the chapters as set out above is the one found in current editions of the Mishnah, Jerusalem Talmud, and Tosefta, but in the Babylonian Talmud the order of the last two chapters is reversed. The reason is that since the first Mishnah of chapter 4 opens with the words "He who reads the *megillah*," it was thought appropriate that this chapter follow the first two, which deal mainly with the *megillah*.

Various strata can be detected in the Mishnah. In addition to the above-mentioned groups from the Mishnah of R. Akiva, R. Johanan attributes Mishnah 1:1 to Akiva (Meg. 2a). According to Epstein, Mishnah 2:6 belongs to Eleazar b. Simeon (cf. Men. 72a), Mishnah 3:1 is from the *mishnayot* of Menahem b. Yose, and Mishnah 3:6 from that of Judah b. Ilai; according to the *Gemara* (9b) the second part of 1:9 is Meir's, while its first part is of unknown origin. The order of the paragraphs in the Tosefta to *Megillah* usually corresponds to that in the Mishnah. It includes a vivid description of gatherings in Jerusalem for the performance of *mitzvot* (4 (3):15). There is a great deal of *aggadah* in the Babylonian Talmud. Deserving of particular mention are geographical notes (5b–6b), the observations on the origin of the Targums (3a) and of the Septuagint (8b–9b), the extensive aggadic Midrash to Esther, which is practically a complete Midrash to the Book of Esther (10a–17a), and the arrangement of the **Amidah* (17b–18a). Of linguistic interest is the reference to the confusion of the letter *alef* with *ayin* in certain places, and the problem of correct pronunciation of the letters *he* and *ḥet*. There is less aggadic material in the Jerusalem Talmud than in the Babylonian. Unlike the latter, the Jerusalem Talmud does not give any *aggadot* about the story of Purim. It does, however, deal with the problem of the inclusion of the Book of Esther in the canon (1:7, 70d), and also has lengthy discussions on the laws of writing Torah scrolls and on the divine names (1:11, 71b–72a). It also gives the list of dates included in **Megillat Ta'anit* (1:6, 70c).

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[Arnost Zvi Ehrman]

MEGILLAT SETARIM (Heb. מְגִלַּת סְתָרִים; lit. "concealed scroll"). On two occasions (Shab. 6b; BM 92a), *Rav mentions that he found a *Megillat Setarim* in the academy of R. Ḥiyya containing laws in the name of Isi b. Judah. The first is that there are 39 principal categories of work (*avot melakhah*) forbidden on the Sabbath, but culpability is incurred only on account of one (this is the actual statement quoted, although the Talmud finds it inconceivable and emends it to "there is one for which culpability is not incurred"). In the second he states that the law in Deuteronomy 23:25, "When thou comest into thy neighbor's vineyard, then thou mayest eat grapes until thou have enough at thine own pleasure," applies to anyone entering the vineyard, and not only to a laborer employed there, on which Rava commented, "Isi would make it impossible to live," since a man would soon have his vineyard stripped, and there also the statement is then qualified as a result.

Rashi (ad. loc.) explains that the scroll was concealed because it was forbidden in general to commit the Oral Law to writing but since these laws were not generally taught, they were written down to save them from oblivion. I.H. Weiss is of the opinion that they contained views which Judah ha-Nasi rejected, and they were kept concealed out of respect for him, but this view is most improbable. All the *beraitot* were excluded from the Mishnah, and they contained many views that he had rejected, yet there is no suggestion that they were suppressed. Kaplan maintains that these scrolls were kept concealed because their contents were unsuitable for publication, and in addition he suggests that "concealed" means that they were written in a cryptic manner to conceal their meaning. However, there is nothing particularly cryptic in the language of the passages quoted. Nevertheless, it certainly would have been dangerous to make these laws widely known, and that would also explain why these are the only laws mentioned.

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[Harry Freedman]

MEGILLAT TA'ANIT (Heb. lit. "scroll of fasting" but see below), a list of 36 days on which there were significant victories and happy events in the history of the Jews during the Second Temple, as a result of which the rabbis forbade fasting on them, as well as, in some cases, the delivery of memorial addresses for the dead (*hespedim*). The title should therefore be taken as meaning "the scroll of (the days of prohibited) fasting." The work received its present form close to the time of the destruction of the Second Temple or at the latest during the Bar Kokhba era. It is written in Aramaic and with extreme brevity. According to a tannaitic source (Shab. 13b), it was compiled by "Hananiah b. Hezekiah (b. Garon) and his company," but the appendix to the *megillah* gives the author as Eliezer, the son of this Hananiah, one of the leading rebels against the Romans (Jos., Wars, 2:409). S. Zeitlin regards it as a literary remnant of the rebel party. If this is accepted, the purpose of the list of victories was to strengthen the spirit of heroism and faith in the success of the revolt. The value of the *megillah* for historical research lies in the parallels it provides to the facts and dates mentioned in Josephus. In the period following the conclusion of the Talmud a scholium was appended to the *megillah*, written in mishnaic Hebrew and based upon the Hebrew original of I Maccabees, the talmudic literature, and various oral traditions unknown from any other source. The historical value of this appendix is limited. In the course of time copyists and editors added notes and explanations, taken in particular from the Babylonian Talmud, so that two versions evolved, a Sephardi and an Italian.

The dates included in the *megillah* from before the Hasmonean era are the second Passover (14th Iyar) and Purim. Those from the Hasmonean era are the 23rd of Iyyar when the defenders of the *Acra left Jerusalem, an event mentioned in I Maccabees 13:49–53; the 14th of Sivan, "the seizure of the citadel Zur," identified by Graetz with Beth-Zur conquered by Simeon the Hasmonean (see I Macc. 11:65–66; 14:33); the 15th and 16th of Sivan, in memory of the conquest of Beth-Shean and the valley (of Jezreel) by the sons of John Hyrcanus (see Jos., Ant., 13:280; Jos., Wars, 1:66); the 23rd of Marḥeshvan when they removed the *soreg* from the Temple (according to the appendix, it meant a place "which the gentiles built, on which they stationed harlots"); the 25th of Marḥeshvan, in memory of the capture of Samaria by John Hyrcanus and his sons (see Jos., Wars, 1:64; Jos., Ant., 13:275–81); the 21st of Kislev, "the day of Mt. Gerizim," in memory of the destruction of the Samaritan temple by John Hyrcanus (see Jos., Ant., 13:255/6); the 25th of Kislev, Ḥanukkah, for which festival the appendix mentions several reasons, including that when the Hasmoneans were victorious and found all the temple vessels ritually unclean, "they brought seven iron spits, covered them with white metal, and commenced the lighting"; the 28th of Shevat, when King Antiochus was driven out of Jerusalem (according to the appendix, the reference is to Antiochus IV (Epiphanes), but it is probable that it actually refers to Antiochus VII (Sidetes) of the time of John Hyrcanus; see Jos., Ant., 13:245); and the 13th of Adar, the day of Nicanor, in memory of the defeat of this Syrian commander (see I Macc. 7 and II Macc. 15). The dates from the period of Roman rule over Judea include the third of Kislev, when the "emblems" (the images of the Emperor) were removed from the Temple court, apparently in the time of Pontius Pilate (see Jos., Wars, 2:169), and the 22nd of Shevat, when the edict of Gaius Caligula ordering the erection of a statue of him in the Temple was rescinded (see Jos., Wars, 2:195–203). From the period of the Jewish war with Rome are the 25th of Sivan, when the tax collectors were removed from Judea and Jerusalem, apparently a reference to the suspension of the tax payment to the emperor in 66 C.E., a matter mentioned in the long speech of King Agrippa (Wars, 2:345–401); and the 17th of Elul, when the Romans departed from Jerusalem, although it is not known to what incident this refers.

A number of dates appear to allude to victories of the Pharisees over the Sadducees, but the details are not clear, and apart from two days, the 12th of Adar, "the day of Trajan," which some connect with the emperor Trajan, and the 28th of Adar, which the appendix attributes to the abrogation of Hadrian's edicts, the *megillah* contains no events after 67 C.E. These memorial days were observed until the third century, but later "*Megillat Ta'anit* was rescinded" (TJ, Ta'an. 2:13, 66a; RH 18b). A 13th-century manuscript of the work is extant in the Palatine library in Parma (De Rossi collection no. 117). *Megillat Ta'anit* was first published in Mantua in 1513. A critical edition, with an introduction and commentary, was published by H. Lichtenstein (see bibl.). A new critical edition, *Megillat Ta'anit – Version, Interpretation, History*, was published by Vered Noam in 2003.

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[Nahum N. Glatzer]

MEGILLAT YUḤASIN (Heb. מְגִלַּת יֻחֲסִין; "genealogical scroll"), a work mentioned by *tannaim* and *amoraim* as having been found in Jerusalem and containing genealogical information on traditions of importance in *halakhah* and in *aggadah*. Simeon b. Azzai (the *tanna* living at the beginning of the second century C.E.) relates that he found a *Megillat Yuḥasin* "in Jerusalem in which was written: so and so is a **mamzer* from a married woman" (Mishnah Yev. 4:13). A *baraita* in the Babylonian Talmud (Yev. 49b) adds in his name that this *Megillat Yuḥasin* also included the following two traditions: "the Mishnah [teaching] of Eliezer b. Jacob is little but well sifted; [King] Manasseh killed [the prophet] Isaiah" (Yev. 49b). Similarly Levi (the *amora* of the end of the third century) states that he found in the *Megillat Yuḥasin* in Jerusalem details of the family origin of Hillel, Yose, Nehemiah, Ḥiyya, Yannai, and others (TJ, Ta'an. 4:2, 68a; Gen. R. 98:10; ed. Theodor-Albeck, 1259). Josephus too (Apion, 1:30ff.) testifies to the existence of genealogical documents in Israel, particularly of priestly families. According to him, the priests in Egypt and in Babylon notified the center in Jerusalem of details of their marriages and of the patriarchal families into which they married. The Talmud (Pes. 62b) also mentions a "*Sefer Yuḥasin,*" but it does not appear to have any connection with the aforementioned *Megillat Yuḥasin*. It is difficult to determine its exact nature from the data given in the Talmud, but it seems to have been a kind of Midrash or *baraita* to the Book of Chronicles. According to Rashi (Pes. 62b), the work contained "reasons for the Laws of the Torah," but from a statement of *Amram Gaon (*Oẓar ha-Ge'onim* to Pes., p. 80, no. 190) it seems that the work served as a commentary and supplement to the genealogical lists in the biblical books. The Talmud there states that Simlai requested Johanan to teach him *Sefer Yuḥasin* but the latter refused to accede to his request. It also states in the name of Rav that from the time the *Sefer Yuḥasin* was concealed the sages became weak and their vision was dimmed.

[Yitzhak Dov Gilat]

MEḤILAH (Heb. מְחִילָה; "waiver"), the renunciation, repudiation, abandonment, or surrender of some claim, right, or privilege. *Meḥilah* may be the waiver of a present right or *lien or the waiver of the right to a future increment; in the latter case, it is usually referred to as *silluk* (TJ, Ket. 9:1, 32d; Ket. 83a).

Range of Applicability

Meḥilah cancels any debt, lien, or *obligation regardless of origin. Thus, debts arising out of *loans, *sale, *leasing and hiring, *labor, *partnership, and *surety; liens on *property put up as collateral; obligations originating in *contract or *tort – all are effectively cancelled by *meḥilah* on the part of the creditor. Nor is the effectiveness of *meḥilah* curtailed by the form of the obligation; it applies with equal vigor whether the obligation is an oral or written one, whether it is attested to by witnesses or not (Gulak, Yesodei, 2 (1922), 111–4, 162f.).

Silluk, i.e., the waiving of future accretions, however, is only of limited effectiveness. This is due to the general reluctance of Jewish law to grant effective control over things that have as yet not come into existence (*davar she-lo ba la-olam*; see *Contract). Thus, if, on the one hand, a person possesses a present right, claim, or lien, *silluk* cannot dissolve it; only *meḥilah* can do so. If, on the other hand, the future right, claim, or lien is so remote as to have no specific relationship to this particular person, his *silluk* is equally ineffective since it pertains to *davar she-lo ba la-olam*. However, if the future right, claim, or lien, although not in existence, has by the operation of circumstances at least achieved a likelihood of accruing to a specific person, then his *silluk* is effective. Thus, the ability of a man to waive the rights of usufruct in his wife's property depends upon the status of his relationship with her; if he has already married her (*nissu'in*), his claim on her usufruct is a present one; hence his waiver must be in the form of *meḥilah*, and his *silluk* is no longer effective. If he has not entered into the first stage of *marriage (*erusin*), the usufruct in her property has as yet not come into existence (it is a *davar she-lo ba la-olam*); hence it is sufficiently remote as to vitiate the effectiveness of either form of waiver, that of *meḥilah* and that of *silluk*. If, however, he has entered into the first stage of marriage (*erusin*) but has not yet consummated the marriage (*nissu'in*), the right of usufruct, although not yet in existence, has achieved sufficient likelihood of accruing to him as to have endowed him with the power, not of *meḥilah*, but of *silluk* (Ket. 83a–84a, and codes).

The effectiveness of *silluk* with regard to obligations (i.e., rabbinic origin; see **Mishpat Ivri*) that have as yet not come into existence is undisputed among the early authorities (**rishonim*; see *Authority, Rabbinical). Its effectiveness with regard to obligations which are *mi-de-oraita* (i.e., biblical origin; see **Mishpat Ivri*) that have as yet not come into existence presented these scholars with two major difficulties:

(1) it is an established rule of law that conditions contrary to biblical law are void (BM 7:11).

(2) The Talmud rules that biblical rights of succession, which are *mi-de-oraita*, such as those of a son to inherit his father's estate (in contradistinction to the right of a husband to inherit his wife, which is *mi-de-rabbanan*), cannot be waived (cf. Ket. 83a). The first difficulty was overcome by the limitation of the rule to non-monetary conditions on the one hand, and by the limitation of the power of waiver to monetary obligations on the other. The second limitation was overcome by construing *mi-de-oraita* rights of inheritance as being unique in that they inhere in the heirs even before the death of the owner of the estate; hence *silluk*, as the waiver of future rights, is impossible (*Keẓot ha-Ḥoshen* 209 n. 11).

Waiver is limited to rights; it is ineffective as a mode of transfer of real property or of chattel (*Rema*, ḤM 241:2).

Legal Analysis

It has been pointed out that in the realm of rights, where it is effective, waiver does not constitute a transfer; rather it is mere withdrawal. A creditor who waives his claim does not transfer his right to the debtor and thereby extinguish the claim; on the contrary, he withdraws his right or removes his lien from the debtor and his estate. The effectiveness of *meḥilah*, therefore, is independent of the wishes of the debtor. Thus, if a creditor waives the debt due to him and the debtor refuses to avail himself of the waiver, the waiver nevertheless takes effect. Had *meḥilah* been viewed as a kind of transfer, it would have failed to take effect inasmuch as the debtor, as transferee, had declined (cf. Herzog, Instit, 2 (1939), 229). The juridical basis of waiver is the insistence of the law that the obligatory nature of monetary obligations is always dependent upon the will of the party to whom the obligation is due; the suspension of this will, e.g., by waiver, automatically extinguishes the obligation (Maimonides, nov., BB 126b).

Formal Requirements

Meḥilah requires no formal mode (*meḥilah einah ẓerikhah kinyan*; Yad, Mekhirah 5:11 and Ishut 17:19; Tosef to Sanh. 6a, s.v. *ẓerikhah*). It is effective by parole alone. Some authorities, however, do require a formal *kinyan* to validate the waiver of a creditor who retains possession of the debtor's promissory note (cf. commentaries to Sh. Ar., ḤM 12:8; see also *Acquisition). There is no formal requirement that witnesses validate a waiver of indebtedness. The function of witnesses is evidentiary, preventing the creditor from subsequently denying his act of waiver or from alleging that the act was made in jest. For this purpose, the witnesses need not have been formally appointed; their mere presence suffices (Sh. Ar., ḤM 81:29).

Implied Waiver

Waiver may be express or implied. Thus, the mere declaration of the creditor that the debtor owes him nothing absolves the latter of all obligation; for although he knows that the creditor's statement is incorrect, it is nevertheless construed as an implied waiver (Sh. Ar., ḤM 75:11; *Rema*, ḤM 40:1; but cf. *Siftei Kohen*, ḤM 81, n. 72). Asher Gulak has pointed out the similarity between this waiver implied in the creditor's denial of the debtor's indebtedness with the *acceptilatio* in Roman law. This was an oral form of dissolving obligations by having the debtor ask the creditor, "What I have promised you, have you received it (*habesne acceptum*)?" and the creditor answering, "I have (*habeo*)." The effectiveness of the Roman *acceptilatio* was limited, however, to the dissolution of obligations created by verbal contracts (*verbis*); it was ineffective in dissolving obligations created by real (*re*) and written (*litteris*) contracts. This limitation does not exist in Jewish law where the creditor's declaration of receipt of payment dissolves all obligations, regardless of origin (cf. Gulak, Yesodei, 2 (1922), 112 f.). Implied waiver serves as the operational rationale of a number of legal rules. Thus, the rule that monetary conditions contrary to law are valid is justified on the grounds that the parties entering into the agreement governed by said conditions have implicitly waived their (monetary) rights (Rashi, Kid. 19b; see also *Contract). Similarly, the rule that overreaching (**ona'ah*) that involves less than one-sixth of the fair price need not be returned to the injured party is explained on the basis of an implied waiver on the part of the latter (Yad, Mekhirah 12:3; cf. Sma., ḤM 227 n. 2). Again, the lapse of the right of a widow who no longer lives on her husband's estate to collect her *ketubbah* after 25 years, in localities where written *ketubbot* are not used, is based upon implied waiver (Ket. 104a; Yad, Ishut 16:23; see also *Limitation of Actions).

Legal Rules Limiting its Effectiveness

Some of the legal rules governing waiver may be summarized as follows:

(1) The power of waiver applies to claims estimable in money (*manona ityaḥiv li-meḥilah*); it is thus inapplicable to modes of effectuating marriage and divorce (Kid. 7a; Git. 64a).

(2) Waiver need not be made in the presence of the debtor, but the debt does not lapse until the waiver has come to his knowledge (*Arukh ha-Shulḥan*, ḤM 241:4; but cf. Herzog, Instit, 2 (1939), 231 f.).

(3) If co-debtors are named in one promissory note and the creditor waives the obligation of one of them, the other's obligation remains intact and is actionable (opinion of Sh. Ar., ḤM 77:6; disputed by *Rema, ad loc.). If the debtors are correal, however, i.e., where each is bound severally to discharge the entire liability, the creditor's waiver of the obligation to one of them cancels the liability of all (*ibid.*).

(4) A waiver of the lien on an obligation, retaining, however, the obligation itself, must be accomplished by a *kinyan* in order to be effective (*Derishah*, ḤM 111, n. 10).

(5) A creditor may effectively waive part of the obligation, or he may postpone the date of payment by waiving the time stipulated in the **shetar* (Sh. Ar., ḤM 66:24, and *Siftei Kohen*, *ibid.*, n. 83).

(6) A waiver, in order to be effective, must be related to an object that is definite or to a quantity that is fixed; obligations that are vague, limitless, or unknown are unaffected by *meḥilah* (Yad, Mekhirah 13:3; Sh. Ar., ḤM 232:7).

(7) Waiver is ineffective if made through error (see *Mistake; Tos. to BM 66b, s.v. *ḥatam*; cf. Herzog, Instit, 2 (1939), 299); if made under duress (see **Ones*, Tos. to BB 48a, s.v. *amar*); if made in jest (Yad, Mekhirah 5:13 and Ishut 17:19); and if made by minors and, presumably, by *deaf-mutes and mentally incompetents (BM 22b).

(8) The effectiveness of *meḥilah* is disputed in cases where the creditor retains possession of the debtor's promissory note or his *pledge, some authorities requiring a formal *kinyan* to supplement the waiver by parole (Sh. Ar., ḤM 12:8; 241:2; and commentaries).

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[Aaron Kirschenbaum]

MEḤIẒAH (Heb. מְחִיצָה; "partition"), designation of the partition screen in synagogues between the space reserved for men and that, generally in the rear or upstairs, for women. The origin of the *meḥiẓah* derives from the talmudic description of the festivities (*Simḥat Beit ha-Sho'evah*) held on the second evening of the feast of Tabernacles in the court of women of the Temple (Suk. 5:2; Mid. 2:5). The Talmud states that men and women were allotted separate space (Suk. 51b–52a; Tosef., Suk. 4:1). Further sources for the separation of the sexes, as practiced in traditional synagogues, are to be found in midrashic literature like *Pirkei de-Rabbi Eliezer* 41, where it is stated in the name of R. Pinḥas that men and women stood separately when the Israelites assembled at Mount Sinai to receive the Ten Commandments (see also PdRE 23). Remains of galleries discovered in ancient Palestine synagogues have been taken as belonging to the women's sections.

Most European synagogues of the Middle Ages had a separate women's gallery called *Weibershul* fenced off by an iron grille or a non-transparent curtain. In synagogues where there was no balcony, the *meḥiẓah* was made of latticework serving as a partition between the seats of the men in front and those of the women in the rear. References to the custom of *meḥiẓah* in the Middle Ages can be found in the responsa literature of that period such as *Mordecai b. Hillel's commentary to Shab. 3, note no. 311, where it is stated "We are permitted to erect on Sabbath the partition-curtain between men and women during the time of the sermon" (see also *Sefer ha-Maharil* of Jacob Moellin (ed. Cremona (1565), 38a, 50b, 59b). The abolition of the *meḥiẓah* by the Reform movement in Europe in the early part of the 19th century was strongly opposed by the leading rabbinic authorities in Hungary and Poland, such as Moses *Sofer, Moses *Schick, and Elijah *Guttmacher, who regarded this innovation as an illicit change and, consequently, ruled that any synagogue without *meḥiẓah* is unfit for prayer.

In most Conservative synagogues in the United States, the *meḥiẓah* has been abolished and men and women sit together, or, in some cases, one side of the synagogue is reserved for the men and the other for the women, without an actual partition. In Reform synagogues the segregation of men and women has been entirely abolished based on the fact that the Bible nowhere commands the separation of men and women during public worship or assemblies (see Deut. 31:12; Neh. 8:2–3). These modern trends met with vigorous opposition in the 1950s on the part of Orthodox Jewry in the United States, which has come to regard the retention of the *meḥiẓah* as a cardinal principle and as a mark of the preservation of the Orthodox character of the synagogue. In several congregations the Orthodox minority turned to the courts for legal redress and were granted relief by court orders enjoining the synagogue board from changing the status quo, as in the case of congregation Beth Tefilas Moses of Mount Clemens, Michigan (Court Order of Sept. 21, 1959). Similar litigations were dealt with by the state courts in New Orleans, Louisiana and by the Superior Court of Pennsylvania (no. 178, October Term, 1954), all of which ruled in favor of the party demanding the retention of the *meḥiẓah*.

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[Meir Ydit]

MEHLSACK, ELIAKIM BEN JUDAH HA-MILZAHGI (c. 1780–1854), Polish talmudist. "Milzahgi" is a derivation of Mehlsack, the German name for Samila in Poland where Eliakim was born. He settled in Galicia and lived his last years in Lvov and Brody under the patronage of Isaac Berish Blumenfeld of Brody, devoting his life to Jewish scholarship. In 1837 he published *Sefer Ravyah* (= **R**abbi **E**liakim **b**. **J**udah **h**a-Milzahgi), a criticism of the *Gottesdienstliche Vortraege* of *Zunz and the *Toledot* of Solomon Judah *Rapoport. Unlike Zunz, who conceded the correctness of some of Mehlsack's remarks, Rapoport took umbrage at them and replied scathingly in *Kerem Ḥemed* (6 (1841), 96–109). Although he wrote almost 70 books, only *Sefer Ravyah* was published. Mehlsack also published an attack against the forgeries of A. *Firkovich in the German-Jewish press. Most of his works were about Talmud and Kabbalah, but *Mirkevet Esh* ("Train of Fire") argues that one is permitted to travel by train on the Sabbath. The manuscript was sent to S. *Holdheim, the leading Reform rabbi, who reproduced parts of it in a German-Jewish periodical. According to Gershom Scholem, Mehlsack's unpublished study of the Zohar, *Zohorei Ravyah*, at the Hebrew National and University Library is the most significant book written on the Zohar during the 19th century. Extant also is his commentary on the Book of *Raziel (London, Jews College Ms. 347). His treatise on the principle of the Kabbalah and a commentary on the *Pesikta de-Rav Kahana* have not survived.

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[Zvi Avneri / Getzel Kressel]

MEHRING, WALTER (1896–1981), German poet and author. The son of the well-known journalist Sigmar Mehring (1866–1915), Walter Mehring was born and raised in Berlin. He studied art history in Berlin and Munich. A friend of Kurt *Tucholsky, he joined the Berlin branch of the Dada movement, wrote political cabaret pieces, and published his early expressionistic poems in Herwarth *Walden's *Sturm* from 1916. They were collected in his first books, *Das politische Cabaret* (1919) and *Ketzerbrevier* (1921), which revealed his writing to be "heretical," meaning critical and provocative. During the Weimar Republic Mehring, who became a brilliantly witty spokesman of the moderate left, worked on the staff of the *Weltbuehne* as its correspondent in Paris, where he lived from 1922 to 1928. His satirical light verse followed the tradition developed by Wedekind, Ringelnatz, and Brecht, and his *chansons* dealt with the life of the vagabond, symbolizing the disillusionment of his age. Mehring's best-known collection of poems is *Die Gedichte, Lieder und Chansons des Walter Mehring* (1929), notable for its sarcastic criticism of contemporary society. In his comedy *Der Kaufmann von Berlin* (1929), which was staged by Erwin Piscator and outraged the Nazis, Mehring took on the subject of Shylock to describe the pogroms against the East European Jews in the Berlin Scheunenviertel in 1923. Confronting the beginning of persecution, he wrote *Arche Noah s.o.s.* (1931). On their accession to power in 1933, the Nazis planned to arrest Mehring, who, having been warned, managed to escape to Paris, and from there to Vienna in 1934 and after the "Anschluss" in 1938 back to Paris. In 1941 Mehring fled to New York, escaping from an internment camp in Southern France. There he remained from 1941 until after World War II, living under difficult conditions but continuing to write such books as *No Road Back* (1944) and *The Lost Library* (1951; *Die verlorene Bibliothek. Autobiographie einer Kultur*; 1952), both published in English and German. *The Lost Library*, meaning the library of his father, is an analysis, in the face of the Nazi catastrophe, of the tragic failure of the intellectual culture of liberalism and optimism among 19th-century German Jews. After the war, Mehring returned to Europe, living mostly in hotels in Switzerland (Ascona and Zuerich, where he died). Here he recollected the avant gardist culture of the Weimar Republic in several books (e.g., *Verrufene Malerei*, 1958; *Berlin-Dada*, 1959) and reissued his *Ketzerbrevier* (1974) in an expanded version.

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[Rudolf Kayser / Andreas Kilcher (2nd ed.)]

°MEHTA, ZUBIN (1936–), conductor. Mehta, the son of the conductor Mehli Mehta, was born in Bombay. He received training in violin and piano as a child and formed an ambition to conduct. He started his professional career in Vienna and England. Mehta was then music director of the Montreal Symphony Orchestra (1962–67) and chief conductor of the Los Angeles Philharmonic Orchestra (1962–68). He was the youngest person to hold such an appointment with a leading orchestra in the U.S. and the first in North America to share a joint appointment with two major orchestras. Mehta made his debut at the Metropolitan Opera in 1965 (*Aida*) and his London opera debut with *Otello* in 1977. He was musical director of the New York Philharmonic Orchestra (1978–91), and from 1998 of the Bavarian Staatsoper in Munich. He also served as music director of the Maggio Musicale Fiorentino. Though non-Jewish, Mehta played an important role in the musical life of Israel. He first appeared with the Israel Philharmonic Orchestra in 1961 and the close contact between him and the orchestra was maintained ever since. The IPO appointed Mehta music advisor in 1969, music director in 1977, and music director for life in 1981. He conducts the orchestra in subscription concerts, special concerts, and major national events, and in concerts in development towns, kibbutzim, and army camps. During both the Six-Day War and the Yom Kippur War he canceled all engagements and hastened to Israel to conduct special concerts and to generally identify himself with Israel. He also conducted the IPO on worldwide tours of Europe, North and South America, and the Far East. Mehta realized a longtime ambition in 1994, when he brought the IPO to India. He won countless awards and distinctions in many countries. In Israel he was awarded honorary doctorates and the Hebrew University also named a wing of the Musicology Department after him and his father. Mehta was also awarded a special prize at the Israel Prize presentations for 1991 and he was the recipient of the Wolf Foundation Prize for Music (1995–96). He was an Honorary Citizen of Tel Aviv-Yafo. Mehta conducted an encore from *Tristan and Isolde* with the Israel Philharmonic in 1981, but a Holocaust survivor interrupted his performance. Mehta halted the performance and since then has never included Wagner's music in his performances in Israel. His numerous recordings range from a cycle of Mahler symphonies and operas by Verdi and Puccini to works by contemporary American composers. Mehta's performances generally favored romantic warmth of expression and voluptuous sonority, combined with bold attack and rhythmic vigor and reinforced by boundless self-confidence.

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[Naama Ramot (2nd ed.)]

MEI AMMI (Heb. מֵי עַמִּי), kibbutz in central Israel, in the Iron Hills of Samaria, affiliated with Ha-No'ar ha-Ẓiyyoni, founded in 1963 as a *Naḥal outpost on the pre-1967 Jordanian border. In August 1967 a civilian group took over the village, whose construction – including the reclamation of its hilly land – was aided by the Jewish community of Miami, Florida. Accordingly, the name chosen, meaning "Water of My People," is similar in sound to Miami. In the mid-1990s, the population was approximately 185, increasing to 208 in 2002.

[Efraim Orni]

MEIDNER, LUDWIG (1884–1966), German painter. Meidner was born in Bernstadt, in Silesia. At 19, he went to Breslau to study art. For a time he eked out a living in Berlin, sketching for fashion magazines, but in 1906–08 studied in Paris. In 1908 he returned to Berlin where in 1912, with Jakob *Steinhardt and Richard Janthur, Meidner founded the group *Die Pathetiker.*

Though an ardent pacifist, Meidner was drafted into the German army, and served throughout World War I. In January 1918 he was given furlough to attend his one-man show of prewar paintings in Berlin. One of its major features was the oil, "I and the City," in which he presented himself as a large, tortured, brooding figure, with exploding streets, factories, and tenements in the background. The show caused a great stir and Meidner suddenly became one of the foremost representatives of expressionism in Central Europe. After the war, Meidner was prominent in the *Novembergruppe*, an association of artists and intellectuals eager to bridge the gap between the public and the nation's creative minds.

Meidner was deeply attached to Judaism, and for a time during the early Nazi period taught drawing at the Jewish Yawne secondary school in Cologne. In 1939 he escaped to England. During the air raids on London he served as night watchman in a morgue. Here, for a few pounds each, he painted portraits of deceased people from photographs. In 1952 he returned to Germany, and for a time lived in the Jewish Old Age Home in Frankfurt. A portrait commission by the German president Theodor Heuss led to his rediscovery; this enabled him to have a studio for the last years of his life. On his 80th birthday in 1964, he was awarded the Grosses Verdienstkruez of the Federal Republic of Germany. Meidner's most important works are those painted before World War I. Apart from his apocalyptic landscapes and his Jewish themes, his most significant creations are his disturbingly intense self-portraits and portraits of friends. His wife, Elsa Meidner, also made a reputation as a painter.

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[Alfred Werner / Jihan Radjai-Ordoubadi (2nd ed.)]

MEIER, JULIUS (1874–1937), U.S. governor. Meier was born in Portland, Oregon. He became president and general manager of his family's mercantile firm, Meier and Frank Company in Portland. Meier developed the Columbia River highway system. During World War I, he was northwest regional director of the Council of National Defense. When his former law partner, the Progressive Republican candidate for governor in 1930, died during the campaign, Meier reluctantly agreed to run as an Independent against a regular Republican and a Democrat and won. During his term as governor (1931–35), he fostered conservation of the state's natural resources, formation of the state police system, and establishment of a nonpolitical judiciary, and he demanded rigid economies in state expenditures. While governor, he served as president of Congregation Beth Israel in Portland (1933–35), which his father had helped to found.

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[Robert E. Levinson]

MEIER, RICHARD (1934–), U.S. architect. Meier was born in Newark, N.J. Fifty years later in 1984, he became the youngest winner of the Pritzker architecture prize, one of the most heralded awards for architects. The road to this award and to many important architectural commissions began after Meier graduated from Cornell University in 1957. He worked for the firms of Skidmore, Owings and Merrill and Marcel Breuer before establishing his own firm in 1963.

Meier made his early mark with the designs for private residences, which recall the light and geometric designs of the Bauhaus, especially the form established by Mies van der Rohe as well as the Constructivists. Japanese architecture from the 17th century was also important in formulating Meier's aesthetic. The architect has suggested the strong influence of Le Corbusier in his work. Meier's early important commissions were for the Smith House in Darien, Conn., built between 1965 and 1967, followed by the Douglas House at Harbor Springs, Mich. in 1973, and the Shamberg residence, planned for two people, at Chappaqua, N.Y., from 1972 to 1974. He converted the Bell Telephone laboratories in Manhattan to 383 apartments and went on to design the Atheneum in New Harmony, Ind., 1975 to 1979, to much acclaim. In museum design, Meier has created striking designs in the Museum of Decorative Arts in Frankfurt (1981–84), the High Museum of Art in Atlanta (1981), the Museum of Contemporary Art in Barcelona (1992–95), and the Getty Museum in Los Angeles (1997).

Meier emphasizes white as an essential color in his design, which accentuates the power of the visual form. Meier's buildings are striking, especially against a simple grass landscape, as in the case with the Atheneum, the Des Moines Art Center extension, or the High Museum, where the whiteness and architectonic characteristics of the form are juxtaposed to the green landscape, resulting in a powerful but restful aesthetic. All of Meier's works stand as sculptural forms as well as functional buildings.

Meier's most contested building is the Getty Museum in Los Angeles. Sitting on the hillside that overlooks both Los Angeles and Santa Monica, the Getty is a series of buildings that seeks to bring together a huge and eclectic art collection. Driven by the immense resources of the Getty Foundation and the size of the collection, the museum space, comprised of six buildings, has been compared to an acropolis. To some, the scale of the project served to limit the architect's powers of invention. The uniformity of Meier's usual white exterior was compromised in part by a beige travertine.

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[Stephen C. Feinstein (2nd ed.)]

MEIJER, JACOB ("**Jaap**"; 1912–1993), Dutch-Jewish historian. Born into an impecunious provincial Jewish family, Meijer received a stipend to attend the Ashkenazi Teachers and Rabbinical Seminary in Amsterdam from the age of 13. He later studied at the University of Amsterdam, and in 1941, one of the last Jewish students allowed to do so, took his Ph.D. with a thesis on the 19th-century Amsterdam Sephardi author and poet Isaac da *Costa. He survived two years in Bergen-Belsen concentration camp (1943–45). From 1945 on he taught history at municipal high schools, including a number of years in Paramaribo, Dutch Guyana, and in Haarlem.

With strong Jewish awareness, he wrote several books on Dutch-Jewish history, particularly on the 19th and early 20th centuries. His works include *Het verdwenen ghetto* ("Walks through the Prewar Jewish Quarter of Amsterdam," 1948), *Het Jonas Daniel Meijerplein* ("Three Centuries of Amsterdam Jewry," 1961), *Erfenis der Emancipatie* ("Dutch Jewry in the First Half of the 19th Century," 1963), *Zij lieten hun sporen achter* ("Jewish Contributions to Dutch Culture," 1964), *Van*

Israeliten tot Israeliers ("150 Years of Jewish History in The Netherlands," 1965), and *De zoon van enn Gazzen* ("The Life of Jacob Israel de Haan," 1967). He also published two volumes of *Encyclopedia Sefaradica Neerlandica* (1950), covering the letters A-C and D-F; the project was never completed.

Meijer also wrote monographs on Dutch-Jewish personalities, such as on the bibliographer and first librarian of the Bibliotheca Rosenthaliana, Meyer *Roest, and Chief Rabbi J.H. *Duenner, and contributed regularly to Dutch periodicals, general and Jewish. In addition, from 1968 on, he published many volumes of poetry – in Dutch and in the dialect of the region of his birth, East-Groningen – under the penname Saul van Messel.

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[Henriette Boas]

MEIJERS, EDUARD MAURITS (1880–1954), Dutch jurist who as professor of law at Leiden University from 1910 to 1950 influenced several generations of Dutch lawyers. Born in Den Helder, Meijers was admitted to the bar in 1903. He practiced law in Amsterdam until 1910, when he was made professor of civil and private international law at Leiden University. He served this university both as dean and rector. After 1928 he was substitute counselor in the High Court of Justice at The Hague. Meijers' numerous books were largely devoted to the history of civil law. His work *The Labor Contract* (1908) became a standard treatise on the subject and was followed by *Legal Decisions Regarding the Law on Labor Contracts* (1909). His textbook on succession, *Le droit ligurien de succession en Europe occidentale* (1928), and his *L'Histoire des principes fondamentaux du droit international privé à partir du Moyen Age* (1934) brought him further distinction. Following the Nazi invasion of Holland, Meijers was dismissed from his post and was sent to the *Westerbork and *Theresienstadt camps for the duration of the war. His arrest led to a public demonstration by students at Leiden. The dean, Professor R.P. Cleveringa, gave a famous address, protesting against Meijers' arrest. Cleveringa himself was imprisoned for this speech. After World War II, Meijers was commissioned to draft a new civil code for Holland, but died before its completion. He was chairman of the Royal Dutch Academy of Sciences from 1945 until 1949.

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[Henriette Boas / Bart Wallet (2nd ed.)]

ME'ILAH (Heb. מְעִילָה; "sacrilege"), eighth tractate in the Mishnah, Tosefta, and Babylonian Talmud order *Kodashim*. *Me'ilah* contains six chapters and deals with the unlawful use and enjoyment of *hekdesh* (i.e., things consecrated to the Temple, especially sacrifices). The scriptural basis is Leviticus 5:15–16, which lays down that a person inadvertently committing a trespass "in holy things" shall bring a guilt offering, make restitution for the loss caused, and pay an additional fine. Chapters 1 and 2 discuss the various offerings and sacrificial portions to which the law of *me'ilah* applies, and define the moment from which an offering is considered *hekdesh* for the purpose of this law. Chapter 3 is concerned with exceptional instances of illicit enjoyment of *hekdesh*, which are not affected by the law of *me'ilah*. Chapters 4 and 5 include the problem of determining the minimal value of misappropriation to which the law applies, and especially whether illicit enjoyment that causes no loss to *hekdesh* constitutes *me'ilah*. Chapter 6 deals with trespass by proxy. The Tosefta is divided into three chapters. The Babylonian *Gemara* enlarges on the teaching of the Mishnah but, with the exception of the remarkable *Ben Temalyon story (17b), there are no aggadic digressions. *Me'ilah* was translated into English in the Soncino edition of the Talmud (1948).

[Arnost Zvi Ehrman]

°**MEINERTZHAGEN, RICHARD HENRY** (1878–1967), British soldier, administrator, and supporter of Zionism. Meinertzhagen was the son of a successful non-Jewish German merchant in London; his mother was the sister of Beatrice Webb, the famous socialist. He was educated at Harrow and became an army officer. During World War I he served on the East African front and was on the staff of General *Allenby's army, which conquered Palestine. He was chief political officer in Palestine and Syria in the postwar military administration, and in a dispatch to the Foreign Office (1919), accused the military administration of hostility to the principles of the *Balfour Declaration, expressing the view that Arab opposition to Zionism would not last once it was known that the British government was determined to carry through its pledge of a national home to the Jewish people. He joined Herbert *Samuel's staff when the latter was appointed high commissioner of Palestine. Meinertzhagen was also attached to the British delegation to the Paris Peace Conference as an advisor (1919–20), and from 1921 to 1924 he was military advisor to the Middle Eastern Department of the Colonial Office. He remained a firm friend of Zionism, and his *Middle East Diary 1917–1956*, published in 1959, is a valuable record as well as source for correcting the misinterpretations of history related to the Balfour Declaration and the subsequent period. He was also an enthusiastic ornithologist, and his book *Birds of Arabia* (1954) threw much light on the bird life of Palestine.

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[Moshe Rosetti]

°**MEINHOLD, JOHANNES FRIEDRICH** (1861–1937), German Bible scholar. Meinhold studied with August Dillmann, with Franz Delitzsch the biblicist, and with his son the Assyriologist Friedrich Delitzsch of Babel-Bibel notoriety. Meinhold taught at Greifswald and Bonn. He wrote on the history of the Hagiographa (1889) and on the compilation of Daniel (1884, 1889), maintaining that the basic corpus of Daniel (2:4b–6:29) was composed around 300 B.C.E. and that Daniel 1:2–2:4a and 7–12 were added in the Hasmonean period. His views on the role of Israelite wisdom and prophecy, the documents contained within the Hexateuch, and the composition of Ruth reflect the strong influence of the classical Wellhausen school. It also characterizes his *Einfuehrung in das Alte Testament*, "Introduction to the Old Testament" (1919, 1932^3). In addition to studies on Genesis 14 (1911), the Decalogue (1927), and the role of the biblical Sabbath (1905), he wrote a history of the Jewish people (1916). His *Jesus und das Alte Testament* (1896) clashed with accepted Christian positions, but his *Altes Testament und evangelisches Christentum* (1934), an apology for keeping the Hebrew heritage within the Christian tradition, argued that the national ethical religion of Israel was fulfilled in the primitive church's faith in resurrection. He was also co-editor with Hans Lietzmann of the Hebrew-Greek text of Amos for *Kleine Texte für theologische Vorlesungen und Übungen*, "Short Texts for Theological Lectures and Exercises."

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[Zev Garber]

MEININGEN, city in Germany. The medieval Jewish community suffered persecutions in 1243 because of a blood *libel, in 1298 during the *Rindfleisch disturbances, and during the *Black Death massacres in 1349 when it was destroyed. The synagogue was transformed into a chapel in 1384. Jews continued to live in nearby villages, which in 1803 were incorporated into the newly created duchy of Saxe-Meiningen. The duchy's Jewry law of 1811 laid down disabilities regarding residence, marriage permits, and economic pursuits. Only a few Jews were allowed to live in Meiningen itself; after the *Hep! Hep! riots (1819) only one family remained. By 1844, only 29 persons lived there. At that time 1,500 Jews lived in the duchy; the seat of the rabbinate was in the nearby village of Walldorf, where 550 Jews lived (35% of the total population) in 1844, when the ducal authorities approved the Saxe-Meiningen synagogue regulations stressing religious reforms. The Saxe-Meiningen Jewry law of 1856 granted citizenship to Jews owning substantial business, and that of 1868 to all the duchy's Jews. By 1870, some 470 Jews lived in Meiningen; 490 in 1898; 359 in 1913 (2.08% of the total); 293 in 1925 (1.6%); and 192 in June 1933. In 1871 the rabbinate was transferred to Meiningen, a cemetery was acquired in 1874, a synagogue was consecrated in 1883, and a *ḥevra kaddisha* was founded in 1885. In 1856 Jewish and Christian financiers founded the Central-German Credit Bank in Meiningen. The banks of B.M. Strupp (formerly a merchandise firm) and D. Mannheimer (founded in 1871) were important in industrial financing far beyond the duchy's limits. Gustav Strupp (1851–1918) was chairman of both the Chamber of Commerce and the Jewish community, and was a member of the Landtag (1903–18). From the 1870s Jews were admitted to the bar, and some were appointed judges. Antisemitism was strong in Meiningen: the antisemitic vote in 1898 and the Nazi vote in 1932 far exceeded the national average. The synagogue was burnt in 1938, and by the end of that year only a few Jewish families remained, with 16 children attending the Jewish school. Records on deportations are missing. No Jews returned to Meiningen after 1945. The Jewish cemetery, which had been damaged by the Nazis in 1938, was restored by the municipality of Meiningen. In 1988 a memorial was consecrated to commemorate the destroyed synagogue.

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[Toni Oelsner / Larissa Daemmig (2nd ed.)]

MEIR (second century C.E.), *tanna*, one of the leaders of the post-Bar Kokhba generation. Essentially a halakhist, he played a decisive part in the development of the *Mishnah. His main teacher was *Akiva, by whom he was apparently ordained (TJ, Sanh. 1, 19a), but he also studied under *Ishmael. According to a Palestinian amoraic aggadic tradition he was also a disciple of Elisha b. Avuyah (Ruth R. 6; Ecc. R. 7; TJ, Hag. 2:1, 87b), but Meir's connection to these traditions is in all likelihood more literary than historical (see *Elisha b. Avuyah, and cf. Tosef., Dem. 2:9). Meir is mentioned in most of the talmudic traditions that describe the reestablishment of the center of learning in the Galilee after the Bar Kokhba revolt. Thus he is listed as one of the five ordained by Judah b. Bava at the cost of his life (Sanh. 14a), and also among the scholars who gathered at Usha to reconstruct the religious life of the people (Song R. 2:5, no. 3). He was also described as having been active at Bet Rimmon when the renewed calendar arrangements were made (TJ, Ḥag. 3:1). Though these traditions have been viewed by some as representing distinct historical events, they should more properly be viewed as a family of related traditions with definite lines of literary dependence between them, as has been recently argued convincingly (Oppenheimer, 78–79).

According to the *aggadah*, Meir was a descendant of proselytes. One tradition holds that his real name was Nehorai (the Aramaic form of Meir), but that he was called Meir ("the Illuminator") because he "enlightened the eyes of the sages of the *halakhah*" (Er. 13b; see Dik. Sof.), though little historical credence should be accorded this tradition (see *Nehorai).

An *aggadah* in the Babylonian Talmud (Hor. 13b–14a) relates that when Simeon b. Gamaliel was appointed *nasi*, R. Nathan was appointed *av bet din*, and Meir, *ḥakham*. According to this tradition Simeon b. Gamaliel took steps to strengthen the status and honor of his office at the expense of these two other sages, which Meir and Nathan took as a personal affront. Nathan and Meir engaged in a conspiracy to discredit Simeon b. Gamaliel and to remove him from office. Their plan was foiled and Simeon in turn attempted, unsuccessfully, to have them removed from the *bet ha-midrash*. Nevertheless, as a punishment for their opposition to the *nasi*, it was decreed that all subsequent statements made by Meir and Nathan should be introduced anonymously, the former being quoted merely as "others say," and the latter as "some say" (Hor. 13b–14a). While some scholars have held that this story accurately reflects the forms of communal leadership practiced during the late tannaitic period, and have also accepted it as evidence for a power struggle between these well-known historical figures, Goodblatt has shown quite convincingly that this story is in fact a late Babylonian elaboration and embellishment of certain earlier Palestinian traditions (cf. TYMK 3:1, 81c), and has little or no historical value.

The Talmud ascribes to R. Johanan the statement that "an anonymous *mishnah* represents the view of Meir following that of Akiva" (Sanh. 86a), but the authenticity of this statement is doubtful and its proper interpretation remains somewhat unclear (cf. TJ, Yev. 4:11, 6b). According to tradition, Meir frequently spoke in praise of living in Ereẓ Israel: "Whoever lives permanently in Israel and speaks the holy language … he is assured of a share in the world to come" (TJ, Shek. 3:4, 47c). Meir died in Asia (probably Ezion-Geber). Before his death he ordered that his body be taken to Ereẓ Israel, and requested that until then his bier be put on the shore in order that it may be lapped by the sea that washes the shores of Ereẓ Israel (TJ, Kil. 9:4, 32c). His extreme attitude in demanding study of Torah emerges clearly in the saying: "Whoever forgets one word of the Torah is accounted by Scripture as if he had forfeited his life" (Avot 3:8), and the Talmud ascribes to him the statement that a gentile who occupies himself with the Torah is the equal of a high priest (BK 38a; Av. Zar. 3a), and also states that he required that one should not be satisfied with acquiring knowledge of the Torah, but should also teach it to others (Sanh. 99a). Three hundred fox *fables are ascribed to Meir, of which three are given (Sanh. 38b). In connection with the definition of the concept of *am ha-areẓ*, Meir takes a more stringent view than his colleagues. According to Meir anyone not eating ordinary food in ritual purity belongs to the category of the **am ha-areẓ* while his colleagues apply the term only to someone who disregards the duty of giving tithes. On the other hand the words ascribed to him in the Talmud, "Whosoever marries his daughter to an *am ha-areẓ* is as though he bound her and laid her in front of a lion" (Pes. 49b), are almost certainly pseudoepigraphic, and do not represent the views of the historical Meir (Wald). Together with the study of Torah, Meir stresses the importance of labor: "A blessing rests only upon labor" (Tosef., Ber. 7:8); "A man should always teach his son a clean craft" (Kid. 4:14). He similarly stresses the importance of prayer: "'And it came to pass as she prayed long' [I Sam. 1:12], this implies that whoever prays long is answered" (TJ, Ber. 4:17c; et al.). According to the Talmud his contemporary, Yose b. Ḥalafta, called him: "A great man, a holy man, a modest man" (TJ, Ber. 2:7, 5b), while Simeon b. Lakish called him "holy mouth" (Sanh. 23a).

According to the *aggadot* of the Babylonian Talmud, Meir was married to *Beruryah, the daughter of the martyred *Hananiah b. Teradyon. After the Bar Kokhba War her sister was taken to a brothel from where Meir rescued her (Av. Zar. 18a). According to a legend quoted by Rashi (Av. Zar. 18b), Beruryah herself was seduced by one of the scholars. None of these traditions, however, seem to have any historical basis (see *Beruryah). According to another late aggadic tradition (Midrash Proverbs 31) his two sons died simultaneously while he was busy in the college.

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[A'hron Oppenheimer / Stephen G. Wald (2nd ed.)]

MEIR (**Myerson**, née **Mabovitch**), **GOLDA** (1898–1978), *Mapai leader and Israeli prime minister in 1969–74; member of the First to Eighth Knessets. Meir was born in Kiev, Russia, where her father was a skilled carpenter. In 1906 the family migrated to the United States and settled in Milwaukee, where she graduated from high school and enrolled in the Milwaukee Normal School for Teachers. In 1915, as a youth, she joined *Po'alei Zion. In 1921 Meir settled in Palestine with her husband, Morris Myerson, and the two joined kibbutz Merḥavyah, where they remained until 1924. Meir soon became involved in political and social activities within the *Histadrut. In 1928 she became the executive secretary of Mo'etzet ha-Po'alot (Women Workers Council), and was sent as an emissary to the Pioneer Women's Organization in the United States from 1932 to 1934.

Upon her return to Palestine in 1934, she was invited to join the executive committee of the Histadrut, and in 1936 became head of its Political Department. Simultaneously with her work within the Histadrut Meir was active in Mapai. When Moshe *Sharett was arrested by the British on Black Saturday in June 1946, Meir was appointed to serve as acting head of the Political Department of the Jewish Agency. After Sharett was released, he was sent to the United States to take charge of the struggle for the partition plan at the UN, and Meir remained as the head of the Political Department in Jerusalem, in which capacity she served until the establishment of the State in May 1948.

In January 1948, she went to the United States to enlist the help of American Jewry in the struggle against the Arabs. Four days before the proclamation of Independence, on May

10, 1948, she met secretly with King Abdullah in Transjordan, in an effort to come to an agreement with him on the partition of Palestine between his kingdom and the Jewish state and to keep the Arab Legion out of the approaching military attack on the new state. After the establishment of the state she was appointed Israel's first diplomatic representative to Moscow, a post she held until April 1949. Her presence at the Great Synagogue of Moscow on the High Holidays in September/October 1948 caused great excitement among Soviet Jews.

After the elections to the First Knesset in 1949, to which she was elected on the Mapai list, Meir was appointed minister of labor, in which capacity she was responsible for the initiation of very large-scale public works to offer rudimentary employment to masses of new immigrants. In 1956, after Moshe Sharett resigned from the post of minister for foreign affairs that he had held since 1948, Meir assumed the post, which she held until 1965. As foreign minister she attended the annual opening sessions of the United Nations, and defended Israel's participation in the *Sinai Campaign. She played an active role in establishing friendly relations with the newly independent black African states, extending technical assistance to them and visiting several of them. After the elections to the Sixth Knesset in 1965 Meir was appointed secretary general of Mapai. In this capacity she played an active role in establishing the *Israel Labor Party in 1968 through the union of Mapai, *Rafi, and *Aḥdut ha-Avodah, becoming the first secretary general of the new party. After the death of Levi *Eshkol in February 1969, and despite the fact that she suffered from blood cancer, Meir was chosen as Israel's fourth prime minister. Soon after becoming prime minister Meir visited President Richard Nixon in Washington, and subsequently led the Labor Alignment to an impressive victory in the elections to the Seventh Knesset. Though she once again formed a National Unity Government with Gaḥal, a year later Gaḥal left the coalition owing to its objection to her willingness to consider the Rogers Plan, which proposed a settlement between Egypt and Israel based on an Israeli withdrawal from territories it had occupied in 1967. However, in later years Meir was accused of missing an opportunity to reach a settlement with Egyptian President Anwar Sadat, and thus of avoiding the *Yom Kippur War. During her premiership, and despite the fact that Israel did not have diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union, Meir played an active role in the struggle to get the latter to open its gates to Jewish immigration to Israel – a struggle that was partially successful for several years. At the same time she did not demonstrate any sympathy toward the social protest movement of the Israeli "Black Panthers," who were protesting the discrimination against Israel's citizens of Oriental origin, characterizing their leaders as "not nice." Her failure to take the distress of this part of the Israeli population seriously was to have devastating political consequence for the Labor Party in later years. In 1972 Meir was elected deputy chairman of the Socialist International, in which capacity she served for two years.

The Yom Kippur War, which took the Israeli leadership by surprise, signaled the beginning of the end of Labor hegemony in Israeli politics in general, and of Meir's political career in particular. Though the Labor Party was not defeated in the elections for the Eighth Knesset held on December 31, 1973, and Meir succeeded, after lengthy and difficult negotiations, in forming a new government with the *National Religious Party and the *Independent Liberal Party, one month after the new government was approved by the Knesset, she resigned. The immediate background to her resignation was the Interim Report of the Agranat Commission of Inquiry concerning the causes of the outbreak of the Yom Kippur War. Though the report put the blame for the lack of preparedness on the military leadership, there was growing public dissatisfaction with the political leaders, and Meir submitted her resignation as prime minister on April 11, 1974, and in June resigned her seat in the Knesset. In 1975 Meir was awarded the Israel Prize for special service to the state and society. Though after her resignation she assumed the status of "elder statesman" until her death four years later, her departure, together with the fact that neither Moshe *Dayan nor Abba *Eban were given ministerial positions in the government formed by Yitzhak *Rabin in June, marked the end of an era. However, before Rabin formed his government, Israel with the mediation of U.S. Secretary of State Henry *Kissinger and under Meir's leadership, had signed Interim Agreements with Egypt (January 18, 1974) and Syria (May 31, 1974), both involving Israeli withdrawal from territories in return for new security arrangements – the first implementation of the "territories for peace" principle, that three and a half years later was to lead to the Peace Treaty between Israel and Egypt. At a meeting with Egyptian President Anwar Sadat on his historic visit to the Knesset on November 20, 1977, Meir joked with him about his having referred to her as "the old lady." Meir passed away on December 8, 1978. In her will she requested that no eulogies be delivered at her funeral and no institutions be named after her. Nevertheless, a year after her death, the city of New York named a square on Broadway after her. A year before she passed away a two-act play called *Golda*, by William Gibson, appeared on Broadway, and in 2003 a one-woman play, titled *Golda's Balcony*, by the same playwright, turned into a hit and ran in several cities in the U.S.

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[Susan Hattis Rolef (2nd ed.)]

MEIR, JACOB (1856–1939), Sephardi chief rabbi of Ereẓ Israel. Born in Jerusalem, the son of a well-to-do merchant, Caleb Mercado, Meir studied Talmud under Menahem Bekhor Isaac and Kabbalah under Aaron Azriel. In 1882 he was sent to Bukhara, as the first emissary to visit that country. Meir, enthusiastically welcomed, was instrumental in encouraging the immigration of Bukhara Jews to Ereẓ Israel. In 1885, 1888, and 1900 he visited Tunisia and Algeria as an emissary. In 1888–99 he was a member of the *bet din* of R. Jacob Saul *Elyashar in Jerusalem. Meir was one of the promoters of the revival of spoken Hebrew in Palestine. Under Turkish rule, he often interceded with the authorities on behalf of the Jewish community; he also encouraged the construction of new Jewish quarters of Jerusalem. In 1899 he was appointed deputy head of the *bet din* of R. Raphael Isaac Israel. In 1906 he was a candidate for the chief rabbinate of Jerusalem, in succession to Elyashar, but his opponents, supported by the *ḥakham bashi* in Turkey, prevented his election. In 1908 he was elected chief rabbi of Salonika, where he remained until 1919. He was elected chief rabbi of Jerusalem in 1911, but the Jews of Salonika prevented him from assuming the office. When in 1921 the chief rabbinate was established in Palestine, Meir was elected (together with Rabbi A.I. Kook) as chief rabbi of Palestine with the title of *rishon le-Zion*. He was decorated by the sultan of Turkey and by the kings of Greece and England, and was awarded the French Legion of Honor. Meir even received decorations from Hussein, king of the Hejaz. Two manuscripts of his were lost in a fire in Salonika. To celebrate his 80th birthday, his friends published *Zikhron Me'ir* in his honor.

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[Geulah Bat Yehuda (Raphael)]

MEIR BA'AL HA-NES, TOMB OF, a building on the shores of Lake Kinneret. According to R. Moses *Basola "people gathered there for prayer morning and night, stating that it was the tomb of one called R. Meir who took a vow that he would not lie down until the Messiah came, and was buried there in an upright position." At present it is a large building consisting of two *battei midrash* (one for Ashkenazim and one for Sephardim) covering the tomb. Some scholars connect the grave with the *tanna* *Meir, who established his school in Tiberias (TJ, Ḥag. 2:1) and has a miracle related about him (Av. Zar. 18a/b). There are however different traditions about his place of burial, as he died in Esia, an area near Ezion Geber, close to Eilat, and said "Place my bier *('arsi)* on the sea shore" (TJ, Kil. 9:4, 32c). In the 13th century the tomb was connected with R. Meir Kaẓin, or Meir b. Jacob who immigrated to Ereẓ Israel with Jehiel of Paris (see Vilnay in bibl.). The name of Meir b. Isaac, author of **Akdamut* for Shavuot, has also been connected with it (*Oẓar Yisrael*). It is customary to arrange a great celebration at his grave on the 14th of Iyyar (Second Passover) which is comparable to the one in *Meron on Lag ba-Omer. These celebrations began in 1867. The tomb was exceptionally well publicized in the Diaspora by the emissaries of Ereẓ Israel, as well as in their emissarial *iggerot* (letters). Beginning with the 18th century a Meir Ba'al ha-Nes box was found in almost every Jewish home, and housewives dropped small change into it just before kindling the Sabbath lights. Due to the miraculous deeds connected with the tomb, it was customary to contribute money, candles, or oil for lighting as a specific protection against all kinds of ailments and dangers; it was also done in the hope of finding something lost, of having children, or of driving away evil thoughts. It is clear, however, that the box also symbolized the longing for Ereẓ Israel (for the way in which the money was distributed, see Vilnay in bibl.). Craftsmen created art objects connected with Meir Ba'al ha-Nes. In spite of the opposition on the part of both rabbis and *maskilim* to the celebration and the boxes, the practice still continues.

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[Meir Havazelet]

MEIR BEN BARUCH HA-LEVI (d. 1404), German scholar; colleague of Abraham *Klausner. Meir came from Fulda. His chronology is obscure, but it is now generally held that his first rabbinic post was in Erfurt, where Hillel "Ha-Zaken" of Erfurt was his pupil, and that he subsequently became rabbi of Frankfurt, moving to Nuremberg in 1383, and returning two years later to Frankfurt. In 1391 he was imprisoned as a result of a false accusation and upon his release in 1392 became rabbi of Vienna, where he appears to have remained until his death. Meir is frequently mentioned in the works of the leading scholars of his own and the following generation, among them Jacob *Moellin, Judah *Minz, Israel *Isserlein, and Israel *Bruna, who cite his customs and rulings (under the name Maharam Segal or Maharam Sal) regarding them as authoritative. Meir's central role in Jewish life of the 14th century is reflected by the part he played in the celebrated dispute about 1393 between Johanan *Treves and Isaiah b. Abba Mari, the pupil of Johanan's father, Mattathias Treves. When Johanan was appointed to succeed his father as chief rabbi of France, Meir conferred upon Isaiah – who was apparently the greater scholar – the title *morenu*, which authorized him to assume the chief rabbinate in place of Johanan. This intervention of Meir, a German, in the affairs of the French community, aroused the opposition of many leading scholars, including *Isaac b. Sheshet, who nevertheless refers to Meir with extraordinary respect. This incident has led some scholars to believe that it was Meir who reinstated ordination in Germany, but the view is now regarded as very doubtful.

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[Israel Moses Ta-Shma]

MEIR BEN BARUCH OF ROTHENBURG (c. 1215–1293), teacher, scholar, tosafist, and supreme arbiter in ritual, legal, and community matters in Germany. He was born in Worms into a family of scholars, many members of which were important leaders in the communities of Germany. In his responsa he mentions two uncles and 12 other relatives bearing the title *Ha-Rav*, a title reserved, in this period, for talmudic scholars of high standing, mainly for heads of yeshivot. Meir often quotes their opinions and legal decisions in order to bolster his own views; hence they must have been well-known and highly esteemed scholars. Meir's father Baruch was an outstanding member of this scholarly family. He was credited with a wide knowledge of talmudic lore, was a member of the *bet din* of the community of Worms, and was often chosen to act as judge. He also bore the honorific title *Ha-Rav*; several halakhic decisions were recorded in his name; and his epitaph, preserved to this day, was written in highly laudatory terms. His teaching and guidance contributed greatly to the intellectual growth of his son. At the age of 12 Meir joined the well-known school of R. Isaac b. Moses, the author of the *Or Zaru'a*, in Wuerzburg, where he studied for about six years. While in that city Meir also studied under R. Samuel b. Menahem, in whose name, in later years, he quoted important decisions in law and ritual. Subsequently Meir moved to Mainz, where he studied under his relative R. Judah b. Moses ha-Kohen. Finally, he went to France and studied under the great tosafists *Samuel b. Solomon of Falaise, also known as Sir Morel of Falaise, and *Jehiel of Paris, known as Sir Vivo. Meir was in France in 1240 when these two teachers took part in the famous disputation with Nicolas *Donin over the Talmud. He was still there two years later, in 1242, when he witnessed the public burning of the Talmud, on which occasion he wrote his famous elegy *Sha'ali Serufah ba-Esh*, "Inquire, oh thou who art burned by fire, about the welfare of those who mourn for thee…," which is included to this day in the *Kinot* of the Ninth of *Av according to the Ashkenazi rite.

After this occurrence Meir returned to Germany and within a few years settled in Rothenburg, where he remained for more than 40 years, until 1286. Students flocked to his school from all the communities of Germany and its neighboring countries. Occasionally he would visit other towns for private or community business, but his home and his famous school remained in Rothenburg. His fame as a great talmudic authority spread rapidly even to other countries. In 1249, when a serious dispute arose between the communities of Bohemia and those of Moravia regarding the payment of taxes by these communities, the matter was referred to Meir for final settlement. Apparently at this early period he was already reputed to be the greatest scholar of his generation. For nearly half a century Meir acted as the supreme court of appeals for Germany and its surrounding countries. Rabbis, judges, and members of courts of arbitration sent him their questions regarding law and ritual. Individual complaints that the local courts decided contrary to talmudic law were also sent to him. He was the arbiter between communities and their members, between settlements and new settlers, and between various communities in their mutual relationships. They turned to him during their greatest crises. About a thousand of his responsa have survived, more than the combined number which have been preserved from all the other tosafists. Meir is unique among the tosafists and other great scholars of his time in his preserving a record of his responsa. The careful preservation of legal decisions leaves little room for modification or debate. Meir was motivated in this regard by the tumultuous times he lived in.

Meir sent his responsa to the communities of Germany, Austria, Bohemia, Italy, France, and even to Solomon b. Abraham Adret of Spain. In his lucid style and terse language he gave short, clear, and unequivocal answers to the inquirers. Sometimes he complains of the large number of responsa he is forced to write, apologizes for abbreviating the introductory greetings, is impatient with long and drawn-out questions, occasionally displays genuine anger when a case is repeatedly brought up before him because of persistent litigants, flares up in spirited temper when a litigant threatens to apply to the secular courts, and allows his passion to rise to a crescendo when confronted with serious crime. Sometimes he complained that those who addressed their queries to him overestimated his prerogatives as a talmudic scholar, and asked him to decide matters over which he had no jurisdiction. He was often unwilling to answer queries dealing with taxation, since the laws of taxation depended principally on local custom and procedures. He was very careful not to become involved in disputes and quarrels of the communities. Nevertheless, his opinion was often earnestly sought in matters involving community rights and taxes "in order to avoid the outbreak of a great quarrel."

The type of question sent to Meir speaks eloquently of the position he held in the esteem of his contemporaries. The great majority of Meir's responsa deal with business transactions, real estate, inheritance, marriage contracts, partnerships, agents, sureties, trustees, community government, community property, settling rights, and taxation. The preponderance of queries regarding civil cases and their abundance are eloquent proof of his importance as a communal leader of the first rank. Nevertheless, the opinion of many modern historians to the contrary notwithstanding, Meir held no official position as judge, as head, or as chief rabbi, of German Jewry as a whole. He was neither elected to such a position by the communities, nor was he appointed to it by the emperor. It is true that during the last two decades of his life he often took a somewhat authoritative stand in his relation to the communities. He once convoked a synod of the communities and scholars, and urged them to adopt an ordinance to the effect that a rebellious wife when divorced should forfeit her right to her *ketubbah*. On one occasion he wrote to the Jews of Wuerzburg that they should change their customary procedure in the sale of real estate, and the change was adopted in spite of the fact that some members of that community were reluctant to abandon their ancient practice. In a responsum Meir wrote: "On many occasions have individuals, whose wealth consisted of ready cash, desired to transfer the burden of taxation to real estate owners, but we did not permit them to do so." This seems to imply that in such cases Meir exercised the authority of a chief rabbi, although a thorough study of his responsa proves that he held no such official position.

Meir's responsa reveal a great deal about the various hardships Jews of his time had to endure. One particularly poignant question came from a Jew from Koblenz who admitted to killing his entire family to prevent them from falling into the hands of a Christian mob. Just before taking his own life, he was saved. His question was how he could do penance for his horrendous act. Meir responded that many scholars had acted similarly during the First Crusade. To require special penance would defame them and the permission they granted their students to act in a similar manner.

It is very difficult to determine if Meir was strict or lenient overall in his legal decisions. Whenever possible, he tried to combine the opposing sides of the argument into one harmonious ruling. This did not mean compromise. Rather, both opinions were upheld and merged. For example, there was a controversy surrounding the question as to whether Rosh Ha-Shanah was two separate days or one "long" day. Meir ruled that the *sheheḥeyanu* blessing should be recited on both nights according to the opinion that each day of Rosh Ha-Shanah is separate and distinct. However, Meir required that a new garment be worn or a new fruit be eaten on the second night, thus providing an alternative reason for reciting the *sheheḥeyanu* blessing, in accordance with the opinion that both days of Rosh Ha-Shanah are one.

As business became increasingly sophisticated in the Middle Ages, the primary Talmudic precedents became less and less relevant. While Meir and his contemporaries continued to rely on talmudic law and precedent for their rulings, Meir in particular realized that he had to be flexible in his strict application of talmudic law if the Jews were going to survive in the new economic environment. To do otherwise would have forced Jewish business to separate their commercial lives from their religious and communal lives, with potentially disastrous results.

Many of Meir's responsa deal with the relations between Jews and Christians. These rulings deal with a very wide range of subjects, including eating food cooked by a gentile; *yayin nesekh*, wine produced by gentiles; the halakhic status of the Catholic Church and Christian religious items; charging gentiles interest; relations with Jews who converted to Christianity; and the problems of Jewish life in a Christian society, such as business partnerships with gentiles. A good example of such responsa is the question of a woman whose husband died leaving her in a situation normally requiring the *ḥalizah* rite necessary for the cancellation of a levirate marriage. The difficulty arose from the fact that her brother-in-law was a devoted convert to Christianity. Meir released her from the obligation of the *ḥalizah* rite.

Meir was highly honored and in many cases his word was law. He enjoyed this authority, however, on account of his scholarship; because many leaders of the German communities had been his students who owed him respect and even obedience; and because the Talmud was the "constitution" of community government, and Meir, the greatest scholar of the land, was its best and most authoritative interpreter. His authority was based on his knowledge of talmudic law and on his intellectual attainments, both of which enabled him to arrive at a correct decision in questions of law or ritual. Thus he once wrote to the leaders of the Rhine communities in high-spirited defiance: "You, the aforementioned community leaders, probably delude yourselves with the idea that since your permission is required before a person may divorce his wife, no scholar is permitted to render decisions in ritual law unless he receives your authorization. No, this is not true, for the Torah is free to anyone who is capable of arriving at a correct decision" (I.A. Agus (ed.), *Teshuvot Ba'alei ha-Tosafot* (1954), 143). In the community of Rothenburg, however, Meir probably did hold an official position as judge, cantor, and head of the yeshivah. His house in Rothenburg was probably provided for him by the community since it contained 21 rooms, including a *bet midrash* and rooms for his students. He did not depend on his salary for a livelihood, engaging in business. The major part of his time, however, was devoted to his studies, his students, and his correspondence with the leaders of the communities.

Meir's role in the final formulation and fixing of the law and the ritual of Ashkenazi Jewry can hardly be overestimated. His numerous responsa – collected, copied, and seriously studied for generations – greatly influenced the work of codifiers of the subsequent centuries and thus helped standardize legal procedure and civil law. He introduced certain modifications in the ritual of prayer and religious **minhag* in the synagogue and at home, and instituted many customs which later became standard practice throughout Germany and Eastern Europe. His impact on the life, the organization, and the behavior of subsequent generations was exercised mainly through the work of his students, who followed him everywhere – at home, in school, in the synagogue, and even in prison. They studied his behavior, customs, and ceremonies, and later recorded their observations in their halakhic works together with Meir's decisions on law and ritual. One student in particular, R. Samson b. Zadok, was a veritable Boswell. In his *Tashbeẓ*, he described in great detail Meir's customs and practices from the moment he rose in the morning until he went to bed at night, on weekdays, Sabbaths, and festivals. This book became popular in Germany, Austria, Bohemia, and Poland, and its details were eventually incorporated in the codes.

Meir's influence, therefore, was exerted along three main channels:

(1) His students became the leaders of a number of communities in Germany, Austria, and Bohemia, and imprinted his views upon the life of the members of these communities and the surrounding territories;

(2) He had a profound influence on his most eminent student, Asher b. Jehiel, and on the latter's son Jacob, the author of the *Arba'ah Turim*, and thus directly affected the final *halakhah* incorporated in the Shulḥan Arukh;

(3) The *Mordekhai*, *Agudah*, *Haggahot Maimuniyyot*, *Sha'arei Dura*, and *Tashbeẓ*, classical works compiled by his students mainly on the basis of his decisions, responsa, and customs, were thoroughly studied by the scholars of succeeding generations and thus became the foundation for the work of R. Moses *Isserles, who incorporated the Ashkenazi usage in the Shulḥan Arukh. By far the greatest number of the views and decisions of Isserles incorporated in the above-named code stem directly or indirectly from the work and practices of Meir.

In the more than 80 of his responsa dealing with public law and community government, Meir gave the clearest and most incisive expression and explanation of the ideas of human freedom, government by consent, limitation of the power of the majority, and group responsibility – that formed part of Jewish law on the highest level of comprehension – of any other Jewish scholar before him or since. The principles of Jewish public law that man is absolutely free, that the legitimacy of government is derived solely from the free and uncoerced consent of the governed, and that the legislative power of the majority is limited to certain areas only and cannot encroach upon the private and inalienable rights of the individual were most forcefully and most clearly explained in his responsa. He thus greatly strengthened the democratic form of government of the communities – a form they derived traditionally from the forefathers of Franco-German Jewry – and it was eventually copied by the municipal governments and the guilds of the burgher class that arose in close contiguity with these Jewish communities. Thus in the 15th century, in the legislation intended for the benefit of the whole group the principle "majority rules" was applied, while particular legislative acts that encroached upon the rights and the immunities of the individual, such as taxes, did not become law unless unanimous agreement by the membership of the group was achieved (Otto v. Gierke, *Das deutsche Genossenschaftsrecht*, vol. 2, pp. 230–2, and 478–9). This division of legislation into two categories and the requirement of unanimity in the second category, which paralleled in practically every detail the form of community legislation, so clearly described by Rabbi Meir, could only have been the result of direct copying by the burghers and town communes of the community system of government that antedated their own by several centuries. Meir's peaceful life as a scholar and teacher was rudely interrupted by the turbulent political events that followed the termination of the interregnum and the election of Rudolph I of Hapsburg as emperor of Germany. In order to reestablish the right of the emperor to tax the Jews, which during the interregnum of 1254–73 had been claimed by the local dukes, Rudolph I began to press the claim that the term *servi camerae* ("serfs of the treasury") – which in the 13th century began to gain ascendancy as the legal description of the political status of the Jews – really meant that the Jews were the slaves of the treasury of the empire, that their persons and their possessions were therefore the property of the treasury of the empire, and that the emperor therefore possessed the right to tax the Jews over and above the taxes they paid to the local rulers; and in 1286 he did impose such a tax on them. As a result thousands of Jews decided to leave Germany. Meir, especially outraged at this attempt to enslave the Jews, became the leader of the widespread exodus. In the spring of 1286, he "set out to go across the sea together with his family, his daughters, and his sons-in-law." However, while he was waiting for his followers in Lombardy, he was recognized by an apostate who informed against him, with the result that the ruler of that town, Count Meinhardt of Goerz, arrested Meir and delivered him to Rudolph I. The emperor put him in prison, first in Wasserburg and then in Ensisheim, until the day of his death. His imprisonment was actually a singular form of house arrest. In jail, Meir had access to his books and his students were frequent visitors. Indeed, he continued to issue responsa while imprisoned, although he complained that he often did not have the requisite texts at hand to fully research a particular issue. The Jews made great efforts to effect the release of their beloved teacher – at one time agreeing to pay 23,000 pounds of silver to the emperor, but stipulating that the money was a payment of ransom and not of taxes – but without success. Rudolph I was determined to use the great devotion of the Jews to their teacher to force them to admit the right of the emperor to tax them. However, since a payment of taxes would be an admission that they were slaves, the Jews found it impossible to agree. Meir, therefore, remained in prison, and even after his death in 1293, his body was not delivered to the Jews until 1307 when it was redeemed by Alexander b. Salomo Wimpfen for a large sum of money and buried in Worms.

Rabbi Meir, the last of the tosafists, wrote *tosafot* and novellae to 18 tractates of the Talmud – the *tosafot* to *Yoma*, in the printed text of the Talmud, are from his pen; commentaries to the two orders of the Mishnah *Zera'im* and *Tohorot*; compendia of laws for special purposes, such as *Hilkhot Eruvin, Halakhot Pesukot, Hilkhot Berakhot, Hilkhot Semaḥot, Hilkhot Sheḥitah, Hilkhot Hatmanah*; a collection of customs connected with the marriage ceremony and with the wording of the *ketubbah*; and, most important, nearly 1,000 responsa found in the following collections which differ to a great extent in content: Cremona, 1557; Prague, 1608 (reprinted in Sudilkov, 1835, and in Budapest, 1895); Lemberg, 1860; and Berlin, 1891–92; aside from those incorporated in the works of his students. Some of his responsa were published from manuscripts by I.Z. Kahana (Jerusalem, 1943) and by I.A. Agus (see bibl.). Meir also composed liturgical poems (in addition to the above-mentioned "Inquire thou who art burnt by fire…") and a collection of masoretic explanations (in I.Z. Kahana's *Teshuvot, Pesakim u-Minhagim*, 1 (1957), 3–41).

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[Irving A. Agus]

MEIR BEN ELIJAH (early 19th century), author of the ethical and educational work, *Naḥalat Avot* ("The Inheritance of the Fathers," Vilna, 1835). Although written in the form of an *ethical will – the author seemingly directing his teachings toward his own sons – the book is intended for the ethical betterment of the general public. Meir's principal concern is demonstrating the way to achieve reverence toward God, but he also deals with man's struggle against his own evil inclination, the best methods by which to educate one's children, proper behavior at home and in the synagogue, and social and religious ethics. The book is prefaced by a *piyyut*, with the *notarikon* of the author's name, and two opening statements, one encouraging sinners to repent, and the other insisting on repeated study of ethical literature. Among his major sources are the *Zohar and *Sefer *Ḥasidim*, which he quotes frequently; the *Shenei Luḥot ha-Berit* by R. Isaiah ha-Levi Horowitz; and a more contemporary source – *Nefesh ha-Ḥayyim* by R. Ḥayyim of *Volozhin. In addition, Meir mentions *Ma'alot ha-Torah*, a work composed by his grandfather. Meir also wrote a commentary on the tractate *Avot, Derekh Avot*, printed in Vilna, 1836.

MEIR BEN ELIJAH OF NORWICH (13th century; also called **Meir of England**), liturgical poet and *ḥazzan*. Meir's family came from France, and his father was apparently a *dayyan*. Meir lived in Norwich and was among those exiled from England in 1290. His *piyyut Oyevi bi-Me'erah Tikkov* ("Thou wilt curse mine enemy with execration") was composed on this exile, as its heading states: "For the severity of the exile and the killings, the imprisonment, and the destruction of property." A great Torah scholar, Meir was the only known English *paytan*. His *piyyutim* contain some elements of the Ashkenazi *piyyut* and some of the Spanish. Strong phrases on the suffering of the nation find their expression through his poetry. His *piyyut* for Passover, *Mitnasse ba-Marom al Keruvo* ("Uplifted on High upon His Cherub" called by him "Who is like Thee"), is one of the longest acrostics in the Hebrew *piyyut*. Besides the alphabet, autobiographical information is also contained in the acrostic. Meir's secular poems, which he called *ḥaruzot* ("stanzas") – 16 in all, with an additional poem explaining the form and the construction of the poems – are written in the meter of the Spanish-Hebrew poetry, but do not have its glitter and originality. Sent to one of his friends, the poems were arranged in an order unknown in the poetry of others, namely in four parts ("*banim*") following the letters of his name Meir (*Benei M(-em*), *Benei A(-lef*), etc., i.e., poems whose stanzas begin with the letters *mem, alef,* etc.). The first two letters of each stanza are also repeated at the end of the stanza.

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[Abraham Meir Habermann]

MEIR (Moses Meir) BEN EPHRAIM OF PADUA (d. 1583), scribe, printer, and teacher in Mantua. Meir was presumably born in Padua but lived in Mantua, where he served in various communal capacities. Meir's exceptional talent and his skill as a scribe were attested to by his disciple, Abraham *Portaleone. Meir noted down detailed descriptions of all 43 Torah scrolls written by him. Questions addressed to his close friend, Moses b. Abraham *Provencal, the rabbi of Mantua, indicate Meir's rabbinical scholarship, as does his treatise on the diacritical marks of the Torah, *Rimzei ha-Tagim*. In 1556 Meir founded a printing establishment at Mantua, in collaboration with Jacob b. Naphtali of Garolo (d. c. 1570), and his considerable contribution to the printing of Hebrew books included the first edition of the Zohar (1558–60).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: D.W. Amram, *The Makers of Hebrew Books in Italy* (1909), 323–33; *Kaufmann*, in: JQR, 11 (1899), 266–90; S. Simonsohn, *Toledot ha-Yehudim be-Dukkasut Mantovah*, 2 (1964), 531f.

MEIR BEN ḤIYYA ROFE (1610?–1690?), scholar and emissary of Hebron, Palestine. Born in Safed, the son of *Ḥiyya Rofe, Meir was orphaned in boyhood. He studied in Hebron, leaving about 1648 as an emissary to Italy, Holland, and Germany. On his return journey, he stayed for two years in Italy to publish *Ma'aseh Ḥiyya* (Venice, 1652), his father's talmudic novellae and responsa. In Amsterdam he had influenced the wealthy Abraham Pereira to found a yeshivah in Hebron to be called Ḥesed le-Avraham, of which Meir himself became a scholar. Meir was in Gaza in 1665 when *Nathan of Gaza began to prophecy on the messianism of *Shabbetai Ẓevi. In a subsequent letter to Amsterdam, to Abraham Pereira, he wrote that "Nathan of Gaza is a wise man fit for the divine presence to rest upon him," and urged Pereira to come to Gaza. Pereira reached Venice, but returned to Holland. Meir maintained his belief even after Shabbetai Ẓevi's conversion in 1666. In 1672 Meir left, again as an emissary of Hebron, for Turkey. He stayed for a time in Adrianople, where he was in contact with Shabbetai Ẓevi. On Shabbetai's exile to Albania in 1673, Meir returned to Gaza where he stayed with Nathan and even copied his writings for his own use. He then traveled again to Italy, and from 1675 to 1678 resided in the home of the Shabbatean Abraham *Rovigo. Throughout his stay in Italy Meir did much to encourage those who believed in Shabbetai Ẓevi and spread the writings of Nathan of Gaza. During the last ten years of his life he was recognized as the outstanding scholar of Hebron.

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[Avraham Yaari]

MEIR BEN ISAAC OF TRINQUETAILLE (12th century), Provençal scholar. Knowledge of Meir is largely derived from Menahem b. Solomon *Meiri's introduction to his commentary on *Avot*. Born in Carcassonne, the young Meir b. Isaac was brought by his father to Posquières to study under *Abraham b. David, and after many years Meir became his pupil-colleague. Meir's retort to his teacher, when the latter attempted to force his opinion upon him in a halakhic matter, has become well known: "Do not make light of my honor. For if you are unique among teachers, I am unique among pupils." From Posquières Meir apparently went to Trinquetaille, near Arles. In Meir's comprehensive work (*Sefer ha-Ezer*), written in defense of the *halakhot* of Isaac *Alfasi against the *hassagot* of *Zerahiah b. Isaac ha-Levi (the author of *Ha-Ma'or*), the influence of Meir's great teacher who wrote a similar book is clearly recognizable. Although the book has not been preserved, it is quoted by the *rishonim* – among them *Manoah b. Jacob (who also mentions Meir's *Ḥibbur ha-Mukẓeh*) and *Estori ha-Parḥi, Meir's great-grandson. Menahem b. Solomon Meiri also claims family connection with him. Meir's son, NATHAN OF TRINQUETAILLE, was a well-known scholar and a disciple of the eminent tosafist *Isaac b. Abraham. He later became the teacher of *Naḥmanides, Samuel b. Isaac ha-*Sardi, and Meir b. Simeon ha-Meili. Naḥmanides, Sardi, and Estori ha-Parḥi in particular, quote Nathan frequently. From their quotations it is clear that Nathan wrote a comprehensive work on civil law which was divided into *she'arim* ("gates") as well as a commentary on the Torah. Nathan's commentary on tractate *Shevu'ot* is always mentioned.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Gross, Gal Jud, 246f.; idem, in: MGWJ, 27 (1878), 378ff.; I. Twersky, *Rabad of Posquieres* (1962), 245f.

[Israel Moses Ta-Shma]

MEIR BEN ISAAC SHELI'AḤ ẒIBBUR (also called **Nehorai**; d. before 1096), preacher and liturgical poet of Worms. Meir was considered authoritative in the sphere of liturgy and custom among the Franco-German communities. He appears also to have compiled a custumal for the whole year. Many of the great scholars of Germany and France in his own and in the following generations frequently mention him with esteem and cite his words: Rashi in his prayer book and in his commentary to Scripture, the *tosafists, Simḥah of Vitry in the *Maḥzor Vitry*, *Abraham b. Azriel in his *Arugat ha-Bosem*, Jacob *Moellin in his custumal, and others. Several legends were created about him. Meir compiled *piyyutim* and *seliḥot* in Hebrew and Aramaic, more than 50 of which are extant. A number of his *piyyutim* for the festivals were accepted by the Franco-German and Polish communities and were published innumerable times in *maḥzorim* and among *seliḥot*. The best known of his *piyyutim* is the Aramaic *Akdamut Millin*, which is customarily said to the present day in Ashkenazi communities during Shavuot after the reading of the first verse of the Torah reading (Ex. 19:1); a number of scholars, however, introduced the custom of saying it before the reading of the Torah. It was translated into Hebrew by Gabriel *Polack (*Literaturblatt des Orients* (2 (1850), 554–5) and *Ben Gorni* (1851, 52–55)), and by others as well. It has also been translated into other languages (into English by Joseph Marcus in *Maḥzor*, United Synagogue of America, 1927). *Menahem b. Ḥelbo wrote commentaries on Meir's *piyyutim*. Two of his sons – Jacob and Isaac – are known; the latter perished in the pogroms of 1096.

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[Abraham David]

MEIR BEN SAMUEL OF RAMERUPT (c. 1060–c. 1135), one of the first tosafists of northern France. Meir's teachers were the scholars of Lorraine, Isaac ha-Levi of Worms, *Eliezer of Mainz, and *Rashi, whose daughter, Jochebed, he married. Of his sons, three, who were also his pupils, are especially known – *Samuel b. Meir (Rashbam), *Isaac b. Meir, and Jacob b. Meir *Tam. His son-in-law was Samuel of Vitry, father-in-law of the tosafist *Isaac b. Samuel ha-Zaken. For a certain period Meir apparently dwelt with his father-in-law in Troyes, but he moved to Ramerupt during Rashi's lifetime, founding a *bet ha-midrash* there. He is sometimes designated *ha-yashish* ("the venerable") or "the father of the rabbis." Meir wrote commentaries to the Talmud, similar to those of his father-in-law and of his son Samuel. One extant section of his commentaries was incorporated in the commentary of Rashi to the Talmud and some of his *tosafot* are included in the *tosafot* of the standard Talmud editions. Halakhic statements by him are quoted in the *Sefer ha-Yashar* of his son Jacob Tam, in the *Or Zaru'a*, in the *Sefer ha-Ittur,* and elsewhere. Biblical comments by him are quoted by his son Samuel in his commentary to the Pentateuch. These are permeated by a spirit of literal exegesis and it is probable that the son was influenced in this by the father. The present text of **Kol Nidrei* is the result of amendments introduced by him into the original formula. There are extant responsa written to him by Rashi, and also a responsum written by them jointly. Meir also composed a *seliḥah, Avo Lefanekha* ("I come before Thee").

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Urbach, Tosafot, 38–42, and index.

[Zvi Kaplan]

MEIR BEN SAMUEL OF SHCHERBRESHIN (Pol. **Szczebrzeszyn**; mid-17th century), *paytan* and chronicler who lived in a small town near Lublin, Poland. His known writings consist of *Shir Mizmor le-Yom ha-Shabbat* ("Psalm for the Sabbath," Venice, 1639) and a rhymed account in Hebrew of the *Chmielnicki persecutions of 1648–49, written during the summer of 1650, and which is to be read "at all times, but especially during the three weeks of mourning between the 17th of Tammuz and the Ninth of Av and on the 20th of Sivan," the latter being the fast day in commemoration of the persecutions. The work was published during the same summer in Cracow, under the title *Ẓok ha-Ittim* ("Sufferings of the Times"). In the spirit of the accounts of the sufferings during the First *Crusade (1096), the author describes the persecutions of his own day as related to him by fugitives and, in part, as he witnessed them himself in Zamosc and the surrounding region in the summer of 1649. *Ẓok ha-Ittim* is of greater historical importance than the other Jewish chronicles of these persecutions, which were mostly written and published some time after the events by refugees in distant places who could not, for various reasons, give all the details.

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[Israel Halpern]

MEIR BEN SIMEON HA-ME'ILI (first half of 13th century), Provençal talmudist and communal leader. Meir's main center of activity was *Narbonne, and he cites many of its customs in his works. His principal teacher was his uncle, *Meshullam b. Moses, and Meir frequently cites him and his customs. He also studied under Nathan b. Meir of Trinquetaille. There are references to his connections with Naḥmanides, another pupil of Nathan b. Meir. Among his other activities, Meir engaged in disputations with Christian eccelesiastics and was one of the chief speakers in a delegation of the Jewish leaders of Narbonne and Capestang who interceded with the cardinal of Narbonne concerning discriminating laws which it was proposed to issue against the Jews. He was spokesman of the community at the court of the emperor, and before ministers and church leaders. According to Gross and Scholem, his work *Milḥemet Mitzvah* (Ms. Parma, cat. De Rossi (1803) no. 155, only part of which was published; see below) was written between 1230 and 1240. The work itself, however, gives the date 1245, and it seems to contain matters of a still later date (see Gross in: MGWJ, 30 (1881), 296). The work contains an account of his disputation with the bishop of Narbonne, a defense of Judaism against the allegations of Christians, explanations of biblical verses dealing with the coming of the Messiah, and a commentary on the *Shema* and the 13 divine attributes. Meir also appears in this work as a vehement opponent of a certain circle of kabbalists, to whom he attributes heretical views. Questioning the authenticity of *Sefer ha-Bahir,* he sharply criticizes its contents, together with other kabbalistic works. These criticisms were included in an "epistle" sent to "our rabbis in every town." His work was also directed against the ideas of some kabbalists based on works which, according to Meir, were forgeries attributed to well-known scholars. At the end of this epistle he gives Meshullam's commendation to his activity.

Only latterly have his works begun to be published, under the title *Sefer ha-Me'orot*: novellae to (1) tractates *Berakhot* and *Pesaḥim* (1964); (2) to *Shabbat* (1964); (3) *Mo'ed Katan* and *Ḥullin* (1964); (4) *Eruvin* (1967); (5) *Yoma, Sukkah, Beẓah, Rosh ha-Shanah, Ta'anit,* and *Megillah*, and the minor tractates (1967). His commentary on the **hoshanot* was published in *Sefer ha-Mikhtam*, edited by A. Sofer (1959). The *Milḥemet Mitzvah* contains five sections (504 columns) and a fragment of it was published by G. Scholem (bibl.) and the end of section four with part of section five in *Sefer ha-Me'orot*, volume one. Also known are his novellae to the order *Kodashim* (mentioned by Bezalel Askenazi in *Kelalei ha-Talmud* no. 37; A. Marx, in: *Festschrift … D. Hoffmann* (1914), Heb. pt. 181); *Me'or Torah*, a commentary on the weekly portions of the Pentateuch; sermons (for Passover, the New Year, and Tabernacles in the manner of the sermons of Abraham b. David and Naḥmanides); and a pamphlet called *Meshiv Nefesh* defending Maimonides' *Hilkhot Yesodei ha-Torah* in his *Mishneh Torah* against his critics.

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[Shlomoh Zalman Havlin]

MEIRI, MENAHEM BEN SOLOMON (1249–1316), Provençal scholar and commentator of the Talmud. Meiri was born in Perpignan where he spent his whole life. His family, regarded as one of the most distinguished in Provence, originated from

Carcassonne and Narbonne. Few biographical details are known of Meiri. In his youth he was orphaned of his father, and his children were taken captive while he was still young (Introduction to *Kiryat Sefer*), but no details of this personal tragedy are known. Meiri's principal teacher was *Reuben b. Ḥayyim. His reference to *Jonah Gerondi as "my teacher" does not necessarily mean that he studied under him; it may merely mean that he studied his works. Among the contemporary scholars with whom he maintained close ties was Solomon b. Abraham *Adret; they exchanged many responsa and Adret's teachings assisted him in the writing of his monumental work. Meiri was one of the participants in Adret's polemic against Maimonides which ended in Adret's excommunicating any person who read philosophical works in his youth. In a letter to Abba Mari b. Moses Joseph, who handled the entire affair and collected the relevant correspondence, Meiri disassociated himself from the attitude of Adret and his colleagues, upholding freedom of thought for the scholars of each country, and freedom from intervention by outside scholars. Extracts from Meiri's letter (republished by D. Kaufmann along with the reply by Joseph b. Simeon in the name of Abba Mari under the title *Ḥoshen Mishpat* in the *Jubelschrift… L. Zunz*, 1884; Heb. sec. 142–74), reveal his great interest in philosophy and other secular sciences, and reflect his pride in the local scholars who had acquired proficiency in them.

Meiri occupies a central position in the sphere of the talmudic creativity of Provence, not only due to his extraordinary literary fecundity and the comprehensive scope of his works, but also because he summarizes the teachings of his predecessors during the previous three centuries. In effect he puts the seal upon the literary efforts in this area of Jewish culture. His literary activity covered halakhic rulings, talmudic exposition, biblical exegesis, customs, ethics, and philosophy. The vast majority of Meiri's works remained in manuscript until very recently, probably on account of their exceptional length, which made it practically impossible to copy them in full. A small number of his books were published in the second half of the 18th century and the majority of them – from the beginning of the 20th century up to the present day. A great contribution to this project was by A. *Sofer (Schreiber). An exception is his commentary to the Book of Proverbs which was first published in Portugal in 1492, and then included in the *Kehillot Moshe* edition of *Mikra'ot Gedolot* (Amsterdam, 1724).

Meiri's chief work is the gigantic *Beit ha-Beḥirah* on the Talmud, in which he was engaged from 1287 to 1300. In it he summarizes the subject matter of the Talmud, giving both the meaning and the *halakhah* derived from it. It follows the order of the Mishnah. The work covers the orders of *Mo'ed, Nashim*, and *Nizikin*, and the tractates, *Berakhot, Ḥallah, Ḥullin, Niddah, Tamid, Middot*, and *Mikva'ot. Beit ha-Beḥirah* has been republished almost in its entirety in recent years from a single complete manuscript (Parma). Of particular interest is the introduction to his commentary on *Avot*, in which he gives the names of all the people who form the chain of tradition of Torah study from Moses to his own time. It contains valuable material for the knowledge of the history of Torah study in Spain and Provence, and was copied out in full and completed (updated) to his own time by Isaac *Lattes in his *Sha'arei Ẓiyyon* (ed. by S. Buber, 1885). In 1995, the introduction to *Avot* was updated from manuscript and published with the title, *Seder ha-Kabbalah*. This edition includes the commentary of Ḥayyim Falagi.

Meiri follows an original method of exposition. He develops his theme from its origin and for this reason he assigns a separate section to the Mishnah and explains it before turning to the later development and discussions in the later literature. Each tractate and its individual chapters are preceded by a short preface outlining the subject in general terms. The discussion begins with a presentation of the fundamental principles involved and proceeds with an explanation of the opinions of each of the *amoraim*. The author in conclusion sums up and collates these opinions, giving the relevant *halakhah* as he sees it. An abundance of comments handed down by German, Provençal, and Spanish scholars with their different interpretations are incorporated, but each one is given separately to prevent confusion on the part of the reader. Meiri was one of the few rabbis of his time to make extensive use of the Jerusalem Talmud in order to clarify the parallel discussions in the Babylonian Talmud, and his works are therefore of added importance for research on the Jerusalem Talmud and its variant readings. Meiri's style contributes much to the lucidity of his presentation. His Hebrew is accurate, precise, and simple. In addition, he succeeded in finding the golden mean between the generally contradictory aims of expository comprehensiveness and halakhic definitiveness. These features endeared the *Beit ha-Beḥirah* to scholars and its volumes are now repeatedly republished in spite of their great length.

Meiri adopted the unusual practice of designating his predecessors by epithet rather than by name, e.g., "the greatest of authors" (Maimonides), "the greatest of *posekim*" (Alfasi), "the early scholars of Narbonne," "the former scholars of Catalonia," and "the great scholars of Provence." As a result it is difficult now to determine to whom he is referring, especially as he often employs the same epithet for many scholars who, in his opinion, belong to the same "genre." Contrary to the common conception of the Meiri's commentary as purely anthological, similar to the later work *Shitah Mekubbeẓet* by Bezalel Ashkenazi, the Meiri quotes only those opinions that are germane to the discussions, either to refute them or to bolster his own ideas. His admirable style makes it impossible to detect the verbatim quotations which no doubt he gives from the sources, since it became one harmonious whole. He employed this method only in *Beit ha-Beḥirah*.

In addition to *Beit ha-Beḥirah*, Meiri wrote commentaries on the Talmud which were expository rather than halakhic in orientation. Although the manuscripts in this group of a number of tractates are still extant, none has been published, except for the commentary to *Avot* and the *Beit ha-Beḥirah* to the tractate *Beẓah* (ed. by I.S. Lang and K. Schlesinger, 1956), which apparently belong to this group.

Meiri wrote several other important works. His first, written in his youth, was *Ḥibbur ha-Teshuvah* devoted entirely to ethics and repentance. It clearly reveals the influence of the *Malmad ha-Talmidim* of Jacob *Anatoli, the first Provençal scholar to stimulate interest in the meaning of the precepts as distinct from their observance. It may be assumed that toward the end of his life Meiri revised the work, which in its present form, bears the character of a well constructed sermon book. Extracts from it were published in various places; it was published in its entirety for the first time in 1950.

Meiri's commentary to Proverbs, and even more, his commentary to Psalms (1936), reveals all his exegetical and stylistic characteristics as well as his love for explicit meaning, *peshat*. In them he draws upon the Midrashim and the accepted ethical and wisdom literature of the Middle Ages, such as **Ben ha-Melekh ve-ha-Nazir* and *Muserei ha-Filosofim*, and also makes frequent use of the works of the great grammarians, such as Abraham *Ibn Ezra, Jonah *Ibn Janaḥ, and the *Kimḥi family. Corrections to the text of the commentary to Psalms were published in *Kobez al Jad*, New Series, 4 (1946), 229–40. Another of his works, *Kiryat Sefer* (1863–81), contains the laws of writing the **Sefer Torah*, including lists of those words written *plene* and those written defectively, and of the "open" and "closed" sections of the Torah. *Kiryat Sefer*, composed in 1306, was considered for many years as one of the three basic works on the laws of writing a *Sefer Torah* – all the great *posekim* and masoretes making use of it. *Kiryat Sefer* was based upon Provençal and Spanish traditions as well as upon a copy of a *Sefer Torah* written by Meir *Abulafia for his own use. However, 150 years after Meiri's death, more and more of Abulafia's manuscripts of *Masoret Seyag la-Torah* were circulated, which did not correspond with the *Sefer Torah* Meiri had written and as a result the reliability of *Kiryat Sefer* began to be called into question. Meiri wrote *Magen Avot* (ed. by I. Last, 1909) to uphold the customs of Provence in general and Perpignan in particular, against those of Spain, particularly Gerona, held by *Naḥmanides and brought by his disciples to Provence after its annexation to Spain during the reign of John I (1213–76). In its 24 chapters, each devoted to the discussion of a different custom, Meiri asserts the value and superiority of these local traditions as against the great authority of Naḥmanides.

The Meiri subscribed to the Maimonidean philosophical tradition that views intellectual achievement as the highest human goal. The pinnacle of this achievement is the ability to discriminate between truth and falsehood. The intellectual understanding must be coupled with a religious sense of ultimate redemption. The most fundamental religious concepts – fear of God, love of God and *devekut*, cleaving to Him – are all inexorably linked to the processes of awareness and understanding. In his commentary to Proverbs, the Meiri gives expression to just those ideas (Meshi Zahav edition, Jerusalem, 1969, p.25). The Maimonidean tradition greatly influenced other aspects of the Meiri's thought, including the nature of God and of the World to Come.

The Meiri rejected the opinion of many of the disciples of Maimonides, who felt that the publication of his *Mishneh Torah* made Talmud study superfluous. He viewed Talmud study as an integral aspect of Jewish religious study. This is evidenced by his monumental commentary on the Talmud. He did agree, though, that the essence of Talmud study was to derive applicable Jewish law. Nevertheless, the Meiri was one of a small group of medieval sages who dealt extensively with the non-legal, aggadic portions of the Talmud. Here, too, the Meiri's explanations were rational and logical, just like his halakhic discussions.

Modern scholars disagree as to the significance of the Meiri's attitude towards non-Jews that differed from almost all other medieval sages. E.E. Urbach argues that the limited legal application made by the Meiri limits the idea's significance (Urbach, in: *Perakim be-Toledot ha-Ḥevrah ha-Yehudit bi-Ymei ha-Beinayim u-ve-Et ha-Ḥadashah*, 1998, 34–44); J. Katz (*Zion*, 46:2 (1981), 243–46); and G. Blidstein (*Binah*, 3 (1994), 119–33) argue that the Meiri's idea was a totally new way of viewing the gentiles of his day: The Meiri differentiated between idolaters and gentiles who were religious people, *gedurim be-darkhei ha-datot*, "restricted" by ways of religion. This concept recognizes that the medieval Christians were not idol worshippers, but people who believed in God, observed religious practices (albeit far from those of Judaism) and were therefore *gedurim*, "disciplined" by moral values. This concept was used in Jewish polemics and debates with the Christians before the Meiri's time. However, his contribution was to apply it sparingly to those laws meant to prevent close contact between idolaters and Jews. Thus, while the Talmud does not obligate a Jew to return a lost item to a non-Jew, the Meiri claims that this only applies to idolaters. When dealing with gentiles who are not idolaters, there is actually an obligation to return the lost item (Meiri, Bava Kama, p. 330).

The Meiri's view of gentiles stemmed, in part, from his view of history as a progression away from idolatry to morality. He applied this same idea to women. Contrary to Asher ben Jehiel, who viewed women as basically wanton, the Meiri thought them to be moral and even more sin-fearing than men. As a result, he deemed as irrelevant various Talmudic dicta predicated on the immorality of women. The Meiri's comments on the *Berakha* no. 3 of *Sheva Berakhot* (Meiri, Ketubbot, p. 38) reveal that women were created with the same *ẓelem Elohim* as men. He is the only medieval thinker to explicitly state this. Contrary to almost all of the other medieval and renaissance rabbinic scholars, the Meiri calls women *ḥasidot* (pious ones; Meiri, Ta'anit 30b) and is of the opinion that they share in God's providence, equally with all of God's creatures (Meiri, Sotah, p. 46–47). Meiri also permits women to recite the blessings for *mitzvot* that they are not obligated to perform (Meiri, Haggigah, p. 31–32). He also permits women to don *tefillin*. The Meiri valued the desire of women to advance toward perfection through the fulfillment of *mitzvot*. Indeed, there was no other medieval rabbinic sage that had such a high opinion of women's potential, both morally and intellectually. This attitude was successfully translated by the Meiri into all of his halakhic decisions regarding all the legal issues involving women.

In recent years many collections of extracts from Meiri's works, arranged according to subject, have been published, including a commentary to the Passover *Haggadah* (1965; ed. by M.M. Meshi-Zahav); *Sefer ha-Middot* (idem (ed.), 1966), a guide to proper conduct; and an anthology of his biblical expositions (1957), by J.I. Gad. Meiri stands out as the embodiment of the highest qualities which characterized Provençal Jewry: greatness in Torah combined with a leaning toward, and an appreciation of, philosophy, secular erudition, and the sciences in general; unswerving attachment to custom and tradition coupled with a high-minded tolerance of gentile society; and brilliant Torah creativity, brought to expression in fluent, even poetic Hebrew. Meiri was also the last Provençal scholar to embody this synthesis.

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[Israel Moses Ta-Shma / David Derovan (2nd ed.)]

MEIR JEHIEL HA-LEVI (Holzstock, Holzstick) OF OSTROWIEC (1851–1928), ḥasidic rabbi and scholar. Meir Jehiel was born to a poor family of humble origin, but through his outstanding gifts became one of the foremost leaders of Orthodox Jewry. He was a pupil of Elimelech of Grodzisk and like him settled in Ostrowiec, where many thousands of Ḥasidim became his disciples. Meir Jehiel was acknowledged as one of the greatest scholars of his age, and for a time no important decision on *halakhah* or Jewish life was made without consulting him. His form of Ḥasidism was original; his sermons were based on complicated equations from **gematria* by which he interpreted many texts in *halakhah* and *aggadah*. He was of an ascetic turn of mind and made a long series of fasts over 40 years. As he did not permit his books to be printed in his lifetime, only a fraction of his sayings and writings has been preserved. His son EZEKIEL (1887–1943), rabbi of Nasielsk, was his successor. Some of his sayings are found in *Or Torah*, edited by his disciple Judah Joseph Leibush (1920), and in M. Nomberg's *Omer Man* (1912).

[Adin Steinsaltz]

ME'IR SHEFEYAH (Heb. מֵאִיר שְׁפֵיָה), agricultural school and youth village in central Israel, on the southern slope of Mt. Carmel near *Zikhron Ya'akov, founded in 1892 by Baron Edmond de *Rothschild to provide farmsteads for the sons of Zikhron Ya'akov settlers. In 1904, after the Kishinev pogrom, Israel *Belkind established a home at Me'ir Shefeyah for orphans of the pogrom. In World War I, the Herzlia High School was transferred there from Tel Aviv when the Turkish authorities ordered the city's evacuation. In 1923 a youth village was set up, which was included in the 1930s in the network of *Youth Aliyah. The population, including pupils, reached about 450 in 1969. In 2002 the population was 412. The name is composed of the Hebraized form of the former Arabic name of the place, and the name of Mayer Amschel *Rothschild.

[Efraim Orni / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

MEIR SIMḤAH HA-KOHEN OF DVINSK (1843–1926), talmudic scholar. His brilliance was such that he is said to have annotated the halakhic work of a distinguished rabbi when only 13 years old. At the age of 17 he went to Eishishok where he studied under R. Moses Danishevsky. Meir Simḥah married the daughter of Ẓevi Paltiel, a wealthy man from Bialystok who supported him while he continued his studies under the local rabbi, Yom Tov Lipman Halpern, the author of *Oneg Yom Tov* (1880). With the publication of his work, *Or Same'aḥ* on Maimonides (1902–26), Meir Simḥah became widely renowned as an outstanding talmudic scholar and commentator. His novellae *Or Same'aḥ* to *Bava Kamma* and *Bava Meẓia* were published in Jerusalem (1948), and his novellae to most of the tractates of the orders *Nashim* and *Nezikin*, together with some responsa and occasional notes, were printed in 1967 from a manuscript identified as his in the Jewish National and University Library. In these fundamental and classic works of rabbinic literature, he shed new light on the Talmud and codifiers, displaying vast erudition, great depth, and profound logic. On the advice of R. Jacob Ḥarif of Zagare and R. Joseph B. *Soloveichik of Brest-Litovsk, he was invited to become rabbi of Dvinsk, a position he occupied for 40 years. Meir Simḥah earned the high esteem of all communal circles, not only in Dvinsk, but far beyond its borders. In 1906 he declined the offer of a rabbinical position in Jerusalem, as a result of the entreaties of the community of Dvinsk who wrote to the leaders in Jerusalem that were he to leave, "not only would we, God forfend, be destroyed, but also the entire Diaspora. For he is the authority able to answer anyone who enquires concerning the word of the Lord. It is not for you, people of Jerusalem, to do such a thing." In 1911 he presided jointly with Isaac Jacob Rabinovitz, the rabbi of Ponevezh, over the Central Committee of Rabbis, the representative body of

Russian Jewry in its relations with the government. During World War I most of the Dvinsk community fled, and only a few of the poorest inhabitants remained. Meir Simḥah stayed with them, declaring that as long as there were nine Jews in the city, he would be the tenth.

In his work on the Pentateuch, *Meshekh Ḥokhmah* (1927), he drew freely on his vast knowledge of the two Talmuds and of the halakhic and aggadic Midrashim, giving new and profound interpretations. The book, which contains original reflections, attained wide popularity. *Zera Avraham* (1929) by Abraham Luftvir consists of an exchange of correspondence between Luftvir and Menahem *Zemba, and also includes some fine specimens of Meir Simḥah's responsa to him.

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[Mordechai Hacohen]

MEISEL (Meisl, Meysl, Miška, Akhbar, Maušel, Konír), MORDECAI (Marcus, Marx) BEN SAMUEL (1528–1601), Prague financier, philanthropist, and head of the Jewish community. He was considered by *Graetz the "first Jewish capitalist in Germany." Although the source of his fabulous wealth is not known, it enabled him to finance large transactions in support of *Rudolph II, to whom he was appointed counselor, during the Turkish wars. His business was based on the special privilege granted him to loan money not only against pledges but also against promissory notes and real estate. (The illegality of such practices according to Bohemian law was one of the pretexts for confiscating Meisel's estate, which amounted to over half a million florins, after his death.) He also acted as purveyor of luxuries and art objects. Meisel is first mentioned in business relations with his father-in-law, Isaac Rofe (Lékař), in 1569. Another of his business associates was Veit (Ḥayyim) Vokatý. He used his wealth for philanthropic activities of all kinds; the epitaph on his tombstone records: "None of his contemporaries was truly his equal in deeds of charity." With the support of his first wife, Eve, he built the Meisel Synagogue in 1597, for which Rudolph II granted him tax immunity and the right to display in it the "flag of David." Rudolph further decreed that the synagogue might not be entered by officers of the law. It remained Meisel's property until his death, when it was taken over by the community. (From 1963 it housed the synagogue silver collection of the Jewish State Museum.)

Meisel purchased land for the expansion of the Jewish cemetery and the construction of a *bet tohorah* (where the dead were prepared for burial). He financed the building of a hospital, a *bet midrash*, a *mikveh*, and a *Klaus*. The tradition that he also built the Jewish town hall cannot be proved. He had the streets of the Jewish quarter paved and donated large sums to all other charities, especially for the ransoming of captives. He also sent money to Jerusalem and granted considerable loans to the Cracow and Poznan (Posen) communities (possibly because of their connections with *Judah Loew b. Bezalel).

About Meisel's second wife, Frumet (d. 1625), there is diverse information. On one hand, she is said to have supported him in his philanthropic activities, and on the other hand, she is reported to have refused Meisel's dying request to give to Judah Loew a large sum for his charities. That she was Meisel's wife is not mentioned on her gravestone. When Meisel died, childless, he willed his property to his two nephews, both named Samuel. Although the emperor was represented at Meisel's funeral, all Meisel's property was seized in the name of the emperor, his heirs tortured to make them disclose any "concealed" assets, and Meisel's will itself declared void. A lawsuit was initiated, to which the entire community became a party, claiming the right to part of the inheritance because it had been forced to pay interest on it. In the course of this lawsuit, the *ḥerem* was pronounced on the impoverished Meisel family and one of them was refused burial. Although the main part of the estate burned down in the conflagration of 1689, an agreement between the community and the family was not reached until 1699.

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[Meir Lamed]

MEISEL, MOSES BEN MORDECAI (c. 1758–c. 1838), Torah scholar and *maskil*; born in Vilna. In his youth Meisel was one of the disciples closest to the Vilna Gaon *Elijah b. Solomon Zalman. He was familiar with German literature and became deeply interested in the writings of Moses *Mendelssohn. However, he was also in secret contact with R. *Shneur Zalman of Lyady, the founder of the *Chabad movement, and when this became known, he fled to Germany, fearing persecution by the Vilna religious establishment. During the Napoleonic Wars he conferred with the representatives of the French government on several occasions. After acceding to R. Shneur Zalman's request to stop these talks with people close to Napoleon, he was suspected of collaborating with the Russian army and was compelled to flee. He went to Ereẓ Israel but returned to Lithuania after the French defeat. During the early 1820s he went once more to Ereẓ Israel and in his last years was closely associated with Sir Moses *Montefiore. He wrote *Shirat Moshe* (Shklov, 1788), on the 613 precepts. Meisel died in Hebron.

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[Arthur Cygielman]

MEISEL, NOAH (1891–1956), Latvian politician, born in Nesvizh, Belarus. From his student days Meisel was a member of the *Bund. In World War I he served in the Russian army as a medical officer. After Latvia became independent (1918), he was appointed municipal health officer in Daugavpils (Dvinsk) and also served as a member of the city council and the Jewish community council. Later, he was elected to the Latvian parliament, where he represented the Bund. After the Fascist takeover (1934) he was arrested together with other Socialist deputies and spent some time in prison. He visited the United States, but did not stay there, returning to Latvia. In 1940, when the Soviet forces overran Latvia, Meisel was arrested – as were other Socialist and democratic leaders – and deported to the far north of the U.S.S.R., where he eventually died.

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[Joseph Gar]

MEISELS, DAVID DOV (1814–1876), Polish rabbi. Meisels was the son of Aryeh Judah Jacob who served as *av bet din* of Piotrkow and Kilatow. He was known in his youth as a prodigy (*illui*). He was appointed *av bet din* of Dobra at the age of 18 and later served in the same capacity at Nasielsk. From 1851 until his death he was rabbi of Lask. He was regarded as one of the outstanding talmudists of his generation and gained the deep respect of the ḥasidic rabbi of Gur, Isaac Meir, author of the *Ḥiddushei ha-Rim*. Meisels' important works, published by his sons, are *Ahavat David*, on the laws of invalid witnesses (1884); *Ḥiddushei ha-Radad*, novellae on tractate *Pesaḥim* (1891); *She'elot u-Teshuvot ha-Radad*, responsa on *Oraḥ Ḥayyim* and *Even ha-Ezer* (1903); and *Binyan David*, on the Book of Lamentations (1913). Of his sons, JACOB, author of the *Toledot Ya'akov*, succeeded his father as rabbi of Lask; PHINEHAS ELIJAH served as rabbi of Rakov and ZE'EV WOLF was a distinguished Ḥasid at Tarnow.

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[Arthur Cygielman]

MEISELS, DOV BERUSH (1798–1870), rabbi and Polish patriot. Scion of one of the most ancient families of Cracow, he was a descendant of Moses *Isserles. He studied under his father Isaac, who was rabbi of Kamenets-Podolsk, Ukraine. After his marriage to the daughter of the wealthy Solomon Borenstein, he settled in Cracow, where he opened a bank in partnership with Horowitz, the bank bearing the names of both partners. In 1832, after a difficult struggle against R. Saul Landa, Meisels was elected rabbi of the town. R. Saul Landa and his followers did not recognize this election and they established their own *bet din*. The divergences of opinion between the two *battei din* were tremendous; what one of them permitted the other prohibited. Both rabbis vigorously fought the emergence of the Haskalah in Cracow and they were violently attacked by the *maskilim* in the pages of their *Algemeyne Tsaytung*. During the period of his rabbinate in Cracow, and even before then, Meisels played a central role in the communal life of the Jews of Cracow. Being extremely wealthy, he distributed the whole of his rabbinical salary to charitable institutions, thus gaining the esteem of the masses. Many of the inhabitants of Cracow, which was then under Austrian rule, joined the Polish Revolt which broke out in Warsaw in 1830 against Russian rule. Meisels supported the rebels and he personally financed the purchase of arms and the expenses of the rebels. In general, Meisels was an enthusiastic Polish patriot and he proved it on several occasions.

During the revolution of 1844, Meisels again supported the rebels. At a central prayer service held in the synagogue, Meisels called upon the congregation to join the rebels and to support them, even taking part in mass demonstrations in the street. In 1846 he was elected to the Senate of the Cracow Republic (the Free City of Cracow) and in 1848 was a member of the Polish delegation to the Austrian emperor which appealed for the liberation of the political prisoners. In the elections to the Austrian parliament which were held on December 31, 1848, Meisels was elected as the first Jew, obtaining a large majority over the other Jewish candidates. During the same year, he was also elected as one of the 40 councilors of the municipality of Cracow. In 1851, Meisels lent his assistance to projects for Jewish agricultural settlement, but these did not materialize. In parliament, Meisels joined forces with the Radicals. His sharp reply of: "*Juden haben keine Rechte*" – "Jews have no Right(s)" – to the speaker of parliament who had asked him why he sat with the Leftists has become renowned. In 1854 his great rival, R. Saul Landa, died and two years later, Meisels became chief rabbi of Warsaw. He was received with much enthusiasm by all circles, though his election followed upon a violent dispute. In Warsaw, he also fought together with the Poles, joining their demonstration and assisting the Polish patriots.

In November 1861, he was arrested for closing the synagogue of Warsaw in defiance of the czarist authorities and was compelled to leave the town after a lengthy imprisonment. London and Amsterdam offered him their rabbinical seats, but in 1862 he was authorized to return to Warsaw, which he preferred. He was again expelled and deported to Cracow, but he was pardoned and returned to Warsaw – but from then he engaged exclusively in study. When he died in Warsaw, the whole population attended the funeral, as a manifestation of the desire for Polish independence; the Russians prohibited the publication of obituaries on him, in revenge for his political activities against them. Meisels published *Ḥiddushei Maharadam* (Warsaw, 1870), consisting of novellae on the *Sefer ha-Mitzvot* of Maimonides. His son, ISRAEL, was *dayyan* in Cracow and rabbi in Shedletz (Polish: Siedlce) from 1858–67. He then returned to Cracow, where he died in 1875. His second son, SOLOMON, lived in Vienna.

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[Itzhak Alfassi]

MEISELS, SAUL (1911–1990), *ḥazzan*. Meisels was born in Galicia where his father was a ḥasidic *ḥazzan*. Meisels immigrated to the United States in his youth and sang as a child in cantorial choirs. He studied music with the well-known synagogue composer Max Helfman, and received his vocal training at Juilliard. For 37 years he was the *ḥazzan* of Temple on the Heights in Cleveland. He was president of the Cantors Assembly and in 1965 organized the first International Conference of Musicians and Cantors, which was held in Israel. Meisels specialized in renditions of Yiddish folk songs and appeared in numerous concerts of *ḥazzanut*, and sang Yiddish folk songs, songs from the Jewish theater, and modern Israeli songs. In his performances he was accompanied by his wife, Ida Ruth, a well-known arranger of Yiddish folk songs. Meisels made recordings of cantorial works composed by Sholom Secunda, and was a recording artist for RCA Victor and Tikvah Records.

[Akiva Zimmerman / Raymond Goldstein (2nd ed.)]

MEISELS, UZZIEL BEN ẒEVI HIRSCH (1743–1785 or 1786), ḥasidic rabbi in Poland. Meisels was a member of an old rabbinic family in Poland, and a descendant of Moses *Isserles whom he calls "my grandfather" in his works. He served as *av bet din* in Rychwal (Bogatynia), Ostrowiec, and Nowy Dwor. Attracted to Ḥasidism he became a disciple of *Dov Baer, the Maggid of Mezhirech, and with his brother Isaac became one of the propagators of Ḥasidism in Poland. A considerable portion of his teachings in the yeshivah has been lost. His works include *Eẓ ha-Da'at Tov*, novellae on tractates *Ketubbot* (1863) and *Shabbat* (1866); *Menorah ha-Tehorah* (1883/84), on *Tur, Oraḥ Ḥayyim, Hilkhot Shabbat*; and *Tiferet Ẓevi* (1803), on tractate *Beẓah*. The rest were published posthumously by his grandchildren in *Tiferet Uzzi'el*. This work includes selections on the Bible and moralistic ḥasidic sermons, combined with kabbalistic themes, though even these reflect the style of the halakhist, and contains many sayings of the founders of Ḥasidism. Meisels was called עבד ה׳ ("Servant of the Lord"), *eved* being the initial letters of Uzziel ben Dreizel (his mother's name).

[Pnina Meislish]

MEISL, JOSEPH (1883–1958), historian and archivist. Born in Brno, he became an official of the Berlin Jewish community in 1908, rising to general secretary, and was later librarian of the community's important library. After the Nazis seized power, Meisl settled in Jerusalem. There he founded (and to 1957 directed) the *General Archives for the History of the Jewish People (see *Archives). Before and after World War II he was able to transfer valuable archival material from Central and Eastern Europe to the archives.

Writing mainly in German, Meisl made considerable contributions to Jewish historiography. His works include *Geschichte der Juden in Polen und Russland* (3 vols., 1921–25); *Haskalah, Geschichte der Aufklaerungsbewegung unter den Juden in Russland* (1919), a history of the Haskalah movement in Russia; and *Die Juden im Zartum Polen* (1916). He also wrote studies on well-known Jewish historians: H. *Graetz (1917), S. *Dubnow (1930), and his father-in-law S.P. *Rabbinowitz (Heb., 1943). In 1939 he published his study of Sir Moses *Montefiore's (abortive) endeavors to raise the educational and economic standards of Jerusalem Jewry, while his important edition of the minute books of the Berlin Jewish community, 1723–1854 (*Pinkas Kehillat Berlin*) was published posthumously in 1962 by Shaul Esh. Meisl was a coeditor of the *Festschrift zu S. Dubnows siebzigstem Geburtstag* (1930).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: N.M. Gelber, in: *Ḥokhmat Yisrael be-Ma'arav Eiropah*, ed. by S. Federbush, 2 (1963), 170ff. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** NDB, vol. 16 (1990), 688f.

[Getzel Kressel]

MEISSEN, former margravate in Saxony, city near Dresden, Germany. Jews are mentioned as resident in the margravate of Meissen in the first decade of the 11th century. An organized community in the city of Meissen dates only from the 12th century, when a synagogue and a cemetery were maintained. The Jews lived at first in a *Judendorf* outside the city walls near the "Jewish gate." In 1265 Duke Henry the Illustrious enacted a liberal decree securing the Jewish community undisturbed participation in the city's life for some 80 years. During this period they made their living as pawnbrokers and moneylenders. Their communal life flourished, and they established the first Jewish school in Saxony. In 1330 Emperor Louis IV transferred the protection of the Jews in Meissen to Frederick the Grave of Thuringia. During the *Black Death persecutions of 1349 the community was destroyed. Although it was never reestablished within the city itself during medieval times, Jewish moneylenders and tradesmen remained as taxpayers within the margravate. A partial expulsion took place in 1411, but the decree was rescinded in 1415. In 1425 Frederick the Warlike granted them protection for a yearly fee; however, during the course of the Hussite Wars (see *Hussites), Frederick the Mild ordered the expulsion of all Jews from Meissen and Thuringia in 1430. They were not permitted entry into Saxony as a whole until the end of the 18th century. The modern community in the city of Meissen was founded in the 19th century, but it never achieved the status of its medieval counterpart. The city had a population of 32 Jews in 1890 that remained stable until 1904, but by 1933 all of them had been absorbed by *Dresden.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Germania Judaica*, 1 (1963), 225–6; 2 (1968), 531–3, incl. bibl.; A. Leicht, *Die Judengemeinde in Meissen* (repr. 1890); A. Levy, *Geschichte der Juden in Sachsen* (1900), passim; S. Neufeld, *Die Juden im Thueringisch-Saechsischen Gebiet waehrend des Mittelalters*, 2 vols. (1917–27), passim; FJW, 323.

[Alexander Shapiro]

MEITAR (Heb. מֵיתָר), urban settlement located in southern Israel, near Beersheba. It received municipal council status in 1987. In 2002 its population was 6,100, occupying an area of 6.5 sq. mi. (17 sq. km.).

[Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

MEITNER, LISE (1878–1968), physicist and one of the small group responsible for the discovery of atomic fission. Born in Vienna, she moved to Berlin in 1917 and there joined the distinguished chemist Otto Hahn, with whom she worked in collaboration, researching into radioactive substances. Lise Meitner was one of the first women to become a professor at the University of Berlin (1926). From 1917 she was for over 20 years head of the physics department in the Kaiser Wilhelm Institute for chemistry in Berlin.

After the *Anschluss* in 1938, she left Germany and settled in Stockholm, working on the staff of the Nobel Institute. There she received a letter from Hahn describing his discovery with Fritz Strassmann that, when a uranium atom was disintegrated by a neutron, an atom of barium was thereby produced. While holidaying near Gothenburg in December 1938, she discussed this with her nephew, Otto *Frisch, who was working in Denmark with Niels *Bohr. The two physicists immediately realized the significance of Hahn's work, which meant that the uranium atom was split into roughly equal parts, accompanied by a tremendous release of energy. Frisch called this "fission," a term borrowed from biology. Lise Meitner visited the United States after 1945, but returned to Sweden and became a citizen in 1949. Both before and after World War II she received many honors. She eventually retired to Cambridge, England, where she died.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *New York Times* (Oct. 28, 1968); E. Yost, in: *Science Digest* (May 1962), 83–88.

[Maurice Goldsmith]

MEITUS, ELIAHU (1892–1979), Hebrew poet, writer, and translator. Born in Kishinev, Meitus studied at the Sorbonne but during World War I returned to Russia. After the war he served as headmaster of a Hebrew gymnasium in Bessarabia, and later taught in the teachers' seminary in Jassy (Romania). In 1935 he settled in Palestine, where he taught literature in secondary schools. His first poem appeared in *Ha-Shilo'aḥ* (1910), when he was studying in Odessa. He came to the attention of Bialik, then the literary editor of that periodical, and became a member of the "Odessa group" of Hebrew writers. Subsequently, Meitus published poems and articles in the Hebrew press in Russia, Romania, and elsewhere. After he settled in Palestine, Meitus' writings appeared regularly in the newspapers, particularly in the daily *Al ha-Mishmar*. He translated extensively (from French, Romanian, Russian, and Yiddish), mainly works of fiction, but also poetry and nonfiction. Four collections of his poetry have appeared, including *Shirim* (1943), *Balladot mi-Nof ha-Yaldut* (1954), and *Bi-Keẓeh ha-Gesher ha-Sheni* (1967, sonnets). He also compiled an anthology of modern Hebrew poetry, *Shiratenu ha-Ḥadashah* (1938).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: M. Avishai, *Bein Olamot* (1962), 153–6; A. Cohen, *Soferim Ivriyyim Benei Zemannenu* (1964), 204–6; Kressel, Leksikon, 2 (1967), 345–6.

[Getzel Kressel]

MEKHILTA DEUTERONOMY (MD) is a halakhic Midrash of the school of R. Ishmael, the exact scope of which has not been determined, since the greater part of this Midrash is not extant. One of the *Genizah* fragments of MD indicates that its first unit ended with Deut. 1:30, and its second unit began with Deut. 3:23, as does *Sifre Deuteronomy* (SD). This might indicate that its other sections, as well, were essentially parallel to those of SD. In four *Genizah* fragments MD is divided into "*parashot*," each of which includes an average of four to five verses. In a later fragment, that originated in Yemen, the Midrash is divided into verses ("סל' פס'" – end of verse), but this was probably not an original division, and was influenced by the common division of SD that was prevalent in Yemen.

Hoffmann was the first scholar to methodically demonstrate that R. David ha-Adani used MD in his composition of *Midrash ha-Gadol*, and, following this premise, also began to reconstruct the former. Schechter then published four *Genizah* leaves of MD, *Re'eh*, which he identified in Oxford and in Cambridge. On the basis of these leaves, and a reexamination of *Midrash ha-Gadol*, Hoffmann began a second reconstruction of MD in his book *Midrash Tanaim*, which was published in two volumes (Berlin, 1908–09).

In this edition, still used by scholars to the present day, Hoffmann printed in one font all the passages from *Midrash ha-Gadol* that differ in a pronounced manner from SD, and used a second font for all the *Midrash ha-Gadol* passages that resemble SD, and whose identification as MD he regarded as doubtful. Several times during the course of his edition, however, Hoffmann changed the fonts marking the similar or varying passages (on pp. 1–24, 63–180, large type = a passage different from SD, small type = a passage similar to Sif. Deut.; on the other hand, on pp. 24–62, 180–252, large type = a passage similar to SD, small type = a passage different from SD).

There are many drawbacks to this edition. As has been proven from the *Genizah* fragments, a large portion of MD was not quoted in *Midrash ha-Gadol*, and the part that was cited was on occasion reworked by Adani, or was corrupted by the copyist of the only manuscript of *Midrash ha-Gadol* that was available to Hoffmann. Hoffmann often included in his edition Midrashim that the author of *Midrash ha-Gadol* had undoubtedly copied from SD, BT, *Mishnat R. Eliezer*, the *Mishneh Torah* of Maimonides, and other sources. Hoffmann generally voices his doubts concerning the authenticity of such passages, but the reader must conduct his own examination of each passage with this issue in mind.

Several additional passages from MD came to light after the publication of *Midrash Tanaim*. Schechter published a *Genizah* fragment consisting of two leaves from MD, *Re'eh*. Kahana later succeeded in identifying two additional fragments, each of two leaves, from MD, *Devarim-Va-Etanan* and *Ha'azinu-Ve-Zot ha-Berakhah*, along with a lengthy quotation from MD, *Ekev* and *Ha'azinu*, that appears in an early collection in the *Genizah*. The second fragment that Schechter published from the Cambridge *Genizah* collection was the subject of a second, and more exacting, edition by Epstein, and new editions of *Midrash ha-Gadol* on Deuteronomy have been published, based on several manuscripts. These editions, and other manuscripts of *Midrash ha-Gadol*, enable us to correct many of the corruptions that entered *Midrash Tanaim*. A considerable number of expositions from MD were inserted in the Western textual versions of SD, and others are preserved in quotations by medieval sages that have been discovered in recent years. It would seem, however, that the circulation of MD was already quite limited in the medieval period.

The direct passages from MD discovered to the present contain only some five percent of the Midrash, a fact that severely hinders its research. The most detailed description of MD and its nature as a Midrash from the school of R. Ishmael was written by Hoffmann, after he completed his edition of *Midrash Tanaim*, and Epstein engaged in a concise discussion of MD following the new edition of one of its passages. It should be mentioned that the halakhic material in the three fragments that were published by Schechter is notable for its lengthy and detailed expositions. The aggadic material of MD also is characterized by a certain degree of lengthiness, in comparison to the parallel material in SD. At times the version of the aggadic exegeses in MD is superior in its language, style, and content to that of the parallel expositions in SD, which occasionally suffer from nonuniformity of style, vague expositions that lack inner logic, and a number of corruptions shared by all the manuscripts. Some of the differences between MD and SD apparently are a consequence of the varying worldviews of the redactors of these Midrashim (see, e.g., the outline of the differing attitude by the redactors of these Midrashim to the non-Jewish peoples).

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[Menahem I. Kahana (2nd ed.)]

MEKHILTA OF R. ISHMAEL (Aram. מְכִילְתָּא דְּרַבִּי יִשְׁמָעֵאל) halakhic Midrash on Exodus.

Mekhilta de-Rabbi Yishmael (MY) is a Midrash from the school of R. Ishmael to the Book of Exodus. The word "*mekhilta*" means "a measure," and its attribution to R. Ishmael was initially by R. Samuel ben Hophni and R. Nissim Gaon (the attribution of MI to the midrashic school of R. Ishmael is an innovation solely by scholars in recent generations; and it is only by chance that this notion corresponds with the name given the Midrash by several *rishonim*). MI does not contain an exposition for the entire narrative section of Ex. 1–11; it rather opens with the first laws of the Book of Exodus in 12:1, and continues with the uninterrupted exegesis of the halakhic and aggadic passages until 23:19, before ending with the exposition of two short halakhic passages on the Sabbath in Ex. 31 and 35. All this indicates a close association between MI and the halakhic material in Exodus, although the precise criteria for determining which material in Exodus will be the subject of an exposition and which will be passed over are unclear, since it also includes Midrashim on lengthy aggadic sections, while, on the other hand, it skips a number of halakhic passages.

MI is divided into nine *masekhtot*: *Pasḥa* (Ex. 12:1–13:16); *Va-Yehi Be-Shalah* (13:17–14:31); *Shirta* (15:1–21); *Va-Yassa* (15:22–17:7); *Amalek* (17:8–18:27); *Ba-Ḥodesh* or *Debiri* (19:1–20:26); *Nezikin* (21:1–22:23); *Kaspa* (22:24–29); *Shabbatta* (31:12–17; 35:1–3). Each *masekhta* is divided into a number of *parashot*, each of which is in turn divided into *halakhot*, numbered with the letters of the *alef-bet*. Each *parashah* ends with a summation of the number of *halakhot* contained in it, the *masekhtot* conclude by mentioning and summing up the *parashot*, as well, and the entire Midrash ends with a summation of the *masekhtot*. These summations are presented by means of allusions to each *parashah* in Aramaic, which is also the language of the division into *masekhtot*, *parashot*, and *halakhot* (the division is preserved in its entirety only in the *Genizah* fragments).

Two critical editions of MI, that do not refer to each other, have been published: the edition by H.S. Horovitz, which was posthumously edited and completed by I.A. Rabin (Frankfurt, 1931); and the edition by J.Z. Lauterbach, which was published in three volumes (Philadelphia, 1934–35). These editions rightly received favorable reviews by E.Z. Melamed, who reviewed the Horovitz edition, and by S. Lieberman, who evaluated the Lauterbach edition.

Horovitz chose the printed version as the basic text for his edition, at times emending and completing it in accordance with other textual versions. He provided a detailed listing of the textual variants found in the two complete manuscripts of MI, Oxford 151 and Munich 117; in the Leghorn 1801 edition, that is based, inter alia, on the emendations by Soliman Ohana; in the many quotations in *Yalkut Shimoni* and in *Midrash Ḥakhamim*, which include most of MI; and in other indirect testimonies, primarily the Midrashim *Lekah Tov*, *Sekhel Tov*, *Tanhuma*, and *Sefer ve-Hizhir*. Horovitz also added a concise but thorough critical commentary, with references to the parallels.

The Lauterbach edition is more eclectic. The editor generally preferred the common version of the two manuscripts in his determination of the text. In addition to the textual versions that were available to Horovitz, Lauterbach used a few pages from the *Genizah*, MS. Rome Casanatensa H 2736 on *Masekhta de-Shirta*, and MS. Oxford 2637 on *Yalkut Shimoni*. The variant readings were recorded in an extremely selective manner, and the references to the parallels are listed separately.

Both editions suffer from the absence of a prior methodological discussion regarding the character of the various textual versions and the mutual relations between them. Consequently, the editors were unaware of the direct dependence of the printed Venice 1545 edition on the printed Constantinople 1515(?) edition, that was indicated by Melamed; the common source of the Western mss., as was concluded by Finkelstein; and, mainly, the relative superiority of MS. Oxford to the other texts that they possessed, as was first noted by Lieberman. The lack of a comprehensive evaluation of the character of the textual versions is also apparent in the tendency of the editors to base the text of MI, especially its difficult passages, on the adapted and emended versions of *Midrash Ḥakhamim*, which, as its name implies, is a "Midrash" by an Italian sage from the 15th century who relied in great measure upon the MI, but not a direct textual version.

Additional versions of MI came to light after the publication of these two editions. Especially noteworthy among these are MS. Vatican 299, which preserves about half of the *Mekhilta*, and some 80 pages from the Cairo *Genizah*. The importance of the latter lies in the Eastern and early textual tradition that is reflected in the majority of them, and that is generally superior to the later Western textual tradition that is presented in the direct MI texts on which the two critical editions were based. In many instances, the original version is preserved only in the *Genizah* fragments, and in other places the Eastern *Genizah* version confirms the shared reading of the Western manuscripts, also for very difficult versions, that might possibly attest to intentional intervention in the original traditions of the MI by its later redactors or the earlier copyists.

MI was interpreted during the medieval period by several *rishonim*, but only one of these commentaries is extant, and only partially, in MS. Mantua 36. The publication of MI was followed by a number of short emendations and commentaries written with the aid of manuscripts, and a number of lengthy commentaries by *aharonim* that were based solely on the printed version, along with quotations appearing in *Yalkut Shimoni*. The most important of the latter are *Shevut Yehudah* by R. Judah Najar and *Berurei ha-Middot* by R. Isaac Elijah Landau, which were closely followed by two scholarly commentaries: *Middot Soferim* by Isaac Hirsch Weiss, and *Me'ir Ayin* by Meir Friedmann (Ish Shalom). Friedmann's work laid the groundwork for the editions by Horovitz and Lauterbach, who were greatly aided by it. After the publication of the two editions, *Masekhta de-Shirta* was the subject of a new commentary by Goldin, and Kahana published a new edition of *Parshat Amalek* that included a detailed discussion that sought to prove the originality of the aggadic material preserved in MI, relative to the secondary material in MS (Mekhilta of R. Simeon Ben Yoḥai).

The general nature of MI and its sources has been examined and described by scholars of halakhic Midrashim, and has been the subject of numerous monographs examining its diverse sources, its attitude toward the Mishnah and to MS, its narrative traditions, its conceptual worlds, and other topics.

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[Menahem I. Kahana (2nd ed.)]

MEKHILTA OF R. SIMEON BEN YOḤAI (Aram. מְכִילְתָּא דְּרַבִּי שִׁמְעוֹן בֶּן יוֹחַאי) (MS), a halakhic Midrash on Exodus from the school of R. *Akiva, which is attributed to R. Simeon b. Yoḥai because of his exposition at the beginning of the book. Several *rishonim* knew this Midrash by other names, such as "*Mekhilta de-Sanya*"; "*Mekhilta*"; "*Sifri*"; "*Sifri de-Vei Rav*," and others. This Midrash was subsequently lost, and only portions were found by modern scholars. Meir Freidmann (Ish Shalom) was the first to collect the quotations from MS that were known in his time, and his list was augmented by a number of items by Hoffmann in his pioneering study of the tannaitic Midrashim. Israel Lewy then discovered that large portions of the Midrash had been cited by R. David ha-Adani in *Midrash ha-Gadol* on Exodus, and Schechter published a few fragments from MS itself that he uncovered in the Cairo *Genizah*. The first edition of MS was published by Hoffmann (Frankfurt, 1905), based on *Midrash ha-Gadol* and a small number of *Genizah* fragments identified by Schechter. The next edition, published by Epstein and Melamed in 1955, is based on 95 MS leaves or fragments of leaves discovered in the *Genizah*. The rest of the Midrash (approximately one third) was reconstructed using four manuscripts of *Midrash ha-Gadol*. A few additional MS fragments were subsequently published, transcriptions of all the new *Genizah* fragments which came to light, and also a new edition of *Parshat Amalek* of MS based on new manuscripts.

The introduction to the Epstein-Melamed edition contains a description of the MS manuscripts and their main distinguishing features, but the principles guiding the editors were not presented, nor did the editors include a focused and orderly treatment of the signs and symbols used in the edition. The manuscripts were generally copied in this edition in an admirably accurate manner, and only in rare instances should the transcription, which was based on photographs, be corrected on the basis of the original manuscripts. It should be noted, however, that the largest copy of MS, on the basis of which some 65 pages were published, is not an excellent manuscript, being only of second-rate quality, and written in the 13th century in Spain. About another 15 pages are not from direct MS manuscripts, but are fragments that survived from two copies of abridged midrashic collections from MS. Consequently, the textual tradition of MS set forth in the major portion of the edition is not an especially reliable one, and is plagued by many copyist's corruptions and mistakes.

The editors correctly noted the striking disparity between the certain MS fragments that were discovered in the *Genizah* and the doubtful passages, that they printed in smaller type. Most of the doubtful reconstructions, that encompass about one third of the edition, were based on *Midrash ha-Gadol*, and the editors were forced to complete the rest based on the parallel material in *Mekhilta de-Rabbi Ishmael* (MI), *Sifra*, *Midrash Tannaim*, and other Midrashim. Obviously, error could hardly be avoided in such a complex labor of reconstruction, and in his review of the edition, Margalioth referred to a few passages that were incorporated within the text on the basis of *Midrash ha-Gadol*, but that do not originate in MS, but in *Mishnat Rabbi Eliezer*, *Avot de-Rabbi Natan*, or the Babylonian Talmud. A similar situation holds for the completion of missing passages in the *Genizah* fragments on the basis of *Midrash ha-Gadol* (which were printed within brackets, in normal type), whose origin in MS is extremely doubtful. On the other hand, the Epstein-Melamed edition omitted several other passages from *Midrash ha-Gadol* whose origin in MS has now been proven from new quotations from MS cited by several *rishonim*, such as R. Hafeẓ ben Yaẓli'ah and the Karaite authority Jeshua ben Judah.

MS begins with a lengthy exposition concerned with a single topic: the choosing of Moses as the agent who shall redeem Israel, and Moses' response to this selection. This midrashic exposition is composed of two developed literary units (pp. 1–4/3; 4/3–7/9), each of which is focused on the first verse of the weekly Torah reading (*seder*) according to the custom of the Land of Israel with which it opens: Ex. 3:1; Ex. 6:2, that are the only two lemmas in these units. The phenomenon of constructing an entire Midrash around the opening verses of the weekly *seder* as practiced in the Land of Israel appears only very rarely in the tannaitic Midrashim, but is a frequent occurrence in the amoraic Midrashim and in the versions of *Tanhuma*. The deficient extant documentation hinders our determining if MS included additional hermeneutical units on chapters 6–11 of Exodus. At any rate, *Midrash ha-Gadol* preserved midrashic interpretations that apparently originated in MS, beginning with the halakhic subjects in Ex. 12:1; and starting with verse 3 in this chapter, MS is documented in a *Genizah* fragment published by Abramson. MS continues to expound the verses, in order, at least until Ex. 23:19, after which the exact scope of the Midrash is unclear. Based on *Midrash ha-Gadol*, Melamed reconstructed MS on Ex. 23:20–24:10, and selected verses from chaps. 30, 31, 34, and 35 of Exodus in his edition, but several of these quotations clearly do not originate in MS; this issue requires further study.

The Epstein-Melamed edition does not include a commentary, and the parallels, as well, were listed only in a partial fashion. Many interpretations of the Midrashim of MS appear in the edition by Hoffmann and in Kasher's glosses in *Torah Shelemah*, but these cannot fill the need for an orderly and detailed critical commentary of MS in its entirety. As regards the research of MS, see the introduction to the edition, in which Melamed published Epstein's general essay on the MS, which paid special attention to the question of its redactors. Melamed added his own discussion concerning the terminology and vocabulary of MS, the names of the rabbis it cites, its method of quoting sources, and its characteristic hermeneutical methods. The second edition contained an additional short chapter on "Mishnah and *Baraita* Quotations in *Mekhilta de-Rabbi Simeon b. Yoḥai*," and the appendices to the edition included various subject indices that aid in the further study of this Midrash.

Most scholars concur that the halakhic portion of MS was redacted fairly late. This opinion was first expressed by Epstein, who wrote at the end of his Introduction: "The MS is from the school of R. Akiva, and is later than all halakhic Midrashim (ḤM) (making much verbatim use of *Sifra*, *Sifrei*, and Tosefta), and many *halakhot* are incidentally connected in the Midrash. All this points to a late date." Based on an orderly study of the section of the Hebrew slave in the two *Mekhiltot*, Judah concluded that MS was redacted after MI. De Vries took this premise a step further, and asserted that MS contains a reworking of *baraitot* from MI, and not parallels or a common source. Levine examined several halakhic topics in MS, and reached an even more far-reaching conclusion, that the activity by the redactor of MS closely resembles that of the *amoraim* in the area of interpretations of the Mishnah. He, like them, clarifies the halakhic concepts in the Mishnah, expands it, draws parallels to it, and examines the relationship between one mishnah and another by the use of certain interpretations of *mishnayot* or *baraitot*. On the basis of this analysis, Levine wrote that, apparently, the redactor of MS was himself an *amora*, while emphasizing that further study is required as to whether conclusions could be drawn regarding MS as a whole on the basis of an examination of these specific details. An investigation of Levine's proofs shows that almost all were based on extremely tenuous speculation, and not on solid evidence, on the basis of which we could determine the text of the sources available to the redactor of MS, on the one hand, and the nature of their reworking, on the other. Objections could also be raised concerning the quality of De Vries' proofs of the use by MS of MI. An examination of the singular character of MS therefore requires further study, that would have to include a new and consistent examination of its terminology, the names of the rabbis it mentions, and its prevalent hermeneutical methods that at (albeit extremely rare) times seem also to include several elements seemingly characteristic of the other school, that of R. *Ishmael.

The aggadic material in MS fundamentally resembles the parallel material in MI. An orderly examination of the parallel aggadic material of *Parshat Amalek* demonstrates the primacy of the tradition in MI, in comparison with that of MS, which apparently was fashioned by redactors who sought to inform the midrashic expositions with a more developed literary and ideational nature, somewhat freed from their rigid linkage to the verses. Along with the ideational development of several of the Midrashim in this section in MS, the latter occasionally exhibits stylistic hyperbole, exegetical diffusion, a tendency to relate unattributed interpretations to specific rabbis, and possibly even an attempt to artificially rewrite disagreements. Some of the Midrashim in MS exhibit a simplification of content that borders on popularization, and the accentuation of motifs that concentrate on elementary principles of the religious experience, such as emphasizing the importance of obedience to the word of God, sermonizing about the observance of the commandments and avoiding sin, reinforcing the standing of prayer, and promising the good end that awaits Israel, along with the tribulations that shall befall its enemies.

A comprehensive characterization of the aggadic material of the two *Mekhiltot* would require a detailed examination, which has not been conducted to date. Nonetheless, a partial examination of other *parashot* in the MS reveals findings similar to those in evidence in *Parshat Amalek*. The literary nature of the first aggadic unit that appears only in MS, and not in MI, which resembles in a certain sense the genre of *Tanhuma*, also reflects the literary adaptation that is characteristic of the aggadic material of MS and the relatively late time of its fashioning. The same is true for some of the aggadic material that is incorporated within the halakhic sections, and for a portion of the halakhic material that is included in the aggadic passages.

A geonic response (probably by R. *Sherira and R. *Hai) attributes a quotation from MS to the rabbinic teaching that appears in the "other *sifrei de-vei Rav* [all ḤM, except for *Sifra*]," "and thus all the *tannaim* learned, without exception," and compares it with a citation from MI, which they termed "*Mekhilta de-Ereẓ Israel*." This led scholars to conclude that MS was the primary *Mekhilta* that the "*tannaim*" (i.e., the teachers of *baraitot*) taught at the time in Babylonia, while MI was more widespread in the Land of Israel; it was not studied in Babylonia (at least not in the yeshivah of Pumbedita), and the *geonim* cited it from a written book. This could possibly be related to the manner in which MS was transmitted, and, in fact, the TB frequently quotes Midrashim similar or identical to MS. In either event, the history of the transmission of MS is to be separated from the question of the venue of its redaction, and there is no reason to move the latter from Ereẓ Israel to Babylonia.

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[Menahem I. Kahana (2nd ed.)]

MEKHLIS, LEV ZAKHAROVICH (1889–1953), Soviet army officer. Born in Odessa, Mekhlis was conscripted into the czarist army and during World War I served in an artillery regiment. He joined the Red Army in 1919 and served through the civil war of 1918–21, becoming military commissar of a brigade, a division, and an army group in the Ukraine. In 1930 he graduated from the Institute of Red Professors. For several years Mekhlis was an official of the Communist party central committee and after 1930 worked on the newspaper *Pravda*. He was head of the Red Army's political administration from 1937 to 1940 when he became U.S.S.R. people's commissar of state control. Following the outbreak of World War II, Mekhlis served in the Red Army in 1941–42, again as head of political administration of the army, vice commissar of defense, and from July 1942 to 1945 as member of various front war councils. He was promoted to lieutenant-general on December 6, 1942, and to colonel-general on July 29, 1944. His many decorations included the award of four Lenin medals. After the war he served for a short period as U.S.S.R. minister of state control. He died on February 13, 1953, and his body was interred in the Kremlin wall.

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[Mordechai Kaplan / Shmuel Spector (2nd ed.)]

MEKIẒE NIRDAMIM (Heb. מְקִיצֵי נִרְדָּמִים; "rousers of those who slumber"), the first society for the publication of medieval Hebrew literature in every branch of intellectual activity, in scholarly editions. The aim of the society was both to propagate a knowledge of Jewish scholarship and to establish personal contact between scholars. The structure of the society – which still continues – provided for a board of directors, consisting of the best qualified scholars in their field, and annual subscriptions from members. The Mekiẓe Nirdamim was founded in 1862 by E.L. Silbermann in Lyck, founder-editor of the first Hebrew weekly **Ha-Maggid*, with the cooperation of Chief Rabbi Nathan M. *Adler (London), M. *Sachs (Berlin), and S.D. *Luzzatto. There was a certain amount of opposition – for a variety of reasons – which included a lack of faith in the possibility of the renaissance of Jewish culture, an opposition to the publication of non-rabbinic texts, and an opposition in principle to the exclusive use of Hebrew, which was established as a rule by the society, and/or an opposition to its founders by such scholars as A. *Geiger and M. *Steinschneider. Support was found, however, among Polish and Russian scholars and even in rabbis such as Samuel and Mattityahu *Straschun, S. *Ganzfried, and M.L. *Malbim, and by 1864 the number of subscribers, from a great many countries, stood at 1,200. In the same year the first four publications were issued, among them the first installment of S.D. Luzzatto's edition of Judah Halevi's *Diwan*. The adherence of Moses *Montefiore in 1865 brought with it the support of many who had been aloof. After a decade's activity, there was a pause until, in 1885, the society resumed its work in Berlin, guided by A. *Berliner, A. *Harkavy, and others. It was then that the series *Kobeẓ al Jad* was initiated (26 volumes by 1970), devoted to the publication of smaller manuscripts and documents. In 1934 the seat of the Mekiẓe Nirdamim was transferred to Jerusalem. By 1970, 110 works had been issued. S.Y. *Agnon served as president of the society (1954–70), and was succeeded by Gershom *Scholem. Very distinguished scholars, such as Y. Baer, Ḥ. Schirmann, E. Urbach, etc., served as members of the executive committee. Sh. Abramson and E. Fleischer continued the publication of important books on Hebrew medieval literature in the last decades of the 20th century and the beginning of the 21st with such books as Eleazar ha-Bavli's *Diwan* (ed. Ḥ. Brody, 1971), *Responsa and Decisions of the Sages of Germany and France* (ed. E. Kupfer, 1973), Moses Ibn Ezra's *Kitāb al-Muḥāḍara wal-Mudhākara* (ed. A.S. Halkin, 1975), *Midrash Bereshit Rabbati* (ed. Ch. Albeck, 1984), *Rabbi Jehudah berabbi Benjaminis Carmina Cuncta* (ed. Sh. Elizur, 1988), *Teshuvot ha-Rambam* (ed. J. Blau, 1989), *Pinkas Kehillat Shnaitakh* (ed. M. Hildshaimer, 1992), *Perush Kadum le-Midrash Va-Yikra Rabbah* (ed. M.B. Lerner, 1995), and *Ma'aseh Nisim: Perush la-Torah* (ed. Ḥ. Kraisel, 2000).

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[Israel Moses Ta-Shma]

MEKLENBURG, JACOB ẒEVI (1785–1865), rabbi and biblical commentator. Meklenburg was born in Inowroclaw, Poznania. Unwilling to enter the rabbinate, he engaged in business, but in 1831, after his business had failed, he accepted an invitation from the community of Koenigsberg to serve as their rabbi, and he remained there until his death. An opponent of religious reforms, he fought against the reformist ideas advocated in his community by Joseph Lewin Saalschuetz.

Meklenburg's major work was a commentary on the Pentateuch, *Ha-Ketav ve-ha-Kabbalah*, in which he sought to demonstrate the conformity between the oral tradition and the written law. His commentary, which contains numerous original interpretations, was first published in Leipzig in 1839. It was reprinted twice during his lifetime, with his additions and included a German translation of the text of the Pentateuch based on Meklenburg's commentary, by Jonah Kossmann. A fourth printing was begun some time before Meklenburg's death, but was interrupted because of differences between the publisher and the printers. In 1880, Abraham Berliner published a new edition with additional material from manuscripts left by the author. Meklenburg was also the author of a commentary on the prayer book, *Iyyun Tefillah*, first published in 1857 with the *siddur* of R. Jacob *Lorbeerbaum of Lissa; it, too, was reprinted several times. A number of rabbinic works carry introductory notes or approbations by Meklenburg.

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[Tovia Preschel]

MEKNÈS, town in *Morocco. Jews settled in the region of Meknès before the advent of *Islam. A Hebrew inscription has been found and the remains of a synagogue were uncovered in the excavations of Volubilis, which is near Meknès. A *kinah* of Abraham *Ibn Ezra mentions Meknès among the communities which suffered at the hands of the *Almohads. A chronological note testifies that such persecutions occurred in 1140, and adds that in 1247, during the wars of the *Merinids, many Jews lost their lives or were forcibly converted to Islam, while in the earthquake of 1340 "several courtyards caved in, as well as the synagogue and the *bet ha-midrash* of R. Jacob." According to traditions preserved in writing, the "Mahrit" synagogue, still existing in Meknès, was first built in the 13th century, destroyed in the earthquake of 1630, and rebuilt in 1646 by the *Toledanos upon their arrival in Meknès. It is similarly stated that the "Tobi" synagogue was built in 1540. It would therefore seem that Jews already at that time lived in the present mellah area as well as in the Medina in which an "Aaron Street" is, according to tradition, named after the then-leader of the community. The sharif Mulay Ismail (1672–1727), the real founder of the *Alawid dynasty, moved his capital to Meknès and granted the Jews additional land for construction of buildings. The **nagid* Abraham Maymerān and other wealthy Jews then built luxurious houses. Christian emissaries from Europe who stayed in them were astonished by their beauty. Near the mellah, Ismail built a beautiful quarter for his officials and servants.

From then until the 19th century the community of Meknès was one of the best developed and organized in Morocco. It was a city of *ḥakhamim* and authors, as well as merchants and men of action who frequently visited *Tetuán, *Salé, *Rabat, and *Fez on their affairs. The community was organized and its institutions functioned accordingly. The taxation on meat, wine, and other products constituted a source of income for the community, which with the addition of local donations, was able to supply the minimal requirements of the needy and those engaged in studies. The community maintained regular relations with Ereẓ Israel, whose emissaries returned home with considerable funds. The education of the children was entrusted to many teachers; at a more advanced age the youths were employed in the crafts or commerce, while the more talented pursued their studies in yeshivot.

As capital of the country and residence of the sharifs (rulers) Meknès was also the center of Jewish activities at the court. The leaders of the Meknès community acted as *negidim* (see **Nagid*) of Moroccan Jewry and agents of the sharifs. Among them were members of the *Maymerān family (Joseph and his son Abraham), as well as the Toledanos, the Ibn Attars, the Ben Māmāns, the Ben Quiquis, and others. The most prominent rabbinic scholars and *dayyanim* in Meknès during the 18th–20th centuries come from the Berdugo and Toledano families, many of whom wrote responsa. From 1790 and during the 19th century Meknès lost its importance as the capital and the Jewish community suffered pogroms frequently. There was an important change for the better in the situation of the Jews with the formal establishment of the French Protectorate in 1912. From then on the Jews enjoyed relative security and economic stability, as well as elementary human rights. There were also changes in the field of religious education with the arrival of R. Ze'ev Halperin, a Russian scholar who came from Britain in 1912. He introduced reforms in the system of study of the yeshivot and gathered the young men of the town, for whom he founded a *kolel avrekhim* (advanced yeshivah), the first of its kind in Meknès and probably the whole of Morocco. He founded an *Eẓ Ḥayyim* society for laymen which organized regular studies and whose members supported the young men of the Bet El yeshivah with their contributions. As a result of this activity the yeshivah produced a nucleus of *ḥakhamim* who later officiated as rabbis in Meknès and other communities. The fame of Meknès yeshivot spread far and they attracted students from many parts of the country. After World War II, a Chabad yeshivah was founded (in conjunction with *Oẓar ha-Torah).

The government allocated new areas near the mellah for the Jews to live in, and a new quarter, known as the "new mellah," was built. The construction was modern, being scattered and not surrounded by a wall. Many beautiful synagogues were also built, including the "Toledano" and Joseph Mrejen synagogues, as well as a large Jewish school, Em ha-Banim, in which all the children of the community studied (the needy were exempted from the payment of tuition fees). Its expenses and the salaries of the teachers were provided from community funds. In 1947 approximately 1,200 pupils attended this school. The *Alliance Israélite Universelle built two large schools, one for boys and another for girls, which were attended by about 1,500 boys and girls in 1950. According to the 1947 census the Jewish community numbered 15,482 (about 3,000 others were not included in the census for various reasons). Most of the Jews of Meknès immigrated to Israel after the establishment of the state and both the old and the new mellahs are now inhabited for the most part by Muslims.

[Haim Bentov]

Contemporary Period

The Jewish population of Meknès, which numbered 12,445 in the 1951 census report, dropped in 1960 to 10,894 (according to the census of that year), and in 1968, after the large-scale emigration of Moroccan Jewry, to about 2,000–3,000. During the 1950s the Jewish schools had 3,182 pupils, but the number dropped off in the 1960s. Most of the charitable and social welfare organizations, which included branches of WIZO and the World Jewish Congress, were closed. In 1970 the Meknès community, although reduced, was one of the more vital of the Moroccan provincial communities. A considerable Jewish petite bourgeoisie lived there with communal life centering on the two main synagogues. Only a few dozen Jews remained in the old mellah, and most lived in the modern Jewish neighborhood. More than three decades later, the Jewish community numbered no more than 120 Jews. In September 2003 radical Islamists, apparently belonging to the pro-al-Qa'ida association Salafiyya Jihādiyya, responsible for the suicide terrorist attacks in Casablanca several months earlier, stabbed to death 75-year-old Elie Afriat in Meknès. Since then members of the local community have lived in fear of further Islamist actions against them.

[Haim J. Cohen / Michael M. Laskier (2nd ed.)]

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MEKOROT (Heb. "Sources") **WATER COMPANY**, company established in 1937 as a joint undertaking of the *Histadrut, the *Jewish Agency, and the *Jewish National Fund, to develop a water supply project in the western part of the Valley of Jezreel. Its first managing director was Levi *Eshkol. After World War II, Mekorot extended its operations to a regional project in the Negev and a smaller project in central Israel. During the *War of Independence (1948) it constructed an emergency water supply system for Jerusalem and, after the war, embarked upon a major development program encompassing the entire country. In 1962 Mekorot officially became Israel's National Water Supply Agency.

In the early 1950s the projects executed were mainly connected with ground and spring water. In the mid-1950s further major regional projects were carried out. In the later 1950s and early 1960s the main emphasis was upon the National Water Carrier (Jordan Project), and subsequently systems utilizing flood runoff and reclaimed sewage were constructed. From the early 1960s the company also operated abroad, mainly in the construction of water supplies in developing countries. In 1967 it opened the Shapdan, the sewage system for all Gush Dan (Tel Aviv area). In 1989 it opened a third water line to the Negev, which transported filtered water from the Shapdan. In 1995 it opened a fourth water line to Jerusalem, and in 1997 it opened the desalination plant in Elath supplying 80% of the city's water. Subsequently it opened other desalination plants in various locations.

The Israel government was a shareholder in the company from 1948 and held one-third of the shares in 1967. Another third was held by the Histadrut, and the rest equally by the Jewish Agency and the Jewish National Fund. The company operates as a government firm, meaning that it operates as an independent business enterprise under the supervision of the Governmental Companies Authority. In 2000 the company's budget was NIS 5.6 billion. It supplies 90% of the country's drinking water and 70% of all water (1.3 billion cu. m.). The company operates over 800 pumping stations, with over 2,400 pumps, over 1,200 wells, and 10,500 kms. of large-diameter pipes. It employs 2,100 workers all over Israel. Company salaries are known to be among the highest in the public sector.

Mekorot owns SHM – Electrical Mechanic Services, operating water infrastructure projects. It also advances various projects with private firms. The government had declared its intention to privatize Mekorot but met with opposition from both the workers and others.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Mekorot Water Company Ltd. and its Role in Israel's Development* (1963); *Sheloshim Shanah li-Mekorot* (1967). **WEBSITE:** www.mekorot.co.il.

[Aaron Wiener / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

Heinrich Bunting, German, 1546–1606. *The Whole World in a Clover Leaf.* Woodcut, 1581.
Gift of Tamar and Teddy Kollek, Jerusalem. The Israel Museum, Jerusalem. Photo: Z. Radovan, Jerusalem.

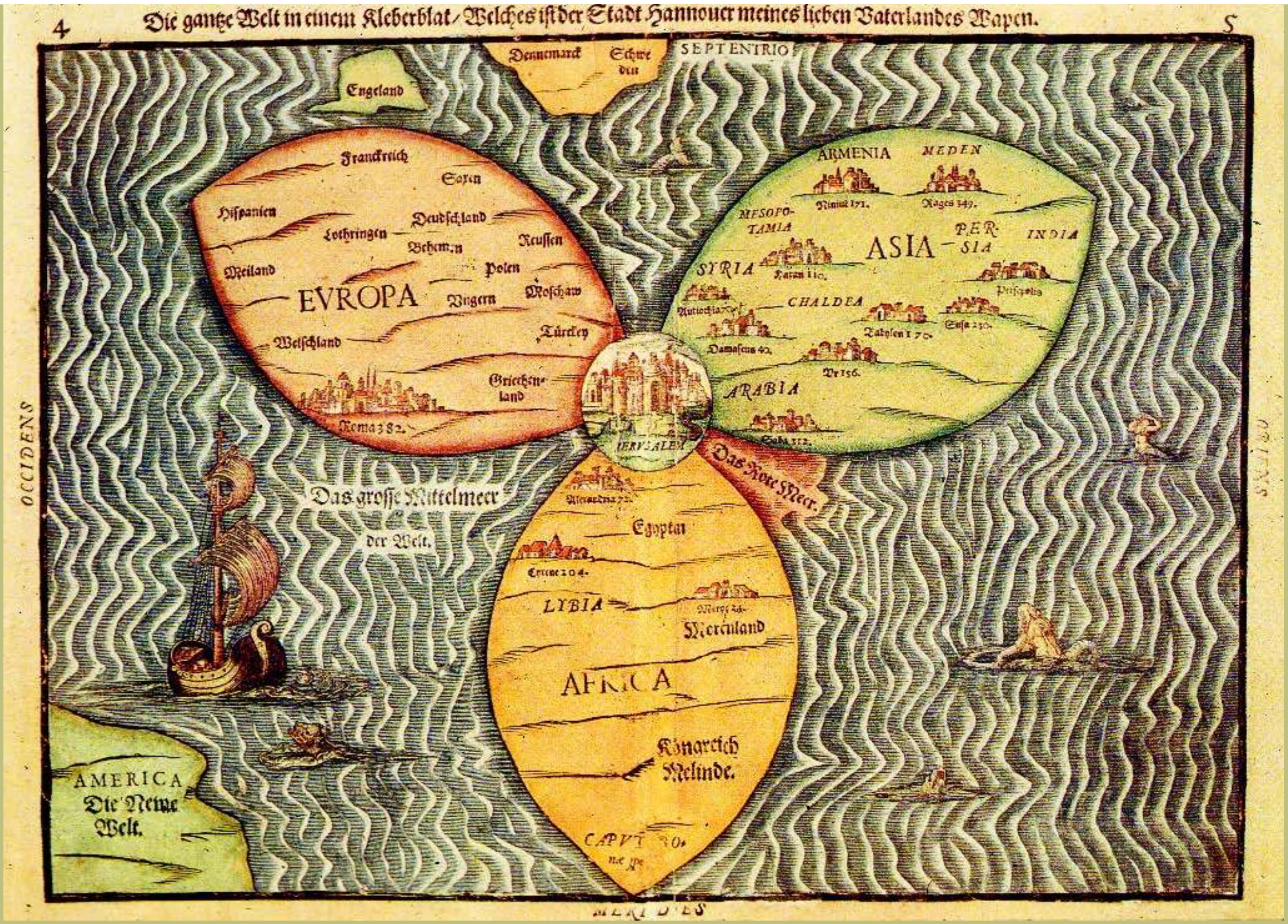
Die gantze Welt in einem Kleberblat/ Welches iſt der Stadt Hannouer meines lieben Vaterlandes Wapen.
4
5
SEPTENTRIO
Engeland
Dennemarck
Schwedeu
EVROPA
Franckreich
Soxen
Hiſpanien
Deudſchland
Lothringen
Behemen
Reuſſen
Meiland
Polen
Ungern
Moſchaw
Welſchland
Türckey
Griechenland
Roma 382.
IERVSALEM
ASIA
ARMENIA
MEDEN
MESOPOTAMIA
PERSIA
INDIA
SYRIA
CHALDEA
ARABIA
Das groſſe Mittelmeer der Welt.
Das Rote Meer.
Egypten
LYBIA
Morenland
AFRICA
Königreich Melinde.
CAPVT
AMERICA
Die Newe Welt.
OCCIDENS
ORIENS
MERIDIES

The history of the mapping of the Holy Land epitomizes the history of cartography. Evincing the longest unbroken sequence of mapping in the world, the Holy Land has been the focus of intense interest for countless generations of cartographers under its various names–Canaan, The Promised Land, Palestine, or Terra Sancta. Two principal cartographic traditions dominate this fascinating history: the religious, based on the Bible and its exegeses; and the classical, based on Ptolemy's work, which laid the foundations for modern cartography.

HOLY LAND IN MAPS

Frans Hogenberg, Flemish, 1535–1590. Map of Jerusalem, the Holy City. Hand-colored etching, 330 x 418mm. From Georg Braun and Frans Hogenberg, *Civitates Orbis Terrarum*, Cologne, 1575. *Gift of Karl and Li Handler, Vienna. Collection, The Israel Museum, Jerusalem. Photo © Israel Museum, Jerusalem/Ilan Sztulman.*

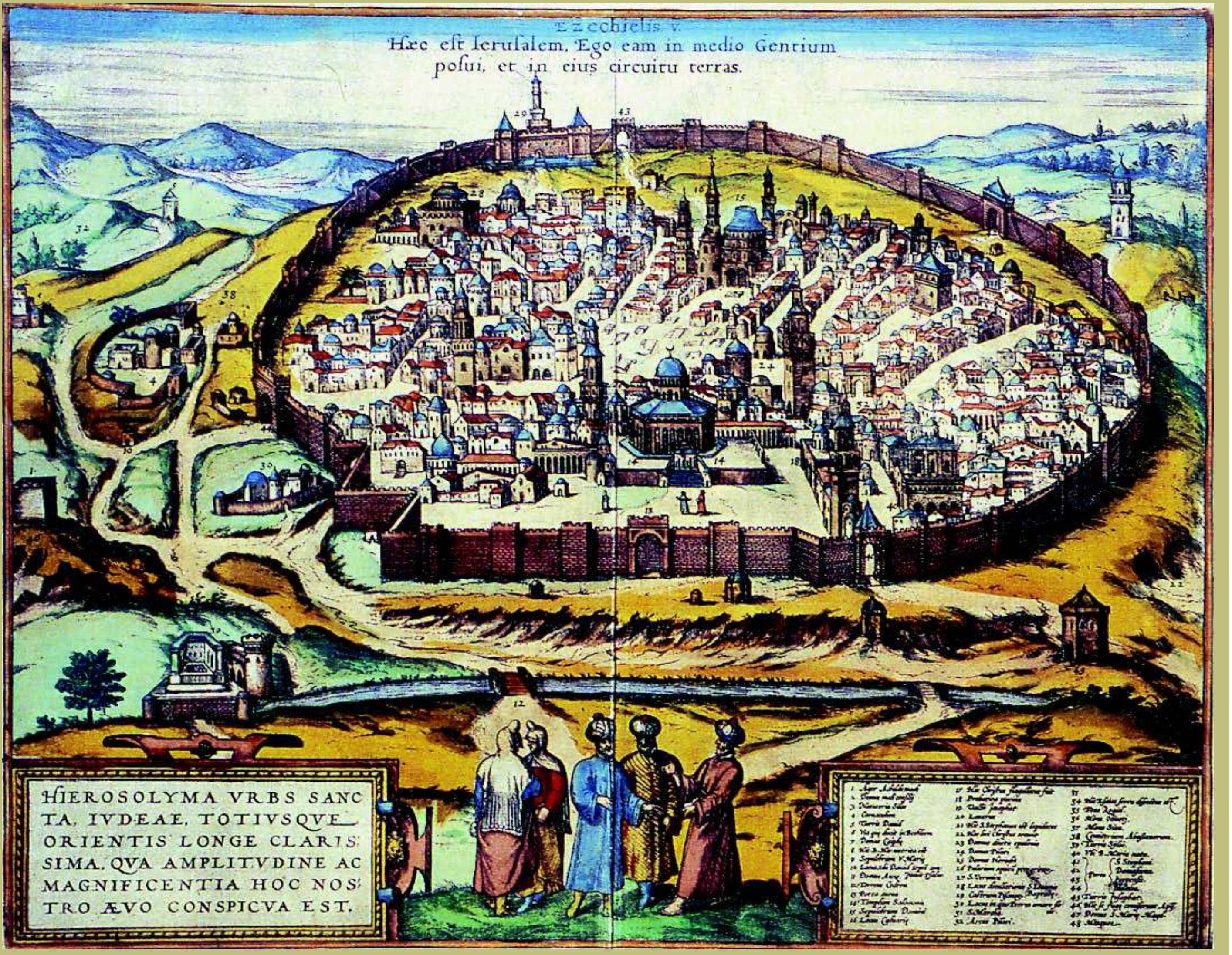
Ezechielis V.
Hæc eſt Ierusalem, Ego eam in medio Gentium
poſui, et in eius circuitu terras.
HIEROSOLYMA VRBS SANCTA, IVDEAE, TOTIVSQVE ORIENTIS LONGE CLARISSIMA, QVA AMPLITVDINE AC MAGNIFICENTIA HOC NOSTRO ÆVO CONSPICVA EST.

Mizrach (East)—Ornamental plaque to be hung on an eastern wall in one's house, orienting people toward Jerusalem. Illustrated with a map of the Land of Israel and the holy cities and sites. Colored lithograph on paper, Jerusalem, 1914. *Collection of Isaac Einhorn, Tel Aviv.*

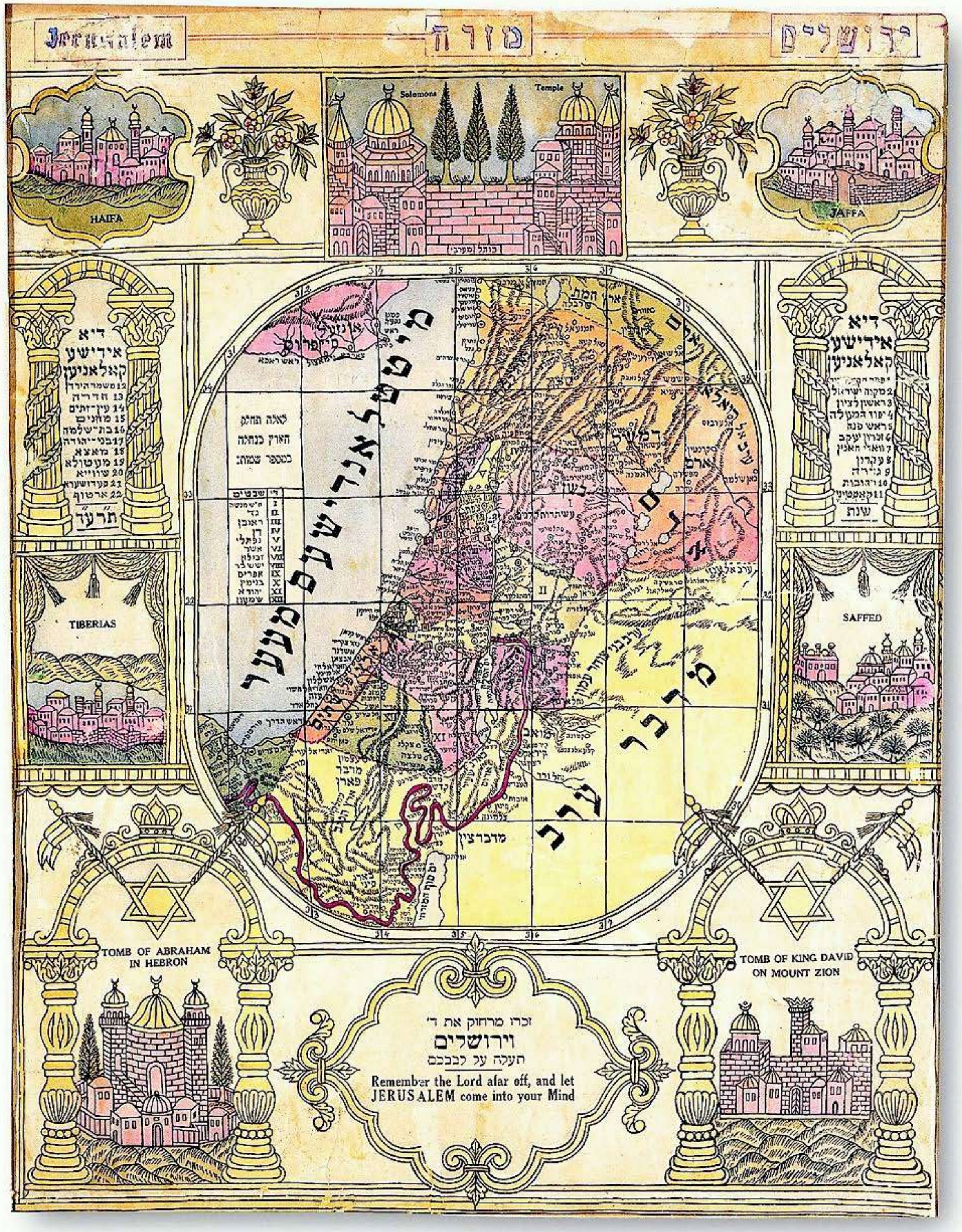
Jerusalem
מזרח
ירושלים
Solomons Temple
HAIFA
JAFFA
די א
אידישע
קאלאניען
2 מקוה ישראל
3 ראשון לציון
4 יסוד המעלה
5 ראש פנה
6 זכרון יעקב
7 וואדי חאנין
8 עקרון
9 גדרה
10 רחובות
11 קאסטיני
שנת
12 משמר הירדן
13 חדרה
14 עין־זתים
15 מחנים
16 בת־שלמה
17 בני־יהודה
18 מאצא
19 מעטולא
20 שוויא
21 קערושערא
22 ארטוף
תרע"ד
TIBERIAS
SAFFED
TOMB OF ABRAHAM IN HEBRON
TOMB OF KING DAVID ON MOUNT ZION
זכרו מרחוק את ד'
וירושלים
תעלה על לבבכם
Remember the Lord afar off, and let
JERUSALEM come into your Mind

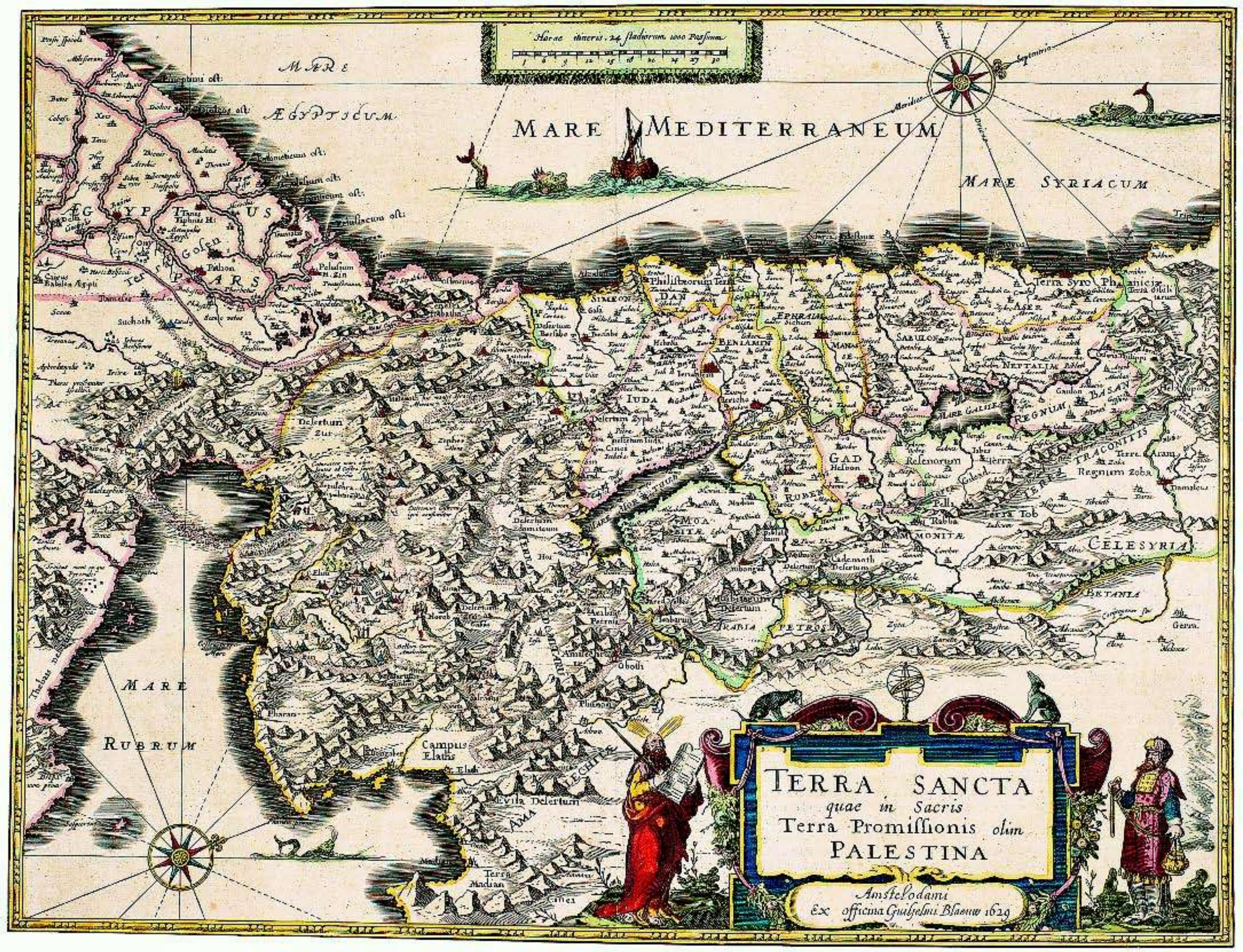
Horae itineris. 24 stadiorum. 1000 Passuum
MARE MEDITERRANEUM
MARE ÆGYPTICUM
MARE SYRIACUM
MARE RUBRUM
Desertum Zur
Campus Elaths
TERRA SANCTA
quae in Sacris
Terra Promissionis olim
PALESTINA
Amstelodami
ex officina Guiljelmi Blaeuw 1629

ABOVE: **Willem Janszoon Blaeu, Dutch, 1571–1638.** ***Terra Sancta quae in Sacris Terra Promissionis olim Palestina*** **(The Holy Land known in the Scriptures as the Promised Land, former Palestine), after Jodocus Hondius Jr., Dutch, after Laicstain-Schrott, Hand-colored engraving, 1629, 386 x 503 mm. From** ***Le theatre du monde ou nouvel atlas*****, 1640.** *Gift of Karl and Li Handler, Vienna. Collection, The Israel Museum, Jerusalem. Photo © The Israel Museum, Jerusalem/Ilan Sztulman.*

(opposite page) TOP: **Abraham Bar Jacob, German, 17th century. Map of the Holy Land: The route of the Exodus. Hand colored engraving by Moses Wiesel, 262 x 480mm. From** ***Haggadah shel Pessah*** **(Passover Haggadah), Amsterdam, 1695.** *Gift of Dr. Silberstein, Geneva. Collection, The Israel Museum, Jerusalem. Photo © Israel Museum/Ilan Sztulman.*

(opposite page) BOTTOM: **Anonymous artist. Drawing of the Madaba mosaic map, c. 1900, a mosaic depiction of the Holy Land set in the floor of a Byzantine church in the Jordanian town of Madaba. Ink, gouache, and watercolor on paper, 90 x 137.5 cm.** *Gift of Prof. Harold A. Layer, San Francisco, through American Friends of the Israel Museum. Collection, The Israel Museum, Jerusalem. Photo © The Israel Museum, Jerusalem, by Avshalom Avital.*

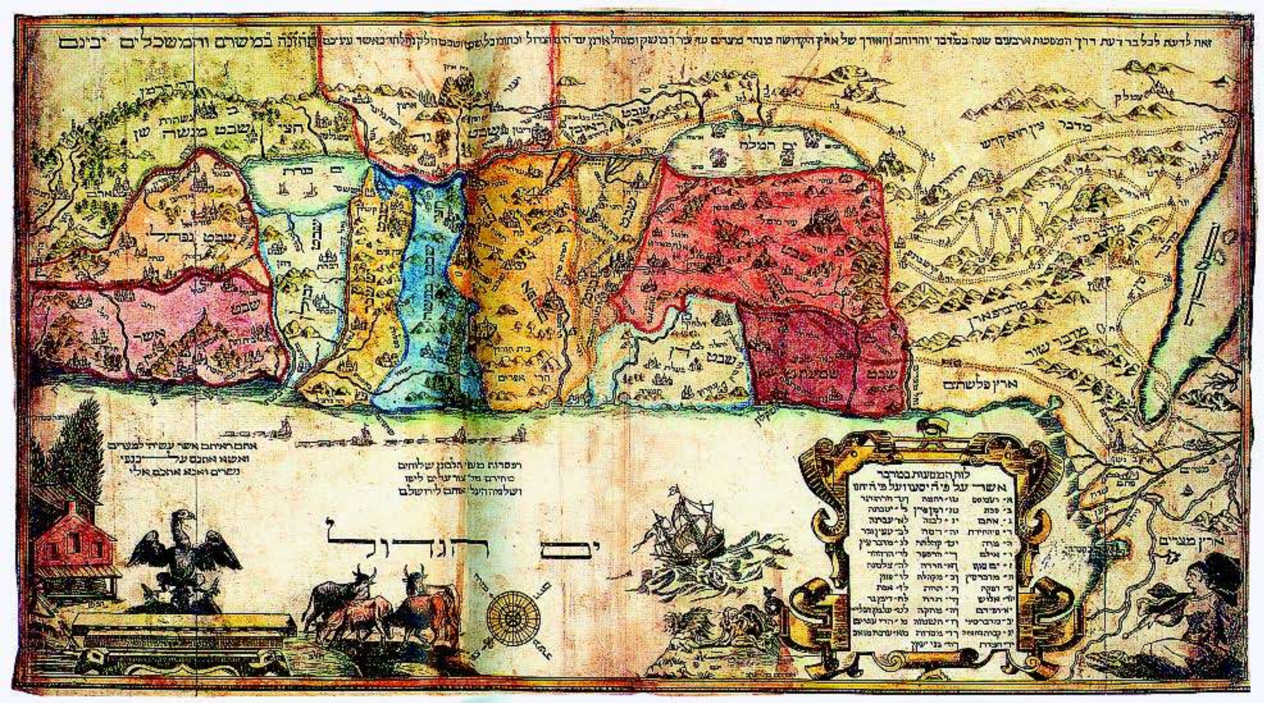
ים הגדול

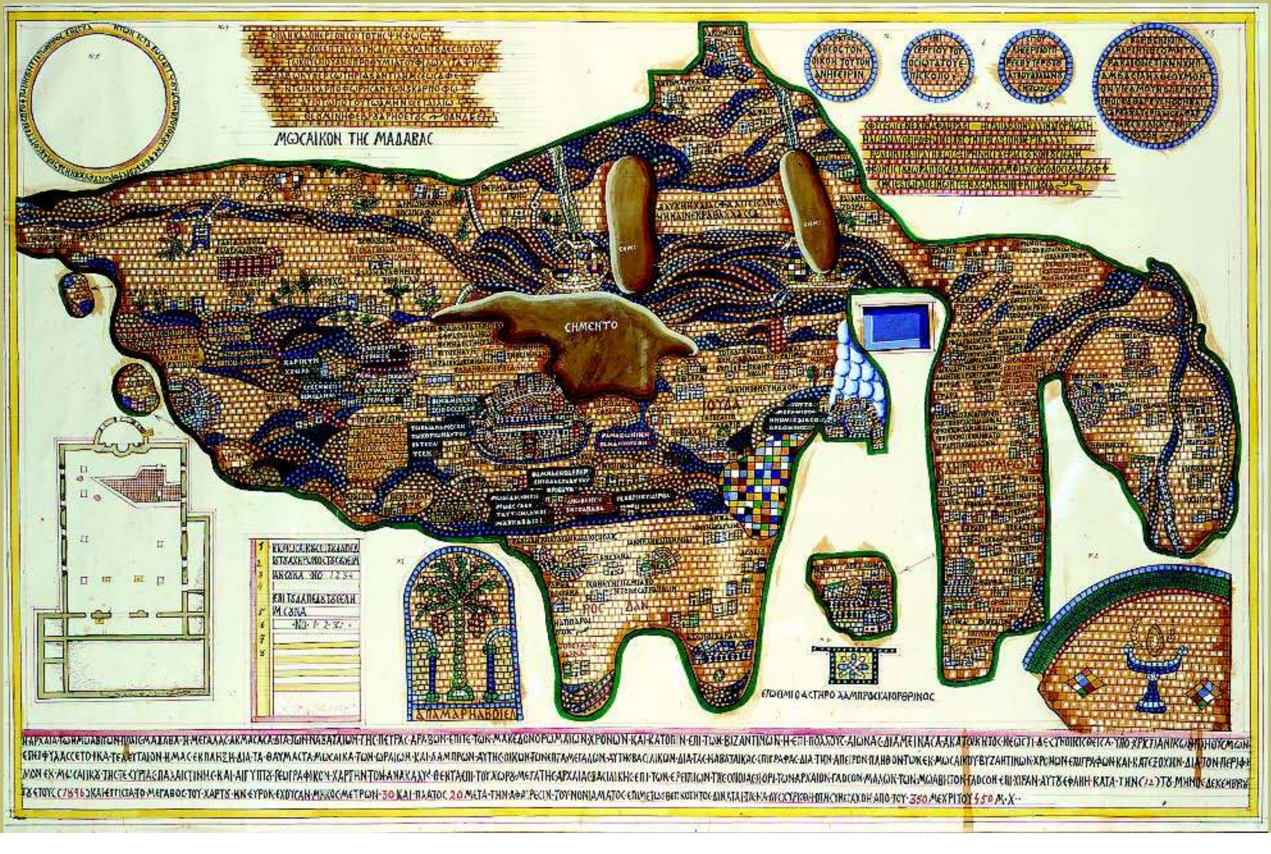
ΜΩΣΑΙΚΟΝ ΤΗΣ ΜΑΔΑΒΑΣ
CHMENTO

Petrus Plancius, Flemish, 1552–1622. Geography of the Exodus, adaptation by D.R.M. Mathes. Hand-colored engraving, c. 1600, from a Dutch Bible. *Collection of Isaac Einhorn, Tel Aviv.*

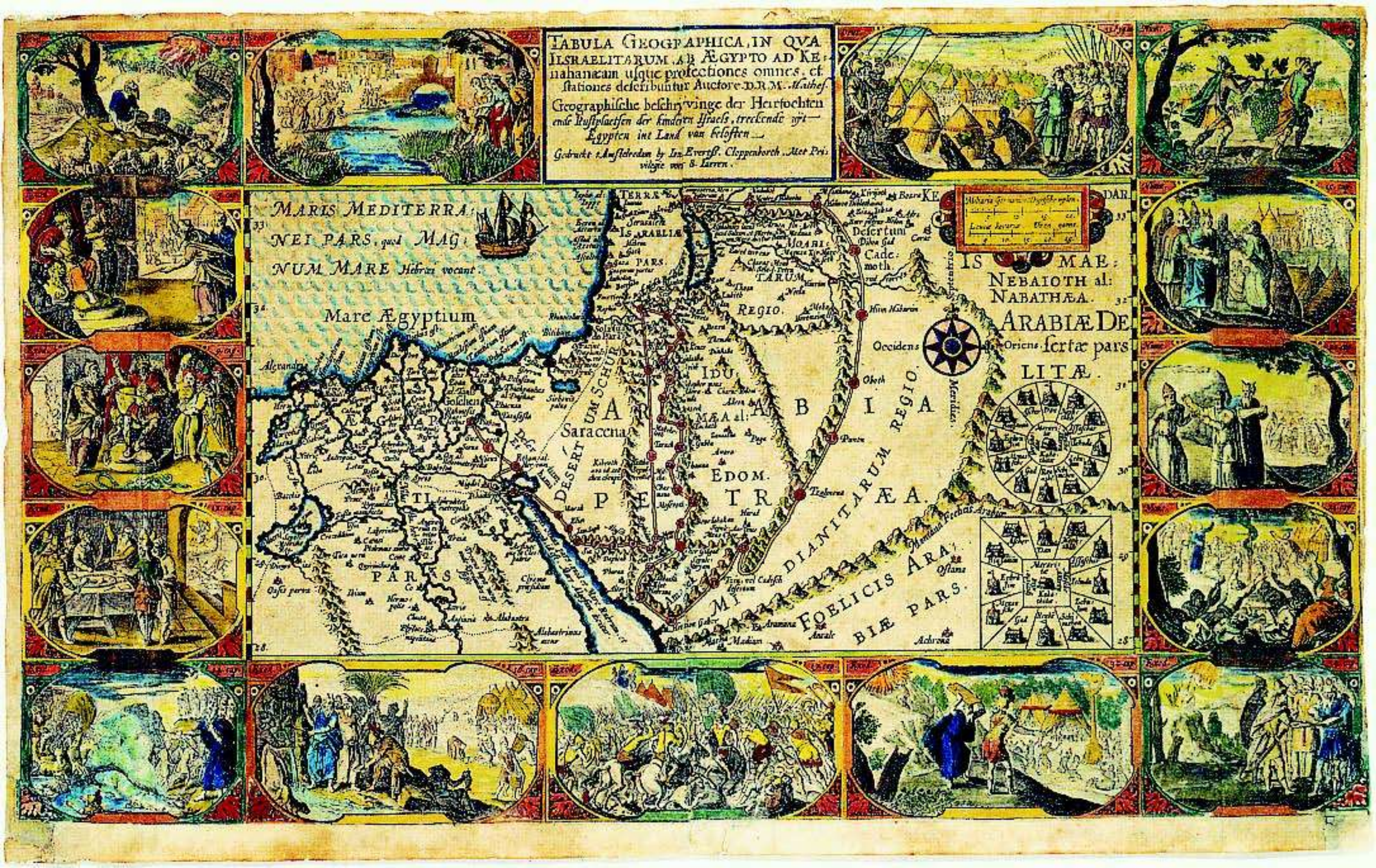
TABULA GEOGRAPHICA, IN QVA ISRAELITARUM AB ÆGYPTO AD KEnahanæam usque profectiones omnes, et ſtationes deſcribuntur Auctore D.R.M. Matheſ.
Geographiſche beſchryvinge der Heirtochten ende Ruſtplaetſen der kinderen Iſraels, treckende uyt Egypten int Land van beloften.
Gedruckt t'Amſtelredam by Ian Evertſ. Cloppenborch. Met Privilegie voor 8 Iaren.
MARIS MEDITERRANEI PARS, quod MAGNUM MARE Hebræi vocant
Mare Ægyptium
TERRÆ ISRAELIÆ PARS
MOABITARUM REGIO
Desertum Cademoth
IS MAE: NEBAIOTH al: NABATHÆA
ARABIÆ DESERTÆ pars
Occidens
Oriens
Goschen
DESERTUM SCHUR
Saracena
ARABIA PETRÆA
IDUMÆA al: EDOM
MIDIANITARUM REGIO
FOELICIS ARABIÆ PARS

Crusader's map of Jerusalem, including the Sacred Sites and the Temple of Solomon. From Robert the Monk's *Historia Iherosolimitana* (History of the First Crusade), ca. 1099. © *Gianni Dagli Orti/Corbis.*

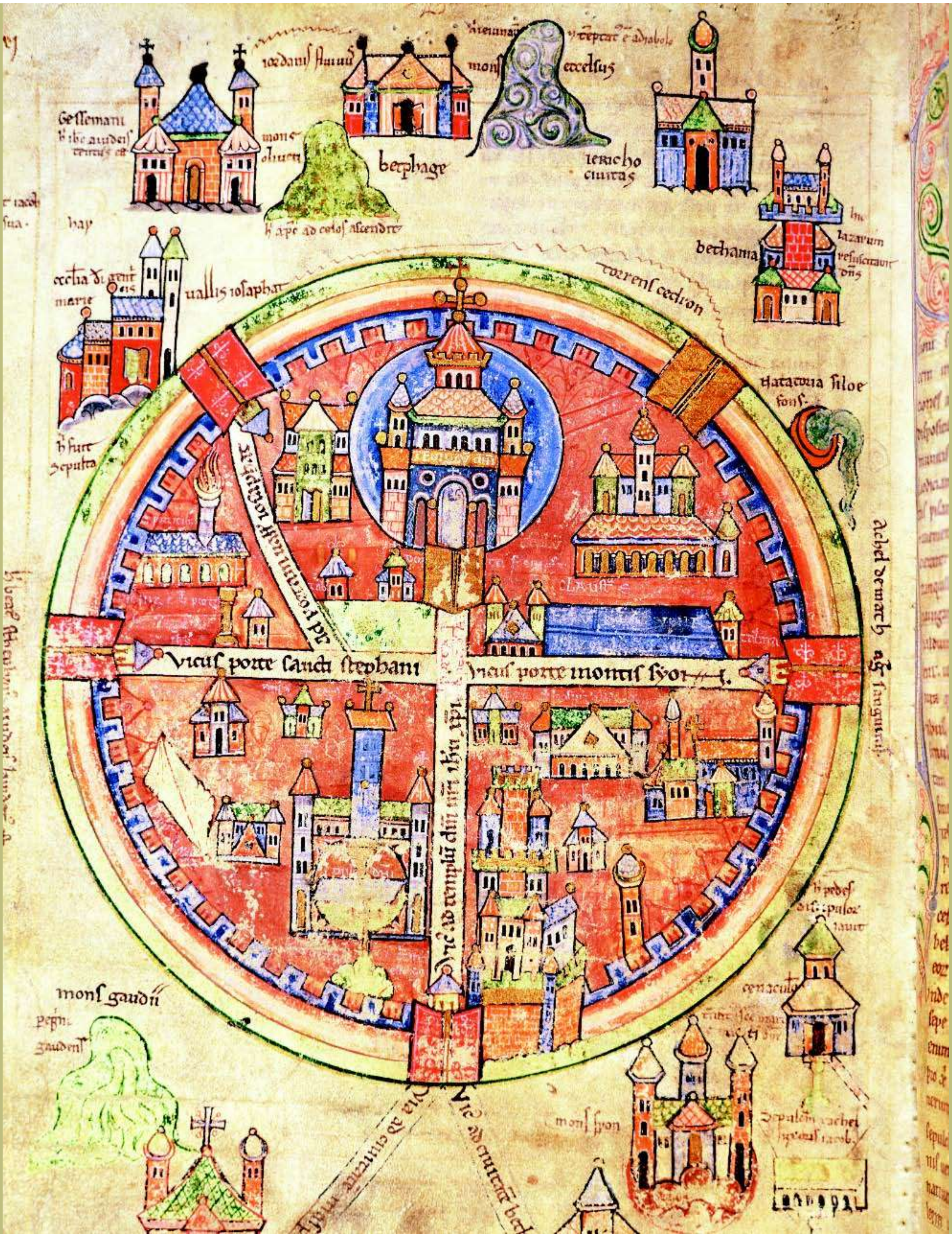
Gessemani
mons excelsus
mons oliueti
betphage
iericho ciuitas
bethania
uallis iosaphat
torrens cedron
Vicus porte sancti stephani
vicus porte montis syon
mons gaudii
mons syon
cenaculum

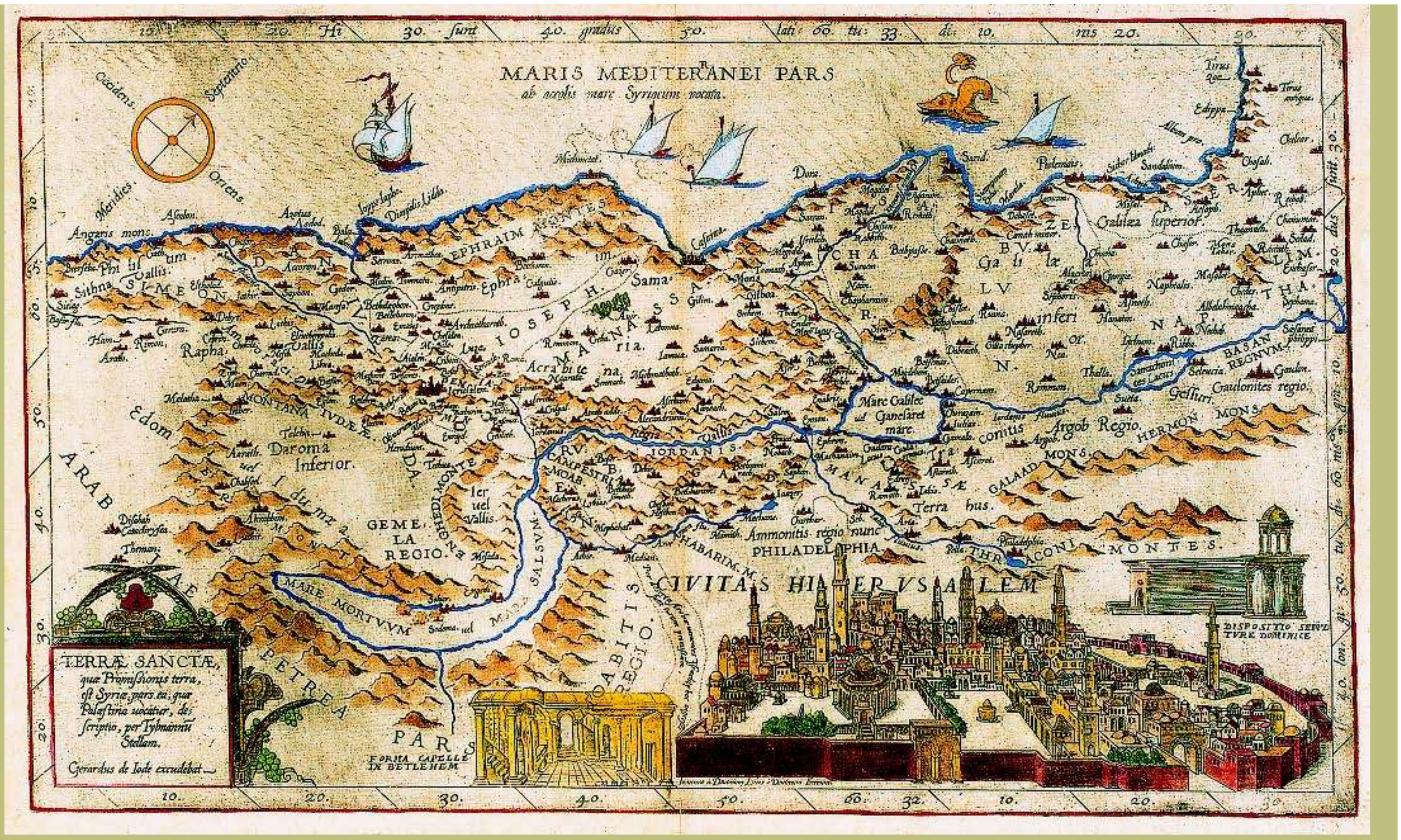
MARIS MEDITERANEI PARS
ab accolis mare Syriacum vocata.
CIVITAS HIERVSALEM
TERRÆ SANCTÆ, quæ Promissionis terra, est Syriæ pars, ea, quæ Palæstina uocatur, descriptio, per Tylmannu Stellam.
Gerardus de Iode excudebat
MARE MORTVVM
FORMA CAPELLE IN BETLEHEM
DISPOSITIO SEPVLTVRE DOMINICE

Gerard de Jode, Flemish, 1509–1591, after Tilemannus Stella, German, 1525–1589. *Terrae Sanctae, quae Promissionis terra. . .* (Description of the Holy Land, or the Promised Land. . .). Hand-colored etching by Johannes and Lucas Doetechum, 1578, 307 x 513mm. From Gerard de Jode, *Speculam orbis terrae*, edited by the author's son, Cornelis de Jode, Antwerp, 1593. *Collection, The Israel Museum, Jerusalem. Photo © Israel Museum, Jerusalem/Ilan Sztulman.*

Christian van Adrichom, Dutch, 1533–1585. *Situs Terrae Promissionis SS Bibliorum intelligentiam exacte aperiens* (The disposition of the Promised Land precisely clarifies biblical writings). Hand colored engraving, c. 1585, 354 x 1010 mm. From Christian van Adrichom, *Theatrum Terrae Sanctae et Biblicarum Historiarum*, Cologne, Officina Birkmanica, 1590. *Gift of Adam Mekler in honor of Ariel Gabriella Mekler. Collection, The Israel Museum, Jerusalem. Photo © Israel Museum, Jerusalem/Ilan Sztulman.*

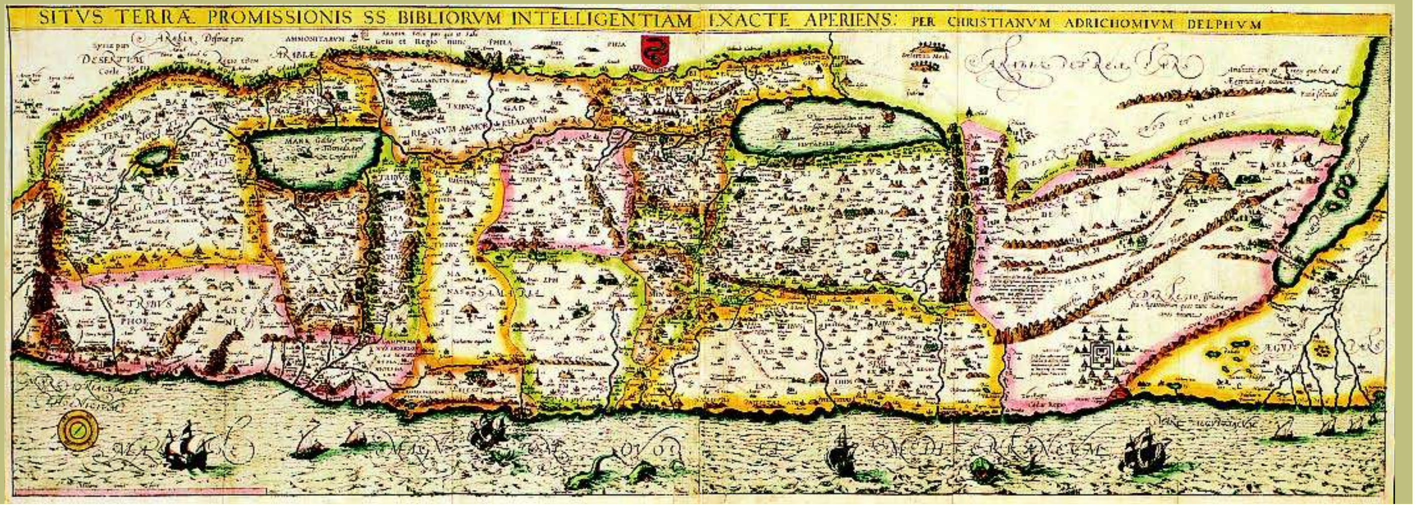
SITVS TERRÆ PROMISSIONIS SS BIBLIORVM INTELLIGENTIAM EXACTE APERIENS: PER CHRISTIANVM ADRICHOMIVM DELPHVM

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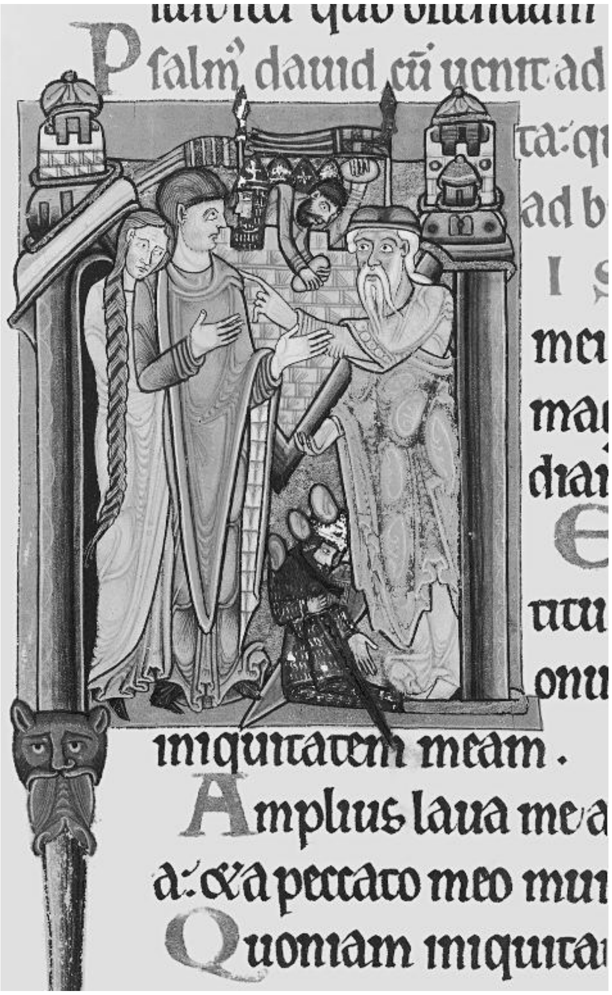

Initial letter for the word Miserere mei, *"Have mercy upon me," at the beginning of Psalm 51 (Vulgate Ps. 50) from the 12th-century* Psalter of York. *Seen here are David, with Bath-Sheba behind him, being admonished by Nathan. Uriah the Hittite lies dead, stoned by an Ammonite. Copenhagen, Royal Library, Thott, 143, fol. 68r.*

Mel-Mz

MELAMED, EZRA ZION (1903–1994), Israel talmudic scholar and philologist. Born in Shiraz, Persia, Melamed was taken to Palestine by his father, R.R. *Melamed, when he was two. He worked at the Ministry of Education (1952–56), and was appointed professor of Bible at the Hebrew University (1964) and of Talmud at Bar Ilan (1961) and at Tel Aviv (1964) universities. He was elected to the Hebrew Language Academy in 1956 and to the Higher Archaeological Council in 1963. He was awarded the Israel Prize in 1987 for Torah literature and commentary on the sources. Melamed's major works are in the fields of talmudic literature: *Midreshei Halakhah shel ha-Tanna'im be-Talmud Bavli* (1943), in which he collected *beraitot* in the Babylonian Talmud based on verses from the Pentateuch, and *Ha-Yaḥas she-Bein Midreshei Halakhah la-Mishnah ve-la-Tosefta* ("Relations Between Halakhic Midrashim and Mishnah and Tosefta," 1967). Two related works were published posthumously: *Midreshei Halakhah shel ha-Tanna'im be-Talmud Yerushalmi* (2001) and *Midreshei Halakhah shel ha-Amoraim be-Talmud Yerushalmi* (2004). Melamed devoted much labor to editing the scientific legacy of his teacher Jacob Nahum *Epstein, including *Mekhilta de-Rabbi Simeon bar Yoḥai* (1955), *Mevo'ot le-Sifrut ha-Tanna'im* (1957), *Mevo'ot le-Sifrut ha-Amora'im* (1962), and *Dikduk Aramit Bavlit* (1960). He also edited B. de Vries' *Meḥkarim be-Sifrut ha-Talmud* (1968). He composed a special work in which he summarized the most significant achievements of modern Talmud scholarship: *Pirkei Mavo le-Sifrut ha-Talmud* (1973). He prepared textbooks and popular works, including *Pirkei Minhag ve-Halakhah* ("Chapters of Custom and *Halakhah*," 1955), and *Parashiyyot me-Aggadot ha-Tanna'im* ("Chapters of Tannaitic *Aggadot*," 1955). Among his other writings are *Tafsir Tehillim bi-Leshon Yehudei Paras* ("Psalms in Judeo-Persian," 1968), *Millon Arami-Ivri le-Talmud Bavli le-Matḥilim* ("Aramaic-Hebrew Dictionary of the Babylonian Talmud for Beginners," 1969), and a comprehensive glossary to the entire Babylonian Talmud (*Millon Arami-Ivri shel ha-Talmud ha-Bavli,* 1992), as well as articles in scientific journals. Of special significance is his edition of Eusebius' geographical work *Onomastikon*, which he translated from the original (1938). Because of his involvement with the Persian and other Oriental communities (whom he served as honorary rabbi) and his familiarity with their traditions of custom and language, Melamed served as an important source on such community traditions.

[Menahem Zevi Kaddari / Stephen G. Wald (2nd ed.)]

MELAMED, MEIR (second half of 15th century), financier in Spain during the period of the expulsion. A Hebrew author of the period calls him the "king's secretary," apparently because he held office in one of the royal accounting departments. In official documents he is referred to as "Rabbi" and not "Don," as were most of the other Jewish tax farmers, which indicates that he was a scholar. He lived mainly in Segovia. In 1487 he succeeded his aged father-in-law Abraham *Seneor as chief administrator of tax farming in the kingdom. On June 15, 1492, he and Abraham Seneor were baptized with great ceremony at Guadalupe, Ferdinand and Isabella acting as godparents. As a Christian he adopted the name Fernándo Núñez Coronel. On June 23, 1492, he was appointed chief accountant (*contador mayor*). He also became a permanent member of the royal council and was town councillor (*regidor*) in Segovia.

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MELAMED, RAḤAMIM REUVEN (1854–1938), Persian rabbi and preacher. Born in Shiraz, he moved to Jerusalem in 1906, established a yeshivah in his own home, and served as rabbi to the Persian Jews. He wrote many commentaries in both Hebrew and *Judeo-Persian to the Pentateuch, the Scrolls, *Avot*, and portions of the Zohar: among them *Kisse Raḥamim* (1911), *Yeshu'ah ve-Raḥamim* (1912), *Ẓedakah ve-Raḥamim* (1926), *Ḥayyei Raḥamim* (1929), *Zikhron Raḥamim* (1930), and *Seder Leil Pesaḥ* (in Hebrew and Persian, 1930), all published in Jerusalem. Some of his works were republished by his son, Ezra Zion *Melamed.

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[Walter Joseph Fischel]

MELAMED, SIMAN TOV (d. c. 1780), spiritual leader of the Jewish community in *Meshed. A poet, philosopher, and author of many treatises in Hebrew and *Judeo-Persian, he composed **azharot* (1896) in Judeo-Persian (portions of which were written in Persian, as well as Aramaic and Hebrew). A manuscript of his commentary to *Pirkei Avot* is in the possession of Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati, together with other of his writings. His major work is his philosophical-religious *Sefer Ḥayyat al-Rukh* (published 1898), which combines a commentary on Maimonides' teachings on the 13 articles of faith and a treatise on Israel's existence in the Diaspora and ultimate salvation. The work shows a strong influence of the Sufic ideas of *Baḥya ibn Paquda's *Ḥovot ha-Levavot* and other Jewish and Muslim medieval thinkers. In the tradition of Meshed's Jews, Siman Tov Melamed is also remembered as a staunch defender of Judaism in theological disputations which the Shiʿa clergy arranged between him, Muslims, and Jewish converts.

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[Walter Joseph Fischel]

°**MELANCHTHON (Schwarzerd), PHILIPP** (1497–1560), German reformer and theologian. Born at Bretten in Baden, Melanchthon was a great-nephew of the Hebraist and Christian kabbalist Johann *Reuchlin, who taught him Hebrew and supervised his education at Pforzheim. In 1518, at the age of 21, Melanchthon was appointed professor of Greek at Wittenberg but within a year he had sided with Martin *Luther in the struggle with Rome, thus alienating Reuchlin, who later disinherited him. Melanchthon was Luther's principal assistant in translating the Old Testament into German (1523–34). Widely respected as a humanist and theologian, he favored study of the Kabbalah, but condemned its later accretions. One of his addresses on the importance of Hebrew, *De studio linguae Ebraeae*, appeared in 1549. Although Melanchthon was influenced by Luther's antisemitism, he avoided its cruder excesses and in 1539, at the Frankfurt religious assembly, publicly denounced the blood libel that had resulted in the martyrdom of 38 Brandenburg Jews in 1510.

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MELAVVEH MALKAH (Heb. מְלַוֵּה מַלְכָּה; "escorting the queen"), term used to describe the meal and festivities at the end of the Sabbath. This gesture of farewell to the "queen" (Sabbath) is designed as the counterpart of the festivities which greeted her arrival. The origin of the custom has been traced to the Talmud. R. Ḥanina asserted that the table should be (festively) laid at the termination of the Sabbath, although only a small amount of food would be eaten (Shab. 119b). The *melavveh malkah* was later seen by both *Jacob b. Asher and Joseph *Caro to be the fulfillment of R. Ḥidka's injunction to celebrate four meals on the Sabbath (Shab. 117b). It was in the context of this injunction that the *melavveh malkah* later assumed the image of a virtually voluntary extension of the Sabbath. Isaac *Luria, for example, believed that not until the *melavveh malkah* was over did the sinful dead return to hell from their Sabbath rest, and the kabbalists and Ḥasidim were so reluctant to relinquish the honored Sabbath guest, that they used the *melavveh malkah* as a means of prolonging the Sabbath day as long as possible. They used the occasion to chant special *zemirot and to relate ḥasidic tales. The *melavveh malkah* is also known as *se'udat David* ("King David's banquet"). As such, it serves as a reminder of the legend that King David, having been told by God that he would die on the Sabbath (Shab. 30a), celebrated his survival each new week with special joy (*Ta'amei Minhagim*).

One of the favorite *melavveh malkah* hymns is *Eliyahu ha-Navi* ("Elijah the Prophet"), attributed by some authorities to *Meir of Rothenburg. It welcomes the prophet as the herald of the Messiah. According to legend, Elijah is expected to announce the salvation of Israel at the first opportunity after the termination of the Sabbath. Medieval *paytanim* devoted several other *zemirot* to the *melavveh malkah* festivities. Among the most notable are *Be-Moẓa'ei Yom Menuḥah* by Jacob Menea (14th century); *Addir Ayom ve-Nora, Ish Ḥasid* by Jesse b. Mordecai (13th century); and *Amar Adonai le-Ya'akov.*

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[Harry Rabinowicz]

MELBOURNE, capital of Victoria, Australia. The 15 Port Phillip Association members who founded Melbourne in 1835 included two Jews. Melbourne is today the only Jewish community of any size in the State of Victoria. During the 19th century however a considerable number of Jews settled in other centers in the State, but the country communities practically disappeared. The Melbourne Jewish community was established in 1841.

Early Metropolitan Settlement

Jews clustered around shops and businesses in the center of the city in Collins, Bourke, and Elizabeth streets and in 1847 opened the first synagogue (Melbourne Hebrew Congregation) in that area. The influx in the 1850s and 1860s led to settlement in working-class districts in the suburbs adjoining the city – Fitzroy, Carlton, Richmond, and East Melbourne. The East Melbourne Congregation was founded in 1857 with Moses Rintel as minister, most of the congregants being immigrants from Germany and Austria. At the turn of the century this congregation was led by the patriarchal figure, Rev. Jacob Lenzer.

There were continuous movements of Jews from their first areas of settlement to new areas. In the wake of such a group movement the St. Kilda Synagogue was opened in 1872. In the period before compulsory education the Melbourne Hebrew School was established as a day school in 1874 and continued until 1886, when it was closed because of financial difficulties. In 1888 the three congregations (Melbourne, East Melbourne, and St. Kilda) established the United Jewish Education Board, which conducted part-time Hebrew schools in various centers. As they moved from area to area, the Jews ascended in the social and occupational ladder and by 1900 the most popular occupations were textile manufacturing, general dealing, and skilled trades such as tailoring, watchmaking, and cabinetmaking. Small draper shop-owners were beginning to acquire large retail stores. Carpenters were opening furniture factories. Less than 3% were in the professions. During the first decades of the 20th century there gradually developed a struggle for communal supremacy between the earlier immigrants who lived south of the Yarra River, and who were more prosperous and assimilated, and the more recent immigrants, mostly from Eastern Europe, who were concentrated north of the river, and who were Yiddish-speaking, with an Orthodox background, Yiddish culture, and strong Zionist leanings.

Concurrently, a change took place in the centers of Jewish activity. Whereas until the first decades of the 20th century life centered around the synagogues, in the next decades a shift took place, non-synagogal bodies being organized and gradually taking a more prominent place in communal leadership. The synagogues in the first decades of the 20th century were the Melbourne Hebrew Congregation (first at Bourke St. in the city; after 1930 at Toorak Road) and the St. Kilda Synagogue south of the Yarra, and the East Melbourne Synagogue and the Carlton Synagogue (established 1927), north of the Yarra. Some smaller *minyanim* had also been formed, notably the Woolf Davis Chevra, run by the family of J.E. Stone, and the Talmud Torah Hascola at North Carlton. A number of societies mainly in the hands of the south of the Yarra element were already in existence – the Philanthropic Society, Aid Society, Welfare Society, Sick Visiting Society, the Chevra Kadisha (founded 1910), the United Shechita Board, and the Beth Din. A number of bodies began to spring up north of the Yarra. In 1912 new immigrants had helped to form a center of Yiddish culture, the "Jewish National Library-Kadimah," which apart from its book collection held regular cultural meetings including Yiddish lectures and plays.

The Judean League of Victoria was founded in 1921 as a roof-organization for non-synagogal activity, sports, literary, cultural, social, and Zionist activity. Its headquarters in its heyday at Monash House, Carlton, was a vibrant center of Jewish activity every night of the week for three decades. Its founder and leading spirit was Maurice *Ashkanasy. The struggle between the two elements ended in 1948 with a democratic representation unifying the whole community and putting an end to the era of Anglo-Jewish patrician control and of the congregational dictatorship in communal affairs. The place of Melbourne (later Victorian) Jewish Advisory Board (established in 1921), a strictly synagogal body, was taken by the Victorian Jewish Board of Deputies (in 1948) which gave a new direction to communal activities, and brought about the formulation of a community viewpoint on all matters affecting both local Jewry, such as public relations, immigration, and a deepening of Jewish cultural values, and wider Jewish issues such as Zionism and antisemitism. There was also a move from voluntary philanthropy to organized professional social services. It operated through the following committees: education, social welfare, immigration, public relations, appeals coordination, youth, organization and statistics, and congregational. The struggle was fought out on a number of points, including the question of the *kashrut* of frozen meat exported to Palestine, prepared under the supervision of the United Shechita Board and its chief *shoḥet* Rabbi I.J. Super (who served the community as *shoḥet, mohel*, and teacher for more than half a century), which was challenged by Rabbi J.L. Gurewicz, disciple of Chaim Ozer *Grodzinsky of Vilna and the respected leader of the Orthodox Carlton Synagogue in its heyday. The main issues however were the battle against anti-Zionist elements in the mid-1940s, the struggle for the establishment of a Jewish day school, the continuing cleavage between the Orthodox and the Liberals, a stubborn but losing battle for the greater use of Yiddish, the attitude to antisemitism, and the problem of public relations.

The Transformation of the Community

Between the late 1930s and the mid-1950s the Melbourne Jewish community was transformed, as were the other centers of Australian Jewish life, by a number of important interrelated events. Some of this change occurred before, when the traditional synagogues, mainly Anglo-Jewish in orientation, such as the Melbourne Hebrew Congregation and the St. Kilda Hebrew Congregation, which had provided communal leadership, were challenged by new synagogues representing either a stricter European Orthodoxy or the Reform congregation founded in 1930. A Yiddish-speaking component already existed, centered in Carlton, just north of central Melbourne, rather than in the traditional middle-class Jewish area of St. Kilda, south of the inner city. Institutions like the Jewish National Library–Kadimah, founded in 1912, and the Judean League, a center of cultural life and pro-Zionist activity, founded in 1921, emerged in Yiddish Carlton, whose inhabitants demonstrated the range of Jewish orientations and ideologies of troubled Europe.

There was no secular communal representative body until the foundation of the Victorian Jewish Advisory Board in 1938, an organization which changed its name in May 1947 to the Victorian Jewish Board of Deputies (VJBD), and, in October 1988, to the Jewish Community Council of Victoria. Although all local synagogues which wished to affiliate to the Board could do so, it also included a plethora of secular bodies, including Zionist and Yiddish groups. These representative bodies took a much more visible and direct role in lobbying on behalf of Jewish interests to the government and the media than was previously the case.

While (with many exceptions) the old Anglo-Jewish-dominated Melbourne community had been notably lukewarm on Zionism, the new community was, by and large, enthusiastically pro-Zionist, and, in the decade before the establishment of Israel, defended the creation of a Jewish state against influential local Jewish non-Zionists such as Rabbi Jacob *Danglow and Sir Isaac *Isaacs. Perhaps the most important manifestation of the new Jewish assertiveness in Melbourne was the foundation of Mt. Scopus College, the first Jewish day school, in 1949. Mt. Scopus was coeducational, and moderately Orthodox and Zionist in its orientation. By the 1980s eight full-time Jewish day schools, representing various trends in the Jewish community, had been founded. The relatively large-scale migration to Melbourne of perhaps 35,000 Holocaust refugees and survivors, especially from Poland, dramatically changed the nature of the community, adding not merely to its pro-Zionist and Orthodox strength, but to its secular Yiddish and leftist elements. This in turn produced a number of major cleavages within the community, especially between the mainstream community and an allegedly pro-Communist communal defense body, the Jewish Council to Combat Fascism and Antisemitism, which resulted in the Council's expulsion from the VJBD in 1952, and notably bad relations between the Orthodox synagogues and the Reform movement (which included significant numbers of German and Austrian refugees). As well, Yiddish persisted as a significant Jewish *lingua franca* in Melbourne for decades after the War. By the mid-1950s, however – and certainly by the 1967 War – the Melbourne Jewish community had been transformed into one which was enthusiastically pro-Zionist, religiously pluralistic but with a large Orthodox majority, outspoken in defense of its interests, and keen to deter assimilation through the creation of a large Jewish day school movement. A number of individual activists responsible for these developments, such as Maurice *Ashkanasy, Alex Masel, and Benzion Patkin (1902–1984), the chief founder of Mt. Scopus College, should to be mentioned here. Visitors to Melbourne were often amazed at the breadth and vigor of its institutions and it was often known as the "*shtetl* on the Yarra" – Melbourne's river – for its extraordinary preservation of many of the cultural, linguistic, and ideological matrices of prewar Europe. Melbourne was also often contrasted with Sydney, which had fewer Polish Holocaust refugees but more from Britain and Hungary, and was widely seen as less assertively Jewish than Melbourne, at least down to the 1990s. The rivalry between Melbourne and Sydney was found in many aspects of Australian life, and, in the case of the two Jewish communities, probably owed something to the more extreme nature of Victoria's left-wing, often anti-Israel, stance which emerged in the 1950s from local political developments.

The Contemporary Community

DEMOGRAPHY. Melbourne has experienced considerable and continuing growth during the postwar period. The number of declared Jews in Melbourne, according to the optional religious question in the Australian census, rose from about 22,000 in 1954 to 26,409 in 1971 and then to 35,383 in 1996 and 37,779 in 2001. Since this is based on responses to an optional question of religious affiliation (rather than ethnic identity), the actual number is certainly much higher, probably in the range of 50–55,000, just under 2% of Melbourne's population of about 2.9 million. Most Melbourne Jews tend to live in a small number of well-defined Jewish neighborhoods. Among the 17 postal code areas (equivalent to zip codes in the United States, but somewhat smaller in size) in Australia with the highest number of Jews in the 2001 census, nine were in Melbourne, including three of the top five. The largest and most obviously Jewish areas of concentration are the Caulfield–St. Kilda East–Elsternwick districts, about five miles south of central Melbourne, where 18,216 Jews were identified in the 2001 census. This area contains many Jewish synagogues, institutions, and shops, and a large and visible Strictly Orthodox community. The other significant areas of Jewish concentration were adjacent to this core area: Bentleigh (2,667 Jews in 2001), to the east; the wealthy neighborhood of Toorak (1,611 Jews) to its north; and East Brighton (1,316 Jews) to its south. These neighborhoods became heavily Jewish just after World War II and have remained very stable ever since. There is little or no sign of Jewish suburbanization, as in many other Diaspora societies, nor any equivalent of "white flight," as in the United States, away from decaying neighborhoods. The only major change in Melbourne's Jewish demographic pattern since 1945 has been the decline to the vanishing point of the former area of East European Jewish settlement in Carlton, immediately north of central Melbourne, which, until the 1960s, contained many Yiddish-based institutions such as the Kadimah, the leading Yiddish cultural and social center. The Melbourne Jewish community has grown chiefly by immigration, welcoming successive waves of German Holocaust refugees and a very large flow of postwar Holocaust survivors, especially from Poland, and then more recent groups of South African and ex-Soviet immigrants, as well as a continuing settlement of Jews from the English-speaking world and elsewhere for normal professional purposes. Nevertheless, the stability of Melbourne Jewry, and other social characteristics, have given it some very favorable features. A 1991 random sample survey of the community, for example, found that the Melbourne Jewish fertility rate was apparently above the replacement level, a notable accomplishment for a middle-class Diaspora Jewish community.

CONGREGATIONS. In terms of congregational affiliation, Melbourne had about 50 synagogues in the early 21st century, of which four were Liberal (Reform) and one Masorti (Conservative), one Independent, and all the others Orthodox of various strands ranging from moderate Anglo-Orthodoxy to Strict Orthodoxy. The postwar era has seen a vast expansion in the range of congregational affiliation beyond the Anglo-Orthodoxy predominant before 1939, especially at the religious extremes. Relations between the Orthodox and Reform components of the community have been notably bad, as have, to a lesser extent, relations between different strands in Orthodoxy. In part for this reason, no postwar Melbourne rabbi has been able to act as recognized spokesman for the whole community, in the manner of Rabbi Jacob Danglow before the war. A number of rabbis, such as the Orthodox *Gutnicks, Yitzhak *Groner, and John S. *Levi from the Liberals, have been viewed by many as notable leaders, but none has been regarded as a consensual leader.

COMMUNAL LEADERSHIP. Instead, the leadership of the community has been vested in its representative body, known (1938–47) as the Victorian Jewish Advisory Board, then (1947–88) as the Victorian Jewish Board of Deputies (VJBD); and since 1988 as the Jewish Community Council of Victoria (JCCV). Its president (elected annually, and normally serving a two-year term) and other office-holders are regarded as the community's spokesmen to the media and government. The JCCV is composed of representatives of many Jewish organizations in Melbourne, including most synagogues, Zionist bodies, fraternal, women's, and youth groups. There is no provision to elect individuals on a personal basis. The JCCV has at all times represented a consensual position in the community, strongly supportive of Israel as well as multiculturalism and the Jewish day school system. It monitors and combats antisemitism and extreme anti-Zionism. By its constitution, no religious question can be discussed, since any debating of religious issues is likely to be divisive. The JCCV, which meets on a monthly basis, works closely with the Executive Council of Australian Jewry (ECAJ), the national representative body of the community, and the Zionist Federation.

EDUCATION. Probably the major reason for the relative success of the Jewish community in Melbourne has been the Jewish day school system. Since 1949, nine full-time Jewish day schools have been established in Melbourne. (See *Australia for list.) In 1962, 1,480 students attended these schools, a total which rose to 4,840 in 1982, 5,492 in 1989, and about 6,000 in 2004. The experience of Melbourne has clearly been that education there strongly discourages assimilation and intermarriage. One of the major challenges confronting the Melbourne Jewish community is the ever-increasing cost of education at Jewish schools (which are private and fee-paying, although they receive some state funding). No long-term solution to this problem is yet in sight. Jewish interest courses exist at Monash University, but the underfunding of the tertiary and research sectors compared with the Jewish school system is also a notable and unfortunate feature of the community.

There are a number of Jewish museums in Melbourne which would be of interest to tourists. The Jewish Museum of Australia (26 Alma Road, St. Kilda) contains exhibits on Australian Jewry history. The Jewish Holocaust Museum and Research Centre (13 Selwyn Street, Elsternwick) has used Holocaust survivors as tour guides. Melbourne's most prominent Jewish landmark is certainly the magnificent Melbourne Hebrew Congregation's synagogue at Toorak Road and Domain Road, South Yarra.

COMMUNAL RELATIONS. Relations between the Melbourne Jewish community and the local state government of Victoria have generally been very good. Only very occasionally have difficulties arisen, for instance in the late 1970s when a strongly anti-Zionist and radical segment of the local Australian Labor Party supported a radical radio station, 3RC, whose license to broadcast to the Jewish community was questioned at a series of public hearings. By and large, however, relations between the Jewish community and successive Victoria governments have been harmonious. Relations with the local media are also good, although the community has protested many times when Israel is unfairly criticized, as has become common, especially in the liberal media and on "talk-back" radio. Relations with other groups in the wider community are normally also harmonious, despite the existence of antisemitic and anti-Zionist activists and the threat of terrorism, especially from extremist sections of Melbourne's growing Muslim community.

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Israel Porush and Yitzhak Rischin / William D. Rubinstein (2nd ed.)]

MELCHIOR, family prominent in Denmark since the mid-18th century. Originally from Hamburg, where the family had lived since the 18th century, MOSES MELCHIOR (1736–1817) arrived in Copenhagen in 1750. He became a successful dealer in leather and tobacco and in 1795 founded the import-export firm of Moses and Son G. Melchior, which is still in existence. His son GERSON (1771–1845) took over the business on his father's death, and enlarged it by importing sugar, rum, and tea. He was one of the leaders of the Copenhagen Jewish community. One of his sons, NATHAN GERSON (1811–1872), was a prominent ophthalmologist. He lectured at Copenhagen University and in 1857 became a director of the Ophthalmological Institute in Copenhagen. Another son, MORITZ GERSON (1816–1884), succeeded his father as head of the firm in 1845, establishing branches in the Danish West Indies and in Melbourne, Australia. Melchior was a member of the *landsting* (upper house of the Danish parliament) from 1866 to 1874 and was the first Jew to belong to the Danish Chamber of Commerce, becoming its president in 1873. Active also in the Jewish community, he served as a trustee and was made president in 1852. The writer Hans Christian Andersen was a friend and frequent guest in his house. His brother MOSES (1825–1912) succeeded him in 1884, opening a New York office in 1898. He was well known for his philanthropy, contributing to many Jewish and general causes. CARL HENRIQUES (1855–1931) took over the business after his brother's death and expanded it. He organized many athletic associations and sports clubs in Denmark and became their patron. Like his brother, he was the president of the Copenhagen community (1911–29). His son HARALD RAPHAEL (1896–1973) succeeded him in the firm, which dealt in the import of coffee, tea, rice, cocoa, and vanilla.

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MELCHIOR, CARL (1871–1933), German banker. Melchior, who was born in Hamburg, studied law and later became a judge there. In 1900 he was appointed legal counsel to the bank M.M. Warburg and Co. and in 1917 became a partner in the bank. During World War I, he served as a captain in the German Army and was badly wounded. After his recuperation, he worked for the German government's Zentraleinkaufsgesellschaft (ZEG), which was charged during the war with importing foodstuffs. Melchior always considered himself a patriot. From 1918 to 1919, together with Max M. Warburg, he took part as a German delegate in the financial and economic negotiations following the armistice. Melchior subsequently played a prominent role in the lengthy negotiations which eventually paved the way for Germany's reacceptance into the community of nations and displayed a mastery of financial and legal issues, diplomatic tact, and attention to detail. As a Jew he was afraid to arouse antisemitism by holding official positions, so he tried to act more in the background. At the international conference in Spa in 1920 as an expert for the German government, together with Walther *Rathenau and Moritz Julius *Bonn Melchior created the "policy of fulfillment" as a strategy of how Germany should pay its reparations. After Germany's admission to the League of Nations, Melchior became the only German member of the League's finance committee and in 1928–29 its chairman. In 1929 he was one of the German delegates discussing the revision of the Dawes Plan, under which German reparation payments were scheduled. He also served as a member of the board of the Bank for International Settlements in Basle and in other political or economic functions concerning international financial affairs. In the early 1930s he hoped that integrating the NSDAP, which he detested, into the government would placate the Nazis. After the Nazis took power in 1933, he lost his positions on several company boards. Melchior became active in the preparation for the formation of the *Reichsvertretung der deutschen Juden. In November 1933 he died.

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[Joachim O. Ronall / Christian Schoelzel (2nd ed.)]

MELCHIOR, MARCUS (1897–1969), chief rabbi of Denmark. Born in Fredericia of an old Danish family, Melchior received his rabbinical diploma in 1921 from the Hildesheimer Seminary. He served as rabbi in Tarnowice, Poland (1921–23), in Beuthen, Germany (1925–34), and as rabbi of the Danish refugees in Sweden (1943–45). From 1947 he was the chief rabbi of Denmark. Melchior endeavored to promote understanding between all the religious trends in Judaism, while personally advocating the modern Orthodox one. He supported Zionism short of advocating *aliyah*. The main spokesman of Danish Jewry before the gentile community, Melchior was considered one of the prominent orators in Denmark. He supported the establishment of relations and furthering of understanding with West Germany. Among his books are *Jødedommen i vor tid* (1966^{2}); *En jødedommens historie* (1962); *Levet og oplevet* (1965; *A Rabbi Remembers*, 1968; also Ger. tr.); and *Tœnkt og Talt* (1967). He translated into Danish (1961) Shalom Aleichem's *Tevye de Milkhiger*. He was succeeded in the chief rabbinate by his son Bent.

MELCHIOR, MICHAEL (1954–), rabbi and Israeli politician. Born in Copenhagen, the son of Chief Rabbi Bent Melchior, Melchior studied in Israel at Yeshivat ha-Kotel after high school. He was ordained in 1980 and in the same year became the first chief rabbi of Oslo and was largely responsible for the community's renaissance (see *Norway; *Oslo). After six years he returned to Israel but continued to serve Norwegian Jewry. In Israel he entered politics and was elected to the Knesset in 1999 as a representative of Meimad, a moderate religious party aligned with the Labor Party. In the government he served as minister without portfolio, minister for Diaspora affairs, and deputy minister for foreign affairs.

MELCHIZEDEK (Heb.: מַלְכִּי צֶדֶק; "legitimate/righteous king"; the English spelling follows LXX Melxisedek as opposed to MT Malkizedek), king of Salem (or Jerusalem; cf. Ps. 76:3) according to Genesis 14:18–20. He welcomed *Abraham after he had defeated the four kings who had captured his nephew, Lot. Melchizedek brought out bread and wine and blessed Abraham. Finally, it is related that "he gave him a tithe of everything" although who gave the tithe to whom became a subject of considerable dispute (see below). The biblical account states that "he (Melchizedek) was priest of God Most High" (וְהוּא כֹהֵן לְאֵל עֶלְיוֹן). Melchizedek's priesthood was a source of numerous post-biblical speculations, which were intensified by the difficult verse Psalms 110:4: "The Lord has sworn/and will not repent/Thou art priest for ever/after the manner of Melchizedek" (אַתָּה כֹהֵן לְעוֹלָם עַל־דִּבְרָתִי מַלְכִּי צֶדֶק). It is generally believed that the Melchizedek mentioned here and the one in Genesis are the same. Some interpreters, however, maintain that the Melchizedek of Psalms is not a person but a title, "my righteous king," presumably because the name is written as two separate words (מַלְכִּי צֶדֶק).

The first post-biblical documents mentioning Melchizedek in various contexts appear from around the beginning of the Christian era. The earliest is probably the fragmentary scroll discovered in cave 11 at Qumran (11Q Melch or 11Q 13) and published by A.S. Van der Woude (in OTS, 14, 1965) and again with certain corrections by M. de Jonge and A.S. Van der Woude (in NTS, 12, 1966) and much studied since (bibliography in Brooke). Although this text "is a midrashic development which is independent of the classic Old Testament loci" (J.A. Fitzmyer, JBL, 86, 1967), it is clear that the eschatological and soteriological functions it attributes to Melchizedek draw on the perplexing figure of the biblical Melchizedek. In the Qumran text, Melchizedek is described as passing judgment, in the time of the tenth or last Jubilee, on Belial and those of his sort. The judgment takes place in heaven, and immediately there follows the "day of slaughter" prophecied by Isaiah. Here, Melchizedek is both judge and executor of his own decree, and in all likelihood he is to be identified with the Angel of Light, who figures in the dualistic doctrine of the Qumran sect (I. Gruenwald, in: *Maḥanayim*, 124 (1970), 94). He has also been identified with the Archangel Michael. Melchizedek is also mentioned in another Qumran text, the Genesis Apocryphon (22: 13–17), where the biblical story of the meeting between Abraham and Melchizedek is retold. Here it is Abraham who offers the tithe to Melchizedek: "And he [i.e., Abraham] gave him a tithe of all the goods of the king of Elam and his companions" (cf. Heb. 7:2 followed by the Christian translations of Genesis where, however, Melchizedek, not Abraham, is the subject of the verse). The question of who gave the tithe to whom was of considerable importance in rabbinical literature. In several places Melchizedek is stated to be a descendant of Noah, and is even identified with Shem the son of Noah. The same sources maintain that his priesthood was taken away from him and bestowed upon Abraham because he blessed Abraham first and only afterward blessed God (Gen. 14:19–20; cf. Ned. 32b; Lev. R. 25:6). Abraham's priesthood is also mentioned in connection with Psalms 110 (Gen. R., 55:6). In other rabbinical sources Melchizedek is mentioned among the four messianic figures allegorically implied by the "four smiths" of Zechariah 2:3. Melchizedek's messianic functions are also elaborated in two other literary documents. At the end of several manuscripts of the Slavonic Book of Enoch appears the story of the miraculous birth of Melchizedek as the son of Nir, Noah's brother. He is transported to heaven and becomes the head of a line of priests leading down to messianic days. There will presumably be another eschatological Melchizedek who will function as both priest and king. In symbolizing Mechizedek as Jesus in his three functions as messiah, king, and high priest (see below) the author's ingenuity combines all the motives singled out in the above-mentioned sources. A gnostic sect whose particular theological position is unknown called itself after Melchizedek.

[Ithamar Gruenwald]

In Christian Tradition

The two brief and somewhat enigmatic references to Melchizedek in the Bible provided the New Testament with a subject for typological interpretation. In the Epistle to the Hebrews (7:1–7), Melchizedek (king of justice – Zedek; of peace – Salem) is described as unique, being both a priest and a king, and because he is "without father, without mother, without genealogy"; he is eternal, "having neither beginning of days nor end of life." In this respect Melchizedek resembles Jesus, the son of God, and thus is a type of the savior.

Abraham, and therefore Levi "in the loins of his father" (*ibid.* 9–10), paid the tithe in submission to Melchizedek. Since in Christian tradition Jesus is high priest "after the order of Melchizedek" and "not after the order of Aaron" (*ibid.* 7:11, 17–21), Jesus' priesthood is excellent, superior to that of

Abraham's descent, and transcends all human, imperfect orders (Heb. 7:23–28; 8:1–6). To Christians the objection that Jesus, like Aaron, was "in the loins" of the patriarch, and consequently paid the tithe was met by the Church Fathers with the argument that Jesus, though descended from Abraham, had no human father.

[Ilana Shapira]

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MELDOLA, Sephardi family of rabbis and scholars. The family originated in the 15th century in Meldola, northern Italy; the legend that they descended from Spanish exiles cannot be substantiated. The first of the family to attain prominence was JACOB MELDOLA, rabbi in Mantua in the 16th century. His son SAMUEL MELDOLA or MENDOLA was both a rabbinic scholar and physician to the Mantuan court. In the next generation members of the family settled in Leghorn, entering thus into the tradition of Sephardi life. For the next 200 years they provided rabbis, printers, and leaders to the Sephardi communities in Holland, Italy, France, and England.

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[Cecil Roth]

MELDOLA, RAPHAEL (1754–1828), British rabbi; son of Moses Hezekiah Meldola (1725–1791), professor of Oriental languages in Paris. Raphael was born in Leghorn, received rabbinical ordination there from Ḥ.J.D. *Azulai in 1796, became a *dayyan* in 1803, and in 1804/05 was appointed haham of the Sephardi community in London – an office vacant since the death of Moses Cohen d'*Azevedo in 1784. Energetic and capable, he helped to reform the educational institutions of his community in the face of missionary activities, introduced a choir into the synagogue, and cooperated cordially with Solomon *Hirschel, the Ashkenazi chief rabbi. On the other hand, his belligerent nature was responsible for periodic friction with the members of his community. Notwithstanding his imperfect knowledge of English he corresponded extensively with Christian scholars. Before leaving Leghorn, he had published there *Ḥuppat Ḥatanim* (1797), a handbook on the laws of marital life. He also published sermons and memorial poems: part of his catechism *Derekh Emunah* (*The Way of Faith)* appeared with his English translation after his death (1848). His son DAVID (1797–1853), who succeeded him as presiding rabbi though not as haham of the Sephardi community in London, was one of the founders of the **Jewish Chronicle*, and ineffectively opposed the movement for religious reform among London Jewry in 1840. A grandson of Raphael's was the British scientist, Raphael *Meldola.

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[Vivian David Lipman]

MELDOLA, RAPHAEL (1849–1915), British chemist and naturalist. Meldola was the grandson of Raphael *Meldola, the haham of the London Sephardi community. He worked at the Royal Mint (1868–71), with a firm of color manufacturers, and at the Royal College of Science. In 1875 he led a Royal Society expedition to the Nicobar Islands to observe a total eclipse of the sun. He spent several years as a schoolteacher and in industry and in 1885 became professor of chemistry at Finsbury Technical College, a position he held for over 30 years. Meldola's early investigations were in the fields of natural history and entomology as well as astronomy, but his main interest was dyestuffs. "Meldola's Blue" was the first oxazine dye, and he also discovered the first alkali green. In 1904 he published *Chemical Synthesis of Vital Products*. Meldola played an important role in the British chemical profession and was president of the Chemical Society and of the Institute of Chemistry, as well as a fellow and vice president of the Royal Society. After his death the Society of *Maccabeans, of which he had been president, instituted the Meldola Medal of the Royal Institute of Chemistry in his memory.

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[Samuel Aaron Miller]

°**MELEAGER OF GADARA** (c. 140–70 B.C.E.) was of Syrian parentage and grew up in Tyre. The *Palatine Anthology,* which includes 130 of his love epigrams (vii. 419, 7–8), exhibits his knowledge of Eastern languages: "If you are a Syrian, Salam! If you are a Phoenician, Naidius! If you are a Greek, Chaire!" His Menippean satires, Cynic sermons in prose mingled with verse (a Semitic form called "maqāma" by the Arabs) are lost. In one of his epigrams (A.P. 5. 160), Meleager sighs for his sweetheart Demo who is naked in another's arms, and disparagingly concludes: "If thy lover is some Sabbath-keeper, no great wonder! Love burns hot even on cold Sabbaths," an allusion (cf. *Rutilius Namatianus*) probably to the fact that from a pagan point of view the Sabbath, with its numerous prohibitions, was "cold," i.e., "dull."

°**MELITO OF SARDIS** (c. 120–185 C.E.), bishop of Sardis (Asia Minor), Christian author, and the earliest known pilgrim to the Holy Land. Scholars found his description of the crucifixion of Jesus "in the *middle* of the city [of Jerusalem]" confusing. Clearly Melito was referring to the site in the context of the layout of Aelia Capitolina and not of the city from the time of Jesus. Together with other bishops of Asia Minor, Melito continued to celebrate Easter on the 14th of Nisan, the eve of Passover. He visited Palestine in an effort to establish an accurate canon (Greek διαυήκη) of the Old Testament (from which he excerpted passages pertaining in some way to Jesus). His list of books (Eusebius, Hist. Eccles. IV, 26:13 f.) corresponds to the Hebrew canon (excluding Esther). Only brief quotations from Melito's works were known until the mid-20th century, when two papyrus copies of his homily on the Passion (*On Pascha*) were published. As a result of this discovery, Latin, Coptic, Georgian, and two Syriac translations of this treatise could be identified. The bishop delivered the treatise as a sermon after the biblical account of the Exodus was read on Easter, precisely the time when the Jews observed the Passover feast. The coincidence of observances and Melito's animosity toward Judaism caused his sermon, which was written between 160 and 170 C.E., to become one of the most important documents of early Christian anti-Judaism. After a theological introduction, Melito gives a dramatic description of Egypt's sufferings at the time of the Exodus. Influenced by the Midrash on Exodus 10:21, the darkness that engulfed Egypt is described as tangible. However, the events surrounding the Exodus were only a prefiguration of the Passion of Christ, the true Passover lamb. The earlier model no longer had validity and usefulness, because the prefigurations of the Old Testament had become a reality in the New Testament. The second part of the sermon is the oldest and one of the strongest accusations of deicide made against the Jews in early Christian literature. Jews are, among other things, described as having themselves crucified Jesus; and the murder is clearly defined as deicide: "God has been murdered, the King of Israel has been slain by an Israelite hand" (§96). In view of the tragic events suffered by the Jews of this period – the destruction of the Temple and the defeat of Bar Kokhba – Melito could say that, in consequence of the deicide, "Israel lay dead," while Christianity, "the broad grace," was conquering the whole earth. The sermon, nevertheless, attests the antiquity of the Passover *Haggadah*. Paragraph 68 of the sermon contains a Greek version of part of the introduction to *Hallel* in the *Haggadah*; and paragraphs 84–85 and 88 derive from the famous Passover litany "*Dayyeinu*."

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[David Flusser / Shimon Gibson (2nd ed.)]

MELITOPOL, city in Zaporozhe district, Ukraine. Jews started to settle in Melitopol when it was proclaimed a town in 1842. In 1886 there were 2,021 Jews, and in 1897 6,563 Jews and 454 *Karaites in Melitopol (45.7% of the total population). At the turn of the 19th century, Melitopol turned into an important city of metallurgical industries. Part of them, as well as other industries, belonged to Jews, and many Jewish workers were employed in them. On April 19, 1905, a mob attacked Jewish houses, but a Jewish *self-defense group of 300 Jewish and Christian youngsters managed to minimize the pogrom; 15 were wounded and 45 shops (Jewish and Christian) were robbed. In 1910 Melitopol had a *talmud torah* and two private schools for boys and two for girls. Joseph *Trumpeldor was active in the town and the first *ḥaluẓim* he organized left from there for Palestine. During World War I 2,043 refugees arrived in Melitopol, and were helped by a local aid committee. By 1926 the Jewish population had risen to 8,583 (33.6% of the total), then dropped to 6,040 (8% of the total population). In the 1920s there was a Yiddish school with 63 pupils, which was probably closed later in the 1930s. The ex-bourgeoisie who were denied state rights tried to learn trades and join artisan cooperatives, or went to farm in Birobidzhan or to established kolkhozes in the vicinity of the town. In 1938–40 a clandestine yeshivah operated, but when it was discovered, it moved to Kutaisi (Georgia). Melitopol was occupied by the Germans on October 5, 1941. On October 8 the Jews, about 1,800 families, were concentrated in a ghetto in the flourmill. Intermarried Jews and children from mixed marriage were freed. On October 10 and 15, the *Sonderkommando* 10a murdered 75 Jewish prisoners of war, and on October 11, 3,000 local Jews. The killings of Jews continued for a year, and on October 9, 1942, the Jewish spouses and children of mixed marriages were brutally killed. About 8,000 Jews, including those from nearby towns, and a few hundred Karaites were murdered. Melitopol was liberated on October 23, 1943. There were 2,500 Jews in 1959, and 1,800 in 1979. There was no synagogue. Most remaining Jews left in the 1990s.

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[Shmuel Spector (2nd ed.)]

MELNIKOFF, AVRAHAM (1892–1960), Israeli sculptor. Born in Russia, Melnikoff studied in Vienna and the U.S. He came to Ereẓ Israel in 1918 and left for England in 1934, returning in 1960. Melnikoff was one of the pioneers of sculpture in modern Israel. His best-known work is his lion erected between Tel Ḥai and Kefar Giladi in memory of the defenders of Tel Hai (1926). This work, inspired by the sculpture of the ancient East, was the first modern monument in the country.

MELOKHIM-BUKH (*Sefer Melokhim*), anonymous 16th-century Yiddish epic. The epic's narrative material derives from the biblical book of Kings and its midrashic traditions (especially those concerning Solomon), while its poetic form and conception derive from the medieval German epic. It focuses less on battle scenes and more on ethical and didactic matters than the related *Shmuel-Bukh* (1544). Both authors were well versed in both the broad sacred text tradition of Judaism and non-Jewish secular epic literature. Composed in four-line stanzas of two rhyming couplets (AABB), each line divided rhythmically into two half-lines of three primary accents each, the form derives from the stanza characteristic of the Middle High German *Nibelungenlied*. With its 2,262 stanzas, it is the longest poem in Old Yiddish literature. The basis of the entire extant text tradition is the edition of Augsburg, 1543.

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[Jerold C. Frakes (2nd ed.)]

MELON, two plant species belonging to different botanical genera: the watermelon and the muskmelon.

(1) The watermelon (Heb. אֲבַטִּיחַ, *avati'aḥ*) is the *Citrullus vulgaris*. The Bible mentions it among the vegetables eaten by the Israelites in Egypt, for which they hankered in the wilderness (Num. 11:5). The Hebrew name may possibly be connected with the verb בטט (*btt*) meaning to swell or grow. Watermelons were a familiar plant in Egypt, and a papyrus from the 21st dynasty preserves a pictorial representation of one. The *avati'aḥ* is frequently mentioned in rabbinical literature. It was comparatively cheap (Ma'as. 2:6) and was usually eaten when ripe, though some ate it as a vegetable while still unripe (Ma'as. 1:5).

(2) The muskmelon, *Cucumis melo*, is called in the Mishnah *melafefon* (מְלָפְפוֹן), a name of Greek origin. It is not known if it was grown in biblical times and no Hebrew name exists for it. The Palestinian Targum identifies the biblical *avati'aḥ* with *melafefonya*, i.e., the muskmelon, but this does not appear likely, since in a number of places in the Tosefta and Talmud they are mentioned together (Tosef., Kil. 1:1). Some held that these two species do not constitute a mixed species (**kilayim; ibid.*) for "a man takes a seed from the upper part of the *avati'aḥ* and plants it – and it becomes a *melafefon*" (TJ, Kil. 1:2, 27a), i.e., these species may be interchangeable. This view was taken over from Greek and Roman agricultural folklore which assumed that the characteristics of species were subject to change. An echo of this view is found in the Palestinian Targum in the philological explanation of the name *melafefon* given by R. Judah: "A man takes one seed from the upper part of an *avati'aḥ* and one seed from the upper part of an apple and puts them into the same hole, they grow together and become a hybrid species, that is why in Greek it is called *melafefon*." The Greek μηλοπέπον and the Latin *melopepo* both mean "apple-watermelon" probably because the taste of the muskmelon is reminiscent of both the apple and the watermelon. According to Pliny the *melopepo* originated in Campania from a species of cucumber which looked like a quince (Natural History 19:67). There is certainly no substance for these views, which are based on the polymorphism of the family Cucurbitaceae. The plant *Cucumis melo* var. *Chate*, identified with the *kishut, kishu'im* (see *Cucumber), that belongs to the same botanical genus (and apparently even to the same species) as the muskmelon, is especially polymorphic. It could be that pollination between these two species gives rise to hybrids and is the reason for the *halakhah* that the *kishut* (*Chate* melon or cucumber) and the *melafefon* do not constitute *kilayim* (Kil. 1:2). Despite the ruling of the Academy for the Hebrew Language, modern Hebrew has adopted the name *melafefon* for cucumber.

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[Jehuda Feliks]

MELTON, FLORENCE (1911–), U.S. community leader and philanthropic supporter of a variety of Jewish causes. Melton is best known for envisioning and establishing a highly successful program of serious adult Jewish learning called the Florence Melton Adult Mini-School. She was born in Philadelphia, Penn., and raised under the influence of her grandmother, whom she credited for much of her commitment to Jewish education and Jewish values. In 1930 she married Aaron Zacks, with whom she had two sons. In 1946 she and her husband founded the R.G. Barry Corporation, one of the world's largest manufacturers of soled slippers. She invented the first use of foam in footwear and revolutionized the industry. Zacks died in 1965 and in 1968 she married Samuel Mendel Melton of Columbus, Ohio, a successful businessman and philanthropist. Samuel Melton had endowed the Melton Research Center at the Jewish Theological Seminary of America and the Melton Centre at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, and Florence Melton became an active partner in his philanthropic projects as she pursued her own parallel interests.

In the early 1980s Melton became convinced that although many Jews were accomplished in their careers, they lacked basic knowledge about Jewish history, philosophy, and religious practices. Hence she began to advocate for the creation of a program of study to help adults attain "Jewish literacy." She envisioned a well-designed curriculum, taught by engaging and interactive teachers, open to students from across the various Jewish denominations. Adult students, in her view, would need to commit to two years of weekly study. Her ideas were met by skepticism; few people believed that contemporary adults were either interested in Jewish study or would want to view Jewish learning as seriously as her program proposed. Eventually she turned to the Melton Centre for Jewish Education at the Hebrew University, which agreed to recruit sites and develop the curriculum for the project. Melton's idea turned out to be prescient. Proving the skeptics wrong, Mini-Schools were established in more than 60 cities and thousands of adult students participated in the program. Through its carefully designed organizational structure and its commitment to a serious learning curriculum the Mini-

School became a model for adult education throughout the Jewish community.

In recognition of her communal leadership Melton received a number of awards, including honorary doctorates from the Hebrew University of Jerusalem and the Jewish Theological Seminary of America, the Scopus Award from the American Friends of the Hebrew University, and the Ohio State University Distinguished Service Award. She was inducted into the Ohio Women's Hall of Fame in October 1994.

[Barry W. Holtz (2nd ed.)]

MELTON, SAMUEL MENDEL (1900–1993), U.S. industrialist and philanthropist. Melton was born in Saros, Austro-Hungary. His family immigrated in 1904 to Toledo, Ohio. He established the Capitol Manufacturing and Supply Company in Columbus, as well as several pipe and nipple companies, which later merged with the Harsco Corporation (1968) and became a leader in the metals industry. Melton extended the Capitol Company to Israel in 1949 and deeded it to various Israeli institutions in 1955. Active in numerous communal and national Jewish organizations, he was a member of the UJA "cabinet" and the board of the Jewish Theological Seminary (JTS), where he founded the Melton Research Center in New York (1959) to develop Jewish educational materials. He established the Samuel Mendel Melton Foundation (1951); professorships in Judaica at Ohio State University and the Hebrew University in Jerusalem (1965); a vocational school in Bat Yam, Israel (1968); the Melton Center for Jewish Education in the Diaspora at the Hebrew University (1968); the Melton Building at the Hebrew University; the *Melton Journal* of the JTS; the Melton Fellowship; the Jewish History and Studies Center at Ohio State University (1976); and the Melton Coalition for Creative Interaction at the JTS, devoted to Jewish arts education (1993).

[Edward L. Greenstein / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

MELTZER, ISSER ZALMAN (1870–1953), talmudic scholar and yeshivah head. Born in Lithuania, Meltzer studied in Volozhin under Ḥayyim Soloveichik and Naphtali Ẓevi Judah Berlin, and later under the Ḥafeẓ Ḥayyim in Radin. All of these exercised a profound influence upon him, Soleveichik by his talmudic methodology, Berlin by his love for Ereẓ Israel, and the Ḥafeẓ Ḥayyim by his humility and his ethical approach. In 1892 he married Beila Hinda, daughter of R. Faivel Frank of Ilukste. His wife possessed considerable scholarly abilities and throughout his life assisted him in transcribing his works and in arranging them for publication. In 1894 he was appointed by R. Nathan Ẓevi *Finkel one of the principals of the *Slobodka yeshivah and in 1897 the head of a yeshivah for advanced students in Slutsk, where Jacob David *Willowski was the rabbi. Hundreds of students flocked to the yeshivah, and when Willowski immigrated to Ereẓ Israel in 1903 Meltzer succeeded him as rabbi of Slutsk. After the Bolshevik Revolution in 1917 the yeshivah moved to Kletsk in Poland. Meltzer, however, refused to leave his community in Slutsk, despite his suffering at the hands of the Bolsheviks, including imprisonment for teaching Torah. In 1923 he left Russia for Kletsk and in the same year participated in the founding conference of the *Agudat Israel in Vienna, at which he was elected to the Mo'eẓet Gedolei ha-Torah. In 1925 he became head of the Eẓ Ḥayyim Yeshivah in Jerusalem. In Ereẓ Israel, he devoted himself almost entirely to the dissemination of Torah and the strengthening of yeshivot. As a fervent Zionist, he exercised a moderating influence in the councils of the Agudah. In 1935 his first work appeared, *Even ha-Ezel* on the *Mishneh Torah* of *Maimonides which is regarded as a fundamental work of its kind. Seven volumes appeared during his lifetime, the other posthumously. He also edited and wrote commentary to the novellae of Naḥmanides (1928/29).

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[Mordechai Hacohen]

MELTZER, SHIMSHON (1909–2000), Hebrew poet. Born in Tluste (eastern Galicia; present-day Tolstoye), Meltzer immigrated to Palestine in 1933, after having taught in Horodenka (Gorodenka), Galicia. For a time he taught secondary school in Tel Aviv, but from 1937 he engaged in editorial work; first in the daily **Davar*, and later in the Am Oved publishing house and in the children's magazine *Davar li-Yladim*. From 1959 he was on the editorial staff of the Zionist Library publications of the Jewish Agency.

His first poems were published in *Ba-Derekh*, the magazine of the teachers' seminary in Lvov where he studied. After his arrival in Ereẓ Israel his poetry appeared mainly in *Davar*, but also in various literary journals. He published a number of volumes of poems and ballads, including *Be-Shiv'ah Meitarim* (1939); *Me'ir ha-Keleizemar Na'asah Komisar* (1940); *Asarah She'arim* (1943); *Alef* (1945, 1963^2), memoirs of the *ḥeder; Sefer ha-Shirot ve-ha-Balladot* (1950); and *Or Zaru'a* (1966). Meltzer attempted to capture the folk flavor of Eastern European Jewry by using ḥasidic tales and motifs in his ballads. His collection of essays on literature is entitled *Devarim al Ofnam* ("Words and their Forms," 1962). Meltzer translated extensively from Polish-Jewish writers, especially from Yiddish writers, dramatists, and poets. For English translations of his works, see Goell, Bibliography, 1033–38.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: D. Zakkai, *Keẓarot* (1956), 470–1; A. Cohen, *Soferim Ivriyyim Benei Zemannenu* (1964), 195–8; I. Cohen, *Sha'ar ha-Soferim* (1962), 355–8; J. Lichtenbaum, *Bi-Teḥumah shel Sifrut* (1963), 105–9; D. Sadan, *Bein Din le-Ḥeshbon* (1963), 105–11. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** Y. Ben, "*Okyanus shel Yidish*," in: *Davar* (August 12, 1977); K.A. Bertini, "*S. Melzer Kefi Shehu*," in: *Al ha-Mishmar* (April 29, 1977); D. Sadan, "*Bein ha-Aspaklariyot: Sh. Melzer*," in: *Moznayim*, 49:1 (1979), 10–13; E. Tarsi-Gai, "*Tivam u-Mekomam shel Shirei ha-Zahav le-Miryam bi-Yẓirato shel S. Melzer*," in: *Gazit*, 33, 7–8 (1980), 391–392.

[Getzel Kressel]

MELUN, capital of the department of Seine-et-Marne, 26 mi. (42 km.) S. of Paris. The first explicit reference to Jews in Melun dates from the middle of the 12th century: in his will, Simon of Beaugency mentions a Jew of Melun among his creditors. From the beginning of the 13th century, there is evidence of a Rue des Juifs and an "*escole des Juis*" (the synagogue). There is no record of a medieval Jewish community after the expulsion of the Jews from the Kingdom of France in 1306. Scholars of Melun took part in the *synod convened by *Samuel b. Meir (Rashbam) and Jacob b. Meir *Tam. Meshullam b. Nathan of Melun, previously from Narbonne, lived in Melun from 1150. During the second half of the 12th century, Jedidiah of Melun also lived in the town. Judah b. David of Melun was one of the four rabbis who confronted Nicholas *Donin at the famous *disputation organized by *Louis IX (St. Louis) in 1240. Preserved in the municipal library of Melun is a *maḥzor* of the 14th century for the New Year and Day of Atonement according to the French rite (Ms. No. 14): it had previously been in the possession of the Carmelite monastery of Melun and is possibly of local origin. On the eve of World War II there was a very small community in Melun. It increased in the postwar period, mainly as a result of the arrival of Jews from North Africa, and numbered over 500 in 1969.

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[Bernhard Blumenkranz]

MELVILLE, LEWIS (pen name of **Lewis Saul Benjamin**; 1874–1932), biographer. A prolific writer, he was best known for his books about the English novelist Thackeray, whose works he also edited (1901–07). *Farmer George* (1907) was an important account of the private life and character of George III. Lewis' other works include scholarly, yet good-humored, studies of figures such as John Gay (1921), Nell Gwyn (1923), and Beau Brummell (1924); and several anthologies.

MEM (Heb. מ, ם; מֵם), the 13th letter of the Hebrew alphabet; its numerical value is 40. In Proto-Sinaitic and early Proto-Canaanite inscriptions the *mem* was drawn as a pictograph representing water (*mayim)* or . In the later Proto-Canaanite script the vertical zigzag prevailed, which turned into in the tenth-century B.C.E. Phoenician script. Later, the *mem* consisted of a zigzag-shaped head and a downstroke . The Hebrew forms were: 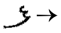 → (cursive) and (formal); hence the Samaritan . From the eighth and seventh centuries B.C.E., the Phoenician *mem* was written , which in the Aramaic became . In the late fifth century B.C.E. and later Aramaic cursive the downstrokes were bent leftward. Thus the medial and final variations evolved. These are prototypes of the Jewish medial and final *mem* forms. The Nabatean *mem* was drawn without lifting the pen and this led to the Arabic . The ancestor of the Latin "M," the Archaic Greek developed from the early Phoenician *mem*. See *Alphabet, Hebrew.

[Joseph Naveh]

MEMEL (Lith. **Klaipėda**), a Baltic port in W. Lithuania. The town was founded in the 13th century; the earliest existing document in which Jews are mentioned is dated April 20, 1567, and refers to an edict expelling the Jews from the city. In 1664 the elector of Brandenburg permitted a Jewish merchant from the Netherlands, Moses Jacobson de Jong, to settle in Memel, and eventually Jews were allowed to visit the city for the annual trade fairs. Only after the emancipation of Jews in Prussia (1812) were they able to settle freely in Memel.

In the 19th century the community consisted of Eastern European and Prussian Jews. The former had settled in the port in connection with their trans-Baltic business and formed the majority of the Jewish population (in 1880 they accounted for 80% of the total number of Jews). In later years there was an increased influx of Jews from Germany. The number of Jews grew from 887 in 1867, to 1,214 in 1900, and to over 2,000 in 1910. Each group had its own synagogue and communal institutions, but the official community administration was run by German Jews. Israel *Lipkin (Salanter), founder of the Musar movement, lived and taught in Memel 1860–80, founding a *bet midrash* and societies for Torah study, and publishing here the short-lived periodical *Ha-Tevunah* (1861). Isaac *Ruelf, one of the spiritual leaders of German Jewry, was rabbi of Memel from 1865 to 1898 and devoted much effort to alleviating the plight of Russian Jews. Ruelf was succeeded by Emanuel Carlebach (until 1904), M. Stein (until 1915), L. Lazarus (until 1932), and S. Schlesinger (until 1939).

After World War I, the League of Nations adopted the Memel Convention (1924), whereby it became an autonomous region under Lithuanian rule. As the country's only port, it played an important role in the economic life of Lithuania, and there was a steady influx of Jews into the city in the interwar period. In March 1939 it had a Jewish population of approximately 9,000 (17% of the total). Most of the Jews were engaged in commerce but there were also a few industrialists. The Memel district also had a few Jewish-owned estates, some of which were made available for *hakhsharah*. On March 22, 1939, the Germans occupied Memel and incorporated it into the Reich. Most of the Jews managed to flee to *Lithuania, where they later shared the fate of their coreligionists. In 1970 the estimated Jewish population was less than 1,000. There was no synagogue, cemetery, or organized religious life.

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[Joseph Gar]

MEMMI, ALBERT (1920–), French author and sociologist. Memmi, a native of Tunis, fought with the Free French during World War II. After completing his studies he returned to Tunis, where he became head of a psychological institute. In 1959, he joined the Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique in Paris, and became a teacher at the Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes where he was appointed a professor in 1966.

He specialized in the social effects of colonization, finding a similarity between the situation of the Jew and that of colonized peoples. Though an advocate of independence for the countries of the Maghreb, he was well aware that one of its consequences would be the mass exodus of North African Jewry. Memmi's first two books were novels, both largely autobiographical. *La statue de sel* (1953; *Pillar of Salt*, 1955), is the story of a North African Jew's emergence from a narrow Jewish society through the discovery of French culture, and his eventual disillusionment with an idealized Western humanism. *Agar* (1955; *Strangers*, 1958) describes the isolation of a Tunisian Jew, rejected by both Frenchmen and Arabs. Memmi was still dealing with the same problem a decade later in essays such as *Portrait d'un Juif* (1962; *Portrait of a Jew*, 1963) and its sequel, *La libération du Juif* (1966; *The Liberation of the Jew*, 1966). He portrays the Jew as a "shadow figure," neither wholly assimilated nor anxious to lose his distinctiveness, concluding that "Israel is our only solution, our one trump card, our last historical opportunity." Memmi's sociological studies appeared in various journals and in *Le Français et le racisme* (1965). He published an *Anthologie des écrivains nord-africains* (1964) and a *Bibliographie de la littérature nord-africaine d'expression française 1945–1962* (1965). He also wrote essays on Jewish subjects for *L'Arche, Evidences*, and *Commentary*. His later works include *Dictionnaire critique à l'usage des incrédules* (2002) and a conversation volume with Catherine Pont-Humbert, *L'individu face à ses dépendances* (2005).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Sartre, in: *Les Temps Modernes*, 137–8 (1957), 289–92; Camus, in: A. Memmi, *La statue de sel* (1953), preface; A. Khatibi, *Le Roman Maghrébin* (1968); Di-Nour, in: *Dispersion et Unité*, 8 (1967), 81–92.

[Jacqueline Kahanoff]

MEMMINGEN, city in Bavaria, Germany. Jews were present in Memmingen by the second half of the 13th century, since the city statutes of 1270 contain references to Jewish moneylending activities. In 1344 the bishop of Augsburg excommunicated the city for nonpayment of its debts to a Jew; the burghers thereupon threatened to bury their dead in the Jewish cemetery. The Jews made their living in the city in 1373. By 1500, however, there were no *Judengasse*. The community was destroyed during the *Black Death persecutions of 1348, but Jews were again living in the city in 1373. By 1500, however, there were no longer Jews there. The privilege of *Judenfreiheit* ("freedom from Jews"), granted in 1541, was renewed in 1559. Many Jews who had formerly lived in Memmingen concentrated in Fellheim, a nearby village, and maintained a settlement there numbering 379 persons (63% of the population) in 1810 (during World War II it again served as a center for refugees). Jews from Fellheim often visited Memmingen for trading purposes during the 17th and 18th centuries. In 1862 the first Jew received citizenship in Memmingen. A community comprising 100 members was formed in 1875, and 20 years later it had grown to 231. A synagogue was dedicated in 1909. The community subsequently declined: from 194 in 1900, to 161 in 1933, and 104 on Jan. 1, 1939. The Jews, who were mainly textile manufacturers and livestock merchants, were severely hit by the Nazi boycott of Jewish business establishments, and considerable numbers emigrated despite the many obstacles they encountered. In 1938 the synagogue and Jewish homes were looted and destroyed, and in the spring of 1942 the community was liquidated. In 1947 some 125 Jews lived in Memmingen, but they later emigrated. In 1968 there were two Jews in the city. There are memorials to commemorate the former synagogue, the former Jewish community, and the Jewish citizens of Memmingen who were killed by the Nazis. In 2000 the museum of Memmingen set up a permanent exhibition on Jewish life in Memmingen.

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[Larissa Daemmig (2nd ed.)]

MEMORBUCH, a community prayer book once common in Jewish communities throughout Central Europe. It consisted of three major parts:

(1) a collection of prayers usually intoned by the reader while standing at the *almemar* (see **Bimah*) such as the order of blowing the *shofar* and reading the Scroll of Esther, different forms of the *Mi She-Berakh* prayer, etc;

(2) a necrology of distinguished persons, either of local or of general Jewish importance;

(3) a martyrology of persons and places.

The last has been subjected to minute research by scholars, particularly by S. *Salfeld. According to one view the *Memorbuch* received its name from being placed, for the convenience of the reader, on the *almemar*, while another holds that it is derived from the Latin *memoria*.

The custom of reading the names developed after the massacres of the *Rhine communities during the First Crusade; to this list were added the names of the martyrs of the *Rindfleisch massacres and other catastrophes. The list of martyrs who perished during the *Black Death persecutions (1348–49) was of such magnitude that mainly names of places were recorded. It became the custom to read off the list of thousands of names in ceremony on the Sabbath before Shavuot (when the massacres of the First Crusade took place); at a later date it was also read off on the Sabbath before the Ninth of Av although the author probably intended it to be read in part each Sabbath. Rabbi Jacob b. Moses Levi of Mainz (see *Moellin), the codifier of the Ashkenazi *minhag*, made the reading of the full list obligatory for Rhenish communities while non-Rhenish ones were to read only the list of places. The *Memorbuch* of the Mainz community, begun by Isaac b. Samuel of Meiningen in 1296, was supplemented and became the complete and authoritative version for all other copies. (Salfeld considered the early version to be that of the Nuremberg community, a view not accepted by M. Weinberg, a later authority.) It was updated by mention of the catastrophes of 1492 in *Mecklenburg, and 1510 in *Brandenburg, and by the names of communities which perished in the *Chmielnicki massacres (1648). As no community could be complete without the *Memorbuch*, it was frequently copied in the 17th and 18th centuries.

The *Memorbuch* was expanded in the different localities to include names of esteemed local personages, lists of deceased, as well as prayers of purely local use and origin. It was therefore never printed and gradually fell into disuse in the mid-19th century, through the unification and standardization of services and ritual.

The earliest *Memorbuecher* (excluding that of Mainz) appeared in about 1600, but between 1650 and 1750 a large number were commenced (based on that of Mainz), for many communities were established in this period. The *Memorbuch* reflected the religious life of the community and accompanied it in its tribulations and migrations; refugees from Vienna (1670) continued using their *Memorbuch* in Fuerth; refugees from Fulda (1671) took theirs with them to Amsterdam and subsequently back to Fulda. Some communities had more than one *Memorbuch* (Fuerth Jewry had five complementary ones). *Memorbuecher* were particularly common among communities in rural areas; it is estimated that there were about 150 in Bavaria alone and a few hundred more in *Baden, *Wuerttemberg, *Hesse, *Alsace, and *Switzerland. The *Memorbuch* continues to serve the historian as an important source for the social and religious history of the Jews and is frequently cited.

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MEMORIAL FOUNDATION FOR JEWISH CULTURE. The Memorial Foundation was established with German reparations funds by Nahum Goldmann in 1965 with the mandate to raise up a new generation of scholars, intellectuals, rabbis, and cultural and communal leaders to replace the Jewish cultural elite annihilated in Europe during the Shoah.

The Foundation awards scholarships and fellowships to scholars, academicians, writers, artists, rabbis, educators, and communal workers. Funds are also provided to academic and scholarly institutions for research and publication. For the first few decades after its founding, special attention was paid to the Jewish communities in the former Soviet Union countries where Jewish life had been suppressed for seven decades under Communist rule. The list of individuals and institutions who received the Foundation's support since its inception can be found on its Website, www.mfjc.org.

In addition to its support of communities and institutions, the Foundation has developed innovative programs to address needs not adequately met by the Jewish community globally. These include the International Nahum Goldmann Fellowship, which prepares communal, cultural, and professional leadership for Jewish communities around the world; reaching the Jewish unaffiliated; Jewish family education; and utilization of new technologies for Jewish culture and education. Currently the Foundation's programs extend to Jewish communities on six continents, reaching both individuals and institutions at the core of the Jewish community as well as Jews affiliated only marginally with Jewish life.

The Memorial Foundation for Jewish Culture is committed to the creation, intensification, and dissemination of Jewish culture worldwide, the development of creative programs to meet the emerging needs of the Jewish communities as they enter the 21st century, and service as a central forum for identifying and supporting innovative programs to ensure the continuation of creative Jewish life wherever Jewish communities exist. Its headquarters are in New York.

[Jerome Hochbaum (2nd ed.)]

MEMORIAL LIGHT (Heb. נֵר נְשָׁמָה; "the light of the soul"), a light kindled on the anniversary of the death of a relative. It is lit on the eve of the anniversary, according to the Hebrew calendar, and should burn without interruption for 24 hours. A memorial candle is also kindled when a person dies (it is placed near his head until the burial) and during the seven-day mourning period, or according to some customs during the *sheloshim* ("30 days") after the death. In some communities, it is customary to kindle memorial lights on the eve of the *Day of Atonement.

It is generally believed that the custom of memorial lights, as well as that of **yahrzeit*, originated in Germany in the Middle Ages and spread from there to other Jewish centers. The medieval custom easily linked up with earlier notions of light as a symbol for the soul as found, e.g., in Proverbs 20:27, "The spirit of man is the lamp of the Lord" or in the story about R. *Judah ha-Nasi who asked on his deathbed that a light be kindled in his room after his death (Ket. 103a). In some synagogues memorial lights are lit on the anniversary of departed members of the congregation who have bequeathed money for that purpose. Near the lights (electrical bulbs are used nowadays), nameplates indicate the persons who are being commemorated.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: I. Abrahams, *Jewish Life in the Middle Ages* (1932^2), 156 and n. 2; Eisenstein, Dinim, 274; H. Rabinowicz, *Guide to Life* (1964), 106.

MEMPHIS (from the Greek Menophreos which in turn was derived from the late Old Kingdom Egyptian *Mn-nfr*, meaning "established and beautiful"), ancient city in Lower Egypt, on the west bank of the Nile, approximately 12 mi. (c. 19 km.) south of Cairo, lying partly under the site of the modern village Mit Riheina. According to tradition, Memphis was founded by the legendary Egyptian king Menes (probably the same as King Aha) in about 3100 B.C.E. The Egyptian name *Mn-nfr* originally designated the pyramid of King Pepi I (c. 2300 B.C.E.) at Saqqara, and was eventually extended to include also the town that grew up around it. By the end of the second millennium the name was probably vocalized "Menufi," although a papyrus from the late 20th Dynasty (c. 1184–1087 B.C.E.), gives the variant reading *Mnf*, from which the Coptic *Menfi*, Arabic *Menf*, and Hebrew *Mof* were derived.

Until the founding of Alexandria, Memphis played a paramount role in Egypt. As the administrative capital of the Old Kingdom, it had many palaces and temples, particularly that of Ptah, the city's creator god (with the Apis bull sacred to Ptah being venerated at Memphis); the remains of these structures can still be seen on the site. Literary texts, lavish in their praise and descriptions of the city, indicate that it was a cosmopolitan metropolis with a large, resident foreign population which included Jews (cf. Jer. 44:1); this has been confirmed by archaeological excavation. Foreign divinities worshiped at Memphis include Resheph, Baal, Astarte, and Qudshu. The eventual destruction of Memphis is predicted in Isaiah 19:13; Jeremiah 2:16; 46:14, 19; and Ezekiel 30:13. The city was not in fact destroyed, although it was besieged and taken by the Persians. Memphis was also the place where it was said Antiochus IV Epiphanes received the crown of Egypt. Archaeological excavations have brought to light the large Ptah temple, the palace of Apries, another large ceremonial palace, shrines of Seti I and Rameses II, an embalming house of the Apis bulls, tombs of the high priests, and various settlement remains. A project to record the scattered remains of Memphis through excavation and survey has been undertaken by D. Jeffreys and H.S. Smith for the Egypt Exploration Society since 1982.

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[Alan Richard Schulman / Shimon Gibson (2nd ed.)]

MEMPHIS, city in Tennessee, U.S., with a Jewish population of 9,500 (.08 percent of the general population) in 2005.

Memphis was first settled in 1818 and the first known Jewish settler, David Hart, arrived in 1838. In the 1840s Jews began to settle in larger numbers, and they acquired land for a cemetery in 1848. In 1850 a Hebrew Benevolent Society was formed, and by 1853 the Jews were "regularly organized" for purposes of worship. In 1935 the Society changed its name to the Jewish Welfare Fund, and in 1977 it became the Memphis Jewish Federation. In 1853, B'nai Israel Congregation (Children of Israel), with 36 members, was granted a charter by the state legislature. The congregation worshiped in rented halls until 1857, and in 1858 converted a bank building into a place of worship. The building was dedicated by Rabbi Isaac Mayer *Wise, the founder of American Reform Judaism, and would later be known as Temple Israel. Rev. Jacob J. Peres, a native of Holland, was the first spiritual leader. In 1860 the relationship between the congregation and Rev. Peres was severed and a new congregation, Beth El Emeth, was organized. From 1860 to 1870 R. Simon Tuska was rabbi of Congregation Children of Israel.

At this time, the city's Jews, some 400 people, worked in banking, barbering, and auctioneering (including slaves); they even operated a racetrack. A good number ran several businesses simultaneously. A few entered the professions; most were small storekeepers who dealt in clothing and dry-goods, groceries and hardware. Memphis suffered little or no damage during the Civil War. Some Memphis Jews served in the army of the Confederacy. From 1863 to 1866 Congregation Children of Israel sponsored a nonsectarian school – Hebrew Educational Institute. The school was to provide educational opportunities during the disruption caused by the war. Following the death of Rabbi Tuska in 1870, Rabbi Max Samfield was elected rabbi of the congregation in 1871 and served until 1915. In addition to serving the congregation, Samfield published *The Jewish Spectator* from 1885 until his death. This paper served the Jews of Memphis and the mid-South.

In 1884 the Orthodox Baron Hirsch Congregation was organized and in 1891 converted a church as a place of worship. The first rabbi was Benjamin Mayerowitz. It became the largest synagogue in the United States. In recent years it moved to a new, smaller sanctuary to be within the area with the highest concentration of Jews in East Memphis. Congregation Anshei Sphard was organized in 1898. Beth Sholom, a Conservative congregation, was established in 1950 and in 1967 dedicated its new synagogue. Like many Jews in the Memphis community, Beth Sholom's rabbi at that time, Rabbi Arie Becker, was well known for his involvement in the civil rights movement. Long-time Rabbi Zalman Posner was a *ḥasid* of the *rebbe*, but he served in a congregational role. Official Chabad Lubavitch of Tennessee was founded in Memphis in 1994. Under the leadership of Rabbi Levi Klein, Chabad quickly became an active part of Memphis Jewish life.

A B'nai B'rith Lodge was organized in 1856 and in 1927 the B'nai B'rith Home was established to serve the Jews of Memphis and the mid-South. It was completely rebuilt in the 1960s and dedicated in 1968 as the B'nai B'rith Home and Hospital. The Jewish Community Center was organized in 1949 and in 1968 dedicated a $2,000,000 edifice, and the Jewish Historical Society of Memphis and the Mid-South was established in 1986.

Jews have been active in the economic, political, and civic life of the community. The Goldsmith family, leading merchants, were known as benefactors of the community for three generations. The Jewish community was so well accepted in Memphis that in the 1920s, it chose not to build a Jewish hospital, fearing that it might alienate the non-Jewish medical community and lead to a restriction of their hospital privileges. Abe Plough, a native of Tupelo, Mississippi, was generally regarded as one of the foremost citizens of the community by virtue of his philanthropy. His company was bought out by Schering to form Schering-Plough, a pharmaceutical giant. He played an important role in settling the famous sanitation strike of 1968 that brought Martin Luther King, Jr., to town, the site of his assassination in April 1968, contributing money anonymously to offset the costs to the city of pay raises. Other families who generously supported the entire Memphis community include the Fogelman, Lipman, Lowenstein, Lemsky, and Belz families. The Jews have also served as presidents of the bar association and the medical society.

The Jewish population has remained relatively stable for more than 80 years. It has received 200 Holocaust survivors and 300 Russians. The community's hub shifted to East Memphis, the heart of Jewish life today.

The community boasts the Bornblum Judaic Studies Program, established in 1985 at the University of Memphis through the generosity of David Bornblum and Bert Bornblum. The program brings numerous scholars and lecturers to the community. As in many college towns, the town-gown gap is bridged by the Judaic Studies Program. There are two Jewish days schools: the Bornblum Solomon Schechter Conservative day school, and the Orthodox Margolin Hebrew Academy Feinstone Yeshiva of the South, which honors Harry Feinstone.

The Orthodox community of Memphis was described by Tova Mirvis in her highly acclaimed novel *The Ladies Auxiliary* (1999).

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[James A. Wax / Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

MENAHEM (Heb. מְנַחֵם; "comforter"; in Assyrian inscriptions Me-ni-ḫi-im-me, Mi-in-ḫi-im-mu), king of Israel, c. 746/6–737/6 B.C.E., son of Gadi (II Kings 15:17). Menahem seized the throne after assassinating *Shallum son of Jabesh (15:14). Shallum and Menahem may possibly have competed for the throne during the decline of the house of *Jehu. It is widely believed that both were among the officers from Gilead, a group which had been influential from the beginning of Jehu's reign (of. II Kings 9:1ff.; 15:25). Both Jabesh (the name of the principal city of Gilead) and Gadi (the name of a tribe) are designations pointing to the fact that both Menahem and Shallum were of Transjordanian origin. The struggle between the two was conducted with great cruelty. II Kings 15:16 states: "At that time Menahem sacked Tiphsah and all who were in it and its territory." Tiphsah is Thapsacus which is on the River Euphrates, east of Aleppo. From this statement it appears that Menahem's campaign extended to the Euphrates. However, most scholars maintain that in light of the political-military situation of the Kingdom of Israel since the end of the reign of *Jeroboam II, it is not possible that Menahem ruled over such a large kingdom, and they therefore accept the Lucian version of the Septuagint, where Tappuah appears instead of Tiphsah (cf. Josh. 16:8; 17:8). In view of the biblical chronological data with regard to Menahem and *Pekah, several scholars concluded that Menahem ruled only in the mountain of Ephraim, while at the same time Pekah ruled in eastern Transjordan. It appears that Pekah first served as Menahem's military commander, but later rebelled with the help of Aram, and became an independent ruler in Gilead, although nominally he was still considered the military commander of Menahem and Pekahiah.

According to the biblical account, during Menahem's reign, Pul, the king of Assyria (i.e., Pulu, the name given to *Tiglath-Pileser III when he became king of Babylon in the latter part of his reign), extended his campaign into Israel; Menahem paid him 1,000 talents of silver in order to retain his throne (II Kings 15:19). The annals of Tiglath-Pileser III mention "Menahem of Samaria" (the city; this designation may be considered as attesting the limited area of his administration) among the kings who paid tribute to Assyria in 738 B.C.E., immediately after the defeat inflicted by the Assyrian king on *Uzziah, King of Judah. It is questionable whether the biblical account of Menahem's tax and the account of Menahem's tax in the Assyrian source refer to the same event. It is Y. Yadin's opinion that the *Samaria ostraca belong to the last years of Menahem's reign and bear some relation to the tribute paid to the king of Assyria, to which every "mighty man" of wealth was required to contribute 50 shekels (II Kings 15:20). Apparently the Assyrian recognition of Menahem as the vassal king of Israel strengthened his status and helped stabilize his regime. Menahem needed Assyrian support both against rebel bases within his domain and against neighboring states, including the state of Judah (cf. Hos. 5:8–11). It is possible that most of the prophecies of Hosea 4–14 reflect the period of Menahem (H. Tadmor).

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[Jacob Licht and Bustanay Oded]

MENAHEM BEN AARON IBN ZERAḤ (c. 1310–1385), codifier. Menahem was born in Estella, Navarre, where his father had settled after leaving his native France, on the expulsion of the Jews in 1306. In 1328 riots broke out against the Jews of Navarre and the Estella community suffered severely. All of Menahem's family, including his parents and four brothers, were killed, and he himself was severely wounded, but his life was saved by a Christian friend of the family. When he recovered, he went to Toledo and studied in the yeshivot there. Among his teachers were Joseph b. Shuʿayb and Judah the son of *Asher b. Jehiel (the Rosh). From Toledo he went to Alcalá and studied under Joseph b. al-ʿAysh, succeeding him on his death in 1361. In Alcalá also, there were troubles and suffering. Fratricidal war had broken out in Spain between the two aspirants to the throne, Henry of Trastamara and Pedro the Cruel, and many Jewish communities suffered as a result. Menahem escaped to safety through the help of the royal courtier Don Samuel *Abrabanel, and Menahem praises him in the introduction to his *Ẓeidah la-Derekh*.

In Toledo Menahem compiled his *Ẓeidah la-Derekh*, a code of laws dealing in the main with the laws concerning the daily way of life. The work has an added importance on account of the introduction, which contains valuable historical material, including important details of the method of study in the yeshivot of France and Germany, as well as contemporary incidents in the history of the Jews in Spain. The book was designed as an abridged code for the upper classes who, because of their preoccupation with material concerns, had no time to refer to the sources. He writes reprovingly of those Jews who, because of the demands of the times, began to disregard the observance of the precepts. Although he shows great erudition in his knowledge of the Talmud and codes and was acquainted with the teachings of the earlier Spanish, French, and German scholars, he relies mainly for his halakhic rulings on those of Asher b. Jehiel.

Menahem gives much information about the different customs of the Jews of Spain, France, and Germany, as well as of various communities (see pp. 71, 82, 88, 104, 110, 116 in the Warsaw edition of 1880). He had some knowledge of medicine, and in the code he includes the need to preserve one's bodily health (see pp. 28–33; et al.). He also knew astronomy and believed in astrology (pp. 98–120). Although he criticized philosophy, he appears to have engaged in its study to some extent (104–48). In these sciences, however, Menahem merely gleaned from the works of others. His work reflects contemporary conditions. He complains that many of the youth, particularly children of the wealthy, were careless in the observance of the precepts and scoffed at the words of the sages, and some were even licentious in matters of sex (pp. 68–81). The book is divided into five *ma'amarim* ("articles"), which are divided into *kelalim* ("principles"), which are subdivided into chapters. The first *ma'amar* discusses prayer and the blessings; the second, the *halakhot* of **issur ve-hetter*; the third, laws of marriage; the fourth, the festivals; and the fifth, fasting and mourning, the Messiah, and the resurrection. It was first published in Ferrara in the printing press of Abraham Usque in 1554. In addition to his major work, three small works by Menahem are extant in manuscript – an abridgment of Baḥya ibn Paquda's *Ḥovot ha-Levavot, Hilkhot Sheḥitah u-Vedikah*, and *Menaḥem Avelim* – it is possible however, that they are simply abridgments from his *Ẓeidah la-Derekh* (see A. Freimann, in: *Annuario di Studi Ebraici* (1934), 166ff.).

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[Shlomo Eidelberg]

MENAHEM BEN ḤELBO (11th century), one of the first commentators on the Bible in northern France. Little is known of his life. He was the uncle of Joseph *Kara, who transmitted Menahem's comments to *Rashi. Apparently he lived for some time in Provence, and it is his influence which accounts for the presence of Arabic words as well as some Provençal forms of French in Rashi. Menahem was also called "Kara," which shows that his principal occupation was biblical commentary. He also wrote comments on the *piyyutim*. Menahem collected his commentaries in book form which he called *pitronim* ("solutions"). They covered all the Prophets and the Hagiographa, but not the Pentateuch upon which, apparently, he did not attempt to comment. His books are no longer extant as they were apparently superseded by Rashi's commentaries. Fragments, however, were collected by S.A. Poznański from quotations, especially by Joseph Kara, and also from the works of commentators in Germany (published by Poznański in *Festschrift N. Sokolow* (1904), 389–439 with Menahem's commentary on the *piyyutim*, and also separately).

Menahem was the first commentator in France to interpret the Bible according to the simple meaning of the text, although he also gave homiletical interpretations. He often limited himself to explaining difficult words and phrases, relying extensively on the Targum (e.g., Isa. 1:8). He employed many French words and terms in his commentary and had little recourse to grammar. Zunz is of the opinion that Menahem did not commit his comments on the *piyyutim* to writing, but transmitted his explanations of *Kallir's *piyyutim* orally. There is now evidence that he also wrote commentaries to other *piyyutim*.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Abraham b. Azriel, *Sefer Arugat ha-Bosem*, ed. by E.E. Urbach, 4 (1963), 3–6.

[Avraham Grossman]

MENAHEM BEN JACOB (also known as **R. Menahem of Worms**; 1120?–1203), rabbi and liturgical poet in Worms. Menahem, whose tombstone bore the inscription *posek, darshan* ("preacher"), and *paytan*, was a member of the *bet din* of *Eleazar b. Judah, the author of *Roke'aḥ*, and Kalonymus b. Gershom. His relatives included Gershom *ha-Gozer and *Eliezer b. Joel ha-Levi. From the words of the latter, it appears that Menahem was influential in ruling circles. None of his teachings has been preserved, but 33 of his *piyyutim* are known. These include *yoẓerot, kinot*, and *seliḥot*, some of which were published in various places. Among them is the *kinah, Alelai Li Ki Va'u Rega Almon ve-Shakhol*, on the martyrs of Boppard of 1179 and of the islands of the sea (i.e., Britain) of 1190; the *piyyut Maẓor Batah ha-Ir* refers to the siege of Worms by Emperor Otto IV in 1201. Some of his *piyyutim* are signed "Ẓemaḥ," which in *gematria* is equal to "Menahem." In one manuscript he is mentioned as R. Menahem b. Jacob of Lutra (which is Bavarian Kaiserslautern in the Rhenish Palatinate); Zunz assumed that he was identical with Menahem b. Jacob, the *paytan* of Worms. If so, then Menahem was born in Lutra.

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MENAHEM BEN JACOB IBN SARUQ (**Saruk**; tenth century), Spanish author and lexicographer. Born in Tortosa, he moved at an early age to Cordova, where Isaac, the father of *Ḥisdai ibn Shaprut, became his patron. After Isaac's death, Menahem went back to his native town for a short interlude, and then returned to Cordova, where he lived under the patronage of Ḥisdai and worked as his secretary. Besides eulogies on Ḥisdai's parents, Menahem composed Ḥisdai's famous letter to the king of the *Khazars. Ḥisdai encouraged him to compile his *Maḥberet*, a biblical dictionary in Hebrew. However, Menahem endured poverty because Ḥisdai was not a very generous patron. Later, when Menahem fell into disgrace, Ḥisdai even persecuted his former protégé and forced him to return to Tortosa. Here Menahem wrote a touching letter of complaint to Ḥisdai, a gem of epistolary style and an important historical document concerning its author's life.

Menahem's most important work, intrinsically and historically, is the *Maḥberet*, whose original name was probably *The Book of Solutions*. Because Menahem's dictionary was originally written in Hebrew, its style surpasses that of biblical dictionaries of greater quality translated into Hebrew from Arabic, such as Judah ibn *Tibbon's translation of *Ibn Janaḥ's *Book of Roots*. More importantly, because the dictionary was in Hebrew, it was also understood by Jews in Christian countries where it exerted great influence. For example, in France, the *Maḥberet* was used extensively by *Rashi. Menahem carefully refrained from linguistic comparisons between Hebrew and Arabic, presumably as Hebrew was considered a holy language. Menahem's theological concern is further reflected in his attempt to show that *ehyeh* which is referred to as a name for God in Exodus 3:14 is not derived from the verb *hayah* ("to be").

Often original in terminology, the dictionary attempts, without reference to its predecessors, a systematic summation of the lexicographical and grammatical knowledge of the time. Menahem shows awareness of ellipses and pleonasms occurring in the Bible, and brings into relief poetic parallelism, or constructions in which, as he put it, "one half instructs us in the meaning of the other." However, he did not have a systematic knowledge of grammar, and his approach tended to the empirical. Although Menahem carried out the investigation of the Hebrew roots systematically and built his dictionary accordingly, he thought that letters of the root that disappear in conjugation are not radical, and therefore established, on the synchronic level, biliteral and even uniliteral roots, e.g., *nátâh*, root ṭ; *hikkâh*, root k. Thus, the *Maḥberet* can only be regarded as a summary of past achievements and it was, according to some authorities, reserved to Menahem's pupils to initiate the new period of linguistic research. Shortly after the *Maḥberet* appeared, it was vehemently attacked by *Dunash b. Labrat who claimed that certain definitions were likely to lead the reader to erroneous interpretations of *halakhah* and belief. The expectation that the dictionary would therefore become a source of heresy explains the bitterness of the attack. Menahem himself did not reply to Dunash's criticisms, but three of Menahem's pupils took it upon themselves to defend their master. One of the pupils was Judah ibn Daud whom some scholars think is identical with Judah b. David *Ḥayyuj, the great initiator of the theory of the triliterality of Hebrew roots, while other scholars consider this identification doubtful. However, Isaac ibn *Gikatilla, another of the three, was the teacher of Ibn Janaḥ, the greatest medieval Jewish lexicographer and philologist. The controversy between the two camps continued; Yehudi b. Sheshet defended his master Dunash against the attacks of Menahem's pupils, and the famous tosafist Jacob b. Meir *Tam in his *Book of Decisions* (appended to the Filipowski ed. of the *Maḥberet*) tried to prove that Menahem's definitions were valid. Several decades later, Rabbi Joseph *Kimḥi, the first of the philologists of the Kimḥi family, wrote *Sefer ha-Galu'i* in his own effort to settle the disputes, this time in light of Ḥayyuj's theory. A modern scholar, D. *Yellin, demonstrated that, from the scientific point of view, Dunash's criticisms were generally well founded (*Sefer Zikkaron le-A. Gulak ve-S. Klein* (1942), 105–14; *Leshonenu*, 11 (1941–43), 202–15).

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[Joshua Blau]

MENAHEM BEN MICHAEL BEN JOSEPH, medieval Karaite scholar. He was author of a Hebrew polemical epistle in verse addressed to "Akylas the Proselyte, in care of Saadiah the Rabbanite," dealing with the laws of slaughtering. S.P. *Pinsker, who first published the poem, assumed that it was directed against *Saadiah Gaon and that therefore the author must have lived in the first half of the tenth century. His vocabulary, however, is that of a Byzantine Karaite of a later date, presumably the 12th century, and he is very likely identical with Menahem b. Michael, the author of several hymns included in the Karaite liturgy.

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[Leon Nemoy]

MENAHEM BEN MOSES HA-BAVLI (d. 1571), rabbi and author in Ereẓ Israel. Despite his surname ("the Babylonian"), Menahem appears to have come from Italy; his ancestors probably lived in Babylon. Until 1525 Menahem served as *dayyan* in Trikkola, Greece. In 1527 he was living with his family in Safed, among whose scholars his name is included. There, with his brother Reuben, he engaged in business connected with the wool-dyeing industry. After 1546 he moved to Hebron, apparently being among the Safed rabbis who renewed the Jewish settlement in that city in the middle of the 16th century. Menahem achieved renown through his *Ta'amei ha-Mitzvot* (Lublin, 1571), in which he briefly sets forth the reasons for the precepts. In the introduction Menahem refers to a lengthy work he had written called *Ta'amei Mitzvot ha-Arukot*. One of his responsa on divorce was published among those of Joseph *Caro to *Even ha-Ezer* (Salonika, 1598, 80a, *Dinei Gittin ve-Gerushin*, no. 10).

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MENAHEM BEN SOLOMON (first half of 12th century), author of the midrashic work *Sekhel Tov*. Menahem's country of origin is unknown. The foreign words in his book are Italian, but it is difficult to establish on this basis that he lived in Italy since he does not mention the *Arukh* of *Nathan b. Jehiel of Rome though it was written about 50 years earlier. Similarly, all that is known of Menahem is that two halakhic responsa were addressed to him apparently by Solomon b. Abraham, the nephew of Nathan of Rome (included in the *Shibbolei ha-Leket*, pt. 2, still in manuscript). Menahem's fame rests on his *Sekhel Tov*, an aggadic-halakhic midrashic anthology arranged according to the weekly scriptural readings. Only the first two parts of the book, to Genesis and Exodus, have been preserved and published by S. Buber (*Sekhel Tov*, 1900), who added a detailed introduction. However, many early scholars possessed complete manuscripts from which they frequently quote, particularly the author of the *Asufot* (in manuscript) who lived in Germany at the beginning of the 13th century. The *Sekhel Tov* was written, according to its author, in 1139, with the aim of explaining the verses in accordance with the Midrashim and Hebrew philology. Apart from the talmudic and midrashic sources, the only works he quotes are the *She'iltot* of *Aḥa of Shabḥa, the **Halakhot Gedolot*, *Hananel b. Ḥushi'el, Isaac *Alfasi, and the Midrash *Lekaḥ Tov* of Tobias b. Eliezer. Menahem's comprehensive knowledge of *halakhah* is evident from his work; in some places he actually assembles collections of *halakhot* on specific subjects, such as the laws of the Sabbath, **eruv*, Passover (in the weekly portion *Yitro*), etc. Still more marked is his great interest in linguistic topics and Hebrew grammar, which in fact constitute the underlying basis of the whole work. Indeed, Menahem devoted another work to this subject, *Even Boḥan*; only a minor part, of which fragments alone have been published, is extant in manuscript. This work was completed in 1143. It was divided into 50 *she'arim* ("gates"), constructed on a most complicated system. Only five of these "gates" remain, all of which deal with the study of the roots of Hebrew verbs, and they are of considerable importance for scriptural exegesis. The work mentions by name only the Targums of Onkelos and of Jonathan b. Uzziel, and also Eliezer *ha-Kallir, but it is based on the works of *Menahem ibn Saruq and *Dunash b. Labrat, although they are not mentioned by name. Menahem's knowledge of grammar did not exceed theirs; like them he too assumed the existence of verbal roots of two and even of one letter, and his table of the conjugations is far from perfect. Besides these authors, he also used Saadiah Gaon's translation of the Scriptures. Some regard the book as the first attempt at a treatise on the Hebrew language.

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[Israel Moses Ta-Shma]

MENAHEM THE ESSENE (first century B.C.E.), a contemporary of *Herod, to whom prophetic powers were attributed. Josephus relates how Menahem "had once observed Herod, then still a boy, going to his teacher, and greeted him as 'king of the Jews.'" The pious Essene added, however, that Herod would abandon justice and piety and thus bring upon himself the wrath of God. When Herod had reached the height of his power, he sent for Menahem and questioned him about the length of his reign. Menahem succeeded in satisfying the king, albeit with an ambiguous answer, and hence (according to Josephus) Herod continued to hold all Essenes in honor. L. Ginzberg suggests that Menahem is to be identified with the Menahem mentioned in the Mishnah (Ḥag. 2:2). This Menahem was, together with *Hillel, one of the heads of the Sanhedrin, who left his post (presumably to join the Essenes) and was succeeded by *Shammai. There is little evidence, however, to support his view. Talmudic discussions of the Mishnah tend to describe the mishnaic Menahem in terms far more fitting to *Menahem son of Judah the Galilean, a patriot leader during the uprising of 66–70 C.E.

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[Isaiah Gafni]

MENAḤEMIYYAH (Heb. מְנַחֲמִיָּה), moshav in northern Israel with municipal council status, southwest of Lake Kinneret, affiliated with Ha-Iḥud ha-Ḥakla'i. Menaḥemiyyah was founded as a moshavah by the Jewish Colonization Association (ICA) in 1902, as part of the *ICA enterprise to establish villages in Galilee based on grain production. Its name is based both on the previous Arabic name of the site – Milḥamiyya – and the first name of Herbert *Samuel's father.

Menaḥemiyyah's progress was slow, and it suffered from the frequent attacks by Bedouins in the vicinity. In the 1920s, a gypsum quarry was opened nearby to supply the Haifa "Nesher" cement works. Later, World War II veterans ("Ya'el") joined the first settlers. Following the Israel *War of Independence (1948), new immigrants, mainly from North Africa and Romania, settled in Menaḥemiyyah. In 1969 the moshav had 585 inhabitants; in the mid-1990s – 1,240; and in 2002 – 1,100 on an area of 2.3 sq. mi. (6 sq. km.).

[Efraim Orni / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

MENAHEM MENDEL BEN ISAAC (second half of 16th century), tax collector, architect, and builder in Kazimierz, near *Cracow. Menahem Mendel was born in Brest-Litovsk, and from 1560 to 1568 was the king's tax farmer in the Zhmud (Zemaitkiemis) region of Lithuania. In 1572 he moved to Kazimierz, and by 1581 he had become one of the elders of the *kahal*. From the early 1570s, he constructed flour mills and city walls, and was noted as a designer and builder of bridges. During the Polish campaign against Russia (1579–82), King Stephen Báthory was accompanied by Menahem Mendel, who built bridges over the Dvina and military installations for the sieges of Polotsk, Velizh, and Pskov. In 1587, since he had supported the defeated Austrian archduke Maximilian, he was compelled to leave Poland. Upon his arrival in Vienna, he was given a modest allowance by the court. On July 4, 1589, he proposed that Emperor Rudolph II finance the building of a bridge over the Danube, between Vienna and Nussdorf, at an estimated outlay of 30,000 *Rheingulden*. Menahem Mendel was to levy tolls to repay the investment. After two years of deliberations the project was deferred indefinitely and Menahem Mendel returned to Kazimierz. In 1592 King Sigismund III Vasa of Poland deputed him to arrange a match between the king's aunt, Ann Jagellon, and an Austrian archduke. All trace of Menahem Mendel vanishes after this point.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: M. Balaban, in: *Nowy Dziennik* (Nov. 15, 1919); idem, *Dzieje Żydów w Krakowie i na Kazimierzu*, 1 (1931), 139, 159, 162; M. Bersohn, *Dyplomataryusz dotycrący Żydów w dawnej Polsce* (1910), 108 no. 171; Schwarz, in: *Jahrbuch fuer Landeskunde von Niederoesterreich* (1913), suppl. 1.

[Arthur Cygielman]

MENAHEM MENDEL OF PEREMYSHLANY (b. 1728), ḥasidic leader. In his youth he joined the group of *Israel b. Eliezer, the Ba'al Shem Tov, and in the late 1750s is mentioned as a participant at a "third Sabbath meal" gathering (Israel *Loebel, *Sefer Vikku'aḥ* (Warsaw, 1798), 9b). In 1764, he went to Ereẓ Israel together with R. *Naḥman of Horodenko (Gorodenka) and settled in Tiberias. Before his emigration, he visited Cekinowka and Soroki, townlets on both banks of the Dniester, where he occupied himself in the "redemption of captives" (*pidyon shevuyyim*). He is identical with R. Mendel of Cekinowka mentioned in *Shivḥei ha-Besht* (Kapust, 1815), 19. As for the reason for his emigration, one of his intimates has written: "He emigrated to the Holy Land because emissaries started traveling to him urging that he occupy himself with community affairs" (A. Rubinstein, in: *Tarbiz*, 35 (1965/66), 177), which probably signifies that they came to him as a *ẓaddik* and miracle-worker (*Ba'al Shem) and he refused to assume such a role.

R. Mendel represents the extreme enthusiast among the first generations of the ḥasidic movement. His teachings abound in radical expressions which aroused violent opposition, such as: "One should not be exceedingly meticulous in every act performed, because this is the intent of the evil inclination; even if, Heaven forbid, one has sinned – one should not be overtaken by melancholy" (*Darkhei Yesharim* (Zhitomir, 1805), 4b, 5a). Like other disciples of the Ba'al Shem Tov, he considered devotion to God the pivot of ḥasidic doctrine and conduct. In contrast to others, however, he thought that Torah study and the practice of devotion were not compatible; study was therefore to be restricted so as not to restrain the process of approximation to the Creator. "If we divert our thoughts from devotion to God, and study excessively, we will forget the fear of Heaven … study should therefore be reduced and one should always meditate on the greatness of the Creator." R. Mendel considered prayer the most suitable manner in which to achieve devotion, and that prayer must be restrained and not, as was the opinion of Ḥasidim of other schools, vociferous. In general, it was his view that devotional conduct should be based on contemplative concentration attainable by seclusion from society and cessation of all occupation. His principal teachings were published in his booklet *Darkhei Yesharim ve-hu Hanhagot Yesharot* (Zhitomir, 1805); in *Likkutei Yekarim* (Lvov, 1792); and in *Yosher Divrei Emet* (1905), of R. Meshullam Feivush of Zbarazh.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Dubnow, Ḥasidut, index; A. Rubinstein, in: *Tarbiz*, 35 (1965/66); J. Weiss, in: *Tiferet Yisrael – I. Brodie Jubilee Volume* (1967), 158–62.

[Avraham Rubinstein]

MENAHEM MENDEL OF SHKLOV (d. 1827), rebuilder of the Ashkenazi community of Jerusalem at the beginning of the 19th century; he was born in Shklov. His father was R. Baruch Bendet, who was a *Maggid*. Menahem Mendel was one of the outstanding pupils of R. *Elijah b. Solomon the Gaon of Vilna. He himself recounts: "I did not withdraw from his presence; I held onto him and did not leave him; I remained in his tent day and night; I went where he went, slept where he slept, and my hand never left his hand." After the death of his teacher in 1794 he worked with R. Elijah's sons on the arrangement and publication of his works. Through his initiative the following of Elijah's works were published in the course of nine years: R. Elijah's commentary on Proverbs; his annotation on *Seder Olam Rabbah* and *Seder Olam Zuta*; his interpretation of the Shulḥan Arukh, *Oraḥ Ḥayyim*; his commentary on *Avot*, and others.

In 1808 Menahem Mendel immigrated to Ereẓ Israel and settled in Safed where he established *battei midrash* for study and prayer and became the leader of the community of Ashkenazim-Perushim (followers of the Vilna Gaon), which then numbered around 150 persons. From Safed he maintained a correspondence with his friend R. *Israel of Shklov and entreated him to act on behalf of the economic consolidation of the community and even encouraged him to immigrate to Palestine. As a result of philosophical and traditional conflicts with the ḥasidic community of Safed, Menahem Mendel drew close to the Sephardi rabbis and their *bet midrash*.

When a plague broke out in Safed in 1812, he fled with others to Jerusalem. He probably reached the decision at that time to remain there permanently, but he set up his home in the city only in 1816. At the same time he rented the courtyard of the yeshivah of R. Ḥayyim ibn *Attar as a place for Torah study and prayer. This action should be seen as the renewal of the Ashkenazi community of Jerusalem, after a lapse of about 100 years. In his letters abroad he requested that **ḥalukkah* funds be transferred to the new community. Here, too, however, he maintained friendly relations with the *rishon le-Zion* R. Solomon Moses Suzin who aided him in consolidating his community. Despite the numerous difficulties – resulting from the non-legalization of the residence of the Ashkenazim in the city – the Ashkenazim under Mendel's leadership continued to live in Jerusalem. After his death, his son Nathan Nata was appointed in his place. Mendel was a prolific author and wrote about ten books dealing mainly with the teachings of Kabbalah and mysticism.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Frumkin-Rivlin, 3 (1929), 138ff.; *Yerushalayim*, ed. by A.M. Luncz, 13 (1919), 223ff.

[Joshua Kaniel (Mershine)]

MENAHEM MENDEL OF VITEBSK (1730–1788), ḥasidic leader active in Belorussia, Lithuania, and Ereẓ Israel. He was a disciple of *Dov Baer the Maggid of Mezhirech, and headed a congregation in Minsk during the lifetime of his teacher; in *Zemir Ariẓim ve-Ḥarvot Ẓurim* (Warsaw, Bialystok, 1798), a pamphlet written by one of the **Mitnaggedim*, he is mentioned by the name of Mendel of Minsk. When the first wave of opposition to *Ḥasidism erupted (1772), he visited Vilna on two occasions – on the second occasion, accompanied by his disciple *Shneur Zalman of Lyady and attempted to meet *Elijah b. Solomon the Gaon of Vilna in order to point out to him the merits of Ḥasidism, but the Gaon refused to receive him and "he closed the door upon us twice." Ḥasidic tradition also regards him as one of the leading spokesmen at the meeting which was convened in Rovno in the house of Dov Baer after the imposition of the *ḥerem* on the Ḥasidim in 1772. The persecutions of the *Mitnaggedim* made him leave Minsk, and in 1773 he settled in Gorodok, from where he spread Ḥasidism in the Vitebsk and Mogilev provinces (assisted by *Israel of Polotsk, *Abraham b. Alexander Katz of Kalisk, and *Shneur Zalman of Lyady).

In 1777 Menahem Mendel went to Ereẓ Israel, accompanied by Abraham of Kalisk and Israel of Polotsk, at the head of a group of 300 persons, of whom only some were Ḥasidim. He became the leader of the ḥasidic *yishuv*, and sent emissaries to Russia in order to raise funds for its support. In Ereẓ Israel ḥasidic immigrants also encountered hostility among the Jewish community, as a result of the initiative of some *Mitnaggedim*, who addressed special letters on the subject to Ereẓ Israel. In the wake of the disputes which broke out, Menahem Mendel moved to Tiberias, where he erected a ḥasidic synagogue. He became related by marriage to one of the prominent Sephardim of Jerusalem. After his arrival in Ereẓ Israel Menahem Mendel remained the spiritual leader of the Ḥasidim of Belorussia, who maintained a correspondence with him. He continued to guide them in their conduct and interpreted the principles of Ḥasidism to them. Menahem Mendel did not consider himself to be a *ẓaddik* who could bless his Ḥasidim with the bounties of Heaven. He regarded his function of *ẓaddik* as being restricted to teaching and guidance in divine worship and not as that of a "practical" *ẓaddik*.

Teachings

In his teachings, Menahem Mendel remained faithful to those of the Maggid. Following him, he regarded the *ẓimẓum* (contraction) of divine emanation and its restriction as a condition for revelation, because that which is not limited cannot be conceived, just as thought is conceived by restriction and contraction into letters. The worlds were created by divine will as an act of mercy, by the contraction of the divine emanation, because of the deficiency of the recipients. "When one teaches a small child, he must be instructed in accordance with his young intelligence … in accordance with the ability of reception of his mind" (*Likkutei Amarim* (1911), 17a). Divinity is restricted in every place (the world is not His abode, but He is the abode of the world). It is the duty of man to adhere to the Divinity in the material creation and to redeem the Divine Presence from its exile in the material world. This can be achieved by various methods:

(1) By widening the conception of man as the wisest and most capable of understanding, "when he has attained wisdom and studies the Torah, he then creates new heavens and a new earth" (*ibid.*).

(2) By *devekut* (devotion) to God. Man is a part of the Celestial Divinity. The root of his soul is to be found in the world of **Aẓilut* (emanation) and he is therefore able to commune with God without the obstruction of any interruption or barrier. Menahem Mendel emphasizes prayer with devotion and *kavvanah* (intention). "With his prayer, he is a groomsman who brings the Divine Presence before God" (*ibid.*, 31b). In order to attain the virtue of *devekut*: (a) "He must consecrate his person and his meditation to wisdom to the extent

that he, so to say, has no further existence," i.e., spiritual self-denial. (b) By self-abnegation in the moral aspect and by the cultivation of other ethical values, such as humility, compassion, etc. With the consciousness of his own worthlessness, he is to regard himself as naught so that he become enwrapped with awe (as a result of which he will rise to speculative contemplation), which is the gateway to love. This degree of love will attach him to all men and his spiritual elevation will be followed by the uplifting of all of them in perfect contact and *devekut*. His occupation in secular affairs is to resemble the coming and goings of a man who immediately returns to his home (i.e., to his condition of *devekut*).

(3) By the observation of the precepts it is within the power of man to knit together the whole of the world, to control it and exert his influence in the heavenly spheres; he should therefore accustom all his limbs to the precepts. When observing a precept, he must realize that the reward of the precept is the actual observance of the precept itself (the observance of the precept for its own sake). Similarly, he emphasizes that there must be fear of sin and not fear of punishment. The perfect fear is a sublime degree which surpasses *ẓimẓum*; it is the fear of God's majesty, a constant fear before which all the other fears are contracted and "happy is the man that feareth always" (Prov. 28:14). He stresses the importance of faith even beyond logic and rational reason.

On worship through corporeality, he argues that one must not follow "the heretics who say that a man must be at a lower degree so that he may ascend from there, a drop which must needs precede a rise; may there not be such a thought in Israel" (*Likkutei Amarim*, 25b–26a).

His main works were *Peri ha-Areẓ* (Kopys, 1814); *Peri ha-Eẓ* (Zhitomir, 1874); *Eẓ Peri* (Lvov, 1880); *Likkutei Amarim* (Lvov, 1911). His letters appeared in *Nefesh Menaḥem* (Lvov, 1930).

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MENAHEM OF MERSEBURG (first half of the 14th century), one of the leading scholars of Saxony, Germany. Menahem was a pupil of Isaac b. Ḥayyim of Oppenheim (apparently to be identified with the son of *Ḥayyim b. Isaac Or Zaru'a, who was a pupil of *Meir b. Baruch of Rothenburg). Menahem was renowned in his time as a talmudic scholar, and was particularly well known for his *takkanot* which determined relations between the individual and the community in all matters affecting the communal life of the Jew – especially in the subjects of taxation, personal injuries, and fines. Especially important was the *takkanah* in which he abolished the right of *me'un* (see *child marriage; responsa Judah Mintz (Venice, 1553) no. 13), which had been a cause of great tragedies in Jewish family life, particularly as a result of the widespread custom of child marriage. Some 150 years later his *takkanah* gave rise to violent controversy when some wanted to explain it as having been instituted only in cases where the child had been influenced to exercise it (see Jacob *Falk). Solomon *Luria writes in the *Yam shel Shelomo* to *Yevamot* (13: 17): "It has become customary during recent years not to permit *me'un*, this having originated with Menahem, author of *Me'il Ẓedek*, who carefully weighed up and enacted many restrictive and preventive measures and was a great expert and scholar, and his *takkanot* and restrictions spread throughout the whole of Germany." Here the name of Menahem's book is mentioned; only fragments of it have been preserved. Quotations from it are found in talmudic works of the 15th and 16th centuries, particularly in those of Jacob *Weil and Solomon *Luria, as well as in the glosses of Moses Ḥazzan to the *Minhagim le-Kol ha-Shanah* of *Isaac of Tyrnau, and in the *Shitah Mekubbeẓet* of Bezalel *Ashkenazi. Jacob Weil describes Menahem of Merseburg as an eminent scholar in his generation living in Saxony. "He laid down many laws and decisions which he collected, and from them compiled an extensive work. That book is to be found in Saxony and the *minhag* of Saxony completely follows it. Many of these rulings have been extracted from his book and are in my possession…" (Resp. Maharyu 133). These words were written in reply to questioners who were unaware of Menahem's identity and turned to Weil for information. In fact, at the end of the printed editions of the responsa of Jacob Weil there is a small collection, extracted from the *Me'il Ẓedek*, entitled *Nimmukei Menaḥem Merseburg*. It is entirely devoted to the judicial relations between individuals and communities. Among Menahem's pupils was Yom Tov Lipmann *Muelhausen, author of *Seder Tikkun ha-Get* which was based on his tradition (*Yam shel Shelomo*, Git. 2:5).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Joseph b. Moses, *Leket Yosher*, ed. by J. Freimann, 2 (1904), xiiv.

[Israel Moses Ta-Shma]

MENAHEM SON OF JUDAH, patriot leader at the outset of the Roman War (66–70 C.E.). He was the son of Judah of Galilee, leader of the insurgents against the census of *Quirinus in 6 C.E. and must therefore have been well on in years at the time of the outbreak of the war. His most successful exploit was the capture of *Masada in the early stages of the war and his subsequent distribution of the contents of the armory to his followers. Menahem now led his forces to Jerusalem where the insurgents were besieging the royal palace and forced the Romans to surrender. Convinced that he could act as the leader of the rebels, he proceeded with a purge of the army, putting to death the former high priest *Ananias and his brother *Hezekiah. His assumption of power, however, was unacceptable to the Jerusalem insurgents (headed by Eleazar son of *Ananias) who, according to Josephus, were unwilling to fight for their freedom against the Romans only to become enslaved under a despot of lowly origin. When Menahem came to pray in the Temple Court, dressed in royal garb and accompanied by an armed guard, Eleazar and his men attacked him. Menahem was killed, and his followers forced to flee (Jos., Wars 2:443ff.). They regrouped themselves at Masada under *Eleazar son of Jair, a relative of Menahem, where they held out even after the fall of Jerusalem. The opposition of the Jerusalemites to Menahem and his followers was apparently due to a number of factors, among them the opposition of the Jerusalemites to revolutionary social changes and to the alleged messianic pretensions of Menahem. Geiger identifies Menahem with the Menahem mentioned in talmudic sources (TJ, Ḥag. 2:277d; Ḥag. 16b) and with the Menahem b. Hezekiah mentioned in the *aggadah* as the Messiah, born on the date of the destruction of the Temple (TJ, Ber. 2:4, 5a). Following the publication of the Dead Sea Scrolls, attempts have been made to identify the *Teacher of Righteousness mentioned there with Menahem the insurgent leader or his relative Eleazar son of Jair. These suggestions must be treated with reserve, pending further research.

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[Lea Roth]

MENAHEM ẒIYYONI (late 14th–early 15th century), kabbalist and exegete who lived in Cologne, where he signed a document in 1382, probably as rabbi of the community. His father was R. Meir Ẓiyyoni. Nothing else definite is known about his life, his career, or his teachers. He is known only through his major work, *Ẓiyyoni*, a homiletical commentary on the Torah (first printed in Cremona in 1559 and again there in the following year after the first impression had been destroyed by fire), and by the treatise *Ẓefunei Ẓiyyoni* (partly preserved in Ms.), one of the major early kabbalistic books dealing in detail with the powers of evil and demonology. Menahem Ẓiyyoni was one of the few kabbalists in 14th-century Germany, and his work demonstrates that he was heir to two different esoteric traditions: the Spanish Kabbalah, including the Zohar, the *Sefer ha-Bahir*, and the exegetical works of Naḥmanides; and the esoteric theology of the 12th–13th-century movement of the Ḥasidei Ashkenaz. He quotes frequently from Eleazar b. Judah of Worm's *Sodei Razayya*, referring to him as "*ish sodi*" ("my esoteric authority"). These two traditions are also reflected in his subject matter: the customary kabbalistic questions on the emanation of the *Sefirot* alongside the Ashkenazi-ḥasidic conception of the *Kavod* ("divine glory") and its relationship to the prophets. He composed a *kinah* for the Ninth of Av which was incorporated in the Ashkenazi liturgy.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Davidson, Oẓar, 4 (1933), 435; A. Kober, *Cologne* (1940), 358; Y. Dan, *Torat ha-Sod shel Ḥasidut Ashkenaz* (1968), 259f.

[Joseph Dan]

MENAḤOT (Heb. מְנָחוֹת; "meal-offerings"), second tractate in the order *Kodashim*, in the Mishnah, Tosefta, and Babylonian Talmud (there is no Jerusalem Talmud to this tractate). *Menaḥot* has 13 chapters and deals, as its name indicates, with the various meal-offerings in the Temple. Chapters 1–3 discuss in great detail the defects in the sacrificial act, especially wrongful intent and omission, which render the offering unfit (*pasul* or *piggul*). Chapter 4 continues with the same subject, listing instances of omissions which do not invalidate the offering; the last part deals with the meal-offering of the high priest (Lev. 6:13–16). Chapters 5 and 6 are mainly concerned with the preparation of the meal-offering. Chapter 7 deals with the loaves of the thanksgiving-offering (Lev. 7:12), of the consecration-offering (Lev. 8:26), and of the Nazirite-offering (Num. 6:15). Chapter 8 gives the ingredients of the meal-offering (flour, oil, wine, etc.) and the manner in which they were processed and prepared. Chapter 9 gives valuable information on the liquid and dry measures used in the Temple. Chapter 10 deals with the offering of the *Omer* ("sheaf of the waving"; Lev. 23:15–22), and Chapter 11 with the meal-offering of the barley of the new harvest (Lev. 23:16) and the shewbread (Lev. 24:5–9). Chapter 12 is mainly on vows concerning meal-offerings and drink-offerings. Chapter 13 discusses the problem arising out of sacrificial vows which were inaccurately defined. It also mentions, incidentally, the temple of *Onias. The Mishnah ends with a homily on the fact that the Bible employs the phrase "a sweet savor unto the Lord" equally with regard to offerings of cattle (Lev. 1:9), fowl (Lev. 1:17), and meal (Lev. 2:2) in order to emphasize that "it matters not whether one offers much or little, provided one's heart is directed towards heaven." The Tosefta, also 13 chapters, ends with a homily on the causes of the destruction of the Temple, and, quoting Isaiah 2:2–3, visualizes the future Temple as a universal one.

The first three chapters of the tractate have language patterns similar to the first four chapters of *Zevaḥim*. The similarity between Mishnah 3:1 and *Zevaḥim* 3:3 is especially striking. Epstein (Tannaim, 156f.) points to various strata in the Mishnah: *mishnayot* 3:5–4:4 end are from the Mishnah of R. Simeon, while *mishnayot* 1:3–4 belong to Judah b. Ilai (cf. Zev. 1:2; 6:7). Mishnah 3:4, quoted in the name of Simeon, appears in the Tosefta in the name of his son Eleazar. Apparently Eleazar had recorded his father's sayings together with his own, and thus the editor of the Tosefta attributed it to Eleazar. The Tosefta includes several groups of *beraitot*. Thus 1:2–4 contrasts the laws of *sheḥitah* ("slaughtering"), *kemiẓah* ("scooping out" with the hand), and *melikah* ("nipping" the neck of a bird). In the group 4:9–14 each of the passages starts with the word *kamaẓ* ("he scooped"), and the group 12:11–13:12 consists of laws concerning the dedication of offerings to the Temple. The Tosefta includes some aggadic material: Moses' blessing of the nation after the erection of the Tabernacle (7:8); God's evaluation of the sacrifices (7:9); an account of the golden tables, and candelabra, and of the shewbread of the Temple (11:6–18); and the corruption of the priests (13:18–21) and the sins that brought about the destruction of Shiloh and of the First and Second Temples: "Why was the First Temple destroyed? Because of the idolatry, incest, and shedding of blood that prevailed. But at the Second Temple we know that they toiled in the study of Torah and were heedful of the tithes: why then were they exiled? Because they loved money and hated one another. This teaches that hatred of man for his fellow is heinous before the Omnipresent and is regarded as being as grave as idolatry, incest, and murder" (13:22). The Babylonian *Gemara* has some interesting aggadic passages. There is a remarkable story to demonstrate the merits of wearing *ẓiẓit* as a safeguard against immorality (44a); a most interesting homily of R. Ezra (53a); and passages on the Jewish attitude toward Greek culture (64b, 99b) and on the origin of the Temple of Onias (109b). Several of the *aggadot* in *Menaḥot* emphasize the spiritual implications of sacrificing. A poignant *aggadah* by R. Isaac states that when the poor offer God a meal-offering, in spite of its negligible value, God honors the giver as though he had offered up his soul (104b). Regarding its *halakhot*, large portions of the text are taken up by extraneous material; e.g., 28a–44b deal mainly with the *menorah, mezuzah, tefillin*, and *ẓiẓit*. In the printed editions the sequence of the chapters in the Babylonian Talmud differs from that of the separate Mishnah edition; the 10th Mishnah chapter is 6th, and consequently the mishnaic 6th, 7th, 8th, and 9th chapters become the 7th, 8th, 9th, and 10th respectively. *Menaḥot* was translated into English and published by the Soncino Press, London (1948).

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[Arnost Zvi Ehrman]

°**MENANDER OF EPHESUS** (possibly second century B.C.E.) is probably identical with Menander of Pergamum quoted by Clement of Alexandria (*Stromateis* 1:114) as stating that "Hiram gave his daughter in marriage to Solomon at the time when Menelaus visited Phoenicia after the capture of Troy" (cf. *Laetus). He wrote a history of Phoenicia (in Ant. 8:144, Josephus says that Menander translated the Tyrian records from Phoenician into Greek) which included an account of *Hiram of Tyre, in whose reign "lived Abdemon, a young lad, who always succeeded in mastering the problems set by Solomon, king of Jerusalem" (Jos., Apion, 1:120; Ant. 8:146; cf. *Dios). Hiram also dedicated the golden pillar in the temple of Zeus, which, according to *Eupolemus (Eusebius, *Praeparatio Evangelica*, 9:34), was a present from Solomon. According to Josephus (Ant. 8:324), Menander also alluded to the drought which occurred during King Ahab's reign.

°**MENANDER OF LAODICEA** (third century C.E.), author of rhetorical works. He mentions that Jews from all over the world flock to Palestine for their festal assembly (*panegyris*).

MENASCE, DE, Egyptian family which went to *Egypt from Spain, by way of Ereẓ Israel and *Morocco. The members of the De Menasce family played a significant role in the economic development of Egypt in the second half of the 19th century.

JACOB DAVID DE MENASCE (1802–1885) was president of the *Cairo Jewish community and leader of the Austrian subjects in Egypt. He received the hereditary title of baron from the emperor Francis Joseph. In 1871 he settled in Alexandria, where he established the Menasce synagogue in 1873 and a large Jewish school (1881). He was the **sarraf* (banker) of the Giza quarter and before he settled in Alexandria was employed by Hasan Pasha Al-Manstrali as administrator of his large estates. Later, he founded an import-export company and opened branches of the company in Marseilles and Liverpool. His son BAKHOR DE MENASCE (1830–1884) was president of the *Alexandria community and active in Jewish philanthropy. Three of his sons became well-known: JACQUES (1850–1916), banker and head of the local community from 1889 to 1914, helped to found the Menasce hospital, financed jointly by his family and the community. In 1885 he opened in Alexandria a private secular school for boys and girls, in which the majority of the teachers were Catholic. FELIX (1865–1943) was president of the community of Alexandria from 1926 to 1933. In 1918 he founded the Zionist Pro-Palestine Society and aided pioneers traveling to Ereẓ Israel through Alexandria. He was a baron and in 1938 was honorary president of the Alexandria community. Alfred (1867–1927) was a member of the Alexandria municipal council for many years and honorary consul of Hungary. In 1925, after a teacher in a Christian school had repeated stories of the *blood libel before Jewish pupils, he reacted by becoming the principal benefactor in the establishment of a Jewish vocational school in the city. He married a member of the Suarez family. Felix's son GEORGES (b. 1900) was known in Egypt for his art collection and generosity, especially on behalf of Jewish causes. He settled in England. Another son, JEAN (b. 1910), who became a Jesuit priest in France, wrote a book on Ḥasidism (*Quand Israël aime Dieu*, 1931), following a visit to Poland. Members of the De Menasce family competed with the Aghion and Rollo families for leadership of the Alexandria community, which was divided into two parties, one of which was headed by the De Menasce family. In 1885 the family helped the Jewish hospital. Other members of the family were known especially as philanthropists: Abramino founded in 1917 a Jewish hospital in Cairo; Elie in 1920 made an important donation to the De Menasce school in Alexandria; Jacque Elie in 1930 founded the Society "Amelei Tora."

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[Haim J. Cohen / Leah Bornstein-Makovetsky (2nd ed.)]

MENDA, ELIEZER (1887–1978), journalist. Born in *Edirne, he studied between 1905–10 in the Ecole Normale Orientale, Paris. He was a teacher at the *Alliance Israélite Universelle schools in Edirne, Tetouan, and Tatarpazarcik. Between 1910–1925 he taught French and German in various lycées in Mersin, Adana, Konya, and İzmit. He contributed to different Ladino newspapers such as *El Judio*, *El Jugeton*, *El Telegrafo*, *La Boz de Oriente,* and to French newspapers such *L'Aurore* and *Le Journal D'Orient*. In December 1950 he started publishing the Ladino newspaper *La Luz* with a partner, Robert Balli. Later on Balli left and started to publish his own newspaper, *La Luz de Türkiye,* while Menda continued with *La Luz* until 1972.

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[Rifat Bali (2nd ed.)]

MENDEL, wealthy family prominent in Hungary in the late 15th and early 16th centuries. It appears that the family went there from Germany and they seem to have been in Buda from 1470. On the suggestion of the royal treasurer, the apostate János Ernuszt, King Matthias Corvinus (1458–90) granted to members of the Mendel family the office of **Praefectus Judaeorum*. Probably the family was friendly with Ernuszt or may even had been related to him. First to hold the office was JUDAH (c. 1470). He was succeeded by his son JACOB (1493–1522), who was particularly respected. A record of his seal, inscribed with his initials, still exists. Next in office was ISRAEL (1523–26), who was followed by ISAAC (1527–39). With the expulsion of the Jews from Buda to Turkey (1526; see *Budapest) and the conquest of the town the family declined; the office of *Praefectus Judaeorum* also ceased to exist at that time. A prominent member of the family was MENDEL SCHWARTZ, one of the most important financiers of the Hungarian capital. He is mentioned for the last time in 1526. Members of the Mendel family were also to be found in other Hungarian towns, such as in Sopron, but those mentioned in Pressburg were almost certainly identical with the Buda branch, who also owned houses in Pressburg.

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[Andreas Kubinyi]

MENDEL, ARTHUR (1905–1979), musicologist, critic, and conductor. Born in Boston, Mendel studied music theory and composition with Nadia Boulanger (1925–27) at the Ecole Normale de Musique in Paris. He was music critic of the *Nation* (1930–33), literary editor for G. Schirmer, Inc. (1930–38), editor of the American Musicological Society's journal (1940–43), associate editor of the *Musical Quarterly,* and editor of Associated Music Publishers (1941–47). From 1936 to 1953 he conducted the Cantata Singers, a small choir performing baroque music. He held lectureships at Columbia University (1949) and the University of California, Berkeley (1951), became chairman of the music department at Princeton (1952–67), and held the Henry Putnam University Professorship from 1969 to 1973. He was a member of the editorial boards of the Neue Bach-Ausgabe and of the new Josquin edition. His editions of the *St John Passion* brought him recognition as the foremost American Bach scholar of his generation. In his later years he investigated the possible applications of computer technology to musicological problems.

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[Israela Stein (2nd ed.)]

MENDEL, HERMANN (1834–1876), music publisher and lexicographer. Born in Halle, Germany, Mendel edited a music journal, a series of operatic librettos with commentaries, and a book of folk songs. His chief work was his *Musikalisches Conversations-Lexikon* (1870–83), a music encyclopedia in 12 volumes, the last five of which were edited by August Reissmann after Mendel's death. He also published two books on *Meyerbeer (1868, 1869).

MENDEL, LAFAYETTE BENEDICT (1872–1935), U.S. physiological chemist and pioneer in nutrition. Born in Delhi, New York, Mendel became professor at the Yale Sheffield Science School, and in 1921 professor of physiological chemistry at Yale University. He was the first person to study vitamin A, and first president of the American Institute of Nutrition. His contributions to scientific literature were concerned with proteins, nutrition, growth, and accessory factors.

MENDELS, MAURITS (1868–1944), Dutch Socialist politician. Born in The Hague to an Orthodox family, Mendels worked as a journalist, and from 1909 practiced as a lawyer in Amsterdam. As a member of the Dutch Social Democrat Party (SDAP) since 1899, he always operated on its left, Marxist wing. In Parliament (1913–19) and in the Senate (1919–37), Mendels specialized in legal affairs. He was known for his witty and astute speeches. Mendels sympathized with the Zionist cause. During Nazi occupation he did not go into hiding and he was deported to Theresienstadt. One day before his death on June 3, 1944, he noted down: "I would rather die as an old courageous lion than live as a vile and pitiable dog."

MENDELSOHN, ERIC (1887–1953), architect. He was born in Allenstein, Germany and was a member of the revivalist movement in European architecture from the 1920s onward. His early works, especially his sketches made during World War I and the buildings designed in the early twenties (such as the observatory near Berlin, 1920), are of an expressionist character. His later buildings are noteworthy, against the background of the contemporary style, for the originality of their shapes and their monumental nature. He built a large number of business-houses and large office blocks in Berlin and in other towns in Germany, as well as factories and dwelling-houses. When Hitler seized power in 1933, Mendelsohn left

Germany and worked in Britain and Palestine until the outbreak of World War II. Between 1934 and 1939, he built in Palestine the villa and library of Zalman Schocken in Jerusalem, the Anglo-Palestine Bank in Jerusalem, the Hadassah hospital on Mount Scopus, Chaim Weizmann's villa in Reḥovot, part of the Hebrew University's Faculty of Agriculture at Reḥovot, and the Haifa government hospital. When World War II broke out, he went to the United States, and from 1945 onward, built in various places. His works include the Maimonides Health Center in San Francisco, and many synagogues, in which he tried to achieve a monumental impression without adherence to any traditional style. These include synagogues in St. Paul, Minnesota; Washington, D.C.; Baltimore, Maryland; Dallas, Texas; Saint Louis, Missouri. He wrote the autobiographical *Letters of an Architect* (1967).

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[Abraham Erlik]

MENDELSOHN, FRANKFURT MOSES (**Moses ben Mendel Frankfurt**; 1782–1861), Hebrew scholar and writer. Born in Hamburg, he received a traditional education but, under the influence of N.H. *Wessely, became attracted to Haskalah. He engaged mainly in literary work, writing in both German and in Hebrew. His main work is *Penei Tevel* (published posthumously in Amsterdam in 1872), a collection of poetry and prose in the style of the *maqāmāt* of Al-*Ḥarizi. The book contains satire, polemics, epic poems on biblical themes, and a history of the Hebrew Haskalah movement at the turn of the 18th century. He was an uncle of S.R. *Hirsch.

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[Getzel Kressel]

MENDELSOHN, SHELOMO (1896–1948), Yiddish critic. Born in Warsaw, he early showed his brilliance in talmudic studies. While enrolled at Warsaw University, he taught Jewish history and literature at Polish secondary schools. From 1917 he was coeditor of *Dos Folk* and a leader of the Folk Party. In 1928 he joined the Bund and eight years later was elected to the Jewish *kehillah*. He immigrated to the United States in 1941 and joined the editorial board of *Undzer Tsayt*. In 1947 the Bund sent him to Europe, where he organized Jewish educational, cultural, and communal organizations. His articles on literature were published in various Yiddish journals. His literary criticism includes works on Solomon *Ettinger, H.D. *Nomberg, and J.J. *Trunk.

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[Israel Ch. Biletzky]

MENDELSON, JACOB BEN-ZION (1946–), *ḥazzan*. Jacob Ben-Zion Mendelson was born in New York to a well-known family of cantors. He is the brother of the cantor Solomon *Mendelson, a former president of the Cantors' Assembly. He was a student of the Etz Haim Yeshiva in Brooklyn. He studied cantorial music with the cantors Moshe and David *Koussevitzky, William Bougcester, and especially Moshe *Ganchoff. He served as cantor in Riverdale, New York, at the Beth Torah Synagogue in Miami, Florida, in the Shaarai Tefila congregation in Flushing, New York, and from 1986 at Temple Israel in White Plains, New York. He appeared in concerts and in prayer services throughout the United States, and also at the Jerusalem congress of the Cantors' Assembly in honor of the 20th anniversary of the unification of Jerusalem. Cantor Mendelson was called mentor by an entire generation of cantors, having taught at the Hebrew Union College-School of Sacred Music, the H.L. Miller Cantorial School at the Jewish Theological Seminary, and the Academy of Jewish Religion. It is true to say that he was one of the most sought-after teachers in the world of *ḥazzanut*. He produced record selections from the prayer service in the style of the cantors Alter, *Ganchoff, and Rappaport. A documentary film dealing with the entire spectrum of cantorial music today, from the prism of Cantor Mendelson's career, was made for PBS and other venues. From 2002 he was president of the Cantors' Assembly.

[Akiva Zimmerman / Raymond Goldstein (2nd ed.)]

MENDELSON, JOSÉ (**Yoysef**; 1891–1969), Argentine Yiddish editor and writer. Born in Cherkassy (Ukraine), Mendelson had a traditional education from his father and was early recognized as a talmudic genius. His first publication was an article on Peretz *Smolenskin in 1912 in the Russian-Zionist monthly, *Di Yidishe Hofenung*. In the same year, he immigrated to Argentina, where he taught Hebrew. With Z. Brokhes he co-edited the fortnightly, *Der Kolonist*, in which he also published articles on Yiddish and Spanish writers. He began writing for *Di Yidishe Tsaytung* in 1917 and later edited the publication (1923–29); with Y. Helfman he edited the Yiddish monthly *Argentine* (1921). He also edited the anthologies *Oyf di Bregn fun La-Plata* ("On the Banks of La Plata," 1919), *50 Yor Yidishe Kolonizatsye in Argentine* ("50 Years of Colonization in Argentina," 1939), and *Rashi-Bukh* ("Rashi-Book," 1940). A collection of his writings, *Amol in a Halbn Yoyvl* ("Once in Half a Lifetime"), was published in 1943. He translated many Russian, Spanish, French, and English novels into Yiddish. Among his other works were plays and writings about artists, sculptors, etc. From 1943, he directed the Hebrew-Yiddish Teachers Seminary in Buenos Aires.

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[Israel Ch. Biletzky / Jerold C. Frakes (2nd ed.)]

MENDELSON, SOLOMON (1933–), *ḥazzan*. Solomon Mendelson was born in New York to a well-known family of cantors. Since 1954 he has been cantor of the Beth Shalom Synagogue in Long Beach, New York. At the Jerusalem congress of the Cantors' Assembly he was elected president of the assembly, which is the largest organization of cantors in the world. He was a member of the administration of the Cantorial School of the Jewish Theological Seminary and a teacher of the traditional style of the prayer services. He served in the U.S. Army with the rank of captain. Mendelson initiated and organized concerts of cantorial music. He assisted in the writing of new compositions in the areas of Jewish and cantorial music and was president of the Cantors' Assembly (1987–89). In 1994 the Jewish Theological Seminary awarded him the degree of Doctor of Music *honoris causa*. His brother is the cantor Jacob Ben-Zion *Mendelson.

[Akiva Zimmerman]

MENDELSSOHN, family of scholars, bankers and artists. The founder of the family was MOSES *MENDELSSOHN (1729–1786). His wife, FROMET (1737–1812), was a great-granddaughter of the Viennese Court Jew, Samuel *Oppenheimer. (See Chart: Mendelssohn Family).

Moses' eldest son, JOSEPH (1770–1848), had a banking business, at times in partnership with his brother ABRAHAM (1776–1835). The bank helped transfer the French indemnity after Napoleon's defeat, and was later active mainly in German and foreign railway issues and state loans, particularly Russian. Mendelssohn and Co. were bankers and correspondents for many foreign commercial banks, central banks, and governments, but did not launch any industrial ventures of their own. After World War I the bank opened an issuing house in Amsterdam. The Berlin house was absorbed by the Deutsche Bank in 1939. Joseph was the friend and patron of Alexander von *Humboldt, the naturalist, and for many years chairman of the corporation of Berlin merchants. He and his brother Abraham were co-sponsors of the enlightened circle of Jewish notables, Gesellschaft der Freunde. His nephew, Abraham's son, the composer FELIX MENDELSSOHN BARTHOLDY (for the Bartholdy see Felix *Mendelssohn) urged him to go through with his old project of an edition of his father's collected works, on the suggestion of F.A. Brockhaus, the noted publisher; in this he was aided by his son, GEORG BENJAMIN (1794–1874), professor of geography at Bonn University. Joseph himself contributed to this project, for which he wrote his father's biography. Of Joseph's sons, Georg Benjamin was baptized; ALEXANDER (1798–1871), head of the bank, remained a Jew. Through social contacts with the *Hohenzollerns, Joseph's grandson FRANZ (1829–1889) and Abraham's grandson ERNST (1846–1909) were elevated to the hereditary nobility.

In 1804, Abraham married Leah Salomon, granddaughter of Daniel *Itzig, and thereby became a naturalized Prussian citizen, ahead of the bulk of his coreligionists. He served for many years as municipal councilor without pay. A deist and rationalist by conviction he brought up his children as Protestants in order to improve their social opportunities. He and his wife embraced Christianity in 1822 "because it is the religious form acceptable to the majority of civilized human beings" (in a letter to his daughter Fanny). This decision to convert was influenced by the current *Hep! Hep! riots (1819).

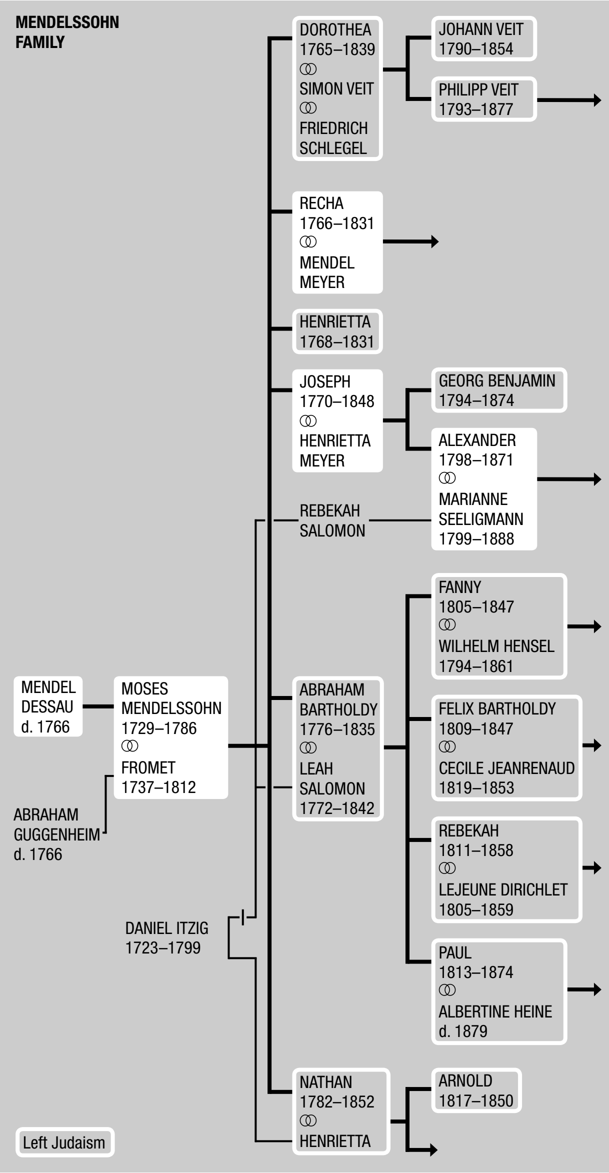
MENDELSSOHN FAMILY
MENDEL DESSAU d. 1766
ABRAHAM GUGGENHEIM d. 1766
MOSES MENDELSSOHN 1729–1786 ⚭ FROMET 1737–1812
DANIEL ITZIG 1723–1799
DOROTHEA 1765–1839 ⚭ SIMON VEIT ⚭ FRIEDRICH SCHLEGEL
JOHANN VEIT 1790–1854
PHILIPP VEIT 1793–1877
RECHA 1766–1831 ⚭ MENDEL MEYER
HENRIETTA 1768–1831
JOSEPH 1770–1848 ⚭ HENRIETTA MEYER
GEORG BENJAMIN 1794–1874
ALEXANDER 1798–1871 ⚭ MARIANNE SEELIGMANN 1799–1888
REBEKAH SALOMON
ABRAHAM BARTHOLDY 1776–1835 ⚭ LEAH SALOMON 1772–1842
FANNY 1805–1847 ⚭ WILHELM HENSEL 1794–1861
FELIX BARTHOLDY 1809–1847 ⚭ CECILE JEANRENAUD 1819–1853
REBEKAH 1811–1858 ⚭ LEJEUNE DIRICHLET 1805–1859
PAUL 1813–1874 ⚭ ALBERTINE HEINE d. 1879
NATHAN 1782–1852 ⚭ HENRIETTA
ARNOLD 1817–1850
Left Judaism

Later Mendelssohn-Bartholdy descendants include ALBRECHT MENDELSSOHN-BARTHOLDY, editor of the *Europaische Gesprache* in Hamburg, who died in exile in England. Felix *Gilbert, a historian, at the Institute of Advanced Study, Princeton, New Jersey; the philosopher Leonhard *Nelson (1882–1927); KURT HENSEL, a West German diplomat posted to Tel Aviv in 1968. CARL MENDELSSOHN-BARTHOLDY (1838–1897), assisted by his uncle PAUL (1813–1874), wrote the first biography of his father Felix. Felix's nephew SEBASTIAN HENSEL (1830–1898) was the first family chronicler.

Moses' eldest daughter, Dorothea *Mendelssohn-Veit-Schlegel (Brendel, 1765–1839), was married twice: to the banker Simon Veit (see *Veit family) and to Friedrich Schlegel, man of letters. Her sons, Johannes *Veit (1790–1854) and Philipp Veit (1793–1877), were painters of the Romantic "Nazarene" school. HENRIETTE (Sorel; 1768–1831), Moses' youngest daughter, resembled her father in character. She never married, having his deformity. She served as governess and teacher in Vienna and Paris, where she was head of a boarding school. The intellectual luminaries of the age, Madame de Staël, Spontini, Benjamin Constant, and the Schlegels formed part of her salon. In 1812 she became tutor to the French general Sebastiani's daughter. In that year, following her mother's death, she was baptized into the Catholic Church, taking the name Marie (a few years earlier she had rebuked her sister Dorothea for doing the same). Moses' youngest son, NATHAN, had a son, the physician Arnold Mendelssohn (1817–1850), a supporter and confidant of Ferdinand *Lassalle.

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[Hanns G. Reissner / Andreas Kennecke 2nd ed.)]

MENDELSSOHN, ARNOLD (1855–1933), composer and organist. Born in Ratibor, Germany, a collateral descendant of Felix *Mendelssohn, Arnold Mendelssohn studied law at Tübingen (1877) and pursued a musical education at the Institut für Kirchenmusik in Berlin (1877–80), where he studied organ with Karl August Haupt, the piano with Loeschhorn, and composition with Grell, Friedrich Kiel, and Taubert. Mendelssohn was organist of Bonn University (1880–82), conductor at Bielefeld (1882–85), professor at the conservatories of Cologne (1885–90) and Darmstadt (1890–1912) and from 1912 of the Hoch Conservatory at Frankfurt, where Paul Hindemith and K. Thomas were his students. Mendelssohn contributed to the renewal of interest in Lutheran church music both by his promotion of the works of Bach and Schütz and through his own compositions, rejecting the romanticized style of his contemporaries and evolving a purer and more appropriate polyphonic liturgical idiom. His compositions include the sacred choral works *Abendkantate* (1881) and *Geistliche Chormusik* (1926); operas, symphonies, chamber music, and songs. He edited Heinrich Schütz's oratorios, some of Monteverdi's madrigals, and wrote essays such as *Gott, Welt und Kunst* (ed. by W. Ewald, 1949).

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[Israela Stein (2nd ed.)]

MENDELSSOHN, FELIX (**Jakob Ludwig Felix**; 1809–1847), composer. Born in Hamburg, Felix was the grandson of Moses *Mendelssohn and the son of Abraham Mendelssohn, a successful banker first in Hamburg and later in Berlin, and Lea Mendelssohn, the granddaughter of Daniel *Itzig (see *Mendelssohn family). His parents had their children baptized and later converted to Christianity themselves. Felix grew up in an intellectual, cultivated atmosphere. The Sunday morning concerts at his parents' Berlin home were notable occasions attended by many celebrities, and most of Mendelssohn's early music was written for these gatherings. Abraham Mendelssohn added the name Bartholdy (after a property that had belonged to his wife's brother) to the family name, stating that "A Christian Mendelssohn is an impossibility." He wished his son to go by the professional name of Felix M. Bartholdy, but he refused to comply and in 1829 conducted under the name Felix Mendelssohn. (His sister Rebecca often signed her letters Rebecca Mendelssohn Meden (the latter meaning "never" in Greek) Bartholdy.)

Mendelssohn advanced rapidly as a composer and pianist. His String Octet, completed in 1825, is a major work of chamber music. Two years later the first public performance of his overture to *A Midsummer Night's Dream* took place, and in 1829, Mendelssohn performed what some believe to be his greatest achievement: the revival of J.S. Bach's *St. Matthew Passion* (at the Singakademie in Berlin), which initiated the renewed popularity of Bach's works. That same year, he made the first of many journeys to England, where his popularity grew. This trip was the first episode in a three-year grand tour that included Scotland, Italy, Switzerland, and France. Some important works of this time, reflecting impressions of his travels, are the *Hebrides Overture* and the *Italian* and *Scotch* symphonies.

In 1833, Mendelssohn was appointed musical director of the Dusseldorf Music and Theater Society; he also supervised the city's church music and directed the subscription concerts of the Society's orchestra. Far more to his liking was his appointment as director of the Gewandhaus concerts in Leipzig in 1835. He continued to be identified with this city for the rest of his life. In 1835 he completed his oratorio *St. Paul* for the Lower Rhine Festival in Duesseldorf (May 1836). Then he traveled to Frankfurt to direct the Caecilien-Verein.

In 1840 Mendelssohn was the most famous living composer in Central Europe. It was therefore inevitable that Frederick William IV, who wished to ensure Prussia's cultural and political supremacy, would summon him to court. In spite of the frustrations of bureaucracy, Mendelssohn did accomplish some good work there, notably the complete incidental music to *A Midsummer Night's Dream*. During this period he also continued writing his many *Songs Without Words*, the most popular piano pieces of their genre. In 1843 he returned to Leipzig and founded the conservatory which became the most renowned institution of its kind in Germany in the 19th century. Mendelssohn's last years saw many triumphs, the greatest of which was the première of *Elijah* in Birmingham (1846). But his strenuous existence as pianist, conductor, composer, and pedagogue had worn him out prematurely. His sister Fanny's sudden death in May 1847 was a shock to his already weakened system, and he died six months later in Leipzig.

Fanny Caecile (Zipporah) *Mendelssohn (1805–1847) was unusually close to her brother Felix, and her marriage to the painter Wilhelm Hensel in 1829 did not weaken this bond. Felix relied upon her musical taste and advice, and six of her songs which were published along with his (without identification) are stylistically indistinguishable from his work. Under her own name, she published four books of piano pieces, two books of solo songs, and one book of part-songs. After her death, a few more piano pieces, some songs, and a piano trio in D major were published.

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[Dika Newlin]

MENDELSSOHN, HEINRICH (1910–2002), Israeli zoologist. Mendelssohn was born in Berlin and studied zoology there at the Humboldt University. He immigrated to Ereẓ Israel in 1933, continuing his studies at the Hebrew University. From 1947 to 1956 he served as director of the Biological and Pedagogical Institute of Tel Aviv, which became the department of zoology of Tel Aviv University. In 1961 he was appointed professor. Mendelssohn devoted most of his activity to nature conservation. He served as a member of the Nature Conservation Authority and chairman of the Israel Committee for Nature Preservation in Israel of the International Biological Program. He represented Israel on the International Conference of Ecology. He was awarded the Israel Prize in science in 1973.

MENDELSSOHN, KURT ALFRED GEORG (1906–1980), British physicist. Mendelssohn was born in Berlin and educated at Berlin University. Forced to leave Germany, he came to Oxford to work at Clarendon Laboratory in 1933 and was the first person to liquefy helium in Britain. Subsequently F.E. Simon, N. Kurti, and H. London came to Oxford and contributed with Mendelssohn to the establishment of the Clarendon Laboratory as an important center of low temperature research. With the advent of World War II the low-temperature apparatus had to be dismantled and Mendelssohn turned to various collaborative projects in medical physics. After the war he resumed his work on low temperatures in collaboration with a succession of gifted research students, many of whom built up graduate schools of their own after leaving the Clarendon, thus making their mark in low-temperature centers all over the world. In addition to his laboratory work Mendelssohn was closely involved with other low-temperature scientists at the international level. He was chairman and founding member of the International Cryogenic Engineering Committee and president of Commission A2 of the International Institute of Refrigeration. He was the founder and editor of the journal *Cryogenics*, an international journal of low-temperature engineering and research (1961–65). He was elected fellow of the Royal Society in 1951. As "extramural" activities he was especially interested in China and in the sociological and engineering backgrounds of the Egyptian and Mexican pyramids, publishing and lecturing widely on these topics.

[Bracha Rager (2nd ed.)]

MENDELSSOHN, MOSES (**Moses ben Menahem**, acronym **RaMbeMaN**, or **Moses of Dessau**; 1729–1786), philosopher of the German Enlightenment in the pre-Kantian period, early Maskil, and a renowned Jewish figure in the 18th century. Born in Dessau, son of a Torah scribe, Mendelssohn received a traditional Jewish education under the influence of David *Fraenkel, who was then rabbi of Dessau. When the latter was appointed rabbi of Berlin in 1743, Mendelssohn followed him there in order to pursue his religious studies and to acquire a general education. He earned his livelihood with difficulty while simultaneously studying Talmud diligently and acquiring a broad education in literature and philosophy. In addition to his fluent knowledge of German and Hebrew, he acquired knowledge of Latin, Greek, English, French, and Italian. His teachers were young, broadly educated Jews, such as the Galician immigrant Israel M. Zamosc, who taught him medieval Jewish philosophy, the medical student Abraham Kisch, who taught him Latin, and the well-born Berlin Jew, A.S. Gumpertz, who taught him French and English and in general served as a model of a pious Jew immersed in the larger intellectual world. During this period he met the writer and dramatist G.E. *Lessing (1754) and a deep and lifelong friendship developed between them. In 1750 he became a teacher in the house of Isaac Bernhard, owner of a silk factory; in 1754, he was entrusted with the bookkeeping of the factory and eventually he became a partner in the enterprise. Throughout his life he worked as a merchant, while carrying out his literary activities and widespread correspondence in his free time. Only in 1763 was he granted the "right of residence" in Berlin by the king. In 1762, he married Fromet Guggenheim of Hamburg, and they had six children (see *Mendelssohn family). In 1754 Mendelssohn began to publish – at first with the assistance of Lessing – philosophical writings and later also literary reviews. He also started a few literary projects (for example, the short-lived periodical *Kohelet Musar*) in order to enrich and change Jewish culture and took part in the early Haskalah. In 1763, he was awarded the first prize of the Prussian Royal Academy of Sciences for his work *Abhandlung über die Evidenz in metaphysischen Wissenschaften* ("Treatise on Evidence in Metaphysical Knowledge"). However, when the academy elected him as a member in 1771, King Frederick II refused to ratify its decision. In 1769, he became embroiled in a dispute on the Jewish religion, and from then on, he confined most of his literary activity to the sphere of Judaism. His most notable and enduring works in this area included the translation into

German and commentary on the Pentateuch, *Sefer Netivot ha-Shalom* ("Book of the Paths of Peace," 1780–83) and his *Jerusalem: oder, Ueber religiöse Macht und Judenthum* ("Jerusalem, or On Religious Power and Judaism," 1783), the first polemical defense of Judaism in the German language and one of the pioneering works of modern Jewish philosophy. An active intermediary on behalf of his own people in difficult times and a participant in their struggle for equal rights, he was at the same time a forceful defender of the Enlightenment against the opposition to it which gained strength toward the end of his life. In the midst of a literary battle against one of the leading figures of the counter-Enlightenment, he died in 1786.

Philosophy

Mendelssohn made virtually no claim to be an original thinker in the realm of philosophy. He considered himself to be little more than an exponent of the teachings of the Leibniz/Wolffian school, perhaps contributing a more felicitous and contemporary expression to the demonstrations of God's existence and providence and human immortality that had been propounded by Leibniz and Wolff and their other disciples. Here and there, however, he modestly acknowledged that he was providing a new version of an old argument or even saying something that had not been said before. Mendelssohn first acquired a wide reputation for philosophical acumen with the publication of his prize essay in 1763. The Berlin Academy's question was whether "the truths of metaphysics, in general, and the first principles of natural theology and morality, in particular," can be shown to be as securely established as those of mathematics. Mendelssohn answered that such principles "are capable of the same certainty" but are by no means as easily grasped. After discussing the obstacles to such comprehension, he went on to offer cosmological and ontological proofs for the existence of God. He sought to give the ontological argument an "easier turn" by reversing its usual course and arguing first for the impossibility of God's nonexistence and then against the notion that the most perfect being would enjoy a merely possible existence. In his later works, Mendelssohn continued to reformulate and refine these very same arguments. Following Leibniz, Mendelssohn argued in a number of writings that the combination of divine goodness and greatness known as providence brings into being "the best of all possible worlds." Like his mentor, he could maintain this position only by adducing the evidence of the afterlife. He first examined this question in his most celebrated philosophical work, *Phädon, oder ueber die Unsterblichkeit der Seele* (*Phaedo, or on the Immortality of the Soul*, 1767; Eng tr., 1784), which borrows its form but not its substance from Plato's dialogue of the same name. Mendelssohn was encouraged in this project by his correspondence with Thomas Abbt (1738–1760), a professor at the University of Frankfurt, about the destiny of man and the fate of the soul after death. He placed in the mouth of his Socrates arguments that he had admittedly derived from his own recent predecessors, including such thinkers as the natural theologian Hermann Samuel Reimarus and the liberal Protestant theologian Johann Joachim Spalding. Mendelssohn developed his thesis along Leibnizian lines: things that perish do not cease to exist; they are dissolved into their elements. The soul must be such an element or substance, rather than a compound, since it is the soul that imposes a unifying pattern on the diverse and changing elements of the body. Hence it is neither weakened by age nor destroyed by death. However, this line of argument demonstrates only that the soul is imperishable and not that it will retain its consciousness in a future state. This is guaranteed by the goodness of God, who could not conceivably have created rational beings only to deprive them after a brief interval "of the capacity for contemplation and happiness." Nor would God ever have aroused his rational creatures to desire eternal life had He not allotted it to them. It is, moreover, impossible to vindicate divine providence without reference to a future life. In Mendelssohn's later *Sache Gottes*, his reworking of the *Causa Dei*, Leibniz's abridgement of his Theodicy, he spelled out most clearly his principal difference with his philosophical mentor's conception of the afterlife. Unlike Leibniz, who had sought to show how most human souls were destined for eternal damnation even in the best of all possible worlds, Mendelssohn maintained that all posthumous punishments would be both corrective and temporary. Divine goodness guaranteed that every human being was destined ultimately to enjoy "the degree of happiness appropriate for him." Following Wolff, Mendelssohn affirmed that the fundamental moral imperative is a natural law obliging all rational beings to promote their own perfection and that of others. Unlike Wolff, he did not elaborate all the ramifications of this natural law. But he clearly saw perfection in much the same terms as Wolff, as an unending process of physical, moral, and intellectual development, leading naturally to the increase of human happiness. In sharp contrast to Wolff, Mendelssohn regarded liberty as an indispensable precondition of the pursuit of moral and intellectual perfection. Only a free person, he argued, can achieve moral perfection. For virtue is the result of struggle, self-overcoming, and sacrifice, and these must be freely chosen. Intellectual perfection, too, can be attained only by one who is free to err. So, in place of Wolff's tutelary state, Mendelssohn developed a contractarian political philosophy that left individuals largely free to define their own goals. Insisting above all on the inalienable liberty of conscience, he decried any state attempt to impose specific religious behavior or to discriminate against members of any minority faith.

In time Mendelssohn himself came to see weaknesses in the philosophical structure that he had once upheld unquestioningly. Confronted, toward the end of his life, by the irrationalism of F.H. Jacobi and by the new critical philosophy of Immanuel Kant, whom he called the "all-crusher," he felt compelled to acknowledge the insufficiency of rationalist metaphysics. In his fullest exposition of the philosophy to which he owed his allegiance, *Morgenstunden, oder Vorlesungen ueber das Dasein Gottes* ("Morning Hours, or Lectures on the Existence of God," 1785), he sorrowfully ceased to reaffirm its irrefutable truth. Yet, whatever speculative reason might seem to teach, he now argued, common sense still sufficed to orient people and guide them along the path to the most important truths. Just what Mendelssohn meant by common sense has been a subject of much dispute, both among his contemporaries such as Thomas Wizenmann and Kant himself and among modern scholars. But, however he conceived of this faculty, it is clear that he did not believe that it would necessarily remain humanity's last resort. For, in the "cyclical course of things," providence would no doubt cause new thinkers to arise who would restore metaphysics to its former glory.

Critic of German Literature

During the period in which his first philosophical writings appeared, Mendelssohn also began to publish critical articles in the *Bibliothek der schönen Wissenschaften und der freien Künste* (1757–60), a periodical edited by the bookseller and publisher Friedrich Nicolai (1733–1811), his closest friend after Lessing. While his first reviews were mainly concerned with philosophical works, he also took up literary criticism which was published in Nicolai's second periodical *Briefe die neueste Literatur betreffend*, behind which Mendelssohn was a moving spirit. At this time German literature, which was still in an early stage of its development, was struggling for recognition and a position in the cultural life of Germany which was dominated by Latin and French. Nicolai, Lessing, J.G. Herder, and others accomplished a kind of cultural revolution by adopting German as the language in which to express their innovative ideas. Mendelssohn became a natural ally of these writers, who did not identify with the academic and intellectual establishment, which, in turn, looked upon them, "Nicolai's sect," with contempt and suspicion. Like them, Mendelssohn was not a member of the establishment; like them, he sought to renovate his spiritual world and was distinguished for his universal humanist aspirations, which, like them, he chose to express in German. Mendelssohn found himself so much at ease in this cultural milieu that he embarked upon an offensive war in support of the use of the German language, even venturing to criticize King Frederick II himself for the publication of a book of poems in French. "Will the Germans never be aware of their own value? Will they forever exchange their gold (i.e., their basic thinking) for their neighbors' tinsel?" (i.e., French literature). The aesthetic writings of Mendelssohn attest to the supreme value which he attributed to beauty and above all to poetry. Mendelssohn's philosophic style in German was recognized by all, including Lessing, Herder, and Kant, as one of the best of his time, but his talent for poetic expression was limited, a fact which he admitted himself.

The Dispute with Lavater

Mendelssohn's longstanding effort to keep his Jewishness out of the public eye was brought to an end by Johann Caspar Lavater (1741–1801), a Swiss scholar and Lutheran clergyman renowned for his writings on human physiognomy, who challenged him to clarify his religious position. As a young man, Lavater had met Mendelssohn in Berlin (1763) and had been deeply impressed by his tolerant attitude toward Christianity, his appreciation of its moral value, and his general philosophic approach. In the summer of 1769, he translated into German a section of *La Palingénésie philosophique* by the Calvinist Charles Bonnet (1720–1793), professor of philosophy and psychology in Geneva, which to his mind had satisfactorily proved the truth of Christianity. Activated by his strong millenarian belief in the necessity of the Jews' conversion, Lavater dedicated this translation to Mendelssohn. He called upon him either to refute it publicly or "to do what wisdom, love of truth, and honor require, and what Socrates would have done had he read the treatise and found it irrefutable." Profoundly distressed by this challenge, Mendelssohn felt compelled to respond to Lavater in public, which he did in a polite and restrained but forceful manner (*Schreiben an den Herrn Diaconus Lavater zu Zürich*, 1770). Eschewing the two alternatives presented to him by his adversary, Mendelssohn instead explained why his religion and his philosophy as well as his marginal position in the world militated against his participation in interreligious polemics. The Torah, he maintained, was given solely to the people of Israel, who are therefore the only ones bound by it; all other men are only obliged to abide by the law of nature and the religion of the patriarchs embodied in the "*Noachide Laws." A religion that does not conceive of itself as the exclusive path to salvation, Judaism is devoid of any missionary tendencies, discouraging even those who seek to convert. In general, said Mendelssohn, one should not challenge other people's fundamental religious conceptions, even if they are based on error, as long as they serve as the basis for social morality and do not undermine natural law. Finally, as a Jew in a country like Prussia where the Jews enjoyed only a limited amount of freedom, Mendelssohn felt that it was advisable to abstain from religious disputes with the dominant creed. "I am a member of an oppressed people," he said. Mendelssohn thus avoided dealing with the fundamental questions posed by Lavater; he did not publicly attack Christianity nor did he provide a comprehensive philosophical rationale for his adherence to Judaism.

Far from putting an immediate end to the matter, Mendelssohn's missive evoked a new response from Lavater, in which he simultaneously apologized for his intrusiveness and persisted in his conversionary efforts. Mendelssohn, however, once again refused to take the bait and did his best to bring the dispute to an amicable conclusion. Only in his *Gegenbetrachtungen über Bonnets Palingénésie* ("Counter-reflections on Bonnet's Palingénésie"), which remained unpublished until the middle of the 19th century, and in private letters, some of which were addressed to Bonnet himself, did he lay bare his objections to Christianity and articulate a defense of Judaism. The general debate that swirled around the controversy between Lavater and Mendelssohn continued until the beginning of 1771 and resulted in the publication of a large number of booklets and pamphlets, most of them sympathetic to Mendelssohn. This confrontation nevertheless upset Mendelssohn to such an extent that for over seven years he suffered from a disease that prevented him from pursuing his philosophic studies.

Activities in the Realm of Jewish Culture

In the middle 1750s, at around the same time that his first German-language publications were seeing the light of day, Mendelssohn produced his earliest writings in Hebrew. They consisted of anonymous contributions to *Kohelet Musar* ("Preacher of Morals"), a periodical he co-edited with Tobias Bock. Although the two men managed to publish only two eight-page issues, their effort nevertheless constituted a revolutionary turning point in the development of Jewish culture. It marked the first occasion on which Jewish intellectuals attempted to introduce into their own culture an innovative form of publication then quite popular and influential in Germany, England, and elsewhere, the "moral weekly." Here some of the ideas of the moderate Enlightenment were first presented to Jewish readers in the Hebrew language known to the community's educated elite and couched in terms familiar to them. Above all, the publication by two laymen of a periodical aimed at the moral improvement of the Jewish population amounted to an unprecedented subversive measure in a world in which the rabbinical elite was acknowledged to be the absolute authority in such matters. The weekly called on the Jews to fill their lungs with the air of natural life, to observe freely the beauty of nature, to nurture their sense of aesthetics and harmony. It proclaimed their right to delight in a world that is, as Leibniz taught, the best of all possible worlds created by God. Man, "God's finest creature," is at the center of nature, and it is unthinkable that the Jew, of all people, should repress his humanistic traits. Man can discover the majesty of the Almighty and His powers by observing the creation of the great architect of the world. *Kohelet Musar's* transmission of such messages appear to have made no significant impression on the Jewish society of the 1750s but it did pave the way for the publication, decades later, of a much more influential successor, the maskilic journal *Ha-**Me'assef.*

In the decades following this abortive effort Mendelssohn's writings in the Hebrew language were limited in number. In 1761 he published a commentary on Maimonides' *Millot ha-Higgayon* ("Logical Terms") and in 1769 or 1770 he published a commentary on the biblical book of Ecclesiastes. The former volume consisted of a republication of Maimonides' introduction to logic and philosophical primer together with an introduction and commentary designed not only to clarify Maimonides' work but to bridge the distance between medieval Jewish philosophy and the regnant philosophy of Mendelssohn's own day. The latter utilized the text of Ecclesiastes to expound in a popular form an essentially Wolffian teaching with regard to two principal tenets of natural religion, providence and immortality of the soul. At the end of the introduction to this commentary, Mendelssohn announced that if it were well received he would attempt to write similar works on Job, Proverbs, and Psalms but he never carried this plan to completion.

What Mendelssohn did instead was to translate books of the Bible into German. As early as 1770, in a letter to Michaelis, he had mentioned the publication of a German translation of Psalms, which would act as a counterbalance to the translations and commentaries written in the spirit of Christianity. After laboring on this work for 13 years, he finally published it in 1783. The principal work among his biblical translations was, however, the version of the Pentateuch that accompanied the *Bi'ur*, a commentary that he and a group of his associates, including Naphtali Herz *Wessely and Herz *Homberg, collectively composed (*Bi'ur*, 1780–83; see *Bible: Translations, German). This translation began, by Mendelssohn's own account, as a project for the instruction of his sons, yet he soon recognized its general utility. In his overall introduction to it he explained that it was designed to provide the younger generation of Jewish students with an alternative to the extant Yiddish translations, which failed to do justice to the beauties of the original, and the available Christian translations, which strayed too far from the Masoretic text and traditional rabbinic interpretations of it. Elsewhere, in a private letter to his non-Jewish friend August Hennings, Mendelssohn described the translation as a "first step toward culture" for his nation. The German text of the translation was written, in accordance with the custom that prevailed among German Jews, in Hebrew characters, and the commentary, *Bi'ur*, in Hebrew. In addition to serving, as David Sorkin has put it, as "a usable digest of the medieval literalist tradition," the commentary provided Mendelssohn with a venue for the articulation of the theological views that he was soon to spell out more systematically in Jerusalem.

Despite its declared conservative aims, the translation project faced opposition from the very moment that Mendelssohn and his collaborator Solomon Dubno published a sample of their work, entitled *Alim li-Terufah* (1778). Rumors of the protestations of R. Ezekiel *Landau of Prague and actual reports of the opposition of R. Raphael Kohen of Altona soon reached Mendelssohn along with the news of a plan to excommunicate him and a campaign to organize a united rabbinical front against the *Bi'ur.* Averse to any direct confrontation with his adversaries and fully committed to the principle of free speech, Mendelssohn sought to deter any action by Rabbi Kohen not by silencing him but through behind-the-scenes maneuvers. He prevailed upon his friend August Hennings to arrange for subscriptions to the *Bi'ur* to be taken out in the name of the Danish king, Christian VII, Rabbi Kohen's sovereign. Hennings' success in this endeavor greatly enhanced the prestige of the maskilic literary project and earned it a measure of immunity from its opponents' machinations.

Immediately after its publication the *Bi'ur* was adopted as a textbook for biblical instruction at the Freischule (free school) co-founded by the brothers-in-law David *Friedlaender and Daniel Itzig. While Mendelssohn was not directly involved in the founding of this school, he nevertheless supported it and also contributed to its revolutionary new textbook, the *Lesebuch fuer jüdische Kinder* ("Reader for Jewish

Children"), in which he published a translation of Maimonides' 13 Articles of Faith. The last of Mendelssohn's biblical translations to appear in print was his translation of the Song of Songs with commentary, which was published posthumously (1788).

Activities for the Improvement of the Civic Status of the Jews

Prior to the controversy with Lavater, Mendelssohn had not campaigned for the improvement of the civic status of the Jews, but from the 1770s onward he became something of an activist on their behalf. He willingly replied to anyone who came to him for counsel or guidance, endeavoring to assist within the limits of his means any Jew who had been overtaken by misfortune or who had become embroiled in difficulties with the authorities. He also came to the aid of beleaguered Jewish communities, taking advantage of his reputation in order to request help from various renowned personages whom he had befriended. After receiving an appeal for help from the tiny Jewish community of Switzerland in 1775, he enlisted none other than Lavater in a successful effort to forestall imminent anti-Jewish measures. When the community of Dresden was threatened by an expulsion order in 1777, he prevailed upon one of the leading officials of Saxony, who ranked among his admirers, to prevent any action against it. In the same year his brief on behalf of the community of Königsberg enabled it to refute the accusation that the *Aleinu* prayer was anti-Christian and led to the abrogation of the royal edict requiring the presence of a government-appointed "supervisor" in the city's synagogue during the recitation of prayers. Yet Mendelssohn did not always see eye to eye with the people who requested his assistance. In 1772, when the duke of Mecklenburg-Schwerin issued an order to his Jewish subjects prohibiting the religious custom of immediate burial and requiring a three-day waiting period before interment, the local community called upon Mendelssohn to intercede on its behalf. He dutifully composed a memorandum to the duke in which he recommended that the Jews be permitted to maintain their existing custom as long as they obtained medical certification of death prior to burial. At the same time, he maintained in his correspondence with the Jews of Mecklenburg-Schwerin that their resistance to the duke was unwarranted, since the three-day waiting period was reasonable, prudent, and not without ancient precedent and talmudic justification. While his memorandum inspired the duke to replace his earlier edict with a regulation along the lines of his suggestion, his letter to the community met with the disapproval of the local rabbi. More importantly, it also aroused the ire of Jacob *Emden, who accused Mendelssohn of being too ready to relinquish the requirements of Jewish law and to adopt the ways of the Gentiles. Even in the face of Emden's dire warnings that he was increasingly being regarded as someone who was edging toward heresy, however, Mendelssohn did not retreat from his position on this matter.

Mendelssohn's involvement in the public debate on the civic status of the Jews commenced with a request emanating from France. Cerf Berr, the leading figure in Alsatian Jewry, asked Mendelssohn in 1780 to write a memorandum on the question of the rights of the Jews to be submitted to the French Council of State. Believing that it was Gentiles – enlightened Christians who sought an improved society – who should raise this question, Mendelssohn turned to Ch.W. von *Dohm, who participated in the composition of the memorandum and shortly thereafter wrote his *Ueber die buergerliche Verbesserung der Juden* (*Concerning the Amelioration of the Civil Status of the Jews*, 1781), which became the classic work in the struggle for Jewish emancipation. Despite his broad sympathy with the aims of this volume, Mendelssohn was not completely satisfied with it in every aspect. He expressed his reservations in his introduction to a German translation of the apologetic tract composed a century earlier by *Manasseh Ben Israel, *Vindiciae Judaeorum* (1782). Contesting Dohm's negative appraisal of the Jews' economic role, Mendelssohn insisted upon the productivity and usefulness of Jewish merchants and middlemen. He rejected Dohm's recommendation to preserve a limited judicial autonomy for the Jewish community and especially his argument that the community ought to retain the right of excommunication. According to Mendelssohn, the exercise of religious coercion of any kind was utterly unwarranted and incompatible with the spirit of "true, divine religion."

The views of Dohm and Mendelssohn aroused criticism and controversies. Among the critics was J.D. Michaelis (1717–1791), a theologian and professor of Semitic languages, who decades earlier, in his review of Lessing's play *The Jews* (1754), had denied that a Jew could exemplify a noble person. Now Michaelis argued that the Jews' anticipation of the arrival of the messiah and their return to Zion together with their burdensome laws made it impossible for them to identify completely with their host country or to fulfill civic obligations, such as military service. Mendelssohn retorted that the Jews' messianic hopes would have no influence whatsoever on their conduct as citizens and that they had in any event been expressly forbidden by the Talmud even to think of returning to Palestine on their own initiative. He brushed off concerns that the Jews would be unable to serve in the military by noting that they, no less than the Christians before them, would know "how to modify their convictions and to adjust them to their civic duty."

Mendelssohn's Jerusalem

Among the reactions to Mendelssohn's introduction was a pamphlet, published anonymously in 1782, entitled *Das Forschen nach Licht und Recht in einem Schreiben an Herrn Moses Mendelssohn auf Veranlassung seiner merkwürdigen Vorrede zu Menasseh Ben Israel* (*The Search for Light and Right, an Epistle to Moses Mendelssohn occasioned by his Remarkable Preface to Menasseh ben Israel*). Now known to have been authored by a minor writer by the name of August Friedrich Cranz, the pamphlet accused Mendelssohn of having undermined the authority of Judaism with his blanket denial of the legitimacy of any form of religious coercion. "Clearly," Cranz wrote, "ecclesiastical law armed with coercive power has always been one of the cornerstones of the Jewish religion of your fathers… How then can you, good Mr. Mendelssohn, profess attachment to the religion of your forefathers, while you are shaking its fabric, by impugning the ecclesiastical code established by Moses in consequence of divine revelation?" On this occasion, Mendelssohn felt that it was his duty to answer his critic and wrote his *Jerusalem* primarily in order to do so. But the book ranged far beyond an answer to Cranz to articulate a full-blown philosophy of Judaism, the first to be developed in modern times.

STATE AND RELIGION. In the first part of *Jerusalem* Mendelssohn expounded a political theory clarifying the grounds for his opposition to religious coercion. His account of "the origin of the rights of coercion" belonging to the state restricted such rights to the sphere of transferable goods. This does not encompass convictions, inalienable by their very nature. Hence the state can never acquire the right to make any religious demands upon its citizens, and its grant of even the smallest privilege or exclusive right to members of any particular religion is entirely devoid of legitimacy. Mendelssohn nevertheless advised the state not to intervene directly but to "see to it from afar" that such subversive doctrines as "atheism and Epicureanism" are not propagated in its midst. And he declared churches no more entitled than states to resort to coercion in matters of faith, since "a religious action is religious only to the degree to which it is performed voluntarily and with proper intent." Only after having thus reiterated and amplified his opposition to religious coercion of any kind did Mendelssohn refer to the claim of *The Search for Light and Right* that his own adherence to Judaism was incompatible with his liberal principles. Once he had restated Cranz's argument, he acknowledged that it cut him to the heart but did not hasten to refute it. He first explained more systematically and in greater detail than ever before why he remained convinced of the veracity of Judaism and what he considered to be its nature and purpose.

JUDAISM. Drawing a fundamental distinction between the supernatural revelation of a religion and supernatural legislation, Mendelssohn identified Judaism exclusively with the latter. The former, he argued, does not truly exist, since God makes known the basic truths of religion – the existence and unity of God, divine providence, and the immortality of the soul – not by disclosing them miraculously to any particular group of people but by granting all men the degree of reason required to grasp them. Revelation could not, in any case, convince any man of the validity of something his reason could not understand. Nor would a just God ever have vouchsafed the truths indispensable to human happiness to some peoples and not to others. What distinguished the people of Israel was not their religion, with which they had presumably been imbued already prior to the Sinaitic revelation, but the unique laws, statutes and commandments that were given to them on that occasion. That God spoke at Sinai is for Mendelssohn a *vérité de fait*, an established historical fact, because it was indubitably witnessed by the entire people of Israel. The best statement of the quintessence of the legislation He then revealed, according to Mendelssohn, was the one uttered by Hillel the Elder: "Love thy neighbor as thyself. This is the text of the law; all the rest is commentary." But in *Jerusalem* Mendelssohn devoted his energies much less to an elucidation of the humanitarian dimension of biblical law than to a somewhat tentative explanation of the purpose for the rituals it prescribed.

Although humankind possessed from the outset the capacity to grasp on its own the fundamental truths of natural religion, Mendelssohn wrote, it eventually descended into idolatry. To account for this corruption of religion he resorted to what was, in Alexander Altmann's opinion, "the least substantiated of all theories he ever advanced." The primary cause of the religious deterioration of humankind was, according to this theory, hieroglyphic script. Men initially employed hieroglyphic signs derived from images of animals to symbolize the deity. In the course of time, however, they fell victim to their own misunderstanding and the manipulations of unscrupulous priestly hypocrites and came to regard these signs themselves as deities, to worship them and even to offer human sacrifices to them. In response to this debasement of humankind, Mendelssohn maintained, God ordained the ceremonial law of the Pentateuch. Through its eschewal of all imagery and its concentration on actions this law avoided the hazards of hieroglyphic script. Its main purpose, however, was not prophylactic but positive – to connect vital knowledge with required practices. The ceremonial laws "guide the inquiring intelligence to divine truths, partly to eternal and partly to historical truths" upon which Judaism is founded. God gave the commandments only to Israel, but He did not do so, according to Mendelssohn, for its sake alone. Israel was to be a priestly nation, a nation that "through its laws, actions, vicissitudes, and changes was continually to call attention to sound and unadulterated ideas of God and His attributes. It was incessantly to teach, to proclaim, and to endeavor to preserve these ideas among the nations, by means of its mere existence, as it were."

At the conclusion of *Jerusalem* Mendelssohn indicated how his account of Judaism was meant to dispel the objections raised by "the Searcher after Light and Right." Composed of religious doctrines acquired by purely rational means and a revealed legislation designed to remind its practitioners of these truths as well as their own people's historical record, Judaism cannot be conceived as a religion authorizing temporal punishments for unbelievers or those who adhere to false doctrines. While it is true that the original constitution of Israel provided for a polity in which religion and state were identical and in which a "religious villain" was a criminal, this "Mosaic constitution" existed only once and has disappeared from the face of the earth. Since the destruction of the Temple in Jerusalem, religious offenses have ceased to be offenses against the state and the Jewish religion "knows of no punishment, no other penalty than the one the remorseful sinner voluntarily imposes on himself." Contemporary Judaism could thus be seen to be fully in accord with Mendelssohn's own liberal principles, even if the original "Mosaic constitution" was not.

Jerusalem evoked little response in the Jewish community. Rabbis and maskilim alike paid only very limited attention to it. In the years following its publication Mendelssohn learned to his dismay that he would find few supporters for the positions he took in *Jerusalem*. Enlightened thinkers who shared his appreciation of natural religion were alienated by his reaffirmation of revelation and his insistence on the obligatory character of the ceremonial law. The orthodox rejected his absolute denial of the right of religious institutions to wield coercive authority, and the earliest representatives of what Isaiah Berlin called the "Counter-Enlightenment" assailed the very rationalism in which his arguments were rooted.

The "Pantheism Controversy"

Mendelssohn's most consequential brush with the Counter-Enlightenment resulted not from the publication of *Jerusalem* but from his plan to produce an essay on the character of his lifelong friend, G.E. Lessing, who had died in 1781. Lessing, whose early support had been so crucial to Mendelssohn, had always been an interlocutor whom he cherished, even when they disagreed over matters of great importance, such as the views he had expressed in his *Die Erziehung des Menschengeschlechts* (*The Education of the Human Race*) on the nature of revelation and human progress. Lessing, for his part, had composed shortly before his death his famous play in support of religious toleration, *Nathan the Wise*, whose eponymous hero was unmistakably patterned after Mendelssohn himself. Upon learning in 1783 from one of his friends, Elise Reimarus, that Mendelssohn was on the brink of returning Lessing's literary favor by writing an essay extolling his deceased friend's character, Friedrich Jacobi, one of the avatars of the Counter-Enlightenment, claimed that Lessing had admitted to him during the last years of his life that he had been a Spinozist. What Jacobi wished to do was not so much to expose Lessing's clandestine heresy as to point to Lessing's intellectual evolution as evidence supporting his own general thesis that reason necessarily leads to nihilism. What he succeeded in doing was to deflect Mendelssohn from his original purpose and to force him to interpret Lessing's alleged Spinozism in a way that warded off any distressingly close association between the thought of the Enlightenment and the philosophy of a man reviled almost everywhere as an atheist. Mendelssohn's arduous efforts to do this in the face of Jacobi's relentless attacks sapped his remaining strength. A few days after he sent to his publisher his last work on this subject, *An die Freunde Lessings* ("To Lessing's Friends," 1786), he died.

Appreciation and Influence

The Leibniz/Wolffian philosophy that Mendelssohn spent a lifetime defending did not long survive his own demise. Its foundations were undermined by Immanuel Kant – a fact that Mendelssohn recognized toward the end of his life. Nor did the philosophy of Judaism that Mendelssohn outlined in the *Bi'ur*, *Jerusalem*, and elsewhere provide a satisfactory understanding of their religion for more than a few of the inquiring minds of the coming generations. Nor, finally, did Mendelssohn's efforts to win equal rights for European Jews yield any immediate results. On the other hand, there is no doubt that Mendelssohn's contribution to Jewish thought served as a reference point, focus, and challenge to later thinkers. From the standpoint of the history of modern Jewish philosophy, or the history of biblical translation and exegesis, Mendelssohn's thinking with regard to the age of emancipation and secularization are of great importance. Thus on topics such as the place of the Jewish community in the modern state, the validity of *halakhah*, the belief in divine revelation, the relations between religion and community, the question of coercion in religious matters, and the status of the commandments, Mendelssohn not only asked questions, but also proposed answers that were of great significance for modern Jewish thought. Finally, his *Bi'ur* played an incalculably large role in fostering the development of the Haskalah in Eastern Europe.

Already in his own time Mendelssohn became a legend and in the centuries after his death he became a symbolic hero or villain to Jews of very different stripes. In the 19th century Jewish historians in Germany proudly placed Mendelssohn at the threshold of a new era in the history of the Jews, cementing his image as the founding father of the Haskalah and the patron saint of Germany Jewry. They placed special emphasis on his role as the first harbinger of a favorable turning point in Gentile-Jewish relations in the European states. The deep ties of friendship between Mendelssohn and Lessing were represented as the ideal model of the longed-for future, a symbol of the respectable status and legal equality finally obtained by German Jewry nearly a century after Mendelssohn's death. Above all, this friendship represented in the eyes of German Jewish historians and thinkers the beginnings of a moderate integration of the Jews into German life, a social absorption that stopped short of complete assimilation. For Mendelssohn, as the chroniclers of his life and times correctly noted, knew how to parry all attempts to bring him over to Christianity. The writings of these historians and thinkers, for whom Mendelssohn was a cultural hero of enormous proportions, reflected the predominant image of Mendelssohn in the cultural memory of German Jewry. Mendelssohn was the Jew with whom it was easy to identify, the Jew who brought honor to Judaism, who proved that a modern Jew can simultaneously be a loyal German citizen at home in the German language and German culture and maintain his ties to the Jewish community and Jewish culture. In the eyes of many he was the prototype of the age of Jewish emancipation and integration into the middle class and served as a kind of entrance ticket into the state and society. Thus the historical Mendelssohn became a very precious resource to German Jews, who for many years had again and again to prove in the public arena their fitness to be accepted and to be treated no differently from members of the majority. Mendelssohn became the ideal representative of those who dreamed of German-Jewish relations in far-reaching terms of "symbiosis."

At the very same time that this Mendelssohn myth grew and flourished, the spokesmen of the more conservative camp in modern Jewish society developed a counter-myth. The members of this camp vigorously repudiated the ideas of change and transition in the fate of the Jews that were linked to the historical Mendelssohn and denied the necessity for breaking out of the confines of the traditional, religious Jewish way of life. They looked with alarm on the processes of modernization and dreaded a general collapse of the structure of Jewish life. The increasing focus on studies outside the realm of Torah, particularly philosophy, seemed to them to be the gateway to apostasy. In these people's eyes Mendelssohn loomed as a demonic historical figure, a destructive force responsible for all the crises of the modern era: assimilation, the demolition of the traditional community, the loss of faith, religious permissiveness, and the weakening of the authority of the rabbinical elite. They painted a picture of the past diametrically opposed to that of enlightened, liberal Jewry.

Over the years, both Mendelssohn's admirers and detractors have seen him through a similar lens: both the myth and the counter-myth assigned him the proportions of a giant possessing enormous power to set the wheels of Jewish history in motion. They identified him for better or worse as the man who represented, symbolized, and sparked all the forces of change of the modern era: Haskalah, religious reform, secularization, assimilation, and integration and the rest of the terms that generally describe the processes of modernization that have influenced the Jews over the course of the past two and a half centuries. In recent decades, however, modern scholarship on Mendelssohn has taken a more objective, balanced, and nuanced approach that has consisted of efforts to demythologize him without overlooking his importance. Mendelssohn is no longer considered to have been the founder of the Haskalah movement, which was actually initiated by the members of a younger generation, the most prominent among them being Isaac *Euchel. Scholars now view him less in emblematic terms than as a man whose life was highly complex and full of frustrations, conflicts, dreams, and disappointments.

Collected Works and Translations of Works

The Jubiläumsausgabe of Mendelssohn's collected works (Stuttgart, 1971–2004) now includes 24 volumes. English translations include *Jerusalem and other Jewish Writings* (by A. Jospe, 1969), *Moses Mendelssohn: Selections from his Writings* (E. Jospe, 1975), *Jerusalem* (by A. Arkush, 1983), *Philosophical Writings* (D. Dahlstrom, 1997).

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[Alfred Jospe and Leni Yahil / Allan Arkush and Shmuel Feiner (2nd ed.)]

MENDELSSOHN HENSEL, FANNY CAECILIE (1805–1847), pianist and composer. Born in Hamburg, the eldest of four children of Lea and Abraham Mendelssohn, she was part of a close family circle that included many intellectuals, including her grandfather, Moses *Mendelssohn. Along with her siblings, Fanny was secretly converted to Christianity by her father, Abraham, in 1816. He and his wife were baptized in 1822. The name "Bartholdy," which came from a family real estate holding, was then added to their surname to establish them as Christian and distinct from their Jewish extended family. The Mendelssohn Bartholdys distanced themselves from Judaism, but continued relationships with Jewish relatives. For them, Protestant Christianity reflected the highest levels of civilization, morality, enlightenment ideals, and toleration. Despite their conversions and dedication to German culture, the family experienced antisemitism at many levels.

Fanny was well educated. In 1820 she and her brother Felix *Mendelssohn, also a child prodigy, were admitted to the Sing-Akademie in Berlin under C.F. Zelter. While Fanny Mendelssohn displayed extraordinary musical talents, her professional ambitions were not encouraged. Although she and Felix both studied composition with Zelter, Fanny was always told that her future was to be a wife and mother. Felix, with whom she had a complex relationship, delighted in her musical compositions but discouraged their publication. Fanny advised Felix on his compositions and greatly aided him on various projects. The siblings had an important musical collaboration throughout their lives that has only recently been recognized.

Fanny met the artist Wilhem Hensel, the son of a Lutheran pastor, when she was 15. Despite her mother's objections, they married in 1829 and had one child, Sebastian, in 1832. Her husband encouraged not only her piano playing but her composition and conducting.

Fanny composed lieder, cantatas, and instrumental works for her own family and friends' entertainment. According to the fashion in Berlin, she held musical salons, *Sonntagsmusik,* at her family home, where she performed, conducted, and gave life to some of her own music. Over the years, her series grew in reputation and Berlin society, nobility, and famous personalities such as Franz Liszt attended and admired the skills of Frau Hensel.

In 1846, Mendelssohn composed her masterpiece, the *Trio in D Minor for Piano, Violin and Cello,* and in that same year, with Felix's blessing, she published *Sechs Lieder,* Opus 1 (1846) and *Vier Lieder fuer das Pianoforte*, Opus 2 (1846). The following year she continued to release compositions, some of her *Gartenlieder: Sechs Gesange fuer Sopran, Alto, Tenor und Bass*, Opus 3 (1847), *Six Melodies for Piano*, Opus 4, no. 1–3 and Opus 5, no. 4–6 (1847). Additional works were published posthumously but most of Mendelssohn's over 500 compositions remain unpublished. Those that were encountered skepticism, as it was then considered impossible for a woman to have the creative power to compose music with any depth. Fanny Mendelssohn died suddenly of a stroke while rehearsing for a concert. She had completed her last composition, *Bergeslust* (Mountain Pleasure), just the day before.

[Judith S. Pinnolis (2nd ed.)]

MENDELSSOHN-VEIT-SCHLEGEL, DOROTHEA (1764–1839), woman of letters and convert to Christianity. Born in Berlin, as Brendel, Dorothea was the eldest daughter of Fromet and Moses *Mendelssohn. She was taught German, French, music, and drawing, but seems not to have received a thorough Jewish education. Her friendship circle of Jewish girls included the future *salon hosts Rahel Levin *Varnhagen and Henriette de Lemos *Herz. Dorothea's parents arranged her engagement with Simon Veit, son of a prominent Berlin family, when she was 14 and the couple married in 1783. Two of their four children, Jonas and Philipp, survived to adulthood. Moses Mendelssohn died in 1786 believing his daughter was happily married.

During the 1790s, Brendel began to call herself Dorothea; she socialized with Christian intellectuals, hosting a reading club and joining a secret society. In 1797, Dorothea fell in love with Friedrich Schlegel (1772–1829), an up-and-coming literary critic, and after much introspection, she left her husband. When they were officially divorced in 1799, she received custody of Philipp. With her divorce Dorothea forfeited her right to live in Berlin; she became estranged from her Mendelssohn siblings, and lost many of her Christian friends. For years she led a peripatetic life with Schlegel, roaming from Jena to Paris to Vienna to Rome and back again to Vienna, where their home became a social and intellectual center.

In 1804, Dorothea became a Protestant and the couple married; four years later both she and Friedrich became Catholics. Although Dorothea's exit from Judaism was particularly stormy, ultimately four of the six Mendelssohn siblings became Christians, two of them Catholics and two of them Protestants. Neither of the siblings who remained Jewish was involved in Jewish institutions or causes.

Dorothea and Friedrich were often impoverished, and she did her part to support them by editing his work, publishing a novel, *Florentin* (1801), and editing and translating medieval texts. All of her work was published under her husband's name. Her novel has been edited by L. Weissberg (*Florentin. Roman, Fragmente, Varianten* (1987)). The Schlegels' letters have been edited by E. Behler (*Briefe von und an Friedrich und Dorothea Schlegel* [1980]). Schlegel's two sons with Veit also became committed Catholics and flourished in Rome as painters in the Nazarene style. After Friedrich died in 1829, Dorothea made peace with her Mendelssohn siblings and they provided financial support during her decade as a widow.

Scholars continue to ponder the significance of Dorothea Mendelssohn-Veit-Schlegel's life, trying to understand her attitude to Judaism and the motives for her two conversions. Her dramatic life journey demonstrates that Moses Mendelssohn's important Enlightenment legacy did not pass easily to his own children in a time and a place when baptism offered many attractions for bright and ambitious young Jews.

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[Deborah Hertz (2nd ed.)]

MENDES (**Mendiz**), family of rabbis and merchants in *Morocco and *Algeria of Spanish-Portuguese origin. JOSEPH MENDES (mid-16th century) was rabbi of the community of Spanish exiles (Heb., *megorashim*) in *Fez and a signatory of its *takkanot*. GIDEON (late 17–early 18th century), a merchant of *Amsterdam, served as consul of the Netherlands in Salé from 1703 and was active in promoting commerce and negotiating treaties with Morocco. His son JOSHUA was a merchant in Salé and in Amsterdam. A contemporary R. ISAAC was a rabbi and an international merchant in *Agadir and spent time in London trading with European countries. His son JACOB remained in Agadir and one of his daughters married the rabbi and thinker Khalifa b. *Malca.

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MENDES (**Mendez**), family in England of Marrano origin. FERNANDO MOSES MENDES (1647–1724), a Marrano physician, arrived in London in 1669 and practiced there, in 1678 becoming court physician to Queen Catherine (the story that he arrived as physician to Catherine of Braganza, wife of Charles II, is due to a confusion with Antonio Mendes, who attended her on her return to Portugal in 1692 (see JHSET, 16 (1952), 226–7)). His wife was a professing Jew, but his reluctance to declare himself a Jew caused anger and distress among his wealthy relatives. He attended Charles II during his last illness and was highly respected. He remained a Catholic, although he was close to London's Sephardi community. His daughter CATHERINE (Rachel) (1679–1756), who married her cousin Anthony (Moses) da Costa, was the first known Anglo-Jewish portrait painter. Fernando's grandson, MOSES MENDES (c. 1690–1758), amassed a fortune as a stockjobber. Baptized and married to a gentile, he acquired a reputation as a successful dramatist and wit. His musical entertainment *The Chaplet* (London 1749, 1753, 1756) was the earliest published contribution of a Jew to English belles lettres, while his farce *The Double Disappointment* was presented at Covent Garden theater in 1760. His sons took their mother's name, Head, and the family passed out of Anglo-Jewish history, though achieving some prominence in English life; Moses' grandson, SIR FRANCIS BOND HEAD (1793–1875), for example, became lieutenant governor of Upper Canada. A kinsman of Moses, SOLOMON MENDES (d. 1762), was a patron and associate of writers.

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[Vivian David Lipman]

MENDES, U.S. Sephardi family of rabbis. FREDERIC DE SOLA MENDES (1850–1927) was born in Montego Bay, Jamaica, where his father, ABRAHAM PEREIRA MENDES (1825–1893), was at that time rabbi. Frederic became preacher at the New Synagogue, London, in 1873 but in the same year was appointed to Congregation Shaarey Tefillah, New York. He served there for 47 years, as assistant to S.M. *Isaacs (to 1877) and then as rabbi (to 1920). Mendes led his congregation within the orbit of Reform and became a member of the Central Conference of American Rabbis. He was one of the founders of the *American Hebrew* (1879) and served as a member of the original editorial board of the Jewish Publication Society's English translation of the Bible. For a period he was an editor of the *Jewish Encyclopedia*. Frederic's brother HENRY PEREIRA MENDES (1852–1937) was born in Birmingham, England. In his early youth he was educated at Northwick College, a boarding school founded by his father in London which offered a combination of religious and secular education. Henry studied at University College, London, and took the medical degree at the University of the City of New York. Henry served as rabbi to the new Sephardi congregation of Manchester from 1874 to 1877 and then immigrated to New York to take up his post as *ḥazzan* and rabbi at Shearith Israel congregation, serving there until 1923. Championing an enlightened modern Orthodoxy, Mendes used his privileged position as rabbi at Shearith Israel to work closely with all sectarian and social elements in Jewish life. In facing the problems affecting Jewry, he followed his belief in *kelal Yisrael* ("the totality of Israel"). He was one of the founders and leaders of the Union of Orthodox Congregations of America, the Jewish Theological Seminary, the New York Board of Jewish Ministers, and – at the personal request of Theodor Herzl –the Federation of American Zionists. He was a prolific writer on Jewish and general themes for the *American Hebrew*, which he and his brother helped establish, and wrote scores of books and pamphlets. Some of his better-known books are *Looking Ahead* (1899), *Bar Mitzvah* (1938), *Esther and Harbonah* (1917), *Jewish Religion Ethically Presented* (1905), *Jewish History Ethically Presented* (1898), *Mekor Ḥayyim: Mourners Handbook* (1915), and *Derekh Ḥayyim: Way of life* (1934).

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[Sefton D. Temkin and Eugene Markovitz]

°**MENDES, ARISTIDES DE SOUSA** (1895–1964), Portuguese diplomat and Righteous Among the Nations. Born into an aristocratic Portuguese family, Mendes chose a diplomatic career for himself. After filling posts in various capitals (including the United States and Europe), he was posted to Bordeaux, France, as the Portuguese consul-general. In May 1940, with the onset of the German invasion of France and the Low Countries, thousands of refugees, among them many Jews, headed for Bordeaux, hoping to cross into Spain in advance of the conquering German army and continue via Portugal to lands across the Atlantic Ocean. At this critical juncture, the Portuguese government, headed by dictator Antonio Salazar (who also filled in as foreign minister), forbade the issuance of Portuguese transit visas to all refugees, and particularly to Jews. This virtually also closed the Spanish border to the refugees. Against the grim background of France on the verge of collapse, and with the Germans within striking distance of Bordeaux, in mid-June 1940 Consul-General Mendes came face to face with Rabbi Haim Kruger, one of the fleeing Jews, who pressured him to urgently issue Portuguese transit visas. Rabbi Kruger rejected Mendes' initial offer to issue visas only to the rabbi and his family, insisting that visas also be issued to the thousands of Jews stranded on the streets of the city. After several days of further reflection, Mendes reversed himself and decided to grant visas to all persons requesting them. "I sat with him a full day without food and sleep and helped him stamp thousands of passports with Portuguese visas," Rabbi Kruger related. To his staff, Mendes explained: "My government has denied all applications for visas to any refugees. But I cannot allow these people to die. Many are Jews and our constitution says that the religion, or politics, of a foreigner shall not be used to deny him refuge in Portugal. I have decided to follow this principle. I am going to issue a visa to anyone who asks for it – regardless of whether or not he can pay.… Even if I am dismissed, I can only act as a Christian, as my conscience tells me." The Portuguese government dispatched two emissaries to bring the insubordinate diplomat home. On their way to the Spanish border, the entourage stopped at the Portuguese consulate in Bayonne. Here too, Mendes, still the official representative of his country for this region, issued visas to fleeing Jewish refugees, again in violation of instructions from Lisbon. It is estimated that the number of visas issued by Mendes ran into the thousands. To his aides, he said: "My desire is to be with God against man, rather than with man against God." Upon his return to Portugal, Mendes was summarily dismissed from the diplomatic service and a disciplinary board also ordered the suspension of all retirement and severance benefits. He countered with appeals to the government, the Supreme Court, and the National Assembly for a new hearing of his case – but to no avail. After his dismissal, Mendes reportedly told Rabbi Kruger (whom he met again in Lisbon): "If thousands of Jews can suffer because of one Catholic (i.e., Hitler), then surely it is permitted for one Catholic to suffer for so many Jews." He added: "I could not have acted otherwise, and I therefore accept all that has befallen me with love." Bereft of any income, and with a family of 13 children to feed, Mendes was forced to sell his estate in Cabanas de Viriato. When he died in 1954, he had been reduced to poverty. Two of his children were helped by the Jewish welfare organization HIAS to relocate to the United States. In 1966, Mendes was posthumously awarded the title of Righteous Among the Nations by Yad Vashem. After much pressure from private individuals and organizations, in March 1988 Aristides de Sousa Mendes was officially restored to the diplomatic corps by the unanimous vote of the Portuguese National Assembly, and the government thereafter ordered damages to be paid to his family.

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[Mordecai Paldiel (2nd ed.)]

MENDÈS, CATULLE (1841–1909), French poet. Mendès was born in Bordeaux. His father was a banker of Sephardi origin and his mother a Catholic. At the age of 18 he went to Paris, where in 1861 he founded *La Revue fantaisiste* – the first of several journals issued by the French Parnassian poets. It stressed their anti-utilitarianism and their devotion to art. He also contributed to the serialized anthology *Le Parnasse contemporain* (1866–76), which he later described in *La Légende du Parnasse contemporain* (1884). A versatile, "decadent" poet, Mendès had a prolific output – some 150 volumes over four decades. They include verse collections – *Poésies* (3 vols., 1892), *Poésies nouvelles* (1893), and *Choix de poésies* (1925); neo-Romantic plays such as *La Femme de Tabarin* (1887), *Médée* (1898), and *La Reine Fiammette* (1899); and several novels, notably *Monstres parisiens* (1882), *Les Folies amoureuses* (1877), and *Zohar* (1886). Mendès also wrote short stories; a study of Richard *Wagner, of whose music he was the French champion; and, in collaboration with the lyric poet Ephraïm *Mikhaël, the dramatic poem *Briséis* (1899). The *Rapport sur le mouvement poétique français 1867–1900* (1902) reveals considerable critical insight. Mendès, who married the daughter of the poet Théophile Gautier (1811–1872), was killed in a railroad accident.

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[Sidney D. Braun]

MENDES, DIOGO (b. before 1492–D.C. 1542), Marrano merchant, born in Spain, and descended from the *Benveniste family. With his brother Francisco (d. 1536), he established a business in spices and precious stones. He settled in *Antwerp, and on his brother's death was joined there by the latter's widow, later Gracia *Nasi. Mendes became a magnate in the spice trade and made large-scale loans to the governments of the Low Countries, Portugal, and England. Taking advantage of a network of factors and agents throughout Europe, he organized an "underground railway" to facilitate the flight of Marranos from Portugal, via the Low Countries (and sometimes England) to Italy and Turkey. In 1535, he and his sister-in-law, Gracia Nasi, headed the group of *New Christians who sought the help of the papal nuncio to stop the activity of the *Inquisition in Portugal. Arrested in 1532 on a charge of Judaizing, Mendes managed to exculpate himself, but after his death in Antwerp, the same charge led to the sequestration of his property.

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[Cecil Roth]

MENDES, SAM (1965–), U.S. stage and film director. Samuel Alexander Mendes was born in Reading, Berkshire, England, the son of Sephardic Jewish parents born on the Caribbean island nation of Trinidad. His father was the son of the writer Alfred Mendes, author of the novel *Black Fauns*, and part of the group around C.L.R. James and Albert Gomes which produced the literary magazine *Beacon* in the early 1930s. Mendes' secondary education was at Magdalen College School, Oxford, and he later earned a degree from the University of Cambridge.

As a stage director, Mendes became known for his 1998 production of *Cabaret* starring Alan Cumming, in which he boldly reinvented the noirish musical, achieving a long-running hit in London and on Broadway. The Broadway production garnered four Tony awards, three Drama Desk awards, and other honors. As a film director he is best known for his debut film, *American Beauty*, for which he won an Academy Award for best director in 2000 and awards as best director from virtually every professional film organization.

Mendes got his start in the theater following his graduation from Cambridge in 1987 when he joined the Chichester Festival Theater. Soon after he directed Dame Judi Dench in *The Cherry Orchard*, which brought him a Critics' Circle award for best newcomer. He joined the Royal Shakespeare Company in 1990, where he directed such productions as *Troilus and Cressida* with Ralph Fiennes, *Richard III*, and *The Tempest*. In 1992 Mendes became artistic director of the reopened Donmar Warehouse in London, where he directed many award-winning productions. During his tenure he won Olivier awards for best director for *Cabaret, The Glass Menagerie*, and *Company*. He also directed *The Sea* and *The Plough and the Stars*, both with Judi Dench, *The Birthday Party*, and *Othello*, for which he received another Olivier award. In 1998 he directed Nicole Kidman on Broadway in *The Blue Room*.

Among his other films are *The Road to Perdition* (2002), *Jarhead* (2005), and *The Kite Runner* (2006).

In 2000 Mendes was named a Commander of the British Empire.

[Stewart Kampel (2nd ed.)]

MENDÈS-FRANCE, PIERRE (1907–1982), French statesman. Born and educated in Paris, his university thesis *Le Redressement Financier Francais en 1926 et 1927* (1928) attracted considerable attention and his later study, *L'Oeuvre financière du gouvernement Poincaré* (1928) was used as propaganda by the left-wing parties and made Mendès-France one of the leading financial experts of the Radical party.

At the age of 16 Mendès-France joined the Radical Socialist Party and in 1932 was elected to the National Assembly, being its youngest member. In the same year he outlined an economic program for the party which was accepted at its conference at Toulouse. He supported the Popular Front government of 1936–38 and in 1938 was an undersecretary to the treasury. An advocate of resistance to the Nazis even before World War II, Mendès-France organized an opposition to the Vichy government after the fall of France and was imprisoned by the Pétain government. He escaped to England in 1941 and joined the Free Fench under General De Gaulle who later made him finance commissioner of Algeria. From 1944 to 1945 he was minister of economic affairs and in 1946 he was appointed French governor of the Bank for Reconstruction and Development. In the same year he returned to parliament and in 1954, after a series of cabinet crises, became prime minister with a huge majority of 419 out of 617 deputies.

As premier, Mendès-France offered France a "new deal," promising to end the Indochina war, tackle the problems of European defense, and enact wide-reaching economic reforms. His prestige rose considerably when he ended the war and introduced the plan for a Western European Defense Community with a British military commitment for the defense of Europe. In February 1955 he was defeated over his North Africa policy to grant independence to Morocco and Tunisia and resigned. From January to May 1956 Mendès-France was minister without portfolio but resigned following disagreement with the prime minister, Guy Mollet, on the Algerian policy. He remained an important figure in French politics and frequently opposed De Gaulle's policies. In 1968, he formed a new party, the Parti Socialiste Unifié, which he headed. Mendès-France was a consistent supporter of Zionism and outspoken in his championship of the cause of Israel. He was an ascetic in his private life and once aroused controversy when he urged Frenchmen to abandon their wine drinking for milk, his favorite beverage. He wrote extensively on politics and finance. His books are widely read and some have been translated into other languages. They include: *La Banque Internationale* (1930); *Liberté, Liberté Chérie* (1943; *The Pursuit of Freedom*, 1956); *Gouverner c'est choisir* (3 vols., 1953–58); and *La République moderne* (1962; *A Modern French Republic*, 1963).

[Moshe Rosetti]

MENDLOWITZ, SHRAGA FEIVEL (1886–1948), *rosh yeshivah*, U.S. educator, and Orthodox Jewish leader. Mendlowitz was born in Vilag, Austria-Hungary, on the Polish border. His mother died when he was 10, and he and his father moved to Rimanov. By the time he was 12, he was studying with Reb Aaron, *dayyan* of Mezo-Laboretz, who considered him his top pupil. At 16 he studied with the rabbi of Chust, Moses Greenwald, and at 17 he moved to Unsdorf to study with Rabbi Samuel Rosenberg, author of the *Be'er Shemuel*, who became his role model. He then transferred to the yeshivah in Pressburg, where he studied with R. Simḥah Bunem Schreiber, a grandson of the Ḥatam Sofer.

In 1913, he left his family behind and moved to the United States. Known as a man who inspired his students, he served as a teacher-principal in the *talmud torah* of Scranton, Pennsylvania, for seven years. He returned to Europe after World War I to bring his family to Scranton. In 1920, he moved his family to Williamsburg, Brooklyn, in New York City. In 1921, he was engaged as the principal of Yeshiva Torah Vodaath (founded in 1917), one of only four yeshivahs in the city. He switched from Hebrew to Yiddish as the language of instruction and in 1926 opened a high school.

In 1923, Mendlowitz and the *ḥazzan* Yossele *Rosenblatt produced *Dos Yiddishe Licht.* Filled with comments and inspiring articles, it started as a weekly, became a daily, and folded in 1927. Mendlowitz was also one of the first people to insist on *meḥiẓot* at Jewish weddings in America, and spoke out against dancing and mixed swimming, which were all accepted practices in those days.

He later organized a high school for secular studies under the auspices of the yeshivah, the second such school in the United States, after consulting with leading European rabbis. Mendlowitz also was happy to send Torah Vodaath students to other institutions of higher Jewish learning. In 1941, he set up a school in Spring Valley, New York, which was later to serve as a **kolel* for the graduates of Yeshiva Torah Vodaath. A committed member of the Agudat Israel World Organization, he became vice president in 1938 and personally raised large sums of money for the Ẓe'irei Agudah's rescue programs during the war. In 1944, he founded *Torah Umesorah, a national society for Orthodox Hebrew day schools with Rabbi Reuven Grozovsky. His son-in-law, Rabbi Alexander Linchner, founded Boy's Town Jerusalem and Merom Zion Institute as a result of Mendlowitz's dying wish that something be done for Ereẓ Israel.

[Jeanette Friedman (2nd ed.)]

MENDOZA, province in Argentina and capital city of the province.

The Province

According to data of Vaad Hakehilot as of 2005 there were some 550 families in the capital city of Mendoza and some 30–40 families in San Rafael, out of a total population in the province of about 1,579,651 (2001). Jews had settled in the province as agriculturists and plantation owners by the end of the 1880s. In 1904–05 Jews from Yekaterinoslav attempted to settle in Palmira, but after a short time found they could not meet the difficult terms of their settlement contract and were compelled to leave. A similar attempt to settle there in 1913 likewise failed. In 1943 there were Jews in 24 out of the 123 towns and villages in the province. In 1964 only San Martín, San Rafael, and the capital city of the province, Mendoza, had organized Jewish communities affiliated with the Va'ad ha-Kehillot (see *Argentina). The province is well known for its grapevines and since 1952 there has been industrial production of strictly kosher wine.

The City

In 1909 there were some 600 Jews in the city – approximately 500 from Eastern Europe and the remainder from France and Sephardim. The first community organization, Sociedad Israelita de Beneficencia, was established in 1910, and continues to function. Its membership in 1968 was 577 families. The Sociedad, which comprises the Ashkenazim of Mendoza, owns a large community building, a synagogue, and a cemetery, and plays an important role in the operation of all Jewish institutions in the city. In 1918 a Sephardi community – the Sociedad Israelita de Socorros Mutuos – was established. In 1943 it comprised about 60 families and has come to maintain its own synagogue and cemetery. The Sephardi and Ashkenazi organizations, however, cooperate in running the school, the Maccabi Social Club, and the country club (purchased in 1954).

Various welfare institutions were established in the city but they became superfluous and no longer exist. The financial institution Asociación Israelita de Crédito Mutual has become the Jewish bank Crédito de Cuyo with branches in other provinces. The bank and the Ashkenazi community cooperated in financing the erection of the Max Nordau Jewish School, which in 1968 had an enrollment of 277 students in kindergarten, elementary school, and high school. Local committees of the Jewish National Fund and of the United Jewish Appeal are active in Mendoza as well as the local committee of *DAIA, the umbrella organization of Argentinean Jewry. There formerly existed in Mendoza a pro-Communist group whose number was estimated in 1966 at 80 families; it maintained its own committee and a school, "I.L. Peretz." The majority of Jews in Mendoza are engaged in business and some own vineyards and fruit plantations. Jewish participation in the liberal professions and in the local university has been increasing.

[Daniel Benito Rubinstein Novick]

MENDOZA, DANIEL (1764–1836), English boxing champion. Born in Aldgate, London, Mendoza learned at a young age to defend himself with his fists. In 1780 he won his first professional fight. A natural middleweight, Mendoza became the father of scientific boxing by devising defensive moves that enabled him to fight against much heavier opponents. His ring success brought him to the attention of the Prince of Wales and he became the first boxer to receive royal patronage. Mendoza's ascendancy to boxing heights, and his acceptance by royalty, helped ease the position of the Jew in the English community. He proudly billed himself as "Mendoza the Jew." He opened his own boxing academy and became a teacher. He went on tour and gave boxing exhibitions in England, Wales, Scotland, and Ireland. Mendoza lost the title of English Champion to John Jackson on a ninth-round knockout on April 15, 1795. He wrote *The Art of Boxing* (London, 1789) and *The Memoirs of the Life of Daniel Mendoza* (London, 1816). In 1954 Mendoza was one of the inaugural group chosen for the Boxing Hall of Fame in the United States.

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[Jesse Harold Silver]

MENE, MENE, TEKEL, U-FARSIN, enigmatic inscription referred to in *Daniel 5:25, which appeared on a wall, written by a detached hand. The narrative in Daniel 5:1ff. relates that King *Belshazzar of Babylonia made a feast for 1,000 of his lords, wives, and concubines. During the feast, wine was drunk from the vessels which had been taken out of the Temple in Jerusalem, and the guests at the feast praised (or perhaps sang to – the Aramaic *shabbaḥ le-* can mean either) the gods of gold and silver, bronze, iron, wood, and stone. Suddenly, the fingers of a man's hand appeared and were seen writing something on the wall of the king's palace. The king became alarmed and summoned all his wise men, but they were unable to read or interpret the writing. The queen then suggested that Daniel, a sage whom Nebuchadnezzar used to consult and found matchless, be brought before the king. Daniel was summoned to Belshazzar. After rebuking the king for his arrogance toward the Lord, for drinking wine from the holy Temple's vessels, and for worshiping man-made gods, Daniel read and interpreted the writing as follows: *mene, mene, tekel* (*teqel*), and *parsin*. *Mene*: God has numbered (*menah*) the days of your kingdom and will bring it to an end; *tekel*: you have been weighed (*teqilta*) in the balance and found wanting; *parsin*: your kingdom has been divided (*prisat*) and given over to the Medes and Persians (*Paras*).

The narrative presents four basic problems. The first question concerns the actual designation of the words *mene, mene, tekel*, and *parsin*. C. Clermont-Ganneau was the first to suggest that the words refer to weights of monetary units. Thus, *mene* (Aramaic *mene*; Heb. *maneh*) is a mina; *tekel* (Aram. *teqel*; Heb. *shekel*) is the shekel; and *u-farsin* (of which the *u* is simply the copulative) is two half-minas. The word פרש has been found on half-mina weights in bilingual Aramaic-Akkadian inscriptions and also occurs in the Talmud (Aramaic *peras*) in the sense of a half-mina. Most scholars have accepted Clermont-Ganneau's explanation of the words and at most add that the first *mene*, unlike the second (5:15), is the Aramaic passive participle (equivalent to the Heb. *manui*, "counted") and is to be read as, "it was counted: *mene, tekel* and *parsin*."

The second question to be asked is why the characters of the inscription baffled the Chaldeans, who should have been able to read easily a few simple Aramaic words. The narrative clearly indicates that the wise men could not decipher the writing, as the king promised a great reward for the man who read the writing (5:7). Daniel solved the riddle by first reading the script; only afterward did he explain it (5:25ff.). Talmudic sages suggest that the letters of the inscription were written in reverse order or in accordance with the *Atbash* (see **Gematria*) sequence (Sanh. 22a). A. Alt proposes that only the initials and not the whole words were written, and he bases his view on the premise that it can be corroborated from archaeological evidence that names of weights were often designated by initials only; Aramaic contracts from the fifth century B.C.E. attest to this practice. Alt, therefore, assumes that what was written were the initials *MMTPP* (ממתפ״פ). H.L. Ginsberg points out that in the Aramaic contracts the word *tekel* is generally written *shkl* and abbreviated as *sh*, and it is possible that even after the more modern spelling *tkl* was adopted, the abbreviation *sh* was retained. Therefore the legend on the wall may have been not *MMTPP* but *MM Sh. PP*, which made it harder for the king's regular sages to recognize it as a series of abbreviations. Daniel, however, realized that the letter *shin* was the initial of the obsolete spelling *shkl*, for *tekel*, and so he read for the two *mem's* – *mene mene*, for the *shin* – *tekel*, and for the two *pe's* – *parsin*.

A third problem is the variance between the written version on the wall (5:25): *mene, mene, tekel*, and *parsin* and the words in Daniel's version: *mene, mene, tekel* and *peras* (5:26ff.). Most ancient versions (Vulg., Theod., and Jos., Ant., 10:239ff.) give the written version (verse 25) also as *mene, tekel, peras*. Since, however, Daniel interprets the last expression as meaning both *perisat* and *paras*, the Masoretic Text's version of verse 25 can be upheld, and the reading in verses 26 and 28 could be the result of haplography. The doubling of the word *mene* at the beginning, Ginsberg believes, was suggested by the doubling of *nafelah*, "fallen," in Isaiah 21:9, "Fallen, fallen is Babylon."

The fourth and last problem is concerned with what the words actually refer to. These words were probably used not only to indicate monetary values but also to express estimates of character. Thus, these words presumably referred to a situation of degeneration. God has weighed the kings of Babylon and has found them to be steadily decreasing in weight. P. Haupt and J.D. Prince hold that the phrase refers to Nebuchadnezzar (*mene*), Belshazzar (*tekel*), the Medes (*peres*, a half-*mene*, i.e., half the greatness of Nebuchadnezzar) and the Persians (*peres*, a half-*mene*, i.e.; half the greatness of Nebuchadnezzar). E.G. Kraeling believes that the phrase was applied to the occupants of the neo-Babylonian throne after Nebuchadnezzar: Awêl-Marduk (Evil-Merodach), Labâshi-Marduk, Nabonidus, and Belshazzar.

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[Daniel Boyarin and Moshe Zeidner]

MENELAUS (d. c. 162 B.C.E.), high priest in the time of Antiochus Epiphanes. Menelaus was the brother of Simeon and Lysimachus, both mentioned in II Maccabees. According to II Maccabees 3:4, Simeon and Menelaus belonged to the tribe of Benjamin, and Simeon did not therefore belong to a priestly family. This raises a difficulty and attempts have been made to amend the text, or to suggest that he belonged to a priestly family named Benjamin or Miamin (cf. I Chron. 4:24). It seems preferable to accept the reading found in some Latin manuscripts which reads "Bilgah" instead of Benjamin. Bilgah was the name of one of the priestly divisions (I Chron. 24:14) and probably Menelaus and his brothers belonged to it. The statement of Josephus (Ant., 12:238–9) that Menelaus was a brother of *Jason and a son of *Onias III, is certainly erroneous. Merelaus was one of the leaders of the Hellenists and one of the extremists among them. When sent by the high priest Jason to Antiochus Epiphanes, he intrigued against his principal, bribed Antiochus and received from him appointment as high priest (II Macc. 4:23–24). At the beginning of his tenure of office he plundered the Temple of its gold vessels (*ibid.*, 4:32). He also instigated the murder of Onias III (*ibid.*, 4:34). His appointment and policy aroused the opposition of the people and caused uprisings and disturbances. Jason attempted to seize the high priesthood back from him, but Menelaus succeeded in retaining power, chiefly with the assistance of the Syrians. He remained loyal to Antiochus and sent him large amounts of money. As leader of the Hellenists he must be considered responsible to a great extent for the persecution of Antiochus (see Bickermann in bibl.; cf. II Macc. 13:4). It seems, however, that later, when it became clear that this policy brought no advantage to the Hellenists, he was partly responsible for the more conciliatory policy of Antiochus Epiphanes (164 B.C.E.; II Macc. 11:29). Later he lost favor in the court of the Seleucids and on the advice of Lysias was put to death (apparently in 162 B.C.E.).

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[Uriel Rappaport]

MENES, ABRAM (1897–1969), historian. Born in Grodno, Poland, Menes became engrossed in the problems of socialism early in his youth; at the age of 20 he founded an illegal *Bund branch in Grodno, which engaged in educational work and the distribution of illegal socialist literature. After World War I he devoted himself to public affairs, becoming the vice chairman of the Grodno Jewish community. After moving to Berlin in 1920, where he studied Jewish history and Bible, Menes, together with Nahum *Shtif and E. *Tcherikower, laid the foundations of *YIVO (the Institute of Jewish Research). In 1933 he moved to Paris, and became one of the leading contributors to the *Yiddish Encyclopedia*, writing on a wide range of historical subjects. He continued his work on the editorial board of the encyclopedia even after settling in the U.S. (1940), where he also joined the staff of the Yiddish daily *Forward*.

Menes' main area of interest in Jewish history was its economic and social aspects. Articles on these subjects, covering the talmudic period as well as late 19th-century Russian Jewry, appeared in YIVO's historical publications. Together with Raphael *Abramowitz, Menes wrote *Leyenbukh tsu der Geshikhte fun Yisroel* ("A Layman's History of Israel," 1923). Another favorite topic of his was the history of the Jewish Workers Movement and of socialism: *Der Onhoyb fun der Yidisher Arbeter-Bavegung un ir Shoyresh in Yidishen Folks Lebn*, published in the *Zukunft* (40 (1935), 539–44), is an investigation into the problems of socialism, in general, and in particular among the Jews. His essays on significant events in Jewish history, in both the preexilic and postexilic periods, were published in *Oyfn Sheydveg*, an independent publication of Jewish culture, art and literature, and cultural philosophy, edited by E. Tcherikower and I. Efroikin. These essays mark a turning point in Menes' approach to Jewish history: "The time has come to amend Heine's youthful error and to replace 'le credit' with 'la religion' – the belief in man with the belief in God." Mention should also be made of his contribution, "Jewish History," to the volume "Jews" in the *Yiddish Encyclopedia*, in which he wrote on the biblical and talmudic periods. His articles in the *Forward* dealt to a large extent with Jewish holidays. His writings on the problems of methodology in Jewish history are of significance to scholars in the field.

Menes' writings on Jewish ethics, sociology, and philosophy continued to be based on the principle that "there can be no faith in man without a feeling of sanctity." Jacob Glatstein described Menes as a historian "who has introduced a new evaluation of Jewish history."

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[Israel Ch. Biletzky]

°**MENGELE, JOSEF** (1911–1978), doctor of the Auschwitz extermination camp. Born in Guenzburg, Germany, he studied medicine and anthropology at the University of Munich, the University of Vienna, and the University of Bonn. At Munich he obtained a doctorate in anthropology (Ph.D.) with a dissertation in 1935 on racial differences in the structure of the lower jaw, supervised by Prof. Theodor Mollison. After his exams he went to Frankfurt, working as an assistant to Otmar von Verschuer at the Frankfurt University Institute of Hereditary Biology and Racial Hygiene. In 1938 he obtained a doctorate in medicine (M.D.) with a dissertation called "Familial Research on Cleft Lip, Palate and Jaw." (He was deprived of both academic degrees in 1961 and 1964, respectively.) Declared medically unfit to serve at the front in World War II, he was, at his own request, appointed doctor of the Auschwitz camp where, from 1943 to 1945, he initiated a series of cruel "medical" experiments which caused the death of many Jewish inmates. To perfect the master race he studied twins to see if the breeding of the German people could be improved and two members of the race could be obtained in a single pregnancy. He studied dwarfs and other abnormalities, in his mind to protect the German people and improve the species. And while he was experimenting, he could be kind and generous to those who were specimens for his lab. He dreamed of scholarly prominence. He participated in the selection of tens of thousands of prisoners in the Birkenau camp (see *Auschwitz), whom he consigned to die in the gas chambers. The figure of Mengele decreeing life or death by a flick of his finger has become one of the symbols of the Holocaust; he was called by the camp inmates "the Angel of Death." But not all survivor recollections of Mengele are accurate. He could not have done all that he was credited with doing. Mengele did work with a "scientific team" recruited from among arriving physicians who faced the choice of *Selektion* or working with him. Several of these inmate physicians have written memoirs, and they are among the most important recollections of life inside Auschwitz. At one moment Mengele could be gracious, but not for long. He was unpredictable and everyone around him lived in constant fear. Thus, Dr. Olga Lengyel reveals that Mengele supervised the birth of a child with meticulous care. Within an hour mother and child were sent to the gas chamber. Dr. Gisella Perl, a Hungarian Jewish gynecologist, described the aftermath of one brutal killing by Mengele. "He took a piece of perfumed soap out of his bag and whistling gaily with a smile of deep satisfaction on his face, he began to wash his hands." Vera Alexander described brutal "scientific" experiments in which inmates were sewn back to back, wrist to wrist. And Dr. Miklos Nyiszli depicts the murder of 14 twins killed during one night.

When Mengele fled Auschwitz, according to Raul *Hilberg, he brought with him the records of his medical experiments, still believing that they might hold the key to his postwar prominence. According to one source, he also took these potentially incriminating records with him when he left for Argentina.

Until 1951 Mengele lived under his own name in various places in Bavaria, Germany. The name Mengele is proudly seen on farm equipment. It is a symbol of quality in Germany and elsewhere. Throughout the years the Mengele family funneled enough money to Josef to permit his survival, enough to elude capture but not quite enough to achieve comfort. Mengele was forced to move from Argentina to Paraguay and later to Brazil, where he lived his final years in seclusion, perhaps even in loneliness. He met his only biological son, Rolf Mengele, on two occasions after the war, once when he was introduced as "Uncle Fritz" and the second time when his son sought to understand his father, to comprehend his deeds, to come to terms with his motivations. Rolf had rejected his father and his politics.

Mengele was divorced from his first wife, Irene. They grew apart in the postwar separation. After his divorce he married his beautiful sister-in-law, Martha Mengele, the wife of his late brother, Karl, in what seemed like a merger to protect the family assets as well as a marriage. He raised his nephew Karl Heinz, the son of his brother, as his stepson and a surrogate son.

The search for him started only in 1953, after he escaped from Germany. It is known that in 1954 he was granted Argentinean citizenship. In Argentina he represented the Karl Mengele and Sons factory for agricultural machinery, a firm managed by his brother in Guenzburg. Mengele was traced by organizations of former Nazi victims, both Jewish and non-Jewish. His extradition was demanded by the government of West Germany, but Mengele escaped from Argentina. His disappearance was also, apparently, connected with the apprehension of *Eichmann. Various conflicting news items subsequently appeared in the world press concerning the whereabouts of Mengele. Mengele's name was often mentioned by witnesses at the Eichmann trial in Jerusalem and at numerous trials in West Germany, in particular at the *Auschwitz trials held in Frankfurt on the Main in 1963–65. He figures in Rolf Hochhut's play *The Deputy* (1963). He died in an apparent drowning in Brazil in 1978. Efforts were made to ascertain that indeed the corpse discovered was that of Mengele. Some suspected that the drowning was staged. But forensic evidence and dental records confirmed his death.

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[Emmanuel Brand / Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

MENINSKY, BERNARD (1891–1950), English artist. Meninsky was born in Liverpool, the son of immigrants from the Ukraine. He studied at the Liverpool School of Art and the Slade School. In 1913 he became a founder member of the London Group. During World War I Meninsky served as an official war artist. In 1920 he became teacher of life drawing at the Westminster School of Art and the City of Oxford Art School. Retrospective exhibitions of his work were held in London in 1951 and 1958 and several of his paintings are held by the Tate Gallery.

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MENKEN, U.S. family. SOLOMON MENKEN (1787–1853), who was born in Westphalia, Prussia, arrived in the U.S. from Holland in 1820 and soon established a wholesale drygoods business in Cincinnati, where he was one of the first Jewish settlers. His eldest son, JULES MENKEN (1836–1890), was a lieutenant in the Cincinnati Home Guards during the Civil War. NATHAN DAVIS MENKEN (1837–1878), his second son, was a merchant and soldier. During the Civil War, he held the rank of cavalry captain and was cited for bravery. He later joined his younger brother's Memphis business. He died assisting victims of yellow fever during an 1878 epidemic. JACOB STANWOOD MENKEN (1838–c. 1900), Solomon's third son, was born in Cincinnati. A merchant and philanthropist, he founded the large Menken and Co. department store in Memphis in 1863, and was active in organizing the Children's Christmas Club and the first Southern kindergarten for blacks. S. STANWOOD MENKEN (1870–1954), Nathan's son and great-great-grandson of Haym *Solomon, was born in Memphis, Tenn. A lawyer and publicist, he was educated at Cornell and Columbia Law School and admitted to the New York bar in 1894. Active in New York City politics, he organized the Hall of Records Association in 1896, the Democratic League (1908), and the National Security League of America (1915).

MENKEN (née **Theodore**), **ADAH ISAACS** (1835–1868), U.S. actress, known mainly for her flamboyant way of life. The first of her four husbands was a musician, Alexander Isaac Menken, whose name she kept after he divorced her. Her stage career began in 1856 in New Orleans. Probably not a great actress, she had an arresting stage personality, and displayed her dark, slim beauty with a boldness that created a sensation wherever she appeared. The first American actress to wear flesh-colored tights, she made her most spectacular appearance in the play *Mazeppa* (adapted from Byron's poem) in which she rode up a steep ramp strapped to a fiery horse. She mixed in the circle of American literary bohemians that included Walt Whitman, Bret Harte, and Mark Twain. In London in 1864 her *Mazeppa* angered the press, but she won the literati with her poems. Dickens, Charles Reade, and Rossetti were her friends. Swinburne described her as the world's delight and claimed she was his mistress. She enjoyed triumph in Paris in 1866, won over Gautier and George Sand, and became the mistress of the elder Dumas. Though she invented fanciful accounts of her origin, which was obscure, she took a militant pride in her Jewishness. In 1857 she led a protest against the exclusion of Jews from the House of Commons. She never performed on the Day of Atonement and kept a Hebrew Bible under her pillow. Her two books of poems, *Memoirs* (1856) and *Infelicia* (1868), teem with biblical allusions. She died in Paris, and Baron Lionel de *Rothschild erected a memorial on her grave in Montparnasse.

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MENKEN, ALAN (1949–), U.S. composer. Born and raised in New Rochelle, New York, Menken was extremely musical as a child, learning to play the piano, violin, guitar, and accordion. However, it was not until he had graduated from New York University with a liberal arts degree that he decided to pursue a career in music. While attending the Lehman Engel Musical Theater Workshop, Menken first discovered and nurtured his passion for musical theater. As he unsuccessfully attempted to get his first musicals produced, Menken supported himself by writing and singing commercial jingles. His career changed forever when he met lyricist Howard Ashman, with whom he first collaborated on the WPA production of *God Bless You, Mr. Rosewater* (1979) and with whom he went on to create the score for the Broadway production of *Little Shop of Horrors*. Since his first Oscar nomination for best song for "Mean Green Mother from Outer Space" from the film version of *Little Shop of Horrors* (1986), Menken has won a series of awards almost too long to count, including Tony, Emmy, Grammy, and Oscar Awards. In fact, Menken is tied with legendary costume designer Edith *Head for most Oscar Awards won – they both have eight. Menken has produced some of his best-known work since the late 1980s, composing the scores for such Disney films as *The Little Mermaid* (1989), *Beauty and the Beast* (1991), *Aladdin* (1992), and *Pocahontas* (1995).

[Casey Schwartz (2nd ed.)]

MENKES, ZYGMUNT (1896–1986), U.S. painter. Menkes was born in Lvov, Galicia. The artist's subjects included nudes, still-lifes, portraits, and landscapes. While restoring rural churches, he studied art at the Industrial School in Lvov and the Academy of Fine Art, Cracow, beginning in 1912. He established a reputation as an artist in Poland before leaving that country. In 1922 he studied in Berlin with the Constructivist artist Alexander Archipenko. He arrived in Paris in 1923, where he joined the École de Paris, a circle of Central and East European ex-patriots which included Marc *Chagall, Amedeo *Modigliani, Jules *Pascin, and Chaim *Soutine. After finally setting in Paris, Menkes participated in such exhibitions as the Salon d'Automne (1924, 1925, 1927) and the Salon des Independants (1925–28) as well as exhibiting his work in a number of Parisian, British, and Canadian galleries. Menkes was well traveled, returning to Poland on a number of occasions, as well as visiting the United States in 1930 and Spain in 1925. In Poland, he exhibited with the New Generation and Keystone groups, while having solo shows in Lvov and Warsaw in 1930 and 1931. He moved to the United States in 1935, enjoying his first American one-man show a year later at the Sullivan Gallery in New York. Menkes eventually settled in Riverdale, New York. He also taught at the Art Students League in New York. Many New York galleries exhibited and sold Menkes' work: the Associated American Artists' Gallery (1936–54), Durand-Ruel Gallery (1941), and the Georgette Passedoit Gallery (1942). Like many other artists of his generation, his work was greatly influenced by that of Henri Matisse: Menkes often painted women in lushly decorated interior spaces animated by expressive line. Menkes' pictures, cheerful still lifes, especially of flowers, introspective portraits, and vivid landscapes have a decidedly French accent. He resisted the trend toward abstract art and never veered from recognizable subject matter. Primarily a colorist who often used rich, sensuous tones, his work showed an increasing tendency toward flatness and two-dimensionality later in his career. Menkes frequently used Jewish themes in his earlier work, depicting his memories of Poland with poignancy and nostalgia. One of his best-known canvasses is *The Uplifting of the Torah* (1928), in which a group of East European Jews are shown excitedly raising up a partly unrolled Torah scroll. Menkes considered this painting an homage to his family and upbringing. In the manner of Rembrandt, the figures in the composition are dramatically lit. Broad brushstrokes, distinctive in texture, reveal the ecstatic expressions of the worshippers, who gather in a circle around the sacred scroll. In 1943, he bore witness to the sufferings of the Jews of Europe, especially those in his native Poland, in *Uprising of Ghetto Warsaw*. Menkes' work is represented in the collections of the Brooklyn Museum of Art, the Whitney Museum, the Hirschhorn Museum, Washington, D.C., the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts, and the Walker Art Center, among others.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *École de Paris: le Groupe des Quatre* (2000); A. Kampf, *Jewish Experience in the Art of the Twentieth Century* (1984).

[Nancy Buchwald (2nd ed.)]

MENORAH (Heb. מְנוֹרָה; "candelabrum"), the name given to the seven-branched candelabrum which, according to the Bible, was a prominent feature of the *Tabernacle erected by the people of Israel in the wilderness, as well as in the Jerusalem Temple. In archaeological finds in Ereẓ Israel and Syria dating from the Middle Bronze Period onward, lamps have been uncovered in the form of a deep bowl, with seven spouts on the rim for inserting wicks. At the high place (*bamah*) discovered at Nahariyyah, several bowls, similar to those of the Middle Bronze Period, have been found. Some lamp bowls have a clay, stone, or metal stand, thereby transforming them into *menorot*. At Taanach such a *menorah* has been unearthed, consisting of a small bowl with seven spouts, set on a stand whose circumference, narrowing in the middle to form a grip, broadens out at the bottom into a base for placing it on the ground.

The Tabernacle

Among the vessels of the Tabernacle mentioned in the Priestly Code, reference is made to a *menorah* of gold, whose form is given in two parallel passages (Ex. 25:31–40; 37:17–24). A pattern of this *menorah* was, it is related, shown by God to Moses at Mount Sinai (Ex. 25:40), as He also showed him the pattern of the Tabernacle and all its furniture (Ex. 25:9). Six branches, three on each side, curved upward from the *menorah's* central shaft, which stood on a base (Ex. 25:31; Num. 8:4) whose precise shape cannot be determined. The shaft and each of the branches were ornamented respectively with four and three carvings of cups made like almond-blossoms, each subdivided into a knop and a flower. Under every two branches that were of one piece a knop was carved on the central shaft, making a total of three knops "for the six branches going out of the *menorah*" (Ex. 25:35). These three knops were probably an integral part of the cups on the central shaft and not, as some (A.R.S. Kennedy, S.R. Driver, and others) hold, in addition to its four cups. The fourth cup was at the top of the central shaft, above the places where the branches joined it. The uppermost cups of the branches were similarly at their top, with all of them – as well as that of the central shaft – ending at the same height. The flowers on these uppermost cups served as receptacles for the seven lamps.

The entire *menorah* was carved from one ingot of gold, "beaten work" (Ex. 25:31), and its vessels, also of gold and including the lamps, were carved separately (Ex. 25:37–38). The *menorah* was placed in front of the veil (*parokhet*) "on the side of the Tabernacle toward the south … over against the table" (Ex. 26:35; 40:24). When the lamps burnt they gave "light over against it" (Ex. 25:37) "in front of the *menorah*" (Num.

8:2–3), that is, the spouts of the lamps and the wicks faced northward, so that their shadow was cast on to the wall. The measurements of the *menorah* are not given in the Bible but the Talmud stated that its height was 18 handbreadths, which are three short cubits (Men. 28b; Rashi to Ex. 25:35). The use to which the Tabernacle *menorah* was put is described in the Priestly Code. The lamps (*nerot*) are said to have burned from evening to morning (Lev. 24:3), were lit at dusk and trimmed in the morning by the high priest (Ex. 30:7–8), and hence are called *ner tamid* (a perpetual lamp; Ex. 27:20; Lev. 24:2), that is, they were lit according to a fixed routine and for the nighttime only. This is specifically mentioned in connection with the lamp in the sanctuary at Shiloh (I Sam. 3:3). However, in the Second Temple (see below) three of the lamps burned throughout the day, the rest being lit in the evening (Jos., Ant., 3:199).

The First Temple

In the Temple built by Solomon there were ten *menorot* of gold, five along the northern and five along the southern wall of the *Heikhal* (the hall; I Kings 7:49; II Chron. 4:7). These were ornamented with carvings of flowers and furnished with appliances of gold for tending the lamps (I Kings 7:49–50), the number of which on each *menorah* is not stated. Some scholars hold that the passage listing the golden vessels made by Solomon for the house of the Lord (I Kings 7:48–50) is a later addition; but this view should be rejected. All the vessels of gold in Solomon's Temple, including the ten *menorot*, were cut in pieces at the end of Jehoiachin's reign by the Chaldeans who entered the *Heikhal* during their siege of Jerusalem (II Kings 24:13). Hence neither vessels of the *Heikhal* nor *menorot* are mentioned in the description of the Temple in Ezekiel's vision (Ezek. 41:1–4), for this description is apparently based largely on the actual appearance of the Temple in Jerusalem after the exile of Jehoiachin.

The *menorot* in Solomon's Temple may have had branches, and these may have numbered seven on each *menorah*. For the *Heikhal*, which Solomon built and which measured 40 by 20 cubits (I Kings 6:2, 17), was too large for only ten lamps to give it adequate illumination. Hence it is probable that each of the ten *menorot* had not one but several lamps, arranged on a central shaft and on branches, and that they numbered seven. Further support for the similarity between the *menorot* of Solomon and the one in the Tabernacle is to be found in the fact that the former, too, were ornamented with carvings of flowers (7:49), resembling the latter which had "cups made like almond-blossoms" and flowers. Moreover, the *menorot* in Solomon's Temple were made of pure gold (*ibid.*, loc. cit. *zahav sagur*, apparently the equivalent expression for *zahav tahor* used in the Priestly Code; see Ex. 25:31, 39; et al.; see *Metals). The vessels of the *menorah* in the Tabernacle consisted of lamps, tongs, snuff-dishes, and oil vessels (Ex. 25:37–39; Num. 4:9); the first three are among those mentioned in connection with the *menorot* in Solomon's Temple (I Kings 7:49–50).

In addition to the vessels in the *Heikhal*, there were others in Solomon's Temple treasuries whose collection was started already in the days of David (II Sam. 8:10–11), and which were left as objects consecrated to God but not used in worship. The passage in the Book of Chronicles enumerating the gifts prepared for the Temple by David before his death refers to the *menorot* of gold and silver in the Temple treasuries (I Chron. 28:15; and cf. 28:12). When the First Temple was destroyed the Chaldeans removed from it all these vessels, among which *menorot* are again included (Jer. 52:19), but they were not those of the *Heikhal*. No actual specimen of the *menorah* in the Tabernacle nor of one with a different number of branches has up to the present been uncovered in archaeological finds. Only reproductions of the *menorah* of the Second Temple are extant (see below).

Although according to the critical views the Priestly Code's account of the subject is legendary tradition, the artistic and architectonic elements of its description are undoubtedly based on an actual art style and derived from reality. Many scholars of the Wellhausen school held that the Tabernacle *menorah* was a literary projection of the one in the Second Temple. Their theory proceeds from that school's basic view that the Priestly Code was compiled at the beginning of Second Temple times, and hence its need to explain the entire Tabernacle as an imaginary reflection of the Second Temple. If, however, it is maintained that the Priestly Code was committed to writing earlier and is the production of the Jerusalem pre-Exilic priesthood, it must necessarily be held that the *menorah* described in it reflects a historic situation preceding the Second Temple. That the *menorot* in Solomon's Temple provided the pattern for the *menorah* in the Tabernacle is, indeed, not impossible.

The Second Temple

According to rabbinic legend, when the Temple was about to be destroyed the *menorah* was hidden away and it was later brought back by the exiles (see L. Ginzberg, *Legends of the Jews*, 4 (1913), 321; 6 (1928), 410–1). In reality, however, the *menorah* of the Tabernacle, as a hallowed emblem mentioned in the Pentateuch, had an influence on the interior of the Second Temple, in which from the outset one *menorah* as in the Tabernacle, and not ten, as in the Temple of Solomon, was placed. The *menorah* in the Temple of necessity had to conform to that in the Pentateuch, which became its archetype. The force that the *menorah* of the Tabernacle had in Second Temple times as a hallowed and binding emblem can be seen from the claim, incorporated by the Chronicler in Abijah's speech, that the people of Judah, keeping the commandments of the Lord, every night lit the lamps of the *menorah* of gold (II Chron. 13:11). Elsewhere, however, the Chronicler repeats the evidence of the Book of Kings by stating specifically that in the First Temple there were ten *menorot* and not one (see above). This contradiction between the enduring and binding validity of the *menorah* mentioned in the Pentateuch and the ten *menorot* in Solomon's Temple was met by the Sages with the above-mentioned statement that the *menorah* made by Moses was used during the entire existence of the First Temple, where all the *menorot* were placed on the south side, five on its right side and five on its left, and that of Moses in the middle (Men. 98b).

The golden *menorah* which stood in the Second Temple in the early stage of its history (it is referred to by Ben Sira – 26:17) was removed in 169 B.C.E. by Antiochus Epiphanes IV (I Macc. 1:21). Judah Maccabee made new Temple vessels, including the *menorah*, after the cleansing of the Temple (I Macc. 4:49–50; II Macc. 10:3). According to the Talmud the first one was made of iron overlaid with tin (or with wood): "When they grew richer they made it of silver; when they grew still richer, they made it of gold" (RH 24b, Av. Zar. 43b); according to Josephus (Ant., 12:238), however, it was made of gold from the outset. It was seen by Pompey and his men when they entered the Temple (*ibid.*, 14:7) and remained in Herod's Temple until its destruction (Jos. Wars, 5:216–7). After the destruction of the Temple it was borne by the Romans in Titus' triumphal procession (*ibid.*, 7:148–9) and depicted with the other vessels on the wall of the triumphal arch called after him (see below). Elsewhere, however (*ibid.*, 6:387–8), Josephus relates that during the siege of Jerusalem by Titus one of the priests went out and handed over to him two lamps of gold similar to the lamp in the Temple. On the erroneous assumption that the reference is to the *menorah*, some maintain that there were in the Second Temple several copies of the *menorah* of the *Heikhal*, one of which was carried in the triumphal procession (see below). In the Second Temple three of the lamps of the *menorah* burned throughout the day, the rest being lit in the evening (Jos., Ant., 3:199). The Talmud states that the priest who entered used to clean and trim the lamps except its two eastern ones which he found burning, and that its western lamp burnt continuously, and from it the priest relit the *menorah* at dusk (Tam. 3, 9; 6, 1; Sifra, Emor, 13, 7; Sif. Num. 59; Yoma 33a; et al.). If the western lamp was extinguished it was interpreted as boding ill for the future (Yoma 39b). Josephus (Apion, 1:22) similarly reports in the name of Hecataeus that on the Temple *menorah* there was a light which was never extinguished by night or by day. According to some, the western lamp mentioned by the sages refers to the second of the two easterly lamps, according to others, to the middle lamp, designated as "western" because its spout faced westward, that is, toward the inner sanctum, the Holy of Holies (see Rashi to Shab. 22b, and to Men. 98b; Maim. Yad, Beit ha-Beḥirah, 3, 8). According to the latter interpretation the tradition of the sages accords with Josephus' statement (Ant., 3:199) that three lamps burnt throughout the day, that is, the two eastern and the western lamps.

[Menahem Haran]

Menorah on the Arch of Titus

The most important testimony for the form of the Temple *menorah* is the candelabrum on the Arch of Titus in Rome, which ought to be considered in conjunction with Josephus' description. Only three sides of each octagon of the arch are visible. They show reliefs within a threefold frame: in the middle shield of the upper cone two eagles face each other and hold a garland in their beaks; the other shields have different types of sea-monsters. The upper part of the *menorah* is, by and large, in accordance with biblical tradition and archaeological evidence. The hanging leaf-ornament of the middle shaft shows the Oriental (Persian) origin (cf. the pillars of Persepolis). The problem of the Arch of Titus *menorah* is, however, its pedestal, which consists of two octagonal casings, a smaller above the larger, giving a cone-shaped form. Though its proportions are rather large, it does not necessarily cast doubt on the fidelity of the sculptor, since this was a peculiarity of Roman – and later Christian – artists. What does make this representation of the pedestal suspect is that according to all Jewish sources (cf. Men. 28b) and archaeological finds the Menorah stood on three legs, usually lion's paws. These paws are particularly distinct in the Nirim Mosaic (see below). The Bible speaks of the *yerekh* of the candelabrum (Ex. 25:31), which Rashi explains as a plate with three legs (see S. Shefer (ed.), *Enẓiklopedyah le-Inyenei ha-Mishkan*…, 1 (1965), 126 ff.), and so it appears in the wall painting of *Dura-Europos and perhaps on the coin of Mattathias Antigonus, the only ancient coin depicting a *menorah*. The few extant specimens of this coin are, however, badly preserved, one only showing, besides the plate, a rudimentary foot.

This divergence between the Arch of Titus and the sources has given rise to a lively controversy beginning with Relandus' *De Spoliis*… (1716) which maintained, on the basis of the biblical prohibition of depicting animals, that the pedestal of the *menorah* on the Arch of Titus could not be an authentic reproduction. In point of fact, as E. Cohn-Wiener pointed out, there is a difference in style between the lower and upper parts of the *menorah*. The upper part, dating from the time of the later Hasmonean kings (see above), shows characteristics of late Hellenistic style, whereas the pedestal is typical of a later Roman style. Important too, is the evidence of Josephus, who must have seen the *menorah* often, both in Jerusalem and in Rome, and who has proved reliable in matters such as these, e.g., the Masada excavations. Whether his description supports or contradicts the authenticity of the Arch of Titus *menorah* depends on the interpretation of the relevant words used by him. According to W. Eltester (in bibl. cf. Michel-Bauernfeind's edition of Josephus, Wars, 2, 2, 1969), the words translated from Greek, "the central shaft arose firmly from the pedestal," seems to confirm the Arch of Titus representation which indeed gives this impression of weight and firmness. Another interpretation would be that the central shaft "stretched" out of its pedestal, that it was of one piece with it. This would not only be in accordance with the biblical injunction of Numbers 8:4 (cf. Ex. 25:31, 36; 37:17, 22), but also with Josephus' statement preceding the above quotation that the *menorah* was different from those in general use. These were put together from separate parts (cf. Pliny, Nat. Hist. 34, 6, 11).

Various suggestions have been made to solve the difficulty. Chief Rabbi Isaac Herzog, after summing up all other proposals, suggested that the original pedestal had been broken in the transport from Jerusalem to Rome and was replaced by the work of a Roman artist. Another hypothesis is that of W. Wirgin (IEJ 11, 1961, no. 3) who suggests that in order to carry the *menorah* in the triumphal procession without mishap, a Roman artist built a box-shaped covering from relief plates – well known from Roman censers – around the base to give it greater stability. A third suggestion is that the *menorah* on the Arch of Titus had as its model another *menorah*, perhaps one given as a gift to Rome by Herod. In fact Josephus (Wars, 6:388) relates that after the capture of Jerusalem, a priest handed to Titus "two lampstands similar to those deposited in the Temple." The Talmud (Ḥag. 26b, 27a) also mentions duplicates and triplicates of all Temple vessels in case the original ones were defiled. The Jerusalem Talmud (Ḥag. 3:8; 79d) and the Tosefta (Ḥag. 3:35) report the cleansing of the *menorah* on the Sabbath which provoked the derision of the Sadducees. This would not have been done had there been a duplicate but in any case it does not solve the problem of the Arch of Titus, since the duplicate would have been an exact replica of the original.

Reproductions of the Temple Menorah

Though the *menorah* of the Arch of Titus was widely known – the medieval pilgrims' guide *Mirabilis Urbis Romae* mentions the *arcus septem lucernarum* – it was not copied in late antiquity or the Middle Ages. While church candelabra and manuscript illustrations have animal feet, only one example of the Arch of Titus type is known: the Gothic candelabrum in Sta. Maria i Vulturella near Rome (see bibl. P. Bloch).

Several sketches of the *menorah* have been preserved from the time of the Second Temple in Jason's Tomb, Jerusalem (see Rahmani, in: *Atiqot*, 1964, Plate XII no. l and 2), and in the two pieces of plaster excavated in the Jewish Quarter of the Old City of Jerusalem in 1969, an artisan's sketch; three feet or triangle-basis are visible, but with knobs on them, a feature not corroborated by any other ancient literary or archaeological source (see the publication of this find by Li-hi Habas from 2003).

The Later History of the Menorah

Vespasian deposited the *menorah* together with the other booty in the special Peace Temple which he erected after the Jewish War (Jos. Wars 7:148–50; ARN^1 41, 133). The subsequent fate of the candelabrum is uncertain. Procopius of Caesarea, the sixth-century Byzantine historian, in his introduction to the history of the Gothic War, reports that the "treasures of the Jews" were carried in Belisarius' triumphal procession in Constantinople (Byzantium) after his victory over the Vandals, who had taken them to Carthage after their sack of Rome in 455. Procopius goes on to relate that a Jew had warned a high official at Justinian's court not to keep the sacred vessels in Byzantium, as they had manifestly brought ill luck to Rome and Carthage, whereupon the Emperor had sent them hurriedly to Jerusalem, where they were deposited in one of the churches. As the result of the Persian and Arab invasions of the seventh century, their fate once more became unknown. This story has little credibility; no other source, such as the reports of the pilgrims, can be adduced in its support, nor is the *menorah* mentioned explicitly in this story.

On the other hand, medieval sources speak of the presence of the candelabrum in Constantinople. The seventh-century apocalypse *Milḥemet Melekh ha-Mashi'aḥ* ("War of the King Messiah") mentions Temple vessels deposited in the palace library of Emperor Julian. The learned emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus (905–59) reports that a Heptalychnos, i.e., a seven-branched candelabrum, was lit for solemn processions. The imperial palace is said to have included a "Dome of the Seven-branch Candelabrum" It is not clear whether all these reports refer to the original *menorah* or a later copy. If the one or the other was really in Constantinople during the Middle Ages, it must have shared the fate of other ancient masterpieces when the town was sacked in 1204 in the course of the Fourth Crusade. It may appear odd that no reference to it is found in later medieval chronicles.

[Heinrich Strauss]

In Kabbalah

From the early days of Kabbalah, the *menorah* appears as a symbol of the structure of the *Sefirot*. As far as is known, it was *Asher b. David, in his *Perush Shem ha-Meforash* (published in *Ha-Segullah* (1932) pamphlet 2ff.), who first explained the *menorah* in kabbalistic symbolic terms as reflecting the world of the *Sefirot*. He was followed by *Baḥya b. Asher and especially by Menaḥem *Recanati and others. There is little difference between the interpretations of Recanati and Asher b. David. The basic idea is that the *menorah*, despite the fact it is composed of branches, bowls, etc., is not a combination of parts but is one solid whole made from "one bar." Similarly, the world of the *Sefirot*, despite its multiplicity, is a unity. The seven branches symbolize the seven lower *Sefirot*. Asher b. David and, following him, Recanati, placed special emphasis on the middle branch, which is equal to the *Sefirah Tiferet* ("glory"), which is called the "middle line." This *Sefirah* is directed toward the "attraction of the body" of man, in contrast to the other lower *Sefirot* which are directed toward the arms and legs. The middle branch, which stands on the *menorah* itself, toward which all the other branches face, therefore naturally stands for the "middle line." This *Sefirah* is imbued with abundance flowing from above which is transferred from it to the others. The oil which is put in the branches and is the force for the light of the *menorah* signifies the dynamic stream influenced by the **Ein-Sof.* This stream is the inner soul of all the *Sefirot* which operate within every *Sefirah*. For the same reason – these kabbalists maintain – the Torah calls the seven lower *Sefirot* "lights" and days of the week according to Genesis. The oil as a symbol of the streaming of abundance from above is a commonplace idea in kabbalistic literature. There were kabbalists who explained that the oil and the light indicate the three higher *Sefirot*.

According to the view of several kabbalists that Divine Providence is exercised through the *Sefirot*. Recanati interprets the saying of Zechariah (4:10): "These seven are the eyes of God," to mean that God governs by means of the seven *Sefirot* symbolized by the seven branches of the *menorah*.

The *Zohar itself gives no details of the symbolic significance of the parts of the *menorah*. In the *Tikkunei Zohar* the symbolism differs from that of the kabbalists mentioned above. In one place the *menorah* symbolizes an angelic power outside that of the *Sefirot*. The wick stands for the last *Sefirah, Malkhut*, equated with the *Shekhinah*; the oil is the *Sefirah Yesod* ("foundation"); and the light is the *Sefirah Tiferet* (*Tikkunei Zohar*, Introd., 146, ed. R. Margulies).

In a 14th-century kabbalistic manuscript Psalm 67 is interpreted as signifying the *menorah* and the counting of the *Omer* (Vatican Ms. no. 214). A reproduction of the text of the psalm in the form of a *menorah* has since become widespread among Oriental Jews and appears both in prayer books and in the form of amulets on walls in homes and, especially, synagogues.

[Efraim Gottlieb]

THE MENORAH IN ART

After the destruction of the Temple the *menorah* became "the most important Jewish pictorial motif, and from an implement it became an emblem." Out of 1,207 reproductions in the third volume of Goodenough's standard work, *Jewish Symbolism in the Greco-Roman World* (see bibliography), no less than 182 are representations of the *menorah*. This number has considerably increased through later findings. Here only a short review of the various kinds of archaeological remnants together with the most important examples can be given (the numbers refer to Goodenough).

Synagogues

ACTUAL MENORAH. Upper part of brass menorah from En-Gedi (Barag-Porat, in Qadmoniot 3, 1970, 97–100, back-cover; see below).

STONE FRAGMENTS AND CAPITALS. Stone screen from Ashkelon (575, 576), from El Ḥamma (629), stones from Eshtemoa and Naveh (615, 618); Capitals in Capernaum (478), Beit Jibrin (542), and Caesarea (997, 998); on a column in Gaza mosque Djami-el-Kebir (584); and on stones in Pergamon (877), Priene (878), and Ostia.

MOSAIC FLOORS. In Beth Alpha (639); Hammath-Tiberias (in both these and many others are two *menorot* right and left of the Ark); and Maon (Nirim, see above; the Nirim *menorah* is reproduced on the Israel 50 lira banknote).

PAINTINGS. The only preserved example is in Dura-Europos, and it is a conical base with three feet near Ark (602). It appears twice in narrative paintings: Aaron in the Temple (Goodenough vol. 11, color-plate x), and Moses giving water to the tribes (color-plate XII).

On Tombs

SCULPTURES. In Bet She'arim, a menorah on the head of a warrior (56).

ON DOORS OF TOMBS. Ibelin: YMHEY 17 (1953), nos. 3 and 4; Kefar Yassif (44); Kefar Tamra, near Shefar Am (Haifa Municipal Museum), which shows the *menorah* on the top of a date tree.

FRESCO AND SARCOPHAGUS IN THE TORLONIA CATACOMB, ROME (817, 818). In the catacombs the *menorah* is often the only indication of Jewishness.

SARCOPHAGI IN VIGNA RANDANINI CATACOMB, ROME (789). Now in the Museo di Terme, the *menorah* is in a medallion, borne by two winged Victorias; on gentile sarcophagi such medallions show the head of the buried person or a Medusa. Here the *menorah* is the distinctive emblem of Judaism on an artifact common to other religions as well.

LEAD SARCOPHAGI IN THE ISRAEL MUSEUM, JERUSALEM. The same type as made for pagans, Christians, and Jews. On the Jewish sarcophagi (from Bet She'arim) *menorot* – in contradistinction to the ornaments – are pressed on the three sarcophagi (see bibl. Katz reproductions nos. 104, 120).

TOMBSTONES. Frequently in catacombs (e.g. Randanini and Monteverde in Rome: 33 example in Goodenough).

OSSUARIES. Ossuaries (rare): *menorah* (220, not certain): Ḥanukkah lamp (198).

Varia

GLASS-BOTTLES. Glass-Bottles: 391, 411, 424, 428, 961.

GOLD-GLASSES. From catacombs (963–974), with peculiar techniques: between two layers of glass is the golden design (mostly ritual objects, Ark, lions).

LAMPS. Bronze. K. Katz, *From the Beginning*, pl. 109, p. 126: Reifenberg Collection, now on loan to Israel Museum; ceramic lamps: with various numbers of holders for oil lamps, but very frequently with a *menorah* design (more than 40 reproductions in Goodenough).

AMULETS, SEALS, RINGS, CORNELIANS. On these small artifacts too, the *menorah* is the most frequent symbol indicating the Jewishness of the owner (1012–1027). A good example is a glass amulet (third–sixth centuries) showing a *menorah* among other ritualia (Hechal Shlomo Museum).

The Middle Ages

Representations of the *menorah* are found frequently in medieval manuscripts, Jewish and Christian, of both Spanish and Franco-German origin, depicted alongside other Temple vessels. Earlier even, and of particular importance in this context, is the one in the *Codex Amiatinus* (Italy, c. 500, see bibl. H. Strauss and P. Bloch), which no doubt still reflects an older, classical-Oriental tradition (cf. Strauss, in *Ereẓ Yisrael*, 6, 1960, 126/7; Roth, *Warburg-Courtauld 16*, 1953, 37–38). B. Narkiss, *Hebrew Illuminated Manuscripts* (1969), reproduces (and describes in detail) five medieval manuscripts with *menorah* representations: Plate 1: Bible (Leningrad), probably from Egypt (Introduction, 23); Plate 6: Cervera Bible (Portugal, *ibid.*, and note 53); Plate 16: Farḥi Bible (Spain-Provence, Introduction, 23); Plate 23: British Museum (11639, Franco-German, *ibid.*, 28, note 95); and Plate 24: Pentateuch (French, *ibid.*, 26; note 96). In the British Museum plate, Aaron is twice depicted lighting the *menorah* (*ibid.*, 114a and 122b), the differences in style suggesting two artists. The frequency of this representation may be connected with the fact that it is based on Numbers 8:2–3 and with its ample treatment by the Midrash. All five examples reflect faithfully and impressively their local background: the first three, the influence of the iconoclastic Islamic art, including the playful one of the *Reconquista* in no. 2: the burning lights turned toward the center and the variant of the oil flowing in the same direction; while the last two show the influence of the late Gothic French environment with their wealth of figures and drolleries. Numerous seven-branched candelabra may also be found in medieval French, German, and Italian churches.

A hitherto unpublished *menorah* with its appurtenances (Ex. 25, 38) painted in gold and color, is contained in a Spanish 14th-century Bible-manuscript on parchment, which was shown in an exhibition of the Jewish National and University Library (Jerusalem April–May 1970, Catalogue No. 6). This *menorah* has three feet with rather rare knobs (as in the recently excavated piece of plaster from the Old City of Jerusalem, see above), and snuff dishes like goblets with coats of arms: the tongs hang from the outer branches of the candelabrum and are shown in perspective before and behind the branches. It is apparently the work of an artist of the late Middle Ages, already accustomed to perspective. It frequently appears as an emblem also on book plates showing *Ḥanukkah lamps, printers' marks, and community seals.

Modern Times

In modern times the *menorah* has continued to be used as a religious symbol, particularly in synagogue art: wall-paintings, stained glass windows, mosaics, and – in spite of the talmudic prohibition (see below) – as a seven-branched metal candelabrum. In imitation of the ancient mosaics, some synagogues place a *menorah* to the right and the left of the Ark. The *menorah* representations in modern American synagogues reveal the problem of expressing ancient symbols in terms of modern art. In many cases little is left of the original tree-and-branches motive, but in some this has been preserved, in spite of modern simplicity. Independently of the synagogue, Benno *Elkan created several tree-shaped bronze *menorot*, of which one stands in Westminster Abbey, London, and another in the vicinity of the Knesset building in Jerusalem. Marc *Chagall incorporated a lighted *menorah* and olive leaves (Deut. 33:24) in his Tribe of Asher window (Hadassah Synagogue, Jerusalem). The Warsaw Ghetto memorial (1963) embodies two outsize *menorot* flanked by lions. The U.S. Jewish artist Ben *Shahn, who is responsible for the mosaic in the Ohev Shalom synagogue in Nashville, Tenn. (Kampf, *ibid.*, 134–6), has produced as its sketch a *menorah* (with *shofar*) in tempera (Ben Shahn, 1966, no. 116) and another one as the colored frontispiece of a Passover *Haggadah* illustrated by him (1965). Jankel *Adler has a *menorah* – together with several ritualia – in his "Jewish Still-Life" painted in the 1930s. In literature Stefan *Zweig devoted his short story *Der begrabene Leuchter* ("The Buried Candelabrum; 1937) to the saga of the *menorah*. The Arch of Titus *menorah* was adopted as the official symbol of the State of Israel, expressing the idea of Judaea Resurrecta, 2,000 years after the last Hasmonean prince had used the same symbol on his coins.

According to the Talmud it was forbidden to make an exact copy of the seven-branched candelabrum (RH 24b; Av. Zar. 43b; Men. 28b), and this prohibition is largely observed to the present day. On the other hand, the discovery of the upper part of a small bronze *menorah* during the excavations of a synagogue of the Byzantine period at En-Gedi (see above) shows that this prohibition was not always observed. It is possible that the bar of brass connecting the seven branches on their upper end which is also found in mosaic, stone-and-oil-lamp-representations of the same time (Bet Alfa, Ashkelon, oil lamp from Syria: Good-enough 3, p. 941) may have invalidated the above prohibition. J. Gutmann suggests that since the prohibition is found in a *baraita* in the Babylonian Talmud only, it was not accepted in Palestine. Gregorovius reports (*History of the City of Rome*… 2, 2, 3) that in the time of King Theodoric (c. 500) the Jews of Rome used to assemble in their synagogue on Sabbaths and festivals to the light of a gilded seven-branched candelabrum. The Ḥanukkah lamp, having eight branches, did not violate the talmudic law.

[Heinrich Strauss]

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MENORAH (Illustrated Monthly for the Jewish Home), a German-language family journal for science, art, and literature, founded in Vienna in July 1923 by Paul J. Diamant. In his preface, Diamant defined the paper's aims "in the first place to advance the efforts directed towards bridging the various, often conflicting tendencies within Jewry, hoping, on a cultural basis, to bring about the necessary harmony. We intend carefully to cherish the spiritual and artistic traditions, to look back to those times when Judaism was deeply rooted in genuine soil, unsophisticated by sickly questionings. We intend to cooperate – a lofty aspiration – in creating a homogeneous Jewish cultural atmosphere." As a liberal-conservative Jewish paper, *Menorah* was primarily directed towards acculturated and educated bourgeois circles, including women and the younger generation, presenting the Jewish family as "the bulwark and prop of Judaism" at all times. While the journal sought to publish articles on all aspects of Jewish life (its main interest, however, lay in fields of Jewish religion and East European Jewish culture), it consistently maintained a high level of scholarship and of literary and artistic quality. Though "not tied to any party," *Menorah* tended to support the Zionist *Revisionist movement and published articles by its leader, Vladimir *Jabotinsky. During the first year, some contributions even appeared in Hebrew and in English, thus facilitating the paper's intended circulation throughout Western and Eastern Europe, the United States, and Palestine. However, the periodical does not seem to have been widely read.

In July 1924, *Menorah* passed into the hands of Norbert Hoffmann. He reorganized the paper, dropped its English subtitle (the Hebrew was kept until December 1925), and appointed new permanent staff members such as Nathan Birnbaum (Hamburg), Friedrich Matzner, and Robert Weiss (Vienna), Hoffmann's wife, Fine, the composer Rudolf *Réti, the chess champion Richard *Réti, and W. Loewinger. Moreover, from July 1924, *Menorah* was jointly edited in Vienna and Frankfurt/Main, and from Oct. 1928 in Vienna and Berlin, then mostly as double issues every two months (until January 1929 together with the publisher Abraham *Horodisch). From January 1926, *Menorah* was reduced in size and its German subtitle "Illustrierte Monatsschrift fuer die juedische Familie" changed to "Juedisches Familienblatt fuer Wissenschaft / Kunst und Literatur." Frequently, artwork was included or special editions issued, such as on the Jews in Vienna (March 1926) and Silesia (May 1926), on Jewish hygiene (June/July 1926) and folklore (Oct. 1926), on the Jews in Poland (June/July 1927), on the artist Max *Liebermann (August 1927), on Mainz and the Maharil (December 1927), on the Jewish section (JSOP) of the International Press Exhibition "Pressa" in Cologne (June/July 1928), or on the Jews in Bavaria (Nov./Dec. 1928). In December 1932, *Menorah* ceased publication. Norbert Hoffmann, together with his wife, immigrated to Palestine in 1938. He died in 1977.

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[Johannes Valentin Schwarz (2nd ed.)]

MENORAH ASSOCIATION AND MENORAH JOURNAL, U.S. Jewish campus organization and periodical. Both grew out of the Harvard Menorah Society, a Jewish campus group formed in 1906 by Henry *Hurwitz, at the time an undergraduate at the university. Influenced by the "new humanism" then being propounded in Cambridge by such figures as William James and George Santayana, the society sought to pursue the study of humanistic values in Judaism and to develop a positive intellectual relationship to Jewish tradition and belief. Similar groups soon formed on other American campuses, and in 1913 an intercollegiate Menorah Association was established which eventually numbered some 80 chapters. The association became largely defunct in the 1930s, but as the first attempt to establish an intercollegiate Jewish body of its kind it helped pave the way for such later organizations as the *B'nai B'rith Hillel societies.

The *Menorah Journal*, first published in 1915, was similarly dedicated to the promotion of a "Jewish humanism." Appearing bimonthly from 1915 through 1927, monthly from 1928 to 1930, and irregularly thereafter until 1962 for a total of 157 issues in all, it featured articles and fiction by leading Jewish scholars, intellectuals, and writers, and reproductions of contemporary Jewish art. It served for several decades as a center for lively controversy in American Jewish life. The *Journal* lost much of its prominence in the years after World War II, but like the Menorah Association, it was in many ways the prototype of the successors that displaced it.

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[Hillel Halkin]

MENTAL ILLNESS. Man has been subject to mental illness from the earliest known times. The Bible makes frequent reference to it among Jews, and describes recognizable types of mental disturbances. The reference in Leviticus 20:27, "A man also or a woman that divineth by a ghost or a familiar spirit…," apparently included the mentally ill and, almost definitely, people subject to hysterical conditions. In Saul's personality, a brooding homicidal paranoia was overlaid by suicidal depression. Some of the prophets seem to have experienced states of ecstasy, and there are indications of neuroses among them.

The legal tenets of the Talmud regarding mental illness indicate the existence of conditions ranging from grave types of psychoses to those which develop out of physical states. The writings of the noted Jewish physicians of the medieval period, which were generally based on their practice among Jewish patients, reveal that mental illnesses were frequently encountered. They included melancholia, mania, and other serious psychotic states, states of anxiety, and psychosomatic conditions. The "wonder" cures of the 18th-century folk healers (*ba'alei shem*) provide evidence of the hysterical nature of the emotional disturbances they treated. In dealing with possession by a dybbuk, which was of the same nature, they were carrying on the practice of the Kabbalists in Safed, in Ereẓ Israel.

Toward the end of the 19th century mental disturbances were clearly classified into two major categories. The first is psychosis, where there is profound disturbance of perception (e.g., hallucination), thought (e.g., delusion), and mood (e.g., depression), and accompanying vagaries of behavior, but the patient does not understand that he is disturbed. The second category is neurosis (and deviations of personality), where the disturbance is less profound and the individual retains his perception of reality and knows that he is disturbed, but suffers from worry and guilt, or anxiety, or medically unexplained physical symptoms. Psychotic, neurotic, and "normal" personalities shade imperceptibly into each other and have more in common than appears from these categories. Thus agreement about diagnosis is not constant. Theories of the causes of mental illness fall into three main groups: physical (including genetic); psychological (which has to do with the control of instinct and the personal development of the child within the family); and social (which has to do with the effect of general social influence or stresses and deprivations). Modern theory seeks an explanation for many cases in a varying combination of all three factors.

In the study of mental illness, the analysis of large numbers by statistical methods (epidemiology), and comparison between groups, may provide clues to understanding its nature and causation and the mental health situation and needs of a particular group. The most important epidemiological method is the comparison of the incidence (frequency) of new cases. Incidence is measured as a rate: the number of new cases occurring per year in a given number of the population. In this article, incidence and all other rates are noted per 100,000 of the population concerned. A rough but fairly reliable incidence may be determined by calculating the rate of new cases hospitalized per year. More reliable information is obtained by noting all the cases which appear at both mental hospitals and clinics. Prevalence of illness refers to all the cases – old and new – that exist at any given moment, either in an institution or at home. Prevalence is obtained by a total survey of the community.

Knowledge about mental illness among Jews at the present time is confined mainly to those in the United States and Israel, since by and large it is only in these countries that specific reference to Jews is made in hospital statistics. In Israel, statistics of mental illness are provided by the Mental Health Services of the Ministry of Health. The statistics available on the rates of mental disturbances among Jews and other significant observations about them through 1970 are presented here under three headings: psychoses; neuroses; and other indicators of mental ill health.

Psychoses

DEPRESSION. Depression (manic-depressive, affective psychosis – including involutional melancholia in the aging) is a relatively significant mental illness among Jews. The U.S. statistics of the 1920s for manic-depressive and involutional illnesses from hospitals in New York City, Illinois, and Massachusetts, showed Jews to have had slightly lower first-admission rates than non-Jews (including blacks). However, the painstaking work of Benjamin *Malzberg reveals that in 1949–51, Jews in New York State had a notably higher rate of first admission to private and public hospitals than white non-Jews (27 *v.* 15). These rates are crude, i.e., per 100,000 of the total population of all ages. The crude rate for Jews in Israel in 1958 was about the same (24) as for New York Jews. However, Jews in Israel born in Central and Eastern Europe had in 1958 twice the rates (50, 46) as for New York Jews of the same origin and descent. As usual, the rate is about twice as high in women as in men. On the other hand, in Israel in 1958, Asian-African-born Jews showed only half the rate of European-born Jews and Israel-born Jews even less. The Oriental-born rates were somewhat lower than that for New York Jews and probably only of a slightly higher order than for white non-Jews in New York. Israel-born Jews seem to have had the lowest rates of all these groups, despite the higher proportion among them of those of European rather than Oriental descent.

The Israel rates of first admission for psychotic depressive conditions in 1966 seem to bear out all these conclusions and show that (1) European-born Jews in Israel have a notably higher rate (45) than their non-Jewish European counterparts (Sweden: 21); (2) Asian-African-born Jews in Israel have a markedly lower hospital rate (23) than those born in Europe, lower than the known rate for Jews in New York, and resembling that for European non-Jews; (3) Israel-born Jews of both European and Afro-Asian descent show an even lower rate (16) than the Afro-Asian-born and, *a fortiori*, a lower rate than European-born immigrants. Israel-born Jews have a lower rate than those known for Jews and even non-Jews in New York State. Israel-born Jews in 1966 had a clearly lower crude rate than Swedes (1964) and New Zealanders (1967), the ratio being 6:21:27. The rate for Israel-born over the age of 15 was only 17. The age-specific rate for the population over 15 is a finer measure than the crude rate, since mental illness usually manifests itself after that age. To these conclusions must be added Malzberg's proof of the higher incidence of depressive psychosis in New York State among Jews of European birth and descent than among non-Jews.

The hypothetical reasons for the higher incidence of depressive psychoses in Jews of European birth in Israel and those of European birth and descent in the U.S. may well include the family and social tensions accompanying their profound, achievement-oriented ethical system. This has been incorporated in their personality as a sense of individual conscience and responsibility, the control of aggression, and sobriety. This psychosocial system does not allow for easy solutions and the camouflage of problems by the use of alcohol and other reality-denying behaviors. Furthermore, it is known that closed Orthodox societies in the West tend to produce more depression. The very high incidence of depression among European-born Jews in Israel is undoubtedly the result of persecution and concentration-camp experiences, underlain by tendency to depression and exacerbated by migrational upheavals.

The hypothesis that there is a hereditary element in the Jewish tendency to depression is probably not tenable in the light of the moderate rate among Asian-African-born Jews. The apparent generational change manifested as a lower incidence of this psychosis in Israel-born Jews also argues against genetic causes. The speculation that the higher incidence is the result of the known readiness of Jews to seek psychiatric help cannot hold much water. The high rates for European-born Jews as compared to Asian-African-born Jews in Israel, where all psychotics have an almost equal chance of hospitalization, rule out that factor. It is certain, therefore, that European Jews have a higher rate of psychotic depression than non-Jews. Research in Israel has proved that Jewish women, like all women, have a depression rate about 100 percent higher than men. In 1966, the rate for Israel-born women (27), because of the particularly low rate for Israel-born men (7), was four times as high as for men.

SCHIZOPHRENIA. This form of insanity is characterized by profound disturbances such as hallucinations, delusions, and social withdrawal. In this universally found psychosis, the crude rates of first hospitalizations were approximately the same for Israel Jews in 1958 (39) as those given by Malzberg for New York Jews in 1949–51 (36). However, closer examination reveals marked differences in the Israel Jewish population. In 1958, Asian-African-born immigrants of 15-plus showed a considerably higher incidence of first admissions for schizophrenia (57–80) than Central-European-born (44) and East-European-born (34), Israel-born (81) had the highest incidence. Among the Asian-African-born, Yemenite immigrants had the lowest rate and Turkish the highest.

The high rate of schizophrenia in the Israel born is difficult to explain and may have something to do with the intergenerational adjustment between them and their foreign-born parents, and with the pressures of mass immigration. However, in 1966 the Israel-born rate in the population over the age of 15, while it had declined, was still the highest (67). In that year the incidence in the Asian-African-born had fallen to 51, indicating that their former high rates were due to transient stresses of immigration and sociocultural change. In 1966 the Asian-African rates were only slightly higher than the European-American, and definitely lower than the Israel-born ones. The total European-American-born crude rate in Israel in 1966 stood at 45, which is about the same as the European-born rate for 1958, but appreciably higher than the earlier-known rate for New York Jews. In every case the schizophrenic rate in Israel Jews still appears to be higher than earlier rates for non-Jews. The general urban crude rate in the U.S. in 1929–31 was 27. In New York in 1949–51 it was 32 for non-Jews. In New Zealand in 1963–67 the general crude rate was 21, while the figures for Jews in Israel in 1958 and 1966 were 39 and 37, and higher if "psychotic episodes" are included. In Israel, among the Asian-African-born the male rate predominates, while among the European-American-born the female rate is in excess of the male.

PARANOIA. This generally rather firm diagnostic category has often been said to be more common in Jews than in non-Jews. Malzberg's work in New York did not bear this out. However, in Israel in 1958, higher first admission rates were diagnosed among European-born Jews (10) and among the Asian-African-born (8–20). The latter was probably a reaction to migration and change, and not always true paranoia. The Israel-born had the same rate in 1958 as Jews and white non-Jews in New York (0.7). In New Zealand in 1967 the rate was 1.0. More recent information indicates no abatement, but rather an increase, in the rates of paranoia diagnosed and treated among the foreign-born Israelis. It was especially marked in women of European-American origin (21 for the 15-plus age group).

It should be noted that among Jews in Israel in 1966 the incidence of all psychoses of a functional, or non-organic nature (schizophrenic, effective, psychotic episode, paranoiac) was approximately the same for the Israel and Asian-African-born (107 and 100 respectively for the 15-plus) and for European-American-born (121). As elsewhere, foreign-born immigrants in Israel in the 15-plus group have higher total rates of first admission to hospital than the native-born, but the differences are not very significant (1966: Israel 188, Asian-Africa 218, European-American 226).

Malzberg showed that Jews have about the same total rate of first admissions as white non-Jews. The Israel rate was later discovered to be about 12 per cent higher than both. In the Midtown Manhattan study, *Mental Health in the Metropolis* (1962), Leo Srole and Thomas Langner found that Jews showed a far higher prevalence of all treated disorders than Protestants and Catholics, but for cases normally treated in hospital approximately the same rate as Protestants and less than Catholics. Jews generally had the lowest rate for serious impairment of mental health. Because Jews were found less frequently in the lower socioeconomic strata, their seriously impaired rates were lower. This leads to the conclusion that the rate of the more severe conditions for which treatment was sought in the U.S. was not greater among Jews than among non-Jews. In Israel, European-American-born Jews had a definitely higher rate for all psychoses (including organic conditions) than Jews of other origins.

Neuroses and Allied Conditions

The available hospital statistics in New York City (Bellevue Hospital, 1938) and in New York State (Malzberg's study, 1949–51) indicate a higher rate of neuroses in Jews than in non-Jews. A higher rate of neuroses for Jews was reported among military selectees in Boston in 1941–42. The rate for first admissions to Illinois State mental hospitals, however, was lower for Jews.

Leo Srole notes that in the early 1950s the prevalence rate of treated neuroses for Jews was twice that of Catholics and Protestants. In the Manhattan study, Jews also yielded considerably higher patient rates for disorders usually treated in an ambulatory facility. While in the community survey they showed the lowest seriously impaired rate, their mental health was generally not as satisfactory as that of Catholics and Protestants, from which it is to be concluded that neurosis rates in New York are higher among Jews than among non-Jews.

In Israel in 1958 Jews had a hospital first admission rate which was definitely higher for neuroses than Jews in New York (1949–51, 21 *v.* 12). Furthermore, the Asian-African-born had generally twice the rate (15-plus) of the European- and Israel-born. The highest rate (65) was among those born in Iran, who had particular adjustment problems and also showed an apparently greater tendency to paranoid reactions. In 1966 the general Israel rate for neuroses was even higher than in 1958 (30), but the two groups of immigrants had approximately the same rate (±40). This is accounted for by the steep rise in the first admission rate for neurosis among European immigrants and some subsidence in the rate among Oriental immigrants.

Concentration-camp survivors, while generally known to have made a good social adjustment in Israel, were in a large proportion of cases deeply affected by the trauma they had suffered. Their emotional reactions often included anxiety, depression, and difficulty in reestablishing relations. Kibbutz-born Israelis appear to have the usual emotional disturbances, and in average proportions. They do not, however, manifest homosexuality or delinquency.

For personality (character, behavior disorders), Malzberg's study of hospitalization showed a crude rate slightly less for Jews in New York (1.5) than for white non-Jews. Israel Jews in 1958 showed a very much higher hospital incidence rate. The Asian-African-born in Israel showed remarkably high rates in the population over the age of 15 (36–48), as did the Israel-born (50), when compared to the European-born (15–25). This accords with their rates for schizophrenia, and like these they decreased in 1966 (Asian-African-born 25, Israel-born 23). This indicates that these reactions were the product of immigration and social upset and that they were reduced after social adaptation. In 1958 and 1966 the rates for personality disorders among the European-American-born were the lowest in Israel (9).

Other Indicators of Mental Ill Health

ALCOHOLISM. Jews are traditionally known for their sobriety. In the 1920s their rate for arrests for drunkenness in Warsaw was 30 *v.* 1,920 for Christians. In 1925 the rate of admission to public and private mental hospitals in New York City was 0.1 for Jews and 5.9 for non-Jews. A similar picture held in Massachusetts and Illinois State hospitals. In the Boston examination of military selectees, Jews had the lowest incidence of alcoholic psychosis of all ethnic groups. Malzberg found only two cases during a three-year period (1950–52) in Canada, where the Jewish population was 240,000. He also states that he found an intemperate employment of alcohol in 2.2 percent of Jewish first admissions in New York as against 18 percent of non-Jewish first admissions. In the New Haven psychiatric census of 1950, no alcoholic Jews were found among the patients at any treatment site.

In a census in Israel in 1964 analyzing cases found in mental hospitals, only 21 (0.3 percent) presented alcoholic problems. In 1966, however, a total of 152 alcoholic cases were admitted to the hospital (2 percent of all cases admitted). This was the total crude rate of 6.6 (for men 12.5), which resembles the earlier rates for non-Jews in the U.S. (urban total rate 7, males 12). However, this rate constituted about one in ten of which only four were Israel-born; 26 were from Europe-America (rate 3) and 44 from Asia-Africa (rate 7). It is evident, therefore that alcoholism in Israel is a problem relating almost entirely to male immigrants, especially those from Asia and Africa. However, social changes in the country and the growing consumption of alcohol may conceivably increase its incidence, in spite of the intense social cohesion in Israel.

It is possible that a part of the real incidence of neurosis and depression in many non-Jewish populations is masked by or expressed through alcoholic overindulgence. In Jews it may well be that emotional difficulty is expressed through neurosis and depression rather than through the escape into and physical self-destruction of alcoholism (see *Drunkenness).

DRUG ADDICTION. Drug addiction is relatively speaking not new or uncommon among Jews in Israel. In 1966 and 1967 91 Jews with a primary diagnosis of addiction were admitted to hospital for treatment. Thirty-two of these cases were admitted for the first time (23 males, 9 females). They were composed equally of immigrants from Europe-America and Afro-Asia, with only five or six Israel-born. In 1970 there were probably somewhat more than 400 hard-core addicts in Israel. Drug addiction is known to be associated in the underworld with criminality and with pimping and prostitution, but a few of the cases were related to medical treatment. The New Haven study of 1950 revealed no drug addicts among Jews. A comparison of half-year figures for 1966 with 1970 shows a rise of first admissions related to drugs (from 20 to 39) with an especial increase of the number of younger Israel-born Jews. In 1970, despite the absence of statistical study, the abuse of drugs was known to have spread to groups of Jewish youth in the U.S. A few who visited Israel after the Six-Day War required treatment. Some of the older immigrants to Israel from North Africa and the Middle East had been in the habit of smoking marijuana, but it became much less evident among them in Israel and was not used by their children except among delinquents and small marginal groups. Following the Six-Day War, with the occupation of the West Bank and the flood of volunteers and students from North America, the use of marijuana increased in marginal groups. The occasional and apparently temporary use of a small amount of marijuana even appeared among groups of pupils at secondary schools.

Suicide

Emile *Durkheim demonstrated at the end of the 19th century that Jews had a lower suicide rate than Protestants and Catholics. It was estimated that in 1925 the suicide rate for Jews in New York was ten as compared to a similar general average yearly rate for the period 1950–59 in the U.S., a rate of three in Ireland, and one of 23 in Denmark. In Israel in 1952–58 the general rate was ten (and 15 for the population above 15 years of age in 1949–59). While the suicide rate in Israel represents a mid-point between extremes in other nations, it has special characteristics. The female rate relative to the male rate is unusually high. In European countries males usually have a suicide rate three or four times that of females. In Israel in the years 1949–59, female rates were never less than half that of males and in two of those years equaled that of males. This has been explained as a result of the social equality and shared burdens of the sexes in Israel. A slackening of religious Orthodoxy may be a factor, but high female ratios are not found in other egalitarian societies. It is more probably a result of the high incidence of depression, especially among older Western women in Israel. Since 1949 at least 70 percent of female suicides have occurred in women over the age of 31, which is also the age associated with the onset of depression.

The high ratio of suicides in women as compared to men among Jews in Europe can be seen from a report by Arthur *Ruppin in 1940. Of the suicides of Jews in Warsaw between 1927 and 1932, 49.4 percent were women. Ruppin ascribes this to the difficult psychological situation of Jewish girls who, in the secular environment of the Polish capital, had lost touch with their Orthodox parents. Another striking fact is the very low suicide rate in Israel among the Asian-African- and Israel-born. However, attempted suicide is becoming more frequent among young women from Oriental homes in Israel. This is probably related to the psychological conflict described by Ruppin, who ascribes rising rates of suicide among Jews generally to growing secularity. Where Durkheim quotes a rate of 18 for Jews in Prussia in 1890, Ruppin gives a rate of 50 for 1926. Since 1956 the suicide rate in Israel has gradually declined. In 1964 it was 12 for the population above the age of 15, while the rate for the general population was 7.6. This decrease may also be related to the general readaptation which followed the absorption of the mass immigration of the early 1950s.

Criminality and Delinquency

While no statistics exist, criminality was known to be rare among Jewish communities in the Diaspora and has generally been so in Ereẓ Israel as well. However, delinquency has been found, especially among the less privileged Oriental, near-slum groups in Israel's cities. Striking evidence of the stress which followed the mass immigration is seen in the high rates of crimes of violence (murder, attempted murder, and manslaughter) and causing death by negligence from 1949 until about 1956–57. The rate for murder dropped from 45 in 1949 to one in 1962. The total rate of these crimes of violence decreased from 20 in 1950 to five in 1960. This again indicates adaptation after the tensions caused by mass immigration (but see below).

The percentage of juvenile delinquency rose from 0.7 in 1949 to 1.0 in 1957. The proportion was higher for Oriental groups. In 1957 children of all groups of immigrants constituted 69 percent of the delinquents. Delinquency and criminality are not encountered among kibbutz-born children. The incidence of juvenile delinquency among Oriental groups indicates problems which at times arise out of cultural and social changes in their families. On the other hand, the palpable increase in delinquency among children from a "good" socioeconomic background highlights the difficulties being encountered by some developed city families in the modern, technologically advanced society of Israel.

[Louis Miller]

Later Figures

At the end of 2002, 5,439 psychiatric patients were occupying hospital beds in Israel and during the year around 58,000 outpatients had been treated in government clinics. Hospitalization resulting from drug and alcohol abuse reached 19,528. In this regard the estimate of 400 addicts in the country in 1970 cited above, reflecting even then the gradual introduction of drugs into the country after the Six-Day War, underscores the extent to which Israel in the early 21st century had evolved a drug and alcohol culture. Hundreds of thousands can be said to be users of illegal drugs of one kind or another. Similarly the sharp rise in criminality and delinquency (see *Crime) are further indications of Israel's new realities.

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MENUHIN, HEPHZIBAH (1920–1981), pianist. Born in San Francisco, Menuhin began to study piano at an early age, giving her first recital in 1928. She continued her studies in Paris with Marcel Ciampi. There, in 1934 she made her debut with her brother Yehudi *Menuhin, thus starting a long partnership in sonata recitals. She toured widely as a recitalist in most of the major cities of Europe and America, visiting Israel with her brother in 1950. Her playing had a clean, clear approach abjuring frills.

Among her recordings are works by Schubert, Mendelssohn, Bach, Beethoven, and Bartók. In 1938 she married and settled in Australia. In 1954 she moved to Sydney, where she gave concerts and opened her home to anyone in need. Three years later she settled in London. With her second husband, Richard Hauser, she set up the Center for Human Rights and Responsibilities. After her death, a Hephzibah Menuhin Memorial Scholarship fund for young pianists was established in conjunction with the NSW State Conservatorium of Music.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Grove online; *Baker's Biographical Dictionary* (1997); L.M. Rolfe, *The Menuhins: A Family Odyssey* (1978); T. Palmer, *Menuhin: A Family Portrait* (1991).

[Naama Ramot (2nd ed.)]

MENUHIN, SIR YEHUDI (1916–1999), violinist and conductor. Menuhin was born in New York, the son of parents who had left Palestine to settle in the U.S. He himself spoke Hebrew in his early years. He started to learn the violin at the age of five and appeared as soloist with the San Francisco Orchestra when he was seven. He was taken to Europe in 1927, and continued his studies with Georges Enesco and with Adolf Busch. By 1929, he captivated Paris, London, and New York, and made his first gramophone records. He had played the Bach, Beethoven, and Brahms violin concertos under Bruno *Walter in Berlin, and performed 75-year old Elgar's violin concerto under the composer's baton in London and Paris. In 1935 he retired for almost two years to California. During World War II Menuhin gave an estimated 500 performances for U.S. and Allied Forces. In 1944 he was the first Allied soloist to play in liberated Paris and in 1945 he was invited to play in Moscow. He paid the first of several visits to Israel in 1950.

Menuhin had increased the scope of his musical involvement. His second career, as a conductor, was initiated with the Dallas SO in 1947 and became a regular feature of his activities. He established and directed music festivals in Switzerland (1957) and later in England (Bath and Windsor). He established a school for musically gifted children. Menuhin's admiration for Indian music prompted an important musical friendship with Ravi Shankar. He became an active member of UNESCO's International Musical Council of which he served as president. In 1970 he was awarded the Jawaharlal Nehru Prize for International Understanding. He received degrees, doctorates, and fellowships from universities around the world and state honors from 17 countries. After adopting British citizenship in 1985 he was knighted, and in 1987 he was awarded the Order of Merit. Among the many composers who wrote specially for him were Ernst *Bloch, Béla Bartók, Paul *Ben-Haim, and Sir William Walton. He published several books including the autobiography *Unfinished Journey* (1977), *Life Class of an Itinerant Violinist* (1986), and *The Violin* (1996). Yehudi Menuhin's sisters, Hephzibah *Menuhin (1920–1981) and YALTA (1921–2001), both gifted pianists, appeared with him in chamber music recitals and in concert tours.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: H.O. Spingel, *Yehudi Menuhin* (Ger., 1964). **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** Grove online; *Baker's Biographical Dictionary* (1997).

[Uri (Erich) Toeplitz / Naama Ramot (2nd ed.)]

ME'OT ḤITTIM (Heb. מְעוֹת חִטִּים; "wheat money"), collection made before *Passover to ensure a supply of flour for unleavened bread (*maẓẓot*) for the poor. Residence in a town for 12 months obliged one to contribute to or entitled one to receive communal funds known as *Kimḥa de-Fisḥa* ("flour for Passover"; TJ, BB 1:6, 12d). In medieval Europe it was customary for the communal rabbi and seven notables to draw up a list of those eligible to donate and to receive the tax, at the beginning of the month of Nisan. The custom was codified by *Isserles (OḤ 429:1). In modern times, the term has been broadened to include all the holiday needs of the poor at Passover (e.g., wine, fish, meat).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: E. Ki-Tov, *Sefer ha-Todaʿah*, 1 pt. 2 (1960), 22f.; Eisenstein, Dinim, 342.

MEPHIBOSHETH (Heb. מְפִיבֹשֶׁת), a son of Jonathan and a grandson of Saul; called Merib-Baal (מְרִיב־בַּעַל) or Meribaal (מְרִיבַעַל) in the genealogy of the house of Saul (I Chron. 8:34; 9:40) where the name is parallel to Eshbaal (see *Ish-Bosheth). The original form in I Chronicles is obviously, *boshet*, "shame" having deliberately been substituted for *baʿal*, "lord," which later generations objected to because it was the name of the pagan god Baal. Mephibosheth, the sole heir of the house of Saul (cf. II Sam. 9:1ff.), became lame at the age of five as the result of a fall from the hands of his nurse when she hurriedly picked him up in order to flee after receiving the news of the death of Saul and Jonathan (II Sam. 4:4). David treated Mephibosheth compassionately, refusing to deliver him over to the Gibeonites to be hanged with the other descendants of Saul (21:7), inviting him to eat at the royal table, and restoring him to the fields of Saul (9:1ff.). These kindnesses toward Mephibosheth can be explained as the fulfillment of David's oath to Jonathan (I Sam. 20:15, 42; II Sam. 21:7) and perhaps even of his oath to Saul (I Sam. 24:22). The story telling of David's generosity, however, makes no mention of the oaths, perhaps thereby implying that David's magnanimity was motivated not only by his oath but also by a plan to keep the descendants of the preceding dynasty under observation and to impress upon his own monarchy the stamp of continuity and legitimacy. Reasons of state become particularly evident in David's attempts to draw closer to the Benjamites and those who had been allied with Saul (II Sam. 3:19; 9:4–5; 17:27; 19:17, 18, 21; I Chron. 12:1–9). During Absalom's revolt Mephibosheth did not take any action and apparently remained loyal to David (II Sam. 19:25–32). *Ziba failed in his attempt to impute to Mephibosheth the ambition of receiving the monarchy from the people (II Sam. 16:1–4; 19:25–30).

[Samuel Abramsky]

In the *Aggadah*

Mephibosheth was an outstanding scholar. David called him "My teacher," and consulted him on all matters (Ber. 4a), and in the Talmud his name, used metaphorically to denote a noted scholar (Erub. 53b; "out of my mouth, humiliation"), indicated that he humiliated even David by his learning (*ibid.*). Nevertheless, David saved his life (cf. II Sam. 21:7) by praying that Mephibosheth should not be made to pass before the Ark and thus risk being condemned to death as were the rest of Saul's sons (Yev. 79a). Because David gave ear to Ziba's slander against Mephibosheth, the Temple was destroyed TJ, Yev. 4a). The later division of the kingdom was a punishment for David's decision that Mephibosheth and Ziba were to divide the land (II Sam. 19:29; Shab. 56b).

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MER, GIDEON (1894–1961), Israeli expert on malaria and epidemiologist. Mer was born in Ponevez (Panevezys), Lithuania, and gave up the study of medicine in 1913 to immigrate to Palestine. On the outbreak of World War I he was expelled by the Turkish authorities as an enemy alien and went to Egypt, where he responded to *Trumpeldor's call for volunteers to found a Jewish brigade. He was one of the first to join the Mule Corps and served with distinction at Gallipoli. After the war, Mer obtained work in the anti-malaria service under Professor *Kligler, who persuaded him to return to Europe to complete his medical studies. In 1928, at the invitation of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, he rejoined Kligler on the staff of the malaria research station at Rosh Pinnah, and in 1935 was appointed professor.

In World War II, Mer served as an expert on malaria first with the Australian army in the Middle East and then with the British forces in Iraq, Persia, and Burma. In Burma he carried out the first large-scale experiments on the use of DDT. After the war he returned to Rosh Pinnah and in 1948 served as brigade medical officer in the Palmaḥ. With the founding of the State of Israel Mer was appointed head of the department of preventive medicine of the Israeli army, but returned to his research station at Rosh Pinnah in 1951. Mer's work in the field of malaria control earned international recognition. His greatest contribution to the study of the bionomics of anopheles was his method of age grouping of the female anopheles by the size of the ampulla of the ovary.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: L. Dror et al. (eds.), *Gideon G. Mer…* (Heb., 1962 = *Beri'ut ha-Ẓibbur*, 5 (1962), 149–219).

MERAB (Heb. מֵרַב; probably from the root *rbb*), the eldest daughter of King *Saul (I Sam. 14:49). Saul promised Merab as a wife for *David, upon the condition that David fight Saul's wars against the Philistines (18:17–18). Saul did not fulfill his part of the bargain (18:19). Instead he gave Merab to *Adriel the Meholathite, and *Michal, her younger sister, became the wife of David. The conditional promise of marriage is similar to I Samuel 17:25, where Saul promises his daughter to the person who defeats Goliath. II Samuel 21:8 mentions the five sons of Michal and Adriel. The text should, however, read Merab instead of Michal on the basis of the Lucianic version of the Septuagint, the Peshita, and two masoretic texts.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: de Vaux, Anc Isr, 32.

MERANO, town in the province of Bolzano, N.E. Italy, near the Austrian border. Only around the middle of the 19th century did a few Jewish families, mainly from Central Europe, settle in Merano, the area having been under *ḥerem* since 1475 (see *Trent). In 1905, a community was constituted in Merano, encompassing the communities of Trent and Bolzano. In 1918 Merano passed from Austrian to Italian rule. In 1931, 780 Jews lived there, many of whom were foreign citizens. During World War II the Jews in Merano had to face the hostility of the German-speaking population, as well as the Nazi occupation: 25 Italian Jews from Merano are known to have died in the extermination camps; many more were executed or disappeared. There were 64 Jews in Merano in 1945, and about 30 in 1970.

[Sergio Della Pergola]

MÉRAY, TIBOR (1924–), author and journalist. At first a dedicated supporter of the Rákosi regime after World War II, Méray later joined Imre Nagy's revisionists and, when the 1956 revolution collapsed, fled to Paris. There he edited the radical newspaper *Irodalmi Ujság* and, during the Six-Day War of 1967, wrote in support of Israel. *The Enemy* (1958), confessions of a party hack, was a satire on Stalinism. *Thirteen Days That Shook the Kremlin* (1958) described the Hungarian Revolution. *The Revolt of the Mind: A Case History of Intellectual Resistance behind the Iron Curtain* appeared in English in 1975.

MERCHANT, LARRY (1931–), U.S. sports broadcaster and writer, known for his acerbic style of commentary. Merchant was born in Brooklyn, New York. His father ran a laundry and dry-cleaning business; his mother was a legal secretary. Merchant received a journalism degree from the University of Oklahoma in 1951, and after serving as a reporter for *Stars and Stripes* while in the Army, he began his journalism career in 1954 as sports editor of the *Wilmington News* in North Carolina. He was named sports editor of the *Philadelphia Daily News* at 26, and moved to the *New York Post* as a sports columnist in 1965. He left the *Post* a decade later and moved into television, becoming the HBO boxing commentator in 1978. HBO officials said they wanted Merchant to become another Howard *Cosell, himself an outspoken sportscaster. In a 2003 interview, Merchant said: "It's not my job to be a cheerleader. I'm skeptical of hype." He covered many of the top boxing events of the late 20th century, including Sugar Ray Leonard vs. Thomas Hearns, and Mike Tyson vs. Michael Spinks. In 1985, Merchant received the Sam Taub Memorial Award for Excellence in Boxing Broadcast Journalism. He was inducted into the World Boxing Hall of Fame in 2002. He wrote the award-winning HBO documentary series "Legendary Nights," which focused on famous boxing matches. Merchant played himself in two movies that featured boxing scenes, the 2001 remake of *Ocean's 11* and *I Spy* in 2002. He is the author of three books on sports: … *And Every Day You Take Another Bite* (1971), *The National Football Lottery* (1973), and *Ringside Seat at the Circus* (1976).

[Alan D. Abbey (2nd ed.)]

°**MERCIER, JEAN** (**Joannes Mercerus**; d. 1570), French Hebraist. Born in Uzès, near Nîmes, Mercier was a pupil of François Vatable, whom he succeeded as professor of Hebrew at the Collège Royal, Paris, in 1546. Unlike his master, Mercier was a prolific writer, publishing works on Hebrew and Semitic grammar, Latin translations and editions of the Targums, Bible commentaries, and other books of Jewish interest. Owing to his sympathy with the Reformers during the French religious wars, Mercier was obliged to take refuge in Venice in 1567 and, after returning to France, he died of the plague. One of his best-known works was the *Libellus de abbreviaturis Hebraeorum, tam Talmudicorum quam Masoritarum et aliorum rabbinorum* (Paris, 1561), later exploited by Guy *Le Fèvre de la Boderie, which reveals Mercier's interest in the Kabbalah and cites scholars such as *Reuchlin and *Galatinus. However, from remarks in his commentary on Genesis (Geneva, 1598), published after his death by Théodore de Bèze, his enthusiasm for later kabbalistic literature clearly waned. Mercier translated almost the whole of Targum Jonathan b. Uzziel on the Prophets; and he wrote annotations to Santes *Pagnini's *Thesaurus* (*Oẓar Leshon ha-Kodesh*; Lyons, 1575, etc.). His other works include *Besorat Mattei* (1955), a Hebrew version of the gospel of Matthew; *Luḥei Dikduka Kasda'ah o Arama'ah: Tabulae in grammaticen linguae Chaldaeae* (Paris, 1560); *Aseret ha-Devarim: Decalogus*, with the commentary of Abraham Ibn Ezra, in Hebrew and Latin (Lyons, 1566–68); and the posthumous *De notis Hebraeorum liber* (1582), revised by another French Hebraist, Jean Cinqarbres (Quinquarboreus; d. 1587). Among those who studied under Mercier was the Huguenot leader and author Philippe de Mornay (Du Plessis-Mornay, 1549–1623).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: F. Secret, *Les Kabbalistes Chrétiens de la Renaissance* (1964), 208–9; Steinschneider, Cat. Bod., 1748.

[Godfrey Edmond Silverman]

MERCURY (**Mercurius**; in talmudic literature מֶרְקוּלִיס, **Merkulis**), Roman god of merchants and wayfarers, identical with the Greek god Hermes. The rabbis of the Talmud discussed Mercury more than any other pagan deity and apparently considered him almost synonymous with idolatry. Thus, where one *baraita* states, "He who sees Mercurius should recite 'Blessed (be God) who has patience with those who transgress His will'" (Ber. 57b), the parallel source reads simply, "He who sees idolatry…" (Tosef., *ibid.* 7[6]:2). Similarly, the Midrash interpreted the general prohibition against erecting statues or pagan monuments (Lev. 26:1) as referring to statues of Mercury on the roads (Sifra, Be-Har 9:5). The rabbis were also aware of certain modes of worship connected with Mercury, and thus the Mishnah proclaims: "He that throws a stone at a Mercurius is to be stoned, because this is how it is worshiped" (Sanh. 7:6). The trilithon, or three stones erected as part of the Mercurius, was also known, and therefore "R. Ishmael says: Three stones beside a Mercurius, one beside the other, are forbidden, but two are permitted" (Av. Zar. 4:1). So well known, in fact, was Mercurius worship in Palestine that it is mentioned even in popular proverbs: "As one who throws a stone at Mercurius is guilty of idolatry, so one who teaches a wicked pupil is guilty of idolatry" (Tosef., Av. Zar. 6[7]:18). Rabbis were constantly confronted with Mercury, and according to one talmudic account, a Mercurius was erected in the field of R. Simeon, son of Judah the Patriarch, but he succeeded in having it dismantled by the local authorities (TJ, Av. Zar. 4:1, 43d).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: S. Lieberman, in: JIR, 36 (1945/46), 366–8; 37 (1946/47), 42–54.

[Isaiah Gafni]

MERCY (Heb. רַחֲמִים), a feeling of compassion tempered with love, which engenders forgiveness and forbearance in man and which stimulates him to deeds of charity and kindness. This quality, inherent in man's attitude toward his loved ones, is an essential characteristic of God who "pitieth like a father" (Ps. 103:13; Isa. 49:15; Ex. 20:6; 34:6; Micah 7:8), and of the descendants of Abraham, renowned for their compassion. As God is known as *Raḥamanah* ("the Merciful"), so are the people of Israel distinguished as "merciful sons of merciful fathers" (Yev. 79a). In accordance with the tradition of the *imitation of God – "as He is merciful so be you merciful" (Shab. 133b) – mercy transcends familial bounds to encompass the entire range of human relationships (Ecclus. 18:13; Gen. R. 33: 1). Just as God is bound by His covenant of mercy with His people (Deut. 13:17; 30:3; II Kings 13:23), so is the Jew bound by specific commandments to act mercifully toward the oppressed, the alien, the orphan, the widow, indeed, every living creature (Deut. 22:6; 25:4; Prov. 19:17; Git. 61a; Moses Cordovero, *Tomer Devorah*, ch. 3). The exercise of mercy is the fulfillment of a covenantal obligation, and, in turn, enhances moral sensibility (Suk. 49b; BB 9b). The stress placed upon maintaining charitable institutions in Jewish communal life is an outgrowth of this view of mercy. Man's recognition of God as "the Merciful One" finds its verbal expression in his prayers (Num. 19:19; Ps. 106:1), wherein he implores God to deal compassionately even with the undeserving man (Ex. 34:7; Sot. 14a; Ber. 7a). Because of the imperfection of every mortal, even such righteous men as Abraham are dependent on God's mercy. Recognizing human frailty, God forgives transgressors, especially those who themselves are forgiving (Ecclus. 28:2; Shab. 151b; BM 85a; Ex. R. 12:1). The firm belief that "it is because of the Lord's mercies that we are not consumed, because His compassions fail not" (Lam. 3:22) has sustained the Jewish people through many periods of travail (Hos. 12:7). God's mercifulness does not negate the principle of divine justice, but rather complements it and reinforces its efficacy (see *God, Justice and Mercy of). In analyzing the 13 attributes by which God manifests Himself, the rabbis point to the positive interaction of mercy and justice in God's relation to the world (RH 17a, b; Lev. R. 29:3). This combination of justice and mercy in God is denoted in the two names of God, *Elohim*, and YHWH, the first of which designates justice, the second, mercy. God resolves the tension between strict judgment and mercy in favor of the latter (Ps. 89:3; Prov. 20:28). Philo expresses this in his statement: "God's pity is older than his justice" (Deus, 16). Judaism can thus demand of its judges the seemingly contradictory qualities of impartiality and compassion (Ex. 23:3; Ket. 9:2: Sanh. 6b). The principle of mercy assumes an overriding significance in the administration of Jewish law, where rules of equity qualify strict legalism: "… execute the judgment and show mercy and compassion every man to his brother" (Zech. 7:9).

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[Zvi H. Szubin]

MERECINA OF GERONA, 15th century author of a Hebrew liturgical poem, rich in biblical allusions, that begins, "Blessed, Majestic, and Terrible," discovered by A.M. Habermann in the manuscript of a medieval Spanish *maḥzor.* She is described in the manuscript as "'a woman of virtue' – the lady Merecina, the Rabbiness from Gerona." Merecina's plea for divine redemption for the faithful of Israel is also an acrostic: the first word of each of the five verses starts with a letter of her name. Since the Jewish community of Gerona disappeared after the expulsion of 1492, the poem was evidently written before that date. Merecina is one of only two known female Hebrew poets in medieval Spain; her predecessor was the tenth-century wife of *Dunash ben Labrat.

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[Cheryl Tallan (2nd ed.)]

MEREMAR (d. 432), Babylonian *amora* of the end of the fourth and beginning of the fifth centuries. According to the *Sefer Kabbalah* of Abraham *Ibn Daud, Meremar succeeded Ashi as head of the academy of Sura (427–32). He was a pupil of the elder Ravina (Yev. 75b) and transmitted to the younger Ravina in the name of the latter's father the teachings of Joseph (Ned. 60b) and of Papi (Ned. 90a). He transmitted a statement once in the name of R. Dimi (Git. 19b), but he could hardly have known him personally, since Dimi lived in the first half of the fourth century. Among his colleagues were Mar Zutra (Suk. 45a) and Ashi (Ber. 30a). His pupil the younger Ravina, who visited him later in Sura (Pes. 117b), is mentioned frequently (Shab. 81b; Git. 19b; BM 72b, 104a; et al.), and Aḥa of Difti (Ber. 45b; Ḥul. 47a) is also apparently a pupil of Meremar. He was succeeded as head of the academy by Idi b. Avin. Meremar had a son Judah who was a colleague of Mar b. Rav Ashi and the above-mentioned Aḥa (Ber. 45b).

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[David Joseph Bornstein]

MERETZ, Israeli parliamentary group and political party. Meretz first emerged as a ten-member parliamentary group on March 9, 1992, through the merger of the Citizens Rights Movement, *Mapam, and *Shinui. The three parties were united on the issues of peace, religion and state, and human rights issues, but differed on social and economic issues, with Mapam and the CRM following a socialist line, and Shinui a liberal one.

Meretz ran in the elections to the Thirteenth Knesset, under the leadership of Shulamit *Aloni, receiving 12 seats, and emerged as the third largest party in the Knesset. It joined the government formed by Yitzhak *Rabin, and received three ministerial posts, increased to four after Shas left the government on the eve of the signing of the Oslo Accords in 1993. As long as Shas remained in the government, there was constant pressure on its part that Aloni be removed from the Ministry of Education and Culture, to which she had been appointed minister, owing to what Shas considered lack of sensitivity to the religious sector. As a result Aloni was replaced in the ministry by Amnon *Rubinstein, and received a portfolio that combined Communications, Science, and the Arts. As a staunch supporter of an agreement between Israel and the PLO, Meretz supported the Oslo Accords, but was only marginally involved in their formulation. In addition to attending to the portfolios that were in its hands, Meretz continued throughout the Thirteenth Knesset to be active in the field of civil and human rights, within Israel proper and in the territories, and even before Rabin's assassination warned against the growing strength of the religious extreme right-wing movements. Following Rabin's assassination, Meretz blocked an attempt by Prime Minister Shimon *Peres to bring the NRP into the coalition and thus give it an effective veto on any future peace moves. Meretz joined Haim *Ramon when he established the list Ḥayyim Ḥadashim ba-Histadrut, in the Histadrut elections, and some of its members played an active role in the reorganization of the Histadrut after those elections. In the elections to the Fourteenth Knesset in 1996, Meretz, led by

Yossi *Sarid, received nine seats, and remained in the opposition. In February 1997 it registered as a party, and its three bodies ceased to exist as separate parties. In the elections to the Fifteenth Knesset Meretz received ten seats, and entered the government formed by Ehud *Barak, receiving three portfolios, but it left the government in June 2000, because Sarid was displeased by Barak's efforts to pacify Shas, and went into opposition. In the elections to the Sixteenth Knesset Meretz received only six seats, despite the fact that Yossi *Beilin and Yael *Dayan, who had failed to enter the *Israel Labor Party list for the elections to the Sixteenth Knesset in a realistic place, joined the Meretz list. This failure led to Sarid's resigning the party leadership. In the elections for the party's leadership held in February 2004, Yossi *Beilin beat MK Ran Cohen, and the party changed its name to "Yaḥad and the Democratic Choice." In the summer of 2005 "Meretz" was brought back into the party's name. In the 2006 elections it won five seats.

[Susan Hattis Rolef (2nd ed.)]

MERGENTHEIM (**Bad Mergentheim**), city in Wuerttemberg, Germany. Jews settled in Mergentheim in the first half of the 13th century; 16 Jews were murdered during the *Rindfleisch massacres of 1298. Jews are mentioned again in 1312; they suffered during persecutions in 1336 and again during those of the *Black Death in 1349 when a number of Jews were martyred. They reappeared in the city, however, in 1355, and during the next century prospered, in large part through moneylending. The Jewish population remained small throughout the 14th and 15th centuries. In 1516 there was only one Jew in the city, but by the end of the century the population rose again. In 1590 a cemetery plot was put to use in Unterbalbach for the Jews of that town as well as those of surrounding communities, including Mergentheim. This cemetery was enlarged in 1702 and remained in continuous use throughout the modern period. During the early 17th century, only **Schutzjuden* were permitted in the city; all other Jews were restricted to an eight-day stay. Throughout the century, every attempt was made by the municipal authorities to restrict Jewish economic activities. Nonetheless, the Jewish families managed to build a synagogue in 1658; this was enlarged in 1762. By 1700 there were 40 Jewish residents, among them the Court *Jews Calman Model and Hirsch Manasses. At this time Jewish commercial interests included trade in horses, livestock, corn, and wine. By the end of the century these had expanded into wholesale trade and banking. In 1728 Mergentheim became the seat of the **Landrabbiner*, an office filled with distinction between 1742 and 1763 by Naphtali Hirsch Katzenellenbogen (see *Katzenellenbogen Family). In 1799 there were 90 Jews; 110 in 1830; 176 in 1869; 250 in 1886; and 276 in 1900. In 1933 there were 196 Jews.

On November 9/10, 1938, Jewish stores and homes were demolished; the rabbi, M. Kahn, was physically assaulted and the interior of the synagogue destroyed. By 1939 there were only 87 Jews left in the city. In 1941 and 1942, 41 Jews were deported to concentration camps. The community's Torah scrolls and sacred objects were saved from destruction and turned over to an American army chaplain after the war. In 1946 the synagogue was renovated but shortly thereafter was closed again and subsequently demolished. All that remained of the Mergentheim Jewish community in 1990 was the cemetery in Unterbalbach. There is a memorial to commemorate the former synagogue.

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[Alexander Shapiro]

MERḤAVYAH (Heb. מֶרְחַבְיָה; "God's Wide Space"), (1) kibbutz in the Jezreel (Ḥarod) Valley, Israel, E. of Afulah and at the foot of Givat ha-Moreh, affiliated with Kibbutz Arẓi Ha-Shomer Ha-Ẓa'ir. In 1909, the first holding in the Jezreel Valley was acquired at Merḥavyah by Jews through the efforts of Yehoshua *Hankin on behalf of the Palestine Land Development Company. Initially, a group of *Ha-Shomer established a farm there (1911). They persevered in spite of the malaria and the attempts of the Turkish authorities and their Arab neighbors to make them leave the place. Merḥavyah soon became a workers' cooperative according to Franz *Oppenheimer's ideas. During World War I, German pilots set up a temporary camp there. The cooperative dispersed after the war and another group founded a settlement, joined by veterans of the *Jewish Legion, which, however, did not succeed. In 1929 a group of Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir pioneers from Poland established its kibbutz on the site. It became the movement's organizational center, including the Kibbutz Arẓi secretariat, archives, printing press, and the Sifriat Poalim publishing house. In 1969, the kibbutz, with 550 inhabitants, based its economy on intensive farming, and also had a factory for plastic pipes and a metal workshop. In the mid-1990s, the population of the kibbutz was approximately 620, growing further to 675 in 2002. In the 2000s the kibbutz economy was based on two industries, plastics and wood, and a resort with an amusement park and events garden. Farming included field crops, citrus groves, and dairy cattle. The "Big Yard" featured restored houses built between 1912 and 1916, a visitors center, and a museum in memory of Meir *Yaari, one of the Kibbutz Arẓi Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir's leaders. (2) Moshav founded on part of the Merḥavyah lands in 1922 by a group of Third Aliyah pioneers from Eastern Europe. Merḥavyah, affiliated with Tenu'at ha-Moshavim in 1969, engaged in intensive agriculture with field and garden crops, dairy cattle, and poultry as prominent branches. In 1968 its population was 42, jumping to 285 in the mid-1990s and 630 in 2002 after expansion.

WEBSITE: www.merchavyard.org.il.

[Efram Orni / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

MÉRIDA, city in W. Spain, capital of the ancient Lusitania. Located at an important road junction, it had one of the oldest communities in Spain. A folk legend relates that the Jewish settlement there dated from the arrival of captives brought by Titus after the destruction of the Second Temple; the exiles were "the nobles of Jerusalem … among them there was a maker of curtains [for synagogue arks] by the name of Baruch who was also skilled in silk-work. These people remained in Mérida where they raised families …" (Ibn Daud, *Sefer ha-Qabbalah*, ed. by G. Cohen (1967), 79). There was a Jewish settlement in Mérida in the late Roman and Visigothic periods. A Jewish tombstone inscription in Latin, probably dating from not later than the fourth century, embodies Latin translations of Hebrew formulas commonly found on Jewish tombstones of the period. After the Arab conquest, there was an important Jewish community in Mérida. Its prominent families included those of Ibn Avitur and Ibn al-Balia.

During Christian rule the Jewish quarter was situated near the Church of Santa Catalina, formerly the synagogue. From 1283 the tax paid by the community was 4,000 maravedis. The Jews in Mérida suffered during the 1391 persecutions, and a *Converso group existed there during the 15th century. However the amount of tax paid by the community in 1439 (2,250 maravedis) shows that it was relatively flourishing. Because of its proximity to the Portuguese border, the exiles from Mérida went to Portugal when the Jews were expelled from Spain in 1492.

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[Haim Beinart]

MERIDOR, DAN (1947–), Israeli politician and lawyer, member of the Eleventh to Fifteenth Knessets. Meridor was born in Jerusalem, son of Eliahu Meridor, who served in the Fourth to Sixth Knessets on the *Ḥerut Movement and *Gaḥal lists. Dan Meridor went to school in Jerusalem and finished the Hebrew Gymnasium High School in 1965. He served in the army in the Armored Division and then studied law at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. After completing his degree he went into private law practice in Jerusalem. In 1973 he joined the Ḥerut Movement Executive, where he was viewed as one of the "Ḥerut princes" – sons of the movement's founders. He failed to get onto the *Likud list to the Ninth Knesset in 1977. After the elections he was offered several positions in the government but rejected them all. During Operation Peace for Galilee, after the resignation of Arie Na'or as government secretary, Meridor was appointed in his place, serving in this position until being elected to the Eleventh Knesset in 1984. He referred to the Sabra and Shatilla massacre in Lebanon as "the ugly accident." In the government formed by Yitzhak *Shamir after the elections to the Twelfth Knesset in 1988 Meridor was appointed minister of justice. In that position Meridor took a clear liberal line on issues of human rights and the rule of law, actively promoting the passing of Basic Law: Human Dignity and Freedom, and Basic Law: Freedom of Occupation, which were viewed as the first stage in the passing of a complete bill of human rights. Meridor also insisted that human rights and the rule of law be preserved with regards to the Palestinians in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip in the difficult period of the first Intifada. As a result he gained many political enemies in the extreme right. He continued to push for the passing of additional basic laws in the field of human rights, and promoted Basic Law: Legislation in the Thirteenth Knesset, when the Likud was in opposition. In the primaries in the Likud for a new leader after the 1992 electoral defeat, Meridor supported the candidature of his friend Ze'ev Binyamin *Begin opposite Binyamin *Netanyahu, despite Begin's more right-wing positions. In the government formed by Netanyahu after the elections to the Fourteenth Knesset in 1996, Meridor was appointed minister of finance in which role he advocated a further liberalization of the economy, and the privatization of government-owned companies, the banks whose shares were held by the government since the 1983 bank crisis, and state lands. Meridor resigned from the government in June 1997 after expressing his dissatisfaction with the appointment of Ronnie Bar-On as attorney general, and Netanyahu's treatment of the issue, and owing to growing tension with the governor of the Bank of Israel, Prof. Ya'akov *Frankel, on his interest rate and foreign exchange policies. In February 1999, Meridor was one of several leading members of the Likud, including Yitzhak Mordechai and Roni *Milo, who left the party to form the new Center Party. The new party gained six seats in the elections to the Fifteenth Knesset. Meridor was not appointed as a minister in the government formed by Ehud *Barak in 1999, which was joined by the Center Party, and was appointed chairman of the Foreign Affairs and Defense Committee, until he joined the government formed by Ariel *Sharon in 2001 as minister without portfolio. The Center Party began to disintegrate after the elections for prime minister of February 2001, and though Meridor had decided to return to the Likud, he formally remained part of the Center Party parliamentary group.

Throughout his political career Meridor was known for his honesty, mild temper, and gentlemanly demeanor, which while gaining for him a good deal of respect, also led to his being presented by satirists as a weak figure, and made it very difficult for him to contend with the new atmosphere that developed in the Likud Conference before and after the elections to the Sixteenth Knesset. As a result he decided not to run for a place on the Likud list to the Sixteenth Knesset, and to return to his private law practice.

Dan Meridor's brother, Salai, was chairman of the Jewish Agency.

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[Susan Hattis Rolef (2nd ed.)]

MERINIDS (**Banu-Marin**), Berber dynasty ruling over Morocco and parts of Algeria from the mid-13th century to 1472. Their capital and center of operations was the city of *Fez. From the 1390s, the Jewish population under the dynasty increased significantly as a result of the flow of Jewish refugees from areas re-conquered by the Christians in Spain from the Muslims. Important Jewish communities expanded in Fez and Taza. The King Abd al-Haqq (murdered by Muslim fanatics in 1465) appointed Harun, a Jewish physician, as vizier (minister). Members of the Jewish elite served as vital trade and diplomatic intermediaries between the Merinid court and Portugal, then a key military and commercial power with strategic interests inside Morocco. Although several Merinid kings manifested compassion and even generosity toward the Jews, the same was not true of all of them, and it most certainly was not the case with ordinary Muslims, who resented the growing Jewish political and economic influence. Jews were periodically harassed and beaten by Muslims and were prohibited from residing anywhere near Muslim holy sites.

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[Michael M. Laskier (2nd ed.)]

MERKABAH MYSTICISM or **MA'ASEH MERKAVAH** (Heb. מַעֲשֵׂה מֶרְכָּבָה), the name given to the first chapter of Ezekiel in Mishnah *Ḥagigah*, 2:1. The term was used by the rabbis to designate the complex of speculations, homilies, and visions connected with the Throne of Glory and the chariot (*merkavah*) which bears it and all that is embodied in this divine world. The term, which does not appear in Ezekiel, is derived from I Chronicles 28:18 and is first found with the meaning of Merkabah mysticism at the end of Ben Sira 49:8: "Ezekiel saw a vision, and described the different orders of the chariot." The Hebrew expression *zanei merkavah* should possibly be interpreted as the different sights of the vision of the chariot in Ezekiel, chapters 1, 8, and 10 (according to S. Spiegel, in: HTR, 24 (1931), 289), or as the different parts of the chariot, which later came to be called "the chambers of the chariot" (*ḥadrei merkavah*). It has been suggested (by Israel Lévi in his commentary on Ben Sira, *L'Ecclesiastique*, 1 (1898), and 2 (1901)) that the text be corrected to *razei merkavah* ("secrets of the chariot"). The divine chariot also engrossed the Qumran sect; one fragment speaks of the angels praising "the pattern of the Throne of the chariot" (Strugnell, in: VT, 7 supplement (1960), 336). In Pharisaic and tannaitic circles Merkabah mysticism became an esoteric tradition (see *Kabbalah) of which different fragments were scattered in the Talmud and the Midrash, interpreting *Ḥagigah* 2:1. This was a study surrounded by a special holiness and a special danger. A *baraita* in *Ḥagigah* 13a, which is ascribed to the first century C.E., relates the story of "A child who was reading at his teacher's home the Book of Ezekiel and he apprehended what *Ḥashmal* was [see Ezek. 1:27, JPS "electrum"], whereupon a fire went forth from *Ḥashmal* and consumed him." Therefore the rabbis sought to conceal the Book of Ezekiel.

Many traditions relate to the involvement of Johanan b. *Zakkai, and later of *Akiva in this study. In the main, details about the conduct of the rabbis in the study of Merkabah are found in the Jerusalem Talmud *Ḥagigah 2* and the Babylonian Talmud, *Shabbat* 80b. According to the manuscript of the latter source the prohibition on lecturing to a group was not always observed and the tradition adds that a transgressor, a Galilean who came to Babylonia, was punished for this and died. In the Babylonian Talmud, *Sukkah* 28a, Merkabah mysticism was put forward as a major subject (*davar gadol*) in contrast to the relatively minor subject of rabbinic casuistry. Traditions of this type are found, for example, in *Berakhot* 7a, *Ḥullin* 91b, *Megillah* 24b, and at the beginning of *Genesis Rabbah, Tanḥuma, Midrash Tehillim, Midrash Rabbah* to Leviticus, Song of Songs, and Ecclesiastes. Several traditions are preserved in *Seder Eliyahu Rabbah* and in small tractates, such as *Avot de-Rabbi Nathan* and *Massekhet Derekh Ereẓ*. In contrast with the scattered fragments of these traditions in exoteric sources, books, and treatises collecting and developing *Ma'aseh Merkavah* according to the trends prevailing in different mystic circles were written at the latest from the fourth century on. Many of the treatises include early material but numerous additions reflect later stages. *Re'iyyot Yeḥezkiel*, the major part of which was found in the Cairo *Genizah* (published in S.A. Wertheimer, *Battei Midrashot*, 2 (1953^{2}), 127–34), depicts historical personalities and the context is that of a fourth-century Midrash. Scraps of a second-or third-century Midrash on the *Ma'aseh Merkavah* were found in pages of the *Genizah* fragments. These sources do not yet show any sign of the pseudepigraphy prevailing in most surviving sources; in these the majority is formalized, and most of the statements are attributed to Akiva or to Ishmael. Several of the texts are written in Aramaic, but most are in Mishnaic Hebrew. A great deal of material of this type has been published (mostly from manuscripts) in collections of minor Midrashim such as A. Jellinek's *Beit ha-Midrash* (1853–78), S.A. Wertheimer's *Battei Midrashot*, E. Gruenhut's *Sefer ha-Likkutim* (1898–1904), and H.M. Horowitz' *Beit Eked ha-Aggadot* (1881–84). *Sefer Merkavah Shelemah* (1921) includes important material from the manuscript collection of Solomon Musajoff. Some of the texts included in these anthologies are identical, and many are corrupt.

The most important are:

(1) *Heikhalot Zutrati* ("Lesser *Heikhalot*") or *Heikhalot R. Akiva*, of which only fragments have been published, mostly without being recognized as belonging to the text. The bulk of it is in a very difficult Aramaic, and part of it is included in *Merkavah Shelemah* as "*Tefillat Keter Nora*."

(2) *Heikhalot Rabbati* ("Greater *Heikhalot*," in *Battei Midrashot*, 1 (1950^{2}), 135–63), i.e., the *Heikhalot* of Rabbi Ishmael, in Hebrew. In medieval sources and ancient manuscripts the two books are at times called *Hilkhot Heikhalot*. The division of *Heikhalot Rabbati* into *halakhot* ("laws") is still preserved in several manuscripts, most of which are divided into 30 chap-

ters. Chapters 27–30 include a special tract, found in several manuscripts under the title *Sar Torah*, which was composed much later than the bulk of the work. In the Middle Ages the book was widely known as *Pirkei Heikhalot*. The edition published by Wertheimer includes later additions, some of them Shabbatean (see G. Scholem, in *Zion*, 7 (1942), 184f.). Jellinek's version (in *Beit ha-Midrash*, 3, 1938^2) is free of additions but suffers from many corruptions.

(3) *Merkavah Rabbah*, part of which is found in *Merkavah Shelemah*, mostly attributed to Ishmael, and partly to Akiva. Perhaps this work contained the most ancient formulation of *Shi'ur Komah* ("the measurement of the body of God"), which later was copied in manuscripts as a separate work that developed into *Sefer ha-Komah*, popular in the Middle Ages (see G. Scholem, *Jewish Gnosticism*… (1965), 36–42).

(4) A version of *Heikhalot* which has no name and was referred to in the Middle Ages as *Ma'aseh Merkavah* (G. Scholem, *ibid.*, 103–17). Here statements of Ishmael and Akiva alternate.

(5) Another elaborate treatise on the pattern of *Heikhalot Rabbati*, but with differing and partly unknown new details; fragments have been published from the Cairo *Genizah* by I. Greenwald, *Tarbiz*, 38 (1969), 354–72 (additions *ibid.*, 39 (1970), 216–7);

(6) *Hekhalot*, published by Jellinek (in *Beit ha-Midrash* (vol. 1, 1938^2), and later as *III Enoch or the Hebrew Book of Enoch* (ed. and trans. by H. Odeberg, 1928). Unfortunately Odeberg chose a later and very corrupt text as a basis for his book, which he intended as a critical edition. The speaker is R. Ishmael and the work is largely made up of revelations about Enoch, who became the angel Metatron, and the host of heavenly angels. This book represents a very different trend from those in *Heikhalot Rabbati* and *Heikhalot Zutrati*.

(7) The tractate of *Heikhalot* or *Ma'aseh Merkavah* in *Battei Midrashot* (1 (1950^2), 51–62) is a relatively late elaboration, in seven chapters, of the descriptions of the throne and the chariot. In the last three works a literary adaptation was deliberately made in order to eradicate the magical elements, common in the other sources listed above. Apparently they were intended more to be read for edification rather than for practical use by those who delved into the Merkabah.

(8) The Tosefta to the Targum of the first chapter of Ezekiel (*Battei Midrashot*, 2 (1953^2), 135–40) also belongs to this literature.

A mixture of material on the chariot and creation is found in several additional sources, mainly in *Baraita de-Ma'aseh Bereshit* and in *Otiyyot de-Rabbi Akiva*, both of which appear in several versions. The *Seder Rabbah de-Bereshit* was published in *Battei Midrashot* (1 (1950^2), 3–48), and in another version by N. Séd, with a French translation (in REJ, 3–4 (1964), 23–123, 259–305). Here the doctrine of the Merkabah is connected with cosmology and with the doctrine of the seven heavens and the depths. This link is also noticeable in *Otiyyot de-Rabbi Akiva*, but only the longer version contains the traditions on creation and the Merkavah mysticism. Both extant versions, with an important supplement entitled *Midrash Alfa-Betot*, were published in *Battei Midrashot* (2 (1953^2), 333–465). M. Margaliot discovered additional and lengthy sections of *Midrash Alfa-Betot* in several unpublished manuscripts. Again, these works were arranged more for the purposes of speculation and reading than for practical use by the mystics. The doctrine of the seven heavens and their angelic hosts, as was developed in Merkabah mysticism and in cosmology, has also definite magical contexts, which are elaborated in the complete version of Sefer *ha-Razim (ed. by M. Margalioth, 1967), whose date is still a matter of controversy.

In the second century Jewish converts to Christianity apparently conveyed different aspects of Merkabah mysticism to Christian Gnostics. In the Gnostic literature there were many corruptions of such elements, yet the Jewish character of this material is still evident, especially among the Ophites, in the school of Valentinus, and in several of the Gnostic and Coptic texts discovered within the last 50 years. In the Middle Ages the term *Ma'aseh Merkabah* was used by both philosophers and kabbalists to designate the contents of their teachings but with completely different meanings – metaphysics for the former and mysticism for the latter.

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[Gershom Scholem]

MERNEPTAH (Egyptian, Mr-n-Pth; "the beloved of Ptah"), king of Egypt (reigned c. 1224–1214 B.C.E.). Most scholars believed that Merneptah was the pharaoh of the *Exodus until the discovery of the "Israel" stela at Thebes in 1896. This stela, dated to the fifth year of Merneptah's reign, states in the second line that "Israel is laid waste, his seed is not." Since in this part of the stela "Israel" is the only name containing the Egyptian determinitive sign of a people and not of a land, many scholars have presumed that at this time Israel was a nomadic people located somewhere in or near Palestine. However, others think that this may be merely due to a scribal error. Although the major historical texts of Merneptah deal with the repulsion of a Libyan invasion of the Egyptian Delta in the fifth year of his reign, the concluding lines of the "Israel" stela and his use of the epithet "reducer of Gezer" in a Nubian inscription may attest to the crushing of a revolt in Palestine early in his reign. A few other miscellaneous texts of the period (notably *Papyrus Anastasi I*) show that the Egyptians had a thorough geographic, topographic, and toponymic knowledge of Palestine and Syria, particularly along the main arteries of traffic.

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[Alan Richard Schulman]

MERODACH (Heb. מְרֹדַךְ), a Babylonian god (Jer. 50:2), whose name also enters into the composition of the personal names *Merodach-Baladan (= Berodach-Baladan; II Kings 20:12; Isa. 39:1), *Evil-Merodach (II Kings 25:27; Jer. 52:31), and *Mordecai.

See *Marduk.

MERODACH-BALADAN (Heb. מְרֹדַךְ בַּלְאֲדָן; Akk. ^{d}Marduk-ap-la-iddin; "Marduk has given a son"), Babylonian king (722–710 B.C.E.). Assyrian inscriptions place the origin of Merodach-Baladan in the land of Bît-Iakin, a Chaldean kingdom near the coast of the Persian Gulf ("Sealands"). This is more probable than Merodach-Baladan's claim that he was the son and legal heir of the Babylonian king Erība-Marduk. In 731 B.C.E., Ukin-zer of Bît Amukkani, a Chaldean, wrested the kingship of Babylonia from the pro-Assyrian king Nabunadin-zer. Merodach-Baladan, who also had designs on the kingship, supported the Assyrian king Tiglath-Pileser III, against Ukin-zer. He was thus able to strengthen his position among the Chaldean tribes, increase his influence in Babylonia, and forge an alliance with Elam, without interference from Tiglath-Pileser III or Shalmaneser V, both of whom exercised sovereignty over Babylonia (729–722 B.C.E.).

With the death of Shalmaneser V, Merodach-Baladan seized the Babylonian throne (722/721 B.C.E.). This marked the beginning of violent struggles between Merodach-Baladan and the Assyrians. By 720, Sargon II was preparing for war against Merodach-Baladan, who had the support of the Elamites. Conflicting reports have been preserved of this battle, which took place in the plain of Dêr, east of the Tigris. Merodach-Baladan ruled Babylonia until 710, when, through neglect and economic exploitation, he incurred the enmity of the native Babylonian population in the large urban centers which had been loyal to him, although he enjoyed the support of the Chaldean and Babylonian tribes which were largely concentrated in the southern part of the country.

Therefore, it is not surprising that when Sargon II waged war against Merodach-Baladan in 710, he was warmly received by the urban population. Sargon defeated Merodach-Baladan's armies and conquered his fortresses, causing Merodach-Baladan to flee south to Bît-Iakin, where he waited for an opportunity to regain the throne. Seeing in the widespread disturbances that arose after the death of Sargon (705) the opportunity to resume his rule over Babylonia, Merodach-Baladan, in 703, with the support of the Elamites and much of the Babylonian population, reestablished his rule there. He found an ally in *Hezekiah, who was at that time planning a revolt against Assyria, exploiting the latter's political goals for his own benefit. Hezekiah could help Merodach-Baladan by distracting the attention of the Assyrians to the west. This appears to be the background of the biblical narrative concerning the goodwill delegation sent by Merodach-Baladan to Hezekiah of Judah in 701 B.C.E. after Sennacherib's campaign there (II Kings 20:12–19; Isa. 39:1–8; II Chron. 32:31). However, it is doubtful that political conditions in Palestine after the Assyrian campaign were favorable for Merodach-Baladan and Hezekiah to form an alliance.

In 703 B.C.E. Sennacherib conducted a campaign against Merodach-Baladan, defeating the Elamite and Babylonian armies surrounding Kish. Merodach-Baladan fled to the "Sealands," and from there continued to rule over Bît-Iakin and the southernmost part of Babylonia. After Sennacherib returned from his campaign in the west in 701, he waged war against Merodach-Baladan (700). The Chaldeans were no match for the Assyrians, and Merodach-Baladan fled further along the Persian Gulf to the region bordering on Elam, dying there in 694.

[Bustanay Oded]

In the *Aggadah*

Merodach-Baladan is praised for honoring his father. He added his father's name Baladan to his own when acting as regent during the incapacity of his father, and signed documents in the name of both his father and himself (Sanh. 96a). When told that the sun had reversed its course on the day that Hezekiah miraculously recovered from his illness, he acknowledged the superiority of God, though previously he had been a sun worshiper. He thereupon addressed a letter to Hezekiah the original introduction of which was "Peace to Hezekiah, Peace to the God of Hezekiah, and Peace to Jerusalem." Realizing, however, that he had been disrespectful in not placing God first, he took steps and recalled his messengers in order to change the wording. As a reward he was told: "You took three steps for the honor of My name … I will therefore raise up from thee three kings [Nebuchadnezzar, Evil-Merodach, and Belshazzar], who shall rule from one end of the world to the other" (Est. R. 3:1).

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MERON, city located just north of the Wadi Meirun on one of the eastern spurs of Mt. Meron (map ref. 191/265) at an elevation of 2,450 ft. (750 m.) above sea level around the ancient synagogue. It is not to be confused with Merom, as in the "waters of Merom" in the Hebrew Bible (Josh 11:5, 7), near where Joshua defeated Jabin, King of Hazor, or the city which appears in the list of Caananite cities conquered by Thutmosis III, Meron is also frequently confused with the site of Meroth (map ref. 199/270), which is most likely the one mentioned in Josephus as being fortified in 66 C.E. on the eve of the great revolt against Rome (*Wars* 3: 573; *Life* 188) and excavated in the 1980s by Z. Ilan.

Meron may be identified with the rabbinic town of that name which is associated with Rabbi *Simeon bar Yoḥai (Tosef. Dem. 4.13) and his son Eleazar, who are believed to be buried there. It is also listed as one of the towns or villages of the priestly courses (I Chron. 24; Mish. Ta'an. 4.2, etc.) where the family of Jehoiarib was located. By medieval times Meron was an important pilgrimage site associated with the festival of *Lag ba-Omer and influenced by the mystical traditions that emerged in nearby Safed, just 6 miles (9 km.) away. R. Moses Basola mentions the festival as early as 1522. The name Meron also appears in this connection in the various poems of Kalir and other liturgical authors.

The synagogue site was first surveyed and documented in the important work of Kohl and Watzinger published in 1916, though 19th century explorers and travelers knew the ruin as well. The site was excavated between 1971 and 1977 by Eric M. Meyers and an American team and their finds were published in 1981. A subsequent Israeli salvage excavation was carried out by N. Feig and published in 2002. One of the most important observations to be made is that there was a very modest settlement in the late Hellenistic period, ca. 200–63 B.C.E., and the Early Roman period represented even less in scant remains. No evidence for Josephus' fortification was uncovered in any excavation, which has led the excavators to abandon the idea that Meron and Meroth of Josephus were one and the same place. The heyday of occupations was the rabbinic period, or the Middle-Late Roman era, from ca. 135–363 C.E., the latter date the year of the great earthquake that contributed to the abandonment of the site; and significant remains of domestic buildings and structures survive from this period as do important agricultural installations. The main building identified with this period is the great synagogue on the summit, which is a long basilical structure with the familiar triple doorway on the Jerusalem-facing wall. A shallow portico with six columns was attached to the southern façade wall. The interior of the synagogue has two rows of eight columns, making it the longest of the Galilean synagogues, and while no trace of a Torah Shrine was found it is likely that one stood on the interior of the southern wall. Most of the remains of the building had been robbed in antiquity, and only a small attached room along the southeastern corner has survived. In its rubble foundations were found materials from the third century, allowing the excavators to posit a date for the construction of the building in the third century C.E. It may be assumed that its final period of use came in ca. 363, when the rest of the town was abandoned.

Remains from the lower city show a vibrant town with shops and living complexes that reflect the indigenous life style of the Land of Israel in late antiquity, with many industrial and agricultural installations dotting the interior spaces of the town in the rabbinic period. Olive oil production was very common in the region and its importance is reflected in the material culture of Meron. A room full of charred foodstuffs, possibly intended as **hekdesh*, was found in one of the more upscale homes in the lower city, as was a *mikveh* in another, pointing to a community that observed Jewish laws.

After the abandonment of the site in the second half of the fourth century the site was reoccupied in the 13th–14th century, while some evidence for the 15th century also exists along with the evidence of pilgrim travelers such as Rabbi Obadiah of *Bertinoro (1495). In the 16th century Meron was a Muslim village with approximately 500 souls with an economy similar to the ancient one and based on the cultivation of wheat, fruit, and olives. In early modern times cotton was also raised, and there were some 60 known olive presses known to have been in operation at this time.

[Eric M. Meyers (2nd ed.)]

The modern moshav Meron, at the foot of Mt. Meron, affiliated with the Ha-Po'el ha-Mizrachi Moshavim Association. Founded in 1949, near the yeshivah and remnants of the ancient Meron synagogue, by immigrants from Hungary and Czechoslovakia, it specialized in hill farming, with deciduous fruit orchards, dairy cattle, and poultry as major branches. In the mid-1990s, the population was approximately 605, increasing to 805 in 2002.

[Efraim Orni]

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MERON (originally **Maierzuk**), **HANNA** (1923–), Israeli actress and star of the *Cameri Theater in Tel Aviv. Born in Berlin, she appeared on the German stage and in Fritz Lang's movie "M" as a child before going to Palestine in 1933. She trained at the Habimah Studio, served in a British army entertainment unit during World War II, and in 1945 joined the newly founded Cameri Theater. She was subsequently responsible for some of the company's greatest successes. Her realistic portrayal of the title role in *Pick-Up Girl* shocked some and delighted others. Possessing incisive style and vitality, she was particularly successful in modern, sophisticated comedy. She also distinguished herself in a wide range of parts that included Micka in Moshe Shamir's *He Walked in the Fields*, Eliza in *Pygmalion*, Rosalind in *As You Like It*, Elizabeth in Schiller's *Mary Stuart*, and the title role in Ibsen's *Hedda Gabler.* She was active in the management of the Cameri Theater and helped to shape its policy. In 1968, she played the lead in the musical *Hello Dolly.* In 1970, she lost a leg as a result of an Arab attack in Munich airport on Israeli passengers. However, on her recovery she resumed her performances on the Israeli stage, giving many striking performances, among them her role in *Medea* and as the ultimate slattern in *The Effect of Gamma Rays on Man-in-the-Moon Marigolds.* A recording of her beautiful reading of poetry accompanied a ballet of the *Batsheva Dance Company. She was awarded the Israel Prize for arts (theater) in 1973. She also appeared in a popular TV sitcom ("Relatives, Relatives") and has directed plays at Tel Aviv University and the Beit-Zvi acting school. In December 2003 she was honored on her 80th birthday by the Herzliyyah Theater, where she served as a founder-director. She was married to the late Ya'akov *Rechter, who received the Israel Prize for arts (architecture) in 1972.

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[Mendel Kohansky]

MEROZ (Heb. מֵרוֹז), an unidentified locality, which is cursed in the Song of Deborah (Judg. 5:23) because the inhabitants refused to help the prophetess and Barak in their war against Siserah. Suggested identifications for Meroz are Mazar on Mt. Gilboa or al-Ruz near al-Lajjūn.

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[Michael Avi-Yonah]

MERRICK, DAVID (1911–2000), Broadway producer. Merrick was born in St. Louis, Mo., as David Margulois, the youngest child of a salesman. His parents were divorced when he was seven and he bounced among relatives through adolescence. A good student, he won a scholarship to Washington University in St. Louis, then went to St. Louis University, where he studied law, a trade that would help him in his tough theatrical contract negotiations. His marriage to Leonore Beck, whom he had met in school, and who had a modest inheritance, allowed the couple to leave St. Louis for New York in 1939. A year later, he invested $5,000 in a forthcoming comedy, *The Male Animal*. The play was a hit, and David Merrick, taking a new name inspired by the 18th-century English actor David Garrick, was born.

For a quarter of a century that ended with his last blockbuster, the musical *42nd Street* in 1980, Merrick was the dominant showman in the Broadway theater. In a typical season during the 1960s he produced a half-dozen or more plays and musicals. His productivity and profitability were unmatched by any single impresario in the history of New York's commercial theater. Among his successes were some of the most popular musicals of his era, including *Gypsy, Hello, Dolly!,* and *Promises, Promises* as well as *42nd Street*, one of the longest-running productions in Broadway history. He introduced Woody *Allen to Broadway as a playwright (*Don't Drink the Water*) and actor (*Play It Again, Sam*) and produced the 1962 musical *I Can Get It for You Wholesale*, which catapulted the 19-year-old singer Barbra *Streisand to stardom. His productions also gave signature roles to Ethel Merman (Mama Rose in *Gypsy*) and Carol Channing (Dolly Levi in *Hello, Dolly!*) and he worked with nearly every major songwriter of the Broadway musical's heyday. Merrick presented Laurence Olivier in his most celebrated postwar performance (as Archie Rice in *The Entertainer*), the breakthrough dramas of John Osborne (*Look Back in Anger*), Brian Friel (*Philadelphia, Here I Come!*), and Tom Stoppard (*Rosencrantz and Guildenstern Are Dead*), as well as two pivotal Royal Shakespeare Company productions directed by Peter Brook, *Marat/Sade* and *A Midsummer's Night Dream*.

Merrick became famous for baiting critics, his own stars, and his fellow producers, all to promote his wares. He gloried in his image as "the abominable showman." When Al *Hirschfeld drew a "particularly unflattering caricature of him as a Grinch-like Santa Claus," Merrick reproduced the image on his annual Christmas card.

Merrick was famous for masterstrokes of publicity. In 1967, when the audiences for *Hello, Dolly!* began to decline, he successfully replaced the entire cast with an all-black company headed by Pearl Bailey and Cab Calloway. When the musical *Subways Are for Sleeping* got poor reviews in 1961, he turned to the phone book, found men with the same names as the seven daily newspaper critics, invited them to see the show, and then got them to endorse it with such raves as "the best musical of the century." When Gower Champion, the musical director and choreographer of *42nd Street*, died early the day of the opening, Merrick kept the news secret so he could announce it from the stage at the curtain call, to the screams and tears of a devastated cast and first-night audience. Again, Merrick assured the show's notoriety and success.

[Stewart Kampel (2nd ed.)]

MERRICK, LEONARD (1864–1939), English novelist, and short-story writer. Born of a London family named Miller, Merrick at first tried to make a career on the stage. His first novel, *Violet Moses* (1891), crude in technique, especially in its portrayal of Jewish types, was not included in his collected works. He won attention in 1898 with *The Actor-Manager,* followed by *The Quaint Companions* (1903), the story of a black tenor and his white wife; he also wrote *Conrad in Quest of his Youth* (1903), and *The Position of Peggy Harper* (1911). Merrick's best achievement was his three volumes of short stories, *The Man Who Understood Women* (1908), *A Chair on the Boulevard* (1921), and *While Paris Laughed* (1918), where he excelled in the delineation of French Bohemian types as seen through English eyes. Merrick developed a humorous and satiric style, but his stories were later criticized as too contrived. He never won popularity, but was highly regarded by his fellow writers, a number of whom, including Wells, Hewlett, Barrie, and Pinero, wrote prefaces to the collected edition of his works, issued in 1918. In 1945 George Orwell wrote an introduction to a never published reprint of Merrick's *The Position of Peggy Harper.* Merrick still attracts interest because of his willingness to deal with unusual themes, such as the issue of miscegenation in *Peggy Harper.*

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[Lewis Sowden]

MERRILL, ROBERT (1917–2004), U.S. baritone singer. Born in New York City, Merrill studied with his mother, Lillian Miller Merrill, then, from 1936, with Samuel Margolies. His professional career began in popular music, at the Radio City Music Hall (1943); but he made his operatic début in 1944, in *Aida.* The following year, having won an audition contest sponsored by the Metropolitan Opera Company, he made his début there as Germont in *La Traviata*, and remained one of its leading singers, except for the season 1951–52, owing to his appearance in a Hollywood film, of which the Metropolitan's general manager, Rudolph Bing, disapproved. Merrill was a Verdi and Puccini singer of great power and richness and a favorite performer of Arturo Toscanini's last years. Among his recordings are famous arias from *Carmen, The Barber of Seville, La Traviata, Hamlet*, and *L'Africaine*, and songs.

[Max Loppert]

MERSEBURG, city in Germany. The Jewish community of Merseburg was one of the oldest in Germany. As early as 973 Emperor Otto II granted Bishop Gisiler authority over "the Jews, the merchants, and the mint in the city." King Henry II renewed this privilege in 1004. In 1234 three Jews lent 80 silver marks to the burgrave of Merseburg. In 1269 the convent of Pegau sold properties to repay debts to Merseburg Jews. In this period R. Ezekiel of Merseburg addressed a number of halakhic queries to Meir b. Baruch of *Rothenburg. Another scholar of the period was R. Samuel of Merseburg. The cemetery of the community dated at least from 1362. The assertion that there was a persecution in 1349–50 rests on a confusion between similar names of localities. In a Hebrew source *Menahem of Merseburg, author of *Nimmukim*, was a leading German rabbi in the second half of the 14th century. In 1434 the Jews of the Merseburg bishopric paid 100 gilders coronation tax to King Sigismund II; in 1438 a 3% income tax to King Albert II; and in 1440 a coronation tax again. At an unknown time thereafter the Jews left the city, which underwent economic decline and internal tension. In 1556 the Saxon historian Ernst Brotuff wrote, "Formerly many Jews lived in Merseburg who had their own synagogue with a courtyard in the small street west of the Cathedral chapter." In 1565 Merseburg came under the rule of Saxon, where no Jews were tolerated, and in 1815 under Prussia, which lifted the restrictions in the new territories only in 1847. By 1849, some 34 Jews lived in Merseburg; there were 23 in 1871; 16 in 1880; 20 in 1903; 29 in 1905; 20 in 1913 (five families); and 40 in 1925. They were affiliated with the Jewish community in Weissenfels. Records for the years 1933–45 are missing. No Jews settled in Merseburg after 1945.

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[Toni Oelsner]

MERSIN, city in *Turkey, on the Mediterranean coast in Cilicia, capital of the province of Icel; population (2004), 587,800. In ancient times there was a Jewish community in the town. In 107 B.C.E., some of its Jewish inhabitants were transferred to the Bosphorus region by Mithridates IV, king of Pontus. No information is available on the existence of a Jewish community during the Middle Ages. From the 19th century, however, there were a number of Jews in the town who had come from various Turkish towns (especially *Salonika) and were engaged in commerce. In 1909, there was a *blood libel, in which one of the heads of the local Gatenyo family was accused of using Greek blood for the baking of *matzah*. The accusation was withdrawn after the intervention of the Greek patriarch of *Istanbul. During the late 1930s the community consisted of about 35 families, some of which were newcomers from such inland towns as Urfa, Maras, Antep, and Kilis. With the establishment of the State of Israel most Jews left to settle there. In 1977 there were still 43 Jews in Mersin, divided into groups according to origin (Ladino or Arabic as a second language). Most of them were merchants. There was a synagogue but no rabbi.

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[Abraham Haim / David Kushner (2nd ed.)]

MERTON, family of British and German industrialists and philanthropists. ABRAHAM LYONS MOSES (1775–1854), whose sons later dropped the name Moses and called themselves Merton, shared in the founding of the Jews' Orphan Asylum and with Henry Solomon endowed a number of almshouses in 1838. RALPH MERTON (1815–1883), his son, settled in Frankfurt and joined the metal firm of his father-in-law, Philip Abraham Cohen, after whose death Merton expanded the company and renamed it Metallgesellschaft. It became one of the most important metal and metallurgical concerns in Germany. He maintained close business relations with his brother, HENRY R. MERTON (1848–1929), who headed Henry R. Merton and Co. of London, which held a dominant place in England parallel to that of Metallgesellschaft in Germany. Both firms had strong associations with the American Metal Company in New York. Because of its connections with the German firm, the British Merton company was liquidated during World War I and reorganized as two separate firms under the names of H. Gardener and Co. Ltd. and the British Metal Corporation. Both H. Gardener and Co. and the British Metal Corporation were later incorporated into a new company, the Amalgamated Metal Corporation Ltd. Ralph Merton's son, WILLIAM (WILHELM) MERTON (1848–1916), who was born in Frankfurt, became the head of the Metallgesellschaft in Frankfurt. A generous philanthropist, he founded the Academy for Social and Commercial Sciences which later formed the basis of the University of Frankfurt in Frankfurt and supported the institution for many years. Under Hitler, the Merton family lost control of the Metallgesellschaft and took refuge in England. A relative, SIR THOMAS RALPH MERTON (1888–1969), was professor of spectroscopy at Oxford University. He made notable contributions to the development of the spectroscope, and, significantly, to the modern radar screen, the latter credited with helping Britain win the Battle of Britain in 1940. He was treasurer of the Royal Society from 1939 to 1956 and was knighted in 1944. In 1958 he was awarded the Rumford Medal of the Royal Society.

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[Morton Mayer Berman]

MERTON, ROBERT C. (1944–), U.S. economist and educator; co-recipient of the 1997 Nobel Memorial Prize for economics. A New York City native, raised in Hastings-on-Hudson, N.Y., Merton was the middle child of renowned sociologist Robert K. *Merton and Suzanne Carhart. In 1966 Merton received his B.S. in engineering mathematics from Columbia University and an M.S. in 1967 from Caltech for applied mathematics. He switched his focus to economics and transferred to the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT) on a full fellowship and completed his Ph.D. in 1970; subsequently, he began his teaching career at MIT's Sloan School of Management where he taught through 1988. Upon leaving MIT he moved to the Harvard Business School where, in 1998, he was named its first John and Natty McArthur University Professor.

As a youth, mathematics was his favorite school subject and the love of both numbers and baseball led him to memorize all the big-leaguers' statistics. While his mother provided him with his practical life knowledge, his father served as his enduring intellectual adviser despite his choice of a starkly divergent academic path.

Searching for real-life applications of mathematics is what lured Merton to the field of economics. His research while a member of MIT's faculty led to his 1973 paper "The Theory of Rational Option Pricing" (appearing in the *Bell Journal of Economics*) not long after Myron Scholes and Fischer Black advanced their landmark option-pricing formula in the *Journal of Political Economy*. Together, the men successfully tested the system in the live market with their mutual fund, Money Market/Options Investment, Inc., activated in 1976. The ramification on Wall Street of their mutually supporting theories on valuing stock options was considerable and served as the backbone to the formation of enormous "derivatives" markets. This watershed in economics was finally honored in 1997 when Merton and Scholes were bestowed with the Nobel Memorial Prize in economic sciences.

Merton's success was tempered by the 1998 collapse of his and Scholes' Long-Term Capital Management (LTCM), the Greenwich, Conn.-based hedge fund of which they were two of several founders in 1993. Undeterred, he co-founded Integrated Finance Limited (IFL), an international investment firm based in New York City in 2003, and also serves as its Chief Science Officer; in that same year, Dimensional Fund Advisors, an investment management company, chose Merton as a member of its board of directors/trustees. He served on numerous corporate boards, held the presidency of the American Finance Association in 1986, and was awarded many honorary degrees from various universities. Along with the scores of articles appearing in professional journals during his three decades in academia, Merton wrote several books including *Continuous-Time Finance* (1990) and *Finance* (1998), co-authored with Zvi Bodie. In 2004 Merton donated his MIT and Harvard lecture notes on finance theory to the Professional Risk Managers' International Association (PRMIA) for the purpose of training financial risk managers.

[Dawn Des Jardins (2nd ed.)]

MERTON, ROBERT KING (**Meyer Schkolnick**; 1910–2003), U.S. sociologist. Born in Philadelphia, Merton received his B.A. from Temple University in 1931 and his M.A. (1932) and Ph.D. (1936) from Harvard. A student of George R. Simpson, Pitirim Sorokin, and Talcott Parsons, he taught at Harvard and Tulane universities. From 1941 he taught at Columbia University, where for 35 years he collaborated with Paul Lazarsfeld, with whom he co-developed the Bureau of Applied Social Research. Merton was president of the American Sociological Association and a member of the board of the Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences at Stanford University.

Merton, whose thinking was influenced by Marx, Durkheim, Simmel, and Weber, was one of the leading American theorists in the social sciences. Merton studied the sociology of science itself; in 1942 he developed an "ethos of science," which challenged the prevailing public perception that scientists were eccentric geniuses who were not bound by normal social constraints. Essentially, he interpreted the task of sociology as the understanding of the ways in which social structures shape and channel the values, attitudes, and actions of persons. Among the numerous concepts first formulated or felicitously reformulated by Merton are "theories in the middle range" (as against sweeping theories in the grand style); "manifest and latent functions"; "self-fulfilling prophecy," elaborating a theorem of W.I. Thomas; "role model"; "deviant behavior"; and focus groups. His most significant contributions can be located in four areas. First, he provided an objective analysis of various kinds of deviant behavior, which has been widely used in research on delinquency, criminality, and social movements. Second, he made significant contributions to the sociology of science, especially about the impact of religion on science, about multiple discoveries in science, rivalry among scientists, and unintended consequences of scientific discoveries. Third, he was interested in the study of bureaucracy, partly refining Durkheim's concept of "anomie," partly complementing Max Weber's structural approach with an analysis of the psychological consequences of bureaucratic organization. Fourth, he advanced the study of adult socialization, focusing especially on the activation of attitudes by key personalities and on the concept of the reference group. Generally, he emphasized the interdependence of theory and research; the collection of essays that he published under the title *Social Theory and Social Structure* (1957^2) is one of the most influential books in American sociology.

In 1994 Merton was awarded the National Medal of Science by President Bill Clinton, becoming the first sociologist to receive that honor.

Other significant publications of Merton include *Science, Technology, and Society in Seventeenth Century England* (1938); "The Sociology of Knowledge," in Gurvitch and Moore, *Twentieth Century Sociology* (1945); *Mass Persuasion* (1946); *Continuities in Social Research* (1950); *Focused Interview* (with M. Fiske and P. Kendall, 1952^2); *Social Theory and Social Structure* (1957); *On the Shoulders of Giants* (1965); *Con-*

temporary Social Problems (with R. Nisbet, 1966^2); *On Theoretic Sociology* (1967); and *The Sociology of Science* (1973). He was one of the editors of *Reader in Bureaucracy* (1952) and wrote numerous papers, chiefly dealing with topics of the sociology of knowledge.

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[Werner J. Cahnman / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

MERV (modern **Baīram Alī**), ancient city in Turkmenistan. According to a tradition reported by the 12th-century Muslim historian al-Bayhaqī, Ezra the scribe is said to have traveled from Palestine to Merv, building a synagogue which was still in existence in the 11th century. In connection with tax reforms carried out in the time of the caliph Omar II (717–20), a certain Akiva the Jew, of Merv, is mentioned as being responsible for the collection of taxes from the Jews there. That a Jewish community continued in existence is attested by a disputation held in Merv in 1336 between Christian monks and one of the leaders of the community, and by a *Judeo-Persian dictionary composed there in 1473. Nineteenth-century European travelers (J. *Wolff, E.N. *Adler, etc.) refer to the numbers and occupations of the Jews in Merv. After the forced conversion of the Jewish community in *Meshed (1839), many **jadīd al-Islām* converts found refuge in Merv. No recent information is available.

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[Walter Joseph Fischel]

MERZBACHER, family of numismatists. ABRAHAM MERZBACHER (1812–1885), rabbi, banker, numismatist, and bibliophile, was born in Baiersdorf (near Erlangen), Bavaria. His education at the yeshivah in Fuerth and the universities of Erlangen and Munich was followed by a short career as rabbi of Ansbach. Although running a business in antique books and prints in Baiersdorf, Merzbacher lived in Munich from 1833. In 1846 he became an associate of the banking firm J.N. Oberndoerffer, owned by his father-in-law at Munich, which was also the leading German coin dealer, and later the house of Rollin et Feuardent in Paris – Rollin was a foremost European expert in numismatics. He exposed the "Becker Counterfeits," a famous case of counterfeiting of ancient coins. He became an expert on Polish medals, and also took a special interest in Jewish coins and medals, building up a valuable collection. In 1873 he retired from business and turned to collecting rare Jewish manuscripts and prints to assist R.N.N. *Rabbinovicz in his monumental *Dikdukei Soferim* (*Variae Lectiones in Mischnam et in Talmud Babylonicum*, 1876ff.), also financing its publication. His library grew to over 4,000 volumes, including 156 manuscripts and 43 incunabula, and eventually became part of the city library of Frankfurt (see *Libraries). Merzbacher was also active in the Jewish community, becoming a member of the central committee of the Alliance Israélite Universelle. He held several leading positions in the Munich Jewish community and used to practice – gratis – as a *mohel*. Merzbacher's son EUGEN (1845–1903) also became a numismatist. Born in Munich, he took the *shekel as subject for his thesis (*De Siclis*… 1873). Merzbacher had a vast knowledge of classical and modern coins, but his main interest was in Jewish numismatics. He started a successful business in coins and numismatic books in Munich in 1881.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Mitteilungen der Bayerischen Numismatischen Gesellschaft* (1885), fasc. 4., on Abraham; *ibid.* (1903), on Eugen; J. Perles, *Trauerrede… A. Merzbacher* (1885); R.N.N. Rabbinovicz, *Ohel Avraham* (1888), catalog of A. Merzbacher's library; L.A. Mayer, *Bibliography of Jewish Numismatics* (1966), nos. 457–60.

[Arie Kindler]

MERZBACHER, GOTTFRIED (1843–1926), German explorer. Born in Baiersdorf, Bavaria, Merzbacher grew up in a family of highly respected businessmen and bankers. He founded a successful fur business in Munich in 1868. He retired and sold his business in 1888 at the age of 45 which allowed him to concentrate on his true passion: the scientific research of mountain areas. Merzbacher, an accomplished mountaineer explored in Africa, North America, the Caucasus, and from 1892 climbed mountains in Arabia, Persia, and India. He published the reports of these expeditions in scientific journals. From 1902 to 1908 he climbed the Central Tien Shan range of Asia and his findings were published by the Bavarian Academy of Sciences. His book *Aus den Hochregionen des Kaukasus* (1901) became a classic. One of his last trips led him to the Bogdo-Ola mountain range. There a ridge was named after him in 1927. In 1901 Merzbacher received an honorary doctorate from the University of Munich. In 1907 he was appointed Royal Professor.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Y. Gleibs, *Juden im kulturellen und wissenschaftlichen Leben Münchens in der zweiten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts* (1981), 196–200).

[Andreas Heusler (2nd ed.)]

MERZBACHER, LEO (1810–1856), first U.S. Reform rabbi. Merzbacher, who was born in Fuerth, Bavaria, studied rabbinics under R. Moses Sofer. He went to the United States in 1841 and took up a teaching position with Congregation Rodeph Shalom in New York. In 1843 Congregation Anshe Chesed, New York, appointed him preacher and teacher at a monthly salary of six dollars. A sermon critical of the practice of married women covering their hair led to nonrenewal of his appointment, whereupon his partisans in the congregation united with the recently formed Cultus Verein to establish Congregation Emanuel with Merzbacher as its rabbi (1845). The reforms made by the new congregation were minimal in character. Confirmation was introduced in 1848 and Merzbacher compiled a shortened prayer book in 1855. He was one of the founders of the Independent Order of True Sisters. Sickness limited Merzbacher's activities, and he seems to have had little impact either on his own congregation or on the New York Jewish community.

[Sefton D. Temkin]

MERZER, ARIEH (1905–1966), Israeli artist specializing in repoussé reliefs, mainly in copper and silver. Born in a small town near Warsaw, Merzer studied art in Warsaw and began his career as an artist there. From 1930 he lived and worked in Paris. After the occupation of France he was detained in a concentration camp, but in 1943 managed to escape and made his way to Switzerland. At the end of 1945 he immigrated to Ereẓ Israel where he lived alternately in Holon and Safed. He was one of the founders of the Safed artists' colony.

Merzer revitalized the ancient technique of hammered metal which has a long tradition in the Jewish creative arts, especially in the decoration of ceremonial objects. His style reflects the Jewish popular art of Eastern Europe, and his subjects were drawn from the Jewish lore of the past: the ghettos and *shtetls* of Poland whose culture he knew from his youth. His work includes scenes of Jewish feasts and religious ceremonies, daily life, genre and figures of craftsmen, as well as illustrations of folksongs and of stories by the great Yiddish writers.

In Safed he found an atmosphere not unlike that of the small towns of the Diaspora. The Ashkenazi and Sefardi inhabitants of Safed are depicted in their traditional garb, their earthly simplicity strongly recalling the Jews of the ghetto. Many of his works reflect everyday scenes of Safed, its Old City, its famous synagogues, narrow lanes, and ancient stone houses with wrought-iron railings. He also depicted stories of the Bible as he saw them in his imagination when he first studied them as a child in the *ḥeder*. Biblical heroes are shown as real characters from the Eastern European Jewish world, those very Jews whom he had encountered in his childhood flavored with Oriental elements with which he was impressed after his arrival in Ereẓ Israel. Occasionally he also addressed himself to contemporary Israeli subject matter, but the bulk of his work is a testament of love to a way of life that has disappeared.

Ornamental elements are emphasized in his reliefs by the frequent use of symmetry especially notable in the decorative effects of the backgrounds, in details and elaborated patterns. He frequently designed animals, plants, and ornamental motifs taken from the rich resources of Jewish folk art. He combined tactile values of the figures, which are the main components of his depictions, with pictorial effects in the backgrounds and landscapes. His work, deeply rooted in Jewish folklore, has a charming simplicity and a naive air and represents a direct continuation of the traditional Jewish folk art.

[Mira Friedman]

MESELSON, MATTHEW (1930–), U.S. biologist. Born in Denver, Colorado, he was educated at the University of Chicago, the University of California at Berkeley, and the California Institute of Technology, where he was research fellow in chemical biology (1957–60). He moved to Harvard University (1960) where he became professor of biology (1964–76) and Thomas Dudley Cabot Professor of the Natural Sciences and Principal Investigator from 1976. He also directed a laboratory program at the Josephine Bay Paul Center in Woods Hole. His research concerned the relationship between DNA structure and the control of gene function and replication, the repair of defective DNA, and related regulatory mechanisms in molecular genetics. He studied the microscopic animal bdelloid rotifer, with the part objective of elucidating the evolutionary disadvantages of asexual reproduction. His paper with Franklin Stahl (1958) described the first experiments confirming the Watson-Crick model of DNA replication and is a classic landmark in the history of molecular biology. Later he collaborated with Sydney Brenner and Francois Jacob (1961) in identifying transfer RNA, a crucially important molecule in protein synthesis. His experimental example and teaching skills continue to influence the development of modern biology. From the Vietnam War Meselson worked to prohibit chemical and biological weapons. In 1990 he co-founded with Julian Robinson and directed the Harvard Sussex program based mainly at Harvard University and the University of Sussex dedicated to arms limitation. In 1994 he and his collaborators revealed that the anthrax epidemic in Sverdlovsk in the former U.S.S.R. originated in a military facility. His many honors include membership in the U.S. National Academy of Sciences, foreign membership of the Royal Society of London, the Linus Pauling Prize, the Leo Szilard Award of the American Physical Society, the Scientific Freedom and Responsibility Award of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, and the Lasker Award for Special Achievement in Medical Science (2004). He served on many national and international councils concerned with scientific policy and education.

[Michael Denman (2nd ed.)]

MESENE, the land of southern Mesopotamia extending from about 24 mi. (40 km.) below Kut al-Amāra to the Persian Gulf. This area was also called Characene, a term giving political identification derived from Charax Spasinu, name of the fortified capital city of the district. During the late Middle Ages the name was replaced by that of the new capital and port of the district, Basra. The economy of Charax depended on her role as the main port and relay point for east-west trade on the upper Persian Gulf. During the first and second centuries C.E. overland trade developed via Mesene with the Nabatean city of *Petra and with the Syrian desert emporium of Palmyra (Tadmor), and through these centers with the rich Roman west.

A Jewish community existed in Mesene from at least the late Parthian period. During the reign of Artabanus V (209–27 C.E.) a Jewish merchant of Meṣḥān converted Izates, prince of Adiabene, to Judaism. At this time a second Jewish merchant of Meṣḥān similarly converted a number of women of that city (Jos., Ant. 20: 2, 4).

In talmudic sources of the third century C.E. the Jews of Babylonia refer to Mesenean Jews as imprudent (Kid. 49b), unfit and of tainted descent (Kid. 71b), since "whosoever did not know his family and his tribe made his way there" (Yev. 17a). Marriage between Babylonian Jews and the Jews of the northern Mesenean city of *Apamea was forbidden (Kid. 71b). The city of Meṣḥān (Charax) is described as being lower than hell, and Harpania, a second city of Mesene (perhaps a variant spelling of Apamea), as being lower still than Meṣḥān (Yev. 17a). This hostility shown by Babylonian Jews may have been caused, in part, by the adoption of elements of Mandeanism by the Jews of Mesene. It has also been noted that the practice of allowing the Jewish dead of Harpania to lie while the shroud was woven (Sanh. 48b) would indicate an adaptation by the Jews of that city of the Zoroastrian practice of exposing a corpse before burial (see Obermeyer, 197). A possible preference by Mesenean Jews for the Jerusalem Talmud may have further contributed to their being disliked by the Jews of Babylonia.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Neubauer, Géogr, 325, 329, 382; E. Peterson, in: ZNW, 27 (1928), 55–98; J. Obermeyer, *Die Landschaft Babylonien…* (1929), index; S. Nodelman, in: *Berytus*, 13 (1960); J. Hansman, in: *Iranica Antiqua*, 8 (1967).

MESHA (Heb. מֵישַׁע), king of Moab in the ninth century B.C.E. (see *Moab). The name is formed from the root *yšʿ*, "to deliver, save." In II Kings 3:4 it is stated that Mesha was a sheep breeder. He was subjugated by *Ahab and paid him tribute. After Ahab's death, the king of Moab, most likely Mesha, revolted and ceased paying tribute (II Kings 3:4–5; cf. II Kings 1:1). *Jehoram son of Ahab conducted a military campaign against Moab to subjugate it (II Kings 3:6ff.).

Most of the information on Mesha is contained in the stele which he erected at Dibon (see *Mesha Stele). The first three lines of the inscription mention that Mesha's father Chemoshyat, whose name is known from a stele found in Kerak (Kir of Moab; W.L. Reed and F.V. Winnett, in: BASOR, 172 (1963), 6), ruled over Moab for 30 years, and that Mesha succeeded him. Mesha resided at Dibon, situated north of Arnon, and called himself "King of Moab, the Dibonite." The stele then relates how *Omri, king of Israel, took possession of the land of Medeba in the northern part of the plain, and subjugated Moab "his days and a part of the days of his son, forty years." The phrase "his son" obviously refers to Ahab. However, all the days of Omri and Ahab together are considerably fewer than 40 years. Moreover, the Bible relates that the king of Moab revolted after Ahab's death, rather than during his lifetime. Among the many attempts to explain the discrepancy between what is recorded in the Bible and in the Mesha Inscription, the most acceptable theory is that the number 40 is not to be taken literally, but is the conventional length of a generation (cf. Num. 32:13; Ps. 95:10). Mesha apparently revolted twice, once during the reign of Omri's son Ahab, as is related in the stele, and once after Ahab's death, as is stated in the Bible. If this theory is correct, the following sequence of events can be proposed: Moab revolted against Israel following the division of Solomon's kingdom, or at the latest in the days of Baasha. The Moabites even reached north of the Arnon and captured the plateau, including the land of Medeba. The king's residence was established at Dibon, at the latest in the days of Mesha's father. Omri waged war against Moab, recapturing Medeba and several cities in the plateau. For various reasons, the Israelite king preferred to leave Dibon in Moabite hands and was content to receive yearly tribute as a token of subjugation. In Ahab's time, Mesha revolted against Israel. It is not clear if Ahab fought against Mesha, since the stele contains the expression "king of Israel" (lines 10–11, 18), which may refer to either Omri or Ahab. It is more likely that the reference is to Omri (cf. line 7), since Ahab was occupied with wars against the Arameans (but see *Ben-Hadad). Mesha first concentrated upon preparing fortifications for a confrontation with Israel. He secured communications between Dibon and Moab proper by building roads across the Arnon (line 26). He fortified Aroer, strengthened the acropolis (*qarḥoh*) of Dibon, and prepared the city for withstanding a siege by digging ditches and building a cistern (*ʾswḥ;* vocalization uncertain) inside the city. Upon the death of Ahab, Mesha exploited Israel's defeat at Ramoth-Gilead and the weakness of *Ahaziah son of Ahab; he erupted northward, capturing all the cities of the plain. He reached Nebo, which he destroyed, killing its population of 7,000 people, "because I consecrated it to Ashtar-Chemosh." Jehoram, king of Israel, combined forces with *Jehoshaphat, king of Judah, and the king of Edom and invaded Moab from the south, through Edom (II Kings 3:20), reaching the city of Kir-Hareseth in the heart of Moab. The battle in the city of Horonaim in southern Moab and its capture by Mesha, which is related at the end of the inscription, should be connected with this campaign. The biblical account agrees, stating that Jehoram's campaign ended in failure and that he was forced to withdraw without conquering Moab. The Bible attributes the failure to a ritual act performed by the king of Moab: "Then he took his eldest son that should have reigned in his stead and offered him for a burnt offering upon the wall. And there came great wrath upon Israel; and they departed from him, and returned to their own land" (II Kings 3:27).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Y. Liver, in: PEQ, 99 (1967), 14–31.

[Bustanay Oded]

MESHA STELE, an inscribed basalt stele, measuring about 40 inches (one meter) high and about 28 inches (70 centimeters) wide, erected by *Mesha, king of Moab, at Dibon (today, Dhībân), probably in the third quarter of the ninth century, B.C.E. The shape of the stele, with a flat base and rounded top, is characteristic of those erected by kings of that period. Unlike many other memorial inscriptions, the Mesha stele has no relief on the upper part. It was found at Dibon in 1868 by F.A. Klein, a Prussian missionary. Prior to its acquisition by the Louvre, it was smashed by Bedouins, who, observing the great interest it aroused among Europeans, assumed that it contained a treasure or ghost. The inscription was deciphered with the aid of a squeeze made by Clermont-Ganneau of all but the last few lines. The language of the inscription is Moabite, which is closely related to Hebrew, though it diverges from it in several grammatical features. The alphabetic Canaanite-Hebrew script is well shaped and clear; the words are separated from each other by dots, and the sentences by vertical lines. Mesha dedicated the stele to his deity Chemosh out of gratitude for the latter's deliverance of the Moabites from Israelite rule, and for his help in the conquest of the plain. The stele (lines 4–9) relates, "As for Omri, king of Israel, he humbled Moab many years [lit. days], for Chemosh was angry with his land. And his son followed him and he also said 'I will humble Moab.' In my time he spoke [thus], but I have triumphed over him and over his house, while Israel hath perished forever" (cf. II Kings 1:1; 3:4–5). However, by describing the events in the first person, Mesha's real intention was probably to perpetuate his own victories over Israel.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: A.H. Van Zyl, *The Moabites* (1960), 247ff., incl. bibl.; W.F. Albright, in: JQR, 35 (1944/45), 247–70; EM, 4 (1962), 925–9, incl. bibl.; Pritchard, Texts, 320–1; H. Donner and W. Roellig, *Kanaanaeische und aramaeische Inschriften*, 1 (1962), 33; 2 (1964), 168–79.

[Bustanay Oded]

MESHECH (Heb. מֶשֶׁךְ), a nation from Asia Minor, identified today with Muški of Assyrian sources (beginning about the 12th century B.C.E.) and with Μόσχοι of classical sources. In the table of nations (Gen. 10:2; I Chron. 1:5) Meshech appears after Javan and Tubal as one of the sons of Japheth. Meshech, again with Javan and Tubal, is mentioned in Ezekiel 17:13 as slave traders and merchants of copperware. This description appears to be historically accurate. The mention of Meshech together with Tubal and *Gog (Ezek. 38:2–3; 39:1), derives from the legend about Gog which gained currency in the time of Ezekiel.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: E.A. Speiser, *Genesis* (1964), 66; R.D. Barnett, in: CAH^2, vol. 2, ch. 30 (1966), incl. bibl.; EM, 5 (1968), 531–2, incl. bibl.

MESHED (pronounced and written **Mashhad** in Persian), a city situated in northeast *Iran, capital of the province *Khurasan. This is one of the few cities in Iran where the beginning of its Jewish settlement is documented. It is also one of the two holy Muslim cities in Iran where Ali-Reza, the eighth Imam of the Shi'ites, is buried (818 C.E.). (The other one is Qomm (the burial place of his sister, Fatimah)). Nāder Shah was unintentionally the cause of Jewish settlement in Meshed. It is well documented that two kings, Shah *'Abbās I and Nāder Shah, transferred people from one region to the other, mostly for economic and security reasons. After his famous war with India, Nāder Shah brought over a large amount of treasures and housed them in Kalāt-e Nāderi (1741), about 100 km. north of Meshed. Being a Sunni, he did not trust the Shi'ites to guard his house of treasures. He ordered that Jews be brought to Kalāt-e Nāderi to guard the house. Consequently, Jews were uprooted from their native towns and villages in *Gilān, Deylamān, and *Kazvin areas to be transferred to Kalāt-e Nāderi. They marched in several groups, one of which reached the Kalāt, while the two others, on their way to Kalāt, arrived in Meshed and the city of Sabzvār. Actually Jews were on the march to Kalāt when Nāder Shah was murdered (June 1747) and they were thus left alone at their temporary stations. Therefore, it is probable that by sheer accident a group of Jews was compelled to settle in Meshed some time before the king's murder. Jews were not allowed to settle inside the holy city; they were given a piece of land outside the wall. The place, which formerly belonged to the Zoroastrians, was called 'Id-gāh. In their new home the Jews prospered, especially in trading with neighboring cities and settlements. Joseph Wolff, a Christian missionary, reported in 1831 that Jews mingled too much with the Muslims and that among them one could also find Jewish Sufis who possessed the *Koran and Sufi books of poetry (pp. 133ff.). Some of the leaders of the Jewish community of Meshed, according to certain official documents, collaborated with the British authorities in the areas of Khurasan, *Afghanistan, and *Bukhara.

On March 27, 1839, Muslims attacked the Jewish quarter where about 2,000 Jews lived. They killed some 35 and wounded many more, insisting that they embrace Islam (see document concerning this event: ms 948 in Netzer, 1985, p. 89; Ben-Zvi, plate 10). Soon afterwards ritual arrangements were made and the Jews performed the necessary procedures for conversion. The converts were known as *Jadīd al-Islām* (in short: *Jadīd*) meaning New Muslims. They were ordered to close their synagogues and schools, and to abandon all Jewish practices. They were to change their Jewish names to Muslim ones, attend mosques regularly, participate in all Muslim rituals, and perform the pilgrimage to the holy Muslim sites in Karbala and Mecca. They were also very cautious not to engage in intermarriage. As *anusim*, almost all of them lived a double life: they continued to keep all the Jewish laws and customs such as *kashrut*, prayers, observance of the Sabbath, Passover, Day of Atonement, and other Jewish holidays. Some families left Meshed to live as Jews in Herat and other nearby cities. Some found their way to India, the Land of Israel, South Africa, London, and New York. Many of these immigrants prospered and became rich. In *Jerusalem, they settled in the Bukharan Quarter, where they contributed to its construction and also built two synagogues there.

Reporting in 1850 and 1884, respectively, both Benjamin II and Neumark, tell us about the difficult life of the 400 *anusim* families of Meshed. From time to time their cryptic life was noticed by the Muslim authorities, which led to pogroms in the Jewish quarter. The severest of these occurred in 1891 and in 1902. Immigration to the Land of Israel increased year by year. Though the *Pahlavi regime (1925–79) brought some degree of peace and freedom to the Jews of Meshed, and officially they were not obliged to remain Muslims, the Muslim inhabitants of Meshed still continued to call them *Jadīd al-Islām* and expected them to remain loyal to their new religion. However, during the Pahlavi regime, they built their own synagogues in *Teheran and Meshed. They especially benefited from the protection granted them by the Red Army during World War II, when Meshed and Khurasan were occupied by Russia (1941–46). On Passover 1946, while the Russian army was leaving the city, the Jewish quarter was once again attacked by Muslims, who this time intended not only to kill and injure the Jews but, equipped with fuel, to burn all the Jewish houses. Thanks to the protection they received from the local officials and some Tudeh members of Meshed, the disaster was averted. According to Landshut in 1948 2,500 Jews lived in Meshed. This number was reduced to 30 persons by 1973. The major cities where the Jews of Meshed now conduct community life with their own synagogues are Jerusalem, Tel Aviv, Milan, London, and New York.

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[Amnon Netzer (2nd ed.)]

MESHEL, YERUHAM (1912–2002), Israeli trade union leader, member of the Ninth and Tenth Knessets. Meshel was born in Pinsk in Belorussia. He went to a reformed *ḥeder*, and later studied at the Tarbut Hebrew gymnasium in Pinsk. As a youth he joined the Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir movement. He settled in Palestine in 1933, and worked as an agricultural laborer, and in construction. During World War II Meshel was the representative of the Histadrut in British army camps. In 1943–47 he was head of the Metal Workers Union, in 1947–61 head of the Factory Workers Department of the Histadrut, and in 1961–69 head of the Histadrut's Trade Union Department. In 1969 Meshel was elected deputy secretary general of the Histadrut responsible for Social Security, and in 1973 was elected secretary general, succeeding Yitzhak *Ben-Aharon. He remained in this position until 1984. He became head of the Institute for the Study of the Labor Movement named after Pinhas *Lavon in 1987. He wrote *Sheliḥut ve-Derekh* (1980).

[Susan Hattis Rolef (2nd ed.)]

MESHULLAM BEN JACOB OF LUNEL (12th century), Provençal scholar. A master of *halakhah*, Meshullam also occupied himself with secular studies. He was a wealthy man and philanthropist, and together with his sons provided for the support and maintenance of the disciples and scholars who flocked to his *bet ha-midrash*. Benjamin of Tudela describes him and his five sons as being "great and wealthy scholars, Joseph, Isaac, Jacob, Aaron, and Asher the ascetic, who had no concern with worldly matters, but devoted himself to study day and night, fasting and refraining from eating meat, and an outstanding talmudist, together with their brother-in-law Moses" (*The Itinerary of Benjamin of Tudela*, ed. by E.N. Adler (1907), 3). Around them there gathered an outstanding group of talmudic scholars and seekers after knowledge, who became known as "the company of Lunel." In consequence *Lunel became famous as an important center of study. Many of them and their disciples were among the great scholars of that generation, including Samuel b. Moses, "the lion of the group," who apparently was head of the *bet din*, *Abraham b. Isaac of Narbonne, author of *Ha-Eshkol*, his son-in-law *Abraham b. David of Posquières, and *Samuel b. David. This center even attracted scholars from Spain. As Judah ibn *Tibbon notes, Meshullam was distinguished in fields of study other than Talmud. This was in contrast to Jewish scholars before him in Christian countries, who occupied themselves essentially with the Talmud, either because they regarded it as their sole avocation or because of lack of books on general sciences (which were then written in Arabic). Meshullam sponsored the translation of books on grammar, theology, rhetoric, ethics, and parables (cf. introduction to the *Ḥovot ha-Levavot* of *Baḥya b. Joseph ibn Paquda, translated by Ibn Tibbon on the instruction of Meshullam). Meshullam himself also composed halakhic works, as well as books on "parables of wisdom and ethics" that are no longer extant. He is known to have written a book called *Issur Mashehu*, on minute quantities of forbidden foods, mentioned by Solomon b. Abraham *Adret in his novellae to *Ḥullin* (93b, Jerusalem, 1 (1963), ed. 227). From a fragment of the *Issur Mashehu* of Abraham b. David of Posquières published by S. Assaf (*Sifran shel Rishonim* (1935), 185–98) "which I wrote before my teacher Meshullam" it is clear that Abraham b. David wrote it in answer to a work of the same title by Meshullam so as to discuss critically the latter's views. It was recently discovered and published by Y. Kafaḥ in the responsa of the Rabad which he edited (1964, 241ff. no. 207). According to Solomon ibn Verga (in *Shevet Yehudah*), Meshullam died in 1170, but the date is not certain.

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[Shlomoh Zalman Havlin]

MESHULLAM BEN KALONYMUS (10th–11th century), rabbi and *paytan*. Born into a rabbinical family from *Lucca, his grandfather was R. Moses the Elder who was taught by Abu Aaron the secrets of the Kabbalah. Meshullam's father (see *Kalonymus family) was a well-known talmudic scholar and *paytan*. His teacher was *Solomon b. Judah ha-Bavli. Meshullam himself was a famous talmudist and liturgical poet, often called "the Great." His works include a commentary on *Ethics of the Fathers*, of which only one extract is extant; responsa, dealing with explanations of talmudic passages and with matrimonial, legal, and ritual matters and including a responsum against the Karaites; and liturgical poems, of which the best known are a composition for the morning service of the Day of Atonement and "*Ammiẓ Ko'aḥ*," the version of the **Avodah* adopted in the Ashkenazi rite. His responsa, apart from their intrinsic value, are important sources of information for the social and economic history of the Jewish communities of pre-Crusade Europe. He is the first author in Europe to mention the commercial law of Ma'arufya. His answers are usually brief and concise, and devoid of argumentation. His decisions are based mainly on the Babylonian Talmud but also refer to the writings of the *geonim*. Both *Gershom Me'or ha-Golah and *Rashi held Meshullam in high regard. The center of Meshullam's activity is uncertain. Responsa by *Sherira and *Hai Gaon point to Italy as does the title "of Rome" sometimes given him. Later he settled in Mainz where his tombstone was discovered. His works helped to establish Rhineland scholarship and stimulated the development in France and Germany of a powerful poetical tradition.

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[Yonah David]

MESHULLAM BEN MOSES (c. 1175–c. 1250), scholar of Béziers and one of the most prominent scholars of Provence in the 13th century. Meshullam, born in Lunel into one of the distinguished families of Provençal Jewry, went to Béziers with his father, Moses b. Judah, one of the leaders of the community and friend of *Abraham b. David of Posquières and *Zerahiah ha-Levi Gerondi. Meshullam's maternal grandfather was *Meshullam b. Jacob of Lunel. His sister's son was *Meir b. Simeon ha-Me'ili of Narbonne, author of *Ha-Me'orot*. Among Meshullam's grandsons were the renowned 14th-century talmudists and scholars of the *Lattes family. Meshullam typifies the remarkable Provençal blending of Torah and general culture. He is known to have taken a definite stand against the new trend favoring the study of Kabbalah, then making inroads among the Jews of Provence, and supported his sister's son, Meir, in his opposition to the *Sefer ha-*Bahir*. Meshullam was highly regarded in France and Spain, and even *Naḥmanides, when he complained to Meshullam of the baseless aspersions emanating from Béziers against the family of Jonah *Gerondi, couched his remarks in highly respectful terms (*Kitvei ha-Ramban*, ed. by C.B. Chavel (1963), 360–4). There is a reference to correspondence between them in Naḥmanides' novellae to the tractate *Eruvin* (still in manuscripts). *Jedaiah ha-Penini, who studied in Meshullam's yeshivah at the age of 15, has left an account of his master's eminence and wisdom, along with a very detailed and impressive description of the program of study in the yeshivah which closed with Meshullam's death.

Meshullam is chiefly renowned for his *Sefer ha-Hashlamah*, designed to complete the *halakhot* of Isaac *Alfasi, explaining its difficult passages, adding *halakhot* that do not appear in it, updating it with the Provençal tradition of scholarship, and dealing with criticisms of the work, including those of Zerahiah ha-Levi Gerondi in his *Ha-Ma'or* – all this in order to give it uncontested authority. Indeed, Menahem *Meiri, who wrote more than 50 years later, refers to Alfasi in the same breath as the *Sefer ha-Hashlamah*, thus showing it to be the standard version of Alfasi in his locality (see introduction to Meiri's commentary on *Avot* ed. by B.Z. Prag, 1964). Meshullam based his work chiefly upon the teachings of the earlier scholars of Provence, and shows especially high regard for Abraham b. David of Posquières, though he does not hesitate to disagree with him on occasion.

Publication of *Sefer ha-Hashlamah* was begun during the last century and the greater part of it, comprising the orders *Mo'ed* and *Nezikin*, and the tractate *Ḥullin*, has already appeared. Those chiefly responsible for its publication were Judah *Lubetzky – *Nezikin* (Paris, 1885–87; Warsaw, 1907), with an extensive commentary, *Torat ha-Hashlamah*; Moses Herschler in the series *Ginzei Rishonim* (1962–); and Abraham Ḥaputa, who also added an extensive commentary, *Reshit ha-Hashlamah* (1961–). The *Sefer ha-Hashlamah Yevamot* was published in the Vilna (Romm) edition of the Talmud under the title *Tosafot Ḥad mi-Kamai*. Some of Meshullam's *hassagot* on Maimonides to *Shabbat, Eruvin*, and *Shevu'ot* (in J. Lubetzky, *Bidkei Battim*, 1896), show he was apparently unaware of Abraham b. David's *hassagot* on Maimonides.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Meshullam b. Moses of Béziers, *Sefer ha-Hashlamah le-Seder Nezikin*, ed. by J. Lubetsky, 1 (1885), introd.; idem, *Bidkei Battim* (1896); Neubauer, in REJ, 20 (1890), 244–8; I. Twersky, *Rabad of Posquières* (1965), 252f.

[Israel Moses Ta-Shma]

MESHULLAM BEN NATHAN OF MELUN (12th century), talmudist in northern France. Meshullam was born in Narbonne, where he eventually became a member of the *bet din* of *Abraham b. Isaac of Narbonne. From there he went to head the community of Melun. Meshullam became involved in a long and bitter dispute with Jacob *Tam, who accused him of abrogating ancient customs and replacing them with new ones; of introducing many lenient rulings; of exaggerated emendment of the text of the Talmud; of slighting *Rashi and French scholars in general; and of unwarranted independence in *halakhah*. Tam cited, among other instances, permitting a gentile to touch wine-vinegar, permitting ritual immersion for women in the daytime because of the danger from attacks by gentiles at night (an accusation denied by Meshullam), and abrogating the blessing over the Sabbath candles. Tam's complaint to the community of Melun resulted in a lengthy correspondence between the two men, which has in part been preserved (*Sefer ha-Yashar le-Rabbenu Tam*, Responsa vol. ed. by F. Rosenthal (1898), nos. 43–50). Meshullam defended himself vigorously against all the accusations of Tam, accusing him (though in much milder language) of essentially the same things and refusing to accept the slightest external interference in matters of Torah. The fact that Meshullam could base himself on existing halakhic traditions which differed in origin from those held by Tam, and his mastery of the Talmud, stood him in good stead in his dispute with Tam, the greatest scholar of his generation. Meshullam is frequently mentioned in the printed *tosafot*. Meshullam's son, Nathan, and his descendants after him (with the family name of Official) were renowned as the family of the *Mekanne'im* ("Zealots") because of its many noted polemists, who, for several generations, engaged in disputes with high church dignitaries.

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[Israel Moses Ta-Shma]

MESHULLAM FEIVUSH HELLER OF ZBARAZH (d. c. 1795), Galician ḥasidic author, descendant of Yom Tov Lippmann Heller, disciple of Jehiel Michel of Zloczow. Though there are numerous ḥasidic legends about Heller, few authentic biographical details are available. In his youth he ministered to the early ḥasidic masters Menahem Mendel of Peremyshlany and Dov Ber, the Maggid of Mezhirech, to both of whom he refers in his writings. A fellow disciple of Jehiel Michel, Ḥayyim of Czernowitz, records teachings in his name. Heller's importance in the history of ḥasidic thought is due to his little booklet *Yosher Divrei Emet*, first published as part of the anthology of ḥasidic teachings entitled *Likkutei Yekarim* (1792, 1974; published separately 1905, by Samson Heller of Kolymyja, Heller's descendant). It is possible that Heller is to be identified, in fact, with the anonymous editor of the *Likkutei Yekarim. Yosher Divrei Emet* is in the form of two epistles to a friend, describing in detail the ḥasidic way as taught by the Ba'al Shem Tov and his disciples.

In Heller's view, the main thrust of Ḥasidism focuses on the need for complete attachment to God (*devekut*) as the aim of the religious life, to which all else must be subordinated. This involves the "stripping off of corporeality" (*hitpashtut ha-gashmiyyut*), which means not so much the living of an ascetic life, but a thorough detachment from worldly delights, even when engaging in the things of the world. Eating, drinking, earning a living, the marital act, should all be engaged in, but as a duty, under compulsion, as it were, with the mind not on the physical enjoyment but on God as the source of all. In Heller's bold illustration, the man in love with a woman, when he sees her dress, has no thoughts for the dress itself but only of the reminder which it provides of his passion for his beloved. *A fortiori*, when a man studies the Torah and offers his prayers, there should be no trace of self-interest. Hence Scripture says: "Say unto wisdom: 'Thou art my sister'" (Prov. 7:4). Man's attitude to the Torah should be one of pure disinterested love, like that of brother and sister, not like that of man and wife. Heller's novel interpretation of *Torah li-Shmah* ("Torah for its own sake") is: "Torah as its name implies," i.e., Torah means "that which shows forth"; the aim of all Torah study is for man to come near to God, who is shown forth through the Torah. Consequently, the distinction between *nigleh* ("the revealed things") and *nistar* ("the secrets") must not be understood in the conventional sense as referring, respectively, to the Talmud and Codes and the Kabbalah. A "secret" for Heller is that which cannot be communicated. It is a religious experience. Therefore one who studies the Kabbalah merely as an intellectual endeavor has to his credit only the *nigleh* aspect of study, whereas one who studies the Talmud and Codes as a means of experiencing the Divine attains to the far higher stage of *nistar*. The distinction between *nigleh* and *nistar* is not between two different types of subject matter but between different approaches to the study of the same material. Heller is severely critical of the rabbinic scholars of his day, whom he accuses of being immersed in worldly lusts and ambitions. They fondly imagine that the study of the Torah constitutes in itself the love of God and fail to appreciate that without loss of selfhood and complete detachment from the world there can be no love of God, the true aim of Torah study.

On the other hand, the ḥasidic *ẓaddik* can, for Heller, do no wrong. The ḥasidic master, Ẓevi Elimelech of Dynow (*Igra De-Pirka*, No. 15) reports that Heller's disciples told him of their master's saying that one who scrutinizes too closely the deeds of a *ẓaddik* is like one who gazes too closely at the sun, and he will suffer the same fate in that his eyes will become dim.

With Heller there begins the rejection of the early ḥasidic doctrine of the elevation of extraneous thoughts, i.e., the idea that when a wayward or sinful thought enters the mind during prayer, it should not be pushed away but raised to its source in God. Heller considers this to be a dangerous doctrine, but is unable to deny it completely, since it was taught by the early masters; he consequently adopts the rationalization that the practice was never intended for ordinary folk but only for the greatest of saints. By a similar rationalization, Heller urges the abandonment of the Lurianic *kavvanot* in prayer, except in rare instances. Luria was thinking of himself and his great contemporaries; for the modern man, the *kavvanot* would frustrate the aim of *devekut*.

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[Louis Jacobs]

MESHULLAM PHOEBUS BEN ISRAEL SAMUEL (1547–1617), Polish rabbi. Meshullam's exact birthplace is unknown. Before becoming *av bet din* in Cracow, he held a similar position in Brest-Litovsk. It appears that in 1590, while in Brest-Litovsk, he introduced regulations to prevent work being done on the Sabbath. These regulations afford an insight into the economic situation of the Jews of Poland and Lithuania in the 16th and 17th centuries. They were first published in an abbreviated form in *Kevod Ḥakhamim* (Venice, 1700) by Judah Leib Poḥovitz, and then more fully by I. Sonne (see bibliography). Although the year of Meshullam's arrival in Cracow is not certain, his presence there is recorded in 1609, when he gave a ruling as to which *haftarah* should be recited when the New Moon of Av falls on a Sabbath. While in Cracow, he participated in the meetings of the *Council of Four Lands, and it is possible that even the aforementioned regulations gained the approval of the council. A recognized and respected halakhic authority, Meshullam gave numerous rulings on synagogue customs. The most famous of his disciples was Joel *Sirkes. Meshullam had a wide knowledge of languages other than Hebrew and was well versed in medical matters, as is evident in his responsa on these subjects. Nothing is known of his family and children except that he had two sons: SAMUEL, who became *av bet din* in Przemysl, and JOSEPH (d. 1648), who was *av bet din* in Cracow. Meshullam died in Cracow.

Few of his works remain but his responsa are found in contemporary works, including those of *Meir b. Gedaliah of Lublin, in *Turei Zahav* by *David b. Samuel ha-Levi, and in *Bayit Ḥadash* by Joel Sirkes. Meshullam's work, *Sefer Shemot Gittin*, on the names used in bills of divorce, is mentioned by Abraham *Rapaport in his *Eitan ha-Ezraḥi*. Meshullam also edited responsa by Moses b. Isaac *Mintz from manuscripts in his possession.

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MESHULLAM ZALMAN HA-KOHEN (late 18th and early 19th century), preacher and moralist in Fuerth, Bavaria. His first work, *Bigdei Kehunnah* ("Priestly Garments," Fuerth, 1807), contains responsa on various laws in the Shulḥan Arukh and *novellae on the talmudic tractates *Gittin* and *Bava Meẓia*. *Naḥalat Avot* ("Heritage of our Fathers," Fuerth, 1811), his second work, was written when the author was 70 years old. Utilizing the form of the ethical will, the book was intended to educate both the author's children and pupils. After an introduction in rhymed prose, the work comprises sermons on ethical subjects – both personal and social – the commandments, and devotion to God.

MESHWI (or **Mishawayh**, a form of Moses) **AL-ʿUKBARĪ** (second half of the ninth century), Jewish sectarian of Ukbara, near Baghdad. Later *Karaites refer to him as Meshwi Ba'albaki, since his followers emigrated from Babylonia to Syria in the tenth century. No details are known of the life of Meshwi, founder of a sectarian movement whose members are known as Misḥawayhites. No writings of his are known, and his opinions and teachings have been preserved only in the writings of his opponents. His teachings differed in many ways from Rabbinic and Karaite Judaism. This is particularly evident in his calendar computations. According to Meshwi, the first day of Passover must always fall on a Thursday, Shavuot on a Sunday, and the Day of Atonement on a Saturday. As he claimed that the day spanned from dawn to dawn, his followers observed the Sabbath from the dawn of Saturday to the dawn of Sunday. He also claimed that no sacrifices were offered at the Tabernacle on Saturdays, interpreting Numbers 28:10 to mean that the burnt-offering must be sacrificed on Friday for Saturday. Many deviations from tradition were ascribed to him by his opponents: in his commentary on Leviticus Saadiah Gaon refers to Meshwi's permitting the fat of animals which were not sacrificed at the altar to be eaten. The 11th-century Karaite scholar, Tobias b. Moses, attacked him as a heretic for declaring many pentateuchal laws void. Meshwi may have been influenced by his contemporary, the heretic Hiwi al-Balkhī. Remnants of the Misḥawayhites survived until the 12th century; *Benjamin of Tudela, who met them in Cyprus, relates their heretical manner of observing the Sabbath, and Abraham *Ibn Ezra, in his commentary on Exodus 16:24 and in his epistle on the Sabbath, refers to their interpretation of Genesis 1:5 and their observance of the Sabbath. It is striking that the interpretation of *Samuel ben Meir (Rashbam) of Gen. 1:5 corresponds to that of Meshwi.

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[Judah M. Rosenthal]

MESILLAT ZION (Heb. מְסִלַּת צִיּוֹן; "Roadway to Zion"), moshav affiliated with Tenu'at ha-Moshavim in the foothills of Judea on the highway leading to Jerusalem, near the entrance to the Sha'ar ha-Gai gorge (the moshav's initial name was Sha'ar ha-Gai). Mesillat Zion was founded in 1950 initially as a "work village" whose inhabitants were employed in land reclamation and in planting the nearby Martyrs' Forest and other woodlands. Its inhabitants originated from Cochin, India. The moshav's economy was based on vineyards, deciduous fruit orchards, poultry, and flowers. In the mid-1990s, the population was approximately 350, increasing to 585 in 2002 after expansion.

[Efraim Orni]

MESILLOT (Heb. מְסִלּוֹת; "Roadways"), kibbutz in central Israel, at the foot of Mt. Gilboa, affiliated with Kibbutz Arẓi Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir. It was founded in 1938 as a tower and stockade village by pioneers from Bulgaria who had participated in establishing *Ma'oz Ḥayyim and worked there. The kibbutz' economy was based on intensive field crops, fruit orchards, citrus groves, dairy cattle, carp ponds, poultry, a plant nursery, and guest rooms. In 2002 the population was 423.

[Efram Orni / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

MESKIN, AHARON (1898–1974), Israel actor, a founding member of *Habimah. Meskin was a Russian government official, when in 1917, he heard of the establishment of the Habimah studio in Moscow and applied for admission. He played his first major role in 1924 as *The Golem* in H. Leivick's play of that name and from that time ranked as a leading member of the company. He subsequently played many leading roles, both in Israel and on tour abroad, among his most effective being Othello and Shylock. A tall man with a rough-hewn face and a striking deep voice, Meskin endowed his roles with dignity and humanity. In 1960 he was awarded the Israel Prize. He was the first chairman of the Israel section of the International Theater Institute.

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[Mendel Kohansky]

MESOPOTAMIA. The original article in the first edition of the *Encyclopaedia Judaica* traced Mesopotamian history to its earliest beginnings and provided a detailed survey of Mesopotamian literature and institutions. With the availability of such tools as J. Sasson et al. (eds.), *Civilizations of the Ancient Near East* (CANE, 1995), the ETANA website, and A. Kuhrt, *The Ancient Near East c. 3000–330 B.C.* (2 vols., 1995) the need for such comprehensive coverage in this Encyclopaedia is less acute. Accordingly, the present revision concentrates on those elements of Mesopotamian history and culture most relevant to understanding the Bible and ancient Israel and Judah.

HISTORY

THE AMORITE PERIOD C. 2000–1800 B.C.E.

Within the limits imposed by the nature of the evidence, the beginning of the second millennium may be characterized as the era of the *Amorites. Amurru (or Amaru) was, in its earliest cuneiform attestations, simply a geographic name for the west, or for the deserts bordering the right bank of the Euphrates. This area, which stretched without apparent limit into the Syrian and Arabian Deserts, was traditionally the home of nomadic tribes of Semitic speech who were drawn to the civilized river valley as if by a magnet and invaded or infiltrated it whenever opportunity beckoned. In the process they became progressively acculturated – first as semi-nomads who spent part of the year as settled agriculturalists in an uneasy symbiosis with the urban society of the irrigation civilizations, and ultimately as fully integrated members of that society, retaining at most the linguistic traces of their origins. It was thus that, perhaps as early as about 2900 B.C.E., the first major wave of westerners had entered the Mesopotamian amalgam, and under the kings of Kish and Akkad became full partners in the Sumero-Akkadian civilization that resulted. When, however, the Akkadian sources themselves spoke of Amorites, as they did beginning with Shar-kali-sharri about 2150, they were alluding to a new wave of invaders from the desert, not yet acclimated to Mesopotamian ways. Such references multiply in the neo-Sumerian texts of the 21st century, and correlate with growing linguistic evidence based chiefly on the recorded personal names of persons identified as Amorites which shows that the new group spoke a variety of Semitic, ancestral to

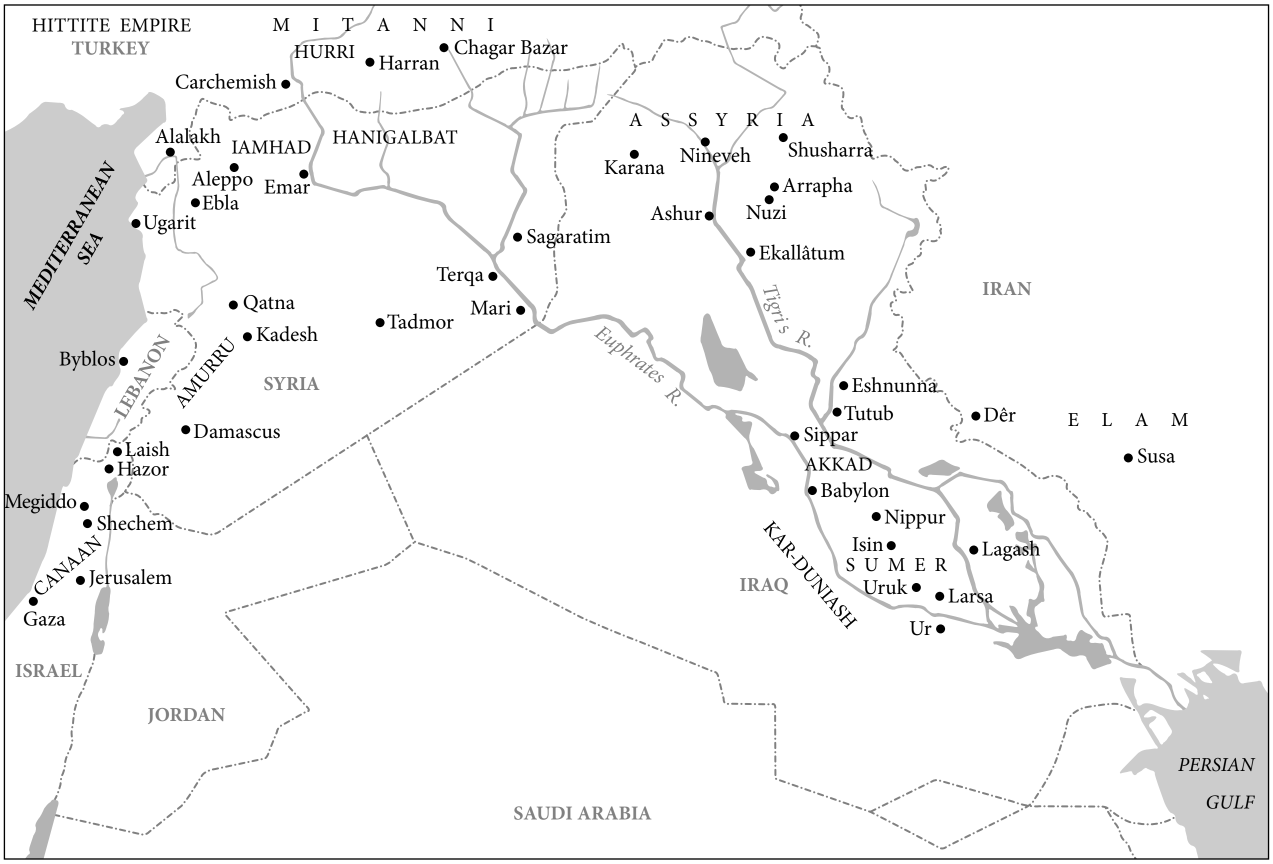
HITTITE EMPIRE
TURKEY
MITANNI
HURRI
Harran
Chagar Bazar
Carchemish
ASSYRIA
Alalakh
IAMHAD
HANIGALBAT
Karana
Nineveh
Shusharra
Aleppo
Emar
Ebla
Arrapha
Nuzi
Ashur
Ugarit
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
Sagaratim
Ekallâtum
Terqa
IRAN
Qatna
Mari
Tadmor
Kadesh
Tigris R.
Euphrates R.
Byblos
LEBANON
AMURRU
SYRIA
Eshnunna
Tutub
Dêr
ELAM
Damascus
Sippar
Susa
Laish
Hazor
AKKAD
Babylon
Megiddo
Shechem
Nippur
Isin
Lagash
SUMER
CANAAN
Jerusalem
KAR-DUNIASH
IRAQ
Uruk
Larsa
Gaza
Ur
ISRAEL
JORDAN
PERSIAN GULF
SAUDI ARABIA

Map 1. The ancient East in the second millennium B.C.E. Borders of modern states are in gray.

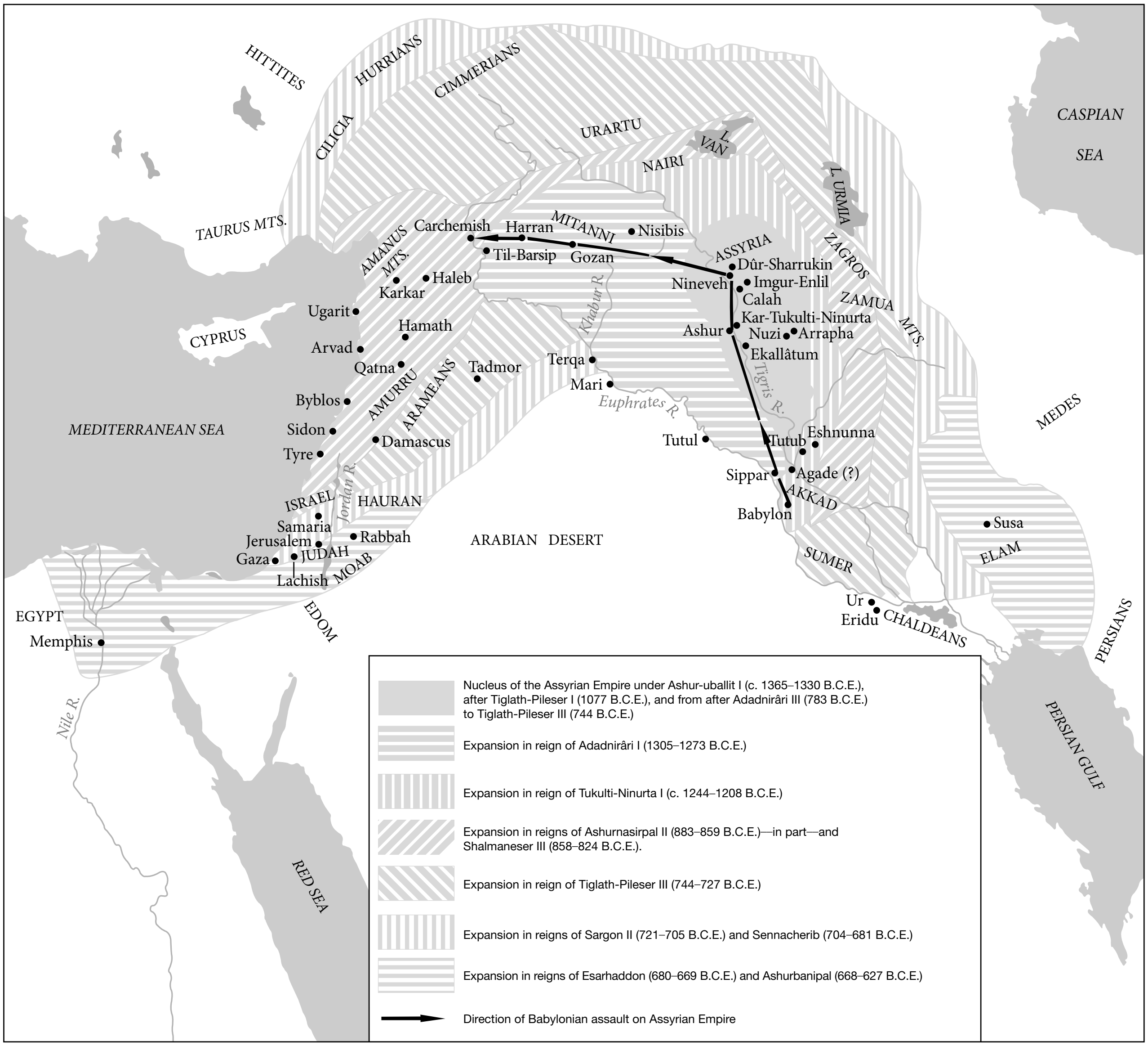
HITTITES
HURRIANS
CIMMERIANS
CILICIA
URARTU
L. VAN
NAIRI
L. URMIA
CASPIAN SEA
TAURUS MTS.
AMANUS MTS.
Carchemish
Harran
MITANNI
Nisibis
Til-Barsip
Gozan
ASSYRIA
Dûr-Sharrukin
Nineveh
Imgur-Enlil
Calah
ZAGROS
ZAMUA MTS.
Haleb
Karkar
Ugarit
Hamath
CYPRUS
Arvad
Qatna
Khabur R.
Kar-Tukulti-Ninurta
Ashur
Nuzi
Arrapha
Ekallâtum
Terqa
Tadmor
AMURRU
ARAMEANS
Mari
Euphrates R.
Tigris R.
Byblos
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
Sidon
Tyre
Damascus
Tutul
Tutub
Eshnunna
MEDES
Sippar
Agade (?)
AKKAD
Babylon
ISRAEL
Jordan R.
HAURAN
Samaria
Jerusalem
Rabbah
ARABIAN DESERT
Susa
Gaza
JUDAH
MOAB
Lachish
SUMER
ELAM
EGYPT
EDOM
Ur
Eridu
CHALDEANS
PERSIANS
Memphis
Nile R.
PERSIAN GULF
RED SEA
Nucleus of the Assyrian Empire under Ashur-uballit I (c. 1365–1330 B.C.E.), after Tiglath-Pileser I (1077 B.C.E.), and from after Adadnirâri III (783 B.C.E.) to Tiglath-Pileser III (744 B.C.E.)
Expansion in reign of Adadnirâri I (1305–1273 B.C.E.)
Expansion in reign of Tukulti-Ninurta I (c. 1244–1208 B.C.E.)
Expansion in reigns of Ashurnasirpal II (883–859 B.C.E.)—in part—and Shalmaneser III (858–824 B.C.E.).
Expansion in reign of Tiglath-Pileser III (744–727 B.C.E.)
Expansion in reigns of Sargon II (721–705 B.C.E.) and Sennacherib (704–681 B.C.E.)
Expansion in reigns of Esarhaddon (680–669 B.C.E.) and Ashurbanipal (668–627 B.C.E.)
Direction of Babylonian assault on Assyrian Empire

Map 2. Expansions and decline of the Assyrian Empire. Based on M. A. Beek, Atlas of Mesopotamia*, Nelson, London, 1962.*

later Hebrew, Aramaic, and Phoenician. All these languages (and some other dialects) are therefore called West Semitic (or Northwest Semitic) by modern linguists, to distinguish them from the East Semitic, or Akkadian, language spoken in Mesopotamia. The latter, used side by side with the non-Semitic Sumerian, and often by one and the same speaker, was heavily influenced by Sumerian and developed along lines of its own; but it also reacted to the Amorite impact and split into two fairly distinct dialects: Babylonian in the south and Assyrian in the north.

Amorite influence was not, however, confined to the linguistic level. Many cultural innovations of the second millennium, notably in religion and art, can be traced to the new immigration. Since the migrations moved in the direction of Syria-Palestine as well as of Mesopotamia, it is not surprising that numerous common traditions – linguistic, legal, and literary – crop up at both ends of the Asiatic Near East hereafter. Among these common traditions, those of the semi-nomadic wanderings preserved in the patriarchal narratives in Genesis, and elsewhere in the Hebrew Bible, deserve special notice. The glimpses they provide of tribal organization, onomastic practices, kinship patterns, rules of inheritance and land tenure, genealogical schemes, and other vestiges of nomadic life find analogies in cuneiform records. Yet they are preserved within the framework of a polished literary narrative too far removed from the times it presumes to describe to command uncritical confidence. Nonetheless, it is in this period, that it can be said, that the Levant (that is, the area of Syria-Palestine) begins at this time to emerge from prehistory into history.

The pattern established by the Amorites was to characterize Near Eastern history down to the present: it was only when the natural arenas of centralized political power in Mesopotamia and Egypt were in eclipse that the intervening area, destined by geography for division into petty states, enjoyed an opportunity to make its influence felt in unison. The simultaneous collapse of the Sargonic empire of Akkad and the Old Kingdom in Egypt provided such an opportunity, and already Shulgi of Ur had to construct a defensive wall, presumably at the point where the Tigris and Euphrates flow closest together, to deflect unwanted barbarians from the cities that lay to the south. Shulgi was succeeded by two of his many sons, Amar-Sin and Shu-Sin, each of whom reigned for nine years. Like him, these conducted most of their military campaigns in the east, across the Tigris, but Shu-Sin greatly strengthened the wall, calling it "The one which keeps Didanum at bay" in a direct reference to the Amorite threat. He managed thereby to postpone the final reckoning, and even enjoyed divine honors in his lifetime beyond those of his predecessors. His son Ibbi-Sin, however, was less fortunate, and in native Mesopotamian traditions was remembered as the model of the ill-fated ruler. Unable to withstand the simultaneous onslaughts of Elamites and Subarians from the east and Amorites from the west, he appealed for help to Ishbi-Irra of Mari only to end up with Ishbi-Irra extorting ever more powers for himself until he was able to found a dynasty of his own at Isin, and subsequently allowing the capital city of Ur to be sacked and Ibbi-Sin to be carried off to exile and ultimate death and burial in Elam.

The fall of Ur about 2000 B.C.E. did not mark so clear a break in the historical continuum as has sometimes been assumed. Ishbi-Irra paid homage to the Sumero-Akkadian traditions of the Ur III dynasty, reigning as king of Ur and perpetuating such time-honored practices as the cult of the deified king, the patronage of the priesthood and scribal schools of Nippur, and the installation of royal princes and princesses as priests and priestesses at the principal national shrines and of loyal officials as governors of the principal provinces. However, whether with his consent or not, these governors were now increasingly of Amorite stock, and wherever possible aspired to royal status for themselves and independence for their city. The latter course particularly characterized the situation beyond the immediate range of his control, notably at Ashur, Eshnunna, Dêr, and Susa beyond the Tigris, as well as upstream on the Euphrates and its tributaries. From Ashur and northern Mesopotamia, a lively trade soon car-

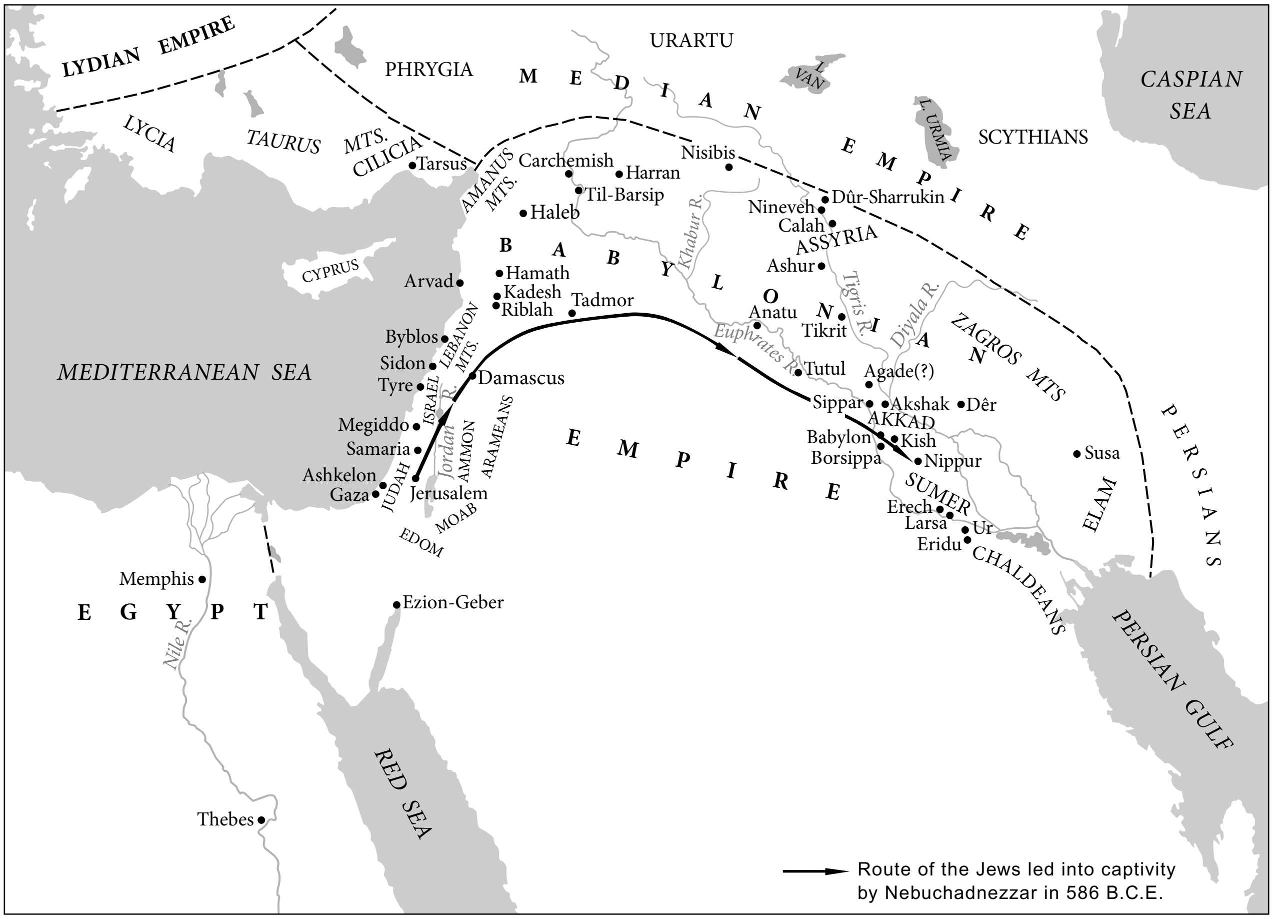
LYDIAN EMPIRE
PHRYGIA
URARTU
MEDIAN EMPIRE
L. VAN
CASPIAN SEA
LYCIA
TAURUS MTS.
CILICIA
Tarsus
AMANUS MTS.
Carchemish
Harran
Til-Barsip
Nisibis
L. URMIA
SCYTHIANS
Haleb
Khabur R.
Nineveh
Dûr-Sharrukin
Calah
ASSYRIA
Ashur
CYPRUS
Arvad
BABYLONIAN EMPIRE
Hamath
Kadesh
Riblah
Tadmor
Tigris R.
Diyala R.
Anatu
Tikrit
ZAGROS MTS
Byblos
LEBANON MTS.
Euphrates R.
Tutul
Agade(?)
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
Sidon
Tyre
Damascus
ISRAEL
Sippar
Akshak
Dêr
AKKAD
Megiddo
Samaria
Jordan R.
AMMON
ARAMEANS
Babylon
Borsippa
Kish
Nippur
Susa
PERSIANS
Ashkelon
Gaza
JUDAH
Jerusalem
MOAB
EDOM
SUMER
Erech
Larsa
Ur
Eridu
ELAM
CHALDEANS
Memphis
EGYPT
Nile R.
Ezion-Geber
PERSIAN GULF
RED SEA
Thebes
Route of the Jews led into captivity by Nebuchadnezzar in 586 B.C.E.

Map 3. The Empire of Nebuchadnezzar II (604–562 B.C.E.). Based on M.A. Beek, Atlas of Mesopotamia, *Nelson, London, 1962.*

ried Amorite and Akkadian influence even further afield, into Cappadocia.

Closer to home, the traditional central control was at first maintained, but even here the loyalty of the provinces was shortlived. For most of the 20th century, Ishbi-Irra's descendants at Isin were unchallenged as the successors of the kings of Ur, but before it was over, the Amorite governors of the southeast, probably based at the ancient city of Lagash, asserted their independence in order to protect the dwindling water resources of that region. Under Gungunum, they established a rival kingdom at Larsa which soon wrested Ur from Isin. In short succession, other Amorite chieftains established independent dynasties at Uruk, Babylon, Kish and nearly all the former provinces of the united kingdom, until Isin effectively controlled little more than its own city and Nippur. With the more distant marshes long since under Amorite rule, the 19th century was thus characterized by political fragmentation, with a concomitant outburst of warfare and diplomacy that embroiled all the separate petty states at one time or another.

The "staging area" for the Amorite expansion was probably the Jabel Bishri (Mt. Basar) which divides or, if one prefers, links the Euphrates River and the Syrian Desert. From here it was a comparatively short and easy march down the river to Babylonia or across the river to Assyria. The way to Egypt was not only longer but led through more hilly and intractable land. This may be one reason that the Amorite wave was somewhat longer in reaching the Egyptian border. When it did reach it, it confronted just such a wall as Shu-Sin (c. 2036–2028) had built "to keep Didanum at bay": in one of those curious parallels that punctuate Ancient Near Eastern history, they met the "Wall-of-the-Ruler, made to oppose the Asiatics and crush the Sand-Crossers," and attributed to the founder of the 12th Dynasty. But the extraordinary revitalization of the Egyptian monarchy by this dynasty (c. 1990–1780) was the real reason that the Amorite wave broke harmlessly at the Egyptian border and the characteristic petty statism that it brought in its train was deferred for two centuries.

THE ERA OF HAMMURAPI (1800–1600 B.C.E.)

With the beginning of the 18th century B.C.E., the political geography of the Asiatic Near East can for the first time be rendered with reasonable accuracy, and many previously blank spots filled in. This was a period of intense commercial and diplomatic activity, punctuated by military campaigns and sieges conducted at considerable distances from home. The fortuitous recovery of archives from many diverse sites reveals a host of geographic names, and many of these can be approximately located, or even identified with archaeological sites, with the help of occasional itineraries. Such itineraries were guides to travelers or, more often, records of their journeys or of campaigns, comparable to the "War of the four kings against the five" in Genesis 14, by marauding armies, and come closest to maps in the absence of any real cartography.

No small-scale map can, of course, show all the minor vassal and petty states in all their complexity. Even the larger kingdoms and city-states add up to a bewildering number. However, certain patterns can be detected. The Syrian desert was populated by loosely organized tribal groupings still maintaining a largely nomadic way of life; the mountainous border regions beyond the Tigris and the Upper Euphrates were being organized under various non-Semitic peoples who came under varying degrees of Mesopotamian cultural influence; the "Fertile Crescent" itself (that is, the valley of the two rivers together with the eastern Mediterranean littoral) was firmly in the hands of urbanized Amorite rulers. Within this great arc, the largest and most central position was occupied by the kingdom of Shamshi-Adad I (c. 1813–1783), and, at the turn of the century, his seemed the most commanding position. From his capital at Shubat-Enlil, he kept a close eye on his two sons, who ruled their provinces from Mari and Ekallâtum, respectively. The vast archives of *Mari have revealed the intricacies of administration, diplomacy, and warfare of the time as well as the highly personal character of Shamshi-Adad's rule. The crown prince at Ekallâtum, whom he held up to his younger brother as a model, had inherited much of the wealth of nearby Ashur, amassed in the profitable trade with Anatolia in the previous century. Nonetheless, it is misleading to call Shamshi-Adad's realm, as is sometimes done, the first Assyrian empire, for his empire was not based on Ashur, and the petty kingdom of Ashur that survived his death was in no sense an empire.

The main challenge came from the south. The way had been paved by the kingdoms of Warium and Larsa. Warium, with its capital at Eshnunna in the valley of the Diyala River, included the ancient center of the Akkadian empire (and perhaps even preserved its Sumerian name, Uri, in Akkadianized form), while Larsa controlled the ancient Sumerian cities. These two Amorite kingdoms had succeeded in subjecting most of the independent city-states of Sumer and Akkad, and thus turned the tide of particularism that had followed the collapse of the Ur III empire. They directed their expansionist policies into separate spheres of influence: Eshnunna north and west into Assyria and upper Mesopotamia, Larsa eastward to the ancestral lands of its last dynasty in Emutbal and beyond that toward Elam. That they avoided an open clash was, however, due even more to the existence, between the two, of a relatively small state that nonetheless maintained its independence from both and was destined shortly to succeed and surpass them as well as Shamshi-Adad.

The city of Babylon was a relative newcomer among the members of the old Sumero-Akkadian amphictyony, though later, to match its subsequent importance, it claimed a fictitious antiquity reaching back to antediluvian times. It was strategically located near the narrow waist of the Tigris-Euphrates valley where the two rivers come closest together and whence the capitals of successive Mesopotamian empires have ruled the civilized world from Kish and Akkad down to Ctesiphon and Baghdad. Throughout the 19th century, it was the seat of an independent dynasty which shared (or claimed) a common ancestry with Shamshi-Adad and whose rulers enjoyed long reigns and an unbroken succession passing smoothly from father to son. In 1793, the succession of this first dynasty of Babylon (also known simply as the Amorite Dynasty) passed to *Hammurapi (1792–1750). Hammurapi was one of the great rulers of history, a man of personal genius and vision who left an indelible impress on all his heirs.

At first Hammurapi's prospects seemed anything but favorable. A celebrated Mari letter phrased his situation in classic terms: "There is no king who is all-powerful by himself: ten or 15 kings follow in the train of Hammurapi of Babylon, as many follow Rîm-Sin of Larsa, as many follow Ibal-pî-El of Eshnunna, as many follow Amut-pî-El of Qatna, and 20 kings follow in the train of Yarim-lim of Yamḥad" (G. Dossin, Syria 19 [1938], 105–26). A lesser personality would have fallen victim to the struggles between these and other major powers of the time, but by an adroit alternation of warfare and diplomacy, Hammurapi succeeded where others had failed. He maintained the friendship of Rîm-Sin until his 30th year, when, in defeating him, he fell heir as well to all that Larsa had conquered. He avoided challenging Shamshi-Adad, another older contemporary, but defeated his successor two years after disposing of Rîm-Sin. Three years later, he conquered Mari, where Zimri-Lim had reestablished a native dynasty after the Assyrian defeat. Eshnunna and the lesser states across the Tigris fell to Hammurapi's armies before the end of his reign, and only the powerful kingdoms beyond the Euphrates-notably Yamḥad and Qatna – escaped his clutches. He was a zealous administrator, and his concern for every detail of domestic policy is well documented in his surviving correspondence. He is most famous for his collection of laws which, in the manner initiated by Ur-Namma of Ur, and elaborated in the interval at Isin ("Code of Lipit-Ishtar") and Eshnunna, collected instructive legal precedents as a monument to "The King of Justice." That was the name he gave to the stelae inscribed with the laws which were erected in Babylon and, no doubt, in other cities of his kingdom. Fragments of several, including a well-preserved one, were carried off centuries later as booty to Susa, where they were rediscovered in modern times; some of the missing portions can be restored from later copies prepared in the scribal schools, where the laws of Hammurapi, recognized as classic, were copied and studied for over a thousand years more. Framed in a hymnic prologue that catalogued his conquests, and an epilogue that stressed his concern for justice, the laws do not constitute a real code. They are not noticeably adhered to in the innumerable contracts and records of litigation from this and subsequent reigns. However, they remain the starting point for the understanding of Babylonian and all Near Eastern legal ideals. Many of their individual formulations, as well as their overall arrangement, are paralleled by the casuistic legislation of Exodus and Deuteronomy.

It is important, in spite of all this, to see Hammurapi's achievement in its proper perspective. His reunification of Mesopotamia, consummated at the end of his reign, survived him by only a few years. His son and successor had to surrender much of the new empire before he had ruled more than a decade. The extreme south was lost to a new dynasty, sometimes called the First Sealand Dynasty; across the Tigris, Emutbal and Elam regained their independence; and the Middle Euphrates was soon occupied by Hanean nomads from the desert and by Kassites (see below). The enduring legacy of Hammurapi lies rather in the legal, literary, and artistic realms, where his reign marked both the preservation and canonization of what was best in the received traditions and a flowering of creative innovations.

THE SACK OF BABYLON AND THE DARK AGE (1600–1500 B.C.E.)

As the fall of Akkad ushered in the end of the Early Bronze Age, so the end of the Middle Bronze Age was marked by the capture of Babylon and Memphis. The two great capitals fell to different captors, but a common source may have set in motion the train of events that culminated in their defeat, for to the north of both the high civilizations, an entirely new ethnic element had made its entry onto the stage of history early in the Middle Bronze Age: the *Hittites. These first-attested bearers of Indo-European names played a minor role in the 19th and early 18th centuries, when Hattic princes ruled Anatolia and Assyrian traders crisscrossed the highlands. But, the last Assyrian caravan is attested about 1770 (under Zimri-Lim of Mari); the centers of their trade were destroyed, and by about 1740, the Hittites were able to forge a united kingdom out of the remains of the Hattic principalities. Hattusilis I (c. 1650 – 1620) felt strong enough to rebuild the city of Hattusas (from which he took his throne name) in spite of the curse laid on it a century earlier by its Hattic conqueror, and to rule a growing Anatolian kingdom from this relatively remote northern base inside the great bend of the Halys River. Soon his ambitions extended beyond the Anatolian highlands southward to the fertile plains that beckoned from across the Taurus Mountains. Cilicia fell into his power first, and the Cilician gates opened the way through the Amanus Mountains, the last natural barrier on the way south. However, the Mediterranean coastal route was barred by the Amorite kingdom of Yamḥad, centered on Haleb (Aleppo) and still retaining some of its vigor. After neutralizing this threat, Hattusilis, and more particularly his adopted son Mursilis I, therefore directed their principal efforts against the Hurrian kingdom of Carchemish which controlled the Euphrates. After a long and apparently successful siege of the Hurrian stronghold at Urshu, the Hittites found that they could march unopposed down the rest of the Euphrates all the way to Babylon itself. Here they put an end to the rule of Samsu-ditana (c. 1625–1595), last of the descendants of Hammurapi, and to the Amorite dynasty (or First Dynasty) of Babylon. The great city was sacked and its humiliation completed when the cult statues of its god Marduk and his consort Sarpanitum were carried into captivity.

The Hittites themselves did not press their advantage: 750 miles in a straight line away from Hattusas, Mursilis had overextended himself, and hastened home only to meet his death at the hands of a palace conspiracy that plunged the

Hittite kingdom into several generations of turmoil and weakness. The immediate beneficiaries of the sack of Babylon were rather the rulers of the Sealand, who moved north from their independent stronghold in the old Sumerian south and, in the wake of the withdrawing Hittites, seized Babylon for themselves and thus qualified for inclusion in the Babylonian King List as the Second Dynasty of Babylon. However, their occupation, too, was destined to be transitory: within a couple of years the city was occupied by the Kassites, who moved downstream from their foothold in the Kingdom of Hana on the Middle Euphrates. With their arrival in Babylonia proper, a curtain of silence descended over the documentation from that area; for the first time since the invention of writing, there is a nearly total eclipse of cuneiform textual evidence, and for the rest of the 16th century, the Asiatic Near East was plunged into a true dark age.

In the meantime the Amorite kingdoms of the Mediterranean littoral also reacted to the stirrings set in motion by the Hittites. Cut off from their kinsmen in the east, they evolved distinct variations of the common cultural traditions. In the north, these crystallized around *Ugarit, a strategically located center of commerce and industry which was also a seat of learning. It devised an alphabet with an order of letters ancestral to, and essentially identical with, the order of the letters of the Hebrew and Western alphabets. Using this script, Ugarit produced a rich religious and mythological literature, with many features that show up later in biblical poetry. Further south, the biblical corpus itself enshrined much of the common heritage in the distinctive medium of the Hebrew language and Israelite conceptions.

THE FEUDAL ERA (1500–1400 B.C.E.)

The map of the Near East presented a very different appearance in 1500 than it had 300 years earlier. In place of numerous small and medium-sized Amorite states, a few large non-Semitic royal houses now ruled the Fertile Crescent with the help of a nobility based on the ability to maintain horses, equipment, and retainers. The indigenous Semitic population was, at least for the time being, reduced either to the status of a semi-free peasantry or to that of roving mercenaries. A parallel may nonetheless be drawn with the earlier situation, for just as geography seemed to favor Shamshi-Adad I at the beginning of the 18th century, so now it served to favor a kingdom similarly centered in the triangle formed by the tributaries of the Khabur River in Upper Mesopotamia. Somewhere in this Khabur Triangle, at a site still not rediscovered, lay the city of Washukkanni, capital of an empire which stretched clear across northern Mesopotamia from the Mediterranean in the west to beyond the Tigris in the east. The empire, called Mitanni, was headed by a small aristocratic ruling class whose names identify them as Indo-Aryans, i.e., as the western branch of a migration that was at the same time overflowing India. They invoked "Indian" deities and perfected the raising of horses and horse racing, employing in part an Indo-Aryan terminology. (For hesitations about the Indo-European dominance see Kuhrt, 296–98). However, the kingdom which they ruled was primarily a Hurrian state, for it was the Hurrian stratum of the population that made up the bulk of its chariot-nobility.

The Hurrians had begun to settle, and even rule, on the northern and eastern frontiers of Mesopotamia even before the end of the Akkadian empire (to whose fall they may have contributed). They began to enter Mesopotamia proper in increasing numbers in the neo-Sumerian and Old Babylonian periods. They ruled minor localities like Shushara (Shashrum) under Shamshi-Adad I and left their mark at Mari in the form of Hurrian incantations. However, it was only now, with the creation of the Mitanni state, that they took advantage of their strategic location to assume a commanding position. The center of their power in the Khabur region was known as Hanigalbat. To the east they claimed sovereignty over the client kingdoms of Assyria and Arrapha, to the west over those of Mukish and Yamḥad. Most of the documentation comes from these client states rather than from the center of the empire. In particular the archives of *Nuzi and *Alalakh have yielded vast numbers of texts from the realms of family law and public administration respectively. Together they throw valuable light on the newly emerging institutions of a society thought (by some scholars) to have had a direct impact on the institutions of pre-monarchical Israel. The cultural unity of the extensive Mitanni domain is also attested archaeologically: an elegant pottery style designated variously as Khabur, Mitanni, or Nuzi ware characterizes the ceramic remains of sites of this period throughout the area.

A separate Hurrian state grew up at the same time northwest of Mitanni: in the fertile plain later known as Cilicia, the kingdom of Kizzuwatna united the areas lying between Mitanni and the Hittite lands of Anatolia. It served both as a buffer between them in political and military terms and as a bridge in cultural terms. It was, at least in part, by this road that Hurrian literary and religious influences reached Asia Minor, where they were soon to play a major role. The Hurrians, however, were important beyond that as transmitters and transmuters of the older traditions of Babylonia, many of which, according to one theory, reached the West – that is, Hittites and Phoenicians, and via these ultimately also Greeks and Hebrews, respectively – in Hurrian guise.

The prestige of Babylonian culture at this time was in marked contrast to its political eclipse. The country was now securely in the hands of the Kassites, who had already controlled the Middle Euphrates for over a century (c. 1735–1595) before they seized Babylon, and who went on to rule Babylonia proper (which they gave the name of Kar-Duniash) for over four centuries thereafter (c. 1595–1157) – longer than any other dynasty. However, these were centuries of political stagnation for Babylonia. The Kassites were foreign invaders of uncertain ethnic affiliation who eagerly adopted, and adapted themselves to, the literary and artistic heritage of the ancient civilization to which they had fallen heir. They conquered the Sealand in the south about the beginning of the 15th century, thus probably recovering the surviving remnants of Sumerian learning (both scholars and texts) that had found refuge there at the time of the sack of Babylon. Under Kurigalzu I they built a great new administrative capital named Fortress of Kurigalzu (Dur-Kurigalzu) in the strategic narrow waist of the valley, dominated by a traditional stepped tower (ziggurat), the best preserved example of its kind from within Mesopotamia. They adjusted their northern frontiers with varying fortunes in occasional battles with the emerging Assyrians, and one of their 15th-century kings even met on friendly terms with Pharaoh Thutmose III on the Euphrates. They evolved an essentially feudal society, which secured, while at the same time diluting, the royal power through grants of land and remission of taxes to favored retainers. But by and large they were content to depend on their inherited Babylonian prestige in order to seek a place for themselves in the shifting kaleidoscope of Late Bronze international relations.

This prestige had, in some sense, never been higher. Throughout the Near East, the cuneiform script was being put to use in one form or another, and Akkadian was becoming the language of international diplomacy. In order to master the Akkadian script and language, scribal schools arose as far away as Anatolia and Egypt, and their curriculum followed to some degree the Babylonian model. A fragment of the Gilgamesh Epic, found at *Megiddo, indicates that this was true also of Palestine. Many of the great scribal families of later Babylonia traced their ancestry to Kassite times, and it was probably at this time that the major works of cuneiform literature were put into their canonical form. Thus it was through the patronage of Kassite overlords, and the mediating role of the Hurrians (see above), that traditional Sumero-Akkadian literature and learning spread far and wide from its ancestral home.

In the West, meantime, military and political hegemony was also passing out of the hands of Semitic-speaking peoples. A new dynasty of Theban rulers, the 18th, had succeeded by the middle of the 16th century in driving the *Hyksos (largely consisting of Amorite elements) from Egypt and reuniting the country. Thutmose III (1490–1436) carried Egyptian arms as far as the Euphrates and reduced all the intervening city-states to vassalage. His greatest victory was won on the very first campaign, when he defeated the armies of the Asiatics, combined, if not exactly united, under the prince of Kadesh (better; Kedesh), at the great battle of Megiddo, the first "Armageddon" (the graecized form of Har Megiddo, "hill of Megiddo"). With Retenu, as the Egyptians called Palestine and Southern Syria, firmly in his grasp, Thutmose III even challenged the armies of Mitanni and eventually extracted a treaty that recognized a common frontier running between Hama and Qatna (c. 1448). His successors continued to maintain the Asiatic empire by repeated incursions into Palestine and Syria to receive the submission of loyal vassal princes and secure that of the recalcitrant ones. Sporadic finds of cuneiform tablets from Palestine (Taanach, Gezer) seem to include royal exhortations to this effect.

Thus the subjection of the indigenous Amorites was completed before the end of the 15th century throughout the Near East. There was, however, one exception to this rule. Since the emergence of the Amorites, cuneiform texts from very diverse regions had begun to make mention of a group of people called *Ḥabiru with ever increasing frequency until, by the 15th century, they appear in texts from all over the Near East. On philological grounds, these Ḥabiru can be conclusively equated with the ʿApiru of the Egyptian texts and less likely, with the Hebrews of the Bible. Their name was explained, tellingly if not scientifically, as meaning "robbers," "dusty ones," or "migrants," respectively. These Ḥabiru were thus not an ethnic but a social entity: though largely of Amorite stock, they constituted that portion of the population unwilling to submit to Amorite rule or, subsequently and more particularly, to that of their nonsemitic conquerors. Instead they chose to serve as roving mercenaries under successive masters, or, alternatively, to band together in order to impose their own rule in areas beyond the reach of the various imperial armies. The latter was particularly true of the wooded hill country of Syria and Palestine.

There they maintained a tenacious and much maligned independence even while the great powers were dividing up the cleared lowlands.

THE EMERGENCE OF ASSYRIA (C. 1400–1200 B.C.E.)

The last two centuries of the Near Eastern Bronze Age witnessed a new cosmopolitanism which flowered under courtly patronage in the 14th century only to disintegrate under the rude assaults of mass migrations in the 13th. The pace of international diplomacy quickened dramatically in the "Amarna Age" (see *El-Amarna); Akkadian became the lingua franca of the Near East (see above) as attested by school texts, correspondence, and treaties from Amarna itself and elsewhere; dynastic marriages were the subject of protracted negotiations and reflected not only the raised status of women (or at least of princesses) but also the international outlook of the ruling strata. This outlook was no doubt fostered by the common practice of educating vassal princes at the great courts – Egyptian, Hittite, or Babylonian – where they served at the same time as hostages for their fathers' loyalty. The delicate balance of power thus constructed on the novel ideas of international negotiation and accommodation survived even the ambitions of particularly strong rulers, such as Suppiluliumas of the Hittites (c. 1375–1335). However, it was not equal to the threat from below: in the end it succumbed to the tidal waves of diverse new ethnic groups which broke on all the shores of the Near East and destroyed the last vestiges of the age of diplomacy. The momentous events that characterized the waning Bronze Age involved Mesopotamia in general, and in particular set the stage for the emergence of Assyria, the only Asiatic power that survived intact into the Iron Age.

The emergence of Assyria as a major Near Eastern power can best be dated to the accession of Ashur-uballiṭ I (c. 1365–1330), who first claimed the title "king of the land of

Ashur." Ashur was the name of the god held in special reverence by the Assyrians, and of the ancient city built by his worshipers on the Tigris. For a thousand years before Ashur-uballiṭ's accession, the city had been ruled by a long succession of foreign masters as a minor province, in succession, of the great empires of Akkad, Ur, Eshnunna, Shubat-Enlil, and Washukkanni.

In all this millennium, Ashur had enjoyed the status of an independent city-state only once, in the brief interlude following the fall of Ur (c. 2000–1850). At that time its citizens displayed their vitality by their extensive and sophisticated trading operations deep into Anatolia; many thousands of "Cappadocian" tablets, inscribed in the Old Assyrian dialect, have left an enduring record of this trade. However, even in periods of political subservience, the Assyrians maintained a clear sense of their own identity. Foreign rulers were given native genealogies or, by an equally pious fiction, local governors were elevated to royal status by the later historiography. The Assyrian historians should not, however, be accused of willful distortion; rather, they were giving formal expression to a very real sense of continuity which centered on the worship of Ashur, the deity from whom their city took its name. They thus provide an instructive parallel to the Israelite experience as canonized in the Bible. In both instances, it was the reality of an unbroken religious tradition which permitted an ethnic group to lay claim to the memories or monuments surviving from the Middle Bronze Age and to link them to later political institutions.

In Assyria, these institutions got their chance when Mitannian power began to collapse in the middle of the 14th century, under the combined impact of Hittite pressure and the progressive disengagement from Asiatic affairs by the Egyptian pharaohs of the Amarna period, since Egypt, as the principal ally of Mitanni, was the only effective counterweight to Suppiluliumas' ambitions. Ashur-uballiṭ took advantage of the situation to throw off the Hurrian overlordship of Mitanni. Disdaining that of Kassite Babylonia which claimed to have inherited it, he began to negotiate on a footing of equality with all the great powers of his time, as well as to show the Assyrian mettle in battle, chiefly with the Kassites. Indeed, the fortunes of Assyria and Babylonia were henceforth closely linked; dynastic intermarriages and treaties alternated with breaches of peace and adjustments of the common border in favor of the victor. A synchronistic king list recorded these contacts in the first systematic attempt to correlate the histories of two discrete states before the Book of Kings (which made the same attempt for the Divided Monarchy). This synchronistic style was cultivated by the Assyrian historians along with other historical genres, while the court poets created a whole cycle of epics celebrating the triumphs over the Kassites. The Assyrian kings, portrayed in heroic proportions, figured as peerless protagonists of the latter, and generally claimed the upper hand in these encounters. However, a deep-seated respect for the older culture and religion of Babylonia, which they regarded as ancestral to their own, constrained them from following up on their advantage at first.

This restraint was dropped by Tukulti-Ninurta I (c. 1244–1208), one of the few intriguing personalities in the long line of Assyrian kings who were more often so true to form that they are barely distinguishable one from another. So far from respecting the sanctity of Babylon, he took its defeated king into Assyrian captivity together with the statue of Marduk its god, razed the walls of the city, and assumed the rule of all of Babylonia in his own person. At home, he claimed almost divine honors and, not content with an extensive building program at Ashur, he moved across the Tigris to found a whole new capital, which he named after himself. But in all this he aroused increasing enmity, both for the sacrilege against Babylon and for the heavy exactions of his military and building programs. A reaction set in and, led by the king's own son and successor, the more conservative party imprisoned the king in his new capital and set fire to it. The fame of Tukulti-Ninurta was such that garbled features of his reign are thought to be preserved in both biblical and Greek literature. Thus he is supposed (by some scholars; but cf. above, on Narâm-Sin) to have suggested the figure of Nimrod, the conqueror and hunter of Genesis 10; the "King Ninos" who built "the city of Ninos," according to one Greek legend; and the Sardanapalos who died a fiery death in his own city, according to another. Separating fact from legend, it is clear that his death ushered in a temporary eclipse of the newly emergent Assyrian power that was destined to last for almost a century.

The Assyrian eclipse starting about 1200 was only one phase, and a relatively mild one at that, of the upheaval that marked the end of the Bronze Age throughout the Near East, and whose principal cause was the wave of mass migrations that engulfed the entire area. If there was any one event that may be said to have unleashed these movements, it may conceivably have been the sack of Troy, about 1250 B.C.E., and the subsequent fall of the Mycenean cities of the Greek mainland. The survivors of these catastrophes fled by sea and are collectively known as Sea Peoples. They came, however, not across the open water, but along the coasts, seeking new lands to conquer and settle wherever the established powers were too weak to withstand them, and leaving their names scattered across the Mediterranean littorals and islands to this day, from Cilicia and Philistia (Palestine) in the east to Sicily, Etruria (Tuscany), and Sardinia in the west. The populations displaced by their arrival fled elsewhere to spread the process in a chain-like reaction, until confronted by corresponding migrations from an opposite direction. Thus the Hurrians of Cilicia fled northeast into Hittite Anatolia, putting an end to the Hittite empire there; the Hittite refugees in turn moved southeast into the former Mitanni area of northern Syria. Here they encountered a wave of Semitic-speaking seminomads now moving north from the Syrian desert. These were the *Arameans, with whom the Hittites reached an accommodation resulting in an Arameo-Hittite symbiosis in the petty Syrian city-states of the early Iron Age, who probably spoke Aramaic but used a dialect of Hittite (probably Luwian, written in "hieroglyphic Hittite") for many of their monuments.

Further south, the Canaanite (or Amorite) population of Canaan displaced by the *Philistines meanwhile encountered the Israelites, while further to the east, the waning dynasty of the Kassites finally succumbed to Aramean and other pressures by 1157 B.C.E. Thus in the short span of a century, the Near East took on a wholly new aspect, and new protagonists were to rule its destinies in the Iron Age.

THE EARLY IRON AGE (C. 1200–750 B.C.E.)

For several centuries, the political history of Babylonia and Assyria after 1200 had little noticeable impact beyond the borders of Mesopotamia, and cannot, therefore, claim the attention of historians in the same measure as earlier periods, some of which contribute in crucial ways to our understanding of all history. The international power vacuum of the time enabled the rise and consolidation of the smaller Levantine polities including Israel and Judah. Occasional royal figures stand out for specific achievements; their names, in consequence, were copied by later kings and thus in some cases passed into the Bible. *Merodach-Baladan I (1173–1161), for example, was the last Kassite king who still exercised effective control over Babylonia; a considerable number of boundary stones (*kudurru*'s) attest to the vitality of the land which characterized this dynasty's relations to its feudal retainers. Nebuchadnezzar I (1124–03) was the outstanding ruler of the Second Dynasty of Isin which succeeded the Kassites in Babylonia. He is generally thought to have retrieved the statue of Marduk from captivity (see above), elevated Marduk to his role as undisputed head of the Babylonian pantheon, and commissioned the so-called Epic of Creation (*Enuma eliš*), actually a hymnic exaltation of Marduk, often cited for its parallels to the biblical versions of creation, though in fact more nearly relevant to the exaltation of the God of Israel in the Song of the Sea (Ex. 15).

His younger Assyrian contemporary, Tiglath-Pileser I (c. 1115–1077), was a worthy adversary who reestablished Assyria's military reputation and, while respecting the common frontier with Babylonia in the south, and holding off the warlike mountaineers on Assyria's eastern and northern borders, laid the foundations for her "manifest destiny" – expansion to the west. An Assyrian campaign down the Tigris to the Babylonian frontier and then up the Euphrates and Khabur rivers to rejoin the Tigris north of Ashur had become an annual event by the time of Tukulti-Ninurta II (890–884); the petty chieftains of the Arameo-Hittite lands west of Assyria learned to expect swift retribution if they did not pay the tribute exacted on these expeditions. The "calculated frightfulness" of Ashurnaṣirpal II (883–859) was graphically impressed on his visiting vassals by the reliefs he carved on the walls of his new palace at Kalhu (biblical Calah).

Under Shalmaneser III (858–824), the Assyrian policy took on all the earmarks of a grand design. The repeated hammer blows of his armies were directed with an almost single-minded dedication and persistence against Assyria's western neighbors and brought about the first direct contact between Assyria and Israel. The battle of *Karkar in 853 pitted Shalmaneser against a grand coalition of Western states, including Israelites, Arameans, Cilicians, Egyptians, Arabians, Ammorites, and Phoenicians. King *Ahab of Israel contributed significantly to the infantry and more especially the chariotry on the allied side, which held the Assyrians to a draw if it did not actually defeat them. Ahab died within the year, but the coalition survived with minor changes, and met Shalmaneser four more times (849, 848, 845, and 841). Only after the last of these encounters could the Assyrian king truthfully claim the submission of the western states, and the triumphal march across the now prostrate westland by "Shalman" (i.e., Shalmaneser) was recalled more than a century later in the first explicit, if elliptic, biblical reference to an Assyrian king (Hos. 10:14) other than the legendary Nimrod. The extinction of the Israelite house of Omri ensued in the same year, together with the accession of *Jehu in Israel, the Omride Queen *Athaliah in Judah, and *Hazael in Damascus. The prompt submission of Jehu and other kings is graphically depicted on Shalmaneser's Black Obelisk which conceivably preserves not only the first but the only contemporary pictorial representation of an Israelite figure known from the Bible.

Shalmaneser's reign nevertheless ended in disaster. His last six years (827–822) were marked by revolts at home and the loss of all his western conquests abroad, and not until 805 did Assyria reassert itself there. It was Adadnirâri III (810–783) who, by relieving the Aramean pressure, was regarded as a veritable deliverer in Israel (II Kings 13:5), and his stele from Tell al-Rimah records the grateful tribute of *Jehoash of Israel (797–82) among others. However, Assyria was not yet strong enough to reclaim its western conquests. Urartu (biblical *Ararat), a state based around Lake Van in the later Armenia, rallied the remnants of the Hurrian populations who had fled upper Mesopotamia in the wake of the mass migrations at the end of the Bronze Age, and now sought to restore its influence in Northern Syria. Throughout the first half of the eighth century, Assyrians, Arameans, and Urartians thus fought each other to a standstill in Syria while the Divided Monarchy briefly regained the economic strength and territorial extent of the Solomonic kingdom. Israelite tradition reflected the memory of these four decades of her resurgence and Assyrian weakness by attaching the legend of the near-collapse of Nineveh to *Jonah, a prophetic contemporary of Jeroboam II (793–753; sole rule 781–53) or, conversely, by assigning the Jonah of legend to the reign of Jeroboam (II Kings 14:25).

THE LATE IRON AGE (C. 750–540 B.C.E.)

The last two centuries of Mesopotamian independence under Akkadian-speaking rulers restored first Assyria and then Babylonia briefly to a preeminent position in the Near East, and brought these lands into almost constant contact with the West. They left an indelible impress on both Hebrew and Greek sources which, until the decipherment of cuneiform were, in fact, virtually the only materials for the recovery of Mesopotamian history. The accession of Nabunasir (Nabonassar) in Babylonia in 747 seems to have been regarded by the native sources themselves as ushering in the Mesopotamian revival. The scribes of Babylon inaugurated a reform of the calendar which systematized the intercalation of a 13th month, on the basis of astronomical calculation rather than observation, seven times in every 19 years, according to the so-called Metonic cycle; taken over later by the Jews, it continues as the basis of the Jewish lunisolar calendar to the present. Babylonia was by now divided largely between urbanized Chaldeans and still mainly rural Arameans, and since the Chaldeans soon became the principal experts of Babylonian astronomy, the very word *Chaldean came to be equated with "astronomer, sage" in Hebrew (Dan. 2:2), Aramaic (Dan. passim), and Greek. These astronomers now began to keep monthly diaries listing celestial observations together with fluctuations in such matters as commodity prices, river levels, and the weather, as well as occasional political events. Perhaps on the basis of the last, they also created a valuable new historiographic record, the Babylonian Chronicle, into which they entered the outstanding events of each year. In the Ptolemaic Canon, the "Nabonassar Era" was recognized as a turning point in the history of science by Hellenistic astronomy. Nonetheless, Nabonassar himself was but a minor figure. When he enlisted the help of his greater Assyrian contemporary Tiglath-Pileser III (744–727) in his struggles against both Chaldeans and Arameans, the step proved as fateful as did that of *Ahaz of Judah (735–716; sole ruler 731–716) against the Syro-Ephraimite coalition. Tiglath-Pileser III was a usurper, the beneficiary of still another palace revolt that had unseated his weak predecessor. He and his first two successors changed the whole balance of power in the Near East, destroying Israel among many other states, and reducing the rest, including Judah, to vassalage. They found Assyria in a difficult, even desperate, military and economic situation, but during the next 40 years they recovered and consolidated its control of all its old territories and reestablished it firmly as the preeminent military and economic power in the Near East. Only the outlines of the process can be given here.

Tiglath-Pileser's first great campaign against the West (743–738) involved organizing the nearer Syrian provinces under Assyrian administration, regulating the succession to the king's liking in a middle tier of states, and waging war against the more distant ones. The semiautonomous Assyrian proconsulates were broken up into smaller administrative units, and their governors thereby deprived of the virtually sovereign power which the interval of royal weakness had allowed them to assume. The Urartians were conclusively driven out of northern Syria, and the northern and eastern frontiers were pacified (737–735). The second great campaign to the west (734–732) was in response to Judah's call for help according to II Kings 16:7 (cf. II Chron. 28:16) and reduced Israel to a mere fraction of its former size as more and more of the coastal and Transjordanian lands were incorporated in the growing empire or reduced to vassalage. If Israel was allowed to remain a vassal for now, it was because the king's attention was briefly diverted by the rebellion of Nabu-mukin-zeri (Mukin-zeri) in Babylonia (731–729). When this was crushed, Tiglath-Pileser himself "seized the hands of Bel," that is, he led the statue of Bel (Marduk) in procession in the gesture of legitimation and ostensible submission to the Marduk priesthood that was traditionally demanded of Babylonian kings. As the first Assyrian king who ventured to take this step since the ill-fated Tukulti-Ninurta I, he was duly enrolled in the Babylonian King List (see above) under his nickname of Pulu, a name that passed, more or less intact, also into the later biblical and Greek accounts of his reign (II Kings 15:19; I Chron. 5:26).

His short-lived successor, Shalmaneser V (726–722), followed this example, reigning in Babylon as Ululaia, but left few records of his reign in Assyria. His greatest achievement was the capture of Samaria in 722 and the final incorporation of the Northern Kingdom into the Assyrian empire, but the event is better attested in the Babylonian Chronicle and the Bible (cf. especially II Kings 17:6; 18:10) than in the Assyrian annals. He is thoroughly overshadowed by his successor. Sargon II of Assyria (721–705) took the name of the great founder of the Akkadian empire and lived up to it. He founded the last royal house of Assyria, called Sargonid after him. Perhaps the most militant of all the neo-Assyrian kings, he conducted a major campaign every single year of his reign (or had his annals edited to this effect); he frequently led the army in person and commissioned elaborate reports of his exploits en route in the form of "open letters" to the god Ashur; he even died in battle on his last campaign, a fate unknown for Mesopotamian kings since Ur-Namma of Ur. His major opponents were Merodach-Baladan II, the Chaldean who tenaciously fought for Babylonian independence; the Elamites, allied with Babylon at the great battle of Dêr before the Iranian foothills (720); the supposedly impregnable island fortress of Tyre, which he finally reduced to submission; and Egypt, which for the first time was defeated by an Assyrian army and forced to pay tribute. The rump kingdom of Judah was no match against a figure of this stature, and *Ahaz wisely heeded Isaiah's counsels of caution. When the accession of *Hezekiah (715–687) restored the anti-Assyrian party in Judah, retribution was not slow in coming. In 712, Sargon dispatched his commander in chief (*turtānu*; cf. the *tartan* of Isa. 20:1) against Ashdod, a city allied with Judah, which was captured. The recent discovery of steles of Sargon at Ashdod, on the one hand, and in western Iran (Godin Tepe) on the other, typify the monarch's far-flung exploits, as does his death on the northern frontier.

The accession of Sennacherib (704–681) marked a new phase in Assyrian imperialism. No longer did the Assyrian army march annually towards new conquests. Only eight campaigns occupied the 24 years of the new monarch, besides two conducted by his generals. Assyrian power was approaching the natural limits of which it was capable, and new thrusts into distant border regions were probably defensive in inspiration. Although the warlike ideals of their forebears continued to color the records of the later Sargonid kings, the impression of sustained militarism that they create is an exaggerated one. The real spirit of the time is revealed, on the one hand, by such marvels of civil engineering as Sennacherib's aqueduct at Jerwan and, on the other, by the greatly increased attention to administrative matters reflected in the growing amount of royal correspondence. Literature and learning too came into their own, and the vast library assembled by Ashurbanipal at Nineveh is only the most dramatic expression of the new leisure.

The new *Pax Assyriaca* was, of course, not unbroken by military campaigns. Sennacherib's unsuccessful siege of Jerusalem in 701 is well known from both the Assyrian and biblical accounts (II Kings 18:13–19:37; Isa. 36–37). His generals campaigned against Cilicia and Anatolia (696–695), while his successor Esarhaddon (680–669) is perhaps most famous for his conquest of Egypt. Esarhaddon had succeeded to the throne in the troubled times following his father's assassination (cf. II Kings 19:37; Isa. 37:38), and was determined to secure a smoother succession for his own sons. The vassals of the empire were therefore forced to swear to abide by his arrangements, and the treaties to this effect, excavated at Calah, have proved a new key to the understanding of Deuteronomy. The king's planning at first bore fruit, and for 17 years his designated successors ruled the empire side by side, Ashurbanipal from Nineveh and Shamash-shum-uk-îm from Babylon. However, in 652, war broke out between the two brothers. After four years of bloody warfare, Ashurbanipal emerged victorious, but at a heavy price. The *Pax Assyriaca* had been irreparably broken, and the period of Assyrian greatness was over. The last 40 years of Assyrian history were marked by constant warfare in which Assyria, in spite of occasional successes, was on the defensive. At the same time the basis for a Babylonian resurgence was being laid even before the final Assyrian demise.

Ashurbanipal had installed a certain Kandalanu as loyal ruler in Babylon after crushing his brother's rebellion. When this regent died in 627, however, Babylonia was without any recognized ruler for a year. Then the throne was seized by Nabopolassar (625–605), who established a new dynasty, generally known as the neo-Babylonian, or Chaldean dynasty. Although the Assyrian military machine continued to be a highly effective instrument for almost 20 years, Nabopolassar successfully defended Babylonia's newly won independence and, with the help of the Medes and of *Josiah of Judah (639–609), finally eliminated Assyria itself. The complete annihilation of the Assyrian capitals – Nineveh, Calah, Ashur, Dur-Sharrukin – between 615 and 612 is attested in part by the Babylonian Chronicle and even more tellingly in the contemporaneous world can still be measured in the prophecies of *Nahum, and possibly of *Zephaniah. Only Egypt remained loyal to Assyria, and Pharaoh Neco's efforts to aid the last remnants of Assyrian power at Haran under Ashur-uballiṭ II (611–609) were seriously impaired by Josiah at Megiddo in 609. The last Assyrian king fled Haran in the same year, and Assyrian history came to a sudden end.

Four years later, the Battle of *Carchemish (605) consolidated the Babylonian success with a defeat of the Egyptians by the crown prince, who presently succeeded to the throne as Nebuchadnezzar II (604–562) (see Map 3). The Chaldean empire fell heir to most of Assyria's conquests and briefly regained for Babylonia the position of leading power in the ancient world. Nebuchadnezzar's conquest of Jerusalem and Judah, with the exile of the Judean aristocracy to Babylonia, is the most famous of his many triumphs, but his own inscriptions prefer to stress his more peaceful achievements. These certainly matched his foreign conquests. He reconstructed Babylon in its entirety, filling it with magnificent temples and palaces and turning the city into one of the wonders of the ancient world. Its fame traveled far and wide with those who had seen it, and even after its destruction by Xerxes in 478, its ruins fired the imagination of later ages. Even Nebuchadnezzar's contemporaries were moved by his achievements to catalog the topography of the restored capital in all its details, thus providing an unrivaled description of an ancient city. Among its more noteworthy sights were the ziggurat (*ziqqurratu*), the famous hanging gardens, and the museum attached to Nebuchadnezzar's new palace. Here the king and his successors brought together statues, stelae, and other inscribed relics of the then already long antiquity of Mesopotamia. This neo-Babylonian interest in the monuments of the past thus complemented the neo-Assyrian efforts to collect the literary heritage of Babylonia that climaxed in the creation of the library of Ashurbanipal.

The same antiquarian interest characterized the rule of Nabonidus (555–539), who succeeded to the throne of Babylon after the three brief reigns of Nebuchadnezzar's son, son-in-law, and grandson. He was not related to the royal Chaldean house, although he was the namesake of a son of Nebuchadnezzar, whom he had served as a high diplomatic official as early as 585. The biography of his mother, Adad-guppi, is preserved on inscriptions from Haran, from which we learn that she lived for 104 years (650–547). Her long devotion to Haran and its deity may help to explain her son's similar, but more fateful, preoccupation. Virtually alone among the former Assyrian strongholds, Haran recovered some of its old glory under the neo-Babylonians and survived for many centuries thereafter as the center of successive forms of the worship of the moon-god Sin. According to Adad-guppi's biography, Haran lay desolate (that is, in the possession of the Medes) for 54 years (610–556) until, at the very beginning of the reign of Nabonidus (555–539), a vision informed him, in words strangely reminiscent of Isaiah 44:28–45:1, that Marduk would raise up "his younger servant" Cyrus to scatter the Medes. In obedience to the divine injunction, Nabonidus presently rebuilt the great temple of Haran, and reconsecrated it to Sin. At the same time, he singled out the other centers of moon worship, at Ur in Babylonia and at the oasis of Temâ in Arabia, for special attention. The latter move, which carried Babylonian arms for the first time all the way to Yatrib (modern Medina), was particularly fateful. Though it may have been inspired by reasonable strategic or even commercial considerations, it was regarded as an act of outright madness by the Babylonians and as a self-imposed exile of the king by later legend. The Book of *Daniel associates this sojourn of seven years (or, in the cuneiform sources, ten years) in the desert with Nabonidus' more famous predecessor, Nebuchadnezzar, but new finds from Qumran show that other Jewish traditions linked it with the correct king. In any case, his sojourn in Arabia was resented by the population of Babylon, and the veneration of Sin there and at Haran and Ur was regarded as a veritable betrayal of Marduk, the national deity. Led by the Marduk priesthood, Babylon turned against Belshazzar, the son whom Nabonidus had left behind at the capital, and delivered the city into the waiting hands of Cyrus the Persian. In a bloodless conquest (539), he assumed control of all of Babylonia and rang down the curtain on the last native Akkadian state.

ASSYRIOLOGY

Assyriology in its widest sense is the scientific study of all those civilizations which employed one or another of the cuneiform scripts; defined more narrowly, it is the study of the languages, literature, and history of ancient Babylonia and Assyria. Because the earliest documents were found in excavations in Assyria (northern Iraq), the discipline received the name "Assyriology." The native language of both Assyria and Babylonia (southern Iraq) was Akkadian, with "Assyrian" and "Babylonian" referring to the respective dialects.

EARLY EXPLORATIONS OF CUNEIFORM SITES

The collapse of the Assyrian and Babylonian civilization was so complete that its cities and remains were either wiped off the earth or buried under it, and its peoples, art, languages, and writings were erased from the memory of history. The very names of its cities, rulers, and gods were forgotten except in sundry local traditions, in the neglected works of Arab geographers, and in scattered and garbled allusions in the Bible and in Greek literature. Only the finds of modern archaeology have been able to reveal the character, achievements, and enormous contribution of this civilization and its great contribution to the civilizations that came after it.

EARLY EXCAVATIONS IN ASSYRIA

In 1842, the first English and French expeditions began a determined search for the lost cities and treasures of Mesopotamia that occupied the next four decades. Its most conspicuous successes were scored in the northeastern part of the country, ancient Assyria, and the whole field of study thus newly opened soon acquired the name of Assyriology. The first spectacular discoveries were made at Khorsabad, where Paul-Emile Botta excavated D-r-Sharrukin, the great capital city built by *Sargon II of Assyria at the end of the eighth century B.C.E. (1843–44) The paintings and drawings made in situ by E. Flandin for Botta's five magnificent volumes (1849–50), and the original sculptures with which the Louvre opened its Assyrian Gallery in 1847 opened Western eyes to the grandeurs of Assyrian archaeology. From 1852 to 1855, Victor Place resumed the French efforts at Dur-Sharrukin. In the meantime an Englishman, Austen Henry Layard, had already begun to excavate the other great Assyrian capitals, beginning with Kalah (Nimrud) in 1845, Nineveh (the twin mounds of Kuyunjik and Nebi Yunus) in 1846, and Ashur (Qalʿat Sherqat) in 1847. The seven seasons of excavation by Layard were crowned with very impressive discoveries of the palaces of *Sennacherib and Ashurbanipal at Nineveh and the palace of Ashurnaṣirpal at Kalah, of the many stone reliefs and colossal statues which stood at their gates; the great majority of these were transfered to the British Museum and elicited wide public response. Layard was succeeded in 1851 by his assistant Hormuzd Rassam, a native of Mosul. By 1854, the latter had succeeded in recovering the bulk of the great library of Ashurbanipal at Nineveh, which to this day remains the most important single source of Akkadian literature. Thereafter, the Crimean War brought all excavation in the area to a temporary halt. In 1872, George Smith, who examined cuneiform texts for the British Museum, discovered a version of the flood narrative which was recognized later as the 11th tablet of the Gilgamesh Epic, and interest in further excavations was renewed. For four years Smith continued to mine the vast treasures of the library at Nineveh until an early death overtook him on the way back to Aleppo (1876). From 1878 to 1882, H. Rassam renewed his activities in Nineveh, but interest in Assyria was for the time being exhausted as attention was directed instead to Babylonia.

THE RECOVERY OF THE SUMERIANS

Until the 1870s, impressive results were not had from the archaeological investigation of the southern half of Mesopotamia. However, in 1877 Ernest de Sarzec began to unearth Lagash (Tellōh) "The mound of the tablets," and by 1900 he had laid bare a whole new civilization whose very existence, adumbrated by the Assyrian tablets, had until then been a matter of dispute: the Sumerian civilization. These excavations and those which succeeded them helped to bring to light a whole new millennium in human history. American excavations at Nippur, meanwhile (1889–1900), uncovered the religious capital and center of learning of the Sumerians, with a library rivaling that of Ashurbanipal in importance, and antedating it by more than a thousand years. The origin of the Sumerians is unknown, and their non-Semitic language seems to have no affinities with other known languages. Other Babylonian expeditions before World War I identified numerous other ancient sites apart from Babylon, such as Sippar, Borsippa, Shuruppak, Adab, and Kish. Improvements in stratigraphic techniques in the field and the cumulative evidence of the inscriptional finds permitted the gradual construction of a chronological sequence and the recognition of certain significant cultural epochs. The extensive French excavations at Susa in Elam, begun in 1897, also proved significant, for this ancient capital of Elam was for millennia a faithful mirror of Mesopotamian influences, and the repository of some of its most precious booty, notably the "Stele of *Hammurapi." inscribed with his laws. The American-led invasion of Iraq in 2003 led to widespread looting, illegal sale of antiquities, and the destruction of significant elements of the archaeological record.

TRENDS AND PROSPECTS

New centers and new names have contributed their share to postwar Assyriology. American influence has been strongest in the lexical field, with Benno *Landsberger and the Oriental Institute at Chicago leading the way (*Materialien zum sumerischen Lexicon*, and *The Assyrian Dictionary* (almost complete in 2005), and the recovery of Sumerian Literature by S.N. Kramer and Thorkild Jacobsen. Vigorous studies are also being pursued in the homelands of the cuneiform sources, notably Turkey and Iraq. There are very active centers in Germany, France, and Italy, and also in Austria, Holland, Finland, and Israel.

Substantial syntheses of the materials already recovered are likely to occupy the attention of most Assyriologists for some time to come. In textual terms, such syntheses include (1) critical editions of literary or "canonical" compositions; (2) tabular compendia of the data contained in economic or "archival" tablets, using computer technology where necessary to cope with the large numbers of texts and entries; (3) new editions of the historical, religious, and votive texts of all periods and areas, together with the monuments on which they are found, to serve as a sound basis for the chronological outline on which all other historical judgments must rest. When these three fundamental syntheses have been achieved, the way will be open for the modern interpretation of the cuneiform evidence and its full integration into the record of human achievement.

[William W. Hallo]

The comprehension of the Bible has greatly benefited from the utilization of the results of Assyriological investigations. The following survey serves only as a collection of examples of contributions of Assyriology to biblical studies, as well as discussing Mesopotamian culture in more general terms.

HISTORY AND CHRONOLOGY

A great deal of historical information concerning the Near East during the period 626–594 B.C.E. is derived from a group of tablets known as the Babylonian Chronicle. Of immediate value is the chronological data provided by these tablets. According to the chronicle, the battle of Carchemish which is mentioned in Jeremiah 46 as taking place in the 5 fourth year of *Jehoiakim of Judah, was fought in the spring of the year 605 B.C.E. The month of Elul in the same year marks the accession of Nebuchadnezzar to the throne of Babylon. According to the Babylonian method of reckoning regnal years, Nebuchadnezzar's first year started in April 604 B.C.E. It is also learned from these tablets that on the second day of Adar in the seventh year of the reign of Nebuchadnezzar, which corresponds to March 15/16, 597 B.C.E. according to the Gregorian calendar, King *Jehoiachin of Judah surrendered the city or Jerusalem to the Babylonians, after ruling for only three months (II Kings 24:8–20). These dates serve as fixed points for those scholars who wish to calculate the chronology of the last years of the Kingdom of Judah. Among other features of interest to Bible scholars found in the Babylonian Chronicle is the tablet that covers the events of the years 616–608 B.C.E., during which time the Assyrian capital of *Nineveh fell to the Medes and Babylonians, and so provides us with background information to the prophetic book of *Nahum. Another feature of interest is the description of the defeat and flight of the Egyptian army after the battle of Carchemish, which is remarkably similar to the description of the same event in Jeremiah 46. It should not be assumed that a reference in cuneiform sources to a person or event recorded in the Bible will automatically amplify or clarify the biblical notice. It is entirely possible that such evidence may only complicate an already complex problem. Nevertheless, any discussion of a particular problem must take into account any evidence available from Mesopotamian sources.

A great deal of effort has been expended in order to establish the chronology of the mid-monarchial period in Israel. *Ahab, king of Israel, is the earliest biblical personage mentioned in cuneiform historical sources. According to a stele of Shalmaneser III, king of Assyria, Ahab was alive in the year 853 B.C.E. He was in fact one of the major participants in the battle of Karkar which was fought in that year. This battle which temporarily checked the Assyrian invasion of Syria is, curiously enough, not mentioned in the Bible (see *Karkar). An important synchronism between Assyria and Israel is to be found in the stele of Nergal-ereš (L. Page, in: *Iraq*, 30 (1968), 139 ff.). According to this stele Joash, king of Israel was on the throne of Israel in the year 802 B.C.E. According to the Masoretic Text of the Bible, 57 years elapsed from the death of Ahab until Joash ascended the throne. The Assyrian evidence points to a period of 51 years between the two kings. In order to solve this problem, some scholars resorted to various Greek versions and the Assyrian sources. A similar situation surrounds that event whose shadow looms large in the prophetic literature of the last century of the existence of the Judahite kingdom, namely, the defeat of *Sennacherib before the gates of Jerusalem in 701 B.C.E. The biblical account of this event is to be found in II Kings 18–19 as well as in Isaiah 36–37. Sennacherib's own record of this event is also available. The biblical account of the siege appears to be inconsistent. According to II Kings 18:13–16, *Hezekiah, king of Judah, surrendered to Sennacherib and paid tribute to him. The Assyrian account in the main agrees with this account, though it differs on the amount of the tribute paid by Hezekiah.

[Aaron Skaist]

LAW

CUNEIFORM LAW

The term cuneiform law has usually been understood to denote the legal practice, and the records bearing on that practice, in those cultures or political entities in the Ancient Near East that used Sumerian or Akkadian cuneiform as their written medium. Taken in this sense, the realm of cuneiform law embraces not only the heartland of the cuneiform world, that is, ancient Sumer, Babylonia, and Assyria, but also the Elamite territory to the east of the Mesopotamian plain, the Syrian coast, and its immediate hinterlands from northern Syria down to Palestine, and especially the Hittite Empire which included practically all of Asia Minor. It must not be thought that these territories together constituted a homogeneous area in which a fairly uniform type of legal structure was in force. The homogeneity consists rather of the uniformity, or near uniformity, of a literary tradition that began in the scribal schools of southern Mesopotamia and spread with time to all the territories which are included in the definition of cuneiform culture. In all the areas thus named, cuneiform was employed as the regular written medium, at least for some period of time between 3000 and 300 B.C.E.

In the Ancient Near East the notion of "law" was inseparable and virtually indistinguishable from "justice" and the judicial process, and the idea of "law" suggested to the Mesopotamian mind- and, more or less, to the consciousness of all the peoples of the Ancient Near East – violations of existing obligations, including obligations to the state and society as well as private (i.e., civil) ones, but not the obligations themselves, insofar as the Mesopotamians did not think in terms of "law" in the context of specific regulatory institutions. The documentary sources from which knowledge of cuneiform law may be derived are to be divided into a number of categories. Primary among them are the large number of private records of judicial cases which were heard in, and adjudicated by, the courts. These cover many kinds of incidents and situations, most of which fall within the realm of property law. Litigations, as far as they are preserved, deal primarily with the disposition of family property and suits which may arise among members of a family or between two families over rightful ownership of certain real estate or other property. Contracts between individuals concerning sale, rental, and marriage and adoption agreements also constitute an important category for knowledge of cuneiform law. Here, too, the topic for the most part is property. A lesser number of documents fall into the category of private legal records, such as litigations concerned with matters that may be designated as private torts or crimes, which ought preferably to be subsumed under the more generic name, wrongs. For the present purpose, wrongs may be understood as invasions against persons or property by someone who held no prior claim or right against the victim or the object of this action. Punishments for such acts are not distinguished in terms of the category of the act itself, but rather in terms of the degree of seriousness of the offense or the amount of aggravating circumstances involved in it and could vary all the way from the requirement of simple restitution or pecuniary fine to the capital penalty.

Cuneiform private and public correspondence includes references to judicial or quasi-judicial acts that have a bearing on the practice of law in ancient Mesopotamia. The correspondence of private persons very often contains reports about dispositions of property in accordance with established customs, or possibly some references to legal action, which usually concerned questions of property. The correspondence of officials, including that of rulers, naturally concerned every area of political and economic administration, as well as other subjects, and occasionally mention materials directly pertinent to the subject of law. Among these are to be found the relatively scarce references to situations which would fall under the rubric of criminal law, as opposed to civil matters, with which all the other categories of private documents are almost exclusively concerned. Thus among the letters of Hammurapi of Babylon and of his older contemporary Rîm-Sin of Larsa there are references to official corruption and how the king dealt with it, and a royal order for the execution of an individual charged with homicide.

The category of material that may be defined as literature provides still another source of information about the legal institutions of the area. From sources such as proverbs, didactic compositions of various kinds, wisdom literature, and even from epics and legends, may be culled a not inconsiderable amount of information about legal behavior in ancient Mesopotamia.

Although these categories of documents constitute the only body of evidence for the actual practice of law in the cuneiform civilizations, the private documents must be utilized in a systematic way for the reconstruction of the real legal institutions of these societies themselves. It is often difficult also to assess the degree to which usages and procedures observed in the private documents represent true and fast "rules" or at least established custom; they may represent nothing more than the momentary whims of kings and officials without having the status of fixed rules or precedents. This condition contrasts with the formal legal corpora, which at least pretend to represent rules designed for application in all like cases and conditions, and which certainly represent the consensus on ideal moral and legal practice within the societies for which they were propounded.

By far the largest source of information, and the one which has usually been considered the primary source for knowledge of the legal institutions of ancient Mesopotamia, has been that formed by the so-called legal codes, most famous of which is the document known as the "Code of Hammurapi." Many fundamental questions may be raised as to the propriety of construing these legal codes as a reflection of the true legal institutions they purport to represent. There is sufficient evidence to indicate that these documents are more appropriately to be viewed not as legal codes in the strict sense but as representing a very special genre of literature of the oldest that were cultivated in Mesopotamian civilization. This view is based on both internal analysis of the documents themselves and external evidence. We cannot enter here into a detailed presentation of the case for our position; it will be sufficient to indicate that these so-called codes bore little relation, if any, to the ongoing legal practice in the very areas where they were formerly assumed, to have been in force.

Nevertheless, this article will be concerned with these codes more than with any other genre of text bearing on Mesopotamian legal institutions, for the simple reason that they are fairly straightforward, have for the most part been carefully edited, and are readily accessible to layman and scholar alike. Moreover, despite our reservations about their reliability as indicators of legal conduct in ancient Mesopotamia, they do form an important clue to the legal thinking that prevailed in that civilization at different times. In addition, inasmuch as we have almost no actual case law surviving from ancient Israel (there is a judicial plea from Mesad Hashavyahu and documents from the Jewish colony at Elephantine in Egypt of the fifth century B.C.E.), it makes sense to compare the two theoretical corpora, the Mesopotamian law codes and the Bible.

The major bodies of legal rules are listed below, in chronological order. The "middle chronology," which sets Hammurapi's reign at 1792–1750 B.C.E. will be followed; the "high" chronology sets these dates about 60 years earlier, the "low" about 60 years later; the letters enclosed in brackets are the abbreviations which will be used to refer to individual corpora in the ensuing discussion:

The Laws of Ur-Nammu of Ur [LU] (21st century B.C.E.)
The Laws of Lipit-Ishtar of Isin[LL] (c. 1950 B.C.E.)
The Laws of the Kingdom of Eshnunna [LE] (c. 1800 B.C.E.)
The Laws of Hammurapi of Babylon [LH]
(c. 1792–1750 B.C.E.)
The Assyrian Laws [AL] (c. 1400–1100 B.C.E.)
The Hittite Laws [HL] (c. 1400–1300 B.C.E.)

There are in addition lesser groups of laws of diverse dates and origins, such as a very fragmentary group from Cappadocia of the Old Assyrian period (c. 1900 B.C.E.), scattered groups of Sumerian laws, and a small group of laws from the Neo-Babylonian period.

The legal corpora exhibit many similarities both in style and content. There is a remarkable unanimity of expression throughout, whether the language of the individual corpus be Sumerian – as are LU and LL – Akkadian, or Hittite. This unanimity, which can be traced to the traditions of the scribal schools, manifests itself in duplications of thought and verbal formulation. Most of the rules are presented as sets of postulated acts or circumstances viewed as having occurred in the past or constituting an existing condition, followed by the prescribed sanction for each respective set of circumstances, which is to be viewed as the "decision." Depending on the type of case at hand, the sanction may be penal, civil, or simply in procedural prescription for a case which consists of some "unusual" circumstances not involving any "wrongs". Sometimes the judgment consists only of a denunciatory characterization of the offense without specification of the penalty to be imposed, a phenomenon largely restricted to the Hittite code. Variations in the circumstances of what may be essentially a single situation are treated for the most part as separate "cases" since they entail appropriate variations in their respective rulings.

The usual arrangement of the rules in the corpora is by groups dealing with the same general topic. There appears to be no discernible rationale, however, for the order in which these larger groups or topics are taken up. In some cases, after a subject has been treated in a number of rules presumably considered adequate by the authors or editors of a legal corpus, the transition to the next topic is effected by some suggestive similarity or common element between the first rule of the new subject and the preceding rule. It may be noted that LH, of all the cuneiform law corpora, appears to be the most rationally organized. The arrangement there is by topical, rather than by legal principles, but even this rationale is not uniformly followed. In the other corpora the arrangement seems to be much more arbitrary both as to the order of the topics treated and the order of the individual rules comprising a given topic.

The division of the different corpora into legal "clauses," "laws," or "paragraphs" is in some cases dictated by ruled lines inscribed on the original tablets, as in the case of AL, HL, and the excerpt tablets of LL, while the division into separate "laws" of LE and LH is the work of the first modern scholars who edited these texts, no indication for such divisions being given in the originals. Generally speaking, a single set of circumstances and the ruling that applies to it are treated as a separate "law" or "paragraph." AL, however, often combines sets of varying circumstances of a single basic situation, together with their appropriate rulings, into a single "paragraph." Thus Tablet A of AL, ruled off into some 60 sections in the original text, contains in fact many more separate rules or "laws" than that. HL, on the other hand, sometimes divides into two "paragraphs" what is essentially a single rule, and sometimes two unrelated rules are combined into a single paragraph. The numbering of the laws or "paragraphs" in the separate law corpora must therefore not be taken as more than a rough approximation of the actual number of distinct rules contained in each corpus; the standard numbering is best viewed as an aid to facilitate modern reference, with the actual number of separate rules to be determined by closer textual analysis in each case.

Apart from the agreement among the various corpora on the classes of subjects chosen for inclusion in their texts, and the more specific literary relationship among the corpora of Lower Mesopotamia, there is also substantial agreement among the corpora with respect to the sanctions that apply in the individual cases. Especially noteworthy in this connection are those cases where the sanctions are pecuniary, the damages often being identical or very close in amount among the several corpora. Such points of agreement constitute a more reliable index of the degree of uniformity of legal custom and usage in the Ancient Near East than those cases and fields in which penal sanctions apply, e.g., the sexual offences, such as rape (only of women who are married or preempted for marriage ["engaged"] by payment of a bride-price), adultery, and incest, all of which involve the death penalty; for these latter are acts which in almost any civilized society would be treated as the gravest of offenses, warranting the summary death of the offender. In all the codes, including the Bible, the death penalty is most often meted out for sexual offenses (E. Good, *Stanford Law Review* 19 (1967), 947–77).

Wherever the law corpora treat homicide and bodily injuries in any detail, it is evident that they distinguished between premeditated acts, non-intentional acts, accident, and negligence, the penalties increasing in direct proportion to the degree of guilt, with injuries or deaths which are the result of negligence regarded as more serious than accidental or even non-intentional acts. Homicide resulting from negligence such as faulty house-building that caused the death of an occupant, was treated as a serious offense, and could bring the death penalty to the builder or a member of his family. However, the owner of a dangerous animal such as a goring ox was subject only to pecuniary damages. Talionic punishments ("an eye for an eye") appear to have been an innovation in the Laws of Hammurapi, since the earlier corpora prescribe only pecuniary damages for injuries resulting from assault and battery. Even in LH the talionic penalty was limited to assaults upon the upper classes, which is an indication that such actions were viewed more gravely than similar acts against the lower classes. However, it should be stressed that talionic punishments and penalties of physical mutilation are rarely attested in documents referring to actual cases, and very likely were hardly ever resorted to. The victim of an eye gouging would have in most cases preferred monetary compensation. The talionic rules in the biblical law collections are probably equally to be viewed as an ideal principle of justice and equity. The non-talionic laws of Ur-Namma 18–22 (M. Roth, *Law Collections from Mesopotamia and Asia Minor* (1995), 19) permit a rich man to maim anyone so long as he pays the stipulated fines. The talionic punishments subject the offender to physical punishment.

An offense may be termed "criminal" when it is viewed as inimical to the well-being of the society as a whole and when the sanction is imposed by the public authority and not necessarily in the interest of any private party who may have been directly injured by the offending act. A "religious" offense, if subject to regular and predictable sanction, was thus a criminal offense. According to these criteria, sorcery is a criminal offense. It is already so treated in LH, which prescribes the penalty of death by drowning (i.e., through the river ordeal) and can be traced through LH, AL, HL, and finally in biblical law. Blasphemy and sedition, and insurrection appear to constitute another group of offenses treated early as criminal, e.g., AL 2 (blasphemy and sedition by a woman), and HL 2:173 (opposing the decision of the crown and the elders). The character of the offense in the example from HL is clearly indicated by the inclusion in the same paragraph of the case of the slave who rebels against his master. This, in turn, indicates that the offense of the wife in LH 143, for which she was to be cast into the water, involved some overt act of disloyalty to her husband in addition to profligacy, and from this it may be assumed a fortiori that similar acts of disloyalty or sedition against the crown or the religious order were dealt with in Babylonia with at least equal severity.

It is often noted that the legal corpora of the Ancient Near East are almost exclusively concerned with "secular" or "civil" law, in contrast to the biblical corpora in which "civil" and "cultic," or religious, rules are intermingled without apparent differentiation. HL, however, includes a number of cultic rules organized as a consecutive group, which indicates that the compiler of the corpus was conscious of the distinctive character of this group of rules. All the offenses in this group deal with violations, in one way or another, of real property, but the interesting feature of all of these rules is that there is no mention of any pecuniary or related form of penalty for these acts (apart from restitution wherever applicable); the expiation of these wrongs consists solely of ritual purification and sacrificial offerings. The conclusion is therefore inevitable that in Hittite society the institution of private real property was invested with the aura of religious sanctity, transgressions against which constituted a ritual defilement as well as a civil injury.

It may be said that the reason the law corpora of the cuneiform civilizations of the Ancient Near East appear to us to deal almost exclusively with "civil" or secular" law is not that the compilers of these corpora deliberately excluded religious subjects from their interest, but that "religious" laws were almost totally irrelevant for the general public; the public was rarely in a position to commit purely "religious" offences. Because the Torah in its final form is the product of the theocracy of the period of the Second Temple, we find the intermingling of "religious" and "secular" laws. The Torah makes no distinction between "religious" and "civil" offenses, nor, in terms of its own ideological orientation, would it have been meaningful for its writers to have introduced such distinctions into their legal structure.

The most common Akkadian term relating to the sphere of law is *dīnum*. The often-expressed notion that this term denoted statutory law is in error. The term *dīnum* denotes a case which is actually or hypothetically before the court. It comprises the statement of the facts of a given case, the court proceedings in its adjudication, and the verdict or decision of the real or hypothetical judge. The rules which comprise the Laws or Code of Hammurapi, for example, are nothing but a collection of hypothetical cases and their respective rulings as propounded by Hammurapi in his role of the supreme judge. They do not constitute law in that they cannot, and probably were not even intended to, serve as binding precedents for similar cases.

Another term which had wide currency in the Old Babylonian period, particularly during the dynasty of Hammurapi, is *ṣimdatum*, which in the older literature on the subject has been taken to mean "statutory laws." It occurs most often in the expression "according to the royal *ṣimdatum*" or simply "according to the *ṣimdatum*." The two phrases may be used interchangeably, and must have the general sense of "according to the regular, or established, procedures [governing the specific situation]." The *ṣimdatum* is, therefore, to be understood as the entire established body of legal tradition, of which some aspect is to be invoked in the particular instance where the *ṣimdatum* is alluded to. When a text refers to the "*ṣimdatum* of the king" the phrase is to be understood in the broad sense as, e.g., "the laws of the crown, of the realm" of which the particular reigning monarch is only the guardian, not the author.

Finally, there occurs frequently in legal contexts the term *mīšarum* or *mēšarum*; it denotes the quality of "equity" or "balance," "equilibrium" and, hence, "justice." The achievement and maintenance of this "balance" is viewed as the primary function and duty of the king. The periodic royal decrees and edicts which are sometimes referred to as *mīšarum* acts are specific measures directed towards this end. In different periods and different reigns the content of these measures would vary in accordance with the immediate situation. Hence the name *mīšarum* edict does not describe a measure of a specific or fixed content, but is something of an epithet attached to measures announced by the king, usually early in his reign, which are designed to remedy particular economic imbalances, and which thereby seek to assure the populace that the new ruler has truly dedicated himself to the advancement and maintenance of justice. These measures entailed cancellation of certain types of debts, release from certain kinds of tenant obligations, and freedom from servitude for debt. Not all obligations were cancelled for all the people on such occasions, but the edict specified the classes of persons, cities, and types of obligations which were to be affected by each act. References to such acts are found in the year-dates of the rulers of the Old Babylonian period, but to date only two texts are known which are devoted to the specific measures that such royal pronouncements entailed. These are the edicts of Samsu-iluna (c. 1750 B.C.E.), Hammurapi's son and successor, and of Ammi-ṣaduqa (c. 1650 B.C.E.), the fourth successor to the throne in Babylon after Hammurapi, and next-to-the-last of the line. It must be kept in mind that such edicts were directed by the promulgating authority to the immediate situation only, and were in no way intended to become the permanent "law of the land." Nor was there any rule which dictated the issue of such decrees at regular intervals, or for having the provisions contained in them take effect automatically at such times, as was the case of the biblical rules for the *Sabbatical year and the Jubilee.

One might conclude by characterizing law in ancient Mesopotamia as being essentially a congeries of local customary systems, which kings periodically attempted to make uniform or "reform" for administrative efficiency. These attempts, however, were at best of limited effectiveness even at the time of their promulgation. Doubt may even be raised concerning the degree to which the so-called lawgiver intended to have his precepts enforced and whether he disposed of a bureaucracy that was really capable of assuring such enforcement. These law codes, however, remain of prime historical value as an index to the morals, ethical notions, and institutions prevailing at the time of their publication.

[Jacob Finkelstein]

The centrality of law in life is a theme common to both Israel and Mesopotamia. There are, in fact, laws that are common to both societies, even in their wording. Thus, the Laws of Eshnunna paragraph 54 reads: "If an ox is known to gore habitually and the ward authorities have had the fact made known to its owner, but he does not have his ox dehorned [?] it gores a man and causes [his] death, then the owner of the ox shall pay two-thirds of a mina of silver" (trans. by A. Goetze, in: AASOR, 31 [1956];. Roth, *Law Collections*, 67), and the code of Hammurapi paragraph 251 reads, "If a man's ox is a gorer and his ward authorities had informed him that it is a gorer but he did not cover its horns or tie up his ox and that ox gores a free man and causes his death he shall pay one half mina of silver." A parallel law is to be found in Exodus 21:29: "If, however, that ox has been in the habit of goring, and its owner, though warned, has failed to guard it, and it kills a man or a woman – the ox shall be stoned and its owner, too, shall be put to death." Mesopotamian law, apart from the monetary penalty that the owner must pay, contains no penalty provision as far as the ox is concerned. Hebrew law requires that the owner of the ox be executed (according to Ex. 21:30 he can redeem himself), and that the ox likewise be executed. Moreover, the ox is to be killed by being stoned, and its flesh is not to be eaten.

Yet these laws, as similar as they may appear to be, reflect the basic difference between the Israelite and Mesopotamian legal systems. The codes of Mesopotamia are essentially secular codes in that they treat only matters concerning the conduct of one human being towards another. The relationship between the human and the divine is not regulated, nor are religious sanctions used to back up the essentially secular laws. In Israelite legal theory as articulated in the Bible, religion and law are intertwined. All law ultimately derives from God. Violations of religious law are punishable by human courts, and religious sanctions are applied as well as secular sanctions. Mesopotamian law contains no provisions regarding the goring ox itself. Israelite law requires that the ox be stoned, and its flesh is not to be eaten. The underlying principle of biblical law derives from the concept of the sanctity of human life connected with a certain concept of divinity as expressed in Genesis 9:5–6, "For your own life-blood I will require a reckoning: I will require it of every beast; of humans too, will I require a reckoning for human life, of every human for that of his fellow-human! Whoever sheds the blood of a human, by a human shall his blood be shed; for in His image did God make the human." In the law of the goring ox this concept finds full expression in the penalty meted out to the ox.

[Aaron Skaist]

LITERATURE

Ancient Mesopotamian literature commonly refers to the vast – and as yet far from complete – body of writings in cuneiform script which has come down from Ancient Mesopotamia. It is mostly found on clay tablets on which the writing was impressed when the clay was still moist. The writing reads, as does the writing on a printed English page, from left to right on the line, the lines running from the top of the page downwards. There are indications, however, that cuneiform writing once read from top to bottom and then, column for column, from right to left. The tablets when inscribed were usually allowed to dry naturally, occasionally, if durability was of the essence, they were baked at a high temperature to hard ceramic.

Except for a few excerpts in ancient classical writers from a book by the Babylonian priest Berossus, nothing at all was known either about cuneiform or the literature written in it until explorations and excavations – beginning shortly before 1800 C.E. – focused attention on the cultural treasures that lay hidden in the ruined city mounds of Mesopotamia. Mesopotamia, which corresponds to present-day Iraq, was in antiquity divided into a northern part, Assyria, and a southern part, Babylonia, also called Karduniash or Chaldea. The border between them ran approximately east-west a little above modern Baghdad. In still earlier times, Babylonia too was divided into a northern part, Akkad, and a southern part, Sumer, the dividing line running east-west a little above Nippur. Reliable copies of cuneiform inscriptions had been brought back by Carsten Niebuhr, only survivor of a Danish expedition in 1767 C.E. In 1802 C.E. a young German teacher, Grotefend, made the first substantial advance in decipherment of the difficult script. He was followed by the Englishman Rawlinson, who independently had reached conclusions similar to Grotefend's. With Rawlinson, the Irish scholar Hincks should be mentioned. Around 1860 C.E. the decipherment was essentially achieved.

Of the greatest importance, both for the help it proved in the decipherment and for the interest it created in wider circles, was the fortunate fact that English excavations at Nineveh came upon the remnants of a great library collected around 600 C.E. by one of the last Assyrian kings, Ashurbanipal. Historical texts from this library, as well as inscriptions found in other Assyrian palaces, threw new light upon personages and events dealt with in the Bible: occasionally Assyrian words would help the understanding of a difficult biblical idiom and, most striking of all, a story about the Deluge, remarkably similar to the biblical account, was among the finds.

Unfortunately, the importance of the tablet find did not immediately dawn on the excavators, so no efforts were made to keep together fragments that were found together; rather everything was simply dumped in baskets. As a result, scholars to this day are hard at work piecing fragments of Ashurbanipal's library together, and the finding of a new "join" is a source of great joy and satisfaction.

The content of the library was rich and varied, ranging from literary works in the strict sense of belles-lettres, to handbook literature codifying the knowledge of the times in various arts, sciences, and pseudo-sciences. Of particular importance for the decipherment were the lexical texts found. They gave precious information about how the multi-value cuneiform signs could be read. They also contained grammatical and lexical works dealing with a new and unheard of language, ancient Sumerian. This language, which preceded Akkadian (that is Assyrian and Babylonian) as vehicle of ancient Mesopotamian culture, has no relative among known languages and would almost certainly have proved impenetrable had not the Library of Ashurbanipal provided ancient grammars, dictionaries, and – most important of all – excellent and precise translations from Sumerian to Akkadian, its many bilingual texts.

Comparable in many ways to the find of the Library of Ashurbanipal was the find to the south, in Nippur, of what was at first believed to be a temple library belonging to Enlil's famous temple there, Ekur. Further exploration has shown, however, that the tablets in question come from private houses, and it seems probable that they represent the "wastepaper baskets" of scribal schools carted over and used simply as fill in the rebuilding of private houses.

The content of these – also mostly broken and fragmentary – tablets is the early Sumerian literature as it survived in the schools, during the period when Sumerian culture was coming to an end in the first centuries of the second millennium B.C.E. Here too, a great task of reconstructing the works involved from fragments awaited the scholars, a task still far from complete. Besides the two large finds here described, mention should also be made of important discoveries of texts in smaller libraries in Ashur found by the German excavation there, and a later, surprising find of tablets in the mound of Sultan Tepe by an English expedition.

SUMERIAN LITERATURE

General Character

The earliest evidence of writing from Mesopotamia – or indeed from anywhere – dates back to around the middle of the fourth millennium B.C.E. to the period known variously as the Protoliterate period or Uruk IV. Before this, however, literature doubtlessly existed in Mesopotamia in oral form, and as such it probably continued alongside written literature for long spans of time. The uses of writing were from the beginning those of aiding memory and of organizing complex data, as is well illustrated by the two genres that comprise the earliest written materials: sign lists and accounts. In time, new genres evolved from these genres: lexical texts, derived from sign lists; contracts and boundary stones, derived from accounts of gifts that accompanied a legal agreement to serve as a testimony to it; and, as a new departure, monumental inscriptions: votive and building inscriptions; and the letter, originally, as shown by its form, an aide-mémoire for the messenger delivering it as an oral message.

The use of writing as a means to organize and remember data underlies such genres as date lists and king lists. However, it is quite late that this power to organize complex data is fully utilized, with the creation of canonical series and handbooks, a development which begins in Old Babylonian Times and culminates in the Kassite period around the middle of the second millennium B.C.E.

The oral literature, in the meantime, while continuing in its own medium, must gradually have explored the possibilities of using writing as an aid in memorizing. While the innately written genres were, as has been seen, in general oriented toward serving as reminders and organizing data, the genres which originated as oral genres, and only secondarily took written form, had as a whole a different aim. A magical aspect may be distinguished in oral literature, retained in its pure form in the genre of incantation, where the spoken word is meant to call into actual existence that which it expresses; the more vivid the incantation, the more effective it is, a fact which accounts for its being cast in literary, or even poetic, language and form. The incantation was the province of a professional performer, the incantation priest (Sum. *mašmaš*, Akk. *ašipu*). A very similar magical purpose also seems to underlie other genres rooted in oral tradition. Myth, epic, and hymns to gods, temples, and kings, all had the purpose of praising somebody or something, and in so doing – as in a blessing – of enhancing or calling into being in the object of the praise, the virtues ascribed to it. This magical dimension of praise can still be seen to be very much alive in the short hymns of praise or blessings spoken by the incantation priest to the various materials he uses in his magical ritual, the so-called *Kultmittelgebete*, blessings intended to call up in these materials the powers and virtues attributed to them in the blessing. The praise takes in myths and epics the form of narrative presentations of great deeds of gods and heroes, originally, seemingly, to achieve by presenting them a vitalizing of the power to which they testify. In hymns, the praise usually takes the more static form of description of great qualities.

The praise genres were the province of a professional performer, the bard, Sumerian *nar*, Akkadian *nāru*, who sang to the accompaniment of a small lyre-like instrument held in the hand. The basic character of the myths, epics, and hymns he recited is indicated by the standard ending for them found over and over again; *zag-mì* NN, "Praise be NN" where NN is the name of the god, hero, or temple sung about. On the basis of the praise it offered up, the lyre was also called *zag-mì*, "praise." The bard (*nar*) was a cherished member of the court of the Sumerian ruler and is depicted reciting at royal banquets, on monuments from around the middle of the Early Dynastic Period.

A praise of a special kind was the lament, the praise of values lost. The lament genre may plausibly be assumed to have originated as lament for human dead and from there to have been extended to use in the rituals marking the death of the god of fertility in his various forms, and to rituals seeking the rebuilding of a destroyed temple. Actually, however, only very few elegies for human dead have come down to us, and on the whole, examples of laments of any kind do not antedate the Third Dynasty of Ur. The genre of laments was the province of a professional performer, the elegist (*gala*). He was, like his colleague the bard, a fixture at the Sumerian rulers' courts, ready to soothe the dark moments for his master by his elegies. He played, as the texts show, a major role at funerals.

Besides the genres mentioned, there were a number of others which made their way from oral into written form, most of them, as far as one can judge, of a popular and informal character with no professional performers in charge of them, but presented as occasion arose by whoever felt like it. Among these were love songs, generally placed in the mouth of women and dealing with gods and kings; wisdom texts, including proverbs and disputation texts pitting different evaluations against one another; didactic compositions such as the so-called Farmer's Almanac; letters to gods with prayer for personal misfortune; and copies of royal diplomatic correspondence, of royal inscriptions of various periods, of legal decisions by courts, and others not lending itself easily to literary classification.

The Agade period (ca. 2340–2159) in which rulers of Semitic origin adopted Sumerian culture, introduced a distinctive type of votive inscription detailing military achievements. From later copies two works credited to the daughter of Sargon of Akkad, Enheduanna, the first named author in history, who served as high priestess of the moon-god Nanna in Ur, are known. One is a series of short hymns to each of the major temples of Sumer and Akkad, the other is a long, impassioned plea to the goddess Inanna. The short Gutian period that followed the Agade period is notable mainly for works produced when it ended. A vivid account by Utu-hegal of Uruk of his war of liberation against the Gutians to "return the kingship of Sumer into its own hands" survives in later copies. To Utu-hegal's reign may also be assigned the composition of the great Sumerian King List, though other scholars prefer a slightly later date. To the end of the Gutian domination belong, furthermore, the famous cylinders A and B of Gudea, inscribed with a hymn to the temple of Ningirsu in Girsu as rebuilt by Gudea. They recount in wonderfully pregnant classical language the divine command to build, the building itself, and lastly the organization of the divine staff serving the needs of Ningirsu and the feast marking the completion of the work.

The perfection and ease of style in the Gudea cylinders show that Gudea's reign was a golden age of literature. In fact under him and in the following period of Ur III, may be placed the main burst of creativity that created Sumerian literature as now known and as it was preserved and handed on in the schools of the Isin-Larsa and Old Babylonian periods which followed Ur III.

The Standard Body of Sumerian Literature

An outline of the content of Sumerian literature as it took form around the period of the Third Dynasty of Ur (c. 2113–2000 B.C.E.) and was added to and transmitted in the schools of the following Isin-Larsa Period (c. 2000–1763 B.C.E.) can most conveniently be given in terms of the genres discussed in the general section above.

MYTHS, EPICS, AND HYMNS. *Myths.* The Sumerian myths seem to be devoted to a relatively small number of major deities only; Enlil, Ninurta, Enki, Inanna, and Dumuzi are the central figures in most of them. The myths about Enlil include the following:

(1) "Enlil and Ninlil: The Birth of the Moon-god," which tells how Enlil when he was young took Ninlil by force, was banned from Nippur by the assembly of the gods and set out for the Netherworld. Ninlil, who had become pregnant with the moon-god, followed him and on the road, in various disguises, Enlil persuaded her to lie with him to conceive another child to take the moon-god's place in the Netherworld. Thus three further divine children were engendered, all chthonic in character.

(2) "Enlil's wooing of Ninlil," a second, more conventional version of Enlil's wooing of Ninlil when she was yet a young girl in her mother's house in Eresh. Even in this tale Enlil is depicted as impetuous, but here he commits no wrong.

(3) "The Creation of the Pickax," a short tale relating how in the beginning Enlil forced Heaven apart from Earth to make room for things to grow, fashioned the pickax with which he broke the crust of the earth in *Uzumua*, "Where Flesh was grown," a sacred spot in Nippur, to uncover the heads of the first men growing out of the earth like plants, and how he then let the other gods share in the use of the pickax and the human workers.

The myths about Enlil's son Ninurta, god of the plow, of the thunderstorms in spring, and of the yearly floods, are mainly two.

(1) *Lugal-e*, a myth telling how Ninurta went to war in the mountains to the east against the *Asakku*, a demonic being engendered on Earth by Heaven, whom the plants had elected king. After a pitched battle Ninurta was victorious. He then built the near ranges, the *ḫursag*, as a dam, directed the waters from the mountains into the Tigris to provide irrigation water for Sumer, presented the *ḫursag* as a gift to his mother Ninlil when she came to see him, and gave her the name Ninhursaga(k), "Queen of the *ḫursag*." After that Ninurta sat in judgment on the stones, some of which had opposed him viciously in the war. His judgments on them determined the character and qualities they now have. The section about the dolerite, a stone imported by Gudea for his statues, suggests that the myth was written, or perhaps added to, in his reign.

(2) A second myth about Ninurta known as *An-gim-dim4-ma* tells how Ninurta, as he nears Nippur in full panoply of war, is met by Enlil's vizier Nusku, who bids him lessen his clamor and not disturb Enlil. Ninurta answers huffily with a long boastful speech, but is calmed down and is made to enter Nippur peacefully by his barber, Ninkarnunna.

(3) A third myth "Ninurta's Pride and Punishment" seems to tell that Ningirsu, at Enki's behest, captured the thunderbird Ansud who had stolen the tablets of fate from Enki. He had obviously hoped thus to obtain the tablets for himself, but when Ansud released them from its claw they returned to Enki in Apsu. Ninurta then, by bringing on a flood, sought to take over from Enki by force, but was outwitted and imprisoned in a pit dug by the tortoise, where Enki severely chided him for his ambitions.

It may be questioned whether the myth just told is best considered a Ninurta or an Enki myth. Clearly its sympathies are with the latter. Clever Enki, the god of the fresh waters in rivers and pools, was one of the most beloved subjects of the mythmakers. Among tales about him may be mentioned the following:

(1) "Enki and Ninhursaga" in which Enki presented the city on the island of Tilmun (modern Bahrain) to Ninhursaga, provided it with water and made it an emporium. He then united with Ninhursaga, engendering a daughter with whom in time he united, again engendering a daughter, and so forth. At last, when he has lain with Uttu, the spider, goddess of weaving, Ninhursaga removes his semen from Uttu's body and throws it on the ground. Seven plants grow up and Enki in time appears, names, and eats the plants. This makes him very ill, but eventually Ninhursaga is mollified and helps him give birth to the seven goddesses which have grown in his body from the plants. The myth ends with their being married off.

(2) "Enki and Ninmah" tells how the gods complained about having to do the hard work of irrigation agriculture, how Enki had his mother Namma give birth to man to relieve them, and how at the party to celebrate Namma's delivery Ninmah, another name for Ninhursaga, boasted that she could alter man's shape for good or bad at will. Enki accepted the challenge, saying that he could find a living for anything she might make, and then fashioned five freaks of various kinds, for all of whom Enki provided a job. When the roles were reversed, however, and Enki tried his hand at mischief, the being he created was afflicted with all the ills of old age, which thus came into the world, Ninmah being unable to do anything to help.

(3) As organizer of the world, Enki appears in "Enki and World Order" in which at Enlil's behest he organized the world much as one would organize an estate, determining first the character of the major cities in Sumer, then arranging for the sea, the rivers, clouds, and rain, then instituting economies such as agriculture, herding, etc., placing appropriate gods in charge, and lastly having to pacify the goddess Inanna, who did not think she had been given enough offices.

(4) The text which would be called the "Eridu Prehistory," which deals with the creation and settling of humans, creation of animals, the antediluvian cities, and the flood, is probably to be classed as an Enki myth since he is the hero of the Flood story. It is he who warns his worshiper Ziusudra against Enlil's wrath afterward.

As popular with the mythmakers as Enki, or even more so, was his granddaughter Inanna, city goddess or Uruk and one of the most complex figures in the Mesopotamian pantheon. She seems to combine features of a goddess of stores, a rain-goddess, and a goddess of the morning and evening star. The myths picture her as a young unmarried girl of the aristocracy, proud, willful, jealous, and power-hungry.

(1) In one of the myths about Inanna, "Inanna and the Powers of Office," she is pitted against her wily grandfather Enki. Arriving on a visit to him in Eridu, she is properly feasted

and Enki, drinking deep, confers in his expansive mood one important office after another upon her. When he wakes up sober next morning he rues his prodigality, but Inanna is gone. He still tries to stop her boat and get the offices back but in vain, and Inanna triumphantly brings them into Uruk.

(2) The myth of "Inanna and Ebeh" tells of the victory of Inanna over the mountain Ebeh (modern Jabel Hamrin) and consists mainly of a series of speeches glorifying her prowess in one form or another.

(3) Another myth, "Inanna and Bilulu," tells how Inanna hears about the killing of her young husband, Dumuzi, composes a paean in his honor, and then sets about avenging him on his killers Bilulu and her son Girgire.

(4) The longest of the myths about Inanna is the one called "Inanna's Descent." It tells how Inanna took it into her heart to descend to the Netherworld to wrest control of it from her elder sister Ereshkigal. The venture ended in disaster and Inanna was killed and changed into a cut of meat gone bad. Her loyal handmaid, Ninshubur, seeking help for her, finally obtained it from Enki, who fashioned two beings who were to win Ereshkigal's favor by expressing compassion for her. They did so, and when in return she granted them a wish, they asked for the meat that was Inanna and brought her back to life with food and water of life that Enki had given them. Still Inanna was not permitted to leave the Netherworld unless she could provide a substitute for herself, and so a posse of Netherworld deputies were sent along with her. As they met persons close to Inanna on their way – all dressed in mourning for her – she balked at giving them over to the demons. Only when in Uruk they found her young husband Dumuzi festively dressed and enjoying himself, did hurt and jealousy make her turn him over to the deputies. He, terrified, appealed to the sun-god, Utu, Inanna's brother and Dumuzi's brother-in law, to change him into a gazelle that he might escape his pursuers. Utu did so, and Dumuzi escaped but was again captured. This repeated itself three times, but in the end there was no way out for Dumuzi, who was taken to the Netherword. His sister, Geshtinanna, seeking him, found him there with the help of the Fly, and the myth ends by Inanna rewarding or punishing the Fly – it is not clear which – and dividing the stay in the Netherworld between Dumuzi and his sister so that they alternate, each of them spending half a year only in the Netherworld, the other half they are up with the living.

The myth about Dumuzi's repeated flights and captures, which forms the second half of "Inanna's Descent" exists also, with only slight modification, as a separate tale,

(1) "Dumuzi's Dream," which relates how Dumuzi had an ominous dream, and sent for his sister Geshtinanna, who interpreted it as foreboding his death. Attempting to hide from the deputies who came to carry him off, Dumuzi was betrayed by a colleague and caught. His subsequent appeal to Utu, his escape, etc., runs parallel to the story in "Inanna's Descent." A more cheerful myth is

(2) "Dumuzi's Wedding," which begins by relating how Inanna sends messages to her bridal attendants, including the bridegroom, Dumuzi, inviting them to bring their gifts. They do so, and the story goes through all the stages of a Sumerian wedding: the bridegroom arriving with his gifts, the bride having her bath and dressing in all her finery before opening the door to him, which is the symbolic act concluding the marriage, Dumuzi leading his bride to his own home, stopping on the way to visit his own tutelary god, and his reassuring of his nervous young bride that she will not be asked to work hard or do any tiring tasks in her new house.

Epics. The epics, which deal with great and memorable deeds of men rather than of gods, are more immediately accessible than the myths, which often presuppose a knowledge of what the gods stand for, which is not easily come by. Most of the epics that have come down to us center around rulers of the First Dynasty of Uruk. This was the dynasty from which the kings of the Third Dynasty of Ur thought themselves descended, and it seems likely that what has been transmitted is in effect a choice aimed at the taste of that court, perhaps as it changed with time from one king to the next.

Closest to the effect of primary epic with its emphasis on martial valor and honor is perhaps the following:

(1) The epic tale "Gilgamesh and Agga (Akka; COS I, 550–52)." It tells how Gilgamesh, vassal ruler of Uruk under Agga of Kish, persuades him to resist performing its corvée duties with weapon in hand. Agga and his longboats soon appear before Uruk's walls. Only Gilgamesh himself is valiant enough to make a successful sortie. He cuts his way to Agga's boat and takes Agga captive. Having thus proved himself, however, he grandly sets Agga free and even reaffirms his overlordship, all in gratitude for the fact that on an earlier occasion Agga had taken Gilgamesh in when the latter sought his protection as a fugitive.

(2) Also in some degree warlike in spirit, but with distinct romantic overtones of the strange and the far away, is the tale of "Gilgamesh and Huwawa," which tells how Gilgamesh, to win fame, undertakes an expedition against the terrible Huwawa in the cedar mountains in the west. The adventure nearly ends in disaster, but by deceit Gilgamesh gets Huwawa in his power and, when he is nobly inclined to spare him, Huwawa rouses the anger of Enkidu, Gilgamesh's servant, who promptly kills him.

(3) A mythical element enters into the tale of "Gilgamesh and the Bull of Heaven." The city goddess of Uruk, Inanna, has offered Gilgamesh marriage and has been rudely refused. To avenge herself, she asks the loan of the fierce "bull of heaven" from her father Anu. Anu reluctantly grants her wish. Contrary to expectations, however, the bull does not manage to kill Gilgamesh, but is itself slain by him and Enkidu.

(4) Gilgamesh exhibits a quite different friendly, attitude toward Inanna in another story, "Gilgamesh, Enkidu, and the Netherworld". In this tale, Inanna finds a tree drifting on the river, pulls it in, and plants it, in the hope of making a bed and a chair from its wood when it is fully grown. By that time, however, the tree has been taken over by the Ansud bird, the

demoness Lilith, and a great serpent. In her disappointment she turns to Gilgamesh, who scares off the unwelcome guests, fells the tree, and gives her wood for her bed and chair. From the tree stub and the branches he makes what seems to be a puck and stick for some hockey-like game, and celebrates the victory with a feast. At the feast, however, a waif, who has no one to take care of her, utters a cry of protest to the god of justice and fairness, Utu, and Gilgamesh's puck and stick fall into the Netherworld. Enkidu offers to go down and bring them up and Gilgamesh instructs him in how to behave so as not to be held back down there. Enkidu, however, disregards the instructions and so must remain in the Netherworld. All Gilgamesh can do is to obtain permission for Enkidu's ghost to come up to see him. Enkidu's ghost then ascends through a hole in the earth, the two embrace, and in answer to Gilgamesh's questions Enkidu tells him in detail how people are treated in the hereafter.

(5) A badly damaged tale called "The Death of Gilgamesh" will be dealt with later when the genre of elegiac epic is discussed.

To the romantic epic with its penchant for the strange and fantastic belongs also the "Lugalbanda Epic," the hero of which is listed in the Sumerian King List as the successor of Enmerkar and predecessor of Gilgamesh, separated from the latter by one Dumuzi, a fisherman from Kuar. According to other traditions, Lugalbanda was the father of Gilgamesh.

In the epic called after him Lugalbanda is still a young man. It relates how Enmerkar calls up his army for a campaign against the city of Aratta in the eastern highlands. On the march, Lugalbanda falls seriously ill and is left to die in a cave (*ḫurrum*) in the mountains by his fellows. He partly recovers, however, and begins fervently to pray to the gods for help. The gods hear his prayers and as he roams the mountains he comes upon the nest of the thunderbird, Ansud, gains its favor, and is granted, at his own wish, supreme powers of speed and endurance. The bird also helps him find his way back to the army, and there, among his comrades, Lugalbanda completely recovers. The army reaches Aratta and begins a long siege of it. However, after a while Enmerkar's zest for the task wanes and he wishes to send a message back to Uruk to Inanna, upbraiding her for no longer caring enough for him; she must choose between him and her city Aratta. There is, however, no messenger who dares undertake the hazardous journey. At last Lugalbanda volunteers, and successfully carries the message to Inanna. She receives him well, hears Enmerkar's message, and advises Enmerkar to catch a certain fish on which Aratta's life depends. Thus he will put an end to the city. Its craftsmen, handiwork, copper and moulds for casting, he can then take as spoil.

There are two other epics of which Enmerkar is the hero: "Enmerkar and Suhkesdanna" and "Enmerkar and the Lord of Aratta." The first of these is a romantic epic verging on fairy tale. It tells how Ensuhkesdanna of Aratta sent messengers to Enmerkar in Uruk, demanding that he submit to Aratta since Ensuhkesdanna could provide a temple of lapis lazuli and a richly adorned couch for the rite of the sacred marriage with Inanna, while Enmerkar had but a temple of mud brick and a bed of wood to offer. The demand is, as could be expected, proudly refused, and Ensuhkesdanna then wishes to obtain his demands by force of arms. The assembly in Aratta is not willing to support him in this, however, and so he is temporarily at an impasse. Then an incantation priest (*mašmaš*) and magician at his court offers to use his powers to have a canal dug to Uruk and to have the inhabitants load their possessions on boats and haul them to Aratta. Ensuhkesdanna is delighted and rewards him richly. The magician then sets out from Aratta, and arriving on his way at Nidaba's city Eresh near Uruk he persuades – since he can speak the language of animals – the cows and goats there to stop giving milk, thus interrupting the cult of Nidaba. At the complaint of the herders, a learned amazon goes up against him in a sorcerer's contest in which both cast fish spawn into the river and pull out animals: the magician, a fish, and the amazon, a bird, which flies off with the fish; the magician, an ewe and its lamb, the amazon, a wolf that runs off with them, and so forth. After the fifth try the magician is exhausted, it becomes dark before his eyes, and he is all confused. The amazon chides him, saying that while his wizardry is plentiful, his judgment is sadly lacking in that he has tried his wizardry against the holy city of Nidaba. So saying, the amazon seized his tongue in her hand and, denying his plea for mercy on the grounds that his crime was sacrilegious, killed. Word of his fate reached Aratta, and Ensuhkesdanna, much sobered, acknowledged the preeminence of Enmerkar.

The other epic about Enmerkar makes of the rivalry between Enmerkar and the lord of Aratta a battle of wits, a test of which of them is most competent as ruler. In its scale of values, peaceful compromise seems to win out over military solutions. It begins by telling how Enmerkar appealed to Inanna to make her other city, Aratta, subject to Uruk, so that its people would bring down stone and other precious building materials as tribute to Uruk for Enmerkar's temple building. Inanna grants his wish, tells him to send a messenger to Aratta to demand submission, and withholds rain from Aratta, in order to put pressure on it to submit. The ruler of Aratta at first rejects the demand, but when he is told that Inanna sides with Enmerkar he accedes pro forma: he will submit if Enmerkar will send grain to relieve the famine caused by the drought, but this grain must not be sent in sacks, it must be loaded into the carrying nets of donkeys. Enmerkar complies with this seemingly impossible demand by sending sprouted grain and malt, but is set a new similar, seemingly impossible condition. After he had complied with that and still another, he loses patience, however, and threatens to destroy Aratta. His angry message is too long for the messenger to remember, and so to help him Enmerkar invents the letter. When the messenger arrives in Aratta with the written letter and the lord of Aratta is pondering it to think of a new subterfuge, the god of rainstorms, Ishkur, apparently knowing nothing about what is going on, drenches the region around Aratta, producing a bumper crop.

At this point, unfortunately, the text is incompletely preserved. From what we have, however, it is possible to gather that the conflict was resolved by the invention of trade and a peaceful exchange of goods follows. Thus Enmerkar is able to obtain his coveted building materials through peaceful means.

The later Dynasty of Agade, with its heroic figures Sargon and Narâm-Sin, formed a second, minor focus for the epic tradition. Sargon, the founder of the dynasty, figures in an unfortunately very fragmentary text in which he seems to have made the wife of his Sumerian opponent Lugal-zagge-si his concubine, but under what circumstances is not clear. Another, as yet unpublished, story tells how he was protected by Inanna at the court of Ur-Zababa of Kish when he was serving there as cupbearer. The figure of Narâm-Sin seems to have become the type of the self-willed human ruler challenging the gods in his hubris. The epic tale called "The Fall of Agade" tells, after describing the might and prosperity of Agade, how Narâm-Sin, wishing to rebuild Enlil's temple Ekur in Nippur, failed to obtain favorable omens that would allow him to do so. Yet, against Enlil's will, Narâm-Sin mustered his forces and began demolishing Ekur. Enlil in his anger called in the wild Gutian mountaineers, who disrupted all communication in the country and produced dire famine. Lest the whole country be destroyed, the major deities of Sumer then appealed to Enlil and succeeded in having the punishment focused on Agade as the actual offender. It was thoroughly cursed by the gods so that it would never again be inhabited.

Hymns to Gods. Praise, with its attendant effects of enhancement and expression of allegiance to persons and to values, can take descriptive as well as narrative form and becomes then hymnal rather than mythical or epic. Mesopotamian literature focused such hymnal praise particularly on three subjects: gods, temples, and kings. The resultant genres are not, however, kept rigidly apart, and sections of a hymn to a god may well be devoted to praise of his temple, just as hymning a temple generally includes praise of its divine owner. The royal hymns abound in addresses to the gods to assist and protect the king hymned.

Among major hymns directed to gods, there is reason to mention first the great hymn to Enlil of Nippur called *Enlil suraše*. It tells how Enlil chose Nippur as his abode, describes its sacred character so fiercely intolerant of all evil, moves on to Enlil's temple in it, Ekur, describes the latter's rituals and sacred personnel, and then Enlil himself as the key figure in the administration of the universe, planning for the maintenance and well-being of all creatures; it ends with a brief acknowledgement also of Enlil's spouse, Ninlil, who shares his powers with him.

Another remarkable hymn is a hymn to the sun-god Utu, which praises him as maintainer of justice and equity in the universe and the last recourse of those who have no-one else to turn to. Utu's sister, Inanna, is hymned as the evening star in a hymn of ten sections. It describes her role in judging human conduct, and ends with a description of her rite of the holy marriage as performed under Iddin-Dagan of Isin with the king embodying her divine bridegroom, Dumuzi. Other hymns dealing with this rite may be considered actual cult texts. Most likely they accompanied a performance of the ritual acts, for often they furnished a running account of what is done in the rite as seen by an observer at close quarters.

A very remarkable and ancient hymn to Inanna (COS I, 518–22) was written, according to Sumerian tradition, by a daughter of king Sargon of Agade, Enheduanna, who was high priestess of the moon-god Nanna in Ur. In the hymn, she has been driven out by enemies, feels abandoned by her divine husband Nanna, and turns in her distress to Inanna, the divine protector of her father and her family – and also, at that time, holder of the kingship of the gods. The description of Inanna in this hymn is that of a goddess of rains and thunderstorms.

Other hymns to goddesses of notable literary qualities are a long hymn to the goddess Nanshe in Nina emphasizing her role as upholder of morals and ethics, a long hymn to the goddess Nininsina praising her powers to heal and to drive out demons of disease, and a hymn to the goddess Nungal in Nippur, a prison goddess with strong Netherworld affinities. The hymn to her describes in detail the features of her temple, which serves as a place of ordeal and place where she judges and imprisons evildoers. It then moves into a self-praise by the goddess in which she lists her various functions and those of her husband Birtum. Many more such hymns could be mentioned, but these may suffice as examples of the genre and of the variety of treatment it allows.

A particular group of hymns to gods deserves, however, special mention: the "processional hymns." These are hymns meant to be sung as accompaniment on the occasion of ritual processions of the gods and on ritual journeys to visit other deities in other cities. Occasionally, as in the case of the composition called "The Journey of Nanna to Nippur," they approach narrative form, describing the stages of the journey by boat and Nanna's cordial reception by Enlil in Nippur before launching into a long catalog of the blessings bestowed upon him by Enlil to take along home to Ur. Somewhat similar hymns celebrate, respectively, Inanna's and Ninurta's journeys to Eridu, and a hymn of this kind, verging on both the myth and the hymn to temples in "Enki Builds Eengurra," which tells how Enki built his temple in Eridu, then traveled by boat to Nippur, where he invited the gods to a party to celebrate the completion of his new home, and where his father Enlil spoke the praise of it.

Hymns to Temples. Praise of temples looms large, as we have mentioned, in many of the hymns to gods. It may also be the main theme of a hymn. Such hymns to temples would seem to have been represented already in the Fara and Abu Salabikh materials. A particularly noteworthy example of the genre is a cycle of hymns to all the major temples in Sumer and Akkad composed by the already mentioned Enheduanna and faithfully copied in the schools for centuries afterwards. Even older, is the much copied "Hymn to the Temple of Kesh," which is already represented in the Abu Salabikh materials. The finest example of the genre is, however, a hymn which never entered the standard body of school literature: the great hymn to the temple of Ningirsu in Girsu, E-ninnu, written on the occasion of its rebuilding by Gudea. The hymn was originally written on three large clay cylinders, of which the second and third are preserved. It describes in detail the communication of Ningirsu's wishes to Gudea in a dream, the care taken to check that the god's message was correctly understood and to carry out the task correctly, the bringing of building materials from afar, the actual building process step for step, and finally the occupation of the new temple by Ningirsu, the appointment of its divine staff, and the concluding "housewarming party" for the gods.

Hymns to Kings. A suitable subject for hymning was also the king, and a great many royal hymns are extant. The oldest examples of the genre deal with Ur-Namma, the first king of the Third Dynasty of Ur. A high point of productivity was reached with his successor, Shulgi, who figures in more than 20 hymnal compositions, and the genre continues to be productive through the first half of the succeeding Isin Dynasty, at which point it begins to peter out. The last example is a hymn to Abi-eshuh of the First Dynasty of Babylon. The content of the genre is varied in the extreme. Many of the hymns deal with the election of the king by the assembly of the gods, or with divine favors showered upon him. Some contain appeals to the gods on the kin's behalf, and some – the royal hymns in the narrower sense – contain a sustained praise of the king, his abilities, e.g., as warrior or as scholar, his virtues, e.g., his sense of justice and fairness, and the prosperity he brought to the country. Frequently these hymns take the form of self-praise and are put in the mouth of the king himself.

Love Songs. Love songs, of which Sumerian literature has quite a few, may perhaps also be considered hymns of praise, albeit of a special distinctive character. Some of these are put in the mouth of the divine lovers, Dumuzi and Inanna, or deal with episodes of their courtship, in some the beloved is the king, particularly Shu-Sin of the Third Dynasty of Ur. These songs praise his physical attractions and express the longing and love of the girl who sings of him. It seems not unlikely that a considerable number of these songs were the work of a poetess in the circle around Shu-Sin; one would guess the *lukur* priestess Kubatum.

ELEGIACS. Whereas the praise in myths, epics, and hymns is directed toward extant values, in the elegiac genres it is focused on values lost and longed for. In elegiacs corresponding to the myth are narrative accounts of the death of gods; in those corresponding to the epic, accounts of the death of kings and heroes; and in those corresponding to the hymn, dirges for gods, temples, and kings, and in very rare cases for ordinary human dead.

Elegiac Myth. A number of works whose central theme is the death and loss of gods may be characterized as elegiac myths. Among these are first of all a number of cult texts from the cult of the dying gods such as Dumuzi and Damu, apparently meant to be sung as accompaniment to ritual acts such as, e.g., processions into the desert to Dumuzi's deserted fold. An example of such an elegiac is "The Wild Bull Who Has Lain Down," in which Inanna seeks her dead husband, killed by the men of the Bison in the mountains. Another example is "The Bitter Cry For Her Husband," which tells of the attack on Dumuzi's fold, his escape, and his death as he tries to swim to safety across the swollen Euphrates in its flood. Many others could be quoted. Perhaps the longest such composition is *Edinna u saga*, "In the Desert in the Early Grass," a Dumuzi text with long insertions of related Damu materials. It tells of the disappearance of the god, and follows his mother and sister as they search for him. It relates how the rough deputies of the Netherworld tore him away from his mother in Girsu on the Euphrates, how she is determined to stand in the gate of their superior claiming her son back, how she asks the canebrake about him, and how she finally takes the road of no return to the Netherworld. Eventually, it seems, it is his sister rather than his mother who reaches him there. A somewhat similar narrative dealing with Damu describes how his sisters wish to board the boat on which he is taken captive and bound to the Netherworld by a deputy from there, and how on arrival there the deputy's superior frees Damu. While these and other compositions seem to have been used in the cult, purely literary accounts of the attack on Dumuzi and his death are also found. One such is "Dumuzi's Dream" of which we spoke above under myths.

Elegiac Epic. Elegiac epic may be defined as epic tales centering around the death of a king or hero, which do not, however, treat that death as heroic, but rather as pure loss. Such tales are "The Death of Gilgamesh," which we mentioned earlier. It treats of the death and burial of Gilgamesh and contains a long address to him by Enlil, in which Enlil tries to reconcile Gilgamesh to his mortality. Of particular interest in that it shows how old the traditions on which the epic genres build are, is the fact that this text has preserved memories of the ancient custom of having the servants of a ruler follow their master also in death. This custom, which existed in the times of Gilgamesh, is also attested to by the finds in the royal graves of Ur excavated by L. Woolley but must have been abandoned long before the times of the Third Dynasty of Ur. Another work in this genre is "The Death of Ur-Namma," which tells of the death and burial of Ur-Namma, of the honored role he is given in the Netherworld, and, in spite of this, his unhappiness about all he left behind him unfinished.

Laments for Gods. Lament for the dead god was a central part of the cult of most dying gods and many such laments are preserved. To the Dumuzi cult belongs the moving lament by his mother in "A Reed-Pipe – My Heart Plays a Reed-Pipe

(Instrument) of Dirges for Him in the Desert" and many others. Most often there is an element of narrative, reflecting the fact that these laments were part of the ritual of going to the god's destroyed fold in the desert. The Damu laments likewise tend to alternate with narrative sections, but the lament of Aruru for her lost son, and the lament of Lisin are examples of pure laments.

Laments for Temples. As the loss of gods and kings was mourned, so were the great public disasters: destruction of cities and their temples at the hand of enemies. The lament was intended to soothe the emotions of the bereaved god and channel them, and thus prepare the way for divine will to restoration. To the genre of lament for destroyed temples belongs what is perhaps the highest achievement of Sumerian poetry, the magnificent and deeply moving "Lament for the Destruction of Ur," which deals with the capture and destruction of the city by the Elamites and the Sua people that ended the Third Dynasty of Ur. The vivid and very detailed, but much less powerful, "Lament for Ur and Sumer" (COS I: 535–39) deals with the same event. Among later laments there is the long "Lament for Nippur and Ekur" connected with the restoration of Ekur by Ishme-Dagan, which ends with a long section in which Enlil promises to restore the temple. Other laments for Ekur and for Inanna's temple in Uruk, EAnna, popular in later times, go back to the end of the Isin-Larsa period. As in the Dumuzi laments, so in the laments for temples, narrative and lyrical sections alternate, the dramatic events around the day of destruction being told in all their stark detail.

Dirges. Laments for kings and heroes in non-narrative lyric form have not so far been found, but two examples of dirges for ordinary mortals succeeded in entering the standard body of literature. They were written by a certain Ludingirra, one in honor of his father, the other on occasion of his wife's death.

WISDOM LITERATURE. Wisdom literature is not committed from the outset as are, each in its way, the encomiastic and elegiac works, but is rather discriminating and evaluative.

Disputes. One of the most popular forms of entertainment and humorous examination of standard values was the dispute or logomachy, which seems to have flourished particularly under the rulers of the Third Dynasty of Ur, several of whom are referred to by name in these works. The usual pattern is a mythological introduction setting the action in the beginning of time, which is then followed by a lengthy dispute about their respective merits by the two contestants. Sometimes the end of the tale is a judgment by a god or the king, but other settings occur, and the text may launch directly into the debate. Examples of works in this genre are "Summer and Winter," "Silver and Copper," "Ewe and Grain," "Plow and Hoe," "Shepherd and Farmer," and others. As a rule, the more lowly contestant carries the day. A special group of such disputes have the school or the life of a scribe as a setting. Among these are "A Scribe and His Disappointing Son," in which a father details the many failings of his son – one senses that he has spared the rod too much – as also "The Overseer and the Scribe," in which the scribe lists the numerous services a scribe performs in a large household, "Enkimansum and Girniisag," a dispute between an obstreperous student and his tutor, and "The Dispute between Enkita and Enkihegal," which, as the disputants get more and more heated, deteriorates into a mere slanging match. It would seem that the ancient listeners must have derived a good deal of vicarious enjoyment from hearing of quarreling and listening to the unrestrained flow of bad language, for in this genre such things are frequent. Another example of it, perhaps the worst, is a vitriolic slanging match known as "Debate Between Two Women." The most interesting evaluative work of Sumerian wisdom literature is, however, probably the one called "Man and His God," in which a man complains about his god's neglecting him and the bad luck dogging him as a consequence. It is a Sumerian precursor, in some sense, of later treatments of the motif of the just sufferer and the earliest indication of awareness of the problem we have.

Apodictic and Didactic Wisdom Texts. Apodictic statements of do's and don'ts characterize the extensive proverb genre, which comprises actual proverbs, as well as all kinds of saws, turns of phrase, etc. and also includes short fables with pointed morals. A large collection of such saws was attributed to Shuruppak, father of the Sumerian hero of the Flood, Ziudsudra, and appear in the composition "The Instructions of Shuruppak"as this wise father's counsels to his son. This composition was, as mentioned, already in existence in the Abu Salabikh materials. The composition commonly called the "Farmer's Almanac," which is cast in the form of a father's – the plow-god Ninurta's – advice to his son, and describes in order all the standard activities to be carried out by a good farmer during the year, is apodictic and didactic insofar as it presents a norm for the activities of the farmer. Formally similar in many ways is the composition called "Schooldays," in which a schoolboy takes time out on his way to school to tell a questioner where he is going so early in the morning, and what he usually does in school.

INCANTATIONS. The genre of incantations continues, and substantial collections of individual incantations begin to be made. There are three major types of incantation: (1) The first is the legitimation type, in which the incantation serves to identify the incantation-priest as the messenger and agent of a god-usually Enki – and as under his protection. It ends with a formula conjuring the demons in the name of heaven and earth. A similar type of incantation is (2) the so-called prophylactic type, which first describes the evil doings of the demons, then orders them to depart. Lastly (3) the Marduk-Ea type describes first the evil done by the demons, then how Asalluhe/Marduk sees it and asks his father Enki's/Ea's advice. Enki then states what ritual acts will serve as cure.

VARIA. A variety of other types of writings, not easily classifiable, are found with works of the genres here listed. Mention may be made of such things as copies of royal inscriptions, of royal diplomatic correspondence, of noteworthy letters of various kinds – among them appeals to deities for help in illness and misfortune – riddles, copies of legal deliberations and decisions in the assembly of Nippur, lists of medical prescriptions, of legal formulas, and copies of law codes, among them those of Ur-Nammu and Lipit-Ishtar. In general these various memorabilia are examples of specific utilization of the organizing and mnemotechnical powers in writing. Not infrequently they stand at the beginning of new handbook genres developing in the second and first millennia.

OLD-BABYLONIAN LITERATURE

Cuneiform writing seems to have been used to write Akkadian very early, perhaps already toward the end of the Protoliterate period. Apart from votive inscriptions and royal monumental inscriptions, however, there is little evidence of Akkadian literary activity. Economic texts, contracts, deeds, letters, a few incantations with perhaps a fragment of a royal hymn, seem to be all. It is not until Old-Babylonian times, around 1700 B.C.E., that more substantial literary activity in Akkadian is attested; quite possibly sparked by a tradition of, and an appreciation for, oral literature among the West Semitic Amorites, who by that time had entered Mesopotamia in large numbers and had furnished such a key ruling dynasty as the First Dynasty of Babylon.

Old-Babylonian literature is, however, clearly written in the country and builds in large measure on Sumerian materials. However, it treats these materials freshly, with notable originality and literary power.

The genres represented are first myths, with works such as the "Poem of Agushaya" which tells how Ea created the goddess Saltu, "Strife," to challenge the warlike goddess Ishtar (Agushaya) and the "Myth of Anzu" about the thunderbird which stole the tablets of fate from Enlil, and with them his powers of office. More impressive than these, though, is the remarkable "Myth of Atrahasis," which deals both with the creation of humans and their near destruction by flood (COS I, 450–53). The gods in those early days had to toil themselves as agricultural workers. After a while, in the first record in history of a strike, they rebelled and rioted in front of Enlil's temple in Nippur. Eventually a compromise was worked out by Enki: a god – presumably the ringleader in the rebellion – was to be killed, and from his flesh and blood man was to be created to take upon himself the toil of the gods. After a while, however, mankind grew so numerous and made so much noise that Enlil found it impossible to sleep. He tried various means to diminish their number and noise, but without lasting effect. Eventually he persuaded the other gods to bring on the Flood and thus to wipe out humanity entirely. Enki, however, as might have been expected, warned his protégé Atrahasis and had him save himself and his family and all species of animals in a big boat. Enlil's anger when he found that a human being had survived was appeased by Enki, who instituted a variety of measures – orders of nuns who were not to conceive and give birth, barren women, and demons killing newborn children – which would serve to hold man's numbers permanently within bounds. Man, the myth seems to say, must know his limitations. He has his place and his useful function in the Universe and will be tolerated by the powers that rule existence, as long as he does not make himself obnoxious to them. The genre of epics is represented by a fragment of the "Epic of Etana" (COS I, 453–57). Etana was the first king, and was carried up to heaven on the back of an eagle he had helped and befriended in order to fetch the plant of birth-giving so that his son could be born. Of special interest are a number of fragments dealing with Gilgamesh.

Hymns to gods and goddesses are well represented. One may mention the Papulegarra Hymn and a hymn to Ishtar with a prayer for Ammi-ṣaduqa. Examples of a new genre, the penitential psalm, which has parallels and perhaps antecedents in the Sumerian "Letters to Gods," makes its appearance. To the genre of love songs, or possibly that of disputes, may be counted a humorous dialogue between a girl and her somewhat naive young man. The dispute genre shows a debate between the tamarisk and the palm. Among the handbook genres mention may be made of the Akkadian "Laws of Eshnunna" and the famous "Code of Hammurapi." They continued – and show distinct influences of – the earlier Sumerian codes of Ur-Nammu and Lipit-Ishtar. Completely new is the prolific genre of omina, which clearly shows work of considerable length and advanced organization of the materials; also the genre of "Mathematical Problem Texts" with the famous Plimpton Tablet, which shows understanding of the laws governing the so-called Pythagorean Theorem, and the Sumerian grammatical texts, which operate with a most ingenious organization scheme, the one column grammatical paradigm.

STANDARD BABYLONIAN LITERATURE

The Old-Babylonian period was followed by a dark age, concerning which little evidence is available. What happened to literature at this time is therefore in some measure a matter for surmise only, but it would seem that a process of selection took place. Only certain works and certain kinds of works survived; others, whether by accident or for reasons of changing taste, were dropped. At the same time there are indications of considerable literary activity during the later half of the Kassite period, from about 1400 B.C.E. onward. The nature of this activity was to a great extent ordering and canonizing, utilizing more fully the possibilities for organizing and preserving large and complex bodies of data. At this time, therefore, major series were put together and a standard text established for genre after genre. The result was an emphasis on the informational and utilitarian aspects of literature, rather than on its aesthetic qualities, which is evident not only in the relative number and length of texts in the belletristic and the more practically oriented genres and the vigor and productivity of the latter, but also in the fact that genre like hymns, laments, and prayers through the setting of the texts in instructional framework appear to move toward what have been called the handbook genres. In the belletristic genres proper the spirit of the age leads toward the establishing of relatively large epic cycles such as, e.g., the 12-tablet Gilgamesh epic, trend which was already discernible in the standard body of Sumerian literature. The standard Babylonian Gilgamesh Epic, for instance, will, with its 12 tablets have covered well over 3,000 lines when complete. Similarly, the appreciation of repetition and ornate description seems to grow. In the genre of laments, for instance, a composition can often be followed from its concise form in the time of standard Sumerian literature to a vastly enlarged, interminably repetitious form which almost makes such narrative elements as it has impossible to follow, in standard Babylonian literature. In part, perhaps such treatment is explicable from the use of the text for recitation in which the music is the main concern. Improved organization, greater length, and less terse language are noticeable also in the genres which specifically grew out of the use of writing to make lasting records: royal memorial inscriptions, legal deeds and contracts, and so on, and which are thus essentially evidential in character. A feature of considerable interest is the occurrence of a tradition about individual authorship of literary works at this time. The works of the standard Babylonian literature may, then, conveniently be considered under the headings of belletristic, handbook, and evidential genres.

Belles Lettres

MYTH. A certain number of Sumerian myths were translated into Akkadian, seemingly already in Old-Babylonian times, and continued to be copied. Among these were the two Ninurta compositions, *Lugal-e*, which as has been mentioned, seem to date back to Gudea or earlier, and *An-gim-dim4-ma*; a bilingual creation myth.

Among Akkadian works, such myths as the one about Anzu and the Atrahasis myth continued to be copied. New additions were the "Dynasty of Dunnum," a tale about the earliest generations of gods, who cheerfully murdered their fathers to take over rule of the world, and then married their mothers or sisters; the myth of "Nergal and Ereshkigal" (COS I, 384–90), which relates how Nergal became lord of the Netherworld and subdued and married its queen, Ereshkigal; and the "Erra Epic" (COS I, 404–16), which describes how Erra tricked Marduk into letting him take over rule of the universe and then embarked upon a veritable orgy of rioting and killing. He was finally pacified by his vizier Ishum, but still had the gall to pride himself on having left "a remnant" and not wiped out everybody. The "Myth of Adapa" (COS I, 449) also deserves mention. Adapa refused, at his master Ea's clever advice, the food of life and water of life offered to him in heaven when he was called to account there before Anu for having broken the wing of the south wind with a spell. Ea, clearly, did not want his clever servant to be other than mortal.

The most substantial and impressive literary work that should be mentioned here is, however, the Babylonian epic of creation *Enuma eliš* (COS I, 390–402). Scholars differ considerably in their dating of it and estimates range from Old-Babylonian times down to shortly after 1000 B.C.E. It can be assumed that in essentials it is a creation of late Old-Babylonian times, but that what has been preserved is a late redaction from approximately the beginning of the first millennium B.C.E. It tells how in the beginning there was only Tiamat, the Sea, and Apsu, the sweet waters under the earth. As their waters mingled the gods were born of them. The gods, as embodiments of activity, found themselves in basic conflict with their first parents. Provoked beyond endurance by the gods, Apsu, at the first, determined to destroy them, but was subdued by Ea with a spell and killed. Ea's son Marduk, playing with the winds which his grandfather Anu had given him, further provoked Tiamat and her brood, and she was brought to attack the gods. She raised an army and placed her second husband, Kingu, in command. Marduk, chosen champion, "king," by the gods, met her in battle and defeated her. Out of her carcass he then created the present universe. Kingu, after he had been indicated as fomenter of the rebellion, was killed, and Marduk had Ea create man from his blood to take over the hard menial work and leave the gods free. Marduk then pardoned those gods who had sided with Tiamat and distributed all the gods as administrators in heaven and on earth. To show their gratitude, the gods then for the last time took tools in hand and built Babylon, the city Marduk had asked for. Here in his temple Esagil they all gathered for a feast and assembly to appoint him permanent king and to celebrate his powers and virtues in 50 names by which they named him, one after the other. The postscript to *Enuma eliš* suggests that it be read to princes, and it is in fact a paean in praise of the ideal absolute monarch as personified in Marduk. When later in the first millennium the benevolent despot became a rarity in Babylonia, the despot pure and simple seems, in the figure of Erra, to have been a more believable symbol of the power ruling existence. In fact, the Erra Epic looks almost like a deliberate attack on *Enuma eliš* and its political optimism.

EPIC. Of older Sumerian epics that of Lugalbanda – at least its second half – survived as a bilingual. An Akkadian translation of the end of "Gilgamesh, Engidu and the Netherworld" was appended mechanically to the late version of the Gilgamesh Epic as its 12th tablet, probably by a copyist rather than by the author of the version. Of Akkadian epics the Etana Epic and the Narâ m-Sin Epic survived. An epic about Sargon's campaign into Asia Minor, *Šar tamḫari*, "The King of Battle," would seem to have been first composed in Old-Babylonian times. The Gilgamesh Epic, which may have existed as an epic in Old-Babylonian times and which in part builds on Sumerian materials, was reworked traditionally by one Sin-liqi-unninni into the standard later version which has been preserved from Ashurbanipal's library. A completely new epic of this time is a warlike epic about Tukulti-Ninurta's wars with Babylonia.

WISDOM LITERATURE. New and notable contributions to the genre of wisdom literature are two long poems, *Ludlul bel* *nêmeqi*, "Let me Praise the Expert" (COS I, 492), which treats the theme of the righteous sufferer, and the Theodicy (COS I, 492–95), which deals with the problem of the worldly success of the wicked. The proverb tradition continues, and new material is added, especially, it appears, fables. The genres of disputes also continued with new compositions such as a "Dispute between the Horse and the Bull." A new creation – based on the omen form – is a text warning rulers against mistreating Babylon and its citizens. It dates most likely from early in Sennacherib's reign. Humor seems to be represented – outside of the proverb literature – by the so-called "Dialogue of Pessimism" (COS I, 495–96), an ironical dialogue between a fickle master and his slave, and by the story of a poor man getting his revenge on an abusive official called "The Poor Man of Nippur."

Handbook Literature

INCANTATIONS AND PRAYERS. Numerous large series of incantations belong to the collections recording the lore that a capable incantation-pries (*ašipu*) ought to control. Of the better known of those which have come down may be mentioned *Utukke limnuti*, "The Evil Demons," against demons of diseases; *Bit rimki*, "The Bath House," containing ritual and incantations for purifying the king by means of lustrations; the series "Mouthwashing"; and the series *Maqlu* and *Šurpu*, devoted to the burning of witches in effigy and other white magic; and many more. Individual prayers were sorted under the incantation priest: various new types of prayer, with hymns to gods as their introductory part, developments of the penitential psalm, and prayers classed as incantations. To a large extent treatment of illness that was considered to be caused by evil demons was the task of the *ašipu*, who thus overlaps in function with the physician or *asu*, who worked mainly with medicaments of various kinds. It is often difficult to distinguish between his handbooks and those of the *ašipu*.

LAMENT. The lament genre with its laments for great public disasters continued to be in the hands of the *kal-* (Sumerian *gala*) or "elegist." As mentioned, the laments tended to grow in length and to become more and more repetitious. They also tended to be held in more general terms and lost the close connection with identifiable historical events which characterized the older laments for destroyed cities…

OMEN. A new Akkadian genre was in Old-Babylonian times the omen. In the following centuries the collections of omens, their systematization, and the systematic extension of possible ominous data, grew. The handbooks for the use of the *barû*, the "seer," were numerous. There were series dealing with omens from the shape of the liver of sacrificial animals, from dreams, from monstrous births, from ominous happenings of all kinds in city and country, astronomical omens, omens from wind and weather, and so on.

PHILOLOGY. To the *dupšarru* (Sumerian *dubsar*), the "scribe," may be ascribed particularly the continuing tradition and development of the lexical texts, which began back at the very beginning of writing as sign lists. This genre grows considerably both in new works and in the sophistication of lexical treatment. One may mention the large series arranged according to sign-form *ea-A-nâqu* and its expanded version *-A-nâqu* and the great series of realia organized in terms of logical classification: *Urra-ḫubullu*. Noteworthy are also the Akkadian synonym list and the examples of lexical and grammatical commentaries to individual works. With the lexical texts go the grammatical treatises. Here the older type of paradigm texts is replaced with a more radical analysis into grammatical elements in so far as such could be represented in a syllabic script.

SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS

Like present-day governments, governments in the ancient world, whether Mesopotamia or Canaan, placed a great deal of emphasis on the need for statistical, especially demographic, information. One of the best ways of obtaining such information was by means of a *census. Scholars have been bothered by certain aspects of the census as noted in the Bible (Ex. 30:11–16; Num. 1:1 19), and questioned the need on the part of the participants in the census for ritual expiation (Heb. *kippurim*; see **Kipper*).

Documents discovered in the royal archives of *Mari in northern Mesopotamia have greatly helped to clarify the problem. In one letter discovered in the archives the following order is given: "Let the troops be recorded by name" (G. Dossin, *Archives royales de Mari*, 1 (1950), no. 42, lines 22–24; cf. Num. 1:2). In other words, a list of names was to be prepared. Such lists are also available from many other sites in the Ancient Near East. The technical term for a census at Mari was *tēbibtum*, "purification" (according to other scholars, "expert counting"). At Mari as in the Bible there appears to be a connection between census and purification. It is known that in Mesopotamia there existed a definite fear among the people of having their names put on lists. The similarity between the census and the books of life and death caused a feeling of discomfort about a census. There is much in common between the institution of the census in Mari and in Israel. The purposes of the censuses were similar: they served as military lists and for the division of property. So too, some of the technical terms associated with the census are similar: Hebrew *pqd* and Akkadian *paqādum*, "to count"; Hebrew *kippurim* and Akkadian *ubbubum* "purification." Censuses in Israel, as in Mari, were taken by writing down the names, as noted in Numbers 1:2: *be-mispar shemot*, "according to the number of the names." It is likely then that the reason for the expiation connected with the census in Israel was the same as in Mari. There is a reference to a *book of life in the Bible (Ex. 32:32–33), when Moses, pleading for Israel after they sinned with the golden calf, says "Erase me from the book that You have written." The concept of a book of life and death is well known among Jews in the mishnaic period. Its antecedents go back to the biblical period (S. Paul, *JANES* 5 [1973], 345–53).

RELIGION

It has sometimes been claimed that the religion of Mesopotamia was based on premises totally different from those underlying the religion of Israel. But we must distinguish between the religious ideals of the Bible and the practices of ancient Israel. The biblical prophets portray themselves as a minority who tolerate the worship of no god other than Yahweh, whereas their opponents worship other gods alongside Yahweh (e.g. Jer. 7:8–11). Depending on who controlled the Yahweh temples it was possible for Yahweh to entertain visiting gods in his temple just as Marduk might do in Babylon (II Kings. 21:4–5). In the area of religious institutions it is likely that materials from Mesopotamia will be helpful. A case in point is the temple. In Mesopotamia the temple was conceived as a house of the god, comparable to the house of a noble or king. The temple housed the statue of the god, thought to contain the essence of the god. The temple building itself, and its symbolism, was considered a reflection of the cosmic abode of the god. The rites of worship consisted mainly in ministering to the physical needs of the gods. The Israelite temple is in many ways similar to the Mesopotamian temple at least in its external aspects. The Hebrew language employs vocabulary similar to that of its neighbors. Thus the temple is a "house" or "palace," while to worship is "to serve" or "to work." Like its Mesopotamian counterparts, the Israelite temple made use of cosmic symbolism. Scholars in recent years have begun to question the axiom that the cult of Yahweh was aniconic. The fact that Deuteronomy 4:12–19 fulminates against making an image of Yahweh (see already Hazzekuni a.l.) suggests strongly that the practice was known. Judges 17–18 indicates the presence of an image of Yahweh in the temple of Dan (especially Judg. 17:1–6). As such, the role of the cult statue in Mesopotamia may yet illuminate a similar phenomenon in ancient Israel. Apostolic prophecy once considered unique to ancient Israel is now known from *Mari as well as from Neo-Assyrian sources (SAA IX) proximately closer to the days of the Hebrew monarchy. The use of blood sacrifices in the Israelite cults differentiates from the Mesopotamian cults in which the gods were fed a diet that was vegetarian in the main.

The culture of Mesopotamia pervaded the ancient Near East. Ancient Israel and Judah spent centuries in the shadow of Mesopotamia. Biblical law, language, literature and religion were all influenced by Mesopotamian civilization. Through the intermediacy of Aramaic, the Akkadian language continued to make an impact on the Jews of Babylonia. As such, Assyriology is significant, not just for its own sake, but for the study of the Bible and Judaism.

[Aaron Skaist / S.David Sperling (2nd ed.)]

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MESQUITA, family name of prominent American and European Sephardim of Marrano descent. The merchant LUIS DE MESQUITA (or Amesquita), of Segovia, Castile, took up residence in Mexico and was reconciled at an *auto-da-fé there in 1646. BENJAMIN BUENO DE MESQUITA, who went to Jamaica from Portugal in the 1660s, petitioned the English authorities for the right to trade with the crown, which foreign merchants could not ordinarily do. Permission was granted in 1664, but soon thereafter he and two sons were banished from Jamaica on an extraneous charge. He then went to New York where he died in 1683 (the earliest date on any tombstone in New York's Jewish cemeteries). JOSEPH BUENO DE MESQUITA, one of these sons, became prominent in New York and around 1700 had important financial dealings with Lord Bellamont, the colonial governor. On behalf of Congregation Shearith Israel he purchased a burial ground, the Chattam Square cemetery, from William Merett. Joseph's will gives the name of the other brother, ABRAHAM BUENO DE MESQUITA who was then living at Nevis in the British West Indies. The name Mesquita appears also in Europe. MOSES GOMEZ DE MESQUITA (1688–1751) was haham of London's Spanish-Portuguese Jews from 1744.

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MESSEL, German family. AARON MESSEL (1784–1848) founded the banking house of A. Messel & Co. in Darmstadt which his son SIMON BENJAMIN MESSEL (1817–1859) continued. Simon's son L.E.W.L. MESSEL (1847–1915) apparently left Judaism. He settled in England, and his granddaughter ANNE was mother of Anthony Armstrong-Jones, Earl of Snowden, who in 1960 married Princess Margaret, sister of Queen Elizabeth II of England. RUDOLPH MESSEL (1848–1920) also settled in England where he was a successful chemist and engineer. ALFRED MESSEL (1853–1909) distinguished himself as an architect in Germany. He renounced Judaism in the 1890s. OLIVER MESSEL (1904–1978), a grandson of L.E.W.L. Messel, achieved distinction in England as a theatrical producer, stage designer, and painter.

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[Sefton D. Temkin]

MESSEL, ALFRED (1853–1909), German architect, born in Darmstadt. He built apartments, public buildings, banks, the Pergamon Museum, and the villa of Eduard Simon. His most famous work, the Wertheim department store in Berlin, built in 1897, was the first store to be constructed entirely of stone, steel, and glass. An extension made in 1904 is overlaid with neo-Gothic decoration, but the basic design of repeated verticals proved to be a prototype of the modern store.

MESSERER, ASAF MIKHAILOVICH (1903–1992), dancer and teacher of the Bolshoi Ballet, Moscow. Messerer, who was born in Vilna, graduated from the Bolshoi School in 1921 and was soon dancing important roles, including Siegfried in *Swan Lake*. He had a brilliant technique, performing feats of virtuosity seldom accomplished by men. He revolted against traditional mime, which he replaced with expressive acting, and was equally brilliant in *danseur-noble* parts, and in demi-character roles. His first choreographic work, in collaboration with Igor Moiseyev, was a new production of *La fille mal gardée* (1930). He restaged the last act of *Swan Lake* in 1936, and his later works include *Sulla* (1952) and *Ballet School* (1962). Messerer retired from dancing in 1954, but remained with the Bolshoi company as a teacher and principal choreographer. SULAMITH MESSERER (1908–2004), Asaf's sister, was also a dancer and teacher for the Bolshoi Ballet. She entered the company from the Bolshoi School in 1926. Her first important role was that of Lise in *La fille mal gardée* (1929). Other outstanding roles were those of Swanilda in *Coppélia* and Kitri in *Don Quixote*. She was an athletic dancer more suited to demi-character than classical roles. She became a teacher in the Bolshoi School in 1938, and continued as a principal instructor after retiring from dancing in 1950. Asaf Mikhailovich and Sulamith Messerer received the title of People's Artist of the U.S.S.R. The ballerina Maya *Plisetskaya was their niece. In 1980 Sulamith Messerer defected to England, continuing to coach there.

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[Marcia B. Siegel]

MESSIAH, an anglicization of the Latin *Messias*, which is borrowed from the Greek Μεσσιας, an adaptation of the Aramaic *meshiḥa* (Aram. מְשִׁיחָא), a translation of the Hebrew (*ha-melekh*) *ha-mashi'aḥ* (Heb. [הַמֶּלֶךְ] הַמָּשִׁיח), "the Anointed [King]"; a charismatically endowed descendant of David who the Jews of the Roman period believed would be raised up by God to break the yoke of the heathen and to reign over a restored kingdom of Israel to which all the Jews of the Exile would return. This is a strictly postbiblical concept. Even *Haggai and *Zechariah, who expected the Davidic kingdom to be renewed with a specific individual, *Zerubbabel, at its head, thought of him only as a feature of the new age, not as the author or even agent of its establishment. One can, therefore, only speak of the biblical pre-history of messianism. It may be summarized as follows: *Stage I*. At the height of David's power there appears the doctrine that the Lord had chosen David and his descendants to reign over Israel to the end of time (II Sam. 7; 23:1–3, 5) and had also given him dominion over alien peoples (II Sam. 22:44–51 = Ps. 18:44–51; Ps. 2). To quote II Samuel 22:50–51 (= Psalm 18:50–51; all the arguments against dating this composition later than the age of David seem forced):

(50) For this I sing Your praise, O Lord among the nations/and hymn Your name://

(51) "He who grants wondrous victories to his king/and deals graciously with his anointed (*mashi'aḥ*), with David,

and with his offspring, evermore."//David is here, as Saul was before him (I Sam. 24:6; 26:9; II Sam. 1:14, 16), and as he expects descendants of his to be after him, the Lord's anointed in the sense that he was anointed as a sign of consecration to the Lord (see *Kingship, *Oil), not, of course, in the sense of "the Messiah" described at the beginning of this article. Because anointing is an act of consecration, Deutero-*Isaiah speaks of Cyrus as the Lord's "anointed" in the purely derived sense of a non-Israelite-king chosen by the Lord for a great destiny and a great mission (Isa. 45:1). Thus "Stage I" of the prehistory of messianism is the doctrine that David's present position of power will endure throughout his lifetime and be inherited by an endless chain of succeeding links in his dynasty. Stage II began with the collapse of David's empire after the death of Solomon. There arose the doctrine, or hope, that the House of David would again reign over Israel as well as Judah and again exercise dominion over neighboring nations. This hope was expressed

(a) probably by reinterpretation of compositions like Psalm 18 in a prophetic sense and

(b) in so many words in prophecies like Amos 9:11–12; Isaiah 11:10; Hosea 3:5 (the phrase – a Judahite interpolation – "and (the Israelites will seek) their king David"); Ezekiel 37:15ff., especially verses 24ff. (and see *Isaiah A, Panel 3, Field A, on Isa. 9:1–6 [2–7]). *Stage III.* Isaiah's shifting of the emphasis from the perpetuity of the dynasty to the qualities of the future king: the foundation of his throne will be justice, he will be distinguished by his zeal for justice, and, finally, he will be charismatically endowed for sensing the rights and wrongs of a case and for executing justice. (See not only the passage in *Isaiah just cited on Isa. 9:1–6 [2–7], but also Isaiah B I, 4 on Isa. 16:4–5 and, in particular, *Isaiah A, Panel 3, Field B on Isa. 11:1ff., where the origins of this idea are discussed). The "*Immanuel prophecy" in Isaiah is completely irrelevant, so far as one can see and the echoes of ancient Canaanite-Ugaritic mythology that have been "discovered" there are as dubious as those in the figure of the Ancient of *Days in Daniel 7. Without "stage III" in its biblical prehistory, the development of the postbiblical idea of "the Messiah" would not have been possible.

[Harold Louis Ginsberg]

Second Temple Period

The title "Messiah" (Heb. משיח) as a designation of the eschatological personality does not exist in the Old Testament; it occurs only from the time of the Second Temple after the Old Testament period. However for ancient Judaism the idea of eschatological salvation was more important than the concept of Messiah. Hence there are books from the Second Temple period where the Messiah does not occur, even if they refer to eschatological salvation. Such a book, for instance, is the Book of *Tobit, in which the salvation of Jerusalem, the return of the Diaspora, and the conversion of nations to the God of Israel is described but a personal Messiah is lacking. The same also applies to the Book (Wisdom) of Ben *Sira and probably the Book of Daniel. In the latter, the messianic figure of the son of *man is explained as a symbol for the holy ones (or saints) of the Most High (chap. 7). In the Assumption of *Moses (chap. 10) the eschatological figure is the angel of God but a human agent of the salvation is not mentioned. It seems also that in the more ancient form of the *Amidah* a personal messiah was not mentioned, but only the hope of the return from the Diaspora and the building of the eschatological Jerusalem and the Temple. Even in such ancient Jewish prayers where the concept of Messiah occurs the word *mashi'aḥ* is lacking.

In the time of the Second Temple there was a greater variety of messianic figures than later. The Old Testament Book of Zechariah already makes mention of two messianic figures, the high priest and the messianic king. This idea did not disappear from the rabbinic literature where the priest of righteousness (*Kohen ẓedek*) is sometimes mentioned together with the Davidic king Messiah. These two figures, the priest and the king, are important for the eschatology of the Dead Sea *Sect, the eschatological high priest being more important than the scion of David. The third figure occurring in the Dead Sea *Scrolls with the two messiahs is the prophet of the Last Days. Thus in the Dead Sea Scrolls there are three messianic figures which correspond to the three main functions of the ideal Jewish state, in which kingdom, priesthood, and prophecy shall exist (see I Macc. 14:41). The three eschatological figures of the Dead Sea Scrolls are therefore based upon a broader ideological concept. These three figures are reflected later in the theological concept of the ancient Jewish sect of the Ebionites (see Jewish Christian *sects) according to which Jesus united in himself the function of king, priest, and prophet. The importance of the Davidic Messiah in Judaism who weakened or caused the disappearance of the other messianic figures was the outcome especially of the Old Testament heritage because the eschatological king is hinted at in the Hebrew Bible.

The oldest description of the eschatological king is in the third book of the Sibylline Oracles (c. 140 B.C.E.) and in the Vision of Seventy *Shepherds in the Book of Enoch which was written approximately a decade earlier. However the prevalence of the Davidic Messiah in the apocryphal literature became common from the time when the Maccabean Aristobulus I accepted the title of a king. This was seen as a usurpation of the rights of the family of David; hence as a reaction, the Davidic Messiah received his central importance as can be seen from the Psalms of Solomon written approximately in 63 B.C.E. (especially in the 17th Psalm). The other component of the political messianic hope in Judaism was caused by the Roman occupation, and so in later books the Davidic Messiah is the only figure which occurs. He thus appears in IV Ezra and in the Syrian Apocalypse of Baruch. A further proof of the expectation of the Davidic Messiah can be found in the New Testament where Jesus is identified with the Davidic Messiah. Even the name "Christians" and the word "Christos" are Greek translations of the word "Messiah" (Christos = the anointed one). This hope was not only an abstract one: from the first century C.E. there were messianic *movements centered on messianic pretenders. Such a list of messianic pretenders occurs in Acts 5:36–37. One of the names there is Judas the Galilean, who was the founder of the *Zealots. Thus this movement was centered on a family with messianic pretensions. Josephus (Wars 2:444–448) states that Judas' son, Menahem, was murdered in the Temple, being "arrayed in royal robes." Apparently after Judas' death his partisans transferred the status of pretender to the kingship to his son.

The most important historical messianic figure was surely Bar *Kokhba, though he himself did not sign as king and names himself only *nasi*. He was already seen by others as the messiah, and it is important that on his coins his name also occurs with that of a priest Eleazar. Both Josephus and the Talmud also mention other messianic pretenders from the first and beginning of the second centuries C.E. The first messianic interpretation of a biblical verse occurs in the Greek translation of the Pentateuch (Num. 24:17) where the word "scepter" is translated in the Greek by "man" (see also the Greek translation of Num. 24:7). The Greek translation of the Pentateuch dates back to the third century B.C.E. Possibly the designation of the Messiah as "man" is a proof that the special concept of son of man already existed in the early third century B.C.E. Philo, who did not like to refer explicitly to the eschatological hopes of Israel, mentions the hope of the coming of the Messiah in connection with this Greek interpretation of the biblical verse. The above shows that messianic concepts were manifold in the time of the Second Temple, and there were even numerous aspects to the function of the Messiah. All depended upon the spiritual and theological approach of the various Jewish trends, but the Messiah or messiahs were always human beings, even if sometimes supernatural qualities were connected with them. The political aspect, if it prevailed, did not always eliminate the supernatural. However, the Messiah was always an agent of God and never a savior in the Christian meaning. The Davidic origin of the kingly Messiah was supposed; but, as it seems, the messianic pretender had to prove his authenticity by his deeds – in the period of the Second Temple Davidic descendants were not traceable.

[David Flusser]

Messiah in Rabbinic Thought

In rabbinic thought, the Messiah is the king who will redeem and rule Israel at the climax of human history and the instrument by which the kingdom of God will be established. While the Bible stresses the nature of the age called the "end of days," the rabbis focus as well on the person of their regent, who gives the messianic age (*yemot ha-mashi'aḥ*) its very name. "Messiah" (*Mashi'aḥ*) means "anointed" and in the Bible can refer either to a king or a priest. The *aggadah* restricts the term to the eschatological king, who is also called *malka meshiḥa* ("king messiah") in the Targums, *ben David* ("son of David"), and *mashi'aḥ ben David* ("Messiah, son of David"). The Messiah was expected to attain for Israel the idyllic blessings of the prophets; he was to defeat the enemies of Israel, restore the people to the Land, reconcile them with God, and introduce a period of spiritual and physical bliss. He was to be prophet, warrior, judge, king, and teacher of Torah.

A secondary messianic figure is the Messiah, son of (i.e., of the tribe of) Joseph (or Ephraim), whose coming precedes that of the Messiah, son of David, and who will die in combat with the enemies of God and Israel. Though some (e.g., Torrey, Segal) claim that this figure is described in pre-Christian apocalyptic and apocryphal works, most scholars note that the first unambiguous mentions of this doctrine occur in tannaitic passages of uncertain date (Suk. 52a) and in the Targums (Pseudo-Jon., Ex. 40:11; Pesh., Song 4:5). The genetic function of the doctrine is similarly unclear: Messiah ben Joseph has been seen as the symbolic embodiment of the reunification with the ten tribes of Israel, as the Samaritan Messiah, and as a figure whose martial character and death testify to the impact of the abortive revolt under Bar *Kokhba upon the Jewish imagination.

There are a number of developmental accounts of the messianic idea. Klausner argues that the nationalist-naturalist base of the idea was "spiritualized" after the political and military debacle of the Bar Kokhba revolt; Mowinckel claims virtually the same results due to the acceptance of apocalyptic and spiritualizing elements. It is true, on the whole, that the later Midrash is more extravagant and inventive than the earlier sources in the elaboration of many messianic motifs; the relative sobriety of the earlier sources contrasts markedly with the portrait drawn in the apocalyptic literature. The earliest sources speak little of messianic origins. Subsequently there is the belief that he was born at Beth-Lehem (cf. Micah 5:1) or Jerusalem on the day of the Temple's destruction. He is then hidden – either in Rome or (in the later Midrash) in heaven, where he pines over the agony of people and his own impotence – to come forth at the time of the Redemption. Some have him present at the creation of the world; for some the "name" (i.e., concept) of the Messiah existed before creation; in yet others (assumed late), the Messiah himself exists before the world (PR 36:161).

The prophetic books do not all assume a personal messiah, nor do they identify him. The rabbis agree he is of Davidic lineage (based on Hos. 3:5 and Jer. 30:9), nor is this idea necessarily post-Bar Kokhba. Some expected a resurrected David, and others a messiah named David. Hezekiah, king of Judah, was a potential messiah: Johanan b. Zakkai announced the "coming" of Hezekiah in what some take to be a messianically oriented deathbed declaration. The name Menahem b. Hezekiah, which may refer to an anti-Roman patriot rebel or may simply be symbolic of "comfort," is also found. Various *amoraim* derive the name of the Messiah from the names of their masters; there is also a puzzling identification of the Messiah and Judah *ha-Nasi (Sanh. 98b). The messianic "name" is sometimes meant descriptively, as when Yose ha-Gelili said that the Messiah's name is *Shalom* ("peace"). The early sources do not mention a "suffering Messiah." In the Targum to Isaiah 53:3–6 suffering is the historical lot of the people, who are reconciled to God by the prayers of Messiah; the toils of Messiah are those of constructive achievement. Third-century sources speak of a suffering Messiah, or a leprous Messiah; still later, his suffering atones for Israel (Sanh. 98b; PR 37:162b). The vicarious atonement of all righteous for the wicked is a general aggadic theme, however.

The Messiah is generally assumed to be man, though writ large. As such, he can come either riding a donkey, in subdued fashion (cf. Zech. 9:9), or triumphantly riding the clouds (Dan. 7:13). That the Messiah is fully human is dramatically shown by Akiva's knowledgement of the rebel leader, Bar Kokhba, as the Messiah. (Yet Akiva also declared that the Messiah would occupy a throne alongside God). One talmudic source does apparently attribute immortality to Messiah (Suk. 52a), and the Midrash (mostly later) singles him out among the immortals of Paradise. The Messiah does not displace either God or Torah in rabbinic thought. Thus, Hillel (fourth century) can deny the coming of Messiah (for which he is rebuked), though he doubtless expected Israel's redemption. So too, the Midrash can declare that the ultimate author of redemption is not Messiah but God, and His kingship is stressed in the liturgy as well (Mid. Ps. to 31:1; 36:1; 107:1).

[Gerald J. Blidstein]

The Doctrine of the Messiah in the Middle Ages

Jewish ideology in the Middle Ages did not receive from the ancient period a coherent, unified concept of the Messiah, messianic times, and the signs of the messianic age. Apocalyptic literature of the Second Temple period (see above) differed greatly from the biblical concept of the Messiah and his times, and talmudic literature and the various Midrashim included many contrasting views about this problem. In the Middle Ages messianic ideas were a product of medieval thought and experience, based on some ancient sources, but developed within medieval Hebrew literature and thought. During the last decades of Byzantine rule in Palestine, in the last years of the sixth century and the beginning of the seventh century, the political upheavals in the Middle East – especially the continuous wars between the Byzantines and the Persians – gave rise to a body of messianic literature, which was destined to play a major role in shaping the image of the messianic age in the eyes of medieval Jewry. The most important work which was written at that time was the Book of *Zerubbabel. In this pseudepigraphical work Zerubbabel, the last ruler of Judea from the House of David, tells his visions concerning the happenings at the end of days and the time of the Messiah. According to this work, the appearance of the Messiah will be preceded by the appearance of a satanic king of Rome, who will be the son of Satan and a stone sculpture of a woman; his name will be *Armilus (= Romulus, the first king of Rome who will also be the last). Armilus will conquer the whole world, vanquish all the traditional enemies of Rome, especially Persia, and will unify the whole world under his religion. He will be a spiritual Satan as well as an emperor. According to the descriptions, the writer seems to see in him a new incarnation, or a new appearance, of Jesus. The whole world will believe in him and see him as god and emperor, except the Jews. The war of the Jews against this monster will be conducted, at first, by the Messiah son of Joseph, assisted by a woman named Hephzibah. The Messiah son of Joseph will gather all the Jews to Palestine and Jerusalem, but Armilus will overcome him and kill him; Jerusalem will be saved by Hephzibah. Then Hephzibah's son, the Messiah son of David, will arise, overcome Armilus, and the messianic age will begin.

It is possible that this story, which is rich in detailed descriptions of the persons and the wars, and contains detailed dates for all the occurrences included in it, was written under the influence of the great victories achieved by the Byzantine emperor, Heraclius, against the Persians; for a Jew living in Palestine at that time it seemed that the emperor was about to conquer the whole world and reunite the empire with the Christian religion. The author believed that the Messiah was not going to overcome an enfeebled, divided Roman-Christian empire, but that his victory should be against an empire which would be physically and spiritually as strong as possible. Only after such unity is achieved by a Christian "messiah" can the Jewish Messiah appear and overcome the enemy.

A vast literature developed around the Book of Zerubbabel – apocalyptic literature describing the end of the Diaspora, the wars of the Messiah, and the final victory. It is difficult to date the various works in this literature; some of them may even be earlier than the Book of Zerubbabel. One of the most important works in this apocalyptic literature is the "*Otot Mashi'aḥ*" ("The Signs of the Messianic Age"), in which ten occurrences are described as foreshadowing the imminent appearance of the Messiah. This literature had an enormous impact upon medieval Jewry.

One of the main characteristics of this apocalyptic literature is the complete absence from it of any doctrinal religious or ideological elements. In these works the future is described as an inevitable end of the world as known and the beginning of a new one. In none of these works is there any explanation as to why anything is going to happen, or what a Jew should do in order to help in the great task of bringing about the redemption. The apocalyptic future is given as a story, not as a theological doctrine. This fact became very meaningful in the Middle Ages, when Judaism was divided between conflicting ideologies and theologies; there was nothing in this apocalyptic description which could make it unacceptable to any Jewish ideology. A philosopher, an Ashkenazi Ḥasid, a kabbalist, or a rabbinic traditionalist, could accept the apocalyptic future as described in the Book of Zerubbabel and related works. Thus the appeal of this body of literature became universal to all Jews, in all countries, in both medieval and early modern times. Another characteristic which helped these ideas to be accepted and believed by all Jews is that this literature contained many elements taken from biblical and talmudic sayings about the messianic age. There was no conflict between the texts from ancient times and the apocalyptic literature of the early Middle Ages; what was fragmentary and incomplete in the ancient texts was developed in the latter into a complete, coherent picture, in which it was as easy to believe as if it sprang directly from the traditional sources.

This does not mean that other, non-apocalyptical concepts of the messianic age did not exist in the Middle Ages among Jewish thinkers. Thus, for instance, whereas Eleazar *Kallir, in describing the messianic age, used images similar to those in the apocalyptic literature, his predecessor and probable teacher, the *paytan* *Yannai, used more quiet, non-apocalyptical images in referring to the redemption. Most of the philosophers did not accept the apocalyptic picture, even though Saadiah *Gaon, the first systematic Jewish philosopher, included in his *Book of Beliefs and Opinions* a paraphrase of the Book of Zerubbabel when describing the messianic age. *Maimonides and his followers regarded the coming of the Messiah as a political deliverance of the Jews from the rule of the gentiles, without any upheaval in the order of the world and without any apocalyptic elements. Maimonides also opposed messianic speculation, and rejected rumors from Yemen and other places that a Messiah had come (see Messianic *Movements). However, other philosophers held different opinions. Abraham bar Ḥiyya, a rationalist philosopher with neoplatonic tendencies, wrote a major work, *Megillat ha-Megalleh*, attempting to establish, by astrological calculations, the date of the coming of the Messiah.

Messianic speculation and attempts to find such dates were a constant feature of Jewish culture in the Middle Ages and early modern times. Dozens of dates were proposed as the dates of the beginning of the redemption, which was divided into many stages; sometimes different dates for different stages were also given. Sometimes the dates set for redemption coincided with great upheavals in the world and terrible persecutions of the Jews – like the beginning of the persecutions by the crusaders (1096), the years of the Black Death in Europe, the Expulsion from Spain (1492), or the persecutions in Poland and the Ukraine (1648). But, even though one date after the other was refuted, the explanation was that the Jews were not sufficiently righteous to accept the Messiah, and a new date was set. The generations preceding and following the Expulsion from Spain were especially rich in such speculations, but in fact every age engaged in such speculations, with very little differences in method and ideological concepts.

Among the theological movements in the Middle Ages the ideas of apocalyptical eschatology clashed with the ideas of personal eschatology, the personal reward that a devout person will receive upon his death in the next world. Evidently, when emphasis was put upon personal redemption in the Garden of Eden the descriptions of national deliverance upon the coming of the Messiah tended to be somewhat blunted. This may have been one of the reasons why Maimonides and his school de-emphasized the apocalyptic nature of the redemption. However, among the masses of the people, belief in the apocalyptic redemption did not diminish.

A good example for this conflict can be found in the movement of the Ḥasidei *Ashkenaz in the late 12th and early 13th centuries. In their popular works the teachers of Ashkenazi Ḥasidism, Judah he-Ḥasid and Eleazar b. Judah of *Worms, explained the dangers of engaging in messianic speculation and in the belief in false messiahs. Several passages in the *Sefer Ḥasidim* are dedicated to this question. However, from other sources, esoteric works, and contemporary documents, a different picture is obtained. It was believed that Judah he-Ḥasid knew when the Messiah was to come, but he died before he could reveal it to his disciples. Judah himself explained in one of his esoteric works that there are a few righteous people in every generation who know this date, but they have to keep it a secret; there is no doubt that he included himself among them. A passage describing the appearance of the Messiah was deleted from the *Sefer Ḥasidim*, but is found in manuscripts. There is a document from the Cairo *Genizah* from which it can be learned that when a person appeared claiming to be the Messiah, the community appealed to Eleazar of Worms for advice, and he seemed to believe in the veracity of the miracles worked by that person. Even though Ashkenazi Ḥasidism put the main emphasis on personal redemption, belief in messianic speculation and the imminent appearance of the Messiah was still very strong even among their leaders.

From the 13th century on, especially after the publication of the *Zohar*, messianic speculation and messianic belief was centered in kabbalistic literature, and culminated in the great kabbalistic-messianic movement, Shabbateanism.

[Joseph Dan]

In Modern Jewish Thought

Classical Reform in the 19th century reinterpreted the doctrine of the Messiah in two ways. First, it substituted the belief in a messianic age for the belief in a personal Messiah. Secondly, the messianic hope was severed from its traditional associations with a return of the exiles to Zion, these associations being viewed as too particularistic. The destruction of the Temple and the exile of the Jewish people were seen not as calamities but as affording greater opportunities for the fulfillment of Judaism's "mission" to all mankind. The whole world would become perfected and, through the example of Judaism, monotheism would be the religion of all men. Progress in the Western world, in terms of greater liberalism, Jewish emancipation, social reforms, and better educational facilities, was hailed as the dawn of the messianic age of which the prophets had dreamed. References to a return to Zion were erased from the prayer book. The principles regarding the Messiah in the Reform "Pittsburgh Platform" (1885) read: "We recognize in the modern era of universal culture of heart and intellect the approaching of the realization of Israel's great messianic hope for the establishment of the kingdom of truth, justice, and peace among all men. We consider ourselves no longer a nation, but a religious community, and therefore expect neither a return to Palestine, nor a sacrificial worship under the sons of Aaron, nor the restoration of any of the laws concerning the Jewish state."

The Reform vision of messianism as a perfect world just around the corner and of the Jews as the brave carriers of a universalistic message ready to be heeded by all was rendered hollow by the rise of Zionism with its stress on the Jews as a nation and its emphasis on a physical return to Palestine, culminating in the emergence of the State of Israel; the threat of antisemitism and the Holocaust in which six million Jews were murdered; and the disillusionment that set in after the two world wars. Even as early as 1937 the "Pittsburgh Platform" was considerably modified by a conference of Reform rabbis in Columbus, Ohio. A statement by the conference dealing with the messianic question reads: "In all lands where our people live, they assume and seek to share loyally the full duties and responsibilities of citizenship and to create seats of Jewish knowledge and religion. In the rehabilitation of Palestine, the land hallowed by memories and hopes, we behold the promise of renewed life for many of our brethren. We affirm the obligation of all Jewry to aid in its upbuilding as a Jewish homeland by endeavoring to make it not only a haven or refuge for the oppressed but also a center of Jewish culture and spiritual life. Throughout the ages it has been Israel's mission to witness to the Divine in the face of every paganism and materialism. We regard it as our historic task to co-operate with all men in the establishment of the kingdom of God, of universal brotherhood, justice, truth and peace on earth. This is our messianic goal."

There is a tendency among some modern Jewish thinkers to invoke once again the traditional idea of messianism as a direct, divine intervention, in which a "new heart" will be created for men, rather than as automatic human progress towards an ideal state. Even a determined non-supernaturalist like Mordecai Kaplan can write (*Questions Jews Ask* (1956), 183): "We can no longer believe that any person or semi-divine being, is divinely destined to rule as the Messiah and usher in the millennium. Nevertheless, the idea of the Messiah can still figure symbolically to express the valid belief in the coming of a higher type of man than this world has yet known." Will Herberg (*Judaism and Modern Man* (1951), 227–35) is typical of the new school of thought. History cannot redeem itself. It proceeds and ends in catastrophe from which it must be redeemed by God. Even the most perfect world state could do no more than enforce peace throughout the world, but the hatred and conflicts among men would remain. The "peace" in the messianic age dreamed of by the prophets is, on the other hand, an inner harmony that needs no external sanctions. To attempt to reduce the prophetic vision of perfection to the level of perfectionist utopianism is to throw confusion into both practical politics and the ultimate insights of religion. It is not surprising, therefore, to find voices raised, also outside the Orthodox camp, in favor of retaining the doctrine of the personal Messiah sent by God.

Orthodoxy retains unimpaired the traditional doctrine. The Messiah is a scion of the House of David. He will reign in Jerusalem, will rebuild the Temple, and will reinstitute the sacrificial system. Many Orthodox rabbis were at first opposed to Zionism in that it seemed to substitute a purely human redemption for the redeemer sent by God. But with the establishment of the State of Israel the widely held Orthodox view was to see the events in Israel as *atḥalta de-geulla*, "the beginning of the redemption," i.e., the foundations laid by humans, under God's guidance, ready to receive the building to be erected by God's direct act. Among Orthodox rabbis there is no lack of speculation on the meaning of contemporary events in the light of the messianic hope. Thus M. Kasher (*No'am*, 13 (1970), end) has tried to read: "Then the moon shall be confounded, and the sun ashamed; for the Lord of hosts will reign in Mount Zion, and in Jerusalem, and before His elders shall be glory" (Isa. 24:23) as a prophetic vision in which the moon landings coincide with the establishment of the State of Israel. In the writings of A.I. Kook the argument is advanced that the Jewish people had become too "spiritual," too remote from the world. To pave the way for the Messiah the concrete realities of a modern state based on Jewish principles of justice and compassion are essential. Kook accepted the theory of evolution even in the moral sphere in that it is evidence of the movement of the whole of creation toward its ultimate fulfillment, as in the messianic hope (*Orot ha-Kodesh* (1938) V, 19–22).

[Louis Jacobs]

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MESSIANIC MOVEMENTS.

Basic Elements

The pattern on which Jewish messianic movements were based crystallized in the late Second Temple period and furnished Jews in following generations with certain basic elements. These, when confronted by certain typical challenges, culminated in messianic movements of varying scope. The term "messianic movement" in Jewish history applies to a movement centered around or expressing the yearning for a king or leader of the house of David and for a new ideal political existence for the Jewish people that would serve as a reassertion of independence and cause their return to Ereẓ Israel, as well as acting as a model and focus for a united and better mankind. Experiencing the miracle of Jewish redemption, mankind would attain an ideal world where true faith and real harmony would prevail. Jewish prayers for redemption, while seeking the advent of the king and the kingdom, also ask "may they all blend into one brotherhood to do Thy will with a perfect heart," and express the hope that with this change of heart, "Thou shalt reign over all whom Thou hast made, Thou alone" (in evening service (*Arvit*) for Rosh Ha-Shanah). This formulates the abiding hope of the Jew while in the **galut*. The basis of the movements is intense longing for the messianic era. Up to the 18th century it was both an article of faith and an emotional necessity among Jews to hope constantly for the immediate advent of the Messiah. Yet this persistent element did not of itself necessarily lead to the emergence of such movements. Jewish messianic history includes periods and religious trends in which people experienced intense and wholehearted hopes for the Messiah while being lukewarm toward active messianic movements. Thus the *Karaites throughout the Middle Ages had a deep-seated feeling of being in exile; Karaite settlers in Jerusalem in the tenth century called themselves *Avelei Zion ("Mourners for Zion"), organizing their life and patterning their thought on the basis of this attachment to Zion. Yet only one Karaite messianic movement is known for certain. The Rabbanite *Ḥasidei Ashkenaz longed for the Messiah, yet only rarely is any active striving for a Messiah mentioned in their relatively extensive writings. Indeed, some of the expressions they use appear to satirize computations of the date of the coming of the Messiah (J. Wistinetzki (ed.), *Sefer Ḥasidim* (1924), 461, no. 1706). They even warned their readers: "If you see that a man has prophesied the advent of the Messiah, know that he is engaged either in sorcery or in dealings with devils; or that he uses the power of the Divine Name.… One has to say to such a man: 'Do not talk in this manner'…, eventually he will be the laughingstock of the whole world … they teach him calculations and secrets to bring shame on him and on those who believe him" (*ibid.*, 76–77, no. 212).

This attitude displayed by mystics and ascetics in opposing activist messianism finds even sharper expression in the views of the 13th-century mystic, Naḥmanides. In his disputations with the representatives of Christianity, Naḥmanides told the Spanish king at *Barcelona in 1263:

> Our Law and Truth and Justice are not dependent upon a Messiah. Indeed, you yourself are more important to me than a Messiah. You are a king and he is a king. You are a gentile sovereign and he is a king of Israel. The Messiah is but a king of flesh and blood like yourself. When I serve my Creator under your jurisdiction, in exile, torment, and subjection, exposed constantly to universal contempt, I merit great reward; for I offer of my own flesh a sacrifice to God, and my reward in afterlife will be so much the greater (*Kitvei Rabbenu Moshe ben Naḥman*, ed. by H.D. Chavel, 1 (1963), 310).

The basic consideration put forward here is that the greatness of the individual suffering under alien rule can be as rewarding as redemption. In a work addressed to Jews Naḥmanides wrote:

> Even if we thought that it is the will and purpose of God to afflict us with political enslavement on this earth [forever], this would in no way weaken our adherence to the precepts of the Torah, for the sole rewards which we anticipate are those of the world to come – the beatitude of the soul which, having escaped hell's torments, enjoys the bliss of paradise.

He continues that he believes in the Messiah and redemption because it is true and because it gives him comfort to face the adversities suffered by the Jewish people; but this is not a necessary or sustaining element of his Jewish faith (*Sefer ha-Ge'ullah*, pt. 2; *ibid.*, 279–80).

The extreme wing of modern *Orthodoxy in Judaism and most of the adherents of *Neo-Orthodoxy – in particular *Agudat Israel in the period before the Holocaust and, later, *Neturei Karta – continued, under changed and secularized conditions, old attitudes of messianism which were halfhearted toward a messianic movement. Messianic-prompted efforts have been made toward an ingathering of the Jews without an express connection with either Ereẓ Israel or political independence (see Anan b. David, *Sefer ha-Mitzvot*, ed. by A. Harkavy (1903), 6–7). Jacob *Frank in the 18th century had a savage desire for armed Jewish power and a Jewish settlement on the land – but all this was to be achieved on the soil of Poland. Thus, the modern movement of *territorialists can claim some ancient though rare precedents in traditional Jewish messianic trends.

Within this ideological framework and set of attitudes, the emergence of an active messianic movement required a challenge that would break through the tranquility of the regular messianic hope to turn it into fervent and directed effort, and create a revolutionary constellation. There were elements in Jewish historical consciousness encouraging such active responses to various and widely differing challenges. One element basic to Jewish messianism is anticipation of the "birth pangs of the Messiah" (*ḥevlei Mashi'aḥ*) – the time of troubles and turbulence that precedes his coming. Hence, periods in which terrible massacres of Jews occurred (e.g., during the *Crusades or the *Chmielnicki massacres) have also been periods of fervent messianic expectations and movements. Jewish historical conception – and for that matter Christian also – interpreted Daniel's apocalyptic vision of the four evil beasts (7:2ff.) as denoting four successive evil empires. The fourth will be succeeded by the everlasting dominion of "one like unto a son of man." He will be given "dominion and glory and a kingdom that all the peoples, nations, and languages should serve Him." This conception enabled Jews to view great historical and political transformations – the fall and rise of empires and kingdoms, or revolutions and counterrevolutions –

as the death throes of the fourth and last beast-kingdom and the harbingers of the messianic eternal kingdom.

The person to lead the messianic movement – the Messiah himself – was viewed from two different angles. Jews – in particular since the parting of the ways with Christianity – saw the Messiah as a man and not God; in the first place, as a national king. But here the agreement ends. Some, like *Maimonides in the 12th century, stressed that the Messiah will himself die even though his life will be a long one. He will first be tested as the successful warrior-king of Israel and proved its lawful ruler by devotion to Torah. Mankind will follow this new exemplary Jewish state. Nature will not change its laws, though society will become perfect (Yad, Melakhim (1962), 417). Along with this rationalistic conception of the Messiah, there is also a miraculous one, in which the person of the Messiah sometimes attains semi-divine heights. The 17th-century pseudo-Messiah, *Shabbetai Ẓevi, concluded a letter:

> I will have to give full reward to all those who believe truly, men, women, and children – from the Lord of Peace and from me, Israel your Father, the bridegroom coming out from under the marriage canopy, the husband of the dear and virtuous Torah, this beautiful and virtuous matron, the man set on high, the Messiah of God, the lion of the upper regions and the deer of the high regions, Shabbetai Ẓevi (his letter to Venice, in: J. Sasportas, *Ẓiẓat Novel Ẓevi*, ed. by I. Tishby (1954), 129).

The rationalistic attitude sometimes reached the extreme of conceiving a Messiah-like political leader. The 14th-century rationalist, Joseph b. Abba Mari ibn *Kaspi, theorizes about:

> The imminent actual possibility of our coming out from this *galut*, becoming free to rule ourselves, without a Lord. Thus, while being confined as slaves in Egypt, God took us out from there with a high hand. Now why should not this be even easier for Him in these days? Is there no longer any material available with which this Creator may create a man like Moses, or even of smaller stature, who shall come before the kings and they will give in to him, as Pharaoh gave in the end, though in the beginning Pharaoh hardened his heart to him (*Tam ha-Kesef*, ed. by Last (1913), 44ff., sermon 8).

The miraculous conception of the Messiah evolved a complex of superhuman traits, anticipated actions, and achievements; the Messiah is to take the crown from the head of the alien sovereign by his virtue of appearance alone and redeem and avenge the Jews by miraculous means.

According to the rationalistic image of the Messiah, he should be "a very eminent prophet, more illustrious than all the prophets after Moses" (Maim., *Iggeret Teiman*, ed. A.S. Halkin (1952), 87). In Maimonides' view prophecy necessitated the highest intellectuality. These criteria were not accepted by most of the messianic movements, whose leadership was largely charismatic. It is related of a pseudo-Messiah who appeared around the end of the seventh century, *Abu ʿIsā (Isaac b. Jacob al-Iṣfahanī), that, "the most wonderful thing about him in the opinion of his followers is the fact that although he was, as they say, an illiterate tailor and could neither read nor write, he produced books and pamphlets without having been instructed by anyone" (Jacob al-Kirkisānī's account of the Jewish sects, ed. by L. Nemoy, in: HUCA, 7 (1930), 328). Not many of the messianic claimants had such humble intellectual beginnings, but practically none of them was regarded by his contemporaries as preeminent among scholars of his day, though some were known as considerable scholars. The most widespread of the messianic movements, that of Shabbetai Ẓevi, had for its leader a man of less than 40 years old, while its great prophet, *Nathan of Gaza, was 21 when he announced the Messiah and died at the age of 36. It is hardly surprising that men of rationalistic bent rarely saw the embodiment of their ideal in the actual messianic claimants who arose, whereas those inclined to follow a Messiah seldom found a man to rouse them in the Maimonidean ideal. This generally created a situation in which the supporters and opponents of the movement were driven into two opposing camps.

The messianic movements envisioned the coming of the Messiah as an historic breakthrough, a new lease of divine grace, and, according to some theories, as a basic change in the cosmos and divine relationships. Hence a phenomenon accompanying many messianic movements was some proposed change in the way of life of Jews. This ranged from the extreme innovations introduced by the New Testament of early Christianity, through minor variations in the law introduced by early medieval messianic movements, up to the orgiastic tendencies and activities of the Shabbatean movement and even more of the Frankists.

The Movements

EARLY MANIFESTATIONS. Some consider the events surrounding *Zerubbabel of the house of David and his mysterious disappearance (c. 519/518 B.C.E.) as the first messianic movement. The charismatic leadership of the first *Hasmoneans and the devotion they inspired is by rights part of the messianic movement cycle, but for the open question of the claims of this house as opposed to the claims of the house of David. The political and moral ferment created with the rise of *Herod and his house, and even more so with the advent of undisguised Roman rule in Judea, led to the emergence of many messianic leaders and influenced new concepts concerning their aims and leadership. *Jesus of Nazareth was one of many Jews who in this turbulent period claimed to be bringing redemption to the people and who were eventually crucified for announcing their message. *Judah the Galilean told Jews about ten years before the birth of Jesus that it was shameful for them to be "consenting to pay tribute to the Romans and tolerating mortal masters after having God for their Lord" (Jos., Wars, 2:118). Judah and his comrade, "the Pharisee Saddok," were regarded by the hostile *Josephus as the founders of the Zealots. They had "a passion for liberty that is almost unconquerable since they are convinced that God alone is their leader and master" (Jos., Ant., 18:23). With these men there began a heroic and tragic line of short-lived kings, martyred leaders, and brave fighters for freedom. Combating both the Romans and the Herodians, they developed the concept of inaugurating the reign of the "Kingdom of Heaven" for God's elected people here and now. There were many such leaders; it is almost certain that not all of them are mentioned in the extant sources. It is difficult to be certain about their ideas and types of leadership, for the accounts of their activities are subject to distortion either by uncritical admirers or by tendentious enemies. In the case of some of them, not only Jesus, miraculous elements enter the conduct of their leadership. Of *Theudas it is related that he influenced "the majority of the masses to take up their possessions and to follow him to the Jordan River." He stated that he was a prophet and that at his command the river would be parted and would provide them an easy passage (Jos., Ant., 20:97ff.; see also Acts 5:35–39). For this, he and many of his followers paid with their lives, about 45 C.E. Also mentioned is a Jew from Egypt, "who had gained for himself the reputation of a prophet"; followed by "about thirty thousand" Jews, he went to "the Mount of Olives. From there he proposed to force an entrance into Jerusalem" and to free it from the Romans. Many of his followers were killed in battle (Jos., Wars, 2:261ff.). How he was regarded by the Romans appears clearly from the fact that the Christian apostle *Paul was mistaken for him (Acts 21:37–38). It is almost certain that *Menahem b. Judah was considered a Messiah by the Zealots, as possibly was *Simeon Bar Giora.

The unflinching heroism displayed by the warriors in the great revolt against the Romans (66–70/73 C.E.) is comprehensible only in the context of a messianic movement. Some consider that the reason why the Jews did not despair when their messianic leaders had fallen in battle was because of their belief in the Messiah in the person of the son of Joseph (see *Messiah), who is destined to fight and die before the coming of the Messiah in the person of the son of David. Even Josephus – who tried to conceal the messianic motives of the great revolt – once had to reveal that "what more than all else incited them to the war was an ambiguous oracle, likewise found in the sacred Scriptures, to the effect that at that time one from their country would become ruler of the world" (Wars, 6:312; cf. Tacitus, *Historiae*, 5:13, and Suetonius, *Lives of the Caesars*, Vespasian, 4). The *Qumran scrolls also point to messianic hopes and suffering as activating factors in the life and thoughts of this sect, though lacking the Davidic element.

As the great revolt, the precedent of many types of messianic leadership and activity, lay crushed, many new concepts of messianic challenge and response entered the Jewish mind and imagination as the legacy of this period. One trend of Jewish messianism which left the national fold was destined "to conquer the conquerors" – by the gradual Christianization of the masses throughout the Roman Empire. Through Christianity, Jewish messianism became an institution and an article of faith of many nations. Within the Jewish fold, the memory of glorious resistance, of the fight for freedom, of martyred messiahs, prophets, and miracle workers remained to nourish future messianic movements.

Jewish messianic revolt against the Roman Empire did not cease with the severe defeat of 70 C.E. The Jewish revolt against Emperor *Trajan in 115–17, which spread like wildfire through Egypt, Cyrenaica, and Libya, had a messianic king-figure at its head. *Simeon Bar Kokhba was at first only one of several messianic figures, though he became the dominating one in the uprising of 132–35 C.E. It is related that the great *tanna*, *Akiva, "when he saw [him] would say: 'This is the king Messiah'" (TJ, Ta'an. 4:8, 68d). It was only after the death of this semi-legendary figure that the messianic movements began to aim at redeeming the Jews and carrying them back to renewed greatness. Symptomatic of this change is the story about the Jew who appeared in 448, approximately, in Crete and, "said that he is Moses and promised the many Jews on this island to bring them through the sea without ships to Judea." He fixed a certain date for this miracle, and ordered them to jump into the sea; several of them drowned (Socrates Scholasticus, *Historia Ecclesiae*, 12:33).

Early Middle Ages

The challenge of the appearance of the victorious Arabs and the Muslim caliphate on the world scene gave rise to a new upsurge of Jewish messianic movements. They again assumed a warlike temper, while utilizing social tensions within the Jewish community and some of the military tactics used among Muslims to attain their aims. About 645 there is mention of a Jew who "asserted that the Messiah had come. He gathered around him weavers, carpet makers, and launderers, some 400 men. They burned down three [Christian] sanctuaries and killed the chief of that locality." The leader of these craftsmen was crucified, after his followers and their families had been massacred (Nestorian Chronicle, as quoted in: Baron, Social^2, 5 (1957), 184). Similar movements relying on miracles are recorded in Muslim Spain and its vicinity in the eighth to ninth centuries.

Much more significant was the movement led by the above-mentioned Abu ʿĪsā. His teachings include many significant halakhic variations. According to the Karaite sources, he followed the Rabbanite rite and laws in many matters for tactical reasons so that the Rabbanites did not persecute his followers. Abu ʿĪsā acknowledged the prophecy of Jesus and Muhammad, regarding them as prophets for their own followers only. This practical motivation and tendency to temporize was belied by the direction his movements took: Abu ʿĪsā led a battle and fell in the fighting, though some of his followers later believed "that he was not killed, but entered a hole in a mountain and was never heard of [again]" (Kirkisānī, ed. by L. Nemoy, in: HUCA, 7 (1930), 328, 382–3). Those who followed him in the Islamic lands in the eighth to ninth centuries, like *Yudghan and Mushka, resembled him in inaugurating changes in aspects of religion and in their warlike spirit.

The Later Middle Ages

With the *Crusades, certain new features in messianism appeared. In the Balkans a general movement of repentance was induced by crusader violence. At *Salonika, in 1096, Jews and Christians reported "that Elijah… had revealed himself openly, and not in a dream, to certain men of standing." People saw "many signs and miracles." There was widespread excited anticipation. It was reported that, under the impression that the redemption was at hand, "the Jews were idly neglecting their work." They sent letters to Constantinople to appraise them of the good news. Other communities sent to inquire about it. There was also a rumor "that all the Byzantine congregations were together in Salonika, and would leave from there" for Ereẓ Israel (J. Starr, *The Jews in the Byzantine Empire 641–1204* (1939), 203–6 no. 153). This was apparently a messianic movement without a Messiah. Jews were united by general feelings of excitation, rumors, and indeterminate tidings.

Maimonides heard that a miracle-working Messiah had appeared – at Lyons in France or Leon in Spain – about 1060. He also heard a tradition that in approximately 1100 a man had been influenced by a dream to proclaim himself Messiah. The man, Ibn Aryeh, was flogged and excommunicated by the community leaders, and with this the affair ended. In the first half of the 12th century messianic ferment was strong in Jewish communities everywhere. About 1121, *Obadiah, the Norman proselyte, met a Karaite *Kohen*, Solomon, who prophesied that within two-and-a half months all the Jews would be gathered together in Jerusalem, "for I am the man whom Israel is waiting for." The proselyte was amazed that a man of Aaronide descent should claim messiahship: "It is 19 years since I entered the Covenant and I never heard that Israel is looking for redemption at the hands of a son of the tribe of Levi – only at the hands of the prophet Elijah and the King Messiah of the seed of King David" (J. Mann, in: *Ha-Tekufah*, 24 (1928), 336–7). This encounter in the Near East reveals how deep-rooted, even in the case of a proselyte, was the concept that the Messiah should be of Davidic descent, whereas in sectarian circles the ancient sectarian concept of an Aaronide Messiah (as shown in the *Dead Sea Scrolls) still persisted.

More or less about the same time, in 1120/21, there was messianic excitation in Baghdad centered around a young prophetess (see S.D. Goitein, in: JQR, 43 (1952/53), 57–76). In 1127 approximately the same occurred in Fez, Morocco, where the man, Moses Al-Dar'i, a great scholar – and admired by Maimonides even after he proclaimed his messiahship – announced the coming of the Messiah.

> He told them that the Messiah was about to appear on the first night of Passover. He advised them to sell all their property and to become indebted as much as possible to the Muslims, to buy from them a thing worth a dinar for ten dinars, and thus to fulfill the words of the Torah [Ex. 12:36], for after Passover they would never see them. As Passover came and went and nothing happened, these people perished for they had sold all their property and their debts overwhelmed them (*Iggeret Teiman*, 103).

Nevertheless, Maimonides expressed satisfaction that this Moses managed to escape to Ereẓ Israel:

> There he died, may his memory be blessed. As has been told to me by those who have seen him when he left, he prophesied all that happened later on to the Maghreb Jews, the main outlines as well as the details (*ibid.*, 103).

The story is not only remarkable in demonstrating the influence wielded by the Messiah on large groups of Jews, and their obedience to his instructions, but also instructive since this movement occurred soon after the visit to Fez of Muhammad ibn Tumar, the founder of the *Almohads, and the public discussions he held there with the leaders of the Muslim establishment. Maimonides' attitude to Moses, his blessing him after his death, and his statement that his prophecies were true, reveal that even such a consistent rationalist could be inconsistent with regard to messianic movements.

The first half of the 12th century also saw the remarkable messianic movement led by David *Alroy. Though the dates and personalities are very confused in the sources mentioning this event, they all indicate that it occurred in the first half of the 12th century, and in the remote eastern districts of the Muslim Empire. Most traditions indicate his great and widespread influence and an extensive campaign of written and oral propaganda. All of them agree about the military character of the movement. The apostate to Islam, *Samuel al-Maghribi, relates that Alroy attempted to take the fortress of Amadiyah, in the mountains of Azerbaijan, by the stratagem of having masses of his believers enter the fortress with hidden weapons (tactics resembling those used by the earlier Muslim founder of the Assassins, Hasan ibn al-Sabbah, with regard to the fortress of Alamut). The apostate adds that:

> When the report about him reached Baghdad two Jewish tricksters, cunning elders, decided to forge letters by Menahem to the Jews of Baghdad bringing them the good tidings which they had been expecting since of yore; that he would appoint for them a certain night in which all of them would fly to Jerusalem. The Jews of Baghdad, their claim to sagacity and pride in craftiness notwithstanding, were all led to believe it. Their women brought their moneys and jewels in order that it all might be distributed on their behalf, as charity to those whom the two elders considered deserving. In this manner the Jews spent the bulk of their wealth. They donned green garments and on the night gathered on the roofs expecting, he asserted, to fly to Jerusalem on the wings of angels. Women began to weep over their nursing infants; what if the mothers should fly before their children or the children before their mothers? The children might suffer because of the delay in feeding (*Ifḥām al-Yahūd: Silencing the Jews*, ed. and trans. by M. Perlmann (1964), 73).

Despite its obvious intention to ridicule, this tale cannot be dismissed out of hand, for this readiness among Jews to believe in miracles is also found in Maimonides' story about the movement in North Africa.

About 1172 a Messiah appeared in the Yemen. Maimonides' hostile reaction to him shows that he had a clear and proclaimed revolutionary social aim, incomprehensible to Maimonides:

> He told them that each man shall distribute all his money and give to the poor. All those who obey him are fools and he is a sinner; for he acts against the Torah. For according to our Torah a man should give as charity only part of his money and not all of it.… No doubt his heart and mind that have misled him to say that he is a Messiah have also brought him to tell the peo-

> ple to leave all their property and give it to the poor. Thus they will become poor and the poor rich, and according to his law they [the former poor] will have to return to them [the now impoverished rich] their money. In this fashion money will go back and forth between rich and poor unceasingly (*Iggeret Teiman*, 89).

Maimonides advised the communities to proclaim him a madman or put him to death (*ibid.*, 93, 95). Later on, in a letter to the scholar of Marseilles, Maimonides related further details about the movement and its end. By this time he knew that the man in the Yemen was only:

> saying that he is a messenger to smooth the path for the King Messiah. He told them that the Messiah [is] in the Yemen. Many people gathered [around him] Jews and Arabs and he was wandering in the mountains.… He gave them new prayers.… After a year he was caught and all who were with him fled." Asked by his Arab captor for proof of the divine source of his message, the Yemen Messiah "answered him: 'Cut off my head and I will come back to life immediately,'" and so he was killed. Maimonides heard that there were still many foolish people in the Yemen who believed that he would arise and lead them yet (A. Marx, in: HUCA, 3 (1926), 356).

In the 1240s a new source of messianic excitation accompanied the rumors and hopes centering around the news of the Mongol advance into European countries. Meshullam da Pierra in a poem was certain that:

> in our days the kingdom shall be renewed for the lost nation and the scattered communities. Tribute will be brought to the son of David, and gifts to my counts and dukes. My Temple will be rebuilt.… There are tribes that have been exiled and now they have left the land of the living. Proof that God has sent them is that many rulers have come to harm.… Babylonia, Aleppo, and Damascus were taken [by the Mongols in 1260].… My Savior has broken through the mountainous wall.

To about the same time should be ascribed the information that "women in the land of Canaan [i.e., Bohemia] were reciting the entire Book of Isaiah by heart and ignorant people knew by heart all the prophecies of consolation" (J. Wistinetzki (ed.), *Sefer Ḥasidim* (1924), 77 no. 212).

Spain and the Marranos

At the end of the 13th century the kabbalist Abraham b. Samuel *Abulafia saw himself as the Messiah or the harbinger of the Messiah and tried to spread the word through apocalyptic writings. Solomon b. Abraham *Adret had to oppose the "prophet of Avila" who prophesied the coming of the Messiah in 1295 and had a large following in Avila. There is some information that there was an upsurge of messianic excitation around 1350 (see *Shemariah of Negroponte). The catastrophe of the persecutions of 1391 in Christian Spain led to widespread messianic ferment. In the vicinity of Burgos there appeared a prophet who foretold the imminent coming of the Messiah. At the Disputation of *Tortosa the Christian protagonist claimed that "in our day R. Ḥasdai *Crescas has announced a report and preached to congregations in the synagogues that the Messiah had been born in Cisneros, in the kingdom of Castile." Crescas entertained, it would seem, even more earthly hopes. He imagined the realities of the Second Temple period "as if the king of Egypt, who now reigns over the land of Israel, were to grant permission to Jews living elsewhere in his empire to go and rebuild the sanctuary, on the condition that they submit to his rule" (in his *Or Adonai*). In a letter of that time from which all proper names have been carefully deleted, it is related that a certain teacher taught that the calamities of the period should be seen as the birth pangs of the Messiah; there was a proliferation of confused messianic tidings:

> This one writes about the Lord's Messiah, that he shall surely come by Passover time, and that one says: 'Behold, he stands already at our walls.…' Another declares that if the Feast of Tabernacles should arrive and there is yet no Messiah, then surely it is God's will to have us die and to harden our hearts from his fear. But before he has done talking, yet another comes and says: 'It is rumored that a prophet has arisen in Israel who has seen a vision of the Almighty.… The Lord revealed himself in a dream at night and assured him of great amelioration: misery and grief shall flee the years wherein we have seen evil shall be no more; lo, this presages good, this proclaims salvation' (Baer, Spain, 2 (1966), 158–62).

As the position of the Jews in Christian Spain steadily deteriorated, messianic hopes were kept alive. The fall of Constantinople in 1453 awakened great messianic hopes and speculations both in the communities of Spain and among Ashkenazi Jewry. Among the forced converts (*anusim*) men and women prophesied the coming of the Messiah. Letters from the Constantinople community related tales about the birth of the Messiah, the place of his activity, and mode of living. A mother and daughter told their Converso friends: "The gentiles do not see us [do not understand us], for they are blind and know not that the Lord our God hath decreed that for a time we should be subject to them, but that we shall now surpass them [have the upper hand], for God hath promised us that after we go to those lands [overseas], we shall ride on horses and pass them by" (*ibid.*, 292–5). Even on the eve of the expulsion of the Jews from Spain, both Jews and *anusim* actively harbored these hopes. About 1481 a Converso told a Jew, when at his request the latter read the messianic prophecies to him: "Have no fear! Until the appearance of the Messiah, whom all of us wait for, you must disperse in the mountains. And I – I swear it by my life – when I hear that you are banished to separate quarters or endure some other hardship, I rejoice; for as soon as the measure of your torments and oppression is full, the Messiah, whom we all await, will speedily appear. Happy the man who will see him!" One Marrano was certain that the Messiah would possess the philosopher's stone and be able to turn iron into silver. He also hoped that "in 1489 there will be only one religion" in the world. Even after the expulsion many Marranos expressed these hopes and were punished for them by the Inquisition (*ibid.*, 350 ff.).

Ferment in the 16th to 18th Centuries

In the 16th century there were numerous expressions of messianic expectation. In 1500–02 Asher *Lemlein (Lammlin) preached repentance and the imminent coming of the Messiah. He had great influence. The grandfather of the chronicler David *Gans "broke up the oven that he had for baking *mazzot*, being sure that next year he would be baking *mazzot* in the Holy Land" (*Ẓemaḥ David*). From the end of the 15th century tales originating in and letters from Jerusalem show messianic hopes centering around the *Ten Lost Tribes of Israel. Joseph *Ḥayyun commenting on the verse "In his days Judah shall be redeemed and Israel will live secure" (Jer. 23:6) wrote:

> He [Jeremiah] said that Judah shall be redeemed and not that Israel shall be redeemed, for Israel need no redemption for they are not in *Galut*. I mean the Ten Tribes, for they are a great people and they have kings – according to what has been told about them – but Judah needs redemption, whereas [the people of] Israel will then live secure in Ereẓ Israel, for now they are not living so secure as they are abroad. What is more, they fight continuously with the gentiles around them (his commentary to Jeremiah, British Museum, Add. Ms. v 27, 560, fol. 106).

The great Mishnah commentator Obadiah of *Bertinoro wrote in 1489 from Jerusalem to his brother in Italy:

> Jews have told us that it is well known, as related by reliable Muslim merchants, that far away, a journey of 50 days through the desert, there lies the famous *Sambatyon River; it surrounds the whole country where the Children of Israel live like a thread. It throws up stones and sand, resting only on the Sabbath. The reason why no Jew goes to this country is because they avoid desecrating the Sabbath. According to their tradition all of them – the descendants of Moses – are saintly and pure like angels; there are no sinners among them. On the outer side of the Sambatyon River there are Children of Israel as numerous as the sands of the seashore, kings and lords, but they are not as saintly and pure as those living on the inner side of the river (A. Yaari, *Iggerot Ereẓ Yisrael* (1943), 140).

Obadiah believed in the existence of a Jewish realm beyond and around the miraculous river which was not only independent and strong but also consisted of two circles of life – an inner, more holy one, and an open, less holy one. Messianic expectations in this period centered actively around these images and fantasies as shown, for example, in the writings of *Abraham b. Eliezer ha-Levi from Jerusalem.

With the advent of David *Reuveni and Solomon *Molcho many Jews were convinced that they were seeing and hearing a prince of those tribes and one of his devoted companions. About the same time many Jews pinned their hopes on Martin *Luther as a man who had come to pave the way for the Messiah through gradually educating the Christians away from their idolatrous customs and beliefs. In Safed, messianic hopes were strong in the circles around Isaac b. Solomon Ashkenazi *Luria and Ḥayyim b. Joseph *Vital. The latter once dreamed:

> I stood on the peak of the great mountain to the west of Safed … over Meron village; I heard a voice announcing and saying, 'The Messiah is coming and the Messiah stands before me.' He blew the horn and thousands and tens of thousands from Israel were gathering to him. He said to us, 'Come with me and you shall see the avenging of the destruction of the Temple.' We went there; he fought there and defeated all the Christians there. He entered the Temple and slew also those who were in it. He commanded all the Jews and told them, 'Brethren, cleanse yourselves and our Temple of the defilement of the blood of the corpses of these uncircumcised ones and of the defilement of the idolatry that was in it.' We cleansed the Temple and reconstructed it as it was, the daily burnt offering was brought by the arch-priest who looked exactly like my neighbor Rabbi Israel (his *Sefer ha-Ḥezyonot* (1954), pt. 2, no. 2, p. 41).

This blend of the Safed reality and messianic visions of war and glory expresses the intensity of messianic hopes in kabbalistic circles that found expression in Shabbetai Ẓevi in the 17th century. Most communities became involved with Shabbetai Ẓevi and the messianic movement he led in the 1660s. In it many aspects of the messianic movements reached their highest expression, to be faced by crisis: his followers fervently believed that the Messiah would achieve a miraculous victory and were cruelly disappointed when Shabbetai Ẓevi collapsed before the terror of punishment; the masses of his followers repented, but repentance proved of no avail. The movement stimulated Jews to feelings of liberation, but they remained subjugated; orgiastic aspects developed which discredited the movement. The movement led by Jacob Frank in the 18th century introduced the elements of nihilism, licentiousness, and severance of the connection between messianism and Ereẓ Israel.

Scholars are divided as to whether in its origins Ḥasidism bore traits of a messianic movement or whether it was on the contrary a kind of sublimation of messianism.

The Modern Period

In modern times the *Haskalah (Enlightenment) and *Reform wings of Judaism increasingly tended to regard their activity in spreading pure and rational monotheism as a kind of collective movement of messianic "mission." In his letters Leopold *Zunz referred many times to the European revolution of 1848 as "the Messiah." Even many Jews who left the faith tended to invest secular liberation movements with a messianic glow. Martin *Buber expressed the opinion that the widespread Jewish activity in modern revolutionary movements stemmed both from the involvement of the Jew with the state and his criticism of it through his messianic legacy (see *disputations).

Zionism and the creation of the State of Israel are to a large extent secularized phenomena of the messianic movements. The ideology of the Zionist religious parties, *Mizrachi and *Ha-Po'el ha-Mizrachi, tends to regard them – in particular the achievements of the State of Israel – as an *atḥalta di-ge'ulla* ("anticipation and beginning of redemption"), thus retaining the traditional concepts held by messianic movements in conjunction with the new secularized aspects of the State and its achievements.

Jewish messianism, though appearing in many shapes and permutations, has been and continues to be an activist element in world culture. For Jews it has retained, through the leaders and movements to which it has given rise, the life-force of charisma, and the binding spell of Jewish statehood and kingship to be realized immediately through God's will, through the passion and devotion of His people. Some have spoken of "the price" that Jews and Judaism have had to pay for disappointment and disenchantment after every failure of the messianic movements. Against this are to be set the benefits that these visionary movements gave to a suppressed people – in inspiring them to activity, revitalization, and a sense of sacrifice.

For a late 20th century manifestation of this phenomenon, see *Chabad and *Schneersohn, Menahem Mendel.

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[Haim Hillel Ben-Sasson]

MESSINA, seaport in Sicily. Around the year 1171, Benjamin of *Tudela found 200 (families of?) Jews in Messina. Between 1279 and 1282 the community received the famous kabbalist Abraham *Abulafia, who gave instruction there to two disciples, Abraham and Nathan. In 1347 some Jews of Messina were accused of the ritual murder (see Blood *Libel) of a Christian boy and consequently sentenced to death, an event which was commemorated by a marble inscription in the cathedral. At that time, the Jews lived in a separate quarter called the Paraporto or Giudecca. Although the various communities in Sicily were under the jurisdiction of the *dienchelele, at one stage the Jews of Messina were exempt from it. Their community was administered by councillors (*proti*), who, with the assent of the elders, had the authority to excommunicate offenders against Jewish law. When he was *dienchelele*, Moses *Bonavoglia (Ḥefeẓ) of Messina intervened with Alfonso v in 1428 on behalf of the Sicilian Jews and succeeded in having the order concerning conversionist sermons revoked: in 1440 he constructed an assembly hall for the synagogue. In 1487–88 Obadiah of *Bertinoro was in Messina for some months. He gives a vivacious account of the conditions of the community in a letter to his father in Città di Castello. A manuscript of *Naḥmanides' commentary on the Pentateuch, revised and corrected by the scholars of Messina, formed the basis of the 1490 Naples edition. There were 180 Jewish families in the city in 1453. When the Jews were expelled from Sicily in 1492, some 2,400 of them left Messina. In 1728, permission was given for the return of Jews to Messina and the reestablishment of a synagogue, but the experiment was unsuccessful.

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[Sergio Joseph Sierra]

MESSING, SHEP (1949–), U.S. soccer goalie. Messing was born in the Bronx, the third of five children of Elias, a lawyer, and Anne, a teacher. The family moved when Messing was two to Roslyn, Long Island, where he was a wrestling, soccer, and track & field star at Wheatley High School, setting a county record in the pole vault at 13 ft. 6 in. and winning the county championship in soccer his senior year in 1967. He spent two years at New York University, being named to the All-American soccer team his second year. After tasting his first international competition as goalie for the U.S. Maccabiah team in 1969, Messing transferred to Harvard College, graduating in 1972. After playing for the U.S. Pan American team in 1971, Messing was the starting goalie on the U.S. Olympic team at the 1972 Munich Games. He signed with the New York Cosmos, playing one game in 1973 and eight games in 1974 before leaving for the Boston Minutemen for the 1975 season. He led the league that year with six shutouts. The following season Messing returned to the New York Cosmos, helping to lead them to the championship in the Soccer Bowl in 1977. A flamboyant goalie who once posed for *Playgirl* magazine, Messing was in the forefront of the late 1970s soccer boom in the United States. He played with the Oakland Stompers in 1978 and with the Rochester Lancers in 1979 before retiring from the North American Soccer League after appearing in 120 games for four teams. He then played six seasons for the New York Arrows of the Major Indoor Soccer League, leading the team to the championship in the league's first four seasons of existence. Messing rejoined the Cosmos in 1985 when the team switched to the MISL, his last season playing professionally. After retiring, Messing began a career in broadcasting. He is the author of *The Education of an American Soccer Player* (1978).

[Elli Wohlgelernter (2nd ed.)]

MESSINGER, RUTH WYLER (1940–), U.S. political leader, activist, and organizational philanthropist. The daughter of Wilfred and Majorie Goldwasser Wyler, Messinger was a third-generation New Yorker who received university degrees from Radcliffe College and the University of Oklahoma. In her early career she worked as a teacher, social worker, and administrator. She was married to Eli C. Messinger (from whom she was later divorced), and had three children.

Messinger served 20 years in New York City government, beginning in 1977, including 12 years on the City Council advocating for children, public education, campaign financing reform, gay rights, and small businesses. In 1990 she began eight years of service as Manhattan Borough president. Messinger became the first woman to be selected as the Democratic Party's candidate for mayor in 1997 and ran a campaign focused on improving public education. Throughout her 20 years in public service she worked extensively on issues of foster care, domestic and other violence against women, campaign finance, waterfront development, and tax policy. Messinger also founded the first non-profit facility in New York serving women with AIDS and their children.

In 1998, Messinger assumed the role of president and executive director of the American Jewish World Service, a humanitarian organization providing non-sectarian grassroots development and emergency relief to people in developing nations. Under Messinger's leadership, AJWS expanded its scope and visibility, creating new programs in the areas of education, outreach, and service. In 2000, Messinger also launched the Women's Empowerment Fund (WEF) through the AJWS, supporting projects in 18 countries that provide funds to grassroots women's groups in the developing world. Messinger is an active member of the Society for the Advancement of Judaism and has worked in an advisory capacity with the Jewish Fund for Justice. She served as national chair of the advisory council of the National League of Cities and president of Women in Municipal Government. Messinger has also been a board member of the Jewish Foundation for Education for Women, a board member of Project Enterprise, and a member and president of the board of Surprise Lake Camp, a Federation of Jewish Philanthropies camp for New York City area children.

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[Marla Brettschneider (2nd ed.)]

MESTEL, JACOB (1884–1958), Yiddish poet, actor, journalist, playwright, and theater director. Born in Zlochev, Galicia, his first lyrics appeared in the Lemberg (Lvov) *Togblat* and were collected in the booklet *Ferkholemte Shoen* ("Dream Hours," 1909). He gained his first professional theatrical experience in Vienna (1910–14), and after serving as an officer during World War I, he directed the Freie Juedische Folksbuehne (1918–20). Immigrating to the United States in 1920, he joined Maurice *Schwartz's Yiddish Art Theater in 1923, and then directed his own group Artef, where he experimented with bold theatrical innovations. From 1926 he and Jacob *Ben-Ami produced Yiddish plays in New York and on tours which included South America. Author of *Literatur un Teater* ("Literature and Theater," 1962), he co-edited the leftist monthly *Yidishe Kultur* and the first three volumes of Zalman Zylbercweig's *Leksikon fun Yidishn Teater.* From 1950 to 1958 he was editor of the IKUF publishing house.

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[Sol Liptzin]

METALS AND MINING.

In the Bible

Six metals are mentioned in the Bible and in many passages they are listed in the same order: gold, silver, copper, iron, tin, and lead. Antimony is also mentioned. The metals are referred to in various contexts, including methods of mining, metallurgical processes of extracting the metal, and preparing finished products. The strategic and economic importance of metals and of metal craftsmen is stressed. The prophets employ figures of speech based on the properties of metals and the stages of their treatment. These metals have been uncovered in excavations in Ereẓ Israel in the form of vessels and slag. At Tell Jemmeh, Tell Kasila, Timnah, and other sites, furnaces for smelting iron and copper have been found dating from different periods. The only explicit biblical reference to a foundry is to that of King Solomon "in the plain of Jordan … in the clay ground" where Temple vessels were produced (I Kings 7:46). Utensils for smelting are mentioned mainly as metaphors – "But you the Lord took and brought out of Egypt, that iron blast furnace" (Deut. 4:20). Isaiah speaks of refining silver in a furnace (Isa. 48:10); while Proverbs (27:21) describes the refining of gold and silver in a furnace. Ezekiel compares Israel with the process of refining metals: "The house of Israel has become dross unto Me; all of them, silver and bronze and tin and iron and lead in the furnace, have become dross" (Ezek. 22:18). The prophet was apparently well acquainted with the technical process of refining and smelting silver, and describes how silver is extracted from its ores by means of bellows, leaving slag behind. The working of metals was executed by special smiths and craftsmen, the first of whom was "… Tubal-Cain, who forged all implements of copper and iron" (Gen. 4:22). The Bible speaks of the high qualifications necessary for the specialized metalwork of the Tabernacle: "I have endowed him with a divine spirit of skill, ability, and knowledge … to make designs for work, in gold, silver, and copper" (Ex. 31:3–5). Solomon was forced to bring the craftsman Hiram from Tyre to work in copper (I Kings 7:13–14). The Bible describes the Philistine monopoly of metalsmiths and their strategic importance: "Now there was no smith to be found throughout all the land of Israel; for the Philistines said, 'Lest the Hebrews make themselves swords or spears'" (I Sam. 13:19). The great importance attributed by Nebuchadnezzar to craftsmen and smiths is evident in his deporting them from Jerusalem together with Jehoiachin's army to prevent a possible revolt (II Kings 24:15–16). The methods of working metal after its extraction varied according to the type of metal and the use to which it was put: casting, hammering, gilding, preparing metal, wires, etc.

GOLD (Heb. *zahav*). Gold is one of the rare metals found as an element in nature. It is extracted from the earth by a process of collecting and washing. Specialized goldsmiths employed two methods in working gold. The first consisted of beating it with a hammer into very thin sheets which was possible because of the gold's softness. The sheets were used for, among other things, gilding, and also for making gold wire: "They hammered out sheets of gold and cut threads…" (Ex. 39:3). The second method consisted of melting the gold and then casting it (Ex. 25:12). In the process of melting, the gold was also refined; refined gold, which was necessary for certain purposes (I Chron. 28:18), is apparently identical with "pure gold" (Ex. 25:17).

In various biblical passages words are mentioned that are explained as synonyms of gold: *segor* (Job 28:15); *paz* (Ps. 21:4; Lam. 4:2); *ketem* (Prov. 25:12); *ḥaruẓ* (Ps. 68:14; Prov. 3:14); and *baẓer* (Job 22:24; sometimes understood as "gold ore" or "ingots"). In addition, there are adjectives describing gold, some of which may designate types of gold. The various kinds of gold mentioned in the Bible are summarized in the Talmud (Yoma 44b–45a): "There are seven kinds of gold: gold; good gold (Gen. 2:12); gold of Ophir (I Kings 10:11); fine gold (*ibid.* 10:18); beaten gold (*ibid.* 10:17); pure gold (*ibid.* 6:20); gold of Parvaim (II Chron. 3:6)." In the talmudic discussion concerning the different types of gold, Ophir gold is said to be derived from the place name *Ophir, whereas the other adjectives are said to designate metallic or commercial qualities of gold: *zahav mufaz*, "fine gold," because it resembles *paz* ("a shining jewel"); *zahav shaḥuṭ*, "beaten gold," because it is spun like thread (Heb. *ḥuṭ*); *zahav sagur*, "pure (lit. "locked") gold," indicates such fine quality that when its sale begins all the other shops lock up; *zahav parvaim*, "gold of Parvaim," is said to look like the blood of a bullock (Heb. *par*), but it may also designate a place-name.

The Bible mentions various places from which gold was brought into Ereẓ Israel. Scholars do not agree as to the identification of most of these places but in all probability they include the countries in which gold mines were located in the biblical period: Egypt, Sudan, Saudi Arabia, and India. Among the places cited is the "land of *Havilah" (Gen. 2:11–12), which scholars locate either in southeast Sudan, northwest Ethiopia, or in the southern Sinai Peninsula. The location of Sheba (I Kings 10:6–10) is also disputed (see *Sabea); some scholars place it in Ethiopia and others consider it the name of one of the regions or tribes in southern Arabia. Ophir, which was reached by ships from Ezion-Geber (I Kings 9:26–28; 10–11; 22:49), is identified by *Josephus with India, but, like Havilah and Sheba, it has also been located in Saudi Arabia. Uphaz has not been identified (Jer. 10:9). Parvaim (II Chron. 3:6) is either a place in Arabia or an adjective describing gold as in the talmudic explanation mentioned above.

As early as the patriarchal period, gold was used for manufacturing jewelry and fine vessels (Gen. 24:22) whose value was measured by the amount of gold they contained. Gold was a symbol of wealth and position and served as capital but not as a means of payment. Silver served as currency, but gold bullion as payment is mentioned only once in the Bible: "So David paid Ornan 600 shekels of gold by weight for the site" (I Chron. 21:25; but cf. Num. 22:18; 24:13; II Sam. 21:4; I Kings 15:19; Ezra 8:25f.). The Mishnah explains that "Gold acquires silver, but silver does not acquire gold" (BM 4:1), i.e., gold is valuable as property while silver is a means of payment. At the time of the Exodus from Egypt, the Israelite women borrowed from their neighbors "objects of silver, and gold, and clothing" (Ex. 12:35). Aaron broke off golden earrings to make the golden calf (*ibid.* 32:3). The fullest descriptions of the use of gold are found in the accounts of the building of the Tabernacle in the desert and of Solomon's Temple. In the Tabernacle, gold leaf and gold casts were used, for which the gold was contributed by the Israelites: "And these are the gifts that you shall accept from them: gold, silver, and copper" (Ex. 25:3). The finest craftsmen executed the work (*ibid.* 31:4). Solomon obtained gold for the Temple and his palace from the booty taken in King David's wars (II Sam. 8:7; 12:30) and from trade with Ophir on Hiram's ships (I Kings 9:28). Gold vessels of all kinds denoted wealth and nobility and were also important in ritual. At the same time, the principal idols were made of gold and silver and the prophets inveighed against the worship of these graven images (Isa. 30:22). The wealth and prestige of silver and gold in the form of property and of idols were used as symbols by the prophets: "Neither their silver nor their gold shall be able to deliver them…" (Zeph. 1:18). Wealth and gifts of splendor were associated with gold: the Queen of Sheba brought Solomon "… very much gold" (I Kings 10:2); "and the whole earth sought the presence of Solomon to hear his wisdom … every one of them brought articles of … gold" (*ibid.* 10:24–25). The shields of Solomon's guard were made of gold (*ibid.* 14:26), and when Ahasuerus made a great banquet for the nobility of his court, he served them from "golden goblets" (Esth. 1:7).

SILVER (Heb. *kesef*). The main minerals in which silver appears in nature are natural silver and silver sulfides. Silver is commonly found in association with gold and copper, and sometimes with lead. Silver was known to man in earliest antiquity; articles of silver have been found in Ereẓ Israel from as early as the Middle Bronze Age. Silver mines in ancient times were located in Spain, Egypt, and Anatolia. According to the Bible, silver, like other metals, was brought by Solomon from *Tarshish (II Chron. 9:21) and Arabia (9:14). Silver was extracted from its ore by smelting, with the use of bellows, and the slag containing lead was separated from the silver (Jer. 6:29–30). Job was acquainted with the technical process of extracting silver: "Surely there is a mine for silver, and a place for gold which they refine" (Job 28:1). Ezekiel also describes the method of extracting silver and mentions slag containing bronze, iron, lead, and tin (Ezek. 22:20–22).

Because of the high value of silver, it was used as a means of payment from earliest times, in preference to gold which was extremely soft. Payment in silver took the form of bullion ("400 shekels of silver," Gen. 23:15) or was weighed on scales. The biblical verse "Here, I have with me the fourth part of a shekel of silver" (I Sam. 9:8) clearly indicates the use of coins. The Temple tax was also paid in silver coins ("a half-shekel," Ex. 30:13). In the Bible the shekel designates a unit of weight (Heb. *mishkal*), from which the term *shekel is apparently derived. Weighing the silver was replaced by standard units of weight, which became *coins; later the coins were counted, as, for example, "I herewith give your brother 1,000 pieces of silver" (Gen. 20:16).

Silver was also used for making vessels for the Tabernacle and the Temple. It was a symbol of wealth and position as in the description of the palace of Ahasuerus "… silver rings and marble pillars, and also couches of gold and silver…" (Esth. 1:6). When "all the kings of the earth" came to hear Solomon, they brought him gifts of gold and silver (II Chron. 9:23–24). The most outstanding description of a king's wealth is the chariot bought in Egypt by Solomon for 600 shekels of silver (I Kings 10:29). Job describes kings and counselors "who filled their houses with silver" (Job. 3:15). Among biblical figures of speech and similes based on silver is: "Your silver is become dross" (Isa. 1:22), i.e., the very valuable metal is transformed into something worthless like the slag formed during its reduction. The smelting and refining of silver are used as symbols of the Israelites: "For Thou, O God, hast tested us; Thou hast tried us as silver is tried" (Ps. 66:10). Trade in silver becomes a symbol of trade in general; although it is an honest trade, it is transcended by the acquisition of wisdom "For the gain from it is better than gain of silver" (Prov. 3:14).

COPPER (Heb. *neḥoshet*). The copper referred to in the Bible is not pure copper but an alloy of copper and tin. This alloy – bronze – was the most useful and important metal from the beginning of the third millennium B.C.E. to the 13th century B.C.E. when it began to be replaced by iron. Copper mines in the ancient Near East were located in Cyprus (from which the name copper is apparently derived), Sinai, and Egypt. It was the main metal extracted in Ereẓ Israel in antiquity and is the only one mined there today. Copper is usually extracted from sulfide minerals, and partly from silicates, and carbonates; very small amounts of native copper are also found.

The Arabah contains copper mines in three main centers: (1) Faynān (biblical Punon, Num. 33:42), around 25–30 mi. (40–50 km.) south of the Dead Sea in the eastern Arabah; (2) the area of Wadi Abu Khushayba, around 8 mi. (13 km.) southwest of Petra; (3) and in the Timnah-Amram region which also extends southwest of Elath. The copper deposits appear in the form of concentrates in the white Nubian sandstone with a base of *Evronah* complex formation of the Lower Cretaceous period. The concentrates are connected with the layer of fossilized trees in the sandstone and are composed mainly of sulfides, carbonates, silicates, and copper oxides. They have a high copper content which reaches as much as 30–40%. N. Glueck, the first to describe these deposits in detail, attributes the beginning of copper mining and smelting activities to the Kenites, Kenizzites, and Kadmonites (Gen. 115:19), who inhabited the area and were related to Tubal-Cain (i.e., the Kenite), the first metalsmith (*ibid.* 4:22). In Glueck's opinion they were nomadic tribes who wandered in the Arabah and were metallurgical specialists. He also associates the Edomites with the metal industry and its trade through the Arabah and the Red Sea. The area was conquered by David, and Solomon continued to work the mines and develop international trade, mainly by way of Ezion-Geber; his metallurgical industry was located in the plain of the Jordan "in the clay ground between Succoth and Zarethan" (I Kings 7:46). Glueck suggests that copper was even exported from the Arabah by Solomon, and also that the protracted wars between Judah and Edom during the period of the Kingdom of Judah were over control of the copper mines in the Arabah.

Excavations carried out between 1959 and 1969 by the Arabah Expedition headed by B. Rothenberg concluded that the copper mines in the Timnah area are not to be attributed to the time of Solomon. Rothenberg distinguished three periods at the site: the Chalcolithic period (fourth millennium B.C.E.), the Early Iron Age, and the Byzantine period (third–fourth centuries C.E.). Rothenberg suggests that Egyptian kings in the 14th–12th centuries B.C.E., and not the kings of Israel and Judah, sent mining expeditions to the Arabah, and that the copper mines and the smelting installations were operated by the Egyptians together with the Midianites, Kenites, and Amalekites. Among the finds in an Egyptian temple discovered in Timnah was a copper snake which dates it to the time of the Exodus. According to the excavator, the Kenites and the Midianites employed highly developed methods of copper production that ceased with the Israelite Conquest; only commercial activities, and not production, were undertaken in the period of the Monarchy by way of Ezion-Geber and the Red Sea to Ophir and Sheba. Rothenberg also emphasizes that a metallurgical center was located in the Succoth-Zarethan area where imported raw copper was made into finished products (I Kings 7:46). The copper was extracted from its ore by smelting in an oven and then cast. Heat was produced by charcoal from acacia trees which grow in the Arabah.

Much copper was used in manufacturing vessels for the Temple and especially for the Tabernacle: clasps, sockets, rings, posts of the enclosure, lavers, etc. (Ex. 26–36). The biblical description of copper weapons indicates a highly developed military culture, e.g., the description of Goliath: "He had a helmet of bronze on his head, and he was armed with a coat of mail, and the weight of the coat was 5,000 shekels of bronze" (I Sam. 17:5–7). Copper was fashioned into a symbol for the Israelites in the desert in the form of a serpent of copper made by Moses (Num. 21:9; see *Copper Serpent); it was preserved by the Israelites up to the time of Hezekiah who destroyed it, calling it *Nehushtan (II Kings 18:4). The destruction of the Temple is emphasized by the removal of the copper; after the Temple was burnt, the Babylonians destroyed all the objects in it and carried away a great many copper objects to Babylonia and "the bronze of all these vessels was beyond weight" (II Kings 25:13, 16). In its use in vessels for the Tabernacle and Temple and for weapons, copper symbolized strength and rigidity – "The skies above your head shall be copper" (Deut. 28:23). It also denoted drought – "I will make your skies like iron and your earth like copper" (Lev. 26:19). The word for chains (*neḥushtayim*) is also derived from copper. Not only the heaven and earth but also the Israelites are compared with rigid copper: "your forehead copper" (Isa. 48:4).

IRON (Heb. *barzel*). Job was acquainted with the technical process of extracting iron from iron ore: "iron is taken out of the earth" (Job. 28:2). Isaiah described the smith's technique of working iron with the help of charcoal to produce steel suitable for making vessels (Isa. 54:16). The Bible speaks of Tubal-Cain as the first metalsmith (Gen. 4:22; see above discussion of copper). Some scholars identify the family of Japheth, to whom Tubal-Cain was related, with peoples who inhabited the coast of the Black Sea. Iron was first exploited by the Hittites in Asia Minor and it was brought to Syria and Ereẓ Israel by Phoenician merchants. Another source of iron was Tarshish, and "massive iron" was brought from Vedan and Javan (Ezek. 27:12–13, 19).

The Early Iron Age in Ereẓ Israel corresponds roughly with the period of the Philistines (from c. 1200 B.C.E.). The iron in the hands of the Philistines may have been connected with their maritime trade and with imports by merchants from the north. Iron mines were apparently located in the mountains of iron in the hill region of Edom (Josephus mentions an "Iron Mountain" near Gerasha) and also in southern Lebanon, but these were probably of little importance. Iron was used primarily for weapons, and ironsmiths were thus of prime importance in the military organization. The Philistines succeeded in securing control of all the smiths – apparently ironsmiths: "Now there was no smith to be found throughout the land of Israel" (I Sam. 13:19). Whoever needed the services of ironsmiths for sharpening everyday tools, such as agricultural implements, was forced to go to the Philistines. Iron implements (a plow and a spade) have been found at Tell Jamma and also furnaces for smelting iron; the earliest finds come from Tell al-ʿAjūl where a dagger with an iron blade and copper handle were also discovered. As early as the biblical period, iron was employed extensively in everyday life: war, agriculture, building, religion, trade, and household utensils. Iron weapons included chariots (Josh. 17:16); horns (I Kings 22:11); swords and spears (I Sam. 13:19; II Sam. 23:7); "iron objects" (Num. 35:16); and fetters (Ps. 105:18); while iron agricultural tools included sledges (Amos 1:3) and yokes (Jer. 28:14). In building, iron was used in door bars (Isa. 45:3), nails for doors of gates (I Chron. 22:3), and hammers and axes (I Kings 6:7); in religion, it was used for statues of gods (Dan. 5:4); and in trade, for weights (I Sam. 17:7). Household utensils made of iron included bedsteads (Deut. 3:11) and pens (Job 19:24).

Iron often appears in figures of speech in the Bible, but it mainly symbolizes the material from which instruments of war were made. Its use was prohibited in building an altar (Ex. 20:25): "an altar of unhewn stones, upon which no man has lifted an iron tool" (Josh. 8:31). The Mishnah elaborates: "for iron was created to shorten man's days, while the altar was created to lengthen man's days; what shortens may not rightly be lifted up against what lengthens" (Mid. 3:4). Solomon carried the ban against using stones hewn with iron in building the altar even further when he built the Temple, "so that neither hammer nor axe nor any tool of iron was heard in the Temple," while it was being built (I Kings 6:7). In the Talmud a discussion is held on whether the prohibition against the use of iron tools applied only to the Temple site or to the quarry as well (Sot. 48b), for Solomon built three rows of hewn stone in the inner court (I Kings 6:36). In the description of David's battle with Goliath, spiritual values are contrasted with iron weapons symbolizing war, as Goliath appears with a sword, spear, and javelin, opposite David's faith in God (I Sam. 17:45, 47). Iron also denotes strength: "iron yoke" (Deut. 28:48), "your neck is an iron sinew" (Isa. 48:4), and has a special meaning in Psalms 107:10.

TIN (Heb. *bedil*). Tin was known to, and utilized by, the ancient Egyptians. There was an extensive international trade in tin that was alloyed with copper to make bronze – the copper of the Bible. Tin was mentioned by Ezekiel as one of the products imported by the Phoenicians from Tarshish (27:12). It appears in the Bible together with the other metals, gold, silver, copper, iron, and lead, for example, in connection with the laws of their purification after being captured as booty (Num. 31:22). Tin is mentioned by Ezekiel as one of the components of the slag obtained by reducing silver from its ore (22:18–22) and by Isaiah: "smelt away your dross as with lye, and remove all your tin" (1:25). No specific tin vessels are mentioned in the Bible.

LEAD (Heb. *ʿoferet*). The ancient sources of lead were Asia Minor and Syria, and it was included among the metals brought by the Phoenicians from Tarshish (Ezek. 27:12). Lead galena is found today at the foot of Mount Hermon; however, nothing is known of its extraction in antiquity. Because of its high specific gravity, it served as weights for fishermen's nets – "they sank like lead in the majestic waters" (Ex. 15:10), from which the simile "to sink in water like lead" is derived. The plumb line may also have been made of lead (Amos 7:7). Lead served also as a cover of utensils because of its high specific gravity (Zech. 5:7–8). The verse, "… that with an iron pen and lead they were graven in the rock for ever!" (Job. 19:24), seems to indicate that as early as biblical times, lead was used for writing; because of the softness of lead, writing implements were made of stone filled with lead. Lead is mentioned several times in the Bible together with the other metals (e.g., Num. 31:22). Lead, or lead minerals, may have been used for cosmetics and dyes.

ANTIMONY (Heb. *pukh*). No objects made of antimony are known, but it appears in copper alloys. Unlike the other metals, the Bible does not mention antimony as a metal but only its use as a mineral – as eye shadow. Kohl for painting the eyes (II Kings 9:30; cf. Ezek. 23:40) is translated in the Vulgate as stibium.

[Uri Shraga Wurzburger]

In Rabbinic Literature

Rabbinic literature – the Talmuds in particular – contains a wealth of information on metals and metallurgy (though not on their primary production by mining), on the use of the various metals in manufacture, on metal artifacts, and so on. The growth of terminology as well as the use of terms borrowed from Greek, Latin, and even Persian is an indication on the progress from biblical times in the refining process and in the use of metals, though the basic metals remained more or less the same. As distinct from the Bible, rabbinic literature has generic terms for metals, generally *mattekhet* from the biblical root (*ntk*, "to smelt"), and in the Middle Ages also *metilin* or *metil* from the Greek μέταλλον or Latin *metallum*. Metals mentioned in rabbinic literature are gold, silver, copper (brass and bronze), iron, tin, lead, and antimony or stibium. A number of terms exist for metal sheets, bars, or lumps: *eshet* or *ashashit niska* ("cast metal"), particularly a bar of silver or gold; *ḥarakhah* ("lumps of metal [iron ore]"), before smelting; *milela* for gold ore as broken in the mine; *peitalon* (Gr. πέταλον; "metal or gold leaf"), for which there is also a Hebrew word (*tas*); and also the more general term *golem* (pl. *gelamim*), meaning any raw, unfinished material. There is also a whole range of terms for old and broken metal which could be used again, the most general of which is *gerutei* (pl. *geruta'ot*) or *gerumei* (in Gr. γρύτη), "junk iron" still used in modern Hebrew for junk, rubbish, but other derivations have been suggested (see S. Krauss in JE, 8, 515 and Kohut, *Arukh ha-Shalem,* s.v.). *Asimon* (Gr. ασημος) is uncoined bullion or coins on which the stamping has worn off.

The social standing of metalworkers was high, but they maintained fine distinctions between them, with the gold- and silversmith (*zehavim, kassafim*) ranking higher than the ordinary smith (*nappaḥ*); see the description of the separate seats occupied by different craftsmen in the great synagogue of Alexandria in *Sukkah* 51b. The metalworker is called *nappaḥ* as he has to blow (*nafaḥ*) the fire with the *mappu'aḥ* ("bellows") in order to soften the metal. The gold- and silversmith is also called *meẓaref,* though this is occasionally applied to the coppersmith as well. For fuel, the smith used *peḥam* (charcoal), which he had to make himself, and the *peḥami* is therefore both the charcoal burner and the blacksmith (see the story of R. Gamaliel's visit to the home of R. Joshua b. Hananiah, who was a needle maker; Ber. 28a). For the smelting of gold, straw was used as fuel. When taken from the fire with *ẓevat* ("tongs," see Avot 5, 6), the metal was beaten with the *pattish* ("hammer") or *kurnas* (Gr. κέαρνον) on the *saddan* ("anvil") made by the *sadna'ah*. The term "beat with the hammer" became typical for every kind of manufacture. Rabbinic literature contains many further details on the various activities of the blacksmith and other instruments which he uses (see Krauss, Tal Arch, 2 (1911), 299 ff.). There is an equally great variety of implements and vessels, which were made from the various metals. Metals were used in every kind of manufacturing process, in agriculture, for domestic and personal needs, for weapons and armaments, for coins, and Temple use. Gold and silver were the main raw material of women's ornaments (*ibid.*, 307 ff.).

GOLD. Both Talmuds and some Midrashim have slightly differing lists of seven varieties of gold, most of which occur already in the Bible (TJ, Yoma 4:4, 41d; Yoma 44b; Num. R. 12:4; Song R. 3:10, no. 3; for the talmudic discussion on the various names for gold see above, in the biblical section). Various information is given on the smelting of the gold used for the making of the **menorah* by Moses (TJ, Shekalim 6:4, 50b), Solomon, and in the Second Temple (Song R. 3:10, no. 3). According to the Midrash, gold had, in any event, been created for its use in the Temple (Ex. R. 35:1). It does not deteriorate (Me'il. 5:1, 19a). In Solomon's time, weights were made of gold (PDRK 169a). The gold (and silver), which the Israelites carried away from Egypt, is a frequent subject of *aggadah* (see Ber. 32a). So are the golden tables of the rich (Shab. 119a; Ta'an. 25a; Tam. 32a). The members of the Sanhedrin of Alexandria sat on golden chairs in the famous basilica (Suk. *ibid.*, and parallels). Famous, too, is the golden ornament (*Yerushalayim shel zahav*) which R. Akiva gave to his wife (Shab. 59a). His colleague R. Ishmael had a bride fitted with a golden tooth to make her more attractive (Ned. 66b; cf. Shab. 6, 5). Rich men in Jerusalem would tie their *lulavim* with threads of gold (Suk. 3, 8) and offer their first fruits in baskets of silver or of gold (Bik. 3, 8).

SILVER (Heb. *kesef*). The term *argentariyya* and similar forms (Gr. ἀργεντάριος, Lat. *argentarium*) is used in TJ, *Peah* 8:9, 21b and the Midrash (PdRK 106b) for table silver (and gold) and *martekha* for silver slag (Git. 69b).

COPPER, BRASS, BRONZE (Heb. *Nehoshet*).The word *beronza* ("bronze") is found in medieval rabbinic literature (Heilprin, *Seder Dorot*, 1 (1905), 104). The Greek word χαλκός which like *neḥoshet* means copper as well as the alloys brass and bronze, though later the latter only, is used in the Babylonian Talmud (BK 100b) for copper caldron (so also in Gr.; see Jastrow, Dict., s.v.); in the Jerusalem Talmud (BB 4:6, 14c) for the copper (caldron) room in a bathhouse; the Targum often used the form *karkoma* (χαλκωμα), Greek for anything made of copper, etc. (see S. Krauss, *Griechische und lateinische Lehnwoerter* (1898), 299). The term *peliza* (a kind of bronze, see JE, 8, 516) is used in *Bava Kama* (113b, Ms., see Rabbinowicz, Dik Sof, BK 140). According to the Midrash (Lev. R. 7:5; Tanḥ., Terumah 11), the copper covering on the altar of the Tabernacle would miraculously not melt in spite of the perpetual fire. Bronze tablets were used to inscribe international treaties, such as the one between Judah Maccabee and Rome (I Macc. 8:22; Jos., Ant., 12:416) and his brother Simeon and Sparta (I Macc. 14:18). Mishnah *Parah* (12:5) mentions a "hyssop of brass." Nathan b. Jehiel's *Arukh* quotes from the lost *Midrash Yelammedenu* the term *konekhi* (Gr. κόγχη), a copper shell or bowl (for oil). Corinthian bronze (*kelinteya*), famous for its quality and shine, was used for the Nicanor gates of the Herodian Temple (Eliezer b. Jacob, Yoma 38a; Tosef. *ibid.* 2:4).

IRON (Heb. *barzel, parzel, parzela*). As to the sources of iron ore, the Palestinian Targum translates the place names Kadesh and Wilderness of Zin (Sinai) as "Mountain of Iron" (Num. 33:36; 34:4). The Mishnah (Suk. 3:1) and Josephus (War, 4:454) mention an Iron Mountain near Gerasa in Transjordan (Avi-Yonah, Geog., 162). Indian iron was used for making weapons (Av. Zar. 16a), and Indian swords were the very best available

(Tanḥ., Va-Etḥannan 6). *Parzelayyah* is used as a generic term for iron tools (Lev. R. 24:3; TJ, Nid. 2:6, 50b, as a simile for a sharp mind). He who bathes in hot water without showering himself afterward with cold water is like iron that has been treated in the fire without being put into cold water afterward (Shab. 41a). According to R. Eliezer, it is permitted on the Sabbath to cut wood on which to burn coal to forge a knife for a circumcision which is to occur on that day (*ibid.* 19:1, 130a). The Talmud speaks of *even sho'evet*, a magnetic stone which attracts iron (Sot. 47a).

TIN. The terms used for this metal are either *ba'aẓ* or *avaẓ, kassitera, kassiteron*, and *gassiteron* (Gr. κασσίτερος). Both *ba'aẓ* and *kassitera* are used in the same passages (Men. 28b and elsewhere), which implies that they were two different metals or kinds of the same metal. The Temple *menorah* was not to be made of them, but when the Hasmoneans cleansed the Temple and needed a new *menorah* (the golden one having been carried off by Antiochus IV), they made it of seven spears plated with tin (*ibid.*). It was forbidden to make weights out of metal – tin and lead being mentioned specially – because metal wears away (BB 89b and Tos. ad loc.; Tosef., *ibid.* 5:9). The traveler Pethahiah of Regensburg (12th century) reports that in Babylonia people were summoned to synagogue by a tin instrument. In the later Middle Ages up to modern times tin was used extensively for artistic *ritual objects such as Ḥanukkah *menorot, seder, Kiddush*, and *Havdalah* plates, etc.

LEAD. Lead is called *avar* in rabbinic literature, also *karkemisha* in the Palestine Targum (Num 31:22; Job 19:24). *Ḥullin* 8a (cf. Neg. 9:1) mentions "lead from its source" as a naturally hot substance causing injury. The water reservoirs below the Temple Mount were said to be lined with lead (Letter of Aristeas 90). Lead was also used as a writing material (Shab. 104b, see Rashi). A wick of hot lead was used to carry out the death sentence by burning (Sanh. 52a), and water pipes were made of lead (Mik. 6:8). The term *alsefidag* (of Persian origin) is used in geonic literature for white lead (Kohut, Arukh, 4 (1926), 82).

ANTIMONY OR STIBIUM. Antimony or stibium, called *koḥal*, was used in the form of a powder for painting the eyelids (verb *kaḥol*). From the word *koḥal* the modern Hebrew word for blue (*kaḥol*) is derived. Both the noun and the verb are used in many talmudic passages (e.g., Shab. 8:3; 10:6, 80a; Ket. 17a). A species of hyssop is called *ezov koḥalit* (Neg. 14:6 and elsewhere), probably after a district (Kid. 66a) in Transjordan (see Jastrow, Dict., s.v.), which may, in turn, have derived its name from the metal; cf. the "hyssop of brass" in *Parah* 12:5, mentioned above.

ḤASHMAL. The mysterious *ḥashmal* (Ezek. 1:4; 8:2) is interpreted in *Ḥagigah* (13a–b) as fire-spouting dragons. Translators called it amber or galena (lead-ore), while in modern Hebrew it has become the word for electricity (cf. S. Munk (ed.), *Guide des égarés*, 2 (1961), 229 n. 4).

VALUE OF METALS. The relative value attached to metals can be seen from the pages concerning the Temple *menorah* (Men. 28b), where they are listed either in descending order – gold, silver, tin, lead – or ascending order – iron, tin, silver, gold. The relative value of metals depended on the currency situation, the coins made of less valuable metal being considered currency in relation to those of the more valuable one, which is then considered commodity but not currency (see BM 4:1; Mishnah lists gold, silver, and copper in descending order, whereas the same Mishnah in the Jerusalem Talmud (BM 4:1, 9c) puts silver before gold).

SYMBOLISM OF METALS. The symbolism of metals representing the Four Kingdoms in Daniel 2 and 3 is expanded in *Exodus Rabbah* (35:5), "Gold is Babylon; silver is Media; copper is Greece; iron is Edom (Rome); etc." A symbolic meaning is found by *Midrash Tadshe* 11 in the fact that of the two altars in the Tabernacle and Temple one was overlaid with gold (the soul) the other with copper (the body). On account of the Golden Calf, gold became a symbol of sin, and therefore a *shofar* mouthpiece was not to be overlaid with gold (RH 27a; cf. Maharil, *Hilkhot Rosh Ha-Shanah*), nor did the high priest officiate on the Day of Atonement in the Holy of Holies in his golden vestments but in white linen ones (*ibid.* 26a). At the same time, the gold plate on the incense altar of the Tabernacle and Temple was to atone for the sin of the Golden Calf (Yal., Ex. 368). Iron is also a metaphor for strength of character, and a scholar who is not as hard as iron is no scholar (Ta'an. 4a; cf. Men. 95b concerning Rav Sheshet). Similarly the Evil Inclination may be as hard as iron, but the Torah, which is likened to an (iron) hammer (Jer. 23:29), will smash it (Suk. 52b; see Tos. ad loc.). Some students may find their studies as hard as iron (Ta'an. 8a), but two scholars studying together sharpen each other's mind as one piece of iron sharpens the other (*ibid.* 7a). As wine cannot be preserved in golden or silver vessels but only in the humblest of vessels (earthen ones), so the words of the Torah will not be preserved in one who is in his own eyes like a gold or silver vessel but only in one, who is like the lowliest of vessels (Sif. Deut. 48).

Jews as Metalworkers and Miners

A study of the part played by Jews in the mining and metal industries proves that there has been too great a tendency to minimize their participation in the promotion and development of these branches. It is true that the objective restrictions which kept the Jews off the land and prevented their ownership of it, especially in medieval society, contributed in no small measure to limiting their opportunities of exploiting natural resources in general and various metals in particular. Yet despite all this the Jews succeeded, at different times and in various countries, in penetrating several branches connected with the mining of metals, their contribution to the advance of the industry being at times of great significance.

PRE-MODERN PERIOD. Very little information on the exploitation of the earth's resources has come down to us from the mishnaic and talmudic periods. Until the end of the fourth century there were copper mines at Punon, at the south of the Dead Sea, and *Jerome (340?–420) testifies that mining was discontinued there during his lifetime. The literature of these periods frequently mentions coal and copper refiners; it may be assumed that the "refiner" mentioned in the Mishnah (Ket. 7:10) is merely a copper smelter. As mentioned, the separation of Jews from the land in the Middle Ages had implications for the mining industry. In those times mining was frequently connected with agricultural labor, and thus in Germany, for instance, there were farmers who were engaged in extracting iron ore in their free time. It is therefore evident that since the Jews were cut off from agriculture their opportunities for extracting metals were limited. Added to this, in Christian Europe minerals were considered crown property, so that private ownership of mines was impossible. Yet in spite of all these restrictions Jews were to be found in various branches of the mining industry, as lessees and managers, traders in metals, and even miners. As for precious metals, there can be no doubt that their employment as minters of coins, especially in absolutist Europe at the time when *Court Jews flourished, brought them into direct contact with gold and silver mining (see *Mintmasters and Moneyers). A similar state of affairs prevailed with regard to the extraction of precious stones (see *Diamond Industry and Trade), since the Jews were prominent in the international trade in luxury goods and in purveying them to royal courts, at least from the days of the Carolingian kingdom up to the time of the absolutist states in modern Europe. In such countries as Spain and Poland, where Jews played an outstanding part as colonizers, they were prominent as lessees of salt mines (see *Salt Production).

There were also Jews in different countries throughout the Middle Ages who were engaged in extracting both heavy and light metals of various kinds. In England, for instance, Jews had worked in tin mining in Cornwall in 1198. Joachim *Gaunse appeared in 1581 and suggested to the English government new methods for processing copper. When it became known that he was a Jew from Prague, he was arrested by the authorities and his fate is unknown. In Sicily, there was a long tradition of Jewish activity in the mines from the times of the emperor Tiberius, who sent 4,000 Jewish youths as slaves to the mines. Jews were commonly engaged there not only in the manufacture of metalware but also in mining silver and iron. In spite of the opposition of the local authorities, a royal decree of 1327 ordered Sicilian officials to support Jewish mine prospectors and miners. At the beginning of the 15th century two Jews of *Alghero received special authorization to exploit the resources of the region, on condition that half the output be handed over to the crown. Attempts by Jews to extract metals in Germany are also known: in 1625 Duke Frederick Ulrich of Brunswick asked the theologians of the University of Helmstedt if he might be allowed to hand over the lead trade to two Jews and authorize them to move freely through his state for that purpose. After the members of the faculty had agreed, these Jews mined lead from the Harz Mountains.

MODERN PERIOD. In modern times the part played by Jews in the mining and metal industries of Germany reached considerable dimensions. After Aron Hirsch (1783–1842) had established a firm for buying and selling copper in 1805, Halberstadt became the cradle of the modern German nonferrous metal trade. In 1820 he became a partner in founding copper enterprises in Werne and Ilsenburg. When his son Joseph (1809–1871) joined the business, its name was changed to Aron Hirsch and Son. In 1863 they acquired the copper works of Heegermuehle, near Eberswalde. A branch was established in New York in 1894 and the firm began to take an interest in the metal enterprises of France, Belgium, and England and the mines of Australia, America, and Eastern Asia. At the close of the 19th century Aaron Siegmund Hirsch initiated the establishment of the zinc enterprises of *Vladivostok. The firm of Hirsch Kupferund Messingwerke A.G. was founded in 1906; World War I and the economic crisis of 1929–32 caused it to be liquidated in 1932. Dr. Emil Hirsch (1870–1938) then founded a new enterprise in Berlin, the Erze und Metalle Hirsch A.G., with a branch in Amsterdam, but the firm was liquidated when the Nazis came to power. Philipp Abraham Cohen, a descendant of the Hanover banking family, transferred the family business to Frankfurt in 1821. In Hanover they had been connected with the mining enterprises in the Harz Mountains. Philipp Abraham Cohen's son-in-law established the metal-trading firm of Henry R. Merton and Co. in London. In the meantime the Frankfurt firm extended its scope and traded in American copper and tin from the Dutch Indies. This enterprise was also involved in the nickel and aluminum trades, and until 1873, when the Deutsche Gold und Silber-Scheideanstalt was established, in the silver trade too. In 1881 the branches in England and Frankfurt established the Metallgesellschaft, Frankfurt on the Main, which became the leading German firm in the metal trade. Among other enterprises, they established the Usine de Désargentation (de-silverizing plant) in Hoboken, near Antwerp. In 1896, together with the firms of Hirsch and Beer, and Sondheimer and Co., they undertook zinc and lead mining. The Metallurgische Gesellschaft (Lurgi) was established in 1897; together with the Metallgesellschaft, it founded the Berg und Metallbank A.G. in 1906. Once the firm had successfully overcome the post-World War I crisis, branches were established in Amsterdam, Basle, Brussels, Copenhagen, Madrid, Milan, Prague, Stockholm, and Vienna. It was liquidated as a Jewish firm when Hitler came to power.

The Jews of Russia, too, had considerable achievements to their credit in the mining of certain metals and in associated industries. In 1807 there were 253 Jewish copper and tin workers in Minsk, Kiev, and Yekaterinoslav, that is, 6.8% of the Jewish craftsmen in these towns. ICA (*Jewish Colonization Association) statistics of 1897 reveal that there were then 15,669 Jewish smiths and 11,801 Jewish craftsmen in the various branches of the metal industry. The Jews were also well represented in the development of the industry: in Moscow four metal factories were established by Jews between 1869 and 1878, and a further two factories in the Moscow area between 1878 and 1880. Of the 96 large iron and tin plants in Odessa in 1910, 88 belonged to Jews. The laws of 1882 and 1887 excluded the Jews from the mines, but in spite of this they played a considerable role in the gold mines. Descendants of exiles and Jewish settlers in Siberia were among the pioneers of gold mining there. The director of the largest gold-mining enterprise in Russia in 1913, Lena Goldfields Co., was Baron Alfred Guenzburg; Jews were represented in the Gold Mining Co., and also in the platinum mines: of the five directors of the A.G. Platinum enterprise in 1912, two were Jews.

In the U.S. there were several prominent Jewish firms engaged in copper extraction. In 1813 Harmon *Hendricks established in Belleville, New Jersey, the Soho Copper Rolling Mills, later known as the Belleville Copper Mills. His descendants were prominent in the metal trade. In 1891 Meyer *Guggenheim (1828–1905), formerly a peddler and dry-goods merchant, acquired copper mines and then established an enterprise in Aguas Calientes, Mexico. Together with his sons he founded the mining company of M. Guggenheim's Sons. In 1901 they merged with the American Smelting and Refining Co. and the Guggenheim sons directed the enterprise. The firm initiated the acquisition and development of a copper mine in Alaska, developed copper mines in Mexico, and even extended its activities to Australia, Canada, and Africa.

Coal, which had been practically unknown in medieval Europe, was introduced into various branches of industry in England at the beginning of the 17th century because of the rise in the price of firewood. The Industrial Revolution increased the importance of coal, which came into use in the other countries of Europe during the 18th and the beginning of the 19th centuries. In Eastern and Central Europe the Jews were pioneers in developing coal mines. In Poland, prospecting by Solomon Isaac of *Bytom led to the establishment of two large coal mining enterprises in 1790: the Krol mine near Chorzow and the Królowa Ludwika mine near Zabrze, which were worked for about 50 years. Between 1874 and 1879 many Jews studied at the mining school of Tarnowskie Gory; they were later employed as miners and engineers in Upper Silesia. Jews participated in the wholesale coal and iron trade until World War II. The large coal concern of *Katowice was a development of the important coal firm of Emmanuel Friedlander and Co. Their activity in the coal mines led them to develop an interest in mining other metals and brought them into various branches of the metal industry. In 1805 there were three copper foundries in Podolia employing 42 Jewish workers; in Warsaw a Jewish iron factory, which employed 200 Jewish workers, was established in 1848. Until 1938, when the cartel organizations introduced their policy of ousting all factories not connected with international concerns, the iron foundry of Cracow belonged to Jews. In the wholesale iron trade, the old-established Warsaw firms of Priwess, and Freilach and Carmel were prominent; both prospered between the two world wars. According to the census of 1931, 1,462 Jews were employed in the mines (including 853 miners), 33,318 Jews were employed in metal foundries and in the metal and machinery industries (9,185 manual workers), and 4,209 Jews in the minerals industry (1,440 manual workers). The great majority of the Jews employed in the metal branch (73.9%) were craftsmen.

The Jews of Germany, too, were active in the coal industry in that country; many of them entered it via the coal trade or real estate business. Fritz Friedlaender-Fuld (1858–1917), an apostate, extracted coal in the Rybnik region. Eduard Arnhold (1849–1925), who had been director of the Caesar Wollheim coal firm, supervised a considerable part of the mining industry of Upper Silesia. Paul Silberberg succeeded his father as director of a lignite mine (Fortuna) in 1903.

In various parts of Czechoslovakia the Jews were the first to extract coal. The first person to exploit the coal mines of Ostrava-Karvina (Moravia), in 1840, was David Gutmann of Lipnik nad Becvu (see Wilhelm von *Gutmann). After obtaining the support of the Rothschild family, who owned iron works in Vitkovice, they established joint iron and mining enterprises there. At the beginning of the 20th century some of the coal mines of Kladno were owned by Jews, among them Leopold Sachs. The *Petschek family was active in the development of the lignite coal mines, particularly in northern Bohemia. Their competitor and former employer was Jakob *Weinmann.

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In South Africa Jews were among the pioneers in the exploitation of South Africa's mineral resources. They were early in the field when industrial development started during the second half of the 19th century, and they remained prominent in the opening up of the country's coal, diamond, gold, and base metal mines. Jews like Barney *Barnato, the *Joel brothers, Lionel *Phillips, the *Beit brothers, and the *Albu brothers were among the prospectors, explorers, diggers, and financiers who flocked to the diamond fields at Kimberley in the 1870s. Sammy *Marks began coal mining on a large scale in the Transvaal and laid the foundations of the steelworks at Vereeniging. When the industrial focus moved to Johannesburg with the discovery of gold there in 1886, the Kimberley Jews played a foremost role in the creation of the great mining groups which developed the Witwatersrand. Here Sir Ernest *Oppenheimer created the powerful Anglo-American Corporation, headed the De Beers group, and stabilized the diamond market through the Diamond Corporation. Oppenheimer also pioneered the copper industry in Northern Rhodesia (now Zambia) and after World War II led the development of the new goldfields in the Orange Free State and in the Eastern Transvaal. During this period A.S. Hersov and S.G. Menell created the Anglo-Vaal mining and industrial group. Jewish financiers also promoted the exploitation of platinum, manganese, and asbestos deposits.

As for the oil industry (see *Petroleum), which was first developed in the second half of the 19th century, not only did the Jews participate in it (especially in Central and Eastern Europe) but Jewish industrialists were among the first to engage in the commercial exploitation of petroleum products.

From the above it is clear that the notion that Jews succeeded in forming part of the metal industry in the Diaspora only in secondary branches, close to the consumer, ignores the specific part they played in developing the primary branches. Even if this part was not quantitatively significant, there is no doubt that it was qualitatively important. It would appear that in those times and countries in which Jews were able to enter these branches of industry they engaged in them with great success.

Jewish Craftsmen in the Metal Trades. Many successive generations of Jews were engaged in various crafts connected with the metal industries. This continuity of occupation could be preserved chiefly in Muslim countries, where the Jews were enabled to conduct a more varied economic life than in Christian Europe. This was also true of such countries as Spain and Sicily which, although conquered by the Christians, still preserved modes of life from the days of Muslim domination. Jews were especially noted for arms manufacture. Jewish armorers are mentioned in the Mishnah (Av. Zar. 1:6), and Josephus describes the preparation of arms during the Jewish War (see, e.g., Jos., Wars, 3:22). *Dio Cassius, the historian of the second to third centuries C.E., relates that before the *Bar Kokhba War Jewish smiths deliberately manufactured defective weapons so that they would be rejected by the Romans and could later be used by Bar Kokhba's soldiers. From this account it can also be deduced that the Romans conscripted Jewish craftsmen to manufacture their arms. When *Muhammad gained control of *Medina, in southern Arabia, many of the weapons he obtained for his army were manufactured by local Jewish artisans. The "coats of mail of David" (probably named after a Jewish smith) were then famous in Arabia. The Jews of Portugal, too, excelled in this craft; their expulsion in 1496 brought a considerable number of them to Turkey, where they made a significant contribution to strengthening the military might of the Ottoman Empire.

The agent of the king of France in Constantinople during the first half of the 16th century tells of the numerous Marranos who revealed to the Turks the secrets of manufacturing cannons, guns, warships, and war machines. Obadiah of *Bertinoro found many Jewish copper and ironsmiths in *Palermo in 1487. When an expulsion decree was issued against the Jews of Sicily, in the wake of the expulsion from Spain, the local authorities complained that tremendous loss would result "because almost all the craftsmen" in Sicily were Jews; their expulsion would deprive the Christians of "workers who manufacture metal utensils, arms, and ironware." A similar complaint was heard in Portugal as a result of the expulsion order of 1496.

Many Jewish craftsmen and artisans were engaged in the metal industry in Christian Spain. In 1365 three Jewish smithies are mentioned in Toledo, and there were also Jewish workshops in Avila, Valladolid, Valdeolivas near Cuenca, and Talavera de la Reina; a Jewish tinsmith, Solomon (Çuleman) b. Abraham Toledano of Avila, is mentioned in a document of 1375; at the close of the 14th century Jewish smiths were called upon to repair the copper fountain of Burgos. Before 1391 many Jewish smiths, engravers, and goldsmiths lived in Barcelona. From a Saragossa register of 1401 we learn that there were many Jewish engravers and artisans in copper and iron. The local engraver's synagogue was used for the meetings of the community administration.

Jewish metalworkers continued to pursue their crafts along traditional medieval lines in various Muslim lands, where manual occupations were often despised and therefore pursued by religious minorities, particularly Jews. The report of the French consul on the condition of the Jews in Morocco at the close of the 18th century speaks of Jewish armorers there. The traveler *Benjamin II relates that Jews were employed in the iron industry in Libya in the middle of the 19th century. There are also reports on Jewish smiths who manufactured horseshoes there at the beginning of the 20th century. R. Ḥayyim *Habshush, who guided the researchers Joseph *Halevy and Eduard *Glaser in their search for ancient manuscripts in Yemen during the second half of the 19th century, was a coppersmith. Visiting that country in the late 1850s, R. Jacob *Saphir found many Jewish smiths. Yom Tov Ẓemaḥ reports that in 1910 the three remaining Jewish smiths of San'a were compelled to move to the provincial towns because of unemployment.

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METAPHYSICS, the philosophic discipline that deals with ontology and cosmology. The Jews through the end of the medieval period did little original work in metaphysics, drawing mainly on other, primarily secular, authorities. The major systems employed were *Platonism, *Kalam, *Neoplatonism, and *Aristotelianism, which appear in Jewish works largely in mixed form, containing elements borrowed from one another as well as from other philosophies, such as *Stoicism.

Moreover, the Kalam only constitutes a metaphysics in the broadest sense. While there was no one period in which any one of these metaphysical systems was exclusively subscribed to by the Jews, the periods of dominance for each were: Platonism, the first centuries before and after the Common Era; Kalam, the tenth century; Neoplatonism, the 11th and 12th centuries; and Aristotelianism, the 12th century through the end of medieval times. The foremost representatives respectively among the Jews employing these systems were *Philo, *Saadiah, Solomon ibn *Gabirol, and *Maimonides. The Jewish philosophers were primarily interested in meeting the challenges that various metaphysics presented to their Judaism and their understanding of revelation. Metaphysics, pursued scientifically through reason, produced ostensibly different conclusions about God, the universe, and salvation from those conveyed by the literal meaning of Scriptures. The religious thinker who valued human reason and did not wish to repudiate what was considered its profoundest activity met the challenge by reconciling and synthesizing metaphysics with Scripture. This was usually accomplished by partially limiting the validity of metaphysics, and partially by interpreting the literal meaning of Scriptures. Philo, in his great works of metaphysical and scriptural synthesis, formulated the basic methods for reconciling reason and revelation, which were employed throughout medieval philosophy not only by the Jews, but by the Muslims and Christians as well. It may be noted that not all Jews acquainted with metaphysics found its claims to truth convincing. Thinkers such as *Judah Halevi and Ḥasdai *Crescas met the challenge of metaphysics, not by reconciliation, but with trenchant critiques of its conclusions. As the validity of metaphysical knowledge in post-Cartesian thought came increasingly under attack from within philosophy itself, which concentrated primarily on the problems of epistemology, there existed little need for Jewish thinkers to meet speculative claims in the grand medieval style. However, in modern thought new challenges arose from rationalism and idealism, the scientific and empirical philosophies, and from existentialism which required the continued involvement of Jewish thinkers in philosophic thought.

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[Alvin J. Reines]

METATRON (**Matatron**), angel accorded a special position in esoteric doctrine from the tannaitic period on. The angelology of *apocalyptic literature mentions a group of angels who behold the face of their king and are called "Princes of the Countenance" (Ethiopic *Book of Enoch*, ch. 40, et al.). Once Metatron's personality takes a more definitive form in the literature, he is referred to simply as "the Prince of the Countenance."

In the Babylonian Talmud Metatron is mentioned in three places only (Ḥag. 15a; Sanh. 38b; and Av. Zar. 3b). The first two references are important because of their connection with the polemics conducted against heretics. In *Ḥagigah* it is said that the *tanna* *Elisha b. Avuyah saw Metatron seated and said, "perhaps there are two powers," as though indicating Metatron himself as a second deity. The Talmud explains that Metatron was given permission to be seated only because he was the heavenly scribe recording the good deeds of Israel. Apart from this, the Talmud states, it was proved to Elisha that Metatron could not be a second deity by the fact that Metatron received 60 blows with fiery rods to demonstrate that Metatron was not a god, but an angel, and could be punished. This imagery recurs frequently in different contexts in Gnostic literature and is associated with various figures of the heavenly realm. It is however thought that the appearance of Metatron to Elisha b. Avuyah led him to a belief in *dualism.

The story in tractate *Sanhedrin* also confers on Metatron a supernatural status. He is the angel of the Lord mentioned in Exodus 23:21 of whom it is said "… and hearken unto his voice; be not rebellious against him… for My name is in him." When one of the heretics asked R. *Idi why it is written in Exodus 24:1 "And unto Moses He said 'Come up unto the Lord,'" instead of "Come up unto Me," the *amora* answered that the verse refers to Metatron "whose name is like that of his Master." When the heretic argued that, if that were so, Metatron should be worshiped as a deity, R. Idi explained that the verse "be not rebellious against (תמר) him" should be understood to mean "do not exchange (תמירני) Me for him." R. Idi added that Metatron was not to be accepted in this sense even in his capacity as the heavenly messenger. Underlying these disputations is the fear that speculations about Metatron might lead to dangerous ground. The Karaite *Kirkisānī read in his text of the Talmud an even more extreme version: "This is Metatron, who is the lesser YHWH." It is quite probable that this version was purposely rejected in the manuscripts.

The epithet "lesser YHWH" is undoubtedly puzzling, and it is hardly surprising that the Karaites found ample grounds for attacking the Rabbanites over its frequent appearance in the literature they had inherited. The Karaites viewed it as a sign of heresy and deviation from monotheism. The use of such an epithet was almost certainly current before the figure of Metatron crystallized. The explanations given in the latter phases of the *Heikhalot* literature (Hebrew *Book of Enoch*, ch. 12) are far from satisfactory, and it is obvious that they are an attempt to clarify an earlier tradition, then no longer properly understood. This tradition was connected with the angel Jahoel, mentioned in the *Apocalypse of Abraham* (dating from the beginning of the second century), where it is stated (ch. 10) that the Divine Name (Tetragrammaton) of the deity is to be found in him. All the attributes relating to Jahoel here were afterward transferred to Metatron. Of Jahoel it is indeed appropriate to say, without contrived explanations, that his name is like that of his Master: the name Jahoel contains the letters of the Divine Name, and this therefore signifies that Jahoel possesses a power exceeding that of all other similar beings. Apparently, the designation "the lesser YHWH" (יהוה הקטן) or "the lesser Lord" (אדני הקטן) was first applied to Jahoel. Even before Jahoel was identified with Metatron, designations such as "the greater Jaho" or "the lesser Jaho" passed into Gnostic use and are mentioned in various contexts in Gnostic, Coptic, and also in Mandean literature, none of which mentions Metatron. The name *Yorba* (יורבא) in Mandean in fact means "the greater Jaho" but he has there been given an inferior status as is characteristic of this literature in its treatment of Jewish traditional concepts.

Two different traditions have been combined in the figure of Metatron. One relates to a heavenly angel who was created with the creation of the world, or even before, and makes him responsible for performing the most exalted tasks in the heavenly kingdom. This tradition continued to apply after Jahoel was identified with Metatron. According to this tradition, the new figure took over many of the specific duties of the angel *Michael, an idea retained in certain sections of the *Heikhalot* literature up to and including the Kabbalah. The primordial Metatron is referred to as Metatron Rabba.

A different tradition associates Metatron with Enoch, who "walked with God" (Gen. 5:22) and who ascended to heaven and was changed from a human being into an angel – in addition he also became the great scribe who recorded men's deeds. This role was also already delegated to Enoch in the Book of Jubilees (4:23). His transmutation and ascent to heaven were discussed by the circles who followed this tradition and elaborated it. The association with Enoch can be seen particularly in the *Book of Heikhalot*, sometimes also called the *Book of Enoch*, of R. Ishmael Kohen ha-Gadol, or the Hebrew *Book of Enoch* (H. Odeberg's edition (see bibl.) includes an English translation and a detailed introduction). The author links the two traditions and attempts to reconcile them. But it is clear that chapters 9–13 allude to the primordial Metatron, as Odeberg points out.

The absence of the second tradition in the Talmud or the most important Midrashim is evidently connected with the reluctance of the talmudists to regard Enoch in a favorable light in general, and in particular the story of his ascent to heaven, a reluctance still given prominence in the Midrash *Genesis Rabbah*. The Palestinian Targum (Gen. 5:24) and other Midrashim have retained allusions to Metatron in this tradition. Instead of his role of heavenly scribe, he sometimes appears as the heavenly advocate defending Israel in the celestial court. This transposition of his functions is very characteristic (Lam. R. 24; Tanḥ. *Va-Etḥannen*; Num. R. 12, 15). A number of sayings of the sages, in particular in *Sifrei, Parashah Ha'azinu*, 338, and Gen. R. 5:2, were explained by medieval commentators as referring to Metatron on the grounds of a corrupt reading of Metraton instead of *metator* ("guide").

In certain places in Merkabah literature, Metatron completely disappears and is mentioned only in the addenda that do not form part of the original exposition, such as in *Heikhalot Rabbati*. The descriptions of the heavenly hierarchy in *Massekhet Heikhalot* and Sefer ha-*Razim also make no mention of Metatron. On the other hand, Metatron is a conspicuous figure in the *Book of the Visions of Ezekiel* (fourth century) although he is mentioned without any reference to the Enoch tradition. This source mentions a number of the other secret names of Metatron, lists of which later appear in special commentaries or were added to the Hebrew *Book of Enoch* (ch. 48). Explanations of these names in accordance with ḥasidic tradition are given in the *Sefer Beit Din* of Abraham Ḥamoy (1858), 196ff., and in another version in the *Sefer ha-Ḥeshek* (1865). According to the traditions of certain Merkabah mystics, Metatron takes the place of Michael as the high priest who serves in the heavenly Temple, as emphasized particularly in the second part of *Shi'ur Komah (*Sefer Merkavah Shelemah* (1921), 39ff.).

One can, thus, detect different aspects of Metatron's functions. In one place he is described as serving before the heavenly throne and ministering to its needs, while in another he appears as the servitor (*na'ar*, "youth") in his own special tabernacle or in the heavenly Temple. In the tannaitic period, the duty of the "prince of the world" formerly held by Michael was transferred to him (Yev. 16b). This conception of Metatron's role as the prince of the world since its creation contradicts the concept of Metatron as Enoch who was taken up to heaven only after the creation of the world.

It is already observed in *Shi'ur Komah* that the name Metatron has two forms, "written with six letters and with seven letters," i.e., מטטרון and מיטטרון. The original reason for this distinction is not known. In the early manuscripts the name is almost always written with the letter *yod*. The kabbalists regarded the different forms as signifying two prototypes for Metatron. They again distinguished between the various components that had been combined in the Hebrew *Book of Enoch* in their possession. They identified the seven-lettered Metatron with the Supreme emanation from the *Shekhinah*, dwelling since then in the heavenly world, while the six-lettered Metatron was Enoch, who ascended later to heaven and possesses only some of the splendor and power of the primordial Metatron. This distinction already underlies the explanation given by R. *Asher b. David to *Berakhot* (see G. Scholem, *Reshit ha-Kabbalah* (1948), 74–77; and idem, *Les Origines de la Kabbale* (1966), 225–31).

The origin of the name Metatron is obscure, and it is doubtful whether an etymological explanation can be given. It is possible that the name was intended to be a secret and has no real meaning, perhaps stemming from subconscious meditations, or as a result of glossolalia. To support the latter supposition are a number of similar examples of names with the suffix – on: *Sandalfon (סנדלפון), Adiriron (אדירירון), etc., while the doubling of the letter *t* (טט) is characteristic of names found in the Merkabah literature, e.g., in an addition to *Heikhalot Rabbati*, 26:8. Among numerous etymological derivations given (see Odeberg, 125–42) three should be mentioned: from *matara* (מטרא), keeper of the watch; from *metator* (מיטטור), a guide or messenger (mentioned in *Sefer he-Arukh* and the writings of many kabbalists); from the combination of the two Greek words *meta* and *thronos*, such as *metathronios* (μεταθρόνιος), in the sense of "one who serves behind the throne." However, the duty to serve the heavenly throne was associated with Metatron only at a later stage and does not agree with the earlier traditions. It is highly doubtful whether the "angel of the Countenance" entering "to exalt and arrange the throne in a befitting manner" mentioned in *Heikhalot Rabbati* (ch. 12) can in fact be Metatron, who is not mentioned at all in this context. The Greek word *thronos* does not appear in talmudic literature. The origin of the word, therefore, remains unknown.

In contrast to the lengthy description of Metatron found in the Hebrew *Book of Enoch*, in later literature the material relating to him is scattered, while there is hardly a duty in the heavenly realm and within the dominion of one angel among the other angels that is not associated with Metatron. This applies particularly to kabbalistic literature (Odeberg, 111–25). Extensive material from the Zohar and kabbalistic literature has been collected by R. Margalioth in his work *Malakhei Elyon* (1945, 73–108). In books dealing with practical Kabbalah there are no incantations of Metatron, although his name is frequently mentioned in other incantations.

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[Gershom Scholem]

METCHNIKOFF, ELIE (1845–1916), Russian biologist, born at Ivanovka, near Kharkov. Metchnikoff's father was an officer of the Imperial Guard; his mother was Jewish (her family name was Neakovich). After graduating from the University of Kharkov he went to Germany for further training in biology. A succession of important discoveries in embryology earned Metchnikoff a reputation for originality and acuteness of observation, and in 1870 he was appointed professor extraordinarius at the University of Odessa.

The political upheavals and persecution of the Jews that followed the assassination of Czar Alexander II led Metchnikoff to leave Odessa in 1882. He went to Messina, a place especially favorable for the study of marine organisms. Here, during the course of studies on jellyfish and sponges, he began to turn his attention to the remarkable behavior of certain amoeba-like cells that ingest and destroy foreign particles in the body. Metchnikoff developed the theory that these cells, which he named "phagocytes," served to engulf and digest bacterial invaders of the organism. He set forth this thesis in an essay "The Struggle of the Organism Against Microbes" (1884).

In 1888 Pasteur invited him to Paris and gave him a laboratory at the Ecole Normale. When the Pasteur Institute was established, Metchnikoff became its subdirector. To this laboratory Metchnikoff attracted large numbers of investigators, whose research established the validity of the phagocytosis theory.

Metchnikoff later became interested in the problems of biological aging. In *Etudes sur la nature humaine* (1903; *The Nature of Man*, 1904) he advanced the idea that senile changes result from toxins produced by bacteria in the intestine. To prevent these "unhealthy fermentations," Metchnikoff advocated the inclusion of sour milk in the diet. In 1908 Metchnikoff shared the Nobel Prize for medicine with Ehrlich for his work on immunity.

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[Mordecai L. Gabriel]

METHUSELAH (Heb. מְתוּשֶׁלַח), patriarch of mankind, son of *Enoch, father of *Lamech, and grandfather of *Noah (Gen. 5:21–25). The name has been variously explained as meaning "man of the weapon" or "man [worshiper] of [the deity] Salah." Methuselah in the genealogy of Seth (Gen. 5:2–21, P) is the counterpart of Methusael in that of Cain (4:18, J). The parallel is even more exact in the Septuagint which transcribes "Methuselah" in both instances. Methuselah according to the Bible lived 969 years, longer than any of the pre-Abrahamic fathers of the human race. Babylonian tradition attributes exaggerated longevity – tens of thousands of years – to its heroes. U. Cassuto believes that the Bible wishes to negate the fantastic figures which attribute to kings a longevity that is unnatural to human beings and that makes them godlike. Not even Methuselah attained the age of 1,000 years, a single day of the Almighty (Ps. 90:4). If the biblical story be compared with the prevailing Babylonian tradition, the many years of Methuselah seem a modest, even a short life-span. The Bible diminished the exaggerated ages attributed to people in the Ancient Near East, but still preserved the tradition of assigning extraordinary longevity to great men.

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METMAN-COHEN, YEHUDAH LEIB (1869–1939), educator in Ereẓ Israel. Born in Ostiya, a village in Ukraine, Metman-Cohen was ordained as a rabbi. He joined *Benei Moshe, and in 1904 settled in Ereẓ Israel, where he became headmaster of the school in *Rishon le-Zion. In 1906, he founded the first Hebrew high school in Jaffa, the Herzlia Gymnasium with 17 pupils and four teachers, and directed it until 1912; he was its headmaster again during World War I. Metman-Cohen was one of the founders of Tel Aviv (1909) and one of the initiators of Ir Gannim (1913), which eventually became *Ramat Gan. His publications included textbooks on the teaching of technical subjects in Hebrew and works on Hebrew language.

His wife, FANIA (1874–?), was one of the first teachers at the Hebrew high school in Jaffa and was active in the Women's Federation for Equal Rights.

[Abraham Aharoni]

°METTERNICH, PRINCE KLEMENS WENZEL VON (1773–1859), Austrian statesman. A supporter of Jewish rights in the German Confederation and abroad – although in Austria itself he did little for the Jews – at the Congress of Vienna he consistently supported the liberal policy of Karl August von *Hardenberg and Wilhelm *Humboldt (see Congress of *Vienna). He repeatedly warned the senate of *Frankfurt on the Main not to infringe upon the rights of its Jewish community and sent letters of protest to *Hamburg, *Luebeck, and *Bremen when they deprived their Jewish citizens of their civil rights. During the 1819 *Hep! Hep! riots he cautioned the Frankfurt authorities against letting matters get out of control. Metternich ordered his diplomatic agents to reveal France's complicity in the 1840 Damascus *blood libel affair. A frequenter of the sophisticated Jewish salons of Vienna, he associated, for business and pleasure, with the patrician Jewish banking families to such a degree that the *Rothschilds were suspected of aiding his escape from revolutionary *Vienna in 1848. His right-hand man, Friedrich von Gentz, was also sympathetic to Jewish causes.

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METULLAH (**Metulah**; Heb. מְטוּלָה, מְטֻלָּה), northernmost Israel village (moshavah). It stands on the Israel-Lebanese border, on the hill chain connecting the Naphtali Ridge with the *Hermon Massif and separating the *Ḥuleh Valley from the Iyyon Valley in Lebanon. Metullah was founded in 1896, on Baron Edmond de *Rothschild's initiative, by young settlers specially chosen for their ability to defend the isolated site. The name Metullah is derived from the Arabic.

Metullah progressed slowly until the 1950s, when water and electricity were supplied to the village, and new immigrants settled there. The village's economy was based on deciduous fruit orchards, vineyards, field crops, and cattle, but it also served as a summer resort. From 1977 until the Israeli withdrawal from Lebanon in 2000, the moshavah served as a transit point for Christian Lebanese citizens working in northern Israel. The population at the end of 1969 numbered 350, rising to 950 in the mid-1990s and 1,480 in 2002, with a new neighborhood constructed to accommodate newcomers. The settlement has municipal council status and an area of 0.8 sq. mi. (2 sq. km.). Income still derives mainly from the orchards (apples, pears, apricots, cherries, plums, and nectarines) and tourism, featuring a big sports center with an ice-skating rink.

WEBSITE: www.metulla.muni.il.

[Efraim Orni / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

METZ (Heb. מיץ), capital of the Moselle department, in the northeast of France. Even if Simon, bishop of Metz in 350, was really of Jewish origin (as a later source claims), it does not prove that Jews were present in the town during that period. However, their presence is confirmed from at least 888; a *Church Council held in Metz at that date forbade Christians to take meals in the company of Jews. There is a reference that predates the 11th century to a Jew called David perhaps renting a vineyard. It was in Metz that the series of anti-Jewish persecutions accompanying the First Crusade began, claiming 22 victims in the town in 1096. Foremost among the local scholars in the early Middle Ages was *Gershom b. Judah ("Light of the Exile"). Although he lived mainly in Mainz, he was born in Metz, as was his disciple Eliezer b. Samuel. Another local scholar was the tosafist David of Metz. The medieval Jewish community occupied its own separate quarter, the *Vicus Judaeorum*, whose memory is perpetuated in the street named "Jurue." In 1237, every Jew who passed through Metz was compelled to pay 30 deniers to the town, but was not permitted to remain there. In the 15th century successive bishops, whose residence had been transferred to Vic, tolerated the Jews under their jurisdiction and granted them privileges (1442). In Metz itself, however, the Jews were allowed to stay only three days.

After the French occupation (1552), the first three Jewish families were admitted to reside there as pawnbrokers (1565/67). They were soon followed by others, and in 1595, 120 persons established a community that Henry IV and his successors took under their protection. Thanks to the influx of Jews from the Rhine areas, the community increased to 480 families in 1718 and almost 3,000 persons in 1748. Assigned to the Rhimport quarter, it established a self-governing body with elected trustees. Community officials levied numerous taxes that grew more burdensome after the introduction of the Brancas tax (1715), which had originated as gifts given by the community mainly to the duke of Brancas. The debts of the community became enormous, reaching 500,000 livres at the time of the French Revolution. With the consent of the king, community leaders chose a chief rabbi who was often renowned for his erudition. Among the rabbis invited to lead the community were Jonah Teomin-Fraenkel of Prague (1660–69), Gabriel b. Judah Loew *Eskeles of Cracow (1694–1703), and Jonathan Eybeschuetz (1742–50) – chosen from abroad. The chief rabbi judged lawsuits between Jews but from the 18th century the parliament sought to assume this right. To this end, it ordered a compendium of Jewish customs to be deposited in its record office (1743).

From the beginning of the 17th century the community owned a cemetery, a synagogue, and a poorhouse. In 1689 free and compulsory elementary schooling was introduced, and in 1764 a Hebrew press began publishing. The Jews were restricted in their economic activities by legal disabilities, however. While an oligarchy developed that achieved great wealth, the masses remained mired in poverty. Hostility toward the Jews reached its peak at the time of the execution of Raphael *Lévy (1670) for alleged ritual murder. Nevertheless, before the Revolution the jurists Pierre Louis Lacretelle (1751–1824) and Pierre Louis *Roederer of Metz, future members of the National Assembly, called for granting Jews full rights. The latter organized the famous concourse of the academy of Metz on this subject Jewish emancipation (1785). In 1792 Marquis de Lafayette, who commanded the army at Metz, proclaimed the religious freedom of the Jews. The proclamation was later suspended during the Reign of Terror (1794). The *consistory created in Metz in 1808, which included Moselle and Ardennes, served 6,517 Jews. The yeshivah (Ecole Centrale Rabbinique), which became the Rabbinical Seminary of France in 1829, was transferred to Paris in 1859. The synagogue, which had been destroyed earlier, was rebuilt in 1850, as was the almshouse in 1867. After the German annexation of Alsace-Lorraine (1871) about 600 Jews immigrated to France. Immigrants soon arrived from other parts of Germany as well. After 1918, when the region reverted to France, there was a massive influx of immigrants from Eastern Europe and from the Saar region. The Jewish population of the city numbered about 2,000 in 1866; 1,407 in 1875; 1,900 in 1910; and 4,150 in 1931.

[Gilbert Cahen / David Weinberg (2nd ed.)]

Hebrew Printing

In 1764 Moses May set up a Hebrew printing press in Metz. In association with the royal printer Joseph Antoine, May published a Yiddish translation of Daniel Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe* (1764) and the first edition of Bezalel *Ashkenazi's *Asefat Zekenim* (*Shitah Mekubbeẓet*, to tractate *Beẓah*, 1765). These works were followed by a large number of rabbinic and liturgical works, including the outstanding rabbis of Metz, such as Aryeh Leib b. Asher's novellae *Turei Even* (1781). May's effort to publish a small-scale edition of various talmudic tractates from 1768 onward led to his financial ruin. His son-in-law and successor Godechau-Spire printed several volumes of "enlightened" literature in Hebrew, such as a volume of riddles by Moses Ensheim (1787). May and his successors were active until 1793. Other Hebrew printers in Metz were Ephraim Hadamar and Seligmann Wiedersheim and successors. The Wiedersheim press continued to publish until 1870, when the German annexation of Alsace-Lorraine led to its closure.

Holocaust Period and After

Under German occupation in World War II, Metz, like the rest of Moselle and Alsace, was made judenrein following the flight of the population and the particularly brutal expulsions carried out by German troops. About 1,500 Jews died after being deported, among them rabbis Bloch and Kahlenberg. German soldiers plundered and defiled the two synagogues and destroyed the workhouse. The great synagogue was used as a military warehouse. After the liberation, the reorganized Jewish community began a slow process of reconstruction. In 1970 Metz had about 3,500 Jews (including some 40 families recently arrived from North Africa) and a well-organized communal body. Metz was the seat of the consistory of Moselle, which comprised 24 communities with a total of about 5,500 Jews; the largest communities were Thionville with 450; Sarreguemines with 270; Sarrebourg with 180; and Forbach with 300. In Metz itself, in addition to the great synagogue (Ashkenazi rite) with a seating capacity of 700, there are four smaller places of worship, including one Polish and one Sephardi. The community also ran a Talmud Torah, a kindergarten with a kosher canteen, a workhouse, a mikveh, and a ḥevra kaddisha. In 1987, the Jewish population of Metz was estimated to be about 4,000.

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METZGER, ARNOLD (1892–?), German scholar and author. Metzger was born in Landau in the Palatinate and began his career at the Hochshule fuer die Wissenschaft des Judentums in Berlin, where he taught from 1934 to 1937. In the face of rising Nazism he escaped to England, and then spent time in the United States where he became associated with Simmons College, Boston. After the war he returned to Germany, accepting a professorship in philosophy at the University of Munich. Much of his writing treats those areas of philosophy that touch on psychology; his contributions center on the phenomenology of recollection, perception, and the longing for death. His early books include *Phaenomenologie und Metaphysik* (1933); better known are his works on free will and determinism, *Freiheit und Tod* (1955), on transcendentalism, *Daemonie und Transzendenz* (1964), and on the ramifications of technology for the human personality, *Automation und Autonomie* (1964). His later interests include existentialism, social philosophy, and the American pragmatic school in juxtaposition to the German metaphysical schools. In this connection he wrote "William James and the Crisis of Philosophy" (*In Commemoration of William James*, 1942).

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METZGER (Metzger-Lattermann), OTTILIE (1878–1943), contralto. Born in Frankfurt, Metzger was a student of Selma Nicklass-Kempner in Berlin and made her debut at Halle in 1898. She sang and was the leading contralto at the Hamburg Stadttheater (1903–14) and appeared in Wagner operas at Bayreuth, gaining a reputation as a singer of dramatic parts. Her great roles there where Erda and Waltraute in *Götterdaemmerung*. Between 1916 and 1921 she sang with the Dresden Staatsoper. She toured in Austria, England (at Covent Garden she made her debut in 1902, singing in Wagner's *Die Meistersinger*, *Siegfried*, and *Tristan*), and the United States (1914–15), and appeared with the German Opera Company at the Manhattan Opera House, New York, in 1922–23. She taught in Berlin until the Nazi rise to power, took refuge in Brussels, and was deported to Auschwitz in 1942, where she met her death.

ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY: Grove online.

MEUNITES (Heb. מְעוּנִים), an Arab tribe which lived on the border of the kingdom of Judah. Along with "the Philistines … and the Arabians that dwelt in Gur-Baal" (II Chron. 26:7), the Meunites paid a tax to *Uzziah king of Judah. At about the time of Hezekiah, the Meunites were attacked by the tribe of Simeon, which reached "to the entrance of Gedor, even unto the east side of the valley" (I Chron. 4:39–41). An inscription of the Assyrian king Tiglath-Pileser III indicates that at about this time (eighth century B.C.E.) the Meunites lived near the Egyptian border, which extended to the "Brook of Egypt" (Wadi el-Arish). There is no basis for J.A. Montgomery's identification of the Meunites of Chronicles with the Mineans, one of the south Arabian kingdoms whose economic activities and settlements reached as far as the oases in northern Arabia, or for A. Musil's location of them in the region of Ma'an in southern Transjordan. These theories are based upon references to the M(ε)ιναῖοι in the Septuagint and in works of the classical historiographers of the third century B.C.E. and later; the conditions reflected in these sources are later and do not conform to those of the eighth century B.C.E.

[Israel Eph'al]

MEVASSERET ZION (Heb. מְבַשֶּׂרֶת צִיּוֹן "Herald of Zion"), Israel urban settlement with municipal council status, 5 mi. (8 km.) W. of Jerusalem. The settlement's area extends over 2.2 sq. mi. (5.6 sq. km.). On a 2,600 ft. (799 m.) high hilltop the Romans erected a fortress, Castellum, to secure the road to Jerusalem. The Crusaders renewed it, calling it Castellum Belveer. This strategic spot became a small Arab village which preserved the ancient name (al-Qastal). During the Israel *War of Independence (1948), it changed hands in heavy battles, but finally (April 9) fell into Jewish hands. In 1951 the settlement Ma'oz Zion ("Stronghold of Zion") was established at the foot of Qastal Hill to house immigrants from Iraqi Kurdistan who worked in the nearby *Solel Boneh stone quarry, reactivated after the War of Independence. They developed fruit gardens and auxiliary farms. In 1956 a laborers' garden suburb, Mevasseret Yerushalayim, was established east of Ma'oz Zion, on a ridge close to the armistice lines of the time and north of *Moẓa. Its inhabitants found employment partly in the fruit orchards, in the Arazim Valley stretching south and east of Mevasseret Yerushalayim, and partly in Jerusalem. In 1963 Ma'oz Zion and Mevasseret Yerushalayim merged into one municipal unit, Mevasseret Zion, which in 1969 had 4,160 inhabitants. In the mid-1990s, the population was approximately 14,400, increasing to 20,800 in 2002. From 1978, 11 new neighborhoods were created there under the settlement's continual expansion. It attracts many Jerusalem residents, mainly secular, as an upscale location. It also has the largest immigrant absorption center in Israel, hosting 1,100 *olim*.

[Efraim Orni / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

MEVORAKH BEN SAADIAH (11th century), **nagid* and leader of the Jewish community in Egypt. Mevorakh was a descendant of a family of scholars and physicians, and was himself a distinguished scholar; therefore, he is referred to in letters as *Sanhedra Rabba* ("member of the Sanhedrin"). His fame as a physician was such as to gain him an appointment at the Egyptian royal court. He succeeded his brother Judah as *nagid* in about 1080. At that time *David b. Daniel b. Azariah arrived in Egypt to wrest the leadership from the heads of the Egyptian community. He instigated others to bring false accusations against Mevorakh and forced the latter's banishment from the Egyptian capital to Fayyum and later to Alexandria. After some time Mevorakh succeeded in proving his innocence, and was reinstated as court physician and *nagid*. His triumph over David b. Daniel was complete by 1094. He wielded much influence with al-Malik al-Afḍal, the *Fatimid regent, and remained in his position until the beginning of the 12th century.

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[Eliyahu Ashtor]

MEVORAKH HA-BAVLI (11th century), *paytan* and poet. Although his family was Babylonian, Mevorakh lived in Ereẓ Israel or its surroundings. In the Cairo **Genizah*, parts of his *divan* were found, including both religious and secular poems, some of which have been published by various scholars. He was one of the first poets in the Oriental countries supported by philanthropic contributions, and, in his poems, explicitly appeals for support, adding praise for those who furnish it. In one of his poems, he mentions the philanthropist Abraham b. Samuel, from whom he requested a "night shroud" (i.e., a sheet), and, in another, one of his friends, R. *Abiathar b. Elijah ha-Kohen, the author of *Megillat Evyatar*. An acrostic bearing the name of the recipient, Yasa (?) ha-Kohen, appears in still another poem.

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MEXICO, federal republic situated south of the United States of America with a population of 97,483,412 (2000) inhabitants and a Jewish community of about 40,000 (2000), most of whom live in Mexico City.

Colonial Period

The Jewish presence in Mexico began with the Spanish conquest led by Hernán Cortés in 1521. Many secret Jews and "Conversos" sought refuge in the newly conquered lands, and in this way a significant movement toward "La Nueva España" (New Spain – the name of Mexico in the colonial period) was initiated. There were two kinds of Conversos arriving in the "New World," first, the Crypto-Jews (also called disrespectfully "Marranos") who had been forced to convert and continued their traditions in secret and were looking for a better economic situation and a way to evade the persecution of the Inquisition's Tribunal. Many of those belonging to this group were accused before the Tribunal and their records were kept at the "Archivo General de la Nación" (Mexican National Archive), so that their history can be tracked. Also, there were those who were truly converted and integrated who hid their origin and their blood "impurity." The latter were the ones that most frequently gave away the Crypto-Jews and were incorporated to the Church structure; remarkable examples, among many others, were Fray Bartolomé de las Casas, Fray Alonso de la Veracruz, and Fray Bernardino de Sahagún.

Following the arrival of the Conversos in the New World, we can divide their history into three periods: from the discovery to the conquest (1492–1519); from 1519 until the establishment of the Inquisition Tribunal in New Spain in 1571; and from 1571 to 1810 during which the Tribunal functioned. The first stage was initially characterized by the abandonment of Spain, owing to the expulsion decree. Many Crypto-Jews and New Christians decided to sail with Columbus and other expeditions in order to discover new routes; they even financed these trips. Some remained in the newly discovered islands, while some returned and motivated others they knew into joining this adventure. Until 1502 the migratory restrictions were minimal. From then on, however, the Crown allowed access to the newly discovered lands only to the descendents of Christians who counted no converts among their ancestors or, in other terms, were "pure blooded" (*limpios de sangre*), meaning that the children of the Jews, the Moorish, the newly converted, and those processed by the Inquisition were not able to sail in official missions such as that of Nicolás de Ovando in 1502. Yet, beginning in 1511 restrictions became flexible owing to the need to populate the new lands with craftsmen, leading to an increase of the number of Conversos with a professional license as well as of businessmen. The commerce in false documents attesting to "pure blood" increased as well, allowing the sailing of a large number of Crypto-Jews heading toward the "Indias."

In the second period many Crypto-Jews participated with Hernán Cortés in the conquest of the mainland and in the defeat of the Aztec Empire situated in Tenochtitlan. We know about them because of the process against four of them that took place in 1528: two of the Morales brothers, Hernando Alonzo and Diego de Ocaña, were burnt at the stake and the other two received minor punishments. During this stage a significant arrival of Conversos took place, mainly from Madrid and Seville. They arrived as soldiers, conquerors, and colonizers. There is information that by 1536 there were in New Spain Crypto-Jewish communities in Tlaxcala and Mérida and there are files and records of the procedure against Francisco Millán, a bartender who sold Sabbath wine to the community and informed on a large amount of correligionists. Along with the development of the mining districts, the Crypto-Jews' settlements became diversified as well, such as in Taxco, Zacualpan, Zumpango del Rio, Espíritu Santo, and Tlalpujahua (1532), Los Reales del Monte in Pachuca, Atotonilco (1544), Zacatecas (1547), and Guanajuato (1554). By the end of the 16th century some small communities were known in Guadalajara, Puebla, Querétaro, Oaxaca, Veracruz, Michoacán, and elsewhere.

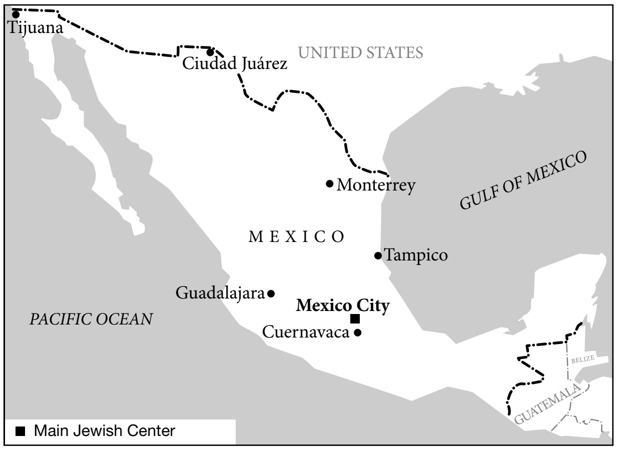

Main Jewish communities of Mexico in 2005.

The Conversos lived in specific neighborhoods and on certain streets; some dedicated themselves to the local trade, but they traded also with foreign countries, especially with Manila and the Philippines; these last ones ascended the social scale and married with "old" Christian Spaniards.

The third stage was initiated in 1571, a time by which the Crypto-Jewish communities were already consolidated. By the funding of the "Nuevo Reino de Leon," created in the northeast of Mexico by a New Christian called Luis de Carvajal y de la Cueva (who went by the nickname of "El Viejo" (The Elder)), and due to a concession of the Crown and as a reward to him for his pacifying the Chichimecas, a hundred Spanish families arrived there, most of them from a Crypto-Jewish origin.

During these years of economic progress, some Conversos from Portugal arrived; they were descendants of the Jews who had been expelled from Spain. Despite the fact that they had come to Mexico only ten years earlier, in 1589, one of their spiritual leaders, García González Bermejo, was discovered, judged, and condemned to death. In the same period there were some "autos-da-fé," capable of shocking the whole community of New Christians in Mexico. In 1590 a large number of Crypto-Jews were prosecuted, especially those coming from Portugal and Seville; among them were Hernando Rodríguez de Herrera and Tomás de Fonseca Castellanos. In 1596, 46 Conversos were prosecuted, and as a result a few from the Carvajal family were sent to the stake, among them Luis de Carvajal "El Mozo" (The Young) who had become one of the spiritual leaders of the community. In 1601, 45 Crypto-Jews were sent to trial and between 1574 and 1603, 115 "judaizantes" were prosecuted. Also Indians were prosecuted, accused of being adepts in Judaism, quite possibly converted by their Crypto-Jewish masters so they would not give them away. The proceedings present a clear view of the Conversos' everyday life, their meetings, the way they practiced their traditions, their occupations, and their active participation within the colonial society. Among their crafts particular notice may be given to the shoemakers, tailors, silver craftsmen, engravers, barbers, doctors, painters, wagon riders, musicians, lawyers, and solicitors.

From 1625 to the end of the 17th century, the migration of the Conversos and their descendants from Spain and Portugal diminished, and the persecution of the wealthy Crypto-Jews increased – actions that benefited the wealth of the Inquisition, which confiscated their assets. The inquisitors prosecuted over 200 people between 1620 and 1650 and from 1672 to 1676 a hundred more. Most of the accused came from Portugal, owing to the separation of the two kingdoms in 1640, which provoked increased persecution of Portuguese by Spain. Typical cases were those of Domingo Márquez, deputy major of Tepeaca in 1644, and Diego Muñoz de Alvarado, who was chief magistrate in Puebla de Los Angeles and accumulated a large fortune to the extent of having his own commercial ships.

The Faith Prosecutions did not stop. In 1646, 46 Conversos were prosecuted and were obliged to make a public "reconciliation" with the Church; in 1647 there were 21; 40 in 1648; and finally, on April 11, 1649, 35 were prosecuted out of which eight were executed by burning. From that moment the reconciliated were deported to the Iberian Peninsula to prevent them from reinitiating their Jewish practices for lack of surveillance. Among the deported were Captain Macías Pereira Lobo, sent to trial in 1662; Teresa Aguilera y Roche, wife of New Mexico's governor; Bernardo López de Mendizábal, judged in 1662; Captain Agustín Muñoz de Sandoval, sentenced in 1695; and a Crypto-Jewish monk tried in 1706 called Fray José de San Ignacio.

From the beginning of the 18th century through to the achievement of Independence (1821), migration disappeared and religious persecution diminished. The Crown and authorities of New Spain took care to prohibit the reading of books from European encyclopedia writers that had liberal and democratic ideas. By then the assimilation of Crypto-Jews into the society was much greater, causing the loss of Jewish customs and traditions due to the lack of contacts with outside political allies. Oral tradition survived in some cases, albeit deformed, and some objects went from generation to generation without a link to their ritual meaning. Some families did not forget their origins, and such was the case of a university professor, Francisco Rivas, who, by the end of the 19th century, published a journal called *El Sábado Secreto* ("The Secret Saturday"), in which he declared himself to be a descendant of Conversos from the Colonial period.

Despite the fact that the Inquisition ended symbolically as well as physically regarding Judaism, there are still some groups in Mexico that define themselves as Jews descending from the Crypto-Jews. The main congregations identified as such are the ones at Venta Prieta in Pachuca, Hidalgo, and Vallejo – a northern neighborhood of Mexico City. The members of those communities at Venta Prieta and Vallejo, named *Kahal Kadosh Bnei Elohim* (the leader of the latter in 2005 was Dr. Benjamín Laureano Luna), who have "mixed blood" and Indian features, claim that their genealogy comes from the colonial period. However, there are scholars like Loewe and Hoffmanthat who conclude that they are not Crypto-Jews but descendants of a protestant Evangelical church called "Iglesia de Dios" (Church of God). When the modern Jewish community got in touch with them in the 1940s, the problem of their inclusion or exclusion into the community arose. On the basis of anthropological studies by Rafael Patai, this community received attention from foreign Jews, who made several trips in order to support and teach them normative Jewish practices. The ambiguity in the relations remains, and the attitudes from the different community sectors are varied, from the religious and cultural acceptance to open rejection.

19th Century: From the Independence to 1900

When Mexico started its independent life in 1821, the decrees and legislation of the new Republic maintained Catholicism as the sole and official religion, despite the abolition of the Inquisition. Religious prejudices promoted by the church did not disappear and Catholics kept blaming Jews of "deicide" (God killers). The Mexican governments during the first 50 years of autonomy reached commercial and political agreements with some European companies that belonged to Jews, and it is possible that some of the latter lived temporarily or permanently in the country, though there was no community lifestyle. Religious freedom was proposed by a generation of liberals by the middle of the 19th century, under the leadership of Benito Juárez. His political and economic modernization project was established in articles 5 and 130 of the 1857 Constitution, which neither affirm religious freedom explicitly nor deny it.

At the time of the arrival of Maximilian of Austria as Emperor of Mexico (1864–67), some Jews from Belgium, France, Austria, and Alsace came with his court; they even talked about the possibility of building a synagogue, but the project was not accomplished, so religious services were held in private homes. One of the most outstanding personalities was Samuel Basch, chief surgeon at the Military Hospital at Puebla and personal doctor to the emperor in 1866. It was Basch who took Maximilian's remains to Vienna and after that published "Mis recuerdos de México" ("My memories of Mexico"). With the end of the empire most of these Jews returned to their countries.

During the "dictadura Porfirista" (dictatorship of President Porfirio Díaz, 1876–1911), the country was peaceful and foreign investors saw Mexico as a business option. Some foreign companies' representatives were Jews from France, Austria, Germany, Italy, Belgium, the United States, and Canada; however they did not identify themselves publicly as Jews. Assimilation prevailed among these Jews, manifested in intermarriage and integration into aristocratic society, with nationality as the most important aspect of their identity.

By the end of the 19th century, Jews from Russia and Galicia arrived in Mexico, and they were associated by the European Jewish press with colonization projects. In 1891, when the *Baron Maurice de Hirsch Fund was established in New York and the *Jewish Colonization Association (ICA) in London, several plans for the establishment of extensive Jewish farming settlements in Mexico were proposed. However, this was not accomplished due to the negative reports that were given by the experts who were sent to evaluate this possibility. They thought that the potential settlers would not be able to compete with the cheap local labor work. In 1899, when the first immigrants from Syria reached Mexico, the above-mentioned Francisco Rivas Puigcerver started with his weekly journal *El Sábado Secreto* (later called *La Luz del Sábado* – "Shabbat Light"), dedicated to Sephardi history and language.

Immigration and Community Organization (1900–50)

The deterioration in the quality of life of the Jews in the Turkish-Ottoman Empire, caused by political instability and the frequent wars with which they had to contend on their borders, forced the different Jewish communities to look for more appropriate geographical and economic arenas. Sephardi Jews from the Middle East, the Balkans, and Turkey (Ladino speakers), as well as Jews from Syria and Lebanon (Arab speakers), were the first interested in recreating a Jewish life in Mexican grounds.

Jews coming from Damascus and Aleppo maintained daily prayers and rituals inside private homes, owing to the fact that families had known each other previously and kinship was the basis for their strong union. Parallel to the informal gathering among the Syrian Jews, scattered Ashkenazim living in Mexico tried to organize a community. In 1904 a group called "El Comité" (The Committee) organized the Rosh Ha-Shanah services on the premises of a Masonic Lodge. After this event, there were several attempts at community organization, but it was not until 1908 in which the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, which was interested in establishing a Jewish community in Mexico to avoid illegal immigration to the United States, sent Rabbi Martin Zielonka to organize a congregation in Mexico. "The Committee" was then summoned and with the 20 attendees the "Sociedad de Beneficencia Monte Sinai" was established. However, the activities of this group were not fruitful, because many of them left the country with the outburst of the Mexican Revolution in 1910.

In 1912 the Alianza Monte Sinai – AMS re-constituted itself under Isaac Capon's initiative. Born in Turkey, he was aware of the need to have a Jewish cemetery, since upon the death of his mother she had to be buried in a Catholic graveyard. All of the Jewish residents in Mexico, including the Syrians, participated in the initiative, and thanks to the good relationship between one of its members, Jacobo Granat, with the president at that moment, Francisco I. Madero, the AMS received permission from the authorities for the acquisition of the first Jewish cemetery. In 1918 AMS bought a house on Jesus Maria Street in the center of Mexico City where they decided to build a synagogue. The day when President Venustiano Carranza gave his authorization signature became a memorable one, because it was the first time the existence of a Jewish community was recognized by law. AMS kept itself united with ups and downs for a decade, during which religious services and financial and social assistance were given to the new immigrants, including Hebrew classes, kosher meat, a *mikveh*, and the services of a *mohel*.

Between 1913 and 1917 the revolutionary conflict caused a decrease in the Jewish population. The victorious Carranza's regime, however, adopted liberal policies guided by the secular principle of religious freedom and, within this context, the formal recognition of the Jewish community, as well as other religions, meant the reconfirmation of modern ideology. After World War I, Jewish immigration continued, Sephardim as well as Ashkenazim, mainly from Eastern Europe. Their number in 1921 was estimated at around 12,000 persons, about 0.1% in a country of 12 million inhabitants. Many of these Jews used Mexico only as a stopover on their way to the United States. With the establishment of immigration quotas in the United States in 1921, which became stricter in 1924, many Jews decided to stay in Mexico.

The first Jewish immigrants from Europe arrived in Mexico in 1917 through the United States. They were young men who spoke Russian and Yiddish, who had evaded their military service and sustained political ideologies such as Zionism, Jewish Nationalism, and Socialism. They founded the first Jewish cultural organization in Mexico: the Young Men's Hebrew Association (YMHA), working as a club dedicated to the promotion of culture, sports, and society. This model was followed by some Jewish communities in the province, and during the 1950s also by the "Centro Deportivo Israelita" (CDI; Jewish Sport Center). In the 1920s the YMHA, with its headquarters at Tacuba street no. 15, in the center of the city, became a place for social gatherings and for economic assistance to the new Ashkenazi immigrants.

Prayer in the synagogue and religious services for the Jewish residents in Mexico City started in 1922. At that time over half of the Jewish population came from Turkey, Syria, Lebanon, and the Balkans. Nevertheless, Jews from Eastern Europe started to arrive by the thousands from Russia, Poland, Lithuania, Austria, Germany, Hungary, and Czechoslovakia, encouraged by the effects of World War I, the Russian revolution, and the economic depression in the area. In the 1920s alone approximately 9,000 Ashkenazim and 6,000 Sephardim increased the Jewish population to 21,000 persons.

An organizational readjustment occurred in this decade, characterized by the diversity in cultural patterns brought by the immigrants from their respective countries of origin. The differences in languages, in religious rituals, and in daily habits were obvious, especially among those who came from Europe and the Middle East. The Ashkenazi separation from the AMS was completed in 1922 when they decided to hold their religious services by themselves and to create their own organizations. The religious, ideological, and cultural plurality expressed in the welfare organizations, periodic publications, and artistic and cultural expressions show the dynamism of a community in the process of formation. In 1922 Nidhei Israel was created in order to take care of the religious needs (such as prayer, *talmud torah*, *kashrut, ḥevrah kaddisha,* and others). This institution became the Kehilá nucleus that was established with official recognition in 1957. After some attempts begun in 1923, the Zionist Federation was established in 1925, with the different ideological trends of the Zionist Ashkenazi Jews. In the 1920s and the 1930s there were also active Bundist and Communist organizations. The Sephardim formed their own Zionist organization, Bnei Kedem, in 1925, because they did not feel comfortable in meetings where the predominant language was mostly Yiddish. In 1924 the Yiddishe Shul – Colegio Israelita de Mexico was founded, the first of a wide network of Jewish day schools still in operation.

In 1924 Jews from Turkey, Greece, and the Balkans – Ladino speakers – decided to separate from the AMS and establish their own community and welfare association "La Fraternidad" in order to help their fellow countrymen with economic, medical, and social aspects. In 1940 the "Union Sefaradí" was founded, with the fusion of "La Fraternidad," the women's mutual aid society "Buena Voluntad," and the youth organization "Unión y Progreso." Since then, this community has had a day school (founded in 1943), two synagogues, and a cemetery as well as a formal administrative structure.

The AMS was left actually in the hands of the Syrian Jews. Those who came from Aleppo (halebies), however, did not actively take part, because they had their own places of prayer and their own *talmud torah*, so that their economic participation was very limited. They even built their own synagogue, "Rodfe Sedek," in 1931, and in fact were separated from the AMS. Problems arose when they wanted to make use of the cemetery and they were required to update the payment of their membership fees. The halebies founded their own communal and administrative institutions and bought their own grounds for a cemetery. In 1938 Sedaká uMarpé was founded, a charity society that grouped together the diverse institutions of men, women, and youth, as well as the observant groups that were in charge of the religious services, assistance, and social activities. On the other hand, the AMS, managed by the Damascenes since the second half of the 1920s, changed its statutes in 1935 and became an exclusive organization for this sector. By the end of the 1930s, the limits of the community structures were defined, so that community affairs administration would be taken care of by institutions organized according to their origin, and the original culture would be recreated within them, preserving the identity of the first immigrants.

ECONOMY AND SOCIAL STRATIFICATION. Since their arrival, Jewish immigrants dedicated themselves to commerce, mainly as peddlers. Before 1940 the Mexican population was basically rural, so that salesmen had to carry the goods to the smaller towns and not only to the urban centers. For this reason there were Jews who preferred to stay in the provinces and prospered as itinerant salesmen or with fixed or semifixed shops in the markets, even though most of them lived in the capital. Along with other foreign merchants, they introduced the credit system sales, which made it easier for their customers to enhance their lifestyle and acquire goods which otherwise would have been impossible to get. They sold shoes, socks, ties, fabrics, thread, stockings, ribbons, and some other consumer goods necessary for domestic use. In the second half of the 1920s, the B'nai B'rith contributed economically, together with the Ashkenazi associations, to incorporate immigrants; it gave them credit to start as merchants, taught them Spanish, and organized their social life.

In the 1930s, and as a result of the unemployment caused by the economic effects of the Great Depression of 1929, antisemitic and xenophobic movements promoted attacks against the vendors at "La Lagunilla" market. Antisemitism forced the small Jewish merchants to install their own commercial spaces as well as to establish small manufacturing workshops in order to protect themselves from the attacks of ultra-right nationalist groups, in the long run resulting in their economical ascendance. During this process the Banco Mercantil, founded by Jews in 1929 on the basis of a loan fund, financed the acquisition of machinery for the textile industry and industrial input assets. In 1931 the Cámara Israelita de Industria y Comercio (Jewish Industry and Commerce Chamber) was created in order to coordinate the economic efforts of the Jews and to serve as a representative organ of the Jews vis-à-vis the Mexican authorities and the society at large.

IMMIGRATION AND ANTISEMITISM. Mexican migratory policy turned from an open attitude to a restrictive one based on racial selection. Before the Mexican revolution there were practically no regulatory laws. In the 1920s, presidents Obregón and then Calles, in their national reconstruction goal, invited the Jews to move to Mexico with the purpose of promoting the economic development of the country. However, in 1927, the Mexican Congress approved new legislation on immigration according to racial criteria, considering the assimilation capacity of the immigrants into the *mestizo* (mixture of Indian and Spanish) races of the country as well as the country's economic absorption capacity and the immigrants' contribution toward its productive development. In 1929 the entrance of workers was prohibited and in 1936, the Population Law established differential quotas according to the national interest (racial assimilation and economic potential), elaborating tables with restrictions to the admission of certain foreign groups. German and Austrian Jews, who fled the racial laws of the Nazi government, had difficulties in entering the country, despite the intensive efforts made by the Jews on the local and international levels. For the Polish and Romanians only ten visas per year were available, clearly insufficient facing the scope of the European problem. Throughout the period of Nazi persecution (1933–45) Mexico accepted only 1,850 Jews.

The increase of antisemitism, expressed in the attacks of fascist groups, such as the "Camisas Doradas" (Golden Shirts), reinforced the unity of the Jewish community to resist the situation. The result of this union was the creation of the Comité Central Israelita de México (Central Jewish Committee of Mexico) in 1938 as an umbrella institution of all the existing Jewish organizations, becoming the only representative body recognized as the legitimate Jewish representative by the government, as well as by international Jewish institutions the world over, such as the *Joint Distribution Committee and the *World Jewish Congress. In 1944, the Anti-Defamation League was created within the Comité Central, becoming better known by the name of its journal *Tribuna Israelita*, with the objective of preventing antisemitism. The tumultuous antisemitic attacks from the ultra-right were silenced in 1942 when Mexico declared war on the Axis powers.

The 1940s in Mexico were outstanding, because it was the starting point for a sustained economic growth that lasted for over 30 years. World War II promoted the export of food and basic goods into the United States as well as the strengthening of the Mexican internal market. The imports substitution program, launched by the government, stimulated the creation of industries in a protected economic environment. The Jews saw in this project the opportunity for improvement, so they established manufacturing factories, especially in the textile field. Their economic status improved and the occupational areas that participated were also diversified. A survey performed in 1950, among the Ashkenazi sector, found 52 occupations in different fields, especially commerce and industry and also professions such as medicine, engineering, and the sciences.

Jewish Education

In many cases the community institutions organized schools of Jewish studies for the children of their members. They established *talmudei torah* and *Kutabim* (complementary traditional schools), and also day schools in which general studies were imparted together with subjects of Jewish culture. At the beginning the Jewish studies were learned in Yiddish, Arabic, or Spanish, together with rudimentary knowledge of Hebrew. The first day school was the Yiddishe Shul – Colegio Israelita de Mexico, established in 1924 by Meir Berger. During the first decade Jewish studies were taught in Yiddish. In the 1930s a few attempts were made to teach in Hebrew but they failed. Since then the school has defended Yiddish as a fundamental cultural current of Judaism. In the 1940s many new schools were established, according to the ideology of the founders and the parents, and also according to the community of origin of the families. Two schools were established in 1942: the Hebraist school Tarbut by Avner Aliphaz and Yeshaiahu Austridan, and the Ashkenazi religious school Yavneh. They were followed by the Hebraist schools of the Sephardi community (1943) and that of the AMS (1944). All these schools adhered to the Zionist movement or sympathized with it, and after 1948 they were among the most important vehicles for the linking of the communal identity with Israel. In 1946 a Teacher's Seminary was established in the Yiddishe Shul by its new principal, Avraham Golomb. In 1947 the day school Sedaká uMarpé of the Aleppan community was founded and functioned until 1951 without a curriculum in Jewish studies. In 1950 Avraham Golomb left his former school and established a new Ashkenazi school – the Naye Yiddishe Shul I.L. Peretz – Nuevo Colegio Israelita with a Yiddishist trend and inclination towards the Bund. The Sephardi School, the Monte Sinaí School, and the Teacher's Seminary adhered to the Zionists and adopted the educational politics sent from Israel to the Diaspora. The schools were connected to the Vaad haHinuch (educational council), that was linked with the Jewish Agency and the State of Israel. The Jewish Agency assigned to the schools in the 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s Israeli *sheliḥim* – teachers and principals – to teach Hebrew, Yiddish, and Jewish culture, and to bring the schools closer to the Jewish state. Since then the schools have employed Israeli educators on their own.

ZIONISM. The events that marked world Jewish history in the middle of the 20th century, the Holocaust and the creation of the State of Israel, were present in the life of the Jewish Mexican community and its leaders. Zionism was the flag identifying Mexican Jews vis-à-vis the national society. The Jewish efforts to achieve the legitimation of the national Jewish aspirations and the obtaining of a favorable vote from Mexico on the partition of Palestine in the United Nations in November 1947, was the main challenge for the Zionist sector. The coordination, unification, and efforts were manifested in the creation of the Zionist Emergency Committee and the Emergency pro-Palestine Jewish Committee, representative organizations of the Jewish community before the Mexican society. The legitimate demands that accompanied the Zionist ideals as a national liberation movement, gave a positive image of Judaism, compensating for the impact of previous anti-Jewish expressions and demonstrations, despite the abstention of Mexico in the United Nations in 1947.

The creation of the State of Israel in 1948 had concrete effects within the internal dynamic of the Ashkenazi sector; the organized unification of the Zionist parties and groups became a reality in 1950. The Zionist Federation of Mexico became the framework in which the different sectors coordinated their efforts thanks to the links established with Israel. The new state replaced the Zionist party organizations with government institutions, a process that the Zionists in Mexico also followed as they developed community institutions. Since then, Israel became the central issue for the secular Jewish solidarity and identification. Within the Sephardi community, the Zionist youth organizations were very active. In the case of Sedaká uMarpé and AMS, Zionism introduced a new element of identity and Jewish pride, and gave meaning to their work on behalf of the State of Israel.

Consolidation of the Jewish Community in Mexico 1950–2000

During the first half of the 1950s the Club Deportivo Israelita (CDI) was created, becoming the largest organization of Mexican Jewry, with the affiliation of Jews from all the community's sectors, becoming one of its most inclusive institutions. The objective of the CDI was to stimulate physical and cultural activities allowing the association of children, youngsters, and adults. Around 15,000 Jewish families are members of the CDI, including some non-affiliated.

The two main communities that consolidated outside Mexico City and its metropolitan area since the 1930s are Monterrey and Guadalajara, consisting of approximately 150 families each. Having created institutions that include synagogues, schools, recreational facilities, and their own cemetery, both maintain religious institutions and organizations for women and men, where Ashkenazim and Sephardim gather in the same community space. In Tijuana there is also a community of 70 families that since 1943 had been closely linked to the U.S. community of San Diego. Some Jewish families also live in Veracruz, Puebla, and Cuernavaca, however, with no representative institutions. In the 1990s, in Cancún, community life has been promoted among the 70 families that moved to that city.

In the 1950s and the 1960s the Jewish institutions were consolidated. The fast economic ascent of the Jewish families, made possible the change of residential neighborhoods in Mexico City: from the downtown area and "Colonia Roma" to "Condesa" and "Polanco"; for this reason some new community facilities were built, such as large and elegant synagogues, new school buildings, new community centers, and places for the youth movements. These were the years in which the religious attachment diminished because the Jewish core identity remained linked to Zionism, coinciding with the secularization process with which Mexican society was experimenting along with its fast growing urban modernization. It is quite significant that during this period there emerged the only two Conservative synagogues that exist in Mexico City: Bet Israel created in 1953 by American Jews, and Bet El founded in 1963 by Ashkenazi Jews who were not able to find in the religious legacy of their parents a meaningful Judaism, and decided to be separated from the Kehilá in order to practice more modern religious forms that were closer to their reality. However, in the Ashkenazi sector as well as among the Sephardim, there remained vigorous nuclei of religious Orthodox families who continued the rites and practices preserving the different modalities according to the original tradition of the immigrants.

SOCIAL INTEGRATION AND IDENTITY. The socioeconomic improvement placed the Jews in the upper levels of the Mexican society and their cultural practices resembled those of the elite. Many sent their children to American schools to learn English, intermingled with Mexican entrepreneurs to do business, and made frequent trips to the United States. The Jews learned how to adapt themselves into the Mexican political system; they registered their institutions according to the national schemes, e.g., the welfare societies were registered in the Secretaría de Salubridad y Asistencia (Health and Welfare Ministry). However, an asymmetric relationship with the government prevailed, since it recognized the Jews as citizens, but did not consider them as a distinct group, although in fact it did treat them as such. This situation was reproduced in the next generations, which were perceived as foreign as their parents had been, despite the cultural synthesis with which they were experimenting, and they remained suspect of maintaining dual loyalty, to the Jewish people and to the Mexican nation, which in a way took away their credit as legitimate Mexicans. This constant questioning led the Jewish community to live as an enclave, at the margins of the political and social life of the country. The isolation of the Jews was the result of an internal attitude of wanting to preserve the social community living space, and an external one due to the rejection of the general society to admit differences.

By the 1970s the anti-Zionist government policy was expressed in the international arena, when in 1975 the president of Mexico, Luis Echeverría, proposed, before the United Nations General Assembly, that Zionism was a form of racism. The Mexican-Jewish community had very little influence on trying to alter this proposal, which was approved by the majority with the support of the Arab nations and their allies of the Third World. Diplomatic relations between Mexico and Israel became tense and the tourism boycott of the American Jews against Mexico had an influence on the change of the Mexican position towards Zionism. This change came in 1992 when another Mexican president, Carlos Salinas de Gortari, proposed at the United Nations General Assembly to abrogate this resolution, a proposal that was approved.

The third Jewish generation in Mexico lived in a hard national economic context, marked by a crisis that returns every six year, which means they have to confront a constant challenge to the maintenance of the social status acquired by their parents. In the 1980s and 1990s, Mexico and the world were facing changes in the economic model toward an open economy. Not all the Jews adapted themselves successfully. Just like other small- and middle-sized merchants and industrialists in the country, they suffered from the consequences of the international competition for which they were not prepared. The opening of the Mexican markets provoked a strong readjustment in the textile industry and a great recession in the construction field, areas in which a large number of Jewish entrepreneurs were involved. The collapse of enterprises and the consequent loss of jobs among the Jews led to more employees and professionals and fewer company owners. Facing this situation, all the community organizations started a program known as "Fundación Activa" which gives training and tutorial assistance for self-employment and for the creation of micro-enterprises that do not require large investments. This and other assistance programs contributed to the stability and cohesion of the Mexican Jewish community and helped to maintain its institutional diversity and its demographic and socioeconomic level, preventing poverty and/or migration.

From the 1990s Mexican Jewry experienced an increase of religiosity in some of the community's sectors, that may be associated with this economic, political, and cultural trend in the global and national environment. The number of synagogues and especially of *midrashim* and *kolelim* (religious adults' study centers for bachelors and married men respectively) rose, in particular in the most Orthodox sector, the Maguén David Community, formerly the Aleppan Sedaká uMarpé. This trend is a new development in the religious life in Mexico, since it is linked to the ultra-Orthodox movements from Israel, in which there is a kind of synthesis of the religious tradition of the communities of Middle Eastern origin with the Ashkenazi tradition.

A significant change in the relations between the Jewish community and the Mexican State was felt after the creation of the "Ley de Asociaciones Religiosas y Culto Publico" (Religious Associations and Public Cult Law) in 1992. Until the 1990s, the Jewish minority had adapted to the limited space given by the State, registering itself as civil associations. Since the 1940s, the relations between State and Church were based on the agreement, according to which the government did not interfere in the affairs of the Church in exchange for the recognition of the Church in the sociopolitical hegemony of the State. This relation was also applied to the Jewish case. This was illustrated in the increase in Jewish schools during the 1940s, which besides the official program taught Jewish history, Bible, and tradition which could be interpreted as religion. The State tolerated this kind of expression even though it was forbidden by law.

The reforms of 1992 in the Constitution, related to the legal recognition of the religious institutions and their public activities, attempted to normalize the common practices. This kind of legality recognizes the legitimacy of group consolidation through the religious identification. The religious associations became another channel of collective expression. The religious and ideological diversity in the society increased in correlation with a greater democratization of political and cultural life. Gradually the participation of the Jews in these areas is becoming wider and less questioned everyday, and the presence of Jews in senior official posts is becoming more frequent.

In the Beginning of the 21st Century

As we have seen, the Jewish community in Mexico is highly organized within well-defined communities according to the origin of the first immigrants; each of these groups is represented at the Comité Central de la Comunidad Judía de México (Central Committee of the Jewish Community of Mexico) which is in charge of maintaining the relations with government authorities as well as with the social and cultural organizations in the country. Tribuna Israelita is the executive arm of the Comité Central in anti-defamation duties, preventing and denouncing antisemitism and violence against Jews.

DEMOGRAPHY. According to a socio-demographic study of the Jewish community in Mexico, performed by request of the Comité Central in 2000, the number of families and their percentage per sector is as follows: Maguén David: 2,630 families (25.8%), Monte Sinaí: 2,350 (23.0%), Kehilá Ashkenazí: 1,870 (18.4%), Sephardi Community: 1,150 (11.3%), Bet El: 1,080 families (10.6%), CDI: 340 families not affiliated to other sectors (3.3%); Bet Israel: 260 (2.6%), Guadalajara: 250 (2.5%), and Monterrey: 250 families (2.5%), which gives us a total of 10,180 families.

Demographic tendencies show a larger growth in the non-Ashkenazi sectors that became the majority of the Jewish population in Mexico. Almost all the Jews marry Jewish spouses. According to the socio-demographic study of the Jewish population performed by DellaPergola and Lerner in 1991, between 5% to 10% of the marriages are exogamic. Marriages within the community of origin are the most frequent, even though every day there are more inter-communal marriages. The main Jewish residential neighborhoods are located in the northeast of the Metropolitan area: 28.6% live in Las Lomas, 21.8% in Tecamachalco, 21.6% in Polanco, 16% in La Herradura, and the rest in Hipodromo-Condesa, Narvarte, Satélite, and other neighborhoods.

The occupational structure is as follows, according to the data of 1991: 53% of the economically active people are in the managerial sector as owners of businesses and directors, 27% professionals, 11% office employees, 5% merchants, and 4% handcraft workers. The analysis of this data by age groups confirms the well-known upward economic mobility of the Jewish population as well as the tendency toward a larger professional sector in the new generations. The total of the work force is divided into three groups according to the branch of production: industry (35%), commerce (29%), and services (28%) and two groups with minor incidence, which are construction (3.5%) and personal services (4%). The family and social networks have an important influence in the integration pattern of the working force in economic activity and represents 75% of the work location grounds.

JEWISH EDUCATION AND JEWISH CULTURE. The Jewish education network, with over a dozen schools in Mexico City, has professional educators and shows high academic levels. It is estimated that more than 80% of the Jewish children attend Jewish day schools from kindergarten to secondary school. Some of these day schools have Jewish religious studies as in a yeshivah. The Jewish curricula of these day schools include Hebrew language and literature, Jewish history, Bible, tradition, and in some of them Yiddish language and literature. There is a Jewish pedagogic college – Universidad Hebraica – which prepares new professionals for Jewish education. The Universidad Iberoamericana (a private university) offers a study program on Jewish Culture linked to disciplinary studies in the Humanities. The educational level in the Jewish community has increased considerably: in 1991, 57% of the Jews in the 30 to 64 age group were university graduates, as compared with 8.5% for those older than 65. Most frequently, people with graduate and postgraduate studies are found among the members of the Bet El and Bet Israel congregations (49%) and in a slightly lower proportion in the Kehilá Ashkenazí (38%). Conversely, the presence of people with university studies is lower in the Maguén David and Monte Sinaí communities (18 and 10% respectively). However these differences tend to diminish in the younger generations. In addition to education, community life dynamics are expressed in a variety of social and cultural activities. Besides the activities performed by each of the community sectors, there are also inter-communal organizations, such as the women's associations WIZO, Na'amat, and the Mexican Federation of Jewish Women or the Mexican "Friend Associations" of the Israeli universities.

There are around 16 youth movements with approximately 2,000 members, most of them identified with the State of Israel. Each year several hundred Mexican Jewish youngsters visit Israel in groups organized by the schools. The Federación Mexicana de Universitarios Judíos (FEMUJ) and the Federación de Universitarios Sionistas de Latinoamérica (FUSELA) have a significant presence in the community. Since 1948, nearly 4,000 Mexican Jews have made *aliyah*.

The Jewish press is diverse but mainly dedicated to inner community matters. The news or ideological publications typical of the 1940s and the 1950s, mainly in Yiddish, no longer exist. Each community sector has its own bulletins and periodic magazines. There are some independent organs such as *Foro* magazine distributed through subscriptions or *Kesher* with free distribution in all the communities and the Centro Deportivo Israelita. The Jewish journalists and writers association meet and express themselves through the community press.

The Jewish museum named Tuvia Maize is dedicated to the history of the Jewish community in Mexico and to the Holocaust. At the Ashkenazi Kehilá there was established a Centro de Documentación e Investigación (Center for Documentation and Research); it preserves historical documents of the Jewish Community in Mexico, as well as books in several languages, that were part of private libraries of the first immigrants, and promotes the publication of documentary books and researches.

Another important cultural site is the Centro Deportivo Israelita (CDI), which besides having excellent sports facilities, has an art gallery, a theater, and a banquet hall. This is the location of the most important Annual Jewish Dance and Music Festival in Latin America.

RELIGIOUS LIFE. In Mexico City there are around 25 synagogues and an equal number of small places for prayer and study that belong to the most Orthodox sectors in the community. Two of the synagogues are Conservative, and all the others are Orthodox. The level of religious observance has increased by 4% from 6.7% Orthodox Jews, according to the results of the socio-demographic study of 1991, to 10.7% according to that of 2000. Most of the Mexican Jews consider themselves as traditionalists (76.8%) while the non-observant, secular, and atheist Jews comprise 12.5%, according to the data of 2000. When analyzing figures per community, Maguén David presents the lower index of traditionalists (66%) and an equal number of Orthodox (17%) and non-observants (17%), which shows a tendency toward polarization of the religious and the non-religious. In contrast, 86% of those affiliated to Bet El considered themselves traditionalist. The most popular ritual practice is the Passover *seder* celebrated by 93% of the population within the family. In second place is the Yom Kippur fast observed by 89%, and after that, Hanukkah festivities in which 71% perform the ritual of candle lighting, while the frequency of other religious practices is reduced to half or less. In relation to the regular observance of Shabbat, 12% rest, 49% eat kosher meat, and 19% separate their dishes.

RELATIONS WITH ISRAEL. Mexico abstained in the vote of November 29, 1947, on the Partition of Palestine. On April 4, 1952, Mexico recognized the State of Israel, and shortly afterwards the two countries established diplomatic relations, opening embassies in both countries. At the beginning, Mexico adopted a policy of neutrality, abstaining from voting at the international forums where Middle East affairs were dealt with. However, since the Six-Day War in 1967, this position changed and Mexico frequently votes against Israel. The most delicate moment was the above-mentioned equation of Zionism with racism in the 1970s abrogated in the 1990s.

Commercial exchange between the two countries was very low until the end of the 1970s (with an annual average of under $2 million). In the 1980s its scope started to increase, with an average of $25 million annually (14.8 exports from Israel and 11.3 imports). In the 1990s, bilateral relations improved: cultural agreements were signed, and there were visits from ministries and functionaries of both countries. Israel has provided technical and scientific counseling to certain areas of agriculture and industry in Mexico, and Israel also buys manufactured products, food, and Mexican oil. Nevertheless, the volume of trade remained close to the same level. In 2000 a Free Trade Agreement was signed between both countries when President Ernesto Zedillo visited Israel, and ever since, economic exchange has increased. Exports from Israel jumped to $212 million and imports grew to 17 million. This unbalanced relation between exports and imports has continued since then. The total volume of commerce in 2001 was over $169 million (155.6 exports and 13.5 imports), in 2002 close to $212 million (191.6 and 20.2), in 2003 over $246 million (228.7 and 17.6), and in 2004 more than $362 million (340.5 and 22.1).

[Liz Hamui (2nd ed.)]

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MEYER, ANNIE NATHAN (1867–1951), U.S. educator, activist, and writer. Born in New York City to a family of early colonial stock (see *Nathan family), Meyer was an autodidact. Dissatisfied with the lack of serious educational opportunities for women in New York, Meyer determined to found a college for women within Columbia University, advocating her cause on the speaker's platform and in the press. When she had obtained substantial financial contributions, she negotiated with the trustees of Columbia University, and, in just two years, her efforts were realized. In 1889, two years after her marriage to ALFRED MEYER, a prominent New York physician, Barnard College opened, and Meyer became its lifelong trustee. The Meyers had one daughter who died tragically in 1924.

Although Annie Meyer considered herself a feminist, she opposed the women's suffrage movement. Decrying unintelligent use of the vote, she called for the inclusion of an educational clause in the suffrage bill. Meyer was the prolific author of plays, novels, social studies, magazine articles, and art reviews, including *Barnard's Beginnings* (1935) and *Women's Work in America* (1891; rep. 1972). Her first novel, *Helen Brent, M.D.* (1892), celebrated a woman who chose medicine over marriage. However, Meyer idealized motherhood and expressed her opposition to mothers who worked for self-fulfillment in two plays dealing with that theme, *The Dominant Sex* (1911) and *The Advertising of Kate* (produced on Broadway in 1921). Another play, *Black Souls* (produced and published in 1932), dealt with hypocrisy and race relations in the American South. Her autobiography, *It's Been Fun*, appeared in 1951.

Meyer was an active lecturer and publicist who spoke to both Jews and African Americans about the "challenge of prejudice" and the need for pride in one's heritage. True to her principles, she sponsored and supported several Jewish and African-American students at Barnard, including writer Zora Neale Hurston. Early in the 1930s, she recognized the dangers of Nazism and clashed publicly with several prominent New Yorkers whom she accused of antisemitism. Though she was not acknowledged in her lifetime as Barnard College's founder, she never lost her enthusiasm for the school, even as she devoted her energies to literature and social justice causes.

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[Myrna Goldenberg (2nd ed.)]

MEYER, BARON DE HIRSCH (1900–1974), lawyer, banker, and philanthropist. Born in Wisconsin, he lived in Miami from 1925.

In 1933, with Harry Lipton, he established the Miami Beach Federal Savings and Loan, known later as Financial and Federal, as well as the Dade Federal, which Lipton took over. These federally backed firms were an important factor in revitalizing Florida's economy. Meyer and his business associate Leonard Abess controlled the City National Bank Corporation and held real estate interests all over the state.

In addition to his successful business involvements, Baron de Hirsch Meyer was active in general communal activity and in almost all Jewish organizations and institutions. He was among the founders of Mount Sinai Hospital on Miami Beach, which he served as president, then as board chairman and chief fundraiser for many years.

[Gladys Rosen]

°**MEYER, EDUARD** (1855–1930), German Bible critic and historian. Born in Hamburg, Meyer was professor of ancient history at the universities of Breslau (from 1885), Halle (from 1889), and Berlin (1902–22). While he supported *Wellhausen's critical views on Pentateuchal composition, in his *Die Entstehung des Judenthums* (1896, 1965^2) he opposed Welhausen's position concerning the authority of the documents mentioned in Ezra and the list of names referred to in Nehemiah, suggesting that a late date for Ezra does not allow for the development of Judaism as is known from the sources. In writing his classic *Geschichte des Altertums* (5 vols., 1884–1902; $1925–58^2$) he examined all available documentary evidence but failed to appreciate the contributions of archaeologists in regard to early Phoenician and Israelite history. He wrote, among other things, on the culture and history of the Sumerians (*Sumerier und Semiten in Babylonien*, 1906) and the Hittites (*Reich und Kultur der Chetiter*, 1914). He was one of the first to interpret the papyrus finds from Elephantine, and his *Die aeltere Chronologie Babyloniens, Assyriens, und Aegyptiens* (1925) reached very sound conclusions which are still widely referred to by students of the chronology of the ancient world. His *Ursprung und Anfaenge des Christentums* (3 vols., 1921–23) dealt with the history of Judaism and early Christianity, and it reflected the bias of classical biblical criticism, which respected prophetic Judaism, but saw talmudic Judaism as a fossil of rabbinic casuistry.

[Zev Garber]

MEYER, ERNST HERMANN (1905–1988), musicologist and composer. Born in Berlin, Meyer studied musicology in Berlin and Heidelberg, and composition with Paul Hindemith and

Hanns *Eisler. He immigrated to England in 1933 and returned to Germany in 1948 to become professor of music sociology at the Humboldt University in East Berlin. An authority on the music of the 16th and 17th centuries, he wrote *English Chamber Music* (1946), *Musik im Zeitgeschehen* (1952), and *Aufsaetze ueber Musik* (1957). He composed ballet and chamber music, and a cantata, *Das Tor von Buchenwald* (1959). His teachings and compositions followed the principles of socialist ideology.

MEYER, EUGENE (1875–1959), U.S. banker, government official, and newspaper editor and publisher. Born in California, he formed the banking firm of Eugene Meyer, Jr., and Co. in 1901. For 16 years he played a leading role in developing oil, copper, and automotive industries. During World War I he entered government service as an adviser on nonferrous metals to the War Industries Board. In 1918 he was named managing director of the War Finance Corporation, and under President Hoover he served as governor of the Federal Reserve Board and organized the Reconstruction Finance Corporation (1932). He was also the first chairman of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation. In 1933, he bought the then moribund *Washington Post* at a public auction, pumped new life into it, absorbed the Washington *Times-Herald*, and raised the *Washington Post* daily circulation to 400,000. After World War II, Meyer accepted an appointment by President Truman to become first president of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, and continued to serve on various commissions under President Eisenhower. The Washington Post Company, owner also of *Newsweek* magazine and a number of radio stations, was later headed by Meyer's daughter, Katherine *Graham.

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[Irving Rosenthal]

MEYER, HANS JOHANNES LEOPOLD (1871–1944), Austrian organic chemist. Meyer was born in Vienna and worked at German University of Prague (1897–1933) where from 1911 he was professor of chemistry. His books include *Anleitung zur quantitiven Bestimmung der organischen Atomgruppen* (1897), *Analyse und Konstitution* (1908, 1938^6), *Boehmisches Porzellan und Steingut* (1927), and *Lehrbuch der organischen chemischen Methodik* (4 vols., 1933–40). Meyer died in Theresienstadt.

MEYER, JONAS DANIEL (1780–1834), Dutch jurist and public figure. Meyer was a grandson of Benjamin *Cohen, a prominent Dutch Jew and friend of William V of Orange. A child prodigy, Meyer was awarded the LL.D. at the age of 16 for a thesis on the American revolutionary Thomas Payne, whom he attacked for the latter's disapproval of religious ceremonies, particularly those of the Jews. Meyer was the first Jew in Holland to be admitted as a lawyer. In 1808, Louis Napoleon – then king of Holland – appointed Meyer director of the *Royal Gazette*, a member of the Institute of Sciences, and a court magistrate in Amsterdam. Within the Jewish community Meyer was a member and from 1809 president of the High Consistory (1806–10), and subsequently after the annexation of Holland to France member of the Amsterdam consistory. In 1813 Meyer was elected as a member to the Amsterdam municipal council.

Meyer retained most of his positions under King William I of Orange until he resigned from all public and Jewish functions in 1817. In 1815 the king appointed him secretary of a government committee for the drafting of a new Dutch constitution, but antisemitic prejudice prevented him from being appointed to higher positions and he returned to private practice. He appeared in 1820 on behalf of Louis Napoleon in a lawsuit against William I. In 1827 Meyer returned to public life as secretary of a royal commission to prepare a new Dutch history. He was given the Order of the Netherlands Lion – the first Jew to receive this award.

In 1808 Meyer was largely instrumental in reuniting the old Ashkenazi congregation of Amsterdam and the dissident liberal congregation of Adath Yeshurun. He was chairman of a commission for drafting a program for Jewish schools in Amsterdam and together with his friend Carel *Asser, Meyer drew up a report disclosing the appalling social and educational situation of the Jews of Amsterdam. In 1873, a square separating the Sephardi and the main Ashkenazi synagogues in the center of the Jewish quarter of Amsterdam was named after him. Meyer's legal works include *Principes sur les questions transitoires* (Amsterdam, 1813) on legal problems which arose from the introduction of the Code Napoléon in Holland, and *Esprit, origine et progrès des institutions judicaires des principaux pays de l'Europe* (6 vols., 1819–23), a history of legal institutions in England, France, Holland, and Germany. He was a member of the French Academy, the Royal Academy in London, of the academies of Brussels, Göttingen, Batavia, and Torino, and of the Dutch Society for Literature.

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[Henriette Boas / Bart Wallet (2nd ed.)]

MEYER, LEON (1868–1957), French politician. Born in Le Havre, Meyer was a cousin of the Jewish anti-Dreyfusard journalist, Arthur Meyer. Having established a position for himself as a coffee merchant, he was elected to the city council in 1912 and as mayor of Le Havre in 1919. In 1921 Meyer became a radical-socialist member of the Chamber of Deputies and served as undersecretary of state in two administrations, first in 1925 and again in 1929. In 1932 he became minister of mercantile marine, in which post he made a substantial contribution to France's shipbuilding industry and to the development of the port of Le Havre. An outspoken critic of the Popular Front coalition of 1936, in which the radical socialists participated, Meyer fell out of favor with his own party. He devoted himself entirely to local politics until the fall of France in 1940, after which he took no further part in public affairs.

[Shulamith Catane]

MEYER, LUDWIG BEATUS (1780–1854), Danish lexicographer. Born in Germany, Meyer was a teacher in Stockholm before he settled in Copenhagen in 1803. He retired from a high civil service post in 1821 and turned to scholarly pursuits, publishing a guide to German poetry (1823). His *Lexicon* (1837) of foreign words and phrases in Danish became a standard work and, under the title *Meyers Fremmedordbog*, was often reprinted.

MEYER, MARSHALL T. (1930–1993), rabbi, educator, social activist. Meyer was born in New York City, grew up in Norwich, Connecticut, and attended Dartmouth College and the Jewish Theological Seminary, where he was ordained in 1958 and served as secretary of Rabbi Abraham Joshua Heschel. With his wife, Naomi, Meyer left for Argentina in 1959 to become the assistant rabbi at Buenos Aires's Congregación Israelita de la República Argentina. Meyer's sharp intellect, his outreach to youth, and his social activism quickly earned him distinction. In 1963 he founded Comunidad Bet-El, which within a few years became the leading Conservative synagogue in Argentina and the model upon which future Conservative synagogues would be built throughout Latin America.

Anticipating the Conservative movement's emergence and expansion throughout Latin America, Meyer founded the Seminario Rabínico Latinoamericano in 1962, the first non-Orthodox Latin American institution of higher Jewish studies. Meyer also supervised the translation into Spanish of a *siddur* for weekdays and Shabbat, and of the *maḥzor* for the High Holy Days. In addition, he undertook the translation into Spanish of dozens of important volumes on theology and works by important Jewish authors. Meyer published the journal *Maj'shavot* which contained original articles by Latin American authors. He was committed to interfaith dialogue and was a member of a group that included several leading liberation theologians.

During the years 1976–83, when Argentina was ruled by a military junta, Meyer became one of the foremost critics of the junta's violation of human rights. Meyer visited detainees in jails and made himself available to relatives of the *desaparecidos*, those who had been kidnapped by the security forces and held in clandestine jails throughout the country. Shabbat services at Bet El were overflowing with worshippers who came to hear Meyer's reality-revealing sermons at a time when the junta severely controlled the media, with families of *desaparecidos* who came in search of comfort. Meyer was member of the Asamblea Permanente por los Derechos Humanos and part of a small network of human rights defenders and foreign ambassadors who worked to save the lives of hundreds by arranging hiding places for them and ensuring their safe passage out of the country. Meyer's own home was, on more than one occasion, such a place of refuge.

Meyer was awarded the Medal of San Martin, the highest Argentine honor upon the nation's return to democracy in 1983. During 1984, Meyer participated in the Comisión Nacional Sobre la Desaparición de Personas – CONADEP, the national commission which documented thousands of human rights abuse cases to be utilized at the courts and to be disseminated through the book *Nunca más* ("Never Again").

In 1985, Meyer was invited to instill new life into Congregation Bnai Jeshurun (BJ), an Ashkenazi synagogue in New York City. Through a combination of lively religious services and a dynamic social action program BJ grew dramatically in numbers and in prominence. At the time of his death in 1993, BJ had become a model for many other synagogues throughout the U.S. Meyer's disciples and graduates of the Seminario Rabínico Latinoamericano, renamed in his memory in 1994, occupy pulpits and Jewish communal positions throughout Latin America, in Israel, and in the U.S. He received honorary doctorates from the Jewish Theological Seminary, Kalamazoo College, Dartmouth College, the University of Buenos Aires, and HUC-JIR.

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[J. Rolando Matalon (2nd ed.)]

MEYER, MARTIN ABRAHAM (1879–1923), U.S. Reform rabbi and scholar. Meyer, who was born in San Francisco, California, was ordained by the Hebrew Union College in 1901. Meyer served as rabbi of Congregation Beth Emeth, Albany, New York (1902–06); Temple Israel, Brooklyn, New York (1906–10); and Temple Emanu-el, San Francisco (1910–23). From 1911 to 1923 he was lecturer in Semitics at the University of California. During World War I, Meyer became a supporter of both Zionism and the movement for an American Jewish Congress. In 1918–19 he served with the Red Cross in France. Meyer, who was associated with several social service organizations in San Francisco, served as president of the Big Brothers movement and the California Conference on Social Work, and as a member of the California Commission of Charities and Corrections (1911–20). He helped to organize small Jewish communities in the area, was director of the Jewish Education Society of San Francisco and of the Pacific Coast branch of the Jewish Chatauqua Society, and was a board member of several national Jewish organizations. Meyer's publications include several articles on the condition of the Jews in Palestine; *History of the City of Gaza from the Earliest Times to the Present Day* (1907); and the two-volume *Methods of Teaching Post-Biblical History and Literature* (1915).

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[Sefton D. Temkin]

MEYER, MICHAEL A. (1937–), U.S. historian. Born in Berlin and brought to the United States in 1941, Meyer was educated at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, the University of California, Los Angeles (B.A. 1959), Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion (HUC-JIR), Los Angeles (B.H.L. 1960), and HUC-JIR, Cincinnati (Ph.D. 1964). He taught at HUC-JIR, Los Angeles, 1964–67, and from 1968 at HUC-JIR, Cincinnati, where he was named Adolf S. Ochs Professor of Jewish History. He also taught regularly at HUC-JIR in Jerusalem and was a visiting professor at UCLA, Antioch College, the University of Haifa, Ben-Gurion University, and the Hebrew University. Meyer served as chairman of the International Association of Historical Societies for the Study of Jewish History and was one of the founders of the (American) Association for Jewish Studies and its president in 1978–80. He was also the international president of the Leo Baeck Institute.

Meyer has been called "the dean of German-Jewish historians," and he has said that "my awareness of being one of the *niẓẓolei ha-Shoah* – those saved from the Holocaust – has deepened my commitment to things Jewish and to the study of German-Jewish history." He was considered perhaps the leading authority on Reform Judaism, about whose future he expressed optimism. His major work is *Response to Modernity* (1988), a history of the Reform movement through the 1970s, which won the National Jewish Book Award; it has become a standard work and has influenced all subsequent scholars on the subject. He has also edited (with Michael Brenner) a comprehensive four-volume history of modern German Jewry, sponsored by the Leo Baeck Institute, which is also recognized as a landmark work (its first volume won the National Jewish Book Award in 1997). In 1996 Meyer was awarded the Zeltzer Scholarship Award in Historical Studies by the National Foundation for Jewish Culture, in recognition of his stature and influence.

Meyer published many scholarly articles and edited a volume of the papers of Leo Baeck. His books include *The Origins of the Modern Jew: Jewish Identity and European Culture in Germany, 1749–1824* (1967), *Response to Modernity: A History of the Reform Movement in Judaism* (1988), *Jewish Identity in the Modern World* (1990), *Ideas of Jewish History* (edited, 1974), *German-Jewish History in Modern Times*, 4 vols. (edited with Michael Brenner, 1996–98), *The Reform Judaism Reader: North American Documents* (edited, with W. Gunther Plaut, 2001), and *Judaism within Modernity: Essays on Jewish History and Religion* (2001).

[Drew Silver (2nd ed.)]

MEYER, PAULUS (alias **Pawly**; originally **Kremenetzki, Eliezer Baruch Ashkenazi**; 1862–?), renegade who published testimony claiming that he had witnessed a ritual murder. Meyer, a native of Ostrow (Poland), acted during the 1880s as a Protestant missionary among the Jews in Germany. He came into conflict with the *Judenmission* there and published pamphlets against it, attacking H.L. *Strack and others. In 1892 missionary periodicals identified him as an impostor and swindler and he was expelled by the police from Prussia and Saxony. Meyer went to Vienna in 1893 and contacted Joseph *Deckert. On August *Rohling's recommendation, Deckert suggested to Meyer that he write a "scientific" book on the *blood libel. On May 11, 1893 the *Vaterland* published a letter by Meyer in which he claimed to have been present at a ritual murder in his native town in 1875, naming several participants. Joseph Samuel *Bloch took up the case. With the assistance of Nahum *Sokolow and Ḥayyim Selig *Slonimski, he discovered the persons accused by Meyer and, in some cases, their heirs. Joseph Kopp, who had represented Bloch in the Rohling controversy, persuaded them to sue for defamation of character. Throughout the trial Meyer denied having written or signed the letter or been responsible for its contents, although he admitted that the handwriting was that of his fiancée. The jury found him, Deckert, and the *Vaterland* guilty and they received a nominal sentence. The outcome, however, was symbolically important in the context of the antisemitic agitation of the 1890s.

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[Meir Lamed]

MEYER, RICHARD JOSEPH (1865–1942), German inorganic chemist. Meyer was born in Berlin. In 1896 he joined the Pharmacological Institute of University of Berlin and was professor of chemistry there until 1933. He was a member of international commissions on nomenclature and atomic weights and wrote *Bibliographie der seltenen Erden* (1905), *Analyse der seltenen Erden und der Erdsaeuren* (1912), and sections of Ullmann's *Encyclopaedie der Chemie* (1914). He edited several editions of the standard Gmelin-Kraut *Handbuch der anorganischen Chemie*.

MEYER, RICHARD MORITZ (1860–1914), German literary historian. Born and educated in Berlin, Meyer became professor (without salary) of literature at Berlin University in 1901. His books enjoyed a remarkable popularity extending far beyond his immediate scholarly circle. His prizewinning biography of Goethe in three volumes was published in 1895. He wrote a monograph on Nietzsche, *Nietzsche. Sein Leben und sein Werk* (1913). Meyer's outstanding achievements were his *Die deutsche Literatur des 19. Jahrhunderts* (1900; popular edition, 1912) and *Die deutsche Literatur bis zum Beginn des 19. Jahrhunderts* (ed. O. Pniower, 1916; enlarged edition ed. by Hugo *Bieber, 1923).

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[Rudolf Kayser]

MEYER, SELIGMANN (1853–1926), German rabbi and communal worker. Meyer was born in Reichelheim, Hesse and studied at the University of Giessen. In 1876 he moved to Berlin where he attended the Orthodox rabbinical seminary established by Azriel *Hildesheimer, at the same time working on the staff of the Orthodox Jewish weekly, *Juedische Presse*.

He received his doctorate in 1878, was ordained rabbi in 1881, and a year later was appointed rabbi of *Regensburg where he remained until his death. As a result of his communal activities Regensburg became a center of Orthodoxy. Meyer devoted himself particularly to the *Deutsche Israelitische Zeitung*, a religious monthly family journal, which he founded in 1884 and which he edited until his death.

[Henry Wasserman]

MEYER, TORBEN LOUIS (1909–2005), Danish journalist and author. Born in Copenhagen, Meyer joined the *Berlingske Tidende* daily in 1930 and after World War II edited Jewish journals, notably *Jodisk Samfund* (from 1947) and later *Jodisk Orientering*. He wrote *Flugten over Øresund* (1945), a vivid account of the escape of Danish Jews to Sweden in October 1943. Other books include a two-volume study of the Danish composer Carl Nielsen (1947–48) and *Musikalske selvportraetter* (1966). He also translated works of Bernard *Malamud into Danish.

MEYER, VICTOR (1848–1897), German organic chemist. Meyer, the son of a Berlin textile printer, obtained his doctorate at Heidelberg *magna cum laude* before he was 19. He worked with Bunsen at Heidelberg and Baeyer in Berlin, and in 1872, despite his youth, was appointed professor of general chemistry at the Zurich Polytechnic. He was professor at Goettingen University from 1885 to 1889 and at Heidelberg from 1889 until his death. Meyer invented the term "stereochemistry" and made basic contributions in the field of organic compounds. As well as being one of the foremost organic chemists of his generation and an outstanding lecturer and speaker, he was an accomplished musician, but he was dogged by ill-health and committed suicide. Meyer's biography was written by his brother, RICHARD EMIL MEYER (1846–1926), who was also an organic chemist of distinction. He held professorships at the Technische Hochschule of Braunschweig and at Heidelberg and was editor of the *Jahrbuch der Chemie* from 1891 to 1918.

[Samuel Aaron Miller]

MEYERBEER, GIACOMO (**Jacob Liebmann-Beer**; 1791–1864), German composer, remembered mainly for his spectacular operas. Meyerbeer was born in Berlin, where his father Jacob Herz Beer was a prominent banker; his brothers were Wilhelm *Beer and Michael *Beer. His musical gifts appeared early, and his grandfather Liebman Meyer Wulf was so impressed with the boy's genius that he made him his sole heir on condition that he added "Meyer" to his name. After studying with the composer Clementi, he went to live and work with the Abbé Vogler in Darmstadt. There he composed his first opera, *Jephthas Geluebde*, which was performed at Munich in 1813 with moderate success. His next dramatic work, *Die beiden Kalifen*, was a failure when produced in Vienna in 1814. Discouraged, Meyerbeer went to Italy. Between 1818 and 1824 he composed a series of successful Italian operas, among the most popular being *Romilda e Costanza, Semiramide riconosciuta, Emma di Resburgo*, and *Il crociato in Egitto*. His change of name from Jacob to Giacomo symbolized his "conversion" to the new Italian style.

In 1826, Meyerbeer was invited to the first performance of *Il crociato* in Paris. Its favorable reception led to his later career as a composer of French grand opera. His first in a series of brilliant successes in this genre, *Robert le Diable*, was produced in 1831, and within a year it was being presented in many European cities. Meyerbeer, aided by his librettist Eugène Scribe, gave the public what it wanted: a sensational story, novel stage effects, showy singing, and colorful orchestration. This formula was repeated many times, most notably in *Les Huguenots* (1836), *Le Prophète* (1843), and *L'Africaine* (*Vasco da Gama*; 1838–64), first produced in French and English a year after the composer's death. While vigorously promoting his own career, Meyerbeer was always ready to help other composers. For example, he warmly recommended Wagner's *Rienzi* for production in Dresden, and during his period as royal director of opera in Berlin (1842–47) he introduced the *Flying Dutchman* to the repertoire there. Wagner, however, violently attacked the music and personality of his one-time friend. Meyerbeer remained faithful to Judaism. Meyerbeer's popularity continued for some years after his death – in 1895 *Le Prophète* attained its 150th performance in London – but his reputation declined in the 20th century.

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[Dika Newlin]

MEYERHOF, MAX (1874–1945), ophthalmologist and medical historian. He was born in Hildesheim, Germany. In 1903 he went to Egypt and served as chief of the Khedivial Ophthalmic Clinic. He returned to Germany in 1914 to serve as a medical officer in the German army and after the war settled in Hanover as a practicing oculist. He returned to Cairo in 1923 and stayed there until his death. During his lifetime, Meyerhof published over 300 books, monographs, and treatises on ophthalmology and medical history. He made special studies of the various eye diseases endemic in Egypt and North Africa, especially of trachoma and its complications, of glaucoma, lepra of the eye, etc. His book *Ueber die ansteckenden Augenleiden Aegyptens* appeared in 1909. He also wrote on the history of ophthalmology and pharmacology among Spanish Muslims and Jews and did research on medieval Arab medicine from unpublished documents in Cairo and other libraries. He edited and translated the Arabic text of the famous medieval ophthalmologist Ḥunain ibn Iṣḥāq, *The Book of the Ten Treatises on the Eye* (1928), and was one of the first to study Maimonides as a physician; he translated and published for the first time Maimonides' glossary of drugs *L'Explication des noms de drogues* (1940). In recognition of his many services as an oculist and medical historian, Meyerhof received many honors and decorations from medical societies all over the world. Meyerhof also contributed to the organization of medical care for the poor in Egypt.

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[Suessmann Muntner]

MEYERHOF, OTTO (1884–1951), German biochemist and Nobel Prize winner. Meyerhof, who was born in Hanover, was first concerned with psychology (he wrote a book *Contributions to a Psychological Theory of Mental Diseases*) and philosophy (he edited a journal *Abhandlungen der Friesschen Schule*, mainly for neo-Kantian philosophers), and worked in Krehl's clinic and at the Marine Zoological Laboratory in Naples. In 1913 he joined the University of Kiel, where he became professor of physiological chemistry (1918–24). In 1923 Meyerhof was awarded the Nobel Prize in physiology and medicine (shared with A.V. Hill) "for his discovery of the fixed relationship between the consumption of oxygen and the metabolism of lactic acid in the muscle." An associated phenomenon is known as the Pasteur-Meyerhof effect. In 1924 Meyerhof became head of a division in the Kaiser Wilhelm Institute of Biology in Berlin-Dahlem, and in 1929 head of the department of physiology in the Institute for Medical Research in Heidelberg. He elucidated the roll played by ATP (adenosine triphosphate) in energy transfer in biological systems and introduced the term "energy coupling." He was forced to leave Germany in 1938, and became director of research at the Institut de Biologie Physicochimique in Paris. When the Germans conquered France, he escaped, first to southern France, and then to America. He then became research professor of physiological chemistry at the University of Pennsylvania's medical school.

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[Samuel Aaron Miller]

MEYERHOFF, HANS (1914–1965), U.S. philosopher. He was born in Brunswick, Germany, and went to the U.S. in 1934. From 1943 to 1948 he worked for the U.S. government. From 1949 on he taught philosophy at the University of California at Los Angeles. He wrote *Time in Literature* (1955), an analysis of scientific and literary renderings of time. He edited *The Philosophy of History in Our Time* (1959), and translated works by Max Scheler and Paul Friedlander. His publications include articles on philosophy, literature, psychology, and politics. He died in an automobile accident. A free speech plaza at the Los Angeles campus of the University of California is named after him.

[Myriam M. Malinovich]

MEYERHOFF, HARVEY (1927–), U.S. businessman, communal leader, philanthropist. The middle child and only son of Joseph and Rebecca Witten Meyerhoff, Harvey "Bud" Meyerhoff was born in Baltimore, Maryland. He attended Baltimore public schools and the University of Wisconsin at Madison. He settled in Baltimore and joined his father in the family-owned firm known as the Property Sales Company (later the Joseph Meyerhoff Corporation). As a partner, Meyerhoff led the firm to focus on developing shopping centers and apartment buildings, and oversaw the merger of the Meyerhoff Corporation with Monumental Life Insurance Company, which became Monumental Properties, Inc. in 1969.

In 1987 Meyerhoff was appointed by President Ronald Reagan to succeed Elie Wiesel as chairperson of the United States Holocaust Memorial Council (USHMM). When he assumed office, expectations were high but little had been achieved with regard to constructing a building, developing the permanent exhibition, and raising the requisite funds. Meyerhoff strengthened the organization's fund-raising efforts and met its fiscal goals, pushed for distinctive architectural treatment of the museum building, and navigated complex matters of exhibition content.

Meyerhoff's leadership of the USHMM came in the midst of a long career of service to his native city of Baltimore and its Jewish community as well as national causes. He served as chairman of the Johns Hopkins Hospital (1987), the Central Maryland United Way Campaign (1975), and the Associated Jewish Charities Campaign. He was president of the board of trustees of Baltimore's Park School, a non-sectarian, private elementary and high school, from 1972 to 1975. He played a leadership role in such diverse organizations as the National Conference of Christians and Jews, Maryland Region; the United Jewish Appeal; the Baltimore County Advisory Committee on Mass Transportation; the Baltimore Convention Bureau; the Baltimore League for the Handicapped (president, 1961–64); the National Association of Homebuilders Research Foundation (president, 1965–66); and the United States Rent Advisory Board.

Meyerhoff's wife, LYN (1927–1988), was also a prominent community leader. Long active in Maryland and national Republican politics, she was appointed by President Reagan in 1983 as a United States public delegate to the United Nations 38th General Assembly. She was also very active in many philanthropic initiatives including the National Aquarium, the Digestive Disease Center at Johns Hopkins Hospital, and the Baltimore Symphony Orchestra. Harvey and Lyn Meyerhoff were following in Joseph Meyerhoff's footsteps when they established a charitable foundation, The Harvey M. and Lyn P. Meyerhoff Fund, in 1972. Seven years later, they broke new philanthropic ground by setting up a separate fund to be administered jointly by their four children, who named their fund The Children of Harvey M. and Lyn P. Meyerhoff Philanthropic Fund. It was joined in 1999 by an additional fund known as The Grandchildren of Harvey M. and Lyn P. Meyerhoff Philanthropic Fund.

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[Karen L. Falk (2nd ed.)]

MEYERHOFF, JOSEPH (1899–1985), U.S. businessman, communal worker, and philanthropist. Meyerhoff was born in a small town near Poltava, Russia, and was taken to the United States in 1906, settling with his family in Baltimore, Maryland. From 1921 he headed his own building and real estate firm, which developed new communities, especially in the Baltimore area, and shopping centers in many cities. Meyerhoff was associated with the United Jewish Appeal (UJA), of which he was general chairman (1961–64) and a member of the executive committee thereafter. In 1961, while serving with the UJA, Meyerhoff established the Israel Education Fund, in conjunction with the government of Israel and the Jewish Agency.

He also served with the PEC Israel Economic Corporation, of which he was president (1957–63), and later as chairman of the board and the executive committee. He also was chairman of the Israel Education Fund of the UJA (1965–67). He served on the board of directors of many national and international Jewish organizations and institutions, including the Hebrew University in Jerusalem (1961–67). A philanthropic leader in his local Baltimore Jewish community, his local interests included the Sinai Hospital of Baltimore, of which he served as vice president and chairman of the board (1943–59), and Associated Jewish Charities and Welfare Fund Campaign of Baltimore, of which he was general chairman (1951–52). Meyerhoff served the state of Maryland as chairman of the State Planning Commission (1956–63), as member of the State Board of Public Welfare (1953–57), and in other capacities.

Many organizations and facilities in Israel and the United States bear the benefits of his benevolence. Some of those that bear his name include the Joseph Meyerhoff Family Charitable Funds; the Joseph Meyerhoff Library at Baltimore Hebrew University; and Hillel's Joseph Meyerhoff Center for Jewish Learning.

MEYER-LÉVY, CLAUDE (1908–?), French architect. Born in Paris, Meyer-Lévy established his reputation with his Yachting Pavilion at the Paris World Fair of 1937, and the French National Pavilion at the San Francisco Golden Gate Exposition of 1939 which he designed with E.T. Spencer. His synagogue at Strasbourg (1958), seating 1,700 people, was the largest to be built in Europe after World War II. It is a reinforced concrete structure containing a rectangular hall with an apse and galleries. The building takes the traditional form of the classical basilica.

MEYEROWITZ, HERBERT VLADIMIR (1900–1945), South African artist. Born in St. Petersburg (Leningrad), Meyerowitz specialized in decorative sculpture. His main work was done in South Africa, where he pioneered in wood-carving and architectural decoration, such as the memorial doorway (1930) at the South African National Gallery in Cape Town. In 1943 he established the West African Institute of Arts, Industries, and Social Sciences in Accra with funds from the colonial government, and became the acting director.

MEYEROWITZ, JOEL (1938–), U.S. photographer. Born in the Bronx, New York, Meyerowitz was working as an advertising director when one day in 1962 he quit his job to go out shooting on Fifth Avenue in Manhattan. In most of his early work, as a street photographer, he worked exclusively in color, treating the street as theater rather than as a landscape. Meyerowitz was instrumental in changing the attitude toward the use of color photography from one of resistance to nearly universal acceptance. Meyerowitz first exhibited at the Museum of Modern Art in 1963 in a show on which John Szarkowski's "The Photographer's Eye" was based, and he showed there, or under the Modern's auspices, in 1968, 1971, and 1978.

At first Meyerowitz focused on incidents like that in "Fallen Man, Paris, 1967," in which a young man lies supine on the street as passers-by stare or step around him. By the early 1970s Meyerowitz was shifting his view of the street to one in which people, buildings, and the flow of energy among them became the subject. "Woman in Red Coat, NYC" from 1975 depicts a flow of passers-by before a bland architectural façade. A woman in a bright red coat and long black gloves looms at the left of the picture. His first book, *Cape Light*, in 1978, is considered a classic, with more than 100,000 copies sold over a 25-year period. Photographs in the book, of Provincetown and Cape Cod, Mass., convey the look and delight of the areas. In 1980, with the support of public and private fellowships and grants, he published *St. Louis & the Arch*, a collection of more than 100 color plates with several foldouts and a minimum of text, focusing on the play of light and color on Eero Saarinen's Gateway Arch. He is the author of a dozen other books, including *Bystander: The History of Street Photography.*

In 1988 Meyerowitz produced and directed his first film, *Pop*, an intimate diary of a three-week road trip he made with his son, Sasha, and his father, Hy, who was suffering from Alzheimer's disease. The odyssey has as its central character an unpredictable, street-wise, and witty 87-year-old man with a failing memory. It is both an open-eyed look at aging and a meditation on the significance of memory, Meyerowitz said.

Within a few days of the attacks on the World Trade Center on September 11, 2001, Meyerowitz began to create an archive of the destruction and recovery at Ground Zero and the immediate neighborhood. "I walked and photographed nearly every inch of it," he said, "as it was transformed from an awesome pile to a vast and empty pit. Like an accordion, the 16-acre site was capable of appearing compressed and encircled one moment and then vast and beyond measure a second later. It breathed, as cities and nature do, when they draw us toward wonder and contemplation." The archive numbers more than 8,000 images and is available for research, exhibition, and publication at museums in New York and Washington. The State Department asked Meyerowitz and the Museum of the City of New York to create a special exhibition of images from the archive to send around the world. The only photographer granted unimpeded access to Ground Zero, Meyerowitz takes a meditative stance toward the work and the workers there. His color photos, presented in a 30 inch × 40 inch format, convey the magnitude of the destruction and loss and the heroic nature of the response.

His book *Tuscany – Inside the Light* was conceived as an antidote to the events of 9/11. During 2002, he and his wife, Maggie Barrett, collaborating author, returned to Tuscany, where they had taught photography and writing workshops. The tranquility of life, the enduring values, the deep familial bonds, the land itself and its 2,000 years of cultivation, Meyerowitz said, stand "inside this bowl of light" as nowhere else.

[Stewart Kampel (2nd ed.)]

MEYERS, NANCY JANE (1949–), U.S. director, producer, and writer. A Philadelphia native, Meyers earned a B.A. in journalism from American University in 1971. She moved to Los Angeles in 1972, where she started off supporting herself as a screenwriter by selling homemade cheesecakes. Meyers met her husband, screenwriter Charles Richard Shyer (1941–), on a date with his best friend, Harvey Miller. Meyers and Shyer were a couple by 1976. Shyer was already established in Hollywood, having written for the TV series *The Odd Couple* and *All in the Family* as well as the films *Smokey and the Bandit* (1977) and *Goin' South* (1978), starring Jack Nicholson. In 1976, Meyers and Shyer began collaborating on projects, joining Miller to pen a hit for fellow American University alumna Goldie *Hawn, in *Private Benjamin* (1980). The script earned an Academy Award nomination. Next, the two co-wrote *Irreconcilable Differences*, with Meyers as executive producer and Shyer as director. Their 1987 movie *Baby Boom* spawned an NBC TV series (1988–89) that the two produced. In 1991, the Meyers-Shyer remake of the 1950 film *Father of the Bride* was a success. The couple finally married in 1995 and also formed the Meyers/Shyer Company that year. The pair signed a development deal with Walt Disney Pictures in 1996 and remade the 1961 movie *Parent Trap* in 1998. It marked Meyers' directorial debut. The film's twin girls were named after Meyers and Shyer's daughters, Annie and Hallie. By that year, Meyers and Shyer's relationship had begun to dissolve and the two separated, personally and professionally. Meyers went on to direct *What Women Want* (2000) and *Something's Gotta Give* (2003), which she also wrote. Shyer directed *The Affair of the Necklace* (2001) and the 2004 remake of *Alfie*.

[Susannah Howland (2nd ed.)]

MEYERSON, EMILE (1859–1933), French chemist, historian, and philosopher of science; son of Malvina Meyerson, Polish novelist. Born in Lublin, Poland, Meyerson studied in Germany, mainly in Heidelberg with the noted chemist R.W. Bunsen. He later immigrated to Paris where he worked as an industrial chemist, editor, and administrator of the Jewish colonization association (ICA). Although never appointed to a university post, Meyerson came to be recognized as an unusually erudite scholar of the interrelationships among the natural sciences, the history of philosophy, and cultural developments, particularly since the rise of modern science in the 16th century. His knowledge embraced the most recent work on Einstein's theory of relativity and the early quantum theory of Max Planck and Niels Bohr. Meyerson wished to understand the nature of explanation both in the natural sciences and elsewhere. He believed that the philosopher of science has to have a thorough knowledge of the history of science, and of how scientists themselves conceived of their own work. His own philosophy, though abstract, was based on vast scholarly research which led him to conclude that rational understanding consisted of the discovery of those factors of permanence underlying processes of change, and the search for those identities found within the evident flux of experience or the incompletely rationalized world of most scientific work. Reality nevertheless seemed to Meyerson to be only partially open to rational understanding. Its sensual factors, for instance, which are so important for epistemological theory, remain unexplained. A complete understanding of nature thus seems to elude the grasp of a reasoned science. Meyerson's works include *Identité et Réalité* (1908; *Identity and Reality,* 1930), *De l'explication dans les Sciences* (2 vols., 1921), and various essays.

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[Robert S. Cohen]

MEYERSTEIN, EDWARD HARRY WILLIAM (1889–1952), English poet and novelist. The son of a well-known philanthropist, Meyerstein was educated at Harrow and Oxford. He worked for some years in the manuscripts department of the British Museum. Though a noted scholar, especially in Greek and Roman literature, Meyerstein was mainly drawn to poetry. He published a number of volumes of verse elaborate in diction and reminiscent of the fashions of the 1890s. They included *The Door* (1911); *New Odes* (1936); *Briancourt* (1937); *Sonnets* (1939); *The Visionary* (1941); *In Time of War* (1942); *Three Sonatas* (1948); and *The Delphic Character* (1951). *The Unseen Beloved* was published posthumously in 1953. Meyerstein also wrote several novels, outstanding among which was the trilogy *Terence Duke* (1935), a study in viciousness. Few of his works retained their popularity, but his careful and detailed life of Thomas Chatterton (1930) is one of the best extant studies of that romantic poet. A melancholy and eccentric bachelor who kept an "extraordinary collection of whips" in a box under his bed, Meyerstein is unsympathetically portrayed in the character of Brunstein in Arnold Lunn's novel, *The Harrovians* (1913). His own account of his youth appears in *Of My Early Life* (1958). *Some Letters of E.H. Meyerstein* (ed. Rowland Watson, 1959) is valuable in disclosing his strange life and views.

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[Philip D. Hobsbaum]

MEYERSTEIN, EDWARD WILLIAM (1863–1942), British philanthropist. Meyerstein was a highly successful member of the London Stock Exchange, who was renowned as "the great benefactor of hospitals." He had a very special interest in the Middlesex Hospital in London, which received his gift of £350,000 to make possible its expansion. Other institutions which were beneficiaries of his generosity were the Queen Victoria College Hospital, Tonbridge, the Kent County Ophthalmic Hospital at Maidstone, and the Westminster, St. Mary's, and Princess Elizabeth of York hospitals in London. From 1937 to 1938 and from 1941 to 1942 he served as the high sheriff of Kent. He was knighted in 1938 for his benefactions to health services. His son, Edward Harry William *Meyerstein, was a writer of prose and poetry.

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MEYUḤAS, ABRAHAM BEN SAMUEL (d. 1767), rabbi and kabbalist in *Jerusalem, his birthplace. Abraham studied under Israel Meir Mizraḥi in the Yeshivah Bet Ya'akov founded by Jacob Israel Pereira, and married the daughter of Tobias *Cohn. His life was one of suffering and affliction. He was orphaned as a child and lost his sight at the age of 30. Abraham was the author of *Sedeh ha-Areẓ;* homilies on the Torah, in three parts (pts. 1 and 2, Salonika, 1784, 1798; pt. 3, Leghorn, 1788); *Diglo Ahavah*, a commentary on the *Derekh Eẓ ha-Ḥayyim* of Isaac *Luria: it was arranged by Meir *Poppers and included the latter's own work, *Or Zaru'a; Ha-Ma'or ha-Katan*, on the *Eẓ Ḥayyim* by Ḥayyim *Vital; and *Si'aḥ ha-Sadeh*, on the *Kavvanot* ("Meditations") of Isaac Luria, together with homilies and notes. Raphael *Meyuḥas was his brother. One of Abraham's sons, Benjamin Moses (d. 1804), was responsible for publishing part 1 of *Sedeh ha-Areẓ*, and another, Joseph Jacob, an emissary of the *Hebron community, published the other two parts while engaged on his missions.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Michael, Or, 121, no. 253; Frumkin-Rivlin, 2 (1928), 118; 3 (1929), 86, 90–91; Yaari, Sheluḥei, 556–7, 598; idem, *Meḥkerei Sefer* (1958), 138–9.

[Abraham David]

MEYUḤAS, MOSES JOSEPH MORDECAI BEN RAPHAEL MEYUḤAS (1738–1805), chief rabbi of *Jerusalem. Moses studied in the *bet midrash* Bet Ya'akov. When only 15 years of age he answered questions on *halakhah*. After 1778 he was one of the members of the *bet midrash* Keneset Israel founded by Ḥayyim ibn *Attar. After the death of his father-in-law Yom Tov *Algazi, Moses succeeded him as Sephardi chief rabbi (*rishon le-Zion*) in 1802. He was on friendly terms with Ḥ.J.D. *Azulai. The titles of all his works include the word *mayim* from the initials of his name (he even signed his responsa "Mayim Meyuḥas"). They are *Sha'ar ha-Mayim* (Salonika, 1768), novellae on the laws of *terefot* in *Yoreh De'ah*, on tractate *Ḥullin* and responsa; *Berekhot Mayim* (*ibid.*, 1789), novellae to the Shulḥan Arukh; *Mayim Sha'al* (*ibid.*, 1799), responsa, including the work *Mayim Rishonim*, novellae written in his youth, to the *Mishneh Torah* of *Maimonides. Many of his novellae and responsa, among them *Penei ha-Mayim* and *Ein ha-Mayim*, remain unpublished.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Frumkin-Rivlin, 3 (1929), 183–6; M.D. Gaon, *Yehudei ha-Mizraḥ be-Ereẓ Yisrael*, 2 (1938), 401f.; M. Benayahu, *Rabbi Ḥayyim Yosef David Azulai* (Heb., 1959), 350f.

[Abraham David]

MEYUḤAS, RAPHAEL MEYUḤAS BEN SAMUEL (1695?–1771), chief rabbi (*rishon le-Zion*) of *Jerusalem. Meyuḥas was born in Jerusalem and studied in the yeshivah Bet Ya'akov, which he subsequently headed. In 1723 when the troubles of the Jewish community of Jerusalem were aggravated because of the harsh rule of its governor, Yussuf Pasha, Raphael was sent by Abraham *Yiẓḥaki, the *rishon le-Zion*, to Constantinople to plead for the governor's removal. Meyuḥas served as *av bet din* in Jerusalem, his colleagues including Isaac Zerahiah *Azulai and, much later, his son Ḥ.J.D. *Azulai. In 1756 on the death of Israel Jacob *Algazi, he was appointed *rishon le-Zion*. In one of his rulings Raphael endeavored to bring about a rapprochement between the *Karaites and the Rabbanites, permitting the Karaites to send their children to the *talmud torah*. Tradition has it, however, that Raphael later recanted his ruling. He was the author of *Minḥat Bikkurim* (Salonika, 1752) on the Talmud; *Peri ha-Adamah* in 4 parts (*ibid.*, 1752–57 (64?)), novellae on *Maimonides' *Mishneh Torah* with responsa – appended to the fourth part are homilies called *Penei ha-Adamah; Mizbaḥ Adamah* (*ibid.*, 1777) on the Shulḥan Arukh. Raphael was the brother of Abraham b. Samuel *Meyuḥas and the father of Moses Joseph Mordecai *Meyuḥas.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Frumkin-Rivlin, 3 (1929), 85–90; S. Assaf, *Be-Oholei Ya'akov* (1943), 203; Yaari, Sheluḥei, index, s.v. *Meyuḥas Meyuḥas*; M. Benayahu, *Rabbi Ḥayyim Yosef David Azulai* (Heb., 1959), index; idem (ed.), *Sefer ha-Ḥida* (1959), 28–31.

[Abraham David]

MEYUḤAS, YOSEF BARAN (**ben Rahamim Nathan**; 1868–1942), leader of the Sephardi community in Ereẓ Israel, writer, and educator. Born in *Jerusalem, from 1884 Meyuḥas taught in various schools, including the Evelina de Rothschild School, and was headmaster of the Ezra Teachers Seminary and the municipal school for boys. In 1888 he was one of the founders of the lodge of "Jerusalem" *B'nai B'rith – the first in Ereẓ Israel – and a founder of the Sha'arei Ẓedek quarter of

Jerusalem. Meyuḥas was also a leader of the Ḥibbat ha-Areẓ Society, which founded *Moẓa, near Jerusalem. One of the first Ereẓ Israel Sephardim to take an Ashkenazi wife, he married Margalit, the daughter of Y.M. *Pines. His was among the first families to follow Eliezer *Ben-Yehuda's example of speaking Hebrew. Meyuḥas was among the founders of the Ginzei Yosef u-Midrash Abrabanel Library, which formed the nucleus of the *Jewish National and University Library. From 1920 to 1931 he was president of the city council of Jews in Jerusalem. From his youth, he contributed to the Hebrew and Ladino press on matters of culture, education, and literature and became a specialist on Sephardi folklore, Oriental communities, the Arabs of Palestine, and the history of the Jews of the Orient and of the *yishuv*. He published a number of works and some have remained in manuscript.

[Abraham Aharoni]

MEZAḤ (Segal), JOSHUA HA-LEVI (1834–1917), Hebrew and Yiddish author. Born in Lithuania in the Kovno region, near Zagare, Mezaḥ (whose pen name derives from the initials of "Mi-Zager Ḥadash") lived in many different Jewish settlements in Russia and Romania, and for the last 25 years of his life in Vilna. From 1861 he wrote for most of the Hebrew and Yiddish newspapers existing at the time. His first book was *Ha-Emunah ve-ha-Haskalah* ("Faith and the Enlightenment," 1874). A collection of articles containing descriptions of the social shortcomings of various Jewish communities was published as *Mikhtavim mi-Sar shel Ya-M* ("Letters from Yehoshu'a Mezaḥ," 5 vols., 1884–88). *Tefaḥ Megulleh* (1886), for the greater part written by Judah Leib *Gordon, was an attack upon Alexander *Zederbaum, the editor of *Ha-Meliẓ*. In *Bamat Yiẓḥak* (1890), Mezaḥ wrote about the Yiddish theater, and *Ha-Eshel* (2 pts., 1893–94) contains selections from his tales, poems, and essays. He also wrote two plays, *Tummat Ivriyyah* (1904) and *Alilat Shav* (1908). He edited *Gan ha-Perahim* (1891), and, together with Reuben Asher *Braudes, the short-lived biweekly *Ha-Yahadut* (1885). After the 1890s Mezaḥ wrote almost nothing in Hebrew; but he published many popular short stories and popular booklets in Yiddish which were circulated in hundreds of thousands of copies, sometimes anonymously and often without receiving remuneration. Mezaḥ spent the end of his life in poverty. A bibliography of his works in Yiddish was compiled by A.J. Goldschmidt, in Ẓ. Shabad (ed.), *Vilner Zamlbukh*, 1 (1917), 192–201.

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[Yehuda Arye Klausner]

MEZEI, MÓR (1836–1925), Hungarian lawyer and politician. Graduating from law school in 1864, Mezei was admitted to the bar by special royal permission, since Jews were excluded from the legal profession until 1867. While still a student he joined the movement for Jewish emancipation. From 1861 he was secretary of the Izraelita Magyar Egylet ("Union of Hungarian Israelites"), and later editor of the union's official journal, *Magyar Izraelita*. In 1868–69 he was secretary of the General Congress of Hungarian Jews. It was largely through his efforts that the Jewish religion was officially recognized in Hungary (1895). From 1905 through 1925 he was president of the National Bureau of Hungarian Israelites, and was also active in general public affairs. He was a member of parliament (1893–1901) as a representative of the Liberal Party. His brother ERNŐ (1851–1932), a journalist and politician, also studied law at Budapest University. From 1874 to 1910 he was the political leader-writer of *Egyetértés* ("Concord"), the mouthpiece of the opposition Independence Party. In 1881 Mezei was elected member of parliament for Miskolc, but his parliamentary career was cut short when he submitted embarrassing questions in parliament in connection with the *Tiszaeszlar blood libel. Previously, Mezei had written several pamphlets against the policy of the Liberal Party leader Kálmán Tisza, who pursued a conciliatory policy toward the Hapsburg regime, *Tisza Kálmán a miniszterelnök* ("K. Tisza the Premier," 1875), *Tisza Kálmán 1877-ben* ("Tisza in 1877," 1877). His other works include a book describing his travels in Italy, *Bolyongások az olasz ég alatt* ("Roaming under Italian Skies"). At the beginning of the 20th century, Mezei, who was opposed to Zionism, corresponded with Theodor *Herzl. In a letter that later became famous, Herzl warned him of the fate in store for the assimilationist Jewry of Hungary.

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[Jeno Zsoldos]

MEZEY, FERENC (1860–1927), Hungarian lawyer and communal worker. Mezey studied law at the university of Budapest and took an interest in Jewish affairs from his student days. In the *Tiszaeszlar blood-libel case, he assisted the counsel for the defense, K. Eötvös. During the 1890s Mezey was one of the founders of the movement seeking institutional equality for the Jewish religion (granted in 1895). From 1902 he was the secretary of the national bureau of the Hungarian Jews, and its president in the last year of his life. Between 1889 and 1916 he was also secretary of the *ḥevra kaddisha* of Pest (see *Budapest), and was instrumental in establishing social welfare institutions. Mezey was also president of the administrative council of the rabbinical seminary. He founded the Jewish Museum of Budapest (1916), and was editor of the periodical **Magyar Zsidó Szemle*. An extreme assimilationist and anti-Zionist, Mezey sought to foster religious life organized within the religious institutions in order to repair the breach between the two factions of Hungarian Jewry, and helped to promote the influence of *Neologism.

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[Jeno Zsoldos]

MEZHIRECH (Pol. **Miedzyrzec Korecki**; Ukrainian **Mezhirichi**), a town in Rovno district, Ukraine. In Jewish sources Mezhirech is called *Mezrits Gadol* to distinguish it from

Miedzyrzec Podlaski in the province of Lublin and Miedzyrzec in the province of Poznan. An organized Jewish community existed there from the 1570s. In 1700 the economic situation of the Jews was satisfactory, and they were obliged to pay a poll tax (together with Kilikiev) of 1,550 zloty, which was a considerable sum on the Volhynian tax list. The community struggled to free itself from the dependency on Ostrog. During the liquidation of the *Council of Four Lands, Mezhirech is mentioned as an independent community. In 1707 there were no Jews due to the total destruction of the city by Ataman Mazepa. In 1784 there were 295 Jews. Among the celebrated Jewish personalities who lived there were the kabbalist R. *Jacob Koppel b. Moses Lipschuetz and R. *Dov Baer of Mezhirech; as a result of the latter's presence the town became a center of the ḥasidic movement. In 1847 the Jewish community numbered 1,808 persons. At the close of the 19th century the Jews of Mezhirech established and developed a factory producing brushes, which became known throughout Russia. During 1910–12 the annual turnover of this firm amounted to over 50,000 rubles. There were 2,107 Jews (67% of the total population) living in the town in 1897 and 1,743 (73%) in 1921. A Tarbut school and nursery operated in the town, and from 1930 a religious school. In 1937 Beitar established a farm to train agricultural workers for Ereẓ Israel, and served also as a base for the *Irgun Ẓeva'i Le'ummi. The town was occupied by the Soviet army in September 1939, and, on July 6, 1941, by the Germans, who murdered, robbed, and conscripted the Jews into forced labor, with the assistance of the local Ukrainians. Of the 160 young Jews sent to work in Kiev, almost all were murdered there, with only two who had joined Soviet partisans surviving. On the first day of Shavuot (May 22, 1942) most of the town's Jews were murdered at prepared pits outside the settlement. The remaining 950 were confined in a ghetto. On September 26, 1942, about 900 of them were executed, and others fled, but only part of them managed to survive by joining Soviet partisan units. On January 14, 1944, the town was liberated, and 30 Jews came out of the forests and from hiding, and another 50 from the interior of the U.S.S.R. They soon left for Israel and the West.

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[*Encyclopaedia Hebraica* / Shmuel Spector (2nd ed.)]

MEZŐFI, VILMOS (1870–1947), Hungarian politician and journalist, leader of the socialist agrarian movement. Born in Debrecen, Mezőfi was a watchmaker's apprentice who became a journalist and columnist in liberal newspapers. He joined the Social Democratic Party and edited their daily newspaper, *Népszava*. He also edited the workers' literary magazine, *Népolvasótár*.

Mezőfi played a leading role in the Social Democrats' attempt to organize agricultural workers. He was elected to the Hungarian parliament in 1905 where he advocated universal suffrage and pressed for immediate land reform. He left the party in 1910 when he found that it was not applying itself to this question. After World War I Mezőfi joined the newly formed small landowners' party and edited its journal *Szabad Szó* ("Free Word"). He continued to be active in Hungarian politics after the counterrevolution of 1920. In 1938 legislation was introduced to deprive Jews of their civic rights. Mezőfi vigorously fought the proposals and helped to organize the defense of the Jewish community. He was elected president of the 14th synagogue district of Pest in 1941.

Among Mezőfi's many writings are *A szociáldemokrácia evangéliuma* ("Gospel of Social Democracy") and *A munkabérek Magyarországon az 1896–1898 években* ("Wages in Hungary During the Years 1896–1898," 1899). In 1937 he published a pamphlet, *Irás a żsidókról* ("Script on the Jews"), directed to the agricultural population to combat the antisemitic Nazi propaganda which was being distributed among them.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Magyar Irodalmi Lexikon*, 2 (1965), 226; *Magyar Életrajzi Lexikon*, 2 (1969), s.v.

[Baruch Yaron]

MEZUZAH (Heb. מְזוּזָה), parchment scroll affixed to the doorpost of rooms in the Jewish home. The original meaning of the word *mezuzah* is "doorpost" (cf. Ex. 12:7). Its etymology is obscure; it has been suggested that it is derived from the Assyrian *manzazu*, but this is by no means certain. The Bible twice enjoins (Deut. 6:9 and 11:20) "and ye shall write them (the words of God) upon the *mezuzot* of thy house and in thy gates"; by transference, the word was made to apply not to the doorpost, but to the passages which were affixed to the doorpost in accordance with this injunction. The *mezuzah* consists of a piece of parchment, made from the skin of a clean animal, upon which the two passages in which the above-mentioned verses occur (Deut. 6:4–9 and 11:13–21) are written in square (Assyrian) characters, traditionally in 22 lines. The parchment is rolled up and inserted in a case with a small aperture. On the back of the parchment the word שַׁדַּי ("Almighty," but also the initial letters of שׁוֹמֵר דְּלָתוֹת יִשְׂרָאֵל "Guardian of the doors of Israel" (Kol Bo 90, 101:4)) is written, and the parchment is so inserted that the word is visible through the aperture. It is affixed to the right hand doorpost of the room, or house, or gate, where it is obligatory (see below), in the top third of the doorpost and slanting inward. A blessing "Who hast commanded us to fix the *mezuzah*" is recited when affixing it. The earliest evidence for the fulfillment of the commandments of the *mezuzah* dates from the Second Temple period. A *mezuzah* parchment (6.5 cm. × 16 cm.) has been found at Qumran (Cave 8) in which are written some sentences from Deuteronomy (10:12–11:21) but not from the *Shema* (*Discoveries in the Judean Desert of Jordan* (1962), 158–61). The Samaritans make their *mezuzot* out of large stones and attach them to the lintel of the main door of their houses or place them near the doorway. They carve on them the Ten Commandments or the "ten categories by which the world was created." Sometimes they use abbreviations and initial letters of the ten or single verses in praise of God. *Mezuzah* stones of this sort are found in Israel dating from the early Arab and perhaps even Byzantine era. The Karaites do not make the *mezuzah* obligatory. Nevertheless, the *mezuzot* that they do attach are made of a tablet of blank plate in the form of the two tablets of the law but without writing on them and they fix them to the doorways of their public buildings and sometimes to their dwelling places.

In the Middle Ages the custom obtained of making kabbalistic additions, usually the names of angels, as well as symbols (such as the **magen david*) to the text. The custom was vigorously opposed by Maimonides. He declared that those who did so "will have no share in the world to come." With their "foolish hearts" "they turn a commandment" whose purpose is to emphasize the love of God "into an amulet" (Yad, Tefillin 5:4). Despite this, there is one clear reference in the Talmud to the efficacy of the *mezuzah* as an amulet, though from the context it need not be regarded as doctrine. In return for a material gift sent by *Ardavan to *Rav, the latter sent him a *mezuzah*, and in answer to his surprised query replied that it would "guard him" (TJ, Pe'ah 1:1, 15d; Gen. R. 35:3). To a similar context belongs the story of the explanation of the *mezuzah* given by *Onkelos the proselyte to the Roman soldiers who came to arrest him: "In the case of the Holy One, blessed be He, His servants dwell within, while He keeps guard on them from without" (Av. Zar. 11a).

Maimonides' decision prevailed, and the *mezuzah* today contains only the two biblical passages. However, at the bottom of the obverse side there is written the formula **כולו במוכסל כולו**, a cryptogram formed by substituting the next letter of the alphabet for the original, it thus being the equivalent of **יהוה אלהינו יהוה** ("the Lord, God, the Lord"). This is already mentioned by *Asher b. Jehiel in the 13th century in his commentary to the *Hilkhot Mezuzah* of Alfasi (Romm-Vilna ed. p. 6b).

The *mezuzah* must be affixed to the entrance of every home and to the door of every living room of a house, thus excluding storerooms, stables, lavatories, and bathrooms, and must be inspected periodically (twice in seven years) to ensure that the writing is still readable. The custom has become widespread and almost universal at the present day to affix the *mezuzah* to the entrance to public buildings (including all government offices in Israel) and synagogues. There is no authority for this, unless the building or room is also used for residential purposes (Levi ibn Ḥabib, Resp. no. 101), and the Midrash (Deut. R. 7:2) actually asks the rhetorical question, "Is then a *mezuzah* affixed to synagogues?" As the scriptural verse states, it is also to be affixed to "thy gates." It is thus obligatory for the entrances to apartment houses. On the gates of the suburb Yemin Moshe in Jerusalem, which stand since their erection in 1860, the *mezuzot* are still to be seen. After the Six-Day War *mezuzot* were affixed to the gates of the Old City of Jerusalem. In the responsa *Sha'ali Ẓiyyon* of D. Eliezrov (1962, pt. 2, nos. 9–10), who served as rabbi to the Jewish political prisoners at Latrun during the British Mandate, there are two responsa from him and Rabbi Ouziel, Sephardi chief rabbi of Israel, as to whether *mezuzot* were obligatory for the rooms and cells of the camp.

In the Diaspora the *mezuzot* must be affixed after the householder has resided in the home for 30 days; in Israel, immediately on occupation. If the house is sold or let to a Jew the previous occupier must leave the *mezuzah*. It is customary, among the pious, on entering or leaving to kiss the *mezuzah* or touch it and kiss the fingers (Maharil, based on the passage from Av. Zar. 11a quoted above).

The Talmud enumerates the *mezuzah* as one of the seven precepts with which God surrounded Israel because of His love for them. Of the same seven (the *ẓiẓit* being regarded as four) R. *Eliezer b. Jacob stated, "Whosoever has the **tefillin* on his head, the *tefillin* on his arm, the *ẓiẓit* on his garment, and the *mezuzah* on his doorpost is fortified against sinning" (Men. 43b). The *mezuzah* is one of the most widely observed ceremonial commandments of Judaism. In modern times the practice developed of wearing a *mezuzah* around the neck as a charm. Some of the cases in which the *mezuzah* is enclosed are choice examples of Jewish art, and the artistic *mezuzah* case has been developed to a considerable extent in modern Israel.

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[Louis Isaac Rabinowitz]

MEZZROW, MILTON (**Mesirow, Mezz**; 1899–1972), jazz clarinetist. Born in Chicago, Mezzrow became one of the outstanding representatives of the Chicago style. In the mid-1920s he played occasionally with the Austin High School Gang in Chicago and recorded with the Chicago Rhythm Kings, the Louisiana Rhythm Kings, and Eddie Condon. During the 1930s and 1940s he was among the first white jazz musicians to perform with African American musicians, such as Tommy Ladnier and Sidney Bechet, with whom he appeared in New York and Paris. In 1937 he founded one of the earliest interracial jazz bands, led a band at Kelly's Stable (1943), and worked with Art Hodes (1943–44). In 1945 he became a co-founder and the president of the King jazz label. During the early 1950s Mezzrow moved to France, where he worked as an entrepreneur, organizing all-star touring bands, and appeared in the films *Vedettes en pantoufles* (1953) and *Premier festival Européen de jazz* (1954). His recordings include *Really the Blues* (1938); *Royal Garden Blues* (1938); *Comin' On with the Come On* (1938); *Revolutionary Blues* (1938); *Gone Away Blues* (1945); *Out of the Gallion* (1945); *Really the Blues* (1947); and *Mezz Mezzrow à la Schola Cantorum* (1955).

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[Israela Stein (2nd ed.)]

MIAMI-DADE COUNTY, located on the southeast coast of Florida. Miami-Dade County is comprised of 32 cities with Miami as the county seat and largest and oldest city. Miami, founded in 1896, was difficult to reach until the railroad was extended southward. The stereotyped image as the destination of Jews settling in Florida has been "Miami." In reality, Miami was among the state's latest communities to develop a Jewish population at all, with the Jews coming from other places in the United States (either New York or Key West); they were mostly immigrants from Russia and Romania. Romanian Jews had come to Key West in the 1880s and 1890s and left either as a result of a peddler's tax in 1891, the decline of the cigar industry, or the general decline of that city as the railroad arrived in Miami. Russian Jews who had come to New York began to come south with the railroad, first to Ft. Pierce, West Palm Beach, then Miami. This was true of the earliest Jews to settle in Miami. The first Jew to arrive in Miami in 1895 was either Sam Singer or Jake Schneidman. The earliest permanent Jewish settler was Isidor Cohen, who was a signatory of the city's charter in 1896 and helped found many Jewish and civic organizations. About 25 of these pioneer Jews had religious services beginning in 1896. There was no synagogue at the time but a rabbi was brought from West Palm Beach to conduct High Holy Day services. After the great fire that destroyed most of the businesses and took the life of Jewish merchant Julius Frank on December 26, 1896, and a yellow fever epidemic in 1899, the Jewish population declined by 1900 to three people: Isidor Cohen and Jake and Ida Schneidman; then Jake soon died. Cohen said that Jews owned 12 of Miami's first 16 retail stores. Miami remained a hostile environment for would-be settlers. Nonetheless, aided by the railroad and a fledgling tourist industry, Miami didn't give up. In 1905 Cohen married widow Ida Schneidman and the first *brit* was celebrated in 1907 for their son, Eddie, the first Jewish birth in the city. A girl, Nell Lehrman, was born in 1914. The death of a Jewish tourist in 1913 forced the small Jewish community to gather to discuss creating an organization and a cemetery. Meeting at the home of Mendel Rippa, the group of 35 Jews established the first congregation in Miami. They called it B'nai Zion, in tribute to its first president, Morris Zion. Later, the name was changed to Beth David. By 1915, there were 55 Jews in Miami. In the 1920s there was a Zionist Society; the United Jewish Aid Association (that eventually became Jewish Family Service); a B'nai B'rith lodge; chapters of the National Council of Jewish Women and Hadassah; Workmen's Circle *The New Jewish Unity* newspaper (1926–35); and then the *Jewish Floridian* (1928–90). Tremendous advertising combined with abundant land, new roads, and the availability of the automobile and commercial aviation, created a tourist and real estate boom. A population of 30,000 (that included 100 Jewish families) exploded to more than 130,000 with 3,500 Jews by 1925. Jews founded Temple Israel, the first Reform congregation, in 1922, and were among those who chartered the University of Miami in 1925. The hurricane that swept Miami just as *Kol Nidre* services on Yom Kippur ended on September 18, 1926, brought the real estate boom to an abrupt halt. From 1926 to 1931, the city suffered a boom and bust, two hurricanes, the failure of five banks, and finally the stock market crash. Headlines screamed, "Miami is Wiped Out."

But the headlines were wrong. By the mid-1930s, Miami began a gradual recovery. New residents arrived by air, train, and the Mallory Steamship Line. Streetcars were introduced in the city. Tourists were lured to boating, fishing, and tropical gardens attractions. Miami began to gain a reputation as the "gateway to Latin America" – a reputation that would increase dramatically as the century wore on. During the 1930s, approximately 4,500 Jews lived among a Miami population of more than 110,000. Satellite communities emerged. The hotel, building, and banking industries escalated with greater participation by Jews. Jews helped start and continue to support Miami-Dade College, the University of Miami, which has a Center for Contemporary Jewish Studies and Hillel, and Florida International University with a Judaic Studies Program. The perilous situation of European Jews evoked a response in Miami's small but active Jewish community, which founded the Greater Miami Jewish Federation in 1938. The first president was Stanley C. Myers. Ida Cohen founded the Jewish Home for the Aged with a $10,000 donation from a non-Jew in 1940; today it is a leader in the field of all levels of care for the Jewish frail and elderly.

When the Japanese bombed Pearl Harbor, local leaders, seeking to expand business and visibility, convinced the government that Miami was the ideal location for training military personnel. As a result, funding and soldiers poured into the area, particularly Miami Beach. Many of these soldiers were Jews, who returned after the war, when South Florida's image as a year-round resort reemerged. The tourist industry was revitalized with the widespread use of air conditioning, mosquito control, the development of Miami International Airport, and Israeli businessman Ted Arison's expansion of the cruise ship business. The post-war economic boom brought additional tourists and settlers to Miami. Many were Jews, attracted by the new jobs created from tourism. In 1950, Dade County had a population of 495,000 people of which 55,000 were Jewish. For the next five years, approximately 650 Jews arrived each month. A new house was built every seven minutes during this period – and many of the builders were Jews. In 1952 Abe Aronovitz became the first (and to date, the *only*) Jewish mayor of Miami. Many Jews, horrified by news of the Holocaust, began to challenge antisemitism at home. The Miami branch of the Anti-Defamation League had been founded in 1940. During the McCarthy era, bombings and desecration of area synagogues were prevalent. Following the communist takeover of Cuba in 1959, 10–12,000 Cuban Jews immediately fled the country, finding refuge in Miami and its environs. In Miami, the presence of middle-class Cubans with business acumen helped revitalize the city.

In the post-war period until the mid-1960s, most jobs were related to the tourist and building industries or real estate. Most Jews were involved in the services and retail trades, but by the 1960s, many were moving into medical and legal professions. In 1963 the first two Jews from South Florida were elected to the state legislature – Murray Dubbin and Louis Wolfson II. William Lehman was Florida's second Jew to serve in the U.S. Congress (after David Levy Yulee in the 19th century) when he began his 20 years of service in the House of Representatives in 1973. Lehman was a powerful force on transportation legislation, responsible for bringing mass transit to South Florida. In this period, Jews began to move north to North Miami and North Miami Beach. Cuban Jews started their own congregations.

From a shipping family, Israeli Ted *Arison, in 1972, acquired his own ship, the Mardi Gras, which was the start of Carnival Cruise Lines, today the largest cruise company in the world. Arison headed the campaign to bring professional basketball to South Florida (Miami Heat) and was the chief benefactor of the New World Symphony, founded by Michael Tilson *Thomas. The 1973 Arab oil embargo plunged Miami into the worst recession since the 1930s. Yet Jewish Miami continued to grow. By 1980 the Greater Miami Jewish population reached its all time peak of 230,000, with a full array of Jewish organizations, including Jewish Federation TV and the *Miami Jewish Tribune* (1986–93). The *Miami Herald* published an insert, the *Jewish Star Times* (2000–02).

In the 1980s, Miami became the new Ellis Island for people fleeing troubled countries like Haiti and the Dominican Republic. The influx of Caribbean immigrants, as well as the growing Spanish-speaking Cuban population, alienated some people and many Jews moved north to Broward and Palm Beach counties. By 1985 the Jewish population had declined to 209,000. As well, many of the old Jews, who had lived on Miami Beach, had died. But the greater Miami Jewish community was reinvigorated by the arrival of Jews from Latin America, Russia, and Israel. In 2005 the Jewish population of the county has decreased but stabilized at about 121,000 with a high percentage of retired and elderly persons (but less than in Broward and Palm Beach counties). There are more than 60 congregations, 34 Jewish educational institutions, and three Jewish community centers. The highest percentage and increase in Jewish population is in North Dade, especially in Aventura. Miami-Dade County hosts Florida's third largest Jewish population and the nation's tenth largest.

Miami Beach and Antisemitism

From the early 20th century, people visited the southern tip of Florida to picnic on its sandy beaches or bathe in the warm waters of the Atlantic Ocean. In 1913 the Collins Bridge opened, joining the beach to the mainland. That same year, New York Jews Joe and Jenny Weiss, and their son Jesse, relocated to Miami Beach. Joe and Jennie operated a snack bar at a popular bathing spot at the tip of the beach, the only place Jews could settle. Several years later, the Weiss family opened Joe's Stone Crab Restaurant in a small, wooden frame house, which they continued to expand and today remains the site of this world famous restaurant. It is still run by descendants of the Weiss family. Developers placed restrictive covenants in their land deeds that prohibited the sale of Miami Beach lots to Jews: "No lot shall be sold, conveyed, leased to anyone not a member of the Caucasian race, nor to anyone having more than one quarter Hebrew or Syrian blood." A letter, written in 1920, stated, "We don't want Miami Beach to ever become a Jewish outfit – it would not only ruin the Hotel but ruin the property." However, the Lummus Brothers who owned properties at the southern end of Miami Beach, did not bar Jews from ownership. Several modest Jewish-owned hotels and apartments arose on property sold to Jews south of Fifth Street. These early Beach Jews owned and lived in apartments and rented units to others. This was their chief source of income. Sam Magid and Joseph and Harry Goodkowsky moved to Miami Beach and in 1921 built the Nemo Hotel on Collins Avenue and First Street, the first hotel to cater to kosher Jewish winter tourists. Shortly thereafter, the Seabreeze Hotel, also kosher, opened nearby at Collins and Second Street. Rose and Jeremiah Weiss and their children moved to Miami Beach in 1919 because of Rose's health problems. They bought the Royal Apartments, which had dwellings for 15 families. Rose Weiss, known as "the Mother of Miami Beach," attended every city commission meeting for nearly 40 years and created the city's flag. In the mid-1920s, the Jacobs family opened the first of three hotels. The Blackstone opened in 1929 on Washington Avenue and Eighth Street. Built by Nathan Stone, the grandfather of future U.S. Senator Richard Stone, this hostelry became one of South Beach's most imposing buildings, as well as a haven for Jewish visitors. George Gershwin reportedly wrote portions of *Porgy and Bess* while reposing in the hotel's rooftop solarium.

Despite this activity, the Jewish population of Miami Beach grew slowly in the first half of the 1920s. It was confined to an area from Fifth Street south to the tip of the peninsula. Malvina Weiss Gutschmidt, the daughter of Rose Weiss, noted that there were no Jewish residences north of Fifth Street until 1925. From 1925 until the end of the decade a rapidly growing Jewish neighborhood moved north all the way to Lincoln Road at 16th Street. A fantastic real estate boom, which overtook all of South Florida and much of the rest of the state in the mid-1920s, prompted this growth. The boom led to the creation of hundreds of new subdivisions and communities in Greater Miami and to a sharp increase in the area's population. This speculative era lured many "bigger than life" Jews: bankers Leonard Abess and Baron de Hirsch *Meyer and attorney, businessman, Zionist, and community builder Max Orovitz. Henri Levy, a French-born Jew, migrated with his family to Miami Beach, an area he characterized as "a lush tropical paradise." In 1922 Levy developed the smart boom-era communities of Normandy Isle and Normandy Beach North, which later became Surfside. The boom collapsed in 1926, when a hurricane smashed into South Beach and other parts of the county. But many "boomers," whose ranks included a considerable number of Jews, remained in the area. In the 1930s, Miami Beach's Jewish population grew significantly, reaching at least several thousand (out of an overall population for Miami Beach of 28,012) by decade's end, as Miami-Dade County, formerly called Greater Miami, replaced Jacksonville as the center of Florida Jewry.

Many of the new arrivals to Miami Beach came initially as tourists. Most came from the northeast United States. Most hotels and apartments continued to exhibit "Gentile Only" signs. Jewish builders erected many of the finest hotels on South Beach during the 1930s. Many bore the Streamline or Nautical Modern style of architecture designed by Henry Hohauser, who moved to Miami Beach in 1936. His initial project was to design a new sanctuary for Miami Beach's first congregation – the building that now houses the Jewish Museum of Florida. For the next ten years, this brilliant architect was responsible for the design of more than 100 hotels, apartments, and buildings on Miami Beach. The Art Deco buildings of the 1930s and 1940s on Miami Beach are architectural treasures known throughout the world. The square-mile district is bounded by Fifth Street to 23rd Street, Lenox Avenue to Ocean Drive. In the 1980s, Barbara Baer Capitman, a Jew, launched the campaign that established the Art Deco District, the largest collection of 1930s Art Deco and Art Moderne buildings in the nation. Jews operated many of the hotels. The 1930s also marked the dismantling of restrictive barriers to Jewish ownership of real estate throughout the Beach, as large numbers of Jews purchased commercial properties from debt-ridden owners only too happy to sell them. Jews also began buying residential lots whose restrictive covenants proved impossible to enforce after the property had changed owners a couple of times. While discrimination had by no means vanished, conditions were improving. But it was not until 1949 that a law was passed by Florida's legislature that ended discrimination in real estate and hotels. The Jewish retail, institutional, and residential presence was most strongly felt at the southern portion of the island, especially along Washington Avenue and Collins Avenue and Ocean Drive, stretching from the tip more than one mile north to, and even beyond, Lincoln Road. Small Jewish businesses dotted Miami Beach streets and Jewish tenants filled apartments. In 1925, Jews began meeting for services in apartments. Several very observant Canadian Jewish visitors lobbied for a synagogue. As a result of their efforts, Orthodox Beth Jacob Congregation was organized in 1927. In the 1930s, as the Jewish population moved into areas north of Fifth Street, many members of Beth Jacob broke away and organized a Conservative congregation. Jacob Joseph of Miami Beach subsequently became the Miami Beach Community Center in the 1940s, and, finally, in 1954, Temple Emanu-El. Rabbi Irving *Lehrman served as the powerful spiritual leader for 50 years. As the Jewish population continued to move north, and many Jewish soldiers poured into the area for wartime training, Jews founded the Beth Sholom Center in a storefront on 41st Street in 1942 (it was renamed Temple Beth Sholom in 1945), where Rabbi Leon *Kronish served for nearly 50 years. Today there are more than 20 congregations on the Beach. Jewish education is abundant: the Hebrew Academy since 1947, Lehrman Day School since 1960, and Talmudic Academy since 1974. There has been a *mikveh* since 1945 and an *eruv* since 1982. Commensurate with their increase in numbers, Jews began to play increasingly more important civic roles. Baron de Hirsch *Meyer, who came to the area during the boom after earning a law degree from Harvard, served as president of numerous Jewish organizations and was the first Jew to sit on the Miami Beach City Council (1934). Mitchell Wolfson, who migrated to Miami with his family around 1915 from Key West, became Miami Beach's second Jewish councilman. Like de Hirsch Meyer, Wolfson was a stellar businessman, civic leader, and visionary. In 1943 he was elected mayor, the first of 15 Jews who have served as mayor of Miami Beach (as of 2005). Mitchell Wolfson was very important to business in Miami. With his brother-in-law Sidney Meyer, Wolfson formed WOMETCO (Wolfson Meyer Theater Company) in 1949. WOMETCO became the first television station in Florida, WTVJ. Wolfson also built the Seaquarium and left an endowment to create the Wolfson campus of Miami-Dade College. By the mid-1940s, the Greater Miami Jewish Federation placed the number of Jews in Dade County at 29,325 in a county nearing 400,000 in population. Nearly one-half of these Jews lived on Miami Beach.

Less civic-minded Jews also embraced Miami Beach. Most prominent of these was Meyer *Lansky, the reputed boss of South Florida crime in the middle decades of the 20th century. Less "prominent" than Lansky nationally but quite active on the Beach was the S&G Syndicate, founded and operated by five Jews. From its office on Washington Avenue, the S&G controlled bookmaking in a couple of hundred hotels on Miami Beach and elsewhere in the area in the 1940s, grossing millions of dollars annually. A U.S. Senate crime investigating committee, chaired by Estes Kefauver, put the syndicate out of business in the early 1950s.

The tragedy of the Holocaust caused many Jews to turn to Zionism. In 1944, more than 8,000 persons gathered in Miami's Bayfront Park to hear Dr. Stephen S. Wise, a renowned scholar and leader, present the case for the Jewish people and for a homeland in Palestine. Some South Florida Jews, led by Shepard Broad (Broad Causeway honors him), helped outfit boats and planes to transport Jews from Displaced Persons (DPS) camps in Europe to Palestine. Inspired by first-hand experience in financing boatloads of Holocaust survivors and DPS to arrive in Palestine, Max Orovitz formed "the Miami Group" with fellow Jewish businessmen and created the Dan Hotel chain in Israel following statehood. Following World War II, Jewish doctors could not get staff privileges at any area hospitals. In response, Jewish leaders in the community formed Mount Sinai Hospital on Miami Beach; Max Orovitz was the founding chairman for 30 years. Today, the 55-acre hospital, the largest employer in that city, is renowned for its leadership in medicine, especially cardiac care.

As the social and cultural fabric of Miami Beach changed following the end of World War II, so did the Beach's physical appearance. Hotels were built rapidly to satiate the desire of tourists for fancy new hotels. The hotel industry was greatly bolstered by Jews, including Ben Novack who, with Harry Mufson, built the Fontainebleau Hotel (1954). Designed by Morris *Lapidus, the elegant hotel quickly became a trademark property. A year later, Mufson commissioned Lapidus to design the equally grandiose Eden Roc Hotel next door.

Larry *King began his live talk show on Miami Beach in 1956. Sophie *Tucker belted her songs in Yiddish during the 1950s and 1960s in Miami Beach hotels. In 1967 Judy Drucker organized the first concert at Temple Beth Sholom and began bringing world famous performers to Miami Beach. Fifteen years later Drucker formed the Concert Association of Florida. From Yiddish theater in the 1930s to Pavarotti on the beach in the 1990s, from the Miss Universe Beauty Pageant at the Fontainebleau Hotel in 1960 to the opening of the Jewish Museum of Florida in 1995, Jews have played an active role in developing the arts and entertainment scene of Miami Beach to what it is today, and they continue to nurture it. Jews started the other museums, Bass Museum of Art and Wolfsonian, as well as the Miami City Ballet. In 1990 Kenneth Treister designed the Holocaust Memorial, a 50-foot outstretched arm with 135 life-sized bronze sculptures.

In the 1970s, about 80% of the population was Jewish. In 2004 it was 20% (about 20,000). There is a resurgence of Orthodoxy (17% of the Beach population), especially among younger families. The elderly Jews have passed away and Latin American and Israeli Jews have arrived. The increasing popularity of Miami Beach, rising real estate values, and a declining Jewish population have forced more synagogues to close their doors and become nightclubs and retail stores. The skyline of Miami Beach has changed from the day the first "skyscraper" went up in 1940. It continues to change, as some buildings come down and new higher ones go up. Jews have been involved in every aspect of these developments, as architects, developers, and contractors. Through their contributions to the physical appearance of Miami Beach, their roles in building the Beach are apparent and perpetual.

(Current demographics (2004) were provided by Ira M. Sheskin, Ph.D., for the Greater Miami Jewish Federation.)

[Marcia Jo Zerivitz (2nd ed.)]

Cuban Jewish Community

The Jews of Cuba form a special group among the Jews of Greater Miami. Despite their small number, 2,500 households (2001), they stand out as a link between the large Cuban exile population and the large Jewish population. Unlike other Jews from Latin America, who tend to use Miami as a temporary stopover, the Cubans made Miami their permanent home.

Following the Castro revolution, Cuban Jews started to migrate to South Florida, most of them to Miami Beach. Like other middle-class Cubans, their exodus was motivated by the complete change in the social and economic system under Castro, and particularly by the nationalization of private businesses. Between 1960 and 1963, more than 9,000 Jews, out of the 12,000 that had resided in Cuba prior to the revolution, left the island. Assisted by HIAS, which tried to relocate them in other parts of the United States, they favored Miami, which became their substitute for Havana. They found there a similar landscape and climate and a large Spanish-speaking population.

Though arriving with practically no property, the Cuban Jews were equipped with the experience and education to facilitate their economic integration and eventually their remarkable success. Like other Cuban exiles of the early 1960s they became owners and general managers of large business firms, senior bank executives, and professionals.

The Cuban Jews felt rejected by the resident Jewish population, which was indifferent to their presence and problems. The only congregation that was hospitable to the Cubans was Temple Menorah, which with time became an important social and religious center of Cuban Jews. In 1961 they founded the Círculo Cubano Hebreo, which became the Cuban Hebrew Congregation at the Ashkenazi Beth Shmuel synagogue. In 1969 the Sephardim founded the Cuban Sephardi Hebrew Congregation, and in 1980 they inaugurated their synagogue, Temple Moses (today Torat Moshe).

The two Cuban congregations were founded in Miami Beach, the center of the early immigrants, many of whom were born in Europe, migrated to Cuba, and finally settled in Miami. The younger generation, of Cuban-born Jews, tended to leave the Beaches and concentrate in South Dade. A study by I.M. Sheskin (see Bibliography) showed in 1982 that out of 3,213 Cuban-born Jews, 40% lived in the Beaches, 50% in South Dade, and 10% in North Dade. With time, however, the population of the Beaches decreased considerably, though most Cuban Jews still live within the boundaries of Dade County.

The Cuban-born Jews preserved the social and cultural patterns that they brought over from Cuba: they were very active in Zionist circles, they sent their children to Jewish day schools, and were less influenced by assimilation. With time, however, the Cuban identity tends to diminish. The third generation, born in the United States, is less affected by the Cuban heritage of their parents' community. They are integrated in an English-speaking environment and gradually lose their Cuban characteristics.

[Margalit Bejarano (2nd ed.)]

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MICA (Heb. מִיכָא; "who is like [El]"), son of *Mephi-Bosheth, son of Jonathan, son of Saul (II Sam. 9:12). In the genealogical list of the tribe of Benjamin (I Chron. 8:34, 35; 9:40, 41) he is called Micah (Heb. מִיכָה). Thanks to *Jonathan, his grandfather, and Mephi-Bosheth, his father, Mica no doubt benefited from David's generosity (II Sam. 9:12; cf. 19:24–29).

For his descendants, see *Benjamin.

MICAH (Heb. מִיכָה), the sixth book in the collection known as the Twelve Minor Prophets within the subdivision "Later Prophets" of the second division of the Hebrew Bible (the Prophets). In the Septuagint translation, where the order varies, Micah usually comes immediately after Hosea and Amos. It is possible that the prophet's name is a hypocoristic of a name formulated as a rhetorical question. Mi-ka-yahu, "who is like YHW(H)" or Mi-ka-El, "Who is like God / El." An ostracon from Jerusalem from the late eighth or early seventh century attests the name *Mk*[*y*]*hw* (Ahituv, 23).

The Content of the Book

The title (1:1) specifies the name, country, and date (in the days of Jotham, Ahaz, and Hezekiah, kings of Judah in the eighth century) of Micah's prophecy "concerning Jerusalem and Samaria." This is followed by a diatribe against Israel and Samaria (1:2–7). Critics have suggested that verse 1:5b, dealing with the "cult places" (*bamot*) of Judah – which are hardly a concern of Micah – is a gloss inspired by 3:12. Others emend *bamot* to *ḥattot*, "sins." In the succeeding lamentation (1:8–16), over the birthplace of the prophet and the neighboring towns, misfortune strikes at the gates of Jerusalem (12) but does not pass beyond them. The prophetic "I" makes its first appearance in verse 15. In verse 16, as the form of the Hebrew verb shows, a female person is addressed; no doubt Daughter-Zion of verse 13, or, following the reading of some manuscripts of the Septuagint, "Fair Israel." In fact the "kings of Israel" did suffer a reverse at Achzib, as verse 14 indicates.

In 2:1 the threat is no longer directed against cities but against those who, having dispossessed others and defrauded them of their holdings, shall themselves be dispossessed. This section of chapter 2 may be dealing with social injustices (8–12) or, like Hosea 5:9–11, with a territorial dispute between tribes. Note that it is a clan (*mishpaḥah*, 2:3), which has angered the Lord and it is a stranger who reaps the benefit of the vengeful spoliation, without right of repurchase. The key phrase is in verse 7: the Lord does not abandon Israel. The sense of the passage becomes clearer if the prophet is assumed to be warning the ministers of Judah, who wish to expand at the expense of Israel. From this the conclusion can be drawn that the Lord, the sole King, steps into the breach and gathers His people together despite Judah's policy. In a new soliloquy (3:1) the prophet personally attacks the "leaders" and "magistrates" of Israel (without any mention of kings) who ignore the law and devour each other in quarrels, which the prophet depicts figuratively as cannibalism, through which the people suffer. The prophets for their part mislead the people. In punishment, the Lord no longer provides them visions. Chapter 3 culminates in a prediction of the destruction of Jerusalem, corresponding to that of Samaria in 1:6. According to Jeremiah 26:18, this text had great repercussions, reaching the ear of Hezekiah and perhaps precipitating his reforms.

The allusion to Jerusalem and Zion is followed by the insertion of the famous passage, "from Zion shall come forth Torah/ teaching/ law and the word of the Lord from Jerusalem," which appears also in Isaiah (2:2–4). The passage predicts the universal reign of peace, with the Lord issuing instructions on Mount Zion and settling disputes so that war will be unnecessary. (On the relation between the Micah and Isaiah oracles, Andersen and Freedman (413–25) cite no fewer than seven options.) After the profession of faith in 4:5 ("We walk in the name of the Lord, our God"), a new oracle announces the reign of the Lord, who assembles the crippled. Daughter-Zion regains her former sovereignty (vs. 8). Her present pangs are pangs of birth that augur well for the future when YHWH will redeem her. The section (5:1–5:5) on Beth-Lehem-Ephrathah appears to be a unity. Though the area is too small to be a fighting unit, from there the leader (*moshel*, the term "king" is avoided) of Israel will arise (cf. the Christian reading of this passage in Matt. 2:5–6). The allusion to a Davidide is clear, inasmuch as his wellsprings, or origins, can be traced from ancient times (5:1). The schism between Israel and Judah is compared to the abandonment of the Israelites by this Davidide until the day when she, presumably Daughter-Zion (4:10), who is destined to give birth does so. The leader presides over the ingathering, but here this is presented as a return of Judah to Israel (cf. Deut. 33:7). This shepherd is capable of organizing a coalition against Assyria of seven shepherds and eight *nesikhim* ("princes") and of assuring peace. This passage is therefore linked with the preceding one, as B. Renaud pointed out. It likewise is connected with the following verses: 6–8, where the remnant of Israel is seen as present in the midst of the nations as a sign of the Lord's blessing or curse.

In contrast, chapter 5:9–14 returns to the theme of the extermination of idols (as in 1:7 against Samaria; cf. Isa. 2:6–22) with an allusion to the cities of the country (as in 1:10–15). This passage is linked associatively with chapter 6 by the repetition of the verb *shama,* "hear" (cf. 5:14) in 6:1. Here the presentation is in the form of a complaint (*riv*). The Lord recalls his acts of salvation, citing the exodus from Egypt led by Moses, Aaron, and Miriam (the only non-genealogical reference to Miriam outside the Pentateuch), and the plot of Balak and Balaam, which YHWH foiled. No response of the people has survived. The verses that follow are arguably among the most famous in the Bible. In vss. 6–7 we have a question modeled on the liturgy of entrance: "With what shall I come before YHWH, bow down to the god on high? Shall I come before him with burnt offerings, with calves sons of a year? Will YHWH be pleased with thousands of rams, with myriads of streams of oil? Shall I give my first born for my transgression, the fruit of my belly for my own sin?" Verse 8 replies that it has already been revealed to humans what is required of them: justice, mercy, and humility before the Lord. Chapter 6:9–16 is a new soliloquy to an unnamed town, and probably to a tribe. The resemblance to Amos 8:4–5 and the allusion in verse 16 to Omri and the house of Ahab make it probable that the passage alluded (at least originally) to Samaria. The tribe may be Ephraim, since in the oracles of Hosea and Isaiah the kingdom of the North dismembered by *Tiglath-Pileser III is called Ephraim (Isa. 9:7 (8)).

The prophetic "I" again appears in 7:1 in a lamentation on civil discord (cf. 3:3; Isa. 10:17ff.). This "I" reappears from verse 7 onward where the prophet speaks in the name of Israel, which reproaches its "enemy" for having rejoiced at its downfall. It is probable that (as in 2:8) the enemy is in this case Judah, since the question raised by the "enemy": "Where is your God?" is the reproach of the Judahites against the Israelites who did not recognize the choice of the sanctuary at Zion. Verse 10b is reminiscent of 3:12 on the ruin of Jerusalem. Chapter 7:14–20 is a prayer imploring the Lord to become the shepherd of His people once again (the geographical terms are of the North, Carmel, Bashan, and Gilead, alienated in 733 B.C.E.) as He promised to Jacob and Abraham. This rare reference probably aimed at encompassing both Judah and Israel in the same gathering.

Composition

The book is composed of independent but more or less connected sections. Ordinarily, these sections are re-divided into three: chapters 1–3 speak of condemnation, 4–5 of consolation, and 6–7 of a mixture of condemnation and consolation. The visions of consolation are generally attributed to the years following the Exile and are assumed to have been added to the original oracles of Micah at the time when the book was put together (Renaud). There are two objections to this view:

(1) It disregards the importance of the kingdom of the North and its downfall in 722 in the religious thought of Israel. This strain in Micah was given great emphasis by F.C. Burkitt, O. Eissfeldt, and J.T. Willis;

(2) It neglects the influence of the cultural traditions in the sanctuaries (including Jerusalem) on the prophetic oracles. E. Hammershaimb and B. Reicke have stressed this fact. In the ancient Orient, as at the beginning of the monarchy, prophecy announced good tidings rather than misfortune.

But as Willis' survey of the numerous theories about Micah demonstrates, the history of the book's composition is far from settled. The unity, coherence, and attribution to the prophet are all debated. Where some scholars see artful redactional unity, others (e.g., Hillers) find no meaningful structure. Willis himself enumerates areas that need to be addressed. Among these are the text, which swarms with philological difficulties, and the criteria for the dating of passages. It is impossible to speak meaningfully about the theology of the book, if indeed it has one or several, apart from the questions of composition, arrangement, and redaction. There is general agreement though that the present book has a historical core in the eighth century, and that at least some of the prophecies are those of the prophet Micah referred to in Jeremiah 26:16–19, and confused with Michaiah son of Imlah in I Kings. 22–28.

The Prophet and His Time

R. Weil emphasized the importance of historical events known from II Kings 20–22 for an understanding of Micah. His birthplace, Moresheth-Gath, near Lachish, is known as far back as the El-Amarna period (tablet 335:7). This region had suffered since the days of the Syro-Ephraimite war against Judah, which commenced under *Jotham (II Kings 15:37; cf. Micah 1:1 and probably 1:13) and continued up to the time of the Assyrian campaign against Gath and Ashdod in 733, 720 (the five *nesikim* of Micah 5:4 are reminiscent of the five Aramean "sheikhs" (Akkadian: *nāsikāti*) mentioned by the Assyrian king Sargon II (Fuchs, 147)), and 712 (cf. Isa. 20). Meanwhile Samaria had fallen. Hezekiah, who had probably been associated in the kingship from 729/7, became in any case the sole king after 716/5. He shared the views of Micah (Jer. 26:18), who attacked the leaders of Jerusalem (but never the king), and his political activities disturbed Sargon. Perhaps it was at this time that the mission of Merodach-Baladan took place and the oracles on the deliverance of daughter- Zion were delivered, but this mission probably dates from 703, the time of the general revolt against Sennacherib which was to end in 701 with a new occupation of Lachish and the region. The rabbis held that Micah's prophecies were redacted and canonized by the Men of the Great Assembly (BB 15a; see *Great Synagogue).

The Theological Problem

Micah 5 regards it as the will of YHWH that all Israel unite around the dynasty that issued from Beth-Lehem, where David was born. There are similarities in the theological teachings found in Micah and Isaiah: the fidelity of the Lord endures despite his "wrath" (Micah 7:9; Isa. 9:11, 16); He remains the light of the faithful (Micah 7:8; Isa. 10:17); He is King of Israel (Micah 4:7; Isa. 6:1); and He has chosen the Davidic dynasty for the salvation of the people (Micah 5:1; Isa. 7:1–9; 9:6). Finally, the theology of the book of Micah shares points in common with that of Hosea and *Deuteronomy when speaking of *ḥesed* ("mercy"; 7:18, 20), "the love of *ḥesed*" (6:8), and when it places mercy and humble submission to God above sacrifices (6:8; cf. Hos. 6:6). This prophet who, unlike the others, reveals himself as "full of strength, the spirit of YHWH, and justice and valor" takes on his shoulders the burden that the descendants of David should have assumed (Isa. 11:2–3).

There are numerous word plays in the book: *be-gat al taggidu …be-bet le-aprah apar* … (1:10); *akziv le-akzav* (1:14); *ha-yoresh … moreshah*; *ad adullam* (1:15); *titgodedi bat-gedud* (4:14). The text of the book has not been well-preserved, with some passages unintelligible (e.g., 1:10–16; 2:6–11; 7:11–12).

[Henri Cazelles / S. David Sperling (2nd ed.)]

In the Aggadah

According to one opinion, Micah was a contemporary of Isaiah (SOR 20; and Pes. 87b); according to another, he was one of the post-Exilic prophets (PdRK 16, 128b). The verse: "He hath shewed thee, O man, what is good; and what doth the Lord require of thee, but to do justly, and to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God?" (Micah 6:8) is a quintessence of the 613 commandments of the Bible (Mak. 24a).

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MICAIAH (**Micah**; Heb. מִיכָיְהוּ, מִיכָה), an Ephraimite in whose house was a shrine. Micaiah lived in the hill country of Ephraim though the exact location of his dwelling is not known. According to the Talmud (Sanh. 103b), his house was in Gareb, 3 mi. (5 km.) from Shiloh, which is perhaps Khirbet Arabah, about 2½ mi. (4 km.) west of Shiloh. The Bible relates that Micaiah took 1,100 pieces of silver from his mother but returned them because of her curse (Judg. 17–18). The mother consecrated the money to God: she gave 200 pieces of silver to a silversmith to make a graven image and a molten image and the rest she apparently consecrated to the shrine of God in her house. In the shrine were placed the graven and molten images, and an *ephod and teraphim. It is difficult to ascertain their significance: the images were apparently cultic symbols while the ephod and teraphim were used for asking counsel of God (Judg. 17:3–5; 18:3–7, 14–15, 18–21). At first one of Micaiah's sons served as a priest but later a young levite who had come to the hill country of Ephraim from Beth-Lehem in Judah was hired as a "father and priest." The men of the tribe of Dan, passing through Ephraim on their way to capture Laish, forced the young levite to accompany them and take the graven image. Henceforth the image stood in the sanctuary of the city of Dan and the young levite, whose name was Jonathan the son of Gershom, son of Moses (or son of Manasseh), served there as a priest; and his sons continued to serve "until the day of the captivity of the land" (18:30). This ancient story, which is connected with the description of the capture of Laish in the north, may possibly reflect cultic customs during the period of the Judges when affluent men set up their own houses of God and used the cultic objects to inquire of God. Along with local attendants (or in their place) they installed levites who worked for wages and whose merit as inquirers of God was greatly valued as "father and priest." The purpose of the story of Micaiah is to explain how the sanctuary was established in Dan and how a body of priests – perhaps descendants of Moses – came to be based there after having had their beginning in a private house of God in the hill country of Ephraim. The Bible stresses the greater importance of priestly service "unto a tribe and a family in Israel" as against serving "the house of one man" (18:19) and draws a parallel between the end of the sanctuary at Dan and that at Shiloh, perhaps as a result of some unknown historical event. From Judges 18:30–31 it can be concluded that the worship of Micaiah's graven image at Dan did not continue after the destruction of Shiloh.

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[Samuel Abramsky]

MICAIAH (Heb. מִיכָיְהוּ; in II Chron. 18:14, **Micah**, Heb. מִיכָה), son of Imlah, prophet who foretold the death of *Ahab (I Kings 22:7–28). Before embarking on the campaign of Ramoth-Gilead, Ahab and his ally *Jehosaphat king of Judah consulted prophets who unanimously prophesied: "Go up; for the Lord will give it into the hand of the king" (22:6; cf. 22:12). When Micaiah was called, he at first expressed the view of the other prophets, but only in an ironic mockery, and when the king adjured him to speak "nothing but the truth in the name of the Lord," he described two visions he had had: one, of the Israelites scattered over the hills like sheep without a shepherd, which the Lord explained to mean, "these have no master, let every one of them return to his house in peace"; and one, of a meeting of the heavenly council at which it was decided that Ahab should be lured to his death in battle at Ramoth-Gilead by a spirit of falsehood in the mouths of his prophets. Micaiah, who firmly repeated the prediction that the king would not return home alive, was then imprisoned for the duration of the campaign.

It appears that Micaiah was known as a prophet even before this, and the king of Israel says of him "I detest him, for he does not prophesy good concerning me, but evil" (22:8). It thus appears that Micaiah was not one of the court prophets, who as a rule acquiesced and encouraged the king. However, he did not bear animosity toward the king and tried, in his prophecy, to prevent his death and the defeat of Israel. His personality was distinguished by prophetic independence and a firm, uncompromising stand not only against the king and his ministers but against all the 400 prophets gathered in the king's court, who in his opinion were not merely false prophets, but became messengers of falsehood through a divine temptation. He was not a rebuking prophet and was not eager to prophesy as were the messenger-prophets. Nor is there any proof that he was one of the prophets who advised the people, like Elisha. His prophecy was similar to that of the classical prophets in his obdurate and unusual stand and his readiness to suffer and be tortured for the sake of truth.

From a political point of view, too, Micaiah differed from the other prophets who in their extreme nationalism were violently anti-Aramean and urged the king to fight against Aram without compromise (I Kings 20:22).

[Samuel Abramsky]

In the Aggadah

In the Aggadah, Micaiah is identified with the anonymous prophet who "came near unto Ahab" and foretold the destruction of the Aramean army (I Kings 20:13; SOR 20, p. 52). Later, when he predicted the death of Ahab in battle, the false prophet Zedekiah b. Chenaanah challenged his prophecy, claiming that Elijah had previously prophesied that the dogs would lick Ahab's blood in the field of Naboth, and he would not therefore be slain on a battlefield three days' journey from there. However, both prophecies were fulfilled. Ahab fell in Ramoth-Gilead, but his blood was licked by the dogs in Samaria, when they washed the slain king's chariot there (I Kings 22:28; Jos., Ant. 8:15, 4).

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°**MICHAEL II**, Byzantine emperor (820–29) to whom strong Judaizing leanings were ascribed, partly because of his iconoclasm. A tenth-century chronicler states that Michael relieved Jews of financial burdens and that he "loved Jews above all mortals" since he was himself half Jewish and had been brought up by Jews. It is possible that Michael may have come under Jewish influence as a native of Amorium in Phrygia, a province noted for Judeo-Christian syncretism, including sects which kept the whole of Jewish law except circumcision and had close contact with Jews. However, the main impetus for imputing pro-Jewish sentiments to Michael came from the desire of the succeeding dynasty, the Macedonian, to discredit the founder of the Amorian dynasty.

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[Andrew Sharf]

°**MICHAEL VIII PALAEOLOGUS**, Byzantine emperor (1259–82). In 1261 Michael recaptured Constantinople from the Latins, who had held it from 1204, and restored an independent if greatly reduced empire. Unlike his predecessors in Nicaea, he had no reason to suspect his Jewish subjects of having contact with Jews in hostile territory and was anxious to gain their support. Therefore as recorded by Jacob ben Elijah, the only contemporary Hebrew source, he called together the leaders of the Jewish communities and promised them religious tolerance as well as thus ending a series of nearly 40 years of persecutions (see *Epirus). Michael also persuaded his son and co-emperor Andronicus II Palaeologus (1282–1328) to continue and expand this policy, so that the Jews of Constantinople – as distinct from Jewish merchants of hostile Venice living in Constantinople – were allowed to live and build synagogues wherever they wished – to the displeasure of Patriarch Athanasius I.

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[Andrew Sharf]

MICHAEL, HEIMANN JOSEPH ḤAYYIM (1792–1846), German merchant and bibliophile. Michael was born in Hamburg and lived there all his life. He assembled one of the finest collections of Hebrew manuscripts and books, a library containing 5,471 printed books and 862 manuscripts, of which 60 were autographs and 110 were written between 1240 and 1450. He maintained a lively correspondence, partly in German in Hebrew letters and partly in an attractive Hebrew, with L. *Zunz (in the years 1832–46), S.J. *Rapoport, and S.D. *Luzzatto. This correspondence is a treasury of bibliographical information.

A detailed catalog of Michael's collection, *Oẓerot Ḥayyim*, with notes by Moritz Steinschneider and an introduction by L. Zunz, appeared in 1848. After Michael's death his friend M. Isler appealed to all friends of Jewish scholarship, wealthy German Jewry in particular, to preserve the priceless collection in Jewish hands and to save it from being sold abroad. The appeal was in vain, and Michael's library was dispersed, the books going to the British Museum in London and the manuscripts, over 860 pieces, to the Bodleian at Oxford (see *Libraries) for a little over £1,000.

Michael's encyclopedic work, *Or ha-Ḥayyim* (1891; repr. Jerusalem, 1965, with additional notes by N. Ben-Menahem), based on his very rich collection, contains the biographies and bibliographies of medieval Jewish scholars.

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[Naphtali Ben-Menahem]

MICHAEL, JAKOB (1894–1979), U.S. financier and philanthropist. Born in Frankfurt, he began his business career in 1910 with his father-in-law's metal-trading firm, Beer Sondheimer. Demobilized from the German army in 1917, he became active in trade and industry, but in 1933 left Germany for Holland, and in 1939 moved to the United States where he continued his activities in various industrial enterprises. He was prominent in many Jewish philanthropic, educational, and scientific institutions. He financed a high school and a children's home in Pardes Hannah, Israel; an institute of biomedical research at the Einstein College of Medicine, New York; the institute of nuclear science at the Weizmann Institute in Israel; and a college of Hebraic studies at Yeshiva University, New York. Much of his attention was devoted to religious institutions, and his special interests included the collecting of Jewish ceremonial objects and Jewish music. He donated a collection of 25,000 items of Jewish music to the Hebrew University and many valuable books and ceremonial objects to the Israel Museum (including a complete synagogue taken from Vittorio Veneto in Italy).

[Joachim O. Ronall]

MICHAEL (Michaes, Michall), MOSES (Moshe bar Jehiel; 1675–1740), ship owner and international trader, born in Harzfeld, Germany. Michael immigrated to New York, and from 1717 shipped large quantities of foodstuffs, sometimes lumber and candles, to Curaçao, and supplied its garrison with flour and other foodstuffs. Michael usually traveled with his cargo on board his schooner *Abigail*. From 1721 to 1722 he was in partnership with Michael Asser of Boston; from 1731 to 1732, with his son Michael Michaels (d. 1736). In 1729 he paid for the privilege of placing the first cornerstone of New York's Mill Street Synagogue. He died in Curaçao.

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[Isaac Samuel Emmanuel]

MICHAEL, SAMI (1926–), Israeli writer. Born in Baghdad, Iraq, to a middle-class family, Michael attended Jewish primary and secondary schools. After the pogroms in 1941 (the Farhoud), he joined the Communist underground. Years later, he explained that it was both as a Jew and as an Iraqi patriot that he chose to struggle for seven years in the underground, in the belief that only Communism had the potential to bring about a liberal society in Iraq which would, among other things, support the advancement of its Jewish citizens ("Unbounded Ideas," 2000). With the outbreak of the War of Independence in Israel, the situation of the Jews in Iraq worsened. Michael, targeted both as a Jew and as a Communist, fled to Iran, from where, with the help of the Jewish Agency in Teheran, he arrived in Israel in April 1949. "I belong to Israel out of love, not out of ideology," is how Michael describes his identity as an Israeli, eschewing a Zionist as well as an anti-Zionist definition. Michael sees himself first and foremost as a Jew, heir to the 2,500-year-old cultural tradition of the Babylonian Jews, which was unbroken until persecution and wanderings finally caught up with them after 1948. In other words, Michael does not consider Israel to be the ultimate, ideal home for all Jews. He believes that the Diaspora is another appropriate dynamic form of Jewish life. His own personal decision in favor of Israel was the result of his emotional bond, and he therefore defines himself as an "Israeli patriot" only in the sense of his attachment to the milieu and scenery of the place.

This nonconsensual view is a guiding force in Michael's life, expressing itself in both his civic and his creative activities. He arrived in Israel in a crucial period, during which the newly established state had to absorb hundreds of thousands of new immigrants from east and west. Michael did not accept the monolithic, culturally coercive attitude of the so-called "melting-pot" policy, and he sought instead to assert himself by remaining, as it were, on the seam. He served in the Israel Defense Forces (1950–52), lived through the trials and tribulations of his parents in a transit camp (1951–56), and made his living as a journalist for the Arabic newspaper *Al-Ittihad* in Haifa. Michael served it as an itinerant correspondent, covering the lives of the new immigrants in the transit camps as well as those of Arabs living in villages under the military regime that Israel imposed on them in the early years of the state. At the same time, he began writing prose in Arabic.

Throughout this period he was active in the Israeli Communist Party, but in 1955, with knowledge of the shocking details of Stalin's reign of terror, he left the party for good. He worked for 27 years (1955–82) as a hydrologist at the Department of Agriculture, studying hydrology in his free time at the British Institutes as well as psychology and Arabic literature at the University of Haifa.

For 15 years (1955–70), Michael swore himself to literary silence. Only at the beginning of the 1970s, did he turn back to writing – this time only in the Hebrew tongue. Michael's writing is distinguished by its humane and social sensitivity. He is among the prime movers of the literary sea-change that has been occurring in Israel since the mid-1970s. This trend shifted social representation from the central current to the margins, broadening the boundaries of the consensual culture toward a multiculturalism inclusive of ethnic communities and minorities, and stirring voices within a public discourse driven by sectorality and social divisions. Sami Michael deals primarily with "the Other," "the stranger," "the outsider," granting these figures a presence of their own: the immigrant facing the arrogance of the veteran citizen (in *Shavim ve-Shavim Yoter*, "All Men Are Equal, but Some Are More So," 1974); the Israeli Arab coping with the animosity of the Jewish-Israeli regime (in *Ḥasut*, 1977; *Refuge*, 1988; *Ḥaẓoẓrah ba-Vadi*, *A Trumpet in the Wadi*, 2003); the woman silenced by patriarchy, in both family and communal frameworks (in *Viktoria*, 1993; *Victoria*, 1995; and "The Third Wing," 2000). Of all these figures, the dominant one is that of the immigrant from an Arabic-speaking country, struggling with diverse versions of Israeliness. As might be expected, Michael's depiction draws upon biographical materials and his own experience of *aliyah*, tossed as he was between a loved, familiar past and a new, alien present, in which he struggled to forge his own Israeli identity. Thus, David in "All Men Are Equal, but Some Are More So," for all his efforts to shake off the past and hold fast to the Israeli present, is constantly made to feel like a second-class citizen; beginning as a penniless child of the transit camps, he emerges as a "hero" of the Six-Day-War, yet his erudition, professional skills, and his prowess as a fighter will never make him an equal among equals.

In contrast to David's angry protest, Mordokh, in *Refuge*, has spent years languishing in an Iraqi jail for his activity in the Communist underground and is grateful to the State of Israel for giving him asylum. Nevertheless, he finds it hard to reconcile himself to Israel's social reality, in which the class gap is continually widening, resulting in injustice and discrimination against both Jewish and Arab communities. Unable to withstand the tension, Mordokh flees to the past. In *Mayim Noshkim le-Mayim* ("Water Kissing Water," 2001), a sense of reconciliation with life in Israel begins to make itself felt. Joseph, who, like the other figures, came to Israel in the mass immigration during the 1950s, arrives only many years later at an alternative Israeli identity of his own, one that even now incorporates a wrenching internal oscillation between past and present and is repulsed by the communal rifts between Jews and Arabs, religious and secular Jews, and Jews of Ashkenazi (European) and Mizraḥi (Middle Eastern or North African) origin. Now, however, these dilemmas are played out in a context of pride, self-esteem, and a sense of belonging.

Along with his concern with the Israeli present, Michael devotes a large part of his *oeuvre* to the past – that is, to Jewish life in Baghdad in the 1930s and 1940s. Here too, he sets out to subvert the stereotypical image of the "*galut* Jew" by depicting episodes of a colorful, tempestuous past, unfolding a heterogeneous community of traditionalists, secularists, and intellectuals. These themes underlie *Ḥofen shel Arafel* ("A Handful of Fog," 1979) and *Victoria*, as well as two of Michael's novels for young people, *Ahavah bein ha-Dekalim* ("Love among the Palms," 1990) and *Sufah bein ha-Dekalim* ("Storm over the Palms," 1975).

The poetic fabric of Michael's writing is engaging for its plots and characters, but also for the play of his texts with multiple languages and cultures. The overt level is that of the Hebrew language, with the variety of styles which it embraces; implicitly, however, Michael continues to "flirt" lovingly and longingly with the Arabic (and Judeo-Arabic) language and culture, which emerges in a wealth of sayings and customs.

Michael's other works include novels for young people: "Tin Shacks and Dreams" (1979), "Brown Devils" (1993); plays: "Demons in the Basement" (1983), "Twins" (1988); and collected interviews: *Eleh Shivtei Yisrael* ("These Are the Tribes of Israel: Twelve Interviews about Social Integration in Israel," 1984), "The Israeli Experience" (2001). Michael also translated Naguib Mahfouz's *Cairo Trilogy* into Hebrew. His books have received many awards and have been translated into many languages, including Arabic. Information concerning translations is available at the ITHL website at www.ithl.org.il.

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[Yaffah Berlovitz (2nd ed.)]

MICHAEL AND GABRIEL, two *angels named in Daniel 10:13, 21; 12:1 and Daniel 8:16; 9:21 respectively.

The Attributions of Proper Names to Angels

Michael and Gabriel are usually cited as the earliest instance of the practice of attributing proper names to angels; and it is just the contrast between the anonymity of the seraphim in Isaiah 6:2, 6 on the one hand and the explicit naming of Gabriel in Daniel 9:21 and of Michael in Daniel 10:21 on the other that is cited by R. Simeon b. Lakish as proof that the names of the angels were something that the returning exiles brought with them from Babylonia (TJ, RH 1:2, 56d). But these are not strictly the oldest examples. According to the critical view, the Book of *Daniel is of later authorship than those of *Zechariah and *Job; yet "the Satan [Accuser]," Zechariah 3:1–2; Job 1:6–12; 2:2–7 is a virtual proper name, and it is retained as the name of the angel in question throughout Jewish literature; but these passages too are post-Exilic. A special early instance is Beth-El (Jer. 48:13), a real proper name shortened from (Ha) El-Beth-El, Genesis 31:13; 35:7, "The Numen of Beth-El," who was the special tutelary genius of Jacob and of the nation Israel (see the Book of *Hosea B-b; H.L. Ginsberg, in: JBL, 80 (1961), 339–47). Already the E document of the Pentateuch has made an angel of this being (Gen. 31:11), and Deutero-Hosea, who in Hosea 12:3–5, 13 palpably draws on the E story of Jacob embedded in Genesis 25 and 27–35 (and modifies it for his own purposes), refers to the being alternately as *e'lohim*, "a divine being" (Hos. 12:4) and *mal'akh*, "an angel" (Hos. 12:5).

Michael

Michael (*Mikha'el*, מִיכָאֵל "Who is like God?" – in ten passages the name of as many men: Num. 13:13; I Chron. 5:13, 14; 6:25; 7:3; 8:16; 12:21; 27:18; II Chron. 21:2; Ezra 8:8). Daniel 10:2–11 states that Daniel practiced asceticism for three full weeks in his endeavor to move Heaven to reveal to him what he wanted to know. At the end of that period a frightening figure appeared to him. He fell on his face in terror, but the being helped him to his feet and told him that he had been sent to deliver a message to him. In 10:12–21 he then explains that Daniel's petition had been received favorably on the very first day, but the speaker was unable to leave his post for 21 days because he was holding in check "the prince [*sar*, שַׂר] of the kingdom of Persia"; at the end of that period, however, he was relieved in this task by "Michael, one of the chief princes [*sarim*]," whom he left there "with the kings of Persia." He himself will only stay with Daniel long enough to inform him "what will befall your people at the end of the days" (verse 14), for he will have to "return to fight with the prince of Persia and when he retires – there comes the prince of Greece … and there is none who shares my efforts against all these but your (pl., i.e., the Jews') prince, Michael." At the climax of history, it is "Michael, the great prince who stands guard over your fellow countrymen," who will arise and save them (12:1). It will be seen that *sar* – properly "dignitary," "official," or "minister," but here better "prince" in view of the designation of God in 8:25 as "the *sar* of *sarim*" – means "angel," that every nation is conceived of as having an angelic representative, and that the author conceives of these representatives as engaging in clashes with each other which prefigure clashes between the respective nations. Obviously, the germ of this idea is Deuteronomy 32:8, which reads, according to the text of the Septuagint and a fragment from Qumran: "When the Most High gave nations their countries,/ When he set the divisions of man,// He established peoples' homelands/to the number of the divine beings."// For "the divine beings" (*bene'el*, lit. "children of God"), the Masoretic Text reads "the Israelites" (*bene Yisra'el*, lit. "the children of Israel"). The latter, however, is a conflation of the Septuagint-Qumran reading בני אל and a variant שרי אל which is presupposed by the above Daniel passages (H.L. Ginsberg, in: *Eretz-Israel*, 9 (1969), 45, n. 4). On the other hand the writer in Daniel diverges from his source in one important respect. The next verse in Deuteronomy 32, namely verse 9, specifically makes an exception of Israel: the latter is not apportioned to any *ben'el* or *sar'el* ("But YHWH's people is his own portion,/ Jacob is his own allotment.") All the passages cited above from Daniel 10–12 are from the pen of Apoc III (see *Daniel, Book of, B).

Gabriel

Gabriel (*Gavri'el*, גַּבְרִיאֵל). This angel is the creation of Apoc IV, the author of Daniel 9 and of sundry interpolations in chapters 7, 8, 11, and 12 (see *Daniel B). In chapter 9 itself, Gabriel appears to the apocalyptist (9:21) in the first year of Darius the Mede (9:1, see *Daniel B) in answer to his prayer for enlightenment on the subject of the 70 years of Jeremiah (Jer. 25:11–12; 29:10). Gabriel explains that those 70 years are in reality 70 weeks of years (*septennia*), and proceeds to sketch the course that history will take during those 70 hebdomads. This is closely analogous to the role that is played in Apoc III (chs. 10–12) by an angel who is not named but merely described, who appears to Daniel in the third year of Cyrus in response to three weeks of mourning, and tells him in astonishing detail what is destined to take place from that date until the horrors of Antiochus IV. Apoc IV wished to imply that his Gabriel was identical with this informant of Apoc III, and this he did in a subtle way. Apoc III's informant explains to him in 10:12–13 that Daniel's petition for enlightenment was favorably received at the very beginning of his quasi-fast, and the delay was only due to the informant's being tied down with keeping the prince of Persia at bay (see above). Then in 10:20–21 he goes on to say that he has barely enough time at his disposal to impart to Daniel "that which is written in the book of truth [or, that which is written in the book, truly]" because he must presently go back to the combat with the prince of Persia, and after that with the prince of Greece, "and there is none who shares my efforts against these but your [i.e., the Jews'] prince Michael," after which Apoc IV interpolates (11:1) "and ever since the first year of Darius the Mede [the date of 9:1, on which Gabriel appeared to the seer] I have been standing by him to strengthen and support him." The implication is clearly this: "The same cause that prevented me from coming to you during the past three weeks also explains why I have not appeared to you for such a long time since my last visit." In other words, the unnamed linen-clad one of chapters 10–12 is identical with the Gabriel of chapter 9. Apoc IV has also taken steps to identify with the latter the originally unnamed being of Apoc II (ch. 8). Daniel 8:15 reads. "And when I, Daniel, beheld the vision [*ḥazon*] I asked [prayed] for an explanation, and lo, there was standing before me one having the appearance of a man [*gaver*]." Inspired by this last word, Apoc IV interpolated here, "(16) And I heard somebody's voice between [the banks of?] Ulai. He called out, 'Gabriel [*Gavri'el*]! Explain the statement [*mar'eh*] to him.'" *Mar'eh* must mean "statement," and the reference must be to the statement about the evenings and mornings in verse 14, in view of verse 26; and verses 13–14 and 26a – also, by the way, verse 27b – are, just like verse 16, interpolations of Apoc IV in the text of Apoc II (the original text of ch. 8), so that they may be described as II-d. In 9:21b, then, when Apoc IV tells how he was visited by "the man [here the Hebrew has *ha-'ish*, but the Aramaic original doubtless had *gavra* here as well as *gevar* in 8:15] Gabriel who had appeared to me before in the vision," he is referring back to chapter 8 as interpolated by himself.

[Harold Louis Ginsberg]

In the Aggadah

Michael and Gabriel, along with Uriel and Raphael, are the four angels who surround the throne of the Almighty (Num. R. 2:10; cf. Enoch 9:1). Michael, as the constant defender of the Jewish people (PR, 46), is considered greater than Gabriel (Ber. 4b). The *aggadah* consistently identifies Michael and Gabriel with the anonymous divine messengers or angels mentioned in the Bible. Thus, they were two of the three angels who visited Abraham after his circumcision (Gen. R. 48:9), Michael's task being to announce the future birth of Isaac while Gabriel's was to destroy Sodom (Gen. R. 50:2). It is Michael who called to Abraham at the **Akedah*, telling him not to offer up Isaac (*Midrash Va-Yosha* in A. Jellinek, *Beit ha-Midrash*, 1:38). It was either Michael or Gabriel who wrestled with Jacob (Gen. R. 78:1) and appeared to Moses at Horeb (Ex. R. 2:5). It was Michael who rescued Abraham from the fiery furnace (Gen. R. 44:13) and also informed him of the capture of Lot (PdRE, 27). He also accompanied the servant of Abraham in his mission to find a wife for Isaac (Gen. R. 59:10). Michael and Gabriel were called upon to record that the birthright was sold to Jacob by Esau (Gen. R. 63:14). They were both among the angels who accompanied God when He came down on Mount Sinai (Deut. R. 2:34). Although they were considered the kings of the angels, they were afraid of Moses (Eccles. R. 9:11, 2), and they refused to take his soul, so that God himself had to do so. Michael and Gabriel then stood at either side of Moses' bier (Deut. R. 11:10). On the day that Solomon married the daughter of Pharaoh-Neco, Michael came down from heaven and stuck a reed in the sea, round which matter settled, and upon this Rome, the future destroyer of Israel, was built (Song R. 1:6, 4). Michael smote Sennacherib and his army, and Gabriel delivered Hananiah, Mishael, and Azariah (Ex. R. 18:5) from the fiery furnace. Michael acted as the defender of the Jews against every charge which Haman brought against them (Esth. R. 7:12). It was Michael who pushed Haman against Esther to make it appear as if Haman intended to violate her (Esth. R. 10:9). Both Michael and Gabriel will be among those who will accompany the Messiah, and they will then contend with the wicked (*Otiyyot de-Rabbi Akiva Shin*).

Michael is made up entirely of snow and Gabriel of fire, and though they stand near one another they do not injure one another, thus indicating the power of God to "make peace in His high places" (Job 25:2; Deut. R. 5:12). Michael also occupies an important place in the interpretation of biblical stories in later Midrashim, e.g., *Exodus Rabbah, Midrash Avkir*, and *Midrash Konen*.

[Aaron Rothkoff]

In the Kabbalah

The motifs of Michael and Gabriel as found in the *aggadah* are in general repeated in the Kabbalah, but Michael is given an added importance.

In the *Heikhalot* and Merkabah literature of the late talmudic period and the period of the *geonim*, Michael plays a central role in the realm of the Chariot. He is the guardian of the south side, the figure of the lion in the Chariot, and so on (the descriptions vary in the different versions of this literature). In any case he is one of the four archangels, despite the interchange of names in the list. G. Scholem has deduced, from a statement in *Perek Re'iyyot Yeḥezkel* (Wertheimer, *Battei Midrashot*, 2 (1955), 132–3) and from other sources, that at first Michael and *Metatron were identical – the guardian of the interior and the highest figure in the domain of the angels in the Merkabah literature and in the Kabbalah which succeeded it – and that some of the descriptions of Michael in talmudic and midrashic literature were later transferred to the figure of Metatron. He is outstanding as guardian and protector of Israel in Merkabah literature and in the European mystical literature of the Ḥasidei Ashkenaz and early kabbalistic circles. A central role in bringing about the redemption was attributed to him in midrashic and Merkabah literature. Such descriptions of the role of Michael relied mainly on sayings in the Book of Zerubbabel and other apocalyptic works dating from the end of the ancient era and the beginning of the Middle Ages, in which Michael was assigned the role of revealer and bringer of tidings. (As there is in the various versions an interchange between Michael and Metatron, it does indeed seem that the two figures are basically identical.)

In kabbalistic literature Michael is allotted the role of grace in the Merkabah, angel of the right, representing the *Sefirah Ḥesed* ("grace"). In several places in the *Zohar Michael symbolizes the *Sefirah Ḥesed* itself (Zohar 1:98b–99a, *Sitrei Torah*; 2:147, et al.). All the symbols of grace (the right side, silver, water, etc.) are to be found in the descriptions of the angel Michael. He is frequently described as a high priest, and the Zohar and later kabbalists (e.g., Moses Cordovero) portray him as bringing the souls of the righteous before the Almighty, an act which led to their inclusion in the world of emanation (*aẓilut*).

[Joseph Dan]

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MICHAELIS, SIR ARCHIE (1889–1975), Australian politician. Born in Melbourne, Archie Michaelis worked in his successful family firm of leather goods merchants before entering state politics in Victoria, Australia. Michaelis became one of the best-known politicians in Melbourne and the state of Victoria. Always a member of the right-of-center party (which changed its name several times during his career), Michaelis sat in the Victorian Legislative Assembly as member for St. Kilda from 1932 to 1952. He served as minister without portfolio in 1945 and was speaker of the Victorian Legislative Assembly from 1950 to 1952. He was president of the St. Kilda Hebrew Congregation, a leading Orthodox synagogue in Melbourne. Originally typical of Jews of his background in opposing "political Zionism," by the end of his life he had become a strong supporter of Israel.

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[William D. Rubinstein (2nd ed.)]

°**MICHAELIS, JOHANN DAVID** (1717–1791), German Bible scholar. Born in Halle, Michaelis was the son of the theologian and Orientalist Ch. B. Michaelis. In 1746 he was appointed professor of Oriental languages in Goettingen. While he was at first a pietist of the Halle school, after a stay in England (1741–42) he advocated, somewhat inconsistently, a moderately rationalistic orthodoxy. His *Einleitung in die goettlichen Schriften des Neuen Bundes* (1750; 1787–884) was the first textbook on the historical-critical approach to the New Testament. His early works included a Hebrew grammar textbook (Halle, 1745) and a compendium of Jewish marriage laws *Ehegesetze Moses* (Goettingen, 1755). In his *Gruendliche Erklaerung des mosaischen Rechts* (Frankfurt, 6 vols., 1770–75) he interpreted the laws of the Pentateuch as the work of the statesmanlike wisdom of Moses, whose aim was the separation of Israel from the heathens. He popularized the conclusions of biblical scholarship in a translation of the Bible with notes (13 vols., 1769–83). He also wrote an introduction to the Old Testament, *Einleitung in die Schriften des Alten Bundes* (1787). In 1761 he suggested to the king of Denmark that a scientific expedition be sent to Arabia. Through his extremely diverse academic and literary activities he enjoyed a worldwide reputation; however, in his later years, as a result of weaknesses of character and of scholarship, he became progressively isolated.

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[Rudolf Smend]

MICHAELIS, LEONOR (1875–1949), German biochemist. Born in Berlin, he worked with Paul *Ehrlich at the City Hospital where he directed the bacteriology department from 1906 to 1922. In 1908 he was appointed professor of medicine at the University of Berlin, and from 1920, professor of physical chemistry. From 1922 to 1926 he was professor of biochemistry in Nagoya, Japan. In 1926 he went to the Johns Hopkins University in the U.S. and then to the Rockefeller Institute for Medical Research in New York. He contributed many scientific papers on topics concerned with casein, blood pH in biological systems, the behavior of dyestuffs in biological media, and respiration. His books included *Hydrogen Ion Concentration* (1926), *Praktikum der physikalischen Chemie inbesondere der Kolloidchemie fuer Mediziner und Biologen* (1930^4; *Practical, Physical and Colloid Chemistry for Students of Medicine and Biology,* 1925), and *Oxydations-Reduktion Potential* (1929; *Oxidation Reduction Potentials*, 1930).

[Samuel Aaron Miller]

MICHAELIS, SIR MAX (1860–1932), South African mining magnate and philanthropist. Born in Eisfeld, Germany, Michaelis worked in a Frankfurt banking house before immigrating to South Africa in 1876. He settled in Kimberley where he formed a diamond-buying company which was later taken over by De Beers. Michaelis is best known for his interest in and benefactions to art and education. He established scholarships in South Africa and England, including the Jewish War Memorial Scholarship at Oxford. He donated funds to the University of Cape Town for a school of fine arts which was named after him. In 1912 he bought the Hugh Lane collection of Dutch masters, which he presented to the South African nation as the nucleus of the Michaelis Art Gallery in Cape Town. Michaelis contributed to the Johannesburg Art Gallery, City Library, and to hospitals. He was knighted in 1924.

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[Louis Hotz]

MICHAELS, ALAN RICHARD (“**Al**”; 1944–), U.S. sports broadcaster. The Brooklyn, New York-born TV sports broadcaster was raised near Ebbets Field, fabled home of the Brooklyn Dodgers, which inspired his future award-winning career. Michaels graduated from Arizona State University in 1966, and almost immediately went into sports broadcasting, starting with a Hawaii team in the baseball minor leagues. He broadcast a World Series on radio in 1972, meeting his childhood goal of doing such a broadcast before he turned 30. He broadcast many prominent sports events of the late 20th century, including the U.S. upset of the U.S.S.R. hockey team at the 1980 Winter Olympics. As the game ended, he shouted, “Do you believe in miracles,” one of the most famous calls in sports history, and has twice since then played himself in film and TV recreations of that event. Michaels was the lead broadcaster for Monday Night Football from 1986, and won an Emmy award for his broadcast of the third game of the 1989 World Series, which was interrupted by an earthquake. In 2004, Michaels broadcast his first National Basketball Association finals, making him the only sportscaster to have announced a World Series, a Super Bowl, a Stanley Cup final, and the NBA championship. Michaels received a star on the Hollywood Walk of Fame in 2004, and is a member of the National Sportscasters and Sportswriters Association Hall of Fame. He appeared as himself in the 1996 film, *Jerry Maguire*. Unlike Howard *Cosell and Larry *Merchant, Michaels is more of a reporter than a commentator. In a 2004 interview, he said: “I look at sports as drama.… Let the drama play out.”

[Alan D. Abbey (2nd ed.)]

MICHAELS, ANNE (1958–) Canadian poet, novelist. The youngest of four children, Michaels was born in Toronto, where she continued to live. In 1980, she earned a B.A. in English from the University of Toronto, and taught creative writing courses there as well. Musically accomplished, she composed music for the theater. *The Weight of Oranges* (1986), her first collection of poetry, won the Commonwealth Prize for the Americas. A second poetry collection, *Miner's Pond* (1991), won the Canadian Authors' Association Award for Poetry and was short-listed for both the Governor General's Literary Award (Canada's most prestigious literary prize) and the Trillium Award. A single volume containing both books was published in 1997. A third poetry collection, *Skin Divers*, was published in 1999.

Michaels's first novel, *Fugitive Pieces*, quickly established her national and international reputation. The work is a Jewish Canadian artist parable, a bipartite intergenerational book which juxtaposes two first-person autobiographical memoirs. The longer first section presents the journals (subdivided into seven titled sections) composed retrospectively by Jakob Beer, a Jewish poet, translator, and orphaned child survivor of the Holocaust, who is rescued from the mud of a Polish town and raised on a Greek island by Athos Roussos, an archaeologist, scientist, and righteous gentile. The second section records the narrative of Ben, the child of Holocaust survivors, who grows up in Weston, Ontario (then a separate municipality, and, in the present of his life, a suburb of Toronto), and who eventually finds on the Greek island of Idhra the two journal volumes which form the first part of the novel. Although their individual histories differ, the lives of Jakob and Ben have been profoundly shaped and distorted by the Shoah. In language which is luminous, evocative, and poignant, the novel explores the nature of identity and the relation between personal, historical, genealogical, and geological memory. It highlights the acts of reading and writing and the power of language and love to heal, to redeem, and to provide meaning in a post-Holocaust world.

Fugitive Pieces was a Canadian literary phenomenon. It remained at, or near, the top of the Canadian bestseller list for over two years, and the rights to the novel were sold to 21 publishers around the world. The work has been awarded many prizes, both in Canada and abroad. These include the Trillium Prize and the Chapters / *Books in Canada* First Novel Award Canada; the Orange Prize for Fiction by female writers, and the *Guardian* Fiction Prize in Great Britain; the Lannan Literary Award in the United States and the Giuseppe Acerbi Literary Award in 2001.

[Alexander Hart (2nd ed.)]

MICHAELS, LORNE (1944–), Canadian writer-producer. Born Lorne David Lipowitz to successful furrier Abraham and Florence (née Becker) Lipowitz in the affluent Forest Hill area of Toronto, Ontario, Michaels got involved with a theater group and began working on sketch comedy and satires while studying in the English program at the University of Toronto. After graduating college, Michaels left for England, where he worked briefly as a car salesman. Upon his return to Canada in 1966, Michaels and Hart Pomerantz began performing as a popular comedy duo on the CBC. In November 1967, he married comedy writer Rosie Schuster. Michaels and Pomerantz went to Hollywood to write for *The Beautiful Phyllis Diller Show* (1968), but the show only lasted six weeks. The duo picked up work with *Rowan and Martin's Laugh-In*, writing the opening monologues for the hosts from 1968 to 1969; however, their material was often rewritten by senior writers or dismissed altogether. Disillusioned with the experience of writing for *Laugh-In*, Michaels and Pomerantz returned to Canada to create their own television programs. In 1970, the pair inked a deal with the CBC to create such specials as *The Hart and Lorne Terrific Hour* and *Today Makes Me Nervous*. Over the next four years Michaels continued to pitch ideas for TV shows in Hollywood, and in 1975 NBC agreed to launch a live sketch comedy program called *Saturday Night*. (The show was retitled *Saturday Night Live* in 1977 after *Saturday Night Live With Howard Cosell* was cancelled in 1976.) The show launched the careers of such *SNL* players as Chevy Chase, John Belushi, Dan Aykroyd, Gilda *Radner, Laraine Newman, Eddie Murphy, Billy *Crystal, Mike Myers, Adam *Sandler, and Will Ferrell in its more than 30-year history and has won 18 Emmy Awards and nabbed 60 nominations. Over the years Michaels also produced a film version of Gilda Radner's Broadway show *Gilda Live* (1980), *Simon and Garfunkel: The Concert in Central Park* (1982), *Nothing Lasts Forever* (1984), and the TV series *Kids in the Hall* (1988–94). By the early 1990s, a reinvigorated *Saturday Night Live* served as the springboard for a variety of successful comedy features, including *Wayne's World* (1992), *Coneheads* (1993), and *Tommy Boy* (1994). Michaels became executive producer of NBC's *Late Night with Conan O'Brien* in 1993 and *The Colin Quinn Show* in 2002. He was inducted into the Order of Canada and the Television Academy's Hall of Fame, and received a star on the Canadian Walk of Fame. In 2004, Michaels produced the hit comedy *Mean Girls* and received an honorary award from the Producers Guild of America.

[Adam Wills (2nd ed.)]

MICHAELSON, EZEKIEL ẒEVI BEN ABRAHAM ḤAYYIM (1863–1942), Polish rabbi, biographer, and bibliographer. He was a child prodigy, and in one of his works he cites responsa which he claims to have written at the age of 12. Orphaned in his early youth, he was forced to move from one place to another. In 1884 he was invited to become rabbi of the important community of Zamosc, but he refused. In the same year, he was elected rabbi of Karsinbrod. There he was harassed by enemies and was even arraigned in court as a result of a false accusation. In 1893 he became rabbi of Plonsk and from then on was known as "the rabbi of Plonsk." At the outbreak of World War I he was on a visit to Carlsbad and was unable to return home. In 1922 he was elected a member of the rabbinical council of Warsaw, and engaged in many communal activities. When the German forces entered Warsaw he was working in the community archives and in 1942 he was taken to *Treblinka where he died.

An exceptionally prolific writer whose knowledge of family lineages was unequaled, Michaelson published many books in such diverse fields as *halakhah, aggadah*, history, biography, and bibliography.

His best-known works are *Degan Shamayim* on tractates *Berakhot* and *Rosh ha-Shanah* (appended to Israel Jonah Landau, *Ein ha-Bedolaḥ*, 1901); responsa *Beit Yeḥezkel*, (1924); *Pinnot ha-Bayit*, novellae (1925); *Siddur Beit ha-Oẓar* (1931 (1929)); responsa *Tirosh ve-Yiẓhar* (1936). His most famous biographies are those of R. Israel Jonah of Kempen, R. Meshullam Zalman Ashkenazi, R. Joseph *Te'omim, R. Shabbetai *Bass, R. *Phinehas of Korets, the Margolioth family, R. Solomon *Ganzfried, R. Ẓevi Hirsh Ẓemah, and R. Jacob Aryeh of Radzymin, all appended to his editions of their works. During the Holocaust, three large chests containing his manuscripts were lost. They included *Imrei Yeḥezkel* on the Pentateuch and *Me'at Ẓevi* on the other books of the Bible.

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[Itzhak Alfassi]

MICHAELSON, ISAAC CHESAR (1903–1982), Israeli ophthalmologist. Born in Scotland, he taught at Glasgow University and served with the Royal Army Medical Corps in World War II. During Israel's War of Independence in 1948, he was specialist adviser to the Israel government and from 1953 served as professor of ophthalmology at the Hebrew University-Hadassah Medical School in Jerusalem. He set up eye clinics in Liberia, Malawi, Tanzania, and Rwanda and trained local doctors and medical assistants to run them. The Ophthalmology Research Laboratories administered by Michaelson and his colleagues from Hadassah Hospital in Jerusalem served an estimated patient-population of 20 million in Africa.

A specialist on the diseases of the inner eye, Michaelson is the author of *Circulation of the Inner Eye in Man and Animals* (1952) and, with Ballantyne, of *Textbook of Diseases of the Eye* (1970^2). Michaelson was awarded the 1960 Israel Prize for medicine.

[Lucien Harris]

MICHAL (Heb. מִיכַל), the youngest daughter of King *Saul (Sam. 14:49), who loved *David and was given to him in marriage after he had killed 200 Philistines (in the Septuagint – 100). Michal's father had insisted on this as the condition for the marriage contract – "a hundred Philistines' foreskins," instead of a dowry (18:27–29), hoping of course that David would lose his life in the attempt to collect them. Michal, who loved David, was given to him instead of *Merab the elder, who had been promised to him but had been given to *Adriel the Meholathite (17:15; 18:17–20).

Michal demonstrated her loyalty to David in deceiving her father's messengers, who had been sent to murder David in his own home (19:17ff.). By the time Saul's messengers discovered the deceit, David had had time to escape. Later Saul gave Michal to *Paltiel son of Laish from Gallim (25:44). When David reigned in Hebron, he asked Ish-Bosheth, the son of Saul, to bring Michal back apparently under pressure from Abner, who was about to defect to David. He did in fact take her from her husband and restore her to David (II Sam. 3:12–16). No doubt the demand was politically motivated, at least in part. David was trying to induce Israel (the northern tribes) to follow the example of Judah and accept him as its king (II Sam. 2:5–7), and his marriage to a daughter of Saul who might become the mother of his successor would be an added inducement to the men of Israel to act upon his suggestion. When David leaped and danced in front of the Ark as it was brought to Jerusalem, Michal jeered that he had exposed himself "as one of the vain fellows shamelessly uncovers himself." David answered her in anger, referring to his being chosen as king, "above thy father, and above all his house" (6:16, 20–23). Michal remained childless (6:23). The masoretic text of II Samuel 21:8 mentions five children of Michal by *Adriel of Meholah, but the latter was in fact the husband of Merab (see above). Some versions (LXX, the Syriac; cf. Sanh. 19b) have Merab here instead of Michal.

[Samuel Abramsky]

In the Aggadah

Michal's love for David is compared to that of Jonathan; whereas the latter saved David from Saul outside the palace, Michal did so inside the palace (Mid. Ps. 59:1). She is identical with Eglah (mentioned in II Sam. 3:5 as David's wife), and was so called because like a heifer (*eglah*) she refused to accept the yoke of her father (Mid. Ps. 59:4). This love was returned. Although David married Merab after Michal's death he continued to refer to "My wife, Michal" (II Sam. 3:14; Sanh. 19b). Michal's marriage to Palti (I Sam. 25:44) was illegal, since she was already bethrothed to David (Sanh. *ibid.*), and she had no marital relations with him (*ibid.*). She is stated to have worn *tefillin* (Er. 96a).

When rebuking David (II Sam. 6:20), Michal made a forceful comparison between the modesty which Saul displayed when covering his feet (I Sam. 24:4), and David's behavior (Num. R. 4:20); it was on account of this criticism that she was punished with childlessness (Sanh. 21a).

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MICHALI, BINYAMIN YIẒḤAK (1910–1989), Hebrew writer, literary critic, and editor. Born in Bessarabia, Michali lived in Bucharest from 1933 to 1939, where he was active in Zionist circles. He went to Ereẓ Israel in 1939 and joined the staff of the *Histadrut archives. He was a leading member of the Israel Writers' Association for many years and one of the chief editors of its journal, *Moznayim*. His first articles in Yiddish as well as Hebrew appeared in the Labor Zionist press. He published several books on modern Hebrew writers dealing in particular with the younger schools (*Olamam shel Benei ha-Areẓ*, 1951, and *Peri ha-Areẓ*, 1966, and *Ḥayyim Hazaz, Iyyunim bi-Yẓirato*, 1968) and edited several anthologies and journals of contemporary Hebrew literature. Other works include *Ya'akov Fichman* (1952), a study of the Yiddish poet Avraham Suzkever (1989), and a collection of literary essays *Mishbeẓot Bikkoret* (1981).

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[Getzel Kressel]

MICHALOVCE (Hung. **Nagymihály**; Ger. **Grossmichel**), town in N.E. Slovakia. The first Jews settled there during the Ottoman occupation of Greater Hungary (1526–1699) and remained after the Turks left. A 1724 census attests to a Jewish presence. The aim of the census was to prevent Jews from owning real estate. The number of Jews at that time was small. Jews lived in the neighboring villages, such as Stranany and Pozdisovce, where they attended services. The first synagogue was constructed on the property of the Gueck family. In 1732, the number of Jews rose to 400. They also owned a *mikveh*. Most of the Jews lived on Silk Street ("Hodvabna ulica"). When it could no longer accommodate all the potential inhabitants, New Street ("Nova ulica") was added. The cemetery was in Stranany. In 1792 the *ḥevra kaddisha* was established. In 1865, a convention of Orthodox rabbis of greater Hungary was held in Michalovce, which affirmed the Conservative spirit of Hungarian Jewry. Fearing Jewish assimilation, the conveners codified several regulations to preserve accepted norms. It established the rule of use of only Hebrew and Yiddish in religious activity. After the Congress of Hungarian Jewry in 1868, the Michalovce congregation confirmed the Orthodox path it had followed in the past. The community was formally founded in 1867; in 1888 they built a large synagogue. A group of ḥasidim following *nusaḥ sefarad* split from the congregation. The synagogue was replaced with another edifice in 1905. In 1970 it was torn down.

In 1840 there were 170 Jews in Michalovce (excluding Pozdisovce and Stranany); in 1844 there were 311; in 1857 they increased to 445. In 1880 the community had 1,079 (27.6% of all inhabitants), and in 1910 there were 2,200 Jews. Immigration from Galicia caused rapid expansion of the community. The Jews in neighboring villages moved to the city, and the railway created even further expansion of the Jewish population. The second Czechoslovak census of 1930 recorded 3,386 Jews in Michalovce. On the eve of the deportations in 1940, there were 4,197.

During the last 20 years of the 19th century a *bet midrash*, a *mikveh*, and a *talmud torah* were constructed. In the 1930s a Beth Jacob school for girls and another Jewish school were established. In 1926 the ḥasidim consecrated a synagogue of their own. There was a main yeshivah and there was a ḥasidic yeshivah.

Zionist activity began in Michalovce before World War I, and all shades of political views were represented. The Jewish party was strong and was regularly elected to the municipal council. While the Jews were doing well economically, there was a poor segment among the population. The Po'alei Zion party had some support among them.

On October 6, 1918, autonomy was proclaimed in Slovakia, and on March 15, 1939, Slovakia proclaimed independence, under the aegis of the Third Reich. In Michalovce this latter act was accompanied by antisemitic disturbances. In 1919 Jewish children were expelled from schools, and the Jewish school founded shortly before the crisis took on the responsibility of educating them.

Antisemitism peaked in 1942 with the deportation of Slovakian Jews to Poland. Many tried to escape to Hungary. On May 4, 1942, the first transport of Michalovce Jews was sent to Poland. Four transports followed to the Lublin region, to ghettos in Lukow, Medzirieczie, and Podleske. Survivors in the community tried to help the deportees by smuggling money and medicine to them. Ultimately, they were all sent to the extermination camps at Sobibor and Treblinka.

In the spring of 1944, all eastern Slovakian survivors were ordered to move westward for fear of the advancing front. Indeed, in November 1944 Soviet troops entered Michalovce. In 1945 the surviving Jews organized a congregation and repaired the synagogue, the *mikveh*, and the cemetery. In 1947 there were 614 Jews in Michalovce. In 1948–49 most of the Jews emigrated, particularly to Israel. The community continued to function. In 1967 there were 200 to 250 Jews in Michalovce. In 1989, at the time of the Velvet Revolution, only a handful remained and religious life no longer existed. In 1995 there were a few dozen Jews.

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[Meir Lamed / Yeshayahu Jelinek (2nd ed.)]

MICHEL, JUD (d. 1549), also known as "the rich Michel," financier and soldier of fortune. According to legend Michel was an illegitimate son of one of the dukes of Regenstein, who were his benefactors at the beginning of his career but later became his bitter enemies. His loans to rulers of *Hesse, the Palatinate, and lesser principalities are first recorded in the early 1530s. Michel, who had no official title (see *Court Jew), stood in the relationship of vassal to Philip the Magnanimous of Hesse, for whom he had to muster five horsemen, as well as to the elector of the Palatinate and the margrave of Ansbach. When the duke of Regenstein repudiated a promissory note, Michel first warned and challenged him and then instigated acts of arson against his property. Called before the imperial court, he fled to Silesia where he organized effective support from nobility and *Ferdinand I, to whom he had once loaned 2,000 gold gulden. Michel subsequently entered the service of Joachim II, elector of *Brandenburg, with whom he conducted intricate economic transactions against the dukes of Regenstein, vassals of the elector. He owned two houses in *Berlin and one in *Frankfurt on the Oder, although the latter town objected to his presence there. In 1544 his wife, Merle, was accused of attempting to poison the wells and in 1546 he was accused of illegal slaughtering; in both cases Joachim intervened on his protégé's behalf. He was kidnapped while on a mission in 1549; his abductors were arrested and brought to Saxony and Michel was released on Joachim's command. Shortly after Michel died in dubious circumstances as the result of a fall down stairs. Michel made a singular impression on his contemporaries, including Martin *Luther, who reported having heard of a rich Jew who traveled throughout Germany, drawn by 12 horses. In dress and manners he conducted himself like a rich nobleman, surrounded by Jewish servants, and thus attended the Diets of the empire.

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MICHEL-LÉVY, AUGUSTE (1844–1911), French petrologist and mining engineer. Michel-Lévy, who was born in Paris, was appointed director of the French geological survey and national inspector of mines in 1874. He was also a professor at the Collège de France. The most distinguished petrologist of his time, he was the first scientist to use the polarizing microscope to examine magmatic rocks and minerals. He extended this work by laboratory experiments in melting and crystallization, and with his collaborator F. Fouqué, was the pioneer of experimental petrology. He formulated fundamental queries which continue to pose major problems in the discussion of magmatic process as, for example, the role of volatiles (1875) and the mode of emplacement of granitic magmas through the assimilation of country rocks and bed-by-bed injection. The Fouqué-Lévy system became the standard one in the French teaching of petrography. Together with Fouqué, Michel-Lévy wrote *Minéralogie micrographique* (1879), *Synthèse des minéraux et des roches* (1882), and *Structure et classification des roches éruptives* (1889). He was a member of the French Academy.

This distinction was also conferred on his son, ALBERT-VICTOR (1877–1955), also a petrographer. He was born in Autun. Albert-Victor's main research was on the composition of the Vosges mountain range. He succeeded in producing artificial metamorphism in rocks by using pressure at high temperatures.

MICHELSON, ALBERT ABRAHAM (1852–1931), U.S. physicist; the first American to be awarded a Nobel Prize for science.

He was born in Strelno, Prussia, and was taken by his family to the United States at the age of two. Michelson graduated from the naval academy at Annapolis in 1873. However, after spending two years at sea he resigned to become an instructor in physics at the naval academy (1875–79). He spent a year in Washington and then two years studying in Germany. He returned to the U.S. in 1883 to become professor at the Case School of Applied Science in Cleveland until 1889. From 1889 to 1892 he was at Clark University and finally he was professor at the University of Chicago (1892–1929). He was awarded the Nobel Prize in physics in 1907. Michelson was a remarkable experimentalist able to secure astonishing accuracies with the simplest apparatus. His lifelong interest was the velocity of light, and this was the subject of his first experiment even in his mid-20s when he was an instructor at the U.S. naval academy at Annapolis. At that time physicists believed in the existence of an ether that filled all space, was at absolute rest, and through which light traveled in waves. There was then no way of measuring the motion of any body relative to the ether and leading scientists doubted whether this could be done. If it could be measured, two beams of light should show interference fringes denoting the difference. By measuring the width of the fringes it should be possible to show the earth's exact velocity when compared with the ether. Not only would the earth's absolute motion be determined, but also that of all bodies in the planetary system whose motions relative to the earth were known. For his experiment Michelson developed the interferometer, an instrument now used to measure wavelengths of light and other wavelengths of the radiation spectrum. He carried out his first experiments in Berlin in 1881 in Helmholtz' laboratory. In 1887, together with Edward Williams Morley, he performed one of the most important experiments in the history of science, which provided a new starting point for the great theoretical developments in 20th-century physics. The conclusion of the experiment indicated that light travels with the same velocity in any direction under any circumstances, and the implication was that the ether did not exist. This became one of the basic concepts which led *Einstein in 1905 to his special theory of relativity. The proving of this revolutionary theory of the absolute speed of light under any conditions has become the underlying principle of modern physics, astronomy, and cosmology and is considered to be, perhaps, the one absolute natural law in the universe. As a great experimentalist, Michelson established in 1892/93 the meter in terms of the wavelength of cadmium. He also determined the diameter of Jupiter's satellites and was the first person to measure the dimension of a star, Alpha Orion. Michelson wrote *Velocity of Light* (1902), *Light Waves and Their Uses* (1903), and *Studies in Optics* (1927).

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[Maurice Goldsmith]

MICHELSON, CHARLES (1869–1948), U.S. editor, journalist, and political publicist. Michelson, who was born in Virginia City, Nevada, ran away from home at the age of 13. He worked as a sheepherder, miner, and teamster, before going to work for the Virginia City *Chronicle* as a reporter. He subsequently worked for San Francisco newspapers, before going to Cuba as a correspondent for Hearst's New York *Journal* in 1896. Soon after his arrival Michelson was imprisoned briefly in Morro Castle, but was released in time to cover the Spanish-American War. After the war, Michelson worked for several other newspapers. From 1917 to 1929 he was chief of the Washington bureau of the New York *World*. In 1929 the Democratic National Committee hired Michelson as the first full-time publicity director, the first ever employed by a political party. Within two years of his appointment, Michelson was the ghostwriter of hundreds of press releases attacking the Hoover administration. After Roosevelt's election, Michelson also did publicity work for the Treasury Department and the Civilian Conservation Corps and was public relations director of the National Recovery Administration (NRA). His weekly column, "Dispelling the Fog," was distributed free to newspapers throughout the country. The Republican Party considered Michelson a key factor in the electoral successes of the Democratic Party. Michelson retired in 1942, returning briefly as associate director of publicity in 1944. He wrote his memoirs, *The Ghost Talks* (1944).

MICHELSTAEDTER, CARLO (1887–1910), Italian philosopher and poet. Michelstaedter was born at Gorizia, then part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, into a well-known family. His mother was a descendant of Abraham *Reggio, chief rabbi of Gorizia in 1830, and Isacco Samuel *Reggio, who held the same office some years later, and who, together with Samuel David Luzzatto, co-founded the Rabbinical Institute of Padua. His father, Alberto, who came from a family of German origin, was an important part of the intellectual and social life of the city.

The young Michelstaedter strongly opposed his father's 19th-century positivist views, but politically, he did not disagree with him on the Irredentist cause. Michelstaedter undertook classical studies at the University of Florence. There he was greatly influenced by the writings of Schopenhauer, Nietzsche, and Ibsen and based his philosophy on the assumption that all human endeavor, spiritual or physical, is merely an illusion. Moreover Michelstaedter's Jewish origins gave his thought an original twist. Jewish Diaspora themes of the loss of self, exclusion from the fullness of life, the inability to enter deeply into existence, reflect a strong drive toward completeness. His ideas, as well as his Jewish identity, were reflected in his interest in the Kabbalah. On the other hand, Michelstaedter dissociated himself from the Zionist movement.

Michelstaedter's fundamental pessimism is expressed in his *Dialogo della Salute* (1912) and, in a more poetic fashion, in his *Poesie* (1912). He spent the last years of his short life in his native Gorizia preparing a thesis on "The Concept of Persuasion and Rhetoric in the Writings of Plato and Aristotle." After completing the second volume of this work (*La persua-*

sione e la retorica, 1913) Michelstaedter committed suicide. In this last book he anticipated the main doctrines of European existentialism. Michelstaedter's philosophical outlook led him to the extreme step of taking his own life out of inner conviction. His works, all posthumously published, were widely circulated and greatly influenced Italian philosophy and literature after World War II. A critical edition of Michelstaedter's complete works, including the first collection of his letters, was published in 1959.

His mother and sister, Emma and Elda Michelstaedter, perished in the Shoah.

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[Giorgio Romano]

MICHIGAN, one of the N. central states of the U.S. In 2001 there were an estimated 110,000 Jews among the 9,952,000 citizens of Michigan.

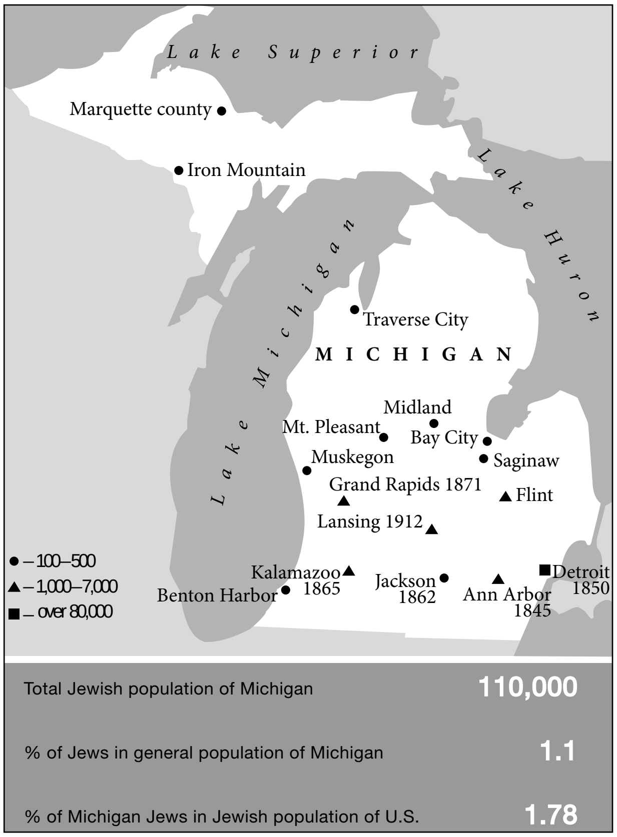

Jewish communities in Michigan and dates of establishment. Population figures for 2001.

Michigan has been home to Jews since 1761, when the first Jewish settler, Ezekiel Solomon, came as a fur trader and supplier to the British troops in the strategic wilderness outpost at Fort Michilimackinac.

Chapman Abraham, one of Solomon's partners, is the first known Jewish resident in Fort Detroit, held by the British. By 1762 he was bringing furs and needed goods in flotillas of voyageur canoes back and forth on the hazardous water route from Montreal. While residing most of the year in Michigan, both Solomon and Abraham remained members of the Montreal congregation, Shearith Israel. During Chief Pontiac's 1763 native uprising against the British, they each were captured and imprisoned, but eventually released. These two pioneer Jewish fur traders are recognized by Michigan Historical Markers placed by the Jewish Historical Society of Michigan.

Years before the American Revolution, Ezekiel Solomon, Chapman Abraham, and their other Jewish trading partners, Gershon Levi, Benjamin Lyon, and Levi Solomons, are credited with helping to "push back the wilderness of the Great Lakes country," and open up the continent for settlement. The British did not leave Michigan until 1796.

The completion of the Erie Canal in 1825, the laying of the railroads by 1848, and boat traffic on the Great Lakes opened up the route to Michigan. Moreover, the early promise of freedom of religion in the Northwest Ordinance of 1787 and free public education attracted Jewish immigrants. As the fur trade had brought Jews to Michigan in the 18th century, Michigan's prosperous lumber and mining industries offered economic opportunities during the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Jewish immigrant entrepreneurs fanned out to peddle needed supplies to the lumber and mining camps and farms in the wilderness of both the upper and lower peninsulas. These peddlers provided a needed alternative to the lumber barons' "company store." They became active citizens of their new communities and established Jewish cemeteries and synagogues in order to maintain their Jewish heritage. Their beginnings as peddlers often developed into prosperous mercantile businesses.

Michigan was declared a state in 1837. Ann Arbor was the first Michigan community where a colony of Jews settled in the 1840s, during the German-Jewish immigration. The five Weil brothers and their parents arrived in 1845; they conducted Sabbath and holiday services in their home. Michigan's first Jewish cemetery was established in 1848/9. The site is on the east lawn of University of Michigan's Rackham Building, noted with a historical plaque.

Starting out as farmers and peddlers, the Weil brothers later operated a prosperous tannery with over 100 employees. Jacob Weil, educated in European universities and a rabbi, was elected alderman in Ann Arbor and invited to the faculty of the University of Michigan, which he declined in order to continue as president of the family tannery firm. By 1873 the Weils had moved to Chicago to expand their business, J. Weil and Bros.

Jewish immigrant families followed the route of the railroad across southern Michigan to Chicago, establishing themselves in the mid-19th century not only in Ann Arbor, but also in Ypsilanti, Jackson, and Kalamazoo. Maurice Heuman was elected mayor of Jackson, Samuel Folz in Kalamazoo.

A Historical Marker in Kalamazoo honors arctic pioneer Edward Israel, a University of Michigan graduate, who served in 1881 as scientist on the nation's first polar expedition led by Lt. A.W. Greely. Along with 18 of the 25 expedition members, Israel perished of starvation after severe storms in the third winter of the expedition.

By 1845 the families of German immigrants Samuel Leopold and Julian Austrian, sailing their one-masted sloop to Mackinac, established a pioneer fishing business – which soon shipped as much as 1,000 barrels of salted fish to cities around the Great Lakes, including Cleveland. They became owners of a large fleet of sailing vessels, and after the discovery of copper in the Upper Peninsula, opened shops in five towns across the peninsula.

Jake Steinberg, Gustave Rosenthal, and Moses Winkleman operated successful stores in different "U.P." towns, supplying the many lumberjacks and miners and their families. "Winkleman's" grew to a large chain of shops for women's apparel.

An observant Jew who closed his store on the High Holidays, William Saulson operated the prosperous "People's Store" in St. Ignace. In 1888, he was elected Mayor of St. Ignace. In an ad published in 1884, Saulson proposed the building of the Mackinac Bridge, which opened 75 years later, in 1958. The five-mile-long suspension bridge linking the two peninsulas was designed by engineering genius David Steinman; Lawrence Rubin was the executive secretary of the Mackinac Bridge Authority.

Bavarian-born Dr. Frederick L. Hirschman, an 1873 graduate of one of the first classes of the Detroit College of Medicine, went to the Upper Peninsula to combat the smallpox epidemic there, and remained a doctor to the Republic Mines until his early death at the age of 38.

By 1903, at the far western end of the Upper Peninsula, Russian Polish immigrants Harry and Sam Cohodas first opened fruit markets in Houghton, Hancock, and Calumet. These developed into the nation's third largest wholesale produce business. The Cohodas family became nationally known for its philanthropy and support of civic and Jewish causes. Temple Jacob opened in Hancock in 1912, named for merchant Jacob Gartner, and still serves the Jewish students and faculty of Michigan Technological University.

Supplying five million board feet annually for the building of the nation's homes and factories, "white pine was king" in Michigan until about 1910, when the valuable forests had been stripped. In the late 18th and early 19th centuries, Jews followed the centers of lumbering, from Bay City and Saginaw on the state's eastern side to Grand Rapids, Traverse City, and Muskegon on the western shore, and, as mentioned, crossing over to the Upper Peninsula. A successful work shirt manufacturer, immigrant Julius Houseman first was elected mayor of Grand Rapids, then to the Michigan State Legislature, and in 1883 to the U.S. House of Representatives. He was the only Michigan Jew to serve as United States Congressman until a century later, with the elections of Howard Wolpe and Sander Levin.

Peddler Julius Steinberg from Souvalk, Poland, settled in Traverse City, where he soon built a prosperous clothing and dry goods store, and in 1894 opened an elegant two-story Grand Opera House on top of his store – known as "the finest opera house north of Chicago."

"The oldest synagogue building in continuous use," according to the Michigan Historical Commission, opened in Traverse City in 1885. A second synagogue was founded in 1896 in nearby Petoskey. Both continue in active use, serving local Jews as well as summer and winter vacationers.

A port on Lake Michigan, Muskegon survived the decline of lumbering by building foundries and factories to supply the emerging auto industry of the early 20th century. The Muskegon Scrap Metal Co. was run by Henry, Harry, and Isadore Rubinsky. In nearby Holland, Padnos Iron and Steel grew into an essential supplier to industry; the Padnoses are prominent philanthropists in the state. Later, in 1933, World War I veterans Harold and Leo Rosen opened the American Grease Stick Company, a major supplier of solid lubricants to the auto industry. The Muskegon Jewish House of Worship was dedicated in 1948.

In the 1890s, Russian Polish Jewish immigrants established a "Palestine Colony" at Bad Axe in Michigan's "Thumb" area, which unfortunately did not survive the economic "Panic" of that decade. Later, the Sunrise Cooperative Farm Community, of close to 100 families, supplied mint to Parke Davis pharmaceutical, but only lasted from 1933 to 1938. In the fruit belt of southwestern Michigan, a number of Jews established farms; the Ben Rosenberg family remained as successful farmers and community leaders for three generations. Nearby South Haven, on the shores of Lake Michigan, became known as the "Catskills of the Midwest." For three decades before World War II, Jewish immigrant families ran more than 60 resorts there, attracting thousands from Chicago and the Midwest.

By 1850 in Detroit, 12 Orthodox men formed Detroit's first Jewish congregation, the Beth El Society. In a characteristic pattern, they hired a rabbi, Rabbi Samuel Marcus, who for $200 a year also served as the *mohel*, the *shoḥet*, the cantor, the teacher of the children, and the judge to settle community disputes. They rented a room in which to meet, set up a school, bought land for a cemetery, arranged for traditional burials, and formed societies to care for the sick, the poor, and the widows and orphans. Rabbi Marcus died in the cholera epidemic of 1854.

When the Beth El Society adopted the Reform ritual advocated by Cincinnati's Rabbi Isaac Mayer Wise, in 1861 17 traditionalists withdrew to form the Shaarey Zedek Society. Today these two congregations are among the country's largest and most active, and both are recognized with Michigan Historical Markers.

In the time before the Civil War, Beth El's Rabbi Leibman Adler was preaching vigorous abolitionist sermons. Ernestine Rose, a Jewish woman who belonged to the national coalition of social reformers, had visited Detroit in 1846 to speak out against slavery as well as child labor, and for women's rights. Temple members Emil Heineman and Mark Sloman were active participants in the Underground Railroad. From the 151 Jewish families in Michigan, 181 men and boys served in the Union Armies; 38 lost their lives in the conflict.

To meet the needs of the growing wave of immigrants, in 1899 Detroit established the United Jewish Charities, under the leadership of Rabbi Leo M. Franklin. This included the Hebrew Free Loan Association, which since 1895 had been helping peddlers with loans of $5 to get them started.

By the early 1900s, an emerging automobile industry was providing additional economic opportunities. Engineer Max Grabowsky and his brother Morris, along with Bernard Ginsburg, formed the Grabowsky Power Wagon Company to manufacture the world's first gasoline-powered truck. Their successful four-story business in Detroit was bought by Will Durant to make up the new General Motors Company. Durant also hired bookkeeper Meyer Prentis who became treasurer of General Motors in 1919. Robert Janeway headed an engineering group for Chrysler for 30 years; A.E. Barit served as president of the Hudson Motor Car Company from 1936 to 1954. Participating in the wave of American inventiveness, in 1903 Rabbi Judah L. Levin received United States patents, and later British and Japanese patents, for his adding and subtracting machine which now is in the collection of the Smithsonian Institute.

However, since Jews were substantially excluded from the executive ranks of the automotive corporations, many Jewish entrepreneurs became suppliers to the industry. Jewish shops, which eventually grew into thriving businesses, supplied manufactured parts, glass, paint, chemicals, textiles, slag, and coveralls and operated laundries for factory uniforms. Max Fisher's Marathon Oil Company recycled and refined used oil. The Industrial Removal Office in New York City sent Jews to Detroit for industrial jobs and for work at the Ford Motor Company for "$5 a day."

Providing a needed voice for the rights of workers, Jews were prominent in the labor movement. Samuel Goldwater was elected president of Detroit's Cigarmakers Union in the 1890s. Later Myra Wolfgang organized the waitresses' union. Many Jewish leaders worked with Walter Reuther in the UAW, including Sam Fishman, Bernard Firestone, and Irving Bluestone, who later served as professor of labor studies in the Economics Department chaired by Professor Samuel Levin at Wayne University. Prominent labor lawyer Maurice Sugar's papers are collected at the Reuther Library at Wayne University.

In 1912, Henry Ford, who was actively antisemitic a decade later, hired architect Albert Kahn to design the first factory to house a continuously moving assembly line to manufacture the Model T. Kahn continued to design Ford factories. Henry Butzel served as chief justice of the Michigan Supreme Court, while his attorney brother Fred became known as "Detroit's Most Valuable Citizen." Charles Simons was appointed justice to the United States Sixth Circuit Court of Appeals; while his brother David was elected to Detroit's first nine-man city council in 1914.

In the 1990s, with a total Michigan population of 9,478,000, there were 107,000 Jews statewide, with a Jewish population of 96,000 in metropolitan Detroit, the greater majority in the nearby Oakland County suburbs. It is anticipated that more current studies will show a greater degree of spread to additional nearby communities as well as a decline in the Metro Detroit Jewish population.

An estimated 200,000 Muslims live in Metro Detroit, many concentrated in Dearborn. The local American Jewish Committee, the Anti-Defamation League, and the Jewish Community Council are each involved in outreach activities between local Muslims and Jews.

Carl *Levin served as United States Senator, elected four times from 1978.

His brother, Sander, was re-elected to the House of Representatives from 1982. A leader of the statewide Democratic ticket, Kathleen Straus was elected to the Michigan Board of Education and served as president. Community activist David Hermelin was appointed by President Bill Clinton as ambassador to Norway, where he served until his untimely death. Florine Mark, founder of Weight Watchers in Michigan and a philanthropic leader, is in the Michigan Women's Hall of Fame. William *Davidson, a third generation Detroiter, is the owner of the Detroit Pistons, the Detroit Shock, and the Tampa Bay Lightning; chairman of glass manufacturer Guardian Industries, Inc; he is a major philanthropist taking a special interest in Jewish education. The patriarch of the Jewish community, Max *Fisher, who passed away in 2004, was recognized as the "dean of American Jewry" and was acknowledged by United States presidents as a "world citizen."

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[Judith L. Cantor (2nd ed.)]

MICHMASH or **MICHMAS** (Heb. מִכְמָשׂ, מִכְמָס, מִכְמָשׁ), city of the tribe of Judah, originally belonging to the tribe of Benjamin, situated between Jerusalem and Beth-El in a strong strategic position north of the deep Wadi al-Suwaynīṭ. Saul gathered part of his army there (I Sam. 13:2) and the main part of the Philistine forces later encamped in the city prior to the battle of Michmash, fleeing by way of Aijalon after their defeat (I Sam. 13–14). It is mentioned in Isaiah's description of the advance of the Assyrian army, where it is placed between Aiath and Geba (Isa. 10:28), and in the lists of those returning from the Babylonian Exile (Ezra 2:27; Neh. 7:31). Jonathan the Hasmonean resided there (until 152 B.C.E.) before assuming the high priesthood (I Macc. 9:73; cf. Jos., Ant., 13:34). In the Mishnah, the wheat of the place is highly praised (Men. 8:1). Eusebius calls it a very big village, 9 mi. (c. 14 km.) from Jerusalem and in its territory (Onom. 132:3–4). Michmash is identified with Mukhmās, close to Rama, approximately 6 mi. (c. 10 km.) northeast of Jerusalem. A first-century C.E. ossuary is known from a local tomb bearing the names "Shimon" and "Levi." A Byzantine church with an inscription was found in the village. The Byzantine monastic laura of Firminus is situated in the vicinity of Mukhmās.

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[Michael Avi-Yonah / Shimon Gibson (2nd ed.)]

°MICKIEWICZ, ADAM (1798–1855), Polish poet. Born in Lithuania, Mickiewicz became involved in student nationalist politics at Vilna University and in 1826 was expelled from the country and ordered to live in Russia. In 1829 he was given permission to go abroad, and started the journeying from one European city to another that was to last for the rest of his life. It was during the period 1823–32 that he wrote his great drama *Dziady* (3 vols. (Paris, 1832); partial trans. *Forefathers' Eve*, 1928), in which he drew a picture of the future savior of Poland which has been interpreted as referring to himself. According to the vision of one of the characters, this savior would be "a son of an alien mother; his blood, the blood of ancient heroes; and his name – forty-and-four." Mickiewicz's mother, descended from a converted Frankist family, was an "alien"; and his own name, Adam (אדם), omitting the unvoiced "A" (א), has the numerical value of 44. Such kabbalistic notions were gleaned from the writings of the French mystic, Louis-Claude de Saint-Martin. Although Mickiewicz at first occasionally referred slightingly to the Jews, even in his biblically-influenced *Księgi narodu polskiego i pielgrzymstwa polskiego* ("Books of the Polish Nation and the Polish Pilgrimage," Paris, 1832), he soon revised his attitude. In this he was influenced by the mystical philosopher Andrzej Towiański, who considered the Jews, together with the French and Poles, to be a "chosen nation" and whose Messianic nationalism drew inspiration from Mesmer, Swedenborg, and the Kabbalah. Thus the idealized Jew, Jankiel, in Mickiewicz's masterpiece, the great epic *Pan Tadeusz* (1834), is an ardent Polish patriot. In the lectures he gave as professor of Slavonic languages and literatures at the Collège de France in Paris (1840–44), Mickiewicz was at pains to praise the Jews and defend them against their detractors. In a sermon delivered in a Paris synagogue on the Fast of the Ninth of Av, 1845, he expressed his sympathy for Jewish suffering and yearning for Ereẓ Israel. Although he dreamed for years of the conversion of the Jews to Christianity, he was greatly disappointed at the assimilationist tendencies of French Jews. In one of the statutes of the Polish legion which he organized in Italy in 1848 to fight against Russia Mickiewicz wrote: "To Israel, our elder brother: honor, fraternity, and help in striving towards his eternal and temporal goal. Equal rights in all things." When the Crimean War broke out in 1853, Mickiewicz went to Constantinople to help raise a Polish regiment to fight against the Russians. He hoped to include Jewish units, and was prepared to assure them the right to observe the Sabbath and all other religious obligations. His chief assistant, a French medical officer named Armand Lévy, was a Jewish nationalist, and it is possible that the two men believed that the creation of Jewish units would be a first step towards the revival of the Jewish nation in its own land. Mickiewicz died suddenly before his mission in Constantinople was completed.

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[Yehuda Arye Klausner]

MICROCOSM (from Gr. *mikros kosmos*; "small world"), term in the Western philosophical tradition referring to man as an epitome of the universe (the macrocos) in his parts and structure. The Arabic (*ʿālam ṣaghīr*), Hebrew (*olam katan*), and Latin (*mundis minor*) terms are literal equivalents of the Greek. The term is said to be first attested in Aristotle (*Physics*, 8:2, 252b, 26–27), though the motif is older; indeed, the notion that some aspect of reality (the city, sanctuary, man) reflects the cosmos is both ancient and widespread. Though the broad diffusion of the microcosm motif in late antiquity (in Gnostic, Hermetic, neoplatonic, neopythagorean, Orphic, and stoic writings) complicates the study of original sources, its occurrence in medieval Arabic and Hebrew texts is mainly the result of neoplatonic influence. The analogy was frequently invoked to argue for the existence of a world soul or mind which directs and orders the physical universe as the soul does the body. The idea that man exemplifies all being was also used to buttress the theme of man's superiority, dignity, or freedom: as *nodus et vinculum mundi*, he epitomizes the entire scale of being (spiritual and material) and determines his own place, unlike angels and beasts whose nature is fixed. The elaboration of the neoplatonic hypostases was, in effect, a projection of human psychology to the supersensible world.

Furthermore, the neoplatonic notion that the human mind is potentially a κόσμος νοητός ("intelligible world") implies that by knowing the intelligibles man becomes identical with all being. Microcosmic speculation tended to combine with astrology (correspondence between heavenly bodies and parts of the human body), medicine (universal and human nature, parallel between the four elements and the four humors), and magical practice (universal sympathy). Philo frequently compares man as microcosm βραχὺς κόσμο to the universe (Conger, in bibl., 16–18; H.A. Wolfson, *Philo*, 1 (1948), 424, n.), stressing the parallel between the human and cosmic minds (*logoi*; e.g., Op. 69–71). He is said to have drawn his theory of the microcosm from Greek and rabbinic sources (A. Altmann in bibl., 20). Among the latter is found a long list of gross analogies between parts of the world and parts of man in *Avot de-Rabbi Nathan* (ARN^{2} 31, 92). (For other rabbinic sources, see Altmann, 21, n.) In medieval Jewish philosophy the motif is frequently cited, being part of the common stock of popular philosophy found in such works as the Epistles of the *Brethren of Sincerity. It is mentioned, for example, by *Saadiah Gaon in his commentary on the *Sefer Yeẓirah* (ed. by M. Lambert (1891), 67ff., 91), where he compares God to life and intelligence and sets forth a series of analogues between the universe, the sanctuary, and man (followed by Abraham Ibn Ezra in his commentary on Ex. 25:40; see Altmann, in bibl., 25–26); by *Baḥya ibn Paquda (*Ḥovot ha-Levavot*, 2:4); and by *Judah Halevi in his *Kuzari* (4:3), where he quotes "the philosophers" who compared the world to a *macranthropos* ("large man") and man to a microcosm, implying that God is the spirit, soul, mind, and life of the world. (For other citations of the microcosm motif by medieval Jewish philosophers, see Conger, in bibl., 37ff., and Altmann, in bibl., 27–28.)

The microcosm theme was productive in *Israeli, Ibn *Gabirol, and Joseph ibn *Ẓaddik. Israeli links it to his definition of philosophy as self-knowledge: "This being so, it is clear that man, if he knows himself in both his spirituality and corporeality, comprises knowledge of all, and knows both the spiritual and the corporeal substance, and also knows the first substance which is created from the power of the Creator without mediator … " (A. Altmann and S.M. Stern (eds.), *Isaac Israeli* (1959), 27; see comments, *ibid.*, 28–30, 203–8, and Altmann, in bibl., 22–23). The same combination of philosophy as self-knowledge and the consequent knowledge of all is found in Ibn Ẓaddik's *Sefer ha-Olam ha-Katan* (Introd.). Ibn Ẓaddik adds that this knowledge leads to knowledge of the Creator. (See also *Sefer ha-Olam ha-Katan*, pt. 2, Introd., where Job 19:26 is cited as a proof verse – "And from my flesh I shall behold God"; cf. Altmann-Stern, 208; Altmann, in bibl., 23, 25; and Vajda, in bibl., 97 and n. 3, who cites the similar combination of the microcosm and γνῶθι σεαυτόν ("know yourself") themes by Abraham ibn Ezra.) In a more primitive vein, reminiscent of *Avot de-Rabbi Nathan* and the microcosm passage in the Iranian *Greater Bundahišhn* (trans. by B.T. Anklesaria (1956), 245), Ibn Ẓaddik (pt. 2, ch. 1), referring to "the ancients," compares the members of the human organism to the heavenly bodies (head to the outer sphere, nostrils to Venus, mouth to Mars, tongue to Mercury, vertebrae to the signs of the zodiac, eyes to the sun and moon, ears to Saturn and Jupiter), while the arteries are compared to the seas and rivers, the bones to the mountains, the hair to the plants, and the four humors to the four elements (see Altmann, in bibl., 24; and Vajda, in bibl., 113, who brands this a "*néoplationisme vulgarisé*"). Nothing so gross appears in Ibn Gabirol's *Mekor Ḥayyim*. Though the term for microcosm (*ʿālam ṣaghir = mundis minor*) appears but once (3:2, 10; see S. Pines, in *Tarbiz*, 27 (1958), 220), Ibn Gabirol makes ample use of the motif. Following the general principle that the inferior is an exemplar of the superior, man as microcosm is said to exemplify the macrocosm. The correspondence is utilized to demonstrate, for example, that the most simple substance is not in contact with the substance that bears the nine categories (3:2, 10, see also 3:58). The action of the particular will is invoked in order to explain that of the universal will (5:37).

Maimonides had little use for the popular philosophy of the Brethren of Sincerity and says he never read Ibn Ẓaddik's *Sefer ha-Olam ha-Katan* (in his letter to Ibn Tibbon; A. Marx (ed.), in: JQR, 25 (1934–35), 378–9), but in a central chapter of the *Guide* (1:72) he sets forth an elaborate analogy (with qualifications) between the whole of being and man, the parallel par excellence, being that between God vis-à-vis the universe and the rational intellect vis-à-vis man. It is on the basis of this parallel that man is called a microcosm. In his structure man exemplifies the unity within diversity and the hierarchical ordering of the universe (an idea which appears frequently in the writings of al-Fārābī). With this analogy in the *Guide* microcosmic speculation in Jewish philosophy reaches its peak, from which it ebbs with the decline of Jewish neoplatonism occasioned by the rise of Jewish Aristotelianism in the post-Maimonidean era. A notable exception is Judah *Abrabanel (Leone Ebreo), the Renaissance neoplatonist, who set forth analogies between the heavens and parts of the body (astrological microcosm; cf. Ibn Ẓaddik) in the second dialogue of his *Dialoghi d'amore* (ed. Carmella (1929), 84f.; trans. by F. Friedberg-Seeley and J.H. Barnes (1937), 93ff.).

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[Joel Kraemer]

°**MICZYŃSKI, SEBASTIAN** (late 16th–early 17th century), anti-Jewish agitator and professor of philosophy at Cracow University. In 1618 Miczyński published a venomous antisemitic lampoon entitled *Zwierciadło korony polskiej* ("The Mirror of the Polish Crown"). It is a catalog of demagogic denunciations accusing the Jews of all the misfortunes that had befallen the kingdom of Poland and its people. Through reports of *blood libels and accusations that they had desecrated icons and profaned Catholic festivals, the Jews are presented as the implacable enemies of Christians. Miczyński also presents the Jews as traitors and spies in the pay of Turkey, and lays special emphasis on the wealth of the Jewish merchants and craftsmen who compete with their Christian neighbors, driving the guilds and towns to ruin. The pamphlet seriously disturbed the Jews of *Cracow. When riots broke out in the town, the *parnasim* of the community appealed to King Sigismund III Vasa. The king promptly prohibited the circulation of the pamphlet, but in spite of his order it was reprinted in a second and enlarged edition during the same year; it was published for a third time in 1648. Miczyński's work is an important link in the chain of Polish antisemitic literature.

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[Arthur Cygielman]

MIDDLESEX COUNTY, county on the eastern coast of New Jersey, southwest of New York City, U.S.; estimated total Jewish population of 55,000 in 2005. The majority of Jewish settlers in Middlesex County were traders and peddlers. Most of the information about Jewish immigrants comes from court and land records. Aaron and Jacob Lozada owned a grocery and hardware store in Bound Brook, on the border between Middlesex County and Somerset County, as early as 1718, and helped form a synagogue ten years later. The next mention of a synagogue, Congregation Anshe Emeth of New Brunswick, is found in an 1861 land record. A court record from 1722 lists Daniel Nunez as town clerk and tax collector of Piscataway Township and justice of the peace for Middlesex County. Perth Amboy was an important Jewish center for Jewish merchants from the time that it was named capital of East Jersey in 1685. The first Jewish religious service was held here in 1890 in the home of a local Jewish resident. A *mikveh* was constructed shortly thereafter and Rosh ha-Shanah and Day of Atonement services were held at the Perth Amboy Savings Bank. When the size of the Jewish community increased, a building was purchased in about 1900 under the name of the Hebrew Mutual Aid Society. This subsequently became Congregation Shaarey Tefiloh which was dedicated on October 29, 1903. In 1904 a burial ground was purchased and a free Hebrew school was organized. The founders of the second congregation came from Perth Amboy, Metuchen, and South Amboy. It was incorporated on August 2, 1895. The first meeting places were in homes. In 1897 a synagogue was built and called Temple Beth Mordecai after a deceased son of Henry Wolff, one of the founders. In April 1927 the temple was dedicated. The Perth Amboy YMHA was formed in 1908 and was the first YMHA built in the state to have its own building rather than a rented one.

Middlesex County's prominent political figures included David T. Wilentz of Perth Amboy, the first Jewish New Jersey attorney general (1934–44), prosecutor in the Lindbergh kidnapping trial, and New Jersey national Democratic committeeman (1964–70); his son Robert Wilentz, also of Perth Amboy, state assemblyman from 1966 to 1970; Arthur J. Sills of Metuchen, state attorney general from 1962 to 1970; Donald Wernik, mayor of Metuchen in 1970; and Norman Tanzman of Woodbridge, who was elected state senator in 1962. By the 1970s the Jews of Middlesex County were mainly engaged in the professions and as business executives. Meryl Harris was the mayor of Highland Park and Brian Levine the mayor of Franklin Township. Linda Greenstein and Amy Handlin were members of the State Assembly and Barbara Buono was the State Senator.

The Federation of Middlesex County sponsors the Jewish Community Relations Committee, a Professional Networking Group, a Joint Chaplaincy Program, as well as a Missions program. It also supports a Jewish Home for the Aged, Jewish Family and Vocational Services, two Jewish community centers, a Solomon Schechter School in East Brunswick, the Rabbi Jacob Joseph School in Edison, as well as the Rabbi Pesach Raymond Yeshiva also in Edison. There is also an I.L. Peretz Community Jewish School, one of the few remaining secular humanist schools of its kind. Synagogues have been established in East Brunswick, New Brunswick, Perth Amboy, Highland Park, Edison, Monroe Township, South River, Carteret, Woodbridge, Metuchen, Old Bridge, Somerset. The Orthodox community established an *eruv* in Highland Park and in East Brunswick. The Hillel House at Rutgers University is quite active, along with the Allen and Joan Bildner Center. There is also a Chabad House on campus.

[Barry Dov Schwartz / Jeff Schekner (2nd ed.)]

MIDDOT (Heb. מִדּוֹת; "measures"), tenth tractate of the order *Kodashim* (in some codices and early editions it is ninth; in current Talmud editions the 11th and last). It is found in the Mishnah only. This tractate gives, in five chapters, exact details and measurements of the building of the Temple and of its component parts, intended perhaps to serve as a guide for the rebuilding of the Temple. The description is of the Temple of Herod. It is not based on a plan drawn up in Temple times, but depends on the memory of sages who saw the Temple and who after its destruction gave an oral description of it to their disciples. The main reporter seems to have been *Eliezer b. Jacob I, who figures prominently in this tractate. He is thought to have seen the Temple while it was still standing, but he may also have learned much about its inner arrangements from his uncle who actually served in it (1:2). That the descriptions are based on memory is evident from the controversies on factual points (1:9; 2:6; 3:4, 6; et al.); moreover, Eliezer b. Jacob is repeatedly reported to have "forgotten" certain details (2:5; 5:4). In fact this tractate was considered the original *mishnah* ("teaching") of Eliezer b. Jacob; the final redaction of Judah ha-Nasi contains, of course, the variant traditions of the other authorities as well (see Yoma 16a–17a; TJ, Yoma 2:3, 39d).

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[Arnost Zvi Ehrman]

MIDIAN, MIDIANITES (Heb. מִדְיָנִים, מִדְיָן Gen. 37:28, מִדְיָנִים), name of a people or a group of (semi-) nomadic peoples in the Bible (LXX, Madian, or Madiam; 1QIs^a 60:6, מדים). The Midianites are among the sons of Abraham and Keturah who were sent to "the land of the East" (Gen. 25:1–6). "Midianite traders" are mentioned in the episode about the sale of Joseph (Gen. 37:28). *Jethro, Moses' father-in-law, was a Midianite priest living in the land of Midian (Ex. 2:15–3:1); he met Moses in the wilderness of Sinai (Ex. 18: 1–5), and the members of his family accompanied the Israelites in their wanderings in the desert (Num. 10:29–32). The elders of Midian displayed hostility toward the Israelites on the plains of Moab (22:7) and the Israelites fought the Midianites, killing many of them (31:1–20).

This episode was connected with the attempt to entice the Israelites to worship Baal-Peor, in which the daughters of Midian participated (25:6–18). In the period of the Judges, the Midianites exerted harsh pressure on Israel (Judg. 6:1–7), and Gideon defeated them far from the borders of Ereẓ Israel, in Karkor (8:10), which was probably in Wadi Sirḥān in Transjordan, on the border of the desert. After this war, the Midianites ceased to be a political or military factor.

The range of the Midianites' wanderings was very broad: from the neighborhood of Moab (Gen. 36:35; Num. 22:4, 7; 25:1, 5, 15) and the kingdom of Sihon the Amorite (Josh. 13:21) in the border region of Transjordan, along the border of the Arabian desert (cf. Judg. 8:21, 24) west of Edom (I Kings 11:18), to the Sinai Desert and the trade route between Ereẓ Israel and Egypt (Gen. 37:28). In Greek-Roman and Arabic sources Midian is mentioned in Arabia, as well as on the shore of the Red Sea, and, according to Josephus (Ant., 2:257), this is the biblical Midian (cf. Eusebius, Onom. 124:6). This Midian is identified, according to the tradition of the Arabic geographers, with modern Maghāyir Shuʿayb (= the caves near Akaba). It appears that the Midianites' settlement in Arabia occurred in a later time, when their living area was reduced, but it is possible that the settlement in North Arabia during the Hellenistic-Roman period was a continuation of the biblical settlement. Among the sons of Keturah are mentioned tribes which inhabited North Arabia – Ephah and Dedan (Gen. 25:3–4) – and it is also possible that from there the Midianites spread to the north, the east, and the west. In the Bible the Midianites are also designated by the inclusive typological title "Ishmaelites" (Judg. 8:24). Some scholars discern a connection between the Midianites and the Kushu tribes mentioned in the Egyptian Execration Texts from the 18th century B.C.E., who wandered in the southern deserts of Ereẓ Israel (cf. Cushan, Hab. 3:7). This may be hinted at in the story of the "Cushite woman" whom Moses married (Num. 12:1).

The name Midian is attributed to groups of tribes or peoples (cf. Gen. 25:4), as is attested by the nature of the monarchy in Midian. The Bible mentions "the five kings of Midian" during the war in the wilderness (Num. 31:8) and Zebah and Zalmunna in the war of Gideon (Judg. 8:1ff.). The Midianite kings are called "chieftains" (*nesi'im*) and "princes" (*nesikhim*; Josh. 13:21; Ps. 83:12), very fitting titles for a tribal organization united in groups; Zur, a prince of Midian, is explicitly called "the tribal head of an ancestral house in Midian" (Num. 25:15). Their typically (semi- and eventually complete) nomadic character made them close to other similar tribes – Amalekites and Kedemites. The Midianites in Transjordan followed the cult of the Moabite Baal-Peor, while those who inhabited the Negev and the Sinai became close to the Kenites or even identified with them (cf. Num. 10:29; Judg. 1:16; 4:11) and the Hebrews. The Midianites were known as shepherds (Ex. 2:17) and traders (Gen. 37:28, 36). From time to time, they, together with neighboring tribes, broke into the permanent settlements around them. The Bible describes them as robbers (Judg. 6:5). During the Monarchy the Midianites lived within the confines of their place of origin, North Arabia, and they were known as middlemen in the frankincense (*levonah*) and gold export from Sheba in South Arabia (cf. Isa. 60:6). During the Hellenistic period the Nabateans mined much gold in the land of Midian and exported it via the port of Macna (Strabo, *Geographica*, 17:784). There has been no systematic scientific research of Midian in North Arabia.

[Samuel Abramsky]

In the *Aggadah*

Midian and Moab had always been enemies but, fearing that Israel would subdue them, they composed their differences and entered into an alliance (Sanh. 105a). They succeeded in inducing the Israelites to commit fornication with the daughters of Midian only by first making them drunk. For this reason, Phinehas forbade the drinking of gentile wine (PdRE 47). The hatred of the Midianites for Israel was solely on account of the observance of the Torah by Israel (Num. R. 22:2). The Midianites are sometimes identified with the Moabites, who lost their claim to special consideration as descendants of Lot (Deut. 2:9), the nephew of Abraham, because they tried to induce Israel to sin (*Yelammedenu* in Yal. 1, 875). The command to Moses to make war upon the Midianites before his death was because, having no reason for their hatred against Israel, they nevertheless joined the Moabites and outdid them in their enmity. Moses did not lead the war in person because he had found refuge in Midian when he was a fugitive from Egypt. He delegated the command to Phinehas as he had been the first to take action against them by slaying the Midianite princess, Cozbi (Num. R. 22:4).

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MIDLER, BETTE (1945–), U.S. singer, entertainer, and actress. Born in Honolulu, Midler entered show business as a member of the *Fiddler on the Roof* cast on Broadway in 1964. She gained notoriety as a popular performer in the Continental Baths cabaret, a meeting place for homosexuals, and then scored a hit single with the frequently recorded "Do You Wanna Dance?" (1974). She followed this success with her top-selling album *The Divine Miss M.* and a popular film of her live act called *Divine Madness* (1979). Midler turned actress in a movie loosely based on the life of Janis Joplin, *The Rose* (1981), which earned her an Academy Award nomination for Best Actress. Midler, who was named after legendary film icon Bette Davis, starred in subsequent films such as *Down and Out in Beverly Hills* (1986), *Ruthless People* (1986), *For the Boys* (Oscar nomination for Best Actress, 1991), *The First Wives Club* (1996), *Drowning Mona* (2000), *Isn't She Great* (2000), and *The Stepford Wives* (2004).

Over the years, among other TV guest spots, Midler appeared on Johnny Carson's *Tonight Show* 24 times, starting in 1970 and including the final program in May 1992. She also appeared in the TV movie *Gypsy* (1993) and produced and starred in the sitcom *Bette* (2000–1).

On the Broadway stage, Midler appeared in *Fiddler on the Roof* (1964–72), *Bette Midler Special Concert* (1973), *Bette Midler's Clams on the Half Shell Revue* (1975), *Bette! Divine Madness* (1979), and *Short Talks on the Universe* (2002).

For her multiple talents as an actress, writer, singer, and performer, Midler won a host of awards. In 1974 she received a special Tony Award "for adding luster to the Broadway season." She won four Grammy awards, including the 1973 Best New Artist and the prestigious Record of the Year in 1989 for her rendition of her #1 hit "Wind Beneath My Wings" from the movie *Beaches*. She won three Emmy awards and was nominated for another four. In 1987 she received the American Comedy Awards' Lifetime Achievement Award in Comedy, as well as the American Comedy Award in 1988, 1989, 1993, 1996, and 1998. Her writings include *A View from a Broad* (1980) and the fable *The Saga of Baby Divine* (1983).

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[Jonathan Licht / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

MIDRASH (Heb. מִדְרָשׁ), the designation of a particular genre of rabbinic literature containing anthologies and compilations of homilies, including both biblical exegesis (see *Hermeneutics) and sermons delivered in public (see *Homiletics) as well as *aggadot* (see **Aggadah*) and sometimes even *halakhot* (cf. **Midreshei Halakhah*), usually forming a running commentary on specific books of the Bible.

The term Midrash itself derives from the root *drsh* (דרש) which in the Bible means mainly "to search," "to seek," "to examine," and "to investigate" (cf. Lev. 10:16; Deut. 13:15; Isa. 55:6; et al.). This meaning is also found in rabbinic Hebrew (cf. BM 2:7: "until thou examine [*tidrosh*] thy brother if he be a cheat or not"). The noun "*Midrash*" occurs only twice in the Bible (II Chron. 13:22 and 24:27); it is translated in the Septuagint by βίβλος, γράφη i.e., "book" or "writing," and it seems probable that it means "an account," "the result of inquiry (examination, study, or search) of the events of the times," i.e., what is today called "history" (the word history is also derived from the Greek root ίστορὲω which has a similar meaning). In Jewish literature of the Second Temple period the word Midrash was first employed in the sense of education and learning generally (Ecclus. 51:23), "Turn unto me, ye unlearned, and lodge in my house of Midrash," which the author's grandson translated into Greek, "house of instruction or of study"; compare the similar development of the Latin *studium* which originated in the verb *studeo* which means "to become enthusiastic," "to make an effort," "to be diligent," etc. and only in a secondary sense, in the post-Augustan era, in the sense of learning (with diligence and the noun *studium* passed through the same stages of meaning; cf. Ger. *studium*; Fr. *étude*, etc.).

Darosh both in its nominal and verbal forms is sometimes found in the literature of the *Dead Sea sect as the designation for a certain method, a special technique of learning things – in *halakhah* and in *aggadah* – through rigorous study and painstaking, searching inquiry into the verses of the Bible. This method of Midrash was both ideologically and halakhically one of the fundamentals of the life of the sect: "and that his deeds appear in accordance with the Midrash of the Torah as followed by the holy upright men" (Damascus Covenant 8:29–30; cf. the Manual of Discipline 8:25–26: "If his way is perfect in company, in Midrash, and in counsel"; cf. also *ibid.* 6:24 and 6:6). The nature of this Midrash is testified to by the explicit words: "When these become a community in Israel with such characteristics they separate themselves from the company of the wicked men to go thither to the wilderness to make clear there the way of the Lord, as is written [Isa. 40:3], 'and in the wilderness clear ye the way… make plain in the desert a highway for our God,' that being the Midrash of the Torah [which] he commanded through Moses, to do in accordance with all that is revealed in every era and as the prophets revealed through his holy spirit" (Manual of Discipline 8:12–16); i.e., the Midrash of the Torah is the lesson derived from the verse (4:21–5 5:11). A different method of interpretation is the **pesher*, although the Midrash could also contain *pesharim* (see 4Q 174 Florilegium, 1–2, I 14–19, in: J.M. Allegro, *Discoveries in the Judean Desert*, V: Qumran Cave 4, I (1968), p. 53f.). This technique of biblical exegesis which is largely similar to that customary among the Greek grammarians, the students of the classical texts of Homer, and among the Roman rhetoricians, the exponents of Roman law, is found among the Jews for the first time in the Dead Sea sect (see particularly Book of *Jubilees). Nevertheless these earlier forms of exegesis must be distinguished from rabbinic midrash as a fully developed literary form (cf. *Midreshei Halakhah*: Literary Nature and Relation to Early Midrash). Suggestions to the effect that the *Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum* (pseudo-Philo) is a Midrash are without foundation.

Midrashic Literature

It is very possible that the earliest Midrash to come down is the Passover *Haggadah*, the earliest and chief element of which is a Midrash to Deuteronomy 26:5–8 (cf. Sif. Deut. 301). A great part of the midrashic *aggadah* of the tannaitic period is included side by side with the midrashic *halakhah* in the halakhic Midrashim (cf. **Midreshei Halakhah*: The Aggadic Material). On the other hand there are no independent works devoted only to midrash *aggadah* from the tannaitic era (see however **Seder Olam Rabbah* and the **Baraita de-Melekhet ha-Mishkan*). All the extant literary works devoted primarily to midrash *aggadah* were apparently compiled originally in Ereẓ Israel during the amoraic and post-amoraic periods. While the Babylonian Talmud contains a vast amount of aggadic midrash (cf. the Midrash on the Book of Esther in Meg. 10b–17a, and on Lamentations in Sanh. 104a–b), it's literary structure follows the earlier tannaitic model, including both *midrash halakhah* and *aggadah* (as in the *midreshei halakhah*), and integrating both of them into an appropriate context following the order of the tractates of the Mishnah, as was done in both the Mishnah and the Tosefta (see *Mishnah: *Aggadah* in the Mishnah).

From the point of view of the period of their arrangement and collection the aggadic Midrashim can be divided into three groups: early, middle, and late. The determination of the time of the editing and arranging of the various Midrashim is by no means a simple matter. It is nearly impossible to determine with even approximate certainty the period when a Midrash or aggadic work was compiled (see *Pirkei de-R. Eliezer). However, it is possible to arrive at a relative date, that is, to determine the relation of a particular Midrash to others (see Table: *Midreshei Aggadah*). To do this one cannot rely on the historical allusions alone or merely on the names of the sages mentioned in the Midrash, nor can one rely on the first mentions of the Midrash and its first citations, since all the Midrashim contain much material from different and extended eras. The lack of historical allusions after a definite period do not suffice to testify to its compilation immediately after that period, just as the lack of mention of a Midrash and of its citation until a certain period does not prove that it was edited at the date nearest to the beginning of that period. In neither case can one rely on the *argumentum a silentio.* A more reliable method for determining priority and lateness among Midrashim is the relationship between the various Midrashim – the use one makes of another – as well as their relationship to other sources. This procedure, however, involves a number of very complex issues, and no consensus has yet been reached on how it should be applied in practice (see **Genesis Rabbah*: The Redaction of the Midrash). Moreover, even after one arrives by use of this method at a provisional determination regarding precedence, other additional factors must be taken into account (literary forms, language, style, etc.).

The Early Midrashim (the Classical Amoraic Midrashim)

This period, from which it seems only seven Midrashim have come down, is the golden age of the aggadic Midrashim. The most developed and perfect literary forms and constructions are already found in the oldest aggadic Midrash, *Genesis Rabbah*, proving that many generations of development preceded the literary crystallization. Since in general such perfect and developed literary constructions and forms are found neither in the halakhic Midrashim nor in their aggadic section (although here and there mere beginnings can be found), it is probable that the main development of the literary forms came in the amoraic era. Toward the close of this period the assembling, collecting, and editing was begun.

Among its most perfect forms, one should mention the classical proem at the beginning of a complete Midrash or of a chapter, which served fundamentally as the introduction to a homily delivered in public. The classical proem is a prelude to a homily on a certain verse by citing a verse from another source (in most cases from another book, or even from a different section of the Bible, usually the Hagiographa) and connecting it with the chief verse of the homily, the proem concluding with the verse with which the homily itself begins. Thus, for example, the proem to Lamentations 1:1 begins with a verse from the Pentateuch, while the proems to the Pentateuch Midrashim open with a verse usually from the Hagiographa. The proem, scarcely found in the tannaitic literature, was greatly developed and perfected in the time of the *amoraim*, in order to attract, stimulate, and rouse the curiosity of the audience and to emphasize the unity of the biblical books. When gathering and assembling the material the compilers and editors of the Midrashim followed the method of the actual preachers of the homilies and placed the proems at the beginning of the Midrashim and of the various sections. They did not always have proems readily available and in consequence created artificial proems themselves (combining different sayings and a number of homilies together). Sometimes they greatly enlarged the proems so that a simple proem became compound, i.e., it included a number of homilies independent in themselves. Classical proems in their pure form are almost wholly confined to the early Midrashim: *Genesis Rabbah; Leviticus Rabbah; Lamentations Rabbah; Esther Rabbah I; *Pesikta de-Rav Kahana; Song of Songs Rabbah*; and *Ruth Rabbah*. These Midrashim all consist of a collection of homilies, sayings, and *aggadot* of the *amoraim* (and also of the *tannaim*) in Galilean Aramaic and rabbinical Hebrew, but they also include many Greek words.

It seems that all these Midrashim were edited in Ereẓ Israel in the fifth and sixth centuries C.E. Two types can be distinguished: exegetical and homiletical. The exegetical Midrash (*Genesis Rabbah, Lamentations Rabbah*, et al.) is a Midrash to one of the books of the Bible, containing comments on the whole book – on each chapter, on every verse, and at times even on every word in the verse. The homiletical Midrash is either a Midrash to a book of the Pentateuch in which only the first verse (or verses) of the weekly portion is expounded (in accordance with the early *Triennial cycle that was current in Ereẓ Israel, e.g., **Leviticus Rabbah*), or a Midrash that is based only on the biblical and prophetic reading of special Sabbaths and festivals, in which, also, only the first verses are expounded (eg., *Pesikta de-Rav Kahana*). In both cases, in contrast to the exegetical Midrashim, the homiletical Midrashim contain almost no short homilies or dicta on variegated topics, but each chapter (or section) constitutes a collection of homilies and sayings on one topic that seem to combine into one long homily on the specific topic.

Midreshei Aggadah According to Types and Periods

Aggadic Works	Midrashim	Date C.E.	The Era
	Genesis Rabbah	400–500	Classical Amoraic Midrashim of the Early Period (400–600)
	Leviticus Rabbah		
	Lamentations Rabbah		
	Esther Rabbah I		
Apocalyptic and Eschatological Midrashim	*Pesikta de-Rav Kahana*	500–640	
	Songs Rabbah		
	Ruth Rabbah		
Megillat Antiochus	Targum Sheni	640–900	The Middle Period (640–1000)
Midrash Petirat Moshe ("Death of Moses")	Midrash Esfah		
Tanna de-Vei Eliyahu ("Seder Eliyahu")	Midrash Proverbs		
Pirkei de-R. Eliezer	Midrash Samuel		
Midrash Agur (Called "Mishnat R. Eliezer")	Ecclesiastes Rabbah		
Midrash Yonah	Midrash Ḥaserot vi-Yterot		
Midrash Petirat Aharon	*Deuteronomy Rabbah*[1]	(775–900)	
Divrei ha-Yamim shel Moshe	*Tanḥuma*[1]		
Otiyyot de-R. Akiva	*Tanḥuma (Buber)*[1]		
Midrash Sheloshah ve-Arba'ah	*Numbers Rabbah II*[1]		
Midrash Eser Galuyyot	*Pesikta Rabbati*[1]		
Midrash va-Yissa'u	*Exodus Rabbah II*[1]		
	Va-Yeḥi Rabbah[1]		
	The Manuscripts of the Tanḥuma Yelammedenu Midrashim[1]		
Throne and Hippodromes of Solomon	Midrash Tehillim I	900–1000	
Midreshei Ḥanukkah	Exodus Rabbah I		
Midreshei Yehudith	*Aggadat Bereshit*		
Midrash Hallel	Aggadat Shir ha-Shirim (Zuta)		
Midrash Tadshe	Ruth Zuta		
	Ecclesiastes Zuta		
	Lamentations Zuta		
Midrash Aseret ha-Dibberot	Midrash Shir Hashirim	1000–1100	The Late Period (1000–1200)
Midrash Konen	Abba Guryon		
Midrash Avkir	Esther Rabbah II		
Alphabet of Ben Sira	Midrash Tehilim II		
Midrash va-Yosha			
Sefer ha-Yashar			
Pesikta Ḥadta	Panim Aḥerim le-Esther (version 1)	1100–1200	
Midrash Temurah	Lekaḥ Tov (c. 1110)[3]		
	Midrash Aggadah[2]		
	Genesis Rabbati[2]		
	Numbers Rabbah[2]		
	Yalkut Shimoni[3]	1200–1300	The Period of the Yalkutim (anthologies) 1200–1500
	Midrash ha-Gadol[3]	1300–1400	
	Yalkut Makhiri[3]		
	Ein Ya'akov[3]	1400–1500	
	Haggadot ha-Talmud[3]		

1. Tanḥuma Midrash (Yelammedenu). 2. All based on the work of Moshe ha-Darshan. 3. These are anthologies
Note: Names in Italics are homiletical Midrashim; the rest are exegetical.

The Difference Between the Early Midrashim and Later Midrashim

In the Midrashim of the middle period a decline is already discernible in the developed literary constructions and forms, especially in the proem, which is not the classical proem but merely an inferior and artificial imitation. After the Muslim conquest there is a gradual strengthening in the influence of the pseudepigraphic and the apocalyptic literature of the Second Temple era (see *Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha), which had been disregarded by the talmudic rabbis (particularly because of the controversy with Christianity; see *Church Fathers). This influence is apparent both in content and form. In content, there is an increase not only in homilies which refer to angels and demons, the garden of Eden and hell, but even complete topics from apocalyptic literature. In form, there is an increase in the type of aggadic work which does not belong to the genre of Midrash at all. This type is not a compilation but a unified work impressed with the seal of the author, who is a narrator but chooses to attribute his words to the ancients and to ascribe to them statements which they never made (see *Tanna de-Vei Eliyahu*). The increase of pseudepigraphic matter can also be seen in authentic Midrashim. In contrast to the early Midrashim there was also an increase of Midrashim and aggadic works in which the *aggadah* is connected with *halakhah* in a variety of forms, some of which are merely transferred from Second Temple literature (e.g., *Pirkei de-R. Eliezer*) and some are the result of internal development by the sages (e.g., *Tanḥuma Yelammedenu*). In addition there is also a difference in language. The Galilean Aramaic of the early Midrashim progressively disappears, as does rabbinical Hebrew. Instead there is progressive use of artificial Hebrew, apparently pure and polished and becoming freer from the influences of Aramaic or the admixture of Greek words.

The Middle Period

To the period from the Muslim conquest (c. 640 C.E.) to the end of the tenth century belong many variegated midrashic and aggadic works. In addition to the exegetical and homiletical types of Midrash, the above-mentioned composition by a single person belongs to this period. The most important group of Midrashim of this period – all of which are homiletical – are those of the *Tanḥuma Midrash* (**Tanḥuma Yelammedenu*) group in which the old and the new are used indiscriminately. Of the exegetical Midrashim, particular mention may be made of *Ecclesiastes Rabbah, Midrash Samuel, Midrash Proverbs* (greatly influenced by the apocalyptic and *Heikhalot* literatures), *Midrash Tehillim I, Exodus Rabbah I*, and the series of smaller *Midrashim (*Midreshei Zuta*) to four of the five *scrolls. In all these too, marks of the old and the new, both in content and in form, appear together. Among the aggadic works the most important are: *Seder Eliyahu Rabbah* and *Seder Eliyahu Zuta; Pirkei de-R. Eliezer* (compiled apparently close to 750); *Midrash Agur*, also called *Mishnat R. Eliezer*; and a further series of smaller compositions. In most of them external influences from the Muslim (*Pirkei de-R. Eliezer*) or Byzantine (*The Throne and Hippodrome of Solomon*, etc.) eras can be seen.

The Late Period

To the period of the 11th and 12th centuries belong the very latest Midrashim. Of these special mention should be made of *Midrash Abba Guryon, Esther Rabbah II, Midrash Tehillim II*, and the series from the school of *Moses ha-Darshan that already border on the anthologies with regard to their period of composition as well as to content. In these Midrashim there is hardly a trace of even an imitation of the classical proem, the Hebrew is completely medieval, and the pseudepigraphic influence both in content and form is still more pronounced. Among the aggadic works of this period particular mention must be made of the *Sefer ha-Yashar* (see *Midrashim, Smaller in supplementary entries, vol. 16) where the Muslim influence is most recognizable.

The Yalkutim (Anthologies)

From the beginning of the 12th century, scholars in various countries assembled anthologies from various Midrashim and aggadic works. To these belong such works as the **Midrash Lekaḥ Tov* (or the *Pesikta Zutarta*) to the Pentateuch and the five *scrolls (of Tobiah b. Eliezer); the **Yalkut Shimoni* to the whole of the Bible (assembled in Germany at the beginning of the 13th century); **Midrash ha-Gadol* to the Pentateuch and scrolls; and the **Yalkut Makhiri* to various biblical books. Anthologies of the *aggadot* in the Babylonian and Jerusalem Talmuds were also collected, especially close to the beginning of the age of printing. Most of the anthologies quote their sources with the original wording and indicate them (an exception being the *Midrash ha-Gadol*).

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[Moshe David Herr]

MIDRASH ASERET HA-DIBBEROT (Heb. מִדְרַשׁ עֲשֶׂרֶת הַדִּבְּרוֹת; "Midrash of the Ten Commandments"), a collection of stories, occasionally connected by short homiletic passages, from the geonic period. Various scholars have ascribed different dates to it, ranging from the seventh century to the 11th. The collection cannot be dated later than the 11th century because in that century both Rabbi *Nissim of Kairouan and later the anonymous collector of the legends published by M. Gaster as *Sefer ha-Ma'asiyyot*, *The Ancient Collections of Agadoth. The Sefer ha-Ma'asiyyot and Two Facsimiles* (1894) made use of stories included in it. The work was apparently composed at the beginning of the geonic period, but later stories were added and have created confusion regarding both the number of stories included and the structure of the book as it appears in the several printed versions and the 20 extant manuscripts.

The collection was called a "Midrash" although its contents do not justify the name. It is basically a narrative work, one of the first medieval Hebrew works in the field of fiction. Its treatment of the midrashic material can be described as revolutionary: whereas traditional Midrashim place primary importance on homiletic material with only occasional use of stories, this work is primarily composed of stories, with the homiletic passages relegated to secondary importance. This stress on the fictional element is one of the characteristics of the new attitude toward the story introduced in medieval times (see *Fiction).

The work, which is based on the Ten Commandments, is correspondingly divided into ten parts. However, there is not always a close connection between the midrashic story and the commandment on which it is supposed to be based. This explains the material occasionally introduced into a story to create the impression of such a connection. In some versions the work is called *Midrash shel Shavu'ot* or *Haggadah le-Shavu'ot*, leading one to believe that it was used on Shavuot, the festival on which the receiving of the Ten Commandments is celebrated. However, there is no proof that any Jewish community ever used this work during Shavuot. Noy (see bibl.) concludes plausibly that the arbitrary connection between the *Midrash Aseret ha-Dibberot* and the commandments and Shavuot is merely an attempt to give a religious veneer to a collection of essentially secular stories which had no other purpose than to entertain.

Some of the stories in the collection are originally found in the Talmud and represent a medieval retelling of the talmudic *aggadah*. Others are derived from more ancient sources, like the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha: the story of Judith is told in a different version (without mentioning her name), and the story of the woman and her seven sons from the Book of Maccabees is also retold. However, most of the stories are folktales, either Jewish in origin or Jewish versions of international folktales found in a variety of versions in many languages (Noy lists among them the international types Aarne-Thompson 976, 670, 899, 2040, and others). Some of these stories are still current today among oral storytellers.

The number of stories composing the collection differs from version to version, some containing no more than 17 and others nearly 30. One manuscript (Parma 473) has 44 stories. As there are some which appear in only one version, the total number of stories connected with this work is over 50. A large number of stories (12) are concerned with the commandment "Thou shalt not commit adultery"; an erotic element is also found in stories related to other commandments. Women, frequently courageous and devout, are the heroines of many of the stories. From the religious point of view, the stories seem to imply an extreme devotion to the observance of the commandments, far beyond that required by the *halakhah*. The collection can also be described, therefore, as one of the earliest ethical works written in the Middle Ages.

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[Joseph Dan]

MIDRASH HA-GADOL (Heb. מִדְרָשׁ הַגָּדוֹל), a 13th-century rabbinic work on the Pentateuch, emanating from Yemen and consisting mainly of excerpts of older rabbinic texts of the talmudic period. The Midrash is anonymous, but it is now certain that it was written by a native of Aden, David b. Amram *Adani. Adani writes in clear, limpid Hebrew prose, introducing each weekly portion with a proem in rhymed verse. His work is of importance not only because of the author's original contributions to the literature of *halakhah* and *aggadah*, but also because of the multitude of extracts which he incorporates from ancient tannaitic Midrashim either unknown, or only partially known, from other sources. Thus, for instance, the *Midrash ha-Gadol* has enabled scholars to reconstruct large portions of the lost **Mekhilta of R. Simeon b. Yoḥai*, the **Sifrei Zuta*, and the *Mekhilta of R. Ishmael* on Deuteronomy. In addition, the *Midrash ha-Gadol* is valuable for the accuracy of its quotations from known sources, such as the Talmud and the Midrashim. Its readings have made it possible to correct the texts of older works which have survived in garbled form. The *Midrash ha-Gadol* is also notable for its contribution to the study of the code of *Maimonides, as it preserves many sources available to Maimonides but otherwise unknown. Not only does Adani frequently quote the code on which the Yemenites largely, if not exclusively, base their religious rulings, but his work enables students to reconstruct the older authorities on whom Maimonides had based his rulings. As a result, many difficulties which had puzzled students of Maimonides over the generations have been solved. The *Midrash ha-Gadol* first came to the notice of European scholars in the 19th century. The text was brought to Europe in manuscript in 1878 and sold to the Royal Library in Berlin by M.W. Shapira, whose name is associated with the alleged forgery known as the *Shapira fragments. Since then, other manuscripts have been acquired by the major libraries in the western world. Solomon Schechter in his edition of the *Avot de-Rabbi Nathan* (1887) was the first to make extensive use of this Midrash and he edited the first part (on Genesis) in 1902. Different parts of the Midrash have been edited by other scholars: Exodus by D.W. Hoffmann (1913–21), Leviticus by Nahum E. Rabinowitz (1932), and Numbers by Solomon Fisch (partial edition, 1940; reissued in complete form with Hebrew commentary and introduction, 2 vols., 1957–63). Genesis and Exodus were re-edited by M. Margulies (*Margalioth; 1947, 1956), and Numbers by Z.M. Rabinowitz (1967). There exist two Yemenite commentaries on the Midrash, one titled *Segullat Yisrael* ("The Treasure of Israel"), dated 5440 (i.e., 1680) by R. Israel b. Solomon ha-Kohen, containing only a few interpretations and these of only slight value, and the other (anon.), the *Sefer ha-Margalit* ("Book of the Pearl"), containing explanations in Hebrew and Arabic of difficult words. The *Midrash ha-Gadol* is still a standard work of rabbinic homily for the Yemenite community and circulates widely in manuscript.

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[Solomon Fisch]

MIDRASHIM, SMALLER. This entry covers those aggadic and midrashic works which are not treated in separate articles.

(1) MIDRASH AGUR, also known as *Mishnat R. Eliezer*, or *Midrash Sheloshim u-Shetayim Middot*. Belonging to some extent to the category of aggadic works, this Midrash is an exposition on Proverbs 30:1–3 ("The words of Agur the son of Jakeh …"), and begins by quoting R. *Eliezer b. Yose haGelili's Baraita of 32 Rules. It used the Babylonian Talmud. Though written in a pure Hebrew, it contains Arabic words and refers to the "kingdom of Ishmael." Therefore it was probably composed in Ereẓ Israel, more or less contemporaneously with **Pirkei de-R. Eliezer* about the middle of the eighth century C.E. It was apparently used by *Saadiah Gaon, and was first printed by Menahem de Lonzano at Safed in 1626, but not a single copy of this edition has been preserved. An excerpt from the Midrash was published from a manuscript by L. Ginzberg in *Tarbiz*, 4 (1933), 297–342 (and see J.N. Epstein, *ibid.*, 343–53; S. Lieberman, in: *Ginzei Kedem*, 5 (1934), 186–90). A scholarly edition, with an introduction in English, was published by H.G. Enelow (1933).

(2) AGGADAT SHIR HA-SHIRIM ("*Aggadah* of Song of Songs") or *Shir ha-Shirim Zuta* ("Minor Song of Songs"), a collection of extracts from various Midrashim. The redactor made extensive use of a Midrash, no longer extant, which was also much used by the *Yelammedenu-Tanḥuma* Midrashim, especially **Pesikta Rabbati*. It has no proems. This Midrash in its present form was undoubtedly used by R. *Judah b. Kalonymus, the 12th-century author of *Yiḥusei Tanna'im ve-Amora'im*. The date of its redaction is apparently not earlier than the tenth century. Alongside later material it also contains much of an earlier date, unknown from other sources. It was published in scholarly editions (from Parma Ms. 541) by S. Buber (1894) and S. Schechter (1896).

(3) MIDRASH SHIR HA-SHIRIM ("Midrash Song of Songs"), also a collection of extracts from various Midrashim. The redactor used tannaitic literature, the Jerusalem and Babylonian Talmuds, and **Genesis Rabbah*, as well as sources used by the *Yelammedenu-Tanḥuma* Midrashim. This Midrash, which likewise has no proems and contains many *aggadot* of a later type, is also quoted by Judah b. Kalonymus. It was apparently redacted in the 11th century. A scholarly edition was published from a Cairo *Genizah* manuscript, dated 1197, by L. Gruenhut (1897).

(4) RUTH ZUTA ("Minor Ruth"), or *Midrash Megillat Ruth be-Fanim Aḥerim* ("Other Aspects of the Midrash on the Scroll of Ruth"), a late Midrash compiled from **Ruth Rabbah*, the Babylonian Talmud, and other sources. It begins with a proem which is not of the classical type. As the author of **Midrash Lekaḥ Tov* at the end of the 11th century used this Midrash it was apparently compiled in the tenth century. It was published (from Parma Ms. 541) by S. Buber (1894).

(5) KOHELET ZUTA ("Minor Ecclesiastes"), an abbreviated version of **Ecclesiastes Rabbah*, and much more popular than it. Since it was quoted by *Nathan b. Jehiel of Rome, the author of the *Arukh*, it was apparently redacted in the tenth century. This Midrash too was published by S. Buber (1894, from Parma Ms. 541).

(6) EIKHAH ZUTA ("Minor Lamentations"), an exposition of the first three verses of Lamentations, consisting mainly of *aggadot* on the destruction of the Temple. One version (A), which contains addenda from the Babylonian Talmud and **Pesikta de-Rav Kahana*, was used as a source by the compiler of the **Yalkut Shimoni*, and was published from Parma Ms. 541 by S. Buber (1894). A second, much shorter, version (B), which is defective at the beginning, contains addenda from **Lamentations Rabbah* and *Pesikta de-Rav Kahana* but not those in version A. It was published from Parma Ms. 261 by S. Buber (1894). Probably comprising excerpts from a complete Midrash on the Book of Lamentations in a manuscript as yet unexamined or no longer extant, the two versions were redacted not earlier than the tenth century.

(7) MIDRASH PANIM AḤERIM LE-ESTHER, NOSAḤ ALEF ("Other Aspects of the Midrash to the Scroll of Esther": Version A), a short collection of *aggadot* and homilies on the Book of Esther compiled from various sources, including *Esther Rabbah II, Midrash Abba Guryon*, the Babylonian Midrash on Esther (see Babylonian *Talmud; and **Megillah*), *Pirkei de-R. Eliezer*, and others. It was redacted not earlier than the 12th century. S. Buber published the Midrash from a manuscript in the *Sifrei… Esther* (as above).

(8) MIDRASH YONAH, a late aggadic work on the Book of Jonah. Its author, drawing mainly on *Pirkei de-R. Eliezer* and the Babylonian Talmud, worked his sources into a fluent account told in his own words (a pure but artificial Hebrew). It was written not earlier than the end of the eighth century. First published in Prague (1595), it was subsequently republished, notably by H.M. Horowitz in an edition from a manuscript in *Aguddat Aggadot* (1881), 11ff.

(9) MIDRASH HALLEL, a late midrashic work on the **Hallel* chapters in the Book of Psalms. The author used mainly **Midrash Tehillim* as well as the *Heikhalot* literature. Redacted not earlier than the tenth century, the work was published from a manuscript by A. Jellinek, *Beit ha-Midrash*, 5 (1938), 87–110.

(10) MIDRASH ESFAH, named from its introductory words: “Gather [*esfah*] unto Me seventy men of the elders of Israel” (Num. 11:16). This is a midrashic work on the Book of Numbers, most of which is no longer extant. Excerpts from it are quoted in *Yalkut Shimoni* and some have been published from manuscripts (*Abraham b. Elijah of Vilna, *Rav Pe’alim*, ed. by S.M. Chones (1894), 147–53; S.A. Wertheimer, *Battei Midrashot*, 1 (1950), 211–4). Unpublished fragments are also in existence. Known to the Babylonian *geonim* in the ninth century, apparently the work was edited not earlier than the end of the seventh century.

(11) MIDRASH ESER GALUYYOT (“Midrash on the Ten Expulsions”), found in different versions in several manuscripts, some of which have been published (Basle, 1578 [on which is based L. Gruenhut’s *Sefer ha-Likkutim*, 3 (1889)], 1–22 (second pagination); Carmoly, Brussels (1842); A. Jellinek, *Beit ha-Midrash*, 4 (1938), 133–6; 5 (1938), 113–6; M. Ish-Shalom in *Sinai*, 43 (1958), 195–211). The date of the work, for which the author used Midrashim of tannaitic and amoraic times, is not earlier than the ninth century.

(12) MIDRASH SHELOSHAH VE-ARBA’AH (“Midrash Three and Four”; also called *Pirkei Rabbenu ha-Kadosh, Ma’aseh Torah*, and *Ḥuppat Eliyahu*), also extant in different versions in many manuscripts, only some of which have been published (S.A. Wertheimer, *Battei Midrashot*, 2 (1953), 45–73; S. Schoenblum, in the collection *Sheloshah Sefarim Niftaḥim* (1877); L. Gruenhut, *Sefer ha-Likkutim*, 3 (1899), 33–90 (second pagination); *Kol Bo*, para. 118; A. Jellinek, *Beit ha-Midrash*, 2 (1938), 92–101; H.M. Horowitz, in the collection *Kevod Ḥuppah* (1888), 45–56). However, most of the manuscripts remain unpublished. Enumerating various themes grouped in numbers from three onward, the work used various ancient sources and was redacted not earlier than the ninth century.

(13) OTIYYOT DE-R. AKIVA (“Letters of Rabbi Akiva”), or *Alef Bet de-R. Akiva* (“Alphabet of Rabbi Akiva”), an aggadic work likewise extant in different versions and in many manuscripts, only some of which have been published (Constantinople (1516), version A; Cracow (1579), version B; Wertheimer, *Battei Midrashot*, 2 (1953), 333–465, four versions), but most of them (including Mss. of the 13th and 14th centuries) have not yet appeared in print. This late Midrash on the alphabet contains many mystic and eschatological discussions. As it was quoted in the tenth century, the work was apparently compiled in the ninth century.

(14) MIDRASH ḤASEROT VI-YTEROT, a homiletic exposition on the reasons for the defective and plene writing in the Bible. It is also extant in many versions in numerous manuscripts, only some of which have been published (a critical edition including variant readings of the different versions was issued by Wertheimer, *Battei Midrashot*, 2 (1953), 203–332). The work shows the influence of the masoretic period. Since different versions are already cited in the responsa of *Hai Gaon, the date of its redaction has therefore to be fixed in the ninth century.

(15) MIDRASH AVKIR, so called after the initial letters of the formula אָמֵן בְּיָמֵינוּ כֵּן יְהִי רָצוֹן (*Amen be-Yameinu Ken Yehi Raẓon*) which concludes each homily. The Midrash is no longer extant but many excerpts from it have been preserved in *Yalkut Shimoni*; hence it was probably a Midrash on Genesis and Exodus, written in an artificial Hebrew. Both the style and contents of the excerpts are reminiscent of late aggadic and midrashic works, such as **Tanna de-Vei Eliyahu, Pesikta de-R. Eliezer*, and the additional *Midrash Va-Yeḥi of Genesis Rabbah*. It was first definitely quoted by German Jewish authors of the beginning of the 13th century. Since it is doubtful whether the author of *Lekaḥ Tov* used the work, its redaction should be dated to the beginning of the 11th century. Extracts from quotations of it were published by S. Buber (in *Ha-Shaḥar*, 11 (1883), 338–45, 409–18, 453–61), and from manuscripts by A. Neubauer (in REJ, 14 (1887), 109f.) and by A. Epstein (in *Ha-Eshkol*, 6 (1909), 204–7). It is doubtful if the extracts published by A. Marmorstein (in *Devir*, 1 (1923), 113–44) are from *Midrash Avkir*.

(16) MIDRASH TADSHE or *Baraita de-R. Pinḥas b. Ya’ir* derives its names from its introductory sentence: “It is written [Gen. 1:11]: ‘And God said: Let the earth put forth [*tadshe*] grass…’ R. *Phinehas b. Jair asked…” In both content and method, this pseudepigraphical Midrash resembles works of the Second Temple period, on which it drew (such as the Book of Jubilees, *Philo, etc.). Despite all the internal indications pointing to its late composition, its date is to be assigned to not later than 1000 C.E., since *Moses ha-Darshan used the work. It was first published from a manuscript by A. Jellinek (*Beit ha-Midrash*, 3 (1928), 164–93).

(17) KISSE VE-IPPODROMIN SHEL SHELOMO HA-MELEKH, an aggadic tale dating from the Byzantine period. The first half, an adaptation of a description found in **Targum Sheni*, was written apparently in the 11th century (see E. Ville-Patlagean, in REJ, 121 (1962), 9–33). In it Solomon figures as a Byzantine emperor who holds horse races in the hippodrome, the colors of the different factions in the circus (blue, white, red, and green) being those of the courtiers’ clothes. The work was published from a manuscript by A. Jellinek (*Beit ha-Midrash,* 5 (1938), 34–39).

(18) SEFER HA-YASHAR (“Book of Jashar”), a late aggadic work corresponding to the narrative parts of the Pentateuch (in particular Gen. and Ex. 1:1–2:21, comprising more than three-quarters of the work), Joshua, and Judges 1:1–2:10. The style is fluent and the language a pure but artificial, pseudo-biblical Hebrew. The author used *Genesis Rabbah*, the Babylonian Talmud, *Pirkei de-R. Eliezer*, **Midrash va-Yissa’u*, *Josippon, *Midrash Avkir* (no. 15) as well as ancient sources from the literature of the Second Temple period (its structure is reminiscent of *Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum*). Connecting the biblical events with later ones in Jewish history, the author at times used his imagination freely and was greatly influenced by Muslim legends. The work contains many Arabic names and a Latin one, as well as the medieval philosophical definition that man is a living soul endowed with speech. It is first quoted by *Yalkut Shimoni.* Hence the work was written

apparently at the end of the 11th century, perhaps in southern Spain. First published in Venice in 1625, it has since been republished many times.

(19) MIDRASH KONEN, or *Adonai be-Ḥokhmah Yasad Areẓ*, dealing with the Creation, the heavens, paradise, and hell. This Midrash was influenced by apocalyptic sources of the Second Temple period, and by the mystic literature of the beginning of the Middle Ages. Composed not earlier than about the 11th century, it was first published in Venice in 1601. Another version was published from manuscript by A. Jellinek (*Beit haMidrash*, 5 (1938), 63–69) and excerpts from similar Midrashim, *Seder Rabbah di-Vereshit*, were published by S.A. Wertheimer (*Battei Midrashot*, 1 (1950), 1–48). Yet another version, *Zeh Ma'aseh Bereshit*, appeared in *Sefer Razi'el ha-Malakh*, and still another version was published from a manuscript by L. Ginzberg (*Ginzei Schechter*, 1 (1928), 182–7).

(20) MIDRASH VA-YEKHULLU (RABBATI), called after its opening sentence (Gen. 2:1): "And the heaven and the earth were finished [*va-yekhullu*]…" This Midrash, which is no longer extant, was quoted from the middle of the 12th century onward. The various quotations that have been preserved (they have been collected by L. Gruenhut, *Sefer ha-Likkutim*, 2 (1898), 16b–20a) show that the redactor used the Jerusalem Talmud and *Yelammedenu-Tanḥuma*. It is difficult to fix the date of its redaction but it was apparently not before the end of the tenth century.

(21) MIDRASH VA-YOSHA, a late aggadic work on the song at the Red Sea, which used, among others, *Pirkei de-R. Eliezer* and *Pesikta Rabbati*. The name is derived from the opening sentence (Ex. 14:30): "Thus the Lord saved [*vayosha*]…" The Midrash mentions *Armilus as a well-known figure. Apparently redacted at the end of the 11th century, it was first published at Constantinople in 1519 and again in the collection *Divrei Ḥakhamim* (1849).

(22) MIDRASH AGGADAH, an exegetical Midrash on the Pentateuch consisting mainly of excerpts from the work of Moses ha-Darshan. This is evident from the many parallel passages between, on the one hand, *Midrash Aggadah* and, on the other, **Genesis Rabbati, Numbers Rabbah 1*, and the quotations from Moses ha-Darshan's work cited in Rashi's commentary on the Pentateuch. It is further evident from the extensive use both of *Midrash Tadshe* (no. 16) and of apocryphal and pseudepigraphical works of the Second Temple period (in particular, the Book of Jubilees). *Midrash Aggadah*, compiled apparently in the 12th century, was published from the Aleppo manuscript by S. Buber (1894).

(23) MIDRESHEI ḤANUKKAH. Some of these Midrashim were published by A. Jellinek (*Beit ha-Midrash*, 1 (1938), 132–6; 6 (1938), 1–3), the rest being extant in manuscript. They are all late aggadic works, the oldest of them having been written apparently not earlier than the tenth century, and comprise various *aggadot* on the *Hasmonean revolt into which have been woven the story of *Judith and Holofernes as well as the theme of *ius primae noctis*.

(24) PESIKTA ḤADTA, or *Midrash Mah Rabbu* ("How manifold [*mah rabbu*] are Thy works, O Lord!"; Ps. 104:24), a compilation of homilies, of various dates and from different sources, on the festivals. It used, among others, late works (*Pesikta Rabbati*, *Sefer *Yeẓirah, Pirkei de-R. Eliezer, Midrash Konen* (no. 19), *Midreshei Ḥanukkah* (no. 23)). The date of its redaction is to be assigned to not earlier than the 12th century. It was first published from a manuscript by A. Jellinek (*Beit ha-Midrash*, 1 (1938), 137–41; 6 (1932), 36–70).

(25) MIDRASH TEMURAH, a pseudepigraphic aggadic work (ascribed to R. *Ishmael and R. *Akiva) dealing with the changes (*temurot*) in the world and in the life of man. The author was apparently acquainted with the commentary of Abraham *Ibn Ezra. The work was first mentioned by Menahem ha-*Meiri. According to all indications its redaction is not earlier than the end of the 12th century. It was first published at the end of H.J.D. Azulai's *Shem ha-Gedolim* (1786), then from another manuscript at the end of *Aggadat Bereshit* (Vilna, 1802), and frequently afterward. It was also issued in a critical edition, based on several manuscripts and on all the earlier published versions, by S.A. Wertheimer (*Battei Midrashot*, 2 (1953), 187–201).

(26) BERESHIT ZUTA ("Minor Genesis"). Extracted from many different sources this Midrash was compiled by R. Samuel b. Nissim *Masnut of Aleppo, who lived at the beginning of the 13th century, and published from manuscript by M. Hakohen (1962).

Many other small Midrashim, to which no individual articles have been assigned and which are not mentioned in this one, were published in various compilations containing collections of Midrashim. Such compilations, together with an introduction, notes, and a commentary, were published especially from the second half of the 19th century onward. Among these the most important are A. Jellinek, *Beit ha-Midrash* (with introductions in German), 6 vols. (1853–77, 1938²); H.M. Horowitz, *Aguddat Aggadot* (1881; repr. 1967); idem, *Beit Eked ha-Aggadot*, 2 pts. (1881–82; repr. 1967); idem, *Tosefta Attikta* (1890); S.A. Wertheimer, *Battei Midrashot*, 4 vols. (1893–97; 1950–53², in 2 vols.); idem, *Leket Midrashim* (1903); idem, *Oẓar Midrashim*, 2 vols. (1913–14); idem, *Midrashim Kitvei Yad* (1923); L. Gruenhut, *Sefer ha-Likkutim*, 6 vols. (1898–1903); J.D. Eisenstein, *Oẓar Midrashim*, 2 vols. (1915); L. Ginzberg, *Ginzei Schechter*, 1 (1928); J. Mann, *The Bible as Read and Preached in the Old Synagogue*, 1 (1940); 2 (1966), by J. Mann and I. Sonne.

For *Midrash Esther ha-Bavli* and *Midrash Eikhah ha-Bavli* see *Midrash; Babylonian *Talmud; and **Megillah*. For *Aggadat Esther* see **Midrash ha-Gadol*. For *Tefillat Mordekhai ve-Esther* see *Esther and *Mordecai. For *Midrash Petirat Aharon* see *Aaron. For *Midrash Petirat Moshe* and for *Midrash Divrei ha-Yamim shel Moshe* see *Moses, Chronicles of. For *Midreshei Yehudit* see *Judith. For *Midrash Birkat Ya'akov* see *Jacob. For *Midreshei Elleh Ezkerah va-Aseret Harugei Malkhut* see **Heikhalot*; *Merkabah; and *Ten Martyrs. For *Midrash Hashkem* see **Ve-Hizhir*. For *Midrash David ha-Nagid* see *David ha-

Nagid. For *Midreshei Teiman* see *Yemen. For *Haggadot ha-Talmud* and *Ein Ya'akov* see Babylonian *Talmud.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: H.L. Strack, *Introduction to the Talmud and Midrash* (1931, repr. 1959); Zunz-Albeck, Derashot.

[Moshe David Herr]

MIDRASH LEKAḤ TOV (Heb. מִדְרַשׁ לֶקַח טוֹב), a late 11th-century Midrash on the Pentateuch and Five Scrolls by Tobias b. Eliezer. The author called it *Lekaḥ Tov* ("good doctrine") on the basis of its opening verse (Prov. 4:2): "For I give you good doctrine" which he chose with allusion to his name (for the same reason he begins his interpretations of the weekly portions of Scripture and of the Scrolls with a verse containing the word *tov*, "good"). The book was called *Pesikta* by later scholars, and also, in error, *Pesikta Zutarta*. Tobias lived in the Balkans (Buber), and his Midrash contains allusions to contemporary historical events and specific reference to the martyrs of the First Crusade of 1096 (in the portion *Emor* and in his commentary on the verse "Therefore do the maidens love thee," Song 1:3). Zunz defined the Midrash as a composition which is "half exegesis and half *aggadah*," but even in the "half *aggadah*" the exegetical commentary aspect is conspicuous. Tobias took the ideas he needed from the Babylonian Talmud, the halakhic Midrashim, and the early aggadic Midrashim (including some no longer extant), as well as from the early mystical literature and used them as the basis of his Midrash. He did not however quote them literally nor as a rule did he mention their authors. He translated Aramaic passages as well as Greek and Latin terms into Hebrew; abridged the language of the early authors; and even combined their sayings and refashioned them. He tended to quote scriptural verses from memory, which explains the many variations from the standard text.

The work also contains hundreds of explanations by Tobias himself, some in the style of the midrashic literature and some giving the literal meaning. He expounds the *keri* and the *ketiv*, the **masorah*, **gematriot*, and **notarikon* and also gives many mnemotechnical devices in the manner of the rabbis. His literal explanations are based on the rules of grammar, vocalization, accentuation, etc. It is noteworthy that he explains anthropomorphic verses and statements as parables and frequently repeats: "The Torah speaks in the language of men." This tendency is without doubt an aspect of his violent struggle with the Karaites which finds expression in the Midrash in many places. His practical aim is also conspicuous when he deals with certain *halakhot* whose performance was apparently neglected in his time. Tobias' Midrash was frequently quoted soon after it was written, but until the end of the last century only the *Lekaḥ Tov* to Leviticus, Numbers, and Deuteronomy had been published (first edition, Venice, 1746). It was published in full, Genesis and Exodus by S. Buber (1884); Leviticus, Numbers, and Deuteronomy by Meir Katzenellenbogen of Padua (1884) from the Venice edition with corrections; the Song of Songs was published by A.W. Greenup (1909); Ruth by I. Bamberger (1887); Lamentations by J. Nacht (1895), and again by Greenup (1908); Ecclesiastes by G. Finberg (1904); Esther by Buber in the *Sifrei de-Aggadata al Megillat Esther* (1886).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: S. Buber, *Midrash Lekaḥ Tov* (1884), introd.; Zunz-Albeck, Derashot, 145f., 441–3; L. Ginzberg, *Ginzei Schechter*, 1 (1928), 253–97.

[Jacob Elbaum]

MIDRASH PROVERBS or **AGGADAT PROVERBS** (Heb. מִדְרַשׁ מִשְׁלֵי; cf. Arukh, s.v. *nakad* 3), Midrash on the Book of Proverbs, also frequently but wrongly referred to as Midrash *Shoḥer Tov*. The Midrash is distinguished by an exegetical style demonstrated both in the choice of its contents and the manner in which they are quoted. The compiler selected passages which largely explained the texts of Proverbs according to the literal meaning, and very frequently reworded them. As a result several of the characteristics of the early Midrash disappear and the exegetical method prevails. There are few proems, introductory words are rare, the few statements depend upon abstruse allusions, and the discussions in general are brief. A departure from the method of the early Midrashim is further conspicuous in two respects: in the formulation of disputes, and in the ascription of dicta to early scholars. The sources of the Midrash are the Mishnah, Tosefta, *Mekhilta*, and *Sifrei*. A phenomenon worthy of mention is the compiler's use of *Heikhalot* literature (to which Zunz drew attention; see *Merkabah Mysticism). The editor also made use of amoraic Midrashim, *Genesis Rabbah*, *Leviticus Rabbah*, *Pesikta de-Rav Kahana*, *Songs Rabbah*, and *Ecclesiastes Rabbah*, and he also knew the two versions of *Avot de-Rabbi Nathan*. He had no acquaintance with the Jerusalem Talmud, although there are numerous quotations from the Babylonian Talmud. From this, Buber concluded that it was compiled in Babylon, and not in Italy as claimed by Zunz, and conjectured from this and the quotations from it in geonic works of the eighth century, that it was edited after the final editing of the Babylonian Talmud. Although the quotations in the geonic writings are doubtful (Albeck) it is nevertheless certain that it cannot be as late as the end of the geonic period, despite the contrary view of Zunz.

The Midrash in its present state is incomplete. Parts of sections and whole sections are missing. The last third is particularly fragmentary, though the discussion of the last chapter (31) is given in detail. More Midrashim to this chapter are extant, namely *Midrash Eshet Ḥayil* (in S.A. Wertheimer, *Battei Midrashot*, 2 (1953^2), 146–50); *Midrash Eshet Ḥayil* in the *Midrash ha-Gadol* to Genesis (ed. by M. Margulies (1947), 368–74); and L. Ginsberg published a fragment from a new edition of *Midrash Proverbs* (*Ginzei Schechter*, 1 (1928), 163–8). These apparently reflect different editions of the Midrash. Another version of the *Midrash Eshet Ḥayil*, which was collated in 1512 by Moses b. Joseph Albiladah of Yemen, is based upon ancient sources, and shows affinities in some details with the Ginsberg version (published in J.L. Nahum, *Mi-Ẓefunot Yehudei Teiman* (1962), 209–22). The most important printed editions of the Midrash are Constantinople, 1517, Venice, 1547, and

Prague, 1613. Subsequently the printers relied chiefly upon the Prague edition, which relied upon the Venice edition (whose reading is doubtful, as Buber has shown), and added to it the glosses, *Ot Emet*, of Meir b. Samuel Benveniste. In 1893 S. Buber published a new edition of great value based upon three manuscripts, as well as the Constantinople edition. Additional manuscripts of the Midrash are now available.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Zunz-Albeck, Derashot, 133, 412f.; S. Buber (ed.), *Midrash Mishlei* (1893), introd.

[Jacob Elbaum]

MIDRASH SAMUEL (Heb. מִדְרַשׁ שְׁמוּאֵל, *Midrash Shemu'el*), the only Midrash to a book of the early prophets. It contains 32 chapters – 24 on I Samuel and eight on II Samuel – which appear to be the contents original to the time of composition. The Midrash, a compilation chiefly from early works, contains tannaitic material from the Mishnah, Tosefta, *Mekhilta*, and *Sifrei*, as well as amoraic material from the early aggadic Midrashim: *Genesis Rabbah*, *Leviticus Rabbah*, *Lamentations Rabbah*, and the *Pesikta de-Rav Kahana*. The author also included material from later Midrashim: *Song of Songs Rabbah*, *Ecclesiastes Rabbah*, *Ruth Rabbah*, *Esther Rabbah*, *Pesikta Rabbati*, and the *Tanḥuma* Midrashim (the question of whether he made use of the *Midrash Tehillim* is still unresolved). The Midrash also contains original material, however, both early, dating from the *tannaim* and the first *amoraim*, and late. The state of the Midrash seems to indicate that it is based upon an earlier Midrash on Samuel, with additions by the editor, mostly from existing material but also some of his original interpretation. Among indications of the editing are the interlacing of exegetical and homiletical matter, which is uncommon in early Midrashim. The Midrash however is, in the main, homiletical. Other evidence of later editing is to be seen in the artificial character of most of its 14 proems, as well as the incorporation of homilies which are irrelevant to the scriptural verse or the subject matter under discussion – apparently resulting from routine copying of the sources (Albeck).

Nothing is known of the author. Zunz's assumption that the work is to be dated no earlier than the 11th century appears probable. There is overwhelming evidence, however, that it was edited in Palestine. Its sources, as has been stated, are Palestinian, as are all the *amoraim* mentioned in it. It contains no passages from the Babylonian Talmud. The language contains elements from the Palestinian Midrashim and it contains many Greek words such as are found in the Palestinian Midrashim. Both the conditions reflected by the Midrash and the problems dealt with point clearly to a Palestinian background. Rashi was the first to mention and quote the Midrash, and it is frequently mentioned by later authorities (Buber, introd., p. 28). It is referred to by many names: *Midrash Samuel, Aggadat Samuel, Midrash Et La'asot* (from its opening words, Ps. 119:126). It is also sometimes erroneously referred to as *Shoḥer Tov*, the name of *Midrash Tehillim*, together with which it was published (Venice, 1546). The book was first published in Constantinople in 1517, the Venice edition being the second. It was published a third time in Prague in 1613 with the commentary of Isaac b. Samson Katz, son-in-law of *Judah Loew b. Bezalel of Prague, and has been frequently reprinted since. The best edition is that of S. Buber (Cracow, 1893) based on the printed editions of the Parma manuscript. For a commentary to *Avot* of the same name see Samuel ben Isaac *Uceda.

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[Jacob Elbaum]

MIDRASH TEHILLIM (Heb. מִדְרַשׁ תְּהִלִּים; **Midrash Psalms**), an aggadic Midrash on the Psalms, called also *Aggadat Tehillim*, and *Shoḥer Tov* because of its opening verse, Proverbs 11:27. The Midrash embraces most of the Psalms. Despite the fact that most manuscripts and printed editions, as well as the copy that was before the author of the *Yalkut Shimoni*, lack homilies for Psalms 96, 97, and 98, they are included in the glosses of Abraham Provençal and in some manuscripts (see Jellinek and Buber). In several manuscripts and printed editions there is no Midrash to Psalm 15 but the Midrash to it is added to that of Psalm 14. The only psalms to which there is definitely no Midrash are 123 and 131. Zunz rightly conjectured that the Midrash on Psalms 119–50 differs from that to the preceding Psalms. From the differences of language and subject matter, the definite omission of the names of the authors, and the expository character of this section, he came to the conclusion that it was of later date than the earlier portion.

Zunz's claim was verified through the research of Buber. In six manuscripts and in the edition printed in Constantinople (1512), the Midrash concludes with Psalm 118. Only two manuscripts and those before Provençal contain a short fragment of a homily on Psalm 119. Buber also showed that the homilies of Psalms 122–137 were copied from the *Yalkut*, and since the latter contains no homilies to Psalms 123 and 131, these are also wanting in the Midrash. Zunz concluded from an examination of the sources, the methods employed, linguistic usages, and details of its contents (see especially Mid. Ps. 63:2; 6:2) that the first part is also late and that it was edited in Italy in the last centuries of the geonic period. From his examination of the manuscripts, Buber claimed that the original work had been added to by later copyists, and that its "youthfulness" is the result of these interpolations. According to him, Zunz erred in his identification of historical allusions in the work and was misled by errors in the names of persons and places (see his notes to Mid. Ps. 9:8). In his opinion the language of the original portions of the Midrash, its style, the manner of its homilies, and the *amoraim* mentioned in it, as well as the sources upon which it draws, are evidence of its antiquity and its Palestinian origin.

Buber, however, was mistaken, as has been shown by Ḥ. Albeck, who proved that the author of this Midrash also drew upon late Ereẓ Israel Midrashim. Albeck also bases his argument for late dating on an examination of the form of the proems and points to the signs of deterioration in them: the connection with the verses being interpreted is faulty, the terminology is inconsistent, the proems are mainly anonymous, and their formulation is at times defective. Albeck claims, furthermore, on the basis of the many differences between the manuscripts, the many additions in several of them, the errors in their arrangement, and the significant differences in the repetition of the same homily, that the present *Midrash Tehillim* consists of groups of Midrashim to the Psalms. This too is the reason, in his view, for the lack of uniformity in the methods of interpreting the Psalms: some are interpreted at length, every single verse being discussed, while in others homilies are found for only a few verses. It may be concluded, therefore, that the period of composition of the Midrash extended over some centuries. Obviously it is not identical with the *Midrash Tehillim* which Simeon b. Judah ha-Nasi taught Ḥiyya (Kid. 33a; and see also Av. Zar. 19a), even though it apparently contains material from as early as this period (third century). Its concluding section is definitely from the 13th century, and not as Mann suggested, that parts of it derive from an early "short" Midrash to Psalms.

Despite the lack of uniformity in this Midrash, its fragmentary nature on the one hand and the many additions to it on the other, it has retained many fine qualities and is one of the most beautiful in aggadic literature: it has exalted language and colorful themes, cites many stories and parables, and makes extensive and tasteful use of the hermeneutics of aggadic interpretation. L. Rabinowitz, adapting the main theory of Mann in his "The Bible as Read and Preached in the Old Synagogue," claims that one could assume a triennial reading of the Psalms paralleling that of the Torah, and from this it is possible to understand the contents of its homilies. This claim, however, is still far from being proved.

The Midrash has been frequently published: Constantinople, 1512, Venice, 1546, Prague, 1613, etc. Of great value are the Warsaw editions of 1873 and 1875, with the commentary of Aaron Moses Padua; the 1891 Vilna edition of Buber, for which he utilized eight manuscripts and the glosses of Abraham Provençal; and the English edition of Braude (1959). Important fragments of the *Midrash Tehillim* were published by A. Jellinek, *Beit ha-Midrash*, 5 (1873), 70–86 (glosses by A. Provençal); J. Mann, in: HUCA, 14 (1939), 303–32; and M. Arzt, in: *Alexander Marx Jubilee Volume* (1950), Hebrew section, 49–73.

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[Jacob Elbaum]

MIDRASH VA-YISSA'U (Heb. מִדְרַשׁ וַיִּסָּעוּ), a medieval Midrash in Hebrew about the legendary wars of Jacob and his sons. The name derives from the first word of Genesis 35:5, with which the Midrash opens. The original name of the work is probably "The Book of Wars of the Sons of Jacob," a name which is preserved in Naḥmanides' commentary on the Book of Genesis (to Gen. 34:13), the earliest reference to the existence of the legend. The small book contains three chapters. The first describes a war of Jacob and his sons against the army of Ninevites, who came to Palestine to subdue the whole world. Characteristic of this chapter are exaggerations which are lacking in the two other chapters, a style possibly influenced by the Book of Josippon. This chapter does not appear in some manuscripts, although two of them consist of it only, which indicates that it was possibly a later addition to the Midrash. The second chapter describes the wars of the sons of Jacob against the Amorite kings seven years after Jacob and his family withdrew from Shechem (Gen. 35:5) because of the defilement of Dinah and the events which followed. The story of the victory over the Amorite kings is opposed to that of the biblical narrative, where Jacob fears that he will be outnumbered and destroyed. However, the story of the victory is hinted at in Genesis 48:22, a verse which is quoted to this effect in the Midrash. The third chapter describes the war between Jacob and his sons and Esau and his sons, in which Esau is killed by Jacob and Esau's descendants become tributary to Jacob's family.

The medieval Hebrew book (with the exception of the first chapter) is a free translation from Greek (or Latin) of an old Jewish (Hebrew or Aramaic) text from the time of the Second Temple, a text which was also used by the authors of the Book of Jubilees and the Testaments of the Patriarchs: the wars against the Amorites are narrated in the Testament of Judah, chapters 3–7, and in an abbreviated form in Jubilees 34:1–9; and a parallel narrative to the war against Esau and his sons is preserved in Jubilees 37 and 38:1–14, and in an abbreviated form, in the Testament of Judah, chapter 9. The medieval *Midrash Va-Yissa'u* is of great importance for a reconstruction of the original ancient Jewish text. The ancient text, which was used by the Book of Jubilees and the extant Testament of Judah, and is the basis of chapters 2–3 of *Midrash Va-Yissa'u*, could have been a separate work. It seems more probable, however, that the common source of all three works, in their description of the war of Jacob and his sons against the Amorite kings and against Esau, was an older and more expanded form of the Testament of Judah than its extant form in the Testament of the Patriarchs, a situation similar to that of the Testament of *Levi and the Testament of *Naphtali. Some scholars see in the description of the wars against the Amorites and Esau a tendentious projection into the biblical past of the wars of John Hyrcanus against the Samaritans and Edomites, the descendants of Esau, and a historical justification of these wars. *Midrash Va-Yissa'u* was used, expanded, and rewritten in the medieval *Sefer ha-Yashar* ("Book of Jashar"). A critical edition was published with an introduction by J.Z. Lauterbach in *Abhandlungen zur Erinnerung an H.P. Chajes* (1933, Heb. pt. 205–22).

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[David Flusser]

MIDRESHEI HALAKHAH (Heb. מִדְרְשֵׁי הֲלָכָה; "Halakhic Midrashim"), the appellation given to a group of tannaitic expositions on four books of the Pentateuch. This body of tannaitic literature will be discussed below under the following headings: (1) Characteristics of Halakhic Midrash: (a) The Collections; (b) The Term Halakhic Midrash; (c) Literary Nature and Relation to Early Midrash; (d) Authority of the Bible; (e) Development of Exegetical Methods. (2) The Schools of R. Ishmael and of R. Akiva: (a) Distinct Exegetical Methods; (b) The Division into Schools; (c) Redaction of the Material from the Schools. (3) The Aggadic Material. (4) Traces of Early *Halakhah*. (5) Relation to Other Works: (a) Aramaic Targumim on the Torah; (b) Mishnah; (c) Tosefta; (d) Talmuds. (6) Time and Place of Redaction. (7) History of Research and Future Challenges.

1. Characteristics of Halakhic Midrash

(A) THE COLLECTIONS. Halakhic Midrashim (ḤM) contain both halakhic and aggadic (i.e., nonlegal) material from the tannaitic period, arranged according to the order of verses in the Torah, in contrast with other major compositions of this period – Mishnah and Tosefta – in which the material is arranged by subject. (See: *Mishnah: The Mishnah as a Literary Work; *Halakhah* in the Mishnah; *Aggadah* in the Mishnah.) ḤM were composed on four of the five books of the Torah: Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, and Deuteronomy. There is only a single whole extant ḤM on each of these four books: **Mekhilta de-Rabbi Ishmael* on Exodus (MY), **Sifra* on Leviticus, **Sifrei* on Numbers (SN), and **Sifrei* on Deuteronomy (SD). Three other midrashim have been partially reconstructed from *Genizah* fragments, and from citations by *rishonim* (medieval authorities): **Mekhilta de-Rabbi Simeon ben Yoḥai* on Exodus (MS), **Sifrei Zuta* on Numbers (SZN), and **Mekhilta* on Deuteronomy (MD). Passages from an additional tannaitic midrash on the book of Deuteronomy, known as **Sifrei Zuta* on Deuteronomy (SZD), were recently discovered.

In his fundamental study of ḤM, Hoffmann drew a clear and persuasive distinction between the midrashic schools of R. *Akiva and R. *Ishmael, that differ from one other in their homiletical methods, midrashic terminology, the names of the major sages mentioned in them, and in the body of the exegeses. Hoffmann similarly demonstrated that the midrashim on each of the Pentateuchal books that have come down to us represent, in fact, these two schools, with one midrash from the school of R. Akiva and a second, from the school of R. Ishmael, extant for each of the books of the Torah (except for Genesis). MS, the major portion of Sifra, SZN, and SD belong to the school of R. Akiva, while the school of R. Ishmael is represented by MY, several additions that were appended to Sifra, SN, and MD. Other scholars, the most prominent of whom was J.N. Epstein, developed and expanded upon the distinctions between these two schools, while at the same time defining the unique character of each of the specific tannaitic ḤM.

Division of Midreshei Halakhah According to Types

	Type A ("*de-vei* R. Ishmael")	Type B ("*de-vei* R. Akiva")
Exodus	†*Mekhilta* (of *R. Ishmael*)	*Mekhilta* of *R. Simeon ben Yoḥai*
Leviticus	(fragments?)	† *Sifra*
Numbers	† *Sifrei* on Numbers	*Sifrei Zuta*
Deuteronomy	Deuteronomy = *Midrash Tannaim*	† *Sifrei Deuteronomy*

The Midrashim that were known in the middle of the 19th century are marked with a †.

A reexamination of the ḤM, taking into consideration additional passages from the three lost ḤM that were discovered in the *Genizah* and the new passages from SZD, teaches that, alongside the common elements of the midrashim belonging to each school, the differences between the midrashim are to be afforded greater prominence. The four midrashim from the school of R. Ishmael are marked by a relatively high degree of uniformity. Those from the school of R. Akiva, in contrast, are not homogeneous, and are to be divided into two subcategories that differ from each other in many realms: (a) MS, Sifra, and SD represent the classic midrashic school of R. Akiva, and bear a marked proximity to the Mishnah; (b) SZN and SZD exhibit a number of unique characteristics, both linguistically and with regard to their content, and have only very tenuous ties to the Mishnah of R. Judah ha-Nasi. This division, by itself, raises the possibility that the two groups of ḤM from the school of R. Akiva are merely representatives of the literary product of two academies, that originally included two parallel midrashic redactions for each of the Pentateuchal books from Exodus to Deuteronomy. Aside from the unlikelihood that the redactors of a school for the exegesis of the Torah would begin their activity with the Book of Numbers, or would be satisfied with midrashim on the Books of Exodus, Leviticus, and Deuteronomy, support for the existence of additional ḤM that have not been preserved may be brought from exegeses that were transferred verbatim from one midrash to another. Thus, for example, SZN and SZD contain exegeses that have their source in midrashim from the school of *Sifrei Zuta* on the books of Exodus and Leviticus. Remnants from other homiletical redactions of the tannaitic ḤM can also be discerned in many ḤM *baraitot* that are preserved in other compositions, most importantly, the Tosefta and the two Talmuds.

The above evidence teaches that the literature of the tannaitic Midrashim was originally much more extensive and richer than the extant written works. Such a perception requires us to beware of the drawing of unequivocal conclusions on the basis of the partial data that we possess, that are merely the tip of the iceberg. However, an awareness of our limitations does not exempt us from attempting to evaluate in considered fashion the body of data known to us regarding the details and rules of the ḤM.

(B) THE TERM HALAKHIC MIDRASH. The accepted name in scholarly literature for the tannaitic midrashim on the Torah, "*midrashei ha-halakhah*," is somewhat misleading, since these midrashim also contain aggadic material, a fact that is especially striking in MY and in SD, half of whose exegeses are of an aggadic nature. Nonetheless, the name "*midrashei ha-halakhah*" is defensible, since almost all the legal material mentioned in the Torah is included in ḤM, while only scant nonhalakhic material, such as narratives, genealogical lists, ethical exhortations, and the like, are the subject of orderly midrashic exegesis in ḤM. Criteria have not been formulated that would explain why certain aggadic passages were included in ḤM, while others are not subject to such exegetical treatment. The clear linkage of the tannaitic midrashim to the halakhic material, specifically, can be learned from the fact that three out of the eight extant ḤM (MY, SN, and SZN) start with the first halakhic topic appearing in the appropriate biblical book, and not with the beginning of the book itself. This also explains the absence of any tannaitic midrash on the Book of Genesis, that is mostly concerned with nonlegal topics. It is worth noting in this context that a majority of the aggadic material incorporated in the ḤM seems to reflect an independent common source, and may not originally have derived from the two schools of halakhic exegesis. This strongly suggests that the midrashic material that was redacted by the sages from each of the two schools primarily contained passages that were fundamentally halakhic (see 3. The Aggadic Material below).

(C) LITERARY NATURE AND RELATION TO EARLY MIDRASH. ḤM literature draws a sharp distinction between the biblical text, on the one hand, and its interpretation by the rabbis, on the other. Every passage opens with a lemma consisting of the quotation of one or more words from the biblical verse, followed by a presentation of the exegetic interpretation of the words quoted. The quote and its interpretation comprise an independent literary unit known as a *midrash*. Generally, the order of the interpreted biblical passages precisely follows the order of the verses in the Bible, and only on rare occasions do the midrashim diverge from the biblical order.

The midrashim are written in Mishnahic Hebrew, and are formulated concisely, in a reserved and focused style. These works occasionally contain fairly simple and straightforward interpretations of the language of the Bible, that are formulated in accordance with the vocabulary and terminology of rabbinic language and paraphrases of the language of Scripture. Generally speaking, however, the midrashim go far beyond the simple interpretation of the biblical passage to derive laws and ideas from Scripture, or find support in it for them, employing exegetical methodology. Additionally, at times the midrashim tend to append to the narrow interpretation of the verse expanded and extensive discussion of halakhic matters and aggadic topics that only indirectly bear on the verse.

Most of the midrashic interpretations are unattributed, but the name of the rabbinic author of the midrash is often mentioned at its beginning or end. Frequently, a number of anonymous midrashic interpretations are offered for a single biblical expression, or are presented with an explicit tannaitic disagreement regarding the meaning of a verse. In many instances, reasons and proofs are appended to the exegetical interpretation to reinforce the rabbis' understanding of the passage. Some of the reasoning is formulated as a dialectic dialogue, during the course of which several alternative interpretations are suggested, and explanations are presented as to why a certain interpretation is to be accepted, and not others. Other verses are frequently cited as proof texts in the course of the midrashic interpretation of the specific verse under discussion. At times, these proofs are themselves based on the midrashic understanding of the proof text as it was interpreted elsewhere, and not on its simple meaning. Other verses are brought to resolve contradictions between different verses or to clarify some new teaching that is understood to be implied by the repetition of verses and expressions that are mentioned in the Bible more than once. The midrashic interpretations are usually founded on fine distinctions drawn with regard to the general content of the biblical text, its individual words, and, at times, even its letters. All this is rooted in certain fundamental assumptions regarding the absolute authority of the Bible and its sacred text as a divine source, and in a profound belief in the exclusive legitimacy of the interpretation of Scripture that accords with rabbinic *halakhah*.

The above literary qualities are unique to the tannaitic midrashim. The earlier exigetical literature contains glimmerings and beginnings of this sort of midrashic method, but such a consistent and developed body of work appears for the first time in ḤM. Signs of the attempt to resolve the seeming conflict between the authority of the Torah, on the one hand, and its actualization and harmonization, on the other, can already be found in the Bible itself, especially in Chronicles, where these attempts were made by a paraphrastic reformulation of the verses of the biblical verses themselves. The same is true of the *Temple Scroll*, in which the passages that discuss the same topic in a number of places in the Torah are concentrated, along with their interpretation and completion in the spirit of the laws and views prevalent among the Judean Desert sect. All this, however, was done in a rewriting of the Torah's words, as the direct, first-person, command of God, in sharp contrast with the differentiation in the tannaitic literature between the quoted verses and their interpretation. The Qumran *Pesher* literature provides an example of quoted verses in lemmas alongside their interpretation, but this is only for subjects pertaining to philosophic, ethical, or political actualization of the books of the prophets, and not of *halakhic* topics that appear in the *Torah*, as it is in the ḤM. A rare trace of an early rabbinic midrash, that apparently consists solely of quoted verses and their adjoining interpretation, by means of other verses, can be found in the homiletical expansion of "My father was a fugitive Aramean" (Deut. 26:5) in the Passover *Haggadah*. A few instances of the quotation of a verse and the presentation of its halakhic interpretation-exposition, along with the mention of alternative interpretations and their rejection, exist in the New Testament, but, obviously, these could hardly be compared with the systematic exegeses of the Torah in ḤM literature.

In comparison with the literature of the Judean Desert sect, ḤM literature exhibits a distinctly independent nature, that fundamentally differs from biblical literature: (1) unlike the Judean Desert scrolls, it does not present its interpretation as the absolute and unequivocal word of God, but rather as reasoned human interpretation of the verses of the Torah, that exposes the philological and theological difficulties that emerge from Scripture; (2) in contrast with those scrolls, that offer a consistent and uniform conception, the ḤM openly presents differing views and disagreements by rabbis from various generations, that are concentrated in a collective redaction; (3) the ḤM are written in pithy rabbinic language, while the Judean Desert scrolls employ language that more closely resembles that of the Bible, both in its grammar and in its lofty and dramatic style; (4) the great halakhic detailing of the ḤM, in comparison with the Bible, is vastly more developed than that in the scrolls; (5) in many instances the content of the *halakhot* set forth in the tannaitic literature is more removed from the simple meaning of the biblical *halakhah* than that of the Judean Desert scrolls. It is noteworthy, in this context, that in the second branch of the tannaitic literature, the Mishnah and the Tosefta, the *halakhah* is ordered in a completely new structure, that does not follow the sequence of the corresponding passages in the Torah.

The literary independence of the writings by the tannaim, in comparison with those of the Judean Desert sect, may be explained both by the relative lateness of the former, and by the overall worldview of the Sages regarding their own authority and power. We have not as yet uncovered written halakhic documents of proto-rabbinic orientation from the earlier period in which the Judean Desert scrolls were composed, thereby impeding our search for the main reason for these differences. Whatever the cause, it seems that the literary formulation of the ḤM in the tannaitic period was the result of several factors: (1) the canonization of the biblical literature and the conception that no books were to be added to the biblical canon bolstered the need to produce other compositions that clearly distinguished between the Bible per se, on the one hand, and its interpretation by the rabbis, on the other; (2) the consolidation of a more uniform version of the Bible and its sanctification, specifically, constituted a necessary condition for the composition of the exegetical interpretation of this text that would be based, inter alia, on a close reading of details in the accepted version; (3) the multiplicity of halakhic details that had no basis in the simple readings of Scripture, and the increasing gap between the early biblical law and the later rabbinic *halakhah*, furthered the need to create an updated compilation of *halakhot* and halakhic biblical exegesis; (4) the external polemics directed against the legitimacy of rabbinic *halakhah*, and the argument that it was only a human interpretation, led to an elaboration of the exegetical methods that had the potential for weakening these claims, while at the same time reinforcing the necessity of presenting the close link between the *halakhot* and the verses in independent compositions; (5) the internal debate between the different exegetical schools of the tannaim themselves also intensified the need for the redaction of midrashim by each of these schools. Another possibility is that external governmental prohibitions against Torah study, and the fear that this would result in the Torah being forgotten, spurred the process of a new summation of the *halakhot*, whether redacted by subject, as in the Mishnah, or in the order of the verses in the Torah, as in the ḤM. The general explanations cited above are applicable to a relatively long period; better knowledge of the time of the redaction of the ḤM might possibly enable us to gain a more correct understanding of the circumstances surrounding their redaction.

(D) AUTHORITY OF THE BIBLE. The Pentateuch, including all its verses, is perceived in ḤM as the authoritative and obligatory word of God. The belief in the divine source of the Pentateuch, and in the reliability of its transmitted and accepted version, constituted the necessary pre-conditions for the composition of ḤM, that in many instances are based on close readings of the minutest details of the words and even letters of the biblical text. The sages of ḤM openly do battle with the argument that Moses forged the Torah, or that he wrote certain verses of his own volition, while the *tannaim* concurrently reject the Samaritan version of the Torah on the grounds that it is a corruption of the original.

In no instance in ḤM or in other talmudic sources do we find the rabbis arguing among themselves as to the version of the Bible that is the subject of their exegesis, with one rabbi upholding a certain version, and another authority championing a different wording. Despite, however, the absence of overt disagreements between the rabbis concerning the versions of the Bible, ḤM contain indirect echoes of the awareness by the *tannaim* of more than a single version for some Scriptural passages, both in a number of explicit testimonies, and in several expositions that instruct: "Do not read x but y," when the second version does in fact exist in another textual tradition (and this is therefore not to be viewed as mere wordplay); and possibly also in midrashim that incorporate two alternative versions.

The (apparently intentional) absence of open disagreements on this issue is all the more striking given the clear indications of rabbinic cognizance of the existence of biblical textual variants brought above. This should come as no surprise, because controversies regarding the text of the Bible were liable to have undercut the very basis of the tannaitic exegetes. It should be emphasized, as regards the biblical text underlying ḤM, that it is not absolutely identical with Masoretic Text, the details of which were finally formulated only in the medieval period. Here and there ḤM cite verses in a version that differs from Masoretic Text and that, at times, accords with other versions, such as LXX, the Samaritan Torah, or the Peshitta. We also find interpretations based on the non-Masoretic Text version, that prove that this was the commonly accepted text of the Bible possessed by the *tannaim*-exegetes. An awareness of this phenomenon is of importance, both for an examination of the textual versions of the Bible, and for a proper understanding of the midrashic interpretations themselves.

(E) DEVELOPMENT OF EXEGETICAL METHODS. The first testimony in the tannaitic sources relating to the methods by which the Torah is expounded (*middot*) describes the principles employed by Hillel (Sifra, chap. 1, p. 9). These rules comprise, in practice, seven simple exegetical principles for the clarification of a given verse aided by an examination of other verses that contain (1) a law either more of less severe than that in the verse under discussion ("*kal va-ḥomer* [*a minori ad majus*]"); (2) a law equivalent to that in this verse (*gezerah shavah* [comparison of similar expressions]"); (3) a law that is specified in another place, but may be utilized elsewhere ("*binyan av* [prototype]"); (4) two verses that contradict one another ("*shenei ketuvim*"); (5) a verse that includes a general formulation along with one or more individual cases ("*kelal u-ferat* [general and particular]"); (6) a rare word or phenomenon that is explicated by other instances in other places ("*ka-yoẓe bo be-makom aḥer* [similarly, in another place]"); (7) a verse that is understood by its context ("*davar lamad me-inyano*").

A later list of 13 exegetical methods by which the Torah is expounded appears in the beginning of *Sifra*, in the name of R. Ishmael. In addition to their greater number, the methods of R. Ishmael are characterized by their extended explanation, their detail, and their distance from the relatively simple and straightforward principles of Hillel. For example: Hillel's "*shenei ketuvim*" is given an interpretation: "Two texts that refute one another, until a third text comes and decides between them"; *davar lamad me-inyano*, the method of "understanding from context," was supplemented: "*ve-davar ha-lamed mi-sofo* [and something that is learned from a later reference in the same passage]." Additional methods were specified, such as Hillel's "*binyan av*," that R. Ishmael developed into "*binyan av mi-katuv eḥad, u-binyan av mi-shenei ketuvim* [a prototypical inference from a single verse, and a prototypical inference from two verses]." The method of "*kelal u-ferat*" was the subject of especially extensive development, as it was divided into subsections, with an accompanying explanation of their meanings: "*kelal u-ferat*; *perat u-khelal* [particular and general]; *kelal u-ferat u-khelal* [general, particular, and general] – [the law] is discussed only in accordance with the subject of the particular case; […] everything that was in the general statement that is specified, that does so to teach [a law], is not specified only to teach of itself [i.e., the specific case], but rather to teach of all that is encompassed by the general statement," and many more.

Furthermore, at times we witness a development of the meaning of exegetical methods that were formulated in the same fashion in the lists of Hillel and R. Ishmael. An outstanding example of this phenomenon is the method of "*gezerah shavah* [analogy]," whose primary meaning, as proposed by Lieberman, is a comparison between two identical matters. It was already related of Hillel himself that he learned out a *gezerah shavah* before the elders of Bathyra, based on a single word that appeared in two similar matters, with this word bearing directly upon the law learned from it (T. Pesaḥim 4:13, p. 165 and parallels). Later on, in the tannaitic period, the *gezerah shavah* became an almost arbitrary comparison between *halakhot* taught on two different matters, based on the same or proximate word that appeared in both laws – for the most part, without any relation to the literal meaning of these words. By means of the new transformation of this method, it was now possible in effect to prove anything, therefore compelling the rabbis to employ various measures to limit its possible uses.

An additional *baraita* containing specific midrashic interpretations illustrating the use of each method was appended to the *baraita* in the beginning of *Sifra* of R. Ishmael's 13 exegetical methods. Most of the traditional interpreters of the methods based their clarifications on this explanatory *baraita*. It would seem, however, that the explanations given in this *baraita* for several of the methods were elucidated in a manner at variance with their original meaning in the first *baraita* of R. Ishmael, one that reflects more fully developed methods, as they were formulated in the late tannaitic period. The method of "*kelal u-ferat*" is an outstanding example of this change. According to the initial meaning of this *baraita*, "*ke-ein ha-perat* [similar to the particular statement]" is to be employed for diverse instances of generalizations and specifications, without regard for their order of appearance in the verse: a generalization followed by a specification; and a specification followed by a generalization; and a generalization followed by a specification once again followed by a generalization. In contrast with this understanding, reflections of which can be found in a number of locations throughout the talmudic literature, the explanatory *baraita* in *Sifra* regards each of these three possibilities to be a different rule, as is more common in the talmudic literature: "*kelal u-ferat* – when there is a general and a particular statement, the general statement includes only what is specified in the particular statement"; "*perat u-khelal* – the general statement is made an addition to the particular statement"; "*kelal u-ferat u-khelal* – you discuss only similar to the particular statement." This explanation facilitates an almost certain reconstruction of the original count of the 13 methods, that the explanatory *baraita* sets at fifteen or sixteen. The development of the exegetical methods was paralleled by the formation of a school headed by R. Akiva, who preferred to base midrashic interpretation on close readings of certain words and letters in the verse under examination itself, and not to rely upon general exegetical rules, thus resulting in a widening of the gap between the exegeses and the simple meaning of Scripture.

This gradual process of the formulation of complicated and developed hermeneutical methods that were ever more distant from the initial interpretive rules that were characteristic of the early exegetical methods, continued in the amoraic period. For example, in most of their exegeses, the *amoraim* applied the *kelal u-ferat* method to verses in which the "*kelal*" no longer represents a biblical word of general content, and the "*perat*" does not denote a word that details the generalization. The main reason for this apparently can be traced to the ongoing attempt to find biblical proof texts for increasing numbers of laws, even though these *halakhot* had not initially been derived from Scripture, specifically. This tendency, of finding support in biblical verses for many diverse *halakhot* that had developed over the course of long periods of time, therefore gave rise to the need for a parallel development of the methods by which the Torah is expounded, and of the other exegetical methods.

(2)The Schools of R. Ishmael and of R. Akiva

(A) DISTINCT EXEGETICAL METHODS. One of the important achievements of ḤM research consists of the delineation of the methodological disagreement between R. Ishmael and R. Akiva concerning hermeneutical methods, and in its wake, the drawing of a distinction between the two chief types of ḤM: the midrashim that belong to the school of R. Ishmael, on the one hand, and those from the school of R. Akiva, on the other.

Some of the methodological differences between these two rabbis are already mentioned in tannaitic sources, and their consistent disagreement on a number of topics is also mentioned in amoraic sources. Only modern scholars, however, methodically collected the disagreements between these two rabbis concerning hermeneutical methods that are dispersed throughout the talmudic literature. The reconstruction of the differences between R. Ishmael and R. Akiva and their schools was made on the basis of four types of testimonies: (1) testimonies concerning dicta transmitted in the name of R. Ishmael or R. Akiva; (2) testimonies regarding views attributed by the talmudic sources to the schools of the two tannaim, such as "*tanna de-vei Ishmael*" or "*tanni R. Simeon bar Yoḥai*" of the school of R. Akiva; (3) disagreements implicit from an analysis of the differences between ḤM belonging to each school: (4) reconstructions of disagreements between R. Ishmael and R. Akiva proposed by the Talmuds. These different types of testimony generally complement one another. Based on a careful analysis and comparison of these various testimonies, scholars have reached well-founded conclusions. At times, however, the evidence concerning the disagreements between R. Ishmael and R. Akiva that emerge from the different types of testimony are inconsistent, and we should be cautious regarding generalizations and harmonizations, some of which were voiced by the talmudic sources themselves.

R. Ishmael's exegetic method is generally more moderate than that of R. Akiva, and the expositions by the former are less distant from the simple meaning of the biblical text than the far-reaching exegeses of R. Akiva. R. Ishmael also relies upon more *middot*, interpretive rules, and comparisons between different verses, in contrast with R. Akiva, who tends to focus upon the individual verse and draw conclusions regarding its exegetical meanings from its specific words and letters. These two *tannaim* frequently employ different exegetical methods to reach identical halakhic conclusions, while in some instances they differ regarding both the hermeneutical method and its halakhic significance. The following few examples will aid us in clarifying the differing approaches of R. Ishmael and R. Akiva to the exposition of "superfluous" words and particles, and the duplication of verbs, nouns, verses, and even of entire passages.

In one instance (TB Sanhedrin 51b) R. Akiva learns out a *halakhah* from the exposition of a letter *vav* that he considers to be superfluous, a legal conclusion that is vigorously opposed by R. Ishmael. As regards another exposition based on a seemingly unnecessary *vav*, according to R. Eliezer (Sifra, *Negaim*, chap. 13:2, 68b): "R. Ishmael said to him, 'My master, why, you tell Scripture to be silent until I expound(!).' R. Eliezer replied: 'Ishmael, you are a mountain palm,'" i.e., just as the palm that grows in the mountains bears no fruit, you, too, do not have the ability to expound. R. Akiva, in the footsteps of his teachers, also consistently expounded the particles "*akh*" (but) and "*rak*" (only) as exclusionary, on the one hand, and "*et*" and "*gam*" (also) as inclusory, on the other; R. Ishmael, as well, esteemed R. Akiva's erudition in these expositions (See Gen. R. 1, ed. Theodor-Albeck, p. 12). At times R. Akiva was even more adept at this than his teachers (See TB Pesahim 22b and the parallels).

R. Ishmael and R. Akiva similarly dissented regarding the interpretation of the combination of a finite verb with its infinitive, a standard grammatical form that commonly occurs in the Bible. R. Akiva expounds this literally, as referring to a specific and distinct *halakhah*, while R. Ishmael, in contrast, argues that "the Torah spoke in the language of man" (See, e.g., SN, *piska* 112, p. 121). It should be stressed that the expression "the Torah spoke in the language of man" appears in the tannaitic and amoraic sources only in relation to the rejection of exegeses based on verb-infinitive repetition, and on the repetition of the biblical phrase "man man" at the beginning of a topic. A similar situation is created by the concluding verses that come at the end of biblical passages, which R. Ishmael regards as literary repetitions, that are not to be expounded (See his view in SN, *piska* 152, p. 197; *piska* 157, p. 212). He also adopted a similar approach, in contrast to R. Akiva, regarding the repetition of entire passages.

R. Akiva's extreme methodology in his far-reaching expositions might possibly also explain the assertion by the Mishnah (mSot 9:15): "When R. Akiva died, the exegetes ceased." Noteworthy in this context is the aggadic tradition in TB *Menahot* 29b that the Holy One, blessed be He, said to Moses: "At the end of a number of generations there will be a man, Akiva son of Joseph by name, who will derive from every tip [of the letters in the Torah] mounds and mounds of laws." In practice, we do not know of any laws that R. Akiva derived from the tips of the letters, and this was most likely an extreme characterization of his hermeneutical method.

R. Ishmael, who opposed the overly precise exposition of biblical verses practiced by R. Akiva, based his own exegeses primarily on general hermeneutical rules and the comparison of different verses, as is demonstrated by his use of the 13 *middot* by which the Torah is explained, as described above. In addition to these rules, additional principles also were prevalent in the school of R. Ishmael, one of which relates to topics that are repeated in the Torah: "This is a rule for expounding the Torah: Every passage that was stated in one place but lacks one element, and was taught again in another place, was repeated only for the element that was omitted. R. Akiva says, Every place in which "*le-ʾemor* [saying]" is stated must be expounded" (SN *piska* 2, p. 4). This apparently indicates that the school of R. Ishmael maintained that expositions are not to be founded on the duplication caused by the repetition of the other similar verses in the two passages. The problem with this is that on occasion the ḤM of R. Ishmael, as well, employ such repetitions as the basis for exegeses, and it may reasonably be assumed that there was no unanimity within the school of R. Ishmael regarding this hermeneutical rule. At any rate, the incompleteness of our information regarding the opinions of both R. Ishmael and R. Akiva on this cardinal issue graphically illustrates the extent to which our knowledge regarding the conceptions of the *tannaim* are partial and imprecise.

Another hermeneutical rule of R. Ishmael relates to the tension between the simple meaning of the biblical text and what seemed logical and correct to the rabbis. R. Akiva resolves the contradiction by means of an extreme exegesis that removes the verses from their literal meaning and interprets them in accord with an opinion that seemed fitting to the *tannaim*. R. Ishmael, in contrast, candidly presents the inconsistency between the interpretation of the verse in accordance with his regular hermeneutical rules, on the one hand, and logic, on the other, and presents a compromise that allows both to coexist (See SN, *piska* 8, p. 14–15).

The tension between the simple meaning of Scripture and the *halakhah* is the subject of a similar disagreement between R. Ishmael and R. Akiva. The latter, as is his wont, explains the Torah in a manner that conforms with the *halakhah*. R. Ishmael, in contrast, pointedly indicates the instances in which there is a disparity between the two and says: "In three places the *halakhah* supersedes the biblical text" (*Midrash Tannaim* on Deut. 24:1, p. 154, and parallels). It nonetheless should be stressed that in many instances R. Ishmael, as well, uses his hermeneutical method to expound the Torah and harmonize it with the *halakhah*.

Another area in which we find a significant difference between R. Ishmael and R. Akiva relates to the bounds of the applicability of the *middot*, which R. Ishmael limits, while R. Akiva expands. A few examples: R. Ishmael permits the use of the *gezerah shavah* rule only if one of the two words on which it is based is free, i.e., it has not been used in other expositions. R. Akiva, in contrast, maintains that this hermeneutical method may also be used for two words that have already been put to other exegetical use. According to R. Ishmael, everything that is not specified in the Torah, but rather is learned by exegesis, cannot serve as the basis for an additional exposition. R. Akiva, on the other hand, permits founding a new exposition on a previous one; R. Ishmael is of the opinion that "punishments are not derived from logic" (in other words, a person is not punished for violating a law that is learned by a *kal va-ḥomer*), while other rabbis, including R. Akiva, according to one tradition, assert that punishments may be so derived.

R. Ishmael and R. Akiva also differ regarding the permissibility of expounding certain topics in public. R. Ba, in the name of Rav Yehuda (TJ *Hagigah* 2:1, 77a), attributes the law in *M. Hagigah* 2:1: "The forbidden sexual relationships may not be expounded before three persons" solely to R. Akiva, and as opposed to the opinion of R. Ishmael. Sifra (from the school of R. Akiva) accordingly did not include expositions regarding the forbidden sexual relationships in the portions of *Aḥarei Mot* (Lev. 18:7–23) and *Kedoshim* (Lev. 20:10–21), while the second midrash on Leviticus (from the school of R. Ishmael) does contain in these portions expositions of this subject, some of which were artificially included in several manuscripts of *Sifra*. Several explanations were offered for the reason behind this disagreement. I maintain that R. Akiva's position is to be understood in light of his extreme exegesis and his fear that the publicizing of such expositions on the subject of forbidden sexual relationships, that human nature craves, was liable to result in licentious behavior "and may come to permit that which is prohibited," in the words of TB (*Hagigah* 11b) on this mishnah. In contrast, R. Ishmael, who adopted a more moderate exegetical method, did not fear publicly expounding the passage of forbidden sexual relationships, presenting its prohibitions and concessions based on his hermeneutical rules. The *halakhah* in *M. Hagigah* loc. cit that "the Story of Creation is not expounded before two" is similarly attributed by R. Ba in the name of Rav Yehuda in TJ idem as following the view of R. Akiva exclusively, in opposition to the opinion of R. Ishmael. This dispute is reflected in the disagreement between the two *tannaim* concerning the legitimacy of the exposition in *Gen. R.*, p. 12, of the word "*et*" in Gen. 1:1. R. Akiva explains his position that the word is intended to prevent an erroneous Gnostic interpretation, that "we would say that the heaven and earth also are divinities," and therefore nothing can be derived from it, while R. Ishmael has no qualms in expounding the word *et* in this problematic verse of the act of Creation. *Gen. R.* p. 206 and p. 574 also contains a similar disagreement between these *tannaim* concerning the exposition of the word "*et*" in two other verses that are likely to be understood as supporting the view of the heretics; here as well, the dispute between R. Akiva and R. Ishmael is based in the different nature of the hermeneutical method of each Tanna. R. Ishmael was not wary of expounding these verses, while R. Akiva was apprehensive that the public exegesis of such sensitive verses in accordance with his extreme expositional method would be liable to serve as justification for the extreme interpretations of the heretics, following their methodology, and he therefore refrained from expounding them in public. In light of the above, we cannot accept the opinion of

Heschel that R. Ishmael was a rationalist who vigorously opposed esoteric expositions of the Torah and matters that cannot be attained by the intellect. More generally, the drawing of unnecessary connections between simple and literal interpretation and religious rationalism should be avoided.

(B) THE DIVISION INTO SCHOOLS. The discovery of the differing exegetical methods of R. Ishmael and of R. Akiva led scholars to divide ḤM into two schools: that of R. Ishmael and that of R. Akiva. This classification was based on the differences between the midrashim in the following areas: (1) The use of the exegetical *middot* that are prevalent in the midrashim from the school of R. Ishmael: Both midrashic schools make frequent use of several of the straightforward hermeneutical methods, such as *kal va-ḥomer* and *gezerah shavah* (although the emphasis that the word of the *gezerah shavah* is "free," as we could expect, appears only in the school of R. Ishmael). Other methods, such as *kelal u-ferat*, *perat u-kelal*, and *kelal u-ferat u-kelal*, appear only in midrashim from the school of R. Ishmael. (2) The terminology of the midrash: Some of the terms and introductory formulas that appear in ḤM are shared by all the midrashim, while additional midrashic terms are specific to each of the two schools. Some of these special terms are essentially related to the differing hermeneutical methods of the two schools, while others are merely alternative terms in which the redactors of each of the schools apparently were accustomed to use. (3) The names of the central rabbis: The midrashim from the school of R. Ishmael cite many dicta by R. Ishmael himself and by students from his school, headed by R. Joshia, R. Jonatan, R. Nathan, and R. Isaac, who receive scant mention in ḤM of R. Akiva and in the Mishnah, that also belongs to the sources of the school of R. Akiva. Conversely, ḤM of the school of R. Akiva make particular mention of R. Akiva himself and his students, headed by R. Judah and R. Simeon. In other instances, the midrashim are distinguished by the name each gives to the same rabbi (The most outstanding example of this practice is the use by ḤM of the school of R. Akiva of the name "R. Simeon," while the midrashim from the school of R. Ishmael cite "R. Simeon ben Yohai."). (4) Parallel expositions, appearing in a number of places in each school, whose content is virtually identical, or whose exposition employs a similar interpretive principle that is characteristic of each of the two schools. (5) Anonymous dicta whose attribution to the heads of the two schools is indicated by the parallels in the talmudic literature (Although this criterion was considerably amplified by Hoffmann, and after him, by Epstein, we should register a reservation, since ḤM also contain unattributed midrashim that the parallels ascribe to the rabbis of the opposing school. Scholars have not compiled orderly lists of this phenomenon, thus impeding an assessment of the relative weight of the unattributed dicta.). As was noted above, the fundamental division by early scholars, based on these criteria, between the schools of R. Akiva and R. Ishmael remains valid. A comprehensive and more precise examination, however, of the material based on these criteria themselves indicates that the midrashim from the school of R. Akiva are to be further divided into two subgroups, that are distinct from each other as regards their terminology, the names of the central rabbis who are cited, and their internal parallels.

(C) REDACTION OF THE MATERIAL FROM THE SCHOOLS. The redactors of ḤM did not limit their works to the teachings by the rabbis clearly identified with their respective school, and they frequently cited the views of rabbis from the other school. The redactors generally first included the material belonging to their own school, to be followed, in dialectical fashion, by the opinions of rabbis from the other school, adding the name of the author of the exposition, or without attribution, as "another interpretation [*davar aher*]," thus, precedence was given, for the most part, to the material from the school of R. Ishmael in ḤM of this school, to be followed by the teachings from the school of R. Akiva, while ḤM from the school of R. Akiva first present the dicta from their own school, and only afterwards the dicta from the school of R. Ishmael. The opinions of rabbis from the other school are usually presented in the terminology of the school to which the redactors belonged, and only in very rare instances is the terminology of the other school employed. Furthermore, at times we discern the tendentious redaction of the material in ḤM, with the redactors of each midrash presenting the views of the rabbis from the other school in a partial and fragmentary manner, in order to tip the scales toward the position that they favor. In conclusion, the redactors of ḤM are not to be considered "objective" editors of the sources they possessed. These redactors most likely belonged to the schools themselves, as can be learned from the exegetical methodology employed in their works; from the midrashic terms that they use, some of which are intrinsically linked to their exegetical methodology; from their system of ordering the material, with precedence given to the rabbis belonging to their own school; and from their tendentious adaptations of exegeses from the other school.

(3) The Aggadic Material

The major differences described above between ḤM belonging to the school of R. Ishmael and those from the school of R. Akiva find marked expression in the halakhic material that forms the core of this literature. The differences, however, between the midrashim from the two schools are considerably narrower in their aggadic passages, and the latter apparently originate in shared early material. The two parallel midrashim frequently contain aggadic expositions of extremely similar order, content, and style. Notwithstanding this, the differences between the two midrashim clearly indicate that these are two different redactions of early material, and not a division resulting from copying by different scribes. The two midrashic schools often differ in their specific interpretations of expressions and words, they sometimes adopt differing approaches to a certain biblical passage, and more comprehensive differences of opinion between the two are not unknown.

Despite the high degree of similarity in the aggadic material in the midrashim of both schools, most scholars have sought to apply to this material as well the accepted division of midrashim into the schools of R. Ishmael and R. Akiva. Although various signs supporting such a division appear at times, clear-cut differences between the schools in hermeneutical methods, exegetical terms, and names of rabbis are usually to be found only in the halakhic portions of the midrashim, and are hardly discernible in the aggadic sections. Accordingly, the common aggadic material of ḤM was quite probably not produced in the schools of R. Ishmael or of R. Akiva, but it is highly plausible that during the course of the appending of this material to the various ḤM, the later redactors of the two schools occasionally left their mark on this material, as well.

As regards the relation between the midrashim, concerning their shared aggadic material, the aggadic material appended to MY and MD (from the school of R. Ishmael) is notably lengthier than the parallel material that was added to MS and SD (from the school of R. Akiva). Additionally, the aggadic material incorporated in the former two midrashim, from the school of R. Ishmael, is frequently superior in style and content to the parallel material in ḤM from the school of R. Akiva. On the other hand, the reader is struck by the considered thought invested in the aggadic material by the redactors of SD, and especially of MS, who sought to reformulate the deficient material that they apparently received. The two ḤM on the Book of Numbers contain similar aggadic material, but there are no extant direct textual witnesses from *Genizah* fragments of SZN, thus hindering the conducting of any reliable comparison between them. A preliminary examination of the fragmentary aggadic citations from SZN in *Yalkut Shimoni* and in *Midrash ha-Gadol* indicates a relatively major distinction between them and the aggadot of SN, and the characteristic features marking the relationship between them differ from the common features exhibited by the dual midrashim on Exodus and Deuteronomy. The aggadic material appended to SZN (from the school of R. Akiva) is often more detailed than its parallels in SN (from the school of R. Ishmael). These initial findings are therefore not surprising, because SZN represents an independent midrashic branch of the school of R. Akiva, and it is only natural that the aggadic material appended to it possesses unique features, that do not necessarily resemble the aggadic fragments added to MS and SD, that represent the other branch of this school.

Finally, it should be noted that our characterization of the aggadic material in ḤM relates solely to the large units of entire Torah portions that are of an aggadic nature, and not to aggadic expositions of a certain verse that are incorporated within the halakhic sections, that are an integral part of the classical midrashim from both schools.

(4) Traces of Early Halakhah

The decisive majority of the halakhic material cited in ḤM resembles parallel tannaitic material in the Mishnah, Tosefta, and *baraitot* in the Talmuds. Moreover, ḤM quote more dicta from later *tannaim* than does the Mishnah. At the same time, ḤM also preserve opinions from, or allusions to, *halakhot* that differ from the prevalent rabbinic *halakhot*, as the latter were transmitted in most of the talmudic sources. Some of these opinions reflect the views of *tannaim* that, for whatever reason, have not come down to us in the other traditions, while another portion is representative of early or rejected *halakhot* that were observed in the Second Temple period.

The reasons for the preservation of these early *halakhot* in ḤM are to be found mainly in the following elements: (1) the highly developed dialectic deliberations in ḤM, including methodical discussions of several possible interpretations of the Bible, including a reasoned acceptance of one interpretation over another, with this alternative (rejected) interpretation occasionally representing the early *halakhah*; (2) the diverse sources used by the redactors of ḤM, some of which, such as the Mishnah that was used by the school of R. Ishmael or that used by the subschool of *Sifrei Zuta*, have not reached us in an orderly form through other transmission channels; (3) the incorporation of early interpretations and midrashim in ḤM, at times as part of the attempt by the later redactors to adapt them to the accepted *halakhah* of their time; (4) the inferior standing of ḤM in comparison with the Mishnah, a fact that paradoxically led to the more faithful preservation of their original versions and traditions. On the other hand, the halakhic authority of the Mishnah and its orderly interpretation by the *amoraim* and later authorities often resulted in the emendation and adaptation of its versions and traditions, under the influence of the reigning *halakhah* in a later period.

The traditional commentators of ḤM generally sought to obscure the remnants of non-normative *halakhah* in ḤM, in order to adapt it to the more common and well-known *halakhah* brought in the Mishnah and the Talmuds. A. Geiger was the first scholar to systematically reveal the early *halakhah* in ḤM. L. Finkelstein devoted discussions in a number of studies of this topic, in the attempt to prove that Sifra contains many remnants of an early, Second Temple period, midrash on Leviticus, and that many early *halakhot* following Beit Shammai are retained in SD, along with more ancient fragments from the Second Temple period, and possibly even from the time of the Prophets(!). While Geiger and Finkelstein have certainly made significant contributions to the scholarly research in this field, both by raising the proper questions and by providing many fertile insights into these difficult issues, a not inconsiderable portion of their brilliant and far-reaching conclusions are not sufficiently based on a literal interpretation of the language of the midrash, nor are they supported by the direct evidence of the Dead Sea Scrolls that was published only recently.

(5) Relation to Other Works

(A) ARAMAIC TARGUMIM ON THE TORAH. The Aramaic Targumim on the Torah, which were read in public, incorporated a considerable amount of midrashic material that corresponds to the teachings included in ḤM. At times the Targumim assist in the interpretation of the midrashim, both for the literal interpretation of the midrashim, and for an understanding of content of passages in which the exegesis alludes to a subject that is explicated in the Targumim.

Each Targum must be examined separately in order to answer the question of which came first, ḤM or the Aramaic Targumim. Early material that influences the language of the exegeses in ḤM is sometimes embedded in the Targum in MS. Neofiti, the Fragmentary Targum, and Onkelos. On the other hand, the Neofiti and the Fragmentary Targum occasionally contain homiletical expansions that would clearly seem to originate in ḤM. Although Pseudo-Jonathan is closely and consistently linked to ḤM, it would appear that the author of this Targum did not possess early midrashic material (as maintained by Geiger and other scholars), but rather made use of several of the currently extant ḤM, in order to complete the foundation of the Neofiti and the Fragmentary Targum, that, as is known, were available to him. Proofs of this use of ḤM by Pseudo-Jonathan can be brought from a number of corruptions in Pseudo-Jonathan that most likely were due to the errors made by the redactor of the Targum during the course of the rendition of ḤM. We would be hard-pressed to find a strong connection to ḤM and the other ancient Bible translations, such as the Septuagint, the Peshitta, and the Vulgate, and their primary contribution to the study of the midrashim lies in the versions of the Bible that they present, that are equivalent here and there to the accepted Bible text of ḤM.

(B) MISHNAH. The order of the *halakhot* of ḤM follows that of the biblical citations, which serve to demonstrate the close connection between the tannaitic *halakhah* and the verses. In addition, ḤM also interpret many aggadic passages. The Mishnah, in contrast, orders the tannaitic *halakhah* by subject, with the connection of the latter to the Bible generally not presented; moreover, the aggadic material in the Mishnah is very limited, in comparison to that in ḤM. Notwithstanding these differences, there is a clearly mutual relationship between ḤM and Mishnahic literatures; along with exegesis, ḤM contain a not inconsiderable number of quotations from mishnahyot and *baraitot*, that are frequently cited in ḤM after set terms such as "מיכן אמרו [From here they said]," "מיכן אתה אומר [From here you say]," "אמרו [They said]," and other such introductory formulas. In other instances, however, this material is brought in ḤM without a prefatory expression. On the other hand, every so often midrashic reasoning for laws is incorporated in the Mishnah, as well as short midrashic units that are characteristic of the school of R. Akiva. In other instances, the abstract halakhic formulation of the Mishnah is adapted from early midrashic material.

An examination of the mishnahyot and *baraitot* in ḤM teaches of an important distinction between MS, Sifra, and SD (from the central school of R. Akiva), on the one hand, and the midrashim from the school of R. Ishmael, on the other. The former make frequent use of the extant Mishnah: they often seek to link the verses and their exegeses with the Mishnah, and they generally cite our Mishnah verbatim. In MY and SN (from the school of R. Ishmael), on the other hand, the term "From here they said" is not so common, and when the Mishnah is cited, it is not brought in its actual language, but rather paraphrased and in abbreviated form; nor do these midrashim contain many instances of "from here they said" from *baraitot* and the Tosefta. This difference emerges quite strongly from a comparison of SN and SD, both of which are represented in the same important manuscript, Vatican 32. The abbreviation "וכולה מתניתין [etc. from the Mishnah]" is quite prevalent in SD, in which the Mishnah is quite frequently cited verbatim, but is totally absent from SN, in which the Mishnah is generally not cited in its original language. The disparity between the midrashim from the school of R. Ishmael and the Mishnah is also pronounced regarding the names of the rabbis who are clearly identified with this school, who are not mentioned in the Mishnah. To these indicators we should perhaps add the interesting finding that the term "*mishnah*" itself appears only in ḤM from the school of R. Akiva, and is totally absent from those of the school of R. Ishmael. It would therefore appear that the redactors of MS, Sifra, and SD (from the school of R. Akiva) related to the extant Mishnah, that also is founded in this school, as an authoritative source, while the editors of MY and SN (from the school of R. Ishmael), did not recognize the supreme authority of our Mishnah. An exception is the branch of SZ, that belongs to the school of R. Akiva, but is notedly singular in a number of realms: the decisive majority of the *mishnahyot* that it cites are considerably different from our Mishnah, and it has already been suggested that this is to be viewed as reflective of opposition by its redactors to Rabbi's court and teachings.

(C) TOSEFTA. The Tosefta, that was redacted following the Mishnah, also was based in great measure on halakhic sources from the school of R. Akiva. It contains a bit more midrashic material on halakhic and aggadic topics than the Mishnah, and a portion of it was even taken from midrashic sources from the school of R. Ishmael (Such as two large fragments in *T. Shevuot*). In contrast with the Mishnah, the Tosefta occasionally mentions rabbis who are prominent representatives of the school of R. Ishmael (R. Nathan, R. Josiah, R. Isaac and R. Jonathan). Additional study of each of the separate ḤM is required to determine whether all ḤM that we possess had knowledge of the extant Tosefta, or whether they made use of other collections that included similar *baraitot*.

(D) TALMUDS. The *amoraim* drew upon collections of tannaitic ḤM on the Torah, as we learn from thousands of quotations from the latter in TB and TJ (see their listing, by their order in the Pentateuch, in Melamed, *ḤM in the Babylonian/Palestian Talmud*). Most of the citations in the Babylonian Talmud are from the school of R. Akiva, but there are also a large number of passages from the school of R. Ishmael, and additional sources. About forty percent of the quotations in the Talmud are of new material that does not appear in the extant ḤM, some of which was unquestionably taken from other collections of the schools of R. Ishmael and R. Akiva and additional nonextant sources. The remaining 60 percent of the citations that are common to the Talmuds and ḤM apparently indicate that the *amoraim* possessed collections akin to the extant ḤM. The parallels for this material are not completely congruent, with the dissimilarity between the ḤM and TJ smaller than the difference between ḤM and TB Exceptional in this respect are *Sifra*, which is frequently cited by TB in its original language, and MS, with a not inconsiderable number of its expositions cited by TB Some of the differences between the otherwise similar parallels in ḤM and the Talmuds ensue from differing traditions and transmissions of the same basic or raw material, while in other instances various interpretive glosses and additions, along with numerous abridgements and adaptations, were attached to the *baraitot* in the Talmuds, notably in TB, but also in TJ We nonetheless may conclude with certainty that the *baraitot* in ḤM generally reflect the teachings of the *tannaim* in a manner better and more faithful to the original than their parallels in the Talmuds.

The *amoraim* often appended their explanations and clarifications to the *baraitot* of ḤM; needless to say, these ancient interpretations are of incalculable value for a full understanding of the tannaitic dicta. The midrashim were not, however, always given a literal interpretation by the *amoraim*, and several of the general perceptions in the Talmuds concerning the methods of the schools of R. Ishmael, R. Akiva, and other rabbis are inconsistent with the original views held by these *tannaim* themselves. In addition to the various concrete interpretive and halakhic considerations, that frequently influenced the nonliteral interpretation of the midrashic *baraitot* in the talmudic discussions, the *amoraim* also disagree with ḤM regarding several general principles concerning hermeneutical methods. This is especially true concerning the common tendency of redactors from both schools to base various *halakhot* on a single biblical expression, on the one hand, while, on the other, they find support for a single *halakhah* in a number of verses. One of the central assumptions prevalent in the Talmuds, in contrast, is that each biblical expression contains the foundation for a single halakhic derivation, and that the same *halakhah* is not to be derived from more than one biblical expression. The consistent application of this exegetical assumption in both Talmuds (which the Talmuds also ascribed to the *tannaim* themselves) led to the interpretation of many tannaitic midrashim in the Talmud in a manner which is not consistent with their literal or original sense. In addition to the growing belief in the unique halakhic significance of each and every biblical expression, the biblical exegesis of the *amoraim* themselves also represents a new direction in the development of midrashic methodology. Generally speaking, the latter took another step forward in developing the exegetical method of R. Akiva and his school, with increasing focus upon the details of the verse, and by basing ever-growing numbers of laws and their particulars on Scripture, while at the same time further distancing them from the simple meaning of the biblical text.

(6) Time and Place of Redaction

We probably should accept the predominant scholarly view that the final redaction of ḤM was conducted in the Land of Israel, in the first or second generation following the redaction of the Mishnah, that is, by the middle of the third century CE. An earlier dating cannot be proposed, because the latest rabbis mentioned in a majority of ḤM are from these generations. Nor, however, should a significantly later date be assigned to this editorial activity, placing it at the end of the amoraic period sometime in the fifth century, as has been suggested by several scholars, on the basis of quite weak evidence, and we certainly should reject the thesis of Wacholder that dates the redaction of several ḤM to the eighth century. The Mishnahic language of ḤM closely resembles that of the Mishnah, without influences of the Galilean Aramaic that was the predominant language of the *bet midrash* in the fifth century, at least in Galilee. The internal character of ḤM reinforces the theory that regards them as a transitional period between the Mishnah (that several quote verbatim) and the Talmuds. This transitional aspect is especially pronounced in the element of dialectic reasoning that is more fully developed in ḤM than in the Mishnah, but had still not reached the peak of its development that would come in the Talmud (even in the PT). Furthermore, the better preservation of tannaitic views in ḤM, in a form closer to the original, than in their emended and adapted parallels in the Talmuds, poses a very major obstacle for the conjecture that ḤM were redacted close to the redaction of the PT, after a lengthy period of "hibernation," in which they underwent no change. This same conclusion is also indicated by the fact that the more developed hermeneutical method of the *amoraim* is not discernible in ḤM.

Nor is it to be assumed, and this should be stressed, that the various ḤM were redacted at the same time, rather, a separate discussion must be devoted to the time of each individual midrash's redaction. For example, we should probably assign a slightly earlier date to the redaction of SN, which makes no mention of sixth-generation *tannaim*, except for a single narrative that speaks of R. Hiyya. Such a hypothesis is somewhat strengthened by the brevity and relative scarcity of associative expositions, in comparison with the other ḤM. It would appear, though, that after its initial redaction an additional stratum, from the "school of Rabbi," was incorporated in SN. On the other hand, while most scholars maintained that MS is the latest of ḤM, basing this estimate on its expansions, the use that it, in their opinion, made of other ḤM, and the developed nature that they found its *halakhot* and exegeses to possess, such a conclusion seems to lack a firm basis.

Most scholars properly think that all of the tannaitic ḤM were redacted in the Land of Israel, a conclusion that is supported by the similarity of the language of ḤM to that of the Mishnah and Tosefta, which were also redacted in the Land of Israel; and by the stronger affinity between the *baraitot* in ḤM and their parallels in the PT and the Palestinian *midrashei aggadah*, as compared to the frequent differences between them and the *baraitot* in the TB. Even more compelling evidence is provided by internal indicators, such as the phenomenon of transferring literary units from one place to another, usually unaccompanied by any attempt to adapt them to their new position, corresponding to the common strategy of the literary redactors of the tannaitic and amoraic literature in the Land of Israel. The redactors of the TB, in contrast, frequently sought to have their displaced *sugyot* conform to their new position. The division of the Pentateuch into portions following Land of Israel practice is also noticeable in the redaction of ḤM.

All this also applies to the midrashim belonging to the school of R. Ishmael, that some scholars thought were redacted in Babylonia, an opinion resting on the assumption that most of the leading *tannaim* from this school, headed by R. Josiah, R. Jonathan, R. Natan, and R. Isaac were Babylonians. A re-examination of the subject revealed that several of these rabbis, such as R. Josiah, were not Babylonians at all, and that some of them seemingly immigrated to the Land of Israel. Especially impressive is the statement in MD by R. Jonathan – who was (unjustifiably) considered in the past to be a Babylonian *tanna* – that is incorporated in a passage that extols the importance of the obligation to reside in the Land of Israel, and vehemently opposes leaving the Land, even for the purpose of Torah study: "I vow [*noder*] never to leave the Land [of Israel]" (MS Oxford Heb. c 18.5). All the above evidence therefore points in the direction of the Palestinian redaction of all ḤM.

At present we do not possess sufficient data for a more precise determination of the location within the Land of Israel of the *batei midrash* of R. Ishmael and R. Akiva, nor of settlements or regions in which the various ḤM were redacted. This question is obviously related to the difficulties involved in the identification of the last redactors of each of the midrashim, a subject to which most scholars have devoted lengthy inquiries, without reaching convincing or commonly accepted conclusions. It is to be hoped that new archaeological and future literary finds will aid in solving these knotty questions.

(7) History of Research and Future Challenges

The first steps in the systematic research of ḤM were taken in the late eighteenth and early the nineteenth centuries by scholars of the Wissenschaft des Judentums: A. Geiger, L. Zunz, Z. Frankel, J.H. Weiss, M. Friedmann, and others. They focused on three main areas: (1) a historical description of the development of the talmudic and midrashic literature as a whole; (2) the manner in which *halakhah* and midrash were learned in antiquity and developed; and (3) a reinterpretation of the various ḤM.

In the late 19th and early 20th centuries the study of ḤM intensified, with works by I. Lewy, D. Hoffmann, S. Schechter, H.S. Horovitz, and others, who focused on three other spheres: (1) the schools of R. Ishmael and R. Akiva and the classification of ḤM by this criterion; (2) the publication of critical editions of the major ḤM based on mss.; (3) the reconstruction of lost ḤM, based on **Yalkut Shimoni, *Midrash ha-Gadol,* **Genizah* fragments, and other sources.

Modern ḤM scholars, the most prominent of whom were J.N. Epstein, Ch. Albeck, S. Lieberman, and L. Finkelstein, continued the publication of ḤM while conducting up-to-date studies in a diverse range of related subjects. Except for Finkelstein, however, these scholars devoted most of their energy in the study of tannaitic literature to the Mishnah and Tosefta, causing them to somewhat neglect the ḤM.

Continued progress in ḤM research depends, first and foremost, on vigorous effort to discover their lost portions in the libraries throughout the world, accompanied by the publication of new critical editions of all ḤM. Since the publication of the first editions, scholars have uncovered new manuscripts for most of the midrashim, *Yalkutim* and additional midrashim that quote passages from ḤM, and several previously unknown commentaries by *rishonim* and *aḥaronim*, whose versions and interpretations cast further light upon the subject of our scholarly inquiries. Eastern textual versions are of especial importance, primarily the many fragments from the Cairo *Genizah*, whose existence was not known to the editors of the early editions. The methodology of the critical editing of the talmudic sources has also advanced by great strides in determining the text and presenting textual variants.

Based on more authoritative editions of ḤM, a detailed commentary should be composed for each collection. New editions accompanied by critical interpretation will provide the foundation for a renewed discussion of all the basic issues pertaining to these midrashim. They will also facilitate an overall clarification of the formal and substantial character of ḤM and the meaning of the specific *halakhot* and ideas they contain, in comparison with the other strata of the talmudic literature, on the one hand, and other works, spanning a broad range of periods, both Jewish and non-Jewish.

Preparatory work in several of these realms has been undertaken in recent years, such as the production of a CD-ROM of tannaitic literature by the Historical Dictionary Project of the Academy of the Hebrew Language in Jerusalem; the systematic collection of extant ḤM fragments in libraries throughout the world, most importantly, substantial fragments from the *Genizah*; the publication of transcriptions of all the *Genizah* fragments (apart from the *Sifra*); preparations for the new scientific publication of several midrashim; the linguistic examination of good ḤM mss.; the development of a literary approach that will aid in the analysis of the halakhic and aggadic passages in ḤM; and an orderly and detailed commentary of several passages from ḤM. It is to be hoped that these will yield fruits that will continue to meet the scholarly challenges that we have listed.

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[Menahem I. Kahana (2nd ed.)]

MIDSTREAM, U.S. Jewish monthly. *Midstream* was founded as a quarterly in 1955 by the Theodor Herzl Foundation with the object of creating a serious Zionist periodical that would have an intellectual impact upon American Jewish life. Under the editorship of Shlomo Katz, the magazine published articles and fiction of merit on various aspects of U.S. Jewry and Israel. In 1965 it became a monthly.

Billing itself as "the leading intellectual Zionist magazine in the world," it then became an opinion magazine covering political, social, and religious topics that are relevant to Jewish communities around the world. In 2004, *Midstream* had a subscription list of 6,500 readers.

[Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

MIEDZYRZEC PODLASK (Pol. **Międzyrzec Podlaski**; called **Mezhirech** or **Mezrich** by the Jews), town in Lublin province, E. Poland. An organized Jewish community existed in the town from the middle of the 17th century. Between 1689 and 1692, the *parnasim* of the community of Miedzyrzec Podlaski waged a stubborn struggle against the leaders of the community of *Tykocin (Tiktin) for the hegemony over the Jewish communities in the vicinity of *Mielec. A magnificent synagogue, which was still standing in 1970, was erected in Miedzyrzec Podlaski at the beginning of the 18th century. The owners of the town during the 18th century, the Czartoryski family (see Adam *Czartoryski), encouraged Jews to settle in order to develop the town. At the fair held twice a year in the town, local Jewish merchants, as well as those from other towns, played an important role. In 1714 the community of Miedzyrzec Podlaski and the Jews of the surrounding villages which were under its jurisdiction paid 1,000 zlotys as poll tax. In 1759 a compromise was reached between the communities of Miedzyrzec Podlaski and *Lukow: the Jews living in the surrounding villages and townlets would pray in Miedzyrzec on the High Holidays and would also bury their dead there; they would pay their taxes one year to one community and the next year to the other. In the 19th century, during the period of Russian rule, there were no residence restrictions in Miedzyrzec Podlaski. Around the middle of the 19th century, the influence of Ḥasidism spread among the Jews there. At the time of the political agitation in Poland (1861), a Hebrew manifesto on the contemporary problems was circulated among the Jews of the town. In 1863 a number of the local Jewish craftsmen assisted the Polish rebels supplying them with equipment and food. During the second half of the 19th century, a Jewish working class emerged which found employment in the sawmills, the tanneries, the production of ready-made clothing, and hauling. The organized Jewish proletariat and youth participated in the 1905 revolution. At the end of 1918, a Jewish self-defense group was active in the town. Between the two world wars, branches of all the Jewish parties were established, as well as Jewish educational institutions (*Tarbut, CYSHO, Beth Jacob). During the 1920s a weekly, *Podlashier Lebn*, was published.

[Arthur Cygielman]

Holocaust Period

Before the outbreak of World War II, there were about 12,000 Jews in the town and they constituted 75% of the total population. During the first year of Nazi occupation, about 4,000 Jews from other places were forced to settle there. In December 1939, 2,300 Jews from Nasielsk, Pultusk, Rupiń, and Serock were deported to Miedzyrzec Podlaski. In April 1940 over 1,000 Jews from Slovakia were deported there, followed by 600 Jews from Cracow, Mlama, and Mielec. In June 1940 about 2,300 men were deported to six forced labor camps organized in the vicinity of the town. Almost all of them perished. On Aug. 25–26, 1942, the first deportation to the *Treblinka death camp took place. Other deportations followed on Oct. 6–9, 1942, and Oct. 27 of that year. Over 11,000 Jews perished in these deportations, but hundreds succeeded in fleeing into the surrounding forests. Some of them organized small guerrilla units that operated in the vicinity.

In October 1942 the Germans issued a decree about the establishment of a ghetto in Miedzyrzec Podlaski. Jews who fled into the forests were encouraged to return and promised that no more deportations would take place. The Germans managed to concentrate over 4,000 Jews in the ghetto. In December 1942 about 500 of them were deported to the Trawniki concentration camp, where all of them perished. On May 2, 1943, the ghetto was liquidated and all its inmates were deported to the Treblinka death camp and exterminated there. Only about 200 Jews were left in a forced labor camp, but they too were executed on July 18, 1943, when the town was declared *judenrein*. After the liberation of the town in July 1944, 129 Jewish survivors settled there, but after a short time they left because of the inimical attitude of the local Polish population. Organizations of former residents of Miedzyrzec Podlaski are active in Israel, the United States, and Argentina.

[Stefan Krakowski]

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MIELEC, town in Rzeszow province, S.E. Poland. The Jewish community of Mielec was first organized in the middle of the 17th century. The *Council of Four Lands decided in 1757 that the Mielec community should pay an annual tax of 1,200 zlotys to the *Opatow *kahal*. In 1765 there were 585 Jewish poll tax payers in Mielec and 326 in the surrounding villages; among the former were 12 tailors, three hatters, three bakers, two goldsmiths, five butchers, three *shoḥatim*, four musicians (*klezmer*), and three jesters (*badḥanim*). In the 19th century Mielec came under the influence of the Ḥasidim of *Chortkov and *Ropczyce and descendents of the *ẓaddik* of Ropczyce were rabbis there. The few wealthy Jews exported timber, dealt in grain, livestock, feathers, and building materials, and ran sawmills, but the majority engaged in petty trade, tailoring, shoemaking, smithery, and building. There were also some Jewish farmers in the nearby villages. An elementary school was established by the *Baron de Hirsch fund in 1900, as well as a Beth Jacob school for girls. In 1907 the Zionist association, Benei Yehudah, was founded. During the elections of 1907 and 1913 there were anti-Jewish riots in the town. In 1917 a "Borochov circle" was organized, as well as a Jewish library and sports clubs. The Jewish population of the town remained relatively static, increasing from 2,766 (56% of the total population) in 1880 to 2,819 (57%) in 1900 and 3,280 (53%) in 1910, then falling to 2,807 (50%) in 1920. Zionist parties, *He-Ḥalutz and *Agudat Israel, were active in Mielec between the two world wars.

[Arthur Cygielman]

Holocaust Period

By September 1939 the population had reached 4,000. On Sept. 13, 1939, the eve of Rosh Ha-Shanah, the Germans set a synagogue aflame and pushed 20 persons into the burning building. Those who tried to escape were shot. German soldiers sent some Jews into the slaughterhouse and set it aflame. Then the soldiers entered the *mikveh* and murdered the Jews present. On Sept. 15, 1939 (second day of Rosh Ha-Shanah), a second synagogue was set aflame. Jews suffered from administrative and economic restrictions, from the local Germans living at Czermin, and from forced labor at the camp near the Berdechow airport.

Early in January 1942 the General Government decided on the deportation of the Mielec Jews. Orders were given to deport 2,000 persons, and on March 7–9, 1942, the order was executed in greater dimensions. The sick and old were shot on the spot; others were transferred to the Berdechow airport, where a *Selektion* was made. A group of youths was sent to the labor camp at Pustkow; the remaining population was sent to Parczew, Wlodawa, Hrubieszow, Miedzyrzec, Susiec, and other towns in the Lublin district. The Jewish population there eased the suffering of the Mielec refugees by providing lodgings and public kitchens. Some months later, the Mielec refugees and these Jewish communities were exterminated.

Mielec was among the first cities that the General Government made *judenrein*. Near the workshops of the Heinkel airplane company, Mielec had a labor camp under the direct auspices of the SS. At first the camp employed 250 forced laborers, 80 of whom were from Mielec and others from Wielopole Skrzynskie. The population at the camp increased with the deportation of Mielec Jews in the winter of 1942. By the summer the population reached 1,000, including Jews from Tarnobrzeg and Huta Komarowska. The mortality rate at the camp reached more than 15 per day, excluding the sick who were shot. The camp was liquidated on Aug. 24, 1944. Some of the prisoners were transferred to Wieliczka and the rest to the camp at Flossenburg. Some 200 persons of the Mielec community survived.

[Aharon Weiss]

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Halpern, Pinkas, index; R. Mahler, *Yidn in Amolikn Poyln in Likht fun Tsifern* (1958), index; B. Wasiutyński, *Ludność żydowska w Polsce w wiekach xix i xx* (1930), 111, 146, 150, 156; M. Balaban, *Historja żydów Krakowie i na Kazimierzu*, 1 (1931), 351, 540; Y. Keitelman, in: *Fun Noentn Over* (1955), 401–51.

MIELZINER, MOSES (1828–1903), rabbi, professor. Mielziner was born and educated in Germany, where he began his rabbinic career. He headed a Jewish school in Copenhagen, Denmark, while earning his Ph.D. from the University of Giessen (1859). Immigrating to the United States, Mielziner served as a congregational rabbi and educator in New York City until 1879, when Isaac Mayer *Wise appointed him professor of Talmud at Hebrew Union College in Cincinnati. Upon Wise's death, Mielziner was chosen interim president of the seminary, a position he held for three years, from 1900 until his death.

Mielziner was a charter member of the Central Conference of American Rabbis (CCAR), and his scholarly input on relevant subjects had an important influence on early discussions of CCAR policy. He published several treatises on Jewish law – including a volume on **halakhah* and divorce and marriage, as well as an overview of rabbinic civil and criminal law – but is best known for his classic work *Introduction to the Talmud*, published originally in 1894 and reissued three times since; the most recent edition, which appeared in 1968, contains an updated bibliography compiled by Alexander *Guttmann. Mielziner's exposition of talmudic methodology – featuring a skillful dissection of the Talmud's distinctive system of technical terms and phrases adapted to its unique methods of investigation and demonstration – has been an indispensable handbook for the serious student of the Talmud for more than a century.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: K.M. Olitzky, L.J. Sussman, M.H. Stern, *Reform Judaism in America: A Biographical Dictionary and Sourcebook* (1993).

[Bezalel Gordon (2nd ed.)]

MIESES, FABIUS (1824–1898), Hebrew writer and scholar. Born in Brody (Galicia), Mieses moved to Cracow in 1840. Subsequently he lived in Brody (1846–54), Breslau (1854–67), and Leipzig (from 1867). Mieses wrote extensively in the Hebrew journals of his day, publishing poems as well as articles on Judaism, philosophy, and topical subjects. His major work, the first of its kind in Hebrew, is *Korot ha-Filosofyah ha-Ḥadashah* ("History of Modern Philosophy," 1887), of which only the first volume appeared in print. He also wrote in German, contributing regularly to *Orient*.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: I.A. Guenzig, *Elleh Toledot ha-Rav Fabius Mieses* (1890), first published in *Oẓar ha-Sifrut*, 3 (1890); Kressel, Leksikon, 2 (1967), 345.

[Getzel Kressel]

MIESES, JACQUES (**Jacob**; 1865–1954), German-British chess master and journalist. Mieses was born in Germany and went to England in 1938. He was famed for his collection of brilliancy prizes in the tournaments which he won, the best being in Vienna, 1907. Mieses was the doyen of German chess writers. He was known for his old-fashioned attacking style, which resulted in many brilliant games but few first prizes in major tournaments. From the 1920s, he was also the editor of many standard chess textbooks. In 1948, when the International Chess Federation began officially to award titles to leading players, Mieses was the first British player to be given the title of Grandmaster.

ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY: D. Hooper and K. Whyld, *The Oxford Companion to Chess* (1996), 258–59.

[William D. Rubinstein (2nd ed.)]

MIESES, MATTHIAS (1885–1945), Yiddish philologist. Born in Galicia, he was a prolific writer in Hebrew, Polish, and German. His main interest, however, was Yiddish, about which he wrote much, although little in the language itself. His Hebrew articles in defense of Yiddish against its detractors involved him in a controversy with Nahum *Sokolow. At the *Czernowitz Yiddish Conference of 1908, he created a sensation with his well-reasoned, scholarly espousal of Yiddish. I.L. *Peretz asked for the widest possible distribution of Mieses' speech. In his German study on the origin of Yiddish, *Die Entstehungsursache der juedischen Dialekte* (1915), a pioneer work in Yiddish philology, Mieses fought for the emancipation of the so-called Jewish "jargon" and its recognition as a language on a par with other European national languages. Another work on Yiddish was *Die jiddische Sprache* (1924). Mieses spent his last years in Cracow and was sent to Auschwitz with all remaining Jews as the Russian troops approached that city. He died on the way at the Glewitz station.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Z. Rejzen, Leksikon, 2 (1927), 375–9; LNYL, 6 (1965), 566–9; M. Ravitch, *Mayn Leksikon*, 2 (1947), 42–44; Kressel, Leksikon, 2 (1967), 344.

[Sol Liptzin]

MIESIS, JUDAH LEIB (1798–1831), leading member of the Galician Haskalah movement in the early 19th century. Born in Lvov, to a wealthy, prominent family, Miesis received a broad general education as well as a traditional Jewish one. His home was a meeting place for young *maskilim*, whom he encouraged and helped, and to whom he made available his large library. His first literary effort was the publication of a new edition of David *Caro's *Tekhunat ha-Rabbanim* (1822). Miesis' main work is *Kinat ha-Emet* ("The Zeal for Truth," 1823; 2nd ed. Lemberg, 1879), written in the form of a dialogue between Maimonides and Solomon Ḥelma (author of a commentary on Maimonides, *Mirkevet ha-Mishneh*). In the body of the work, as well as in an appendix containing quotations from Jewish scholars down through the ages, Miesis attacks the obscurantist beliefs in spirits, demons, mystical powers, and all the superstitious views fostered by the Orthodox rabbis. His highly rationalistic approach and his outspoken criticism of traditional beliefs were so extreme that even a number of *maskilim*, including his colleague and friend S.J. Rapoport, felt that he had gone too far and dissociated themselves from his views. Miesis also published a number of articles in the Hebrew journals (*Ha-Ẓefirah, Bikkurei ha-Ittim, Kerem Ḥemed*). He died of cholera in 1831.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Waxman, Literature, 3 (1960^2), 165; R. Mahler, *Ha-Ḥasidut ve-ha-Haskalah* (1961), s.v.; Zinberg, Sifrut, 6 (1960), 29–35; Klausner, Sifrut, 2 (1960^3), 267–82; Kressel, Leksikon, 2 (1967), 343 f. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** Sh. Werses, *Megamot ve-Ẓurot be-Sifrut ha-Haskalah* (1990), index.

[Getzel Kressel]

MIGDAL (Heb. מִגְדָּל; "Tower"), moshavah in the Ginnosar Valley, N.W. of Lake Kinneret, established in 1910 by Jews from Moscow who hired laborers to work their land. In 1921 it became a camp for Third *Aliyah pioneers working on the construction of the Tiberias–Rosh Pinnah road. These laborers founded *Gedud ha-Avodah, the "Labor Battalion," at Migdal. From 1924 Jews from England and America acquired parcels of land at Migdal and some of them went to settle. Lord *Melchett's farm was among those established at the time. After 1948 the moshavah was enlarged as new immigrants settled. In 1949 it received municipal council status. Banana, date palm, and other fruit orchards, out-of-season vegetable gardens, and dairy cattle constituted its principal farming branches. It also had resort facilities. The population numbered 535 in 1970 and 1,390 in 2002, occupying an area of 4.6 sq. mi. (12 sq. km.). The historical name of the site is *Magdala.

[Efraim Orni / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

MIGDAL HA-EMEK (Heb. מִגְדַּל הָעֵמֶק; "Tower of the Valley"), town with municipal council status in Lower Galilee, 4 mi. (7 km.) S.W. of Nazareth, founded in 1952 with the aim of absorbing inhabitants of transitory immigrant camps in the vicinity. Real progress started at the end of the 1950s, when industrial enterprises opened there. The population increased from 1,650 in 1955 to 8,200 in 1968 when 67% of the inhabitants were from Morocco and other North African countries, 19% from Romania, and 7.5% from Iraq, while 1% were veteran Israelis and the rest from different countries. Approximately half of the town's gainfully employed worked in local factories, the largest of which were leather and cosmetic plants and produce mainly for export. In 1969 it was said to have the highest "export-dollar" income per capita in the country. Its educational network comprised 2,700 pupils in 1968, and maintained two comprehensive high schools. In 1988 Migdal ha-Emek received city status and in 2002 its population was 24,500 – a third new immigrants – with an area of 2.8 sq. mi. (7.3 sq. km.). The city expanded its industry to include a number of hi-tech firms but income remained well below the national average. The city overlooks a beautiful landscape, with a wide view over the Jezreel Valley in the south, and is surrounded by extensive woodlands, among them the *Balfour Forest.

WEBSITE: www.migdal-haemeq.muni.il.

[Efraim Orni / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

MIGDOL (Heb. מִגְדֹּל).

(1) Canaanite city, mentioned in the list of cities conquered by Thutmosis III (no. 71) with Socoh (Ra's al-Shuwayka) and Yaham (Khirbat Yamma). It is identified with Khirbat Majdal southeast of *Ḥaderah. Sherds of the Late Bronze Age were found on the site.

(2) Egyptian border fortress near Baal-Zephon (Ex. 14:2; Num. 33:7), inhabited by Jews in Jeremiah's time (Jer. 44:1; Ezek. 29:10). It is the Greek Magdolos and the Migdol of Baalsephon in the demotic Cairo papyrus (31.169). It is present-day Tell al-Khayrī near Pelusium.

[Michael Avi-Yonah]

MIGRATIONS. Jewish migrations have a history of thousands of years: the wanderings of the Patriarchs; the Exodus from Egypt; the Babylonian Exile; the existence of Jewish groups outside Ereẓ Israel in the Second Temple period; the dispersion of the Jewish people in the Roman and Near Eastern empires after the destruction of the Second Temple; the spread of the Jews to many countries of the Christian and Islamic world; the attraction of Jews to places with favorable conditions, and, on the other hand, departures from countries as a consequence of persecutions and expulsions – culminating in the scattering of the Jews of the Iberian Peninsula and the settlement of some Jews (and Marranos) in the New World since the early stages of the European colonization. In small numbers, Jews made their way to the Holy Land throughout the ages of the Diaspora. From the second third of the 19th century, a noticeable stream of Jewish migration flowed from Europe to the United States.

The modern period of intensive Jewish migration began in 1881. Since then, migrations have completely changed the world map of the geographical distribution of the Jews. In the demographic history of mankind, this period is generally characterized by the relative frequency of intercontinental migrations, especially from Europe; the Jews, however, exceeded by far other peoples of similar or superior size in the relative volume of long-distance migration. The world Jewish population at the beginning of the 1880s, which is estimated to have been more than 7½ million, is almost equaled by the number of Jews who have taken part in international migrations since then (c. 6 million in intercontinental migrations). Another feature characterizing Jewish migrations is the motivation behind them. Whereas individuals from other nations migrated over great distances primarily for economic motives, the great majority of Jews also tried to escape discrimination and were in fact refugees, especially since the 1930s; on the other hand, *aliyah* to Ereẓ Israel was often based on idealistic motives. Consequently, whereas a considerable portion of the economically motivated migrants from other nations eventually returned to their countries of origin, remigration was much rarer among Jews.

When a substantial number of Jewish migrants had reached a country, further Jewish immigration was thereby facilitated (except for instances of worsening of the political or economic situation in the country or of the immigration regulations). The established Jews tended to assist – whether individually or through organizations – in the arrival and establishment of their fellow Jews. The changes in environmental influences produced by migration have strongly contributed to profound alterations in the economic, social, and demographic characteristics of the Jews in recent generations. Moreover, migrations have removed, before it became too late, large numbers of Jews from areas where they would otherwise have been faced with the danger of physical destruction. The Nazi persecutions might have come much closer to their aim of a genocidal "final solution" had it not been for the preceding large-scale emigration from Europe. The period of intensive Jewish migration since 1881 can be divided into three main parts, with several subdivisions.

1881–1914

This period is characterized by a large flow of Jewish migration from Eastern Europe overseas and by the virtual absence of administrative restrictions on free entry into the main immigration recipient – the United States of America. The total volume of Jewish intercontinental migrations during 1840–80 has been estimated at little above 200,000, but for the years 1881–1914 at about 2,400,000. The overwhelming majority of these Jewish migrants came from Eastern Europe: the czarist empire, the eastern regions of Austria-Hungary (especially Galicia), and Romania. They were escaping the hardships inflicted by poverty, antisemitic discrimination, or political oppression. Since East European Jewry experienced a strong natural increase at the time, emigration also served as a regulator drawing away the Jewish population surplus for which there were not enough opportunities for a livelihood in those backward and inhospitable surroundings. About 85% of the Jewish intercontinental migrants turned to the U.S. Conspicuous among the other destinations were (in descending order of numbers) Canada, Argentina, Ereẓ Israel, and South Africa.

The overseas movement of East European Jews started in 1881, after a series of pogroms in Russia. Its intensity increased in the first half of the 1890s, subsequently ebbed somewhat, but rose sharply after the great 1905 wave of pogroms in Russia, which came in the wake of the abortive revolution of that year. From mid-1905 to mid-1906, a peak figure of 154,000 Jews arrived in the U.S., and the total volume of Jewish international migrations in the same year has been estimated at 200–250,000. Similar figures were reached in the following year and again directly before the outbreak of World War I.

In most immigration countries, the statistics on Jewish arrivals were markedly higher during the second part of the period (1901–14) than during its first part (1881–1900). The outbreak of World War I put an abrupt stop to this vast movement while it was still gathering momentum. The absolute and relative size of intercontinental migration, by countries of destination, is seen in Table 1: Intercontinental Migrations, 1881–1914.

In the U.S. (see Table 2: Jewish Immigration to the U.S., 1899–1914), those registered as Hebrews accounted for nearly 11% of all migrants during 1899–1914 (the total share of the Jews may have even been somewhat greater as it is not certain that every Jew was actually registered under "Hebrews"). The number of Jews was second largest of all the immigrant national groups that came to the U.S. during that period; if, however, remigration is deducted and only net migration is considered, the difference between the Jews and the top group – the Italians – almost disappears. The Jews differed from other immigrant groups in the U.S. by their low proportion of remigration – seven remigrants per 100 immigrants during 1908–14, as compared to an overall average of 31 per hundred (among some national groups, remigration exceeded half the volume of immigration). Because of the permanent nature of their immigration, the Jews often brought their entire families with them and thus had higher proportions of women and children than other immigrant groups (see Table 3: Immigrant Characteristics, U.S.).

The Jewish immigrants to the U.S. were also distinguished by the high proportion registered as industrial workers: 66 per 100 wage earners. In the U.S. immigration statistics of 1899–1914, Jews thus accounted for 31% of all industrial workers, and in some branches, especially clothing manufacture, they were a clear majority. During 1899–1914, the distribution by previous country of residence of the close to 1,500,000 Jews who immigrated to the U.S. was as follows: Russia, 71.7%; Austria-Hungary, 16.2%; Romania, 4.2%; Great Britain, 4.0%; Canada, 1.2%; Germany, 0.7%; other countries,

Table 1: Jewish Intercontinental Migrations, 1881–1914 (rough estimates)

Country of destination	1881–1914 Total		1881–1900		1901–1914	
	Percent	Absolute Numbers (thousands)	Percent	Absolute Numbers (thousands)	Percent	Absolute Numbers (thousands)
Total	100.0	2,400	100.0	770	100.0	1,630
United States	85.0	2,040	88.0	675	84.0	1,365
Canada	4.0	105	1.0	10	6.0	95
Argentina	5.0	113	3.0	25	6.0	88
Other Latin American countries	0.5	14	0.5	2	0.5	12
South Africa	2.0	43	3.0	23	1.0	20
Ereẓ Israel	3.0	70	4.0	30	2.0	40
Other	0.5	15	0.5	5	0.5	10
Yearly average of migrants, absolute numbers (thousands)		70.0		38.0		116.0
Per 1,000 of Jewish population in whole world		6.8		4.2		9.7

Table 2: Jewish Immigration to the United States, 1899–1914

Year[2]	Number[1]	Year[2]	Number[1]
1899	37,415	1907	149,182
1900	60,764	1908	103,387
1901	58,098	1909	57,551
1902	57,688	1910	84,260
1903	76,203	1911	91,223
1904	106,236	1912	80,595
1905	129,910	1913	101,330
1906	153,748	1914	138,051

1 The category Hebrew was first introduced into official migration statistics in 1899.

2 Fiscal year, i.e., the 12 months ending in June of the year indicated.

Table 3: Immigrant Characteristics, U.S. – Differential Characteristics of Jewish and Total Immigrants to the United States, 1899–1914

	Jewish Immigrants	Total Immigrants
	Percent	
Females	44.0	31.7
Age distribution		
0–13	24.4	12.4
14–44	69.8	82.4
45 and over	5.8	5.2
Dependents	43.3	26.3
Occupational distribution of earners		
Agriculture	2.6	28.1
Clothing manufacture	39.6	} 17.8
Other industry	26.0	
Commerce and transport	9.2	4.7
Liberal professions	1.3	1.5
Unskilled labor	21.3	47.9

2.0% (but among the Jews arriving in the U.S. from countries outside Eastern Europe, particularly Great Britain and Canada, many were actually of East European origin).

Immigration to Ereẓ Israel during the same period fell immensely short of the mighty stream that turned to the U.S. In the history of modern Ereẓ Israel it is usual to distinguish between the First Aliyah (1882–1903) and the Second Aliyah (1904–14). Altogether about 70,000 Jews migrated to the country, but a considerable number of them left again, mainly because of economic difficulties. Due to the overwhelming attraction of the U.S. and of other economically promising overseas countries, the arrivals in Ereẓ Israel accounted for only 3% of Jewish intercontinental migrants.

During 1881–1914 there was also considerable international migration of Jews within Europe – generally from east to west and, particularly, from Russia and Romania to Central and Western European countries. This movement has been estimated to include 350,000 persons so that the total of Jewish international migrants over that period amounted to about 2,750,000. There were also large-scale streams of Jewish migration within the extended empires of Europe of that time: from east (Galicia, Bukovina, Poznan) to west in the Austro-Hungarian and German empires; in a southern direction (Odessa) within Russia. In addition, Jews in many countries participated with relative intensity in the movement from smaller localities to large cities. Within cities, the socioeconomic rise of many Jews enabled them to move to more well-to-do residential quarters.

1915–May 1948

In some ways, this is an intermediate period between the intensive migration movements preceding and following it that turned to the U.S. and to the new State of Israel, respectively. It was also the period in which the *Holocaust occurred, profoundly changing the entire demographic makeup of the Jewish people. This period can be broken down into several subdivisions; common to most of them was the existence of restrictions to the free movement of Jewish migrants. The main statistical data on the period are concentrated in Table 4: Jewish Intercontinental Migrations, 1915–May 1948, and Table 5: Jewish Immigration to the United States and Ereẓ Israel, 1915–May 1948.

During and immediately after World War I, intercontinental migrations of Jews dwindled, but there were large movements of Jewish refugees in Europe to escape from the areas of the hostilities and from some of the subsequent political upheavals. Then the volume of overseas migrations swelled again, comprising more than 400,000 Jews during 1921–25; 280,000 went to the U.S. of whom nearly 120,000 arrived during the year ending in mid-1921. In the same year, Jews accounted for 15% of all immigrants to the U.S., and in the following year the figure rose to 17%. On the other hand, during 1921–24 the number of Jewish emigrants from the U.S. amounted to less than 1% of the number of Jewish immigrants. In Palestine, newly under British Mandatory rule, increased Jewish immigration came in response to the promise of a Jewish National Home. During 1919–26 (Third Aliyah and major part of the Fourth Aliyah), nearly 100,000 Jews immigrated to Ereẓ Israel. Other streams of Jewish migrants found their way to South America.

In Europe, the tendency continued for Jews to move from countries in the east to Central and Western Europe. The post-World War I migration impetus, which continued, as it were, the prewar trend, was soon halted by a combination of factors, among which the following were outstanding:

RESTRICTIONS ON IMMIGRATION. In the U.S., the previously almost unfettered influx of overseas migrants was curbed by two laws, enacted in 1921 and 1924. The limitations imposed by the second law – annual quotas for each country of origin, amounting to no more than 2% of the respective immigrant population already in the country at the comparatively early date of 1890 – affected with particular intensity prospective migrants from Eastern Europe, i.e., from the main area of Jewish emigration. The number of Jewish immigrants to the U.S. was thus forced down drastically: it declined to little more than 10,000 per annum during 1925–30. The other main immigration countries for Jews also increasingly curbed immigration,

Table 4: Jewish Intercontinental Migrations[1], 1915–May 1948 (rough estimates)

Country of destination	1915–May 1948 Total		1915–1931		1932–1939		1940–May 1948	
	Absolute Numbers	Percent	Absolute Numbers	Percent	Absolute Numbers	Percent	Absolute Numbers	Percent
Total	1,600	100	760	100	540	100	300	100
United States	650	41	415	55	110	20	125	42
Canada	60	4	45	6	5	1	10	3
Argentina	115	7	80	10	25	5	10	3
Other Latin American countries	140	9	65	9	60	11	15	5
South Africa	25	1	15	2	10	2	0	0
Ereẓ Israel	485	30	115	15	250	46	120	40
Other	125	8	25	3	80	15	20	7
Yearly average of migrants								
Absolute numbers (thousands)	48.0		45.0		68.0		37.0	
Per 1,000 of Jewish population in whole world	3.3		3.1		4.2		2.6	
Per 1,000 of Jewish population in main emigration regions[2]	7.8		6.3		10.2		8.7	

1 Includes migrants from Asian countries to Ereẓ Israel; excludes internal migration between the European and Asian parts of the U.S.S.R. and remigration to region of origin.

2 Up to 1931: Eastern Europe (inc. U.S.S.R.); 1932–May 1948; total Europe (excl. U.S.S.R.).

through legislation and administrative practice, by reducing the overall number of immigrants permitted and/or by insisting on financial and other requirements for their admission. Restrictions were created both in overseas countries – e.g., Canada, Argentina, Brazil, South Africa, Australia, Palestine (quotas based on economic "absorptive capacity") – and in Western Europe.

OBSTACLES TO EMIGRATION. After the first few years of the Communist regime, the Soviet Union began to frown on emigration and soon brought it virtually to a standstill.

POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC CONDITIONS. After the political and economic dislocations in Europe in the wake of World War I, which had also adversely affected many Jews, a stabilization occurred there. In Palestine, on the other hand, there were absorption difficulties and unemployment, leading to relatively considerable emigration in the later part of the 1920s. In the second half of the 1920s a majority of the then comparatively infrequent Jewish overseas migrants went to countries other than either the U.S. or Palestine – especially to Latin America.

In the 1930s, the objective motivation for Jewish emigration from Central and Eastern Europe increased tragically, but the would-be migrants encountered ever growing difficulties in gaining admission to other countries. The special motivation for departure arose from the accession of Hitler to power in Germany, the spread of authoritarian and more-or-less overtly antisemitic regimes in other states of Europe, and the great economic depression, which affected the livelihood of many Jews and provided further incentive to antisemitic agitation. However, with cruel irony, the very factors which made Jews wish to leave rendered prospective immigration countries unwilling to admit considerable numbers of Jews, so as to avoid aggravating their own international and internal problems. The more desperate the need to escape became for large numbers of Jews, the more tightly most prospective immigration countries shut the gates of entrance.

Whereas prior to World War I Jewish long-distance migration was strongly determined by economic considerations, from the 1930s until quite recently it has been predominantly a movement of refugees trying to escape oppression and unable to return to their former land for political, racial, or religious reasons. As opportunity allowed, Jews escaped from Nazi horrors, from antisemitism and Communist regimes in Eastern Europe and, especially after 1948, from the outbursts of intolerance and fanaticism in Arab lands. International efforts in the Nazi period to mitigate the plight of the Jewish refugees and find them new homes – e.g., through appointment of a special high commissioner for refugees by the League of Nations as early as in the autumn of 1933 and through the *Evian Conference of 1938 – led to few tangible results.

In the history of Jewish migration, the 1930s are characterized by the following traits: the prominence of emigrants from Central Europe – Germany and, toward the end of the decade, Austria and Czechoslovakia (about 350,000 Jews are estimated to have left Germany, Austria, and Czechoslovakia before the outbreak of World War II); the continuation of departures from Eastern Europe (except for the U.S.S.R., where exit was barred); and the growth in importance of Palestine as a major destination for Jewish refugees (in addition to the continuing idealistic motives for *aliyah*). During the period 1932–39, nearly one half of all intercontinental Jewish migrants turned to Palestine (Fifth Aliyah). In the years 1934–36, Palestine attracted even a strong majority of the intercontinental Jewish migrants. Then the protracted Arab riots (1936–39) led to a deterioration of the British authorities' immigration

Table 5: Jewish Immigrants to the United States and Ereẓ Israel, 1915–May 1948[1]

Year	United States[2]	Ereẓ Israel[3]
1915	26,497	
1916	15,108	
1917	17,342	
1918	3,672	
1919	3,055	1,806
1920	14,292	8,223
1921	119,036	8,294
1922	53,524	8,685
1923	49,719	8,175
1924	49,989	13,892
1925	10,292	34,386
1926	10,267	13,855
1927	11,483	3,034
1928	11,639	2,178
1929	12,479	5,249
1930	11,526	4,944
1931	5,692	4,075
1932	2,755	12,553
1933	2,372	37,337
1934	4,134	45,267
1935	4,837	66,472
1936	6,252	29,595
1937	11,352	10,629
1938	19,736	14,675
1939	43,450	31,195
1940	36,945	10,643
1941	23,737	4,592
1942	10,608	4,206
1943	4,705	10,063
1944		15,552
1945		15,259
1946		18,760
1947		22,098
Jan–May 1948	..	17,165

1 Official immigration statistics from Ereẓ Israel are available as from 1919; in the United States, the category "Hebrew" was included in official migration statistics only between 1899–1943.

2 In the United States, fiscal year, i.e., the 12 months ending in June of year indicated.

3 Includes tourists settling.

policy toward the Jews. Under the shadow of the impending world war, the British promulgated the White Paper of May 1939, which severely curtailed Jewish immigration for the following five years and virtually provided for its cessation at the close of that period. A consequence of this policy were organized and partly successful attempts at *"Illegal" immigration to Palestine.

During 1932–39 the U.S. and Canada together received only a fifth of the total intercontinental Jewish migrants. It was only when the above-mentioned restrictions on Jewish entry into Palestine were applied and World War II broke out (the U.S. did not join in the hostilities until the end of 1941) that Jewish immigration to the U.S. rose to more than 120,000 during 1938–42. In some of those years, Jewish immigration to the U.S. constituted a majority of both total Jewish intercontinental migration and of general immigration to the U.S. The 1930s also witnessed a considerable amount of international migration of Jews within Europe, from the central and eastern parts of the area (outside U.S.S.R.) to countries of Western Europe.

As the German armies swept over most of continental Europe, there were tragically few opportunities for the Jews to leave Nazi dominated areas. The most notable exception was in the east, where many Soviet Jews, together with Jews from Poland and other neighboring countries, managed to retreat before the invaders. Many joined the armed struggle against the common enemy; a large proportion of the Jewish civilians who were thus saved spent the remaining war years in Soviet Siberia and Central Asia. Sweden gave refuge to the Jews of occupied Denmark. On the whole, however, millions of European Jews remained confined under Nazi sway, left to their fate by an indifferent world engrossed in war. No more than 45,000 Jews were allowed to reach Palestine during the five years 1940–44. Among the "illegal" immigrants who were turned back from the shores of Palestine by the British, hundreds of lives were lost in tragic events such as the explosion on board the *Patria* in 1940 and the sinking of the *Struma* in the Black Sea in 1942. On the other hand, among the seven to eight million Jews caught in Nazi-dominated areas of Europe, the intensity of movement from one place to another reached fantastic heights. Most of the Jews were driven from their homes to be deported and crammed into ghettos, concentration camps, labor camps, and extermination camps or transferred from one to another of those places of horror. Only a small minority could join the partisans, go into hiding, escape into Soviet or neutral territory, etc. Except for those executed forthwith in their locality of residence, nearly all Jews in Nazi-occupied Europe "migrated" before the eventual doom overcame most of them.

After the war there was a reverse movement – back to previous places of residence, on a much smaller numerical scale, due to the paucity of survivors. This return migration took place within the areas previously occupied by the Nazis and as a repatriation movement of Polish and other Eastern European Jews from the Soviet Union. Jews also participated in some of the new population transfers in Eastern Europe from territories newly incorporated into the Soviet Union (eastern Poland, Bessarabia, Carpatho-Ruthenia) to other territories, some of which had been vacated by former German inhabitants (Silesia). The Jewish repatriates to places in Eastern Europe, however, found themselves haunted not only by the memory of their families and fellow Jews who had been maltreated and killed there, but also by fresh outbursts of antisemitism and active hostility toward the repatriates (e.g., the pogrom in *Kielce, Poland, in 1946). Many therefore moved to *Displaced Persons camps in Germany, Austria, and Italy, which accommodated about a quarter of a million Jews at the end of 1946. Most of them fervently wished to go to Ereẓ Israel and start a new life there. But the British authorities admitted little more than 70,000 Jews from 1945 to May 1948, turning back many "illegal" immigrants (e.g., the passengers of the *Exodus* in 1947) or interning them in Cyprus; the DP camps were emptied only after the establishment of the State of Israel. A smaller stream of DPs went to the U.S., where emergency legislation granted admission above the usual quotas. The following international organizations and Jewish bodies played a prominent part in the care, transportation, and resettlement of the DPs: UNRRA (United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration), IRO (International Refugee Organization), the American Jewish *Joint Distribution Committee, the *Jewish Agency for Palestine, HIAS (Hebrew Sheltering and Immigrant Aid Society), the *World Jewish Congress, etc.

There was a high proportion of young adults among the migrants to Palestine throughout the Mandatory period (1919–May 1948) in keeping with the pioneering character of many of the newcomers (*ḥalutzim*), part of whom had received agricultural training prior to leaving their countries of origin. The proportion of young adults was particularly high among the "illegal" immigrants. Although the adjustment of Jewish overseas migrants to their new surroundings was universally necessary, a special situation existed in Palestine because of the emphasis of Zionist ideology on manual, and especially agricultural, work and the dynamic process of creating a new nation consisting of all economic and social strata. On the other hand, the age composition and occupational structure of the Jewish immigrants to the U.S. in the Nazi period reflected the "aging," as well as the considerable proportion of liberal professions and commerce, characteristic of Central European Jews at that time.

Throughout the period 1915–48 there was also a large volume of Jewish migration within countries. The case of the vast Soviet Union is of particular importance in discussing interregional migrations. After the abolition of the *Pale of Settlement following the Revolution (1917), hundreds of thousands of Jews moved into the central and southern parts of the country. Subsequent transfers of Jews to Siberia – not only to *Birobidzhan with its ill-starred experiment of Jewish territorial autonomy focusing on agriculture, but especially to new industrial centers that were set up in Siberia – became increasingly important. In addition, in most countries of the world, the urbanization of the Jews was accentuated by residential changes from smaller to larger localities, and especially to the biggest population centers of each country. In most cases Jewish overseas migrants turned directly to the main urban centers of their new country. Compared with this predominant trend, the movement to Jewish agricultural settlement – in Palestine, Argentina, Crimea – was of minor numerical importance.

[Usiel Oscar Schmelz]

Demographic and Economic Dimensions of International Migration: World Jewry and Israel (1948–2005)

INTRODUCTION. The study of international migration concerning the State of Israel revolves around five main issues that have attracted extremely unequal amounts of attention among researchers: (a) Jewish immigration (*aliyah*); (b) the Palestinian exodus of 1948–49; (c) Jewish emigration (*yeridah*); (d) labor immigration (legal or illegal), largely of a temporary character; and (e) family reunions (mostly of Palestinians into Israel). The terms *aliyah* (ascent) for immigration and *yeridah* (descent) for emigration indicate widespread value judgments toward these sociodemographic processes in Israeli society. Most of past research on Israel's migrations has focused on *aliyah* and longer-term immigrant absorption. This exposition attempts to briefly review each of the main aspects though it is naturally influenced by the diverse amount and quality of available data.

THE DIASPORA AND WORLD JEWISH MIGRATION. Israel is the successor country of the Jewish state established together with the Arab state by the UN General Assembly in its November 29, 1947, Resolution 181 decreeing the end of British Mandate and the partition of Palestine. In its Declaration of Independence in May 1948, the State of Israel affirmed its aim to serve both as the focal point for Jews worldwide and a democratic society offering equal civil and cultural rights to all citizens, irrespective of religious and ethnic origin. The demographic, socioeconomic, and cultural development of Israel cannot be understood without considering the key role played by immigration. It is therefore necessary to examine immigration first, and to analyze migration to, and from, Israel in the framework of a broader world Jewish migration system.

The call for mass immigration through the "ingathering of the exiles" and the "fusion of the diasporas" constituted basic tenets of the new society, legally sanctioned through the Law of Return (*Ḥok ha-Shevut*). Adopted in 1950, this law was the founding instrument of immigration policy. It established a broad definitional framework granting virtually unlimited immigration rights and Israeli citizenship to Jews, their children, grandchildren, and the respective spouses, irrespective of their religious or national affiliation. This entailed the related concepts of *core* Jewish population, and *enlarged* Jewish population, including persons of Jewish origin but currently of another denomination and other non-Jewish household members (see Table 6: Jewish Intercontinental Migration, May 1948–1964).

During the late stages of the Ottoman Empire, and to a larger extent under the post-World War I British Mandate, migration to Palestine led to the growth of the Jewish community (*yishuv*) from 43,000 in 1890 to half a million in 1945. During the 19th century and the first half of the 20th century, when the entire territory of Palestine hosted a large majority of Arabs, Jewish immigration significantly contributed to create the modern socio-economic and logistical infrastructure in the country. Rapid economic development in areas of heavier Jewish settlement along the Mediterranean coast and in Upper and Lower Galilee also stimulated internal migration from other parts of Palestine.

During the 1948–49 War of Independence, a large part of the Arab population of the territories allocated to the Jewish state by the UN fled the area, leading to what has since become the Palestinian refugee problem. According to Israeli sources, the number of Arabs who left the territory under Israeli control was estimated at between 625,000 and 650,000. Higher estimates exist and reflect conflicting views of the same history, namely competing evaluations of the size of the Arab population in the Jewish areas in 1948, and the permanent status as residents of some of those who fled, or who were cut off from their main sources of economic support there.

At the time of independence in 1948 the population of Israel comprised 630,000 Jews. An estimated 156,000 Arabs remained in Israel at the end of 1949. Between 1948 and the end of 2003, Israel's total net migration balance amounted to 2,385,800 individuals (excluding the exodus of Palestinian refugees). This resulted from 2,990,800 new immigrants and immigrant citizens and 605,000 emigrants, or a ratio of about five immigrants per single emigrant. Of the total international migration net balance in 1948–2003, 2,153,200 were Jewish, 158,000 were non-Jewish family members of the latter, 40,200 were Arabs (Muslims, Christians, and Druze), and another 34,400 otherwise unaccounted for probably reflected reclassification of group identifications and other data corrections.

In early 2005, Israel's population totaled 6,864,000, excluding the Palestinian population of West Bank and Gaza areas occupied and administered by Israel since the 1967 war, and partly transferred to the Palestinian Authority following the 1993 Oslo agreements. Of the total Israeli population, 5,234,800 were Jewish and 290,300 were non-Jewish members of Jewish households, making a total of 5,525,100. Of Israel's ethnically Arab population of 1,338,900, the vast majority (82%) were Palestinian Muslims, the rest being nearly equally split between Christian Arabs of various denominations (primarily Greek Orthodox) and Druze. These figures include about 240,000 Arabs residents of the area of East Jerusalem annexed by Israel in 1967, about 15,000 Druze residents of the Golan Heights, as well as 237,000 Israeli residents of the West Bank and Gaza. In addition, the number of Jewish residents in East Jerusalem neighborhoods is estimated at 185,000.

The changing structure and feedback of modern Jewish international migration fit a systemic perspective. The number, direction, and characteristics of Jewish migrants at any time were significantly determined by the existing worldwide distribution of Jews (see Table 7: Jewish Population Estimates, by Major Religions, 1900–2005) – which was in turn largely the product of previous migration. Between 1880 and 2004, over nine million Jews migrated between countries (see Table 8: Jewish International Migration, 1969–2002). Of these, about 2.4 million moved between 1880 and 1918, 1.6 million between 1919 and 1948, 1.9 million between 1948 and 1968, and about 3 million between 1969 and 2004. These figures do not include another several hundred thousand Jews who migrated between neighboring countries within the same continent (in addition to Israel and the United States), nor do they provide a full account of return migration. What they do include is the significant migration of Jews from North Africa to Western Europe, particularly from Morocco, Algeria, and Tunisia to France, and from Libya and Egypt to Italy between the late 1940s and the late 1960s. The departure to Europe and in part to North and Latin America of these over 300,000 Jewish mi-

Table 6: Jewish Intercontinental Migrations[1], May 1948–1964 (rough estimates)

Country of destination		Total May 1948–1964	May 1948–1951	1952–1954	1955–1957	1958–1960	1961–1964
					Absolute Numbers (thousands)		
Total		1,780	840	100	245	145	450
United States, Canada		240	105	30	30	30	45
Israel		1,210	685	55	165	75	230
Other		330	50	15	50	40	175
thereof: Europe		255	30		35	190	
						Percent	
Total		100	100	100	100	100	100
United States, Canada		14	12	30	12	21	10
Israel		68	82	55	68	52	51
Other		18	6	15	20	27	39
Yearly average of migrants							
Absolute numbers (thousands)		106	233	33	81	48	112
Per 1,000 of	in whole world	8.6	19.9		6.6	3.8	8.6
Jewish population	in main emigrations regions[2]	82.5	92.8		72.8	47.8	144.9

[1] Includes migrants from Asian countries to Ereẓ Israel; excludes internal migration between the European and Asian parts of the U.S.S.R. and remigration to region of origin.

[2] May 1948–1951: total Europe (excluding U.S.S.R.), Asia (excluding Israel and U.S.S.R.), North Africa. 1952–1964: Eastern Europe (excluding U.S.S.R.), Asia (excluding Israel and U.S.S.R.), North Africa.

Table 7: Jewish Population Estimates, by Major Regions, 1900–2005

Region	1900	1939	1948	1970	2005
Total (thousands)	10,600	16,500	11,185	12,633	13,033
Total (%)	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Palestine/Israel[a]	0.5	2.7	5.8	20.4	40.2
East Europe[b]	71.6	49.4	23.8	15.6	2.9[c]
West Europe	11.1	8.2	9.3	8.9	8.8[c]
Other Asia[b,d]	3.6	3.4	4.2	3.9	0.3
North Africa[e]	2.9	3.0	5.3	0.6	0.0
North America[f]	9.7	30.0	45.6	45.0	43.4
Latin America	0.2	2.6	4.7	4.1	3.0
Southern Africa[g], Oceania[h]	0.4	0.7	1.3	1.5	1.4

a Palestine until 14 May 1948; Israel since 15 May, 1948.
b The Asian regions of Russia and Turkey are included in Europe.
c Population of seven countries formerly in East Europe which joined the EU in 2004 was included in West Europe.
d Including the republics of the former Soviet Union in Asia.
e Including Ethiopia.
f USA and Canada.
g South Africa, Zimbabwe, and other sub-Saharan countries.
h Australia, New Zealand.

Table 8: Jewish International Migration, by Major Areas of Origin and Destination – Absolute Numbers, Percent Distribution, Yearly Rates per 1000 Jewish Population in Countries of Origin, 1969–2002

Areas of origin and destination	1969-1976	1977-1988	1989-1996	1997-2002	Total
Absolute numbers (thousands)					
Grand total	451	589	1,240	535	2,815
Yearly average	56	49	155	89	83
Percent					
Grand total	100	100	100	100	100
From Eastern Europe	39	41	64	62	55
To Western countries	8	29	23	25	22
To Israel[a]	32	12	41	36	33
From Asia-Africa[b]	14	14	19	10	16
To Western countries	5	7	1	1	3
To Israel[a]	9	8	18	9	13
From Israel to Western countries	20	24	11	17	16
From Western countries to Israel[a]	27	20	5	12	13
Regional subtotals					
To Western countries	33	60	35	43	41
To Israel[a]	67	40	65	57	59
Percent to Israel					
Out of total Eastern Europe	80	71	64	59	60
Out of total Asia-Africa	64	53	95	90	81
Yearly emigration per 1000 Jews in country of origin					
Grand total	4	4	12	7	6
From Eastern Europe	10	12	110	97	51
To Western countries	2	8	38	40	20
To Israel[a]	8	3	72	57	31
From Asia-Africa[b]	44	73	146	134	97
To Western countries	14	32	42	13	27
To Israel	30	40	94	121	70
From Israel to Western countries[c]	4	3	4	3	4
From Western countries to Israel[a]	2	1	1	1	1

Source: Adapted from DellaPergola, "The Global Context of Migration to Israel" (1998), 58. Based on data from Israel Central Bureau of Statistics; HIAS; and various other sources.
a Since 1970 includes immigrant citizens (from West).
b Since 1990, Asian regions of FSU included in Asia-Africa.
c All emigration from Israel included here.

grants, along with the larger contingents that moved to Israel, virtually put an end to the bi-millenarian Jewish presence in North Africa, and substantially strengthened the Jewish communities in Europe.

Of all Jewish international migrants, Palestine – and since 1948 Israel – was the country of destination of 3% in 1880–1918, 30% in 1919–48, 69% in 1948–68, 52% in 1969–88, and 61% in 1989–2004. Between 1948 and 2003, Israel attracted 73% of the total Jewish emigration from North Africa and the Middle East, and 65% of the total from Eastern Europe. Since 1969, the percent of Jewish migrants choosing Israel from each main region reached 81% and 60%, respectively (Table 8).

Table 9: Jewish Immigrants to Israel[1] by Origin, May 1948–1967

Year	Number	Percent born in Europe, America, or Oceania
May–Dec. 1948	101,828	87.3
1949	239,576	53.7
1950	170,249	50.9
1951	175,249	29.2
1952	24,369	29.6
1953	11,326	28.4
1964	18,370	13.9
1955	37,478	8.6
1956	56,234	13.8
1957	71,224	57.6
1958	27,082	55.3
1959	23,895	66.3
1960	24,510	70.5
1961	47,638	52.9
1962	61,328	22.6
1963	64,364	31.8
1964	54,716	58.3
1965	30,736	53.6
1966	15,730	57.7
1967	14,327	38.2

[1] Including tourists settling.

Jewish emigration propensities relative to local Jewish population size were consistently the highest from countries in North Africa and the Middle East, substantially high from Eastern Europe and the Balkans though reflecting highly variable opportunities to exit, comparatively low from Israel, and the lowest from the aggregate of Western countries. More recently (1969–2002), rates of emigration of Jews to any destination per 1,000 Jewish residents in each area were 97, 51, 4, and 1, respectively (Table 8).

The continuous wave-like pattern of Jewish international migration demonstrates recurrent crises involving discrimination and violence which negatively affected the position of Jewish communities in different parts of the world. The consequent need for prompt and large-scale relocation, and recurring limitations in the volume of migrants allowed to leave their countries of origin or to enter new countries of destination, greatly affected the total number of migrants. The Jewish Diaspora has been highly dependent on changing political, socioeconomic, and cultural circumstances in the respective countries of residence. In this respect, the virtual disappearance of sizeable Jewish communities in Muslim countries, the marked decline in Eastern Europe, and the growing concentration in North America and Israel were particularly evident (Table 9).

EXTERNAL MIGRATION OF PALESTINIANS. Besides the already noted question of Palestinian refugees, since 1967 Israel has been in total or partial control of the West Bank and Gaza, particularly concerning points of access to and from the outside. The Israeli border authorities have regularly collected data on Palestinian population movements across the border. These data are not fully comparable with data collected on Israeli population movements, and should only be taken as roughly indicative. However, major changes that appear over time do reflect real migration trends – whether temporary or definitive.

Over the extended period September 1967–2003, the total external migration balance of the West Bank and Gaza was 356,000, of which 88,000 was since 1995. A surplus of 29,000 immigrants and return migrants was only recorded (see Table 10: External Migration of Palestinians, 1967–2003) in 1990–94, after the 1991 Gulf War, and especially after the Oslo agreements. The generally negative migration balance significantly spread to Jordan and across the Gulf States.

Table 10: External Migration of Palestinians, 1967–2003

Year	Total
Total	-356,000
1967–1969	-74,900
1970–1974	-27,100
1975–1979	-81,800
1980–1984	-68,700
1985–1989	-45,300
1990–1994	29,400
1995–1999	-52,900
2000–2003	-34,700

Source: Israeli Border Authority and Israel Central Bureau of Statistics.

Migration between the West Bank and Gaza, and Israel was not systematically recorded. According to reports from Israel's Ministry of the Interior Population Register, about 130,000 Palestinians obtained a residence permit in Israel on the grounds of family reunion. However, population updates by Israel's Central Bureau of Statistics do not support this assumption. During prolonged periods since 1967, large numbers of Palestinians worked on a regular basis as commuters or temporary residents within Israel. Following the Palestinian Intifada (uprising) of the late 1980s and early 1990s the numbers declined significantly. After a short recovery, the second Intifada, which started in September 2000, virtually put an end to this form of economic migration.

IMMIGRATION INTO ISRAEL. *Current Flows, Including Return Migration.* Israel's Ministry of the Interior's file of Border Check Post provides basic information on the number and characteristics of new immigrants and of departing and returning residents. The data are processed by Israel's Central Bureau of Statistics. In addition, periodic census data provide information about population characteristics of immigrant stocks.

Immigration to Israel reflected the changing balance of circumstances in the Jewish Diaspora as well as in Israeli society. Between the various determinants, by far the most dominant were *push* (negative) and *hold* (positive) factors in the countries of origin of migrants. The intensity of *pull* (positive) and *repel* (negative) factors operating in Israel, while not negligible, played a complementary role. However, we cannot ignore the fact that the choice of Israel as a destination country reflected not only socio-economic processes that usually govern international migration, but also the powerful historical and cultural grounds for migration decisions. Indeed, Israel's economic ranking improved from being a poor country in 1948 to 24th worldwide in 1975 and to 22nd in 2002, but other countries in North America and Western Europe continued to offer a better standard of living.

Immigration occurred in waves, each dominated by a particular sub-set of countries of origin (see Figure 1 and Table 11: Jewish Immigrants to Israel, 1948–2004). The initial wave of immigration brought in 688,000 people, thus doubling Israel's population within the first three years of its existence through annual immigration impacts above 25% of the absorbing population in the country of destination. Subsequent waves of immigration in Israel were progressively weaker until the major influx of 1990–91 that accompanied the collapse of the Soviet Union. While the annual numbers of immigrants were comparable, the relative impact fell on a much larger veteran population and could be absorbed with fewer traumas.

The first major wave of migration to Israel (1948–51) included survivors of the destroyed Jewish communities in Eastern, Central, and Balkan Europe, as well as the transfer of the substantial majority of Jewish populations of Muslim countries such as Iraq, Yemen, Turkey, Egypt, Iran, and Bulgaria. Subsequent waves included large contingents from Romania, Hungary, and the Maghreb (1953–64), the United States and Western Europe (1968–72), and then predominantly the Soviet Union (1967–77), Ethiopia (the 1980s), and since the end of 1989 the major wave from the Former Soviet Union (FSU).

Figure 1: Migration to and from Israel 1947–2004

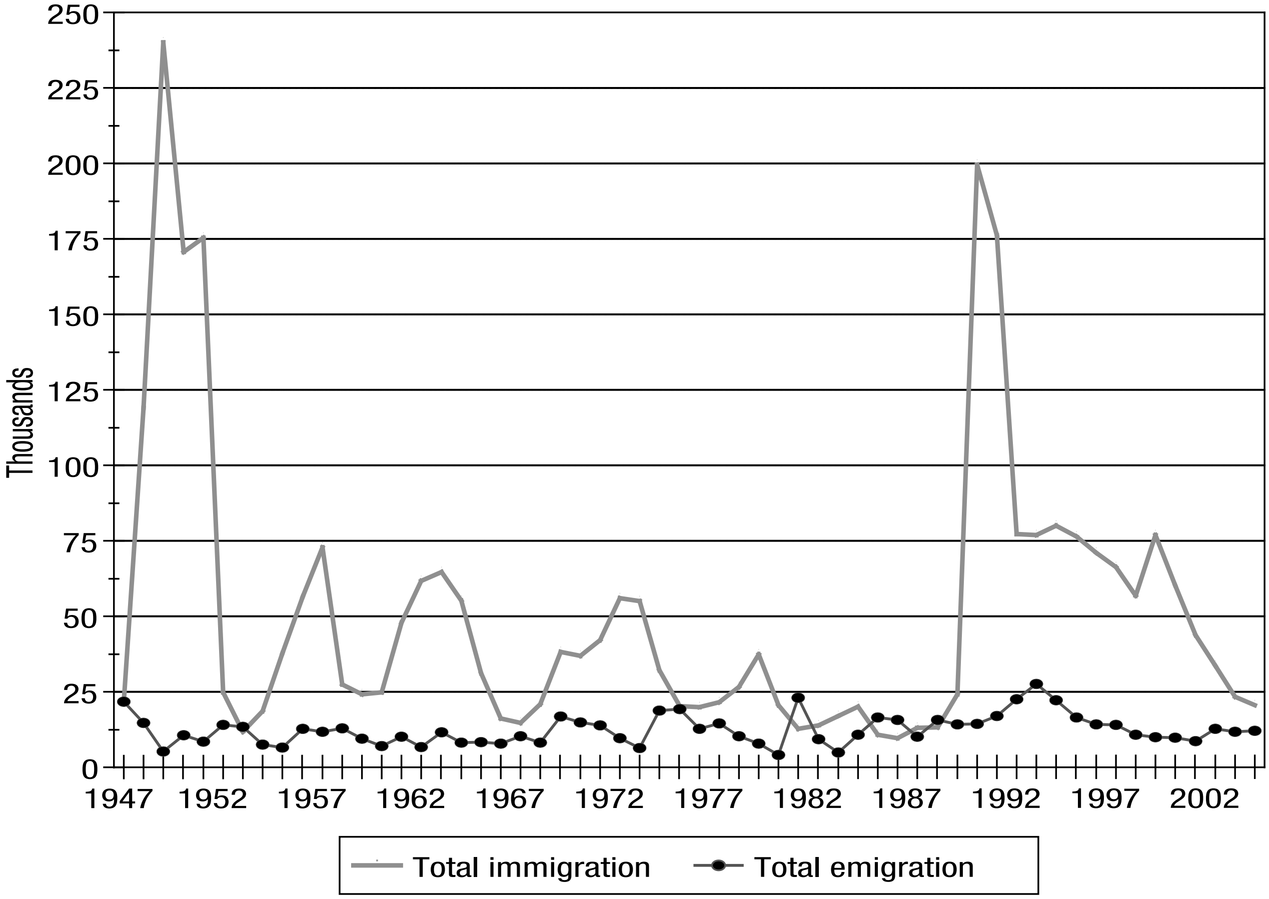

Source: Israel Central Bureau of Statistics.

Table 11: Jewish Immigrants[a] to Israel, by Continent of Last Residence and Period of Immigration, 1948[b]–2004

Period of Immigration	Total in Period (1,000s)	Annual Average	%				
			Total	Asia	Africa	Europe	America-Oceania
1948[b]–2004	2,971.8[c]	52.5	100.0	14.3	16.5	61.3	7.9
1948[b]–1951	686.7	189.2	100.0	35.8	14.2	49.3	0.7
1952–1954	54.1	18.0	100.0	24.6	51.8	18.1	5.5
1955–1957	164.9	55.0	100.0	5.3	63.0	29.5	2.2
1958–1960	75.5	25.2	100.0	17.6	18.5	59.2	4.8
1961–1964	228.0	57.0	100.0	8.6	50.9	34.0	6.5
1965–1968	81.3	20.3	100.0	18.5	31.2	38.9	11.4
1969–1971	116.5	38.8	100.0	17.0	10.4	43.3	29.1
1972–1974	142.8	47.6	100.0	4.4	4.8	72.0	18.8
1975–1979	124.8	25.0	100.0	9.5	4.8	62.1	23.6
1980–1984	83.6	16.7	100.0	8.3	18.8	42.6	30.3
1985–1989	70.2	14.0	100.0	9.3	11.0	51.9	27.5
1990–1991	375.6	187.8	100.0	0.4	6.6	91.0	2.0
1992–1999	580.7	72.6	100.0	7.4	3.4	83.9	5.1
2000–2004	181.5	36.3	100.0	12.2	8.9	65.9	13.0

a As from 1970 including non-Jewish family members of immigrants.
b As of 15 May.
c Including country not reported. Not including immigrant citizens.

The Foreign-Born Israeli Population. As a consequence of steady immigration, a high proportion of the Israeli population was foreign-born, but fairly high birthrates have progressively reduced the rate of foreign-born to native-born Israelis. Out of the total Jewish population, the share of foreign-born steadily declined from 65% in 1948 to 36% in 2004. Accounting for Israel's Arab population (excluding the territories), and assuming all of the latter was local-born, the share of foreign-born fell from 53% in 1948, to 29% in 2004.

Composition. The demographic, socio-economic, and socio-cultural characteristics of the Jewish population worldwide significantly affected the differential probability of deciding to emigrate, and the choice of destination country.

Demographic Characteristics. Because of its political-cultural – rather than merely economic – background, immigration to Israel tended to be more permanent, and less likely to be followed by return migration, than in other major countries of immigration. It was also less structurally selective than other migration streams. Entire families moved, including men and women across the age range rather than mostly young single males. This involved comparatively high dependency ratios and a high absorption burden. Wide socio-demographic gaps separated Jewish Diaspora communities that had undergone modernization to different degrees, particularly Jewish populations in Europe versus North Africa and the Middle East. Jewish migration to Israel included more children and elderly dependents than did Jewish migration from similar countries of origin to Western countries such as the United States or France.

Socio-Economic Characteristics. Jews abroad usually had a higher than average level of education and tended to concentrate in trade, selected branches of industry, and the liberal professions. The probability of emigrating was higher at the upper and lower extremes of the social spectrum in Jewish society. Israel absorbed a comparatively higher share of migrants previously employed in trade and blue-collar occupations. Structural differences were especially notable in the case of Jewish migration from North Africa to France and to Israel during the 1950s and 1960s. Immigration from Western countries and the more recent wave of immigration from the FSU contributed high proportions of university graduates and improved the quality of Israel's labor force. Different levels of modernization and socio-economic development attained by Jewish communities in the respective countries of origin generated internal social gaps within the new framework of Israeli society. Programs to ensure equal access to higher education have gradually reduced the gaps which, however, still persist in the second generation of immigrants.

Ethno-Religious Identification. The Law of Return was designed to promote Jewish immigration, but immigrants who arrived as families or as communities included a growing minority of non-Jews. The growing assimilation of Jews in the Diaspora in recent decades translated into a high percentage of mixed marriages. On the other hand, some communities had maintained intensive links to traditional Jewish religion and culture (including separate religious school systems). This entailed wide variations among types of immigrant and helped generate the diversified socio-cultural nature of Israeli society, and internal ideological tensions mostly stemming from the relation between the state and religion.

Economic, Legal, or Illegal Migrants, Refugees. The mechanisms of mass immigration to Israel also underlie the – often irreversible – nature of such migration. Emigration to Israel often means loss of citizenship and civil rights in the country of origin, making it impossible to return there. Most Israeli immigration from North Africa, the Middle East, and Eastern Europe thus corresponds to *ex post facto* refugee movements.

Since the 1990s, with Israel's rapidly growing economy, and following the halt on Palestinian labor in connection with the first and second Intifadas, there has been a significant increase in the influx of foreign labor. Many of these (non-Jewish) workers from Asia, Africa, Latin America, and the Balkans tend to remain after their working permits have expired. The numbers of actual – i.e., legal and illegal – foreign workers are not accurately documented. Estimates for 2004 ranged around 190,000, but the government's policy of forced expulsion attempts to significantly reduce this number.

ISRAELI EMIGRATION. *Definitions and Data.* While immigration and the absorption of immigrants lie at the core of societal and research focus in Israel, emigration remains both a sensitive and comparatively little researched subject. The very definition of an emigrant is beset with difficulties. In the past, data were collected on the reasons for leaving the country, including emigration. However, the information proved highly unreliable and data collection was discontinued in the early 1960s. Given the lack of precise data on numbers of emigrants, indirect estimates can be obtained on the basis of different operational criteria. Long-term absentees, i.e., people leaving and not returning for a period of several years, provided the customary basis for emigration estimates. Another measure compares the known number of new immigrants and returning residents with the annual international migration balance which also reflects permanent residents who traveled abroad and did not return within a period of 12 months. The latter is a measure of actual absence rather than of permanent emigration.

Major Trends and Differentials. The absolute number of annual emigrants including return migration increased over time, but reflecting more rapid population growth emigration rates per 1,000 resident population consistently declined from the late Ottoman period, the British Mandate, and after Israel's independence. Over the period 1949–2004, based on any of the mentioned measures, the annual number of emigrants never fell below 5,000 or exceeded 28,000. The number of emigrants from Israel regularly fell short of the number of new immigrants, with the exception of 1953, 1981, 1985, 1986, and 1988 in which the Israeli economy was especially under stress.

Between 1948 and the end of 2003 over 700,000 Israeli residents left the country and did not return. This figure includes over 100,000 Israeli residents who had been abroad for less than a year in 2003 and, based on the experience of previous years, could be expected to return in the short term. The total number of Israeli residents settled or planning to settle abroad for a period of four years or more at the end of 2003 could thus be estimated at about 600,000, but the number of those returning after a longer absence was not negligible. If one adds the estimated number of children born abroad to these persons, we arrive at a total pool of over 750,000 former Israeli residents and descendants living abroad or about 11% of the total Israeli population. These figures should be evaluated in the light of the marked increase in the numbers of Israelis who travel abroad. The annual number of departures grew from 30,000 in 1950 to 3,530,000 in 2000. The proportion of Arabs was generally smaller among emigrants than among residents in Israel.

Emigrants from Israel belong to one of three distinct groups: former immigrants returning to their country of origin; former immigrants emigrating to a third country; and emigrants born and raised in Israel. The propensities of emigrating differ according to specific socio-demographic characteristics; thus emigration was more frequent among young adults (aged 20–39), single people, and the better educated. Among former immigrants, there was a greater concentration of emigrants among persons entering Israel with a visa of "potential immigrant" (as compared to "immigrant"), who had lived in Israel for a relatively short period, or who had been born in Western Europe or North America.

The main countries of destination for Israeli emigrants were the United States, France, Canada, and Western countries in general. The largest pool of former Israelis is located in the United States, where it is estimated at over 200,000. The much higher figures sometimes circulated are not confirmed by research. In Europe, too, census figures of the respective countries reveal a much lower total than that commonly reported. Around 2004 the total officially reported number of Israeli citizens in Europe approached 40,000. Since 1991, a modest amount of re-emigration to the FSU has been recorded. The opportunity to enter a country, and the presence there of relatives, constituted a significant factor in the volume of emigration and in the choice of destination country.

Determinants and Consequences. Explanations of emigration from Israel have tended to focus on three factors. First, levels of immigration in the immediately preceding period, insofar as the early stages of immigrant absorption in the new country tend to be characterized by instability, but the probability of remaining (not re-emigrating) tend to increase the longer they remain. Major waves of immigration usually generate a minor wave of emigration with a few years' lag. Second, changing economic circumstances in Israel have an impact on emigration insofar as the latter tends to increase in years with diminishing levels of public investment, declining income, rising inflation, and unemployment. Third, albeit to a lesser extent, the security situation as expressed by major events such as wars or by the cumulative burden of military service (including reserve duty) impacts indirectly on the choice to emigrate or re-emigrate.

Therefore emigration is more strongly related to push factors in Israeli society than to pull factors abroad. Emigration from Israel resembles that for other countries with similar levels of development. Rates of emigration per 1,000 population closely match the levels of immigration to Israel per 1,000 Jews in countries with a level of development similar to that of Israel. Emigration from Israel differs markedly from large-scale Jewish migrations driven by the objective of permanent resettlement in new countries. The tendency towards further return migration to Israel is quite high.

At the same time, further attention should be paid to the longer-term picture of Israeli emigration. While Israeli immigration was long influenced by a commitment to building a new society by enhancing Jewish cultural, religious, and national values, emigration indicates a diminishing salience of these factors. Partial evidence indicates that the probability of emigrating is likely to be higher among those whose feelings of Jewishness and Israeli identity are weaker.

A little studied aspect of Israeli emigration concerns the economic impact of emigrants on the Israeli economy. It is not possible to provide a direct evaluation of the amounts of capital transferred by emigrants. However, total individual remittances (excluding personal payments from Germany) can be compiled from data on the balance of payments. Clearly, such transfers do not concern Israeli emigrants only, but rather the whole Jewish Diaspora which – while viewed by the Law of Return as a virtual target for future immigration – comprises a vastly large population. During the late 1990s and early 2000s the yearly amount transferred fluctuated around $ 1 billion and represented roughly 1 percent of the total Gross National Product (see Table 12: Net Personal Remittances, and Percent of GNP, 1995–2004).

Table 12: Net Personal Remittances, and Percent of GNP, 1995–2004

Year	Personal remittances (net) $ millions[a]	GNP[b] $ millions	Personal remittances (net) as % of GNP
1995	1,039	95,790	1.08
1998	826	111,011	0.74
1999	960	109,263	0.88
2000	949	122,475	0.77
2001	1,227	118,851	1.03
2002	1,179	109,195	1.08
2003	1,093	121,091	0.90

a. Other than personal restitutions from Germany. Source: Central Bureau of Statistics, Statistical Abstract of Israel, 2005, Table 15.2.

b. GDP plus total net transfers. Computed from GDP at current NIS value (Table 14.2) and NIS-$ rate of exchange (Table 17.3).

CONCLUDING REMARKS. There is a strong linkage between the country of residence and the probability of emigrating. Given the fact that most of the Jewish Diaspora currently resides in the more developed Western countries, further waves of large-scale immigration to Israel are unlikely in the near future, and only significant dislocations would reverse this situation. On the other hand, emigration from Israel is significantly determined by economic forecasts which in turn respond to broader geopolitical factors, namely security and the outcome of the peace process. Developments in the latter dimensions, both locally and internationally, will indeed determine the future migration balance of the State of Israel.

[Sergio DellaPergola (2nd ed.)]

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MIHAILENI (Rom. **Mihțileni**), town in Moldavia, N.E. Romania. When the town was founded in 1792 only Jews from the other side of the border were permitted to settle in the locality. The prayer house of the Jews and their ritual bathhouse were exempted from taxes, and during the first year Jewish merchants did not have to pay taxes. In 1834 the town became the property of the prince of Moldavia, Michael Sturdza. Eager to develop the town, he granted Jewish craftsmen special privileges, exempting them from taxes for five years. He also encouraged merchants to settle there by granting loans. From a population of 516 in 1820 the number of Jews reached 2,472 (67.6% of the total population), in 1859. In 1903 there were 248 Jewish and 58 Christian merchants in the town. The majority of the Jews were engaged in commerce, especially the fur trade. Jewish carriers plied their trade throughout the whole area; they had their own prayer house. An organized community dates from 1897. A Jewish primary school was founded in 1899. After World War I, with the Romanian annexation of Bessarabia and Bukovina, Mihaileni lost its position as a frontier town. In 1930 only 1,490 Jews (32%) remained in the town. In the same year, the Jewish Party obtained the majority of votes in the local council elections. The peasants preferred it to the other parties, asserting that the Jews were more capable administrators. The election, however, was canceled by the authorities. On the eve of World War II there were nine prayer houses, a ritual bath, a primary school, and a cemetery in Mihaileni. The Hebrew author of the Haskalah period Marcus *Strelisker lived and died in Mihaileni. The Yiddish poet Jacob *Groper (1890–1966) was born there.

In World War II the Jews of Mihaileni were deported to *Transnistria. Few returned to Mihaileni after the war; the majority emigrated. The Jewish population numbered 680 in 1947, 400 in 1950, and about ten families in 1969.

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[Theodor Lavi]

MIHALY, EUGENE (1918–2002), rabbi, professor, and college administrator. Mihaly was born in Hungary and immigrated to the United States in 1930. He received his B.A. from *Yeshiva University in 1940 and dual ordination from Rabbi Isaac Elchanan Theological Seminary (Orthodox, 1941) and *Hebrew Union College (Reform, 1949), where he also earned a Ph.D. in 1952. Invited to join the HUC faculty, Mihaly became professor of rabbinic literature and homiletics and Deutsch Professor of Jewish Jurisprudence and Social Justice (emeritus in 1989). He added high-level administration to his lecturing duties when he was named executive dean for academic affairs of all four HUC-JIR schools in 1976, becoming academic vice president in 1985. After his retirement in 1990, he continued to contribute to the *Encyclopedia Britannica* and the *Encyclopedia Judaica*.

Mihaly, a radical reformer in the mold of classical Reform, wrote responsa sanctioning such controversial practices as rabbinic officiation at mixed marriages and holding weddings on the Sabbath. In response to the Reform movement's perceived drift toward Orthodox and Conservative stances on such issues as the importance of Zionism and Israel, the vital role of Hebrew and the embracing of ritual and tradition, Mihaly wrote the articles "Reform Judaism and Halacha" and "Halakhah Is Absolute and Passé," which articulated the need for Reform Judaism to return to its original rejection of Jewish law. In 1974, he was unanimously elected president of the newly formed (and ultimately short-lived) Association for a Progressive Reform Judaism, established by a group of approximately 100 Reform rabbis who shared concerns about what they claimed to be the subordination of the freedom of individual rabbis to positions adopted by the *Central Conference of American Rabbis, the alienation of the institutions of Reform Judaism from Reform laity, and undue emphasis on the ethnic and national aspects of Judaism at the expense of pure religion. In addition to numerous articles, responsa, and monographs, Mihaly wrote the books *Religious Experience in Judaism* (1957) and *A Song to Creation* (1975).

[Bezalel Gordon (2nd ed.)]

MI'ILYA, Christian-Arab village in northern Israel, in western Upper Galilee, west of *Ma'alot. Mi'ilya constitutes an important center in Israel for the Greek-Catholic faith, to which almost all its inhabitants belong. Tobacco, deciduous fruit, vineyards, and olive groves, on land reclaimed from rocky slopes, formed the base of the village's economy. In 1957 Mi'ilya received municipal council status. In 1969 its population was 1,390, rising to 2,550 in 2002, on an area of 0.07 sq. mi. (1.8 sq. km.). According to archaeological evidence, Mi'ilya has been inhabited since the second millennium B.C.E. Although few remains from the earlier periods have been preserved, the crusader fortress built by German knights in the 13th century C.E. (Chasteau du Roi or Castrum Regis) has remained almost intact and still forms the village's nucleus. Another crusader fortress, Montfort (Burg Starkenberg), lies nearby in the Chezib River gorge.

[Efraim Orni]

MIKARDO, IAN (1908–1993), British politician. One of the most important leaders of the British Labour Party's left wing from the 1940s through the 1980s, Mikardo was born in Portsmouth, Hampshire, the son of a tailor for the Royal Navy who had recently emigrated from a town near Warsaw. Mikardo spoke Yiddish at home and was educated at Aria College, a Jewish school in Portsmouth. In the 1930s he acted as a management consultant and was long associated with the Supervisory Staffs Association. Mikardo was elected to Parliament in the Labour landslide of 1945, becoming one of the driving forces of its left wing and working hard for further extensive nationalization and other left-wing goals. He was one of the closest associates of Labour's left-wing leader Aneuran Bevan and of other left-wing figures like Michael Foot. Mikardo lost his seat in 1959, but again became a Member of Parliament in 1964, serving until 1987. While out of Parliament he developed a business trading with the Soviet Union and became a fierce opponent of the Vietnam War. His left-wing views kept him out of any ministerial post, although he was always an influential figure in the Labour Party's internal machinery, serving as chairman of the Parliamentary Labour Party in 1974. Mikardo was also a supporter of the Israeli Labor Party. In his last years, ironically he was criticized by Labour's militants as too moderate. Mikardo wrote an autobiography, *Back-bencher* (1988).

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[William D. Rubinstein (2nd ed.)]

MIKES, GEORGE (1912–1987), Hungarian-born humorist. After working for the BBC during World War II, he wrote many lighthearted books on politics, social customs, and national foibles. These works include *How to Be an Alien: England* (1946), *Ueber Alles: Germany* (1953), and *How to Scrape Skies: United States* (1948). Mikes also poked fun at Japan (*The Land of the Rising Yen,* 1970), the UN (*How to Unite Nations*, 1963), and Britain again (*How To Be Inimitable*, 1966; *How To Be a Brit,* 1984; *How To Be Decadent*, 1986). Though converted as a boy, Mikes retained a keen interest in Jewish affairs, writing two incisive books on Israel, *Milk and Honey* (1950) and *The Prophet Motive: Israel Today and Tomorrow* (1969).

MIKHAËL, EPHRAÏM (1866–1890), French author. Georges Michel (his real name) was born in Toulouse of an Alsatian father and a Provençal mother. There were strong links and intermarriage with families from Montpellier and Nîmes, for example with the Bernards from Nîmes, whose eldest son Lazare was and remained Georges Michel's dearest "brother" in every sense, personal and intellectual. When both became budding writers in Paris, they changed their neutral-sounding French names for Jewish-sounding pen names – a gesture of Jewish self-assertion. Around 1884 Georges Michel became Ephraïm Mikhaël and Lazare Bernard became Bernard *Lazare. E. Mikhaël's other Jewish "brother" was Camille Bloch, from an Alsatian rabbinical family, who became a leading historian.

E. Mikhaël moved to Paris as a schoolboy with his family. He began his literary career at age 17, while a pupil at the prestigious "lycée Fontanes," where, in a spirit of fraternal poetic exaltation, small literary groups sprang up, fed by intellectual pursuits and love of beauty.

E. Mikhaël's student years (1884–88) were spent at the Sorbonne and exclusive École des Chartes, specializing in Latin and medieval studies, graduating as archivist-paleographer, which won him an appointment at the Bibliothèque Nationale, a post he held until his untimely death.

Mikhaël was a fine scholar, ever broadening his knowledge in the realms of Greek and Oriental studies, philosophy, and comparative religion. His vast fund of knowledge served both his theoretical speculations and his poetic inspiration and the thematic background for his literary creation. He was a prolific and intensive writer in the six years of his student and professional careers and regarded as the most gifted of his generation by Victor Hugo and Mallarmé among others.

Although he is remembered primarily as a poet and quoted in the leading anthologies, he also excelled in poetic prose (tales, prose poems, parables), composed fine dramatic works (see *La Fiancée de Corinthe*, 1988), and important theoretical essays. Except for one small volume of poems, *L'Automne* (1886), he published primarily in literary journals, particularly *La Pléiade*, launched by his own little group and destined to become the famed and long-lived *Mercure de France*. The bulk of his writings appeared in a fine volume of verse and prose, published shortly after his death.

Though he remained famous for his melancholy poems ("Crépuscule pluvieux," "Tristesse de septembre," et al.), he had a dual personality: on the one hand he had a sad, pessimistic bent and on the other an innate love of life, whimsical and ironic, as in his satirical poems and some tales. He progressed from an idle reverie on the theme of the fatal burden of solitude and self-concern (exemplified in "La dame en deuil" and "La captive" among others) towards an active meditation, no longer severed from real life and commitment. In his last major critical text, he stakes a claim for a "new art," which rejects both the formal luxuriousness of the Parnasse school of poetry in favor of renewed freer expression and the flatly naturalistic novel in favor of a type of literature that would stimulate philosophical reflection. This was to be the program of the "symbolists" for the next 15 years or so.

A similar evolution is noticeable in E. Mikhaël's overtly Jewish works. The author goes from allusive, ambiguous references to meaningful messages. Such poems as "La reine de Saba," "Le mage," "L'automne" remain ambiguous. For example "L'automne" makes a fairly clear allusion to the High Holy Days, but stresses the sadness of the season, the death of the old year, and an uncertain word of pardon rather than the opportunity for the soul's renewal. A comparison between two parables, playing on the similar subject of the messianic messenger, is instructive. In an early tale, "Miracles," a noble stranger arrives in a timeless city, filled with anonymous rabbis and sages, full of "ridiculous common sense" and blind to higher insights. They ignore the stranger (maybe a "divine messenger"). The poet Azahel, a sort of philosopher and seer, remains torn between faith and reason. He retreats in superstitious fear of the unknown. A much later tale, "L'imposteur," takes up the same theme, but in a precise setting in time (month of Elul, ten years after the fall of Jerusalem) and space (Galilee, Tiberias). The story presents a group of authentic pious priests and rabbis, all with Hebrew names, prepared to seek and greet the messianic figure announced in Scriptures. But the unfinished story and the ironic behavior of the supposed messiah warn against deceptive prophecy (cf. the title "L'imposteur"). This is in keeping with the author's evolution toward a rational philosophical outlook, a sane moralistic attitude, and love of life, as an antidote against superstition and esoteric doctrines. In his major tales ("Halyartès," "Le Solitaire," et al.) he presents a series of beautiful adolescent heroes, outstanding for their perfect purity of soul, thus condemned to solitude in a crude, vicious, and hypocritical world. The frequent theme of purity is balanced by a stinging satire of spurious mysticism in the midst of an evil society.

[Denise R. Goitein]

MĪKHĀ'ĪL, MURAD (1906–1986), Iraqi poet and educator. A *Baghdad lawyer, he was headmaster of the Shammāsh Jewish high school in Baghdad (1941–47). Some of his Arabic verse appeared in the Jewish press and a collection of love poems was published in 1931. Mīkhā'īl also wrote prose works in favor of women's rights and the peasants, and attacking superstition. After immigrating to Israel in 1949, he specialized in Arab education and wrote several textbooks.

[Shmuel Moreh]

MIKHALEVICH, BEINISH (pseudonym of **Joseph Izbitski**; 1876–1928), leader of the *Bund in Russia and Poland. Mikhalevich was born at Brest-Litovsk into a working-class family and at the age of 18 he joined a socialist circle. On the establishment of the Bund, he was active in Bialystok and Warsaw, set up its local organs there, and also wrote in its central newspaper *Arbeter Shtime*. After a period of arrest by the czarist police, he took part in the establishment of the Garber Bund and edited its organ *Der Kemfer*. In the following years – between repeated arrests, exile, and flight – he was an organizer, speaker, publicist, and propagandist of the Bund. In the internal struggles he belonged to the "soft" group that supported the Bund's return to the Russian Social Democratic party (1906), and during the period of reaction, after the short-lived constitutional aftermath of the revolution, he belonged to the "anti-liquidators," who demanded to continue illegal activities. Mikhalevich was the first to discuss the problem of the relationship between the Bund and the Jewish *kehillah* (the organized Jewish community) (1907). In 1912 he became a member of the central committee of the Bund and edited its weekly *Tsayt* in St. Petersburg. During World War I he was active in welfare and educational institutions in Vilna until his imprisonment by the German occupation forces for a leaflet he wrote against forced labor.

The leftward turn of the Bund in independent Poland decreased Mikhalevich's political standing and he devoted himself mainly to writing and to social and cultural work. He wrote in the Bund organ *Folkstsaytung*, and gave a historical-biographical description of the Jewish workers' movement in three volumes: *Zikhroynes fun a Yidishn Sotsialist* (1921–23). He took part in the founding of the Central Yiddish School Organization (CYSHO) and until his death served as its chairman, visiting the U.S. in 1923–24 as its emissary and promoting the establishment of the Society for Helping Children's Institutions Overseas. He was also a member of the Jewish community council in Warsaw (1925–28). One of the outstanding polemicists against Zionism, Mikhalevich was popular even among his opponents because of his honesty and attachment to Jewish values.

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[Moshe Mishkinsky]

MIKHMORET (Heb. מִכְמֹרֶת; "Fishing Net"), moshav village, and vocational school in central Israel, near *Kefar Vitkin, founded in 1945 by World War II veterans, some of whom had learned fishing in Holland. The moshav is affiliated with Tenu'at ha-Moshavim. Its economy is based on citrus groves, dairy cattle, and carp ponds. The village Mikhmoret Bet has developed the neighboring beach, one of the finest in the country, as a seaside resort. The fishery and seafaring school Mevo'ot Yam ("Approaches to the Sea") constituted a central maritime training institute. In 1970 the three sections of Mikhmoret had a population of 720. In 2002 it was 1,050.

[Efraim Orni]

MIKHOELS, SOLOMON (stage and public name of **Solomon Vovsi**; 1890–1948), Yiddish actor; head of the Moscow State Jewish Theater; chairman of the Jewish *Anti-Fascist Committee. Born in Dvinsk (today Daugavpils, Latvia), Mikhoels studied law at St. Petersburg. In 1918 he joined Alexander *Granovsky's Jewish drama studio, the next year following Granovsky to Moscow, where the group became the State Jewish Theater (GOSET). He was Granovsky's chief actor, and succeeded him to the directorship in 1928 when he did not returned from abroad. In 1931 he opened a studio affiliated with the theater, which trained actors for all Jewish theaters in the U.S.S.R. Mikhoels, whose distinction lay in his command of both tragic and tragicomic roles, first attracted attention in 1921 in a performance of *Shalom Aleichem's *Agents*. He was soon playing such famous Yiddish roles as Shimele Soroker in *Two Hundred Thousand*, Hotsmakh in Goldfaden's *The Witch*, Benjamin in *The Travels of Benjamin the Third* by Mendele Mokher Seforim (S.Y. *Abramovitsh), and Shalom Aleichem's Tevye. One of his most notable performances was King Lear in the production by Sergei Radlov in 1935. From August 1941, Mikhoels, as chairman of the Jewish Anti-Fascist Committee, launched fervent appeals to "our Jewish brethren" in the West to help the Soviet war effort against Nazi Germany. In 1943 he and the poet Itzik *Fefer traveled on behalf of the Anti-Fascist Committee to the U.S., Canada, Mexico, and England, where they were enthusiastically received by the Jewish public. At the end of World War II, when survivors of the Holocaust and Jews returning from evacuation in Soviet Asia tried to resettle in their old homes, Mikhoels gradually became their spokesman and protector, interceding for them with the Soviet authorities. He apparently was also connected with the "Crimean project" which aimed at the settlement of homeless Jews in the Crimea. On Jan. 13, 1948, while on an official mission in Minsk on behalf of the State Committee for Theater Prizes, Mikhoels was brutally killed, ostensibly in an alleged car accident, but in reality executed by the Soviet secret police, on the order of Stalin. (Svetlana Alliluyeva, Stalin's daughter, testified (in her book *Only One Year*) that her father was personally involved in covering up Mikhoels' assassination and presenting it as an accident.) On January 16, Mikhoels was eulogized at his state funeral in Moscow in which many thousands of Jews participated. Mikhoels' assassination was the first step in the process of the liquidation of all Jewish cultural institutions and of most outstanding Yiddish writers, artists, and actors which took place during the last years of Stalin's rule. In 1952, four years after his death, Mikhoels was claimed as a Jewish nationalist, a "Joint agent," and a contact man with the U.S. intelligence in the "Doctors' Trials." During the de-Stalinization in the mid-1950s Mikhoels was de facto rehabilitated. In Tel Aviv a square was named in his honor in 1962, on the tenth anniversary of the execution of Jewish writers in the U.S.S.R.

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[Binyamin Eliav and Joseph Leftwich]

MIKULOV (Ger. **Nikolsburg**), town in S. Moravia, Czech Republic. The Mikulov community was the largest and most important in Moravia, and was the seat of the *Landesrabbiner* ("chief rabbi") from apparently as early as 1574 until 1851. A Jew from Mikulov, a moneylender, is mentioned in a document of 1369, but there is no mention of Jews in the oldest known city record of 1414. An inscription in the synagogue (burned down in 1719) was dated 1450. The community was probably founded by expellees from Austria (1420), reinforced in 1454 by those from *Brno (Bruenn) and *Znojmo (Znaim). The charter granted the Jews in 1591 guaranteed a self-elected communal administration (the revised charter of 1612 (renewed in 1708) removed the Jews from the jurisdiction of the town to that of the lord). In 1593 the Jews were permitted to trade in textiles. On the conquest of the town by the Swedes (1642), the Jews raised a quarter of the town's contribution. Refugees from the *Chmielnicki massacres came to Mikulov in 1648. In 1653 the **ḥevra kaddisha* was founded. In 1657 there were 145 families in the town. Their number was augmented in 1670 by expellees from Vienna, who at first kept apart from the local community, maintaining their own institutions and endeavoring to return to Vienna. A hospital for infectious diseases was built in 1680. Jews who were captured on the conquest of *Belgrade were ransomed in 1688 and settled in Mikulov. Almost the entire Jewish quarter, including the old synagogue and all records, was destroyed in a fire in 1719. The concomitant plunder led to a conflict between the central authorities and the local lord over military intervention. Under the leadership of Samson *Wertheimer, communities throughout Europe offered assistance to the Jews of Mikulov. The municipality bought up building sites to avoid the enlargement of the Jewish quarter, whose boundaries were fixed by an imperial commission in 1720.

The prosperity of the community depended on its connection with the cultivation of wines and the wine trade and on the town's position on the main road between Brno and Vienna. Many of the Jews were carters. The Jewish wine merchants leased vineyards, vats, and cellars or bought up the grape crops, paying in advance of the harvest. Jews also distilled spirits and produced the special Moravian plum jam (*povidl*). In the 17th century, the Jews undertook to supply the whole town with candles, and in the 18th century the purveyors of gold and silver to the imperial mint lived in Mikulov. The community *takkanot* from the 18th century are preserved in the National Library in Jerusalem. The Jewish tailors, shoemakers, and butchers were organized into guilds, with their own synagogues. However, most members of the community earned their livelihood in peddling, mainly in the villages of Austria.

Mikulov, the center of all activities of Moravian Jewry, was especially prominent when Samson Raphael *Hirsch held office as chief rabbi (1846–51). A German-language school, connected with a textile workshop, was opened in 1839. Joel Deutsch founded the Jewish institute for the deaf and dumb in 1844 (transferred to Vienna in 1852). Mikulov became a political community (**Politische Gemeinde*) after 1848. After the economic importance of the community had declined when the Vienna-Brno railroad line bypassed Mikulov, many of its members left (after 1848), moving mainly to Brno and Vienna, where a "Verein der Nikolsburger" ("association of Nikolsburgers") grew up. The rapid decline in the community was reflected in the number of synagogues: 12 until 1868, five until the beginning of the 20th century, and then only two. The number of permitted families allotted under the *Familiants Laws was 620. From 3,020 persons in 1793, the community increased to 3,237 in 1830 and 3,680 in 1857, then fell sharply to 1,500 in 1869; 1,213 in 1880; 1,061 in 1890; 900 in 1900; 778 in 1913; 573 in 1921; and 437 in 1930 (5.6% of the total population).

The yeshivah of Mikulov was renowned, and many well-known rabbis held office in the town; nearly all of them were simultaneously chief rabbis of Moravia (see *Moravia). For a short period the town served as the seat of Hungarian chief rabbi and was a vital spiritual link between West Slovakian and Moravian Jewry. Until the mid-19th century Mikulov had the second largest Jewish community in the Czech-speaking lands. During World War I, Jewish refugees from Poland were concentrated in Mikulov, where they had their own school and prayer room. The scholar Abraham *Trebitsch lived in Mikulov and Aloys and Joseph von Sonnenfels were natives of the town.

In 1936 a Moravian Jewish museum was founded in Mikulov; it was transferred to Brno at the time of the Sudeten crisis, and from there to the Central Jewish Museum in Prague. The community dispersed at this time; many of its members were deported to the Nazi extermination camps from Brno in 1941. The community was revived for a short period after World War II. In 1948 members of the Czechoslovak volunteer brigade (the so-called Sochor brigade) were concentrated in Mikulov before leaving for Israel – 120 soldiers and about 700 family members. The old synagogue (Altschul) was thoroughly restored in the years 1990–92. Other Jewish buildings were all pulled down during the Communist regime in 1950–75. The ancient cemetery is well preserved and also serves as a repository for tombstones from other liquidated cemeteries. It contains the graves of numerous famous rabbis of Moravia and Hungary. The mass grave of 21 prisoners from the local labor camp murdered by the Nazis in April 1945 is located in the cemetery. The Jewish surname Naach/Nash is derived from the Yiddish abbreviation of the town's name.

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[Meir Lamed / Yeshayahu Jelinek (2nd ed.)]

MIKVA, ABNER J. (1926–), judge, legislator, special counsel to U.S. President Bill Clinton. Born in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, Mikva attended public schools there. He served in the U.S. Army Air Corps during World War II, and graduated from the University of Chicago Law School in 1951. Mikva was law clerk to Supreme Court Justice Sherman Minton from 1951 to 1952, then entered private practice in Chicago.

In 1956 Mikva was elected to the Illinois state legislature, running as a Democrat but against the Democratic machine. He served in the state legislature for ten years, writing reforms of the state criminal code and state mental health facilities; he gained a reputation as an opponent of corruption in the state welfare system and apparently earned the enmity of Chicago Mayor Richard Daley. In 1968 he was elected to the U.S. House of Representatives. He lost his bid for reelection in 1972 when Chicago's legislative districts were remapped, and he returned to Chicago, practicing law and teaching at Northwestern University School of Law.

In 1974 Mikva was reelected to Congress; he served there as a member of key committees until 1979, when President Jimmy Carter nominated him for the U.S. Court of Appeals in the District of Columbia. Mikva's nomination was opposed by the National Rifle Association, and conservative opponents unsuccessfully challenged his appointment with a lawsuit. He served in the Court of Appeals from 1979, becoming chief judge in 1991. During his judicial career, Mikva wrote over 300 opinions, many concerning free speech and consumer rights. In one noteworthy case, he ordered that a gay student be reinstated at the U.S. Naval Academy. He did not uphold the right of an air force captain to wear a yarmulke while on duty, though throughout the hearing whenever a skullcap was mentioned, he felt for the back of his head.

In 1994 he gave up his judicial appointment to become White House counsel to President Bill Clinton. With this new appointment within the executive branch, Mikva had served in all three branches of the federal government. In 1995 he returned to teaching, writing frequently on political and judicial issues. He continued to be known as an advocate of free speech, in 2001 speaking out against acts of racial profiling and wrongful imprisonment of Muslim immigrants in the United States.

[Dorothy Bauhoff (2nd ed.)]

MIKVA'OT (Heb. מִקְוָאוֹת; "Ritual Baths"), the sixth tractate in the order of *Tohorot* in the Mishnah and the Tosefta. The tractate consists of ten chapters and deals wholly with the details of the **mikveh*. Chapter 1 classifies *mikva'ot* according to the grade of their purity and purifying effect, from ponds or ditches containing less than 40 *se'ah* (c. 750 liters; see *Weights and Measures) and therefore invalid, to those of the highest grade, consisting of *mayim ḥayyim* ("pure spring water"). Chapter 2 discusses cases of "doubtful impurity" (e.g., if a person is not sure whether he has immersed properly or whether the *mikveh* was ritually fit), and then deals with the problem of *mayim she'uvim* ("drawn water"). Chapters 3 and 4 continue with various aspects of *mayim she'uvim*, e.g., how a *mikveh* invalidated by *mayim she'uvim* can be made ritually fit, or how to direct rainwater from a roof into a *mikveh* without letting the water pass through a "vessel" in order to prevent the water's becoming *mayim she'uvim*. Chapter 5 deals mainly with the fitness of springs, rivers, and seas as *mikva'ot*. Chapter 6 is concerned with the question of a body of water linked with a *mikveh*, or two *mikva'ot* connected so that the water of the one "touches" the water of the other (*hashakah*), which is of great significance in the construction of the modern *mikveh*. Chapter 7 discusses the minimal requirement of 40 *se'ah*, especially whether snow, ice, etc. may complete that measure. Chapter 8 first deals with the halakhic difference between *mikva'ot* of the Holy Land and those of other countries; it then discusses problems touching on seminal issue and menstruation. Chapter 9 discusses the problem of *ḥaẓiẓah* ("interposition"). Chapter 10 deals with vessels or any other artifact requiring purification in a *mikveh*.

The Vienna manuscript of Tosefta *Mikva'ot* contains seven chapters (and is missing one page, containing the end of the third chapter through the beginning of the sixth chapter), while the printed edition contains eight chapters. The Tosefta quotes traditions about queries raised by the inhabitants of "Assia" with the scholars of Jabneh during the three pilgrim festivals (4:6); about R. Gamaliel and Onkelos the Proselyte bathing in the sea at Ashkelon (6:3); and about discussions which took place among 32 scholars in Lydda (7 (8):11). Although there is no Babylonian or Jerusalem Talmud on *Mikva'ot*, several of its Mishnayot are explained in the Babylonian Talmud; for example, Mishnah 4:1 is explained in *Shabbat* 16b, Mishnah 7:2 in *Yevamot* 82b and *Zevaḥim* 22a, Mishnah 7:4 in *Shabbat* 144b, Mishnah 8:4 in *Ḥullin* 24b, Mishnah 9:1 in *Shabbat* 57a, and Mishnah 9:5 and 6 in *Shabbat* 114a. The Mishnah of this tractate was translated into English by H. Danby (1933) and the Soncino Press (1948), while J. Neusner has recently published a translation of both the Mishnah (1991) and the Tosefta (2002).

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[Arnost Zvi Ehrman]

MIKVEH (Heb. מִקְוֶה; pl. *mikva'ot*; Hebrew for a "collection" or "gathering" [of water]), a pool or bath of clear water, immersion in which renders ritually clean a person who has become ritually unclean through contact with the dead (Num. 19) or any other defiling object, or through an unclean flux from the body (Lev. 15) and especially a menstruant or post-partum woman (see *Ablution; **Niddah*; *Purity and Impurity, *Ritual; **Taharat ha-Mishpaḥah*). It is similarly used for vessels (Num. 31:22–23). Today the chief use of the *mikveh* is for women, prior to marriage, following *niddut*, and following the birth of a child, since the laws of ritual impurity no longer apply after the destruction of the Temple. *Mikveh* immersion is also obligatory for proselytes, as part of the ceremony of conversion. In addition immersion in the *mikveh* is still practiced by various groups as an aid to spirituality, particularly on the eve of the Sabbath and festivals, especially the Day of Atonement (see *Ablution) and the custom still obtains, in accordance with Numbers 31: 22–23 to immerse new vessels and utensils purchased from non-Jews. At the beginning of the 21st century, *mikveh* immersion also frequently constituted a symbolic expression of a new spiritual beginning for both women and men, in all branches of Jewish practice. In addition to conversion to Judaism, rituals have developed incorporating *mikveh* immersion as part of bar mitzvah and bat mitzvah (coming of age); prior to marriage for men as well as women; in cases of miscarriage, infertility, and illness; and following divorce, sexual assault, or other life-altering events. An indication of the probable long-term impact of this trend is the increased construction of *mikva'ot* by non-Orthodox Jewish communities in North America.

It is emphasized that the purpose of immersion is not physical, but spiritual, cleanliness. Maimonides concludes his codification of the laws of the *mikveh* with the following statement: It is plain that the laws about immersion as a means of freeing oneself from uncleanness are decrees laid down by Scripture and not matters about which human understanding is capable of forming a judgment; for behold, they are included among the divine statutes. Now 'uncleanness' is not mud or filth which water can remove, but is a matter of scriptural decree and dependent on the intention of the heart. Therefore the Sages have said, 'If a man immerses himself, but without special intention, it is as though he has not immersed himself at all.'

Nevertheless we may find some indication [for the moral basis] of this: Just as one who sets his heart on becoming clean becomes clean as soon as he has immersed himself, although nothing new has befallen his body, so, too, one who sets his heart on cleansing himself from the uncleannesses that beset men's souls – namely, wrongful thoughts and false convictions – becomes clean as soon as he consents in his heart to shun those counsels and brings his soul into the waters of pure reason. Behold, Scriptures say, 'And I will sprinkle clean water upon you and ye shall be clean; from all your uncleannesses and from all your idols will I cleanse you [Ezek. 36: 25]' (Yad, Mikva'ot 11:12).

Although Maimonides in this passage states that lack of intention invalidates the act under all circumstances, a view which is found in the Tosefta (Ḥag. 3:2), the *halakhah*, as in fact codified by him (Yad, *ibid.* 1:8), is that the need for intention applies only for the purpose of eating holy things, such as **ma'aser and terumah*. For a menstruant, and before eating ordinary food, though intention is desirable in the first instance, its lack does not invalidate the immersion. The importance of intention in the laws of ritual impurity is further illustrated by the fact that the rabbis permitted fig cakes which had been hidden in water – an action that would normally make the food susceptible to uncleanness – because they had been put there in order to hide them and not in order to wet them (Makhsh. 1:6). This stress on intention passed from Judaism into Islam. "Purity is the half of faith" is a saying attributed to Muhammad himself and in general the laws of uncleanness in Islam bear a striking resemblance to those of Judaism (*Encyclopedia of Islam*, s.v. *Tahara*).

According to biblical law any collection of water, drawn or otherwise, is suitable for a *mikveh* as long as it contains enough for a person to immerse himself (Yad, *ibid.* 4:1). The rabbis, however, enacted that only water which has not been drawn, i.e., has not been in a vessel or receptacle, may be used; and they further established that the minimum quantity for immersion is that which is contained in a square cubit to the height of three cubits. A *mikveh* containing less than this amount (which they estimated to be a volume of 40 *se'ah*, being between 250–1,000 liters according to various calculations) becomes invalid should three *log* of drawn water fall into it or be added. However, if the *mikveh* contains more than this amount it can never become invalid no matter how much drawn water is added. These laws are the basis for the various ways of constructing the *mikveh* (see below). To them a whole talmudic tractate, **Mikva'ot*, is devoted, and Maimonides assigns them a whole treatise of the same name. The laws can be conveniently divided into two parts, the construction of the *mikveh* itself, and the water which renders it valid or invalid.

The *mikveh* is valid, however built, providing that it has not been prefabricated and brought and installed on the site, since in that case it constitutes a "vessel" which renders the water in it "drawn water" ("*mayim she'uvim*"; Mik. 4:1). It may be hewn out of the rock or built in or put on the ground, and any material is suitable. It must be watertight, since leakage invalidates it. It must contain a minimum of 40 *se'ah* of valid water, and, although it was originally laid down that its height must be 47 in. (120 cm.) to enable a person standing in it to be completely immersed (Sifra 6:3), even though he has to bend his knees (Sifra 6:3) it was later laid down that providing there is the necessary minimum quantity of water, immersion is valid while lying down.

The Water

All natural spring water, providing it is clean and has not been discolored by any admixtures is valid for a *mikveh*. With regard to rainwater, which is ideal for a *mikveh*, and melted snow and ice (even if manufactured from "drawn" water) which are also valid, care must be taken to ensure that the water flows freely and is not rendered invalid by the flow into it being stopped, thus turning it into "drawn water." In addition the water must not reach the *mikveh* through vessels made of metal or other materials which are susceptible to ritual uncleanness. This is avoided by attaching the pipes and other accessories to the ground, by virtue of which they cease to have the status of "vessels." Similarly the *mikveh* is emptied from above by hand, by vacuum, or by electric or automatic pumps. The emptying through a hole in the bottom is forbidden since the plug may be regarded as a "vessel" as well as giving rise to the possibility of a leakage.

There is, however, one regulation with regard to the *mikveh* which considerably eases the problems of assuring a supply of valid water. Once it possesses the minimum quantity of 40 *se'ah* of valid water even though "someone draws water in a jug and throws it into the *mikveh* all day long, all the water is valid." In addition "if there is an upper *mikveh* containing 40 *se'ah* of valid water, and someone puts drawn water in the upper *mikveh*, thus increasing its volume, and 40 *se'ah* of it flows into the lower pool, that lower pool is a valid *mikveh*" (Yad, Mikva'ot 4:6). It is thus possible to exploit limitless quantities of valid water.

Various Forms of Mikveh

The above regulations determine the various kinds of *mikveh* which are in use. In rare cases where there is a plentiful supply of valid water, spring or rain- (or sea-) water which can constantly replenish the *mikveh*, the only desiderata which have to be complied with are to ensure that the water does not become invalidated by the construction of the *mikveh*, rendering it a "vessel" or by going through metal pipes which are not sunk in the ground, as detailed above.

Since, however, *mikva'ot* are usually constructed in urban and other settlements where such supplies are not freely available, the technological and halakhic solution of the valid *mikveh* depends essentially upon constructing a *mikveh* with valid water and replenishing it with invalid water, taking advantage of the fact that the addition of this water to an originally valid one does not invalidate it.

The following are among the systems used:

1. The basic *mikveh* consists of the minimum valid amount of 40 *se'ah* of rainwater. To this rainwater, ordinary water may subsequently be added through a trough which is absorbent, dug in the ground, or one made of lean concrete at least three handbreadths (c. 30 cm.) long, and one wide. Through this device the added water is regarded as coming from the ground and not through a "vessel." The resultant mixture of both types of water passes into the *mikveh* through a hole in the dividing wall. Since the added water is regarded as "seeding" the original valid water, it is called the *oẓar zeri'ah* ("store for seeding").

2. In a second system the added drawn water is not previously mixed with the rainwater, as in the previous case, but flows directly onto the basic rainwater *mikveh* through an aperture in the wall of the *mikveh*, the diameter of which must be "the size of the spout of a water bottle" (c. 2 in.; 5–6 cm., Mik. 6:7). This method is called *oẓar hasnakah* ("the store produced by contact"). Both the above methods, though they answer the halakhic needs, have their disadvantages in operation and in maintenance, particularly through the exhaustion of the rainwater and the stagnation of the standing water. The other systems are aimed at overcoming these drawbacks.

3. The "*dut*" is a cistern or tank built into the ground to store rainwater. When changing the water in the *mikveh*, it is filled each time with at least 21 *se'ah* of rainwater from the cistern and water is then added from the "store for seeding" by conduction. The water in the *mikveh* is brought into contact with the "contact store" by the method mentioned above. Though indeed this method overcomes the many shortcomings and halakhic problems, it nevertheless requires an extensive area for the cistern, and large areas of roof and pipes for filling with considerable amounts of rainwater in the winter.

4. Both a "store for seeding" and a "contact store" are built on each side of the *mikveh*. Each store has an aperture connecting its water with that of the *mikveh*.

5. A single "store" consisting of both "seeding" and "contacting."

6. A "store" upon a "store." A "contact store" is built on two stories joined by an aperture with the diameter of "the spout of a bottle." The water of the *mikveh* is validated by means of the hole in the party wall between the *mikveh* and the upper "store."

7. A "contact store" under the floor of the *mikveh*, connected by means of a hole the size of "the spout of a water bottle."

The *mikva'ot* of Jerusalem as well as the oldest *mikva'ot* in other towns of Ereẓ Israel are built in general by the method of the "contact store" as well as by the "store of seeding." In the new settlements and elsewhere the *mikva'ot* are built in the main only by the method of the "store of seeding" (a system approved by Rabbi A.I. Karelitz, the "Ḥazon Ish"). Latterly *mikva'ot* have been built by the method of two "stores."

In recent years vast improvements have been made in the hygienic and other aspects of the *mikveh*. An early enactment, attributed to Ezra, that a woman must wash her hair before immersing herself (BK 82a) may be provided for by the now universal custom of having baths as an adjunct to *mikva'ot*, the use of which is an essential preliminary to entering the *mikveh*, and especially in the United States they are provided with hairdressing salons and even beauty parlors.

The regulations for constructing the *mikveh* are complicated and its construction requires a considerable knowledge of technology combined with strict adherence to the *halakhah*, and it should be built only after consultation with, and under the supervision of, accepted rabbinic authorities. Nevertheless in order to increase the use of this essential requirement of traditional Judaism, a book has been published which consists almost entirely of instructions for making a valid "Do it yourself" *mikveh* (see D. Miller in bibl.).

[David Kotlar / Judith Baskin (2nd ed.)]

History and Archaeology
During the Second Temple period (roughly from 100 B.C.E. to 70 C.E.), the Jewish population in Palestine had a very distinctive practice of purification within water installations known as *mikva'ot*. Large numbers of stepped-and-plastered *mikva'ot* have been found in excavations in Jerusalem, in outlying villages, as well as at various rural locations. Most of the installations in Jerusalem were in basements of private dwellings and therefore must have served the specific domestic needs of the city inhabitants. Numerous examples are known from the area of the "Upper City" of Second Temple period Jerusalem (the present-day Jewish Quarter and Mount Zion), with smaller numbers in the "City of David" and the "Bezetha Hill." A few slightly larger *mikva'ot* are known in the immediate area of the Temple Mount, but these installations could not have met the needs of tens of thousands of Jewish pilgrims from outside the city attending the festivities at the Temple on an annual basis. It would appear that the Bethesda and Siloam Pools – to the north and south of the Temple Mount – were designed at the time of Herod the Great to accommodate almost all of the ritual purification needs of the large numbers of Jewish pilgrims who flocked to Jerusalem for the festivals. In addition to this, those precluded from admission to the Temple, owing to disabilities and bodily defects, would have sought miraculous healing at these pools and this is the background for the healing accounts in the Gospel of John (5: 1–13; 9: 7, 11).

Although water purification is referred to in the Old Testament, in regard to rituals and the Jewish Temple in Jerusalem, with washing, sprinkling, and dipping in water, we do not hear of specific places or installations that people would constantly frequent for the purpose of ritually cleansing their flesh. The term *mikveh* was used in a very general sense in the Old Testament to refer to a body of water of indeterminate extent (cf. Gen. 1:10; Ex. 7:19), or more specifically to waters gathered from a spring or within a cistern (Lev. 11: 36) or waters designated for a large reservoir situated in Jerusalem (Isa. 22: 11). None of these places are mentioned as having been used for ritual purification in any way. Hence, the concept of the *mikveh* as a hewn cave or constructed purification pool attached to one's dwelling or place of work is undoubtedly a later one. A distinction must be made therefore between the purification practices as they are represented in biblical sources, with Jewish water immersion rituals of the Second Temple period, as well as with later customs of *mikva'ot* prevailing from medieval times and to the present day (see below).

The basis for our information about what was or was not permitted in regard to *mikva'ot* appears in rabbinic sources: the tractate Mikva'ot in the Mishnah and Tosefta. One must take into consideration, however, that this information might very well be idealized, at least in part, and that the reality of purification practices in Second Temple times may have been much more flexible than one would suppose from these sources. Josephus Flavius is silent in his writings about the purification installations of his time, and the few references in Dead Sea Scroll manuscripts are definitely not to be relied upon to generalize about the common Jewish purification practices current in Second Temple period Palestine. The Mishnah (Mik. 1:1–8, ed. Danby) indicates that there were at least six grades of *mikva'ot*, listed from the worst to the best: (1) ponds; (2) ponds during the rainy season; (3) immersion pools containing more than 40 *se'ah* of water; (4) wells with natural groundwater; (5) salty water from the sea and hot springs; and (6) natural flowing "living" waters from springs and in rivers. Clearly the ubiquitous stepped-and-plastered installation known to scholars from archaeological excavations since the 1960s and now commonly referred to as the *mikveh* (referred to under No. 3, above) was not the best or the worst of the six grades of *mikva'ot* as set forth in the Mishnah. It is referred to as follows: "More excellent is a pool of water containing forty *se'ah*; for in them men may immerse themselves and immerse other things [e.g., vessels]" (Mik. 1:7). The validity of *mikva'ot* was apparently one of the subjects occasionally debated in the "Chamber of Hewn Stone" in Jerusalem (Ed. 7:4).

Stringent religious regulations (*halakhot*) are referred to in regard to certain constructional details and how the installations were to be used. A *mikveh* had to be supplied with "pure" water derived from natural sources (rivers, springs or rain) throughout the year and even during the long dry season, and it had to contain a minimum of 40 *se'ah* of water (the equivalent of less than one cubic meter of water) so that a person might be properly immersed (if not standing, then lying down). Once the natural flow of water into a *mikveh* had been stopped, it became "drawn" water (*mayim she'uvim*). Water could not be added mechanically, but there was a possibility of increasing the volume by allowing drawn water to enter from an adjacent container, according to the sources, so long as the original amount of water did not decrease to below the minimum requirement of water. Hence, an additional body of water, known since medieval times as the *oẓar* (the "treasury"), could be connected to the *mikveh*, and linked by pipe or channel. There was, of course, the problem of the water becoming dirty or stagnant (though not impure), but the *mikveh* was not used for daily ablutions for the purpose of keeping clean. Indeed, people appear to have washed themselves (or parts of their bodies, notably the feet and hands) before entering the ritual bath (Mik. 9:2). Basins for cleansing feet and legs have been found in front of the *mikva'ot* of Herodian dwellings in Jerusalem.

The *mikveh* was required, according to the rabbinical sources, to be sunk into the ground, either through construction or by the process of hewing into the rock, and into it natural water would flow derived from a spring or from surface rainwater in the winter seasons. There was, of course, the problem of silting (Mik. 2:6). The phenomenon of silts gathering within a *mikveh* was referred to quite clearly in rabbinic texts. For instance, in reference to the minimum quantity of water required in a *mikveh* for it to be ritually permissible, we hear that: "if the mud was scraped up [from the pool and heaped] by the sides, and three *logs* [a measure] of water drained down therein, it remains valid [for cleansing purposes]; but if the mud was removed away [from the pool] and three *logs* rained down therefrom [into the pool] it becomes invalid" (Mik. 2:6). Elsewhere, we are told about certain damming operations made inside the *mikveh*: "if the water of an immersion pool was too shallow it may be dammed [to one side] even with bundles of sticks or reeds, that the level of water may be raised, and so he may go down and immerse himself" (Mik. 7:7).

The walls and floors of the *mikveh* chambers were plastered (frequently made of slaked quicklime mixed with numerous charcoal inclusions); ceilings were either natural rock or barrel-vaulted with masonry. These installations are distinguished by flights of steps leading down into them and extending across the entire breadth of the chamber; such ubiquitous steps, however, were not referred to in the sources. The riser of the lowest step tended to be deeper than the rest of the steps, presumably to facilitate the immersion procedures when the level of water had dropped to a minimum. Some of these steps had a low raised (and plastered) partition which is thought to have separated the descending impure person (on the right) from the pure person leaving the *mikveh* (on the left). Similarly there were *mikva'ot* with double entrances and these may indicate that the activities carried out inside them resembled those undertaken in installations with the partitioned steps. This arrangement of steps and/or double entrances is known mainly from Jerusalem, but also from sites in the vicinity, as well in the Hebron Hills and at Qumran. The installations from Jerusalem and the Hebron Hills with the single partitions fit well the double lane theory, that it was constructed to facilitate the separation of the impure from the pure, but at Qumran, installations were found with three or more of these partitions, which is odd. According to one suggestion (Regev) maintaining the utmost in purity *inside* the *mikveh*, reflected by the addition of features such as the partitions, would have been a concern mainly for priests, but little support for this hypothesis has been forthcoming from the archaeological evidence itself. Indeed, Galor rightly points out that the partitions are at best symbolic rather than functional, and that in some of the installations at Qumran they were not even practical, providing in one installation a stepped lane which was only 6 in. (15 cm.) wide!

The *mikveh* was also used for the purifying of contaminated vessels (e.g. Mik. 2:9–10, 5:6, 6:1, 10:1; cf. Mark 7:4). It is not surprising, therefore, that in the excavation of *mikva'ot* at Jericho and Jerusalem, some were found to contain quantities of ceramic vessels. Alternatively, it is quite possible that such *mikva'ot* were intended specifically for the purpose of cleaning vessels and were never used for the immersion of people. At Jericho, in one *mikveh*, located in the northern sector of the main Hasmonean palace, hundreds of intact ceramic vessels (mainly bowls) of the first century B.C.E. were found in a silt layer on the floor of one installation. It is quite possible that these vessels were abandoned at one stage of the cleansing process because there was too much silt inside the installation, a phenomenon referred to in the Mishnah (see Mik. 2:10). A large concentration of pottery was also found trapped beneath a collapse of ashlars in the lower part of a *mikveh*, dating to the first century B.C.E., which was uncovered in the Jewish Quarter excavations in the Old City of Jerusalem. The concentration of pottery found there mainly consisted of an unspecified number of small bowls, mostly intact.

The date of the first appearance of stepped-and-plastered *mikva'ot* is a matter still debated by scholars, but the general consensus of opinion is that this occurred in the Late Hellenistic (Hasmonean) period, at some point during the end of the second century B.C.E. or very early in the first century B.C.E. One thing is certain: only a handful of *mikva'ot* are known from the time of the Hasmoneans, whereas by contrast large numbers of *mikva'ot* are known dating from the time of Herod the Great (late first century B.C.E.) and up to the destruction of Jerusalem (70 C.E.). This, therefore, led Berlin to conclude that the appearance of *mikva'ot* cannot predate the mid-first century B.C.E., but there is sufficient evidence at Jerusalem, Jericho, Gezer, and elsewhere to support an earlier date than that. What there can be no doubt about is that the *floruit* in the use of *mikva'ot* was in the first century C.E.

To sum up what we know about the use of the household *mikveh* in the first century based on the rabbinic texts and archaeological finds: the average size of the *mikveh* suggests that ritual bathing was ordinarily practiced individually (no more than one person would enter the installation at a time) and the location of *mikva'ot* within the basements of private dwellings suggests this purification was done regularly and whenever deemed necessary. The purpose of the immersion was to ritually cleanse the flesh of the contaminated person in pure water, but it may also have been undertaken within households before eating or as an aid to spirituality, before reading the Torah or praying. It was neither used for the cleansing of the soul nor for the redemption of sins (as with the purification procedures of John the Baptist), or any other rituals (except for the conversion of proselytes following their acceptance of the Torah and circumcision; Pes. 8:8). One assumes that disrobing took place before the immersion and that new garments were put on immediately afterwards. Ritual bathing could be conducted in the comfort of a person's dwelling, but there were also more public *mikva'ot* such as those used by peasants and other workers (such as quarrymen, potters, and lime burners) who would cleanse themselves at various locations in the landscape. A few *mikva'ot* are known in the immediate vicinity of tombs, but they are quite rare indicating that ritual purification following entrance into tombs was not common. The *mikveh* was not used for general cleaning and ablution purposes: this was done in alternative installations located within the house, or in public bathhouses instead.

The fact that so many *mikva'ot* are known from greater Jerusalem, from within the city itself as well as from the villages and farms in its hinterland, is a very clear reflection of the preoccupation Jerusalemites had in the first century with the concept of separating and fixing the boundary between the pure and the impure. A general concern about purity was common to all Jews at that time and especially in the city that contained the House of God – the Jewish Temple. There are definitely no grounds for linking the phenomenon of *mikva'ot* in Jerusalem to any one specific group within Judaism, as some have done. In the eyes of the inhabitants of the city, a clear separation would have been made between the use of *natural* and *built* places for purification. While rabbinical sources may have extolled the higher sanctity of immersing in natural sources of water, the ease with which immersion could be made in a specifically designed installation situated in the basement of a house, made it far more convenient than having to set forth into the countryside in search of a natural source of water in which one might seek to purify oneself. Natural sources of water were either situated at a distance from the city (e.g., the Jordan River), or were difficult to access (e.g., a spring used for irrigation for agriculture), or were only available at the right season in the year (e.g., pools in rocky depressions that filled up after the winter rains). Above all, it would appear that convenience counted as the most important consideration when a *mikveh* came to be built in the first century. A stepped-and-plastered installation in the basement of a house satisfied all those who wished to immerse themselves on a regular basis for purification. To that end the installation had to have had a satisfactory incoming source of pure water, and in most instances rainwater sufficed. Everything else was done for reasons of fashion and personal preference, and one should include such things as footbaths outside the *mikveh*, double entrances, and lane partitions on the steps. The idea that the construction of *mikva'ot* was done in strict accordance and adherence to religious rules and stipulations (such as those debated in the "Chamber of Hewn Stone"; Ed. 7:4) is highly unlikely and finds no support in the archaeological evidence itself. Hence, the information about *mikva'ot* as it appears in the tractates of the Mishna and Tosefta should probably be regarded as representing a certain degree of rabbinical idealism rather than the complete reality of empirical practice of *mikveh* construction that was supposedly passed down through the generations following the destruction of Jerusalem in 70 C.E.

The important and obvious conclusion, however, is that the rise in the popularity of this installation during the first century C.E. no doubt reflects changing attitudes that were coming to the fore in regard to the perception of everyday purity and possible sources of ritual contamination. In a way, we may regard the later rabbinical writings on the subject of *mikva'ot* as the reflected culmination of a heightened process of Jewish awareness regarding purity that began to intensify particularly in the mid-first century C.E. An unprecedented number of *mikva'ot* ultimately came to be built, sometimes with more than one or two installations per household, and not just in the city of Jerusalem but in the outlying villages and farms as well. This development may also be paralleled with the sudden upsurge seen in the manufacturing of stone vessels in the mid-first century C.E. (from c. 50 C.E. or perhaps 60) onwards. Such vessels were perceived of as being able to maintain purity and as such were extremely popular in the "household Judaism" assemblage of that time (see Berlin 2005), with small mugs and large (*kalal*) jars serving a particularly useful task during hand-washing purification procedures. Perhaps we should regard *mikva'ot* and stone vessels as two sides of the same coin representing the overall "explosion" of purity that took place within Judaism in the first century C.E. ("purity broke out among the Jews"; Tosef. Shab. 1:14), stemming from changing religious sensibilities on the one hand and perhaps serving on the other as a form of passive Jewish resistance against encroaching features of Roman culture in the critical decade or so preceding the Great Revolt.

[Shimon Gibson (2nd ed.)]

The Mikveh in Medieval and Modern Times

From Israel the *halakhot* of the *mikveh* and its construction spread to Europe, first and foremost to Italy. Eleazar b. Yose taught a *halakhah* on the topic of cleanness in Rome and his colleagues agreed with it (Tosef., Nid. 7:1). The close connection between Italy and Germany through the medium of the scholars of Alsace and the communities of Spires, Worms, and Mainz brought the spread of the *halakhot* of Ereẓ Israel and their *mikva'ot* were built according to the traditional format. In the Middle Ages the *mikveh* constituted civically an integral part of the Jewish center and synagogue, not merely in Byzantine Israel (Huldah, Maon-Nirim, etc.) but also in Italy, Germany, Bohemia, Lithuania, Poland, and other places. The most ancient remnants of *mikva'ot* in Germany have been uncovered in Cologne from 1170, Spires 1200, Friedberg 1260, Offburg 1351, and in Andernach, too, in the 14th century. The most typical is in Worms – a subterranean building with 19 steps descending to the entrance hall and then another 11 steps to the *mikveh* itself. A similar *mikveh* exists in Cairo and in the vault of the Tiferet Israel synagogue in Jerusalem. In Europe the architectural lines were influenced by the environment and by the builders who were generally not Jews (who had no entry to the trade guilds). The architectural and other details of their construction are remarkable by their precision – the outer and inner ornamentation, the capitals of the pillars, beautiful inscriptions, etc.; a mixture of Oriental and European elements created architectural solutions for the special problems of building the *mikveh*. In place of Roman modes, the Gothic and Baroque left their mark on the outer and inner style.

In many instances the *mikva'ot* of the Middle Ages served as bathhouses because of the order forbidding Jews to wash in the rivers together with Christians.

The views of the halakhic authorities in all generations differed with reference to many details of the *mikveh*. From this stemmed the great difference in the ways of building and in the systems of installation. Modern technology demands solutions of many problems, such as the permissibility of the use of reinforced concrete, porous concrete for the trough of validation, floor tiles to prevent leaking of the water. In every generation the authorities of each generation have delved deeply into the sources of the *halakhah* and its reasons, and from them have come to clear decisions for the planner and builder, leaving extensive scope for his imagination and his ability to coordinate *halakhah* with technology.

[David Kotlar]

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MIKVEH ISRAEL (Heb. מִקְוֵה יִשְׂרָאֵל), Israel agricultural school, E. of Tel Aviv-Jaffa. Established in 1870, it is the oldest Jewish rural community in Ereẓ Israel. The school was founded by the *Alliance Israélite Universelle on the initiative of Charles *Netter, who visited the country for the first time in 1868. He then visualized such a school as the beginning of a future network of Jewish villages. In 1870 Netter obtained a lease of 650 acres (2,600 dunams) of land from the Turkish government, personally receiving the firman from the sultan in Constantinople. In the summer of 1870 he opened the school, which he directed until 1873, gaining support from the *Anglo-Jewish Association and from individuals and interesting Baron Edmond de *Rothschild in the enterprise. In 1882 the first *Bilu pioneers found work and were trained at Mikveh Israel immediately upon their arrival in the country. During his visit to Ereẓ Israel in 1898, Theodor *Herzl greeted Kaiser William II at the entrance of Mikveh Israel. Joseph *Niego directed the school from 1891 and Eliyahu *Krause from 1914 to 1955. Numerous species of fruit and forest trees were tried out there in the early years, and under Krause, Mikveh Israel became a pioneering ground for the introduction and improvement of new farm branches. Hebrew became the language of instruction soon after Krause had taken over. In the Israel *War of Independence (1948), the school was attacked several times. Since the 1930s Mikveh Israel has become an important education center for *Youth Aliyah. In 1968 it had 940 inhabitants (pupils, teachers, instructors, and other personnel). In the mid-1990s, the population was approximately 1,545, declining to 749 in 2002. Mikveh Israel has been instrumental in developing novel techniques in citrus and other farm branches, introducing avocado cultivation and the acclimatization of many livestock strains, and while it operated the Mikveh Israel wine cellars produced select wines and liqueurs. At the turn of the 20th century, the campus housed a state and state-religious agricultural high school and a school for agriculture technicians. It occupied 1.2 sq. mi. (3.2 sq. km.) and included a cultural center, a library named after Krause, experiment stations, and a botanical garden featuring over 1,000 species. Agriculture included field crops, fruit orchards, citrus groves, greenhouse crops, sheep, poultry, and bees. The name is taken from Jeremiah 14:8 and 17:13 and means "Israel's Hope."

[Efraim Orni / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

MILAN, city in Lombardy, N. Italy. The presence of Jews in Milan in the Late Roman period is attested by three Jewish inscriptions, two of which refer to the "father of the community." In 388, *Ambrose, bishop of Milan, expressed regret for failing to lead his congregation in burning down the synagogue which instead had been destroyed "by act of God." It was soon rebuilt, but about 507 was sacked by the Christian mob, whose action was condemned by the Ostrogothic ruler Theodoric. The community presumably continued in existence, though there is little evidence in succeeding centuries except for vague references to Jewish merchants and farmers in the tenth century. With the spread of Jewish communities through northern Italy in the 13th century that of Milan was also revived, but in 1320 the *podestà* issued a decree expelling the Jews. In 1387 Duke Gian Galeazzo Visconti granted privileges to the Jews in the whole of *Lombardy; these were confirmed by Francesco Sforza and his successors. An important court Jew was Elia di Sabato da Fermo, who in 1435 became the personal physician of the duke Filippo Maria Visconti. When in 1452 Pope Nicholas V approved the Jewish right of residence in the duchy, he specifically authorized the construction of a synagogue in Milan. Pope Pius II demanded a levy of one-fifth on the possessions of the Jews to subsidize a Crusade (1459), but was opposed by Duke Francesco Sforza. In 1489, under Ludovico il Moro, the Jews were expelled from the entire Duchy. They were soon readmitted, except to Milan itself where a Jew could only stay for three days. Similar conditions continued under the last Sforza dukes and after 1535, when the Duchy of Milan came under Spanish rule. In 1541 Emperor Charles V confirmed that Jews were allowed to live in various towns of the territory, but not in Milan. Thus, when the Jews were finally expelled in 1597, there were none in Milan itself.

Jews began to return to Milan at the beginning of the 19th century, when Milan was the capital of the Napoleonic Kingdom of Italy. An area for a Jewish cemetery was bought already before 1808. In 1820 around seven families lived in Milan; in 1840, there were already 200 Jews there. Jews came to Milan from the neighboring Kingdom of Sardinia to study at the university, as the learning centers were open to Jews. In 1848 some Jews were active in the rebellion against Austrian rule. In 1859 Milan became a part of the new Italian kingdom and the Jews received full rights. In 1870 there were more than 700 Jews in the city.

The first synagogue was built in 1840 in Via Stampa. In 1892 the synagogue of Via Guastalla was erected, designed by the architect Luca Beltrami.

Because of the great commercial and industrial development around Milan which now followed, the city became a center of attraction for new immigrants. In 1920, 4,500 Jews resided in Milano. In the same year the Jewish school was founded.

[Attilio Milano / Samuel Rocca (2nd ed.)]

Holocaust Period

Already after World War I, Jews from Central and Eastern Europe established themselves in Milan. However, only after Hitler assumed power did many refugees arrive from Central Europe; this flow continued illegally during the first years of war. In 1938 no fewer than 12,000 Jews were living in Milan. Between 1939 and 1941 around 5,000 Jews escaped to Palestine or the United States. During the autumn of 1943, the Germans carried out an anti-Jewish raid in the course of which the community synagogue was completely destroyed, after it was damaged during a bombardment. Many Jews were captured and killed by the Germans in the towns and villages where they had taken refuge. In all, 896 Jews were deported between 1943 and 1945. The biggest massacre took place at Meina on the shores of the Lake Maggiore, where 16 Jews were murdered at the end of September 1943.

Contemporary Period

At the end of the war, 4,484 Jews were living in Milan and were joined temporarily by many refugees from camps in Lombardy. The soldiers of the Jewish Brigade with the help of such members of the community as Raffaele *Cantoni, operated a refugee center at Via Unione 5. Most of the refugees continued on illegally to Palestine under the British Mandate. A number of Jewish immigrants came to Italy after 1949 from Egypt and, to a lesser degree, from other Arab countries; 4% came from Israel. The Jewish population of Milan in 1965 numbered 8,488 persons out of a total of 1,670,000 inhabitants, with the Sephardi and Oriental element predominating. In the 1950s and 1960s assimilation was widespread, especially among the Italian element, with the proportion of mixed marriages fluctuating around 50%. Still Milan emerged in this period as one of the leading and most prosperous communities in Europe. The most dominant and important figure of this period was the philanthropist Sally *Mayer, who was the president of the community from 1946 to his death in 1953. His son, Astorre Mayer, who for years presided over the Italian Zionist Federation and was honorary consul general of Israel, succeeded his father as president of the community. After the *Six-Day War (1967), some 3,000 Jews, who fled persecution in Egypt, and above all in Libya, sought refuge in Italy. In 1967 there were 8,700 Jews in Milan. Jews from Iran and Lebanon arrived in Milan in the 1970s.

[Sergio DellaPergola / Samuel Rocca (2nd ed.)]

On January 27, 1993, the Contemporary Jewish Documentation Center (CDEC) inaugurated in Milan the largest Jewish videotheque in Europe with 700 titles including *Holocaust documentaries found through research in East European archives. The CDEC archives and research facilities will be totally renovated thanks to donations by Eliot Malki, an Egyptian Jewish businessman who came to Milan in the 1970s. It included a modern conference center. The synagogue on Via Guastalla was restored and celebrated its 100th anniversary. Jewish silver ceremonial objects stolen during World War II were returned to the synagogue by the Milan Fine Arts and History Department.

[Lisa Palmieri-Billig]

At the outset of the 21st century the community numbered around 6,500 Jews. The main school, sponsored by the community, is named after Sally Mayer. Besides the synagogue in Via Guastalla, which follows the Italian rite, there are seven other synagogues and houses of prayer of the Italian, Persian, Lebanese, and Ashkenazi communities, as well as a rest home for elderly people. The journal of the Jewish Community is *Il Bollettino della Comunita' di Milano.*

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MILANO, ATTILIO (1907–1969), historian of Italian Judaism. Milano was born in Rome, where he studied law and economics. He immigrated to Israel in 1939 with the inception of the racist laws in Italy, settling in Ramat ha-Sharon, where he worked as a manufacturer. Milano's historical studies deal mostly with the economic and social conditions of various Italian Jewish groups, particularly stressing the study of the causes and consequences of usury and relations with the Roman Catholic Church. His *Bibliotheca Historica Italo-Judaica* (1954, 1964, and RMI, 1966) is an indispensable bibliographical tool for the study of Italian Jewry; it includes articles published in various periodicals by Milano himself. Among his important works are *Storia degli Ebrei Italiani nel Levante* (1949), *Storia degli Ebrei in Italia* (1963), and *Il Ghetto di Roma* (1964). He was editor of the department for Italian Jewish history of the *Encyclopaedia Judaica*.

His *Storia degli Ebrei in Italia*, originally published in 1963 (reprinted in Torino, 1992), has become a "classic" for the history of the Jews in Italy, and it is quoted very frequently. His fine collection of books, periodicals, articles and documents on the history and traditions of the Jews in Italy was donated to the Research Center for Italian Jewish Studies in Jerusalem.

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[Alfredo Mordechai Rabello (2nd ed.)]

MILBAUER, JOSEPH (1898–1968), poet. Born in Warsaw, Milbauer was raised in Brussels where, in 1914, he met Shalom *Aleichem, some of whose works he later translated. He went to Paris in 1921. Milbauer's early verse collections were well received. During the 1930s he was for a time editor of the *Univers Israelite*, but his outspoken Zionist opinions brought him into conflict with the paper's directors, and he resigned. Milbauer fought in both world wars and was a prisoner of war but after some harrowing experiences arrived in Ereẓ Israel as an illegal immigrant in 1944. He headed the French desk at the *Keren Ha-Yesod, and was a co-founder of a French literary circle which developed into the Association des Amitiés Israël-France. Milbauer published several more volumes of poetry, often inspired by the landscape of Israel. His other works include translations of S.Y. *Agnon, Ḥ.N. *Bialik, and S. *Tchernichowsky and the anthology *Poètes yiddisch d'aujourd'hui* (1936).

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[Pascal Themanlys]

MILETUS, city in Asia Minor captured by Alexander the Great in 334 B.C.E. According to a document cited by Josephus (Ant. 14:244–6), the inhabitants of Miletus during the Roman period attacked the Jews, "forbidding them to observe their Sabbaths, perform their native rites or manage their produce [tithes] in accordance with their custom." The Roman proconsul, Publius Servilius Galba, the author of the aforementioned document, was informed at Tralles of the inhabitants' actions by Prytanis, the son of Hermas and a citizen of Miletus. The proconsul subsequently ruled in favor of restoring the rights of the Jewish population. An inscription from the Roman theater refers to "the place of the Jews who are also called God-fearing." A ruined building dating from the late Roman-Byzantine period has been surmised by some to have been a synagogue.

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[Isaiah Gafni]

MILEVSKY, AHARÓN (1904–1986), rabbi of the Jewish Ashkenazi community in Montevideo, Uruguay. He was born in Lithuania and studied at the yeshivot of Grodno and Slobodka, and in 1924–29 in the yeshivah in Hebron. In 1930–37 he was rabbi in Lithuania. In 1937 Rabbi Milevsky was invited to serve as community rabbi in Montevideo. He published two books with exegesis of Maimonides' writings: *Minḥat Aharon* (1941) and *Naḥalat Aharon* (1951). A third book, *Ḥelkat Aharon*, was published posthumously (1991). In 1970 he settled in Jerusalem.

MILEYKOWSKY, NATHAN (**Netanyahu**; 1879–1935), Zionist preacher. Born near Kovno, Lithuania, Mileykowsky was educated in the Volozhin yeshivah and ordained in the rabbinate. While in Volozhin he displayed talent as a preacher and speaker and spent two years with the preacher J.L. Yevzerow. At the age of 20, he was sent by Y. *Tschlenow on a propaganda tour of Siberia, and from that time he became a preacher and speaker on behalf of Zionism. In 1908 he settled in Poland, taught in the Hebrew high school of M. Krinski in Warsaw, and participated in its management. He continued his propaganda tours in the cities and towns of Poland. During World War I he was a preacher in the Ohel Ya'akov synagogue in Lodz. In 1920 Mileykowsky settled in Palestine, where he served as the principal of a school in Safed. From 1924 to 1929 he was sent to England, Carpatho-Russia (then part of Czechoslovakia), and the United States on a mission for the Jewish National Fund and the Keren Hayesod. Toward the end of his life, he settled in Herzliyyah and was active in the Farmers' Association. During the *Arlosoroff murder trial (1933–34), he set up a committee for the defense of the accused. Some of his speeches are included in his anthologies *Ha-Nevi'im ve-ha-Am* ("The Prophets and the People," 1913) and *Folk un Land* (1928).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Tidhar, 1 (1947), 186–7; EẒD, 3 (1965) 417–9; LNYL, 5 (1963), 621.

[Yehuda Slutsky]

MILGRAM, STANLEY (1933–1984), U.S. social psychologist. Born in New York City, Milgram attended public schools in the Bronx, then earned a bachelor's degree in political science at Queens College in 1954. Convinced by an advisor to change his field of study to psychology, Milgram entered Harvard University, where he studied under Solomon Asch and Gordon Allport, receiving his doctoral degree in social psychology in 1960.

That year Milgram joined the faculty of Yale University as an assistant professor, and in 1961 he began his experiments on obedience to authority. He found, in studies conducted at Linsly-Chittenden Hall, that 65 percent of the subjects (ordinary citizens of New Haven) followed instructions to administer what they believed were harmful, even potentially fatal, electric shocks to an unwilling stranger – simply because they were directed to do so by an authority figure dressed in a lab coat. At the end of the experiment, the subjects were told that the victim did not actually receive shocks. Milgram's findings, released in 1963, were considered alarming; critics, including the American Psychiatric Association, initially questioned the ethics of the experiment. In time, however, Milgram's experiment was considered a milestone in the study of the social aspects of obedience and the primary documentation of what came to be called "situationism," whereby external situations override internal perceptions and moral standards. It is widely regarded as the most powerful experiment ever conducted in social psychology. Milgram, in his work *Obedience to Authority* (1974), used his findings to explain a range of shocking behavior, from guards in Nazi concentration camps to American soldiers at the My Lai massacre.

Milgram taught at Harvard from 1963 to 1967, where he conducted other noteworthy research, including the lost-letter technique and the "small world" problem, which both concerned the degrees of separation between randomly selected people. The studies gave rise to the popular expression "six degrees of separation."

In 1967 Milgram was named the head of the social psychology doctoral program at the City University of New York. In 1980 he was appointed a distinguished professor at the City University Graduate Center, where he continued to teach until his death in 1984. His research in the 1970s and early 1980s is considered to have established the subfield of urban psychology. Milgram's work continues to be widely cited in psychology textbooks, and its influence on popular culture has extended to a television movie, *The Tenth Level* (1976), and a Broadway play, *Six Degrees of Separation*, which was adapted for film in 1993.

[Dorothy Bauhoff (2nd ed.)]

MILGROM, JACOB (1923–), U.S. Bible scholar. Born in New York City and educated at Brooklyn College (B.A. 1943) and the Jewish Theological Seminary (B.H.L. 1943, M.H.L. 1946, D.H.L 1953, D.D. 1973), Milgrom was a rabbi at Conservative synagogues in Orange, New Jersey (1948–51) and Richmond, Virginia (1951–65). He taught at Virginia Union University, Graduate School of Religion (1955–65); the University of California, Berkeley; Graduate Theological Union (1965–72), where he directed the Jewish Studies Program; and the UCB study center at the Hebrew University, and he was named emeritus professor of Hebrew and Bible studies. Milgrom was a Guggenheim Fellow, a Fulbright Fellow, a fellow of the Institute for Advanced Studies and of the Albright Institute of Archaeological Research, both in Jerusalem, and a fellow of the American Academy for Jewish Research. In 1994 he and his wife, also an academic, moved to Jerusalem, where he began teaching at the Hebrew University and the Jewish Theological Seminary.

An outstanding Bible scholar, Milgrom is recognized as one of the leading authorities on Leviticus, as a result of his commentary on that book, his best-known work. Milgrom believes that "theology is what Leviticus is all about," and his massive commentary, according to critics, is distinguished by its comprehensiveness and thoroughness in its examination not only of the sources, authorship, meaning, and significance of the text, but of the ancient and modern commentary and scholarship on it. He has been praised, in particular, for his generosity in discussing theories and interpretations other than his own, even going so far as to cite his own students by name and arguing respectfully with them. Milgrom's interpretations have not met with universal agreement, but his commentary has established itself as the modern standard.

Milgrom's books include *Studies in Levitical Terminology* (1970), *Cult and Conscience: The Asham and the Priestly Doctrine of Repentance* (1976), *Studies in Cultic Theology and Terminology* (1983), *The JPS Torah Commentary: Numbers* (1990), and *Leviticus: A New Translation With Introduction and Commentary* (1–16, 1991; 17–22, 2000; 23–27, 2001). He also published over 200 scholarly articles.

[Drew Silver (2nd ed.)]

MILHAUD, DARIUS (1892–1974), French composer. Milhaud was born in Aix-en-Provence and was descended from an old Jewish family that claimed to have been among the first settlers in southern France after the fall of Jerusalem. He entered the Paris Conservatory at the age of 17, was soon attracted by the theater, and between 1910 and 1916 composed *La Brebis egarée, Agamemnon*, and *Le pauvre matelot*. He became acquainted with the composer Eric Satie and the writers Paul Claudel and Jean Cocteau and, when Claudel was appointed French minister to Brazil, he asked Milhaud to become his secretary. Milhaud spent almost two years (1917–18) in Rio de Janeiro, and his musical impressions of Brazil echo in many of his compositions. After his return to Paris, he joined a circle of progressive artists, the musicians of which formed an inner circle later known as "Les Six." A versatile and prolific composer, Milhaud wrote music for concert, stage, and screen, and for voice and orchestra. South American rhythms, U.S. jazz, Jewish synagogal traditions (especially those of his native region, the *Comtat Venaissin), 12-tone music, and trends and styles of great divergence merge in his works. Yet the mixture is always unmistakably his own.

Milhaud's most important contributions to 20th-century music are to be found in some of his operas: *Les Choëphores* (1915); *Esther de Carpentras* (1925, with text by Armand *Lunel); *Christophe Colomb* (1928); *Bolivar* (1943); and the biblical opera *David* which Milhaud composed with Lunel for the Jerusalem Festival of 1954. Milhaud wrote concertos for almost every orchestral instrument, ballets, short and full-scale symphonies, chamber music, songs, piano music, and cantatas. Among the best known of his compositions on Jewish themes are his *Service Sacré* (1947), and two song cycles with piano accompaniment: *Poèmes juifs* (1916) and *Chants populaires hébraïques* (1925). He also wrote musical settings of Psalms for solo voices and chorus; the ballet *La Création du Monde* (1923); a piano suite, *Le Candélabre à sept branches* (1951); and music for various festival prayers.

When France collapsed in 1940 Milhaud immigrated to the U.S. and became a professor at Mills College, Oakland, California. After 1947 he divided his time between the U.S. and Paris, where he became a professor of composition at the Conservatory. The story of his life and musical beliefs was told in *Notes sans musique* (1949; *Notes Without Music*, 1953), which also appeared in Hebrew, and in *Entretiens avec Claude Rostand* (1952). During his later years Milhaud suffered from rheumatoid arthritis which confined him to a wheelchair for long periods of time.

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[Peter Emanuel Gradenwitz]

MILIAN, MAXIMIN (**Mendel Gruenberg**; 1885–1953), Romanian journalist and short-story writer. Born in Ploești, Milian wrote for various papers and was editorial secretary of *Lupta* ("The Fight") until the antisemitic regime of Octavian Goga in 1937. He devoted himself to Jewish problems and contributed to *Curierul Israelit* ("Jewish Courier"). His volumes of short stories included *Păcatul iubirii* ("Sin of Love," 1910) and *Puternicul* ("The Strong," 1910). In 1933 he gave warning of the dangers of Nazism in the book, *15 zile în imperiul lui Hitler* ("15 Days in Hitler's Empire").

MILIBAND, RALPH (1924–1994), British academic and socialist theorist. Born in Brussels, Miliband was a member of *Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir before fleeing to England with his father in 1940 just before the German invasion of Belgium. He was educated at the London School of Economics and came under the influence of Harold *Laski. An independent socialist, in the 1950s, Miliband was associated with E.P. Thompson, John Saville, and other active intellectuals of the British "New Left." Miliband taught at the London School of Economics before moving to Leeds University as professor of politics from 1972 to 1978. He was best known for his influential political works such as *Parliamentary Socialism* (1961), which argued that the British Labour Party, heavily weighed down by constitutional niceties, could never enact true socialism, and by works such as *The State in Capitalist Society* (1969) and *Capitalist Democracy in Britain* (1982), all written from an independent Marxist position. In his later *Socialism for a Skeptical Age* (1994), Miliband admitted the previous failures of socialism, but remained an independent, pro-democracy Marxist to the end. His son DAVID (1965–), who was educated at Oxford and MIT, was a leading figure on the moderate Labour left. He edited *Reinventing the Left* (1994) and became a Labour member of parliament in 2001. He was made minister for schools by Tony Blair in 2002 and entered the cabinet as cabinet secretary in 2004. Unlike his father, David Miliband was a moderate center-leftist, and headed Tony Blair's Policy Unit after Blair became prime minister in 1997.

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[William D. Rubinstein (2nd ed.)]

MILICH, ADOLPHE (1884–1964), French painter, born in Tyszowce, Poland; a member of the school of Paris. He originally worked as a sign painter, finally settling in Paris in 1920. During the German occupation he lived in Switzerland. Milich worked in oils and watercolors, and painted landscapes, still lifes, large compositions of women bathing, and portraits. He particularly loved the Mediterranean landscape of Provence and of the area around Lugano. His painting owes much to his long study of the old masters. Among modern painters, the strongest influence is that of Cézanne. Milich cultivated his own idiom regardless of fashion. His work is well thought out and serene, and is characterized by its joyful color harmonies.

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MILITARY LAW.

Morality and War in Judaism

The prophetic view of the end of days is expressed in the words: "and they shall beat their swords into plowshares, and their spears into pruning hooks; nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more" (Isa. 2:4). But until those days arrive, there may be times when war is required. In such circumstances, *halakhah* views war as a necessity, and participation therein as an obligation under certain circumstances.

A soldier acting in accordance with *halakhah* may not indulge in the naked exercise of force, brutality, or vandalism, but rather must be guided by the recognition of an obligation imposed by an exigency brought about by reality. The Torah establishes the boundaries of what is permitted and forbidden in war for both individual and for society, with the view of achieving the military objective while striking a balance between recognition of the nature of soldiers in war – who must, at times, be permitted to behave in ways that would be forbidden in peacetime – and the need to imbue those soldiers with the qualities of compassion and holiness, even during times of war. It is instructive that the laws of prayer and of the sanctity of the synagogue are derived from the laws governing a military camp (Ber. 25a). Although under certain circumstances the Torah views war as an obligation incumbent upon every man in Israel, King David was not allowed to build the Temple because he had fought many wars (I Chron. 22:7–10). This exemplifies the potentially problematic nature of war, and the need to strike an appropriate balance between single-minded combat against the enemy and preserving the moral standards of the combatants.

In this entry, we shall briefly consider the salient issues of military law in Jewish law. We shall examine the classic commandments related to war as they appear in the Bible, in Talmudic literature, and in halakhic decisions, and consider the contemporary ramifications of some of them and their expression in modern society.

The Sanctity of the Camp in Time of War

The Torah states (Deut. 23:10): "When you go forth against your enemies and are in camp, then you shall keep yourself from every evil thing." In the tannaitic Midrash, the Sages interpreted this verse as implying a special warning in time of war to be careful regarding matters of defilement and purity, tithes, incest, idolatry, bloodshed, and slander (Sif. Deut. 254, ed. Finkelstein). In his commentary to Deuteronomy 23:10, Naḥmanides explains that human nature is such that moral restraints are loosened at time of war, and we shed the sense of shame felt in normal human society, with regard to such acts as licentiousness and theft. This is a by-product of the cruelty that envelops soldiers when they go to war. The Torah therefore saw need for reinforcement of these matters through a special proscription. In the ensuing verses, the Torah cautions about purity and physical cleanliness in the military camp. The section concludes with a general explanation that these commandments are required so that the Divine presence not abandon the Israelite camp: "Because the Lord your God walks in the midst of your camp, to save you and to give up your enemies before you; therefore your camp must be holy, that He may not see anything indecent among you, and turn away from you" (Deut. 23:15).

Discretionary War and Obligatory War

The Mishnah (Sot. 8:7) distinguishes between two types of war: discretionary war and obligatory war. According to Maimonides, an obligatory war is like that fought by Joshua to liberate the land of Israel from the Seven Nations, the war to eradicate Amalek, or a war "to defend Israel against an enemy that attacks them." A discretionary war is one undertaken to extend the borders of the state, such as the wars fought by King David (Yad, Melakhim 5:1; Sot. 44b; TJ, Sot. 8:10). Later rabbinical authorities differed on the interpretation of the term "to defend Israel against an enemy that attacks them." Some explained that this refers to a situation in which Israel is attacked by her enemies, constituting a defensive war (obligatory). This is as opposed to a preventive war in which a preemptive strike is made against an enemy before it is able to realize its intention to attack, which constitutes a discretionary war (*Leḥem Mishnah* ad loc.). Others extended the scope of the term "to defend Israel against an enemy" (and hence of an obligatory war) to include a preventive war, inasmuch as a defensive war – i.e., once Israel is actually under attack – is clearly obligatory, just as one is always obligated to rescue a victim from an assailant (*Sheyarei Korban* commentary to TJ, Sot. loc. cit.).

The decision to embark upon a discretionary war requires the approval of a court of 71 (Mish., Sanh. 1:5; Yad, Melakhim 5:2). However, the court cannot initiate the war. The initiative must come from the king, who must then seek the court's approval (*Tosefot Yom Tov* on Mish. Sanh. loc. cit.). According to Naḥmanides (*Hassagot Ramban*, on *Sefer ha-Mitzvot*, gloss no. 17), the Urim and Thummim must also be consulted, as going to war must be done at the behest of the priest who wears them.

The Obligation to Serve, Fear, and Conscientious Objection

According to the Torah, the minimum age for military service is 20 (Num. 1:3, and Rashi and Naḥmanides ad loc.). The Torah does not expressly establish a maximum age. Some hold that the maximum age for military service is 60 (Sforno, Num. 1:45), while others suggest that it was 40 (according to certain versions of Sif. Deut., ed. Finkelstein, 197).

The book of Deuteronomy provides guidelines for exemption from military service. The Torah (Deut. 20) provides that, before venturing into battle, the priest– referred to in the Mishnah as the "Anointed for Battle" (Sot. 8:1) – must speak to the people and encourage them so that they not fear the enemy and to place their trust in God, as the Torah expressly forbids fear of the enemy in war (Maim., *Sefer ha-Mitzvot*, negative precept 58; *Sefer ha-Ḥinnukh*, 525). Following the priest's speech, the officers address the people and exempt the following four categories of people: (a) one who has built a home and not dedicated it; (b) one who has planted a vineyard but not yet enjoyed its fruit (the fruit can only be used after the fourth year); (c) one who has betrothed a woman but not yet married her (see *Marriage); (d) one who is afraid and fainthearted, "lest he cause his comrades to be afraid." Later sources explain the application of these exemptions in practice. Thus, prior to the battle with the Midianites, God commands Gideon to tell the fearful to return home; more than one third of the force leaves (Judges 7:3). The Book of Maccabees (I Maccabees 3:55) relates that soldiers were exempted for the same reasons. There is some disagreement among the *tannaim* regarding the nature of the fear that exempts a person from going to war (Mish. Sot. 8:5; Sot. 44a). In Rabbi Akiva's view, this alludes to fear of war. According to the mishnaic citation of R. Akiva, his concern was fear of the dangers of war, whereas according to the Tosefta (Sot. 7:24), R. Akiva's concern was not the fear of war per se, but rather the fear that his sense of mercy would affect his ability to fight, and even a stony and mighty warrior was commanded to return home in the event of his feelings of mercy being likely to impair his ability to fight. According to R. Yose the Galilean, this exemption also refers to a person who is fearful because he knows himself to be a sinner, his feelings of guilt leading him to fear that he will be punished for his sins by death in battle. Although these four categories of people are exempted from battle, they are commanded to contribute to the war effort by providing food and water for the troops, and by repairing the roads (Mish., Sot. 8; Yad, Melakhim 7:9).

In addition to the above, a man is exempt from going to war during the first year of his marriage, in order to make his wife happy (Deut. 24:5). The Sages extended this one-year exemption to building a house and harvesting a vineyard, as well (TJ, Sot. 8:8; Yad, Melakhim 7:9). Unlike the other exemptions, a person exempt for these reasons is not required to contribute to the war effort, but simply stays home (Deut. 24:5; Sot. 44a).

All these exemptions apply exclusively to a discretionary war; in the case of an obligatory war, "all go forth, even the bridegroom out of his chamber and the bride from her bridal pavilion" (Mish., Sot. 8:8).

The Israel Supreme Court discussed these issues at length in its decision in the *Schein* case (HC 734/83 *Shein v. Minister of Defense*, 38 (III) PD 393, per M. Elon). The petitioner in that case was a reserve soldier who refused a call-up order to serve in southern Lebanon, on grounds of conscience. He argued that he opposed the Israeli army's presence in Lebanon, and believed that presence to be illegal. The petitioner had already been tried for a previous refusal, and the petition related to a new call-up order and to the sentence that he had served. In denying the petition, Justice Elon surveyed philosophical and legal positions accepted by various states in regard to conscientious objection, and addressed the distinction between general conscientious objection and selective conscientious objection, that only relates to a specific type of military service. Justice Elon went on to examine the view of Jewish law. "In principle, the issue before us was addressed by Jewish law in its earliest days, as a matter related to the subject of exemption from the obligation of military service" (p. 403). After reviewing the above-mentioned sources and the opinions expressed by the *tannaim*, he concluded: "The foregoing quotations reflect the various opinions in Jewish law concerning an issue essentially comparable to the question of exemption from military service for reasons of conscience. The reasons for exemption are general and inclusive, and they concern the character of the person and his attitude to violence. They are not selective. They do not pertain to a particular time and place, and they are not based on ideological-social outlooks. Finally, even the general and inclusive reasons are applicable only to a "discretionary" war, but not to an obligatory war in a time of emergency (p. 405).

Participation of Women in War

From the Mishnah's statement that "all go forth, even the bridegroom out of his chamber and the bride from her bridal pavilion," one may conclude that both men and women are required to serve in an obligatory war. Certain later rabbinical authorities sought to limit this rule by saying that women are only required to help provision the troops (Rashash on Sot. 44b), while others opined that only the bridegroom goes to war, whereas the bride merely cancels her wedding (Radbaz on Maimonides, Melakhim 7:4).

The verse that forbids a woman from wearing a man's garments (Deut. 22:5) has been interpreted as prohibiting a woman from carrying arms, and thus prohibiting her going to war (Ibn Ezra). Others saw the verse as limited to matters of modesty, and therefore not to be taken as forbidding the participation of women in war (Rabbenu Perez, in *Shitat Kadmonim le-Nazir,* 1972). The subject assumed practical significance in the State of Israel with regard to the question of the conscription of women. Some authorities, relying upon some of the above-mentioned sources, argued that it is prohibited, while others expressed the view that it is not, so long as modesty is preserved. Under Section 39(c) of the Defense Service Law [Consolidated Version], 5746 – 1986, a woman may be exempted from service if she shows that it would be incompatible with "her family's religious way of life."

The Commandment to Sue for Peace

"When you draw near to a city to fight against it, offer terms of peace to it" (Deut. 20:10). Before launching war against a city or placing it under siege, the Torah requires an offer of peace. There is dispute as to whether this duty *also* applies to an obligatory war, as held by Maimonides (Melakhim 6:1), or only applies to a discretionary war, as is the view of Rashi (Deut. 20:10, based upon Sif. Deut., ed. Finkelstein, 199, and Rabad, on Maimonides ad loc.). Maimonides interprets the offer of peace as the granting of an opportunity to surrender and to accept subjugation to Israel and the obligation to pay tribute. Some commentators suggest that, practically speaking, this approach sees the purpose of the offer of peace as a means for achieving the objectives of war in an easier, more efficient manner, while avoiding the loss of life. Under this approach, the call for peace applies to an obligatory war as well, inasmuch as it is clearly preferable to achieve the objectives of an obligatory war without resort to combat. Another approach sees the call for peace as an end in itself, which prevents war and teaches compassion (*Sefer ha-Ḥinnukh*, Mitzvah 527). Therefore, it is not required in an obligatory war.

This *mitzvah* led the Sages to the midrashic statement regarding the importance of peace in Judaism: "Great is peace, for Israel requires it even in war" (Sif. Deut., loc. cit.).

The Laws of Siege

THE DUTY TO LEAVE ONE DIRECTION OPEN FOR ESCAPE. The Midrash (Sif. Num., ed. Horowitz, 157) cites the opinion of the *tanna* Rabbi Nathan, that when Israel laid siege in its war with Midian (Num. 31), one side was left open so that the Midianites could flee. Naḥmanides (*Hassagot al Sefer ha-Mitzvot la-Rambam*, 5), suggests two reasons for this. The first is educational, namely, to encourage compassion even for an enemy in time of war. The second reason is tactical: to avoid emboldening the enemy by putting it in a position from which there can be no escape, and in which it has nothing to lose. In his opinion, this rule only applies to a discretionary war. As opposed to this, Maimonides sees it as a duty in every war. Rabbi Meir Simḥah ha-Kohen of Dvinsk (*Meshekh Ḥokhmah*, at Num. 31:6) explains that the source of the disagreement between Naḥmanides and Maimonides is that Maimonides views this primarily as a matter of military tactics. Therefore it is not an obligation, but rather a recommendation applying even to an obligatory war. Naḥmanides sees the underlying reason as that of compassion, which applies only to a discretionary war.

This dispute has practical ramifications to this day. Is there a halakhic obligation to allow the enemy an avenue of escape? Contemporary halakhic authorities disagreed as to whether the *halakhah* required the Israeli army to allow PLO terrorists to escape during the 1982 siege of Beirut. Rabbi S. Goren rejected the distinction of the *Meshekh Ḥokhmah*, and ruled that according to Maimonides there was a duty to allow them to escape, even in an obligatory war. Rabbi S. Yisraeli accepted the distinction and ruled that according to Maimonides there was no such duty in an obligatory war, and the matter was subject to the discretion of the military commanders and the government (see Bibliography).

DESTRUCTION OF TREES DURING A SIEGE. A special provision of the rules of siege concerns the status of trees in and around the besieged city: "When you besiege a city for a long time, making war against it in order to take it, you shall not destroy its trees by wielding an axe against them; for you may eat of them, but you shall not cut them down. For is the tree of the field man that it should be besieged by you?" (Deut. 20:19). This rule applies only to a discretionary war (Sif. Deut., ed. Finkelstein, 203).

It should be noted that this verse constitutes the basis for the general prohibition upon destroying fruit trees, and of the destruction of property in general, independent of the rules of war (Maim., *Sefer ha-Mitzvot*, negative commandments, 57; Yad, Melakhim 6:8).

The prohibition only applies to unnecessary destruction. Felling trees for the purpose of constructing the siege, or to deprive the besieged enemy of wood for its own use, or to prevent the enemy from using the trees as cover, is permitted (*Hassagot ha-Ramban al Sefer ha-Mitzvot la-Rambam*, 6). Although the language of the Torah only prohibits the destruction of fruit trees, according to a *baraita* (BK 91b), the prohibition applies to all trees, and where there is need for wood, non-fruit bearing trees must be used first (BK 91b).

In his Torah commentary (Deut. 20:19–20), Naḥmanides explains that the reason for this special prohibition is that once the city is captured its property will fall into the hands of Israel, and the soldiers must have faith in God that they will be victorious and that they will inherit the spoils. Thus, the prohibition derives from the rule that a person may not destroy his own property. According to Naḥmanides, when the purpose of the war is not conquest but the destruction of the city, all the trees may be destroyed.

The closing expression, "Are the trees in the field man that it should be besieged by you?" has been variously interpreted by biblical commentators. Rashi understood it as a rhetorical question, expressing the idea that trees are not the enemy, and hence their destruction is not justified. Ibn Ezra explained: "For the tree is man's life"; therefore, in harming the trees we harm ourselves.

During Israel's war with Moab, the prophet Elisha expressly commanded that the army "fell every good tree, and stop up all springs of water, and ruin every good piece of land with stones" (II Kings 3:19). The explanation given for this deviation from the language of the Torah is that it was an emergency measure (Radak).

Spoils and Looting

From the Torah, it would appear that the taking of spoils was common, and was viewed as an integral part of war (Genesis 11:24; I Samuel 30:24). This conclusion can also be reached on the basis of the prohibition against destroying trees, discussed above. In Deuteronomy, following the command to sue for peace, we are told that Israel shall enjoy the spoils of a city that refuses the offer of peace (Deut. 20:14). In the Midrash, the Sages emphasized that it was not only permissible to plunder, but that the spoils could be taken for the personal use of the soldiers (Sif. Deut., ed. Finkelstein, 200). According to Maimonides, the spoils were intended solely for the soldiers, and might be described as their payment (Maimonides, Melakhim 4:9). In accordance with David's instruction that the spoils be divided equally between the front-line soldiers and those in the rear who stay "on the baggage" (I Samuel 30:24), Maimonides ruled that the spoils must be equally apportioned.

Although permitted, it would seem to be considered inappropriate to take more than the costs of war. This is concluded from Abraham's decision to take from the king of Sodom "nothing but what the young men have eaten, and the share of the men who went with me" (Gen. 14:24; Radak and Sforno, loc. cit.). In the Scroll of Esther we find that the Jews were permitted to plunder the property of their enemies, yet the text emphasizes "but they laid no hands on the plunder" (Esther 8:11; 9:15).

Taking spoils can bring about the undesirable result of lowered moral standards in war, such as occurred at the time of King Saul (I Samuel 14:31–32), when the people, in their excitement over the spoils, transgressed the prohibition of "eating with the blood." As earlier noted, the Torah considers maintaining the moral standards of the army to be an exalted goal and this is another argument against taking spoils. In view of this, some are of the opinion that taking spoils is permitted only for the army as a whole, in accordance with the instructions of the relevant authorities, but is not permitted to individual soldiers.

Harming Innocent Civilians

The language of the Torah leads to the conclusion that if, in a discretionary war, the enemy does not accept the terms of surrender offered by the Israelite army, then all the men are to be killed: "But if it makes no peace with you… you shall put all its males to the sword" (Deut. 20:12–13). This is the conclusion drawn by Maimonides (Melakhim 6:4), who emphasizes the corollary that women and children are not to be killed. Maimonides does not distinguish between combatants and noncombatants. This should perhaps be viewed in its historical and cultural context. In the ancient world, the enemy army comprised the entire male population, whether as direct participants in the fighting or as support. The correct translation of this rule to contemporary law might be that only combatants may be targeted, and that the innocent civilian population must not be harmed.

Over the last few generations, since the beginning of the Zionist enterprise, and particularly since the establishment of the State of Israel, contemporary halakhic authorities have addressed these issues. Rabbi S. Yisraeli (see Bibliography) was of the opinion that there is justification for harming a civilian population that supports the enemy forces and voluntarily assists them, even under the doctrine of the "pursuer" (*rodef*) (see *Penal Law). However, when the enemy forces compel that assistance from the civilian population, there is no justification for harming non-combatant civilians.

The biblical story of Simeon and Levi and the city of Shechem (Gen. 34) is germane to this discussion. After Shechem ben Hamor, son of the city's king, rapes Jacob's daughter Dinah, Simeon and Levi kill all of the males of the city. Some commentators (Naḥmanides, at Gen. 34:13) take a dim view of what they see as their immoral conduct, and argue that this is why Simeon and Levi were reprimanded by their father Jacob (Gen. 49:5–7). Others justify the act, arguing that it is of the nature of war that the acts of one *obligate* all (*Maharal, Gur Aryeh al ha-Torah*, Gen. 34:13), or that it was justifiable from a formal halakhic point of view (Yad, Melakhim 9:14). Some have responded that, even if it were halakhically permitted, it must nevertheless be morally condemned, as we should be strict in capital matters (Rabbi S. Goren, Bibliography, 1:28).

Rabbi S. Yisraeli addressed the question of the relationship between the international law of armed conflicts and Torah law (see Bibliography), expressing the view that the rule that the law of the country is binding (see entry **Dina de-Malkhuta Dina*) may apply not only to the spheres of civil and criminal law, but to international law, as well. According to this approach, international conventions on what is permitted and forbidden in war are halakhically valid (except, of course, in regard to what constitutes an "obligatory war").

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[Ariel Ehrlich (2nd ed.)]

MILITARY SERVICE. Jews served in the national armies of most countries in which they settled. However, in many states they were denied the right to bear arms before the 20th century since they were considered to be second-class citizens, not fit to fight for their country. A major consideration motivating the Jewish desire to fight in the armed forces of the countries of their adoption was that they hoped that the acceptance of this obligation would entitle them to civic rights. For this very reason, states which denied Jews civil rights frequently restricted their service in their armies. In the 20th century, however, Jews participated fully in modern warfare as the Table: Jewish Participation in World War I and Table: Jewish Participation in World War II show.

The figures in the table for the world wars were published by the United Nations and do not include Jewish partisans who fought against Nazi Germany. Jews served in all the services and a few became army commanders, for example the Italian general, Giorgio *Liuzzi. In the early years of Israeli statehood, the military achievements of the Israel Defense Forces during the *War of Independence (1948–49), the *Sinai Campaign of 1956, and the *Six-Day War (1967) focused attention on the quality of the Jewish soldier.

United States of America

Jews first did military service early in the colonial period in the form of militia duty. Asser *Levy insisted on his right to

Jewish Participation in World War I (by country)

U.S.	250,000
Great Britain	50,000
British Commonwealth	8,000
Czarist Russia	450,000
Austria-Hungary	275,000
Italy	8,000
France	35,000
Germany	90,000
Bulgaria	6,000
TOTAL	**1,172,000**

Jewish Participation in World War II (by country).

U.S.	550,000
Great Britain	62,000
Canada	16,000
South Africa	10,000
Australia and New Zealand	3,000
Palestinian Units in British army	35,000
Bulgaria	7,000
Holland	7,000
U.S.S.R.	500,000
Greece	13,000
France	35,000
Poland	140,000
Czechoslovakia	8,000
TOTAL	**1,397,000**

be allowed to stand guard duty against attack by Indians, and other early members of the community of New Amsterdam demanded the right of helping to defend the settlement and, when necessary, sprang to arms in a common effort to repel hostile assaults, earning full admission as citizens of the colony (1657). Later, in the 1750s, Jews served in the conquest of Canada in which Aaron *Hart led a battalion against the French in Canada, and Judah Hays commanded a 16-ton privateer, the *Duke of Cumberland*. During the American War of Independence (1775–83), a considerable number of Jews volunteered for the colonialist armies and several acquired considerable distinction, among them: Isaac Franks, David Salisbury *Franks, Lewis Bush, and Solomon Bush. In this war some U.S. companies included a considerable number of Jewish soldiers, such as that commanded by Major Benjamin Nones (d. 1826), a French Jew who served under the command of Lafayette and George Washington. During the second war between the United States and Great Britain from 1812 to 1814, there were a small number of Jews in the U.S. army most of whom were volunteers or members of militia companies. Aaron Levy (d. 1829) became a lieutenant colonel. Two naval officers achieved fame in this war. Captain John Ordraonaux (1778–1841) seized nine British prize vessels and later captured a British frigate and Uriah Phillips *Levy volunteered for the U.S. Navy in 1812 and rose to become commodore nearly half a century later. Levy's ship was captured by the British after sinking 21 merchant vessels and he spent the last 16 months of the war in a British prison. His subsequent career in the face of antisemitic opposition opened the way for future generations of U.S. Jewish sailors, among whom Claude C. *Bloch rose to become admiral of the U.S. fleet over a century later. In the following decades many Jews held senior posts in the U.S. forces; in the Nones family there were four naval officers who rose to the rank of captain. During the Mexican War (1846–48) the Jews of Baltimore formed a volunteer corps and Jonas Phillips Levy, brother of Uriah Phillips Levy, was promoted to naval captain. In the American Civil War (1861–65) Jews flocked to the colors of both Union and Confederacy armies. About 6,000 Jews fought on the Union side and a smaller number in the Confederate forces, though the exact figures are in dispute. The Confederate forces contained many prominent Jews, including Judah Phillip *Benjamin, the secretary of war, David de Leon (1813–1872), the first surgeon general, and 23 staff officers. The naval captain, Levi Myers Harby, distinguished himself in the defense of Galveston and commanded a fleet of gunboats on the Sabine River. On the Union side seven Jews were awarded the Congressional Medal of Honor: Leopold Karpeles, Benjamin Levy, Abraham Cohn, David Obranski, Henry Heller, Abraham Grunwalt, and Isaac Gans. Several Jews rose to the rank of general during the war including: Frederick Knefler (1833–1901), a Hungarian by birth, who volunteered for the Union army on the outbreak of war as a private and was the first Jewish brevet major general; Edward S. Salomon (1836–1913), who was made governor of Washington Territory in recognition of his military feats at the battles of Fredericktown, Munfordville, and Gettysburg; and Leopold C. Newman (1815–1863), who was killed in action. Max Einstein and Phillip J. Joachimson (1817–1890), who organized the 59th New York volunteer regiment, were made brigadier generals in the Union army. Jews played no conspicuous part in the Spanish-American War of 1898. Nevertheless, it is noteworthy that hostilities broke out following the sinking of the U.S.S. *Maine*, commanded until shortly before then by the Jewish officer Adolph Marix, and over 100 of nearly 5,000 Jews who fought in the U.S. army were killed. A few Jews were active in various Latin American armies including Jacob Baiz who was a brigadier general in the army of Honduras and Sam Dreben known as the "fighting Jew" who fought in Nicaragua in 1910, and was subsequently a colonel in the armies of Honduras and Mexico. In World War I a quarter of a million Jews fought in the armies of the United States, representing 5% of the total Jewish population of the United States, whereas only 3% of the total U.S. population served in World War I. Over 15,000 Jews were killed or wounded in the 18-month campaign. Nearly half of the 77th Division, the National Army unit from New York, consisted of Jews and there were approximately 10,000 Jewish officers, including three generals, Milton J. Foreman (1863–1935), Charles Laucheimer (1859–1920) and Abel Davis (1878–1937). Three Jews also rose to high rank in the navy during World War I: Rear Admiral Joseph Strauss (1861–1948) who commanded the battleship *Nevada* and was later responsible for placing a barrage of mines across the English Channel, Commander Walter F. Jacobs, who commanded a flotilla of minesweepers, and Captain Joseph K. *Taussig who was responsible for the safe escort of convoys against submarine attacks. Six Jews won the Congressional Medal of Honor: William Sawelson, Benjamin Kaufman (1894–1981), Sydney G. Gumpertz (1879–1953), Charles W. Hoffman, Samuel Sampler, and Philip C. Katz. In addition over 200 Jews were awarded the Distinguished Service Cross. The Jewish contribution to the U.S. fighting force in World War II was no less impressive. Over half a million U.S. Jews fought in the Allied armies, many of whom crossed the Canadian border early in the war to volunteer for the Canadian army before the United States entered the fighting. More than 50,000 Jewish servicemen were killed or wounded and two Jewish soldiers were awarded the Congressional Medal of Honor, one of whom was Lieutenant Raymond Lussman who single-handedly killed 17 German soldiers and captured another 32. An outstanding army officer who fell in battle was Major General Maurice Rose (1899–1945) who commanded the U.S. third armored division in the final offensive against Germany in 1945 and who was killed at Paderborn only a few weeks before the end of the war. In addition Lewis *Strauss was promoted to rear admiral during World War II. In 1953 Hyman *Rickover, a naval captain in World War II, was promoted to rear admiral and retired in 1958 with the rank of vice admiral. Jews also played an important part in the United States armies in Korea and in Vietnam; 150,000 Jews saw service in the Korean War and nearly 30,000 Jews fought in Vietnam, where Ben Sternberg (1914–) served as major general.

Great Britain

Until the repeal of the 1673 Test Act in 1828, professing Jews were debarred by religious tests from serving as officers in the regular armed forces of the crown. English Jews were, however, like their counterparts, the Continental Court Jews, prominent as army contractors for pay and supplies in the 18th century: the most famous were Sir Solomon de *Medina, the associate of Marlborough, and Abraham Prado (the diary and letter-book of the latter's subordinate, David Mendes da Costa, have survived). Aaron *Hart was commissary officer at the taking of Montreal and settled in Canada. Professing Jews could serve in the ranks and a number served especially in the navy, among them Barnett Abraham Simmons (later minister in the Penzance synagogue) and Isaac Vallentine, founder of the *Jewish Chronicle*. When invasion threatened, volunteers were enlisted and many professing Jews served, particularly in the London Volunteers. Jews could hold nonregular commissions and Sir Moses *Montefiore served as an officer in the Kent Militia; Daniel *Mendoza, the boxer, was a sergeant in the Fifeshire, then Aberdeenshire, Fencibles. There were a number of officers of Jewish origin before 1828 – Wellington said 15 served under him at Waterloo in 1815 – but they were presumably converts or at least not professing Jews: the most famous were the descendants of Meyer Low Schomberg, physician to the Great Synagogue; among his sons were Captain Sir Alexander Schomberg RN (Royal Navy), founder of a naval and military dynasty still flourishing, and Lieutenant Colonel Henry Schomberg, probably the first Anglo-Jewish army officer.

After the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts, some professing Jews entered the army and became regular officers, particularly in the Indian army (e.g., Captain Lionel Gomez da Costa, who died of wounds at Lucknow in 1857, and Ensign Edmund Helbert Ellis, who died in 1851 at the age of 22), in which Indian native Jews had previously served. The most distinguished soldier in the community was Col. Albert E.W. *Goldsmid. An increasing number of professing Jews served in the ranks, including veterans of the Crimean War. Judaism was not, however, recognized in the British army as a separate denomination until 1886, partly owing to the efforts of Trooper Woolf Cohen of the 5th Lancers. In the South African War (1899–1902), between 3,000 and 4,000 Jews served, with 127 killed in action; many of those serving were South African "colonials" and "outlanders," notably Colonel Sir David *Harris who commanded the Kimberley Town Guard during the siege. During World War I the number of Jews in the British army rose to 50,000. Several Anglo-Jewish families provided large numbers of Jewish soldiers. The *Rothschild family contributed five officers, the *Sassoon family 14 officers, and five sons of Arthur *Sebag-Montefiore held commissions, while 41 descendants of Sir Isidore *Spielmann were said to have served as officers. Five Jewish soldiers won the Victoria Cross: Captain Robert Gee, Lieutenant Frank Alexander De Pass, Sergeant Issy Smith (Shmulevitsch), and Privates J. White and Leonard Keysor; 50 Jewish soldiers received the Distinguished Service Order. In addition the Jews formed their own unit, the Zion Mule Corps, which fought at Gallipoli and in the Dardanelles in 1915. Later, three Jewish units, the 38th, 39th, and 40th battalions of the Royal Fusiliers participated in the conquest of Palestine in 1918 under General Allenby (see *Jewish Legion). The regiments were disbanded after World War I. In World War II over 60,000 Jews fought in the British army. Jewish soldiers included volunteers from Central and Eastern Europe who were not British subjects and Palestinian volunteers who enlisted after the German advance across North Africa threatened the *yishuv* in Palestine. Two Jewish soldiers won the Victoria Cross in World War II: Captain David Hirsch, and naval lieutenant T. Gould. Several others rose to high military rank including Major General William Beddington (1893–?), Brigadier Sir Edward Beddington (1884–1966), who was deputy director of military intelligence at the War Office, Brigadier Barnard Goldstone (1896–?), Brigadier Fredrick Morris (1888–1941), Brigadier Bernard Schlesinger (1896–1945), and Brigadier Frederick *Kisch, who was killed in action. In addition, Irish-born Abraham Briscoe (1892–?) was the first Jew to reach the rank of air-commodore in the Royal Air Force. Jewish soldiers also fought in the British army in Korea and in Egypt where Brigadier Edmund Meyers (1906–?) was chief engineer to the British forces at the Suez

Canal. Major General James A. *D'Avigdor-Goldsmid became colonel of the 4/7th Dragoon Guards and director-general of the Territorial army.

British Commonwealth

No discrimination existed against Jews serving in the armed forces of Canada, Australia, and South Africa and a number of Jewish officers rose to high rank. In World War I Lieutenant General Sir John *Monash commanded the Australian army corps in France from June 1918 and was responsible for the breach of the German lines on August 8 which led to the collapse of German resistance. He was considered the outstanding army commander of World War I and in 1930 was promoted to full general. Major General Sir Charles Rosenthal also achieved prominence in the Australian army during World War I, commanding the ANZAC artillery and later the second Australian army division under Monash's supreme command. Another Australian, Private Leonard Keysor, was awarded the Victoria Cross during the Gallipoli campaign of 1915. In World War II 16,000 Jews fought in the Canadian army in Europe and North Africa, and one of them, Colonel Phinias Rothschild (1914–), was later promoted to major general and quartermaster-general of the Canadian army. 10,000 Jews fought in the South African army in which Major General Alexander Ohrenstein was director-general of the medical services.

[Vivian David Lipman]

Czarist Russia

Before 1827 Jews were exempted from military service on payment of a money tax. In that year, however, on the accession of Nicholas I, Jews were conscripted into the Russian army for periods of up to 25 years. Ten Jews for every thousand males were conscripted, recruitment being of boys aged between 12 and 25 while those under 18 were placed in special schools (see *Cantonists). Jewish soldiers were subjected to persistent pressure to convert, young Jewish children were seized and pressed into military service for 25-year periods, and Jews were excluded from the ranks of officers. Not unnaturally Jews sought every opportunity to evade military service in Russia under these conditions. These conscription laws did not apply to Jews in Polish territories annexed by Russia at the end of the Napoleonic wars. Thousands of Jews fought in the czarist army in the Crimean War (1854–56) and about 500 were killed. In 1864 a monument was erected to the Jewish soldiers who fell in the siege of Sebastopol and one Jewish soldier, Chaim Zaitchikoff, was congratulated by Prince Gortchakoff for his valor. Following the accession of Alexander II the condition of the Jews improved slightly and they were given the right to be promoted to sergeant while demobilized Jewish soldiers were allowed to live outside the *Pale of Settlement. The seizure of Jewish children for military service was abolished and the maximum period of service was reduced to 15 years. In 1874 a law was enacted introducing universal military service obliging all Russian citizens to report for military service at the age of 21. The effect of the new law was to grant Jews equality with the rest of the population but half a century of enforced service in the Russian army had already conditioned them to avoid enlistment wherever possible. Nevertheless, many thousands of Jews fought in the Russo-Turkish War of 1877. They were not allowed to become officers though as an exception to the rule Captain Zvi Hertz *Zam was permitted to enter the officers' school in 1874 after eight years of service; however, he was promoted to captain only after more than 40 years of service in the Russian army. Another exception was Joseph *Trumpeldor, who refused to be discharged from service after he lost his right arm in action. The acute shortage of doctors in the Czarist army also led to Jews being admitted as surgeon officers. On the outbreak of World War I nearly 400,000 Jews were drafted into the Russian army and the number increased to nearly half a million by 1917. Several thousands won awards for bravery on the battlefield.

Austro-Hungary

The Austro-Hungarian Empire generally adopted an enlightened policy toward its Jews. In 1782 Joseph II granted civic rights to the Jews and six years later Jews were declared fit for military service, though the right was at first restricted to serving in the supply corps in the province of Galicia where most Jews lived. Later Jews were allowed to serve in all branches of the Hapsburg army. During the Revolutionary and Napoleonic wars (1792–1813) many Jews served in the Austro-Hungarian army. Some were allowed to become officers. In 1818 Jews were officially accepted as officers even in the conservative cavalry regiments. Nevertheless, several professing Jews rose to the rank of general in the Hapsburg army, among them Field Marshal-Lieutenant Joseph *Singer who was chief of staff of the Third Army, and Major General Alexander von *Eis and Field Marshal-Lieutenant Eduard von *Schweitzer, both of whom commanded major Austrian army units. The comparatively generous treatment of Jews in the Austro-Hungarian army led many Jews to take up a military career, especially as certain other professions were closed to them. In 1855 there were 157 Jewish officers in the Hapsburg army and by 1893 this number had risen to 2,179 or 8% of all the officers in the Hapsburg army. A number of Jews also became prominent in the navy, including Tobias von Oesterreicher, who was the first Austrian Jew to be promoted to rear admiral, and two battleship commanders (sea captains), Friedrich Pick (1839–1908) and Moritz von Funk (1831–1905). Nearly 300,000 Jews fought in the Austro-Hungarian army during World War I. Among 2,500 officers were three field marshal-lieutenants, Eduard von Schweitzer, Adolph Kornhaber (1856–1925), and Hazai *Samu, and five major generals, Simon *Vogel, Johann Mestitz, Leopold Austerlitz, Emil von *Sommer, and Márton Zöld. Nearly 30,000 Jewish soldiers were killed during the four years of war, including 600 Austrian Jewish officers. After the collapse of the Hapsburg Empire Jews played an increasingly smaller part in the armed forces of both Austria and Hungary, and following the advent of Fascist and pro-Nazi regimes in the 1930s they ceased to serve in the armed forces altogether. One outstanding figure of the post-World War I period was General Vilmos Böhm (1880–1947) who was commander in chief of the Hungarian army during the four-month Soviet dictatorship of Béla *Kun in 1919.

U.S.S.R.

Following the Revolution of February 1917, Jews were granted equal rights and for the first time were allowed to become army officers. Many were transferred to officers' schools and on graduating received the rank of sub-officer (*praporshchik*). When the Bolsheviks seized power in November 1917, many Jewish soldiers fought in the Red Army organized by Leon *Trotsky, aided by Skliansky and Jacob Sverdlov. Four divisional commanders were Jews and a few units consisted solely of Jews such as the brigade commanded by Joseph Furman. After the civil war J.B. Goldberg became commander of a reserve army. Among Jews who obtained senior army commands were Grigori Stern, Jan Gamarnik, and Feldman. Most of them were executed during Stalin's purges, a notable exception being Stern, who was sent to the Far East (1935), where he routed the Japanese army which had invaded Soviet territory. He later commanded the Soviet Far Eastern Forces with the rank of full general and drove the Japanese from Mongolian territory. Stern's army was assisted by air force units under Yaacov *Shmushkevich, appointed commander in chief of the Soviet air force in 1940.

WORLD WAR II. Following the outbreak of World War II, the Soviet Union annexed the Baltic state and territories in eastern Poland and Belorussia thus incorporating a large number of Jews within its borders. After the German invasion of Russia, Polish and Belorussian soldiers in the Soviet army were considered of suspect loyalty and were transferred to labor battalions. In December 1941, however, the order was revoked and Jews from the Baltic states were permitted to serve in all units of the Soviet army. Subsequently four Lithuanian Jews were made Heroes of the Soviet Union. The Soviet Jewish historian Jacob Kantor estimated that almost half a million Jews fought in the Soviet army in World War II of whom at least 140 were awarded the title Hero of the Soviet Union (the official Soviet figure is 107). Jews constituted a disproportionately large number of senior officers, largely because the percentage of Jews having a university education was higher than that of other nationalities. More than 100 Jews held the rank of general (see the partial Table: Jewish Generals in the Soviet Army).

Number of Jewish Generals in the Soviet Army during World War II, by Corps

No. of Jewish Generals	Corps
13	Engineering and Mechanical
13	Artillery
10	Tank
10	Medical
6	Infantry
5	Air Force Engineering
4	Air Force
4	Quartermaster Service
2	Veterinary
2	Navy
2	Cavalry
1	Communications

Jewish generals were particularly prominent as field commanders, notably General Jacob *Kreiser. Other Jewish commanders at the battle of Stalingrad included Lt. Gen. I.S. Beskin and Major Gen. (later Lt. Gen.) Matvey Weinrub. Jewish generals also held key commands during the final assault on Berlin. Lieutenant General Hirsh Plaskov was artillery commander of the Second Guards Army, Lieutenant General Semion Krivoshein commanded one of the first corps to break into Berlin in the spring of 1945, and Lieutenant General Weinrub was artillery commander of the Eighth Guards Army. Special mention should also be made of the Jewish Cossack commander, Major General Lev Dovator, who was killed during the first Soviet offensive in December 1941, Lieutenant General David Dragunski, who was twice made a Hero of the Soviet Union, and Major Caesar Konikov, whose courageous defense of the fishing village of Stanichka for seven months led to the village being renamed Kunikovo after his death. In addition Colonel General Leonti Kotlyar was commander of the engineering corps and six Jews held the rank of major general in the medical services (where there were a large number of Jewish doctors and nurses): Vovsy, Levitt, David Entin, Reingold, Gurvich, and Slavin. A number of Jews were given the award Hero of the Soviet Union in the Soviet air force, among them Michael Plotkin, who flew in the first Soviet bombing raid on Berlin in August 1941, Henryk Hofman, and four women: Polina Gelman, Zina Hofman, Lila Litvak, and Rachel Zlotina, who belonged to a women's air regiment. Two Jewish Soviet submarine commanders became Heroes of the Soviet Union – Israel Fisanovich and Isaac Kabar – as did Abraham Sverdlov who commanded a flotilla of torpedo boats. Jews were also prominent among the partisans, constituting more than 20,000 men in separate units in the Polish-Russian border areas. The official Soviet history of the war mentions the names of several Jewish partisan heroes, among them N.S. Kagan, one of seven Moscow Komsomol members hanged by the Germans while on a mission behind enemy lines, L.E. Bernstein, commander of the Pozharski unit which joined the Slovak rising against the Germans, and Vladimir Epstein, who escaped from Auschwitz to form a partisan unit in Poland. (See also *Partisans.)

AFTER WORLD WAR II. Although famous Jewish generals such as Dragunski and Kreiser retained their popularity after World War II, Soviet policy toward the Jewish soldier changed for the worse, in accordance with general Soviet policy toward the Jews. It is believed that nearly all the Jewish generals of World War II were retired by 1953 as were nearly 300 Jewish colonels and lieutenant colonels. By 1970 the number of Jewish senior officers on active service in the Soviet army had declined drastically.

Italy

Before the beginning of the 19th century Jews were forbidden to bear arms in any of the Italian states or to be a member of any military organization. The French Revolution, however, led to the demand for equal rights in Italy as elsewhere and the Jews were among the beneficiaries of progressive legislation. Following the conquest of north Italy by Napoleon, Italian Jews even established their own units and fought with the emperor all over Europe. However, during the reactionary period in north Italy following the final defeat of Napoleon in 1815, Jews were debarred from military service. After the decree of March 1848 granting Jews full equality in Piedmont, 235 Jews volunteered for the Piedmontese army in the war against Austria. Enrico *Guastalla was among the Italian soldiers who captured Rome in 1849, and among the Piedmontese troops fighting on the allied side in the Crimean War (1854–56) was Colonel Cesare Rovighi who later became aide-de-camp to King Victor Emanuel I. In the war against Austria, 1859–60, 260 Jews volunteered for the Piedmontese armies and several were awarded medals. There were 11 Jews among the 1,000 led by Garibaldi who captured southern Italy and Sicily from the Bourbons and Enrico Guastalla later became one of Garibaldi's chief lieutenants. In 1870, 236 Jews were among the victorious Italian army which conquered Rome. Jewish soldiers were subject to no restrictions in the army of united Italy and the percentage of Jewish officers was disproportionately large. Many Jews held the rank of general in the Italian army. They included Lieutenant General Achille Coen (1851–1925), Lieutenant General Emanuele *Pugliese, Lieutenant General Roberto *Segre, Lieutenant General Angelo *Arbib (Arbid), Lieutenant General Angelo Modena, and others. Other Jewish soldiers rose to high military rank, among them Lieutenant General Giuseppe *Ottolenghi who was minister of war from 1902 to 1904. In all, several thousand Jewish officers and men fought in the Italian army in World War I.

Other Jewish officers included four major generals: Carlo Archivolti (1873–1944), Armando *Bachi, Adolfo Olivetti (1878–1944), and Giacomo Almagia (1876–1947), and 12 brigadier generals. Five Jews became admirals in the Italian navy. Augusto Capon, Franco Nunes (1868–1943), and Guido Segre (1871–1942) were full admirals, and Vice Admiral Paolo Marani (1884–1950) and Rear Admiral Aldo Ascoli (1882–1956) commanded ships in the invasion of Abyssinia in 1935. In November 1938 a new law was promulgated prohibiting Jews from serving in the armed forces and all the Jewish generals and admirals were forced to retire. During World War II no Jews fought in the army of Benito Mussolini, and some joined the partisan underground movement. Nevertheless two Jews were specially recalled to service because of particular skills: these were Rear Admiral Pontremoli and Major General Umberto Pugliese (1880–1961). The latter was given the task of raising Italian naval vessels sunk by the British at Taranto. After World War II Giorgio *Liuzzi who was one of the senior officers retired in 1938 was recalled to active service and was chief of staff of the Italian army from 1956 to 1958 with the rank of lieutenant general.

Germany

In the early Middle Ages, Jews were accorded the right to bear arms. Later on, however, with the deterioration in their social and political standing after the upheavals of the *Crusades, this right was gradually withdrawn until by the middle of the 13th century Jews, numbered with women, children, and clerics, as being forbidden to bear arms. Exceptions to this rule were rare during the following centuries (see Jud *Michel), though Jews were very prominent as military *contractors (purveyors of livestock, fodder, food, uniforms, etc.) in the 17th and 18th centuries.

The first German Jews conscripted in modern times were from the left bank of the Rhine occupied by revolutionary and Napoleonic France. German states under French influence followed suit (*Westphalia). In 1812 Prussia decreed that Jews were liable to military service and when the War of Liberation broke out a year later many hundreds volunteered, 82 of them receiving decorations. Nevertheless, Frederick William II repudiated his promise that war veterans could receive positions, irrespective of religion, and even wounded veterans suffered discrimination. The sole Jewish officer in the army during his reign was Major Meno Burg (1787–1853), who owed his position to the influence of the king's brother, the commander of the artillery. It was commonly accepted that Jews were inferior soldiers and that their service was mainly of educational and assimilatory value.

In 1845 the first Jewish officers were commissioned into the Prussian reserve forces, the *Landwehr*. Until about 1885, Jewish officers, primarily university graduates, were commissioned by co-option; but after this date virtually none became officers, despite their exemplary service in the Austro-Prussian (1866) and Franco-Prussian (1870–71) wars, because of growing antisemitism. An exception was Walther von *Mossner, the sole senior Jewish officer in the Prussian army, and he owed his position to personal connections with the king and converted to Christianity during his career. Most German states followed Prussia's discriminatory policy (particularly Hanover) while others were more liberal, Bavaria permitting Jewish officers to rise to the upper ranks in the standing army. During the 1848 Revolution Jews enlisted in the National Guard, where they were reluctantly accepted. That year the first Jewish doctor was commissioned in Prussia, and subsequently, due to the lack of physicians, the medical corps harbored Jewish officers in large numbers without permitting them to become senior officers.

Many thousands of Jews fought in the German army in World War I. About 2,000 Jewish officers were commissioned and 12,000 Jews were killed in battle. Nevertheless, during and after the war there was an ugly upsurge of accusations that Jews had either not enlisted or shirked front-line service. To combat this propaganda the Reichsbund juedischer Frontsoldaten, an association of Jewish war veterans, was founded. In 1917 the War Ministry ordered a thorough survey conducted to find the number and proportion of Jews serving in front-line units. The results and the dubious manner in which they had been obtained became the subject of a bitter public controversy. In fact, the percentage of Jews was almost equal to that of Christians; that it was not higher is explained by the diminishing birthrate among German Jewry (between 1880 and 1930) which resulted in a lower proportion of those of military age relative to the non-Jewish population. After World War I the small professional army of the Weimar Republic contained few Jews, who were all removed in 1933.

[Henry Wasserman]

France

During the Middle Ages Jews were generally excluded from military service except in times of emergency. Their position remained unchanged until 1789 when, following the outbreak of the French Revolution, all Frenchmen, including Jews, were made liable for military service. Many Jews served in Napoleon's armies, among them Brigadier General Marc-Jean-Jerome Wolffe (1776–1848) who commanded the first cavalry brigade of the Grande Armée and Captain Alexandre Marcquefoy who was awarded the Legion of Honor by Napoleon himself; 800 Jews were estimated to be serving under Napoleon in 1808, among them a number of Italians and Poles. Berek (Berko) *Joselewicz, the Polish patriot, commanded a regiment in Napoleon's Polish Legion. The outstanding Jewish soldier in Napoleon's army was Henri *Rottenbourg who was made major general in 1814. Nevertheless, conditions of the Jewish soldiers were made difficult by the refusal of many commanding officers to allow Jews into their ranks and the restrictions on the rights of promotion.

During the early part of the 19th century an increasing number of Jews fought in the French army and a few achieved considerable prominence, among them Colonel Martin Cerfbeer, Captain Abraham Lévy, Captain M. Vormess, and Captain Benoît Lévy who were all awarded the Legion of Honor. No exact details are available as to the number of Jews who fought in the Crimean War (1854–56) but several won awards for gallantry, among them Leopold *See and Colonel Abraham Lévy. In the Italian war of 1859 See and Lévy were again decorated as was Major Adolph Abraham, and in the Franco-Prussian War (1870–71), Colonel Jules Moch and Captain Halphen broke through the Prussian lines after the French army had been surrounded at Metz. In that war Major Franchetti was posthumously decorated having fallen during the siege of Paris. During the Third Republic (1870–1940), Jews entered the French army in unprecedented numbers and 23 rose to the rank of general. Although subject to no official restrictions, Jews were frequently the target of antisemitic attacks, the most notable occasion being the *Dreyfus case. The outstanding Jewish officers of the period before World War I were: Major Generals Leopold See, Aimé *Lambert, Abraham Lévy, and Naquet-Laroque (1843–1921), and Brigadier Generals Edgar Wolffe (c. 1840–1901), Gabriel Gustave Brisac (1817–c. 1890), Adolphe Hinstin (c. 1820–c. 1890), Bernard Abraham (1824–c. 1900), and Adolphe Aron (c. 1840–c. 1910). On the outbreak of World War I, several hundred Jews volunteered for the French army, among them captains Charles Lehmann and René Frank, both of whom had fought in the Franco-Prussian War 44 years earlier. About 50,000 French Jews, over 20% of the total Jewish population, fought in the French army between 1914 and 1918, and an additional 4,000 Jewish refugees from Eastern Europe volunteered. Twelve French Jews held the rank of general, among them Lieutenant General Valabrègue, Major Generals Naquet-Laroque and Justin Dennery (1847–1928), who were recalled from retirement, Major Generals Camille Baruch Levi (1860–1933) and Jules Heymann (1850–1928) and Brigadier Generals René Alexandre (1864–1931), Lucien Lévi (1859–1932), Paul Emile Grumbach (1861–1931), Gédéon Geismar (1863–1931), and André Weiller (1865–c. 1940). Of 39 French Jewish airmen who fought in World War I, all but four were killed in battle and the total number of French Jews killed in action exceeded 8,000. Several Jews rose to the rank of general after World War I, among them Major General Pierre Boris, Major General Raymond Laroque and Brigadier General Albert Baumann (1869–1945).

Before the French collapse in June 1940 General Boris was made general inspector of the French artillery. Major General Charles Huntzinger and Major General Pierre Brisac were all permitted by the Vichy régime to retain their rank despite the racial laws against Jews. Similarly the Vichy régime gave Samuel Meyer the award of the Legion of Honor for bravery while André Gutman received the award of the Croix de Guerre for bravery in action. The French army included one regiment almost entirely made up of Polish Jews. Following the French defeat in June 1940 many French and East European Jews joined the Free French under Charles de Gaulle in London, among them Ingénieur-Général Louis *Kahn who was director of naval construction. Jews were also prominent in the French resistance, among them Roger Carcassonne who led the resistance movement in North Africa. In 1944, following the liberation of France, General Boris was one of several Jewish officers reinstated in the French army, and in 1945 General *Dassault commanded the French artillery. After World War II a small number of Jews served in the French army in Indo-China.

Poland

Jewish settlement had begun in Poland by the 12th century and Jews were conscripted principally to reinforce the local militia and help build fortifications. They were not expected to take any important part in the Polish army until the Tatar attacks on eastern Poland at the end of the 16th century. Jews were recruited into defense units and some were taken prisoner, a fact recorded in the orders of the Russian czar Michael (1613–1645). A Jewish unit was formed under the command of one Mozko and in some cities the general mobilization of Jews was ordered. Jews were also prominent in the wars against Sweden (1655–60). During the 18th century, Catholic pressure was brought to bear against Jews fighting in the Polish army and the number of Jews serving fell from over 2,000 to a few hundred. During the uprising in the year following the second partition of Poland of 1793, numbers of Jews joined the revolutionary army along with other Poles and many Jews fought in the Polish force which drove the Russians out of Warsaw. Later in 1794, a Jewish cavalry legion was formed under the command of Berek Joselewicz, initially numbering 500 men and later nearly 2,000. The Jewish legion distinguished itself in the defense of Warsaw but was completely wiped out in the Russian massacre in the suburb of Praga after the collapse of the rebellion. At the turn of the 19th century a number of Jews joined Napoleon's army and fought for France in Italy and Eastern Europe. Joselewicz himself commanded a regiment of Polish cavalry, and another Polish Jew, Caspar Junghof, was awarded the Legion of Honor. Similarly Jews volunteered for the army of the Grand Duchy of Warsaw established by Napoleon in 1807. Among them was Josef *Berkowicz, the son of Joselewicz, who fought with other Poles in the French army which invaded Russia in 1812.

After the defeat of Napoleon in 1814, Jews in the area of Poland under czarist rule played an active part in the Polish uprisings of 1830, 1848, and 1863. During World War I, Polish Jews fought in units of both the armies of the Allies and the central powers. A number of Polish Jews in the Russian Austro-Hungarian and French armies were decorated. After the war thousands of Jews fought in the Polish army against Russia, among them Colonel Goldman, Colonel Karaffa-Kreutenkraft, and Colonel Floyar-Reichman. Nevertheless, Polish antisemitism permeated the army and all the other organs of state, and although there were never less than 20,000 Jews in the Polish army between the wars, very few Jewish soldiers held high military rank. An outstanding exception was Bernhard *Mond who was promoted to colonel in 1924 and on the outbreak of World War II commanded the Fifth Infantry Division with the rank of major general. The condition of the Jewish soldier improved during the nine-year rule of Joseph Pilsudski (1926–35) but deteriorated after his death. Nevertheless, 400,000 Jews were recruited into the Polish army on the outbreak of World War II and many thousands were killed in battle during the four weeks of fighting. A large number of Jewish soldiers were taken prisoner by the Russians and interned in the Soviet Union. In 1942 an agreement between the U.S.S.R. and the Polish government in exile resulted in the formation of a Polish army in Russia under General Anders. Although Jews were generally excluded from this army, usually on the pretext that they were unsuitable for military service, 4,000 fought in General Anders' army in Western Europe while over 5,000 Jews fought in a second Polish army in Russia, a large number of them holding officer's rank. In addition many more Jews fought in Polish units serving in the armies of other Allied states.

Despite the fact that the Jewish population of Poland was decimated by the Holocaust, a large number of Jews joined the Polish army and after World War II many held senior ranks. Following the Six-Day *War in 1967, however, nearly all of them were removed from their posts.

Romania

Romania became an independent kingdom in 1881. Restrictions were subsequently placed upon the right of Jews to serve in the armed forces despite the fact that nearly 1,000 Romanian Jews had fought against the Turks in the Balkan War of 1877. An outstanding Jewish soldier in the Romanian army was Colonel Maurice Brociner (1855–1942) who was decorated for gallantry in 1877 and in 1882 was made secretary to Charles I, king of Romania. In 1896 a law was enacted prohibiting Jews from volunteering for the Romanian army but in 1913, following the involvement of Romania in the Balkan Wars, the law was rescinded. During World War I, 20,000 Jews fought in the Romanian army, including several hundred officers. Thirty-seven Jewish officers and 845 men were known to have died. After World War I a large number of Jews served in the Romanian army, and some rose to the rank of officer. During World War II, however, Nazi pressure led the Romanian government to remove all the Jews from the Romanian army. Few Jews served in the army of Communist Romania after 1945.

Bulgaria

Following Bulgarian independence in 1878 Jews were given equal rights with the rest of the population. Bulgarian Jews fought in the Turkish army when Bulgaria was under Turkish rule, and after independence they joined the Bulgarian army in the thousands. Many Jewish soldiers distinguished themselves during the Serbo-Bulgarian war of 1885 and were described by Prince Alexander of Bulgaria as "true descendants of the ancient Maccabeans." Despite growing antisemitism, no restrictions were placed on Jews entering the army or even the officers' training schools. Five thousand Jews fought in the Bulgarian army in the Balkan Wars (1912–13) and several hundreds of them were killed. In World War I a number of Jews reached senior army ranks, among them three Jewish colonels Graziani, Tajar, and Mushanov. Over 700 Jews were killed in the war, among them 28 officers. Between the wars, Jewish soldiers continued to enjoy equal rights in the Bulgarian army until 1940 when Bulgaria allied herself with Nazi Germany. All Jews were removed from the Bulgarian army and organized into labor units to perform manual work. Many of them were later sent to concentration camps but some succeeded in joining the partisans headed by the Fatherland Front. After the war most of Bulgaria's surviving Jews emigrated to Israel and hardly any joined the army of Communist Bulgaria.

Greece

Greek Jews were subject to continual persecution for many years after Greek independence in 1821. Very few Jews joined the army until the outbreak of the Greco-Turkish War of 1897 in which 200 Jews fought in the Greek army. Abraham Matalon rose to the rank of colonel during World War I and was one of several Jewish soldiers to have been decorated. The total number of Greek Jews fighting in World War I was estimated at 500. Many Jews fought in the Greek army against Italy in 1940 and by 1942, when the Germans invaded Greece, over 13,000 Jews had been recruited, many of them from Salonika and Macedonia where there were large concentrations of Jews. Five hundred and thirteen Jews were known to have been killed in action, among them Colonel Mordechai Parisi, who was killed after holding off an entire Italian brigade for nine days. A monument was erected in his memory in his native town of Chalcis and 25 Greek towns have streets named after him. Following the German conquest of Greece, many Jews were deported to concentration camps. Among the Greek Jews deported to Auschwitz was Colonel Baruch who set fire to part of the gas chambers and was later killed by the Nazis. A few Greek Jews joined the partisan movement in the mountains of northern Greece and some fought in the Allied armies in North Africa.

Switzerland

Before 1850 Jews were exempted from military service upon payment of a tax. In 1866 Jews were granted equal rights including the obligation of military service but even before the law of 1866 certain cantons permitted Jews to bear arms, the first of them being Aargau where the civil authorities acceded to a request of Marcus Dreyfus, head of the Jewish community. In 1855 Moritz Meyer from Aargau was made an officer and several other Jews became officers during the latter part of the 19th century. Several hundred Jews were recruited into the Swiss army for border defense during the two world wars and two Jewish soldiers rose to the rank of colonel: A. Nordman and his son, Jean Nordman.

Holland

Jews were allowed to bear arms in Holland from the 17th century when the country became an independent state under the House of Orange. In 1808, during Napoleonic rule, Jews were granted equal rights and were therefore obliged to do military service along with the rest of the population. The number of Jews serving in the Dutch army grew steadily during the 19th century and a few Jewish soldiers were singled out for merit, one of them, Michael Kohen (b. 1877), being decorated for outstanding bravery in the fighting in Surinam. Thousands of Jews fought against the Nazi invasion of Holland in May 1940 and a small number of them succeeded in escaping to Britain to continue fighting from there. After World War II, hardly any Jews served in the Dutch armed forces.

Other Countries

A small number of Jewish soldiers rose to fame in India, the Middle East, and North Africa, some of them serving as soldiers of fortune. Some of the Jewish soldiers of fortune achieved fame in the Turkish army in which several thousand Jews fought during the Balkan wars of the 19th century. Fischel-Freind (1885–1928), a Polish Jew, became a colonel in the Turkish army and was later governor of Syria with the title Magyar Mahmud Pasha. An English Jew, Stephen Lakeman (1812–1897), was briefly a Turkish general with the title, Mazar Pasha. In addition David Effendi Molcho, a Jew from Salonika, was made head of the Turkish navy's medical services with the rank of vice admiral. Another Jewish soldier of fortune was Rubino *Ventura who held military commands both in Persia and in India during the 19th century. A small number of Indian Jews reached high military rank in the British army, among them Subadar Major Haskelji Israel Kolatkar who was killed during the Burmese campaign of 1887 and Subadar Major Shalom Moses Penkar of the 15th Bombay Infantry unit. Indian Jews fought in the two world wars and after Indian independence, some became senior officers, and one of them, Colonel Joseph Ephraim Jhirad, was killed in the 1965 war against Pakistan. North African Jews were prominent in World War II both in the French and British regular armies and in the French underground. Thus Maurice Guedj (1913–1945), a Tunisian lawyer, joined the Free French air force and won numerous decorations. He was killed in action in January 1945. Leaders of the underground included José *Abulker, Pierre Smadja, and Raoul and Edgar Bensoussan. Jews were not prominent in the Algerian war against the French after 1955 or in the armies of the Arab North African states after independence.

Women in Military Service

There is no record of Jewish women serving in the army of any modern state until 1813 when Louise Grafemus (Esther Manuel; 1785–1852), in search of her husband in the Russian army, joined the Prussian infantry disguised as a man. She was twice wounded and rose to become a sergeant major before her sex was discovered. Louise Grafemus was awarded the Iron Cross and returned to her home in Hanau with great honor. During the 19th century women played an increasing part in the conduct of wars in auxiliary capacities such as nurses. Thus nurse Woolf was decorated by King George V for her services in the British army in World War I and several Jewish women became nursing officers in the Allied forces in World War II. During World War II women went into active service for the first time as auxiliary troops; in Russia they served with men in the front lines during the initial invasion by Germany and afterward. A number of Soviet Jewish women became famous through their bravery in action, among them Lyudmila Kravetz who was made a Hero of the Soviet Union when as a medical sergeant she took command of her unit when all the officers were killed and advanced against the enemy. Riva Steinberg (d. 1944), who was killed trying to rescue a Russian soldier from a burning aircraft, was posthumously decorated. Mary Ykhnovich, a senior battalion commander, Sarah Meisel, Klara Gross, and Lea Kantorovich, a nurse, were all cited for bravery under fire. Another Russian Jewess, Gitta Schenker, a telephone operator, took command of an infantry battalion during the battle of Stalingrad. However, the most famous Jewish heroine of World War II was Hannah *Szenes who was parachuted into Yugoslavia to organize Jewish resistance and was captured and killed.

See also *Israel, State of: Defense Forces.

Conclusion

In most states Jews were not called upon to do military service until well into the 19th century since the obligation to take up arms was considered a privilege to which Jews were not entitled. Even where they did fight they were usually restricted in their right to hold officer's rank (as in Prussia and Russia) or were excluded from certain branches of the army such as the general staff in Austria-Hungary. In the 20th century most restrictions on Jews as soldiers were removed but only in France, Italy, and Austria-Hungary was the number of Jewish senior officers relatively high. Vilmos Böhm and Giorgio Liuzzi were the only Jews to become commanders in chief of an army, the former when he held this post in the short-lived regime of Bela Kun in Hungary, the latter in Italy. Three other Jews reached the rank of full general: John *Monash, Grigori Stern, and Jacob *Kreyzer; and three Jews the rank of full admiral: Ben Moreel (1892–?), Augusto *Capon, and Roberto Segre (1872–1942). One Jew, Yaacov *Shmushkevich, was commander of an air force.

Jewish Chaplaincy

In most countries of Europe where Jews have volunteered or been enlisted into the armed forces, provision has been made for the appointment of chaplains to look after the religious needs of servicemen and women in times of war and peace. One can generally say that from the middle of the 19th century, following the political emancipation of the Jews, Judaism became a recognized denomination having more or less the same privileges and obligations as those of other denominations. Commissioned chaplains were given relative military rank, senior chaplains having the relative rank of colonel, lieutenant colonel, or major. This was the case in Austria, France, Prussia, Britain, Belgium, Italy, Holland, and Poland. In Britain in 1889 Judaism was recognized as a denomination for the purpose of chaplaincy in the forces. The first Jewish chaplain was Rabbi Francis L. Cohen who was appointed in 1892. In European countries, such as Italy and Belgium, chaplains were first commissioned during World War I when the number of Jews serving in the various national armies increased considerably. In World War I Jewish chaplains, with the approval, and sometimes at the request of the superior commanding officer, rendered service to the Jews in occupied territories. Thus German Jewish chaplains acted as intermediaries between the German army authorities and Jewish civilians in Poland and in northern France. They also provided religious appurtenances and Passover requirements (such as *maẓẓot* and *haggadot*). British chaplains performed similar services for Jewish civilians in northern France and Belgium. They were supported by chaplains attached to the forces of Australia, New Zealand, Canada, and South Africa, and chaplains also served with the Jewish units serving in Palestine and Egypt. A number of chaplains in both the Allied and central armies were decorated for bravery. An outstanding example of bravery was that of Rabbi A. Bloch of the French army who was killed by a shell in 1914 after seeking a crucifix for a severely wounded Frenchman when there was no priest available. During World War II there was a further increase in the number of chaplains in the Allied forces. On the other hand the Dutch government in exile, for the first time, appointed a Jewish chaplain, Chief Rabbi S. Rodrigues Pereira, to look after the religious requirements of Dutch Jews serving with the Allies. In the Polish army Rabbi J. Mieses was senior chaplain to be succeeded by Rabbi B. Steinberg who was killed during the Katyn massacre in 1943. Jewish chaplains served with the Polish army in Russia, the Middle East, and Europe. The last senior chaplain in the Polish army was Rabbi David Kahana who served from 1945 to 1952. Jewish chaplains were also attached to the Jewish infantry group made up of Palestinians and Jews from other British army units who served in the western desert, in Italy, and with the army of the Rhine. As in World War I, a number of Jewish chaplains were decorated for gallantry in the Allied armies, among them Grand Rabbi Jacob Kaplan of the French army who was awarded the Croix de Guerre. The duties of chaplains during the two world wars were extensive and involved a considerable amount of travel. They were required to organize religious services whenever possible, particularly during the festivals and High Holy Days, to distribute service prayer books and religious literature, visit the sick and wounded in hospitals and casualty clearing stations, and bury the dead. They were also required to assist observant soldiers in following the religious requirements of their faith without detriment to their army duties and to deal with the many welfare and social problems affecting the domestic life of the soldier. At the end of World War II chaplains were additionally required to help bury Jews who had died in concentration camps and to help those who survived as far as possible. As in the case of chaplains of other denominations, Jewish chaplains were requested to use their influence in maintaining the morale and fighting spirit of the troops. They were encouraged to participate in educational and recreational programs designed to improve the mind and outlook of the serviceman. In the Royal Air Force a scheme of moral leadership courses was devised to guide and train officers and men who had shown a talent for leadership to apply their potential in the groups to which they were attached.

[Sir Israel Brodie]

IN THE UNITED STATES. The Jewish military chaplaincy in the United States began in 1862 during the U.S. Civil War. Before then army chaplains had to be ordained Christian clergymen, selected by the officers of the regiments to which they were assigned. By an Act of Congress of 1862, a regularly ordained minister of any religious denomination could be commissioned as a chaplain. Three rabbis were commissioned as chaplains in the Union forces: Rabbi Jacob Frankel of Philadelphia, who served the six Philadelphia military hospitals; Rabbi Bernhard Gotthelf, of Louisville, Kentucky, who served 18 army hospitals in Kentucky and Indiana; and Rabbi Ferdinand L. Sarner of Brith Kodesh Congregation, Rochester, New York, who was elected chaplain of the 54th New York Volunteer Regiment and was wounded at Gettysburg.

No Jewish chaplains served in the Spanish-American War (1898), although Rabbi Emil G. *Hirsch and Rabbi J.

Leonard Levy of Philadelphia were commissioned. Rabbi Joseph *Krauskopf of Philadelphia spent the summer of 1898 at military camps in the United States and in Cuba as a field commissioner for the National Relief Commission, and conducted religious services for Jewish personnel. A number of other rabbis also conducted services at camps adjacent to the communities in which their congregations were located.

In 1917 the *National Jewish Welfare Board (JWB) was organized to serve the religious and morale needs of Jewish soldiers and sailors in the U.S. armed forces during World War I. One of the duties assigned to the JWB by the government was the recruiting and endorsing of Jewish military chaplains. In October 1917 Congress authorized the appointment of chaplains-at-large of "faiths not now represented in the body of Chaplains of the Army." As a result, 149 of the 400 English-speaking rabbis in the United States volunteered, and 34 received the ecclesiastical endorsement of the JWB's Chaplains Committee. Of these, 26 received commissions. The first Jewish chaplain commissioned was Rabbi Elkan C. Voorsanger of St. Louis, who earned two decorations for gallantry under fire, and became senior chaplain of the 77th Division.

After World War I, some chaplains maintained reserve commissions, and a number of younger rabbis enlisted in the reserves between 1918 and 1940. As World War II approached, the chaplaincy underwent a major reorganization. Cyrus *Adler was succeeded by Rabbi David de Sola *Pool as chairman of the JWB Chaplaincy Committee, and the committee was renamed Committee on Army and Navy Religious Activities (CANRA) of the JWB. Rabbi Phillip S. *Bernstein was named executive director. By the time the United States entered World War II, 24 Jewish chaplains were on active duty. By the end of the war 311 rabbis had been commissioned and served in the armed forces; seven died in service, among them Alexander Goode who was one of four chaplains who lost their lives on the military transport, S.S. *Dorchester*. CANRA provided the chaplains with vast supplies of religious literature, equipment, and kosher foods in a supply line that reached around the world. Two tasks of special importance performed by Jewish chaplains were their work as leaders in the first penetration of areas cut off from Jewish contacts during the Nazi occupation, and their aid to concentration camp survivors. After World War II the chaplaincy became a career for some, and a way for the promotion of senior Jewish chaplains to key administrative chaplaincy posts. Many of those who did not choose a career in the chaplaincy retained their reserve commission. Only 18 Jewish chaplains remained on active duty at the outbreak of war in Korea in 1950. Twelve Jewish chaplains were decorated in that war.

After World War II CANRA was renamed to emphasize its function within the JWB organization, which finances it, first as the Division of Religious Activities and, after the outbreak of the Korean War, as the Commission on Jewish Chaplaincy of the JWB Reform, Conservative, and Orthodox rabbis rotated as commission chairmen for three-year terms. The commission instituted a draft to supply 100 Jewish chaplains; it drew from all rabbis and newly-ordained students eligible for military service who had not already served in the forces, and required a two-year tour of duty. From 1950 to 1968 the draft brought 485 rabbis into the chaplaincy, about a third of all the rabbis ordained by the major Jewish seminaries of the United States during the period. The commission also used civilian rabbis who had their own congregations to provide chaplaincy services at military bases, academies, and hospitals and nonmilitary federal installations where no full-time Jewish chaplain was assigned. About 800 rabbis were involved in this program up to 1970. In 1969, reacting to anti-Vietnam sentiment among rabbinical students, the commission substituted a voluntary system for the drafting of newly-ordained rabbis. When the Vietnam War led to a new military buildup, four Jewish chaplains were assigned to duty in that country. From 1966 to 1970, 11 chaplains were decorated. In 1970 Jewish chaplains were serving 611 domestic installations and hospitals, as well as in more than 40 foreign countries. Jewish chaplains were active in the later military actions in Iraq. By 2005, in the renamed Jewish Chaplains Council, approximately 40 full-time military and Veterans Administration chaplains, 55 chaplain reservists, more than 88 military lay leaders, and thousands of Jews were serving at more than 500 military installations and VA medical centers.

PUBLICATIONS AND CHILD EDUCATION. In the 1950s and 1960s, religious-lay cooperation and interdenominational harmony were strikingly evident in the work of the Jewish Chaplaincy Commission's responsa and publication committees. The former formulated mutually acceptable answers to questions of religious practices under military conditions. The latter published prayer books, *Haggadot*, hymnals, and a library of pamphlets on the Sabbath, holy days, festivals, Jewish ethics, and Jewish history, all widely distributed and serving as excellent expositions of Judaism to non-Jews in the military. In 1954 the commission published the first standardized religious school curriculum for the children of servicemen, rewritten in 1965 as "Unified Jewish Religious Education Curriculum." It is particularly important because of the growing number of service children who live far from civilian synagogues and Jewish schools. Religious education for service children has become a prime task of the Jewish chaplains, who prepare many youngsters for bar and bat mitzvah as part of an organized program of elementary Jewish training.

[Bernard Postal]

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MILK. The milk most commonly mentioned in the Bible is that of sheep and goats (Prov. 27:27; Deut. 32:14), but cows' milk was also known and was consumed at least in the form of curds (Isa. 7:21–22). Milk is considered among the finest of foods (Deut. 32:14; Isa. 55:1) and is used as a term of abundance (Joel 4:18; Isa. 60:16), as the standard of whiteness (Lam. 4:7) and, with honey, of sweetness (Song 4:11). A "land flowing with milk and honey" refers to the abundant fertility of Canaan (e.g., Ex. 3:8, 17; Num. 13:27; Deut. 6:3; Jer. 11:5) and of Egypt (Num. 16:13). The prohibition against boiling a kid in its mother's milk (Ex. 23:19; 34:26; Deut. 14:21) most probably refers to a Canaanite sacrificial custom. Some scholars believe that this practice is referred to in Ugaritic text 52, line 14, but the textual restoration is uncertain. Boiling in milk – called "its mother's milk" – is a common way of preparing a kid or a lamb among modern Arabs, but it has no ritual significance for them.

[Tikva S. Frymer]

In Halakhah

The milk of clean animals such as cows, sheep, and goats, etc., although it comes "from the living" (*min ha-ḥai*, Bek. 6b), is permitted for consumption, but not the milk of unclean animals or of those suffering from visible disease which causes the animal to be ritually unfit for consumption (*terefah*), or that or an animal which after ritual slaughtering is found to have suffered from such a disease. In the latter case, all milk which the animal produced during the three days before it was slaughtered is forbidden to be used (Sh. Ar., YD 81:2). Milk bought from a non-Jew is forbidden for consumption out of fear that he may have mixed it, either through carelessness or in order to improve it, with milk of unclean animals. If a Jew was present at the milking, the milk may be used (*ibid.*, 115:1). There are, however, opinions that nowadays, even if the Jews did not supervise the milking, the milk is permitted since the law of the land forbids adulterating the milk. By many authorities butter made by gentiles is permitted for consumption on the grounds that butter cannot be produced from the milk of unclean animals (Av. Zar. 35b, Maim. Yad, Ma'akhalot Asurot, 3:12, 15, 16).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: C.H. Gordon, *Ugaritic Text-Book* (1966), 174; Eisenstein, Dinim, 68: ET, 5 (1953), 84–91: S. Lieberman, *Ha-Yerushalmi ki-Feshuto* (1934), 39–42.

MILKEN, MICHAEL R. (1946–), U.S. investor, philanthropist. Nicknamed "the junk bond king," Milken, by using a little-noticed financial tool, transformed corporate takeovers and financing in the 1970s and 1980s, amassing great personal wealth – $200 million to $550 million a year – through what some considered questionable financial dealings. In 1989 a federal grand jury indicted Milken for violations of federal securities and racketeering laws. He pleaded guilty to securities fraud and related charges in 1990, and the government dropped the more serious charges of insider trading and racketeering. Milken was fined and sentenced to 10 years in prison but in 1991 his sentence was reduced to two years plus three years probation. Barred from the securities business for life, Milken worked as a strategic business consultant after his release from prison. The Securities and Exchange Commission charged that this work was a violation of his probation, and in 1998 Milken settled with the SEC and paid the government $42 million in fees that he had earned plus interest.

Michael Robert Milken grew up in Encino, Calif. His paternal grandparents were Jewish immigrants from Poland. He attended the University of California at Berkeley during the height of protest movements in the mid-1960s and graduated as a business major with highest honors. He began his financial career at the university, when he invested money for his fraternity brothers in return for 50 percent of the profits. With no returns to his clients on losses, Milken had virtual assurance of profitability. At that time he developed a theory about low-grade "junk" bonds. Milken believed that under a revised rating system, one that also factored the potentials for return on investment, cash flow, business plans, personnel and corporate vision, junk bonds might pose a worthwhile risk. In 1970, after earning a master's degree from the Wharton School at the University of Pennsylvania, Milken went to work for the Drexel Corporation as assistant to the chairman and later became head of bond research. When Drexel merged with Burnham & Co. in 1973, Milken headed the noninvestment-grade bond-trading department, an operation that earned 100 percent return on investment. In 1977 Milken returned to California and moved his High-Yield Bond Department to Los Angeles. Milken's younger brother Lowell joined him. In the early 1980s Drexel-Burnham began using the "highly confident" letter, a correspondence designed to convince commercial banks to finance corporate takeovers. The letters stated that Drexel was "highly confident" the funds could be raised to finance the deal. In the company's first attempt at this scheme, Milken raised $1.5 billion in 48 hours. In 1982, Drexel-Burnham took on a new client, the financier Ivan *Boesky. Milken's dealings with him violated the securities law. In June 1989 Milken resigned from Drexel to form his own company, International Capital Access Group. The new venture was unsuccessful largely because Milken was fighting the SEC charges in a 98-count indictment. Eventually, he issued an apology and admitted that he cheated clients and plotted with Boesky to accomplish a corporate raid.

Milken completed his prison term in 1993. He co-founded a company called Education Entertainment Network, which produces business videos. In 1996 he and Larry *Ellison founded Knowledge Universe, a company dealing in a diverse variety of goods and services, including day care, executive education, corporate training, and toys. The SEC came after him again. He admitted no wrongdoing but paid a fine of $47 million in response to accusations that he served as a broker.

Milken used his personal fortune and high-level contacts to become an influential voice in economics, education, and medical research. In 1982 he co-founded the Milken Family Foundation to support medical education and research. In 1991 he founded the Milken Institute, a kind of think tank that sponsors prestigious international conferences. In 1993, after he was diagnosed with prostate cancer, he founded the Prostate Cancer Foundation, the world's largest philanthropic source of funds for prostate cancer research. The Milken Family Foundation, through the Milken National Educator Awards, founded in 1985, awarded $52 million to honor more than 2,000 teachers and principals, with each educator receiving an unrestricted $25,000 prize.

Milken's philanthropy – some critics questioned his motives – was widespread. In 1995 he donated $5 million to a large Jewish secondary school in Los Angeles. In gratitude the school was to be renamed Milken Community High School of Stephen Wise Temple until parents and students objected. However, a number of Milken grants to Jewish causes endure. The Skirball Cultural Center, one of the most prominent cultural venues in the United States, has a Milken Gallery, for which the Milken Family Foundation was the lead benefactor. It contains exhibits that explore the connections between the 4,000 years of Jewish heritage and the vitality of American democratic ideals. The Milken Archive of American Jewish Music is an international undertaking to record, preserve, and distribute a vast cross-section of American Jewish music covering 350 years. The archive comprises 50 CD's and 600 works on the Naxos American Classical label, the largest collection of American Jewish music ever assembled. The archive has also videotaped more than 100 oral histories of composers, conductors and performers and commissioned a comprehensive history of American Jewish music. The Milken Family Foundation is also a major supporter of American Friends of the Hebrew University, and the foundation for many years has supported the College of Judea and Samaria, the largest public college in Israel. It has a Milken Family Campus, embodying its teaching and research laboratories as well as its library, main administration building and computer center.

[Stewart Kampel (2nd ed.)]

MILKWEED, plant of the Euphorbiaceae family. Many genera comprising scores of species are found in Israel. Attempts have been made to identify them with plants mentioned in the Bible, but such attempts are without foundation. One plant mentioned in the Mishnah belongs to the Asclepiadaceae family: the *Calotropis procera*, the mishnaic *Petilat ha-Midbar* ("desert wick," Shab. 2:1). It is a shrub growing in the salt Jordan valley and the Arabah. It has large leaves and its fruit is like a big lemon, but instead of juice it contains many seeds enveloped in shining silky fibers. These are used for making cushions, and wicks too can be prepared from them, but since the oil does not rise well in the fiber its use for the Sabbath lamp is forbidden (Shab. *ibid.*). The popular name of the fruit is "Sodom apple," which has no connection with "the vine of Sodom" (Deut. 32:32). Milkweed is mentioned by Josephus (Wars, 4:484) who points out that this fruit of Sodom appears edible but on being opened turns to dust. The reference is to the seeds, which have hairy adhesions by which they are broadcast.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Loew, Flora, 1 (1928), 282f.; J. Feliks, *Olam ha-Ẓome'aḥ ha-Mikra'i* (1968^3), 82. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** Feliks, Ha-Tzome'aḥ, 131.

[Jehuda Feliks]

MILL, JOSEPH SOLOMON (**John**; 1870–1952), pioneer of the *Bund. Born in Panevezys, Lithuania, Mill was left on his own when his family immigrated to the United States. From an early age he established close relations with Polish families, acquainting himself with the complex nationality problems of the region. He joined revolutionary circles under the influence of Z. *Kopelson. From 1890 he was a most active member of the Jewish Social Democratic organization in Vilna, except for intervals of imprisonment (1892), military service, and studies at the University of Zurich. He established ties with the leaders of the Polish Social Democrats, Rosa *Luxemburg, and L. *Jogiches, who led the Social Democratic "circles" in Vilna at the end of the 1880s. In 1895 Mill went to Warsaw as the head of a group interested in laying a foundation for a Jewish workers' society that later became a branch of the Bund there. He fought the Polish Socialist Party and its group of Jewish members and succeeded in uniting Lithuanian and local workers into one Jewish association. After the arrest of Bund members in 1898, Mill fled the country, and together with Kopelson initiated the establishment of the Bund "committee abroad." He was the editor of its organ *Der Yidisher Arbeter* (nos. 6–11) and initiated the setting up of the Bund archives. At the third congress of the Bund (1899) Mill was the first to demand that the claim to national autonomy be included in its program. For many years he headed the organizational affairs of the Bund and its "committee abroad" until he imigrated to Chicago in 1915. In the United States he worked at his profession of dental technician, and was active in the *Jewish Socialist Verband and the Socialist Party, holding the position of Jewish secretary and translator. He wrote for Jewish socialist periodicals and published important memoirs entitled *Pionern un Boyer* (2 vols., 1943–46).

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[Moshe Mishkinsky]

°**MILLÁS VALLICROSA, JOSÉ MARIÁ** (1897–1970), Spanish scholar and historian. Millás Vallicrosa was born in Santa Coloma de Farnés, Spain. From 1925 onward he was professor of Hebrew studies at the University of Barcelona, having also taught at the University of Madrid. Millás Vallicrosa did research into the history of Spanish Jewry, medieval Hebrew poetry, the Bible, and the history of the sciences. He also translated medieval works from Hebrew and Arabic into Spanish. One of his important studies on Spanish Jewry is *Documents hebraics de jueus catalans* (1927), in which he compiled and explained Hebrew documents of the Catalonian Jews in the 11th–12th centuries. Another work of his is *Assaig d'histùria de les idees físiques i matemàtiques a la Catalunya medieval* (1931), on the history of the development of science in Catalonia. In the field of the history of science, Millás Vallicrosa's studies on Abraham ibn Ezra and *Abraham bar Ḥiyya are notable, while in the research into Hebrew poetry and literature a special place is occupied by his work, *La poesía sagrada hebraicoespañola* (1940). He suggested that antecedents of poetic forms in medieval Hebrew poetry in Spain can be traced to biblical poetry (in *Sefarad*, 1 (1941), 45–87). In this field he also published the studies, *Yehuda ha-Leví, como poeta y apologista* (1947), and *Šĕlomō ibn Gabirol, como poeta y filósofo* (1945). Millás Vallicrosa published scores of articles in scholarly journals, including *Al-Andalus, Sefarad, Revue Internationale de l'Histoire des Sciences*, and *Osiris: Archeion*. Many of his pupils earned scholarly reputations, among them his own sons. His wife, FRANCISCA VENDRELL, also a scholar, studied the history of medieval Spanish Jewry. A two-volume *Homenaje…* containing scholarly articles by Jewish and non-Jewish scholars was published in honor of Millás Vallicrosa in 1954–56. A list of his works was published under the title *Títulos y Trabajos de Profesor D. José M. Millás Vallicrosa* (1950).

ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY: T.F. Glick, in: *Isis*, 68 (1977), 276–83.

[Haim Beinart]

MILLER, ARTHUR (1915–2005), U.S. playwright. In his work, Miller wrestled with the primal issues of modern society. Because he came of age in New York City during the Great Depression, he embraced the themes of personal integrity and social responsibility, themes writ large in his immediate surroundings and his own family. Relationships, typically between one and one's family and society, were at the heart of nearly all his work. Theater director Robert Whitehead has been quoted as saying Miller had a "rabbinical righteousness," that his plays "sought to be a light unto the world." For Miller, theater was not mere entertainment, but an opportunity for consciousness raising, to change or broaden the minds of the audience. Writing and producing plays was a politically engaging experience for him. However, while he acknowledged that a given work might reflect a creator's political and social ideology, he rejected the notion that a play could encapsulate one's entire philosophy. He felt that real life was far too complex to be fully explained in a work of art or in a political methodology. He repeatedly tried to illustrate this ultimately unknowable complexity in his work. Very often the motivations of his characters are vague and mysterious. He offered no succinct answers to the problems he presented; indeed he may have believed there were none.

He acquired an international reputation after World War II, following the publication of two plays and of *Focus* (1945), a novel about antisemitism. In it, a pair of glasses allows a man to see better as it encourages others to see him differently. A meek gentile, who, as part of his job, identifies Jewish job applicants, is mistaken to be Jewish when he begins wearing a pair of glasses. He loses his job and can only find employment in the office of Jewish businessmen. He passively participates in the antisemitism in his initial job, in his neighborhood, where hatred of Jews reaches a virulent level, and at home. Ultimately he redeems himself by trying to stop vandals from destroying the store of a Jewish shopkeeper.

The play *All My Sons* (1947) revealed his ability to portray characters involved in emotional conflicts. It is a realistic play, intended for the general public. The dialogue is of common speech. The plot involves an overwhelming crisis growing out of smaller crises. The play has symbolic overtones despite the realistic characters and plot, which combine to help Miller focus on his themes of mutual responsibility and survivor guilt.

His reputation was really established with *Death of a Salesman* (1949), which won the Pulitzer Prize for drama. The play, later made into a motion picture, owed its success to the delineation of Willy Loman, the unsuccessful traveling salesman, and was regarded as an indictment of the false sense of values of American life. Miller has stated his initial idea for the play came from one notion: that the main character would kill himself. Loman's is a realistic portrayal of decline, of never quite giving up on the American dream, despite all evidence to the contrary. His sacrifice is a hopeless attempt to preserve some personal dignity and to help his family. The audience is never told if the insurance from his death properly provides for his family, but there are hints in the play that his death is in vain, that his plan does not work. Because of his drastic and self-destructive behavior for what may be an ideological misconception, Willy Loman is one of the great tragic characters of American drama.

In 1951, engaged by the problem of freedom of speech, Miller wrote an adaptation of Henrik Ibsen's *An Enemy of the People*, and in 1953, in his own play *The Crucible*, he turned to the Salem witch trials of 1692, and spoke for freedom of conscience during the period of Senator McCarthy's anti-communist campaign. Miller hoped the play "would be seen as an affirmation of the struggle for liberty, for keeping one's own conscience." John Proctor is a strong protagonist, flawed, but with no misplaced idealism. With Proctor at the center, Miller plays with the theme of retaining one's sense of morality in the face of public pressure. The witch-hunt mentality (reminiscent of the antisemitic hysteria in *Focus*) has both rational and irrational origins: some, like those causing the fuss, are conscious of the social and economic power it brings, while others are merely swept up in the supernatural paranoia. Miller adeptly portrays the act of ruination by accusation. When one character is accused of witchcraft, he has two choices: to confess and lose his land, or deny and lose his land. When he remains silent, even to his death, his land at least stays with his family. During the political climate of the McCarthy Red Scare, this proved to be a profoundly important lesson in social and individual responsibility. In an odd case of life imitating art, Miller played Proctor for real. Summoned before McCarthy's House Un-American Activities Committee, Miller was asked about Communist meetings he had attended. He did not refuse to answer, telling the committee everything they wanted to know about him, while denying he was a Communist. But he stopped short of implicating others. As Proctor refused to speak about people already known to his questioners, so did Miller. He was found guilty of contempt of court, but that charge was later reversed. This play was screened as the *Witches of Salem* (1957).

A View from the Bridge (1955) again won a Pulitzer Prize. It showed Miller still striving for significant realistic drama and imaginative dramatic form. In the play he continued his practice of trying to mythologize the ordinary and everyday. Falling short of being entirely uplifting, the play has a positive message: that life goes on despite any tragedy.

The film script *The Misfits* (1961), written after his marriage to the screen star Marilyn Monroe, and acted in by her and Clark Gable, was an unusually sensitive, though commercially unsuccessful, study of loneliness and divorce.

Miller returned to the theater with an autobiographical drama, *After the Fall* (1964), based largely on his life with Marilyn Monroe, whom he had divorced in 1962, and relating his own conflicts in love and friendship to the state of the world. This expressionistic drama concerns the various crises of Quentin, one of which is his sense of guilt at not experiencing the Nazi death camps. His proximity to Holga, a woman who has escaped Auschwitz, exacerbates this feeling in him. He laments his inability to atone for what he feels are sins, because they are sins of omission, that is, he is guilty, not for things he has done, but for things he has not done.

Incident at Vichy (1965) deals with the arrest of a number of Frenchmen, including some Jews, during the Nazi occupation. Each prisoner separates himself from the others while trying to understand why the Nazis want to destroy them. The gypsy, the Communist, the Catholic, and the Jew are unable to come together even as fellow prisoners, even in their hatred of the Nazis. There is no sense of union, that each is responsible for the others. One Nazi officer is shown having feelings of guilt, but he ultimately does nothing about it. Miller stresses that guilt is not enough, that action is necessary. To deny one's connection to humanity is to deny one's own humanity.

The Price (1968), depicting a dramatic conflict between two brothers, had as a central character an old Jew who acted as a wise commentator.

Miller stated his intention as a dramatist as being to "bring to the stage the thickness, awareness, and complexity of the novel." He endeavored to give postwar American drama depth of purpose and content, and a sense of tragic conflict in terms of contemporary American life. Widely regarded in the 1950s as America's leading dramatist, his reputation faded somewhat in the 1960s as realistic drama itself passed out of critical fashion. The 1980s, however, saw a return to appreciation of Miller's contribution to 20th-century theater. Other plays include *The American Clock* (1983), *The Archbishop's Ceiling* (1984), *Danger: Memory* (1986), *Two-Way Mirror* (1989), *The Ride Down Mount Morgan* (1991), *The Last Yankee* (1991), and *Broken Glass* (1994). For the collected edition of his plays published in 1958, he wrote a 50-page introduction, which clarified his purpose and explained his methods of work. Translated into many languages, the plays were internationally popular. Miller was elected president of the International PEN Club in 1965, in which position he strove vigorously to organize protests against literary censorship and repression all over the world.

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[Joseph Mersand and Jonathan Licht / Robert L. DelBane (2nd ed.)]

MILLER, BEN-ZION (1947–), *ḥazzan*. Miller was born in Germany where his father, Rabbi Aharon Miller, was serving as *ḥazzan* to the Klausenburger rebbe in a German refugee camp. He studied at the Bobov yeshivah in Israel, becoming a *ḥazzan* and *shoḥet*. He also came under the tutelage of the well-known cantor Samuel Baruch *Taube. Thereafter he served as *ḥazzan* in New Jersey, New York, and Canada, before becoming, in 1981, *ḥazzan* of the Beth-El synagogue of Boro Park in Brooklyn, New York. He has also appeared in concert in Europe, the United States, Australia, and Israel. He is one of the few Orthodox cantors dedicated to perpetuating the great virtuoso cantorial styles and tradition of the 19th and early 20th centuries. A tremendous recording and performing artist, Miller has many varied recordings to his credit, including the Milken Archive releases issued by Naxos.

[Akiva Zimmerman / Raymond Goldstein (2nd ed.)]

MILLER, EMANUEL (1893–1970), English psychiatrist. Born in London, Miller studied medicine at Cambridge University and the London Hospital and lectured in psychology at Cambridge for a brief period after 1924. He became a psychiatric specialist in 1940 and in 1946 was made a Fellow of the Royal College of Physicians. One of the foremost psychiatrists in Britain, Miller was founder and honorary director of the East

London Child Guidance Clinic and chairman and honorary president of the Association of Child Psychiatry. He showed a keen interest in the development of medicine in Israel and in 1953 was elected president of the British Friends of Magen David Adom. His publications include *Modern Psychotherapy* (1930) and *Neurosis in War* (1940). His wife, BETTY MILLER (née Spiro; 1910–1965), born in Cork, Ireland, was the author of various novels including *Farewell Leicester Square* (1940), *A Room in Regent's Park* (1942), *On the Side of the Angels* (1945), and *The Death of the Nightingale* (1949). She also wrote a biographical study, *Robert Browning: A Portrait* (1952), and was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society of Literature. Their son JONATHAN MILLER (1934–) was educated at St. Paul's school and Cambridge and qualified as a doctor but established his reputation as an actor in the revue *Beyond the Fringe*, a satire on various aspects of British life from Shakespeare to the Royal Family, which played in London and New York. Later he directed many successful theatrical and television productions, frequently winning acclaim for his originality. His television series on the history of medicine, *The Body in Question*, became internationally known.

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MILLER, IRVING (1903–1980), U.S. rabbi and Zionist leader. Rabbi Miller, who was born in Kovno, Lithuania, was taken to the U.S. in 1912. Ordained a rabbi at Yeshivath Rabbi Isaac Elhanan in 1926, he served congregations in Youngstown, Ohio (1926–28), Chelsea, Mass. (1928–30), and Far Rockaway, N.Y. (1930–46), before becoming rabbi of Congregation Sons of Israel, Woodmere, N.Y. (1946–63). Extremely active in Jewish affairs, Miller's posts included secretary-general of the World Jewish Congress (1942–45); president of the American Jewish Congress (1949–52); president of the Zionist Organization of America (1952–54); president of the American Zionist Council (1954–63); chairman of the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations (1961–63); and member of both the national cabinet of the United Jewish Appeal and the Actions Committee of the World Zionist Organization.

MILLER, ISRAEL (1918–2002), U.S. Orthodox rabbi, communal leader, and university administrator. Miller was born in Baltimore and educated in New York, where he earned his B.A. from *Yeshiva College in 1938 and his ordination from the Rabbi Isaac Elchanan Theological Seminary of Yeshiva University in 1941. He received an M.A. from Columbia University in 1949 and a D.D. from Yeshiva University in 1967. Immediately after ordination, Miller became rabbi of the Kingsbridge Heights Jewish Center in the Bronx, New York, becoming emeritus in 1968, with a brief interruption to serve as a United States Air Force chaplain (1945–46). In 1968 Miller began a second career at Yeshiva University, as a professor, vice president, senior vice president, and senior vice president emeritus, until his *aliyah* to Israel in 2000.

Miller was president or chairman of nearly every major Orthodox or American national Jewish organization; in fact, he was one of the founders of several of them, including the American Jewish Conference on Soviet Jewry, serving as its first chairman (1965–67); the American Zionist Federation (successor to the *American Zionist Council, of which he was chairman from 1967–70, and precursor to the *American Zionist Movement), serving as its first president and then honorary president (beginning 1970 and 1974, respectively); and the New York Jewish Community Relations Council, serving as its first vice president (1976). Miller was elected president of the *Rabbinical Council of America in 1964, and led the RCA's first mission to the Soviet Union and the Moscow Great Synagogue under KGB scrutiny in 1965.

From 1969 to 1976, Miller was vice chairman and chairman of the *Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations. He was an advisor to presidents of both Democratic and Republican administrations: President Johnson appointed him to the National Citizens Committee for Community Relations to help implement civil rights legislation; he received a citation from President Ford; and President Reagan consulted him prior to his Geneva summit with Mikhail Gorbachev and dispatched him on a fact-finding mission to South Africa.

For the last 20 years of his life, Miller was president of the *Conference on Jewish Material Claims against Germany (and the Claims Conference against Austria), overseeing the disbursement of $2 billion to 400,000 Holocaust survivors and $500 million in institutional allocations. In this capacity, he negotiated with world leaders, including German Chancellor Helmut Kohl, and visited thousands of survivors personally to ensure that they were living their final years with dignity. In addition to serving as president of the Association of Jewish Chaplains of the Armed Forces, honorary chairman of the Jewish National Fund, and vice president of the Religious Zionists of America, Miller sat on the executive committees or boards of directors of many organizations, including the World Zionist Organization, National Jewish Welfare Board, and American Israel Public Affairs Committee.

Miller received numerous awards, not only from the organizations he led, but also, for instance, from Yeshiva University and the Boy Scouts of America. The greatest honor, however, came from the accolades and votes of confidence of his colleagues, who elected him repeatedly to the highest leadership positions on account of his gentility, grace, integrity, and wisdom, rather than as a result of vigorous campaigning for office.

[Bezalel Gordon (2nd ed.)]

MILLER, LOUIS (1917–1988), Israeli psychiatrist. Born in Somerset West, South Africa, he went to Israel in 1948 and established psychiatric and psychological services in the Israeli army and air force. In 1949 Miller became director of psychiatry in Israel's Ministry of Health, where he planned and initiated its regional hospital and community services. In 1954 he entered the field of public health and developed a family health and community organization program for the Jerusalem region. In 1959 he returned to his post of director of Mental Health Services, and in 1970 became chief national psychiatrist. In 1966–67, as visiting professor at Northwestern University, he planned and initiated a community mental health program in Chicago for the State of Illinois. His contributions to mental health theory, research, and practice were concerned particularly with the effects of socio-cultural and community influences on mental health and ill health and its treatment. He integrated this approach with the biological and psychological interpretations of personality. His publications include studies concerning the incidence of psychiatric conditions in various cultures in Israel, immigration and mental health, child rearing on the kibbutz and among Tripolitanian Jews, aging, urbanization, and social change. He was chairman of the National Committee for the Study of Drug Abuse and the *Encyclopaedia Judaica* (first edition) departmental editor for Jews in psychiatry.

MILLER, LOUIS E. (pseudonym of **Louis E. Bandes**; 1866–1927), Yiddish editor and labor leader. Miller was born in Vilna and became involved in socialist and revolutionary activities in his boyhood. He fled from Russia at 14 and participated in émigré revolutionary circles in Berlin, Switzerland, Paris, and, after 1886, in New York. In the U.S. Miller worked in a shirt factory, and helped found the first shirtmakers union among Jewish workers. Miller was also deeply involved in the political life of socialist and other labor organizations. In his early years he remained close to organizations which used Russian as their language, but in 1889 he represented the Yiddish-language-oriented United Hebrew Trades at the Second International in Paris.

Miller was most influential as editor and writer in Yiddish. In 1890, with Philip *Krantz, Morris *Hillquit, and Abraham *Cahan, he founded the Yiddish-socialist *Die Arbeiter Zeitung* (1890). In 1897 he joined Cahan in launching the daily *Forward* (1897). In 1905 he broke with Cahan, the editor in chief of this daily, and founded his own paper *Die Wahrheit* (1905) which stressed Jewish national aspirations no less than socialism. When World War I broke out, he espoused the cause of the Allies, while most of his daily's 100,000 readers favored Germany as against czarist Russia. The paper continued to lose circulation, and he preferred to resign rather than to keep silent. He attempted several journalistic ventures after 1917, but never regained his earlier influence with the Yiddish reading masses.

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[Alexander Tobias]

MILLER, MARTIN RUDOLF (1899–1969), Czech actor, who from 1939 worked in England. Miller (né Rudolf Muller) was born in Kremsier, Czechoslovakia, started his career in Vienna, and made his last appearance in Berlin at the Jewish Culture Theater in 1939. In London he appeared in *Awake and Sing* (1942) and in 1,000 performances of *The Mousetrap* (1952). In New York he was in *The Mad Woman of Chaillot* (1949) and *The Magnolia Street Story* (1951). Miller was noted for his portrayal of elderly Jews.

MILLER, MARVIN JULIAN (1917–), one of the most influential figures in American sports history, baseball's first labor leader who served as executive director of the Major League Baseball Players' Association (MLBPA) from 1966 to 1982. Miller was born in the Bronx and raised in Brooklyn, New York, by his father Alexander, a salesman of women's coats on the Lower East Side and a member of the wholesale clothing workers union, and by his mother Gertrude (Wald), an elementary-school teacher in New York's public schools who became one of the early members of the city's teachers' union. Miller studied first at the University of Miami and then at New York University, where he graduated in 1938. He worked at the National War Labor Relations Board, the Machinist Union, the United Auto Workers, and the United Steelworkers union, where he was assistant to the president and its leading economist and negotiator. On March 5, 1966, the baseball player representatives elected him executive director of the MLB Players' Association. Through his innovative thinking and keen negotiating skills, Miller united a loosely organized association and transformed it into one of the strongest unions in the United States, thereby revolutionizing baseball. As a pioneer in the unionization of professional athletes, Miller was instrumental in its development into a powerful labor union that transformed the economics and labor relations of baseball, which led ultimately to profound changes in the nature of U.S. professional sports and their place in society. He led the baseball union to two strikes, the first on April 1, 1972, which lasted 13 days and was the first successful strike in the history of professional sports, and again in 1981, which lasted 50 days.

Among Miller's accomplishments were the recognition of the players' union; the right to bargain collectively; the use of agents to negotiate individual contracts; an end to the reserve clause, with free movement from team to team through free agency; arbitration in labor disputes; the right for veteran players to veto trades; and a vastly improved pension plan funded largely through percentages of television revenue. During Miller's tenure, major league players saw their minimum salary jump from $6,000 to $33,500, while the average salary rose from $19,000 to over $240,000. Miller also instituted changes to make the game safer, successfully bargaining for improved scheduling and padded outfield walls, better-defined warning tracks, and safer locker rooms. Journalist Red Barber called Miller "one of the three most important men in baseball history," along with Babe Ruth and Jackie Robinson, and author Studs Terkel said Miller was "the most effective union organizer since John L. Lewis." In 2000, *The Sporting News* ranked Miller fifth on its list of the "100 Most Powerful People in Sports for the 20th Century." Miller was the author of *A Whole Different Ball Game: The Sport and Business of Baseball* (1991).

[Elli Wohlgelernter (2nd ed.)]

MILLER, MITCH (**Mitchell William**; 1911–), U.S. oboist, record producer, arranger, and conductor. Miller studied piano and oboe and later attended Rochester's Eastman School of Music (B. Mus., 1932). Miller played oboe with the Rochester Philharmonic (1930–33) and the CBS symphony orchestra (1935–47). In the 1950s he became a major force in the recording industry. Miller was appointed director of artists and repertoire for the classical division of Mercury Records (1947–50) and produced a series of major hits, including Frankie Laine's "That Lucky Old Sun." When he was in charge of the popular division of Columbia Records (1950–61), he recorded Guy Mitchell and Tony Bennett, and signed artists like Mahalia Jackson and Rosemary Clooney. He got Laine to record "High Noon," the title song from the Gary Cooper western, and played an important role in fostering the 1950s folk revival. Miller's own recording career, mostly credited to "Mitch Miller and His Gang," began with his adaptation of the Israeli folk song "Tzena, Tzena," "The Civil War Marching Song," "The Yellow Rose of Texas," and the "Colonel Bogey March" from *The Bridge on the River Kwai*. His series of "Sing Along With Mitch" albums, in which he led an all-male chorus in spirited versions of mostly older tunes, led to his own television program *Sing Along with Mitch* (1960–65), which became extremely popular. By 1965 Miller's influence had waned. He appeared as guest conductor of pop concerts and light classical recordings with orchestras in and outside the U.S. Miller and Freedman edited his *Mitch Miller Community Song Book: A Collection for Group Singing for All Occasions* (1999).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Baker's Biographical Dictionary of Musicians* (1997); "The *Audio* Interview – Mitch Miller: A Hidden Classic," in: *Audio*, 69 (Nov 1985), 40–51, (Dec 1985), 42–53.

[Naama Ramot (2nd ed.)]

MILLER, SHAYE (1895–1958), Yiddish novelist, editor, and translator. Born in Filpovitch, Ukraine, he immigrated to the U.S. at age 17 and lived in New York and Cleveland before settling in Los Angeles ten years later. He began to publish Yiddish short stories at the age of 22, translated Maeterlinck, Tagore, and Wedekind, and published ten volumes of impressionistic stories. Miller published in the leading Yiddish periodicals of his day, including the *Forverts*, *Der Yidisher Kemfer*, *Tsukunft*, and *Der Tog*. His novel *Dor Hafloge* ("The Lost Generation," 1948) deals with the decay, in the new American environment, of an Eastern European Jewish family which symbolizes the pre-World War I generation of transition. The stories of *Nekhtn* ("Yesterday," 1956) deal largely with Los Angeles Jews: Miller gives a panoramic view of the charlatans, the noble characters, and the ordinary men and women who were caught up in California's boom-psychosis of the 1920s and ended their lives tragically during the Great Depression of the early 1930s. He stresses the nostalgia for old-fashioned Jewishness that assailed the Jews who had wrested themselves loose from their Jewish roots and who found their materially successful life empty of meaning in later years. Miller is a master of dialogue, accurately reproducing the speech, intonations, and gestures of his marginal, semi-assimilated Jews. His posthumously published essays *Skeptishe Makhshoves* ("Sceptical Thoughts," 1959) deal with basic questions of American-Jewish cultural survival and cast light upon his own personality and approach to literary craftsmanship.

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[Sol Liptzin]

MILLET, the *Panicum miliaceum*, a summer plant of the Gramineae family, whose small seeds are utilized as fodder or are sometimes ground to produce a poor quality flour. It is regarded by some as identical with *doḥan*, one of the ingredients of the flour mixture that Ezekiel was commanded to eat for 390 days (Ezek. 4:9). The probability is, however, that *doḥan* is *sorghum. *Doḥan* is mentioned a number of times in rabbinic literature together with *orez* ("rice"), *peragim*, and *shumshemin* ("sesame"; Shev. 2:7), as summer plants from which occasionally bread is made (Ḥal. 1:4). *Peragim* cannot therefore be poppy as is stated in the *Arukh* of Nathan b. Jehiel (and as the word is used in modern Hebrew), since the poppy is a winter plant and is used only as a spice. From Syrian Aramaic it would seem that *peragim* is to be identified with millet, an identification compatible with the talmudic sources.

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[Jehuda Feliks]

MILLET, name for the religious communal organization of non-Muslims in the Ottoman Empire. The Koran uses *milla* for religion or rite, e.g., religion of the Jews and Christians (2:114), and the religion of Abraham (2:124; 3:89). It is assumed that a Jewish communal organization was already in existence for some time in the areas occupied by the Ottoman Turks in the 14th and early 15th centuries. Even before the capture of Constantinople in 1453 the Ottoman conquerors of the Balkans had granted the Christian population religious, juridical, and administrative autonomy. Mehmed II the Conqueror (1451–81) organized all non-Muslim communities and recognized their religious leaders as heads of the respective millets. Each head had jurisdiction over and responsibility for the members of his millet, and even in matters of taxation, the apportionment of the whole amount was left to him. R. Moses *Capsali was the first to be appointed (1461?) head of the Jews in Constantinople (see also *ḥakham bashi*). The powers of the second head, R. Elijah b. Abraham Mizraḥi (1485?–1526), were in fact restricted to religious matters of the Jews in Constantinople. Mizraḥi clearly had nothing to do with the collection of taxes and the representation of the Jews with the various authorities. That the collection of taxes was not the concern of the official representatives of the millet is confirmed by many sources. In fact, the opposite is true: the various tax collectors, toll farmers, cashiers, and bankers of the pashas, in so far as they were non-Muslims, were the natural spokesmen of their communities by virtue of their functions and influence at court. In his time *Kakhya Shealtiel was the official spokesman who represented the Jews of the city – especially in the matter of tax collection – before the authorities. Mizraḥi's judgment in the case of Kakhya Shealtiel repeatedly mentions the representatives of the congregations in Constantinople. The representative's title of *memunneh* (lit. "appointee") is one of the titles designating the persons elected by the congregation to manage its affairs; other titles are *parnas*, *barur*, *kaẓin*, and the ancient collective designation, *tovei ha-ir*. The powers, number, manner of election, and period of tenure of these functionaries varied greatly. Their main task was the collection of communal taxes (especially the *gabella*), which were used to maintain the children of the needy at school and to finance charitable purposes. The mode of imposition and amount of the taxes were also different; as a rule, the consent of the whole congregation or at least of the taxpayers was required. The congregations of expellees and immigrants from Europe usually retained the practices they had followed in their countries of origin. The veteran residents likewise maintained their ancestral tradition according to which public affairs were looked after by the elders, who were the heads of prominent and influential families.

In connection with the reforms in the Ottoman Empire in the 19th century, the structure of the millet organization underwent many changes. The regulations of the Greek community (*Rum milleti*) were finally drafted and approved in 1862 and those of the Armenian community (*Ermeni milleti*) in 1863. The submission of proposals for the reorganization of the Jewish community (*Yahudi milleti*), as required by the *Khaṭṭi humayun* (imperial decree) of 1856, was delayed due to internal dissension. The "Organizational Regulations of the Rabbinate" (*ḥakham Khane niẓamnamesi*) was approved finally in 1865 (see *community and *ḥakham bashi*). The tenor of the regulations reveals a desire to limit the powers of the *ḥakham bashi*, and they remained in force so long as the Ottoman Empire existed; only under the republic did they lapse de facto – without being officially replaced.

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[Haïm Z'ew Hirschberg]

MILLETT, SIR PETER, BARON (1932–), British barrister and judge. Born in London and educated at Harrow and Cambridge, Millett was called to the bar at the Middle Temple and became a QC in 1973, having served (1967–73) as standing junior counsel to the Department of Trade and Industry. From 1986 to 1994 he served as a judge of the High Court (Chancery Division), and then became a judge of the Court of Appeal (1994–98), and a lord of appeal in Ordinary from 1998 to 2004. Lord Millett was one of the most prominent senior Freemasons in the British judiciary and wrote widely on aspects of the law. He was knighted in 1986 and made a life peer in 1998.

[William D. Rubinstein (2nd ed.)]

MILLGRAM, ABRAHAM EZRA (1901–1998), U.S. rabbi, Jewish educator. Millgram was born in Russia and immigrated with his family to the United States where he was educated at the City College of New York (B.S., 1924) and at Columbia University (M.A. in 1927), the year he was ordained by the Jewish Theological Seminary where he also received his D.H.L. in 1959. While serving as the rabbi of Temple Beth Israel in Philadelphia (1930–40), Millgram attended Dropsie College for Cognate Learning where he received his Ph.D. in 1942. He went to work for the then new organization for Jewish college youth, Hillel, at the University of Minnesota from 1940 to 1945. (In the first generation of rabbis who served Hillel were many men who would have preferred an academic career but Judaic studies had not yet developed as a field so they joined Hillel to be close to the university environment.) He then came back to New York as the educational director of the United Synagogue of America, where he was responsible for their widespread educational activities at a time when it was most influential and respected. He retired to Jerusalem where he continued to write. Among his publications were *Sabbath: Day of Delight* (1944); *Handbook for the Congregational School Board Member*, United Synagogue Commission on Jewish Education (1953); *Concepts That Distinguish Judaism* (1985); *Jerusalem Curiosities* (1990); and *A Short History of Jerusalem,* published in the year of his death. He was also the editor of *An Anthology of Medieval Hebrew Literature* (1961), *Great Jewish Ideas* (1964), and *Jewish Worship* (Jewish Publication Society, 1971).

[Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

MILLIN, PHILIP (1888–1952), South African Supreme Court judge. Millin began his career as a journalist in Johannesburg and Cape Town, studying law at the same time. On graduation in 1913 he began to practice in Johannesburg. He became a King's Counsel in 1927, and was chairman of the Bar Council for several years. He was appointed to the Supreme Court in 1937. As chairman of the Company Law Amendment Inquiry Commission he drafted the "Millin Report," which led to important changes in company law. He was also the coauthor of *Mercantile Law of South Africa* (1917 and several other editions), a standard work. For some years Millin was vice president of the South African Friends of the Hebrew University. His wife was the novelist, Sarah Gertrude *Millin.

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[Lewis Sowden]

MILLIN, SARAH GERTRUDE (born **Liebson**; 1889–1968), South African novelist. Born in Lithuania, she grew up near Kimberley and married Philip *Millin. After publishing several novels, she made her name with *God's Step-Children* (1924), a story of the colored people of Cape Province. None of her subsequent novels had the same popular impact, though at least one of them, *Mary Glenn* (1925), a rural tragedy, showed great power of projecting atmosphere and passion. Turning to biography, she published a life of Cecil Rhodes (1933) and *General Smuts* (2 vols., 1936). A prolific writer on South African and world affairs, Sarah Gertrude Millin produced among other works short stories of South Africa, and during World War II she wrote her war diaries in six volumes (published 1944–48), in which she devoted much attention to Palestine. Returning to fiction, she broadened her scope in *King of the Bastards* (1949) and *The Burning Man* (1952). She wrote two volumes of autobiography, *The Night is Long* (1941) and *The Measure of My Days* (1955).

Sarah Gertrude Millin's style was terse and her objectivity in fiction carried to the point where it often seemed that she disliked the people she wrote about. In her later years she often expressed conservative and controversial views on South Africa's race relations and color policies (apartheid). In 1966 she edited and contributed to a volume of essays, *White Africans are Also People*, in defense of Rhodesia and South Africa. Sarah Gertrude Millin, although interested in Jewish affairs, took no part in Jewish life. She occasionally introduced Jews in her stories, as in *The Coming of the Lord* (1928).

ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY: M. Rubin, *Sarah Gertrude Millin: A South African Life* (1977).

[Lewis Sowden]

MILLMAN, JACOB (1911–), U.S. electrical engineer. Millman was born in Russia and taken to the U.S. in 1913. He was a faculty member of City College, New York from 1936 to 1951, and from 1952 professor of electrical engineering at Columbia University. He wrote *Electronics* (1941), *Pulse and Digital Circuits* (1956), and *Vacuum-Tube and Semiconductor Electronics* (1958).

MILLO (Pasovsky), JOSEF (1916–1996), Israeli theatrical producer and actor. Born in Prague, Millo was taken to Israel in 1921 but received his theatrical training in Prague and Vienna. On returning to Israel he worked with a marionette troupe (1937–41), acted for two years with the satirical theater "Ha-Matate," and in 1942 founded the Cameri Theater, which he directed until 1959. In 1961 he founded and became director of the Haifa Municipal Theater. Millo inaugurated a naturalistic school of Israel drama and strongly influenced the younger generation of actors and writers. He directed about 100 plays, including works by Bertolt Brecht and Shakespeare, himself playing many leading roles. He was considered to have shown new trends in modern Hebrew drama with N. Shaham's *They Will Return Tomorrow* and M. Shamir's *He Walked Through the Fields*. He was also responsible for the film version of the latter (1967). Millo translated into Hebrew Goldoni's *The Servant of Two Masters* and Čapek's *The World We Live In*. He directed plays at drama festivals in Paris (1956), Venice (1965), and other European cities. In 1968 he was awarded the Israel Prize for theater.

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MILLSTONE (Heb. רֵחַיִם), an instrument used for grinding grain. The word has a dual ending, indicating an instrument composed of two parts: an upper millstone (Heb. *rekhev*, Deut. 24:6) and a lower millstone (talmudic Heb. *shekhev*), which, however, was called *reḥayim* as well (*ibid.*). Other terms for both millstones are *pelaḥ* (Judg. 9:53, in combination with *rekhev* for upper millstone; Job 41:16, in combination with *taḥtit*, lower millstone), and *taḥanah* (Eccles. 12:34). The mill was worked by slaves (Ex. 11:5; Judg. 16:21 – Samson; Isa. 47:2; Lam. 5:13). The manna too was ground by millstones (Num. 11:8). Abimelech was killed with an upper millstone by the woman of Thebez (Judg. 9:53). Grain would be spread out between the upper and lower millstones, and the friction and pressure of one stone upon the other would break the kernels and grind them into flour. The desired friction was achieved by passing the upper stone back and forth over the lower one, as is illustrated in early Egyptian pictures. Millstones of this type have been found in abundance in excavations in Ereẓ Israel, for example at Gezer, Megiddo, and Hazor. This type of millstone was in use until the end of the Israelite period. Only at the end of the Persian period did another type of millstone come into use, in which the desired friction was achieved by means of the circular motion of the upper stone – which turned on an axle – upon the stationary lower stone. Millstones were essential household items, and it was forbidden to remove them from their owner's possession, for example, as a pledge for a loan (Deut. 24:6). In talmudic times a distinction was made between "hand mills" or "human mills," usually worked by the housewife and standing in a special room or place, and a mill operated by a donkey, which was both larger and of a more complicated construction. Water mills are mentioned but were rare.

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[Ze'ev Yeivin]

MILNER, MOSES MICHAEL (Mikhail Arnoldovich; 1886–1953), composer, born in Rokitno, Ukraine. As a child he sang in the choirs of several famous *ḥazzanim*, including J.S. *Morogovski (Zeidel Rovner), and then studied at the Kiev and St. Petersburg conservatories. From 1912 to 1919 he was conductor of the choir of the Great Synagogue in St. Petersburg, and then worked as singing teacher and choral conductor in various posts. From 1924 to 1931 he was musical director and conductor of the Yiddish Theater in Moscow and Kharkov, musical director of the Jewish Voice Ensemble in Leningrad (1931–41), and coach of the choir of the Leningrad Bolshoi Theater from 1941 until his death.

Milner's renown began with the publication of his songs in 1914 by the *Society for Jewish Folk Music which he had helped to found. His works indicated new possibilities for the harmonization of traditional melodic material in the dramatic style of Moussorgsky. Until the mid-1930s he wrote many works on Jewish themes, mainly for the stage. The opera, *Die Himlen Brenen*, based on S. *An-Ski's *Dibbuk* and adapted by M. Rivesman, performed in 1923, was later denounced as reactionary and its performance was forbidden. Among his other works are *Der Najer Veg* (1933); *Josephus Flavius* (1935), based on L. *Feuchtwanger's novel; stage music for the Habimah performances of H. Leivik's *Golem* and R. *Beer-Hoffmann's *Jaakobs Traum*; and a ballet, *Ashmedai*. In addition, he also wrote settings of Jewish folk songs and liturgical texts. After the repression of Jewish art, Milner turned to more general subjects and wrote a symphony (1937); a symphonic poem, *The Partisans* (1944); and a piano concerto.

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[Haim Bar-Dayan]

MILO (Milkovsky), RONI (1949–), politician, lawyer, and businessman; member of the Ninth to Thirteenth and Fifteenth Knessets. Milo was born in Tel Aviv. As a pupil in the leftist-oriented Tikhon Ḥadash high school, Milo sought to introduce the mention of Ze'ev *Jabotinsky in the curriculum, and argued in favor of the cancelation of the matriculation exams. In 1966 he was elected mayor of Ir ha-No'ar (Youth City), and got Menaḥem *Begin to help him write his inauguration speech. He studied law at Tel Aviv University and served as assistant to constitutional law professor Amnon *Rubinstein, who served at the time as dean of the Law Faculty, and like Milo was elected to the Ninth Knesset. From his student days Milo was an active member of the Ḥerut Movement. He served as chairman of the Israeli Students' Association and was one of the organizers of a students' general strike over differential tuition. He also initiated the establishment of a bureau for free legal advice for the needy and received a budget from Minister of Education Yigal *Allon to finance private lessons for needy students. After the Yom Kippur War he supported the "Temurah – Yisra'el Shelanu" Movement, which called for the resignation of the government of Golda Meir. Because of health reasons he was not mobilized for regular military service but after completing his law studies served in the army in the military attorney's office as a justice officer and military prosecutor. Following his army service he worked as an independent lawyer.

Milo was elected to the Ninth Knesset on the Likud list. In his early years in politics he was considered a firebrand and an extremist. After returning from a visit to the United States in 1978, he claimed that the *Peace Now Movement was being funded by the CIA, even though its leaders might not have been aware of the fact. He nevertheless supported the peace agreement with Egypt.

In the Tenth Knesset Milo served as chairman of the Likud parliamentary group as well as chairman of the Ḥerut Movement section. He fell out with Begin after supporting the appointment of David *Levy as deputy prime minister in the government formed by him in 1981. When Begin decided to resign the premiership in October 1983, Milo supported Yitzhak *Shamir as his successor. In the National Unity governments of 1984–88, he served as deputy to Shamir, first in the Ministry for Foreign Affairs and then in the Prime Minister's Office. In the National Unity government formed in 1988 he served as minister for the environment, after the new ministry was tailor-made for him. Between the fall of the government in March 1990 and the establishment of the new narrow government by Shamir in June 1990 he served as minister of labor and welfare, and in the new government was appointed minister of police, and served in the narrow cabinet. In this period he started to advocate a unilateral Israeli withdrawal from the Gaza Strip, but the idea was rejected by Shamir. He also supported the idea of granting the Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza autonomy, but not a state. On the eve of the German reunification, Milo demanded that Israel express its opposition to this development. When Milo was minister of police an investigation was opened against MK Aryeh *Deri, and tension developed between the two. Before the elections to the Thirteenth Knesset, his name was raised as a candidate for the post of treasurer of the Jewish Agency and World Zionist Organization, but he decided not to run. Soon after the Likud's defeat he was elected chairman of the World Likud. In September 1993 Milo was one of several Likud MKs who abstained in the vote on the Declaration of Principles with the Palestinians. Soon after that vote he resigned from the Knesset to be mayor of Tel Aviv-Jaffa, and served in that post until 1999. In September 1996 Milo met with Abu-Ma'azen, and in November with the chairman of the Palestinian Authority, Yasser *Arafat. He backed Prime Minister Binyamin *Netanyahu in the Likud Central Committee after he had met Arafat and was booed by its members. In January 1997, after the fiasco around the appointment of Ronnie Bar-On as attorney general (Bar-On resigned after one day), Netanyahu offered Milo the Justice portfolio in his government, but Milo declined. He became progressively more critical of Netanyahu's leadership, and at the end of 1997, when it was generally believed that Netanyahu would fall, registered a "shelf party" (a passive party, which could be activated at short notice). In this period he started talking to Labor politician Haim *Ramon about the possibility of establishing a new center party. In 1998 he considered running for the premiership at the head of an independent party and started to discuss the establishment of such a party with Dan *Meridor and former Chief of Staff Amnon *Lipkin-Shahak. By the end of 1998 he started to talk about the eventual establishment of a Palestinian State.

In the elections to the Fifteenth Knesset Milo was elected to the Knesset on the list of the Central Party, of which he was one of the founders. Until he joined the government formed by Ehud *Barak as minister of health in August 2000, he served on the Finance Committee, the House Committee, and the Economics Committee, and chaired the lobby for Tel Aviv-Jaffa in the Knesset. Milo joined the government formed by Ariel *Sharon in August 2001 on behalf of the Center Party as minister for regional cooperation, returning to the Likud in November 2002, after establishing a parliamentary group by the name of Ha-Lev. Milo was not elected to the Sixteenth Knesset. From November 2003 he served as chairman of the board of Azorim Investment Co. Ltd., in the IDB group.

[Susan Hattis Rolef (2nd ed.)]

MILOSZ, OSCAR (originally **Oscar Venceslas De Lubicz-Milosz**, 1877–1939), French poet, mystical writer, and diplomat. Milosz, who was born in Chereya, Belorussia to a Lithuanian nobleman and the baptized daughter of a Warsaw Hebrew teacher, was raised as a Catholic. He nevertheless retained a warm regard for his Jewish heritage and developed a keen interest in the Kabbalah. At the age of 12 he was taken to Paris, where he later studied Hebrew and Assyrian at the Ecole des Langues Orientales. He was Lithuania's minister resident in Paris (1919–26) but, despite his eventual assumption of French citizenship, remained attached to his ancestral land, which inspired his *Contes et fabliaux de la vieille Lithuanie* (1930) and *Contes lithuan iennes de ma Mère L'Oye* (1933). In his poetry Milosz progressed from erotic mysticism to spiritual and metaphysical speculation. Among his early works were *L'Amoureuse initiation* (1910), a novel in the form of a poetic monologue, and two plays, *Miguel Mañara* (1912; Eng. tr. in *Poet Lore*, 1919) and *Méphiboseth* (1914), the second of which dealt with David and Bathsheba. His mystical experiences inspired two metaphysical works, *Ars magna* (1924) and *Le Poème des Arcanes* (1927). These mingle Catholic theology with mystical and kabbalistic doctrine, stressing the belief that man possesses the ability to perceive reality as it is seen by God and that this faculty, at present hidden, will one day be recovered. In his *Arcanes*, Milosz glorified the Jewish people as the servant of humanity who "preserved the sacred treasure of the original Revelation in all its purity through a thousand vicissitudes for the sole purpose of the world's future regeneration." *Les origines ibériques du peuple juif* (1932), a product of Milosz' last, kabbalistic, and eschatological period, attempted to prove, by comparing Andalusian and biblical place-names and Basque and Hebrew etymology, that the Hebrews emigrated to Canaan from southern Spain.

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MILSTEIN, U.S. family with vast interests in real estate, banking, and philanthropy. SEYMOUR MILSTEIN (1920–2001) was born in New York City and graduated from New York University. His father, Morris, had founded Circle Floor Company, which installed the floors at Rockefeller Center, the World Trade Center, and other buildings. Shortly after World War II, Milstein joined a second company founded by his father, Mastic Tile Company. Both companies flourished in the postwar housing boom in the United States and in 1955 Seymour Milstein became Mastic's president. Four years later, the company was sold to Ruberoid, a building products company, for $24 million. Seymour became a Ruberoid director and vice president, but when it was bought by GAF in 1967, he was not offered a top job. Milstein and his brother tried and failed to take control of GAF. In 1970 the family took control of United Brands, a large food company, and Starrett Housing Corporation. They later sold the companies. In 1986 they took over the failing Emigrant Savings Bank and pumped $90 million into it.

In the early 1960s PAUL MILSTEIN (1923–), who was born in New York City and graduated from NYU's School of Architecture, built the family's first apartment house, the Dorchester Tower near Lincoln Center. It was the first luxury building in that area since World War II. He also developed two other Manhattan landmarks, 1 Lincoln Plaza in 1972 and 30 Lincoln Plaza in 1978. Two of the buildings overlook a plaza that is one of Lincoln Center's most popular thoroughfares, and it was renamed in Milstein's honor in 1992. In the 1980s the Milsteins built tens of thousands of apartment, office, and hotel units in New York. The Milsteins were also responsible for buying and refurbishing the Milford Plaza Hotel in the Broadway area.

During their partnership, Seymour Milstein handled the financial details and was in charge of dealing with banks. Paul was more boisterous, and they were classic risk takers. Then they became more famous for litigation than for development. In 1981 they promised city officials that they would protect the famous and fabled gilded clock and Palm Court lounge of the Biltmore Hotel, and then demolished both. For nearly five decades the brothers presided over a multibillion-dollar real estate and banking empire with three million square feet of office space, 8,000 apartments, and one of New York's oldest financial institutions, Emigrant Savings Bank, which in 2003 had 36 branches in the New York area. The brothers lunched together daily and took family vacations together, but in later years, as succession issues loomed, the rivalry between their sons escalated into a legal battle of operatic intensity. By the end, the brothers were no longer speaking. In 2003, the family ended a decade-long feud and withdrew several lawsuits against one another.

The Milsteins gave widely to medical, educational, and Jewish causes. Among Seymour Milstein's beneficiaries was New York Presbyterian Hospital, where he was chairman from 1989 to 1996. His family's $25 million gift, in 1989, made possible the construction of the Milstein Hospital Building, a ten-story addition above the Hudson River in Washington Heights. The donation was in the name of Seymour and Paul Milstein and their sister, Gloria Milstein Flanzer. Eight children of the three donors were born at Presbyterian. Seymour also supported research on interferon, the hepatitis and cancer drug. From 1964 to 1973, Seymour was chairman of Bronx Lebanon Hospital Center. He was also a founder of the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum and a contributor to many Jewish philanthropies.

In 1994 the family of Paul Milstein gave $10 million to Cornell University for its Architecture, Art, and Planning College. The New York Public Library was also a beneficiary of the Milsteins, establishing the Irma and Paul Milstein Division of United States History, Local History, and Genealogy, in 2000 with a $5 million gift. The division brought together microfilm and other research materials long scattered in other parts of the library and a specialized staff to handle public inquiries, particularly on genealogical research.

[Stewart Kampel (2nd ed.)]

MILSTEIN, CESAR (1927–2002), immunologist and Nobel Prize laureate in medicine. Milstein was born in Bahia Blanca, Argentina. He studied at the University of Buenos Aires and received his doctorate from Cambridge University in 1960. From 1961 to 1963, when he emigrated from Argentina to England, he was affiliated with the National Institute of Microbiology in Buenos Aires. From 1963 he was with Cambridge University and in 1981–93 the joint head of the division of protein and nucleic acid chemistry. In 1980 he became head of the molecular immunobiology subdivision. He was the recipient of many awards, including the Wolf Prize in medicine. In 1984 he was a co-recipient of the Nobel Prize in medicine with George Koehler and Niels Jerne for their research into the body's immunological system and their development of a revolutionary method for producing antibodies, a technique which gave rise to new fields of endeavor for theoretical and applied biomedical research. From 1995 until his retirement in 2002 he was deputy director of the MRC Laboratory of Molecular Biology.

MILSTEIN, NATHAN (1904–1992), U.S. violinist. Born in Odessa, Russia, he was a child prodigy and studied with L. *Auer and E. Ysaye, making his debut in 1914. He toured Russia after the revolution with Vladimir *Horovitz and Gregor *Piatigorsky but left for Paris in 1925 where he soon became famous as a soloist. He went to the United States in 1929 and first appeared there with the Philadelphia Symphony Orchestra under Stokowski. He made his home in the United States but toured widely and gained a reputation as one of the great virtuosos of his time. He wrote arrangements and cadenzas for the violin.

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[Uri (Erich) Toeplitz]

MILTON, ERNEST (1890–1974), British actor. Born in San Francisco of partly Jewish origin, Milton acted in New York before making his London debut in *Potash and Perlmutter* in 1914. Of his many roles of Jewish interest, Ferdinand de Levis in Galsworthy's *Loyalties* (1922) gave him his first London success. Others were *Daniel Deronda* (1927), Ḥanan in *The Dybbuk*, Disraeli in Laurence Housman's *Victoria Regina* (1927), and *The King of Schnorrers* (1950). With the London Old Vic Company he acted in Shakespeare, Shaw, Ibsen, Pinero, and Pirandello. His own plays included *Christopher Marlowe* (1924), *Paganini* (1935), and *Mary of Magdala* (1945). He also appeared in a number of films, including *Alice in Wonderland* (1950). Milton was a Roman Catholic.

°**MILTON, JOHN** (1608–1674), English Puritan poet, whose works contain an unusual concentration of biblical and Judaic sentiments. Milton may have learned Hebrew while he was at Cambridge from the Semitic scholar, Joseph Mede (1586–1638). His knowledge of Hebrew and Aramaic was sufficient to enable him in later years to read the Hebrew Bible and probably also the classical Hebrew commentators. On the other hand, it seems certain that he had no first hand knowledge of Talmud or Kabbalah, although he read the works of Maimonides and other post-biblical texts in the Latin translations of Johannes *Buxtorf. The result of these studies is apparent in two tracts, *Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce* (1643) and *Tetrachordon* (1645), obviously prompted by his own unhappy marriage. In pleading for more liberal divorce laws, Milton tends to view the Hebrew legislation on the subject in Deuteronomy as the normative code for Christians. He was attacked as a flagrant heretic by many fellow Presbyterians, including William Prynne (1600–1669), who was later to oppose the reentry of the Jews into England. In 1659 he became Cromwell's Latin secretary, and continued to maintain his covenant faith in the God who had chosen England as the messiah-nation and himself as the prophet-poet of Reformation. The end of the Commonwealth in 1660 found him a blind, abandoned, and aging revolutionary.

Milton's great epic poem, *Paradise Lost* (1667), which seeks to "justify the ways of God to men," frames the biblical account of the Creation and the fall of Man in the Christian tradition, relating the battles in the fall of the angels; however, its fundamental emphasis is on human freedom and responsibility. This indicates Milton's relative proximity to Hebraic norms and his remoteness from the deterministic views of the more orthodox Puritans. *Paradise Lost* also reflects in part Milton's early acquaintance with Sylvester's English translation (1605) of *Du Bartas' epic *On the Creation*. In *Samson Agonistes* (1671), he clearly identifies himself with his hero, the Hebrew judge, "Eyeless in Gaza at the mill with slaves," whom God had nevertheless chosen for special tasks and revelations. Biblical and Judaic elements are also prominent in the sonnets *On His Blindness* (1651?–5) and *On the Late Massacre in Piedmont* (1655), and in the pamphlet *Areopagitica* (1644).

Milton's most heretical work, the *De Doctrina Christiana* (written c. 1658–60, but published in 1825), which rejects the orthodox view of the Trinity, indicates his virulent Puritan objection to the Jewish priesthood and ritual code. His theological and philosophical position was marked by considerable internal conflict as he sought to resolve the tensions set up between the Hellenic, Hebraic, and Christian elements of his cultural inheritance. Milton's biblical verse had a considerable influence on the romantic poets Blake, Wordsworth, and Coleridge.

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[Harold Harel Fisch]

MILWAUKEE, Wisconsin's largest city, located on the southeast tip of the shores of Lake Michigan. A few Jews are known to have lived in the area in the latter part of the 18th and early 19th centuries. Ezekial Solomon, perceived to be Jewish, was one of 14 fur traders permitted by the British to come to the area in 1770. An 1820 newspaper account refers to a "Jew peddler who was a victim of murder by three Indians who committed the deed to obtain the goods he carried on his back, going on foot from place to place" – an incident in Kaukauna. Gabriel Shoyer arrived in 1836, followed shortly by his brothers, Charles, Gabriel, Emanuel, Meyer, Samuel, and William. Several of the brothers opened a clothing store, Emanuel Shoyer a tailor shop, and in 1851 Charles began to practice medicine.

Early settlers, in 1842, were the families of Solomon Adler, Isaac Neustadt, and Moses Weil. Other immigrants arrived shortly afterwards from Germany, Bohemia, Hungary, Austria. From 70 families in 1850, the population grew to 200 in 1856 and to an estimated 2,074 in 1875. Intensive czarist persecutions in 1882 generated a flow of immigrants from Russia. By 1895, Russian Jews represented 39 percent of the Jewish population, then 7,000 people. The population grew to an estimated 22,000 by 1925. Several thousand Jewish refugees fleeing Nazi Germany and World War II came from 1938 on. The Jewish population was estimated at 23,900 in 1968 and 21,000 in 2001.

The earliest settlers from Western Europe settled on the near east side. Those settlers were soon vastly outnumbered by immigrants from Eastern Europe who settled on the near north side. There were two centers of Jewish population by the mid-1940s, the largest on the northwest side; the older east side settlers increased in number and moved northward into suburbs along Lake Michigan. By 1990, the majority of northwest side Jews had also moved to those suburbs; now a diminished northwest side community consists essentially of families desiring proximity to an Orthodox synagogue because of connections to its ḥasidic rabbi Michel Twerski.

The earliest Jewish settlers from Western Europe were involved in clothing manufacturing, grain, meatpacking, and had a substantial presence in the Great Lakes transportation business. Those who followed from Eastern Europe had less financial resources, working for their livelihoods as country peddlers, grocers, and clothiers. From 1895 into the 1920s Jews owned many clothing factories and retail shops. Wholesale dry goods, knitting goods, and yarn mills were developed with Jewish initiative. Jews had a substantial presence in flour milling, soap, and tobacco manufacturing and department store enterprises. Immigrants from Eastern Europe advanced from their roles as small tradesmen into larger retail and wholesale fields. In the 1920s, Jews became clerical workers and began to enter the arts and professions. By the early 1960s, the number of small storekeepers had substantially diminished; the peddler and small junk dealer virtually vanished; many of their sons were prominent in professions and in the business world.

A number of manufacturing, industrial, and commercial companies of national note were created and operated by Milwaukee Jews. The Master Lock Company, the world's largest padlock manufacturer, was founded by Harry E. Soref, an inventor, Samuel Stahl, and P.E. Yolles in 1921. The most extensive food store chain in Wisconsin was begun by Max Kohl in 1927. Kohl and his sons also founded the Kohl's Department Store chain, which by 2000 had grown to be one of the largest chains in the United States. Elmer L. Winter and Aaron Scheinfeld established Manpower in 1948; the company became the largest of its kind in the world with branches on all continents. In 1956, Max H. Karl founded the world's largest private mortgage insurer, Mortgage Guarantee Insurance Company. Clothing manufacturers of national note included Jack Winter & Company, Junior House, founded by William Feldstein and Sol Rosenberg, later becoming J.H. Collectibles.

Responding to the social, financial, welfare, and health needs of Jewish people, a number of communal agencies were created, the first of which was the Hebrew Relief Society (1867), now the Jewish Family Service. The Settlement, predecessor of the Abraham Lincoln House, now the Jewish Community Center, was begun in 1900. A Jewish-sponsored hospital, Mount Sinai, was organized in 1902. By the 1990s, it had become a non-sectarian institution in sponsorship as well as in service – the Aurora-Sinai Medical Center. The Jewish Vocational Service (1938) was created to help Jews find employment during the Great Depression, a time when substantial numbers fleeing from Nazism were coming as refugees. The Jewish Vocational Service became the largest organization of its kind in the United States outside of New York, financing coming from the state and federal governments and a variety of Jewish and non-Jewish sources with primary support from the Milwaukee Jewish Federation. In the early 1990s, it became non-sectarian in sponsorship as well as in service.

The Milwaukee Jewish Council, organized initially to combat antisemitism, and then xenophobia in all forms, was created in 1938. A Bureau of Jewish Education was organized by the Jewish Federation in 1944 to develop, strengthen, and coordinate Jewish education activity. The Milwaukee Jewish Home for Jewish elderly (1904) and the Jewish Convalescent Hospital (1950) merged in the late 1990s into one entity, which provides a variety of forms of assisted living, including intensive nursing home care.

All communal agencies came together in 1902 to create the Federated Jewish Charities in order to unify fundraising efforts and to help strengthen the work of all communal agencies. During the Depression, the organization foundered and discontinued operations. The pressing need to aid refugees in the 1930s resulted in the creation of a successor organization, the Milwaukee Jewish Welfare Fund, with a name change to Milwaukee Jewish Federation in 1972 to reflect its functions as a central communal organization for planning of services and centralized fundraising to meet needs deemed to be the responsibility of the total Jewish community. To coordinate work with refugees, the Federation created the Milwaukee Committee for Jewish Refugees in 1938 and in 1948 developed the Central Planning Committee for Jewish Services, its community-planning arm to avoid duplication and waste in efforts, etc. Orderliness in fundraising was served by the Committee on Unified and Coordinated Fund Raising beginning in 1957.

Major community buildings include the Max and Anita Karl Campus, which houses the Jewish Community Center, the B'nai B'rith Youth Organization, the Coalition for Jewish Learning (previously the Board of Jewish Education), the Milwaukee Jewish Day School, the Hillel Academy, and the Children's Lubavitch Living and Learning Center. The Helfaer Community Services building houses the Federation, the Milwaukee Jewish Council, and the *Wisconsin Jewish Chronicle*. The Milwaukee Jewish Home, which is adjacent to the Helfaer Building, and a new additional campus of the Jewish Home created in the suburb of Mequon in 2004 serve the elderly. The Jewish Community Center runs a summer overnight camp situated in Eagle River, 300 miles north of Milwaukee, and a summer day camp.

The first Jew elected to the state legislature was Bernard Schlesinger Weil in 1851. Henry M. Benjamin, one of eight Jewish aldermen before 1900, also was acting mayor of Milwaukee in 1875. Three Jews sat on the Common Council after 1920: Arthur Shutkin until 1928, Samuel Soref until 1940, and Fred P. Meyers after that. Charles L. Aarons served as a county judge from 1926 to 1950; Max Raskin, a city attorney from 1932 to 1936, later was a circuit court judge. Maurice M. Spracker served in a similar capacity for many years, beginning in 1968. Charles Schudson served as a circuit court judge until 2004. Myron L. Gordon, who had served as a justice on the Wisconsin State Supreme Court, became a federal judge for the Wisconsin Eastern District beginning in 1967.

Milwaukee Jews were in positions of note nationally and internationally. Marcus *Otterbourg was U.S. minister to Mexico in 1857. Newton *Minow, who was born in Milwaukee, but later lived in Chicago, was appointed by President John F. Kennedy to be Chairman of the Federal Communications Commission. His description of television programming as a "vast wasteland" resulted in legislation enabling oversight by the government of television and radio advertising.

Joseph A. *Padway, who served as a State senator and then as a civil court judge, became the first general counsel of the American Federation of Labor. In that capacity, he successfully defended the constitutionality of the National Labor Relations (Wagner) Act before the United States Supreme Court.

Among those who became prominent nationally was Wilbur J. *Cohen, who served as secretary of health, education, and welfare beginning in 1968. Earlier, he had helped write the Social Security Act in 1935. Victor L. *Berger, principle founder of the Social Democratic Party, was the first socialist elected to the House of Representatives of the United States (1911–13 and 1919–29). From 1992 onward both United States senators, democrats from Wisconsin, were Jewish: Herbert *Kohl, who served continuously from 1988 and Russ *Feingold of Madison, first elected in 1992.

William *Haber was advisor on Jewish affairs to General Lucius Clay, commander and chief of all Allied forces in Europe after World War II. Haber also served as an economic advisor for several U.S. presidents and as dean of the College of Literature, Science, and the Arts at the University of Michigan. Prominent in Jewish organizational life, he was chairman of several national and international Jewish organizations.

The best known of all Jewish Milwaukeeans was Golda *Meir (Myerson), who emigrated to Israel from Milwaukee and became Israel's prime minister in 1969, leading the country through the 1973 Yom Kippur War, which threatened the very existence of the state. Her life has been the subject of numerous books, biographies, and her own autobiography. Baseball fans may dispute Meir's primacy and think of Bud *Selig, the long-reigning first Jewish commissioner of baseball, who was also an owner of the Milwaukee Brewers team.

The community's oldest synagogue, Congregation Emanu-el B'ne Jeshurun, organized in 1856, grew out of a merger of Congregation Emanu-el (1850), Ahabath Emuno (1854), and Anshe Emeth (1855). Its membership was of German and West European extraction. Synagogues organized by immigrants of Eastern Europe followed, e.g., Beth Israel, initially Orthodox – now Conservative (1886); Anshe Sfard (1889); Agudas Achim (1904); Anshe Lubavitch (1906); and Beth Jehudah (1929). Additional reform congregations are Sholom (1951) and Sinai (1955). Conservative Temple Menorah was organized in 1957. Orthodox Anshe Sfard Kehillat Torah was organized in 1988; Agudas Achim merged with North Shore Chabad in 1993; Lake Park Synagogue in 1983; a Reconstructionist Congregation Shir Hadash was begun in 1990.

The primary public media instrument in Milwaukee is the *Wisconsin Jewish Chronicle*, established in 1921 by Nathan J. Gould and Irving R. Rhodes. Rhodes published the paper as sole proprietor after Gould's death in 1941.There had been several predecessor Jewish newspapers; the first, The *Zeitgeist*, was published in German by a Milwaukee rabbi for a few years, beginning in 1880. In 1914, a Yiddish newspaper, The *Wochenblat*, was created, published until it folded in 1932. Another Yiddish language paper, The *Yidishe Shtimme*, lasted for just one year, beginning in September 1930. Rhodes saw the paper as an advocate for the concept of community and consensus building. He simultaneously served as a board member of a number of agencies and was the only Federation General Campaign Chair to serve for three successive years. When Rhodes found publication burdensome, the Milwaukee Jewish Federation purchased the *Chronicle* to assure continuity of the publication and the Federation continues to publish the newspaper.

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[Melvin S. Zaret (2nd ed.)]

MIN (Heb. מִין, pl. מִינִים, *minim*; "heretic," "sectarian"). The term *min* for which no truly convincing etymology has yet been found (see Talmudic Dictionaries; G.F. Moore, *Judaism*, 3 (1930), 68f.; S. Krauss, *Griechische und Lateinische Lehnwoerter,* 1 (1898), introd. 15, n. 2, etc.), occurs frequently in rabbinic literature, though in the printed texts, due to the censors, the terms *ẓedoki* and *kuti* ("Samaritan") have often been substituted. The term was widely applied to cover many different types of "heretics" or sectarians. From some halakhic definitions in the Talmud, it would appear the *min* was used to refer only to a Jewish sectarian (Ḥul. 13b; cf. Tosef., Shab. 13:5). Thus, for example, *Horayot* 11a states that a Jew who eats forbidden fat in a flaunting and defiant manner or (according to another opinion) worships idols is a *min*. The *minim* who ridiculed aggadic descriptions given by the rabbis (Git. 57a; BB 75a) were probably Jewish. However, there is also abundant evidence to show that the term was applied to non-Jews as well, as in *Pesaḥim* 87b where a Roman nationalist is called a *min* (see Ḥul. 13b; see also S. Lieberman, *Greek in Jewish Palestine* (1942), 141, n. 196; idem, *Hellenism in Jewish Palestine* (1950), 135, n. 69).

Any attempt to identify *minim* with one single sectarian group is thus doomed to failure. H. Hirschberg's discussion (in JBL, 67 (1948), 305–18) in which he defends his own earlier thesis that in talmudic literature the term denotes Pauline Christians is a case in point, since at various historical periods, the word *min* was applied to different kinds of "heretics." Thus the *min* who according to (the printed editions of) *Leviticus Rabbah* 13:5 upbraided Alexander the Great for standing up before Simeon the Just was probably a Samaritan, or even a member of Alexander's own retinue (cf. Mss. readings in M. Margalioth ed., 2 (1954), 294). The *minim* mentioned in *Berakhot* 9:5 (variant Sadducee, JQR, 6 (1915–16), 314, n. 86) who taught that there was but one world and who apparently had considerable influence in the Temple were undoubtedly Sadducees, who among other things, as is well-known, denied the existence of an afterlife. According to Johanan, the people of Israel did not go into exile until they had become 24 different groups of *minim* (TJ, Sanh. 10:6, 29c), i.e., Jewish schismatics. Johanan was probably referring to the situation in his own time, when there appears to have been a proliferation of Jewish schismatic groups, and there were numerous *minim* in most Galilean towns, with reference to whom the verse (Ps. 14:1) could be cited, "The fool hath said in his heart there is no God" (Sif. Deut. 320).

Sometimes the term *min* may apply to more than one kind of sectarian even within one text. Thus, in *Ḥullin* 87a, two *minim* are mentioned: The first puts forward a proof (from a biblical verse) for the existence of two deities, and was therefore in all probability either a heathen Christian (believing in God the Father and God the Son) or a Gnostic; but the second *min* was invited by Rabbi (Judah ha-Nasi) to pronounce the blessing over food, and must therefore have been a Jew. *Minim* appear as wonder-workers (TJ, Sanh. 7:19, 25d), but again it is not clear whether they were Gnostics (Ebionites?) or (Judeo-) Christians, such as the well-known Jacob of Kefar Sekhanya (fl. c. 80–110), the wonder healer (Av. Zar. 17a, 27b; Tosef., Ḥul. 2:22, 24; et al.). In some passages, however, it is fairly certain that Gnostics are being referred to. Thus, the *minim* who (according to Tanḥ. B., Num. 30, 41) believe that God does not revive the dead nor receive penitents, etc., were probably Marcionite Gnostics (A. Buechler, *Studies in Jewish History* (1956), 271). Similarly, those of *Megillah* 29b were, according to Lieberman, Gnostics believing in the demiurge (S. Lieberman, in *Biblical and Other Studies*, ed. by A. Altmann (1963), 140f.). However, it is very often difficult to know for certain whether heathen Christians or Gnostics are meant (e.g., Sanh. 4:5 and Gen. R. 8:8, where the plurality of gods may be either a Gnostic or a Christian notion; see Scholem, Mysticism, 359, n. 24). Now, though it is true that the term *min* had a wide and ambiguous range of application, and that consequently in individual passages it is generally difficult to pinpoint exactly the schismatic group to which a *min* belongs, nonetheless, it is possible to distinguish historically two semantic phases in the use of the term. Thus according to Buechler (op. cit., 247, 271 etc.), until the early second century C.E. "it denoted heretic Jews," whereas "in Galilee in the second and third centuries *min* denoted in the first instance non-Jewish sectaries… Bible-reading heathens who oppose Judaism and its basic doctrines, antinomian Gnostics, or, in a few cases, heathen Christians who agree with them."

According to *Berakhot* 28b, Samuel ha-Katan (fl. c. 80–110), at the invitation of Gamaliel II of Jabneh, composed the "benediction against the *minim*," included in the *Amidah* as the twelfth benediction (see E.J. Bickerman, in HTR, 55 (1962), 171, n. 35). This was directed primarily against Judeo-Christians (specifically mentioned in one old text – see Schechter, JQR 10 (1897/98)), either to keep them out of the synagogue or to proclaim a definite breach between the two religions. This undoubtedly "represented the formal recognition by official Judaism of the severance of all ties between the Christian and other schismatic bodies, and the national body of Judaism" (Baron, Social^2, 2 (1952), 135, 381, n. 8, incl. bibl.). This severance of the *minim* from the national body of Judaism had obvious halakhic implications. Thus, meat slaughtered by a *min* was forbidden to a Jew (Ḥul. 13a). Likewise Torah scrolls, *tefillin*, and *mezuzot* written by him are barred from use (Git. 45b; cf. Tosef., Ḥul. 2:20). For Maimonides' five-fold classification of *minim* see *Mishneh Torah*, Teshuvah, 3:7. On the books of the *minim*, see *Sifrei ha-Minim.

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[Daniel Sperber]

MINC, HILARY (1905–1974), Polish Communist politician. Born in Kazimierz Dolny into an assimilated family, Minc joined the Communist youth movement in 1921. From 1925 to 1928, studying economics in France, he was a member of the French Communist Party. After his return to Poland, he worked in the chief statistical office in Warsaw and at the same time joined the illegal Communist Party, becoming secretary of its central editorial staff. During World War II Minc lived in the Soviet Union, and was one of the chief organizers of the Soviet-sponsored Union of Polish Patriots. He was also prominent in the formation of the Polish Army units organized in Russia. Following the liberation of Poland from the Germans (1945), Minc became minister for industry and commerce. He was made a vice premier in 1949 and in the same year was appointed chairman of the State Planning Commission. In this capacity he was the chief author of Poland's economic policy; but in 1956, when Wladyslaw Gomulka came to power, he was removed from all his posts in the party and government, both as a Stalinist and as a Jew.

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[Abraham Wein]

MINCO, MARGA (1920–), Dutch author, born in Ginneken (near Breda), who lived in Amsterdam. Her first book, the short novel *Het bittere kruid* (1957; *The Bitter Herb*, 1960), describes the deportation of her family and her own survival in hiding during World War II. It was translated into many languages. The book, like the ones that were to follow, was praised for its sparing yet impressive style. Marga Minco was one of the first Dutch writers to deal with "survivor's guilt." Most of her books are partly autobiographical; they often relate to the persecution of Jews during World War II and the lack of understanding of the non-Jewish world after the war. After *Het bittere kruid* Minco wrote the collection of stories *De andere kant* ("The Other Side," 1959), the short novels *Een leeg huis* ("An Empty House," 1966), *De val* ("The Fall," 1983), *De glazen brug* ("The Glass Bridge," 1986), *Nagelaten dagen* ("Posthumous Days," 1997), the collection of short stories *Storing* ("Breakdown," 2004), and several short stories, collected in *Verzamelde verhalen 1951–1981* ("Collected Stories, 1951–1981," 1982). *Het bittere kruid* and *Een leeg huis* were adapted for the stage several times; *Het bittere kruid* was filmed, not very successfully, by Kees van Oostrum in 1985. Marga Minco also wrote children's stories, notably *Kijk 'ns in een la* ("Look into a Drawer," 1963) and *De verdwenen bladzij en andere kinderverhalen* ("The Missing Page and Other Children's Stories," 1994).

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[Hilde Pach]

MINDA, ALBERT GREENBERG (1895–1977), U.S. Reform rabbi. Minda was born in Holton, Kansas, and earned his B.A. from the University of Cincinnati in 1918 and his ordination from Hebrew Union College in 1919. He received a doctor of divinity degree (honoris causa) from HUC-JIR in 1947. Following pulpits at Temple Beth El of South Bend, Indiana, and in Lingonier, Indiana (1919–22), he became rabbi of Temple Israel in Minneapolis, Minnesota, where he remained for the rest of his career, becoming emeritus in 1963. During his tenure, the congregation grew from 275 members in 1922 to more than 1,400 in the 1960s. An innovator, Minda pioneered the establishing of a Jewish Art Gallery and Museum on the premises of an expanded temple.

In the greater community, Minda was one of the founders and first presidents of the Minneapolis Federation for Jewish Service, as well as a founder of the Minneapolis Urban League and the Minneapolis Round Table of Christians and Jews. He was also the first president of the Minnesota Rabbinical Association and a member of the executive board of the United Fund of Greater Minneapolis and of the faculty of Hamlin University in St. Paul, Minnesota.

Nationally and internationally, Minda served Reform Judaism as a member of the executive board of the Central Conference of American Rabbis in three different decades and chairman of the organization's Church and State Committee (1939–46). Following a term as vice president, he was elected president of the Central Conference of American Rabbis (1961–63), concurrently with holding the position of vice president of the World Union for Progressive Judaism.

Minda was also a prolific author, whose writings include *Over the Years*, vols. 1 and 2 (1957–63); *The Sanctuary of the Home* (1945); *The Fire on the Altar* (1948); *Speak to the Heart* (1956); and *And Thou Shalt Write Them* (1967).

[Bezalel Gordon (2nd ed.)]

MINDEN, town in Germany. Jews are mentioned for the first time in 1270 as being under the bishop's protection. After 1336 the town agreed to recognize the bishop's prerogatives over the Jews provided that they paid municipal taxes as well as protection money to the bishop. Moneylending was the only authorized Jewish occupation at the time. The small community numbered no more than 12 families in 1318 and ten in 1340. They were expelled in 1350 following the *Black Death persecutions.

Jews did not settle in Minden again until the 16th century. In 1571 the council granted them residence permits of 12 years' duration and allowed them to engage in commerce and moneylending and to hold religious services. From that time Jewish settlement was continuous, even after the town had come under the rule of Brandenburg, whose authorities claimed all prerogatives over the Jews. After 1652 no Jew was permitted to settle in Minden without permission from the elector; the numbers of "tolerated" Jews were ten in 1682 and 12 in 1700. In Prussian Minden, the Jews engaged not only in moneylending but also in commerce and the slaughtering and sale of meat. Between 1806 and 1810 Minden belonged to the kingdom of *Westphalia, where the Jews received equal civil rights. After emancipation, when Minden reverted to Prussia, the small community grew steadily, from 65 in 1787 to 81 in 1810; 193 in 1840; and 267 in 1880. Their numbers later decreased to 192 in 1933 and 107 in 1939, when there were 228 Jews in the district of Minden. In October of 1939, there were 54 Jews in Minden. During World War II, 179 Jews were deported from the town and district. The *Memorbuch of the synagogue from the 17th and 18th centuries has been preserved. The synagogue built in 1867 was destroyed in 1938. After World War II a small community was reconstituted, which had 44 members in 1962. A new synagogue was consecrated on June 15, 1958. The ethnologist Franz *Boas and the astronomer Philip S. Wolfers were born in Minden. The Jewish community numbered 43 in 1989 and 113 in 2005. The increase is explained by the immigration of Jews from the former Soviet Union.

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[Bernhard Brilling]

MINDLIN, HENRIQUE (1911–1971), Brazilian architect who contributed to the flowering of modern Brazilian architecture after World War II. Mindlin helped to introduce the modern style of American skyscraper design, with its glass curtain walling, into Brazil. In 1960, he built the synagogue and Cultural Center of the Congregação Israelita de São Paulo (Jewish Community of São Paulo).

MINHAG (Heb. מִנְהָג; "custom," "usage") from the verb "to lead."

DEFINITION

The word is found in the Bible (II Kings 9:2) meaning "the driving" (of a chariot) but it was taken by the rabbis to refer to "usage." As such, it is used in a wide variety of senses. It refers primarily:

(1) to customs which, having been accepted in practice, became binding and assume the force of **halakhah* in all areas of Jewish law and practice (see below);

(2) to local custom (*minhag ha-makom*) which obtains in one locality, whether a whole country or a single community, but not in another, and is binding upon the local community. The question of the extent to which the *minhag* is binding upon those who come from a place where it does not obtain is exhaustively debated in the Talmud and codes. The Mishnah already takes notice of this difference of local custom and its binding force (Pes. 4). These local *minhagim* have been collected in special **minhagim* books;

(3) The word *minhag* is also employed to designate the various liturgical rites which have developed, e.g., *minhag Romania, minhag Polin, minhag Ashkenaz* (see *Liturgy).

GENERAL

Custom is one of the most important foundations of the *halakhah*. It can be assumed that the Written Law (cf. *Oral Law) already takes for granted the continuation of some customs that were common practice before the giving of the law. This is probably the reason why the Torah makes no mention of laws which are fundamental in some domains, in spite of their importance and central position in life (such as the detailed laws of *betrothal and *marriage, modes of acquisition, *buying and selling). On the other hand, external customs entered the world of the precepts during later periods as a result of prevailing conditions, and were either temporarily integrated or remained permanently. An instructive example is that of the *New Moon, which the Torah only mentions with regard to the additional sacrifice and the blowing of the trumpets (and this too was probably only intended against those who believed it to be a festival to the god of the *Moon as was common in the ancient Middle East). During the days of the First Temple, however, as a result of Canaanite-Phoenician influence, the day became an accepted and important festival in Israel to such a degree that work and commerce were interrupted (with the difference that with the Jewish people the New Moon lost its pagan character and assumed a purified Jewish value of "a statute for Israel – a law of the God of Jacob" (Ps. 81:5)). Frequently, a particular matter of the *halakhah* is nothing but the consolidation of customs created among the people over the generations (e.g., see *Mourning, *Fasts). There are some customs which are as binding as legal regulations (see Tosef., Nid. 9:17) while others are no more than a consensus (*ʾajmāʿ* with Muslims) which is accepted in cases where there is no fixed and decided *halakhah* ("Go out and see what the custom of the public is and act likewise" (TJ, Pe'ah 7:5, 20c); cf. "Go out and see how the people act" or "the people are accustomed" (TB, many times)). There are also individual customs in situations where there is no existing *halakhah*; these may be a local custom ("the custom of the country" (Suk. 3:11; Ket. 6:4; BM 7:1, 9:1; et al.); "in a place where the custom has been" (Pes. 4:1–5; Suk. 3:11; Av. Zar. 1:6; et al.); "the custom in Jerusalem" (BB 93b; Sof. 18:7)), or a custom of a section of the public ("the custom of those traveling with a caravan" (Tosef., BM 7:13); "the custom of the sailors" (*ibid.*), "the custom of women" (TJ, Pes. 4:1; 30c–d); "the custom of landlords" (Tosef., Pe'ah 2:21); "the custom of the priests" (*ibid.* 4:3)), and even from one of these "there must be no deviation" (Tosef., BK 11:18; et al.). There are, however, also customs which are in opposition to the *halakhah*, and of these the sages said: "The custom annuls the *halakhah*" (TJ, Yev. 12:1, 12c; and cf.: "R. Judah said, the *halakhah* is according to the opinion of Bet Shammai, but the majority acts according to the opinion of Bet Hillel"; Tosef., Ter. 3:12). It is obvious that "just as punishment is inflicted for transgression of the *halakhah*, so it is inflicted for transgression of a custom" (TJ, Pes. 4:3, 30d) and "permitted things [or actions] which the custom of others considers as prohibited, you are not authorized to permit them in their presence" (Pes. 50b–51a). It has also been prescribed many times that a man should deviate "neither from the custom of the place nor from that of his ancestors" (see TJ, Pes. 4:1, 30d; etc.), even though the reason for the custom has become obsolete. The following saying indicates the importance of the custom as a basis of the *halakhah*: "It has become accepted by the people that the *halakhah* cannot be fixed until a custom exists; and the saying, that a custom annuls the *halakhah*, applies to a custom of the earnest, while a custom for which there is no proof from the Torah is nothing but an error in reasoning" (Sof. 14:16).

Indeed, to prevent vain and foolish customs superseding the *halakhah*, the rabbis opposed following stupid customs which had their origin in error or even in periods of persecution. *Yehudai Gaon, who wrote to the population of Palestine in order to abolish the "custom of the persecution era" which they respected "against the *halakhah*" was unsuccessful. He received the reply that "A custom annuls the *halakhah*" (*Pirkoi b. Baboi*, L. Ginzberg, *Genizah Studies*, 2 (1929), 559–60). Maimonides violently attacked erroneous customs (see, e.g., Yad, Issurei Bi'ah 11:14–15, even in opposition to the opinion of the *geonim*; cf. responsa of Maimonides, ed. A.H. Freimann, §98–99), but even he stressed that there are certain cases which "depend on the custom" (see, e.g., Yad, Issurei Bi'ah 11:5–7). Customs arising from ignorance, however, and even those of which it was evident, not only from their origin but by their very nature, that they belonged to the "ways of the Amorites" and were to be suspected as idolatrous, often penetrated within the limits of the *halakhah* and secured a permanent place. It is significant that such customs often became so popular with the public, in spite of the opposition of the rabbis, that more importance was attached to them than to some of the strictest precepts of the Torah. There were instances where strange and doubtful customs became sanctified with the masses only because of the superstitious beliefs attaching to them. Such customs penetrated not only the text of the prayers but also the field of the prohibited and the permitted (see **Issur ve-Hetter*). They were especially tenacious in critical periods of human life (birth, marriage, death) or in the calendar (Day of Atonement, New Year). Thus, for example, some consider that the essentials of repentance and expiation can be found in the customs of **Kapparot* (expiation ceremony) and **Tashlikh*, and throughout the whole year do not visit the synagogue except for the *Kol Nidrei* ceremony. One common denominator of all these customs is their foreign origin and nature. However, they became so popular with the masses that even some of the rabbis attempted to find grounds to permit them, even through some kind of compromise. This was naturally even more true of customs which did not stem from a foreign origin, such as the recitation of *piyyutim* in the morning benedictions of *Shema* and during the repetition of the *Amidah* prayer by the *ḥazzan*, which became the accepted practice in many countries in spite of the opposition of many authorities. The same also applies to the foreign custom of addressing prayers to angels or mentioning their names in the *mezuzah*. This situation, whereby nonsensical customs found a home in Jewish life, still remains and has possibly even been strengthened in modern times. It is sufficient to mention the demonological customs connected with birth and circumcision (the night of vigil before the circumcision) or with death and burial, such as the strange custom current among Ashkenazim that a person whose parents are alive leaves the synagogue when the souls of the dead are remembered, or the "prohibition" of the sons from entering the cemetery during their fathers' funeral, which is widespread among the Ashkenazim of Jerusalem. Thus it can be said that the custom has been the most important channel through which external influences, even odd and unwanted ones, penetrated and still penetrate into the domain of *halakhah*. The general importance of customs is also reflected in literature.

[Moshe David Herr]

IN JEWISH LAW

Minhag as a Source of Law

Three possible meanings may be attributed to the term "source of law": a historical source of the law, i.e., a source which factually and historically speaking constitutes the origin of a particular legal norm; a legal source of the law, i.e., the source which lends the particular normative direction legal recognition and validity as part of the entire body of legal rules comprising the relevant legal system; and a literary source of the law, i.e., the informative source constituting the authentic repository for purposes of ascertaining the content of a particular legal direction (see **Mishpat Ivri*). *Minhag*, as does custom in other legal systems, sometimes serves as the historical source of a particular legal norm and sometimes as the legal source.

AS A HISTORICAL SOURCE. A study of the formative stages of any legal system will reveal that to some extent its directions originated from customs evolved in the practical life of the society concerned, and that only at a later stage was legal recognition conferred on such customs – by way of legislation or decision on the part of the legislator or judge. This phenomenon is also evidenced in Jewish law. Thus, for instance, certain legal usages which had been prevalent in pre-Mosaic Hebrew society later came to be affirmed in the Torah, as, for example, the law of the bailees' liability (see **Shomerim*), and sometimes also with material modifications, as with regard to the laws of *yibbum* (see *Levirate Marriage and *Ḥaliẓah*). The historical source of such directions is the pre-Mosaic usage, but their legal source is the Written Law, which gave them recognition and validity. Custom has fulfilled this historical function in all stages of the development of Jewish law, by serving to prepare a particular normative direction for acceptance into this legal system.

AS A LEGAL SOURCE. In Jewish law *minhag*, like custom in any other legal system, has also fulfilled an important function as a legal source, and it is with custom in this capacity that this article is concerned. Custom constitutes a legal source when the legal system, in certain circumstances and upon fulfillment of certain requirements, recognizes a consistently followed course of conduct as a binding legal norm. When custom serves merely as a historical source, it is only capable of preparing the normative course of conduct toward acquisition of legal recognition by means of a law-creating source, such as **takkanah*; however, when custom is a legal source, the normative usage already has legal force by virtue of such usage alone, without the affirmation of any law-creating source. As a legal source, the primary purpose of custom is like that of legislation (see **Takkanot ha-Kahal*), namely to fill a void in the existing *halakhah* when the latter offers no solution to new problems that arise, or in order to rectify or vary existing legal rules if and when the need arises. There is, however, a formal difference – which, as will be seen below, is also of substantive importance – between these two legal sources: legislation functions demonstratively and directly, at the direction of the competent authority, such as the halakhic scholars or the leaders of the people and of the community; custom, on the other hand, functions without preconceived intent and anonymously – at the hands of all or part of the people at large – and in order to ascertain it, it is necessary to "go and see what is the practice of the people" (Ber. 45a; Pes. 54a; in the TJ the version is, "go and see what is the practice of the public, and follow it" (TJ, Pe'ah 7:6, 20c; Ma'as. Sh. 5:3, 56b; Yev. 7:2, 8a). It is true that even in the case of a normative direction originating from custom there is the indirect influence of the halakhic scholars, by virtue of a certain control which they exercise over it (see below; see also Yad, Mamrim 1:2–3); nevertheless it is the public as a whole that is the direct creative source of the legal direction. The public is invested with such creative authority on the presumption that, since its conduct is founded on the Torah, its creative authority will be directed in the spirit of the Torah, in accordance with the statement of Hillel the Elder made in affirmation of the binding force of a public custom in determining the *halakhah*: "Leave it to Israel. If they are not prophets, they are still the children of prophets" (Pes. 66a).

SUBSTANTIATING THE VALIDITY OF MINHAG AS A LEGAL SOURCE. Some of the scholars apparently sought to explain the validity of a custom by saying that it had to be assumed that the earliest source of such a norm – now appearing in the form of custom – was ancient *halakhah* founded on transmitted tradition, *takkanah*, or other legal sources, but that the latter had become forgotten in the course of time, leaving the norm in the form of a custom only. This opinion finds expression in the Jerusalem Talmud: "Any Torah which has no source (*bet av*) is no Torah" (TJ, Shab. 19:1, 17a stated in relation to the *baraita* (Pes. 66a) in which Hillel recalls that the custom followed by the people concerning the paschal sacrifice on a Sabbath day he had heard mentioned by Shemaiah and Avtalyon (see below); the term *torah* is here used in the sense of custom). Elsewhere it is stated: "A custom which has no support in the Torah, is like the erroneous exercise of discretion" (Sof. 14:18; see also Mordekhai BM 366). According to this view custom has no independent creative force, but merely offers testimony to the existence of a rule created by one of the legal sources of the *halakhah*. In post-talmudic times some halakhic scholars expressly adopted this attitude toward custom (Resp. Rif no. 13; Nov. Ramban BB 144b, s.v. *Ha de-Amrinan*). Some scholars explained the decisive power of custom, even when this was called forth only to decide between disputing scholarly opinions (see below), on the basis that a custom proves the existence of an ancient, deliberate determination of the law which has become forgotten, being preserved in this form only (Resp. Rosh 55:10). The source of authority of custom remained a matter of dispute among the *aḥaronim* (for particulars, see Pitḥei Teshuvah ḤM, 163, n. 16).

Certainly there are customs which have their source in ancient *halakhah*, as is evidenced by the Jerusalem Talmud in the matter of the paschal sacrifice on a Sabbath day (see above) and in other instances (see, e.g., Tosef., MK 2:14–15; see also Pes. 51a and TJ, Pes. 4:1, 30d). However, it transpires that the distinguishing feature of custom as a legal source lies not in its probative efficacy but in the law-creating authority of the public, whether the custom serves to decide between disputing opinions or to add to the existing *halakhah*. This is undoubtedly so as regards the validity of custom in matters of the civil law (*dinei mamonot*), where it is within the power of custom to operate even contrary to the existing law, in terms of the general principle of Jewish law which permits the parties to a transaction – and all the more so the public as a whole – to contract out of the Law of the Torah (see below). This is accepted by the majority of halakhic scholars as the explanation for the rule that custom overrides the law in matters of the civil law, which is certainly a classic illustration of the creative activity of custom.

Elucidation of Terms

At times, a particular halakhic direction which has its source in custom is also called *dat* (Beẓ. 25b and Rashi thereto) or *dat yehudit* (Ket 7:6 and Rashi to Ket. 72a; Tosef., Ket. 7:7). At other times the term *minhag* is used by the halakhic scholars to describe a normative direction having its source in *takkanah* (e.g., TJ, Ket. 1:5, 25c; Mid. Prov. to 22:28) and even the verb הנהיג is sometimes used to describe the enactment of a *takkanah* (cf. Tosef., RH 4:3 with RH 4:1 and Suk. 3:12). The use of a common term to describe both *takkanah* and custom (cf. further Yad, Mamrim 1:2–3; Resp. Rashba, vol. 2, no. 268) is attributable to their common function, namely legislative activity (each in its own different way, as already mentioned). Sometimes the term *minhag* is also used to describe *halakhah* which has its source in the Bible itself (see Sifra, Emor 17:8, the law concerning habitation of a *sukkah* etc., described as *minhag le-dorot*; in Suk. 43a/b, the phrase is *mitzvah le-dorot*). Contrariwise, a normative direction having its source in custom is sometimes called *halakhah* (BM 7:8; Kid. 38b; and see Samuel's interpretation, in TJ, Or. 3:8, 63b of the term *halakhah* appearing in Or. 3:9). Such use of common labels of *minhag, takkanah*, and *halakhah* for differing concepts not only calls for the exercise of great care in distinguishing the correct identity of each law appearing under such a name, but also offers proof of the legal efficacy of normative directions which have their source in custom and are integrated into the general halakhic system as a substantive part of it (even though there is a variance at times between the force of a direction originating from *takkanah* and one originating from custom; see below). Transgression against a direction decreed by custom is punishable by sanction: "Just as a fine is imposed in matters of *halakhah*, so a fine is imposed in matters of *minhag*" (TJ, Pes. 4:3, 30d) and R. Abbahu even sought to have punishment by flogging imposed on a person who transgressed a prohibition decreed by custom (TJ, Kid. 4:6, 66b; see also Kid. 77a).

At the same time, the scholars occasionally distinguished, primarily in the field of the ritual law, between a rule originating from custom and one originating from another legal source. Such distinctions, particularly from the amoraic period onward, are illustrated by the following examples: the majority of the *amoraim* held that the prohibition of **orlah* (eating the fruit of young trees) outside of Ereẓ Israel had its source in custom, and therefore they sought various legal ways in which to permit the fruit of *orlah* outside of Ereẓ Israel – something they would not have done had the prohibition belonged to the category of *halakhah le-Moshe mi-Sinai* (Kid. 38b–39a and see above). Similarly, there is recorded the talmudic dispute between R. Johanan and R. Joshua b. Levi as to whether the rite of taking the willow-branch on Sukkot (the branch that is raised and beaten on Hoshana Rabba) was an enactment of the prophets or a custom of the latter – i.e., a usage of the prophets but not enacted as a *takkanah* (Suk. 44a and Rashi ad loc.; see also *Sha'arei Teshuvah* no. 307); the answer to this question was relevant to the need (i.e., if it was an enactment) or otherwise (if it was a custom) for recital of a benediction at the time of beating the willow-branch (see Suk. 44a and see *takkanot* concerning benedictions in respect of matters instituted by the halakhic scholars). Even as regards deciding the *halakhah* in a matter under dispute, the *amoraim* distinguished between *halakhah* determined by way of open and deliberate decision, *halakhah* determined by custom introduced by the scholars, and *halakhah* determined by mere anonymous undirected custom (see TJ, Shek. 1:1, 46a; Meg. 1:6, 70d; Nid. 3:1, 50c; and Pes. 4:6, 31a; Av. Zar. 14b; Yev. 13b; Nid. 66a; et al.). Some of the Babylonian *amoraim* even laid down a further distinction, one relating to the nature of the custom. Thus three possibilities are distinguished: *nahagu ha-am* ("the practice followed by the people") was apparently interpreted by the Babylonian *amoraim* as referring to a usage not yet fully crystallized into an established custom, and therefore "we do not teach in this way initially, but should a person have done so, we allow the matter to stand"; *minhag*, to a crystallized custom which, although it has sufficient authority for the people to be taught to act from the start in accordance with it, nevertheless does not have the same force as a rule openly and expressly decided by the halakhic scholars – "we do not teach to act in this way in public, but we may teach (those who ask, to act according to the rule embodied in the custom)"; and that which is decided as *halakhah*, which must be published and made known to the public (Ta'an. 26b and see also Er. 62b and 72a). These distinctions relate primarily to the field of ritual law and not to the creative function of custom in civil law matters (see below, "Custom Overrides the Law").

Scriptural Support for the Validity of *Minhag* as a Legal Source

Halakhic scholars sought to rely on various scriptural passages as the source of the validity of custom. Simeon b. Yoḥai's statement, "Change not the custom set by your fathers!" is supported in the Midrash (Mid. Prov. 22:28, and see annotation there), by allusion to the scriptural injunction, "Remove not the ancient landmark, which thy fathers have set" (Prov. 22:28). R. Johanan found support for the validity of custom in another passage from the Book of Proverbs (1:8), "Hear, my son, the instruction of thy father, and forsake not the teaching of thy mother" (see Pes. 50b; Ḥul. 93b; cf. also *She'iltot*, Va-Yakhel, Sh. 67; *Halakhot Gedolot* end of Hil. Megillah). Sherira Gaon quotes the following tradition, which is not extant in the Talmuds: "Whence is it said that custom obliges? As it is said, 'Thou shalt not remove thy neighbor's landmark, which they of old time have set'" (Deut. 19:14; *Sha'arei Ẓedek*, 1:4, 20; Tur, ḤM 368). The discussion concerns an article stolen from its owner and sold to another; in law, if the owner has "despaired" (see *Ownership), the purchaser will not be required to return the article to him, but Sherira Gaon decided that there was in operation a custom to restore the article in such circumstance, from which there could be no departure. The factor which is common to all legal sources is that a norm which has been followed for some considerable time (see below) acquires for itself a fixed place in the *halakhah* and may not be overlooked nor "trespassed" upon (cf. the comment of Philo on the above scriptural passage, Spec. 4:149).

Functions and Categories of *Minhag*

Just as *takkanah* – the directed legislation of the halakhic scholars – has functioned in all fields of the *halakhah*, so custom – anonymous legislation – has also functioned in all its fields, although in some of them the measure of authority of custom is limited as compared with that of *takkanah*. Custom fulfills a number of functions in *halakhah* and is also divisible into several further categories.

FUNCTIONS. Custom serves three possible functions:

(1) as the decisive factor in the case of disputing opinions as to a particular halakhic rule; in this event the custom operates even where the *halakhah*, but for such a custom, would be decided differently in accordance with the accepted rules of decision;

(2) as adding to the existing *halakhah*, whenever the practical realities give rise to new problems to which the former has no available answer;

(3) as establishing new norms which stand in contradiction to the existing *halakhah*, i.e., norms which serve to vary the latter, or derogate therefrom.

The latter two functions of custom parallel that of legislation (see *takkanot*), save that the last one (abrogation of an existing law) is of lesser efficacy than is the case with legislation (see below).

CATEGORIES OF MINHAG. *Custom* (*Minhag*) *and Usage* (*Nohag*). At times minhag functions of its own inherent power, independently and directly, just as does a direction by express *takkanah*; at other times it functions by way of an inference that the parties to a particular matter acted as they did on the assumption that the decree of the *minhag* concerned would determine their relationship. This distinction is developed in other legal systems too, and in English law *minhag* of the first kind is termed "legal custom" or simply "custom," and *minhag* of the second kind "conventional custom" or "usage." In current Hebrew the latter is customarily termed *nohag*.

General Custom and Local Custom. A custom may be general in the sense of obliging the whole of the people or the public, or it may be local and obligatory only for the people of a particular place, in which case it is termed local custom, *mores civitatis* in Roman law. In the same way the operation of a custom may be confined to people of a particular class, occupation, etc., and further like subdivisions of custom may be made (see below).

Minhag as Deciding the *Halakhah*

In case of dispute between halakhic scholars as to the law, custom decides the issue – whether in circumstances where there are no established rules of decision concerning the particular matter, or in circumstances where the custom stands in contradiction to the accepted rules of decision. The matter is illustrated by the following examples: It is recorded that R. Tarfon differed from the majority opinion of the scholars with regard to the blessing to be recited over water (Ber. 6:8) and the *amoraim*, when asked how to decide the *halakhah*, replied: "go and see what is the practice of the people" (Ber. 45a; Eruv. 14b); this was also stated with regard to a similar question concerning the eating of **terumah* (TJ, Pe'ah 7:6, 20c; Ma'as. Sh. 5:3, 56b; and Yev. 7:2, 8a). In another case R. Judah and R. Yose held the view that just as the priests generally did not lift their hands when reciting the priestly benediction at the *Minḥah* (afternoon) service – because of the proximity of the service to the meal and the apprehension that a priest might lift his hands while intoxicated – so this was forbidden at the *Minḥah* service on the Day of Atonement (even though the above apprehension would not exist) lest this lead the priests to the erroneous practice of lifting their hands during weekday *Minḥah* services; however, R. Meir differed, holding that such lifting of the hands was permissible at the *Minḥah* service on the Day of Atonement (Ta'an. 26b). Although the accepted rules of decision required that the *halakhah* on the matter be decided according to R. Yose (see Eruv. 46b) – who in this case represented the stringent view – it was nevertheless decided according to the view of R. Meir – representing in this case the lenient view – for the reason that "the people followed the view of R. Meir" (Ta'an. 26b; see also Resp. Maharik no. 171).

According to some of the Babylonian *amoraim*, the power of determining the *halakhah* contrary to the accepted rules of decision was to be withheld from custom in matters concerning the ritual law (*dinei hetter ve-issur*). Thus in response to R. Johanan's statement, "In regard to carob trees, it has become the custom of the people to follow the rule of R. Nehemiah" (RH 15b) – i.e., contrary to the majority of the scholars – the question is asked: "In a matter of prohibition, shall it be permitted to follow a custom?" (*ibid.*). On the other hand, the *amoraim* of Ereẓ Israel – along with some Babylonian *amoraim* – conferred on custom the power of deciding the law in any case of dispute, even in matters of ritual law and even when it was contrary to the accepted rules of decision, for instance when decreeing in favor of an individual opinion against the majority opinion (TJ, Shev. 5:1, the opinion of R. Johanan quoted in RH 15b; cf. the statement of Rava, "The custom accords with the view of R. Meir" Ta'an. 26b; see also Pes. 103a and Ber. 52b, contrary to the unqualified statement of the law in the Mishnah).

In the 13th century, *Meir b. Baruch of Rothenburg stated, "For in all matters on which the great halakhic scholars are in dispute, I hold that a stringent approach must be followed, save … when the permissibility of a matter has spread in accordance with the custom of the scholars by whom we have been preceded" (Resp. Maharam of Rothenburg, ed. Berlin, no. 386). At this time too the dispute concerning the extent to which it was within the power of custom to determine the *halakhah* was continued. Thus Jacob *Moellin justified the custom of lending the money of orphans at fixed interest (*ribbit keẓuẓah*, see *Usury), contrary to the opinion of the majority of scholars, who held this to be prohibited; Moellin based his view on a solitary opinion (Resp. Maharil no. 37), which in fact only permitted such interest in respect of loans given from charitable funds (*Or Zaru'a*, Hil. Ẓedakah, no. 30), but Moellin extended the opinion to embrace also money lent by orphans, "for all matters concerning orphans are deemed to be matters of *mitzvah*, and this is truly so because they are alone and meek" (Maharil, loc. cit.). Other scholars contested this view: "There are places where it is customary for an **apotropos* [guardian] to lend orphans' money at fixed interest, but this is an erroneous custom and should not be followed" (Rema to YD 160:18; see also *Siftei Kohen* thereto, n. 27).

Minhag as Adding to Existing *Halakhah*

In its previously described function, custom serves to decide between two existing disputing opinions rather than to create a new rule. The latter effect is achieved by custom in fulfillment of its second function, namely that of establishing a new rule in relation to a question to which the existing *halakhah* offers no solution. For instance, as regards the paschal sacrifice, it is enjoined that it shall be brought on the 14th day of the month of Nisan (Num. 9:3), even when this falls on a Sabbath day (Pes. 6:1); when Hillel the Elder was asked what the law was in the event that it had been forgotten to prepare the knife on the eve of the Sabbath – i.e., whether it was also permissible to have the knife fetched on the Sabbath – he replied: "Leave it to Israel! If they are not prophets, they are still the children of prophets" (i.e., to await the morrow and see how the people would act); on the morrow, "he whose sacrifice was a lamb, stuck it [the knife] in its wool, and he whose sacrifice was a goat, stuck it between its horns; he [Hillel] saw the act and recalled the *halakhah*, saying, 'thus have I received the tradition from Shemaiah and Avtalyon'" (Pes. 66a). Hillel thus left the solution to the custom of the people, only later recalling that this custom had its source in ancient *halakhah*. A further illustration is to be found in the reply given in the Jerusalem Talmud to the question whether it was necessary or not to set aside tithes from the fruit of trees in their fourth year: "when there is no clearly established *halakhah* on any matter before the court and you do not know what its true nature is – go and ascertain the custom of the public and act accordingly, and we see that the public does not set aside tithes in this case" (TJ, Pe'ah 7:6, 20c and see Ma'as. Sh. 5:3, 56b). In this way custom served to decide the *halakhah* in a lenient manner (in TJ, Yev. 7:2, 8a – the above rule is quoted in connection with the function of custom as deciding between disputing opinions; see also Resp. Rosh 55:10).

"Custom Overrides the Law" – M*inhag Mevattel Halakhah*

Many halakhic scholars devoted a great deal of attention and research to the question whether it was within the power of custom, "concealed legislation," not only to add to existing *halakhah* but also to vary the latter and set aside any of its rules in certain circumstances – as it was within the power of *takkanah*, "open legislation," to do. This function, which in talmudic sources is termed *minhag mevattel halakhah* ("custom overrides the law"), has been the subject of much dispute – as in other legal systems in which custom is a recognized legal source. In Roman law, for instance, disputing opinions are found on the question whether custom (*mores, consuetudo*) has the power to create also a rule that is contrary to existing law (*contra legem*, see J. Salmond, *Jurisprudence* (1966^{12}), 189–212; C.K. Allen, *Law in the Making* (1964^{7}), 82f.).

DISTINCTION BETWEEN CIVIL AND RITUAL LAW. Jewish law distinguishes between civil and ritual law for purposes of the instant function of custom, recognizing the power of the latter to set aside the law in civil law matters but not in matters of the ritual law, where it cannot operate contrary to existing law in permitting that which has been prohibited. The explanation for this distinction lies in one of the substantive differences between these two fields of the law – one that relates to the freedom of stipulation (see *Contract; **Mishpat Ivri*). In matters of the civil law the rule is, "a person may contract out of the law of the Torah" – i.e., the law is *jus dispositivum*, since the premise is that halakhic rules of the civil law are laid down as a binding arrangement only as long as the parties do not disclose their preference for an alternative arrangement. On the other hand, the directions of the ritual law are *jus cogens*, obligatory and not variable at the will of the parties concerned. The logical conclusion is that just as the order in civil law matters is variable at the instance of the parties to a particular transaction, so it may be varied by the public as a whole, which, as it were, stipulates in advance that such and such an order, contrary to that laid down in the Torah, is convenient and desirable for each and every one of its members (see Resp. Rosh 64:4; Resp. Rashbash no. 562; Resp. Maharashdam ḤM no. 380). Thus custom, in expressing the collective will of the public, functions with power to change the halakhah in the civil law field – where the will to change the law has recognized authority – but not in the field of ritual law, in which a prohibition is obligatory and unchangeable whether at the will of the instant parties or of the public as a whole. In this function there is accordingly an important distinction between open legislation by way of *takkanah* and concealed legislation by way of custom. The Torah, in all fields, was entrusted to the authority of the halakhic scholars (see *Authority, Rabbinical), authority being delegated to them in the Torah itself to make legislation, whether to add to or derogate from the existing *halakhah* (see **Takkanot*). This is not the case as regards the authority of the public in relation to concealed legislation; the public may decide, by way of *minhag*, between disputing opinions of the halakhic scholars within the existing *halakhah*, may add to the *halakhah*, but may not set aside any rule of the existing *halakhah* – except when the abrogation of such a rule is rendered possible at the hands of individual members of that public by way of express stipulation, i.e., in the field of civil law.

COINAGE OF THE PHRASE MINHAG MEVATTEL HALAKHAH. The essential principle that in the field of civil law custom overrides the law is mentioned in various parts of talmudic and post-talmudic halakhic literature (see below). However, the characteristic phrase for this principle, *minhag mevattel halakhah*, is quoted in the Jerusalem Talmud in connection with the following two matters: The first relates to the determination in the Mishnah (BM 7:1) of the laborer's working hours in two different ways: one whereby he goes to work early in the morning and returns home late, these being the hours of work according to law (BM 83a–b); the other, whereby the laborer goes to work at a later hour and returns home earlier. The Mishnah lays down that local custom determines the hours of work even if this is contrary to the hours laid down by law; the comment of R. Hoshaiah is, "that is to say the custom overrides the *halakhah*" (TJ, BM 7:1, 11b), so that the employer may not withhold the wages of the worker by requiring that he abide by the legally prescribed working hours, but will himself have to abide by the working-hours decreed by custom – this without need for any proof that the parties had so intended (TJ, *ibid.*). The second matter in which the phrase is quoted relates to the laws of *ḥaliẓah* (see *Levirate Marriage); the fact that this forms part of ritual law does not affect the premise that in the latter field of the law the doctrine of *minhag mevattel halakhah* does not operate. In the Mishnah (Yev. 12:1) it is stated that the *ḥaliẓah* rite may be performed with a shoe or sandal (both of leather) but not with *anpilya* (sock or shoe made of cloth) since only the first two are included in the Pentateuchal term *na'al* (Deut. 25:9). In the Jerusalem Talmud (Yev. 12:1, 12c) it is stated: "If Elijah should come and state that *ḥaliẓah* may be performed with a shoe he would be obeyed; that *ḥaliẓah* may not be performed with a sandal he would not be obeyed, for it has been the practice of the public to perform *ḥaliẓah* with a sandal, and custom overrides the law." In this particular case custom supports the existing *halakhah*, since the Mishnah permits *ḥaliẓah* with a sandal and this is not prohibited by any extant talmudic source; accordingly, if Elijah were to come and forbid performance of *ḥaliẓah* with a sandal he would be determining a new rule, contradicting the existing *halakhah*, and in such an event custom – in supporting the existing *halakhah* – would serve to override the new *halakhah* being laid down by Elijah, a function of custom effective in the field of the ritual law. (It is also possible that the phrase *minhag mevattel halakhah* was originally stated in relation to the laborer's hours of work and its application extended to the case of *ḥaliẓah* by the redactor of the talmudic discussion. It may be noted that the above version of the doctrine does not occur in Yev. 102a, where the rule, "if Elijah should come…" is also found, nor in BM 83a–b; see also Men. 31b–32a.)

The rule that it is not within the power of custom to render permissible an undisputed prohibition is stressed by the use, on several occasions, of the phrase, "Does the matter then depend on custom?" (Ḥul. 63a; BM 69b–70a). On the other hand, custom does have the power, even in the field of the ritual law, to render prohibited something that has been permitted, since the law is not abrogated thereby but only rendered more stringent: "Custom cannot set aside a prohibition, it can only prohibit that which has been permitted" (Yad, Shevitat Asor 3:3; see also Resp. Rosh 55:10). According to some scholars, custom – even in civil law matters – only overrides *halakhah* when it has been accepted by way of a communal enactment (see **Takkanot ha-Kahal*; and see *Nimmukei Yosef* BB 144b; Nov. Ritba to Ket. 100a and *Shittah Mekubbeẓet* ad loc.; *Bedek ha-Bayit* ḤM 368:6, commentary on the statement of Sherira Gaon). This view seems to be in conflict with the plain meaning of a number of talmudic discussions, particularly as regards the rule of *sitomta* (affixing of a mark; see below), and was not accepted by the majority of the scholars. The matter was succinctly summarized by Solomon b. Simeon *Duran – after a detailed discussion of the two relevant talmudic references – as follows: "It will be seen that the doctrine of 'custom overrides *halakhah*' is true in matters of civil law, but erroneous when applied to a matter in which it has been the practice to permit something that is prohibited, for custom only has the power to prohibit something that has been permitted, and not to render permissible something that has been prohibited" (Resp. Rashbash no. 562).

MINHAG AS VARYING THE LAW IN VARIOUS FIELDS. The facility of custom to override the law in civil matters has lent Jewish law great flexibility in adapting to changing economic realities, and many rules – sometimes even entire branches of the law – have come to be based on the legal source of custom.

In the Talmudic Period. The following are some of the rules that were laid down: deeds that are not signed as required by law are valid if prepared in accordance with local custom (BB 10:1; BB 165a; Kid. 49a); debts which according to law may only be recovered from the debtor's immovable property (Ket. 51a, 69b) may also be recovered from his movable property when it is local custom to recover them in this way (TJ, Git. 5:3, 46d; in geonic times a special *takkanah* was enacted permitting the recovery of debts from the debtor's movable property since at that time most Jews had ceased to be landowners (see *Execution, Civil); this is an illustration of *halakhah* received first by way of custom and later by expressly enacted *takkanah*). Similarly, many illustrations of the rule that custom overrides the law are to be found in matters of the financial relationship between *husband and wife (see Ket. 6:3–4; Tosef., Ket. 6:5–6; see also *Beit ha-Beḥirah*, Nov. Rashba, and *Shitah Mekubbeẓet* to Ket. 68b).

In the Post-Talmudic Period. In this period too custom actively fulfilled the far-reaching function of changing the law, this phenomenon sometimes leading to sharp dispute – even in the case of one specific matter only – and at other times accepted by all scholars in relation to an entire branch of the law. Thus, as regards the authentication of deeds (see *Shetar*) – which according to law must be done by three judges and is ineffective if done by a single judge (Ket. 22a) – it was stated in the 15th century: "For the scholars of the yeshivot it is the accepted custom for deeds to be authenticated by the signature of one [judge], and this is a possible application of the doctrine that custom overrides the law in matters of the civil law" (*Terumat ha-Deshen*, Resp. no. 332). This custom was accepted by Moses Isserles (*Rema* ḤM 46:4), but others differed (see *Yam shel Shelomo*, BK 10:11; *Siftei Kohen* ḤM 46, n. 8). On the other hand, it is generally accepted that the extensive field of tax law is largely founded on the legal source of custom. This is due to the fact that halakhic principles stated in the Talmud in this field (including also the rule of **dina de-malkhuta dina* and the laws of *partnership) were unable to offer adequate solutions to the multiple legal problem that had arisen – commencing from the tenth century onward – in this field of the law (see *Taxation). At first a certain hesitation was expressed concerning the extent to which it was within the power of custom to create an obligation even when it was contrary to "established and known *halakhah*" of the Talmud concerning tax law matters (see statement of Baruch of Mainz, 12th-century author of the *Sefer ha-Ḥokhmah*, quoted in *Mordekhai* BB no. 477); later, however, this hesitation gave way to full recognition of the validity of any legal rule or usage sanctioned by custom, even when it was contrary to the existing *halakhah*.

Nowhere are the tax laws founded on talmudic sanctity and everywhere there are to be found variations of such laws deriving from local usage and the consent of earlier scholars; and the town residents are entitled to establish fixed *takkanot* and uphold recognized customs as they please, even if these are not according to *halakhah*, this being a matter of civil law. Therefore if in this matter they have an established custom, it should be followed, since custom overrides the *halakhah* in matters of this kind (Resp. Rashba, vol. 4, nos. 177, 260 and see *Taxation for further particulars).

The preference for flexible custom above rule of *halakhah* as regards the legal order in all public matters was emphasized by Israel *Isserlein:

> In all matters affecting the public, their custom shall be followed in accordance with the order they set for themselves as dictated by their needs and the matter under consideration, for if they be required to follow the strict law in every matter, there will always be strife among themselves; furthermore, at the outset they allow each other to waive the strict law and make up their minds to follow the decree of their own custom (*Terumat ha-Deshen*, Resp. no. 342).

At the same time, the halakhic scholars made every effort to integrate the legal norm originating from custom into the pattern and spirit of the rules within the Jewish legal system, and in this regard Isserlein adds (*ibid.*):

> Even though it has been said that in tax matters custom overrides the law, it is at any rate desirable and proper to examine carefully whether we can reconcile all customs with the strict law and even if not entirely so, it is yet preferable that we find support and authority in the statements of the scholars and substantiate them with the aid of reason and legal logic (*ibid.*).

In this and in other ways – for instance by means of the control exercised by the halakhic scholars to ensure that rules originating from custom should not depart from the Jewish law principles of justice and equity – the rules of tax law, largely derived from custom, became an integral part of the Jewish legal system.

In Jewish Law in the State of Israel. The stated power of custom continues even in present times actively to assert itself in Jewish law, a fact that finds expression particularly in the decisions of the rabbinical courts in Israel. A notable example concerns the matter of severance pay, payable to the employee on his dismissal. The rabbinical courts have sought various legal ways of conferring binding legal force on the employer's duty to pay this (see **Ha'anakah*), and one of the principal ways has been reliance on the legal source of custom. Thus it was held, "since in our times there has spread this custom of paying compensation to employees … we have to enforce this as an obligation according to the law of the Torah, in terms of the rule stated in regard to the hire of workers: 'all in accordance with local custom'" (PDR, 1:330); moreover, by virtue of custom the claim for severance pay "is not a matter of grace, but a claim founded on law," for which the employer, even if a charitable institution, is liable (PDR, 3:286 f.). Particular importance was held to attach to custom in this case, since "we have found support for it in the Torah and *halakhah* … this custom being based on the Pentateuchal law of the grant payable by the master to his Hebrew bound servant" (*ha'anakat eved Ivri*, PDR, 4:129; *Yam ha-Gadol* no. 22), and as such represented "a proper and just custom" (PDR, 1:330 f.; cf. *Terumat ha-Deshen*, Resp. no. 342 concerning reliance on the Pentateuchal law on tax matters).

MINHAG IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE MODES OF ACQUISITION AND OF ESTABLISHING OBLIGATION. In the above field – one that is particularly sensitive to changing trends in commercial life, the nature and scope of which is subject to constant fluctuation – custom was destined to exercise a decisive influence. A transaction executed in a verbal manner alone attains no legal validity in Jewish law, which provides for the transfer of ownership and establishment of an obligation in prescribed ways, generally requiring much formality, as by way of *kinyan meshikhah* or *hagbahah*, etc. ("acquisition by pulling or lifting," etc.; see *Contract; *Acquisition). Such formality was not in keeping with the demands of developing commerce, which called for more convenient and flexible modes of acquisition. Custom, in the form of mercantile or trade usage, was instrumental in providing a large part of the forthcoming answer to the stated demands.

As early as talmudic times (BM 74a), it was laid down that where it was the custom of the merchants for a sale of wine to be concluded by the purchaser affixing a mark (*sitomta,* Rashi ad loc. and Targ. Jon., Gen. 38:18) on the barrel of wine, this action would complete the sale even though the purchaser had not yet "pulled" the barrel and it remained in the seller's possession. This is an illustration of law overridden by custom, since in law acquisition was not complete until the purchaser had "pulled" the barrel, and until then both the seller and the purchaser remained free to retract; thus, in law the barrel would still have remained in the ownership of the seller but custom decreed that ownership of the chattel would pass to the purchaser after it was marked in the customary manner and after this the parties might no longer retract. From this *halakhah* Solomon b. Abraham *Adret concluded: "From this we learn that custom overrides the law in all matters of the civil law, in which everything is acquired and transferred in accordance with custom; hence the merchants effect *kinyan* in any mode according with their own usage" (Nov. Rashba BM 73b; see also *Nimmukei Yosef* BM, loc. cit.; *Maggid Mishneh* Mekhirah 7:6; *Sma* ḤM 201, n. 2). In the course of time and on the basis of this principle, Jewish law came to recognize new modes of acquisition and of establishing obligation. Thus the fact that it was the trade custom to conclude a transaction by shaking hands, by making an advance on the purchase price (*Piskei ha-Rosh*, BM 5:72), or by delivering a key to the place where the goods were stored was held to be sufficient to confer full legal validity on a transaction concluded in any of these ways (Sh. Ar., ḤM 201:2).

The extent of the creative power of custom in relation to the modes of acquisition has been the subject of much discussion founded on halakhic and economic considerations. R. Joel *Sirkes held that custom served to create new modes of acquisition in respect of transactions of movables only, "as there is much trade in these and he [the purchaser] has not the time to pull all the goods into his possession" (*Baḥ* ḤM 201:2), but the majority of scholars took the view that custom also served to do so as regards various transactions of immovable property (*Yam shel Shelomo*, BK 5:36; *Sma* ḤM 201, n. 6; *Siftei Kohen* thereto, n. 1). Similarly, many scholars held that custom served to lend full legal validity to an acquisition of something not yet in existence (see *Acquisition, Modes of; *Contract; Resp. Rosh 13:20; other scholars differed – see *Keẓot ha-Ḥoshen* 201, n. 1; *Netivot ha-Mishpat, Mishpat ha-Urim*, 201, n. 1). At times custom operated with such far-reaching effect that not only were new modes of acquisition added to those halakhically recognized but even certain substantive elements of the existing acquisitory modes as determined by the halakhic scholars were changed (see, e.g., Resp. Ribash no. 345 on the custom concerning acquisition incidental to four cubits of land (*kinyan aggav arba ammot karka*), without specification of the land, contrary to the opinion of Maimonides, when locally the latter's statement of the law was otherwise followed; similarly, in Resp. Rosh 79:4).

In the 13th century a question of principle arose whose answer was to be of great significance as regards the measure of the creative power attaching to custom in general. The fundamental idea underlying the need in Jewish law for acquisitory formalities in the formation of legal transaction is that in a such manner the parties demonstrate their absolute *gemirut ha-da'at* ("making up of their minds") to close the transaction (see *Contract). The modes of acquisition that came to be decreed by custom also served to demonstrate such *gemirut ha-da'at*, since these represented accepted trade customs; however, the question arose whether local custom to close a transaction in a verbal manner alone was capable, from the standpoint of Jewish law, of conferring full legal validity on such transaction. *Asher b. Jehiel took the view that no affirmative conclusion could be drawn from the rule of *sitomta* (see above), except with regard to the validity of a custom requiring the performance of some act such as those mentioned above (handshake, etc.), "but never by mere speech alone, and even when this is the practice it is a bad custom which is not to be followed" (Resp. Rosh 12:3). This view denied custom the power of contraverting the basic requirement of Jewish law for the performance of some act indicating the absolute *gemirut ha-da'at*; a custom of this kind was therefore not proper except when it served only to change the substance of the act, but when it was aimed at eliminating the need for any act at all it was a "bad custom" from which the scholars would withhold validity (see below).

Another view was that whenever custom decreed mere speech alone as sufficient for the conclusion of a legal transaction it had to be assumed that absolute *gemirut ha-da'at* would come about in such a way too (opinion of Meir of Rothenburg and of R. Jehiel, quoted in *Mordekhai*, Shab. nos. 472–3), and this was the opinion accepted by the majority of the *posekim*. Thus it was decided that a person who had promised his neighbor to be the *ba'al berit* ("sandek"; see *Circumcision) at a circumcision ceremony was not free to retract from such an undertaking and assign it to another "since it has long been the practice among all Israelites for the privilege of performing such a *mitzvah* to be conferred in mere verbal manner and it is already established that custom is an important tenet in all matters of this kind" (Resp. Radbaz no. 278). This is also the position as regards the formation of partnership. According to talmudic law a partnership is formed by performance on the part of each partner of an act of acquisition in relation to the share of the other partners (Ket. 10:4; Yad, Sheluḥin 4:1; and see *Partnership). However, it was held that "where it is local custom to become a partner even by speech alone – there will be a partnership; such is the custom in this country too … and so we decide in every case, for custom is an important matter in the field of the civil law" (Resp. Radbaz no. 380). This opinion came to be accepted as *halakhah* by the later *posekim*, "reason inclines to the view that whenever it is the custom to rely on speech alone, it is like the custom of *sitomta*" (*Kesef ha-Kedoshim* ḤM 201:1), in terms of which full recognition according to Jewish law was given to public sales (*Mishpat u-Ẓedakah be-Ya'akov*, no. 33), to sales on the exchanges (Resp. Maharsham, pt. 3, no. 18), and to like legal transactions customarily concluded in mere verbal manner (see *Ohel Moshe* pt. 2, no. 138).

In cases before the rabbinical courts in the State of Israel reliance on custom (see above) is particularly evident in the field of the modes of *kinyan*. In several cases acquisition by way of registration in the registry in accordance with the state law is recognized as a valid *kinyan* according to Jewish law, by the force of custom (see, e.g., PDR 4:81). In another leading decision it was laid down that "in our times a signed contract between purchaser and seller constitutes a *kinyan* by virtue of the rule of *sitomta*, whether relating to immovable or to movable property, since this is a trade custom" (PDR 6:216, and see also the distinction drawn with regard to the text of the contract).

THE RULE OF MINHAG MEVATTEL HALAKHAH – IN THE CASE OF LOCAL CUSTOM. Custom overrides the law even when it is not general but customary with part of the public only. Thus in talmudic law it is laid down that when a desert caravan is attacked by robbers who demand a price for the release of the travelers, each must pay according to the amount of the property he carries and not on a per capita basis; in the case where a guide is taken to avert danger to life, payment of the guide is made according to a calculation based both on the amount of property carried by each and per capita; however, "the custom of caravan travelers must not be departed from" (i.e., if the custom decrees that the participation always be according to property and not per capita, it must be followed, Tosef., BM 7:13–14; see also BK 116b; TJ, BM 6:4, 11a). Similarly, it is laid down that "a shippers' custom [minhag *sappanin*] must not be departed from" in the case where cargo has to be jettisoned to lighten the load (Tosef., loc. cit.). Hence it follows that a local custom or trade usage overrides the *halakhah* for the people governed by such custom: "In matters of the civil law custom is followed, even the custom of ass drivers and shippers, for even if the strict law requires that participation must be according to money and the load carried, nevertheless the custom of ass drivers and of shippers overrides the law" (Resp. Maharik, no. 102).

Proof of the Existence of a Custom

Jewish law sets three requirements for the validity of a custom:

(1) It must be widespread over the whole country, or in the whole of a particular locality, or amidst the whole of a particular class of people, according to its purported field of operation: "In all such matters [of the financial relationship between spouses] custom is an important tenet and must be followed in deciding the law, provided, however, that the custom be widespread (*pashut*) over the whole country" (Yad, Ishut 23:12 and cf. with the matter of *takkanah, ibid.* 16:7–9). A custom which exists in most parts of a particular district must be presumed to exist in the whole of such a district (Resp. Rosh 79:4; *Beit Yosef* ḤM 42:21).

(2) A custom must be of frequent application: "It must be known that the custom is established and widespread, that the townspeople have followed it at least three times, for often the public adopt for themselves a practice to suit their immediate needs [i.e., in regard to a particular matter only] without intending to establish a custom at all" (*Terumat ha-Deshen*, Resp. no. 342; Resp. Maharashdam, ḤM no. 436). The time required for the evolution of a custom depends on the nature of the matter in each case: "This matter [whether or not there was a custom to exempt the communal cantor from tax payment] is not like a custom relating to the hire of workers, which happens every day so that everyone can see what the custom is; but as regards the cantor's tax immunity, since there is only one cantor in the town, how shall the fact that tax was not demanded from one or two cantors be called a custom unless it be public knowledge in the town that cantors had been exempted there on account of local custom to exempt them" (Resp. Ribash no. 475).

(3) The custom must be clear: "The custom must be clear to exempt" (Resp. Ribash, loc. cit.). In another matter Samuel b. Moses *Medina held that the rule of custom overrides *halakhah* was applicable to that case, provided only that the instant custom was sufficiently clear, "there are two approaches to this matter: one according to the law of our holy Torah, the other according to the trade custom; for there is no doubt that in such matters custom is decisive, provided that the import of the custom be clear, but if there be any doubt about this then we have to revert to what is decreed by the law of the Torah" (Resp. Maharashdam, ḤM no. 33).

Jewish law dispenses with the formality of the laws of evidence for purposes of proving the establishment of a custom – a fact that has provided custom with wide creative opportunity. Thus hearsay evidence suffices and the testimony of normally disqualified witnesses is admitted (*Terumat ha-Deshen*, Resp. no. 342). The wide latitude which Jewish law allows to the creative power of custom is evidenced in a decision given by the rabbinical court in the State of Israel concerning the matter of severance pay due to an employee upon his dismissal (see above). In 1945 R. Ouziel (in a responsum quoted in M. Findling, *Teḥukat ha-Avodah*, p. 133 f.) refrained from basing the law of severance pay on the legal source of custom (relying instead on an ethical-halakhic principle: see **Ha'anakah*), for the reason that a custom had no validity unless it was widespread, of frequent application, and clear: "and as far as I am aware this custom [of severance pay] is not widespread in the whole country nor of common application, but only followed in certain specific cases, and therefore the court is not ordering severance pay to be paid in terms thereof" (*ibid.*). A mere ten years later the rabbinical court – seeking a full legal justification for the obligation of severance pay – held: "Now that this custom has spread and become accepted in the whole country, and is popular and of common, daily application, it must be followed and the statements mentioned above (i.e., of R. Ouziel), made in the year 1945, are no longer applicable or valid because the custom has become widespread and established." Recognition of such an accelerated spread of a custom within the short period of ten years is indicative of the special readiness of Jewish law to enrich itself by means of the legal source of custom.

Custom (*Minhag*) and Usage (Nohag)

The customs so far discussed belong mainly to those in the category of a legal norm functioning of its own power and independently of the consent of the parties to a particular transaction. Thus, for instance, the validity of a mode of acquisition sanctioned by custom is not to be explained on the ground that the parties to a particular transaction intended, by implication, to confer legal validity thereon – since it is beyond the authority of the parties to pass on the validity of a *kinyan* even if they should expressly say so. In this case the new mode of acquisition draws its validity from the efficacy of custom to create new legal norms of selfstanding force. On the other hand, many customs operate in the *halakhah* – as in other legal systems – not from their own independent force but by virtue of a presumption that the parties intended, by implication, to introduce a particular usage as part of the transaction between themselves. An agreement between two parties is generally composed of two kinds of terms, those expressly stipulated and those imported by implication as an integral part of the agreement. Such implied terms may be inferred in two ways: either because they are decreed by factors of logic and reasonableness, or because they are usual and customary, since it may be presumed that the parties intended to include in the terms of their agreement the dictates of all the former factors (see J. Salmond, *Jurisprudence* (1966[12]), 193–7). The matter may be illustrated as follows: The Mishnah (BM 9:1) lays down that a transaction of *arisut* or *ḥakhirah* (land tenancy and cultivation in return for a share of the crop, see *Lease and Hire) includes implied terms concerning cultivation of the land in accordance with local usage – *keminhag ha-medinah* – and that neither party to the transaction may contend, for instance, that he intended the crop to be reaped by scythe when it was local custom to reap by hand (BM 9:1). The Talmud adds that a party's plea that he had not intended to abide by local custom will not be accepted even if it is supported by circumstantial evidence, such as higher or lower rental than usual (see BM 103b), because in the absence of any express stipulation to the contrary it will be presumed that both parties intended to embrace local custom in their agreement (see also Yad, Sekhirut 8:6; Sh. Ar., ḤM 320:4–5). Talmudic *halakhah* offers abundant examples, in most branches of the civil law, of usages which are imported by implication as part of the terms agreed upon between the parties to a transaction, e.g., in the laws of joint ownership (BB 1:1 and 4a; TJ, BB 1:2, 12b) and partnership (BM 68b; 69b; Tosef., BM 5:6–7; TJ, BM 5:6, 10b; see also Yad, Sheluḥin 5:1 and 8:4; and see Partnership); in the laws of *pledge (e.g., BM 67b–68a; Yad, Malveh 7:2–3); in the laws of master and servant (BM 7:1; BM 83a concerning the hours of work; 86a concerning the worker's sustenance; 87a concerning the worker's wages; and see *Labor Law); in the laws concerning the pecuniary relationship between spouses (see above; see also *Husband and Wife), etc. Usages of the above kind also fulfill an important role as regards the interpretation of various deeds and documents, in which local usage in the particular matter is of decisive importance (BB 166b; Yad, Malveh 27:15; and see *Interpretation).

The Rule of Doreshin Lashon Hedyot. This rule (Tosef., Ket. 4:9ff.; TJ, Ket. 4:8, 28d; TJ, Yev. 15:3, 14d; BM 104a) is of application in the interpretation of documents (for details, see *Interpretation). Many halakhic scholars regarded this rule as serving to give recognition to the implicit importation into the terms of a document of a usage followed by the people, on the presumption that the parties intended their transaction to be subject to such usage: "For whatever is customarily written by the people is deemed to have been written by the parties, even if they have not done so … and this is as if provided by an enactment" (*tenai bet din*; Resp. Rashba vol. 1, no. 662; vol. 3, nos. 17,433, et al.; this is also the view of Hai Gaon and Ramban, in Nov. Ramban, Tos., *Beit ha-Beḥirah* Nov. Ritba and *Shitah Mekubbeẓet* BM 104a; Resp. Ran no. 54; Resp. Ritba no. 53). Just as scholars saw the need in matters of marriage and *ketubbah* to enact essential conditions for the good of all, these being applicable, *setaman ke-ferushan*, i.e., binding even if not expressly stipulated between the parties – so there are matters "which the scholars did not enact and which have not been accepted by all, but are usages which have been followed by the people in certain places, simply of their own accord without [communal] enactment, and this too is a matter of *setaman ke-ferushan*, which the scholars refer to as *derishat hedyotot*" (Resp. Rashba, vol. 4, no. 186). In this sense the rule of *derishat leshon hedyot* served the halakhic scholars as a means of solving many legal problems relating to the laws of marriage, property, and obligations (see Resp. Rashba, Ritba, and Ran as cited above; for an interesting example in the field of obligations see Resp. Rashba, vol. 4, no. 125).

General and Local Custom

A general custom is created at the hands of the public as a whole and as such applies to the whole of that public, whereas a local custom is created at the hands of the people of a certain place, class, or some other group, and as such its application and validity is confined to the people of that place or group. Already mentioned above are the customs of various trade associations like those of shippers and caravan drivers, and the talmudic sources also mention customs relating to priests (Kid. 78b; TJ, Bik. 1:5, 64a; and TJ, Kid. 4:6, 66b), women (Pes. 48b; TJ, Pes. 4:1, 30c), *ḥavurot* in Jerusalem (Tosef., Meg. 4:10, 25c), the fair-minded (*nekiyyei ha-da'at*) of Jerusalem (Sanh. 30a), etc. Often a custom is referred to as *minhag ha-medinah* (i.e., custom of a particular area or district: BM 7:1 and 9:1; BB 1:1 and 10:1; Suk. 3:11, et al.). Sometimes a custom is quoted as followed in Judea (Tosef. Ket. 1:4, 1:5 and 4:12; BB 100b, et al.), in Galilee (Tosef. and Mishnah, *ibid.*), or in particular settlements, e.g., Tiberias, Acre, Kabul (TJ, Pes. 4:1, 30d; TJ, Ta'an. 1:6, 64c), also Jabneh, Sepphoris, etc. Such local or group customs relate to diverse fields of the *halakhah*, both the civil and the ritual law.

Many local customs render the law more severe by prohibiting matters which are permitted (see, e.g., Pes. 4:1–4).

Thus although the law permitted the performance of all labor on the 14th day of Nisan – i.e., on the eve of Passover – it became the general custom to refrain from labor from noon onward, since from that time the paschal sacrifice could properly be brought, so that the rest of the day was treated as a festival day; the Mishnah records that there were places where it was customary to perform labor until noon, and other places where it was customary not to do so lest the need for burning the leaven and other requirements of the festival be forgotten, and the Mishnah prescribes that the local inhabitants should follow their own custom. The halakhic validity of a custom that prohibited what was legally permissible was justified by regarding this as a form of vow undertaken by the public, and the sanction against breaking such a custom as akin to that of the prohibition against breaking a vow: "Matters which are permitted [in law] but prohibited by others by virtue of their custom may not be rendered permissible to the latter, as it is said (Num. 30:3), 'he shall not break his word'" (Ned. 15a; see also Ḥ. Albeck, *Shishah Sidrei Mishnah*, Nashim, p. 137f.). It seems however that the Babylonian *amoraim* restricted the operation of the prohibition deriving from the above rule, holding it as applicable only to a custom of the Cuthites (non-Jews), or of Jews amidst whom there were no scholars – out of apprehension that if the latter persons were permitted matters which their own custom prohibited, even though these were permissible in law, they would make light also of other prohibitions stemming from the law itself (Pes. 50b–51a).

These local customs were also discussed in relation to the biblical injunction, "you shall not cut yourselves" (Deut. 14:1), interpreted by the halakhic scholars as a stringent prohibition against the formation of separate "societies" in relation to the rules of *halakhah*, so that the Torah "should not become like several Torot." In R. Johanan's opinion this prohibition only applied in circumstances where in one place a decision is given according to one opinion – for instance according to Bet Hillel, and in another place according to another opinion – for instance according to Bet Shammai, for in this way the *halakhah* itself would be divided; however, if from the standpoint of the law all decide according to the same opinion but part of the public renders the law additionally stringent for itself, this does not amount to a division of the *halakhah*, and it is permissible in the same way as any individual may take a vow and render prohibited for himself that which is permissible in law (TJ, Pes. 4:1, 30d; Yev. 13b; see also L. Ginzberg, *Perushim ve-Ḥiddushim ba-Yerushalmi*, 1 (1941), 152–60). Despite this theoretical distinction, the halakhic scholars maintained that in practice the diversity of customs might lead to division and strife and therefore laid down that a person should follow no custom but that of the place where he finds himself at any given time, if to do otherwise might lead to dispute (Pes. 4:1 and 51a; Yad, Yom Tov 8:20; see also in detail *Peri Hadash*, OH 468 and 496).

Minhag and the Conflict of Laws (within Jewish Law)

The multiplicity of customs, particularly local customs, inevitably gave rise to the phenomenon of varying laws on the same legal subject. At times it transpired that the law on the same subject differed in different places, and in this event – when the different stages of a legal obligation required performance in different places, in each of which there prevailed a different law concerning such an obligation – there arose the question of whether to apply the customary law at the time and place of establishment of the obligation, or the customary law at the time and place of its performance, or some other law. This and like questions, relating to the field of the conflict of laws, frequently arose in many fields of Jewish law against the background of differing customs on the same subject: e.g., as regards the laws of marriage, divorce, labor, partnership, and land tenancy. The result was the evolution of a proliferous body of case law on the subject of the *conflict of laws, constituting one of the important contributions made by custom to the development and creativity of Jewish law.

Control over *Minhag* by the Halakhic Scholars

Custom, because of its spontaneous and undirected nature, sometimes calls for a measure of supervision and control. At times a custom may be founded on error, or develop unreasonably or illogically in a certain direction, or may even be in conflict with substantive and fundamental principles of Jewish law in a manner leaving no room for its integration into this system. From time to time the halakhic scholars exercised such control in order to contain or discredit entirely a particular custom.

CUSTOM FOUNDED ON ERROR. The Mishnah (Er. 10:10) mentions the case of a certain usage observed in Tiberias until the scholars came and set it aside; according to one opinion the usage of the people of Tiberias involved a prohibition which the scholars later permitted; according to another opinion, it involved a permission which the scholars later forbade (*ibid.*). Some commentators held that the usage was set aside because it was based on error (Tos. to Eruv. 101b, s.v. "*R. Yose Omer*"; for a further illustration, see Ḥul. 6b concerning Rabbi's permissiveness regarding the eating of untithed fruit from Beth-Shean). In the Jerusalem Talmud a rule is laid down by R. Abun that a custom founded on error may be set aside: if the custom prohibits when it is clearly known that the relevant matter is permitted in law, the custom is valid and the matter must not be rendered permissible; however, if the custom prohibits as an outcome of an erroneous belief that the relevant matter is prohibited in law, when the error is discovered, the matter may be rendered permissible and the custom discredited (TJ, Pes. 4:1, 30d).

In post-talmudic literature frequent reference is made to customs discredited by the halakhic scholars on the ground of error. Thus Rabbenu Tam censured those who counted a minor as helping to make up a *minyan* as long as he held a Pentateuch in his hand: "This is a nonsensical custom … is a Pentateuch to be regarded as a man?" (Tos. to Ber. 48a). In another case Asher b. Jehiel examined the source of a custom concerning the testamentary disposition of property by a woman, concluding that "this is certainly an erroneous custom" and even if widespread, "it is not a custom that may properly be relied upon for purposes of the disposition of property … the custom is wrong and it must be invalidated" (Resp. Rosh 55:10). Similarly Mordecai *Jaffe opposed the custom of not reciting *birkat ha-mazon* (*Grace after Meals) in the home of a gentile, holding that the spread of "this nonsensical custom" originated from an erroneous understanding of a talmudic statement completely unconnected with such a custom (*Levush ha-Tekhelet*, 193:6). In another instance it became customary to take a stringent view and regard a woman as married in circumstances where – in the opinion of all scholars – there was no *kiddushin* at all in law; Simeon Duran strongly condemned this custom: "In circumstances where the whole world holds that there is no *kiddushin*, some people wish to impose on themselves such a stringent rendering of the law – this is a custom born in ignorance which the public must not be compelled to uphold" (*Tashbeẓ*, 1:154).

UNREASONABLE OR ILLOGICAL CUSTOM. At times the scholars examined a custom from the aspect of its reasonableness. Thus it was determined that a custom of the women not to do any work during the whole of the evening following the Sabbath was unreasonable and of no validity except insofar as it was restricted to the time of prayer on that evening (TJ, Pes. 4:1, 30d; Ta'an. 1:6, 64c); similarly invalid was a custom of the women not to do any work on Mondays and Thursdays, but their custom to do no work on a public fast-day or on Rosh Ḥodesh was reasonable and proper (*ibid.*). Some customs were condemned as imposing hardship on the public and contrary to the purpose of the actual law concerned. Thus the custom of those who prepared grits in Sepphoris and of the crushers of wheat in Acre not to work on *ḥol ha-mo'ed* was held to be a good custom since it was not likely to detract from the joy of the festival; however, the custom of the fishermen of Tiberias not to work on *ḥol ha-mo'ed* was opposed by the scholars, since it was impossible to prepare in advance fresh fish for the whole festival, and the custom was therefore likely to detract from the joy of the festival (TJ, *ibid.*).

BAD CUSTOM. In post-talmudic times there was disputed the question of the extent to which a custom concerning a matter of civil law had to be accepted even when it appeared to be a "bad custom." On the dispute over a custom concerning the erection of a partition between two joint holders so that one might not observe the other (see below), Rabbenu Tam held that a custom of erecting a partition which fell short of the talmudic requirements was a bad custom and was not to be followed: "it may be concluded that some customs are not to be relied upon, even though it has been said, 'all in accordance with custom'" (Tos. to BB 2a). This opinion was followed by many scholars but others held that in civil law matters even a custom of this kind had to be followed when locally accepted (see Piskei ha-Rosh BB 1:1 and 5; Tur, ḤM 157:3–4, 16; Sh. Ar., ḤM 157:1 and commentaries; Haggahot Maimuniyyot, Shekhenim 2:20; Mordekhai, BM no. 366). Even those who took the former view conceded that in certain matters even a bad custom had to be followed – for instance in tax matters – if it was necessary for the good order of the public (Terumat ha-Deshen, Resp. no. 342; Sh. Ar., ḤM 163:3, *Rema* and commentaries).

CUSTOM CONTRARY TO FUNDAMENTAL RULES AND THE PRINCIPLES OF EQUITY AND JUSTICE. The halakhic scholars were also at pains to ensure that custom did not controvert basic general rules as well as the principles of equity and justice in Jewish law. In so doing they rendered possible the integration of legal norms originating from custom into the general framework of the law, in the same way as their similar close control over communal enactments (see *Takkanot ha-Kahal*) rendered possible their integration. The matter is illustrated by the following examples:

(1) When Asher b. Jehiel decided that the custom of closing a transaction by verbal agreement alone controverted the basic rule requiring demonstration of the absolute *gemirut ha-da'at* of the parties to a transaction, he laid down that this amounted to a bad custom which was not to be followed (see above).

(2) In law, on division of a courtyard between joint owners, "a partition must be built by both of them in the middle, so that neither may observe his neighbor in the enjoyment of his portions, since the injury of being observed is a real injury" (Yad, Shekhenim 2:14, based on BB 3a); the width of the partition is determined by local custom "even when the custom is to build the partition of reeds and palm fronds" (BB 4a; Yad, Shekhenim 2:15). In this regard, Rashba decided that a custom not to erect any partition at all – leaving each neighbor free to observe the other – was of no legal validity, so that either partner could oblige the other to erect the partition: "If it has been the custom, as regards houses and courtyards, not to pay heed at all to the injury of observing one's neighbor, the custom is a bad one and no custom at all; for waiver may only be made in matters of civil law in which event a person may give of his own or tolerate damage to his property, but he is not free to breach the fences of Israel and to act immodestly in a manner causing the Divine Presence *[Shekhinah]* to depart from this people, as it is said, 'a person shall not make his windows to open onto his joint owner's courtyard' (BB 3:7) … Scripture relates, 'And Balaam lifted up his eyes, and he saw Israel abiding in his tents according to their tribes' (Num. 24:2). What did he see? That the openings to their tents were not made to face each other, and he said, 'These are worthy that the Divine Presence abide with them'" (BB 60a; Resp. Rashba, vol. 2, no. 268). Thus the custom in question stood in conflict with a material tract of the *halakhah* and could be given no legal recognition.

(3) A custom may not conflict with the Jewish law principles of justice and equity. Hence even in cases where a bad custom is given legal recognition, as in tax matters (see above), some way must be found for anchoring it within the general

spirit of the *halakhah*. Hence a tax custom which did not adequately distinguish between rich and poor was held to have no legal validity: "The contention of the rich has no justification, for certainly according to the law of the Torah taxes must be shared according to financial means and there can be no greater injustice than to make the rich and the poor bear the tax burden in virtually equal measure, and even if the custom has been in existence for some years it must not be upheld" (Moses Rothenburg, quoted in *Pitḥei Teshuvah*, ḤM 163, n. 16).

[Menachem Elon]

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MINHAGIM BOOKS. Variations in usage between various sections of Palestine are already recorded in the period of the *tannaim* and *amoraim*. Thus, customs of Jerusalem (Ket. 4b, 12b; BB 93b; TJ, Suk. 4:14; Sem. 3:6), variations between Judah and Galilee (TJ, Pes. 4:5; Ket. 12b), and differences between Sura and Pumbedita (Ḥul. 110a) are mentioned. Also mentioned are usages established by individual sages in certain localities (Shab. 130a; Yev. 14a; Ḥul. 116a). A tolerant attitude was obtained toward these variations but it was insisted that once established, the observance of the usage is obligatory (Pes. 4:1; Ket. 6:4; BM 86b), sometimes even when it was contrary to a normative rule (TJ, Yev. 12:1; BM 7:1). De facto, the *minhag* assumed the force of law consisting of popular halakhic works, whose chief purpose was to record differences in religious custom as reflected in the daily life of their authors, in contrast to other *likkutim* ("anthologies"), which recorded similar – or at times the very same – differences culled from books or from the statements of rabbis but without personal acquaintance with them. By definition, a *minhag* is a prevalent religious practice or usage not enjoined by normative regulations, in contradistinction to *din*, which is a normative prescription. Often, however, such usages assumed the status of normative regulations (see **Minhag*).

The first book of this nature to survive is the *Sefer ha-Ḥillukim bein Mizraḥ ve-Ereẓ Yisrael* ("Variations in Customs Between the People of the East and of Israel"; Jerusalem, 1938), which was apparently compiled in Ereẓ Israel in the eighth century. This early work summarizes some scores of major differences between the customs of Ereẓ Israel and Babylon actually in force, and seems to refer to the customs of Babylonian Jews living in Ereẓ Israel who preserved the customs of their country of origin. Many and varied suggestions have been made to explain the nature and purpose of this early work, but it is still not clear. Another work, *Ḥilluf Minhagim*, from the same period, of which not even a fragment has survived, gave the differences in custom between the academies of Sura and Pumbedita. It is certain, however, that such lists were in the possession of early scholars even though they may have been merely a collection from a variety of sources.

Minhagim books differ from one another in content, structure, purpose, and literary standard. Some describe the totality of customs peculiar to a certain area either on one topic only or covering a broader range – with the purpose of presenting "local custom" in its purity in order to preserve its existence and secure its uninterrupted continuation against penetration by external influences.

Middle Ages

Sefer ha-Minhagot of *Asher b. Saul of Lunel, which describes the customs of southern France over a very wide range of subjects and is apparently the earliest *minhagim* book to come down to us from Europe, belongs to this category. To this period also belongs *Ha-Manhig* of *Abraham b. Nathan ha-Yarḥi which is, however, of a different character. It limits itself mainly to the laws of prayer, Sabbath, and festival, but in it are described Spanish, Provençal, French, and German customs which the author himself saw while traveling in these countries. Consequently the aim of the two books also differs. While Asher of Lunel explicitly states that his purpose is to indicate the sources in rabbinical literature of the customs in order to prove their authenticity and prevent the disrespect for them which stems from lack of knowledge, the aim of *Ha-Manhig* was to show that all customs, even when contradicting one another, have a halakhic source, and that none of them should be rejected, but each locality should maintain its *minhag*. These two books were of great importance and played a prominent role in molding the *halakhah* in succeeding generations. A book, unique of its kind, though of the same type as the *Ha-Manhig*, discusses a collection of 25 variant customs between Catalonia and Provence. It was written by Menahem b. Solomon with the aim of proving that despite the great halakhic authority of *Naḥmanides, the ancient customs of Provence were not to be undermined because of him, and Menahem exerted himself to show their sources in the *halakhah* (see *Magen Avot*, London, 1909). In 12th-century Germany, halakhic compilations were known of the type of "*Minhagei Spira*," "*Kunteres Magenẓa*," and the like, which are mentioned for example in *Ha-Roke'aḥ* of *Eleazar b. Judah of Worms and the works of the school of Rashi. There are already allusions to it in *Sefer Rabban* of *Eliezer b. Nathan which was the first Hebrew book written in Germany. From the quotations it is recognizable that although these were not actually complete "books," like the Provençal and Spanish *minhag* books of the 13th century, they were nevertheless the first *minhag* books in this region, and some 300 years later they were to serve as the main source for the growth of a ramified and developed *minhagim* literature. These early Ashkenazi compilations committed to writing for the first time the great fragmentation in the sphere of custom that prevailed in Germany, each city, including even adjacent cities, having different customs.

Another type, much more rare, confines itself to the customs appertaining to one single theme, in most cases an actual professional sphere, like the book of Jacob *Hagozer which describes the comprehensive customs applying to the laws of circumcision, and was intended to serve as a handbook for those performing the ceremony. Despite the rarity of this type, it is of great importance, since through it the close connection which exists between *minhagim* literature and "professional" literature is well recognized, an affinity which became blurred in the course of time, but which is still apparent in one sphere of *halakhah*, **Issur ve-Hetter*. The various types of works of *Issur ve-Hetter* are in fact merely *minhagim* books intended to ease the burden of giving decisions from rabbis, and to a large extent they transmit different local customs in accordance with the different evidence they adduced, including visual evidence.

During the period of the *rishonim*, *minhagim* literature dealt mainly with the description of the customs of distinguished rabbis, with the avowed aim of establishing as the accepted norm their personal customs down to their last detail. The beginnings of this category are connected with the personality of *Meir b. Baruch of Rothenburg, who was the central figure in Germany in the 13th century and whose disciples created a complete *minhagim* literature, known as that "of the school of Maharam of Rothenburg," basing themselves on his customs and rulings. The first apparently was Ḥayyim *Paltiel, whose *minhagim* served as the foundation for the *Sefer ha-Minhagim* of Abraham *Klausner, regarded as "the father of the *minhag* Ashkenaz." In contrast to Ḥayyim Paltiel, who does not mention Meir of Rothenburg by name in his work, the *Ha-Parnes*, also compiled in conformity with the views and practices of Meir by his pupil Moses Parnes, in most cases refers to him by name. The personality of Meir is especially recognizable in the *Tashbeẓ* of his pupil Samson b. Zadok, and in the anonymous *minhagim* book published by I. Eifenbein (New York, 1938). A century later this type of literature received powerful stimulus, chiefly in the Rhine region, and the description of the customs of outstanding rabbis became a widespread activity, in great demand by the public. It was engaged in by disciple-attendants who were in close personal contact with a certain scholar – at times living with him for decades – and these included in their descriptions the actual minute-by-minute practice of their master, including the very smallest details even of the most intimate and private kind. They saw in each such detail a model worthy of emulation by every pious Jew. The best-known writers in this field are *Joseph b. Moses of Hochstadt who in his *Leket Yosher* described the customs of his distinguished teacher Israel *Isserlein, and Zalman of St. Goar who recorded the customs of his teacher Jacob *Moellin ha-Levi. In this connection it is worth mentioning the *minhagim* book of Isaac *Tyrnau – incidentally the first rabbinic work to be written in Hungary – who in point of fact recorded the customs of his teachers, Abraham Klausner and R. Sar Shalom of Vienna; but in contrast to the other two, who were not distinguished scholars, he was himself a renowned scholar who also devoted his energy to compiling a book of his teacher's customs. Together, these books constitute the well-known "*minhag* of Austria," and from them all important Ashkenazi customs developed – in particular the order of prayer and the festivals – down to the latest periods. Also deserving mention is the importance of the *Mordekhai* of *Mordecai b. Hillel which served as a primary work to which various Ashkenazi scholars, particularly in the 15th century, added their local customs, thus creating many different texts of the *Mordekhai*.

From the 15th century *minhagim* literature in Germany held an important place, without precedent in the world of *halakhah* and rabbinical literature. Moreover during this period the status of the *minhag* was raised to such a high level that great scholars and leading personalities of the period speak with great respect even about the customs of women and children and ascribe to custom a degree of authority exceeding that of the normative *halakhah* which is independent of custom. In opposition to the view of 19th-century Jewish historians, that the inordinate devotion to the writing of *minhagim* books in Germany in the 15th century testifies to the deterioration of intellectual creativity occasioned by the many persecutions with which this period was marked, it should be stressed that this tendency is evidence of a completely different process; namely, to a drawing near of the contemporary rabbis and leaders to the masses and their effort to transmit the practices of Judaism to the masses as a whole instead of to a mere handful of students. From the scholarly point of view, research into *minhagim* literature is very difficult, because these works have frequently been copied from one manuscript to another, and in the process sections of the halakhic discussions have been omitted, and glosses, supplements, **hassagot*, and corrections have been added by the various copyists, who tried to adjust the work to the local prevailing custom as it was known to them, or at least to interweave this custom into the earlier work. This feature is especially noticeable in the *minhag* book of Abraham Klausner, as it has been preserved in the printed edition (Riva di Trento, 1558) and in the manuscripts which are so completely surrounded by glosses and comments that it is no longer possible to distinguish the actual text from the additions.

[Israel Moses Ta-Shma]

Modern Period

In more recent times, the *minhagim* literature was enriched by works that sought to give reasons for each *minhag*. Among the more popular were *Ta'amei ha-Minhagim* (1896), by A.I. Sperling and *Oẓar kol Minhagei Yeshurun* (1917), by A.E. Hirshovitz. The reasons given are often far fetched and jarring to the modern ear. More recent works describe the *minhagim* lucidly and give reasons based on research and scholarship. Two examples are *Ziv ha-Minhagim* by J.D. Singer (1965), and *Sefer ha-Toda'ah* by Eliyahu Kitov, 2 vols. (1958–60; *Book of our Heritage*, 3 vols., 1968). Both follow the traditional pattern of the calendar.

The establishment of the State of Israel and the ingathering of the exiles has added impetus to the study of the *minhagim* of the various communities of the Diaspora, particularly of the Oriental communities. The latter is pursued particularly by the Ben Zvi Institute in Jerusalem, which has already published a number of studies. Of the *minhagim* of other communities the following have been republished: *Sefer Ereẓ Ḥayyim*, by Ḥayyim Sithon (1968), and *Sefer Ereẓ Yisrael*, by Y.M. Tukazinsky (1966). Of special note is the exhaustive study of Jacob Gellis on *Minhagei Ereẓ Israel* (1968).

[Isaac Klein]

Illustrations on *Minhagim* Books

A different kind of *minhagim* books were written for popular use, and, since they were designed also for women, many were written in Yiddish. They were usually arranged according to the order of the religious year and it was customary to add to their interest by the inclusion of illustrations. The antisemitic publications of the apostate J. *Pfefferkorn (*Judenbeichte*, 1508) contain illustrations of Jewish observances which may be based on an authentic prototype.

The Prague *Birkat ha-Mazon* ("Grace after Meals"), of which one copy has survived, is the first Hebrew work of the type known to contain such illustrations. The earliest published illustrated *minhagim* book is that of Venice of 1593. Its text was based on a similar work edited by one Simeon Ashkenazi in 1590. The 1593 edition, though printed in Italy, is in Yiddish. It was no doubt published partly for export and partly for the use of the Ashkenazi Jews then living in the north of Italy. It was accompanied by a series of woodcuts illustrating various observances and customs of Jewish religious life throughout the year, the participants dressed in the unmistakable German style. These illustrations became very popular. They were repeated but with growing indistinction in all manner of editions produced in Amsterdam and northern Europe from the second half of the 17th century onward. The same woodcut sometimes serves to illustrate two different subjects in different editions. Thus the Sabbath before Passover and the Day of Atonement is illustrated by a scene showing the delivery of the special sermon on that occasion. They are still reproduced to illustrate Dutch Jewish social life of the 17th–18th centuries, whereas they in fact belong to a much earlier period and in great part to another environment. In 1601 another *minhagim* book appeared in Venice with a series of remarkable woodcuts, far superior to the earlier edition and clearly illustrating the Italian Jewish environment.

A *minhagim* book produced in 1693 for the Sephardi community of Amsterdam but with illustrations in some cases showing typical Ashkenazi costume has some independent interest and attraction. Unfortunately this one was not imitated later. The imitative editions of Prague of 1665, of Frankfurt c. 1674, and of Hamburg 1729 deserve cursory mention. That of Dyhernfurth of 1692, edited by S. Bass, has certain independent elements but like the earlier ones is poorly executed. The Frankfurt edition of 1717 has half a dozen badly executed cuts (most of them repeated in the 1729 edition) reflecting tenth-century German Jewish customs and usages. The *minhagim* books as a whole, but particularly the hitherto neglected Venice edition of 1601, are of considerable importance for the study of Jewish social life. Of particular significance are the female costumes, the ritual details (e.g., the form of the Sabbath lamp and the *Havdalah appurtenances), the interior of the synagogue and the separation of the sexes, the wedding ceremony, the Purim mummers, and even the barber's shop included to illustrate Lag ba-Omer.

[Cecil Roth]

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MINḤAH (Heb. מִנְחָה), the afternoon prayer service, one of the three daily services of the Jewish liturgy. The name of this prayer is derived from Elijah's devotions "at the time of the offering of the evening (*minḥah*) offering" (I Kings 18:36). One tradition ascribes the institution of this service to Isaac, who "went out to meditate in the field at eventide" (Gen. 24:63), while another attributes the formalization of the three daily prayer services to the men of the *Great Synagogue as substitutes for the daily sacrifices, with the *Minḥah* prayer taking the place of the lamb sacrificed in the Temple at dusk (Num. 28:8; Ber. 26b). The custom of three daily prayers is also implied by Daniel 6:11. The *Minḥah* prayer consists of **Ashrei* (Ps. 145, preceded by Ps. 84:5 and 144:15 and closed by Ps. 115:18), the **Amidah*, **Taḥanun*, and concludes with the **Aleinu*. On Sabbaths and fast days, a portion of the Torah is read before the *Amidah* (see *Torah, Reading of). In some rites, portions dealing with the daily sacrifices are read before *Ashrei*. The time for the recitation of the *Minḥah* prayer begins at the conclusion of six and one-half hours of the day. In calculating this time, an "hour" is one-twelfth of the length of the day. *Minḥah* prayed at this time is known as *Minḥah Gedolah* ("major"). *Minḥah* recited after nine and one-half hours of the day is called *Minḥah Ketannah* ("minor"). R. Judah set the final time for the *Minḥah* prayer until midway (*pelag*) through the time designated for the *Minḥah Ketannah*, or until one and one-quarter hours before sunset. The law is, however, in accordance with the opinion that the *Minḥah* may be recited until sunset, which is calculated to occur at the conclusion of the 12th hour of the day (Ber. 4:1; Ber. 26b–27a). As a precaution lest people forget to pray the afternoon prayer, the rabbis ruled that it is forbidden to commence a large business transaction or sit down to a banquet once the time has begun for the *Minḥah Gedolah*, without having previously recited the prayer. Likewise, it is forbidden to begin a minor transaction or partake of an ordinary meal after the time for the *Minḥah Ketannah* (Shab. 1:2; Shab. 9b). It seems that some made it a practice to pray both at *Minḥah Gedolah* and *Minḥah Ketannah*. However, *Asher b. Jehiel ruled that it is forbidden to do so (resp. 4:13). According to the Shulḥan Arukh (OḤ 234), it is permitted to recite the *Minḥah* prayer twice, provided one is recited as an obligatory prayer (*ḥovah*) and the other as a voluntary act (*reshut*). This, however, is only allowed for the extremely pious who are certain that both their prayers will be recited with true devotion. Otherwise, the additional prayer will be considered an unwelcome addition in accordance with the exhortation of Isaiah: "To what purpose is the multitude of your sacrifices unto Me?" (Isa. 1:11). The third meal on the Sabbath (see **Se'udah Shelishit*) is usually eaten between *Minḥah* and *Ma'ariv*. During daily worship, the *Minḥah* prayer in the synagogue is usually delayed until near sunset in order that the congregation may assemble to pray *Ma'ariv* shortly after the *Minḥah* service is completed (see *Magen Avraham* to Sh. Ar., OḤ 233:1).

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[Aaron Rothkoff]

MINIS, family of original settlers of Savannah, Georgia. ABRAHAM MINIS (1694?–1757) arrived in Savannah with his wife ABIGAIL (1701–1794), two daughters, LEAH and ESTHER, and brother SIMON in 1733. Four sons and three daughters were born in Savannah. When fear of Florida's Spaniards drove Sephardi Jews from Georgia by 1741, only the Minis and Sheftall families, Ashkenazi in origin, remained. After trying farming unsuccessfully, Abraham began trading and shipping, and soon became an official supplier for General Oglethorpe. Upon Abraham's death, his widow Abigail, aided by her sons, continued his import business, and expanded their land holdings in Georgia to more than 2,500 acres. At the outbreak of the revolution, PHILIP MINIS (1734–1789), Abraham's only surviving son, was made acting paymaster and commissary general for Georgia, subsequently advancing $11,000 of his own funds to Virginia and North Carolina troops in Georgia. In 1779 he and Levi Sheftall guided Count d'Estaing and General Franklin in their unsuccessful attempt to recapture Savannah. The entire Minis family moved to Charleston, but Abigail secured agreement from the royal governor not to confiscate her property, and when the British left Savannah the family returned. Upon the reorganization of Savannah's Congregation Mikveh Israel in 1786, Philip was elected president. The following year he became a warden of the city, holding both posts until his death.

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[Malcolm H. Stern]

MINKIN, JACOB SAMUEL (1885–1962), U.S. Conservative rabbi and author. Minkin was born in Russian Poland and received his education in Prague. He immigrated to the United States in 1904, earned a B.A. from Columbia University in 1908, and was ordained at the *Jewish Theological Seminary in 1910, where he earned his D.H.L. in 1935. Minkin's first pulpit was with Congregation Anshe Shalom in Hamilton, Ontario, Canada (1910–17), where he organized Jewish education classes and an evening school teaching English to Jewish immigrants. The program was so successful that the city's Board of Education adopted the school and appointed Minkin superintendent of Hamilton night schools. In 1919, he was appointed rabbi of Temple Beth El in Rochester, New York, a newly established Reform congregation that Minkin led into the Conservative movement. In 1922, he began writing a syndicated column, *News of the Jewish World*, which appeared in more than 50 newspapers for eight years. In 1929, he became rabbi of Inwood Hebrew Congregation in New York City (1929–33), before leaving the congregational rabbinate to devote more time to scholarly research and writing. He took a part-time position as Jewish chaplain of Fordham Hospital in New York, where he remained for 25 years. Minkin wrote biographies of outstanding Jewish men of the ancient and medieval worlds, a study of the contribution of Jewish thought to modern philosophy, and one of the first books in English on the history and founders of the Ḥasidic movement. His works include *The Romance of Hassidism* (1935); *Herod: A Biography* (1936); *Abarbanel and the Expulsion of the Jews from Spain* (1938); *The World of Moses Maimonides* (1957); posthumously, *The Shaping of the Modern Mind: The Life and Thought of the Great Jewish Philosophers* (1963); and *Gabriel da Costa* (1969).

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[Bezalel Gordon (2nd ed)]

MINKOFF, NAHUM BARUCH (1893–1958), Yiddish poet, critic, literary historian. Born in Warsaw, he immigrated to the U.S. in 1914 and graduated from New York University's Law School in 1921. But instead of practicing law, he taught at Jewish schools, the Jewish Teachers' Seminary, the New School for Social Research, and edited the Yiddish literary monthly *Tsukunft*. Together with the poets A. *Glantz-Leyeles and Jacob *Glatstein, he issued the first manifesto of the *In-Zikh group, emphasizing modernism, cosmopolitanism, and individualism. In his five collections of poetry published between 1924 and 1952, Minkoff tried to analyze emotions and moods intellectually. He succeeded in his poems on the Holocaust, *Baym Rand* ("At the Edge," 1945). As a trained musician, he had an impeccable ear for tonal effects and for verse melodies. His critical essays and studies in literary history strengthened his position in Yiddish literature. He wrote studies of Elijah *Levita (1950), *Glueckel of Hameln (1952), and a monumental work in three volumes, *Pionern fun Yidisher Poezye in Amerike* ("Pioneers of Yiddish Poetry in America," 1956). Regarding literary criticism as a scientific discipline, he attempted an intellectual, objective evaluation and classification of writers and their works – an approach which had found embodiment in his earlier works of criticism in the books *Yidishe Klasiker Poetn* ("Yiddish Classic Poets," 1939), *Zeks Yidishe Kritiker* ("Six Yiddish Critics," 1954), and *Literarishe Vegn* ("Literary Ways," 1955).

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[Shlomo Bickel]

MINKOWSKI, EUGÈNE (1885–1972), French existentialist psychiatrist. Eugène Minkowski, born in St. Petersburg, studied medicine and was appointed psychiatrist at the Henri Rousselle Hospital in Paris from 1925. He had already come under the influence of the Zurich school of psychiatry led by Eugen Bleuler, which included Ludwig Binswanger the existentialist psychiatrist whom he met in 1922. In 1921 he wrote an analysis of Bleuler's conception of schizophrenia, "*La schizophrénie et la notion de la maladie mentale*." This was a precursor of his book, *La Schizophrénie* (1927), in which Minkowski maintained that insanity was nothing more than an exaggeration of the individual's habitual character. The influence of Henri *Bergson is seen in his belief that the patient's impetus toward integration with reality was reduced and he existed in a world of his own. In the case of the schizophrenic, the dynamic functions of mental life were impaired and contact with reality lost. From Edmund *Husserl, he took his views on "phenomenology" as the study of immediate experiences in a living and concrete fashion of reality. Minkowski's existentialist views are in evidence generally in his writings. In *Les notions de distance vecue et d'ampleur de la vie* (*Journal de Psychologie*, 1930), he stated that the patient affirms his relation to a "becoming" around himself in which relationship he is able to grow and which contains all the vital dynamics of the human personality. In 1933 he published *Le Temps Vécu* and in 1936, *Vers une Cosmologie*. His many shorter works appeared regularly each year from 1921, except for the war years, in various medical journals. He served on the executive of the French *ORT and was honorary president of the world *OSE union. His wife FRANCOISE MINKOWSKI, a psychologist, carried out clinical work with the Rorschach test in the area of epilepsy, the typology of personality, and the rapport or detachment of the schizophrenic. In her book *Le Rorschach* (1956), she developed the Rorschach test as a clinical instrument analyzing specific dynamic factors rather than providing only a diagnosis. Her study of Van Gogh, *Van Gogh, sa vie, sa maladie et son oeuvre* (1963), confirmed her findings that the sensory type lives in the abstract and her work on childrens' drawings is set out in *De van Gogh et Seurat aux dessins d'enfants*. MIECZYSLAW MINKOWSKI (1884–1972), Swiss neurologist and brother of Eugene, was a research worker in the Pavlov Physiological Laboratory in St. Petersburg from 1907 to 1908 and worked in a neuropsychiatric clinic in Berlin from 1909 to 1911. In 1928 he became a professor of neurology at Zurich University and the president of the Swiss Neurological Society (1943–46). He wrote a number of neurological research papers beginning in 1925 with "Zum gegenwaertigen Stand der Lehre von den Reflexen." His work on the foetus included "Prenatal neuropathologic changes leading to neurological or mental disturbances" and his integrative views are expressed in "Neurobiologie, Moral und Religion" (1963). He was the president of the Swiss friends of the Hebrew University, Jerusalem from 1932 to 1947.

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[Louis Miller]

MINKOWSKI, HERMANN (1864–1909), German mathematician. Minkowski, who was born in Alexoten, Lithuania, was taken to Koenigsberg, Germany, by his parents when he was eight years old. He held chairs of mathematics at Koenigsberg in 1895, Zurich in 1896, and in Goettingen (where a special chair was created for him) in 1902. In 1881 the Paris Academy of Science offered their prize for an investigation of the representation of integers as sums of squares. Although only a freshman, he produced a brilliant paper which went far beyond his terms of reference. The Academy overlooked his writing in German, a language not permitted by the prize regulations, and awarded him a prize. Minkowski's early work was on the theory of numbers. Apart from some work of *Eisenstein and others, Minkowski is entitled to nearly all the credit for creating the geometry of numbers. He was one of the earliest mathematicians to realize the significance of *Cantor's theory of sets at a time when this theory was not appreciated by most mathematicians. The later work of Minkowski was inspired by *Einstein's special theory of relativity which was first published in 1905. He produced the four-dimensional formulation of relativity which has given rise to the term "Minkowski space." He also made contributions to the theories of electrodynamics and hydrodynamics. The collected works of Minkowski were edited by D. Hilbert in two volumes and published in 1911 in Leipzig. The first volume contains a biographical article by Hilbert. In addition to his papers, he published the book *Diophantische Approximationen* (1907).

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[Barry Spain]

MINKOWSKI, PINCHAS ("**Pinie**"; 1859–1924), Russian cantor and composer. He was born in Belaya Tserkov, Ukraine, where his father was the town cantor. Minkowski received his basic training from his father, and joined the choir of Nissan

*Spivak ("Belzer") in Kishinev. At the age of 18, he was appointed Spivak's successor and three years later became chief cantor of the Choral Synagogue ("Chor-Schul") in Kishinev. After further study in Vienna, he sang in Kherson, Lemberg, and Odessa, and spent three years at the Kahal Adas Yeshurun Synagogue in New York, but was recalled to Odessa in 1892 as chief cantor of the Brody Synagogue, an office he held for 30 years. Minkowski had a tenor voice of natural sweetness though lacking in power. He avoided extraneous effects such as word repetition, falsetto, and needless coloraturas. A prominent member of the intellectual group which flourished in Odessa, headed by *Bialik, he lectured at the Jewish Conservatory, was chairman of the Ha-Zamir ("The Nightingale") musical society, and published many articles on *ḥazzanut* and Jewish music, in Hebrew, Yiddish, and German. After the Russian Revolution he left for the United States, where he continued to sing and lecture.

Many of Minkowski's compositions remained in manuscript and are preserved, with his papers, in the Jewish National and University Library, Jerusalem. His setting of Bialik's poem *Shabbat ha-Malkah* ("Sabbath the Queen"), to a chorale-like melody, became a much-loved song for Friday evening in Israel and in many communities and synagogues abroad.

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[Joshua Leib Ne'eman]

MINNEAPOLIS-ST. PAUL. The Twin Cities of Minneapolis and St. Paul in *Minnesota consist of a metropolitan area of 2.7 million inhabitants, well over half of the state's population. Although settled earlier, St. Paul was smaller, which is reflected in the fact that St. Paul's Jewish population in 2004 was estimated to be almost 11,000, while Minneapolis' was a bit over 29,000. The cities are arranged like beads on a necklace, with the Mississippi River running through both. Settled at different times, the towns have different personalities: St. Paul is sometimes compared to Boston, while Minneapolis is a brash prairie town. St. Paul developed as a river port and later as a wholesaling center, while Minneapolis gained ascendancy as a railroad center as well as for its role in lumber and grain milling. They even differ in ethnic makeup: St. Paul has a high proportion of Irish Catholics while Minneapolis' is Scandinavian. The cities' Jewish development also took different trajectories. Today the cities' industrial drivers are high technology, manufacture of scientific instruments and products, industrial machinery, printing, publishing, and food product processing.

St. Paul

Jews were among the earliest settlers in the city, which was incorporated in 1849. By 1856 there were enough Jews to establish Mount Zion Hebrew Congregation. Despite internal rancor, the congregation endured and hired their first rabbi in 1871. The congregation moved toward Reform during his stay, evidenced by the fact that in 1871 the women's auxiliary suggested purchasing an organ. Members were both American-born and of German origin who became wholesale and retail merchants. Some took part in civic affairs as well: Jacob J. Noah, son of Mordecai Manuel Noah, was appointed clerk of the Dakota County District Court and elected as the first clerk of the state Supreme Court in 1857. Isaac Cardozo was appointed a deputy of the United States District Court in 1858. He was among the founders of Mount Zion and the first president of B'nai B'rith in Minnesota. St. Paul Jews from German-speaking lands also felt a kinship with the growing German population of the city, joining their singing societies and social clubs.

After the Civil War, Jewish migration from Eastern Europe began. The first group arrived with both funds and skills but with different modes of worship. They established Sons of Jacob, incorporated in 1875, but often lived in the same neighborhood as the German Jews. The year 1882 began with the arrival by train of some 200 desperate refugees fleeing from the Russian Empire, who overwhelmed the resources of the Mount Zion Congregation. The city of St. Paul helped feed, clothe, and shelter them, and even the Archbishop of St. Paul and Minneapolis donated funds for their welfare. The population grew chiefly through chain migration as those newly settled sent back funds for their relatives. It was augmented through select migration through Galveston and aided by efforts of B'nai Brith members to find jobs for them. They found jobs as peddlers, craftsmen, shopkeepers, and tailors.

Immigrants settled in two neighborhoods near downtown, the West Side and Capitol City areas. Each had numerous Orthodox synagogues, European-style *Talmud Torahs*, and Socialist clubhouses, and each had a settlement house. In both cases, the houses were either founded or supported by women who were members of Mount Zion. St. Paul German Jews, in general, practiced benevolence at arm's length. Beginning in the 1910s, movement to middle class neighborhoods occurred. Here within a four block radius could be found a Jewish Community Center, a modern *Talmud Torah*, and the Reform and Conservative synagogues (Temple of Aaron, the city's first Conservative synagogue, was founded in 1912). A nearby commercial street supported kosher butcher shops and other ethnic commerce.

Although antisemitism was certainly not unknown, particularly in the 1920s and 1930s, St. Paul's large Catholic community has generally accommodated Jewish participation in civic affairs. Housing restrictions and employment discrimination were not as severe as in Minneapolis.

The city's Jewish population did not truly unite until World War II. It settled about 400 Displaced Persons after the war. Movement toward the western section of the city began in the 1940s and toward suburbs south of the Mississippi River in the 1960s. Voluntarism was strong during this era: St. Paul Section of National Council of Jewish Women (NCJW) 1964 project at McKinley School served as a model for the Headstart program. Russian-speaking immigrants began arriving in the 1970s and were well looked after by the community. During the 1960s, the Lubavitchers established a synagogue and later a day school. They also maintain Bais Chanah, established in 1971, which draws women from all over the world. The community founded a Jewish day school in 1982. Beth Jacob, a newer Conservative synagogue, was founded in 1985. Norman Coleman was the mayor of St. Paul before his election to the Senate.

Minneapolis

Minneapolis's Jews did not establish a synagogue until 1878 although the city was incorporated in 1866. Shaarei Tov (later Temple Israel) was founded by German Jews who lived south of the downtown area near a chain of lakes. They evinced Reform practices as early as the 1880s. Although south Minneapolis had a Romanian Jewish neighborhood until the early 1950s, Eastern European Jews tended to settle on the north side of downtown. The area housed Jews from the 1880s through the 1950s. Interestingly, the same area contained public housing near the downtown section, built in the 1930s and one quarter of which was reserved for Jews, as well as mansions near the opposite end bordering the city limits. Jews of every economic stratum mixed in the public schools, *Talmud Torah*, and in neighborhood businesses.

The city's civic structure was tightly controlled by a group who had arrived from New England and who developed the city's industries, particularly that of flour milling. They were not hospitable to sharing power with the enormous Scandinavian population and certainly not with Jews. A few women of intellect were spared this treatment: Nina Morais Cohen, daughter of Rabbi Sabato Morais and wife of attorney Emanuel Cohen, was a founding member of the Women's City Club. She also founded the Minneapolis chapter of NCJW in 1894 and educated a cadre of women, even those of Eastern European origin.

It may be a result of this exclusion, or the long-term effects of a community unifier such as Rabbi Samuel Deinard, Lithuanian-born rabbi of Temple Israel, who attended services at Orthodox synagogues on the second day of Jewish holidays and preached in Yiddish, but the German and Eastern European Jews of Minneapolis coalesced more rapidly and created a strong infrastructure with the full panoply of Jewish institutions

Chief among these was the community-sponsored Minneapolis Talmud Torah, founded in 1894 and renowned for its early embrace of teaching *Ivrit be-Ivrit* and the number of students who became rabbis. Beth El (Conservative) Synagogue, founded in 1921 is also an offshoot of the Talmud Torah. The community also supported an orphanage for the temporary placement of children in need, a community center, Zionist and Socialist meeting halls, numerous synagogues, loan societies, and a Hachnosses Orchim. An Orthodox day school was founded in 1944 and a non-denominational day school in the 1980s. A number of these institutions were beneficiaries of the Minneapolis Jewish Federation, founded in 1930 and representing all persuasions within the community.

Synagogues were established as well. Kenesseth Israel, founded in 1891 was the first Orthodox place of worship, and Adath Jeshurun became the first Conservative one in 1907. The city had at least seven other Orthodox synagogues.

It took a massive exposé in 1946 by journalist Cary McWilliams called, "Minneapolis: The Curious Twin" to call attention to the fact that while St. Paul Jews felt they were full civic participants, Minneapolis Jews endured many sorts of discrimination. Entire neighborhoods were "off limits" to Jewish home ownership; the city's major businesses did not hire Jews; organizations such as the Minneapolis Automobile and the Minneapolis Athletic Clubs, the Elks, Rotary, and Lions Clubs excluded Jews. Even the city's hospitals denied admitting privileges to Jewish physicians. One result was the building of Mount Sinai Hospital, which opened its doors in 1951. The election of Hubert Humphrey in 1945 and the formation of the Mayor's Council on Human Relations did effect a change when ordinances to ensure civil rights and discourage housing and job discrimination were passed.

The Jewish community settled about 800 Displaced Persons after World War II. It was always hospitable to Zionism, and a number of Minneapolitans settled on Kibbutz Kefar Blum. The city has the distinction of being home to two national presidents of the National Council of Jewish Women. Fanny Brin served from 1932 to 1938 and throughout her life devoted herself to world disarmament issues. Viola Hymes was president during the early 1960s and also served on the President's Commission on the Status of Women.

The movement to the suburbs began earlier than in St. Paul. During the 1950s young families began purchasing homes in nearby St. Louis Park. Synagogues and a Jewish Community Center soon followed. The torching of North Side businesses during the late 1960s hastened Jewish flight. Since that time, Jews have continued to move both north and west of the city. Two new Reform congregations have also been founded, while the Lubavitch sect also gained adherents. The community has resettled between 4,000 and 6,000 Jews from the Former Soviet Union (FSU), who in 2004 made up 17 per cent of the Jewish population.

While the Jewish community is still vibrant, the 2004 Jewish population study found some worrisome features centered on integration of members of the FSU and intermarried couples.

Although the rivalry between the cities has abated, they still have separate Federation structures and accompanying beneficiary agencies, a mystery to outsiders. They jointly support institutions such as a middle school, Hillel on the University of Minnesota campus, the Jewish Community Relations Council, and the Jewish Historical Society of the Upper Midwest. Rudy *Boschwitz was a U.S. senator and later an ambassador. He was defeated in the 1990 and 1996 Senate races by another Jew, Paul *Wellstone, who died in 2002 in a plane crash as he was running for reelection.

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[Linda M. Schloff (2nd ed.)]

MINNESOTA, U.S. state in the north central tier with about 4.9 million inhabitants of which the Jewish population is roughly 42,000. (The 2004 Twin Cities' Jewish Population Study found 10,900 Jews in St. Paul and 29,100 in Minneapolis. It is estimated that about 1,000 Jews live in outstate towns, chiefly Duluth and Rochester). While they make up less than 1% of the state's population, Jews comprise about 1.7% of the Twin Cities metropolitan area.

While isolated Jewish fur traders were not rare, the first Jewish community was established in St. Paul, the northernmost steamboat landing on the Mississippi. They found little prejudice in a frontier town and by 1856 formed Mount Zion Hebrew Congregation. Minneapolis just upriver did not grow until the advent of the railroad system. Its pioneer synagogue, Shaarei Tov (later Temple Israel), was not founded until 1878.

These Jewish pioneers arrived from the eastern and southern United States and from Germanic lands with some capital. They became clothing and dry goods merchants, fur traders and cigar makers. Some took part in civic affairs. Impoverished Eastern Europeans arrived beginning in 1882. The population grew chiefly through chain migration as those newly settled sent back funds for their relatives. It was augmented through select migration through Galveston. The newly arrived worked as craftsmen and on railroads, they peddled, collected scrap metal, and sewed in factories. Jews tended not to be employed in the giant state industries, such as lumber, flour milling, and iron mining.

Jews filtered into market towns, such as Austin, Albert Lea, and Mankato, serving as clothing and dry goods purveyors, hide and fur merchants, and scrap metal dealers. After iron ore was discovered nearby, Duluth's Jewish population soared, reaching a peak of about 4,000. This discovery provided the impetus for Duluth's Jews to move inland to newly created towns, such as Virginia, Hibbing, Chisholm, and Eveleth, where they became merchants. Each town once supported a synagogue between about 1905 and the 1950s. The most famous Iron Ranger is undoubtedly Bob Dylan (Robert Zimmerman), who was born and raised in Hibbing. Rochester, renowned for its Mayo Clinic, also has maintained a synagogue. Its population is more transient due to the high proportion of physicians in training at the Mayo Clinic. The state had a peak Jewish population of about 44,000 in 1937. While there has been migration to Sun Cities, it received a modest influx of displaced persons after World War II and a large number of Jews from the Former Soviet Union (FSU). In 2004, this group comprised 17% of the Twin Cities' Jewish population.

By the 1930s, Minneapolis, St. Paul, and Duluth all had established Federations, which supported social service, educational, and defense institutions. Religious institutions and social clubs flourished as well, and Herzl Camp with its Zionist orientation attracted Jewish youth from all over the Upper Midwest. The weekly *American Jewish World*, established in 1912, is still published.

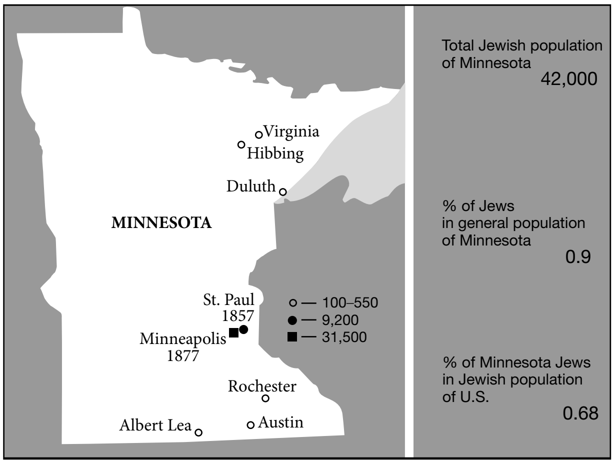
Total Jewish population of Minnesota
42,000
% of Jews in general population of Minnesota
0.9
% of Minnesota Jews in Jewish population of U.S.
0.68
Virginia
Hibbing
Duluth
MINNESOTA
St. Paul 1857
Minneapolis 1877
○ — 100–550
● — 9,200
■ — 31,500
Rochester
Albert Lea
Austin

Jewish communities in Minnesota and dates of establishment. Population figures for 2001.

The gubernatorial election of 1938 between Harold Stassen and Elmer Benson used vicious antisemitic cartoons to vilify several of Benson's Jewish supporters. The Minnesota Jewish Council (now called the Jewish Community Relations Council) was created soon after to counter organized antisemitism. The situation changed dramatically after Hubert Humphrey was elected mayor of Minneapolis in 1945 and instituted reforms that were repeated at the state level. Since then, Jews have actively engaged in running for political office. In 1961, Arthur Naftalin was elected mayor of Minneapolis. St. Paul elected Larry Cohen mayor in 1972, a position that hitherto was an Irish Catholic stronghold. Rudy *Boschwitz, elected in 1978, was the state's first Jewish senator. Ironically, he was defeated by another Jew, Paul *Wellstone, in 1990 in a race in which the Jewish identity of Wellstone, who was married to a non-Jewish woman became an issue. The tactic (a nasty letter campaign) backfired against Boschwitz, and Wellstone went to the Senate. Wellstone triumphed over Boschwitz a second time in 1996. Norm Coleman won in 2002 over the successor to Wellstone, who had died during the campaign. So in a state where Jews make up less than 1% of the population, Jewish candidates for U.S. Senate faced each other three times in a dozen years.

Today, the Minnesota Jewish community can be characterized as generally prosperous with great population stability, and a high level of support for communal institutions. The University of Minnesota has a Center for Jewish Studies. The Jay Phillips Center for Jewish-Christian Learning at the University of St. Thomas and St. John's College promote interfaith understanding. The Jewish Historical Society of the Upper Midwest interprets the region's Jewish history for Jews and non-Jews alike.

Nevertheless, there are major challenges such as integrating the Jews from the FSU into the general Jewish community and devising ways of embracing the intermarried and their children. Only by inculcating both with a sense of allegiance to Jewish communal institutions will the Minnesota Jewish community remain healthy in the 21st century.

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[Linda M. Schloff (2nd ed.)]

MINNITH (Heb. מִנִּית), one of the farthest limits of the area in which Jephthah smote the Ammonites (Judg. 11:33). The wheat of Minnith was traded in exchange for goods from Tyre (Ezek. 27:17). Eusebius (Onom. 132:2) locates the place at the fourth Roman mile on the road from Heshbon to Philadelphia (Rabbath-Ammon). It has accordingly been placed at Khirbat el-Ḥanūttiyya in the fertile Heshbon plain, 6 mi. (c. 9½ km.) north-northeast of Ḥisbān. The earlier identification with Umm al-Ḥanāfish has generally been abandoned.

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[Michael Avi-Yonah]

MINOR, OSIP S. (**Joseph**; 1861–1932), Russian revolutionary and a leader of the Social Revolutionary Party. Born in Minsk, he was the son of Rabbi S.Z. *Minor. While still a student at the University of Moscow, he joined the "People's Will" (Narodnaya Volya) Society. In 1883 he was arrested for the first time, and in 1887 he was exiled to Siberia. After participating in a rebellion of exiles in Yakutsk, he was sentenced to forced labor for life (1889). Freed in 1896, he was banned from living in European Russia. In 1900 he nevertheless returned to Russia and settled in Vilna. He resumed his revolutionary activities, traveled abroad, and was one of the organizers of the Social Revolutionary Party. In 1909 he was again arrested as a result of the intervention of the czarist agent Y.F. *Azeff and was sentenced to ten years' forced labor. He was freed at the time of the Revolution of 1917 and was briefly mayor of Moscow. Minor left Russia in 1919 after the Bolshevik victory and settled in France, where he became chairman of the Society for Assistance to Exiles and Political Prisoners in Russia. He died in Paris. His book *Eto bylo davno* ("It Was Long Ago") appeared posthumously in 1933.

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[Yehuda Slutsky]

MINOR, SOLOMON ZALMAN (**Zalkind**; 1826–1900), writer and scholar, one of the pioneers of the Russian-Jewish intelligentsia. As a youth, he entered the newly opened government rabbinical seminary in Vilna and was one of its first two graduates – he was later a Talmud teacher in the seminary. Through the efforts of the *maskilim* he was elected **Kazyonny ravvin* ("government-appointed rabbi") of the Minsk community in 1859. There he opened a Saturday school and a public library. One of the first to preach in Russian in the synagogue, he became well known for his sermons, which were published in book form and served as models for other rabbis ("The Voice of Happiness," 1862, and "Speeches," 1895). Minor was active in the promotion of the *Haskalah in Minsk, and in 1869 he was invited to serve as rabbi in Moscow. In the early 1890s, when the Jews of Moscow were persecuted, he interceded with the authorities on behalf of his community and was consequently expelled from Moscow on the order of the governor of the city, the Grand Duke Sergei. He then returned to Vilna and continued his literary activity there. Minor published many articles in the Russian-Jewish and the Hebrew press, for the most part under the name "Remez." He conducted a debate with antisemites (including the priest *Lutostansky) and was a friend of Tolstoy and directed his studies in Hebrew and the Bible. He was one of the first Jewish scholars to work in the field of the history of Russian Jewry. His son LAZAR (ELIEZER) MINOR was a professor of nervous diseases and another son, Osip *Minor, was a leader of the Social Revolutionary Party.

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[Yehuda Slutsky]

MINORCA, Mediterranean island of the Balearic group. The earliest information about the Jews on the island dates from 418 C.E. when Severus, the bishop of Minorca, reports on the victory of Christianity in the island. The agitation he fomented led to the destruction of the synagogue. Many Jews, especially the women, died for their faith: a few succeeded in hiding in the forests and caves. According to Severus he gained 540 Jews for Christianity. While it existed, the community was organized as a national group under the leadership of a "defensor": the last, Theodore, acted as *archisynagogos. There is no information available on the Jews during the Byzantine and Muslim rule. When Minorca was reconquered by the Christians during the reign of James I of Aragon, he received help from the Jews to equip the expedition. Most of the later history of the Jews of Minorca is closely connected with that of their coreligionists in *Majorca. In 1319 King Sancho I declared that they and the Jews of the nearby island of Ibiza were to be included in all the levies imposed upon them by the communal leaders of Majorca. The Jews shared the sufferings of the general population when Minorca was almost depleted of its inhabitants during the *Black Death (1348). After the disorders which swept Spain in 1391, there were apparently no Jews on the island. Nevertheless, a number of Judaizers in Minorca were sentenced by the Inquisition of Majorca which maintained a commission at Mahón. A small Jewish community existed again in Minorca during the temporary English occupation in the 18th century (1720–56; 1762–81).

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[Haim Beinart]

MINORITY BLOC (1922–30), political alliance of representatives of the national minorities in Poland created with the aim of obtaining representation in the Sejm corresponding to their numbers in the population – up to 40%. The Bloc was formed in 1922 in reaction to the election regulations issued under the pressure of the extreme nationalist bloc led by the clergymen Lutoslawski, which sought to present to the world an artificial image of a monolithic national state. In the mapping of the constituencies there was blatant discrimination between the Polish ethnographic region and the mixed regions, as well as the intentional addition of rural and urban units to the disadvantage of scattered minorities such as the Jews and the Germans. The common objective of assuring their national rights enabled the parties to overcome the wide differences which prevailed among the various ethnic sections and to establish a countrywide bloc. Its initiator was the German Hasbach, and its executor and organizer was the Zionist leader Yiẓḥak *Gruenbaum. The Ukrainians of Galicia boycotted the elections because in theory they did not yet recognize the Polish government; the Zionists of Galicia therefore presented their own national list. On the other hand, in Congress Poland and in the Belorussian border regions ("Kresy") the overwhelming majority of the Jewish public, with the exception of the *Folkspartei, the *Bund, and the *Po'alei Zion, supported the Bloc. The Poles regarded this union as a hostile act because they suspected its partners of irredentist tendencies and anti-national aims. The elections brought an impressive victory for the Minority Bloc, which won 66 seats, including 17 Jewish ones. The drastic defeat of the Polish lists was most evident in the mixed border regions. In eastern Galicia 15 Jewish representatives were elected as a result of the Ukrainians' abstention and in western Galicia two, so that the "Jewish club" consisted of 34 seats in the Sejm and 12 in the Senate. During the parliamentary term of 1922–27 only loose links were maintained between the minority "clubs," because the policy of all the Polish factions was to achieve the dissolution of the Bloc either by fomenting disunion within its ranks or by promising to fulfill specific demands. In 1923 Premier Sikorski, who headed the Leftist coalition, attempted to win over the Ukrainians and the Belorussians, while in 1925 the *Grabski government endeavored to attract the Jews by means of an "agreement" which became known as the *Ugoda. In 1926 Marshal Pilsudski came to power in the wake of the May coup d'état. The new regime adopted the slogan of "moral improvement" (*sanacja*) and attempted to form a wide public front for constructive purposes. However, the hopes which had been aroused among the national minorities rapidly melted away when the weakening of parliamentary government became apparent and the promises to fulfill national aspirations in culture and education did not materialize. With the approach of the elections of March 1928 a second Minority Bloc was organized. On this occasion it was joined by the Ukrainians of Galicia, and their representative, Dmitri Levitsky, became the active colleague of Gruenbaum and Hasbach. In the meantime, however, conditions had changed. A split, arising out of social differences, had occurred within the minorities. This prevented the affiliation of the Radicals, and the Bloc thus became an association of political parties instead of whole national groupings. The representation of the Jews was also reduced as a result of the departure of all the Galician Zionists, who formed their own national list, and the pro-government bloc consisting of Agudat Israel, the Folkspartei, and a faction of the organization of merchants and craftsmen. In addition to this there were Orthodox and assimilationist Jewish circles that preferred to vote directly for the government list. These differences were responsible for a sharp decrease in the number of Jewish representatives: seven in the Minority Bloc; and six in the National List of Galicia. The other lists did not obtain a single seat.

After the third Sejm was unexpectedly dissolved by the president before the end of its term, new elections were held in 1930 in an atmosphere of growing political suppression. Internal frictions rendered the establishment of a countrywide Zionist list impossible. Among the Ukrainians radical nationalistic feelings were expressed in the thesis that since they constituted a majority in their regions, it was not in their interest to maintain a union with scattered minority groups. The Zionists of Congress Poland under the leadership of Gruenbaum joined forces in six regions with the German minority of central and western Poland – a substitute for the former comprehensive Minority Bloc. The economic businessmen list of Agudat Israel, the Folkspartei, and the merchants also increased their strength. The government employed harsh measures against the candidates of the reduced Minority Bloc, who did not secure more than two seats. The Zionists of Galicia only succeeded in obtaining four seats. Thus ended the attempt to unite the minorities in a common political campaign, and in the relations between the Jews and the other minority groups there were increasing differences, estrangement, and even hostility as a result of the economic and political suffocation of the masses.

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[Moshe Landau]

MINORITY RIGHTS, rights enjoyed by Jews and other ethnic minorities between the two world wars in some countries, mainly eastern and southeastern Europe, according to the provisions of the minorities treaties at the Versailles Peace Conference, 1919. In all the other states the treatment of minority nationals was regarded as an internal matter, subject only to the state's own laws and not to international law. In those states which were bound, between the two world wars, by the minorities treaties, Jews and other minority nationals were guaranteed certain minimal rights, and the *League of Nations created a machinery for supervising their implementation. These were rights granted in addition to civil, political, and religious freedoms. Whereas the *French Revolution and *Napoleon brought *emancipation of the individual in parts of Europe as an equal citizen of the state, the minority rights expanded the concept of equality to include ethnic and cultural distinctions within the territory of the state. These national rights differed from medieval *autonomy in that the latter presupposed a society that is subdivided into corporations, each of which lives according to its own distinct law. The minority rights, on the other hand, posited an egalitarian society, where the individual enjoyed individual rights plus his rights as a person belonging to an ethnic or religious minority. The proponents of the idea gave it widely differing interpretations. Minority rights tended to embrace largely secular, as opposed to religious, elements; therefore the terms cultural, national, ethnic, or linguistic are interchangeable with the term minority.

Development of the Idea

The idea originated at the beginning of the 20th century in the multi-national states of Eastern Europe where it was impossible to carve out territorial units to accommodate particular ethnic groups. Karl Renner, an Austrian socialist, published in 1902 his *Der Kampf der oesterreichischen Nationen um den Staat* in which he developed the proposition that national affiliation was primarily a personal and not a territorial matter. He therefore advocated that the state represent a federation of nationalities, without separation of state and nationality, similar to the separation of Church and state. Since the Jews represented an extraterritorial minority *par excellence* the idea that they constitute a distinct nationality and are therefore entitled to a special national existence appealed very strongly to East European Jewish intellectuals. Chaim *Zhitlowsky and Simon *Dubnow in Russia, and Nathan *Birnbaum in Austria, attracted at first only a small group of intellectuals to their ideas of national autonomy. Zhitlowsky, an émigré socialist revolutionary, sought to synthesize socialism with nationalism as early as 1883. He demanded for Jews "national equal rights with all peoples" and asserted that only through the Yiddish language could the social and national revival of the Jewish people be effected. He maintained that one could remain identified with the Jewish nationality even if abandoning the Jewish religion. He urged the Jewish masses to participate in the class struggle as a national unit. Alone among the cosmopolitan Jewish socialists he favored national socialism.

In 1897 he began publishing philosophical studies in Jewish history and a comprehensive program of action which later appeared in book form as *Pisma o starom i novom yevreystvie* ("Letters on Old and Modern Judaism," 1907). His main thesis was that national consciousness consists mainly of spiritual-cultural determinants and that these national characteristics can be maintained by the Jews in the future in the lands of their dispersion, just as they have survived the lack of territory or unity of language since the end of the second commonwealth. After emancipation of the individual the Jews as a group should be granted national self-government within the framework of the state along with other national minorities. His secularization of the national idea as opposed to those who saw the essence of Judaism in religion, and his optimistic view of the future of Judaism in the Diaspora, were the main underpinnings of his insistence on national cultural autonomy.

Popular Movement

These meager beginnings in academic speculation turned into a powerful popular movement during the 1905 revolution in Russia (1904–07), petered out from 1907 to 1914, and then gained in volume in both east and west during World War I. A number of middle-class parties and socialists tended toward "*assimilation"; i.e. they sought only civil and political rights, and shied away from nationalist identification. Before long, however, *autonomism developed into a mighty stream; most Jewish parties adopted Diaspora nationalist plans in their platforms. The League for Equal Rights for Jews, consisting of middle-class liberals and Zionists, met illegally in 1905 and declared in favor of "civil, political, and national rights… the freedom of national-cultural self-determination… a comprehensive *kehillah* autonomy, freedom of language and of school education." This was adopted despite the wishes of the top leadership which was anti-nationalistic. The Zionists, too, at their conference in *Helsingfors, Finland, in 1906, demanded "the recognition of the Jewish nationality with the right of self-government in all affairs of Jewish life." This was achieved although large segments of political Zionists clung to the doctrine that creative Jewish living was possible in Palestine only. In 1918 the Zionist headquarters issued the "Copenhagen Manifesto," which demanded a national home in Palestine, and in all other countries full equality of rights, including "national autonomy, cultural, social, and political, for the Jewish population of countries largely settled by Jews, as well as of all other countries whose Jewish population demands it"; and admission into the "League of Free Nations."

The followers of Dubnow's Diaspora nationalism formed the *Folkspartei (People's Party) in 1906, only to remain a mere handful. The *Bund in Russia, Poland, and Lithuania was organized in 1897. Though it initially had made the class struggle paramount in its program, it soon became a major protagonist of autonomism, with especial emphasis on Yiddish as the national language. The proletarian Zionist groups, the *Jewish Socialist Workers' Party (Sejmists), the *Jewish Social Democratic Party, *Po'alei Zion, and the *Zionist Socialist Workers' Party, more or less hesitantly, also came around to demand national self-determination. Similar agitation took place in Austrian Jewry and to a lesser extent in the Ottoman Empire and the United States. Thus in the space of less than two decades national autonomy grew from a mere theory into a mass movement. During World War I activity was transferred to the west. In the United States, after several years of numerous meetings, the *American Jewish Congress was organized in 1918 to present the Jewish case for Palestine and minority rights for the Jews of Europe at the Peace Conference. They adopted a "Jewish Bill of Rights" to be presented to the conference. In addition to guarantees of equal civil, political, religious, and national rights, it proposed autonomous management of communal institutions by minorities, respect for the languages of ethnic groups, and no discrimination against Sabbath observance. Whereas in the U.S. a modicum of accommodations was arrived at between the nationalists and the members of the non-nationalist *American Jewish Committee, no such rapprochement was achieved in England or France.

At the Peace Conference

At the Versailles Conference the Jews assumed leadership in the struggle for minority rights. Delegations and petitions from Jews in many countries began to arrive in Paris. Immediately an attempt was made to form a united front, and a Committee of Jewish Delegations (*Comité des Délégations Juives) was formed. Most of the erstwhile opponents bowed to the desires of the East European Jews who were directly concerned. The French and British delegations, who refused to join the Committee of Jewish Delegations, agreed not to oppose actively the efforts of the majority to attain national rights.

Minority Treaties

After prolonged and stubborn negotiations that lasted in some cases until 1923, minorities treaties were signed by the newly created states of Poland, Czechoslovakia, Romania, Yugoslavia, and Greece; and by the defeated states of Austria, Hungary, Bulgaria, and Turkey; declarations of willingness to abide by minority stipulations were secured from Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Albania, and several other localities. Iraq made its Minorities Declaration when it became independent in 1932. The Polish Minority Treaty became the model for all the rest. It had 12 articles. Some of them dealt with the basic civil, political, and religious rights of minorities. The specific rights of minority nations were dealt with in detail. Polish nationals were to have the free use "of any language in private intercourse, in commerce, in religion, in the press, or in publications of any kind, or at public meetings." Minority nationals were guaranteed "the use of their own language, either orally or in writing, before the courts." They were also authorized "to establish and control, at their own expense, charitable, educational, religious and social institutions, with the right to use their own language and to exercise their religion freely therein." Minorities were guaranteed the right to establish schools in their own language, and to obtain an equitable share of public funds for their "educational, religious, and charitable purposes." Finally, in view of the special position of the Jews in Poland, who were not concentrated in any one area in compact masses but were diffused over the entire country, and in view of Polish antisemitism, two special "Jewish articles" were inserted to safeguard their unique position. Article 10 read:

> Educational Committees appointed locally by the Jewish communities of Poland will, subject to the general control of the State, provide for the distribution of the proportional share of public funds allocated to Jewish schools in accordance with article 9, and for the organization and management of these schools.

Article 11 provided that: "Jews shall not be compelled to perform any act which constitutes a violation of their Sabbath," with specific reference to attendance at courts of law, and elections or registration for electoral or other purposes. Other articles dealt with enforcement. The minority obligations must be recognized as fundamental law of the country. Infractions were to be supervised by the League of Nations, and member-states of the League Council were entitled to appeal to a world court. Some of the other countries resolutely resisted the minorities provisions, but were forced to sign them. The "Jewish articles" were omitted in some treaties. There was general satisfaction among Jews with the provisions of the Minorities Treaties. Some were jubilant over the new era that had dawned to enable them to live their own lives and to develop their own culture.

Implementation of Treaty Provisions

The minorities system represented a remarkable experiment in international control that lasted some 20 years. With all its faults, substantive and procedural, it could have developed into a major force for minority protection. However, it crumbled along with the League of Nations that sponsored it. The system helped prevent serious disturbances by providing minorities an outlet in the international provisions for resolving grievances and by serving as a brake on oppressive chauvinism. In most minority states there were provisions for national education, and protection against undesirable assimilation, and some of them experimented, on their own initiative, in autonomous minority institutions on a considerable scale. The main weakness lay in the refusal of minority states to act on their international pledges in good faith. Some of the substantive provisions of the Minority Treaties lacked precision. The procedure in hearing complaints was faulty. The League itself did not pursue recalcitrant states with proper vigor. Only the Permanent Court of International Justice at The Hague tried valiantly, in two cases brought before it, to preserve decency and public order. All this was to no avail. In 1934 the world was stunned by the declaration of Col. Józef Beck (Polish minister of foreign affairs) renouncing minority obligations. The whole structure toppled along with the League of Nations. World War II put an abrupt end to the experiment.

Treatment of Jews by Countries

The Jews had been most instrumental in the promulgation of minority rights. They set out full of hope for a new deal. They were the ones to be most disappointed. Unlike other minorities they did not constitute a threat to the state by irredentist or restoration dreams. Except for three cases, they did not resort to petitioning Geneva on their grievances, as did other minorities; they feared antagonizing their governments. Only Estonia excelled in granting its minorities, including the Jews, complete autonomy. A chair of Jewish studies was established there at the University of Dorpat (*Tartu).

LATVIA. Although Latvia by a law of 1921 narrowed the grant of rights, including minority rights, to those who could prove residence over a period of 20 years, it provided liberal allowances for minority schools until 1934. The Education Law of 1919 provided for compulsory education in the language of the family. Central and local authorities were to establish such schools and to bear the necessary expense. Such a class was to be established if at least 30 pupils were enrolled. The minority section of the ministry of education had a Jewish division, its head nominated by the Jews, subject to the approval of the Council of Ministers. The Jewish educational system thrived. This autonomy, however, was limited to schools; Latvia never enacted laws regarding cultural, religious, and welfare organizations of minorities. In 1934, with the abolition of the democratic regime, school autonomy was virtually nullified by a new law which provided that paid officials of the state administer minorities school systems, that a child be instructed in his family's language provided he could express his thoughts in that language, and that state and local subventions to minority education not exceed their ratio in the population.

LITHUANIA. In Lithuania, too, there was at first a great surge of hope when the constitution in 1922 granted to minorities autonomy and the right to levy taxes. Autonomous Jewish communities, already recognized by law in 1920, were allowed to administer their own cultural, welfare, social, and educational affairs. These communities were united into a national council with a minister of state for Jewish affairs who could levy taxes for Jewish needs and exercised some authority in school affairs. The schools were under the ministry of education. The national and municipal authorities were charged with subventing the Jewish schools. They were entitled to employ Yiddish in government offices. All this exuberant activity in national self-determination came to a halt after only two years. In 1924 both the Jewish national council and the ministry of Jewish affairs were abolished. The following year the local communal organizations were disbanded. Only a modicum of school autonomy remained.

POLAND AND OTHER COUNTRIES. In Poland antisemitism was rampant, especially in the economic sphere. Almost all Polish parties obstinately opposed the granting of equal minority treatment for Jews. The government did not open public schools in Hebrew or Yiddish. The school system established by the Jews themselves was subsidized very grudgingly and in diminishing manner. Jewish religious communities were permitted to deal with cultural and social matters and to organize a council of all congregations. Such a council, however, never convened. Most odious was the limitation of the numbers of Jewish students at state universities by a **numerus clausus*. Despite all these restrictions and an endemic poverty, the Jews of Poland succeeded in maintaining a vibrant cultural life and a thriving network of schools in both Yiddish and Hebrew. In Romania the government disclaimed antisemitic tendencies, yet tolerated the most virulent attacks by Jew-baiting parties. The Romanian language was forced upon Jewish children in schools; the religious sensibilities of Jewish students were violated. In the higher schools of learning a tacit *numerus clausus* prevailed. Yugoslavia respected the rights of its Jewish minority. Apart from Nazi Germany, Hungary was the only state which introduced a *numerus clausus* for Jews not only in practice but by official legislation.

In Turkey the right not to appear in court or to transact legal business on their holidays was vouchsafed the Jews. The autonomy enjoyed by Jews for many centuries was gradually narrowed by the new nationalist regime. Turkish was made the language of instruction in schools. Schools could be directed only by Turkish nationals. In 1926 Turkey renounced its minority obligations. The office of the **ḥakham bashi*, the chief rabbi, was abolished and with it the unified organization of the Jewish communities. Iraq granted to religious congregations the right to form schools in the language of their members. Jewish and Armenian minorities were granted certain autonomous rights.

IN SOVIET RUSSIA. Due to unsettled conditions in Russia during the period of the Peace Conference no arrangements were made there for minorities protection. The country itself, however, experienced inordinate agitation for minority rights during the revolutions of 1917. Again the Jews were most active. Hundreds of meetings and conferences were held as if to celebrate the new-found freedom. On April 3, 1917, Alexander Kerensky, head of the Provisional Government, published a decree removing all restrictions based on "religion, sect, or nationality." All Jewish parties, middle-class or proletarian, gradually united on the question of autonomy. At the end of July 1917 a preliminary conference agreed upon a platform for a Russian Jewish congress to be convened soon. It proposed an elaboration of "the fundamentals of Jewish self-government in Russia; the determination of legal guarantees for the Jewish national minority," as well as the communal organization of Russian Jewry, and the civil and national rights of the Jews in Poland, Palestine, and Romania. The congress never took place due to the seizure of power by the Bolsheviks. On

Nov. 15, 1917, the new Soviet government issued the Declaration of the Rights of Peoples which proclaimed the principle of national self-determination, even to the point of secession. In the Ukraine the Jews were the leading spirits in a flurry of legislative plans designed to establish national-personal autonomy as a fundamental law. On Jan. 9, 1918, the Ukrainian parliament enacted into law a detailed set of articles prepared by the Jewish secretariat. It all came to naught, however, in the political turmoil that ensued with the occupation of the Ukraine by the Germans. It fell to Soviet Russia to launch an experiment in autonomy for minorities on a vast scale. The Soviet government departed from the personal principle of minority rights, namely, that they would apply to all members of a particular nationality throughout the country, and proclaimed, instead, the rights of territorial nationalities. A soviet or a region with a national majority could enjoy cultural autonomy. Since the Jews were scattered all over the country in the large cities, this privilege did not apply to them. Only in hamlets and villages or certain regions where they constituted a majority did they enjoy linguistic, judicial, and educational self-rule. Jews had 67 courts of their own where the official language was Yiddish. In the late 1930s they had five autonomous regions in the Ukraine and the Crimea and 224 local Jewish soviets. In 1931, 160,000 pupils attended Yiddish schools. The high point of this policy was reached in 1927 when *Birobidzhan, a territory in eastern Siberia, was proclaimed a Jewish autonomous region inviting Jewish settlers. None of these efforts, however, were directed at the perpetuation of Jewish identity. On the contrary, the stated purpose of the Soviet government and of the *yevsektsiya (the Jewish sections of the ruling Communist Party) was to eradicate Judaism in favor of atheism and Communism. The Yiddish courts aimed at weaning the Jews away from their accustomed rabbinic courts. The schools proscribed all religious and traditional Jewish content. They declined rapidly before World War II and were not reopened after the war. In the last years of the Stalin era all vestiges of Jewish national life were cruelly obliterated.

In the Western world the demand for minority rights was seldom heard. There the Jews were satisfied with civil rights and the freedom to foster their own religion and culture.

After World War II

In the *United Nations, which after World War II succeeded the League of Nations, no minority rights provisions survived. Instead, emphasis was put on human rights, concerning all men, including members of the majority nation. In 1966 an International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights was drawn up, which in its 27th paragraph stipulates that "in those States in which ethnic, religious, or linguistic minorities exist, persons belonging to such minorities shall not be denied the right, in community with the other members of their group, to enjoy their own culture, to profess and practice their own religion, or to use their own language." This provision is binding on member-states of the UN which sign and ratify the Covenant.

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[Isaac Levitats]

MINOR PROPHETS, a collection of the books of 12 prophets: *Hosea, *Joel, *Amos, *Obadiah, *Jonah, *Micah, *Nahum, *Habbakuk, *Zephaniah, *Haggai, *Zechariah, and *Malachi. This collection counts as a single book (the last) of the second division – the Prophets (Heb. *Nevi'im*) – of the Palestinian Canon. In the Alexandrian Canon (according to the Septuagint), Minor Prophets, again as a single book, occurs in the fourth and last division, that of prophecy, and is the first of the ten books enumerated there, but the order of the first six of the 12 is there Hosea, Amos, Micah, Joel, Obadiah, and Jonah. The designation "Minor Prophets" alternates with the title "The Twelve" as the designation of this collection, the latter being the native Jewish one (Heb. שנים עשר; Aram. תרי עשר, BB 14b) and that of the Septuagint (*Dodekapropheton*), while the former seems to be rooted in the Latin designation of the Vulgate (*Prophetae Minores*). The adjective "minor" in the title "Minor Prophets" does not reflect upon the relative importance of the 12 prophets in comparison to Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel, but rather upon their much smaller size. This is implied by the observation about Hosea in *Bava Batra* 14b. The order of the prophets within the anthology is based on a combination of Midrash, the chronological understanding current at the time of compilation, and certain word associations. For example, Hosea is first because his book opens (1:2): "When God first spoke to Hosea" (cf. BB 14b). Amos is placed third after the Book of Joel because of the occurrence of two very similar verses, one at the end of Joel (4:16) and the second at the beginning of Amos (1:2). Finally, the last three books, Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi, were put at the very end of the anthology because they were thought to be the only prophets of the 12 who belonged chronologically to the Second Temple period. The Minor Prophets could not have been compiled as an anthology any earlier than the fourth century B.C.E., the probable date of the Book of Jonah, the latest of the 12 books. Its compilation can be no later than the time of Ben Sira (c. 180 B.C.E.), however, since the latter, in praising the Israelite heroes in chronological order, mentions all the other prophets by name, each one in his own age, while the Minor Prophets are grouped together namelessly as "the twelve prophets" (Ecclus. 44–49).

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[Chayim Cohen]

MINOR TRACTATES. In addition to the 63 regular tractates of the Mishnah and Talmud, there are appended at the end of the fourth order, **Nezikin*, 14 smaller or minor tractates which were first published together in their present format in the Romm-Vilna edition (1886). These tractates contain a wealth of legal and aggadic material. In manuscript and published form, these uncanonical treatises may also be found under different titles, arrangements, and order. Their appellation as minor or smaller tractates does not necessarily refer to their size, but rather to the fact that they were not canonized. **Avot de-Rabbi Nathan* for instance, consists of 41 chapters. **Soferim, Semaḥot* (*Evel Rabbati*), and *Kallah Rabbati* are also of considerable length. The other main tractates are **Kallah, *Derekh Ereẓ Rabbah*, and *Derekh Ereẓ Zuta*. For additional details see the articles on the individual tractates. Also included in this section, however, are seven more brief treaties which were compiled to give in a methodological form the rules of topics which were not dealt with in specific tractates of the Talmud. These are *Gerim*, about proselytes; *Kutim*, about Samaritans; *Avadim*, about Hebrew slaves; *Sefer Torah*, on the writing of a Torah scroll; *Tefillin*, on the precept of **tefillin*; *Ẓiẓit*, on the fringes (**ẓiẓit*); and *Mezuzah*, on the **mezuzah*; and it is sometimes only to them that the term minor tractates applies (see *Shem ha-Gedolim*, II, 161 and cf. Eccles. R. 5:8, 2). The time when these works were compiled remains uncertain. Some scholars assign them to the end of the geonic period, but recent scholarship favors a much earlier date. M. Higger, in the introduction to his critical edition of these seven minor tractates, judges them to be the "first post-mishnaic compendia regulating specific Jewish practices and usages." His opinion is that "most of the Minor Tractates are Palestinian in origin, but were later modified or elaborated in Babylonia." Thus it may be that the original composition of these codes was already completed by 400 C.E. Since they were of Palestinian origin, they were not included in the final redaction of the Babylonian Talmud.

The first medieval scholar to clearly cite one of these brief codes is *Naḥmanides. In his *Torat ha-Adam Inyan ha-Hoẓa'ah* (*Kitvei Rabbenu Moshe b. Naḥman*, ed. by C.D. Chavel, 2 (1964), 100) and in his *Milḥemet ha-Shem* to Alfasi (Alfasi; MK 16a), he cites the passage in *Ẓiẓit* which discusses whether the fringes in the *tallit* in which the deceased is buried should be untied. Menahem b. Solomon *Meiri likewise makes reference to this same passage in *Ẓiẓit* (*Beit ha-Beḥirah al Massekhet Berakhot*, ed. by S. Dikman (1965^2), 61b). A similar passage, to be found in *Semaḥot* (ch. 12), is twice cited by *tosafot* (Pes. 40b and Av. Zar. 65b). Although a substantial portion of these tractates consists of material already in the Talmud, they occasionally contain items which are not found elsewhere, such as the above-cited text from *Ẓiẓit*. Another example of such new material is the concept that the main shortcoming of the Samaritans was that they denied the centrality of Jerusalem. *Kutim* concludes with the statement that when the Samaritans renounce Mount Gerizim and acknowledge Jerusalem and the resurrection of the dead, they will be accepted as Jews.

Gerim

Gerim consists of four chapters:

(1) the preliminary procedure for receiving proselytes is detailed;

(2) regulations are set forth regarding the circumcision, ritual bath, and sacrifice, of converts;

(3) the *ger toshav* is defined by Meir as one who has merely renounced idolatry, although according to Judah he is one who will only eat the meat of ritually slaughtered animals;

(4) Jews are exhorted to maintain a friendly attitude toward proselytes.

Kutim

Kutim regulates the relationship between *Samaritans, Jews, and gentiles, in two chapters:

(1) sales to and intermarriage with Samaritans are prohibited since they desecrate holy objects, but it is permitted to lend them money;

(2) buying meat, wine, cheese, and bread from the Samaritans is discussed.

Avadim

Avadim contains three chapters:

(1) the validity of the regulations concerning Hebrew slaves is limited to the period when the *Jubilee is observed, and the purchase and manumission of bondmen is detailed;

(2) the relationship between the master and his slave, the slave's family's obligation to redeem him, and his status after redemption are discussed;

(3) the details of the ceremony prescribed for a slave who does not wish to go free, and the acquiring of freedom by a slave when he is sold to a non-Jew or outside of Palestine are given.

Sefer Torah

Sefer Torah has five chapters:

(1) details of the writing material that may be utilized are given;

(2) the blank spaces that must be left between sections of the scroll are explained;

(3) laws for the reading and respect of the Torah are given;

(4) the names of God and the interdiction against erasing them are explained;

(5) the method for writing God's names is laid down.

These five chapters are almost identical with the first five chapters of *Soferim*.

Tefillin

Tefillin contains only one chapter, and it gives the rules for writing the biblical passages on the parchment of the *tefillin*, the manner and time of wearing them, and those persons who are obligated to wear them.

Ẓiẓit

Ẓiẓit consists of only one chapter which details the regulations of the fringes (Num. 15:38–40; Deut. 22:12). It discusses such topics as the persons who are obligated to obey this law, the garments which are exempt, the number of threads in each fringe, and the manner of dyeing the blue thread that is part of the fringes.

Mezuzah

Mezuzah has two chapters:

(1) details are given of the parchment to be used and the types of doorposts that require a *mezuzah*;

(2) the exact spot for the *mezuzah*, its case, and differences in regulations for houses within and outside of Palestine are discussed.

In the Romm edition of the Talmud, only *Gerim* has a detailed commentary, titled *Naḥalat Ya'akov*, by R. Jacob Neuberg of Offenbach. His commentary on the first five chapters of *Soferim* also serves as a commentary to *Sefer Torah*. More recent commentaries to these tractates were published by Samuel I. Hillman of London and R. Ḥayyim Kanievsky of Bene-Berak (1963–65). These seven tractates have been twice translated into English. Michael Higger published his edited text and translation in 1930. In 1965, the Soncino Press issued a new English translation.

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[Aaron Rothkoff]

MINOW, NEWTON NORMAN (1926–), U.S. lawyer and public official. Born in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, Minow served in the U.S. Army in 1944–46. He graduated from Northwestern Law School and was admitted to the Wisconsin and the Illinois Bar in 1950. He served as law clerk to U.S. Supreme Chief Justice Fred M. Vinson (1951–52), and as administrative assistant to Governor Adlai Stevenson of Illinois (1952–53). He was a member of Stevenson's campaign staff during the latter's two attempts for the presidency (1952 and 1956), and was also a partner in two Stevenson law firms (1955–57 and 1957–61). In 1961 President John F. Kennedy appointed Minow chairman of the Federal Communications Commission. Minow caused a furor within the television industry soon after becoming chairman by describing most of its programming as a "vast wasteland." His conception that the FCC should oversee the networks and protect the public interest brought industry charges of government censorship and interference, but resulted in congressional legislation to assist educational television, the passage of the Communications Satellite Bill (1962), and an attempt to vary and enlarge the area of television programming by enabling new channels to operate on the ultra-high frequency band. Under his direction, the FCC also attempted to supervise television and radio advertising closely. Although he served in that position for only two years, it was estimated that during that time, Minow and his ideas received more news coverage than any other federal official besides the president.

Minow resigned from the agency in 1963 to become executive vice president and general counsel to the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (1963–65). He then became a partner in the communications law firm Sidley and Austin (1965–91), after which he took on the Of Counsel role. Minow took to teaching as well, serving from 1987 as professor of communications policy and law in the Annenberg Program of Northwestern University.

Active in Jewish affairs, Minow was a member of B'nai B'rith; a director of the Chicago chapter of the American Jewish Committee; and chair of the board of overseers of the Jewish Theological Seminary. He wrote *Equal Time: The Private Broadcasters and the Public Interest* (1964); *Presidential Television* (with J. Martin and L. Mitchell, 1973); *For Great Debates* (1987); *How Vast the Wasteland Now* (1995); and *Abandoned in the Wasteland* (with C. Lamay, 1995).

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[Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

MINSK, capital of Belarus; in *Poland-Lithuania from the beginning of the 14th century until 1793; under czarist rule, the most important commercial center of Belorussia from the 15th century. Jews first leased the customs duties of Minsk in 1489, and after the expulsion of Jews from Lithuania in 1495 they started to settle in Minsk. In 1579 King Stephen Báthory granted the Jews of Minsk a charter, but in 1606 King Sigismund III prohibited Jews from opening shops there or engaging in commerce. In 1623 the community of Minsk was under the jurisdiction of Brest-Litovsk, but in 1631 the Lithuanian Land Council granted it a special regional status, which included the Russian hinterland. In 1633 King Ladislaus IV confirmed these rights and permitted the Jews of Minsk to acquire real estate on the market square or anywhere else, and to buy land for a new cemetery. During the *Chmielnicki revolt and the Russian-Polish War which followed it, the Jews of Minsk were among those who suffered. In 1679 King John III Sobieski confirmed their right to the ownership of houses and shops, their synagogue and cemetery, and restated their freedom to engage in commerce and crafts and their exemption from all jurisdiction excepting that of the king. These rights were confirmed in their entirety by King Augustus II in 1722. Hence the community of Minsk prospered during the 17th and 18th centuries in spite of the opposition of the townspeople. In 1766, 1,322 Jewish poll tax payers were registered in Minsk. Jews were prominent in the town's commercial life and at the fairs of nearby *Mir and Kapulia (see *Market Days and Fairs). The spiritual life of the community was also enriched. In 1685 a yeshivah was established by the local rabbi, Moses Mordecai. Among the rabbis and *rashei yeshivah* of Minsk during the 18th century were Jehiel b. Solomon *Heilprin, Aryeh Leib b. Asher *Gunzberg, and Raphael *Cohen.

During the 19th century, Minsk was one of the largest and most important communities in Russia. In 1847 the Jewish population numbered 12,976, rising to 47,562 (52.3% of the total population) in 1897, which made Minsk the fourth largest community in the *Pale of Settlement. Jewish life in the first half of the 19th century is reflected in the community records, which were published with a Russian translation by Jacob *Brafman. *Mitnaggedim* were influential in Minsk, and Ḥasidism was relatively weak. There were several yeshivot in the town, the largest of which was known as "Blumke's Kloyz." At the end of the 19th century Jeroham Judah Leib *Perelmann, who was known as "the *gadol* [the great scholar] of Minsk," officiated there as rabbi. A circle of *maskilim* also existed in the town, and in the 1840s several Jewish schools which included secular subjects in their curricula were opened there. Minsk was one of the places where the Jewish labor movement originated and developed. In the mid-1870s circles of Jewish Socialists were organized, which were very active during the 1880s and 1890s. The years 1893–94 also saw the birth of the "national opposition" to them, led by A. *Liessin. In 1895 a convention of Jewish Socialists was held in Minsk, which discussed the projected establishment of a Jewish Socialist Federation. The Jewish Socialists of Minsk sent delegates to the founding convention of the *Bund in 1897, and Minsk became one of the centers of the Bund's activities, being the first seat of the movement's central committee until 1898, when it was dispersed by the police. From 1901 to 1903, Minsk likewise became the center of the activities of the *Independent Jewish Workers' Party. Jews were predominant in the demonstrations and revolutionary meetings held in the town in 1905 and were also the principal victims of the riots directed against liberal elements in general which took place in October 1905. Groups of Ḥovevei Zion (see *Ḥibbat Zion) were first organized in Minsk in the early 1880s. In 1882 the Kibbutz Niddeḥei Israel association was founded there, and in 1890 the Agudat ha-Elef. Later, Zionism became very influential. In 1902, with the authorization of the government, the Second Convention of Russian Zionists was held in Minsk. In the communal elections of 1918, the Zionists and *Po'alei Zion won 33 seats, the Orthodox 25 seats, the Bund 17 seats, the nonaffiliated six seats, and the *Folkspartei and the *United Jewish Socialists Workers' Party two seats each.

After the establishment of the Soviet regime, Jewish communal and religious life was silenced at Minsk as elsewhere in the Soviet Union. The suppressed religious and national institutions were replaced by institutions of Jewish culture based on the Yiddish language and Communist ideology, and Minsk became an important center of Jewish-Communist cultural activity in the Soviet Union. Yiddish schools were established, and at the Institute of Belorussian Culture, founded in 1924, a Jewish section was organized. It published several scientific works, including *Tsaytshrift* (5 vols., 1926–31) devoted to Jewish history, literature, and folklore. A Jewish department was also established (1921) within the faculty of education of the University of Minsk. These institutions, however, were closed down in the mid-1930s. Various newspapers, periodicals, and other publications in Yiddish were issued in the town. These included the daily newspaper *Der Shtern* (1918–21), *Der Veker* (1917–25; until 1921 the organ of the Bund), *Oktyabr* (1925–41), and the literary monthly *Shtern* (1925–41). In 1926 the Belorussian Jewish State Theater was opened, presenting performances until June 1941. In 1926 there were 53,686 Jews in Minsk (40.8% of the population), increasing to 70,998 by 1939 (29.7% of the total population).

Hebrew Printing

In 1808 Simḥah Zimel set up in Minsk a Hebrew printing press which he had brought from *Grodno. Up to 1823, he had printed at least 12 books, mostly liturgical. Another press was established in 1820 by Gerson Blaustein, who by 1837 had also printed 12 books, again mostly liturgical, though including one volume of Hebrew poetry by M. *Letteris (1832). In the 20th century a Hebrew press once more operated in Minsk, printing books and newspapers mainly for local use. After the Russian Revolution, the studies in the history of Russian Jewry and Yiddish literature which were published in Yiddish by the Jewish section of the Institute of Belorussian Culture were printed in Minsk.

The Minsk Province

In czarist Russia, the province of Minsk was one of the "western" provinces of the Pale of Settlement. In 1797 its *gubernator* presented Czar Paul I with the resolutions of the meetings of the province noblemen, who alleged that the Jews were responsible for the sorry plight of the peasants of the province and for the famine which then raged. This statement was the forerunner of the program to expel the Jews from the villages, which later took the form of the "Jewish Statute" of 1804 (see *Russia). In 1847 there were 37 Jewish *kahal* administrations, in which 87,633 Jews were registered. In 1897 the Jews of the province numbered 345,015 (16% of its population); 37.5% of them lived in the towns, the same number in the townlets, and 25% in the villages. The largest communities of the province (with the exception of Minsk itself) were then *Pinsk (21,065 Jews), *Bobruisk (20,759), *Slutsk (10,264), *Borisov (7,722), *Mozyr (5,631), *Rechitsa (5,334), *Novogrudok (5,015), *Nesvizh (4,687), and Shchedrin (4,002); 41.5% of the province's Jews earned their livelihood in crafts and as hired labor, and 28.9% from commerce. About 21,000 Jews (6.1% of all those in the province) depended on agriculture, and over 6,000 of them lived in the mostly small Jewish agricultural settlements. In Minsk oblast there were 70,713 Jews (13.1% of the total population) in 1926; in the Minsk oblast as it had been organized in 1938 (with the exception of the town of Minsk itself), there were 9,054 Jews (0.61% of the population) in 1959.

[Yehuda Slutsky]

Holocaust Period

Some 100,000 inhabitants were left in the city when the German forces entered on June 28. The population rose to 150,000 as the front line moved farther east, and tens of thousands who had fled and had been overtaken by the speed of the German advance, turned back. About one-third of these were local Jews. Their number was increased by refugees from as far west as *Bialystok, as well as by survivors of mass executions carried out by the *Einsatzkommandos* (mobile killing squads) in the vicinity, so that another 30,000 Jews were added. Later, about 23,500 German, Austrian, and Czech Jews were deported to Minsk, and settled in a separate ghetto, so that despite the fact that a large number of Minsk Jews had been murdered before the establishment of the ghetto, at least 85,000 Jews were confined in it. Their choice of Minsk as a site for a large Jewish slave labor camp was dictated by military needs and the geographical position of the city in the rear of two German army groups advancing on Leningrad and Moscow.

Immediately following the occupation of Minsk, the German city commandant ordered all males between the ages of 15 and 45 to report for registration under the penalty of death. About 40,000 reported and, in a field at Drozdy outside Minsk, were segregated in three sections: Jews, Red Army men, and non-Jewish civilians. On the fifth day the non-Jewish civilians were released. All Jewish members of the intelligentsia were ordered to step forward; the several thousand who did so were marched off to the nearby woods and machine-gunned. The remaining Jews were moved to Minsk prison and released on Aug. 20, 1941. On the same day the city commandant issued an ordinance for the establishment of a ghetto in a suburb consisting mostly of wooden cottages, and ordered every Jew to wear the yellow badge. All Jews had to be inside the ghetto by July 25, but the Judenrat managed to delay the date until the middle of August by means of bribes. As there were no Jewish communal organizations to provide the Germans with officials to carry out their orders, a group of Jews was arrested. One of them, Ilya Mushkin, who knew a little German, was appointed head of a Judenrat and ordered to select the other officials.

Once inside the ghetto, the Jews were terrorized by nightly murders and kidnappings carried out by the Germans and their local henchmen. On the nights of August 14, 25, and 31, thousands were taken away and only a few appeared in the dreaded "labor" camp on Shirokaya Street, where in addition to Jews the Germans held non-Jewish Red Army men. On Nov. 7, 1941, 12,000 Jews were seized and taken to Tuchinka, where they were machine-gunned at the side of the newly dug pits. Some of the emptied streets were used to house 1,500 German Jews, most of them from *Hamburg. By means of barbed wire fences, the ghetto was henceforth divided into three sections: the main ghetto for "unskilled" Jews; a section for "skilled" workers and Judenrat employees, including the ghetto police; and a section housing the German, Austrian, and Czech Jews. On Nov. 20, 1941, 5,000 people were removed to Tuchinka, where they were murdered. Some of the emptied streets were used to house 6,500 Jews brought from Germany, Austria, and Czechoslovakia.

At the end of February 1942, the *Gestapo asked the Judenrat to turn over 5,000 Jews not employed in Wehrmacht enterprises. The resistance leaders ordered Serebryanskiy, the chief of the ghetto police and a member of the resistance organization, to use his trustworthy policemen to warn the Jews of the impending massacre and tell them to hide. On March 1 the Germans ordered the Judenrat to dig a pit in Ratomskaya Street, an unpaved ravine in the center of the ghetto. On the following morning, after the columns of workers had left the ghetto, Nazi officials arrived and demanded the 5,000 victims. Informed that the Judenrat had been unable to collect them, the Germans began a hunt for their victims. Dr. Chernis, the woman in charge of the ghetto orphanage, and Fleysher, the supervisor, were ordered to bring their charges in front of the Judenrat building. Unaware of what awaited their children, they led them, dressed and washed, and carrying the youngest in their arms, toward the building, but when they arrived in Ratomskaya Street, they were all thrown into the pit and buried alive. When the columns of workers returned at night, several thousand were taken to *Koidanovo and murdered there. Others were forced to join the people rounded up inside the ghetto and butchered in the Ratomskaya Street ravine.

Shortly after the March 2 massacre, the Germans discovered the existence of the underground organization in the "Aryan" part of Minsk in which several Jews, such as R.M. Bromberg and M.P. Malkevich, had played a prominent role, and its connection with a similar organization inside the ghetto. On the night of March 31, 1942, the Gestapo raided the ghetto and arrested several resistance leaders, but failed to capture the head of the resistance, Hersh *Smolar. The raid was followed by nightly massacres directed against relatives and neighbors of runaways, in an attempt to discourage Jews from fleeing to the forests to join the partisans. On July 28, 1942, after the labor columns left the ghetto, the Germans and their local collaborators invaded the ghetto and for three days murdered and tortured the inhabitants. Some 10,000 were murdered, including 3,500 German, Austrian, and Czech Jews, most of whom were old people, women, and children. Nine thousand Jews still survived. On Feb. 1, 1943, 1,500 Jews were rounded up and shot over open pits at Maly Trostenets. The number of survivors was systematically reduced by the shooting of smaller groups of men and the gassing of women and children in vans during the summer. To speed up the total annihilation, a transport of some 2,000 people, including a group of Jewish Red Army men held in the Shirokaya Street camp, was sent to *Sobibor on Sept. 18, 1943. This transport included Lt. Alexander *Pecherski and Shelomo Lejtman, the latter a Jewish Communist from Poland, who together led the revolt in the death camp on Oct. 14, 1943. On September 22, Generalkommissar Kube was killed by a bomb placed by his Belorussian maid, E.G. Mazanik. The assassination was organized by David Keymakh, the political commissar of the detachment commanded by G.M. Linkov, who as "Uncle Batya" became one of the most successful Soviet partisan leaders. This event speeded up the final liquidation of the ghetto, which took place on Oct. 21, 1943.

Resistance

The resistance record of the Jews imprisoned in Minsk ghetto is unique. One Sunday in 1941, within days of finding themselves inside the ghetto, a group of local Jews and Jewish Communists from Poland met and decided that it was the duty of the Minsk Jews to take an active part in the war against the German invaders. They rejected the possibility of armed resistance inside the ghetto and decided to devote all their efforts to effecting the escape of the largest possible number of Jews into the forests in order to become partisans. Four resistance groups arose in the "Aryan" part of the city in August and September 1941. However, it was only after the November 7 massacre that Hersh Smolar, the Polish-born leader of the Jewish resistance, met Isai Pavlovich Kozinets, known as Slavek, the leader of one of the four groups, who subsequently became the leader of the entire underground movement in Minsk. It was only in 1969 that it became known that Kozinets was a Jew born at Genichesk on the Azov Sea and that his first name was Joshua. A petroleum engineer by profession, Kozinets had been in charge of the installations in Bialystok at the outbreak of the war. The underground organization inside the ghetto then became an integral part of the city underground and was known as the "Ernst Thaelmann district," in recognition of the part played by the ghetto inhabitants in the struggle against the Nazis. The Judenrat itself, under Mushkin, took orders from the city-underground committee and played a unique part in diverting much of the production from the workshops and factories manned by Jews to the needs of the partisans. The Jewish organization provided the city underground with news of what was happening in the outside world by establishing a radio monitoring station. It also supplied a printing press and printers, while the ghetto hospital provided surgical and other treatment for wounded partisans. Moreover, Jews employed in the factories working for the Wehrmacht set an example to their Belorussian fellow workers in how to sabotage production. In 1942 the ghetto resistance was better organized and more efficient than the city organization, and the Jews, who ran incomparably greater risks than their Russian and Belorussian fellow citizens, contributed greatly in the common fight against the Germans. In return, the Jewish resistance leaders asked their "Aryan" comrades to help them save the maximum number of Jews from slaughter by making possible their escape into the forests to become partisans. As their assistance proved inadequate, the Jews also had to take the initiative in developing the partisan movement. They organized the nuclei of future partisan detachments inside the ghetto, while M. Gebelev and M. Pruslin, two of the Jewish resistance leaders, helped organize similar ten-man teams in the "Aryan" part of the city. Furthermore, when most of the "Aryan" resistance leaders fell into the hands of the Germans in the spring of 1942, Gebelev and other Jews played a decisive role in rebuilding the city organization. Gebelev was actually captured when preparing the escape of a group of Russian prisoners of war to the forests. The first organized group of Jewish partisans left the ghetto in December 1941 to join Captain Sergeyev-Bystrov's detachment, which in time grew into the Stalin Brigade. Many Jews escaped with the help of the railwaymen's resistance group headed by Kuznetsov; they formed a large proportion of the Narodny Mstitel ("People's Avenger") Brigade, which Kuznetsov later commanded. The Jews of Minsk created the 406, Kutuzov, Budyonny, Dzerzhinskiy, Sergei Lazo, and Parkhomenko Detachments, as well as the 106 Family Detachment commanded by Semion Zorin (who immigrated to Israel), which provided protection in the forests for over 600 Jewish women and children. Jews also formed a large percentage of the Frunze Detachment. The Kutuzov Detachment became the nucleus of the Second Minsk Brigade, while the Parkhomenko Detachment, formed mostly by Jews who had been helped to escape from the ghetto by boys and girls ranging in age from 11 to 15, served as the basis of the Chapayev Brigade. Hundreds of Minsk Jews were also active in other brigades. After the liberation about 5,000 Jews returned from the forests.

[Reuben Ainsztein]

Contemporary Jewry

A memorial to the Jewish victims of the Holocaust was erected in Minsk immediately after World War II – the only one in the U.S.S.R. – bearing a Yiddish inscription which explicitly mentions Jewish victims. On Jan. 13, 1948, Solomon *Mikhoels, the chairman of the Jewish *Anti-Fascist Committee and the director of the Jewish State Theater in Moscow, was murdered on Lodochnaya Street in Minsk while visiting the city on an official mission. Later the murder was acknowledged to have been the work of the secret police (on Stalin's orders). In the 1959 census 38,842 Jews were registered in Minsk, 5,716 of whom declared Yiddish to be their mother tongue. However, the population figure was estimated to be in fact between 50,000 and 60,000. The Great Synagogue of Minsk was closed down by the authorities in 1959, and in the same year private religious services were dispersed by the militia. A small synagogue was left, but in 1964 it was destroyed, as the site was earmarked for new apartment buildings. Eventually the Jewish congregation was allowed to open a small synagogue in a wooden house on the outskirts of the city. There is no Jewish cemetery in Minsk, but Jews are buried in a separate section in the general cemetery. Matzah baking was banned for several years, and on March 23, 1964, an article in the local newspaper, *Sovetskaya Belorussiya*, condemned the sending of packages of matzah to Minsk from Jewish communities abroad. Kosher poultry, however, was available. In 1968 several young Jews were arrested for Zionist activity. In the 1990s most Jews left for Israel and the West.

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MINSK CONFERENCE, the second conference of Russian Zionists, held publicly and with the government's permission in Minsk from Sept. 4 to Sept. 10, 1902. The number of representatives was estimated at 526. The Minsk Conference was in essence the "first all-Russian Zionist Congress," an assembly of a national minority in a state that had suppressed national minorities and denied them the right of assembly. Two organized factions were represented at the conference: *Mizrachi with 160 representatives and the *Democratic Fraction with about 60 representatives. The majority of representatives did not align with either group but organized a neutral faction. The main point of contention between Mizrachi and the Democratic Fraction was the cultural question. Mizrachi opposed the Zionist Organization's conducting cultural activities, demanding instead, practical work in Ereẓ Israel by means of the *Jewish National Fund (JNF) and the *Jewish Colonial Trust. Jehiel *Tschlenow was elected chairman. M. *Ussishkin proposed the establishment of a "Zionist Guard" composed of young men whose task would be to deliver public speeches on the Zionist idea, organize schools, write propaganda pamphlets, etc. This call for practical efforts enthused many delegates, especially among the youth. The focal point of the conference was the delivery of reports on cultural activities by N. *Sokolow and *Aḥad Ha-Am. The latter explained his outlook on the close relationship between the movement of national renaissance and cultural work; Sokolow proposed that Hebrew be the official language of the Zionist Organization. Isaac *Reines, the Mizrachi leader, expressed his objections to the Zionist Organization's conducting cultural activities. After a vehement debate, the conference's presidium summoned both Aḥad Ha-Am and Reines to a consultation, in which the latter accepted the proposal to choose two educational committees – a traditional one and a progressive one. This arrangement dissolved the crisis that threatened to split the Russian Zionist Movement. After the conference, there was a marked change for the worse in the government's attitude toward the Jews in general and the Zionist Organization in particular. During Passover 1903 the *Kishinev pogrom took place, and in June of the same year all Zionist activities were totally prohibited in Russia.

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[Israel Klausner]

MINSKI, NIKOLAI MAXIMOVICH (pseudonym of **N.M. Vilenkin**; 1855–1937), Russian poet and essayist. Born in Glubokoye, near Vilna, Minski studied law at St. Petersburg. For a time he was influenced by P. *Smolenskin and the rising Jewish nationalism among young, educated Russian Jews. In 1879–80 he wrote a series of essays, under the pseudonym "Nord-Vest," in which he argued that the Jewish problem in Russia could be solved by the creation of a Jewish farming class which would "cleanse Judaism of its impurities." He also claimed that all Jewish groups were opposed to socialism. Minski later became alienated from Jewish affairs, and before the turn of the century converted to Christianity. In the 1870s he lived in Italy and Paris, where he taught the children of Baron G. Ginzburg. Due to the antisemitism of the journal "Novoye Vremia," he published in *Voskhod* (nr. 1, 2, 1888) the drama in verses "The Siege of Tulchin," where he compared the *Chmielnicki murders with the pogroms of 1881. He published his first poems in 1876. His early poetry, such as *Belyye nochi* ("White Nights," 1879), deals with socialist and folk themes, but his later writing betrays his disillusionment with socialism and an attraction to mysticism and Nietzschean philosophy. During the 1905 Revolution, Minski helped to publish *Novaya zhizn* ("New Life"), the organ of the Bolshevik wing of the Social Democrats. He translated the *Internationale* into Russian, but with the failure of the Revolution he was imprisoned and thereafter he was freed and left Russia and lived in Berlin, London, and Paris. During the 1917 Revolution he wrote anti-Bolshevik articles for the French press. Some of Minski's poetry, which Soviet critics have stigmatized as decadent, appeared in a Hebrew translation by Leah Goldberg (*Yalkut Shirat he-Ammim*, 1 (1942), 5–6). He translated into Russian Homer's *Iliad* and some poems of Yehuda Halevi, Byron, Shelley, and Verlaine.

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[Yitzhak Maor]

MINSK MAZOWIECKI (Pol. **Mińsk Mazowiecki**), town in E. central Poland. Minsk Mazowiecki received urban status in the first half of the 15th century, but Jewish settlement did not develop there until the close of the 18th century. From the beginning, and particularly during the second half, of the 19th century, the number of Jews increased until they were the majority in the town. In 1827 there were 260 Jews in a general population of 770, while by 1864 they numbered 620 (46.3% of the total population). In 1897 there were 3,445 Jews (55.6%). During World War I the number of Jews decreased as a result of migration to Warsaw and other large centers. In 1921 the Jewish population numbered 4,130 (39.3%). During the period between the two world wars the Polish population increased considerably, while the Jewish population grew at a slower rate. On the eve of World War II, 5,845 Jews lived there.

The Jewish community was not at first independent; at the close of the 18th century the rabbi also served the Kaluszyn community. During the 19th century ḥasidic groups such as those of Gur (*Gora Kalwaria) and Parysow gained in strength, and the court of the *ẓaddik* of Minsk Mazowiecki was established by R. Jacob Perlov at the close of the 19th century. After World War I his successor, the *ẓaddik* Alter Israel Simeon, removed his seat to Warsaw. There were eight Jews among the 24 members of the municipal council elected in 1927. The Jewish population's political affiliations may be deduced from the 1931 elections to the community council, which included seven members of *Agudat Israel, four craftsmen, and one member of right *Po'alei Zion. The Jews of Minsk Mazowiecki earned their livelihood principally from small trade and crafts. During the 1930s they aroused the jealousy of the Polish tradesmen and craftsmen, who declared an economic war on them. As a result of this struggle, severe anti-Jewish riots broke out in May 1936, which were fomented by the antisemitic *Endecja party and destroyed the means of livelihood of the Jews. Antisemitic agitation was particularly violent in the town on the eve of World War II.

[Shimshon Leib Kirshenboim]

Holocaust Period

In 1940 about 2,000 Jews from Pabianice, Kalisz, and Lipno were forced to settle in Minsk Mazowiecki. In August 1940 a ghetto was established and on Aug. 21, 1942, the great *aktion* in Minsk Mazowiecki took place when about 1,000 were shot on the spot. Almost all of the rest of the Jewish population was transferred to the *Treblinka death camp and exterminated there. Only two groups of workers in the town were left: one, with about 150 men, was transferred to a camp in the Rudzki factory; and the second, with over 500 men, was placed in a camp in the Kopernik school building. Another several hundred succeeded in fleeing the town. Some of them organized small partisan units which became mixed Jewish-Russian units and operated for some time in the region. On Dec. 24, 1942, the Germans shot 218 workers from the Kopernik camp. On Jan. 10, 1943, this camp was liquidated. On the same day the Jewish prisoners offered armed resistance, during which a few Germans were killed or wounded. On June 5, 1943, the camp in the Rudzki factory was liquidated and all its inmates were shot. No Jewish community in Minsk Mazowiecki was reconstituted.

[Stefan Krakowski]

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MINSKY, LOUIS (1909–1957), U.S. journalist. Born in England, Minsky went to the U.S. in his youth. He became a special writer on religious topics and in 1934 established the Religious News Service as an independent affiliate of the National Conference of Christians and Jews. It was dedicated to providing authoritative and bias-free news about religion and ethics to both the secular and religious press. Minsky remained head of this interfaith press agency, serving daily newspapers, religious periodicals, radio, and television.

Now the oldest secular news agency covering religion and ethics, RNS is owned by Newhouse News Service and its parent, Advance Publications, Inc. Its daily and weekly news wires are syndicated in hundreds of newspapers, reaching more than 20 million readers worldwide. In the past, it covered such stories as the civil rights movement, the persecution of the Jews during World War II, the rise of the evangelical movement, the Vietnam antiwar movement, and the founding of the State of Israel, as well as Pope John Paul II's visit to the Holy Land in 2000. Ever widening its scope, its coverage includes such topics as Islam, Asian religions, New Age, tribal beliefs, gay rights, and sexual harassment.

[Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

MINTCHINE, ABRAHAM (1908–1931), painter. Mintchine was born in Kiev, Russia, where he became apprenticed to a goldsmith. He went to Berlin in 1923 but in the following year went to France and began to exhibit in the Salon des Indépendents. By the time of his premature death, Mintchine had established himself as one of the most gifted of the East European artists who settled in Paris and who constituted the Paris School of Art. He painted still-life, compositions, and landscapes, but the most striking part of his output was a series of superb self-portraits. Early influences of Cubism were soon abandoned for a broader style, closer to German Expressionism, but devoid of *angst* or nervous anxiety. René Gimpel, the distinguished French art dealer, was one of Mintchine's main patrons. He is represented in leading public museums throughout the world, including his native Kiev; his masterpiece, a self-portrait as a harlequin, is in the Tate Gallery, London.

[Charles Samuel Spencer]

MINTMASTERS AND MONEYERS. In the Middle Ages rulers tended to lease the right of minting coins to mintmasters or to grant and sell the right to their territorial vassals, who themselves employed such mintmasters. Jews carried out this prestigious and profitable enterprise mainly either as suppliers of precious metals for minting purposes or as distributors of coins; very rarely were they the actual craftsmen. In general, in the later Middle Ages, the Jewish master of the mint or purveyor was superseded by a Christian.

The Jew *Priscus was probably master of the mint for King Clotaire of the Franks and issued the royal coins at Chalon-sur-Saône around 555 C.E. Some Czech numismatists consider that Omeriz, Mizleta, and Nacub, moneyers for Duke

Boleslav II in Prague toward the end of the tenth century, were Jews. This is also true of Zanta and Noc, who worked at the Vysehrad mint (near Prague). Ladislaus II of Bohemia (1158–73) had a Jewish mintmaster in his province of Lusatia. In the 13th century a cleric complained that the Jews were still lessees of the mint and customs. For much of the 12th and 13th centuries the coinage of some Polish rulers was issued by Jewish mintmasters and often had Hebrew inscriptions on the coins. Boleslav IV (1146–73) used Jews to mint and distribute his currency. Shortly after, Casimir II (1177–94) allowed a Hebrew inscription to appear on state coins. Mieszko III (1173–77, 1195–1202) gave a life grant to the Jews to lease the state mint, and Polish currency in the last two decades of the 12th century was stamped solely in Hebrew. Most of the inscriptions were various dedications to Mieszko. Boleslav of Kujawy and Mieszko the Younger imitated their father. Boleslav permitted his own name to be stamped in Hebrew, while Mieszko the Younger allowed the names of Jewish mintmasters, such as Ben Jacob and Joseph ha-Kohen, to be inscribed; sometimes the names covered the entire face of the coin, as in the case of R. Abraham b. Isaac Nagid. Przemyslav I later continued this practice some 40 years, as did his son Przemyslav II; Menahem, Jacob, and Abraham were mintmasters whose names were stamped on coins.

In later Polish history, Jews continued to be mintmasters, although no Hebrew appeared on their coins. In 1360 the Cracow mint was transferred to *Lewko, an important Jewish financier. Under Sigismund I, between 1509 and 1518, Abraham *Ezofowitz was minister of the exchequer and in charge of minting coins. In 1555 Sigismund II leased the mint in his Lithuanian province of Poland for three years to a Jew in Vilna. He again gave the Vilna concession to the Jews Felix and *Borodavka in 1560. Because of their prominence in the fields of money changing, moneylending, and finance, Jews participated in minting activities in Poland almost without interruption from the early stages of the kingdom until its partition. From the 17th century, the Councils of the Lands, both in Poland and Lithuania, showed much concern and great reservation about coin minting and the coin trade.

Jews leased mints in Christian Spain as early as the 11th century. Bonnom (Shem Tov) made gold coins under the authority of Count Ramón Berenguer I of Barcelona. In 1066 the count's son sold the right to mint coinage to a syndicate which included David b. Jacob ha-Ivri. *Benveniste de Porta (d. 1268) leased the mint of Barcelona from James I of Aragon. Sancho IV of Castile gave a similar concession to Abraham el Barchilon in 1287. A century later, in 1331, Alfonso XI of Castile repeated this with Samuel *Ibn Waqar (Aben Huacar); Pedro IV of Aragon gave control of the royal mint to a Jewish company at about the same time.

As early as 1063 Queen Anastasia of Hungary permitted a Jew to mint his own coins at the royal mint. Hebrew appears on a coin of Andrew II in the early 13th century. Andrew's Golden Bull of 1222 excluded Jews and Muslims from the office of mintmaster, but the prohibition was disregarded, for the coins of his son Bela IV and his grandson Stephen V bear Hebrew letters, apparently standing for the initials or signs of Jewish mintmasters.

The first Jew recorded by name in Austria was *Shlom the mintmaster, massacred by crusaders in 1195. The nobility obtained a decree in 1222 specifically excluding Jews from the post, but Jews were again employed in this capacity some 40 years later. Jewish mintmasters were found in other German states and principalities, particularly in the 12th century, though their role was much less significant in the centuries that followed. In the Wetterau region, thin coins stamped on one side only, known as bracteates, were issued between 1170 and 1180, with the name David ha-Kohen imprinted in Hebrew. In this same period Otto the Rich, margrave of Meissen, employed Gershon, who also struck his name in Hebrew on bracteates. Nearby, at Lausitz and Pegau, Jews operated mints for the local nobility. Twelfth-century bracteates from Saxony, made under both Count von Mansfeld and Duke Bernhard I, show Hebrew letters. Similarly Jehiel, the name of a Jewish mintmaster at Wuerzburg in the early 13th century, is clearly marked in Hebrew on numerous bracteates. The question of whether a Jewish mintmaster might operate on the Sabbath appears twice in contemporary responsa; he might do so only if he had a Christian partner. The number of Jewish mintmasters was restricted, however, both by the appearance of Christian symbols and formulas on coins and by guild regulations.

The 16th and 17th centuries witnessed political and economic developments in central Europe which enabled Jews to play an unprecedented role in purveying. The growing independence of the many petty German states, the mercantilist theory of the supreme value of precious metals for state economy, as well as the readiness of the unprincipled rulers to issue debased coin, combined to create a need for expertise and initiative. The increased demand for currency was thwarted by the depletion of the silver mines; the metals had to be imported from the Americas or bought at the entrepôts of Amsterdam, London, and Hamburg, where Sephardi Jews were prominent in the bullion trade. In Poland, too, Jews were experts in all aspects of the coin trade. The princes and rulers of the petty and larger states of the Holy Roman Empire and elsewhere turned to them for purveying, minting, and distributing currency. This was done by means of contracts (see *contractors) between the ruler and his *Muenzjude* ("mint Jew"), who was to be found at virtually every court. The purveying of silver was conducted by a sophisticated network of contractors and subcontractors reaching down to the level of the peddler (see *peddling), entrusted with the task of buying up foreign coinage, silver and copper wares, and anything else suitable. The actual minting was supervised by Jews, contractors of the mint. The coin dies were often made by Jewish seal engravers, a profession which Jews tended to monopolize, by virtue of its being free of medieval guild restrictions. The distribution of the freshly minted, often inferior quality coinage was often entrusted to military contractors, frequently Jews.

While *Muenzjuden* were active throughout the 17th and 18th centuries, their activity increased even further during the unstable periods of intensive monetary activity, especially so from 1618 to 1623, the 1670s and 1680s, from 1756 to 1763, and at all times during war and turmoil. During these crucial phases the activity of the *Muenzjuden* brought them into a disrepute that aroused anti-Jewish feelings, reaching a peak during the Seven Years' War.

Among the more prominent Jewish mintmasters of the 16th century were Phybes of Hanover, a lessee of the mint at Wunstorf, Brunswick, in 1566, and Isaac Meir (Mayer) of Prague, who administered the mint from 1546 to 1549. The most famous was *Lippold, the mintmaster of Brandenburg, who ruled the electorate's Jewry with an iron hand. In the first decades of the 17th century, a number of Jewish mintmasters and contractors achieved fame, influence, and notoriety, such as Albertus *Denis (Alvaro Diniz), Jacob *Bassevi of Treuenberg, and Israel Wolf (Auerbacher) in Vienna. In Breslau Manasseh of Hotzenplotz gained a foothold to power through his services to the mint, and the number of Jewish silver purveyors in other minting centers in Austria and southern Germany was large. In 1627 they supplied 29% of the silver to the Breslau imperial mint and 50% in 1656. The dependence of the government on such purveyors increased in the 18th century to 78% in 1704, and to 94% in 1720. In the crisis of the 1670s and 1680s Jews were less prominent, although some *Court Jews were active in the precious metals and coin trades. Among such Court Jews was Jacob Mussaphia, of the duchy of Holstein-Gottorf. Jewish mintmasters reestablished communities in Saxony, from which Jews had been expelled. The nuclei of the Jewish communities of Leipzig and Dresden were formed by the *Muenzjuden*. Gerd Levi (1659–1739) received a license to buy and supply silver (1710) to the Leipzig mint; his son, Levi Gerd, continued in his father's footsteps.

The classical country of Jewish minting activity, however, was Prussia. Throughout most of the 17th and 18th centuries the *Muenzjuden* constituted the leadership of the Berlin community. Israel Aron, first head of the newly reconstituted (1671) community of Viennese exiles, was purveyor to the Berlin mint. His widow, Esther, married the court jeweler Jost *Liebmann and received (between 1700 and 1713) permission to mint large series of small coins as payment for the precious stones which she had supplied to the court. Levin Veit monopolized the purveying of silver in the years 1717 to 1721 and received permission to smelt and refine silver. In the 1750s two firms, that of Daniel *Itzig and members of the *Gomperz family, and that of V.H. *Ephraim and members of the *Fraenkel family, competed fiercely, one outbidding the other for the state minting contract. Frederick II's growing and urgent demands for funds during the war forced the competing firms into a partnership (in 1758), which leased all Prussian and Saxon mints. The Saxon mints of Leipzig and Dresden had been occupied by Frederick, who turned them over to his entrepreneurs, who then issued successive series of millions of more debased Saxon coins. These were known as "Ephraimiten" and gave rise to the bitter popular refrain: "Pretty on the outside, worthless within; on the outside Frederick, Ephraim within." Frederick instituted similar proceedings with the currency of Mecklenburg-Schwerin, Anhalt-Zerbst, and Anhalt-Dessau, and he was also forced to debase Prussian currency. The last Ephraim-Frederick contract was signed on Dec. 17, 1762. After the war *Muenzjuden* were employed in buying up the corrupt coinage and in supplying silver for the reconstituted currency. Ephraim and his sons were gradually overshadowed by the Itzig family, who were sole purveyors of precious metals between 1771 and 1786. One of Itzig's many agents was David *Friedlaender of Koenigsberg and his sons (David was the most talented). The last important mint entrepreneur was Liepmann Meyer Wulff of Berlin, who supplied the mint between 1799 and the Prussian debacle of 1806, after which thorough governmental reforms were introduced which abolished the need for the services of private silver and gold purveyors.

The tradition of Jewish moneyers and mintmasters in the Muslim world goes back to the Middle Ages. A certain Sumayr was die cutter and mintmaster for Abdalmalik (685–705), the Umayyad caliph at Damascus. Since the earliest Muslim coins were struck at this time, Sumayr was one of the technical founders of Islamic coinage. Jewish moneyers were known in Cairo from earliest times, possibly being successors to those previously operating in Alexandria. Japheth b. Abraham, in partnership with two other Jews, was administrator of the Fostat mint (see *Cairo) in about 1086. A brief mention is made in a document from the Cairo *Genizah* of two Jewish partners working the caliphate mint in the second half of the 12th century. The most noted Cairo mintmasters were Isaac *Sholal and Abraham Castro, who was appointed to the position after the conquest of Egypt by Sultan Selim (c. 1520). When the Egyptian viceroy, Ahmed Pasha, plotted independence, it was Castro who informed Constantinople. He was reinstated after Ahmed's defeat in 1524. In the 1660s this same position was held by the court banker Raphael Joseph, known as Chelebi. Under Murad III (1574–95) the director of the Turkish mint was a Jew, Hodja Nessimi (or Nissim). In this same period, Moses *Benveniste – known to the Turks as Hodja Moussahibi – was involved in the currency "reform" which led to a revolt of the janissaries against "Jews' Money" in 1589. Samuel b. Abraham, head of the Crimean Karaites, was moneyer to the last Tatar khan in the mid-18th century. As the treasury minister, he held the official title of Aga. His son Benjamin succeeded him in both position and title. When the Crimea was conquered by Russia in 1783, Benjamin was permitted to retain his title. Yaḥyā b. Judah *Badiḥi (1810–1888) was minter for the imam of Yemen in the mid-19th century.

See also *Banking; *Court Jews; *Moneylending; *Medalists; *Numismatics; *Coins and Currency.

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[Daniel M. Friedenberg and Henry Wasserman]

MINTZ, MOSES BEN ISAAC (15th century), German talmudist. Moses was born in Mainz sometime between 1420 and 1430. He studied under his father, Israel *Isserlein, and Jacob *Weil. During his extensive travels, he visited various towns, investigating their customs and communal regulations. His first rabbinate was at Wuerzburg where he served for a short time, until the expulsion of the Jews from the town in 1453. He proceeded to Mainz, where he stayed until the expulsion of 1462. From there he went to Landau and in 1464 to Ulm. In 1469 he was appointed rabbi of Bamberg. Four years later he went to Nuremberg and the following year to Posen. While there he decided to immigrate to Ereẓ Israel; he had already made all final preparations when for some reason he had to abandon his plan, and it appears that he remained in Posen until the end of his life. The year of his death is unknown.

Mintz's influence spread in Germany and beyond. He was involved in communal affairs and individuals, including outstanding scholars, as well as communities turned to him with their problems and disputes. Concern for the community and its general welfare was of paramount importance to him. He directed a yeshivah and engaged in discussions with his pupils. In 1456–57 R. Seligman Bing Oppenheim and R. Menahem Bachrach convened a council in *Bingen for the purpose of enacting *takkanot* that would be binding on other communities also – a step which did not meet with the approval of the rabbis of Germany. Despite his esteem for Seligman Bing, Mintz strongly opposed them and the *takkanot* were not adopted. Similarly, when he felt that Bing had been guilty of faulty judgment, he did not hesitate to criticize him, though there was nothing personal in his criticism. In another dispute in Italy, when Liva Landa placed a ban upon the rabbis of Padua, including Mintz's cousin Isaac Mintz, Moses agreed to place Landa under a ban although he was a venerable scholar and teacher, "unless he withdraw his ban and appease the rabbis of Padua," and at the same time he appealed to the rabbis of Padua "to waive their rights and show respect for a sage." Should Landa remain obdurate, however, "then the ban on him is to remain in force." Moses concludes: "I do this neither for my own honor nor for the honor of my family, but for the sake of Heaven to prevent the increase of strife in Israel." Moses was an accomplished *ḥazzan* and conducted the services on the high holidays. His best-known pupil is *Joseph b. Moses, author of the *Leket Yosher.*

Moses Mintz's fame rests on his responsa (Cracow, 1617); the 119 published, chiefly on civil and matrimonial law, abound in references to local customs and *takkanot*, ancient and new, including those ascribed to *Gershom b. Judah of Mainz and *takkanot* SHUM (Speyer, Worms, and Mainz). The index lists 120 responsa, but the last one has been omitted from all editions. This may be because of its subject, which the author describes as: "The stern words I wrote to the seven elders of the Regensburg community. It lays down that one who has a right of settlement in a community and leaves, subsequently to return, has not lost his previous right… And it explains that a scholar should not take advantage of his status to act haughtily." The main source for Moses' biography is the responsa, where it is related that his wife Minlan was "crowned with the crown of the Torah and piety." They also include many local *takkanot* introduced by Mintz, some of a social character, including rulings on the vestments a reader should don when conducting the service, how a man should conduct himself during prayer, etc.

Of special value are three responsa in manuscript entitled "The Three Branches," which are an important source for the history of the yeshivot of Germany in the 15th century. They depict the woeful condition of pupil-teacher relations, which had broken down as a result of the arrogance of the teachers and their exaggerated concern for their dignity, as well as because of the pupils' desire for greater freedom of activity and the acquisition of social status. The laymen, too, did not accept the authority of the rabbis and disregarded their rulings. The responsa reflect other aspects of the life of the Jews in Germany: their economic, social, family, and religious life, study, the attitude of the Jews to gentiles, persecutions, and expulsions, etc.

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[Shlomo Tal]

MINTZ, PAUL (1870–after 1940), Latvian lawyer. Born in Dvinsk (Daugavpils), Mintz was one of the most prominent lawyers in Riga. After Latvia became an independent republic (1918), he was appointed professor of criminal law at the University of Riga. He was a member of the Latvian National Council and the Constituent Assembly, and was the only

Jewish member of the Latvian government, serving as state controller. He published various legal works and was chairman of the commission preparing the Latvian code of criminal law. He was also active in Jewish affairs as founder of the Ḥevrat Mefiẓei Haskalah (*Society for the Promotion of Culture Among the Jews of Russia), in Riga, chairman of the Jewish National-Democratic Party, chairman of the commission preparing a draft for the legal framework of Jewish national autonomy, a non-Zionist member of the *Jewish Agency for Palestine, and chairman of the Jewish Lawyers' Society in Latvia. In 1940, when Latvia was occupied by the Soviet forces, Mintz was arrested together with other Jewish and non-Jewish leaders and deported to Kansk, near Krasnoyarsk, and later to a Soviet labor camp, where he died.

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[Joseph Gar]

MINTZ, SHLOMO (1957–), Israeli violinist, violist, and conductor. Mintz was born in Moscow. The family immigrated to Israel in 1959. He was a student of Ilona Feher and gave his first recital in 1966, making his début with the Israel PO in 1968. With the support of Isaac Stern and the American Israel Cultural Foundation Mintz made his Carnegie Hall debut in 1973 and completed his training with Dorothy DeLay in Juilliard. He made a major European tour in 1977 and appeared regularly with the most celebrated orchestras and conductors. He was also heard in recital and chamber music concerts as well as playing the viola. Mintz is esteemed for his silvery beauty of tone, his command of the standard repertory, sensitive playing, and commanding technique. He gave recitals with the pianists Itamar Golan and Georges Pludermacher, and as a member of the Golan-Mintz-Haimovitz Trio. Among his recordings are works by Bach, Ravel, Sibelius, and Paganini. He was musical director of the Israel Chamber Orchestra in 1989–93 and also conducted the Israel PO and the Rotterdam PO. In 1994 he was appointed musical director of the Limburg SO in Maastricht. Mintz held master courses in many places, and was one of the founders and supporters of the Keshet Eilon International Violin Master Course for talented young musicians. He was a member of the jury of several important international competitions, such as the Tchaikovsky Competition in Moscow. He won many music prizes, including Sienna's Premio Accademia Musicale Chigiana and three times the Grand Prix du Disque.

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[Naama Ramot (2nd ed.)]

MINYAN (Heb. מִנְיָן; "number"), designation for the quorum of ten male adults, aged 13 years or over, necessary for public synagogue service and certain other religious ceremonies. The Talmud (Ber. 21b; Meg. 23b) derives this number from the term *edah* ("community"), which in the Scriptures is applied to the ten spies (Num. 14:27). Thus ten men constitute a congregation. The Talmud (Ket. 7b) also mentions Ruth 4:2 and Psalm 68:27. Some relate the rule to Abraham's plea to God to save Sodom if at least ten righteous men were found there (Gen. 18:32). On the basis of Psalm 82:1: "God standeth in the congregation of God," the Talmud explains that if ten men pray together, the Divine Presence is with them (Ber. 6a). This quorum of ten adult males is necessary for the following sections of the public synagogue service: The repetition of the *Amidah* with *Kedushah*, the pentateuchal and *haftarah* reading, priestly benedictions (Meg. 4:3), and the *Kaddish*. Some also require a *minyan* for the recital of the *Barekhu* invocation; others permit this to be said even if only six or seven males are present (Sof. 10:6). The accepted custom in emergency cases is nine adults and a boy holding a Bible (based on PdRE, 8; see Tos. Ber. 48a and Sh. Ar., OH, 55:4). A quorum of ten is also necessary in the rites of comforting the mourners (*ma'amad u-moshav*; Meg. 4:3; Meg. 23b). The recital of the seven nuptial blessings at wedding ceremonies and the special invocation preceding grace there ("Let us bless our God of whose bounty we have eaten") also require a *minyan* (*ibid.*).

Ten male adults constitute a quorum in any place, and there is no need for a synagogue building or an officiating rabbi to hold divine services. In talmudic times, a community was regarded as "a city" if there were at least "ten idle men" (not occupied by work or other duties) who could come to each synagogue service to make up the *minyan* (Meg. 1:3). R. Johanan said, "when God comes to a synagogue and does not find a *minyan* there, He is angry, as it is written (Isa. 50:2). 'Wherefore, when I came, was there no man? When I called, was there none to answer?'" (Ber. 6b). In traditional congregations, especially in Eastern Europe, when it was difficult to hold daily services with a *minyan*, it was customary to pay a few old or idle men to be present twice a day at the services. These people were called "*minyan* men."

In Reform, Reconstructionist, and most Conservative practice at the beginning of the 21st century, women were counted in the minimum quorum of 10 persons required to constitute a public prayer service, since they had full religious equality with men.

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MINYAT ZIFTA, town in Lower *Egypt, on the eastern tributary of the Nile. In the *Fāṭimid period, there was an important Jewish community in this town. R. *Abraham b. Shabbetai, who wrote several works on *halakhah*, was rabbi (*ḥaver*) of the community at the beginning of the 12th century, and after him, his son Shabbetai held the same position for many years. In a list of contributions to a collection among the communities of Lower Egypt at the middle of the same century, Minyat Zifta is mentioned as the second largest contributor. From the **Genizah* documents it appears that the social status of the Jews was variegated; among them were craftsmen, merchants, and government officials. The Jewish population decreased over the generations and in the 19th century, Jacob *Saphir found only five families there: in 1897 there were 84 Jews, in 1907, 54, and in 1927 only 37. By 1924 the synagogue had already been sold, and in 1937 there was only one family living in the town.

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[Eliyahu Ashtor]

MINZ, ABRAHAM BEN JUDAH HA-LEVI (d. 1525), Italian scholar and rabbi. Some time before 1509, acting on behalf of his father, Judah b. Eliezer ha-Levi *Minz of Padua, he insulted the famous rabbi, Jacob Margolis of Regensburg. Both father and son subsequently made public apology. In January 1509, after his father's death, Abraham was appointed to succeed him, but in July of the same year a decree of expulsion was issued against him by the Venetian authorities for having presented a gift in the name of the Padua community to the chief of the conquering imperial German army during the sack of Padua. The decree was apparently revoked some time thereafter, as Minz is known to have visited Padua about ten years later. After leaving Padua, Abraham spent 15 months in Ferrara, being supported there by the wealthy *parnas*, Norsa, whom he later sided with in the notorious *Finzi-Norsa controversy, at the height of which Jacob *Pollak, a partisan of Abraham Raphael Finzi, and Minz excommunicated each other. Abraham subsequently became rabbi in Mantua. His son-in-law, Meir *Katzenellenbogen, occupied the Padua rabbinate.

Abraham was the author of a number of responsa, which are printed together with those of his uncle by marriage, R. Liwa of Ferrara (Venice, 1511). He was the author, too, of *Seder Gittin va-Ḥaliẓah*, printed together with the responsa of his father and his son-in-law (Venice, 1553). He died in Padua.

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[Shlomo Eidelberg]

MINZ, BENJAMIN (1903–1961), leader of the *Po'alei Agudat Israel movement. Born in Lodz, Poland, Minz went to Palestine in 1925. A member of Agudat Israel from his youth, he persistently advocated cooperation with the Zionist Movement, despite the opposition of his leaders. At the Third Great Assembly of Agudat Israel (Marienbad, 1937), he was elected a member of the Central Council, and in 1938 was elected to the Po'alei Agudat Israel Executive. During World War II, he was active on the Va'ad ha-Haẓẓalah (rescue committee), and after the war he worked in DP camps in Germany (see *Displaced Persons). He initiated the founding of the World Union of Po'alei Agudat Israel at the Antwerp Conference (1946), and as its head led the movement into close cooperation with the institutions of the *yishuv*, in opposition to the policy of *Agudat Israel. Minz was a member of the Provisional State Council of Israel (1948) and later of the Knesset. He was elected deputy speaker of the Second Knesset and held the post until the Fourth Knesset. He overruled a decision of the Council of Torah Sages of Agudat Israel and joined the coalition government as minister of posts in 1960, thus causing a rift between his party and Agudat Israel. Minz wrote several books, mainly on ḥasidic topics.

[Menachem Friedman]

MINZ, JUDAH BEN ELIEZER HA-LEVI (c. 1408–1506), Italian rabbi. Judah, a first cousin of Moses *Mintz, was a member of a family of scholars and bankers which derived its name from the town of Mainz, where he was probably born. It is presumed that Minz left Mainz in 1462 during the expulsion of the Jews (see Graetz, Hist. 4 (1894), 294). He settled in Padua where he became rabbi and rector of the yeshivah and where he remained until his death. In Padua he was taught by R. Asher (Israel) Enschechin, a German talmudist, who lived in the city during his latter years (Resp. Judah Minz, nos. 2, 3; *Leket Yosher,* 2 (1904), xlvii, no. 113). Minz corresponded on halakhic matters with many famous rabbis of his time, including Elijah *Mizraḥi of Turkey (who supported Minz in a quarrel with Elijah Delmedigo, the cause of which is unknown), Israel Isserlein of Wiener-Neustadt, Israel *Bruna of Regensburg and Joseph *Colon of Mantua (see *Seder ha-Get* of Abraham Minz at the end of Judah's responsa and *Leket Yosher,* 2 (1904), xxxii, no. 54). His responsa are a valuable historical source and reveal his involvement in the problems of his time (see e.g., *Leket Yosher,* nos. 5, 6, 11). Ghirondi's assertion that Judah was a student of philosophy, and, subsequently, a professor of philosophy at the University of Padua (Ghirondi-Neppi 122ff.), is now held to be unfounded. In his ritual decisions Judah leaned heavily on his German predecessors (see, e.g., Resp. Judah Minz, nos. 7, 13, 15), but, rather uniquely, permitted men to masquerade as women on Purim (*ibid.* no. 16). Minz's library and most of his manuscripts were destroyed in the year of his death during the sack of Padua (see introd. to *Leket Yosher*). 16 of his responsa were discovered by his grandson Joseph b. Abraham Minz and were published in Venice in 1553 by the husband of Judah's granddaughter, Meir *Katzenellenbogen, together with his own responsa and the *Seder Gittin va-Ḥaliẓah* of Abraham b. Judah ha-Levi *Minz. Many later editions have been published, among them one with notes and a preface by Johanan Moses Preschel (1898).

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[Shlomo Eidelberg]

MIR, town in Grodno district, Belarus. From 1569 until 1813 the town and the surrounding estates were the property of the Radziwill princes. Jews first settled in Mir at the beginning of the 17th century. To begin with they were under the jurisdiction of the community of *Nesvizh, but within a few years their numbers had rapidly increased, and it can be assumed that they then had their own communal organizations. The Jews became an important factor in local trade and at the two annual fairs held in Mir. Many of them also earned their livelihood as carters. Jewish merchants from every part of Lithuania and Poland were attracted to the fairs of Mir, where they carried on an extensive trade in furs (exporting them especially to Leipzig), horses, oxen, spices, grain, textiles, tobacco (from 1672), and wine. In the records of the Lithuanian council (see *Councils of the Lands) Mir is mentioned for the first time in 1662. The Council convened there four times: 1687, 1697, 1702, 1751. From 1673, the taxes owed by the Jews of Lithuania to state institutions and debts to other creditors were occasionally collected at the Mir fairs. In 1685, after complaints by the Jewish representatives, Catherine Sapieha of the Radziwill family instructed the administrator of the town to respect the rights of the Jews and to refrain from dispensing justice or arbitrating in their internal affairs.

During the early decades of the 18th century, the Jewish population of Mir increased considerably. The local Jewish contribution to the poll tax rose from 45 zlotys in 1673 to 1,160 zlotys in 1700 and 1,350 zlotys in 1720. During this period the merchants of Mir maintained fruitful commercial relations with *Leipzig, *Koenigsberg, *Memel, and Libau (*Liepaja). From the second half of the 18th century, the economic situation of the community declined. In 1760 the Jews of Mir paid 480 zlotys in poll tax; the census of 1765 recorded 607 Jews in the town and the vicinity who paid this tax.

Prominent rabbis officiated in Mir during the 18th century. The first *av bet din* known by name (in the late 1720s) was R. Meir b. Isaac *Eisenstadt, followed by R. Ẓevi Hirsch ha-Kohen Rappoport; during the middle of that century, R. Solomon Zalman b. Judah Mirkish, author of *Shulḥan Shelomo* (Frankfurt on the Oder, 1771), held rabbinical office for 15 years. He was succeeded by R. Ẓevi Hirsh Eisenstadt. During the rabbinate of R. Joseph David Ajzensztat (1776–1826), the famous yeshivah of Mir was founded, functioning there until the eve of WWII. At the beginning of the 19th century *Ḥabad Ḥasidism acquired considerable influence in the community.

In 1806 the Mir community numbered 807, including 106 tailors, five goldsmiths, six cord-makers, and about 30 merchants. In the 65 nearby villages, there were 494 Jews in 1818. The numbers in Mir itself rose to 2,273 in 1847 and 3,319 (about 62% of the total population) in 1897. From the second half of the 19th century, with the exception of the wood, grain, horse, and textile merchants who formed the upper class, the majority of the local Jews were craftsmen such as scribes, carters, butchers, and tailors. The wooden synagogue, which had been erected in the middle of the 18th century, was burnt down in 1901. With the threat of pogroms in 1904–05, Mir Jews organized a *self-defense organization. During this period, the *Bund and *Po'alei Zion movements won many adherents in the town. The Zionist movement was organized there in 1914. In 1921 there were 2,074 Jews (c. 55% of the population) living in the town. Their difficult economic situation deteriorated even further from the late 1920s. A Yiddish elementary school and kindergarten were founded in 1917; during the 1920s they were administered by CYSHO and during the 1930s by the Shul-Kult. During the same period, *Tarbut, Yavneh, and *Beth Jacob schools functioned in Mir. The Jewish library was founded in 1908.

The yeshivah of Mir, founded by Samuel b. Ḥayyim *Tiktinski in 1815 and directed by his son Abraham after his death, played a central role in the spiritual life of the community. From 1836 it was headed by Moses Abraham b. Joseph Ajzensztat and later by Ḥayyim Zalman Bresler, rabbi of the town, who resigned as the result of a dispute. From then on, the offices of town rabbi and *rosh yeshivah* were separated. From the 1880s, the rabbi was Yom Tov Lipman (R. Lipa). In 1903 he was succeeded by R. Elijah David *Rabinowitz-Teomim, who served until his *aliyah* to Ereẓ Israel. The last rabbi of Mir was Abraham Ẓevi Kamai (from 1917 until the Holocaust). During World War I, the yeshivah of Mir was transferred to Poltava but returned to the town in 1921, and was then headed by R. Eliezer Judah Finkel. Mir was the birthplace of Zalman *Shazar (Rubashov).

[Arthur Cygielman]

Holocaust Period

Under Soviet rule (1939–41) private enterprise was gradually stifled and factories, businesses, and even large buildings were taken over by the state. The yeshivah students and rabbis, headed by R. Eliezer Judah Finkel, moved to Vilna in still independent Lithuania (Finkel managed to reach Palestine and founded the Mir Yeshivah in Jerusalem). The Germans captured Mir on June 27, 1941. They immediately executed scores of Jews on charges of Soviet collaboration. On Nov. 9, 1941, 1,300 Jews were murdered on the outskirts of the town. The surviving 850 Jews were segregated into a ghetto and transferred in May 1942 to the ancient fortress in the city. A young Jew, Shemuel (Oswald) Rufeisen, born in the Cracow district, played a key role in the Mir resistance movement. He posed as a *Volksdeutscher*, Joseph Oswald. After the removal of the Jews to the Mirski fortress, a resistance movement of 80 members was organized to offer armed resistance to the imminent *Aktion* ("action") against the Jewish population. Working in groups of five, they acquired weapons and trained themselves. Their central command was made up of Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir, Deror, Bund, and Communists.

Early in August 1942 Rufeisen informed the underground that the Germans would begin their liquidation campaign on Aug. 13. On Aug. 9 about 300 young people left for the forests on the assumption that no effective resistance action against the Germans could be taken inside the ghetto. On August 13 the liquidation action began, and all those who had remained in the ghetto were murdered in Yablonoshchina and buried in mass graves. Those who had escaped to the forests were confronted with many difficulties. Russian partisan units often refused to accept Jews into their ranks, and many of the Mir Jews who came to the forests were killed by antisemitic Russian partisans. Despite all these difficulties, Mir Jews managed to join Soviet partisan units, mainly the Brothers Bielski brigade, and took part in sabotage activities. Following the arrival of the Soviet army, the Jewish partisans from Mir joined the Soviet forces to continue the fight against the Nazis up till the end of the war.

The student body of the yeshivah was saved during the war by escaping to *Shanghai. After the war (1947), the yeshivah was transferred to Brooklyn, New York (Mirrer Yeshivah Central Institute). Some of its scholars later joined the Mir Yeshivah in Jerusalem.

[Aharon Weiss]

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°MIRABEAU, HONORE GABRIEL RIQUETI, COMTE DE (1749–91), statesman of the *French Revolution. Mirabeau became interested in the Jewish question during his visits to Holland in 1776, England in 1784, and Prussia in 1786. Influenced by the enlightened members of the Jewish communities in the capitals of these three countries, he was particularly attracted by the image of Moses *Mendelssohn. In the book resulting from this journey, *Sur Moses Mendelssohn, sur la réforme politique des Juifs* (London, 1787), he argued that the faults of the Jews were those of their circumstances. Although his main reason for admiring Mendelssohn was that "humanity and truth" seemed much clearer to him than "the dark phantoms of the Talmudists," Mirabeau did not consider Judaism an immoral faith, and he defended it against attacks both old and new. In the course of his argument, he repeated *Dohm's assertion that "the Jew is more of a man than he is a Jew." Quoting from Turgot and *Rousseau in support of his pro-Jewish arguments, Mirabeau affirms that history proves that "the Jews, considered as men and as citizens, were greatly corrupted only because they were denied their rights." Like Dohm he advocated preserving some measure of Jewish autonomy, a view he developed in his memorandum to *Frederick the Great of Prussia, *De la monarchie prussienne* (1788), p. 462, but he envisaged it as a transitory phenomenon; the organized Jewish community would wither away and die as the Jews entered fully into the economic and social life of the majority. Mirabeau continued to work for the emancipation of the Jews as he saw it. In the debate of Dec. 24, 1789, he denied Rewbell's assertion that "they [the Jews] do not regard themselves as citizens," and followed *Clermont-Tonnerre in stating that the very fact that the Jews were requesting equality was proof of their desire to cease being Jewish in any separatist way.

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[Emmanuel Beeri]

MIRACLE. Biblical Hebrew has no word corresponding to the English "miracle." Occasionally, the Bible mentions "wonders" (*pele', nifla'ot*) meaning "miracles" (Ex. 3:20; Josh. 3:5; Ps. 78:11; etc.), but the meaning of "wonder" is much broader than "miracle." A particular class of miracles, however, can be considered as a definite biblical concept, since it is designated by terms of its own. These are the "signs" (*'otot, mofetim*), i.e., extraordinary and surprising events which God brought about in order to demonstrate His power and will in particular situations, when men had to be convinced. A sign can be given as proof of prophecy. Thus the altar of Beth-El collapsed as a sign that the prophecy of its future destruction was true (I Kings 13:1–6). The more important signs occurred in Egypt: the staff turned into a serpent to show that Moses was indeed sent by God (Ex. 4:1–7), and the ten plagues coerced Pharaoh to accept the divine command and let the people go. Deuteronomy 13 raises the problem of a sign given by a false prophet: it can be genuine, brought about by God to test the people, who must not obey under any circumstances a prophet summoning them to idolatry. The problem shows that "signs" as proofs of prophecy were regarded – at least among theologians – as regular (or indeed necessary) events.

Some biblical miracles are more than signs, i.e., their purpose goes beyond the mere proof of divine power. Israel was saved and Egypt's army destroyed by the parting of the Red Sea, the people were given water and food in the desert by means of miraculous acts, and so on. Both Samaria (II Kings 6:8–7:20) and Jerusalem (II Kings 19:35) miraculously escaped conquest by besieging armies. Such miracles can be viewed as direct divine intervention at critical moments of human history. Even in these incidents, the element of a "sign" is never wholly absent. Dathan and *Abiram and their followers were swallowed by the earth; it was a just punishment, whose suddenness was demanded by the situation. Moses' words (Num. 16:28–30), however, designate the event clearly as a sign. It is also stated that when Israel saw the mighty deed of Egypt's destruction in the sea, they believed in God and in Moses (Ex. 14:31). Evidently, the Bible makes no distinction between signs proper and miraculous divine intervention in human history. There is a third type of miracle in the Bible in which the sheer admiration of the wonder-worker seems more important than both elements discussed above. One cannot escape this impression when reading the stories about Elijah and, to an even greater degree, about Elisha. Such stories are a regular feature of popular religion of all times and in all places; in the Bible they are almost entirely confined to the figures of these two "nonliterary" prophets.

The problem of whether miracles are "natural" or "supernatural," which was of concern to scholars of later ages, does not bother Bible writers. In one case (Num. 16:30), a miracle is described as a "creation," which indicates an awareness of what moderns might call the "suspension of natural laws" (see also Ex. 34:10). On the other hand, the miracle of the descent of the quail (Num. 9:18–23) is quite plainly and clearly described as a "natural" – though unexpected – occurrence and yet is treated as a full-scale miracle. Bible writers simply do not question God's ability to do anything, by any means.

The intellectual's dislike of miracles has furnished the mainstream of Bible criticism with a yardstick: some "sources" contain more accounts of miracles than others, and are therefore deemed less "valuable." Scholars with apologetic tendencies tend to minimize the importance of Bible miracles, in their endeavor to make biblical religion less "crude" and more "pure." This case can be based on the preponderance of the "sign" concept in the Bible discussed above, but is nevertheless wrong. The Bible does not, as a rule, tell miracle stories for their own sake, but it does regard the "signs and wonders" of God as extremely important. Man has to know that God can do anything, whenever and wherever He chooses; that this has been demonstrated in history many times; and the sacred history of Israel has been shaped often enough by direct and quite evident divine intervention. Faith that can do without this notion of miracles is possible, but unthinkable in biblical terms.

[Jacob Licht]

In the Talmud

The almost universal word for a miracle in the talmudical literature is the term נֵס (*nes*), used in the Bible for a "sign" or "standard." The biblical miracles are unquestionably accepted by the sages of the Talmud. Insofar as their theological aspect is concerned, three main considerations exercised the minds of the sages: (1) the reversal of the order of creation with its corollary of an insufficiency in the act of creation; (2) the miracle as a testimony of the truth of religion; and (3) the "daily miracles" which do not involve a disturbance of the order of creation.

(1) According to the rabbis, the miracles were, so to speak, preordained and provided for in the act of creation. "R. Johanan said, God made a condition with the sea that it would part before the Children of Israel… R. Jeremiah b. Eleazar said, not with the sea alone, but with whatever God created on the six days of creation… God commanded heaven and earth that they should be silent before Moses; the sun and moon that they should stand still before Joshua; the ravens that they should feed Elijah; the fire that it should not harm Hananiah, Mishael, and Azariah; the lions that they injure not Daniel; the heavens that they should open to the voice of Ezekiel; and the fish that it should cast up Jonah'" (Gen. R. 5:45). Another passage emphasizes this idea even more strongly. When God commanded Moses to lift up his staff and part the Red Sea, Moses argued with God that it would involve a breach of his own act of creation, God answered him, "Thou hast not read the beginning of the Torah… I made a condition at the time"; and only then did Moses heed the divine behest (Ex. R. 21:6). In the same vein, the Mishnah (Avot 5:6) enumerates ten things which "were created on the eve of the Sabbath [of creation] at twilight," including the mouth of the earth which opened up to swallow Korah (Num. 16:32), the mouth of the ass of Balaam which spoke (Num. 22:28), the manna (Ex. 16:14), and the rod of Moses (Ex. 4:17). As Zangwill (quoted by J.H. Hertz, Comm. to Prayer Book) puts it, the Talmud sages "discovered the reign of universal law through exceptions, the miracles that had to be created specially and were still a part of the order of the world, bound to appear in due time."

(2) That miracles are not evidence of religious truth is clearly and explicitly stated in the Bible (Deut. 13:2–4). The rabbis emphasize this in a striking incident wherein R. Eliezer b. Hyrcanus called for, and achieved, a series of miracles for the purpose of proving that his halakhic ruling was correct, but R. Joshua disdainfully rejected them, quoting "the Torah is not in heaven" and his contrary view was accepted (BM 59a).

(3) The rabbis, however, almost go out of their way to emphasize the daily miracle of life which does not express itself in violations of the laws of nature. "Come and consider how many miracles the Holy One, blessed be He, performs for man, and he is unaware of it. If a man were to swallow unmasticated bread, it would descend into his bowels and scratch him, but God created a well in the throat of man which enables it to descend safely" (Ex. R. 24:1). This thought is expressed in the formula of thanksgiving prayer (*Modim*) which forms part of the daily *Amidah*, "for Thy miracles which are daily with us, and for Thy wonders and Thy benefits, which are wrought at all times, evening, morning, and night."

In this connection is it not without interest that the formula of thanksgiving "for the miracles… which Thou didst wage for our fathers" is confined to the two festivals of Ḥanukkah and Purim (Sof. 20:6; the formula is found in *Seder R. Amram*). It is true that the rabbis emphasize the miraculous aspect of the Ḥannukah legend of the pure oil which was sufficient for one day only but lasted for eight until new oil could be brought (Shab. 21b), to which there is no reference in the Book of Maccabees, and that many of the regulations of the festival are enjoined "in order to publicize the miracle" (Shab. 23b), but this miracle cannot compare with the biblical miracles, and there is no *deus ex machina* miracle in the story of Purim. On the whole they belong to the class of "natural miracles." The parting of the Red Sea is regarded as the greatest ("most difficult") of the biblical miracles (Pes. 118a).

Although the Talmud is replete with stories and legends of miracles wrought for its worthies (cf. especially Ta'an. 21–25), it is generally accepted that the age of miracles (probably for the benefit of the people as a whole) has ceased, because "they were performed for those who were willing to sacrifice themselves for the sanctification of the Name, and we are not worthy of having miracles performed for us" (Ber. 20a; Ta'an. 18b; Sanh. 94b).

Nevertheless ten minor miracles happened in the time of the Temple (Avot 5:5). They include such mundane miracles as that no person was ever bitten by a snake or scorpion in Jerusalem, that there was always accommodation to be found there (during the pilgrim festivals), and that rain never extinguished the altar fire.

It is forbidden to rely upon miracles (Pes. 64b). "One should never stand in a place of danger and say 'a miracle will happen to me' since perhaps it will not happen, and if it does, it will be deducted from his merits" (Ta'an. 20b). But "the recipient of a miracle does not recognize the miracle" (Nid. 31a). When coming to a place where miracles were wrought for the Jewish people, one must recite a special blessing (Ber. 9:1 and 54a).

[Louis Isaac Rabinowitz]

In Medieval Jewish Philosophy

The subject of miracles was one of the most important and problematic in the writings of medieval Jewish philosophy. The medieval philosopher found it difficult to accept the biblical notion of miracles, not only because it was difficult to explain the particular miracles described in the Bible in terms of contemporary science, but also because the acceptance of miracles entailed the belief in creation and divine providence – notions rejected by Greek philosophy.

The first of the medieval Jewish philosophers, Saadiah *Gaon, who, following the Mu'tazilites (see *Kalam), proved the existence of God from the temporal origin of the world (*Beliefs and Opinions* 1:2), and deduced the concept of divine omnipotence from the concept of creation (2:4), does not question the possibility of miracles. Since he accepted the concepts of creation and divine providence, it was consistent for him to maintain that God may see fit to alter His creation in order to preserve the faithful or in order to confirm His revelations to the prophets. The purpose of miracles, according to Saadiah, was to confirm the prophet as God's emissary whose word is truth (3:4, 5).

Saadiah believed that a perfect correlation exists between the content of revelation and the conclusions of rational investigation. Thus the miracle, insofar as it confirms revelation, confirms at the same time the conclusions of rational investigation – the existence of God, His unity, and the creation of the world. It might seem, therefore, that the miracle is superfluous. However, Saadiah maintained that while the intellectual verification of revealed doctrines is indeed an obligation, it is lengthy and accessible to few, and therefore revelation and miracles are required for the masses. Revelation and miracles are helpful even for those capable of speculation, insofar as they serve as guides in the search for the truth.

To distinguish between the true religion and a false one which lays claim to miracles, both the miraculous occurrence itself, as well as the doctrine it confirms, must be subjected to scientific scrutiny. One must examine the supposed miracle to discover whether it may not have been illusory (ch. 3), and also the tradition which reports it (introd.). Because there is a correlation between that which is revealed and that which is arrived at through rational speculation, nothing which clearly contradicts intellectual judgment may be accepted as prophecy (excluding, of course, phenomena which transcend intellectual understanding; 3:8).

Neoplatonism

Like Saadiah, the early Jewish Neoplatonists accepted the possibility of miracles without question. While they attributed the same function to miracles as Saadiah had, their conception of the phenomenon of the miracle itself was different. The Neoplatonists no longer viewed miracles as events which contradict the natural order thus serving as evidence of God's will, but rather as the interposition of a higher supranatural order amid the natural order below it. The Neoplatonists maintained that a miracle can take place only in the presence of a person who is worthy of the suprasensual order and attracts it in the form of a particular providence, that person being the prophet. The prophet plays an active role in the manifestation of the miracle. Miracles do not merely serve to confirm the content of the revelation; they are in themselves revelations in the sense that they represent the direct appearance of the divine order in the midst of the natural order (cf. Ibn Ezra, commentary on Ex. 3:15, and 6:3).

The Challenge of Aristotelianism

The problem of miracles grew more acute as the Aristotelian influence on Jewish philosophy became stronger. According to Aristotelianism, which conceives of the natural order as deriving necessarily from the rational Being of God, all that contradicts nature is, by definition, contradictory to reason. Thus a Jewish philosopher confronted by these Aristotelian teachings had two alternatives: if he rejected Aristotelian physics and metaphysics he was challenged by the intellectual demands that physics and metaphysics make, and if he accepted them, he had to account within their framework for the existence of revelation which is the basis of the Torah.

Judah *Halevi accepted the first alternative, Maimonides, the second. Judah Halevi set out from the premise that experience takes precedence over intellectual judgment. Although the intellect might deny the possibility of the occurrence of miracles, the fact of miracles is upheld by the immediate authenticity of the event and the authenticity of the tradition which recorded it (*Kuzari*, 1:5). Rejecting the idea that intellectual judgment must confirm the substance of revelation, and perceiving that the miracle *per se* is no evidence of the validity of the prophet's utterances, Judah Halevi does not, as did Saadiah, regard the miracle as an affirmation of the content of revelation, but views the miracle as itself a direct revelation of God. God's direct communication with a person or a nation is a miracle. The deviation from the natural order for the purpose of guiding a man or a nation to their religious destiny is a miracle. Both occurrences share the fact of God's immediate presence in the lives of men. The miracle, therefore, affirms nothing more than the possibility of its occurrence (1:13–25), and revelation can be verified only as an immediate experience. The authenticity of the revelation at Sinai was established by the fact that all of Israel were granted prophecy together with Moses and could bear witness to revelation out of their own experience. This fact confirmed the revelation for all time, and any prophecy which conflicts with it must be invalid even if it is supposedly supported by miracles (1:80–90).

Maimonides

While Maimonides adopted Aristotelian physics and metaphysics, he deviated from the Aristotelian view that the world is eternal. He upheld the assumption of the temporal origin of the world, although he maintained that it can be neither proved or disproved conclusively, as the only one which allows for miracles (Guide 2:25). Miracles, according to Maimonides, are necessary in order to sustain the authority of revelation for the masses, as well as to support the biblical assumption that God guides men by giving them the Law.

In his attempt to reconcile the concept of miracles with the Aristotelianism that he accepted, Maimonides maintained that the creation of the world as well as miracles are voluntary acts of God, and that in its essence and constitution the world reflects divine reason. Thus there is no conflict between divine wisdom and divine will, both of which were impressed upon the original mold of creation (3:25). According to Maimonides, miracles are predetermined at the time of creation and thus do not indicate a change in God's will or wisdom. The difference between the act of nature and the miracle is a difference between the regular and the unique, although the unique is also governed by its own laws. Indeed, the miracle, like creation, is a unique occurrence which establishes a reality or an order. For example, the miracles of the patriarchs and Moses established the existence of a nation with a particular role to play in the order of the world. The Sinaitic revelation established an ideal legislation for human conduct. Maimonides was careful not to define the miracle as an abrogation of the laws of nature. He explained that in the miracle of the crossing of the Red Sea (Sea of Reeds), for example, the nature of the water was not changed but was affected by another natural force, the wind. A miracle, such as the revelation at Mt. Sinai, was the manifestation of a particular act of creation, and thus may be considered an addition to nature rather than an abrogation thereof.

In sum, Maimonides concurred with Aristotle's position that reality derives from divine reason and therefore not everything imaginable is necessarily possible. While he did maintain that there are things which nature disallows, he differed with Aristotle on the limitation of the possible. Aristotle maintained that only that which exists is possible, whereas Maimonides posited the possibility of singular, constitutive occurrences as equally a necessary effect of divine wisdom (3:15). In accordance with his definition of miracles as constitutive events of general significance, Maimonides elevated the miracles of Moses above all others, while he interpreted allegorically many other biblical episodes which when understood literally are miraculous (2:46, 47).

Naḥmanides

Among Jewish philosophers after Maimonides there were those who repudiated the belief in the temporal origin of the world and in miracles, explaining biblical references to them as allegories. There were also renewed attempts to prove that miracles did take place, notably by Naḥmanides, who disputed Maimonides' conception of miracles from a kabbalistic viewpoint. In opposition to Maimonides' view of nature as a necessary effect of divine wisdom, Naḥmanides posited the miracle as preceding nature. The miracle is not a singular occurrence – it is an immutable supranatural reality. According to Naḥmanides, "nature and worldly order do not affect the ends of the Torah," and therefore the destiny of Israel is not natural but miraculous. However, miracles do not necessarily conflict with, or deviate from, the natural order. Naḥmanides postulated a distinction between self-evident miracles, i.e., those which deviate from the natural order thus serving to impart faith to unbelievers and the ignorant, and hidden miracles, which consist in the unusual coincidence of a number of natural events. The miraculous nature of the latter will be evident only to the believer (A. Jellinek (ed.), *Torat Adonai Temimah*, passim).

Ḥasdai Crescas

The most fully developed critique of Maimonides' position is found in Ḥasdai *Crescas' writings. Crescas held that the world was created *ex nihilo* but had no temporal beginning. The world is eternal and continually renewed by God, characterized by Crescas as infinite grace. As well as being infinitely good, God is omnipotent, and therefore miracles, which are instruments of good, are not merely within His power and in harmony with His wisdom but are a necessary effect of His being (Or Adonai, 2, proposition 3:1).

For Crescas, miracles were neither a deviation from nature nor in conflict with it, but an expression of a supranatural order. What distinguishes miracles from natural occurrences is not the fact of their deviation from the natural order, which is after all an external manifestation, but an intrinsic quality. Whereas the natural occurrence is brought about by God indirectly, expresses a limited force, occurs as part of a process, and has only a relative existence, the miracle is brought about directly by God, expresses unlimited power, is a singular event, is not part of a process, and has an absolute existence (*ibid.*, proposition 3:2). This conception of miracles fits in with Crescas' view that the world is continually recreated *ex nihilo* by the divine will: the world itself is actually a perpetual miracle which encompasses the natural order. Thus the miracle is not an aberration of nature, rather it precedes nature. The ultimate purpose of the miracle is to impart faith to unbelievers and to strengthen the faith of believers. However, he did not regard the miracle as an external verification of prophecy, but, along the lines of Judah Halevi, he believed that in every event in which the infinite power of God is revealed, God becomes present to man, and thus heresy and doubt are abolished (*ibid.*, 3, proposition

4:2). In Crescas' doctrine there is a strong universalistic orientation, although emphasis is placed on the particular supranatural providence of Israel: God's grace, being infinite, must reveal itself to everyone, and the miracle which will bring this about, the resurrection of the dead, will be superior even to the miracles performed by Moses (*ibid.*, 3, proposition 4:2).

An analysis of Crescas' doctrine illustrates the development of the concept of miracles through the confrontation with Platonism and Aristotelianism, in that it represents a critical synthesis of both. The miracle, which had been regarded as an external confirmation of revelation, came to be viewed not as a non-natural occurrence but as an immediate revelation of the truth of the Torah. In his critical synthetic doctrine, Crescas also anticipated ideas which were fully developed only by modern Jewish philosophers.

[Eliezer Schweid]

In Later Jewish Thought

S.D. *Luzzatto was against the rational approach to religion, which he dubbed "Hellenism," and claimed that Judaism based on love and mercy was superior. Attacking the Jewish philosophers of his day for trying to assimilate Judaism to the barren "Hellenism" of Western culture, he affirmed the historicity of the miracles in the Bible, including the miracle of prophecy, and he held that miracles were proof of divine providence.

Samuel *Hirsch, in his *Die Religionsphilosophie der Juden* (1842), also upheld the historicity of the miracles recorded in the Bible. However, for him it was not the miraculous incident itself that was important, but its educational value. In the biblical period, God revealed Himself to Israel by means of miracles in order to demonstrate that He was above nature and that nature was not omnipotent – an idea which the Israelites had acquired in Egypt. Once the idea of the omnipotence of nature had been uprooted, miracles were no longer necessary and, therefore, ceased to take place. According to Hirsch, however, there was one miracle that did not just take place in the past but has continued up to the present, namely, the existence of the Jewish people, which serves as an additional means of teaching the existence of God.

Moses *Mendelssohn maintained that the truth of any religion cannot be proved by appealing to miracles; it can be proved only on the basis of the rationality of its doctrine. Only after a religious faith has been upheld by reason is it possible to consider the miracles associated with that religion. While Mendelssohn did not reject the possibility of miracles, he stressed that Judaism did not appeal for belief to the authority of miracles but to that of direct revelation witnessed by the entire people.

Nachman *Krochmal felt that there were potent spiritual forces underlying the workings of nature. These forces can operate and cause events which defy the laws of nature and appear miraculous. However, not all miracles are of this type. There is another class of miracles in which God actually directly interferes in nature. However, Krochmal does not satisfactorily explain this class of miracles in terms of his general metaphysical system.

Contemporary Views

There have been two trends in modern Jewish thought concerning miracles. The first, represented by such thinkers as F. *Rosenzweig, M. *Buber, and A.J. *Heschel, has returned to an almost biblical conception of miracles, based upon the idea that the miracle is a "sign" of God's presence. The second trend, represented by M. *Kaplan, may be said to follow the rationalistic approach of the medieval philosophers. However, it goes beyond the medievals in denying the significance of miracles qua miracles. The first trend explains away the problem of the miracle being contrary to natural law by proposing a new definition of the miracle, according to which the essence of the miracle does not lie in its being contradictory to nature, but in its having a particular significance in history. The second trend, in a sense, chooses science over miracles, denying any validity to the miracle, insofar as it supposedly goes against natural law.

Rosenzweig holds, as does Maimonides, that the miracles of the Bible were built into the scheme of things from creation, hence, they were part of the natural order. These events were miracles because they played a significant role in history. Rosenzweig attempts to connect science and miracles, or what he called objectivity (idealism) and subjectivity (personal meaning), revelation being the point at which they are joined. The man who receives and lives a revelation carries both in him. The miracle of personal revelation is genuine. It infuses meaning into a particular moment, while its impact carries over into the future (see F. Rosenzweig, *Kokhav ha-Ge'ullah* (1970), 131–48).

Buber also stressed that no miracle is contrary to nature, maintaining that the miracle and nature are two different aspects of the same phenomenon – revelation. For Buber, man's attitude is the essential element in the miracle: the miracle is "our receptivity to the eternal revelation." Buber approaches biblical miracles by asking, "what human relation to real events this could have been… (which) grew into the written account we have read" (*Moses* (1958), 61ff.). A man today can experience the same relation to real events, the same miracle, that biblical man experienced. The attitude that a man has to events, the world, or other people is the raw material out of which experiences that are miracles arise. For a person properly attuned, any event may be considered a miracle, in terms of its meaning for him.

Heschel stresses the same points using various terms such as "the legacy of wonder" (*God in Search of Man* (1959), 43), or "radical amazement," terms that he gives to the sense of mystery and awe that he attributed to biblical figures. He writes that, "What stirred their souls was neither the hidden nor the apparent, but the hidden in the apparent; not the order but the mystery of the order that prevails in the universe" (*ibid.*, 56). He also speaks of the "ineffable," and of a sudden extraordinary and meaningful moment which he calls an "event" as distinguished from "process," the usual scientific way of looking at things.

M. Kaplan conceives of the accounts of miracles in Jewish literature as reflecting the attempt "of the ancient authors to prove and illustrate God's power and goodness" (*Judaism as a Civilization* (1934), 98). Kaplan maintained that these traditions concerning miracles were in conflict with modern thought, and that the belief in miracles that contravene natural law is a "psychological impossibility for most people" (*Questions Jews Ask* (1956), 155–6). The idea of God's exercising control and direction over the workings of the world is passé after modern physics. However, while Kaplan rejects the literalness of the miracle, he sees in the concept that God performs miracles for the sake of the righteous an important idea that has value for modern man, namely, the idea of responsibility and loyalty to what is right.

[Michael J. Graetz]

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MIRANDA, SALOMON RODRIGUES DE (1875–1942), Dutch social-democratic politician. Born in Amsterdam of poor parents, De Miranda became a diamond worker and one of the leading figures of the General Diamond Workers Trade Union (ANDB). The lack of support by the orthodox clergy for their social struggle caused a rupture with their faith and marked the beginning of a secular integration process. De Miranda was a prominent member of the Dutch Labour Party (SDAP) and represented the party as an Amsterdam municipal councilor after 1911. In 1919 he was made alderman for the distribution and price control of foodstuffs, public baths, housing, and public works. In this capacity he was both practitioner and theoretician of the main social-democratic policy at municipal level, which enabled the Labor Party to receive a mass base. He held his function for nearly 20 years and was responsible for the building of several workers' quarters, which were remarkable for their architectural design (the "Amsterdam School"). After the German invasion of the Netherlands, he was arrested and taken to Amersfoort concentration camp where he was beaten to death.

[Henriette Boas / Bob Reinalda (2nd ed.)]

MIRANDA DE EBRO, city in Castile, N. Spain. It had one of the oldest Jewish communities in Castile. The *fuero* ("municipal charter") granted to Miranda de Ebro in 1099 gave the Jews equal rights with the Christian and Moorish residents. In 1290 the community numbered 15 families who paid an annual tax of 3,312 maravedis and 744 maravedis in services. Jews from Miranda went to work in the fields of neighboring villages. In 1304 Ferdinand IV confirmed that the Jews, Moors, and Christians in Miranda had equal rights, in particular as regards financial liabilities. Ferdinand's ruling was reconfirmed by Alfonso XI in 1347 and by Pedro I in 1351. In 1360, at the beginning of the civil war between Pedro the Cruel and Henry of Trastamara, Henry's supporters in the city attacked the Jewish population and many were massacred. Pedro punished the ringleaders and the municipal authorities but, on finally gaining control of the city, Henry granted a moratorium on debts owed to Jews for a year. The privileges of Jews in Miranda, as enumerated to the authorities in Burgos in 1453, included the right to own synagogues, to participate in the tax apportionment, and to work on Sundays at home or in closed workshops, as well as exemption from paying dues to the cathedral. By the system of taxation introduced by Jacob ibn Nuñez in 1474, several neighboring communities were joined with Miranda and their joint tax was fixed at 2,000 maravedis. In 1485 they had to pay a levy of 107 castellanos for the war with Granada. On the expulsion of the Jews from Spain in 1492, the synagogue of Miranda was handed over to the municipal council. The remains of the synagogue in Miranda are preserved in a house in Calle de la Fuenta (no. 18). The Jewish quarter was located in and around the present Calle de la Independencia (formerly de los Judíos).

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[Haim Beinart]

MIRANSKY, PERETZ (1908–1993), Yiddish poet and fable-writer. Miransky was born in Vilnius (Vilna), Lithuania, where he attended *ḥeder* and then public high school. He made his literary debut in 1934 with two fables in the *Vilner Tog*. He joined the *Yung Vilne (Young Vilna) group of poets and artists, and contributed to its literary publications such as *Yung Vilne*. He was one of the group's last remaining members along with Abraham *Sutzkever. His fables appeared in Yiddish periodicals, including the Warsaw *Literarishe Bleter* and the Kovno (Kaunas) *Emes*, and newspapers in Bialystok, Grodno, and Gluboke (Hlybokaye, Belarus). His fables were used in pedagogical materials for the Yiddish schools. He wrote pieces that were performed in the Vilna ARRT revue theater and in the *Maydim* Yiddish puppet theater.

Miransky fled the Nazi invasion to Samarkand, Uzbekistan, and worked in an artel. After the war he lived in the Tempelhof DP camp in Berlin, where he was culturally active among the refugees and coedited the journal *Undzer Lebn*. He immigrated to Canada in 1949 and settled in Montreal. He moved permanently to Toronto in 1955 and greatly enriched the Toronto Yiddish cultural scene. His Yiddish poetry and fables were published widely in the Yiddish press and in literary journals including the *Keneder Odler*, *Yidisher Zhurnal*, *Goldene Keyt*, *Svive*, *Tsukunft*, *Afn Shvel*, *Yidishe Kultur*, and the *Forverts*. He published several volumes of his writing in Canada and Israel: *A Likht far a Groshn* (1951), *Shures Shire: Lider un Mesholim* (1974), *Tsvishn Shmeykhl un Trer: Mesho-*

lim Bukh (1979), *Nit Derzogt* (1983), and *A Zemer fun Demer* (1991). His writing, with its eternal themes and emphasis on issues of social justice, has been widely published in translation, most recently in a bilingual English-Yiddish edition: *Selected Poems and Fables: An English/Yiddish Collection* (ed. Anna Miransky, 2000). His poetry has also been set to music, found in Marilyn Lerner and David Wall's *Still Soft Voiced Heart*: *New Yiddish Lieder* (2002) and the Flying Bulgar Klezmer Band's *Sweet Return* (2003).

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[Rebecca Margolis (2nd ed.)]

MIRELMAN, family of Argentine industrialists and Jewish leaders. SIMON (1894–1978) was born in London, moved to Russia and Switzerland, and settled in Buenos Aires in 1914. Three of his brothers, ROBERTO (1898–1991), JACOB (1900–1990), and JOSE (1902–1996), were born in Russia, educated in Switzerland, and eventually joined Simon in Buenos Aires at different stages after World War I. LEON (1907–2003) was born in Switzerland and moved to Buenos Aires in 1927. There the brothers founded a highly successful textile factory. Simon was president of the Hospital Israelita, B'nai B'rith, the Committee Against Antisemitism (later *DAIA), the Argentine-Israel Cultural Institute, the United Jewish Appeal, and the Israel Bond Drive. He also had a prominent role in the establishment of an office of the American Jewish Committee in Buenos Aires, and was a member if the Board of Governors of the Hebrew University. Roberto was president of the Congregacion Israelita and later among the founders of Bet El synagogue. Jose became a strong Zionist advocate and a leader of the Revisionists in Argentina. In 1949 he moved to Israel. Already in the 1960s he became an activist for the immigration of Russian Jews to Israel, and printed over a million Russian-Hebrew dictionaries, *haggadot* in Russian, and other educational materials, to be forwarded to Jewish communities in Russia. In the 1970s he supported the exchange of Russian Jews for hard currency, which enabled the exit of over 100,000 Jews. Leon was president of the board of the Seminario Rabinico Latinoamericano from its inception in 1962 until 1969, and for many years the president of the United Jewish Appeal.

The Mirelman brothers were benefactors of many Jewish causes, especially those connected with Israel. In the 1930s they founded Editorial Israel, a pioneering effort to publish books of Jewish content in Spanish. Over 100 titles were published.

Jose's son, DAVID (1938–), born in Argentina, emigrated to Israel in 1949 and became a biochemist at the Weizmann Institute of Science, known for his investigation of infectious and parasitic diseases in less developed countries, and in particular as an expert in the molecular biology of host-pathogen interactions.

Leon's son, VICTOR (1943–), born in Argentina, moved to the U.S., where he became a Conservative rabbi and professor of Jewish history, publishing in particular scholarly works on the Jews of Argentina.

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[Victor A. Mirelman (2nd ed.)]

MIRIAM (Heb. מִרְיָם); the daughter of *Amram and Jochebed and sister of *Moses and *Aaron (Num.26:59; I Chron. 5:29. The name may mean "gift" (see von Soden, UF 2 (1970), 269–72). According to tradition, Miriam is the sister, mentioned in Exodus 2:2–8, who advised Pharaoh's daughter to call a Hebrew nurse for him. The critical view is that the representation of Moses, Aaron, and Miriam as "siblings" is secondary. In the earliest form of the tradition, Miriam was one of the leaders of the Exodus (Micah 6:4). The title "prophetess" was given to Miriam when she appeared, timbrel in hand, at the head of the singing and dancing women after the crossing of the Red Sea (Ex. 15:20–21). It was an Israelite custom for women to welcome the men with timbrels and dancing when they returned from the battlefield and at other celebrations (cf. Judg. 11:34; I Sam. 18:6–7; Ps. 68:26).

Miriam is also mentioned in the context of her and Aaron's attempt to challenge Moses' exclusive right to speak in the name of the Lord (Num. 12). Miriam is mentioned first, and according to G.B. Gray, the verb appearing in the feminine, *va-tedabber be-* ("she spoke against"), suggests that Miriam led this revolt. In any event, she alone was punished. The text preserves two traditions: one that the cause of the rebellion was Moses' marriage to a Kushite (black Sudanese) woman (Num. 12:1), while the other cause was a challenge to the unique authority of Moses, i.e., Miriam and Aaron objected to Moses' exclusive right to prophesy in God's name (cf. Num. 11:25–30). Miriam was smitten with a dread skin disease (see *Leprosy), and was healed only after Moses interceded on her behalf, and after she had been quarantined for seven days. Her punishment is recalled again (Deut. 24:9), as a warning against disobeying the laws against "leprosy." Miriam died in Kadesh and was buried there (Num. 20:1). It is likely that there were more traditions about Miriam that did not survive the canonization of the Bible.

[Ephraim Stern / S. David Sperling (2nd ed.)]

In the Aggadah:

Miriam was so called in reference to the bitterness of the bondage of Egypt (מר, "bitter"; Ex. R. 26:1). Although she is referred to as a prophetess in the Bible (Ex. 15:20), none of her prophecies is mentioned there. The *aggadah*, however, fills the lacuna. It explains that her father *Amram, unwilling to have children who would be doomed to death, divorced his wife after Pharaoh's decree. Miriam urged him to remarry *Jochebed, rebuking him for being even more cruel than Pharaoh since the latter had decreed only against the male children, and prophesying that a child would be born from them who would be the liberator of Israel. Amram acceded and Miriam sang and danced before her parents on the occasion of the remarriage (Sot. 12a–13a; BB 120a). Miriam is identified by some rabbis with Puah (from פעה, "to open the mouth": Ex. R. 1:13; Rashi, Sot. 11b), one of the midwives (Ex. 1:15), who was so called because she comforted the mother and cooed to the child to make it open its mouth. As a reward she was destined to have illustrious descendants. She is also identified with Azubah, the wife of Caleb (I Chron. 2:18); their son, Hur (Ex. R. 1:17) was the grandfather of Bezalel, who inherited the wisdom of his great-grandmother and was the architect of the Sanctuary. Some rabbis hold that even King David was descended from her (Sif. Num. 78; Ex. R. 48:3–4).

Miriam is portrayed as fearless in her rebukes. As a child, she reprimanded Pharaoh for his cruelty, and he refrained from putting her to death only as a result of her mother's plea that she was but a child (Ex. R. 1:13). She also saw fit to rebuke Moses when he separated from Zipporah, because she felt that he should procreate (Sif. Num. 99). Although Miriam was punished with leprosy, God honored her by Himself officiating as the kohen to declare her definitely a leper and subsequently to declare her cleansed (Zev. 102a). Because she had waited for Moses by the river, the Israelites waited for her to recover (Sot. 11a). A miraculous well, created during the twilight on the eve of the first Sabbath (Avot 5:6), accompanied the Children of Israel in the desert due to her merits (Ta'an. 9a). Like Moses and Aaron, she too died by the kiss of God since the angel of death had no power over her (BB 17a).

[Aaron Rothkoff]

In Islam

In his early prophecies Muhammad speaks about Miriam (Mary, Ar. Maryam) and her son Jesus, who was born of the Holy Spirit (Sura 19:20; 23:52; 66:12). It is, however, also said in Sura 19:29 that she was the sister of Aaron, while in the third Sura (3:31), known as the sura of the family of ʿImrān, she is described as the daughter of ʿImrān. In connection with the decrees of Firʿawn (*Pharaoh), Muhammad related that the mother of Mūsā (Moses) ordered his sister to watch over the ark in which Moses had been placed (20:41–42; 28:10–12) – without mentioning her name. On another occasion (66:11–12), he mentions the wife of Pharaoh and Miriam (the mother of Jesus) among the righteous women. According to Tabarī and Thaʿlabī, Miriam was married to Caleb, while in Kisāʾī's tale about Qārūn (*Korah), it is said that Miriam was his wife and that it was from her he had learned the science of alchemy, the reason for his attainment to wealth.

[Haïm Z'ew Hirschberg]

For Miriam in the arts, see *Moses, In the Arts.

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MIRIAM BAT BENAYAH, scribe who lived in *San'a, *Yemen, during the late fifteenth and into the early sixteenth century and followed her family's profession. Her education, which included, at a minimum, the skills of reading and writing in Hebrew, as well as the special prayers and procedures required of a Torah scribe, was highly unusual for a woman of her time and place. Miriam worked with her father, *Safra* (scribe) Benayah ben Sa'adiah ben Zekhariah, and her two brothers David and Joseph. Together, the family is credited with copying 400 books, including prayer books and collections of *haftarot* as well as copies of the Torah. Only a few examples of their work are still in existence, and most may have represented joint efforts, because not all are signed by a single family member. However, one Torah scroll, whose existence was first reported to the wider world in 1859 by a Jewish traveler to Yemen, is unmistakably the work of Miriam. Its colophon reads: "Do not condemn me for any errors that you may find, as I am a nursing woman," an apparent indication that Miriam continued her scribal work after she married and had a family. No information about her husband or her offspring is known.

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[Emily Taitz (2nd ed.)]

MIRISCH BROTHERS, HAROLD (1907–1968), **MARVIN** (1918–2002), and **WALTER** (1921–), U.S. film producers. Born in New York, the Mirisch brothers became a team in 1952, when they joined Allied Artists as executives. They wanted to produce high-quality films by giving a free hand to independent filmmakers, but Allied dropped the plan after two productions, so in 1957 the brothers set up their own company. They envisioned the Mirisch Company as a haven for independent filmmakers who did not want to deal with the business aspect of an independent production company. The brothers signed a 12-picture deal with United Artists in 1957, which was extended to 20 films two years later. The Mirisch Company moved to the Samuel Goldwyn Studios, where they became the largest tenant. Many actors, directors, and other producers enjoyed stability and creative autonomy under the canopy of the Mirisch Company. In 1969 Walter Mirisch was named president and executive head of production of the Mirisch Corporation.

The Mirisch brothers scored an immediate success with their first film, Billy Wilder's *Some Like It Hot* (1959). The company' subsequent films included *The Apartment* (1960), *The Magnificent Seven* (1960), *By Love Possessed* (1961), *West Side Story* (1961), *The Children's Hour* (1962), *Two for the Seesaw* (1962), *The Great Escape* (1963), *Toys in the Attic* (1963), *The Pink Panther* (1964), *The Russians Are Coming* (1966), *Hawaii* (1966), *In the Heat of the Night* (Academy Award winner for Best Picture, 1967), *Fitzwilly* (1967), *They Call Me Mr. Tibbs* (1970), *The Organization* (1971), *Scorpio* (1973), *Mr. Majestyk* (1974), *Midway* (1976), *Gray Lady Down* (1977), *Same Time Next Year* (1978), *The Prisoner of Zenda* (1979), *Dracula* (1979), *Romantic Comedy* (1983), *Lily in Winter* (1994), and the TV series *The Magnificent Seven* (1998).

Walter Mirisch was president of the Academy of Motion Picture Arts and Sciences from 1973 through 1978. In 1978 the Academy awarded him the Irving Thalberg Memorial Award, and in 1983 he received the Academy's Jean Hersholt Humanitarian Award.

[Jonathan Licht / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

MIRON, DAN (1934–), scholar and critic of Hebrew and Yiddish Literature. Miron was born in Tel Aviv. He studied for his first two academic degrees at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, and for his Ph.D. at Columbia University in New York. For more than 40 years he taught at the universities of Tel Aviv and Jerusalem and at Columbia University. Dan Miron's oeuvre constitutes one of the largest, most impressive, and significant achievements in the research and criticism of Jewish Literature in recent generations. His unique contribution to Jewish literary studies can be considered under the following parameters:

Quantity

Miron's scholarly output has been prodigious. He published his first article in 1951, when he was just 17, and from then not a year went by without a written or published work. His publications include some 30 original books, another 30 or so which he edited or translated, generally adding a substantial foreword or postscript, and hundreds of articles. In addition, he was responsible for two massive, long-term editorial projects: The complete definitive edition of the poems of Ḥ.N. Bialik, in three volumes (1983–2000) and the edition of the works of U.Ẓ. Greenberg, not yet complete, comprising over a dozen volumes by 2005.

Scope

Miron's opus is multifaceted and spans historical periods, genres and languages. In historical terms, his research projects span from the beginning of the Haskalah during the first half of the 19th century to the most avant-garde literary frontline of the end of the 20th century and the beginning of the 21st. Within this wide range he has researched most of the major writers, of both prose and verse, and many of the more marginal, both Hebrew and Yiddish.

Methodology

Although Miron's intellectual heritage derived from the related trends of Anglo-American New Criticism, Russian Formalism, and French Structuralism, he was never content to remain within the bounds of textual and semiotic analyses, or of an "internal" investigation of literary dynamics. At the same time he never abandoned them. His interpretations combine a subtle and sensitive recording of the finest nuances of a text, of its multiple levels of meaning, its poetics and its aesthetics with an awareness of the text's historical, biographical, social and cultural contexts. These contexts he describes in lively detail, mapping their reciprocal and cross-fertilizing links to a group of texts.

Form

Miron's critical work takes the form of brilliantly organized essays, possessing a high artistic quality of their own. Their organization is of a rigorously classical kind, which functions by way of discovering an ordering idea within a primordial mass of heterogeneous material, thus imposing a boldly contoured clarity upon diversity and confusion. The aesthetics of masterly ordering in the essays has an emotional effect, due to its narrative, even dramatic character. Miron's essays tell a story, and they employ intuitively the tactics and strategies of effective storytelling to arouse interest, to maintain suspense and to provide enough information to satisfy the reader's natural curiosity without quenching a desire to investigate further.

Miron's oeuvre, developing since the 1950s, is a profoundly searching multidimensional project, which delineates a richly detailed map of modern Jewish literature and culture. It uncovers hidden areas and throws new light upon well-known territory. It offers the student of contemporary Jewish literature a superb entry route to the many faces of the subject.

Among his works are *Shalom Aleikhem: Pirkei Masah* (1970); *Sholem Aleykhem: Person, Persona, Presence* (1972); *Arba Panim ba-Sifrut ha-Ivrit* (1975); *Bein Ḥazon le-Emet: Nizzanei ha-Roman ha-Ivri* (1979); *Kivvun Orot: Taḥanot ba-Sipporet ha-Ivrit ha-Modernit* (1979); *Der imazsh fun Shtetl: Dray literarishe Shtudyes* (1981); *Ha-Preidah min ha-Ani he-'Ani* (1986); *Mul ha-Aḥ ha-Shotek: Iyyunim be-Shirat Milḥemet ha-Aẓma'ut* (1992); *H.N. Bialik and the Prophetic Mode in Modern Hebrew Poetry* (2000); *Parpar min ha-Tola'at: Natan Alterman ha-Ẓa'ir* (2001); *Akdamot le-Aẓag* (= U.Z. Greenberg) (2002); *Ha-Ẓad ha-Afel bi-Ẓeḥoko shel Shalom Aleikhem* (2004).

[Gidi Nevo]

MIRON (Michrovsky), ISSACHAR (1920–), Israeli composer. Born in Poland, Miron studied composition and conducting at the Warsaw Conservatory. He settled in Ereẓ Israel in 1939. He served in the British Army's Jewish Brigade and during that period composed his most popular song "*Tzena, Tzena*" ("Come Out, Come Out"). This song was performed and recorded all over the world by singers such as Pete Seeger, Bing Crosby, Judy Garland, and Richard *Tucker. Following the establishment of the State of Israel, he served in the Israeli Army as the director of music and art programs. From 1957 to

1961 he edited *Zemirot*, the Jewish Agency folk music periodical. In 1959 he was awarded the Engel Prize for his compositions. In 1963 he went to the U.S. where he continued to compose music. Among his many compositions of instrumental and liturgical music are: *Kol Rinah be-Ohalei Yisrael*: A Sabbath Service of Israel for Cantor, Chorus (SATB) and Organ (1963), *Tripartiture Epigram* for violoncello and piano (1975), *Sephardic nocturno* for violoncello and piano (1975), *Klezmer Reflections* for oboe and piano (1980), and many popular songs. His archive is at the Music Department at the Jewish National University Library, Jerusalem.

[Israela Stein and Gila Flam (2nd ed.)]

MIROSLAV (Ger. **Misslitz**), town in S. Moravia, Czech Republic. Jews apparently settled there after their expulsion from the Moravian royal cities (1454). There is a record of a community during the Turkish wars; subsequently it diminished to only three families, but later absorbed refugees from the *Chmielnicki massacres (1648). In 1666, 20 Jews were put in chains and expelled from the town. Subsequently Jews from *Vienna settled in the town, bringing the total Jewish population to 18 families. The oldest legible tombstone in the Jewish cemetery dates from 1692. The *Familiants laws allotted 119 families to Miroslav, where in 1753, 64 families lived in 18 houses. Their number had risen to 448 persons (18% of the total population) in 1801 and remained the same in 1820. In 1831 Rafael Koenig (b. 1808) became the first Jewish locksmith in the Hapsburg Empire. A synagogue in the Reform style was erected in 1845. In 1867 a political community (see **politische Gemeinden*) was established, which was incorporated in the municipality in 1924. The Jewish population reached its peak in 1857, when it numbered 1,032, subsequently declining to 424 in 1869 and then rising slightly to 528 in 1900. During World War I some 350 refugees fled to Miroslav, but few of them settled. In 1930 the community numbered 291 (6.6% of the total). The remainder of the community was deported to Nazi extermination camps in 1942, and the synagogue equipment was sent to the Central Jewish Museum in Prague. Although the community was not revived after the war, the Jewish quarter was preserved in its original plan.

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[Meir Lamed]

MIROWSKI, MICHEL (1924–1990), doctor and co-inventor of the implantable defibrillator. Born in Poland, Mirowski survived the Nazi Holocaust as a teenager and was left without family. He immigrated to Lyon, France, to study medicine. He completed his postdoctoral studies in Israel at Tel Hashomer Hospital and fellowships with Professor Demetrio Sodi Pallares in Mexico City and with Dr. Helen Taussig at Johns Hopkins in the U.S. In 1963, he returned to Israel and became the chief cardiologist at Asaf Harofe Hospital, where he focused his research on abnormal heart rhythms.

In the late 1960s, his former mentor at Tel Hashomer Hospital and chief of medicine, Dr. Harry Heller, died of recurrent tachyarrhythmias. This event marked a turning point in Mirowski's career. Realizing that patients like Heller cannot stay indefinitely in hospitals, and inspired by the recent development of the implantable pacemaker, Mirowski conceived of a small implantable device that would monitor the heart continuously and deliver an appropriate electrical shock to patients in response to life-threatening abnormal heart rhythms (ventricular tachyarrhythmias). Mirowski hoped that the hundreds of thousands of people who succumbed annually to abnormal heart rhythms could be saved by such a device. However, the technology of the time rendered the concept of miniaturizing a large table-top external defibrillator with no monitoring capabilities untenable.

Unable to find resources to pursue his idea in Israel, Mirowski returned to Baltimore in 1968 to direct the new Coronary Care Unit at Sinai Hospital. It was within a year that his team developed the first prototype, making him the pioneer cardiologist who invented the implantable defibrillator (ID). The first surgical implant of the defibrillator occurred in 1980 at the Johns Hopkins Hospital.

He led the way for the clinical use of the implantable defibrillator despite enormous obstacles from within the medical profession, and in defiance of many leading cardiologists in the field who said the implantable defibrillator had no clinical utility. It was his steadfast commitment to the concept of the implantable defibrillator and the goal of introducing it into clinical cardiology in his lifetime that allowed him to see some of the fruits of his vision and his labors before his premature death in 1990 from multiple myeloma.

Since the 1980s, many new generations of IDs have been developed, all based on Mirowski's original concept and work. Hundreds of thousands of lives have been saved by IDs worldwide, and they have revolutionized the therapy for malignant tachyarrhythmia and heart failure. Mirowski's life story demonstrates the importance of unfettered scientific inquiry in medical advance. His favorite quote was, "The bumps in the road are not bumps. They are the road."

[Ariella M. Rosengard and Dan Gilon (2nd ed.)]

MIRSKY, AARON (1914–2001), Hebrew writer. Born in Novogrodek, Poland, he was ordained as a rabbi and immigrated to Ereẓ Israel in 1935. He was an editor at the Mosad Bialik publishing house (1950–60), and from 1952 taught Hebrew literature at The Hebrew University (professor, 1965). He published studies on ancient and medieval Hebrew poetry and on the Hebrew language. His books include *Yalkut ha-Piyyutim* (1958), an annotated anthology of medieval Hebrew religious poetry; *Shirei Yiẓḥak Ibn Ḥalfon* (1961), with an introduction and textual variants; *Reshit ha-Piyyut* (1965); and volumes of his own poetry, *Alei Si'aḥ* (1966), *Sefer ha-Gai ve-ha-Kaddish* (1986), and *Din ha-Shir* (1994). Among his other works are *Ha-Pisuk shel ha-Signon ha-Ivri* (1978), a study of the *piyyut* tradition in the Diaspora and in Ereẓ Israel (1990) as well as a book on Hebrew style (*Signon Ivri*, 1999). A bibliography of his works was published in 1986.

[Getzel Kressel]

MIRSKY, SAMUEL KALMAN (1899–1967), rabbinic scholar, religious Zionist, and Hebraist. Born in Russia, Mirsky emigrated as a child with his parents to Palestine, where he received a thorough talmudic education and *semikhah* at 16. After teaching for some time at various yeshivot, he graduated from the Palestine Government Law School in 1924 and settled in the United States in 1926. He began teaching at Rabbi Isaac Elchanan Theological Seminary in 1936; in 1954 he became professor of rabbinics and director of the Israel Institute at Yeshiva University. In 1942 Mirsky was appointed rabbi of the Borough Park, New York, Young Israel Congregation. He took a leading part in the work of *Mizrachi and of *Histadrut Ivrit of America, serving as president of the latter in 1958 and founding its Hebrew Academy and its journal *Perakim*, which he edited (3 vols., 1957–63). He also edited the Hebrew quarterly *Talpioth* (9 vols., 1944–65), the annual of the Sura Research Publishing Foundation, *Sura* (4 vols., 1953–64), which he founded, and the *Morashah* book series. Mirsky's main scholarly achievement lay in the publication of medieval critical texts, such as Aḥai Gaon's *She'iltot* (4 vols., 1959–66) and two commentaries on Alfasi, *Perush Rabbi Yehudah ben Binyamin Anav* (1955) and *Perush Rabbi Yonatan ha-Kohen mi-Lunel al-Megillah u-Mo'ed Katan* (1956). Only the first part of his new edition of the 13th-century halakhic compendium by Zedekiah b. Abraham Anau, *Shibbolei ha-Leket* (1966), with an extensive introduction, appeared. Mirsky also published collections of his own articles and edited two books of essays on the leading figures and institutions of modern Jewish scholarship, *Mosedot Torah be-Eiropah* (1957) and *Ishim u-Demuyyot be-Ḥokhmat Yisrael be-Eiropah* (1959). He contributed many articles to periodicals, some in English, and some in Hebrew. Two of his originally written autobiographical articles for *Genazim* appeared in *Hadoar* (Nov. 3 and 10, 1967).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: S. Bernstein and G.A. Churgin (eds.), *Sefer Yovel… Mirsky* (1958), incl. bibl.; G. Appel (ed.), *S.K. Mirsky Memorial Volume* (Heb. and Eng., 1970), incl. bibl.

[Eisig Silberschlag]

MIRVISH, family of Canadian entrepreneurs and theatrical producers. EDWIN ("Honest Ed"; 1914–) was born in Virginia in 1914 and lived his early years in Washington, D.C. Ed Mirvish moved to Toronto with his family when he was nine years old. His father opened a grocery store in a heavily Jewish immigrant downtown residential neighborhood. After running a series of different businesses, including a cleaner's and a dress shop, Ed, a high school dropout, moved into bargain merchandising and quickly found success with his no-credit, no-frills model of doing business. In 1948 he opened Honest Ed's, a discount store located at Bloor and Bathurst, a key intersection in Toronto's busy downtown. The store with its huge billboard remains a landmark in the city. Between 1959 to 1963 he purchased a two-block area of houses on Markham Street adjacent to his store and converted the area into "Mirvish Village," a trendy area of art galleries, studios, stores and restaurants.

In 1963 Mirvish purchased the Royal Alexandra, a historic theater that was slated for demolition, and refurbished it, revitalizing the Toronto theater scene. Convinced that theaters and restaurants worked well together, he also opened a series of restaurants which drew crowds into the area. With his son DAVID (1944–), in 1982 he bought and refurbished London's legendary Old Vic Theatre, which they owned and operated until 2000, and also built the Princess of Wales Theatre in Toronto in 1993. Ed and David operate Mirvish Productions, which has staged productions of many Broadway hits such as *The Lion King*, *Mama Mia!*, *The Producers*, and *Hairspray*. In addition to their theater business, David Mirvish has operated an independent bookstore from the 1970s, which specializes in books on art, architecture, design, and photography.

A tradition since Ed's 75th birthday has been the large annual party adjacent to the flagship store, which attracts over 50,000 people for seven hours of free food, entertainment, and children's rides. Ed has been awarded honorary degrees from five Canadian universities and from Tel Aviv University and has been inducted into the Canadian and American Business Hall of Fame and honored with the Order of Canada.

[Randal F. Schnoor (2nd ed.)]

MISES, LUDWIG EDLER VON (1881–1973), economist, best known for his work on monetary theory and his criticism of interventionism and central planning. Born in Lemberg, the son of an Austrian railway engineer, von Mises was educated in Vienna. As professor of economics at the University of Vienna from 1913 to 1938, he represented the Austrian economic school of thought. He served as a consultant to the Austrian Chamber of Commerce and formed the Austrian Institute for Business Cycle Research in 1926. From 1934 Von Mises taught in Geneva and from 1940 in New York. Together with Luigi Einaudi, Jacques Rueff, and Wilhelm Roepke, he founded the Mont Pélerin Society, an influential international association of free-market economists and sociologists. His writings include: *The Theory of Money and Credit* (1912); *Kritik des Interventionismus* (1929); *Die Ursachen der Wirtschaftskrise* (1931); *The Ultimate Foundation of Economic Science* (1962); *Human Action: a Treatise on Economics* (1966^3).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: H. Sennholz (ed.), *On Freedom and Free Enterprise* (1956).

[Joachim O. Ronall]

MISGAV AM (Heb. מִשְׂגַּב עָם; "Stronghold of the People"), kibbutz on the Naphtali Ridge, on the Israel-Lebanese-border, affiliated with Ha-Kibbutz ha-Me'uḥad. Its establishment in 1945 by a group of Ha-No'ar ha-Oved youth 2,770 ft. (840 m.) above sea level, and accessible only by steep footpaths, was a daring undertaking. In the Israel War of Independence (1948), Misgav Am was for many months completely isolated but served eventually as a base for Israel forces in Operation Ḥiram. In 1980 five terrorists infiltrated the kibbutz, killing the kibbutz secretary and an infant and wounding four more children before being stopped by the army. In 1969 the kibbutz cultivated the hilly terrain in its vicinity and also had fields and orchards in the Ḥuleh Valley below. Subsequently it manufactured surgical dressings. In the mid-1990s, the population was approximately 280, declining to 236 in 2002.

WEBSITE: www.misgav-am.com.

[Efraim Orni / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

MISHCON, VICTOR, BARON (1915–), British solicitor and politician. Educated at the City of London school, in 1937 Mishcon founded a one-man firm of solicitors in Brixton, south London. From 1988, after growth and merger, it was known as Mishcon de Reya and had become one of the largest and most prestigious firms of solicitors in Britain. It represented Princess Diana in her divorce proceedings against Prince Charles and acted for American historian Deborah *Lipstadt in the libel suit brought against her in 2000 by David Irving. Victor Mishcon served as a Labour member on many public bodies and was chairman of the London County Council in 1954–55. In 1954–57 he served as a member of the controversial Departmental Committee of Inquiry into Homosexuality and Prostitution. Mishcon was made a life peer in 1978 and was Opposition spokesman in the House of Lords on Home Affairs in 1983–90. In 1990–92, most unusually for a solicitor, he served as shadow lord chancellor, a post normally reserved for a senior barrister, and in 1992 was the first practicing solicitor to be appointed an honorary Q.C. Mishcon was associated with many Jewish and Israeli causes. He was president of the Anglo-Jewish Association and served as vice president of the Board of Deputies of British Jews.

[William D. Rubinstein (2nd ed.)]

MI SHE-BERAKH (Heb. מִי שֶׁבֵּרַךְ; "He Who Blessed"), initial words of a prayer formula said on various occasions and invoking God's blessing on the community and on individuals.

During the Sabbath morning service after the Torah reading a blessing is invoked "May He who blessed our forefathers… bless this holy congregation…" The wording of this *Mi she-Berakh* varies in the various rites, but in its essence can be found in the oldest manuscripts. In different communities there are various additional *Mi she-Berakh* prayers, e.g., for one who does not interrupt his prayers from **Barukh she-Amar* through the **Amidah*, for one who always comes on time to the synagogue, etc. In Israel there is a *Mi she-Berakh* for the soldiers of the Israel Defense Forces. A personal *Mi she-Berakh* is generally recited for every person called to the reading of the law sometimes specifying the donation being made to the synagogue. If the person called to the Torah is celebrating a special occasion, such as his bar mitzvah, forthcoming marriage, or the birth of a child, the prayer is worded so as to make reference to the event. For a female child the name is usually given in the prayer. The usual *Mi she-Berakh* starts with the words "May He who blessed our fathers Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob bless…," however, when the blessing is invoked for a sick female or one recovering from childbirth, the names of the matriarchs, Sarah, Rebekah, Rachel, and Leah are added to the invocation. It is also customary to recite relevant versions of the prayer at banquets celebrating events of religious importance.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Eisenstein, Dinim, s.v.

MISHMAR HA-EMEK (Heb. מִשְׁמַר הָעֵמֶק; "Guard of the Valley"), kibbutz on the southwest rim of the *Jezreel Valley, Israel, affiliated with Kibbutz Arẓi ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir. It was founded in 1926 by pioneers from Poland (joined later by immigrants from other countries) as the first Jewish settlement in the area. It soon became a center of the Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir movement, particularly since the first regional school of the Kibbutz Arẓi network was set up there. In the Israel *War of Independence (1948), Mishmar ha-Emek successfully resisted the first large-scale attack of the Arab "Liberation Army," commanded by Fawzī al-Qāwuqjī, aimed at a breakthrough to Haifa. The attacking Arab forces were eventually thrown back toward *Megiddo and Jenin (April 1948). In 1969, the kibbutz had 700 inhabitants, increasing to 790 in the mid-1990s and 935 in 2002. Its economy was based on intensive and diverse farming, such as field crops, orchards, dairy cattle, and poultry. It also operated a plastics factory for electrical appliances and household goods in partnership with Kibbutz Galed. The Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir Forest which was planted in the hills near the kibbutz at the end of the 1920s has become part of the Menasheh Forest, the largest in the country. The kibbutz has a local museum.

[Efraim Orni]

MISHMAR HA-NEGEV (Heb. מִשְׁמַר הַנֶּגֶב; "Guard of the Negev"), kibbutz in southern Israel, 12 mi. (20 km.) N.W. of Beersheba, affiliated with Ha-Kibbutz ha-Me'uḥad. It was one of the eleven Jewish settlements established in one night (Oct. 6, 1946) in the south and Negev as a continuation of the "tower and stockade" principle. In the Israel *War of Independence (1948), the kibbutz constituted an important link with the isolated Negev settlements and served as a base for the Israel forces which captured Beersheba. Its members, numbering 462 in 1969, originated from Latin American countries, France, North Africa, Bulgaria, and other countries. In 1969 its economy was based on agriculture irrigated by the National Water Carrier, and on a plastics factory. In 2002 the population was 592, and it also operated an events center, shooting range, and gas station. The local archaeological museum displays artifacts from the vicinity where ancient *Gerar is supposed to have been located.

[Efram Orni / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

MISHMAR HA-SHARON (Heb. מִשְׁמַר הַשָּׁרוֹן; "Guard of the Sharon"), kibbutz in central Israel, in the Ḥefer Plain, affiliated with Iḥud ha-Kevuẓot ve-ha-Kibbutzim, founded in 1933. Mishmar ha-Sharon developed intensive, irrigated farming, including citrus, and dairy cattle; it pioneered in raising flowers. The kibbutz also operated a bakery, one of the oldest and biggest in the country and the mainstay of its economy. After it burned down, many of the kibbutz members began to work outside the kibbutz, contributing their salaries to the common fund. In 1969 the population was 400; in 2002, 447.

WEBSITE: www.mhash.org.il.

[Efraim Orni / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

MISHMAR HA-YARDEN (Heb. מִשְׁמַר הַיַּרְדֵּן; "Guard of the Jordan"), moshav in northern Israel, near the upper Jordan River course, affiliated with the *Ḥerut Movement. In 1884 a Jew living in the United States acquired the land, to establish a farm, Shoshannat ha-Yarden, but shortly after sold his holding to a Ḥovevei Zion group from Russia which founded the moshavah of Mishmar ha-Yarden (1890). Although it received aid from Baron Edmond de *Rothschild, the village, which was based mainly on extensive grain crops, did not make much headway. It suffered from isolation and the endemic malaria. In 1946 the village, reinforced with the settlement of Irgun Wedgwood, a group of World War II veterans, intensified its farming. In the Israel *War of Independence, the Syrian army crossed the Jordan River from the *Golan over the nearby *Benot Ya'akov Bridge, and established a bridgehead at Mishmar ha-Yarden, in an attempt to cut off the Ḥuleh Valley and penetrate into Galilee (May 1948). The attempt of Israel forces to encircle the Syrians from the east in "Operation Berosh" (July 1948) was unsuccessful, but the bridgehead was contained and its area reduced. When the Syrians evacuated the area as a result of the armistice terms (1949), hardly any traces remained of the moshavah. At the end of 1949, the moshav and a kibbutz, Gadot, were founded on the site. Until the Six-Day War (June 1967), Mishmar ha-Yarden was the frequent object of sniping and shelling from Syrian positions, just beyond the Jordan River. Most of the moshav's inhabitants originated from Morocco. Its farming was based on irrigated field and garden crops, deciduous fruit orchards, and dairy cattle. In 2002 its population was 364.

[Efraim Orni]

MISHMAROT (Heb. מִשְׁמָרוֹת; "Guard Posts"), kibbutz in central Israel, near *Pardes Ḥannah, affiliated with Iḥud ha-Kevuzot ve-ha-Kibbutzim, founded in 1933. Mishmarot developed citrus, and field crops, became a partner in a large plywood factory, and set up smaller plants for metal products and furniture parts. Its population in 1968 was 240; in 2002, 290. The kibbutz is known as the birthplace of such pop singers as Shalom *Hanoch, Hanan Yovel, and the late Meir Ariel.

[Efram Orni / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

MISHMAROT AND MA'AMADOT, priestly and levitical divisions.

Historical

According to I Chronicles 24–26 and rabbinic tradition, the priests and the Levites were organized into courses or divisions. According to post-biblical evidence, these divisions used to serve in rotation. The term which is rendered as "course" (Heb. *mishmar, mishmarot*) is the one used in post-biblical sources (*The Scroll of the War of the Sons of Light Against the Sons of Darkness*, p. 2, 2ff.; Suk. 5:6–7; Ta'an. 2:6–7, et al.), whereas the Bible generally employs the term "division" (Heb. *maḥlakah, maḥlakot*).

According to I Chronicles 23:1ff., it was King David who divided all the priests and Levites according to their families and clans and assigned them their tasks in the *Temple. This arrangement is attributed to David also in the description of the dedication of the Temple by Solomon in II Chronicles 8:14. The text of Nehemiah 12:45–46 ascribes the assignment of tasks to the Levites and priests to both David and Solomon. There is no information about the working arrangements in the Temple anywhere else in the Bible; neither is there any allusion to courses among the detailed instructions for the priests and Levites in the Bible. It would appear that even the listing of the divisions of priests and singers and porters, as given in I Chronicles 24–26, dates from the Second Temple era, and that they reflect a Second Temple reality, a conclusion based on the comparison of the list in I Chronicles 24 with the lists of the priestly families in the Book of Ezra and Nehemiah and post-biblical sources.

In the list of returnees in Ezra 2:36–39 (Neh. 7:39–41) – apparently a record of a general census after the rebuilding of the Temple – only four priestly clans are listed: the sons of Jedaiah (of the house of Jeshua), the sons of Immer, the sons of Pashhur, and the sons of Harim. They totaled 4,289, which was a tenth of the number of returnees. This is a complete record of all the priests as of that date, and they belonged to only four families or clans. Of these four clans, three – Jedaiah, Immer, and Harim – appear again in the list of the 24 divisions of the priesthood in I Chronicles 24:7ff. Again, a detailed list of priests (as representatives of clans) leads the list of 22 names of those who signed the covenant in Nehemiah 10:2–9. Eight of these – Immer (Amariah), Malchijah, Shebaniah (Shecaniah), Harim, Abijah, Mijamin, Maaziah, and Bilgai (Bilgah) – recur in the list in I Chronicles 24. With minor differences, these names are the same as those of the priestly clans listed in Nehemiah 12:12–20, which is attributed to the time of Joiakim, the high priest and the father of the high priest Eliashib of the period of Nehemiah. Fifteen names in the latter list are identical with the names of the signers of the covenant, including the eight clans which figure in the list of divisions in Chronicles; and it includes two names which recur in the Chronicles list, including Jehoiarib (Joiarib), the division to which the Hasmoneans belonged. These two lists – of Nehemiah 10 and of Nehemiah 12 – also predate the list of 24 priestly divisions in the book of Chronicles.

It would appear, then, that the author of Chronicles ascribed to David certain later arrangements of divine service, and that the priestly courses were actually not established until the Second Temple era. On the other hand, it may be argued that, although the list of courses in I Chronicles 24–26 reflects reality at the time of the author, the fact that priestly tasks were performed by established divisions serving in rotation indicates a historical tradition. Indeed, the theory that some sort of courses existed in the First Temple is supported by the parallel with the system of divisions in Egyptian temples, despite the generally dissimilar natures of the two priesthoods. The four priestly families mentioned in the list of returnees in Ezra 2:36–39 may possibly have corresponded to the four priestly divisions of the First Temple, which also served in rotation. Comparison of the list of priests in the Book of Ezra and Nehemiah and the list of the 24 priestly courses in Chronicles illustrates the relationship between all these lists, on the one hand, and the priority of the lists in the Book of Ezra and Nehemiah, on the other. The earliest among them is the list of four priestly families, mentioned in Ezra 2, from the time of the Return, which is based on the divisions in the First Temple. According to this list, the number of priests was already very large (4,289 men), and even the number of priests in one family was so great that they could not serve in the Temple simultaneously. An arrangement whereby the groups of priests would serve in rotation was necessary. The families were divided into clans, and the clans into courses (cf. rabbinic tradition: "four divisions returned from Exile – Jedaiah, Harim, Pashhur, and Immer; and the prophets in Jerusalem organized them into four-and-twenty divisions", Tosef., Ta'an. 2:1; TJ, Ta'an. 4:2, 67d, et al.). Perhaps to be included in the same framework is the account given by Josephus (Apion, 2: 108) concerning four priestly tribes that rotated service in the Temple at regular intervals. Indeed, there are those who would amend the text to read "twenty-four" in this place as well (cf. Jos., Life, 2; Jos., Ant., 7:366). A tradition concerning the gradual consolidation of the 24 priestly courses appear also in Tosefta, *Ta'anit* 4:2, and TJ, *Ta'anit* 4:2, 67d.

The establishment of 24 priestly courses and the order of their service as described in I Chronicles 24 was meant to be a permanent arrangement. When this order was established and at what time the list was made is not known. In any event, it was a late development, at least one or two generations after the time of High Priest Joiakim, to which the list of priestly clans in Nehemiah 12 is attributed. Various scholars date this list at the beginning of the Hasmonean era, since Jehoiarib, the representative of the Hasmonean clan, heads the list (I Chron. 24), whereas in Nehemiah his name is 16th on the list. According to this theory, the family of Jehoiarib was primarily a provincial one, which did not achieve greatness until the Hasmonean period. However, according to I Maccabees 2:1, the house of Joiarib (Jehoiarib) was Jerusalemite; only Mattathias moved to Modin (Modi'in, presumably because of the perilous times.). Although he is mentioned 16th on the Nehemiah list, he appears before Jedaiah, whose family was important from the early days of the Return of Exiles (Neh. 12:6, 19). The date of the list of 24 priestly courses may therefore be set close to the period of Nehemiah, still during the Persian occupation. Possibly Nehemiah, who testifies that it was he himself who assigned the priests and the levites their various duties (Neh. 13: 30), also established the arrangement of the 24 priestly courses, despite his failure to specify it in the account of his activities.

[Jacob Liver]

Talmudic Data

As the priests were numerous and scattered throughout Palestine, it was impossible for all of them to officiate at the same time. An arrangement was therefore made whereby they were divided (in the final stage) regionally into 24 *mishmarot* (lit. "guards"; Ta'an. 4:2), which served in a regular weekly rotation. The *mishmarot* were further broken up into a varying number of *battei avot* ("houses" or "families"). Each division and subdivision was presided over by a head, called *rosh mishmar* and *rosh bet av* respectively (Tosef., Hor. 2: 10); there is also mention made of a *bet av* (Tam. 1:1; Mid. 1:8; cf. Yoma 1:5). The levites were similarly divided into 24 *mishmarot*, which replaced each other every week (I Chron. 25:8 ff, et al.; Jos., Ant., 7:363 ff.; Ta'an. 4:2). These were in turn subdivided into seven *battei avot*, and presided over by "heads." Finally, there was an analogous division of the Israelites themselves into 24 *mishmarot*, each of which had to take its turn in coming to Jerusalem for a week. They served to represent the whole body of the people while the daily (communal) offerings were sacrificed, for "how can a man's offering be offered while he does not stand by it?" (Ta'an. 4:2, et al.).

That part of the *mishmar* of priests, Levites, or Israelites actually engaged in the performance of its duty was called a *ma'amad* or *ammud* ("station") and was headed by a *rosh ma'amad* (Tam. 5:6). When the time for the service of a *mishmar* came round, all the priests and Levites belonging to it would go to Jerusalem. Not all the Israelites of that *mishmar*, however, proceeded to Jerusalem. A portion of them certainly did (Ta'an. 4:2; cf. Tosef., Ta'an. 4:3) but those who could not do so assembled in their own towns and read the story of creation, etc. Only those in Jerusalem who actually "stood by" while the sacrifice was being offered could, strictly speaking, be called a *ma'amad*, or *ammud* (see Sof. 17:5; but see Lieberman, *Tosefta ki-Feshutah* 5, 1962, 1104, who shows that according to a different opinion the *ma'amadot* were of Israelites alone).

Activities

These 24 *mishmarot* conducted the daily Temple service, each in turn officiating for one week. Every Sabbath they changed, the retiring *mishmar* offering the morning and *musaf* additional sacrifices, whereas the new *mishmar* offered the evening one, and laid the fresh shewbread on the table (Tosef., Suk. 4:24–25). On the three pilgrim festivals, all the 24 *mishmarot* officiated together (Suk. 5:7–8). Each priestly *mishmar* had in the Temple its own ring at which its members slaughtered their animals (Mid. 3:5) and its own niche in which their vestments were kept (Tam. 5:3). Bilga's niche was, however, permanently blocked up and its ring immovable (Suk. 5:8), a sign of disgrace, because one of its members had once acted shamefully (Suk. 56b). The weekly *mishmarot* of priests were broken up into between four and nine subdivisions (*battei avot*). If there were fewer than seven, some would officiate twice during the week. If, on the other hand, there were more than seven, then on some days two would have to serve together (Tosef., Ta'an. 2:2, et al.). Furthermore, as only a small part of a *bet av* was required to serve at any given time, lots were drawn to decide which individual priests should officiate each day (Yoma 2:2–4, et al.).

A number of restrictions were placed upon members of the *mishmar* and *bet av* during their week (or day) of office. Thus, members of the *mishmar* were permitted to drink wine by night but not by day, whereas those of the *bet av* could not drink wine either by day or night, as they might be called upon to assist in the Temple service at any conceivable hour. Members of the *mishmar* and of the (Israelite) *ma'amad* alike were forbidden to cut their hair or wash their clothes throughout the week – as this should have been done earlier – except on Thursday, so that due honor be accorded the Sabbath (Ta'an. 2:7). On certain communal fast days, members of the *mishmar* and the *bet av* were permitted to eat, or else to fast only partially, so as to have enough strength to carry out their Temple duties (Ta'an. 2:6). The men of the Israelite *ma'amad*, however, would fast from Monday to Thursday on their week of service, while from Sunday to Friday they read (in sections) the chapter of Creation (Gen. 1; Ta'an. 4:2–3). Members of the *mishmar* who were not engaged in actual service would pray that the sacrifices of their officiating brethren be acceptable; while those of the Israelite *ma'amad* who could not come to Jerusalem gathered in their local synagogues (or meeting places) and prayed for the welfare of sailors, wayfarers, children, pregnant women, etc. The *ma'amadot* were considered to be of such importance that it was said that without them heaven and earth could not have survived (Ta'an. 27b; cf. the reading in Sof. 17:15). The institution of the *ma'amadot*, which dates back to the beginning of the Second Temple (see sources cited below), seems to have formed the basis of what later became the synagogal system.

History

Concerning the origins of the *mishmar* system, there are three conflicting (tannaitic) traditions recorded in rabbinic literature:

(1) Moses established eight (priestly) *mishmarot*, to which David and Samuel added another eight. Finally, on the return from the Babylonian Exile, 24 were established (TJ, Ta'an. 4:2, 67);

(2) Moses established eight (priestly and levitical) *mishmarot*; David and Samuel increased them to 24, and on the return from the Exile 24 (Israelite) *ammudim* (*ma'amadot*) were established, parallel to the priestly and levitical *mishmarot* (Tosef., Ta'an. 4:2);

(3) Moses established 16 *mishmarot*, which were later increased to 24 (Ta'an. 27a). Relative unanimity of opinion is to be found only in the account of the restoration of the *mishmar* system after the Babylonian Exile. Four *mishmarot* are said to have returned from the Exile, Jedaiah, Harim, Pashchur, and Immer. "And the prophets among them [or "in Jerusalem", according to the Tosefta; i.e., Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi] arose and made 24 lots, and put them into an urn." Then each of the four *mishmarot* drew five lots in addition to his own, making a total of six. Finally, the *rashei mishmarot* divided them into *battei avot* (TJ, Ta'an. 4:4, 68a, et al.). It would seem (from tradition (2) above) that only at this stage were the Israelite *ma'amadot* introduced.

Thus rabbinic sources trace the first origins of the *mishmarot* via David and Samuel back to Moses. However, these accounts do not appear to have the value of independent traditions but rather to be based upon inferences drawn from scriptural passages. Thus, "… whom David and Samuel the seer did ordain, in their set office …" (I Chron. 9:22) is said to refer to the priestly and levitical *mishmarot* (Tosef., *ibid.*; cf. TJ, *ibid.*, citing I Chron. 2:4). Nevertheless, the resultant picture presented by rabbinic sources probably has considerable historical validity. The system remained unchanged even till Josephus' time (Jos., Ant., 7:363ff.; Life, 1:2).

Long after the destruction of the Temple, memories of the *mishmarot* lingered on. In Ereẓ Israel their names were mentioned each Sabbath in the *piyyutim*. Tablets, fragments of which have survived, were fixed on synagogue walls, engraved with a list of *mishmarot* and their geographical provenance. Karaite liturgy preserved echoes of both the *mishmarot* and the *ma'amadot*. Even as late as 1034, it was still the custom in some communities to announce on each Sabbath: "Today is the holy Sabbath, holy to the Lord. Today is [the Sabbath of] which *mishmeret*? [That of] *mishmeret* … May the Merciful One restore the *mishmeret* to its place, speedily and in our days. Amen."

[Daniel Sperber]

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MISHNAH (Heb. מִשְׁנָה). The term "mishnah" is used in a number of different ways (see below), but when used as a proper noun ("the Mishnah") it designates the collection of rabbinic traditions redacted by Rabbi *Judah ha-Nasi (usually called simply "Rabbi") at the beginning of the third century

CE. The Mishnah supplements, complements, clarifies and systematizes the commandments of the Torah. The Torah, for example, commands: "Remember the Sabbath day" (Ex. 20:8). The Mishnah provides this abstract commandment with a concrete form – the *kiddush* and *havdalah* rituals which mark the beginning and the ending of the Sabbath day. The Torah commands "Observe the Sabbath day" (Deut. 6:12). The Mishnah specifies 39 categories of forbidden labor which are prohibited by this commandment, subsuming dozens of other kinds of labor under these 39 headings. The Torah commands: "When you eat and are satisfied, give thanks to your God for the good land which He has given you" (Deut. 8:10). The Mishnah spells out specific blessings to be recited before and after each kind of food, and what to do if the wrong blessing is recited by mistake. It also extends the recitation of blessings to areas other than food, detailing blessings to be recited before and after the performance of commandments, blessings of praise and thanksgiving, even establishing a regular order of daily prayers. When the commandments seem chaotic or inconsistent, as in Lev. 13–14 ("leprosy"), the Mishnah organizes these rules into a consistent system. When they are already relatively detailed and systematic, as in Lev. 1–7 (sacrifices), the Mishnah deals with additional aspects of the halakhah, either ignored or mentioned only in passing in the Torah, such as the proper intentions which should accompany the sacrifices, and the consequences of improper intention.

The contents of the Mishnah are the product of an ongoing process of elaborating and explaining the foundations, the details and the significance of the Torah's commandments. This process began long before the redaction of the Mishnah, and continued throughout the talmudic period (1st to 6th centuries CE) and beyond. Nevertheless, the Mishnah has a unique place within the rabbinic tradition. It was the central literary document of the entire talmudic period, providing the framework for the redaction of its companion volume, the *Tosefta, and serving as the foundation for both the Jerusalem Talmud and the Babylonian Talmud. Through these works the Mishnah has shaped most of the actual practice of the Jewish religion down to the present day. In the post-talmudic period commentaries were composed to the Mishnah, and together with them the Mishnah came to serve as the authoritative epitome of the talmudic tradition as a whole. In these two roles – as the foundation underlying the talmudic tradition and as the authoritative epitome of that tradition – the Mishnah has played a decisive role in the religious life of the Jewish people.

Below we will examine the formal structure of the Mishnah as a literary work, and provide an overview of certain aspects of the Mishnah's content, focusing on its two primary components – halakhah and aggadah – including an analysis of the logical structure of mishnaic halakhah. We will then discuss the sources of the Mishnah, its redaction, and its dissemination and acceptance in the later talmudic academies. After a discussion of the contributions of traditional and academic scholarship to the understanding of the Mishnah, we will provide a brief survey of editions, translations, and other aids to Mishnah study.

The Mishnah as a Literary Work

Originally the term "mishnah" designated the entire content of traditional Torah study, with the exclusion of the 24 books of the Hebrew Bible – "mikra" in Hebrew. Mishnah Ned. 4:3 opposes the term "mikra" to "midrash, halakhot, and aggadot," which are themselves grouped together in Tosefta Ber. 2:12 under the general heading of "mishnah." The terms midrash and halakhot (sing. halakhah) mentioned in these passages designate the two most fundamental forms in which rabbinic tradition was studied and transmitted. In midrash, rabbinic tradition is intimately interconnected with the explication of the biblical text, and the overall literary structure of midrashic compilations follows the order of the biblical text. Halakhot contain the same rabbinic material as is found in the midrash, but without any reference to the biblical text. In the halakhot, rabbinic tradition stands on its own, the structure and order of halakhic compilations being determined solely by the content of rabbinic tradition itself.

Only two halakhic compilations have come down to us from the earliest period of rabbinic literature: Rabbi's Mishnah and the Tosefta, a supplementary halakhic work similar in arrangement to the Mishnah, and probably redacted by Rabbi's disciples. Both of these works are divided into six *sedarim* (sing. *seder* = "order"): *Zera'im, concerning agricultural matters; Mo'ed, concerning holy times and related issues; *Nashim, concerning family law; *Nezikin, concerning civil and criminal law; *Kodashim, concerning sacrifices and the Temple; *Toharot, concerning ritual purity and impurity.

These six sedarim are further subdivided into tractates (*masekhtot*, sing. *masekhet*), and the tractates into chapters (*perakim*, sing. *perek*). The further subdivision of chapters into smaller groups of halakhot varies from edition to edition and does not seem to be original. With the exception of Zera'im, the order of the masekhtot follows the number of chapters which they contain. A tractate with a larger number of chapters comes first, followed by tractates with fewer chapters. If a seder contains more than one tractate with the same number of chapters, their order may vary between different manuscripts and editions. In the past, chapters of the Mishnah were referenced by the opening words of their first halakhah. Today references are made to tractates by name, and to chapter and individual halakhah by number, according to the accepted division of the most recent editions.

The redaction and dissemination of the Mishnah in the early third century marked a turning point in the history of rabbinic literature. Scholars who were active up to the time of Rabbi and his immediate disciples were called "teachers of mishnah" – **tannaim* (sing. *tanna*) in Aramaic. The later talmudic scholars – called **amoraim* – accepted the traditions of the tannaim as authoritative, and as time went on they were increasingly unwilling to disagree with them. As a result, talmudic literature is divided into two periods – the earlier, tannaitic period and the later, amoraic period. The tannaitic literature consists primarily of the Mishnah, the Tosefta, and tannaitic midrashim – Sifra, Sifre, and Mekhilta, etc. Amoraic literature is included primarily in the Jerusalem Talmud, the Babylonian Talmud, and the classic midrashei aggadah – *Genesis R., *Lamentations R., *Leviticus R., *Pesikta de-Rav Kahana, etc.

Since Rabbi's Mishnah was the most important and authoritative work of halakhah to come down to us from antiquity, the term "mishnah" came to be equated with the term "halakhot," and was often used in opposition to the term "midrash." In a parallel development, the term "hilkhata" ("halakhot" in Aramaic), apparently referring to Rabbi's Mishnah, is listed in later talmudic sources (TB Shav. 41b) along with "sifra, sifre and tosefta" – apparently referring to compilations similar to the tannaitic works known by these names today.

Finally, the individual unit of tannaitic tradition was called "a mishnah" (pl. mishnayot), or *matnita* (pl. *matneyata*) in Aramaic. Here also, the unique status of Rabbi's Mishnah within tannaitic literature leads to the further distinction between *matnitin* ("our mishnah"), a tradition included in Rabbi's Mishnah, and *matnita baraita* ("an external mishnah"), or baraita (pl. baraitot) for short, a tannaitic tradition not included in Rabbi's Mishnah. The baraitot were preserved not only in the Tosefta, but were also included in and transmitted as part of the amoraic tradition in the two Talmudim.

Our discussions below of tannaitic halakhah and aggadah apply not only to Rabbi's Mishnah, but also to the Tosefta and to many of the talmudic baraitot. However, the discussions of the place of the Mishnah in the development of talmudic literature, in the history of Jewish tradition, its redaction, and so on, apply to Rabbi's Mishnah alone, but not to the Tosefta or to the talmudic baraitot.

Halakhah in the Mishnah

The Mishnah itself uses the term halakhah to designate ancient or authoritative traditions (Pe'ah 2:6, Or. 3:9, Yev. 8:3), as well as accepted religious practices (Naz. 7:4, BK 3:9, Edu. 1:5, Men. 4:3, Nid. 4:3). It is also used to refer to individual units of tradition, irrespective of their authoritative status (Avot 6:3), and even to incorrect traditions (Oha. 16:1). These traditions may involve no more than the simple restatement or brief elaboration of some custom or practice. But by far the most characteristic tendency of the individual tannaitic halakhah is the close examination of some dimension of ordinary human life or experience, and the careful categorization of certain aspects of that experience in line with a limited number of formal dichotomies.

The most obvious – and familiar – halakhic dichotomy is the one between "forbidden" (*asur*) and "permitted" (*mutar*). This dichotomy is most regularly applied to human behavior. For example, the Mishnah may categorize sexual relations between two individuals under certain circumstances as permitted, and under other circumstances as forbidden. While eating on the Day of Atonement is certainly forbidden, tannaitic halakhah lists certain exceptions to this rule and even requires children under a certain age to eat. Similarly, the halakhah permits heating food on the Sabbath under certain circumstances and forbids it under other circumstances.

A related dichotomy – applying also to a large extent to behavior – is the one between "liable" for punishment or some other formal sanction (*ḥayyav*) and 'exempt' from such sanctions (*patur*). This dichotomy is generally applicable to actions which have already been categorized as forbidden. For example, tannaitic halakhah forbids the carrying of an object in the public domain on the Sabbath. In order for the transgressor to be considered "liable" for sanctions, however, the act of carrying must conform to a number of different conditions. If any one of these conditions is not met, the transgressor is considered "exempt" from sanctions. Similarly, the halakhah forbids baking bread on a holiday for use the following day. One who transgresses this rule is, however, not necessarily liable for punishment. It is forbidden to steal. Under certain circumstances the thief will be liable to pay double indemnity, while under other circumstances he will be exempt from this additional payment. Although a person can be liable for the indirect or inadvertent consequences of his or her actions (or inaction), it is not always possible to categorize these actions as forbidden.

The dichotomy between *ḥayyav* and *patur* may also be applied to human behavior in another way – with regard to positive commandments, such as the eating of matzah on Passover. Here *ḥayyav* should be translated as "obligated [to fulfill the commandment]" and *patur* as "exempt [from fulfilling it]." The halakhah categorizes eating matzah on the first night of Passover as an "obligation" (*ḥovah*), and on the remaining days of Passover as "optional" (*reshut*). The Mishnah states that properly prepared matzah "may be used in order to fulfill one's obligation" (*yosin bo*). When prepared improperly, the Mishnah states: "it may not be used in order to fulfill the obligation" (*ein yosin bo*). The Mishnah uses the dichotomy between "fit" (*kasher*) and "unfit" (*pasul*) in a similar fashion, in order to determine whether various ritual objects – a shofar or a lulav, for example – may be used to fulfill one's obligation in performing these commandments.

Halakhic categorizations are, however, by no means limited to the field of human behavior. The Torah itself designated certain days as "holy" (*kodesh*), during which various forms of activity are forbidden. It also designated certain places as holy, such as the Temple and walled cities, from which various kinds of impurity must be excluded. The Mishnah systematically applies the dichotomy between the "holy" (*kodesh*) and the "profane" (*ḥol*) in order to constitute an elaborate hierarchy of holy times and holy places. The holiest times were defined by the most rigorous and most comprehensive set of prohibitions, and lesser degrees of holiness by more lenient and less comprehensive sets of prohibitions. Similarly, the Mishnah defines ten ascending levels of holy space (Kel. 1:6–9), each defined by stricter and stricter rules of purity.

The most highly developed area of tannaitic halakhah is to be found in its system of ritual purity. Seder Toharot applies the dichotomy between ritually pure (*tahor*) and ritually impure (*tame*) to virtually every aspect of ordinary life. These terms can signify either that an object is susceptible to becoming impure, or that it is actually impure and capable of transmitting this impurity to something else. Certain tractates define the purity or impurity of tools, garments, vessels, and places of residence. Others define the purity or impurity of foods and drinks. Others categorize certain individuals as themselves being sources of ritual impurity, and other individuals as impure as a result of contact with other sources of ritual impurity. This area of halakhah seems to have played a decisive role in the life of the tannaitic sages, even among non-priestly families, and with no obvious connection to the Temple (see Alon).

Tosefta Demai (2:2ff.) describes the procedure by which a candidate is accepted into the elite association called the *ḥavura*. It lists in detail the responsibilities which the candidate must freely accept upon himself or herself in order to be considered a *ḥaver* – including the responsibility to observe all the rules of ritual purity (cf. Demai 2:3). From these descriptions it seems fairly clear that many or most of the purity rules involved no formal obligation (*ḥova*) whatsoever, but were rather purely voluntary practices (*reshut*). This example of Toharot should serve as a warning against viewing tannaitic halakhah as a legal system consisting entirely of formal obligations enforceable by earthly courts. While true in part, other aspects of tannaitic halakhah could be more accurately described as a moral or a spiritual discipline which the initiate freely accepts in order to draw closer to the ideal of divine service.

Aggadah in the Mishnah

The other primary component of the Mishnah is the aggadah. This term is notoriously difficult to define, and it has become the custom among scholars to define aggadah by means of negation – as the non-halakhic component of rabbinic tradition (Frankel, *Midrash and Aggadah*, 20). While fair enough, we must be careful in adopting this approach not to define halakhah itself too narrowly. As we have seen, the halakhah of the Mishnah can be described in part as a system of laws, but not infrequently it also has the character of a personal moral and spiritual discipline. It can be expressed in the form of concrete judgments about specific cases, but also in rules involving varying degrees of abstraction and generality. The Mishnah may even use stories to express a halakhah. This is obviously so when the story reports an explicit legal precedent. But it may also be true when a story merely describes the behavior of a notable sage, if it is understood that this behavior is worthy of imitation.

Despite these differences in form, the rules, judgments and precedents included in the Mishnah all have one thing in common. They all categorize specific forms of behavior and well defined areas of concrete experience in line with formal dichotomies of the sort described in the previous section. Aggadah, on the other hand, investigates and interprets the *meaning*, the *values*, and the *ideas* which underlie the concrete forms of religious life – as opposed to the specific rules which actually govern that life. Continuing the tendency to define aggadah as 'that which is not halakhah', we could say that the relation between aggadah and halakhah is similar in many ways to the relations between theory and practice, between idea and application, and, in the area of ethics, between character and behavior.

Starting from the last distinction, it is clear that the Mishnah makes extraordinary demands upon the external behavior of the sages and their disciples. Along with these external demands, the Mishnah makes equally extraordinary "internal" demands on the character, the faith, and the understanding of the sages and their disciples. The Mishnah contains a tractate – Avot – devoted in its entirety to these principles of character, faith, divine providence, justice, etc. Moreover, the Mishnah introduces related aggadic elements into the context of specific halakhic discussions. For example, after defining the obligation to recite a blessing on hearing bad tidings, the Mishnah adds the aggadic statement that one's love for God should never falter, "even if He takes your life" (Ber. 9:5). Similarly tractate Pe'ah, which deals with specific obligatory gifts to the poor, opens with an aggadic description of the unlimited nature of acts of loving kindness and charity, and of the rewards that await those who show love, respect and kindness to others. After defining the specific sums one is obligated to pay in restitution for assault, the Mishnah declares that "one is not absolved [of the sin] until one asks [the victim for forgiveness]" (BK 8:7). The Mishnah then goes on to state that the victim "should not be cruel" but rather should be merciful and forgiving.

It is in this sense that we should understand the programmatic statement concerning the nature and the purpose of the aggadah, found in the tannaitic midrash, Sifre Deut. 49: "If you desire to know the One who spoke and the world came to be, then you should study the aggadah, for in this way you will come to know the One who spoke and the world came to be, and *you will cleave to his ways*." As is made clear there, God's ways are the aspects of justice, mercy, etc., which both define the holy character of the righteous individual and underlie those forms of normative behavior which constitute much of the halakhah.

The aggadah of the Mishnah also deals with classic theological issues such as divine providence, theodicy and the afterlife. These issues, however, are regularly integrated into some appropriate halakhic context. For example, one of the most highly developed aggadic themes running throughout tannaitic literature is the doctrine of "measure for measure." At its foundation lies an ancient saying – "The vessel which you use to measure out [for others], will itself be used to measure for you" – which is already quoted in the New Testament (Matt. 7:2) as a warning not to be judgmental of others, lest one suffer the same fate at their hands. The tannaitic literature develops it into a general theory of divine justice. More specifically, it is used to explain and to justify the details of divine retribution as described in various biblical passages. One of these passages concerns the sotah, a wife suspected of unfaithfulness (Num. 5). Since the oracular method the Torah gives for determining the sotah's innocence or guilt seems extraordinarily harsh and cruel, the Mishnah (Sot. 1:6) quotes the ancient saying itself, and then goes on to argue that every aspect of the biblically ordained procedure is in fact just and appropriate. In the following two mishnayot, the Mishnah summarizes the entire tannaitic doctrine of measure for measure, not only with regard to divine retribution, but also with regard to divine reward.

Another prominent aggadic theme is that of the afterlife – the "portion in the world to come." The first three mishnayot of Sanhedrin 10 present an almost halakhic categorization of actions, beliefs, and historical figures, dividing them into those who do, and those who do not "have a portion in the world to come." This discussion fits the general context in Sanhedrin – a description of the various forms of capital punishment – since the loss of one's portion in the world to come is a kind of otherworldly capital punishment. It also fits the immediate context, coming immediately after a dispute (9:6) whether a non-priest who served in the Temple is to be executed "by the hands of Heaven," and before a discussion of the inhabitants of an idolatrous Israelite city (10:4), who lose their portion in the world to come.

By a recent count there are more than 50 such aggadic passages in the Mishnah, not including Avot and those found at the ends of tractates or sub-divisions of tractates which are generally viewed as later scribal additions, and not as integral parts of the text of the Mishnah (Frankel, *The Aggadah in the Mishnah*, 655–656). While preliminary conclusions may be drawn concerning this phenomenon as a whole, there is still much room for detailed analysis of each individual case in its own particular halakhic context.

Finally, we should mention that, despite its overall literary character, the Mishnah does contain a number of midrashic passages. With regard to their content, these passages are quite unexceptional, and reflect the same kind of halakhic and aggadic content found in the overwhelming majority of non-midrashic mishnah traditions. They differ only with regard to their external form. This phenomenon has been addressed with regard to the question of possible literary dependence between the extant tannaitic halakhic and midrashic works (Melamed; Friedman, *Tosefta Atiqta*, 76). Recently the midrashic material found in the Mishnah has been used as a starting point for a general examination of early rabbinic hermeneutics (Samely). The question of the specific role which these midrashim play within the context of mishnaic halakhah has recently been addressed (Raviv), but no firm conclusions have yet been reached.

The Structure of Tannaitic Halakhah

The style of the Mishnah is deceptively simple. Most individual halakhot consist of little more than a description of some situation and a brief statement of the ruling which applies to that situation. To the undiscerning eye these halakhot seem to lack virtually all of the dialectical and conceptual elements which are so characteristic of the later forms of talmudic and rabbinic literature. If the analysis of tannaitic halakhah were to end here, we would be left with a rather difficult question: How could these tannaitic halakhot have served as the foundation for the highly dialectical and conceptually sophisticated discussions found in the later talmudic and post-talmudic halakhic literature? Yet they did, and so it would seem that the logical structure of tannaitic halakhah deserves further examination.

First it must be admitted that the Mishnah contains many halakhot of a descriptive and historical character which have little or no conceptual content. For example, tractate Middot describes in detail the physical structure of the Temple. The related tractate Tamid describes the daily Temple service in the form of a continuous narrative. The third chapter of Bikkurim describes the process of bringing and offering of the first fruits. The first seven chapters of Yoma relate in chronological order the events leading up to and culminating in the Temple service of the Day of Atonement. Certain court and priestly procedures are also related in narrative form, as in Sanh. 3:6–7, Neg. 12:5–7, and 14:1–3. Some reports of second Temple practice and restatements of biblical law may include elements of constructive reinterpretation (as in Neg. 13:1), but by and large the conceptual element in these mishnayot, if present at all, is relatively small.

These are however exceptions to the rule. The overwhelming majority of tannaitic halakhot are normative in nature, not historical. The connection between the case description and the ruling in a normative tannaitic halakhah will rarely be merely contingent or accidental. On the contrary, it will almost always reflect the judgment that in this particular case, and under these specific circumstances, the ruling given in the halakhah *must* apply.

The presumption that the connection between the case description and the ruling in a tannaitic halakhah is essential, not accidental, gives rise to a number of interpretive principles. We may illustrate this by means of an example. Mishnah BK 1:4 posits a halakhic dichotomy between two categories – *tam* (lit. "innocent") and *mu'ad*. In the Mishnah the term *mu'ad* – based on Ex. 21 29 – signifies strict liability for all damages caused by one's property. The distinction between *tam* and *mu'ad* in BK 1:4 builds upon the distinction already found in Ex. 21 35–36 between an ox which caused damage unexpectedly, as opposed to an ox that was known to have caused damage repeatedly in the past, and whose owner, despite having been warned, did nothing to prevent further damage. In the latter case, the owner is held strictly liable for all damages caused by his animal, while in the former his liability is limited to one half of the damages. The reasoning behind this distinction is quite transparent. Strict liability is associated with a situation where the owner was clearly negligent, and the Torah holds him strictly liable for full damages because of this negligence.

Continuing this line of thought, Mishnah BK 1:4 states that the owner of a domesticated animal is held strictly liable for full damages if "it ate something appropriate for it." From this one can infer that if the animal "ate something not appropriate for it," the owner would not be liable for full damages, but rather only for half-damages. This then gives rise to the following question: Why should this change in the object consumed – from "appropriate for it" to "inappropriate for it" – affect the degree of liability for the damages caused by one's animal? An answer to this question requires a determination of the extent of the owner's responsibility to anticipate possible damages. This in turn would involve a more precise definition of the exact boundary between "appropriate" and "inappropriate."

In BK 2:2 the Mishnah provides such a definition. First it quotes BK 1:4 and then explains it by means of the following two halakhot: "If the animal ate fruits and vegetables – the owner is fully liable; [if the animal ate] clothes or vessels – the owner is liable only for half-damages." The first halakhah defines the case where the animal ate "something appropriate for it." The second halakhah defines the alternative case, where the animal ate "something not appropriate for it." A naive reader of BK 1:4 would probably have understood the words "appropriate *for it*" – i.e., for the animal itself – to signify some kind of feed which the animal is accustomed to eating, and to exclude other foodstuffs, such as avocados, artichokes, etc., which are not appropriate "for it." BK 2:2 draws a very different distinction, between "fruits and vegetables," generally consumed only by humans, and "clothes or vessels," which are totally inedible. While the tanna of BK 2:2 may not have given us a very precise interpretation of the original language of BK 1:4, he has, nevertheless, expressed a very clear and unequivocal judgment regarding his understanding of the notions of responsibility, negligence, and liability which underlie that halakhah.

The procedure outlined above is very characteristic of talmudic analysis. Starting from one halakhah, taught explicitly in the Mishnah, the student infers another halakhah – parallel to the original halakhah, but differing in two ways. First, the case description of the second halakhah differs from the original with respect to one detail – e.g. "inappropriate" instead of "appropriate." Second, the ruling in the second halakhah is totally different from the original – "not liable for full damages" instead of "liable for full damages." This analysis presupposes that the difference in the rulings of these two halakhot follows necessarily from the change in their case descriptions. If we then explain *why* a certain change in the ruling follows from the change in the case description, we will, in effect, have grasped the legal principle which underlies the original halakhah. In fact, the only way we can ever understand the essential connection between the case description and the ruling in a tannaitic halakhah is by explaining why, if the case changed, the ruling would necessarily be different.

From this perspective, it becomes clear how tannaitic halakhah – even an individual tannaitic halakhah – can be considered both dialectical and conceptual. It is dialectical because the meaning of the individual tannaitic halakhah is determined only in its relation to another alternative halakhah. It is conceptual because the comparison of these two contrasting halakhot requires a conceptual distinction which can justify the difference between them.

We normally associate conceptual explanation with some form of abstract generalization. Tannaitic reasoning, however, concerns itself almost exclusively with uncovering the principles operative in particular cases. As we have seen, this involves a close comparison of two distinct but closely related halakhot. This tendency explains one of the most characteristic and widespread phenomena in tannaitic literature – the *halakhic couplet*. A mishnah of this sort contains, not one, but two distinct halakhot, parallel in form and clearly linked together by some literary device. The case descriptions of these two halakhot are very similar in form and content, and usually differ with respect to one element only. The rulings, on the other hand, are usually diametrically opposed, often reflecting alternative sides of the halakhic dichotomies described above (cf. example from BK 2:2 above). These parallel halakhot invite comparison, and their differences demand explanation.

By expressing its notions in the form of concrete distinctions, and not by means of finished and formal abstractions, the Mishnah invites the student to refine its unstated principles by means of further distinctions. These principles are implicitly conceptual, and so lead the student beyond their immediate context. Yet they are expressed in an external form which is both concrete and limited in scope. The resulting tension between these two aspects of tannaitic halakhah gives rise to an open-ended process of interpretation and analysis, reinterpretation, and renewed analysis. In this way, the cumulative body of tannaitic – and early amoraic – halakhic literature, which was the result of this process, provided fertile ground for the growth of the explicitly dialectical and conceptual discussions and analyses of later talmudic and post-talmudic literature.

The Sources of the Mishnah

When speaking of the sources of the Mishnah, we must distinguish between three senses in which the term is used. First, it is used to designate the multiplicity of fully formulated tannaitic halakhic and aggadic traditions which were accessible to Rabbi when he began to redact his Mishnah (see the following section below). The second sense in which we use the term is to designate earlier and more primitive forms of these halakhic and aggadic traditions, stemming perhaps from the first generations of tannaitic activity. The extant body of tannaitic literature often quotes and interprets such earlier traditions. An examination of the various forms in which these traditions have been preserved in the extant tannaitic works provides indirect evidence for their existence, and to a certain extent for their reconstruction. The third sense in which we speak of the 'sources' of the Mishnah is in regard to ancient pre-literary traditions, stemming from the Second Temple period, which may have served as the background for the formulation of the earliest level of tannaitic literary activity.

With regard to this third sense, it has been claimed that the roots of tannaitic halakhah extend backward, "long before the destruction of the Second Temple" (Albeck, *Unter.* 3). In support of this position, scholars have pointed out numerous parallels between certain assumptions of tannaitic halakhah and similar positions reflected in the books of Judith and Jubilees, the Septuagint, as well as Philo, Josephus, and the Dead Sea writings (Safrai, 134–146). As further testimony to the antiquity of tannaitic halakhah, scholars have pointed to "internal evidence" within the Mishnah itself (Hoffmann, *Die Erste Mischna;* Epstein, *Tannaim*, 18ff.). This testimony, however, usually involves little more than descriptions of events or practices which supposedly took place in Second Temple times (*Tann.* 36, 57), without any concrete proof that the tannaitic formulations themselves actually derive from an earlier period. As impressive as these arguments are, they concern at best the cultural prehistory of tannaitic halakhah, but not the concrete history of the development of tannaitic literature itself. So long as this distinction remains clear, these investigations into the "roots" of tannaitic halakhah against the background of earlier periods can only contribute to our understanding of the Mishnah and its content.

We also speak (in the second sense mentioned above) of the sources of the Mishnah with regard to the earliest historical levels of tannaitic literature. Even the most conservative talmudic scholars admit that tannaitic *literature* (as opposed to tradition) is the product of a change which occurred, at the very earliest, around the end of the Second Temple period. "Our Mishnah collection is the result of the intellectual work of several generations, extending over hundreds of years, which served to preserve, transmit, and to develop the oral tradition which was transmitted along with the written teaching – the Torah. The halakhot, which up to that time remained undecided and to a certain extent fluid, received in our Mishnah a fixed form, and so were preserved and not forgotten" (Albeck, *Unter*. 3). Even the earliest strata of tannaitic sources possess a literary "form." These literary forms were capable of being repeated and memorized, and so "preserved and not forgotten." In this way "tradition" became "mishnah."

If this were the whole story, the historical study of the Mishnah would be quite simple. However, "the simple fact is that the Mishna found its final redaction only by the end of the second century C.E., and that much development had taken place in the Tannaitic period which preceded" (Safrai 133). At some point in the history of the tannaitic period, these early mishnaic sources became the object of intense study and analysis, and, as we saw in the previous section above, tannaitic analysis can result in radical reinterpretation of these earlier mishnaic sources.

Albeck described in detail (*Unter.* 5–13) many of the ways in which later tannaim interpreted and expanded earlier, relatively primitive halakhic sources. Sometimes, taking a relatively short and simple tradition as their starting point, they would posit a series of additional layers of interpretation and elaboration. Sometimes later scholars would analyze the words of an earlier Rabbi, concluding that his halakhah reflected a more general principle. They would then take his words from their original context and copy them over, virtually verbatim, in another context, in which, according to their understanding, they should equally apply. Sometimes they would "interpolate" the original halakhah, i.e., insert interpretive comments of various lengths into the language of the original source. Albeck showed that these interpretive additions were sometimes drawn from other mishnaic sources found nearby in the same tractate. Sometimes an identical source was preserved in different schools or in different tractates within the Mishnah itself. In this case, the same original source might be expanded and interpolated in different ways, resulting in divergent, and even in contradictory versions of the same original tradition.

Other scholars went further than Albeck, asserting that tannaitic interpolation could also involve the *elimination* of words or passages from an original source, or even the *reformulation* of the original language itself, in line with some interpretation accepted by a later Rabbi. Epstein, for example, held that even the most ancient traditions "were *reworked* by later tannaim, and passed through the channels of intermediate redactors, who added to them and *subtracted* from them" (*Tann.* 57). Albeck explicitly rejected both of these notions (*Unter.* 12), and the reasons for his position will be examined below in the following section. It is nevertheless quite clear that the extant tannaitic sources cannot be relied upon to preserve traditions in the original form in which they were studied by earlier generations of tannaim.

This reservation should be kept in mind, not only with regard to the earliest literary layers of the Mishnah, but also with regard to traditions ascribed to the intermediate and later generations of tannaim. The tannaim who were active from the destruction of the Temple and up to the time of Rabbi are usually divided into four generations. The earliest tannaitic traditions – ascribed to Bet Hillel and Bet Shammai – are often the subject of debate, not only regarding the correct interpretation of their words, but even with regard to the words themselves. Similar disputes, however, are also found concerning Rabbi Joshua, Rabbi Eliezer, as well as Rabbi Akiva and his disciples, Meir, Simeon, Judah, etc. The attempt, therefore, to analyze the text of Rabbi's Mishnah into four distinct literary levels, and then to assign each level to a particular historical period or personality – as attempted by A. Goldberg in his commentaries on the Mishnah – is suggestive, but remains somewhat problematic for the reasons outlined above.

The most promising method for recovering earlier forms of tannaitic tradition remains the exhaustive analysis of *particular cases*, based on the detailed reconstruction of the process of interpretation and interpolation which resulted in the various parallel versions of a given source which we possess today. Albeck, and most notably Epstein, provide solid models and many excellent examples of this kind of analysis.

In the short span of these four generations, the tannaim produced a considerable body of halakhic and aggadic traditions – traditions which served as the immediate literary sources (in the first sense mentioned above) for Rabbi's Mishnah. Much of the evidence for these literary sources is found in the other extant tannaitic works, the Tosefta and the tannaitic midrashim, which were edited in the Land of Israel in the generations immediately following Rabbi, and in part by his own disciples. These works preserve many parallel traditions to those included in the Mishnah, in forms which often seem to be more original than those found in Rabbi's Mishnah itself. The comparison of these parallel traditions, together with the results of the critical analysis of the Mishnah text itself, provides the basis for an examination of the redaction of the Mishnah.

The Redaction of the Mishnah

The question of the form and purpose of the final redaction of the Mishnah has long been a topic of scholarly debate. In the twentieth century this debate focused on the question whether the Mishnah should be seen as a code of relatively self-consistent and authoritative religious practice (Epstein), or as an anthology of frequently contradictory sources (Albeck). As so formulated, this dispute seems somewhat artificial. On the one hand, there is no reason to assume that the final redaction of the Mishnah was governed by one single overriding principle. On the other hand, the redaction of the Mishnah could reflect a preliminary, but as yet incomplete, effort to bring order and consistency to the body of tannaitic halakhah. Beneath the surface of this discussion, however, lies a far more fundamental and significant disagreement concerning the way in which Rabbi adapted and modified his source material in the redaction of the Mishnah.

Albeck's views on this issue are laid out in his German work, *Untersuchungen ueber die Redaktion der Mischna* (1923). This work, which is based almost exclusively on a critical examination of the Mishnah itself, describes a range of significant literary phenomena. From these phenomena Albeck drew a number of important conclusions, some of which are highly persuasive, others less so. Among the phenomena which Albeck described: (1) literary units including more than one topic, brought intact in more than one tractate, even though only part of the unit is relevant in each place; (2) parallel material found in more than one tractate, to which additions have been made in one tractate only, even though these additions seem equally relevant in the other tractate as well; (3) halakhot found in a given tractate, which do not belong to the subject matter of that tractate, and which are not found at all in the relevant tractate; (4) halakhot found in more than one tractate, which in one place contain conditions and alternative positions not found in the other tractate; (5) alternative versions of the same halakhah in different places in the Mishnah which present the same content in different language; (6) lists of phenomena with a common characteristic, which fail to include similar elements listed elsewhere in the Mishnah which seem to share the same characteristic. On the basis of these and many other similar phenomena, Albeck concluded that the final redaction of our Mishnah did not reflect a comprehensive and sustained effort to revise, adapt, and reorganize its source material into a consistent and unitary whole (*Unter.* 39). On the contrary, the evidence seems to show that the final redactor (Rabbi) preserved much material in the form and in the context in which he received it, even when this material did not wholly correspond, or was even contradictory, to material included elsewhere in the Mishnah.

This conclusion – as far as it goes – seems highly persuasive. However, on the basis of this evidence Albeck went on to conclude "that the Tannaitic schools, including the final redaction of the Mishnah, arranged the individual mishnayot in the context and in the form in which they were originally learned; that they did not allow themselves to interfere in any way with their internal composition, neither did they dare to separate elements which originally belonged together; but rather that they conscientiously and faithfully transmitted these mishnayot, and systematized them" (*Unter.* 12). Albeck here seems to move beyond his evidence in two respects. First, on the basis of extensive, but still limited, evidence, he posits a universal, rather than a limited rule. Second, on the basis of this general rule, which has at most the status of an empirical observation, he posits a *necessary* rule – telling us not only what the Rabbis did or did not do, but rather what they *would not allow* themselves, or *would not dare* to do.

While Albeck's view of the Mishnah as an anthology has been accepted by recent scholars (cf. A. Goldberg, Literature, 214), it would seem that the more fundamental position which underlies his view has remained largely unexamined. For example, it is unclear how Albeck would reconcile his description of Rabbi's ultra-conservative approach to the final redaction of the Mishnah, with his own description (see above) of the creative interpretive process which gave rise to the multiplicity of sources which were available to Rabbi. Did the earlier tannaim "dare" to modify traditional sources in a way which the later tannaim viewed as illegitimate? Alternatively, is there some fundamental difference between modifying the interpretation of an earlier tradition by means of addition, interpolation, and transfer from one context to another, on the one hand, and subtraction and restatement on the other? Epstein's rather brief discussion of the issue (*Tann.* 225–226) hardly does justice to the complexity of Albeck's work. Moreover, the recent surveys of Albeck's work seem to have neglected the extensive evidence brought in his early research written in German, and to have based their assessment of his work solely on his late, popular summaries, published in Hebrew (*Modern Study*, 209–224). The fundamental validity of the substance of Albeck's claims is not in question, but rather only the apodictic and universal form in which he expressed them. It is this aspect which must first be reexamined, in order to make room for alternative insights into other aspects of Rabbi's redactional activity. For this purpose, one clear counter-example will suffice.

Tosefta Ḥullin 8:6 transmits a tannaitic dispute about a case in which a drop of milk fell into a pot containing pieces of meat. Rabbi Judah adopted a strict position, while the sages adopted a more lenient position. The Tosefta then states: "Rabbi said: The position of Rabbi Judah seems reasonable in a case where he didn't stir or cover the pot, and the position of the sages in a case where he stirred and covered the pot." Rabbi's position in the Tosefta represents a compromise between the extreme positions of Judah and the sages. The parallel anonymous halakhah found in Mishnah Ḥullin 8:3 matches precisely the compromise position ascribed to Rabbi in the Tosefta. This case of Mishnah and Tosefta Ḥullin provides a somewhat unusual opportunity to observe all three stages in Rabbi's redaction of a tannaitic tradition: (1) "raw" source material received from the previous generation of tannaim (R. Judah and the sages); (2) Rabbi's own editorial comments upon this source (Tosef. Ḥul. 8:6, end); (3) the final result of the editorial process (Mishnah Ḥullin 8:3). It would stretch the limits of credulity to maintain that Rabbi did not "interfere in any way with the internal composition" of his sources in the redaction of Mishnah Ḥullin 8:3. On the contrary, it is quite clear that he adopted part of R. Judah's ruling, part of the sages' ruling, and applied them to new and modified case descriptions, introducing the distinction between a situation where he "stirred and covered the pot" and one where he "didn't stir or cover the pot" – a distinction which neither R. Judah or the sages ever entertained.

This example shows that Rabbi indeed "dared" and "allowed himself" to add, to subtract, and to reformulate his source material in the process of redacting the Mishnah. Epstein, in his various works, adduced many examples of this kind of creative redactional activity. Recently, S. Friedman has revisited this issue in an extended redactional study of the parallel traditions found in Mishnah and Tosefta Pesaḥim (*Tosefta Atiqta*). Nevertheless, the question still remains open as to the relative weight we should ascribe to these two competing redactional tendencies – the creative (Epstein, Friedman) and the conservative (Albeck) – within Rabbi's literary activity as a whole.

The Later Development of the Text of the Mishnah

In the generations following its redaction, Rabbi's Mishnah achieved an unparalleled prominence and authority in the religious life of the Jewish communities both in Ereẓ Israel and in Babylonia. To a large extent this story belongs to the history of later tannaitic and amoraic literature. In one regard, however, it is relevant to the history of the Mishnah itself. During – and as a result of – this gradual process of disseminaton and acceptance, the Mishnah changed. Instead of a single uniquely authoritative Mishnah as redacted by Rabbi, the amoraic period is characterized by a multiplicity of *different versions* of Rabbi's Mishnah. The Mishnah as studied and transmitted in the Babylonian rabbinic tradition differed significantly from the Mishnah as studied and transmitted in the Palestinian rabbinic tradition. Moreover, there are clear indications of considerable differences between different versions of the Mishnah as studied and transmitted in the various rabbinic academies within the Babylonian and the Palestinian communities themselves.

These different versions of the Mishnah are reflected in the divergent citations of individual Mishnah passages in the Talmud Yerushalmi and the Talmud Bavli, as well as in the variant readings of medieval manuscripts and early editions of the Mishnah. This multiplicity of versions of the Mishnah text presents difficulties, not only for the student of the Mishnah, but also for the scholar who wishes to understand the origin and significance of these variant texts. The classic analysis of these phenomena is found in Epstein's *Introduction to the Text of the Mishnah* (1948). For a preliminary survey of its contents, see Bokser, *The Modern Study of the Mishnah*, 13–36. For an evaluation of its continued importance and its impact on modern scholarship outside of Israel, see Neusner, *The Study of Ancient Judaism 1*, 9–12.

While the opening pages of Epstein's book have been the object of intense analysis and debate, it is primarily the second (pp. 166–352) and third (pp. 353–404) sections of his work which concern us here. The question Epstein deals with in these sections is the attitude of the early generations of amoraim to the text of Rabbi's Mishnah, and the impact of their studies on the development of the Mishnah text itself. After an exhaustive analysis of the activity of the first several generations of amoraim, Epstein concluded that the most significant variants in the textual tradition of Rabbi's Mishnah were not the result of errors in transmission, but rather reflected the cumulative impact of an ongoing process of conscious emendation of the text of the Mishnah. He summarized these findings in the following words: "From here we learn to recognize the fundamental nature of the 'emendations' of the Amoraim (at least the early ones), that they – like the 'emendations' of the Tannaim – are never strictly speaking emendations as such, but rather *textual variants* – if one may speak in such a fashion – reflecting *editorial revision*, whose cause and source is a dissenting opinion" (p. 218).

For Epstein the term 'emendation' signified the attempt of a later scholar to restore a corrupt text to its earlier original form. "Editorial revision," on the other hand, signified the conscious modification of an historically correct original text, in order to bring it in line with some external standard of authority or truth. The "dissenting opinion" which could provide, according to Epstein, the justification for an "editorial emendation," was regularly to be found in a tannaitic *baraita* – an alternative authoritative halakhic tradition. One should not, however, exclude the possibility that the individual halakhic judgments of some of the leading scholars among the first generations of the amoraim could also provide sufficient grounds for "editorial emendations" of the text of the Mishnah. In general, the very notion of "editorial emendations," as developed by Epstein, seems to presuppose that Rabbi's Mishnah was accepted as a fundamental study text in the amoraic academies some time before it was finally accepted as a uniquely authoritative corpus of normative halakhah.

As the amoraic period went on, the text of Rabbi's Mishnah became more and more sanctified in the eyes of the talmudic scholars. As a result, emendations of the Mishnah text became rarer and rarer. When confronted with an apparent contradiction between the text of the Mishnah and an alternative halakhic position, found in a baraita or in the words of an early amora, the later talmudic tradition had recourse to various kinds of forced interpretation of the Mishnah. In this way it 'resolved' contradictions between these competing sources of halakhic authority. These forced interpretations of the Mishnah often bear a striking resemblance to the 'editorial emendations' of the earlier generations of amoraim. Epstein went to great lengths to distinguish between these phenomena, as well as to describe and to categorize the various forms in which they appear.

By providing a comprehensive analysis and categorization of both the real and the apparent textual variants of the Mishnah attested in talmudic sources and in medieval manuscripts, Epstein's work was supposed to provide the foundation for a critical edition of the Mishnah. After more than 50 years since the publication of his work, this critical edition is still "in preparation." Various other attempts have been made to produce modern scientific editions of different parts of the Mishnah, and in the meantime scholars are still involved in the analysis and assimilation of the ramifications of Epstein's groundbreaking research for the future study of the Mishnah.

Finally, we should note that Epstein's notion of 'editorial emendation' has far-reaching ramifications for the entire field of talmudic research: for the relation between Mishnah and Tosefta; for the relation between talmudic baraitot and parallel traditions in tannaitic works; for the relation between the various redactional levels of talmudic texts; for the understanding of the textual variants found in the manuscript traditions of the Babylonian Talmud. At the same time, it must be emphasized that this notion was unequivocally rejected by Albeck and by a number of his followers. The reasons for Albeck's position (and some reservations regarding it) were outlined in the previous section.

The Traditional Interpretation of the Mishnah

Evidence for the interpretation of Rabbi's Mishnah can be found in the statements of the earliest amoraim – their *memrot* – many of which take the form of comments and additions to the text of the Mishnah. Also, the talmudic *sugya* (discussion) as a literary whole often takes as its starting point the text of the Mishnah and its interpretation, and even when a sugya begins elsewhere, the text of the Mishnah and its interpretation usually come up at some point in discussion, playing a significant role in the development of the argument. The sugya may begin by asking for the scriptural source of the halakhah of the Mishnah, and then proceed to quote the relevant parallel text from the *midrash halakhah*. The sugya may ask about the identity of the tanna who taught an anonymous halakhah brought in the Mishnah. In answer, the sugya will often quote a parallel *baraita* which ascribes the halakhah of the Mishnah to a particular tanna by name, and then goes on to inform us of alternative halakhic positions held by this tanna's contemporaries, and passed over by Rabbi's Mishnah.

While these talmudic sugyot, together with the parallel traditions in the Tosefta and the tannaitic halakhic midrashim, provide the starting point for any informed commentary on the Mishnah, they can also frequently be misleading. The parallel tannaitic traditions may reflect positions similar to, but not identical with, those recorded in Rabbi's Mishnah. The talmudic sugya may take the text of the Mishnah and its interpretation as its starting point, but along the way it also entertains other positions, both tannaitic and amoraic. The synthetic bottom line of the sugya, therefore, will not necessarily correspond – in any simple sense – to any of these individual traditions taken in isolation.

While the post-talmudic period saw the composition of a number of important Mishnah commentaries, the lion's share of talmudic scholarship during this period (up to about the 15th century) focused on the exposition of the Babylonian Talmud as a whole – with the Mishnah playing a distinctly secondary role within that whole. From the earliest period we possess a commentary of the *geonim* to Seder Toharot (ed. J.N. Epstein), which consists primarily of the explanation of difficult words. From the 11th century we possess a commentary by R. Nathan Av ha-Yeshivah on the entire Mishnah, also providing explanations of difficult words, along with brief comments. From the 12th–14th centuries, the period of the **rishonim* (early commentators), we possess a number of more extensive – and more substantial – commentaries, focusing on those parts of the Mishnah which have no Babylonian Talmud, such as Zera'im (with the exception of Berakhot) and Toharot (with the exception of Niddah). Extended works of this sort were composed by R. Isaac ben Melchitzedek, R. Asher ben Jehiel, R. Samson ben Abraham, and shorter ones on individual tractates, like R. Abraham ben David on Eduyot.

By far the most important Mishnah commentary from this early period (12th century) is that of *Maimonides. It is the only extensive commentary on the entire Mishnah which has come down to us from the time of the *rishonim*. Maimonides states in his introduction that his commentary is based on the full range of Talmudic sources – Tosefta, midrashei halakhah, the Jerusalem Talmud and the Babylonian Talmud. His avowed aim in writing his commentary was not to explain the simple sense of the Mishnah text as it stands. On the contrary, he wished to clarify those points that 'could never be derived by analysis' of a given Mishnah (Kafih, Zera'im-Mo'ed, 25), by providing the student with supplementary information found only in other talmudic works. Maimonides' goal was pedagogical – to use the Mishnah as a starting point from which the novice could begin to master talmudic halakhah as a whole.

To this end, Maimonides included in his commentary a number of important introductory essays – treating both halakhic and aggadic issues – to the Mishnah as a whole, and to individual sedarim, such as Kodashim, and especially

Ṭoharot. Similarly, he composed introductions to individual tractates and chapters, and even to individual halakhot, outlining the general principles and specific premises necessary for the proper comprehension of the halakhot under discussion. On the other hand, Maimonides often seems uninterested in how these principles actually apply to the specific cases mentioned in the Mishnah. He sometimes indicates that the student should focus on the general rules, the analysis of the details being relegated to a secondary role.

Maimonides' commentary was originally composed in Arabic and was revised constantly during his own lifetime. A new edition and translation by Rabbi J. Kafih has made both the final version and the various stages of revision available in an accurate modern Hebrew translation. Recent scholars have continued to expand and improve our knowledge and understanding of his commentary (Blau and Scheiber, Hopkins).

Special note should be made of two other commentaries from the period of the *rishonim*. The first is the commentary of R. *Jonathan ha-Kohen of Lunel. Although included in his commentary on the halakhot of Isaac *Alfasi, R. Jonathan's interpretations of the Mishnah are treated with a degree of attention and independence unusual for Mishnah commentaries from this period (cf. Friedman, *R. Jonathan Ha-Kohen of Lunel*, 7–9). The second commentary is that of the Meiri. While also part of his commentary to the Talmud, he included within it the entire text of Maimonides' commentary to the Mishnah and provided an extensive super-commentary of his own. The Meiri incorporates many of the issues raised by the Talmud into his commentary on the Mishnah, as opposed to other *rishonim*, who, following Rashi, tend to incorporate their commentary on the Mishnah into their discussion of the Talmud.

From the 15th century onward, talmudic scholarship underwent a series of important changes which had an impact on the study of the Mishnah. The exposition of normative halakhah gradually became divorced from the interpretation of the Talmud and began to center on the interpretation of the *Arba'ah Turim* and the *Shulḥan Arukh*, forming a new and specialized halakhic literature. As a result, the study of the classical talmudic works became more autonomous and more academic. No longer subordinated to the exposition of normative halakhah, commentaries were composed on the Mishnah, on the Tosefta, on the Midrashei Halakhah, and on the Jerusalem Talmud. While these commentaries remained, at first, rooted in traditional Talmud interpretation, they nevertheless began to investigate texts and traditions which had no direct bearing on any practical halakhic issues.

The earliest of these commentaries was that of R. Obadiah *Bertinoro. This relatively brief commentary is largely derivative in character, drawing mainly on Rashi's interpretations of the Mishnah imbedded in his commentary to the Talmud. Bertinoro also drew upon the commentaries of R. Samson ben Abraham, Maimonides, and others. Next in time is the commentary of R. Yom Tov Lipman *Heller, *Tosefot Yom Tov*. This work takes Bertinoro's as its starting point but is far more ambitious, examining both the talmudic literature and the literature of the *rishonim*, with the goal of determining the range of Mishnah interpretations imbedded within them. R. Solomon *Adeni's *Melekhet Shelomo* was composed at about the same time but was not published until the early 20th century. This extensive and scholarly commentary includes numerous critical textual notes based on manuscript evidence, as well as references to citations of the Mishnah in the Babylonian and Jerusalem Talmud, and in the halakhic codes and commentaries. Another important commentary was composed somewhat later (19th century) by R. Israel Lipschuetz. His *Tiferet Yisrael* provides a brief exposition of the simple sense of the text, alongside more elaborate analyses of various obscure points of interpretation.

Deserving of special note are the commentaries of the "Gaon" R. Elijah of Vilna (18th century) to various parts of the Mishnah, of the Tosefta, and of the Jerusalem Talmud. They deserve mention not only for their brilliance and originality, but also because they often interpret these sources without attempting to harmonize them with the normative halakhic tradition, rooted in the Babilonian Talmud. In this way, R. Elijah's work laid much of the groundwork for the modern critical interpretation of the Mishnah.

The Modern Interpretation of the Mishnah

The terms "traditional" and "modern" interpretation do not designate different periods of time, but rather different approaches to the interpretation of the Mishnah. Traditional commentaries – as described above – continued to be written throughout the 20th century and up to the present day. By far the most successful example is that of Pinḥas Kahati, which provides the contemporary student with succinct and accurate summaries of the classical Mishnah commentaries. We should also include in this category commentaries which, while written by modern academic scholars, are nevertheless oriented toward a traditional audience and agenda, like those of H. Albeck, D. Hoffman, and others.

By "modern interpretation" we mean primarily *historical interpretation* of the Mishnah. The program of historical Mishnah interpretation as set out by J.N. Epstein (see above) involves: (1) the identification (or reconstruction) of the literary sources of each mishnaic passage; (2) an analysis of the tendencies and results of Rabbi's redaction of each particular mishnah passage against the background of these sources; (3) a description of the reciprocal influences of the text of this mishnah on the later history of talmudic tradition, and of later tradition on the text and interpretation of the mishnah itself. The raw materials for this kind of commentary includes (in part): the direct witnesses to the textual tradition of the Mishnah (medieval manuscripts and geniza fragments), as well as the indirect witnesses (citations in ancient talmudic sources); the parallel tannaitic sources and talmudic sugyot which document the history of the halakhic and aggadic traditions; lexicographical and archaeological research.

While Epstein's own works contain analyses of hundreds of individual mishnah passages, he himself composed no extended or continuous commentary to the Mishnah. Commentaries and editions of individual tractates have addressed various aspects of this critical agenda, but the attempts made so far at producing a critical edition of the Mishnah fall far short of this ideal (Stemberger, 139–144). To date, the works which come closest to realizing this critical ideal are the Mishnah commentaries of A. Goldberg (Ohalot, Shabbat, Eruvin, Bava Kamma) and S. Friedman's comparative study of Mishnah and Tosefta Pesaḥim, *Tosefta Atiqta*.

Starting in the 1970s, a new approach to the study of the Mishnah began to emerge, centered around the person of Jacob *Neusner, and reflecting the creation of autonomous Judaic study programs within the modern secular university. In keeping with the interests and agenda of the modern academic world, the Mishnah came to be viewed historically, not only in the context of the talmudic tradition, but also in the broader context of ancient Judaism as a whole, and as part of the general intellectual and spiritual trends of late antiquity. New questions were raised regarding the formal structure of tannaitic halakhah; the literary relations between Mishnah, Tosefta and tannaitic midrash; the historical reliability of attributions and biographical traditions; the changing agenda of the different tannaitic schools over time, and so on. The mere quantity of scholarly studies produced over a short period of time – both by Neusner himself, and by colleagues and students – make it difficult to assimilate all the innovations, regarding content as well as methodology, which this new approach has generated. For example, Neusner's monumental work on Seder Toharot, *A History of the Mishnaic Law of Purities* (22 vol., 1974–1977), has never been properly reviewed or evaluated, and Neusner found it necessary briefly to restate some of his more important conclusions (*From Mishnah to Scripture* (1984); *The Mishnah Before 70* (1987)) in order to make them available to the general scholarly community. For a brief outline of Neusner's contribution to the study of the Mishnah, see *The Study of Ancient Judaism I*, pp. 14–23, which must of course be supplemented by reference to his subsequent work, especially his four volumes on *The Philosophical Mishnah* (1988–89).

Editions, Translations, and Aids to Mishnah Study

The edition of the Mishnah printed in Naples in 1492 is usually regarded as the first edition of the Mishnah. It includes the complete text of the Mishnah and Maimonides' commentary in Hebrew translation. The edition published by Tom Tov Lipman Heller, printed in Prague 1614–17 along with his commentary *Tosefot Yom Tov*, has exerted significant influence on subsequent editions of the Mishnah (see: Goldberg, Literature, 247–248). The 13-volume Romm edition (Vilna, 1908 ff.) included for the first time the *Melechet Shlomo* commentary, in addition to Bartenura, *Tosefot Yom Tov*, and *Tiferet Yisrael*. It also included references to citations of Mishnah passages in Talmudic and rabbinic literature, alternative readings, and more than "70 commentaries." Most of these consist of little more than collections of isolated comments on sporadic Mishnah passages, but some are quite significant, including the important commentaries of R. Efraim Yitzhak (*Mishnah Rishonah* and *Mishnah Aḥaronah*) and the commentaries of the Gaon R. Elijah of Vilna. The text of the Mishnah found in most editions currently available today varies little from that of the Romm Mishnah, a notable exception being the new edition of Maimonides' Commentary to the Mishnah, translated and published by J. Kafih (1963 ff.), which includes Maimonides' own (12th century) text of the entire Mishnah. For a list of the many manuscripts of the Mishnah with Maimonides's Arabic commentary, see Krupp, 260–262.

Other works include important information relating to the text of the Mishnah. For example, a critical edition of Mishnah Zera'im, based on all known manuscripts and genizah fragments, including comprehensive references to all Mishnah citations in talmudic and rabbinic literature, was published in 1972–1975 by the Yad ha-Rav Herzog Institute for the Complete Israeli Talmud. They have also included similar material in their critical edition of the Babylonian Talmud of Seder Nashim (Yev., Ket., Ned., Sot., and part of Gittin). Critical editions of various individual tractates have also appeared (Stemberger, 143–144). For the manuscripts of the Mishnah, see Krupp, 252–257; Stemberger. 139–142, and it should be noted that digital images of many of the most important Mishnah manuscripts have been posted on the website of the Jewish National and University Library in Jerusalem, either directly (Kaufman A50, Parma de Rossi 138, Parma de Rossi 497, the original manuscript of Maimonides' Mishnah text and commentary) or through links to other libraries (Munich 95). Similarly, the Talmud Text Data Bank published by the Saul Lieberman Institute of Talmudic Research of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America (available on CD-ROM) includes all the Mishnah texts and all partial Mishnah citations found in the manuscripts of the Babylonian Talmud. For translations, see Goldberg, in Literature, 248–249 and Stemberger, 144–145, the most common English translations being those of Danby (1933), Blackman (1951–56), and Neusner (1988).

The language of the Mishnah – both its grammar and its vocabulary – represent a distinct phase in the history of the Hebrew language, and as such it has been the object of intense critical study over the past fifty years. E.Y. Kutscher, Z. Ben-Haim, H. Yalon, S. Morag and many others have examined many important aspects of Mishnaic Hebrew. Much of this work, however, has remained in the form of scholarly articles aimed at professional linguists, and the fruits of this labor have yet to be made available in a form which can be of help to the ordinary student of Mishnah. We still await a new synthetic grammar book comparable in size and scope to M.H. Segal's now outdated *Grammar of Mishnaic Hebrew* (1927). Similarly, the modern student of mishnaic Hebrew must still make use of the old talmudic dictionaries of J. Levy, A. Kohut, M. Jastrow; a notable exception to this rule is M. Moreshet's extremely useful *Lexicon of the New Verbs in Tannaitic Hebrew* (1980). The archaelogy and realia of the Mishnah have also been treated by many scholars (most notably D. Sperber), but again no comprehensive handbooks like S. Krauss' *Talmudische Archäologie* have been produced in almost a century. J. Feliks' small book, *The Plants and Animals of the Mishnah* (1983), provides simple and useful information on these topics. A regular survey of recent books and articles dealing with different facets of Mishnah study is provided by A. Walfish in the Hebrew language journal *Netuim*.

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[Stephen G. Wald (2nd ed.)]

MISHNAT HA-MIDDOT (Heb. מִשְׁנַת הַמִּדּוֹת; "treatise of measures"), considered the earliest Hebrew geometry. *Mishnat ha-Middot* comprises various methods for determining the dimensions of various plane and solid geometric figures. Its five chapters include, among other matters, a discussion of triangles, quadrilaterals, and frusta. The Heronic formula for the area of a triangle in terms of the lengths of the sides is given. For π the value of $3\frac{1}{7}$ is used and this divergence from the biblical 3 is homiletically justified. One of the extant manuscripts has a sixth chapter dealing with the Tabernacle which is similar to sections of the *Baraita de-Melekhet ha-Mishkan. In spite of the similar names, there seems to be no connection between this work and the *Baraita de-49 Middot* which is frequently cited by medieval commentators. This treatise is written in a distinctive Hebrew that combines mishnaic style with a technical terminology that has affinities with Arabic, although it stands apart from the Hebrew mathematical terminology of the Hispano-Arabic period. In content, the *Mishnat ha-Middot* belongs to the stream of Oriental mathematics represented, e.g., by Heron, Greek mathematician (c. 100 C.E.) in the Hellenistic period, and al-Khwarizmi (c. 825 C.E.) in the Arabic period, to both of whose works it offers striking parallels. Some attribute it to R. *Nehemiah (c. 150 C.E.), and see it as a link between the Hellenistic and Arabic texts, while others assign it to an unknown author of the Arabic period.

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[Benjamin Weiss]

MISHOL, AGI (1947–), Hebrew poetess. Mishol was born in Hungary to Holocaust survivors who came to Israel in 1950. She earned her B.A. and M.A. in Hebrew Literature from the Hebrew University and published her first collection of poems *Nanny ve-Sheneinu* ("Nanny and Both of Us") in 1972. Nine further collections followed, including *Gallop* (1980) and *Re'eh Sham* ("Look, There," 1999). In 2003 appeared *Mivḥar ve-Ḥadashim* ("Selection and New Poems") with an essay by Dan Miron entitled "*Ha-Sibilah ha-Komit: Al Shiratah shel Agi Mishol*" (293–443). Mishol belongs to the great dynasty of Hebrew women poets, maintains Miron. He underlines her stylistic individualism and her humorous outlook on life and on the self as a necessary condition for personal and communal mental health. Mishol was awarded the Yehuda Amichai Prize (2002) and the Tel Aviv Foundation Award. She teaches poetry in the M.A. Program in Creative Writing at Ben-Gurion University, works as a translator and literary critic for radio and written media, and grows peach and persimmon trees in her village, Kefar Mordechai. A bilingual edition, *The Swimmers*, appeared in English (1998). For further information concerning translations see the ITHL website at www.ithl.org.il.

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[Anat Feinberg (2nd ed.)]

MISHPAT IVRI.

This article is arranged according to the following outline:

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DEFINITION AND TERMINOLOGY

The term *mishpat Ivri* (מִשְׁפָּט עִבְרִי) is now generally accepted as embracing only those matters of the **halakhah* (Jewish law) whose equivalent is customarily dealt with in other present-day legal systems, that is, matters pertaining to relations between man and man and not the precepts governing the relationship between man and his Maker. This definition diverges from the original meaning of the Hebrew term *mishpat* or *mishpatim*. Used in the sense of a system of laws – like the English term "law," or the German term "*Recht*" – the term refers not only to matters between man and man (in the sense of *jus, ius humanum*) but also to the precepts between man and his Maker (in the sense of *fas, ius divinum*). Thus for instance in Exodus 21:1 the words *ve-elleh ha-mishpatim* are stated by way of introduction to chapters 21, 22, and 23, which deal not only with matters of civil and criminal law but also with the laws of the sabbatical year, the Sabbath, first fruits, and so on.

Another Hebrew term for law is the word *dinim* (sing. *din*), used to designate matters included in the fourth mishnaic order, *Nezikin* (see Deut. 17:8; Ḥag. 1:8; Naḥmanides, Gen. 34:13). The term comprises two main classes of laws, namely *dinei mamonot* and *dinei nefashot*. The concept of *dinei mamonot* corresponds to but is not identical with "civil law," since it is wider than the latter in some respects (see Sanh. 2:2 and see below) and narrower in others, excluding, for instance, that part of family law dealing with what is ritually permitted and prohibited, the laws of usury, and so on. (Subject to this qualification, the term civil law will be used below and in the other articles on Jewish law as the equivalent of *dinei mamonot*.) The concept *dinei nefashot* takes in that part of the criminal law dealing with matters that call for capital and certain other forms of corporal punishment. (The term *dinei kenasot* relates to matters which are part of *dinei mamonot*; see *Obligations, Law of.) However, even the term *dinim* does not exclude matters concerning the precepts between man and God, as is evident from the concept of *dinei issur ve-hetter* – ritual prohibitions and permissions.

The reason for the absence in Hebrew sources of an accepted term describing legal norms pertaining exclusively to relations between man and man – for instance in the sense of "English law" or "Swiss law" – lies in the basic fact that both the laws applicable between man and man and the precepts concerning man and God have a single and common source, namely the *Written and the *Oral Law. This fact further asserts itself in the phenomenon that all parts of the entire halakhic system share and are subject to common modes of creation, thought, and expression, as well as principles and rules (see below). This, however, constitutes no hindrance to the acceptance of the term *mishpat Ivri* in the sense here described. The term first came to be used in this sense around the beginning of the 20th century, when the Jewish national awakening – which to some extent stimulated also the desire for a return to Jewish law – prompted a search for a Hebrew term to designate that part of the *halakhah* whose subject matter paralleled that which normally comprises other legal systems. What was sought was a suitable term that would circumscribe the bounds of the legal research and preparatory work to be undertaken. Thus there was accepted the term *mishpat* "*Ivri*," in the same way as *safah* "*Ivrit*" and later also *medinah* "*Ivrit*." Today the term *mishpat Ivri*, as defined above, is generally accepted in all fields of practical legal life and research in the sense here described. In the Knesset legislation use is made of the term *din Torah* (authorized English translation, "Jewish religious law": see, e.g., sec. 2, "Rabbinical Courts Jurisdiction (Marriage and Divorce) Law," 1953); this Hebrew term is inaccurate as far as the distinction between *de-oraita* and *de-rabbanan* (see *Mishpat Ivri: De-Oraita* and *De-Rabbanan*) is concerned.

"RELIGIOUS" HALAKHAH AND "LEGAL" HALAKHAH

Common Features

The "religious" and the "legal" norms of the *halakhah* share certain common features, a fact that finds expression in a number of ways (and accounts for our use of inverted commas since the *halakhah* does not recognize the concept of special "religious" law, which is used here in its modern sense). In the talmudic discussions the same theoretical argumentation, terminology, and modes of interpretation that are applied to a matter of civil law are applied also to matters concerning, for instance, the Sabbath, the sacrificial cult, and ritual purity and impurity. Many legal principles are common to both parts of the *halakhah*. Thus for instance the laws of *agency apply in the same way to matters of **hekdesh*, **terumah*, and the slaughter of the paschal sacrifice, as they do to matters of marriage, divorce, recovery of debt, and so on. Moreover, the essential legal principle underlying the principal-agent relationship – that "a person's agent is as himself" – was derived by the scholars from the scriptural passages dealing with matters of the paschal sacrifice and *terumah* (Kid. 41b, etc.), and it is in relation to the laws of prayer that the solitary mishnaic reference to the above principle is made (Ber. 5:5). "Religious" directives are often found to be based on "legal" directives. This is illustrated in the discussions on the question of whether a person who has acquired the right to no more than the fruits of his neighbor's field, may, when bringing the first fruit, read the *Bikkurim* portion which includes the passage, "And now, behold, I have brought the first fruit of the land, which Thou, O Lord, hast given me" (Deut. 26:10), since this involves a declaration that the land is his. The answer is made dependent on the elucidation of a question of legal principle, whether acquisition of the fruits (*kinyan perot*) is as acquisition of the body (*kinyan ha-guf*; Git. 47b) – an elucidation which has important consequences in all fields of Jewish law.

To their common origin must also be attributed a mutual interaction between the two parts of the *halakhah*, with directions pertaining to the "religious" field supplementing lacunae in the "legal" field. This is illustrated in the law concerning the father's duty to maintain his children. In the *takkanah* of Usha, as finally accepted, it was laid down that the duty extended to children until the age of six years. In practice it sometimes happened that a father failed to maintain his minor children above the age of six and in such an event the court compelled the father to do so by applying two rules pertaining to the laws of charity: first, that a person who has sufficient for his own needs may be compelled to give charity if there is a poor man in need; secondly, that as regards the giving of charity, "the poor of a person's own household take precedence over the poor of his town, and the poor of his town over those of another town," and of all the poor the father's children are the nearest to him (Ket. 49b; Sh. Ar., YD 251:3; EH 71:1). Another illustration is found in the post-talmudic development regarding the establishment of an obligation by way of the promisor's vow or oath or undertaking on pain of ban to give or do according to his promise – whose fulfillment is imposed on him as a religious duty. This method was employed especially in the case of obligations which were incapable of being established in terms of the "legal" rules of the *halakhah*, such as an obligation relating to something not yet in existence (*Rema*, ḤM 209:4), or one tainted with the defect of **asmakhta* (Sh. Ar., ḤM 207:19) and so on (see *Obligation, Law of).

Distinguishing between "Religious" and "Legal" *Halakhah* – Ritual and Civil Law

A study of the halakhic sources reveals that the *halakhah*, notwithstanding its overall unity, distinguishes materially between the two main fields of its subject matter, between "matters of *mamon*" or "*mamona*" and "matters not of *mamon*" or "*issura*" (lit. "prohibitions," i.e., ritual law). Although the concepts of *issura* and *mamona* are not coextensive with the modern concepts of "religious" and "legal" law (see above), the material distinction made between them exerted a decisive influence on the evolutionary path taken by that large part of the *halakhah* embraced in the term *mishpat Ivri*. The first manifestations of the distinction date back to the time of Bet Shammai and Bet Hillel (Yev. 15a–b; Eduy. 1:12 – "If you have permitted in a matter relating to the stringent prohibition of incest, shall you not permit in civil matters (*mamon*) which are less stringent?") and in the course of time it became entrenched in many fields of the *halakhah*, as illustrated in the following examples: As regards the freedom of stipulation, the principle was laid down that "when a person contracts out of the law contained in the Torah, a stipulation which relates to a matter of *mamon* is valid but one that relates to a matter not of *mamon* is invalid" (Tosef., Kid. 3:7–8). The explanation is that the legal order prescribed by the Torah in civil matters was not enjoined in the form of a binding obligation (i.e., *jus cogens*), but as conditional on the will of the parties (i.e., *jus dispositivum*; Naḥmanides, Nov. BB 126b) except in cases of a stipulation inimical to personal freedom or the public weal (for details see *Contract). In case of an illegal contract the rule is that a contract whose fulfillment involves the transgression of law shall not be enforced, but transgression of a "religious" prohibition does not deprive the contract of legal validity and it will be enforced by the court; hence, "if a person sells or gives on the Sabbath, and certainly on festivals, even though he should be flogged, his act is effective" and an obligation undertaken on the Sabbath is similarly valid, "and a *kinyan* performed on the Sabbath (i.e., *kinyan sudar*, see *Acquisition) is valid, and the writing and handing over take place after the Sabbath" (Yad, Mekhirah 30:7).

The distinction between *issura* and *mamona* also has an important bearing on the question of legislative authority in Jewish law. While such authority was to some extent limited in matters of *issura*, it remained fully effective in matters of *mamona* (see **Takkanot*). So far as the legislative authority conferred on the public and its leaders was concerned, this never extended beyond matters pertaining to the civil law and criminal-police offenses (see **Takkanot ha-Kahal*). The distinction is also an important factor in the binding force of custom, particularly as regards the basic principle that "custom overrides the law," which is applicable in matters of the civil law exclusively (see **Minhag*). Similarly, different rules and principles of decision were laid down for civil and for ritual matters. A basic principle is that matters of ritual law are not to be learned from matters of civil law and vice versa, for the reason that on the one hand ritual matters are by their very nature of greater stringency than matters of the civil law, while on the other hand the rule that "the burden of proof rests on the person seeking to recover from his fellow" applies to civil but not to ritual law. Flowing therefrom are a number of rules applicable to matters of the ritual law only (for instance, that in certain circumstances "the majority is not followed in civil law matters"; BK 46b). It was likewise accepted by all scholars that the rule of **dina de-malkhuta dina* has no application to matters of ritual law (*Tashbez*, 1:158, and see below), since all the reasons given for the adoption of the doctrine are relevant only to matters of the civil law. Thus the *halakhah* represents a unitary system of law with both its "religious" precepts and "legal" directions sharing a common origin and theoretical propagation as well as mutual principles and rules, the one part supplementing the other. At the same time the *halakhah*, as crystallized during its different periods, evolved a clear distinction between matters of *issura* and those of *mamona*, the latter being the counterpart of a substantial part of the subject matter of modern legal systems. This material distinction lent the legal part of the *halakhah*, which was the more sensitive and subject to the influence of changing social and economic realities, a wide flexibility and capacity for development.

LAW AND MORALS

Jewish law, like other legal systems, distinguishes between legal norms enforced by sanction of the courts and moral and ethical norms lacking such sanction. However, Jewish law also recognizes the existence of a special reciprocal tie between law and morality, a tie that stems from the common origin of both concepts in Judaic sources. The Pentateuchal commands, "Thou shalt not kill" and "Thou shalt not steal" (Ex. 20:13), are enjoined with the same finality as "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself: I am the Lord" (Lev. 19:18), and the common origin of the concepts of law and morality remained a guideline for Judaism in all periods and generations (see, e.g., *Bertinoro*, Avot 1:1). The stated tie finds expression in the fact that from time to time Jewish law, functioning as a legal system, itself impels recourse to a moral imperative for which there is no court sanction, and in so doing sometimes prepares the way to conversion of the moral imperative into a fully sanctioned norm. An illustration is to be found in the law of tort, where there are cases in which the tortfeasor is legally exempt from the payment of compensation – whether for lack of necessary causality between his act and the resultant damage, or because he acted with license, or for other reasons – yet with reference to many of these cases the rule was laid down that the person occasioning damage to another "is exempt according to the laws of man but liable according to the law of Heaven" (BK 6:4; BK 55b; and codes), or "he is exempt according to the law of man but his judgment is entrusted to Heaven" (Tosef., BK 6:6–17). Liability according to the law of Heaven means, according to some scholars, that although the court should not compel compliance by regular sanction it "should bring pressure to bear on him, verbally, without compulsion" (*Yam shel Shelomo*, BK 6:6); others held that the court should exercise no constraint – not even verbal – but should inform the individual: "We do not compel you, but you shall have to fulfill your duty to Heaven" (*ibid.*). Hence even the adjuration that the duty to Heaven must be fulfilled is addressed to the individual concerned by the court.

An instance of the conversion of a moral imperative into a legally sanctioned norm is to be found in the direction to act *li-fenim mi-shurat ha-din* (i.e., leniently, beyond the requirements of the law). In the Talmud this direction does not generally carry the import of a norm fortified by some form of sanction, and means only that it is fitting for the person who has a concern for his manner of conduct not to base his deeds on the strict letter of the law but to act leniently beyond the requirements of the law (as in the matter of restoring lost property or that of paying compensation for damage resulting from an erroneous opinion: BM 24b and 30b; BK 99b). As regards the talmudic matter concerning the exemption of workers from liability for damage caused by them – even though they are unable to prove the absence of negligence on their part – the *posekim* were divided on whether or not this involved an enforceable duty to act beyond the requirements of the law (*Mordekhai* and others; see *Baḥ*, ḤM 12:4). In the post-talmudic era the direction to act *li-fenim mi-shurat ha-din* became, according to the majority of scholars, a full fledged legal norm enforced in certain instances by the court (for instance in the case of a wealthy litigant; *Baḥ*, loc. cit. and *Rema*, ḤM 12:2). See also *Law and Morality.

DE-ORAITA AND DE-RABBANAN

Jewish law, in fact the entire *halakhah*, distinguishes between two categories of law, expressed in the two Aramaic terms *de-oraita* ("of the Torah") and *de-rabbanan* ("of the scholars"). The second category is sometimes also termed *mi-divrei soferim* (a term which has an additional meaning, see Sanh. 88b, but is normally used as the equivalent of *de-rabbanan*) or *takkanat ḥakhamim*.

Distinguishing between the Two Categories

Classification of the halakhic rules into these two categories is beset with many difficulties and has been the subject of much scholarly discussion and research (see Z.H. Ḥayyut (Chajes), *Torat ha-Nevi'im*, s.v. "*Torah she be-al peh*"; Ḥ. Albeck, *Mavo ha-Mishnah* (1959), 49–53). Certainly the rules expressly stated in the Pentateuch are *de-oraita*, while those clearly originating from the enactments or decrees of the scholars are *de-rabbanan*. More difficult is classification of the rules deriving from one of the different modes of Pentateuchal Midrash (exegesis, see *Interpretation). Maimonides held that any such rule was not to be considered *de-oraita* unless the interpretation accorded with a tradition from Moses at Sinai and the Talmud specifically lays down that the rule is *de-oraita* (*Sefer ha-Mitzvot*, rule no. 2). Naḥmanides held that such rules were *de-oraita* except when the Talmud specifically determines that the midrashic derivation of a particular rule amounts to no more than *asmakhta*, in which event the rule is *de-rabbanan* (*Hassagot ha-Ramban le-Sefer ha-Mitzvot*, ad loc.). Naḥmanides' opinion was accepted by a majority of the scholars (many of whom interpret Maimonides' view in a manner which tends to reconcile it with that of Naḥmanides). This, however, still does not constitute an adequate distinction, since there are *halakhot* which are regarded as *de-oraita* even though they are linked to particular scriptural passages by way of *asmakhta* alone, and there are also many *halakhot* which are regarded as *de-oraita* even though they do not originate from the legal source of Midrash (but from some other legal source, such as **sevarah*). Nor does classification of the *halakhah* into *de-oraita* and *de-rabbanan* necessarily have a bearing on the antiquity of a particular law, since it is possible that a law classified as *de-rabbanan* had its origin in a particularly ancient *takkanah*, whereas a later law may be classified as *de-oraita* because of its derivation from the interpretation of Pentateuchal passages. There are many institutions whose classification into one or other of the two stated categories occasioned doubt to the scholars of different periods, for instance, in the following matters: **ketubbah* (Ket. 10a; 110b); the husband's right to inherit his wife's property (Ket. 83a; Bek. 52b; and see *Succession); the husband's duty to maintain his wife (Ket. 47b; and see *Maintenance); *kinyan meshikhah* (BM 47b); and modes of acquisition deriving from trade custom (*Kesef ha-Kedoshim*, Sh. Ar., ḤM, 201:1) and other matters. There is accordingly no absolute and exhaustive classification of the *halakhah* into *de-oraita* and *de-rabbanan* and the only method of determining the class to which a particular law belongs is an examination of the Talmudic and post-talmudic literature to determine the manner in which such law was classified by the sages of the Talmud and scholars who decided and codified the *halakhah*.

Legal Consequences of the Classification

A basic divergence between the two categories of law occurs when there is doubt or dispute as to the applicability or scope of a particular rule in certain circumstances: in a *de-oraita* matter a stringent approach is required, whereas a lenient approach is indicated in a *de-rabbanan* matter (Beẓah 3b; Av. Zar. 7a). In some cases the scholars laid down alleviations of the law as regards a *de-rabbanan* legal obligation, even in the absence of any doubt as to the existence of such an obligation (for instance as regards recovery of the *ketubbah* money; Tosef., Ket. 13 (12):3 and Ket. 110b; see also *Conflict of Laws) when special circumstances justified such leniency (Ket. 86a; *Rashbam*, BB 132b). In general, however, the scholars "imparted to their enactments the force of rules of the Torah" (see Git. 64b–65a; Ket. 84a). When the scholars saw the need for introducing a basic legal institution into daily life, they sometimes even enforced a rule of the rabbinical law more restrictively than a rule of the Torah. For this reason it was laid down that the parties may not stipulate for the payment of a lesser **ketubbah* amount than that determined by the scholars, notwithstanding the rule of freedom of stipulation in civil matters, even those pertaining to the *de-oraita* law (Ket. 56a). The rule that a legal obligation classified as part of the rabbinical law has the same legal efficacy as a *de-oraita* obligation is of special importance in view of the fact that so many of the rules in all the different branches of Jewish law belong to the *de-rabbanan* category (particularly those concerning the modes of acquisition, and the laws of obligation and tort). Any diminished regard for the standing and validity of a rule of the rabbinical law would have entailed the possibility of a far-reaching effect on the manner of execution and enforcement of such rules (see detailed discussion in Radbaz, 1,503).

THE BASIC NORM AND THE SOURCES OF JEWISH LAW

Three Meanings of the Expression "Source of Law"

Every legal system gives occasion for inquiry into the sources of its law (*fontes juris, Die Quellen des Rechts*). The expression "source of law" has three principal meanings, which may be distinguished as literary, historical, and legal sources of law.

The literary sources of law (in German, *Die Erkenntnisquellen des Rechts*) are those sources which serve as the recognized and authentic literary repository of the various rules and directions of a particular legal system for purpose of ascertaining their content.

The historical sources are those sources which constitute the historical-factual origin of particular legal norms. Legal research is largely concerned with an investigation of the historical sources of the directions comprising a particular legal system, of the various influences of one legal system on another, and other similar questions. The historical sources of law, in the wide sense of the expression, may also include any economic, social, moral, or other factor that led to the creation of a particular legal norm and there are many instances of laws which were enacted in answer to particular economic or social needs.

The legal sources (in German *Die Entstehungsquellen des Rechts*) are the sources of law and means of creating law recognized by a legal system itself as conferring binding force on the norms of that system (see J.W. Salmond, *Jurisprudence* (1966), 109ff.).

The distinction between a legal and a historical source of law is of a material nature. The quest for the legal source of a particular norm is aimed at ascertaining the source from which the latter derives the force of law, that is, the principle within the relevant legal system which serves to confer binding validity on such a norm. Thus it is possible to ascertain that a norm has its legal source in statute or precedent and so on, without any need to be concerned with the factual background or historical origin of such a norm. Salmond states: "This is an important distinction which calls for careful consideration. In respect of its origin a rule of law is often of long descent. The immediate source of a rule of English law may be the decision of an English court of justice. But that court may have drawn the matter of its decision from the writings of some lawyer, let us say the celebrated Frenchman, Pothier; and Pothier in his turn may have taken it from the compilations of the emperor Justinian, who may have obtained it from the praetorian edict. In such a case all these things – the decision, the works of Pothier, the Corpus Juris Civilis, and the Edictum Perpetuum – are the successive material sources of the rule of English law. But there is a difference between them for the precedent is the legal source of the rule, and the others are merely its historical sources. The precedent is its source, not merely in fact, but in law also. The others are its sources in fact, but obtain no legal recognition as such" (op. cit., p. 109).

The historical sources of law play only an indirect role in the evolution of a legal system, as factors which either offer a possible course to follow by way of imitation (as in the absorption of a principle from a different legal system) or create a need for the further development of such a legal system (as in the case of particular economic or social conditions). On the other hand, the legal sources play a direct role in the evolution of a legal system, serving as the sole means to add to, subtract from, or vary in any other way the existing norms of that system. This division of the sources of law into three classes is valid also for the Jewish legal system.

The Literary Sources of Jewish Law

VARIOUS CLASSES OF INFORMATIVE SOURCES OF LAW. The literary sources of a legal system constitute, as already mentioned, authentic sources for the ascertainment of its legal norms. Thus, for instance, the laws of a country may be ascertained from its official Statute Books. Similarly, knowledge of the law may also be gathered from what is called "the literature of the law." This includes the literature in which the law is discussed or interpreted, although that literature itself is not recognized as an authoritative and authentic source from which binding legal norms may be ascertained (e.g., legal textbooks and articles: see Salmond, op. cit. 112, n. c). From a certain standpoint even general literature may contribute greatly toward a better knowledge of a legal system. Thus, if an author gives a historical-economic description of a particular period and mentions bankruptcies and the imprisonment of debtors, it may be possible to learn from this that it was customary at that time to imprison a debtor for the nonpayment of his debt; this may be deduced from the contents of a book even though the author dealt only incidentally with the legal aspects of that subject. In this regard, both the literature of the law and general literature must be approached with caution and the degree of the author's accuracy and objectivity carefully examined in each case. These informative sources avail also in Jewish law. While its authoritative literary sources are the most important informative class, both literature of the law and general literature serve the important function of filling in the social and economic background to many legal norms. They are of added importance – subject to the above cautionary remarks – in relation to those periods when there were few authoritative literary sources, as was the position in Jewish law until the literary redactions undertaken in the tannaitic period. The different literary sources of the *halakhah* are briefly reviewed below in a general manner. (These are separately discussed elsewhere in greater detail; see, e.g., *Mishnah; *Talmud.)

FROM THE WRITTEN LAW UNTIL THE PERIOD OF THE TANNAIM. The Bible is not only the source of authority of the whole of the Jewish legal system (see below), it is also its first and foremost authoritative literary source. It contains legal directions which date from patriarchal times onward and are dispersed in specific books and chapters of the Pentateuch (Gen. 23:3–20; 31:41–43; Ex. 20–23; Lev. 5; 18–21; 24–25; 27; Num. 27:35–36; Deut. 1; 4–5; 15–17; 19–25). The next authoritative literary source is represented by the Books of the Prophets and the Hagiographa. From these information may be gained on the laws concerning the modes of acquisition (Ruth 4; Jer. 32 and see TJ, Kid. 1:5; 60c), the monarchy (I Sam. 8; I Kings 21), suretyship (Prov. 6:1–5; 11–15, et al.), the laws confining criminal responsibility to the transgressor (II Kings 14:6), and so on. It may be noted that the Prophets and Hagiographa contain scant material of a legal nature. The attention of the prophets and chroniclers was mainly directed to the numerous internal and external wars of their times, to moral, social, and religious problems. Therefore the silence of these sources on different matters of the law cannot be interpreted as pointing to the absence of a legal order on such matters.

Much of the accumulated knowledge of Jewish law in the above period and for some time after can be found in the informative sources termed literature of the law and general literature. These include the *papyri (such as the Elephantine papyri of the fifth century B.C.E.), the *Septuagint (end of the third century B.C.E.), the writings of *Philo (first half of the first century), the writings of Josephus (the period of the Temple destruction), the *Apocrypha (from the fourth century B.C.E. until the year 200), and other works. This literature contains some *halakhot* which are identical to those quoted in talmudic literature and others which are sometimes contrary to it. This may indicate a possible development in certain norms of Jewish law or it may also be that this literature preserved *halakhot* that appeared in talmudic sources which are no longer extant. Great care is needed in deducing conclusions from this literature: sometimes it represents the viewpoint of small sects or even a single individual; sometimes it may show the influence of a surrounding legal system (as in the case of the Elephantine papyri); sometimes the particular author gathered a rule of Jewish law from a translation and not in its original form (as did Philo in making use of Greek translations); and sometimes the description of certain matters reveals a blatant tendentiousness (see, for instance, Jos., Ant., 4:279 (ed. Schalit) note 174; ed. Shor, note 3).

FROM THE TANNAITIC PERIOD UNTIL THE REDACTION OF THE TALMUD. This period, spanning the lives of the *tannaim* and *amoraim*, gave rise to literary creations which constitute the classical sources of Jewish law and the starting point, until this day, for the study or discussion of any matter in it. Extant from tannaitic times are the following: compilations of halakhic Midrashim (see *Midreshei Halakhah* and *Interpretation); the Mishnah – compiled by Judah ha-Nasi and constituting the post-Mosaic "Corpus Juris" of Jewish law – and the *Tosefta (see *Codification of Law); other authoritative tannaitic literary sources are the **Beraitot* included in the two Talmuds, and **Megillat Ta'anit* which includes, besides descriptions of political and military events, halakhic and legal material. Authoritative amoraic literary sources are the Jerusalem Talmud and the Babylonian Talmud, which include commentaries and expositions on the Mishnah, *memrot* (new *halakhot* of the *amoraim*), *ma'asim* (i.e., cases, see **Ma'aseh*), questions and answers, *takkanot*, and *gezerot* as well as rules of decision (see *Codification of Law).

THE POST-TALMUDIC PERIOD. The following are the three main branches of the post-talmudic literary sources of Jewish law commencing from the geonic period:

(1) The *Perushim* and *Ḥiddushim* – commentaries and novellae – to the Mishnah and Talmud (as well as the other talmudic literary sources). The commentary literature represents the efforts of the scholars to elucidate the earlier literary sources with a view to facilitating the study and understanding of them; the classic commentary is that of *Rashi on the Babylonian Talmud (11th century). The novellae literature is a product of the study and comparison by the scholars of different sources and their reconciliation of contradictory statements within the talmudic literature, in the course of which new interpretations and *halakhot* were derived; the classic novellae are those of the *tosafists to the Babylonian Talmud (12th and 13th centuries). Of these two literary branches the commentaries represent the earlier development, which reached its peak in the 11th century (i.e., as regards commentaries on the TB; the commentaries on the TJ date from the 16th century onward), only then to be followed by the novellae, which have continued to be written until the present day.

(2) *She'elot u-Teshuvot* – the *responsa prudentium* of Jewish law. The responsa literature represents the decisions and conclusions written down by halakhic scholars in answer to written questions submitted to them. For the major part of the post-talmudic period these questions came either from *dayyanim* who sat in judgment over the litigants in their own community and found it necessary to turn to the outstanding halakhic scholars in the area for the solution to difficult

problems, or they arose from disputes between the individual and the community, or between different communities, which came directly before the competent scholars of the particular area. The responsa represent legal decisions on concrete questions arising in daily life and served as the main vehicle for the creativity and evolution of Jewish law in post-talmudic times. This body of literature is the case law of the Jewish legal system, estimated to include a total of approximately 300,000 judgments and decisions (see also *Ma'aseh*; *Responsa).

(3) The Codes (see in detail under *Codification of Law).

Besides these three main sources two other classes of literary sources belonging to this period may be mentioned: first, the collections of bonds and deeds (see **Shetarot*), i.e., forms of written documents in use at various times during this period and serving to order the legal relations between parties in different fields of the law – such as deeds of sale, indebtedness, lease, marriage, and *ketubbah*; secondly, the collections of *takkanot*, particularly the *takkanot* enacted by the community and its leadership, namely *takkanot ha-kahal*. In addition, there is the auxiliary literature of Jewish law consisting of various works of aid and reference, which may conveniently be classified into five categories: (1) works of introduction to the Talmud or to the *halakhah* in general (such as the *Iggeret R. *Sherira Ga'on*; the *Sefer ha-Keritot* of *Samson b. Isaac of Chinon; et al.); (2) encyclopedias of the *halakhah* (such as *Paḥad Yiẓhak* by Isaac *Lampronti and, more recently, the *Enẓiklopedyah Talmudit*, etc.); (3) biographies of the halakhic scholars (such as the *Sefer ha-Kabbalah* of Abraham ibn Daud; first part of *Shem ha-Gedolim* of Ḥ.J.D. Azulai); (4) bibliographies of halakhic works (such as the *Oẓar ha-Sefarim* by Benjacob, the second part of *Shem ha-Gedolim* by Ḥ.J.D. Azulai); and (5) lexicons and dictionaries (such as *He-Arukh* by Nathan b. Jehiel of Rome; the *Arukh Completum* by A. Kohut; Levi's *Wörterbuch*; and Jastrow's *Aramaic Dictionary of the Talmud*). The main literary source in the post-talmudic period, however, remained the Talmud while around it and in continuation thereof there grew up a vast and profound literature in the form of all the aforementioned branches, sources, and auxiliary works.

The Historical Sources of Jewish Law

It is possible to point to the historical background of many norms of Jewish law – to the economic, social, and moral conditions leading to their creation (particularly in the case of the norms originating from *takkanot*), or to the influence of a different legal system (see below) and similar historical influences. General research on such historical sources is to be found in various works dealing with the history of the *halakhah* and some special research has been done on this subject (latterly, for instance, Y. Baer, *Yisrael ba-Ammim*; idem, in: *Zion*, 17 (1951/52), 1–55; 27 (1961/62), 117–55). Ascertaining the precise historical sources of a particular legal norm is often a formidable task which offers no assurance that the correct answer will be found. Some proffered answers lie in the realm of mere conjecture and are unacceptable without adequate further investigation and proof (see for instance the strictures of G. Alon in his *Meḥkarim*, 2 (1958), 181–247).

The Legal Sources of Jewish Law

There are six legal sources of Jewish law (as regards the Written Law see below): (1) *kabbalah* ("tradition"), based on "tradition transmitted from person to person" back to Moses from God (Avot 1:1; ARN *ibid.*; Yad, Mamrim 1:2; Maim., Introd. to Comm. Mishnah); it is materially different from the other legal sources of Jewish law, since it is not subject to change or development but is, by its very nature, static and immutable, whereas the other legal sources are dynamic by nature and mainly serve as the means toward the continued creativity and evolution of Jewish law; (2) Midrash ("exegesis" and "interpretation"), embracing the norms derived from interpretation of the Written Law and of the *halakhah* in all periods, and to a certain extent also taking in other principles relating to interpretation of deeds, communal enactments, and so on; (3) *takkanah* and *gezerah*, representing the legislative activities of the competent halakhic authorities and public bodies in every generation; (4) *minhag*, representing the legal norms derived from custom in all its different forms; (5) *ma'aseh*, representing the legal norms derived from judicial decision or the conduct of a halakhic scholar in a particular concrete case; (6) *sevarah*, representing the legal norms originating directly from the legal-human logic of the halakhic scholars.

The last five of these are recognized in Jewish law as being capable of both solving new legal and social problems and changing existing legal norms, when this need arises from the prevailing economic, social, and moral realities. In making use of these legal sources the halakhic scholars continued to shape and develop the Jewish legal system, which gave direction to the daily realities of life while being itself directed by them. This task the halakhic scholars carried out with a constant concern for the continued creativity and evolution of the *halakhah*, tempered at the same time by the heavy responsibility of preserving its spirit, objective, and continuity. This twofold assignment is entrusted in Jewish law to the halakhic scholars in every generation: "the judge that shall be in those days" (Deut. 17:9 and Sif. Deut. 153), in accordance with the fundamental principle that "the court of Jephthah is as that of Samuel … for the contemporary judge is in his generation as the judge who was in earlier generations" (Eccles. R. 1:4, no. 4; Tosef., RH 2 (1):3; RH 25b). No supra-human power – such as a heavenly voice or the prophet acting as bearer of the divine vision – has ever had any authority or influence in the determination and decision of the *halakhah* (Sifra, Be-Ḥukkotai 13:7–8; BM 59b; TJ, MK 3:1, 81d; for further particulars see *Authority, Rabbinical).

The Basic Norm of Jewish Law

As already mentioned, by the legal sources of a legal system is meant those sources which that legal system itself recognizes as valid sources from which its legal norms derive their binding force. Whence do these legal sources themselves derive their authority and validity? How and by whom have they been recognized as having the efficacy to determine and introduce legal norms into the legal system concerned? Salmond (loc. cit.) states (111–2): "There must be found in every legal system certain ultimate principles, from which all others are derived, but which are themselves self-existent. Before there can be any talk of legal sources, there must be already in existence some law which establishes them and gives them their authority… These ultimate principles are the *Grundnorm* or basic rules of recognition of the legal system." Thus the direct legal source of a municipal bylaw is the authority of the municipality to make bylaws; the bylaw has legal validity because parliament has delegated power to the municipality to make bylaws, while there exists a further rule – the *Grundnorm* – which determines that an act of parliament has binding authority in the English legal system.

So in any legal system there is to be found a chain of delegation of power extending from the ultimate legal value – the *Grundnorm* – to lower ones. The source of authority of the ultimate legal principle must be sought beyond the concepts of law and within the confines of history, religious faith, and beliefs, and the like: "But whence comes the rule that acts of parliament have the force of law? This is legally ultimate; its source is historical only, not legal. The historians of the constitution know its origin, but lawyers must accept it as self-existent. It is the law because it is the law, and for no other reason than that it is possible for the law itself to take notice of" (Salmond, op. cit., p. 111).

In the above-mentioned sense the basic norm of the Jewish legal system is the rule that everything stated in the Written Law is of binding authority for the Jewish legal system. The basic norm of Jewish law therefore not only expresses the concept of the delegation of power, but it is actually woven into the substantive content of the Written Law, the latter constituting the eternal and immutable constitution of Jewish law. This norm is the fountain of authority and starting point for the entire halakhic system with all its changes and evolution throughout the generations, and it is this norm that delegates authority to the legal sources of Jewish law rendering them valid means toward the continuing creativity and evolution of the latter. The source of authority of this basic norm itself is the basic tenet of Judaism that the source of authority of the Torah is divine command. In considering the matter from the aspect of Judaism as a whole it has to be said that there cannot be seen in it a system of legal norms isolated from and independent of other constellations of norms. All these constellations of norms have a single and uniform ultimate value, namely divine command as expressed in the Torah given to Moses at Sinai. Hence even the pre-Mosaic laws mentioned in the Written Torah – for instance concerning circumcision and the prohibition on flesh torn from a living animal, robbery, incest and so on – have binding force "because the Holy One commanded us through Moses" (Maim., Comm. Ḥul. 7:6) and because at the time the Torah was given "Israel entered into a covenant to observe them" (*Rashbam*, Gen. 26:5).

The exclusive authority to interpret the Written Law and ensure its continuing evolution was found by the halakhic scholars to be delegated, in the Written Torah itself, to the halakhic scholars of every succeeding generation. Such authority they derived from a number of Pentateuchal passages, particularly Deuteronomy 17:8–11, in which the resolution of problems and disputes arising from time to time is entrusted to the teachers and judges in every generation (see also *Authority, Rabbinical). In this and in other passages the halakhic scholars found not only their general authority to resolve problems but also the appointed means, that is the legal sources, wherewith to reach this goal (see Yad, Mamrim 1:2; Maim., Introd. to Comm. Mishnah). Further particulars of Pentateuchal passages as a basis for the various legal sources of Jewish law are given elsewhere under the heading of each legal source.

THE DIFFERENT PERIODS OF JEWISH LAW

Jewish law has a history extending over a period of more than 3,000 years. For reasons of convenience and, to a certain extent, for historical and substantive reasons, this may be divided into two general periods, each with its own further sub-divisions; the first covering the time from the Written Law until the closing of the Talmud, the second from the post-talmudic period until the present day. This division between talmudic and post-talmudic *halakhah* has no bearing on the matter of the continuing creativity and evolution of Jewish law. Such creativity not only continued uninterruptedly after the closing of the Talmud but, as regards volume and literary output, even gathered momentum in certain fields of the law. The significance of the closing of the Talmud as a historic turning point in Jewish law finds expression in the degree of authenticity attributed to the talmudic *halakhah*, which was accepted in Judaism as the authoritative expression and rendering of the Oral Law: "All matters stated in the *Gemara* … must be followed … and have been agreed to by all Israel" (Maim., Introd. to *Mishneh Torah*). Until the redaction of the tannaitic literary sources – and to some extent even of the amoraic – the Written Law was the direct source according to which the law was applied by the *dayyan*. After the redaction of the talmudic literary sources the Written Law still remained the constitution of Jewish law, but the Mishnah, the halakhic Midrashim (*midreshei halakhah*), the two Talmuds, and the remaining talmudic literature became the direct sources according to which all matters of Jewish law were decided. The talmudic literature became the starting point for any study or discussion of Jewish law, and retained this status even after Jewish law was enriched – in the course of some 1,500 years – by many additional literary creations which, in comprehensiveness, orderly arrangement, and convenience of use, overtake the talmudic literature. The first great period of Jewish law is further distinguished by the fact that in this period Jewish law acquired its characteristic lines and forms of legal thought and expression, and the fact that in this period there were evolved and consolidated the legal sources which served as the vehicle for the creativity and development of Jewish law in this and in the post-talmudic period.

The first general period can be subdivided in six eras: (1) the biblical age (up to the time of Ezra and Nehemiah, about the middle of the fifth century B.C.E.); (2) the period from Ezra and Nehemiah until the age of the *zugot* (up to 160 B.C.E. approximately), the greater part of which is customarily described as the age of the *soferim* ("the scribes"; see N. Krochmal, *Moreh Nevukhei ha-Zeman*, ed. Rawidowicz, 56, 194), but latterly the use of the term as descriptive of the scholars of this period only has been criticized (see Kaufmann, Y., Toledot, 4 pt. 1 (1960), 481–5); (3) the age of the *zugot* ("the pairs"; from 160 B.C.E. up to the beginning of the Common Era), which takes its name from the five pairs of leading scholars who headed the *battei din* during this period (the names of the *zugot*, of whom the last pair were Hillel and Shammai, are given in Ḥag. 2 and Avot 1); (4) the age of the *tannaim* (up to 220 C.E.) which spans the activities of six generations of *tannaim*, from *Gamaliel the Elder (grandson of Hillel) and his contemporaries to *Judah ha-Nasi (redactor of the Mishnah). The generation succeeding R. Judah (that of R. *Ḥiyya Rabbah and his contemporaries) saw the transition from the tannaitic age to that of the *amoraim*. Besides the Mishnah, there are extant from the end of this period also collections of halakhic Midrashim, the Tosefta, and other tannaitic literary sources; (5) the age of the *amoraim* embracing the activities of five generations of *amoraim* in Ereẓ Israel (until the end of the fourth century C.E.) and eight generations of *amoraim* in Babylon (up to the end of the fifth century). Extant from this period are the Jerusalem and Babylonian Talmuds; (6) the age of the *savoraim* (up to the end of the sixth century or, according to some scholars, the middle of the seventh century). This age must be regarded as the closing part of the talmudic period since the *savoraim* were mainly occupied with completing the redaction of the Babylonian Talmud and determining rules of decision (see *Codification of Law).

In the second period there are two main subdivisions, the age of the *geonim* and the rabbinic age, but the latter may be subdivided into six further categories. (1) The age of the *geonim* (from the end of the age of the *savoraim* until approximately the middle of the 11th century). The name is derived from the official title by which the heads of the academies of *Sura and *Pumbedita were known during this period. For most of this period the Babylonian academies remained the spiritual center of Jewry as a whole and most Jewish communities assigned absolute legal validity to the decisions and responsa of the *geonim*. For internal Jewish and external political reasons, the ties of the Babylonian *geonim* with the centers of learning that had arisen in North Africa and Spain became loosened towards the end of this period and, commencing from the middle of the 11th century, the phenomenon of a single spiritual center for the various centers of Jewish life came to an end and each of the latter began to rely on its leaders and teachers. This new reality was to exercise a great deal of influence on the subsequent modes of development of Jewish law, evidenced, for instance, in the proliferation of local custom and legislation (see **Takkanot*; **Takkanot ha-Kahal;* *Conflict of Laws). The *geonim* were instrumental in converting the Babylonian Talmud into the source according to which the *halakhah* was decided for all Jewry. In addition, this period saw the first flowering of the division of the post-talmudic literary sources of Jewish law into its three branches which exist until the present day – namely the commentaries and novellae, the responsa, and the codes (see above). Among the better-known *geonim* are R. Yehudai, R. Amram, R. Saadiah, R. Samuel b. Hophni, R. Sherira, and Sherira's son, R. Hai. Of the well-known figures of this period who did not officially hold the title of *gaon*, mention may be made of R. Aḥa (Aḥai) of Shabḥa, author of the *Sefer ha-She'iltot*, and R. Simeon Kayyara, author of the *Halakhot Gedolot* (see *Codification of Law). (2) The rabbinic age, which followed, was itself divided into three periods: (a) The period of the *rishonim* (the "early" scholars), from the middle of the 11th century (the time of Isaac Alfasi) until the 16th century (the time of Joseph Caro and Moses Isserles). This was the golden period of the rabbinic age in which were compiled the classic creations in all three branches of the post-talmudic literary sources of Jewish law: Rashi's commentary on the Talmud and the novellae of the tosafists; the codes of Isaac Alfasi, Maimonides, Jacob b. Asher, Joseph Caro, Moses Isserles, and others; the responsa collections of Solomon b. Abraham Adret (Rashba), Meir (Maharam) of Rothenburg, Asher b. Jehiel (Rosh), Isaac b. Sheshet Perfet (Ribash), Simeon b. Ẓemah Duran (Tashbeẓ), Joseph b. Solomon Colon (Maharik), and others. This was also the period in which the main part of the communal enactments was produced. It embraces the rise and decline of Spanish Jewry, and its close saw the initial flowering of several other Jewish centers – particularly in Ereẓ Israel and Poland-Lithuania – whose outstanding scholars were to make a great contribution to Jewish law, especially to its codification and to its responsa literature.

(b) The period of the *aḥaronim* (the "later" scholars), from the time of Joseph Caro and Moses Isserles until the coming of emancipation around the end of the 18th century. The legal creativity reflected in the three above-mentioned literary sources of Jewish law was continued in this period, particularly in the field of the responsa, which reached a peak of activity. From this period there have also come down numerous collections of communal enactments (such as the *Pinkas Va'ad Arba Araẓot, Pinkas Medinat Lita, Takkanot Mehrin*, and others).

(c) The period of the abrogation of Jewish judicial autonomy. The era of emancipation, which brought in its train the abrogation of Jewish judicial autonomy, represents a turning point in the evolution of Jewish law. This period may be further subdivided: from the end of the 18th century until the beginning of the 20th century, i.e., until the period of Jewish national awakening; from the beginning of the 20th century until the establishment of the State of Israel in 1948; from the establishment of the State of Israel onward.

JEWISH LAW – A LAW OF LIFE AND PRACTICE

Introduction

For the greater part of its history of over 3,000 years, Jewish law has served the Jewish people while they not only lacked political independence but were for a considerable part of this period deprived of their own homeland – Ereẓ Israel – and dispersed throughout the various countries of the Diaspora. The legal systems of other ancient peoples went into decline as soon as they lost their political sovereignty, eventually ceasing to exist except in scattered archaeological remains. Even Roman law, which has left an imprint upon – and still nourishes – many other legal systems, ceased to exist as a creative law of life and practice after having reached its peak of development in Justinian's *Corpus Juris*, in the middle of the sixth century. In the case of Jewish law, the position is otherwise. Despite loss of political independence and lack of physical tie with the homeland, the Jewish people retained judicial autonomy and Jewish law not only did not decline, but it experienced most of its creativity and structural evolution – the Babylonian Talmud and all the other post-talmudic creativity – after the exile. Two factors explain this unique phenomenon: an internal one resting on the substance and nature of Jewish law and its place in the cultural life of the Jewish people, and an external one resting on the general juridical-political outlook that was common in the political history of the nations among whom the Jews lived up to the 18th century.

The Religious and National Character of Jewish Law

Of the two above factors, the internal one is the more important, based as it is on the character of Jewish law which is both religious and national. It is a basic tenet of the Jewish faith that the source of Jewish law – like that of the entire edifice of the *halakhah* – is divine revelation; in the same way as the Jew is commanded in the Written Law to uphold the "religious" precepts – those pertaining to man's relations with the Almighty, such as the laws of the Sabbath and the festivals, the laws of *kashrut* and the like – so he is commanded in the Torah itself to uphold the "legal" precepts – those pertaining to man's relations with his fellows, for instance in matters concerning the laws of labor, tort, property, and different matters of the criminal law. The Ten Commandments enjoin observance of the Sabbath and "Thou shalt not steal," or "Thou shalt not murder," equally – as it were in the same breath. Hence, just as the vitality of the "religious" life remained unaffected by the people's exile, so the "legal" life continued to have unabated validity, and questions arising in both fields were brought before the same court or halakhic scholar for decision.

In addition to its religious character Jewish law has also been the national law of the Jewish people and its entire development has been the creative invention of this people. In this regard Jewish law differs from other legal systems, such as the Canon law or Muslim law, which were created and developed by followers of the faith – Catholic or Muslim – among many different nations. Notwithstanding its dispersion, the Jewish people continued to exist as a nation – not only as a religious sect – and constantly sought recourse to Jewish law, which it regarded as a part of its national assets through which to give expression to its essential being and character in all fields of its internal social and economic life.

The Jewish Judicial System – the Scope of Its Jurisdiction

A precondition for the practical application of a legal system is the existence of an effective judicial machinery to administer and carry out the law. The Pentateuchal law provides express and detailed instructions for the maintenance of a judicial system (Ex. 18:21–27; Deut. 16:18; see also **Bet Din*) and a Jewish judicial system has always existed, even in the absence of Jewish political sovereignty and in all countries of the Diaspora. The Jewish court (*bet din*), alongside the various institutions of Jewish autonomy (the exilarch, the community, inter-communal organizations), provided the mainstay of Jewish internal autonomy from the destruction of the Temple until the period of emancipation. The scope of Jewish judicial autonomy underwent change from time to time depending mainly on the attitude of the ruling power under whose protection the Jews lived.

After the destruction of the Temple, Jewish judicial autonomy was restricted for a short period in Ereẓ Israel (according to talmudic tradition jurisdiction over capital punishment (*dinei nefashot*) was abolished 40 years before the destruction (Shab. 15a; TJ, Sanh. 1:1, 18a; 7:2, 24b), but in practice the Jewish courts apparently did deal with such cases at least until the destruction). Soon, however, autonomy was fully restored and the time of R. Gamaliel, R. Akiva, and their contemporaries was one of the most creative periods in the history of Jewish law. Later, with the decrees of Hadrian and the revolt of Bar Kokhba, Jewish judicial autonomy was faced with another crisis (TJ, Sanh. 7:2, 24b), but by the end of the second century C.E., autonomy had already been fully restored (see Alon, *Toledot*, 1 (1958^3), 129f.). The Babylonian Jewish center enjoyed wide judicial autonomy from an early period, and one of its main institutions was the Jewish court. After the decline of the Babylonian center the Jewish courts in all other centers continued to exercise the judicial function in matters between Jews. The halakhic scholars and communal leaders sought to impose a strict internal discipline in order to insure that all disputes between Jews would be aired before the Jewish judicial institutions. At the same time, they made every effort to obtain charters of privileges from the various rulers under whom they lived in order to insure the independence of Jewish law and the grant of powers of compulsion to the Jewish courts and internal authorities (see below).

The jurisdiction of the Jewish courts extended first and foremost to most civil law matters such as property, obligations, tort, family and succession law, and also to matters concerning the administration of local Jewish government at the hands of the representative communal and intercommunal institutions – such as election to the latter bodies, tax imposition and collection, relations between the individual and the community, and the like (see below). This measure of judicial autonomy was generally extended (up to the 18th century), even in times and places of restriction of the rights of Jews. In many centers such autonomy extended even to criminal matters, varying from place to place in its scope and modes of execution. In certain places it also extended to capital offenses, particularly with reference to *informers (e.g., in Spain, see Resp. Rashba, 1:181; 5:290; Resp. Rosh, 17:1, 8; *Zikhron Yehudah*, 58 and 79; Resp. Ritba, 131; Resp. Ribash, 251; in Poland – see Resp. Maharam of Lublin, 138, etc.; see also *Capital Punishment); in other places it extended merely to religious offenses, offenses against property, and police administrative offenses.

The wide range of matters over which the Jews enjoyed autonomous jurisdiction may be gathered from a study of the responsa literature containing decisions given by the leading halakhic scholars of different periods on concrete questions arising from the daily realities. Thus, out of some 1,050 responsa of *Asher b. Jehiel – one of the leading scholars of German and Spanish Jewry in the second half of the 13th century and the beginning of the 14th – one-fifth (about 200) deal with precepts concerning man and God (such as the laws of prayer, festivals, forbidden food, and the like) and the remaining four-fifths with Jewish law (i.e., matters for the greater part included in Sh. Ar., EH and ḤM). Of the latter group, some 170 questions deal with matters of Jewish family law (marriage and divorce, parent and child, and the like) and the rest, more than 600, are concerned with all other "legal" branches of Jewish law (civil, criminal, and public-administrative; see Elon, Mafte'aḥ, introd. (Heb. and Eng.)). A similar ratio of subject matter is found to be more or less constant in all the responsa literature up to the 16th century, and slightly different in that of the 17th and 18th centuries, where the percentage of matters concerning religious law is somewhat higher. A material change can be detected in the responsa literature from the 18th century onward – following the era of emancipation, which saw the abrogation of Jewish judicial autonomy – and by far the greater part of these responsa deal with matters of religious precepts and family law, with a modest and minor place reserved for the remaining branches of Jewish law.

The Available Sanctions of the Jewish Judicial System

Within the framework of judicial autonomy described above the Jewish courts and competent authorities of the self-ruling bodies had the power to impose sanctions. These too varied from place to place and from period to period. The ordinary means of compulsion were attachment of property, monetary fines, and corporal punishment. In certain centers there were even Jewish prisons under the control of Jewish institutions and supervised by Jewish wardens (see *Imprisonment). At times the autonomous Jewish authorities had to seek the assistance of the central authorities in carrying out the sanctions imposed by the Jewish courts, especially so in case of the death sentence. A common and most effective sanction was the **ḥerem*, the quality and severity of which varied from place to place and also according to the nature of the offense and the degree of compulsion required. The use of this sanction was essential in circumstances where the Jewish authorities lacked the normal attributes of sovereignty, and it served as a most effective deterrent and means of compulsion in view of the self-centered living and residential conditions of the Jewish collectivity as an autonomous group. A person on whom the ban was pronounced was to a greater or lesser extent removed from the religious and social life of the community, and the stringent consequences of this sanction induced many halakhic scholars to refrain from its imposition except in the most difficult and serious cases.

The Prohibition on Litigation in the Gentile Courts

A striking expression of the religious and national character of Jewish law is to be found in the prohibition on litigation in the gentile courts (*arka'ot shel goyim*), to which the halakhic scholars and communal leaders attached the utmost importance. The first mention of this prohibition was made soon after the destruction of the Temple, when Jewish judicial autonomy was for a short period restricted by the authority of Rome (see above). It was laid down that there was to be no resort to the gentile courts not only when the material law applied in the latter courts differed from Jewish law but even when their law on a particular matter was the same as that applied in the Jewish courts (Git. 88b). Resort to the gentile courts was regarded as prejudicial to the existence of Jewish judicial autonomy and the prohibition served as a protective shield insuring the uninterrupted existence of such autonomy throughout the period of Exile; any person transgressing the prohibition was "deemed to have reviled and blasphemed and rebelled against the Torah of Moses our teacher" (Yad, Sanhedrin 26:17, based on Tanḥ. *Mishpatim*, 3). Contrary to the general principle that every rule of the civil law (*mamonot*) is *jus dispositivum*, so that in respect of it a man may contract out of the law of the Torah, it was laid down by a majority of halakhic scholars that the parties to a transaction may not mutually agree to submit their dispute to the jurisdiction of a gentile court, and also that resort to the gentile courts is not justifiable on the principle of *dina de-malkhuta dina* ("the law of the land is law"; Naḥmanides on *Ex.* 21:1; Resp. Rashba, vol. 6, no. 254; Tur and Sh. Ar., ḤM 26:1, 3).

In the political and social realities of the different centers of the dispersion it was not always fully possible to enforce this prohibition. As early as the middle of the ninth century Paltoi Gaon laid down that it was permissible to institute proceedings in a gentile court against a party aggressively and obdurately refusing to appear in a Jewish court (B.M. Levin (ed.), *Oẓar ha-Ge'onim*, BK, Resp. no. 227). It was decided that in such a case the plaintiff, after first obtaining leave of the Jewish court, might prosecute his claim in the gentile court, "in order not to strengthen the hands of the powerful and violent who do not obey the law" (Yad, Sanhedrin 26:7 and *Radbaz* thereto; Tur and Sh. Ar., ḤM 16:2, 4). At times resort to the gentile courts was permitted in certain matters in which the central authorities had a special interest, such as disputes over land (Resp. *Rema*, no. 109), governmental taxes, and currency (Finkelstein, bibl., pp. 361f.). Some of the halakhic scholars permitted recourse to the gentile courts when this was agreed on by both parties (Resp. Maharam of Rothenburg, ed. Cremona, no. 78; Finkelstein, op. cit., pp. 153, 156 and n. 1; *Sma*, ḤM 26 n. 11 and *Taz* thereto; see also *Siftei Kohen*, ḤM 22, n. 15). In different periods there were communities and places where Jews scorned the prohibition, but in general the halakhic scholars and communal leaders firmly stood guard over the authority of the Jewish courts by enacting special *takkanot* and adopting sharp countervailing measures against those who thus undermined the autonomy of Jewish jurisdiction (see Assaf, *Battei ha-Din* …, 11, 17–18, 24, 109–13; Elon, in: ILR 2 (1967), 524–7; as regards recourse to the gentile courts from the period of the emancipation onwards see below).

Arbitration and the Jurisdiction of Lay Jewish Tribunals

The aim of preventing recourse to the gentile courts as a means of preserving Jewish judicial autonomy induced the halakhic scholars to maintain judicial institutions composed of Jewish judges, even if the judgments of the latter were not based on Jewish law, or were based on this law in slight measure only. Institutions of this kind were arbitral bodies and lay tribunals in their various forms.

The arbitral body had its origin in the second half of the second century (R. Meir and other *tannaim*: Sanh. 3:1–3), when Jewish judicial autonomy was restricted, as we have already noted, by the decrees of Roman imperial rule following the Bar Kokhba revolt. The courts were destroyed and those which remained were deprived of the power of compulsion. In these circumstances the scholars directed the people to the institution of *arbitration, in which *ro'ei bakar* ("herdsmen," simple folk untutored in the law) could also sit and adjudicate in accordance with their own good sense and understanding. In order to give such adjudication a Jewish form, the scholars laid down that the arbitral body should be composed of three arbitrators (Sanh. 3:1), like the Jewish court which was always composed of at least three *dayyanim* (*ibid.* 1:1; and see **Bet Din*) and unlike the position in Roman law where there was generally a single arbitrator. Even after the restoration of judicial autonomy, arbitration continued to fulfill an important function alongside the regular judicial institutions, and its rules and procedures were prescribed by the halakhic scholars (see also *Compromise).

Of interest is the evolution of the institution of adjudication by lay judges (*hedyotot*, i.e., persons untutored in Jewish law; the term also has the meaning of judges tutored in the *halakhah* but lacking **semikhah* ("ordination"; see, e.g., Git. 88b), a distinction that must be borne in mind). The precise origin of this institution is disputed by scholars; one opinion is that it dates from before the destruction of the Temple, while others hold that it too developed after the Bar Kokhba revolt and the withdrawal of autonomous jurisdiction from the Jewish courts (see Elon, op. cit., p. 529). Lay jurisdiction was likewise designed to ensure that the people would bring their disputes before Jewish judges – even if the latter were not versed in the law – rather than resort to the gentile courts. These tribunals were composed of three members, one of whom had to be *gamir* – i.e., to have acquired some knowledge of the *halakhah* – while the other two had to be persons fit at least to understand any matter explained to them (Sanh. 3a, Rashi and Nov. Ran ad loc.). The scholars bestowed on the lay tribunal authority to deal with all matters of civil law, to the exclusion of criminal matters (Sanh. 3a and *Piskei Rosh* thereto, 1) along with power to compel the appearance of the parties (*Piskei Rosh* thereto, 2; Tos. to Sanh. 5a; Tur, ḤM 3:3; Sh. Ar., ḤM 3:1). In order to prevent resort to the gentile courts at all costs in post-talmudic times the scholars laid down that in any community where not even one *gamir* was to be found, three laymen could make up the tribunal even if none of them possessed this minimal qualification, provided that they were "fit and God-fearing persons, spurning corruption and equipped with sense and understanding"; such tribunals could deal also with criminal matters, in cases of great need and after much prior forethought and consultation (Resp. Rashba, vol. 2, no. 290). The existence of tribunals composed entirely of lay judges is confirmed in other historical sources (see, e.g., the Valladolid *takkanot* of 1432, in Finkelstein, bibl., pp. 356–7), and the validity of such courts was halakhically recognized (*Rema*, ḤM 8:1).

In general, the major part of the legal hearings, in disputes between individual Jews and between the individual and the communal authorities, took place before a court composed of three *dayyanim* expert in Jewish law and deciding in accordance therewith (a court of this kind called simply, *bet din*; Resp. Rashba, vol. 1, no. 1010); however, in most Jewish centers there were also lay tribunals functioning alongside these courts as a permanent judicial institution (a court of this nature being referred to as *bet din shel hedyotot*; Rashba loc. cit.). Many factors – social, economic, standards of knowledge and education – determined the measure of resort to lay tribunals. Their judges (known by different names: *tovei ha-ir, berurei tevi'ot, berurei averot, piskei ba'alei battim, parnasim, zekenim*, etc.) generally based their decisions on communal enactments (see **Takkanot ha-Kahal*), trade usages (see **Minhag*), appraisal, justice, and equity (see, e.g., Resp. Rashba, vol. 2, no. 290; vol. 3, no. 393 et al.; Resp. Maharshal, no. 93; Resp. Rema, no. 33) and at times even upon a particular branch of a foreign legal system (*Beit ha-Beḥirah*, Sanh. 23a concerning "courts in Syria"; see also *takkanot* of the Leghorn community: S. Toaff, in: *Sefunot*, 9 (1964/65), 190f.). Sometimes lay tribunals turned to halakhic scholars for their opinion and advice (*Zikhron Yehudah*, no. 58). In some places the limits of their jurisdiction were clearly defined. Mention is made of a tribunal composed of *tovei ha-ir* which dealt with tax matters (Resp. Rosh, no. 7:11). At times there was a predetermined division of matters over which the different courts were to have jurisdiction; thus a *takkanah* of the Lithuanian community prescribed that the courts of the communal leaders were to deal with matters of monopolies as well as certain tax and penal matters, and the *dayyanim* of the community with matters of civil law (*Pinkas ha-Medinah* [*Lita*], no. 364); in a *takkanah* of the Leghorn community it was laid down that all matters of trade, insurance, and the like were to be dealt with by the communal leaders (*adonei ha-ma'amad*) judging in accordance with the general law as regards trade customs, but that matters of marriage and divorce, inheritance, mortgage, interest, and the like were to be dealt with according to Jewish law (Toaff, in: *Sefunot* loc. cit.).

The lay tribunals were originally and primarily instituted for the purpose of preventing resort to the gentile courts and also so as to enable certain matters of trade and the like, which were dependent on local custom, to come before a tribunal of merchants and professional experts. These tribunals tended, however, to gain in influence and to assume jurisdiction in additional matters, notwithstanding the existence of courts composed of *dayyanim* learned in the law. The halakhic scholars regarded this development as posing a threat to the ordered evolution of Jewish jurisdiction and application of Jewish law (see, e.g., Resp. Maharyu, no. 146). The fact that these tribunals tried matters according to appraisal and a subjective feel for justice, rather than according to any fixed legal rules, led the scholars to apprehend the danger of possible partiality and perversion of justice, especially since the tribunals were generally composed of the leaders and wealthy members of the community with the poorer and less influential members of society almost completely unrepresented. Strong criticism to this effect was often expressed by the scholars (see, e.g., *Keneh Ḥokhmah, Derush ha-Dayyanim*, pp. 25f.; *Derushei ha-Ẓelaḥ*, 3:12–4). However, such criticism never challenged the basic existence and positive merits of an institution which served as a vital additional means of preventing recourse to the gentile courts. For this reason adjudication by lay tribunals was also held to "accord with the Torah," even if it had not always the same merit as adjudication by the courts of *dayyanim*, and only "the practice in a few places to turn without hesitation to the gentile courts is actually contrary to the Torah and amounts to a public profanation of the Divine Name for which those who act in this way will have to account" (*Sefer ha-Zikhronot*, 10:3). To do so was to undermine Jewish judicial autonomy. (In Sh. Ar., ḤM the matter of lay tribunals (ch. 8) is clearly distinguished from the stringent prohibition on recourse to the gentile courts (ch. 26); see also M. Elon, in: ILR, 2 (1967), 529–37.)

The Judicial-Political Position and Social-Fiscal Relations

The national-religious character of Jewish law, and the profound awareness that a zealous watch over this inalienable asset would ensure the continued existence and unity of the Jewish people, thus constituted the primary element in the application of Jewish law in the daily life of the Jewish people even when dispersed in exile. Yet it may be asked how it proved possible for the Jews to maintain judicial autonomy under the political sovereignty of the governments under whose rule they lived, and what motivated the state authorities to respond to the demand of the Jewish collectivity for its own autonomy. The answer lies in the second of the two factors mentioned above, that is the judicial-political concepts of government and jurisdiction as these were common up to the 18th century, and the fiscal and social relations between the central authorities and the different strata, including foreigners, who dwelt under their rule. The judicial system was based on the individual's adherence to one of a number of distinctive groups with different legal systems which were recognized by the state. Unlike modern centralistic states, the medieval state was corporative in nature and comprised of a series of autonomous strata and bodies, such as the nobility, the burghers, the guilds, etc. The latter frequently competed with one another and some of them with the central authority, and the Jewish community was often the object of rivalry among these different strata, bodies, and the central authority. This political-legal reality rendered possible the existence of an autonomous Jewish group with its own judicial autonomy. The central authority, as well as the different strata and bodies amidst whom the Jews lived, regarded it as their "duty" and right to impose on the Jews heavy taxes in return for the privileges of settlement and residence. The collection of such taxation from each individual involved many difficulties, especially as the Jews were counted as members of a separate and foreign national group. The authorities accordingly found it convenient to impose an aggregate tax on the Jewish collectivity as a whole and for this purpose to enable the latter to be a unitary autonomous body, functioning in such manner that its leaders would bear the responsibility of producing the total amount of the tax apportioned and collected by each community from among its individual members. The existence of an autonomous public Jewish body also made it possible to give directions and conduct negotiations on other state rights and obligations through the recognized leaders of this body. Considerations of faith and religious opinions held by the Christian rulers may also have contributed to the grant of autonomous Jewish jurisdiction (see H.H. Ben-Sasson, *Perakim be-Toledot ha-Yehudim bi-Ymei ha-Beinayim* (196), 90–91).

In this manner a zealously pursued desire of the Jewish people coincided with the existence of external historical conditions and factors to enable this people to preserve its religious and national law as a law of life and practice, faithfully served and interpreted by Jewish courts throughout the dispersion. The preservation by the Jews of their national law has been the main factor in the preservation of Jewish national existence. In the words of Y. Kaufmann (*Golah ve-Nekhar*), "It was judicial autonomy which truly made of the Jewish nation in exile 'a state within a state'" (1 (1929), 518) and "This autonomy derived from the striving of the nation to embody in its life the ideal of the Torah to the utmost limits. It derived especially from the striving to uphold the Jewish legal system, the Law of the Torah, and to base thereon the order of internal life. For this reason the ancient autonomy was fundamentally a judicial autonomy" (*ibid.*, 2 (1930), 312).

THE EVOLUTION OF JEWISH LAW

A material feature of Jewish law is the fact of its ever-continuing evolution. This is the logical and necessary outcome of the fact of Jewish law's being a living and practical law, since constant evolution is a characteristic feature of every living thing whether it is discernible during the passage from one state to another or only clearly distinguishable in the perspective of history. It will be clear to anyone taking up the *halakhah* that he has before him one large unit in which the earlier and later, the basis and the construction, are all interwoven and arranged according to subject matter with no particular regard shown for historical-epochal distinctions. The halakhic scholars rightly considered that Jewish law was of a nature which required them to unite and integrate the various periods of the *halakhah* into a single, all-embracing epoch of unitary *halakhah*, and not to divide and differentiate between different stages and periods. This is a legitimate and accepted conception in any system of legal thought, especially in a legal system which, by its very nature, deems the existing body of laws to be the starting point for its own renewal and further development. This is also largely true, as regards, for instance, the development of most of English law. However, this conception does not in any way bar the scholar from examining each and every one of the institutions of Jewish law in historical perspective, with a view to determining the different stages of development they may have undergone. Moreover, an examination of such different stages of development and of the legal sources through which these stages were integrated into the fabric of Jewish law will reveal that the halakhic scholars themselves frequently emphasized the changes and development through which one or other institution of Jewish law had passed. This is evidenced in their resort not only to *takkanah* – a means of expressly adding to or changing the existing law – but also to Midrash and the other legal sources of Jewish law (see M. Elon, *Ḥerut ha-Perat*…, 12 (introd.), 261–4).

Submission to Jewish law and the Jewish courts brought in its wake an unending creative development of the Jewish legal system. Social realities and economic exigencies change from period to period, and among the special conditions of the Jewish people must be included the social and economic variations that marked the different centers of the dispersion. Even when the Jewish people had possessed a single political center – and later on a spiritual center – there had existed a various and widely scattered Diaspora; however, geographical dispersion really began to impress its mark more critically at the end of the tenth and the beginning of the 11th century when the one center, the Babylonian, which had until then held sway over the entire Diaspora, declined and a number of centers made their appearance side by side and successively in North Africa, in Spain and Germany, in France and Italy, in Turkey, Egypt, and the Balkan countries, in Poland-Lithuania, and elsewhere. It is certainly true that despite the geographical scattering, Jewish scholars everywhere dealt with the same talmudic and rabbinic sources and that very often contact, personal and by correspondence, was also maintained among the different centers. But the variations in the social, commercial, and economic life of the Jews in each center, their communal organization and representative institutions in each locality, their relationship with the gentile environment and the state authorities – all these from time to time gave rise to problems for some of which the existing Jewish law provided no express solution and for some of which it was necessary to find solutions which differed from those provided by the existing law. At times the influence of local conditions led to the absorption of undesirable legal principles which were contrary to the spirit of Jewish law and did not serve to advance the system of law as a whole. To the extent that such foreign principles deviated from the fundamental doctrines of Jewish law they generally came to be rejected in the course of time (see, e.g., *Imprisonment, *Imprisonment for Debt).

Thus Jewish law continued to evolve as a law of life and practice, giving direction to the daily realities while being itself directed thereby. The phenomenon of a legal system which demands that the determination of its law and its solutions to legal problems be founded on the past while answering the manifold needs of every succeeding generation is found to be true of Jewish law in all periods of its history, both in the time of Jewish political sovereignty and during the long period when this was absent but the Jewish people enjoyed judicial autonomy in Ereẓ Israel, in Babylonia, and in all the other countries of the dispersion. This demand was satisfied through the ever-continuing evolutionary development of the institutions of Jewish law and through preservation of the central concept of each institution which constituted the common factor of all the different stages and changes through which it passed. (For illustrations of such development, see Authority, *Rabbinical; *Capital Punishment; *Contract; **Ha'anakah*; **Hassagat Gevul*; *Imprisonment for Debt; *Lien; *Limitation of Actions; *Obligation, Law of; *Surety; *Taxation. See also *Interpretation; **Ma'aseh*; **Minhag*; **Sevarah*; **Takkanot*; **Takkanot ha-Kahal*; and see M. Elon, *Ḥerut ha-Perat* …, 12 (introd.), and 255ff.)

Since the development of Jewish law was the outcome of the practical application of the latter in daily life, it follows that in places where there was diminished submission to Jewish law and its courts system there was a corresponding falling off in the creative development of this legal system, as is evidenced, for instance, in the case of Italian Jewry in certain periods (Resp. Rambam (ed. Leipzig), pt. 1, no. 140, p. 26; *Sefer ha-Zikhronot*, 10:3). This was, however, an uncommon phenomenon until the 18th century and the era of emancipation. Thereafter, with the abrogation of Jewish judicial autonomy, Jewish law was to a far lesser extent a law of practice and this was to lead to a far-reaching diminution in the creativity of Jewish law (see below).

THE EVOLUTION OF JEWISH LAW REFLECTED IN ITS LITERARY SOURCES

Sefer ha-Zikhronot (loc. cit.) emphasizes that recourse to the Jewish courts is of importance not only for the continuance of the creative development of Jewish law itself but also for the enlargement of its literature. A study of the various matters with which halakhic literature has dealt at different times shows that the part of the *halakhah* which was of practical application came to occupy an increasingly and incomparably larger place than the part that was not of such application.

The Mishnah as compiled by Judah ha-Nasi contains six orders, each of which treats one basic branch of the *halakhah*, and together they embrace the whole halakhic system. In the two Talmuds, the literary creations following immediately upon the Mishnah, the following phenomenon is apparent: the Babylonian Talmud, unlike the Jerusalem Talmud, contains no Talmud on the order of *Zera'im* (apart from the tractate *Berakhot* dealing with prayers and benedictions). There is no doubt that the Babylonian *amoraim*, like those of Ereẓ Israel, studied all the six orders of the Mishnah and their deliberations on *Zera'im* are largely scattered throughout the tractates of the other orders. That no Babylonian Talmud was edited for this order is due to the fact that the rules therein stated – "precepts which are dependent on the land" (these being applicable only in Ereẓ Israel), such as the laws of *shevi'it* (the Sabbatical Year) and *pe'ah* (the corner of the field) – were not of practical concern in Babylonia, whereas in Ereẓ Israel itself, where these rules were actually applied, a Talmud on this order was compiled and edited. In the post-talmudic period the overwhelming part of the halakhic literary creativity was also concentrated on the "precepts contemporaneously in use," that is on the branches of the *halakhah* which were of everyday use and not on the laws connected with the "precepts dependent on the land," with the Temple, ritual purity, and the like. It is found that sometimes even theoretical study itself was centered around the practical orders – *Mo'ed, Nashim*, and *Nezikin* – and those tractates of the other orders containing precepts in contemporaneous use – such as *Berakhot, Ḥullin* (concerning the laws of ritual slaughter and *kashrut*), and *Niddah* (concerning ritual purity of women) – were arranged together with these three orders (see *Beit ha-Beḥirah* (ed. Jerusalem, 1965^2), Introd. to Ber., p. 32). In geonic times many monographs were written on various halakhic subjects, most of them on strictly legal topics and part on matters of ritual law, the majority of both kinds dealing exclusively with the laws of everyday use. These monographs were primarily compiled for practical use in the *battei din*.

This phenomenon recurs in two branches of the post-talmudic literature – in the responsa and in the codifications – and to a certain extent also in the third branch, the commentaries and novellae. Thus Alfasi included in his code only those laws then operative and not, for instance, the laws of the order of *Kodashim* (except the tractate *Ḥullin* in which the topics discussed remained of contemporaneous significance). The only one to deviate from this path was Maimonides in his code, *Mishneh Torah*. He sought to restore the *halakhah* to its original dimensions by including in his code even matters of faith and belief, which he formulated in legal style. However, this undertaking was unique and in all subsequent codifications, such as *Piskei Rosh, Arba'ah Turim*, and Shulḥan Arukh, the example set by Alfasi was followed and only the rules in current application were included. The responsa literature also deals overwhelmingly with practical questions of the law and not with matters of ritual purity and defilement or sacrifices. This is obviously due to the fact that problems arose, and were referred to the leading halakhic scholars for solution, only in the area of the practical day-to-day application of the law. In the commentaries and novellae alone is there found any more extensive discussion of the "theoretical" branches of the *halakhah*, but even here the greater part is devoted to practical halakhic matters. This is one explanation for the fact that commentaries and novellae to the Jerusalem Talmud were written only from the 16th century onward, following the renewal of the Jewish settlement in Ereẓ Israel in this period. (It is noteworthy that in latter times – before and since the establishment of the State of Israel – there has been greatly increased creativity in the field of the laws pertaining to the order of *Zera'im*, in all three literary branches of the *halakhah*, clearly because these laws have once more come to be of practical significance.) While it is true that at all periods Jewish law was frequently studied in purely theoretical manner, as Torah for its own sake, and an appreciable literature was created to this end, yet such study and literary creativity represent no more than embellishments of the main core, aids to the knowledge of Jewish law for everyday use in practical life.

THE DIFFERENT BRANCHES OF JEWISH LAW

Illustrations of Development and Change in the Different Branches of Jewish Law

In the different periods of its history Jewish law has comprised all the branches of law customary in other legal systems although from time to time changes of a structural nature took place. The institutions of Jewish law in all its different branches underwent, as already mentioned, an ever-continuing process of creative development. In some fields – for instance property, family and inheritance, procedure and evidence – this process was of no material consequence as regards the framework or content of a particular branch of the law, notwithstanding any changes in its principles. In other fields the process had a more material effect as regards the content and classification of an entire branch of the law.

LAWS OF OBLIGATION. A change of this nature took place, for instance, in the field of the laws of obligation. The original Jewish law fundamentally and unequivocally rejected any form of enslavement of the debtor's person as a means towards realizing the creditor's rights (see *Execution, Civic). Consequently there arose the need to find a strong alternative means of ensuring the fulfillment of an obligation in the form of an encumbrance on the debtor's property, which found expression in a right of lien over the debtor's property automatically conferred on the creditor upon creation of the obligation. For this reason an obligation in Jewish law had essentially a real character because the creditor was afforded a right of a real nature in the debtor's property, and in consequence of this many rules belonging to the field of property law came to be applied also to the laws of obligation (see *Lien; *Obligation, Law of). In the course of time, the nature of the contractual obligation in Jewish law underwent a substantive change, one that found expression in a series of basic innovations introduced and given recognition in successive stages; these included the possibility, contrary to the laws of property, of establishing an obligation with regard to something not yet in existence; the possibility of establishing an obligation whether or not the property in the debtor's possession at such a time was capable of satisfying the debt, and a long series of further developments (see *Contract). Such a substantive change in the subject matter of a legal institution is an important factor in its classification or reclassification as belonging, for instance, to the field of the laws of obligation rather than the laws of property.

ADMINISTRATIVE LAW. A different phenomenon is evidenced in the field of administrative law, for the central subjects of this branch changed almost completely in consequence of the material changes in the nature of public Jewish leadership and administration in different periods. Whereas in ancient times the institutions of public law determined relations between the individual leader – the king (see *King and Kingdom), the **nasi*, the exilarch – and the people, new social realities spurred the development of a pervasive system of administrative law based on collective leadership, elected or appointed. The representative and elective institutions of local Jewish government and intercommunal organization were built up on the principles of Jewish law, and the halakhic scholars as well as the communal leaders were called upon to resolve (the latter by way of communal enactments) the numerous problems arising in the field of administrative law. These related, among others, to the determination of relations between the individual and the public authority, between the latter and its servants; to the composition of the communal institutions and the methods of election and appointment to the latter and to other public positions (see *Public Authority); to the modes of legislation of the community and to the legal administration of its institutions (see **Hekdesh; *Takkanot ha-Kahal*); to the imposition and collection of taxes (see *Taxation), and to many additional problems concerning economic and fiscal relations in the community. This wide range of problems was dealt with in a very large number of responsa and communal enactments, in the course of which the halakhic scholars and public leaders developed a new and complete system of public law within the framework of the *halakhah*.

CONFLICT OF LAWS. In the field of the conflict of laws development came mainly in consequence of periodic migratory movements and social changes in the life of the Jewish people. The conflict of laws is not usually regarded as a distinct branch of Jewish law, because of the substantive nature of Jewish law as a personal law purporting to apply to each and every Jew wherever he may be – even beyond the territorial limits of Jewish sovereignty or autonomy. From this it naturally follows that in Jewish law no importance attaches to the fact, as such, that a contract between two Jews is scheduled to mature in a different country than that in which it was concluded – a fact that is normally the staple source of problems arising in the area of the conflict of laws. Nevertheless, the fact that for the greater part of their history, the Jews enjoyed their judicial autonomy under the political sovereignty of the foreign ruler with his own legal system, and especially the fact of the geographical dispersion of the various Jewish centers, inevitably caused the Jewish legal system to be confronted with many fundamental problems relating to the conflict of laws. There developed in Jewish law the phenomenon of a multiplicity of *takkanot* and customs relating to the same legal subject but varying in content from place to place. To some extent this phenomenon was also present in talmudic times, but it assumed significant proportions only from the tenth century onward when there ceased to be a single Jewish center exercising hegemony over the other centers of the Diaspora. The result of the rise of many centers was the proliferation of local *takkanot*, customs, and legal decisions, which brought in train the problem of the choice between different laws – not between Jewish law and any other law, but between the rules deriving from differing customs and *takkanot* within the Jewish legal system itself. Similarly, as a result of the close contact between Jewish law and the various legal systems of the nations amidst whom the Jewish collectivity lived, there evolved the principle of *dina de-malkhuta dina* and, flowing from this, various rules pertaining to the field of the conflict of laws.

CRIMINAL LAW. A different and completely opposite trend is evidenced in the field of criminal law. During those periods when the Jewish people enjoyed full judicial authority, it is possible to point to the existence of important principles and great creativity extending also to the criminal law (see *Penal Law; *Punishment). However, the scope of application of this branch of the law was already substantially narrowed around the time of the Temple destruction, and in consequence it reflects a diminished creative continuity and a smaller framework. It is true, as already mentioned, that in some places Jewish judicial jurisdiction extended even to capital offenses but in most centers the criminal jurisdiction of the Jewish courts was confined to offenses against property, administrative offenses, and the like. On the whole the lack of sovereignty deprived the Jewish people of the media required for the proper implementation of criminal jurisdiction and of suitable conditions for its organic development. All these factors therefore stunted the growth of the functional framework and content of this branch of Jewish law.

Classification of the Different Branches of Jewish Law

Like other legal systems, Jewish law has its own distinctive basic principles pertaining to each of the different branches of the system. Sometimes these principles are unique to Jewish law and characterize its approach to matters such as personal freedom and the rights of the individual, the substance and nature of legal and moral obligations, the concept of ownership of property, the essential nature of judicial jurisdiction, modes of proof, and other fundamental questions. In other cases the principles of Jewish law correspond to parallel principles in other legal systems. Such differences and similarities are dealt with elsewhere under the heading of the subject to which they pertain.

A full enumeration of the articles on Jewish law appearing in this Encyclopaedia is given below, some articles being repeated since they pertain to more than one branch of law:

THE SOURCES OF LAW. Authority, *Rabbinical; *Codification of Law; *Interpretation; *Ma'aseh; *Minhag; *Mishpat Ivri; *Sevarah; *Takkanot; *Takkanot ha-Kahal.

GENERAL. *Agency, Law of; *Asmakhta; *Conditions; *Ḥazakah (in part); *Law and Morals; *Legal Person; *Majority Rule; *Legal Maxims; *Mistake; *Noachide Laws; *Ones; *Shetar; *Slavery.

THE LAWS OF PROPERTY. *Acquisition; *Gifts; *Hazakah; *Hefker; *Hekdesh; *Lost Property, Finder of; *Maẓranut; *Ona'ah; *Ownership; *Property; *Sale; *Servitude; *Slavery; *Ye'ush.

THE LAWS OF OBLIGATION. *Antichresis; *Assignment; *Contract; *Gifts; *Ha'anakah; *Hassagat Gevul; *Labor Law; *Lease and Hire; *Lien; *Loans; *Maritime Law; *Meḥilah; *Obligation, Law of; *Partnership; *Pledge; *Sale; *Shalish; *Shi'buda de-Rabbi Nathan; *Shomerim; *Surety; Unjust *Enrichment; *Usury.

THE LAWS OF TORT. *Avot Nezikin; *Damages; *Gerama; *Nuisance; *Theft and Robbery (civil aspects); *Torts.

FAMILY LAW AND INHERITANCE. *Adoption; *Agunah; *Apostate (Family Law); *Apotropos; *Betrothal; *Bigamy; Child *Marriage; *Civil Marriage; *Concubine; *Divorce; *Dowry; *Embryo; *Firstborn; *Husband and Wife; *Ketubbah; *Levirate Marriage and Ḥaliẓah; *Maintenance; *Mamzer; *Marriage; *Marriage, Prohibited; *Mixed Marriage (Legal Aspects); *Orphan; *Parent and Child (legal aspects); *Rape; *Succession; *Widow; *Wills; *Yuḥasin.

CRIMINAL LAW. *Abduction; *Abortion; *Adultery; *Assault; *Blood-Avenger; *Bribery; *Capital Punishment; *City of Refuge; *Compounding Offenses; *Confiscation; *Crucifixion; *Expropriation and Forfeiture; *Contempt of Court; *Divine Punishment; *Extraordinary Remedies; *Fines; *Flogging; *Forgery; *Fraud; *Gambling; *Hafka'at She'arim; *Ḥerem; *Homicide; *Imprisonment; *Incest; *Informer (legal aspects); *Oppression; *Ordeal; *Penal Law; *Perjury; Police *Offenses; *Punishment; *Rape; Rebellious *Son; *Sexual Offenses; *Slander; *Sorcery; *Suicide; *Talion; *Theft and Robbery (criminal aspects); *Usury; *Weights and Measures (criminal aspects).

THE LAWS OF PROCEDURE AND EVIDENCE. *Admission; *Arbitration; *Attorney; *Bet Din; *Compromise; *Confession; *Evidence; *Execution (Civil); *Extraordinary Remedies; *Ḥerem; *Imprisonment for Debt; Limitation of Actions; *Oath; *Pleas; *Practice and Procedure (Civil and Penal Law); *Shetar; *Witness.

MERCANTILE LAW. *Acquisition; *Agency, Law of; *Contract; *Hafka'at She'arim; *Hassagat Gevul; *Imprisonment for Debt; *Labor Law; *Lease and Hire; *Legal Person; *Loans; *Maritime Law; *Minhag; *Obligations, Law of; *Ona'ah; *Partnership; *Sale; *Shalish; *Shetar; *Shomerim; *Takkanot; *Takkanot ha-Kahal; *Taxation; *Usury. (The articles enumerated above are all mentioned under other branches of the law, but are grouped together here because of the commercial elements they contain.)

PUBLIC AND ADMINISTRATIVE LAW. *Confiscation, Expropriation, and Forfeiture; *Dina de-Malkhuta Dina; *Hekdesh; Public *Authority; *Takkanot ha-Kahal; *Taxation.

CONFLICT OF LAWS. *Conflict of Laws; *Dina de-Malkhuta Dina; *Domicile.

It may be added that classification of the subjects comprising a legal system is a task beset with difficulties, particularly so in the case of the Jewish law, and calls for the exercise of much care. Thus, for instance, certain institutions of Jewish law are classified both under the laws of property and the laws of obligation because of the close connection between these two branches of the law. This is true also as regards the classification of criminal matters, which in Jewish law do not always conform to those customarily classified in other legal systems as part of criminal law. It is questionable whether the classification of subject matter in one legal system is appropriate for another and any automatic application to Jewish law of the classification adopted in another legal system is especially liable to be misleading. To a certain extent the special legal terminology of Jewish law also influences the manner of classification of its subject matter (see for instance the definitions above of the terms *mishpat Ivri, issura, mamona*, and others). The difficulties entailed in the classification of Jewish law into defined legal branches derive in part from the fact that during the periods when the foundations of the various rules of Jewish law were laid, the system knew only a classification of a most general nature. This is reflected in the Mishnah and in the remaining halakhic literature of the tannaitic period and also in the two Talmuds. A more definitive and detailed classification of Jewish law came only with the compilation of Maimonides' code, the *Mishneh Torah*, and some of the subsequent codes. A classification of the subject matter of Jewish law in keeping with the character and spirit of this legal system is possible only after deep and careful study of its different institutions. For these reasons the above classification is not to be regarded as final and absolute.

PUBLIC JEWISH LEADERSHIP IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF JEWISH LAW

Introduction

The halakhic scholars and the *battei din* filled the central role in the development of the Jewish legal system. In addition, an important creative role was filled by the public leadership and representation of the Jewish people in all the different institutional forms it assumed throughout the history of the Jews:

from the kings, the *nesi'im*, and exilarchs down to the elected or appointed representatives of the community.

The King's Law

The fundamentals of the laws concerning the king and his kingdom are enjoined in the Pentateuch (Deut. 17:14–20, dealing mainly with the duties of the king and his modes of conduct), in the first Book of Samuel (ch. 8, in which the prerogatives of the king and the duties owed him by the people are defined), and in other biblical passages (see for instance I Kings 21, concerning the matter of Naboth's vineyard). The scholars also learned about the powers of the king from certain biblical statements concerning leaders of the people other than the kings (see for instance Josh. 1:18 concerning rebellion against the kingdom; cf. Sanh. 49a). The king was vested with wide powers in the legislative (see **Takkanot*), judicial, and executive fields, with authority to deviate in various matters from the rules as laid down in the *halakhah*. His authority was not confined solely to fiscal and economic matters relating directly to the rule of the kingdom, such as taxation and the mobilization of manpower or property, but extended also to the field of criminal law. In the latter field he had authority, for instance, to impose the death sentence on a murderer, despite the existence of formal defects in the evidence against him, when this was required "for the sake of good order in accordance with the needs of the hour" (Yad, Melakhim 3:10; 5:1–3 *ibid.*, Roẓe'aḥ 2:4; and Sanhedrin 14:2, 18:6).

The king's law represents the earliest determination in Jewish law of a creative factor not directly attributable to halakhic scholars, and the *halakhah* conferred similar creative authority on the various other post-monarchic institutions of central Jewish government. Thus for instance it was said of the exilarchs who headed the internal Jewish government in the Babylonian exile that "they take the place of the king" (Yad, Sanhedrin 4:13, based on Sanh. 5a and *Rashi* ad loc.) and that the king's law applies "in every generation… in favor of the leaders of each generation" (*Beit ha-Beḥirah*, Sanh. 52b; see also *Mishpat Kohen*, no. 144). The question of the relationship between the regular law and the king's law is often the subject of discussion in halakhic literature, particularly of the post-talmudic period. R. Nissim b. Reuben *Gerondi explains the parallel existence of the two systems on the basis that justice administered according to law, while correct and ideal, does not always answer the social and other needs of the hour, and that this function is filled by administration of the king's law; for this reason Scripture enjoins the king to have the Torah with him always, "that his heart be not lifted up above his brethren" (Deut. 17:14–20), because inasmuch as he is not always subject to the law he must at all times, when making use of his powers, take particular care to ensure that he does not deviate from the general object of the Torah and its principles of justice and equity (*Derashot Ran*, Derush no. 11). All subsequent creative authority permitted in Jewish law to deviate, in certain cases, from the rules of the *halakhah* was subject to this above basic requirement (see *Minhag; Takkanot ha-Kahal*). In later periods different scholars found a legal basis for the authority of the king's law in the idea of an agreement between the king and the people in terms of which the latter allows the king his prerogatives in all matters falling within the king's law in return for his undertaking to guard and protect the people (see Z.H. Chajes, *Torat ha-Nevi'im*, ch. 7 "*Melekh Yisrael*"). This idea was apparently the influence of the commonly accepted medieval theory which based the validity of the king's law on a consensus of the people, a theory which different halakhic scholars also adopted as a basis for the doctrine of *dina de-malkhuta dina*.

Local Jewish Government

Creativity in the legislative field of Jewish law is also evidenced at the local governmental level. The halakhic sources relating to the early part of the Second Temple period already mention certain legislative powers entrusted to the townspeople (*Benei ha-Ir*, see Tosef., BM 11:23; BB 8b). From this modest beginning there developed, at a much later stage, a wide legislative creativity at the hands of the autonomous governmental institutions of the Jewish community and intercommunal organizations. This was expressed in the *takkanot ha-kahal*, enacted, particularly from the tenth century onward, in all fields of the civil, criminal, and administrative law. As in the case of the king's law, it was possible for these enactments to be contrary to a particular rule of the *halakhah*, and the scholars determined ways to ensure that such enactments remained an integral part of the overall Jewish legal system. One of their principal means was to check that the enactments did not conflict with the Jewish law principles of justice and equity. Another contribution to Jewish law, not directly attributable to the halakhic scholars, was that which resulted from participation of the public in some of the institutions of Jewish jurisdiction, such as arbitration and the lay tribunals (see above). Although at times these jurisdictional institutions were prejudicial to the orderly evolution of Jewish law, it may nevertheless be accepted that the generally harmonious cooperation that existed between these institutions and the halakhic scholars enabled the public leaders to make a significant contribution toward the forging of a stronger link between Jewish law and the realities and problems of everyday life. This in turn was a spur to the further development of Jewish law.

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN JEWISH LAW AND FOREIGN LAW

Introduction

The question of the relationship between Jewish law and foreign law has two aspects. First, the extent – if any – of reciprocal relations and influence of the one on the other in a manner leading to the integration into the one legal system of legal directives deriving from the other; secondly, the extent of the recognition – if any – given to a directive of a foreign legal system, without such recognition involving any integration of the directive into the host system. These are two separate but related aspects, for recognition by the host system of the validity of a foreign legal principle entails, in certain cases, some measure of recognition – witting or unwitting – of the correctness of the foreign principle and of the possibility that the contents of the host legal system may be influenced in a manner leading to the integration of a foreign legal principle into its own framework.

Reciprocal Influences

From the 17th century onward a great deal of research in Jewish law has been devoted to the subject of mutual influence between Jewish law and other legal systems (latterly see B. Cohen, bibl., Introd. and ch. 1). More than any other, this field of research has been particularly conducive to the adoption of an apologetic approach – in the form of both an over-emphasis on the influence of foreign law on the Jewish legal system and exaggeration of the influence of Jewish law on other legal systems. Moreover, the influence of one legal system on another is no easy matter to prove because of the possibility that similar circumstances may have led to the evolution of like institutions in different legal systems, uninfluenced by each other. However, in general it may be said that there were reciprocal relations and influences between Jewish law and the surrounding legal systems or that of the nation under whose political sovereignty Jewish law functioned in any particular period of its history. The fact that the Jewish collectivity lived its social and economic life in accordance with its own law, yet all the while was under the patronage of many different nations with their own legal systems, inevitably left the mark of Jewish law on the other legal systems. The reverse process applied equally: the halakhic scholars were familiar with the law applied in the general courts of the land and sometimes even recommended the adoption of a foreign legal practice which commended itself to them (see, e.g., Elon, Mafte'aḥ 425; *Pesakim u-Khetavim,* no. 83; Resp. Israel of Bruna, no. 132). In certain cases the halakhic scholars recognized the particular social efficacy of certain aspects of the foreign law (see **Derashot Ran*, Derush no. 11) and sometimes they were not even deterred from lauding the gentile administration of justice when they found this superior to that of the Jews (*Sefer ha-Ḥasidim*, no. 1301). To some extent directives of the foreign law were absorbed by Jewish law by means of the legal source of custom (see **Minhag*). When absorption of a foreign principle did take place, such a principle underwent a process of internal "digestion" designed to accommodate it to the general principles and objectives of Jewish law. If in particular social circumstances a foreign principle was occasionally absorbed which conflicted with the fundamental doctrines of Jewish law, such a principle was usually rejected in the end by the Jewish legal system (see, e.g., M. Elon, *Ḥerut ha-Perat*…, pp. 238–54, 259 f.).

Recognition of Foreign Legal Rules

The much-discussed subject of the validity in Jewish law of the provisions of a foreign legal system centers on the doctrine of *dina de-malkhuta dina*, which holds that the law of the land is law and must be followed. The earliest formulation of the doctrine was made in the Babylonian Exile by the *amora* Samuel as appears from some of the legal explanations given for its entrenchment. An unqualified recognition of the provisions of the foreign law pertaining to civil matters – *dinei mamonot* (in matters of ritual law the doctrine of *dina de-malkhuta dina* never applied; *Tashbeẓ*, 1:158 and see above) – would have constituted a serious danger to the orderly evolution of the Jewish legal system and may well have rendered it of theoretical interest only. As the main means of averting this danger many halakhic scholars restricted the scope of the above doctrine – contrary to the plain meaning of some talmudic *halakhot* – by holding it applicable solely to certain matters falling within the sphere of relations between the central authorities and the public, such as taxation, expropriation of property for governmental purposes, and the like. Such restriction was expressly justified on the ground that extension of the doctrine to all matters of civil law would lead to "nullification of all the laws of Israel" (*Beit ha-Beḥirah*, BK 113b). Even the scholars who in principle extended the doctrine beyond matters concerning relations between the authorities and the public (see Resp. Rashba, vol. 1, no. 895; Nov. Naḥmanides, BB 55a; Nov. Ran and *Nimmukei Yosef ibid.; Sefer ha-Terumot* 46:8, 5), did not always carry this out in practice (see Resp. Rashba, vol. 6, no. 254) and some scholars restricted the scope of the doctrine in other ways (see *Teshuvot Ḥakhmei Provinẓyah* (ed. A. Sofer), pp. 426 f.; *Siftei Kohen*, ḤM 73, n. 39). The *halakhah* was decided according to the view that restricted the application of the doctrine solely to certain matters concerning relations between the authorities and the public (*Rema*, ḤM 369:11).

The proliferous and ever-continuing creativity evidenced in talmudic and post-talmudic Jewish law offers eloquent proof of the fact that the doctrine of *dina de-malkhuta dina* remained only a marginal aspect of the Jewish legal system. Indeed, by their judicious use of the doctrine, the scholars rendered it a contributory factor toward the preservation of Jewish judicial jurisdiction, since qualified recognition of certain matters of foreign law enabled the Jewish collectivity to adapt itself, in the required and necessary manner, to the conditions of the gentile environment. The attitude of Jewish law toward a different legal system is determined, first and foremost, by its basic objective of safeguarding its own continued existence and, flowing therefrom, autonomous Jewish jurisdiction with all that it entails. As long as the realization of this objective is not endangered, no obstacle presents itself in Jewish law to resorting in certain cases, as the need arises, to a rule deriving from foreign law. Even then, however, such recognition is given only to the extent that the rule of the foreign law is not in conflict with any of the fundamental Jewish law principles of justice and equity. For this reason Jewish law attributes no validity to the law of the land with regard to a directive which does not apply equally to all but discriminates between different citizens, since any directive of this nature "is robbery" (Yad, Gezelah 5:14). Similarly, Jewish law holds the imposition of a monetary fine on the whole public, on account of the transgression of a few individuals, to be "absolute robbery" because such conduct contraverts the principle which prohibits the imposition of a collective fine and vicarious criminal responsibility (Resp. Ribash Ha-Ḥadashot, no. 9; in support the following references are cited: Gen. 18:25; Num. 15:22; Pes. 113b; see also Deut. 24:15 and II Kings 14:6).

THE ERA OF EMANCIPATION

Inner Spiritual and External Political Changes

On the eve of emancipation and the end of Jewish autonomy, substantial changes began to manifest themselves in Jewish law which were crucial to its development. As already indicated, two basic factors account for the survival of Jewish law as an operative law, even when it was deprived of its single territorial center and political sovereignty: the first the internal discipline of traditional Jewish society which regarded itself enjoined from a national-religious point of view to preserve Jewish law as a living force, and the second the political circumstances of the corporative medieval state. Both these elements now underwent a decisive change. At the same time as the rise of pressures for equality of rights for all, including Jews, the governments of Europe in turn deprived the Jewish community of the mandatory jurisdictional rights of the Jewish courts, even in matters of civil law; the use of the *ḥerem* as well as other means of execution were forbidden. But the main factor for the progressive ending of the living practice of Jewish law was the social-spiritual change that began to assert itself among the Jewish people. The Jewish community, which had hitherto regarded the *halakhah* as the supreme value of its existence, split into a society part of which remained traditional while part no longer regarded itself as bound to the observance of the Torah and its precepts, and this decisively weakened the internal factor of a religious imperative to order daily practical life in accordance with Jewish law. This substantive change in the spiritual outlook of the Jewish world carried with it also a disregard for the national element in Jewish law and not only did the leaders of the community not oppose the abolition of Jewish judicial autonomy but a good number of them welcomed the ending of the "separation" between the Jewish and the general public, regarding it as promising achievement of the hoped-for freedoms and equality of rights as well as organic integration into the vibrant Europe of the emancipation era.

The Abrogation of Jewish Judicial Autonomy

With the beginning of this transformation relating to the continued existence of Jewish judicial autonomy, a number of the leading halakhic scholars gave voice to their concern and warned about the religious and national dangers inherent in yielding up this autonomy. Thus R. Ezekiel *Landau railed against the frequent recourse to the gentile courts, a practice so prevalent that "all three pillars of the world are shaken: the Law, Truth, and Peace" (*Derushei ha-Zelaḥ*, 8:14; 22:24). R. Raphael Cohn, spiritual leader of various communities in Poland-Lithuania and Germany in the 18th century, devoted much effort in the latter years of his life toward the preservation of an autonomous Jewish legal system and all it entailed. Acknowledging the new reality of a laxity in Torah observance by a section of the Jewish public, he emphasized that the neglect of recourse to Jewish judicial jurisdiction was the most serious defect in non-observance of the laws of the Torah, and he particularly criticized those members of the Jewish public who saw the abrogation of such Jewish jurisdiction as a step toward equality of rights and duties (see *Zekher Ẓaddik*, pp. 7, 8, 20).

These political and spiritual changes, which were increasingly manifest in the course of the 19th century, left their impress upon that part of Jewry that continued to preserve the religious tradition. As regards Western and Central European Jewry, recourse to the general courts rapidly became widespread and common to all Jewish circles. Traditional Jewry of Eastern Europe still preserved for some considerable time its connection with Jewish law and brought its disputes to the rabbi and his *bet din* for *din Torah*. However, the decisions of the rabbinical courts became more and more arbitral awards and compromise settlements, lacking the semblance of judgments under a living and organic law, and in the course of time, here also, resort to the general courts grew increasingly frequent. Even the halakhic scholars reconciled themselves with the new situation of the lack of judicial autonomy and justified it on the principle of *dina de-malkhuta dina* – quite contrary to the attitude taken by the scholars in earlier periods (see, e.g., *Kelei Ḥemdah*, Mishpatim, no. 1, and see above). The main and greater part of Jewish law in civil and criminal, administrative and public matters, came to be treated as if it were rules "not contemporaneously applied" and now studied merely theoretically. The only sphere of Jewish law that continued to be practiced was a part of family law, the arrangement of marriage and divorce in accordance therewith. In this field, involving the laws of prohibitions and permissions, a powerful internal discipline continued to govern traditional Jewry and to some extent also those who did not observe religious precepts. However, recognition by the central authorities of such marriage and divorce varied from country to country in the Diaspora.

Continuance of Judicial Autonomy in the Eastern Jewish Centers

An interesting phenomenon is the fact that to some extent Jewish law continued to develop as a living law among Oriental Jewish communities in Turkey, North Africa, and elsewhere. This phenomenon is partly explained by the different political circumstances of the Ottoman Empire in the 19th and 20th centuries, but was also an outcome of the determined struggle waged by Oriental Jewish communities, as in Algeria for instance, to retain their judicial independence in the face of efforts by the central authorities to impose on them the general law of the land. A demonstrative expression of this reality is the fact that even in the 19th century the responsa literature of this Jewry continued to occupy itself to a very large extent with matters of the *Ḥoshen Mishpat* arising from actual events in everyday life, while the responsa literature of European Jewry of this period is very poor in this respect and even then is more of a theoretical study than a consideration of practical problems.

Consequences of the Abrogation of Judicial Autonomy

The abrogation of Jewish judicial autonomy carried with it two far-reaching consequences with regard to the world of Jewish law. In the first place, Jewish law's dynamism as a living law of practice was greatly inhibited and its organic development suffered a marked curtailment. It was unfortunate for Jewish law that this development occurred in the course of the 19th century, a period which saw a revolution in social, economic, and industrial life that left a decisive imprint on different legal fields. The other consequence was the loss, by the greater part of the 19th-century Diaspora communities, of the former deep national and religious awareness that daily practical life, ordered in accordance with Jewish law, in all fields, became as an integral part of the way of life of the Jewish people. This consequence, as was later to become apparent, carried even more fateful implications for Jewish law than those stemming from the first-mentioned consequence.

THE PERIOD OF JEWISH NATIONAL AWAKENING

Ha-Mishpat ha-Ivri Society and Mishpat ha-Shalom ha-Ivri

The Jewish national awakening and the rise of Zionism also evoked a change in the mental attitude of the Jewish people toward Jewish law. Soon after the *Balfour Declaration the Ha-Mishpat ha-Ivri Society was founded in Moscow. Its members – drawn from all sections of the Jewish public – regarded the return of Jewish society to Jewish law as an aspect of national renaissance parallel to the building of the Jewish homeland and revival of the Hebrew language. Among the goals set by the society was the preparation of suitable literature on Jewish law and the establishment in Jerusalem of an institute – within the framework of a university – for research into that law preparatory to its adoption in the future Jewish state. In the editorial introduction to the first volume of the journal *Ha-Mishpat ha-Ivri* (Moscow, 1918) it is noted that "the 'legal' *halakhah* has been integrally bound up with the 'religious' *halakhah*… [yet]… over the last decades a process has begun of separating out our law from its religion and ethics, and we intend to continue this process in order to prepare our law for a secular existence." The pursuit of this object was and still is a controversial one and its desirability as well as manner of achievement remain central problems relating to the integration of Jewish law into the legal system of the State of Israel (see below).

In 1909–10, on the initiative of the head of the Palestine office of the Zionist Organization, Mishpat ha-Shalom ha-Ivri was established in Jaffa as a judicial institution for the adjudication of disputes between Jews in Ereẓ Israel. In the course of time district tribunals were established in a number of places and over them a supreme tribunal. Between the years 1918 and 1936 rules and regulations were issued containing directives as to judicial organs, procedure, evidence, and so on. The first head of Mishpat ha-Shalom ha-Ivri was Arthur *Ruppin and the writer S.Y. *Agnon served as its first secretary. Mishpat ha-Shalom ha-Ivri functioned as an arbitral body and its work was facilitated by the enactment of the Arbitration Ordinance in 1926, which recognized the submission of disputes not only to individual arbitrators but also to an existing "arbitration tribunal" (see *Arbitration). It worked alongside the official bodies, first of the Ottoman Imperial government and later of the Mandatory power, and alongside the rabbinical courts. Mishpat ha-Shalom ha-Ivri did not, however, achieve its goal. Its main activities were confined to the years 1920–30 and after this date the number of cases brought before it began to wane. All in all it cannot be said to have produced any real harvest of Jewish law in consequence of its deliberations and decisions. Some of the reasons for this were objective, such as the tribunal's lack of powers of compulsion and the fact that it provoked sharp criticism from the rabbinical courts, the leaders of national religious Jewry, and respected scholars such as S. *Assaf who were opposed to the existence of fixed judicial bodies outside the framework of the rabbinical courts and in opposition to them. Mainly, however, its lack of success was due to the fact that not only did it not assume to decide according to the existing *halakhah* as set out in the Shulḥan Arukh *Ḥoshen Mishpat* and the subsequent halakhic literature, but it possessed no system of norms, either of Jewish law or generally, upon which to act. In fact, proceedings before this tribunal were much like inquiries by laymen based on generally conceived principles of justice and equity, ethics and public good, since the judges were for the larger part persons of general education only, without any legal training or specific knowledge of law (see P. Daikan, *Toledot Mishpat ha-Shalom ha-Ivri*, and bibl. there cited; J. Yonovitz, Introd. to S. Assaf, *Ha-Onshin* … (1922), 5–6).

Jewish Law in the Rabbinical Courts

At the beginning of the 20th century the rabbinical courts in Ereẓ Israel displayed a total lack of central organization. With the establishment of the Chief Rabbinate in 1921, most of the rabbinical courts came to organize themselves within the framework of this institution. In matters of personal status, the rabbinical courts were assigned exclusive jurisdiction as regards marriage, divorce, and "probate" of wills, and concurrent jurisdiction as regards maintenance, succession, etc. (all other areas of the law remained within the jurisdiction of the general Mandatory courts). The task of this supreme halakhic institution was pictured by its first head, Rabbi *Kook. After outlining the important creative role played by the *battei din* in all periods, through the enactment of *takkanot*, he went on to add that "in our renewed national life in Ereẓ Israel there will certainly sometimes be great need to make important *takkanot* which, as long as they are consented to by the majority of the competent scholars and are then accepted by the community, will carry the force of a law of the Torah" (*Ha-Tor*, 1 (1921), nos. 18, 21–22). To some extent the rabbinical courts were equal to this important task in matters of procedure and personal status, but in all other areas of Jewish law almost nothing was achieved.

MATTERS OF PROCEDURE AND PERSONAL STATUS. An important *takkanah* enacted immediately in 1921 established the Rabbinical Supreme Court of Appeal, thus introducing a regular appellate tribunal which had not previously existed in Jewish law (see *Practice and Procedure). That this *takkanah* rendered the appellate court an integral part of the Jewish legal system was made clear in a judgment of the Rabbinical High Court of Appeal of Jerusalem which rejected the contention that no right of appeal existed in Jewish law, holding that "the right of appeal has been enacted by a rabbinical *takkanah*, the force of which is as that of a rule of our Holy Torah" (OPD, p. 71).

At first the rules of procedure in the rabbinical court left much to be desired, but improvement followed upon the publication in 1943 of procedural regulations by the Chief Rabbinate Council. These included detailed provisions on the initiation of proceedings, on procedure during the hearing, rules of evidence, modes of appeal, and on other matters. A series of forms were also appended, among them statements of claim, summonses of parties and witnesses, applications for appeal and so on. In part these regulations were based on Jewish law and in part they showed the influence of existing practice in the general legal system. An innovation in Jewish law was the detailed rules laid down concerning the payment of various court fees and the adoption of children. The most radical innovation introduced by the above regulations involved an engagement by the rabbinical courts to distribute the estate of a deceased person in accordance with the provisions of the Succession Ordinance of 1923, which prescribed an order of distribution treating husband and wife and son and daughter in terms of equality. In 1944 a number of *takkanot* were enacted introducing further important changes: the customary minimum sum of the *ketubbah* was increased; the levir refusing to grant the widow of his brother *ḥaliẓah* was rendered obliged to maintain her until releasing her (see *Levirate Marriage and *Ḥaliẓah*); an important *takkanah* imposed on the father the legal duty to maintain his sons and daughters up to the age of 15 years and not merely until the age of six years in accordance with talmudic law (see *Parent and Child; M. Elon, *Ḥakikah Datit*…, 157ff.).

After 1944, however, creativity by way of *takkanot* ceased almost entirely, except for three additional *takkanot* enacted by the Chief Rabbinate in 1950 (the principal one involving a prohibition on the marriage of children under the age of 16 years; see *Child Marriage). This may be regarded as a matter for great regret since a number of urgent problems in the area of personal status still await solution by way of *takkanah* (such as certain cases of hardship for the **agunah*, problems relating to the joint property of the spouses, and other matters). On the other hand, there has since the 1940s been halakhic creativity in the area of personal status by means of interpretation as applied in actual cases. In this manner, for instance, there was innovated the substantive principle giving a woman, upon divorce, the right to receive over and above her *ketubbah* a certain additional sum, called "compensation." The amount thereof varies with the circumstances, one of the important considerations in its determination being the need to award the woman part of the property acquired in the course of the marriage through the joint efforts of the spouses (see M. Elon, *Ḥakikah Datit*…, loc. cit.).

OTHER FIELDS OF THE LAW. In fields of the law other than personal status the rabbinical courts were assigned no jurisdiction under the general law of the land, and the bearers of the *halakhah* initiated no real effort toward adaptation of the Jewish legal system to the contemporary social and economic needs of Ereẓ Israel Jewry. The call to the people to submit their disputes in civil matters to the rabbinical courts by way of arbitration brought a very restricted response, even from the religious section of the community. Hence, except in a few exceptional cases, no evidence is to be found in the judgments of the rabbinical courts of any creative activity in the overwhelming part of the civil law. One notable exception is represented by a leading judgment given in 1946, in a matter concerning the laws of evidence, when a marriage was entered into before two witnesses in the absence of a rabbi. As violators of the Sabbath both witnesses were incompetent (Sh. Ar., ḤM 34:2, 24) and since they were the only witnesses the marriage stood to be regarded invalid according to Jewish law. On the man's death, this was the contention raised by the remaining heirs of the deceased in opposition to the woman's claim to the widow's share in the estate of the deceased. The court, however, recognized the validity of the marriage, holding the witnesses to have been competent: "For reasons of religious transgression… and bearing in mind the fact… that libertarianism has increasingly spread for general and universal reasons, transgressions of this kind are not likely to affect the credibility of witnesses… who act almost unwittingly. The disqualification of transgressors as witnesses arises from the fear that their evidence will be false… and therefore in such cases the credibility of a witness is largely determined by reasons of time and place. If it is clear to the court that the person is not one who is likely to lie for the sake of deriving a benefit, he is to be admitted as a competent witness" (OPD, p. 137). This decision of principle was essential to the proper administration of justice under present day social realities in which a substantial part of the public is not religiously observant, and it is carried out in practice by the rabbinical courts.

Jewish Law and the Hebrew Language

It is appropriate that the quest for the restoration of Jewish law as a law of practice be compared with the struggle for the revival of Hebrew as a spoken language. From one aspect the latter represented the more difficult task. Ever since the beginning of the Diaspora, Hebrew had served almost exclusively as a literary language, not spoken in the common pursuits of everyday life, and as a result of emancipation it came to be further and further removed from life – even the spiritual and cultural – of the Jewish people. Many of the faithful followers of the Zionist movement in its early stages entertained doubt about the possibility of using Hebrew in modern conditions: “Who among us knows sufficient Hebrew to ask for a train ticket in this language?” asked Herzl, who contemplated a Jewish state without Hebrew as its commonly spoken language (*The Jewish State*, ch. 5). Yet an inner awareness that the use of Hebrew in the social, economic, and cultural life of the people was a prime requisite without which there could be no complete national revival led eventually to Hebrew becoming not merely a holy tongue, but the national language, written and spoken, of the Jewish people returning to its homeland. As a result of the untiring efforts of individuals and public bodies expressions and terms were coined and style and forms created, largely drawn from the ancient treasure houses of the language, and in this manner there flowered a modern living language based on and preserving continuity with the ancient holy tongue.

In other respects the possibility of restoring Jewish law was more limited than the revival of Hebrew, which is not so dependent on political sovereignty or assistance from the ruling authorities and is more closely connected with individual inclination and the wishes of interested bodies; legal norms encroach more on the realm of philosophy and ideological outlook than do the byways of a language and the task of restoring Jewish law demanded more comprehensive study and preparation than did the revival of Hebrew. Yet it is conceivable that these obstacles to the restoration of Jewish law could have been overcome by a determined effort. To a large extent the political autonomy of the Jews in Ereẓ Israel in the pre-state period was similar to that enjoyed by the Jewish people in the Diaspora until emancipation, an autonomy which also allowed for judicial independence. Moreover, by far the greater part of the subject matter with which Jewish law deals – such as obligations, property, public administration, and so on – is free of fundamental religious or ideological dispute. However, emancipation had produced a weakened religious and national consciousness of the need for daily life to be ordered in accordance with Jewish law, and all sections of the population displayed an irresolute apathy toward the preparation of Jewish law for its historic task. It is true that research was undertaken and books were written by scholars such as A. *Gulak, S. *Assaf, and A. *Freimann, which were of importance for the scientific research of Jewish law. But the required auxiliary literature of the law, written in convenient form with the law phrased and classified in accordance with modern legal concepts and terminology, was not prepared, nor were possible solutions to modern legal problems for which Jewish law has no ready or adequate existing answer, although it allows for one to be found by way of *takkanah* or any other of its recognized creative legal sources.

The Legal System in Ereẓ Israel Preceding the Establishment of the State of Israel

The unique legal system in force in Ereẓ Israel under the British Mandatory regime was a factor which might have served as a strong stimulus toward the integration of Jewish law into the legal system of the state about to be established. The principles which governed the Mandatory legal system were set out in Article 46 of the Palestine Order in Council of 1922. In accordance with this, on the eve of the establishment of the State of Israel there was crystallized a legal system nourished by a number of legal systems: the *Mejelle*, based on Muslim religious law; various Ottoman laws embracing principles of French law and other legal systems; Mandatory ordinances based on English law; law based on the English common law and doctrines of equity introduced into the Mandatory legal system, in cases where the existing system provided no solutions to concrete problems. In addition, matters of personal status were to a considerable extent dealt with under the religious law of the different communities recognized by the general law. This was a legal system composed of a number of disparate elements and created a situation inviting its own replacement by a homogeneous legal system.

JEWISH LAW IN THE STATE OF ISRAEL

The Official Position Assigned to Jewish Law

On the establishment of the State of Israel, Jewish law continued to occupy the same official position in the legal structure of the state as it had done in the pre-state period. The Law and Administration Ordinance of 1948 prescribed that the law in existence on the eve of establishment of the state should remain in force (sec. 11), with the practical result that officially Jewish law was incorporated in the area of personal status only. At the same time the Hebrew language celebrated its final victory, even in a formal sense, and section 15b of the above ordinance repealed any provision in any law requiring the use of English, thus making Hebrew the language of the state, of its law, and of its everyday life.

MATTERS OF PERSONAL STATUS. The jurisdiction of the rabbinical courts was defined in a Knesset law of 1953 which, save for one or two changes, entailed no substantial departure from the existing situation. It gave the rabbinical courts exclusive jurisdiction in matters of *marriage, *divorce, and *ḥaliẓah*; as regards the wife’s claim for maintenance, jurisdiction is given to the court to which the wife applies – the rabbinical or the district court. In this and in other laws there were also prescribed the circumstances in which the rabbinical courts have concurrent jurisdiction in other matters of personal status (see *Adoption; *Apotropos; *Maintenance; *Succession).

THE RABBINICAL COURTS. Matters entrusted to the jurisdiction of the rabbinical courts are naturally dealt with in accordance with Jewish law. In the course of their activities these courts have given decisions introducing a number of important innovations in Jewish law, such as a married woman’s right to the income deriving from the pursuit of her own profession, and recognition of the existence of mutual pecuniary rights between spouses married abroad in a civil ceremony only, and so on (see M. Elon, *Ḥakikah Datit*…, 166–72). In certain matters the law prescribes that the rabbinical courts too must decide in accordance with the general law. In the Succession Ordinance of 1923 provision was made for the treatment of son and daughter, husband and wife, on terms of equality as regards the division of certain kinds of property on succession, and the Women's Equal Rights Law, 1951, extended the directive to all other property. Some of the other main provisions of this law are the following: men and women are equated as regards all legal acts; the father and mother are given natural guardianship of their children; a married woman is given full capacity of acquisition during marriage and retention of her rights to property acquired by her prior to the marriage. In addition this law allows the litigants, if they are above the age of 18 years, to consent to having their case tried according to the laws of their community. It also states that its provisions shall not affect any halakhic prohibition or permission relating to marriage or divorce. In the main its provisions accord with the position under Jewish law as it has evolved (for instance as regards equal rights on succession), a notable exception relating to the husband's right to the fruits of his wife's *melog* property (see *Husband and Wife). A law of 1955 prescribes the status and manner of appointment of rabbinical court *dayyanim* and, except for two variations, its provisions correspond closely to those laid down in the Judges Law, 1953. (As regards two variations see M. Elon, *Ḥakikah Datit*…, 47–49.)

THE GENERAL COURTS. In matters of personal status concerning Jewish parties the general courts are also required to decide according to Jewish law, except when a law of the state makes express provision on the matter. As already mentioned, the general courts have jurisdiction in all matters not entrusted to the exclusive jurisdiction of the rabbinical courts. Matters of marriage and divorce may also be pronounced on by the general courts, either when the problem arises incidentally to the matter before the court (for instance in a claim by the wife for maintenance there may arise incidentally thereto the question of the validity of her marriage), or in a matter brought before the Supreme Court sitting as a High Court of Justice. Possibly a rabbinical court and a general court, even though both apply Jewish law, may arrive at entirely different conclusions. Thus, for instance, the general courts first resort to the principles of private international law before applying Jewish law and therefore may recognize a marriage entered into abroad as valid in accordance with the law of the country concerned, even when it is invalid according to Jewish law. In addition the general courts apply only substantive Jewish law and not its laws of evidence and procedure, thus for instance admitting the testimony of the parties themselves and that of their relatives.

LEGISLATIVE PROVISIONS CONTRARY TO JEWISH LAW. Legislation in the area of personal status contrary to Jewish law is reflected in a number of provisions, scattered in various Knesset laws, which confer on the commonly reputed spouse ("wife" as well as "husband") numerous rights. These provisions relate to rights of a social-economic nature (pensions, tenants' protection, and so on), rights under the Succession Law, and include also the right conferred on a woman to give her child born of the man reputed to be her husband the latter's family name, even without his consent. These rights were held by the Supreme Court to extend to the commonly reputed spouse even though the latter (or even both parties) be validly married to another (except with regard to the right of succession, which is only available if, upon the death of one of the parties who have lived together as husband and wife in a common household, neither is then married to another). The explanation that the above enactments were made in order to alleviate the hardship which is sometimes suffered by a couple who are unable to marry on account of Jewish law prohibition (for instance in certain cases of the *agunah*) is indeed weighty and hope may be expressed that the Chief Rabbinate will speedily find solutions to these problems. Nevertheless, it does not seem to justify the institution of the reputed spouse with its threat to the orderly existence of the family unit. This institution is the subject of controversy in Israel society and there are recent indications of a tendency by the Supreme Court to limit its scope (see M. Elon, *Ḥakikah Datit*…, 119–54).

"WHO IS A JEW?" – ANSWERED ACCORDING TO JEWISH LAW. In March 1970 an amendment to the Law of Return of 1950 incorporated into this law a most material principle of Jewish law. This law, which ensures for every Jew the right to come to Israel as an *oleh* and automatic citizenship from the moment of his arrival, was amended to define the term "Jew" as a person born of a Jewish mother or converted to Judaism, who is not a member of a different religious faith. This definition, including the latter part, is entirely in accord with Jewish law. A Jew converted to a different faith remains a Jew as regards his personal status and all this entails – such as the need for him to grant a divorce to his Jewish wife – but he is deprived of various religio-social rights and is not numbered as a member of the Jewish community (i.e., he cannot be counted toward **minyan* and so on); for this reason he is also deprived of the rights of a Jew under the Law of Return. The stated definition applies also for purposes of registering an individual's Jewish nationality (*le'om*) in the population register and related documents, including the identity card (see also *Jew).

LEGISLATION CONFORMING WITH RITUAL LAW. In addition to the already mentioned cases, Israel law is also based on the *halakhah* – in the wide sense of the term – in a number of different matters. Thus in 1948 the Provisional Council of State enacted that the supply of *kasher* food be ensured to all Jewish soldiers of the Israel Defense Forces; a law of 1962 prohibits the raising, keeping, or slaughtering of pigs in Israel except in specified areas (populated mainly by non-Jews) and for certain other limited purposes; the provisions of the Law and Administration Ordinance of 1948 (as amended) lay down that the Sabbath and the Jewish festivals shall be prescribed days of rest in the state (but do not prohibit labor on such days, such matters being ordered in certain respects in the Hours of Work and Rest Law of 1951) and allows non-Jews the right to observe their own Sabbath and festivals as days of rest.

The "Unofficial" Application of Jewish Law in the State

INDEPENDENCE OF THE ISRAEL LEGAL SYSTEM. As already mentioned, Jewish law is reserved no official place in the Israeli legal system, except in matters of personal status. The proposal (made by P. Daikan on the eve of the state's establishment and subsequently raised again by others) that Israel law be freed from its dependence on the English common law and principles of equity and that Jewish law be resorted to in any case of lacuna in the law of the state (see above, Art. 46 of the Palestine Order in Council) was not accepted. Until the present time there is to be found in two Laws only, the Succession Law of 1965 and the Land Law of 1969, a provision (entitled "Autarky of this Law") which excludes the operation of the aforementioned article 46 in all matters with which the relevant law is concerned. None of the other laws so far passed by the Knesset proclaims its own independent operation. To some extent such independence has been established in the case law in consequence of decisions by the Supreme Court to the effect that the post-1948 English case law does not have binding force in Israel law as does that of the pre-1948 period, and even reliance on the pre-1948 English case law is also gradually diminishing.

LEGISLATION BASED ON JEWISH LAW PRINCIPLES. In some measure law in the State of Israel follows the principles of Jewish law even in areas where the latter system has not officially been rendered applicable. In the introduction to a draft bill for one of the early comprehensive laws there were set out the general legislative guidelines adopted for the entire area of the civil law. The legislative policy thus enunciated assigned to Jewish law the status of "the main but not the only or binding source" and enumerated the existing legal and factual position in Israel as well as the laws of other countries as additional sources (Draft Bill for a Succession Law, published by the Ministry of Justice in 1952). To some extent this policy has been adhered to in practice and some of the matters enacted in accordance with the principles of Jewish law are the following: the possibility of separate ownership of dwellings in a cooperative house (see *Ownership); the prohibition of delay in the payment of wages (see *Labor Law); the right of the dismissed employee to severance pay (see *Ha'anakah*); the legal arrangement concerning imprisonment for debt; the laws of bailment (see *Shomerim*), and so on. Particular reliance on Jewish law is to be found in the provisions of various Knesset laws in the area of family law, relating among others to the following matters: the duty of a person to maintain, besides his wife and children, also his other relatives (on the Jewish law principle of obliging a person to uphold the *mitzvah* of *ẓedakah*; see *Maintenance); in matters of guardianship that the minor's own good is the primary consideration and that "the court is the father of all orphans" and a complete departure – expressed in various provisions – from the Roman law concept of *patria potestas* (see *Apotropos); in matters of succession Jewish law is followed in the conferment of equal rights on all children of the deceased whether born in or out of wedlock, in the solution provided to the problem which arises in the case of commorientes (see *Succession), in acceptance of the Jewish law institution of a *shekhiv mera* will (see *Wills), and in the provision made for maintenance out of the estate of the deceased (see *Widow).

LEGISLATION CONTRARY TO JEWISH LAW. In contrast, there are Knesset laws containing provisions which are – without any real justification – contrary to the position taken by Jewish law. Some of the matters so enacted are the following: the right of the creditor to turn directly to the surety even without initial agreement to this effect (see *Surety); the right of a party to plead prescription of a claim along with an admission as to the existence of the debt (see *Limitation of Actions); the automatic administration of an oath to all witnesses whereas Jewish law leaves the matter to the discretion of the court (Resp. Ribash, no. 170; *Tashbeẓ*, 3:15; *Rema*, ḤM 28:2; for further illustrations see Elon, in: ILR, 4 (1969), 80–140).

JEWISH LAW IN THE CASE LAW OF THE GENERAL COURTS. The decisions of the courts, particularly of the Supreme Court, represent a further channel through which the influence of Jewish law is brought to bear on the Israel legal system. In numerous decisions of the Supreme Court diverse legal matters have been dealt with by way of a comparison between the position under the general law and Jewish law respectively, the two systems sometimes leading the judges to the same conclusion and sometimes otherwise. In some cases Jewish law has been quoted for the purpose of construing legal terms and definitions and on occasion Jewish law has constituted the primary legal source relied on by the Supreme Court, even in areas in which Jewish law is not expressly rendered applicable. This integration of Jewish law through the case law of the general courts is of great practical significance from the aspect of the confrontation between Jewish law and the legal problems that arose before the courts in the 1950s and 1960s.

JEWISH LAW IN THE CASE LAW OF THE RABBINICAL COURTS. A noteworthy phenomenon is the existence of a proliferous case law of the rabbinical courts, in diverse areas of the civil law, in matters coming before these courts as arbitral bodies. Some 30% of the judgments of these courts published since the middle of the 1960s deal with matters unrelated to personal status and concern, for instance, labor law, contracts, copyright, partnership, pledge, administrative law, and so on. These offer an instructive insight into the manner in which concrete questions of everyday life are dealt with in accordance with Jewish law and represent an important contribution to the solution of modern social and economic problems (see, e.g., *Contract; *Ha'anakah*; *Labor Law; *Public Authority).

Attitudes toward Jewish Law in the Law of the State

Integration of Jewish law into the legal system of Israel is sometimes opposed because it entails a "secularization" of the *halakhah* since the acceptance by the state of a Jewish law principle does not stem from recognition of the binding validity of such a principle from the religious point of view, but is dictated by purely human and national interests. The argument views that by such integration the Knesset's own binding authority substitutes itself as the source of authority of any Jewish law principle it has adopted, and that neither the Knesset nor the general courts possess the necessary qualifications postulated by the halakhic system for deciding any of its rules. This view is decried by a decisive majority of religious Jewry and its spiritual leaders, who consider that the *halakhah* does not become secularized for the mere reason that the theory of the general law may hold a change to have taken place as regards the basic norm of a particular halakhic rule. It is argued that neither the Knesset nor the courts purport – nor indeed is it possible for them to do so – to decide the *halakhah* within the religious meaning of such activity; that not only is the *halakhah* not prejudiced by its integration into the legal system of the state, but the halakhic system itself commends that the legal order in the Jewish state shall, even if not based on religious faith, correspond with the substance of Jewish law and its principles of justice and equity rather than be founded on other legal systems. For some generations now this middle path has been followed by a decisive majority of religious Jewry, also with regard to other fundamental Jewish values, as with the revived use of the holy tongue in everyday secular life and with the settlement of the holy land even without observance of the religious precepts. The declared attitude of non-observant Jewry also favors the assignment of first priority to the reception of Jewish law principles when these are in keeping with present-day social and economic needs (see, e.g., the statement made in the session of Nov. 29, 1965, by Knesset members belonging to almost all political parties with reference to the Gift Law and Pledge Law Bills (*Divrei ha-Keneset*, v. 44, pp. 24–36)). It should be borne in mind that except in the area of family law the subject matter of Jewish law is generally free of fundamental public dispute of a religious or ideological nature.

The integration of Jewish law into the legal system of Israel is of importance to the former since it has a vital need to contend with the problems of practical everyday life as the only means toward the restoration of its former, almost unbroken, creative and evolutionary function, and this in its natural environment – the Jewish state and its legal system. Such an integration of Jewish law is no less important for the legal system of the state. Israel legislation is of an eclectic nature, the legislator choosing as he sees fit from many different legal systems. There is well-founded apprehension that this must necessarily result in a lack of homogeneity and lead to contradictions in Israel law due to the absence of a common axis around which the entire legal structure may revolve. A legal system so constructed moreover lacks roots and a past. If, as the revival of Hebrew proved, a people's language has to lean on history and foundations, then a priori a people's legal system requires roots and a past on which to draw for sustenance and growth. The absence of these requisites in Israeli law accounts for the large number of Supreme Court decisions evidencing resort to numerous legal systems in a search for solutions to legal problems. The appointed way for the emerging legal system of the Jewish state to take root, to find the common denominator for its laws as well as the homogeneity it requires, is for it to become linked and integrated in the proper way with historical Jewish legal thinking and creativity.

Modes of Integration

Achievement of the desired integration of Jewish law with the Israel legal system demands strict observance of the rule that in all legislative activity preference be given to every principle of Jewish law which is in keeping with the existing social and economic exigencies. It is also necessary to ensure that all principles of Jewish law adopted in the laws of the state shall be construed within the spirit of the Jewish sources of law from which they were derived. Finally, it is necessary to lay down a "Jewish version" of the controversial Article 46, to the effect that the Jewish sources of law shall be resorted to in the event of any lacuna in the existing law. The decisions of the Supreme Court and of the rabbinical courts in matters involving Jewish law – not only in the area of personal status but in all its different fields – and a long series of varied research studies undertaken in recent years, point to the fact that it is within the power of Jewish law to contend successfully with the overall range of new problems that arise. In addition, Jewish law occupies a substantial part of the law faculty study curriculum at different universities in Israel and to the new generation of Israel lawyers and jurists Jewish law is no longer a remote and unfamiliar subject. Accelerated research activity in the different fields of Jewish law and the preparation of an auxiliary literature to facilitate study of and resort to the latter will be invaluable aids to the process of integrating the legal system of the State of Israel and Jewish law.

Legal Creativity

During various periods of its history Jewish law has experienced the reality of jurisdiction and legislation existing alongside the jurisdictional and legislative system of the halakhic authority itself – as illustrated by the king's law, jurisdiction of the public leadership, lay jurisdiction, and communal enactments. In numerous matters such jurisdiction and legislation of the Jewish leadership diverged from the rules of Jewish law, but the halakhic system evolved a series of rules and principles which ensured that such jurisdiction and legislation of the public leadership became an integral part of the overall system (see above *Takkanot ha-Kahal*). It is true that during all the above-mentioned periods the entire Jewish people looked upon Jewish law as the ultimate and binding value, whereas the same cannot be said of the present-day Jewish public, which, in the existing socio-cultural realities, finds itself divided on matters of religious faith and ideological outlook. Yet in this society there have developed certain cultural and social values – such as the restored language and homeland – which exist as the undisputed assets of all. Consequently the hope may be expressed that the acceptance of Jewish law principles into the legal system of Israel in a proper and consistent manner, along with the latter's formation of a tie with Jewish law for purposes of its own supplementation, will ensure that at some time in the future unity and integrity – and thereby continuity as well – will also be restored to this precious cultural and spiritual asset of the Jewish nation, that is, Jewish law.

[Menachem Elon]

Development in the Status of Jewish Law in the Israeli Legal System

Two significant and illuminating developments have occurred over the years in the status of Jewish law in the legal system of the State of Israel, whose common denominator is the entrenchment of the status of Jewish law in the legal system and the obligation to have recourse to and to rely upon it. The first development occurred in 1980, with the enactment of the Foundations of Law Act, 5740 – 1980, and the second with the enactment of the Basic Laws in 5752 – 1992.

THE FOUNDATIONS OF LAW ACT, 5740 – 1980. The Foundations of Law Act, 5740 – 1980, repealed Article 46 of the Palestine Order in Council, 1922–1947, thereby revoking the binding link between Israeli law and English law, and rendering complete the autonomy of the Israeli legal system. Instead of having recourse to English law, the Foundations of Law Act sets forth a different arrangement in cases involving a lacuna in the law, where the court is unable to find an answer to a legal question in the conventional sources of law: "Where the court, faced with a legal question requiring decision, finds no answer to it in statute law or case law or by analogy, it shall decide the issue in the light of the principles of freedom, justice, equity and peace of the Jewish heritage" (sec. 1). This was the first fundamental change wrought in the status of Jewish law in the State of Israel, as for the first time the legislator required the judge, in confronting questions to which no answer was available in the regular sources of law, to have recourse to Jewish law, and left no discretion to the judge in this regard.

Opinions are divided on two main issues regarding this section. First, in what cases must the court, pursuant to the provisions of the law, rule in accordance with "the principles of freedom, justice, equity and peace of the Jewish heritage"? Second, what is the nature and essence of these principles of "the Jewish heritage"?

Thus, in the case of Hendeles (CFH 13/80, *Hendeles et al. v. Kupat Am Bank Ltd.*, PD 35(2), 785), the Court discussed the meaning of the phrase "another person's domain" in the Lost Property Law, 5733 – 1973 (see at length *Lost Property). Justice Cohn stated that, when a statute incorporates a given term or phrase borrowed from Jewish law, it is clear that the court must resolve questions that arise in connection with that term by turning to Jewish law. However, while such a term or phrase is to be construed according to its meaning in Jewish law, this does not dictate the concurrent application of the substantive provisions of Jewish law as they relate to that term. This was true, Justice Cohn argued, before the enactment of the Foundations of Law Act, and remains true after its passage. The law establishes that the need to refer to the sources of the Jewish heritage does not arise at all so long as an answer can be found to any question requiring decision "in statute law or case law or by analogy." It is permitted to have recourse to Jewish law in such cases, for purposes of comparison or enrichment; however, such recourse remains optional, by way of obiter dicta, and not obligatory.

Regarding the interpretation of the phrase "the principles of freedom, justice, equity and peace of the Jewish heritage," Justice Cohn (see bibliography, H. Cohn, "Residuary Law," 295ff.) opined that the legislator specifically chose the specific principles enumerated in the section (i.e., freedom, justice, and equity), which have become a part of the Jewish heritage, while rejecting other principles, which the legislator did not include. Moreover, the term "Jewish heritage" implies all those cultural assets created by the Jewish nation, including not only Jewish law, but also extra-legal sources. Any heritage that may be called Jewish, whether on account of the identity of its author or the nature of the bequest, comes within the rubric of the Jewish heritage, even if it is not part of the Jewish religious heritage.

Justice Menachem Elon thought that, "In the event of a lacuna, the aforesaid principles of Jewish law assume the status of a supplementary legal source of the Israeli legal system, to which the court is duty bound to rely upon as a binding legal source" (p. 793). Where doubt exists as to the *construction* of an existing provision of law, one may turn to other legal systems as a source of inspiration and influence, but not as a binding source. But even in those cases the recourse to Jewish law is primary in importance, and the Foundations of Law Act, which confers a binding status on the principles of the Jewish heritage in the event of a lacuna, strengthens the priority of turning to Jewish law even in cases where a doubt exists as to the *construction* of an existing provision.

As to the definition of a lacuna, Justice Elon held that: "Legal terms and concepts, which originate in ethical systems and cultural values – such as justice, good faith, public policy and the like – and are found in the Israeli legal system, must be construed according to the basic outlook of Jewish law – an outlook rooted in that law's moral and cultural values… It appears to me that the fleshing out of these value-laden terms, which, apart from their nomenclature, do not refer to any specific, substantive content, involves the filling of a lacuna… Therefore, the aforesaid method of interpretation, adopted by these judges, now constitutes the filling of a lacuna and is not only a matter for construction, with everything that implies" (p. 793).

Justice Aharon Barak disagreed with Justice Elon over the question of how to define a lacuna: "Where Israeli legislation has recourse to such fundamental terms as 'justice,' 'good faith,' 'public policy' and other such value-laden concepts, the task of the court is to infuse them with concrete content according to the statutory purpose and with regard to the actual and ideal conditions of life in Israel. Here, the judge is not at all confronted with a 'lacuna,' since the legislature has stipulated the applicable norm. I therefore can see no possibility in such a case of applying the provisions of the Foundations of Law Act, which contemplates only the filling of a lacuna" (p. 797). Regarding the use of Jewish law as a source for interpretative inspiration in cases of doubt as to a term's interpretation, Justice Barak held one cannot say that such inspiration must come primarily from the principles of Jewish law. Rather, he held, a piece of legislation must be interpreted from within the legislation itself, and where it is influenced by a foreign system, we must turn to that system for interpretative inspiration.

Justice Moshe Landau held that, where a lacuna exists, the court must have recourse to the principles of the Jewish heritage contained in the Foundations of Law Act. However, the legislator avoided referring to Jewish law by name and instead selected the concept, thus far undefined in point of law, of "Israel's heritage." According to Justice Landau, similar to the opinion of Prof. Barak, the very idea that the interpreter must refer specifically to any particular source for answers in the event of a doubt as to the proper construction of a particular term conflicts with the rules of interpretation. Therefore, in his view, the recourse to Jewish law should be to enrich our legal thinking; however, there can be no obligation to turn primarily to Jewish legal sources in order to interpret a legal term the meaning of which is in doubt.

Justice Menachem Elon criticized Justice Barak's highly restrictive approach to the function of the Foundations of Law Act, to the extent of almost divesting it of all legal content:

> We take it for granted that one of the basic rules of interpretation is that the legislature does not waste words and that some content must be given to the words it chooses to use. This rule has particular force when an entirely novel law is involved, and utmost force when the statute is a basic statute that occupies an important place in the legal system of the State.… Even before this law became part of the Israeli legal system, the court was at liberty to engage in the worthy task of turning to Jewish Law for the purpose of "expanding the judge's horizons and field of vision, so as to produce additional depth of interpretive creativity." What change has then been generated with the adoption of the statute entitled the Foundations of Law Act? If the response is that Jewish Law will have its day in the event of a lacuna, and if we define lacuna as my distinguished colleague [i.e., Justice Barak] did in the Hendeles case… and if a lacuna does not include what he said it does not include, I would very much like to know when and how it will ever be possible to find a lacuna totally unaddressed in "legislation or judicial precedent or by means of analogy." Is it indeed possible to construe a statute so that the legislator's words are devoid of all legal meaning…? How many debates did the Knesset and lawyers generally have, and how many versions did they draft, before the enactment of this basic statute? Was this solely for the purpose of addressing the problem of a lacuna which has never yet nor will ever likely occur and which, if and when it does occur, will more than likely encounter the refusal of the majority of the court to acknowledge its existence? I wonder. (FH 40/80 *Koenig v. Cohen*, PD 36(3) 701, 742–743)

In accordance with his interpretation of the Foundations of Law Act, Justice Menachem Elon in many cases turned to Jewish law for the resolution of a variety of legal issues. Thus, for example, Justice Elon had recourse to Jewish law, pursuant to the Foundations of Law Act, for construing provisions of the Succession Law in cases where defects occurred in the writing of a will according to the provisions of that law (FH 40/80 *Koenig v. Cohen*, PD 36(3) 701, 742–743 – see *Will); to address the question of whether a political agreement between factions in the Knesset which was entered into in the aftermath of the composition of a new government had legal validity (HC 1635/90 *Schereschewsky v. Prime Minister*, PD 45(1) 749); in determining that the publication of a person's identity in connection with the claim that said person is collaborating with the authorities of the State of Israel is not to be regarded as defamation, even though the society in which that person lives disapproves of such collaboration (CA 466/83 *Ajiman v. Dardarian*, PD 39(4) 734; see *Slander); to emphasize the importance of pluralism of views in the world of *halakhah* on an appeal, which was accepted, concerning the decision to reject applications by two party lists from taking part in elections to the Knesset (EIA 2/84 *Neiman v. Chairman of Central Elections Committee*, PD 39(2) 225); and in many other cases. In general, the courts have tended to use the method of analogy whenever a claim can be made that a lacuna exists in a statute – at times relying upon the Foundations of Law Act, which directs the search for a solution by way of an analogy. It should be noted however that this method was not adopted by Israeli law with the passage of the Foundations of Law Act, and was used even before its enactment.

BASIC LAWS: HUMAN DIGNITY AND FREEDOM; FREEDOM OF OCCUPATION. In 1992, a highly significant development took place in the status of Jewish law in the State of Israel, with the enactment of two Basic Laws – "Basic Law: Human Dignity and Freedom" and "Basic Law: Freedom of Occupation." These laws have constitutional status, and protect a series of fundamental rights. Section 1A of the law states that: "The purpose of this Basic Law: Human Dignity and Freedom is to protect human dignity and freedom, in order to anchor in a Basic Law the values of the State of Israel as a Jewish and democratic state"; similar wording appears in section 2 of the Basic Law: Freedom of Occupation. These sections establish *the obligation* to turn to Jewish law in the framework of "the values of the State of Israel as a Jewish and democratic state" in order to interpret the values protected in the Basic Laws (see *Human Dignity and Freedom; *Rights, Human). This has been the most significant development in recent times in the status of Jewish law in the State of Israel, as until 1992 the obligation to have recourse to Jewish law applied, apart from matters of a personal status, only in cases of a lacuna, according to the Foundations of Law Act. With the enactment of the Basic Laws, Jewish law acquired constitutional status, with ramifications for the validity and construction of all the laws in the State of Israel. Jewish legal principles have accordingly been implemented on many occasions by the courts in the course of turning to the values of the State of Israel as a Jewish and democratic state. Thus, for example, the courts have ruled, on the basis of Israel's Jewish and democratic status, that there was no room for active euthanasia in the State of Israel (see Justice Menachem Elon's ruling in 506/88 *Shefer v. State of Israel*, PD 48 (1) 87; see entries: *Medicine and Law: Euthanasia; *Values of a Jewish and Democratic State). The court similarly ruled that the Execution Law, 5727 – 1967 must be construed so as to permit a debtor's imprisonment only in cases in which it is clear that the debtor is concealing his assets and refuses to pay (HC 5304/92 *Perach v. Justice Minister*, 47(4) 715, Justice Elon; see *Imprisonment for Debt). It similarly ruled that the severity of an offense of which an accused has been charged is not in itself sufficient to justify his imprisonment until the termination of legal proceedings against him (Cr.A. 2169/92 *Suissa v. State of Israel* PD 46(3) 388, Justice Menachem Elon; see *Detention).

The key phrase – "Jewish and democratic state" has merited a variety of interpretations. According to Justice Elon, the court is required to examine the principles of Jewish law and the principles of democracy, in order to create a synthesis between the two when interpreting the Basic Laws. Where a number of different approaches exist in respect of the "democracy" component, the approach which befits the "Jewish" component should be adopted (see, for example, the case of active euthanasia, which some democracies permit and others outlaw; in such a case, that approach which is compatible with the "Jewish" approach prevails and active euthanasia becomes outlawed (see the *Shefer* case, on pp. 167–168, and *Medicine and Law: Euthanasia)). According to Justice Barak: "The values of the State of Israel as a Jewish state are the same universal values that are common to democratic societies, which emerged from the Jewish tradition and history. These values are accompanied by the same values of the State of Israel and which spring from the democratic nature of the state. The combination and synthesis between the two are what has shaped the values of the State of Israel" (see Bibliography, A. Barak, *Ha-Mahapeikhah ha-Ḥukatit* …, p. 31). It should be noted that Justice Barak has recently attributed more weight to Jewish law in the framework of the relevant sources for interpreting the Basic Laws, and for the construction of legislation in general (see Bibliography, A. Barak, *Shofet be-Ḥevrah Demokratit*). For a detailed discussion of these Basic Laws, see entries: *Values of a Jewish and Democratic State; *Human Dignity and Freedom; *Rights, Human).

LEGISLATION CONSISTENT WITH JEWISH LAW. Many of the laws enacted in the State of Israel were inspired by the principles of Jewish law. Thus, for example, the Unjust Enrichment Law, 5739 – 1979, integrated its concepts and principles from Jewish law. The preamble to the law states: "The proposed law adopts the approach of Jewish Law in a number of respects: it entitles a person who improves another person's property to restitution, it adopts the principle that '*One* derives a *benefit* and the *other* sustains no loss as a factor in exempting the beneficiary from restitution' and it entitles a person who protects another person's property to indemnification for his expenses, with the aim of encouraging acts of rescue" (Draft Bill, 5739, p. 266 – see *Unjust Enrichment).

Another such statute is the Criminal Registry and Rehabilitation of Offenders Act, 5741 – 1981, whose name and provisions are based on the principle of Jewish law that an offender must be assisted to return to the proper and correct path, and not reminded of his previous offenses (see *Punishment).

Yet another law whose name and inspiration emanates from Jewish law is the Good Samaritan Law 5758 – 1998[5] (whose Hebrew title is taken from the biblical verse Lev 19:16, "You shalt not stand idly by the blood of thy neighbor"), which imposes a duty on any person to assist another person "in whose presence he finds himself, who is, as a result of a sudden incident, in severe and immediate danger to his life, bodily integrity or health, when he has the ability to extend assistance, without endangering himself or the other person" (section 1).

On the issue of the non-extension of the life of a terminally ill patient, the Terminally Ill Persons Act, 5766 – 2005, was enacted, in light of the Supreme Court judgment in the Shefer case, which was in turn based upon principles of Jewish law. Section 1(b) of the law expressly determines, similar to the above stated Basic Laws, that: "This Law is based on the values of the State of Israel as a Jewish and democratic state and on fundamental principles in the field of morality, ethics, and religion." (See *Medicine and Law: Euthanasia.)

The Rules of Evidence Amendment (Cautioning of Witnesses and Annulment of Oath) Law, 5740 – 1980, annulled the previously existing practices, whereby the court used to administer an oath to every witness that appeared before it, adopting instead the approach of Jewish law on this issue. The preamble to the draft bill states:

> According to Jewish Law, no person shall take an oath before giving testimony and no witness shall be sworn save in exceptional cases… It is true that we caution the witness to tell the truth… Maimonides, Yad, *Shevuot* 11:16, emphasizes the severity of the oath: "How do we intimidate him who takes the oath? [The judges] tell him: You must be aware that the entire world trembled when the Holy One blessed be He stated at Sinai: 'You shall not take the name of the Lord your God in vain' (Exod. 20:7). Moreover, for all [other] transgressions in the Torah retribution is exacted only from the violator, while here [in the case of a false oath, it is exacted] from him and from his family… Moreover, retribution is even exacted from the enemies of the Israel [i.e, a euphemism for the Jewish People as a whole], for all Jews are responsible for one another" (Draft Bill, 5740, p. 328).

According to Section 1 of the law: "Notwithstanding anything provided in any other law, a witness about to testify in any judicial or quasi judicial proceeding, shall not be sworn." In place of an oath, the law prescribes the administering of a warning, under which the witness is cautioned to tell the truth only, and is told that if he fails to do so he will be penalized in the manner prescribed by law. According to the law, the court is authorized to administer an oath to a witness if it has reasonable grounds to assume that an oath will assist in discovering the truth; notwithstanding, the witness is entitled to affirm by giving his word of honor in place of an oath – on the grounds of religion and conscience – unless the court is convinced that the witness's refusal to swear is not in good faith (see, at length, *Oath).

For numerous additional laws which are based on Jewish Law, see bibliography, M. Elon, *Ha-Mishpat ha-Ivri*, p. 1361ff.; idem, *Jewish Law* (1994), p. 1624ff.

JEWISH LAW IN THE CASE LAW OF GENERAL COURTS. The application of the principles of Jewish law to judicial decisions continues in our own time. Jewish law continues to leave its imprint in all areas of case law, as indicated in the above discussion of the Foundations of Law Act and the Basic Laws. For a detailed discussion of the principles of Jewish law in the judicial system in the State of Israel, cf. *Imprisonment. As stated, the integration of Jewish law into the Israeli legal system is of great and undisputed importance both for the benefit of Israeli law and for the benefit of the development of Jewish law itself. The best and most accessible means available to judges, attorneys, and law students is by way of judicial decisions of the various courts. It should be noted that judgments which incorporate Jewish law are now translated into the English language, and this project will contribute to the increasing accessibility of Jewish law in a great many countries. Indeed, in the course of the updates that have been made to this edition of the *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, most of the entries have been enriched by the addition of examples from case law, integrating principles of Jewish law, and these have been incorporated into the new entries. See, for example, *Majority Rule, *Legal Person, *Extradition, *Evidence, *Medicine and Law, *Slander.

Additional changes in the status of Jewish law in the State of Israel, beyond those which appear in the previous edition, shall be detailed below.

INFLUENCE OF ISRAELI LAW ON JEWISH LAW. In the relationship between Jewish law and Israeli law, there is also influence in the opposite direction, i.e., the influence of Israeli law on Jewish law. The Supreme Court first dealt with this matter in the *Wilozni* case (HC 323/81 *Wilozni v. Rabbinical Court of Appeals*, PD 36(2) 733). The petitioner requested the Court to annul the decision of the Rabbinical Court of Appeals, which ruled that the petitioner must leave the apartment in which he continued to reside alone after his wife had left it owing to the husband's violent behavior, following a judgment for divorce. According to the petitioner, the Rabbinical Court should have ruled that the apartment was regarded as property occupied by the husband, pursuant to the Tenants Protection Law (Consolidated Version), 5732 – 1972, and should therefore be sold as occupied property, and not as vacant property, as ruled by the Rabbinical Court of Appeals. The Rabbinical Court had determined that its ruling was consistent with the provisions of the above-mentioned tenant protection legislation, "which is given halakhic validity like any *sitomta* (i.e., customary practice) or *masi'in al kizatan* (i.e., communal enactment)." The Supreme Court (Justice Menachem Elon) relates to this point made by the Rabbinical Court and expands on the subject of the case law of the rabbinical courts and its tendency to adopt principles of law from the general legal system in many cases, and the various methods used for adopting such principles. The first method is based on the principle that "the law of the state is the law" (see: *Dina de-Malkhuta Dina), according to which the rabbinical courts have given effect to different kinds of legal transactions even where these would not be valid under Jewish law. When the principle of "*dina de-malkhuta dina*" is applied, a rule of the general legal system is given *binding force*, although the latter does not become part of Jewish law. Rules of other legal systems are incorporated into the Jewish legal system "by means of the legal source of custom; when the public acts in accordance with some legal norm, that norm is in certain circumstances recognized as part of the Jewish legal system, and it may be valid even if it is contrary to a particular regulation of Jewish civil law" (p. 741; see *Minhag). The second means for the absorption of the general law into Jewish law is by way of *takkanot ha-kahal* (communal enactments), according to which the community legislates, via its representatives, various enactments which become a part of Jewish law. The Talmud refers to this as "*masi'in al kizatan*" (i.e. communal enactment, lit: "the townspeople may impose penalties for breach of their enactments"; see: *Takkanot ha-Kahal). Justice Elon stresses that "there is a special, fundamental character to the relationship between the Jewish legal system and the general legal system of Israel, in accordance with the principle of *masi'in al kiẓatan*. Under this principle, various laws in the area of civil, criminal, and public law of the general legal system may actually become part and parcel of the Jewish legal system – in the broad sense of this concept – and not merely recognized by it, as was the case under the principle of *dina de-malkhuta dina*, nor simply absorbed by it, as was the case with custom" (p. 742). Justice Elon notes the uniqueness of this judgment, which ruled that the provisions of civil legislation (i.e., the Tenants Protection Law) are recognized *as part of the case law of the rabbinical courts*, not only by virtue of custom, but also under the rule of *masi'in al kiẓatan*. The implication, in this context, is that the Members of Knesset, elected by the public, who enact Knesset legislation, are capable of promulgating regulations for the benefit of the public, and that these regulations become part of Jewish law, and were even created as part of the Jewish legal system, "in the broad sense of this concept."

In addition to the aforementioned example from section 33 of the Tenants Protection Law, other laws as well have had an impact on Jewish law. Thus, for example, the arrangement in respect of cooperative houses appearing in the Land Law, 5729 – 1969, was recognized by the rabbinical courts. This, notwithstanding that this arrangement regulates the interrelationships between all the apartment owners, a subject already governed by detailed regulations in Jewish law which differ from those prescribed by the relevant sections in the Tenants Protection Law, which came to resolve a public problem of poor housing and does not contradict specific arrangements prescribed in this regard in Jewish law.

A further example is the recognition of the validity of the arrangement for the transfer of rights in land. According to section 7 of the Land Law, 5729 – 1969, *in rem* rights in immovable property are only transferred via registration in the Land Registry. By contrast, according to Jewish law such rights pass at the time of payment, and in a locale where it is conventional for property transactions to be executed solely via a written document, the rights pass under the terms of the deed. Notwithstanding this difference between Jewish law and Israeli law, many authorities have ruled, on the basis of the principle of "*dina de-malkhuta dina*" and "*minhag ha-medinah*" (custom of the state), that proprietary rights – *in rem* rights in land – pass, in general, upon their registration in the Land Registry, as prescribed by Israeli law. (On the differences between the halakhic authorities in this regard, see further the article of D. Frimer, bibliography, ad. loc.)

THE RABBINICAL COURTS. As stated earlier, the rabbinical courts must rule in accordance with Jewish law, and pursuant to the general provisions of the general law which expressly apply to them. According to Justice Aharon Barak in the *Bavli* case (HC 1000/92 *Bavli v. Rabbinical Court of Appeals*, PD 48(2) 221; see also HC 3914/92 *Lev v. Tel Aviv/Jaffa Regional Rabbinical Court*, PD 48(2) 491, Justice Aharon Barak), the rabbinical courts are also obligated to rule in accordance with the general law, *as interpreted in the rulings of the Supreme Court*, on all matters which are not related to personal status, in the narrow sense of this term. Pursuant to this principle, Justice Barak determined that the rabbinical courts are obligated to apply the "presumption of joint property," as developed by rulings of the Supreme Court, in respect of matrimonial property (see *Matrimonial Property). This approach was criticized by Justice Menachem Elon and by additional scholars, who held that no change should be made from the original law, which was that the rabbinical courts are obligated to rule in accordance with the Jewish law and in accordance with the principles of the general law that are expressly applied to them by the legislator. Elon held that the rabbinical courts must rule according to Jewish law, just as rabbinical courts have ruled in accordance with Jewish law throughout the generations. Intervention in the principle of adjudication in accordance with Jewish law is a power reserved for the legislator, after having obtained the consent of the representatives of the Jewish people, as occurred, for example, with the Women's Equal Rights Law and the Rabbinical Courts (Jurisdiction) Law. Generally, the rabbinical court is not called upon to rule according to the general law, nor is it able to do so, because its judges lack the requisite expertise. Justice Elon held that the Supreme Court's intervention in the rulings of the rabbinical courts stymies the development of Jewish law, as developed by the rabbinical courts throughout the generations, because according to this precedent the need to turn to the rabbinical courts is limited only to matters of personal status, and does not enable Jewish law to develop in other branches of law. In addition, Justice Elon held that this ruling creates needless tension between the civil courts and the rabbinical courts, who will find it difficult, and rightfully so, to accept such a broad encroachment upon their authority and freedom of action.

Regarding the presumption of joint property, Justice Elon opined that the rabbinical courts were under a duty to adopt this presumption as part of Jewish law, whether by way of regulation (see **Takkanot*) or whether by other means conventionally used in Jewish law, but not in accordance with the binding precedent of the Supreme Court (see Bibliography, M. Elon, "These Are Obiter Dicta…"). Opinions are divided among the judges of the rabbinical court as to the possibility of adopting the presumption of joint property as part of Jewish law (see *Dina de-Malkhuta Dina). With regard to a husband's right to enjoy the proceeds of his wife's usufruct property, the law has now been amended, entitling the court to take account of the wife's income from usufruct property, when determining the amount of maintenance which the husband owes to her (see *Husband and Wife).

[Menachem Elon (2nd ed.)]

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MI-SINAI NIGGUNIM (Heb.-Yid. נִגּוּנִים, נִגּוּנֵי מִסִּינַי "Melodies from Mt. Sinai"), Hebrew term for a traditional group of cantorial melodies sung in the Ashkenazi synagogues of both East and West European rite and regarded as obligatory, and for which no other melody may be substituted. Located at those points in the service where the liturgical and emotional elements join in equal force, the *Mi-Sinai* tunes may be called the heart of Ashkenazi synagogue song.

Mi-Sinai is an abbreviated form of *Halakhah le-Moshe mi-Sinai, referring to an ordinance going back to Moses, who received it on Mt. Sinai. The term was connected with biblical chant in the 12th century (*Sefer Ḥasidim*, ed. Wistinezki-Freimann §3); its present application is due to A.Z. *Idelsohn. In cantorial circles, the *Mi-Sinai* melodies are called "Tunes of our Rabbi Maharil" (erroneously, also Maharal), or, in Eastern Europe, *skarbowe niggunim* (Polish: "official" tunes).

The family of *Mi-Sinai* tunes includes about ten solemn compositions that are associated mainly with prayers of the Penitential Days (see ex. 1–7). The exact scope cannot be determined precisely, since the tradition is not unanimous and was never codified authoritatively. The distinctive features of the melodies are as follows: they must belong to the common patrimony of the Eastern and Western Ashkenazi rites; must invariably be found in their proper liturgical place; and must exhibit a special musical structure (see below). Accordingly, ancient psalmodies such as **Akdamut Millin*, or the many melodies designated as "ancient" by the 19th century compilers, and well-known hymn melodies (e.g., *Eli Ẓiyyon) do not belong to this category. A close examination reveals that they do not entirely comply with the conditions, and no *ḥazzan* would count them among the *Mi-Sinai* tunes. However, there still remain some border cases which are classified differently by different writers.

The usual concept of "melody" as an indivisible unit is not applicable to the *Mi-Sinai niggunim*. They are real compositions built of several sections ("movements") of individual character. These are often fitted to the divisions of the text (e.g., the *Kaddish), but may also be constructed on an independent plan (e.g., the *Kol Nidrei tune). In general, the first section is individual and characteristic of the specific tune; the following ones may include motives or entire themes of other *niggunim*, thereby creating a "family likeness" among the members of this group. Every section contains one or more "themes," which are composed of short motives (see music examples of **Aleinu; *Avodah*). The order of these themes is usually constant, distinguishing this music clearly from the *nusaḥ style. An important feature is the plasticity of themes and motives, which allows for their easy adaptation to a wide range of texts. Still more characteristic is the liberty granted to the performer to shape the music by himself; tradition prescribes only the approximate layout and motivic profile – an "idea" which the singer must realize in sounds. This challenge to creative improvisation recalls principles governing Oriental music and exceeds by far the freedom of embellishment in older European art. Therefore one should not expect to discover the archetype of any *Mi-Sinai* tune, for there exist only numerous "realizations" of a certain mental image (cf. *Maqām). Other Oriental features are the free rhythm, which cannot be fitted to regular bars without distortion, and the rich and fluent coloratura adorning it. Tonality is modal (today with a bias to major and minor); *Shtayger scales occur,

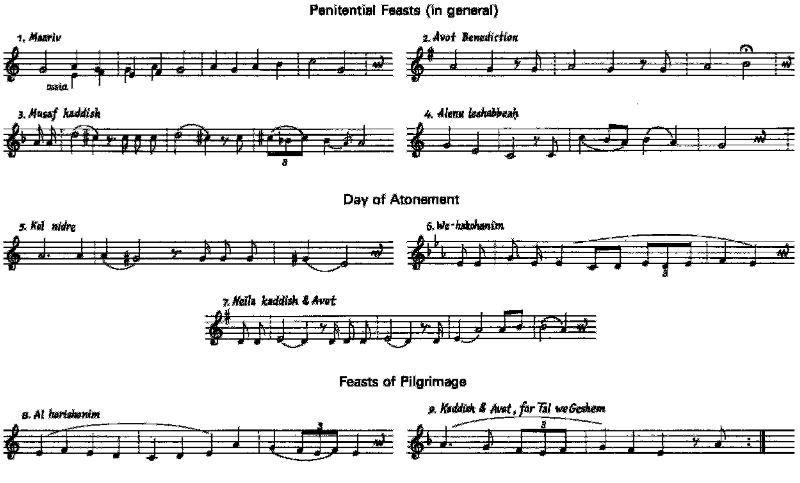

Mi-Sinai *tunes: inventory of initial motives. No. 2, cf.* *Amidah; *earliest notation, 1783 (Aaron Beer). No. 3, for full version see *Music, example 30; earliest evidence, c. 1800 (Jacob Goldstein). No. 4, cf.* *Aleinu le-Shabbe'aḥ; *earliest evidence, 1765 (A. Beer). No. 5, earliest notation, 1765 (A. Beer). No. 6, cf.* *Avodah; *earliest notation, 1791 (A. Beer). No. 7, earliest notation, 1744 (Judah Elias of Hanover). No. 8, earliest evidence, 1782 (A. Beer). Nos. 1 and 9, conventional form notated by H. Avenary.*

but are not maintained rigorously (ex. 1, no. 3; see full version in *Music, ex. 30).

In East Ashkenazi tradition, the bond between music and text has been loosened: entire sections may be sung without words. Certain themes, still found in the earlier Western notated documents, have become lost, and others changed their places in the established order. As a result those themes or sections which were preserved came to be repeated in order to provide for the full text. This regressive evolution in the East was apparently caused by the early displacement of these communities from the birthplace and centers of *Mi-Sinai* song. The Western *ḥazzanim*, on the other hand, developed extensive and elaborate compositions from the original tunes. Such "Fantasias" were in fashion from about 1750 to 1850.

That the musical ideas and outlines of the *Mi-Sinai niggunim* originated in the Middle Ages can be concluded from musical evidence, a few references in literature, and, above all, the fact that they are found in two Ashkenazi rites, which separated early in their history. It may be supposed that the sufferings during Crusader times made Ashkenazi Jewry ripe for expressing in music the deep feelings that emanate from these melodies. Their character and profound musicality also attracted gentile composers, such as Max Bruch (*Kol Nidrei*, op. 47) and Maurice Ravel (*Kaddish*, 1914); their confrontation with the idioms of contemporary music is demonstrated in A. *Schoenberg's *Kol Nidrei* (1938).

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[Hanoch Avenary]

MISKOLC, town in N.E. Hungary. Jews attended the Miskolc fairs at the beginning of the 18th century, and the first Jewish settlers earned their livelihood from the sale of alcoholic beverages. In 1717 the municipal council sought to expel them but reconsidered its attitude in 1728 and granted them the right to sell at the market. The number of Jews gradually increased, supplanting the Greek merchants from Macedonia. In 1765 several Jews owned houses. They enjoyed judicial independence and were authorized to impose fines and corporal punishment. Early in the 19th century there were two rabbis in the community. Many Jews acquired houses and land, but the majority engaged in commerce and crafts. When the local guild excluded Jews from membership in the unions, the Jews organized their own guild. The cemetery, dating from 1759, was still in use in 1970. The first synagogue was erected in 1765. The Great Synagogue was built in 1861; it was here that a choir, which aroused violent reactions on the part of the Orthodox, appeared for the first time. In 1870 the community joined the Neologians (see *Neology), but in 1875 a single Orthodox community was formed.

The educational institutions were among the most developed and ramified throughout the country. There were three yeshivot, an elementary school, two sub-secondary schools, and the only seminary for female teachers in Hungary. The Ḥasidim established a separate elementary school. In the course of time the percentage of Jews of the general population became the highest in Hungary (around 20%), numbering 1,096 in 1840, 3,412 in 1857; 4,117 in 1880, 10,029 in 1910, and 11,300 in 1920.

Holocaust Period and After

In 1941, when there were 10,428 Jews in the town, 500 were deported to the German-occupied part of Poland for alleged irregularities in their nationality, and were murdered in *Kamenets-Podolski. Large numbers of youths, as well as elderly people, were conscripted into labor battalions and taken to the Ukrainian front, where most of them were exterminated. After the German occupation of Hungary (March 19, 1944) the Jews of the town, about 10,000 in number, were deported to *Auschwitz; only 400 of them survived.

After the liberation Miskolc became an important transit center for those who returned from the concentration camps. The elementary school was reopened and existed until the nationalization of elementary schools (1948). The reconstituted community had 2,353 members in 1946 but dropped to around 300 in the 1970s as most left for Israel.

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[Laszlo Harsanyi]

MISREPHOTH-MAIM (Heb. מִשְׂרְפוֹת מַיִם), one of the farthest limits of the flight of the Canaanites after defeat by the waters of Merom (Josh. 11:8) and a boundary of the Sidonians (Josh. 13:6). Some scholars suggest reading Misrefot mi-Yam ("at the sea," i.e., on the west). It may be mentioned in the Egyptian Execration texts, dating to approximately 1800 B.C.E., as *ʾisrpʾi*, which appears beside Achsaph. Abel and others identified it with Khirbat al-Mushayrifa, near Rosh ha-Nikrah. This site was partly excavated in 1951 by Miriam Tadmor and M. Prausnitz, and remains dating to the early Bronze Age, including a wall of early Bronze II–III, and to middle Bronze Age I, were uncovered. However, the site did not yield remains of the late Bronze Age, which corresponds to the time of the biblical descriptions. Recently, Aharoni suggested that it is not the name of a city, but a definition of the border of Sidon, which may be identified with the outlet of the Litani River.

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[Michael Avi-Yonah]

MISSISSIPPI, southern state of the U.S. The 2001 Jewish population of Mississippi was 1,500 out of a total of 2,849,000, and has been in decline for several decades. Jews settled along the Gulf of Mexico from earliest times; they came via Mobile, Alabama, and New Orleans, Louisiana. There are extant records of their early presence in what is now Biloxi, on the Gulf Coast, and Natchez, on the Mississippi River. By the 1830s these com-

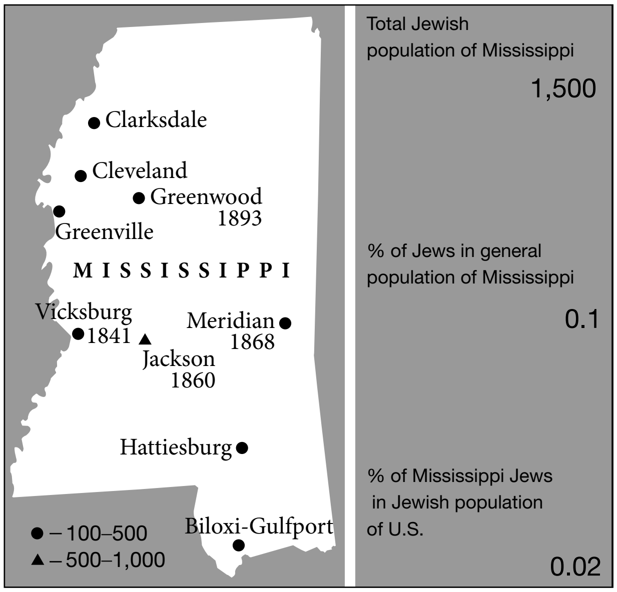

Jewish communities in Mississippi and dates of establishment. Population figures for 2001.

munities had Jewish cemeteries. High cotton prices, cheap land, and steamboat traffic stimulated population expansion, bringing a considerable number of Jews from Germany and Alsace who made a living as peddlers and small storekeepers. The first congregations formed in the state were in Natchez and Vicksburg in the early 1840s, both trading towns on the Mississippi River. Although their total number at the beginning of the Civil War (1861) is unknown, between 200 and 300 served in the Confederate armies. The later Eastern European Jewish migration increased the settlement in the state, particularly in the cotton-growing region of the Delta, where Jewish merchants settled in small towns throughout the region. In 1937, Jews lived in 46 different communities in the Mississippi Delta alone. In many of these towns, Jewish-owned stores dominated main street. The state's reforestation program and aggressive industrialization have brought in branch operations from the North, particularly in clothing and wood products. Many have absentee Jewish ownership. Since the mid-1950s there has been a steady decline in the Jewish population. The turmoil over civil rights slowed the pace of newcomers, while much of the state's Jewish youth left for higher education and did not return. The high-tech Sunbelt boom that has attracted many Jews to the South has largely passed over Mississippi. Chain store expansion into the state has led to the disappearance of family-owned enterprises and a consequent loss in Jewish numbers. The exception is Jackson, the capital city, which has become a regional center for education, law, and medicine providing employment for Jewish professionals.

Mississippi Jewish communities are synagogue oriented. Most of the Jews in isolated communities maintain membership in the nearest congregation. In 1936 the state's synagogues reported a total membership of 2,897, with six resident rabbis. In 1970 there were eight rabbis and 20 synagogue structures, several of the latter used infrequently or not at all. In 2005, there were 13 congregations, though most were small and in decline; only two, Jackson's Beth Israel and Hattiesburg's B'nai Israel, had a full-time rabbi. Despite this, the majority continued to hold regular Shabbat services with lay leaders, rabbinic students, or visiting retired rabbis. Reform congregations in the state include: Adath Israel in Cleveland; B'nai Israel, Natchez; Beth Israel, Jackson; Hebrew Union Congregation, Greenville; Beth Israel, Meridian; Anshe Chesed, Vicksburg; B'nai Israel, Columbus; B'nai Israel, Hattiesburg; and Beth El, Lexington. Unaffiliated congregations include B'nai Israel in Tupelo and Beth Shalom in Oxford. Congregation Beth Israel in Biloxi is Conservative while Ahavath Rayim in Greenwood is nominally Orthodox. The Mississippi Assembly of Jewish Congregations, founded in 1955 by the Jackson rabbi, dissolved about ten years later. Fewer than five Jews have been members of the state legislature in the 20th century, and no Jew has achieved statewide prominence in politics. Jews have had a greater impact on local politics, with 21 Jews serving as mayor of 16 different towns, including "Mayor for Life" William Sklar, who served as mayor of Louise for 25 years, and Sam Rosenthal, mayor of Rolling Fork for 40 years. Jews have held presidential offices in statewide business, professional, and welfare organizations. During the Civil Rights era, two of the state's rabbis, Charles Mantinband and Perry E. Nussbaum, achieved various degrees of prominence for their efforts on behalf of racial equality. They pioneered in the development of local and statewide organizations that sought a peaceful resolution to the civil rights struggle. Mantinband occupied Hattiesburg's B'nai Israel pulpit from 1952 to 1963, when he moved to Longview, Texas. Nussbaum served in Jackson from 1954 to 1973. He took on the unofficial role of "prison chaplain" to the "Freedom Riders" of all creeds and races by traveling to Parchman State Penitentiary each week and writing numerous letters to Northern Jewish parents letting them know that their children were okay. Nussbaum was also among the founders of the state's Committee of Concern, which raised funds to rebuild burned black churches. His newly dedicated fourth synagogue edifice was dynamited by members of the Ku Klux Klan in September 1967. Two months later his home was severely damaged by a similar device. The same group dynamited Meridian's new synagogue in May of 1968. Jews in Jackson and Meridian raised money to pay an FBI informant, who revealed a plot to bomb the home of Meyer Davidson, a prominent Jewish community leader in Meridian. After a police stakeout of Davidson's home, one of the assailants was killed while the other was captured. These bombings produced expressions of outrage from state officials and an outpouring of support for the Jewish communities of Jackson and Meridian. These attacks were a turning point of sorts as many whites came to realize that the violent tactics of "massive resistance" had gone too far. It was time for Mississippi to change, and Jews have been in the forefront in building a new integrated society.

Although they have always been a tiny minority of the state's population, Mississippi Jews have worked hard to preserve and pass on their traditions. In 1970, after years of effort, Jewish leaders of the region opened the Henry S. Jacobs Camp for Living Judaism in Utica. In 1986, camp director Macy B. Hart created the Museum of the Southern Jewish Experience, which now has branches in Utica and Natchez. In 2000, the museum became the Goldring/Woldenberg Institute of Southern Jewish Life, based in Jackson, which works to preserve and document the practice, culture, and legacy of Judaism in the South.

In August 2005 Hurricane Katrina badly damaged the Congregation Beth Israel Synagogue, two blocks from the Mississippi Gulf Coast in Biloxi. Other synagogues in Mississippi were also damaged.

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[Perry E. Nussbaum / Stuart Rockoff (2nd ed.)]

MISSOURI, state located in the central part of the United States. The Jewish population of Missouri in 2001 was 62,500, out of a general population of 5,603,000 with almost all Jews living in the *St. Louis (54,000) and *Kansas City (7,100 on the Missouri side) metropolitan areas. About 1,600 Jews live in at least 27 smaller towns, in eight of which there are congregations. There are communities in Columbia (400), Joplin (100), St. Joseph (265), and Springfield (300), and 12 synagogues in parts of the state other than the two major centers.

Jews were legally admitted into the area of Missouri with the Louisiana Purchase in 1803. The first known Jewish Missourian was Ezekiel Block, a slave owner who was part of a traditionally oriented family which gradually left Schwihau, Bohemia, between 1796 and 1850. At least 23 family members settled in Troy, Perryville, and mainly Cape Girardeau, Louisiana, and St. Louis. They engaged primarily in merchandising, but one also became a lawyer and another became a mill owner and an insurance company resident. Most eventually married Christians. However, one married into the Philipson family of St. Louis, the first Jewish family in that town.

By 1837 St. Louis had a *minyan* and, although the city had less than 100 Jews, a cemetery was founded in 1840 and a congregation in 1841. By mid-century the Jewish population in St. Louis increased to between 600 and 700 due to the German immigration of 1848–53, which also led to a Jewish influx into St. Joseph and Kansas City where congregations were established in 1860 and 1870 respectively. Congregations were established in the mid-1880s in the state capital, Jefferson City, and by 1905 in both Springfield (south-central) and Joplin (southwest). By 1950 regular services were being held at University of Missouri Hillel in Columbia, Fort Leonard Wood, and in Cape Girardeau (southeast). In 1948 Eddie Jacobson, a once failed Missouri Jewish merchant, played a role – whose importance is a matter of dispute – when he approached his former partner Harry S Truman and pressed for the recognition of the State of Israel. By the early 1960s the Jews of Sedalia (west-central) had organized their own congregation. Two of the most popular organizations in outstate Missouri are B'nai B'rith and Anti-Defamation League. Washington University had a fine Judaic studies program. Steven Schwarczchild taught there for a generation and Hillel Kieval was the Gloria M. Goldstein Professor of Jewish Thought. The University of Missouri had an active Hillel program. The *St. Louis Jewish Light* was the Jewish publication for the St. Louis area. Kansas City, Missouri, was covered by the *Kansas City Jewish Chronicle*, which was based in Kansas.

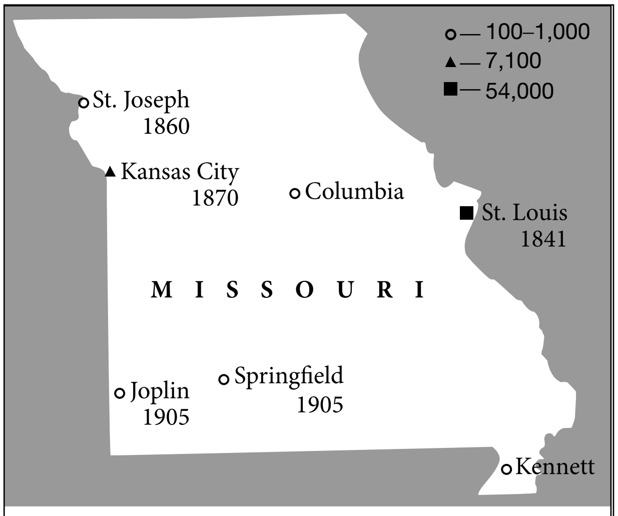

Total Jewish population of Missouri	62,500
% of Jews in general population of Missouri	1.1
% of Missouri Jews in Jewish population of U.S.	1.01

Jewish communities in Missouri and dates of establishment. Population figures for 2001.

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[Donald J. Makovsky]

MISTAKE. A legal transaction requires that the "making up of the mind" (or the conclusive intention of the parties to close the bargain – *gemirat ha-da'at*) be demonstrated (see *Acquisition, Modes of). When it is apparent that one of the parties lacked such conclusive intention, the transaction may be voided, but only at the instance of that party. One of the factors showing that the required conclusive intention was missing is mistake, whether caused by the mistaken party himself or by the other party, whether willfully or unintentionally or whether relating to the subject matter of the transaction, its price, or any other aspect of the transaction. In all these cases the mistaken party is allowed to withdraw from the transaction, provided that the mistake is outwardly and objectively revealed, and not of a subjective nature only, even if it can be proved.

The contracts of *sale and *marriage exemplify the rules of mistake in Jewish law. An error as to price is generally termed *ona'ah* (overreaching), but when relating to the subject matter or any other aspect of the transaction it is termed *mikkaḥ ta'ut* (mistake). If the mistake is common to both parties the contract is voidable at the instance of either of them, otherwise it is voidable only at the instance of the mistaken party (Maim., Yad, Mekhirah 17:1–2). If however the latter consented to the transaction as actually carried out, such consent being demonstrated by him either explicitly or by his subsequent use of the subject matter of the transaction with knowledge of the mistake (*ibid.* 15:3), he may not withdraw from the transaction, even though it does not accord with his original intention. Since the test for mistake is an objective one, the transaction will be voidable only if the majority of those of a particular place and time would consider it material, so that one would generally be expected to refuse to accept the property sold if the true position were made known (*ibid.* 15:5). Thus, if bad wheat is sold as good, i.e., a mistake as to quality, the purchaser may withdraw. Similarly the seller may withdraw if he purported to sell bad wheat, which is in fact found to be good. If the mistake concerns the nature of the object sold, e.g., when a person sells dark-colored wheat which is found to be white, or olive wood that turns out to be sycamore, both parties may withdraw since this is not what was agreed upon (*ibid.* 17:1–2). Similarly the discovery of a defect in the property sold entitles the purchaser to void the transaction, provided that he has not waived such right by his interim use of the property (*ibid.* 15:3). The purchaser retains the right even if the seller mentioned the defect at the time the transaction was negotiated, but did so in a manner that would not normally be taken as revealing the true existence of the defect. An example of this kind of mistake would be if the seller declares, "this cow is blind, lame, given to biting, and to lying down under a load," and it is found to have one or other of these latter two defects but is neither blind nor lame, since the purchaser naturally assumed that the latter defects were as nonexistent as the two former ones (*ibid.* 15:7–8).

[Shalom Albeck]

Unexpressed Intentions

The Talmud determines that for non-conformity with the parties' intentions to be regarded as a mistake, there must be an expression and disclosure of the intention; it is not sufficient for the error to arise as a result of unspoken intentions. The rule formulated by the *amoraim* was that: "*devarim she-ba-lev einam devarim*" (lit: "words of the heart" [unexpressed words], are not words" (Kid. 49b). The rationale for this rule is that when the mistake is the consequence of the person's misleading himself, by keeping his thoughts to himself and not sharing them with the other party, the misunderstanding is not considered a mistake (*Tosafot Rif ha-Zaken*, ad loc.). However, there is a category of facts that need not be expressed, where one can presume that the parties understood each other (*umdana mukhaḥat* = presumption of common sense; see: *Evidence; *Ḥazakah). In reliance on this principle, the court can determine which facts can be presumed [even when unexpressed], because they constitute "information known and understood by everyone" (Ran on Rif, Kid. 20b [Comm. on Rif]; Tos., Kid. 49b).

Mistake in Motivation for Performing Transaction

The Babylonian Talmud (Ket. 97a) records a discussion between *amoraim* concerning a person with a specific motive for a particular sale, and who after its completion found out that the grounds for his motivation did not exist. Can this person, under these circumstances, annul the sale? The Talmud concludes that he can: "If a man sold [a plot of land] and [on concluding the sale] was no longer in need of money the sale may be withdrawn." Nonetheless, according to halakhic rulings, this case of mistake, based on an unproven motive, is governed by the same rule that governs all other cases of mistake: namely that the transaction can only be voided if the seller formally stipulated that the transaction was conditional. Absent such an express stipulation, the seller's intention would be considered unexpressed, as explained above (Rif, Ket. 56a; Yad, Mekhirah 11:8).

Deceit

An error by one party caused by or under the influence of another constitutes deceit. If this deceit is intentional, it constitutes a fraud or *ona'ah* (see *Ona'ah; *Fraud; *Theft and Robbery). Such a deceit is considered a transgression of the biblical prohibition: "When you make a sale to your fellow or make a purchase from the hand of your fellow, you shall not wrong one another" (Lev. 25:14). This prohibition does not only refer to fraud regarding the value of a sale, but also to any form of swindle as proscribed by the Torah (R. Moses di Trani, *Kiryat Sefer*, Mekhirah, 18). There is yet another explicit prohibition regarding deceiving a purchaser in weights and measures: "You shall do no unrighteousness in judgment, in measure of length, weight, or volume. You shall have just scales, just weights, just dry measures, and just liquid measures" (Lev. 19:35–36); and: "You shall not have in your house diverse weights and measures, a great and a small… For an abomination to the Lord your God are all who do such things, all who act corruptly" (Deut. 25:13–16). Talmudic literature extends this ruling of the prohibition of willfully defrauding others with weights and measures, to include the merchant's duty to ensure that his weights and measures are accurate. Thus, the Mishnah states (BB 88a) that weights and measure must be regularly cleaned from the residue that tends to settle and congeal therein, and the Talmud states that weights must not be made of materials which corrode and wear away (*ibid.* 89b).

The validity of a fraudulent sale is the same as that of a mistaken sale, and as in the case of an intentional deceit, the sale may be rescinded, as explained above.

The laws of marriage provide an example of deceit which can result in the annulment of the transaction. The Rashba rules that where a person betrothed a woman using a cup (see *Marriage), but told her: "You are betrothed to me with this ring," and she accepted the cup, without noticing the object being handed to her – she is not betrothed, because he misled her, and even if the cup was worth more than the ring (Resp. Rashba, vol. 3, no. 1186).

A person causing deceit, including deceit by failure to disclose, e.g., the seller's silence when he knows that the buyer is making a mistake in a particular transaction (because the sale involves a defective item which was unnoticed by the buyer), is obligated to compensate the buyer. The Babylonian Talmud (BB 93b) records a dispute concerning a person who sold garden seeds that did not grow. In such a case, is the seller required to reimburse the buyer for the seeds alone, or also for the buyer's expenses incurred during the unsuccessful planting, such as plowing expenses, hiring laborers to sow the field, etc. (Rashbam, ad loc.)? The particular talmudic passage deals with a case where the seller was not aware that the seeds were defective. Yet, if the seller had been aware that they were defective and unable to sprout, the Talmud rules that he is also required to pay the buyer's expenses. Thus, the Tur (ḤM 232:20) cites the Rema's ruling that: "One who purchases an item which is defective… if the seller knew of the defect he is even obligated to pay the expenses the buyer incurred, because of the law of *garmi*" (see *Gerama and Garme); and the Shulḥan Arukh rules accordingly (ḤM 232:21).

Remedies Not Involving Rescission of Transaction

When the defect (mistake) can be repaired or compensated for, the deceived party can only recover the cost of the repair or addition but not cancel the agreement. In the Babylonian Talmud, the *amora*, Rava, rules that: "anything sold by measure, weight, or number… is returnable" (Kid. 42b). Maimonides rules as follows: "If a person sells a specific measure, weight, or number, and made an error, the aggrieved party may always void the sale … For example, if someone sold nuts at the rate of 100 nuts per dinar, and there were only 99 nuts, the sale is binding and even many years later the amount overcharged must be returned, … because the transaction was made in error…" (Yad, Mekhirah 15:1–2). Commenting on these words, the *Maggid Mishneh* cites Ri Migash's ruling – that such a sale is valid and not void, and the seller must merely compensate the buyer for the exact sum he paid. This ruling applies even when the margin of error is more than a sixth of the real value, the sale is still binding and the seller need only make good on the discrepancy. The law of *ona'ah* does not apply in this case because *ona'ah* only applies when the deceit relates to the essence of the intrinsic value and not to the quantities – their weight, size, or number (ad loc.).

Mistake in Knowledge of the Law

Where a person performs a legal act relying on a legal presumption stemming from his misunderstanding of the law, as in any case of a mistake, his act is revocable. This emerges from the opinion of the Sages cited in a *baraita* (Arakhin 5a), that states that a person who vows to give the fixed value of an infant less than a month old – for whom the Torah does not assign any value at all – "has said nothing" (i.e., the vow is meaningless). The Talmud clarifies that since his vow stems from an ignorance of the law there are no practical ramifications to the undertaking he assumed as a consequence of his mistake. This is in contrast with an act of waiver (see *Meḥilah) where a person's act is based on his misunderstanding of the law. Regarding a mistaken waiver the halakhic authorities are divided. Many contend that a mistaken waiver should be considered valid. This was the ruling when a minor gave land as a gift – an act which has no legal effect, i.e., since the one giving the gift is a minor, the gift is revoked and the land returned to the minor. The purchaser need not pay for usufruct he has enjoyed from the property, because by giving it, the minor waived his right thereto, in his belief that he had given the land. Notwithstanding that this waiver originates in a mistake in the knowledge of the law – it is nonetheless regarded a valid waiver (Resp. attributed to Naḥmanides, no. 2; Rashi, BM 66b; Resp. Rivash, 375). In contrast, other halakhic authorities rule that such a waiver, just like any other legal act which is invalid if performed as a result of a mistake of law, is not regarded as a waiver and has the status of any other legal act which is invalid if performed as a result of a mistake of law (*Maḥaneh Efrayim*, Zekhiyah, 35; *Shevut Ya'akov*, vol. 3, no. 173).

Errors in Formulation and Drafting of Documents and Regulations

The resolution of contradictions between an earlier part and a later part of the same deed is governed by two legal rules. The first – "one is always to be guided by the lower entry" (Mish., BB 10:2; Yad, Malveh ve-Loveh 27:14; Sh. Ar., ḤM 42:5) – determines that whatever appears at the end of the document is decisive and in cases of contradiction represents a retraction of what was previously stated in the document. Concurrently, when the application of this rule is not feasible, because it is obvious that what is stated at the end of the document is a mistake, and not a retraction, the guiding rule is that "holder of the deed is always at a disadvantage (i.e., weaker)" (Ket. 83b; Yad, Malveh ve-Loveh 27:16). Similarly, if the "mistake" indicates that the undertaking party misunderstood the law, here, too, as detailed above, the rule that "holder of a deed is always at a disadvantage" applies (Resp. Maharik, no. 94).

Similarly, when a mistake is found in the wording of a communal regulation (see *Takkanot ha-Kahal), manifesting itself in contradictory provisions concerning the manner in which public money is to be administered, the Rashba ruled that the latter sum is binding; this presumes that the latter sum constituted a retraction of the former sum (Resp. Rashba, vol. 3, no. 386). In another case of mistaken phraseology in a regulation affecting debts between two people, the Rashba ruled that "the claimant has the lower hand." This ruling relied both on the rule which states that "the burden of proof rests on the claimant" as well as on the fact that the regulation goes beyond the requirements of the law, and therefore in the case of doubt, the existing law is followed, and not the regulation (Resp. Rashba, vol. 3, no. 397). In yet another case the Rashba addressed the issue of an alleged error in the drafting of a regulation. The question was one of interpretation of a communal enactment concerning taxes, the objective of which was to enable a more extensive collection of taxes from the population. However, the wording of the enactment created a situation in which a particular citizen paid *less* than what he would have paid prior to the enactment. The community argued that the enactment should be interpreted in terms of its objective, i.e., its intent, even if this absolutely contradicts its explicit wording. The Rashba rejected their claim, ruling that the community's claims were unexpressed intentions and as such had no legal weight (lit. "words in the heart are not words"); thus, the clear language of the enactment was binding (Resp. Rashba, vol. 5, no. 282).

For a detailed discussion on this topic, see *Interpretation.

Customs Based on a Mistaken Premise

(See **Minhag*, for the essence of a custom, the manner of its acceptance, and its validity.) As early as mishnaic times, cases are recorded where it became apparent that a particular custom was based on a mistaken premise, and the custom was then annulled. The Mishnah describes a particular custom involving a matter concerning the Sabbath laws practiced in a synagogue in Tiberias, "until Rabban Gamaliel came with the Elders and forbade them to do so" (Er. 10:10). According to the explanation of *Tosafot* (Er. 101b), the reason for annulling the custom was that it was based on a mistaken premise. Elsewhere in the Talmud (Ḥul. 6b–7a), R. Judah ha-Nasi annulled the custom of separating tithes on fruits and vegetables grown in Beth She'an, after it became apparent to him – on the basis of testimony concerning R. Meir's practice to eat even untithed fruits grown in that area – that Beth She'an had not been conquered by the Jews who returned from the Babylonian exile and was not sanctified by Ezra, such that the origin of the custom was based on a mistaken premise.

In the third generation of *amoraim* of the Land of Israel, R. Avin set out a clear general ruling regarding the possibility of canceling a custom which is the result of a mistake of fact. According to this ruling, if a stringent custom – a prohibition – had been enacted despite the clear knowledge that by "the letter of the law" the matter is permitted, the custom is valid, and may not be annulled. However, if the origin of the custom is based on a mistaken premise, then once the mistake is discovered, the custom should be annulled and the prohibition undone (TJ, Pes. 4:1; 30:4).

In the post-talmudic period, the authorities discussed at length the annulment of a custom which originated in a mistake of fact. In certain cases, in addition to the sharp attacks against customs that are referred to as "foolish customs," if investigation into a custom's roots indicates its mistaken premise, even if the custom was extremely widespread it was annulled, and if "this is not a custom which ought to be relied upon in matters involving financial outlay… the custom is a mistake and needs to be cancelled" (Resp. Rosh 55:10).

The Law in the State of Israel

The Contracts (General Part) Law, 5733 – 1973, contains provisions concerning mistake and deceit. Section 14 provides that a party may rescind a contract which was entered into in consequence of a mistake, whether of fact or of law, when it may be assumed that – but for the mistake – he would not have entered into the contract, and the other party knew or should have known this. When the other party did not know or need not have known this, the court may exercise its discretion. As in Jewish law, if the contract can be maintained by rectifying the mistake, provided the other party is prepared to rectify the mistake, then this course should be followed.

Section 15 establishes that in a case of deceit, the contract may be rescinded, even if the deceit includes the non-disclosure of facts which the other party – by law, custom, or circumstances – should have disclosed.

The law emphasizes that a mistake as to the worthwhileness of a transaction does not constitute grounds for rescission of the contract.

[Menachem Elon (2nd ed.)]

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MITCHELL, YVONNE (1925–1979), British actress and writer. Born in London, Yvonne Mitchell made her adult debut in 1944 in *Cradle Song*, and subsequently acted in Shakespeare, Ibsen, Shaw, Turgenev, and Pirandello. Her own play, *The Same Sky*, won the Festival of Britain Prize in 1950. She made her New York debut in *The Wall* in 1960. Mitchell appeared in 11 films between 1949 and 1976, winning the BAFTA Best Actress award in 1955 for her role in *The Divided Heart*. Her best-known film was probably *Woman in a Dressing-Gown* (1963). Her novels include *A Year in Time* (1964) and *The Family* (1967).

MITHREDATH (Heb. מִתְרְדָת; LXX, **Mithradates**), a popular Persian name meaning "Given by Mithra," and borne by kings of Parthia and Pontus and a king of Armenia. The name Mithredath occurs in the Elephantine papyri (Cowley, Aramaic, 26:2, 7; E.G. Kraeling, *The Brooklyn Museum Aramaic Papyri* (1953), 3:23b) and designates two individuals in the Bible. One is the treasurer whom Cyrus ordered to deliver the Temple vessels to Sheshbazzar, for return to Jerusalem (Ezra 1:8). The other is an official who apparently wrote a letter to Artaxerxes I against Jerusalem (Ezra 4:7).

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[Bezalel Porten]

MITHRIDATES, FLAVIUS, sobriquet of a 15th-century humanist and Orientalist (apparently Samuel b. Nissim Bulfarag) of Caltabellotta, Sicily. He became converted to Christianity around 1466, taking the name Guglielmo Raimondo de Moncada, probably conferred by Guglielmo Raimondo Moncada Esfanoller, count of Adernò, who may have acted as godfather at his baptism. He is also referred to as Guglielmus Siculus ("the Sicilian"). After his conversion, he studied at the University of Catania where he learned Latin. He later stayed for a time in Messina. In 1470 he left Sicily to study at the University of Naples. He had the financial support of several Sicilian cities and several private persons who financed his studies, which shows that he must have enjoyed the patronage of influential figures in Sicily. Between 1476 and 1478, he acquired ecclesiastical benefices in several Sicilian cities. In 1477 he was accused of heresy but he was able to refute the accusations. Notarial acts preserved in Sicily in the archives of Sciacca and Caltabellotta show that he maintained his connections with the Jews of Caltabellotta but Mithridates' attitudes toward his former coreligionists were for the most part antagonistic. While at the court of King John II of Aragon, around 1474, he took part in religious disputations with Jews and was praised for converting some of them to Christianity. Later in his life he disputed with Jewish scholars in Florence. In 1474 he appealed to Pope Sixtus IV to be granted the legacy left by the Jew Salomone Anello of Agrigento for the foundation and maintenance of a Jewish school confiscated and used to further the Christian faith rather than Judaism. The heirs of Anello contested the decision to close the school, and the litigation continued for several years, until a kind of compromise was reached and the Jews of Agrigento were ordered to provide Moncada/Mithridates with a house in Palermo instead of the school building in their city. Around 1478 he moved to Rome and came under the patronage of Giovanni Battista Cibo, bishop of Molfetta, later Pope Innocent VIII, and became a lecturer in theology at the Sapienza in Rome. In 1481, on Good Friday, he preached a sermon before Pope Sixtus IV and the College of Cardinals on the sufferings of Jesus (*Sermo de Passione Domini*, ed. by H. Wirszubski, 1963), offering Christological interpretations of Jewish texts. Wirszubski demonstrated that in his sermon he relied extensively on the *Pugio Fidei* ("Dagger of Faith"), the polemical work of the Dominican Raymundus Martini, without, however, giving credit to his source. Toward the end of his discourse, Mithridates quoted so-called secret Jewish doctrines, some of them outright forgeries, fabricated from rephrasings of rabbinical sayings. In 1483 Mithridates was accused of committing a serious offense (unspecified) and as a consequence was deprived of all benefices and forced to flee Rome. The offense could have been of a sexual nature, as in his writings Mithridates is very explicit about his homosexuality, including his relationship with a young boy, Lancilotto de Faenza.

Mithridates taught Arabic, Hebrew, and Aramaic in Italy, France, and Germany and was one of the teachers of the humanist, Giovanni *Pico della Mirandola. He translated works from Arabic, Hebrew, and Greek into Latin, including parts of the Koran for Federigo da Montefeltro, duke of Urbino, intending also to translate it into Hebrew and Syriac. For Pico he translated Menahem *Recanati's commentary on the Torah, *Levi b. Gershom's commentary on the Song of Songs, a treatise on resurrection by Maimonides, and a number of kabbalistic works, among them *Sitrei Torah* and *Sefer Ge'ulah* (translated into Latin as *Liber Redemptionis*) both by Abraham Abulafia, *Nefesh ha-Hakamah* by Moses de Leon and *Ha-Yeri'ah ha-Gedolah*, a 14th-century kabbalistic text by an unknown author. According to Giulio Busi in *The Great Parchment*, Mithridates proved to be a skilled translator, able to grasp the subtlest nuances of mystical speculations. The translations also serve as a valuable historical source as Mithridates often added his personal remarks that allude to contemporary events and figures, mostly regarding Pico himself and Mithridates' former patron, Giovanni Battista Cibo (by then Pope Innocent VIII), and the late Pope Sixtus IV. The translations also provide some biographical notes on the personality of their author such as his Hebrew name (Samuel), his homosexuality, and his personal relationship with Pico.

Mithridates' influence and his contribution to Renaissance culture went well beyond that of a skilled translator. Pico used some of his translations for writing his *900 Theses*, which had a wide impact on Renaissance thought. He also had a crucial role in the spread of Christian Kabbalah.

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[Menachem E. Artom / Nadia Zeldes (2nd ed.)]

MITIN, MARK BORISOVICH (1901–1987), Russian ideologist. Born in Zhitomir, he joined the Communist Party in 1919. Educated in Moscow, he held executive positions at the Krupskaya Communist Academy of Pedagogical Sciences, a training school for party theoreticians. At the same time he worked in the Institute of Philosophy of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences. In 1939, he became director of the Marx-Engels-Lenin-Stalin Institute, and five years later he assumed the position of chief of the philosophy department of the Central Committee's higher party school. For his services to the party, Mitin was awarded two Orders of Lenin, two Orders of the Red Banner of Labor, and the Stalin Prize in 1949. Between 1939 and 1961, he served as a member of the Party Central Committee, one of the few Jews permitted to occupy such a high party post. Never deviating from Stalinism, and taking an active part in the anti-Jewish campaign during the "*Doctor's Plot," etc., Mitin's philosophical and historical books included *Dialekticheskiy i istoricheskiy materializm* (1934); *Istoricheskaya rol G.V. Plekhanova v russkom i mezhdunarodnom rabochem dvizhenii* (1957); *Filosofiya i sovremennost* (1960). He was coeditor of the massive five-volume *Istoriya filosofii* (1957–61), and was editor of the journal *Voprosy filosofii*.

[William Korey]

MITNAGGEDIM (Heb. מִתְנַגְּדִים; sing. *Mitnagged*; lit. "opponents"), a designation for the opponents of the *Ḥasidim. The name originally arose from the bitter opposition evinced to the rise, way of life, and leadership of the ḥasidic movement founded by *Israel b. Eliezer Ba'al Shem Tov, but in the course of time lost its connotation of actual strife, and became a positive description, representative of a way of life. Since it was the personality and genius of *Elijah b. Solomon Zalman the Gaon of Vilna (1720–1797) which gave the powerful impetus to the rise of the *Mitnaggedim*, this way of life became especially characteristic of Lithuanian Jewry (except for the Lithuanian Ḥasidim, particularly the *Karlin dynasty and the Ḥabad trend). His iron will and intellectual perseverance shaped, through an elect circle of pupils, both adamant opposition to Ḥasidism, as well as the patterning of institutions, tendencies of thought and expression, and a way of life which formed a specific culture. One of its characteristics, which derived from the opposition to the charismatic, miracleworking leadership of the ḥasidic rabbis, was a pronounced skepticism and a severe criticism of credulity and authoritarianism. After the death of Elijah the Gaon of Vilna the struggle between the Ḥasidim and the *Mitnaggedim* assumed even more bitter proportions than during his lifetime, with mutual recrimination, but by the second half of the 19th century the hostility began to subside. One of the causes of the cessation of hostilities was the common front which both formed against the Haskalah. The main differences between them today are in matters of rite, the Ḥasidim having adopted the prayer book of Isaac Luria (largely the Sephardi *minhag*), while the *Mitnaggedim* retained the Polish form of the Ashkenazi *minhag*, and in the greater stress laid by the *Mitnaggedim* on study of the Talmud, while the Ḥasidim emphasize the emotional side of Judaism. There are large groups of *Mitnaggedim*, most of Lithuanian origin, in the State of Israel, the United States, England, and South Africa. The term *Mitnagged*, however, is not confined to Jews of Lithuanian origin.

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MITTWOCH, EUGEN (1876–1942), German Orientalist. Born in Schrimm, Prussian province of Posen (now Poland), Mittwoch originally intended to be a rabbi and studied at the Rabbinical Seminary in Berlin. He made his first journey to the East with Moritz Sobernheim and thus became familiar with Palestine and the culture of the Near East. He returned to the Orient with Paul *Nathan in 1907 and helped him set up the *Hilfsverein's school system in Palestine. Mittwoch himself was one of the first German Jews to speak modern Hebrew. He taught at the University of Berlin (1915–16) and at the University of Greifswald (1917) and returned to Berlin in 1919 to serve as a professor at the Seminary for Oriental Languages, of which he became director in 1920. During World War I he was head of the Nachrichtenstelle fuer den Orient, which propagated pro-German feelings in the countries of the Near East. In 1933, having been dismissed from his position by the Nazis, Mittwoch first directed the office of the Joint Distribution Committee in Berlin and in 1939 moved to England, where he assisted the Ministry of Information on Arabian and Persian problems. Between 1910 and 1930 Mittwoch was active in educating young Falashas (Beta *Israel), and was a prominent member of the Hilfsverein der deutschen Juden. He also cooperated in the Jewish World Relief Conference and was a representative at HICEM (a relief organization) from its inception. He was the last president of the council of the Gesellschaft zur Foerderung der Wissenschaft des Judentums and transferred the scholarly material from its office to England in 1938. He served on the executive of the Zentralverein deutscher Staatsbuerger juedischen Glaubens, immigrated to London and died there in 1942.

Mittwoch's special scholarly interest was in the study of classical and modern Arabic as well as Ethiopian dialects and literature, such as *Die traditionelle Aussprache des Aethiopischen* (1926). In his *Zur Entstehungsgeschichte des islamischen Gebets und Kultus* (1913) he illustrated the influence of Jewish prayer and liturgy on Islam. He also contributed to Hebrew epigraphy as well as to that of South Arabian, Himyaritic, and Sabean inscriptions. Among his other works is *Die arabischen Lehrbuecher der Augenheilkunde* (with J. Hirschberg and J. Lippert, 1905). Mittwoch also wrote about Islamic art and modern Islamic politics. He was a coeditor of the jubilee edition of the works of Moses Mendelssohn (seven vols., 1929–38). In 1937 the Gesellschaft presented him with a *Festschrift* (see bibliography).

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[Bjoern Siegel (2nd ed.)]

MITZVAH (Heb. מִצְוָה), a commandment, precept, or religious duty. The term is derived from the Hebrew root צוה which means "to command" or "to ordain." In common usage, *mitzvah* has taken on the meaning of a good deed. Already in the Talmud, this word was used for a meritorious act as distinct from a positive commandment. The rabbis for instance declared it "a *mitzvah* to hearken to the words of the sages" (Ḥul. 106a; cf. Git. 15a). Although many different terms such as *ḥukkah* ("statute," Ex. 27:21), *mishpat* ("ordinance," Deut. 4:5), *edut* ("testimony," Deut. 4:45), *mishmeret* ("observance," Lev. 8:35), and *torah* ("teaching," Ex. 16:28) are mentioned in the Pentateuch to indicate laws, only the word *mitzvah* is generally used to include all its commandments. There are traditionally 613 biblical *Commandments which are divided into 248 positive mandates and 365 prohibitions. With the increased ritual obligations imposed by the rabbis, the *mitzvot* were also separated into two main categories: *mitzvot de-oraita*, the biblical commandments, and *mitzvot de-rabbanan*, the rabbinic commandments (Pes. 10a; Suk. 44a). There are also instances when the *mitzvot* were classified as *mitzvot kallot*, less important *mitzvot*, and *mitzvot ḥamurot*, more important *mitzvot* (e.g., Ḥul. 12:5; Yev. 47b; Av. Zar. 3a). Nevertheless, the rabbis exhorted the people to be mindful of all the *mitzvot*, both light and grave, since the reward for the fulfillment of each precept is not known to man (Avot 2:1). The *mitzvot* were further divided into *sikhliyyot* (rational) and *shimiyyot* (revealed) by medieval Jewish philosophers (see *Commandments, Reasons for). Other distinctions have also been made, such as commandments performed with the external limbs of the body and those by the heart; commandments regulating conduct between man and his Maker and between man and his fellows; and commandments applicable only to Ereẓ Israel and those not dependent upon Ereẓ Israel. Responsibility for the *mitzvot* is formally assumed by boys at the age of 13 plus one day, and by girls at 12 plus one day (see *Bar Mitzvah, Bat Mitzvah, and *Puberty). Women are exempt from all affirmative precepts contingent upon a particular time or season, although the Talmud also makes those of the Sabbath, Ḥanukkah, Purim, and Passover obligatory on them. All negative precepts, whether limited to a certain time or not, are binding upon both men and women (Kid. 1:7). The performance of most *mitzvot* is preceded by a *benediction which is usually worded: "Who has sanctified us by His commandments and commanded us to…" The omission of the benediction, however, does not invalidate the performance of the *mitzvah*. The opposite of *mitzvah* is *averah, a transgression. A "precept fulfilled through a transgression" is considered as an *averah*, e.g., one does not discharge his obligation through a stolen *lulav* (Suk. 30a; see *Four Species). Although *mitzvot* were not meant to provide material enjoyment (RH 28a), and the final reward for their performance is in the hereafter (Kid. 39b), true joy and sanctity can be attained only through their observance (Shab. 30b; Sifra 9:2). Man should not anticipate any material recompense for performing the *mitzvot*, but one *mitzvah* brings another in its train (Avot 1:3; 4:2). "God desired to make Israel worthy, therefore He enlarged the Law and multiplied its *mitzvot*" (Mak. 3:16).

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[Aaron Rothkoff]

MIVḤAR HA-PENINIM (Heb. "A Choice of Pearls"), an ethical work consisting of a collection of epigrams, usually attributed to Solomon b. Judah ibn *Gabirol. It was believed that Gabirol made the collection in preparation for composing his small ethical work, *Tikkun Middot ha-Nefesh. Mivḥar ha-Peninim* (Soncino, 1484) is undoubtedly a translation from the Arabic; the material included in it was taken from Islamic ethical literature, much of it from Persian and Indian sources.

The book is divided into chapters ("Gates," *she'arim*). Some of them contain a long chain of instructions, epigrams, and parables relating to the subject of the chapter, as for example *Sha'ar ha-Ḥokhmah* ("The Gate of Wisdom"), *Sha'ar ha-Anavah* ("The Gate of Humility"), and *Sha'ar ha-Emunah* ("The Gate of Belief"). However, most of the chapters give no serious treatment of their ostensible subject and have a title for nothing but a single epigram or ethical paragraph. They deal with all aspects of religious and social life, from the unity of God (*Sha'ar ha-Yiḥud*) to the proper way to treat one's friends. One of the chapters is an ethical will – "*Sha'ar Ẓavva'at Av li-Veno*" ("Gate of the Will of a Father to his Son").

Mivḥar ha-Peninim was translated into Hebrew by Judah ibn *Tibbon, who translated most of the early Jewish works on philosophy from Arabic. It is not, however, a typical product of the genre, despite the clear influences of philosophical-ethical thinking found in it. Rather it is a popular collection of ethical epigrams and parables, collected from Arabic ethical literature. Its authorship has not been established, and there is no clear evidence that it was written by Gabirol. Some traditional editions attribute it to *Jedaiah b. Abraham Bedersi (ha-Penini), although there is no basis for this view either. The book has been very popular throughout the ages; it was used by the Ḥasidei Ashkenaz as well as by philosophers. It has been often printed and many commentaries have been written on it, even in modern times.

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[Joseph Dan]

MIX, RONALD JACK (**Ron**; "The Intellectual Assassin"; 1938–), U.S. football player, member of the Pro Football Hall of Fame and the American Football League Hall of Fame. Born and raised in Los Angeles, Mix attended the University of Southern California on a football scholarship. He entered the school as a 180-pound end but by the time he graduated was up to 250 pounds due to an intensive weight-training program. Mix was a starter for three years (1957–59), and co-captained the 1959 team that had a record of 8–2-0 and tied for first in the Pacific Coast Conference. Mix was named consensus All-America first team, AP All-Pacific Coast first team, All-Big Five first team, MVP USC Lineman Award, and won the Trojaneer Diamond Award as the senior athlete who did the most to further the reputation of USC. In 1960, Mix was drafted in the first round by the Baltimore Colts of the NFL and the Boston Patriots of the newly formed American Football League. The Patriots traded Mix to the Los Angeles/San Diego Chargers, for whom he played tackle from 1960 to 1969, and then with the Oakland Raiders for the 1971 season. Mix played in five of the first six AFL title games, winning the 1963 championship 51–10 over the New England Patriots. He was an All-AFL selection eight times as a tackle and once as a guard, and played in eight AFL All-Star games (1961–68). Mix was known for his excellent speed and strength, and for his quick charge and accomplished blocking on both passing and running plays. Mix, one of only 20 men who played the entire ten years of the AFL, played in 142 career games, with only two holding penalties assessed in his career. He was unanimously chosen for the AFL's all-time team in 1969. His coach with the San Diego Chargers, Sid *Gillman, said, "Ron Mix was one of the greats of all time … I think he's the greatest tackle who ever lived." He was inducted into the Pro Football Hall of Fame in 1979.

[Elli Wohlgelernter (2nd ed.)]

MIXED MARRIAGE, INTERMARRIAGE. The terms intermarriage and mixed marriage are used interchangeably. Intermarriage in the present context is defined as a marriage where one partner professes a religion different from that of his spouse. Marriages in which a partner has converted to the faith of the other are not considered intermarriages. Therefore, marriages between *converts to Judaism and born Jews are not treated here.

Problems of Measurement

FORMATION DATA VERSUS STATUS DATA. Statistical data on the frequency of religious intermarriage are obtained from marriage licenses on which groom and bride state their religions, and from questionnaires connected with censuses or community surveys. Questionnaires reveal the religious composition of married couples and the status of heterogamy within a population. It is of the utmost importance to distinguish between intermarriage formation and heterogamy status data.

INDIVIDUAL RATES VERSUS COUPLE RATES. A number of methodological problems complicate the computation of intermarriage rates. Some researchers base their rates upon the number of individuals who marry out. However, since the couple is the basic unit in the marriage relationship and since the couple is expected to be homogamous, intermarriage rates are most meaningfully computed by determining the ratio of intermarried couples to the total number of couples in which one or both partners are Jewish.

SURVEYS OF THE ORGANIZED JEWISH COMMUNITY VERSUS COMPREHENSIVE SURVEYS. Surveys which produce intermarriage data should indicate whether the survey was limited to the organized Jewish community or encompassed the total population of a locality. As might be expected, the former type yields a significantly lower rate of intermarriage than the latter. Surveys of the former type sponsored by local Jewish organizations in the United States between 1930 and 1970 yielded an intermarriage status rate of about 6%. By contrast the Greater Washington survey which sampled the total population yielded a rate of 13.2%, more than double that of the organized Jewish community.

The Extent of Jewish Intermarriage

MAGNITUDE. In contrast to the period between World Wars I and II there are no data for Eastern and Southeastern Europe on intermarriage rates. Considerable variations exist from country to country and even within one country, namely the United States. In 1970 status rates ranged from a high of 26% for Switzerland and the Netherlands to a low of 7.2% for the United States; formation rates from a high of 80.6% in West Germany to a low of 16.8% in Canada. (See Table: World Jewish Population Distribution, by Frequency of Current Out-Marriages around 1930 and 2000.)

THE MEANING OF INTERMARRIAGE RATES: THE PROBLEM OF JEWISH SURVIVAL. There is a widespread belief that a high rate of Jewish intermarriage in a given locality leads to the disappearance of the Jewish community there. "How high is high?" The answer will be found in a comparison of what the intermarriage rate might be if random selection of partners would occur (expected random rate) with the actual (observed) intermarriage rate. A 1957 sample survey in the United States revealed that, compared to Catholics and Protestants, Jews are least likely to intermarry.

Social Factors Related to Intermarriage

ROMANTIC LOVE VERSUS GROUP COHESION. In the Western world the selection of marital partners is governed by two considerations. One is the romantic love ideal, which tends to override considerations of race, creed, cultural origin, or social class. The other consideration is group survival, the pressure to marry a member of one's own race, religion, or cultural group.

World Jewish Population Distribution, by Frequency of Current Out-Marriages around 1930 and 2000

Rate of Jews now marrying non-Jews[a]	1930			2000		
	Country[b]	Jewish pop. in thousands	%	Country[b]	Jewish pop. in thousands	%
	Total	16,600	100.0	Total	12,950	100.0
0–0.9%	Poland[1], Lithuania[1], Greece[2], Palestine[2], Iran[4], Yemen[4], Ethiopia[4]	4,130	24.9	West Bank-Gaza (Yesh”a)[1]	215	1.7
1–4.9%	Latvia[1], Canada[1], United States[2], Latin America[4], United Kingdom[4], Spain-Portugal[4], Other Asia[4], Maghreb[2], Egypt[1], Libya[4], Southern Africa[4]	6,700	40.4	Israel[1], Yemen[4]	4,879	37.7
5–14.9%	Switzerland[1], France[2], Austria[1], Luxembourg[1], Hungary[1], Romania[2], Czechoslovakia[1], USSR[1], Estonia[1], Belgium[4], Bulgaria[4], Yugoslavia[4]	5,340	32.1	Mexico[1], Gibraltar[4], China[4], Iran[4], Syria[4], North Africa[4]	60	0.4
15–24.9%	Italy[1], Germany[1], Netherlands[1]	385	2.3	Bahamas[4], Costa Rica[4], Guatemala[2], Venezuela[1], India[3], Japan[4], Singapore[4], South Africa[3]	101	0.8
25–34.9%	Australia[2], New Zealand[4], Scandinavia[3]	45	0.3	Canada[1], Chile[2], Latin America not otherwise stated[4], Turkey[2], Africa not else stated[4], Australia[1], New Zealand[3]	535	4.1
35–44.9%				Argentina[3], Brazil[2], Uruguay[2], France[1], United Kingdom[1], Western Europe not otherwise stated[3]	1,176	9.1
45–54.9%				United States[1], Italy[2], Netherlands[1], Switzerland[1], FSU in Asia[3]	5,400	41.7
55–74.9%				Austria[1], Germany[1], Eastern Europe (besides FSU)[3]	194	1.5
75% +				FSU in Europe[2], Cuba[3]		390 3.0
Average rate	World Diaspora	5.1% 5.2%		World Diaspora	30.8% 48.3%	

a Not Jewish at time of marriage. Out-marriage figures are countrywide or regional estimates. This table ignores variation in out-marriage frequencies within countries.

b Data quality rated as follows: 1 Recent and reliable data; 2 Partial or less recent data of sufficient quality; 3 Rather outdated or incomplete data; 4 Conjectural.

The effectiveness of this pressure is directly related to the value that adults place upon the survival of their group. Elopements can be considered an extreme case of romantic love, producing a maximum rate of intermarriage, while arranged marriages can be viewed as a most conscious effort to foster group survival generating a minimum of such marriages.

Size of the Jewish Community

DENSITY AND CONCENTRATION. It has been repeatedly observed that the rate of intermarriage is the result of density, the proportion that a subgroup constitutes of the total population in a given locality. However, density becomes relevant only when the will for group survival has been weakened or abandoned. Once group cohesion is weakened, however, the factor of density operates in the expected manner: the smaller the proportion that Jews constitute of the total population in a given locality, the larger the intermarriage rate becomes. This relationship has been observed in Canada, the United States, and Australia. For example, in the United States the intermarriage formation rate in the state of Indiana between 1960 and 1963 was 38.6% for the five large Jewish settlements and 63.5% for those counties where there was only a scattering of Jewish families. Jews are well aware of the fact that dispersal of Jewish families over a rural or urban area increases the likelihood of intermarriage. Therefore, in urban areas they have been eager to concentrate their residence in specific neighborhoods and to locate their institutions within them.

AGE OF JEWISH SETTLEMENT AND DEMOCRATIC SOCIAL PROCESSES. Jews more than any other religio-ethnic group have been involved in migrations from one country to another. As immigrants they have encountered economic, cultural, and social barriers. However, in democratic societies where equalizing processes between immigrants and older settlers and between different racial, ethnic, and religious groups are at least not discouraged and at best consciously fostered, these barriers will be lowered with increasing length of settlement. In time, then, Jews will become "acculturated," i.e., less distinguishable from older settlers and other immigrant groups.

The most significant break in cultural continuity, social distance, and personal identity occurs with the birth of each new generation. Therefore, intermarriage is likely to increase with increased length of Jewish settlement, as measured by generations, and in the absence of continued Jewish immigration. The Greater Washington survey found that intermarried families increased from 1.4% among the foreign born, the first generation, to 10.2% among the native born of foreign parentage, the second generation, to 17.9% among the native born of native parentage, the third generation. The readiness of Jewish individuals to intermarry is met by a corresponding frame of mind on the part of non-Jews, who, as members of the upper classes, are no longer conscious of previous status differentials or who, as members of other immigrant groups, have also been "acculturated." The fact that a new wave of immigrants can effectively lower earlier upward trends of intermarriage can best be demonstrated by Australia and to a lesser extent by Canada. In Australia, mainly because of the immigration of refugees from Nazi Europe, the Jewish population nearly doubled between 1933 and 1954. At the same time the percentage of intermarried families dropped drastically from a high of 29% for Jewish husbands and 16% for Jewish wives in 1921 to a low of 12% for Jewish husbands and 6% for Jewish wives in 1961.

OCCUPATION AND EMPLOYMENT STATUS. Occupation and employment status (independent owner versus employee) are factors significantly related to intermarriage. As long as occupational choice was limited by discriminatory practices, occupational homogeneity discouraged intermarriage. With virtually unlimited freedom of occupational choice in the United States, individuals who break away from traditional occupations are likely to have a higher intermarriage rate. The growth of corporate capitalism is also likely to generate a higher rate of intermarriage. Since large corporations demand from their executives considerable geographic and social mobility, local ties to the organized Jewish communities become attenuated. Surveys in the mid-50s revealed that roughly 80% of the heads of Jewish households in the United States were engaged in white-collar occupations while only 20% did blue-collar work. Within the white-collar group, managers, proprietors, and officials constituted the largest concentration, with 36% of all heads of Jewish households. It comes as no surprise, then, that the intermarriage formation rate for the latter group amounted to only 10% (for first marriages) in the state of Iowa. For the total white-collar group the rate was 27.2% and for blue-collar workers 46.8%. Thus the expectation that Jews who adhere to the traditional occupational pattern are less likely to intermarry was borne out.

SECULAR EDUCATION. Secular education in the Western world has two major functions. One is to ensure the continuity of cultural tradition and values, the acquisition of basic skills, and of occupational training. The other is to provide for cultural change, the production of new ideas, and technical innovation. Students who are oriented to or exposed to the first type of schooling should be less inclined to intermarry than students enrolled in the second type. The Greater Washington survey supports the expectation for the native-born of native parentage. The intermarriage rate of those who had enrolled in the first type was nearly one-third lower than of those who had attended the second type.

RELIGIOUS EDUCATION. There is a widespread belief that Jewish education, including a bar mitzvah ceremony, helps to keep young men from marrying outside the Jewish faith. The Greater Washington survey showed that this belief is well founded as far as the native-born of native parentage (the third and subsequent generation) is concerned. Religious education cut the intermarriage status rate in half. It was 16.4% for those husbands who had been exposed to religious school as compared to 30.2% who had not had such instruction. Since the ethnic bond – expressed in secular activities and in a common language – has been virtually dissolved in the third generation, exposure to religious instruction, which usually includes some learning of Jewish history and some identification with Israel, serves as a check to intermarriage.

SEX DISTRIBUTION AND INTERMARRIAGE. In the beginning of the last quarter of the 20th century Jewish men were more likely to intermarry than Jewish women. One reason for this differential was that men take the initiative in proposing marriage. This was especially significant in localities where Jewish families are sparsely settled. Jewish parents allowed their sons more freedom in dating across religious lines. However, the following years witnessed an increase in the proportion of Jewish women who intermarry, and it is likely that the sex differential will diminish in the future. The proportion of Jewish men who intermarry varied from country to country and within a country from place to place. In Canada only 10.2% of all bridegrooms intermarried between 1955 and 1960, as compared with 26.7% in Iowa between 1953 and 1959. In the Netherlands, the percentage of such bridegrooms rose from 36.4% in 1946 to 44% in 1958. In Indiana, only about half as many Jewish bridegrooms intermarried in the five relatively large Jewish communities of the state (30% versus 55.8%). Jewish brides exhibit similar variations in their propensity to intermarry.

PREVIOUS MARITAL STATUS. Data available for the United States and the Netherlands demonstrate that the previous marital status of a person affects his decision to intermarry. Previously widowed persons, upon remarriage, have a lower intermarriage rate than persons never before married. By contrast, persons who were previously divorced have a considerably higher intermarriage rate than the never married. For example, in Indiana one group of previously divorced couples had an intermarriage formation rate of 64.9% as compared with 33.2% for the never married before and 20% for the previously widowed.

The Prevention of Intermarriage

In societies where democracy and individualism are dominant values, intermarriage is bound to occur. Empirical observations have revealed that Jewish communities are trying to keep the frequency low with the help of a "survival" formula consisting of voluntary segregation, residence in a high-status area, a modicum of Jewish education, and Jewish group consciousness in the form of Zionism which is defined as supporting the State of Israel.

[Erich Rosenthal]

Legal Aspects

THE CONCEPT. A mixed marriage is a marriage of a non-Jew to a Jew, i.e., one born of Jewish parents, or whose mother alone was Jewish, or who has become a proselyte in accordance with Jewish law (see *Jew; **Yuḥasin*). Conversion from the Jewish religion, both in the case of a Jew by birth and of a proselyte who reverts to his "evil" ways, has no halakhic significance in respect of the law on mixed marriages. For "an Israelite, even if he has sinned, is still an Israelite" (Sanh. 44a; Rashi thereto; see *Apostasy).

MIXED MARRIAGES ARE PROHIBITED AND INVALID. From the biblical passage (Deut. 7:3) "neither shalt thou make marriages with them: thy daughter thou shalt not give unto his son, nor his daughter shalt thou take unto thy son," the sages inferred that marriage with a non-Jew is forbidden as a negative precept by the Torah (Av. Zar. 36b; Yad, Issurei Bi'ah 12:1–2; Sh. Ar., EH 16:1). As the passage cited refers to the "seven nations" ("The Hittite, and the Girgashite, and the Amorite, and the Canaanite, and the Perizzite, and the Hivite, and the Jebusite," Deut. 7:1), according to one opinion, the prohibition applies only to intermarriage with those seven nations. Others maintain, however, that the prohibition applies to all gentiles because after the prohibition "neither shalt thou make marriages" the biblical passage continues: "For he will turn away thy son from following after Me" (Deut. 7:4), which serves "to include all who would turn [their children] away" (Av. Zar. 36b; Yev. 77a; and codes). The prohibition against marrying a gentile is also explicitly stated in the period of the return to Zion: "And that we would not give our daughters unto the peoples of the land, nor take their daughters for our sons" (Neh. 10:31; see Maim., *ibid.*). It was also inferred from the passage in Deuteronomy that in a mixed marriage there is "no institution of marriage," i.e., mixed marriages are not legally valid and cause no change in personal status (Kid. 68b; Yev. 45a; and codes). Hence if the Jewish partner of such a marriage subsequently wishes to marry a Jew there is no need, according to the *halakhah*, for divorce from the previous "marriage." However, where one or even both of the parties to a marriage are apostate Jews who have married in a halakhically binding manner, neither can marry a Jew as long as the first marriage is not terminated by death or divorce, since a purported change of religion does not affect personal status (Yev. 47b; Bek. 30b; Sh. Ar., EH 44:9). Similarly if both parties (or only one of them) apostatize after a halakhically valid marriage and are then divorced by way of a civil divorce, neither party can marry a Jew until the previous marriage is terminated as above (Yad, Ishut 4:15; Rema, EH 154:23).

MIXED MARRIAGES HAVE NO LEGAL CONSEQUENCES. Since mixed marriages are not binding, such marriages entail no legal consequences (Yad, loc. cit.). Hence, the prohibitions of marriage (in respect of certain relations of the other spouse), which apply to a valid marriage, do not apply to the parties – even after the non-Jewish partner has become a proselyte (see *Marriage, Prohibited). Similarly the wife has no halakhic right to be maintained by her "husband," since this right arises only if a valid marriage exists between them. For the same reason, in a mixed marriage none of the inheritance rights that flow from a valid marriage, such as the husband's right to inherit his wife's estate (see *Succession), come into effect.

The State of Israel

It is impossible to contract a mixed marriage in the State of Israel, since according to section 2 of the Rabbinical Courts Jurisdiction (Marriage and Divorce) Law, 5713 – 1953, no marriages of Jews in Israel are valid unless contracted in accordance with the law of the Torah. However, the criminal code does not provide criminal punishment for contracting a mixed marriage in Israel. Where a mixed marriage is contracted in the Diaspora, proceedings regarding it cannot be brought directly before the Israel rabbinical courts inasmuch as such courts have jurisdiction only in the event of both parties being Jews. In 1969, however, a law was passed whereby such marriages can be dissolved at the discretion of the president of the Supreme Court. If a problem arises before the civil courts, such as a wife's claim for maintenance, the civil courts will act according to the general principles of private international law, and where such a marriage cannot be denied validity according to those principles, it will be sustained. The Succession Law, 5725 – 1965 provides that differences of religion do not affect rights of inheritance.

[Ben-Zion (Benno) Schereschewsky]

Reform and Conservative Practice

Through to the 1970s most Conservative and Reform rabbis requested conversion from the non-Jewish spouse before undertaking any action as regards marriage, although a small, though growing minority of Reform rabbis were prepared to officiate at mixed marriages (N. Mirsky, in: *Midstream*, 16 (Jan. 1970), 40–46). The practice of almost all Conservative rabbis was not to perform a marriage between a Jew and a non-Jew. Indeed those rabbis who do perform such marriages do so only in emergency cases. Another question which was debated by the Conservative Rabbinical Assembly was the status of an intermarried Jew as regards membership in a Conservative congregation. The practice until 1963 had been to exclude such an intermarried Jew from synagogue membership. In 1963 the law committee of the Rabbinical Assembly adopted a modified view of the former position and, while affirming their opposition to mixed marriages, allowed the Jewish partner of a non-Jewish marriage to become a member of their congregation, provided that there was a definite agreement to raise the children of the marriage as Jews. The privileges of membership did not extend to the non-Jewish spouse, and the Jewish partner was restricted from holding office in the synagogue. All restrictions were to be lifted when the non-Jewish partner accepted Judaism.

Reform practice on the other hand was to accept both members of the marriage as members of the congregation, and to urge that any children of the marriage be brought to the Jewish religious school so that they could have Jewish training. They felt that by this policy they would be able to influence the non-Jewish spouse to affiliate with Judaism.

IN THE UNITED STATES, 1970–1990

Introduction

Intermarriage has always been a danger to the Jewish People. Any group that lives as a minority has the potential of being absorbed by its host society. Some contact among the groups within a society is inevitable, but that contact can take many forms as relations among groups are played out – not always in consistent patterns – along several dimensions: cultural, institutional, residential, social, and familial. Because these dimensions can be independent of one another, acculturation, for example, need not lead to residential integration, nor does residential integration necessarily bring about socializing across group lines. Almost all kinds of acculturation and integration are compatible with continued group identity, at least theoretically. Integration at the familial level, on the other hand, is a sufficient condition for total assimilation by a subgroup into the larger society and its eventual disappearance as an identifiable group. Although most social identities are transmitted through families, Jewishness, going much further, explicitly defines itself in familial terms. Intermarriage thus is seen as the very antithesis of Jewish continuity. From the time that Abraham sent his servant to choose a wife for Isaac from among his own people through Ezra's expulsion of the non-Jewish wives of the Jews who returned to establish the Second Commonwealth to the recent practice of severing all ties with and sitting *shivah* for intermarried children, exogamy was one of the most energetically discouraged and forcefully condemned acts that a Jew could perform.

Most of the research on intermarriage has been done on American Jewry, which serves as the focus of this section, but much of the analysis can *mutatis mutandis* be extended to other Diaspora communities. Since the early 1960s intermarriage has changed dramatically in the United States – not only in quantity, but also in its meaning and in the reactions it engenders. Although a number of books and articles on intermarriage written before the 1960s viewed it with alarm as "an epidemic," intermarriage was not then generally seen as a serious communal threat, and the data on which those works rested pale in the perspective of the 1990s. Widespread communal concern with intermarriage followed the publication of Erich Rosenthal's "Studies of Jewish Intermarriage in the United States" in the 1963 *American Jewish Year Book* and a cover story on the "Vanishing American Jew" in *Look* magazine. These two articles left the Jews of the time shaken and less assured about the future of the American Jewish community. They had come to believe that, while the Jewishness of their children would not be the same as that of earlier generations, the changes that they had made in order to "modernize" Judaism would guarantee that future generations would maintain their Jewishness even as they acquired full economic, political, civic, and cultural equality as American citizens. They knew that some would intermarry and be lost, but not enough, they were convinced, to seriously weaken American Jewish life. Most Jews entering the 1960s felt themselves part of what had become the world's premier Jewish community, at least in the Diaspora, and, for all its problems, they felt secure in its future.

In the late 1960s and early 1970s many committees, commissions, and task forces were established by Jewish organizations to propose ways of reducing what was viewed as a dangerously high intermarriage rate. Despite those efforts, in the intervening years the rate increased.

The national study, undertaken by the Council of Jewish Federations in 1990, reported that 52% of the Jews who married between 1985 and 1990 married non-Jews (and another 5% married converts to Judaism). The exogamy rate climbed dramatically from decade to decade from the comparatively low and stable level characteristic of the periods before the 1960s. Another recent study, by the Center for Modern Jewish Studies at Brandeis University, also reported recent intermarriage rates for successive decades, in eight communities in various parts of the country. Although the figures are somewhat lower than in the CJF study, the increase over time is equally steep. (The overall lower rates may be due to a combination of factors: the communities chosen, the decade break points, and the way Jews become eligible for the sample.) Whatever the precise figures may be, it is clear that at this point exogamy is as common as endogamy among American Jews.

Characteristics of Those Most Likely to Intermarry

Which Jews are most likely to intermarry? Until the 1980s, men were twice as likely as women to marry non-Jews. In later years, however, the gap has narrowed considerably. It also used to be the case that intermarriage was most frequent among Jews with the highest educational and income levels, but recent studies call this pattern into question. Now, when such variables as age are controlled, Jews at the top of the socioeconomic scale turn out to be less likely to intermarry than those toward the middle, but the differences are small. It is also found that the older Jews are at the time of their first marriage, the more likely they are to be exogamous. This is probably due to the fact that older people are more independent, have a wider network of professional and business contacts including non-Jews, and face a shrinking pool of potential partners. Second marriages after divorce are also much more likely than first marriages to involve a non-Jewish partner. The higher tendency to exogamy among the divorced may be strengthened by their desire for a second spouse "different" from the first and by their greater independence from ties to family and community. Geographic variations are important. Generally, areas of high Jewish concentration have less intermarriage, but some cities with large Jewish populations have very high intermarriage rates (San Francisco, Denver, and Washington, DC, are examples). The less traditional the religious "movement" with which a Jew identifies, the more likely that Jew is to intermarry, with the highest rates of intermarriage among those who identify with no religious movement at all and claim to be "just Jewish."

During most of the 1980s it was generally believed that in about one-third of the marriages between Jews and partners born non-Jews, the originally non-Jewish partner converted to Judaism according to the norms and practices of one or another of American Judaism's religious movements, either before or after the marriage. (The phenomena led to the adoption of a more elaborate terminology in which "intermarriage" is often used to refer to any marriage between a Jew and someone born not Jewish, "conversionary marriage" refers to a marriage between a Jew and a non-Jew who converts to Judaism, and "mixed marriage" is the term reserved for marriages in which one partner is Jewish and the other is not.) The most recent studies show that a much smaller proportion of intermarriages is conversionary than had previously been thought to be the case.

Another terminological development is use of the phrase "Jews-by-choice" instead of "convert." Many feel that the former term is more positive. It is also seen as a way at least partly to get around some of the problems that arise from the different definitions of conversion held by various segments of the Jewish community. The latest statistical projection estimates that there are now approximately 185,000 "Jews-by-choice" in North America.

Trying to assess the demographic impact of intermarriage, optimistic analysts used to point out that if half of the children of intermarried couples are Jewish there should be no net loss in the size of the Jewish community. Recent studies show, however, that far fewer than half of the children of intermarriage identify as Jews, even by the most liberal criteria. Moreover, those who do consider themselves Jews have weaker Jewish identity on the whole than do born Jews, and they are themselves far more likely to intermarry in turn. The 1990 CJF study projects that there are about 415,000 adults in North America who are descended from Jews but were raised from birth in another religion and another 700,000 children under 18 years of age who are not identified as Jews but have a Jewish parent or grandparent.

The organized Jewish community in North America is now expressing renewed alarm over intermarriage. Not only has the rate risen dramatically over the last couple of decades, but the demographic impact is seen as more threatening than had been hoped. Many federations and other Jewish organizations have begun to address what they articulate as the problem in "Jewish continuity." Several inquiries have been undertaken into what can be done to bolster Jewish identity, Jewish organizations and agencies have been encouraged in a number of communities to strengthen those aspects of their programs that are seen as contributing to Jewish identity, and some funds are being allocated for activities designed to enhance Jewish continuity.

Meaning of Intermarriage in the Contemporary Jewish Community

In order to understand intermarriage in the contemporary Jewish community, it is essential to recognize that its very meaning has changed. In earlier periods intermarriage was often a rebellion against Jewishness or a quiet renunciation of Jewish identity – if not for oneself, then for one's children. There were several variations on that theme. Intermarriage could be a way of breaking free from what were felt as the constraints of Jewish life and the discrimination to which to which Jews were subjected. It could be an extreme means to declare independence from, perhaps even to punish, parents. For the upwardly mobile, it could provide entry into desired social circles. Whatever the motives, however, intermarriage was understood as sufficiently incompatible with Jewish identity to constitute a decisive break with Jewishness. It was in that context that Jewish parents and, reflecting their sentiments, Jewish organizations reacted so forcefully when the intermarriage statistics of the 1960s were published.

Jewish identity had been re-shaped in America in the 20th century, but most Jews were not assimilationists. The dominant belief in American Jewry in the first two-thirds of the 20th century was that while Jewishness should undergo some acculturation in order to fit comfortably into modern Western culture, it should survive as a separate identity. Indeed, most Jews believed that acculturation was precisely what would guarantee Jewish continuity. If Jewishness were not adjusted according to the norms of the larger society, they were convinced it would be too culturally deviant for coming generations, which would consequently reject it altogether. Most American Jews understood, however, that intermarriage was the ultimate vehicle of assimilation. They could accept, if with some regret, whatever other changes their children made in Jewish self-expression. Exogamy, by contrast, was the decisive indicator of a failure to perpetuate Jewishness. Ironically, the changes in Jewish identity that were made in order to preserve Jewishness can now be seen as having engendered the kind of Jewish identity which is not inconsistent with intermarriage. It is for that reason that many young Jews came to view intermarriage as compatible with continued Jewish identity and as an essentially unremarkable act.

The Jewish identity of 20th century American Jewry can best be understood as an outgrowth of "Emancipation." The fundamental change in the Jews' status that is denoted by the term "Emancipation" occurred in central and western Europe at the turn of the 19th century. The French Revolution was, of course, the threshold event which offered Jews citizenship as individuals. For the preceding two millennia Jews had had corporate status as part of the Jewish community. The shift to individual political status, generally and for the Jews, made its way across Europe, unevenly, during the 19th and 20th centuries.

To appreciate the cultural dynamics of Jews in contemporary America, however, it is necessary to remember that about nine-tenths of American Jewry is descended from the major wave of Jewish immigration to the United States from Eastern Europe between 1881 and 1924. In other words, most American Jews are only two or three generations removed from the kind of intensive and enclosed Jewish life that prevailed in the Pale of Settlement and other Jewish areas of eastern Europe. For the Jew who came to America in the 40 years around the turn of the 20th century, the trip was not a journey for political freedom and economic opportunity alone. It was, rather, a fundamental transition to a "new world" in every sense. For them, their voyage was the "Emancipation."

The marginal generation, those who carved out a new American identity (specifically, the children of older immigrants and the younger immigrants themselves), made two basic changes in Jewish identity. One concerned its scope; the other, its content. The marginal generation, welcoming America's offer of equal status, sought to specify the part of behavior that should appropriately be molded by Jewishness, leaving the rest to other elements in each person's overall identity. The most frequent position was that Jewishness was religion, defined narrowly as including some theological assertions, ethical injunctions, and ritual observances, none of which was thought (by most American Jews) to interfere with the larger society's normative expectations regarding occupational, political, recreational, social, or even familial patterns of behavior. For other Jews, Jewishness was manifested in a special enjoyment of Hebrew and/or Yiddish literature. Still others expressed Jewishness through philanthropic activity, giving their largest financial contributions to Jewish causes and devoting significant portions of their volunteer time to service in those causes. In another alternative, the focus of Jewish activity was participation in efforts to enhance intergroup amity and to diminish prejudice and discrimination. Finally, there were Jews whose Jewishness found expression in their choice of other Jews as friends, but whose activities with those friends had no particular Jewish content.

These five general approaches to the limitation of the scope of Jewishness were reflected in the organizations of American Jewry. Most Jewish organizations in the earlier part of the 20th century had closely defined purposes, and activity outside of an organization's prescribed scope was usually discouraged. Moreover, while Jews could, and did, belong to organizations in more than one category of Jewish self-expression, most Jews tended to express themselves primarily in one or another mode.

Distinctiveness of Jewish Identity

The second fundamental change which the marginal generation made in Jewish identity concerned the extent to which Jewishness is distinctive. During virtually all of Jewish history, Jews were different from their non-Jewish neighbors in ideologically important and personally profound ways. American Jews in the early 20th century tried to convey the idea that being Jewish did not make them different from non-Jews in any significant way. There were several reasons for their effort. They wanted to reassure other Americans that the offer of equal status for the Jews was appropriate. More generally, the underlying ideology of intergroup relations activities during that period was that emphasis on the commonness of all humanity would encourage tolerance. It was believed that if people could accept that all human beings are fundamentally the same, then mutual respect and amity would grow. The basis of the approach was the combination of individualism and universalism that reached its apex at that time and which also found expression in a downplaying of other dimensions of identity such as race, ethnicity, and even family. (Now the emphasis is on cultural differences and the need to recognize and respect them, but that approach began to gain strength only in the 1960s.)

In the context of the early 20th century, then, it is not surprising that American Jews tended to articulate a Jewishness whose differentiating impact was restricted to detail. Most Jews preferred to emphasize what they had in common with non-Jews and to insists that what they had in common mattered much more than what set them apart. It is hard to assess the extent to which they believed their own claim, but the fact that they made it had its impact.

The children of the marginal generation were effectively the first "post-Emancipation" generation, and their Jewish identity differed in a number of far-reaching ways from that of previous generations of Jews. First, while all identifies have both individual, and collective aspects, the relationship between those two aspects varies. Before Emancipation, a person's Jewishness was derived from his/her being part of the Jewish people. "Jewish" was understood primarily as the designation of a group, and a "Jew" was someone who belonged to that group. For American Jews of the mid-20th century, "Jewish" described an individual first. Its application to organizations and communities was derived from the Jewishness of their members. In America's political ideology Jewishness was the private business of individuals and of no official public relevance. Jewish organizations were understood as nothing more than voluntary associations of Jews who made them and could use them for whatever ends they wished. During this time, the phrase "Jewish people" was almost always used as the plural of Jewish person rather than to denote an entity with its own inherent meaning.

Jewishness in mid-20th century America was most often conceptualized as one role among the many roles that every person plays. A typical man would see himself in many roles – husband, father, son, brother, neighbor, friend, lawyer, golfer, Democrat, Jew, Chicogoan, tenant, investor, contributor, and so forth. Each role had its own institutionalized set of relationships, its own mandated behaviors, and, consequently, its own well-delineated sphere of relevance. Pre-Emancipation Jews also had multiple roles, of course, even though they were less likely to say it that way. The difference is that Jewishness cannot properly be viewed as one of their roles. It would be more correct to see it as the substance with which all role behaviors were specified and evaluated. Another way of saying the same thing is that, for most Jews, Jewishness was transformed from a diffuse characteristic into a very specific one.

Something can be of specific relevance, yet still be very important. However, most post-emancipation American Jews not only restricted the scope of Jewishness; they also greatly diminished its power. For the typical pre-Emancipation Jew, the fact that s/he was Jewish took priority over virtually every competing claim to time, energy, or normative prescription. By contrast, most Americans Jews in the mid-20th century made Jewish self-expression fit into the time, energy, and options left by almost the entire range of other claims – occupational, educational, recreational, civic, social.

The Jews growing up as a post-Emancipation generation heard from their parents that Jewishness did not make a Jew different in any major way. Young Jews learned that Judaism was one of the world's great monotheistic religions, and if there was pride to be found in the fact that it was the first, that, after all, was a matter of history and of little consequence. In Will Herberg's well-known formulation, a person could be a good American in any one of three ways, by being a Protestant, a Catholic, or a Jew. All were seen as acceptable variations on a common theme, and what mattered was the basic set of values and styles that constituted the American way of life, not the specific literature and symbolism with which the three religions were supposed to convey that way of life. In earlier periods, of course, Jewishness had made Jews different in many far-reaching and fundamental ways, as was fully recognized by Jews and non-Jews.

Because Jewishness was so narrowly restricted and made subordinate to external contexts of interpretation, most post-Emancipation Jews lost the kind of familiarity with Jewish behavior that people have with their own culture. It is probably a fair rule of thumb that the more internationalized an item of culture is, the fewer directions a person needs when performing it. Thus, the inability of post-Emancipation Jews to carry out Jewish acts without guidance says much about their level of estrangement from the content of Jewishness.

This description does not apply to all Jews in the mid-1900s. Some purposely assimilated altogether; others maintained Jewish identities that were far more comprehensive, primary, distinguishing, internalized, and rooted in Jewish peoplehood past and present. The vast middle group, however, molded a Jewish identity which, though generally positive, was not compelling. Although the Holocaust and the establishment of the State of Israel certainly affected Jewish identity, they did not alter its basic structure of place in the lives of most American Jews.

The key point is that the kind of Jewish identity described here is not a barrier to intermarriage, nor is intermarriage incompatible with that kind of Jewish identity. America is an open society, and the American ethos places overwhelming importance on individual choice in most things. While some group-based hurdles to individual choice remain, marriage across religious and ethnic lines is not discouraged. Rather, even in a period which has for the last two or three decades seen increasing emphasis placed on religion and on ethnic identity, interreligious and interethnic marriages are likely to be viewed as helping to demonstrate the compatibility of disparate traditions and the possibility of amity, even of love, across lines. Other factors encouraging intermarriage are improvement in the socioeconomic standing of Jews and increased acceptance of Jews as friends and potential marriage partners. As a result, most Jews have circles of colleagues, classmates, and friends that include non-Jewish peers. Inevitably, these relationships often lead to romance.

When subjective feelings of romance begin to grow between two people, they make judgments about whether their differences are numerous enough, large enough, or profound enough to be a barrier to marriage. If not, then the differences become the issues over which the compromises that are part of any marriage are worked out. Otherwise, one party or the other will end the relationship.

If Jewishness is seen to consist of some vague ideas about God's existence and providence, a number of almost universally endorsed ethical principles, two or three holiday dinners a year, a Ḥanukkah lamp in the house in December, brief attendance at synagogue services once or twice a year, the obligation to give some emphasis to Jewish causes among one's charitable donations, a somewhat higher and more consistent level of political support for Israel than other pro-Israel Americans offer, a political stance generally in the "liberal" camp, and pride in the Jewish achievements of the past, then Jewishness is compatible with intermarriage. No loving non-Jewish spouse is likely to find these behaviors and attitudes objectionable, and none of them requires the kind of joint participation by a spouse that a non-Jew cannot easily and readily provide. If we add some Jewish art and artifacts to the decorations of the home, a few hours of Jewish education for one's children for a few years, and some ceremonial recognition that those children are (at least "partly") Jewish, which is how ritual circumcision and Bar and Bat Mitzvah are sometimes conceptualized, exogamy still need not be an impediment to continued Jewishness. It is possible for a Jew to be proud of his/her Jewishness, enjoy it, consider it "important" and yet give it a form which is not pervasive enough and a content which is not distinguishing enough to interfere with a satisfying intermarriage. By contrast, when Jewishness orders one's priorities, locates a person in history and society, provides basic goals and norms, furnishes the cultural material for the expression of "self," and marks out life's rhythm, then marriage to a non-Jewish spouse is inconceivable without either a total transformation of self or a severe narrowing of the normal marital relationship.

The intermarriage rate has risen as it has, not because Jews want to escape their Jewishness, but because they see intermarriage as quite compatible with their Jewishness. As Marshall Sklare explained, young Jews who marry non-Jews are likely to see themselves not as intermarrying, but merely as marrying.

Responses to Intermarriage

In another sense, however, intermarriage is not that simple. Resistance is likely to arise from several quarters. Parents and other relatives, synagogues and rabbis, and Jewish communal institutions can all be expected to express some level of opposition to intermarriage. The desire to include Jewish elements in the wedding ceremony or to raise children as Jews can elicit concern from the non-Jewish partner and/or his/her family. The many compromises that need to be made can be harder to work out than was anticipated. Normally suppressed stereotypes and resentments can emerge. Perhaps most indicative of the current mood regarding exogamy is the appearance in the last decade of several books of advice on how to carry out a successful intermarriage. These books usually deal with reactions of parents and other relatives, planning the wedding ceremony, the raising of the children, and ways of handling Jewish and Christian institutions. While some set forth the advantage of religious homogeneity and clarity in the home, others offer guidance on how to maintain active links to both traditions.

The responses of the organized Jewish community to intermarriage fall into two broad categories – opposition and outreach. As the 1990 CJF study shows, many Jews do not oppose intermarriage at all. Only 22% of the respondents who were born Jews and list Judaism as their religion said that they would oppose the marriage of their child to a non-Jew. The corresponding statistic for secular Jews is 4%. Among those Jews who do oppose intermarriage, either in general or in specific cases when they arise, there are several positions about what form opposition should take. Some Jews, though decreasing in number, still break all relationships with relatives and friends who marry non-Jews. Others reduce their relationships with people in mixed marriages, but do not sever them altogether. Yet others express opposition to intermarriage and try, with varying degrees of determination, to urge the Jewish partner to withdraw from the planned marriage or to bring about the conversion of the non-Jewish partner, but accept the marriage once it is a *fait accompli*.

Most Jewish institutions take the position that intermarriage should be discouraged but the intermarried should not be rejected. While that position has a tone that seems resonant with both Jewish principle and the ideology of individual choice and universal human concern, it is hard to specify what coherent attitudes or concrete behaviors it implies.

Just as opposition takes many forms, so does outreach, and the two modes of response are usually in interplay with each other. Sometimes the effort to bring the non-Jewish partner to convert is explicit. Sometimes it is offered as one option. A frequently expressed view is that, where conversion does not seem immediately likely, it is important to maintain linkage to and positive feelings about the Jewish community in the hope that conversion may eventually ensue and that, even if it does not, there will be more readiness to transmit some Jewish identity to the children and a positive feeling toward the Jewish community by the children. In general, the more liberal the religious movement, the greater its emphasis on outreach relative to opposition as the proper response to intermarriage.

The religious movements deal with intermarriage and its consequences at four specific points. First, rabbis are often asked to officiate or co-officiate as intermarriages. The Orthodox and Conservative rabbinates refuse to participate in intermarriages. The Reform movement officially leaves the decision about participating in intermarriages to its individual rabbis, who are divided on this issue. Many liberal rabbis who will not take part in intermarriages themselves will, nevertheless, counsel interreligious couples or refer them to colleagues willing to be available.

The second issue that arises concerns the status of the children of intermarriage and of converts. Orthodoxy, following *halakhah*, defines Jewishness as acquired by being born to a Jewish mother or through conversion that meets the standards of traditional Jewish law. Since the Reform movement does not adhere to traditional Jewish law in conversion and Conservative rabbis are not uniformly careful in applying Jewish law, Orthodoxy generally does not accept conversions under non-Orthodox auspices. Those Conservative rabbis who do adhere to traditional law have similar problems with Reform conversions, but the Conservative movement's emphasis on pluralism makes it harder for them to be publicly explicit on this matter. The Reform movement's formal adoption of the principle of patrilineal descent, which it had practiced quietly for decades before declaring it officially, complicated the issue. By defining Jews differently from traditional Jewish law, it created a category of people who are Jewish by the standards of some Jews and not Jewish by the standards of others. Although there have long been such people, their number is growing and the resolution on patrilineality made the controversy over their status and the potential difficulty of their situation more severe. The reform rabbinate decided that its action was justified, nonetheless, as a way to compensate for demographic decline by broadening the definition of Jewry and by extending a welcome and a sense of legitimacy to people who, it felt, would otherwise most likely be lost to the Jewish community. The traditional view is that, since those people are not Jews, they are lost in any case.

The third specific issue with which synagogues must deal is the participation of non-Jewish spouses in synagogue activities. Membership in synagogues is normally a family matter, and members can, of course, hold positions of leadership and play a number of roles in the ritual. Many intermarried Jews wish to join synagogues, and many synagogues, for outreach and other reasons, are willing, even eager, to welcome interreligious families. The consequence is that synagogues, especially but not only the more liberal ones, must make decisions about which roles can be played in leadership [and in ritual] by intermarried members and by their non-Jewish spouses.

Admission of children of intermarried couples to religious school, especially when those children are not Jewish also poses difficulties. Their parents may want to enroll them in order to make Jewishness an option or simply to give them some information about part of their family background. However, the curricular challenges of simultaneously teaching children from Jewish homes and from mixed homes are formidable.

Other organizations in the Jewish community must also delineate which roles, as participants and as leaders, can appropriately be played by intermarried Jews and, what is more difficult, by their non-Jewish spouses. Jewish organizations which cut across "movement" lines also have the problem that their members do not agree on which other members are Jewish.

Beyond the concerns about the status and roles of individual members, there is the problem of program. It cannot be entirely comfortable for a Jewish organization to deliberate about and then adopt a program whose goal is to discourage intermarriage when a not insubstantial proportion of its members and leaders are themselves intermarried or have accepted intermarriage among their children.

There is controversy over the proper balance between opposition and outreach as responses to intermarriage. Advocates of opposition argue that efforts must be made to strengthen a more comprehensive, distinctive, and rewarding Jewish identity in Jews and that, in the meantime, Jewish institutions and organizations should unambiguously convey Judaism's position that only that kind of identity, in individuals and embodied in family life, is authentic and viable. Their acceptance of outreach is limited to attempts to bring non-Jewish spouses and prospective spouses to conversion. Advocates of outreach, by contrast, usually despair of changing the overall character of Jewish identity in America and predict that the intermarriage rate will not decline significantly as a result of any Jewish policy or program. Their approach to assuring Jewish continuity, therefore, rests on encouraging intermarried families to maintain positive links to the Jewish community and on increasing the number of people who are considered Jewish by expanding the lines of Jewish descent and broadening the criteria and methods by which people can be treated as Jews-by-choice. What balance between these two modes of response will ultimately be struck, and with what consequences, remains to be seen.

[Mervin F. Verbit]

JEWISH OUT-MARRIAGE: A GLOBAL PERSPECTIVE

The frequency, determinants, and consequences of marriages between Jews and non-Jews have long been a central topic of social-scientific research and community debate. Many observers consider the recent trends in Jewish family formation with great concern and a leading factor in the quantitative and identificational erosion of Jewish population. Others view the same trends as an opportunity for community growth and expansion. Both approaches may be using sophisticated theories, concepts, and analyses, and interestingly, the same data. The main debate revolves around the paradigms of Jewish assimilation and erosion versus resilience and revival. The main trends call for examination in broad comparative context, outlining the specifics of local situations.

HISTORY. In long-term historical perspective, Jewish marriage patterns underwent different stages. During the early formative periods, the ancient Hebrew tribes were small and geographically mobile, and may have frequently incorporated individuals from the proximate surrounding. With the codification of Jewish identification in late antiquity, Jewish society entered a long period of prevalent segregation – initially self-imposed, and much later forcefully imposed by others. Contemporary studies of population genetics point to the overall similar origins of Jews from disparate continents and countries, thus testifying to very limited marital interaction between Jews and others throughout the Middle Ages and early modern period.

From the 19th century but especially since the second half of the 20th, Jewish society underwent transformations which completely revolutionized cultural identities and socioeconomic structures. International migration, extensive urbanization, occupational mobility, and secularization were some of the main agents of change, generally evolving from traditionalism to modernity, and from segregation to openness, though counter-streams of search for more traditional cultural and social behaviors also appeared occasionally.

The transition, among many, of Jewish identity from mainly religious to ethnic-national was one of the main consequences of social change in the context of political emancipation of the Jews and general modernization. In the Europe of the 19th century, the quest for integration into general society led at least 200,000 Jews to opt out of Judaism into the prevalent Christian denominations. More recently, the *rites de passage* inherent in changing one's own religious allegiance ceased to be a prerequisite for acceptance by the public at large, and moving out of Jewishness tended to become an expression of the freedom of choice in growingly individualistic societies.

Since 1948, the composition of world Jewry was crucially altered with the establishment of the state of Israel and the rapid growth of its large and densely interacting Jewish population which constituted a majority of total society. In contrast, Diaspora communities typically comprised smaller Jewish minorities, well integrated in a non-Jewish societal context, and eventually shrinking. Historically and in contemporary times, the Israel and Diaspora contexts generated entirely different opportunities for Jewish community life and identity. The low frequency of out-marriage in Israel had a counterbalancing effect on the leading global trend to greater integration and assimilation among Jews and non-Jews. More recently, increasing globalization of society created growing opportunities for interaction among different social and cultural groups, including Jews in Israel.

CONCEPTS. *Determinants.* Marriage and out-marriage in particular, reflect three basic factors, each widely varying over time and across individuals and sub-groups within the same Jewish community: (a) *Desirability*: the normative centrality of the act of marrying, and the choice of a partner from within or outside the group of origin. (b) *Feasibility*: the economic means and resources available to form a new family, and more specifically an in-marriage or an out-marriage. (c) *Availability* of appropriate marital partners, where age, sex, and marital status composition determine the choice of relevant partners to choose from within and outside the group.

Terminology. *Intermarriage* is a broadly used term but a number of distinctions should be kept in mind. *Out-marriage* refers to marrying someone who was born in a different group; *conversionary out-marriage* and *conversionary in-marriage* apply if conversion happens out of or into the group studied. In case each partner keeps to his/her original group identity, *mixed-marriage* applies. In more technical language we speak of *homogamy* (sameness) versus *heterogamy* (otherness). *Endogamy* and *exogamy*, respectively, indicate the same concepts but in a normative, ideal rather than descriptive sense.

Sources. Retrospective information often stems from general sources such as population censuses and general surveys that were not designed specifically for the purpose of investigating out-marriage. *Vital statistics* provide information on current marriages. *Specialized surveys* may provide a richer array of variables on existing households. Each of these sources has advantages and disadvantages regarding representation, coverage, and depth of questioning. Sources tend to be different in each country, when they exist at all.

Measurement. One should distinguish between *individual* versus *couple* measurement. If there are three Jews, two married among themselves, and one married a non Jew, we have one individual Jewish among three that out-married (33%), and one Jewish couple out of two that is a mixed-marriage (50%). These are both valid statistics but they are often mistakenly mixed up. Another problem is that measurement may refer to *all existing couples* in a certain population, regardless of age, or only to the younger *couples married in recent years*. In the 20th century since the trend to out-marry has been on the increase, later rates of out-marriage are significantly higher than the former. Finally, measurement may focus on the current or past marital status of people who were *born Jewish*, or on those who are *Jewish now*, and the results may vary accordingly. This distinction was at the core of an intense discussion about the results and interpretation of the 1990 U.S. National Jewish Population Survey (NJPS).

MAIN TRENDS. At the beginning of the 20th century, rates of Jewish out-marriage were generally low or very low. In many countries with large Jewish communities out-marriage still was nearly nonexistent, portraying nearly complete socio-cultural segregation between Jews and the majority of society. Few exceptions appeared in highly acculturated and veteran communities such as Italy, Germany, or the Netherlands, or even more so in distant and relatively isolated outposts with small Jewish populations such as Australia and New Zealand.

Over time, growing differentiation in the propensity to out-marry emerged across Jewish communities. The table presented here reports a classification of Jewish populations, according to the frequency of individual out-marriage in each country around 1930 and around 2000. Countries tend to concentrate at certain levels based on the respective histories and general levels of modernization, and different types of legal regimes in the respective countries allowing or not the opportunity for marriage across religious lines. A steady trend appears outlining a move from lower to higher rates of out-marriage.

In 1930, most Jews in the world lived in countries where the rate of out-marriage was below 5% of individuals. These included most of the large communities in Eastern Europe, most communities in the Middle East and North Africa, including Palestine, but also large and modern communities in the United States, the U.K., Latin America, and South Africa. Jewish communities with an out-marriage rate between 5% and 15% included France, and the other large communities in Eastern Europe such as the Soviet Union. No community stood above an out-marriage rate of 35%.

In 2000, a majority of world Jewry lived in countries where the out-marriage rate was higher than the 35% threshold. Jews in Israel were virtually alone still below a 5% out-marriage rate. Jews living in the Judea, Samaria and Gaza territories were probably the only group with less than 1% out-marriage. The out-marriage rate of the main part of Israel within the pre-1967 "green line," approaching 5%, reflected the presence and social absorption of new immigrants mostly from the FSU lacking a formal Jewish status. Many of these actually performed their marriage ceremonies abroad. Mexico was the largest Diaspora Jewish community with an out-marriage rate estimated at less that 15%. Communities in Australia, Canada, and Turkey had an out-marriage rate of 25% to 35%. A rather large share of world Jewry, including France, the U.K., and the main Latin American countries experienced out-marriage rates between 35% and 45%. The Jewish community in the U.S., still the largest in the world, had moved to above 50%. Out-marriage rates for Jews in the European parts of the FSU were above 65%.

As a consequence of these trends, the worldwide average level out-marriage rate passed from 5% around 1930 to 31%

around 2000. The same average computed for Jews in the Diaspora only, without Palestine/Israel, passed from 5% in 1930 to 48% in 2000. While this quite dramatic increase underscores the nearly irreversible trend toward social integration and acceptance of Jews among general society, it should be stressed that the rising share of Israel and the parallel shrinking of the Diaspora in the world Jewish population tends to reduce significantly the world out-marriage average.

CORRELATES, DETERMINANTS, AND CONSEQUENCES. *Societal models.* At least in the past, ethnocentric and pluralistic societies coped quite differently with the issue of cultural and religious diversity, which in turn affected the amount of pressure to conform exerted on Jewish minorities. Out-marriage trends, in general and within Jewish society, was significantly associated with these different types of societal configurations.

Jewish community models. Some of these are more central and more comprehensive, while some others are quite dispersed. The amount of participation of Jews in Jewish community life is usually different across countries. This may reflect certain general assumptions in society but also reflects the specificities of the history of particular Jewish communities.

Sameness and otherness. Out-marriage in terms of religion or ethnic identity is also associated with other elements of otherness among the partners. Heterogeneous couples in terms of Jewish identification tend also to be more different in terms of other aspects of their socio-demographic profile, such as education or age.

Gender. Women in the past had lower rates of out-marriage, due probably to the more limited set of opportunities they had – less education, less participation in the labor force, more limited and confined leisure life. However, through the emancipation of women and their achieving education and jobs, the differentials narrowed very significantly. By the 1980s-1990s the gender gap was disappearing and the previously lower out-marriage rates of Jewish women converged to the higher rates of men.

Age. The structure of the marriage market – that is, how many available mates there may be – may sometimes be unbalanced, to the point that people may be left with the alternative not to marry at all, or to out-marry. Out-marriage tends to occur at a later age than in the case of in-marriage.

Socioeconomic differentials. In the past, out-marriage was strongly related to upward social mobility, and was more frequent among the better educated, wealthier, and more socially mobile. More recent data suggest that, on the contrary, out-marriage seems to be related to lower education, and lower social class – which indeed is quite infrequent among Jews. It is likely that the high cost of Jewish life causes some people to be marginalized vis-à-vis the opportunities of Jewish education, leisure, and culture. Those will consequently live mostly in a non-Jewish context.

Residence. Size and density of a Jewish community can be importantly correlated to marriage opportunities. The relation of out-marriage to place of residence reflects both the cause and the consequence. Internet and distance connections may have an impact on these relations in the future.

Jewish identification. This is the most important predictor of in- versus out-marriage. We have good evidence that Jewishness of the parental home is probably the most powerful factor, followed by formal Jewish education received. Patterns of socialization that begin very early in life appear to have a crucial effect on subsequent patterns of affiliation, social networks, and the subsequent opportunities for marital choice.

Marital stability. Out-marriages are more unstable than in-marriages. The reasons may be complex. The couple's assortment in re-marriages tends to be often of the opposite sign than in first marriages.

Acceptance. A circular relation emerges between frequencies of out-marriage and its social acceptance. Something that is more frequent is more acceptable, and something that is more acceptable becomes more frequent. Attitudes tend to be more open to intermarriage than actual behaviors.

Transmitted identity. Theoretically, if one half of the children of out-marriages are affiliated with one side and one half is affiliated with the other, there is no gain and no loss to either side. In reality, according to nearly all research evidence available, the Jewish side has received less than half of all the children of out-marriages. During the 1990s, less than 20% of the children of out-marriages were affiliated with the Jewish side both in the U.S. and in the Russian Republic. In the U.S., Canada, and other English-speaking countries, the mother is the dominant parent in transmitting a group identity to the children. If the mother is Jewish, the child tends to be Jewish, and if the mother is not Jewish the child tends to be non-Jewish. This conforms to the Jewish *halakhah*. In other societies, such as Latin American or Southern and Eastern European countries, where the father is the dominant parent in the allocation of the child's public identity, children mostly follow the father's identity.

IMPLICATIONS. Second and Third Generation. While the evidence is not massive, it points to a spectacular increase in the rate of out-marriage among the children of out-marriage, even if they have grown up as Jews. Possibly because of the model gauged from their parents, children may consider out-marriage a normal option. The children's social networks, too, tend to be more open to people of different backgrounds. Out-marriage in effect becomes very high in the 2nd generation.

Collective consequences. Broader implications affect the Jewish collective beyond individual experiences. What out-marriage does to the Jewish people needs to be considered in terms of the major actors and processes such as Israel-Diaspora relations, consensus on core values, polarization among the Jewish polity, and even Jewish theology. Inasmuch as it is perceived as contradicting prevailing norms, besides its likely erosive effects on population size and composition, out-marriage is a factor of internal tension and stress. This is a fundamental question for Jewish policy making, and one of the major challenges world Jewry faces at the beginning of the 21st century.

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MIXED SPECIES (Heb. כִּלְאַיִם; *kilayim*), prohibition mentioned twice in the Bible. Leviticus 19:19 states: "Ye shall keep my statutes. Thou shalt not let thy cattle gender with a diverse kind; thou shalt not sow thy field with two kinds of seed; neither shall there come upon thee a garment of two kinds of stuff mingled together." Deuteronomy 22:9–11 states: "Thou shalt not sow thy vineyard with two kinds of seed; lest the fulness of the seed which thou hast sown be forfeited together with the increase of the vineyard. Thou shalt not plow with an ox and an ass together. Thou shalt not wear a mingled stuff, wool and linen together." From these two passages the sages deduced six types of mixing of species which are forbidden: the mixing of seeds; the grafting of different species of trees and vegetables; the mixing of seed in a vineyard; the hybridization of domestic and wild animals; plowing or driving with domestic or non-domestic animals of different species; and the mixing of wool and linen (*sha'atnez).

The prohibitions against mixing species are defined in Mishnah *Kilayim* 8:1 "It is forbidden to sow diverse kinds in a vineyard or to suffer them to grow, and it is forbidden to have any benefit from them. It is forbidden to sow diverse kinds of seed or to suffer them to grow, but they may be eaten and certainly benefit may be derived from them. Mixed materials are permitted for all purposes, only the weaving of them being forbidden. Hybrid cattle may be reared and maintained; it is forbidden only to breed them." The many *halakhot* connected with the laws of mixed species are taught in the Mishnah, Tosefta, and Jerusalem Talmud of the tractate *Kilayim. The chief problems relating to those laws are detailed below.

The Mixing of Seeds

The prohibition applies to the sowing together of two kinds of grains if they are regarded as belonging to different species (see below), or of grain and legume, as well as of other edible plants. A lenient ruling was given regarding vegetables, which were customarily sown in small beds, and it was permitted to sow five species at specified distances from one another in a bed one cubit square and with variations even 13 species (Kil. 3:l). According to most authorities, it is obligatory to separate fields sown with different species by the space of a *rova* (104 square cubits) or of three furrows (two cubits). In the opinion of some commentators, including Solomon Sirillio and Elijah Gaon of Vilna, the measures mentioned in the Mishnah (Kil. 2:6–10) refer to the size of the plot near which a different kind may be sown (and not to the space by which they must be separated), since plots of this size and larger have the appearance of separate fields, and there is no fear that they may be thought to have been planted indiscriminately, nor is there any risk that the different species will derive sustenance from one another. The prohibition of mixed seeds applies only in Ereẓ Israel, while the prohibitions of the other mixed species are of universal application (Kid. 39a).

The Mixing of Trees

This is not mentioned explicitly in the Bible but is inferred from the juxtaposition of verses (Lev. 19:19), "Thou shalt not let thy cattle gender with a diverse kind; thou shalt not sow thy field with two kinds of seed," which were interpreted to mean, "Just as the prohibition of cattle refers to mating, so does that of the field to grafting" (Kid. 39a), i.e., it is forbidden to graft two plant species in the same way as it is forbidden to mate two animal species. Some inferred the prohibition of grafting plants of different species from the beginning of the verse (Lev. 19:19): "Ye shall keep my statutes"; *Sifra, Kedoshim* (Perek 4:17) and the Jerusalem Talmud (Kil. 1:7, 27b) explain that the word *ḥukkah* ("statute"), is connected with the root *ḥakok* ("to carve"), i.e., that it is forbidden to change by grafting the original form "carved out" by the Creator at Creation. The prohibition applies to grafting a tree onto a tree, a vegetable onto a tree, and a tree onto a vegetable (Kil. 1:7). However, it is permitted to plant different trees side by side and to sow vegetables or grain among trees.

Mixing in the Vineyard

The laws of mixed species in the vineyard are stringent and complex, and almost half of the tractate *Kilayim* is devoted to them. The Bible (Deut. 22:9) rules that the resulting vines and seed become forfeit, and it is forbidden either to eat them or to benefit from them. The prohibition applies to grain but not to any trees among the vines. Concerning vegetables and other plants there are differences of opinion in the Mishnah and Talmud as to which are forbidden by biblical law and which permitted. A distance of four cubits must be allowed between a vineyard and any species forbidden to be sown there. In the case of a single vine, however, it suffices to leave a distance of three or six handbreadths (Kil. 6:1).

Mixing of Cattle

According to the Mishnah (Kil. 8:1) "they may be reared and maintained, and it is only forbidden to breed them." "To rear and maintain" means that different species of cattle may be reared together without the fear that they will crossbreed. Some explain it to mean that the product of crossbreeding (e.g., a mule) may be reared. This prohibition applies to domestic and wild animals and to birds (BK 5:7).

Plowing and Driving with Two Species

The Bible forbids only plowing with an ox and an ass. The rabbis, however, explained that "Scripture spoke what was customary," i.e., people were accustomed to plow with an ox or an ass, but the prohibition applies equally to plowing with any two other species and to riding, leading, and driving with them (Kil. 8:2).

Problems of Definition

In the discussion of the laws of mixed species the problem of defining like and unlike species arises. Although criteria for determining whether a plant or animal belongs to one species or another are laid down, an examination of the pairs enumerated in the Mishnah that do or do not constitute mixed species shows that there is no identity between the term "species" used in the law of mixed species and the term as applied by the modern system of botanical and zoological classification. Mixed species were determined by a tradition crystallized in the course of many generations (cf. Tosef., Kil. 1:3–4). Indeed two plants which are now classified as belonging to different species or even to different genera are reckoned as the same species for the law of mixed species (e.g., wheat and tares; Kil. 1:1). In contrast, however, different strains of the same species are regarded as different species (Kil. 1:6). With regard to mixed seeds an *amora* in the Jerusalem Talmud (Kil. 1:5, 27a) summarizes: "in some cases [the form of] the fruit is the determinant, and in others the leaf," while another *amora* notes: "in some cases the taste of the fruit is the determinant."

One of the assumptions in the prohibitions of mixed trees is the possibility of crossbreeding by grafting the scion of one species onto the stock of a second. Thus it is pointed out in the Jerusalem Talmud that grafting the almond onto the terebinth produces the *pistachio, a fruit similar to that of both these species but systematically very far removed from the almond. It is almost certain that a graft of such a nature will not take, and it is certain that a species which has the median characteristics of the scion and the stock cannot be obtained by grafting. The early scholars saw an analogy between the grafting of plants and the crossbreeding of animals, but this latter could be compared to the cross-pollination of plants, a technique unknown to the ancients.

These views on grafting stem from the once-accepted assumption that environmental factors were liable to change the hereditary characteristics of the creature (see *Biology). The opinion that new species could be created by grafting belongs to agricultural folklore, and also to Greco-Roman "science," and from there entered into rabbinic literature. Because of the prohibition of mixed species, Jews were unable to test the truth of this notion. Many *halakhot* on the subject commence with the formula: "If a gentile grafted" species A with species B, then species C is produced. It should be stressed, however, that *halakhot* of this nature, common in the Tosefta and the Jerusalem Talmud, were not incorporated in the Mishnah (see *Kilayim).

Reasons for the Precept of Mixed Species

Some of the reasons given for the prohibition stemmed from the above-mentioned belief that the effects of environmental factors are hereditary. To the same category belongs the reason for forbidding change in the order of Creation. Naḥmanides gives this reason in his biblical commentary (to Lev. 19: 19), adding that if the crossbreeding of a horse and an ass produces a mule, which is a miserable creature that cannot beget, so too when mixed species of trees are grafted, "their fruit does not grow thereafter." Maimonides (*Guide* 3, 49) explains that the man who couples creatures of different species defies the laws of nature and of ethics, and similarly in the grafting and mixing of plants. It was part of the false beliefs of idolators that this served as a specific for fertility (*ibid.* 3, 37). That crossbreeding was unnatural was an early belief: Josephus (Ant., 4:229) explained that "nature delighteth not in the conjunction of things dissimilar." Rabbenu Nathan, *av ha-yeshivah* (Ereẓ Israel in the 11th century), gives an agricultural reason, that one species prevents the development of the adjacent one (commentary to Mishnah Kil. ch. 1). A similar reason for the prohibition of mixed seeds in the vineyard was given earlier by Philo: "since as a result of it too great a burden is put upon the earth" (Spec. 4:211). Some Greek and Roman agricultural writers laid down that summer plants which impoverish the soil should not be sown in the vineyard (Pliny, Naturalis 18, 101) and that it is forbidden to sow intermediate plantings in a vineyard (Geoponica 5, 11).

As against those who sought to rationalize the prohibition, Rashi concluded: "These statutes are a royal decree, for which there is no reason." In point of fact it is impossible to determine the reasons for the prohibition. Post factum, however, it seems that, as a result of the care taken by Jews in this matter, the fields were kept free of weeds and the purity of plant species was preserved. It is also possible that it was a contributory factor to the success of Jewish agriculture in Ereẓ Israel.

In the present, prohibitions of mixed species have raised a number of problems for farmers who adhere to these laws. Thus they are prevented from sowing vetch with grain as fodder in order to prevent the vetch from trailing on the ground. The problem was solved by the introduction of strains of vetch which do not trail. In connection with the prohibition against grafting trees of different species, experiments have taken place on stocks belonging to the same species as the scion, but so far no satisfactory solution to the matter has been found.

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[Jehuda Feliks]

MIZMOR LE-DAVID (Heb. מִזְמוֹר לְדָוִד; "A Psalm to David"), a frequently occurring superscription to a number of psalms whose authorship is ascribed to King *David. Many of them form part of the traditional liturgy. Among them are (1) Psalm 29 ("Ascribe unto the Lord, O ye sons of might"), the last of the six psalms chanted at the Sabbath eve service at which the Sabbath is welcomed; and on Sabbath mornings, after the conclusion of the *Torah reading, when the Torah scroll is carried back in solemn procession to the *Ark. (2) Psalm 23 ("The Lord is my shepherd, I shall not want"), which in the Sephardi ritual is sung prior to the *Kiddush on Sabbath morning, and in the Ashkenazi ritual, on Sabbath afternoon at the third meal (*Seudah Shelishit). According to one talmudic opinion (Pes. 118a), it was also sung as a festive hymn at the Passover *seder.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: JE, 8 (1904), 624–5; Elbogen, Gottesdienst, index s.v. Psalm 29.

MIZMOR SHIR LE-YOM HA-SHABBAT (Heb. מִזְמוֹר שִׁיר לְיוֹם הַשַּׁבָּת; "A Psalm, a Song for the Sabbath Day"), the superscription of Psalm 92 which, according to the Talmud (Tam. 7:4, RH 31a, Sof. 18:1) was the Sabbath hymn chanted by the levites in the Temple. The Psalm forms part of the Sabbath eve service in which the Sabbath (*Kabbalat Shabbat) is welcomed. It is also part of the *Pesukei de-Zimra and the daily hymn at the conclusion of the Sabbath morning service, as well as in the Sabbath *Minḥah* service in the Sephardi and some Ashkenazi rites. Some aggadic sources ascribe its authorship to Adam who pronounced it in his great joy for the gift of repentance. In the course of time, it was forgotten until Moses reintroduced it with ten other psalms (Gen. R. 22, end; Mid. Ps. 90:30).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: JE, 8 (1904), 625–7; Eisenstein, Dinim s.v.

MIẒPAH (Heb. מִצְפָּה; "lookout point"), moshavah in northern Israel, W. of Tiberias, founded in 1908 by Second *Aliyah pioneers from Russia, on *Jewish Colonization Association (ICA) land. For many years the small village, based on mixed farming, preserved its original layout of closely grouped farmsteads interconnected by a surrounding basalt wall. It only began to expand after it was connected to a water line in 1979, its population increasing from 39 in 1968 to 167 in 2002.

[Efram Orni / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

MIZPEH or **MIZPAH** (Heb. מִצְפֶּה, מִצְפָּה, הַמִּצְפָּה; "lookout point"), the name of several places mentioned in the Bible.

(1) A city belonging to the tribe of Benjamin (Josh. 18:26), the best-known place with the name of Mizpeh. The Israelites gathered there to punish the tribe of Benjamin after the outrage committed by the men of Gibeah (Judg. 20–21). Samuel assembled the people to fight against the Philistines and judged them in Mizpah (I Sam. 7:5ff.; 10:17). Asa of Judah fortified the place (I Kings 15:22; II Chron. 16:6). Gedaliah, the son of Ahikam, established the capital of Judah in Mizpah after the fall of Jerusalem and was later assassinated there (II Kings 25:22ff.; Jer. 40–41). It was a district capital in the time of Nehemiah (Neh. 3:7, 15, 19). The place of origin of Simeon of Mizpeh (Pe'ah 2:6) is uncertain.

The ancient site is identified with Tell al-Naṣbeh about 8 mi. (13 km.) north of Jerusalem, following A. Raboisson (*Les Maspeh*, 1897). It was excavated from 1926 to 1936 by W.F. Badè on behalf of the Pacific Institute of Religion in Berkeley. The first settlement there dates to the Early Bronze Age. Its main period of occupation, however, belongs to the Iron Age. The excavations uncovered the main part of the city, which contained many four-room houses typical of the period, some unusually large and built with pillars. Outstanding is a ninth-century wall and gate, evidently built by Rehoboam, which had been preceded by a tenth-century casemate wall. The mound was occupied until the Hellenistic period. A number of tombs uncovered there date from the Canaanite to the Hellenistic periods and were very rich in finds.

Hebrew seals and seal impressions were particularly abundant on the site. A seal with the inscription "Jaazaniah servant of the king" is ascribed by some to the Jezaniah who met with Gedaliah at Mizpah (Jer. 40:8; 42:1). A special seal from the Persian period reading *mṣh* (Mozah?) is interpreted by various scholars as an abbreviation of Mizpeh (*mṣ*[*p*]*h*).

(2) The land of Mizpah (Josh. 11:3) or the valley of Miẓpeh (Josh. 11:8) in the north of the country below the Hermon, an area settled by the Hivites. It was probably located in the region of Marj al-ʿAyyūn (ʿIyyon), north of Metullah.

(3) A place in Gilead which marked the boundary between the territories of Laban and Jacob (Gen. 31:49). It is perhaps identical with Ramoth-Gilead, a border stronghold between Aram and Israel in northern Gilead (I Kings 22:3).

(4) The hometown of *Jephthah, also in Gilead, but farther south than (3) above. The Israelites gathered there before setting out for battle against the Ammonites (Judg. 10–11). It is identical with Ramath-Mizpeh in the vicinity of Mahanaim of Joshua 13:26. It has been tentatively identified with Khirbat Jalʿad south of the Jabbok.

(5) A city in the territory of the tribe of Judah in the vicinity of Lachish (Josh. 15:38). Eusebius (Onom. 130:2 – Masseba) describes it as a village near Eleutheropolis (Bet Guvrin).

(6) A Mizpeh of Moab (Rujm al-Mushayrifa?) is mentioned in I Samuel 22:3.

(7) A Mizpeh (Massepha) at which Judah Maccabee assembled his army against Gorgias (I Macc. 3:46) is probably identical with Nabi Samuîl northwest of Jerusalem.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: C.C. McCown et al., *Tell en Nasbeh*, 1 (1947); J.C. Wampler, *Tell en Nasbeh*, 2 (1947); Avigad, in: IEJ, 8 (1958), 113ff.; Albright, in: AASOR, 4 (1924), 90ff.; Abel, Geog, 2 (1938), 340ff.; Aharoni, Land, index; Diringer, in: D. Winton Thomas (ed.), *Archaeology and Old Testament Study* (1967), 329ff.; EM, s.v. incl. bibl.

[Michael Avi-Yonah]

MIẒPEH RAMON (Heb. מִצְפֶּה רָמוֹן), development town in S. Israel, in the Negev Hills, 54 mi. (87 km.) S. of Beersheba toward Eilat. Founded in 1954, initially as a labor camp of the workers employed in the construction of the highway, it became an "urban cooperative," and when this dispersed seven months later, it was turned into a development town. At the beginning conditions were extremely hard; water had to be brought in trucks from the north, and communications were frequently cut off when the highway to the north was blocked by floods. In spite of these difficulties the town absorbed new immigrants from North Africa and Europe and in 1968 had a population of 1,470. In 1964 Miẓpeh Ramon received municipal council status and in 2002 its population was 4,820, occupying an area of 33 sq. mi. (86 sq. km.).

Although servicing the central Negev, the opening of the Sedom-Eilat road increased its isolation and contributed to the town's high unemployment rate and low personal income, though efforts have been made to develop tourism. In recent years, artists from all over the country have established their residence there, and Israel's largest observatory, belonging to Tel Aviv University, is located in the town. The name means "Ramon Lookout" and refers to the town's site on the rim of the Ramon Crater, which affords a remarkable view of Negev desert landscape.

WEBSITE: www.mitzpe-ramon.muni.il.

[Shlomo Hasson / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

MIZRA (Heb. מִזְרָע; "sown field"), kibbutz in northern Israel, north of Afulah, affiliated with Kibbutz Arẓi Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir. It was founded in 1923 by pioneers from Central Europe, who were later joined by others. Farming was highly intensive, including fruit orchards, citrus groves, field crops, and dairy cattle, and the kibbutz also ran a meat factory and a plant producing hydraulic presses. More recently, Mizra began to develop a tourist industry, including a hotel, restaurant, and small museum documenting the history of the kibbutz. In 1969 Mizra had 610 inhabitants; in 2002, 722.

WEBSITE: www.mizra.org.il.

[Efram Orni / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

MIZRACHI (term coined from some of the letters of the Hebrew words *merkaz ruḥani*, spiritual center), religious Zionist movement whose aim was expressed in its motto: "The Land of Israel for the people of Israel according to the Torah of Israel" (coined by Rabbi Meir Berlin – Bar-Ilan). Mizrachi was founded in 1902 as a religious faction in the World Zionist Organization. The name was first used by Samuel *Mohilewer, an early leader of *Ḥibbat Zion, to express the idea that the Torah should be the spiritual center for Zionism.

The Beginning of Mizrachi

Many religious Jews, including famous rabbis, joined the movement of political Zionism, which worked toward the establishment of a Jewish state in the Land of Israel. Among the first to join was Rabbi Isaac *Reines, who responded to Theodor *Herzl's call and devoted his energies to spreading the idea of a national renaissance among Orthodox Jews. Reines believed that the Zionist movement must be dedicated exclusively to a political goal, and he led the fight against the inclusion of cultural activities in the Zionist program. After the Fifth Zionist Congress, however, when the strength of the "cultural" camp grew and official permission was granted to establish factions (federations) within the framework of the Zionist Organization. Reines decided to found a federation of religious Zionists. Toward this end, he convened the founding convention in Vilna on March 4–5, 1902, and it established the national-religious organization within the Zionist Organization. At the suggestion of Rabbi Abraham *Slutzky, the organization was called Mizrachi.

An outstanding participant at the founding convention was Rabbi Ze'ev *Jawitz, who was charged with composing the organization's first manifesto. Two groups clashed at the founding convention: the "political" faction, which called for the preservation of the purely political character of the Zionist movement and opposed the decision of the Fifth Zionist Congress (1901) obligating the Zionist Organization to include cultural activities in its program; and the "cultural" faction, which demanded that Mizrachi, as a "spiritual center," influence the Zionist movement and its work in the Land of Israel in its traditional-religious spirit. The Mizrachi program, which was accepted by the majority of the participants at the founding convention, stated that the Zionist Organization should not engage in activities that do not have a direct relationship to Zionism. and it was stated in the manifesto that Mizrachi should try "to gather around it all those Zionists who wish to purge practical Zionism of any alien element that is not directly related to political and practical Zionism." These decisions seem to reveal the victory of the "political" faction. Jawitz, however, who formulated the manifesto, succeeded in reflecting in it both viewpoints and thus satisfied both trends. An opening was thus created for cultural activities, albeit only in the framework of branches, "in line with local conditions and in the spirit of Orthodoxy."

A year after its establishment, Mizrachi's second conference was convened in Lida on March 22–24, 1903. During its first year, Mizrachi succeeded in building up 210 branches in Russia alone (which then included Poland, Lithuania, Courland, etc.). Mizrachi societies were also established in Galicia, Romania, Austria, Hungary, Germany, England, and Switzerland. First attempts were made to organize Mizrachi in Ereẓ Israel, and two-and-a-half years after it was founded, its branches also became active in Western Europe and in the United States. The first world conference of Mizrachi took place, with the participation of about 100 delegates, in Pressburg, Hungary (now Bratislava, Slovakia), on Aug. 21–23, 1904. The conference laid the foundation for the Mizrachi World Organization. Reines was the conference's chairman and delivered the opening address in Hebrew. Other speakers included Nehemiah *Nobel, among the great rabbis of Western Europe; Jawitz; Rabbi Nahum Grinhaus from Troki; and Rabbi Judah Leib Fishman (*Maimon). The movement's program was summed up at the conference as follows:

(1) Mizrachi is an organization of Zionists who follow the *Basle Program and desire to work for the perpetuation of Jewish national life. Mizrachi sees the perpetuation of the Jewish people in the observance of the Torah, Jewish tradition, and the *mitzvot* and the return to the land of its forefathers.

(2) Mizrachi will remain within the framework of the Zionist Organization, in which it will struggle for its opinions and views. However, it will create a special organization of its own for its religious and cultural activities.

(3) The purpose of Mizrachi is to realize its goals by employing all the legal means at its disposal to explain its ideas to all Orthodox circles, by creating and distributing national-religious literature, and by educating youth in the spirit of its ideals and programs.

From Crisis to Expansion

At the Tenth Zionist Congress, which took place in Basle in 1911, the question of cultural work was again raised, and a bitter battle ensued between its advocates and opponents. In order to establish its stand on the question, Mizrachi called a meeting before the congress and decided to light against the inclusion of cultural work in the Zionist program, but not by threatening secession. The majority at the congress, however, decided to include cultural work in the framework of the Zionist Organization's activities. Consequently, all the Mizrachi delegates walked out of the hall to demonstrate their opposition to the decision. The fifth world conference of Mizrachi was held in Berlin, immediately after the Zionist Congress, to formulate a stand on the decision of the Zionist Congress about cultural activities. The delegates from Russia and Poland were in favor of a struggle within the Zionist Organization using all possible means short of creating a split, for any schism would be a tragedy for the entire Jewish people and the national renaissance. On the other hand, representatives from the center in Frankfurt and some of the Swiss and Hungarian delegates were in favor of withdrawing from the Zionist Organization. The Berlin conference finally decided against leaving the Zionist Organization while conducting the struggle within its ranks. This decision brought about a rift in the ranks of Mizrachi, and a number of its leaders, including members of the head office in Frankfurt, left the organization. As a result the center of Mizrachi was moved to Altona, near Hamburg. Louis Frank was elected chairman and was later the second president of World Mizrachi.

During the term of the Hamburg executive, the central office of Mizrachi was established in the Land of Israel under the direction of Rabbi Fishman. Also during the Hamburg period, Rabbi Meir Berlin (Bar-Ilan) began working as the general secretary organizer of the Mizrachi World Organization. He left Lithuania for Berlin and there published the weekly *Ha-Ivri*. When Rabbi Berlin entered office, Mizrachi received a great impetus in its work and became a strong and influential factor both in the Zionist movement and among religious Jewry. Under his leadership, the first conference of Mizrachi to take place in the United States was convened in 1914, in Cincinnati, Ohio, and he succeeded in making the movement into an important factor in the lives of American Jewry and in the American Zionist movement. Rabbi Berlin was joined there by Rabbi Fishman, who had been expelled from Ereẓ Israel during World War I by the Turkish authorities and who added projects of his own and the atmosphere of Ereẓ Israel to the American movement. The first world conference of Mizrachi that took place after World War I (Amsterdam, Jan. 14–15, 1920) decided to transfer the seat of the world center to Jerusalem. Mizrachi was thus the first Zionist party to establish its center in Ereẓ Israel (and specifically in Jerusalem). In 1923 Rabbi Berlin, who was the leader of the movement and expanded its activities, settled in Ereẓ Israel. Some time later he was also elected president of the world organization and remained in this position until his death.

Mizrachi in Ereẓ Israel

After fundamental organizational preparation within circles of the old *yishuv* and organizational work that began in March 1918, including the foundation of branches in various areas of settlement in the country and the establishment of a "temporary center" in Jaffa, the foundations for Mizrachi were laid in Ereẓ Israel. Its first conference was held on Sept. 2, 1918, and since then Mizrachi has become a political and cultural force in the country. Among the founders of Mizrachi in Ereẓ Israel were Rabbi Ben-Zion *Ouziel, then the rabbi of Jaffa and afterward the Sephardi chief rabbi (*rishon le-Zion*), and Moshe *Ostrovsky (ha-Meiri), then the rabbi of the settlement of Ekron and afterward a member of the Va'ad Le'ummi. Rabbi Fishman participated at the second national conference (September 1919) after returning to the country from his absence during the war. Mizrachi reached the height of its development with the transfer of its world center to the country and especially after Rabbi Berlin settled there in 1923. During certain periods, Rabbi Berlin also served as the chairman of Mizrachi in the country.

As early as its first conference in Ereẓ Israel, Mizrachi raised the matter of establishing the offices of the rabbinate as one of the major points on the agenda. It subsequently devoted much effort to ensure the success of the conference to establish the chief rabbinate of Ereẓ Israel, which took place through the initiative of Rabbi Abraham Isaac *Kook in Jerusalem in February 1921. After great efforts, in December 1919 Mizrachi succeeded in acquiring the recognition of the Zionist institutions for its trend of religious education as a part of the educational system of the Zionist Organization.

With the end of World War I and the publication of the *Balfour Declaration, the Third Aliyah began to arrive in Palestine and brought with it members of Ẓe'irei Mizrachi, who strove to build up the land on the basis of pioneering labor and religious renewal. As young pioneers they called for "personal fulfillment," i.e., for religious Zionists to settle in Ereẓ Israel and build it in the spirit of the Torah. Their vision was expressed in the short motto "*Torah va-Avodah*," which became the basis for the religious labor movement and the establishment of *Ha-Po'el ha-Mizrachi in Ereẓ Israel. The idea struck roots in the Diaspora as well and became the slogan of the mass movement, called Torah va-Avodah, throughout the world. It was an active participant in the Jewish Agency prior to 1948 and was an active partner in Israel's government coalitions since the birth of the State (from 1956 as the National Religious Party; see below). Through the early 1980s it consistently polled about 10% of the total vote in Israel, but then dropped sharply to under 5% as less moderate parties to the right attracted many of its voters. (See *Israel, State of: Political Life and Parties.) The party was also active in the municipal level and was the main supporter of the chief rabbinate.

Educational Work

After the crisis that overcame Russian Jewry with the outbreak of the Russo-Japanese War, the revolution, and the pogroms that followed (1905), it was practically impossible to maintain the world center of Mizrachi in Russia. It was therefore decided to transfer the seat of its executive to Frankfurt, Germany. During the "Frankfurt period," Mizrachi activities became more systematic. Their most important aspect was the beginning of the educational work of Mizrachi in Ereẓ Israel. The world center decided to send Rabbi Fishman to study the situation of education in Ereẓ Israel and find ways to develop educational and cultural activities there. He laid the foundation for the establishment of the Taḥkemoni School in Jaffa, the first educational institution of Mizrachi in the country, which inaugurated Mizrachi's educational system based on a synthesis of "the people of Israel, the Torah, and Zion."

In 1920 an agreement was reached in the World Zionist Organization that ensured Mizrachi autonomy in the field of religious education in Ereẓ Israel. An educational program began to be designed, followed by the establishment of a network of Mizrachi schools, which included kindergartens, elementary schools, high schools, yeshivot, vocational schools, and teachers' seminaries. The educational network of Mizrachi continued to exist as a separate trend in Israel until the establishment of the State religious school system in the 1953/54 school year (see *Israel, State of: Education). The large majority of Mizrachi schools, which then encompassed more than 60,000 students and about 3,000 teachers, were integrated into the new framework of governmental religious education. The yeshivot have been the most outstanding achievement of Mizrachi education. In 16 high school-level yeshivot of *Bnei Akiva, students receive both a yeshivah and general education; in 12 girls' schools the educational program is parallel to that of the yeshivot. The network includes Midrashiat No'am in Pardes Ḥannah, "Torah and Melakhah" yeshivot, the agricultural yeshivah at Kefar ha-Ro'eh, and the yeshivah for higher studies at Kerem Yavneh. At *Bar-Ilan University in Ramat Gan, which was established by Mizrachi in the United States, there were more than 7,000 students in 1970, with extensions in Safed, Ashkelon, and the Jordan Valley. In 2005 it had over 30,000 students. After the 20th world conference of Mizrachi (1962), the educational work of the movement was administered by the Center for Religious Education in Israel, affiliated with the world center of Mizrachi-Ha-Po'el ha-Mizrachi and the movement in Israel. In 2005 the Center provided supplementary religious education in 255 secondary schools in Israel. The Emunah women's organization operated 120 day care centers throughout the country.

Structure of the World Movement

From 1955 the world movement of Mizrachi and Ha-Po'el ha-Mizrachi constituted one united organization. Before the merger of the two movements, however, they existed as separate world organizations – Mizrachi as the Mizrachi World Organization and Ha-Po'el ha-Mizrachi as Berit ha-Olamit shel Torah va-Avodah. The activities among women and youth had also been separate. The world center of Mizrachi and Ha-Po'el ha-Mizrachi is the highest body of the religious Zionist framework and constitutes a common executive of the two movements. It is elected by the world conference of the movement, which meets every few years. Rabbi Meir Berlin served as president of the world movement for many years. After his death (1949), Rabbi A.L. *Gellman was elected chairman of the world center. At the 21st world conference (1968), Ḥayyim Moshe *Shapira was elected president of the world center and the world movement and Rabbi Ẓemaḥ Zambrowski was elected chairman of the world center. The world movement's financial instrument is the Keren Ereẓ Israel shel Mizrachi.

When Mizrachi and Ha-Po'el ha-Mizrachi united throughout the world, a common conference of the two organizations in Israel was held in the summer of 1956 and decided to found a united party by the name of the *National Religious Party (Miflagah Datit Le'ummit, abbreviated to Mafdal). At the second conference of the NRP and the 13th conference of Ha-Po'el ha-Mizrachi in Israel (1963), the responsibilities and tasks of the NRP and Ha-Po'el ha-Mizrachi were divided as follows: the party will deal with matters of policy, municipal affairs, organization of the middle class, religion and rabbis, public relations and publication of the daily newspaper *Ha-Ẓofeh*; Ha-Po'el ha-Mizrachi with organization, fees, immigration and absorption, labor and vocational affairs, housing, settlement, culture, pension funds and economic affairs, matters concerning free professionals, and departments for elderly members and development towns.

Projects and Achievements

Mizrachi fought for the observance of the Sabbath in Israel and the preservation of the character of the Sabbath and Jewish holidays in the public life of the Jewish community. It initiated the establishment of the Ministry of Religions in the government of Israel and of covering the religious needs of the population from government funds and local authorities. Its efforts also led to the passage of the laws governing *kashrut* and Sabbath observance in the Israel Defense Forces, marriage and divorce, rabbinical judges, etc. Through the initiative of Rabbi Berlin, the Mifal ha-Torah Lema'an ha-Yeshivot be-Ereẓ Israel (Torah Fund for Yeshivot in the Land of Israel) was established whose publication of the Talmud and the *Encyclopedia Talmudica* is in progress. In the field of literature and journalism, the daily *Ha-Ẓofeh* and Mosad ha-Rav Kook, established by Rabbi Fishman and constituting the largest publishing house in the world for literature on the Torah and studies of Judaism, are worthy of mention. Since its foundation, more than 1,000 books have been published by the Mosad or with its aid.

Women's and youth organizations also hold an important place in the framework of the world movement. The women in the Mizrachi movement have taken part in the activities of Histadrut Nashim Mizrachi (Omen; Women's Mizrachi Federation in Ereẓ Israel) and Mo'eẓet ha-Po'alot shel Ha-Po'el ha-Mizrachi, which integrated into one movement called the National Religious Women's Movement in Ereẓ Israel, encompassing more than 50,000 members. This movement is active in the sphere of establishing kindergartens and day nurseries, the cultural absorption of new immigrants, the organization of agricultural and vocational training for its members, etc. Among the youth organizations centered around Mizrachi is *Bnei Akiva. Until the union of Mizrachi and Ha-Po'el ha-Mizrachi and the establishment of the NRP, the youth organization No'am (short for No'ar Mizrachi), which was founded on Ḥanukkah 1940 and established Midrashiat No'am in Pardes Ḥannah, existed separately. Other youth organizations are Ha-No'ar ha-Dati ha-Oved for working youth and Ha-Mishmeret ha-Ẓe'irah (The Young Guard), which encompassed thousands of students and army veterans. The world center of Mizrachi and Ha-Po'el ha-Mizrachi also established a special department for the young generation that centralized the activities of Ha-Mishmeret ha-Ẓe'irah around the world. Finally, there is the religious sports organization, Eliẓur.

The Mizrachi movement also established a series of financial and economic institutions including Bank ha-Mizrachi and Bank Ha-Po'el ha-Mizrachi, which united and established the United Mizrachi Bank, the fourth largest bank in the country; Mishhav, a company for construction and the establishment of religious quarters and suburbs; a center for the economic institutions and programs of the movement; the cooperative of Ha-Po'el ha-Mizrachi; pension funds; etc.

[Itzhak Goldshlag]

In the United States

Mizrachi of America was founded in 1911 with groups in New York and St. Louis. Rabbi D.B. Abramowitz was the first president. The organization did not become effective until 1913, when Rabbi Meir Berlin settled in New York and became the leader of the movement. Following a tour of the country by Rabbi Berlin, Mizrachi held its first annual convention in Cincinnati in 1914. The Mizrachi Palestine Fund was established in 1928, and in 1936 became part of the United Palestine Appeal. Its youth movement, Benei Akiva, was established in 1934. In 1951 Mizrachi merged with Ha-Po'el ha-Mizrachi, which had been established early in the 1920s. AMIT, the Mizrachi Women of America (AMIT), is involved in educational work, funding an educational network in Israel that includes 22 primary and secondary schools, four youth and family residential facilities, five youth technology centers, and seven technical training colleges.

[Louis Bernstein]

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MIZRACHI, SHIMON (1940–), chairman of the Maccabi Tel Aviv basketball team. Mizrachi was born in Tel Aviv. In 1969 he joined the management of Maccabi Tel Aviv, when the team faced economic crisis. He initiated an economic plan to save the team, and began for the first time to sell tickets to the team's games. Mizrachi was also the first to understand that without foreign players the team would not succeed. His vision was fulfilled when Maccabi Tel Aviv won its first European championship in 1977 with a team that included former Illinois All-American Tal *Brody and a 6′10″ black center named Aulcie Perry. Maccabi went on to win European championships another four times, in 1981, 2001, 2004, and 2005, becoming a European powerhouse. Under Mizrachi's leadership, Maccabi Tel Aviv was seen to represent the country as a whole in international sports, though it was in fact only a local sports club with its own rivals on the Israeli sports scene. For Mizrachi, the team was his life, with his own family events being fitted in around the team's schedule. Perhaps his greatest triumph was to convince European Basketball Association officials not to pull the Final Four out of Tel Aviv in 2004 despite the security situation. In 2004 he was chosen as one of the torch bearers on Independence Day.

WEBSITE: www.hamaccabi.com.

[Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

MIZRAḤ (Heb. מִזְרָח; "east"), designation of the direction to be faced during prayer, of the wall of the synagogue where seats were reserved for the rabbi and other dignitaries, and of an ornamental wall plaque used to indicate the location of east. The custom of facing the Temple during prayer has biblical origins beginning with Solomon's prayer (I Kings 8:34, 44, 48; II Chron. 6:34). The Bible also relates that Daniel prayed three times daily in his chamber, the windows of which were opened toward Jerusalem (Dan. 6:11). The rule laid down in the Mishnah (Ber. 4:5) and amplified in the Talmud, is that if one prays in the Diaspora, he shall direct himself toward Ereẓ Israel; in Ereẓ Israel, toward Jerusalem; in Jerusalem, toward the Temple; and in the Temple, toward the Holy of Holies. If a man is east of the Temple, he should turn westward; if in the west, eastward; in the south, northward; and if in the north, southward. Thus all Jews direct their prayers toward one place (Ber. 30a; T.J. Ber. 4:5 8b–c; Tosef., Ber. 3:16). The term *mizraḥ*, therefore, applies properly to the cities and countries situated west of Jerusalem. Excavations of ancient synagogues generally bear this out, as those houses of worship found in Miletus, Priene, and Aegina, all west of Ereẓ Israel, show an eastern orientation, as has been recorded of Egyptian synagogues (Jos., Apion, 2:10). Those synagogues north of Jerusalem and west of the Jordan River, as *Bet Alfa, *Capernaum, *Hammath, and *Chorazin all face southward, whereas ancient sanctuaries east of the Jordan, such as Val-Dokkī Umm al-Qanātir, Jarash, and *Dura-Europos all face west. In the south, the synagogue excavated at *Masada faces northwest to Jerusalem. The directions frequently varied slightly due to the terrain. Exceptions have been found in the synagogues at Khirbat Summāqa, a village on Mt. Carmel, and at ʿUsifiyyā, where the orientations are not toward Jerusalem. There is no satisfactory explanation for this divergence from the norm. In the early Christian church it was also customary to pray facing toward the Holy Land. For Islam the original direction of prayer (*qibla*) was toward Jerusalem, but this was subsequently changed by Muhammad in favor of Mecca.

Excavations of ancient synagogues show that the earliest houses of worship had their entrances facing Jerusalem, and portals, therefore, indicated the sacred direction. The remains of the Dura-Europos synagogue on the Euphrates reveal that by the third century C.E. the doors were on the eastern side, and the opposite wall, in which a special niche had been made to place the scrolls during worship, faced Jerusalem. This niche was too small to have been the permanent location of the ark, which was obviously still portable at that time. In Ereẓ Israel the wall facing the Temple site was changed from the side of entrance to the side of the ark in the fifth or sixth century. This change is already found in synagogues at Naaran near Jericho and Bet Alfa. Worshipers came through the portals and immediately faced both the scrolls and Jerusalem. However, in those sanctuaries found in Hammath, Yafa in Galilee, and Eshtemoa in Judea, the sacred direction is properly south in the first two cases and north in the third, while the entrance is from the eastern side. This may be in imitation of the Tent of Meeting, which had its gates on the eastern side (Num. 2:2–3; 3:38), or of Solomon's Temple, the portals of which were to the east (Ezek. 43:1–4), although the precise reason is not known. Maimonides, quoting the second passage in Numbers, states that the doors of the synagogue should face east, while the Ark should be placed "in the direction in which people pray in that city," i.e., toward Jerusalem (Yad, Tefillah, 11:2). The Shulḥan Arukh records the same rule, but to avoid the semblance of worshiping the sun by facing east, it recommends that one turn toward the southeast (Isserles OḤ 94:2; also Suk. 5:4). If a person is unable to ascertain the points of the compass, he should direct his heart toward Jerusalem. This was also the opinion of R. Tarfon and R. Sheshet, who held that, since the Divine Presence is everywhere, the essential requirement is to direct one's heart to God (BB 25a). It is customary in traditional homes to mark the eastern wall to enable a person to recite his prayers in the proper direction. Artistic wall plaques inscribed with the word *mizraḥ* and scriptural passages like "From the rising (*mi-mizraḥ*) of the sun unto the going down thereof, the Lord's name is to be praised" (Ps. 113:3), kabbalistic inscriptions, or pictures of holy places are used for this purpose.

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MIZRAHI, ASHER (1890–1967), cantor, composer, and poet. Mizrahi was born in the old city of Jerusalem. He later moved to Yemin Moshe, the first quarter outside the walls. At this period of his life, he composed and performed religious and secular songs connected with the traditional Judeo-Spanish repertory, as well as in the style of Turkish and Arabic classical music, which mark an early mingling of Sephardi and Oriental styles. He thus achieved a kind of qualitative compromise between the religious and secular in his musical works.

In 1917, Mizrahi quit Jerusalem, clandestinely seeking to escape his recruitment by the Turkish army, and settled in Tunis. Except for short stays in Jerusalem in 1919 and 1929, he sojourned there until 1967. He then returned to Jerusalem, where he died the same year.

During the many years he stayed in Tunis, he became a central figure in the musical life of the Tunisian Jewish community, not only by promoting the cantorial tradition and considerably enriching its musical life, but also thanks to his great artistry in the realm of the new Egyptian art style that was at that time the subject of great favor among both Jewish and non-Jewish Tunisians. It is noteworty that Mizrahi, who was a great admirer of the Egyptian singer and composer Muhammad ʿAbd al-Wahhab, set many of his own Hebrew poems to his melodies. Thus, in addition to his essential role in developing the religious musical life of the community and the appropriate musical education he provided to the community's children and youth by means of the children's choir, he created *awlad al-Biyyut* ("the children of the *piyyut*"). He distinguished himself as an interpreter of Arab music and *ʿud* playing. In this latter activity he gained the favor of the Tunisian president, Habib Bourguiba.

In Tunisia, Mizrahi published an anthology of Hebrew poems for singing, the title of which is *Ma'adanei Melekh* ("The King's Delicacies," Sousse: Makhluf Najjar, 1945; republished in Israel in 1968).

In Tunis he established choirs that performed his songs.

Among his outstanding pupils were Rabbi Getz, the late rabbi of the Western Wall, and David Riyahi, who established a synagogue choir in Netanyah that accompanied the services and performed many of his *piyyutim*.

[Amnon Shiloah (2nd ed.)]

MIZRAḤI, DAVID BEN SHALOM (c. 1696–1771), one of the most prominent *halakhah* scholars in *Yemen. Mizraḥi propagated Torah studies and headed the synagogue of the *nagid* Sar Shalom Irāqi (al-Usta). When the need was felt for a commentary on the Shulḥan Arukh adapted to the requirements of Yemenite Jewry and its customs, David Mizraḥi undertook this task in his work *Shetilei Zeitim* (1886–91), on *Oraḥ Ḥayyim* (1886–91; 1895). He explains the Shulḥan Arukh with brevity and clarity, quoting the customs of Yemenite Jewry which are not mentioned by R. Moses *Isserles and the commentaries of the Shulḥan Arukh. He retained all the notes of R. Moses Isserles that are in agreement with the Shulḥan Arukh and omitted everything that was in contradiction to it, including customs. Mizraḥi adopted the same style in his work *Rashei Besamim* (1895) on the *Yoreh De'ah*. His third work is *Revid ha-Zahav* (1955), responsa and novellas on the Shulḥan Arukh and R. Moses Isserles (some of which were written by his son Yiḥya). This work is the first of its kind in the responsa literature of Yemenite Jewry.

[Yehuda Ratzaby]

MIZRAḤI, ELIJAH (c. 1450–1526), rabbinical authority, the greatest of the rabbis of the *Ottoman Empire of his time. Mizraḥi was of Romaniot origin (the original Turkish Jews as distinct from the Spanish exiles) and was born and educated in Constantinople. Among his teachers he mentions Elijah ha-Levi in rabbinic studies and Mordecai Comitiano (see *Comtino) in general studies. Until the death of Moses *Capsali, Mizraḥi devoted himself to study and public instruction. As early as 1475 he is mentioned as heading a *keneset* (probably a school in addition to a synagogue) and as having students. During this period of his life he was involved in controversies with *Moses Esrim ve-Arba and Perez Colon, and despite his stormy and aggressive temperament he submitted to the intervention of Capsali in these disputes, an intervention which reveals a certain tension between them. Perhaps for this reason he took no part in the famous controversy between Capsali and Joseph Colon. After the death of Capsali in 1498, Mizraḥi became the foremost rabbinical authority in Constantinople and in fact throughout the whole Ottoman Empire. From far and near, problems of *halakhah* and procedure were addressed to him. There is reason to believe that he filled the position of head of the rabbis of Constantinople (though he did not have the title of *ḥakham bashi*, appointed by the sultan, since that office did not exist in that period). Nevertheless, it would seem that his authority derived not from any official position, but from the recognition of his personality and strength. He was considered both by his contemporaries and later generations as the greatest *posek* of his time in *Turkey. He was firm and unbending in his decisions, and even the great rabbis among the Spanish exiles accepted his authority.

In his responsa (56) he gives a description of his daily routine, which reveals the strain under which he worked. Fulfilling a number of functions simultaneously, he conducted the affairs of the community, gave decisions on all matters, headed a yeshivah, and taught not only Talmud but secular subjects. At the same time he wrote commentaries on both religious and scientific works, had an inner circle of select students whom he taught the codes, and wrote responsa in answer to queries addressed to him from afar. Like Moses Capsali, he was active in the problem of the absorption of the exiles from Spain and Portugal, collecting funds on their behalf, and forcing the wealthy members of the community to pay the amounts imposed on them (Resp. 66). Mizraḥi's attitude to these exiles was one of respect and high regard. He appreciated that their standards of culture and knowledge were higher than those of the native Turkish Jews, but nevertheless he came out firmly against attempts by some of them to impose their will on the old community. He resisted attempts on their part to impose customs and procedures to which they were accustomed, but which were contrary to those ruling in Turkey. Of special importance was his attitude toward the *Karaites. On the one hand he exerted himself to attract them to the Rabbanites, and, in opposition to Moses Capsali, to give them instruction in both secular subjects and even in the Oral Law, and in this context firmly resisted every attempt to isolate them. On the other hand he completely rejected on halakhic grounds the permissibility of intermarriage between Karaites and Rabbanites. Mizraḥi's halakhic method is distinctive and clear. He lays down fundamental principles and raises possible objections to his own statements, so that every topic is exhaustively examined and clarified. His responsa were accepted as authoritative by his and succeeding generations, despite the fact that some of the leading contemporary scholars opposed his views.

His best-known pupils and colleagues were Elijah ha-Levi, *Tam ibn Yaḥya, and Abraham ibn Yaish. Mizraḥi suffered greatly from ill health, financial strain, and family misfortunes. Three of his sons are known, Gershon, Israel, and Reuben, and a daughter. There are legends about his son-in-law's connections with the court of the sultan. Reuben died during his father's lifetime. Gershon was the victim of a libel that during a severe illness he had sought to be converted to *Islam. He had to abandon his family and, after paying heavy bribes, escaped to Naxos, but even there he suffered persecution and strife. These two incidents, as well as the death of his wife, affected Mizraḥi greatly. His third son, Israel, published his father's Rashi commentary and *Sefer ha-Mispar*. Mizraḥi died in Constantinople and Joseph *Taitaẓak eulogized his works.

Mizraḥi's personality and multi-faceted character emerge clearly from his works. His main activity was in the writing and teaching of both *halakhah* and general knowledge, but his main fame rests upon his crowning achievement, his supercommentary to Rashi (1st ed. Venice, 1527), a fact which he himself states. In this work he exhaustively discusses almost every word in Rashi, but does not refrain from disagreeing with him on numerous occasions. On the other hand he defends Rashi against the criticism of Naḥmanides. This work has given rise to a veritable literature. Later commentators answered his criticism and justified Rashi. The two works, Rashi's commentary and Mizraḥi's supercommentary, became a main subject of study of rabbinical commentators of the Bible from the 16th century onward. The work has an added importance as a result of the quotations it gives from the Romaniot scholars of the 14th and 15th centuries for which his work is the sole source, side by side with those of Ibn Ezra and the French and German scholars. Mizraḥi's responsa, published in two collections, number 140, but of them only 110 are his, although they undoubtedly represent only a fraction of his many responsa. More than 40 are still in various manuscripts. A comparison between the two reveals the many errors in the printed responsa, particularly in the Constantinople edition. An extant fragment (Resp. Const. 96) reveals the method of teaching in his yeshivah, consisting of notes made at the time by one of his pupils.

The only other rabbinic work of Mizraḥi published is his novellae on the *Sefer Mitzvot Gadol* of *Moses of Coucy (Constantinople, 1521), the only work of his published in his lifetime. His work on the *Halakhot* of Isaac Alfasi is not extant. In the field of secular knowledge his *Sefer ha-Mispar* (Constantinople, 1533) on mathematics is famous. It was highly thought of in its time and has been translated into Latin. He also wrote a commentary on Ptolemy's *Almagest* and on Euclid's *Elements*. R. Moses Almosnino possessed a commentary by Mizraḥi on the "Intentions of the Philosophers" of al-*Ghazālī. Mizraḥi took a negative attitude toward Kabbalah, particularly against relying on it for halakhic decisions, and the introduction of kabbalistic ideas into the prayer book.

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[Joseph Hacker]

MIZRAHI, HANINAH (1886–1974), teacher. Born in Teheran in 1886, he immigrated to the Land of Israel in 1895 and died in Jerusalem. His father, Haim Elazar, was a *paytan*. Mizrahi began his studies at the Alliance school in Jerusalem, where he learned French. He also learned German by himself and could read the Judeo-Persian works by Wilhelm Bacher of Budapest. In 1907, he received his teaching certificate from the Ezra school in Jerusalem, where he also improved his German language. In 1911 he married Sarah, the daughter of R. Shalom Yehezqel. For 15 years, beginning in 1921, he taught at the *talmud torah* of the Sephardim in Old Jerusalem. After Israel's War of Independence, the school fell into the hands of Jordan, so Mizrahi continued to teach at Harel school in West Jerusalem until his retirement in 1951. He is regarded as one of the founders of the Bet ha-Kerem quarter in Jerusalem. Mizrahi published the following books on the Jews of Iran: *Yehudei Paras* (1959); *Toldot Yehudei Paras* (1966); *Bi-Yshishim Ḥokhmah* (1967). He was mainly a folklorist in his education and writings.

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[Amnon Netzer (2nd ed.)]

MIẒRAYIM (Heb. מִצְרַיִם), Hebrew place-name. In the Septuagint it is rendered as Egypt. The Hebrew proper noun, however, has a broader range of meaning. As Aiguptos, the name of the country was derived from a name for the city of Memphis, *Ḥet-kau-ptaḥ* ("Castle of the *ka*-souls of Ptah"), so the name of Miẓrayim may have been derived from the name of a city of Lower Egypt, if not of Lower Egypt itself. This is based on the occurrences in the Bible of Miẓrayim in combination with Pathros (*pa to resy*; "the southern country," i.e., Upper Egypt), in which cases Miẓrayim seems to mean Lower Egypt (*To Mehy*). Secondarily, it came to mean both all of Egypt and Egyptians, and was – and still is – the common Hebrew word for Egypt.

[Alan Richard Schulman]

MLADA BOLESLAV (Czech **Mladá Boleslav**; Ger. **Jungbunzlau**), town in N. Bohemia, Czech Republic. One of the important communities in Bohemia, it is first mentioned in 1471 and is noted in a Hebrew document of 1556. Eleven families lived there in 1570, and a synagogue was recorded in 1579. The cemetery (well known mainly because of the tombstone of Jacob *Bassevi von Treuenberg) was consecrated in 1584 and still existed in 1970. The number of adult Jews in the town in 1615 was 120. In 1643 the community came under the protection of the Swedish king for a time. The community elders were forced to sign an agreement in 1661 which greatly limited their freedom of commerce. At the end of the century, Jews had a near monopoly of transportation. In 1710 a shopkeeper, David Brandeis, was accused of poisoning a Christian with plum jam; the day of his release was celebrated on the tenth of Adar as *Povidl* ("plum jam") *Purim*. After a fire in the late 17th century had destroyed part of the Jewish quarter and the synagogue, the community built a new synagogue on the model of the Meisl synagogue in Prague. It had to be demolished in 1960 because of decay. The Jewish population numbered 794 in 1834; 865 (9.1% of the total population) in 1880; 402 (2.8% of the total) in 1910; 419 in 1921; and 264 (1.3%) in 1930. In 1922 a local Jewish museum was founded; its treasures were later transferred to the Central Jewish Museum in Prague. In 1942 the Jews from Mlada Boleslav and the surrounding district were concentrated in the old castle. Of the 1,041 persons deported to *Theresienstadt in January 1943, only 40 were still alive in November 1944. After World War II a small congregation was reestablished, administered by the Prague community.

Among the outstanding rabbis of Mlada Boleslav were Moses Isaac Spira (until 1702), Ezekiel Glogau-Schlesinger (until 1821), and Isaac Spitz (1824–42). The house in which Sigfried *Kapper (1821–79) lived was marked by a memorial tablet. Jewish life in Mlada Boleslav at the beginning of the 19th century is described in Leopold *Kompert's *Die Kinder des Randars* ("The Randar Children"). Mlada Boleslav was considered a kind of a Bohemian *Chelm and many tales were told of "*Bumsler Shtiklekh*" ("pranks"). The Prague scholar Meir *Fischels (Bumsla) came from Mlada Boleslav. A **seliḥah*, printed in 1854 to commemorate a conflagration, was the last literary production of this kind published in Bohemia. Benjamin Isaac (d. 1750), "Jew merchant of extensive charity" in London, came from Mlada Boleslav, and he set up a foundation in his name in his native community.

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[Jan Herman]

MLAWA (Pol. **Mława**; Rus. **Mlava**), town in the province of Warsaw, N.E. central Poland. The earliest documented information on the Jewish community is dated 1543. It is included in a report of a case of *blood libel, which mentions the name of the *parnas* of the community – Berechiah (Pol. Bogusław). In 1569 there were 23 Jewish families living in the town and in 1578 they had increased to 34. Their main sources of livelihood were the livestock trade and crafts. A charge of desecrating the *Host in 1670, and the fires which devastated Mlawa in 1659 and 1692, caused the number of Jews gradually to decrease. On the other hand, the Jewish population of the suburb of Zabrody, which was beyond the area of municipal jurisdiction, and the surrounding villages, increased.

Until 1753, the community of Mlawa was under the jurisdiction of that of *Ciechanow. The growth of economic activity in the region during the last third of the 18th century brought an increase in the Jewish population. The 1765 census showed 70 Jewish families numbering 487 poll tax payers in Mlawa and the neighboring villages. Fifteen houses in the town were owned by Jews. Sources of 1781 mention a Jewish population of 718. After the Prussian conquest (1793), the town was granted a *de non tolerandis Judaeis* privilege, and the Jews then moved to the suburb of Zabrody.

The Jews returned to Mlawa with the establishment of the grand duchy of Warsaw (1807). In 1808 they numbered 137, forming 15% of the population. Following restrictions on Jewish settlement, a special quarter was established in 1824, and only there (with some rare exceptions) were Jews permitted to live. In addition, the entry of Jews from other regions was almost completely prohibited, because of the location of the town in the border area. In 1827, there were 792 Jews (36% of the population) living in the town. The ghetto and the other restrictions on residence and ownership of real estate were abolished in 1862. Once the railway lines from Mlawa to Warsaw (1877) and Gdansk (1883) were opened, the trade in grain, livestock, wood, and army supplies, from which many Jews earned their livelihood, increased considerably. Between 1857 and 1897, the Jewish population of Mlawa grew from 1,650 to 4,845 (41% of the population).

The influence of Ḥasidism manifested itself among the Jews of Mlawa from the beginning of the 19th century. With the consolidation of their economic situation at the close of that century, the influence of *Mitnaggedim* circles gained in strength (in 1870, Wolf Lipszie was appointed rabbi of the town). The last rabbi of Mlawa, R. Jehiel Moses Segalowicz (appointed 1901), was known as one of the *Mitnaggedim*. In the late 1890s, a *Ḥovevei Zion circle was organized in the town. During the revolution and pogroms of 1905–06, the *Bund and the *Po'alei Zion wielded considerable influence among the Jewish workers, youth, and intelligentsia of Mlawa. The Jewish author Joseph *Opatoshu, the Hebrew author Jakir *Warshavsky, and the publicist and leader of the Bund in Poland, Victor *Alter, were born in Mlawa, where they also began their careers. Between 1921 and 1927 the Jewish population of Mlawa increased from 5,923 to 6,301. A newspaper, *Dos Mlauer Lebn*, was published; its editors included Bunim Warshavsky, Moses Lichtensztain, and Moses Laska.

Holocaust Period

At the outbreak of World War II there were about 6,500 Jews in Mlawa. At the beginning of November 1939 the Germans destroyed all the synagogues in Mlawa and vicinity. The first deportation took place on Dec. 6, 1940, when 300 Jews were deported to Miedzyrzec *Podlaski, *Lubartow, and *Lublin; they shared the fate of the Jews there. The ghetto was established on Dec. 7–8, 1940, and liquidated two years later on Nov. 24, 1942. The last deportations took place from Nov. 10, 1942, to Dec. 10, 1942; almost all the Jews were deported to *Treblinka death camp. The Jewish community of Mlawa was not reconstituted after the war. Organizations of former residents of Mlawa are active in Israel, the United States, and Mexico.

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[Arthur Cygielman]

MLOTEK, CHANA (1922–), U.S. musicologist, folklorist, researcher, archivist, and scholar of Yiddish song and culture. Born Eleanor Gordon in Brooklyn, New York, the daughter of Leo and Bessie Gordon, Mlotek grew up as a native Yiddish speaker in the Bronx. She attended the Yiddish elementary school associated with the Workman's Circle, the Sholem Aleichem Yiddish High School, and Hunter College, receiving a B.A. in French and music in 1946.

Chana became a secretary to Lucy *Davidowicz at YIVO in New York in 1944 and then worked for Max *Weinreich. She went to California as Weinreich's secretary and later served as his assistant. In 1948, she studied folklore and linguistics at UCLA on a YIVO scholarship. Her interest in collecting Yiddish songs began around that time, and between 1948 and 1961 she worked intensively in this area. Chana married Joseph Mlotek, a teacher and writer of Yiddish musical plays in 1949, and the couple had two sons. Between 1963 and 1966, Chana served as music director of Camp Boiberik, where she created and taught Yiddish musical material for children. In 1968, she and Malke Gottlieb, through the Workman's Circle, published *Finf un Tsvantsik Geto Lider* ("Twenty-Five Ghetto Songs"), in commemoration of the 25th anniversary of the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising. Later, she published *Mir Zaynen Do: Lider fun di getos un lagern* ("We are Here: Songs of the Holocaust," 1983).

In 1970, she and her husband started a column in the Yiddish *Forward* newspaper, "*Perl fun der Yidisher poezye*" (Pearls of Yiddish Poetry), about Yiddish songs and poetry. People sent them material and between 1970 and 2000 they published over 2,000 Yiddish songs in their column. In 1972, Chana published an anthology of these songs, *Mir Trogn A Gesang* ("*The New Book of Yiddish Songs*"), in which she constructed an organizational scheme based on the songs' function and genre. In 1974, she published *Perl fun der Yidisher poezye* ("Pearls of Yiddish Poetry") in Tel Aviv. After Joseph's death in 2000, she continued to edit the column. Other published anthologies include *Yontefdike teg* ("Song Book for the Jewish Holidays," 1972), *Perl fun Yidishn lid* ("Pearls of Yiddish Song," 1988), and *Lider fun dor tsu dor: naye perl fun Yidishn Lid* ("Songs of Generations: New Pearls of Yiddish Songs," 1990).

Chana Mlotek wrote over 20 articles on folk songs, folk poetry, and Yiddish literature in various journals. She contributed to the first two volumes of Uriel Weinreich's compendium, *The Field of Yiddish: Studies in Language, Folklore and Literature*, and served as co-editor of the magazine *Yidisher Folklor*. Beginning in 1978, she worked at YIVO as an archivist.

[Judith S. Pinnolis (2nd ed.)]

°**MNASEAS OF PATARA** (in Lycia; probably second century B.C.E.), a disciple of *Eratosthenes. He wrote a Periegesis, a geographical work covering Europe, Asia, and Libya. According to Josephus (Apion, 2:112–4), Apion attributes to Mnaseas a story of how an Idumean named Zabidus duped the Jews into believing that he intended to deliver his god Apollo and thus gained entrance into the Temple, from which he stole the golden head of the ass allegedly worshiped by the Jews (cf. *Damocritus) – the first occurrence in literature of the canard that the Jews worshiped an ass. Since Mnaseas' words are known only at third hand, little weight attaches to the story, but it does illustrate the credulity (cf. *Hecataeus, *Horace, etc.) widely ascribed to the Jews in antiquity.

MNEMONICS OR MEMORA TECHNICA (Heb. סִימָן, *siman*; "a sign"), devices based on the principle that the mind is able to recall relatively unfamiliar ideas by connecting, as some artificial whole, parts of them which are mutually suggestive. Mnemonics are widely used in the Talmud – as in post-talmudic literature – but their use in the former was rendered imperative by the fact that the Talmud was originally transmitted orally, and even after it was committed to writing, both the scarcity of the texts, and the custom of teaching the text orally which prevailed in the geonic academies (Weiss, Dor, 3 (1904^4), 215ff.; Halevy, Dorot, 3 (1928), 227) made it necessary for mnemonic devices to be employed. The rabbis laid great store on the efficacy of mnemonics as an aid to study. R. Ḥisda in Babylon deduced that the Torah can be acquired only by the use of mnemonics, adducing as evidence the verse "Put it in their mouth" (Deut. 31:19) reading *simona* – mnemonic for *sima* ("put"); R. Taḥlifa in Palestine explained that in Palestine they deduced the same lesson from the verse "Set thee up waymarks" (Jer. 31:21), proving that the "waymarks" refer to mnemonics (Er. 54b). The fact that the scholars of Judah retained their learning while those of Galilee forgot it was ascribed to the fact that the former employed mnemonics while the latter did not (Er. 53a). The verse in Ecclesiastes 12:9, "and besides that Koheleth… taught the people knowledge" was explained that he taught them by mnemonics (Er. 21b). It has been suggested that the widespread use of the alphabetical *acrostic in the Bible (e.g., Lam. 1–4; Ps. 119 and 145) had a mnemonic purpose since it reminded the person who recited it of the letter with which the succeeding verse commenced, but this form of mnemonic, though widely used in medieval poetry and even in prayers (e.g., *El Barukh* in the morning service, *Tikkanta Shabbat* in the Sabbath *Musaf*) is not at all resorted to in the Talmud.

The mnemonic devices of the Talmud can be divided into two main categories, those in which the mnemonic is an integral part of the text, forming part of its body, and those in which a passage is preceded by the mnemonic as an aid to the memory of what is to follow. The former are usually designated as *simankha*, i.e., "your mnemonic," while for the latter the simple word *siman* is given. Since the essence of the mnemonic is to call to mind the unfamiliar by use of the familiar, it naturally follows that it consists of the use of a well-known phrase. These phrases can be divided into biblical verses, since knowledge of the text of the Bible was regarded as axiomatic, well-known talmudic phrases, popular proverbs, or readily remembered catchphrases.

Biblical Mnemonics

Examples of biblical verses used for this purpose are numerous. For the six orders into which the Mishnah is divided, Isaiah 33:6 was cited: "There shall be faith in thy times, strength, salvation, wisdom, and knowledge," each of the nouns indicating a specific order (Shab. 31a). That basilicas attached to royal buildings are forbidden because of idolatry, but those of baths and storehouses permitted, was to be remembered by the mnemonic "to bind [forbid] their kings with chains" (Ps. 149:8; Av. Zar. 16b). The law that if the lungs of animals are liver-colored they are permitted, but if flesh-colored forbidden, had the mnemonic "and if flesh in the field, it is *terefah*" (Ex. 22:30; Ḥul. 47b). The mnemonic to remember that one should not curse one's parents in the presence of one's children is the verse (Gen. 48:5), "Ephraim and Manasseh [the grandchildren] shall be mine even as Reuben and Simeon [the children]" (Ket. 72b).

Talmudic Phrases

The bird called the moor-cock is forbidden as food, but the moor-hen permitted; the mnemonic is the rabbinic interpretation of the prohibition of an Ammonite to enter the congregation (Deut. 23:4): "An Ammonite," but not an Ammonite woman. A bird called the wine-drinker is also forbidden, and the mnemonic is "a drunkard is forbidden to officiate" (cf. Sanh. 22b). These are two examples given from a list in *Ḥullin* 62b.

Catchphrases

By their nature these are pithy statements in which the element of apparent paradox is often used. Thus the fact that a fish called the "sea ass" is permitted while one termed "the sea bull" is forbidden produces the mnemonic "the unclean is clean, the clean unclean," since the ass is forbidden and the ox permitted for consumption. To remember that meditating on sin can be worse than its actual commission, the mnemonic was devised "the odor of meat" (i.e., the odor of the meat excites the appetite more than the meat itself).

Mnemonics are used as an easy way to remember different statements in the name of one authority. Thus three statements on charity by R. Eleazar (BB 9a) provide the mnemonic "great is the sanctuary of Moses." Three statements of R. Manasseh found in different parts of the tractate *Ḥullin* (4a, 31a, 51a) are mnemonically connected by the sentence, "Inserting a blade into rams" (Ḥul. 4a). It is one of the characteristics of the methodology of the Talmud that a statement in the name of a sage which is relevant to the discussion is followed by a number of statements in the name of the same sage which have no connection with the subject under discussion. The need for mnemonics in these cases was obvious, and as far as possible they are made into a sentence. Thus three statements of Samuel b. Naḥamani in the name of R. Johanan (the first has Naḥamani in the texts) were to be remembered by the sentence "In truth money shall he see." An interesting example is provided in the same passage. Six anonymous popular epigrams are quoted, for all of which Samuel finds a biblical proof verse. They are combined in a mnemonic which (probably) means "Hear, Vashti, Seven Songs, (and) another" (Sanh. 7a). It is obvious, however, that any device which aided the memory was pressed into service. There was a difference of opinion between the scholars of Pumbedita and Sura as to the number of nails permitted in a shoe for walking on the Sabbath. R. Ḥiyya reported that the former said 24, the latter 22. The mnemonic was "Ḥiyya lost two nails in walking from Pumbedita to Sura" (Shab. 60b).

Popular Proverbs

The wealthy Simeon b. Judah ha-Nasi was of the opinion that a certain defect in an animal did not render the animal invalid and he ate its meat, while the poor R. Ḥiyya discarded it as invalid; they had a similar disagreement about the oil for the Temple. In both cases the mnemonic was the popular proverb, "the wealthy are parsimonious" (Ḥul. 46a; Men. 86a). Among the most frequent devisors of mnemonics are Rava, R. Papa, R. Safra, and especially R. Naḥman b. Isaac.

The second category of mnemonics (indicated by the word *siman* without the suffix) is usually merely a combination of words, each indicating a topic. Sometimes it is possible to make a sentence out of them (e.g., a mnemonic in *Ḥullin* 46b, "Date, Red, Dry Scabs" may be read as "A date, red and dry with scabs"), but sometimes this is quite impossible. These *simanim* appear to be post-talmudic and were often omitted from the text. In *Bava Batra* 113a the mnemonic has been omitted from the printed texts, but the word *siman* has been retained, giving rise to the erroneous view that it was the name of an *amora*. There was in fact a tendency to ignore the *simanim* even if they were printed, a practice of which Isaiah *Horowitz strongly disapproved, insisting that they had a mystic connotation (*Torah she-be-Al Peh, ayin, Shenei Luhot ha-Berit* (Amsterdam, 1698), 407b).

Another type of mnemonic consisted merely of the initial letters of words. The best known example is the mnemonic *DeẒa-KH ADa-SH Be-AḤa-B* for the ten plagues. The Midrash states that it was engraved on the staff of Moses and calls it a *notarikon (Ex. R. 5:6), but in the Passover Haggadah it is referred to as *simanim*. Another example is the word *Ma-NẒe-Pa-Kh* for the letters of the alphabet which have a final form. The Talmud makes a kind of mnemonic of this mnemonic, seeing in it a reference to the fact that "the prophets [seers] introduced them" (*ẓofim amarum*), i.e., *Mi-N Ẓo-Fayi-KH* ("from thy prophets"; Meg. 2b). The medieval grammarians similarly made the mnemonic *Ba-Ga-D Ke-Fa-T* for the six letters which take a *dagesh kal*. The six things in which Shemini Aẓeret is regarded as a festival independent of Sukkot are indicated by the words *Pa-Ze-R Ke-SHe-V*, each letter indicating one of the things. The six laws in which the opinion of Abbaye prevails over that of Rava are indicated by the mnemonic *Ya-AL Ka-Ga-M* (BM 22b). The difference of opinion as to the order of the festival blessings for wine (*yayin*), *Kiddush*, the festival (*zeman*), the candle (*ner*), and *Havdalah* is indicated by whether it should be *Ya-KZa-Na-H* or *Ya-KNe-Ha-Z* (Pes. 102b, 103a). For the order of biblical readings for the intermediate days of Passover a full sentence was used, "He dragged an ox, and sanctified it with money" (Meg. 31a).

The use of mnemonics did not end with the Talmud, and they are found in late rabbinic literature. The laws of *terefah* begin, "there are eight categories of *terefah* and their *siman* is *Da-N Ha-Na-K Ne-Fe-SH*" (YD 29:1). A remarkable calendrical mnemonic is provided by *atbash* (the cryptogram whereby the first letter of the alphabet, *alef*, is equated with the last, *tav*; the second, *bet*, with the penultimate *shin*, etc.) so as to determine the days of the week on which the festivals of a certain year fall. *Alef, bet*, etc. represent the eight days of Passover, and the rule is that *alef* = *tav* (Tishah be-Av); *bet* = *shin* (Shavuot); *gimmel* = *resh* (Rosh Ha-Shanah); *dalet* = *kaf* (*Keri'at ha-Torah*, i.e., Simḥat Torah in the Diaspora); *he* = *Ẓadi* (*Ẓom*, i.e., the Day of Atonement); *vav* = *peh* (Purim, but of the previous year). The list ends with *vav. Zayin*, however, corresponds to *ayin*, and the seventh day of Passover always falls on the same day of the week as Israel Independence Day. Another calendrical mnemonic is "*Lo ADU Rosh ve-lo Ba-DU Pesaḥ,*" i.e., (the first day of) Rosh Ha-Shanah cannot fall on the first, fourth, or sixth day of the week (*alef, dalet, vav*), nor Passover on the second, fourth, or sixth (*bet, dalet, vav*).

Distinct from mnemonics, although they serve the same purpose, are such mnemonic aids as are frequent in the Mishnah, whereby *mishnayot* on completely unrelated topics are grouped together because of their identical opening formula, e.g., "the only difference between A and B is" (Meg. 1), and "that which is invalid in A is valid in B" (Ḥul. 1:4–6).

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[Louis Isaac Rabinowitz]

MNOUCHKINE, ALEXANDRE (1908–1993), French film producer. Mnouchkine was born in Petrograd, Russia. One of the most influential producers in France, his endeavors left their mark on French cinema from the 1930s through the 1980s. He produced films with most of the great artists of his time, and a number of his films are among the greatest box office successes of France. He founded Majestic Films which operated from 1935 to 1940, and from 1945 he was chairman of Ariane Films.

Among the films he produced were *Les parents terribles* (1948), *Fanfan la Tulipe* (1951), *Babette s'en va-t-en guerre* (1959), *Cartouche* (1961), *L'Homme de Rio* (1965), *Le Train* (1964), *Stavisky* (1974), *Garde a vue* (1981), and *La Balance* (1983).

His daughter ARIANE (1939–) is the founder and main director of the world-famous theater, Theatre du Soleil (established 1964). Mnouchkine and the actors in her company – most of whom come from academic backgrounds – live together in a kind of commune. Their creative activities take place in a former ammunition warehouse in a Paris suburb which was put at their disposal in 1972. They renovated the building and turned it into a theater setting, La Cartouche de Vincennes.

In 1960 Mnouchkine established the ATEP, the Paris University Theater. She studied the forms of Oriental theater in Cambodia and Japan in 1962. The Theatre du Soleil had its initial success with its presentation of *The Kitchen* by Arnold Wesker which was given in a Circus Medrano tent. The world-wide reputation of the theater was gained by its performance of *1789* in Milan in 1970 and of *1793* in Paris in 1972. The Mnouchkine formula for total theater includes physical expression and body language, the use of elements taken from the circus world, and audience participation. The performances also demonstrated a politically left-wing outlook on life.

A movie made by the Theatre du Soleil on the life of Molière was also a great success. In 1984 Mnouchkine participated very successfully in the Los Angeles international theater festival where the troupe presented three plays by Shakespeare, *Richard II, Henry IV*, and *Twelfth Night* in a Japanese-Oriental adaptation. In 1992 she presented her production of *Les Atrides* in England.

[Gideon Kouts]

MOAB (Heb. מוֹאָב), a land E. of the Jordan and the Dead Sea, one of Israel's neighbors in biblical times. The highland of Moab extends southward to the Zered River (Wādī al-Ḥasāʾ), eastward to the desert, and westward to the Dead Sea. Its northern boundary was much disputed; sometimes it was limited by the river Arnon and sometimes it extended north of the Dead Sea (cf. the "plains of Moab" in Num. 26:3). The area of Moab is mountainous in the south, with ridges up to 4,000 ft. (1,250 m.), leveling off to a plateau in the north (the biblical *mishor*, "tableland"). The decline to the desert is gradual; that to the Dead Sea steep. The area was traversed by the "King's Highway." Its economy was mainly pastoral (cf. II Kings 3:4).

The People and the Country

Archaeological surveys have established that after a period of pre-Moabite settlement in the last centuries of the third millennium, Moabite tribes settled the country in about the mid-14th century B.C.E., not long before the Exodus. They were of Semitic stock, closely akin to the Israelites.

[Michael Avi-Yonah]

According to the tradition in Genesis 19:30–38, Moab (LXX: Μωαβ) was born to Lot by his elder daughter in the vicinity of the town of Zoar, at the southeastern tip of the Dead Sea. The meaning of the name, according to Targum Jonathan and the Septuagint, is "from my father" (cf. Gen. 19:37). Other than this tradition, there is no further information on the origin of the Moabites and the process of their formation into a national kingdom in Transjordan. The story of the birth of Moab and Ammon to Lot, son of Haran, the brother of Abraham, was intended to explain, in a popular midrashic manner, the names Moab and Ammon. However, the tradition of ethnic kinship between the children of Lot and Israel, echoes of which occur elsewhere in the Bible, is not based merely on the geographical proximity of these peoples to Israel. Biblical tradition and especially the Moabite language and the conjectured time of their settlement in Transjordan suggest that the Moabites were among the tribes of the sons of Eber, who spread out from the Syrian-Arabian desert in the second millennium B.C.E., and established national kingdoms throughout the Fertile Crescent. The Moabites, like the *Ammonites and *Edomites, were not among the pre-Israelite inhabitants of the land of Canaan (Gen. 10:15–20; 15:18–21; et al.). According to Deuteronomy (2:10–11), the Emim formerly occupied the land of Moab – "a people great, and many, and tall, like the Anakim" (see *Rephaim) – but it does not indicate when and in what circumstances they were driven out by the Moabites. Egyptian lists of the Middle and New Kingdoms (until the end of the 14th century) do not mention Moab as a people, state or territorial region. The archaeological survey of N. Glueck has revealed an interruption in the continuity of settlement in the Transjordanian plateau from the 19th until the 14th centuries B.C.E. During this period central and southern Transjordan were occupied by nomadic tribes. The mention of the sons of Seth in Transjordan (Num. 24:17) almost certainly refers to the nomadic Shutu tribes mentioned in Egyptian and Akkadian sources of the second millennium B.C.E. Only a few well-fortified settlements, such as Ader, Balūʿa, Aroer, and Khirbat al-Madayyina, near Wādī al-Thamad, southeast of *Dibon, had the strength to withstand the raids from the east, while the other settlements were destroyed. It may be assumed, following Glueck, that the renewal of permanent settlement in Transjordan at the close of the 14th century, and the appearance of a new agricultural society, is connected with the penetration of West Semitic tribes, including the Moabites, from the east. After the Moabites were in possession of Transjordan, they founded a state that embraced regions on both sides of the Arnon (Wādī al-Mawjib). North of the Arnon, Moab extended to "the tableland" (Deut. 4:43; Josh. 13:9; Jer. 48:21), to the valley of Heshbon (Wādī Ḥisbān) and to "the plains of Moab" opposite Jericho (Num. 22:1). The "tableland" is a plateau rising to approximately 2,400 ft. (800 m.) above sea level.

It is rich in pasturage and fertile farmland (cf. Num. 32:1–4). South of the Arnon, the land of Moab extended over a mountainous plateau, which is suitable for cattle raising; it rises to approximately 3,750 ft. (1,250 m.) above sea level. The Zered River (Wādī al-Ḥasāʾ) marked the border between Moab and *Edom. Moab was bounded on the west by the Dead Sea and the southernmost part of the Jordan up to the Nimrin Valley. "The mountains of Abarim" and "the slopes of Pisgah" (Num. 27:12; Deut. 3:17) refer to the steep slopes of the Moabite plateau which descend to the Dead Sea. The Moabite plateau terminates on the east in shelving slopes which descend to the desert that marked the eastern border of Moab.

Throughout the entire area of Moab, there have been discovered the remains of numerous settlements which existed from the 13th to the sixth centuries B.C.E. The capital of Moab was Kir-Hareseth or Kir of Moab (II Kings 3:25; Isa. 15:1, 16:11; Jer. 48:31, 36), modern Karak, in the heart of Moabite territory south of the Arnon. However, most of the large settlements were situated in the fertile tableland (Num. 32; Josh. 13:16–27). Prominent in their importance were: Aroer (Khirbat ʿArāʿir), overlooking the fords of the Arnon, Dibon (Dhībān), Ataroth (Khirbat ʿAṭṭārūs), Medeba (Mādabā), and Nebo (Muḥayyiṭ). The topographical conformation of Moab does not favor easy communications. The many wadis flowing into the Dead Sea have sawed deep ravines that make passage difficult. Only in the northern plateau region, in the territory of Medeba, was there a wide, convenient road, which connected the regions on both sides of the Jordan. Great importance was attached to the "King's Highway," the international route which connected Arabia and Egypt with Syria and Mesopotamia, and of which a section passed through the Moabite plateau.

The geographical and economic conditions of Moab made it easy for the Moabites to achieve a suitable blend of their desert heritage with the values of an urban and rural society; this is to be attributed to Moab's position on the border of the desert and to its economy, which was based, on the one hand, upon agriculture, and on the other, upon cattle raising and trade conducted along the desert routes. Living in a border country, the Moabites, like the Edomites and Ammonites, were in need of effective defense against sudden attacks by raiders from the desert, as well as against invasion by the regular armies of neighboring countries. For this reason, the Moabites organized themselves into a national kingdom administered from a single center at the beginning of their settlement in Moab; only a permanent and strong leadership was capable of establishing a system of border fortresses, of setting up a permanent force able to match itself against external dangers, and of organizing guards for protection of the section of the "King's Highway" which passed through Moab. The archaeological survey of Moab and the excavations at Aroer and Dibon, as well as the epigraphic material, have revealed the technical skill of the Moabites in the building of strongholds, watchtowers, walled cities, and installations for collecting water. They built fortresses along the borders. On the eastern border, along the edge of the desert, strong and impressive forts have been discovered; the most prominent are Khirbat al-Madayyina, overlooking the Zered River, Maḥāy, Mudaybīʿ, al-Madyyina, overlooking one of the southern tributaries of the Arnon, Qaṣr Abu al Kharaq, and Qaṣr al-ʿĀl, overlooking the fords of the Arnon on the south. These are only some of the fortresses which guarded entry into Moab from the east. In the service of the king of Moab were garrisons stationed in fortresses and troops trained for field combat and siege. He was assisted by a staff of officers who held various positions, such as that of scribe; one of the Moabite seals carries the name of "Chemosʿam [son of] Chemoshʾel ha-sofer."

Most of the Moabite population obtained its livelihood from agriculture and cattle raising. *Mesha, king of Moab, was called a sheep-master (II Kings 3:4). In areas unsuitable for agriculture, chiefly in the easternmost part of the country, the settlers lived in temporary dwellings (huts or tents), and continued to lead a seminomadic way of life, either as shepherds or as escorts of the merchant caravans that made their way along the nearby desert routes. Moabite culture, to the extent that it is revealed by the finds, most of which are from the Middle Iron Age, was influenced by various other cultures, chiefly by Aram in the north and Arabia in the south. Despite the eclectic character of Moabite culture, the Moabites developed a style of their own, which is particularly conspicuous in the pottery. Pottery sherds defined as Moabite have been discovered in large quantities in many settlements in the land of Moab proper and in localities north of the Arnon.

Moabite religion was essentially idolatrous and was national in character. *Chemosh was the national god of Moab (I Kings 11:7, et al.), and was worshiped on high places and in temples. The god's name was used as a theophoric component in Moabite personal names. Proscription (*ḥerem*, Mesha stele, line 17), burnt offerings – either of an animal or, in special circumstances, of a human being (Num. 23:1, 14, 29; II Kings 3:27) – and circumcision (Jer. 9:24–25) were features of Moabite cultic practices. The polytheism of Moabite religion is attested by the names "ʿAshtar-Chemosh" (Mesha stele, line 17), "Beth-Baal-Peor" (cf. Num. 25), "Bamoth-Baal", and apparently also by the noun *ʾariʾel* ("altar hearths"; II Sam. 23:20; in Mesha stele, line 12, it is the name of an Israelite person or object), as well as by the many clay figurines found at various Moabite settlements, especially at Khirbet al-Madayyina near Wādī al-Thamad.

The language and script of the Moabites is known first and foremost from the *Mesha Stele, found in Mesha's native Dibon in 1868, as well as from two stele fragments (one found at Dibon and the other at Karak), from seals and from Moabite personal names. The language belongs to the northwest Semitic family and is close to the northern dialect of Hebrew. The Moabite script does not differ essentially from the Canaanite-Hebrew alphabetic script and, by the middle of the ninth century B.C.E., it had already attained a fine form. The length of the Mesha inscription and its content, style and form testify to a developed tradition of writing.

The History of Moab and its Relation with Israel

The first period of Moabite history bears the marks of Egyptian influence, as expressed in the stele found at Khirbat Balūʿa in Moab. Its estimated date is approximately 1200 B.C.E. The relief on the monument depicts a figure, perhaps of the local ruler, in the presence of a god and goddess. Above the relief can be seen traces of several lines of writing in a script as yet undeciphered. Both the relief and the inscription contain clearly Egyptian characteristics. (According to some scholars, the Balūʿa stele may be regarded as one of the earliest monuments of a Moabite tradition of writing.)

The land of Moab (*m-ʾ-b*) is mentioned in the geographical list of Ramses II (13th century B.C.E.). Ramses II undertook an expedition to Transjordan and captured cities in Moab, including Dibon. In the days of the first king of Moab, in the 13th century B.C.E., the Moabites were driven from the region north of the river Arnon by the Amorite king *Sihon, who ruled in Heshbon (Num. 21:27–35; cf. Isa. 15–16; Jer. 48). A short time later, Sihon's entire kingdom, from Wadi Jabbok to the Arnon, fell into the hands of the Israelites (Num. 21:13, 15, 24; 22:36; 33:44, et al.), who had reached the tableland by way of the desert east of Moab, because the king of Moab refused to allow them passage through his country. Fearing that they would now attack his land from the north, *Balak son of Zippor, the king of Moab, hired *Balaam to curse them but, on YHWH's order so goes the tradition, Balaam blessed them instead. Their inhospitality and their spite made the reasons for a prohibition against admitting Moabites and Ammonites "into the assembly of the Lord forever" (Deut. 23:4–8; Neh. 13:1). However, the enmity between Israel and Moab, echoes of which are also found in prophecies about the nations, was not the result of a single incident but grew out of a bitter and protracted struggle over disputed areas in Transjordan. With the conquest of the land of Sihon, the tribes of Reuben and Gad were settled in the tableland (Num. 32; Josh. 13), and the Arnon marked the border between Israel and Moab (Deut. 2:36, 3:8; Judg. 11:20, et al.). However, it is clear that a Moabite population remained north of the Arnon even after the conquest of the tableland from Sihon by the Israelites. An echo of the relations between the Moabites and Israelites in the tableland is the story of the affair of Baal-Peor in Shittim in the plains of Moab (Num. 25). The course of events following the Israelite conquest clearly shows that the Moabites did not surrender the tableland, and the region became a focus of strife between Israel and Moab as the border moved northward to the plains of Moab or southward to the Arnon, in accordance with the balance of power between Israel and Moab. The first attempt by Moab to reconquer the areas it had lost is the aforementioned incident of Balak and Balaam (Num. 22; cf. Micah 6:5). Numbers 22:6 and Joshua 24:9 suggest that Balak, with the support of the Midianites, waged war against the Israelites in an attempt to drive them from the tableland (but cf. Judg. 11:25–26). In the time of *Eglon, king of Moab (Judg. 3), the Moabites succeeded in thrusting northward across the Arnon. They imposed their rule on the tribes of Reuben and Gad, and perhaps also upon the Ammonites, and even penetrated by way of the plains of Moab and Jericho to the center of the country on the western side of the Jordan, within the bounds of the territory of Ephraim and Benjamin. The Israelites were obliged to pay tribute and to bring a gift to the king of Moab. *Ehud son of Gera of the tribe of Benjamin saved Israel from the Moabites. In the time of *Jephthah the tableland was in the possession of Israel (Judg. 11:26). The datum in Genesis 36:35 according to which Hadad son of Bedad king of Edom smote Midian in the field of Moab (c. 1100 B.C.E.), is explained by some commentators as evidence of Edomite or, more plausibly, Midianite rule over Moab. The narrative in the Book of Ruth concerning the immigration of a Judean family to Moab when a severe drought struck Judah indicates that the history of relations between Israel and Moab included periods of tranquility and peace (cf. also I Chron. 4:22, 8:8).

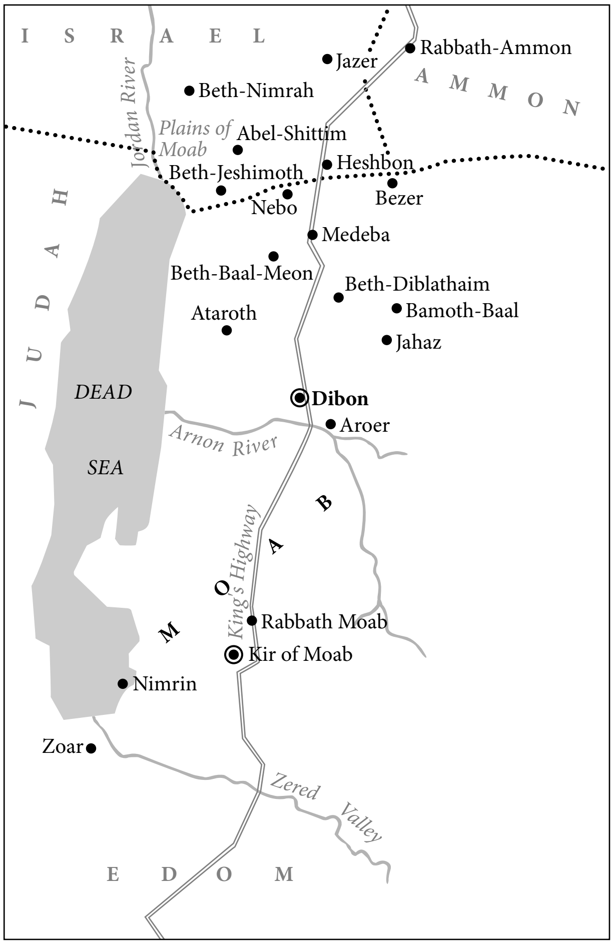

Moab in the time of Mesha (9th century B.C.E.). Based on Y. Aharoni, Carta's Atlas of the Bible, *Jerusalem, 1964.*

The attacks by Moab on Israel at the end of the period of the Judges and in the time of Saul (Ps. 83:7, 9; I Sam. 14:47), and perhaps in the time of his son Eshbaal as well, served as a justification for David to wage war against Moab and to subdue it (II Sam. 8:2; 23:20; cf. Num. 24:17), despite the friendly ties that had developed between David, a descendant of Ruth the Moabite, and the king of Moab (I Sam. 22:3–5). The actions taken by David against Moab after he had subjugated them (II Sam. 8:2, I Chron. 18:2), although not sufficiently clarified, are indicative of the intense enmity that prevailed between Israel and Moab. David did not abolish the monarchy in Moab but contented himself with its subjection (II Sam. 8:2; I Chron. 18:2). After the division of Solomon's kingdom, Moab came under the domination of the Northern Kingdom of Israel. As indicated by the stele of Mesha, king of Moab, it is probable that a long time before the death of Ahab, the Moabites threw off the rule of Israel and seized control over areas north of the Arnon (cf. II Kings 1:1, 3:5). The rise to power of Aram-Damascus immediately after the death of Solomon and its pressure on Israel (I Kings 15:16–20), the expedition of *Shishak against the kingdoms of Israel and Judah, and the intense struggle between the house of Jeroboam son of Nebat and the house of David, especially in the time of Baasha and Asa, presented an opportunity to throw off the domination of Israel. The Moabites seized control of the tableland up to Medeba. Since Mesha called himself "king of Moab, the Dibonite," it is possible that his father, whose name, as far as can be seen, was Chemoshyatti (?), had already established Dibon as the royal capital. The period of Moab's independence came to an end when the political and military situation of Israel improved under the rule of Omri. Omri "took possession" of the land of Medeba, but out of political and military considerations did not conquer the region of Dibon from Moab. Instead, he imposed his authority on the king of Moab, who resided in Dibon. The subjection continued throughout the days of Omri "and part of the days of his son," apparently Ahab. When the pressure of the Arameans on Israel in the time of Ahab increased, Mesha withheld tribute from Ahab. The king of Moab took steps to strengthen his kingdom against the expected attack by the king of Israel. Mesha first secured communications between the region of Moab south of the Arnon and the region of Dibon by fortifying Aroer and building roads along the Arnon. He strengthened his city of residence, built an acropolis in it and prepared the city to withstand a protracted siege. Ahab did not turn his attention to Moab but satisfied himself with fortifying Jericho (I Kings 16:34), which commanded the fords of the Jordan. Mesha, who had rebelled against Israel, chose not to participate in the joint campaign of Aram and Israel against Shalmaneser III in the year 853 B.C.E. (battle of *Karkar). Only after the death of Ahab did Mesha find the time ripe to begin the conquest of the entire tableland. He conquered Ataroth and the land of Ataroth, inhabited by the tribe of *Gad, Beth-Diblathaim, and the strong fortress of Jahaz on the border of the desert. He then continued northward, conquering Medeba and the land of Medeba, together with the large fortress of Bezer. The capture of Medeba opened the road to the plains of Moab for the Moabites; Mesha continued in a northwesterly direction to the plains of Moab by way of Wādī al-Harī, and seized control of the largest Israelite city of *Nebo, which he consecrated to ʿAshtar-Chemosh. Toward the end of the inscription, Mesha mentions an expedition to Horonaim in southern Moab, close to Zoar (cf. Isa. 15:5; Jer. 48:5, 34). Thus Mesha succeeded in restoring the borders of the Moabite kingdom from the tip of the Dead Sea in the south to the vicinity of the plains of Moab in the north. He rebuilt cities in the tableland and settled Moabites in them. Some scholars hold that the expedition of Mesha to Horonaim is connected with the narrative in II Kings 3 of the joint campaign of *Jehoram, king of Israel, *Jehoshaphat, king of Judah, and the king of *Edom. The campaign of the three kings was carried out by way of Edom in order to attack Moab from the south, since the way to Moab from the plains of Moab was held by Mesha and was well defended by Moabite garrisons. In the battle that took place on the southern border of Moab, Jehoram and his allies defeated the Moabite army (II Kings 3:20–24). Subsequently the allied armies penetrated into the heart of Moab and besieged the capital Kir-Hareseth (3:24–26). From the biblical description, it appears that the armies of Israel and Judah withdrew from Moab without succeeding in conquering the capital. According to II Kings 3:27, the king of Moab, in an act of despair, sacrificed his firstborn son upon the wall as a burnt offering, an act that brought "great wrath upon Israel." Despite this, the great destruction caused to the cities of Moab in the campaign of the three kings weakened Moab and undermined Moabite rule in the tableland. Although Moabite bands were still able to make raids into Israel west of the Jordan (II Kings 13:20), almost all of the tableland returned to Israelite possession, as is suggested by II Kings 10:32–33, which is concerned with Hazael's seizure of Transjordan down to the Arnon. Still later, in the time of Jeroboam, son of Jehoash king of Israel, Israelite rule in the tableland was consolidated (II Kings 14:25; Amos 6:14), and Moab may have recognized the rule of Israel. Moab apparently never again attained full independence. Before it could benefit from the decline and fall of the kingdom of Israel, it was forced to recognize the sovereignty of the Assyrian empire.

The Moabites under Assyrian and Babylonian Rule and the End of their Kingdom

The expedition of *Tiglath-Pileser III to Israel in 734–733 B.C.E. brought the states of Transjordan under the rule of the Assyrian Empire. In one of his inscriptions, Tiglath-Pileser III mentions Salaman the Moabite (*Sa-la-ma-nu* KUR *Ma-ʾ-ba-ai*) among the kings of Syria and Israel who brought him tribute, apparently in 732 B.C.E. The paying of tribute was an expression of recognition of Assyrian rule. Acceptance of Assyrian sovereignty was generally bound up with the payment of tribute at fixed times, the offering of a gift on appointed occasions, bond service, and military aid to the Assyrian king for his expeditions. The Assyrians usually appointed an inspector (*qēpu*) to work alongside the local ruler and placed Assyrian garrison troops in fortresses and citadels, both in the provinces and in the domain of the vassal king. Aianūr of the land of Tabeel, who reported the raid of the men of Gidir into Moab to the Assyrian king, was apparently responsible to the latter for the state of affairs in Moab. An Assyrian letter from Nimrud of the last third of the eighth century B.C.E. mentions a delegation from Moab which came to the city of Calah (Nimrud) to present a gift of horses to the Assyrian king. The king of Moab did not heed the words of incitement of Iamani, king of Ashdod, to rebel against Sargon II in 713 B.C.E. When Sennacherib conducted a military campaign against Ḥezekiah in 701 B.C.E., Chemosh-nadab the Moabite (*Kam-mu-su-na-ad-bi KUR Ma-ʾ-ba-ai*) came to meet him, bearing many gifts. In approximately 677 B.C.E., Esarhaddon, king of Assyria, ordered "the 22 kings of Ḥatti, the sea coast and within the sea" to drag cedar and pine beams from the mountains of Lebanon and Sirion to the capital Nineveh in order to build his palace. Included among these kings is Muṣuri, the king of Moab (*Mu-ṣur-i šar KUR Ma-ʾa-ab*). Ashurbanipal also relates that "22 kings of the seacoast, of the islands of the sea and of the mainland, servants subject to me" brought him numerous gifts and accompanied him with their troops on his first expedition to Egypt in 667 B.C.E. It is highly probable that Muṣuri the Moabite was among these kings. An Assyrian list of tribute from the time of Esarhaddon or Ashurbanipal states that the Moabites tendered "one gold mina" as tribute to Assyria. The kings of Transjordan bore Assyrian sovereignty without attempting to throw it off because they were aware that the Assyrian government, in the prevailing circumstances, was of greater benefit than harm. The Assyrian government usually defended loyal vassal kings from neighboring enemies. Danger to the peace of the countries of Transjordan came chiefly from the inhabitants of the desert, whose pressure on the border countries increased, beginning in the eighth century B.C.E. From the description of the wars of Ashurbanipal against the Arabs, it is clear that the Assyrians stationed garrisons along the border of the desert in order to prevent attempts by the nomadic tribes to penetrate into the cultivated areas. The Assyrians were interested in strengthening the border countries against the desert raiders and consequently the former were included in the defense system of the empire. The defeat of Amuladi, king of Kedar, by Chemosh-halta, king of Moab (*Ka-ma-as-ḥal-ta-a šar KUR Ma-ʾa-ab*), is merely one episode in a chain of similar events that are no different from that which occurred 500 years previously, when Hadad son of Bedad the Edomite defeated the tribes of Midian in the field of Moab (Gen. 36:35). Furthermore, under the Assyrian rule, the peoples of Transjordan extended the borders of their kingdoms into areas with an Israelite population, and they enjoyed economic prosperity. The Assyrians managed the defense of the desert caravan routes that connected Egypt and Arabia with Syria and Mesopotamia. Echoes of Moab's economic prosperity and of the extent of its territory appear in the prophecies about Moab (Isa. 25:10–12; Jer. 48, chiefly verses 7 and 29; Ezek. 25:9; Zeph. 2:8).

The passage from Assyrian to Babylonian rule did not involve a great change in the status of the kingdom of Moab. The king of Moab was apparently numbered with "all the kings of the land of Ḥeth [Ḥatti]" who brought tribute to Nebuchadnezzar when the Chaldean king campaigned against Ashkelon (C. 604/3 B.C.E.). Moabite and Ammonite troops were in the service of the king of Babylon when the revolt of Jehoiakim was crushed (II Kings 24:1–2; cf. Ezek. 25:6–8). However, a few years later a change in the policy of Moab toward Babylon is noticeable. In the fourth year of Zedekiah of Judah (594 B.C.E.), the king of Moab participated in a scheme to form a conspiracy against Babylon (Jer. 27:3). While there is no explicit information about the fate of the conspiracy, Moab apparently did not come to the aid of Zedekiah but stood aside when the Chaldean army drew near. A Babylonian punitive expedition against the countries of Transjordan was undertaken in the fifth year of the destruction of Jerusalem, i.e., the 23rd year of Nebuchadnezzar's reign. Josephus states that in that year, the Chaldean king proceeded against the army of Syria and defeated it, and that he also fought against the Ammonites and Moabites (Jos., Ant., 10:181; cf. Jer. 40:11; 48:7). Although there is no certain information that it was the Babylonian empire which brought about the end of the kingdom of Moab and turned it into a Babylonian province, the lack of information about Moab as an independent or semi-independent kingdom after the period of Babylonian rule, as well as a reference to the province of Moab (Ezra 2:6) during the first period of Persian rule in Israel, indicate that Moab was made a Babylonian province in the time of Nebuchadnezzar or a short time after his death. Glueck's archaeological survey testifies to a decline of settlement in Transjordan which ended with complete destruction in the sixth century B.C.E. The destruction was apparently a result of the collapse of the defense system on the desert front, which desert nomads broke through in order to raid Transjordan (e.g., the sons of Kedar and Nebaioth), damaging cultivated lands and destroying permanent settlements. Many Moabites were driven from the region south of the Arnon. Some of them concentrated in the region of the plateau, a region that was later known as Moabitis, and some dispersed to near and distant countries. The Moabite population remaining in Moab was assimilated among the Arabian tribes who took possession of the land. The punishment of the kingdoms of Transjordan cited by Ezekiel (25:4–10, 35:15) faithfully reflects the disaster that befell the settlements in Transjordan, and points to the settling in of nomads and shepherds from the east. The lament on the destruction of Moab in Numbers 21:27–35, which is echoed in Isaiah 15–16 and Jeremiah 48, is an old fragment of Moabite poetry. Moab achieved an additional period of prosperity in the Hellenistic-Roman period, but by then it had already been taken over by the Nabatean tribes, and was included in the Nabatean kingdom. In Hasmonean times, Alexander Yannai conquered the area, which was returned to the Nabateans by Hyrcanus II. It was later incorporated into Provincia Arabia.

[Bustanay Oded]

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MOATI, SERGE (1946–), French television director. Moati was born in Tunis. From 1982 to 1986 he was the head of the state-owned channel 3 of French television (FR3), where he had been director of programming in 1981–1982. In addition to his work in television, he directed a number of feature films and was a film critic. He was awarded several prizes for his television programs, among them a prize for a documentary film (Prague, 1970), a prize for the best French-language film (1970), television critics award (1973), and the International Critics Award at the Monte Carlo festival in 1980.

[Gideon Kouts (2nd ed.)]

MOCATTA, English family of Marrano origin. MOSES MOCATTA (d. 1693), who came from Amsterdam, appears in a Bevis Marks (London) synagogue list in 1671. He was a diamond broker and merchant. His granddaughter REBECCA married as her second husband Moses Lumbrozo de Mattos. Their son ABRAHAM (d. 1751), (who added the name Mocatta and later dropped Lumbrozo de Mattos) joined with Asher Goldsmid to found Mocatta and *Goldsmid, later bullion brokers to the Bank of England, engaging in enormous transactions. Abraham Mocatta had 11 children (including Rachel, mother of Sir Moses *Montefiore). His son MOSES (1768–1857) retired early from business to devote himself to scholarship. He published *Faith Strengthened* (1851), a translation of Isaac b. Abraham *Troki's *Ḥizzuk Emunah*, and *The Inquisition and Judaism* (1845), a translation of a Portuguese inquisitorial sermon and the reply to it. In communal life, he was especially concerned with education and the reorganization of the Sephardi schools, "Sha'arei Tikvah."

Moses' children included DAVID (1806–1882), an architect, a pupil of Sir John Soane, and best-known for his railway stations on the London to Brighton line. As architect for his cousin Sir Moses Montefiore at Ramsgate, he was the first Jew to design an English synagogue. Another son, ISAAC LINDO (1818–1879), wrote tracts on Jewish moral teachings and social questions. Nine of the 24 founders of the Reform Congregation were Mocattas, including Moses and his nephew Abraham, father of FREDERICK DAVID MOCATTA (1828–1905). Philanthropist, scholar, and communal leader, Frederick was the representative ideal of late Victorian Anglo-Jewry. Active in both the Charity Organization Society and the Jewish Board of Guardians, he campaigned for the reform of voting charities. Widely traveled, he lectured on contemporary Jewish communities and wrote on Jewish history, publishing *The Jews and the Inquisition* in 1887. A munificent patron of scholarship, he was a correspondent and supporter of *Zunz. Sympathetic to most Jewish causes (although disapproving of nascent Zionism), he was an observant Jew and member of two Orthodox synagogues as well as his family's Reform congregation. He left his library (now known as the Mocattta Library) to University College, London, and the Jewish Historical Society of England. EDGAR MOCATTA (1879–1957) continued to head the family business, Mocatta and Goldsmid, and was known as the "silver king" for his specialist knowledge of dealings in silver as a currency. The family firm was sold to Hambros Bank in 1957.

One branch of the Mocatta family remained within the Orthodox community: a descendant of this was SIR ALAN ABRAHAM MOCATTA (1907–1990), a judge of the High Court from 1961, also active in Anglo-Jewish communal and historical affairs (president of the Board of Elders of the Spanish and Portuguese Synagogue, and chairman of the Council of Jews' College, 1945–62). He was the joint editor of *Scrutton on Charter Parties* (14th–17th editions).

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[Vivian David Lipman / William D. Rubinstein (2nd ed.)]

MOCH, JULES (1829–1881), French colonel, one of the first Jews to reach this rank in the French army. Moch fought with distinction in the Crimean War in 1854–55, and in the conquest of Rome in 1859, as well as in the Franco-Prussian War of 1870–71. He was the first Jew to be an instructor and examiner at the Military Academy of Saint-Cyr. Moch, proud of his Jewishness, was one of the founders of the Club Militaire which after his death became the moving spirit behind the incitement against Captain *Dreyfus.

MOCH, JULES SALVADOR (1893–1985), French socialist leader. Born in Paris, Moch worked as an engineer and industrial manager from 1920 to 1927. From 1928 to 1940 he sat as a socialist deputy in the National Assembly and in 1936 was made secretary-general of the prime minister's office under Leon *Blum, who held him in high esteem for his wide scientific and managerial experience. He was later under-secretary of state (1937) and minister of public works (1938).

During World War II, Moch served in the French navy; in 1940, after the fall of France, he was imprisoned for voting in the National Assembly against the granting of constitutional powers to Marshal Pétain. He escaped and joined the Free French Navy in 1943. In the following year he became a member of the Consultative Assembly and, on the termination of the war, a member of the National Assembly. From

1945 to 1947 Moch was minister of public works and between 1946 and 1951 be held important posts in 11 successive cabinets, serving as minister of the interior, vice premier, and minister of defense. In 1949 he was nominated premier but failed to secure a majority. Between 1953 and 1960 he served as French representative at the Geneva disarmament conference. He returned to the Ministry of the Interior in 1958 for a short period but resigned when General De Gaulle came to power.

Moch was one of the most respected figures in the French socialist movement. As a member of the French government he gave considerable assistance to Jewish refugees, as he took a keen interest in Zionism. He was an enthusiastic supporter of Israel, paying several visits, and closely following the development of the Israel labor movement. Among Moch's many publications were *Restitutions et réparations* (1921) and *La Russie des Soviets* (1925). He also wrote a number of books on financial questions including *Le Parti Socialiste et la politique financière* (1928), which were issued as handbooks by the French Socialist Party to demonstrate their ability to handle economic affairs.

[Moshe Rosetti]

MOCHA (Ar. **al-Mukhā**), a port city on the Red Sea coast of *Yemen. It is famous for being the major marketplace for coffee from the 15th to the 17th centuries, when the Dutch managed to obtain some seeds from the coffee tree – seeds which the Arab traders had guarded zealously – and soon enough were cultivating coffee in their colony of Indonesia. According to a sketch plan compiled by Brouwer (p. 143), the population of Mocha may have reached 20,000 permanent residents including a Jewish community (p. 228). It was the principal port for Yemen's capital, *Sanʿa, until it was eclipsed in the 19th century by *Aden and Ḥudayadah as Yemen's main port. That, along with the fact that the Arabs no longer had an exclusive hold on the coffee trade, eventually pushed the city of Mocha into obscurity.

The earliest information about a Jewish community in Yemen can be derived from al-Ẓāhirī's *Sefer ha-Musar* from the 16th century. Since then we have a flow of information about Jews entering Yemen through Mocha, such as the emissary and book-printer from *Tiberias, Abraham b. Isaac Ashkenazi (1578). As can be judged from the main source of this information – responsa collections of Jewish rabbis outside of Yemen, mostly from *Egypt – the Jewish community in Mocha consisted not of Yemenite Jews but of non-Yemenite Jewish merchants who settled there for their business and others who came for a limited time only. In about 1770 there were some 400 Jewish families in the town, including some wealthy merchants, craftsmen, goldsmiths, weavers, and builders of smelting furnaces. R. Aaron Iraqi ha-Kohen, the president of the Jewish community in *Sanʿa, lived there for some years as a ruler and judge (early 18th century), and his son Shalom, who also acted as president, built a magnificent synagogue there. After the British occupation of Aden in 1839 and its economic development, most Jews moved there from Mocha. In 1859 Jacob *Saphir found in Mocha only eight Jewish families living in a derelict quarter outside the city walls in wooden and reed constructions, as was the case in many other Yemenite towns. There were not enough members to form a *minyan* for Rosh Ha-Shanah services. One of the plagues common in this region caused the Jews to abandon the town and they dispersed in the mountain villages. The number of Jews gradually dwindled and by the 20th century no Jews remained in Mocha.

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[Haïm Z'ew Hirschberg / Yosef Tobi (2nd ed.)]

MODAI, ḤAYYIM (d. 1794), Safed scholar. In 1749 Modai journeyed to Europe as an emissary of the Safed community. Passing through Egypt, he came across a manuscript of geonic responsa which he published 43 years later under the title *Sha'arei Ẓedek* (Salonika, 1792). In 1755 he was appointed a member of the *bet din* in Constantinople as well as one of the *pekidim* ("commissioners") of Safed in the town. Following the earthquake in Safed in 1760, he was again sent to Europe in 1762 as an emissary for the town by the Constantinople commissioners, who published four letters on the subject of his mission in order to give it full publicity. After visiting various Italian towns (Mantua, Turin, and Venice in 1763), he went to Holland and England (Amsterdam and London) in 1765, and Germany. In 1766 he was in Prague where he had halakhic discussions with Ezekiel *Landau, who refers to him in respectful terms (responsa *Ḥayyim le-Olam*, YD no. 2; *Noda bi-Yhudah, Mahadura Kamma*, YD no. 87–88). Four years later he returned to Constantinople where he stayed until the death of Ḥayyim b. David Abulafia, when he was invited to succeed him as the rabbi of Smyrna. There he remained until 1793. At the end of his commendation to *Sha'arei Ẓedek*, Modai expresses his longing to return to Safed. His wish was fulfilled and he returned to Safed in 1793. His works include *Tiv Gittin* (1875), containing the bills of divorce arranged by him between 1737 and 1775 with the glosses of Yom Tov Israel; and *Ḥayyim le-Olam* (1878–79), responsa in two parts, including many written while on his travels; it also contains the responsa of his grandson, Nissim Ḥayyim Modai, entitled *Meimar Ḥayyim*. His glosses on the Shulḥan Arukh, *Oraḥ Ḥayyim* and *Yoreh De'ah*, and the *Peri Hadash* appear in the *Berakh Moshe* (Leghorn, 1809) of Moses b. Mordecai Galante (pp. 151–69); a responsum by him in the *Ma'amar ha-Melekh* (Salonika, 1806), of Raphael Abraham Maẓli'aḥ; and an alphabetical poem on the smoking of tobacco (*toton*) at the beginning of the *Avodah Tammah* (1903) of Joshua Raphael Benveniste. From 1767 Modai was on friendly terms with Ḥ.J.D. Azulai; on one ruling – in connection with reading from an invalid

Sefer Torah – they expressed opposing views; the correspondence between them continued until 1787.

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[Josef Horovitz]

MODAI (Madzovitch), YITZHAK (1926–1998), Israeli politician and businessman, member of the Eighth to Twelfth Knessets. Modai was born in Tel Aviv. He studied at the Ge'ulah High School in Tel Aviv, and as a high-school student joined the Haganah in 1941. He joined the British mandatory police in 1943. He served in the IDF in 1948–50 as a field officer and as a staff officer, reaching the rank of lieutenant colonel. In 1951–53 he served as military attaché in London, and in 1953 headed the Israeli-Syrian and Israeli-Lebanese Mixed Armistice Commissions. Modai completed his studies in the Technion in Haifa as a chemical engineer in 1957 and received a law degree from the Tel Aviv branch of the Hebrew University in 1959. After that he entered the business world, and in 1961–77 was director general of the Revlon cosmetics company in Israel.

Modai joined the *Israel Liberal Party in 1961 and was appointed chairman of its Young Guard in 1962. He was a staunch supporter of the establishment of *Gaḥal, and as member of the Liberal Party executive consistently advocated full unity with the *Ḥerut Movement. In the course of the Six-Day War he was appointed military governor of Gaza. In 1969–73 he served as member of the Herzliyyah city council. Modai was elected to the Eighth Knesset in 1973, on the Likud list. Even though he objected to Israeli withdrawal from the territories, he expressed support for concessions on the Egyptian front, as long as Western Ereẓ Israel would not be redivided. In the government formed by Menaḥem *Begin in June 1977 he was appointed minister of energy and infrastructures, serving also as minister of communications from January 1979 to December 1980. In May 1980 Modai was elected chairman of the Liberal Party presidium. In the second government formed by Begin in August 1981, he was appointed minister without portfolio, and in October 1982 returned to the Ministry of Energy and Infrastructures. In the National Unity government formed in September 1984, Modai was appointed minister of finance. At first he worked in harmony with Prime Minister Shimon *Peres, and together they passed the Economic Stabilization Plan of 1985 that was designed to deal with a three-digit inflation rate and balance of payments difficulties. However, due to growing tensions in the government, Peres decided to switch him with Minister of Justice Moshe Nissim. As minister of justice Modai dealt with the GSS Affair, following the scandal over the killing of a terrorist that had been taken prisoner. In July 1986 Modai was forced to resign from the government after insulting the prime minister. Following the rotation in the premiership in October, Modai returned to the government as minister without portfolio. In 1984 he was elected chairman of the Liberal Party presidium, in which capacity he served until the Liberal Party and the *Ḥerut Movement finally merged into a single party in 1988. After the elections to the Twelfth Knesset in 1988 he was appointed minister of economics and planning. After the government approved the Shamir-Rabin initiative in May 1989 for holding elections in the West Bank and Gaza Strip, Modai joined Ariel *Sharon, and David *Levy in opposition to the initiative. On the day of the vote on a motion of no-confidence in the government on March 15, 1990, Modai and four additional members of the Likud parliamentary group broke away from the group and established a parliamentary group by the name of the Party for Advancing the Zionist Idea. In the narrow government formed by Yitzhak *Shamir in June, he was once again appointed minister of finance, after demanding a vast financial guarantee to back up the agreement he signed to join the coalition. Modai objected to the American conditioning of the grant of financial guarantees to Israel in return for stopping the Jewish settlement activities in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. He ran in the elections to the Thirteenth Knesset at the head of a new party called the New Liberal Party, but it failed to pass the qualifying threshold, and Modai returned to private business. He wrote *Meḥikat Afassim* (1988).

[Susan Hattis Rolef (2nd ed.)]

MODEH ANI (Heb. מוֹדֶה אֲנִי; "I give thanks"), initial words of a prayer said immediately upon waking in the morning. The short prayer ("I give thanks unto Thee, O living and eternal King, who hast restored my soul unto me in mercy; great is Thy faithfulness") does not mention any of the Divine Names and may therefore be said while still in bed and before performing the prescribed morning ablutions; hence it was preferred to the traditional *Elohai Neshamah* prayer (which was transferred to the morning benedictions).

Modeh Ani, possibly a shortened version of the *Elohai Neshamah* prayer (Ber. 60b), is of late origin and seems to have been composed about the 17th century; it was printed for the first time in the addenda to the prayer book *Seder ha-Yom* (1695). Because of its shortness and simplicity it became a favorite morning prayer for very small children before they are capable of reciting the ordinary daily morning service.

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MODEL, MARX (d. 1709), *Court Jew of *Ansbach. The Model family originated in *Oettingen in the 16th century and subsequently spread throughout *Bavaria. It included a number of rabbis and Court Jews, foremost of whom was Marx Model, who in 1676 inherited his father's position as military and court purveyor at the court of the Margrave of Ansbach. One of the earliest Court Jews to engage in economic ventures, Marx acquired a number of estates and farms, a paper mill, and a workshop making roof tiles. In 1691 he was freed from custom duties and was granted the right to be sole publisher of the Talmud in Ansbach. His eldest daughter married Wolf, son of Samuel *Oppenheimer, the influential Austrian Court

Jew; Model served the latter as agent and supplier of silver for the mint and aided him in revoking an expulsion order against the Jews of Rothenburg. Model maintained his own synagogue and cantor in Ansbach. His unsuccessful attempt to unite the rival Jewish communities of *Fuerth was utilized by his rival Elkan *Fraenkel, who undermined his position at court and subjected the Jews to a harsher rule. However, Fraenkel's triumph was short-lived; Model's sons inherited their father's position and intrigued to bring about the eventual fall of the Fraenkels.

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MODELL, ARTHUR B. (**Art**; 1925–), U.S. football team owner who was instrumental in transforming the NFL into the most popular TV sport in American history. Born and raised in Brooklyn, New York, Modell grew up destitute during the Depression and dropped out of high school at 15 to support his mother and two sisters after his father died. During World War II, he served stateside in the Air Force and then enrolled in television school under the GI Bill. He produced *Market Melodies*, one of the first regular television shows in the nation, and worked in advertising, public relations and television production in New York in the 1940s and 1950s. Modell was 35, living with and caring for his mother, when he purchased the Cleveland Browns on March 22, 1961 for $4 million – a sixfold increase from the previous franchise sale. He invested $250,000 of his own money, borrowed $2.7 million and found partners for the rest. Modell owned the Browns for 34 seasons but his near bankruptcy forced him to move the team to Baltimore in 1996, provoking the lasting wrath of Browns fans. Soon after moving the team to Baltimore, he sold a minority interest and eventually the controlling interest in the team, and left the game in 2004 after 44 seasons in the NFL. During his time as owner, the Browns won the NFL championship in 1964, reached NFL and AFC league title games in 1964, '65, '68, '69, '86, '87, '89. His Baltimore Ravens won the Super Bowl in 2000.

Modell, an influential visionary, helped popularize the NFL through the league's increasingly lucrative television contracts, which he negotiated as chairman of the league's TV committee for 31 years. Along with Pete Rozelle and Roone Arledge, Modell also created Monday Night Football on ABC; was instrumental in pushing the owners in the 1960s to share revenues equally; in bringing about the merger of the NFL and the AFL by agreeing to move the Browns to the less-established AFL for the good of the league; played an essential role in the creation of NFL Films, which became a financial success and one of America's premier production companies, and was instrumental in helping the league raise its profile; and, as chairman of the owners' labor committee, completed the first collective bargaining agreement in NFL history in 1968. Modell was also a leader on diversity by promoting minorities to key positions in his front office, including naming the first black general manager in NFL history. He wrote his autobiography *Owning Up: the Art Modell Story,* in 2005.

[Elli Wohlgelernter (2nd ed.)]

MODENA, city in N. central Italy. The first document relating to Jews in Modena may date back to 1025, but the existence of a stable Jewish community, formed by loan-bankers who originated from *Perugia, *Rimini, and Fermo, was not recorded until 1393. For many years the Jews of Modena enjoyed the protection of the house of Este, which ruled Modena as well as Ferrara. After the expulsion from Bologna (1569) and the devolution of Ferrara (1598) when Modena became the capital city of the Duchy of Estense a number of Jews moved there; also in the 17th and 18th centuries the duchy of Modena attracted a large Jewish settlement. Generally, the dukes considered favoring Jewish settlement and development as beneficial to the state, mainly for economical reasons, but this did not prevent the establishment of the ghetto (1638–1859), Inquisitional controls, and the activity of the Opera Pia dei Catecumeni, founded in 1700. When the ghetto was established in 1638 the Jews in Modena numbered 750; in 1767 they were 1,262; in 1847, 1,538 lived in the entire province of Modena.

Modena was long a principal center of scholarship for Italian Jewry and was distinguished as a seat of kabbalistic study. Among its scholars were the kabbalist *Aaron Berechiah of Modena, author of *Ma'avar Yabbok* (Mantua, 1626); the scholars Leone Poggetti, Natanel Trabotti, and Yedidià Carmi; the remarkable bibliophile Abraham Joseph Solomon *Graziani; Abraham *Rovigo; and Ishmael *Cohen (Laudadio Sacerdote). During the first half of the 16th century the Hevrot Ghemilut Chassdim and the Talmud Torà were founded; in 1614 Aharon Berechiah of Modena founded the Hevrat Machshivim for kabbalistic studies. The cultural and economic activities of Modenese Jewry were central to the Duchy of Este. Although they were confined to the ghetto in 1638, the Jews of Modena were allowed to carry on their business activities. The Jews of the Este Dukedom in fact were involved in a variety of entrepreneurial, commercial, and cultural activities – among other things, the manufacture and trading of precious silks, silver, and diamonds. These activities were handled by large-scale entrepreneurs, and there were also a number of ordinary workers. Jews played important cultural roles – as ducal librarians, court silversmiths, printers, etc. – in the city, and often it was Jews who imported new cultural ideas from abroad. From 1638 to 1721, the Jews of Modena opened nine synagogues with women's galleries and two schools. The *ḥevrot* in Modena at the end of 18th century numbered 15. In 1735 the Hevra Soked Holim for women was established. There was also a renowned yeshivah in the city. In 1796 Modena was occupied by the French and became part of the Cisalpine Republic. Moisé Formiggini was the first Italian Jew to be elected to office in the government of the Repubblica Cisalpina (1797).

He took part in the Lyon consultation in 1802 and in the Great Sanhedrin of Paris in 1806. In 1796 he moved to Milan, where he expanded his entrepreneurial activities and became a public figure, uniting the Jewish communities of Northern Italy. At the same time, with his brother Salomone, the merchant Angelo Sanguinetti and the rabbis Buonaventura Modena and Ishmael Cohen he continued to lead the Modena community. During the Restoration, the ghetto restrictions were renewed, but the Jews of Modena contributed effectively to the Italian Risorgimento, collaborating with the Carbonari, the secret revolutionary movement. Angelo and Emilio Usiglio in particular were among the supporters of Giuseppe Mazzini. With the arrival of the Piedmontese troupes of the Savoy in 1859 the Jews of Modena were granted full equality with the other citizens. Yet the community, which up to the middle of the 19th century still consisted of about 1,000 Jews, then began to diminish numerically because of immigration, mostly to Milan. Devotion to Ereẓ Israel was particularly strong in Modena in the ghetto period, and later on Zionism obtained an early foothold there: the monthly *L'Idea Sionnista* was published in Modena from 1900 to 1910, founded by Professor Carlo Conegliano, of the Faculty of Economics. Moreover in the 1930s, thanks the educational activity of Angelo da Fano, the Jewish community contributed greatly to the Italian Zionism movement.

In 1931 the community of Modena had a membership of 474 Jews. During the Holocaust 70 Jews were deported to the death camps from the province of Modena, and over 15 Modenese Jews died. Many Jews of Modena participated in antifascist activities and the Resistenza movement. Angelo Donati organized the escape of thousands of Jews from Nice to Palestine; the president of the community, Gino Freidman, was one of the organizers of the rescue of young refugees at Villa Emma. After the war 185 Jews remained in the community; by 1959 their number had decreased to 150 and by 2005 to 100, though the main synagogue remained open and there were regular Sabbath services. In the last quarter of the 20th century the community president Massimiliano Eckert (1908–2004) and Rabbi Adolfo *Lattes (1910–1995) did encourage the immigration to Israel of young people and the maintenance of religious life. In spite of its small number the Jewish community of Modena is very active in promoting cultural activities on Jewish and Israeli themes and Jewish education at the primary and secondary levels.

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[Ariel Toaff / Federica Francesconi (2nd ed.)]

MODENA, ANGELO (1867–1938), Italian general. Born in Reggio Emilia on January 28, 1867, he was appointed second lieutenant of the Alpine troops in 1887. He took part in the Italian-Turkish war of 1911–12; promoted to major (he was a captain from 1907), he was decorated with the bronze medal for military valor. In 1915, he was appointed colonel; during World War I, he was also decorated with the silver medal for military valor. In 1927, he was appointed general.

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[Massimo Longo Adorno (2nd ed.)]

MODENA, AVTALYON (da; 1529–1611), Italian scholar, and son of Mordecai (Angelo da) Modena, the eminent physician. After studying in Padua, Avtalyon settled in Ferrara, where he became noted as a talmudist and scholar; Azariah dei *Rossi mentions him with deference in his *Me'or Einayim*. He took part in the famous controversy on the ritual propriety of the *mikveh* constructed at *Rovigo. When the papal attack on Jewish literature was renewed in 1581, he went to Rome as delegate of the Italian Jewish communities and is said to have made a two-hour oration in Latin before the assembled Curia, as the result of which the edict was modified. He was known also as a writer of verse. Letters addressed to him are preserved among the correspondence of his nephew, Leone *Modena.

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[Cecil Roth]

MODENA, FIORETTA (**Bat Sheva**; 16th century), wife of Solomon Modena (1522 or 1524–1580) and very learned in Torah, Mishnah, Talmud, Midrash, Jewish law, especially Maimonides, and kabbalistic literature, including the Zohar. Fioretta's sister, Diana Rieti of Mantua, was equally well versed. Fioretta spared no expense or effort to find the best teachers for her grandson, *Aaron Berechiah (d. 1639), later a rabbi and kabbalist in Modena. Nor was she unique in this respect; Italian Jewish women regularly supervised the educations of their sons and grandsons, especially when fathers and grandfathers were preoccupied. At the age of 75, after the death of her husband, Fioretta set out to Palestine to live in Safed, the Jewish equivalent of monastic retirement. According to her Venetian nephew Leon *Modena (1571–1648), who met Fioretta and witnessed her signal learning when she passed through Venice, she died just before reaching her destination.

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[Howard Tzvi Adelman (2nd ed.)]

MODENA, LEON (**Judah Areyeh mi-Modena**; 1571–1648), Venetian rabbi, cantor, preacher, teacher, author, and polemicist. His father, Isaac, came from an old French Jewish family which settled in Modena and, after they moved to Bologna and later Ferrara, retained the surname Modena. His mother, named Rachel, but renamed Diana by his father, came from an Ashkenazi family that had resettled in Italy. Leon Modena was born in Venice but spent his youth in Ferrara, Cologna, and Montagnana. He studied Bible, rabbinics, Hebrew language, poetry, letter writing, voice, music, dancing, Italian, and Latin. At the age of 13, he composed *Kinah Shemor*, a macaronic poem, sounding and meaning the same in Hebrew and Italian; translated sections of Ludovico Ariosto's *Orlando furioso*; and wrote a pastoral dialogue on gambling (1595/6).

In 1590, at the age of 19 after the death of his fiancée, his cousin Esther Simḥah, Modena married her sister Rachel and received the title of *ḥaver.* He wished to embark on a rabbinic career, so in 1592 he returned to Venice, but the Jewish lay leaders raised the age of ordination to 35 and then 40. Modena, therefore, had to create his own opportunities for income and recognition until he was ordained in 1609.

Modena used his skills to serve as a legal clerk for the leading rabbis of Venice; a teacher of Hebrew and rabbinics for students of all ages; a popular preacher; a proofreader, expediter, and author of dedicatory poems in the Venetian Hebrew publishing industry; author of many Hebrew tombstone epitaphs, including his own; and a letter writer for his students. He also turned to gambling, a popular form of entertainment in Venice. Indeed, due to both emotional and financial distress, he gambled intermittently, despite his own better judgment, with both Christians and Jews, for the rest of his life.

Unable to earn a living in Venice, Modena moved to Ferrara from 1604 to 1607 where he functioned as a rabbi and taught for a wealthy family. During these years Modena made a successful presentation concerning Jewish moneylending before the papal legate, sided with most of the rabbis of northern Italy against the rabbis of Venice in a continuing controversy over a ritual bath in Rovigo, and supported a major musical performance in Ferrara that took place in the synagogue on Friday evening, Tu be-Av. He spent another year abroad in Florence (1609–10).

Modena met with and taught Hebrew to many English and French Christians. One offered him a chair in Oriental languages in Paris which he refused, probably because he would have had to convert. Another commissioned him to write for James I a description of Judaism, the *Riti Ebraica*, the first vernacular description of Judaism written by a Jew for a non-Jewish audience, first published in Paris in 1637 and subsequently republished and translated many times.

In his published books, Modena demonstrated his skills as an author, teacher, and popularizer of rabbinic teachings. In *Sod Yesharim* (1594/5), he prefaced magic tricks, folk remedies, and Jewish riddles to a curriculum of biblical and rabbinic studies to make it attractive to young students. In *Ẓemaḥ Ẓaddik* (1600), he embellished a Hebrew translation of the most popular Italian book of the period, *Fior di Virtù*, removing Christian references and adding citations from traditional Jewish sources. In *Midbar Yehudah* (1602), he translated some of his Italian sermons into Hebrew. In *Ẓeli Esh* he made the first Italian translation of the Passover *Haggadah* (1609). In *Galut Yehudah* (1612), he tried to overcome Church laws against translating the Bible by providing a translation of difficult words, to which he later added a rabbinic glossary as well (1640). In *Lev Aryeh* (1612), he presented a Hebrew system of memory improvement, based on those popular in Venice, as a preface to a work on the 613 commandments of Judaism. In his play, *L'Ester* (1619) he combined the current dramatic standards with traditional rabbinic sources. To the anthology *Ein Yaakov*, the major source for rabbinic materials in Italy where the Talmud was banned, Modena contributed an index, *Beit Leḥem Yehudah* (1625); a supplementary collection, *Beit Yehudah* (1635); and a commentary (*Ha-Boneh*, 1635). Modena's devotion to rabbinic learning and his educational program found expression in these books.

During his early years as a rabbi in Venice, Modena wrote some interesting responsa on contemporary Jewish cultural and legal issues, such as going about bareheaded and playing tennis or traveling by boat on the Sabbath. From his ordination until his death, Modena served as the chief Hebrew translator for the government and secretary for several organizations, including the Italian synagogue, where he also was elected cantor. In 1622 he prepared for press the first book of Hebrew music, *Ha-Shirim asher li-Shelomo*, by Salamone Rossi. He ordained candidates for the degrees of *ḥaver* and rabbi, including medical students in Padua, approved the decisions of other rabbis, and authorized books for publication, with the result that by 1618 he was referred to as a *gaon*, and an excellent, well-known, honored and brilliant preacher. By 1627 Modena signed his name first in order among the Venetian rabbis. In 1628 he was maestro di cappella for a Jewish academy of music, Accademia degli Impediti, which was popular both inside and outside the ghetto..

In 1630, when the leaders of the Jewish community tried to ban gambling, he published a Hebrew pamphlet in the form of a rabbinic responsum in which he questioned whether gambling was a sin according to Jewish belief and challenged the lay leaders' authority to issue such a ban without rabbinic approval. But even the rabbis of Venice, on whose behalf he argued, opposed his views.

Modena's most important writings remained unpublished during his lifetime. These included his defenses of rabbinic Judaism against Jewish critics, Christianity, and Jewish mysticism. He wrote *Sha'agat Aryeh* (1622) against *Kol Sakhal*, an anti-rabbinic work; *Magen ve-Ẓinnah* (c. 1618), a response against attacks on rabbinic Judaism; and *Diffesa* (1626), a defense of the Talmud against the apostate Sixtus of Sienna, whose appeal was based in part on his use of Kabbalah.

His critique of recent trends in Jewish mysticism, especially the spread of the new school of Lurianic Kabbalah and the impact of Christian utilization of Kabbalah on Jewish apostasy, included a trilogy of works: a tract against reincarnation, *Ben David* (1636); a text challenging the authenticity of the Kabbalah, *Ari Noḥem* (1639); an attack on Christian Kabbalah, *Magen va-Ḥerev* (1645, incomplete).

In *Ḥayyei Yehudah*, the first full-length Hebrew autobiography, Modena recorded many of the details of his unhappy but productive life. His difficult family life included, in addition to the death of two infants, the loss of his three adult sons: Mordecai, who died by inhaling fumes during alchemy experiments; Zebulun, who was murdered by a Jewish gang over a Jewish woman; and Isaac, whom he banished to the Levant and who traveled as far as South America. His main source of solace remained his two daughters: Diana, who would become the executrix of his estate, and Esther or Sterella, married to Jacob of La Motta. Modena's intellectual and spiritual heirs were Diana's first husband, Jacob Halevi, and Jacob's son, Isaac min Haleviim. After his beloved son-in-law died in the plague of 1629, Diana soon remarried Moses Saltaro Fano, with whom Modena did not get along, and who moved away, leaving her father to raise her son. Modena and his wife, Rachel, quarreled a great deal, especially after all the family moved out and their health deteriorated. According to the Venetian Ministry of Health she died on March 7, 1648, and he two weeks later. After his death the Italian congregation made extensive plans for his burial, and he was eulogized by the Jewish community and by Christian writers abroad.

As Modena's manuscripts were discovered during the 19th century, they were viewed as attacks on traditional Judaism. The early proponents of Reform Judaism looked to Modena as a precursor and, in the same tendentious spirit, those who wished to undermine the Reform appropriation presented him as a gambler, a heretic, a hypocrite, or someone racked by contradictions. Trying to make sense of these complexities, some have sought to identify him as the personification of the Renaissance Jew or the "first modern rabbi." The fact is, however, that in Italy the Renaissance was over by the time he lived and to see him as modern is to miss the fact that he spent much of his life defending traditional medieval rabbinic authority against attempts by the Jewish laity to limit their coercive power. Indeed, it may be more apt to view Modena as one of the last medieval rabbis and to see the period in which he lived as the earliest beginnings of the modern period for the Jews.

Leon Modena's life, however, is not only an important example of the struggles of early-modern rabbinic authority but also of social history. His candid and extensive writings provide details about the social and economic conditions of the family, women, and children and about daily life, community, and religion, including the occult, magic amulets, and especially, Jewish-Christian relations.

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[Howard Tzvi Adelman (2nd ed.)]

MODERN, JUDAH (1819–1893), Hungarian rabbi. Modern was born in Pressburg where he became one of the outstanding pupils of Moses Sofer, Meir Asch, and Moses Teitelbaum. In 1837 he married the daughter of Samuel Zanvil ha-Kohen of Sziget and remained in Sziget for the rest of his life, refusing to accept offers of rabbinic office. On the title page of his *Zikhron Shemu'el* it states: "Neither rabbi nor *av bet din*, despising honor and praise, engaged in Torah by day and by night." In Sziget he became attracted to *Ḥasidism and, to the displeasure of his teacher, Moses Sofer, paid visits to the ḥasidic rabbis. He was one of the leaders of the community which in 1886 broke with the Orthodox community of Sziget and established the separatist community which was called Ha-Kehillah ha-Sefaradit.

Modern was the author of *Zikhron Shemu'el* (1867), a detailed commentary on tractate *Gittin*, and *Peri ha-Eẓ* (1885–87), on the Pentateuch. He published Judah Kahana's *Terumat ha-Keri* (1858), on the Tur and Shulḥan Arukh, *Ḥoshen Mishpat*, with his own glosses and novellae. Individual responsa by him have appeared in various works.

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[Naphtali Ben-Menahem]

MODIANO, PATRICK (1945–), French writer. Modiano's first book, *La Place de l'Etoile* (1968), gained him immediate fame and recognition. It is the story of a young French Jew caught in the turmoil of the war years in occupied Paris. Though Modiano was born after World War II, that period appears to fascinate him, and he goes back to it time and again in search of inspiration. Antisemitism and collaboration, black market and Resistance, spies and doubtful heroes: these are his most regular themes. His other works include *La ronde de nuit* ("Night Round," 1969), *Les boulevards de ceinture* ("Circle Line Boulevards," 1972). In *Lacombe Lucien* (1974), made into a successful film by Louis Malle, Modiano caused a furor by delving into the murky relationship between a young French Nazi and a Jewish girl. Memory becomes increasingly obsessive in his work, as shown in *Villa triste* ("Sad Villa," 1975), *Livret de famille* ("Family Record Book," 1977), and *Rue des boutiques obscures* ("Dark Shops Street"), in which an amnesiac detective is inextricably tied to the period of German Occupation. For the latter, Modiano was the winner of the 1978 Goncourt Prize. Also of note are *Remise de peine* ("Reduction," 1988), "*Voyage de noce*" ("Honeymoon Trip," 1990), and *Dora Bruder* (1997), in which Modiano tells of the last months of a young Jewish girl in Paris before being arrested and deported. His later works include *Ephéméride* ("Block Calendar," 2002), *Accident nocturne* ("Night Accident," 2003), and *Un pedigree*

("A Pedigree," 2005), in which Modiano evokes his conflict-laden relationship with his father.

Modiano also wrote children's books. They include *Catherine Certitude* (1988) and *28 Paradis* (2005), illustrated by his wife, Dominique Zehrfuss.

[Gideon Kouts / Anny Dayan Rosenman (2nd ed.)]

MODIGLIANI, AMEDEO (1884–1920), painter. Modigliani was born in Leghorn, the son of a small businessman. One of his brothers, Vittorio Emanuele *Modigliani, was an active Socialist leader. Amedeo studied art in Florence and Venice. In 1905 he went to Paris. While there, though leading a life of dissipation, he learned a great deal from Cézanne, Gauguin, Toulouse-Lautrec and from African sculpture. He greatly admired the last and his own sculpture was in a similar simplified abstract style. Despite his many love affairs, his excesses of drunkenness and frequent lapses into illness aggravated by poverty, he managed to produce a substantial body of work within his relatively short career. More than 20 of his sculptures, some 500 paintings, and thousands of watercolors and drawings have survived. Modigliani usually painted single figures with backgrounds only vaguely defined. There are portraits of his fellow artists and of the two women who played leading roles in his life, the English poet, Beatrice Hastings, with whom he lived from 1914 to 1916, and later his wife, Jeanne Hébuterne. His sitters included the streetwalkers of the Left Bank whom Modigliani never made pretty but who always evoke pity. His portraits look as if he had caught the sitter in a moment of utter fatigue, lonely and devoid of glamor or gaiety. Their energy has been drained and their hands dangle limply on their laps. Their heads are inclined and their eyes look listlessly and unseeing, as though staring from another world. His women seem to be constructed of almond shapes connected by cylindrical necks to larger ovoids formed by the rounded shoulders of the upper body.

Modigliani was a superb draftsman and his color sense was fascinating. His sensuous nudes are painted in broad planes of vivid ochre, orange, and earthy hues, surrounded by strong lines. His iridescent tones are achieved by covering thin layers of color with many coats of varnish. In 1917 his only one-man show was a complete fiasco. The police ordered the five canvases of nudes to be removed and this led to a scandal. It was soon after his death that the greatness of his work was discovered and his paintings and sculpture were acquired by leading museums and collectors all over the world.

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[Alfred Werner]

MODIGLIANI, FRANCO (1918–2003), economist and Nobel Prize laureate. Modigliani was born in Rome. After earning a law degree at the University of Rome, he escaped the Fascist regime in Italy and moved to the United States in 1939. In New York he studied at the New School for Social Research, obtaining his Ph.D. in social sciences in 1944. Modigliani taught at the New School from 1944 to 1949 and was a research consultant to the Cowles Commission at the University of Chicago from 1949 to 1952. He was a professor at Carnegie Institute of Technology from 1952 to 1960 and at Northwestern University from 1960 to 1962. He was on the faculty of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology from 1962, becoming professor emeritus in 1988. He served as president of the American Economic Association in 1976.

Modigliani's research work focused on the analysis of household savings, wherein he determined that people save towards retirement rather than amass money to be left as inheritance for the next generation, and on the different types of national pension programs and their effects. He also was highly influential in the area of corporate finance by directing attention to the fact that future earnings of a company serve to determine stock market values. The Nobel Prize in economic science for 1985 was awarded to him for "his pioneering analyses of saving and financial markets," for work that he published in the second half of the 1950s.

Modigliani's autobiography is entitled *Adventures of an Economist* (2001). His other publications include *The Debate over Stabilization Policy* (1986); *Capital Markets* (with F. Fabozzi, 1992); *Foundations of Financial Markets and Institutions* (with F. Fabozzi and M. Ferri, 1994); and *Rethinking Pension Reform* (with A. Muralidhar, 2004).

[Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

MODIGLIANI, VITTORIO EMANUELE (1872–1947), Italian lawyer and politician; brother of the artist Amedeo *Modigliani. Born in Leghorn, Modigliani joined the Socialist party as a student. From 1913 to 1924 he sat as a Socialist in the Italian parliament. He opposed Italian participation in World War I and supported the formula of a peace without victor or vanquished. In 1924 Modigliani joined the rest of his party in abstaining from all parliamentary activity, in protest against the new Fascist law making parliamentary opposition ineffective. He appeared for the prosecution in the Giacomo Matteotti trial in 1923–24 in which leading Fascists were accused of complicity in Matteotti's assassination. Soon afterward he left Italy in protest against the Fascist regime and lived in Austria and France, where he was a virulent opponent of Fascism. Modigliani participated in the formation of a socialist pro-Palestine committee formed in Brussels. He returned to Italy in 1945 and was elected a deputy to the constituent assembly and chairman of the Italian Socialist Party.

[Giorgio Romano]

MODI'IN (Heb. מוֹדִיעִין, מוֹדִיעִים, or Modi'im), town or village in the toparchy of Lydda, the family home of Mattathias the Maccabean and of his Hasmonean descendants; here the Maccabean revolt broke out (I Macc. 2:1, 15, 23; cf. Jos., Ant. 12–13). Nothing much is said in the sources about the place, its size and situation. Although the rebels were soon forced to evacuate the village, they were able to bury their dead there (I Macc. 2:70, 9:18–21, 13:25–30). Simeon the Hasmonean eventually built a splendid mausoleum at Modi'in, which was adorned with seven pyramids and high columns with sculptures of ships that were said to be visible from the sea (I Macc. 13:25–30; Jos., Ant. 13:210–11). In the time of Jonathan, Modi'in passed into Jewish possession with the rest of the toparchy of Lydda. An important battle was undertaken against the Seleucid Kendebaois from a camp situated close to Modi'in. Judas Maccabaeus is mentioned as having marched out of Modi'in in order to fight Seleucid forces sent against him by Antiochus V (II Macc. 13:14ff.), suggesting that the town was unfortified (but some historians, notably Longstaff, have cast doubt on the veracity of this story). John and Judah, the sons of Simeon, camped close to Modi'in before the battle of Kidron (I Macc. 16:4). In the Mishnah, it is described as a town on the border of Judah (Pes. 9:2; Ḥag. 3:5). It was the home town of R. Eleazar of Modi'in, a close relative of Bar Kokhba and perhaps identical with Eleazar the high priest, who appears on coins of the Second Jewish War. R. *Eleazar was put to death in 135 C.E. on grounds of treason. Another teacher associated with Modi'in is Rabbi Yossi, but details regarding this person and his teachings are sparse. In the *Onomasticon* (132:16) of *Eusebius Pamphili (c. 260–339 C.E.) and on the Madaba mosaic map (mid-sixth century), it is located east of Lydda. The whereabouts of Modi'in the village/town and burial-place of the Maccabean family is a subject that has intrigued pilgrims and travelers since the 12th century when the Crusaders identified it at the site of Belmont, next to present-day kibbutz Ẓova, west of Jerusalem, a mistake that was maintained until the 19th century by visitors to the region. E. Robinson (1852), however, suggested that Modi'in should be identified at Latrun on the grounds of its position and elevation. In the mid-19th century, considerable efforts were made by scholars (notably E. Forner, Ch. Sandreckzi, V. Guérin, C.R. Conder and Ch. Clermont-Ganneau) to identify Modi'in at Khirbet el-Midya and Sheikh al-Gharbāwī, about 7½ mi. (12 km.) east of Lydda in the northern Shephelah, but the famous "Tombs of the Maccabees" seen there today are mostly of Byzantine date. During an archaeological project conducted by S. Gibson and E. Lass in the area of the modern city of Modi'in from 1995 to 1999, a proposal was put forward to identify ancient Modi'in at Horvat Titora (Khirbet el-Burj) as a result of the finds made there from the Iron Age, Hellenistic and Early Roman periods, including large numbers of subterranean hideaways from the Bar Kokhba period. More recently, Khirbet Umm el-'Umdan, which is the site of an Early-Roman period village with a public building (perhaps a synagogue), excavated by S. Weksler-Bdolach and A. Onn, has also been proposed as the site of Modi'in. To sum up: unless an inscription were to be found at one of these sites, the exact location of Modi'in will apparently always remain a mystery.

[Michael Avi-Yonah / Shimon Gibson (2nd ed.)]

Modi'im and Modi'im Region

In the Israel *War of Independence, the area west of the Naḥal Modi'im gorge was occupied by Israel forces in July 1948, while the village al-Midya remained beyond the 1949 armistice line in Jordanian territory. In the 1950s and 1960s, the Herzl Forest of *Ben Shemen was gradually enlarged eastward to become the Modi'im Forest, and an observation tower and amphitheater were built there. In 1964, the Modi'im region development project was started, providing for further afforestation and land reclamation; the area's northern section was set aside as an ultimate reserve for the expansion of the Tel Aviv conurbation, with plans laid out for the construction of a future city to be named Makkabit. In 1965, a *Naḥal outpost settlement, Mevo Modi'im (מְבוֹא מוֹדִיעִים), was established less than a mile (1 km.) from the armistice line by a group affiliated with *Po'alei Agudat Israel. After the *Six-Day War, these settlers moved southeastward to set up a new village in the Aijalon Valley, at the foot of the *Beth-Ḥoron ascent, while the site of Mevo Modi'im, which has poor and rocky soil, was earmarked for a village to be based on industry and a Po'alei Agudat Israel seminary. Forest planting continued after 1967 on both sides of the former armistice line, carried out in the west by Jewish laborers and in the east by Arabs.

[Efraim Orni]

The City of Modi'in

The modern city of Modi'in was officially established in 1993 in a ceremony attended by late Prime Minister Yitzḥak Rabin. Plans for the city were drawn up in the mid-1980s by the architect Moshe *Safdie and approved in the beginning of the 1990s by Ariel *Sharon, then minister of housing. In 1996 the first residents moved in and its rapid expansion earned it city status in 2001. It is located in a former army firing zone between the Judean Plain and the Jerusalem Hills, midway between Jerusalem and Tel Aviv. The city's convenient location has served to attract residents from both the Jerusalem and Tel Aviv areas. Its jurisdiction extends over 18 sq. mi. (46 sq. km.), 50% of which are green areas.

In 2003 the municipality was united with *Makkabim-Re'ut. The population of Modi'in at the time was 34,700 while Makkabim-Re'ut had 10,700 residents. The population was well educated, with 60% holding academic degrees, and the majority were young families with an average of two children. Most residents commuted to work but an industrial park was planned for the outskirts of the city.

[Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Guérin, in: *PEFQS*, 2 (1870), 390; F.M. Abel, *Les Livres des Maceabées* (1949); idem, in: *RB*, 32 (1923), 496ff.; Beyer, in: *ZDPV*, 56 (1933), 223. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** A. Negev and S. Gibson (eds.), *Archaeological Encyclopedia of the Holy Land* (2001), 341, s.v. "Modi'in"; S. Weksler-Bdolach, A. Onn and Y. Rapuano, "Identifying the Hasmonean Village of Modi'in," in: *Cathedra* (2003), 69–86.

MODON (now **Methone**), port city in S.W. Peloponnesus, Greece. Benjamin of Tudela found a Jewish community in Modon, and it became of importance during the Venetian rule. Four travelers in the late 15th century recorded details about this Jewish community ruled by the Venetians (1206–1500). In 1481 Meshullam of Volterra found 300 Jewish families in Modon in a ghetto "on the outskirts of the city" engaged in trade and handicrafts. Jews were engaged in the silk and tanning industries, as well as the maritime trade. Jews were excluded from citizenship and obliged to provide an executioner, as in other Venetian colonies. Jewish men and women had to perform forced labor. Modon fell to the Turks in 1501, whereupon many exiles from Spain settled there. Venice demanded an exorbitant sum from its Jewish population. In the assault on the town in 1531 by the Knights of Malta, Jewish captives were presumed to have been among those non-Christians carried off by the invaders. The Jewish community ceased to exist after the Venetian-Turkish war of 1646.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: J. Starr, *Romania* (1949), 63–72.

[Simon Marcus]

MODZHITZ, ḥasidic dynasty in Poland (family name: Taub). Its founder was Israel of Modzhitz (d. 1921), son of Samuel Elijah of Zwole. He emphasized the value of music in Ḥasidism and is regarded as the creator of the ḥasidic melody as an art form. Israel composed hundreds of melodies, of which the best known are those to *Ezkerah Elohim ve-Ehemayah*, consisting of over 30 stanzas composed at a time of physical suffering, and to *Le-Mizmor Todah* (also called *Niggun li-Meḥusserei Bayit* ("A Tune for the Homeless"), expressing the distress of Jewish refugees during World War I. Much of his teachings are devoted to the praise of music. His son, SAUL JEDIDIAH ELEAZAR (d. 1947), was *av bet din* in Rakov and Karzow. In 1929 he moved to Otwock near Warsaw and after his father's death headed the Modzhitz Ḥasidim. He combined Torah with music, and popularized the Modzhitz melodies throughout the Jewish world, composing hundreds of tunes. He edited and published his father's sermons with his own in *Divrei Yisrael* (Lublin, 1901–04; Warsaw, 1912; Warsaw, 1930; New York, 1931) and in the Passover *Haggadah, Ishei Yisrael* (Warsaw, 1938); he also edited and published the booklets *Tiferet Yisrael – Kunteres Ma'amarim* (Warsaw, 1936–38; Brooklyn, 1941–47). He died in Tel Aviv.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: M.S. Geshuri (ed.), *La-Ḥasidim Mizmor* (1936); idem, *Neginah va-Ḥasidut be-Veit Kuzmir u-Venoteha* (1952).

[Avraham Rubinstein]

MO'ED (Heb. מוֹעֵד), the second of the six orders of the Mishnah according to the accepted order established by *Simeon b. Lakish. He interpreted the verse (Isa. 33:6), "and the stability of thy times shall be a hoard of salvation, wisdom, and knowledge …" such that "stability" refers to the order *Zera'im*, "thy times" to the order *Mo'ed* … (Shab. 31a, et al.). In the order given by R. Tanḥum, however, it is the fourth (Num. R. 13:15). *Mo'ed* treats comprehensively of the Sabbath and the festivals of the Jewish calendar, but it includes tractates **Eruvin*, which is a kind of appendix to *Shabbat*, **Shekalim*, because of the fixed appointed time for the collection of the half-*shekel* (see Shek. 1:1–3), and **Ta'anit*, dealing with congregational fasts, since to some extent its subject matter is similar to that of the festivals. *Mo'ed* comprises 12 tractates arranged, as are all the orders, in descending order according to the number of chapters. They are (1) **Shabbat*, with 24 chapters; (2) *Eruvim*, 10; (3) **Pesaḥim*, 10; (4) *Shekalim*, 8; (5) **Yoma*, 8; (6) **Sukkah*, 5; (7) **Beẓah* or *Yom Tov*, 5; (8) **Rosh Ha-Shanah*, 4; (9) *Ta'anit*, 4; (10) **Megillah*, 4; (11) **Mo'ed Katan* or *Mashkin*, 3; (12) **Ḥagigah*, 3; in all, 88 chapters.

In the Tosefta of *Mo'ed, Shabbat* has 17 (or 18) chapters; *Eruvin* 8 (or 11), *Pesaḥim* 10, *Shekalim* 3, *Kippurim* 4 (or 5). *Sukkah* 4, *Yom Tov* 4, *Rosh Ha-Shanah* 2 (or 4), *Ta'aniyyot* 3 (or 4), *Megillah* 3 (or 4), *Mo'ed Katan* 2, and *Ḥagigah* 3. There is no *Gemara* to *Shekalim* in the Babylonian Talmud but there is in the Jerusalem Talmud. In contrast to all the other orders which have plural names, the name of *Mo'ed* is in the singular. The reason is apparently that the concept *Mo'ed* has two meanings, one in the sense of a festival and the other in that of a fixed time, as for example, "the season [*mo'ed*] that thou camest forth out of Egypt" (Deut. 16:6), or, "therefore will I take back My corn in the time thereof, and My wine in the season thereof [*be-mo'ado*]" (Hos. 2:11). In this sense the Bible uses the term *Mo'ed* in the singular, and this is apparently the implication of the use of the singular for the name of the order, since it treats not only of the festivals, but also of other topics that nevertheless have a fixed time, such as *Shekalim, Ta'anit* and the readings of the Law. It seems that the tractate *Shabbat* alone was once called *Mo'ed*.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Epstein, Mishnah, 980ff.; Albeck, *Shishah Sidrei Mishnah, Seder Mo'ed* (1952).

[Abraham Arzi]

MO'ED KATAN (Heb. מוֹעֵד קָטָן; "small festival"), 11th tractate in the Mishnah order of *Mo'ed*, concerned mainly with **ḥol ha-mo'ed* ("the intermediate days of the festivals of *Passover and *Sukkot"). The original name of this tractate seems to have been *Mo'ed* (TJ, MK, 2:5, 81b), and in fact, throughout this tractate, the intermediate days are referred to as *Mo'ed* and not as *ḥol ha-mo'ed*. To distinguish the tractate **Mo'ed* from the mishnaic order of that name, the former was sometimes referred to as *Mashkin* (Lev. R. 34:4), its opening word. The present designation, *Mo'ed Katan*, prevailed to distinguish the tractate from its order.

While the Scripture does not explicitly forbid work on *ḥol ha-mo'ed*, Leviticus 23:37, speaking of the daily festival sacrifices, includes the intermediate days of the festival in the term "holy convocation" and on account of this *ḥol ha-mo'ed* is considered as semi-festival, days on which certain kinds of work (and as a rule all unnecessary work) are forbidden. Chapter 1 of the tractate discusses a great variety of activities (e.g., agriculture, burial, marriage, sowing, repairs) which in certain circumstances may be allowed on *ḥol ha-mo'ed*.

Chapter 2 speaks of further kinds of work (e.g., pressing olives, or finishing the manufacture of wine, and gathering fruits, etc.) which are allowed if they are urgent; the general rule is that no work which should have been done before the festival or could be postponed until after the festival may be done on *ḥol ha-mo'ed*. Chapter 3 speaks of the conditions under which shaving, washing clothes, drawing up of documents and other scribal activity are allowed; it then discusses the manner in which mourning customs are observed on Sabbath and festivals, including New Moon, Ḥanukkah, and Purim. The tractate ends on a note of comfort by quoting Isaiah 25:8: "He will swallow up death for ever, and the Lord will wipe away tears from all faces." The *Gemara* in Chapter 3 explains the connection between the laws of the intermediate days and those of mourning. In that context, the Babylonian *Gemara* discusses details or burial and mourning customs and records several interesting funeral orations and dirges, and deals with the laws of excommunication. There is also a *Gemara* in the Jerusalem Talmud. In the Tosefta the material of the tractate is divided into two chapters, and like the Mishnah contains many details which reflect life and conditions during the tannaitic period. An English translation and introduction by H.M. Lazarus is to be found in the Soncino Talmud translation (1938).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: H.M. Reinhold, *Tal Ḥayyim… al Massekhet Mo'ed Katan…* (Lvov, 1866); Ḥ. Albeck, *Shishah Sidrei Mishnah*, 2 (1958), 371–3.

[Arnost Zvi Ehrman]

MOELLIN, JACOB BEN MOSES (1360?–1427), usually referred to as Maharil (Morenu ha-Rav Jacob ha-Levi) and also as Mahari Segal and Mahari Molin), the foremost talmudist of his generation and head of the Jewish communities of Germany, Austria, and Bohemia. Born in Mainz, Jacob was taught by his father, one of its leading rabbis, and then proceeded to Austria, where he studied under Meir ha-Levi and Shalom b. Isaac, who ordained him rabbi with the title *morenu*. Summoned to Mainz while still young to succeed his father who had died in 1387, Jacob founded a yeshivah there to which many students streamed. The students lived in his house and were supported by "the means provided for him by the leaders of the country" (*Sefer Maharil*). From this yeshivah came the greatest rabbis of Germany and Austria of the next generation, among them Jacob *Weil.

Moellin became famous throughout Europe. While he was still young, halakhic problems were addressed to him "since from your mouth Torah goes forth to all Israel" (Maharil, resp. no. 148). He was also regarded as the leader of the people in that troubled period. During the Hussite wars and the strengthening of Catholic reaction various communities turned to him for help. On this occasion he decreed a three-day fast upon the whole community, "even upon sucklings," and also took the matter up with the government, with successful results. His rulings, together with those of Israel *Isserlein, serve as the foundation of all the traditions which were kept in German Jewry. In his decisions Moellin took prevailing conditions into consideration, and when a matter which affected the economic position of the community came before him, he assembled the scholars and "investigated the matter until he found a favorable solution." When he felt he had been too strict, he excused himself saying, "I have been very strict with you because you are without a rabbi" (resp. no. 26). He attacked rabbis who "bought" rabbinical positions which they were unqualified to fill (Jacob Weil, *Dinim ve-Halakhot*, no. 68, Kapust ed. (1834), 59b), and protested against the neglect of Torah study and against the widespread practice of giving decisions based on abridged halakhic works. In his sermons he placed particular emphasis upon the *mitzvah* of charity, and he was keenly solicitous of the honor of the poor.

Moellin also occupied himself with astronomy and applied himself to the solution of astronomical problems with the aid of instruments, and the study of the astronomical work *Shesh Kenafayim* of Immanuel b. Jacob *Bonfils. Jacob was well-versed in the different German dialects and composed Hebrew rhymed verse (in Ms.) and *piyyutim* (Joseph b. Moses, *Leket Yosher*, ed. by J. Freimann, 1 (1903), 50). Though, like all the rabbis of Germany, he shunned philosophy, he acted with a degree of tolerance toward those who, attracted by it, had strayed in matters of belief. He declared valid the *sheḥitah* of one who "accepted resurrection only as a traditional belief, but denied that there was a biblical basis for it," even declaring that "though his sin is too great to be tolerated, he is not under suspicion of deliberately transgressing the Torah" (resp. no. 194, p. 64a–b).

Moellin was renowned as a *ḥazzan* and his activities left a lasting influence on the Ashkenazi tradition. His opinion that traditional tunes should not be changed was a constantly stabilizing factor. The so-called "*Niggunei Maharil*," attributed to him (or at least thought to have been sanctioned by him) were in use in the Mainz community until modern times (see Idelsohn, Music, 170, 177, 206, 456, and see *Mi-Sinai melodies).

His known works are (1) *Minhagei Maharil* (*Sefer Maharil*, first published in Sabionetta, 1556), compiled by his pupil Zalman of St. Goar who for many years noted down his halakhic statements, customs and, in particular, the explanations he heard from him. Through the efforts of various copyists, the work enjoyed wide circulation. Most of the customs noted in it were included by Moses Isserles in his glosses to the Shulḥan Arukh; (2) Responsa, some copied and arranged by Eleazar b. Jacob and published for the first time in Venice in 1549. A far more complete collection has been preserved in manuscript (Margoliouth, Cat. No. 575). The printed editions of the *Maharil* are full of errors, apparently having been published from a corrupt copy. Moellin died in Worms.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: G. Steiman, *Custom and Survival – A Study of the Life and Work of R. Jacob Molin* (1963); G. Polak, *Halikhot Kedem* (1846), 79–86; Guedemann, Gesch Erz, 3 (1888), 17–20; D. Kaufmann, in: MGWJ, 42 (1898), 223–9; Weiss, Dor, 5 (1904^4), 81f., 239–42; Joseph b. Moses, *Leket Yosher*, ed. by J. Freimann, 2 (1904), XXXV, 132; Finkelstein, Middle Ages, index, s.v. *Maharil*; L. Rosenthal, in: MGWJ, 71 (1927), 364–7; J.J. (L.) Greenwald (Grunwald), *Maharil u-Zemanno* (1944); M.S. Geshuri, in: *Sinai*, 13 (1943/44), 317–49; Hacohen, *ibid.*, 57 (1965), 133–7.

[Ephraim Kupfer]

MO'EẒET HA-PO'ALOT, the General Council of Women Workers of Israel, founded in 1922 as a part of the *Histadrut (the General Federation of Labor). Its roots go back to the pioneering movement of the Second *Aliyah, when girls, as well as young men, went to build Ereẓ Israel "by the sweat of their brow." Masculine prejudices continued to exist even in an idealistic society. For women to work, especially in the open field, was considered not only unfair competition but a fall from grace. The handful of *ḥalutzot* (pioneer women) banded together, proclaiming the slogan: "Women demand the right to be partners in the revival of our People and to fulfill themselves … as women and as human beings." In 1968 the membership of Mo'eẓet ha-Po'alot totaled 486,000, composed of three categories: wage-earners – 177,000; women members of cooperative villages (kibbutzim or moshavim) – 33,000; and wives of Histadrut members, known as Immahot Ovedot (working mothers) – 276,000.

Since women are now accepted as full-fledged members of the trade unions, Mo'eẓot ha-Po'alot is preoccupied mainly with social services and the special problems of working women, such as retirement age, maternity benefits, vocational training, and career advancement. Branches of Immahot Ovedot exist in every town and village, providing social services and education for housewives. Assisted by *Pioneer Women organizations in 12 countries, it maintains some 500 social and educational institutions, such as day-nurseries, children's residential homes, kindergartens, youth clubs, and summer camps, catering in 1968 to some 20,000 children. In 2005 Mo'eẓet ha-Po'alot operated 75 day care centers, kindergartens, nurseries, and boarding schools. Special attention is given to children of immigrants and culturally deprived families, who are generally referred to these institutions by social workers. It also supports four residential agricultural high schools (two in cooperation with WIZO, which in 2005 included 1,250 pupils), four workshops for immigrants, several community centers (the largest of which is Bet Elisheva in Jerusalem), girls' vocational high schools (including a school for baby nurses), women's hostels, and special training courses, that in 1968 trained 7,500 women and girls and in 2005 2,850. In scores of women's clubs, immigrants are taught Hebrew, home economics, and social responsibility. In 2005 Mo'eẓet ha-Po'alot offered professional training to 2,400 immigrant women. It operated 35 social and cultural centers for Arab women and 36 community centers. In developing towns, Mo'eẓet ha-Po'alot ran the Education for Family Living project, counseling teenage girls in 50 centers and mothers of large families in 65 training groups. Residential seminars, study days, field trips, and lectures are organized. An advisory bureau on legal and psychological problems assists widows and orphans.

The executive of Mo'eẓet ha-Po'alot is elected by general ballot every four years (simultaneously with the Histadrut elections). Mo'eẓet ha-Po'alot is affiliated with many women's international movements and, through the Histadrut, with the International Labor Office (ILO), participating particularly in committees pertaining to women workers. Among the best-known members of Mo'eẓet ha-Po'alot were Golda *Meir, Raḥel Yanait *Ben-Zvi, and Raḥel Shazar (*Katznelson).

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[Shoshana Hareli / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

MOFAZ, SHAUL (1948–), 16th chief of staff of the IDF (1998–2002). Mofaz was born in Iran and immigrated to Israel in 1957. In 1966 he joined the paratroops and in the Six-Day War fought under the command of Rafael *Eitan. During the Yom Kippur War he was the commander of the paratroop commando unit, and subsequently deputy commander of the special General Staff commando unit. In this post he participated in the Entebbe operation. Afterwards he took a break to study business administration at Bar-Ilan University for two years. In the Lebanon War he commanded a brigade and after the war went to study at the Command and Staff College of the U.S. Marine Corps in the U.S. On his return he was named head of the Officers' School and, in 1986, commander of the paratroop brigade. Afterwards he received a tank division and in 1993 was promoted to brigadier general and given command of Israeli forces in Judea and Samaria. A year later, in 1994, he became GOC Southern Command and in 1996 he was made chief of the IDF planning branch. In 1997 he became deputy chief of staff and in 1998 he was chosen as chief of staff, a position he held until 2002. Under his command, the IDF withdrew from Lebanon and the second Intifada commenced. After his retirement he was chosen by Prime Minister Sharon as defense minister, a position he continued to hold after the 2003 elections. At the end of 2005 he left the Likud for Sharon's new Kadimah Party, and after the 2006 elections he became minister of transport in Ehud *Olmert's government.

[Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

MOGADOR, now known as **Essaouira**, an Atlantic seaport in western *Morocco, midway between the towns of *Safi and *Agadir. The word Mogador is a corruption of the Berber term for "self-anchorage." The city was occupied by the Phoenicians and Carthaginians in the 5th century B.C.E. From the Middle Ages to the 17th century there were sugar-cane refineries in the vicinity of Mogador whose operation was brought to a halt in the latter half of the 18th century. The town became a bustling seaport in 1764 under the Alawite Sultan Sidi Muhammad ibn Abdullah, who sought to transform it into a rival port to Agadir and have it serve as his main port for international commerce. The most important Moroccan Jewish merchant families from *Tangier, Agadir, *Marrakesh, and parts of northern Morocco were recruited by the sultan to take charge of developing trade activity and relations in Mogador *vis-à-vis* Europe.

The sultan chose 10 or 12 of them, especially from the Corcos, Afriat, Coriat, Knafo, Pinto, and Elmaleh families, for the task and granted them the status of *tujjār al-sultān* (the "king's merchants"). In sharp contrast to ordinary Jews who dwelt in the cramped Jewish *ghetto (**mellah*), the sultanate offered them the most luxurious dwellings of Mogador within the more prestigious *casbah* quarter. They not only became the leading merchants of the sultan's court – parallel to a tiny elite of Muslim *tujjār* – but were entrusted with the role of mediation and diplomacy with European consuls and entrepreneurs. Not only were they influential in Moroccan economic affairs, but their functions extended to include the leadership of the local Jewish community. From their ranks the Jews chose the *tujjār* as presidents, vice presidents, and treasurers. The extraordinary and privileged Jewish *tujjār* elite controlled all of the major imports of Mogador and other Moroccan trade centers where their influence was gradually extended. These included sugar, tea, metals, gunpowder, and tobacco. The *tujjār* also managed such vital exports as wheat, hides, cereals, and wool, items which became government monopolies at the time, resulting from the *makhzan*'s fears of the political and social consequences of European penetration. Some *tujjār* were in fact dispatched by the Palace to European trade centers as economic attachés and were given interest-free loans to undertake major trade transactions and augment the sultan's profits. Unlike the rest of the Jews, they were not required to pay the traditional poll-tax (*jizya*) commonly imposed on non-Muslim minorities throughout the Muslim world, and they received full protection – legal and political – from the *makhzan* (Moroccan government) from those in Muslim society who sought to harass or undermine them. The *tujjār* declined in influence after the 1890s with the aggressive penetration of the European powers into the Sharifian Empire of Morocco. By the early part of the 20th century, and certainly following the formation of the French protectorate (1912), they disappeared from the scene. A new elite of Jewish entrepreneurs, recruited by the French, Spaniards, Italians, and British commercial houses replaced them, as did foreign merchants who settled in Mogador and other parts of the country, controlling commerce until Moroccan independence in 1956.

Spiritually and religiously, the Mogador community was led over the years by the old established rabbis and **dayyanim* such as Abraham Coriat, Abraham b. Attar, Mas'ud Knafo, and Haim Pinto. Mogador Jewry was relatively well educated. Their musicians were renowned throughout Morocco. The town had exceptionally beautiful synagogues, with the community being dotted by numerous *battei midrash* and yeshivot. As British influence in Mogador became particularly dominant from the 18th century, English schools flourished there, including those of the London-based Anglo-Jewish Association and the Board of Deputies for British Jewry. The schools helped spread the English language and culture among the Jews. The French-based *Alliance Israélite Universelle also opened schools for boys and girls in Mogador. As British influence declined in the town after 1912, the Alliance schools and those of the Protectorate, which propagated French influences, emerged supreme and oriented local Jews toward new cultural currents. By the mid-1950s, on the eve of large-scale Jewish immigration to Israel and the West, most young men and women spoke French in addition to the Moroccan Judeo-Arabic dialect.

During the 19th century the Jewish population grew from 4,000 in the 1830s and 1840s to approximately 12,000 in 1912, only to decline to 6,150 in 1936 and to once again rise slightly to 6,500 in 1951. This is attributed to the decline of commerce and other economic activity during the French Protectorate era in Mogador (and other inland or coastal cities which in the past enjoyed prosperity) in favor of Casablanca and Agadir. The immigration trends of the 1950s and 1960s caused the Mogador community to dwindle. Once Morocco's most important commercial seaport, a phenomenon largely attributed to Jewish initiatives, Mogador became a sleepy and relatively unimportant town. In the early 1970s most of its Jewish community members resided in the Americas, Europe, and Israel. By 2005, the community had all but disappeared.

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[Michael M. Laskier (2nd ed.)]

MOGILEV, capital of Mogilev district, Belarus; from the middle of the 14th century until 1772 Mogilev was part of Poland-Lithuania. One of the largest and most important in Belarus, the Mogilev community was founded during the 16th century by Jews who leased the collection of customs duties; the first of these was Michael *Jozefowicz (1522). During the 1580s one of the most prominent Jewish merchants of Lithuania, Ephraim b. Jeraḥmeel (Afrash Rakhmaelovich) lived in Mogilev and leased the customs duties. In 1585 the Christian population requested King Stephen Báthory to prohibit the settlement of Jews in Mogilev. Although the king agreed, the order was not carried out and Jews continued to live in the town. A synagogue existed from the beginning of the 17th century. The struggle between the townspeople and the Jews of Mogilev continued throughout the 17th and 18th centuries. In 1626 King Sigismund III Vasa granted letters patent to the town (confirmed by King Ladislaus IV in 1633) in which it was stipulated that all the Jews must move into the street where the synagogue stood, beyond the city walls. On Rosh Ha-Shanah 5406 (1645) the townspeople, led by the mayor, attacked the Jews. In 1646 the municipality decided to forbid the Jews to live in lodgings rented from the townspeople or to acquire these lodgings. This too was confirmed by King Ladislaus iv. When Mogilev was occupied by the invading Russian armies in 1654, on the request of the townspeople Czar Alexis Mikhailovich ordered the expulsion of the Jews. Their houses were to be shared equally between the municipality and the Russians. The order was not immediately carried out, but as the Polish army approached Mogilev in 1655, the Russian commander drove the Jews out of the town and ordered their massacre. Those Jews who remained became apostates. After the end of the war the community was renewed and most of the apostates returned to Judaism. In 1656 John ii Casimir granted letters patent to the town, according to which the Jews were forbidden to live within the walls of the city and to build houses or maintain shops there. There was a *blood libel in Mogilev in 1692. In 1736 King Augustus iii confirmed the earlier letters patent of John ii Casimir, adding further anti-Jewish restrictions. Restrictive orders on settlement and occupations were later reissued, but were not applied in practice.

In spite of opposition, the community continued to develop. By 1692 there were two synagogues. In 1748 the municipality reprimanded the townspeople because they themselves had helped the Jews to settle in the center of the town and to engage in commerce. In 1766, 642 poll tax paying Jews were registered within the community of Mogilev and the surrounding villages. In the *Councils of the Lands Mogilev was subordinated to *Brest-Litovsk, and a few gatherings of the Council were held in Mogilev. The community developed to a considerable extent after Mogilev was annexed by Russia. The Jews of the annexed region were granted judicial autonomy, and the community of Mogilev was designated as the central community of the whole province, its *bet din* being given authority to hear appeals against the legal decisions of the province's communities. The Jews played a principal role in Mogilev's extensive trade with Riga, Memel, Koenigsberg, and Danzig (*Gdansk), and later with southern Russia. In 1847 there were 7,897 Jews registered in Mogilev. The Jews were greatly influenced by *Chabad Ḥasidism, but by the end of the 18th century there were several *maskilim* among the wealthy merchants. In 1783 one of them, Jacob Hirsch, addressed a memorandum to the Russian government in which he suggested that the *ḥadarim* and *talmud torah* schools in both the district of Mogilev and the town itself be converted into schools where secular studies would also be taught. During the 1860s and early 1870s Pavel (Pesaḥ) *Axelrod, who had studied at the local secondary school and later spread the ideas of the Haskalah among Jewish youth, lived in Mogilev. In 1870 the *Malbim (Meir Leib b. Jehiel Michael) was invited to become rabbi of Mogilev, but was soon compelled to leave the town after the *maskilim* denounced him to the authorities as disloyal to Russia. In 1897 there were 21,539 Jews in Mogilev (about 50% of the total population). In October 1904 pogroms were initiated by soldiers mobilized for the war against Japan. Mogilev was one of the important centers of the *Bund and of the Zionist Movement. Jews owned 219 small factories, where 667 workers were engaged, and also the 93 distilleries (except for one). There were 400 small merchants and wholesalers, and most of the Jewish artisans, 244, were tailors. Following World War i and the establishment of the Communist regime, the number of Jews decreased and by 1926 only 17,105 (34.1% of the population) remained, increasing to 19,715 (20% of the total population) in 1939. During the 1920s a violent struggle occurred between the religious circles and the Zionists on the one hand, and the *Yevsektsiya on the other, which terminated with the liquidation of Jewish communal life in the town. In 1924, 432 Jews were artisans, and many city Jews worked the 2,000 acres allocated by the government. Two seven-grade schools and one with four grades existed in Mogilev. In 1927 Jewish sections were opened in the local law courts. Mogilev was the birthplace of Mordecai b. Hillel *Hakohen, Nachman *Syrkin, and Jacob *Mazeh, the writers David Pinski and Eliezer Zwiefel, and the actor Aharon Meskin.

The Germans occupied the town on July 26, 1941. In August 80 Jews were shot, a Judenrat and a ghetto were established, and the Jews from the surroundings were concentrated there. In September another 337 were killed and the ghetto was moved to another place; 113 Jews who refused to move were murdered. On October 2–3, 2,208 children, women, and older persons were executed. On October 19, 3,600 were killed, and in November another 3,726 Jews were murdered. The 315 skilled laborers who were put into a labor camp were killed in December 1941. Most of those who were in hiding were discovered and murdered or later sent to Shiroka camp in Minsk. It was estimated that there were about 7,000 to 10,000 Jews in Mogilev in 1959. The last synagogue was closed down by the authorities in 1959 and turned into a sports gymnasium. There was a Jewish cemetery.

The Province of Mogilev

Together with the province of Vitebsk, it was the first region with a large Jewish population to be annexed by Russia, later comprising the core of the *Pale of Settlement as one of the "western" provinces in which most of Russian Jewry was concentrated. The province of Mogilev was one of the two provinces where the prohibition concerning the settlement of Jews in the villages, included in the "Jewish Constitution" of 1804, was fully applied (in 1823). In 1847, 87,739 Jews were registered in the communities of the province. By 1897 the number had risen to 203,947 (12.1% of the total population), 37.9% living in the towns, 38.9% in the townlets, and 23.06% in the villages. The large communities of the province included (in addition to Mogilev): *Gomel (20,385 Jews), *Orsha (7,383 Jews), *Shklov (5,422 Jews), *Mstislavl (5,076 Jews), and *Rogachev (5,047 Jews). In 1897, 38.95% of the province's Jews earned their livelihood from commerce and 36.90% in crafts; 9,517 Jews (4.7% of the total Jewish population) depended on agriculture. There were about 70 small Jewish agricultural settlements in the province. Under the Soviet regime, most of the territory of the province was incorporated into the oblasts of Mogilev, Vitebsk, and Gomel. In 1926 there were 48,900 Jews in the oblast of Mogilev.

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[Yehuda Slutsky]

MOGILEV-PODOLSKI, city in Vinnitsa district, Ukraine; in Poland until 1795; under czarist rule it was a district town of Podolia. Mogilev-Podolski was an important station on the commercial route between Moldavia and Ukraine. Jews are first mentioned in the town in 1713. In 1765 there were 957 Jews in Mogilev and the vicinity. The number had grown to 5,411 in 1847, and by 1897 there were 12,344 (55.3% of the total population) Jews in the town itself. In 1808 H.Z. Stein and his father, David, transferred their Hebrew press from Slopkovicz to Mogilev and operated there until 1819, producing 24 books. Jews traded in farm products and lumber, exporting them through the Dniester river to the Odessa port. In October 1905 and in December 1919 the community suffered in the wave of pogroms. With the establishment of the Soviet regime, the Jewish communal organization and its institutions were liquidated. In 1926 the Jewish population had fallen to 9,622 (41.8% of the total) and to 8,703 (40% of the total population) by 1939.There were two Yiddish primary schools, and Jewish sections in the local law courts. Two Jewish kolkhozes operated near the city. The Germans occupied Mogilev-Podolski on July 19, 1941. They murdered about 1,000 Jews until the city was included in Romanian Transnistria, The Romanians created a ghetto, a Judenrat, and a Jewish police. In December the ghetto numbered 3,700 locals and 15,000 expelled from Bessarabia and Bucovina. By June 1942 some 1,200 had died of typhoid; to control the epidemic, the Romanians expelled thousands to other towns, but most perished. In 1946 there were 3,000 Jews in the town. According to the 1959 census, there were about 4,700 Jews in Mogilev (22.5% of the population). The last synagogue was closed down by the authorities in the mid-1960s.

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[Yehuda Slutsky / Shmuel Spector (2nd ed.)]

MOGULESKO, SIGMUND (**Zelig**; 1858–1914), Yiddish actor. As a boy he sang in a synagogue choir in Bessarabia. Discovered by Abraham Goldfaden, he became a successful comedian. In 1880 he led a company in Odessa and in 1881 published a collection of verse, *Kupleten Komishe un Humoristishe*. Arriving in New York in 1886, he sang in Offenbach's *Bluebeard*, acted in Thomashefsky's productions, and was in Jacob P. Adler's presentation of *Siberia* (1892). He wrote the music for M.H. Hurwitz' *The Sacrifice* and for Jacob Gordin's only operetta, *The Fair Miriam*.

MOHÁCSI, JENÖ (1886–1944), Hungarian author and translator. Born in Mohács, Mohácsi studied law and began his writing career as a literary journalist. A man of great versatility who wrote poetry and Hungarian and German prose, he was outstanding as a translator and was instrumental in gaining a world public for Hungarian literature. His best work was a literary biography of Imre Madách (1823–64), author of the dramatic poem *Az ember tragédiája* ("The Tragedy of Man"), of which Mohácsi also made a complete German translation (1904^4). He translated such classics of Hungarian drama as *Bánk Bán*, a historical play by József Katona (1791–1830), and *Csongor és Tünde*, a fairy tale by Mihály Vörösmarty (1800–1855). His original works include *Hegedű és koldusbot* ("A Violin and a Beggar's Staff," 1942); *Madách* (1935), a playlet; and *Gemma, Dante Hitvese* ("Gemma, Dante's Wife," 1944). Mohácsi was secretary of the Judah Halevi Society for the dissemination of Hebrew literature and wrote a book about the poet (1941). Together with many other Jewish journalists he was arrested by the Nazis in 1944 and scheduled for deportation. His exemption certificate, signed by the regent of Hungary, Admiral Horthy, never reached him, and he died during transport.

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[Baruch Yaron]

MOHILEWER, SAMUEL (1824–1898), rabbi, early member of Ḥovevei Zion (*Ḥibbat Zion) in Russia, and a founder of religious Zionism. Born in Glebokie (now Glubokoye), Vilna district, the son of a rabbinical family, Mohilewer was ordained a rabbi by the Volozhin yeshivah (1842) and took up the post of rabbi in his native city from 1848, in Szaki from 1854, in Suwalki from 1860, and in Radom from 1868. In each place he was active in community affairs, especially during the Polish rebellion (1863), toward which he asked the Jews to maintain a neutral attitude. In his articles, which were published in *Ha-Levanon*, he stressed the need for cooperation with the *maskilim* for the welfare of the people and demanded that the rabbis "combine the Torah and wisdom as the time is appropriate." In 1873 he participated in the St. Petersburg gathering of rabbis, and the leading moderate *maskilim* and tried to bring the two sides closer together. He was attracted to the idea of settling Ereẓ Israel even before the 1881 pogroms, but immediately after they took place he went to Brody and Lvov in order to encourage the masses of refugees who fled Russia and to influence the philanthropists and workers who came to their aid to divert the stream of migration to Ereẓ Israel. Afterward, together with two other rabbis, he appealed to the Russian rabbis to found an organization for *aliyah* to Ereẓ Israel and to settle there. Even after many rabbis withdrew their support of Ḥibbat Zion because the movement was headed by *maskilim* and "students," Mohilewer remained faithful to the concept and supported the efforts of L. *Pinsker and M.L. *Lilienblum to organize the various Ḥovevei Zion into one organization.

Mohilewer was among those who influenced Edmond de *Rothschild to extend aid to the first settlements in Ereẓ Israel and induced him to establish a settlement for Jewish farmers coming from Russia (*Ekron). He then influenced Jews in Bialystok and its surroundings to settle in *Petaḥ Tikvah. In 1883 he was chosen as rabbi of Bialystok under an agreement with the members of the community that he be allowed to devote himself to his public activities several months a year. Mohilewer was the honorary president of the *Kattowitz Conference of Ḥovevei Zion (1884). His speech at the closing session of the conference on the "Dry Bones" (Ezek. 37) served as a foundation for the sermons of the preachers of Ḥibbat Zion and of Zionism for the following years. In 1888 he joined I.E. *Spektor, M. *Eliasberg, and others who allowed the farmers to work the fields during the *shemittah* year in the Jewish settlements in Ereẓ Israel. He chaired the Ḥovevei Zion conferences in Druskininkai (1887) and in Vilna (1889) and struggled for the influence of the Orthodox circles in the movement. Through his influence a board of rabbis was chosen to ensure that the settlement work in Ereẓ Israel was carried out in a traditional Jewish spirit.

In 1890 Mohilewer was among the first speakers at the Odessa founding assembly of The Society in Support of Jewish Farmers and Artisans in Syria and Palestine (the official name of the Odessa Committee of Ḥovevei Zion). After the meeting he headed a Ḥovevei Zion group on a tour of Ereẓ Israel and, upon his return, published his open letter titled "The Purpose of My Trip to the Holy Land," in which he called upon Ḥovevei Zion "to work physically and financially for the sake of Ereẓ Israel." At a gathering of Ḥovevei Zion in Druskininkai (1893), it was decided, at Mohilewer's initiative, to establish a Spiritual Center (Merkaz Ruḥani – *Mizrachi) for the movement to direct public relations activities and explain ideas connected with the settlement of Ereẓ Israel. It was also decided to plant a citron orchard on land adjoining Ḥaderah and to name it Gan Shemu'el, in honor of Mohilewer's 70th birthday. Mohilewer and his close associates continued in their propaganda work, especially among the Orthodox Jews, and the Mizrachi became the foundation for the development of the religious Zionist movement, which four years after Mohilewer's death became a faction in the Zionist Organization (assuming officially the name Mizrachi).

Mohilewer joined the World Zionist Organization when it was founded by *Herzl, but because of his physical weakness he was not able to participate in the First Congress in 1897. His letter was read to the delegates, however, and created a great impression upon them. He was chosen as one of the four leaders who were charged with directing the work of the Zionist Movement in Russia and as the head of its "spiritual center" which disseminated directives to the members in their work. In his last letter before his death, Mohilewer called upon the Jews of Russia to support the *Jewish Colonial Trust. The basic goals in his public relations work were the attainment of a deep attachment to the commandment to settle Ereẓ Israel, "which is the foundation of the existence of our people"; and tolerance toward the *maskilim* as a prerequisite to the unity of the Jewish people, which was necessary for the rebuilding of the Jewish homeland.

Mohilewer wrote many short works, including responsa, talmudic and rabbinical novellae, homilies, and scholarly works. Most of these writings were lost in the Bialystok pogrom (1906). Some of those that survived were published under the name *Ḥikrei Halakhah u-She'elot u-Teshuvot* (1944).

[Yehuda Slutsky]

His grandson, JOSEF MOHILEWER (1872–1943), was a Zionist leader and educator in Russia and Ereẓ Israel. Born in Radom, Poland, he received a traditional Jewish education from his grandfather. He was active in various Zionist groups, and from 1902 was a government-appointed rabbi in Bialystok. Mohilewer was active in the fields of Jewish education and community affairs in Odessa. In 1920 he moved to Palestine, where he became deputy headmaster of the Jerusalem Teachers' Seminary and, from 1923, headmaster of the Hebrew High School in Jerusalem. He published articles in the Russian, German, and Hebrew press.

[Abraham Aharoni]

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MOHOLY-NAGY, LÁSZLÓ (1895–1946), painter, sculptor, graphic designer, photographer, filmmaker, educator. Born in Bàcs-Borsod, Hungary, Moholy-Nagy studied law at the University of Budapest, a field in which he received his degree after his military service in World War I. Afterwards, he became active in Budapest artistic circles, starting an artists' group and founding a literary magazine. He fled the city's political unrest in 1919 for Vienna. After traveling to Berlin the following year, Moholy-Nagy made the acquaintance of such Dada practitioners as Kurt Schwitters, Hannah Hoech, and Raoul Hausmann. As early as 1919, he was influenced by the ideas of the Russian artists Kasimir Malevich and El *Lissitsky and brought their work to the attention of the European, and especially German, art worlds. While in Berlin in 1921, both Moholy-Nagy and Man *Ray produced Dada-influenced Rayographs and photograms by placing objects, including gears and machine components, on light sensitive paper, thereby creating complex compositions in which the objects' silhouettes created bright spots on a dark surface. Moholy-Nagy elicited a variety of different gradations of light-suffused abstract shapes by arraying transparent or translucent objects, like glass, veils, and nets, on the photographic paper. Moholy-Nagy believed, as did many other artists of the opening decades of the 20th century, that an art of universal geometric shapes and forms possessed the capability to order and revolutionize society.

In the 1920s, Moholy-Nagy wrote for several influential art periodicals and edited with Ludwig Kassák a book of poetry and essays on art. The artist met El Lissitsky in 1921 and emerged as an important figure in the promulgation of Constructivism, a non-objective art movement based on geometrical forms associated with the work of Lissitsky, Naum Gabo, Antoine Pevsner, and Aleksandr Rodchenko, among others. Moholy-Nagy had his first show in 1922 at Der Sturm gallery, Berlin, and took part in the Congress of Constructivists and Dadaists. In 1923, he joined the famous Bauhaus school and for five years conducted the preliminary course together with Joseph Albers. During this period, Moholy-Nagy involved himself in book and stage design. He later became Walter Gropius' assistant. While teaching at the Bauhaus, Moholy-Nagy made the acquaintance of a number of seminal figures in the German art community, including Herbert Bayer, Marcel Breuer, Lyonel Feininger, Wassily Kandinsky, and Paul Klee. In 1924–25, Gropius and Moholy-Nagy edited and designed a 14-volume set of books. The eighth volume, Moholy-Nagy's *Malerei*, *Fotographie*, *Film* (*Painting*, *Photography*, *and Film*) of 1925 posited that the camera functioned as an instrument whose powers enhanced that of the human eye. The book included photographs and photograms by Moholy-Nagy and others, scientific imagery, and novel photographic techniques, including multiple exposures and photomontages. In 1928, Moholy-Nagy resigned from his position at the Bauhaus and settled in Berlin, where he remained active in numerous artistic fields, notably film, theater, and photography. In 1929, he published *Von Material zu Architektur* (translated as *The New Vision: From Material to Architecture*), which further codified his conception of the idea and practice of art-making within the context of Constructivist principles. In 1934 he went to Amsterdam, but with the rise of the Nazi threat he traveled the following year to England. Between 1935 and 1937, Moholy-Nagy worked in London as a designer and filmmaker. He finally settled in Chicago in 1937, where he founded the New Bauhaus. However, the Chicago school shut its doors within one year because of financial problems and amidst objections to Moholy-Nagy's utopian and collectivist ideals. In 1939, Moholy-Nagy and other former faculty re-organized the institution as the Chicago School of Design, renamed the Institute of Design in 1944. The artist's work continued to blossom in technique with his interest in the properties of Plexiglass, a durable resin available starting in 1937, which he molded, painted, and incised. In 1941, Moholy-Nagy became a member of the American Abstract Artists group. He attained American citizenship in 1944. Despite his international reputation in Europe, his first solo show was organized in the United States by the Modern Art Society of Cincinnati only in 1946, a year after his death from leukemia.

Moholy-Nagy's work is owned by private collectors and by numerous museums, including the Bauhaus-Archiv Museum of Design, Berlin; the Guggenheim Museum; the J. Paul Getty Museum; the Kunstmuseum, Basel; the Museum of Modern Art; the National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.; and the Tate Gallery.

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[Nancy Buchwald (2nd ed.)]

MOHR, ABRAHAM MENAHEM MENDEL (1815–1868), Hebrew scholar. Born in Lemberg, he was a *maskil* who wrote in Hebrew and Yiddish. His fecund literary work commenced in 1834 when he published *Magen ha-Ḥokhmah*, in which he defended science and philosophy. Together with N.I. Fischmann, Jacob Bodek, and Jacob Mentsch, he issued the two volume *Ha-Ro'eh u-Mevakker Sifrei Meḥaberei Zemannenu* (1837, 1839), in which famous scholars were harshly criticized. The book aroused the anger of his contemporaries. His publication *Yerushalayim*, which appeared for three issues (1844–45), was more moderate. In 1848–49 he published a Yiddish newspaper, *Tsaytung*, which at the time was the only Yiddish newspaper in the world. Mohr wrote about the Rothschilds (*Tiferet Yisrael*, 1843), Columbus (1846), and Napoleon III (*Ḥut ha-Meshullash*, 1853). His works also included *Mevasseret Ẓiyyon*, (1847), a geography of Palestine and its Jewish inhabitants, and his Purim parodies *Kol Bo le-Purim* (1855) and *Shulḥan Arukh Even ha-Shetiyyah* (1861). He published editions of *Mikveh Yisrael* by Manasseh Ben Israel (1847) and *La-Yesharim Tehillah* by M.Ḥ. Luzzatto (1859).

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[Getzel Kressel]

MOHR (Mohar), MEIR (1888–1967), Hebrew writer. Born in Rozwadow, Galicia, Mohr left for the U.S. in 1908, where be worked as a tailor and a part-time teacher. After returning to Galicia he taught in Jaslo. Recruited for the Austrian army during World War I, in which he served until 1918, Mohr afterward taught in Tarnow and in various German cities, including Berlin (from 1923). From 1939, when he left Berlin for Palestine, he taught Hebrew to children and to adults.

Mohr's publication, under the pen name R. Simla'i, of light, humorous verse in G. Rosenzweig's *Ha-Devorah* (1912) was followed by poems, articles, and essays in the majority of Hebrew newspapers and literary periodicals of this period. In his later years, he regularly published articles and poems in *Ha-Po'el ha-Ẓa'ir*. His books are *Ayin be-Ayin* (1950), a selection of his poetry, and *Ḥeret Enosh* (1959), a selection of his essays on poetry and prose. Mohr translated exclusively into Hebrew.

His son, JEHIEL MAR (MOHAR; 1921–1969), also a Hebrew poet, was born in Tarnow, and went to Ereẓ Israel in 1937. He was a founding member of kibbutz Dovrat. Mar published five volumes of poetry, of which the first, *Mi-Lev va-Nof*, appeared in 1951. His verse aimed at a simple conversational idiom often achieved by irony. One of Israel's most skillful writers of lyrics for popular songs, he published these lyrics under the name Mohar.

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[Getzel Kressel]

MOINESTI (Rom. **Moineşti**), town in Moldavia, E. central Romania. Tombstones from 1740 and 1748 prove the existence of a Jewish settlement predating the foundation of the town (1781) and dating back to the discovery of oil in the vicinity. There were 42 Jewish taxpayers in 1820, 500 families in 1885, and 2,398 individuals in 1899 (50.6% of the total population). The community was organized in 1885 and had five prayer houses, a ritual bath, and a primary school for boys (founded in 1893) as well as one for girls (1900). The locality played a prominent role in the history of the colonization of Ereẓ Israel. Jews from Moinesti were the founders of Rosh *Pinnah. In 1881 a group of 50 families was organized which sent David *Schub as a delegate to Ereẓ Israel. He purchased the plots of land where 22 families settled in the summer of 1882, together with several families from other Moldavian cities. The Moinesti Jews addressed a call to all the Romanian Jews; the pre-Zionist movement Yishuv Ereẓ Israel was subsequently established. Between the two world wars the number of the Jews decreased to 1,761 (26.6% of the total). After emancipation (1919), there were Jewish members on the municipal council and in 1930 Moinesti even elected a Jew as deputy mayor. Tristan *Tzara (Sami Rosenstein), a founder of the Dadaist movement, was born in Moinesti.

In World War II the Jews of Moinesti were expelled to Botoşani. About 80 families returned after the war. The Jewish population numbered 480 in 1947, 400 in 1950, and about 15 families in 1969.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: PK Romanyah, 177–9; E. Schwarzfeld, *Impopularea, reîmpopularea si întemeierea tîrgurilor si tîrguşoarelor în Moldova* (1914), 40, 44, 85; I. Klausner, *Ḥibbat Ẓiyyon be-Rumanyah* (1958).

[Theodor Lavi]

MOÏSE, ABRAHAM (c. 1736–1809), progenitor of the Moïse family of South Carolina. Born in Strasbourg in Alsace, France, Moïse immigrated to the West Indies and was living at Cape François, Santo Domingo, when a black slave insurrection broke out in 1791. He and his family were forced to flee and made their way to Charleston, South Carolina, reputedly leaving their wealth behind. Aged 56, he started anew as a small shopkeeper and later became a vendue master (auctioneer). His descendants achieved distinction in various fields.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: H. Moïse, *The Moïse Family of South Carolina*, (1961).

[Thomas J. Tobias]

MOÏSE, PENINA (1797–1880), U.S. poet, hymnist, and teacher; daughter of Abraham *Moïse. Penina Moïse left school at the age of 12 – when her father died – to help support her large family, which had been left without means, by doing needlework. On her own, she continued to study and read avidly, showing a literary talent at an early age and becoming a prolific writer of verse. She frequently contributed poems to the Charleston *Courier* which were on a variety of subjects, many on current events. She also wrote for the leading papers and periodicals of her day. In 1833 she published a small volume of her poems, *Fancy's Sketch Book*. She was admired by Charleston's antebellum writers. A devout Jew, she was superintendent of Beth Elohim Congregation's Sunday school and was the author of the first American Jewish hymnal. When the congregation installed the first American synagogue organ in 1841, she composed hymns for the organ service. A book of her hymns was published by Beth Elohim; later editions were used by other Reform temples. Many are still found in the *Union Hymnal* of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations. They are notable for a spirit of submission to the will of God. In her sixties Penina Moïse gradually became blind, but, with rare courage, she continued to write, using her niece as an amanuensis. She was widely known as Charleston's "blind poetess." Reduced to poverty after the Civil War, she, her sister, and niece eked out a modest living with a small private girls' school, in which she gave oral instruction by drawing on her remarkable memory. Her warmth and sympathy made her a favorite confidante of youth. Her hymns and poetry were published, as *Secular and Religious Works* (1911). She never married.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: B.A. Elzas, *Jews of South Carolina* (1905), 181–4; S.A. Dinkins, in: *American Jews' Annual, 5646* (1885/86), ch. 5.

[Thomas J. Tobias]

MOÏSE, THEODORE SYDNEY (1808–1883), U.S. painter; grandson of Abraham *Moïse. Born in Charleston, South Carolina, he received instruction in painting from his aunt, Penina *Moïse, a part-time artist. Nothing is known about his further education. In 1835, Moïse opened a studio in Charleston, advertising his services as a portrait painter, animal painter, picture restorer, and ornamental draftsman. Moïse moved to New Orleans in 1842–43, where he gained a reputation as an accomplished portrait painter and maintained a studio from 1850 until his death. Members of his studio included Benjamin Franklin Reinhart, Paul Poincy, and the portrait and genre painter Trevor Thomas Fowler. During and after 1842, Moïse traveled with Fowler in the pre-Civil War and then Reconstruction South. Fowler sometimes collaborated with Moïse in the execution of portraits of members of wealthy Southerners. So closely did Moïse and Fowler work that art historians find it impossible in some instances to differentiate Moïse's work from that of Fowler's. Moïse's subjects often included wealthy landowners, their families, servants, horses, and dogs. The latter images might have been commissioned on the strength of Moïse's reputation as a portrait painter and as a master of making expressive likenesses of horses. Moïse's portraits demonstrate a Neoclassical style which shares characteristics of the work of the French 18th century artists Jean-Auguste-Dominique Ingres and Jacques-Louis David, as well as the American 19th century painter Rembrandt Peale. John Freeland commissioned the artist to paint a portrait of the senator and orator Henry Clay the year of Moïse's arrival in New Orleans. Moïse's painting of General Jackson on horseback (1815, City Hall, New Orleans) took a $1,000 prize for its accurate likeness of the general. When the portrait was cleaned in 1844, the signature "Amans and Moïse" was revealed; historians speculate that Moïse painted the horse, while Amans depicted General Jackson. Other portraits by Moïse include Mordecai Cohen and Governor Herbert (State Library, New Orleans). The Court House of New Orleans contains many portraits of judges by Moïse, as well as *Life on the Metairie*, which he completed in collaboration with Victor Pierson. Depicting portraits of 44 distinguished citizens of New Orleans at the last meeting of the old Metairie Race Track, this painting won Grand State-Fair First Prize in 1868 for best historical painting. The New Orleans Court House also houses a massive painting by Moïse which depicts portraits of 64 members of the Volunteer Fire Brigade marching in the city's Canal Street. Moïse attained the rank of major in the Confederate Army. He participated in the defense of the lower Mississippi during the Civil War by helping to deploy floating fire rafts to repel the Federal fleet. Works by Moïse are owned by private collectors, as well as by the Filson Historical Society in Louisville, Kentucky, the Louisiana State Museum, the Metropolitan Museum of Art, the Ogden Museum of Southern Art, and the S.J. Schwartz Historical Collection in Maison Blanche, Louisiana, among other museums and public buildings.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: H. Moïse, *The Moise Family of South Carolina and Their Descendants* (1961); C. Roth, (ed.), *Jewish Art: An Illustrated History* (rev. ed. by Bezalel Narkiss, 1971); P.B. Schmit (ed.), *Encyclopaedia of New Orleans Artists, 1718–1918* (1987).

[Nancy Buchwald (2nd ed.)]

MOISEIWITSCH, BENNO (1890–1963), pianist. Born in Odessa, Moiseiwitsch won the Anton Rubinstein Prize at the Odessa Academy at the age of nine, and later studied with Theodor Leschetizky in Vienna. He was regarded by many as the finest Chopin interpreter of his time. His London debut took place in 1909. He settled in England during World War I and thereafter played frequently in Britain and on concert tours abroad. His repertoire was extremely wide, but in his later years he tended to confine his programs to the standard favorites. His daughter, TANYA MOISEIWITSCH (1914–2003), became a theatrical designer. She designed 50 productions in Dublin, and from 1940 worked in London, Stratford, and Edinburgh. She also designed productions at Stratford, Ontario, at the New York Metropolitan Opera, the Habimah, Tel Aviv, etc.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: M. Moiseiwitsch, *Moiseiwitsch* (Eng., 1965); R. Newqvist, *Showcase* (1966), 277–86 (on Tanya).

[Dora Leah Sowden]

MOISSAN, HENRI (1852–1907), French inorganic chemist and Nobel Prize winner. Moissan was born in Paris of a non-Jewish father and a Jewish mother. He joined the Ecole Supérieure de Pharmacie, where in 1886 he became professor of toxicology and in 1899 professor of inorganic chemistry. From 1900 he was professor of inorganic chemistry at the Sorbonne. Moissan's main work was on metal oxides and inorganic and organic fluorine compounds. He developed a laboratory electric furnace which he used to make artificial (black) diamonds. He was awarded the Nobel Prize for chemistry in 1906 for his investigation and isolation of the element fluorine, and for the adoption in the service of science of the electric furnace called after him.

Moissan published his work in scientific journals and in his books, *Le Four Electrique* (1897) and *Le Fluor et ses composés* (1900); he also wrote an inorganic chemistry textbook in five volumes, *Traité de chimie minérale* (1904–06).

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[Samuel Aaron Miller]

MOISSIS, ASHER (1899–1975), Greek author, translator, and Jewish communal leader. Born in Trikkala, Moissis became a lawyer but soon began to take an active part in Jewish communal and Zionist affairs. In 1917 he founded the Zionist monthly *Israel* which he edited for the two years of its existence. In the early 1930s he began to publish books on Jewish subjects, particularly concerned with Greco-Jewish relations through the ages. Before World War II he wrote *Dheka pende imere ana tin Evraikyin Palestinin* ("Fifteen Days Across Jewish Palestine," 1933), *Isaghoyi is to Oikoyeniakon Dhikyeon ton en Elldi Israiliton* ("Introductory Study of the Civil Laws of the Jewish Family in Greece," 1934), and a translation of the *Autoemancipation* of J.L. *Pinsker (1933). He was president of the Jewish National Fund (1930–38), of the Salonika Jewish community (1934–36), and of the Greek Zionist Federation (1936–38). Following the liberation of Greece, Moissis resumed his communal and literary activities. He was president of the Central Council of Jewish Communities in Greece (1944–49) and, from 1948, honorary consul of Israel in Athens. He translated parts of the diaries of Theodor Herzl (1952) and the *History of Modern Hebrew Literature* by Joseph Klausner (1968). His postwar books include *I Filia Ellinon kye Evreon ana tous Eonas* ("The Friendship of Jews and Greeks Through the Centuries," 1953), *Ellenoioudhaikye Melete* ("Helleno-Judaic Studies," 1958), and *Pion "Ellinismon" Katepolemisan i Makkavei* ("The Hellenism that the Maccabees Fought," 1962). After the Six-Day War of 1967, he wrote *Istoria kye Thrili yiro apo to Tikhos ton Dhakrion* ("History and Legend Concerning the Wailing Wall," 1968), which was translated into Italian and English, the latter by Rae Dalven. Moissis also translated into Greek verse the *Haggadah* (1970). Moissis was probably the most committed and prolific Jewish writer in modern Greece.

[Rachel Dalven]

°**MOJECKI, PRZECLAW** (second half of 16th and early 17th century), Polish Catholic priest and antisemitic author. His principle work, *O zydowskich okrucieństwach, mordach y zabobonach* ("The Cruelty, Murders, and Superstitions of the Jews"), was the first outright attack on the Jews and Judaism in Polish political writings. The pamphlet, which first appeared in Cracow in 1589 and was later printed in 1598 (Cracow) and in 1636 (Lvov), was dedicated to Prince Janusz Ostrogski – a newly converted Catholic – in the hope of convincing him to support the expulsion of the Jews from Poland. The author gives 25 stories of *blood libels from various countries and nine from Poland. Mojecki complains that Jewish trade finally results in the depletion of the country's resources in waste and corruption because of the encouragement of luxury, and that the Jews are not under the jurisdiction of the authorities of the towns in which they live. Moreover, Mojecki is of the opinion that the Jews are traitors to Poland and spy for the Turks, the Tatars, and the rulers of Moscow. The author attempts to convince his readers that God rewards those who persecute and expel the Jews and commends the measures adopted by the kingdoms of France, Spain, and Germany toward the Jews. This work, which was influenced by German and Italian antisemitic literature, was influential in the propagation of antisemitic ideas in Polish literature of the 17th century.

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[Arthur Cygielman]

MOKADY, MOSHE (1902–1975), Israeli painter. Born Moshe Brandshtat in Tarnow, Galizca, Mokady was sent to study at a high school in Zurich during World War I. Among other things he studied music and painting there. In 1920 the family decided to immigrate to Ereẓ Israel in spite of their comfortable life. The family built a home in Haifa. Subsequently Mokady lived in many places in Israel and also abroad for short periods. In the 1950s he was one of the founders of the Ein Hod artists' village and later he moved there. In those years he was chosen to represent Israel in the Venice Biennale (1952) and the Sao Paulo Biennale (1955).

Mokady's artistic style was characterized by his individualistic approach and variety. The connection between his private life and his art was clear and can be identified through the style of the paintings. In the beginning his style was a mixture of Cubism and Naive art. His penchant for painting portraits began then (*Sitting Boy – Portrait of Daniel Sharshavsky*, 1925, Israel Museum, Jerusalem). When Mokady dealt with the local landscape, he would describe figures in it.

His style changed after his Paris period. His meeting with the Jewish artists who lived there like *Chagall and *Soutine directed him toward the Expressionist style and his colors became darker and melancholic. The monochromatic painting that was one of his typical styles began to appear during this period.

At the end of the 1940s Mokady reached the abstract style. His interest in the music world and his awareness of the New York Abstract lay in the background of his return to this art style. Mokady's abstract paintings show a clear influence of Israel's landscapes. The paintings were assembled from stains of color placed near the middle of the canvas. Many abstracts were done monochromatically and some were colorful and full of light.

After the death of his elder son, Raphi, in the Six-Day War, Mokady's paintings became darker and the black and white contrast returned again and again.

A significant part of Mokady's artistic corpus belongs to his stage design. He worked for most of the theaters operating in Israel, and was in great demand.

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[Ronit Steinberg (2nd ed.)]

MOLADAH (Heb. מוֹלָדָה), city in the Negev of Judah, described in Joshua 19:2 and I Chronicles 4:28 as a town of the tribe of Simeon, and in Joshua 15:26 as a town of the tribe of Judah in the Negev, near Beer-Sheba. It is among the cities listed in Nehemiah 11:26, apparently settlements which endured through the Babylonian Exile. The commonly proposed identification with the Malatha of Josephus (Ant., 18:147) and the Malaatha of Eusebius (Onom. 14:3; 88:4; 108:3) is baseless. Khirbat al-Waṭan, approximately 8 mi. (13 km.) east of Beersheba, has been suggested as a possible identification. Pottery found on the site dates from the Iron Age. The Arabic name may be a translation of the Hebrew (both Ar. *waṭen* and Heb. *moladah*; "birthplace").

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Abel, Geog, 2 (1938), 391–2; EM, s.v. (incl. bibl.); Press, Ereẓ, s.v.; Avi-Yonah, Geog, index.

[Michael Avi-Yonah]

MOLCHO, DAVID EFFENDI ISAAC PASHA (1839–1909), vice admiral of the Ottoman navy. Born in *Salonika, he was descended from an established family of Salonika rabbis. Molcho entered the College of Military Medicine and, upon graduation, joined the Turkish armed forces as a surgeon. He was promoted to lieutenant colonel in 1877 and was later appointed inspector general of the health services. He was appointed a vice admiral in 1902. He served also as the chief translator of the *Divan-i Humayun* and as the head of the communal council of the Jewish community of *Istanbul in the years 1892 and 1905. Previously, in 1883, 1885, and 1890, he had been a member in this institution.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: A. Levy, in: M. Rozen (ed.), *Yemei ha-Sahar* (1996), 259–61.

[Leah Bornstein-Makovetsky (2nd ed.)]

MOLCHO, SOLOMON (c. 1500–1532), kabbalist and pseudomessiah. Born in Lisbon of Marrano parents, he was originally called Diogo Pires. Though details on his early life are scarce, it is clear that he received a secular education and, at the age of 21, was appointed secretary to the king's council and recorder at the court of appeals. It is probable that Molcho secretly studied the Kabbalah. On meeting David *Reuveni after the latter's arrival in Portugal in 1525, he asked to be circumcised. Reuveni dissuaded him but, undeterred, Molcho circumcised himself and took a Hebrew name. While the symbolic meaning of the name is obscure, some scholarly opinion takes it as referring to Molcho's spiritual kinship with Reuveni (the name Molcho deriving from the Hebrew *melekh* = "king"). Reuveni suggested to Molcho that he flee, while he himself was forced to leave Portugal because of the suspicion that he had had a part in Molcho's conversion. The details of Molcho's flight are uncertain. Reuveni later claimed that he had sent him on a mysterious diplomatic mission to *Turkey; Molcho himself stated that a divine command had directed his departure. His destination is also somewhat obscure. There are those who claim that he spent some time in Italy, *Jerusalem, *Safed, *Damascus, and even Constantinople. All authorities agree, however, that he settled for a period in *Salonika where he studied Kabbalah in the *bet ha-midrash* of Joseph *Taitaẓak. There he probably met R. Joseph b. Ephraim *Caro, whose writings reflect his admiration for Molcho. In Salonika Molcho gathered disciples and students who prevailed upon him to publish a collection of his sermons which are filled with expectation of coming redemption, *Derashot* (Salonika, 1529). In later editions the work is entitled *Sefer ha-Mefo'ar.* In the sack of Rome in 1527 he saw the signs of the coming redemption, and returned to Italy in 1529 and began to preach about it in Ancona. His sermons attracted many people, including Christians. The accusations of an informer that he was a Marrano who had reverted to Judaism caused him to flee to Pesaro and eventually to Rome. By then Molcho had become convinced that he was indeed the Messiah. In fulfillment of the talmudic legend (Sanh. 98a) that recounted the suffering of the Messiah, Molcho, dressed as a beggar, sat for 30 days, tasting no meat or wine, among the sick and the infirm on a bridge over the Tiber by the pope's palace.

Molcho succeeded in gaining the confidence of Pope *Clement VII, who granted him protection (1530). His standing was further strengthened when his prophecies of a flood in Rome (1530) and an earthquake in Portugal (January 1531) came true. He preached widely and was successful in preventing the spread of the Inquisition to Portugal. He left Rome for Venice at the end of 1530 for an unsuccessful meeting with Reuveni. Attempting to mediate in a dispute between Jacob *Mantino, the pope's physician, and Elijah Ḥalfon, kabbalist and physician, Molcho succeeded only in arousing the enmity of Mantino. Molcho fled to Rome and a friendlier atmosphere, but Mantino, seeing danger in Molcho's activities, followed him and intrigued against him. Molcho was accused by an inquisitional court of judaizing and was condemned to be burned at the stake. He was saved by the personal intervention of the pope, and another man was burned in his place. In 1532 Molcho left for northern Italy, where he again met with Reuveni. Together they went on a mission to Emperor Charles V who was then at Regensburg. Although the nature of their mission to Charles is somewhat speculative, R. *Joseph (Joselmann) of Rosheim records in his memoirs that Molcho came in order to rouse the emperor to call upon the Jews to fight against the Turks. However, Charles brought Molcho to Mantua, where he was tried and burned at the stake in late 1532 after refusing to recant and convert to Christianity. Many Jews and Marranos in Italy, however, did not accept that Molcho had died, but believed that he had been saved once more.

The influence of Molcho was considerable both during his lifetime and after his death. R. Joseph of Orly took note of Molcho in his messianic prophecies. Already in 1531 an important messianic movement had spread under his influence and had reached Poland. Some of his belongings were saved by the Jews of Prague and displayed long after his death; his influence on Shabbateanism (see *Shabbetai Ẓevi) was not insignificant. In addition to his *Sefer ha-Mefo'ar*, Molcho left a number of letters incorporated by R. Joseph ha-Kohen in his historical writings and in *Ḥayyat Kaneh* edited by Abraham Rothenberg in 1648, and some poetry. His life and that of Reuveni were the subject of much fictional writing, such as M. Brod's *Reuveni Fuerst der Juden* (1925); E. Fleg's *Le Juif du pape* (1925), and A.A. Kabak's *Shelomoh Molkho* (1928–29).

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[Joseph Shochetman]

MOLDOVA (formerly Moldavia), independent democratic republic belonging to the CIS, which proclaimed its independence in May 1990. In 1979 it had 80,100 Jews and in 1989–65,800 (of whom 35,700 lived in Kishinev). Emigration in 1989 was 4,304 (3,702 from Kishinev). Immigration to Israel in 1990 amounted to 12,080 (7,578 from Kishinev); the corresponding figures the following year were 17,305 and 9,487.The estimated Jewish population at the end of 1991 was 28,500.

The first Jewish organizations in Moldova included the Moldova-Israel Friendship Association (established in November 1991), the Moldova-Israel Foreign Trade Association, and the Jewish Museum. The monthly Jewish newspaper *Nash golos* began appearing in March 1990. In June of that year the paper printed an interview with Prime Minister Mircea Druk, who stated that he had never concealed his revulsion for antisemitism and stressed the need to normalize relations between Moldovans and Jews. The prime minister also came out in favor of education in Hebrew for Jews in the republic.

Moldovan Jews appeared to be concerned about their future. Not a single Jew was elected to the Supreme Soviet in

1990. A law was passed making knowledge of the Moldovian language mandatory: this created difficulties for the basically Russian-speaking Moldovan Jews. Intensive Jewish emigration was renewed in mid-1992 in the wake of fighting in Transnistria. Both the Joint Distribution Committee and the Jewish Agency began operating in Kishinev. Direct flights from Moldova to Israel started in January 1992.

At the end of 1993 there were an estimated 15,000 Jews in the Republic of Moldova, and by 2000 their number had dropped to 5,200. In an effort to revive Jewish life, a Chabad-run synagogue opened its doors to the community.

In March 1994 the old Jewish cemetery was desecrated in Kishinev. There were several instances of anti-Jewish violence.

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[Michael Beizer/ Dan Rom (2nd ed.)]

MOLE, rodent. The only mole found in Israel is the mole rat (*Spalax ehrenbergi*), a small mammal belonging to the order Rodentia. It is blind, its rudimentary eyes being covered with a membrane. Inhabiting subterranean burrows which it digs, it throws up the ground in a continuous series of mounds. Sometimes it builds a nest in a small mound. Into these burrows, Isaiah prophesied (2:20) a man would cast away "his idols of silver, and his idols of gold… to the moles and to the bats," the biblical word here for "moles," *ḥafor perot*, denoting a burrower in Aramaic (*pina*, i.e., "burrower"). According to another opinion *ḥafor perot* refers to an animal which digs up fruits in the ground. In talmudic literature the mole rat is called *eishut* which, because of the damage it causes to crops, may be hunted also on the intermediate days of a festival (MK 1:4). The word *eshet*, which occurs in Psalms (58:9) in a reference to those "that have not seen the sun," has been identified by some with *eishut*, i.e., mole rats "which do not see the sun but burrow in the ground and live there" (Mid. Ps. to 58:9). In modern Hebrew the mole rat is called *ḥoled*, mentioned among the unclean creeping things (Lev. 11:29). The biblical *ḥoled*, however, is the *rat.

The identification of *ḥafor perot* with the mole rat is most plausible. However, some scholars believe that it is a kind of bat (cf. Tur-Sinai, in: *Leshonenu*, no. 26, 77ff.), and S. Lieberman holds that it is the "flying fox" (which is not found in Israel) or the fruit bat (cf. *Leshonenu*, no. 29, 132f.).

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[Jehuda Feliks]

MOLEDET (Heb. מוֹלֶדֶת (בְּנֵי בְּרִית) B'nai B'rith; "Homeland"), moshav shittufi in northern Israel in S.E. Lower Galilee, affiliated with Tenu'at ha-Moshavim. Moledet was founded in 1937 by pioneers from Germany as a tower and stockade settlement, its construction being aided by the *B'nai B'rith. In its initial years Moledet had to defend itself against frequent attacks by Arabs, and in 1939 was for the most part destroyed in a conflagration. Subsequently the moshav shittufi recovered, basing its economy on field crops, orchards, cattle, and a metal factory. Its population was 340 in 1968, growing to 520 in the mid-1990s and 622 in 2002. In recent years, like many other rural settlements, the moshav underwent major changes, including the distribution of collective property among members and the absorption of newcomers

[Efram Orni / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

MOLHO, ISAAC RAPHAEL (1894–1976), Greek journalist and Zionist. Molho was born in Salonika, a descendant of Rabbi Joseph Molho, author of *Shulḥan Gaviyyah*, and Rabbi Abraham di *Boton, author of *Leḥem Rav*. He studied at the *talmud torah*, the Alliance Israélite Universelle, and the Beit Yosef Rabbinical Seminary in Salonika. In Salonika he was active in commerce and journalism becoming a partner in the Recanati firm and founding the newspapers *Pro-Israel* (French) and *La Renaissanca* (Judeo-Spanish). *Pro-Israel* was the organ of the Zionist league, B'nai Moshe, which Molho started with Yitzhak David Cohen and Yitzhak Samuel Amarilio. He also served as librarian and secretary of the *Kadima* society, which disseminated the Hebrew language and culture. While a student at Beit Yosef, he worked as a reporter for the French daily newspaper *La Liberte*.

Molho worked to win the support of the French and the Italian governments as well as the Greek Parliament and government for the Balfour Declaration. In 1918 he met with the king of Greece, Alexandros, at the time Allenby conquered Jerusalem, and afterward in Salonika he organized a Jewish Legion to fight in Ereẓ Israel. In 1919 he emigrated to Jerusalem.

In Jerusalem he worked as an agent and representative of several film companies. He was manager of the Rainois film company and the Gaumont and Metro Goldwyn Mayer movie theaters for the entire region from Jerusalem to Teheran. Molho brought cinema to Baghdad and was elected chairman of the Film Distributors Union in Ereẓ Israel. He also helped organize the mass immigration of more than 15,000 Salonikan Jews to Ereẓ Israel, many of whom worked in fishing or as port workers. In 1924 he met with King Hussein Abu-Ali in Amman.

In Jerusalem, he was one of the founders of the Rehavia neighborhood, and also served as its chairman and "mukhtar." Also as a member of the Bayit ve-Gan neighborhood committee, he helped found its commercial center.

In Sephardi affairs, he was chairman of the Union of Sephardi Communities in Israel, and in 1938 he was elected by the World Zionist Organization executive and Jerusalem Sephardi Council as the Jerusalem delegate to the Amsterdam gathering of the World Union of Sephardi Communities and was later elected to the Union's Central Committee in Paris.

He was an active in the Jerusalem Municipality, was responsible for supervising apartment rental, and served as chairman of the property assessment committee. He was also was a member of the Council for General Education of the Va'ad ha-Le'ummi.

By befriending the Italian consul in Jerusalem he was able to get immigration certificates for some Rhodian Jews facing expulsion or help them reach Palestine clandestinely. In 1939, at the outset of World War II, the British imprisoned him for 20 days because of his amicable relations with the Italian consul. During World War II, he was an active member of the rescue committee for European Jewry, Al-Dami (Don't Keep Silent!).

He was an active member with Judah Leib *Magnes and Martin *Buber in *Berit Shalom. He also assisted in the founding of the *Iḥud movement and Kedmah Mizraḥah in the interest of making peace with the Arabs of Ereẓ Israel.

Molho edited the journal *Oẓar Yehudei Sepharad* and was also one of the founders of *Ha-Hed* ("The Echo"). He wrote in the Hebrew dailies *Davar*, *Ha-Ẓofeh*, and *Do'ar ha-Yom* in Ereẓ Israel, the French Sephardi press of Egypt and France, and the Judeo-Spanish press in Salonika until the Holocaust.

He compiled several volumes of the *Enẓikopedyah Le-Ẓiyyonut* under the editorship of Moshe Kleinman. His books include *Be-Ha'ir ha-Mizraḥ*; *Los Diversas Tintativas de Reconstituir la Nationalidad Judiya*; *Rav Moshe Almosnino, Ḥayav ve-Sefarav*; *Yosef Marko Barukh*; and *Tur Ha-Zahav be-Toledot Saloniki be-Dorot ha-Aḥaronim*.

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[Yitzchak Kerem (2nd ed.)]

°**MOLITOR, FRANZ JOSEPH** (1779–1860), Christian philosopher and kabbalist. Born into a Catholic family at Oberursel, near Frankfurt, Molitor at first studied law. Later he concentrated on research into the philosophy of history and was deeply influenced by *Schelling. His first book, *Ideen zu einer kuenftigen Dynamik der Geschichte* (Frankfurt, 1805), was an evaluation of the various books of idealistic philosophy. He pursued this inquiry in his next two books, in which he established Schelling's central position, although he criticized the latter's *Philosophy and Religion*. Molitor moved in liberal intellectual circles and consequently came into contact with Jews. He advocated the establishment of the Jewish school at Frankfurt, later known as the Philanthropin, and was one of its first teachers. Full of enthusiasm, he joined the *Freemasons and in 1808 he became a member of their "Jewish" lodge, Zur aufgehenden Morgenroethe, which he fought to have recognized. He headed this lodge in 1812, but finally succumbed to the opposition of the Masonic leaders and closed it in 1816. From the start of his activity in Jewish and Masonic circles he befriended Ephraim Joseph *Hirschfeld and was influenced by his campaign for Jewish-Christian brotherhood. Unlike Molitor's other Jewish acquaintances, who favored the *Haskalah, Hirschfeld was the first to direct Molitor's attention to *Kabbalah as a way of attaining this brotherhood. Schelling's espousal of theosophy in 1809 also influenced Molitor to explore Jewish theosophy, although he never compromised his faith in liberal Catholicism and Masonry.

Molitor's ascetic life weakened his body, and he was almost completely paralyzed for over 40 years. From 1816 he concentrated on the study of Judaism and the Kabbalah, but his Jewish guides, other than Hirschfeld, are unknown. He considered the Kabbalah to be that part of Jewish tradition which had preserved, in relative purity, those ultimate truths of primeval religion which tend to become more and more revealed with the progress of history. Learning Hebrew and Aramaic, he explored in depth both talmudic and kabbalistic literature. With the aim of describing kabbalistic teaching in all its depth and breadth, he devoted 40 years to this task. The four volumes of his great anonymous work, *Philosophie der Geschichte oder ueber die Tradition*, were actually intended as an introduction to the main bulk of the work, which remained uncompleted. After the appearance of the first volume (1827) he became acquainted with the philosophy of Franz von Baader, whose influence is marked in the succeeding volumes and in the second, much enlarged, edition of the first volume (part 2, 1834; part 3, 1839; part 4, 1853; part 1, in a second edition, 1857). The first volumes of his work are devoted to the principles of Judaism in the light of Kabbalah, with special emphasis, in the third volume, on purity and impurity. The fourth volume emphasizes the importance of Kabbalah for Christianity.

Despite his Christian theosophic leanings, Molitor's work remains unsurpassed by any previous attempt, both in speculative depth and familiarity with Jewish sources. His influence can be discerned in the work of all Christian theologians who were inspired by Baader. Molitor died in Frankfurt on March 23, 1860. His admiration for the Kabbalah was ignored by Jewish researchers in the 19th century, but it may well be that the weaknesses in the historical chapters of his book led the researchers to dismiss him completely.

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[Gershom Scholem]

MOLLER, HANS (1896–1962) and his cousin **ERICH** (1895–), textile industrialists in Ereẓ Israel. Born in Vienna and Ostrava, respectively, Hans and Erich were the fourth generation of textile industrialists. The Moller family owned the cotton-spinning mill, founded in 1865 by their great-grandfather, Simon Katzau in Babi (Bohemia). They both went to Palestine in 1933 and in 1934 founded Ata Textile Company at Kefar Ata. They finally settled in Palestine in 1938. This was the first integrated cotton, spinning, weaving, dyeing, and finishing plant in the country, manufacturing and retailing ready-to-wear clothing and supplying the Allied forces in the Middle East during World War II. Originally a family business, Ata became a public company. In 1967 it had 1,861 employees. In 1948 a subsidiary company, Kurdaneh Textile Works Ltd., was founded. Erich left Ata in 1949 to build Moller Textile Ltd., a spinning, twisting, and dyeing plant in Nahariyyah. Both plants made major contributions to Israel export.

[Kurt Gruenberger]

MOLNÁR, ÁKOS (1895–1945), Hungarian author. An outstanding storyteller, Molnár wrote many books including *A császár dajkája* ("The Emperor's Nurse," 1935) and *Az égő csipkebokor* ("The Burning Bush," 1940). He also wrote *A hitehagyott* ("The Apostate," 1937), the biography of Imre *Szerencses (Fortunatus), a baptized court Jew. Molnar was murdered by the Nazis.

MOLNÁR, FERENC (originally **Neumann**, 1878–1952), Hungarian playwright and novelist. Born in Budapest, Molnár's first novel, *Az éhes város* ("The Hungry City," 1900) was a historical picture of Budapest, and particularly of its Jewish quarter. The children's story, *A Pál utcai fiúk* (1907; *The Paul Street Boys*, 1927), was Molnár's outstanding work. Another of his social novels, *Andor* (1918^2), symbolized the young Jewish intellectual destroyed by the defects of his own character. During World War I Molnár was a war correspondent, and some of his experiences appeared in his *Egy haditudósíto emlekei* ("Memoirs of a War Correspondent," 1916). In Molnár's books, which brilliantly expose contemporary Hungarian social problems, the central figure is always a weak-willed Jew who makes himself ridiculous by trying to imitate his surroundings.

It was as a dramatist that Molnár was most distinguished. His witty dialogue owes much to Oscar Wilde. His ideas are sometimes fantastic, but never ridiculous. His first play was *A doktor úr* ("The Lawyer," 1902). He achieved world fame with *Az ördög* (1907; *The Devil*, 1908); the tragicomedy *Liliom* (1909; Eng. vers., 1921), *A testör* (1910; *The Guardsman*, 1924); and *A farkas* (1912; *The Tale of the Wolf*, 1914). All these characters deal with the problems of a changing society, and the characters are, almost without exception, Jews fighting to improve their image, sometimes turning into caricatures in the process. *The Guardsman* inspired Oscar *Strauss' musical comedy *The Chocolate Soldier; Liliom* became the musical *Carousel* (1945), by Richard *Rodgers and Oscar *Hammerstein. Molnár also wrote lyrical, symbolic dramas. Most of his plays have been translated into English. There are two anthologies of his stage works, *Plays* (1927) and *The Plays of Ferenc Molnár* (1929, 1937^2); and a prose anthology, *Husbands and Lovers* (1924). During the end of the 1930s, antisemitism drove Molnár from Hungary, and he lived in France and Switzerland, but immigrated to the U.S. in 1940. His last major work was the autobiographical *Útitárs a számúzetéshen* (1958; appeared in English as *Companion in Exile*, 1950).

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[Baruch Yaron]

MOLOCH, CULT OF. Evidence concerning Moloch worship in ancient Israel is found in the legal, as well as in the historical and prophetic literature of the Bible. In the Pentateuch, the laws of the *Holiness Code speak about giving or passing children (lit. "seed") to Moloch (Lev. 18:21, 20:2–4) and the law in *Deuteronomy speaks of "passing [one's] son or daughter through fire" (18:10). Although Moloch is not named in the Deuteronomy passage, it is likely that his cult was the object of the prohibition. The author of the Book of Kings speaks about "passing [one's] son and daughter through fire" (II Kings 16:3 [son], 17:17, 21:6 [son]). II Kings 23:10 speaks about "passing [one's] son or daughter through fire to Moloch." Some scholars interpret the phrase *lə-haʿavir ba-esh*, as a reference to a divinatory or protective rite in which children were passed through a fire but not physically harmed. However, the same phrase *lə-haʿavir ba-esh* is found in an unmistakable context of burning in Numbers 31:23. Other biblical texts refer to the sacrifice of children. Psalms 106:37–38 speaks of child sacrifice to the unnamed idols of Canaan. In prophetic sources, Jeremiah 7:31 and Ezekiel 20:25–6 speak disapprovingly of sacrificing children to Yahweh (for the "bad statutes" referred to by Ezekiel, see Ex. 22:28–29; but see Friebel); Jeremiah 19:5 speaks of sacrificing children to Baal; Ezekiel 16:21, 20:31, 23:37, 39 of sacrificing children to unnamed divinities; as does Isaiah 57:5. In none of these is there a mention of Moloch. Only in Jeremiah 32:35 is Moloch mentioned by name and there he is associated with Baal (see below). Distinction should be made between human sacrifice as a sporadic deed at a time of crisis and distress, such as the holocaust of the son of Mesha king of Moab (II Kings 3:27), or as an act which serves to express an unusual degree of religious devotion as the binding of Isaac (cf. Micah 6:7), on the one hand, and the Moloch cult which was an established institution with a fixed location (the Topheth), on the other. As the classical sources have it, the sacrifices of children at Carthage, a colony founded by Phoenicians on the coast of Northeast Tunisia, usually came after a defeat and a great disaster – a religious practice based upon an ancient mythological tradition. Thus Phoenician tradition ascribed to Sanchuniaton relates that the god Elos (= El) sacrificed his son following a war which brought disaster upon the state. If the classical reports are accurate, it could be maintained that there is no real connection therefore between the Phoenician-Punic child sacrifices which are sporadic and conditioned by crisis and the Moloch worship which was an institution or cult. In contrast though to the classical reports, the archaeological discoveries at Carthage, which attest some 20,000 burials of infant bones along with animal bones in what are evidently not instances of natural death appear to conflict with the classical reports. There is as yet no evidence of child sacrifice in the Carthaginian homeland, the cities of Phoenicia (Lebanon) proper, where far less excavation has been done.

The Name

The accepted view since A. *Geiger is that Moloch is a tendentious mis-vocalization of the word *melekh*, "king," the original vowels being changed and patterned after the vocalization of *boshet*, "shame," which was often used as an intentional substitute for Baal (see *Euphemism and Dysphemism). It is true that the names Moloch (I Kings 11:7) and Milcom occur in the Bible in reference to an Ammonite god, and that deities by the name Malik/Muluk are attested to from the 18th century B.C.E. onward. However, the laws and warnings against the worship of the Moloch could hardly refer to these particular deities. It is unlikely that one particular god who is not especially famous would be singled out for mention, while other prominent gods, e.g., Baal, are not mentioned by name in the Torah even once. That the original vocalization was *melekh* may be learned from Isaiah 30:33, which undoubtedly alludes to the fiery ceremony of the Moloch rites. The fact that the Septuagint of the Pentateuch (which was the first to be translated by the Greek translators) translates *molekh* as "king" (*archon*) seems also to indicate that at the time of the translation of the Torah, the reading *molekh* instead of *melekh* was as yet unknown.

A new dimension was added to the problem of the name Moloch with the discovery of some Latin dedicatory inscriptions in North Africa. In these inscriptions the term *molchomor* – which has been equated with מלכ אמר in the Punic inscriptions, the meaning of which was also unclear – occurs in the context of a lamb offering. The context has provided a clue to the meaning of both *molchomor* and מלכ אמר. *Molchomor* has been interpreted as *molech immer*, i.e., *molech*, "sacrifice" (see below) and *ommor*, "a lamb." This interpretation, however, is beset by difficulties. First, it is hard to explain how *immer* (Aram. and Akk. "lamb") became *ommor*; no less difficult is the interpretation of *molech* as sacrifice. O. Eissfeldt argued (on the basis of Syriac) that *molech* means "vow," but this can hardly be reconciled with the biblical text. It would be futile to translate *li-znot ʾaḥare ha-molekh* (לזנות אחרי המלך) in Leviticus 20:5: "to go astray after the vow." Besides, it is methodologically unsound to explain a Hebrew word in the Bible on the sole basis of a late Aramaic word. Another expression occurring in the Punic inscriptions מלכאדם, turned out to be even more crucial for the understanding of the Hebrew *molekh*. Here again some scholars understood the term as human sacrifice. However, as in the case of מלכ אמר, no objective evidence has been found for this interpretation of מלכאדם. The most plausible explanation is, as has already been suggested, that the term means "king of humankind," and is the epithet of the god to whom the inscription is dedicated. The word "king" was indeed a common attribute of the deities in the Phoenician-Punic sphere, e.g., Melkart ("king of the city," i.e., Tyre), מלכבעל, etc. El, the head of the Canaanite pantheon, later identified with Kronos, was named Malkandros (Plutarch, *De Iside et Osiride*, 16) which means "king of man" (Greek *aner* [gen. *andros*], "man"), in other words מלכאדם. This is corroborated by evidence from the Assyrian-Aramean sphere where the epithet "King" is applied to the god Adad/Hadad, who is identified with the Canaanite-Phoenician Baal – was also called "King," cf. מלכבעל – "Baal is king." The identification of Hadad-Baal with Moloch provides the background to Jeremiah 32:35, which fulminates against the *bamot*-altars of Baal in the valley of Ben-Hinnom where male and female children were burnt to Moloch, i.e., Baal-Hadad. Furthermore, a series of Assyrian-Aramean documents analyzed by K. Deller showed that Adadmilki or Adadšarru ("Adad the king") was actually the god to whom children, sometimes firstborn, were burned (see below). The Assyrian material sheds new light on II Kings 17 where Adadmelech (to be read instead of Adrammelech) is the god to whom the Sepharvites burn/dedicate their children (verse 31). Adadmelech in this verse stands next to Anammelech who has been correctly related by scholars to Anath who bears the title "Queen of Heaven," the standard term for Ishtar in Akkadian (*šarrat šamê*; cf. Sum. *nin.anna.ak* = Inanna). The pair Adad and Ishtar, or the "king" and the "queen," are the ones to whom children are dedicated in the Assyrian-Aramean documents quoted above. Adad and ʿAshtart were actually the dominant gods in Syro-Palestine until the beginning of the common era, as may be deduced from the passage preserved by Philo of Byblos (ascribed to Sanchuniaton): "Ashtart the great and Zeus Demarus who is Hadad, the king of the gods, were enthroned on the earth" (Eusebius, *Praeparatio Evangelica* 1:10, 31; cf. O. Eissfeldt, *Kleine Schriften*, 3 (1966), 335–9). Another instructive example is the second century B.C.E. Greek inscription, found in Acre, that is dedicated to Hadad and Atargatis (= combination of Ishtar and Anath) who listen to prayer (M. Avi-Yonah, in: IEJ, 9 (1959), 1–2). As will be shown below, the introduction of the Moloch coincided with the introduction of the worship of the "queen of the heaven," although the latter persisted after the reform of Josiah whereas the Moloch cult seems to have perished following the reform. The worship of the Moloch along with the worship of the "queen of the heaven" are therefore to be seen against the background of the widespread worship in the Assyro-Aramean culture of Adad/Hadad, the king, and Ishtar Ashtarth/Anath, the queen, that began in the ninth-eighth century B.C.E. This sheds new light on the controversial passage Amos 5:26: "… You carried the canopy [Heb. *sikkut* is a deliberate misvocalization of *sukkat* or *sukkot* to make it resemble to שִׁקּוּץ; *shikkuẓ*, "abhorrence," cf. LXX and 6QD 14–17] of your king and the *kaiwanu* [changed deliberately into *kiyyun*, as *skikkuẓ*] of your image[s] the star of your god[s] which you made for yourselves." The *kamānu/kawānu*, found in Jeremiah 7:18, and 44:19, is a cultic cake in the form of a star which is the image of Ishtar, who is called in Akkadian *kakkab šamê*, "the star of the Heaven." The image of Ishtar צלמיכם כוכב אלהיכם, is depicted here as having been carried under a canopy in a procession, a procedure attested in the Assyrian documents (cf. L. Waterman, Royal Correspondence of the Assyrian Empire, 1 (1930), no. 1212, rev. 1–10 = SAA XIII: 192; for corrected reading see A.L. Oppenheim, in: BASOR, 107 (1947), 8, n. 4), but unrecognized until now. "Your king" in this verse is none other than her consort, Adad the king, sometimes identical with the sun-god Shamash.

The Nature of the Worship

As already indicated above, the legal and historical sources speak about passing children to Moloch in fire. According to the rabbinic interpretation, this prohibition is against passing children through fire and then delivering them to the pagan priests. In other words, according to this interpretation, this refers to an initiation rite. This kind of initiation or consecration is actually attested to in various cultures (see T.H. Gaster, in bibl.) and the Septuagint interprets Deuteronomy 18:10 in a similar manner. This is a Midrash of the rabbis likewise attested by the Septuagint. A similar non-sacrificial tradition, perhaps more ancient, is found in the Book of Jubilees. The Book of Jubilees 30:7ff. connects intermarrriage or rather the marrying off of one's children to pagans with the sin of Moloch. This tradition seems to be echoed in the dissenting opinion of R. Ishmael (cf. Meg. 4:9) in *Sifrei Deuteronomy* 18, who explains the prohibition of Moloch as the impregnation of a pagan woman, an interpretation lying behind the Syriac translation in Leviticus 18 and 20. The common denominator of all these traditions is the understanding of Moloch worship as the transfer of Jewish children to paganism either by delivering them directly to pagan priests or by procreation through intercourse with a pagan woman. This tradition is in keeping with the general rabbinic tendency to make biblical texts relevant to their audiences, who were more likely to be attracted to Greco-Roman cults and to intercourse with pagan women than to the sacrifice of humans to a long-forgotten god.

In the framework of the penalty clauses of some neo-Assyrian contracts, there is the threat that if one of the parties violates the contract, he will burn his son to Adad the king and give his daughter to Ishtar, or Belet-ṣēri. Some of these documents showed that Adadmilki or Adadšarru ("Adad the king") was actually the god to whom children, sometimes firstborn, were burned. Ch.W. Johns, who first published these documents, contended that burning is used here in the figurative sense, meaning dedication (*Assyrian Deeds and Documents*, 3 (1923), 345–6). This figurative interpretation was accepted by Deller and Weinfeld, but context indicates that they are to be taken literally (see CAD š/II, 53; SAA VI: 102). From the fact that Ahaz, who opened the door to Assyria and Assyrian culture and religion (see e.g., II Kings 16:6ff.), was the first king to indulge in the worship of Moloch, it may be deduced that this was introduced through Assyrian influence, along with other practices such as the burning of incense on the roofs (II Kings 23:12), the sun chariots (23:11), and the tents for the Asherah (23:7). There is no reason to suppose that the Moloch was introduced as a result of Phoenician influence, as is commonly supposed. Were this true, one would expect to find the Moloch worship in Northern Israel, which was overwhelmed by Phoenician influence, especially at the period of the Omri dynasty. No allusion, however, to this practice in the Northern Kingdom has been found. The worship of Moloch, which was practiced at a special site (outside the walls of Jerusalem in the valley of Ben-Hinnom) called Topheth, became firmly established in the time of King Manasseh, his son Amon, and at the beginning of Josiah's reign. If it was completely eradicated by Josiah within the framework of his reform activities (II Kings 23:10), then Jeremiah's references to this worship (7:31, 19:1ff., 32:35) might apply to the days of Manasseh and also to the time of Josiah before the reform (see Y. Kaufmann, Toledot, 3 (1960), 382–90).

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[Moshe Weinfeld / S. David Sperling (2nd ed.)]

MOLODECHNO, town in Molodechno district, W. Belarus; during the interwar period it was within Poland. The Jewish community in Molodechno started in the early 18th century and numbered 251 in 1847, increasing to 1,105 (46 percent of the total population) in 1897. After improvement in the economic situation resulting from the construction of a railroad in 1905, the Great Synagogue was erected in 1906. Later a prayer house was built by the Ḥasidim. A government school for Jewish boys, with a special vocational department and boarding facilities, was erected but was destroyed at the time of the Polish annexation. In 1925 the Jews numbered 950. Under Polish rule Jewish children received their education in the Hebrew *Tarbut elementary school. The Jews were mainly engaged in trade and crafts. During World War II Molodechno was annexed from September 1939 to July 1941, liquidating Jewish economy and public life. The Germans entered Molodechno in July and immediately killed 50 Jews. In October they murdered another 400 to 800, and the remaining 350–600 were herded in a barn and burned alive in December 1941.

[Zeev Elyashiv / Shmuel Spector (2nd ed.)]

MOLODOWSKY, KADIA (1894–1975). Yiddish poet and novelist. Born in Bereze (Bereza Kartuska) in Belorussia, Molodowsky was educated by her father, grandmother, and tutors. After passing the gymnasium exams, she departed for

Warsaw and Odessa to prepare for a teaching career. Following the 1917 Revolution, she participated in the publications of the Kiev Yiddish Group before returning to Warsaw to teach in the CYSHO Yiddish secular schools; she also taught Hebrew to workers in a Jewish community night school. For her pupils she wrote playful verses, ballads, and poetic tales, some of which were set to music and sung in Yiddish schools throughout the world. In 1935 she settled in New York and founded and edited the journal, *Svive* (1943–4 and 1960–74). Her many volumes of poetry reflect her experiences in Europe, the U.S., and Israel, displaying her concerns for women, the oppressed poor, the tragedy of war, and the Holocaust. After the establishment of the State of Israel in 1948, a new joyous tone appeared in her lyrics, many of which were publicly sung and broadcast in Israel. A book of her children's poems translated into Hebrew, *Pitḥu et ha-Sha'ar* ("Open the Gate," 1945), was taught in Israeli schools. Her drama *Nokhn Got fun Midber* ("Toward the God of the Desert," 1949) was staged by Israel's Ohel Theater in 1956, and her novel *Baym Toyer* ("At the Gate," 1967) described the fate of new immigrants, life in the kibbutz, and the forging of a nation. Other works of fiction include a novel, *Fun Lublin biz Nyu York* ("From Lublin to New York," 1942), and a short story collection, *A Shtub mit Zibn Fentster* ("A House with Seven Windows," 1957). Among her volumes of poetry are *Kheshvendike Nekht* ("Nights of Kheshvan," 1927); *Dzshike Gas* ("Dszhike Street," 1933), *Freydke* (1935), *In Land fun Mayn Gebeyn* ("In the Country of My Bones," 1937), *Der Melekh Dovid Aleyn iz Geblibn* ("Only King David Remained," 1946) and *Likht fun Dornboym* ("Light of the Thorn Bush," 1965).

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[Sol Liptzin / Kathryn Hellerstein (2nd ed.)]

MOMBERT, ALFRED (1872–1942), German poet. Descended from a family of Jewish merchants that had settled in Karlsruhe, Mombert studied law in Heidelberg, where he later went into practice as a lawyer. In 1894, he published his first volume of poetry, *Tag und Nacht*. Despite the clear stylistic influence of naturalist and impressionist poetics, it nonetheless maintained a unique tone. From the start, it is an ostentatious "cosmological" focus that gives Mombert's early poem cycles – *Der Gluehende* (1896), *Die Schoepfung* (1897), *Die Bluete des Chaos*, and *Der Sonne-Geist* (both 1905) – their characteristic setting, necessitating a new language on which Mombert continued to work throughout his career. Only marginally integrated into contemporary artistic and intellectual circles (Martin Buber, Hans Carossa, and Richard Dehmel were his only partners in spiritual exchange), Mombert adopted a 19th-century aesthetic of monism and neo-romanticism. Impressed by the totalizing view of his poetry and its mythic and religious allusions, contemporaries likened Mombert to William Blake; the German poet Richard Dehmel detected in him the fervor of the ancient Hebrew prophets. Abandoning the practice of law, Mombert turned toward cosmic verse-drama of epic scope. The trilogy *Aeon* (1907–11) established an imagery and dramatic figures to which Mombert would cling in all his further works, such as in *Der Held der Erde* (1919) and in *Atair* (1925).

In 1933, Mombert, with other Jewish members, was expelled from the German Academy of Arts. His last publication during his lifetime, *Sfaira der Alte*, was printed – at Buber's insistence – by the Schocken Verlag in 1936. Four years later, Mombert, already seriously ill, was arrested by the Gestapo in Heidelberg and deported to the Gurs concentration camp. With the intercession of non-Jewish friends and admirers (among them Hans Carossa and Mombert's biographer, Richard Benz), he was allowed to leave for Switzerland in 1941, where he died in Winterthur only a few months later.

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[Sol Liptzin / Philipp Theisohn (2nd ed.)]

MOMENT, DER, Yiddish daily newspaper in Poland. The paper was founded in Warsaw in November 1910 by Ẓevi Hirsch *Prylucki. Working with him were his son, Noah *Prylucki, and Hillel *Zeitlin. *Der Moment* became one of the most influential of the Jewish dailies of Poland, with a circulation of about 30,000, although that figure was far exceeded in times of tension: during the *Beilis blood libel proceedings, 1911–13, it reached a circulation of 150,000, and shortly before World War II it printed 60,000 copies daily.

In 1914 *Der Moment* published its first dispatches from Ereẓ Israel; its contributor was Izhak *Ben-Zvi. The Russians suspended the paper in July 1915, but 18 days later the invading Germans allowed it to continue under censorship. During the Warsaw municipal elections of 1916, the paper backed the *Folkspartei. Prominent among the paper's contributors after the war were Hirsh David *Nomberg, Julius Schwalbe, Ignacy *Schiper, and from 1925 Isaac *Schwarzbart. In 1936 the paper became a cooperative and two years later was taken over by a syndicate which adopted a Revisionist policy. It printed Vladimir Jabotinsky's article "The Eleventh Hour" in 1938 and also his series "*Fun Mayn Tagebukh*." The publication of *Der Moment* was discontinued in September 1939 with the Nazi invasion of Poland.

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[Artur Fiszer]

MOMIGLIANO, ARNALDO DANTE (1908–1987), historian of antiquity; born in Caraglio (Cuneo), Italy. After the Italian antisemitic legislation of 1938 he settled in England, where from 1951 to 1975 he was professor of ancient history at University College, London. Momigliano wrote, in Italian, books on Thucydides, Claudius, Philip of Macedon, as well as works on classical historiography. His best-known English books are *Conflict Between Paganism and Christianity in the Fourth Century* (1963), and *Studies in Historiography* (1966). One of his earlier works, *Prime Linee di Storia della Tradizione Maccabaica* (1930, 3d ed. 1968), was an impressive contribution to Jewish history of the Hellenistic and Roman periods. Also notable were his *Ricerche sull' organizzazione della Giudea sotte il dominio romano* (1934, 1967) and his chapters on the Second Temple period in the *Cambridge Ancient History.* A comprehensive bibliography of Momigliano's works is included in his *Quarto contributo alia storia depli studi classici e del mondo antico* (pp. 669–719). He was renowned for his deep learning and erudition.

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[Bernard Semmel]

MOMIGLIANO, ATTILIO (1883–1952), Italian literary critic, and historian. Momigliano was born in Asti to observant Jewish parents; he studied literature at the University of Torino, under the direction of the critic and writer Arturo Graf, and was professor of Italian literature at the universities of Catania, Pisa and Florence. After 1938 he was forced out of academic life by Mussolini's racist legislation and settled in Florence, where he continued to write under the pen name of Giorgio Flores. In 1943–44, during the German occupation of Italy, he took shelter in a hospital in Borgo San Sepolcro, where he was accepted as a patient by a cooperative doctor; he made use of this period to write a commentary to Torquato Tasso's *Gerusalemme Liberata*. He returned to his teaching post, but only as substitute, following the liberation. Momigliano has been called "an attentive and subtle impressionist of criticism." He was remarkably alive to the most delicate vibrations of poetry, reconstructing character motivation and presenting the results of his diligent reading in a calm and lucid prose. He was particularly skillful in bringing out detail in texts ranging from Dante's *Divina Commedia* to Tasso's *Gerusalemme Liberata*. The critic Luigi Russo found in Momigliano's Jewish origin an explanation for his isolation and historical detachment. A prolific writer, Momigliano published short literary essays and textual commentaries in the Italian press, all of unusual interest. His works include: *Impressioni di un lettore contemporaneo* (1925), *Introduzione ai poeti* (1946), *Studi di poesia* (1938; 1948^2), and *Elzeviri* (1945). He also wrote valuable monographs such as *L'indole e il riso di L. Pulci* (1907), *Carlo Porta* (1910), and *Dante, Manzoni e Verga* (1944), but his best books were perhaps those based on his knowledge and analysis of Manzoni's works: *L'Innominato* (1913) and *La vita e le opere del Manzoni* (1933^3). His *Storia della letteratura italiana* (1932), was reprinted several times after the author's death, and was studied by generations of high-school and university students.

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[Louisa Cuomo / Alessandro Guetta (2nd ed.)]

MOMIGLIANO, FELICE (1866–1924), Italian philosopher and historian. Born in the ghetto of the small town of Mondovì, in Piedmont, Italy, Momigliano gave up a possible rabbinical career and embraced instead the life of teacher and journalist. A socialist militant and at the same time an admirer of Mazzini, Momigliano saw himself as the son of both the Italian and the Jewish cultures, which he tried to reconciliate: in his thought patriotism, socialism, and prophetic faith were three sides of the same question. Among his works are *G. Mazzini e le idealità moderne* (1895), *Gli Ebrei e la civiltà moderna* (1912), *Il giudaismo di ieri e di domani* (1916), and *Ebraismo e Cristianesimo* (1922).

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[Alessandro Guetta (2nd ed.)]

°MOMMSEN, THEODOR (1817–1903), German classical scholar and historian; a vigorous opponent of antisemitism. A staunch liberal member of the Prussian and German parliaments and a luminary of Berlin University, Mommsen was active on behalf of Russian Jewry and consistently opposed all antisemitic manifestations, from the appearance of Adolf *Stoecker, the court preacher (1878), to the electoral success of Hermann *Ahlwardt (1902). He was also a prominent member of the *Verein zur Abwehr des Anti-semitismus and signed the public declaration of German notables against antisemitism (1880). Mommsen was the most renowned Christian to attack his colleague, Heinrich *Treitschke, the nationalist historian and antisemite. Paradoxically, a passage in his *History of Rome*, in which he described the Jews as one of the elements leading to the breakdown of the Roman state and the growth of cosmopolitanism, was repeatedly utilized by antisemites. Whereas Mommsen took a positive attitude to the Jewish role in furthering universalism, antisemites viewed the passage in a contemporary, ultra-nationalist setting. Despite his liberalism, Mommsen had no sympathy with the Jews' wish to preserve their cultural inheritance and religious independence. He called upon them to abandon their separateness and assimilate in a more thorough fashion; thus he shared the theoretical assumptions and principles of some conservative German leaders.

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[Michael J. Graetz]

MONASH, SIR JOHN (1865–1931), Australian engineer and soldier who commanded the Australian forces in the Allied armies during World War I. Monash was born in Melbourne into an immigrant family who had been printers of Hebrew books in Krotoszyn. He was related to Heinrich *Graetz. At the university, he displayed exceptional versatility. Besides a doctorate in engineering, he graduated in arts and law, and also studied medicine. After 1900 he specialized in reinforced concrete construction, introducing this engineering technique into Victoria, Tasmania, and South Australia. Between 1913 and 1915 he was president of the Victorian Institute of Engineers. Perhaps uniquely for a senior commander in World War I, Monash was never a professional soldier; his background in civil engineering might well have assisted him in avoiding much of the pointless slaughter, the result of poorly conceived attacks, notorious among the British and French armies in the 1914–18 War. He volunteered for the Victoria militia in 1884 and was commissioned three years later. In 1900 he won a gold medal for military articles in the *Commonwealth Journal*, and on the outbreak of World War I, he had already risen to the rank of colonel in the militia. In April 1915 Monash commanded the Fourth Infantry Brigade at Gallipoli. Although the campaign was unsuccessful, the Australian and New Zealand troops under his command distinguished themselves, and "Monash Valley" there was so named in commemoration of his service. He was sent to France in the following year and in April 1917 participated with the Canadian forces in the capture of Vimy Ridge. In May 1918, as lieutenant general, he was appointed to lead the entire Australian and New Zealand Army Corps (ANZACS) on the western front, and his troops played a decisive part in breaking the German lines on the Amiens front in the summer of 1918. The Allied offensive brought about the end of World War I and gained Monash a reputation as the most resourceful leader in the British army. The British prime minister, Lloyd George, described him as the only soldier of World War I with the necessary qualities of leadership. Besides numerous military decorations, he received honorary degrees from the universities of Oxford, Cambridge, and London. After the Armistice, he led his ANZACS through the streets of London and received a tumultuous welcome. He returned to Australia and resumed his engineering practice. He replanned the electricity supply in Victoria, basing it on the exploitation of huge brown coal deposits at the open cast mine fields of Yallourn, in Victoria. He was made vice chancellor of Melbourne University. In 1930, shortly before his death, he was made a full general, the first Jew to attain that rank in any army. He wrote of his campaigns in *Australian Victories in France in 1918* (1920). Monash remained a practicing Jew all his life. He took an active part in Jewish affairs in Australia and was president of the Zionist Federation in 1928. A village in Israel, Kefar Monash, bears his name. In the 1950s the second university established in the State of Victoria was named Monash University in his honor.

Sir John Monash held an arguably unique position among Diaspora Jews of his time, being regarded as an authentic and universally popular national hero. When he died, one-third of Melbourne's population lined the route of the funeral procession, the sense of loss being, as one observer put it, "as if the king had died." *John Monash: A Biography* by Geoffrey Serle (1982) is the authoritative account of his life.

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MONASTIR (Serbo-Croat, **Bitolj**; Macedonian, **Bitola**), town in Yugoslav Macedonia 1918–1992, now in the F.Y.R. of Macedonia, near the Greek border. Monastir was situated on one of the ancient and main trade routes of the Balkans (the Roman "Via Egnatia") which went from the Albanian port of Durazzo to Salonika and Constantinople. It is therefore not surprising that Jews lived there already in Roman times. Direct evidence of Jewish settlement in this region was discovered in 1930 by a Yugoslav archeologist, Joso Petrović, who found at nearby Stobi a column from a third-century C.E. synagogue donated by one Claudius Tiberius Polycharmos, *pater synagogae* ("father of the Synagogue") – the chief *parnas* Marmorstein presumes that the ancestors of Polycharmos were freemen of the Emperor Claudius who had left Rome for Macedonia around the middle of the first century.

Nothing is known about Jewish settlement in Monastir in the Byzantine period. In the 12th century there were Greek-speaking (*Romaniote) Jewish artisans and traders in the town. More Jews arrived after the expulsion from Hungary in the 14th century. At the end of the 15th century refugees from Asia Minor, and during the first half of the 16th century many Spanish exiles who came by the sea or through Salonika, settled in Monastir. Throughout the Ottoman period (1382–1913) Monastir was a lively commercial center. Trade was mainly in Jewish hands (export of liquor, olive oil, salt and salted fish, and import of wool, silk and woven cloth, copper, etc.); many Jews were tanners, silversmiths, cheesemakers, etc. In the 16th century R. Joseph b. Lev was head of the yeshiva. In the 18th century Abraham b. Judah di Buton was a rabbi of Monastir. A fire which swept through the town in 1863 destroyed over 1,000 Jewish homes and shops. A blood libel accusation was leveled against the Jews in 1900.

In 1884 there were 4,000 Jews in Monastir and in 1910, 7,000. After World War I the economic situation deteriorated considerably and many Jews left the town, mainly for the United States and Chile, while others settled in Jerusalem. The remaining Jews were impoverished, and there were many unemployed and poor people who were workers, porters, and peddlers. Between the two world wars community activity was varied and intense, with growing Zionist consciousness and endeavor; the leader was Leon Kamhi. In the 1930s, the central Jewish bodies became aware of the acute social problems in this community and introduced vocational training courses, encouraged *ḥalutz* youth movements and other activities, but the time was too short. This old community with its several synagogues, diverse social and cultural institutions, as well as a rich and original Judeo-Spanish folklore with some Turkish admixtures, was wiped out during the Holocaust. The approximately 3,500 Jews were deported by the Bulgarian occupation authorities, for the most part to Treblinka on April 5, 1943. In 1952 there were only one or two Jews in the town, and none at the outset of the 21st century. The Jewish cemetery was renovated by volunteers from Israel.

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[Zvi Loker]

MONASTYRISKA (Pol. **Monasterzyska**), city in Tarnopol district, Ukraine. Until 1772 the city was part of the Red Russia province in the kingdom of Poland, and from 1772 until 1918 in eastern Galicia under Austrian rule. First Jews are recorded in 1625. The Jewish community numbered 2,450 (56 percent of the total population) in 1890 and 2,041 (49 percent) in 1910. They comprised the majority of artisans, and some of them worked in a home-based toy industry organized by relief organizations from Vienna in 1902. Until World War I the community had four synagogues and an elementary school administered by the *Baron de Hirsch Fund. Owing to pogroms by Russian soldiers, Ukrainians, and Petlyura gangs during WWI, the number of Jews decreased to 1,168 (39 percent of the total) in 1921, and 1,488 in 1931). A Jew served as town mayor.

Holocaust Period

By 1939 the number of Jews had grown again and was close to 3,000. During the period of Soviet rule (1939–41), the activities of the Jewish community were stopped. The Jewish social services were also liquidated. The Jews tried to adjust to the new conditions and some of the youth moved to the large cities. With the outbreak of war between Germany and the U.S.S.R. (June 22, 1941), the Ukrainian nationalists began to attack the Jews. These attacks intensified after the Soviets withdrew from the city on July 4. On July 13 hundreds of Jews deported from Hungary were brought to the city. In March 1942 the Jews of Kopyczynce and Koropiec were brought to the city. At the beginning of October 1942 an *Aktion* was carried out and 800 were sent to the *Belzec death camp. At the end of October, the Jews of Monastyriska were transported to Buczacz, where they perished together with the Jews of this city. Jewish life in the town was not revived after the war.

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[Aharon Weiss]

MONATSSCHRIFT FUER GESCHICHTE UND WISSENSCHAFT DES JUDENTUMS, learned monthly publication which appeared in Germany for 83 years between 1851 and 1939. The *Monatsschrift* was founded by Z. *Frankel, while he was still rabbi at Dresden, to serve as the organ of what was called the "positive-historical school" in Jewish life and scholarship, which took up a middle position between Reform as represented by A. *Geiger, and Orthodoxy as interpreted by S.R. *Hirsch and A. *Hildesheimer. This type of Judaism, conservative in its approach to Jewish observance and ritual but undogmatic in matters of scholarship and research, was taught at the Jewish Theological Seminary at Breslau, founded in 1854 with Frankel as head; the *Monatsschrift* was intimately though not formally connected with this Seminary and drew its editors and contributors mainly from the ranks of its lecturers and alumni. Frankel remained the editor of the *Monatsschrift* until 1868. In the post-revolutionary years after 1848, Frankel had hoped to stem the growing indifference of the younger generation to Jewish values by spreading the scientific knowledge of the Jewish past, thus reviving Jewish consciousness and self-respect. Frankel hoped, in particular, to influence the younger generation of rabbis who had turned their back on traditional learning. In time, the *Monatsschrift* became the Jewish world's leading journal. Frankel himself wrote about a quarter of the material published under his editorship, dealing with such subjects as the Septuagint, Jewish Hellenism, history of *halakhah*, and religious disputations in antiquity; he also wrote many painstaking book reviews. In 1869 H. *Graetz took over the editorship, assisted from 1882 to 1886 by P.F. Frankl of the Berlin *Hochschule. Graetz himself wrote mainly on Jewish history, Bible, and the language of the Mishnah. In 1887, when Graetz was 70, publication ceased for five years until M. *Brann revived it in 1892, sharing the editorship with D. *Kaufmann until his death in 1899, upon which Brann continued as sole editor. In 1903 the *Monatsschrift* found a new financial backer in the *Gesellschaft zur Foerderung der Wissenschaft des Judentums. At Brann's death in 1920, I. *Heinemann took over until his immigration to Palestine in 1938. The last volume was prepared by L. *Baeck. From Frankel to the last, the *Monatsschrift* steered, more or less, an even course. Articles ranged over the entire gamut of Jewish scholarship. The editors generally tended to avoid systematic theology and purely religious problems. Most of the nearly 500 contributors were rabbis and seminary or university lecturers from Germany, Austria, and Hungary; but there were some from other European countries, the U.S., and Ereẓ Israel. The last volume (83, 1939) of the *Monatsschrift*, a tragic and heroic monument to German-Jewish scholarship in its death throes, was confiscated and destroyed by the Nazis and only a few copies were saved; it was reprinted in 1963. Previously A. Posner had published a general index for volumes 1–75 (1938, repr. 1966, including an update of the last 8 volumes).

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[Nahum N. Glatzer]

MONCALVO, small town in Piedmont, northern Italy. The first Jewish settlers in Moncalvo arrived presumably after the expulsions from France, as it was one of the only three communities following the *Apam (= Asti, *Fossano, Moncalvo) liturgy, which was of French origin (see *Liturgy). The first documents attesting to the presence of Jews in Moncalvo date only from the 1570s. When Moncalvo passed to the dukes of Savoy, the situation of the Jews deteriorated. They were confined to a ghetto in 1723 and forbidden to own real estate. At that time 176 Jews lived in Moncalvo. By 1836 there were 233 and in 1860 a new synagogue was dedicated, but toward the end of the 19th century the community declined. On the eve of World War II the community ceased to exist.

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[Daniel Carpi]

MONCORVO (**Torre de Moncorvo**), town in N. Portugal, district of Bragança. Early a center of Jewish life, Moncorvo was one of the seven provincial centers with an official rabbinical seat. Its rabbi was authorized by the crown to adjudicate all civil, criminal, and religious questions concerning the Jews of the Bragança district. Once a year the *arraby moor ("chief rabbi") visited Moncorvo to hear appeals. During the Peninsular War of 1803–13, a large number of Conversos – who were referred to simply as Jews by the Old Christians – entered Moncorvo as refugees from the neighboring town of Vila Nova de Fozcoa, where they were persecuted for alleged sympathy with the French. Mutual recriminations between the two towns eventually developed into armed battles. The descendants of these *New Christians were still in Moncorvo in 1917, when the Polish engineer Samuel *Schwarz made contact with the remnants of Portuguese Jewry. In 1927, when A.C. de *Barros Basto proselytized among the Conversos of the Bragança district, a special community was established in Moncorvo.

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MOND (**Melchett**), British family of chemists and industrialists, of German origin. Ludwig Mond (1839–1909) was born in Cassel, Germany. In 1859, while working at a small soda works, he patented a method for the recovery of the sulfur otherwise wasted in the process. Mond went to England where he tried to sell his patent. His process was not economical under British conditions, however, and he left for Holland. In 1867 Mond returned to England where he met Ernest Solvay (1838–1922), a Belgian chemist who had devised a process for making soda based on the use of ammonia. Mond put this process into operation when he joined Sir John Brunner (1842–1919) in founding the firm of Brunner, Mond and Company in 1873. In 1884 he developed a new process for the recovery of nickel and formed the Mond Nickel Company, which is still in operation. He was a noted art collector and most of his paintings were donated to the National Gallery in London. Of his two sons, the elder, Sir Robert Ludwig Mond (1867–1938), a scientist in his own right, was also a notable archaeologist, associated with the discovery of the *Elephantine papyri, and treasurer of the Palestine Exploration Fund. He was vice president of the Friends of the *Hebrew University and leader of the British Empire's anti-Nazi boycott.

The younger son, Alfred Moritz Mond (1868–1930), later the first Baron Melchett, entered his father's firm. During his lifetime Brunner, Mond and Co. greatly expanded and, after merging with other companies, became Imperial Chemical Industries (ICI) in 1926. Mond entered Parliament as a Liberal in 1906. He was made commissioner of works in the cabinet of Lloyd George (1916–21) and later became minister of health (1921–22). In 1924 Mond opened a debate in Parliament on the respective merits of the capitalist system and socialism, and his address was considered an outstanding defense of private enterprise. In 1926, in disagreement over land policy, he transferred his allegiance to the Conservative Party. He initiated a conference between leaders of commerce and industry on the one hand, and the workers organized in the Trades Union Congress headed by Sir Ben Turner on the other (1928). Out of this conference emerged the Mond-Turner agreement for industrial relations. In the same year he was raised to the peerage, as Baron Melchett.

Alfred Mond was not brought up as a Jew. His sole connection with Judaism in the earlier stage of his public life was that he helped to support the synagogue of Swansea, his parliamentary constituency, in order to present a more favorable picture there of the Jews and Judaism. Nevertheless, he was the butt of antisemitic attacks, and in consequence was won over to Zionism after the Balfour Declaration. He then became a dedicated Zionist and contributor to Zionist causes. Mond was one of the founders of the enlarged Jewish *Agency in 1929 and the chairman of its council. He acquired an estate in Ereẓ Israel in Migdal overlooking the Sea of Galilee, and a township in central Israel, Tel Mond, bears his name. Alfred Mond was married to a non-Jew and his two children, Eva Violet (1895–1973), who married the second Marquis of *Reading, and Henry (1898–1949), second Baron Melchett, were brought up in the Christian faith but converted to Judaism after the rise of Hitler. Lady Reading was an active Zionist and president of the British section of the *World Jewish Congress. Henry, also an ardent Zionist, succeeded his father as chairman of the council of the Jewish Agency and was president of the *World Union of Maccabi. Henry's son, Julian Edward Alfred (1925–1973), third Baron Melchett, was appointed chairman of the nationalized steel industry in 1967.

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[Moshe Rosetti]

MOND, BERNHARD STANISLAW (1887–1944), Polish general. Born in Stanislav, Galicia, he fought in the Austro-Hungarian army during World War I. In 1916 he was taken prisoner by the Russians and released in February 1918 following the peace of Brest-Litovsk. At the end of World War I Mond joined the army of newly independent Poland and fought in the defense of Lvov against the invading Ukrainian forces. In 1920 he commanded an infantry regiment against the Bolsheviks in Russia. Subsequently, Mond became commander of Vilna. At the outbreak of World War II, he commanded an army corps with the rank of major-general. After the fall of Poland Mond was taken prisoner by the Germans and died in a prisoner-of-war camp.

MONDA (Moscovici), **VIRGILIU** (1898–1991), Romanian novelist. Beginning as a poet in 1923, Monda soon changed to prose and published novels reflecting his interests as a practicing physician. In his works he displayed great ingenuity and a sense of atmosphere. Monda's novels include *Urechea lui Dionys* ("The Ear of Dionysius," 1934), *Hora paiatelor* ("Dance of the Clowns," 1935), *Trubendal* (1946), and *Statuia* ("The Statue," 1969).

MONDAY AND THURSDAY (in Heb. *Sheni va-Ḥamishi*, "the second and fifth [day of the week]"), those days on which the liturgy of the morning service includes additional penitential and supplicatory prayers (among them the long *Taḥanun). On these days, in ancient times, villagers came to town for marketing and attending law courts. Pious Jews also fast on Monday, Thursday, and again on the Monday following the first Sabbath of the new month after *Passover and *Sukkot. These three days are known as "*Behab*" (see *Fast Days, and *Shovavim Tat). Some ultra-pietists make voluntary fasts every week on these days. The morning service on Mondays and Thursdays also includes a reading from the Pentateuch. Three persons are called up to the reading, but only the first part of the weekly portion of the following Sabbath is covered in the reading (see *Torah, Reading of).

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MONDOLFO, RODOLFO (1877–1976), Italian historian of philosophy. Born in Senigalia, Mondolfo began teaching at Padua (1904). He was appointed professor at Turin in 1910, and at Bologna in 1913. Because of the racial laws he lost his post in 1938 (reinstated 1944), and moved to Argentina where he was professor at Córdoba (1940) and Tucumán (1948). Mondolfo's first studies were on psychology in the 17th and 18th centuries. Next he turned to studies of Hobbes, Helvétius, and Rousseau. After his work on Lassalle (*La filosofia della storia di Ferdinand Lassalle*, 1909), Engels (*Il materialisma storico di Federico Engels*, 1912), Feuerbach and Marx (*Feuerbach e Marx*, 1919), he devoted himself to the study of Marxism, emphasizing the activistic, humanistic side as opposed to the materialistic one, as in *Sulle orme di Marx* (1919, 1948^4) and *Intorno a Gramsci e alla filosofia della prassi* (1955). After the rise of Mussolini and the suppression of his *Biblioteca di studi sociali* in 1925, he turned to Greek philosophy and made many original contributions, especially in *L'Infinito nel pensiero dei Greci* (1934), his edition of Zeller (*La filosofia dei Greci*, 2 vols, 1932–38), and *Problemi del pensiero antico* (1936, 1961^3). In Argentina he wrote other works on Greek thought, one on Bruno, Galileo, and Campanella, and *Problemas y métodos de la investigación en historia de la filosofia* (1949).

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[Richard H. Popkin]

MONDZAIN, SIMON (1890–1979), French painter. Born in Lublin, Poland, Mondzain came to Paris in 1909. He painted figures of men and women with musical instruments, as well as portraits, interiors and still lifes, but became known largely through his sensitive studies of villages in France, Algiers, and Morocco. His style was post-impressionist, with elements of expressionism.

MONEY CHANGERS. Money changing was very common in the Roman Near East, where there was a proliferation of currency systems and standards. In Palestine, as in Egypt, each district had its *basilikai trapezai* ("royal bank") retained from Hellenistic times (Jos., Life 38), and probably each village had its own money changer (cf. Sif. Deut., 306).

In the period of the Second Temple vast numbers of Jews streamed to Palestine and Jerusalem "out or every nation under heaven" (Acts 2:5), taking with them considerable sums of money in foreign currencies. This is referred to in the famous instance of Jesus' driving the money changers out of the Temple (Matt. 21:12). Not only did these foreign coins have to be changed but also ordinary deposits were often handed over to the Temple authorities for safe deposit in the Temple treasury (Jos., Wars 6:281–2). Thus Jerusalem became a sort of central bourse and exchange mart, and the Temple vaults served as "safe deposits" in which every type of coin was represented (TJ, Ma'as. Sh. 1:2, 52d, and parallels). The business of money exchange was carried out by the *shulḥani* ("exchange banker"), who would change foreign coins into local currency and vice versa (Tosef., Shek. 2:13; Matt. 21:12). People coming from distant countries would bring their money in large denominations rather than in cumbersome small coins. The provision of small change was a further function of the *shulḥani* (cf. Sif. Deut., 306; Ma'as Sh., 2:9). For both of these kinds of transactions the *shulḥani* charged a small fee (agio), called in rabbinic literature a *kolbon* (a word of doubtful etymology but perhaps from the Greek κόλλυβος "small coin"; TJ, Shek. 1:6, 46b). This premium seems to have varied from 4 percent to 8 percent (Shek. 1:6, et al.). The *shulḥani* served also as a banker, and would receive money on deposit for investment and pay out an interest at a fixed rate (Matt. 25:27), although this was contrary to Jewish law (see below; *Moneylending).

Thus the *shulḥani* fulfilled three major functions: (a) foreign exchange, (b) the changing of large denominations into small ones, and vice versa, and (c) banking. Three terms for "money-changer" are found in the New Testament: (a) *kermatistēs* (John 2:14), (b) *kollybistēs* (Matt. 21:12), and (c) *trapezitēs* (literally, *shulḥani*; Matt. 25:27, et al.) It seems probable that these three terms correspond to the three functions of the *shulḥani* outlined above. Thus *kermatistēs*, from *kermatizō*. "to cut small," is one who gives small change; *kollybistēs*, from *kollybos*, changed foreign currency; while the *trapezitēs* was a banker (from *trapeza*, "table").

The *shulḥanim* in Jerusalem used to set up their "tables" in the outer court of the Temple for the convenience of the numerous worshipers, especially those from foreign countries (Matt. 21:12–13). Excavations around the Temple walls have uncovered stores or kiosks, some of which, it has been surmised, were occupied by money changers. The Mishnah states that on the 15th of Adar, every year, "tables" were set up in the provinces (or in Jerusalem) for the collection of the statutory annual half-shekel, and on the 25th of Adar they were set up in the Temple itself (Shek. 1:3). The activity of the Jewish banker, *shulḥani*, was of a closely defined nature, as his transactions had to be in accordance with the biblical prohibition against taking interest (*ribit*). The Talmud records much information relating to his activities. An additional and interesting feature of his business was the payment on request of sums deposited with him for that purpose (BM 9:12).

See also: Ṣarrāf.

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[Daniel Sperber]

MONEYLENDING.

The Religious Context

BIBLICAL PERIOD. Deuteronomy 23:20–21 states: "You shall not lend on interest to your brother, interest of food or money or anything on which interest can be charged. You may charge interest to a foreigner, but not to your brother that the Lord, your God, may bless you in all you put your hand to in the land into which you are going, to possess it." This text has become the subject of much discussion and controversy for nearly two millennia. Within the framework of the so-called Book of the Covenant, another law on moneylending is to be found, in Exodus 23:24: "If you lend money to my people, to the poor with you, you shall not act toward him like a creditor. You must not lay interest [*neshekh*] upon him." In this verse, *nosheh* ("creditor") is philologically and semantically equivalent to the Assyrian *rašu* ("creditor"), the professional moneylender. A third pentateuchal law on interest-bearing loans occurs in Leviticus 25:35–38, in a context usually referred to as the Holiness Code: "If your brother has become poor and cannot support himself with you, you shall assist him [as] a resident alien [*ger ve-toshav*], and he shall live with you. You shall not give him your money on interest [*be-neshekh*], nor give him your food for increase [*be-marbit*]. I am the Lord, your God, who brought you forth out of the land of Egypt, to give you the land of Canaan, to be your God." Usually the difference between *neshekh* and *tarbit* or *marbit* is explained as a difference between interest on capital and interest on food. The passage in Deuteronomy, however, also refers to interest on food (*neshekh okhel*) and it is possible that the two codes employ a slightly different terminology.

Many attempts have been made to answer questions on the literary form and the dates of these pentateuchal laws, but during the last decades detailed study of the various Ancient Near Eastern codes from the 19th to the 12th centuries B.C.E. has enabled scholars to substantiate their opinions on the *Sitz im Leben* of the Hebrew law collections more accurately than hitherto possible. The Book of the Covenant is generally considered the oldest of the pentateuchal codes, because of the social and economic structure it presupposes. No urban life or king is referred to, and there is no organized state or priesthood. There is, moreover, ethnological evidence of many similarly primitive units, among whom all loans of money and food were given free of interest, usually up to the time of the next harvest when they could be paid back by the debtor. Such legislation could not, of course, apply to the alien (*nokhri*), who was not a permanent resident.

In comparison, there are some similarities but also major differences between the pentateuchal law codes and their Ancient Near Eastern antecedents. The latter mirror a society much more fully developed than that of the still half-sedentary Hebrews. Thus, the *tamkarum* appears as a professional moneylender in various sections of the Code of Hammurapi, where rates of interest are specified for food as well as for money loans. Even in relatively late strata of the Bible, it is the Canaanite rather than the Israelite or the Hebrew, who is represented as the merchant or the trader. Had the nucleus of the Hebrew Codes been compiled at the time of the monarchy, they would have reflected quite different socio-economic conditions. Their literary form is of equal importance. In his *Urspruenge des israelitischen Rechts* (1934), 69ff., A. Alt distinguishes between casuistic law, characteristic of the Ancient Near Eastern codes, and apodictic law, more frequently, although by no means exclusively, found in comparable Israelitic source material. Exodus 22:24 is a mixture of both. The casuistic beginning, "If you lend money to my people…," which would logically be followed by a reference to the rate of interest or to the punishment to be meted out to a defaulting debtor, concludes apodictically with: "You shall not act as a creditor."

The Holiness and the Deuteronomic Codes are normally assigned to a much later date than that of the Book of the Covenant. The problem of their editing and ultimate incorporation into the Pentateuch is a difficult one, but as far as the laws on interest are concerned, all of them have elements in common, which stress, directly or indirectly, a special covenant between God and Israel and the consequent obligations of brotherhood between the members of the community. Just as biblical history with its predominantly theological tendencies has been described as *Heilsgeschichte*, much of biblical law may be classified as *Heilsgesetz*, addressing itself to the pre-state sacred institution of the 12 tribes. Moreover, Ancient Near Eastern codes do not claim divine inspiration, while all Hebrew laws are presented as having been revealed by God to Moses, even if, as in the case of the prohibitions against taking interest from a brother, no guidance is given as to judicial procedures against ruthless exploitation of the poor. The few other passages in the Bible which refer to money-lending confirm the impression that the relevant pentateuchal ordinances were interpreted by the prophets, psalmists, wisdom-writers, and chroniclers more as moral exhortations than as laws (cf. Hab. 2:6; Ezek. 18; Ps. 15:5; Prov. 28:8; II Kings 4:1–2; and Neh. 5:1–11; for apocryphal and pseudepigraphical literature, see Ecclus. 20:15;29 and IV Macc. 2:8). Neither indignation nor pious hopes could replace the jurisdiction of established courts.

Documentary evidence of the nonobservance of these pentateuchal admonitions comes only from the Diaspora, but affords an even clearer picture of prevailing conditions. Thus, the Aramaic Papyri show that the Jews of the military colony in Elephantine lent each other money on interest at the rate of 60 percent per annum in the fifth century (cf. Cowley, Aramaic nos. 10 and 11). In the Tebtunis Papyri, numbers 815, 817, and 818, loans at interest between Jews are also referred to. These documents belong to the third and second centuries respectively, and reflect typical Hellenistic usage in their formulation (cf. Tcherikover, Corpus, 1 (1957)). In the talmudic period such documents would be invalid. Aristotle had expressed contempt for the taking of interest in a well-known utterance in his *Ethics* (4:3), basing his opinion on the nature of money which is in itself not subject to physical growth. In addition, on several occasions during the last few pre-Christian centuries, popular resentment against impoverishment through usury forced Greek and Roman legislators to forbid the taking of interest altogether, although enactments of this sort did not remain in force for long. Among Jewish Hellenistic writers, Philo appears to have been the first to add his own comment to Deuteronomy 23:20, by extending the prohibition about taking interest from the brother to anyone of the same citizenship (*astos*), or nation (*homofulos*) in *De Virtutibus*, 82. He is, however, not quite consistent and keeps himself closer to the biblical text in *De Specialibus Legibus* (II, 73ff. and 122).

THE TALMUDIC PERIOD. After the destruction of the Temple, halakhists and aggadists determined the development of Jewish religious law proper, at least until the 17th century. The tannaitic Midrash *Sifrei Deuteronomy* 23:20f. understands *la-nokhri tashikh* as a positive commandment; i.e., you shall lend at interest to a foreigner. Although this is possible on philological grounds, heavy oppression under Roman rule in the first part of the second century may have led to such an interpretation, particularly since R. Akiva was closely connected with the revolt of Bar Kokhba and with the editing of the *Sifrei*. The contemporary *Mekhilta of R. Ishmael* offers a different explanation on the related passage in Exodus 22:24. Interest-free money should be lent to Jews and gentiles alike, although a Jew should be given preference. In addition, one commentator states that it is only toward the poor that one should not act as a professional moneylender, but one may do so toward the rich. From the third century onward, the prohibition against taking interest had been accepted as applicable to every Jew, rich or poor. The *Mekhilta* on Exodus 22:24, ends with a homiletic statement by R. Meir: "He who lends on interest… has no share in Him who decreed against taking interest." Similar denunciations occur frequently in halakhic and aggadic Midrashim, in Mishnah, Tosefta, *baraita*, and the Babylonian and Jerusalem Talmuds. Transgressors against the ever growing injunctions are called robbers and murderers. They are likened to those who rear pigs, described as denying the fundamental tenets of the Jewish faith and declared to be unfit as witnesses. The frequency of such utterances implies the frequency of the offenses. It is to be stressed, however, against apologetic tendencies that still prevail in the relevant literature, that views of this kind refer to inter-Jewish transactions only, unless the gentile is explicitly included in the prohibition. The expression "even interest from a non-Jew" (*afillu ribbit de-goi*) implies that the difference between them is still clearly felt.

As to inter-Jewish transactions, discussions continue as to whether paid interest, fixed or unfixed, can be taken back for the debtor by the judges. Also proposed are the relinquishment of the principal and the rescinding of written contracts or *shetarot* on which interest was specified. The Mishnah (BM 5:6) says quite plainly that one may lend to and borrow from gentiles at interest. In the course of the debate in the *Gemara* (ad loc.) R. Naḥman transmits Rav Huna's objection to taking interest from anybody, but it is, apparently again for apologetic reasons, generally overlooked that his view is challenged by Rava on the basis of the Deuteronomic law and the Mishnah which precedes the *Gemara*. R. Ḥiyya replies that money may only be lent on interest to the non-Jew, as far as it is necessary for the sustenance of the Jew (*bi-khedei ḥayyav*). Ravina maintains that the reason for this restriction is based on religious self-protection. The lender should reduce his contact with the alien to a minimum, lest he learn from the debtor's deeds (*shema yilmad mi-ma'asav*; see also Rashi on Mak. 24a, s.v. *afillu le-akkum*). The Jewish scholar, on the other hand, is allowed to take interest from non-Jews, even where there is no economic necessity, because he would not be influenced by the practices of the latter.

There is one further aspect regarding money-lending at interest in talmudic literature which calls for attention – the regulations against the employment of a non-Jewish intermediary, a device sometimes resorted to in order to make illegal inter-Jewish loan transactions possible. A number of tannaitic traditions have a bearing on the subject (cf. BM 71bf. and TJ, BM 10c; Tos., BM 5:15). This convention has a prehistory in Roman law. Livy mentions that at the beginning of the second century B.C.E., Roman creditors had found a device (*fraus*) for collecting interest by transferring the ownership of accounts to citizens of allied states, who thus became the real or fictitious lenders without being subject to internal Roman legislation (ed. by E.T. Sage (1935), 10:18). That such evasive tactics were current among Jews of the talmudic period is evident not only from the various *halakhot*, but also from the following homiletic statement in *Bava Meẓia* 61b: "Why did the All-Merciful mention the Exodus from Egypt in connection with the law on interest?… The Holy One, blessed be He, answered: 'I, who distinguished between the firstborn and those who were not firstborn in Egypt, shall in future punish him who hangs his money on a gentile and lends it on interest to a Jew.'"

THE GEONIC PERIOD. This period lasted from about the seventh to the 11th centuries. During that time, the main autonomous center of Jewish life was in Babylonia, although the decisions of the *geonim* were considered binding in the remotest communities of Europe and Africa. The Jews were active as artisans, builders, merchants, and as experts in agriculture and horticulture in many parts of the new Islamic world. Yet the Koran (4:160) is the first source to accuse them of usury. Contemporary halakhic compendia offer little original material on the subject. Only one responsum of the ninth century, by Amram Gaon (*Sha'arei Ẓedek*, 1792, p. 40a), forbids any money-lending on interest, permitting only such as would come about in a credit transaction involving the exchange of money and fruit. He adds that Muslims, too, allow this according to their law. The strong anti-usury legislation of Islam as well as the almost unrestricted professional facilities then open to Jews prompted him to be stricter than the traditional rulings on Jewish-gentile money transactions. In an anonymous responsum of the tenth century, biblical and talmudic ordinances are stressed again, and it is left to the discretion of the pious to refrain from money-lending altogether.

THE EARLY RABBINIC PERIOD. The center of Jewish life shifted toward Europe. The academies of Babylonia were gradually replaced by famous schools in France, Germany, and Spain. Monographs on the various European countries contain detailed accounts of the general and specific in their history. Two factors, however, stand out: growing anti-Jewish legislation and the development of the feudal system with its demand for a Christian oath on the acquisition of land. As a result, Jews were increasingly cut off from landownership. Yet even in countries like Spain and Italy, where Jewish urbanization took place less rapidly than in England and Germany, the Jews themselves no longer desired close contact with the soil, although they complained more and more about the shrinking opportunities to support themselves. An often quoted responsum by the French 11th-century scholar, Joseph b. Samuel Tov Elem *Bonfils, illustrates the change. Leah, the questioner, expresses dissatisfaction with the fact that taxes for which the community was responsible to the government were evenly distributed among the Jewish owners of fields and among merchants and traders. She is assessed for the ground she holds and for the crops it yields. In addition, the rulers of the land take their share from it. In contrast, money lent on interest is profitable, because the pledge remains in the hand of the creditor, and the principal increases without effort or expense. Joseph Tov Elem agrees with Leah's arguments against those who wish to assess her (cf. Responsa of Meir of Rothenburg, 1895, no. 941). Generally it must be said that early medieval rabbinic legislation cleared the path for a great variety of gentile-Jewish and inter-Jewish money transactions. Especially the authority of Jacob b. Meir Tam, Rashi's grandson, carried great weight with his contemporaries and successors. He summarizes the reasons for a number of his decisions in the following way: "Today people usually lend money on interest to gentiles… because we have to pay taxes to the king and princes and everything serves to sustain ourselves [*kedei ḥayyenu*]. We live among the nations and it is impossible for us to earn a living unless we deal with them. It is, therefore, no more forbidden to lend at interest because 'one might learn from their deeds' than it is to engage in any other business" (cf., e.g., Tos., BM 70b, 71b and Av. Zar. 2a).

Menahem b. Solomon Meiri, an eminent 13th-century scholar, gives an account of the position in Provence: "In our days nobody cares about refraining from business dealings with and loans to gentiles, even on their festivals – not a *Gaon*, not a rabbi, not a scholar, not a pupil, not a *ḥasid* ["pious man"], and not one who pretends to be a *ḥasid*. All these laws refer only to idolators and their images, but all transactions with Christians are perfectly legal." Meiri coined a special phrase for this group: "nations who are restrained by the paths of their religion" (cf. J. Katz, in: *Zion*, 18 (1953), 18ff.). He thus differs implicitly or explicitly, with most of his predecessors, including Maimonides. Only the Ḥasidei Ashkenaz, German-Jewish pietists and some Spanish kabbalists of the beginning of the 13th century, viewed the new development with anxiety and disfavor. According to them, interest should not be charged to gentiles if a living could be made from the fields, although they no longer ventured to state this in terms of a legal prohibition. Contemporary Jewish commentators on the Bible follow the same distinctions as halakhic literature. In addition, they reflect full awareness of Christian polemics against the ever increasing number of Jewish moneylenders.

David *Kimḥi of Narbonne says the following about Psalms 15:5: "…the Hebrew must not overreach or rob the alien or steal from him, but interest which he takes by full agreement [with a non-Jewish lender] is permitted… If the gentile is kind to the Jew, the Jew must certainly be kind and good to him…" He adds explicitly that his views should serve as an answer to those Christians who maintain that David did not distinguish between the Israelite and the gentile.

Meir b. Simeon's only partly edited manuscript (Parma 2749) *Milḥemet Mitzvah* ("Obligatory War") contains by far the richest source material on Jewish-gentile moneylending transactions. His attempts to defend old and established practices show greater knowledge of former privileges granted by popes, emperors, and feudal lords than that of any of his predecessors, and he makes the widest possible and often ingenious use of practically all biblical and talmudic data on the subject. One or two generations older than David Kimḥi and also from Narbonne, he had frequent discussions with the lower and higher clergy, including two archbishops, the second of whom was probably Guido Fulcodi, who later became Pope Clement IV.

It was on this occasion that Meir was confronted with the same accusations about gentile disadvantages in Jewish law as those which had been made in the famous Paris disputation in 1240 at the palace of Louis IX. No Latin record of his disputation appears to be extant, and it is doubtful whether he could have said all he wrote down in the diary of his public activities. The whole historical background of his time is unfolded in his work – anti-Jewish legislation, persecutions, expulsions, and his able and often successful efforts to counter them. His sharp criticism of the release of interest and sometimes even of the principal, owed to Jews by the Crusaders, is of special significance. Fearless defense and daring attack are often juxtaposed. Thus, Joseph b. Nathan ha-Mekanne *Official, a contemporary and fellow-citizen of Meir b. Simeon, refutes the attacks against Jewish money-lending with the by now usual arguments, and subsequently adds: "You lend money at high rates… of 100%… and take reward for delayed payment" (Z. Kahn, in: *Birkhat Avraham… Berliner* (1903), 89).

Jewish moneylenders in England acted, as far as one can judge from their documents, in exactly the same way as those on the continent – i.e., in accordance with the ordinances of the sages (*ke-tikkun ḥakhamin*), even if there are certain peculiarities which seem to be influenced by non-Jewish legal practice. Thus, *ribbit* ("interest"), unless used in connection with *ribbit al yedei goi* ("inter-Jewish interest charges, made possible through a gentile proxy"), occurs only four out of about 30 times in M.D. Davis' *Hebrew Deeds* (1888). Instead of *ribbit, shevaḥ* ("profit") is used. In some inter-gentile promissory notes, too, the expression *lucrum* ("gain") is found for *fenus* ("usury"). There is also the sudden emergence of the formula "if the stipulated time for repayment of the loan is over" (*im ya'avor zeman*) in Hebrew *shetarot* ("promissory notes" see **Shetar*) of English provenance. According to talmudic law, there is no justification for this, but contemporary regulations of civil and canon law had adopted the Roman concepts of *lucrum cessans* and *damnum emergens*. They may well have found their way into inter-Jewish transactions, although still under the proviso that creditor A allow creditor B to borrow from a gentile, to indemnify the lender against damage or loss of gain.

In Spain, too, similar practices, perhaps even without the gentile intermediary, seem to have become customary during the 13th century, as is known from a responsum by Solomon b. Abraham Adret (ed. Hanau, 1600, 172b). He declares such convention to be forbidden, but adds that, strictly speaking, we have in this case to deal with a penalty (*kenas*) and not with interest. Officially, at least, Max Weber's distinction between *Binnen* and *Aussen-Moral* retained its validity in talmudic and rabbinic law. Similar Christian differentiations between the "brother" and the "other" can be traced back to the Church Father Ambrose of the fourth century. According to him, the Jew must be loaded with such a burden of usury that by the very punishment of the charges imposed upon him, he is compelled to move more quickly toward righteousness (*De Tobia*, 1, Migne, P.L. 14 (1845), 799; and T.P. Mc-Laughlin, *Medieval Studies*, 1 (1939), 92, 137).

THE LATE RABBINIC PERIOD. The Jewish analogue of this position was expressed by the 14th-century French philosopher and exegete, *Levi b. Gershom, who also holds that it is a positive commandment to lend money to an alien on interest, "if he needs it…, because one should not benefit an idolator… and cause him as much damage as possible without deviating from righteousness," i.e., without demanding from him exorbitant rates of interest (see his commentary on Deut. 23:21). Such sentiments are extreme, though not isolated (cf. R. Tam on BM 70b and Maimonides' uncensored comment on Av. Zar. chs. 3 and 4). Sometimes the passion of the spirit gave way to the demands of economic necessity, and periods of quasi-normal business relationships between believers and non-believers interrupted the cold or actual war between them. More often the force of faith, never quite unconnected with the relatively high proportion of Jewish moneylenders, broke through and led to their persecution and expulsion. An ultimate judgment on the priority of powers which determine political and ideological reality remains difficult, if not impossible. The situation differed from country to country, from province to province, and even from town to town. Yet an analysis of the uneven and widely dispersed Jewish and Christian source material, ranging from the 14th to the 17th centuries, reveals an astounding development from unyielding medieval thought patterns to their integration with new economic theories, and leads almost to a breakdown of denominational barriers.

In his *Ikkarim*, the Spanish philosopher Joseph *Albo declares that the "brother" in the Deuteronomic law refers to everyone who is not an idolator. Interest is, therefore, only to be taken from one who belongs to the "seven nations of old" – for instance, from an Amorite or Amalekite: "If it is permitted to take his life, surely one may take his property" (*Im gufo mut-*

tar mamono kol she-ken; ed. Husik, 3 (1946), 237). Albo's words are an almost literal translation of Ambrose's "*ubi enim jus est belli, ibi est usurae*" (cf. also Plato's Laws, 10:909). In a position of defense vis-à-vis the archbishop of Narbonne, Meir b. Simeon had advanced a similar argument. Albo's statement is not part of the public disputation in Tortosa (1413) in which he was one of the Jewish spokesmen, but a record of another encounter with a Christian opponent. It is clear, however, that he did not refer to current halakhic practices, although some talmudic proof texts can be found in their support. Other Jewish writings, not concerned with interdenominational altercations, do not question the legality of charging interest from gentiles. Thus, Joseph Colon, who came from France and held a distinguished position in the Italian rabbinate during the second part of the 15th century, states casually that the Jews of both countries hardly engaged in any other business (Resp. Maharik 118, 132). Abraham b. Mordecai Farissol (1451–1526) confirms Colon's assessment of circumstances prevailing in Italy. Conditions of this kind were bound to bring about irregularities, but they were not restricted to Jews. Early propaganda of the Franciscans was, in fact, not specifically directed against the Jews. *Hebraei et Christiani usurarii* were the target of Bernardino da Feltre.

The establishment of Jewish loan banks was subject to a license of the papal administration or of the local rulers or of both. The stipulations of these *condotte* varied from time to time and from place to place. They were often changed unexpectedly, and as a result the insecurity of the Jewish moneylender increased, however much he might have profited from an occasional boom. Matters came to a climax through the propaganda for the establishment of Christian loan-banks, the *montes pietatis*, which were originally meant to work on a nonprofit basis. Particularly during the Lenten period "the friars [*ha-doreshim*] are a strap of castigation for Israel and preach every day to destroy us… Their hand is heavy upon us… and the situation reaches a point when both body and property are endangered" (Colon, ed. princeps, no. 192).

Isaac Abrabanel's view on interest-bearing loans to gentiles is laid down in his commentary on Deuteronomy 23:21, and forms part of his elaborate exegesis of the whole book, which was completed in Monopoli in 1496 and published in uncensored form in Sabbioneta in 1551. He expounded his theories "before Christian scholars and the masters of the land." The first three of his arguments offer nothing new; only the fourth is straightforward and assailable on philological and historical grounds. At the same time, it foreshadows the general development toward capitalism, so characteristic of the 16th century: "There is nothing unworthy about interest… because it is proper that people should make profit out of their money, wine, and corn, and if someone wants money from someone else… why should a farmer… who received wheat to sow his field not give the lender 10% if he is successful, as he usually should be? This is an ordinary business transaction and correct…. Interest-free loans should only be given to the coreligionist, to whom we owe special kindness." Abrabanel sums up with an assurance to his readers that what he had said in the first three paragraphs was only meant "to promote peace. What a Jew should really believe is laid down in the tradition of the sages."

Shortly before the completion of Abrabanel's commentary on Deuteronomy, Abraham b. Mordecai Farissol had a disputation in Ferrara at the famous Palace of Ercole d'Este I, again attended by many prominent people (cf. *Magen Avraham*, ch. 73, ed. by D.S. Loewinger in: HHY, 12 (1928), 290ff.). Some of Farissol's answers also represent a definite opposition to medieval economic concepts. His formulations might well be borrowed from the views of contemporary civil lawyers. In contrast to the opinion of the canonists and of Levi b. Gershom who, like Aristotle, considered money as barren metal, a distinction is now drawn between primitive and advanced society: "After society had expanded and people began to be distinguished from one another by their views… there followed a new Nature and another Order. The custom of giving another person something for nothing ceased unless the person was poor. Thus, the law has developed to pay rent for houses… and to make loans… All comes for a price… Sometimes credit is even more important than lending an animal or a house. Hence… it is appropriate to give some compensation for a loan. A proof for this argument is that even the *ba'alei hadatot* [canonists] have agreed that one may pay up to 5% for the lending of money." Farissol seems to refer especially to the *montes pietatis*, which were forced to charge a small amount for the maintenance of their administration. As to the rates of interest charged, "one need not ponder over them, because they are agreed upon by the communities who require money from the Jews. They fluctuate according… to the availability or scarcity of silver and gold and the demand for it."

In 1588 the physician David de Pomis published his *De Medico Hebraeo Enarratio Apologetica*, in which he set himself the task of putting on record the devoted services of distinguished Jewish doctors in the past. The book, written in Latin, also contains his views on money-lending to gentiles. His effusive flattery about the relationship between Christianity and Judaism makes it unnecessary to refer to the first part of his arguments. Only in the last paragraph of the relevant section does he return to the practical aspects of the problem: "If the Jews do sometimes take interest from Christians, it can either be maintained that they abuse the law or…" and here his statements are almost identical with those of Farissol, "… their transactions represent an official agreement between the parties concerned… A Jew could effect the same transaction with another Jew according to recent rabbinic authorities." One form is technically called *tarsha* and the other *hetter iska* (cf. Sh. Ar., YD 167, 177). Both concessions represent developments dictated by the general change of economic conditions. In practice, de Pomis' labored defense came late. It was Calvin who challenged the Deuteronomic differentiation between the "brother" and the "alien" on principle. According to him, interest is forbidden only insofar as it is contrary to equity and charity. Otherwise, "*nous sommes frères sans aucune distinc-*

tion." The enunciation of his program became the decisive formula for the new spirit of capitalism.

FROM OTHERHOOD TO BROTHERHOOD? From the 17th century onward, the collapse of the traditional Christian exegesis of Deuteronomy 23 is apparent in Europe and in the U.S. On the Jewish side, too, responsa on the subject become less frequent; even the records of the Council of the Four Lands have relatively little to say on the matter. The *hetter iska* (see *Usury) had opened the path to a mercantilistic interpretation of talmudic law. Nevertheless, on the readmission of the Jews to England, Manasseh Ben Israel, in his *Humble Address to His Highness the Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England*, did not deem it necessary to revoke the ancient distinction: "For to lay out the money without any profit was commanded only toward their brethren of the same nation of the Jews, but not to any other nation" (cf. B.N. Nelson, *Idea of Usury* (1949), 73–109). In spite of occasional regressions, a gradual improvement of the position of the Jews in Western Europe became noticeable. Money-lending still remained one of their main occupations, but they also traded, sometimes simultaneously, in all kinds of merchandise, or they earned their living as craftsmen and artisans. Above all, there was the ascendancy of the Court Jew who, in spite of his fluctuating fortunes, played an important part in the economic administration of the estate of many a duke and king in peace and war (cf. H. Schnee, *Die Hoffinanz und der moderne Staat*, 6 vols., 1953–67). The Age of Reason further contributed to the disappearance of barriers between the various denominations. Although Leopold I expelled the Jews from Vienna and Lower Austria in 1670, Joseph II issued his *Toleranzpatent* only about 100 years later.

In 1807, the ecclesiastical and lay representatives of French, Italian, and German Jewry assembled in Paris to attend a meeting that had been convened by Napoleon. Bearing the proud title, "Grand Sanhedrin," it concluded a development of 2,000 years and to many of those who had come seemed to open a new era. Two of the 12 questions they were asked concerned the problem of inter-Jewish and Jewish-gentile loan transactions. Although eminent rabbinic scholars of personal integrity were present, the answers, *Décisions Doctrinales* or, in their Hebrew version, *takkanot*, reveal neither any depth of historical understanding nor sincerity on the part of those who were responsible for their formulation. *Neshekh*, for example, is defined as a rate of interest to be determined by the *Code Civil* (*Code Napoleon*) of France. Such interest may be charged by one Jew from another, provided that the lender share the risk of loss and the chance of gain, and that the debtor give indemnification to the creditor in the case of *damnum emergens*. Only the poor Jew must be charged no interest at all. Gentiles, particularly those living in France or Italy, are to be considered as brothers of the Jews, and there must not be any difference between them if charity is required. Those who disregard this ordinance will be called sinners and transgressors of the law of the holy Torah. All this may, to a degree, be defensible from the standpoint of the *halakhah*, but a complete renunciation of Jewish autonomy is implied. Jews have become Frenchmen of the Israelite persuasion. The law of the State (*ḥok ha-medinah*) sets the tone and the "Grand Sanhedrin" decides accordingly (*Takkanot ha-Sanhedrin shel Paris* (1958), 56–67). Ishmael b. Abraham Isaac ha-Kohen of Modena, who also received an invitation to the Paris Sanhedrin, was too old to make the journey, but gave his answers to each question in writing. Although gentle and dignified in his reply, he disassociates himself from the views expressed in the *Décisions Doctrinales*: "To deny permission to lend money on interest to gentiles is against all exegetes, against the *Gemara*, and against the literal understanding of the Bible" (cf. J. Rosenthal, in: *Talpioth*, 4 (1950), 583).

Events of the last 150 years belied the identification of the "brother" and the "other," and in all probability the reaction of the old rabbi of Modena and those who thought like him, even at the beginning of the 19th century has not disappeared from Jewish life. The full awareness of covenantal relationship between God and Israel and Jew and Jew is still strongly felt. Until this day many Jewish banks both in and outside Israel display a notice to the effect that it is understood that business and loan transactions between Jews will be conducted according to *hetter iska* regulations.

[Siegfried Stein]

The Historical Context

The biblical injunctions against usury relate neither exclusively nor mainly to money-lending on interest. Their spirit reflects a nomadic and village society where the borrowing of goods is the norm, and moneylending the exception. Yet the so-called archives of the *Murashu house discovered at Nippur show Jews in Babylonian regions engaged in extensive financial operations. The Talmud largely treats the problem of usury and interest from the point of view of product loans, though financial operations are also dealt with in this connection. There is evidence that as Jews moved in the city life of the Roman Empire, some of them gave loans on interest.

With the development of an urban economy in the caliphate of the ninth century, the financing of the ever-growing needs of trade, of crafts, and of the state, became a pressing need. Jews financed the business of their coreligionists through participating in various ways as partners, both in financing and in profits. While some of these means of participation were actual, others were formal only, devised to evade the prohibitions on usury. In the tenth century, large-scale Jewish financiers appear, like the *Netira family, who loaned large sums to the state on interest, against the collateral of state incomes. These loans were evidently the accumulated savings of middle- and small-scale Jewish merchants, deposited with Jewish state bankers for greater income and security. When (up to the 15th century) the majority of the Jewish people lived in Islamic lands and in Christian Spain, money-lending was one of the occupations of Jews, as of other city dwellers. While in Northwestern Europe Jews first came mainly as international traders, when some of them later turned to local trade (1000 C.E.), they engaged in credit operations. The impact of the First Crusade (1096–99) on the status and livelihood of the Jews in France, Germany, and England drove them out of trade through the lack of security arising from the inimical attitude of society in general; at the same time, Jewish merchants and craftsmen were denied any share in the Christian towns and *guilds which were rapidly evolving as the only social framework for trade and crafts in those countries. This crystallized at a time when European trade, agriculture, and building were expanding and in need of financing. Ready cash – which then meant precious metals – was scarce. Available means in Christian hands were channeled into credit for merchant ventures and other relatively creative loans, in which it was also easier to formulate partnerships that evaded the stigma of usury. Under such circumstances the Church found it easy to act in accordance with the agricultural ethos of its upper strata, and to insist on the prohibition of usury. There remained the field of loans for consumption – the need for which arose in cases of illness, litigation, and unforeseen expenses – for which Christian capital was not readily available and where usury was least avoidable. Deprived of its former uses, Jewish capital entered this field, as well as granting any other possible loan. Hence among the Jews of the region between the Pyrenees and Scotland, between the Atlantic and the Elbe, usury became the main source of livelihood from about the 12th to the 15th centuries. They were not the only people to lend money on interest in that region: there were also the Cahorsins of southern France, the Catalans, and the Lombards. But religious enmity, the social separateness of the Jews, and their hateful image, combined to identify Jew with usurer in the western Christian imagination. In those countries Jews sometimes lent on a debt deed only, without surety. Medieval Hebrew sources from those regions described this kind of loan as *be-emunah* ("on trust"), a practice usually reserved for established and proved clients. Most loans were given on the double surety of a written deed and a collateral (Heb. *mashkon*). Since repayment of a loan for consumption was often difficult, the needy debtor came to hate the infidel Jewish creditor who, out of his own need, had helped him. Many anti-Jewish persecutions hence acquired an economic as well as a religious character, the instigators being no less anxious to destroy incriminating bonds than to eliminate accursed infidels.

In England the extent as well as the problems of Jewish money-lending were seen at their clearest. The most common interest rate was two pence in the pound a week (43 1/3 annually), though half and twice as much were also common. There were many partnerships, often between members of the same family; this form was utilized by the extremely wealthy *Aaron of Lincoln. To supervise Jewish lending, to insure maximum tax exactions from the Jewish lenders, and to make certain that debt deeds would not be lost even in times of massacres, the *Archa system was introduced. In the 13th century Jewish money-lending was conducted through tenants of the commons and of the middle class, whose bonds were bought up, on default, by the nobility and ecclesiastical institutions. This too, aroused the enmity of the commoners toward the Jews. In 1275 Edward III passed severe anti-usury laws, at the same time exacting extremely high tallages and calling in Italian moneylenders to replace the Jews. Some of the latter turned to coin-clipping, which led in part to the total expulsion in 1290.

Though in the heterogeneous Holy Roman Empire money-lending practices varied greatly according to time and place, the history of Jewish money-lending in *Regensburg may be typical of Rhenish and south German cities. Until about 1250 the municipality was the chief beneficiary of Jewish loans; until about 1400 the nobility and clergy were the main recipients; while after 1400 knights, burghers, and artisans pawned objects for short terms, and borrowed small sums at high rates of interest. This latter situation eventually became the focus of lower-class enmity toward the Jews and contributed to their expulsion in 1519.

Interest rates in Germany fluctuated greatly in practice and even in their legal norms. Frederick II of Austria fixed the Jews' maximum interest rate at 173⅓% in 1244; in the more developed cities of the Rhineland and south Germany 43⅓% was more common, though this rate did not apply in the case of foreigners or peasants; 86⅔% was also common and acceptable. An investigation in 1676, motivated by anti-Jewish feeling, in the electoral Palatinate in western Germany, showed that an interest rate of 14.5% was honored there by the Jewish moneylenders. The Christian rulers who exploited Jews as their agents for usury – and then extorted from them a large part of their usurious gains, especially when the Jews became impoverished – used to proclaim moratoriums on the individual, partial, or total debts to Jews. The respective treasuries all profited by such measures, the best known being those of Emperor Wenceslaus in 1385 and 1390, which utterly impoverished the Jews while barely alleviating the burdens of the treasury. Likewise, total and bare-faced confiscation was often resorted to, as was expulsion, which left the field open to the Jews' remaining competitors. Because of the collateral in their hands Jewish moneylenders frequently engaged in related occupations, such as the repair and upkeep of clothes, armor, and precious objects, and in their sale when pledges were not redeemed, a frequent occurrence. Hence the rudiments of certain crafts, as well as the sale of *secondhand goods, were an integral part of this occupation. Articles regulating moneylending constituted the core of all charters issued to Jews in medieval Germany from the 12th century. They determined not only the rates of interest, but also ensured the rights of the creditor to the collateral, even if it had been stolen. The moneylender had to take an oath that he had received it in good faith and in daylight whereupon the legal owner of the collateral had to repay him the amount loaned on the pledge. This right clashed with Germanic legal conceptions, which demanded the return of the object to the rightful owner without any payment; hence the misconception that the charters allowed the Jews to act as fences.

When it became apparent in Italy that the citizens had need of cash loans, the activities of Jewish moneylenders were regulated by means of the *condotta*, conditions set out in charter treaties between municipalities or rulers and Jewish moneylenders, first signed in the late 13th century in Umbria. The interest rate varied between 15% and 25% and was never to exceed the value of the pledge. The profit of the loan-banks in 15th-century Florence was approximately 4% (see also *Monti di Pietá*).

The first privilege granted to Jews in Poland in 1264 regarded them mainly as moneylenders. However, under favorable conditions, Jews soon took part in other economic activities, so that within a century money-lending became only one of their many-sided economic functions in the Polish cities and countryside. The **arenda* system, for example, stems from a change from lending to leasing. By the end of the 16th century, Jewish trade demanded more capital than the Jews themselves possessed, so that many Jewish traders became indebted to Christians. Lending on interest between Jews was explicitly initiated and legalized there, in the institution *hetter iska*, a legal device which created a formal partnership between creditor and debtor. Interest rates inside the Jewish business community in the latter half of the 17th century were between 25% and 33⅓%, whereas the Christians loaned at 6%–10%, and interest rates between Jews and Christians ranged between these two figures. Jews also developed their own system of credit bonds – the *mamran* (*membranum*) – used mainly at the great fairs of Poland-Lithuania. With the rise of modern *banking, Jewish money-lending of the conventional type gradually decreased in importance, though in Western Germany and in *Alsace-Lorraine it was sufficiently widespread to be detrimental to *emancipation of the Jews during the French Revolution, and later on to influence the attitude of Napoleon *Bonaparte to Jewish emancipation. It likewise was one of the causes of the anti-Jewish *Hep! Hep! disturbances of 1819, as well as 1830 and 1848.

When Jews moved to western countries in the late 19th-early 20th centuries, moneylending was a frequent occupation, especially in the first and second generation, and the Jewish moneylender became a familiar stereotype.

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MONGOLIA, region of E. central Asia, which gained fame originally due to the *Mongols under Genghis Khan, who established an enormous empire in the early 13th century that eventually encompassed most of Asia. By the 17th century, Mongolia was firmly under Chinese control. Outer Mongolia became the Mongolian People's Republic in 1924 and Inner Mongolia remained under Chinese rule. At the end of the 19th century Jewish families from Siberia traded with Mongolia and a few settled there as a result of their businesses. Between 1918 and 1920 Russian Jews, fleeing from the civil war atrocities, crossed Lake Baikal to settle in Outer Mongolia. Most of them were wiped out in 1921 by the White Russian units under Baron Ungern-Sternberg which were retreating before the advancing Soviet forces. In 1925–26, a Russian-Jewish journalist discovered 50 newly settled Jewish families in a deserted area of Outer Mongolia, some 200 miles from the Manchurian border. Ulaan Bataar (or Ulan Bator, formerly Urga), the capital of the Mongolian People's Republic, had a community of 600 Russian Jews in 1926, including watchmakers, jewelers, barbers, furriers, and construction workers. The increasing Soviet influence in the area induced most of them to leave Outer Mongolia for *Manchuria and elsewhere. Those who remained were employees of state enterprises. Jews visited Outer Mongolia from the Manchurian town of Hailar during the 1920s only seasonally in order to buy furs and other domestic products, but they did not take up permanent residence. Over the years of Communist rule, Jewish civilian and military specialists from the Soviet Union spent time in Mongolia. The contact of Jews with Mongols led to some mixed marriages, a phenomenon strengthened by the many Mongols who traveled to the Soviet Union for study and other activities. With the end of Communism in both the Soviet Union and Mongolia around 1991, several of the children resulting from these marriages immigrated to Israel.

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[Rudolf Loewenthal / Reuven Amitai (2nd ed.)]

MONGOLS, a group of tribes from the eastern Eurasian steppe, north of China, which were welded by Genghis

(Chinggis) Khan in the late 12th and early 13th centuries into a state that created the largest land-based empire in history. Mongol successor states ruled much of Eurasia well into the 14th century, and smaller states of Mongol provenance ruled more restricted areas even longer. In contemporary sources, the Mongols are often referred to as Tatars/Tartars, and modern day Tatars, although speaking Turkic languages, are of at least partial Mongol descent. The Mongols touched upon and influenced the history of the Jews in Central and Eastern Europe as well as the Islamic world.

At the beginning of 1260 Mongol forces invaded *Syria, and their raiders reached as far as *Jerusalem, *Hebron, and *Gaza. A report of the arrival of the Mongols in Jerusalem and their depredations in the area is found in the famous letter of *Naḥmanides to his son from 1267. Mongol advanced forces, however, were defeated by the *Mamluks at the battle of ʿAyn Jalut in northern *Palestine in August 1260, and the Euphrates River became the frontier between the two hostile states. Mongol raiders again reached Palestine, including Jerusalem, in 1300 after their defeat of the Mamluks near Homs at the end of 1299. In Western Asia, including the Middle East, Central Asia, and Eastern Europe the Mongols eventually underwent a double process of Islamization and Turkification, i.e., conversion to Islam and the replacement of Mongolian by Turkish, the language of many of their soldiers and officers.

The Mongols played an important role in world history, not the least in facilitating cultural contact between east and west Asia, as well as creating the conditions by which western Europe learned about China and East Asia, thereby contributing to European seaborne expansion. Latin Christian writers, such as Matthew of Paris, saw them as descendants of the Ten Tribes. Some Jews themselves in Central and Eastern Europe appear to have harbored messianic expectations of the Mongol advance, which combined with a desire for revenge against the Christians. Again, Matthew of Paris saw the Jews as encouraging and abetting the Mongols. This perceived "cooperation," together with a more concrete understanding of a contemporary messianic upsurge among the Jews, may have contributed to increased antisemitic feelings among Christians.

The situation of the Jews in the Islamic countries conquered and ruled by the Mongols appears to have dramatically improved. Jews, as well as Christians, enjoyed relative religious freedom and the restrictive laws derived from the so-called Covenant of *Omar were abolished for several decades. The activity of the free-thinking Jewish philosopher and scholar of comparative religion *Ibn Kammūna (d. 1285) in *Baghdad can be attributed to some degree to the relatively tolerant atmosphere in the realm of religion introduced by the Mongols. One prominent Jewish personality was Saʿd al-Dawla, who rose to become the wazir of the Ilkhan Arghun in 1289. His efficiency in raising funds is noted in the sources, as are the many enemies that he made. His being a Jew certainly exacerbated the dissatisfaction with him. He was removed and executed in 1291 when his patron was on his deathbed. Another important individual of Jewish origin, albeit one who converted to Islam, was *Rashīd al-Dīn (al-Dawla) al-Hamadānī, who served as the co-wazir to three Ilkhans until his final dismissal and execution in 1318. Besides his success as a senior bureaucrat, Rashīd al-Dīn has gained fame as the author of the great historical work, *Jāmiʿ al-Tawārīkh* ("Collection of Chronicles") written in Persian, although some parts have come down to us in Arabic. Not only is this the most important extant source on Mongol history, it is perhaps the earliest attempt at writing a comprehensive history of humankind. This may reflect the open atmosphere prevalent under the Mongols, the communication between all of Asia, and the fact that Rashīd al-Dīn himself was living on a frontier of two cultures. In any event, his Jewish origins were not forgotten. After his death, his head was paraded around, and common people shouted: "This is the head of the Jew who abused the name of God; may God's curse be upon him." In spite of these outbursts, there was much to commend Mongol rule to the Jews who came under their control, compared to many contemporary rulers in both the Muslim and Christian countries.

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[Reuven Amitai (2nd ed.)]

MONIS, JUDAH (1683–1764), Colonial American Hebraist. Monis, who was born in Algiers or Italy, was educated in Leghorn and Amsterdam. Very little is known about his career before he went to America. On Feb. 28, 1715/16, he was admitted as a freeman of New York, his occupation being that of merchant, although at a later period he was described as having been a rabbi in Jamaica and in New York. Much of his erudition may have been secondhand. He appears in the Boston area in 1720, and on March 27, 1722 was publicly baptized in the College Hall at Cambridge, at which time the Reverend Benjamin Colman delivered *A Discourse… Before the Baptism of R. Judah Monis, to which were added Three Discourses, Written by Mr. Monis himself, The Truth, The Whole Truth, Nothing but the Truth. One of which was deliver'd by him at his Baptism* (Boston, 1722). Monis' essays are an apology and defense of his new faith, and in support of the doctrine of the Trinity drawn from "the Old Testament, and with the Authority of the Cabalistical Rabbies, Ancient and Modern." Shortly after his conversion, on April 30, 1722, he was appointed instructor of Hebrew at Harvard College, a position he held until his resignation in 1760. Monis received the degree of Master of Arts from Harvard in 1723. His instructorship, marriage, and academic degree came after his conversion to Protestant Christianity.

The study of Hebrew was a required subject at Harvard College, and Monis' Hebrew grammar, *Dickdook Leshon Gnebreet: A Grammar of the Hebrew Tongue* was published in Cambridge in 1735, sponsored by the Harvard Corporation. It was published in English: "to Facilitate the Instruction of all those that are desirous of acquiring a clear Idea of this Primitive Tongue by their own Studies; In order to their more distinct Acquaintance with the Sacred Oracles of the Old Testament, according to the Original, And Published more especially for the Use of the Students of Harvard College."

Monis insisted on the use of the Hebrew vowel points in this grammar as being essential for the correct pronunciation of the Hebrew. Monis also owned a manuscript volume of Kabbalistic tracts and excerpts (372 pages), some transcribed by him, and some in the handwriting of others. His brother-in-law, the Rev. John Martyn, presented his books and manuscripts to Harvard College Library in 1767. Monis also left a small fund for the needy widows of Christian ministers.

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[Isidore S. Meyer]

MONITOR (Heb. כֹּחַ; lit. "strength"; AV "chameleon"; JPS: "land crocodile"), reptile included in the Pentateuch among the creeping things which are prohibited as food and whose dead bodies defile by contact (Lev. 11:30–39). The reference is to the *Varanus griseus*. It is the largest reptile found in Israel, with a length, including its long tail, of up to 4 ft. (1.20 m.). Feeding on reptiles and rodents, it is frequently found in the southern coastal belt, in the Negev, and in the Arabah. Alone of the reptiles in the country, it hibernates for six months in a burrow in the ground, and it is then that the Bedouin catch it, using it for medicinal purposes and eating its flesh, which the Greeks, who called it a land crocodile, believed granted immunization from poisoned arrows. It is usually hunted while in a torpid state, for when awake it is aggressive, defending itself by biting and lashing out with its powerful tail. The Septuagint and Vulgate identified the biblical *ko'aḥ* with the *chameleon.

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[Jehuda Feliks]

MONMOUTH COUNTY, county in central New Jersey, lying along the Atlantic Ocean about 40 miles southwest of New York City. About 500 square miles in area, it is divided into 52 municipalities of various sizes. Monmouth's approximately 72,500 Jewish residents in 2005 (11.5% of the county's total population) make it one of the fastest growing Jewish communities in the Metropolitan region.

The county's Jewish history is long and varied. Evidence shows Sephardi peddlers from New York traveling through the county in the early 1700s. The first resident, Isaac Emanuel, a Freehold merchant, appears in a series of court cases in the early 1720s. By the 1750s Jonas Solomon and Levy Hart, both married to local Protestant sisters, were well known as Jewish merchants and tavern keepers. Solomon lived in Freehold and Hart in a small settlement further east that was to be labeled "Jewstown" by his colonial neighbors and by the British during the ensuing Revolutionary War. The original Freehold home and tavern owned by Jonas and Hannah Solomon was burned by the British during the Battle of Monmouth in 1778. The barn, circa 1800, owned by their son, Levi Solomon, who farmed nearby, is still in existence and was designated as the site for the newly established Monmouth County Jewish History Museum in 2005.

No permanent Jewish communities in the county developed, however, until the arrival of sizable numbers of German Jews just prior to and after the Civil War. Monmouth's 33-mile coastline became the destination of wealthy vacationers escaping the summer heat of New York City. By 1861 Aaron Cristaler had build and was operating the kosher Atlantic Hotel in Long Branch, which accommodated 500 persons. Denied acceptance at Christian resorts in New York and Rhode Island, more and more wealthy German Jews came to what was called the "Jewish Newport" at the Jersey Shore. Families with illustrious names such as Seligman, Guggenheim, Schiff, Loeb, Warburg, Sachs, Baruch, Mandel, Rothschild, Lewisohn, Lehman, Wimpfjeimer, and Oppenheim built magnificent summer mansions from Rumson to Long Branch. By the late 1880s the need for a permanent synagogue resulted in the establishment of Temple Beth Miriam in Long Branch. Many of the supporters of this synagogue of Reform Judaism were also instrumental in 1887 in establishing the nearby hospital that is now known as Monmouth Medical Center.

In addition to their more wealthy compatriots, Monmouth attracted many German Jews who sought commercial opportunity in small trades and services. Such a close-knit community of Jews was already present in the northern Monmouth Bayshore town of Keyport in the 1860s. In 1880 they organized themselves as the United Hebrew Congregation and within a decade established a synagogue. By the last decades of the 19th century, Red Bank was also emerging as a commercial center, its growth synonymous with the career of Sigmund Eisner. Starting off with the family sewing machine Eisner developed a prosperous business producing military uniforms for the Spanish-American War. By World War I he had factories in Red Bank, Freehold, and Keansburg. One of Eisner's neighbors was summer resident Judge Abram I. Elkus, who served as U.S. ambassador to Turkey in 1916. His daughter Katherine Elkus White became mayor of Red Bank in 1950 and U.S. ambassador to Denmark in 1964.

Several other German Jewish entrepreneurs stand out: John Steinbach, proprietor of large department stores in Long Branch and Asbury Park; Frank Marx of Shrewsbury, cattle dealer and meat supplier; Joseph Goldstein, dry goods department store owner; Clarence Steiner and his sleepware factories in Long Branch and Freehold, Manasquan and Keyport; Walter Rosenberg founder of the Walter Reade Theater chain; Berthold Sussman and Siegfried Hirschfield and their hotels. Political acceptance followed; William Levy served as mayor of Deal in 1916, Clarence Housman was elected mayor of Long Branch in 1920, and Aaron J. Bach, mayor of Deal in 1922.

A wave of Eastern European immigration also hit Monmouth at the turn of the 19th century. Most of these poor Yiddish-speaking newcomers settled in the more established communities along the shore and to the south, working in factories and the retail trades. Finding that the existing summer German Jewish Temple Beth Miriam did not meet their year-round needs, the Orthodox residents of Long Branch formed their own synagogue, Congregation Brothers of Israel, in 1898. A larger building was completed in 1920. A YMHA and YHWA was organized, followed by the Ladies Independent Hebrew Sick Benefit Association, the Gemilath Chesed, the Hebrew Ladies Hospital Auxiliary, and the Workmen's Circle. Kosher hotels and boarding houses catering to wealthy and moderate income East European Jews proliferated.

In 1904 the Orthodox Jewish community in Asbury Park incorporated as the Sons of Israel and were in their own building the following year replete with Hebrew school and *mikveh*. The new Conservative Temple Beth El was dedicated in 1927. Soon Asbury Park could boast its own community center providing a meeting place for the YMHA, Jewish War Veterans, and other organizations. Similar activity occurred around the same period in Red Bank, Keyport, Bradley Beach, Belmar, and Manasquan. Belmar became a summer gathering place of the New York intelligentsia attracting such luminaries as the world renowned Yiddish writer Sholem Aleichem and Morris Hillquit, the Social-Labor Party leader and author. Ira Gershwin, the famed lyricist, courted and married one of the daughters of the Strunsky family, owners of the local hotel.

A smaller number of East European immigrants moved westward into the more rural areas surrounding Freehold, Englishtown, Perrineville, and Farmingdale.

The Jewish Agricultural Society, which provided loans, training and assistance to Jewish farmers, most often in Yiddish, described them as growers of vegetables, potatoes, and general farm crops with a cow or two and some chickens. A few, like Jacob Zlotkin, were horse and cattle dealers. In 1910 Jacob Grudin led a group of Millstone Township Jewish farm families in setting up a congregation named the First Hebrew Farmers Association of Perrineville. In 1913 the Perrineville Co-operative Credit Union was organized, one of the first farm credit unions in New Jersey. Local Jewish farmers were also largely responsible for the formation of the Central Jersey Farmers Cooperative Association in 1930. Maurice Wolf of Perrineville played an important role in the national Jewish farmers movement, serving on the board of the Federation of Jewish Farmers of America.

The largest concentration of Jewish farm life in the county, however, was to develop in the Farmingdale-Howell area. Starting out in 1919 Benjamin Peskin found he had to take in summer boarders to supplement his meager potato and dairy farming earnings. By 1928 he and 12 other families joined to build a Jewish Community Center and in a few years a Yiddish school affiliated with the Sholem Aleichem Folk Institute was in operation. Other organizations took root; a Ladies Auxiliary, a Jewish reading circle, a Jewish farmers' chorus, two farmers' cooperative associations, a unit of the International Workers Organization, the Zionist Pioneer Women, and a chapter of the Rural Youth of America. At the advice of the Jewish Agricultural Society the farmers started raising poultry. By the late 1920s the fields around Farmingdale and Freehold were dotted with chicken coops as New Jersey was on its way to becoming the egg basket of the East. Jewish farmers soon accounted for about 75% of the state's egg production and by 1935 Monmouth County contained more Jewish farmers than any other county in the state.

It was at this time that, under the direction of the idealistic social planner and organizer Benjamin Brown, one of America's unique experiments in cooperative farming and industry was instituted in Jersey Homesteads (renamed Roosevelt after the president's death) in rural Millstone Township. Brown secured a $500,000 federal government subsistence loan for the creation of a colony of 200 Jewish needle workers from New York who were to become self-sufficient through seasonal farming combined with seasonal employment in a cooperative garment factory. Individual homestead plots were to be supplemented by a community truck garden, a dairy and poultry plant, and cooperative store. The factory was opened in 1936 and from the start was a failure. Conflict between Brown and the International Ladies Garment Workers Union and other political and economic factors led to a federal government takeover of the cooperative in 1940. After World War II the houses were sold to individuals. Although Jersey Homesteads failed as a cooperative enterprise in many ways it succeeded as a community. Surrounded by a hostile rural Christian township the Jewish residents formed their own elementary school which became the cultural and social center of the town. Attracted by the intellectual and cultural atmosphere of the town, the famous artist Ben Shahn and many other painters and sculptors moved in and soon Roosevelt was hailed as an artists' colony as well.

By the late 1950s though, Monmouth's Jewish farm communities were in decline owing to a combination of economic, political, and social reasons. Another wave of immigration was to change the county's landscape as large numbers of families from New York City and northern New Jersey moved to the suburbs.

With America's entry into World War II, the U.S. Signal Corps located at Fort Monmouth in Eatontown underwent a tremendous growth of both military and civilian personnel. A majority of the scientists, engineers, physicians, and dentists were Jewish men, and many of these stayed on at Ft. Monmouth blending into the great postwar movement from New York City to the Monmouth suburbs that was about to begin. The completion of the Garden State Parkway is 1955 facilitated the construction of massive industrial parks and residential subdivisions. Research organizations such as Bell Telephone Laboratories in Holmdel brought in thousands of new employees as did other corporations that were part of Monmouth's burgeoning electronic industry. Older citizens also found attractive homes in Monmouth, in high rises and garden apartments along the shore and in massive adult communities such as Covered Bridge in the western part of the county.

In addition, the postwar exodus to Monmouth's suburbs included a large contingent of Sephardi families with their own distinct religious and cultural practices. Many originally emigrated from Syria, settled in New York, and summered in Monmouth's shore communities before moving year round into the Deal and Ocean Township area. The number of Sephardi Jews increased so dramatically that three new Sephardi synagogues opened within a short period in the late 1970s.

From a prewar figure of 7,000 Monmouth's total Jewish population grew to 50,000 by 1977. Most of this growth was in the western part of the county. Mayor Arthur Goldwizweig estimated that in 1977 30% of Marlboro's residents were Jewish; Mayor Stanley Kruschick put the figure in neighboring Manalapan as 50%.

This growth has continued into the 21st century. The median age for Monmouth's 72,500 Jewish residents (divided into 26,000 households) is 41.1 years. They are well educated (55% of the adults have a college degree) and well off (median income is almost double that of all U.S. Jewish households); 54% live in western Monmouth, 32% in eastern Monmouth and about 14% in northern Monmouth. Summer vacationers number about 5,000. Of employed Jews, 52% work in Monmouth County, the rest commute to New York City or North Jersey. Of households surveyed by the Jewish Federation of Greater Monmouth 37% consider themselves Conservative, 26% Reform, 9% Orthodox, and 28% "just Jewish." There are 9 Conservative synagogues in the county, 6 Reform, 18 Orthodox, and 2 Traditional.

Four separate Jewish day schools exist in the county: The Hillel Yeshiva in Oakhurst, the Solomon Schechter Academy in Howell, the Shore Hebrew High School in Oakhurst, and the Solomon Schechter Day School in Marlboro.

An intense organizational life accompanied each stage of Monmouth's population growth. Local units of national Jewish organizations with a wide range of aims and purposes developed alongside synagogue religious and social clubs. The Monmouth Jewish Community Council (MJCC) was formed in 1969 to coordinate county-wide rallies for Jews overseas and in Israel. In 1971 several organizations in the shore area affiliated with the Jewish Federation movement and by 1976 most communities within the western and northern areas of the county joined them to create the Jewish Federation of Greater Monmouth County, which eventually incorporated the MJCC as well. Federation also fostered the formation of the Jewish Family and Children's Service. A similar history of consolidation among YMHAS and YWHAS led to the completion in 1971 of the Ruth Hyman Jewish Community Center in Deal, which also houses the 500-seat Axelrod Auditorium. Western Monmouth has set up its own Jewish Community Center office and a building drive is underway.

Due to the efforts of Professors Albert Zager and Jack Needle the Center for Holocaust Studies at Brookdale Community Collage in Lincroft was established in 1979. The center, which is the first of its kind in the state, provides educational materials and programs about the Holocaust, genocide, racism, and antisemitism.

[Jean Klerman (2nd ed.)]

MONOBAZ I AND II, two kings of *Adiabene in the first century, C.E. Monobaz I was both brother and husband of Queen *Helena. His attitude to Judaism is unknown, but in view of the fact that his sister-wife and their son Izates both became converts to Judaism, it is highly probable that he was sympathetic to it. Monobaz I and Helena had a son, Monobaz, who was older than his brother Izates, but when Monobaz I died, Helena, in accordance with the king's testament, placed Izates upon the throne. Monobaz II was loyal to his younger brother and like him embraced Judaism. He succeeded Izates to the throne. Little is known of Monobaz II. Josephus, who is the main source, relates that he sent the remains of his mother and brother to Jerusalem for burial, and that he erected a palace in Jerusalem, which was called by his name (Wars 5:252). Many of his kinsmen took part with distinction in the war against the Romans (Wars 2:520). Though Josephus features Izates as the chief figure among the converts to Judaism of the Adiabene royal dynasty, the account of Monobaz II in the talmudic literature makes a deeper impression, highlighting his generosity to the people of Jerusalem and the Temple, his righteousness, and his wisdom. His circumcision and that of his brother are also mentioned.

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[Uriel Rappaport]

MONOGAMY, the custom and social or religious institution, often sanctioned by law, according to which a person can be married to only one single mate at a time. The discussion in this article is restricted to polygamy and monogamy in Jewish practice, since polyandry was absolutely forbidden by biblical law.

The Bible does not limit the right of a man to have more than one wife. Indeed, many instances are cited where a man has several wives (and *concubines) – a prevalent custom in the Ancient Near East. It seems, however, that due to economic conditions, most of the people did not practice polygamy or even bigamy. Indeed, practice was more monogamous than theory. The ethos underlying the creation story (Gen. 2), and the last chapter of Proverbs, is essentially monogamous. The situation changed during the Second Temple period. In addition to the economic factors which gave justifiable grounds to monogamy – factors applicable even more than in the First Temple period – the concept of mutual fidelity between husband and wife took root. Some men refrained from taking more than one wife because of an explicit agreement they had made with their first wife. Such agreements, preserved in Babylonian and Assyrian documents, are also to be found in the *Elephantine (Yeb) documents (Cowley, Aramaic, 44ff., no. 15, line 31ff. Bigamy and polygamy, while on the decrease, were mainly practiced among Hellenistic Jews (Joseph the *Tobiad, Herod, the administrator of Agrippa (Suk. 27a)), but they are also mentioned in the *halakhah* (Yev. 1:1–4; Ket. 10:1–6; Git. 2:7; Kid. 2:6–7; cf. Justin Martyr, *Dialogue with Tryphon*, 134:1; 141:4), and occurred even in the families of sages (Yev. 15a). Bigamy took place sometimes because of a *levirate marriage or the sterility of the first wife. Yet despite the rare occurrence of polygamy, its explicit prohibition in the *halakhah* of the Dead Sea Sect that saw polygamy as a Pentateuchal prohibition (Damascus Document 4:20–5:5) was a complete innovation. Christianity adopted a similar attitude, which was in conformity with Jesus' approach to marriage and to divorce (Tit. 1:6; I Tim. 3:2, 12).

But even the Mishnah and the *baraitot* clearly reflect a situation which was almost completely monogamist (Yev. 2:10; etc.). Some sages preferred *ḥaliẓah ("levirate divorce") to *yibbum* ("levirate marriage"; Bek. 1:7); others violently condemned marriage to two wives even for the purpose of procreation (Ket. 62b). According to R. Ammi a Palestinian *amora*, "Whoever takes a second wife in addition to his first one shall divorce the first and pay her *ketubbah*" (Yev. 65a). Such statements possibly reflect the influence of Roman custom which prohibited polygamy, especially since all the Jews of the empire became Roman citizens after 212 C.E. The Roman emperor *Theodosius issued a prohibition against the practice of bigamy and polygamy among Jews, but it did not disappear completely.

The Jews of Babylonia also practiced bigamy and polygamy, despite the Persian monogamistic background, and Rava said: "A man may marry several women in addition to his wife, on condition that he can provide for them" (Yev. 65a; cf. Ket. 80b; Pes. 113a). The sages however advised that one should not take more than four wives (and this would appear to be the source of the Muslim law which permits only four wives). Under the influence of the Muslim custom during the Babylonian geonic period, polygamous marriage became even more common (see Lewin, Oẓar, Yevamot (1936), 148–54). With the *Karaites, polygamy was a controversial issue. Bigamy was practiced among North African and Spanish Jews. There were women, however, who demanded that it be explicitly written in the document of marriage or in the *ketubbah* that the husband would not take a second wife.

In Germany and northern France polygamy was rare, mainly due to the economic conditions and to the influence of the Christian environment. It seems that at the beginning of the 12th century, the Jewish communities issued a regulation which forbade polygamy. Later, this regulation became a *ḥerem* (ban), attributed to R. *Gershom b. Judah. In the case of a levirate marriage, or the sterility of the first wife, the regulation was disregarded, while in cases where the wife had become insane (and could not therefore be divorced, see *Divorce) a regulation was introduced whereby the *ḥerem* could be lifted by 100 rabbis from three countries (or three communities). By the 13th century, however, it had already been decided that levirate marriage was to be abolished and *ḥaliẓah* performed instead. The ban on bigamous marriage however did not include a clause annulling the offender's second marriage (see Yev. 110a; BB 48b): For example, although the man had disregarded the *ḥerem*, broken the law, and married a second woman, his second marriage remained valid; but he could be compelled to divorce his second wife. The prohibition on bigamy became widespread in most countries of the Ashkenazi Diaspora, but not in Provence, Spain, North Africa, and among the Oriental communities, and it was accepted only by Ashkenazi halakhic authorities. Bigamy was however not common even in those localities where it had not been prohibited, including the Islamic countries.

In the Palestinian *yishuv*, bigamy was extremely rare, and in the State of Israel it is prohibited by law (the 1951 law on equal rights to women), although immigrants coming with more than one wife are allowed to maintain that status. In 1950 the Chief Rabbinate of Israel unanimously decided that *ḥaliẓah* was preferred to *yibbum* (Herzog, *Heikhal Yiẓḥak, Even ha-Ezer,* 1 (1960), 51n). See *Bigamy; *Marriage.

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[Moshe David Herr]

MONOTHEISM, in its literal meaning, oneness of the godhead (i.e., one God). The concept of monotheism is embedded in the domain of religious discourse, and its full and relevant significance must be derived from the connotation which it carries within this domain. Monotheism is usually attributed to biblical faith as its unique and distinct contribution to the history of religious thought. The significance of the word monotheism in its biblical context is taken to lie in the "mono," in the godhead's being one. As such, it is contrasted with paganism, the fundamental religious alternative to biblical faith, whose distinctive religious concept is taken to be polytheism, i.e., the plurality of the godhead (many gods). The difference between the biblical and pagan orientation is thus constituted here as a mere arithmetical difference, a difference between one and many gods. On this basis, biblical monotheism is seen by modern biblical scholars as emerging gradually and in a continuous line from the polytheistic thought of paganism. The mediating stage in such a development is found in monolatry, where the godhead is reduced to one only as far as worship is concerned, while ontologically there is a plurality of gods. It is a mediating stage inasmuch as the arithmetical reduction to oneness is partial. The full reduction of the godhead in all its aspects to oneness emerges from monolatry only later in biblical classical prophecy, when God is claimed not only as the one God of Israel but as the one God of universal history. Here, by drawing the arithmetical reduction to oneness in all the aspects of the godhead, biblical faith achieves ultimately its distinctive, unique character. It is observed, however, that an ontological arithmetical unity of the godhead is achieved also in paganism, even with a remarkable degree of purity (e.g., Plotinus). It must be concluded, therefore, that paganism too has a monotheistic formulation. Yet it is generally felt that a fundamental difference between biblical faith and paganism does exist, and that this difference is expressed in the respective concepts of monotheism. This difference, however, cannot be accounted for on the basis of monotheism understood as the arithmetical oneness of the godhead.

Theistic Monotheism

Consequently, it has been suggested that the difference between biblical and pagan monotheism lies in the fact that the former is theistic while the latter is pantheistic. While it is true that biblical monotheism is exclusively theistic and that pagan monotheism has a definite tendency toward pantheism, to formulate the difference between biblical and pagan monotheism on this basis is to formulate the difference with regard to a totally different aspect of the godhead from that to which the concept of monotheism refers. Monotheism refers to the being of the godhead as such, while theism and pantheism refer to the relation subsisting between the godhead and the world. Thus, while this attempt locates a difference which may follow from the fundamental difference within the concept of monotheism, it does not locate that fundamental difference itself.

Ethical Monotheism

The same point can be made regarding yet another attempt to locate the difference between biblical and pagan monotheism, according to which biblical monotheism is ethical while pagan monotheism is purely philosophical-ontological. Correlated to this is the suggestion that, while paganism arrives at the oneness of its godhead through philosophical reasoning and because of ontological-metaphysical considerations, biblical faith arrives at the oneness of its godhead because of ethical considerations and through a direct insight into the absolute character of the moral law. Thus, biblical monotheism can be distinguished from pagan monotheism in that it alone is ethical monotheism. Here again, however, the distinction is located in an aspect to which the concept of monotheism as such does not refer; the concept of monotheism as such conveys no ethical connotation. It may be that this distinction follows from the proper understanding of the difference between the meaning of monotheism in the biblical context and its use in the context of paganism, but this distinction as such does not capture this difference. In attempting to define the difference, it is interesting first to note that the two formulations above have already shifted the aspect where the difference is to be located from the "mono" to the "theos" part of the concept of monotheism; the theistic-pantheistic distinction refers to the relation of the "theos" to the world, while the ethical-metaphysical distinction refers to what kind of a "theos" is involved. This means that the difference between biblical faith and paganism is no longer seen as a quantitative difference, i.e., how many gods are involved, but as a qualitative difference, i.e., what kind of a god is involved. This shift is essential to a proper understanding of the difference and must form the basis of the attempted formulation.

Ultimate Being

On this basis it can be asserted that the minimal necessary connotation of the term "theos" in the concept of monotheism is that of ultimate being. As such, the arithmetical comparison between biblical monotheism and pagan polytheism is clearly seen to be illegitimate. The "theos" in pagan polytheism is not ultimate. It is superhuman, or "man writ large," but still it remains finite and non-absolute. In polytheism a plurality of ultimate beings is untenable and self-contradictory. Consequently, the "theos" in biblical monotheism and the "theos" in pagan polytheism connote two different kinds of being, for the difference between ultimate and non-ultimate being is not merely quantitative but qualitative. It is not legitimate, however, to compare quantitatively entities which belong to different orders of being. In order to locate the difference meaningfully it must be determined with reference to the same kind of entity, i.e., to the ultimate being which is connoted by the concept of monotheism. As such, however, it is not correct to speak of the development of the concept of monotheism in paganism. Paganism always had a conception of ultimate being transcending its gods and, as indicated above, ultimate being necessitates oneness. There can be no development from many to one with regard to ultimate being. Thus, if the "theos" in monotheism signifies ultimate being, paganism always had a conception of monotheism. The only development that can be pointed to is a development in its articulation, i.e., a development from the cultic-mythological to the speculative-philosophical expression. If the "theos" in monotheism, however, signifies only ultimate being, then it would not be possible to locate any difference between biblical and pagan monotheism, for then the "mono" conveys no additional information which is not already conveyed by the "theos" in itself. In order for the concept of monotheism to have a distinct meaning, the "theos" has to stand for something more than ultimate being. It is here that the real, fundamental difference between pagan and biblical monotheism becomes evident.

Personal Monotheism

In biblical monotheism the "theos" stands for a god who is personal. The "mono" connotes essentially not arithmetical oneness but oneness in the sense of uniqueness. Ultimate being is uniquely one in that it excludes the existence of any other qualitatively similar being. Thus, the authentic meaning of biblical monotheism is the assertion that the "mono," i.e., the unique, the ultimate, is "theos," i.e., a personal being, and this is the distinctive and unique feature of biblical faith and its monotheistic formulation. Paganism, while it too always had a conception of ultimate being and thus a conception of a unitary being, never asserted that ultimate being as personal. It follows from this analysis that the development of biblical monotheism from paganism cannot be envisioned as a linear, continuous development, but must be seen as a "jump" from one orbit to another, for the change that biblical monotheism introduced is qualitative and not quantitative. There is no continuous line of development either from nonpersonal to personal being or from relative being to ultimate being. This development involves a shift in perspective. While the above articulates the distinctive and essential content of the monotheistic conception of Judaism, it does not preclude or invalidate the fact that the monotheistic conception in Judaism may convey also the arithmetical oneness and the ontological uniqueness of God. Indeed, in post-biblical Judaism (and even in some biblical instances) it is these notions that come to the fore and become the main expressions of the Jewish monotheistic conception. It would seem, however, that the notion of the arithmetical unity of God arises mainly as a reaction against pluralistic formulations found in other religions, such as the *dualism of the Zoroastrian, Manichean, or Gnostic formulation and the trinitarianism of Christianity. The notion of the ontological uniqueness of the godhead arises mainly when Judaism conceives and expresses itself in the philosophical-metaphysical domain, i.e., when its God becomes the god of the philosophers.

Monotheism in Jewish Sources

Thus, Deutero-Isaiah, in response to Persian dualism, stresses the oneness of God in the sense that He alone is God, the one and only creator and ultimate cause of all phenomena: "I form light and create darkness; I make peace and create evil" (Isa. 45:7). This assertion is repeated frequently in rabbinic literature: "He who brought all things into being and who is their first cause is one" (Maimonides, *Sefer ha-Mitzvot*, positive commandment 2); "I have created all things in pairs. Heaven and earth, man and woman,… but my glory is one and unique" (Deut. R. 2:31). Likewise, the specific use of this assertion polemically against dualism and trinitarianism is extensive: "'I am the first' for I have no father, 'and I am the last' for I have no son, 'and beside me there is no God' for I have no brother" (Ex. R. 29:5); "The Lord, both in His role as our God [who loves us and extends His providence to us, i.e., the second person of the trinity] and the Lord [as He is in Himself, i.e., the first person of the trinity] is one from every aspect" (Leon de Modena, *Magen va-Ḥerev*, 2:7, 31–32). Furthermore, a number of the basic tenets of Judaism follow logically from this assertion of the arithmetical oneness of God, and rabbinic literature derives them from it. Thus, all forms of idolatry are rejected: God's absolute sovereignty and glory is proclaimed; both love and judgment, mercy and justice are attributed to one and the same God; God's infinity in time as the one God in the past, present, and future is declared. Although the concept of arithmetical oneness is involved also in the assertion of God's unity, the latter is distinct in that God is here distinguished qualitatively rather than merely quantitatively. This assertion finds its expression mainly in philosophical speculation, where the uniqueness of God is understood as essentially conveying the non-composite, non-divisible nature of His being (see Attributes of *God). This is expressed by Maimonides when he says that God is "not one of a genus nor of a species and not as one human being who is a compound divisible into many unities; not a unity like the ordinary material body which is one in number but takes on endless divisions and parts" (*Guide of the Perplexed*, 1:51ff.). This means that "God is one in perfect simplicity" (Ḥasdai *Crescas, *Or Adonai*, 1:1, 1), that He is wholly other (Saadiah Gaon, *Book of Beliefs and Opinions*, 2:1), and unique (Baḥya ibn Paquda, *Ḥovot ha-Levavot*, "*Sha'ar ha-Yiḥud*"). Even in rabbinic Judaism, although the emphasis is clearly placed on the two aspects of the monotheistic idea, i.e., the arithmetical oneness and the ontological uniqueness of God, the fundamental underlying assertion is that God is first and foremost a personal being. Thus, though shifting the emphasis, rabbinic Judaism remains fully bound to that aspect of the monotheistic idea where Judaism makes its fundamental and distinctive contribution to the history of religions.

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[Manfred H. Vogel]

MONROE, MARILYN (1926–1962), U.S. actress. Monroe was born Norma Jean Mortensen in Los Angeles, California, to mechanic Edward Mortensen and RKO film technician Gladys Monroe. Her father abandoned the family before her birth, her mother was frequently institutionalized because of paranoid schizophrenia, and Monroe was raised in a series of foster homes. After a failed youthful marriage to James Dougherty and a few modeling jobs she changed her name to Marilyn Monroe. Contracts with Columbia and Fox resulted in small parts in John Huston's *Asphalt Jungle* (1950), *All About Eve* (1950), *Let's Make It Legal* (1951), *Niagara* (1952), and *Monkey Business* (1952). In 1953, she appeared nude in the first issue of *Playboy*, certifying her role as the All-American sex symbol. In 1954, she married baseball player Joe DiMaggio; however, the stormy marriage was brief and the couple divorced the same year. After making Billy Wilder's *Seven Year Itch* (1954) she broke her contract with Fox and moved to New York City to study with Lee and Paula *Strasberg at the Actors Studio. Introduced to playwright Arthur *Miller by Elia *Kazan, she converted to Judaism in a ceremony officiated by Rabbi Robert Goldberg two days after they married. She went on to appear in a string of successful films, including *Bus Stop* (1956), *Some Like It Hot* (1959), and *Let's Make Love* (1960). In 1961, she starred in *The Misfits*, which featured a script written by Arthur Miller. The Huston film was a difficult shoot, and was followed by the death of star Clark Gable 12 days after it was completed. Monroe divorced Miller in 1961, and entered a New York psychiatric clinic later that year. She returned to Fox in 1962 to finish her part in the film *Something's Got to Give*, but was found dead in her Brentwood, California, home on Aug. 5; an autopsy found a lethal dose of barbiturates.

[Adam Wills (2nd ed.)]

MONSKY, HENRY (**Ẓevi**; 1890–1947), U.S. communal leader, organization executive, and lawyer. Monsky was born in Russia and taken as an infant to Omaha, Nebraska. Of Orthodox background, as a matter of principle he belonged to Reform, Conservative, and Orthodox synagogues. In 1921 he founded the Omaha Community Chest and Welfare Federation, serving as its first vice president and later as president (1929); he was a trustee of Boys' Town, a member of the National Board of Community Chests and Council, Inc., president of the Nebraska Council of Social Work, and chairman of the Executive Committee of the National Conference of Prevention and Control of Juvenile Delinquency. Monsky was elected president of the Omaha lodge of B'nai B'rith in 1912 and eventually served as national president of the organization (1938–47). In 1941 he was invited by President Franklin D. Roosevelt to plan for the Office of Civilian Defense.

A lifelong Zionist, Monsky succeeded in enlisting the support of non-Zionists in protests against the British White Paper, Cyprus internment, and restrictions of immigration to Palestine. On Dec. 8, 1942, he led a delegation of representatives of Jewish organizations to the White House to call Roosevelt's attention to the plight of the Jews of Europe and to request firm action against the Nazis. Monsky collaborated with Zionists as the principal organizer of the all-inclusive *American Jewish Conference of 1943 in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, at which the U.S. Jewish community endorsed the Zionist program of a Jewish commonwealth. In April 1945, as consultant to the U.S. delegation to the United Nations Organizing Conference in San Francisco, he effectively helped influence the UN leaders to guarantee the rights of any states or peoples living under international bodies such as the Palestine British Mandate. He testified before the 1946 Anglo-American Commission of Inquiry in favor of this demand and also served as a member of U.S. Attorney General Tom Clark's Juvenile Delinquency Board. Monsky's Jewish communal interests included leadership positions in the Council of Jewish Federation and Welfare Funds, the Joint Distribution Committee, the National Conference of Christians and Jews, the Jewish Welfare Board, the American Friends of the Hebrew University, and the United Palestine Appeal. A moshav in Israel, Ramat Ẓevi, is named in his memory.

[Benjamin Kahn]

MONTAGU, English banking family, prominent in politics and public life. SIR SAMUEL MONTAGU, FIRST BARON SWAYTHLING (1832–1911), banker, communal worker, and philanthropist, was born in Liverpool as Montagu Samuel, but in his boyhood the names were reversed. In 1853 he founded the merchant bankers, Samuel Montagu and Company. By securing a larger proportion of the exchange business, he helped make London the chief clearing house of the international money market. He was Liberal member of Parliament for Whitechapel from 1885 to 1900, and a benefactor to its poor, Jewish and non-Jewish. An advocate of, and writer on, decimalization of the currency and adoption of the metric system, he was consulted by successive chancellors of the exchequer on financial matters and in 1894 persuaded the government to exempt from death duties works of art and gifts to universities, museums, and art galleries. In 1894 he was made a baronet and in 1907 a baron. A strictly observant Jew, he assumed leadership of the Orthodox Russo-Jewish immigrants, founding in 1887 the Federation of Synagogues to unite the small congregations. More theologically "right-wing" than the mainstream United Synagogue, it continues to be a force in the Anglo-Jewish religious spectrum. He, however, worshiped at the fashionable New West End Synagogue and was a life member of the United Synagogue Council, though because of disagreements with its president, the first Lord Rothschild, he was inactive there. A masterful personality, he traveled to Palestine, Russia, and the United States on behalf of Jewry, but vigorously opposed Zionism.

His eldest son, LOUIS SAMUEL (1869–1927), SECOND BARON SWAYTHLING, was president of the Federation of Synagogues. Also an anti-Zionist, he declared, "Judaism is to me only a religion." He married Gladys, daughter of Colonel A.E.W. *Goldsmid. Their second son, EWEN EDWARD (1901–1985) was president of the United Synagogue (1954–62). As part of his wartime role in naval intelligence he originated and oversaw the famous scheme (known as "Operation Mincemeat") to fool the Germans into thinking that an Allied landing at Sardinia, rather than Sicily, was imminent in 1943. He did this by planting cleverly forged papers and documents on the corpse of a dead British vagrant, which was placed in such a way that it was certain to be found by the Germans. It was one of the greatest examples of successful wartime deception; Montagu's best-selling account, *The Man Who Never Was* (1953), was later made into a well-known film. After the War, he became judge advocate of the fleet and chairman of Middlesex Quarter Sessions (a leading London judicial post). Samuel Montagu's second son, EDWIN SAMUEL (1879–1924), a Liberal politician, was elected to parliament in 1906, becoming private secretary to Herbert Asquith (later prime minister). As parliamentary undersecretary of state for India from 1910 to 1914, he championed Indian aspirations to independence. In 1914 he became financial secretary to the Treasury, in 1915, chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster, and in 1916, minister of munitions. Secretary of state for India in Lloyd George's administration (1917–22), he was responsible for the Government of India Act (1919), devolving wide powers of self-government. He resigned in 1922, because of his opposition to government policy which was offensive to Indian Muslims, and lost his parliamentary seat the same year. In Jewish affairs, he was best known as an uncompromising opponent of Zionism and of the Balfour Declaration, being largely responsible for the modification of the original text. In 1915 he married (Beatrice) Venetia Stanley (1887–1948), the daughter of the fourth Lord Sheffield, who had been the (probably nonsexual) confidante of Prime Minister Herbert Asquith. As a result of her marriage she converted to Judaism, but without enthusiasm. Samuel Montagu's daughter, Lillian (Lilly) Helen *Montagu (1873–1963), a social worker and magistrate, was a pioneer of Liberal Judaism in Britain, and thus father and daughter have the possibly unique distinction of founding significant religious movements on opposite ends of the Jewish religious spectrum.

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[Vivian David Lipman / William D. Rubinstein (2nd ed.)]

MONTAGU, LILY (1873–1963), social worker, magistrate in the London juvenile courts, suffragist, writer, religious organizer, and spiritual leader. Born Lilian Helen Montagu in London, the sixth of ten children of Ellen Cohen Montagu and Samuel Montagu (né Montagu Samuel, later First Baron Swaythling), Lily Montagu founded and long remained the driving force behind the Liberal Jewish movement in England.

In 1893, Montagu established the West Central Jewish Girls' Club with her sister, Marion, and their cousin, Beatrice Franklin, to give working-class Jewish girls social, intellectual and spiritual opportunities. Montagu led brief Sabbath services in English, and addressed contemporary issues and concerns through sermons and selected traditional prayers. From 1890 until 1909, Montagu led similar services for children at the New West End Synagogue. Their success among women led her to envision ways of religiously revivifying the Anglo-Jewish community as a whole.

In 1899, in "The Spiritual Possibilities of Judaism Today," she asked all religiously committed Jews, traditional and liberal, to help her form an association aimed at strengthening the religious life of Anglo-Jewry through Liberal Jewish teachings. Influenced by Claude *Montefiore, scholar and proponent of Liberal Judaism, and inspired by the growth of Reform Judaism in Germany, Montagu established the Jewish Religious Union (JRU) in February 1902. The Union instituted Sabbath afternoon worship services conducted along Liberal Jewish lines and held "propaganda meetings," led by Montagu, to clarify and spread its teachings. Montefiore agreed to serve as the group's official leader, thus strengthening its credibility, but Montagu assumed responsibility for daily affairs and major activities.

During the next few decades, Montagu helped form Liberal Jewish congregations throughout Great Britain, frequently serving as their chairman or president. She became lay minister of the West Central Liberal Jewish Congregation in 1928, a position to which she was formally inducted in November 1944, and which she held until her death in 1963. Following Montefiore's death in 1938, she became president of the JRU, a position she held for 23 years. Montagu also helped found and eventually became president of the World Union for Progressive Judaism, administering the organization's daily affairs from 1926 through 1959. At the first WUPJ conference in Berlin, in 1928, Montagu delivered a sermon in German, on "Personal Religion," at a worship service held in Berlin's Reform Temple; she was the first Jewish woman to occupy a German pulpit. Through her efforts, the number of World Union constituencies steadily increased and new Liberal Jewish congregations were created in Europe, South America, Israel, South Africa and Australia. In 1959, when the World Union's headquarters were transferred to the U.S., she was named honorary life president and elected to chair the Union's newly-established European Board. Many of her writings appear in *Lily Montagu: Sermons, Addresses, Letters, and Prayers* (ed. E.M. Umansky, 1985).

While most British Jews continued to maintain at least a formal attachment to Orthodoxy, Montagu succeeded in establishing Liberal Judaism as an important religious force in Anglo-Jewish life. A Lily Montagu Centre of Living Judaism, housing the West Central Liberal Jewish Congregation, the European Board of the World Union, and the offices of the Union of Liberal and Progressive Synagogues (formerly the JRU), was named in Montagu's honor following her death in 1963.

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[Ellen M. Umansky (2nd ed.)]

MONTAGU, MONTAGUE FRANCIS ASHLEY (1905–1999), physical and cultural anthropologist. Born in London, Montagu served as research associate in the British Museum of Natural History (1926–27) and as curator of physical anthropology at the Wellcome Historical Museum, London (1929–30). He emigrated to the U.S. and taught anatomy at New York University (1931–38) and Hahnemann Medical College and Hospital (1938–49), and was chairman of the anthropology department at Rutgers University (1945–55). An expert in physical anthropology and evolutionary theory, he served as rapporteur of the UNESCO committee of experts which formulated the 1950 UNESCO *Statement on Race* (1951, 1952^2), and was a member of the second UNESCO committee of experts of geneticists and physical anthropologists. Convinced that the idea of race was not only fallacious but antihuman and socially destructive, he dedicated his rhetorical and literary gifts to the production of a number of popular books on this question and on anthropological themes of large humanistic interest. Among his best-known works are *Coming into Being among the Australian Aborigines* (1937, 1938^2), *Man's Most Dangerous Myth: The Fallacy of Race* (1942, 1998^6), *The Natural Superiority of Women* (1953, 1991^4), *Human Heredity* (1959, 1964^2), *Man in Process* (1961), and *The Direction of Human Evolution* (1955, 1959^3), *Touching: The Human Significance of the Skin* (1971, 1985^3), and *The Elephant Man* (1971, 1996^3).

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[Ephraim Fischoff]

MONTAIGNE, MICHEL DE (1533–1592), French writer and philosopher. His mother, Antoinette de Louppes de Villanueva, came from a Spanish Jewish family. One of her ancestors, Mayer Pacagon of Catalayud was forcibly converted to Catholicism and took the name of Lopez de Villanueva. His descendants, however, remained secretly faithful to Judaism, and several of them were persecuted by the Inquisition. One of them, Juan de Villanueva, from whom Montaigne's mother was descended, fled to Toulouse, France, where he settled. She later married the Catholic Eyquem de Montaigne, her uncle's business partner. Montaigne studied at the College de Guyenne run by Portuguese New Christians and, later, at Toulouse University, a center of New Christian ferment and heterodoxy. From 1557 to 1570 Montaigne held a post at the Bordeaux Parliament and at the Court of France. He began his literary career in the late 1560s by translating the *Natural Theology* of Raimond Sebon, a Spanish theologian, and editing the works of his deceased friend, La Böetie, a gifted young writer and thinker. In 1571 Montaigne retired from public life and wrote his *Essais* but, after a journey through Italy (1580–81), he was elected mayor of Bordeaux. In spite of his return to public office, Montaigne devoted much of his time to the continuation of the *Essais*. His humanistic skeptical philosophy, which had an enormous impact on later writers, undermined thinkers' acceptance of received theories. Philosophers such as Bacon, Descartes, Gassendi, and Pascal tried to overcome Montaigne's skepticism by finding new or different bases for knowledge. Montaigne also had a deep influence on English literature. Shakespeare cited him in a number of plays, notably in *The Tempest*, and he also inspired Dryden. The essay, as a literary form, is Montaigne's creation, and admirably suits the freedom of thought and open-mindedness he wished to attain.

It is difficult to know what Montaigne actually thought of the Jews, for this was a dangerous subject in those days of religious intolerance. Almost all his references to the Jews, however, show a sympathetic attitude. In the *Essais* he mentions disapprovingly the persecutions in Portugal, as well as the Jews' stubborn loyalty to their religion (Book I, chap. 14). But it is in the Travel Diary (*Journal de Voyage*), not intended for publication (it saw the light for the first time in 1774), that numerous references are found to Jewish life and customs, as Montaigne saw them at first hand during his Italian journey. There is no doubt that he went out of his way to visit synagogues, attend Jewish ceremonies, and converse with Jews. Montaigne gives a detailed, accurate and sympathetic account of Sabbath services and a circumcision ceremony. He comments on the communal participation in prayer, study, and discussion, and on the widespread knowledge of Hebrew, even among children. On February 6, 1581, he witnessed a pre-Lent "entertainment": burlesque races on the Corso, in which half-naked Jews had to take part. He also attended a conversion sermon, given by a famous preacher, himself a converted Jew, who used his talmudic knowledge to convince his brethren to convert. In all these instances his tone is objective, detached, and completely free from the accepted prejudices of the time. But two facts remain puzzling: Montaigne's obvious interest in Jewish life and his refraining from any mention of his mother in the *Essais*, a largely autobiographical work. Some critics interpret this as proof that Montaigne was deeply preoccupied with his Jewish identity and, for reasons of caution, deliberately avoided any reference to it. This may be so, but one basic fact is unknown, whether Montaigne even knew of his mother's Jewish ancestry. It seems doubtful, as her ancestors had been Christian for several generations, and no one, in those intolerant days, would have gone out of his way to unearth his Jewish ancestry. Montaigne may have had other reasons for emphasizing his father's influence and ignoring his mother's. His education, which partially determined his philosophical direction, was shaped by his father. Furthermore his mother, like his siblings who are absent from the *Essais*, converted to Protestantism and this, for a public figure such as Montaigne, was not an asset in the midst of the religious wars. As to his display of interest in Jewish life in Italy, it could well be that of a liberal humanistic non-Jew, keen as he was on heterodox, free, original ways of living and thinking, as manifested in various groups of outsiders, and unaffected by the current oppressive Church restrictions. Unless other manuscripts come to light, which is unlikely, the question remains open.

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[Denise R. Goitein]

MONTANA, one of the Rocky Mountain states of the United States. In 1969 it had a Jewish population of 615 out of a total

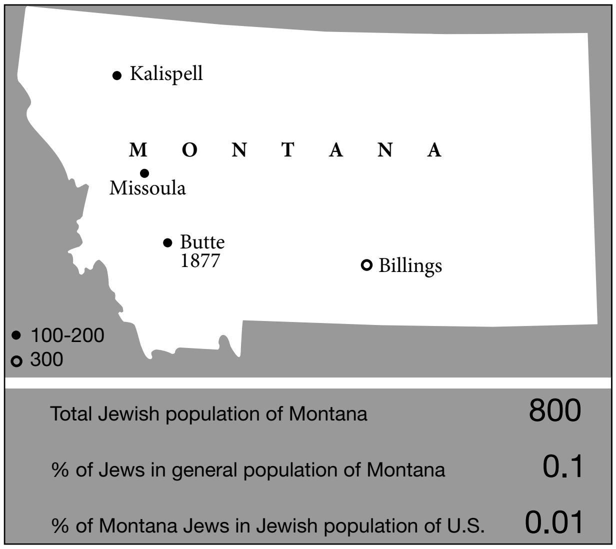
Kalispell
M O N T A N A
Missoula
Butte
1877
Billings
● 100-200
○ 300
Total Jewish population of Montana 800
% of Jews in general population of Montana 0.1
% of Montana Jews in Jewish population of U.S. 0.01

Jewish communities in Montana and dates of establishment. Population figures for 2001.

of 710,000. By 2001 Montana has a Jewish population of some 800 among 903,000.

According to one observer, Montana's Jews tend to fall into three categories: remnants of the pioneer community still in Helena or Butte; out-of-state professionals who mass in university towns such as Bozeman or Missoula; the lone Jew who lives in Townsend or Ennis or Miles City. The community is united by the Montana Association of Jewish Communities (MAJCO).

Member communities include Aitz Chaim (Great Falls Jewish Community), Bet Harim (Flathead Valley Jewish Community), Beth Aaron (Billings Jewish Community), Beth Shalom (Bozeman Jewish Community), Har Shalom (Missoula Jewish Community), and B'nai Israel (Butte Jewish Community). MAJCO regularly holds a shabbaton in the spring of each year. Chabad has sent summer rabbis to work with the community and is planning a full-time rabbinic presence in Bozeman, perhaps the liveliest of the Jewish communities.

The first Jews, who arrived in 1862 during the gold rush at Bannock and Virginia City, were miners, wagon drivers, merchants, freighters, hotel and saloon keepers, lawyers, and journalists, many of whom became solid citizens in the raucous mining camps. Ben Ezekiel was chief clerk of the first territorial legislature and Jacob Feldberg was a member of Virginia City's first town council. Jews were also among the leaders of the vigilantes who suppressed outlawry. The oldest Jewish settlement dates from 1864, with the arrival of Jewish merchants in Helena. One of the pioneers was Gumpertz Goldberg, for whose wife Helena is said to have been named. The First Hebrew Benevolent Society, organized in 1865, became the nucleus for Temple Emanu-El, founded in 1887; their synagogue, the state's first synagogue, was built in 1891. When the Jewish community declined in the 1920s, the synagogue was deeded to the state, and it now houses the State Department of Public Welfare. When Butte became the biggest city in the state following the silver and gold booms around Anaconda in the 1870s, most of the early Jewish settlers and the later arrivals settled there. There was a Jewish congregation, Beth Israel, in Butte in 1877. It split over ritual in 1897 and a second one came into being, but today there is only one congregation with a synagogue dating from 1904. Long before Montana became a state in 1889, its Jewish residents were counted among its leading citizens. Henry Jacobs was Butte's first mayor in 1879, and Henry Lupin held that office from 1885 to 1889. Charles S. Cohan, editor of *The Butte Miner*, wrote the words for the state song. One of the early cattlemen was Louis Kaufman, who employed the cowboy artist Charlie Russell. Between 1873 and 1906 four Jews were grand masters of the State Masonic Grand Lodge: Sol Star, Moses Morris, H. Sol Hepner, and Henry I. Frank, a former mayor of Butte. Livingston, Great Falls, and Havre also had Jewish mayors before 1900. Among the colorful figures in the early days of the state were Daniel Bandman, a Shakespearean actor who brought theater to the mining camps (Bandman's Bridge outside Missoula is named for him); Moses Solomon, a Buffalo hunter and Indian fighter; and Philip Deidesheimer, a mining superintendent, who invented the square set system of mining timbers and for whom Philipsburg is named. The Bob Marshall Wilderness Area of 950,000 acres in the Flathead National Forest is named for the son of Louis *Marshall, who was chief of the division of recreation in the U.S. Forest Service.

The story of Billings, Montana, tells much about the paradox of Jewish life in Montana. In 1993 Billings had a population of 48 Jewish families among 81,000 residents. Hate literature appeared in mailboxes; the synagogue was painted with a swastika along with a picture of a Jew being shot by *Einsatzgruppen*, tombstones were overturned, Holocaust denial literature was circulated, and the homes of two Jewish families including the symphony conductor, which had been adorned with menorahs, had their windows broken. A cinder block was thrown through a Jewish child's window. The local Church Council and the senior minister of the First Congregational Church passed out menorahs to his congregation. He put a menorah in his own window. The newspaper printed a full page cutout of a menorah. The chief of police characterized the response: "It became physically impossible for the hate group to harass and intimidate thousands and thousand of Billings' citizens … We have spoken one very loud voice." In this case, the response to hatred was a united chorus of solidarity. The specific motif of the Holocaust, which was the threat of the hate groups, was embraced by the community to say, "We will behave differently." Hatred will not triumph. The Jews will not be isolated but embraced. It was a hopeful moment for all concerned.

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[Bernard Postal / Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

MONTCLUS (Heb. מונטקלוס, מונטקלוש, הר סגור), former town and fortress at the foot of the Pyrenees, in Aragon, western Spain. Jews apparently lived in the fortress of Montclus and the adjacent area from the beginning of the 11th century. The annual tax paid by the community in the 13th century was reduced by the king from 800 to 500 solidos in 1271, increased to 707 solidos and 3½ denarii in Jaca coin in 1304, and again reduced to 450 solidos in 1315. In 1298 James II ordered an investigation on the rate of interest charged by Jews on loans.

The Montclus community helped to rehabilitate Jews expelled from France in 1306. In 1307 the king authorized the community to absorb four families, including those of the physician Maestre Boninfante and Vitalis de Boulogne. However, between the end of June and the beginning of July 1320, the community was annihilated in the *Pastoureaux (Shepherds) massacres. On July 22, James II ordered that assistance should be given to the survivors, but that Jewish children who had been forcibly baptized were to remain in Christian households. In 1321 the king freed the remnant of the community from paying taxes and ordered that the walls of the fortress should be rebuilt, but by 1323 the Jews of Montclus had to pay taxes like the other Jews of the kingdom to finance the royal expedition to Sardinia. His successor, Alfonso IV, in 1335 freed the community from paying taxes, as did Pedro IV in 1341–42. Nevertheless, when disorders broke out in 1333, the commander of the fortress, Garcia Bardaxi, did nothing to prevent the rioters from massacring the Jews and was pardoned.

With the expulsion of the Jews from Spain in 1492, Montclus began to decline. In the 17th century it was completely abandoned.

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[Haim Beinart]

MONTEFIORE, CLAUDE JOSEPH GOLDSMID (1858–1938), theologian and leader of Liberal Judaism in England. Montefiore was a great-nephew of Sir Moses *Montefiore and a grandson of Isaac Lyon *Goldsmid. He studied at Balliol College, Oxford, where he came under the influence of the master of Balliol, Benjamin Jowett, the famous liberal Christian thinker. Later he studied Judaism at the *Hochschule (Lehranstalt) fuer die Wissenschaft des Judentums in Berlin, and under Solomon *Schechter, whom he had taken to England as his private tutor. A man of means, Montefiore did not serve as a professional scholar or man of religion but nevertheless frequently preached eloquent sermons.

In 1888 he founded the *Jewish Quarterly Review*, which he financed and edited, with Israel *Abrahams, as coeditor, until 1908. He was the founder in England of a radical Reform movement (Jewish Religious Union, 1902), which led in 1911 to the establishment of the Liberal Jewish Synagogue; he served as its president. In 1926 Montefiore was elected president of the World Union for Progressive Judaism, an office which he held until his death. Together with the Catholic theologian Baron von Hugel, he founded the London Society for the Study of Religion, a select group of Jewish and Christian thinkers which met regularly to read and discuss papers on the philosophy of religion. A generous philanthropist, he assisted many Jewish and general good causes. He was a determined opponent of Zionism, and as president of the *Anglo-Jewish Association (1895–1921) tried to prevent the signing of the Balfour Declaration. He was president of the Jewish Religious Union and of the Jewish Historical Society of England (1899–1900). He also played a major part in the educational life of the Jewish community and beyond, and University College, Southampton, presented him with a volume of essays on his 70th birthday (*Speculum Religionis*, 1929).

Works

Montefiore was a prolific writer. In addition to numerous articles in periodicals, he wrote: *Aspects of Judaism* (1895^{2}), sermons, together with Israel Abrahams; *Bible for Home Reading* (2 vols., 1897–1899^{2}); *The Synoptic Gospels* (2 vols.; 1909; 1927^{2}; repr. 1968), a commentary on the Gospels primarily for the Jewish reader; *Liberal Judaism* (1903); *Some Elements of the Religious Teaching of Jesus* (1910); *Outlines of Liberal Judaism* (1912, 1923^{2}); *Judaism and St. Paul* (1914); *Liberal Judaism and Hellenism* (1918); *The Old Testament and After* (1923); *Rabbinic Literature and Gospel Teaching* (1930); and *A Short Devotional Introduction to the Hebrew Bible for the Use of Jews and Jewesses* (1936). Together with Herbert *Loewe, Montefiore published: *A Rabbinic Anthology* (1938; repr. 1960, 1963), a collection of rabbinic teachings with remarkable notes by the two editors, one Liberal and the other Orthodox. Montefiore delivered the Hibbert Lectures (1892) on *Origin and Growth of Religion as Illustrated by the Religion of the Ancient Hebrews*.

Thought

At the center of Montefiore's thought was his complete conviction of the truth of Jewish theism. He acknowledged that the Jewish conception of God and His relation to man and that of the relation of religion to morality are akin to but not identical with Christian conceptions dealing with these themes. The distinctiveness of Jewish theism lies in its insistence on both the transcendence and immanence of God. Montefiore holds that modern Biblical scholarship has demonstrated conclusively that the Pentateuchal Code is not Mosaic, homogeneous, and perfect. Yet this does not mean that the conception of law in religion should be abandoned. Man discovers the Law within him but it is also revealed to him.

Montefiore was very suspicious of Jewish nationalism because of its "narrowness" and its betrayal, in his view, of Jewish universalism. He was so much at home in England that his affinities were much closer to his native land than to the community of Israel throughout the world.

The greatest cause of offense to traditionalists was Montefiore's leaning toward Christianity. He viewed Christianity entirely sympathetically, and seemed to look forward to the religion of the future as embracing all that is good in both Judaism and Christianity as well as in other religions.

Montefiore's main contention is that in some respects but not in others the Christian ethic is more admirable than the Jewish, and that there is a mystical, appealing note sounded in the Gospels not sounded in quite the same way in the Bible. Jesus, for Montefiore, was a great teacher but not divine as Christians have it. He was opposed to any attempt at placing the New Testament on a par with the Hebrew Scriptures or at having readings from the New Testament in any act of Jewish worship. He, nevertheless, felt that the time had come for Jews to read and understand the New Testament and even allow it to occupy an honored place in present-day Judaism. Soon after the publication of *The Synoptic Gospels*, Aḥad Ha-Am launched a vigorous attack against it (*Al Parashat Derakhim*, 4 (1921), 38–58). Aḥad Ha-Am argued that Jewish ethic, based on justice, is incompatible with the Christian ethic based on love, so that it is impossible for the same man to embrace both of them at the same time. In his very last years, when the Nazi regime was systematically persecuting German Jewry, Montefiore may have been moving away from his adamant stance on the issues of Jewish nationalism and Zionism, but died before the full impact of the Holocaust and, later, the creation of Israel, might have necessitated a full-scale revision of his views.

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[Louis Jacobs]

MONTEFIORE, JOSEPH BARROW (1803–1893), Australian pioneer. A cousin of Sir Moses *Montefiore, Joseph Barrow Montefiore was born in London. At the age of 23, he bought a seat on the London Stock Exchange and became one of the 12 "Jew brokers" in the city. He immigrated to Australia in 1829 with considerable means at his disposal and was granted 5,000 acres of land. In Melbourne, Sydney, and later in South Australia, he acquired extensive parcels of land. In 1838 he was invited to give evidence to the House of Lords on the state of the islands of New Zealand. He and his elder brother Jacob, who was one of the 11 commissioners appointed by King William IV to organize the administration of South Australia, helped to establish the Bank of Australasia. Montefiore, who had ultimately made his home in Adelaide, became one of its most prominent commercial and industrial figures. When in Sydney, he was South Australia's agent in New South Wales, and one of the original trustees of the State Savings Bank of South Australia. In 1832 Montefiore helped to organize Australia's first congregation, the Sydney Synagogue, the predecessor of the Great Synagogue, and was its first president. He was a trustee of the Jewish cemetery, for which he had secured a land grant from the government. The township of Montefiore in New South Wales and Montefiore Hill in Adelaide are tributes to the pioneering work of Montefiore and his family. He spent the last years of his life in England.

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[Israel Porush]

MONTEFIORE, JOSHUA (1762–1843), British-born lawyer and author. Montefiore, an uncle of Sir Moses *Montefiore, was born in London. Most unusually, he attended Oxford University and was admitted to practice as a solicitor in 1784. In 1787 he was in Jamaica, where discriminatory precedent prevented his admission as an attorney and notary. He participated in an unsuccessful expedition in 1791 to establish a British colony without slave labor off the west coast of Africa, near Sierra Leone, an adventure he described in *An Authentic Account of the Late Expedition to Bulam* (1794). Montefiore allegedly declined a knighthood and was the first Jew to hold the rank of captain in the British army. Around 1810 he went to the United States, pursued the practice of law, and for a time edited a New York weekly political journal, *Men and Measures*, said to have been subsidized by the British government. Montefiore compiled a number of useful lay guides to commercial law which sold briskly in England and the U.S., including *Law of Copyright* (1802), *Commercial Dictionary* (1803; first U.S., ed., 1811), *Traders and Manufacturers Compendium* (1804), *American Traders Compendium* (1811), and *Commercial and Notarial Precedents* (1804). Montefiore's second wife was a Catholic, but his eight children were raised as Protestants. At his request, he was buried on the farm on the outskirts of St. Albans, Vermont, where he had settled in 1835.

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[Isidore S. Meyer]

MONTEFIORE, JUDITH (1784–1862), daughter of Levi Barent *Cohen and wife of Sir Moses *Montefiore, whom she married in 1812. Her influence on her husband was profound. She left a diary of their first visit to Palestine in 1827 and described their second visit in 1838 in her *Notes from a Private Journal* (1844). She was the author, or coauthor, of the first Anglo-Jewish cookbook, the *Jewish Manual* by "A Lady" (1846). She was commemorated by her husband in the foundation of the Judith Lady Montefiore College. Originally lax in observance, she later returned to strict Orthodox practice.

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[Sonia L. Lipman]

MONTEFIORE, SIR MOSES (1784–1885), most famous Anglo-Jew of the 19th century. Montefiore was born in Leghorn while his parents were on a visit from London, where he was brought up, being taught elementary Hebrew by his maternal uncle Moses *Mocatta. First apprenticed to a firm of wholesale grocers and tea merchants, he left to become one of the 12 "Jew brokers" in the City of London. After initial setbacks, he went into partnership with his brother Abraham, and the firm acquired a high reputation. His marriage in 1812 to Judith Cohen (see Judith *Montefiore) made him brother-in-law of Nathan Mayer *Rothschild, for whom his firm acted as stockbrokers. After his retirement from regular business in 1824, though he retained various commercial directorships, he had the time and the fortune to undertake communal and civic responsibilities.

Contrary to accepted opinion, he was apparently somewhat lax in religious observance in earlier life; but from 1827, after his first visit to Ereẓ Israel, until the end of his life, he was a strictly observant Jew. Montefiore maintained his own synagogue on his estate at Ramsgate from 1833 and in later years traveled with his own *shoḥet*. His determined opposition checked the growth of the Reform movement in England. Though a patron of scholars, he had no pretensions to scholarship himself. He paid seven visits to Ereẓ Israel, the last in 1874. In 1838 his scheme for acquiring land to enable Jews in Ereẓ Israel to become self-supporting through agriculture was frustrated when Mehmet Ali, viceroy of Egypt, who had shown sympathy for the idea, was forced by the great powers to give up his conquests from the Turks. He later attempted to bring industry to the country, introducing a printing press and a textile factory, and inspired the founding of several agricultural colonies. The Yemin Moshe quarter outside the Old City of Jerusalem was due to his endeavors and named after him. In 1855, by the will of Judah *Touro, the U.S. philanthropist, he was appointed to administer a bequest of $50,000 for Jews of the Holy Land.

Montefiore was sheriff of London in 1837–38 and was knighted by Queen Victoria on her first visit to the City. He received a baronetcy in 1846 in recognition of his humanitarian efforts on behalf of his fellow Jews. Although president of the *Board of Deputies of British Jews from 1835 to 1874 (with only one brief interruption), he did not, after the early years, play a prominent part in the emancipation struggle but devoted himself to helping oppressed Jewries overseas. He has been described as the last of the *shtadlanim who by their personal standing with their governments were able to further the cause of Jews elsewhere. He was active as such from the time of the *Damascus Affair in 1840. In 1846, he visited Russia to persuade the authorities to alleviate persecution of the Jewish population, and went to *Morocco in 1863 and *Romania in 1867 for the same purpose. His intervention in the *Mortara Case in 1855, however, proved a failure. Some of his achievements appear in retrospect as transitory. Although in 1872, after representing the Board of Deputies at the bicentenary celebrations of Peter the Great, he reported that a new age had dawned for the Jews of Russia, persecution was renewed in 1881. Lover of Ereẓ Israel though he was and believer in the messianic restoration of a Jewish state, he did not conceive of large-scale, planned development of the country as a solution to the Jewish problem. This was largely because Montefiore (and his contemporaries) trusted absolutely in the inevitability of progress and with it worldwide emancipation for the Jews.

Nevertheless, both in his own lifetime and since, he enjoyed enormous prestige. Montefiore's physical presence (he was 6 ft. 3 in. tall), his commanding personality, his philanthropy, and his complete disinterestedness, made him highly respected and admired both in England and abroad. The support of the British government for his activities – consonant with British policies overseas – and the personal regard shown him by Queen Victoria added to his reputation. His 100th birthday was celebrated as a public holiday by Jewish communities the world over.

One of the most famous Jews of the 19th century, Moses Montefiore was important for many different reasons, for instance as an early, influential Zionist. His most significant role, however, might have been as arguably the template of a wealthy, influential, well-connected Jew in a Western democracy, who used his influence to ameliorate the condition of persecuted Jews in countries where antisemitism was rife. This model of Jewish leadership has persisted, perhaps as the norm, into our own times.

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[Vivian David Lipman]

MONTEFIORE, SEBAG-MONTEFIORE, English family originating from Leghorn, Italy. (See Chart: Montefiore Family 1, 2, and 3). The first to come to England were the brothers MOSES VITA (1712–1789), who set up successfully as an importer of Italian straw hats, and JOSEPH (b. 1723). The former had 17 children who intermarried with the Anglo-Jewish families. His grandsons Joseph Barrow *Montefiore (1803–1893) and JACOB MONTEFIORE (1801–1895) were prominent in early Australian history; two other sons were Joshua *Montefiore and JOSEPH ELIAS (1759–1804) who married Rachel Mocatta and was the father of Sir Moses *Montefiore. Sir Moses' brother and business partner, ABRAHAM (1788–1824), married as his second wife Henrietta Rothschild. Their two sons were JOSEPH MAYER (1816–1880) and NATHANIEL (1819–1883), the father of Claude Goldsmid *Montefiore. Joseph Mayer succeeded Sir Moses as president of the Board of Deputies in 1874, after having been the first vice president since 1857. Under his presidency the Board and the Anglo-Jewish Asso-

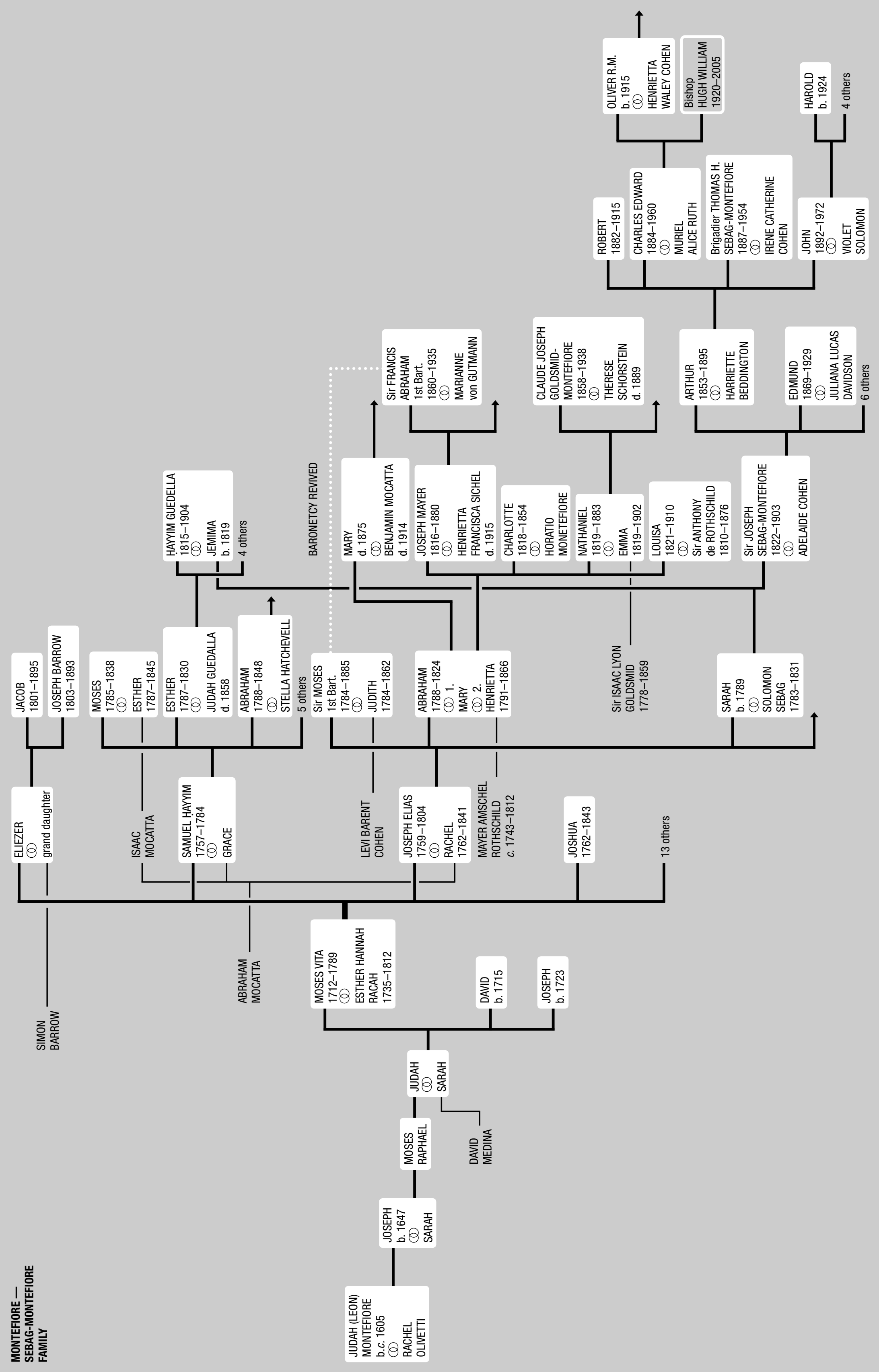
MONTEFIORE — SEBAG-MONTEFIORE FAMILY

JUDAH (LEON) MONTEFIORE b.c. 1605 ∞ RACHEL OLIVETTI
JOSEPH b. 1647 ∞ SARAH
MOSES RAPHAEL
JUDAH ∞ SARAH
DAVID MEDINA
MOSES VITA 1712–1789 ∞ ESTHER HANNAH RACAH 1735–1812
DAVID b. 1715
JOSEPH b. 1723
SIMON BARROW
ABRAHAM MOCATTA
ELIEZER ∞ grand daughter
ISAAC MOCATTA
SAMUEL HAYYIM 1757–1784 ∞ GRACE
LEVI BARENT COHEN
JOSEPH ELIAS 1759–1804 ∞ RACHEL 1762–1841
MAYER AMSCHEL ROTHSCHILD c. 1743–1812
JOSHUA 1762–1843
13 others
JACOB 1801–1895
JOSEPH BARROW 1803–1893
MOSES 1785–1838 ∞ ESTHER 1787–1845
ESTHER 1787–1830 ∞ JUDAH GUEDALLA d. 1858
ABRAHAM 1788–1848 ∞ STELLA HATCHEVELL
5 others
Sir MOSES 1st Bart. 1784–1885 ∞ JUDITH 1784–1862
ABRAHAM 1788–1824 ∞ 1. MARY ∞ 2. HENRIETTA 1791–1866
Sir ISAAC LYON GOLDSMID 1778–1859
SARAH b. 1789 ∞ SOLOMON SEBAG 1783–1831
HAYYIM GUEDELLA 1815–1904 ∞ JEMIMA b. 1819
4 others
BARONETCY REVIVED
MARY d. 1875 ∞ BENJAMIN MOCATTA d. 1914
JOSEPH MAYER 1816–1880 ∞ HENRIETTA FRANCISCA SICHEL d. 1915
CHARLOTTE 1818–1854 ∞ HORATIO MONETEFIORE
NATHANIEL 1819–1883 ∞ EMMA 1819–1902
LOUISA 1821–1910 ∞ Sir ANTHONY de ROTHSCHILD 1810–1876
Sir JOSEPH SEBAG-MONTEFIORE 1822–1903 ∞ ADELAIDE COHEN
Sir FRANCIS ABRAHAM 1st Bart. 1860–1935 ∞ MARIANNE von GUTMANN
CLAUDE JOSEPH GOLDSMID-MONTEFIORE 1858–1938 ∞ THERESE SCHORSTEIN d. 1889
ARTHUR 1853–1895 ∞ HARRIETTE BEDDINGTON
EDMUND 1869–1929 ∞ JULIANA LUCAS DAVIDSON
6 others
ROBERT 1882–1915
CHARLES EDWARD 1884–1960 ∞ MURIEL ALICE RUTH
Brigadier THOMAS H. SEBAG-MONTEFIORE 1887–1954 ∞ IRENE CATHERINE COHEN
JOHN 1892–1972 ∞ VIOLET SOLOMON
OLIVER R.M. b. 1915 ∞ HENRIETTA WALEY COHEN
Bishop HUGH WILLIAM 1920–2005
HAROLD b. 1924
4 others

ciation cooperated to form the Conjoint Foreign Committee. Joseph Mayer's eldest son, Sir Francis Abraham Montefiore, succeeded to Sir Moses' baronetcy in 1886, when the title, which had become extinct, was revived in his favor. With his death, the title became extinct.

Sir Moses' sister SARAH (b. 1789) married Solomon Sebag (1783–1831). Their son JOSEPH (1822–1903), a stockbroker who amassed a fortune, was the closest associate of Sir Moses in his last years and heir to his Ramsgate estate. In 1885 he added the name of Montefiore to his own by royal license, the family name henceforward being Sebag-Montefiore. He was a justice of the peace, high sheriff of Kent in 1889, and was knighted in 1896. Joseph, who had accompanied Sir Moses to Ereẓ Israel in 1866, remained concerned with the welfare of the Jews there, administering on behalf of the Spanish and Portuguese synagogue the Holy Land Trust bequeathed by Sir Moses. In the 1890s he was a vice president of the Ḥovevei Zion (*Hibbat Zion). He was president of the Board of Deputies from 1895 until his death. His grandson ROBERT (1882–1915), a leading member of the London County Council and the Anglo-Jewish community, was killed in World War I. The London County Council named an East London school in his memory.

In the mid-20th century, some members of the family remained active both in public life and in the Sephardi community: BRIGADIER T.H. SEBAG-MONTEFIORE; OLIVER SEBAG-MONTEFIORE, a president of the London Jewish Welfare Board; and HAROLD SEBAG-MONTEFIORE (b. 1924), a Conservative member of the Greater London Council and president of the Anglo-Jewish Association. However, as with many of the older and wealthier Anglo-Jewish families, there has been considerable assimilation into English society, many of the members marrying non-Jews. An example was Sir Joseph's great-grandson, HUGH WILLIAM MONTEFIORE (1920–2005), converted to Christianity while still at Rugby school and entered the Anglican Church in 1949. He taught theology at Cambridge (1951–63), was appointed bishop suffragan of Kingston upon Thames, Surrey, and, in 1978–87, was Bishop of Birmingham, where he became nationally known. Montefiore was well aware of his Jewish origins. He is the author of *On Being a Christian Jew* (1999) and of an autobiography, *Oh God, What Next?* (1995), as well as dozens of other theological works.

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[Vivian David Lipman]

MONTÉLIMAR, town in the department of Drôme, S.E. France. The first explicit mention of the presence of Jews in Montélimar dates from 1222. The community attained considerable importance during the 14th and first half of the 15th centuries. The synagogue, remains of which still existed at the end of the 19th century, was situated in the Rue de Juiverie or the Rue Puits-Neuf; the school (or possibly another synagogue) was near the Porte Saint-Martin and the cemetery to the northwest of the present cemeteries. The community also maintained a special butcher's shop. As late as 1452, the dauphin granted the Jews of Montélimar, with Jews in several other localities of Dauphiné, some advantageous privileges; the municipal authorities, however, endeavored to render the lives of the Jews intolerable, for instance by compelling them to attend missionary sermons from 1453 onward. The same situation occurred at the end of the century: in 1476, King Louis XI had granted letters of protection to the Jews of Montélimar; however, in 1486, when only seven Jewish families remained there, the townsmen accused them of debauchery and shady practices and demanded their expulsion. From 1489, there no longer appear to have been Jews in Montélimar and the Jewish cemetery was closed. At the beginning of World War II, 150 Jewish families found refuge in Montélimar. There was no organized Jewish community in Montélimar in the 1960s.

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[Bernhard Blumenkranz]

MONTEREAU (**Montereau-Faut-Yonne**), town in the department of Seine-et-Marne, France. A Jewish community existed in Montereau by 1228 consisting of at least 12 families. In 1251, the Jews of Montereau are mentioned in the poll tax roster of the Jews of Champagne. A new community was constituted after the return of the Jews to France in 1359. The houses of two of its members, Benion of Salins and Sannset of Baumes, were looted during the riots of 1381. The memory of the medieval community was preserved until the 18th century in the name of a quay known as the Port-aux-Juifs.

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[Bernhard Blumenkranz]

°MONTESQUIEU, CHARLES LOUIS DE SECONDAT, BARON DE LA BREDE ET DE (1689–1755), French writer and political philosopher. Montesquieu inherited the humanistic French tradition of Jean *Bodin, with his vision of a society tolerant toward all religions, including Judaism. His earliest statement on the Jews was in the *Lettres Persanes* (1721), 50, where he described Judaism as "a mother who has given birth to two daughters [Christianity and Islam] who have struck her a thousand blows." In *L'Esprit des lois* (25:13), published in 1748, he reacted to the burning of a ten-year-old Jewish girl by the *Inquisition with an eloquent denunciation cast in the form of an argument written by a Jew: "You complain [he said to the inquisitors] that the emperor of Japan is having all the Christians in his domain burnt on a slow fire; but he could answer you: 'We treat you, who do not believe as we do, as you treat those who do not believe as you do.'… If you do not want to be Christian, at least be human." Nevertheless, he was not entirely uncritical of the Jews. Also in the *Lettres persanes*, his traveler writes: "Know that wherever there is money there are Jews." In a passage from *Mélanges inédits*, which was published posthumously (1892), the rabbinic texts are considered to have fashioned the low taste and character of the Jews, for there was not "one among [the rabbis] of even a minor order of genius." But this private opinion of Montesquieu at his most Christian was unknown in the 18th century. His relativistic view, which ran counter to *Voltaire's absolute deism in favor of an appreciation of the Jew and Judaism as one of the many valid forms of culture and religion, was one that influenced history.

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[Arthur Hertzberg]

MONTEUX, PIERRE (1875–1964), conductor. Born in Paris, Monteux studied at the Paris Conservatoire where he won the first prize for violin in 1896. He played the viola in various orchestras and founded an orchestra of his own, the Concerts Berlioz. From 1911 to 1914 he conducted the Ballets Russes of Diaghilev, giving the first performances of Ravel's *Daphnis et Chloë*, Debussy's *Jeux*, and Stravinsky's *Petrouchka, Le Sacre du Printemps*, and *Le Rossignol*. He was conductor of the Metropolitan Opera in New York from 1917 to 1919 and then of the Boston Symphony Orchestra until 1924. From 1924 to 1934 he appeared as second conductor of the Concertgebouw in Amsterdam. He founded the Orchestre Symphonique de Paris (1929–38), and from 1936 to 1952 he was director of the San Francisco Symphony Orchestra. Monteux's conducting was faithful to the intentions of the composer and combined brilliant technique with profound musical culture. From 1961 until his death, Monteux was chief conductor of the London Symphony Orchestra.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Baker, Biog. Dict; Riemann-Gurlitt; Grove, Dict.; MGG.

[Claude Abravanel]

MONTEVIDEO, capital of Uruguay with a population of 1,200,000, and a Jewish population of 23,500 in 2005 (90.78% of the Jewish population of the country). Some 13,000 former Uruguayan Jews live in Israel. The community was established before World War I by immigrants from Eastern Europe and the Middle East. The main representative body is the Comite Central Israelita (Jewish Central Committee), constituted of four *kehillot*: Jewish community of Montevideo (Ashkenazi), the Sephardi community, the New Jewish Congregation (German-speaking) and the Hungarian Jewish society. All of them together embrace the majority of the Jews except those of Communist ideology and affiliations. Another main body is the Zionist Organization of Uruguay (OSU), the roof organization and central authority of the local Zionist movement, its political factions, women organizations, and youth movements as well as both national funds – Keren Kayemet and Keren Hayesod–Hamagbit. For more details see *Uruguay.

[Nahum Schutz (2nd ed.)]

MONTEZINOS, ANTONIO DE (**Aaron Levi**; d. c. 1650), Marrano traveler. On a trip to South America during 1641–42, Montezinos discovered a group of natives in Ecuador who could recite the *Shema* and were acquainted with other Jewish rituals. He brought this news to Amsterdam in 1644, and the congregational authorities – *Manasseh Ben Israel among them – had him repeat his account under oath. The assumption was that these natives were a remnant of the *ten lost tribes, of the tribes of Reuben and Levi according to Montezinos. He then left for Brazil where he died, reasserting on his deathbed the truth of his report. Manasseh Ben Israel dwells on Montezinos' discovery in a booklet entitled *Esperança de Israel* ("The Hope of Israel," Amsterdam, 1650), which he dedicated to the British parliament, appending it to his petition for the readmittance of Jews to England. His thesis was that Montezinos' account points to an imminent fulfillment of the messianic prophecy of the lost tribes of Israel being reunited with Judah. The Montezinos report aroused literary interest even outside Jewish circles. In 1650 Thomas Thorowgood (1595–1669) published his *Iewes in America, or Probabilities that the Americans Are of that Race*. In reply Sir Hamon L'Estrange (1583–1654) wrote *Americans no Iewes, or Improbabilities that the Americans Are of that Race* (London, 1652). Thorowgood then retorted with *Jews in America, or Probabilities that those Indians are Judaical, Made More Probable by Some Additionals to the Former Conjectures* (London, 1660).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: C. Roth, *Life of Menasseh Ben Israel* (1934), 176–92, 330–1.

MONTEZINOS, DAVID (1828–1916), librarian and bibliophile in Amsterdam. His father, Raphael Montezinos, served as rabbi of the Portuguese community there from 1852 to 1866. David studied at the Eẓ Ḥayyim seminary where he obtained the title *Maggid*. An enthusiastic bibliophile, he acquired one of the largest private libraries of the time. In 1866 he was appointed librarian of the Eẓ Ḥayyim library. In 1889, after the death of his wife, he donated his private collection to the library of the seminary, including 20,000 books, pamphlets, manuscripts, and illustrations. It contained extensive material relating to the Jews in Holland, and in particular to the Spanish-Portuguese community. The library was named after Montezinos and was directed by him until his death. Montezinos wrote a number of bibliographic studies, published in *Letterbode*, as well as a monograph on David *Franco-Mendes, published in 1867 in *Joodsch-letterkundige bijdragen*.

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MONTI DI PIETÀ (**Montes pietatis**), savings and loan agencies originally formed in Italian cities in the mid-15th century; considered as the predecessors of the modern credit union. Historically, the word *mons* was used during the Middle Ages to designate funds collected for a specific purpose, *pietatis* being added to identify them as nonspeculative. The initial object of the *monti* was to provide loans at a relatively low rate of interest (4–15%) to small artisans and dealers and to the poor in general, on the pledge of various goods. The interest was used to defray administrative expenses and salaries of employees. The formation of the *monti* was the result of a combination of factors, both economic and theological. It arose from the decline of handicrafts and the ensuing impoverishment of the masses, and a scarcity of money; and from the desire to oust the Jews from the business of *moneylending, which they had successfully practiced as their principal profession. The growing prosperity of Jewish bankers aroused the wrath of the *Franciscans who, as some historians have pointed out, themselves often came from the ranks of the "new aristocracy," the merchant class.

Previously the progressive monopolization of moneylending by Jewish bankers had been justified both morally and theologically; on the one hand, it helped the poor, and on the other hand, it saved Christians from committing the sin of usury; but the founders of the *monti* advanced the argument that it was necessary to protect Christians from the voracity of Jewish usurers. The establishment of the first *monti* in *Perugia in 1462, after an earlier experiment eight years before at Ancona, came at the climax of a campaign against Jewish moneylenders waged by the Observant friars, the radical wing of the Franciscans. Its primary sponsor was Fra Michele da Milano, who protested vigorously against the arrangements then existing between the Jewish loan bankers and the city of Perugia. In subsequent years the Franciscans sought support for the expansion of the institution, preaching on its behalf throughout Italy, in opposition to the *Dominicans and the Augustinians, who condemned what they called the "*montes impietatis*" is a breach of the prohibition on usury proclaimed by Jesus (Luke 6:33). Foremost among those in favor of the institution was Bernardino of *Feltre, who bent all his charismatic talent for rabble-rousing to denouncing the Jewish moneylender. His sermons led to the establishment of the *monti* in many cities and were instrumental in the widespread persecution of Jews during the blood libel in *Trent in 1475 as well as in many other parts of the country. Pope Paul ii approved (1467) the establishment of a *monte* in Perugia, despite theological opposition, and successive popes sanctioned *monti* in other Italian cities. By 1494 there were 30 *monti* in central and northern Italy. The controversy was finally settled by the papal bull, *Inter multiplicis* (May 1515), issued by Leo *x at the Fourth Lateran *Council, which declared the *monti* neither sinful nor illicit but, on the contrary, meritorious.

The institution of the *monti* did not, in itself, arouse the fears of the Jews. In some cases Jewish loan bankers, recognizing the charitable nature of the *monti*, actually gave them support. One such loan banker, Manuele da Camerino, bequeathed a considerable sum to the *monte* of Florence which had been set up by Girolamo Savonarola. At times Jewish loan bankers utilized the *monti* for their own purposes, depositing in it a pledge left with them, thereby raising capital for further operations. The *monti* were not in a position to meet the growing need for capital, and, as a result, there were times when Jewish loan bankers were allowed to reopen their *condotte* in the Italian cities, as occurred in Florence after the return of the Medici in 1512. Eventually, both *monti* and Jewish loan bankers found it possible to coexist and the first decades of the 16th century proved to be among the most prosperous for the Italian Jewish banker. By the mid-16th century, it was common practice for many *monti* to make loans to businessmen (at an interest rate of from 8 to 10%) as well as to the poor. The *Monti di Piet* remained an essentially urban feature, an outgrowth of conditions specific to Italy. The decision of the Lateran Council of 1515 to allow *urbi et orbi* the establishment of *monti* was the signal for setting up official lending institutions sponsored by governments in the Catholic countries of Europe.

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[Emmanuel Beeri]

MONTIEL, town in Castile, central Spain, in the frontier district of La Mancha. The small community there had close relations with the Order of Santiago, on whose lands it was situated. In 1273 the head of the Order, Pelayo Pérez, gave Don Samuel, Don Bono, and Don Jacob, all of them Jews under the jurisdiction of the Order, the right to settle their debts out of tax farming. They not only farmed the general taxes in Montiel but also in other lands belonging to the Order. At that time, tax farming produced considerable revenues. In 1290 the taxes paid to the king by the community of Montiel amounted to about 1,522 maravedis. The community probably suffered during the persecutions of 1391 when most of the La Mancha communities were destroyed. Nevertheless, a community may have existed in Montiel in the second half of the 15th century; Don Isaac Abudarham, a resident of Toledo, farmed the *alcabala* ("indirect taxes") there in 1462.

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[Haim Beinart]

MONTOR, HENRY (1905–1982), U.S. organization executive and Zionist. Montor, born in Canada, was taken to the U.S. as a boy. He was active in Zionist affairs from his youth and assistant editor of *New Palestine* (1926–30). During his service with the United Palestine Appeal (1930–39) and as executive vice president of the United Jewish Appeal (1939–50), Montor directed the raising of previously unparalleled amounts from overseas Jewry for Israel. In 1939, as chief fundraiser for the United Palestine Appeal, he approached the prolific Zionist organizer Meyer *Weisgal about Jewish participation in the New York World's Fair. The Jewish Palestine Pavilion, which Weisgal claimed was "the first Palestine exhibit at an international exposition in the United States," attracted record-breaking crowds. The presence of Albert Einstein at the opening helped produce the largest single day's attendance in the history of the fair. In all, a total of more than two million people were estimated to have visited the pavilion.

Although Montor was an ardent Zionist, the prevailing Zionist aim at the time was for "selective" immigration to build a Jewish state, not the rescue of Jewish refugees. Therefore in 1940 Montor, as executive vice president of the United Jewish Appeal, refused to intervene for a shipload of Jewish refugees stranded on the Danube. He wrote a letter to a rabbi in Maryland stating that "Palestine cannot be flooded with … old people or with undesirables." He circulated thousands of copies of the letter, which asked Jews not to support illegal immigration to Palestine.

Yet for the UJA, Montor is credited with being the first man to have the conviction to set $100 million as a campaign goal – and attain it. As vice president and chief executive of the American Financial and Development Corporation for Israel (1951–55), Montor established the Israel Bonds campaigns and supervised the sale of approximately $190 million worth of bonds for Israel. He resigned his position as head of the State of Israel Bonds organization in 1955 to found his own brokerage firm.

[Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

MÓNTORO, ANTÓN DE (1404–1480?), Spanish Converso poet who denounced the persecution of his fellow converts. He was born in Andalusia, probably in Montoro, and because he dealt in clothes he came to be known as the "tailor of Cordoba." He flourished during the reigns of Henry IV and Ferdinand and Isabella. Montoro was a noted writer of humorous and satirical verse which won him the esteem of the court poets but, despite his success, he never denied his humble origin or relinquished his trade. In a humorous poem addressed to his horse, he admitted that he had children, grandchildren, parents, and a sister who had not converted. Montoro was one of the few authentic and sincere voices of the age. He protested vigorously against the treatment of the Conversos and satirized the weak efforts of Alfonso de Aguilar, the governor of Cordoba, to stop the outrages. After the sack of Carmona in 1474, Montoro implored Ferdinand and Isabella to protect his people, whose sufferings he portrayed most movingly. He concluded his poem with a ferocious joke, saying that the killing should at least be postponed until Christmas, when the fire would be more welcome. Critics have therefore accused Montoro of cynicism, not realizing that the remark represents the black humor of despair. Despite his work on behalf of the Conversos, Montoro himself was apparently sincere in his Catholic beliefs and in a poem addressed to Queen Isabella toward the end of his life lamented that in 70 years he had been unable to lose the name of "old Jewish dog," despite the fact that he went to church and ate bacon. Montoro engaged in a poetic feud with another convert, *Juan (Poeta) de Valladolid. The two men exchanged mutual insults, much to the amusement of their contemporaries. Montoro also rebuked Rodrigo de *Cota de Maguaque for his thoughtless attacks on fellow Conversos; such criticism, he claimed, might eventually rebound on its author.

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[Kenneth R. Scholberg]

MONTPELLIER, capital of the Hérault department, southern France. The first direct evidence of the presence of Jews in the city is found in the will of Guilhem V, Lord of Montpellier, who forbade the investiture of a Jew as a bailiff. The Jewish traveler *Benjamin of Tudela, visited Montepellier in about 1165. Though he does not mention any figure for the Jewish population of the city, its importance can be deduced from the fact that he mentions the existence of several yeshivot. Until at least the end of the 12th century, the Jews of Montpellier appear to have been particularly active in commerce; they are explicitly mentioned in the trade agreement between Montpellier and *Agde; and they appear in the tariff of taxes due from the merchants of Montpellier in *Narbonne. Until the end of the 12th century, they do not appear to have practiced moneylending. In times of war, particularly when the town was besieged, the Jews helped in its defense by supplying weapons. (An agreement written at the beginning of the 13th century, for example, speaks of Jews providing 20,000 arrows.) From the middle of the 13th century, moneylending was regulated by the ordinances of James I, king of *Majorca, who also ruled over the duchy of Montpellier together with the bishop of Maguelonne. Before any contract could be drawn up, the Jewish lender was called upon to swear that it involved neither fraud nor usury. In addition, the consuls of the town prohibited loans to people under the age of 25 without the consent of their parents. James I's legislation concerning the Jews promulgated in 1267 was fairly favorable. Especially noteworthy was the clause prohibiting their prosecution on the basis of an anonymous denunciation. Those who accused or denounced Jews were to provide two guarantors and were threatened with being condemned themselves if they could not prove their accusation. Bail was to be granted to the accused Jew if he could provide a satisfactory guarantee.

During the 13th century, a Jewish quarter existed on the present site of the Rue Barralerie (until the 15th century it was named Sabatariè Neuve); in the first house on this street there are still some remains of the synagogue, and of the *mikveh* in the cellar. Although James I gave the old Jewish cemetery to the Cistercians of Valemagne in 1263, the latter were required to refund the cost of the exhumation and the transfer of the remains to the new cemetery. When the Jews were expelled from France in 1306, the king of Majorca opposed the measure. After considerable delay, the expulsion finally took place. It was little comfort to the Jews that the king of France was required to give to the king of Majorca two-thirds of the booty seized from "his Jews" and one-third of that taken from the other Jews of Montpellier.

In 1315, when the Jews were allowed to return to France, the Jews of Montpellier, like those elsewhere, were again placed under the authority of their former lords. In 1319 Sancho I, king of Majorca, permitted them to acquire a cemetery. It is not known in which quarter the Jews lived during this short stay, which lasted until 1322 (or 1323). In 1349 James III of Majorca sold his seigneury over Montpellier to Phillip VI of France. As a result, when the Jews resettled in the city in 1359 they found themselves under the direct sovereignty of the king of France, Charles V. Originally assigned to the Castelmoton quarter, they were forced to move to the Rue de la Vielle Intendance quarter after complaints from the Christian inhabitants. In their new settlement, they owned a synagogue and a school (after 1365). The Jews of Montpellier had to provide large financial contributions to the defense of the town, particularly in 1362 and 1363. In 1374 they were also obliged to participate in guarding the gates. The construction of a beautiful new synagogue in 1387 gave rise to a lawsuit with the bishop of Maguelonne, to whom the Jews paid the then enormous sum of 400 livres. In Montpellier the final expulsion of the Jews from France in 1394 was preceded by violent accusations against them in the municipal council.

Scholars

Even though the town had numerous Jewish physicians – who were subjected to a probative examination from 1272 – there is no valid evidence that the Jews had a part in founding and organizing the school of medicine there. Excluding those scholars who only lived temporarily in Montpellier, such as *Abraham b. David of Posquières, the foremost scholar in the town was *Solomon b. Abraham b. Samuel, who denounced the work of Moses Maimonides to the Inquisition. One of his leading followers was *Jonah b. Abraham Gerondi, who died in Toledo, Spain. The liturgical poet *Aryeh Judah Harari lived in Montpellier during the second half of the 13th century, as did *Aaron b. Joseph ha-Levi, the opponent of Solomon b. Abraham *Adret; and Isaac b. Jacob ha-Kohen *Alfasi. From 1303 to 1306 Montpellier was again the scene of a renewed polemic between the supporters and opponents of the study of philosophy. The latter were led by Jacob b. Machir ibn *Tibbon. In the later medieval community of Montpellier, the physician and philosopher Abraham *Avigdor was particularly distinguished.

Later Centuries

In the middle of the 16th century, the presence in Montpellier of *Conversos, who chiefly lived among the Protestant population, is vouched for by a Swiss traveler, a student named Platter. From the beginning of the 16th century, Jews from *Comtat Venaissin traded in the town. In 1653 the attorney general of the parliament of Toulouse directed the town magistrates to expel them. Similar orders were issued in 1679 and 1680. A special register was opened at the town record office for the Jews who entered Montpellier as a result of a general authorization granted from the end of the 17th century enabling them to trade for one month during each season. From 1714 nine Jews were allowed to settle in the town; others followed with the tacit consent of the magistrates in spite of complaints by the Christian merchants. In 1805, the Jewish community consisted of 105 persons and was headed by R. Moïse Milhau, who represented the department of Vaucluse at the great *Sanhedrin. Thirteen local Jews served in the armies of the revolution and of the empire, five as volunteers. The historian and physician Joseph *Salvador was born in Montpellier of an old Spanish-Jewish family that had fled the Inquisition. At the beginning of the 20th century there were about 35 Jewish families in Montpellier.

Holocaust and Contemporary Periods

After the 1940 armistice, Montpellier, which was in the "free" zone, became a center for Jewish refugees from the occupied part of France. After the North was occupied by the Germans in November 1942, Montpellier became an important transit stop for Jewish partisans. After the liberation, the community was reorganized and by 1960 had 600 members. The arrival of Jews from North Africa increased the number to 2,000 in 1969, and led to the construction of a communal center and a Sephardi synagogue with 300 seats. There were two kosher butchers and a *Talmud Torah*.

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[Bernhard Blumenkranz and David Weinberg (2nd ed.)]

MONTREAL, Canada's second largest city and home to the country's oldest and second largest Jewish community, one that is well known for the overall quality of its Jewish life. Until the 1970s the community was the largest and most dynamic in Canada, but it has declined in importance relative to Toronto's since then. The multicultural city is the metropolis of the overwhelmingly French-speaking province of Quebec. Most of the Jews are Ashkenazim, descended from immigrants who arrived during the first 60 years of the 20th century and assimilated into the English-language community, in part due to the more favorable educational and economic opportunities available in that sector. The Sephardim, largely French-speaking, have become increasingly important during the past 20 years. They are mainly the products of the post-1956 immigration from North Africa.

As Quebec nationalism, especially as manifested in demands to secede from Canada, became more assertive after the founding of the Parti Québécois (PQ) in 1968, minority ethnic groups, including Jews, felt less secure. PQ election victories and independence referenda between 1976 and 1995 sparked an exodus of thousands of Jews, mainly young adults, and left the remaining Jewish community on edge and apprehensive about its future. In the face of continuing threats of secession, the vast majority of Montreal Jews remains staunchly federalist and vigorously opposes the idea of an independent Quebec.

History

The community was founded by Sephardim from New York in 1768 but remained minuscule until the emigration from Eastern Europe began late in the 19th century. By 1901 there were about 7,000 Jews. During the 20th century there were rapid growth spurts connected with immigration spurred by antisemitism, the destruction of the two world wars, and later by upheavals in the Arab world after the creation of Israel. The community reached its peak population of nearly 120,000 during the 1970s but has been in decline since then due to out-migration, mainly to other cities in Canada. During much of the 20th century Montreal was the leading force in the countrywide community, with most of the major organizations, notably the *Canadian Jewish Congress, headquartered there.

The flow of immigrants, almost all European until the Sephardi immigration that began in 1956, gave the community a European character in many respects: religious, cultural, social, and linguistic. Montreal was home to numerous Yiddish writers and a lively cultural life. The Jewish Public Library and the Montreal Yiddish Theatre are two examples of institutions with deep roots in the community. The geographical concentration of Jews in particular neighborhoods also produced a sense of genuine community that had a positive effect on organizational life. One concrete manifestation was the Jewish Federation, now known as Federation CJA, formed in 1965. It is well known for effective fundraising and coordination of a range of services to meet community needs. Through its power to allocate the funds raised in the annual campaign to the various agencies, the Federation is able to dominate Jewish organizational life in the city. However, there are numerous organizations that operate outside the orbit of the Federation, including religious institutions, B'nai B'rith, and bodies with direct links to Israel.

Montreal's Jews have always been consigned to minority status politically, even those who speak French. The same was largely true in the business world as well. Opportunities have been severely limited in both fields. In politics, there have been a few Jews elected, usually to represent predominantly Jewish constituencies. Among the prominent examples since 1970 are the federal minister of justice and former president of the Canadian Jewish Congress Irwin *Cotler, the Quebec minister of revenue Lawrence Bergman, Victor Goldbloom, Gerry Weiner, Sheila *Finestone, Herbert Marx, and Robert Libman. Others, such as Norman *Spector and Stanley Hartt, have been top advisers to prime ministers. Morris Fish is the second Jew appointed to the Supreme Court of Canada.

In business, the largest success stories have been small businesses that eventually grew into large enterprises. Examples are the Seagram liquor empire under Samuel *Bronfman and Steinberg's supermarkets under Sam *Steinberg. In fact, traditionally Montreal Jews were more likely to be employed in Jewish rather than non-Jewish businesses.

By the early part of the 21st century the community faced a number of serious problems. The largest was demographic: a declining Jewish population with an age distribution skewed toward the elderly. Other key problems were the ongoing threat of Quebec independence, inadequate immigration levels, the difficulty of maintaining sufficient levels of community fundraising to support the demands generated by the aging population, and the challenge of supporting an elaborate day school system that educates over half of the Jewish children with only partial government subsidies.

Demography

Since the decennial Canadian Census asks questions about both religion and ethnicity, it is possible to generate accurate data about the Jewish population in the Montreal Census Metropolitan Area. According to Federation CJA demographer Charles Shahar, the population (using the "Jewish standard definition") stood at 92,970 in 2001, down from 101,405 in 1991, 103,765 in 1981, and 112,020 in 1971. Jews constituted 2.8 percent of the population of the metropolitan area in 2001, compared to 4.1 percent in 1971. Montreal's Jews were 25.1 percent of the countrywide Jewish population and had a higher median age (41.8 years) than Jews nationwide (40.2). In 1971, over 39 percent of Canada's Jews lived in Montreal. Jews constitute the seventh largest ethnic group in Montreal.

A comparison of Montreal's Jews with the non-Jewish population shows that there is a bulge in the over-65 category (21.6 versus 11.9 percent) and a shortfall in the 25–44 group (21.6 versus 32.0 percent). There are similar differences when compared to other Canadian Jews, though not as marked. In addition, the 15–24 cohort shrank dramatically between 1971 and 2001 (from 18.2 to 12.7 percent). The age distribution suggests that the growing social and health care demands of the elderly will be increasingly difficult for the community to meet because of the small size of the key productive age cohorts. As a result, the community actively seeks immigrants but has found that the supply is insufficient to maintain the population size.

The largest concentrations of Jews in the metropolitan area are found in the suburban areas of Côte St. Luc (19,785) and the West Island (13,030). Other areas with more than 7,000 Jews are St. Laurent, Côte des Neiges, and Snowdon. Hampstead and Côte St. Luc have Jewish populations in the 70–75 percent range. There are ḥasidic enclaves in Outremont (mainly *Belz, Skver, and *Satmar), Côte des Neiges (Lubavitch), and Boisbriand (Tosh), as well as an ultra-Orthodox community in Outremont and the Park Avenue area. There are 6,795 Holocaust survivors, constituting nearly one quarter of Jews over 55. About 18 percent of Montreal's Jews live below the poverty line.

Approximately one third of the Jewish population was born outside Canada. The largest numbers of immigrants came from North Africa and the Middle East (10 percent) and Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union (11 percent). Smaller proportions came from Western Europe, Israel, and the United States. About two thirds of the Jews speak both English and French, with English the predominant mother tongue and language of home use. Another 26 percent speak English only and four percent speak French only. About 10 percent have Yiddish as their mother tongue, with about 56 percent English, 18 percent French, and three percent each for Russian and Hebrew. Some 70 percent now use English at home.

Religious Life

Jewish religious life in Montreal is extensive and quite varied. There are dozens of synagogues, the overwhelming majority Orthodox. There is one major Reform temple, several Conservative synagogues, and a Reconstructionist congregation. Even among the Orthodox there is a wide range, running from the various ḥasidic sects to yeshivah-oriented ultra-Orthodox to Modern Orthodox to Sephardi, each with its own type of synagogue. Finally, there are also quite a number of informal *minyanim* around the city, meeting in such venues as schools, homes, synagogue buildings, and even shopping centers. Some of these *minyanim* have been formally organized as congregations in order to enjoy certain legal advantages.

During the early years of the 21st century, *Chabad has energetically tried to extend its impact in the community beyond traditional Lubavitcher ḥasidim by establishing a major presence in both Hampstead and Côte St. Luc. Among the leading synagogues, the Shaar Hashomayim in suburban Westmount, while originally Orthodox, was affiliated with the Conservative movement through most of the 20th century. It is currently unaffiliated and has hired only Orthodox rabbis since the retirement of long-time Rabbi Wilfrid Shuchat. The Conservatives' decision to ordain women was the key precipitating factor.

In addition to regional bodies representing the various religious movements, there are community organizations whose purpose is to facilitate religious life. The Montreal Board of Rabbis and the Synagogue Council are inclusive. The Va'ad Ha'ir, styled as the Jewish Community Council of Montreal, is Orthodox and has traditionally been the sole body to offer *kashrut* supervision in the city. The long-time monopoly, while objectionable to some, did serve a unifying purpose because the Va'ad's authority was accepted by virtually the entire community. During the past decade that authority has come into question for two reasons. First of all, the Communauté Sépharade du Québec (CSQ) organized its own *kashrut* supervision operation, which amounted to a competing *hekhsher*. Some kosher eating establishments opted for CSQ supervision, thereby undermining those who wanted to preserve a single standard of *kashrut* in the community. Secondly, under the influence of ultra-Orthodox rabbis, the Va'ad became more stringent in its interpretation of *kashrut* requirements. Its various edicts elicited some complaints from within the Modern Orthodox group.

Personal status issues such as conversion and divorce have generally been handled discreetly through the Va'ad or associated institutions. Issues involving marriage are more open, with traditional norms generally prevailing except among the most liberal groups. Questions about gays and lesbians have not had a high profile, though again the Reform and Reconstructionist congregations have been the most open to those minorities.

In general, studies have shown a pattern of greater religious observance, particularly in terms of Sabbath, holidays, and *kashrut*, than in other communities on the continent. In addition, there is a considerable amount of tolerance. For example, although most congregations are Orthodox, many of those who attend such synagogues are not. Yet that fact does not seem to have caused significant problems.

Education

Education has been a major issue for the community for over a century. Originally the public school system was confessional, with parallel Catholic and Protestant schools. Ashkenazi immigrants found greater acceptance in the Protestant sector, which is a major reason for the fact that they became part of the English-speaking community. The Catholic schools, most of which operated in French, were not open to the Jews. By the 1960s and 1970s Jewish involvement in Protestant schools was protected as a right; they were no longer there on sufferance.

Due to the confessional character of the public schools, many Jews had opted for private Jewish day schools, of which there is a great variety in Montreal. In 1968, the provincial government agreed to provide partial funding for the general studies portion of the curriculum, a policy that is still in effect. During the 1970s increasing numbers of strings were attached to those grants, notably a requirement that the major proportion of the teaching hours be in French. The schools were also made subject to the eligibility requirements of the language law that limited admissions to schools classified as English (which included most of the main Jewish schools) to students who were officially certified as Anglophones. This condition limited choices for immigrants, including English-speakers. Meanwhile, the Sephardim developed their own day schools, which were classified as French, meaning that any student was eligible for admission.

The result of the government subsidy of tuition kept tuition charges relatively low in the North American context. That, plus the tradition of Jews attending their own schools, has resulted in over half the Jewish school age children enrolled in day schools at the elementary or high school level. Only about half of those who complete Jewish elementary schools remain in the Jewish system for high school. The schools offer a wide range of ideological options, including Religious Zionist-Modern Orthodox, Yiddishist, Conservative, community, and ultra-Orthodox (including ḥasidic). Most of the schools maintain a strong commitment to Hebrew language studies, and the community is known for its innovations in Hebrew language instruction.

There was an agreement with the Quebec government in 2004 to increase the public support to 100 percent of the amount allocated to the public schools (now non-confessional) for secular studies. However, the announcement triggered a political storm that included thinly disguised antisemitism. Within a month the government backtracked, leaving the schools at 60 percent funding. The result was most embarrassing for both the community and the government, especially because of the way that opponents succeeded in ridiculing the government for proposing to channel additional public funds to the affluent Jews.

Organizational and Institutional Structure

Ever since the early part of the 20th century, Montreal's Jews have created a host of organizations, largely to deliver services to the community. Many of these were in the health care, social welfare, recreation, cultural, or education areas. Eventually, in 1965, a federation structure, similar to those in existence in the United States, was established in order to bring more coherence to fundraising, allocations, community planning, and coordination of community affairs. What was originally known as Allied Jewish Community Services was renamed Federation CJA during the 1990s. It is one of the 16 large Jewish federations on the continent. The Federation has proven to be exceptionally successful in the annual Combined Jewish Appeal, giving the Montreal community the reputation of being one of the most generous in North America on a per capita basis. In 2005 the expenditures on programs were about $45 million. Of that, about 38 percent supported Israel and related activities, about 6 percent went to countrywide organizations and programs, and 56 percent was retained for local services. The local allocation is primarily for social services, education, and culture (including tuition assistance at the day schools), and various community initiatives.

The Canadian Jewish Congress, which had been the dominant representative body of Canadian Jewry for nearly a century, never established a solid fundraising base. Eventually it had to turn to the federations, including Federation CJA, for support. Its Quebec regional operation is now somewhat limited and is supported by the Federation. B'nai B'rith Canada is outside the federation structure. It has a national organization that raises money to fund its local activities, including a Quebec Region office in Montreal, with the main focus on community relations and antisemitism. Other national bodies, such as the *Canadian Jewish News*, National Jewish Campus Life, the Canada-Israel Committee, the Canadian Council of Israel and Jewish Advocacy, Canadian Jewish Congress, and JIAS (*Jewish Immigrant Aid Services) Canada, are funded by all the federations in the country through UIA Federations Canada.

The Quebec Issue

Ever since the Parti Québécois (PQ) became one of the two main provincial parties in 1970, the issue of secession has bedeviled the political scene. The raison d'être of the PQ is making Quebec an independent sovereign state, a goal that few in the Jewish community share. Montreal Jews clearly prefer that Quebec remain within Canada. In the 1980 and 1995 referendums on independence Jews overwhelmingly opposed the PQ's goal. Indeed some were quite outspoken. After 1995 Jews became particularly prominent in leadership roles within the Anglophone community.

After the PQ achieved power for the first time in 1976, many Jews began to contemplate leaving Quebec, despite their strong roots in Montreal. Among the factors that they considered were the deleterious effect of separatism on the economic climate, the accentuation of the minority status of anyone other than the French Québécois, the political uncertainty associated with the secession option, and a general fear of nationalism. It is difficult to be precise about how many Jews left from 1976 onwards, but an estimate of 20,000 is certainly reasonable. The departure of such a sizable portion of the community, especially younger people, is a major cause of the imbalance in the age structure of Montreal's Jews.

Future developments regarding separatism are likely to have a profound effect on the community's future. Although the issue became quiescent with the election of the provincial Liberals in 2003, the PQ remains the main opposition party. Should it regain power and hold a successful referendum, there would likely be a further exodus from the productive age cohorts. Consequently the future of the community is in some ways dependent on the vagaries of Quebec politics and nationalist sentiment.

Montreal's Jews have built a strong, cohesive, and thriving community that in many ways exemplifies the best that Jews can achieve in the North American context. Although it retains considerable energy and has been revitalized by the arrival of the Sephardim, its future is clouded by the political uncertainty. There is no doubt that it will persist, but its ability to maintain an elaborate structure remains to be determined.

[Harold M. Waller (2nd ed.)]

MONZÓN (**Monson**, **Montisson**), city in Aragon, N.E. Spain. The history of three communities, Monzón, Barbastro, and Lérida, was closely interconnected. Information on Jewish settlement in Monzón, which had many connections with the local Knights Templar, dates back to the second half of the 12th century. In 1232 the Monzón community joined the communities which pronounced a counter-ban against the scholars who banned the study of *Maimonides' writings. For taxation purposes, the community formed part of a collecta (tax administrative unit) with the neighboring communities of Albalate de Cinca, Alcoletge, Pomar, Estadilla, and Granadella. In 1271 the annual tax paid to the crown by the community of Monzón amounted to 4,000 sólidos. A ruling of Solomon b. Abraham ibn *Adret (Responsa, pt. 3, no. 242; cf. Responsa of Isaac b. Sheshet, no. 19) indicates how the tax was paid in Monzón. Anti-Jewish riots occurred in Monzón in 1260. During the persecutions at the time of the *Black Death (1348), the Jews of Monzón entrenched themselves inside their walled quarter and were thus saved. They suffered no harm during the 1391 persecutions, although a number of them subsequently became *Conversos. The community sent Don Joseph ha-Levi and R. Yom Tov Caracosa as its representatives to the disputation of *Tortosa in 1413–14, which had serious consequences for the Monzón community. In 1414 the antipope *Benedict XIII wrote to the bishop of Lérida authorizing him to turn the synagogue of Monzón into a church, since the majority of the community's members had become converted. He also ordered that property belonging to the burial society and the *Talmud Torah* should be given as *beneficium* to the chapel to be erected in the new church. However it seems that later the community revived. Forty-four names of Jewish householders are mentioned in the notarial records of 1465–78. No details are recorded regarding the departure of the Jews from Monzón on the expulsion of the Jews from Spain in 1492.

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[Haim Beinart]

MONZON, ABRAHAM, the name of two scholars.

(1) (d. after 1603), halakhic authority and preacher, and apparently of North African origin. During his youth he lived in Egypt, where he studied under R. Bezalel *Ashkenazi. His pupils in Egypt included R. Abraham *Iskandari. He later went to Constantinople, where he died. He wrote halakhic decisions, and homiletical interpretations; some of his responsa are scattered in various manuscripts and in the works of contemporary scholars, such as Joseph di *Trani, Samuel de *Medina, Bezalel Ashkenazi, and Solomon b. Abraham ha-Kohen. *Azulai saw in manuscript a composition of his on the work *Imrei Emet*, by Menahem de *Lonzano, criticizing the kabbalistic system of R. Ḥayyim *Vital. Azulai also saw a collection of his sermons.

(2) (18th century), rabbi and author. He was born in Tetuan, Morocco, where he engaged unsuccessfully in commerce. He therefore wandered to Algiers and Oran and in about 1732 arrived in Egypt, where he was considered one of the most prominent rabbis. His works are extant in manuscript.

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[Abraham David]

MOON (Heb. usually יָרֵחַ, *yare'aḥ*; poetical form לְבָנָה, *levanah*; Isa. 24:23, 30:26; Song 6:10). A deity for ancient Israel's neighbors, the moon is for Israel "the lesser light" created on the fourth day of creation "to rule the night" (Gen. 1:16). The calendar used in ancient Israel was probably lunisolar. At any rate, the month was based on the periodical recurrence of the moon's phases. (For full details, see *Calendar.) The New Moon, Rosh Ḥodesh, the beginning of a new period, was proclaimed by the Sanhedrin and marked by the blowing of trumpets and special offerings (Num. 10:10, et al.), and was a minor holiday of which liturgical traces have remained (see *New Moon). Two main festivals, Passover and Sukkot, begin at the full moon.

Cult

As a male deity, the moon (Nanna) was worshiped by the Sumerians and by the Semites in general. Known as Sin among the eastern Semites, the moon god was called Eraḥ in the "west." Sin was the patron god of Ur and Haran, which were connected with the origins of the Patriarchs. The popularity of the moon cult is attested by the frequency of theophoric names with the divine element Sin or Eraḥ. The Israelites were warned against worshiping the moon, and convicted transgressors were punished by stoning (Deut. 4:19, 17:3–5). The moon cult was, nevertheless, introduced into Judah by King Manasseh (II Kings 21:3) but was subsequently abolished by King Josiah (II Kings 23:5).

For fuller details see *Host of Heaven.

In the Aggadah

Rabbinic literature uses *levanah*, and not *yare'aḥ* for the moon. The moon and the sun were created on the 28th of Elul (PdRE 8), and were originally equal in size (both being referred to as "the two great lights" – Gen. 1:16), but jealousy between them caused dissensions, so that God decided to make one of them smaller. The moon was chosen to be degraded because it had unlawfully intruded into the sphere of the sun, and hence the difference between the sun, "the greater light." and the moon, "the lesser light," (*ibid.*). The unlawful intrusion is based on the phenomenon that the moon is sometimes visible during the day (PdRE 6; Gen. R. 6:3). The remarkable statement is made that the he-goat offered on the New Moon is a sin-offering brought by God; according to the Midrash this was for having permitted the moon to encroach upon the domain of the sun (Gen. R. 6:3), but the Talmud says it was for diminishing its size (Ḥul. 60b). God also appeased the moon by surrounding it with stars like a viceroy encircled by his assistants (Gen. R. 6:4). God's original intention was that the sun alone should furnish light to the earth, but foreseeing the future idolatrous worship of the heavenly objects, He decided that it would be better to have two large celestial bodies, thus minimizing the danger of one becoming a central deity (Gen. R. 6:l). For this reason the sun and moon stand in judgment daily before the Almighty, ashamed to go forth, and pleading, "People worship us and anger the Holy One, blessed be He!" (Mid. Ps. 19:11).

The moon was designated as Jacob's luminary, while the sun symbolized Esau. The Jewish nation bases its calendar on the lunar year, since they have a portion in this world and the world to come, like the moon which can be seen both by day and by night (Gen. R. 6:3). An eclipse of the moon is therefore considered an evil omen for Israel, and is attributed to four different sins: forgery, false testimony breeding small cattle in Ereẓ Israel (since they damage the crops of the field), and cutting down fruit trees (Suk. 29a). The rabbis declared that the countenance of Moses was like that of the sun, while that of Joshua was like that of the moon (BB 75a). Esther, who brought light to Israel after the evil decree of Ahasuerus, is likewise compared to the moon, which enables people to rejoice and walk about when it illuminates the darkness of the night (Ex. R. 15:6). In the future, seven companies of righteous men whose faces will shine like the sun and the moon will welcome the presence of God (Lev. R. 30:2). Moses did not comprehend exactly when the New Moon was to be sanctified until God showed him the form of the moon when it was beginning its monthly cycle and said to him. "When you see it like this, sanctify it" (Mekh. Pisḥa 1).

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MOON, BLESSING OF THE, prayer of thanksgiving recited at the periodical reappearance of the moon's crescent. In Hebrew, the prayer is known by several names: *Birkat ha-Levanah* ("the blessing of the moon") or *Kiddush Levanah* ("sanctification of the moon"). It can be recited front the third evening after the appearance of the new moon until the 15th of the lunar month; after that day, the moon begins to diminish. The prayer is recited only if the moon is clearly visible (not when it is hidden by clouds), and it should preferably be said in the open air. According to the Talmud (Sanh. 42a), "Whoever pronounces the benediction over the new moon in its due time welcomes, as it were, the presence of the *Shekhinah*" ("Divine Presence") and hence it is recommended (Sof. 20:1) to pronounce the benediction, if possible, on the evening after the departure of the Sabbath when one is still in a festive mood and clad in one's best clothes. The blessing of the new moon in some rites is delayed in the month of Av until after the Ninth of *Av, in Tishri, until after the *Day of Atonement, and in Tevet until after the fast of the tenth of *Tevet. A mourner does not bless the moon until after *shivah ("the first week of mourning"); in the rainy season, however, when the moon is often hidden by clouds, he recites it whenever possible. The blessing of the moon is not recited on Sabbath and holiday eves, mainly because of the prohibition to carry prayer books outside the house or synagogue building when there is no *eruv. The basic text of the blessing is given in *Sanhedrin* 42a and in *Soferim* 2:1, but many adddiitions were subsequently made. In the present Ashkenazi ritual, the blessing is introduced by the recital of Psalms 148:1–6 (in the Sephardi rite also Ps. 8:4–5), after which a benediction praising God as the creator and master of nature is pronounced. In the mishnaic period, the proclamation of the new month by the rabbinical court was celebrated with dancing and rejoicing. It is still customary to rise on the tips of the toes in the direction of the moon while reciting three times "As I dance toward thee, but cannot touch thee, so shall none of my evil-inclined enemies be able to touch me." This is followed by "Long live David, King of Israel" (also pronounced three times) and by the greeting *Shalom aleikhem* ("Peace be to you") which is extended to those standing around who respond *Aleikhem shalom* ("to you be peace"). This part of the ceremony is reminiscent of the days of *Judah ha-Nasi when the Romans abrogated the authority of the rabbinical court to consecrate the new moon which therefore had to be carried out clandestinely. "Long live David, King of Israel" served as a password between Judah ha-Nasi and his emissary R. *Ḥiyya (RH 25a). It also voiced Israel's continuous hope for redemption by the Messiah, a descendant of David whose kingdom would be "established forever as the moon" (Ps. 89:38). The ceremony concludes with the recital of several scriptural verses, a quotation from the Talmud (Sanh. 42a) "In the school of R. Ishmael it was taught: Had Israel merited no other privilege than to greet the presence of their Heavenly Father once a month, it were sufficient," the plea that God readjust the deficiency of the light of the moon caused by the moon's complaint against the sun (Ḥul. 60b), and a prayer for the fulfillment of the promise of the restoration of the Kingdom of Israel when the Jews will "seek the Lord their God, and David their King" (Hos. 3:5). The blessing of the new moon and the festive character of Rosh Ḥodesh (New Month) originated in the time of the *Second Temple. Due to the significance of the moon in the Jewish *calendar (see Ex. 12:2), it may be of much older origin; in the course of time it has, however, undergone substantial changes. The rite takes the moon as a symbol of the renewal in nature, as well as of Israel's renewal and redemption. Various other elements, some of them of a superstitious nature, have become attached to the rite.

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[Meir Ydit]

MOONMAN, ERIC (1929–), British politician and communal leader. Moonman was born in Liverpool and left school at 13, when he was apprenticed to a printer. He worked for the

Daily Mirror in Manchester and was involved in local politics in Stepney, London, before becoming the Labour member of Parliament for Billericay (1966–70) and Basildon (1974–79). More recently he was an executive in the radio industry and, despite leaving school at 13, a professor of management at the City University Business School. Moonman was one of the most visible and consistent pro-Israeli politicians in the British Labour Party, serving as chairman (1975–80) and president (2001–) of the Zionist Federation of Britain. He was vice president (1994–2000) of the Board of Deputies of British Jews and served on many other bodies fighting antisemitism.

[William D. Rubinstein (2nd ed.)]

MOONVES, LES (1949–), U.S. entertainment executive. Born in New York, Moonves is a distant relative of David Ben-Gurion through a marriage on his father's side. Although he once planned on becoming a doctor, after graduating Bucknell University in 1971 he decided to become an actor. Moonves lived in Greenwich Village for five years, studying acting at the Neighborhood Playhouse and working as a bartender at the renowned restaurant Tavern on the Green. In 1976, Moonves moved to Hollywood, where he bartended between minor roles on television shows like *The Six Million Dollar Man* and *Cannon*. He abandoned acting for an executive role at Columbia in 1979, and in 1981 he was hired by Twentieth Century Fox to produce made-for-television films. Joining Lorimar Television in 1984, he produced *The Two Mrs. Grenvilles* and *I Know My First Name Is Steven*. He was promoted to head of series production in 1986, overseeing shows like *Dallas*, *Knots Landing*, and *Falcon Crest*; head of public affairs in 1988; in 1989 he was made president of Lorimar, which was acquired by Warner in 1991, becoming Warner Bros. Television. Moonves oversaw a variety of hit television shows, and in 1995 he went to third-place CBS to take over as president of its entertainment division. Success came in the form of sitcom *Everybody Loves Raymond* (1996–2005), the reality-television show *Survivor* (2000–) and the drama *CSI: Crime Scene Investigation* (2000–). In 2002, CBS's parent company Viacom named Moonves to head its floundering network UPN, making him the first executive to run two networks simultaneously. That same year CBS ranked first in total viewership. In 2004, Moonves and MTV chairman Tom Freston were named co-presidents and co-chief operating officers of Viacom, Inc., taking over for Viacom chief executive officer Sumner Redstone. In 2004, Moonves married *The Early Show* anchor Julie Chen after divorcing actress Nancy Wiesenfeld, his wife of 26 years.

[Adam Wills (2nd ed.)]

°**MOORE, GEORGE FOOT** (1851–1931), U.S. teacher of religion. Moore graduated from Yale in 1872 and from Union Theological Seminary in 1877, was ordained to the Presbyterian ministry in 1878, and became professor of Hebrew at Andover Theological Seminary in 1883. In 1902 he went to Harvard and was made professor of the history of religion in 1904.

Moore's work was of importance in four fields – the shaping of U.S. scholarship, the reshaping of U.S. concepts of religion, the study of the Hebrew Bible, and the study of tannaitic Judaism. For scholarship, he helped introduce the "scientific" standards and concepts developed in Germany into the U.S. His influence was exercised through his own example, teaching, committee work, editorship of the *Andover Review* (1884–93), the *Harvard Theological Review* (1908–14, 1921–31), and *Harvard Theological Studies* (1916–31), innumerable book reviews, articles, and lectures, and participation in learned societies. He was president of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, the Massachusetts Historical Society, and the Society of Biblical Literature. Thus he also did much to shape the concept of religion as a universal human activity of which the various religions are particular instances, and the study, one of the "humanities." This conception was important for the ecumenical movement, cooperation between Christians and Jews, reorientation of missions from conversion to social work, and introduction of courses on the history of religion into college curricula. The professor of history of religion appeared as a new social type, distinct from the chaplain and the professor of theology, and Moore's works – *Metempsychosis* (1914), *The Birth and Growth of Religion* (1923), *History of Religions* (2 vols., 1913–19, 1927–28) – were used in many courses.

In the study of the Hebrew Bible Moore not only introduced German methods, standards, and conclusions, but added his own common sense and enormous learning. Beside his many articles in the *Andover Review* and Cheyne's *Encyclopaedia Biblica*, his *Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Judges* (1895) remains most valuable. Finally, his *Judaism in the First Centuries of the Christian Era: The Age of the Tannaim* (3 vols., 1927–30, 1966^2) is an outstanding study of rabbinic Judaism. Although it too much neglects the mystical, magical, and apocalyptic sides of Judaism, its apology for tannaitic teaching as a reasonable, humane, and pious working out of biblical tradition is conclusive and has been of great importance not only for Christians, but also for Jewish understanding of Judaism.

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[Morton Smith]

MOPP (**Max Oppenheimer**; 1885–1954), painter and printmaker. Born in Vienna, he studied there from 1900 to 1903 at the Akademie der Bildenden Künste and at the Academy of Fine Arts in Prague from 1903 to 1906. He returned to Vienna in 1908. With the artists Oskar Kokoschka and Egon Schiele, Oppenheimer originated Austrian Expressionism, a style characterized by distorted form, exaggerated or unnatural color, and intensely expressive lines intended to signify turbulent emotion. Oppenheimer signed his name as Mopp beginning in 1910. Both Mopp's and Kokoschka's portraits, which share very similar visual characteristics, helped to establish Expressionism as the major Viennese visual style by 1909. Mopp was a masterly portraitist, with deep psychological insight. Among his many sitters were the writer Thomas Mann (1913), writer Arthur Schnitzler, composer Arnold Schönberg, and composer Anton Webern (1909). After travel and study in Holland, France, and Italy, Mopp moved to Berlin in 1911, where he contributed drawings to the Expressionist periodical *Die Aktion*. During the same year, the artist had his first solo exhibition at the Galerie Thannhauser in Munich. The poster for the exhibition created a scandal because of its adaptation of Mopp's painting *The Bleeding Man*, an image of the artist as a wounded, semi-nude Christ. Mopp often composed paintings with religious, specifically Christian themes. In addition to *The Bleeding Man*, among other works, the artist produced several etchings for the German edition of Gustave Flaubert's *Legend of St. Julian the Hospitable*. Mopp fled from the rising National Socialist movement in Germany to Berne in 1915 and then to Zurich a year later. During this period, Mopp composed still lifes in a Cubist and Futurist style and experimented with Dada. With artist Marcel *Janco, Mopp created decorations and the Dada dancers' masks for the Cabaret Voltaire, and exhibited pictures there for the Cabaret's 1916 opening night. In addition, Mopp, with Guillaume Apollinaire, Jean Arp, Wassily Kandinsky, Janco, and Pablo Picasso, contributed to Hugo Ball's 1916 pamphlet titled *Cabaret Voltaire*. A music-lover and an accomplished violinist, Mopp painted many group portraits of celebrated string quartets. For example, Mopp's painting *The Klinger Quartet* (1916) is a tondo or circular composition in which the repeated depiction of the musician's expressive hands seeks to visually communicate the quality and rhythm of the sound emanating from the instruments. Mopp's massive painting *The Symphony* (1920–40), a work upon which Thomas Mann commented in an essay, was intended as an homage to the late Gustav Mahler. In 1924, 200 of the artist's now well-known orchestra works were shown in an exhibition organized by the Viennese Hagenbund artists' association. Later, Mopp's work revealed the influence of the Neue Sachlichkeit. The artist relocated frequently in the years before and during World War II. Between 1917 and 1923, Mopp lived in Geneva and Vienna; he resided in Berlin in 1924 and 1925, but returned once again to Vienna in 1932. In the latter city, Mopp exhibited at the Wiener Künstlerhaus. After he was labeled by the National Socialists as a "degenerate artist," nine pieces of Mopp's work were removed from German museums in 1937. The following year, the artist fled to New York. At the end of his life, his work displayed an Impressionist style. In addition to Flaubert's book, Mopp illustrated several more publications, including stories by Heinrich *Heine and two works by the chess master, Emanuel *Lasker. Mopp's work is represented in numerous museums, including the Fine Arts Museum of San Francisco; the Los Angeles County Museum of Art; the Museum of Modern Art, New York; the National Gallery of Canada; the Jewish Museum, Prague; and the Leopold Museum, Vienna.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Mopp. Max Oppenheimer, 1885–1954: Juedisches Museum der Stadt Wien, 23. Juni bis 18. September 1994* (1994); M.-A. von Puttkamer, *Max Oppenheimer, MOPP (1885–1954): Leben und malerisches Werk mit einem Werkverzeichnis der Gemaelde* (1999).

[Nancy Buchwald (2nd ed.)]

MOPSIK, CHARLES (1956–2003), French scholar of Jewish mysticism. Mopsik was employed in the Centre national de la recherche scientifique (CRNS) and was instrumental in disseminating the serious study of Jewish mysticism in France in both academic and popular circles. He is best known for his translations of Zohar-related literature and central works of Castilian Kabbalah from the same period. He edited the series "Dix Paroles" (editions Verdier), establishing a library of annotated translations into French of classical Jewish texts. He also edited various Hebrew and Aramaic texts in their original, including works by Moses de León and Joseph Hamadan. Mopsik's scholarly career began with his dissertation on sexual symbolism and sexuality in Jewish sources, comprising a study and edition of the celebrated "Treatise on Holiness" (*Iggeret ha-Kodesh*). He further published numerous articles on sex and gender, including the posthumously issued collection of studies in English, *Sex of the Soul*. One of his unique contributions was to assert that in some kabbalistic works the category of sex applies to the soul even prior to its embodiment in the material world. Mopsik's field of inquiry ranged from ancient Jewish mysticism, including a volume on the so-called "III Enoch" of the Heikhalot Literature, to kabbalistic texts in the early modern period, Lurianic and ḥasidic texts, and some reflections on the Holocaust. His magnum opus is his lengthy study on theurgy in Judaism, showing how the various forms of Jewish practice are seen to effect changes within the divine.

His works include (1) *Lettre sur la sainteté*. Étude préliminaire, traduction et commentaire, suivi d'une étude de Moshé Idel. 1986/1994; (2) *Le* Zohar: Traduction de l'araméen, introduction et notes. Genèse: vols. 1 (1981), 2 (1984), 3 (1991), 4 (1996); *Le Livre de Ruth* (1987); *Cantique des Cantiques* (1999); *Lamentations* (2000); (3) *R. Joseph Gikatila*, *Le secret du mariage de David et Bethsabée*, édition critique, traduction, introduction et notes, 1994/2003; (4) *Les grands textes de la cabale: les rites qui font Dieu*, 1993; and (5) *Sex of the Soul: The Vicissitudes of Sexual Difference in Kabbalah*, 2005.

[Daniel Abrams (2nd ed.)]

MORAG (Mirkin), SHLOMO (1926–1999), Hebrew philologist. Morag was born in Petaḥ Tikvah. He graduated in Jewish and Oriental Studies at The Hebrew University, receiving his doctorate in 1955, and also studied at the School of Oriental Languages of the Sorbonne, Paris. From 1950 he taught at The Hebrew University, and in 1975 he was appointed professor of Hebrew and Semitic languages as well as professor of Hebrew philology at the Tel Aviv University. Morag was a member of the Hebrew Language Academy. He was awarded the Israel Prize for Jewish studies in 1966. He initiated and founded a research project in the language traditions of the Jewish communities, becoming later *The Jewish Oral Traditions Research*

Center, which is part of the Institute of Jewish Studies of The Hebrew University. He served as director of the project, which collected and studied the language traditions of the Jewish communities. Among his works are *The Vocalization Systems of Arabic, Hebrew, and Aramaic* (1962), *The Hebrew Language Traditions of the Yemenite Jews* (1963), and *The Book of Daniel,* – a Yemenite Babylonian MS (1973). A full list of his works and scientific studies was published in *Meḥkarim ba-Lashon ha-Ivrit u-vi-Leshonot ha-Yehudim Muggashim li-Shelomo Morag* (ed. M. Bar-Asher, 1996), 21–38; an autobiographical sketch, ibid., 7–20; and an assessment by the editor, ibid. 1–6. To this list should be added *Edah ve-Lashon*, vols. 21–25.

Morag's father, Moshe Aryeh Mirkin, published a long commentary on the *Midrash Rabbah.*

MORAIS, SABATO (1823–1897), U.S. minister-*ḥazzan* as his position was defined and founder of the *Jewish Theological Seminary. Morais, who was born in Leghorn, Italy, received his early Hebrew education from teachers in his community. At the age of 22, he applied for the position of assistant *ḥazzan* at the Spanish and Portuguese (Bevis Marks) congregation in London and in 1846 he became director of that congregation's orphan school. During his five years in England he learned much about Jewish life in an Anglo-Saxon environment, and established a friendship with Moses *Montefiore and the Italian patriot Mazzini. In 1851 he arrived in the U.S. to become *ḥazzan* of Mikveh Israel congregation, the oldest congregation in Philadelphia (and one that exists until this day), succeeding Isaac Leeser. He was a pioneer in introducing adult education classes and supplemental religious schooling. He had a discretionary fund for the distribution of money to the poor. He served in this position until his death, 47 years later. He opposed slavery during the pre-Civil War period, much to the consternation of some of this congregants. He strove to unite the Sephardi and the Ashkenazi elements in the congregation, and later to help the Russian Jewish immigrants. Morais influenced many young men who became leaders of American Jewry, including Cyrus *Adler, Mayer *Sulzberger, and Solomon *Solis-Cohen. He was, in the words of Pamela Nadel, "a founder or a supporter, of nearly every Philadelphia philanthropy and institution," at a time when Philadelphia was a source of enormous Jewish creativity.

He had a deep love for Jewish music and a great interest in Jewish scholarship, especially in Sephardi studies. He translated a work of S.D. Luzzatto and rendered the writings of other Italian Jewish scholars into English. He was involved in the revival of Hebrew and wrote prose and poetry and encouraged others to write in Hebrew. He published a commentary on the Book of Esther and translated Jeremiah that was the initial draft used in the 1917 Jewish Publication Society edition of the Bible. In 1887 he received an honorary LL.D. from the University of Pennsylvania, the first Jew to receive this distinction. He was a professor at Maimonides College, one of the early attempts to create a rabbinical seminary, from 1867–1873; many of its graduates later supported the Jewish Theological Seminary.

Morais was neither an original thinker nor an incisive expositor but his earnestness and breadth of outlook enabled him to rally the forces of tradition that defined itself as "other than Reform" at a time when the drift was predominantly in the direction of Reform. At one stage he showed a readiness to cooperate with I.M. *Wise in the work of Hebrew Union College, but the radical nature of the Pittsburgh Platform (1885) convinced him that a separate institution to train rabbis on Conservative lines was needed. He was the prime mover in the establishment of the Jewish Theological Seminary (1887) and was president of its faculty until his death, commuting from Philadelphia to New York. He helped shape the institution along the lines of the Breslau Seminary, meaning that candidates for the rabbinate would have both a secular and a religious education.

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[Jack Reimer / Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

MORAVIA (Czech **Morava**, Ger. **Maehren**, Heb. ,מרהרן מערדין), historic region of the Czech Republic (formerly in *Czechoslovakia). A political unit from around 769, it formed the nucleus of the Great Moravian Empire (first half of the ninth century until 906). From 1029 it was under Bohemian rule; in 1182 it became a margravate and as such a direct fief of the empire. Together with *Bohemia it became part of the *Hapsburg Empire (1526–1918), and then part of Czechoslovakia, united with former Austrian Silesia after 1927. Between 1939 and 1945 it was part of the Nazi-occupied Protectorate of Bohemia-Moravia, after parts had been ceded to Germany as a result of the Munich Agreement of September 1938. It was replaced, in 1960, by the establishment of two provinces, southern and northern Moravia. Partly because of the region's location on the crossroads of Europe, throughout the centuries there was a considerable amount of reciprocal influence between Moravian Jewry and the Jewries of the surrounding countries. It had a thriving cultural life, promoted by the high degree of autonomy and communal organization it developed. Moravian Jews played a large part in the development of the communities in Vienna and northwestern Hungary.

From the Early Settlement to the 17th Century

Documentation of the first stages of Moravian Jewry is very scanty. In all probability Jews first came to Moravia as traders in the wake of the Roman legions. According to tradition, some communities (e.g., *Ivanice, *Jemnice, *Pohorelice, and *Trebic) were founded in the first millennium C.E., but such reports cannot be substantiated. Moravia is mentioned rarely in early medieval Jewish sources. However, it may well be that some authorities confused part of Bohemia with Moravia. As other authorities referred to all Slav countries as "Canaan," it is difficult to make any positive identification of a Jewish settlement in Moravia. It is likely that Jews lived in Moravia before the date of conclusive documentary evidence for their presence. In the biography of Bishop Clement of Bulgaria (d. 916) it is reported that, after the death of the Byzantine missionary Methodius (885), when the Frankish Church prevailed in the Byzantine Empire, about 200 Slav priests were sold to Jewish slave traders. The Raffelstaetten toll regulations (903–906), which fixed relations between the Great Moravian and the Carolingian empires, mention Jews as slave traders, but do not say whether they resided in Moravia. According to the Bohemian chronicler Cosmas of Prague (1039?–1125), a baptized Jew built the Podivin castle in southern Moravia in 1067; Cosmas also mentions a community in *Brno (Bruenn) in 1091. Isaac *Dorbelo, a student of R. Jacob b. Meir *Tam, speaks of observing the rite of the *Olomouc (Olmuetz) community around 1146 (*Maḥzor Vitry*, Hurwitz ed. (1923), 247, 388). The first extant document explicitly mentioning Jews in Moravia is the *Jihlava (Iglau) city law of 1249. In 1254 *Premysl Ottokar II issued his charter, an adaptation of one originally issued in 1244 by Duke Frederick II of Austria (1230–46). Among other provisions it forbade forced conversion and condemned the *blood libel. A gravestone excavated in *Znojmo (Znaim), dated 1256, is the oldest known Jewish tombstone from Moravia. In 1268 Premysl Ottokar II renewed his charter; at the time the Jews of Brno were expected to contribute a quarter of the cost of strengthening the city wall. In an undated document (probably from c. 1273–78), he exempted the Brno Jews from all their dues for one year since they had become impoverished. Writing to the pope in 1273, Bishop Bruno of Olomouc complained that the Jews of his diocese employed Christian wet nurses and accepted sacred objects as pledges, and that the interest they took during one year exceeded the initial loan. The first time a Jew, Nathan, is mentioned by name is in 1278, in connection with a lawsuit about church property. Solomon b. Abraham *Adret (d. 1310), responding to a question addressed to him from Moravia, mentions the *Austerlitz (Slavkov) and *Trest (Triesch) communities. Wenceslaus II confirmed Premysl Ottokar's charter (1283 and 1305) "at the request of the Jews of Moravia."

When Moravia passed under the rule of the Luxembourg dynasty in 1311, the Jewish community of Brno, carrying their Torah Scrolls, participated in the celebrations welcoming King John of Luxembourg to the city. In 1322 John permitted the bishop of Olomouc to settle one Jew in four of his towns (*Kromeriz (Kremsier), Mohelnice, Vyskov, and Svitavy (Zwittau)), and to benefit from their tax payments. At that time Jews earned their livelihood mainly as moneylenders, but gentile moneylenders could also be found. Several Moravian communities, such as Jemnice (Jamnitz), Trebic, and Znojmo, were affected by the wave of massacres evoked by the *Pulkau *Host desecration in 1338. A toll privilege granted in 1341 to the monastery of Vilimov, which was on the main road between Moravia and Bohemia, puts Jewish merchants on a par with their gentile counterparts and mentions a great variety of merchandise in which they dealt. *Charles IV granted the cities of Brno and Jihlava the right to admit Jews in 1345, making the Jihlava community independent of that in Brno. There was an influx of Jews fleeing from Germany into Moravia during the *Black Death massacres (1348–49). In 1349 the bishop of Olomouc complained to the city authorities that Jews did not wear special Jewish hats, as they were supposed to do. Between 1362 and 1415 Jews were free to accept real estate as security on loans.

Some of the Jews expelled from Austria in 1421 (the *Wiener Gesera*) settled in Moravia. Accused of supporting the *Hussites, the Jihlava community was expelled by Albert V, duke of Austria and margrave of Moravia, in 1426. As a result of John of *Capistrano's activities, the Jews were expelled from five of the six royal cities in 1454 (Jihlava, Brno, Olomouc, Znojmo, and Neustadt; the sixth royal city, Uherske Hradiste, expelled the Jews in 1514). The royal cities remained forbidden to them until after the 1848 revolution. The Jews who were expelled settled in the villages. During the 16th century, when there was no central power in Moravia ("in every castle a king"), the Jews were settled in small towns and villages under the protection of the local lords. The latter treated them well, not only because of the part they played in the economic development of their domains, which they shared initially with the Anabaptist communes, but also because some of the lords belonged to the Bohemian Brethren (see *Hussites) or were humanists; many therefore believed in religious tolerance. The importance of the Jews in the Moravian economic life (as military purveyors and *Court Jews) increased because of the constant threat of the Turkish wars. Since several Christian sects lived side by side, it became somewhat easier for the Jew to pursue his own interests without interference. When the Anabaptists were expelled (1622), and the country became depopulated during the Thirty Years' War (1618–48), the Jews took over new economic areas and were also permitted to acquire houses formerly occupied by "heretics." However, at the same time some communities suffered severely during the war (e.g., Kromeriz and *Hodonin (Goeding)). Moravia also absorbed refugees from Poland after the *Chmielnicki massacres (1648), among them scholars such as Gershon *Ashkenazi, author of *Avodat ha-Gershuni*, and Shabbetai Kohen, author of *Siftei Kohen*, the renowned commentary on the Shulḥan Arukh, who became rabbi of Holesov. Many Jews also arrived after the expulsion from Vienna (1670).

At this time an increasing number of Moravian Jews were engaged in crafts, a process that had already begun in the 16th century, and the cloth and wool merchants and tailors, who made goods to be sold at fairs, were laying the foundations of the textile and clothing industry for which Moravia was later known. In 1629 *Ferdinand II permitted the Jews to attend markets and fairs in the royal cities, on payment of a special body tax (*Leibmaut*; see *Leibzoll); in spite of protests from the guilds and merchants, the charter was renewed in 1657, 1658, and 1723. Jews also attended fairs outside Moravia, especially those in *Krems, *Linz, *Breslau (Wroczlaw), and *Leipzig. In

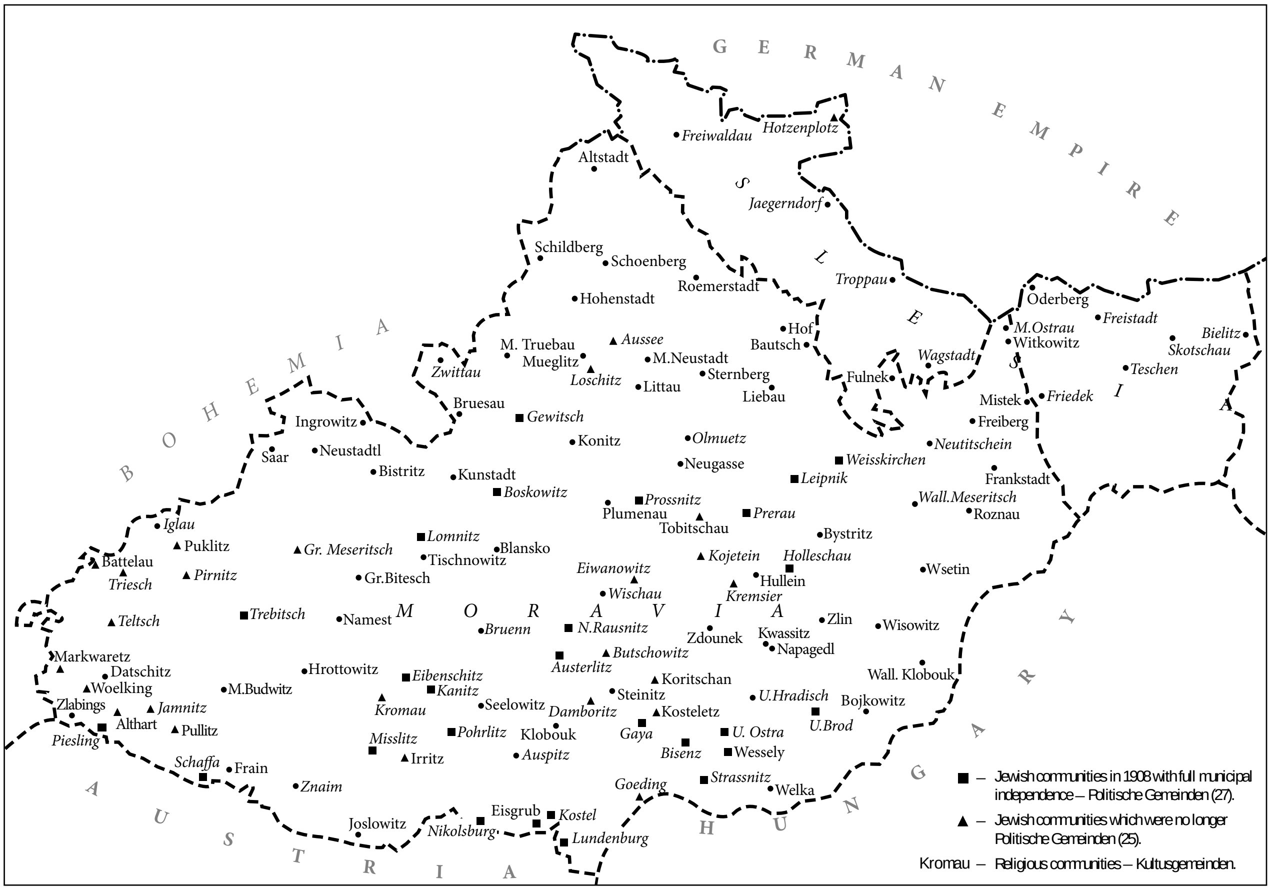
G E R M A N E M P I R E
Freiwaldau
Hotzenplotz
Altstadt
S L E S I A
Jaegerndorf
Schildberg
Schoenberg
Roemerstadt
Troppau
Hohenstadt
Oderberg
Freistadt
Bielitz
Skotschau
Teschen
M.Ostrau
Witkowitz
Hof
Bautsch
Aussee
M. Truebau
Mueglitz
M.Neustadt
Zwittau
Loschitz
Sternberg
Fulnek
Wagstadt
Littau
Liebau
Mistek
Friedek
B O H E M I A
Bruesau
Gewitsch
Ingrowitz
Freiberg
Neutitschein
Konitz
Olmuetz
Saar
Neustadtl
Weisskirchen
Neugasse
Bistritz
Kunstadt
Frankstadt
Boskowitz
Leipnik
Wall.Meseritsch
Prossnitz
Roznau
Plumenau
Prerau
Tobitschau
Iglau
Bystritz
Lomnitz
Puklitz
Gr. Meseritsch
Blansko
Battelau
Tischnowitz
Kojetein
Holleschau
Triesch
Pirnitz
Gr.Bitesch
Eiwanowitz
Wsetin
Hullein
Wischau
Kremsier
M O R A V I A
Teltsch
Trebitsch
Namest
Zlin
Wisowitz
Bruenn
N.Rausnitz
Zdounek
Kwassitz
Napagedl
Butschowitz
Markwaretz
Austerlitz
Datschitz
Hrottowitz
Eibenschitz
Koritschan
Wall. Klobouk
Woelking
M.Budwitz
Kanitz
Steinitz
U.Hradisch
Bojkowitz
Zlabings
Jamnitz
Kromau
Seelowitz
Damboritz
Kosteletz
U.Brod
Althart
Pullitz
Pohrlitz
Klobouk
Gaya
U. Ostra
Piesling
Misslitz
Bisenz
Wessely
Irritz
Auspitz
Schaffa
Frain
Strassnitz
Znaim
Goeding
Welka
A U S T R I A
Eisgrub
Kostel
Joslowitz
Nikolsburg
Lundenburg
H U N G A R Y
■ – Jewish communities in 1908 with full municipal independence – Politische Gemeinden (27).
▲ – Jewish communities which were no longer Politische Gemeinden (25).
Kromau – Religious communities – Kultusgemeinden.

Jewish Communities in Moravia before World War I. After Th. Haas, Die Juden in Maehren, *1908.*

List of alternative names for places shown on map

Alstadt – Stare Mesto
Auspitz – Hustopece
Aussee – Usov
Austerlitz – Slavkov
Bajkowitz – Bojkovice
Battelau – Batelov
Bautsch – Budisov
Bielitz – Bielsko
Bisenz – Bzenec
Bistritz – Bystrice nad Pernstynem
Blansko
Boskowitz – Boskovice
Bruenn – Brno
Bruesau – Brezova
Butschowitz – Bucovice
Bystritz – Bystrice pod Hostynem
Damboritz – Damborice
Datschitz – Dacice
Eibenschitz – Ivancice
Eisgrub – Lednice
Eiwanowitz – Ivanovice na Hane
Frain – Vranov
Frankstadt – Frenstat pod Radhostem
Freiberg – Pribor
Freistadt – Karvina
Freiwaldau – Jesenik
Friedek – Frydek
Fulnek – Fulnek
Gaya – Kyjov
Gewitsch – Jevicko
Goeding – Hodonin
Gross Bitesch – Velka Bites
Gross Meseritsch – Velke Mezirici
Hof – Dvorce
Hohenstadt – Zabreh
Holleschau – Holesov
Hotzenplotz – Osoblaha
Hrottowitz – Hrotovice
Hullein – Hulin
Iglau – Jihlava
Ingrowitz – Jimramov
Jaegerndorf – Krnov
Jamnitz – Jemnice
Joslowitz – Jaroslavice
Kanitz – Dolni Kounice
Klobouk – Klobouky
Kojetein – Kojetin
Konitz – Konice
Koritischan – Korycany
Kostel – Podivin
Kosteletz – Kostelec
Kremsier – Kromeriz
Kromau – Moravsky Krumlov
Kunstadt – Kunstat
Kwassitz – Kvasice
Leipnik – Lipnik nad Becvou
Liebau – Libava
Littau – Litovel
Lomnitz – Lomnice
Loschitz – Lostice
Lundenburg – Breclav
Maehrisch Budwitz – Moravske Budejovice
Maehrisch Neustatd – Unicov
Maehrisch Ostrau – Moravska Ostrava
Maehrisch Truebau – Moravska Trebova
Misslitz – Miroslav
Mistek
Mueglitz – Mohelnice
Namest – Namest nad Oslavou
Napagedl – Napajedle
Neu Rausnitxz – Rousinov
Neustadtl – Nove Mesto na Morave
Neutitschein – Novy Jicin
Nikolsburg – Mikulov
Oderberg – Bohumin
Olmuetz – Olomouc
Pirnitz – Pirnice
Plumenau – Plumlov
Pohrlitz – Pohrelice
Prerau – Prerov
Prossnitz – Prostejov
Puklitz – Puklice
Pullitz – Police
Roemerstadt – Rymarov
Roznau – Roznov pod Radhostem
Saar – Zdar
Schaffa – Safov
Schoenberg – Sumperk
Seelowitz – Zidlochovice
Shildberg – Stity
Skotschau – Skoczow
Steinitz – Zdanice
Sernberg – Sternberk
Strassnitz – Straznice
Teltsch – Telc
Teschen – Cesky Tesin
Tischnowitz – Tisnov
Tobitschau – Tovacov
Trebitsch – Trebic
Triesch – Trest
Troppau – Opava
Ungarisch Brod – Uhersky Brod
Ungarisch Hradisch – Uherske Hradiste
Ungarish Ostra – Uhersky Ostroh
Wagstadt – Bilovec
Wallachisch Klobouk – Valasske Klobouky
Wallachisch Meseritsch – Valasske Mezirici
Weisskirchen – Hranice
Wessely – Veseli nad Moravou
Wischau – Vyskov
Wisowitz – Vizovice
Witowitz – Vitkovice
Woelking – Bolikov
Wsetin – Vsetin
Zdounek – Zdounky
Zlabings – Slavonice
Zlin – Gottwaldov
Znaim – Znojmo
Zwittau – Svitavy

1650 the Moravian Diet decided that Jews could reside only where they had been living before 1618, but the decision was not enforced. Later this was modified by the Diet of 1681 to permit Jews to dwell where they lived before 1657.

The Modern Era

On July 31, 1725, during the reign of Charles VI, an imperial order fixed the number of registered Jewish families at 5,106 and threatened any locality which accepted Jews where they had not been previously settled with a fine of 1,000 ducats. On September 20 of that year the same penalty was imposed on anyone who allowed Jews to come into possession of real estate, particularly customhouses, mills, wool-shearing sheds, and breweries. The first enactment was reinforced a year later by allowing only one son in a family to marry (see *Familiants Law); the second was never carried out, as it would have deprived noblemen of lucrative revenue and most Jews of their livelihood. Under Charles VI the geographical separation of the Jews was implemented in most Moravian towns.

*Maria Theresa threatened Moravian Jewry with expulsion (Jan. 2, 1745) but rescinded her order, permitting them to remain for another ten years. In 1748, however, she raised their toleration tax (*Schutzgeld*) from a total of 8,000 florins (since 1723) to 87,700 for the next five years and 76,700 in the following five; in 1752 the tax was fixed at 90,000 florins. Two years later the empress' definitive "General Police Law and Commercial Regulations for the Jewry of the Margravate of Moravia" appeared; as its name indicates it regulated all legal, religious, and commercial aspects of Jewish life in Moravia. The authority of the **Landesrabbiner* was defined and his election regulated, as were those of the other offices of the **Landesjudenschaft*. In essence the law was based on a translation by Aloys von *Sonnenfels of the resolutions and ordinances of the old Council of Moravian Jewry. Although the earliest recorded session of the council had taken place in 1651, it was at least a century older, for a Bendit Axelrod Levi was mentioned in 1519 as being "head of all Moravian communities." The names of most Moravian rabbis were recorded from the mid-16th century.

A clearer picture of the council emerges after the Thirty Years' War (1618–48): Moravia (*medinah*) was divided into three provinces (*galil*), in each of which two heads (*rashei galil*) officiated; at the same time, each one was a member of the governing body of Moravian Jewry (*rashei ha-medinah*). The chief authority was the *Landesrabbiner* (*rav medinah*), who had jurisdiction over both secular and religious matters. His seat was in *Mikulov (Nikolsburg). His presence at council sessions was obligatory and he was the authoritative interpreter of their decisions. There were two types of council: the governing "small" council of six heads of provinces, and the "large" legislative one, which was attended by representatives of the communities and met every three years at a different community. The franchise was very limited and the council oligarchic in spirit and practice. The last "large" council, that of 1748, was attended by 61 representatives elected by 367 house owners. Its main function was the election of small bodies of electors and legislators. The authority of the council was undermined by the absolutist state, which in 1728 defined its ordinances as "temporary"; from 1754 Maria Theresa limited the independence of the communities and their central council. The main function of the council and the *Landesrabbiner* was to divide the tax load justly among the communities. When *Landesrabbiner* Menahem *Krochmal was called upon to settle a dispute between the poor and the rich over the control of the communities, he claimed that the decisive voice belonged to those who contributed more to the community. Krochmal's tenure (1648–61) was vital in the formulation of the 311 ordinances (*shai takkanot*) of the Moravian council. Among his noted predecessors were R. *Judah Loew b. Bezalel (Maharal) and R. Yom Tov Lipmann *Heller. Among the more distinguished holders of the office were David *Oppenheim (from 1690 to 1704); Gabriel b. Judah Loew *Eskeles, nominated in 1690; and his son Issachar Berush (Bernard) *Eskeles, (d. 1753), who also became chief rabbi of Hungary and successfully averted the 1745 expulsion threat. His successor, R. Moses b. Aaron *Lemberger, ordained that henceforth at least 25 students should attend the Mikulov (Nikolsburg) yeshivah, and that each Moravian sub-province should support two yeshivot with ten students each. R. Gershon Pullitz and R. Gershon *Chajes (*Landesrabbiner* 1780–89) fought against the insidious influence of Shabbateanism and Frankism in Moravia: in 1773 Jacob *Frank resided in Brno, where the *Dobruschka family were among his adherents; members of the *Prostejov (Prossnitz) community were commonly called *Schebse* since so many of them were followers of Shabbetai Ẓevi.

In spite of the hostile attitude of Charles VI and Maria Theresa and the continuous curtailment of the authority of the council and the *Landesrabbiner,* there was a thriving communal life in Moravia. In the first half of the 19th century the *Landesrabbiner* Mordecai *Benet (d. 1829), Nehemiah (Menahem) Nahum *Trebitsch (d. 1842), and Samson Raphael *Hirsch (served from 1846 to 1851) wielded great influence. Besides the spiritual metropolis of Nikolsburg, there were important centers of learning in Boskowitz (*Boskovice), Ungarisch-Brod (*Uhersky Brod), Kremsier, Leipnik (*Lipnik nad Becvou), and Prossnitz.

The situation of Moravian Jews improved after Joseph II's **Toleranzpatent*, which abolished the body tax (see **Leibzoll*) and other special taxes and permitted some freedom of movement. But the limitation of the number of Jewish families remained, the number of licensed (*systematisiert*) Jewish families being kept at 5,106, later raised to 5,400. An edict of Francis II in 1798 limited their rights of settlement to an area of 52 Jewish communities (*Judengemeinden*), mostly in places where communities had existed from early times. The six royal cities remained closed to the Jews. Like most of the local Christian communities, the Jewish communities were subject to the authority of the feudal lord. At that time the largest communities were Mikulov with 620 families, Prostejov with 328, Boskovice with 326, and Holesov with 265. The total number of registered Jews increased from 20,327 in 1754 to 28,396 in 1803 (the actual numbers might have been from 10 to 20% higher). The revolutionary year of 1848 brought the abolition of most legal and economic restrictions, the right of free movement and settlement, and freedom of worship, but also gave rise to anti-Jewish disturbances: in Prostejov a Jewish national guard, 200 men strong, was organized. These measures of freedom were enacted by the Austrian parliament which convened in Kromeriz. *Landesrabbiner* S.R. Hirsch sent two messages to parliament. The process of legal emancipation was completed in the Austrian constitution of 1867. In conformity with the new municipal laws (passed temporarily in 1849 and definitively in 1867) 27 of the 52 Jewish communities were constituted as Jewish municipalities (*politische Gemeinden) with full municipal independence, and existed as such until the end of the Hapsburg monarchy, in striking contrast to the abolition of Jewish municipal autonomy in Prague in 1850 and in Galicia in 1866. The legalization of the Jewish religious autonomy, a longer process, was not completed until 1890, when 50 Jewish religious communities (*Kultusgemeinden*) were recognized, 39 in places where old communities existed and 11 in newly established Jewish centers.

The restrictions imposed on the Jews by Charles VI and Maria Theresa, most of which remained in force until the second half of the 19th century, led many Moravian Jews to leave the country, mainly for Hungary (Slovakia) and later for Austria. After equal rights and freedom of movement were granted, new communities were established in the big cities of Brno, Olomouc, Ostrava (Maehrisch Ostrau), and Jihlava, while others were set up in small places that previously Jews had only visited on market days. At the same time many Moravian Jews left for other parts of the Hapsburg Empire, particularly Vienna, and some emigrated. As a result, the Jewish population of Moravia remained relatively static at a time when the world Jewish population was rising, and even declined slightly from 1890. (See Table: Jewish Population in Moravia).

Jewish Population in Moravia

In 1787 Joseph II ordered that half of the main tax on Moravian Jewry (then 88,280 florins) be allowed to accumulate in a fund (known as *Landesmassafond*) for the payment of the *Landesrabbiner* and other officials. In 1831, when the fund was sealed, the capital was allocated for low-interest loans for needy communities. An assembly of 45 Moravian communities convened in 1862 in order to try to obtain control of the fund, which was managed by state officials. After protracted negotiations, *Francis Joseph I awarded the guardianship of the fund (almost 1,000,000 kronen) to an elected curatorium whose first chairman was Julius von Gomperz of Brno. This curatorium served in lieu of a central Jewish organization until the collapse of the Austrian regime and enabled Moravian Jewry to alleviate the lot of the declining small communities. Jews were mainly engaged in trade, but increasing numbers entered some industries and the free professions or became white-collar workers (mainly in undertakings owned by Jews). They were prominent in the wool industry of Brno, the silk industry of northern Moravia, the clothing industry in Prostejov, Boskovice, and some other towns, the leather industry, the sugar industry in central and southern Moravia, and the malt industry in Olomouc. The brothers Wilhelm and David von *Gutmann (orginally from Lipnik) developed jointly with the Rothschilds the coal mines of Ostrava and established the great iron and steel works there. The Rothschilds also built the Kaiser Ferdinand Nordbahn, a railway linking Vienna and Galicia via Moravia and Silesia. Consequently there was a substantial number of Jewish railway engineers, employees, engine drivers, licensees of railway restaurants, etc. In the late 19th and 20th centuries Jews were also prominent in the timber industry and trade, the glass industry, hat-making, hosiery, and even in the development of water power.

Jewish Population in Moravia, 1830–1921

Year	Number of Jews
1830	29,462
1840	37,316
1848	37,548
1857	42,611
1869	42,644
1880	44,175
1890	45,324
1900	44,255
1910	41,255
1921	37,989

The close ties between Moravian Jews and Vienna persisted until the end of the Austrian monarchy, and even increased after emancipation, since Moravia had no university under Austrian rule. Consequently, the great majority of Moravian Jews spoke German. In 1900, 77% of all Moravian Jews declared German as their mother tongue, 16% Czech, and 7% other languages (mainly foreigners), but this did not indicate any strong political assimilationist trend toward Germany or hostility toward Czech nationalism. Jews enthusiastically supported the candidacy of T.G. *Masaryk for the Austrian parliament in 1907 and 1911. Students from Moravian communities studying in Vienna were among the first followers of Theodor Herzl and many Zionist associations sprang up in Moravia, from the early days of Zionism.

After the Czechoslovak Republic had been established in 1918, Moravian Jews frequently constituted the bridge between the Jews in Bohemia on the one hand and those in Slovakia and Subcarpathian Ruthenia on the other, between traditionalists and modernists, Zionist and non-Zionists. Slovakian Jewry felt close to Moravian Jewry by ties of blood and tradition. The yeshivah of Mikulov was and remained the alma matter of many West Slovakian Orthodox Jews. Moravian Jews could perhaps not match West Slovakian Jews in religious feeling but surpassed their Bohemian brethren. Orthodoxy was not foreign to Moravian Jewry, and it was strengthened by the steady influx of Jews coming from Poland, often through the

Duchy of Tesin. Even ḥasidic *shtiblekh* were not an oddity. Jews from Carpatho-Russia, who migrated westward between the wars and who left their country after World War II in fear of Soviet domination, strengthened the religiosity of Moravian Jewry still further. However, after World War II there were only two communities in Moravia where religious observance was the rule – Brno and Ostrava. Between the wars, 60% of Moravian Jews declared themselves as being of Jewish nationality, far above the figure for Bohemia.

The first provincial union of Jewish communities was established in November 1918 under the leadership of Alois Hilf from Ostrava; this union became instrumental in the emergence and consolidation of the Jewish National Council, as well as in the setting up of the Supreme Council of the Jewish Religious Communities in Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia. The Central Committee of the Zionist Organization in Czechoslovakia had its seat in Ostrava from 1921 to 1938, under the chairmanship of Joseph *Rufeisen; the center of *He-Halutz was also located in Ostrava and the main office of Keren Hayesod was in Brno for a long time. Brno had the only Jewish high school in the western part of Czechoslovakia and Ostrava had a fully equipped vocational school. Moravian Jews were represented by a Zionist in the provincial Diet. However, the number of Jews continued to decline, from 45,306 in Moravia and Silesia in 1921 to 41,250 in 1930, almost half of whom were concentrated in the three cities Brno, Ostrava, and Olomouc. The venerable communities dwindled or even disintegrated.

When the Germans occupied Austria in March 1938, several thousand Jews escaped to Moravia, mainly to Brno. They were followed in September and October of that year by a few thousand more from the areas detached from Czechoslovakia and incorporated in Germany by the Munich Agreement. The majority of Jews in the Teschen (Tesin; Cieszyn) district, ceded to Poland, did not flee. On March 15, 1939, the remaining parts of Moravia were occupied by Nazi Germany and became part of the Protectorate of Bohemia-Moravia. Immediately after the conquest, the lot of the Jews in northeast Moravia was especially disastrous. They constituted a high percentage of those expelled to the Nisko reservate in the Lublin area. Many perished there in the first winter of the war; others returned, only to join their fellows in *Theresienstadt and various extermination camps. After the war, very few survivors returned to Moravia, and the majority of them later emigrated to Israel and other countries. In 1970 barely 2,000 Jews remained in former Moravia, the largest community being in Brno. In Brno there also existed a center of Carpatho-Rus Jewry which was involved in communal problems such as indemnities from Czech authorities, Carpatho-Rus authorities, and German authorities. Brno was the seat of the chief rabbi of Moravia, Richard *Feder. The rabbi was the only leading Jewish figure who dared criticize the Communist regime for its treatment of the Jews. He also publicly expressed longing for Ereẓ Israel and interest in the State Israel. When he died in 1970, at the age of 95, the rabbinate remained vacant. In Brno and in Ostrava a prayer room, cemetery, and religious services were maintained. Purim and Hanukkah were celebrated, with the participation of the children of congregation members. The Jewish museum of Mikulov, established shortly before World War II, was restored as part of the state museum. The ancient synagogue was refurbished, as was the cemetery. The cemetery was also used as a repository for the tombstones of cemeteries liquidated elsewhere. Another Jewish museum was established by the state in *Holesov. For further details on the contemporary period, see *Czechoslovakia as well as *Czech Republic and Slovakia. For fuller details on the Holocaust period, see *Czechoslovakia under Protectorate of Bohemia-Moravia.

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[Meir Lamed / Yeshayahu Jelinek (2nd ed.)]

MORAVIA (Pincherle), ALBERTO (1907–1990), Italian novelist and critic. Born in Rome, Moravia took his pen name from his immigrant ancestors' country of origin. He made his reputation with works published after World War II, and in English-speaking lands was widely regarded as the outstanding Italian writer of his time. Moravia's first novel, *Gli Indifferenti* (1929; *The Indifferent Ones*, 1932; reissued as *The Time of Indifference*, 1953), was covertly critical of middle class society and its passive and cynical acceptance of the Fascist dictatorship. His violent hostility toward the bourgeoisie, into which he had himself been born, and the relentless psychological analysis of the characters in his works came to the fore in *Le ambizioni sbagliate* (1935; *Wheel of Fortune*, 1938) and dominated many later novels. Moravia's early writings made it clear that he had set out to combine the 19th-century narrative tradition of Dostoievski and Flaubert with the aesthetic principles of the realistic or naturalistic novel. Totally estranged from Judaism, Moravia served during World War II as a foreign correspondent in Germany and the Far East. His postwar works dealt largely with themes such as adolescence and relations between the sexes, and remained outside of any established literary current.

Moravia's artistry and skillful characterization are especially evident in the novels which he published after World War II: *Agostino* (1945, Eng. trans. 1947); *La Romana* (1947; *The Woman of Rome*, 1949); *La disubbidienza* (1948; *Disobedience*, 1950); *Il Conformista* (1951; *The Conformist*, 1952); and *Il disprezzo* (1954; *A Ghost at Noon*, 1955). However, some critics were sensitive to the writer's preoccupation with sex and to his disinclination to pass judgment on the amorality of his heroes. There is a warmer, more sympathetic tone to his stories about the lower strata of society in *Racconti romani* (1954; *Roman Tales*, 1956) and in *Il Paradiso* (1970). Moravia distinguished himself as a novelist most of all, perhaps, in *La Ciociara* (1957; *Two Women*, 1958), an acute study of two characters, contrasting intellect and sensuality, which was made into a successful motion picture. His later works include *La noia* (1960; *The Empty Canvas*, 1961); *L'attenzione* (1965; Fr. trans. *L'Attention*, 1966); and a volume of short stories, *Una cosa è una cosa* (1967). Moravia also published *L'uomo come fine* (1964; *Man as an End: A Defense of Humanism*, 1966), a collection of major essays published between the years 1941 and 1962, and a book of plays, *Teatro* (1958). The variety of his interests may be gauged from three other books – *Un mese in U.R.S.S.* (1958; Fr. trans. *Un Mois en U.R.S.S.*, 1954), *Un idea dell' India* (1962), and *La rivoluzione culturale in Cina* (1967; *The Red Book and the Great Wall*, 1968).

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[Giorgio Romano]

MORAVSKE BUDEJOVICE (Czech **Moravské Budějovice**; Ger. **Maehrisch-Budwitz**), small town in S. Moravia, Czech Republic. Its Jewish community is mentioned among those suffering from the wave of massacres following the Host desecration of *Pulkau in 1338. One Jew, Jacob, is mentioned in 1363 and in 1386 as a member of a consortium buying and selling a village. From 1528 transactions between Jews and gentiles, involving loans and the sale of houses, horses, and grain, are mentioned frequently in the town records. In 1562 the community numbered 47, and its members were not permitted to sell alcoholic beverages or to brew beer. The community was expelled in 1564. There were no Jews in the town until 1774, when a tobacco agent settled there, and in 1808 a Jew leased a distillery. Between 1794 and 1842, 120 Jewish merchants attended the local fairs. There were 19 Jews in Moravske Budejovice in 1848, 58 in 1869, 127 in 1890, and 97 in 1900. A congregation was founded in 1867 and recognized as a community in 1890. A cemetery was consecrated in 1908 and a synagogue in 1910. From 1926 the community was administered by the Safov (Schaffa) community. Its members numbered 77 in 1930 (1.8% of the total population). In 1942 those Jews remaining after the German occupation were deported to extermination camps, and the synagogue equipment was sent to the Central Jewish Museum in Prague. No community was reestablished after World War II.

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[Meir Lamed]

MORAVSKY KRUMLOV (Czech. **Moravský Krumlov**; Ger. **Maehrisch-Kromau**; Heb. קרומענו), town in Moravia, Czech Republic. The community was in existence before 1437, the presence of Jews being mentioned in 1402. A synagogue was built in 1547. The number of families allotted by the *Familiants Laws was 49. In 1800, 43 houses were owned by Jews, a situation which was quite unusual in Moravia. With the 1848 revolution and the freedom of settlement, the Jewish population decreased steadily, from 356 persons in 1830, to 226 in 1869, 140 in 1880, and 116 in 1900. In 1930 it numbered only 34 persons (0.9% of the total population). The community had become a *politische Gemeinde after 1848 but gave up this privilege in 1869. From 1915 the community was under the guidance of Heinrich *Flesch, rabbi of nearby Dolni-Kounice. The community was liquidated under the Nazi occupation. Rabbi Samuel Baeck, father of Leo *Baeck (1873–1956), was born in the town.

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[Meir Lamed]

MORAWETZ, OSKAR (1917–), Canadian composer. Morawetz was born in Svetla nad Sazavou, Czech Republic. Having studied piano and music theory in Prague and Vienna, he applied to enter Canada after the Nazis entered the Sudetenland (1938). Finally admitted in 1940, he continued music studies at the University of Toronto (D.Mus., 1953), where he taught theory and composition (1946–82).

A conservative throughout his career, Morawetz early gained attention for such expatriate works of Czech nationalism as *Carnival Overture* (1945) and *Overture to a Fairy Tale* (1957). Known especially as a symphonic composer, Morawetz had works performed on every continent by more than a hundred orchestras. Also representative of his output are *Fantasy on a Hebrew Theme* for piano (1951), his choral setting of *Who Has Allowed Us to Suffer?* with words by Anne Frank (1970), and his arrangement for voice of Psalm 22 (1979) whose words, "My God, why have you forsaken me?" Morawetz employed to comment on the Holocaust. Notable too are the orchestral *Passacaglia on a Bach Chorale* for John F. Kennedy (1964) and *Memorial to Martin Luther King, Jr.* for cello and orchestra (1968, commissioned by Mstislav Rostropovich).

The Canadian Performing Rights Commission honored Morawetz for two student works: *String Quartet no. 1* (1945) and *Sonata Tragica* (1946). The Segal Fund of Montreal provided a special award for the orchestral work *From the Diary of Anne Frank* – which focuses on Anne's fear for the survival of her former friend Lies – citing it as "the most important contribution to Jewish music" (1971). Morawetz's *Concerto for Harp and Orchestra* won a Juno award as best Canadian classical composition (1989). The Canada Council awarded Senior Fellowships (1960, 1967, 1974) for his contributions to Canadian music. Morawetz was the first composer to receive the Order of Ontario (1987) and became a Member of the Order of Canada in 1988.

[Jay Rahn (2nd ed.)]

MORAWITZ, KARL RITTER VON (1846–1914), Austrian banker. Born in Iglau (now Jihlava), Moravia, he was educated in Prague and began working as a bank clerk in small banking houses in Prague and Dresden. In 1860 he joined the Banque de Paris et des Pays-Bas in Paris, an establishment of Ludwig *Bamberger with whom Morawitz became closely associated. Subsequently he entered the Paris office of the Ottoman Bank, but, as a foreigner, had to leave that post in 1870 after the outbreak of the Franco-Prussian War. He then worked for Baron Maurice de *Hirsch and his railway enterprises. In 1906 he became president of the Anglo-Austrian Bank, a post he held until his death. Morawitz was an expert in international finance, and his experience and connections made him an influential adviser. Shortly before his death he was knighted by Emperor Franz Joseph. Morawitz frequently wrote and lectured, and his book, *Les Finances de la Turquie* (1902), is a standard work on the financial history of the Ottoman Empire. Other publications include: *Aus der Werkstatt eines Bankmannes*, *Aus Arbeitstagen und Mussestunden* (1907), and a history of the Anglo-Austrian Bank, *50 Jahre Geschichte einer Wiener Bank* (1913).

[Joachim O. Ronall]

MORDECAI (Heb. מָרְדֳּכַי, מָרְדֳּכָי hypocoristic masculine proper name containing the theophoric element Marduk), name of two Biblical figures:

1) One of the 12 leaders who returned from Babylonia to Jerusalem at the time of Zerubbabel (Ezra 2:2; Neh. 7:7).

2) A Jew who lived in Shushan (Susa), the residence of the Persian King, Ahasuerus (Xerxes I), who reigned from 486 to 465 B.C.E. Mordecai was the great-grandson of a Benjamite of Jerusalem by the name of Kish who was a member of the group that was taken into exile by King Nebuchadnezzar of Babylon together with King Jehoiachin of Judah in 597 B.C.E. Since this group consisted mainly of the upper classes (II Kings 24:14), and since the name Kish is otherwise known only as that of the father of the Benjamite king Saul, the implication is doubtless that Mordecai's great-grandfather and, hence, he himself were descended from King Saul. Mordecai was foster father to his cousin *Esther (Esth. 2:5ff.).

When Esther was chosen for the harem of King Ahasuerus as a replacement for the deposed Queen Vashti, Mordecai charged her not to reveal her ancestry or nationality. Since he "sat in the king's gate" (Esth. 2:21), i.e., was one of the king's consultants (cf. Dan. 2:49), Mordecai was able to inquire daily about her welfare (Esth. 2:10–11); and when he discovered a plot by Bigthan and Teresh to assassinate the king, he informed her and she passed the information on to the king in Mordecai's name. The plotters were impaled; and the incident, with the part played in it by Mordecai, was recorded in the royal annals (Esth. 2:21ff.). For the time being, however, he was not rewarded, while Haman, a descendant of the Amalekite Agag, who was spared by Mordecai's ancestor Saul (I Sam. 15), was elevated by the king above all his other officials. Mordecai was the only one of these officials who refused to obey the king's command to bow down to Haman (Esth. 3:1ff.). This refusal has often been explained on religious grounds, but not only does Judaism not forbid, it actually enjoins, the showing of respect to highly placed persons, Jewish or otherwise. When Mordecai's colleagues asked him for the reason for his behavior he merely told them that he was a Jew, and the narrator evidently takes it for granted that everybody knew that there was a sacred, perpetual feud between Jews and Amalekites (Ex. 17:14ff.; Deut. 25:17ff.).

Haman for his part resolved to avenge himself not only on Mordecai but on the entire Jewish people, and persuaded the king to decree their extermination by a pogrom on a given day (Esth. 3:6ff.). Then Mordecai urged Esther to intercede on behalf of her people with Ahasuerus. Providence, he saw, had put her there for such an act. Failure to act would result in her own destruction but the Jews would still be delivered (Esth. 4). In an unexpected turn of events, Mordecai was rewarded for having saved the king's life by being dressed in royal garb and promenaded around the city on a royal steed by Haman (*ibid.* 6). As a result of Esther's intervention, Haman was hanged on the same gallows (7:10) he had prepared for Mordecai (5:13f.), who was further rewarded by receiving

Haman's property (8:1f.) and being appointed vizier (10:3). His fame spread abroad and all Persian officials aided the Jews in destroying their enemies. Mordecai recorded all these events and he and Esther wrote to all the Jews to commemorate the days of deliverance annually (14th and 15th day of Adar; Esth. 9). In Hasmonean times, the 14th of Adar was known as the "Day of Mordecai" (II Macc. 15:36).

A cuneiform tablet from the end of the reign of Darius I or the beginning of that of Xerxes (Ahasuerus) mentions an official named Marduka, whom some scholars have identified with the biblical Mordecai. It has further been suggested that the prominence of Jews in the Murashu tablets from the time of Xerxes' successors, Artaxerxes I and Darius II, and their absence from documents of earlier reigns, accords with the statement that Mordecai "sought [and achieved] the welfare of his people" (Esth. 10:3).

[Bezalel Porten]

In the Aggadah

The fact that Mordecai is referred to as both a Benjamite (Yemini) and a Judean (Yehudi) (Esth. 2:5) is explained in various ways: as a tribute to David, who belonged to the tribe of Judah, for saving the life of Shimei the Benjamite who is regarded as Mordecai's ancestor, or because his mother was of this tribe. His name is interpreted to mean "pure myrrh" (*mor*-myrrh, *decai*-pure) for he was as refined and noble as pure myrrh (Meg. 12a). Mordecai was a prophet and is sometimes identified with Malachi (*ibid.*). He prophesied in the second year of Darius (Meg. 15a). Mordecai fasted from the eve of Passover till its seventh day, supplicating God to mete out punishment to Ahasuerus for his desecration of the Temple vessels (Targ. Jon., Esth. 1:10).

Mordecai was appointed to the royal court at the request of Esther (Yal., Esth. 10:53). Thus it was while attending on the king that he discovered the plot of Bigthan and Teresh. They were Tarseans and spoke their native language in plotting to poison Ahasuerus, unaware that Mordecai knew 70 languages (Meg. 13b). It was on account of his ability as a linguist that he was called Bilshan (Men. 65a). When the court officials asked Mordecai why he refused to pay homage to Haman while his ancestor Jacob prostrated himself before Haman's ancestor Esau, Mordecai answered, "I am a descendant of Benjamin, who was not yet born when that took place" (Targ. Sheni, Esth. 3:4). The true reason for Haman's hatred of Mordecai and the Jews was that he had once sold himself as a slave to Mordecai and whenever they met his erstwhile master used to remind him of this fact (Meg. 15b).

After the fatal decree had been signed, Mordecai asked three school children to repeat to him the biblical verses they had just learned. The children recited three different biblical verses, each containing a prophecy that Israel should not fear the evil designs against them. Mordecai had been informed of the king's decree by Elijah. The prayer he and Esther prayed then unto God was the *Hallel*. The days Mordecai decided that Jews should fast were the first three days of Passover (Meg. 15a). When Mordecai saw Haman coming to him with the royal insignia, he thought his last moment had come. He therefore told his pupils to flee and leave him alone to his fate, but they refused. Mordecai spent what he thought were his last moments in prayer and Haman had to wait until he had finished. Since Mordecai had been fasting and mourning for several days he refused to don the king's apparel until he had bathed and trimmed his hair. But upon a decree of Esther, the baths and all the barber shops were closed on this day, so that Haman had to act as valet to Mordecai. Haman had also to offer him his back to enable Mordecai to mount the horse (Meg. 16a).

While Haman conducted Mordecai through the streets, 27,000 youths from the court marched before him, bearing golden cups and beakers (Targ. Sheni, Esth. 6:11). As he rode, Mordecai and his pupils gave praise to God (Lev. R. 28:6). As soon as the procession was over, Mordecai put off the royal attire and again covering himself with sackcloth, resumed his prayers and fasting (Meg. 16a). He did not stop praying until Ahasuerus charged him with the execution of Haman. In spite of Haman's pleas, Mordecai insisted upon hanging him like the commonest criminal (Targ. Sheni, Esth. 7:10). Mordecai became king of the Jews (Esth. R. 10:12). As such he had coins struck which bore sackcloth and ashes on one side and a golden crown on the other (Gen. R. 39:11). However in the measure in which Mordecai gained worldly power and consideration, he lost spiritually, because his high political function left him no time for study of the Torah. From first among the scholars of Israel, he had dropped to seventh place among them (Meg. 16b).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: S.H. Horn, in: BRE, 9 (1964), 14ff. IN THE AGGADAH: Ginzberg, Legends, index.

MORDECAI, ALFRED (1804–1887), U.S. soldier, engineer, and ordnance expert. Born in Warrenton, North Carolina, son of Jacob *Mordecai, Alfred was educated at the West Point Military Academy, passing out first in his class. He was commissioned in the Engineers, but transferred in 1832 to the Ordnance Department, where he remained until his retirement, with the rank of major, in 1861, on the eve of the Civil War. Mordecai served from 1839 to 1860 on the U.S. Ordnance Board, where he helped to develop and systematize weapons, ammunition, and equipment. His greatest contribution to American military technology was the introduction of scientific research and development to the military art. He was twice sent to Europe to study arms systems and production methods and commanded the arsenals at Frankford, Pennsylvania, Washington, D.C., and Watervliet, New York. He wrote several military works, notably *Second Report of Experiments in Gunpowder* (1849), and *Ordnance Manual for the Use of the Officers of the United States Army* (1841, 1850). His son ALFRED (1840–1920) was also an ordnance officer and rose to the rank of brigadier general.

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North Carolina Historical Review, 22 (1945), 58–108; S.L. Falk, in: A.J. Karp (ed.), *The Jewish Experience in America*, 3 (1969), 300–22.

[Stanley L. Falk]

MORDECAI, JACOB (1762–1838), U.S. merchant and educator. Born in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, his early formal education was slight, but he studied at home and in the synagogue and later earned a reputation as a scholar and biblical authority. He moved to Richmond, Virginia, in 1782 and became an independent businessman. In 1784 he was in New York, where he formed a brief partnership with Haym *Salomon, but after the death of the latter in 1785, Mordecai's business failed. He returned to Virginia, attempting various commercial ventures, and finally in 1792 moved to Warrenton, North Carolina, where he became a successful merchant. In 1807 Mordecai lost heavily in tobacco speculations and was forced to give up his business. In 1809, encouraged and backed by a group of townspeople, he opened the Warrenton Female Academy, which became famous throughout the South as a school for girls. Mordecai and his family ran the Academy successfully until 1819, when he sold it and moved to a farm near Richmond. He served as president of Beth Shalome, the first synagogue in the city, which he had helped found. He lived in Richmond from 1832.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Mordecai, in: AJHSP, 6 (1897), 39–48; Falk, in: *North Carolina Historical Review*, 35 (1958), 281–98.

[Stanley L. Falk]

MORDECAI (Mokhi'aḥ) BEN ḤAYYIM OF EISENSTADT (1650–1729), wandering Shabbatean preacher – hence his cognomen *Mokhi'aḥ* ("reprover"). He propagated faith in *Shabbetai Ẓevi as the Messiah after the latter's conversion to Islam. An extreme ascetic, he wandered through Hungary, Moravia, Italy, and Poland spreading the doctrine, previously enunciated by *Nathan of Gaza, that for mystical reasons Shabbetai Ẓevi had to undergo conversion and that his death was merely an illusion. In three years, he insisted, the "Messiah" would reappear. Invited to Italy in 1682 by R. Issachar Behr *Perlhefter and R. Abraham *Rovigo of Modena – both secret Shabbatean adherents – he put forth the claim that, while Shabbetai Ẓevi had been the Messiah b. Ephraim, he, Mordecai, was the Messiah b. David. Apocalyptic writings stemming from Rovigo's circle and probably written by Perlhefter (1678–80) portray him as the forerunner of the Messiah. In the above-mentioned document reference is made to his plan to go to Rome in order to make certain "messianic" preparations. Upon meeting him in Modena, his host, R. Perlhefter, recognizing signs of madness in him, turned against him, apparently causing Mordecai's abrupt departure from Italy some time before 1682. He thereupon traveled through Bohemia and Poland, where, thanks to his prepossessing personality and fiery preaching, he won numerous adherents. Heinrich *Graetz dubbed him a "Jewish Vicente *Ferrer."

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Graetz, Gesch, 10 (1896), note 4, ii; J. Leveen, in: *Ignace Goldziher Memorial Volume*, 1 (1948), 393–9; G. Scholem, in: *Sefer Dinaburg* (1949), 240ff. (Heb.); I. Tishby, *Netivei Emunah u-Minut* (1964), s.v. *Eisenstadt, Mordecai.*

[Theodore Friedman]

MORDECAI BEN HILLEL HA-KOHEN (1240?–1298), author and rabbinic authority in Germany. The only biographical details known of him are that he was a descendant of *Eliezer b. Joel ha-Levi, a relative of *Asher b. Jehiel, and a brother-in-law of Meir ha-Kohen, author of the *Haggahot Maimoniyyot*, that he was an outstanding pupil of *Meir b. Baruch of Rothenburg, *Isaac b. Moses (author of *Or Zaru'a*), and *Pereẓ b. Elijah of Corbeil. He appears to have spent some time in Goslar (Resp. Maharam of Rothenburg, ed. Lemberg, 476), from there moving to Nuremberg, where he died a martyr's death in the *Rindfleisch massacres, together with his wife and five children.

Mordecai's fame rests on the *Sefer Mordekhai*, always referred to as "the *Mordekhai*." This gigantic compendium consists of elaborations on talmudic problems in the style of the **tosafot*. However, it follows the arrangement of laws used by Isaac *Alfasi, its aim having been to spread the learning of the French and German scholars and of their predecessors by attaching them to the work of Alfasi, which had a wide circulation; but the *Mordekhai* does not refer at all to the content of Alfasi's book. Over 300 books and authors are cited in the *Mordekhai*, including whole pages from *Or Zaru'a* and dozens of responsa of Meir of Rothenburg in full. The absence of any of the writings which Meir of Rothenburg sent to his pupils while he was in prison proves that the book was completed before 1286, the year of Meir's incarceration. On the other hand, it is clear from the many references to "my master, Rabbi Mordecai" that the book was not edited by Mordecai himself but by his sons and pupils. If the *Sefer ha-Dinim* of Judah ha-Kohen and *Sefer ha-Ḥokhmah* of Baruch b. Samuel are still known today, it is almost entirely thanks to the *Mordekhai*. The history of the spread of the *Mordekhai* and the transmigrations of its many versions in manuscript and in print is one of the most complicated in all of rabbinic literature. Because of the book's tremendous scope, two main compilations of extracts, the "Austrian" and the "Rhenish," were made from it within a few decades, mainly reflecting regional laws and customs, and differing greatly from one another. The Rhenish version – which is the one extant – includes the views of many French and English scholars, and the customs of the German communities. These customs had spread eastward as far as Poland, but were not accepted west of Germany. The Austrian version reflects the *minhag* of southeastern Europe including the customs of Austria, Hungary, Bohemia, Saxony, and Moravia, and mentions many Austrian scholars. This version was in the possession of Israel *Isserlein.

In 1376 Samuel *Schlettstadt edited an abridgment of the *Mordekhai* (*Mordekhai ha-Katan*), adding glosses of his own (*Haggahot Mordekhai*). In print, these appeared independently at the end of the book, but sometimes they were confused with the text. This abridgment was based on the Rhenish version, and when Schlettstadt later obtained a copy of the Austrian version, he added some passages from it. The *Halakhot Ketannot* in the *Mordekhai* are also Schlettstadt's work. Many other abridgments have been made, both by copyists and by printers, this activity having begun, in fact, shortly after Mordecai's death. Apart from Schlettstadt's abridgment, there are extant two printed versions of the book (see below) and a larger number of versions in manuscript. Many manuscripts are extant in libraries in many parts of the world, but no two of them are identical, and all of them are different from *Mordekhai ha-Gadol* (the unabridged *Mordekhai*), also extant in manuscript, which was too long to be copied in full. In view of this situation, Judah Loew of Prague ruled that the *Mordekhai* should not be used as the basis for legal decisions. The *Mordekhai* was first printed together with the first edition of the Talmud (tractates *Berakhot* and *Beẓah*, by Soncino, 1483–84). While the amplifications on *Berakhot* are shorter than those in the regular printed editions, those on *Beẓah* are much longer. It was also published together with Alfasi's abridgment of the Talmud in Constantinople, 1508–09. The *Mordekhai* was published separately, and on the whole Talmud, in Riva di Trento, 1559–60, in an edition containing matter not found in the standard edition, which was published later from other manuscripts. Before printing a new edition, printers would generally compare the various editions already previously published, for the purpose of reconciling them, a practice which helped confuse matters even more. Following the ruling of Judah Loew, all passages that were lenient or permissive on points not stated in the Talmud were expunged from the printed editions (but not from the Mss.), causing the accuracy of the text to deteriorate still further.

The *Mordekhai* exerted a powerful influence in Germany on the manner of arriving at halakhic rulings until the time of Moses *Isserles, mainly through Israel Isserlein, who relied on it considerably in his *Terumat ha-Deshen*, and Joseph *Colon. The book was also most influential in the world of Sephardi *halakhah* – which it reached in its abridged form – and Mordecai b. Hillel ha-Kohen is one of the few Ashkenazi authorities cited by Joseph *Caro in his *Beit Yosef.* Many scholars wrote interpretations, amplifications, glosses, or corrections to the *Mordekhai*, including: Israel *Bruna, Israel Isserlein, *Joshua Boaz b. Simeon, Moses Isserles (who inserted the page references to the tractates of the Talmud), Menahem of Tiktin (who wrote *Ḥiddushei Anshei Shem* on it), Isaiah b. Abraham *Horowitz, and Mordecai *Benet. *Kiẓẓur Piskei ha-Mordekhai*, by Joseph *Ottolengo, which is generally published together with the *Mordekhai,* also deserves mention. Up to and including the time of Moses Isserles, small groups of Jews would get together for the regular and systematic study of the work. In addition to this book, Mordecai also composed a rhymed composition on the dietary laws (Venice, c. 1550), and a poem on the rules of vocalization. He also wrote a work on the laws pertaining to the Holy Land and the laws of *ḥallah* ("the priest's share of the dough") published in Z. Bindowitz, *Ḥut ha-Meshullash* (1940). Five of his *piyyutim* are extant including the *seliḥah Mah Rav Tuvekh*, a lament for Abraham the proselyte who died a martyr's death in 1264 at Augsburg.

[Israel Moses Ta-Shma]

Further Information

A study of the many manuscripts of *Sefer Mordekhai* reveals that there are "families" of manuscripts. Manuscripts belonging to a certain family are based on the same version and use the same linguistic expressions with the same additions as in the printed text of *Sefer Mordekhai* printed in different editions of the Talmud. The manuscripts of the *Mordekhai* make it possible to attempt to establish a text of the *Mordekhai* for the Talmud tractates that will include as many sections of the *Mordekhai* as possible, namely the text of the book as it is printed and, in addition, different parts not yet published and originating from the different manuscripts.

A. Halperin published a study called *The Complete Sefer Mordekhai for Tractate Bava Kamma* (1978): Part I, Introduction; Part II, a critical edition of the *Mordekhai* for *Bava Kamma* by Rabbi Samuel Schlettstadt. In addition, the complete *Mordekhai* for Tractate *Beiẓah* (edited by Yehoshua Horowitz and Yiẓḥak Kleinman) appeared in the Torat Ḥakhamei Ashkenaz series of the Jerusalem Institute (1983). This edition is based on 18 manuscripts and early printed editions and includes notes, sources and variant readings.

[Yehoshua Horowitz]

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MORDECAI BEN JUDAH HA-LEVI (d. 1684), *posek* and rabbinical authority in *Egypt. Mordecai was the son-in-law of R. Abraham Tarikah. He served for over 40 years as rabbi, all or part of the time as *dayyan* of *Cairo and of *Rosetta, and moved to *Jerusalem in 1684, dying there in the same year. In 1678 a sharp dispute broke out between R. Gabriel Esperanza, one of the leading scholars of *Safed, and Mordecai ha-Levi over a *halakhic* ruling. The dispute was brought before R. Moses *Galante, the leading rabbi of Jerusalem, but he refused to become involved. His only published work was a collection of responsa, *Darkhei No'am* (Venice, 1697). It is a storehouse of information on the history of 17th-century Egyptian Jewry, which contains the responsa of many scholars of Mordecai's generation. The historian R. David *Conforte was among his friends. Other works written by him which were never published include: *Avodat ha-Kodesh*, a commentary on the Torah; *Mikra'ei Kodesh*, hermeneutics; *Toledot Adam*, concerning the education of children; and *Sof Adam*, collected eulogies. His son R. *Abraham b. Mordecai ha-Levi was the author of *Ginnat Veradim*.

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[Abraham David]

MORDECAI BEN NAPHTALI HIRSCH OF KREMSIER (d. c. 1670), talmudic commentator and scribe. Mordecai came from Kremsier (Kromeriz), but lived in Cracow and died there. He was the pupil and friend of Shabbetai Sheftel *Horowitz, with whom he established friendship in Posen in 1648. He was famous as a preacher and was referred to as "the chief preacher." Among his works were *Ketoret ha-Mizbe'aḥ* (Amsterdam, 1660), expositions of the *aggadot* in the tractate *Berakhot*, and a study of the destruction of the Temple and the length of the exile; *Ketoret ha-Sammim* (*ibid.*, 1671), a commentary on the *Targum Jonathan and the Palestine Targum to the Pentateuch, to which was appended a kabbalistic commentary on *Berakhot*; and the elegy *Shema Eli Kol Bekhi ve-Kinah* (Lublin?, c. 1650, according to Steinschneider; see bibliography) on the 120,000 martyrs slain in the *Chmielnicki massacres, together with his own commentary to it.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Steinschneider, Cat Bod, 1671f. no. 6253; Landshuth, Ammudei, 200; Gurland, in: *Oẓar ha-Sifrut*, 2 (1888), 161–3 (first pagination); Davidson, Oẓar, 3 (1930), 484 no. 1656.

[Josef Horovitz]

MORDECAI BEN NISAN (17th–18th centuries), Karaite scholar living in Kukizov, near Lvov (Lemberg), Poland. In answer to an inquiry by Jacob Trigland, professor at Leiden, Mordecai composed in 1699 an exposition of Karaism entitled *Dod Mordekhai* (Hamburg, 1714, with Latin translation; Hebrew text alone, Vienna, 1830, repr. 1966), in which he defends the antiquity of Karaism (reaching back into the Second Temple period) and its independence from Sadduceeism, and traces in brief the history of Karaite literature. His other works include *Ma'amar Mordekhai*, a supercommentary on the *Mivḥar* of *Aaron b. Joseph (unpublished); and *Levush Malkhut*, on the differences between the Karaites and the Rabbanites (published by Neubauer; see bibliography). Some hymns by him are included in the official Karaite prayer book.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Fuerst, *Karaeertum*, 3 (1869), 87ff.; A. Neubauer, *Aus der Petersburger Bibliothek* (1866), 76ff.; S. Poznański, *The Karaite Literary Opponents of Saadiah Gaon* (1908), 87; Mann, Texts, 2 (1935), index.

[Leon Nemoy]

MORDECAI OF NESKHIZ (Rus. **Nesukhoyshe**; 1752–1800), ḥasidic *ẓaddik*, founder of the Neskhiz dynasty and one of the most famous "miracle-workers" of his generation. He was a disciple of *Jehiel Michael of Zloczow and became friendly with *Aryeh Leib of Shpola whom he met in Jehiel Michael's house. His name appears in the list of prominent *ẓaddikim* of 1798–1820 which mitnaggedic writers included in their works against Ḥasidism. After serving as rabbi in Leshnev (Leszniow), in the province of Brody, where a ḥasidic group flourished as early as 1772, he settled in Nesvizh, near Kovel in Volhynia, around 1790. There he became renowned as a "miracle-working" *ẓaddik* and "his miracles in heaven and earth were revealed to the world; raising the dead, healing the sick, and enabling deserted wives to remarry… and he became a great wonder" (*Zikkaron Tov* (1892), 99). According to another tradition "Mordecai of Neskhiz was familiar with the mysteries of creation… and wrought many miracles but he regretted his actions" (Uri of Strelisk, *Imrei Kodesh* (1871), 9). A wealthy man, Mordecai commissioned the scribe Moses of Przeworsk to copy a Torah scroll for him. The work took three years and he paid him 400 zlotys. He wrote a small pamphlet, later published under the title of *Rishpei Esh* (1869).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Dubnow, Ḥasidut, index; M. Buber, *Tales of the Ḥasidim*, 1 (1968^4), 164–6; L.I. Newman, *The Ḥasidic Anthology* (1963), index s.v. *Neschizer.*

MORDELL, LOUIS JOEL (1888–1972), British mathematician. Mordell was professor of mathematics at Manchester from 1923 to 1945 and professor at Cambridge from 1945. He was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society in 1924, and president of the London Mathematical Society from 1943 until 1945. Mordell wrote many articles on the theory of numbers and allied topics. In addition he published *Three Lectures on Fermat's Last Theorem* (1921); *A Chapter on the Theory of Numbers* (1947); *Reflections of a Mathematician* (1958); and *Diophantine Equations* (1969).

[Barry Spain]

MORDELL, PHINEHAS (1861–1934), Hebrew grammarian and scholar. Mordell was born in Shat (Kovno province) and studied in Yelizavetgrad. In 1881, he went to the U.S. and settled in Philadelphia. During his first years there Mordell worked at various trades and was a beadle in a synagogue, at the same time industriously pursuing the study of Hebrew language and grammar. He was associated with the Wissenschaft scholars in the U.S., as well as with Hebrew writers. Finally, after achieving a wide reputation, he worked until 1903 partly as a teacher and partly as a night watchman in order to devote the day to his studies. He was among the pioneer proponents of Zionism and the Hebrew language movement in the U.S. Mordell spent much of his time on the study of Hebrew language and grammar and especially on the Sefer *Yeẓirah which he edited and to which he wrote a comprehensive commentary in English (1914). In 1895 he published, without commentary, the corrected text of *Sefer Yeẓirah*. He was greatly encouraged in his linguistic studies by Aḥad Ha-Am (Asher Ginsberg), who published some of Mordell's articles in *Ha-Shilo'aḥ* (vols. 3 (1898), 478–9; 5 (1899), 233–46; 10 (1902), 431–42; see *Iggerot Aḥad Ha-Am*, 2 (1957), 410–1). He continued publishing linguistic studies in *Ha-Toren*, 4 (1917/18), 8f.; *Ha-Ivri*, 9 (1919), no. 1, 3, 4, 5, 6, 9, 12, 17, 19, 21, 22, 24 (a series of articles on the reading of Hebrew which was also published separately); *Ha-Olam ha-Yehudi* (1924);

and *Leshonenu*, 3 (1930). His articles were also published in English (8 articles in JQR, 1912–34) and one was published in Yiddish. Mordell left an extensive Hebrew commentary to the *Sefer Yeẓirah* and chapters on grammar (unpublished). His son was Louis Joel *Mordell, the mathematician.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: J. Zausmer, *Be-Ikvei ha-Dor* (1957), 3–32.

[Getzel Kressel]

°**MORDOVTSEV, DANIIL LUKICH** (1830–1905), Russian and Ukrainian writer who preached the return of the Jews to Ereẓ Israel. Mordovtsev was a Ukrainian and one of the leaders of the Ukrainian nationalist movement throughout his life. Until 1866 he worked in various government offices, and afterward engaged in his historical and literary work. In his time he was one of the few liberals in Russia who openly sympathized with the Jews. In 1873 he began to publish articles refuting prevalent accusations by Russians, including liberals, against the Jews, and in particular attacked anti-Jewish instigators. In the summer of 1881 he visited Ereẓ Israel and in Jerusalem met a number of Jewish refugees who had fled from the pogrom in Odessa. In his series of stories and travel impressions he repeatedly expressed the demand that the nations of the world restore Ereẓ Israel to the Jews. His literary activity in this area increased especially after the pogroms of the early 1880s in Russia. In his historical stories, he censured the Ukrainian pogroms against the Jews. His stories on Jewish topics include *Za chto zhe?* ("Why?" 1884); *Mezhdu molotom i zakovalney* ("Between Hammer and Anvil," 1891), and *Irod* ("Herod"). These stories were translated into Hebrew and Yiddish (some by Z. *Shazar). His support for the Jewish national movement continued until his death and became especially strong from the time of the appearance of political Zionism.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: I. Maor, in: *Shivat Ẓiyyon*, 2–3 (1951/52) 69–82; M. Ben Hillel ha-Kohen, *In Mame Loshn* (1935), 237–55.

[Getzel Kressel]

°**MORDVINOV, NICOLAI SEMIONOVICH** (1754–1845), Russian statesman and admiral; president of the Department of Civil and Ecclesiastical Affairs of the Council of State. In 1802, as a member of the Council of State, he supported the proposal not to limit the commercial rights of the Jews in the *Pale of Settlement, but in the 1820s he insisted on the mass expulsion of the Jews from the villages and rural settlements. In the blood libel case at *Velizh, Mordvinov took a stand in favor of the Jewish community. Owner of an estate near Velizh and knowing many local Jews, he followed the case closely; when it reached its final stage and came to the attention of his department, he helped to establish the innocence of the Jews, settling the matter by a ukase issued in 1835.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Gessen, in: *Voskhod*, 4 (1903), 3–34; 5 (1903), 3–28; idem, *Velizhskaya drama* (1905); Rivkin, in: *Perezhitoye*, 3 (1911), 60–102.

MOREEL, BEN (1892 –1978), U.S. admiral. Born in Salt Lake City, Utah, Moreel worked as an engineer and in 1917 joined the U.S. Navy engineer corps. In the 1930s he served as public works officer at Pearl Harbor, and in 1937 he was made chief of the Bureau of Yards and Docks. When World War II broke out, Moreel created the elite naval construction battalions known as the Seabees, starting with 3,000 men. His Seabees developed airfields, roads, and housing on undeveloped islands in the Pacific. After the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor in 1941, Moreel recruited carpenters, machinists, electricians, and masons whose average age was 37. He valued work experience over youth. Eventually, more than 325,000 men signed on with the Seabees. On some 300 islands in the South Pacific, they went ashore shortly after the Marines had landed and began building hospitals, housing, and warehouses, in addition to the roads and airstrips. Proud of their reputation as fighters, the Seabees also became goodwill ambassadors who constructed orphanages, public utilities, and highways all over the world. In 1944 President Franklin D. Roosevelt made Moreel a vice admiral. Moreel retired as a full admiral in 1958, the first engineering officer and the first Jew to reach this rank. When he received his fourth star as admiral, he became the highest-ranking Jewish officer in Navy history.

In his honor, the U.S. Navy League created the Admiral Ben Moreel Award for logistics excellence.

Moreel's book *The Admiral's Log Vol. 1 and 2* was published in 1958.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: S. Howarth (ed.), *Men of War* (1993)

[Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

MOREH, MORDECAI (1937–), Israeli printmaker and draftsman. Moreh was born in Baghdad, and immigrated to Israel in 1951. He studied at the Bezalel School of Arts and Crafts, Jerusalem, from 1955 to 1959, and from 1960 to 1962 studied on an Italian government scholarship at the Accademia di Belle Arti, Florence. In 1962 he was awarded a scholarship by the American-Israel Cultural Foundation to attend the Ecole Nationale Supérieure des Beaux-Arts, Paris.

Moreh mainly used the drypoint method in the technique of prints which revealed him to be a master draftsman. His subjects were traditional and, like Goya, Jean-Paul Sartre, and Pablo Picasso, he expresses a pessimistic and skeptical outlook. His philosophy about the human condition was revealed through his etchings, in which he employed symbols to convey his ideas – the illusions, the darkness of the unconscious, the violence and vanity of life. He differed from Goya and Picasso in his more moderate ironic attitude, and in his sense of humor and humanity. One of his favorite subjects was the woman through whom he portrays general human characteristics. In one of several drypoints titled "Monkey" (1970) he drew the profile of a woman whose backside is an untamed monkey in an open cage. Animals are another important subject in his work, forming part of his personal world of imagination.

Moreh used classical metaphors to indicate his philosophical research about the nature of reality. One of his famous metaphors is the mask – the mask of reality. For his masks he used directly the portraits of his earlier works. A Renaissance spirit is evident in his etchings. Moreh held a large number of one-man shows and his work was exhibited at the Israel prints exhibition held in 1961 at the Boston Public Library and at the fourth Biennale of Paris-Israel Prints in 1968. His work is displayed in many museums and private collections in Israel and abroad.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: M. Moreh, *Radierungen 1960–1972*, Heidelberg Kurpfaelzisches Museum (March–Apr., 1972).

[Judith Spitzer]

MOREH, SHMUEL (1933–), scholar of Arabic language and literature. Born in Baghdad, he immigrated to Israel April 1951. He received his B.A. and M.A. from The Hebrew University in Arabic literature and Islamic Studies and his Ph.D. in modern Arabic poetry (SOAS, London University) in 1965. He was a visiting professor at various universities in the U.S., U.K., Germany, Finland, and the Netherlands. Moreh became professor emeritus of Arabic language and literature at The Hebrew University of Jerusalem. He participated in conferences on Arabic and Islamic studies and on the Jews of Arab countries, especially of Iraq. He was awarded the Israel Prize in Oriental studies (1999) and the insignia of the Commander of the Order of the Lion of Finland (1986). He is the founder and chairman of the Association of Jewish Academics from Iraq in Israel (1980–) and chairman of the Academic Committee of the Babylonian Jewry Heritage Center, Or-Yehuda, Israel. He wrote *Modern Arabic Poetry 1800–1970* (1975), *Studies in Modern Arabic Prose and Poetry* (1988), *The Jewish Contribution to Nineteenth-Century Arabic Theatre* (with P.C. Sadgrove, 1996), *Live Theater and Dramatic Literature in the Medieval Arab World* (1992), *The Tree and the Branch, Studies in Modern Arabic Literature and Contributions of Iraqi-Jewish Writers* (Hebrew, 1977), and *Those Were the Days of Youth and Love, An Anthology of Poems in Arabic and English* (1998). He was also the translator and editor of al-Jabartī's *Chronicle of the First Seven Months of the French Occupation of Egypt* (1975) and of several collections of Arabic short stories as well as the compiler of bibliographies on Arabic literature.

MORENO, JACOB L. (1892–1974), U.S. social scientist. Born in Bucharest, he immigrated to the U.S. in 1927. He taught at New York University from 1952 to 1960 and was the founder of the Sociometric Institute and the Theater for Psychodrama. He edited the *International Journal of Sociometry, Group Psychiatry*, and *Group Psychotherapy and Sociodrama*. Moreno initiated the sociometric method in the social sciences. Sociometry assumes that societies have, besides a formal structure, an informal and emotionally based depth-structure of human relations, connecting the individual with other individuals. These relations can be made evident by appropriate methods. Among the techniques Moreno introduced for this purpose were the sociometric test, the sociogram, the interaction diagram, the locogram, and the sociomatrix. These techniques lead to group-therapeutic approaches, especially in "psychodrama" and "sociodrama." In these, the conventional doctor-patient relationship is replaced by acting in which the participants purge themselves through reliving and acting out their experience. These methods have been applied in a variety of situations, especially in schools, industries, and armies.

Major publications of Moreno, apart from a great many papers and monographs, are *Das Stegreiftheater* (1924; *The Theater of Spontaneity*, tr. by the author, 1947); *Who Shall Survive?* (1934, rev. ed. 1953); *Sociometry, Experimental Method and the Science of Society* (1951); *The First Psychodramatic Family* (1964); and *Discovery of Spontaneous Man* (1965).

[Werner J. Cahnman]

MORESHET, research and education center for Holocaust Studies.

The Founding of Moreshet

Moreshet was originally established by the Kibbutz Arẓi Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir in the early 1960s as a center for collecting testimonies of concentration camp survivors and resistance fighters from the ghettos. The moving spirits of the project were a group of former partisans and members of Jewish undergrounds which included: Abba *Kovner, Israel *Gutman, Chaike Grossman and a then young historian, Yehuda *Bauer. Their plan was adopted at a convention of the Kibbutz Arẓi Federation in 1961. Kovner explained to the delegates the significance of the name, which they had chosen:

> The project will be called *Moreshet*. Why? Because we are of the people. We intend to say that we have no political arrogance, but only an historical truth: that we are heirs to a great heritage of our people.

The primary incentive in all their activities was to make certain that future generations learn about the horrors of the Holocaust and to insure that it doesn't happen again.

As the years went by, Moreshet, expanded its field of work. In the early 21st century Moreshet had developed into a leading research and education center for Holocaust Studies. It carries out activities in various fields with a publishing house; *Yalkut Moreshet*, a journal; an educational Campus at Givat Ḥavivah; Holocaust Studies and Research Center: Moreshet Archives; an exhibition annex; journeys to Poland; and the Holocaust Remembrance Day Ceremony at Yad Mordechai.

Publications

MORESHET PUBLISHING HOUSE. The dozens of titles which have appeared over the years encompass central issues, such as personal testimonies, biographies, historical works, annals of communities and literature for children and youth. The books, covering important subjects of the Holocaust, are an important resource for pupils and researchers.

YALKUT MORESHET. The journal *Yalkut Moreshet* is a prestigious research periodical appearing twice annually. First issued in December 1963, it is the oldest and most significant of its kind in Israel and is dedicated to documentation, deliberation, and research of the Holocaust. The material that appears in *Yalkut Moreshet* has proven to be an invaluable source for courses in Holocaust Studies both in Israel and abroad.

As of 2003, an English edition of *Yalkut Moreshet* has begun appearing on an annual basis, containing articles from the current Hebrew edition, as well as articles from previous editions that have become classics in Holocaust research.

The Educational Campus at Givat Ḥavivah

The characteristic and unique guidelines of Moreshet's educational work are characterized by the participation of the pupils in the educational process, through various interdisciplinary activity workshops. Less emphasis is placed on lectures and more on discussions, stories and opportunity for self-expression. Major use is made of different means of illustration: films, pictures etc. Pupils are also given the opportunity to connect with the computerized archives for personal projects.

A significant portion of time is devoted to an encounter with Holocaust survivors. Since they were then the same age the pupils are now, it is easy for the youngsters to listen to them, ask questions and to identify.

Historical stress is placed on the role of youth, and especially graduates of the youth movements, in the resistance against Nazism. Historiography points out the place of youth as a leading element and stimulus to resistance, and at its head – graduates of the youth movements – owing to the education and values which they absorbed in their movements.

A central theoretical guideline is the exposure of the sources of racism and the roots of antisemitism and education towards universal humanistic values as a way of preventing it from happening again. Moreshet encourages participants to confront the complex dilemmas of one's own experience, to take a stand. and to make a moral choice.

Educational Programs

Among the educational programs carried out by Moreshet are (a) programs for the Israel Defense Forces, which enrich knowledge of moral struggles and values. Moreshet offers seminars dealing with the effects of military service in reinforcing Jewish and Israeli identity. Programs touch on obedience to authority, the role of civilians in war, heroism, human dignity. (b) Study days for pupils of all grades: the study units and means of illustration in the programs offered are designed with maximum consideration of the cognitive and emotional ability of the various age groups. During the course various activities take place, including creative activity to "work through" the experiences of the day. (c) A program on women Holocaust Resistance fighters, which deals with the role of women in fighting in the ghettoes and forests and as liaisons with the Aryan side. The seminar deals with conflicts stemming from the three components of women's identity – woman, Jew, and Holocaust fighter. Emphasis is placed on the education these women received in their youth, on the ways they overcame difficulties and obstacles, the dilemmas they faced, and the means they used to fulfill their missions. (d) A weekend seminar in Russian for new immigrants from the CIS, Antisemitism, Racism and the Holocaust as a Significant Element in Shaping the Collective Israeli Consciousness, has as its goal A weekend the clarification of the concepts connected with the Israeli collective identity; their significance to new immigrants and how they deal with these questions; antisemitism and the Holocaust as a significant element in shaping Israeli and Jewish collective consciousness. (e) Programs for visitors from abroad in the form of seminars on the Holocaust and its ramifications on Israeli society range from one to three days and include accommodations at Givat Ḥavivah, and are offered in English, Spanish, German, and other languages upon request. The schedule includes workshops, lectures and tours.

The Mordechai Anielevich Holocaust Studies and Research Center

MORESHET ARCHIVES. Founded in 1961, the task of the archives contain a collection of documents and testimonies from the period of the Holocaust, including important documents and files such as the Hannah Szenes, Abba Kovner, and Menachem Bader papers.

Moreshet has established a Reading and Research Center, including books of communities, of chronicles and documentation of the Holocaust period; personal memoirs and individual and group testimonies. Rooms for researchers are equipped with computers attached to the Moreshet computer network and research and information programs.

Exhibition Annex

Moreshet is in the process of developing an exhibition annex on the Givat Ḥavivah campus. The new annex will provide the basis for learning about the resistance to the Nazis in the ghettoes, in the concentration camps, and among the partisans. From there the visitors will go into the classrooms and the auditorium. The annex will also contain an area for temporary exhibitions, providing visual expressions of various events.

Journeys to Poland

The Kibbutz Arẓi high schools and the Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir youth movement were among the first to organize delegations to the sites of the Holocaust and have thus gained significant experience in organizing the journeys and preparing groups for the experience programs offered by Moreshet towards the journeys to Poland by high school students include detailed preparation for the journey; acquaintance with the Jewish world that perished; study of World War II in Europe; clarification on the forming of Jewish and Zionist identity as an aftermath of the Holocaust. Moreshet also provides experienced guides to accompany the groups as well as workshops for the participants upon their return home, to "work through" the experience.

There is a training program for guides and teachers accompanying the journey to Poland, which includes educational ways of dealing with the experience of the journey. The preparation course for accompanying teachers is a program aimed at expansion of knowledge on subjects related to the Holocaust, and the psychological and educational preparation for the role of accompanying teacher. It also trains teachers to deal with questions arising among young persons upon their return from Poland and develops the teachers' capabilities to cope with problems, difficulties and reactions by individuals and groups.

[Ariel Hurwitz (2nd ed.)]

MORESHETH-GATH (Heb. מוֹרֶשֶׁת גַּת), town of the tribe of Judah in the Shephelah, between Lachish and Achzib. It is mentioned by the prophet Micah, who was born there (Micah 1:1, 14; Jer. 26:18). Later sources (Eusebius, Onom. 134:10: Sozomenus, *Historia Ecclesiastica* 9:17; Jerome, *In Micam* 1:10) identify it with a village, which is also called Birat Satia or Kiryat Satia, in the territory of Eleutheropolis (Bet Guvrin). The *Madaba Map indicates a village called Morasthi to the north of Eleutheropolis, near a church of St. Micah. Some scholars have identified Birat Satia with Khirbat Saʿad or Khirbat al-Baṣal and Moresheth-Gath with nearby Tell al-Judayda; others have looked for it at Tell Khirbat al-Bayḍāʾ approximately 4 mi. (6 km.) northeast of Bet Guvrin. The Gath fortified by Rehoboam (II Chron. 11:8) has also been tentatively identified with Moresheth-Gath.

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[Michael Avi-Yonah]

MOREWSKI, ABRAHAM (**Menaker**; 1886–1964), Yiddish actor and producer. Born in Vilna, Morewski acted and studied in Russia, doing translations and research on Shakespeare which resulted in his study *Shylock and Shakespeare* (1917). He joined the *Vilna Troupe in 1920, played Mirapoler Tsadik in *An-Ski's *The Dybbuk* and the title role in Gutzkow's *Uriel Acosta*. He directed a four-act version of *The Dybbuk* reduced to three acts in 1920. He toured in Europe and the U.S. and during World War II in southern Russia. In Warsaw, from 1956, he wrote his memoirs, *Ahin un Aher*, four volumes published in 1963.

MORGENSTERN, JULIAN (1881–1977), U.S. Reform rabbi, Bible scholar, and president of the *Hebrew Union College. Born in St. Francisville, Illinois, Morgenstern graduated from the University of Cincinnati in 1901 and was ordained at the Hebrew Union College in 1902. He received his doctorate at Heidelberg in 1904; his dissertation was published as *Doctrine of Sin in the Babylonian Religion* (1905). After three years as rabbi in Lafayette, Indiana, he turned to academic life, teaching biblical and Semitic languages, concentrating on biblical studies, at Hebrew Union College.

In 1921 Morgenstern became acting president of the college and in 1922 was elected president; he was the first alumnus to hold this office. During his presidency the number of students and faculty and the scope of college activity grew markedly. Departments of education, social studies, and Jewish music were established; new buildings were erected; an endowment fund was created; the college, previously a department of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, was independently chartered, and the Hebrew Union School of Religious Education was established in New York City. *Hebrew Union College Annual*, founded in 1924, at once became one of the world's outstanding publications in Jewish scholarship. During the Hitler period, a dozen European scholars found a haven at the college, chiefly as the result of Morgenstern's efforts. At first anti-Zionist, Morgenstern later modified his position on the creation of a Jewish state. After retiring as college president in 1947, Morgenstern continued to teach Bible. He served as president of the American Oriental Society and the Society of Biblical Literature; he was for many years recording secretary, and then honorary president, of the Central Conference of American Rabbis and one of the founders of the World Union for Progressive Judaism.

Biblical Studies

As a young professor Morgenstern immersed himself in biblical studies and published relatively little. As his views matured, the number and extent of his publications increased. Three works originally published in the *Annual* were later issued in book form: *Amos Studies* (1941); *Ark, the Aphod, and the "Tent of Meeting"* (1945); and *Message of Deutero-Isaiah* (1961). Among many other important essays in the *Annual* are "Oldest Document of the Hexateuch" (1927), which provided the first solid support for the so-called Kenite hypothesis (see *Kenites; *Pentateuch), and a series of studies on the calendars of ancient Israel (1924, 1926, 1935, 1947–48). Starting as a follower of the *Wellhausen school, Morgenstern became increasingly independent in his approach to Bible problems. In his analysis of documentary sources he relied chiefly on differences in economic, social, and political background rather than on differences of vocabulary and style. In his reconstruction of biblical history, he gave much weight to economic and social factors without minimizing the role of inspired thinkers and teachers. In his studies of the calendar, he showed that changes in the nomenclature of the months and the dating of the festivals reflected significant changes in the life of the people of Israel. He also found evidence that in the early post-Exilic period there was a strong universalist trend expressed in proselytizing activity, which came to a catastrophic end when a coalition of neighboring states destroyed Jerusalem and burned the Second Temple. (The Temple of Ezra-Nehemiah, later rebuilt by Herod, was thus actually the Third Temple; see "Jerusalem – 485 B.C.," in HUCA, 1956, 1957, 1960; see *Temple.) Morgenstern's continuing vigor in scholarly activity is evident in his *Fire on the Altar* (1963), *Some Significant Antecedents of Christianity* (1966), and *Rites of Birth, Marriage, Death, and Kindred Occasions among the Semites* (1966). More popular in character are *Jewish Interpretation of Genesis* (1919), *Book of Genesis: A Jewish Interpretation* (1965^{2}), and a collection of lectures and papers, *As a Mighty Stream* (1949).

Views on Reform

His historical research convinced him that what had been called "universalism" and "particularism" are not mutually antagonistic, but that both are necessary and each complements the other. Despite his official role within the Reform movement, Morgenstern was dissatisfied with the term "Reform Judaism," which he regarded as reflective of conditions in 19th-century Germany rather than in 20th-century America, and as carrying with it certain overtones of sectarian separatism. He preferred to speak (so far as the United States is concerned) of an emerging American Judaism, more pragmatic and less dogmatic than early Reform; and he envisioned an ultimate synthesis of the Reform and Conservative movements, in a pattern not yet evident.

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[Bernard J. Bamberger]

MORGENSTERN (née **Bauer**), **LINA** (1830–1909), German educational theorist, philanthropist, and author. Born in Breslau, she founded a society for supporting poor schoolchildren when she was only 18. In 1854, she married Theodor Morgenstern, a manufacturer, and they settled in Berlin.

From 1859 on, she devoted her life to education and philanthropy. She helped organize the first Froebel kindergartens, and in 1860 published *Das Paradies der Kindheit* (1904), a textbook based on Froebel's method. She established the first free kitchens for the needy in 1866, and in 1873 founded the *Berliner Hausfrauenverein*, a society which served to educate women and safeguard their welfare. The society conducted a cooking school, for which she wrote all the textbooks. In 1887, together with two nurses, she opened a school for nursing. In 1896, she convened the first International Women's Congress, in Berlin, where 1,800 delegates from all parts of the world heard her lectures on women's rights. She was active in peace movements and served as vice president of the Alliance des Femmes pour la Paix. She edited and wrote many books, including storybooks for children, novels, biographies, cookbooks, periodicals for women, and books on women's problems, such as *Die Frauen des 19. Jahrhunderts* or *Frauenarbeit in Deutschland*.

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[Shnayer Z. Leiman]

MORGENSTERN, OSKAR (1902–1977), U.S. economist. Born in Goerlitz, Germany, Morgenstern taught at the University of Vienna (1928–38) and served as a director of the Austrian Institute of Business Cycle Research (1931–38). From 1936 to 1938 he served concomitantly as an adviser to the Austrian Ministry of Commerce and from 1936 to 1946 as a member of the committee of statistical experts of the League of Nations. In 1938 he settled in the United States and taught at Princeton University, where he became a full professor in 1944, and in 1948 director of its econometric research program. From 1955 to 1957 he was a consultant to the U.S. Atomic Energy Commission, and from 1959 to 1960 the White House consultant on atomic energy matters. In addition to general economic theory, his principal interests were econometrics and business cycles. One of Morgenstern's major contributions to the field was the formal conception of "game theory" as part of economic theory, which he and John von Neumann first organized in the classic book *Theory of Games and Economic Behavior* (1944). Game theory was later expanded upon and refined by John Nash and others. Morgenstern retired from Princeton in 1970.

Morgenstern's other publications include *The Limits of Economics* (1937), *Economic Activity Analysis* (1954), *The Question of National Defense* (1959), *International Financial Transactions and Business Cycles* (1959), *On the Accuracy of Economic Observations* (1950, 1963^2), *Predictability of Stock Market Prices* (with C.W.J. Granger, 1970), *Long-Term Projections of Power* (1973), and *Mathematical Theory of Expanding and Contracting Economies* (with G.L. Thompson, 1976).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: M. Shubik (ed.), *Essays in Mathematical Economics* (1967), incl. bibl.

[Joachim O. Ronall / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

MORGENSTERN, SOMA (1890–1976), novelist, journalist. Soma Morgenstern was born as Salomo in Budzanow, Galicia, and although reared in a ḥasidic environment and familiar with the languages of the multiethnic culture of the Habsburg monarchy, his father provided him with a tutor in German. He attended a gymnasium in Tarnopol and studied law and political science at the University of Vienna from 1912. Like his friend Joseph Roth, he served in the Austro-Hungarian Army during World War I and was commissioned. In 1921 he received his doctorate; however, did not work as a lawyer, deciding instead to become a writer. Attracted to the theater, he worked as an assistant to Max *Reinhardt and freelanced as a critic of drama, music and literature in Vienna and Berlin. In 1927 he joined the staff of the *Frankfurter Zeitung*, and from 1928 to 1933 was its cultural correspondent in Vienna. He later wrote for *Die Weltbuehne*. In 1932 he began work on his first novel, inspired not only by the music of Modest Mussorgski, as his friend Alban Berg noted, but also by the world congress of Agudat Israel in 1929 in Vienna, which he attended as a journalist for the *Frankfurter Zeitung*. He conceived an entire trilogy, *Funken im Abgrund*, the first part of which was printed in 1935 in Berlin under the title *Der Sohn des verlorenen Sohnes* and tells the story of the return of an assimilated Viennese Jew to East European Judaism. Morgenstern fled to Paris in 1938, escaped from a concentration camp in occupied France in 1940, and made his way via Morocco and Portugal to the United States in the summer of 1941. The English version of *The Son of the Lost Son*, translated by Joseph Leftwich and Peter Gross, and its sequels, *In My Father's Pastures* (1947), translated by Ludwig *Lewisohn and *The Testament of the Lost Son* (1950), completed the trilogy. *Funken im Abgrund* is a unique paean to the vanished Jewish life in rural Eastern Europe, revealing remarkable narrative power and with lengthy detailed description. It tells the story of the son of an apostate

Jew who returns to his father's native village, where he rediscovers the values of authentic Jewish life. In his later work *The Third Pillar*, translated by Lewisohn in 1955 (the German original, written between 1946 and 1953, was published under the title *Die Blutsaeule* in 1964, and a Hebrew translation appeared in 1976 under the title *Ammud ha-Damim*), he attempts to come to terms with the Holocaust; combining realistic and fantastic elements, it is set in the same locale as the trilogy, and told in biblical language. Abraham *Heschel called it "the only Midrash about the Holocaust." A passage from it has been incorporated in the liturgy of the Yom Kippur martyrology in the *Maḥzor for Rosh Ha-Shanah and Yom Kippur*, published by the Rabbinical Assembly of the Conservative Movement (1972). Morgenstern died in New York.

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[Wolfe Kelman / Andreas Kilcher (2nd ed.)]

MORGENTALER, HENRY (1923–), Canadian physician and abortion advocate. Henry Morgentaler was born in Lodz, Poland, the son of well-known members of the Jewish Socialist Labor Bund. His parents and sister were murdered by the Nazis, but Morgentaler and his brother survived incarceration in Auschwitz and Dachau. Following the war, Morgentaler accepted a UN scholarship offered to Jewish survivors and enrolled in medical school in Germany. He completed his first year at Marburg-Lahn University, and his second and third years at the Université de Bruxelles. In 1950 Morgentaler emigrated to Canada, where, despite quotas for Jewish medical students, he resumed his studies at the Université de Montréal and received his medical degree in 1953.

Convinced that women had a right to a safe medical abortion, Morgentaler appeared before the Canadian House of Commons Health and Welfare Committee as president of the Montreal Humanist Fellowship in 1967 and urged the federal government to repeal the Canadian law against abortion. Recognized as a leading advocate of abortion rights in Canada, he was inundated with requests for help from across the country and began performing abortions in his Montreal office. To deliberately challenge the law, he announced in 1973 that he had, in violation of the law, successfully carried out more than 5,000 abortions. Three times he was arrested, charged, tried by jury, and found not guilty of violating the Criminal Code. An unprecedented decision of the Quebec Court of Appeal overturned his first jury acquittal and sent Morgentaler to prison, prompting Parliament to pass a Criminal Code amendment – now known as the Morgentaler Amendment – denying appellate judges the power to strike down acquittals and order imprisonment.

In 1983 Morgentaler opened a clinic in Toronto. He was again charged and acquitted, and in early 1988 the Supreme Court of Canada finally struck down Canada's abortion law. Morgentaler, who had eight clinics across Canada, continued his campaign to provide abortion services and test federal and provincial law.

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[Andrea Knight (2nd ed.)]

MORGENTHAU, U.S. family of public officials. HENRY MORGENTHAU SR. (1856–1946), financier and diplomat, was born in Mannheim, Germany. His family immigrated to the United States in 1865, settling in New York City. He studied at the College of the City of New York and graduated from Columbia Law School in 1877. He specialized in real estate law and soon concentrated on several highly successful New York City real estate ventures. He relinquished his law practice in 1899 and served as president of the Central Realty Bond and Trust Company and, from 1905 to 1913, as president of Henry Morgenthau Company.

Retiring from active business affairs, Morgenthau entered national politics. He was chairman of the Democratic National Committee's finance committee during Woodrow Wilson's 1912 and 1916 presidential campaigns. In 1913 President Wilson appointed him U.S. ambassador to Turkey and told him: "Remember that anything you can do to improve the lot of your coreligionists is an act that will reflect credit upon America." Morgenthau faithfully followed this advice. He was not a Zionist and Zionism as a theory scarcely interested him, but he was deeply impressed by what he saw on a visit to Ereẓ Israel in April 1914: the pioneers appeared to him to be the personification of a new type of Jew.

Morgenthau's good will did much for Zionists during the war. In August 1914, he alerted the Jewish relief organizations in the United States and on October 6 Maurice Wertheim, his son-in-law, arrived in Jaffa on the American warship *North Carolina* to hand over 250,000 francs in gold ($25,000) for emergency purposes. As the war went on and conditions worsened, more warships and additional funds were sent. Once an entire ship, the S.S. *Vulcan*, arrived loaded with provisions; it was thanks to his help that the Jewish population in the country remained alive. *Persona grata* with the Ottoman government, Morgenthau used his influence to prevent the destruction of the *yishuv* by Jamal Pasha.

In 1916, Morgenthau returned to the United States and assisted Woodrow Wilson in his presidential election campaign. In June 1917, the president dispatched him on a secret mission to explore the possibilities of detaching Turkey from the Central Powers. The British government, for its part, learning about American objectives, dispatched Chaim Weizmann to counter the move. The latter met Morgenthau in Gibraltar (July 4–5) and managed to dissuade him from carrying out his mission. Outwitted, Morgenthau never forgave Weizmann for this maneuver and his attitude towards Zionism consequently soured.

He made his views known in a letter to the *New York Times* (December 12, 1917) in which he paid tribute to the settlement work in Palestine but branded Zionism a dangerous ideology which could undermine the hard-won civil rights of Jews in countries of their adoption; it provided no solution to the Jewish problem. This was the classic doctrine of the Reform movement, of which he was an adherent.

In 1919 Morgenthau was named by Wilson to head a U.S. commission investigating the treatment of Jews in Poland (see *Morgenthau Commission). A strong advocate of the League of Nations, Morgenthau was appointed chairman of its Refugee Settlement Commission in 1923 and implemented the complicated transfer of over a million Greeks from Turkish territory to Greece and of several hundred thousand Turks from Greece to Turkey. Morgenthau was one of the organizers of the International Red Cross and Near East Relief, Inc. He was a leader of the American Red Cross and a liberal patron of musical organizations. He was also active in Jewish religious and philanthropic work; he founded Bronx House in 1911 and served on the executive committee of B'nai B'rith. He was president of the Free Synagogue of New York, but resigned in 1919 because of his opposition to Stephen S. *Wise's Zionism.

Morgenthau was the author of *Ambassador Morgenthau's Story* (1918), an autobiography; *All in a Lifetime* (1922); *My Trip Around the World* (1928); and *I Was Sent to Athens* (1930).

His son HENRY MORGENTHAU JR. (1891–1967) was an agricultural expert and U.S. cabinet member. Henry Morgenthau Jr., who was born in New York City, studied agriculture at Cornell University. He purchased a large farm in Dutchess County, New York, modernized it, and operated it successfully. During World War I he worked to increase food production and also served as an officer in the navy. In 1922 Morgenthau purchased the *American Agriculturist* and used this journal to propagate his views on the state of American agriculture. Governor Franklin D. Roosevelt, a friend and Dutchess County neighbor, in 1928 appointed Morgenthau chairman of the Agricultural Advisory Commission and in 1930 appointed him state conservation commissioner. In response to the Depression, Morgenthau developed state work projects which were later used as models for national programs during Roosevelt's presidency.

Joining Roosevelt in Washington, Morgenthau served as head of the Federal Farm Board and the Farm Credit Administration, and in early 1934 was named secretary of the treasury. A skillful and dynamic administrator, he thoroughly reorganized the Treasury Department. U.S. national and international monetary policies instituted in the 1930s for the stabilization of the economy owed much to his initiative. In addition, he supported tax reforms emphasizing greater obligations of the wealthy. His humanitarian interests were consistently evident in his concern for relief activities. Morgenthau was one of the early champions of preparation for U.S. involvement in World War II and of support for the Allied nations early in the war; he promoted foreign purchases, industrial mobilization, and the huge wartime bond drives. In 1943 Morgenthau successfully intervened with Secretary of State Cordell Hull to obtain State Department approval of a plan of the World Jewish Congress to transfer private U.S. funds to Europe to rescue French and Romanian Jews. It was at Morgenthau's suggestion that Roosevelt established the *War Refugee Board as a presidential executive agency in January 1944.

As the end of the war approached, Morgenthau proposed a peace plan involving the partition of Germany and its conversion into an essentially agrarian area. The Morgenthau Plan, presented in his *Germany Is Our Problem* (1945), stirred much debate and Morgenthau resigned after Roosevelt's death.

While still at the Treasury, Morgenthau worked with such Jewish organizations as Mt. Sinai Hospital, B'nai B'rith, and the Jewish Welfare Board. In 1947–50 he served as general chairman and in 1950–53 as honorary chairman of the United Jewish Appeal; the unprecedented sums raised by the appeal during these crucial years significantly aided the new State of Israel. Morgenthau also served as chairman of the board of governors of the Hebrew University (1950–51) and of the American Financial and Development Corporation for Israel, and the Israel Bond drive (1951–54).

Henry Morgenthau Jr.'s son ROBERT MORRIS MORGENTHAU (1919–) was born in New York. He served in the Navy during World War II and engaged in private legal practice in New York (1948–61). In 1961 he was appointed U.S. attorney for the southern district of New York and served with distinction until 1970, winning a reputation for integrity and efficient prosecution. He was an unsuccessful candidate for governor of New York in 1962. In 1974 he was elected district attorney of New York County (i.e., Manhattan), serving for 30 years and being reelected unopposed in 2005. Among his Jewish communal affiliations were the Anti-Defamation League, the New York Federation of Jewish Philanthropies, and Brandeis University.

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[Morton Rosenstock / Isaiah Friedman (2nd ed.)]

MORGENTHAU, HANS JOACHIM (1904–1980), political scientist. Born in Coburg, Germany, Morgenthau qualified as a lawyer and practiced in Munich from 1927 to 1930, when he became an assistant at the University of Frankfurt. He was acting president of the Frankfurt Labor Court from 1931 to 1933 and was professor of international law at the Madrid Institute of International and Economic Studies from 1935 to 1937, when he emigrated to the United States. From 1943 he taught international politics at the University of Chicago; in 1968 he was also appointed professor of political science at the City College of New York. He also served as consultant to the U.S. departments of State and Defense.

Morgenthau was the predominant figure in the post-World War II effort to refocus the study of international relations on the observed regularities of human conduct, rather than on the idealistic pursuit of abstract norms. This political realism gained wide influence with the publication of his *Scientific Man vs. Power Politics* (1947), and especially *Politics among Nations* (1949), which became the leading text in the field. Morgenthau was also active as a commentator on U.S. current affairs. His writings were published as *Politics in the Twentieth Century* (3 vols., 1962) and in 1970 as *Truth and Power.*

Morgenthau was a founder of the National Committee on American Foreign Policy and served as its first chairman in 1974. In his honor, in 1981 the committee established the Hans J. Morgenthau Award, which is presented to an individual whose efforts have contributed to the advancement of the national interests of the United States and to the achievement of U.S. foreign policy objectives within the framework of political realism.

As a founding proponent of political realism, Morgenthau was regarded as the central figure in international relations scholarship of the 20th century. Some of his other publications include *In Defense of the National Interest* (1951), *Dilemmas of Politics* (1958), *The Impasse of American Foreign Policy* (1962), *The Restoration of American Politics* (1962), *Crossroad Papers* (1965), *A New Foreign Policy for the United States* (1969), and *Science: Servant or Master?* (1972). Many of his writings were translated into foreign languages, and he served as editor of numerous philosophical, legal, and scientific journals.

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[Alan Dowty / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

MORGENTHAU COMMISSION (July–September 1919), U.S. commission, headed by Henry *Morgenthau Sr., to investigate the situation of the Polish Jews after the pogroms which took place in Poland at the end of World War I. The news of the pogroms set off stormy demonstrations in the important Jewish centers of the West. The representatives of the Polish National Committee in Paris were troubled by the extent of this reaction, and sought to improve their image with the public and among leading statesmen in order to strengthen their position at the forthcoming peace treaty negotiations. It was against this background that the Polish premier, Ignace Paderewski, suggested to President Wilson that an American commission be sent to Poland in order to carry out an objective investigation of the facts on the spot, and to prove that the rumors which had been circulated were maliciously exaggerated.

The mission, besides its chairman, included lieutenant general E. Jadwin, the lawyer H.G. Johnson, and the jurist Arthur L. *Goodhart as adviser. The commission considered that its task was not only to note facts but to uncover their causes and offer proposals for improving the situation. The activities of the commission in Poland lasted two months. The public and parliamentary debates on the ratification of the Treaty of Versailles and the Minority Treaty (see *Minority Rights) connected with it aroused exaggerated sensitivity among the Poles, some of whom were inclined to regard the commission as an expression of mistrust on the part of the Anglo-French Entente. The Morgenthau Commission met with the representatives of the various groups in Polish Jewry, paying special attention to the views of the parliament representatives and leaders of the political parties. Morgenthau did not conceal his sympathy for the assimilationists and was impressed by the *ẓaddik* of Gur (*Gora Kalwaria) as the spokesman of the ḥasidic masses. The commission visited the large urban centers and spent some time in disputed areas such as *Lvov and *Vilna, as well as in such towns as *Pinsk and *Kielce which had been the scene of pogroms. Morgenthau spoke to a considerable number of Polish leaders of various political parties. Morgenthau treated the unconventional figure of Marshal *Pilsudski with respect, the latter making no effort to hide his dissatisfaction with the whole idea of the commission, as a slur on the honor of Poland. Because of his delicate position as a Jew, Morgenthau made a point of appearing objective and was inclined to justify the Poles as much as possible.

The report of the commission was published in the *New York Times* on Oct. 3, 1919. It tended to minimize the outbreak of violence to a number of incidents occurring against a background of tension and hostile acts, perpetrated by the occupation armies and retreating forces. As for the future, the equality of all citizens, without any distinctions in their rights or obligations, was to be ensured. Endeavors were to be made to introduce changes in the lives of the Jews by diversifying the branches of economy in which they were engaged and by increased vocational training.

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[Moshe Landau]

MORGULIS, MANASSEH (**Mikhail**; 1837–1912), Russian writer and lawyer. Born in Berdichev, Ukraine, Morgulis was among the first to be educated in the government schools for Jews. In 1861 he completed his studies at the government rabbinical seminary in Zhitomir, and in 1864 he entered the University of Kiev, where he helped to create a Jewish students' circle working for the education of the masses and the propagation of information on Judaism in the Russian language. At the same time he contributed to the Hebrew and Russian Jewish press, as well as to the general press. In 1869 he graduated in law and settled in Odessa. He joined the group which published the *Den*, and in his "Impressions from Abroad," he presented a comparison between the situation of the Jews in Western Europe and in Russia. Attacking antisemitism in numerous essays, he sought to reform Jewish life from within. One of his longest essays dealt with the history of the education of the Jews (in *Yevreyskaya Biblioteka*, vols. 1–3).

Morgulis considered that Russian Jewry should accept Russian culture while remaining loyal to the religious-national values of Judaism. He therefore supported Yiddish literature, contributed to the Jewish press, and cooperated with the moderate *Ḥibbat Zion inasmuch as they minimized their projects for "the settlement of Palestine." Although initially he was a member of the committee of the Society for the Support of Agricultural Workers and Craftsmen of Syria and Ereẓ Israel, his violent opposition to political Zionism led him to abandon such activities; he also combated attempts to strengthen the Hebrew elements in the modern Jewish schools. A committee member of the Odessa branch of the *Society for the Promotion of Culture Among the Jews of Russia, he was also actively involved in the community's educational institutions, especially the vocational school, Trud, and the *talmud torah*, which were models for all the Russian communities. Morgulis' principal essays and studies were published in his *Voprosy yevreyskoy zhizni* ("Problems of Jewish Life," 1889), and his memoirs (in *Voskhod*, 1895–97 and in *Yevreyskiy Mir*, 1911) are of historical value.

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[Yehuda Slutsky]

MORHANGE, town in the department of Moselle, N.E. France. Jews are first mentioned there in 1686. As a result of complaints by the townsmen about the increase in the number of Jewish families, Duke Leopold ordered the Jews not to attract new coreligionists to Morhange. In 1734 the townsmen demanded that Jewish residence be confined to a single street, and that the number of authorized Jewish families again be reduced. The Jews were compelled to conform to this order, despite their attempts to circumvent it with the connivance of some of the Christian inhabitants. Only five Jewish families remained in Morhange by 1739, the rest having moved away, mainly to Metz. Their numbers increased slightly after the French Revolution. The synagogue was destroyed by the Germans during World War II. Morhange has supplied the patronymic of several families of Lorraine.

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[Bernhard Blumenkranz]

MORHANGE, PIERRE (1901–1972), French poet. Born in Paris, Morhange gained his literary apprenticeship in the intellectual battles of the 1920s. He maintained that a special sensitivity identified the Jewish writer and that French culture had been enriched by the Jewish contribution. In *Blessé* (1951) he described Jewish suffering with violence and anguish. A prophetic tone dominates collections such as *La vie est unique* (1933), *Autocritique* (1951), and *La robe* (1954).

MORIAH (Heb. מוֹרִיָּה), an unidentified locality mentioned in the Bible. Abraham was ordered to offer Isaac as a burnt offering in the "land of Moriah," which was three days' distance from Beersheba and visible "[from] afar" (Gen. 22:2–4). Early tradition identifies "mount" Moriah with the place where Solomon built the Temple. Josephus also locates the sacrifice on the mountain where David [sic] later built the Temple (Ant., 1:226). Talmudic scholars explain the name Moriah as derived from the "the mountain of myrrh" (in Song 4:6; Mekh., Be-Shallaḥ 3; Gen. R. 50:7). The Septuagint, in translating "Amoria" (Amorite) for Moriah, offers another explanation. The assumption that Abraham intended to sacrifice Isaac on the threshing floor of Jebus (Jerusalem), in full view of the Canaanite city, is farfetched; nor is the Temple Mount visible from afar, as it is hidden by the higher mountains around it. It seems more probable that the biblical story left the location of Moriah deliberately vague; the importance of the sacrifice of Isaac in the series of covenants between God and Israel made it natural that at an early time this supreme act of faith was located on the site destined to become the most holy sanctuary of Israel, the Temple of Solomon, just as the Samaritans transferred the act to their holy mountain, Mt. Gerizim.

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[Michael Avi-Yonah]

MORIAH, Hebrew publishing house. In 1901 Ḥ.N. *Bialik, together with Y.H. *Rawnitzki, S. Ben-Zion, and others, founded the Moriah publishing house in Odessa, their primary intention being the printing of educational material for modern Hebrew schools. Up to 1914 they issued a large amount of such literature, including Bialik-Rawnitzki's famous anthology *Sefer ha-Aggadah*. Moriah's activities were expanded (under E.L. Lewinsky) to include the best in modern Hebrew literature, such as works by Mendele Mokher Seforim, Shalom Aleichem, I.L. Peretz, S. Asch, and D. Frischmann; poetry by Bialik, Tchernichowsky, and Z. Shneur; and scholarly works by M.L. Lilienblum, D. Neumark, and S. Krauss. Moriah became the leading house for modern Hebrew publishing, but World War I and the Russian Revolution caused the end of this remarkably successful enterprise. It was succeeded by the *Dvir publishing house, set up in Berlin after the war by some of the founders of Moriah.

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MORIN, EDGAR (1921–), sociologist and one of France's leading contemporary thinkers. He was born in Paris to a family of Salonikan origin. His parents were Vidal and Luna Nahum. He adopted the name "Morin" during the period of his clandestine activities in the French Resistance during World War II. Formerly an active member of the Communist Party, he published his *Autocritique* in 1959. An emeritus researcher at the French National Center for Scientific Research (CNRS), Morin introduced the notion of inter-disciplinarity in his work, from his first book, *L'an zéro de l'Allemagne* (1946) until his last, *La violence du monde*, published with Jean Baudrillard (2003)). His interests covered an extensive range of themes, from cinema to modern biology, regardless of the current disciplinary boundaries. He became internationally famous – especially in Latin America – by attaching his name to the age of complexity. He was president of the European Agency for Culture (UNESCO), president of the Association for Complex Thought (APC), and a member of the council of the International Center for Transdisciplinary Research and Studies (CETSAP). His major work, on which he worked for over 20 years (1977–91), is the monumental six-volume series in which he aimed at reforming our way of thinking: *La méthode* – (1) *la nature de la nature*, 1981; (2) *La vie de la vie*, 1985; (3) *La connaissance de la connaissance*, 1986; (4) *Les idées, leur habitat, leur vie, leurs moeurs, leur organisation*, 1991; (5) *L'humanité de l'humanité: L'Identité humaine*, 2001; (6) *Éthique*, 2004. He also published his intellectual biography, *Mes démons* (1998). Several of his books were translated into English: *The Stars* (1960), *The Red and the White: Report from a French Village* (1970), *Method: Towards a Study of Mankind – The Nature of Nature* (1992), *Homeland Earth* (1998), *Seven Complex Lessons in Education for the Future* (1999), *Concept of Europe* (2006).

Acknowledging his Jewishness, he published his family's biography, *Vidal et les siens* (1989), and contributed a preface to Henry Méchoulan's *Les Juifs d'Espagne: histoire d'une diaspora: 1492–1992* (1992). Most of the following have been translated into Chinese, English, German, Greek, Italian, Japanese, Korean, Polish, Portuguese, Russian, Spanish, Swedish, and Turkish: *Rumour in Orleans* (1971); *Human Race, Preceded by an Homage to Robert Antelme* (1992); *Homeland Earth: A Manifesto for the New Millennium (Advances in Systems Theory, Complexity and the Human Sciences)* (1998).

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[Sylvie-Anne Goldberg (2nd ed.)]

MORNING BENEDICTIONS (Heb. בִּרְכוֹת הַשַּׁחַר), designation of a series of benedictions (the number and sequence varying in the different rituals), which constitute the first part of the morning prayer (*Shaḥarit). After a number of preliminary hymns, the following blessings are recited: (1) for ablution; (2) for the wondrous harmony of the bodily functions; (3) the three Torah blessings (*Birkat ha-Torah), which in some versions appear in a different place; and (4) *Elohai Neshamah* (based upon Ber. 60b) closing with the formula: "Blessed art Thou, O Lord, Who restores the souls unto the dead." This is followed by a series of 15 benedictions (but this number varies in different versions) praising God who: (1) "endows the cock with the ability to distinguish between day and night"; (2) "has not made me a heathen" (the Conservative Sim Shalom siddur has "who has made me a Jew "); (3) "has not made me a slave" (Sim Shalom: "who has made me free"); (4) "has not made me a woman"; women say: "who has made me according to Thy will" (these last three blessings are near the end in the Sephardi rite and some ḥasidic rites; *Sin Shalom*: "who has made me in His image); (5) "enlightens the blind"; (6) "clothes the naked"; (7) "looses the bound"; (8) "raises them that are bowed down"; (9) "stretches out the earth upon the waters"; (10) "has provided me with all my necessities"; (11) "has ordained the steps of man"; (12) "girds Israel with might"; (13) "crowns Israel with glory"; (14) "gives strength to the weary" (this does not appear in all versions); and (15) "causes sleep to pass from my eyes." These blessings, most of which are mentioned in the Talmud (Ber. 60b), were recited originally at home during the various stages of a person's awakening: opening his eyes, standing up, getting dressed, etc. Maimonides opposed their recital at public worship (Yad, Tefillah, 7:9), but in the course of time they were incorporated into the morning service in the synagogue, probably because people did not remember by heart their wording or their order.

Several personal prayers of tannaitic and amoraic origin (quoted in Ber. 16b, 60b) are then recited. These are followed by the scriptural account of the *Akedah, by the confession of R. Johanan (Yoma 87b), by the *Shema, the order of sacrifices (*parashat ha-korbanot*), and in most rites, especially the Sephardi, *Pittum ha-Ketoret*, and by talmudic sections: *Zevaḥim* (Mishnah, chapter 5) and the *baraita* of R. Ishmael (Introd. to Sifra, Leviticus). The morning service proper then begins.

The Conservatives have introduced alternate passages after the Shema, omitting the *korbanot* and *Pittum ha-Ketoret* passages. These are: Avot de-Rabbi Natan 11a; Sukkah 49b; Sifrei Deut Ekev; and Sotah 14a. After the textual study paragraphs they have kaddish de-rabbanan, followed by Shir shel Yom, Psalm 27 for the month of Elul, Psalm 49 for a shiva house, then Anim Zemirot, Psalm 30, and the mourner's kaddish.

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MORNING FREIHEIT (*Morgn-Frayhayt* – "Morning Freedom"), U.S. leftist Yiddish newspaper. In 1921, the U.S. group, the Jewish Socialist Federation (JSF), split from the Socialist Party. During the ferment of the Jewish labor movement at that time, the "independent" JSF was expelled from the building of the *Jewish Daily Forward*, located in the heart of Manhattan's Lower East Side; many of the federation's intellectual leaders worked as staff of the widely read Yiddish daily. The JSF, renamed the Jewish Federation, together with the just-formed Workers Party, founded the *Frayhayt* in April 1922 as a leftist daily afternoon newspaper. The *Frayhayt*, named for Germany's Independent Socialist Party's newspaper, initially tried to steer a "third course" between mainstream social democracy and proletarian communism. The *Frayhayt* managed for several years under the editorship of Moshe *Olgin to maintain high journalistic and linguistic standards and had a staff that included such first-rate writers as H. *Leivick, Moyshe-Leyb *Halpern, David *Ignatoff, Moses *Katz, and Moyshe *Nadir. In June 1927, the paper began appearing in the morning, from then on known as the *Morgn-Frayhayt*. As was the case with many Yiddish and radical newspapers of the day, the *Frayhayt* made available to a range of authors' works under the Farlag-Frayhayt imprint.

By the late 1920s, with the consolidation of different groups into what became known as the Communist Party, the *Morgn-Frayhayt* had become an unswerving Party organ, as was demonstrated by the reversal of its initial support of the *yishuv* (the Jewish community in Mandatory Palestine) to total support for the Arabs during the 1929 anti-Jewish riots. The paper's position alienated many of its readers and caused its circulation to slip sharply from its peak of 14,000. The *Morgn-Frayhayt* remained loyal to the Communist Party line through the Hitler-Stalin pact and the Cold War, undergoing a process of self-examination and eventual political and organizational independence beginning in late February 1956, with Nikita Khrushchev's de-Stalinization of the U.S.S.R. In 1967, the *Morgn-Frayhayt* supported Israel's right to defend itself during the Six-Day War, in direct opposition to the position of the Communist Party of the U.S. Two years later, the CPUSA attacked the *Morgn-Frayhayt* and its English-language sister publication, *Jewish Currents,* for their increasingly independent position regarding Soviet intervention in Poland and Czechoslovakia, although the *Morgn-Frayhayt* had not yet openly broken with the Communist Party. The *Morgn-Frayhayt*'s politics independently evolved to something akin to the "Eurocommunism" of the 1970s and 1980s. By 1970, the paper was appearing five times a week, with an estimated 8,000 circulation. Seven years later, it became a weekly, with an English-language supplement. The *Morgn-Frayhayt* folded in September 1988.

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[Arieh Lebowitz (2nd ed.)]

MOROCCO, westernmost country in North Africa. The first arrival of Jews in Morocco goes back to antiquity. There are numerous legends which claim that they settled in the country before the destruction of the First Temple. From the fifth to the third centuries B.C.E., the Carthaginian gold market was situated in Morocco. On this historical basis, an ancient legend relates that some five centuries before the Carthaginian expansion, in the days of Solomon and the Phoenicians, the Hebrews came to Sala (Chella) in the vicinity of Salé (Rabat) in order to purchase gold in large quantities. In another legend, it is related that Joab was sent to Morocco to fight the Philistines, who had been driven out of Canaan; an inscription describing this expedition is said to have existed near the present-day town of Zagora. Wadi Oued Draa and the region of Oufran (Ifran of the Anti-Atlas) are said to have been the sites of important Jewish settlements before the destruction of the Second Temple. The earliest epigraphic evidence on the presence of Jews in Morocco, however, comes from the second century C.E. It consists essentially of inscriptions on tombstones found in the ruins of the Roman town of Volubilis, between *Fez and *Meknès, and another inscription discovered in Salé. The latter is in Greek, while one of the inscriptions of Volubilis is in Hebrew.

Morocco, like the remainder of the Maghreb, was one of the favorite territories for Jewish missionary activities. The Jews, together with those whom they succeeded in converting, appear to have originally been numerous and particularly powerful. The great Arabic historian of the 14th century, Ibn Khaldūn, names a number of large Moroccan *Berber tribes who were converted to Judaism prior to the Arab conquest. These were the Fandalāwqa, Madyūna, Bahlūla, Ghiyāta, and Bazāz tribes. The capital of the last was also named Bazāz or Qulʿat-Mlahdī. It was completely inhabited by Jews and did not disappear until the 12th century. It was situated near the present-day town of Sefrou. Other tribes, such as the Barghwāṭa, were also heavily Judaized. Between 581 and 693 many Jews were compelled to leave *Spain as a result of the persecutions of the Visigoth kings who, while forcing them to accept baptism, also adopted draconian measures against them. According to later traditions, thousands of Spanish Jews had settled in Africa by 693. It is told that these Jews, together with their Moroccan coreligionists, plotted to conquer or deliver Spain into the hands of the more tolerant Muslims (694). Some historians maintain that there were Jews among the Berber-Muslim invaders of Spain in 711.

The Arab conquest of Morocco and its conversion to Islam did not bring about the elimination of the Jews or the Judaized Berbers. However, when Idris I seized power in 788, it was his intention to compel all the inhabitants of the country to embrace *Islam. After the death of Idris I, there remained some Jewish or Judaized tribes in the area of *Fez. When Idris II (791–828) decided to establish his capital in Fez, he authorized Jews of all origins to settle there. Their dispersion in all the regions was one of the principal reasons for their economic strength at the time. The story goes that the inhabit-

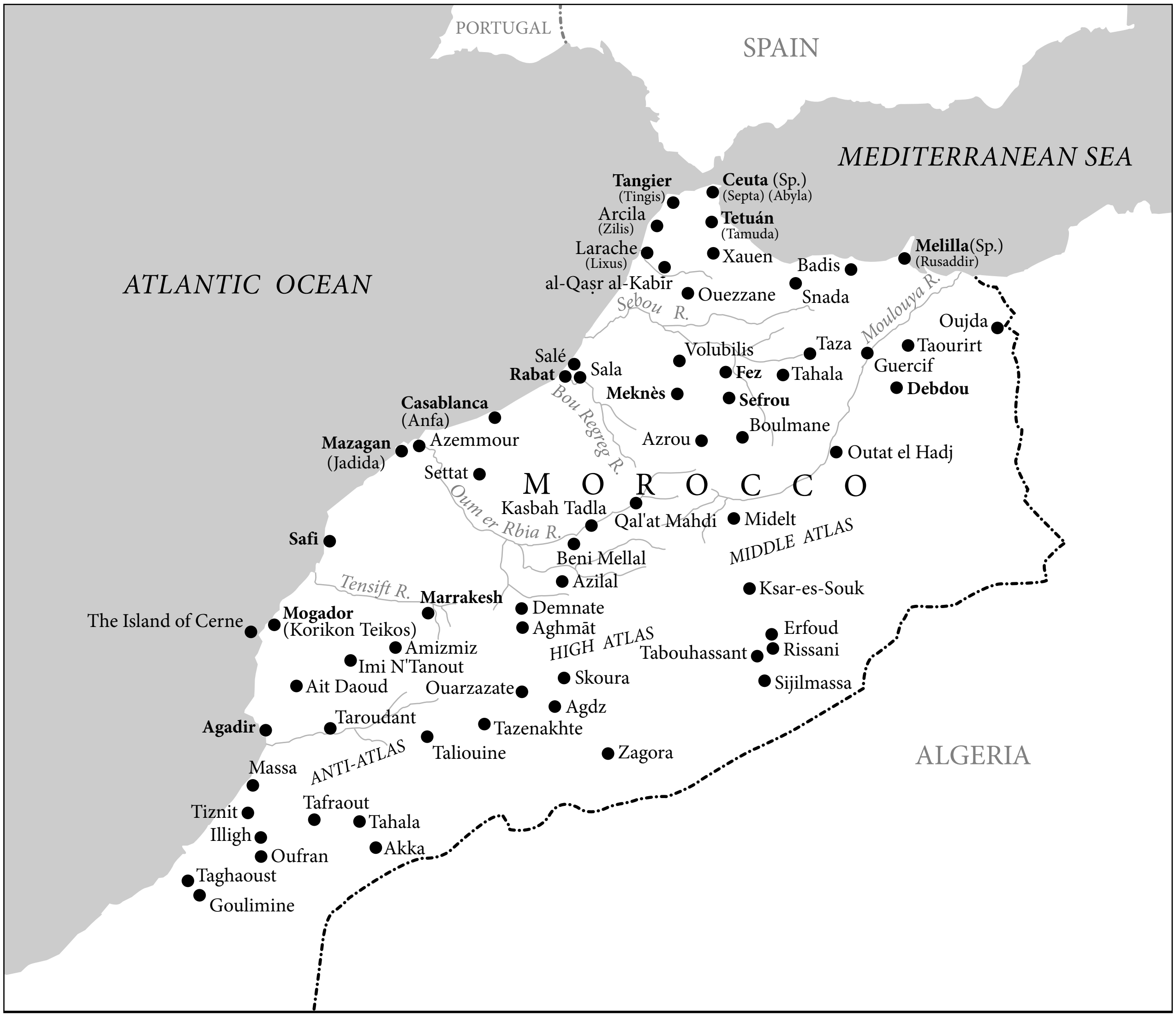
PORTUGAL
SPAIN
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
ATLANTIC OCEAN
Tangier
(Tingis)
Ceuta (Sp.)
(Septa) (Abyla)
Arcila
(Zilis)
Tetuán
(Tamuda)
Larache
(Lixus)
Xauen
Melilla(Sp.)
(Rusaddir)
Badis
al-Qaṣr al-Kabīr
Ouezzane
Snada
Sebou R.
Moulouya R.
Oujda
Taourirt
Volubilis
Taza
Salé
Sala
Rabat
Fez
Tahala
Guercif
Meknès
Sefrou
Debdou
Casablanca
(Anfa)
Bou Regreg R.
Boulmane
Mazagan
(Jadida)
Azemmour
Azrou
Outat el Hadj
Settat
M O R O C C O
Oum er Rbia R.
Kasbah Tadla
Qal'at Mahdi
Midelt
Safi
MIDDLE ATLAS
Beni Mellal
Azilal
Tensift R.
Ksar-es-Souk
Marrakesh
The Island of Cerne
Mogador
(Korikon Teikos)
Demnate
Aghmāt
Erfoud
Amizmiz
HIGH ATLAS
Tabouhassant
Rissani
Imi N'Tanout
Skoura
Ait Daoud
Ouarzazate
Sijilmassa
Agdz
Agadir
Taroudant
Tazenakhte
Taliouine
Zagora
ALGERIA
Massa
ANTI-ATLAS
Tafraout
Tiznit
Tahala
Illigh
Oufran
Akka
Taghaoust
Goulimine

Jewish communities of Morocco. Names in boldface type indicate communities existing in 1971.

ants of Fez revolted against the ruler Yaḥya (860), who had violated the chastity of a Jewish girl. The pogrom in Fez in 1033 is to be seen as an isolated event due to the Jewish support for the Maghrawas, the rivals of the Ifrenids. At a later date, the *Almoravides prohibited the Jews to live in their capital *Marrakesh. The most brilliant period of the Jews of Morocco from the spiritual and intellectual point of view belongs to the reigns of the *Idrisids and their successors. The numerous departures for Spain drained neither the strength of Moroccan Jewry nor its intellectual activity. Even after the departure of R. Isaac *Alfasi from Fez for Cordoba (1088), Judaism in Morocco retained its vigor. Under the Almoravides there was even a trend in the opposite direction. Two of the physicians of the Almoravide sovereigns, Meir ibn *Kamniel and Solomon Abūab Muʿallim in Marrakesh, were of Spanish origin, one from Seville and the other from Saragossa. Both were distinguished Torah scholars. There were also scholars in *Ceuta, the native town of Joseph ibn Aknin, the disciple of Maimonides. There was also an important center of learning in *Sijilmassa (ancient capital of Tafilalet oasis). Scholars were to be found in the Atlas region, in Aghmāt; of these, there is information on the talmudist Zechariah b. Judah Aghmati. In Fez studies were carried on continuously; it was for this reason that *Maimonides and his family settled there after leaving Spain during the persecution of the Almohads.

The doctrine of the mahdi Ibn Tūmart, which inaugurated the *Almohad movement, did not tolerate the existence of non-Muslims. At the beginning, the latter were among the victims of the Almohad soldiers, who were highlanders in search of plunder. Indeed, many of the Jews were wealthy. By the time that ʿAbd al-Muʾmin (1128–63) had finally imposed Almohad domination in 1154, many Jews had already converted under the threat of the sword. After that, there was a short period of improvement in the situation of the Jews in

Fez. Those who had been spared from the massacres and the conversions were then able to resume a relatively normal life. This situation changed with the advent of Abu Yaʿqūb Yūsuf (1165–84). The recrudescence of fanaticism once more resulted in the forced conversion of Jews. The *dayyan* of Fez, R. Judah ha-Kohen ibn Shushan, who refused to submit to this, was burnt alive, and at that time Maimonides left Morocco. The situation deteriorated even further under al-Mansūr (1184–99) who imposed on the Jews, including those already converted, the wearing of a distinctive sign, the *Shikla*, because he did not believe in the sincerity of their conversion. The presence of Jews was authorized once more by al-M'amūn (1227–32), but their appearance drew the anger of the Muslims who massacred all of them in Marrakesh (1232). The Jews did not return in considerable numbers until the time of the dynasty of the *Merinids, who replaced the Almohads in 1269. During Almohad rule, many Moroccan Jews had left the country for the East, above all for Christian Spain. Large numbers of them settled in the territories of the kings of Aragon, in Catalonia and Majorca, where they were favorably received.

The Merinids proved themselves particularly friendly toward the Jews. When the still-fanatic mobs attacked them in 1275, the Merinid sultan intervened personally to save them. The sovereigns of this dynasty benevolently received the Jewish ambassadors of the Christian kings of Spain and admitted Jews among their closest courtiers. Of these Jews, Khalifa b. Waqqāsa (Ruqqasa) became steward of the household of the sultan Abu Yaʿqūb and his intimate counselor. A victim of palace intrigues, he was put to death in 1302. His nephew, who was also named Khalifa, held the same office and suffered the same fate (1310). However, there were no repercussions against the Moroccan Jews as a result of the execution of their powerful coreligionists. They were the principal factors in the prosperity of the country. The Sahara gold trade, which was of primary importance, and the exchange with the Christian countries were completely under their control. Their relatives and associates in the kingdom of Aragon financed, when necessary, the navies which defended the Moroccan ports. In addition to the **jizya* (poll tax), they paid enormous sums to the treasury in customs duties for their imports and exports. In the outlying areas, particularly in the Atlas region where there were large concentrations of Jews of early origin, the Jews wielded great influence in both the political and spiritual domains. Jewish physicians enjoyed well-deserved renown. The study of Kabbalah, as well as philosophy, was then in vogue. The last Moroccan philosopher of the Middle Ages was Judah b. Nissim ibn *Malkah, who was still alive in 1365.

From 1375 the Muslim world of the West clearly entered into its period of decline. The Jews of Morocco were all the more affected by this development because, unlike in *Algeria, there was no revival due to the arrival of important Jewish personalities fleeing from the Spanish persecutions of 1391. The Jews who came to Morocco during this period were mainly of average erudition; moreover, just like their native brothers, they encountered the fanaticism which had been introduced among the Muslim masses by the mystics who had then founded the Marabout movement. This movement eroded the authority of the last Merinid sovereigns, and a serious deterioration in the condition of the Jews ensued. In 1438 the Jews of Fez were enclosed within a special quarter, the first Moroccan *mellah.

The political and economic situation in Morocco during the 15th century was bad. The sultan ʿAbd al-Ḥaqq turned to the Jews in order to straighten out his finances. He chose the Jew Aaron ben Battas as his prime minister, but a short while later the Merinid dynasty was ended (1465) with the assassination of its last representative and his Jewish minister. A large number of Jews lost their lives in this revolution, and many others were forcibly converted. They were authorized, however, to return to Judaism when Muhammad al-Shaykh al-Waṭṭāsī came to power in 1471. According to local traditions, groups of Jews had in the meantime taken refuge in Spain. Among these were the family of the scholar and poet Saadiah *Ibn Danan, who settled in Granada, as well as Ḥayyim *Gagin, who became the leader of the native Jews upon his return to Morocco in 1492. The Jewish chroniclers are unanimous in their description of the welcome accorded by the sultan Muhammad al-Shaykh al-Waṭṭāsī to the Spanish and Portuguese refugees (*megorashim*) in 1492 and 1496. Bands of plunderers, however, attacked the numerous Jews on the roads to Fez, the town to which they had been attracted. Once they arrived there, they found a lack of accommodation and camped in the surrounding fields. About 20,000 of them died as a result of disasters, famine and diseases. Many of them returned to Spain. Under the influence of powerful religious personalities, a majority, both distinguished families and common people, permanently settled in the country. Among this new population there were such eminent men as Jacob Qénizal, Abraham *Saba, Abraham of Torrutiel, Joshua *Corcos, Naḥman Sunbal, and others. There was, however, also a trend for emigration to *Italy, *Turkey, and *Palestine. Among those who left Morocco at that time were Abraham *Zacuto, Jacob (1) *Berab, *David ibn Abi Zimra, and Judah Ḥayyat.

The newcomers were generally ill received by their native coreligionists (*toshavim*). In spite of the fact that the *megorashim* rapidly assumed the leadership in southern communities; such a possibility was for a long time withheld from them in the north. The *toshavim* feared their commercial rivalry and their technical superiority. Controversies broke out between the two elements. The former went so far as to question the faith of the *megorashim*. The latter, however, succeeded in strengthening their position and in due course dominated all the communities where they were represented. Fez became their spiritual center. Their rabbis issued a large number of *takkanot*, which were known by the name of "*takkanot* of the exiles of Castile." These dealt essentially with the laws of marriage, divorce and inheritance and were based on Spanish tradition. For 450 years they separated themselves in this manner from the *toshavim*. The descendants of the *megorashim* jealously adhered to their ways and customs. They worshiped in their own synagogues and sometimes had their own lots in the cemeteries. In such northern communities as *Tetuán and *Tangier, the native Jews were completely assimilated among the descendants of the *megorashim*. Oblivious to their own origin, they disdainfully referred to their brothers of the interior as *Forasteros* ("aliens," i.e., to the Castilian community). Until recently, most of these communities spoke Ḥakétia, a mixture of Spanish, Hebrew and an Arabic dialect. The ancient Castilian language, which differs from the Ladino spoken in the Orient, was, until the 19th century, in current usage among a large number of families of Spanish origin in both the north and south of the country.

At the beginning of the 16th century, Portugal occupied some of the Moroccan coast on the shores of the Atlantic. Communities of *megorashim* had settled in such ports as Azemmour and Safi. From the beginning, cordial relations were established between them and the Portuguese, who employed their members as official interpreters and negotiators. The political role of these men was of prime importance to the kings of *Portugal. Indeed, the latter granted the Jews of their Moroccan bases rights which may be considered as extraordinary for that period; they loaded such families as *Benzamero, Adibe and Dardeiro with favors. On the other hand, these Jews, as loyal subjects, did not hesitate in sacrificing their property or even their lives when this was required by Portuguese interests. The coreligionists who lived under the sharifs of Marrakesh or the *Wattasids of Fez were the principal factors in arranging the peace, always unstable, between the Portuguese and the Muslims. Jacob *Rosales and Jacob *Roti, talented ministers of the Wattasids, endeavored to create a lasting reconciliation between the Christians and the Muslims. Counselors of Muslim princes such as Menahem Sananes or Abraham Cordovi pursued similar objectives. These exiles from Spain and Portugal often traveled to the Portuguese kings as Moroccan ambassadors. During their stay in the Iberian Peninsula, they also induced the *Marranos to establish themselves in Morocco. During the 16th century, Morocco became a haven for Marranos who arrived from the Iberian Peninsula, the Madeira Islands, the Azores, the Canary Islands and even the Americas. In Tetuán, Fez, Meknès and Marrakesh, there were centers for reconversion to Judaism. Some Jews succeeded in transferring their fortunes there, while others, such as skillful craftsmen and especially the gunsmiths, found immediate employment. It was early Marranos who introduced a new process for the extracting of sugar from sugarcane. Due to their methods, Morocco became the leading producer of the world's best sugar during the 16th–17th centuries.

Until recent times, the Jews of Morocco engaged in a variety of professions. In some regions there were farmers and cattle breeders among them; in general, however, they were mostly craftsmen, small tradesmen, peddlers, and at times moneylenders. Some industries, such as that of beeswax, and the trading of rubber and ostrich feathers were exclusively concentrated in the hands of the Jews. For religious reasons, the Muslims ceded to them the craftsmanship and trade of precious metals as well as the making of wine and its sale. Until 1912, the overwhelming majority of the maritime trade was controlled by a closed society of Jewish merchants. Wealthy and influential from father to son, some of them were court bankers or high officials. They held the title of "merchants of the sultan," obtained for themselves or their protégés monopolies over a large number of products or foodstuffs, and held a monopoly over certain ports or took them in lease; the European countries entrusted them with their interests and they represented them before the sultan, officially or semi-officially. But the majority of the Jewish population, however, suffered in helpless poverty. The droughts which preceded famine and the exorbitant and arbitrary taxes which were temporarily levied on the communities from the 16th to the middle of the 18th century were the cause of their poverty. Nevertheless, the misfortunes which struck one community did not affect the others. It was thus, for example, a common occurrence that while Jews died of hunger in Fez or were persecuted in Meknès, prosperity reigned in the mellah of Marrakesh and Jews ruled the town of *Debdou.

When there was a weakening of the central authority of the sultan, Morocco was divided up into subordinated territory (*Bled al-Makhzen*) and unsubordinated territory (*Bled al-Sibā*), the latter of which was always that of the Berbers under whom the Jews generally suffered less in their capacity of tolerated "protected subjects" (**dhimmi*). Many of them were the serfs of the Muslim lord; however, until the 19th century there were also many Jews in the High Atlas Mountains, the Sūs (Sous), and the Rif, essentially Berber regions, who carried weapons, rode horses, and did not pay the *jizya*. Like the Berbers, the Jewish masses of Morocco were marked by their religiosity. But a sincere, profound, and intellectual piety also prevailed within Moroccan Judaism; its development was inspired by the writings of Maimonides. Over the last centuries this Judaism produced genuine scholars and a large number of authors, such as members of the families of Ibn Danān, Ibn Ḥayyim, *Abensur, *Almosnino, Assaban, Ben-Attar, *Berdugo, de *Avila, de Loya (*Delouga), *Elbaz, *Uzziel, *Serfaty, *Serero, *Toledano, and others. On given dates, thousands of Jews left on regular pilgrimages (*Ziyāra*) through the country to the tombs of saints whose origin was at times unknown and who were venerated by both Jews and Muslims.

In many educated circles, there was an inclination toward mysticism: its members devoted themselves almost exclusively to the study of Kabbalah. The Zohar, much esteemed in Morocco, was often the principal work in their curriculum. In several communities, particularly in Salé, Safi, and Marrakesh, teachers and disciples were grouped in closed circles from which emerged such personalities as: Joseph Gikatilla, author of *Ginnat Egoz*; Abraham ha-Levi Berukhim, author of *Tikkun Shabbat*; Joseph ibn Teboul, author of *Perush al Idra Rabba*; Abraham b. Mūsā; Ḥayyim b. Moses *Attar, author of *Or ha-Ḥayyim*; Raphael Moses Elbaz, author of *Kisse Melakhim*; Joseph Corcos, author of *Yosef Ḥen*; Solomon

Amar; and Abraham Azulai. Initiates of the Kabbalah have remained numerous in Morocco until the present day. Many others followed *Shabbetai Ẓevi. During the middle of the 17th century, the movement of this pseudo-Messiah achieved considerable success in Morocco. In the West, an important role in checking it was played by the Moroccan rabbis Jacob *Sasportas, Daniel Toledano and Aaron ha-*Siboni.

According to a tradition, a Jewish scholar of Wadi Draa forecast to the Saʿdian sharifs that they would accede to the throne of Morocco. Encouraged by this prediction, they set out to conquer the country and took Marrakesh in 1525 and Fez in 1549. In fact, the Jewish counselors of the sharifs were not strangers to their progress. Their coreligionists – administrators, merchants and bankers – supplied their financial requirements; other Jews, former Marranos who maintained close relations with Europe, supplied them with weapons in their capacity as armorers. When the Portuguese army was defeated by ʿAbd al-Malik at the Battle of al-Qaṣr al-Kabīr (or Battle of the Three Kings, 1578), the Jews commemorated the event by a joyful Purim (*Purim de los Cristianos*). On the other hand, the tens of thousands of Christian prisoners taken in this battle were fortunate enough to be ransomed by the descendants of the *megorashim*, who treated them with indulgence. The liberation of these prisoners against ransom by their families and the conquest of *Sudan in 1591 brought a considerable quantity of gold to Morocco. Many Jewish families, especially those in the retinue of Ahmad al-Mansūr, were among the beneficiaries of this exceptional prosperity. Of an enterprising nature, the Jews of Morocco traveled as far as India in the conduct of their trade; they also had gained a hold in the financial world, particularly in Tuscany, in one direction, and in northwestern Europe, in the other. This activity was in concert with the politics of the young Netherlands, which sought to strangle the economic power of Spain. In 1608 Samuel *Pallache arrived in the Netherlands and in 1610 he signed the first pact of alliance between Morocco and a Christian country. The Pallache family played an active role in the political and economic interests of Morocco in Europe over a long period. The sultan Zidah (1603–1628) and his successors (1628–1659) took many other Jews into their service. As in former times, every Muslim leader had his Jewish counselor. The latter were the natural protectors of the Jewish masses. As a result, these masses generally lived in superior conditions to those of the Muslim population, which resigned itself to its fate.

"Frankish" Jewish families from Leghorn and Holland settled in Morocco. Some were attracted by the pirate traffic which operated from Salé and Tetuán. In Tangier, which was under British domination, a small community of "Frankish" Jews existed from 1661; relations with the Muslims, however, were maintained through the mediation of the Jews of Tetuán: until the evacuation of the town in 1684, the Parienté and the Falcon families played an important political role in the relations between the English and the Muslims. Moroccan Jews had also inaugurated a migratory movement a long while before.

There was a fair amount of emigration in the direction of the Holy Land, *Turkey, *Egypt, Italy (especially Leghorn and Venice), Amsterdam, Hamburg, England, and the countries of the two Americas. Occasionally, in their old age and once they had made their fortune, emigrants returned to their communities of origin. In Tetuán and later in *Mogador, this was a frequent occurrence.

The Jews played a particularly important role in the rise to power of the *ʿAlawid (Alouite) dynasty of Hasanid descent, which still governed Morocco in the beginning of the third millennium. This role has been distorted by a legend which relates that at the time an extremely rich Jew, Aaron Ben-Meshal, governed the region of Taza and, as a tribute, demanded a young Muslim girl from Fez every year. By deceit, Mulay al-Rashid (1660–72) succeeded in assassinating this Jew and seizing his riches; the *ṭolba* ("students") assisted him in this exploit. He was thus able to become the first sultan of the ʿAlawid dynasty. To this day, this legendary event is celebrated with much pomp by the *ṭolba* of Fez. In reality, Mulay al-Rashid, who lacked financial means, was backed by the Jews of the Taza, which was then an important commercial center and the first place which he had dominated; he employed a faithful and wise Jewish counselor and banker, Aaron Carsinet. In order to gain control of Fez, where he was enthroned, he entered the city through the mellah, where in secret he spent the night in the house of a notable named Judah Monsano. Mulay al-Rashid subsequently adopted a favorable attitude toward the Jews. His reign was a most prosperous one.

The Jews also successfully contributed to the rise to power of the brother of Mulay al-Rashid, Mulay Ismail (1672–1727), one of the most outstanding Moroccan monarchs. Mulay Ismail was *khalifa* ("viceroy") in Meknès when, through one of his Jewish friends, Joseph *Maymeran, he learned of the death of his brother in Marrakesh. The speed with which he received this precious information and the large sum of money which Maymeran loaned him enabled Mulay Ismail to have himself proclaimed sultan immediately. It is also related that not wanting to be indebted to Joseph Maymeran, Mulay Ismail had him assassinated. In fact, he appointed him steward of the palace, a function of considerable importance which was later held by his son Abraham Maymeran, who had become the principal favorite of the sultan. The Toledanos, Ben-Attars, and Maymerans all enjoyed the favors of Mulay Ismail, who during various periods appointed one or the other as *shaykh al-Yahūd* with authority over all the Jews of the kingdom. Moses Ben Attar signed a treaty with England in his name; Joseph and Ḥayyim Toledano were his ambassadors to the Netherlands and London. Moreover, Jews who were close to Mulay Ismail wielded their influence over him. Thus, in spite of his cupidity, violence and cruelty, the Jews fared better under him than the Muslim masses. The greatest part of his long reign was marked by peace and security, and the Jewish communities were able to develop in every respect. However, during the last years of his reign, which were overshadowed by plagues and conflicts between his rival sons, the situation of the Jews began to deteriorate.

The 30 years of anarchy and plunder which followed upon the death of Mulay Ismail exhausted and impoverished the Jewish communities of the interior; they consequently transformed their social framework. The Middle Atlas region was literally drained of its Jews. The departure of the village Jews toward the urban centers changed the aspect of the mellahs of Fez and Meknès. These quarters, which had until then been well maintained, were converted into slums, with the exception of a few middle-class streets. Most of the ancient families were ruined and lost all power, only to be replaced by a few parvenus. Some Ben-Kikis and Mamans were sent on diplomatic missions to Europe; their rivalry with the former Jewish bourgeoisie caused controversies within the community; some members of the Levy-Yuly family became "confidants" of the sultans. Slowly, the towns of the interior were abandoned by their leading Jewish elements in favor of the ports, to which the new arrivals were already linked by ancient ties with the Jewish financial circles living there. Rabat, Safi and especially Marrakesh replaced Fez and Meknès as rabbinical centers.

Mulay Muhammad b. Abdallah (1757–1790) had formally been viceroy of southern Morocco from 1745. He had established security and, with the assistance of Jewish and Christian financial circles, an era of prosperity unknown in the north of the country reigned there. As under the Saʿdians, Marrakesh once more became the capital and royal residence. Its Jewish community flourished but then entered a period of decline as a result of the avariciousness of the sultan in his old age. The community of Safi took over the leading place in the foreign trade of Morocco, while that of Agadir acquired the monopoly over the trading with the Sahara. These roles later became the privilege of the community of Mogador (Essaouira), which was founded in 1764. The operations of the big Jewish merchants in Morocco began to expand. Sugar production and trade and maritime commerce were almost entirely concentrated in the hands of Jews. Commercial operations reached the ports of the eastern coast of the United States at the end of the 18th century. From the reign of Sidi Muhammad Ben-Abdallah (1757–90) down to the end of the 19th century, it was usually Jews who acted as agents for the European Powers in Morocco.

The wide-ranging activities of the Jews of this circle promoted the development of such communities as Sala, Asfi, Tetuan and Tangier and influenced the growth of new ones. These latter communities also gained economic supremacy over such older ones in the interior of the country as Fez and Meknès and the communities of the Marrakesh and Tapilalti regions. These Jews exploited their political and economic position to improve their legal and social status and improve the lot of the communities where they operated. In fact, beginning with the end of the 18th century, a circle of Jews arose in Morocco with rights protected by agreements under the aegis of the European Powers. Called "protégés," their number reached a few thousand. An example of the prosperity of the new type of community is Mogador in the last third of the 18th century. The beginnings of its accelerated development are linked to Sultan Sidi Muhammad Ben-Abdallah, who was interested in developing trade with Europe. He rebuilt the city and turned it into the chief port of Morocco. Ignoring the protests of the Muslim religious leaders, he levied taxes and customs duties on imports and exports and all the merchandise in the market place. He also brought to the city dozens of Jewish families, giving them special rights and exempting some of them from all the strictures (aside from the *jizya* tax) that applied to the Jews of Morocco. According to one source, there were around 6,000 Jews in Mogador in 1785. The city took on a Jewish character and the commercial center closed down on the Sabbath. The Jews of the city developed wide-ranging economic relations with Jewish communities outside Morocco, such as Amsterdam, London, Leghorn and *Algiers. The renewed desire of Morocco in the days of Mulai Abd Rahman (1822–59) to develop trade with Europe – a change caused partly by French pressure to open the gates of Morocco to European commerce – gave new impetus to the *ʿtjjar esltan* ("King's merchants"), who had gone into decline during the reign of Sultan Saliman (1792–1822).

Jewish merchants possessed various advantages: knowledge of Arabic and European languages, familiarity with local conditions, a good name and the confidence of the Sultan. The Sultan gave them greater freedom of movement in the country and custom discounts, and a number of them received the title of "King's merchants." Mogador served as a base for Jewish merchants operating in the south of Morocco and distributing European goods in Sous (the southern region of the country) and Sahara and exporting to Europe gold, ivory, ostrich feathers, almonds, olive oil, and goatskins. The familiarity of Jewish merchants with local business practices and their connections with the Sultan led European governments even to appoint local Jews as consuls (up to 1857). The condition of the Jews now improved throughout the country. Jews from abroad came to settle in Morocco. Among these were the Attals and Cardosos (Cordoza), who entered the service of the sovereign. Cardoso, however, drew the jealousy of the Attals upon himself and paid for this with his life. The leading favorite of the sultan was Samuel *Sunbal, a scholar, ambassador to Denmark, and the last "sheikh" of Moroccan Jewry. Certain Jewish personalities encouraged friendship with the United States, where their relatives had emigrated and with whom they had important commercial ties. Isaac Cordoza Nuñes, an interpreter of the sultan in Marrakesh, and Isaac Pinto, a Moroccan established in the United States, were largely responsible for the signing of a treaty between Morocco and the United States in 1787, whereby the U.S. Congress paid Morocco for the protection of U.S. shipping interests in the Mediterranean.

Mulay Muhammad entrusted the Jews with all his negotiations with the Christian countries. Those of the community of Tetuán, whose members included some wealthy merchants and who, as in Mogador, acted as consuls, refused the rebellious son of the sultan, Mulay al-Yazid, an important loan which he had requested from them. When he came to power, Mulay al-Yazid (1790–92) wreaked cruel vengeance upon them and his hatred fell upon all the Jews of the kingdom. This was the greatest disaster which befell them after the period of the Almohads. In the first place, the community of Tetuán was handed over to the army, which plundered and perpetrated murder and rape. The communities of Larache, Arcila, al-Qaṣr al-Kabīr, Taza, Fez and Meknès then suffered the same fate. All the Jewish personalities who had been employed by the late sultan and upon whom Mulay al-Yazid could lay his hands were hanged by their feet at the gates of Meknès, where they remained for 15 days before they died. The treasurer Mordecai Chriqui, who refused to convert, was handed over to the executioner and Jacob Attal, who accepted such an offer, nevertheless died after being hanged by his heels. The notables and the Muslim masses then rose to intervene on behalf of the Jews. They hid many of them in their houses and saved a great many others. In Rabat, the governor Bargash saved the community from the worst. At the time Marrakesh had not been subordinated. Once it fell, the Jewish community was sacked, the men and children were massacred, and hundreds of women were taken into captivity. Mulay al-Yazid had the eyes of 300 Muslim notables of the town put out. Thousands of others were convened to the Great Mosque for prayers and massacred there. Shortly before he died as the result of a wound received in a battle near Marrakesh, Mulay al-Yazid ordered the drawing up of lengthy lists of Jewish and Muslim notables in Fez, Meknès and Mogador who were to be massacred. He died before the order was carried out, however.

The advent of Mulay Suleiman (1792–1822) came as a much needed respite. The new monarch was indeed opposed to violence but he proved to be a fanatic and the Jews felt the consequences. As he sought to seal off Morocco from foreign influence, he reduced trade with Europe to a considerable extent. He also decreed the establishment of ghettos in the wealthiest communities. In 1808 the Jews of Tetuán, Rabat, Salé and Mogador were for the first time enclosed within mellahs. The only exceptions were a few families in Mogador who continued to live in the residential quarter of the town. Since they were economically indispensable to the country, he restored to some of them their former prerogatives, notably to the Aflalos, the Corcos, the Guedallas, the Levy-Yulys, the Macnins, and the Sebags. He chose his diplomats, his bankers, and his counselors from these families. The terrible epidemics of 1799 and 1818 depopulated Morocco and wrought havoc with its social and economic conditions. As a result, some of these families emigrated to England, where they gained a prominent place within the Jewish society of London. One of the members of the Levy-Yuly family, Moses, emigrated to the United States, where his son David *Yulee became the first senator of Jewish origin.

The reigns of Mulay ʿAbd al-Raḥman (1822–59) and his successors Mulay Muhammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥman (1859–73) and Mulay al-Ḥasan (1873–94) were marked by the pressure of the Christian powers on Morocco and an increased activity of the Jews in the economic and diplomatic fields. Meyer *Macnin was appointed ambassador in London (1827); Judah *Benoliel, consul in Gibraltar, successfully negotiated several treaties; Abraham *Corcos and Moses Aflalo were entrusted with several delicate missions; many other Jews, such as the families of *Altaras, *Benchimol, and *Abensur, played important roles in Moroccan affairs. Until 1875 consular representation in the Moroccan towns was almost entirely assumed by Jewish merchants, and many of them held such functions into the 20th century. The European powers, concerned with their economic interests, granted protection to a large number of Jews. By often exploiting the defense of their protégés as a pretext, they interfered within the internal affairs of Morocco. A Jewish consular agent, Victor *Darmon, was summarily executed on a trumped-up charge (1844). This became one of the causes of the Spanish-Moroccan War of 1860, when Jews were compelled to take refuge in Gibraltar, while those of Tetuán were the victims of a pogrom. Tangier and Mogador were bombarded by the French fleet. In Mogador the Jews, assailed by the tribes who came to plunder the town, defended themselves by force of arms. In Tangier, which only suffered some material damage, the Jews celebrated with a Purim (*Purim de las bombas*). Emigration nevertheless rose and the sultan reintroduced the exit tax which was to be paid by every individual who left the country. However, those who desired to settle in the Holy Land were exempted from this tax (1858). A number of families, many of them wealthy, then established themselves in Palestine.

The Moroccan people, already fanaticized by the French conquest of *Algeria, accused the Jews of being the agents of European influence in Morocco. In some of the regions populated by the Berbers, the situation of the Jews became quite precarious. Measures which even went beyond the restrictions of Muslim law were imposed against the Jewish masses of the interior, which were more vulnerable than those living along the coasts: Jews were often sentenced to bastinado for trifling reasons. This situation prompted a visit by Sir Moses *Montefiore to the court of Mulay Muhammad in Marrakesh; the later promulgated a *dahir* ("royal decree"; February 1864) which was marked by extreme benevolence toward the Jews and granted them equality of rights with all Moroccans. Nevertheless, this decree was never respected by the *qāʾids* and pashas. An energetic protest was then made by the consul general of the United States and other powers intervened on behalf of the Jews. France reinforced the system of consular protection and the other nations followed in her wake.

During the reign of Mulay al-Ḥasan and at the beginning of that of Mulay Abd al-Aziz (1894–1908), the Jews lived in tranquility. Mulay al-Ḥasan held a positive attitude toward his Jewish subjects, receiving their deepest respect in return. Upon the death of the sultan, the chamberlain (vizier) Ba Ahmad treated the Jews with justice and fairness. During the 19th century Moroccan Jewry, whose number has been variously evaluated as being between 200,000 and 400,000, produced many renowned rabbis, poets, and talmudists, as well as a number of legal authorities whose works continued to serve as the basis for the justice dispensed by Jewish tribunals under the French Protectorate. These scholars included: R. Abraham *Coriat and R. Masʿūd Knafo of Mogador, R. Masʿūd Ben-Moha and R. Mordecai Serfaty of Marrakesh, R. Joseph *Elmaleh of Rabat, R. Raphael Encaoua of Salé, R. Vidal Serfaty of Fez, R. Isaac Ben-Walīd of Tetuán and R. Mordecai Bengio of Tangier. Many of these leaders realized the importance of secular studies for the masses and they assisted the *Alliance Israélite Universelle of Paris in founding its first schools in Tetuán in 1862, in Tangier in 1865, in Mogador in 1867, and in other Moroccan towns from 1874. In contrast, other rabbis violently opposed the establishment of these schools, which they foresaw would encourage an estrangement from Judaism.

Upon the death of Ba Ahmad (1900), an epidemic of plague ravaged Morocco. In the mellah of Fez alone, there were more than 3,000 victims; the country then entered a period of anarchy during which the Jewish population suffered greatly. During the entire second half of the 19th century, thousands of impoverished Jews swelled the Jewish populations of the large urban centers. The overcrowding of the Jewish quarters became indescribable. This exodus went on uninterruptedly into the 20th century. *Casablanca, which underwent a tremendous expansion, was its final halting place. The misery which prevailed in the Jewish quarters and which was partly due to the inability of the ex-villagers to adapt to urban life, became one of the social stains of Morocco. Jewish economic activity reminiscent of years past was considerably curtailed, also, because of the creation of the French Protectorate in 1912 which brought competition from French firms and large banks (and later from other West European and American ones). But at the same time a new bourgeoisie of middle-class merchants, professionals and white-collar workers began to flourish.

In 1912 Morocco was divided into two colonial zones and protectorates: French Morocco that encompassed central Morocco, the key inland cities and towns, the Atlas Mountains to the south, and the Atlantic coastal areas; and Spanish Morocco (in the north and the Rif Mountains). In December 1923, Tangier in the north became an international zone. The establishment of the French Protectorate in March 1912 was marked in Fez by a pogrom which claimed over 100 victims (April 18–19, 1912). However, there were no incidents in the zone assigned to Spain or in Tangier, which was declared an international town. Under the French and Spanish domination, the Jews enjoyed complete freedom in all matters pertaining to their traditions, religion, occupations and movement. France and Spain did not interfere with the status of the Jews of Morocco, who remained subject to the sultan's protection – this proved to be advantageous for them when the anti-Jewish laws were latter issued by the *Vichy government. In a *dahir* of May 22, 1918, the French authorities contented themselves with granting official status to the existing organization of the Jewish communities, with a few modifications. These changes were more particularly emphasized by the *dahir* of 1931. During the 19th century, a council of notables appointed by the population was responsible for the administration of the community. A *gizbar* ("treasurer"), who was elected by the leading personalities of the town, was co-opted to the council. The council and the *gizbar* were responsible for the nomination of the rabbis-judges (*dayyanim*). After 1912, the nation which assured the protectorate, i.e., France, claimed for itself, directly or indirectly, most of the prerogatives emanating from this organization and more particularly the tutelage of the community committees, which then became mere benevolent institutions. These committees, the number of whose members varied with the numerical importance of the community, as well as their presidents, were appointed by the grand vizier, who in practice was dependent on the protectorate authorities. Moreover, the committees were supervised by a Jewish official of the government, who was chosen because of his devotion to French interests. By the maintenance of such a strict control over the Jewish elements of the country, the protectorate authorities revealed their distrust. Few Jews, however, were politically hostile toward France. It was the task of the community committees to bring relief to the numerous Jews living in miserable conditions. Their budget continued to be raised from the income derived from the sale of *kasher* wine and meat, the revenues from charitable trusts (*hekdesh*) which they administered, and the often generous contributions of the upper classes and Jews from overseas. The authorities did not grant them any subsidies.

With the exception of Tangier, where there were special circumstances, and a few other rare cases, the old Jewish upper class kept its distance from these community committees. They were constituted of new elements which came from a middle class that until then had been practically nonexistent in Morocco. The members of these committees were generally all loyal to the French authorities. The children of the long-time upper class were usually sent to the French primary or secondary schools. Their religious instruction was entrusted to private teachers. Living within a traditional environment which had withstood many a trial, they were sheltered from religious estrangement and unreserved assimilation. The westernization of the new class, which was accomplished by the Alliance Israélite Universelle, did not alienate this stratum from Jewish traditions and values. Their potential complete integration among the colonizers, however, was thwarted by the antisemitism of the middle-class Frenchmen of North Africa. A large number of Jews of this new social class amassed considerable wealth as a result of the accelerated development of the country. This new middle class formed an important section of the larger, as well as the smaller, communities. Moroccan Jewry was consequently transformed. Some Jews took up higher studies in Morocco itself or in French universities. At the same time, however, the French refused requests by educated Jews to grant them French citizenship and thus release them completely from Moroccan judicial jurisdiction. Unlike Algeria where the Jews were granted French citizenship collectively in the spirit of the Crémieux Decree of October 24, 1870, or Tunisian Jewry who were offered the same status on a more selective basis in the context of the 1923 Morinaud Law, the

Moroccan counterparts were denied this privilege. The French protectorate authorities, like the Spanish zone administration, did not wish to alienate Moroccan Muslims over this sensitive issue; they were equally concerned about the reactions of the European settlers who regarded the bestowal of any significant privilege on the Jews as a threat to their own status.

From 1912 Morocco attracted a large number of Jews from Algeria and Tunisia. Others arrived from Middle Eastern countries and Europe. In 1939 the Jewish population of Morocco, including foreign Jews, was estimated at 225,000. Until then, political Zionism had won only a few adherents in Morocco. Zionism, however, was often discussed in youth movements and organizations and regular lectures on the subject were given in Jewish circles. The philanthropist Raphael Benozérof was most active in the Zionist movement in Morocco, spreading its ideas among both the masses and the elite of the Jewish community. A periodical, *L'Avenir Illustré*, which was published in Casablanca from 1926, regarded itself as the organ of Moroccan Jewry, as well as the standard-bearer of Zionism. It actually became the unofficial voice of the Moroccan Zionist Federation that was then subordinate to the Zionist Federation of France and aroused the opposition of those who stood for the evolution of Moroccan Jewry and its assimilation into French culture. The French authorities, too, were unhappy with the orientation of the periodical. From 1932 elements opposing the Zionists published *L'Union Marocaine*. In 1939 World War II interrupted the publication of these two Jewish organs. Although Zionism gained momentum in the mid-1940s through the action of emissaries from Ereẓ Israel who came in contact with local Jews and helped them establish halutzic movements affiliated with Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir, Bnei Akiva, Dror, Habonim, Gordonia and Betar, while Zionist parties became part of the Moroccan Zionist associations and the federation (Mapai, Po'alei Ẓion, Ha-Po'el ha-Mizrachi, General Zionists and Ḥerut) starting in the late 1940s, Zionist activity between the two world wars still carried some symbolic weight.

[David Corcos / Michael M. Laskier (2nd ed.)]

Modern antisemitic tendencies, though prevalent among the European settlers, were practically nonexistent among Moroccan Muslims before the 1930s. The situation changed after 1933, when German and Italian fascist propaganda became widespread. European antisemitic elements in Morocco seized upon the Palestinian Arab Revolt of 1936–39. They presented "international Jewry" negatively before Muslims whose solidarity with the Palestinian Arabs was unquestioned. Furthermore, Moroccan nationalists were then unhappy with local Jewry's lack of enthusiasm for their cause. Some nationalists were moderates, but others identified with aspects of European fascism. Muslim-Jewish tensions emerged in several inland French Moroccan cities as a result of this atmosphere. In the Spanish zone anti-Jewish nationalist declarations disturbed Jews. When the secretary of the grand mufti of Jerusalem, Haj Amin al-Husseini, visited the zone in July 1939 to raise money, nationalists held conferences where they yelled, "Death to the Jews" and "Death to the British." The Spaniards did nothing to contain the unrest. Yet the outbreak of the Spanish Civil War in 1936 prompted the Spaniards to restrain pro-fascist youth gangs which harassed Jews.

The outbreak of World War II in 1939, the German occupation of France in 1940, and the establishment of the Vichy government rendered the Jews of French Morocco powerless. On October 3, 1940, the Vichy government enacted its first anti-Jewish law in France. Article 9 concerning the status of the Jews was introduced in the French zone by the Sultanic Decree (*zahir*) of October 31, 1940. It applied to all Jews by "race," which was defined as three Jewish grandparents, as well as all members of the Jewish faith. The law expressly authorized the exercise of rabbinic jurisdiction and allowed Jews to continue teaching at institutions intended solely for Jews. The Vichy Law of June 2, 1941, increased the hardships inflicted by the law of October 1940. It was implemented by the zahirs of August 5, 1941, which were issued separately for Moroccan Jews and the European Jews living in the zone. The decrees which followed were designed to deprive Jews from working in a wide array of professions, including real estate, moneylending, banking, non-Jewish journalism, and radio broadcasting. Jews were allowed to engage in crafts and wholesale trading. At the same time Vichy policy allowed only 2 percent of the total number of lawyers and physicians to be Jews. The Vichy Law of July 22, 1941 concerning the "Aryanization" of the economy was implemented in Algeria but was not introduced into French Morocco. In education, the policy of limiting the number of Jews in the protectorate's schools to 10 percent was enforced harshly though perhaps not completely. The French continued to subsidize the AIU schools because they did not wish to see Jewish children developing an aversion to French culture. Foreign Jews who sought sanctuary in Morocco were placed in labor or concentration camps, together with "undesirable" elements. Immediately after the U.S. landings, the Rabbi Eliahu Synagogue in Casablanca was desecrated and pogroms broke out all over the country. The landing of the allied forces in French Morocco on November 8, 1942, and its liberation did not result in the immediate obliteration of Vichy influence. This occurred only in the summer of 1943 when French Gen. Charles de Gaulle's supporters replaced the pro-Vichy elements.

While it is premature to assess the extent of the implementation of Vichy laws in French Morocco, not a single discriminatory law was issued against the Jews in the Spanish zone after Gen. Francisco Franco came to power in Spain. Spanish and local government officials foiled the efforts of German agents in the zone to foment anti-Jewish feelings. Jews in the International Zone of Tangier, however, faced certain problems related to immigration. During 1942–43 Tangier had 1,500 to 2,000 Jewish refugees, many of whom had arrived before the war. Approximately half were Sephardim originating from the Dodecanese Islands (then under fascist Italian occupation); some had left Rhodes for Italy and France even before Italy introduced anti-Jewish laws in 1938.

The Central Europeans had come mainly from Hungary and Poland via Italy. As long as Tangier remained an international zone, refugees were admitted without difficulty. After the fall of France and Spain's temporary occupation of Tangier, these people were deprived of various rights, including work. The indigenous Jewish elites of Tangier were far better off than their counterparts in French Morocco before and during the Spanish occupation. The small businessmen and lower middle class, however, were heavily taxed and they could not renew their import-export licenses. Politically, the Spanish occupiers dissolved the zone's legislative assembly, while the zahir of February 15, 1925, legalizing the Jewish community council, was abrogated. All community activity came under Spanish supervision. The Jewish community lost the subsidies that the government had hitherto allocated generously, as well as the right to elect a slate of community leaders from which the Spaniards would select appointees. All these restrictions were lifted with Spain's withdrawal in 1945 and the restoration of the international zone.

[Michael M. Laskier (2nd ed.)]

In 1948 about 238,000 Jews lived in French Morocco, 15,000 in Spanish Morocco, and 12,000 in the international zone of Tangier. The 1951 census in French Morocco indicated 199,156 Jews and, together with the Jewish population of Spanish Morocco, the total number of Moroccan Jews reached then about 222,000. The first census conducted in united Morocco in 1960 recorded 159,806 Jews, while in 1962 an estimated 130,000 Jews lived in the whole of Morocco, decreasing to 85,000 in 1964 and about 42,000 in 1968. The two censuses of 1951 and 1960 give valuable evidence of the demography of the Jewish population in Morocco. In 1951 over a third of the Jews lived in small towns and villages, but in 1961, as a result of the mass exodus to Israel, only about a quarter of them still lived there. The continued *aliyah* after 1960 reduced this number even further, so that the majority of Jews in the country in the late 1960s were concentrated in the major cities. Census data show that among the emigrants there were more young people than old; this is confirmed by the census conducted in Israel in 1961.

The dispersal of Moroccan Jews throughout scores of towns, townlets, and villages, which sometimes contained only a few dozen families, made it difficult to provide Jewish *education for all who wanted it, and up to the time of the mass exodus there were places in which there were no Jewish educational institutions. This is one of the reasons for the high percentage of illiteracy among Moroccan Jewry, even in 1960. In a sample of 2% of the overall Jewish population aged five and over, taken in Morocco in 1960, 43.2% were illiterate (i.e., could not read Arabic or French, for those who knew only Hebrew letters were counted as illiterate). However, the 10–14 age group had an illiteracy rate of only 18.1%, whereas the age group 60 years and older had a rate of 76.3%. The 52 schools of the Alliance Israélite Universelle had 21,823 pupils in 1948, and in 1956 28,702 pupils attended its 82 institutions. The number of its pupils subsequently dropped to 9,000 in 1965, of whom about 1,000 were non-Jewish. In October 1960, the Moroccan government nationalized a fourth of the schools run by the Alliance Israélite Universelle, turning them into government schools, to which hundreds of non-Jewish pupils enrolled. Apart from the Alliance Israélite Universelle institutions, there were also schools run by Oẓar ha-Torah, Em ha-Banim, and, from 1950, by the Lubavitcher ḥasidic movement. *Talmud Torah* schools and *ḥadarim* continued to exist, despite the fact that the opening of new *ḥadarim* was forbidden in 1953. The lack of a sufficient number of schools, along with the emigration of many educated Jews to France, resulted in a low number of university graduates in Morocco. In 1954 there were only 239 Jewish university students, of whom 151 had studied abroad. According to government statistics in 1964, of the 75,000 Jews who remained in the country there were only 60 physicians, 15 dentists, 50 pharmacists, and 44 lawyers. However, in proportion to the Muslim population, the Jews were better educated, for in that year the whole country contained only 232 lawyers.

Despite the fact that a few wealthy Jews lived in Morocco, most Moroccan Jews were considered to be poor. Many of them were peddlers or artisans or lived on social assistance. Since Jews lived in poverty and poor sanitary conditions in crowded homes of the mellah, where eight to ten people sometimes dwelt in one room, many Moroccan Jews suffered from diseases, especially trachoma. In fact, among the pupils attending Alliance Israélite Universelle institutions in Casablanca 30% suffered from trachoma, and the Alliance Israélite Universelle had to open a special school for them. This was also one of the reasons for the Israel government's adoption of a policy of health selectivity toward Moroccan immigrants. The Jewish Agency for Israel and *OSE worked in cooperation with many local doctors to treat Moroccan Jews before entry to Israel.

In the mid-20th century the legal status of Moroccan Jewry improved. With the exception of a few Casablanca Jews, they did not have the right to vote in local elections. Disputes between Jews and non-Jews had to be settled in Muslim courts, which judged according to Muslim religious and secular law. Jews were not allowed to elect their own representatives on the Jewish community councils, the members being appointed by the authorities. After the independence of Israel (1948), the Jews in Morocco, as in the East, suffered from severe attacks by the population. On June 7, 1948, 43 Jews were murdered and 155 injured at Jérada (Djérada) and Oujda, after nationalists incited the population. However, the government brought scores of guilty to trial, sentencing two of them to death and others to imprisonment. Beginning in August 1953, anti-colonial manifestations in French Morocco became widespread following the exile of the pro-nationalist Sultan Sidi Muhammad ben Yusuf to Madagascar. One year later and then again in 1955, pro-nationalist forces attacked Jews in Casablanca, Rabat, Mazagan and Petitjean. A number of Jews were murdered. Much Jewish property was looted in various places throughout the country; the Alliance Israélite

Universelle schools at Boujad, Mazagan and elsewhere were set on fire. Emigration subsequently increased. While between 1948 and 1953 about 30,000 Jews went to Israel, emigration figures in 1954–55 rose to 37,000 and in 1956, on the eve of Moroccan independence, to 36,301. Jews may have reached Israel in greater numbers at the time had the State of Israel and the Jewish Agency refrained from enforcing social and medical selection policies which deprived numerous elderly, sick, and economically disadvantaged elements from leaving Morocco. The Jews, however, feared that in an independent post-colonial Morocco their situation would worsen.

However, when Sultan Muhammad ben Yusuf (King Muhammad v since 1957) returned from exile in November 1955 and Morocco gained its independence in March 1956, the situation of the Jews improved temporarily. For the first time in their history, they were to enjoy greater equality with Muslims. A Jewish leader, Dr. Leon *Ben Zaqen, was appointed minister of posts in the first independent government. Other Jews began to gain important positions in the government administration as officials and in courts of law as judges. Jews were also appointed to the advisory council, the first being David Benazareff, shortly after his appointment to the presidency of the Casablanca community council. But on May 13, 1956, an order was issued forbidding Jews to leave for Israel. Then in June 1956 the offices of the Cadima organization – the name under which the Jewish Agency's Immigration Department functioned inside Morocco since 1949 – were closed. The Israeli *aliyah* emissaries, as well as envoys of other Jewish Agency departments dealing with Youth Aliyah, Zionist education and youth movements, were then compelled to leave the country. After long negotiations with the representative of the World Jewish Congress, the government permitted the emigration of the 6,325 Jews in the Mazagan camp who were ready to leave for Israel. At the same time, the Jewish Agency succeeded through channels and the bribing of senior Moroccan officials in smuggling several thousand additional Jews to Israel via Casablanca harbor and a "special route" through Tangier. However, vigilance on the Moroccan frontiers increased in 1957, after pressure from the opposition parties, and obstacles began to be placed in the way of those Jews requesting permission to travel legally for a short visit abroad, if it was suspected that their final destination was Israel. From that time on they had to show proof that they were able to support themselves abroad. Afterwards (1958–59), a number of Jews were tried and sentenced for smuggling their currency, or even for possessing an obsolete calendar issued by the Jewish National Fund. In 1958 when a new government was formed, Ben Zaqen was not included, and a number of Jewish officials were dismissed. In 1959 all Zionist activity was forbidden in Morocco and many Jewish organizations were forced to close their doors. That year, swastikas were daubed in Casablanca and Rabat. In September of that year Morocco severed postal ties with Israel, ties that were renewed only in 1994. All these measures were part and parcel of a Moroccan policy of avoiding conflicts with Egypt and Middle Eastern states in war with Israel. The Egyptians were quick to accuse the Maghrebi states of permitting Zionist activity and *aliyah*, which according to their argument, only strengthened the Jewish State. Moreover, Morocco did not desire to lose Jewish nationals as this could have been detrimental to the Moroccan economy.

As a result of this situation and despite the illegal exit, about 25,000 Jews went from Morocco illegally to Israel between 1956 and 1961. The groundwork for the illegal activity was laid in 1955, when Israel, fearing that Moroccan independence was imminent, formed a Zionist underground. The Mossad, Israel's secret service agency, created the Misgeret (Framework), which organized self-defense training for all of the Maghreb. Misgeret's operational headquarters were in Paris; Casablanca became its center in Morocco. Misgeret's Israeli emissaries arrived in the Maghreb between August 1955 and early 1956. In Algeria and Tunisia they engaged mostly in self-defense training but in Morocco they had five units in the urban centers: Gonen (self-defense), Ballet (recruiters of activists), Oref Ẓibburi (the channel for communicating with leaders of the Jewish community councils), Modi'in (intelligence gathering for missions), and Makhelah (illegal *aliyah*). The need to organize illegal immigration and to create the Makhelah unit stemmed from the Moroccan decision to dissolve Cadima; the Mossad understood that the Jewish Agency had erred in not evacuating more Jews when the opportunity existed under colonial rule. Between the end of 1956 and mid-1961 Misgeret smuggled out many of the 25,000 Jews who left Morocco, using various land and sea routes. Many Misgeret operations were successful because of services rendered by Spanish and Moroccan smugglers, who assisted Misgeret in evacuating Jews without travel documents. The underground falsified passports, bribed Moroccan officials in seaports, and enlisted the help of the authorities in the Spanish enclaves of Ceuta and Melilla, the British in Gibraltar, and the French who still controlled Algeria. The Moroccan government failed to destroy the underground, although many activists were arrested.

In January 1961, on the occasion of Egyptian President Gamal Abdel *Nasser's visit to Casablanca, Jews were beaten up and jailed. Several days later the *Egoz*, one of the Misgeret's smuggling ships, foundered at sea, and 42 Jewish immigrants drowned. The repercussions of these events prompted local Jewish leaders, Israel, and international Jewish organizations to pressure Morocco to liberalize immigration. King Muhammad v promised to tolerate immigration and instructed his minister of the interior to grant passports to all Jews who wanted to leave. But the king died in February 1961 and was succeeded by King Hassan ii; these events prevented the policy from being implemented immediately. The intercession of two influential Jews close to the palace enabled Israel to enter into discreet negotiations with the Moroccans through a series of meetings held in Europe; the result of the negotiations between the Misgeret's top envoy in Morocco and a representative of King Hassan ii was a plan. hias (Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society) would open offices in Morocco and, under its auspices, Israel could organize more semi-legal departures;

Morocco would then receive "indemnities" for the loss of the Jews. Known as "Operation Yakhin," between November 1961 and spring 1964 more than 90,000 Jews left for Israel by chartered planes and ships from Casablanca and Tangier via France and Italy. The secret negotiations leading to Yakhin also paved the way for Moroccan-Israeli negotiations over behind-the-scenes cooperation in intelligence and defense endeavors which yielded benefits in subsequent decades.

Until 1961, when the Moroccan authorities tightened restrictions on immigration, the remaining Jewish elite still held some privileges. In fact, the post-1956 elites were divided into three currents. The first, influenced by French and European schooling, emphasized the central importance of European culture. In general, the members of this group were not attracted to Zionism, and they eventually settled in France. The second group included those who, despite the education they had received at the Alliance Israélite Universelle schools, were still influenced by Zionism. The third group, which favored a Judeo-Muslim entente, emerged during the mid- and late 1950s and was by no means homogeneous. This group included about 400 activists with strong leftist tendencies and about 500 communists, as well as moderate leftists and conservatives. Several activists in the third group advocated Jewish-Muslim integration with Jews frequenting the same clubs as Muslims and attending the same schools, in order to bridge the political and intellectual gap between the two peoples. Others were more cautious, arguing that rapprochement should not compel Moroccan Jews to sever their ties with Israel or to embrace Arabic language and literature at the expense of French culture. To achieve national unity and engender reforms within the Jewish communities, the leftist integrationists affiliated with the Istiqlal party, and in 1956 the Union Marocaine de Travail, the Moroccan labor union, founded a pro-entente movement known as al-Wifāq (Agreement). During the late 1950s, leaders sharing their political orientation gained some prominence within the community councils, although eventually they either moderated their stance and remained in positions of authority or more moderate elements prevailed.

When Morocco gained its independence, a royal decree of January 1956 abolished rabbinical courts and turned them into state courts of law, with the exception of the Supreme Rabbinical Tribune in Rabat, which was abolished by government order in 1965. From 1945 the rabbinical court was headed by Chief Rabbi Saul D. ibn Danān, who went to Israel in 1966. From 1965, the other members of the rabbinical court were appointed judges in state courts. Jews who remained in Morocco were subject to military service.

Emigration continued to both Israel and other destinations. *Aliyah* reached a low point in the years 1965–67, but picked up its pace after the June 1967 war. Between 1967 and 1970 as many as 4,000 Jews left for Israel annually. Israel ceased to be attractive for most Moroccan Jewish immigrants afterwards. Those who left Morocco in the 1960s included wealthy and educated Jews, not only the lower socioeconomic stratum. In 1970, some 35,000 Jews were living in Morocco. Of those who had emigrated a considerable number, mainly the wealthy and more highly educated, settled in France and Canada. Among the immigrants were lawyers, engineers, and doctors who were marginalized in their place of work in favor of Muslims. The mass exodus caused the closing of most Jewish institutions, yeshivot, schools and many synagogues. The community in the 1960s lacked rabbis, *dayyanim* and even readers of the Law in synagogue. The charitable organizations that functioned throughout Morocco were liquidated; Jewish newspapers were closed. One of these, *La Voix des Communautés*, was an official communal organ. During this period anti-Jewish propaganda increased, organized mainly by the Istiqlāl Party, led by ʿAllāl al-Fasi, who at the time also served as minister of Islamic affairs. The party journal, *L'Opinion*, and the rest of the Moroccan press, with the exception of newspapers supported by the government party, published much incendiary material against Jews, and in 1965 the *al-Istiqlāl* newspaper published extracts from the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*. During and after the June 1967 war, the Istiqlāl party encouraged Muslims to enforce an economic boycott of the Jews, but King Hassan adopted a firm policy so that Jews were not seriously harmed, and the economic boycott was implemented only partially.

In the 1970s, with a Jewish population of some 20,000 (1975), two-thirds of whom were concentrated in Casablanca and the remainder in Rabat, Marrakesh, Tangiers and Fez, Morocco had the largest organized Jewish community of any Arab country. But Moroccan Jewry was indeed moving slowly toward its self-liquidation. The school population was perhaps the best yardstick. Jewish day schools saw their enrollment drop by about 15 percent between October 1972 and October 1973, and they have noted subsequent drops of about 5 percent every year since. Yet the Arab-Israeli War of 1973 and later Middle East conflicts did not result in the end of Morocco's Jewish communities. Those who remained weathered the crises and expressed confidence in the monarchy's ability to safeguard their well-being. Despite the tolerant attitude of the authorities toward the Jews, difficulties were still placed in their way in respect to national organization or attempts to establish contact with Jewish organizations abroad, apart from philanthropic or religious organizations such as the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee, the Alliance Israélite Universelle and the Lubavitch Ḥasidim.

Several communities of Jews delayed their complete departure in the 1970s through the 1990s, partly because they owned large pieces of communal property valued at many millions of dollars. These properties were registered with the Ministry of the Interior and could not be sold without the ministry's permission, while the proceeds of the sales had to be kept in cash in a bank or reinvested in other property. In the mid- and late 1990s, 6,000 Jews remained in Morocco. Influential Jewish leaders – among them Robert Assaraf, a noted entrepreneur and one of the most affluent Jews in Morocco, and Serge Berdugo, who served as a minister of tourism in the 1990s – have wielded influence, playing a cardinal role in politics. Their intimate ties to both the monarchy and opposition parties enabled them to promote diverse Moroccan-Israeli connections. While Berdugo was minister of tourism, Israeli-Moroccan tourist exchange gained considerable momentum. This came in the wake of the Israeli-Palestinian Oslo Accord of 1993 that led to the establishment of liaison offices in Rabat and Tel Aviv. The primary purpose of the liaison apparatus was to promote even greater tourist activity, particularly from Israel to Morocco. In October 1994 André Azoulay, a Jewish economist and one of King Hassan's confidants, was the driving force behind the first Middle East Economic Summit in Casablanca. The intermediary role played by the king in bringing Israel and the Arab states closer together, leading to the Egyptian-Israeli peace initiative back in 1977, also contributed to Muslim-Jewish coexistence at home.

After King Hassan's death on July 23, 1999, his son, Muhammad VI, ascended to the throne. In sharp contrast to his father's aspirations of involving Morocco in regional and international politics, Muhammad VI seemed – in the first years of his royal tenure, at least – to concentrate on domestic social reforms, greater equality for women, and democratizing the nation's political institutions. Thus far he has also demonstrated a belief in peaceful Muslim-Jewish coexistence. He retained Azoulay as the monarchy's chief adviser and facilitated the return from France of Abraham Sarfati, the exiled communist activist, whom the king appointed as his chief expert on sources of energy. The terrorist acts of the Moroccan al-Qai'da-affiliated Salafiyya Jihadiyya Islamist radical group in Casablanca (May 16, 2003) claimed many lives and also caused damage to Jewish institutions. This and other acts by Islamists may well hasten the departure of younger Moroccan Jews who will be followed to the West by their parents. Nevertheless, the king vowed to punish the perpetrators while the Moroccan press unanimously condemned the act. The latter argued that Morocco had always been a haven for Muslims and Jews, and no extremist forces would be allowed to sabotage the good relations between the two religions. Simultaneously, the outbreak of the second Palestinian uprising in 2000 compelled Morocco to shut down its liaison office in Tel Aviv and ask Israel to recall its representative from Rabat – a move that is seen as a temporary break in ties.

In 2005, some 3,000 Jews live in Casablanca and there were smaller communities in Rabat, Marrakesh, Meknès, Tangier, Fez and Tetuan. The major Jewish organization is the Conseil des Communautés Israélites in Casablanca. The welfare organization in Casablanca is responsible for medical aid to the needy and hot meals for underprivileged Jewish students. Most of the community are of the upper middle class and enjoy a comfortable economic position. Most Jewish schools are closed and only those in Casablanca – under the auspices of the Alliance Israélite Universelle, Ort, Chabad and Oẓar ha-Torah – remain active. Interestingly, the number of kosher restaurants in tourism-oriented cities is on the rise. The community has initiated historical research toward creating a Jewish museum documenting the Jewish presence in Morocco and has established a foundation for the Jewish Moroccan cultural heritage. In cooperation with UNESCO, the restoration of old synagogues has commenced.

[Hayyim J. Cohen / Michael M. Laskier (2nd ed.)]

Moroccan Jewish and Modern Education in the 20th Century: A Success Story

The history of the educational system represents the stabilization of a Jewish society under French rule that had preserved traditional values over a long period of time and now had to accommodate itself to new times and forms. Moreover, the importance of education grew because it served as a base for social mobility, particularly the growth of new elites: community leaders, merchants, officials and professionals achieved their positions through modern Western education. Some of them managed to combine education of this kind with values stemming from the Jewish heritage as it crystallized in Morocco.

Until the middle of the 19th century, public education was the responsibility of the Jewish community. In many places, no special buildings were set aside for the *Talmud Torah*, and elementary schools and often yeshivah studies as well were conducted in synagogues, this being the origin of the name *slla* ("synagogue" in Moroccan Arabic) as used for schools. The *sllas* were run by local teachers. The aim of elementary schooling in Jewish traditional education was to teach the child to read and write and prepare him to take part in the life of the synagogue. The yeshivot, which were post-elementary schools, were intended mainly for youngsters from rabbinical families. The status of the rabbi-teachers was shaky; they lived in dire economic straits, and were forced to take other jobs, as *ḥazzanim, shoḥatim*, etc., or abandon teaching when they found more remunerative occupations. Jewish girls generally remained ignorant, aside from what they learned from their mothers, which mainly concerned practical Jewish matters like *kashrut*, family purity, and the like.

From the beginning of reform in traditional education, Jewish institutions outside Morocco were involved – the Alliance Israélite Universelle and American institutions. The first school of the Alliance was founded in Tetuan in 1862. In conformity with its philanthropic-intellectual leanings, its institutions aimed at providing a secular education in French and in this way at achieving the Emancipation as understood by Western Jews, namely to abrogate the status of Jews as a tolerated minority and prepare them to take their place as useful citizens employed as craftsmen, merchants, and officials.

From the outset of Alliance activity, a major problem was the absence of teaching staff familiar with the new trends and a suitable pedagogic background. At first, out of political considerations, the Alliance, wishing to coexist with the communities and expand its activities, did employ teachers who had studied in traditional schools to teach Jewish subjects. But out of fear that the schools would become old-fashioned, the Alliance teachers, most of whom came from Alsace and different parts of the *Ottoman Empire, tried to get these other teachers dismissed. Filled with the zeal of pioneers in pursuit of their aims, the Alliance director and teachers entrenched themselves in the communities, particularly from around 1900 on. Not only did they assert their authority in educational matters but often settled disputes within the community and served as go-betweens for the community and the European consuls with the aim of protecting the Jews from the Muslims. In addition, once they had consolidated their position, they came out against *slla* education and its outdated methods. In the period from the mid-19th century to the early 1920s there were rabbis, mainly representing communities in the interior of the country less exposed to European influences, who regarded the Alliance schools as "centers of heresy." These rabbis clung to a policy of keeping their youngsters out of these schools so long as they had not completed their traditional educations. As a result many young people did not go to these schools.

The Alliance personnel at this time were not conciliatory. Nurtured on secular Western education in the rabbinical seminary of Paris, they lacked sensitivity to the values of Moroccan Jewry and their traditions. They sought to underscore the gap between the enlightened world and the tradition and experience of the parental generation and the *slla* schools, which they termed "centers of reaction." In fact their depiction of the *Talmud Torah* schools as lacking any value was an oversimplification. One of the problems that cropped up in the 1924–45 period in Alliance educational activities derived from its negative attitude to Jewish nationalism in the Land of Israel and to Hebrew as a living language. Other organizations took advantage of its difficulties to step in and operate in Morocco. First the Em ha-Banim *Talmud Torah* network, which had started operating through the efforts of Rabbi Zar Halperin, an East European Zionist who was in Morocco from 1914 to 1922, flourished. By 1935, it had important schools in the interior of the country, mainly in Fez, Sefrou, Meknès, and Marrakesh.

The stepped-up activities of the World Zionist Organization in the 1920s also constituted a challenge to the Alliance. At first the WZO tried to found societies for the renewal of Hebrew culture and language and to collect money for the development of Ereẓ Israel. Later it became a focus of local Zionist pressure exercised against the Alliance not only in the name of pedagogic advancement and the creation of new educational structures but also to adapt education to the needs of Zionism. The Alliance's problems did not only stem from its universalist ideology; it also had practical causes. The organization had received considerable financial support from the French government, a fact which the French used to put pressure on it to give priority to French and general studies over Hebrew and Jewish education. This pressure had a positive effect, as many parents wanted their children to receive an education that would prepare them for jobs in the modern bureaucracy of the Protectorate or in banks and business firms. However, they were uneasy about the cutback in Jewish studies. The arrangement also made life difficult for the pupils. They, as well as those who had studied first in a *slla* and then in an Alliance school, reached the fourth grade of elementary school at the age of 17.

The only way the Alliance could reconcile various circles by teaching Jewish subjects while instituting teaching reforms was by training a special staff of teachers. An attempt in this direction was made by supporting a local initiative on the part of the Torah and Ḥayyim Society of Tangier to set up a teachers' seminar. Teachers from within the community taught Jewish subjects while general subjects were taught by teachers from the French schools in the city and the Alliance faculty. Another change was in the encouragement given by the Alliance chief representative in Morocco, Yom Tov Sémach, to the teaching of modern, spoken Hebrew. Though not an adherent of political Zionism, but rather the opposite, Sémach argued that the teaching of living Hebrew was an expression of Jewish solidarity, the first and foremost means of communication in the Jewish world and part of the renascence of Jewish culture. The Alliance administration in Paris also did not heed the advice of the Tangier seminar's director to bring over teachers from Ereẓ Israel who had studied at the teacher training institute in Paris. Out of fear of the nationalistic reactions of Morocco's Arabs and the possibility that such a step would be interpreted as pro-Zionist, Hebrew studies were not allowed at the institute. But the pressure exerted by rabbis and parents did not abate. The parents sought a balanced curriculum in Alliance schools, with more Jewish studies than in the past.

The period after World War II, from 1946 until the 1960s, represented a major turning point in Jewish education in Morocco. The Zionist Organization contributed to the process by accelerating the acclimatization to modern Jewish thought and education in Jewish institutes. Another factor, after 1948, was the growing importance of aspects of Hebrew as a language representing the link between Moroccan Jewry and the State of Israel. Moreover, with increasing financial assistance from the Jews of America and Europe, the Alliance began to develop Jewish programs of study that were not totally subordinate to the French colonial administration in Morocco despite continued French aid to expand secular education.

Another factor contributing to the change was the disappointment of the Alliance leaders, who underwent bitter experiences during the war and witnessed the tragic failure of the ideology of "emancipation through assimilation" (which rather than being met with enthusiasm by colonial society provoked antisemitic propaganda). And indeed, from 1946 on, though the Alliance did not cooperate with the emissaries of the Jewish Agency, it did cooperate with influential local Zionists. An excellent example of this is the establishment of the Hebrew teachers seminar in Casablanca in cooperation with the Zionist Magen David Society. In 1956 almost all the teachers who were products of traditional education were replaced by graduates of the seminar. This produced big changes in the Jewish studies in schools, not to mention the fact that such an institute as the Hebrew University agreed to award graduates the "Jerusalem certificate," which exempted them from the University's entrance exam in the Hebrew language. The prestige of the seminar spread through the communities of Morocco and won for it rabbinical support. Graduates of the seminar began teaching in Alliance schools along the Mediterranean Basin and in Iran and, in the course of time, also in Israel, Latin America, Western Europe, and Canada. These graduates also played a part in the Arabization of the schools with the introduction of Arab studies after 1956. They also contributed to the creation of a social and economic elite among the Jews who remained, as the independent Moroccan government was not favorably inclined toward teachers educated in French (even if they were Moroccans). Moreover, while the number of admissions to French high schools before independence was relatively low because of the undeclared quota system, now after independence, admission became easier because of Moroccan policy. At the same time, the Alliance schools, which up to the mid-1950s had provided education up to junior high school only, now became full-fledged high schools. Thus the impetus of social and economic change that had its start in the 1940s and 1950s was not stopped with independence.

The 1946–60 period also represented a turning point in terms of the initiative shown by American Jewry on behalf of the Jews of Morocco in educational affairs. The outstanding American organization was Oẓar Hatorah, a society of Sephardi Jews believing in a combination of Jewish and general education and supported financially mainly by the Joint Distribution Committee. Oẓar Hatorah started operating in the large centers like Rabat and Mogador, and also in small villages in south Morocco. At first, relations between Oẓar Hatorah and the Alliance were tense. The representative and teachers of Oẓar Hatorah in Morocco (as opposed to the directorate in New York) regarded the Alliance teachers as confirmed secularists who had driven away the young Jews of Morocco from the Jewish heritage. But when they saw the Alliance's powerful popular support and the Hebrew teachers seminar was set up in Casablanca, they toned down their criticism. After Morocco received its independence they cooperated in such projects as preparing and printing Hebrew and Jewish texts in the face of Morocco's ban on the import of Hebrew books printed abroad. Not the least important of the Alliance's activities was its campaign to update traditional education. Together with Oẓar Hatorah, it succeeded in persuading a number of community leaders to institute reforms in curricula and methods in the old-fashioned *Talmud Torah* schools in the community. This influence continued to grow until in 1970 the number of students in reformed Jewish studies exceeded the number in Alliance schools: 7,800 compared with 7,100. This renascence of Jewish education made it possible to provide spiritual leaders for the North African communities in Western Europe and Canada. The change was also felt among the rabbis identified with this trend who reached Israel in the 1960s and 1970s. In the last three generations important work has also been done in Morocco by the Chabad educational system. The results of the work done by the Alliance and Oẓar Hatorah were impressive. On the eve of Moroccan independence in 1956 there were 83 Alliance schools with 33,000 students, representing 80% of all Jewish children of school age. The Oẓar Hatorah system had 6,564 students, or 16%, in 32 institutions. It is therefore correct to say that, in the 1940s and 1950s, the Jews of Morocco rapidly entered a new era in their history.

[Michael M. Laskier (2nd ed.)]

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[Michael M. Laskier (2nd ed.)]

MOROGOWSKI, JACOB SAMUEL ("**Zaydl Rovner**"; 1856–1942), *ḥazzan*, composer, and conductor. Born in Radomyshl, Ukraine, Morogowski in his youth worked as a flour merchant, at the same time serving as the "musician" of the Makarov Rabbi Twersky. His fame as a *ḥazzan* began to spread after the rabbi ordered him to officiate in the High Holy Day services of his *bet ha-midrash*. He then officiated as *ḥazzan* for five years in Kiev, where he studied music under the violinist Podhozer, and from 1881 to 1914 he officiated as *ḥazzan* in the communities of Zaslavl, Rovno (hence the name "Zaydl Rovner"), Kishinev (as the successor of Nisan *Belzer), Berdichev (as the successor of Yeruḥam ha-Katan *Blindman), London, and Lemberg, from where he returned to Rovno. In all these posts he was accompanied by a large choir, and for weekday services and festive occasions he also made use of an orchestra. His compositions enthralled his audiences and brought him worldwide fame. In 1914, Morogowski emigrated to the United States, where he remained until his death. He left a rich musical treasury of prayers for *ḥazzan*, choir and orchestra as well as marches. All his works were characterized by a true prayer style, fervent religious feeling, and ḥasidic melody. Hundreds of *ḥazzanim* considered themselves as his disciples. Some of his published compositions are *Halleluyah*, for choir and orchestra (1897); *Kinos* (Heb. text, 1922); *Uhawti*, for choir and orchestra (1899); and *Tisborach* (1874).

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[Joshua Leib Ne'eman]

MOROSINI, GIULIO (Samuel ben David Nahmias; 1612–1683), apostate scholar, and polemicist. He was born in Salonika of a *Marrano family which had reverted to Judaism. His grandfather, Isaac, who had been a Christian in his youth, was referred to as "Paul Teshuvah" after his return to Judaism. When Morosini was a child, his family moved to Venice, where he studied under Leone *Modena. He at first engaged in commerce, traveling throughout the Ottoman Empire, and became converted to Christianity in Venice in 1649, when his family lost its fortune. In 1671 he became a clerk at the Collegium de Propaganda Fide. He completed the work, begun by the apostate Giovanni Battista Jonah, on textual variants in the Targums (Ms. Vat. Urb. 59; Ms. Oxford 2341). Morosini also engaged zealously in missionary activity among Jews, and wrote a work in three parts, *La Via della Fede* (Rome, 1683). In the first part, he attempts to show that it is the duty of the Jews to embrace Christianity. The second part contains important information on contemporary Jewish life and customs both in the home and in the synagogue. In the third part Morosini tries to demonstrate that the Jews do not observe the Ten Commandments, whereas the Christians do. A polemic against this work appears in Joshua *Segre's *Asham Talui*.

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[Umberto (Moses David) Cassuto]

MORPURGO, North Italian family of Austrian origin. Its earliest known member was Israel b. Pethahiah *Isserlein (1390–1460), who settled in Marburg, Styria, and became known also as R. Israel Marburg. In 1624 members of the Marburger or Marpurger family were appointed Court *Jews by Emperor Ferdinand II. About the mid-17th century, they were to be found in various parts of Europe, North Africa and the East, but mainly in northern Italy, at Trieste, Ancona, Venice and Padua. Arriving there from Gradisca d'Isonzo (Austria), they eventually changed their name to Morpurgo, and distinguished themselves in various fields. Members include the noted talmudist Samson *Morpurgo and ELIJAH MORPURGO (1740–1830), a Hebraist. GIUSEPPE LAZZARO MORPURGO (1759–1833) was a poet and financier. He wrote verses in Hebrew and Italian, was a supporter of Napoleon and founded the well-known insurance company, Assicurazioni Generali of Trieste. He also presided over the Jewish community there. MOSÉ MORPURGO visited Ereẓ Israel, where he met Ḥayyim Joseph David *Azulai (1764). Also of the family were Rachel *Morpurgo, poet, and EMILIO MORPURGO (1822–1882), who taught economics at Padua University and was undersecretary for agriculture in 1867. ABRAHAM VITA MORPURGO, a publicist from Gorizia, founded the *Corriere Israelitico* in 1867. He made a collection of prayers in Italian for the Jews of Trieste (1855), and translated the *Haggadah* into Italian (1864). Salomone *Morpurgo was a philologist and librarian. ELIO MORPURGO (1858–1943) was born at Udine, of which he was mayor in 1908. He served as undersecretary for posts in 1906 and 1908, and was made a senator for life in 1920. He was deported by the Germans in 1943. BENEDETTO MORPURGO (1861–1944), pathologist, member of the Lincei academy, held the chair of pathology at Turin University from 1900 to 1935. Following the Fascist discriminatory laws of 1938, he took refuge in Argentina, and died in Buenos Aires. GINO MORPURGO translated the Books of Ecclesiastes and Esther into Italian (1898–1904). GIULIO MORPURGO (1865–1931), of Gorizia, taught commercial technology at Trieste University and wrote numerous monographs on commercial subjects. EDGARDO MORPURGO (1866–1942), physician and Jewish historian, wrote *Psicologia e psicopatologia degli Ebrei* (1905); *Le origini del movimento Sionista* (1905); *La Famiglia Morpurgo di Gradisca sull' Isonzo, 1585–1885* (1909). Morpurgo donated to the library of Padua University the collection of Judaica belonging to his family, the *Raccolta Morpurgo di letteratura e storia dei popoli semitici*, whose catalog he published in 1924. LUCIANO MORPURGO (b. 1886), born in Spalato, publisher, wrote *Poesia della famiglia ebraica* (1948). Giuseppe *Morpurgo was an author and educator. VITTORIO MORPURGO (b. 1890), de Janeiro. MARCO MORPURGO (1920–1948) and EDGARDO an architect, designed buildings in Rome, Tirana, and Rio. Two grandsons of the historian Edgardo Morpurgo were Zionist pioneers. Both met their deaths during Israel's War of Independence, the first near Sedeh Eliyahu, and the second near Haifa.

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[Emmanuel Beeri]

MORPURGO, GIUSEPPE (1887–1967), Italian author and educator. A secondary school teacher, Morpurgo was for some time after 1938 headmaster of the Jewish school in Turin. His writings on school education retain considerable value. He also edited popular literary anthologies, his subjects including Virgil, Petrarch, and Leopardi. His fiction includes the novels *Yom ha-Kippurim* (1925) and *Beati misericordes* (1930). The first deals with the problems of Jews loyal to their religious tradition but fascinated by humanist culture and liberal Western European society, in which they may nevertheless face suffocation. Morpurgo seems to visualize two possible outcomes of this conflict-complete assimilation through mixed marriage arising from a faulty education or emigration to Ereẓ Israel, the land of Jewish regeneration. The author's avowedly Zionist outlook is here quite explicit. In his second novel, Morpurgo examines a Catholic case of conscience, probing spiritual and theological questions with depth and learning.

[Louisa Cuomo]

MORPURGO, RACHEL LUZZATTO (1790–1871), Italian Hebraist and Hebrew poet. Morpurgo was born in Trieste and educated at home in Hebrew classics and secular subjects with her brother David and her younger cousin, Samuel David *Luzzatto (1800–1865), who became a prominent figure in modern Jewish thought and Hebrew literature, known as Shadal. Shadal credited Rachel with a major role in influencing his love for Jewish learning in general and Hebrew poetry in particular. In 1819, when she was 29 years old, Rachel married Jacob Morpurgo, a businessman from Gorzia, despite objections from her family. Devoted to serving her husband, who disapproved of her studies and literary efforts, and eventually the mother of three sons and a daughter, Morpurgo could only write late at night and on Rosh Ḥodesh. In 1847, 30 years after its inception, Shadal published their poetic exchange in *Kokhavei Yitzhak*, a journal devoted to modern Hebrew literature and enlightenment. Even her husband was proud of the recognition she now received for her talent. Some enlightened readers refused to accept that her Hebrew poems were actually written by a woman; others praised her for rising above women's ordinary activities and called her "Queen of the Hebrew Versifiers." Her letters and poems, in both Hebrew and Aramaic, invoke the matriarchs as well as the patriarchs, the hope for a return to Temple sacrifices in Jerusalem, a rare Hebrew description of a relationship between women, and the burdens of raising her own children. She also expresses her trepidation as a woman entering the literary realm of men. At the age of 65 she offered to work as a servant for Moses *Montefiore and his wife, Judith, passing through Italy on their way to Palestine. Morpurgo regularly signed herself as "The Worm," or "Rimah," the initials of Rachel Morpugo Ha-Ketanah (in Hebrew, "Little Rachel Morpurgo"), expressions of modesty often employed by prominent rabbis. Rachel Morpurgo's poetry, which was translated into several European languages, was included in a few anthologies of modern Hebrew poetry and is remembered in some of the histories of modern Hebrew literature. Critical emphasis is often on her novelty and uniqueness as the first female modern Hebrew poet. Rachel Morpurgo's Hebrew writings were published in *Ugav Raḥel: Shirim ve-Iggerot*, ed. Vittorio (Isaac Ḥayyim) Castiglione (Cracow: Yosef Fisher, 1891; ed. Y. Zemora, Tel Aviv: Mahberot Lesifrut, 1943); and in English in Nina Salaman, *Rahel Morpurgo and the Contemporary Hebrew Poets in Italy* (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1924).

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[Howard Tzvi Adelman (2nd ed.)]

MORPURGO, SALOMONE (1860–1942), Italian philologist and librarian. While still a student, Morpurgo was an active member of the Italian nationalist movement. He was arrested by the Austrian authorities in his native Trieste and received a prison sentence. He then moved to Rome, where he became coeditor of the *Archivio storico per Trieste, l'Istria e il Trentino* (1881–95), which campaigned in favor of the Irredentist claim to Italy's Austrian-controlled territories. Best known for his literary work, Morpurgo was a coeditor of the *Rivista critica della letteratura italiana* (1884–91), director of the Riccardiana library in Rome (whose *Manoscritti italiani* he carefully described), and subsequently headed the Marciana library in Venice, which he transferred to the Palazzo della Zecca (*La Biblioteca Marciana nella sua nuova sede*, 1906). From 1905 to 1923 Morpurgo directed and reorganized the National Library in Florence. He investigated the medieval Italian version of the legend of the Wandering *Jew, publishing *L'ebreo errante in Italia* (1891), and edited the Italian manuscript of the story written in Florence by Antonio di Francesco d'Andrea early in the 15th century, which predates the well-known German edition of the legend. A pupil of the eminent writer Giosuè Carducci (1835–1907), Morpurgo specialized in the study of old Italian dialects and literary sources, and prepared editions of various manuscripts, analyzing their linguistic features and their relation to the figurative arts. The outcome of this work was his *Supplemento alle opere volgari a stampa dei secoli XIII e XIV, indicate e descritte da F. Zambrini* (1929; reissued 1961). A leading authority on Dante and Petrarch, Morpurgo later taught Italian literature at the University of Bologna.

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[Giorgio Romano]

MORPURGO, SAMSON BEN JOSHUA MOSES (1681–1740), Italian rabbi and physician. Samson was born in Gradisca d'Isonzo, Friuli. While still young he was taken by his parents to neighboring Gorizia, where he studied under Jacob Hai Gentili, the rabbi of the community, and his son, Manasseh. At the age of 12 or 13 he moved to Venice and there received a thorough education in the yeshivah of Samuel Aboab, as well as from his previous teacher Manasseh Gentili who had meanwhile moved to Venice. After some years he went to Padua to study medicine in the university there and in 1700 received the degree of doctor of philosophy and medicine. From then on he devoted himself to the study of Talmud, traveling between Padua and Venice, and between Gorizia and Mantua, where he studied under the outstanding scholar Briel, who in 1709 ordained him rabbi. In that year he was appointed a member of the *bet din* of the kabbalist Joseph Fiametta (Lehavah) whose daughter Rebecca he married. On the death of his wife in 1716, he married her sister, Judith. On the death of his father-in-law in 1721, Samson succeeded him as rabbi of the community, a post he held until his death. Morpurgo had connections with all the great scholars of his generation, who turned to him for counsel on complicated cases in the field of *halakhah*, among them Isaac Lampronti, who quotes Samson's rulings in his *Paḥad Yiẓḥak*, Moses Ḥagiz, and Benjamin ha-Kohen of Reggio. His skill as a doctor in Ancona, recognized by both Jews and Christians, and his profound compassion, particularly toward the suffering poor, won him the love and respect of all. In 1730 a devastating influenza plague swept Ancona, and, despite the Church ban against Jewish doctors' treating the Christian sick, Samson distinguished himself in the care he gave to all the town's inhabitants. In consequence, Cardinal Lambertini publicly presented him in 1731 with a document which expressed his gratitude and his esteem for Samson's devotion. Samson was involved in the polemics of the rabbis of the generation against Nehemiah Ḥiyya *Ḥayon, and was among those who took up a tolerant attitude toward him. There is extant correspondence between Morpurgo and Moses Ḥagiz on this subject from the end of 1711 to the beginning of 1715. The *Or Boker* (Venice, 1741) contains a prayer that was said at his grave on the anniversary of his death. The following of his works have been published: *Confutazioni alle Saette del Gionata del Benetelli* (Venice, 1703–04), a polemic against the Christian priest Luigi Maria Benetelli who wrote *Le Saette di Gionata scagliate a favor degli Ebrei* (1703), a book filled with hatred of the Jews and their religion; *Eẓ ha-Da'at* (*ibid.*, 1704), a philosophical commentary on the *Beḥinat Olam* of Jedaiah Bedersi; and *Shemesh Ẓedakah* (*ibid.*, 1743), a collection of responsa published posthumously by his son Moses Ḥayyim.

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[Guiseppe Laras]

MORRIS, ERROL M. (1948–), U.S. director, producer, editor, and writer. Born in Hewlett, Long Island, Morris received a history degree from the University of Wisconsin and attended Princeton University and then the University of California at Berkeley to earn his Ph.D. in philosophy. Morris' first film, *Gates of Heaven* (1978), was created after German film director Werner Herzog said he would eat his shoes if Morris made a documentary about pet cemeteries. Morris won the bet and Herzog kept his end of the bargain, which is documented in Les Blank's *Werner Herzog Eats His Shoes* (1980). Morris' next documentary, *Vernon, Florida* (1981), recorded the eccentric lives of the small town residents. Morris worked as a private detective for two years, a profession that helped him direct and write *The Thin Blue Line* (1988), a documentary about a man wrongly accused of murder. The man was eventually released. In *Fast, Cheap, and Out of Control* (1997), Morris used his own invention, the Interrotron. A play-off of teleprompters, the Interrotron lets Morris project his image onto a screen in front of the camera, allowing the interviewee to look straight into the lens, not off to the side. It creates what Morris calls "the true first person." Morris used it in his TV series *First Person* (2000–1) and for his Academy Award winning documentary, *The Fog of War: Eleven Lessons from the Life of Robert S. McNamara* (2003). Other Morris films are *The Dark Wind* (1991), *A Brief History of Time* (1991), and *Mr. Death: The Rise and Fall of Fred A. Leuchter, Jr.* (1999), about an execution device inventor who testified on behalf of Holocaust denier Ernst Zundel. Beyond films, Morris makes commercials and won an Emmy in 2001 for a PBS ad.

[Susannah Howland (2nd ed.)]

MORRIS, HENRY HARRIS (1878–1954), South African lawyer, for 20 years the leading defense counsel and King's Counsel at the South African criminal bar. Henry Morris was the son of Hyman Morris, president of the first synagogue in Johannesburg. Morris had a reputation for grasping the human essentials in a situation and for his acute understanding of motives. He was at his best in cross-examination, when he could be forceful and caustic, but also urbane. Morris left a book of memoirs, *The First Forty Years* (1948).

[Lewis Sowden]

MORRIS, NATHAN (1890–1970), English Jewish educator. Born in Novogrudok, Russia, Morris went to England in 1909 and became a teacher in the Liverpool Hebrew Higher Grade School directed by J.S. *Fox, subsequently serving as headmaster of the institution (1912–20). Morris was founder and headmaster of the Glasgow Hebrew College, where he served from 1920 until 1929, when he was appointed education officer of the Jewish Religious Education Board of London, a post he held until 1940. When the ravages of war threatened Jewish schooling in Great Britain, he founded and directed the Joint Emergency Committee for Jewish Religious Education (1940–45), which set up classes for children in places far removed from the large population centers. At the end of the war, Morris was invited to take charge of the programs of the Central Council for Jewish Religious Education in the United

Kingdom and Eire and of the London Board for Jewish Religious Education (both 1945–48).

With Israel's independence, he helped to found the Jewish Agency's Department of Education and Culture and served as its director from 1949 until 1959, when he retired and returned to London. Morris wrote various Hebrew textbooks and educational manuals, but his most important work was the three-volume study on the history of Jewish education from the tannaitic period to the present, *Toledot ha-Ḥinnukh shel Am Yisrael* (1960–64). The study is a monumental work and the first of its kind in Jewish historiography.

[Judah Pilch]

MORRIS, NELSON (1839–1907), U.S. meat-packing executive. Morris, who was born in the Black Forest region of Germany, was taken to the U.S. at the age of 12. In 1854 he began working in the New York stockyards and two years later, he went into the meat-packing business for himself in Chicago. At the outbreak of the Civil War, Morris received a contract to supply meat to the Union armies. He subsequently supplied all the meat for the Army of the West later in the war, and filled meat-supply contracts for the governments of England, Germany, and France. His firm of Morris & Company was one of the largest in the U.S.

His son IRA NELSON MORRIS (1875–1942), who was born in Chicago, was a diplomat and author. Morris early severed his active connection with his father's firm. He served as commissioner-general to Italy (1913) and as U.S. minister to Sweden (1914–23). His books include: *With the Trade Winds* (1897); and *From an American Legation* (1926).

MORRIS, RICHARD BRANDON (1904–1989), U.S. historian. Born and educated in New York, Morris taught at City College, New York, from 1927 to 1949, and became professor of history at Columbia in 1949. Among his important books are *Studies in the History of American Law* (1930); *The Peacemakers* (1965); *Government and Labor in Early America* (1946); and *The American Revolution Reconsidered* (1967). He was coeditor of *The New American Nation* series (from 1953); *The Spirit of Seventy-Six* (1958); the *Encyclopedia of American History* (1953, 1963; 1970; 1982); and a *Documentary History of the United States* (from 1968). He also wrote *John Jay, The Nation and the Court* (1967); *The Emerging Nations and the American Revolution* (1970); *Seven Who Shaped Our Destiny* (1973); *Witnesses at the Creation* (1986); and *The Forging of the Union* (1987). He made noteworthy contributions in the field of archival preservation. He also served as chairman of the board of the editors of *Labor History*.

[Sidney I. Pomerantz / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

MORRIS, WILLIAM (1873–1932), U.S. talent agent. Born in Schwarzenau, Germany, Morris immigrated to America in 1898. He initially went to work for Marc Klaw and Abe Erlanger as a theatrical booking agent, and then as an independent vaudeville agent at a time when Keith-Albee United Booking Office was monopolizing bookings for vaudeville theaters. In 1907, Klaw and Erlanger joined with the Shubert Brothers to form the National Vaudeville Artists Association to compete with Keith-Albee, but they were acquired three months later and Klaw and Erlanger were forced out. Morris led a prolonged fight against Keith-Albee's monopoly with the aid of entertainment newspaper *Variety* and President Theodore Roosevelt. On January 31, 1918, a victorious Morris established the William Morris Agency with his son William, Jr. (born 1899 in New York) and office boy Abe Lastfogel. The agency's logo of four Xs actually represent William Morris' initials – a "W" superimposed on an "M." As silent film took hold, Morris pushed for clients like Al Jolson, Mae West, Charlie Chaplin, and the Marx Brothers to try out the new medium. By 1930, Morris had passed control of the agency to Lastfogel and his son, after 32 years in the business. Lastfogel managed the New York office, while William, Jr., took control of the Los Angeles office and later became president of the agency (1932–52). Morris died of a heart attack while playing cards at the Friar's Club in Manhattan.

[Adam Wills (2nd ed.)]

MORRIS AND SUSSEX COUNTIES, counties in New Jersey, U.S. The combined area of Morris and Sussex counties, located in western and northwestern New Jersey, is 1,000 sq. miles (2,700 sq. km.). In 2002, the Jewish population in Morris County was estimated at 33,000; Sussex County was estimated at 4,100. Morris-Sussex Federation merged with the Jewish Community Federation of Metropolitan New Jersey in 1983 to establish United Jewish Communities of MetroWest. A series of interstate highways, including Routes 280, 80, 78, 24, and 10, have made Morris County attractive to commuters. Hence, there is an active demographic shift of Jewish families from neighboring Essex County to portions of western New Jersey.

Sussex County Synagogues

There are three synagogues in Sussex County, located in the towns of Franklin, Newton, and Lake Hopatcong, and one "chavura," or social group, Congregation B'nai Emet, located in Sparta. The membership of Newton's Jewish Center of Sussex County (100 member families), and Franklin's Temple Shalom of Sussex County (150 member families) is predominantly intermarried. Lake Hopatcong Jewish Center has a scant 45 member families and has offered to sell its building to the MetroWest federation. There is one Chabad Center located in Sparta.

Morris County Synagogues

There are 19 synagogue communities in Morris County. The oldest congregation is Pine Brook Jewish Center (1896); the oldest Orthodox congregation is Shaya Ahavat Torah (1974); the oldest reform congregation is Temple B'nai Or (1954). There are three Chabad Centers and the Rabbinical College of America, which is located in Morristown.

Early Settlers and Synagogues Before World War II

There are six congregations over 100 years old located in Morris and Sussex Counties. The four in Morris County are Pine Brook Jewish Center (1896), Morristown Jewish Center-Beit Yisrael (1899), Dover Jewish Center (1917), and Mount Freedom Jewish Center (1923). Dover Jewish Center merged with Temple Shalom of Boonton in 1988 to form Adath Shalom, now located in Morris Plains. The two in Sussex County are Temple Shalom of Sussex County, formerly Congregation Sons of Israel (1909), and Jewish Center of Sussex County (1924), formerly Congregation Reuben Shimon.

The history of the Jews of Morris County dates back to the Civil War when Morristown's Henry and Rosena Sire owned the local stable and racetrack and sold remounts to the Union Army. The history of Dover's Jews, who referred to themselves as a "group of Israelites," is found on the pages of original minute ledgers dated October 4, 1882. Morristown's and Dover's Jews established Jewish business districts on Speedwell Avenue and Blackwell Street, respectively. At this time, Dover was located on the Morris Canal.

Newton was also a market town. Jewish merchants set up shop on Spring Street and from their stores went around the corner to attend services at the synagogue located on Washington Street. Franklin's Jews, never more than 25 Jewish families at one time, opened storefronts on Main Street, where they provided goods and services to the miners who worked for the New Jersey Zinc Company from the 1920s to 1955, when the mine closed. Sam Mindlin was Franklin's first Jewish settler in 1902.

Pine Brook and Mount Freedom were farming communities. Jews in both towns opened boarding houses and resort hotels as early as 1896 and 1903, respectively. Well known were Josef and Lena Konner's Sunrise Hotel in Pine Brook and Saltz's Hotel in Mount Freedom. Word-of-mouth and newspaper advertisements promoted the healthy air and virtues of New Jersey's countryside. Guests were primarily from Newark, New York City, and Brooklyn. Mount Freedom was home to nine kosher hotels and 45 bungalow colonies from 1920 to 1974. In both instances, local farmers were not enthusiastic about the influx of Jews to the area.

Synagogues and Lake Communities after World War II

A significant influx of Jews from New York City settled in and around the Morris and Sussex lake towns of Lake Hopatcong, Rockaway's White Meadow Lake, and Parsippany Troy-Hills' Lake Hiawatha immediately after World War II. Initially these were summer communities. Developer Benjamin Kline advertised affordable summer homes to New York City residents and Jews flocked to the New Jersey countryside. Residents winterized their summer homes, commuted to New York City by bus and train, and stayed year-round. Synagogues followed. Lake Hopatcong Jewish Center was founded in 1946, Lake Hiawatha Jewish Center (now merged with Pine Brook Jewish Center in 1995) was founded in 1945, and White Meadow Temple was founded in 1952. Other synagogues established after the war were Morristown's Temple B'nai Or in 1954 and Temple Shalom of Succasunna in 1965. Other synagogues located in Morris County include Congregation Beth Torah in Florham Park, Temple Hatikvah in Flanders, Congregation Ahavath Yisrael in Morristown, Temple Beth Am in Parsippany, and Congregation for Humanistic Judaism of Morris County.

Morris County's Alex Aidekman Jewish Community Campus

With the 1983 merger of Essex, Morris, and Sussex Counties into one umbrella federation, attention was paid to the demographic shift to western New Jersey. Hence, in 1990 the MetroWest community opened a second "Y" located in Whippany which moved Jewish services and agencies closer to Morris County. The Jewish Historical Society of MetroWest is located on this campus.

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[Linda Forgosh (2nd ed.)]

MORSE, DAVID ABNER (1907–1990), U.S. labor executive and lawyer. Morse, who was born in New York, graduated from Rutgers University in 1929 and studied law at Harvard University; he was admitted to the New Jersey bar in 1933. Morse worked on the legal staff of the U.S. Department of the Interior (1933–34), as chief counsel for its Petroleum Labor Policy Board (1934–35), and as a regional attorney for the National Labor Relations Board in New York (1935–38), before entering private law practice. From 1940 to 1942 Morse was impartial chairman for the milk industry in the metropolitan New York area. On leaving the public service, he became a partner in the law firm of Coult, Satz, Tomlinson and Morse. He also lectured on labor relations, labor law, and administrative law at several educational institutions. From 1943 to 1944 he served in the U.S. army as head of the Labor Division of the Allied Military Government in Sicily and Italy, where he formulated and implemented labor policies and programs for the American and British liberators. From 1944 to 1945 he served as head of the Manpower Division of the United States Group Control Council for Germany, where he worked with representatives of Britain, France, the Soviet Union, and the United States to help coordinate the way they dealt with labor matters in occupied Germany. By the end of the war, he held the rank of lieutenant colonel and was awarded the Legion of Merit in 1946.

After serving with the military, Morse held the position of general counsel for the National Labor Relations Board (1945–47) until appointed assistant secretary of labor, in which capacity he created the department's Program of International Affairs. In 1948 he was elected director general of the International Labor Organization (ILO) based in Geneva, Switzerland, and remained in that position for an unprecedented 22 years. As ILO head, Morse directed its establishment of international labor standards and its training programs designed to assist underdeveloped countries, and particularly their workers, in raising their standards of living and bettering their job conditions. When the organization was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 1969, Morse accepted the award on behalf of the ILO. In 1970 he resigned as ILO director general and became the impartial chairman of the New York coat and suit industry.

[Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

MORSE, LEOPOLD (1831–1892), U.S. congressman. Morse, who was born in Wachenheim, Bavaria, went to the U.S. in 1849. In 1850 he moved to Boston, Massachusetts, where he worked in a clothing store. In 1864 Morse and Ferdinand Strauss formed the Leopold Morse Company which specialized in the manufacture of men's clothing and soon became the largest of its kind in New England. After twice running unsuccessfully for Congress on the Democratic ticket (1870, 1872), Morse subsequently served five terms in Congress as Democratic representative from Massachusetts (1877–85, 1887–89). Morse was rumored to be a leading choice for the post of secretary of war in Grover Cleveland's cabinet, but religious prejudices were supposed to have ruled out his appointment. Active in Jewish affairs, Morse founded the Boston Home for Infirm Hebrews and Orphanage, renamed the Leopold Morse Home for Infirm Hebrews and Orphanage after his death.

MORTARA, LODOVICO (1855–1937), Italian jurist and statesman. Born in Mantua where his father Marco *Mortara was chief rabbi, he lectured from 1886 at the universities of Pisa and Naples. He became professor of law at Naples in 1903 and at the same time a magistrate in Rome. He was promoted to membership of the Supreme Court in Rome where he held the offices of attorney general, public prosecutor and eventually first president of the Supreme Court of Cassation. In 1919 Mortara became minister of justice and in the following year was appointed to the Senate. He was an outspoken critic of Fascism and opposed the constitutional changes introduced by Mussolini. His writings ran into many editions and strongly influenced the development of Italian jurisprudence. They include: *Lo Stato Moderno et la Giustizia* (1885); *Principii di Procedura Civile* (1922^7); *Manuale di Procedura Civile* (1921^3). Mortara also edited the review *La Giurisprudenza Italiana* (1891–), Italy's leading judicial publication.

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[Giorgio Romano]

MORTARA, MARCO (1815–1894), Italian rabbi and scholar. He attended the rabbinical seminary in Padua under Samuel David *Luzzatto, was ordained in 1836, and from 1842 officiated as rabbi of Mantua. Mortara represented the liberal trend in Judaism in Italy and argued that a distinction be made between the Jewish religion and Jewish nationality. He proposed a conference of Italian rabbis in 1866 in order to secure certain reforms in Jewish practices, but his suggestion did not materialize. In the sphere of biblical study, Mortara opposed the documentary hypothesis and argued for the unity and Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch (1843). He considered that the task of Judaism was to spread monotheism and morality throughout the world and that this was facilitated by the Dispersion. Mortara published books on the principles of Judaism and a new edition of the prayer book whose translation into Italian was based on that by S.D. Luzzatto. His most important work was in the area of bibliography and includes a catalog of the manuscripts in the library of the Mantua community (1878), and *Mazkeret Ḥakhmei Italyah* (*Indice alfabetico dei rabbini e scrittori israeliti di cose giudaiche in Italia*; 1886), a list of approximately 2,000 Jewish scholars living in Italy from the first to the 19th centuries. He was a notable bibliophile, his collection of manuscripts being purchased after his death by David *Kaufmann.

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[Menachem E. Artom]

MORTARA CASE, case of the abduction of a Jewish child by Catholic conversionists. On the night of June 23–24, 1858, Edgardo Mortara, aged six years and ten months, son of a Jewish family in Bologna, Italy, was abducted by the papal police and conveyed to Rome where he was taken to the House of *Catechumens. The boy had been secretly baptized five years before in an irregular fashion by a Christian domestic servant, who thought, as she said later, that he was about to die. The parents vainly attempted to get their child back. This flagrant abduction of a minor had many precedents in Italy. The church, moreover, had always maintained that the extemporized baptism of a child who was in danger of death was valid even if it had been carried out against the parents' will. The case caused a universal outcry. Napoleon III was among those who protested against the infringement of religious freedom and parental rights. Sir Moses *Montefiore went to Rome in 1859, in the hope of obtaining the child's release. The founding of the *Alliance Israélite Universelle in 1860, in order to "defend the civil rights and religious freedom of the Jews," was due partly to this case. Pope *Pius IX, however, rejected all petitions submitted to him. In 1860, after the annexation of Bologna to the Italian kingdom, the boy's parents took new steps, again in vain, for the return of the child. With the ending of the pope's secular power in 1870, Edgardo Mortara who had taken the name Pius and in the meantime was a novice in an Augustinian order – was free to return to his family and religion. However, he refused to do so. Mortara, who preached eloquently in six languages, was such an ardent conversionist that he received the title of "apostolic missionary" from Leo XIII. He became canon in Rome and professor of theology. He died at the Abbey of Bouhay near Liège in Belgium in 1940.

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[Giorgio Romano]

MORTEIRA, SAUL LEVI (c. 1596–1660), rabbi and scholar in Amsterdam. Morteira was born in Venice and studied there under Leone *Modena. In 1611 he accompanied the physician Elijah Montalto to Paris, and on the latter's death in 1616 brought his body for burial to Amsterdam, where he himself subsequently settled. A few years after his arrival he was elected *ḥakham* of the Beit Ya'akov community. When three Sephardi communities merged to form the Talmud Torah congregation in 1638, Morteira was appointed one of its rabbis, taught Talmud and *tosafot* to advanced students, and preached in the synagogue three times a month. He founded the Keter Torah Yeshivah in Amsterdam and Baruch *Spinoza was among his students. Morteira was a member of the *bet din* that excommunicated Spinoza.

Morteira's works include *Givat Sha'ul* (Amsterdam, 1645), a collection of sermons arranged in the order of the weekly portions of the reading of the Law, and a work (no longer extant) on the immortality of the soul, both written in Hebrew. Only fragments of his responsa, mentioned in the introduction to his sermons, have survived. In addition, he wrote a number of apologetics for Judaism in Spanish; among them, *La Eternidad de la Ley de Mosseh* ("The Eternal Nature of the Law of Moses"); *Preguntas que hizo un clériqo de Roan alas quales respondí* ("Questions of a Priest from Rouen and My Answers to Them"); *Obstáculos y oposiciones contra la religión cristiana* ("Criticisms and Arguments Against the Christian Religion"); and a treatise against the 16th-century Italian apostate, *Sixtus of Siena. Also preserved in many copies is his *Providencia de Dios con Ysrael* ("The Providence of God with Israel") which contains an account of the vicissitudes of the founders of the New Amsterdam (New York) community on their escape from Brazil. None of these works was printed. Morteira's *Discursos Académicos* is printed in Reuel *Jusurun's *Dialogo dos Montes* (completed 1624; published in Amsterdam, 1767). His apologetic works circulated widely in manuscript and had a profound influence on the Sephardi communities in Western Europe.

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[Joseph Kaplan]

MORTON, LOUIS C. (1913–), U.S. historian. Born in New York City, Morton received his M.A. from New York University in 1936 and his doctorate from Duke University in 1938 in the field of American colonial history. He taught at City College of New York from 1939 to 1941. He served in the U.S. Army (1942–46), and was deputy chief historian in the Office of the Chief of Military History, Washington, D.C. (1946–59). During that time, he also served as chief of the Pacific Section, responsible for the preparation of the 11-volume subseries on "The War in the Pacific," and was historical adviser for the post-World War II program. He served as consultant and lecturer at a number of military and civilian institutions, and from 1960 he was professor of history at Dartmouth College. In 1971–72 he served as provost. He was also president of the New England Historical Association (1968–69).

Morton's major scholarly interest was U.S. military history. Regarded as one of America's foremost experts on the history of World War II, he is best known for *The Fall of the Philippines* (1953); *The War in the Pacific: Strategy and Command* (1962); and *Writings on World War II* (1967). He was general editor of a 17-volume study, *Wars and Military Institutions of the United States* (1963).

[Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

MORWITZ, EDWARD (1815–1893), U.S. physician and journalist. Morwitz, who was born in Danzig, studied Oriental languages in Halle and medicine at the University of Berlin. He participated in the revolutionary upheavals of 1848 and then fled to the U.S. Settling in Philadelphia, Morwitz first practiced medicine (1850) but swiftly moved to leadership in German-language journalism and publishing. He took an active role in the affairs of the Democratic Party but supported the Union cause during the Civil War. When the German Dispensary (now Lankenau Hospital) in Philadelphia was threatened with closure during the war, Morwitz himself took charge and served as its medical director. He organized the German Press Association of Pennsylvania in 1862, and through merger and expansion ultimately controlled a large number of German-language and English-language newspapers. Morwitz' primary interests and contributions were in the area of German immigrant cultural and political activities, but he did maintain ties with the Jewish community through his membership in Kenesseth Israel Congregation and his ownership of the Philadelphia *Jewish Record* from 1875 to 1886.

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[Bertram Wallace Korn]

MOSBACH, city in Baden, Germany. A Jewish community was in existence in Mosbach by the second half of the 13th century. In 1298 the *Rindfleisch massacres took 55 Jewish lives. Jews also suffered in 1343, when they were accused of desecrating the *Host, and during the *Black Death persecutions of 1349. By 1381 just one Jew lived in the city, and the number of the Jews there remained small throughout the following centuries. They traded in livestock, salt, and wine. The municipal authorities periodically sought to restrict Jewish commercial activity. In 1722 there were eight Jewish families in the city; the number had grown to 19 by 1773. A cemetery was consecrated in 1599 but no synagogue was built until 1860, and a Jewish school was established only in 1876. From 1827 the seat of the district rabbinate was in Mosbach. Leopold *Loewenstein (1843–1924), author of works on German Jewish history, served there as a rabbi from 1887 to 1924.

The 19th century saw a significant growth in the Jewish population. There were 100 persons in 1824, and 192 in 1884. By 1900 the numbers had declined to 161; 159 in 1925; 134 in 1933; and 18 in 1939. The Jews had been active in the commercial and industrial life of the city as merchants in grain and livestock, and owners of a cigar factory, liquor distillery, and numerous other businesses, which were all disrupted when the boycott of Jewish merchants began on April 1, 1933. On November 10, 1938, the synagogue was burned down and the cemetery desecrated. On October 22, 1940, 13 Jews were deported to *Gurs, only two of whom survived the war. The rabbi, Julius Greilsheimer, fled to Holland in 1939, only to be deported from there to Auschwitz, where he perished together with his family. In 1947 a grove of 100 trees was planted by the city in his memory and that of the Jewish community. In 1969 and, later, in 1985 a plaque was mounted to commemorate the desecrated synagogue.

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[Alexander Shapiro]

MOSBACHER, EMIL JR. (1922–1997), U.S. yachtsman and businessman. Born in Mt. Vernon, N.Y., Mosbacher won intercollegiate sailing titles for Dartmouth College and during World War II served as an officer in the U.S. navy. He returned to sailing in 1949, and from 1950 to 1957 defeated the nation's best yachtsmen in International One-Design Class competition. Mosbacher skippered his first 12-meter class sloop, the 19-year-old *Vim*, in 1958. He was at the helm of *Weatherly* in 1962, when she successfully defended yachting's most prized trophy (the America's Cup) against the Australian challenger, *Gretel*. He defeated the Australians again in the 1967 America's Cup races. A successful businessman, Mosbacher was chosen by President Richard Nixon to serve as the State Department's chief of protocol in 1969. He was converted to the Episcopal faith.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Time* (Aug. 18, 1967).

[Jesse Harold Silver]

MOSCATI, SABATINO (1922–), Italian semiticist and archaeologist. Moscati taught Hebrew, Semitic languages, and the history of religions at the universities of Florence, Naples, and Rome. He is a member of the Accademia dei Lincei and editor, the *Rivista di Studi Orientali*. His most important works deal with the origins of the Semites, the language and peoples of Palestine and Syria, and the history of the Arabs. Among them are *Le antiche civiltà semitiche* (1961; *Ancient Semitic Civilizations*, 1957); *L'epigrafia ebraica antica 1935–50* (1951); *I manoscritti ebraici del Deserto di Giuda* (1955); *I predecessori d'Israele* (1956); *Il profilo dell'Oriente mediterraneo* (1956; *The Face of the Ancient Orient*, 1960, repr. 1963); and *An Introduction to the Comparative Grammar of the Semitic Languages* (1964).

Moscati took part in the excavations of Ramat Raḥel in Israel in the years 1960, 1961, and 1962.

From the 1970s on Moscati dedicated his research to the Phoenicians and the Carthaginians and their impact on ancient Italy. He was the greatest expert on the Punic civilization in Italy. He published *I Cartaginesi in Italia* (1977), *Il mondo dei Fenici* (1979), *Il mondo punico* (1980), *I Cartaginesi* (1982), and *Italia punica* (1986).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: S. Moscati, *I Fenici* (1988).

[Alfredo Mordechai Rabello / Samuele Rocca (2nd ed.)]

MOSCATO, JUDAH BEN JOSEPH (c. 1530–c. 1593), one of the most important rabbis, authors, and preachers of the Italian Jewish Renaissance. He was forced to leave his native town Osimo when the Jews were expelled from the main places in the papal states by Pope Pius V in 1569. Moscato went to Mantua, at that time one of the great centers of Jewish culture and scholarship in Italy. It seems that, not long after his arrival in the city, he became the official preacher of the Mantua community and in 1587 was nominated to the post of chief rabbi.

Spheres of Interest

Moscato's range of learning and knowledge extended over all fields of cultural interest to Jews of the Renaissance, and he was better versed in them than most of his contemporaries. Besides being steeped in Jewish traditional culture, rabbinic literature, and *aggadah*, he was at home in Jewish medieval philosophy and was also familiar with classical philosophy; he was especially an advocate of Plato and of the medieval neoplatonists and Arab philosophies. Philosophic in his outlook, Moscato was, nevertheless, familiar with the Kabbalah which had become popular in the late 16th century and had begun to influence Italian Jewish intellectuals. His approach to a number of subjects, especially ethics and prayer, was distinctly mystical: he often quotes from the *Zohar, frequently using its ideas without mentioning the source. He also quotes Moses *Cordovero, mostly from his *Pardes Rimmonim*. Moscato's educational and cultural horizons extended to such secular sciences and disciplines as medicine, music, astronomy, and especially classical rhetoric. In all these fields, he quotes from the classical masters, as well as from medieval works. He was acquainted with a number of contemporary Italian non-Jewish writers, such as Pico della Mirandola, whom he quotes in his *Nefuẓot Yehudah* (sermon 8, fol. 23c), even supporting a number of obviously christological passages. Moscato, explaining his reliance on non-Jewish sources and his frequent reference to them, states that all the great philosophers had been disciples of ancient Jewish kings and prophets; that philosophy, a Jewish science which was part of Israel's ancient culture, had been lost during the long period of exile and was preserved only in the writings of the non-Jewish students of Jewish teachers. This idea, in vogue from the 13th century, came to explain the existence of non-Jewish philosophy in religious

Jewish works. Moscato used it effectively; in his sermon on music, for instance (*Nefuẓot Yehudah*, sermon 1), he argues in detail that the fundamental concepts of Renaissance music were based on the terms and formulas found in the Psalms, and concludes that King David was the inventor and teacher of the discipline of music, even though in Moscato's times the terms and forms were known in Latin and in Italian.

Moscato's Works

The spirit of the Jewish Renaissance is reflected in Moscato's two major works, *Kol Yehudah* and *Nefuẓot Yehudah*. The former (Venice, 1594) is a commentary on *Judah Halevi's *Kuzari*, which became one of the major influences in 16th-century Jewish ideology in Italy and elsewhere. Moscato's exegesis was a motivating factor in the process and reflected the new interest taken in this author. In his commentary, Moscato also based himself on the writings of other Jewish philosophers who were little read or studied at the time, such as *Philo.

Moscato's second major work, *Nefuẓot Yehudah* (Venice, 1589), is a collection of sermons preached in Mantua on the major holidays, on the special Sabbaths, at weddings, and at funerals. The sermons, 52 in number, correspond to the number of weeks in a year, signifying a full cycle, even though the sermons were not delivered weekly. Moscato's sermons may be described as a revolutionary innovation in Hebrew homiletic literature. None before him and very few, if any, after him achieved such a high degree of aestheticism in the genre. His sermons clearly reveal the influence of the Renaissance on the dialectic method of Hebrew homiletics. His main purpose was not to teach or educate, but to give aesthetic pleasure to his listeners – the actual congregation sitting before him. His sermons were, therefore, not written to be published as a book; it is rather their oral delivery which is reflected at every point. It is possible that Moscato preached both in Hebrew and in Italian, for it is known that many non-Jewish scholars came to listen to his sermons. However, the sermons collected in *Nefuẓot Yehudah* were undoubtedly delivered in Hebrew on special occasions; this fact is sometimes referred to directly, sometimes is reflected in the contents. Moscato's great achievement in the field of rhetoric and homiletics lies in the fact that, even though his primary aim was to please his listeners, he also succeeded in being instructive, and in developing some ideas, original either in content or in formulation. He drew on his vast knowledge of philosophy and of the Kabbalah in order to develop ethical ideas and to interpret them in a new way so that they might be acceptable to Jewish culture in Renaissance Italy (see *Preaching). Many of the great preachers in Italy who came after him, including Azariah *Figo (Picho) and Leone *Modena, applied Moscato's ideas and methods of preaching, creating thus a new school in homiletics.

Besides these two major works, Moscato also wrote some poetry: a prayer for rain to be recited in time of drought, composed in 1590; a dirge on the death of R. Joseph *Caro; a dirge on the death of the Duchess of Savoy; and a few other poems. Certain of his exegetical works, mentioned in his known works, have not survived.

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[Joseph Dan]

MOSCHELES, IGNAZ (1794–1870), pianist and composer. Born in Prague, he studied in Vienna, but settled in London in 1826 as a concert pianist. In 1846 Felix *Mendelssohn (to whom he had given piano lessons in 1824) invited him to become piano teacher at the Leipzig Conservatory. He taught there to the end of his life. Moscheles' playing was noted for its precision and brilliance, but in comparison with Chopin and Liszt was rather classicist in attitude. He wrote many compositions in a Mendelssohnian style, the best being the "Etudes" (Op. 70). He also prepared the piano-vocal score of Beethoven's *Fidelio* under the composer's supervision (1814), and translated A. Schindler's biography of Beethoven into English, with additions (1841).

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[Claude Abravanel]

MOSCOVITCH, MAURICE (1871–1940), actor-manager. Born in Odessa, Moscovitch won a reputation there on the Yiddish- and English-speaking stage. He acted in London with David *Kessler and reached New York with Jacob *Adler's company in 1890. Forming his own troupe, he toured the Americas and Europe in Jewish classics and Yiddish versions of Tolstoy, Turgenev, and Strindberg. He appeared in English in Manchester, England, in 1919, as Shylock, giving a controversial interpretation. Later he toured South Africa and Australia, and appeared in films, including Charles Chaplin's *The Great Dictator* (1940), just before his death.

MOSCOW (Rus. **Moskva**), capital of the Russian Federation, and, from the Middle Ages, the political, economic, and commercial center of *Russia. Up to the end of the 18th century, Jews were forbidden to reside in Moscow, although many Jewish merchants from Poland and Lithuania visited the city. In 1676 Jews who brought their wares to Moscow were expelled. Apostates and forced converts who maintained varying degrees of connection with Judaism and the Jews were to be found in Moscow during various periods. A few Jews among the prisoners brought to Moscow after the wars against Poland apostatized and settled there. A physician of Jewish origin, Daniel Gordon, was employed by the court in Moscow from 1657 to 1687; Peter Shafirov, one of the most important advisers of Czar Peter the Great, was also of Jewish origin.

With the Russian annexation of Belorussia (1772), the number of Jewish merchants living in Moscow for commercial reasons increased; they came in particular from *Shklov, then an important commercial center in Belorussia. One of these was the contractor and merchant Nathan Note *Notkin. In 1790 Moscow merchants requested that the presence and commercial activities of the Jews in the city be prohibited. A royal decree forbidding Jewish merchants to settle in the inner districts of Russia was issued in 1791. However, they were authorized to stay for temporary periods in Moscow to carry on their trade. Most of the Jews who came to Moscow lodged at the Glebovskoye podvorye, an inn which was situated in the center of the market quarter. Jewish merchants continued to play an important role in the trade between Moscow and the southern and western regions of Russia, as well as in the export of Moscow's goods, and in 1828 the turnover of this trade was estimated at 27,000,000 rubles. As a result, Russian industrialists in Moscow supported the rights of the Jews. In 1828 Jewish merchants who were members of the first and second guilds were authorized to remain in Moscow on business for a period of one month only. They were forbidden to open shops or to engage in trade within the city boundaries. To facilitate the execution of these regulations, the Jews were compelled to lodge solely in the Glebovskoye podvorye. The inn was a charitable trust which had been handed over to the Moscow city council to use its income for the maintenance of a municipal eye clinic. Exorbitant prices were soon extorted from Jewish merchants who had to stay at the inn. After a few years, third-class merchants were also authorized to enter the town under the same conditions and the period of their stay was prolonged to six months. About 250 people made use of this right every year. As a result of these restrictions, Jewish trade decreased to about 12,000,000 rubles annually during subsequent years. When Alexander II came to the throne (1855), Jewish merchants were permitted to reside temporarily in all the sections of the town.

The first Jews to settle permanently in Moscow, and the founders of the community, were *Cantonists who had finished military service, some of whom had married Jewish women from the *Pale of Settlement. In 1858 there were 340 Jewish men and 104 Jewish women in the whole of the district of Moscow. After Jewish merchants of the first guild, university graduates, and craftsmen were allowed to settle in the interior of Russia, the number of Jews increased rapidly. Some were extremely wealthy, such as Eliezer *Polyakov, one of the most important bankers in Russia and head of the community, and K.Z. *Wissotzki. From 1865 to 1884 Ḥayyim Berlin officiated as rabbi of Moscow, and in 1869 the community invited S.Z. *Minor, one of the outstanding students of the Vilna rabbinical seminary, to serve as the **kazyonny ravvin* (government-appointed rabbi). There was an estimated Jewish population of 8,000 in the city in 1871, which had grown to around 12,000 in 1882 and 35,000 (over 3% of the total population) in 1890, just before the expulsion. The governor of Moscow, Prince Dolgorukov, was known for his liberal attitude toward the Jews, and (after receiving bribes and gifts) the local administration overlooked their illegal presence (as in the case of fictive craftsmen). A considerable number of industrialists and merchants recognized the advantages deriving from Jewish presence in the city, and in a memorandum addressed to the minister of finance in 1882 they pointed out their great contribution to the city's prosperity. While anti-Jewish persecutions and decrees were gaining momentum throughout Russia after the accession of Alexander III, a period of relative ease, the legacy of the previous czar, continued in Moscow. This situation changed completely with the deposition of Prince Dolgorukov and the appointment of Grand Prince Sergei Alexandrovich as governor of the city. During the 14 years (1891–1905) of his term in office, his main aim was "to protect Moscow from Jewry."

The Expulsion

On March 28, 1891 (Passover Eve 5651), a law was issued abolishing the right of Jewish craftsmen to reside in Moscow and prohibiting their entry into the city in the future. The police immediately began to expel thousands of families, some of whom had lived in Moscow for several decades or were even born there. They were granted a period of from three months to a year to dispose of their property, and many were compelled to sell out to their neighbors at derisory prices. The poor and destitute were sent to the Pale of Settlement with criminal transports. On October 15 the right of descendants of the Cantonists to live in the town was abrogated, if they were not registered with the Moscow community. The expulsion reached its climax during the cold winter days of 1892. While the police made a concerted effort to search out the Jews and drive them out of the city, generous rewards were offered for the seizure of any still in hiding. The press was not permitted to report on the details of the expulsion. An appeal to the government made by merchants and industrialists in 1892 and their warning of the economic damage that would result from the expulsion were of no avail. Police sources estimated that about 30,000 persons were expelled. About 5,000 Jews remained – families of some Cantonists, wealthy merchants and their servants, and members of the liberal professions. The Moscow expulsion came as a deep shock to Russian Jewry. A considerable number of those expelled arrived in Warsaw and Lodz and transferred their economic activities there. Decrees regulating residence in Moscow became even more severe. In 1899 the authorities ordered that no more Jewish merchants were to be registered in the first guild unless authorized by the minister of finance. At the height of the expulsion period, the authorities closed down the new synagogue, as well as nine of the 14 prayer houses. Rabbi S.Z. Minor, who requested the reopening of the synagogue, was expelled from the city. The struggle for the use of the synagogue continued for many years and it was not until 1906 that permission was granted for its reopening. In 1897 there were 8,095 Jews and 216 Karaites in Moscow (0.8% of the total population). In 1902 there were 9,339 Jews there, and half of them declared Yiddish as their mother tongue; the overwhelming majority of the others declared it to be Russian. In 1893 J. *Mazeh was elected as rabbi of Moscow, remaining its spiritual leader until his death in 1923. A considerable number of the members of the small community were wealthy merchants and intellectuals. Assimilated Jews (some of whom apostatized) held an important place in the cultural life of the city. In 1911 there were around 700 Jewish students in the higher institutions of learning in Moscow.

After the outbreak of World War I, from 1915, a stream of Jewish refugees began to arrive in Moscow from the German-occupied regions. They took part in the development of war industries in the town and some of them amassed large fortunes. In a short time, Moscow became a Jewish center. Hebrew printing presses were set up, and in the town of Bogorodsk (near Moscow) a large yeshivah was established on the pattern of the Lithuanian yeshivot. The foundations of the Hebrew theater *Habimah were then laid. Among the new rich were Zionists and nationally conscious Jews who were ready to support every cultural activity. Most outstanding of these were H. *Zlatopolsky, his son-in-law Y. Persitz, and A.J. *Stybel. Authorization was given for the publication of a Hebrew weekly, *Ha-Am*. Cultural activity increased in scope with the outbreak of the February 1917 Revolution. It was symbolical that O. *Minor, the son of S.Z. Minor, a leader of the Social Revolutionary Party, was elected as chairman of the Moscow municipal council. *Ha-Am* became a daily newspaper and two large publishing houses, Ommanut (founded by Zlatopolsky and Persitz) and that of A.J. Stybel, were set up. The founding conference of the organization for Hebrew education and culture, *Tarbut, was held in Moscow in the spring of 1917. This activity also continued during the first year of the Bolshevik Revolution (three volumes of *Ha-Tekufah* were published in 1918, as well as others) but the new regime, with the assistance of its Jewish supporters, rapidly liquidated the institutions of Hebrew culture in Moscow. The Habimah theater was more fortunate; it presented An-Ski's *Dibbuk* (*Dybbuk*) in Moscow for the first time in January 1922 and continued to exist under the protection of several prominent members of the Russian artistic and literary world who defended it as a first class artistic institution, until it left the Soviet Union in 1926.

When Moscow became the capital of the Soviet Union, its Jewish population rapidly increased. In 1920 there were 28,000 Jews in the city, which had become severely depopulated as a result of the civil war. By 1923 the number had increased to 86,000 and by 1926 to 131,000 (6.5% of the total population). In 1939 the Jews there numbered 250,181 (6.05% of the total population). The headquarters of the *Yevsektsiya was situated in Moscow, and there its central newspaper. *Der Emes* (1920–38) was published, as well as many other Yiddish newspapers and books. The Jewish State Theater (known in Russian as GOSET from its initials), directed by S. *Mikhoels, was also situated in Moscow. For a number of years, small circles of organized Zionists continued to exist in the city, which was the central seat of the legal *He-Ḥalutz (which published its own newspaper from 1924 to 1926) and of the groups of the Left *Po'alei Zion. All these were liquidated by 1928. During World War II, the Jews shared the sufferings of the war with the city's other inhabitants. From 1943 Moscow was the seat of the Jewish *Anti-Fascist Committee which gathered together personalities of Jewish origin who were outstanding in Soviet public affairs. Founded to assist the Soviet Union in its war effort against Nazi Germany and to mobilize world Jewish opinion and aid for this purpose, it published a newspaper, *Eynikeyt*.

[Yehuda Slutsky]

After World War II

The Anti-Fascist Committee attempted to continue with its activities even after the war, until it was brutally liquidated in 1948–49, as a first step in the total liquidation of organized Jewish life in the "black years" of Stalin's regime. Most of its leading members were arrested and executed in 1952. Because Moscow is the capital and a "window" of the Soviet Union, it has been possible for world Jewry to follow the destinies of Moscow's Jews more than those in other cities, and the latter were more able to meet with Jews from outside the Soviet Union. When Golda *Meir, the first diplomatic representative of the State of Israel, arrived in Moscow in September 1948, a spontaneous mass demonstration of Jews in her honor took place on the High Holidays near and around the Great Synagogue. The mere presence of an Israeli diplomatic mission with an Israeli flag in the center of Moscow was a constant stimulus to Jewish and pro-Israel sentiments among the Jews of Moscow and Jewish visitors from other parts of the Soviet Union. The Israeli delegation to the Youth Festival, held in Moscow in 1957, was the first occasion of personal contacts between Jewish youth from Israel and the U.S.S.R. It is considered to have been a turning point in the revival of Jewish national feelings and their daring demonstration in public on the part of Soviet Jewish youth. Already in 1958, on *Simḥat Torah eve, more than 10,000 young Jews gathered around the Great Synagogue to dance and sing Yiddish and Hebrew songs. They refused to be intimidated by the militia and to disperse. Thus these mass gatherings of young Jews, which also take place on their Jewish holidays, became a traditional feature of Jewish life in Moscow.

In 1955 some elderly Jews were tried and sentenced to several years of imprisonment in labor camps for possessing and distributing Israeli newspapers and Hebrew literature and gathering in groups to read them. For similar "offenses" several Jews of the Great Synagogue congregation were punished in 1963.

In 1970 three synagogues were functioning in the city of Moscow. Apart from the Great Synagogue on Arkhipova Street, there were two small synagogues – in the suburbs of Maryina Roshcha and Cherkizovo, which were wooden buildings, more of the type of a *shtibl* than of a full-fledged synagogue. In addition to them, there was a synagogue in the nearby town of Malakhovka, practically also a suburb of Greater Moscow, which has had a sizable Jewish population from prerevolutionary times. The Great Synagogue and its rabbi (first S. *Schliefer and after his death J.L. *Levin) served the authorities often as unofficial representatives of Soviet Jewry to the outside world.

In the 1950s and 1960s the Great Synagogue was allowed to issue a Jewish calendar and to send it to other synagogues in the U.S.S.R. In 1956 Rabbi Schliefer was granted permission to print a prayer book, by photostat from old prayer books. He named it *Siddur ha-Shalom* ("peace prayer book") and deleted from it all references to wars and victories (as, e.g., in the Ḥanukkah benedictions). It was said to have been printed in 3,000 copies, but it was very rarely seen in other synagogues in the Soviet Union. (A second edition of it was printed, ostensibly in 10,000 copies, in 1968 by Rabbi Levin, but it also was not much in use in Soviet synagogues.) In 1957 Rabbi Schliefer received permission from the authorities to open a yeshivah on the premises of the Great Synagogue. He called it "Kol Ya'akov," and for several years a small number of young and middle-aged Jews (about 12 persons a year), mostly from Georgia, were trained there, almost all of them as *shoḥatim* (ritual slaughterers), whereas the number of ordained rabbis did not exceed one or two. In 1961 the yeshivah, though officially still in existence, almost ceased to function, mainly because of the refusal of the Soviet authorities to grant permission to yeshivah students, who went for the holiday to their homes outside Moscow, to come back and register again as temporary residents of the city for the purpose of study. By 1963, 37 students had passed through the yeshivah; 25 of them were trained as *shoḥatim*. In 1965 only one student was there, and in 1966 the number was six. The unrestricted baking of matzah in a rented bakery and its distribution in food stores was discontinued in Moscow, as in most areas of the Soviet Union, in 1962. However, it was partially permitted again in 1964 and definitely in 1965, but under a different system: it was done under the supervision of the synagogue board and was only for "believers" who brought their own flour and registered their names. The ritual slaughtering of poultry was allowed in the precincts of the Great Synagogue, whereas kosher beef was obtainable until 1964 twice a week at a special store on the outskirts of the city. From 1961 a barrier was erected in the Great Synagogue to separate foreign visitors, including Israeli diplomats, from the congregation, and the synagogue officers were responsible to the authorities for strictly enforcing the segregation.

In 1959, on Rosh Ha-Shanah eve, an anti-Jewish riot took place in Malakhovka, a suburb of Moscow. The synagogue was set afire, but quickly extinguished; the *shammash* of the Jewish cemetery was murdered by unknown persons and on the walls a typewritten antisemitic tract appeared, signed by "the B. Zh. S.R. Committee," the Russian initials of the prerevolutionary antisemitic slogan "Hit the Yids and save Russia." At first Soviet spokesmen denied the facts, but several months later admitted them to foreign visitors, assuring them that the hooligans were apprehended and severely punished. The Soviet press did not mention the incident at all. In 1960 a stir was created among Moscow Jewry when interment at the Jewish cemetery was almost discontinued and Jews were forced to bury their dead in a separate section of a general cemetery. This section was filled up in 1963 and subsequent Jewish burials had to take place alongside non-Jewish ones. Some Jews in various ways obtained the privilege of burying their dead in the remaining space of the old Jewish cemetery, others carried them to the Jewish cemetery of Malakhovka. In the same period several Jews in Moscow were accused, tried, and sentenced to the severest punishment, including execution, for "economic crimes," such as speculation, organizing illicit production and sale of consumer goods in collusion with high officials of the militia, directors of factories, etc. Their trials were accompanied by inflammatory feature articles (called "feuilletons") in the central Moscow press with pronounced antisemitic overtones. However, Moscow was also the center of other developments. In 1959 some Yiddish books, most of them selective works of the classics (*Shalom Aleichem, I.L. *Peretz, D. *Bergelson, etc.), were published there after a prolonged period of the complete obliteration of any printed Yiddish word. Yiddish folklore concerts took place relatively frequently in the city and drew large crowds. Even a semiprofessional theater troupe, headed by the elderly actor Benjamin Schwartzer, was established and mainly performed Shalom Aleichem plays in provincial cities. In 1961 the Yiddish journal **Sovetish Heymland*, edited by an officially appointed editor, the poet Aaron *Vergelis, began to appear as an "organ of the Soviet Writers' Union," first as a bimonthly, later as a monthly. It also served as a kind of Soviet-Jewish mouthpiece for foreign Jews, and visiting Jewish intellectuals were invited to its premises to meet members of its editorial staff. In 1963 and 1965 collections of Israeli Hebrew poetry and prose were published in Russian translation, as well as a Hebrew-Russian dictionary in 1965 (in 25,000 copies), which was sold out in a few weeks.

Contacts with Israel took manifold forms. The Israeli embassy invited to its receptions not only the rabbis and board members of the various synagogues, but also Jewish writers, artists, and other intellectuals. In various sport events, international scientific congresses, and international exhibitions Israel was almost always represented, and often not only Moscow Jews but also Jews from other parts of the Soviet Union, even from outlying regions, came especially to the capital "to see the Israelis." From time to time Israeli popular singers (e.g., Nechama Hendel, Geulah Gil, etc.) and other artists performed in Moscow and aroused great enthusiasm, particularly among young Jews.

The Six-Day War and the rupture of diplomatic relations between the Soviet Union and Israel (June 1967) put an end to these contacts. But, on the other hand, many Moscow Jews, especially the young, began more and more openly to demonstrate their pro-Israel feelings – by continuing increasingly their mass gatherings around the Great Synagogue, by signing collective protests against the refusal to grant them exit permits to Israel, by studying Hebrew in small groups, etc. Unlike other cities, like *Riga, *Leningrad, *Kishinev, and some towns in *Georgia, there were hardly any sanctions applied in Moscow in 1970 against pro-Israel Jews.

In the census of 1959, 239,246 Jews (4.7% of the total population) were registered in the municipal area of Moscow. Of these, 132,223 were women and 107,023 were men. 20,331 of them (about 8.5%) declared Yiddish to be their mother tongue. These numbers are thought to be a gross underestimate because many tens of thousands of Jews declared at the census their "nationality" to be Russian (some opinions evaluate the number of Moscow's Jews as high as 500,000).

Developments from the 1970s

The Six-Day War had a major impact on the life of Moscow Jews, as it had on the life of all Soviet Jewry. It also resulted in a considerable increase in the anti-Israel policy of the Soviet regime in international affairs and an increase in antisemitism domestically. The process of national rebirth which had already begun among many thousands of completely assimilated Jews took various forms. Tens of thousands of young Jews began to congregate in and around Moscow's Choral Synagogue during Jewish holidays, especially Simḥat Torah. With the beginning of mass *aliyah*, the Jews of Moscow played a significant role in the struggle for the right to emigrate. Demonstrations took place in Moscow which attracted Jews from various cities of the Soviet Union. On February 27, 1971, for example, 26 Jewish activists declared a hunger strike in the entrance to the presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R., demanding permission to leave for Israel. Similar demonstrations followed.

Despite resistance from the authorities, the period from the 1960s to the early 1980s saw a process of revival in the cultural and religious life of Moscow's Jews. Dozens of teachers taught Hebrew in their apartments, there were seminars and groups studying Judaism and Jewish history and culture, and a Jewish kindergarten and Sunday schools were organized. In the 1970s and early 1980s a number of Jewish *samizdat* publications appeared in Moscow. These included *Evrei v S.S.R.* ("Jews in the U.S.S.R.," 1972–79, nos. 1–20); *Tarbut*, 1975–79, 1–13, *Nash ivrit* ("Our Hebrew," 1978–80, 1–4). Many *aliyah* activists were arrested during this time. One of the most severe sentences was meted out to Anatoly *Sharansky in 1978, and in 1982 Yosef Begun was imprisoned for the third time.

In 1972 the synagogue in the Cherkizov district was closed. Thereafter, until the early 1990s, only two synagogues were functioning in the city: the Choral Synagogue and the hasidic prayer house in the district of Marina Roshcha. Jacob Fischman served as rabbi of Moscow from 1972 to 1982, when he was succeeded by Adolf Shayevich.

While basically conducting an overtly antisemitic policy, the Soviet authorities occasionally resorted to gestures intended to persuade world public opinion that Jewish culture was flourishing in the country. Thus, in 1978 the so-called Birobidzhan Jewish Musical Chamber Theater was established; from 1981 this theater, despite its name, was based in Moscow. In 1986 the Moscow Jewish Dramatic Ensemble became the Jewish Drama Studio Shalom.

From 1987, during the evolution of glasnost and perestroika, Jewish public life in the Soviet Union flourished. Centers of a number of informal Jewish national organizations were established in Moscow including the Jewish Culture Association (EKA, headed by Mikhail Chlenov), the Zionist Federation of Soviet Jews (president Arye (Lev) Gorodetsky), and the Association for Friendship and Cultural Ties with Israel. A number of Moscow bodies began to function as well: the Moscow Jewish Cultural and Educational Association, the Jewish Information Center, and the cultural religious center Maḥanayim. As part of the an effort to maintain some control of this burgeoning cultural revival, the authorities established the Association of Activists and Friends of Soviet Jewish Culture, which, starting in April 1989, published the newspaper *Vestnik sovetso-evreiskoi kul'tury* ("Bulletin of Soviet Jewish Culture"). A number of Jewish libraries were founded. In late 1988, a yeshivah (headed by the Israeli scholar Rabbi Adin Steinsaltz) was established within the framework of the Academy of World Cultures. Also in 1988–89, branches of the international Jewish organizations Beta, WIZO, and B'nai B'rith were set up in Moscow.

After the failure of the August 19–21, 1991, coup in Moscow, the last barriers to free cultural and political activity in the country fell. Numerous Jewish bodies functioned in the city. Some of these had an All-Russian character, e.g., Va'ad Rosii (the Federation of Jewish Communities and Organizations of Russia (president: M. Chlenov), the Zionist Federation of Russia (chairman: A. Gorodetsky); Tkhiya, the International Center for Research and the Spreading of Jewish Culture (chairman: Leonid Roitman); the Orthodox All-Russian Jewish Religious Community (headed by the now chief rabbi of Russia, Adolf Shayevich). In 1991 a synagogue was opened on Malaya Bronnaya Street. Since that time three Orthodox synagogues have been operating (Rabbi Pinhas Goldschmidt now serves as chief rabbi of the city), as well as Reform and Conservative congregations.

Jewish cultural life exhibits new life. There are several Jewish high schools as well as evening and Sunday schools; a Jewish university, a Jewish Historical Society (chairman: Rashid Kaplanov), and a Jewish Scientific Center (chairman: Vladimir Shapiro). There has been a renewal of the publication of scientific works in Jewish studies: from 1992 *Vestnik evreskogo universiteta v Moskve* ("Bulletin of the Jewish University of Moscow") has appeared regularly, and in 1994 the Moscow-based *Rossiiskaya evreiskaya entsiklopedia* ("The Encyclopedia of Russian Jewry," editor-in-chief: Herman Branover) began publication. *Mazhdunarodnaya evreiskaya gazeta* ("International Jewish Newspaper," editor-in-chief: Tancred Galinpolsky) appears in Russia, while the Yiddish monthly *Idishe gas* ("Jewish Street," editor-in-chief: Aaron Vergelis, formerly the editor of the now defunct Yiddish journal *Sovetish Heymland*) began to appear in January 1993.

With the onset of political freedom, however, various, antisemitic groups also became active. In the late 1980s antisemitic slogans were heard with increasing frequency at public meetings of the "Pamyat" association. Antisemitic articles were printed in the journals *Nash sovremennik* ("Our Contemporary"), *Molodaya Gvardiya* ("Young Guard"), and

Moscow journals and 27 newspapers regularly publish antisemitic material. In April 1992 proto-fascist punks attacked the ḥasidic synagogue in Moscow with Molotov cocktails. In July 1993 the windows of the Choral Synagogue were broken and swastikas daubed on its walls. However, lacking broad support of the masses, the antisemites did not undertake more violent measures. Although the democratic-oriented public opposed antisemitic actions (articles against antisemitism appear regularly in a number of journals), and the Duma or parliament in November 1992 held hearings on antisemitism, where government and public figures condemned the phenomenon. Still, fear of antisemitism, along with the difficult economic situation and concern about the future of democracy in Russia, encouraged some Moscow Jews to emigrate. However, the rate of emigration for Moscow (and St. Petersburg) is much lower than that for the rest of the former U.S.S.R. The 1970 census recorded 251,000 Jews in the city. Estimates of the "core" (self-defined) Jewish population of Moscow based on subsequent census data give figures of 176,000 for 1989, 135,000 for 1994, and 88,000 for 2002, representing 35% of the Jews in the Russian Federation.

[Leonid Preisman (2nd ed.)]

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MOSENTHAL, South African family, who, in successive generations, played a major part in the 19th-century development of the country's commerce, banking, and, especially, agricultural export trade. The family came from Hesse-Cassel, Germany, and the first to immigrate was JOSEPH MOSENTHAL (1813–1871), who settled at the Cape in 1839. He was joined by his brothers ADOLPH (1812–1882) and JULIUS (1819–1880), and the three set up in business in Cape Town as Mosenthal Brothers. The firm continued to flourish under family control until well into the 20th century. From their main business centers in Cape Town, Port Elizabeth, and Graaff Reinet, the Mosenthals spread their activities throughout the Cape Colony, and later through the Transvaal. They established numerous trading posts in the interior and organized transport to and from the coast. Their first interest was the marketing of wool and hides, but they gradually expanded their activities to embrace gold and diamond mining, industrial enterprises, and banking. In the early years they issued their own banknotes, which were widely circulated but were withdrawn by the firm with the development of the colony's commercial banking system.

The Mosenthals made a special study of ostrich farming and opened up export markets for its products. They introduced merino sheep from France and Angora goats from Turkey; Adolph Mosenthal himself went to the Black Sea to arrange for the importation of the goats after earlier attempts had failed. This was the beginning of South Africa's staple mohair industry. In 1857 Julius Mosenthal was the first professing Jew to be elected to the Legislative Council of the Eastern (Cape) Province, and Joseph Mosenthal was elected to the same body in 1861. A fourth brother, Salomon Hermann *Mosenthal, became well known as a Viennese dramatist. Other leading members of the family were HARRY (1850–1915) and WILLIAM (1861–1933), both sons of Adolph.

In the 19th century, the Mosenthals helped a number of German-Jewish immigrants to settle in South Africa. Joseph Mosenthal, like his brothers, was a conforming Jew and was one of the founders of the Cape Town Hebrew Congregation in 1841. In later years the Mosenthals, like many of the other early Jewish families in South Africa, married out of the faith, and their descendants were no longer identified as Jews.

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[Lewis Sowden]

MOSENTHAL, SALOMON HERMANN (1821–1877), German playwright. Mosenthal, who was born in Cassel, was a member of the *Mosenthal family. While studying engineering in Karlsruhe, he published his first poems under the pseudonym "Friedrich Lehner," bringing him into contact with the Swabian Romantic circle. Though intellectual tendencies at that time were turning toward democracy and liberalism, Mosenthal neglected revolutionary impulses and turned toward conservatism. As a consequence, he moved to Vienna (where he worked as a private tutor) in 1842 – just as artistic life was fleeing the Austrian capital and its absolutistic, autocratic spirit. Soon he changed his aesthetic focus and embarked on a career as a playwright. Mosenthal's biggest success was the play *Deborah* (1850), which was adapted for the English stage as *Leah, the Forsaken*. After premiering in Hamburg, it was a success in New York and was performed more than 600 times in London. The play presents an 18th-century love story between Joseph, a minister's son, and Deborah, a passionate, gypsy-like Jewess, who ultimately renounces her love for the sake of Joseph's happiness. Though the highly emotionally charged scenes are soaked with social criticism, it nonetheless never targets contemporary political issues. On the contrary, it celebrates Joseph II as a founding figure of Jewish emancipation. Besides *Deborah* and a few other plays such as *Sonnenwendhof* (1857), Mosenthal wrote several opera libretti, some of them dealing explicitly with Jewish topics, including *Judith* (set to music by Albert Franz Doppler in 1870), *Moses*, and *Die Makkabäer* (set to music by Anton Rubinstein in 1892 and 1874, respectively). His most popular libretto in his lifetime was surely that for Otto Nikolai's *Die lustigen Weiber von Windsor* (*Merry Wives of Windsor*, 1849). In addition, Mosenthal published a volume of stories of characteristic Jewish life, *Bilder aus dem juedischen Familienleben* (1878). Obviously influenced by the genre of "Ghettoliteratur" and its most prominent representative Leopold Kompert, it portrays the problematic and chronically-endangered coexistence of Christians and Jews in Mosenthal's childhood homeland of Hessen. As a civil servant, Mosenthal had an impressive career. In 1849 the University of Marburg – where he had attained his doctorate six years before – awarded him an honorary doctorate. From 1850 onward, he worked in the Austrian ministry of education and was promoted to the rank of privy councilor in 1873. In 1871, he was knighted Ritter von Mosenthal. His collected works were published in six volumes in 1877/78.

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[Samuel L. Sumberg / Philipp Theisohn (2nd ed.)]

MOSER, SIR CLAUDE, BARON (1922–), British statistician and academic. Born in Berlin, Moser immigrated to Britain in 1936. He taught at the London School of Economics from 1946 to 1970, where he was professor of social statistics, as well as serving as senior statistician to the British government and, from 1967 to 1978, as head of the Government Statistical Survey. An eminent statistician, he was elected to the British Academy in 1969. A distinguished academic, Moser served as warden (president) of Wadham College, Oxford, in 1984–93, as president of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, and as a trustee of the British Museum (1988–2002) and chairman of the British Museum Development Trust. He was chancellor of Keele University from 1986 to 2002 and received no fewer than 16 honorary degrees, as well as serving as chancellor of the Open University of Israel from 1994. He received a knighthood in 1973 and a life peerage in 2001.

[William D. Rubinstein (2nd ed.)]

MOSER, JACOB (1839–1922), early British Zionist and a sponsor of the Herzlia High School in Tel Aviv. Born in Kappeln, Schleswig, Moser moved to England in the 1860s and settled in Bradford, where he was a successful woollens merchant. He and his wife engaged in philanthropic activities there, especially the establishment of hospitals and schools for the poor. He joined the Zionist movement with the appearance of Theodor Herzl and was a member of the Zionist General Council, the board of the Jewish Colonial Trust, the Anglo-Palestine Corporation, the Jewish National Fund, and the presidium of a number of Zionist Congresses. At the Eighth Zionist Congress (1907), David *Wolffsohn announced Moser's contribution of 80,000 francs toward the establishment of the first Hebrew high school (in Jaffa) on the condition that the school bear Herzl's name. This was the largest contribution made by an individual to the Zionist Organization up to World War I. Moser visited Ereẓ Israel in 1908 and 1910 and followed the high school's early steps, adding large sums to his contribution, so that the building could be complete, supplies and equipment could be purchased, etc. He also supported other projects in Ereẓ Israel (e.g., Ben-Yehuda's Hebrew dictionary, the Bezalel School of Arts and Crafts, etc.). Moser continued his philanthropic activities until his last years. In 1909 he was chosen an honorary citizen of Bradford and served as its lord mayor in 1910–11.

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[Getzel Kressel]

MOSER, MOSES (1796–1838), banker and a founder of the *Verein fuer Kultur und Wissenschaft des Judentums. An employee (and eventual partner) in the firm of Moses Friedlaender (son of David *Friedlaender), he attended philosophical lectures at Berlin University although he had no formal secondary education. There he met Eduard *Gans, Leopold *Zunz, and other young Jewish intellectuals, with whom he eventually founded the Verein (Nov. 7, 1819). Moser, who exerted a stabilizing and moderating influence within the Verein, was its treasurer (1821–22) and secretary (Nov. 1819; 1822–23). He also gave five lectures and contributed three articles. After the dissolution of the Verein, Moser, the one member esteemed by all, maintained his ties with L. Zunz, E. Wohlwill, and others. However, his most valued and most famous friend was Heinrich *Heine, who in his letters expressed his affection and esteem for Moser. Despite some setbacks the friendship endured. In 1819 Moser and some colleagues joined the patrician society, Gesellschaft der Freunde (founded in 1792 by I. Euchel and J. Mendelssohn), in the vain hope of subverting it from within. Moser eventually became its president (1836–38).

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MOSES (Heb. מֹשֶׁה; LXX, *Mōusēs*; Vulg. *Moyses*), leader, prophet, and lawgiver (set in modern chronology in the first half of the 13th century B.C.E.). Commissioned to take the Israelites out of Egypt, Moses led them from his 80th year to his death at 120 during their wanderings in the wilderness until their arrival at the Plains of Moab.

This article is arranged according to the following outline:

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- **Biography**
  - EARLY LIFE
  - FLIGHT TO MIDIAN AND THE MISSION
  - THE RETURN TO EGYPT AND THE EXODUS
  - CROSSING THE SEA OF REEDS
  - COVENANT AT SINAI AND THE DESERT PERIOD
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- **Critical Assessment**
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  - THE COMMISSIONING AND THE EXODUS
  - LEADER OF THE WANDERINGS THROUGH THE WILDERNESS

        INTERCESSOR
        MEDIATOR OF THE COVENANT AND LAWGIVER
        CULT FOUNDER AND PRIEST
        DEATH AND BURIAL
        UNIQUE STATUS
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      20th-Century Jewish Writers
    In Art
    In Music

BIBLICAL VIEW

The individual accounts of Moses combine to make him the most important biblical figure after God. As a prophet he is incomparable (Num. 12:6–8; Deut. 34:10). In the Bible, he is not only a national leader; it is he who fashions the nation of Israel, transforming a horde of slaves into a people potentially capable of becoming "a treasured possession" and "a kingdom of priests" (Ex. 19:5–6). He is portrayed as Israel's first religious teacher; he gave Israel the Torah – a law of justice, holiness, and loving-kindness. Nevertheless, Scripture portrays Moses as human (Ex. 33:21ff.) and mortal (Deut. 34:5). He had faults as well as virtues, and was punished by the very God whom he taught Israel to worship. Not till the advent of Hellenism was the lawgiver described as *theos aner* ("a divine man"). In the Bible he is only the "human rod" with which God performs wonders.

Biography

The primary sources for the story of Moses' life and works are contained in Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, and Deuteronomy. Additional references are to be found in Joshua, Judges, I Samuel, I and II Kings, Isaiah, Hosea, Micah, Malachi, Psalms, Daniel, Ezra, Nehemiah, and I and II Chronicles. The salient references will be given in the course of the article. Because the stories of Moses originate from different times and places we cannot really reconstruct a biography of Moses. We cannot even be sure that Moses was a historical character. Even if he was, later writers wrote stories about Moses in which the ancient worthy represented their viewpoints. For example, the story in Numbers 12, in which all prophecy other than that of Moses is deemed unreliable, has the aim of elevating Scripture, the written Torah of Moses, at the expense of oral prophecy (Sperling).

EARLY LIFE. Moses' father and mother – Amram and Jochebed – were both of the tribe of Levi; he had an older sister, Miriam, and an older brother, Aaron (Ex. 2:1; 6:16–20; 7:7; Num. 26:59; I Chron. 23:12–14). The future redeemer of Israel was born at the height of the Egyptian persecution of the Israelites. The Pharaoh that "knew not Joseph" (Ex. 1:8) had set taskmasters over the Children of Israel to oppress them with forced labor (Ex. 1:11). In order to reduce their numbers he had also instructed the Hebrew midwives, Shiphrah and Puah, to kill the Israelite boys at birth, but owing to the piety of these women the plan failed (Ex. 1:15ff.). Thereupon Pharaoh charged all his people to throw every newborn Hebrew boy into the Nile (Ex. 1:22). Jochebed succeeded in concealing the infant Moses for three months (Ex. 2:2). Thereafter she made a wicker basket for him, caulked with bitumen and pitch, and placed it among the reeds of the river, while his unnamed sister watched from a distance. Pharaoh's daughter, spying the basket when she came down to bathe, ordered one of her maids to fetch it. The princess took pity on the crying babe and decided to adopt him. At the sister's suggestion Moses' own mother was given the task of nursing the child until he was old enough to be returned to Pharaoh's daughter. In this way Moses the Hebrew was, ironically, brought up as a prince in Pharaoh's own palace. The hand of providence is manifest in these events; Pharaoh's very plan of destruction became part of the divine design of redemption. The wondrous story is also intended to indicate the historic destiny awaiting the child. Possibly even his name *Moshe* is a pointer in this direction. The popular etymology (undoubtedly *Moshe* is an Egyptian name, probably meaning "son") "I drew him out of the water" (Ex. 2:10) should logically have required the form *mashui* ("one that has been drawn out"), not *moshe* ("one that draws out"). But the infant was one day to "draw out" his people from the Sea of Reeds and bondage. (See Isa. 63:11–12 and below.)

Although Moses was reared as an Egyptian, he remained conscious of his origin and sympathetic to his kindred. When he grew to manhood, he went out to his brethren and witnessed their tribulations. His early Egyptian upbringing seems to have been a necessary stage in the process of fitting him for his future role as Israel's liberator. His outlook was molded by a sense of freedom that his kinsfolk could not enjoy. Though "learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians" (Acts 7:22), he was outraged by his first contact with the realities of the bondage. He saw an Egyptian beating a Hebrew slave and, overcome by an irresistible feeling of righteous indignation, he slew the Egyptian and hid him in the sand, thinking his deed would not be discovered. His second experience was even sadder: he found two Hebrews fighting. His intervention drew from the aggressor the retort: "Who made you chief and ruler over us? Do you mean to kill me as you killed the Egyptian?" To escape Pharaoh's wrath, Moses fled to Midian (Ex. 2:11–15).

FLIGHT TO MIDIAN AND THE MISSION. In Midian, Moses, always the foe of unrighteousness rose again in defense of the persecuted. He saved the daughters of the priest Reuel (also called Jethro, Jether, and Hobab), who had come to water their father's flocks, from the hands of the bullying local shepherds. As a result of the incident Moses stayed with the priest and married his daughter Zipporah, by whom he had two sons, Gershom and Eliezer (Ex. 2:15–22; 18:3–4; cf. Judg. 18:30; I Chron. 23:15–17). A turning point in his life came when he witnessed a theophany in the region of Horeb. He saw a bush aflame with a fire that did not consume it. On turning aside to investigate the marvelous sight, he heard the voice of a god, whose name he did not know, calling him. In the vision God bade Moses redeem Israel from Egypt, where a new king now reigned. Moses resisted the divine commission, with many new excuses. The dialogue veers in different directions. Four times Moses changes the course of his argument: he feels inadequate to the task; he inquires by what name God is to be announced to the Israelites; he doubts that the Children of Israel will listen to him; he protests that he is slow of speech. Patiently God answers each objection. He would be with Moses and the fact that the Israelites, when they left Egypt, would serve the Lord at this mountain would be a sign to him that God had sent him; he was to tell his people that "I am that I am" had spoken to him; and He who gives humans the power of speech would teach him what to say. Together with the elders he was to ask Pharaoh's permission for the Israelites to go on a three-day journey into the wilderness to sacrifice to the Lord, although the request would certainly be refused. To help him convince the Israelites, the Lord gave Moses three wondrous signs (the rod becomes a snake and is restored to its former state; his hand becomes afflicted with a skin disease (see *Leprosy) and is healed; the Nile water, poured out on the ground, turns to blood). But still, without further rational argument, Moses refuses. The Lord is angered, but promises to let Aaron be Moses' spokesman, and bids him take the rod with which to perform the signs (Ex. 3:1–4:17; 7:1).

The wonders wrought by Moses both in Egypt and in the wilderness have special quality. Moses' "signs and portents" served as evidence of God's will. Moses' "call" has no biblical parallel. Even Gideon (Judg. 6:11–24) and Jeremiah (1:4–10) in the end accepted the divine commission unconditionally.

THE RETURN TO EGYPT AND THE EXODUS. Moses' initial efforts were frustrating. At the very beginning of his homeward journey an obscure incident occurred that almost proved fatal to Moses; he was only saved by the timely action of Zipporah in circumcising their son (Ex. 4:24–26). Pharaoh responded to the request of Moses and Aaron by augmenting the people's burdens. Henceforth they were to provide their own straw for making the bricks. Understandably the Israelites lost confidence in their would-be redeemer, who was himself discouraged (Ex. 4:27–5:23).

Events now assume a new dynamic. In a second revelation God announced: "I am the Lord. I appeared to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob as El Shaddai ["Almighty"], but I did not make Myself known to them by My name YHWH" (Ex. 6:2–3). The divine announcement means that according to the Priestly source, the Tetragrammaton (YHWH, the four-letter name of God) was first revealed to Moses. Names in the Bible are not merely labels but descriptive epithets. They are particularly significant when applied to God. YHWH, elaborated in the enigmatic "I am that I am," expressed the abiding providence that would sustain the people. (cf. Ex. 3:12).

Pharaoh's hardness of heart (for the statement "And the Lord hardened the heart of Pharaoh" see *God) called for sterner measures. By means of a series of ten devastating plagues (blood, frogs, gnats, swarm of flies, pest, boils, hail, locusts, darkness, death of the firstborn – humans and beasts), arranged schematically (see U. Cassuto, *Exodus* (1967), 92ff.), Pharaoh's resistance and tergiversations were gradually overcome. Before the incidence of the final and climactic plague, the Israelites were enjoined to offer up a sacrifice on the 14th of the first month (Abib = later, Nisan), and to daub the lintel and the two doorposts with its blood: "For when the Lord goes through to smite the Egyptians, He will see the blood… and will pass over (or: "protect") the door and not let the destroyer enter or smite your home" (Ex. 12:23). The last plague brought immediate surrender. The departure of the Israelites was now speeded by the panic-stricken Egyptians with the utmost impatience, so that the people had to take their dough before it was leavened and baked unleavened cakes (Ex.6:10–12:36).

The Israelites, accompanied by "a mixed multitude" Exodus, left Egypt on the 15th of what would later be called Nisan. Already in Egypt they had eaten the Passover/*Pesaḥ* sacrifice ("because He passed over/protected the houses of the Israelites"), instituted the Feast of Unleavened Bread ("for there was no time for the dough of our fathers to become leavened"), and promulgated the law of the consecration of the firstborn ("at the time that I smote every firstborn in the land of Egypt, I consecrated every firstborn in Israel, human and beast, to Myself").

CROSSING THE SEA OF REEDS. Pharaoh, however, soon repented his liberating act. The urgency with which the Israelites were expelled from Egypt was matched by the haste with which Pharaoh sought to recapture his slaves. The final scene was enacted by the Sea of Reeds. Hemmed in between the sea and the Egyptian cohorts, with only the pillar of cloud (of fire, by night) between the fugitives and their pursuers, the Israelites cried to the Lord, the only power that could now save them. The end came with dramatic swiftness. Moses sundered the waters with his rod; Israel crossed the seabed dry-shod, but their would-be captors were drowned by the returning waters (Ex. 14). The ode of triumph that Moses and the Children of Israel sang after their deliverance from the Egyptians (Ex. 15) is one of the most beautiful psalms in the Bible. Characteristically it contains no mention of Moses, just as the creedal recital in connection with the first fruits has no reference to the liberator (Deut. 26:5–9). The glory and the thanksgiving are accorded solely to the Lord.

COVENANT AT SINAI AND THE DESERT PERIOD. The ultimate goal lay ahead at Mount Horeb (Sinai), where in the third month after the Exodus the people were to witness the revelation of God, hear the Decalogue issuing forth from Sinai, and declare their eternal loyalty to the Divine Law in the words, "All that the Lord has spoken we will do and obey" (Ex. 19: 1ff.; 24:7). Israel entered into a covenant with the Lord (24:8), of which the Ten Words or *Decalogue, usually called the Ten Commandments, formed the preamble and the Torah precepts the conditions. The covenant with YHWH is depicted as the real purpose of the Exodus. Freedom was not just the negation of servitude. Even the plagues were intended not only to humble Pharaoh, but to establish divine sovereignty over Israel.

The Torah's narratives describe a descent; from the sublime heights of God's mountain Israel plunged into the abyss of the *Golden Calf. The narrative is not descriptive history but rather a polemic against the cult established by *Jeroboam I. According to the calf narrative, Moses had ascended the mountain of the Lord to receive the tablets of the Decalogue and spent 40 days and nights there. Disturbed by Moses' delay in returning to the camp, the Israelites persuaded Aaron to make them a god that would go before them, since they did not know what had happened to their leader. The bovine image that Aaron produced was to serve as a surrogate for Moses, and in Aaron's view probably only represented God's visible throne. It nevertheless constituted unforgivable religious treason, for the people regarded the calf as an actual deity ("These are your gods, O Israel"), and the lawgiver, conscious of the spiritual catastrophe that had befallen Israel, shattered the tablets of the Decalogue. For the Judahite author of this anti-Northern polemic, the covenant had been broken; the calf and the Ten Words could not exist in juxtaposition.

Moses ground the idol to dust and made the Israelites drink its powdered remains. With the help of the loyal tribe of Levi he slew 3,000 of the idolators. Then, in a heartrending supplication, he interceded with the Lord for his people: "But now, if Thou will forgive their sin – and if not, blot me, I pray Thee, out of Thy book which Thou has written." God forgave, in accordance with His attributes (cf. Ex. 34:7). Again Moses ascended the mountain and received a new copy of the Decalogue. He was also vouchsafed deeper insight into the divine glory and character (Ex. 34:6–7). Moses was also given credit for the establishment of – the *Mishkan* ("Dwelling Place"; usually called the Tabernacle). It was the sequel, as it were, of the theophany on Mount Sinai; it was the symbol of God's continuing presence. Although Moses performed certain sacerdotal functions on special occasions (Ex. 24:6; Lev. 8:6ff.), and is even called a priest in Psalm 99:6, he is never actually portrayed as such in the Torah. The Tent of Meeting, referred to in Exodus 33:7–11, is not to be identified with the Tabernacle. It was Moses' own tent, which served temporarily as a meeting place between him and God, until the time of "wrath was past." It was pitched outside the camp, which had been recently defiled by idolatry (see Rashi, Ibn Ezra, and Naḥmanides to Ex. 33:7; Cassuto, *Exodus* (1967), 429ff.).

The desert wanderings were, according to the Torah, a period of constant tension and crisis. The people lacked food and were not content with the manna; at times they demanded meat (Ex. 16:12ff.; Num. 11:4–6; 21:5). Often they were in need of drinking water (Ex. 15:23ff.; 17:2–7; Num. 20:1–13). On one occasion, when Moses struck the rock to produce water, instead of speaking to it, he was himself condemned for lack of faith (Num. 20:7–13). Repeatedly the people murmured and even threatened to leader to redirect themselves and return to Egypt (Ex. 5:21; 14:11–12; 15:24; 16:28; 17:2–7; Num. 11:4–6; 14:1–4; 20:2–5; 21:4–5). Of the 12 spies sent to investigate the nature of the Promised Land, ten brought back an unfavorable report: the land was exceedingly fertile (as evidence they showed a huge cluster of grapes), but unconquerable; moreover it devoured its inhabitants. Caleb and Joshua, who gave an encouraging account, failed to convince the people, and in consequence the entire generation (except Joshua and Caleb) were condemned to die in the wilderness and not enter the Land (Num. 13–14). The weary people were prey to all kinds of dangers. The Levite *Korah (Moses' cousin), aided by Dathan, Abiram, and On of the tribe of Reuben, accused Moses and Aaron of self-aggrandizement, and advanced a claim to the priesthood. The challenge and its implicit peril are reflected in the punishment meted out to the rebels: the earth swallowed them up and thousands of others died through plague (Num. 16–17). Even Miriam and Aaron criticized Moses on account of the Cushite woman (a black woman whose origin was Cush, modern day Sudan) whom he had married (Num. 12). Only after 40 years of wandering was Israel's goal in sight. Skirting Edom (Esau's territory), which would not permit them to pass through, and warned not to seize any Ammonite territory (Deut. 2:19), the wanderers were engaged in battle by Sihon the Amorite and Og, king of Bashan. The Israelites defeated both these kings and divided their lands among the tribes of Reuben, Gad, and the half-tribe of Manasseh (Num. 21:4–35; 32:1–42). While the period of the wilderness is depicted in the Pentateuch as a turbulent age, the prophets, in contrast, emphasize its positive aspects. In the desert the Children of Israel had evinced an unforgettable love of the Lord (Jer. 2:1–3).

Interestingly, though the Torah describes the priesthood as hereditary, Joshua, and not one of Moses' sons, was appointed by the lawgiver to be his successor. In regard to the judiciary, Moses accepts Jethro's advice in reorganizing the judicial system and selecting judges who can be taught the laws and expected to be honest (Ex. 18); in contrast to Numbers 11 in which judges are deemed to have prophetic vision. The numbering of the people (Num. 1:2ff.; 26:1ff.), the sending of emissaries to Edom (Num. 20:14) and to Sihon (21:21–22), and even the appointment of scouts to spy out the land (13:2ff.; 21:32; Deut. 1:22–23) are more secular than prophetic.

THE LAST DAYS. In the Plains of Moab Moses' life began to draw to its close. Miriam and Aaron had already died (Num. 20:1, 24–29); Moses, too, was denied entry by the Lord into the land that was the lodestar of his hopes. All his pleadings were in vain (Deut. 3:25). Instead Moses was bidden to appoint Joshua as his successor (Num. 27:16–23; Deut. 1:8; 31:3, 14, 23), and on the borders of the Promised Land the aged leader delivered three hortatory addresses (Deut. 1–4; 5–28; 29–30) in which he reviewed the history of the 40-years' wandering and gave a resume of the Torah Code. After admonishing and blessing his people and viewing the land from the top of Pisgah, he died at the age of 120 by the command of the Lord, and was buried by Him in an unknown grave (Deut. 34). The tomb of Moses was not to become a cultic site, a clear indication that such claims about the site were known to the writer (see below). The valedictory song (*Ha'azinu*) that Moses taught the Children of Israel (Deut. 32) and the testamentary benedictions (Deut. 33) form an epilogue to the biblical account of Moses. The tribute to Moses with which the Torah concludes (Deut. 34:10–12) underscores the uniqueness of Moses' character and achievements.

[Israel Abrahams]

Critical Assessment

(Note: Although there are certain overlaps between this section and that preceding, they have been retained so as not to impair the unity of either section (Ed.)).

No primary source of information on Moses exists outside the Bible. The Pentateuch is the main repository of the traditions regarding Moses' life and work. Some biblical allusions to Moses depend on the Pentateuch, while others are independent, e.g., Hosea 12:14, Micah 6:4 and Isaiah 63:11, and genealogical notices in Judges 1:16; 4:11; 18:30; I Chronicles 23:14–15. For critical treatment, the data are collected by topics in the following paragraphs: the pentateuchal data are followed by the extra-pentateuchal, and then assessed critically. The order of appearance in the narrative is followed in the main.

BIRTH STORY. Moses was born in Egypt to Levite parents – Amram son of Kohath son of Levi, and Jochebed daughter of Levi, Amram's aunt (Ex. 6:20; Num. 26:59; I Chron. 5:29; 23:13). He was their third child, after Aaron (older by three years, Ex. 7:7) and Miriam (older still, cf. 2:4). He was placed by his mother in the Nile to protect him from Pharaoh's decree against male infants of the Hebrews. Found by Pharaoh's daughter, he was returned to his mother for nursing, but later brought back to the princess who adopted him and named him *Moshe*, "explaining, 'I drew him out [*meshitihu*] of the water'" (Ex. 2:1–10).

The story contains generic elements that are discounted by historians. The infant castaway who grows up to be a hero is considered a legendary motif; it appears, for example, in the birth stories of Sargon of Akkad (Pritchard, Texts, 119) and Cyrus (Herodotus 1: 107ff.); an Egyptian myth tells of the concealment of the infant god Horus by his mother among marsh reeds to protect him from Seth (Helck). Yet, the representation of Israel's savior as being of Egyptian provenance and rearing (though, to be sure, of Hebrew stock) is singularly unstereotypical, and is supported by the Egyptian names of other Levites – Phinehas, Merari, Hophni, and perhaps Aaron and Miriam as well (Albright). The name of Moses too is probably to be derived from the final, verbal element in such Egyptian names as Ptah-mose ("Ptah is born"), which occurs independently in names of the New Kingdom (Griffiths). Connection with Hebrew *mashah*, "draw out," like other such name interpretations, is based on assonance rather than etymology (e.g., the connection of Noah with the unrelated verb *nḥm*; Gen. 5:29); as a Hebrew name, *Moshe* is of very rare, if not unique, formation. (The derivation of the Greek form *Mōusēs* from Egyptian *môu*, "water," and *esês*, "saved," given by Josephus (Ant. 2:228; cf. Apion 1:286; Philo, I Mos. 17), has no bearing on the Hebrew (Černý in Griffiths, see bibl.)).

Moses' connection with the Levites figures in the *Golden Calf story (Ex. 32:26ff.) and in Judges 18:30, where one of his Levite descendants (see below) is said to have founded the priestly line of the Danite sanctuary (cf. also the later Levitical status of Moses' descendants. I Chron. 23:14). His relationship to Aaron shares the obscurity surrounding the origins of the Aaronide priesthood. Friction between Moses and the Levites on the one hand and Aaron on the other appears in the Golden Calf story and suggests a background of rival ecclesiastical lines. But Aaron's impunity speaks for a high rank independent of Moses – in which respect he is Moses' "brother" and peer. Moses, Aaron, and Miriam are linked in Numbers 12:1–2 and with the Exodus in Micah 6:4; such a family of spiritual persons is unknown in later Israel, but has numerous extra-biblical analogues.

EARLY MANHOOD AND SOJOURN IN MIDIAN. Forced to flee Egypt because of his fatal intervention on behalf of a Hebrew slave, Moses rescues the shepherdess daughters of a Midianite priest from other shepherds who had driven them off. Invited to join the priest's family, he marries his daughter, Zipporah – who bears him two sons, Gershom and Eliezer – and tends his flocks (Ex. 2:10–22; 18:3–4). The episodes of Moses' early manhood foreshadow his career as a savior of the oppressed; they are poetically apt but historically unverifiable. His flight to Midian recalls the story of the Egyptian official Si-nuhe who, having fallen out of favor at the court, fled to Syria, where he settled and married among Semitic tribes (Pritchard, Texts, 18ff.). The tradition of Moses' Midianite connection is unclear in details. His father-in-law is variously named Reuel (Ex. 2:18; cf. Num. 10:29), Hobab (Judg. 4:11; cf. Num. 10:29) and *Jethro-Jether (Ex. 3:1; 4:18; 18:1ff.). A wife of Moses is called a Cushite (Num. 12:1) – considered by some to be of the tribe Cushan, a synonym of Midian in Habakkuk 3:7 (cf. W.F. Albright, in: BASOR, 83 (1941) 34, n. 8), and thus identical with Zipporah, though the absence of cross reference is remarkable. Yet the later alliance with Israel of the nomad Kenites, descendants of Hobab (Judg. 1:16; 4:11; I Sam. 15:6ff.), coupled with the enmity between Midian and Israel that began in the pre-settlement age and continued for generations (Num. 22:4ff.; 31:1ff.; Judg. 6–7), supports the historicity of an early connection between Israel and a Midianite group – the Kenites, relatives of Moses.

THE COMMISSIONING AND THE EXODUS. Once while tending the flocks deep in the wilderness at the Mountain of God, Moses was surprised by a call out of a burning bush to become God's agent in the deliverance of Israel front bondage. God's name, YHWH, was revealed and interpreted to him, and identified with the God of the Patriarchs. Returning to Egypt with (Ex. 4:20) or without (18:2) his family, Moses was rebuffed by Pharaoh, re-commissioned by God, and armed with wonders to bring Pharaoh to his knees. A climactic series of plagues forced the king to release the Israelites. After executing the protective rite of the paschal sacrifice, which saved them from the final plague of the firstborn, the Israelites marched out of Egypt. Soon, however, the Egyptians set out to retake them. Overtaken at the Sea of Reeds, the Israelites escaped through the miraculously divided sea, while the pursuing Egyptians were drowned as the waters closed back on them. Thereupon the people "believed (i.e., attributed the quality of reliability to) in YHWH and in Moses, his servant" and sang a triumphal hymn to God (Ex. 3–15).

The present form of the burning bush story is a composite and elaborated account of the call of the first messenger of God to Israel. Its essence – the overpowering, unavoidable command to go on God's mission – reappears in all accounts of prophetic calls; there is little reason to doubt that it was the experience of the founder of the line (cf. the succession listed in I Sam. 12:8, 11). An allusion to this story seems to be contained in the divine epithet "Bush-Dweller" found in the (tenth-century?) Blessing of Moses (Deut. 33:16). The antiquity of the worship of YHWH and of his association with the "Mountain of God" variously named Horeb and Sinai is problematic. Pre-Mosaic worship of YHWH as a deity whose seat was in the wilderness south of Palestine is hinted at by 14th-century Egyptian references to "a land of the bedouin of YHWH" adjacent to Edom the (cf. provenance of YHWH in the old poems, Deut. 33:2; Judg. 5:4–5, and in Hab. 3:3), and the association of YHWH with Horeb-Sinai prior to Israel's coming there is suggested by Exodus 19:4 ("and brought you to me"). To be sure, Moses is depicted as ignorant of the sanctity of the place (as Jacob was of the sanctity of Beth-El, "the gate of heaven" (Gen. 18:16)) and his experience and conception of YHWH have no known antecedents, but some link with prior religious data cannot be ruled out (though the speculative association of *Kenites-*Midianites with YHWH worship has little to stand on).

The new significance of YHWH with the advent of Moses is indicated by the appearance of the first names bearing an element of the tetragrammaton in connection with Moses: Jochebed and Joshua; no such element occurs in theophoric names of the patriarchal age (on which fact light is shed by Ex. 6:3; modern criticism follows the acute suggestion of the Karaite Jeshua b. Judah (cited by Ibn Ezra, ad loc.) that occurrences of the tetragrammaton in divine communications with the Patriarchs is anachronistic, cf. *Pentateuch). The conception of the messenger or agent of YHWH, sent and equipped with wondrous signs to help Israel, has its first embodiment in Moses and is a distinctive and dominant feature of Israelite religion thereafter. That a new start was made with the God YHWH and his apostle Moses is the core of the burning bush story; the discontinuity that must be postulated at the beginning of Israel's history makes it credible. Moses plays a central role in the story of the *Plagues of Egypt and the Exodus, dramatically woven out of various strands of tradition (see *Exodus, Book of). The line of song ascribed to Miriam in Exodus 15:21 appears as the opening of a triumphal hymn to God in 15:1, which can hardly be detached from it (though verses 12–18 may be a later element), and must be allowed the same antiquity. Reflexes of these traditions, assigning a primary role to Moses, appear in Hosea 12:14 and Micah 6:4 datable to the eighth century; of indeterminate pre-Exilic date are the references in Joshua 24:5 and Psalms 105:26 to the role of Moses and Aaron in the plagues, and in I Samuel 12:6, 8 and Psalms 77:21 (where an echo of Ex. 15:13 occurs) to the brothers' part in the Exodus. Moses is linked with the parting of the sea in the post-Exilic Isaiah 63:11 (where, in the received Hebrew, a pun on Moses' name may appear (*mosheh ʿammo*, "who drew his people out [of the water]"); but the Septuagint lacks these words, and various manuscripts and the Syriac version read *mosheh ʿavdo*, "his servant Moses").

LEADER OF THE WANDERINGS THROUGH THE WILDERNESS. Moses conducted the people into the wilderness, aiming for "the Mountain of God" (cf. Ex. 3:12). On the way he had to organize them under the headship of his aide-de-camp, Joshua, into a fighting force to fend off marauding Amalekites (Ex. 17:8ff.). At Sinai, the first threat to his new faith appeared in the Golden Calf apostasy; Moses met it with harsh resolution, executing the offenders with the help of his Levite kinsmen (Ex. 32). At Sinai, too, Moses established the administrative organs of the people: advised by Jethro, he appointed a hierarchy of deputies to govern and judge them (Ex. 18:13ff.; Deut. 1:9ff.), whose military titles ("officers of thousands, hundreds, fifties, tens") accord with the disposition of the people, after their census, as an army (Num. 1–2). (For the revelation at Sinai, see below.) After celebrating the second Passover (Num. 9), Israel made ready to march on to the Promised Land. Moses requested his father-in-law's service as guide along the way (Num. 10:29ff.); then, with the Ark in the lead, Moses invoked YHWH's victory over all his enemies, and set off (Num. 10:35–36). The post-Sinai part of the wilderness wanderings was filled with challenges to Moses' authority (see next section). Numbers 11:11–12, 16ff. tells of the appointment of 70 elders, inspired by God with some of Moses' spirit to enable them to share the burden of leadership with Moses (but Ex. 24:9ff. seems to suppose their presence already at Sinai). The worst crises came with the demoralizing report of the spies sent from Kadesh to reconnoiter Canaan, and the failure of the subsequent rash attempt to invade directly, made in defiance of Moses' prohibition (Num. 13–14). Frustration induced by the prolonged, forced stay in the wilderness bred the revolt of *Korah and 250 chief men against the authority of Moses and Aaron (Num. 16), which ended with their miraculous destruction. Moses had to crush a second apostasy, incited by Moabite-Midianite women (on the advice of Balaam (Num. 22:16)), at Shittim, in Transjordan (Num. 25). Moses' martial achievements came at the close of his career. His request for peaceful passage through Amorite Transjordan having been denied, Moses led successful campaigns against the kings *Sihon and *Og and, after a preliminary reconnaissance, against the region of Jazer (Num. 21:21ff.; Deut. 2:24–3:11). He allocated the land to the tribes of Reuben, Gad, and half-Manasseh after their oath to participate in the conquest of Cisjordan (Num. 32; Deut. 3:12ff.; Josh. 13:15ff.), and reserved in it three cities of refuge (Deut. 4:41ff.; but cf. Josh. 20:8, which dates this act to the time of Joshua). His last campaign was a retributive war against Midian (Num. 31). In the last year of the wanderings, Moses appointed Eleazar to succeed his father, Aaron, in the priestly duties (Num. 20:23ff.), and his aide, Joshua, to succeed him in the leadership of the people (Num. 27:15ff.; Deut. 31).

The credibility of the wilderness narratives is impaired by their inconsistency (e.g., with respect to the 70 elders; and see the next section), chronological obscurities (e.g., the events in Num. 20–21 and their relation to Deut. 1–2), apparent doublets (e.g., Num. 21:1–3 and 14:45), and divergent itineraries (especially in Num. 33:17ff., which, e.g., has no trace of a southern movement from Kadesh, contrast 14:25, and in 14:41ff. which traces a route arriving at the Plains of Moab without circling the lands of Edom and Moab; contrast Num. 21:4; Deut. 2). Moreover, the presence of Moses is not consistent throughout this material (e.g., Num. 21:1–3), so that critics have assumed that data on tribal movements other than those led by Moses have been combined in these narratives (on the supposition that the migration of the Hebrews was not the single movement into which tradition has characteristically simplified it). Finally, the trek through the Sinai desert at the necessary time period is belied by the extensive archaeological studies of the Sinai following the 1967 Israeli victory.

INTERCESSOR. The stories of Israel's trials of God during their journey fall into two groups: the pre-Sinai trials, in which God's saving power is shown after Moses cries to God, or through a wonder announced by Moses (Ex. 14:15; 15:25; 16:1ff.; 17:4, 11), and the post-Sinai trials, in which the people, though answered, are punished for their faithlessness. Moses is still instrumental in supplying the people's needs, but he now must also intercede on their behalf to assuage God's anger. Moses' first intercession was his recrimination against God for allowing Israel's suffering to increase after his first audience with Pharaoh (Ex. 5:22–23). The longest is in the Golden Calf story – Moses' dramatic plea to God to rescind His decree of annihilation, then to agree to accompany Israel in their journey to the Promised Land. Banking on his favor with God, Moses cajoles Him to reveal to him His "ways," i.e., His merciful attributes (in effect a broader definition of His name; note the similarity of Ex. 33:13, 19 to 3:13–14), upon hearing which he presses God to forgive Israel (Ex. 32–34). Only less dramatic is Moses' other great confrontation with God, wrathful over Israel's disbelief in his capacity to give them victory over the Canaanites. Once again God threatens to destroy Israel, and once again Moses intercedes mightily on Israel's behalf, invoking God's revealed attribute of mercy, and calling upon him to manifest His strength through forbearance (Num. 14:11ff.). Further intercessions occur at Taberah (Num. 11), at the time of Miriam's leprosy (Num. 12), at the rebellion of Korah ("Will one man sin and you rage at the whole community?" Num. 16:22), and at the plague of serpents – to cure which Moses made a *copper serpent (Num. 21:4ff.). Tradition coupled Moses and Samuel as the archetypal intercessors on Israel's behalf (Jer. 15:1). A striking figure, taken from Ezekiel 22:30, is applied to Moses in the post-Exilic Psalm 106:23: "He would have destroyed them, had not Moses, His chosen one, stood in the breach in front of Him, to keep His wrath from destroying them." Psalm 103:7 alludes to Moses' eliciting God's attributes, and cites a few of them. The formulas of intercession in the two major narratives of Exodus 32–34 and Numbers 14 are doubtless part of a liturgical tradition (cf. Joel 2:13) whose attribution to Moses cannot be verified. The intercessory role of later prophets is firmly established; the depiction of Moses as a master of this role accords with his status as founder of Israel's prophetic line (see below), and may well be authentic. Singular authentication is given to Moses' copper serpent: down to the eighth century a copper serpent ascribed to Moses was lodged in the Jerusalem Temple; King Hezekiah ordered it cut down because the people were making burnt offerings to it (II Kings 18:4).

MEDIATOR OF THE COVENANT AND LAWGIVER. At Sinai, Moses negotiated Israel's acceptance of God's offer of a covenant, prepared the people for the covenant theophany, led them to God for the theophany, and strengthened them to sustain the experience (Ex. 19–20). The people heard the *Decalogue directly from God; Deuteronomy 5:5, however, insinuates Moses between the parties "to tell you what God spoke." Shattered by the experience, the people asked Moses to be their intermediary with God henceforth (Ex. 20:18–21 [15–18]; Deut. 5:20–28). Moses then received detailed stipulations of the covenant ("the *Book of the Covenant," Ex. 24:7) which he related to the people, and upon securing their assent to be bound by them, wrote down and ratified them in a solemn ceremony (Ex. 24:3–11). Later he received the written form of the Decalogue on stone tablets, which he deposited in the Ark of the Covenant (Ex. 24:12; 32:15–16; 34:1, 28–29; Deut. 9:9ff.; 10:1ff.). According to Deuteronomy, Moses recited all these stipulations to the generation about to enter Canaan during his last days, in the Plains of Moab. He concluded the recitation with warnings, blessings, and curses, then committed it to writing and deposited the document – "the Book of Torah" – in the Ark, alongside the tablets (Deut. 31:9, 24ff.). In between the two covenant-makings, at the beginning and at the end of the journey through the wilderness, Moses received a host of ritual, religious, and moral injunctions, in the Tent of Meeting at Sinai and in the Plains of Moab (Lev. 1:1ff.; 26:46; 27:34; Num. 36:13). In addition to these large and small collections of injunctions, issued at the initiative of God, Moses sought and received oracular decisions in difficult cases, as need arose. This role was reserved for him in the administrative organization of the camp suggested by Jethro (Ex. 18:19–20) and its performance is illustrated in the cases of the blasphemer (Lev. 24), the Sabbath breaker (Num. 15:32ff.), and the daughters of Zelophehad (Num. 27; cf. Num. 36). The figure of Moses as the mediator of God's laws and admonitions to Israel appears in biblical literature influenced by Deuteronomy and in post-Exilic writings. Thus the deuteronomistically edited Book of Joshua is haunted by Moses, the lawgiver; indeed it reads as the record of fulfillment of Moses' admonitions (e.g., 1:1ff.; 4:10ff.; 8:31ff.; 11:15ff.; 14:6, 9; 17:4; 20:2). Material in the same spirit and style is found in Kings: I Kings 2:3; 8:53, 56; II Kings 14:6; 18:6; 21:8; 23:25. In writings of the Persian period, Moses appears exclusively as the author of the Torah and the founder of Israel's sacred institutions (Mal. 3:22; Ezra 3:2; Neh. 1:7ff.; 8:1, 14; 9:14; 10:30; I Chron. 6:34; 21:29; II Chron. 8:13; 24:6; 35:6, 12). For a critical assessment of this representation of Moses, see the end of the next section.

CULT FOUNDER AND PRIEST. Moses not only proclaimed the proper name of God, by which He was henceforth to be invoked in worship ("This shall be My name forever/This My appellation [*zikhri*, lit. 'call-word'] for all time," Ex. 3:15), he instructed Israel in YHWH's sacred seasons-starting with Passover and *maẓẓot* (Ex. 12) and the Sabbath (Ex. 16) and proceeding to the whole cultic calendar and its related prescribed sacrifices (Ex. 23:14ff.; 34:18ff.; Lev. 23; Num. 28:29; Deut. 16). The non-festival sacrificial system, too, was ordained by him (Lev. 1–7). He received the blueprint of the Tabernacle and supervised its construction (Ex. 25–31; 35–40). He inaugurated it and consecrated its clergy (Lev. 8). Moses is described as exercising specific priestly functions (e.g., handling the blood of sacrifice) both in the ceremony of covenant ratification (Ex. 24:6, 8) and during the inauguration of the Tabernacle and priesthood (Lev. 8).

Only two allusions to Moses' priestly aspect occur in extra-pentateuchal writing: Psalm 99:6 counts Moses with Aaron as a priest of YHWH (traditional exegetes refer this to his role in Lev. 8), and the priesthood of the Danite sanctuary traced their line to a descendant of Moses (Judg. 18:30 – crediting the talmudic notice that the suspended *nun* of "Manasseh" is a deliberate device to obscure the derivation of this ignoble priesthood from Moses; BB 109b). According to the post-Exilic record, and in line with the Aaronide monopoly of the priesthood prescribed by the Torah, the descendants of Moses were counted as Levites, not priests (I Chron. 23:14). Criticism finds the ascription to Moses of the vast corpus of rules and admonitions in Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, and Deuteronomy improbable. Its arguments – from inconsistency, variant repetitions, diversity in style and viewpoint, and divergent historical presuppositions – can be found in articles on the books in question and on the *Pentateuch as a whole. Yet the origin and motive of this ascription can be described, and its poetic justice defended. The constant, stable element in the history of Israel during the biblical period is the consciousness of being a religious community, bound together by a common link to YHWH. No political change or revolution broke the continuity of this element. Under tribal rule or united monarchy, in a divided kingdom or in exile, and no less under Persian rule, the idea of a primary allegiance to the will of YHWH, prior to all political forms, defined Israelite identity. From latest to earliest times this allegiance was expressed in zeal for YHWH's exclusive claim upon Israel (i.e., hostility toward foreign cults), in iconoclasm (persecution of idolatry), in peculiar religious institutions (e.g., the Sabbath), and in moral earnestness resulting from the communal responsibility to God for violations of morality (Judg. 20; II Sam. 4:11). Its symbol was the Ark of the Covenant (as early as the time of the Judges, I Sam. 4), and its exponents were agents and messengers of YHWH who admonished error and saved from distress (e.g., Jerubbaal, Judg. 6ff.). These elements, constitutive of Israel's identity and singularity from the very beginning of its occupation of Canaan no doubt originated in Canaan proper through circumstances not fully understood and projected backward in time. The question of their author – is solved in Israelite tradition by assigning to Moses his role of covenant mediator and cult founder. The above-mentioned features of Israelite religion are ascribed to Moses, as well as their integrating framework, the idea of the covenant with YHWH. However rudimentary the terms of the Mosaic covenant may have been (some suppose no more than the Decalogue, others include parts of the Book of the Covenant; criteria for positive ascription are wanting), they were enough to serve as the constitution of the religio-political community of Israel; subsequent development of these terms, their ramifications, their adjustments to changing times, was regarded as part and parcel of the original. In theory, all regulations constitutive of the religious community of Israel were covenant regulations; all were issued by God and communicated to Israel by the mediator Moses. Something of the process may be glimpsed at in Nehemiah 10:30ff. and II Chronicles 30:16; 35:12, where rites are ascribed to the Torah of Moses that are not in fact to be found there.

DEATH AND BURIAL. Although commissioned to bring Israel into the Promised Land (e.g., Ex. 33:1ff.), Moses died in the Plains of Moab, outside its borders. Numbers 20:2–13 accounts for this by the offense of Moses and Aaron at Kadesh, in connection with procuring water for the grumbling people – "the waters of contention" *(me merivah)*. Wherein the brothers failed to "believe" God and "sanctify him in the sight of the Israelites" (Num. 20:12) is obscure. The interpretation in Psalms 106:32–33 is ambiguous: this much seems clear, however: that Moses is blamed for speaking rashly. In Deuteronomy, in contrast, Moses is denied entry into the Promised Land on account of the people: their display of faithlessness during the incident of the spies made God turn upon Moses as well. It was then He decreed that Moses (as well as his whole generation) would not enter the land (Deut. 1:37; 3:26; 4:21). When his time had come, Moses was commanded to ascend Mount Nebo, from which he could view the length and breadth of the Promised Land. There he died and was buried in the valley, "in the land of Moab, opposite Beth-Peor; and no man knows his burial place, to this day" (Deut. 34; cf. Num. 27:12ff.). The various theological explanations of Moses' death in Transjordan vouch for the existence of a grave tradition. Inasmuch as grave traditions were attached to such worthies as the patriarchs and matriarchs, the surprising obliteration of his burial-place savors of a deliberate aversion toward his apotheosis, which might have grown out of veneration of his grave as a shrine. Such an apotheosis was likely in view of the singular status accorded Moses in Israelite tradition (see Houtman).

UNIQUE STATUS. The wonders performed by Moses on behalf of Israel exceed those of any subsequent prophet (Deut. 34:11–12). He not only outdid Egypt's magicians (whose virtuosity, as displayed, e.g., in the Westcar Papyrus (A. Erman, *The Ancient Egyptians*, 36ff.), illuminates the issue of the first part of the plague narratives), he also prevailed over the mightiest forces of nature – splitting both the sea (Ex. 14) and the earth (Num. 16). That in so doing he no more than activated the power of God, and in God's own cause, is unfailingly noted; no room is left for regarding Moses as a magician, aggrandizing himself through native powers or occult arts. One superhuman trait, however, does pertain to him: the ability to endure, on more than one occasion, a fast of forty days (Ex. 24:18; 34:28; Deut. 9:9, 18; cf. Elijah's similar feat, I Kings 19:8). Miraculous features, part of the traditional image of the "man of God," are ascribed to Moses in the highest degree as befits his heroic role. No later figure is portrayed so close to God as Moses. God spoke with him "face to face" (Ex. 33:11), and allowed him such a prolonged intimacy that as a result (after Moses' intercession in the wake of the Golden Calf apostasy) Moses' face was fearsomely radiant, so that he had to wear a mask in ordinary intercourse with people (Ex. 34:19ff.). The covenant made after this apostasy, on the basis of Moses' favor with God, specifically names Moses as an equal party with the people (Ex. 34:27; cf. 34:10, and the corresponding usage in the intercession in Ex. 33:16 ("I and your people," twice)). The equation corresponds to God's substitution of Moses for all the rest of the people in Exodus 32:10 (cf. Num. 14:12) and Moses' readiness to lay down his life on their behalf (Ex. 32:32). That Moses cannot simply be subsumed under the rubric "prophet" (*navi*ʾ) is the lesson taught to Aaron and Miriam in Numbers 12:6ff.: prophetic revelation is in the form of dream or vision; Moses, however, has the freedom of YHWH's house (i.e., may obtain audiences at will), he speaks with God "mouth to mouth," and is granted sight of YHWH (not a necessary contradiction of Ex. 33:20ff., where Moses is denied sight of God's face, but not of His back). In fact, Moses is never called a "prophet" in the Pentateuch (he is alluded to as such only in Hosea 12:14), but rather YHWH's "servant" (*ʿeved*) – the usual epithet in extra-pentateuchal literature as well (Num. 12:7–8; Deut. 34:5; Josh. 1:1; once he is styled God's "chosen one" (*beḥir*, Ps. 106:23), a synonym of "servant" in Isa. 42:1, 45:4; Ps. 89:4). In Deuteronomy (33:1) and later literature (Josh. 14:6; Ps. 90:1; Ezra 3:2; I Chron. 23:14; II Chron. 30:16) Moses is occasionally called "the man of God," a prophetic epithet. His spirit inspires ecstasy (Num. 11:25), just as contact with the prophet Samuel does (I Sam. 19:20ff.). Moreover, he is compared to prophets in Numbers 12, Deuteronomy 18:18, and 34:10, and in the last passage he is represented as their unequaled archetype. But the catalog of gentile analogues to the Israelite prophet in Deuteronomy 18:10–11 suggests that the term *navi*ʾ was too restricted to oracular, divinatory, and magic-like functions to be applied to so comprehensive a figure as Moses (though, since he performed these functions, he might justly be considered a prophetic archetype). Just in those two narratives where Moses' relation to prophecy is manifest, a point is made of his meekness and forbearance. He does not share his servant's alarm at the apparently independent prophesying of *Eldad and Medad; on the contrary, he wishes the entire people were prophets (Num. 11:26ff.). Nor will he assert himself even against rival claims of his brother and sister, for he was "the meekest man on earth" (Num. 12:3). Perhaps here, too, a distinction between Moses' character and that of later prophets is intended (contrast II Kings 2:23–24).

FINAL CONSIDERATIONS. Moses is not consistently present in biblical literature. He dominates the Pentateuch and Joshua – the repository of traditions about the birth of the nation. He reappears in the revival and re-founding literature of late monarchic and post-Exilic times. But references to him in the prophetic and hymnal writings (e.g., Psalms) are negligible. Moses' slighting by prophets and psalmists is significant, but the implications of that omission are debated. All innovation in the later religion of Israel is attributable to individuals known by name: the monarchy to Samuel and David; the Temple to David and Solomon; reforms in the official religion to kings Asa, Jehu, Hezekiah, Josiah, the priests Jehoiada and Hilkiah, and the prophets Elisha, Elijah, and Huldah; new moral-historical and eschatological conceptions to Amos, Hosea, Isaiah, Jeremiah – and the list is not ended. Had no founder of the worship of YHWH and the covenant institutions that characterized Israel from its beginnings been recorded in tradition, analogy would have required postulating him; and that is probably what happened. The traditions of the Torah point unanimously to Moses as the founder of all the constitutional elements of the religious community of Israel (excepting the monarchy). No single figure in later Israel plays the many roles ascribed to Moses, itself an indication that whatever historical basis there might have been for the activity of Moses is beyond recovery.

[Moshe Greenberg / S. David Sperling (2nd ed.)]

IN HELLENISTIC LITERATURE

Inventor and Civilizer, Lawgiver and Philosopher

The Jewish-Hellenistic tendency to adopt the sages of ancient culture entailed a whole series of farfetched identifications (e.g., Isis-Eve; Serapis-Joseph; Atlas-Enoch; Bel Kronos-Nimrod; Orpheus-David; Musaeos-Moses; Zoroaster-Ezekiel) and culminated in the attribution of the most important contributions of civilization to Jewish cultural hero-figures. Thus, Moses became for Eupolemus (whose chronology placed him more than 500 years before the Trojan War) the first wise man, and the first to invent writing for the Jews (from whom it was taken over by the Phoenicians, and from the Phoenicians, by the Greeks; Eusebius, *Praeparatio Evangelica*, 9:26). According to Artapanos, Moses (who is identified with Musaeos and also with Hermes-Thot) was the teacher of Orpheus, discovered the art of writing, was the first philosopher, and invented a variety of machines for peace and war. He was also responsible for the political organization of Egypt (having divided the land into 36 nomes), and was the originator of the animal cults of the Egyptians, which were seen as the only practical means available to overcome the unstable character of the Egyptian masses (Eusebius, op. cit. 9:27). The earliest philosophical exegete of the Pentateuch, Aristobulus, claimed that Homer and Hesiod drew much of their material from the Books of Moses, which, according to him, had been translated long before the Septuagint (Eusebius, op. cit. 13:12). Philo maintains that Heraclitus snatched his theory of opposites from Moses "like a thief" (*Quaestiones et Solutiones in Genesin* 4:152). Similarly, he says that the Greek legislators "copied" various laws from the laws of Moses (Spec. 4:61). Philo even states that Moses anticipated Plato's doctrine of creation from preexistent matter, by teaching in Genesis that there was water, darkness, and chaos before the world came into being (*De Providentia*, ed. J.B. Aucher (1822), 111; cf. Justin Martyr, *Apologia*, 1:59). According to Josephus, Moses was the most ancient of all legislators in the records of the world. Indeed, he maintains that the very word "law" was unknown in ancient Greece (Jos., Apion 2:154). Moreover, "in two points in particular, Plato followed the example of our legislator [Moses]. He prescribed as the primary duty of the citizens a study of their laws, which they must all learn word for word by heart, and he took precautions to prevent foreigners from mixing with them at random" (*ibid.* 257). "Our earliest imitators," concludes Josephus, "were the Greek philosophers, who, though ostensibly observing the laws of their own countries, yet in their conduct and philosophy were Moses' disciples" (*ibid.* 281). The only analogue in the pagan world to these ascriptions of priority to Moses is the famous statement of Numenius of Apamea (second century C.E.), who introduced allegorical interpretation of the Hebrew Bible to the pagan world (fragments 19 and 32, L), that Plato was just a Moses who spoke Greek (fragment 10, L). Philo also asserts that Moses was "the best of all lawgivers in all countries," and that his laws are most excellent and truly come from God. This is proved by the fact that while other law codes have been upset for innumerable reasons, the laws of Moses have remained firm and immovable, and "we may hope that they will remain for all future ages… so long as the sun and moon and the whole heaven and universe exist" (II Mos. 12). Furthermore, not only Jews but almost every other people have attained enough holiness to value and honor these laws. In fact, says Philo, "it is only natural that when people are not flourishing, their belongings to some degree are under a cloud, but if a fresh start should be made to brighter prospects… each nation would… throw overboard its ancestral customs and turn to honoring our laws alone" (*ibid.* 44). In spite of the declining political fortunes of the Jews during the period of the Roman Empire, an occasional note of admiration for Moses is still found in writers like Pseudo-Longinus, who speaks glowingly of the great legislator's lofty genius (*On the Sublime* 9:9), but Numenius, Tacitus, Galen, Celsus, Porphyry, and Julian, on the other hand, are highly critical of, and even hostile to, Moses.

Antisemitic Attacks on Moses

The earliest Greek references to Moses were quite favorable. Hecataeus of Abdera presented Moses as the founder of the Jewish state, ascribing to him the conquest of Palestine and the building of Jerusalem and the Temple. He explained, in the Platonic manner, that Moses divided his people into 12 tribes, because 12 is a perfect number, corresponding to the number of months in the year (cf. Plato, *Laws*, 745b–d; *Republic*, 546b). He also discovered a solicitude for military training in Moses' endeavor to train the youth in moral restraint and heroic endurance (Diodorus 40:3; in: Th. Reinach, *Textes d'auteurs Grecs et Romains relatifs au Judaisme* (1895), 14ff.). More important, he emphasized that Moses instituted no images in the worship of God, so that God should not be conceived of anthropomorphically, since the all-encompassing heavens alone (i.e., the cosmos) are to be identified as God. Posidonius of Apamea similarly emphasized that Moses worshiped no idols, and identified God with nature (Strabo 16:35). Soon, however, a reaction set in, and Moses became the butt of a venomous antisemitic literature. Hecataeus had earlier observed that Moses had initiated a form of life encouraging seclusion from man and a hatred of aliens. According to the Egyptian priest Manetho (third century), Moses was a rebellious priest of Heliopolis, called Osarsiph (cf. Chaeremon and Jos., Apion 1:32), who commanded the Jews to slaughter the sacred animals of Egypt, and established, with the aid of the Hyksos, a 13-year reign of cruelty over the Egyptians, until he was finally expelled by Pharaoh Amenophis (Jos., Apion 1:228ff.; Reinach, *ibid.*, 11). Lysimachus wrote that he instructed the Jews to show goodwill to no man, to always offer the worst advice, and to overthrow any temples and altars of the gods which they found (Jos., Apion 1:309; Reinach, *ibid.*, 59). Apollonius Molon accused Moses of being a charlatan and impostor, who gave the Jews bad laws. Posidonius says that upon entering the Holy of Holies, Antiochus Epiphanes saw the statue of a bearded man riding on an ass (cf. Tacitus, *Histories*, 5:3) and holding a book. This was Moses, who gave the Jews laws of hatred toward all mankind (Diodorus 34:1, 3; Reinach, *ibid.* 57–58). Finally, Nicarchus (cf. Ptolemy Chennos of Alexandria, and Helladius) writes that Moses was called *Alpha* (an honorific title for members of the Museum at Alexandria, and possibly applied to Moses in Jewish-Hellenistic literature), because he had leprous spots (*alphous*) all over his body (Reinach, *ibid.*, 122, 361–62).

THE BIOGRAPHY OF MOSES. The sparse biographical details of the biblical narrative concerning Moses are considerably elaborated and expanded in the characteristic style of Jewish-Hellenistic literature. Demetrius (end of third century), in his "On the Kings in Judea," identified the Cushite woman whom Moses married (Num. 12:1) with Zipporah, by arguing that as far as one can infer from the names (the LXX lists among the sons of Dedan, Abraham's grandson from the family of Keturah, also Raguel, who, according to Demetrius, was Jethro's father), Zipporah was a sixth-generation descendant of Abraham's family. According to the Bible, Abraham sent the sons of Keturah away "eastward, to the land of the East" (Gen. 25:6), which Demetrius identified as the land of Cush. "It was on this account," concluded Demetrius, "that Aaron and Miriam declared that Moses took a Cushite woman" (Eusebius, op. cit. 9:29). The first elaborate account of Moses' life is to be found in Artapanus' "On the Jews." According to Artapanus, Pharaoh's daughter, Merris (Jos., Ant., 2:224 gives her name as Thermuthis), was barren, and therefore adopted a Jewish child whom she named Moshe. Merris' husband, Chenephres, king of Memphis, grew jealous of Moses, and tried to dispose of him by sending him into battle against the Ethiopians with inadequate forces. After a ten-year campaign, the Ethiopians so admired Moses that, under his influence, they adopted the rite of circumcision. Artapanus knew nothing, however, of Moses' romance with the Ethiopian king's daughter and her betrayal of the capital city to him (Jos., Ant., 2:252), and it must be assumed that, like Demetrius and Ezekiel the Poet, he identified the Cushite woman whom Moses married with Zipporah. Artapanus' version of the biblical story of Moses' slaying of the Egyptian emphasizes the latter's plotting against Moses' life. Indeed, it was in a last resort to defend his life, that Moses slew the Egyptian Chanethothes. Moses' efforts to free his people land him in jail, but the irons binding him miraculously fall off, and the jail doors open of themselves (cf. the experiences of the imprisoned god Dionysus in Euripides' *The Bacchanals*, 600ff.). Moses' rod, according to Artapanus, was found in every Egyptian temple and was similar to the *seistron* or "rattle" used in the worship of Isis. It was by means of the *seistron* that Isis raised the waters of the Nile, and thus she was called in the Isis hymns *Seistrophóros*. Artapanus mentions two traditions concerning the Red Sea, that of Memphis and that of Heliopolis. That of Heliopolis follows the Bible, while that of Memphis explains the event by saying that Moses knew the area well and waited for the ebb tide (cf. Jos., Ant. 2:341–49). Finally, the reason given for the Egyptians' pursuit of the Israelites was their desire to retrieve the property borrowed from them (cf. Philo, I Mos. 1:141). A similar explanation is given by Trogus Pompeius, who says, however, that the Jews stole the holy utensils of the Egyptians (Justin 36:2, 13). Artapanus' account closes with a description of Moses: "Moses, they say, was tall and ruddy, with long white hair, and dignified" (Eusebius, op. cit. 9:27). The 269 lines preserved from the tragedy of Ezekiel the Poet on Exodus include a long soliloquy by Moses recounting his career down to his flight to Midian; a dialogue which recounts a dream in which a royal personage enthrones Moses on a throne which reaches heavenward, whereupon Moses surveys the heavenly host who fall on their knees before him, and then pass by as he counts them; and a detailed description of a remarkable bird, apparently the phoenix, at Elim (cf. Herodotus 2:73; Pliny, *Natural History*, 10:3–5; Job. 29:18; Gen. R. 19:5; Sanh. 108b; II En. 6:6; 8:6; II Bar. 6–7; Eusebius, op. cit., 9:16–37). In his *De vita Mosis*, Philo depicts Moses in his fourfold role as king, legislator, priest, and prophet. Whereas the fame of Moses' law, writes Philo, has traveled throughout the civilized world, the man himself, as he really was, was known to few. Greek men of letters, perhaps through envy, have refused to treat him as worthy of memory. Although there is no attempt in this treatise to refute the antisemitic literature on Moses, Philo does refer in his *Hypothetica* (355) to the charge that Moses was "an impostor and prating mountebank." He also strangely explains the Exodus there as due partly to Jewish overpopulation in Egypt (cf. Tacitus, *Histories*, 5:4) and also to the revelations of God in dreams and visions bidding them to go forth. Moreover, he points out that the Israelites' admiration for the man who gave them their laws was so great, that anything which seemed good to him also seemed good to them. Therefore, whether what he told them came from his own reasoning or from some supernatural source, they referred it all to God (*ibid.*, 357). In the *De vita Mosis*, Philo explains how the child Moses happened to be found by Pharaoh's daughter. In a state of constant depression over not having a child who could succeed her father she finally broke down on one occasion, and, though she had hitherto always remained in her quarters, she set off with her maids to the river where Moses was exposed. Since he had been taken up from the waters, she called him Moses, *mou* being the Egyptian word for water. As he grew in beauty and nobility, she decided to claim him as her own son, having at an earlier time artificially enlarged the figure of her womb to make him pass as her real child. Teachers arrived from different parts of Egypt and even from Greece. In a short time, however, he advanced beyond their capacities. Moses thus acquired the best of both Greek and Egyptian education. In his desire to live for the soul alone and not for the body, he lived frugally, scorning all luxury. Moses' career as a shepherd served as good training and a preliminary exercise in kingship for one destined to command the herd of mankind. Since Moses abjured the accumulation of wealth, God rewarded him by placing the whole world in his hands. Therefore each element obeyed him as its master, and submitted to his command (cf. II Mos., 201; Wisd. 19:6). His partnership with God also entitled him to bear the same title: "For he was named god and the king of the whole nation, and entered into the darkness where God was, that is, into the unseen, invisible, incorporeal, and archetypal essence of existing things."

A few further details may be added from Josephus' account of Moses (Ant. 2: 201ff.). Pharaoh decreed that all male infants of the Hebrews be drowned on the advice of a sacred scribe who had divined the birth of one who, if allowed to live, would abase Egypt and exalt Israel. Moses' easy birth spared his mother violent pangs and discovery by the watchful Egyptian midwives. His size and beauty enchanted princess Thermuthis, who found him on the Nile. Because he refused to take the breast of any Egyptian wet nurse, his mother was engaged to suckle him. Moses' precocity was displayed in his very games. Moreover, when the princess laid the babe in her father's arms, and the latter, to please his daughter, placed his diadem upon the child's head, Moses tore it off, flung it to the ground, and trampled it underfoot. This was taken as an ill omen, and the sacred scribe who had foretold his birth rushed forward to kill him. Thermuthis, however, was too quick for him and snatched the child away. Carried away by his Hellenistic ambience, Josephus says that, after crossing the Red Sea, Moses composed a song to God in hexameter verse.

Some last points of interest may be gleaned from Pseudo-Philo's *Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum* (first century C.E.). According to this work, Moses was born circumcised (cf. Sot. 12a, Ex. R. 1:20). Pharaoh's daughter comes down to bathe in the Nile at this particular time because she had had a dream. Before Moses smashes the tablets, he looks upon them and sees that there is no writing on them. The reason given for his not entering the Promised Land was that he should be spared the sight of the idols that were to mislead his people. Moses dies at the hands of God, who buries him personally (cf. Deut. R. 11:10), and on the day of his death the heavenly praise of God was omitted, something which never occurred before and was never to occur again.

MOSES IN THE APOCALYPTIC TRADITION. According to the *Assumption of Moses* (c. 7–30 C.E.), Moses was prepared from before the foundation of the world to be the mediator of God's covenant with his people (1:14; 3:12). No single place was worthy to mark the site of his burial, for his sepulcher was from the rising to the setting sun (11:8). Moses' relation to Israel did not cease with his death, for he was appointed by God to be their intercessor in the spiritual world. This work also includes the debate between Michael and Satan over the burial of Moses. Satan opposes Michael's commission to bury Moses, on the ground that he is the lord of matter. To this claim Michael rejoins: "The Lord rebuke thee, for it was God's spirit that created the world and all mankind." In other words, Satan grants God Moses' soul, but claims his body as belonging to his exclusive domain. The author, speaking through Michael, rejects this gnostic dualism by insisting that God is Lord of both spirit and flesh, since he is the creator of all (R.H. Charles, Apocrypha, 2 (1897), 105–7). It may be well to allude here to the apocalyptic tradition connected with the name of Moses and also with Ezra, the "second Moses." In the *Assumption of Moses*, Moses gives Joshua secret books which are to be preserved and hidden "until the day of repentance in the visitation wherewith the Lord shall visit thee in the consummation of the end of days" (1:18). In Jubilees, too, the account is given of a secret tradition revealed to Moses on Sinai in which he is shown all the events of history both past and future (1:26). With this may be compared II Esdras 14, where Ezra, the "second Moses," receives by divine revelation the 24 books of canonical Scripture which he has to publish openly and the 70 books representing the apocalyptic tradition which he has to keep secret.

MOSES AS MAGICIAN. In pagan literature, Moses was, naturally enough, sometimes represented as a great magician. Numenius of Apamea, for example, presents him as a magician greater than his rivals Iannes and Iambres because his prayers were more powerful than theirs (fragments 18 and 19, L; cf. Pliny, *Natural History*, 30:1, 11; Reinach, op. cit. 282; Trogus Pompeius = Justin *Epitome* 36:2; Reinach, op. cit., 253). Moreover, in some of the magic papyri, Moses appears as the possessor of mysteries given to him by God (K. Preisendanz, *Papyri Graecae Magicae*, 2, 87f.). Finally, it may be noted that in some of the Qumran fragments, secret astrological teachings were ascribed to Moses (J.T. Milik, in: RB, 63 (1956), 61).

[David Winston]

RABBINIC VIEW

A marked ambivalence is to be observed in the Jewish tradition with regard to the personality of Moses. On the one hand, Moses is the greatest of all the Jewish teachers, a powerfully numinous figure, the man with whom God speaks "face to face," the intermediary between God and man, the master of the prophets, and the recipient of God's law for mankind. On the other hand, the utmost care is taken to avoid the ascription of divine or semi-divine powers to Moses. Moses is a man, with human faults and failings. Strenuous attempts are made to reject any "personality cult," even when the personality in question is as towering as Moses. Judaism is not "Mosaism" but the religion of the Jewish people. God, not Moses, gives His Torah to His people Israel. There are to be found Jewish thinkers, evidently in response to the claims made for Jesus by Christianity and for Muhammad by Islam, who elevate the role of Moses so that the religion is made to center around him. However, the opposite tendency is equally notable. Precisely because Christianity and Islam center on a person, Jewish thinkers declared that Judaism, on the contrary, singles out no one person, not even a Moses, as belonging to the heart of the faith. The stresses in this matter vary in proportion to the particular strength of the challenge in the period during which the role of Moses is considered. The need is keenly felt to affirm the supremacy of Moses and yet, at the same time, to deny him any divine honors.

Rav and Samuel said that 50 gates of understanding were created in the world, and all but one were given to Moses, for it is said (Ps. 8:6): "For Thou hast made him [Moses] but a little lower than the angels" (Ned. 38a). All the prophets saw God as one looks into a dim glass, but Moses as one who looks through a clear glass (Yev. 49b). When Moses was born the whole house was filled with light (Sot. 12a). Moses was so kind, gentle, and considerate to his sheep when tending the flock of Jethro that God made him the shepherd of Israel (Ex. R. 2:2). For Moses such a great thing as the fear of God was very easy of attainment (Ber. 33b). R. Johanan said: "The Holy One, blessed be He, causes His Divine Presence to rest only upon him who is strong, wealthy, wise, and meek and Moses had all these qualifications" (Ned. 38a). According to one opinion, Moses did not really die but still stands and ministers to God as he did while on Mount Sinai (Sot. 13b). Moses was righteous from the beginning of his life to the end of it, as was Aaron (Meg. 11a). Here, and frequently in the rabbinic literature, the praise of Moses is coupled with that of Aaron. The humility of Moses and Aaron was greater than that of Abraham since Abraham spoke of himself as dust and ashes (Gen. 18:27) whereas Moses and Aaron declared that they were nothing at all (Ex. 16:8). The whole world exists only on account of the merit of Moses and Aaron (Ḥul. 89a). These and similar sayings are typical of the rabbinic determination to go to the utmost lengths in lauding Moses; yet sayings of a not too different nature are found lauding other biblical heroes, and in some of the passages Aaron is made to share Moses' glory.

For the rabbis generally Moses is *Moshe Rabbenu* ("Moses our master," i.e., teacher), the teacher of the Torah par excellence. Neumark (*Toledot ha-Ikkarim* (1919^2), 85 f.) has, however, conjectured that the absence of this title from the whole of the Mishnah is a conscious anti-Christian reaction in which the character of Moses is played down somewhat by avoiding the giving to him of a title given to Jesus (Acts. 2:36). It is also suggested in the Mishnah (RH 3:8) that the hands of Moses did not in themselves have any effect on the fortunes of Israel in the battle with Amalek. It was only when Israel lifted up their eyes to God in response to Moses' uplifted hands that God helped them. R. Eleazar, commenting on the verse "Go down" (Ex. 32:7), remarks: "The Holy One, blessed be He, said to Moses: 'Moses, descend from thy greatness. Have I given to thee greatness except for the sake of Israel? And now Israel have sinned; then why do I want thee?'" (Ber. 32a). R. Yose said that if Moses had not preceded him, Ezra would have been worthy of receiving the Torah for Israel (Sanh. 21b). Nor were the rabbis averse on occasion to criticizing Moses for his quick temper (Pes. 66b; Sot. 13b) and to stating that he erred, though ready to acknowledge his mistake (Zev. 101a).

In the rabbinic tradition Moses was not only given the Written Law but the Oral Law, including the "laws given to Moses at Sinai" (**Halakhah le-Moshe mi-Sinai*), and whatever new interpretation of the law is ever brought before his teacher by a keen student of the Torah was already given to Moses at Sinai (TJ, Pe'ah 2:6, 17a). The idea that new teachings were truly new and yet were implied in the Torah given to Moses is conveyed in the story of Moses being transported through time to the academy of Akiva and feeling disturbed at his inability to comprehend Akiva's teachings until he heard Akiva declare that he had received them as a tradition from Moses at Sinai (Men. 29b). The idea that the foremost Jewish teachers who produced innovations – Hillel, Johanan b. Zakkai, and Akiva – are to be identified with Moses, whose work they continued, is expressed in the statement that they, like Moses, also lived for 120 years, divided into three periods of 40 years (Sif. Deut. 327). According to one interpretation, widely accepted in the Middle Ages, the name "Moses" was, in fact, sometimes given to scholars as a title of honor (Beẓah 38b).

[Louis Jacobs]

In the Aggadah

Heaven and earth were only created for the sake of Moses (Lev. R. 36:4). The account of the creation of water on the second day does not close with the customary formula "and God saw that it was good" since Moses was destined to be punished through water (Gen. R. 4:6). Noah was only rescued from the Flood because Moses was destined to descend from him (Gen. R. 26:6). The ascending and descending angels seen by Jacob in his nocturnal vision (Gen. 28:12) were in reality Moses and Aaron (Gen. R. 68:12).

His parents' house was filled with light on the day of his birth. He was born circumcised (Sot. 12a) on Adar 7th (Meg. 13b). He spoke with his parents on the day of his birth, and prophesied at the age of three (Mid. Petirat Moshe, in: Jellinek, *Beit ha-Midrash*, 1:128). Pharaoh's daughter went down to bathe since she was afflicted with leprosy, but as soon as she touched the ark of Moses she was healed. She therefore took pity upon the child and saved him, despite the protests of her maidens. When she opened the ark she saw the *Shekhinah* next to Moses, and heard his cry, which sounded like that of a mature youngster (Ex. R. 1:23, 24). Pharaoh's astrologers had previously predicted that the savior of Israel would shortly be born and that he would be punished through water. After Moses was placed in the Nile, they told Pharaoh that the redeemer had already been cast into the water, whereupon Pharaoh rescinded his decree that the male children should be put to death (Ex. R. 1:24). Not only were all the future children saved, but even the 600,000 children cast into the Nile together with Moses were also rescued (Gen. R. 97:3). Moses refused to suck at the breast of Egyptian foster-mothers because the mouth which was destined to speak with the *Shekhinah* would not take unclean milk (Sot. 12b). His unique beauty captivated the royal household and he was adopted by Pharaoh's daughter, who constantly displayed her affection for him. Even Pharaoh played with the baby, who often took his crown and placed it upon his own head. The king's advisers were frightened by this behavior and they counseled Pharaoh to put him to death. However, Jethro, who was among the royal counselors, insisted on first testing the youngster. A gold vessel and a live coal were brought before Moses, and he was about to reach for the gold when the angel Gabriel came and deflected his hand to the hot coal. The baby placed a live coal into his mouth, burning his tongue, and as a result he acquired the impediment in his speech (Ex. R. 1:26).

Moses not only sympathized with the sufferings of his brethren, but he also aided them in their tasks by himself preparing the clay for the bricks. He also assigned them responsibilities in accordance with their abilities so that the strong carried greater burdens while the weak discharged lesser tasks (Ex. R. 1:27). He slew the cruel Egyptian taskmaster only after the angels decreed his death since he had previously defiled the wife of one of the Hebrew slaves in his charge and subsequently sought to slay the husband. Moses killed the Egyptian either by means of the Divine Name or by his own physical strength. After Dathan and Abiram informed on Moses to Pharaoh, he was condemned to death, but the executioner's sword had no effect on him, since his neck became like a pillar of ivory (Ex. R. 1: 28–31). Moses saved the daughters of Jethro after the shepherds had cast them into the well, and he also protected them from their immoral designs. Moses drew out only one bucketful and with this watered all the flock there assembled, since the water was blessed at his hands (Ex. R. 1:32). According to one tradition, Moses could marry Zipporah only after he agreed to Jethro's condition that one of their children be raised in Jethro's faith while the rest could be trained in the Hebraic tradition. Because of this agreement, Gershom was not circumcised, and on the way to Egypt Moses almost met his death because of this neglect (Ex. 4:24–26; Mekh., Amalek), but in the opinion of other sages (Mekh. *ibid.*; TJ, Ned. 3:14, 38b) Moses could not circumcise his second son Eliezer, because he had been born just prior to his departure for Egypt, and his only fault was that he did not do so immediately on reaching the resting place.

Before God confers greatness on a man he is first tested through small matters and then promoted to importance. Moses displayed his trustworthiness by leading the sheep into the wilderness in order to keep them from despoiling the fields of others. He then showed his mercy by carrying a young kid on his shoulders after it had exhausted itself by running to a pool of water (Ex. R. 2:2–3). God appeared to him in a burning bush to illustrate that the Jews were as indestructible as the bush which was not consumed by the flames (Ex. R. 2:5). Many reasons are given for Moses' initial hesitancy in accepting the mission of redeeming his brethren: he recoiled from the honor and prestige which would accrue to him for successfully completing the task (Tanḥ. va-Yikra, 3); he feared to trespass upon the domain of his elder brother whom he felt should be the redeemer (Ex. R. 3: 16); he desired the redeemer to be God Himself rather than a mortal so that the redemption would be eternal (Ex. R. 3:4); he was angry because God had already deserted the children of Israel for 210 years and permitted many pious individuals to be slain by their Egyptian taskmasters (Mekh. Sb-Y to 6:2).

The sages likewise were perplexed by Moses' seemingly disrespectful reply to God that since he had spoken to Pharaoh the lot of his people had not improved (Ex. 5:22–23). Various explanations are given for the tone of Moses' lament: the taunts of Dathan and Abiram regarding his lack of success provoked Moses' anger (Ex. R. 6:2); Moses mistakenly thought that the redemption would entirely come about through the attribute of mercy and would therefore be instantaneous (Ex. R. 6:3); he felt that his generation of Israelites did not deserve the severe punishment of bondage; and he did not doubt that God would ultimately redeem His people, but he was grieved for those children who were being daily immured in the new buildings and would not be redeemed. The attribute of justice sought to strike Moses, but God protected him since He knew that Moses only spoke out of his love for his brethren (Ex. R. 5:22). The elders started to accompany Moses and Aaron to Pharaoh's palace (Ex. 3:18) but gradually stole away furtively, singly or in pairs, so that by the time the palace was reached only Moses and Aaron were left (Ex. R. 5:14). Despite the harsh messages which Moses delivered to Pharaoh, he constantly accorded him the respect due to royalty (Ex. R. 5:15; Zev. 102a). Moses executed all the plagues except for those connected with water and dust, since he had been saved through water and the dust had concealed the body of the Egyptian he slew (Ex. 2:12; Ex. R. 9:10; 10:7). When Moses announced the final plague, he did not state the exact time of its incidence, saying only that "about midnight" (Ex. 11:4) because he feared that Pharaoh's astrologers might miscalculate and declare him a liar (Ber. 4a). During the Exodus, while the masses thought only of taking the gold and silver of the Egyptians, Moses went and retrieved the coffin of Joseph which subsequently accompanied the Israelites in the desert (Mekh. 2, Proem. Sot. 13a).

Moses went up to Mount Sinai, enveloped by a cloud which sanctified him for receiving the Torah (Yoma 4a). After he ascended on high, the ministering angels contested the right of "one born of woman to receive the treasures of the Torah." Encouraged by the Almighty, Moses demonstrated to the angels that only mortals were subject to the Torah's regulations and therefore it was rightfully theirs. The angels thereupon became friendly with Moses, and each one revealed its secret to him (Shab. 89a). In abstaining from food during the 40 days on Mt. Sinai Moses acted as do the angels (BM 86b). He received instruction from God by day and reviewed the teachings at night (Ex. R. 47:8). Not only were the Bible, Mishnah, Talmud, and *aggadah* taught to Moses, but all interpretations that were destined to be propounded by future students were also revealed to him (Ex. R. 47:1). Before Moses ascended the mountain, he promised to return by midday of the 41st day. On that day Satan confused the world so that to the Israelites it appeared to be afternoon when it was actually still morning. Satan told them that Moses had died and would never return, whereupon the people made the Golden Calf (Shab. 89a). Moses broke the tablets, and made it appear that the Torah had not been given, to prevent the sinners from being punished (ARN^2 2:5–6). God approved of this action (Shab. 87a) and when Moses realized that Israel's fate depended upon him and his prayers, he began to defend them (Ber. 32a). He argued that God had not enjoined the prohibition against idolatry upon the children of Israel since the singular and not the plural is used in the command (Ex. 20:3–5), and it applied only to him (Ex. R. 47:9; for the additional justifications set forth by Moses see *Golden Calf). Moses refused God's offer to make him the ancestor of a great nation since he feared that he would be accused of seeking only his glory and not that of the people (Ber. 32a).

God would not grant Moses' wish to behold all His glory since Moses had refused to look at him through the burning bush (Ber. 7a). He was hidden in the same cave which was later occupied by Elijah (I Kings 19:9–14). If there had been an aperture even as minute as the point of a needle, Moses would have been consumed by the passing divine light (Meg. 19b). Moses received only the reflection of this light, and from its radiance his face subsequently shone (Ex. R. 47:6). During this revelation, Moses was granted profound insight into the problem of theodicy (Ber. 7a). Afterward he was known as the master of Torah, wisdom, and prophecy (Meg. 13a) since he possessed 49 of the 50 divisions of wisdom (RH 21b). He was the greatest prophet among the Israelites (Deut. 34:10) although, according to one view, Balaam was almost his equal so that the heathen nations could not attribute their wickedness to the lack of the prophetic spirit (Sif. Deut. 357; SER 26:141–2; but cf. TJ, Sot. 5:8, 20d; Lev. R. 1:12–14). Moses insisted on giving a complete account of the materials collected for the Tabernacle since he overheard scoffers claiming that he had embezzled a portion of the gold and silver (Ex. R. 51:6). During the seven days of the dedication of the sanctuary, Moses officiated as the high priest. He was also considered the king of Israel during the 40-year sojourn in the desert. When Moses requested these two offices for a permanent heritage, he was told that the priesthood was already assigned to Aaron, while royalty was designated for David (Ex. R. 2:6).

Moses insisted that his sin of striking the rock be recorded in the Torah (Num. 20:11) so that future generations would not mistakenly ascribe other transgressions or faults to him (Sif. Deut. 26; Num. R. 19:12). The impatience of the people and the jeers of the scoffers were the cause of his smiting the rock in anger (Num. R. 19:9). In reality, God had long before decreed that Moses should not enter the Promised Land and Moses' offense in Kadesh was only a pretext so that He might not appear unjust. God explained to Moses that if he were not buried in the desert with the generation that left Egypt, people would mistakenly declare that the generation of the wilderness had no share in the world to come (Num. R. 19:13). Moses immediately obeyed God's command to avenge the Israelite people on the Midianites (Num. 31:2), although he knew that after it was fulfilled he would die (Num. R. 22:22). Before his death, Moses pleaded for the appointment of a successor who would successfully cope with the dissimilar temperaments of the people (Num. R. 21:2). Moses also requested that his successor lead his people into war, and not remain behind the troops as was the customary practice of gentile kings (Sif. Num. 139). Moses pleaded that the decree against his entering the Holy Land be rescinded so that he could share in the joy of his people after experiencing their sorrow (Deut. R. 11:10). However, God refused his repeated requests since the leader of the generation should remain with his followers, and the generation of Moses was buried in the wilderness (Num. R. 19: 13); and because the time had come for Joshua to exercise his leadership (Deut. R., ed. S. Lieberman, pp. 48, 124).

Moses died at the kiss of God (Deut. R. 11:10; BB 17a) on the anniversary of his birth, Adar 7th (Tosef., Sof. 11:2). God himself buried Moses (Sot. 14a) in a grave which had been prepared for him since the eve of the Sabbath of creation (Pes. 54a). His tomb is opposite Beth-Peor to atone for the sin of the Israelites in worshiping the idol Peor (Num. 25:3). Nevertheless, his grave cannot be discovered, since to a person standing in the valley it looks as though it is on a mountain peak, whereas from the mountain peak it looks as though it is in the valley (Sot. 14a).

[Aaron Rothkoff]

IN MEDIEVAL JEWISH THOUGHT

All Jewish philosophers agree that the prophetic revelation of Moses was different from, and superior to, the prophecy (see *Prophets and Prophecy) of all other prophets. *Judah Halevi writes that Moses' prophecy came directly from God: He did not receive his prophecy while asleep or in a state between sleeping and waking, nor did he arrive at it through union with the active intellect (*Kuzari*, 1:87). The term "prophet" when applied to Moses and other prophets is, according to *Maimonides, amphibolous. In his discussion of prophecy in the *Guide of the Perplexed*, Maimonides states that he will allude to the prophecy of Moses only in order to contrast it with prophecy in general (*Guide*, 2:35). He spells out four distinctions between the prophecy of Moses and that of other prophets (Yad, Yesodei ha-Torah, 7:6; Comm. on Sanh, 10, 7th principle). The revelations of all the prophets, except for Moses, took place in dreams and visions (Num. 12:6); through the medium of an angel, and hence they prophesied in riddles and symbolic language (Num. 12:18); in a trancelike state (Gen. 15:12); and at intervals of varying duration according to God's choice. Moses, by contrast, received his prophetic message while fully awake; in nonsymbolic language; directly from God, rather than through the medium of an angel; and at the time of his own choosing (Num. 12:6–8; Ex. 33:11). It seems that these differences between the prophecy of Moses and that of other prophets can be reduced to one basic difference, namely, that imaginative faculty played no role in Moses' prophetic experience, while it played a major role in the case of the other prophets, prophecy being, according to Maimonides, "an overflow from God, through the intermediation of the active intellect, toward the rational faculty in the first place, and thereafter the imaginative faculty" (*Guide*, 2:36, see

Abrabanel's commentary on this passage). He writes that while other prophets "can hear only in a dream of prophecy that God has spoken to him… Moses… heard Him from above the ark cover, from between the two cherubim, without action on the part of the imaginative faculty" (*Guide*, 2:45). Moses' prophetic experience, then, seems to have been dependent on the superior development of his rational faculty, and it is probable that according to Maimonides – although he does not say so explicitly – Moses attained union with the active intellect (see S. Pines (tr.), *Guide of the Perplexed* (1963), translator's introduction, lxxvii–xcii). J. Guttmann has suggested that according to Maimonides, Moses' prophecy differed from that of the other prophets insofar as it transcended "the natural order and was wholly due to a supernatural action of God," while the prophecies of the other prophets resulted from the development of their rational and imaginative faculties. In this way, Guttmann maintains, Maimonides "safeguards the uniqueness of biblical religion which Moses transmitted against the danger inherent in a naturalistic interpretation of prophecy" (Guttmann, Philosophies, 172). S. Atlas, on the other hand, interprets Maimonides as asserting that while Moses' prophetic experience did not depend on his imaginative faculty, it did depend to a large extent on the superior development of his rational faculty, and was hence not totally dependent on the supernatural action of God. However, he too maintains that in Maimonides' view there was an important element in Moses' prophetic experience – an element not common to the experiences of the other prophets – which was the result of God's creative will, namely, the giving of laws (Atlas, in HUCA, 25 (1954), 369–400). Medieval philosophers considered Moses' qualities of courage, modesty, and justice to be prerequisites for prophetic experience (see for example *Guide*, 2:38–40).

[David Kadosh]

For Judah Loew b. Bazalel (the Maharal) of Prague (*Tiferet Yisrael* (1955), 64–67), Moses is a superhuman being occupying a midway position between the supernatural beings and humans. This is why he was able to be equally at home in heaven and on earth and this is hinted at in his name since the letter *mem* of *Moshe* is the middle letter of the alphabet. Samson Raphael Hirsch (Comm. to Ex. 24:1), on the other hand, denies any qualitative superiority to Moses. Very curious is the legend recorded by Israel Lipschuetz b. Gedaliah (*Tiferet Yisrael* to Kid. end, n. 77). A certain king, having heard of Moses' fame, sent a renowned painter to portray Moses' features. On the painter's return with the portrait the king showed it to his sages, who unanimously proclaimed that the features portrayed were those of a degenerate. The astonished king journeyed to the camp of Moses and observed for himself that the portrait did not lie. Moses admitted that the sages were right and that he had been given from birth many evil traits of character but that he had held them under control and succeeded in conquering them. This, the narrative concludes, was Moses' greatness, that, in spite of his tremendous handicaps, he managed to become the man of God. Various attempts have, in fact, been made by some rabbis to ban the further publication of this legend as a denigration of Moses' character.

The biblical commentators discuss why God arranged for Moses to be brought up by the daughter of Pharaoh. Abraham ibn Ezra (Comm. to Ex. 2:3) suggests that this was first to teach Moses courage and leadership, faculties he would not have been able to achieve if he had grown up among a slave people, and, secondly, so that Moses might have the respect of his people which he would not have had if he had grown up with them from infancy. Isaac Arama (*Akedat Yiẓḥak*, 43) understands the matter to belong to God's purpose that the tyrant king be defeated through a member of his own household. Naḥmanides (Comm. to Ex. 2:11) argues that Moses was brought up in Pharaoh's palace to accustom him to being in the royal presence, since it was his destiny to stand before Pharaoh to demand the release of the Israelites.

In the Kabbalah, too, there is great elevation of the character of Moses. On the verse: "And Moses went up to God" (Ex. 19:3), the Zohar (II, 79b) remarks: "See the difference between Moses and all other human beings. When other human beings ascend it is to wealth or honor or power, but when Moses ascends what does Scripture say? 'And Moses went up to God.' Happy is his portion." The section of the Zohar known as *Ra'aya Meheimna*, "Faithful Shepherd," is in the form of mystical discourses conveyed to Simeon b. Yaḥai by Moses in heaven. Moses and Aaron on earth are, for the Zohar, the counterparts of the **sefirot Neẓaḥ* and *Hod* (I, 21b–22a). The high mystical state of Moses is described in the Zohar as Moses having "intercourse" with the **Shekhinah*, whose "husband" he was. Moses was a reincarnation of Abel (*Sha'ar ha-Pesukim*, Exodus, beg.). Hence, like Abel, the first shepherd, he was a shepherd (*Avodat Yisrael* by Israel of Koznice, Exodus beg.). Godly men chose the occupation of shepherd because it kept them far from the cities where men are prone to sin and because it afforded them the opportunities of communing with God (Baḥya ibn Asher, Comm. to Ex. 3:1).

MODERN INTERPRETATIONS

*Aḥad Ha-Am begins his essay on Moses (*Al Parashat Derakhim*^{3} 210–21) by stating that he remains unmoved by the speculations of scholars as to whether Moses really existed since the true hero is not the historical figure but the man who is portrayed in the Jewish tradition as the embodiment of the Jewish spirit. This Moses is neither a great military strategist nor an astute politician. Nor is his role primarily that of lawgiver in the accepted sense since the laws he gives are for the future ideal state still to be realized. Moses is rather the "master of the prophets," the highest example of the prophetic ideal as expressed in a human life. The prophet is ruthless in his pursuit of justice which is, for him, a categorical imperative brooking no opposition. Moses' vision is of the perfect society, of what ought to be rather than what is. Moses embarks on his prophetic career with a protest against injustice and oppression and devotes the rest of his life to his ideal. He hears the voice of God speaking to him in his heart urging him to become the deliverer of his downtrodden people. This God who speaks to him and to the people is not a tribal god but the God of all men, every one of whom is created in His image. Because his vision is unqualified Moses must die without entering the Promised Land. The prophet is too uncompromising to be the leader of the people in the stark realities of the actual human situation. The leadership must pass to another more capable of coming to terms with life as it is, even though this involves a diminution of the dream. Thus Moses is the symbol of Israel's divine discontent with the present. Like Moses, Israel learned to live only in the past and the future, its life a pilgrimage from past to future. For Israel as for Moses the present, as it falls short of the ideal, has no real existence.

Sigmund *Freud's *Moses and Monotheism* (1939) is an interpretation of Moses' work and character which has been widely discussed, though the majority of scholars reject Freud's anthropology and his views on biblical scholarship. According to Freud, Moses was not an Israelite but an Egyptian. The monotheism he taught was derived from a period of pure monotheism established during the reign of Ikhnaton. Following a hint thrown out by Sellin based on an obscure passage in the Book of Hosea, Freud believed that the Israelites, unable to accept Moses' new ideas, eventually murdered him. But Moses' monotheistic teachings lived on in the racial unconscious of the Israelites to reappear hundreds of years later in the monotheism of the prophets. The slaying of Moses repeated what, for Freud, was the sin of primitive man, the slaying of the primal father by his jealous sons. Because of this, monotheistic religion is haunted by guilt feelings and the need for atonement. Freud admits the speculative nature of his theory but feels that it is in accord with his ideas on how religion began and on man's needs for a father figure.

Martin *Buber in his book *Moses* accepts the basic historicity of Moses but makes a distinction between saga and history. The saga is not history but neither is it fiction. It follows in the footsteps of the historical events and describes the impact they had. Creative memory is at work in the saga. But the saga is not simply a matter of group psychology. We can get behind it to the actual historical events which made such an impact on the people that they could only explain these events as of divine power at work in them. It is not a case of "historization of myth" but of "mythization of history." At the same time, in the Moses saga, the "mythical" element is not a myth of the gods. The human figure is not transfigured, so that the element of sober historical recording is still present. Describing the God of Moses, Buber writes: "He is the One who brings His own out, He is their leader and advance guard; prince of the people, legislator and the sender of a great message. He acts on the level of history on the peoples and between the peoples. What He aims at and cares for is a people. He makes His demand that the people shall be entirely 'His' people, a 'holy' people; that means, a people whose entire life is hallowed by justice and loyalty, a people for God and for the world… That Moses experiences Him in this fashion and serves Him accordingly is what has set that man apart as a living and effective force at all times; and that is what places him thus apart in our own day, which possibly requires him more than any earlier day has ever done."

[Louis Jacobs]

IN CHRISTIAN TRADITION

Moses is mentioned more often than any other biblical figure in the New Testament, which emphasizes the parallel between the ministries of Moses and Jesus (Matt. 8:4; 17:1–8; Mark 7:10; 9:2–8; 10:2–9). As Israel's lawgiver and liberator, Moses – according to Christian tradition – prefigures the ministry of Jesus and prophesies the coming of the Savior and the mediator of the new covenant. Moses is an example of deep faith in God (Heb. 11:23–29), and like Jesus, he encounters the people's incomprehension and hostility (Acts 7:17–44). Jesus, however, surpasses Moses in all respects. Unlike the face of Moses, that of Jesus is unveiled and his superior glory is spiritual (II Cor. 3:6–18). Moses appears as God's faithful servant, but Jesus is God's son (Heb. 3:5–6). Moses seals the covenant with the blood of animals, but the Messiah's covenant, which for Christians definitely supersedes the Mosaic Law, is sealed by his own sacrifice (Heb. 9:11–22). In addition, the events of the Exodus appear to the Church Fathers as typological events of Jesus' life; the passage through the Red Sea is the type of Salvation through baptism; and the water gushing out of the rock that Moses struck is a symbol of the Eucharist.

IN ISLAM

The personality and deeds of Mūsā (Moses) occupy an important place in the Koran. The events of his life, from the moment of his birth, are related at length. Indeed Nūḥ (*Noah), Ibrāhīm (*Abraham), and Moses were the first believers, and it was Moses who prophesied the coming of Muhammad, whose faith was that of Moses (Sura 7:140, 156; 42:11). At the same time of the decree of Firʿawn (Pharaoh) and his counselors, Hāmām and Qārūn (Korah), Moses' life was endangered when he was placed in the ark. However, Āsiya (see *Pharaoh), the wife (!) of Firʿawn, pitied Moses, saved him, and brought him up in her house (26:17; 28:6–10). Muhammad adapts the biblical tale of Jacob's labor for Laban inserting its years as those of Moses' employment by Shuʿayb (Jethro) in order to gain the hand of his daughter (28:27). He also adds details from the *aggadah*: Moses refused to suckle at the breasts of Egyptian women (28:11); one of the believers at the court of Pharaoh attempted to save Moses (40:29); Allah hung the mountain over the people of Israel like a pail in order that they would accept the Torah (2:60, 87; 7:170); on the sending of the spies (see *Joshua b. Nun = Yūshaʿ); on Korah (Qārūn) and his treasures; and many similar details. The Koran also contains themes and figures which are unknown in the ancient literature, such as the tale of al-Sāmirī, who casts the Golden Calf, and the journey of Moses and his servant to the end of the world (18:59–81; see below). Some of the tales about Moses are also mentioned in the poetry of *Umayya ibn Abi al-Ṣalt, and are embellished by Muslim legend, and interwoven with new legends. The biblical ʿImrān (Amram), husband of Yukhābid (Jochebed) and father of Moses and Aaron, is only mentioned in post-koranic literature. ʿImrān (Amram) of the Koran is the husband of Hannah (her name is not mentioned in the Koran, but in later works) and the father of Miriam (Maryam), the mother of Jesus (Sura 3, "The House of ʿImrān"). ʿImrān, the father of Moses, was one of Pharaoh's bodyguards; after the decree against the male children was issued, he did not leave the palace and did not have marital relations with his wife. A great bird, however, brought his wife Yukhābid to him, to the bedroom of Pharaoh, without drawing the attention of the bodyguards; she became pregnant and gave birth to Moses (al-Kisāʾī, 201). The ark of Moses had marvelous healing powers from which Pharaoh's daughter benefited. The infant Moses was saved from the fiery furnace just as Abraham had been; Pharaoh examined the child by placing a plate of coals and a plate full of gold in front of him. Moses wished to touch the gold, but an angel diverted his hand and put a burning coal in his mouth, which caused him later to stammer. The sheep of Jethro gave birth to spotted and speckled lambs. The staff of Moses came from a tree which had grown in the Garden of Eden, and which he inherited from the prophets, from Adam via Jacob. The death of Moses is described as an event unparalleled in world history, particularly in the tales of ʿUmāra (Ms., fol. 23v). The number of pages devoted to Moses in the "Legends of the Prophets" emphasizes the many legends which have been circulated.

Moses' Journey

The tale of the journey of Moses and his servant (Sura 18:59–81) is a departure from the framework of the biblical tales and legends. Moses set out to find the confluence of the two seas. On the way the servant forgot the roasted fish which was to serve as their provisions. They encountered the prophet of Allah and Moses asked him for a sign which would teach him wisdom and lead him along the proper course. The prophet consented on the condition that he would not question the meaning of the events which would occur en route. They boarded a ship and the prophet drilled a hole in it. Moses wondered about this act, forgot his promise, and asked the prophet whether it was his intention to drown them. Continuing on their way, the prophet killed a youth; and when they reached a town whose inhabitants refused them hospitality, the prophet held up a fence which was about to collapse. The prophet then explained to Moses the meaning of his surprising actions. The ship, which was the property of poor men, was about to fall into the hands of a pirate king. The youth would have caused his upright parents to sin; in his place, an upright son was born. Under the fence there was a treasure, the property of orphans, which was discovered after a while.

Since this tale does not belong to the legends of Moses which were widespread in the Orient, some of the Muslim commentators attempted to explain that it did not refer to Moses son of ʿImrān, but to another Moses. Most of the commentators, however, uphold the traditional explanation; they also explain that the servant was Yūshaʾ b. Nūn. The name of the prophet whom Moses asked for guidance is al-Khaḍir (al-Khiḍr, "the Green One"). However, other names are also mentioned. Thaʿlabī (p. 188) reports in the name of *Wahb b. Munabbih that it was Irmiyā b. Ḥilfiyā (!). The principal outlines of the tale of the journey can be found in the epic Gilgamesh (see *Flood) and in the romance of Alexander the Great, as related in the Syrian sources. It closely corresponds to the Jewish legend about R. Joshua b. Levi who set out on a journey with the prophet Elijah. The Jewish tale is found in two almost identical versions, though with a change in the order of events. One was published by A. Jellinek (*Bet ha-Midrash*, 5 (1877)) and the other in *Ḥibbur Yafeh min ha-Yeshu'ah* by R. Nissim b. Jacob. The introduction to the Jewish tale is identical to that of the Koran, except that Moses is replaced by R. Joshua b. Levi and the prophet (al-Khaḍir) by the prophet Elijah. The details of the story also differ: Elijah kills the cow of poor men who had received him and his companion with hospitality. They later stay with a wealthy man who neither pays attention to them nor gives them anything to eat. Elijah, however, prayed and rebuilt the wall of his house, which was about to collapse. Elijah and R. Joshua again came to a place of wealthy men who were indifferent toward them. Nevertheless, Elijah blessed them that they all might become leaders. When, however, they came to a place of the poor who were hospitable to them, the blessing was that they should have one leader. Elijah explained that all his actions and words had been favorable to the poor. With the exception of the story of the wall which was about to collapse, the Jewish tale differs from the Muslim account in its details.

[Haïm Z'ew Hirschberg]

IN THE ARTS

Of all the major biblical figures, not excepting David, Jacob, Joseph, and Solomon, Moses has inspired the largest amount of creative endeavor in literature, art, and music. Treatment of this figure also involves several associated themes, such as the Ten Plagues, the Exodus, and the Revelation on Sinai. By far the earliest literary work on the subject was *Exagoge* ("The Exodus from Egypt"), a drama by the second-century B.C.E. Alexandrian writer *Ezekiel (Ezekielos) the Poet, preserved as a fragment by the Church Father *Eusebius of Caesarea (modern editions by E.H. Gifford, 1903; and by J. Bloch, 1929). The first play known to have been written by a Jew, this was also the first recorded biblical drama. The characters who appear in it include Moses, Zipporah, Jethro, and an invented Chum. The *Exagoge*, an interesting example of late classical Greek theater, anticipates the miracle and mystery plays of the Middle Ages. In medieval drama, Moses figures in the *Ordo Prophetarum*, the French *Mistère du Viel Testament*, and in some of the English cycles: the *Ludus Coventriae* of Lincoln (*Moses and the Two Tablets*), the Towneley plays (*Pharaoh*), and the York series (*The Departure of the Israelites from Egypt*). Interest in the theme thereafter waned for a time. In the 16th century there were only a few works of note, such as a play by Diego Sanchez (c. 1530), and the *Meistersinger* Hans Sach's *Die Kintheit Mosi* (1553). Although Moses was one of the Old Testament heroes that appealed to Protestant writers of the 17th century, most of the works about him were of Catholic inspiration: one of the English *Stonyhurst Pageants* (c. 1625); *Exodus*, a neo-Latin sacred tragedy by Balthasar Crusius (1605); *Moïse sauvé* (1653), a tedious epic by Marc-Antoine de Gérard Saint-Amant; and *Pascha, of tede verlossingte Israëls uit Egypten* (1612), a five-act play by Joost van den Vondel.

In the 18th century, treatment was at first light, but more serious attention was given by writers of the last decades, particularly with the rise of the oratorio and musical drama. *The Plagues of Egypt* (London, 1708), an anonymous English poem, was followed by Poisson's one-act comedy, *La Déroute de Pharaon* (1718), and by texts for many musical compositions; notably Joannes Theodorus' neo-Latin drama *Aaron a Moyse fratre sacerdos inauguratus* (1730); Charles Jennens' *Israel in Egypt* (c. 1738), which served as libretto for Handel's well-known oratorio; and Benjamin Stillingfleet's *Moses and Zipporah* (1765). Three works of greater significance, all written at about the same time, were Hannah More's *Moses in the Bulrushes*, one of her *Sacred Dramas* (1782); Friedrich *Schiller's youthful epic, *Die Sendung Mosis* (1783); and Naphtali (Hartwig) *Wessely's 18-canto Hebrew epic, *Shirei Tiferet* (1782–1829). Wessely's poem, an account of the Exodus culminating in the giving of the Law at Sinai, betrays the influence of F.G. Klopstock's *Der Messias* (1748–73) and, in the spirit of the *Haskalah, presents Moses as a devout philosopher battling against fanaticism and ignorance. *Shirei Tiferet* was later translated into German (*Die Moseide*, 1795) and part into French (1815).

A dramatic revival of literary interest in the theme took place from the first decade of the 19th century, possibly as a result of the political and social upheavals of the age. Among the earlier works were August Klingmann's five-act drama, *Moses* (1812); David Lyndsay's *The Plague of Darkness* and *The Last Plague* (in *Drama of the Ancient World*, 1822); and Antonio Maria Robiola's Italian verse epic, *Il Mosè* (1823). Moses was the hero of several poetic compositions by French writers, beginning with *Les bergères de Madian, ou La jeunesse de Moise* (1779–80) by Stéphanie Félicité Ducrest de Saint-Aubin, countess de Genlis, which was translated into Hebrew (1834). In Alfred de Vigny's "Moïse" (*Poèmes antiques et modernes*, 1826), the Lawgiver is a tragic, weary figure, pleading with God on Nebo for release from his consuming task. He is also the central character in three other French works: François René de Chateaubriand's verse tragedy, *Moïse* (1836); a 24-canto poem of the same title (1850) by Ambroise Anatole de Montesquiou-Fézensac; and Victor Hugo's brief poem, "Le Temple" (in *La Legende des Siecles*, 1859[1]), which is based on Exodus 31:1–6. Elsewhere, Imre Madách wrote the drama, *Mózes* (1860), where the Hebrew Exodus was reinterpreted in terms of the Hungarian struggle for liberation. During the 19th century, Jewish authors also found inspiration in the biblical and rabbinic accounts of the life of Moses. Solomon Ludwig *Steinheim wrote the story *Sinai* (1823); Isaac Candia published the Hebrew play, *Toledot Moshe* (1829); and Moritz Rappaport was the author of a German epic poem, *Mose* (1842). The U.S. dramatist Samuel B.H. *Judah wrote *The Maid of Midian*, a biblical tragedy that was never staged because of the writer's sacrilegious treatment of the slaying of the Midianite captives (Num. 31:2–18). Contrasting sharply with this approach was the reverence expressed by *Heine in his late *Gestaendnisse* ("Confessions," 1854) – "How small Sinai appears when Moses stands upon it!" According to Heine the Lawgiver was an artist on a colossal scale, who built "human pyramids and human obelisks" and fashioned "a great, holy, and eternal people" out of a poor shepherd clan that would serve as a model for all other nations.

Literary Works by 20th-Century Non-Jewish Writers

Verse inspired by the life and career of Moses includes S.D. Polevaya's Russian biblical poem *Iskhod* (1913), Rainer Maria Rilke's *Der Tod Moses*, and *Moysey* (1922; Eng. 1938), a poem in Ukrainian by Ivan Franko. The yield has been richer in fiction, especially from the years following World War I when a number of novels were written on the theme. During World War II Zora Neale Hurston published *The Man of the Mountain* (1941; U.S. ed., *Moses*) and the U.S. novelist William George Hardy produced *All the Trumpets Sounded* (1942). Among novels that appeared during the postwar era were Dorothy Clarke Wildon's *Prince of Egypt* (1949); the Polish Catholic Dobraczyński's *Pustynia* (1957; German ed. *Die Wueste*, 1957); and the Hungarian writer János Kodolányi's *Az égő csipkebokor* ("The Burning Bush," 1957). Moses was also the hero of a Danish trilogy by Poul Hoffmann: *Den braendende tornebusk* (1961; *The Burning Bush*, 1961); *Den evige ild* (1961; *The Eternal Fire*, 1962); and *Kobberslangen* (1958; *The Brazen Serpent*, 1963). There are several treatments of Moses in modern drama. Earlier plays of the 20th century include Henry R.C. Dobbs' *Korah* (1903); five-act dramas, both entitled *Moses*, by Karl Hauptmann (1906) and Viktor Hahn (1907); and Oskar Kokoschka's *Der brennende Dornbusch* (1911); the Czech author Stanislav Lom wrote the drama *Vüdce* (1916; *The Leader*, 1917). The Nietzschean idea of the superman which had inspired Isaac *Rosenberg's remarkable short drama *Moses* (1916) inspired first a play by Lawrence Langner (1924), who treated the story as a myth on which to develop modern theories, and later Christopher Fry's *The Firstborn* (1946), in which Moses is again divested of his biblical qualities. Fry transforms his central character into an Egyptian military hero torn between idealism and reality, who finds himself providing the impetus for the Hebrews' liberation movement.

20th-Century Jewish Writers

Some of the most powerful and significant literary treatments of Moses in the 20th century have, understandably, been written by Jews. Max Donkhim published the five-act Russian drama, *Moysey* (1901), and Israel *Zangwill's "Moses and Jesus" (in *Blind Children*, 1903) records the imaginary encounter and bitter dialogue of the protagonists. Angiolo

*Orvieto's dramatic poem *Mosè* (1905) was later set to music by his fellow-Italian G. Orefice; and Naomi Nunes Carvalho wrote three dialogues involving Moses (in *Vox Humana*, 1912). Other literary treatments include the Czech play *Mojzis* (1919), by Eduard *Leda, and Markus Gottfried's Hebrew epic, *Moshe*, published in the same year. After World War I, the subject was treated by a number of eminent Jewish authors in various genres. Midrashic legends were reworked by Rudolf *Kayser (*Moses Tod*, 1921) and Edmond *Fleg (*Moise reconté par les Sages*, 1925; Eng. *The Life of Moses*, 1928); and there were narrative works in Hebrew by David *Frischmann ("*Sinai*," in *Ba-Midbar*, 1923) and Ḥayyim *Hazaz – who showed a modern approach in *Ḥatan Damim* (1925; Eng. tr. by I.M. Lask, *Bridegroom of Blood*). Three other novels of the interwar years were Lina Eckenstein's *Tutankh-Aten; a Story of the Past* (1924), a fictionalized history; Louis *Untermeyer's *Moses* (1928); and *Fertzig Yohr in Midbor* (1934), a Yiddish work by Saul Saphire. The U.S. poet Robert Nathan's "Moses on Nebo" (in *A Winter Tide*, 1940) presented the sad vision of Israel's millennial wanderings; Károly *Pap's *Mózes* was staged by the Budapest Jewish Theater just before the author's deportation in 1944. Konrad Bercovici's *The Exodus* (1947) was probably the first postwar attempt to recreate the Bible story in U.S. fiction. It was followed by many new treatments, including *Moyshe* (1951; *Moses*, 1951), one of the best-known Yiddish novels of Sholem *Asch, and two Hebrew novels by Israel writers: Ben-Zion Firer's *Moshe* (1959) and Y. Shurun's *Ḥalom Leil Setav* ("Dream of an Autumn Night," 1960). Other works in the same genre have been written by Howard *Fast (*Moses, Prince of Egypt*, 1958) and the Dutch author Manuel van *Loggem (*Mozes, de wording van een volk*, 1947, 1960^2).

In Art

Together with David, Jacob, and Samson, Moses is one of the most popular Old Testament figures in art. The medieval church considered him both a type of the Messiah and one of the prophets who foretold his coming. In early Christian art until the end of the Carolingian period, Moses was often represented as a beardless youth holding a rod. He was later conceived in the form in which he still lives in popular imagination: as a patriarchal figure with a flowing, double-pointed beard, clasping the Tablets of the Law. Two horns were shown protruding from his head, because the Latin (Vulgate) translation of the Bible used during the Middle Ages mistranslated the verb "sent forth beams" as "horns" (*karan*, קרן) in Exodus 34:35. There are medieval sculptures of Moses at Chartres and elsewhere, and a Renaissance figure by Donatello in the Campanile at Florence. The most striking examples are the horned figure by Claus Sluter (1406) for the Well of the Prophets (or Well of Moses) at Dijon, France, and the horned statue by Michelangelo at San Pietro in Vincoli, Rome. This work, the most famous portrayal of Moses in art, was originally intended for the mausoleum of Pope Julius II. Many art cycles relate the various episodes in the life of Moses. Among the earliest is a Jewish source, the third-century frescoes from the synagogue at *Dura-Europos. Fuller cycles appear in Italy after the fifth century, such as the mosaics at Santa Maria Maggiore, Rome. There is a portrayal of the early life of Moses carved in ivory relief (Lipsanotheca, Brescia). A modern cycle of paintings, "Moses" (1924), was executed by the artist Uriel *Birnbaum.

Scenes from the life of Moses figure in many famous manuscripts, such as the sixth-century Vienna Genesis, the seventh-century Ashburnham Pentateuch, the ninth-century Bible of Charles the Bald, the 12th-century *Hortus Deliciarum* and Admont Bible, the 13th-century St. Louis Psalter, and the 14th-century Queen Mary Psalter. They are also found in medieval Hebrew manuscripts. Illustrations of the Exodus played a major part in the adornment of Passover **Haggadot*. There are also illuminations in German *maḥzorim* and other manuscripts. The *Haggadot* also include illustrations to a number of midrashic legends, such as the tale of the infant Moses who took Pharaoh's crown from his head and placed it on his own (Ex. R. 1:26). An episode from the same legend is treated in paintings by Giorgione (Uffizi Gallery, Florence) and Nicolas Poussin (Paris, Louvre). Other legends depicted include the petrification of Moses' neck when he was sentenced to be executed for killing the Egyptian (Ex. R. 1:28–31) and Pharaoh bathing in the blood of Israelite children as a cure for leprosy (Ex. R. 1:34). Scenes from the life of Moses also appear in mosaics at St. Mark's, Venice. Two scenes from the Exodus appear on the wings to the triptych of the Last Supper by Dirk Bouts (St. Pierre, Louvain): the paschal feast eaten by the Israelites before their departure from Egypt (a prefiguration of the Last Supper), and the gathering of the manna. The life of Moses inspired many frescoes of the Italian Renaissance. Benozzo Gozzoli dealt with the subject in frescoes at the Campo Santo, Pisa, and there are frescoes in the Sistine Chapel of the Vatican by Botticelli, Pinturicio, and Signorelli. The Exodus was also treated in the Vatican frescoes of the school of Raphael. In the Brera Gallery, Milan, there is a series of paintings by Bernardino Luini that depict scenes from the Exodus, including the crossing of the Red Sea. In his murals for the School of San Rocco, Venice, Tintoretto painted "The Rain of Manna," "Moses Striking the Rock," and "The Raising of the Serpent in the Wilderness" with his usual boldness and employment of violent contrasts of light and darkness. More than any other painter, Nicolas Poussin was haunted by the figure of Moses. He painted a larger number of canvases, forming an almost complete cycle of the lawgiver's life. Among them are "Moses and the Burning Bush" (Copenhagen Museum), "The Rain of Manna," "Moses Striking the Rock" (a subject he treated seven times), "The Spies Carrying the Cluster of Grapes" (Louvre), and "The Dance Around the Golden Calf" (National Gallery, London). In the 20th century, the figure of Moses has interested *Chagall and Ben-Zion who have both painted scenes from his life.

Some individual episodes call for more detailed consideration. The finding of Moses, Moses and the burning bush, Moses striking the rock, and the giving of the Law are the subjects which have most interested artists. The finding of Moses

(Ex. 2:5–10) was painted with elegance by the Venetian artist Paolo Veronese (two versions in the Hermitage and Prado). There is also a painting of this subject by *Rembrandt (Johnson Collection, Philadelphia). Jochebed, the mother of Moses, and her infant son are the subject of a tender family group by the English artist Simeon *Solomon. Moses and the burning bush (Ex. 3:1–14) occasionally appeared in early Christian art, but this subject is particularly associated with the popularity of the Marial cult in the Middle Ages. The burning bush was held to symbolize virgin birth, in that the virgin was penetrated but not consumed by the flames of the Holy Spirit. In medieval art Mary is therefore represented as rising out of the bush which burns at her feet. An example of the Marial interpretation is a major work of the 15th-century Provençal school, "The Coronation of the Virgin" by Enguerrand Charenton (Hospice of Villeneuve-les-Avignon). There is a more traditional representation of the burning bush episode in an engraving by Hans Holbein the younger. The ten plagues of Egypt (Ex. 7–12) are sometimes represented by the last plague, the slaying of the firstborn. There is a treatment of this subject by the English landscape painter J.M.W. Turner in the National Gallery, London. In one of the many illustrations to the Bible executed by Paul Gustave Doré, Pharaoh, overwhelmed by the disaster, implores Moses to lead the Israelites out of Egypt. The crossing of the Red Sea (Ex. 12–15) often appears in Byzantine manuscripts. There is a painting of this subject by the German Renaissance artist Lucas Cranach (Pinakothek, Munich), who also depicted Miriam's dance of triumph (Ex. 15:20–21; Augsburg Gallery). Moses striking the rock (Ex. 17:1–7; Num. 10:1–3) was one of the most popular subjects in early Christian art, where it is found in the murals of the catacombs, on Roman sarcophagi, and on gilded glass. Another Holbein engraving shows the Israelites gathering the manna; while Moses is seen with his hands supported by Aaron and Hur in a painting of the battle with Amalek (Ex. 17:8–16) by the English artist Sir John Millais. The giving of the Law (Ex. 20:1–18) appears on early Christian sarcophagi and in medieval art. Apart from the above-mentioned statue by Michelangelo, the most famous treatment of this episode is the painting by Rembrandt (Berlin Museum) of Moses breaking the tablets (Ex. 32:19). The raising of the serpent in the wilderness (Num. 21:6–9) was a popular subject in the Middle Ages and Renaissance, being understood as a prefiguration of the raising of the cross. The subject also lent itself to the dramatic, convoluted compositions of baroque artists. There is a painting by Rubens in the National Gallery, London, and one by his pupil, Anthony Van Dyck in the Prado. The death of Moses (Deut. 34) is depicted in a watercolor by William *Blake in accordance with a legend that, when Moses died, Satan tried to snatch his soul but was warded off by St. Michael's lance.

The lawgiver's brother Aaron is shown clad in the long robes of a high priest, a stone-studded breastplate on his chest and a turban or tiara on his head. He carries his flowering rod or censer, signifying priesthood. The revolt of Korah against Moses and Aaron (Num. 16) and the tragic fate that overtakes the rebels form the subject of an illustration by Jean Fouquet to the *Jewish Antiquities* of Josephus (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris). The medieval Church thought of the rebels as heretics; on the other hand, the papacy associated Aaron with itself and for this reason Botticelli was commissioned to include the episode in his frescoes for the Sistine Chapel in the Vatican.

In Music

The story of Moses, interwoven with that of the Israelites, has also inspired many musical compositions from the Renaissance era onward, as well as Jewish and other folk songs. The following survey lists selected settings of texts and episodes from the Pentateuch, including even the relatively few which do not mention Moses himself.

(1) Oratorios, Operas, Cantatas, and Choral Works: Jachet van Berchem, *Locutus est Dominus ad Moysen; Stetit Moyses coram Pharaone* (motets, printed 1538–59); Claudio Monteverdi, *Audi coelum* (motets, added to the *Vesperae* of 1610); Giovanni Paolo Colonna, *Mosé legato di Dio e liberatore del popolo ebreo* (oratorio, 1686); Giovanni Battista Bassani, *Mosé risorto dalle acque* (oratorio, 1694); Antonio Vivaldi, *Moyses Deus Pharaonis* (oratorio, 1714; libretto only preserved); Johann Adolf Hasse (1699–1783), *Serpentes in deserto* (oratorio; the authenticity of another oratorio, *Mosé*, is doubtful); Nicolo Porpora (1686–1768), *Israel ab Aegyptiis liberatus* (oratorio); Georg Friedrich Handel, *Israel in Egypt* (oratorio) – text compiled by Charles Jennens, first performed in London at the King's Theatre, April, 4, 1739. This is one of Handel's major compositions and ranks among the outstanding works in the genre. Built mainly on the expression of the chorus, symbolizing the people of Israel, it reaches its climax with its description of the crossing of the Red Sea and in the "Song of Triumph"; Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach, *Die Israeliten in der Wueste* (oratorio, text by Schiebeler, printed by the composer in Hamburg, 1775, and first performed in Breslau, 1798); François Giroust, *Le Mont-Sinai ou Le Décalogue* (oratorio, Latin text, 1785); Johann Christoph Friedrich Bach, *Mosis Mutter und ihre Tochter* (duodrama, 1788); Giovanni Paisello (1740–1816), *Mosé in Egitto* (cantata for three voices); Konradin Kreutzer, *Die Sendung Mosis* (oratorio, 1814); Gioacchino Rossini, *Mosé in Egitto* (opera, text by Léon Tottola, premiere in Italian at Naples, 1818) – The revised version in French, *Moïse*, first performed in Paris (1827), included the famous "Prayer of Moses" which was one of the favorite subjects for fantasias, variations, and arrangements throughout the 19th century. The plot is that of a typical grand opera, with an interwoven dramatic love story not found in the biblical text; Franz Schubert, *Miriams Siegesgesang* (for soprano solo, mixed choir, and piano, opus 136; text by Franz Grillparzer, 1828); Karl Loewe, *Die eherne Schlange* (cantata for men's choir a capella, 1834); Adolf Bernhard *Marx, *Moses* (oratorio, 1841); Félicien David, *Moïse au Sinai* ("ode symphonique," i.e., oratorio, 1846); Camille Saint-Saëns, *Moïse sauvé des eaux* (cantata, text by Victor Hugo, c. 1851); Anton *Berlijn, *Moses auf Nebo* (oratorio) Anton *Rubinstein, *Moses* (oratorio, 1892); Marcus *Hast, *The Death of Moses* (ora-

torio, 1897); Jules Massenet, *La terre promise* (oratorio, 1900); Bernard Rogers, *The Exodus* (cantata, 1932); Arnold *Schoenberg, *Moses und Aaron* (opera, text by the composer, two acts completed in 1932; composition resumed in 1951; unfinished) – *Moses und Aaron* was first performed, in concert form, as a radio broadcast from Hamburg (first two acts, 1954); and was first staged in Zurich (June 6, 1957). In this highly philosophical work, the composer expresses the conflict between the Lawgiver, who cannot communicate his vision to the people (Moses = Schoenberg himself?), the weak and wavering people, and the glib mediator (Aaron = the critics, conventional composers?). See K. Woerner, *Gotteswort und Magie: die Oper Moses und Aron* [sic] (1959); D. Newlin, *Yuval 1* (1968), 204–20; Darius Milhaud, *Opus Americanum 2*, op. 219 (orchestral suite, originally composed as a ballet, *The Man of Midian*, for the Ballet Theater (1940, not produced) and first performed as an orchestral suite, 1940); Wadi'a Sabrá (1876–1952), Lebanese Maronite composer, *Le chant de Moïse* (oratorio); Roger Vuataz, *Moïse* (oratorio for five reciters, soprano, choir, and orchestra, 1947); Jacob *Weinberg, *The Life of Moses* (oratorio, 1955); Josef Tal, *Exodus* (first version, for piano and drums, as "choreagraphic poem" for the dancer Deborah Bertonoff; second version ("Exodus I"), for baritone and orchestra (1945/46); third version ("Exodus II"), electronic composition, including processed human voices (1958/59); the first electronic work produced in Israel).

(2) Jewish Folk Tradition. Among the musical notations made by *Obadiah the (Norman) Proselyte (11th–12th centuries) there is a setting of a *piyyut* in honor of Moses, *Mi al Har Ḥorev ha-Amidi* (see illus. in col. 1307–8). Jewish folk-song tradition contains a large number of songs about Moses, such as *Yismaḥ Moshe*, found in almost all communities; the religious Ladino songs, e.g., *Cantar vos quiero un mahase* (on the birth of Moses) and *A catorce era del mes* (on the Exodus); and the epic Aramaic songs of the Jews of *Kurdistan about Moses and Pharaoh's daughter, the battle between Israel and Amalek, and the death of Moses. Many of these songs are sung on Shavuot or Simḥat Torah. Among modern Israel folk songs are Yedidyah *Admon's *U-Moshe Hikkah al Ẓur*, and two children's songs, *Benei Yisrael Po Kullanu* (Joel *Engel, after a Yemenite melody) and *Dumam Shatah Tevah Ketannah* (K.Y. Silman, after an East Ashkenazi melody). Yehuda *Sharett's setting of the **Haggadah* ("*Nusaḥ Yagur*") is both a functional "liturgy" for kibbutz use and an oratorio.

(3) Other Folk-Song Traditions. While a few songs about Moses and the Exodus exist in older Christian music, the most prominent examples can be found in the Afro-American spirituals – notably the powerful *Go Down Moses* ("When Israel was in Egypt land – let my people go!"), which has become an international favorite. The Palestinian Arab tradition of mass pilgrimage to the legendary tomb of Moses on the festival of Nebi Musa has given rise to its own repertory of mass chants. One of these, *Ya ḥalili ya ḥabibi, ya ḥawaja Musa*, has become an Israel *Hora*-song.

[Bathja Bayer]

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MOSES, ADOLPH (**Eliezer Adolph**; 1840–1902), rabbi. Moses was born in Kletchevo, Poland. His parents were Rabbi Israel Baruch Moses, a talmudic scholar, and Eva Graditz. An eldest child, Moses was born when his parents were living on stipend (*kest*) in the home of his mother's parents. In 1849, R. Israel Baruch took a rabbinic position in Santomishel, Posen. The young Adolph went back to Poland to study in yeshivot for three years, then returned for secular studies at Schrimm and Militsch. He moved on to Breslau, where he attended both the University of Breslau and Zechariah *Frankel's Rabbinical Seminary. Idealistic and devoted to his studies, Moses was especially interested in history, philosophy, and philology and like many young Jews of the time was strongly influenced by Western civilization. In 1859, carrying only a walking stick, he hiked to Italy where he fought under Garibaldi, attaining the rank of corporal. Returning to Breslau, he felt rejected by old friends who did not sympathize with some of his views. In 1863, Moses joined the Polish insurrection. Captured by the Russians, he later wrote a novel, *Luser Segermacher*, about his prison experiences. After his release, Moses went to Frankfurt on Main to study under Abraham *Geiger, a leading Reform scholar, and later spent two years at the University of Vienna, where he was close to Professor Adolph *Jellinek. In 1868, Moses took a teaching position in Steegnitz, Bavaria. Two years later he accepted a call to a pulpit in Montgomery, Alabama, and soon moved on to another in Mobile, where he served 1871–1881. He devoted himself to learning to deliver sermons in good English, rather than the German language prevalent in the American synagogues at the time, and he developed a life-long fascination with Shakespeare, even giving lectures on the Bard.

Moses leaned toward radical Reform, deprecating what he would term "physiological Judaism," by which he meant its ritual and nationalistic aspects. He preferred instead to see Judaism as a world monotheistic doctrine of truth and morality.

In 1885, he was the first to rise to advocate acceptance of the Platform at the famous meeting of Reform rabbis at Pittsburgh. He joined a group of rabbis in 1890 in rejecting the halakhic requirement of circumcision for male proselytes, although he criticized conversions for people who simply wanted to marry Jews. He opposed the budding Zionist movement, and like many Reform rabbis of that era moved his temple's main weekly service to Sundays, starting in 1892. He published many articles on Judaism, folklore, and anthropology and served as editor of *Zeitgeist*, a Jewish journal. A collection of his essays, along with a brief biography, was published in 1903 by Hyman G. Enelow.

He graduated from the medical school of the University of Louisville in 1893 and was particularly interested in working with the blind. From 1881, he served as rabbi of Temple Adath Israel in Louisville, Kentucky, where he remained until his death after a long illness.

[Matthew Schwartz (2nd ed.)]

MOSES, ASSUMPTION OF. Title of the incomplete text of an apocryphal writing, which consists, largely, of an address, in the form of a prophecy, by Moses to his successor, Joshua. The substance of the prophecy concerns the future fate of Israel and the End of Days. Only scant attention is paid to the epochs of the Judges and Kings, the onslaught of Nebuchadnezzar and the Babylonian Exile, and to the return of the exiles. However, with discussion of the Hasmonean period the story becomes considerably more detailed.

The defiling of the altar in the temple is described in detail, i.e., blemished offerings which were presented by slaves, the offspring of slaves, rather than by priests (5:4). It is unclear whether this is a specific reference to John Hyrcanus (cf. Jos., Ant. 13:288–92). Unmistakable, however, is the allusion to the Hasmoneans in the mention of the reunion of the kingdom with the priesthood (6:1). The subsequent cruel rule of "an insolent king… who will not be of the race of the priests" (6:2) is depicted in detail, and its length (34 years) is specified (6:6). The prophecy continues: "And he shall beget children (who) succeeding him shall rule for shorter periods" (6:7); cohorts will assault and a powerful king of the west will conquer the country (6:8). It is at this point that the prophecy of political events ends, and 7:1 reads: "And when this is done the times shall be ended…" The succeeding sequence describes: the hypocrisy of the ruling class; the chaos of the persecutions (in chap. 8, which contains traces of the era of Domitian, although this may be a later interpolation); the appearance of a Levite, Taxo, who with his seven sons prefers death to active resistance (9); and a poetic representation of the intervention of God and of the victory of Israel over "the eagle" (an obvious reference to Rome). The text ends, abruptly, with the reply of Joshua (11), and with the final answer of Moses.

The work was discovered as a palimpsest in the Ambrosiana library in Milan by M. Ceriani, the Italian orientalist, and first published in 1861. The present Latin version of the text has remained untouched by Christian annotators. It is based upon a Greek original, although whether the first version was in Hebrew or in Aramaic is unknown. The contents of chapter one strongly suggest that the work originated in the first century, although some details in the following chapters may indicate another date (c. 130). It is probable that "the insolent king" referred to is Herod the Great, the length of whose reign may have corresponded to the 34 years mentioned in the text (6:6). It is difficult to agree with opinions which maintain that the passage refers to Alexander Yannai and Pompey and that the reign of 34 years was inserted later. If the Herodian interpretation is correct, then the work was composed after the campaign of *Quintilus Varus in 4 B.C.E. (perhaps referred to in 6:8), i.e., during the rule of Herod's sons. Allusions in the text which refer to events after that period are obscure. A study by J. Licht (see bibl.) proposes a Hasmonean date for the basic elements of the work, together with a reworking and adaptation by a post-Herodian editor. The present title of the manuscript is based on a tradition of the Church Fathers that a work of this name existed in ancient times. Clement of Alexandria, Didymus, and Origen, for example, claimed that the mention of the struggle between the archangel Michael and Satan for the body of Moses, in Jude 5:9, is based upon a work entitled the *Assumptio* or *Ascensio Moysis (Mosis)*. However, although the lost sections of the work probably contained descriptions of the death of Moses and his ascent to heaven, this story is not mentioned in the portion of the text quoted by

Gelasius of Cyzicus in his "History of the Council of Nicaea" as being taken from the ʾΑνάληψις Μωυσέως ("The Ascension of Moses"). Neither is any reference made to the ascent of Moses in the Ceriani fragment. Indeed a more appropriate title for the extant palimpsest would appear to be *The Testament of Moses* (which is also mentioned as a distinct work in ancient Church documents); especially in light of the fact that reference is made in the present text (1:10) to Deuteronomy 31:7–8. The words *"Liber Profetiae Moysis"* in the text itself (1:5) could, however, indicate that this may have been its original title. Whatever the case, the present version of the text is probably the result of an amalgamation between an original work, *Testamentum Moses* (or *Liber Profetiae Moysis*), and a later composition, the *Assumptio Moysis*.

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[Werner Michaelis]

MOSES, BLESSING OF. Deuteronomy 33 is presented as Moses' blessing of the tribes of Israel shortly before his death, and it is traditionally considered a prophecy of future conditions. The critical view, however, is not that the poem is actually Mosaic, for it describes Israel after the conquest, when the tribes had settled in Canaan. It is of uncertain date. It has been dated on orthographic grounds to the 11th century B.C.E., although it may have been written down in the tenth century (Cross and Freedman). This dating also fits the political and social conditions described: Judah was oppressed by the Philistines, and Reuben, suffering from Ammonite encroachment, had practically disappeared; Simeon had vanished as an ethnic entity, and Dan had already moved north. Others date the poem later. Driver places it either shortly after the reign of Jeroboam I or in the middle of the reign of Jeroboam II. The poem is probably of northern origin, for Judah is portrayed as weak and separated from his brothers, while Joseph, who has the longest and most lavish blessing, is called *nezir ʾeḥaw* – the "prince" or "distinguished one" of his brothers. The poem is divided into two parts: the framework and the body. The framework consists of: (a) the exordium (verses 2–5) telling how God appeared from Sinai, gave Israel a law through Moses, and established himself as king in their midst (possibly verse 5 tells of the foundation of human kingship in Israel), and (b) the hymnic conclusion (verses 26–29) lauding God's glory and might, and celebrating Israel's happiness, prosperity, and security under God's protection.

The body (verses 6–25) consists of 11 eulogistic sayings characterizing the tribes or praying for their well-being (Simeon is not mentioned). The sayings themselves may be older than the song. Each blessing after the first is introduced by the narrator, e.g., "And of Levi he said …" (8). The ordering principle is a combination of the age of the eponyms and the importance of the tribes. In general the poem describes Israel in its ideal condition: a tribal league with God alone as king, settled in their land and flourishing (except for Judah and Reuben) under the protection of God and the theocratic guidance of Levi. The atmosphere is one of peace and security. The language of the poem is extremely difficult because of its antiquity and epigrammatic style, and the text apparently contains many corruptions, so that much of the interpretation is necessarily problematic.

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[Michael V. Fox]

MOSES, CHRONICLES OF (Heb. דִּבְרֵי הַיָּמִים לְמֹשֶׁה רַבֵּנוּ, *Divrei ha-Yamim le-Moshe Rabbenu*), a story on the life of Moses written in the early Middle Ages. The prophet's early life, before the Exodus from Egypt, forms the major part of the story, while his later life and death are described only very briefly. The author based himself on some of the midrashic interpretations of the life of Moses as told in the Book of Exodus, but the many adventures ascribed in the work to Moses are the product of the author's fertile imagination.

According to the story, *Balaam the Magician was adviser to the king of Egypt in Moses' time; *Jethro, also one of the king's advisers, was driven away from the royal court after he tried to help the Jews in Egypt. The author also describes a number of miracles (not mentioned in the Bible) that supposedly occurred in Moses' youth and which saved him from disaster. Completely new stories were also added to Moses' biography, e.g., a very detailed tale about his becoming king of Ethiopia, after he had driven away Balaam, who had seized the Ethiopian throne. In the story, Moses reigned for 40 years in the kingdom. A. Shinan published an edition of this book in 1977–78. There is a Spanish translation by L. Girón (1988). There is an East Slavic version of the "Life of Moses," preserved in manuscripts from the 15th century on, that agree in most details with the Hebrew text (Taube). *"Divrei ha-Yamim le-Moshe Rabbenu"* is similar to other early medieval tales in which a biblical story is adapted in the light of conventions, mores, and concepts of the Middle Ages. The narrative element is usually emphasized in these stories. Abraham and many other sages were also the subjects of such tales which were often erroneously considered to belong to midrashic literature. Later writers in adapting biblical stories also compiled and adapted these different versions, e.g., the author of *"*Sefer ha-Yashar*" (Venice, 1625; see *Fiction, Hebrew: The Hebrew Story in the Middle Ages). *"Midrash Petirat Moshe Rabbenu"* ("A Midrash on the Death of Moses") is another story about Moses written in the Middle Ages. The narrative aspect is not dominant, but rather the midrashic elements which are ethical in content and meant to convey a moral. Moses' death is described in a mythological setting involving a confrontation between God and Samael (Satan).

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[Joseph Dan]

MOSES, ISAAC S. (1847–1926), U.S. Reform rabbi. Moses, who was born in Zaniemysl, Poznan, had not completed his education before he settled in the United States in the early 1870s. He was appointed to rabbinic positions in Quincy, Illinois (1876), Milwaukee (1879), and Chicago (1888). In 1901 he became rabbi of the Central Synagogue, New York, where he remained until his retirement in 1919.

In his early days in the United States, Moses was considered a radical Reformer, but later he took a more moderate position. In 1884 he introduced his own prayer book (*Tefillat Yisrael*). Moses was a founding member of the Central Conference of American Rabbis and a member of the Reform committee charged with compiling an official prayer book. The appearance of the *Union Prayer Book* in 1894 has been credited to his personal initiative in preparing and circulating a manuscript when the committee's work seemed to be leading nowhere. Moses also published a number of sermons and textbooks for children. His *Sabbath School Hymnal*, first issued in 1894, ran into 14 editions. While in Milwaukee, he edited the weekly *Der Zeitgeist* (1880–82).

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[Sefton D. Temkin]

MOSES, MARCUS (**Mordecai Hamburger**; d. 1735), Anglo-Indian pioneer. Son of Moses Libusch, a leader of Hamburg Jewry, he married a daughter of the famous *Glueckel von Hameln and settled in London. Here his criticism of a divorce issued by R. Aaron *Hart brought him into conflict with the established Ashkenazi community. He was excommunicated and, in consequence, in 1707 set up his own synagogue (later the Hambro synagogue). Becoming impoverished in 1712, he went to Fort St. George (*Madras) in India and was involved in the purchase for the governor of Madras, Thomas Pitt, of the famous Pitt diamond, later sold to the regent of France. In 1721 he returned to England a wealthy man and built his congregation a new synagogue. In 1731 he went back to India where he died. His eldest son, known as MOSES MARCUS (b. 1701), was converted to Christianity and published in 1724 an autobiographical tract (later translated into Dutch) justifying his action, as well as books on biblical study.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: C. Roth, *The Great Synagogue, London* (1950), 35–46, 114–9; Roth, Mag Bibl, 285, 351, 408; idem, *Anglo-Jewish Letters* (1938), 97–98; H.D. Love, *Vestige of Old Madras*, 4 vols. (1913); Hart, in: *Jewish Historical Society of England, Miscellanies*, 3 (1937), 57–76. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** Katz, England, 206–15.

[Walter Joseph Fischel]

MOSES, MYER (1779–1833), U.S. merchant, soldier, and public official. Moses, who was born in Charleston, South Carolina, was active in the South Carolina Society for Promotion of Domestic Arts and Manufactories and was director of the Planters and Mechanics Bank. In 1809 Moses became a captain of volunteers and he later served in the War of 1812. He represented Charleston in the 1810 state legislature and served on the Charleston public school commission in 1811 and 1823. In 1825 Moses moved to New York City.

[Neil Ovadia]

MOSES, RAPHAEL J. (1812–1893), U.S. lawyer and state legislator. Born in Charleston, South Carolina, into a family of colonial American origin, Moses attended grade school but left school at the age of 13. After an apprenticeship in business, he set himself up in Charleston as a merchant. After the 1838 fire destroyed his business, he moved to St. Joseph, Florida, then to Apalachicola, Florida, where he studied law and opened his own practice. He then moved to Columbus, Georgia, where his practice flourished and he became a leader of the bar. He also ventured into fruit growing. Before the Civil War he was the first to ship Georgia peaches to Savannah and thence by steamer to New York City. An ardent secessionist, Moses, although over military age, quickly volunteered his services at the outbreak of the Civil War. He rose to the rank of major and served as Confederate Commissary for the State of Georgia until the war's end. Moses retained his deep feeling for the "Lost Cause" to the end of his life.

Returning to Columbus, Moses resumed his law practice and was elected to the first postwar Georgia state legislature, where he was made chairman of the Judiciary Committee. In 1878, while campaigning for the U.S. Congress, Moses heard that his opponent, W.O. Tuggle, had taunted him with being a Jew. In "An Open Letter to the Hon. W.O. Tuggle," first published in the Columbus *Daily Times* (Aug. 29, 1878) and reprinted many times, he eloquently answered: "… I feel it an honor to be one of a race whom persecution cannot crush… whom prejudice has in vain endeavored to subdue… who… after nearly nineteen centuries of persecution still survive as a nation and assert their manhood and intelligence… Would you honor me? Call me Jew. Would you place in unenviable prominence your unchristian prejudices and narrow bigotry? Call me Jew." Moses lost the election nevertheless.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: B.A. Elzas, *Jews of South Carolina* (1905), 199–202; C. Reznikoff and U.Z. Engelmann, *Jews of Charleston* (1950), 289–90 (reprint of letter to Tuggle).

[Thomas J. Tobias]

MOSES, ROBERT (1888–1981), U.S. parks and highways developer. Moses was born in New Haven, Connecticut, to well-to-do Spanish-Jewish parents. He denied his Jewish affiliation. He received his B.A. and M.A. degrees from Oxford University in 1911 and 1913, respectively. In 1914 he received a Ph.D. in political science from Columbia University, writing his dissertation on British colonial administration. It was published as *Civil Service of Great Britain* (1914). He later wrote *Theory and Practice in Politics* (1939), *Working for the People* (1956), *La Guardia: A Salute and a Memoir* (1957), *A*

Tribute to Governor Smith (1962), and *Public Works: A Dangerous Trade* (1970).

In 1919 Moses joined the staff of Governor Alfred E. Smith and served as chief of staff of a New York State commission on administrative reorganization. He then began his long career on state parks and highways agencies as president of the New York State Council of Parks (1924–63) and chairman of the Long Island State Parks Commission (1924–63). He also served as secretary of state for New York (1927–28). In 1934 Moses was the unsuccessful Republican candidate for governor of New York.

In 1934 Moses became Mayor Fiorello La Guardia's parks commissioner, a post he held under four mayors (to 1960). As commissioner, he inaugurated massive public works of the New Deal type. He was responsible, for example, for construction of the Triborough Bridge structures (dedicated 1936); Grand Central Parkway; Belt Parkway; West Side Highway and Henry Hudson Parkway, in Manhattan and the Bronx; East River (later called the Franklin D. Roosevelt) and Harlem River Drive, in Manhattan; Fire Island State Park; the Niagara power plant; and the Coliseum convention hall in Manhattan. His department developed 15 outdoor swimming pools, 84 miles of parkways, and 17 miles of beaches, including Jones Beach. The park acreage in New York City was increased from 14,000 acres to 34,673 acres. On the social level, he provided full entry for the city's working-class communities into a recreational world previously reserved for the middle and upper classes.

Moses also served as city construction coordinator (1946–60); as chairman of the Jones Beach State Parkway Authority (1933–63); as member (1934) and then chairman (1936–46) of the Triborough Bridge Authority and of the Consolidated Triborough Bridge and City Tunnel Authority (1946–68); as sole member (1938) of the New York City Parkway Authority; as chairman of the state committee on postwar employment (1948); and as chief consultant on public works to the federal Hoover Commission on Reorganization of the Executive Branch (1948). Among the city buildings he constructed were Shea Stadium, Lincoln Center, and the New York Aquarium in Coney Island.

Impatient for results, Moses was known as "the man who got things done." Outspoken and single-minded, he was frequently embroiled in controversies in which he displayed his acerbic wit and combative style. By the late 1950s, however, there was growing public resentment about his aggressive urban reconstruction programs. In 1960, Mayor Robert F. Wagner moved him out of his city positions to run the New York World's Fair of 1964. Under the administration of Governor Nelson Rockefeller, Moses lost his positions in New York State and thus left state government in 1968. Finally, in 1972, Mayor John Lindsay refused to reappoint him to the Triborough Authority, which essentially ended Moses' career.

Considered the single most powerful individual in the city and state of New York in the 20th century, Moses was the most influential nonfederal public official in the U.S. of his time without ever being elected to public office. Some of the landmarks named in his honor include the Robert Moses State Park in Long Island; Robert Moses State Park at Massena; the Robert Moses Causeway on Long Island; the Robert Moses Parkway at Niagara; and the dams at Niagara and Massena.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: C. Rodgers, *Robert Moses: Builder for Democracy* (1952). **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** J. Schwartz, *The New York Approach* (1993); B. Nicholson, *Hi Ho, Come to the Fair* (1990); E. Lewis, *Public Entrepreneurship* (1980); R. Caro, *The Power Broker: Robert Moses and the Fall of New York* (1975);

[Richard Skolnik / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

MOSES, SIEGFRIED (1887–1974), German Zionist leader and Israel public official. Born in Lautenburg, Germany, Moses practiced as a lawyer from 1912 to 1937. In 1917 he was appointed food controller of the city of Danzig and in 1919 he became deputy director of the Union of German Municipalities, a post he held until 1920. From 1923 to 1929 he was manager of the Schocken Department Store Co. in Zwickau. In his student days he was active in the union of Jewish student fraternities (see *Kartell Juedischer Verbindungen) and was the editor of *Der Juedische Student*. In 1920 he was appointed a member of the board of the Jewish Workers Aid Society in Berlin and was its executive chairman from 1921 to 1923. He was a delegate to several Zionist Congresses and was the president of the Zionist Organization of Germany during the period 1933–37. Moses was also active in Jewish communal affairs as vice chairman of the Reichsvertretung der Juden in Deutschland, 1933–37, and as a member of the Berlin Community Council. He settled in Palestine in 1937 and assumed the post of managing director of *Ha'avara (transfer of Jewish assets in Germany to Palestine). For a period of ten years (1939–49), he worked as a certified public accountant and income tax expert. He was a member of the *Jewish Agency Delegation to the United Nations in 1947 and in 1949 was appointed Israel's first State Comptroller, a post which he held until his retirement in 1961. In 1957 he was elected president of Irgun Olei Merkaz Europa ("Association of Settlers from Central Europe") and president of the Council of Jews from Germany and of the Leo Baeck Institute. He was the chairman of the Advisory Committee of the United Restitution Organization in Israel and a member of the board of Bank Leumi. Moses wrote *The Income Tax Ordinance of Palestine* (1942, 1946), *Jewish Post-War Claims* (1944), and articles on Jewish subjects and his professional work.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: D. Lazar, *Rashim be-Yisrael*, 2 (1955), 132–6.

[Kurt Loewenstein]

MOSES BEN ABRAHAM OF PONTOISE (12th century), French tosafist. Moses was a pupil of Jacob *Tam. The *Sefer ha-Yashar* of R. Tam discusses a number of problems, concerned mainly with the clarification of the plain meaning of various talmudic passages, which Moses put before his teacher (Responsa nos. 51, 52, 69–70). The theoretical nature of most of the questions, and the answers and their importance for an understanding of the relevant talmudic passages, led to their inclusion, in substance, in the standard *tosafot*, as well as in the works of such *rishonim* as *Mordecai b. Hillel, *Meir b. Baruch of Rothenburg, and others. The tosafists also mention Moses in connection with other subjects, and they cite his comments in the various collections of their biblical commentaries. A short verse of two lines by Moses, coming at the end of the list of positive precepts in the *Azharot of Elijah ha-Zaken, together with a commentary to it, has been preserved (*Kobez al Jad*, 1 (1936), 8).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Urbach, Tosafot, 111–3.

[Israel Moses Ta-Shma]

MOSES BEN DANIEL OF ROHATYN (end of 17th century), Galician author. His name suggests that he was born in Rohatyn (Rogatin), but according to the preface of his works he lived in Zolkiew, where he published his *Sugyat ha-Talmud* (1693). The work, consisting of 40 paragraphs, is a methodology of the Talmud. It deals particularly with the commentaries of Rashi and *tosafot* and the manner in which they were studied at the time according to the two dialectical methods of Talmud study known as the "Nuremberger" and the "Regensburger" (see *Yeshivot). The work was translated into Latin by H.J. van Bashuysen and was published in the Latin translation of the *Halikhot Olam* of Joshua b. Joseph ha-Levi (Hanover, 1714 pp. 363ff.).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: S. Buber, *Kiryah Nisgavah* (1903), 58 no. 229.

MOSES BEN ELIJAH HA-LEVI (d. 1667), Karaite scholar from Feodosia (the Crimea), *ḥazzan* of the community and a teacher of Torah in the 17th century. In 1654–55 he went on a pilgrimage to Ereẓ Israel, which he described in his travel account (see Gurland; Ya'ari). Moses, with other members of the Karaite community, set out from Feodosia seaport. They traveled through Constantinople and Rhodes and spent Rosh Ha-Shanah and Yom Kippur on the ship. They visited Cairo and Alexandria, and he devoted part of his account to the depiction of Karaite communities of Egypt. From Egypt they moved to Gaza through the Sinai desert and then to Jerusalem. They also visited Hebron, Nablus, and Damascus. Moses copied Karaite books and was an author of the book *Darosh Darash Moshe* (JTS 3317, [JNUL, mic. 32002]), including 24 commentaries and sermons on different subjects. He composed several liturgical poems, which had been included in the Karaite *siddur.*

BIBLIOGRAPHY: A.B. Gottlober, *Bikkoret le-Toledot ha-Kara'im* (1865), 204; H.Y. Gurland, *Ginzei Yisrael*, 1 (1865); Mann, Texts, 2 (1935), 1363; 1427–28; A. Ya'ari, *Massa'ot Ereẓ Yisrael* (1976), 305–23.

[Golda Akhiezer (2nd ed.)]

MOSES BEN ELIJAH PASHA, Karaite scholar from Chufut-Qaleh, *ḥazzan* of the community and a teacher of Torah in the 16th century. In addition, he was mentioned in one manuscript as a corrector of prayer books. He corresponded with Karaite worthies of Constantinople, Moses Metsorodi and Eljah Maruli. He wrote a commentary on the liturgical poem by Aaron ben Joseph, *Hakdamat Aẓulah,* and composed several liturgical poems, some of which were included in the Karaite *siddur.*

BIBLIOGRAPHY: A.B. Gottlober, *Bikkoret le-Toledot ha-Kara'im* (1865), 204; Mann, Texts, 2 (1935), 446–47, 462ff., 1427.

[Golda Akhiever (2nd ed.)]

MOSES (ben Isaac) BEN HA-NESI'AH (late 13th century), Hebrew grammarian and lexicographer; lived in England. His mother was apparently Jewish and was known as "Countess" or "Contesse," in Hebrew *Ha-Nesi'ah*; hence his name: Ben ha-Nesi'ah. His only extant work, *Sefer ha-Shoham* ("The Onyx Book"), is the sole source for the scanty information available on him. In the introduction, he states that in his youth he wrote a grammar book, *Leshon Limmudim* ("Language of Learning"). This work is not extant and some scholars assume that extracts of it were included in *Sefer ha-Shoham*, written later. The author chose the name שֹׁהַם (Shoham), because it is an anagram of his name מֹשֶׁה (Moses). From the work, it can be learned that the author's teacher was R. *Moses b. Yom Tov ha-Nakdan ("the Punctuator") of London (c. 1268) and that he had a knowledge of Arabic. Moses b. ha-Nesi'ah was acquainted with many of the works of his predecessors.

Sefer ha-Shoham is divided into three parts. The first is a general introduction to the Hebrew language, a study of the origin of the letters, and on the formative letters and their role, etc. In the second part, the author reviews the verbs and divides them into seven groups. His system was possibly influenced by that of Judah b. David *Ḥayyuj. He then lists the nouns, classified into 162 metric groups, according to the method of David *Kimḥi. The third part deals with the particles, adverbs, numerals, vocalization, and accents. He added also a dictionary of the Aramaic words found in the Bible. Only the introduction to *Sefer ha-Shoham* and the section dealing with the verbs have been published (1947).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Moses b. Isaac ha-Nesi'ah, *Sefer ha-Shoham*, ed. by B. Klar, 1 (1947), vii–viii (introd.), 5–16 (Eng. section) 16 n. 24 (additional bibliography).

[Nissan Netzer]

MOSES BEN ḤANOKH (d. c. 965), Spanish rabbi. The principal source for the biographic details of this famous scholar is the story of the *Four Captives told by Abraham *Ibn Daud in his *Sefer ha-Kabbalah* (*The Book of Tradition*, ed. by G.D. Cohen (1967), 63–69). This story tells how R. Moses' wife cast herself into the sea in order to escape from her captor, how he was sold as a slave at Cordoba and redeemed, and how his erudition resulted in his becoming recognized as rabbi of the community. But, according to sources which have since been discovered, this story seems to be unacceptable. It would indeed seem that R. Moses probably came from southern Italy. It is quite possible that he was indeed taken prisoner on a sea journey at the time he traveled to Spain, because a maritime war was then being waged between the Umayyad caliphate of Spain and the Fāṭimid kingdom of North Africa. In any case, it seems that R. Moses arrived in Spain during the 950s and became rabbi of Cordoba. He enjoyed the protection of the minister *Ḥisdai ibn Shaprut, who by coordinating the policies of Abd-al-Raḥmān III (912–961), the Umayyad caliph of Cordoba, sought to make the Jewish population of Spain independent of the Jewish center in Babylonia. R. Moses headed the yeshivah, which had many pupils, and also answered halakhic questions which were addressed to him from other towns. His responsa were regarded by his contemporaries as authoritative and no less valuable than the responsa of the Babylonian *geonim*. Many were included in the collections of geonic responsa, such as *Sha'arei Ẓedek* (Salonika, 1792), *Ge'onei Mizraḥ u-Ma'arav* (ed. by J. Miller, Berlin, 1888), and some were quoted by the *rishonim, particularly by the author of "*Ha-Ittur,*" R. *Isaac b. Abba Mari of Marseilles. His responsa in a German translation were collected by J. Miller. A responsum attributed to Moses, the *Gaon* of Sura, is in fact by Moses b. Ḥanokh. From the time of Moses b. Ḥanokh the practical dependence of Spanish scholars upon Babylonian scholars ceased in everything connected with *halakhah* and custom. In addition to his outstanding erudition, his great humility and exceptional modesty left a deep impression on his contemporaries. He was succeeded by his son *Ḥanokh.

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[Eliyahu Ashtor]

MOSES BEN ISAIAH KATZ (end of 17th and early 18th centuries), Polish rabbi and homilist. Katz was a pupil of Solomon *Luria and was rabbi successively of Medzibezh, Brody, and Przemysl. He is the author of *Penei Moshe* (Wilhermsdorf, 1716), a commentary on the aggadic passages of 18 treatises of the Babylonian and Jerusalem Talmuds. (This work should not be confused with *Penei Moshe*, the standard commentary on the Jerusalem Talmud by Moses *Margoliot.) He reveals a remarkable homiletic ingenuity in his work *Keren Or* (Zolkiew, 1721). As the title suggests, the work is a commentary on this phrase which occurs in Exodus 34:30, 35 ("the skin of his face shone"). He gives no less than 50 different explanations of the phrase. It has been suggested that Katz may be identical with Moses b. Isaiah Wengrow, the author of *Berit Matteh Moshe* (Berlin, 1701), a commentary on the Passover *Haggadah* with novellae on the tractate *Zevaḥim*.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Fuerst, Bibliotheca, 3 (1863), 120; Halpern, Pinkas, 279–81, 501.

MOSES BEN JACOB OF COUCY (13th century), French scholar and tosafist. His father Jacob is mentioned a number of times in the printed *tosafot* (Kid. 43b; et al.). Moses was the maternal grandson of the tosafist *Ḥayyim ha-Kohen and brother-in-law of *Samson of Coucy. His principal teacher was *Judah ben Issac (Sir Leon).

Moses of Coucy is the first example among French Jews of an itinerant preacher, wandering from town to town and from country to country to rouse the masses to draw near to God by the active observance of His precepts. He began his preaching in Spain in 1236, being motivated to do so, according to his own words, by some mystical revelation which he experienced. The nature of this revelation is not clear, although it was possibly connected with the reckoning of the Redemption, a pursuit in which Judah Sir Leon, who designated 1236 for its beginning, also engaged. His sermons excited a massive response and, in his own words, brought about the repentance of "thousands and tens of thousands," especially in respect to observance of the precepts of *tefillin*, *mezuzah*, and *ẓiẓit*, which in that era (as other sources also testify) had grown very lax. He called also for the curbing of sexual relations with gentile women, widespread in Spain at that time, and taught in his sermons a method of repentance close in formula to the spirit of Ḥasidei Ashkenaz, though to a much less severe degree. He stressed the value of Torah study in a regular and orderly manner, and was one of the first to call for greater equity and propriety in economic dealings with the gentile community. Thus Moses checked, at least temporarily, the decline in the observance of the positive precepts of Judaism among the masses and the scholars in Spain, which had resulted from the tendency toward rationalization and to the extravagant allegorization of Scripture caused by the influence of Maimonides' philosophic writings. He later visited other countries (which, he does not specify) and in 1240 was in Paris, where he took part in the well-known disputation on the Talmud with Nicholas *Donin. These activities earned him the name of Moses ha-Darshan, in consequence of which he has sometimes been confused with *Moses ha-Darshan of Narbonne.

Moses of Coucy's reputation rests on his extensive and important work, the *Sefer Mitzvot Gadol* (*Se-Ma-G*; first published before 1480 (Rome?), and subsequently published three times by 1547, in Italy). The work is unique among the prolific rabbinic writing of the period. It includes, in effect, the essence of the Oral Law, arranged in the order of the precepts and divided into two parts: positive precepts and negative precepts. The work is based on Maimonides' *Mishneh Torah*, which is cited word by word on every page. He supplements Maimonides' words with an abundance of sources, from the Babylonian and Jerusalem Talmuds and the Midrashim, as well as from the works of French and German *rishonim*, which he possessed either in the original or in precis. Moses adapts the language of the Midrashim so closely to the style of Maimonides that one is often under the impression that he has before him an alternative reading of the halakhic Midrash. Although the book follows the arrangement of the precepts, their number and order differ from those of Maimonides, both because Moses did not know Maimonides' *Sefer ha-Mitzvot* but only the list of precepts in the introduction to the *Mishneh Torah*, and because at the end of the book he included rabbinic precepts, in keeping with the practical aim he had set himself in compiling it: to instruct the people in the way of the Lord. In pursuit of this aim, he also varied the arrangement of the precepts, separating those applicable in our time from those which are not. The *Se-Ma-G* marks the penetration of the works of Maimonides (which Moses probably "discovered" during his stay in Spain) into the halakhic world of France. Though Maimonides was known to Moses' teacher, Judah Sir Leon, as well as to *Samson of Sens, they merely quoted him a number of times, whereas Moses made him the basis of his whole project. He seems not to have been unaware of the great paradox in the possibility that it was precisely Maimonides who contributed to the undermining of practical *halakhah* in the countries under his influence, as a result of his use of allegory in general, and of his having posited reasons for the precepts in particular. Although the period of Moses' activity began only a few years after the first controversy in Europe around the works of Maimonides, he makes no reference whatsoever to it in his work, perhaps feeling that his special relationship to Maimonides disqualified him as an impartial judge in the matter. Among works of French and German scholars frequently used and cited by Moses, sometimes by name and sometimes not, are the *tosafot* of Samson of Sens, the *Sefer ha-Terumah* of *Baruch b. Isaac of Worms, and the *Sefer Yere'im* of *Eliezer b. Samuel of Metz. His practice, in general, is to begin with a scriptural verse touching on the subject, to cite the interpretations of the verse found in the Talmuds and the halakhic Midrashim, to give the relevant talmudic discussions, the words of the commentators and *posekim*, and a summary of the *halakhah* – all this with the degree of editing and adaptation of style necessary to give greater fluency to the language, every effort being made to avoid casuistry and prolixity. Moses weaves into his words an abundance of aggadic material, quotations from the sources, or the homiletic creations of his own spirit, all marked by their wholesomeness and simplicity, with love of God and of his fellow man.

The *Se-Ma-G* won great popularity among scholars and *posekim*. Many tens of manuscripts of the work have been preserved to the present time, an unusual phenomenon with a book of such great length. It was also one of the first Hebrew books to be printed. It has served as a standard guide to halakhic practice for scholars in all generations, notable among them being *Mordecai b. Hillel, *Meir ha-Kohen, a pupil of *Meir b. Baruch of Rothenburg, in his *Haggahot Maimuniyyot*, as well as all the pupils of *Perez of Corbeil. Quotations from it occur in the printed *tosafot*. Great scholars of all generations have written commentaries to it, among them Isaac *Stein, Joseph *Colon, Elijah *Mizrachi, Solomon *Luria, and Ḥayyim *Benveniste. Joshua *Boaz included the *SeMaG* with the Shulḥan Arukh and Maimonides' *Mishneh Torah* among the references given in his *Ein Mishpat*, an indication of the work's indispensability. The tremendous influence of the book is particularly evidenced by the fact that Isaac of Corbeil, who in his time bore the title "Head of the Yeshivot of France," found it necessary to compile the *Sefer Mitzvot Katan*, which is completely dependent upon the *SeMaG*, and to make it compulsory daily learning for every Jew. Perez, and his pupils after him, who wrote glosses and notes to the book of Isaac of Corbeil, all associated themselves in their rulings with the *SeMaG*, which they continually quoted. This estimate of the *Se-Ma-G* persisted, among both Ashkenazim and Sephardim, until the time of Joseph *Caro's Shulḥan Arukh; and Moses b. Jacob of Coucy is numbered among the great *posekim* of all generations.

The *tosafot* of Moses of Coucy to *Yoma*, first published with the title *Tosafot Yeshanim* in the Amsterdam (1714–17) edition of the Talmud, have come down to us. He also wrote a commentary on the Torah (known among *rishonim* as "*Peshatei ha-Ram mi-Coucy*"), which is much quoted in the *Minḥat Yehudah* (in *Da'at Zekenim*, Leghorn, 1783) of Judah b. Eliezer. In the *SeMaG* (positive precept no. 16) Moses tells of a special prayer he composed for the benefit of those wishing to repent. Two versions of such a prayer attributed to him have lately been published from manuscripts.

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[Israel Moses Ta-Shema]

MOSES BEN JACOB OF KIEV (also called **Moses ha-Goleh** and **Moses of Kiev** II; 1449–c. 1520), talmudic scholar and author. Moses was born, according to various scholars, in Seduva (Shadov), Lithuania (see A. Epstein, *Kitvei…* 1 (1950), 303–7). I. Zinberg, however, is of the opinion that he was born in Tarov, Kiev region (*Toledot Sifrut Yisrael*, 3 (1958), 161–6, 354). He died in Kaffa (Feodosiya), Crimea. At that time there were no important Torah institutions in Poland and Russia, and Moses traveled to Constantinople where he became friendly with both Rabbanites and Karaites. He also studied astronomy there under the Karaite Elijah ha-Shayazi, author of *Adderet Eliyahu*. He settled in Kiev and acquired a reputation in various branches of literature. He was a biblical exegete, talmudist, *paytan*, linguist, and kabbalist. From Kiev he wrote a polemical work against *Gan Eden*, the book of precepts of the Karaite scholar Abraham b. Elijah. In 1482 the Tatars attacked Kiev. Moses' possessions, including his library, were plundered. He himself escaped, but his children were taken captive to the Crimea, and Moses journeyed to various communities to collect money for their ransom. When passing through Karaite communities he disputed with their scholars. After ransoming his children, Moses returned to Kiev. He then wrote his works *Sefer ha-Dikduk*, a Hebrew grammar, and *Yesod ha-Ibbur,* on the calendar. In 1495 the Jews of Lithuania and the Ukraine were expelled, and Moses again was forced to wander. During these wanderings he wrote *Shushan Sodot* on automatic and cryptic writing, as well as *Oẓar ha-Shem* and *Sha'arei Ẓedek* on the upper **Sefirot*, which are no longer extant. In 1506, while he was staying in the Lithuanian (i.e., Belorussian) town of Lida, it was attacked by the Tatars and Moses was taken captive. He was carried off to the Crimea where he was ransomed by the Jews of the city of Salkhat. From there he removed to Kaffa in the Crimea where he settled. Here Moses filled an important cultural role as rabbi and head of the community. He succeeded in uniting the members of the community who had come from different countries, and also compiled a prayer book for them which became known as *Minhag Kaffa* and was adopted by all the communities of the Crimea. Moses also compiled special regulations for the community. There he succeeded in completing his *Oẓar Neḥmad*, a supercommentary to the Pentateuch commentary of Abraham ibn Ezra.

[Shlomo Eidelberg]

MOSES BEN JOAB (d. after 1530), Hebrew poet who lived in Florence. His *diwan* (Montefiore Collection, Ms. 366) contains a colorful variety of poems, ranging from elegy to satire, from love song to religious hymn, and from epigram to epithalamium. The collection consists of three groups: (1) satiric verses, in which the poet presents a series of persons characteristic of his time, such as Isaac of Correggio and Solomon of Poggibonsi; (2) love songs stylistically modeled on the Spanish poets and Immanuel of Rome; (3) religious poetry – artistically the most important of his work. While it contains all the flavor of the early hymnology, some well-known secular motives have also been included, without in any way detracting from the poetic form. The greater part of his religious verse is consecrated to the festivals. One of his poems describes the tragic conditions in Florence during the siege of 1529–30.

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[Yonah David]

MOSES BEN JOSEPH BEN MERWAN LEVI (12th century), one of the renowned scholars of Narbonne. Moses belonged to a distinguished family. His grandfather "was very pious, a man of substance and of good deeds, benefiting Israel with his wealth, and causing many evil decrees to be revoked." His uncle, under whom he studied, was Isaac b. Merwan Levi, rabbi of Narbonne. His father was also a scholar, and his brother Meir one of the scholars of Narbonne. Moses himself was head of a yeshivah and a member of the *bet din* of Narbonne headed by *Abraham b. Isaac. Most of the scholars of Narbonne were pupils of Moses, among them *Abraham b. David and *Zerahiah b. Isaac ha-Levi. A commentary which he wrote on most of the Talmud is no longer extant. The few quotations from it in the works of the scholars of Provence and Catalonia show it to have been written in the style of the early German and French scholars, with the aim of establishing the *halakhah*. It was intended (though not in the manner of a polemic) to defend the old Provençal traditions against the influence of the Spanish school in Lunel in the 12th century, the prime exponent of which was Abraham b. Isaac who follows in the steps of *Alfasi and *Judah b. Barzillai al-Bargeloni. In addition to his commentary, Moses' responsa and customs are also quoted in that literature. He exerted a great influence on the scholars of Provence and Catalonia, particularly on Zerahiah ha-Levi and *Naḥmanides, who quote him extensively.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Benedikt, in: *Tarbiz*, 19 (1948), 19–34; 22 (1951), 85–109; I. Twersky, *Rabad of Posquières* (1962), index.

[Binyamin Zeev Benedikt]

MOSES BEN JOSEPH HA-LEVI (13th century), philosopher. Nothing is known about Moses' life; the suggestion that he was a member of the famous Abulafia family has not been proven. He was highly regarded by Joseph b. Abraham *Ibn Wakar, and is quoted by Crescas, Albo, and Isaac Abrabanel. His major work *Ma'amar Elohi* ("Metaphysical Treatise"), as well as fragments from two of his minor works (all written in Arabic), were discovered and incorporated in Ibn Wakar's *Treatise on the Harmony between Philosophy and the Revealed Law* (c. 1340). Two manuscripts of the Hebrew versions of the *Ma'amar* are extant (Bodleian and Leningrad), while a third, previously in the library of the cathedral of Pamplona, Spain, can no longer be traced. The *Ma'amar Elohi* seeks to establish the existence of the First Cause (God); to refute erroneous views concerning this subject and concerning the attributes of God; and to investigate the emanation of beings from the First Cause. Moses, disagreeing with Aristotle, Alexander of Aphrodisias, and Averroes, holds with Themistius, al-Fārābī, and Avicenna, that the "First Intellect," which emanated directly from God without an intermediary, is the Prime Mover of the celestial spheres. His doctrine of Divine attributes seeks to avoid plurality in God and therefore denies all attributes superadded to His essence. He admits, however, not only negative attributes but also attributes of essence, such as knowledge, will, and power, as well as attributes denoting action as "Creator." (Moses makes no reference whatever to Maimonides' thorough treatment of this theme.) Divine Providence, according to him, does not involve God's knowledge of individuals, but only the universal rule of God, employing the human intellect as an agent of the Active *Intellect. Of the two other fragments, one deals with the problem of Divine Providence and the other with al-Ghazālī's doctrine of the "Word" (*Kalima*). Approving of Ghazālī's doctrine, Moses establishes a metaphysical entity above the "First Intellect," the Prime Mover, and immediately below God, the First Cause.

[Alexander Altmann]

Moses also wrote, assuming that Steinschneider's identification is correct, a work on musical harmonies, a short section of which is quoted by Shemtov Shaprut b. Isaac of Tudela in his Hebrew commentary on Avicenna's *Canon* (Munich, Ms. Hebr. 8, fol. 330b). Moses describes the mathematical relations of musical intervals as well as some arithmetical operations carried out with them. The rather elementary contents of this text comply with Arabic musical theory. Its musical terminology is basically identical with that used in a Hebrew version of the musical chapter in Umayya ibn abī al-Ṣalt's encyclopedia (Paris, Cod. Hebr. 1037^1); thus Moses' treatise may originally have been in Hebrew.

[Hanoch Avenary]

MOSES BEN JOSHUA (**Ben Mar David**) **OF NARBONNE** (**Narboni**, Lat., **Maestre Vidal Bellsom** [**Blasom?**]; d. 1362), French philosopher and physician. Moses was born in Perpignan at the end of the 13th, or beginning of the 14th, century, to a family originally from Narbonne. As a youth he studied with his father and private tutors and was introduced to the study of Maimonides at the age of 13. In addition to the Bible, rabbinic literature, and Jewish philosophy, he studied general philosophy and medicine. Moses began his literary career in Perpignan, where he remained until 1344, and continued in Spain, writing most of his works there. Although he lived in various Spanish cities – he mentions Cervera, Barcelona, Soria, Toledo, and Burgos – he never completely severed his ties with Perpignan. He expressed nostalgia for the intellectual circles there and intended to return. He probably spoke Provençal and Catalan, and it is likely that he knew Arabic and some Latin. He shows no familiarity, however, with Christian thinkers, the major philosophical influence on him being Islamic thought, particularly Averroes, whose works he read in Hebrew translation. Moses, who is known primarily for his commentary on Maimonides' *Guide of the Perplexed* and for his espousal of Averroes' teachings, is the author of some 20 works, an impressive number for the troubled period in which he lived. An early work, *Ma'amar ba-Sekhel ha-Hiyyulani* or *Ma'amar be-Efsharut ha-Devekut*, was written in Perpignan under conditions of siege and warfare; in Spain, as a physician, he undoubtedly had to cope with the bubonic plague of 1348–50 and, as a Jew, with the antisemitism that followed it. In 1349 he fled Cervera with the rest of the Jewish community, leaving his possessions and books behind. Before his work on Maimonides, Moses had written a number of commentaries and supercommentaries, most of them on Islamic philosophical texts. He composed major commentaries on al-*Ghāzalī's *Maqāṣid al-Falāsifa* ("Intentions of the Philosophers") and Ibn Ṭufayl's *Ḥayy ibn Yaqẓān*, and a number of supercommentaries to Averroes' commentaries on Aristotle's works on logic, physics, metaphysics, astronomy, and psychology. Moses' commentary on the *Guide* (ed. by I. Euchel, and printed together with text of the *Guide*, 1791; ed. J. Goldenthal, 1852; the latter reprinted with text, 1946, and in *Sheloshah Kadmonei Mefareshei ha-Moreh*, 1961), his last work, begun in Toledo in 1355 and finished in Soria in 1362, was based on his thorough knowledge of Islamic philosophy. He opposed Maimonides' neoplatonic interpretations of Aristotle's doctrines, which Maimonides had derived from al-Fārābī and Avicenna, with Averroes' more purely Aristotelian interpretations. He criticized, in particular, Maimonides' discussion of the proofs for the existence of God, his concept of God, and his doctrine of divine attributes. In the following, more conservative centuries, critics such as Isaac *Arama, Isaac *Abrabanel, and Joseph *Delmedigo opposed his Averroistic critique of Maimonides' *Guide* and his clarification of points that Maimonides had left discreetly implicit. They also disparaged his difficult style of writing and highly eclectic, often confusing use of sources.

In *Iggeret al Shi'ur Komah* (ed. and tr. into English as *Epistle on Shiur Qomah* by A. Altmann in his *Jewish Medieval and Renaissance Studies* (1967), 225–88), one of his early works, Moses attempted a reconciliation between philosophy and Kabbalah, reflecting the influence of Joseph *Ibn Waqar. He pursued a similar direction in his commentary on Ibn Ṭufayl's work (see G. Vajda, *Recherches sur la philosophie et la Kabbale* (1962), 396–403). Though more critical of kabbalistic concepts in his later years, Moses retained throughout his writings an affinity for the mystical phrase and symbol, a trait which has attracted recent scholarly attention (see Altmann's essay, *ibid.*). Averroes' doctrine of the conjunction of man's perfected intellect with the universal Agent Intellect that Moses accepted in his *Ma'amar bi-Shelemut ha-Nefesh* ("Treatise on the Perfection of the Soul," Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. Heb., 988) resembles the mystic's experience of eternal being and loss of individuality in his relation to his creator. In his *Ma'amar bi-Shelemut ha-Nefesh*, Moses quoted almost the whole of Averroes' middle commentary on Aristotle's *De Anima*, as well as much of his "Treatise on the Possibility of Conjunction," to which he then added his own comments. Among Moses' other works are *Ha-Ma'amar bi-Veḥirah* ("Treatise on Free Will," ed. by E. Ashkenazi in *Sefer Divrei Ḥakhamim* (1849), 37–41), a polemical work written in answer to *Abner of Burgos' *Minḥat Kena'ot*, which expounds a theory of determinism; a number of medical treatises, in particular *Oraḥ Ḥayyim*, in which his reliance on classical and medieval sources is ostensibly tempered by an empirical approach; commentaries on Lamentations and Job; and four works which are no longer extant: a supercommentary on Abraham ibn Ezra's allegorical commentary on Genesis 2:2; *Pirkei Moshe*, a work containing philosophical aphorisms; a treatise on metaphysics; and a supercommentary on Averroes' commentary on Aristotle's *De Caelo et Mundo*.

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[Alfred L. Ivry]

MOSES BEN JUDAH, NOGA (14th century), philosopher. Nothing is known about Moses' life, but it has been proved that he is not identified with *Moses Nathan, as some of the Hebrew bibliographical works claim. It has been suggested that "Nogah" is not a part of his name but rather an abbreviation for "*nuḥo gan Hashem*" ("may he rest in divine paradise"), and that he was a disciple of one of *Nahmanides' students, probably of R. *Yom Tov ben Abraham Ishbili (the *Ritba*). Moses ben Judah is the author of the Hebrew encyclopedia

Ahavah ba-Ta'anugim ("Love in Delights"), which was written during the years 1353–56, and which has never been printed, although extant in four manuscripts. The title of the work, *Ahavah ba-Ta'anugim*, is taken from the biblical Song of Songs 7:7: "How fair and how pleasant art thou, O love in delights!" The "love" referred to in the encyclopedia's title is directed towards the philosophical pursuits, which are the true human delight. The object of the book is to defend philosophy and to demonstrate that Torah and philosophy are not in contradiction but rather complement one another in order to arouse in the educated reader a passion for such learning. According to this aim the book contains a comprehensive summary of the sciences popular among philosophically inclined Jews of the period: The first section is devoted to physics which Moses (like Maimonides) identifies with *ma'aseh bereshit*, and contains eight divisions on the following topics: (1) On Prime Matter; (2) On the Substance; (3) On the Four Elements; (4) On Motion, the Movers, and the Prime Mover; On Time, Infinity, and the Finite; (5) On Space and Vacuum; (6) On Human Nature; (7) On Astronomical Signs; and (8) On the Soul, Sleep, and Waking; On Dreams and the Human Soul. The second section is devoted to metaphysics which Moses (again like Maimonides) identifies with *ma'aseh merkavah*, and contains eight divisions on the following topics: (1) On Substance and Accident, Chance and Necessity; On the Nine [other] Categories; (2) On Existence; (3) On the Whole, Parts, and the One; (4) On the Substance of the Sphere; (5) On the Separate Movers; (6) On God's Names; (7) On Knowledge; and (8) On the Way the World is Related to God. The third section is a theological section and contains four chapters on the following topics: (1) On Magic; (2) On Prophecy and the Prophet's Acts; (3) On the Creation of the World; On Providence, Reward, and Punishment; On the Meaning of the Commandments; (4) On the Eternal Soul and the Resurrection of the Dead.

The first two parts present clearly and systematically the central topics of physics and metaphysics, the points of dispute among the philosophers on various issues, and it also resolves these disputes by questioning the fundamental arguments underlying the refuted views. After those discussions it demonstrates how the philosophical opinions are to be found in the Torah. Moses almost always adopts the views of *Averroes, whom he regards as second to Aristotle. On the other hand he sees *Avicenna and Al-*Ghazali as thinkers on a lower level, who attempted to produce a mixture of religion and philosophy. Moses is also an admirer of Maimonides, and sees him not only as the master of all philosophers but also as the master of all prophets, and he even calls the *Guide of the Perplexed* "the sacred book." Another Jewish philosopher whom Moses admires is Abraham *Ibn Ezra, and he draws extensively on his commentary on the Pentateuch. Moses' acceptance of Averroes' philosophical views alongside his unconditional admiration for Maimonides leads him to a unique interpretive reconstruction of Maimonides, in order to present his opinions in accordance with those of Averroes, or at least to blur the difference between them. Moses also presents Maimonides' views as identical with those of Ibn Ezra and as a consequence the gap between Ibn Ezra and Averroes is reconciled through Maimonides. Yet, for Moses, not only are the views of Maimonides, Ibn Ezra, and Averroes basically identical with each other, but also with the Kabbalah. Moses derives various terms and ideas from the Kabbalah. His interpretation of the Kabbalah, however, is distinctly philosophical, and eliminates much of its mythical and anti-philosophical language. In metaphysics Moses accepts Averroes' understanding of God as a form encompassing all the forms of the world and the prime mover of the sphere, and he rejects Avicenna's view identifying God with the necessary existent. He brings these views into unequivocal agreement with those of Maimonides in his *Guide* and interprets the kabbalistic theory of the 10 **sefirot* according to the Aristotelian doctrine of the 10 separated intellects. Moses accepts Avicenna's doctrine of *emanation, although according to Averroes matter has its own separate existence. According to Moses the entire world derives from God, and that is the meaning of creation *ex nihilo.* Moses accepted Averroes' view on the soul as presented in his Middle Commentary on the *De Anima*. According to this view, the individual's hylic intellect is none other than one of the aspects of the Active Intellect, and it has no separate and independent existence. Thus, in the state of the conjunction as it is *post mortem*, that is, the state of immortality and eternal bliss, there is no place for the individual intellect. As in the case of metaphysics, so too here with regard to psychology, Moses reads Maimonides' statements on the soul through the eyes of Averroes. He also explains the mystical notion of *gilgul* (transmigration of the soul) according to this theory: The Active Intellect enters the bodies of various human beings, and *post mortem* returns to its source and is united a second time with the Active Intellect, and so on ad infinitum. Moses also identifies the Averroean theory of the conjunction with prophecy. On the question of providence, Moses combines the Maimonidean view, explaining providence naturalistically, with astral elements. Regarding the reasons for the divine commandments Moses integrates the Maimonidean doctrines, the astrological notions of Ibn Ezra, and the symbolic kabbalistic ideas.

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[E. Eisenmann (2nd ed.)]

MOSES BEN LEVI (12th century), communal leader and poet in *Egypt. From fragments of the Cairo **Genizah*, it has become clear that Moses was in charge of the affairs of the Jewish community of Qalyub, north of *Cairo. In 1195 the heads of the Jewish community there addressed themselves to *Sar Shalom b. Moses ha-Levi, the *Gaon* of the Fostat yeshivah, with a request that he confirm the appointment of Moses b. Levi as officer in charge of communal affairs after his position had been challenged. In his reply, the *gaon* praises Moses, who also served in the offices of *ḥazzan*, *shoḥet*, and teacher of the community. An autobiographical **maqāma* by Moses is extant in the Kaufmann collection of the *Genizah*, which reveals details of his life before his arrival in Qalyub. At first he occupied himself with various matters, but after a time he immersed himself in Torah study alone. Two and a half years later he decided to leave his locality, the identity of which is unknown, after a quarrel with his parents. Reaching Qalyub, he was amazed at its beauty and wrote poems in its praise. He appears to be identical with Moses b. ha-Levi from whom there remains a blank verse poem (Ar. *muwashshaḥ*).

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[Abraham David]

MOSES BEN MENAHEM GRAF (also known as **Moses Praeger**; 1650–1700/1710), kabbalist born in Prague. After the conflagration in the Prague ghetto (1689), Moses moved to Nikolsburg (Mikulov), where he studied under the kabbalist Eliezer Mendel b. Mordecai. He was given lodging and support by David *Oppenheim, who, like Samson *Wertheimer of Vienna, encouraged the publication of his writings. Leaving Nikolsburg, Moses attempted to settle in various European cities, reaching Fuerth in 1696 and Dessau in 1698. It is not certain whether he died there or whether he returned to Prague in his later years. Moses' published works include: *Zera Kodesh*, a kabbalistic work with an appendix describing the exorcism of a *dibbuk* in Nikolsburg (Fuerth, 1696); a second edition, without the *dibbuk* story, was published by Simeon b. David Abiob of Hebron, together with his *Bat Melekh* (Venice, 1712; reprinted Munkacz, 1893); and *Va-Yakhel Moshe*, a kabbalistic discussion of various portions of the Zohar and of the *Adam de-Aẓilut*, with a special commentary on the latter concept entitled *Masveh Moshe*, introduced and annotated by Samuel b. Solomon Kohen, cantor in Brody (Dessau, 1699). In this last work Moses often criticizes the teachings of Moses *Cordovero and his followers.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: J. Guenzig, *Die Wundermaenner im juedischen Volke* (1921), 102–6.

[Joseph Elijah Heller]

MOSES BEN MEVORAKH (12th century), leader of Egyptian Jewry. He was the **nagid* of Egyptian Jewry from c. 1110 to before 1141, having been appointed to the position after the death of his father, the *nagid* *Mevorakh. He was assisted by his two sons, Mevorakh and Judah, who acted as "vice *negidim*." In his time the Jews of Egypt were oppressed, and he intervened in their favor. A *kinah* on his mother's death, which appears to have been written by him, has been preserved in the Cairo **Genizah*. On her death, which made an impression on Egyptian Jewry, another *kinah* is known to have been written by Ẓedakah b. Judah. From the *kinah* of Moses, it appears that he was influenced by the poets of the Spanish school, an influence evident in Ẓedakah's *kinah* as well. A poem written in his honor by Abraham b. Shabbetai of Minyat Zifta, Egypt, which was found among the manuscripts of the *Genizah*, has also been published by J. Mann (see bibliography).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Mann, Egypt, 1 (1920), 210, 213; 2 (1922), 255–59; J.H. Schirmann, *Shirim Ḥadashim min ha-Genizah* (1965), 97–102.

MOSES BEN SAMUEL OF DAMASCUS (14th century), Karaite poet. Moses, who was born in Safed, Ereẓ Israel, was employed in Damascus as clerk in charge of the emir's private estates. In 1354 the emir received an order requiring him to remove non-Muslims from government service. Moses was seized, charged with blasphemy against Islam, and given the choice of forfeiting his life or becoming a Muslim. He chose the latter. Some time later the emir went on a pilgrimage to Mecca, and Moses was compelled to accompany him. What he observed of the pilgrimage ritual led him to resolve to return to Judaism. The emir at first refused to release him but he fell ill and soon died. Moses then appears to have escaped to Egypt and entered the service of the royal vizier, apparently returning to his ancestral faith. His works, all in Hebrew verse, include a description of his tribulations and of his Mecca pilgrimage. His liturgical pieces display depth of feeling and an occasional lyrical inspiration.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Mann, Texts, 2 (1935), 213–32; L. Nemoy, *Karaite Anthology* (1952), 147–69.

[Leon Nemoy]

MOSES BEN SHEM TOV DE LEON (c. 1240–1305), a leading kabbalist, author of the bulk of the *Zohar. (For later views on the authorship of the Zohar, see the addendum to *Zohar.) Moses was apparently born in Leon, near Castile – he also calls himself Moses "from the town of Leon," in his *Shekel ha-Kodesh*. Nothing is known of his teachers and early studies. Apart from religious study, he was also attracted to philosophy; *Maimonides' *Guide of the Perplexed* was copied for him in 1264 (Moscow, Ms. Guenzburg 771). Moses subsequently turned to *Kabbalah, and when wandering among the communities of Castile, he became friendly with the kabbalists there. He immersed himself in the lore of the Geronese school of kabbalists and in the traditions of the Gnostic circle of Moses of *Burgos and Todros *Abulafia and in the 1270s and 80s drew particularly close to Joseph *Gikatilla. Moved by an unusual enthusiasm, combined with the urge to counteract the influence of certain rationalistic trends, Moses composed various writings toward the close of the 1270s. Presented in the guise of pseudepigraphica, they were designed to propagate the doctrine of kabbalism in the pattern in which it had crystallized in his own mind. Completed before 1286, they form the *Midrash ha-Ne'elam* or "Mystical Midrash," and are the main substance of the Zohar. The later stratum in this composite work was written by another kabbalist. The major part of these writings is in Aramaic but Moses also composed Hebrew pseudepigraphica on ethics and the eschatology of the soul. The "Testament of R. Eliezer the Great," also called *Orḥot Ḥayyim*, is evidence of the author's hesitations in choosing between the *tannaim* Eliezer b. *Hyrcanus and Simeon b. *Yoḥai as the hero of his pseudepigraphical construction. He also intended to compose a new Book of Enoch, parts of which he embodies in his *Mishkan ha-Edut*.

For a number of years, during the composition of the Zohar, and at least until 1291, he resided in Guadalajara, circulating from his home the first parts of the Zohar, which included a partly different version of the *Midrash ha-Ne'elam* (G. Scholem, in *Sefer ha-Yovel… L. Ginzberg* (1946), 425–46, Heb. section). In Guadalajara he was associated with Isaac ibn *Sahulah, who is the first known to quote from the *Midrash ha-Ne'elam*. He dedicated some of his books to Joseph b. Todros Abulafia in Toledo. After 1292 Moses led a wandering life until, in later years, he settled in Ávila, and then probably devoted himself almost exclusively to the circulation of copies of the Zohar. Meeting Isaac b. Samuel of *Acre in Valladolid in 1305, he invited him to Ávila to see the ancient original manuscript of the Zohar in his home. However, on his return Moses fell ill and died in Arévalo (*Sefer Yuḥasin*, ed. H. Filipowski, 88). His widow denied the existence of such a manuscript. The Hebrew writings which bear his name are based on the same sources as those utilized in the Zohar and they frequently make veiled allusions to it without specifying it by name. These writings and the portions of the Zohar composed by Moses frequently serve to clarify one another; the former can be regarded as the authentic exegesis of the doctrine enshrined in the Zohar.

Numerous copies of several of these works were made in succeeding generations, and it seems that Moses himself circulated the texts in different versions. According to Abraham b. Solomon of Torrutiel (Neubauer, Chronicles, 1 (1887), 105), he was the author of 24 books. Those fully or partly extant are *Shoshan Edut* (1286), which Moses mentions as his first work (Cambridge, Add. Ms. 505, includes about half the work); *Sefer ha-Rimmon* (1287), an exposition of the kabbalistic reasons for the *mitzvot*, wholly constructed on Zohar homiletics (several Mss., e.g., Oxford, Bodleian, Ms. Opp. 344); *Or Zaru'a* (1288/89), on the act of *Creation (Oxford, Bodleian, Ms. Poc. 296, other parts in Ms. Vatican 428, 80–90): this was apparently extended by another kabbalist to cover the whole section *Bereshit*, Genesis 1–6 (Ms. Vatican 212); *Ha-Nefesh ha-Ḥakhamah*, written in 1290 for his pupil Jacob, whom Isaac of Acre met after Moses' death: a corrupt text was published in 1608 which contained numerous addenda from a work by a contemporary Spanish kabbalist; a lengthy titleless commentary on the ten *Sefirot* (see *Kabbalah) and penances (a large part in Munich Ms. 47); *Shekel ha-Kodesh* (1292, publ. 1912; an excellent text in Oxford, Bodleian Ms. Opp. 563); *Mishkan ha-Edut*, on the fate of the soul after death, with a commentary on the vision of Ezekiel appearing in numerous manuscripts (Berlin, Vatican, et al.) as an independent book: both here and in his introduction to *Or Zaru'a* Moses divulges the reasons for his literary activities; *Maskiyyot Kesef* (written after 1293), a commentary on the prayers, a sequel to the lost *Sefer Tappuḥei Zahav* (Ms. Adler, 1577); responsa on points of Kabbalah (ed. by Tishby, in: *Kobez al Jad*, vol. 5, 1951); a treatise on various mystical themes (Schocken Library, Ms. Kab. 14, 78–99; Ms. Vatican 428); another commentary on the ten *Sefirot, Sod Eser Sefirot Belimah…*(Madrid, Escorial, Ms. G III 14). Moses also wrote: *Sefer Pardes* ("Book of Paradise"); *Sha'arei Ẓedek*, on Ecclesiastes; *Mashal ha-Kadmoni* (after the title of his friend Isaac ibn Sahula's work); responsa on questions concerning Elijah; a commentary on Song of Songs; and a polemic directed against the Sadducees (or Karaites?), mentioned by Abner of *Burgos (REJ, 18 (1889), 62). The *Sefer ha-Shem* (publ. in *Heikhal ha-Shem*, Venice, 1605) on the designations of the *Sefirot*, ascribed to him from the 15th century onward, was written by another kabbalist named Moses in the middle of the 14th century.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: G. Scholem, Mysticism, ch. 5; idem, in: KS, 1 (1924), 45–52; idem, in: *Madda'ei ha-Yahadut*, 1 (1926), 16–29; idem, in: MGWJ, 71 (1927), 109–23; S.D. Luzzatto, *Iggerot Shadal* (1891), 259; Steinschneider, Cat Bod, 1847–56; idem, in: HB, 10 (1870), 156–61; A. Jellinek, *Moses ben Schem Tob de Leon und sein Verhaeltnis zum Sohar* (1851); I. Tishby, *Mishnat ha-Zohar*, 2 vols. (1949), general introd. and introds. to different *sidrot*; Y. Nadav, in: *Oẓar Yehudei Sefarad*, 2 (1959), 69–76; E. Gottlieb, in: *Tarbiz*, 33 (1964), 287–313; I. Ta-Shma, *ibid.*, 39 (1969), 184–94; 40 (1970), 105–6; S.Z. Havlin, *ibid.*, 107–9.

[Gershom Scholem]

MOSES BEN SOLOMON BEN SIMEON OF BURGOS (1230/1235–c. 1300), kabbalist in Spain; he was rabbi in Burgos from about 1260. Moses – also known as Moses Cinfa, evidently after his mother – came from a distinguished family. The pupil and spiritual heir of the kabbalists *Isaac and *Jacob b. Jacob ha-Kohen (who were brothers), and a leading kabbalist in Castile, he began to impart a knowledge of Kabbalah as soon as he assumed office in Burgos; his pupils included Isaac b. Solomon ibn *Sahula and Todros *Abulafia. Isaac *Albalag regarded him as the foremost kabbalist of his generation. Abraham *Abulafia met him and his pupil Shem Tov (b. Maor; "Major") between 1271 and 1274 and endeavored to attract him to his doctrine of prophetic kabbalism. Toward the end of his life Moses met *Isaac b. Samuel of Acre, who recounts the event in his *Me'irat Einayim*. Isaac heard Moses utter the harsh epigram expressing the relationship of philosophy to Kabbalah: "The position attained by their heads reaches only the position of our feet" – a motto of a gnostic-type statement indicating that the kabbalist has access to realms where the philosopher is unable to tread. Moses was a strict traditionalist and the value of his kabbalistic writings lies not so much in their original thought, as in the service they render as a treasury and repository of many traditions rarely mentioned by his contemporaries, but those which were generally not absorbed into the *Zohar.

Moses' works consist of the following:

(1) a commentary on Song of Songs *in extenso*, no longer extant but available to Isaac ibn Sahula;

(2) a commentary on the ten "left" *sefirot* (*Eser ha-Sefirot ha-Semaliyyot*; i.e., the impure *Sefirot*), also called *Ammud ha-Semali* ("The Left Pillar"; published by G. Scholem);

(3) commentaries on the three *haftarot* – *Merkevet Yeshayahu* ("Throne and Chariot Vision of Isaiah"), *Merkevet Yeḥezkel* ("Throne and Chariot Vision of Ezekiel"), and *Mareh ha-Menorah shel Zekharyah* ("Zechariah's Vision of the Candelabrum"; fragments in Scholem);

(4) a commentary on the 42-lettered Divine Name, the bulk of which was published anonymously in the collection *Likkutim me-Rav Hai Gaon* (1798), the introduction and important concluding remarks are published by Scholem;

(5) an amplification of the treatise by his teacher Isaac ha-Kohen on "Emanation" (fragments published by Scholem);

(6) *Sod Shelosh Esreh Middot u-Ferushan* ("The Mystery of the 13 Divine Attributes and Their Interpretation"), which is, in fact, a kabbalistic explanation of the early tract **Shi'ur Komah* ("Measure of the Body"; published by Scholem);

(7) diverse mystical compositions on various subjects.

Moses had access to a variety of sources, including works affiliated to the circle centering on *Sefer ha-Iyyun*, as well as a number of pseudepigraphica. All the traditions upon which he relied in his *Ammud ha-Semali* are in this category. The crystallization of a definitely gnostic trend in kabbalism can be clearly traced in his writings. He also enlarges on kabbalistic traditions relating to the efficacy of pronouncing the Divine Names as incantations, but emphasizes that he never attempted to translate theory into practice.

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[Gershom Scholem]

MOSES BEN YOM-TOV (d. 1268), London rabbi and grammarian, member of one of the most distinguished and wealthy families in England at that time. Moses himself was a businessman who did a great deal for the Jewish community of London. He was also known by the name of Magister Mosseus. His father, Yom-Tov, was the author of *Sefer ha-Tena'im*. Moses wrote a commentary to the Talmud and to the *halakhot* of Isaac *Alfasi, after the manner of the tosafists. Part of his commentaries were published by Urbach (see bibliography). In his commentary he quotes a great deal from the tosafist *Isaac b. Abraham. He was the first English talmudist who made much use of the rulings of Maimonides. Many of his contemporary scholars frequently mention and cite him in their writings. A responsum he wrote to his friend *Moses of Evreux is known. Among his pupils was the grammarian *Moses (b. Isaac) Ha-Nesi'ah, the author of the *Sefer ha-Shoham* (Jerusalem, 1947), who was mistakenly identified by A. Geiger with Moses ben Yom-Tov. Moses was the author of the *Darkhei ha-Nikkud ve-ha-Neginot*, principles of biblical punctuation and accentuation, first published by Jacob b. Ḥayyim ibn Adonijah in the margin of the masorah section at the end of the Daniel Bomberg edition of the Bible (Venice, 1524–25). From 1822 on this work was published separately several times. A scientific edition was published by D.S. Loewinger (see bibliography). Moses was also the author of a book on forbidden foods that was not published. He was the father of two sons, *Elijah Menahem b. Moses of London and *Benedict b. Moses of Lincoln.

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[Abraham David]

MOSES ESRIM VE-ARBA (late 15th century), rabbi and emissary of Jerusalem. His unusual name ("Moses twenty-four") derives from the fact that he was born in Vierundzwanzig Hoefe ("24 courts") in the Aberndorf region of the province of Wuerttemberg in Germany. In the opinion of Alfred *Freimann (disputed by others), who identifies this Moses with the Moses Ashkenazi mentioned in various documents included in the journal of Michael *Balbo, Moses was sent in 1474 as an emissary of the Jewish community of *Jerusalem to the island of Crete. There he became friendly with Michael Balbo, who frequently discussed with him philosophical and kabbalistic problems, such as the belief in metempsychosis, which Moses rejected. In 1475 he arrived in Constantinople, with the intention of collecting money to rebuild a synagogue in Jerusalem destroyed by the Muslims. Elijah *Capsali wrote to Joseph *Taitaẓak that when Moses was there he was the cause of a bitter dispute between Moses *Capsali, chief rabbi of Constantinople, and Joseph *Colon, one of the important rabbis of Italy in the 15th century. Moses Capsali refused to assist Moses in collecting contributions for fear of the Turkish government, which had forbidden the transfer of money from *Turkey to Ereẓ Israel, then under *Mamluk rule. Infuriated, Moses joined the opponents of Capsali who endeavored to undermine his reputation and spread allegations that he had given incorrect decisions in matrimonial matters, so causing many to enter unwittingly into prohibited relations. Moses took the accusations of Capsali's opponents to Joseph Colon who, without verifying the facts, excommunicated Capsali. Moses proceeded to Italy in continuation of his mission. According to S.Z. *Shazar (Rubashow), it was Moses who compiled or copied the classical work, *Dos *Shmuel Bukh* (Augsburg, 1544), an epic in Yiddish based on the Book of Samuel. From his signature on the colophon of the manuscript, it appears that he also compiled glosses to Abraham ibn Ezra's Pentateuch commentary.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: M. Lattes (ed.), *Likkutirn Shonim mi-Sefer de-Bei Eliyahu… Eliyahu Capsali* (1896), 13–15; Graetz-Rabbinowitz, 6 (1898), 305–8, 433–5; Rubashow, in: *Zukunft*, 32 (1927), 428f.; Rosanes, Togarmah, 1 (1930^2), 44f.; Al. Freimann, in: *Zion*, 1 (1936), 188–202; Yaari, Sheluḥei, 214–7; Zinberg, Sifrut. 4 (1958), 60–66, 185f.; Gottlieb, in: *Sefunot*, 11(1967), 45.

[Abraham David]

MOSES HA-DARSHAN (11th century), scholar and aggadist of Narbonne. Moses was the teacher of *Nathan b. Jehiel of Rome, who quotes him in the *Arukh*, sometimes anonymously. Jacob *Tam in *Sefer ha-Yashar* (part of responsa ed. by F. Rosenthal (1898), 189f. no. 46:4) considers him, together with his brother Levi, and Joseph *Bonfils, among the early leaders of French Jewry. Moses is chiefly renowned for his contribution to midrashic literature. Rashi in his commentaries on Scripture, especially on the Pentateuch, frequently quotes from Moses ha-Darshan's *Yesod*, which was apparently a book of scriptural expositions, consisting chiefly of the exegesis of words and midrashic sayings. It is not known whether the work also embraced the rest of the Bible. For many years the *Genesis Rabbah* by Moses ha-Darshan, frequently quoted by Raymond *Martini in his polemic work *Pugio Fidei*, constituted a unique problem. No book of that name was known to scholars in previous centuries. Isaac *Abrabanel, for one, stated in his *Yeshu'ot Meshiḥo* that he did not know of such a book and suspected it to be a forgery. Only recently has it become evident that the early authorities did indeed know a midrashic anthology by Moses ha-Darshan, or at least one emanating from his school, and that this extensive anthology was the basis of the Midrash called *Genesis Rabbati, which was apparently adapted and abridged from the work of Moses. In this Midrash, Moses based himself entirely upon *Genesis Rabbah, but drew upon his vast store of knowledge and remarkable creative ability to develop and enlarge the central ideas of the source by comparing them with other verses and passages, and connecting them with homilies occurring elsewhere. Moses made abundant use of the Mishnah, the Talmud (chiefly the Babylonian), the *Midrashei Rabbah* and *Tanḥuma*, the *Pesikta, Pirkei de-Rabbi Eliezer,* and others.

There is ground for the suggestion that the portions *Ba-Midbar* and *Naso* in *Numbers Rabbah, as well as the midrashic anthology called *Midrash Aggadah* (ed. by S. Buber, 1894), largely emanate from the *bet-midrash* of Moses ha-Darshan. One unique characteristic of Moses' midrashic work is his use of the *aggadot* embedded in the *Apocrypha, such as Jubilees, Enoch, The Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs, and others, of which he possessed an improved Hebrew text. He also drew upon the collected Midrashim of his predecessors compiled from the Apocryphal literature, particularly from *Midrash Tadshe* (see Smaller *Midrashim) which, with its proem, was ascribed by Moses to the *tanna*, *Phinehas b. Jair. Some wish to ascribe to Moses several other extant minor Midrashim, on the basis of their similarity to his known work. In addition to citation in Rashi and Nathan b. Jehiel, the work was extensively quoted by Tobiah b. Eliezer in his midrashic collection, **Lekah Tov*; Menaḥem b. Solomon, in his anthology, *Sekhel Tov*; and, very much later by Abraham *Saba in his *Ẓeror ha-Mor.*

BIBLIOGRAPHY: A. Epstein, *Mi-Kadmoniyyot ha-Yehudim*, 1 (1887), i–xiv; idem, *Moshe ha-Darshan mi-Narbonah* (1891); *Kitvei R. Avraham Epstein*, 1 (1950), 215–44; S. Lieberman, *Sheki'in* (1939), 52ff.; Zunz-Albeck, *Derashot*, 144f.; S. Buber (ed.), *Midrash Aggadah*, 1 (1894), introd.; Ḥ. Albeck (ed.), *Bereshit Rabbati* (1940), introd. 1–36.

[Israel Moses Ta-Shma]

MOSES HA-KOHEN OF TORDESILLAS (second half of 14th century), rabbi born in Tordesillas, Spain. Moses experienced the terrible sufferings caused during the civil war in Castile, 1366–69. He moved to Avila and was evidently appointed rabbi of the congregation there. Moses represented the Jewish side in the religious *disputation ordered to be held in Avila in 1375. There were four sessions and Moses apparently emerged triumphant. After engaging successfully in an additional debate held with a pupil of *Abner of Burgos, he committed his arguments to writing in his still-unpublished work *Ezer ha-Emunah*.

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MOSES ḤAYYIM EPHRAIM OF SUDYLKOW (c. 1740–1800?), ḥasidic preacher and *ẓaddik*, son of *Adel, the daughter of *Israel b. Eliezer Ba'al Shem Tov. He was the eldest brother of *Baruch b. Jehiel of Medzibezh. He is praised in the well-known letter of Israel Ba'al Shem Tov to his brother-in-law, *Abraham Gershon of Kutow. Although he knew that a *ẓaddik* was a highly influential figure, he did not gather many Ḥasidim round him, but lived in humility and poverty. He served as a preacher in Sudylkow and popularized Ḥasidism through his work, *Degel Maḥaneh Efrayim* (date and place of publication are unknown), a classic of Ḥasidism. The book is made up of sermons on the weekly portions from the Pentateuch. At the end of the book there is a collection of "dreams" (*ḥalomot*) from 1780 to 1785, describing mystical visions. The work, with the addition of stories and parables, is written in a pleasant and lucid manner. It contains important teachings and traditions of the Ba'al Shem Tov and his disciples, and shows also the influence of *Dov Baer of Mezhirech. It expresses social criticism of those scholars who boast of their Torah learning, in contrast with the Ḥasidim who are distinguished by their humility. He notes that in study for its own sake the letters of the Torah serve as a focus for meditation and concentration, and that the light of the **En Sof* (Infinite) shines through these letters to the student of the Torah. Because every generation interprets the Torah according to its needs, the *ẓaddik*, as the representative of the Torah, may be permitted to break a particular law when necessary. Moses Ḥayyim, however, warned Ḥasidim against superficial imitation of the *ẓaddikim*. The obligation, according to Lurianic Kabbalah, to "elevate the sparks" (*ha'ala'at ha-niẓozot*), is expanded by Moses Ḥayyim to everything including slaves and animals. Thus, he also advocates the elevation of undesirable thoughts (*ha'ala'at maḥashavot zarot*). Moses Ḥayyim held that man would enter the palace of truth and redemption of the soul only by constantly thinking of God. He emphasizes his admiration for his grandfather and states that redemption and the end of the Exile would occur when the teachings of the Ba'al Shem Tov were accepted. However, he states that, whereas in previous generations (i.e., during the time of Israel Ba'al Shem Tov) one might have hoped for the imminent advent of the messianic age, as a result of the spiritual decline in his time, this possibility had diminished.

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[Moshe Hallamish]

MOSES ISAAC (**Darshan**; also known as the **Kelmer Maggid**; 1828–1899), the main preacher of the *Musar movement, Moses Isaac was born near Slonim. In his youth he already showed exceptional abilities as a preacher and delivered his first sermon in Slonim at the age of 15. Moses Isaac became a shopkeeper in a nearby town, but, failing to earn a livelihood, returned to Slonim to seek other means of subsistence. Reluctant to make a living from religious activity, he refused tempting offers to serve as a preacher, but at last accepted a position as preacher to a synagogue in Slonim, requesting the meager salary of half a ruble a week. Dissatisfied with his lack of influence, he accepted a similar position at Novaya Mysh, but there also he found no satisfaction. At the age of 21 he relinquished his position and proceeded to Kovno (Kaunas) in order to study under R. Israel *Lipkin, the founder of the Musar movement. He remained there until he had absorbed the teachings of that movement, and Lipkin, recognizing his outstanding abilities as a preacher and his potential influence, charged him with propagating its ideals. For over half a century Moses Isaac was the outstanding *Maggid* of the Musar movement. He accepted positions as preacher to various communities – Kelme (1850–53; whence his name, the Kelmer Maggid), Zagare (1853–58), Oshmyany (1858–60), and Minsk (1860–63) – but essentially he was an itinerant preacher, traveling from town to town.

In his sermons Moses Isaac departed entirely from the exegetical and expository method of preaching current in his time and applied himself solely to raising the moral and ethical standards of the communities. Wherever he went, he would first pay a visit to the local rabbi in order to acquaint himself with the social evils prevalent in the community and then fearlessly denounce them. The following extract from one of his published sermons (*Tokhaḥat Ḥayyim*, no. 7) is indicative of the content of his homilies: "If a man recites Psalms from morning to night but tells lies and is guilty of slander; if he prays with devotion and recites the Grace after Meals aloud, but has no compassion for his fellowman; if with the same enthusiasm as he fulfills every precept between man and God, he vindictively persecutes anyone who has done him a wrong… he can be called a wicked man." He inveighed particularly against commercial malpractices, exploitation of the poor, and dishonest practices toward non-Jews. His influence was unbounded. Contemporary newspapers report how on the morrow of his sermons he would visit the local market, and shopkeepers would destroy their false weights and measures. A dishonest shopkeeper is said to have lost his reason as a result of these denunciations, while another committed suicide. He did not hesitate to name flagrant transgressors, especially unworthy communal leaders, from the pulpit. As a result, on more than one occasion he was maligned, denounced to the government, and imprisoned, but, undeterred, he continued his reproofs.

Moses Isaac used to preach in a unique singsong, sometimes bursting into song, and although he was ridiculed for it, especially by the *maskilim* whom he vigorously attacked, the effect upon the masses was hypnotic. J.L. Gordon, the leader of the *maskilim*, complained (in *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judenthums*, 25 (1861), 168–70) of his "obscurantism" in establishing "Musar shtiebels" (conventicles for the study of Musar), and that he was so successful that he had established one in Mitau (Jelgava), Latvia, a center of the *maskilim*. Moses Isaac established scores of such "Musar shtiebels" throughout the country, synagogues for humble workers, arranging study courses for them, and philanthropic societies. In 1884 he visited London where the chief rabbi, Nathan Adler, and Samuel Montagu (the first Lord Swaythling), founder and head of the Federation of Synagogues, were greatly impressed by him and defrayed the expenses of his visit. In 1898 he moved to Lida, to settle with his son Ben Zion Darshan, and died in the following year. His only published work is the *Tokhaḥat Ḥayyim* (Vilna, 1897), ten of his sermons which he chose as examples of his teachings.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: D. Katz, *Tenu'at ha-Musar,* 2 (1954), 395–407.

[Louis Isaac Rabinowitz]

MOSES (Mesharshia) KAHANA BEN JACOB, *gaon* of Sura, 825–836. Moses, who succeeded Kimoi b. Rav Ashi, is identical with Mesharshia Kahana b. Mar Rav Jacob who is mentioned in the Spanish version of the "Letter of *Sherira Gaon" (ed. by B.M. Lewin (1921), 115). He is apparently not identical with Moses, *gaon* of Sura in the ninth century, who was a brother of Ẓadok Gaon, the father of *Nahshon Gaon. Many of his responsa have been preserved in the works of the *geonim* and the *rishonim*. Some touching on the liturgy are quoted in the *seder* of *Amram Gaon. In many responsa he is referred to simply as Moses Gaon. In one of his responsa Hai Gaon writes that Mesharshia occupied himself with amulets and charms, stating that faith in them was characteristic of the students of Sura (*Oẓar ha-Ge'onim*, B.M. Lewin, 4 (1931), Ḥagigah, 20).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Rapoport, in: *Bikkurei ha-Ittim*, 10 (1829), 35 no. 25; J. Mueller, *Mafte'aḥ li-Teshuvot ha-Ge'onim* (1891), 75–79; Cowley, in: JQR, 18 (1905/06), 402; L. Ginzberg, *Geonica*, 2 (1909), index s.v. *Moshe Gaon*.

[Abraham David]

MOSES LEIB OF SASOV (1745–1807), ḥasidic rabbi. He was a pupil of Samuel Shmelke *Horowitz of Nikolsburg, *Dov Baer the Maggid of Mezhirech, and *Elimelech of Lyzhansk. He spent 13 years studying both Torah and Kabbalah under Samuel Shmelke who was then rabbi in Rychwal and Sieniawa.

Moses wrote novellae on several tractates of the Talmud, parts of which were published in the pamphlets *Likkutei ha-ReMaL* (1856), *Torat ha-ReMaL ha-Shalem* (1903), and *Ḥiddushei ha-ReMaL* (1921). For several years he lived in Opatov. When he moved to Sasov, he attracted many followers and the town became a great ḥasidic center. His disciples included Jacob Isaac of *Przysucha (Peshiskhah), Ẓevi Hirsch of *Zhidachov, Menahem Mendel of Kosov, and others. Moses was known for his abounding love for all Jews and for his charity, on account of which he was called "father of widows and orphans." He composed many ḥasidic melodies and dances. His successor was his only son, JEKUTHIEL SHMELKE, who was seven years old when his father died. Jekuthiel grew up in the homes of Abraham Ḥayyim of Zloczow, Menahem Mendel of Kosov, and Israel of *Ruzhin in Sadagora (Sadgora), and returned to Sasov in 1849.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Y. Raphael, *Sefer ha-Ḥasidut* (1956); idem, *Sasov* (1946); M. Buber, *Tales of the Ḥasidim, The Later Masters* (1966), 81–95.

[Yitzchak Raphael]

MOSES (ben Nethanel) NATHAN (14th century), communal worker and poet. Moses, who lived in Tarrega, Catalonia, left a collection of moral parables in rhymed meter, entitled *Toẓe'ot Ḥayyim*, which was published in the *Shetei Yadot* (Venice, 1618, 142–50) of Menahem b. Judah de *Lonzano. It contains 58 sections with aphorisms on counsel, quickness, industry, humility, and other virtues. A short acrostic poem prefaces the proverbs, each word ending with a letter of his name. While the work contains no original ideas, it is composed in a clear and beautiful style. A manuscript of the book is extant in Paris (Bibliothèque Nationale, no. 1284). It is possible that its author is identical with the communal worker Moses Nathan who lived in the 14th century, known from Hebrew sources and also from Christian documents, where he is referred to as Moses Naçan (Nazan). In the *takkanot* issued in 1354 by the representatives of the communities of Aragon when they met in Barcelona, Moses Nathan was the first of the signatories. He may also be identical with the Mosse Açan (Azan), who wrote a poem on chess that has survived in a Castilian translation.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Schirmann, Sefarad, 2 (1956), 541–3, 697; Davidson, Oẓar, 4 (1933), 449; Baer, Urkunden, 1 (1929), 306–7, 350–9.

[Abraham David]

MOSES OF EVREUX (Moses b. Schne'or), one of three brothers known as *Gedolei Evreux* ("the greatest [scholars] of Evreux") in the first half of the 13th century. Moses was the brother of *Isaac of Evreux and apparently a pupil of *Samson of Sens. Moses' individual teaching cannot always be identified since it is incorporated with that of his brothers, the whole being referred to by the *rishonim* as "the view of Evreux." He is mentioned by name, however, in the *Shitah Mekubbeẓet* to *Bava Kamma* and in late collections of *tosafot* to *Zevaḥim, Menaḥot*, and *Bekhorot*. His comments on the Pentateuch are known from the *Sefer ha-Gan* of Aaron b. Joseph ha-Kohen. The similarity of some of his ethical sayings quoted in the *Kol Bo* to Nahmanides' "Ethical Letter" to his son led some scholars to ascribe the latter work to Moses, but there are no solid grounds for doing so. Moses' son, Samuel, is referred to as the author of a prayer book. The work *Al ha-Kol* (published in *Ha-Goren*, 7 (1908)) containing rulings, *halakhot*, and customs, was compiled by one of his pupils.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Weiss, in: *Ha-Goren*, 7 (1908), 76–111; Urbach, Tosafot, 395–9 and index s.v. *Moshe b. Senior me-Evreux*; Preschel, in: *Talpioth*, 8 (1961), 49–53; Y. Lipschitz (ed.), *Tosefot Evreux* (1969), 19–28.

[Israel Moses Ta-Shma]

MOSES OF KIEV (12th century), talmudist. No biographical details about him are known. He appears to have visited Western Europe and probably knew the tosafist Jacob *Tam personally. In Tam's *Sefer ha-Yashar* (1811 Vienna edition, no. 522) a halakhic saying occurs "that Moses of Kiev received from Rabbenu Tam." It is possible that he stayed for some time in the latter's yeshivah in Ramerupt. A. Epstein (in MGWJ, 39 (1895), 511) attempts to identify Moses of Kiev with Moses of Russia mentioned in the *Sefer ha-Shoham*. According to Epstein, Moses left Russia for France in 1124 following the expulsion of the Jews in that year from Kiev. Urbach (Tosafot, 193), however, disagrees, since in 1124 Rabbenu Tam was still very young. Moreover there is no information about an expulsion of the Jews from Kiev in 1124, though a great fire did break out there in that year. It appears that Moses arrived in France at a much later period.

Moses addressed queries to *Samuel b. Ali, head of the Babylonian academy: "Thus sent Samuel b. Ali head of the academy from Babylon to R. Moses of Kiev" (Responsa Meir of Rothenburg, ed. by R.N. Rabinowitz (1860), no. 443). The connection between Moses and Samuel b. Ali is also referred to in the *Sefer Yiḥusei Tanna'im ve-Amora'im* of Judah b. Kalonymus.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: A. Harkavy, *Ḥadashim Gam Yeshanim*, 1 no. 7 (1895–96), 44–45; F. Kupfer and T. Lewicki, *Żrodła hebrajskie do dziejów słowian* (1956).

[Shlomo Eidelberg]

MOSES OF PALERMO (c. 1275), Sicilian translator. Moses of Palermo was one of a group of Jewish translators from southern Italy who were active in Naples and Salerno at the request of Charles of Anjou (1226–85). Their work continued the tradition of Jewish translation that flourished during the reign of Frederick II and his natural son Manfred. Charles apparently paid Moses a regular stipend as an official translator. On the occasion of his journey from Salerno to Naples in 1270, Moses received payment of "an ounce of gold" at Charles' command. A document dated 1277 states that the king ordered Maestro Matteo Siciliaco to give Latin lessons to Moses of Palermo, thus enabling him to translate scientific texts from the Arabic. Moses' name is primarily linked with the translation of a "Treatise on the Healing of Horses" ascribed to Hippocrates

(*Liber de curationibus infirmitatum equorum quem translavit de lingua arabica in latinam Magister Moyses de Palermo*). This was translated into Italian, together with another article on the same subject, and published in 1865 as *Trattati di mascalcia attribuiti ad Ippocrate, tradotti dall'arabo in latino da Maestro Moise da Palermo, volgarizzati nel sec. XIII* (ed. P. Delprato). One of the earliest scientific texts written in Italian, this translation played an important part in the development of scientific terminology in the Italian language. It was widely circulated both in Italy and in other countries throughout the Middle Ages. Another version of the treatise, also in Italian, was entitled *Libro della natura dei cavalli*, and this was often reprinted during the Renaissance era.

There is, however, a possibility that there was another Moses of Palermo who flourished either at the court of the Norman kings, in the 12th century, or at the court of *Frederick II Hohenstaufen. A work attributed to Moses of Palermo, *Liber mariscaltie equorum et cura eorum*, is cited in the *De Medicina equorum* of Giordano Ruffo (c. 1200), thus indicating that the writer of this text lived in an earlier period. A list of the manuscripts attributed to Moses of Palermo was published by Stefano Arieti, "Mosè da Palermo e le traduzioni dei trattati di mascalcia di Ippocrate Indiano," in: *Gli ebrei in Sicilia*, ed. N. Bucaria (1998).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: M. Steinschneider, in: HB, 10 (1870), 8–11; Steinschneider, Uebersetzungen, 2 (1893), 985; U. Cassuto, in: *Vessillo Israelitico*, 59 (1911), 341; Roth, *Jews in the Renaissance* (1959), 69–70. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** C. Sirat, "Les traducteurs juifs à la cour de Sicile et de Naples," in: *Traduction et traducteurs au Moyen Age, Actes du Colloque International du CNRS* (1989), 169–91; D. Trolli, "Le traduzioni di Mosè da Palermo," in: *Studi su antichi trattati di veterinaria* (1990), 43–57; R. Bonfil, "La cultura ebraica e Federico II, in: Federico II e le nuove culture," in: *Atti del XXXIo Convegno storico internazionale (del Centro Italiano di Studi sul Basso Medioevo – Accademia Tudertina & Centro di Studi sulla Spiritualità Medievale dell'Università degli Studi di Perugia)*, Todi, 9–12 ottobre 1994 (1995), 153–71; S. Arieti, "Mosè da Palermo e le traduzioni dei trattati di mascalcia di Ippocrate Indiano," in: N. Bucaria (ed.), *Gli ebrei in Sicilia* (1998), 55–61; M. Zonta, "La filosofia ebraica medievale in Sicilia," in: N. Bucaria et al. (eds.), *Ebrei e Sicilia* (2002), 163–68.

[Joseph Baruch Sermoneta / Nadia Zeldes (2nd ed.)]

MOSES OF PAVIA, medieval talmudist (dates unknown). Moses of Pavia is reported as being mentioned in the talmudic lexicon *Arukh* of *Nathan b. Jehiel, although his name nowhere appears in the printed editions. There are no certain details concerning the time and place of his labors. In the *Mikdash Me'at* of Moses de Rieti (15th cent.), it is noted that Moses of Pavia died a martyr's death in Lombardy, but there is no discernible historical basis for this statement. In the Parma manuscript (De'Rossi, 1360) the event is pinpointed as having taken place in 1096, i.e., at the time of the First Crusade. It is possible that Moses was one of the German scholars who migrated to Germany and were murdered there in 1096. Kaufmann's conjecture (*Schriften*, 3 (1915), 26) is that Moses of Pavia is to be identified with a tutor of the same name who, after having been banned, went to Capua and later to Pavia.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Guedemann, Gesch Erz, 2 (1884), 14; Kohut, Arukh, 1 (1926^2), xxxviii; S.J.L. Rapoport, *Toledot Rabbi Natan Ish Romi* (1913), 56 n. 41; Zunz, Gesch, 57; Zunz, Poesie, 19.

[Umberto (Moses David) Cassuto]

MOSES SHOHAM BEN DAN OF DOLINA (end of 18th century), ḥasidic author and preacher in Dolina in eastern Galicia. He was a disciple of *Israel b. Eliezer Ba'al Shem Tov and was related by marriage to *Jehiel Michael of Zloczow. He quotes traditions and teachings of both in his works: *Divrei Moshe* (Polonnoye, 1801), commentaries on the Torah; *Imrei Shoham* (1880), on the tractates *Ketubbot, Kiddushin* and *Bava Meẓia; Seraf Peri Eẓ Ḥayyim* (1866), on the *Peri Eẓ Ḥayyim* of Ḥayyim *Vital.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: S.Y. Agnon, *Ha-Esh ve-ha-Eẓim* (1962), 106–7; M. Kamelhar, *Ha-Ḥasidut ve-Ẓiyyon* (1963), 104–6.

MOSES ZE'EV (Wolf) BEN ELIEZER OF GRODNO (d. 1830), Lithuanian rabbi. Moses was born and grew up in Grodno. He was appointed *rosh yeshivah* there but left in 1813 to become the *av bet din* in Tiktin, where he stayed until 1824. He was then appointed *av bet din* in Bialystok, remaining there until his death. When Moses was first given this appointment, the people in Bialystok were concerned that he was so young, but he wittily replied that this was a fault which would improve with age. His best-known work, *Marot ha-Ẓove'ot* (Grodno, 1810) on the laws concerning *agunah*, is based upon the relevant chapter (17) of Shulḥan Arukh *Even ha-Ezer*. He also wrote *Ḥiddushei Moharmaz* (1858), on the commentary of R. Jonathan b. David Ha-Cohen of Lunel to Alfasi on tractate *Eruvin*, and three works all with the same title, *Aguddat Ezov*: (1) a collection of sermons (Bialystok, 1824) concluding with *Alon Bakhut*, nine funeral orations on great rabbis; (2) responsa (2 vols.; 1885–86); (3) novellae on the Shulḥan Arukh (1904). On the title page of the *Marot ha-Ẓove'ot* he gives his family tree in detail back to *Judah Loew b. Bezalel of Prague, stating where each of his forebears served as rabbi.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Fuenn, Keneset, 301f.

[Anthony Lincoln Lavine]

MOSHAV (Heb. מוֹשָׁב) or **MOSHAV OVEDIM** (Heb. מוֹשַׁב עוֹבְדִים, "workers settlement"), cooperative smallholders' village in Ereẓ Israel combining some of the features of both cooperative and private farming. The idea was evolved during World War I in the quest for a form of settlement that would not only express national and social aspirations on the basis of collective principles like the kibbutz, but also provide scope for individual initiative and independent farm management. The idea was mooted in articles published in various periodicals and was given definite shape in a pamphlet *Yissud Moshevei Ovedim* ("The Establishment of Workers' Villages," 1919) by Eliezer *Joffe, who formulated the social and economic principles on which the moshav should be based:

nationally owned land, mutual aid, cooperative purchasing and marketing, and the family as the fundamental unit. These principles were further developed in the writings of Yiẓḥak Vilkanski (*Elazari-Volcani), the agronomist, who dealt with the economic structure desirable for the moshav and regarded it as the appropriate answer to the needs of mass settlement. This evaluation was fully vindicated after the establishment of the State of Israel, when tens of thousands of new immigrant families were settled on the land in hundreds of moshavim.

At first the moshav economy was based on mixed farming, which, it was expected, would supply most of the farmer's needs and give him greater stamina to withstand agricultural fluctuations and crises than the single-crop farm. It would also permit the work to be spread out evenly over the year, a point of particular importance since the settler and his family had to cultivate the farm by themselves without the aid of hired seasonal labor.

Milestones of Moshav Settlement

The first two moshavim were founded in 1921, *Nahalal in September in the northern Jezreel Valley and *Kefar Yeḥezkel in December in the eastern part. Most of the members had formerly lived in kibbutzim (Deganyah, Kinneret, Ḥuldah, and Merḥavyah). Within ten years another eight moshavim were founded, most of them in the Jezreel Valley. At the beginning of the 1930s, the movement was given a new impetus by widespread settlement in the Ḥefer Plain by the Hityashvut ha-Elef scheme, intended to settle 1,000 families on the land in the Sharon and Judea, and by the establishment of the first moshavim in the south. The landholdings were small compared with those of the first moshavim, as it was assumed that incomes would be supplemented and the farms consolidated by work outside the moshav in fruit groves and construction projects. During the Arab rebellion of 1936–39, more moshavim were established all over the country, especially in the valleys and in the south, as *Stockade and Watchtower settlements. At the end of World War II, a number of moshavim were established by demobilized soldiers from the *Jewish Brigade and other Jewish units in the British army. In 1948, when the State of Israel was established, there were 58 moshavim in the country.

Most of the new immigrants who arrived in large numbers immediately after the establishment of the state differed in many respects from the pioneers who had settled on the land after spending years in training and preparation. They consisted mainly of families with many children, elderly persons, even entire communities brought over en masse. The moshav ovedim, with its family structure, was felt to be the only medium of settling these immigrants on the land. Hundreds of veterans from the older moshavim came forward to recruit new immigrants for settlements, to set up moshavim, and particularly to instruct and guide the new settlers. In the period 1949–56, 250 new moshavim were established, with a population that approached 100,000 in 1970.

The Moshav Movement

The moshav movement (Tenu'at ha-Moshavim) was founded in the mid-1930s to cope with the problems of the existing moshavim, to mold and preserve their social structure, and to help establish more moshavim. The movement developed a series of economic, financial, and service institutions to advance these purposes. These include: Keren ha-Moshavim, a mutual assistance fund; the Ein Ḥai Bank; Tagmulim la-Moshavim, a savings and pension fund for members; Bittu'aḥ Hadadi, a mutual insurance company; Matam (Mishkei Tenu'at ha-Moshavim – Moshav Movement Farms), which provides low-priced, high-quality products; Bank le-Mashkanta'ot (Mortgage Bank), which provides loans for private and public building in the moshavim; and regional purchasing organizations, with some 30 to 50 moshavim in each, to organize marketing and supplies. The latter have set up enterprises, in cooperation with local councils, to lower the cost of services and supplies, and improve production facilities. Examples of these enterprises are citrus-canning plants, fodder plants, slaughterhouses, fruit-packing plants, egg-sorting warehouses, and cold storage plants. The movement has departments for education, culture, social activities, internal arbitration, advice and training in farming and organization, and absorption of new settlers. It also has a youth section with 15,000 teenagers and it publishes periodicals.

In 1970 there were 212 moshavim, with a total population of 75,000, affiliated to Tenu'at ha-Moshavim. Other moshav movements were: the Union of Religious Cooperative Movements of *Ha-Po'el ha-Mizrachi, with 56 moshavim and a membership of 24,000; the Farmers' Union (Ha-Iḥud ha-Ḥakla'i), with 32 villages and 10,000 people; and the cooperative Agricultural Center of the *Ḥerut Movement and *Betar, with eight moshavim and 1,500 people. There were also 13 moshavim with 4,000 people affiliated to *Ha-Oved ha-Ẓiyyoni; nine, with 2,500, to *Po'alei Agudat Israel and *Agudat Israel; six, with 1,600, to the *Farmers' Federation (Hitaḥdut ha-Ikkarim); two with 370 to *Mapam; and eight unaffiliated moshavim, with 3,400 people; making a total of 346 moshavim with a combined population of about 122,000–95,600 living in 269 moshavim founded after the establishment of the State of Israel in May 1948 and 26,500 living in 77 veteran moshavim. Since that time the moshav population has grown more slowly than the urban population, reaching around 230,000 in 2004, with 206,500 affiliated to the moshavim of Tenu'at ha-Moshavim.

Organization of the Moshav

Each moshav is organized as a cooperative society for agricultural settlement and constitutes a unit of local government administered by the management of the society. The moshav operates in accordance with the Cooperative Societies Ordinance, 1933, under the authority of the Registrar of Cooperative Societies; its accounts are audited by the audit unions for agricultural cooperation. Its activities are governed by a general set of regulations which serve as a pattern for those of the individual moshavim. At an annual assembly of members, each moshav elects its management, which comprises a managing committee, a control board, and committees for economic, social, educational, and cultural activities. Disputes between members or between a member and the management are submitted for arbitration and decision to the social committee or a judicial committee of the parent movement. The moshav helps its members to obtain credit, purchase seed, fertilizer, and fodder, and to market their produce. It maintains farming equipment and vehicles (sometimes together with neighboring moshavim), workshops, cooperative stores, etc. It provides members' children with primary and post-primary education in local or regional schools, and fosters cultural activities; members receive medical care in local clinics.

The society erects all the public buildings and installations including pumping installations, central irrigation network, supply stores, dairies, refrigeration and sorting plants, schools, clinics, and sports facilities. It finances its investments partly by direct taxation of members and partly by loans based on a general mutual guarantee by the members. The general assembly decides on the annual budget, composed of the local government budget (covered by direct taxes) and the administrative budget (covered partly by taxes and partly by levies on items of income and on various types of production outlays). In the 1960s the moshav set itself new goals: securing production rights in nationally planned branches of agriculture (dairy farming, poultry farming, orchards, etc.); the encouragement of new crops, notably for export purposes; and the protection of members' interests in taxation and social security. The expansion and social development of the moshavim at the time gave rise to the hope that they would continue to develop as an efficient and healthy unit of the national economy and society, and a measure of prosperity did indeed continue into the 1970s. However, with unmanageable debts piling up in the inflationary 1980s, many farms were liquidated, and with the younger generation leaving, some of the moshavim, especially those located near large population concentrations in central Israel, began to build new neighborhoods and absorb newcomers, mainly urbanites, in order to sustain the settlement. Moshavim also began renting land for commercial purposes and many farmers, especially in northern Israel, developed guest facilities and were occupied in tourism in addition to agriculture. Thus the moshav, like the kibbutz, found itself forced to adapt to changing realities and alter its economic and social base in the last decades of the 20th century.

The Moshav as an Example to Developing Countries

The moshav and its way of life attracted the interest of some leaders and many students from Asia, Africa, and Latin America. Thousands of them came Israel to study the methods of the moshav, which they regarded as a possible solution to the problems of organizing agriculture in their own countries. The moshav movement played host to students and organized study courses for them. It also provided Israel's technical assistance program (see State of Israel, Foreign *Policy) with many instructors to establish and advise settlements of the moshav type in these countries. Scores of such settlements were established in Africa, Asia, and Latin America, with moshav members from Israel as instructors. The moshav movement, together with the Israel Ministry of Foreign Affairs, also established a volunteer movement for foreign service, and many young men from moshavim served as volunteers in developing countries, living and working with the local population.

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[Uzi Finerman / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

MOSHAV SHITTUFI (Heb. מוֹשָׁב שִׁתּוּפִי, collective moshav), a form of settlement combining features of the *kibbutz and the *moshav. The originators of the idea wanted to combine the advantages of both forms of settlement, while avoiding what they regarded as overemphasis on collectivism in the kibbutz and on individual farming in the moshav. They therefore separated production from consumption, adopting the productive system of the kibbutz and the preservation of the family unit in the moshav. The village's lands and installations – sometimes including industrial plants – are collectively owned and operated, as in the kibbutz, but each family has its own home and is responsible for its own cooking, domestic economy, and the care of children, as in the moshav. Mothers generally work outside the home for two or three hours a day five times a week. From the proceeds of the moshav shittufi's farming and other enterprises, each family is allotted a sum to meet its own needs, while the village as a whole provides education for the children, medical services, cultural activities, and the like.

The first two moshavim shittufiyyim – *Kar Ḥittim in Lower Galilee and *Moledet in the Gilboa district – were founded in 1936–37, and after World War II many of the demobilized soldiers who settled on the land chose this form of settlement. In 1970 there were 22 moshavim shittufiyyim with a total population of 4,200. Eight belonged to Tenu'at ha-Moshavim, five to Ha-Oved ha-Ẓiyyoni, four to Ha-Po'el ha-Mizrachi, three to the Ḥerut movement, and one each to the Farmers' Union and Po'alei Agudat Israel. To coordinate their activities, the moshavim shittufiyyim maintained an inter-movement committee. In 2004 there were 27 moshavim shittufiyyim with a population of about 12,500.

For bibliography, see *Moshav.

[Uzi Finerman]

MOSHINSKY, ELIJAH (1946–), opera and theater producer-director. Moshinsky was educated at Melbourne University (B.A.) and St. Anthony's College, Oxford. He was appointed associate producer at the Royal Opera House in 1979 and became its principal producer. His most successful productions for Covent Garden included *Peter Grimes, Othello, Samson and Delilah*, and *Simon Boccanegra.* West End productions have included the prizewinning *Shadowlands* and *Cyrano de Bergerac.* He also produced five plays in the BBC Shakespeare cycle.

Moshinsky's preferences incline towards the classics, which include Chekhov and Ibsen, and he is considered a leading Verdi expert. However, the 20th century Ligeti's *Le Grand Macabre*, Berg's *Wozzeck*, and Sir Michael Tippett's *A Midsummer Marriage* are among his operatic productions.

Moshinsky described his favored method of working; he is first and foremost a respecter of the creative forces of composer and writer and is therefore not a believer in the current vogue of innovation for its own sake.

Moshinsky also staged operas for the New York Metropolitan, Australian Opera, Welsh National Opera, Chicago Lyric Opera, and the houses of Paris, Geneva, Amsterdam, and the Maggio Musicale in Florence. He also directed several films, including *The Midsummer Night's Dream* (1981) and *The Green Man* (1994), and has more recently been associated with the English National Opera in London. The Australian-born Moshinsky also headed several Adelaide Festivals and other cultural ventures in Australia.

[Sally Whyte / William D Rubinstein (2nd ed.)]

MOSKONI (Mashkoni), JUDAH LEON BEN MOSES (b. 1328), medieval philosopher and scholar from Ocrida in Bulgaria. As a result of disturbances caused by war Moskoni left his native town in 1360 and traveled extensively through many countries. While at Negropont he became a pupil of *Shemariah b. Elijah b. Jacob. During his travels he formed close ties with the great Jewish scholars of Egypt, Morocco, Italy, and southern France. Moskoni was well acquainted with the Hebrew and Arabic philosophic literature of his time and stressed the importance of studying grammar for an understanding of the Bible. His main work is a supercommentary to the commentaries of Abraham Ibn Ezra on the Pentateuch under the title *Even ha-Ezer*, which he wrote in 1362, but he also wrote other works in the fields of Hebrew grammar, biblical exegesis, and philosophy. The year of his death is not known. Some fragments of his commentary to Genesis (1:1–2) were published by N. Ben-Menahem; and to Exodus (some chapters) by A. Berliner and D. Hoffmann (see bibliography). Special importance is attached to Moskoni because of his edition of the Hebrew *Josippon. He had at his disposal a number of versions of the book but in the end selected the long adaptation of it, divided it into chapters, and added an interesting and detailed introduction. His edition has been preserved in two manuscripts and is the basis of the Constantinople edition of *Josippon*, where his introduction appears in an abbreviated and adapted form. All the standard editions of *Josippon* are merely reprints of this version. His introduction to *Josippon* was published by A. Berliner and D. Hoffmann.

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[David Flusser]

MOSKOVITZ, SHALOM (Shalom of Safed; 1887–1980), Israel primitive painter. Moskovitz worked in Safed as a watchmaker, stonemaker, and silversmith until at the age of 70, encouraged by the artist Yossl Bergner, he began painting, and gained international fame. Telling the story of the Bible in line and color, he laid out his visual narrations in strips, one above the other. These were characterized by a linear style and the use of repeated forms. In Moskovitz's work, kabbalistic and ḥasidic traditions blended anachronistically with features from his own surroundings.

MOSKOWITZ, HENRY (1879–1936), U.S. social worker and community leader. Moskowitz, who was born in Husse, Romania, went to the United States in his youth. He helped organize the Madison House Social Settlement. In 1907 he became active in the Ethical Culture Society and remained an associate leader of that group until 1913. From 1913 until 1917 Moskowitz served under the New York City reformist mayor, John P. Mitchell, as chairman of several city commissions. He was also an active leader of the Progressive Party under Theodore Roosevelt. In Jewish affairs Moskowitz served on the executive of the Joint Distribution Committee and as the executive chairman of American ORT and was elected in 1936 to the executive committee of its World Union. Moskowitz was closely associated with Governor Alfred E. Smith and, together with Norman Hapgood, wrote Smith's biography, *Up From City Streets* (1927). He also edited *Progressive Democracy: Speeches and State Papers of Alfred E. Smith* (1928) and wrote *Jewish Reconstruction in Russia, Poland, Romania; a report* (1925).

Moskowitz's wife BELLE LINDER ISRAELS MOSKOWITZ (1877–1933), who was born in New York City, worked on the professional staff of the Educational Alliance in New York City from 1900 to 1903 and married Henry Moskowitz in 1914. In 1908 she joined the staff of *The Survey*, remaining there for two years. She subsequently became increasingly involved in communal and political activity, and in public relations counseling. Belle Moskowitz later served on many of Governor Alfred E. Smith's state commissions and became his confidante and adviser. During the 1928 presidential campaign, when Smith was the Democratic nominee, Belle Moskowitz was the publicity chairman of the party. She also served as director of both the National Council of Jewish Women and the Women's City Club, and secretary to the Mayor's

Commission of Women on National Defense. She championed such causes as public health and housing. Following Smith's defeat in the 1928 presidential race, she became the president of Publicity Associates, where she remained until her death.

MOSLER, HENRY (1841–1920), U.S. painter and printmaker. Although in his lifetime Mosler claimed to have been born in America, he had immigrated from Germany at the age of eight with his parents, settling in New York. Two years later the family moved to Cincinnati. For years the Mosler family led a peripatetic life, living in several places, including Nashville, Tennessee, where Mosler received his first art instruction from a lithographer (1853) and again in Cincinnati (1859–1863), where he studied with a genre and portrait painter named James Henry Beard, whose subject matter and straightforward storytelling style on canvases comprised of small-scale figures influenced Mosler's early imagery. By 1860 Mosler had his own studio. During the Civil War, Mosler worked as an artist-correspondent for *Harper's Weekly*, which published 34 of his drawings. These images show battle as well as the daily life of soldiers. Later, three paintings explored war themes.

In 1863 Mosler began studying in Duesseldorf, Germany, a celebrated artistic center attractive to several American artists. Mosler's schooling in Germany strengthened his propensity for genre scenes and recording the intimate details of his subjects. Six months of study at the Ecole des Beaux Arts in Paris completed Mosler's extended training. The nomadic pattern of his youth brought Mosler back to Cincinnati from 1866 to 1874, where Reform Judaism began to gain prominence under the guidance of Isaac Mayer *Wise. Mosler painted *Plum Street Temple* (c. 1866, Skirball Museum, Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati), a canvas delineating the exterior of Wise's temple, Bene Yeshurun. A reproduction of the painting adorned the cover of the musical score "Progress March" a year later. Portraits commissioned by the Jewish community include a likeness of Wise's wife Therese Bloch Wise (c. 1867, Skirball Museum, Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati).

After eight years of living in cities in the United States, Mosler returned to Europe, continuing his studies at various times. He contributed entries to the French Salon from 1878 to 1897; his 1879 entry received honorable mention and was purchased for the Musée du Luxembourg, making the canvas the first by an American artist to be bought by the French government. Mosler began visiting Brittany in 1878, at which time he made paintings of Breton peasants, a subject that preoccupied his art until the 1890s. He meticulously recorded Breton dress, customs, and domestic interiors, and he painted wedding traditions on several occasions, including *The Wedding Feast* (c. 1892, collection unknown), shown at the 1892 Paris Salon. Returning permanently to the United States in 1894, Mosler lived in New York and painted scenes from American colonial history and genre works, employing a similar formula of attention to details and extensive research.

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[Samantha Baskind (2nd ed.)]

MOSS, CELIA (1819–1873) and **MARION** (1821–1907), Anglo-Jewish writers and educators. The Moss sisters were born in Portsmouth, England, two of the 12 children of Amelia and Joseph Moss. Avid readers, they began writing poetry in early childhood. Their first joint publication was a book of poems, *Early Efforts* (1839). This was followed by two collections of short stories, *The Romance of Jewish History* (1840) and its sequel, *Tales of Jewish History* (1843). Both collections, which were highly successful, were intended to convey a positive view of Jewish history, religion, and customs to a somewhat hostile Victorian society. As the Moss sisters remarked in their dedication to the writer Edward Bulwer Lytton, they blended "fiction with historical fact, to direct the attention of the reader to a branch of history too long neglected." Celia and Marion hoped their romantic tales would "call the attention of the reader to the records of our people – to awaken curiosity – not to satisfy it." Along with their compatriot Grace *Aguilar (1816–1847), the Moss sisters were the first Jewish women to publish narratives of this kind. They hoped their work would support the struggle for Jewish emancipation, and, more specifically, they wished to encourage improvement of female education and religious reform within the English Jewish community.

In 1840 the sisters moved to London to teach; in 1845 they opened their own day and boarding school for Jewish children. That same year Marion married the French Jewish scholar Alphonse Hartog. Five of their seven children survived to adulthood; each went on to a distinguished career in scholarship, science, or the arts. In 1857 Celia married L. Levetus, the ritual slaughterer of the New Synagogue in St. Helen's; it is not known if the couple had any children. Both sisters continued to write short stories while teaching and both contributed to Isaac Leeser's Jewish American periodical, *The Occident*. In 1854–55, Marion Moss Hartog established the first Jewish women's periodical, the *Jewish Sabbath Journal: A Penny and Moral Magazine for the Young,* intended to provide mothers with material with which to further their children's Jewish education. Initially, a great success, prompting submissions of all kinds from female authors and positively endorsed by the chief rabbi of the British Empire, the journal foundered after Hartog offended the editor of the powerful *Jewish Chronicle,* who proceeded to write a harsh review. Funding declined and publication ceased after five issues. Hartog, who was crushed, wrote next to nothing more for the remaining 52 years of her life. After moving to Birmingham with her husband, Celia wrote a collection of stories on her own, *The King's Physician and Other Tales* (1865).

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[Traci M. Klass (2nd ed.)]

MOSS, JOHN (1771–1847), Philadelphia merchant, shipping magnate, and civic leader. Moss emigrated to the U.S. as a glass engraver from London in 1796. Opening a dry goods store in Philadelphia in 1807, he quickly became a major importer, ultimately owning a large number of ships. After he turned the active direction of his firm over to his brothers in 1823, Moss shifted his own concerns to banking and insurance, canal companies, and civic enterprises. In 1828 he was elected to the Common Council on the Jacksonian Democratic Party ticket, and in this role he participated in the establishment of the world-famous Wills Eye Hospital. Moss was one of the rich Philadelphia Jews who entered almost every phase of civic activity: he was a steward of the Society of Sons of St. George; a life subscriber to the Orphan Society; and a founding member of the Musical Fund Society. This status was not achieved at the sacrifice of Jewish identification; he was an active member of Mikveh Israel Congregation, a major contributor to its building fund of 1818, and, late in life, a supporter of Isaac Leeser's American Jewish Publication Society. As presiding officer at the Philadelphia *Damascus Affair protest meeting in 1840, Moss had become the representative of his community.

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[Bertram Wallace Korn]

MOSSE, family originating from Graetz, a small town in the former Prussian province of Posen. Born in Friedland, Niederlausitz, MARKUS MOSSE (1808–1865), the family's founding father, moved to Graetz in 1835, where he became a committed physician, president of the local Jewish community in 1838, and deputy to the president of the town council. Unlike his coreligionists, he fought on the side of the Polish nationalists during the 1848 uprising and was wounded and taken prisoner. For the rest of his life, Mosse lived quietly in Graetz, engaged in the practice of his profession and the upbringing of his numerous descendants. Markus' wife, Ulrike (née Wolff; 1813–1888), was the aunt of Theodor *Wolff (1868–1943), one of the outstanding journalists of the early 20th century and from 1906 to 1933 chief editor of his cousin Rudolf Mosse's *Berliner Tageblatt*. Markus Mosse had eight sons and six daughters. His eldest son, Salomon (1837–1903), founded the Mosse linen house in Berlin and was joined by two other sons, Theodor (1842–1916) and Paul (1849–1920). Two other sons, ALBERT (see below) and Maximus (1857–1920), became lawyers, and RUDOLF (see below) was to be one of the three liberal press-czars of the Kaiserreich.

ALBERT MOSSE (1846–1925) specialized in administrative law, which he successfully taught to Japanese diplomats in Berlin. Thus, he became legal adviser to the Japanese government in Tokyo from 1886 to 1890. There he drafted the basic laws for the institutions of local self-government in provinces, districts, and communes. Moreover, he gave legal advice to several ministries and even prepared the Japanese constitution. Returning to Germany, he went to Koenigsberg, Prussia, where he became a state supreme court judge in 1890, the highest position hitherto attained by an unbaptized Jew in the Prussian judicial administration. Until his retirement, he was engaged in academic pursuits in his profession, and received a honorary doctorate and – in 1904 – even a honorary professorship at the University of Koenigsberg. Albert Mosse was active in Jewish affairs all of his life; he was married to Caroline Meyer (1859–1934), daughter of the former president of the Berlin Jewish community. After Mosse's return to Berlin in 1907, he became vice president of the Verband der Deutschen Juden and chairman of the board of the Hochschule fuer die Wissenschaft des Judentums. In recognition of his intensive work with its municipal administration, the City of Berlin made him its honorary citizen in 1917.

RUDOLF MOSSE (1843–1920), another son of Markus, founded in Berlin the Mosse publishing house, which acquired a worldwide reputation during the Empire and the Weimar republic. Born in Graetz, he learned the profession of bookselling in Posen and worked for several printing firms in Berlin and Leipzig, where, in 1864, he produced the advertising section for the widely read family magazine *Die Gartenlaube*. In 1867 he opened his own advertising agency in Berlin and was joined first by his brother-in-law Emil Cohn (1832–1905) and later on by his brother Emil Mosse (1854–1911). The firm expanded rapidly, established dozens of branch offices in Germany, Austria, Switzerland, and other European states ,and published the *Deutsches Reichs-Adreßbuch* every year from 1898. Only months after Germany had become an empire, Rudolf Mosse started to publish the *Berliner Tageblatt*, the mouthpiece of German left-wing liberalism. With the takeover of the *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judentums* (1890), the well-established *Berliner Volks-Zeitung* (1904), and the founding of the weekly *Berliner Morgen-Zeitung* (1889), the Mosse publishing house acquired nationwide prestige in the course of half a century. Even after World War I, the revolution, and the inflation, the House of Mosse remained a prominent, solidly financed, and highly regarded enterprise throughout Germany and Europe.

Beside his outstanding career as a businessman and a liberal-minded publisher, Rudolf Mosse was noted as a philanthropist. He established a hospital in Graetz and an educational institute in Wilhelmsdorf with an endowment of several million marks. He set up a fund for his employees and made large financial contributions to many literary, artistic, and, foremost, social institutions as well as academies, universities, and scientific pursuits. He was also active in the Jewish community in Berlin and was president of its Reform congregation from 1897 until 1910.

Rudolf's son-in-law Hans Lachmann-Mosse (1885–1944) was the last head of the Mosse publishing house. He worked in banking before entering the Mosse concern in 1910. Following the rise of Hitler, he resigned and the publishing house was seized by the Nazis. He moved to Paris in 1935 and in 1940 emigrated to the United States.

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[Elisabeth Kraus (2nd ed.)]

MOSSE, GEORGE L. (1918–1999), U.S. historian; grandson of Rudolph *Mosse. Born in Berlin into one of Germany's wealthiest publishing families, Mosse and his family fled to Britain in 1933; in 1936 Mosse moved to the United States. He received a B.S. from Haverford College in 1941 and a Ph.D. from Harvard University in 1946. In 1944 he joined the Army Specialized Training Program at the University of Iowa, where he lectured for soldiers who were scheduled to take part in the postwar U.S. occupation of Europe. In 1945 he became a member of the history faculty and was assigned to a newly established course on the history of Western civilization. He helped to develop the curriculum for the program as well as to implement it at other universities.

In 1955 Mosse became associate professor of European history at the University of Wisconsin-Madison, where he was recruited to build up the European history program. He served on the faculty until his retirement in 1988. He also taught at The Hebrew University of Jerusalem from 1969 to 1985 and held the Koebner Chair from 1978 to 1985. In 1994 he was the first Shapiro Senior Scholar in Residence at the Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington, D.C.

Mosse was president of the American Society for Reformation Research (1961–62) and was a founding editor with Walter Lacquer of the *Journal of Contemporary History*.

Mosse's principal interests were in 16th-century history, cultural history, and modern Germany, with special reference to the Nazis and antisemitism. His books *The Reformation* (1963) and *Europe in the Sixteenth Century* (with H.G. Koenigsberger, 1968) were important contributions to early modern history, while a series of later works – *The Crisis of German Ideology* (ed., 1964), *Nazi Culture* (1966), and *Germans and Jews* (1968) – explored modern Germany, particularly the fate of German Jewry. To this latter subject he brought his expert knowledge of more than four centuries of German history and a close familiarity with the development of European culture, a subject on which he also wrote in *The Culture of Western Europe* (1961).

After the unification of Germany in 1990, Mosse succeeded in reclaiming much of the family fortune that had been confiscated by the Nazis and the Communists. He bequeathed a large part of his estate to the University of Wisconsin-Madison and The Hebrew University to sponsor history scholarships.

Other books by Mosse include *Toward the Final Solution* (1978), *International Fascism* (1979), *Masses and Man* (1980), *German Jews beyond Judaism* (1985), *Nationalism and Sexuality* (1985), *Confronting the Nation* (1993), and *The Image of Man: The Creation of Modern Masculinity* (1996). His autobiography, *Confronting History,* was published in 2000.

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[Theodore K. Rabb / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

MOSSERI, prominent family in *Egypt, said to have come there from Italy around 1750 (many of its members were Italian subjects). The family was active in the administration of the Jewish community in *Cairo as vice presidents and in its philanthropy towards the needy in the community.

NISSIM MOSSERI (1848–1897), his son and his brothers were at first moneylenders in Cairo, then founded the banking house of J.N. Mosseri et Fils Cie. (1876). JOSEPH (1869–1934), the eldest son of Nissim, was honored with the title of *bey* for his financial services to the Egyptian government. Joseph's three brothers, Eli, Jacques, and Maurice, founded a second bank in 1904, Banque Mosseri et Cie. ELI (1879–1940) headed many companies, one of which built the King David Hotel in *Jerusalem. JACQUES (1884–1934), Nissim's third son, studied languages at Cambridge and later secured permission for Solomon Schechter to investigate the Cairo **Genizah*. Jacques himself collected *genizah* fragments and wrote articles on the **genizah* and Cairo's synagogues. A delegate of Egyptian Jewry to the 11th Zionist Congress (1913), he founded the Zionist Organization in Egypt in 1917. VICTOR MOSSERI (1873–1930), brother-in-law and cousin of the Mosseri brothers, was an agricultural engineer. He did research for the improvement of several crops, publishing some 60 monographs, and developed an important new variety of cotton. ALBERT MOSSERI (1867–1933), also a cousin, was born in Cairo. He studied medicine in Paris, where he became acquainted with *Herzl and *Nordau. He began publishing a Zionist newspaper, *Kadimah*, there. Serving as a physician with the British army in World War I, he later left his profession and began in 1919 to publish the weekly *Israel* in Cairo, originally in Hebrew, then in Arabic, and French too. After his death, his wife, MAZAL MATHILDA (1894–1981), continued the publication until 1939. Their son MACCABEE (1914–1948) served as an officer in the Palmaḥ and was killed when bringing supplies to besieged Jerusalem. The effort to control the supply route (May 1948) was called "Operation Maccabee" after him.

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[Hayyim J. Cohen / Jacob M. Landau (2nd ed.)]

MOSSINSOHN, YIGAL (1917–1994), Israeli author and playwright. Born in Ein-Gannim, Mossinsohn was a member of kibbutz Na'an from 1938 to 1950 and served in the Palmaḥ and the Israeli Defense Forces from 1943 to 1949. After six years in the United States (1959–65), he returned to Israel. Mossinsohn wrote stories, novels, plays, thrillers, and adventure books for children, and dealt with topical and historical themes. His first book, a collection of stories, *Aforim ka-Sak* ("Gray as a Sack"), was published in 1946. In 1948 the Habimah Theater staged his first play *Be-Arvot ha-Negev* ("In the Negev Desert"), which was a popular success. The theme of the play was the heroic stand of Kibbutz Negbah against the invading Egyptian army during the Israeli War of Independence. Mossinsohn also wrote several other topical plays. A great success was his series of thrillers for children and teenagers, *Ḥasambah*, starting in 1950, which found a host of imitators.

Additional works include (1) Stories and novels: *Mi Amar she-Hu Shaḥor* (1948); *Ha Derekh li-Yriḥo* (1950); *Derekh Gever* (1953); *Yehudah Ish Keriyyot* (1963, *Judas*, 1963); *Cherchez la femme* (stories, 1971); *Yeḥi ha-Hevdel ha-Katan* (1974); and *Taranella* (novel, 1979).

(2) Plays: *Tamar Eshet Er* (1947); *Im Yesh Ẓedek* (1951); *Cambyses* (Heb. 1955); *Casablan* (1958; later, the basis of a musical play); *Eldorado* (1963); *Shimshon* (1968); *Ha-Meragelim ba-Bordel shel Rahav ha-Zonah* (1980). For English translations, see Goell Bibl.

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[Gitta (Aszkenazy) Avinor]

MOSSINSON, BENZION (1878–1942), Hebrew educator and Zionist leader. He was born in Andreyevka, in southern Russia. In 1904 he joined the opposition, headed by Menahem *Ussishkin, to Herzl's *Uganda Scheme and was sent as an emissary to Ereẓ Israel to try to eradicate the leanings to the Uganda idea among certain circles in the *yishuv.* He taught at the Herzlia high school from 1907 and served as its principal from 1912 to 1941. A teacher of Bible, he introduced "Bible criticism" into Ereẓ Israel high schools. Exiled by the Turkish authorities during World War I, Mossinson went to the United States. He was a delegate to Zionist Congresses, being elected to the General Zionist Council and its presidium, and went on missions to various countries on behalf of the Zionist Movement. Mossinson was a founder of the "A faction" of the *General Zionists (which later evolved into the Progressive Party). He edited the General Zionist weekly, *Ha-Ẓiyyoni ha-Kelali*. In 1941 he became director of the Education Department of the Va'ad Leumi. In addition to articles in Russian and Hebrew periodicals, Mossinson published *Ha-Ivrit be-Arẓenu* (1917), and *Ha-Nevi'im* (1919, 1944^2). The Youth Aliyah agricultural school at Magdi'el is named after him.

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[Abraham Aharoni]

MOSSNER, WALTHER VON (1846–1932), German general. Born in Berlin, Mossner, a superb cavalryman, was commissioned into the King's Hussars in 1865, a personal favor by King William I to Mossner's banker father, despite the hostility of the other officers, who regarded the commissioning of a Jew in a cavalry regiment as an unwelcome precedent. Mossner was eventually baptized and was decorated for distinguished services in the Austro-Prussian War of 1866. In 1872 he was appointed to the German general staff and later was ennobled. He was made William II's aide-de-camp in 1892 and from 1896 to 1898 commanded the third cavalry brigade. Mossner became governor of Strasbourg in 1903 and in the following year was given command of a cavalry division with the rank of major general. He retired in 1910 and was awarded the High Order of the Black Eagle, the last Prussian general to be so honored.

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MOST (Ger. **Bruex**), city in N.W. Bohemia, Czechoslovakia (town no longer exists). A Jewish moneylender is recorded in Most in 1393; there was a Jewish street situated near the monastery in the 14th century. When the Jews were expelled in 1453 most of them settled in *Litomerice. One Jew was allowed to settle in Most in 1839, and after 1848 some Jews from the surrounding villages moved to the city. There were 15 Jews in 1861, when a congregation was established; the synagogue was dedicated in 1872. Some of the rabbis of Most later became eminent: Alexander *Kisch (1874–77), Joseph Samuel *Bloch (1877–79), and Gotthard *Deutsch (1884–91). In 1930 there were 662 Jews in Most (2.4% of the total population). The community owed its importance and affluence to the development of lignite mining by the *Petschek and Weimann firms. During the Sudeten crisis the community dispersed, and the synagogue was destroyed on Nov. 10, 1938. The congregation was reestablished in 1945, mainly by Jews from *Subcarpathian Ruthenia, under the administration of the *Usti nad Labem community. In 1975 Most was evacuated to make way for open-cut mining and ceased to exist. The German-Jewish poet Yermiyahu Oskar Neumann (1894–1981), subsequently of Be'er Toviyyah, Israel, was born in Most.

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[Jan Herman]

MOSTEL, ZERO (**Samuel Joel Mostel**; 1915–1977), U.S. actor. Born in Brooklyn, N.Y., into an Orthodox Jewish family, Mostel graduated from City College in 1935, then taught painting and drawing and made extra money entertaining. Working as a comedian at a jazz club called Café Society, Mostel was nicknamed "Zero" by the club's press agent, who said, "Here's a guy who started from nothing." A successful career as a comedian followed in Hollywood and on Broadway, mostly in portrayals of corpulent villains. His leftist views, however, led to his blacklisting, and it was not until 1958, when the political climate had changed, that he resumed full-scale activity. He appeared as Leopold Bloom in an off-Broadway production, *Ulysses in Nighttown* (1958), which was followed by stage successes in such plays as Ionesco's *Rhinoceros* (1961), *A Funny Thing Happened on the Way to the Forum* (1962), *Fiddler on the Roof* (1964, and a revival in 1977). *Fiddler* won nine Tony Awards in 1965 and a special Tony in 1972 for the longest-running musical in Broadway history. Mostel won three Tony Awards: Best Actor in a Drama for *Rhinoceros* (1961) and Best Actor in a Musical for *A Funny Thing Happened on the Way to the Forum* (1963) and *Fiddler on the Roof* (1965). He was also nominated in 1974 as Best Actor in a Drama for a revival of *Ulysses in Nighttown*.

Mostel appeared in a number of movies, including *Panic in the Streets* (1950), *A Funny Thing Happened on the Way to the Forum* (1966), *The Producers* (1968), *The Angel Levine* (1970), *The Hot Rock* (1972), *Rhinoceros* (1974), *Journey into Fear* (1975), *Mastermind* (1976), and *The Front* (1976).

Mostel co-authored *Zero Mostel's Book of Villains* (with Alex Gotfryd and Israel Shenker, 1976) and *170 Years of Show Business* (1978). His son Josh Mostel is an actor.

[Raphael Rothstein and Jonathan Licht / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

MOSTISKA (Pol. **Mościska**), city in Lvov district, Ukraine; from 1772 to 1918 in eastern Galicia, under Austrian rule. Jews first settled there in the middle of the 16th century, but the community was destroyed during the Chmielnicki massacres. It was renewed in the 18th century. The community was under the jurisdiction of the Council of Red Russia (Reissen) province (see *Councils of the Lands). In 1880 there were 2,123 Jews in Mostiska (51% of the total population) and in 1900 they numbered 2,548 (55%). Jews dominated the towns' trade and artisanship. From 1919 to 1939 the city belonged to Poland. In 1921 the Jewish community numbered 2,328 (49%). The Jewish economy deteriorated because of competition and anti-Jewish boycotts. Before the outbreak of World War II there were about 2,500 Jews in Mostiska. The Germans occupied the town on June 27, 1941, and concentrated Jews from the environs there, numbering about 3,500 persons. During the first half of 1942 more than 500 were sent to labor camps. The Jewish community was liquidated on November 28 (or October 10) 1942, when 2,000 Jews were murdered or sent to Camp Janonska in Lvov. In December 1942 the remaining Jews were sent to the Jaworow ghetto and shared the fate of the local Jews.

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[Shmuel Spector (2nd ed.)]

MOSUL, city in N. *Iraq, on the Tigris river. Jews settled in Mosul, or rather in ancient *Nineveh (a suburb of which probably stood on the site of the present Mosul), on the left bank of the Tigris, when Shalmaneser, king of *Assyria (730–712 B.C.E.), conquered *Samaria.

In the middle of the seventh century C.E. there was a Jewish community in Mosul living in a special quarter called *Maḥallat al-Yahūd* ("the Jewish Quarter"; according to Ibn al-Faqīh, BGA V 129; Balādhuri, Futuḥ, 1907, 340). In the middle of the 10th century the Jewish philosopher Ibn Abi Saʿīd ibn Uthmān Saʿīd al-Mawṣilī lived in Mosul and through another Jew asked a contemporary Arab-Christian philosopher to settle several philosophical questions (S. Pines, in: PAAJR, 34 (1966), 103–36). During the first half of the 12th century the Jewish community of Mosul increased when a Muslim principality was established there. It was ruled by Atabeg Zangī (1127–46) and his sons who sought to unite all the small kingdoms in the vicinity of Mosul, to expand his domain up to *Syria, and later to make a joint attack on the Crusaders. Many Jews who had suffered from the Crusaders in Ereẓ Israel came to the town and placed themselves under the protection of the Muslim rulers, who did not harm them. The traveler *Benjamin of Tudela, who visited Mosul before 1170, found "approximately 7,000 Jews headed by R. Zakkai (b. Azariah b. Solomon), the *nasi* who claimed to be from the Davidic line, and R. Joseph, who is called Burhan al-Falak [Ar. "Globe"] who is the [astrologer] to the king Zein al-Dīn" (Benjamin, Travels, p. 94). R. *Pethahiah of Regensburg, who visited Mosul about ten years later, found more than 6,000 Jews and two *nesi'im*: David and Samuel, two cousins who were of the Davidic line. The *nesi'im* had the authority to imprison transgressors. Every Jew paid a tax, one *dīnār* per year, half of which was for the authorities and half for the *nesi'im*. They had fields and vineyards.

In 1289 the head of the flourishing community was the exilarch *David b. Daniel. He, together with 11 members of the local rabbinical college, signed a letter threatening Solomon Petit of Acre, the opponent of *Maimonides, with excommunication (Graetz, Gesch, 7 (c. 1900), 166).

After a brief period of prosperity at the beginning of the Il-Khan rule, at the time of the vizier *Saʿd al-Dawla in the second half of the 13th century, there followed a swift decline and harsh setbacks which impoverished the community. Tamerlane, who captured the city at the end of the 14th century, caused great harm to its inhabitants. Nevertheless, there was a great yeshivah in the city at the beginning of the 16th century, which sent one of its students to the Adoni family to serve as rabbi of the *Baghdad community (A. Ben-Yaacob, *Kehillot Yehudei Kurdistan* (1961), 34–36).

In 1848 the traveler Benjamin II found 450 Jewish families there (Benjamin II, *Masʿei Yisrael* (1859), 34). In the 20th century, there was no improvement in the situation of the Jews of Mosul. The figure of 3,000 Jews in the city remained more of less stable until the beginning of the 20th century. The decline of Mosul's economic standing seems to have contributed to the departure of the Jews for Baghdad. According to the census of 1947 there were in the city 5,688 Jews. The Jewish community of Mosul remained enclosed in its neighborhood, most of them poor and ignorant, a few of them merchants. Schools established by the *Alliance Israélite Universelle in 1906 (for boys) and in 1912 (for girls) were closed at the outbreak of World War I. In about 1930 schools for boys and girls were established by the philanthropist Eliezer *Kadoorie, but there was no Jewish high school. A few children attended government schools and a very small number attained a higher education.

Probably because of their lowly position, the Jews of Mosul did not arouse the envy of their neighbors and were not persecuted. Nevertheless, they lived in great fear throughout this entire period. The rabbis of the community were not highly regarded. During World War I the chief rabbi of the community was R. Elijah Barazani, and from the 1920s, his son R. Solomon Barazani (d. 1960), who remained in this position until he immigrated to Israel in 1951. In the years 1950–55 all the Jews of Mosul immigrated to Israel.

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[Abraham Ben-Yaacob, Paul Borchardt, and Hayyim J. Cohen / Nissim Kazzaz (2nd ed.)]

MOSZKOWSKI, MORITZ (1854–1925), pianist and composer. Born in Breslau, Moszkowski taught at the Kullak Academy in Berlin until 1897 when he established his residence in Paris. He was renowned as a concert pianist, touring Europe and the United States, and also as a composer of tuneful piano pieces. Of these, *Spanish Dances* have retained a certain popularity, especially in the four-hand version. He also wrote some orchestral works and an opera *Boabdil, der letzte Maurenkoenig* (first performed in Berlin, 1892). His brother ALEXANDER MOSZKOWSKI (1851–1934), a literary critic, published two booklets of musical humor under the pseudonym Anton Notenquetscher, of which excerpts still appear in anthologies.

MOTA, NEHEMIA (d. 1615?), poet whose influence in *Kochi (Cochin) remains very tangible to this day. The Malabari Jews honor the anniversary of his death on the first day of Hannukah with a special banquet followed by singing his *hashkavah* (Sephardi memorial prayer). But his religious significance extends to the Paradesis as well, and his tomb in Jew Town functions as the focal point of many vows, a spot for consolation in times of distress, and as an object of pilgrimage for Christians, Muslims, and Hindus as well as Jews.

The earliest reference in scholarship devoted to Nehemia Mota is found in the 1907 edition of the *Jewish Encyclopedia*, where it is stated rather misleadingly that in 1615 a false messiah appeared among the Jews of Cochin in the person of Nehemia Mota. Most authorities accept that Mota was from the Yemen; others say he was an Italian Jew who came to Kochi via Yemen, and still others hold that he was Polish. He married a woman from the black Jewish community. The 1757 edition of the Shingli Maḥzor contains about 20 of Nehemia's songs which, for reasons unknown, were deleted from the 1769 edition. They have reappeared in recent Israeli editions of the Shingli rite.

Nehemia's tomb is located down an alley in a poor area just south of Jew Town. It resembles the "village deity" (*grammatadevata*) shrines of South India, except for the absence of any images or symbols of the saint. The presence of Nehemia inspires fear as well as blessings – such ambivalent feelings typify the cults of the village deities. Women, Jewish and Gentile, make vows and light candles at the tomb whenever they face a crisis of health, an employment opportunity, or a long journey.

The incorporation of a foreign saint into the Hindu pantheon is not uncommon, and this mechanism serves to acculturate the foreign community into Hindu society.

Nehemia's tomb bears the following Hebrew transcription:

> Here rest the remains of
> the famous kabbalist,
> The influence of the light of whose learning
> shines throughout the country,
> The perfect sage, the hasid, and
> God-fearing Nehemia, the son of
> The dear rabbi and sage Abraham Mota.
> Our Master departed this life on
> Sunday, the 25th of Kislev, 5336.
> May his soul rest in peace.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: N. Katz and E.S. Goldberg, *The Last Jews of Cochin: Jewish Identity in Hindu India* (1993); J.B Segal, *A History of the Jews of Cochin* (1993).

[Nathan Katz (2nd ed.)]

MOTAL, ABRAHAM BEN JACOB (1568–1658), rabbi and *dayyan* of Salonika. Motal was born in Salonika, where he studied under Samuel Ḥayyun and Solomon ha-Kohen, whose works he transcribed. He served first as head of the yeshivah of the Old Lisbon community of the city, and on the death of *Ḥayyim Shabbetai in 1647 succeeded him as Salonika's chief rabbi. Among his distinguished disciples were Aaron *Lapapa, Benjamin Melamad of Smyrna, Samuel Adarbi, Abraham ibn Naḥmias, Isaac Alkabeẓ of Constantinople, Abraham *Galanti, and Levi Passariel of Salonika. Of his many works, only *Torat Nazir*, on the tractate of that name, has been published (Salonika, 1821). Appended to it is his *Kunteres Shemot ha-Gittin*. Many of his halakhic discussions appear in the works of contemporary scholars, but most of his responsa have remained in manuscript.

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[Abraham David]

MOTH (Heb. עָשׁ, *ash* and סָס, *sas*; AV, JPS – "worm"), insect said to eat and destroy clothes (Isa. 51:8; cf. 50:9; Job 13:28). The word *ash* is also used as a synonym for disintegration and destruction (Hos. 5:12; Ps. 39:12). These names refer to the clothes-moth *Tineola*, the larva of which feeds on wool. The metamorphosing larva (caterpillar) spins a cocoon, in which it develops into a chrysalis, to be transformed later into an imago. The tottering house of the wicked is compared to a cocoon (Job 27:18). Other species of moth that damage seeds, fruit, and trees are also to be found in Israel. The Talmud speaks of the *sasa* that infests trees (TJ, Ḥag. 2:3, 78a, according to the reading of Ha-Meiri; cf. Yoma 9b: the *sas-magor* which attacks cedars). The *noses* that destroys trees (Isa. 10:18) may be the *sas*, the reference here being to the moth which bores into trees, such as the larvae of the *Zeuzera pirina*, one of the worst arboreal pests in Israel.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Lewysohn, Zool., 308; F.S. Bodenheimer, *Animal and Man in Bible Lands* (1960), 78, 114, 140; J. Feliks, *Animal World of the Bible* (1962), 126f.

[Jehuda Feliks]

MOTION PICTURES. Since the early years of motion pictures, Jews have played a major role in the development of the industry and have been prominent in all its branches. This is true not only of Hollywood, where the role played by Jews is generally known and acknowledged, but of the German film industry up to the Nazi era, Russian film production up to the time of the Stalinist purges of the 1930s, the British film industry up to the present, and contemporary underground motion pictures in the United States. The motion picture was created at a time when the Jews were seeking entry into the economic and cultural life of their host countries. Their involvement with motion pictures was due to a number of factors: the film business had not developed a tradition of its own and had no vested interests to defend; participation in it required no intimate knowledge of the vernacular; and films were not yet the realm of businessmen, entrepreneurs, or professional entertainers, but rather scientists, such as Edison and Lumière, who had no idea of the economic and industrial future of their inventions. In addition, the motion picture was initially regarded as a low-grade form of entertainment – suitable only for the immigrant or the uneducated masses – rather than a valid art form, and those connected with films were held in contempt. New immigrants, therefore, found it relatively easy to enter this field, and Jewish immigrants used the opportunity to transform the media from a marginal branch of entertainment into a multi-million dollar industry.

[Nahman Ingber]

In the United States

A century ago, motion pictures went from invention to entertainment to being an industry. First introduced in 1896, moving pictures were at first a novelty shown at the end of vaudeville shows or in penny arcades. Sigmund "Pop" Lubin (1851–1923), a Jewish immigrant from Germany built one of the first movie houses in 1899 (he charged ten cents, twice the customary rate). By 1907, more than 100 Nickelodeons – theaters seating fewer than 300 persons and charging a nickel per showing – had opened in New York, and more than a quarter of those were located in the densely populated Lower East Side – home of the great majority of Jewish immigrants.

Max Aronson (1882–1971), who changed his name to Gilbert Maxwell Anderson, was the first movie-star cowboy. He had played a role in Edwin S. Porter's *The Great Train Robbery* (1903), the first genuine American feature film. After working at Vitagraph as a production assistant Anderson moved to Chicago and then to California. In 1907, he cofounded the Essenay Co., where he worked as a writer, producer, and actor. In 1908 he launched the "Bronco Billy" western series, which was a great success, producing 375 films in a seven-year period.

On Christmas Eve 1908 Mayor McClellan of New York closed all the nickelodeon theaters calling them immoral. Leading the successful fight to have them reopened were former garment worked turned exhibitor William *Fox (1879–1952) and former newsboy Marcus Loew (1870–1927). Competition was so fierce among exhibitors and producers that in 1909 Thomas Edison signed an agreement with most of the large film companies that led to the founding of the Motion Picture Patents Co. The theater owners were forced to rent projectors and films only from the Motion Picture Patents Co. – in effect Edison was creating a monopoly to keep new independent producers out. Fox and German Jewish immigrant Carl *Laemmle (1867–1939), an exhibitor turned producer and distributor objected to such control; they sued and won in 1912. Laemmle relocated to Southern California with his Universal Film Manufacturing Company (later Universal Studios) leading the exodus of film producers to the West.

By 1909 the nickelodeon boom was over; by 1915 the age of movie palaces began. By 1915, movie production had effectively moved to California. The age of the movie moguls had begun.

The first large Hollywood company was Paramount, which was founded and managed by Adolph Zukor (1873–1976). Together with Daniel *Frohman, a theatrical agent, Zukor decided to import a prestigious European film, *Queen Elizabeth* (1912), starring Sarah *Bernhardt. The film was shown in legitimate theater halls and was reviewed in the regular press, enabling Zukor to claim that film was a legitimate art form. Under the slogan "Famous Players in Famous Plays," Zukor produced films based on literary and dramatic works, with casts of well-established, legitimate actors. He also initiated the practice of advertising the "star" actors in films; the first "star" he promoted was Mary Pickford.

Jesse *Lasky (1880–1958) owned a similar production company in Hollywood, and in 1917 he and Zukor founded a joint distribution company called Paramount; two years later their production companies also merged. Paramount produced, distributed, and exhibited films through its own worldwide theater chain. Lasky also brought two of his partners, Samuel *Goldwyn (Goldfish; 1882–1974) and Cecil B. De Mille, into the new company. As Paramount continued to grow, smaller producers were compelled either to disband or merge with one another in order to compete. Paramount's commercial power was based upon the block-booking system that forced local exhibitors to rent an outline group of Paramount's films, rather than choose only those they desired.

One producer who tried to fight Paramount was Carl Laemmle, who was developing Universal into one of the giants. William Fox, his former partner in the fight against the Patents Co., joined Twentieth Century and also made it into one of the large Hollywood companies.

Louis B. *Mayer, who owned a chain of movie theaters (mainly in New England), purchased the Metro Co. in Hollywood (which had its own studios) and founded the Metro-Mayer Co. Samuel Goldwyn left Paramount in 1919 and, together with the Selwyn brothers, founded the Goldwyn Co. In 1924 it merged with Metro-Mayer to form Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer (MGM), which was headed by Mayer; Goldwyn himself did not join MGM and instead established one of Hollywood's outstanding independent production companies.

Columbia, owned and dominated by Harry *Cohn from 1929 until his death in 1958, was built into a large company during the 1930s by producing a series of successful films by the clever use of stars and directors.

Warner Brothers was founded by Sam, Jack, Albert, and Harry *Warner, who started out with a small exhibition hall and later became the managers of the First National Theater chain, and eventually formed their own company. In 1923 they bought out the Vitagraph Company, owners of the Vitaphone, which was a sort of record that played simultaneously with the silent film. Seeking to improve their difficult financial situation, in 1926 they developed and presented the first film with its own musical score.

A year later Warner Brothers produced *The Jazz Singer*, starring Al *Jolson, containing both dialogue and singing parts. Written by Samson Raphaelson, based on his play, and starring Al Jolson as the son of a cantor torn between the observant and secular world, the film was a success and brought about the "sound revolution" in motion pictures and made Warner Brothers into one of the great Hollywood companies. Thus the majority of large Hollywood Studios were founded and controlled by Jews.

In addition, the first bank to finance the film industry was the Jewish-owned Kuhn, Loeb and Co., in 1919.

These founding fathers of the movie studio were part of a first generation who created "the dream factory," where Jewish immigrant movie moguls, eager to leave the Old World behind, became more American than the Americans (see N. Gabler, *An Empire of Their Own: How the Jews Created Hollywood*).

Other Jews who played a leading role in the large companies were Barney *Balaban, who joined Paramount and became its president in 1936; Nicholas and Joseph M. Schenk, who became presidents of MGM (while Mayer was in charge of its Hollywood operations); and Irving *Thalberg, who was production manager of MGM from the end of the 1920s until his death in 1936. Thalberg, who was responsible for production at the age of 23, was the wunderkind of the film industry and became the symbol of the successful Hollywood producer.

In the two years following Warner's *The Jazz Singer*, Hollywood frantically set about converting to sound. As the studios began importing New York talent, many Jews landed in Hollywood. Among the Jewish performers who made their way west were Jack *Benny, Ben Blue, Fanny *Brice, George *Burns, Harry Green, Ted Lewis, the *Marx Brothers, Sophie *Tucker, and Ed *Wynn. In addition, directors and writers shifted from theater to film, including men such as George *Cukor, Sidney Buchman, Norman *Krasna, Charles Lederer, Joseph *Mankiewicz, S.J. *Perelman, Robert Riskin, Morrie Ryskind, and Ben *Hecht.

In the 1920s and 1930s another wave of Jewish émigrés came to Hollywood. They were mainly directors and actors.

Ernst *Lubitsch, who came to the United States in 1923 after achieving fame in Germany, was best known for directing sophisticated comedies with a finesse that became known as the "Lubitsch touch." Among his films were *Ninotchka*, *To Be Or Not To Be*, and *Cluny Brown*. For several years Lubitsch served as president of production of Paramount, the first working director to also be head of a studio.

Erich van *Stroheim, an Austrian-born actor and director, became known in the 1920s for his realistic direction, especially in the film *Greed*. His acting captivated audiences for a period of 30 years.

Josef von *Sternberg directed several films in the United States in the 1920s; he directed *Blue Angel* in Germany in 1930 and became Marlene Dietrich's permanent director, famous for a grand style that made Dietrich into a screen goddess. William *Wyler, who was born in Germany, began his career as a director in 1928; his films were based mainly on adaptations of literary works, and he was particularly successful in the direction of female stars. Billy *Wilder also began his career in Germany, together with Fred Zinnemann and Robert Siodmak. Wilder's films were distinguished by their sharp humor and bitter irony.

Other Jewish actors and directors who arrived in Hollywood from Europe in the 1920s and 1930s leaving their past and sometimes their names behind, were Leslie *Howard, Peter *Lorre, and Michael *Curtiz.

Curtiz, a Hungarian, would go on to direct *Casablanca* – perhaps the greatest American movie – as well as other American classics, including *Captain Blood*, *Yankee Doodle Dandy*, *Robin Hood*, and *White Christmas*.

White Christmas is a great example of the ways in which Jews assimilated American culture, making it their own. "White Christmas" was first born as a song written by Irving *Berlin (né Izzy Baline in Siberia) for the 1942 film *Holiday Inn*. Wishing for an idealized world "I used to know" that is "merry and bright," the lyrics are, at the same time, wistful, hopeful, and all-inclusive. The song was so popular (it is one of the most popular songs of all time), it spawned a movie of its own.

The movie *White Christmas* as directed by Curtiz pairs Bing Crosby with the very versatile Danny Kaye (born David Kaminsky) in a romantic musical comedy, written by Norman

*Krasna, about two World War II veterans who achieve success in show business and then success in love. Its message is not religious, but universal.

Curtiz presents the world as it was and as it should be. Curtiz, like Berlin, was often critiqued for having no signature style. But for Curtiz and Berlin's generation of Jews, being able to work successfully in any number of styles was a virtue unto itself. Making a Christmas movie was not about assimilation, it was about versatility.

Curtiz had already assimilated back in Hungary when he first changed his name from Mano Kaminer to Mihaly Kertesz (a more Hungarian-sounding name). The jump from Kertesz to Curtiz was itself a testament to having an identity that was easily translated – that worked, literally and figuratively, in any culture. America was the land of freedom, and for Jewish directors and actors, it was a country where you could do anything, even make a Christmas movie.

In 1951, when Mayer was dismissed from his post at MGM, he was replaced by Dore *Schary, who had built a career as a writer. A similar position was held by William Goetz, who was head of 20th Century-Fox and, at a later stage, of Universal International Co.

Some of the most successful Jewish producers employed by the studios included Joe *Pasternak, Walter Wanger, Arthur *Freed, Jerry Wald, Pandro S. *Berman, among others. An even more important influence on the film industry – because of their greater control over the nature of the finished product – were the independent producers, such as Mike *Todd, producer of *Around the World in 80 Days*, who was connected with the Todd-AO method of cinematography; and David O. *Selznick, the son of Lewis J. Selznick, one of the industry's pioneers. Next to Samuel Goldwyn, David Selznick became the most famous and successful independent producer. He was responsible for the production of *Gone with the Wind* (1939), which was one of the most profitable films in Hollywood's history, having grossed $72,000,000 through 1970. Among his other films were *David Copperfield*, *King Kong*, *Spellbound*, and *Rebecca*.

Hal Roach, one of the most prolific producers of comedies, was responsible for a part of the Harold Lloyd series and for the Laurel and Hardy films during the 1920s and 1930s. Sam *Spiegel, who maintained a high artistic standard, using outstanding directors and choosing serious subjects, produced such films as *The African Queen*, *On the Waterfront*, *The Bridge on the River Kwai*, and *Lawrence of Arabia*. The *Mirisch Brothers, originally theater owners, established their own company in 1957. After the decline of the big studios, it became one of the most successful Hollywood enterprises, producing *West Side Story* and *The Great Escape*.

After 1945, Stanley *Kramer, an independent producer who was connected with Columbia, produced such films as *Home of the Brave*, *Champion*, *High Noon*, and *Death of a Salesman*. Later on he also directed *On the Beach*, *Judgment at Nuremberg*, and *Ship of Fools*. Kramer believed that audiences wanted films that dealt with contemporary life.

Joseph E. *Levine, who began as a theater owner and became an importer of cheap or erotic Italian films, then turned to the financing of outstanding European films (*8½*), and later produced such films as *Where Love Has Gone*, *The Carpetbaggers*, and *Harlow*.

Among Jewish directors who earned success at the box office or received great critical acclaim one must include Jules *Dassin, Garson *Kanin, Robert *Aldrich, James *Brooks, Fred *Zinnemann, Joseph L. *Mankiewicz, Sidney *Lumet, John *Frankenheimer, Alan Pakula, Martin *Ritt, Roman *Polanski, Michael Curtiz, Mervyn Le Roy, Otto *Preminger, Richard *Brooks, George *Cukor (d. 1983), Daniel *Mann (d. 1991), Delbert *Mann, and Robert *Rossen.

The number of successful Jewish scriptwriters is so vast that only a few can be mentioned here. Among the most famous were Ben *Hecht, Samson *Raphaelson; George *Axelrod; Carl *Forman; Herman *Mankiewicz; Aaron *Sorkin; William *Goldman; Nora *Ephron; Eric Roth; Norman Krasna; and Abby *Mann.

Among the prominent composers of musical scores are Irving *Berlin, Alfred Newman, Franz Waxman, Dmitri Tiomkin (d. 1979), Elmer *Bernstein, and Burt *Bacharach.

The first great sex symbol was Theda *Bara (1885–1955), born Theodisia Goodman, whose portrayal of a seductive vampire inspired the appellation "Vamp." Other Jewish actresses known as sex symbols included Mae *West, Mirna Loy, Sylvia Sydney, Hedy *Lamarr, Judy *Holliday, and more recently, Debra *Winger, Rachel Weisz, and Natalie Portman. There is also a long tradition of Jewish comediennes in which Mae West would also be included, but which begins with Fanny *Brice, and stretches to Barbra *Streisand and Bette *Midler.

A small sample of well-known Jewish actors and actresses includes the Marx Brothers, Danny *Kaye, Jerry *Lewis, Paul *Muni, Edward G. *Robinson, Eddie *Cantor, John *Garfield, Al Jolson, Peter Lorre, Zero *Mostel, Tony *Curtis, Alan *Arkin, Lee J. *Cobb, Kirk *Douglas, Melvyn *Douglas, Dustin *Hoffman, Elliot *Gould, Alla *Nazimova, Louise *Rainer, Paulette *Goddard, Shelley *Winters, Polly Bergen, Tovah *Feldshuh, and Lilli *Palmer. A number of film stars converted to Judaism including Sammy *Davis Junior, Marilyn *Monroe, and Elizabeth *Taylor.

By the mid-1930s ethnically distinct characters, especially Jews, were no longer considered desirable by studio heads. The degree to which Hollywood eliminated a Jewish presence can be assessed by comparing *The House of Rothschild* (1934) with *The Life of Emile Zola* (1937). In the former there is no question of Rothschild's identity. By contrast, *The Life of Emile Zola* treats the infamous *Dreyfus affair, yet oddly never reveals that Dreyfus was a Jew.

Despite Hitler's election as chancellor of the Third Reich in 1933, and the growing militarization, civilian restrictions, and legislated discrimination against Jews in Germany, Hollywood remained totally silent on the subject throughout the 1930s. The producers reflected the neutralist philosophy emanating from Washington. MGM's *Three Comrades* (1938) and the Warner Bros. film *Confessions of a Nazi Spy* (1939) merely intimated at the true horror.

Charlie Chaplin, a non-Jew (whom antisemites often labeled "Jewish"), broke ranks by producing *The Great Dictator* (1940), a comedy which lampooned Hitler and depicted contemporary conditions in his mythical Tomania.

With the onset of World War II, Hollywood set about dealing with Fascism, although it was less explicit about Jewish persecution. But it was not until Pearl Harbor that Hollywood went to war in full force. Increasingly the victims were identified as Jews rather than the previous nomenclature non-Aryans (ironically a Nazi classification). Titles include *The Pied Piper* (1942), *None Shall Escape* (1944), and *Address Unknown* (1944).

The war also saw the rise of the combat film, which depicted a fighting unit of ethnically and geographically diverse soldiers. Most typically Jews functioned as comic relief. More serious depictions of the Jewish participation in World War II can be found in *The Purple Heart* (1944) and *Pride of the Marines* (1945), where characters evidence intelligence, bravery, and patriotism.

Following the war and the full knowledge of the Nazi atrocities, it was natural to ask, "How could this happen?" "Could it happen here?" The response to these questions was *Crossfire* (1947), a murder thriller, and *Gentleman's Agreement* (1947), a drama which presented a journalist, played by Gregory Peck, posing as a Jew to gain firsthand experience of discrimination. Both films received critical and popular acclaim and, despite initial concern on the part of Jewish agencies, both works proved through testing to be effective tools in combating prejudice.

However, it is important to note that when Hollywood needed a handsome actor to play a role where the character was Jewish, such as King David, they preferred a non-Jew such as Gregory Peck to play him, as he did in *David and Batsheba* (1951), later reprised by Richard Gere in *King David* (1985).

The postwar period also produced an unexpected backlash against Jews, most particularly in Hollywood. Spurred on by anti-Communist fears, conservative individuals were able to effect their prejudices through the workings of the House Committee on Un-American Activities. Of the original "Hollywood Ten" who faced investigation and charges, seven were Jewish.

However, the films of the 1950s consistently promoted tolerance. In no decade are screen Jews so intelligent, patriotic, and unqualifiably likeable. At no other time is religious tolerance and good will so consistently foregrounded.

Beginning in 1951 with *The Magnificent Yankee*, which depicts Louis *Brandeis, to the screen adaptation of *Dark at the Top of the Stairs* (1960), the films all preach the same message – antisemitism is no longer acceptable; antisemitism is un-American.

In between these two works, several important films came to the screen. In 1952 Dore *Schary adapted *Ivanhoe*, with Elizabeth Taylor in the role of Rebecca. In 1953 the first remake of *The Jazz Singer*, directed by Michael Curtiz, appeared with Danny Thomas in the lead role. The once Orthodox family have now become assimilated Reform Jews. And in 1959 Paul Muni played the kindly old doctor in the film version of *The Last Angry Man* (1959). Antisemitism in the U.S. army became the subject of two films – *The Naked and the Dead* (1958) and *The Young Lions* (1958).

Other films of importance include *Majorie Morningstar* (1958), the first major film since the 1920s to focus on Jewish domestic life and a precursor of the self-critical approach of the 1960s; *Me and the Colonel* (1958), a bittersweet comedy about World War II starring Danny Kaye; *The Diary of Anne Frank* (1959), the first Hollywood film to focus exclusively on the plight of Jews caught in the Holocaust; *The Juggler* (1953), starring Kirk Douglas, in the first U.S. production shot entirely in Israel; and *Exodus* (1960), the film which fixed Israel in the American imagination for years to come.

Exodus with the handsome Paul *Newman, whose father was Jewish, and in which Newman appears bare-chested wearing a Jewish Star, paved the ground for a new sex symbol: the Jewish Man. The 1960s were a time when the anti-hero took center stage and such non-traditional leading men as Dustin Hoffman, Elliott Gould, and Richard *Dreyfus became stars.

Not since the silent era had so many Jewish characters appeared, especially in major roles. Beginning in 1967 with Dustin Hoffman in *The Graduate*, a series of comedies set a new direction and established Jewish humor as a major mainstream trend for the next two decades. Films such as *The Producers* (1968), *Funny Girl* (1968), *Take the Money and Run* (1969), and *Goodbye, Columbus* (1969) launched a new Jewish sensibility in America.

Although comedy dominated the decade in terms of Jewish film, the Holocaust was approached in two works with forceful impact. First, Abby Mann's *Judgment at Nuremburg* (1961) soberly approached the range of Nazi injustices. Then in 1965 *The Pawnbroker,* starring Rod Steiger in the role of a German survivor, was the first American fictional work to treat the camp experience with such harrowing reality. Closely related, *The Fixer* (1968) depicted Jewish victimization under the Czarist regime, and by implication called attention to current Soviet discrimination.

The decades closed with one of the most celebrated films about Jewish life ever to reach the screen – *Fiddler on the Roof* (1971). Based on *Sholem Aleichem, the film exposed millions around the world to Jewish family life, Jewish traditions, and the shtetl.

In the 1970s and 1980s, in such films as *Play It Again Sam* (1972), *Annie Hall* (1977), and *Manhattan* (1979), Woody *Allen became the embodiment of an urban Jewish humor-filled sensibility, and of a seeming nebbish who won the girl (who was often non-Jewish).

The other major comedies of this era focus once again on domestic life, some with a nostalgic look towards the past; others with a derisive look at the present. Films include *My*

Favorite Year (1982), *Down and Out in Beverly Hills* (1986), *Brighton Beach Memoirs* (1987), and *Radio Days* (1987).

Meanwhile Jewish women began to have their say in films such as *The Way We Were* (1973), starring Barbra Streisand; *Hester Street* (written and directed by Joan Micklin *Silver); and *Girlfriends* (1978, written and directed by Claudia Weill).

Jewish women came to the fore with great strength, in large measure due to women's participation in production. Beginning with *Private Benjamin* (1980), co-produced and starring Goldie *Hawn as the Jewish American Princess who finally grows into an autonomous woman, Jewish women are admirably depicted in *Tell Me a Riddle* (1980), *Baby, It's You* (1983), *Hanna K* (1983), *Yentl* (1983), *St. Elmo's Fire* (1985), *Sweet Lorraine* (1987), and *Dirty Dancing* (1987). Among the Jewish women active in film as directors, screenwriters, and producers were: Barbra Streisand, Susan Seidelman, Claudia Weill, Lee *Grant, Joan Micklin Silver, Gail Parent, and Sherry *Lansing (who would go on to be chairman of Paramount).

The 1970s also introduced many new types: the Jewish gambler (*The Gambler*, 1974), the Jewish madam (*For Pete's Sake*, 1974), blacklisted artists (*The Front*, 1976), the Jewish gumshoe (*The Big Fix*, 1976), the Jewish lesbian (*A Different Story*, 1978), a Yiddish cowboy (*The Frisco Kid*, 1979), a Jewish union organizer (*Norma Rae*, 1979), a Jewish murderess (*The Last Embrace*, 1979), and an elderly Jew pushed to violence (*Boardwalk*, 1979). *The Frisco Kid* deserves special mention. Despite its high comedy, the film is one of the few Hollywood works to treat Jewish values as a serious topic. Briefly stated, the film shows the confrontation between talmudic piety and American pragmatism, as personified by characters played by Gene *Wilder and Harrison *Ford, as the two influenced each other as Jew met Gentile in the New Land.

For the rest of the 20th Century Jews assumed a wide variety of roles. From the romantic, such as Billy *Crystal in *When Harry met Sally* to non-Jewish Ian McKellen as the evil Holocaust survivor Dr. Magneto in *X-Men* (2000), Jewish actors and Jews on screen took on a democratic smorgasbord of roles. Jewish leading men continue to be few and far between but a new crop of handsome young and versatile actors such as Ben *Stiller, Jason Schwartzman, Adam *Sandler, and David Duchovny continue to redefine Jewish actors on the screen.

In other areas, some things never change. Just as the non-Jewish Natalie Wood played Marjorie Morningstar, in the romantic comedy from Nancy Meyers, *Something's Got to Give* (2003), Diane Keaton is featured as playing a Jewish woman and Frances McDormand as her sister.

Regarding the Holocaust as a subject for Hollywood, prior to the 1980s, the Shoah was mainly used as a backdrop from which to create thrillers such as *The Odessa File* (1974), *Marathon Man* (1976), and *The Boys from Brazil* (1978). Only *The Man in the Glass Booth* (1975), based on a stage play, stands apart. However, after the successful 1978 TV broadcast of the mini-series *The Holocaust*, a proliferation of Holocaust-themed or related films were made, most notably *Schindler's List* (1993).

Finally, the beginning of the 21st century has been witness to a landmark event: the release of the first animated Chanukah feature-length movie, Adam Sandler's *Eight Crazy Nights*. Sandler's appeal is his endearing cretin-savant aesthetic: although his mind may be trapped in adolescence, his heart inevitably is in the right place.

In sum, 100 years after the start of the movie industry, the landscape is much changed. Born in America, the second, third, and fourth generation of Jews in Hollywood were raised during a time when institutional antisemitism had all but disappeared and where assimilation was not so much a goal as a norm. The melting pot has given way to the multicultural quilt – and religious choice is as varied as the combo plates on a Chinese menu. Jewish actors and directors continue to work in Hollywood making a diverse selection of studio and independent films. They no longer need to hide their religion or ethnicity but they are free to make movies on any subject, Christmas included.

Hollywood belongs to no religion – save a corporate one. The most marked change in the motion picture industry is one regarding ownership. The last several decades of the 20th century has seen tremendous change and consolidation in the motion picture industry. There are almost no truly independent studios, and the studios once owned by Jews are now part of international conglomerates and publicly traded companies. Warner Brothers was acquired by Time-Warner and in 2006 includes such former mini-major studios as New Line and Castle Rock; Disney is a public company that includes the Miramax independent film label and ABC television networks; Fox is owned by Rupert Murdoch's News Corp.; Columbia by the Japanese conglomerate Sony; Universal was sold to Matsushita, then to Edgar *Bronfman's Seagram, then to the French utility Vivendi, and then to General Electric which has also acquired the NBC television network. Paramount is owned by Viacom and, as of January 1, 2006, is part of a company that also includes MTV networks.

Stephen *Spielberg, Jeffrey Katzenberg and David Geffen launched their own studio in 1994, DREAMWORKS SKG. Although they produced such successful movies as *Shrek*, *Collateral, Seabiscuit,* and *Minority Report*, among others, they could not remain independent. They spun off Dreamworks Animation as a public company, and at the end of 2005 they concluded an agreement to sell Dreamworks' movie division to Paramount.

The first generation of Jewish movie moguls owned the studios. On the business side, adding to Hollywood's reputation as a Jewish industry was the fact that many of the talent agencies were founded and staffed by Jews – to mention a few: William Morris (founded by William Morris); MCA, led by Lew Wasserman and Jules Stein; International Creative Management (ICM), managed by Marvin Josephson, and in 2006 by Jeff Berg. One of the most powerful Hollywood agencies was founded by William Morris defectors Michael *Ovitz, Ron Meyer, and Bill Haber. CAA is led in 2006 by Richard Lovett. One of the newer agencies is Endeavor, whose founders include Ari Emmanuel.

At the beginning of the 21st century, by contrast, the studios are owned by corporations and controlled in great part by non-Jews. A great many Jewish people have continued to work in Hollywood as executives, agents, and attorneys. They are involved at every level in the creative decisions affecting the movies made in America and seen the world over. But increasingly, they are making those decisions with their eyes on a mass audience and for corporate masters concerned with the bottom line, profits and stock performance. So although there are many Jewish executives, they are merely employees, serving at the whim of the marketplace and their masters.

In this light, it is legitimate to wonder: can the movie industry still be considered Jewish?

[Tom Teicholz (2nd ed.)]

Yiddish films were made in the U.S. from the 1920s. These films, for all their bathos, were a uniquely authentic expression. Although provincial and stylized, they reflected and preserved a Jewish way of life, stressing the unity of the Jewish people, traditional values, belief in human goodness, the triumph of justice, respect for education, and the ideal of the happy family nucleus. The success of Yiddish shorts in Jewish neighborhoods in the late 1930s led to the production of full-length features. The stars of the Yiddish theater, such as Maurice Schwartz, Boris Thomashevsky, and Celia Alder, participated in these films, which were heavily melodramatic and sentimental. The films have a "happy ending" often with a family reconciliation. Religious ceremonies were often portrayed as part of the action. Some of the films were adapted from Yiddish stage classics, such as Hirschbein's *Green Fields* and Gordin's *Mirele Efros*.

Serious Yiddish film-making ended in the U.S. at the same time as it was being brought to an end in Poland. The decline of the Yiddish theater in the 1930s in the U.S. was paralleled by a similar trend in the Yiddish cinema. After 1940, the only Yiddish films being produced were made up of vaudeville acts taken from the "Borscht Belt," the chain of Jewish hotels in the Catskill Mountains hosting vaudeville acts. These, too, dried up within a few years. The end of the Yiddish cinema was inevitable with the disappearance of Yiddish as a spoken language in the younger generation. Moreover, even where the language was still spoken, the naiveté of the Yiddish films had no appeal to an acculturated and sophisticated public.

[Geoffrey Wigoder]

In Britain

Although the proportion of Jews involved in films was much smaller than in America, they made a significant contribution to the British film industry and were among its pioneers. For a long period, American competition made it impossible for the British motion picture to gain a foothold in the world market. It was a Hungarian Jew, Sir Alexander *Korda, who finally pulled the British industry out of the doldrums. Korda had been a pioneer of film making in Hungary and after World War I had worked in Austria, Germany, France, and Hollywood. In 1930 he moved to Britain and founded the London Films Company, for which he directed and produced some of the best films credited to Britain in the 1930s and the 1940s. His success was due to his fine artistic sense, his ability to build artists from different fields into a working team, and his belief that by employing great British actors and choosing the proper subjects, the British film could be adapted to suit the American market. His greatest success as a director was *The Private Life of Henry VIII* (1933), in which he punctured the formal rigidity associated with royalty; he had other successes in *The Private Life of Don Juan* and in *Rembrandt*. His greatest achievements were as the producer of such films as *The Scarlet Pimpernel, Catherine the Great, Elephant Boy, Lady Hamilton*, and *The Third Man*, which established Britain's reputation for fine films. His brother, Zoltan Korda, also worked for London Films as a successful director. Sir Michael *Balcon, who was initially in charge of Alfred Hitchcock's British films, earned his reputation after World War II managing the operations of Ealing Studios. This company created the series of comedies (known as the "Ealing Comedies") that depict the eccentric British character with subtle humor and irony (such films as *Kind Hearts and Coronets, Whisky Galore*, and *The Ladykillers*). Another outstanding producer was Harry Saltzman, a partner in the James Bond series; he later produced mainly war films and, from time to time, low-budget artistic films. Anatole de Grunwald also was a producer of note. A noted young director was John Schlesinger, who was responsible for such films as *Billy Liar, Darling*, and *Midnight Cowboy*. Among the outstanding British film actors were Leslie *Howard, Elizabeth *Bergner (who moved from Germany in the 1930s, as did Anton Walbrook), Claire *Bloom, Yvonne Mitchell, Laurence *Harvey, and Peter *Sellers.

[Nahman Ingber]

In France

What is a Jewish film? A film that is produced by a Jewish producer? A film that is made by a Jewish director? A film that has a Jewish theme? One may more specifically ask this question about France, for until the 1950s characters were not identified in French movies by religious or ethnic affiliation. However, after World War II it was impossible to ignore the Jewish presence in France, or the Holocaust.

In 1937, Jean Renoir directed *La grande illusion* ("The Great Illusion"), a pacifist film which depicts a group of French prisoners during World War I. One of them, Rosenthal, is a stereotyped *nouveau riche* Jew who, however, stands by his friends. At the end of the film, one of these friends, played by Jean Gabin, let's the cat out of the bag. "I never could stand Jews!" he says. This cutting remark and Rosenthal's ambivalent portrait brought accusations of antisemitism against Renoir. The controversy itself shows all the ambiguity of the Jews' situation in French society, for Rosenthal is generous and human. In his next film, La *règle du jeu* ("The Rules of the Game," 1938), the subtle and grand figure of the host goes under the name La Chesnay, but it is clearly said that he is of Jewish origin. It is significant that Marcel Dalio played both these parts. He was himself a Jew and had to leave France in

1940. The cliché about Jews who wish to believe they are accepted in French society is also the main theme of Julien Duvivier's *David Golder* (1931), from Irène Nemirovsky's book. After becoming wealthy, David Goldet is despised by his wife and daughter; he ends his days as a ruined and lonely old man. Unlike Renoir's films, *David Goldet* is undoubtedly antisemitic, echoing all the physical and psychological stereotypes spread by France's extreme right in the 1930s.

From the 1950s, documentaries – made from archives or from witness interviews – shed new light on the Jews' lot in French society during World War II. Thus in *Nuit et Brouillard* ("Night and Fog," 1955) by Alain Resnais, in *Le temps du ghetto* ("The Ghetto Time," 1968) by Frederic Rossif, *Le chagrin et la pitié* ("Distress and Compassion," 1971) by Marcel Ophuls, *Français si vous saviez* ("French Citizens, If Only You Knew," 1973) by André Harris and Alain de Sédouy, French eyes were opened to the realities of French society and the behavior of French politicians toward Jews under the German occupation. In other respects, at the same time Frederic Rossif and Claude Lanzmann made documentaries about Israel.

Some Jewish film makers were interested in making semi-autobiographical films on this period as well. These include Claude Berri (*Le vieil homme et l'enfant*, "The Old Man and the Boy," 1957), Henri Glaeser (*Une larme dans l'océan,* "A Tear in the Ocean," 1973), and Jacques Doillon (*Un sac de billes*, "A Bag of Marbles," 1976, from Joseph Joffo's book). Others produced stories in the context of collaboration: *Le dernier métro* ("The Last Subway," 1980) by François Truffaut tells the story of a Jewish director in Paris who hides in a cellar. Conversely, *Lacombe Lucien* (1974) by Louis Malle – from Patrick *Modiano's book – absolves the hero from responsibility (he becomes a militiaman by chance) and depicts Jews as passive victims. Some years later, Malle made *Au revoir les enfants* ("Good Bye, Children"), which expressed feelings of guilt about the persecution of Jewish children. In 2005, *La maison de Nina* ("Nina's House") by Richard Dembo told the story of young survivors of the Nazi camps.

Several documentaries have been made with survivors: *La mémoire est-elle soluble dans l'eau?* ("Is Memory Soluble in Water?" 1995) by Charles Najman and *La petite maison dans la forêt de bouleaux* ("The Little House in the Birch-Tree Forest," 2003) by Marceline Loridan. One must mention too Emmanuel Finkiel's work, especially *Voyages* (1999), dealing with the memory of the Holocaust, moving on, and Jewish identity in the Diaspora and Israel.

There have also been comedies with popular actors like Louis de Funès and Roger Hanin. Their humor and optimism as they show reconciliation among people made them successful films. Such films are *Les aventures de Rabbi Jacob* ("Rabbi Jacob's Adventures," 1973) by Gérard Oury, *Le coup de sirocco* ("Gust of Sirocco," 1979), *Le Grand Pardon* ("Yom Kippur," 1982), and *Le grand carnaval* ("The Great Carnival," 1985), the last three by Alexandre Arcady. *La vérité si je mens* ("Damn It If I'm Lying," 1996) by Thomas Gilou gives Jewish humor a different perspective with a Sephardi contribution dealing with North African Jews who settled in France from the 1960s. And Claude *Lelouch evokes men and women of all origins who are thrown into distress by History.

The most highly acclaimed of all these Jewish films was undoubtedly Claude *Lanzmann's masterpiece, *Shoah* (1985).

[Annie Goldmann (2nd ed.)]

In Germany

As in the United States, the impetus to produce films catering to popular taste in Germany came from Jewish owners of a chain of theaters. In 1913 Paul Davidson and Hermann Fellner, who had been exhibiting films since 1905, established their own production company and made films based on German folklore and legend, as well as comedies (it was for this company that Ernst Lubitsch made his early films). In 1919 Erich Pommer directed the Deutsches Eclair (Decla) film company, which some time later merged with UFA, a company that produced outstanding German films in the 1920s and the early 1930s. Pommer remained at the head of the company and determined the style and quality of the films in this period. He went in for daring artistic experiments and provided ample opportunity for talented film people to prove their mettle. As a result, the German film became the most advanced of its time; this was, in fact, the golden age of the German film industry. Lubitsch began his career with a series of comedies (some of them against a Jewish background) and then turned to the direction of light-hearted historical films. His overwhelming success resulted in his being invited to the United States. Another film produced by Pommer, *The Cabinet of Dr. Caligari*, which became a prestigious success for the German cinema, was written by Hans Janowitz and Carl Mayer. In general, Jews made a great contribution to the German cultural life in the 1920s and participated in the avant-garde artistic experimentation of this period. The painter Hans Richter produced experimental and abstract films and was a pioneer of this genre. The leading German-Jewish film director was Fritz *Lang, whose films are a marvelous portrayal of the social and cultural atmosphere prevailing in Germany at the time. They include *Der muede Tod* ("The Weary Death"), based on a medieval legend; two films based on the Nibelungen saga; two terror films; *Metropolis*, sharply critical of various aspects of industrial society; and *M*, the story of the Duesseldorf child murderer, which was Lang's last German film. When Hitler came to power, the Jews working for the German film industry were forced to flee the country. Most of them found their way to Hollywood, others to London, Paris, and Prague.

In Poland

Before the rise of the Jewish state, Poland was the only country that offered possibilities for the development of a Jewish film industry. Attempts to create a Jewish film tradition began before World War I, when film versions were made of the plays of Jacob *Gordin. Mark Tovbin, a pioneer in the field, filmed *Mirele Efros* with Esther Rachel *Kaminska in the title role and other members of her family in the cast. Nahum

Lipovski filmed Gordin's play *Hasa die Yesoeme* ("Hasa the Orphan") with Esther Lipovska as the orphan. It was not until the 1920s, however, that attempts at making films were resumed. In 1924 Leah Farber worked with Henrik Baum, as scenario writer, on producing films on Yiddish folk themes. Among them was *Tkies-Kaf* ("The Hand Contract"), based on a legend similar to that of *The Dybbuk*, directed by Zygmunt *Turkow, who also played the role of Elijah. Other roles were played by Esther Rachel Kaminska, her daughter Ida, and her granddaughter Ruth Turkow, then a child. In 1927 the same company filmed another legendary story, *Der Lamedvovnik* ("One of the Thirty-Six"), by H. Baum, starring Jonas *Turkow and directed by Henryk Shara (Shapira). In 1929 a company known as Forbert – after Leo Forbert, the first Jewish film producer after the war – filmed a version of Josef *Opatoshu's novel *In the Polish Woods*, with H. Baum as screenwriter, Jonas Turkow as director, and Dina Blumenfeld and Silver Rich in the leading roles.

The first Yiddish talking pictures were made in 1932, when Itzhak and Shaul Goskind formed a company known as Sektor and made documentaries of the Jewish communities in Warsaw, Lodz, Vilna, Lvov, Cracow, and Bialystok and then undertook popular productions with S. Dzigan and I. Szumacher. They produced *Al Khet*, with screenplay by the writer Israel Moshe Neiman, directed by A. Marten, with Rachel Holtzer and A. Morewski in the leading roles; *Un'a Heim* ("Without a Home," by A. Kacyzne), directed by Alexander Marten, with Ida Kaminska and the Dzigan-Szumacher partnership; and *Freylikhe Kabtsonim* ("The Merry Beggars"), a story by Moshe *Broderzon, with Zygmunt Turkow, Dzigan-Szumacher and Ruth Turkow in the cast. They also did a documentary called *Mir Kumen On* ("We're on the Way"), directed by Alexander Ford. Ford also did *Sabra* (1933).

Films of distinction were Josef Green's productions *Yidl mit'n Fidl*, lyrics by Itzik *Manger, starring Molly *Picon; *Mammele*, also starring Molly Picon; *Purim Shpiler*, with Z. Turkow, Anya Liton, L. Samberg, and Miriam Kressin (screenplays by Konrad Tam) and *A Brivele der Mammen*, written by M. Osherowitz (screenplay by A. Kacyzne) and directed by L. Tristan. This was the last Yiddish film made in Poland before the outbreak of World War II. Leo-Film did a talking version of *Tkies-Kaf* in 1937 with scenario by H. Baum, direction by Henrik Shara, and Z. Turkow as Elijah. *An-Sky's *Dybbuk* was also filmed in 1937, with a scenario by Katzisne, direction by Michal Vashiasky, and a cast including A. Morewski, Isaac Samberg, Moshe Lipman, Lili Liliana, and L. Leo Libgold. After World War II a cooperative, "Kinor," for Yiddish-speaking films was organized in Lodz by Shaul Goskind and Joseph Goldberg. From 1946 until 1950 two full-length films and about 12 shorts were produced including *Unzere Kinder*, which was made with Niusia Gold, Dzigan-Szumacher, and orphans from Alenuwek (Lodz). In 1951 "Kinor" was liquidated and the members left, mostly for Israel. The Polish State Film produced a work on the Warsaw Ghetto, *Ulica Graniczna* ("Border Street"), directed by A. Ford. Subsequently, several documentaries were made in Yiddish by American producers. Post-World War II films artists who did not specifically deal with Jewish themes were Alexander Ford (later in Israel) and Roman Polanski (who settled in the U.S. in the 1960s).

In the U.S.S.R.

Jews also took a large part in the motion picture industry in the U.S.S.R. Foremost among them was Sergei *Eisenstein, the great genius of the Soviet cinema, whose contribution to the progress made by motion pictures probably exceeds that of any other single film artist. His films, including *Battleship, Strike, Alexander, Old and New, October, Potemkin, Ivan the Terrible* (1 and 2), and *Alexander Nevski*, are still regarded as high achievements of the motion picture art and are studied by scholars and artists alike. His theories on the cinematic art, published in several volumes, remain an outstanding expression of motion picture aesthetics. The formalist experiments made by Eisentein in the 1920s provoked the ire of the Soviet authorities and caused him great hardship throughout the 1930s and 1940s; the controversy over *Ivan the Terrible* shortly preceded his death. Other Jews who entered the Soviet motion picture industry in the 1920s were Friedrich Ermler, Abraham Room, Mikhail Romm, Juli Raizman, Leonid Trauberg, Esther Schub, and L.O. Arnshtam. They sought formal solutions to the artistic problems encountered, and when socialist realism became the prescribed doctrine, they were forced to compromise with the new conditions. A noted Jewish director was Dziga Vertov, a native of Poland, whose real name was Denis Kaufman and whose brother, Boris Kaufman, was a well-known American cameraman. In 1924 Vertov propounded the theory of *Kino-Glas* ("Cinema-Eye"): *Kino-Glas* films were made outside the studio without actors, set, or a script. "They are written by the camera in the purest cine-language, and are completely visual." Vertov became the father of the documentary film, and his newsreels, "*kino pravda*," were the forerunners of *cinéma-verité*.

A number of Jewish directors were also active in the 1930s, including Yosif Heifitz and Alexander Zarkhy (who worked as a team for some time), Yosef Olshanski (also a scriptwriter), Samson Samsonov, and Yakov Segal. Yiddish motion pictures flourished in the Soviet Union in the 1930s, centering on the great Yiddish actor Shlomo *Mikhoels (who was later murdered during the Stalin purges), whose outstanding films were *King Lear* and *Menahem Mendel*.

Other European Countries

In other countries of Eastern Europe Jewish motion picture directors came to the fore after World War II, when film production first entered a serious phase of development. In Czechoslovakia Jan Kádar directed *Shop on Main Street*, and Milos Forman earned his reputation with such comedies as *Peter and Pavla, Firemen's Ball*, and *Loves of a Blonde*. A Swedish director named Mauritz Stiller became famous in the 1910s and 1920s for the style, humor, and aesthetic feeling of his films. His claim to fame now rests on his discovery of Greta

Garbo, whom he accompanied to the United States where he died soon after his arrival.

[Nahman Ingber]

For Israel, see *Israel, State of: Cultural Life (Film).

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MOTKE ḤABAD (c. 1820–c. 1885), Lithuanian jester (*badḥan). Motke (familiar form of Mordecai) was the most famous jester of Lithuania, the counterpart to Hershele *Ostropoler of Galicia. He eked out a poor living by acting as *badḥan* at weddings and other festive occasions, and his barbed wit, directed against the rich and the powerful, as well as his practical jokes, constituted a form of social protest, reflecting the condition of Jews in Russia generally and of the poor within the Jewish community. His subjects include government bureaucracy, autocratic powers exercised both by lay and religious authorities, the shrewish woman, and particularly the affluent and miserly. Collections of anecdotes and sayings ascribed to Motke, however, include many of apocryphal nature. Various suggestions have been made as to the name Ḥabad, which is identical with that of the Lithuanian *ḥasidic sect. One is that it is a distortion of his family name Hobat, another that he married into a Ḥabad family, and a third that it was a satirical anti-ḥasidic designation coined by Haskalah intellectuals, whereby Badḥan was changed to Ḥabad.

Whereas in Jewish folklore Hershele Ostropoler is the hero of the prankish deed, Motke is more the master of the biting witticism; but both were directed against those who hold the reins of wealth and power.

[Gershon Winer]

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MOTTELSON, BEN R. (1926–), U.S. and Danish physicist and Nobel laureate was born in Chicago and received his B.S. from Purdue University, Indiana (1947), and his Ph.D., supervised by Julian Schwinger, from Harvard University (1950). He worked at the Institute for Theoretical Physics (later the Niels Bohr Institute) in Copenhagen (1950–53), followed by a period working with the theoretical group of the European Organization for Nuclear Research (CERN). In 1957 he was appointed professor at the newly established Nordic Institute for Theoretical Atomic Physics in the same city (1957). With Aage Bohr, Mottelson investigated the structure of nuclei by theoretical and experimental means and established that a rotational spectrum and particle pairing account for the energy levels in nuclei. These observations had an important influence on subsequent particle physics and the elucidation of superconductivity. Mottelson and Bohr were awarded the 1975 Nobel Prize in physics, shared with James Rainwater. Mottelson subsequently made important contributions to understanding nuclear pairing and rotation and shell structure in metallic atom clusters. He married Nancy Jane Reno (1948) and they and their three children became Danish citizens in 1971.

[Michael Denman (2nd ed.)]

MOTTL, FELIX JOSEF (1856–1911), German conductor and composer. Born near Vienna, Mottl studied with Anton Bruckner and Joseph Hellmesberger. When he was 24, Liszt conducted his first composition, the opera *Agnes Bernauer*, at Weimar. From 1881 to 1903 he was court conductor and then *Generalmusikdirektor* at Karlsruhe, acquiring a brilliant reputation. For the next four years he was conductor of the opera at Munich, making the city a center of operatic life. Mottl devoted himself to the interpretation of the works of Berlioz, Peter Cornelius, and Wagner. In 1887 he appeared at the Wagner festival at Bayreuth and in 1890 presented the first full production of Berlioz' *Les Troyens* at Karlsruhe. He also conducted in London and New York. Mottl's compositions include three operas, lieder, and chamber music, but he is best remembered for his orchestral arrangement of works by Lully, Rameau, Mozart, and Gluck, and for his piano reductions of Wagner's operas.

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[Judith Cohen]

MOTZKIN, LEO (**Aryeh Leib**; 1867–1933), Zionist leader and protagonist of the struggle for Jewish rights in the Diaspora. Born in Brovary, near Kiev, Motzkin received a traditional Jewish education and witnessed in his youth the Kiev pogrom in 1881. He studied in Berlin where he was among the founders of the Russian-Jewish Scientific Society (1887), whose members were Jewish students from Russia and Galicia who supported the *Ḥibbat Zion movement. They conducted heated debates with the majority of the Russian Jewish students, who were attracted to socialism and cosmopolitanism. When he completed his studies, Motzkin abandoned his opportunities for a scientific career and devoted himself to activities for the Jewish national cause. He was one of the strongest critics of the methods of Ḥovevei Zion and, with the appearance of Theodor *Herzl, Motzkin immediately joined the newly formed Zionist Organization at the First Zionist Congress and headed a group of delegates that demanded a clear and decisive wording of the *Basle Program. Before the Second Congress, Herzl sent him to Ereẓ Israel, and in his report to the Congress Motzkin criticized the settlement methods of Baron de *Rothschild and the Ḥovevei Zion and called for a political agreement with the Ottoman government. Despite his ideological closeness to Herzl, he joined the *Democratic Fraction, which he represented at the Fifth Zionist Congress (1901) and at the Conference of Russian Zionists in Minsk (1902). He kept aloof from the controversy over the *Uganda Scheme because of his deep attachment to Ereẓ Israel, on the one hand, and the urgent need to help the oppressed Jewish masses, on the other.

In 1905 Motzkin anonymously edited the revolutionary Russian *Russische Korrespondenz*, which was published in Berlin and provided West European newspapers with information on Russia in a radical spirit. He dedicated considerable space to the fate of the Jews and the anti-Jewish excesses. The Zionist Organization requested Motzkin to publish a book on the wave of pogroms in Russia; it was written for the most part by Motzkin himself (signed A. Linden) and was published in two parts in 1909–10 under the name *Die Judenpogrome in Russland*. The book contained thorough research into anti-Jewish violence in Russia from the beginning of the 19th century to its climax during the Russian Revolution of 1905–06, including descriptions of pogroms in various areas and towns and stressed the role of Jewish *self-defense. In 1912 Motzkin's pamphlet *The Legal Sufferings of the Jews in Russia* came out in an English translation by an anonymous author. It was also distributed in Russian among the Duma delegates in St. Petersburg. During the *Beilis trial (1911–13), Motzkin organized an information service in West European countries and Russia and spurred public figures to speak out against the blood libel. At the same time, he was a leading activist in the Hebrew language movement and among the first to speak Hebrew at conferences and meetings devoted to this subject. During World War I, he was head of the Copenhagen Office of the World Zionist Organization and the liaison between the various Zionist organizations in the warring countries. At the end of 1915 he left for the United States to mobilize support for the Jewish war victims on the East European front, and also for the struggle to ensure equal rights for the Jews of Russia. At the end of the war, Motzkin demanded that the Zionist Movement also concern itself with the civil rights of the Jews in the Diaspora. Thus, he took a leading part in the establishment of the *Comité des Délégations Juives at the Paris Peace Conference, to which various Jewish bodies were affiliated, including the World Zionist Organization, and which later became a standing institution at the League of Nations, serving as a world Jewish representative for all affairs other than those connected with Ereẓ Israel. In the following years as well, Motzkin continued to direct the committee, which concerned itself particularly with the struggle against antisemitism (inter alia with the legal defense of Shalom *Schwartzbard for the assassination of Simon *Petlyura, who was held responsible for the pogroms in the Ukraine) and with the defense of Jewish rights. For this purpose he was active in the movement supporting the League of Nations and in the international Congresses of National Minorities. He did not abandon his Zionist work, however, and served as permanent chairman of the Zionist General Council and of many Zionist Congresses.

When the Nazis came to power in Germany, Motzkin headed the anti-Nazi struggle of the Jewish people and brought the oppression of German Jewry before the League of Nations. When, under pressure from the German ethnic minorities in other countries, the Congress of National Minorities refused to deliberate on the situation of German Jews under the Nazis, Motzkin withdrew from the organization. He died in the midst of feverish activity to ensure political and financial aid to German Jewry. In 1939 *Sefer Motzkin*, including a selection of his writings and speeches, was published together with a monograph on him by the editor, A. Bein.

His son THEODORE SAMUEL (1908–1970) was a mathematician and educator. Born in Berlin, from 1936 to 1948 he taught at The Hebrew University, Jerusalem. He settled in the United States in 1948 and was a research fellow of Harvard University from 1948 to 1950, after which he was a professor and research mathematician at the University of California. He contributed to the subjects of inequalities, approximation, polynomials, and geometry. He wrote *Contributions to the Theory of Linear Inequalities*.

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[Yehuda Slutsky]

MOUNTAIN JEWS, a Jewish ethnic and linguistic group living mainly in *Azerbaijan and Daghestan. The name "Mountain Jews" emerged in the first half of the 19th century when the Russian Empire annexed those territories. It is supposed that the name derives from "mountain of the Jews" (*Chufut* or *Dzuhud Dag* in the Tat language), an ancient name of Daghestan, indicating its large Jewish population.

The Mountain Jews call themselves *Juhur.* According to estimates based on the Soviet censuses of 1959 and 1970, they numbered between 50,000 and 70,000 in 1970. Of these, 17,109 registered as Tats in the 1970 census, so as to escape being registered as Jews and discriminated against by the authorities. About 22,000 did so in the 1979 census.

They speak several dialects (similar to each other) of the Tat language (see *Judeo-Tat), which belongs to the western branch of the Iranian languages group.

Their main centers of settlement are: in Azerbaijan, *Baku, capital of the republic, and the town of Kuba where the majority of Mountain Jews live in the suburb of Krasnaya Sloboda which has an all-Jewish population; in Daghestan, *Derbent, Makhachkalah, capital of the republic (which was called Petrovsk Port until 1922), and Buynaksk (Temir-Khan Shurah prior to 1922). Outside Azerbaijan and Daghestan, considerable numbers of Mountain Jews live in Nalchik, in the suburb of Yevreyskaya Kolonka, and also in the town of Grozny.

Linguistic and indirect historical evidence indicates that the community of Mountain Jews was formed as a result of constant emigration of Jews from northern Persia – and perhaps also from nearby regions of the Byzantine Empire – to the Transcaucasian Azerbaijan, where they settled in its eastern and north-eastern regions among a population speaking the Tat language which they also adopted in time. The Talmud mentions a Jewish community in the city of Derbent as early as the third century C.E., and the *amora* R. Simeon Safra taught there (TJ, Meg. 4, 5, 75b).

The immigration of the Jews evidently began when the Muslims invaded those regions in 639–643, and it continued for the whole period from the Arab to the 13th-century Mongol invasion. Apparently the main waves of migration ceased in the early 11th century under the impact of the mass invasion of a Turkic nomadic tribe. This intrusion might also have forced many of the Tat-speaking Jewish inhabitants of Transcaucasian Azerbaijan to move further north to Daghestan.

There they contacted remnants of the *Khazars who had adopted Judaism in the 8th century. Already in 1254 the monk Wilhelm Rubruquis, a Flemish traveler, noted the existence of "a great number of Jews" throughout eastern Caucasus, in both Daghestan and Azerbaijan.

The Mountain Jews had contacts with the Jewish communities of the Mediterranean region. Tagriberdi (1409–1470), the Muslim historiographer from Egypt, wrote of Jewish merchants from "Circassia" (i.e., from Caucasus) visiting Cairo. Through such contacts printed books reached the Mountain Jews. In the town of Kuba books were preserved until the beginning of the 20th century that had been printed in Venice in the late 16th and early 17th centuries.

From the 14th to the 16th centuries European travelers did not reach those regions, but rumors spread in Europe in the 16th and 17th centuries about "nine and a half Jewish tribes" driven by "Alexander the Great" behind the Caspian Mountains, i.e., into Daghestan. Those rumors might have originated with Jewish merchants from the eastern Caucasus appearing at the time in Italy. N. Vitsen, a Dutch traveler, who visited Daghestan in 1690 found many Jews there, especially in the village of Buynak, not far from the present Buynaksk, as well as in the Khanate of Qaraqaitagh where, according to him 15,000 Jews lived. The 17th and early 18th centuries can perhaps be considered for the Jews a period of relative peace and prosperity. A solid area of Jewish settlement existed in the north of present-day Azerbaidjan and in southern Daghestan, in the region between the towns of Kuba and Derbent. A valley near Derbent, called by the Muslim Juhud-Kata (Jewish Valley), was inhabited evidently mainly by Jews. Its largest settlement, named Aba-Sava, served as the spiritual center of the community. Several *piyyutim* (liturgical poems) written in Hebrew by Elisha ben Samuel, who lived in the region, have been preserved. Also in Aba-Sava there lived a scholar called Gershon Lalah ben Moses Naqdi who wrote a commentary on Maimonides' *Mishneh Torah.* Mattathias ben Samuel ha-Kohen from Shemakha to the south of Kuba wrote between 1806 and 1828 a kabbalistic work, *Kol Mevasser,* which is the last evidence of religious creativity in Hebrew in the community.

From the second half of the 18th century, the situation of the Mountain Jews severely deteriorated as the result of the struggle to conquer their region involving Russia, Persia, Turkey, and a number of local rulers. The Persian commander Nadir, who later became the Shah of Persia (1736–47), managed in the early 1730s to drive the Turks out of Azerbaijan and successfully to withstand Russian efforts to possess Daghestan. Several settlements of Mountain Jews were almost entirely destroyed by his troops; a number of others were partially demolished and plundered. The Jews saved from destruction settled in the town of Kuba under the protection of its ruler Khan Hussein. In 1797 or 1799 Surkhan-Khan (the Muslim ruler of *qazimuqs* or *laks*) attacked Aba-Sava and, after a bitter battle in which 157 defenders of the settlements perished, killed all the male prisoners, took the women and children prisoners, and destroyed the settlement. Thus the settlements of the Jewish valley came to an end. Those Jews who were so fortunate as to remain alive found refuge in Derbent under the protection of the local ruler, Fatkh-Ali-Khan, whose lands stretched to the town of Kuba.

In 1806 Russia annexed Derbent and the surrounding areas. In 1813 Transcaucasian Azerbaijan was annexed, the formal right to possession being finalized in 1828. Thus the majority of Mountain Jews who lived in these regions found themselves under Russian rule.

In 1830 a rebellion against Russia broke out in Daghestan, except for the coastal region including Derbent. The rebellion, headed by Shamil, continued with interruptions up to 1859. Its slogan was *Jihad* – holy war against non-believers, i.e., non-Muslims. Grave assaults on Mountain Jews occurred: the inhabitants of a number of *auls* (villages) were forced to convert to Islam, and in time they merged completely with the surrounding population. However, for several generations, the memory of their Jewish origin lingered. In 1840 the community heads of Mountain Jews in Derbent appealed to Czar Nicholas I in a petition (in Hebrew) beseeching the Russians to "gather the Jews dispersed in the mountains, the forests, and little villages, suffering under Tatars" (meaning the rebellious Muslims) "and settle them in towns and settlements" (meaning in areas controlled by the Russians).

The turning of the Mountain Jews to Russia for protection did not lead to immediate changes in their situation, occupations, or community structure.

Such changes emerged slowly only toward the end of the 19th century. In 1835, of 7,649 Mountain Jews under Russian rule 58.3% were involved in agriculture and 41.7% were urban dwellers. The town population, however, also engaged to a considerable extent in agriculture, mainly in viticulture and winemaking, especially in Kuba and Derbent; they also grew rubia, a plant from the roots of which red paint was extracted.

The rich families among the Mountain Jews were wine producers: the Ḥanukaevs, owners of a company for producing and selling wine, and the Dadashevs, who, besides wine production, founded the largest fishing company in Daghestan.

The raising of rubia was almost entirely dropped by the early 20th century due to the development of aniline dye production; most Mountain Jews who had been involved in the business lost their property and became casual workers. This became their job mainly in Baku, where the number of Mountain Jews increased only toward the end of the 19th century, and to some extent also in Derbent, where the bankrupt Jews turned mostly to door to door trading or became seasonal fishing workers.

Almost all the Mountain Jews engaged in viticulture worked also in gardening. In some settlements of Azerbaijan they grew tobacco, and in Qaitagh and Tabasaran (Daghestan) they were engaged in land cultivation, an occupation which was also common in several villages of Azerbaijan.

ln some of the villages their main employment was leather processing. This branch came to a standstill in the early 20th century when the Russian authorities forbade Mountain Jews to enter Central Asia where they used to buy the raw skins. A significant part of the leather processors became town laborers.

The number of Mountain Jews in petty trade, including peddling, was relatively small in the initial period of Russian power, but grew significantly from the late 19th century. The few affluent Jewish merchants lived mainly in Kuba and Derbent, and from the end of the 19th century they also began to settle in the towns of Baku and Temir-Khan-Shura, where they most notably dealt in textiles and carpet selling.

In his travel book *Sefer ha-Massa'ot be-Ereẓ Kavkaz* (1886), Joseph Judah *Chorny, who traveled in the Caucasus for eight years (1867–75), gives detailed information on the life and settlements (about 30 at the time) of the Mountain Jews. Another valuable source is the book of the Russian writer Nemirovich-Danchenko (*Voinstvuyushchii Izrail*; "Fighting Israel," 1886), in which he records his vivid impressions of his stay among the tribe. The Mountain Jews were then simple people, mostly illiterate, but proud, courageous, and freedom-loving. Farmers and hunters, they always carried a dagger or similar weapon in their typical Caucasian dress. The Tat Jews were prepared at any time to defend by their sword their family or their honor. Their dwellings were low mud huts, whose inside walls were hung with polished weapons. The synagogue, its exterior resembling a mosque, served as a *ḥeder* for the children. Sitting on the floor they learned the Torah by heart from the *ḥakham*. Of the Jewish festivals, Purim and Passover were especially celebrated. Their Passover **seder* had a special form differing from the traditional *seder*. During the night of *Hoshana Rabba the girls used to dance; according to Tat tradition, this is the night when a man's fate is decided. The marriage ceremony contained foreign influences, and the circumcision ceremony was generally held in the synagogue. Tat family names are mostly biblical names, to which the Russian suffix "ov" was added, e.g., Pinkhasov, Binyaminov, etc. The custom of the vendetta was practiced until recently.

The main social framework of the Mountain Jews up to the end of the 1920s was a large family unit encompassing three or four generations and reaching 70 or more people in number. As a rule, the extended family lived around a large single "yard" where each nuclear family, consisting of a father and mother with their children, occupied a separate house. The Mountain Jews practiced polygamy, and two or three wives at a time were common up to the Soviet period.

If a nuclear family consisted of a husband and two or three wives, then each wife with her children occupied a separate house. The father was head of the family, and after his death was succeeded by his eldest son. The head of the family took care of the property shared by all members of the family. He also fixed the work schedule for all the men in the family and his authority was beyond question.

The mother of the family, or in the polygamous families the first wife of the father, conducted the household and watched over the housework: cooking the food for all the family, cleaning the yard and the house, and so on.

Several large families originating from the same ancestor formed the broader and loosely connected community, *tukhum* (literally "seed"). Family links were of special importance in vendettas; if the murderer appeared Jewish and the relatives did not manage to avenge the blood of the victim within three days after the murder, then the families of the murderer and the victim reconciled and considered themselves tied by the bonds of blood kinship.

The population of the Jewish village consisted as a rule of three to five large families. The head of the rural community originated from the most respected or most numerous family of the settlement.

In the towns the Jews lived in special suburbs as in Kuba, or in a separate Jewish quarter as in Derbent. From the 1860s Mountain Jews began to live in towns where they had never lived before (Baku, Temir-Khan-Shura), and in towns founded by the Russians: Petrovsk Port, Nalchik, and Grozny. Such moves often resulted in the disintegration of the structure of the large family, for only part of it – one or two nuclear families – moved to a new settlement. Even in the towns where Mountain Jews had lived for a long time, such as Kuba and Derbent (but not in the villages), the process of the disintegration of large families began toward the end of the 19th century.

Precise data on the administrative structure of urbanized Mountain Jews is available only for Derbent, where the community was headed by three elected members. One of these took the post of head and the two others served as his deputies. They were responsible both for the relations with the authorities and for the internal affairs of the community.

The rabbinical hierarchy had two levels: "rabbi" and "*dayyan*." The rabbi served as *ḥazzan* and preacher in the *namaz* (synagogue) of his village or his quarter of the town, and also as a teacher in *talmid-khuna* (*ḥeder*) and as religious slaughterer (*shoḥet*). The *dayyan* was the chief rabbi of the town: he was elected by the leaders of the community and was the highest religious authority not only for his town, but also for the neighboring settlements; he chaired the religious court (**bet din*). He was also the *ḥazzan* and preacher in the main synagogue of the town and headed the yeshivah.

The level of halakhic knowledge among the yeshivah graduates was about that of a ritual slaughterer elsewhere, but they were reverently called "rabbi." From the middle of the 19th century a number of Mountain Jews studied in Ashkenazi yeshivot in Russia, mostly in Lithuania; there they were granted only the title of *shoḥet* but, on returning to the Caucasus, they served as rabbis. Very few of these Jews who studied in the yeshivot of Russia received the title of rabbi. From the mid-19th century, the Czarist authorities acknowledged the *dayyan* of Temir-Khan-Shra as the chief rabbi of northern Daghestan and northern Caucasus, and the *dayyan* of Derbent as chief rabbi of southern Daghestan and Azerbaijan. Besides their traditional duties, they acted as **kazyonny ravvin* (official rabbis in behalf of the authorities).

In the pre-Russian period, relations between the Mountain Jews and Muslims were determined by the so-called Covenant of *Omar, the special set of Islamic directives regarding **dhimmis* (non-Muslim protected citizens). However, the application of those laws in these regions was accompanied by special humiliation since the Mountain Jews depended to a great extent on the local ruler. According to the description of the German traveler I. Gerber, published in 1728, they had to pay a special ransom to the Muslim rulers for protection. Moreover, they had "to perform all kinds of difficult, dirty jobs which could not be enforced on a Muslim." The Jews had to give the ruler some of their yields free of charge: tobacco, rubia, tanned skins, and so on; they worked on his fields in harvest time, built and repaired his house, did gardening jobs, and were engaged in his vineyard. They also gave the ruler their horses on special occasions. Muslim soldiers who were feasting in the house of a Jew could demand money from their host "for causing them toothache."

Up to the end of the 1860s the Jews of certain mountain regions in Daghestan continued to pay ransom to the previous Muslim rulers of those regions, or to their descendants to whom the Czarist government has given rights equal to Russian noblemen, leaving the estates in their possession.

*Blood libels occurred in these regions only after they came under Russian rule. In 1814 disturbances occurred as the result of a blood libel in Baku; the Jews affected, mostly originating from Iran, fled to Kuba for protection. In 1878 on a similar allegation, dozens of Kuba Jews were arrested, and in 1911 the Jews of the settlement of Tarki suffered after being accused of kidnapping a Muslim girl.

The first contacts between the Mountain Jews and Ashkenazi Jews were established in the 1820s or 1830s. These links were reinforced and became more frequent only after regulations appeared which allowed those Russian Jews permitted to live outside the Pale of Settlement to move to areas where Mountain Jews were living.

In the 1870s the chief rabbi of Derbent. R. Jacob Itzhakovich-Yiẓḥaki (1848–1917) contacted a number of Jewish scholars living in St. Petersburg. In 1884 R. Sharbat Nissim-Oghly, the chief rabbi of Temir-Khan-Shura, sent his son Elijah to the Higher Technical School in Moscow, and he became the first Mountain Jew to receive higher secular education. In the early 20th century Russian-language schools, where both religious and secular subjects were taught, were opened for Mountain Jews in Baku, Derbent, and Kuba.

Already in the 1840s or 1850s the yearning for the Holy Land led some Mountain Jews to Ereẓ Israel. In the 1870s and 1880s Jerusalem emissaries regularly visited Daghestan to collect **ḥalukkah* money. In the second half of the 1880s a Kolel Daghestan (Daghestan congregation) already existed in Jerusalem. R. Sharbat Nissim-Oghly settled in Jerusalem at the end of the 1880s or in the early 1890s. In 1894 he issued there a brochure, *Kadmoniyyot Yehudei he-Harim* ("The Ancient Traditions of the Mountain Jews"). In 1898 representatives of the Mountain Jews participated in the Second Zionist Congress in Basle. In 1907 R. Jacob Itzhakovich-Yizhaki moved to Ereẓ Israel and headed a group of 56 founders – mostly Mountain Jews – of the settlement Be'er Ya'akov near Ramleh, which is named for him.

Another group tried without success to settle in Maḥanaim in Upper Galilee in 1909–1911. Ezekiel Nisanov, who went to the country in 1908, became a pioneer of the *Ha-Shomer organization and was killed by the Arabs in 1911. His brothers Judah and Ẓevi also joined Ha-Shomer. Before World War I, the number of Mountain Jews in *Ereẓ Israel* reached several hundred, most of them living in the Beth Israel quarter of Jerusalem.

Asaf Pinhasov became an active advocate of Zionism among the Mountain Jews at the beginning of the 20th century. In Vilna he published in 1908 his Judeo-Tat translation from the Russian of Joseph Sapir's book *Zionism*, the first book published in the language of the Mountain Jews.

The varied Zionist activities in Baku during World War I attracted Mountain Jews. After the 1917 February Revolution, these activities gained some momentum. Four representatives of the Mountain Jews, one of them a woman, participated in the Conference of Caucasian Zionists, in August 1917.

In November 1917, the Bolsheviks seized power in Baku, but in September 1918 the independent Azerbaijan Republic was proclaimed. These changes left Zionist activity undisturbed up to the second Sovietization of Azerbaijan in 1921. The national Jewish Council of Azerbaijan, headed by Zionists, established the Jewish People's University in 1919 and Mountain Jews were among the students. In the same year the Regional Caucasian Zionist Committee started to issue in Baku a Judeo-Tat newspaper called *Tobushi sabaḥi* ("Twilight"). Among the Zionists, Gershon Muradoy and Asaf Pinhasov were outstanding.

The Mountain Jews in Daghestan viewed the struggle between Soviets and the local separatists as the continuation of the traditional fight between Russians and Muslims, and they therefore mostly sympathized with the Russians, i.e., with the Soviet rule. Seventy percent of the Red Guards of Daghestan were of the Mountain Jews. The Daghestan separatists and their Turkish supporters, for their part, destroyed Jewish settlements and massacred their population. Consequently the majority of Jews living in the mountains had to move to towns situated along the coast of the Caspian Sea, mainly to Derbent, Makhachkalah, and Buynaksk.

After Soviet power established itself in Daghestan, antisemitism did not disappear. In 1926 and 1929 the Jews faced blood libels, that of 1926 being accompanied by pogroms.

In the early 1920s, about 300 families of Mountain Jews from Azerbaijan and Daghestan managed to leave for Palestine. The majority of them settled in Tel Aviv where they established a Caucasian quarter. (One of the outstanding leaders of this immigration was Yehuda Adamovich, father of Yekutiel Adam, deputy chief of staff of the Israeli Defense Forces who was killed in the 1982 Lebanon War.)

In 1921–22 organized Zionist activities among the Mountain Jews were disrupted; immigration to Ereẓ Israel also subsided. In the period between the end of the Civil War in Russia and World War II, the main goal of the Soviet authorities for the Mountain Jews was their productivization and eradication of religious feeling. With the former objective, Jewish collective farms were established. Two Jewish collective farms were founded in the settlements of Bagdanovka and Ganshtakovka where about 320 families worked in 1929. The settlements were situated in the North-Caucasian Territory, presently Krasnodar Territory. In 1931 about 970 Mountain Jewish families were drawn into collective farms in Daghestan. In Azerbaijan collective farms were established in Jewish villages and in the Jewish suburb of the town of Kuba. In 1927 members of 250 Mountain Jewish families became collective farmers in the Republic.

However, toward the end of the 1930s the Mountain Jews began to abandon collective farming, although many Jewish collective farms were still in existence after World War II: in the beginning of the 1970s about 10 percent of the community members remained in collective farms.

As far as religion was concerned, the authorities preferred not to destroy it immediately, in accordance with their general policy in the eastern provinces of the U.S.S.R., but to undermine religious tradition gradually by secularizing the community. For this purpose a wide network of schools was established, and special attention given to indoctrinating youth and adults in the framework of clubs.

In 1922 the first Soviet newspaper in Judeo-Tat appeared in Baku called *Karsokh* ("Worker"). It was sponsored by the Caucasian Regional Committee of the Jewish Communist Party and its Youth Section. The Poalei Zion newspaper did not find support among the authorities and soon ceased to exist. In 1928 another Mountain Jewish newspaper appeared called *Zaḥmatkash* ("The Laborers") and it was issued in Derbent. From 1929 to 1930 Judeo-Tat was given in the Latin script instead of Hebrew, and from 1938 the Russian (Cyrillic) alphabet has been used. In 1934 the Tat Literary Circle was established in Derbent, and in 1936 a Tat Section was created in the Union of Soviet Writers of Daghestan. In 1926, the only census that registred Tats, they numbered 25,866, and probably reached 35,000 persons by 1941. Works by Mountain Jewish writers of the period evince strong Communist indoctrination, especially in drama which was considered by the authorities as the most effective propaganda weapon. As a result, amateur theatrical groups proliferated and later, in 1935, the professional Mountain Jewish theater opened in Derbent.

During World War II the Germans for a short time occupied the regions of the northern Caucasus populated by Mountain Jews. In those areas with mixed Ashkenazi and Mountain Jewish population – in Kislovodsk, Pyatigorsk, and so on – all the Jews were killed. The same fate struck the Mountain Jewish collective farms in Krasnodar Territory, and also the Crimean settlements of Mountain Jews founded in the 1920s. In the regions encompassing the towns of Nalchik and Grozny the Germans were awaiting instructions on how to deal with "the Jewish problem," but these did not arrive before they had to retreat from these areas.

After World War II the anti-religious campaign gained momentum. In the period 1948–53 teaching in Judeo-Tat ended, and all the Mountain Jews' schools were conducted in Russian. *Zakhmatash* no longer appeared and all literary activities in Judeo-Tat were ended.

In the latter part of the 1970s, the Mountain Jews became victims of assault in several towns, in particular Nalchik, because of their struggle to leave for Israel. Cultural and literary activities in Judeo-Tat, revived after Stalin's death remained rudimentary in nature. From the end of 1953 up to 1986, two books a year were published on the average.

The main – and at times the sole – language of the youth was now Russian. Even the middle generation used the language of their community only at home in the family circle; to discuss more sophisticated topics they had to turn to Russian. This development was most noticeable among the small urban population of Mountain Jews, as for example, in Baku, and also among persons of higher education.

Religious tradition suffered, but was still partly retained, especially in comparison with the Ashkenazi community of the Soviet Union. The majority of the Mountain Jews continued to observe customs connected with the Jewish life cycle. The dietary laws are observed in many homes. However, Sabbath observance has been mostly abandoned, and the same is true of the Jewish festivals, except Rosh ha-Shanah and Yom Kippur, the Passover seder and the eating of matzah. The knowledge of reading prayers and prayer rituals has been also largely lost.

Despite all this, the level of Jewish consciousness among the Mountain Jews has remained high and their Jewish identity is being preserved, even by those who formally register themselves as Tats. The mass immigration to Israel was resumed rather later than among other groups of Soviet Jewry; they began to leave not in 1971 but at the end of 1973 and early 1974 after the Yom Kippur War. About 12,000 Mountain Jews had arrived in Israel by the mid-1980s, and from 1989 through 1992 about another 5,000 reached Israel. In 2002, 3,394 were living in the Russian Federation.

Literature

The most important literary heritage of the Mountain Jews is the national epic in Judeo-Tat, *Shiraha* (the name probably derives from the Hebrew *shirah*, "poem"), which abounds in biblical associations and figures. One of the most beautiful poems is the "Song of the Mountain Jews," which expresses their yearning for the ancient homeland "so near, in front of your eyes, put out your hand and touch it." It also mentions the "maids of Deborah," the "brave horsemen of Samson," and the "heirs of Bar Kokhba." The epic was translated into Yiddish by the Soviet-Jewish writer M. Helmond. Mishi (Moshe) Bakhsheyev, poet, novelist, and playwright, born in Derbent in 1910, laid the foundations for the modern Tat literature, which began to develop in the 1930s. His publications include "Earth," a play dealing with life on a Jewish kolkhoz, a novel "Cluster of Grapes," and a collection of poetry. Other poets are Amrami Isakov, whose collection of children's songs has been translated into Russian, and Zion Izagayev, who has published three volumes of poems. A literary almanac, *Woton Sovetimag* ("Soviet Homeland"), the first of its kind in Judeo-Tat, edited by Hizigil (Ezekiel) Avshalomov and published in Makhachkala in 1963, assembled the works of 27 Tat writers, selecting mainly works which reflect the integration of the Mountain Jews in Soviet society. Visitors to the region reported a deep-felt longing for the State of Israel among the Mountain Jews, which became particularly strong after the 1967 Six-Day War, in spite of the official anti-Israel propaganda campaign (see also *Judeo-Tat).

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[Mordkhai Neishtat / Michael Zand /
The Shorter Jewish Encyclopaedia in Russian]

MOUNT OF OLIVES (**Olivet**), mountain overlooking *Jerusalem from the east, beyond the *Kidron Brook. From the orographic point of view, the Mount of Olives is part of a spur projecting near Mount Scopus (Ra's al-Mushārif), from the country-long water divide which continues southward. The Mount of Olives ridge has three peaks. Upon the highest, 2,684 ft. (826 meters) above sea level, the original buildings of the *Hebrew University were constructed and opened in 1925. This area is commonly, although mistakenly, known as Mount Scopus. On the second peak, 2,645 ft. (814 meters) above the sea, is the site of Augusta Victoria Hospital. On the third, 2,652 ft. (816 meters) high, lies the Arab village of al-Tūr (*ha-har*, "the mountain"), an epithet whose source is in the Aramaic name of the Mount of Olives, Tura Zita. The Mount of Olives ends in this peak, though a spur of it continues to Ra's al-ʿAmūd (2,444 ft.; 752 meters), draining to the Kidron brook southward, to the village of *Shiloaḥ (Silwān). Even at its highest, the Mount of Olives is lower than the highest point in the Romemah district, which is the highest point of the water divide in Jerusalem (2,697 ft; 829 meters). However, since the Mount of Olives stands so very high (351 ft; 108 meters) in relation to the deep Kidron brook beneath it, it seems much higher than it actually is. From a geological point of view, the mountain is entirely within the Senonian region, while phytogeographically speaking, it is within the bounds of the Judean Desert.

In the Bible, the mountain is called the Ascent of the Olives (Heb. *Ma'aleh ha-Zeitim*; II Sam. 15:30), it being said of the top of the mountain (verse 32) "that this was where David was accustomed to worship God." This sanctity is apparently what prompted Solomon to build a *high place "in the mount that is before Jerusalem" (I Kings 11:7). However, according to II Kings 23:13, the high place which he built was "on the right hand [i.e., to the south] of the mount of corruption (i.e., the Mount of Olives)," that is, probably at Ra's al-ʿAmūd. Ezekiel 11:23 gives an important place to the Mount of Olives in his vision of the end of days: the glory of the Lord will arise and stand "upon the mountain which is on the east side of the city." The name Mount of Olives in its present form first appears in Zechariah 14:4: "His feet shall stand in that day upon the Mount of Olives, which is before Jerusalem on the east." Zechariah describes how in his vision the mountain is cleft in two. During the period of the Second Temple, the Mount of Olives was of great importance in Jerusalem: the *red heifer was burnt upon it; a bridge, or possibly two such bridges, connected its slopes with the Temple Mount. During the period of the Roman procurator Felix, thousands gathered upon it, there to be beguiled into believing the words of a false Egyptian prophet (Jos., Ant. 20:169; Wars 2:262). During the siege of Jerusalem, the Tenth Roman Legion encamped on it (Wars 5:70, where the location of the Mount of Olives is clearly established as being six *ris* (= 3,707 ft.; 1,110 meters) east of Jerusalem, across a deep valley called Kidron). During the period of the Second Temple, at the order of the Sanhedrin, beacons would be lit on the Mount of Olives (*har ha-meshiḥah*, "Mount of Anointing"), in order to announce the sanctification of the New Moon. These flares could be seen as far away as Sartaba (RH 2:4).

The Gospels frequently refer to the Mount of Olives (by its Greek name τὸ ὄρος ᾿Ελαων). Jesus and his followers encamped on one of its peaks on their way to Jerusalem. From its slopes, he wept for Jerusalem when he foresaw its coming destruction. At its foot is Gethsemane (Heb. Gat(h)-Shemanim), where he and his disciples spent the night before his arrest, and from it Jesus rose to heaven after being crucified and resurrected. For these reasons, Christianity, upon attaining supremacy, erected several churches and monasteries on the mountain. On its summit, the Church of the Ascension was erected and further down the Church of Eleona was built by the emperor Constantine. In Gethsemane a church was constructed during the Byzantine period and was refurbished by the Crusaders. According to Muslim tradition, the caliph Omar encamped on the Mount of Olives while receiving the surrender of Jerusalem (638).

Once the Jews were authorized to return to Jerusalem by the Arab conquerors, the pilgrimages to Jerusalem were also resumed. These pilgrimages generally took place during the month of Tishri. In these, the Mount of Olives held an important place, especially from the end of the eighth century, when the Jews were no longer allowed to enter the Temple Mount. On the festival of *Hoshana Rabba, they circled the Mount of Olives seven times, in song and prayer. On Hoshana Rabba, the Palestinian *rosh yeshivah* announced the "Proclamation of the Mount of Olives" concerning the new moons, the festivals, and the intercalation of years, a practice which was based on the ancient kindling of beacons on new moons on the Mount of Olives. On this same day, the *rosh yeshivah* appointed members to the "Great Sanhedrin" and accorded titles of honor to those who had worked in favor of the Palestinian academy. Bans on the unobservant and on those who rebelled against authority, especially against the Karaites, were not lacking on such occasions. The clashes with the Karaites resulted in the intervention of the authorities, and they even prohibited the *rashei yeshivah* from issuing bans.

The choice of the Mount of Olives as the site of pilgrimages and gatherings was based on midrashic tradition: "The Divine Presence traveled ten journeys, from the cover of the Ark to the Cherub … and from the Town to the Mount of Olives" (RH 31a; Lam. R., Proem 25). In the letters of the *rashei yeshivah*, the Mount of Olives is referred to as "the site of the footstool of our God." A tenth-century guidebook found in the Cairo *Genizah* points out "the site of the footstool of our God" on "a stone whose length is ten cubits, its breadth two cubits, and its height two cubits." The armchair of the Palestinian *rosh yeshivah* was placed on this "stool" during the gatherings and the festive ceremonies which accompanied the pilgrimages. From this spot, the *rosh yeshivah* addressed the celebrants, and it was here that he received their contributions.

The site of the prayers and the gatherings was, according to the documents of the *Genizah*, above "Absalom's Monument," "opposite the Temple and the Gate of the Priest," which was situated along the southern third of the eastern wall of the Temple Mount. This corresponds to the open space above the slope of the Mount of Olives, which is today covered with Jewish graves, to the south of the Mount's summit. Here according to a medieval tradition, was the site "on which the priest who burnt the [Red] Heifer stood, sought out, and saw the Temple when he sprinkled the blood" (Mid. 2:6; Yoma 16a). The Arabs call this area "al-Qa'da" ("The Sitting Place"). This name might be an echo of the seat of the Palestinian *rosh yeshivah* during the pilgrimages to Jerusalem during the Arab period.

[Joseph Braslavi (Braslavski) and Michael Avi-Yonah]

At the foot of the mountain, in the area of Silwan Village, rock-hewn tombs are known from the time of the First Temple (Tomb of Pharaoh's Daughter) and Second Temple (so-called Tomb of Zechariah, Tomb of the Sons of Hezir, and Tomb of Absalom). Consequently, this spur of the Mount of Olives became, with the passage of time, especially from the Middle Ages, a burial place for the Jews of Jerusalem. Because the *Ma'aseh Daniel* (A. Jellinek, *Bet ha-Midrash*, vol. 5, 128) states that at the end of days the Messiah will ascend the Mount and it will be there that Ezekiel shall blow his trumpet for the resurrection of the dead (Ginzberg, *Legends of the Jews*, 6 (1959), 438), through the years the graves spread over the slopes and up to the top. At the end of the 19th century, the Russians erected the Church of Gethsemane at the foot of the mount, and on the al-Ṭūr summit, a monastery and tower. Kaiser William II of Germany, after visiting Jerusalem in 1898, erected a hospice for pilgrims known as Augusta Victoria on the second peak. The Englishman, Sir John Grey Hill, built a house on the third peak ("Mount Scopus"), which was later acquired by the Hebrew University for one of its buildings. During Israel's War of Independence, the university buildings remained in Israel hands even though they were surrounded by Arab held territory. This situation was frozen by the Armistice agreement, causing friction and many incidents. Israel was permitted to keep a number of policemen on the mount and these were changed every two weeks in a convoy which had to pass under UN auspices through Jordan-held territory. The Jewish cemeteries and monuments on the Mount of Olives, now outside Israeli territory, were vandalized by the Arabs. The entire Mount was captured by Israel troops in the Six-Day War (1967) and arrangements were subsequently made for the restoration of the Jewish cemeteries on its western flanks, and the Hebrew University returned to its earlier location on Mount Scopus.

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MOURNING (Heb. אֵבֶל), the expression of grief and sorrow over the death of a close relative, friend, national leader, or in response to a national calamity. The lamentation (Heb. קִינָה (*kinah, qinah*); נְהִי, *nehi*) is the specifically literary and musical expression of such grief. The rite of mourning most frequently attested in the narrative and poetic sections of the Bible is the rending of garments. Thus Reuben rends his garments on finding Joseph missing (Gen. 37:29). Jacob does so on seeing Joseph's bloodstained cloak (Gen. 37:34). Joshua responds in this way to the defeat at Ai (Josh. 7:6), Hezekiah, to the words of the Rab-Shakeh (II Kings 19:1 = Isa. 37:1), and Mordecai, to news of the decree of genocide (Esth. 4:1). Job rends his garments on hearing of the death of his children (Job 1:20), and his friends tear their clothing to commiserate with him (2:12). The rending of garments may be simply an outlet for pent-up emotions, or it may have developed as a symbolic substitute for the mutilation of the flesh. Almost as frequent as the rending of garments is the wearing of sackcloth (e.g., II Sam. 3:31; Ps. 30:12; Lam. 2:10). Ezekiel prophesies that Tyre will mourn by the removal of embroidered garments and the donning of special mourning robes (Ezek. 26:16; cf. 7:27). The woman of Tekoa whom Joab sent to King David was likewise dressed in mourning garments (II Sam. 14:2), which may be identical with the garments of widowhood worn by Tamar, the widow of Er (Gen. 38:14, 19). Micah suggests that it was not unusual for a mourner to appear naked (Micah 1:8). Other mourning practices which survived in later Judaism are the placing of dust on the head (Josh. 7:6; II Sam. 13:19; Jer. 6:26; 25:34; Ezek. 27:30; Lam. 2:10 etc.; cf. Ta'an. 15b), refraining from wearing ornaments (Ex. 33:4; cf. Sh. Ar., YD 389:3), abstaining from anointing and washing (II Sam. 12:20; cf. Ta'an. 1:6), and fasting (II Sam. 3:35; Esth. 4:3; Ezra 10:6; Neh. 1:4; cf. Ta'an. 1:4ff.). Isaiah describes mourners beating their breasts (Heb. *safad*, Isa. 32:12). The Hebrew term for beating the breast (*safad, misped*; Akk. *sipittu*) becomes a general term for "mourning" (e.g., Gen. 23:2), which takes on the sense of "wailing" (I Kings 13:30; Micah 1:8). Other rites of mourning related to the hair and beard. At the death of Nadab and Abihu, apparently, the Israelites uncovered or disheveled their hair as a sign of mourning. Aaron, Eleazar, and Ithamar, who as priests were forbidden to mourn, were thus prohibited from following this practice (Lev. 10:6). While it became obligatory in later Judaism for mourners to let their hair grow (MK 14b), the prophets (Isa. 22:12; Jer. 16:6; Ezek. 7:18; Amos 8:10) describe tonsure as a standard rite of mourning. Similarly Job shaves his head on hearing of the death of his children (Job 1:20). Deuteronomy 21:12 even prescribes the shaving of the head as a rite of mourning to be observed by the gentile maiden taken captive in war. According to Ezekiel 24:17 it was customary to remove one's turban as an expression of grief (cf. Isa. 61:10). The covering of the head may also be attested as a rite of mourning in II Samuel 15:30; Jeremiah 14:3–4 and Esther 6:12; 7:8, if the Hebrew *ḥafui* is derived from the Hebrew verb *ḥafah*, "to cover." If it is derived from the Arabic *ḥāfī*, "barefoot," which is also the root of Hebrew *yaḥef*, "barefoot," the latter references may corroborate the testimony of Ezekiel and Deutero-Isaiah. Alongside tonsure and the shaving of the beard, the prophets take for granted the practice of cutting gashes in the flesh of the hands or elsewhere (Jer. 16:6; 41:5). They seem unaware of any prohibition against these rites. Leviticus 21:5 prohibits only the priests from making incisions in the flesh, shaving the beard, and tonsure, as from all other rites of mourning, except on the occasion of the death of the priest's father, mother, son, daughter, brother, or unmarried sister. Leviticus 19:27–28 prohibits all Israel from shaving, cutting the hair, *tattooing, and making incisions as a rite of mourning. Deuteronomy 14:1 prohibits all Israel from making incisions in the flesh and from employing tonsure as a rite of mourning. In Leviticus 19 the prohibitions are motivated by the desire to avoid ritual impurity, while in Deuteronomy 14 they are motivated by the striving for holiness. Micah (3:7) and Ezekiel (24:17) mention the covering of the upper lip as an expression of grief. The same practice along with the uncovering (or disheveling) of the hair and the rending of garments is prescribed for lepers in Leviticus 13:45. In the Bible the typical posture for the mourner is sitting (Ezek. 26:16; Jonah 3:6; Job 2:13) or lying (II Sam. 13:31; Lam. 2:21) on the ground, as in later Judaism (Sh. Ar., YD 387:1). Placing the hands on the head (II Sam. 13:19; Jer. 2:37) and prostration (Jer. 4:28; 14:2; Ps. 35:14) are also attested. The Bible does not distinguish, as does later Judaism, between the mourning that precedes the funeral (Heb. **aninut*) and that which follows burial (cf. Ber. 17bff.). The practices which later Judaism associates with the former are therefore referred to simply as rites of mourning in the Bible. Thus Daniel (Dan. 10:23) mourned by abstaining from meat and wine. Although the Mishnah (Ket. 4:4) prescribes the playing of flutes at funerals, the Bible associates mourning with the cessation of both dancing and instrumental music (Isa. 24:8; Jer. 31:12; Ps. 30:12; Job 30:31; Lam. 5:15; Eccles. 3:4), as do later Jewish authorities (Sot. 48a). From the association of gift-giving with the cessation of mourning in Esther 9:22, one may surmise that the exchange of gifts was forbidden to mourners, as in later Judaism (Sh. Ar., YD 385:3). Later Judaism understood its various mourning rites both as an affirmation of the value of the deceased (Sem. 9) and as an appeal to God for mercy (Ta'an. 2:1). Each of these approaches has been advocated to the exclusion of the other by modern schools of anthropology. Most likely both lie behind many of the biblical practices. T.H. Gaster suggests that the mutilation of the body was originally intended to provide the ghost of the departed with blood to drink, while the cutting of the hair enabled the ghost to draw on the strength it embodied.

Lamentations

Lamentations are poetic compositions functionally equivalent to the modern eulogy. Composed by literary giants like David (II Sam. 1:17ff.; 3:33ff.) and Jeremiah (II Chron. 35:25), these tributes were, in accordance with the standard literary usage, chanted rather than declaimed. These eulogies were frequently composed in a special meter, which modern scholars have designated as the *qinah* meter (i.e., lamentation meter). It is characterized by the division of each verse into two unequal parts, in contrast to the usually parallel structure of biblical poetry. Jeremiah speaks of a professional class of women who composed and chanted lamentations (*mekonenot, meqonenot*, Jer. 9:16). Their art was regarded as a branch of wisdom, and thus they are called "skilled" (Heb. *ḥakhamot*). Men and women singers made lamentations and preserved them for future generations as part of the general education of the young (II Chron. 35:25). Another expression of grief was the exclamation *ho-ho* (Amos 5:16) or *hoi* (I Kings 13:30; Jer. 22:18; 34:5). A specified period of mourning is only prescribed by the Bible in connection with the captive gentile maiden (Deut. 21:13). She is required to mourn her parents for one month. The later Jewish custom of seven days of mourning is observed by Joseph on the death of Jacob (Gen. 50:10); the Egyptians mourned him for 70 (50:3)), the inhabitants of Jabesh-Gilead upon the burial of Saul and Jonathan (I Sam.

31:13 = I Chron. 10:12), and Job and his friends at the height of Job's suffering (Job 2:13). Daniel's observance of three weeks of mourning (Dan. 10:2) may reflect the author's awareness of the week as a standard period of mourning. Moses and Aaron were each mourned for 30 days (Num. 20:29; Deut. 34:8), while Jacob and Ephraim each mourned "many days" (Gen. 37:34; I Chron. 7:22) for their children. While Jeremiah (41:5) tells of contemporaries who expressed grief by bringing sacrifices to the Temple, Nehemiah (Neh. 8:9) suggests the incompatibility of religious festivities and mourning (cf. Ta'an. 2:8, 10). The comforting of mourners is accomplished by the tenderly spoken word (Isa. 40:1–2), by sitting with the mourner (Job. 2:13), by providing him with compensation for his loss (Gen. 24:67; Isa. 60:2–9), and by offering him bread and wine (II Sam. 3:35; Jer. 16:7). The bread is called "bread of agony" (*leḥem onashim*, Ezek. 24:17; cf. *leḥem ʾonim* in Hos. 9:4), and the wine, "the cup of consolation" (Jer. 16:7). The serving of such a meal has been variously explained as an affirmation of the bonds between the survivors, a reaffirmation of life itself after a period of fasting from death to burial, and as an act of conviviality with the soul of the deceased.

[Mayer Irwin Gruber]

Talmudic and Medieval Periods

Although the laws and customs of mourning are largely based on the biblical references, many additional ones developed out of usage and custom and, as such, are of rabbinical rather than biblical authority. In general, there has been a consistency in mourning practices from the biblical era, but in particular between the talmudic period and modern times. With few exceptions, the rules of mourning described and laid down in the Talmud and the early sources are identical with those observed today. These laws were designed to provide both for the "dignity of the departed" and the "dignity of the living" (cf. Sanh. 46b–47a). The body, regarded as the creation of God and the dwelling place of the soul, was accorded every respect. Likewise, every attempt was made to ease the grief of the mourners and to share their sorrow. The pain of death was mitigated by viewing it as the moment of transition from the temporal world to the eternal world (Zohar No'ah, 66a). One of the rabbis interpreted the biblical verse "And, behold, it was very good" (Gen. 1:31) to refer to death (Gen. R. 9:5, 10; see *Life and Death).

It was customary "to pour out all drawn water" in the neighborhood of the house in which the person died (Sh. Ar., YD 339:5). Originally deriving from folk beliefs, this custom was subsequently explained as a method of announcing a death since Jews were always reluctant to be the bearers of evil tidings (*Siftei Kohen*, YD 339:5, n. 9). Others interpreted that this act indicated that the deceased was an important person, therefore the supply of water was lessened just as "there was no water for the congregation" (Num. 20:2) after the death of Miriam (*Be'er ha-Golah*, YD 339:5, n. 8). The dead body was not left alone, and watchers remained with the corpse until the funeral, either to honor the dead or to guard the corpse against possible damage. These watchers were exempted from the performance of other positive commandments while engaged in this meritorious deed (Bet. 3:1). Before the funeral the body was ritually purified (see **tohorah*). Professional women mourners, who clapped their hands in grief and sang dirges and lamentations, led the public display of grief at the funeral. Dirges were recited responsively while lamentations were sung in unison (MK 3:8, 9; see **Kinah*). The prevalent rabbinic opinion was that only the first day of the mourning period was of biblical authority (Asheri to MK 3:27; 34b; Maim. Yad, Avel, 1:1), while the seven-day mourning period was instituted by Moses (TJ, Ket. 1:1, 25a). The rabbis distinguished four stages in the mourning period: **aninut*, the period between death and burial; *avelut* or *shivah*, the seven days following burial; **sheloshim*, the time until the 30th day after burial; and the first year (TJ, MK 3:7, 83c).

ANINUT. During the *aninut* period, the mourner was called an *onen*. Although still obligated to abide by the negative precepts of the Torah, the *onen* was absolved from the performance of many positive religious duties such as the recital of the **Shema* and the donning of *tallit* and *tefillin* (MK 23b). He thus indicated his respect for the memory of the deceased since he was so distraught that he could not discharge his religious obligations (Sem. 10; Deut. R. 9:1). In addition, freedom from certain religious obligations enabled the *onen* to attend to the needs of the dead and his burial without distraction. The rule that "he who is engaged in a religious act is exempt from performing other religious duties" applied (Suk. 25a). It was also forbidden for the *onen* to eat meat or drink wine (Ber. 17b) or overindulge in eating (TJ, Ber. 3:1, 6a). If death occurred on the Sabbath, or if the Sabbath was part of the *aninut* period, the *onen* was obligated to discharge all his religious obligations (MK 23b), and he was even permitted to eat meat and drink wine on that day (Ber. 18a).

SHIVAH. Immediately after the funeral, the *shivah* ("seven") mourning period began. The bereaved family gathered in the house of the deceased and sat on overturned couches or beds and enrobed their heads. The mourners were obligated to rend their garments and to recite the *dayyan ha-emet* ("the true Judge") blessing (see **Keri'ah*). They were also not to leave the house (MK 23a), perform manual labor, conduct business transactions, bathe, anoint the body, cut the hair, cohabit, wear leather shoes, wash clothes, greet acquaintances, and study the Torah (MK 15a–b). They were, however, permitted to study sorrowful portions of the Bible and Talmud such as Job, Lamentations, parts of Jeremiah, and the laws of mourning. The mourner's first meal after the funeral was known as *Se'uddat Havra'ah* (Meal of Consolation). The meal was provided by friends and neighbors in accordance with the talmudic injunction that "a mourner is forbidden to eat of his own bread on the first day (of mourning" (MK 27b). It was also forbidden for the mourner to don *tefillin* on the first day of the *shivah* period (Ket. 6b; Sh. Ar., YD 388:1). The rabbis considered the first three days as the most intense, declaring, "Three days for weeping and seven for lamenting" (MK 27b).

SHELOSHIM. Modified mourning continued through the *sheloshim* period when the mourner was told "not to cut the hair and wear pressed clothes" (MK 27b). During the *sheloshim* it was also forbidden for the mourner to marry, to attend places of entertainment or festive events (even when primarily of religious significance), to embark on a business journey, or to participate in social gatherings (MK 22b–23a; Yad, Avel 6:2). When mourning for parents, some of the above prohibitions remained applicable during the entire 12 months following the day of death. The mourner was not permitted to trim his hair until his companions rebuked him. He was also enjoined from entering "a house of rejoicing" during this period (MK 22b).

RELATIONSHIPS REQUIRING MOURNING. The observance of these formal rules of mourning was required for the nearest of kin corresponding to those for whom a priest was to defile himself, i.e., a wife (husband), father, mother, son, daughter, brother, and sister (Lev. 21:1–3; MK 20b), but not an infant less than 30 days old (Yad, Avel 1:6). The Talmud also relates instances when aspects of mourning were observed upon the death of teachers and scholars. Thus when R. Johanan died, R. Ammi observed the seven and the 30 days of mourning (MK 25b). In mourning for a *ḥakham* one bared the arm and shoulder on the right for the *av bet din* on the left, and for a *nasi* on both sides (MK 22b; Sem. 9:2).

TERMINATION OF MOURNING. Although the Sabbath was included in the seven days of mourning, no outward signs of mourning were permitted on that day. Private observances such as the prohibition against washing remained in force on the Sabbath (MK 23b; Maim, Yad, Avel 10:1). If burial took place before a festival and the mourner observed the mourning rite for even a short period prior to the festival, the entire *shivah* period was annulled by the holiday. If the *shivah* had been completed, then the incoming festival canceled the entire *sheloshim* period. If, however, the funeral took place on **Ḥol ha-Mo'ed*, the *shivah* and *sheloshim* were observed after the termination of the festival. In the Diaspora, the last day of the festival counted as one of the days of the *shivah* and *sheloshim* (MK 3:5–7; Sh. Ar., YD 399, 13; 400).

Relatives and friends visited the mourner during the week of *shivah*. Discreet individuals expressed their condolences in sympathetic silence (cf. Job. 2:13). In general, visitors were advised not to speak until the mourner began the conversation (MK 28b). Upon leaving, it became customary for the visitor to approach the mourner and say: "May the Almighty comfort you among the other mourners for Zion and Jerusalem." Rabbinical literature explained the reasons for the choice of seven as the main period of mourning. Commenting on the verse "I will turn your feasts into mourning" (Amos 8:10), it was explained that, just as the days of the feasts (Passover and Sukkot) are seven, so the period of mourning is also for seven days (MK 20a). The Zohar gives a mystical reason: "For seven days the soul goes to and fro between the house and the grave, mourning for the body" (Zohar, *Va-Yeḥi*, 226a). The institution of *shivah* was considered even more ancient than the flood. The rabbis interpreted "And it came to pass after the seven days, that the waters of the flood were upon the earth" (Gen. 7:10) to mean that God postponed retribution until after the seven days of mourning for the righteous Methuselah (Gen. 5:27; Sanh. 108b). The rabbis discouraged excessive mourning. Jeremiah's charge, "Weep ye not for the dead, neither bemoan him" (Jer. 22:10) was interpreted to mean "weep not in excess, nor bemoan too much." Accordingly, intensive mourning ceased after the *sheloshim*. Thereafter, God declares to the one who continues to mourn "Ye are not more compassionate toward the departed than I." The rabbis stated that whoever indulged in excessive grief over his dead finally had to weep for another. It was related that a woman in the neighborhood of R. Huna ultimately lost all seven of her sons because she wept excessively for each one (MK 27b).

Modern Practice

Most of the observances described above are still practiced by traditional Jews all over the world. In most communities today there are burial societies or funeral chapels which arrange the details of the *tohorah* and the burial. The *onenim* still have the responsibility of contacting the burial society, as well as obtaining death and other certificates which may be required before the funeral can be held. They must also inform relatives and friends so that proper honor and respect can be paid to the deceased. In the house of *shivah* couches and beds are no longer overturned, the mourners sitting instead on low stools. With the exception that mourners no longer muffle their heads, all the other restrictions are observed. Slippers of cloth, felt, or rubber are worn instead of leather footwear. Women also abstain from using cosmetics during the *shivah* period. A candle burns continuously in the house of mourning for the entire seven days. It has also become customary to cover mirrors or turn them to the wall. Among the explanations offered for this practice is that prayer is forbidden in front of a mirror, since the reflection distracts the attention of the worshiper. Another interpretation is that mirrors, often associated with vanity, are out of place at such a time.

Prayers in the Home and Changes in the Liturgy

By the end of the Middle Ages, praying in the house of *shivah* was a well-established custom (cf. Shab. 152a–b). Nowadays a **minyan* gathers in the house of mourning for the daily *Shaḥarit* and *Minḥah-Ma'ariv* services. For the reading of the Law during these home services a Torah Scroll may be borrowed from the communal synagogue, provided that proper facilities for its care are available and that it will be read on three occasions. If it is not possible to obtain a *minyan* in the home, the mourner may attend the synagogue for services and the recitation of **Kaddish*. Generally the mourner attends the synagogue for Sabbath and festival service. In the house of mourning and in the mourner's personal prayers, the following changes in the normal order of the services are made:

(1) The talmudical passage *pittum ha-ketoret* (Ker. 6a; Hertz, Prayer, 546), describing the compounding of the in-

censes for daily offering in the Temple, is omitted by the mourner since he is forbidden to study Torah.

(2) Likewise the mourner omits the recitation of *eizehu mekoman*, the chapter of the Mishnah which describes the appointed places for the various animal sacrifices (Zev. 5:1–8; Hertz, Prayer, 38–40).

(3) The *Priestly Blessing (Num. 6:24–26; Hertz, Prayer, 154), which concludes with the greeting of peace, is omitted in the house of mourning because the mourner may not extend greetings. In Jerusalem, however, it is recited.

(4) **Taḥanun* (Hertz, Prayer, 168–86) is omitted because its theme, "I have sinned before thee," is deemed inappropriate for a mourner.

(5) Psalm 20 (Hertz, Prayer, 200) is also omitted because it will intensify the mourner's grief during his "day of trouble" (Ps. 20:2).

(6) The verse beginning, "And as for me, this is my covenant with them, saith the Lord" is omitted from the *u-Va le-Ẓiyyon* (Hertz, Prayer, 202) because the mourner does not desire a covenant which will perpetuate his unhappy situation.

(7) Psalm 49, which declares that the injustices and inequalities of human existence are corrected in the hereafter, is recited after the daily service in the house of mourning (Hertz, Prayer, 1088–90).

(8) The mourner omits the six Psalms (95–99; 29) recited before the *Ma'ariv* service on Friday night (Hertz, Prayer, 346–54). He remains in the anteroom until the conclusion of **lekhah dodi*. He then enters the synagogue and the congregation rises and greets him with the traditional greeting extended to mourners: "May the Almighty…" Hertz, Prayer, 358).

(9) **Hallel* (Hertz, Prayer, 756–72) is not recited in the house of *shivah* on *Rosh Ḥodesh because it contains such verses as "The dead praise not the Lord, neither any that go down into silence" (Ps. 115:17), and "This is the day which the Lord hath made, we will rejoice and be glad in it" (Ps. 118:24). In most rites, however, it is recited when the mourners leave the room. If Rosh Ḥodesh coincides with the Sabbath, Hallel should be recited even if the services are being held in the house of mourning since no public display of mourning is permissible on the Sabbath.

(10) The mourner is not called up to the reading of the Law during the week of *shivah* even if he is the only kohen or levite in the congregation.

There are indications that it was customary for mourners to wear black throughout the *sheloshim* (Yoma 39b; Shab. 114a; Sem. 2:8). Nowadays, however, Jews are not permitted to dress in black clothing or to wear black armbands as signs of mourning since these are considered non-Jewish customs (see *Ḥukkat ha-Goi). Similarly, the bringing of gifts to the house of *shivah* is considered an emulation of non-Jewish practice. During the *sheloshim* period it is customary for the mourner to change his synagogue seat for weekday services. When mourning for parents, a different seat is occupied during the entire 12-month period. The **Kaddish*, however, is recited by the person mourning a parent or child for 11 months. **Yahrzeit* is observed on the anniversary of the Jewish date of the person's death. There is an opinion that when three or more days elapse between death and burial, the first *Yahrzeit* is observed on the date of burial. Nevertheless, during subsequent years, *Yahrzeit* is observed on the anniversary of the date of death (*Taz, Shakh* and *Be'er Hetev*, YD 402:12). Reform Judaism has greatly modified the above laws and customs. The week of mourning is often shortened, and, frequently, only a period of three days is observed. Practices such as the rending of garments, sitting on low stools, not wearing leather shoes, and not attending places of entertainment during the period of the 30 days or first year are not generally observed by Reform Jews. Some have the religious services in the home only for the first three days, while others have them only after returning home from the funeral.

[Aaron Rothkoff]

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MOUSE (Heb. עַכְבָּר, *akhbar*), small rodent enumerated in the Bible with the rat and five reptiles ("creeping things"). It is so classified because as a result of its short legs its belly touches the ground as it walks. Isaiah (66:17) vehemently assails those who "eat swine's flesh, detestable things, and the mouse" at idolatrous ceremonies. The *akhbar* includes both the house mouse, *Mus musculus*, and the field mouse, *Microtus guenthri*, the latter wreaking havoc with crops. Their depredations can amount to a plague destroying substantial parts of the harvest. It was such a plague which visited the Philistines who captured the Ark of the Covenant of the Lord (I Sam. 6:4–11). They not only "marred the land" but also caused a plague of "emerods." It has been suggested that the latter reference is to a pestilence caused by the microbe, *Pasteurella pestis*, transmitted to man by rodent fleas. The symptoms are a swelling of the lymphatic glands especially in the groins, which was thought to be a form of hemorrhoids. Both house and field mice are frequently mentioned in the Mishnah and Talmud. The ancient view of the possibility of spontaneous generation finds expression in the statement that the mouse was formed from the earth (Ḥul. 9:6). A mean person was called "a mouse lying in his money" (Sanh. 29b). One who eats food which has been nibbled by mice was said to forget his learning (Hor. 13a).

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[Jehuda Feliks]

°**MOWINCKEL, SIGMUND OLAF PLYTT** (1884–1965), Norwegian biblical scholar. Mowinckel was educated at the University of Oslo (then Kristiania) and taught there from 1917 until his retirement in 1954. He also studied Assyriology in Germany. His doctoral thesis (1916) was a study of the Book of Nehemiah, and one of his last books was also devoted to Nehemiah (*Studien zu dem Buche Ezra-Nehemia*, 3 vols., 1964–65). Mowinckel was very much influenced by the form-critical and tradition–history approach of Hermann *Gunkel and Hugo Gressmann. His first book on the Psalms, *The Royal Psalms in the Bible*, was also issued in 1916, and his chief work, *Psalmenstudien* (vols. 1–6) was published between 1921 and 1924. In this work, he placed the psalms in their cultic context and interpreted them in the light of this background. These *Psalmenstudien* were republished in 1961, and in 1963 an English translation of his last work on the Psalms was issued (*The Psalms in Israel's Worship*, 2 vols, 1962; Norwegian version, *Offersang og Sangoffer*, 1951). In 1964 two works on the Pentateuch were published, *Erwägungen zur Pentateuchquellenfrage* ("Considerations of the Question of the Sources of the Pentateuch") and *Tetrateuch, Pentateuch, Hexateuch; Palestina for Israel* ("Palestine before Israel," 1965) and *Israels opphvog eldste historie* ("Israel's Origin and Oldest History," 1967) were published posthumously. Mowinckel's main ideas have been widely accepted by biblical scholars, and his influence in Europe, especially Scandinavia, has been considerable. H.L. *Ginsberg taught himself Norwegian so that he could speak it to Mowinckel.

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[Arvid S. Kapelrud / S. David Sperling (2nd ed.)]

MOWSHOWITZ, ISRAEL (1914–1991), U.S. rabbi, political intermediary. Mowshowitz was born in Poland and immigrated to the United States with his family in 1929. He attended Yeshiva University, where he earned a B.A., and was ordained at its Rabbi Yitzhak Elchanan Theological Seminary in 1937. He earned a Ph.D. in psychology from Duke University and Yeshiva University awarded him an honorary doctorate in 1966. Although trained as an Orthodox rabbi, the pulpits he held were at Conservative synagogues, first in Durham, N.C., and then at Omaha, Nebraska. In 1949, he was appointed rabbi of Hillcrest Jewish Center in Queens, N.Y., becoming rabbi emeritus in 1983.

Respected in both the Orthodox and Conservative movements, Mowshowitz rose to become arguably the most prominent Jewish communal leader in the city and state. He was a founder of the International Synagogue at Kennedy International Airport and served as its honorary president. He also served on the boards of numerous charitable, interfaith, and interracial organizations in New York.

In the 1960s Mowshowitz was the president of the New York Board of Rabbis, an organization of 1,000 rabbis representing all the major denominations; in that capacity, he became a nationally quoted spokesman, commenting on all political and social issues that impacted Jewish interests.

Mowshowitz forged close ties with New York Governor Mario M. Cuomo, a Roman Catholic who called Mowshowitz "my rabbi," and who lived nearby. He held the title of special assistant for community affairs in the governor's office, where he negotiated issues between the state and religious groups. According to Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations head Israel *Miller, "He was the one all of us would call when we needed something done of a political nature."

Mowshowitz traveled throughout the world on behalf of Jewish causes. In 1956, he was a member of one of the first delegations of rabbis to visit the Soviet Union to investigate the conditions of Soviet Jewry. He also traveled to Poland, South Africa, Iran, Hungary, Poland, Romania, and other countries on similar missions, including a study trip to 13 countries with the National Conference of Christians and Jews.

The New York Board of Rabbis established the annual Rabbi Israel and Libby Mowshowitz Award, to honor both them and rabbis who excel in public service.

He wrote two books, *Fires to Warm Us* (1978) and *To Serve in Faithfulness* (1975), and co-authored with Debra Orenstein *From Generation to Generation* (1992).

[Bezalel Gordon (2nd ed.)]

MOYAL, ESTHER (1873–1948), Arabic journalist and feminist. Esther Moyal, a member of the Lazari (al-Azharī) family of *Beirut, began taking part in public affairs in 1893, while she was teaching for the Scottish Church mission. She took over the correspondence of the Lebanese Women's League and in the same year was sent to Chicago to represent *Lebanon at the International Women's Conference. She was active in various women's organizations such as Bākūrat Sūriya ("The Dawn of Syria") and Nahḍat al-Nisā' ("The Awakening Women"). In 1894 she married a medical student, Simon Moyal, in *Jaffa. After he qualified they settled in *Cairo, where in 1898 Esther founded the monthly *al-ʿĀ'ila* ("The Family"), which became a weekly in 1904. She also became a frequent contributor to the leading Cairo daily, *al-Ahrām* and the Egyptian literary periodical *al-Hilāl*. The Moyals moved to Jaffa in 1908 and the following year she helped establish an organization of Jewish women in the city. In 1913 she became joint editor with her husband of the Jaffa periodical, *Ṣawt al-ʿUthmāniyya* ("The Voice of Ottomanism"). Widowed in 1915, she went to live in Marseilles, returning to Jaffa in the mid-1940s. Her writings include a life of Emile Zola and Arabic translations of French books.

[Hayyim J. Cohen]

MOẒA or (**Ha**)**Moẓah** (Heb. הַמֹּצָה, מוֹצָא), town in Benjamin mentioned in the city list of Benjamin with Miẓpeh and

Chephirah (Josh. 18:26) and in the genealogy of Benjamin with Alemeth, Azmaveth, and Eleasah (I Chron. 8:36). The name also occurs in the genealogy of Caleb (I Chron. 2:46), but a connection between this Moẓa and the Benjamite Moẓa is doubtful, as another locality might be meant. According to one reading, the "*Mṣh*" seal stamps found on jar handles at Jericho and Tell ab-Naṣba and belonging to the Persian period attest the existence of an administrative center at Moza at that time. It is identified with Khirbat Beit Mizza to the west of Jerusalem and situated near a spring in a valley rich in olive groves and vineyards. It is probably identical with the Roman colony *Emmaus, established by Vespasian after the siege of Jerusalem at a distance of 30 stadia (c. 3½ mi.) from Jerusalem; he settled 800 veterans there (Jos., Wars, 7:217). A village below Jerusalem called Moẓa, where willow branches were cut for the rites at the Sukkot, is mentioned in the Mishnah (Suk. 4:5), i.e., in reference to the times before the destruction of the Second Temple. According to the Jerusalem Talmud (Suk. 4:3, 54b), the name of Moẓa was changed to Colonia and a "source of Colonia" is mentioned by Cyrillus Scythopolitanus (*Vita Sabae*, 67). The latter locality was probably at the site of the Arab village Qālūnya (see below). Remains of a Roman road station, a bath, Jewish and Roman tombs, and a Byzantine monastery were found in the area.

[Michael Avi-Yonah]

Modern Times

The land of Moẓa (moshavah), on the site of ancient Moza, was the first rural site in Ereẓ Israel acquired by Jews for farming purposes (by inhabitants of the old city of Jerusalem headed by Yehoshua *Yellin in 1859). A few families worked the land and terraced the hillsides, but did not live permanently at Moẓa. In 1894 the Jerusalem chapter of the *B'nai B'rith founded a small village on the site. One of the first industrial enterprises in the country was a tile and roof tile factory which used the local Moẓa marl as raw material. It was built by the Moẓa settlers at the beginning of the 20th century. In the 1929 Arab riots the village was largely destroyed and seven of its inhabitants were murdered, but the village was soon restored and in 1933 Moẓa Illit ("Upper Moẓa") was founded as an adjacent moshav. On the hilltop southwest of Moẓa, *Kuppat Ḥolim, the Histadrut Sick Fund, opened the Arza Convalescent Home in the 1930s, in the place where Theodor *Herzl on his 1898 visit to the country planted a cypress tree (at the time erroneously identified as the biblical cedar from which the name "Arza" was derived). The tree was felled in World War I by unknown persons. In the Israel *War of Independence (1948) Moẓa was in grave danger until the neighboring Arab village of Qālūnya fell to Jewish forces and was abandoned by its inhabitants. Although most of the inhabitants in Moẓa were employed in Jerusalem, some kept farms. From the late 1950s a garden suburb of Jerusalem developed there. In 2002 the population of Moẓa Illit was 796.

[Efraim Orni / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

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MOZES, family of Israeli press magnates. The Mozes family played a major role in the Israeli press in the second half of the 20th century. From its flagship daily newspaper, *Yedioth Aharonoth*, through its subsidiary enterprises including a chain of local newspapers, women's and other special interest magazines, publishing and printing interests, and shares in Israel's Channel 2, the Mozes family had by the 1990s become the country's biggest media moguls.

In 1940, a small newspaper, *Yedioth Aharonoth*, founded the previous year as one of the country's few independent evening newspapers, had been acquired by ALEXANDER MOZES, a printer, from the newspaper's founder Nahum Komerov. While Alexander took charge of printing the paper, his father YEHUDAH MOZES (b. 1886), a textile entrepreneur and businessman, took charge of the newspaper's editorial operations, together with his son, NOAH (1912–1986), an agronomist. It consisted of some two pages each day, and had a circulation of 30,000. The paper failed financially in its early years, and in 1949 was forced to sell half of its shares to *Mapai. Its biggest crisis occurred in February 1948 when its editor, Dr. Azriel *Carlebach, together with most of its editorial staff as well as some of the printing and administrative workers, left the newspaper overnight – ostensibly upset over Yehudah Mozes' intervention in day-to-day editorial matters – and founded the rival *Maariv* newspaper. Rebuilding the paper, Yehudah Mozes appointed his cousin Dov *Yudkovsky as news editor and Dr. Herzl *Rosenblum as editor, whose responsibilities comprised the editorial column and the op-ed pages. Yudkovsky conceived the newspaper as "the people's newspaper": despite its popular tabloid appearance, it also carried editorial matter of interest to readers from the professional classes. With the death of Yehudah in 1955, Noah Mozes became the publisher. It took *Yedioth Aharonoth* until the late 1970s to overtake *Maariv* as Israel's biggest-selling newspaper. By 2005 42% of Israelis read the newspaper daily, and 54% its Friday weekend edition, according to a Teleseker survey. In the 1980s the newspaper entered the local newspaper market, developing local weekly newspapers (sold as supplements to the Friday paper) in key Israeli towns, exploiting the local advertising market.

The newspaper's corporate setup is characterized by a highly centralized structure in which company shares are divided between 100 basic shares and 1,400 regular shares. With only the family owning the basic shares, and an in-built clause that the company directors are determined only by the holders of the basic shares, it generated resentment among the regular shareholders, particular after Noah died in 1986 in a traffic accident and his son, ARNON ("Noni"; 1953–), an economics graduate from Tel Aviv University, replaced him as publisher.

Since the mid-1980s the newspaper's senior management was characterized by family in-fighting and court hearings as "Noni" Mozes sought to centralize control. In 1989 Yudkovsky was dismissed, and moved to *Maariv,* where he was appointed editor. While Ze'ev Mozes, the paper's co-director whose responsibilities included manpower, was initially allied with "Noni" Mozes – based on a 1986 agreement that the two men would share the two-man directorship of the newspaper for a 20-year period – he was subsequently eased out and sold his shares in 1997 to Eliezer Fishman and Haim Bar-On (the owners of the *Globes* financial newspaper). Ze'ev, who was Noah's nephew and Yehudah's grandson, was also responsible for moving the newspaper's printing press from the newspaper's editorial offices in Tel Aviv to a bigger site in Rishon le-Zion. Oded Mozes, son of Alexander, had been eased out years earlier when Noah Mozes set up a separate printing press, named after his son Gilad, killed in a traffic accident, to print the newspaper.

When Paula Mozes, Noah's widow, died in 1997, she bequeathed all her shares to her son, Noni, asking her two daughters, Judy Shalom-Mozes, wife of the Likud MK and former foreign minister Silvan *Shalom, and Tami-Mozes-Borowitz, to give their brother power of attorney to administer the newspaper. In building a coalition, Noni initially gave Tami management of Yediot Tikshoret, the sister company comprising the chain of local newspapers and magazines, as well as *Yedioth Aharonoth*'s share in the Channel 2 subsidiary, Reshet. But she sold her shares to Fishman and Bar-On in 1998. Noni Mozes received a setback in 1997 when the Israeli courts acceded to a petition to broaden the structure of the paper's directorship from two to five members.

After Yudkovky's departure from the paper in 1989, Moshe *Vardi, a managing editor, and Rozenblum's son, was appointed in his place. Vardi possessed an uncanny ability for identifying news stories and for news writing. This helped the paper maintain the lead which Yudkovsky had managed to bring about in the cirulation war with *Maariv*. In the mid-1990s the newspaper was embroiled in an affair involving mutual wiretapping among partners and editors of *Maariv* and *Yedioth Aharonoth*. *Yedioth Aharonoth*'s assignments editor, Ruth Ben-Ari, was charged with wiretapping *Maariv* boss Ofer Nimrodi, and its editor Dov Yudkovsky. Though subsequently cleared, Vardi, suspended himself from the editorship during the two year trial. During this period Alon Shalev, a news executive on Channel 2, was appointed editor. Vardi was subsequently reinstated, holding the post until his retirement in 2004. Rafi Ginat, an Israel television reporter who edited and presented the investigative *Kolbotek* consumer program, replaced him.

In 2000 the newspaper created its website, Y-Net, with its own separate reporting staff. In 2005 it had 3.3 million users monthly.

The *Yedioth Aharonoth* groups was valued in 1997 at around $450 million. In addition to the daily newspaper, the group's properties included 17 local newspapers, a woman's magazine and shares in another, a number of special interest magazines, a Russian-language daily newspaper, three publishing houses, shares in the Channel 2 subsidiary Reshet, two printing presses, and two modeling agencies. Noni Mozes' share alone was valued in 2004 at $200 million. Concerned at the power of *Yedioth Aharonoth,* and of other newspaper chains, with the perceived threat to freedom of the press, the Monopolies Commission allowed *Yedioth Aharonoth* to purchase no more than 24% of the shares of Reshet.

[Yoel Cohen (2nd ed.)]

MOZNAYIM (Heb. מֹאזְנַיִם), literary organ of the Hebrew Writers Association in Israel. *Moznayim* was founded in 1929, under the editorship of Y.D. *Berkowitz and F. Lachower, when the association ceased to endorse its previous organ, *Ketuvim*, edited by A. Steinman and A. *Shlonsky. Published first as a weekly in Tel Aviv, *Moznayim* became a monthly in 1933. It appeared regularly until the spring of 1947, when it ceased publication until the autumn of that year. *Moznayim* reappeared as a fortnightly only until the State of Israel was about to be established. *Moznayim*, in a new series, was published as a monthly from 1955.

The first volumes bear the stamp of *Bialik, a frequent contributor, and his contemporaries. Eventually, younger writers also left their influence upon this publication. All literary genres were encouraged: poetry, the story, the essay, criticism, the review, the scholarly study in the form of a popular lecture, publication of literary documents (e.g., letters), and translations from world literature. Hebrew writers from different generations and different parts of the world have participated. Until the Holocaust, the majority of East European Hebrew writers contributed and, later, Hebrew writers in the United States and other countries were published.

In honor of the U.S. Hebrew writer, Reuben *Wallenrod, *Moznayim* annually presents an award for the most distinguished poem, story, or essay published in the periodical. An index to the first hundred issues was issued in 1944.

[Getzel Kressel]

MOZYR, city in Polesie district, Belarus. After the second partition of Poland (1793), Mozyr was annexed by Russia and became a county town in the province (gubernia) of Minsk until the Russian Revolution. Jews are mentioned there in the 16th century. Many were wounded, killed, and robbed by the soldiers of *Chmielnicki in 1648. In 1766 there were 896 Jewish taxpayers in the community of Mozyr and the surrounding villages; these increased to 2,256 in 1847 and 5,631 (70% of the total population) in 1897. The Jews played an important role in the wood industry which developed in the town and its vicinity, owning several sawmills and match factories. Mozyr was one of the towns where the *Bund was active. A Russian language school operated from 1899, as did a yeshivah. During the Russian Civil War (1917–21) the Jews suffered at the hands of the "volunteer army" of Bulak-Balakhowich, who fought the Soviet regime. Many were wounded and 44 murdered, women were raped, and property looted. With the consolidation of the Soviet regime Jewish public institutions were liquidated. In 1926 there were 5,901 persons in the town (61.3% of the population), and 6,307 (36.1% of the total population) in 1939. Until 1938 there were two Yiddish elementary schools. Mozyr was occupied by the Germans on August 22,

1941. Some Jews succeeded in leaving town. In the fall a ghetto was established housing 1,500 persons. In the week of January 7, 1942, they were murdered, and another 700 Jews were drowned in the Pripet River.

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[Yehuda Slutsky / Shmuel Spector (2nd ed.)]

MSTISLAVL (referred to by the Jews as **Amtchislav**), city in Mogilev district, Belarus; until 1772 in Poland-Lithuania; under czarist rule, part of Mogilev province. Jews are first mentioned as inhabitants of Mstislavl in 1590, although they had leased the taxes of the area from the mid-16th century. In 1639 there was a synagogue in Mstislavl. During the Northern War between Peter the Great and Charles XII of Sweden, Peter's troops entered Mstislavl (1708) and many Jews were injured. In 1765 there were 552 Jews registered as paying poll tax in the town and surrounding villages. As a result of their critical economic situation, 271 Jews left the town and district in 1808 for agricultural settlements in southern Russia. At the end of December 1843 a quarrel broke out between some Jews and a group of soldiers who had come to confiscate some smuggled merchandise in a Jewish shop. Magnifying the incident, the local authorities described it to the government as a Jewish rebellion against the authorities. When informed of the affair, Nicholas I ordered that every tenth Jew in the town be impressed into the army. It was only after numerous intercessions in the capital that investigators from St. Petersburg were sent to Mstislavl. The accusations of rebellion were refuted and the collective punishment revoked. Subsequently, the day the decree was rescinded (Kislev 3) was celebrated as the *Purim D'Amtchislav.* In 1847 there were 3,815 Jews registered in Mstislavl and in 1897 they numbered 5,076 (59.7% of the population). Because of the Jewish merchants, the town turned into an important commercial center. There were 194 Jewish artisans out of a total of 291. Most of them were *Mitnaggedim*, but there was also a considerable minority of *Ḥabad Ḥasidim. After World War I the Jewish population decreased, until in 1926 only 3,371 (42% of the total population) remained, and it dropped further to 2,067 (20% of the total) in 1939. A Yiddish school operated there from 1927, and two kolkhozes, with 110 families, were in the town in the 1930s. The Germans captured Mstislavl on July 14, 1941, and in early October killed 30 elderly Jews. On October 15, 1941, together with the local police, they murdered 850 (or perhaps 1,300) Jews in the marketplace. S. *Dubnow was a native of Mstislavl, as was Dr. Moshe Rachmilevich, one of the founders of the Hebrew University Medical School.

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[Yehuda Slutsky / Shmuel Spector (2nd ed.)]

MUBARAK, MUHAMMAD HUSNI SAʿID (1928–), third president of *Egypt, following Abdul *Nasser and Anwar *Sadat. A successful career officer in the Egyptian air force and its commander (since 1972), he was appointed vice president of Egypt (1975) and vice chairman of the National Democratic Party (1978). Eight days after Sadat's assassination (on October 6, 1981), Mubarak was elected as chairman of the National Democratic Party and president of Egypt – confirmed by a countrywide referendum. He was re-elected by referenda in 1987, 1993, and 1999 and then by popular vote on September 7, 2005, for a fifth term, defeating (with more than 75% of the votes) nine other candidates for the presidency. This was a sign of democratic processes being gradually introduced into Egypt. Meanwhile, until this unusual development, President Mubarak, using the authoritarian system of government inherited from his predecessors, promised to cure some of the worst ills facing the country, but with moderate success only. Corruption continued to affect the bureaucracy. The economy improved in the early 1990s with the help of massive U.S. aid (rewarding Egypt for supporting the U.S. with 40,000 troops in the 1991 Gulf War), but 16% of its 77 million population (in 2005) lived below the poverty line and unemployment was still very high (reaching 25% of the labor force, according to unofficial data). Mubarak also contended with the specter of Islamic fundamentalism and limited its political activities in Egypt; for example, the Muslim Brethren were not allowed to set up a political party, while Mubarak's spokesmen accused them and their fellow-travelers of supporting terrorism, thus delegitimizing them.

Mubarak and his regime have not displayed enmity to the tiny Jewish community (about 200 souls in 2005, residing in *Cairo and *Alexandria), but they have not prevented or condemned the publication of books and articles or the propagation of films accusing the Jews in Egypt and elsewhere of blood-libels, plots, and intrigues. Similar accusations against the State of Israel abound in the press and are supported by the elites, chiefly the unions of writers, lawyers, and others. As for Mubarak's government, it insisted on maintaining a "cold peace" with Israel, calling back its ambassador from Tel Aviv and openly siding with the Palestinians in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. However, there were signs, also, of a mild rapprochement in 2004–5, probably conditioned by Israel's disengagement from the *Gaza Strip and Mubarak's wish to score points with the U.S.: a bilateral gas deal (lucrative for Egypt) was signed with Israel and, in September 2005, 750 Egyptian border guards started patrolling, at Israel's request, the Philadelphi Road between Sinai (which is part of Egypt) and the Gaza Strip. Still, some thorny issues remained to be solved.

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[Jacob M. Landau (2nd ed.)]

MUBASHSHIR BEN NISSI HA-LEVI (tenth century), Babylonian scholar who lived in *Baghdad; also known as Ibn Ussaba or ʿUnnāba. Mubashshir comments on the works of *Saadiah Gaon, contained in *Kitāb Istidrāk al-Sahw* ("Book of Correction of Errors"), fragments of which were found in the Cairo **Genizah* and printed. The purpose of his book is not quite clear; the introduction leads one to believe that he sought to point out Saadiah's errors rather than to correct them, and the contents of the book strengthen this impression to the extent that at times the author seems to agree with Saadiah Gaon's Karaite critics. The book had a large circulation, especially in Spain, and is mentioned by many Jewish scholars.

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[Abraham David]

MUBASHSHIR BEN RAV KIMOI HA-KOHEN (d. 925), *Gaon* of the Pumbedita Academy from 917 to 925, a post to which he was appointed upon the death of R. Judah Gaon (the grandfather of R. *Sherira Gaon). Mubashshir belonged to the faction which opposed the appointment of *David b. Zakkai as exilarch, apparently because of his family relationship with Mar *Ukba, the deposed exilarch. In turn, when David b. Zakkai did become exilarch, he refused to recognize Mubashshir in his post and appointed R. *Kohen Ẓedek as head of the Pumbedita Academy; the members of the Academy were split into two factions, each supporting one of the two *geonim*. A prominent supporter of Mubashshir was *Ben Meir, the *gaon* of Ereẓ Israel, who conducted an active campaign against both David b. Zakkai and R. Kohen Ẓedek. Saadiah Gaon, on the other hand, when he came to Baghdad in 921, joined Mubashshir's opponents. Mubashshir appointed R. Aaron b. Joseph *Sarjado as *rosh kallah* Pumbedita, in spite of his not being the scion of a scholarly family. In 922 David b. Zakkai made peace with Mubashshir and most of the members of the Academy accepted the latter's leadership; R. Kohen Ẓedek, and the few members who remained loyal to him, left the Academy but continued to receive their share of its income. None of Mubashshir's teachings and responsa has been preserved. On Mubashshir's death in 925 his rival R. Kohen Ẓedek succeeded him as *gaon*.

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[Abraham David]

°MUCIANUS, CAIUS LICINIUS, governor of Syria during the Roman War (66–70 C.E.) and a prominent supporter of Vespasian's successful attempt to assume the leadership of the Roman Empire. As governor of Syria, Mucianus is known to have supported certain privileges of the Jewish community at Antioch. In 69, together with other generals in the east, Mucianus urged Vespasian to become emperor, and subsequently was dispatched with a substantial force to Italy, to secure Rome from the supporters of Vitellius. He entered the city during the last days of 69, and prepared the way for Vespasian's triumphant arrival there in the summer of 70 C.E.

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[Isaiah Gafni]

MUEHLHAUSEN, city in Germany. Though the exact date of the earliest Jewish settlement in Muehlhausen is unknown, there was certainly a Jewish settlement there c. 1300, and a synagogue is mentioned in 1311. The relationship between the town and the community ("*universitas Judaeorum*") was regulated by the municipal council in 1311. Jurisdiction over the Jews of Muehlhausen and the income from them was contested between the municipality and the landgraves of *Thuringia, who during the Black Death persecutions advised the burghers to massacre the Jews; this occurred on March 21, 1349. Among the martyrs was a scholar, R. Eliezer. Many of the exiles settled permanently in Erfurt and Frankfurt. The property of the deceased Jews was the object of bitter contention between Charles IV and the city. In 1374 Jews were again present in Muehlhausen, and the townspeople were released from all debts owed by them in 1391. In 1433 the Jews had to pay 200 florins as a coronation tax; throughout the 15th century they were taxed heavily by all governmental authorities. Regulations of 1472 ordered the Jews to stay out of the homes of Christians and to wear the yellow *badge; the women had to wear two blue stripes on their head coverings. In 1543 all Jews were expelled. Jews originating from Muehlhausen were living in Cracow, Poznan, and Lissa in the 17th century. The first *Schutzjuden returned to Muehlhausen in 1643, and in 1692 there were four Jewish households, rising to 14 families around 1781; 144 persons in 1843; 180 in 1907; and 170 in 1932. On the eve of the Nazi rise to power, the community possessed a synagogue, religious school, and three philanthropic organizations. Repressive measures resulting in emigration brought the number of Jews down to 70 in 1939. In 1942, only 19 Jews remained. The community was annihilated during World War II. After 1945 a small Jewish community was reestablished. It numbered 19 in 1946. Many members emigrated or moved to other places, and by the 1980s the community no longer existed. In 1985 a plaque was dedicated to the city's victims of the Holocaust. The synagogue, consecrated in 1841/42 and desecrated in 1938, was restored with public funding in 1998. It serves as a cultural and educational center and houses a small exhibition about the history of the Muehlhausen Jewish community.

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[Larissa Daemmig (2nd ed.)]

MUEHSAM, ERICH (1878–1934), German poet, playwright, and anarchist. Born in Berlin and raised in Luebeck, where he was expelled from school for "socialist activities," Muehsam, like his father, apprenticed as a pharmacist. Following his dream of becoming a writer, he left Luebeck for Berlin, establishing contact with Martin *Buber and Gustav *Landauer. The latter had an enormous influence on Muehsam's intellectual development and persuaded him to join the *Neue Gesellschaft*, a group of libertarian writers. Muehsam quickly became involved with the socialist-anarchist movement in Berlin, serving briefly, in 1902, as editor of the anarchist journal, *Der arme Teufel.* He advocated homosexual rights in his first publication, *Die Homosexualitaet*. In 1904 he left Berlin, traveling through Switzerland, Northern Italy, France, and Vienna before settling in Munich in 1909. While his years as a traveler brought forth poetic publications, among them his poem collections *Die Wueste* (1904) and *Krater* (1909), as well as the comedy *Die Hochstapler* (1906), Muehsam's time in Munich was characterized by increasing political activity. He founded the socialist circle *Die Tat* and the revolutionary journal *Kain: Zeitschrift fuer Menschlichkeit.* World War I put an end to the anti-militaristic journal. He tried to organize resistance to the war, seeking closer contact to the Spartacists and the independent social democrats around Kurt *Eisner. During the strike at the Krupp works in Munich in January, 1918, he called for revolution; one year later he was deeply involved in the founding of Eisner's Bavarian Soviet Republic. After a putsch brought down the republic, he was arrested and sentenced to 15 years for high treason. In prison, Muehsam again pursued his literary ambitions. Besides several publications on revolutionary issues, articles for *Die Aktion* and *Die Weltbühne,* and another poem collection titled *Brennende Erde* (1920), his drama *Judas*, staged in 1921 for 5,000 workers in Mannheim, should be singled out. In December 1924 he was reprieved. Back in Berlin, he immediately returned to supporting anarchist organizations within the Weimar Republic. From 1926 to 1931, he edited the anarchist monthly *Fanal*. His final publication was the manifesto *Die Befreiung der Gesellschaft vom Staat*, published only a few weeks before his arrest by the SA on February 28, 1933. After prolonged torture in various concentration camps, Muehsam was murdered by the Nazis in Oranienburg on July 9, 1934.

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[Sol Liptzin /Philipp Theisohn (2nd ed.)]

MUELHAUSEN, YOM TOV LIPMANN (14th–15th centuries), scholar, polemist, philosopher, kabbalist, and one of the great rabbis of Bohemia in his time. His name indicates that he, or his family, probably originally came from Mulhouse in Alsace; all that is known with certainty, however, is that he was active chiefly in Prague, where he lived before 1389, that he was among those affected by the "Edict of Prague" which took place in that year, and that in 1407 he was appointed *Judex Judaeorum* ("judge of the Jews") there. Yom Tov was the pupil of the outstanding Austrian scholars, Meir b. Baruch *ha-Levi, Sar Shalom of Neustadt, Samson b. Eleazar, and particularly of the brothers, Menahem and Avigdor Kara, serving with the last two as *dayyan* in Prague. He journeyed a great deal in Bohemia, Austria and Poland with the aim of acquainting himself with shortcomings in the observance of *halakhah* and custom and rectifying them. There is information of his activities and his varied *takkanot in Cracow, Lindau (German Bavaria), and Erfurt, where he introduced permanent and amended rules for the writing of Scrolls of the Law, *tefillin*, and *mezuzot*, in the making of a *shofar* and the manner in which it should be sounded, the order of granting a bill of divorce, etc. These rules were adopted in many districts of Austria and Bohemia and named after him. He also had a ramified correspondence with great contemporary talmudists, including Jacob *Moellin and Jacob b. Judah *Weil. Between 1440 and 1450 he was one of the heads of the council of the Ashkenazi communities known as Va'ad Erfurt ("The Council at Erfurt"), but its exact date and activities are not known.

Yom Tov Lipmann's activity as a polemist gave him lasting renown even among non-Jews, who over many years produced a complete and ramified literature in refutation of him known by the general name of Anti-Lipmanniana. He began these activities early in his life when he conducted polemics with the bishop of Linda, on the initiative of the bishop, and in a spirit of mutual tolerance and non-provocation. Some of the other priests of Linda disputed with him also, and part of this series of polemics was later included in his *Niẓẓaḥon* (see below). According to a Christian source, Muelhausen went to listen to the sermons of their preachers, and it is possible that he actually initiated some of his polemics at those gatherings. His best-known disputation, which had the most serious consequences, was that with the apostate Pesaḥ (Peter). It was connected with the edict of apostasy issued against the Jews of Prague in 1389, as a result of which Peter came out with a series of public attacks upon the Jews who deny and despise Christianity. A proposal was made that the Jews hold a disputation with him to justify themselves, and Muelhausen was chosen for this purpose. No details are known either of the staging or the content of this disputation, but as a result of it 80 Jews were martyred, and the remainder, including Yom Tov Lipmann, were saved by a "miracle" of unknown nature.

Except for the *Sefer ha-Niẓẓaḥon*, Muelhausen's books were written after 1407, when he was *Judex Judaeorum* in Prague. He dealt chiefly with Kabbalah, *halakhah*, and philosophy, but all three topics were intertwined. His various works have become part of the contemporary Jewish heritage, as has the whole form of the *halakhah* laid down by him. They afford evidence of his great erudition in the sources of *halakhah* and *aggadah*, in the Bible and its exegesis, in Kabbalah, and particularly in philosophy – in which he attained the highest level reached until then among the Jews of that country. He is, in fact, the first known scholar of Bohemia who openly occupied himself with philosophy, having a sound knowledge of the subject. He based himself on Maimonides' *Guide of the Perplexed*, and it was he who first gave it wide publicity in Poland and the neighboring countries, just as he endeavored to establish his halakhic views in accordance with the opinion of Maimonides. Undoubtedly it was Muelhausen who influenced the great Polish rabbi, Moses *Isserles, to follow Maimonides in his study of philosophy and *halakhah*. Muelhausen was well acquainted with what was known of the teaching of Saadiah Gaon and also made frequent use of early works on Kabbalah, such as the Sefer *Yeẓirah, the *Heikhalot* literature (see Merkabah *mysticism), the *Sefer ha-Bahir, Sefer ha-Temurah, Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut*, etc. He also knew the works of Baḥya ibn *Paquda, Solomon ibn *Gabirol and Abraham ibn *Ezra. One contemporary scholar whose works he frequently used was Shemariah b. Elijah *ha-Ikriti of Negropont. Muelhausen occupied himself intensively with Kabbalah, and, in addition to the above-mentioned works the influence of Naḥmanides – whose esoteric remarks, like those of Ibn Ezra, he sought to explain – is evident. In his view, there is no contradiction between Kabbalah and philosophy; he maintained that Maimonides, too, was a kabbalist but that he merely gave a philosophical garb to his words. His writings on Kabbalah are also generally written in the accepted style of medieval Jewish philosophy, with the result that many scholars were led to the erroneous conclusion that as a philosopher, he was opposed to Kabbalah. However, the new texts published during recent decades have removed all doubts on this matter. The central problems which he discusses, namely the reasons for the precepts, the fundamentals of faith, free will, and omniscience, the suffering of the righteous, corporeality, etc. – all serve a threefold purpose: the refutation of heretics, the attainment of philosophical truth and the establishment of the foundations of kabbalistic mysticism. His chief kabbalistic work is the *Sefer ha-Eshkol* (ed. by J. Kaufman, 1927) written in 1413, which is wholly influenced by the Spanish kabbalists of the school of Azriel b. Menahem of *Gerona, and in his *Alfa Beta* the great influence upon him of the Ḥasidei Ashkenaz is recognizable.

Muelhausen's halakhic writings reveal his complete command of all rabbinic literature up to his own time. Some of his many polemics were assembled by him in the *Sefer ha-Niẓẓaḥon* which he intended to serve as a handbook for the ordinary Jew compelled at times to wrestle with complex theological problems beyond his ability. The work was written in 1390 and was much copied in manuscript. It was first published by the priest Theodore Hackspan (Altdorf, 1644). Hackspan strove to edit it with maximum faithfulness to the source, and with the aim of enabling Christian scholars to oppose it, but he did not succeed because neither he nor the workers in his press understood either the language of the sources or their subject matter. As a result this edition is full of errors; despite this, it has great value for correcting many mistakes in the subsequent editions. The first Jewish edition was published in Amsterdam in 1701. It was only rarely reprinted because of the papal decree against its publication and circulation, and there is a variety of bibliographical problems connected with the various editions of the book. Muelhausen's method was to expose the Christian lack of understanding of the Hebrew sources with their linguistic and contextual associations and to ridicule aspects of the Christian religion. His great superiority over other polemists was based on his knowledge of Latin and lay in his intimate knowledge of Christian literature – the New Testament, the Vulgate, and the leading Church Fathers, as well as the works of the late Christian scholars. Frequently his polemics are based on sound philology. His familiarity with Christian sources was, however, less than that of Isaac *Troki, and his arguments are more popular in character and not so "logical." He undoubtedly made use of early Jewish polemic material included in various collections, among them an earlier *Sefer Niẓẓaḥon* (probably by Joseph *Official) as well as of oral traditions. He selected and summarized the best of the answers, according to his understanding and according to the taste of his contemporaries, connecting them with topical questions. Among Christian scholars who applied themselves to refuting his arguments may be mentioned chiefly Bodker, Sebastian *Muenster, and J. *Buxtorf, and especially J.C. *Wagenseil, who also included short fragments both from the *Niẓẓaḥon* and from the *Niẓẓaḥon Yashan* in his book *Tela Ignea Satanae*.

Muelhausen's *Sefer Alfa Beta*, on the shape of the letters and their inner meaning, was written for the benefit of scribes of Scrolls of the Law, *tefillin*, and *mezuzot* and of those who wished to devote themselves to esoteric study. It was published in the second part of the *Barukh she-Amar* (Shklov, 1804) of Samson b. Eliezer and its identity was recognized only about a century ago (previously it had been regarded as part of the *Barukh she-Amar*). Muelhausen also wrote *haggahot to the *Barukh she-Amar* itself, but these were incorporated in the text so that they cannot be recognized. He also wrote *Tikkun Sefer Torah*, containing the order of open and closed sections of the Torah (see Sefer *Torah) as well as many essential scribal regulations. This work was issued by E. Kupfer and S. Loewinger (see bibl.). Other works are *Sefer ha-Eshkol* and *Sefer Kavvanot ha-Tefillah* (appended to *Sefer ha-Eshkol*, 1927), a commentary on the *Shir ha-Yiḥud* (see J. Kaufman, p. 80f.), and various prayers and *piyyutim* printed in different places. His *Sefer ha-Berit*, on the meaning of the 13 attributes, was published from a manuscript by E. Kupfer (see bibl.). Other works written by him have not been found. Muelhausen's works have important historical value, particularly regarding the status and the situation of the Jews at the time of the Hussite wars.

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[Israel Moses Ta-Shma]

MUELLER, DAVID HEINRICH (1846–1912), Orientalist. He was born in Buczacz (Galicia), which was also the hometown of his relative S.Y. *Agnon. In his youth Mueller was influenced by *Rappaport, *Zunz, *Krochmal, and *Smolenskin. He studied at the *Jewish Theological Seminary in Breslau, but his lack of talent as a preacher forced him to leave the seminary and to specialize in Semitic languages. From 1876 he taught Oriental languages at Vienna University and also lectured at the Vienna Jewish Theological Seminary from its foundation in 1893. In 1889 he was elected a member of the Austro-Hungarian Academy of Sciences. Shortly before his death he was ennobled under the title of Baron Mueller von Deham.

Mueller undertook in 1877 a journey to the Orient which produced a crop of publications on South-Arabian inscriptions, on castles and palaces in that region (2 parts, 1879–81), and a detailed report on this expedition (1878). He also edited S. Langer's journal on his travels in Syria and Arabia and the inscriptions he had discovered (1883); Hamadani's Arabian geography (2 parts, 1884–91); and Ṭabarī's annals (1888–89). Mueller also wrote comparative studies of Semitic languages (1884); on the cuneiform writings discovered at Ashrut Dargha (1886/87); and on the particular division of sibilants in the South-Arabian dialect (1888). His articles in the Vienna *Zeitschrift fuer die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, of which he was an editor, also dealt with early Semitic epigraphy. A second expedition to South Arabia led by Mueller resulted in several volumes of reports of which Mueller wrote three, dealing mainly with the linguistic and literary discoveries.

When the Code of *Hammurapi was discovered, Mueller wrote on its relationship to the laws of the Pentateuch (1903, translating the Code into biblical Hebrew), and to those of the Syrio-Roman Lawbook (1905). In biblical studies proper (*Biblische Studien*, 5 vols., 1895–98), Mueller advanced a novel theory on the structure and rhythm of biblical poetry. Mueller, in general, adopted a conservative attitude to the Bible text and was averse to emendations.

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[Naphtali Herz Tur-Sinai (Torczyner)]

MUELLER, ERNST (1880–1954), mathematician and writer on Kabbalah and philosophy. Born at Misslitz, Moravia, Mueller taught at the Kiryat Sefer agricultural school, Jaffa (1907–09). From 1911 he worked at the Jewish community library in Vienna, and after its closure by the Nazis immigrated to England. His *Der Sohar und seine Lehre* went through three editions (1920, 1923, 1959), and he translated selections of the Zohar into German (*Sohar, das heilige Buch der Kabbalah*, 1932). Mueller wrote a *History of Jewish Mysticism* (1946). He translated a selection of Bialik's poems (*Gedichte*, 1911) as well as Abraham ibn Ezra's *Sefer ha-Eḥad (Buch der Einheit*, 1920), with notes and an excursus on the author as mathematician. On the occasion of the tercentenary of Spinoza's birth he published a (supplementary) bibliography of Spinoza literature (1932). He prepared a German stage version of Plato's Symposium (1932).

°**MUELLER, HEINRICH** (1900–?), last chief of the *Gestapo. Mueller joined the Bavarian police after serving as a much decorated NCO pilot during World War I. He had a specific expertise in Leftist movements, communist and Marxist, which became ever more valuable as the Nazis came to power and targeted these groups. When the Nazis came to power, *Heydrich was appointed Bavarian police chief and retained him as an expert on communism in the Bavarian political police even though Mueller in this period was not a Nazi but a member of the Bavarian Volkspartei. Mueller in 1933 joined the *SS and the SD (secret police), but became a Nazi Party member only in 1939. When Heydrich took charge of the Gestapo in 1936, Mueller, who had become one of his top aides, went with him to Berlin. He soon became chief of the executive of the office (Main Branch II). When the Security Police (Sipo) was organized, he was appointed chief of its political police section and, in effect, head of the Gestapo. He earned his stripes with the "Night of the Long Knives," the attack on Ernst Rohm. He continued to impress his superiors with the suppression of all organized opposition to the Nazi regime, which was, among other factors, due to Mueller's efficiency and ruthlessness, which included the application of torture on his victims. Mueller was involved in the hoax whereby "Polish" attacks on Germany served as a pretext for the outbreak of World War II. On Sept. 27, 1939, Mueller was appointed chief of Office IV of the *RSHA (Reich Security Main Office). Besides being responsible for the murder of hundreds of thousands of Soviet prisoners of war and an untold number of political prisoners, Mueller was one of the key figures of the "Final Solution" (see *Holocaust, General Survey). *Eichmann's IVB 4 Section was part of his office and Eichmann his subordinate. Mueller participated in the *Wannsee Conference, representing the Gestapo, where the "Final Solution" was coordinated. In June 1942 he ordered that the evidence of the Einsatzgruppen murders be destroyed. As the war drew to a close, he opposed all efforts to spare Jews. He punished brutally those involved in the 1944 plot against Hitler, including personal friends such as Arthur Nebe. He made every effort to remain in the background throughout his career. Ruthless and efficient, he preferred to work in the shadows. Last seen in Hitler's bunker on April 29, 1945, he succeeded in quietly disappearing when the Third Reich collapsed. There were rumors that he was killed by the Russians or that he was in Brazil, rumors also that he was the enforcer among the Nazis who escaped. Clearly, he eluded capture.

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[Yehuda Reshef]

MUELLER, JOEL (1827–1895), rabbinical scholar and authority on geonic texts. Born at Maehrisch Ostrau, Moravia, Mueller received his early talmudic education from his father, rabbi in Maehrisch Ostrau, whom he succeeded in 1853. After a period as rabbi in Leipa, Bohemia, and as a teacher of religion in Vienna, in 1884 he began teaching at the Berlin Hochschule fuer die Wissenschaft des Judentums.

Mueller published a series of rabbinic texts, chiefly responsa, of the geonic and immediate post-geonic period, which are models of scholarly editions. The most important are the post-talmudic tractate *Massekhet *Soferim* (1878), with an introduction and copious notes in German; a post-talmudic work on ritual differences between Ereẓ Israel and Babylon, *Hilluf Minhagim* (in *Ha-Shaar* 7 (1876), and 8 (1877); published separately, 1878); *Teshuvot akhmei arefat ve-Loter* ("Responsa of French and Lorraine Scholars," 1881, repr. 1959, 1967); *Teshuvot Ge'onei Mizraḥ u-Ma'arav* ("Responsa of Eastern and Western Geonim," in *Bet Talmud*, 4 (1885); and 5 (1886); published separately 1888; repr. 1959, 1966); *Mafte'a li-Teshuvot Ge'onim* ("Introduction to Geonic Responsa," 1891; repr. 1959); and *Halakhot Pesukot* ("Short Geonic Responsa," 1893). Mueller also edited Saadiah's "Book (on the law) of Inheritance," *Traité des Successions…*, for J. Derenbourg's edition of Saadiah's writings (*Oeuvres Complètes*; vol. 9, 1897). For the annual reports of the Lehranstalt he published studies on responsa in the pre-geonic period (in: 4, 1886); on those of tenth-century Spanish teachers (in: 7, 1889); on Yehudai Gaon (in: 8, 1890), and on the responsa of Meshullam b. Kalonymus (in: 11, 1893); see also his *Responsa of Kalonymos of Lucca* (*Teshuvot Rabbenu Kalonymos mi-Lucca*, 1891).

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MUELLER-COHEN, ANITA (1890–1962), social worker. Born in Vienna, Anita Mueller-Cohen became a social worker while still in her youth. During World War I she did relief work in the war-stricken areas of Galicia and Bukovina. She devoted herself to establishing lying-in hospitals for mothers, day nurseries and medical services for children, and institutions for the care of the aged. After the war she led the effort to help returning soldiers to readjust themselves and established milk stations for undernourished children throughout Austria. She directed the placement of orphaned children in Jewish homes in a number of West European countries and in 1920 promoted the adoption in North and South America of child victims of persecution in Eastern Europe. In that year she became a member of the Vienna City Council. Anita Mueller-Cohen settled in Tel Aviv in 1936 and continued her child welfare and other social services.

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MUENSTER, city in North Rhine Westphalia, Germany. Jews lived there from at least the middle of the 13th century, maintaining a synagogue, a cemetery (mentioned in 1301; a fragment of a tombstone dated 1324 has been preserved), and a *mikveh*. In the wake of the *Black Death persecutions (1349/50), the Jews were expelled or killed and their property confiscated or destroyed. Between 1350 and 1810, Jews were not allowed to reside in Muenster but were only allowed to pass through. They were, however, tolerated since the 16th century within the bishopric of Muenster. They received letters of protection from the bishop and founded several congregations. After 1650 these congregations were united in the *Landjudenschaft. The head of this corporation was the "*Judenvorgaenger*"; the first was (1657) Nini Levi, brother of Behrend *Levi. The seat of the rabbi of the *Landjudenschaft* (**Landrabbiner*) was in Warendorf (near Muenster), the largest Jewish community of the bishopric. The last *Landrabbiner* were the *Court Jew Michael Mayer Breslauer (1771–89) and his son David (1789–1815). When Muenster passed to the duchy of *Berg (1808–10) and to the French Empire (1810–13), the first

Jews settled in the city; their residence there was legalized by Prussia in 1819. They officially founded a new community in 1854. The first prayer house was situated in the Loerstrasse; the cemetery was established in 1811, and the synagogue was built in 1880.

From 1816 *Landrabbiner* Abraham *Sutro lived in Muenster, although he did not act as rabbi of the community, which in 1879 appointed Dr. J. Mansbach as preacher and cantor. He was succeeded by S. Kessler. The first rabbi, who took office in 1919, was Dr. Fritz Steinthal (who immigrated to South America in 1938). His successor, Dr. Julius Voos of Kamen, was deported to *Auschwitz in 1943. Among the most notable members of the community were Prof. Alexander Haindorf (1782–1862), co-founder of the Marks-Haindorf Foundation for the training of elementary school teachers and for the advancement of artisans and artists among the Jews, and the first Jewish professor at Muenster Academy (university); and the poet Eli Marcus (1854–1935), co-founder of the Zoological Evening Society, and author of poems and many plays in the Low German dialect of the Muensterland.

During the Nazi era, the community was reduced from 558 Jews (0.4% of the population) in 1933 to 308 (0.2%) in 1939. The synagogue was destroyed in November 1938 (see *Kristallnacht). The first deportation from Muenster city and district (to Riga) took place in December 1941 (403 persons); in 1942 the last large-scale transport went eastward, followed by individual deportations in 1943 and 1944. After World War II, a new congregation was founded which included, besides Muenster, the Jews of Ahaus, Beckum, Borken, Burgsteinfurt, and Coesfeld. This new community of Muenster numbered 142 members in 1970. The synagogue was built in 1961. The community numbered 101 in 1989 and 766 in 2005. The increase is explained by the immigration of Jews from the former Soviet Union after 1990.

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[Bernhard Brilling / Larissa Daemmig (2nd ed.)]

°**MUENSTER, SEBASTIAN** (**Monsterus**; 1488–1552), German *Hebraist and reformer. Born in Ingelheim, Muenster entered the Franciscan order in 1505. Turning to the study of Hebrew, he became a pupil of Conrad *Pellicanus from about 1510, first in Rouffach, and then in Pforzheim and Basle. He converted to Protestantism in the 1520s, and was a professor of Hebrew at the University of Heidelberg from 1524 to 1528. During this time he found his true master in the Jewish Hebraist Elijah *Levita, whose major grammatical works he translated and edited beginning in 1525. In 1528, Muenster was appointed professor of Hebrew at the University of Basle, a position he held until his death from the plague. Muenster was a prolific author and translator. He contributed significantly to almost every aspect of Hebrew and Jewish studies, and next to Johann *Reuchlin, he was the outstanding Christian Hebraist of the 16th century. Muenster reissued Reuchlin's *De rudimentis Hebraicis* and published about 40 works, including *Epitome Hebraicae grammaticae* (1520); *Institutiones Grammaticae in Hebraeam Linguam* (Basle, 1524); *Chaldaica Grammatica* (Basle, 1527), the first Aramaic grammar by a Christian, based on the *Arukh* of *Nathan b. Jehiel of Rome; a list of the 613 Commandments (Basle, 1533) culled from the *Sefer Mitzvot Katan* of *Isaac b. Joseph of Corbeil; translations of *Josippon, and of works by David *Kimḥi and E. Levita; and a grammar of rabbinic Hebrew (Basle, 1542). His outstanding *Hebraica Biblia* (2 vols, Basle, 1534–35), which is provided with an original Latin text independent of the Vulgate, represents the first Protestant translation of the Old Testament from Hebrew into Latin. Like Paulus *Fagius, Muenster translated into Hebrew the Apocryphal Book of Tobit (Basle, 1542), which later reappeared in the London Polyglot Bible (1654–57).

He also published several missionary works directed toward the Jews, most notably *Vikuach* (1539), a dispute between a Christian and a Jew, and a Hebrew version (with annotations) of the Gospel of St. Matthew ("*Torat ha-Mashi'aḥ*," Basle, 1537). This work, dedicated to Henry VIII of England, was the first Hebrew translation of any portion of the New Testament. Muenster's use of Jewish polemical literature, as in the preparation of his Hebrew edition of Matthew, as well as his publications in the field of rabbinic thought, provoked many accusations of Judaization against him, by Martin *Luther, Guillaume *Postel, and others.

Muenster was also a mathematician, cosmographer, and cartographer. His *Cosmographia* (1544), the earliest German description of the world, appeared in many editions, and was translated into several European languages. He also annotated the Latin version of Abraham b. Ḥiyya's astronomical and geographical work, *Ẓurat ha-Areẓ* (Basle, 1546).

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[Godfrey Edmond Silverman / Aya Elyada (2nd ed.)]

MUENSTERBERG, HUGO (1863–1916), psychologist. Born in Danzig, baptized at the time of his appointment to the University of Freiburg, Muensterberg developed the first psychological laboratory there. His fields of research included such varied problems as auditory space perception, estimation of size, kinesthesis, memory, the time sense, attention, and the influence of drugs on mental work. These were published in the series *Beitraege zur experimentellen Psychologie* (1889–92). Muensterberg enjoyed a reputation as one of the most brilliant young psychologists. As the result of a quarrel in the field of work, he was prevented, on antisemitic grounds – in spite of his baptism – from receiving a Berlin University appointment. Other appointments were turned down on the basis of unfavorable comments on his work by his colleagues. On the other hand, his work had attracted the attention of America's preeminent psychologist, Harvard's William James. Muensterberg was given a trial period at Harvard (1892–95), which was followed by a permanent appointment. Muensterberg's contribution is not widely appreciated today, mainly because he left no disciples.

Many modern trends in psychology are traceable to Muensterberg. On the theoretical side, Muensterberg was a forerunner of the functionalist school of psychology. His principles were described in *Grundzuege der Psychologie* (1900), with a second edition published posthumously by Max *Dessoir in 1918. His English text, *Psychology, General and Applied* (1914), although not well received, shows the scope and originality of his thinking. In 1898 he served as president of the American Psychological Association and as president of the American Philosophical Association in 1908. He was undoubtedly responsible for the growth of applied psychology. He was a leading figure and pioneer in industrial psychology and became interested in film, publishing in 1916 his book *The Photoplay*, one of the first major books on film theory. His work inspired William *Stern, Otto Klemm, and Otto *Lipmann. He devised tests for the selection of motormen and developed other testing procedures. He had a hand in the invention of the so-called lie detector and he instituted some of the first attempts at psychotherapy. In his day he was the great popularizer of psychology. He also took an interest in psychic phenomena, exposing the medium Madame Eusapia Paladino and writing, in a negative vein, on thought transference.

Muensterberg's last years were marked by increasing political activity. Although originally a marginal German, he remained a superpatriotic German who never gave up his German citizenship. At the outbreak of World War I he tried by all possible means to prevent the entry of the U.S. into the war and to work for a negotiated peace. His correspondence with the German chancellor, von Bethmann-Hollweg, presenting his plans to have President Wilson act as mediator, was intercepted and aroused violent feelings. In the midst of this controversy, he died as he was lecturing to his class.

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[Helmut E. Adler]

MUENZ, ELEAZAR (Lazar) BEN ARYEH LEIB (1837–1921), rabbi and preacher in Poland and Germany. Muenz was a grandson of Eleazar *Loew, the author of *Shemen Roke'aḥ*. He was appointed to the rabbinate of Oswiecim (Auschwitz) near Cracow before 1867. In 1875 he was appointed to the rabbinate of Kempen (Kepna) district of Posen, where he remained until after 1905. From there he moved to Wuerzburg and subsequently to Nuremberg. At the end of World War I he was living in Ansbach, where he died. He was the author of *Get Mesuddar* (1932), on the law of names in bills of divorce. Among his other works, written in German, are *Die modernen Anklagen gegen das Judentum als falsch nachgewiesen* (1882); *Religioese Zeitfragen* (1887, 1909²), a collection of his homilies; *Torat Nashim* (Ger., 1905), on the laws of family purity, frequently reprinted; and *Rabbi Eleasar, genannt Schemen Rokeach* (1895), a detailed biography of his grandfather.

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MUENZ (Minz), MOSES BEN ISAAC HA-LEVI (c. 1750–1831), Hungarian rabbi. Muenz was born in Podolia or in Galicia. After serving as rabbi in Vishravitz and in Brody, he was appointed in 1789 rabbi of Alt-Ofen (Óbuda) where he remained for the rest of his life. As a result of his activity there and his great reputation, the community became renowned. He represented the community at all royal ceremonies, including the coronation of Francis I. The addresses he delivered on those occasions were published in Hebrew and German. In 1793 he was appointed by the government chief rabbi of the whole Pest region. By virtue of this appointment he was granted the right to serve as Jewish judge in all the judicial affairs of the communities in the area, and not only in religious matters. This right was limited in 1796, but it did not affect the prestige in which he was held. On his initiative, and as a result of his endeavor, a beautiful synagogue was built by the community in 1822. It is still standing and has been proclaimed by the Hungarian government as a protected historical site. The sermon he preached at its consecration, *Devir ha-Bayit*, was published that same year in Vienna. To the second edition (1931) a biography of the author was added by D.S. Loewinger.

During the period of Muenz's rabbinate, tendencies toward religious reform began to be manifested in Hungary. At the beginning Muenz was relatively tolerant toward these reforms and even maintained friendly ties with the leader of the reformers, Aaron *Chorin, but later he took a strong stand against their aspirations in general and against Chorin in particular. In 1803 Chorin's book *Emek ha-Shaveh* appeared with the commendation of Muenz, but by 1805 Muenz was presiding over the *bet din that summoned Chorin before it and rebuked him sharply, compelling him to rescind his progressive attitudes. Although the civil government revoked the ruling of rabbis headed by Muenz it was supported by the Orthodox community. His responsa were published by his son Joseph Isaac, under the title *Sefer Maharam Min* (Prague, 1827). He also published, with his annotations, *Peri Ya'akov* (Ofen, 1830) of Jacob ben Moses. Orthodox Jews of Budapest used to visit his grave in the cemetery of Alt-Ofen during the days of Elul and of *seliḥot*. In 1949 this cemetery was cleared by order of the government and Muenz's remains and the tombstones were transferred to another cemetery in Budapest and reinterred near the graves of those killed by the Nazis, where the custom of visiting his grave continues.

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[Yehouda Marton]

MUGUR (Legrel), FLORIN (1934–1991), Romanian poet. He was deputy editor of *Argeș* and between 1953 and 1968 published seven verse collections, including *Visele de dimineață* ("Morning Dreams", 1962) and *Mituri* ("Myths", 1967). *Destinele intermediare* (1968) dealt with existentialist questions.

°MUHAMMAD (Muhammad ibn ʿAbdallāh ibn ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib ibn Hāshim ibn ʿAbd Manāf ibn Quṣayy; c. 570–632), founder and prophet of *Islam. Muhammad was born in Mecca around 570 C.E. In his twenties he married Khadīja, in whose service he was trading; she was a few years older and bore him several children. According to the traditional account, he received his first revelation at the age of 40, following which he preached his religion with little success in his hometown Mecca for about a decade. The turning point was Muhammad's conclusion of an agreement with Arabs from *Medina who adopted the new religion and provided him with a new basis for continuing his mission. The *hijra* that followed the agreement marks the beginning of Muhammad's Medinan period, namely the decade that made Islam a world power. It is mainly with regard to the Medinan period that a student of Muhammad's biography finds himself on relatively firm ground.

The scholarly struggle with central issues of Muhammad's biography has not yet gone far beyond the starting point, because the accounts about specific events in Muhammad's life, their chronology, and their sequence are often incoherent or contradictory. In addition, they reveal legal and exegetical biases beside political and tribal ones. The famous biography of Muhammad by Ibn Hishām and several other early mainstream compilations were the mainstay of Western scholarship regarding the life of Muhammad. But in recent decades an increasingly critical attitude to these sources has been adopted by several scholars, which for the time being rules out the writing of a narrative biography along the lines of the medieval ones. The creators of the accounts that make up the medieval biographies were not unsophisticated and often had agendas of their own, beside their wish to tell the story of the Arabian Prophet. Students of these accounts cannot afford to be gullible or unsophisticated. Moreover, one has to bear in mind that many of the medieval scholars, on whom we sometimes pass judgment as if they were fellow historians, did not consider themselves as such, or in any case they were not historians in the modern sense of the term. The liberty with which these compilers treated the received texts, for example in creating "combined reports" by putting together fragments from the texts of their predecessors, is most revealing with regard to their concept of history. Besides, their compilations were products of their own time. Their foundations had been laid well before they came into being, and in the cultural context of early Islam that was marked by extreme conservatism, the compilers had little room for self-expression and creativity.

The sheer amount of evidence found in Muhammad's biography is misleading; for example, one looks in vain for the name of a fortress in which a certain tribe was besieged. To some extent the lack of concrete evidence in the biography can be remedied by resorting to other sources, since accounts about Muhammad's life are found everywhere in the vast Islamic literature. Even relatively late sources sometimes contain valuable evidence, because compilers who lived several centuries ago still included in their compilations extracts from much older works which have meanwhile been lost. In sum, one has to throw one's net beyond Muhammad's medieval biographies and employ relatively late sources, too.

Paradoxically, as more and more texts on the Prophet's life are being made available electronically or through the publication of texts hitherto unknown to science, Western scholars seem to be less and less interested in finding concrete evidence in this huge repository of source material. Such evidence does exist, mainly in the form of background information regarding the society of Arabia at the time of Muhammad. The thousands of persons mentioned in the sources, their families and property, in addition to the geographical and topographical data, provide a firm starting point for the study of events in Muhammad's life, their chronology, and their sequence. Between the naiveté of certain past scholars who were unaware of the complexity of Islamic accounts, and the total rejection of these accounts as historical sources, there are several interim positions. A rigorous scrutiny of the sources does point out problematic areas in the evidence, but enough playing cards remain in our hands to facilitate step-by-step progress in the study of Muhammad's life.

Many Jews are mentioned in the chapters of Muhammad's Medinan period. The amount of evidence about their relations with Muhammad is enormous and some of it goes back to Jewish converts or their descendants. It makes up a sizeable "Jewish chapter" in every medieval biography of Muhammad. Only a small number of Jews are treated positively in the biography and elsewhere in the Islamic literature. They include several Jews who adopted Islam and several others who helped Muhammad in one way or another. Other Jews who appear in the sources were hostile to him: this has major implications to this very day, far beyond the spheres of literature and culture.

Muhammad in Mecca

Arabia in general and Mecca in particular were not isolated from the rest of the world, mainly because of the rivalry between Byzantium and the Sassanian Empire. Being a significant Arabian cultic and trade center, Mecca and its vicinity must have attracted international traders of all religions. But because of lack of interest on the part of Muslim informants, and perhaps due to self-censorship and an apologetic attitude, concrete details about indigenous Meccans who abandoned idol worship and adhered to other religions, or about foreigners living in Mecca, is scarce; after all, Muhammad was accused by his Meccan adversaries of having had a human teacher rather than a heavenly one. There is evidence about a Jewish trader in Mecca who announced Muhammad's birth, lamenting the fact that prophecy had forsaken the Children of Israel. This may well have been a legendary person created in the context of the literary genre known as "the proofs of Muhammad's prophecy." But he represents the Jewish trader in Mecca and elsewhere in Arabia that must have been a well-known figure. A relatively more convincing account concerns a Jew from Najrān by the name of Udhayna who was a protégé of Muhammad's grandfather ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib and was trading on the latter's behalf in the markets of Tihāma or the Arabian coast. When the Jew was murdered, ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib saw to it that blood money be given to the Jew's cousin. Off the beaten track one also finds relatively reliable data of Jewish women who before Islam married prominent members of Muhammad's tribe, Quraysh. For example, two elder brothers of Muhammad's grandfather are said to have had a Jewish mother.

Since Muhammad himself was a trader, there can be no doubt that he had had some contacts with Jews before becoming a prophet. Also his family's links with Medina, which had a large and dominant Jewish population, point in the same direction. His great-grandfather Hāshim married a Medinan woman, Salmā, of the Arab tribe of Khazraj. Muhammad's grandfather ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib was born in Medina and stayed there with his mother for several years. Other Qurashīs, too, had close links with Medina in which both trade interests and politics were involved. For example, when Abū Sufyān had married Hind, who in due course gave birth to the future caliph Muʿāwiya, the bride's father, ʿUtba ibn Rabīʿa, borrowed the jewelry of the Banū Abīl-Ḥuqayq, a leading family of the Jewish tribe *Naḍīr.

Muhammad at Medina

Negotiations between Muhammad and men from Medina of the Khazraj and Aws tribes (mainly of the former, which was stronger than the latter), referred to in Islam as *al-Anṣār* or "the helpers," preceded by several months the *hijra* that brought Muhammad from Mecca to Medina. The crucial agreement was concluded during the annual pilgrimage to Mecca at nearby al-ʿAqaba. Reportedly, the Jews of Medina told their Arab neighbors about the imminent appearance of a prophet. This sounds like yet another example of "the proofs of Muhammad's prophecy," but it may reflect historical fact. At the ʿAqaba meeting, twelve of the Medinan Arabs were designated as *nuqabāʾ* or tribal representatives, nine of the Khazraj and three of the Aws. Seven out of the twelve *nuqabāʾ* shared a common denominator: they were literate. Now since in pre-Islamic Medina literacy was acquired at the Jewish *bayt al-midrās*, this means that the literate *nuqabāʾ*, while they possibly did not convert to Judaism, were educated by the Jews, and hence were prepared to accept Muhammad as the messiah expected by the Jews. This conclusion, arrived at by comparing the list of *nuqabāʾ* with that of literate people, has a stronger claim to historicity than a direct statement found in a literary source.

Some have argued that the fate of the Jews of Medina was raised at the ʿAqaba meeting and that Muhammad had a predetermined plan to wipe them out. But this assumption is based on a corrupt text: the word *yahūd* or "Jews" in the story of the meeting on which this argument was based is wrong and should be replaced by *ʿuhūd* or "treaties" found in better versions of the same text. It is doubtful that Muhammad had such plans; in any case it is somewhat naive to expect to find Muhammad accused of insincerity in an Islamic source otherwise devoted to the protection of his image.

The Jewish Tribes

Several Jewish tribes in Medina are the subjects of separate chapters in Muhammad's biography because they were involved in bloody conflicts with him. In the traditional order of events these are the *Qaynuqāʿ, the Naḍīr, and the *Qurayẓa. A fourth tribe, the Thaʿlaba ibn al-Fiṭyawn, may have been on a similar level of significance, but it was expelled by Muhammad in 3/625 "without a fight," and hence only scanty details were preserved about it. The major Jewish tribes of Medina were the owners of weapons and fortresses *par excellence*. However, concerning the status of the Jews, modern students of Muhammad's life have been misled by a corrupt passage in Wāqidī's "Book of Battles" (*Kitāb al-maghāzī*) regarding the divisions in the population of Medina when Muhammad arrived there. The passage is from the introduction of the account about the assassination of Naḍīr's leader *Kaʿb ibn al-Ashraf. In its correct form, the passage reads as follows: "Ibn al-Ashraf was a poet. He would satirize the Prophet and his Companions and instigate against them in his poetry the infidels of Quraysh. When the Messenger of God came to Medina, its population was a mixture; among them there were the Muslims who were united by the call of Islam; the 'associators' who worshipped idols; and the Jews who were the owners of weapons and fortresses and allies of the two clans, the Aws and the Khazraj."

It can be shown that the Jewish tribes, Naḍīr and Qurayẓa, in addition to several Arab clans of the Aws, owned castles or special fortifications. Unlike the common tower-houses called in Arabic *uṭum*, pl. *āṭām* that were found everywhere in the Medina area, these castles were military buildings only used at times of war. In addition, the main Jewish tribes had huge arsenals of weapons of different kinds that are listed in the reports on the spoils taken from them. The above report also refers to alliances between the Jews and the Arab tribes of Medina. The Jewish tribes were part of the general system of alliances that was supposed to preserve a balance of power in Medina. In this system the Qaynuqāʿ and Naḍīr were allied with the Khazraj, while the Qurayẓa were allied with the Aws. In the Battle of Buʿāth several years before the *hijra*, the system was temporarily disturbed, when the Naḍīr fought against their former allies, the Khazraj, alongside the Qurayẓa and the Aws. But after the battle there was a reconciliation between the Naḍīr and the Khazraj following attempts by the Khazraj leader ʿAbdallāh ibn Ubayy, who had not been involved in the Battle of Buʿāth. He was the most prominent leader among the Khazraj, and probably in Medina at large, and was supported by the Jewish allies of the Khazraj, namely the Qaynuqāʿ and the Naḍīr.

The small group of *muhājirūn* including Qurashīs and clients who arrived at Medina, followed by Muhammad himself, did not cause an immediate upheaval in Medinan politics. Reconciliation between the Khazraj and the Aws was under way, although several wounds and blood with claims were still open. The tribal system was generally stable, with the exception of the occasional clan which had a dispute with its brother clans. Muhammad did not pose as a political reformer intent on destroying the existing equilibrium. It is true that his monotheistic message had immediate political implications, because the Arab tribal leadership of Medina was closely associated with idol worship. But as far as the Jewish tribes were concerned, there was nothing alarming about that: they could only rejoice at the sight of idols being destroyed.

The initial good intentions of Muhammad and the Jewish tribes vis-à-vis each other were expressed, not long after the *hijra*, by separate non-belligerency agreements with the three main tribes, Qaynuqāʿ, Naḍīr, and Qurayẓa. Besides having a time limit, these agreements basically included an assurance that the parties would not attack each other. Simply, the relationship between the newcomers and the native Jewish population had to be regulated by agreements so that trade and agriculture could continue without interruption.

Muhammad directed his attention to his community of disciples that included an increasing number of members from the Khazraj and Aws tribes. One of his first political actions, dating back to the very first period after the *hijra*, was the conclusion of the agreement known in Orientalist jargon by the misnomer, "The Constitution of Medina." The three main Jewish tribes were not a party to the agreement, which was far more binding than the basic non-belligerency agreements which they had concluded with Muhammad. The so-called "Constitution" was closely linked to Muhammad's creation of a territorial basis in the town of Zuhra in Lower Medina (the Sāfila): the only Jewish tribe that is listed in the agreement, the Thaʿlaba ibn al-Fiṭyawn, lived in Zuhra and hence was Muhammad's neighbor; as has been mentioned, the Thaʿlaba were expelled in 3/625. This precious document created a community defined by religion, while preserving the existing tribal system. Despite its religious framework, it had far-reaching political implications, since it separated the members of Muhammad's new community from their fellow tribesmen with regard to several key legal aspects. Thus it laid the foundations for Muhammad's victory over the Jews that was achieved despite his initial military inferiority. Muhammad introduced into the political system of Medina a new source of authority which destroyed it from within, namely Allah and His Messenger.

The first period after the *hijra* was marked by a stable relationship between Muhammad and the Jews that was possibly not free of polemics and friction. Muhammad sincerely expected the Jews to embrace Islam, but they were only prepared to recognize him as Allah's messenger to the Arabs. The small number of Jewish converts was for Muhammad a constant source of frustration; even declaring *Jerusalem as the Muslim *qibla* or direction of prayer did not help to attract the Jews to Muhammad's call. As long as Muhammad's relations with the main Jewish tribes were good, there was nothing menacing about the "Constitution" from their viewpoint. Problems began when conflicts of loyalties occurred among the Arab allies of the Jews. With the prominent exception of ʿAbdallāh ibn Ubayy, Islamic literature usually preserved the stories of former Arab allies who proved by their actions that they were no longer attached to the Jews. Hostilities broke out after Muhammad's major victory at Badr (2/624) at about the same time Jerusalem was replaced by Mecca as the Muslim direction of prayer. The first Jewish tribe to enter into a conflict with Muhammad was the Qaynuqāʿ. Muhammad's biography offers a variety of causes for this conflict, a phenomenon we meet time and again with regard to other Jewish tribes and to the assassination of the Naḍīr leader Kaʿb ibn al-Ashraf. Regarding the Qaynuqāʿ, the pride of place in the sources – and sometimes in scholarly writings as well – is given to the alleged events that followed the humiliation of an Arab woman by a Jewish goldsmith at the market of the Qaynuqāʿ. But this story is a suspicious *casus belli*, since a similar one exists regarding one of the pre-Islamic "Battles of the Arabs" (*ayyām al-ʿarab*). In fact, we have here a wandering literary motive unworthy of serious consideration.

Self-imposed censorship is not uncommon in Islamic literature, and Muhammad's biography is no exception. Therefore, straightforward answers to simple questions are in short supply. Even when this would have been appropriate, we are unlikely to come across a statement that "Muhammad attacked such-and-such an enemy, taking advantage of a propitious moment"; unrealistically, the Prophet is not supposed to have been driven by political or military considerations.

But Muhammad's brilliant achievement during the last decade of his life is proof enough that he knew how to choose a propitious moment in the interest of his new religion. To understand why the Qaynuqāʿ were the first Jewish tribe to find itself in conflict with Muhammad one has to consider two realities that can easily go unnoticed in the general tumult of the evidence. The Qaynuqāʿ lived in Lower Medina, not far from Muhammad's territorial basis – admittedly, this is also true of the Naḍīr, who lived in the nearby town of Zuhra; both Jewish tribes were allied with the Khazraj. More significantly, the Qaynuqāʿ lost most of their Arab allies. The Qaynuqāʿ were allied with the Khazraj, who were generally far more supportive of Muhammad than the Aws. However, their alliance was not with the Khazraj as a whole, but with a specific group within the Khazraj, namely the ʿAwf ibn al-Khazraj. The ʿAwf were divided into two subsections, the Ḥublā led by ʿAbdallāh ibn Ubayy and the Qawāqila led by ʿUbāda ibn al-Ṣāmit. The two leaders held equal shares of the alliance. Against the background of the conflict between Muhammad and the Qaynuqāʿ ʿUbāda repudiated his alliance with the Qaynuqāʿ. In practice this meant the collapse of their alliance with the ʿAwf ibn al-Khazraj, because it was inconceivable that one section of the ʿAwf, the Ḥublā, would fight against another section, the Qawāqila, in order to protect the Qaynuqāʿ.

This crucial account on the alliance – a rarity in Muhammad's biography that is otherwise poor in factual evidence – provides a matter-of-fact behind-the-scenes insight into the conflict with the Qaynuqāʿ. We owe it to ʿUbāda ibn al-Ṣāmit's offspring. They were naturally proud of ʿUbāda's repudiation of his alliance with the Qaynuqāʿ, which is emphasized against ʿAbdallāh ibn Ubayy's refusal "to move with the times." According to Arab values, the abandonment of one's allies was not a praiseworthy act; but there was a temporary abandonment of these values in the context of Muhammad's conflict with the Jews. The reversal of values is reflected by the expression "the hearts have changed" which is used as an excuse at least twice in connection with the alliances between the Jewish and Arab tribes of Medina. It is doubtful whether the dialogues which include this expression really took place; but obviously Islamic literature chose to refer in this manner to the changing circumstances when the former Arab allies of the Jews had to choose between their Jewish allies and Muhammad. By declaring their loyalty to Muhammad, they expunged the blemish of their former alliances.

The repudiation of former alliances with the Jews repeats itself in connection with the other main Jewish tribes. The assassination of the Naḍīr leader Kaʿb ibn al-Ashraf, the son of an Arab tribesman and an aristocratic woman of the Naḍīr, which was probably an introduction to the tribe's siege and expulsion, was carried out by his foster-brother, among others. The vivid account of how Kaʿb was lured out of his fortress and the precise details of his assassination belong to the "change of heart" theme.

As usual, one finds several alternative causes for the conflict with the Naḍīr where one good cause would have sufficed. Again a significant reality could easily have been overlooked. Some reports about the conflict with the Naḍīr have it that Muhammad ordered his men to attack the Naḍīr who were lamenting the death of their chief, Kaʿb ibn al-Ashraf, in their town of Zuhra. This suggests that the attack on the Naḍīr was a surprise one. As has already been mentioned, in addition to the common tower-houses which were also used for residence, the Naḍīr had a castle only used at times of war. But when Muhammad attacked them, they were in their town, not in their castle. Indeed accounts of their war with Muhammad speak of house-to-house fighting. The compilers of Muhammad's biography felt an understandable aversion to describing the attack on the Naḍīr as a surprise attack; the attachment of a proper *casus belli* to every act of war was for them a matter of high priority. The expelled Naḍīr probably went to places with which they had had former trading links: Edrei, Jericho, al-Ḥīra, and Khaybar. Two leading families of the Naḍīr, the Banū Abīl-Ḥuqayq and the family of Ḥuyayy ibn Akhṭab, went to Khaybar.

Like the other main Jewish tribes, the Qurayẓa concluded a non-belligerency agreement with Muhammad not long after his arrival at Medina. Agreements of this kind had a time limit. In any case, some sources mention a later agreement that neutralized the Qurayẓa and gave Muhammad a free hand to deal with the Naḍīr. It is reported that Muhammad laid siege to the Naḍīr, announcing that they would only be safe if they conclude an agreement (i.e. of non-belligerency) with him. They refused and he fought them for one day. In the following day he laid siege to the Qurayẓa, demanding that they conclude with him an agreement along the same lines. They consented and he returned to the Naḍīr and fought them until they surrendered and went into exile. This valuable fragment seems to have been marginalized in Islamic literature. Again, we realize that scholarly biographies of Muhammad which are solely based on his mainstream biographies lack crucial evidence.

The war against the Qurayẓa took place after the Battle of the Ditch (Khandaq) during which Medina was besieged by a coalition including Muhammad's own tribe, Quraysh, and several nomadic tribes. Unlike the war against the Naḍīr, in this case one may speak of a real siege: the Qurayẓa were probably in their castle in a state of alert ever since the Battle of the Ditch had started. The siege of the Qurayẓa was rather eventless, perhaps due to negotiations which were taking place between Muhammad and the leaders of the besieged tribe. The besiegers had only two casualties: a man who died of natural causes and another who was killed by a millstone thrown from the castle by a woman who was later executed.

The Qurayẓa are said to have violated their non-belligerency agreement with Muhammad, although evidence about hostile military actions on their part is meager. Reportedly, it was the angel Gabriel who told Muhammad after the Battle of the Ditch that the war was not over yet and that he had to march on the Qurayẓa. Obviously, the informant who brought Gabriel into the story did not give much thought to the question of *casus belli*. Typically, when the Qurayẓa surrendered without conditions, Muhammad yielded the power to decide their fate to a former ally of theirs from the Aws, who ordered that their fighting men (i.e. all those who had reached puberty) be killed and their wives and children be sold into slavery. Several accounts make it clear that while this person, Saʿd ibn Muʿādh, had undergone a full "change of heart," other members of the Aws were embittered by the fact that the Qaynuqāʿ, who had been allied with the Khazraj, had been allowed to leave Medina unharmed through the intercession of ʿAbdallāh ibn Ubayy, while their own allies were going to be slain. In itself, the execution of a whole tribe was not a new idea: after all, Muhammad had intended to execute the Qaynuqāʿ. The Qurayẓa could not rely on meaningful support from their allies, the Aws, for the simple reason that at the time of their execution most of the Aws were not yet Muslims. ʿAbdallāh ibn Ubayy, even after having lost some of his power among the Khazraj following Muhammad's arrival at Medina, commanded enough authority among the Khazraj to exert real pressure on Muhammad and spare the lives of the Qaynuqāʿ. It can be said that the execution of the Qurayẓa is yet another attestation of the collapse of the system of alliances that had safeguarded the security of the Jewish tribes.

The last major episode in Muhammad's conflict with the Jews of Arabia was the conquest of Khaybar. Here too we come across a little known chapter in Muhammad's diplomatic history, one that is completely absent from his biographies, probably due to self-imposed censorship. The expedition of Khaybar (7/628) was immediately preceded by that of Ḥudaybiyya (6/628) in which Muhammad led an enormous army to the fringes of the sacred area of Mecca. There he negotiated the terms of a non-belligerency treaty with his tribe, Quraysh. Muhammad's medieval biographies include lengthy accounts about the negotiations at Ḥudaybiyya, making no secret of the fact that Muhammad consented to far-reaching concessions to the Qurashī pagans. But there is no convincing explanation of why he was prepared to yield to such an extent. It is an 11th century doctor of law who has the answer. It is found in a discussion of whether it is legitimate for Muslims to accept humiliating demands if these are dictated by necessity. The case in question concerns the demands made by the inhabitants of a town which a Muslim troop needs to cross:

> Indeed the Messenger of God undertook in the non-belligerency agreement on the day of Ḥudaybiyya, commitments which were graver than this, since the people of Mecca imposed on him to undertake to return to them any of those who would come to him as a Muslim. He had fulfilled this undertaking until it was abrogated, because there was in it a benefit for the Muslims, owing to the conspiracy between the people of Mecca and the people of Khaybar. It prescribed that if the Messenger of God marched on one of the two parties, the other party would attack Medina. He concluded a non-belligerency agreement with the people of Mecca to secure his flank when he would march on Khaybar.

The Mecca-Khaybar "conspiracy" was adapted to the realities on the ground, since Medina is located between Khaybar in the north and Mecca in the south. Muhammad's rivals, the Jews of Khaybar and the Quraysh of Mecca, agreed that rather than coming to each other's rescue upon being attacked by Muhammad, the party that was not targeted would attack Muhammad's base in Medina. The sweet fruit of the Ḥudaybiyya non-belligerency agreement was the abolishment of the Mecca-Khaybar axis. The pagan Meccans gave Muhammad a free hand in Khaybar, the last major Jewish stronghold in northern Arabia. Khaybar was conquered shortly afterwards. The Jews of Khaybar and those of Fadak, Taymāʾ and Wādīl-Qurā were allowed to continue cultivating their lands in return for a certain share of the annual harvest.

Muhammad's phenomenal success in his war against the Jewish tribes of Medina gave him control over it. The accounts of the tragic events of this first encounter between Islam and Judaism remain with us. Regardless of their historicity, they became basic building blocks of Islamic culture and a source of edification, inspiration and entertainment for millions of Muslims.

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[Michael Lecker (2nd ed.)]

°**MUHAMMAD ALI** (1769–1849), ruler of *Egypt from 1805 to 1849. First coming to Egypt in 1799 with the Ottoman sultan's armies, Muhammad Ali quickly rose to power there and conquered the Sudan, *Palestine, and *Syria. He successfully subdued the *Mamluks, massacring them in 1811. By exploiting the weakness of the Ottomans and the disunity of the Great Powers, he consolidated his position by military campaigns outside Egypt and important reforms within the country. He also appointed French officers who had retired from their duties at the close of the Napoleonic Wars. Nevertheless he was unable to maintain his hold over Palestine and Syria, owing to the opposition of Britain and other European countries – with the exception of France – and finally came into conflict with the sultan in 1840. His only important achievement in his foreign policy was the commitment of the sultan to leave the governorship of Egypt in the hands of his family. His internal reforms were also largely motivated by personal interests, but they partially helped in developing and rebuilding Egypt. Despite his severity and his cruel punishments, the lot of his subjects improved. The public administration and the collection of taxes became more efficient, but the reforms essentially took place in the fields of irrigation, agriculture, industry, commerce, justice, health, and education. The relative security within Egypt encouraged commerce; the members of the religious minorities, such as Christians and Jews, also played an active role. Nevertheless, as a result of his personal retention of various monopolies during most of his rule, Muhammad Ali increased his income, but slowed down the development of commerce. His experiments in reforming the system of justice ran foul of a lengthy tradition of corruption among many qadis (religious judges); in order to circumvent them, he established two new courts of justice, in *Cairo and *Alexandria, to which he appointed Muslim and Christian merchants as judges (in Alexandria, there was also a Jewish judge); they were to deal with affairs of business and commerce, especially between members of different religions. Muhammad Ali's generation did not complete the modernization of Egypt and some of his reforms were neglected after his death; the seeds for the Arabization of the country had however been sown. In any event, the Jews of Egypt exchanged the arbitrariness of the many rulers of the land – namely the Mamluks – for the arbitrariness of a single ruler. Though they were still oppressed, the authority of the law protected their persons and their property. When taxes were levied, they were treated in the same way as the other non-Muslims in Egypt, i.e., without discrimination. Personal and material security resulted in an increase in the Jewish population in Egypt (Jews immigrated there from *Italy and *Greece), and by the close of Muhammad Ali's rule there were over 7,000 Jews, including about 1,200 Karaites. Most of the Jews lived in towns and were essentially occupied in commerce, crafts, and public services. Under the influence of Sir Moses *Montefiore, Muhammad Ali did not allow the *Damascus blood libel (1840) to spread to other places. The years of Muhammad Ali's rule of Palestine (1832–40) were a time of relief for the Jewish inhabitants of Ereẓ Israel and especially *Jerusalem, which had been troubled by the Fellaheen revolts.

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[Jacob M. Landau]

MUHLSTOCK, LOUIS (1904–2001), Canadian artist. Louis Muhlstock was born in Narajow, Galicia. In 1911 he resettled with his family in Montreal, Canada, where his father had immigrated a few years before. After early studies at the Conseil des arts et manufactures, he took evening classes at the Art Association of Montreal and the École des beaux-arts de Montréal while working during the day as an accountant for a fruit and vegetable merchant.

In 1928 Muhlstock made his way to Paris, where he studied at the Grande Chaumière and took part in several exhibitions. When his mother became ill in 1931 he returned to Canada and the difficult Depression era life of an artist. During this period, Muhlstock painted street scenes, abandoned slums, and some remarkable portraits of people marginalized by society – the poor, the sick, and the unemployed. With these works, he became one of the leading proponents of a new form of Canadian art that moved away from a nationalistic identification with the northern landscape to focus on the human condition and contemporary life. A founding member in 1939 of the Contemporary Arts Society, he was part of a dynamic group of artists from Montreal's Jewish community – which also included Jack Beder (1910–1987), Alexander Bercovitch (1891–1951), Sam Borenstein (1908–1969), and Ernst Neumann (1907–1956) – who gave a more decisively humanist, urban dimension to the art of their day. During World War II, Muhlstock made a number of pictures of war industry workers.

Over the following decades Muhlstock's work diversified, thematically and stylistically, but remained marked by an expressive sensibility evident in both the graphic quality of his drawings and the handling of his paintings. A regular exhibitor, he was a member of several associations, including the Canadian Society of Graphic Arts, the Canadian Group of Painters and the Federation of Canadian Artists. His works are represented in numerous public and private collections.

[Esther Trépanier (2nd ed.)]

MUHR, ABRAHAM (1781–1847), leader of Silesian Jewry. Muhr moved from his native city of Berlin to Plesse (Pszczyna; now in Poland), Prussian Silesia. In 1813 he published a pamphlet, *Jerubaal*, in opposition to David *Friedlaender's *Ein Wort zu seiner Zeit*, which demanded extreme reforms in the liturgy and education in response to the Prussian emancipatory edict of 1812. Although Muhr opposed the repudiation of tradition in favor of questionable changes, nevertheless he proposed that sermons in German and choir singing be allowed, and was prepared to sacrifice various customs in order to make the services more respected and meaningful. Subsequently he became an advocate of Reform and an admirer of Abraham *Geiger. He was instrumental in the building of a synagogue in Plesse (1835), where he carried out his 1813 proposals. In 1836 Muhr succeeded in having a cabinet order repealed which introduced the form of address "Jew" in official transactions. He also played a role in the partial repeal of the prohibition on the use of non-Jewish names. In 1840 he was one of the leaders in the organization of a regional body of Upper Silesian Jewry, the first modern union of Jewish communities in Germany. In 1844 he proposed establishing a Jewish agricultural colony, but in 1847 he died in Breslau (now in Poland). His brother Joseph (1772–1848) was leader of the Berlin community.

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[Henry Wasserman]

MUKACHEVO (Czech. **Mukačevo**; Hung. **Munkács**), city in Transcarpathian district, Ukraine. Until 1919 Mukachevo belonged to Hungary, then until 1938 to Czechoslovakia, and from 1938 to 1945 again to Hungary. From the end of World War II it formed part of the Soviet Union. The modest beginnings of the community are reflected in documents early in the 18th century. In Jewish sources, such as the place-formulas in divorce bills, the town is referred to as "Minkatchov, a town situated on the banks of the Latartza River and of springs." The Jewish population rapidly increased and it became one of the largest communities in Hungary, renowned on the one hand for its extreme conservatism and pronounced inclination toward ḥasidism, and on the other for its many undertakings in the fields of Hebrew education and Zionist activities. Many documents on the beginnings of the Jewish settlement in this town have been preserved and published. According to these, Jews settled there early in the second half of the 17th century. There is also evidence of isolated Jews living in the surrounding area prior to this period. In 1711 ownership of the town was transferred to the Schoenborn family of the nobility, who authorized the growth of the Jewish population on payment of taxes and levies. Local Jews were already engaged in commerce at that time and acted as brokers in trade between Galicia and Hungary. There were also Jewish farmers and craftsmen. The population was continuously augmented by arrivals from Galicia. In 1741 a Jewish community of 80 families was organized and a synagogue established; their numbers had doubled by 1815 (165), reached 202 in 1830, and 301 by 1842. In the 1848–49 Hungarian revolt against the Austrians, 247 Jews joined the local guard. From 1851, when there was already a large yeshivah in Mukachevo, the community maintained regular records of births, deaths, and marriages. A Hebrew press was founded in 1871 and many Hebrew books were published in Mukachevo (see *Kirjath Sepher, Index to Studies, Notes and Reviews* (1967), entries, 86, 192, 193, 473).

The most prominent rabbis of the community were Solomon Shapira (grandson of R. Zevi who had also occupied this rabbinical seat for a few years); Zevi Shapira, who succeeded his father in 1893; and Ḥayyim Eleazar Shapira, who led the community from 1913 and became known as the leading opponent of Zionism in the ḥasidic world. After his death in 1937 he was succeeded by his son-in-law, Baruch Rabinowitz, subsequently rabbi in Ḥolon, Israel (for ḥasidic dynasty, see *Shapira family). In 1891 the community numbered 5,049 (47.9% of the total population) and two additional synagogues were erected in 1895 and 1903. The Jewish population continued to grow and numbered 7,675 in 1910 (44%); 10,012 in 1921 (48%); and 11,241 (43%) in 1930, of whom 88% registered their nationality as Jewish.

Between the two world wars Jews participated actively in the administration of Mukachevo and its general political life. Despite opposition by the masses, the Zionist party of Czechoslovakia found many supporters in the town. Four Yiddish periodicals were published. Pupils of the town and its surroundings streamed to the first Hebrew elementary school, which was founded in 1920 by the Organization of Hebrew Schools in Subcarpathian Ruthenia. A Hebrew secondary school was established in 1925. This was headed from 1929 by Ḥayyim *Kugel, who became a member of the Czechoslovak parliament in 1935, and later by Eliahu Rubin. At the time of the Holocaust there were about 30 synagogues in Mukachevo. Many of these were ḥasidic *battei-midrash* and *kloyzen*.

When Mukachevo reverted to Hungarian rule in 1938, the Jews immediately suffered heavily.

Holocaust Period and After

In 1940–1941 many young Jews were drafted into work battalions and sent to the Russian front, where most of them died. In July and early August 1941 many Jewish families without Hungarian citizenship were expelled to Stanislavov (Galicia) and Kamenets-Podolski, and there most of them perished. After the German occupation of Hungary in March 1944, the Jews were herded together in a ghetto with about 15,000 others from the Berehovo district. The ghetto consisted of a few streets with extremely poor sanitary conditions and almost no food. The able-bodied were pressed into forced labor. In the second half of May 1944 transports started to leave for Auschwitz and by May 30 the city was pronounced **judenrein*. After the war some 2,500 returned to the city, but after it was annexed to the Soviet Union, many left for Czechoslovakia and Israel. Under Soviet rule the synagogues were confiscated; the last one was converted into a warehouse in 1959. Some Jews were imprisoned for practicing *sheḥitah*. Between 1,000 and 2,000 Jews were living in Mukachevo in the late 1960s. Most remaining Jews emigrated in the 1990s, leaving for Israel and the West.

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[Yehouda Marton]

MUKAMMIṢ (also **al-Mukammaṣ**, the spelling of the name is uncertain)**, IBN MARWĀN AL-RĀQI** (from the city of Raqa, Iraq) **AL-SHIRAZI AL-** (also known as **David ha-Bavli**; c. 900), one of the first Jewish philosophers of the Islamic period. Al-*Kirkisani, the Karaite scholar, relates that he was a Jew who began to convert to Christianity when he was a student of Nonnus, a Christian philosopher and physician who lived at Nisibis. However, when he became better acquainted with the dogmas and teachings of Christianity, he composed two polemical works against this religion; nevertheless, from this fact it cannot be deduced with certainty that he returned to Judaism. Be that as it may, Jews and Muslims considered him a Jewish scholar. It is also not clear whether he was a Rabbanite or Karaite.

Al-Mukammiṣ translated Christian commentaries on Genesis and Ecclesiastes and wrote on different religions and sects. A manuscript which contains most of his theological-philosophical work entitled *ʿIshrūn Maqālāt* ("Twenty Treatises") is extant in the St. Petersburg library. Only a small portion of the Arabic original of the work has been published; this corresponds to one of the sections of a partial Hebrew translation of the work which forms part of Judah b. Barzillai al-Bargeloni's commentary on *Sefer Yeẓirah*. Al-Mukammiṣ' work deals with such topics as knowledge and truth, substance and accident, the existence of God, His unity and attributes, prophecy, and the Divine commandments. The portions of the work which are extant disclose that, like *Saadiah Gaon (*Emunot ve-De'ot*, 1:1), al-Mukammiṣ followed, generally speaking, the teachings of the Muslim Mu'tazilites (see *Kalām), though he also accepted some of the views of the Greek philosophers. Like the Mu'tazilites he argued that the attributes of God are not superadded to His essence, so that they would introduce multiplicity into God. God and His attributes are one, and only the shortcomings of human language require that men use a multiplicity of terms in describing His attributes. Attributes describing God must be understood negatively, that is to say, they must be interpreted as stating what God is not, rather than what He is (cf. *God, Attributes of). Al-Mukammiṣ holds further that a "negative theology" similar to his is already found in Aristotle. He rejects the Christian doctrine of the Trinity as false, since it is based on the notion that God possesses a multiplicity of attributes. He calls God the "uncaused cause." The soul, he holds, lives through itself, not through a force in something else. The reward of the righteous and the punishment of the wicked takes place throughout eternity in the World to Come. Describing the history of Christianity, he affirms that this religion has its root in two Jewish sects: the Sadducees and the Jewish pre-Christian sect of the Alkaraya. He points to the contradictions among the various Gospels and shows that these writings contain no laws. Laws were given to Christians only by the apostles Peter and Paul, though Christians see the source of these laws in a secret tradition stemming from Jesus. Since these apostolic laws were few and insufficient, Christians added new laws at the Council of Nicea, and still more laws were added later.

Al-Mukammiṣ wrote extensively about Jewish sects, and his discussion of this topic served, undoubtedly, as an important source for Jewish and Islamic authors.

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[Shlomo Pines]

MUKDONI, A. (pseudonym of **Alexander Kappel**; 1877–1958), Yiddish essayist, and theater critic. Born in Lyakhovichi, Belorussia, he began his literary career in Warsaw in 1906, specializing in theater criticism and publishing widely in Yiddish journals in Poland, Russia, and the U.S. Before earning a doctorate in labor law from the University of Bern, Switzerland, he studied in yeshivah and a Russian high school. After World War I, he edited the Kovno daily *Nayes*, before immigrating to the U.S in 1922. There he joined the daily *Morgn-Zhurnal* as literary and theater critic. He published *Ertseylungen un Skitsn* ("Stories and Sketches," 1911), and *Y.L. Perets un dos Yidishe Teater* ("I.L. Peretz and the Yiddish Theater," 1949) in addition to four volumes of memoirs: *Mayne Bagegenishn* ("My Encounters," 1949–55). He published his best critical essays in the volume *Teater* ("Theater," 1927), which includes keen observations on the Yiddish theater and Yiddish actors.

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[Shlomo Bickel / Anita Norich (2nd ed.)]

MUKẒEH (Heb. מֻקְצֶה; "set aside," "excluded"), rabbinical term for objects which it is forbidden to handle on the Sabbath or festivals. According to one authority in the Talmud, the law of *mukẓeh* is a biblical injunction derived from Exodus 16:15 (Beah 2b; Pes. 47b). Maimonides explains that the law is intended to emphasize the distinction between the Sabbath and festivals, and weekdays (Yad, Shabbat, 24:12).

The Talmud (Shab. 124a) enumerates several categories of *mukẓeh*, including: (1) objects, such as money and tools, whose nature renders them unfit for use on the Sabbath or festivals because of their connection with forbidden work (Sh. Ar., OḤ 308:1). Such objects may only be handled if they are needed for an act permitted on these days, such as a hammer for cracking nuts (308:3); (2) objects not normally used at all (e.g., broken property, pebbles), unless a specific use had been determined for them on the eve of the Sabbath or the festival (308:7); (3) objects which were not in existence (termed *nolad*), or were inaccessible at the commencement of the Sabbath or festival. This category includes newly laid eggs (322:1), fruit fallen from a tree on the same day (322:3), and milk obtained from an animal by a non-Jew (305:20); (4) objects which at the commencement of the holy day served as a base for others which are forbidden to be handled on that day, such as candlesticks or a candle tray (309:4).

An object which is *mukẓeh* can only be moved if its place is needed (311:8, 15a), and if it is moved in an unusual way, if it is kicked for instance, and not moved by hand (*Be'ur Halakhah* to 266:13). In all cases, objects which were *mukẓeh* at twilight on the eve of the holy day, remain *mukẓeh* throughout the holy day.

See general laws of *Sabbath.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: J.J. Neuwirth, *Shemirat Shabbat ke-Hilkhetah* (1965), 128–52.

MULBERRY (Heb. תות, *tut*). Two species of mulberry grow in Israel: the black, *Morus nigra*, and the white, *Morus alba*. The latter is a comparative newcomer to the region, the ancient sources referring only to the former. The mulberry seems to have originated in Persia, from where it was transferred to the Middle East. There is evidence that it was growing in Greece in the sixth century B.C.E. In Aramaic literature it is first mentioned in the Book of *Ahikar, which was discovered among *Elephantine papyri, where it says: "My son, be not in a hurry, like the almond tree whose blossom is the first to appear, but whose fruit is the last to be eaten; but be equal and sensible, like the mulberry tree whose blossom is the last to appear, but whose fruit is the first to be eaten" (Ahikar, Syriac Version A, 2:7). According to the Talmud the fruit of the mulberry ripens 52 days after the flowering (Bek. 8a). In I Maccabees 6:34 it is related that the elephants brought by the Syrians were incited to battle with the juice of grapes and mulberries. The staining of the hands by the juice is referred to by the rabbis in their parable of the dialogue between God and Cain, who pleaded "Am I my brother's keeper?" (Gen. 4:9): "This may be compared to one who stole mulberries and, on being caught by the owner, pleaded his innocence. The owner replied: 'But your hands are stained.' Thus said the Holy One, blessed be He, to Cain: 'Thy brother's blood crieth unto Me'" (Gen. R. 22: 9). The mulberry initially is white, then reddens and finally becomes black (see Ma'as. 1:2). It is a large, long-living tree. Until a generation ago, an old mulberry tree used to be shown in Jerusalem near the Pool of Siloam about which there was a legend (mentioned in a travel book of 1575) that Isaiah hid in the hollow of its trunk when pursued by Manasseh. Apparently the town Bertotha (Or. 1:4; et al.) takes its name from the mulberry. The white mulberry, the leaves of which are used for feeding silkworms, originated in China and was brought to Ereẓ Israel at a late date. Joseph *Nasi planted extensive orchards of them in Tiberias in 1565 with the intention of developing a silk industry. This venture, however, failed. Another effort was made in Petaḥ Tikvah by the Ḥovevei Zion, who in 1891 planted 576 dunams (144 acres) with mulberry trees, but this venture also failed. Nowadays the tree is grown in gardens for its beauty and for the shade it gives. There is no basis for the Authorized Version's rendering of *bekha'im* in II Samuel 5:23 and I Chronicles 14:14, as mulberry trees (see *Mastic).

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[Jehuda Feliks]

MULDER, SAMUEL ISRAEL (1792–1862), educator and Hebrew author, born in Amsterdam. He was a pupil of David *Friedrichsfeld and under his influence became one of the pillars of the Dutch Haskalah. As a youth he signed himself "Salomon" or "Schrijver," receiving the surname Mulder only in 1811. In 1818 he became an official court translator, and in 1826 was appointed principal of the Nederlands Israëlietisch Seminarium, the seminary for rabbis and teachers in Amsterdam. From 1835 he served as the superintendent of all Jewish religious schools in Holland, and from 1849 was secretary of the Amsterdam community.

Mulder's scholarly and literary work qualifies him as the Dutch equivalent of a late 18th-century Berlin *maskil*, his oeuvre showing many parallels with that of Joel *Loewe (Joel Brikl). Mulder made his name as a linguist, compiling, inter alia, an abridgement of Loewe's 1794 *Ammudei ha-Lashon* and a Hebrew-Dutch dictionary (1831; with M. *Lemans), and as a translator of the core texts of the Jewish liturgy. He translated large parts of the Bible (1827–38), the Passover *Haggadah* (1837), *Keter Malkhut* (1850), and *Sefer ha-Ḥayyim* (1851). He also published a Dutch Bible for Jewish youth in 17 parts (1850–55). In 1815 he had founded, together with Mozes Loonstein, the Hebrew literary society *Tongeleth*. Simultaneously, Mulder's work appears mildly influenced by the early German *Wissenschaft des Judentums*. He was the author of several historical overviews, ranging from ancient history to Dutch literature. As early as 1826 he published a (liberal) abridged translation of Zunz's groundbreaking study of Rashi (1822). Part of Mulder's Dutch compositions were collected in *Verspreide Lettervruchten* (1844).

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[Yehuda Arye Klausner / Irene E. Zwiep (2nd ed.)]

MULE (Heb. פֶּרֶד), the offspring of a he-ass and a mare. Although a Jew is prohibited from producing such hybrids, their use is permitted (Tosef., Kil. 5:6 cites an individual view prohibiting it). Since there were different strains of horses and asses in Ereẓ Israel, the mules were also of different strains. The mule is a powerful, submissive animal, particularly suitable for riding and transporting goods in the mountainous regions of Ereẓ Israel, and hence was commonly used. Nor was riding on it regarded as inferior to riding on a horse; Solomon, on the occasion of his proclamation as king, was made to ride "upon King David's mule" (I Kings 1:38), while Absalom met his death while riding on a mule (II Sam. 18:9). Ezekiel (27:14) speaks in praise of the mules of Togarmah (Turkey?). The Talmud mentions white mules as being dangerous and some sages were indignant with Judah ha-Nasi for harboring them (ul. 7b). That the mule is sometimes dangerous, is sterile, and the female barren was regarded as proof that man is prohibited from interfering with the work of creation. Rabban Simeon b. Gamaliel maintained that the first to cross a horse with an ass in order to produce a mule, thereby committing an unworthy act, was "Anah who discovered the *yemim*" (Gen. 36: 24), which he explained as meaning mules. On the other hand, R. Yose held that on the termination of the first Sabbath after the Creation one of the two things which Adam did was "to cross two animals, and from them came forth the mule."

He contended that thereby Adam performed an action "of a kind similar to that of Heaven," that is, he created something new, to become, as it were, a partner with the Creator in the work of creation (Pes. 54a; cf. TJ, Ber. 8:6, 12b). Some also crossbred a stallion and a she-ass, and the Talmud gives the characteristics of the two types of mule: if its ears are short, it is the offspring of a mare and a he-ass, if large, of a she-ass and a stallion (TJ, Kil. 7:3, 31c).

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[Jehuda Feliks]

MULHOUSE (Muelhausen), city in *Alsace, in the Haut-Rhin department, France. The earliest documentation of the presence of Jews in Mulhouse dates from 1290, when one Salman was victim of a persecution. The existence of a synagogue is confirmed from 1311. The Jews of Mulhouse suffered during the *Armleder riots in January 1338, and again during the outbreaks accompanying the Black *Death (1349). By 1385, however, there were once more Jews living in Mulhouse. At the beginning of the 15th century, several Jews who had arrived from other places in Alsace were granted the freedom of the city. The nine families who were there in 1418 owned houses, engaged in moneylending and traded in livestock. Although there was no expulsion, no Jews lived in the city between 1512 and 1655. At the beginning of the 18th century, when they were still insignificant in number, their trade flourished to the extent of arousing the jealousy of the Christian merchants, who demanded that their rights be restricted. In 1784 there were 23 Jewish families (94 persons) in the city. As it was free from the anti-Jewish riots which broke out throughout Alsace in 1789, Mulhouse became a refuge for many Jews from the surrounding district. The synagogue, built in 1822, soon proved to be too small and was replaced by a larger one in 1849. A cemetery was purchased in 1831, and the community established several other institutions, including a vocational school in 1842, and an almshouse-hospital in 1863. Two periodicals catering for all the Jews of Alsace and even beyond were published during the second half of the 19th century. From about 5,000 in 1900 the community declined to around 3,000 in 1921, remaining stable until just before World War II. Jacob *Kaplan, later chief rabbi of France, held office in Mulhouse in 1922.

[Bernhard Blumenkranz]

Holocaust and Contemporary Periods

Under German occupation in World War II, the Jews who had not managed to escape were expelled on July 16, 1940, along with the Jews in the rest of Alsace and Moselle. The synagogue, which had been partially damaged, was saved from total destruction when the edifice was requisitioned by the municipal theater. In 1970 Mulhouse had 1,800 Jewish inhabitants and a well-organized and active Jewish community.

[Georges Levitte]

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MULISCH, HARRY (1927–), Dutch author. Born in Haarlem, Mulisch was of mixed descent, his father being a non-Jewish Czech banker and his mother a Jewess born in Antwerp. Widely recognized as one of Holland's most original modern writers, Mulisch published novels, short stories, and other prose works notable for their imaginative use of mythological, occult, and philosophical material to explore the existential problems of contemporary society. His earlier works include the novels *Archibald Strohalm* (1952), *De diamant* ("The Diamond," 1954), and *Het zwarte licht* ("The Black Light," 1956); also a play about the 12th-century heretic *Tanchelijn* (1960). Mulisch visited Israel in 1961 to cover the *Eichmann trial, which inspired *De zaak 40/61* ("Case 40/61," 1961). Two other works on Jewish themes are the novel *Het stenen bruidsbed* ("The Stone Bridal Bed," 1959) and the autobiographical *Voer voor psychologen* ("Food for Psychologists," 1961). In 1975 Mulisch published a novel on lesbian love, *Twee vrouwen* ("Two Women"). Another novel, *De aanslag* ("The Assault," 1982), deals with the problem-filled life of a man orphaned in the war due to a cruel coincidence. In *De ontdekking van de hemel* ("The Discovery of Heaven," 1992), World War II and its impact on private and public life take center stage once more. This vast novel, with its multi-layered narrative, counts as his masterpiece. The main story line has God renounce His trust in humanity and reclaim Moses' Stone Tablets with the Ten Commandments. The novel comes to an apocalyptic end in Jerusalem. Mulisch's work has been translated into many languages.

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[Gerda Alster-Thau / Maritha Mathijsen (2nd ed.)]

MULLER, BENJAMIN (1947–), *ḥazzan*. Muller was born in Geneva, Switzerland, where his grandfather, Samuel Sternberg, who was also his first teacher, was a ḥasidic *ḥazzan*. Muller attended Mir yeshivah in Jerusalem and studied voice development in Milan. He served as *ḥazzan* in Montreal and in Johannesburg, where he also studied *ḥazzanut* under both Shelomoh Mandel and Abraham Himmelstein. In 1975 he became the chief *ḥazzan* of the Shomre Hadass congregation in Antwerp. He recorded *ḥazzanut* and ḥasidic melodies and his rendering of *seliḥot* was broadcast annually on television from Belgium to all Western Europe. The wide range of his powerful tenor voice can be compared to the greatest opera singers. He is also a well-known exponent of the works of Yossele *Rosenblatt. Besides singing, Muller is also a composer and orchestrator of cantorial recitatives and other Jewish concert works.

[Akiva Zimmerman / Raymond Goldstein (2nd ed.)]

MULLER, HERMAN JOSEPH (1890–1967), U.S. geneticist and Nobel Prize winner. He was born in New York City, and after teaching at Columbia and the University of Texas went to Berlin (1932–33) on a Guggenheim Foundation fellowship. Having communist leanings, he moved to the Soviet Union (1933–37) where he served as senior geneticist at the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences. After breaking with communist philosophy, he spent three years at Edinburgh University and then returned to the United States in 1940 to teach at Amherst College. In 1945 he moved to Indiana University, becoming Distinguished Service Professor in 1953. The central theme of his work was the nature and significance of changes in the relatively stable gene material of the chromosome.

Muller is best known for his demonstration in 1926 that X-rays induce mutations, an achievement for which he received a Nobel Prize in physiology and medicine in 1946. His earlier contributions were concerned with the design of techniques for quantitatively determining the frequencies of gene mutations, and he was among the first to recognize that these mutations constitute the basis for evolutionary change in populations. His collaborative efforts with others in Thomas Hunt Morgan's laboratory at Columbia established the association between chromosome duplication and genetic defect. He speculated on the course of human evolution based upon the genetic principles which he helped to establish, with his classical work on the fruit fly, and long championed the establishment of a human sperm bank. He also called attention to the extreme danger to genetic material inherent in atomic activity.

Muller was the recipient of many honors. He published many works and was coauthor of *The Mechanism of Mendelian Heredity* (1915) and *Genetics, Medicine and Man* (1947). He also wrote *Out of the Night, a Biologist's View of the Future* (1935) and *Studies in Genetics* (1962).

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[George H. Fried]

MULLER, ROBERT (1925–1998), German-born novelist. Muller came to Britain in 1938. The Nazi era plays a prominent role in *The Shores of Night* (1961) and *The Lost Diaries of Albert Smith* (1965), a study of the psychology of a fascist and a fantasy of fascism in modern Britain. Another of his novels, *The World That Summer* (1959), portrays the Germany of 1936, as seen by a Jewish adolescent. Muller also wrote prolifically for British television, particularly science fiction and dramas of the supernatural, and, after the 1960s, wrote works in German for German television.

MULT ÉS JÖVŐ (Hung. "Past and Future"), a literary and artistic monthly journal in the Hungarian language which appeared from 1911 to 1944. Its founder was the writer József *Patai, who edited it until 1939 and made it one of the foremost Jewish illustrated periodicals. It maintained a high standard in both its literary and pictorial content and attracted contributions by Jewish scholars from many parts of the world. It stimulated the Jewish revivalist movement in Hungary and established links between Hungarian and other Jewries. The journal was banned in 1944 at the time of the German invasion.

[Baruch Yaron]

MULŪK AL-ṬAWĀ'IF (Ar. "kings of parties," petty kings; Sp. **reyes de taifas**), term referring to the petty kingdoms that arose on the ruins of the *Umayyad caliphate in al-Andalus, Islamic *Spain, in the early 11th century, some of them surviving until the end of that century. The dynasties were of varying origins – *Berber, Arab, so-called "Slav" (generally European slaves) – and states little more than cities with their surroundings, larger in thinly populated areas and dependent on agriculture, smaller in the port cities of the eastern coast. The *taifa* states sought to replicate the political might and cultural wealth of the Umayyads; their large number and their small size encouraged greater reliance on Jews as servants of the ruler. Jews might be more loyal than others, having little potential or temptation for political plotting. In consequence Jewish viziers are found in several of these states. The most famous are *Samuel ha-Nagid (d. 1056) and his son Jehoseph (murdered in a pogrom in 1066) in *Granada, but Jews with the title of vizier are found in Seville, Saragossa, Almeria, and elsewhere. Samuel ha-Nagid stands out as not only a political figure but also a military commander, almost unique in Jewish history between the second century C.E. and the modern period.

The period of the *mulūk al-ṭawā'if* was one of great cultural flowering for Iberian Muslims. It offered the Jews greatly increased opportunity, too. Political participation gave Jewish viziers means and reason to offer patronage to Jewish poets and others, who not only sang the praises of their successful co-religionists but also became immensely productive across the whole range of cultural activity. We find many works by Jews in al-Andalus from this period not only in poetry, religious and secular, but also in Hebrew grammar, philosophy, theology, and the sciences.

The period encouraged social and cultural closeness between Jews and their neighbors. Jews wrote not only in Hebrew but also in Judeo-Arabic (the problems of the *kharja*, a peculiarly Iberian addition to Arabic poetic genres, were resolved by S.M. Stern thanks in part to material written by Jews), and in Arabic, and took part in cultural and educational activities alongside Muslims. Nonetheless, this central period of what is known as the Golden Age of Jewish life in Spain went unnoticed by Muslims. The invasions of the *Almoravids at the end of the 11th century destroyed the *taifa* system, and Iberian Jewish life began to enter into a decline.

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[David J. Wasserstein (2nd ed.)]

MUNI, PAUL (**Muni Weisenfreund**; 1895–1967), U.S. actor. He started acting at the age of 12 in Chicago. Maurice *Schwartz recognized his talent and persuaded him to join his new Yiddish-speaking Jewish Art Theater in 1918. Muni got his first real opportunity in an English role on Broadway in *We Americans* in 1926 and his success was immediate. He had a rich voice, good command of mime and facial expression, and a capacity for varied characterization. He played his first gangster in *Four Walls*, went to Hollywood and was acknowledged a star for his work in *The Valiants* (1929). *Scarface* established his reputation and *I am a Fugitive from a Chain Gang* seemed to confirm him as a player of "tough" roles. However, he resisted typecasting and starred in *The Story of Louis Pasteur* (1935), which won him a Motion Picture Academy award, *The Good Earth* (1936), *The Life of Emile Zola* (1937), and *Juarez* (1939). These roles expressed his true stature as an interpreter of heroism in spirit rather than in violence. Muni continued to appear in Broadway plays, including Elmer Rice's *Counselor-at-Law* (1931–33), Maxwell Anderson's *Key Largo* (1939), and in *Inherit the Wind* (1955). He also acted in the London run of *Death of a Salesman* and played his last film role in *The Last Angry Man*.

MUNICH (Heb. עיר הכמרים), capital of *Bavaria, central Germany. In 1229 a Jew called Abraham, from Munich, appeared as a witness at a Regensburg trial. In the second half of the 13th century Munich appears to have had a sizable Jewish community; the Jews lived in their own quarter and possessed a synagogue, a ritual bath, and a hospital. On Oct. 12, 1285, in the wake of a *blood libel, 180 Jews who had sought refuge in the synagogue were burnt to death; the names of 68 of the victims are listed in the Nuremberg **Memorbuch*, which dates from 1296. The Jews obtained permission to rebuild the synagogue in 1287, but for several centuries they remained few in number and suffered from various restrictions, which from time to time were further exacerbated (e.g., in 1315 and 1347). During the *Black Death (1348/49) the community was again annihilated. However, by 1369 there were Jews in the city once more, and in 1375 Duke Frederick of Bavaria granted them (and the other Jews resident in Upper Bavaria) the privilege of paying customs duties at the same rate as non-Jews. Some years later the Jews planned the construction of a synagogue and a **hekdesh*, but their plans do not seem to have been realized. The remission of debts owed to Jews ordained by Emperor Wenceslaus (1378–1400) resulted in Munich Jews losing all their assets. They also suffered severely in 1413, when they were accused of desecration of the *Host. In 1416 the small community was granted some privileges, including permission to acquire a lot for a cemetery; in 1432, when Duke Albert III sought to impose a special tax on Munich Jews, the results were disappointing. The clergy succeeded in having all the Jews of Upper Bavaria expelled in 1442, and eight years later they were also driven out of Lower Bavaria, where they had taken temporary refuge. Duke Albert gave the Munich synagogue (in the modern Gruftgasse) to Johann Hartlieb, a physician, and it was subsequently converted into a church. For almost three centuries Jews were excluded from Munich and Bavaria (although there may have been some periods when their residence was permitted, as may be deduced from a renewal of the ban announced in a 1553 police ordinance).

During the Austrian occupation, Jews were readmitted to Bavaria and some of them presumably found their way to Munich. At any rate, a new decree issued on March 22, 1715, again ordered them to leave the country. Some ten years later, a few Jews who had business dealings with the Bavarian count began to settle in Munich, and by 1728 several Jews resided in the city. In 1729 (or 1734) the Court Jew, Wolf *Wertheimer, took up residence there and was joined by his family in 1742; in 1750 all Court Jews and Jews in possession of passes granting them freedom of movement were excepted from the general ban on Jewish entry into the city. A community was formed by Jews who maintained connections with the court. Of the 20 of them in 1750, there was only one woman and a single child, which attests to the temporary and migratory nature of the settlement. Except for these **Schutzjuden*, the only Jews permitted to reside in the city were those who had been commissioned as purveyors or who had made loans to the state; all others were permitted to stay in the city for a short while only and had to pay a substantial body tax (**Leibzoll*). This situation continued for most of the 18th century, and it was not until 1794 and 1798 that the number of women and children in the city was commensurate with the number of heads of families. In 1794 there were 153 Jews, including 27 heads of families, 28 women, and 70 children; in 1798 the respective figures were 35, 33, and 98. Up to the end of the 18th century, Jewish women had to go to Kriegshaber to give birth to their children, and it was not until 1816 that Jews were permitted to bury their dead in Munich rather than transport them to Kriegshaber for burial. At this time Munich Jews earned their livelihood as *contractors for the army and the royal mint (see *mintmasters), merchants dealing in luxury wares and *livestock, moneylenders, and *peddlers. Since there was no legal basis for their residence in Munich, they did not have the right to practice their religion, and every year they had to pay a special tax to enable them to observe Sukkot. In 1805 a "Regulation for Munich Jewry" was issued (it formed the basis for the

Bavarian *Judenmatrikel* of 1813); among other privileges, the Jews were permitted to inherit the right of domicile, to conduct services, and to reside in all parts of the city.

During the Napoleonic Wars, the number of Jews was augmented by immigrants, and by 1814 there were 451 Jews in the city. Two years later, the Jewish community was formally organized. In the same year the community was given permission to establish a cemetery, and in 1824 a permit was issued for the construction of a synagogue (dedicated in 1827). The first Jewish religious school was founded in 1815 and a private one in 1817. The community played a leading part in Bavarian Jewry's struggle for civil rights, which lasted up to the founding of the German Reich (1871); delegates of the Bavarian communities frequently met in Munich (1819, 1821) to make common representations to the government. In the second half of the century the community grew further (from 842 in 1848 to 4,144 in 1880, and 8,739 in 1900) as a result of increased immigration from the smaller communities (especially in the last few decades of the 19th century). By 1910, some 20% of Bavarian Jews lived in the capital (11,000). There was also a steady immigration of Jews from Eastern Europe, mainly from Galicia, which lasted up to World War I.

Jews were prominent in the cultural life of Munich, a center of German arts, in the late 19th and 20th centuries, as well as being more equally represented in Bavarian political affairs than in other German states. After World War I a revolutionary government on the Soviet model was formed, in which Kurt *Eisner, Eugene *Levine, and Gustav *Landauer were prominent. It was routed by counterrevolutionary forces, and a "White Terror" against Communists, Socialists, and Jews was instigated. In the postwar years of economic and political upheaval, Munich was a hotbed of antisemitic activity and the cradle of the Nazi *party; many Jews from Eastern Europe were forced to leave Munich. Sporadic antisemitic outbursts characterized the years until the Nazi seizure of power in 1933, when Reinhold *Heydrich and Heinrich *Himmler took control of the police; the first concentration camp, *Dachau, was erected near Munich. At the time, the community numbered 10,000 persons, including an independent Orthodox community and many cultural, social, and charitable organizations. Munich Jewry was subjected to particularly vicious and continuous acts of desecration, discrimination, terror, and *boycotts but responded with a Jewish cultural and religious revival. Between 1933 and May 15, 1938, some 3,574 Jews left Munich. On July 8, 1938, the main synagogue was torn down on Hitler's express orders. During the *Kristallnacht*, two synagogues were burnt down, 1,000 male Jews were arrested and interned in Dachau, and one was murdered. The communal center was completely ransacked. During the war a total of 4,500 Jews were deported from Munich (3,000 of them to *Theresienstadt); only about 300 returned; 160 managed to outlive the war in Munich. A new community was founded in 1945 by former concentration camp inmates, refugees, displaced persons, and local Jews. In the following five years, about 120,000 Jews, refugees, and displaced persons passed through Munich on their way to Israel. In 1946 there were 2,800. The community increased from 1,800 persons in 1952 to 3,522 in January 1970 (70% of Bavarian Jewry). In 1966 a Jewish elementary school was opened, the second in Gemany, but the postwar community was repeatedly troubled by acts of desecration and vandalism (against synagogue and cemetery). In March 1970 the Jewish home for the aged was burned down and seven people lost their lives. The Munich library contains a particularly valuable collection of Hebrew manuscripts.

During the Olympic games, which took place in Munich in 1972, Palestinian terrorists took eleven Israeli sportsmen as hostages. All of them died. In 1982 the first Jewish bookshop in Germany was opened in Munich. It has branches in Berlin and Vienna. In 1995 Hagalil was established in Munich, which is the largest Internet site on Jewish life in Europe.

The Jewish community numbered 4,050 in 1989, 5,000 in 1995, and 9,097 in 2004, making it the second largest Jewish community in Germany. The increase is explained by the immigration of Jews from the former Soviet Union. In 2003 the cornerstone was laid for the new Jewish center. The complex was to have a new community center (with kindergarten, elementary school, youth center, library, offices, etc.), a main synagogue, and a Jewish museum. Partially financed by the Jewish community, the city of Munich, the Federal State of Bavaria, and private donors, the center was slated to open in 2006.

In 1995 the liberal Jewish community Beth Shalom was founded. It is a member of the Union of Progressive Jews in Germany and of the World Union of Progressive Judaism. Since 2003 the community has had its own community center. It had about 275 members in 2005. Munich is the seat of the Association of Jewish Communities in Bavaria.

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[Larissa Daemmig (2nd ed.)]

MUÑIZ-HUBERMAN, ANGELINA (1936–), Mexican poet, novelist, and esssayist. Muñiz-Huberman was born in Hyères, France, to parents who were refugees of the Spanish Civil War. In addition to her career as a writer, she is also a professor of comparative literature at the Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México. When she was still a young girl her mother revealed to her that she had Sephardi roots. Following the discovery of her ancestral origins, she undertook the study of Judaism and eventually underwent a formal conversion. In her brief autobiographical text, *El juego de escribir* (1991), she narrates this experience along with other significant moments that have shaped her life and her literature. Her work has been recognized with numerous honors and some of the most prestigious literary awards from Mexico and Spain.

Her first novel, *Morada interior* (1972), draws on the life of Santa Teresa de Jesús. It explores the converso Jewish identity of the Spanish mystic poet by presenting a spiritual crisis, but the main character is a thinly veiled representation of the author herself struggling with issues of identity, exile, nationality, and religion. In her second novel, *Tierra adentro* (1977), Muñiz-Huberman again recalls the Sephardi heritage of Spain by telling the story of a young Jew during the time of the Expulsion. The monumental novel *El mercader de Tudela* (1998) is closely modeled after the real-life travels of Benjamin of Tudela and is based on Tudela's own 12th-century travelogue. Muñiz-Huberman also demonstrates her interest in Sephardi culture in her two books *La lengua florida: antología sefardí* (1989) and *Las raíces y las ramas: fuentes y derivaciones de la Cábala hispanohebrea* (1993). The first is an anthology of traditional Sephardi texts accompanied by her own essays on the subject. The second is an in-depth study of the kabbalistic tradition in Jewish Iberia. In addition to her prolific narrative, Muñiz-Huberman is an accomplished poet. Her poetry, as one would expect, expresses issues of identity, exile, gender, and death, which serve as a starting point for exploring human nature and the experience of life.

[Darrell Lockhart (2nd ed.)]

MUNK, family of rabbis. Ezra (1867–1940), an Orthodox rabbi in Germany, was the son of Elias Munk, *dayyan* at Altona. He studied at the Berlin Rabbinical Seminary under his uncle Azriel (Israel) *Hildesheimer and at the Universities of Berlin and Koenigsberg. In 1897, when he was rabbi at Koenigsberg (an office he held from 1893 to 1900), his congregation seceded from the general community. In 1900 he succeeded Hildesheimer as rabbi of the Adass Yisroel congregation in Berlin. Munk acted as Orthodox adviser to the Prussian Ministry of Education and Religious Affairs, where he enjoyed great confidence. He expanded the office for **sheḥitah* affairs, founded by Hirsch *Hildesheimer in 1907, making it the international center for the defense of *sheḥitah*. Cofounder of the BJA (Bund Juedischer Akademiker), the association of Orthodox students in German universities, and of the Union of Orthodox Congregations (the so-called Halberstaedter Verband), he was also chairman of the "Association of Traditional Torah-True Rabbis" and a member of the rabbinical council of the German *Agudat Israel. Among his publications are *Gefaelschte Talmudzitate* (1924) and *Entwicklung der Verhaeltnisse der preussischen Synagogengemeinden…* (1931). Some of his responsa (*Kahana Messayye'a Kahana*) were published by S.Z. Klein (1938). In 1938 Munk left Germany for Jerusalem, where he died. Among his sons were ELI (1899–1978), rabbi of the Golders Green Beth Hamidrash, London, and MICHAEL (1905–1984), educator in the U.S., author of *Ezra ha-Sofer* (1933) and coauthor (with I. Lewin and J. Berman) of *Religious Freedom: the Right to Practice Sheḥitah* (1946). He also published with I. Lewin *Shechita: A Religious, Historical and Scientific Background* (1976).

LEO (1851–1917), Ezra's brother, was district rabbi at Marburg (Hesse) from 1876. He took an active part in the work of the *Deutsch-Israelitischer Gemeindebund, the *Hilfsverein der deutschen Juden, and the rabbinical associations, both general and Orthodox. Among his publications was a scholarly edition of *Targum Sheni* on Esther (1876). ELIE (b. 1900–1981), Ezra's nephew, a rabbi and writer, was district rabbi of Ansbach (Bavaria) from 1926, and from 1937 was rabbi of the Communauté Israélite de la Stricte Observance in Paris. His published works include *Die Welt der Gebete* (2 vols. (1938); Eng., *The World of Prayer*, 2 vols., 1954–63), a commentary on the *siddur; Das Licht der Ewigkeit* (1935); *La justice sociale en Israel* (1947); *Rachel* (on the duties of Jewish women; 1951^5); and a translation into French of Rashi's Pentateuch commentary (1957).

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MUNK, HERMANN (1839–1912), German physiologist; a pioneer in the field of cerebral physiology. Munk was a director of the physiological laboratory of the Veterinary School in Berlin and a member of the German Academy of Science. He studied the localization centers in the brain and his name is associated with the so-called visual sphere of the cerebrum. He also did research on the function of the thyroid gland and studied the mechanism of motion. His younger brother IMMANUEL MUNK (1852–1900), was also a physiologist. He was his brother's assistant and then taught at the Physiological Institute of Berlin University (professor from 1899).

Munk and Nathan Zuntz did research in the field of metabolism and nutrition, with particular emphasis on the function of the kidneys. He wrote *Physiologie des Menschen und der Saeugetiere* (1881) and co-edited *Zentralblatt fuer die Medizinischen Wissenschaften*.

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[Suessmann Muntner]

°**MUNK, KAJ** (pseudonym of **Harald Leininger**; 1898–1944), Danish pastor and playwright. He showed an unusual interest in Jewish themes and his anti-Nazi writings and sermons had an incalculable effect on the Danish resistance movement during World War II. Perhaps the most influential, and certainly the most controversial, Danish playwright of his time, Munk lived – and died – for his ideals. At first he showed some sympathy for ultranationalism, betraying a certain preoccupation with the "strong men" of history. *En idealist* ("An Idealist," 1928) was a study of Herod the Great; *De udvalgte* ("The Chosen One," 1933) dealt with King David; and *Sejren* ("The Victory," 1936) was based on Mussolini's invasion of Ethiopia. Munk was, however, outraged by what he saw during a visit to Berlin in 1938, and his drama *Han sidder ved smedltediglen* (*He sits at the Melting Pot*, 1938) attacked Hitler's persecution of the Jews. Two other works by Munk which appeared in the 1930s were *Vedersø Jerusalem retur* (1934), an account of the author's journey to the Holy Land among other places; and *Os boerer den himmelske gloede* ("Heavenly Joy Bears Us," 1934), a collection of verse containing impressions of Palestine. After Denmark was overrun by the Germans, Kaj Munk came to be regarded, by Danes and Germans alike, as one of the leading spokesmen of the Danish resistance. His play *Niels Ebbesen* (1942), which deals with the Nazi occupation, was suppressed but nevertheless enjoyed a clandestine circulation. He was murdered by the Nazis.

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MUNK, SOLOMON (1803–1867), French Orientalist. Born in Glogau, Silesia, Munk studied at the universities of Bonn and Berlin. Realizing that as a Jew he had no academic future in Germany, he left for Paris in 1828. Here he first worked as a tutor in the Rothschild family, but was soon engaged by the *Bibliothèque Nationale* and put in charge of Semitic manuscripts. His assiduous work with them led to his becoming totally blind by 1850, but it did not prevent 17 more years of fruitful scholarly activity. Before then (1840) he joined the Montefiore-Crémieux delegation to *Egypt – as the latter's secretary and interpreter – which was to intervene in the *Damascus affair. When the Egyptian khedive *Muhammad Ali at last agreed to issue an order to *Damascus to set the falsely accused free, Munk – though some say it was L. Loewe, Montefiore's secretary – detected in the Arabic draft the word "mercy" to be granted, which at the insistence of Crémieux was changed into "freedom and peace." Crémieux and Munk used the opportunity of their visit to persuade Egyptian Jewry to modernize their school system and to bring about a rapprochement between Rabbanites and Karaites. Munk also acquired valuable manuscripts, particularly Karaitica, for the Bibliothèque Nationale. Back in Paris, Munk joined the *Consistoire Central* and was elected a member of the *Académie des Inscriptions et des Belles Lettres*. In 1864 he succeeded E. *Renan as professor of Hebrew and Syriac literature at the Collège de France.

Munk devoted himself to the study of the Hebrew and Arabic literature of the Golden Age of *Spain. It was Munk who discovered that the author of the philosophical work *Fons Vitae*, which had been preserved only in a Latin translation from the Arabic original, and whose author, called Avicebron, was believed to have been either a Muslim or an Arab Christian, was none other than the 11th-century Hebrew poet Solomon ibn *Gabirol. He discovered a manuscript of Shem Tov ibn *Falaquera's Hebrew translation of excerpts from Gabirol's original and identified this with passages in the Latin version (in his *Mélanges de philosophie juive et arabe* (1857–59; text, translation with an extensive essay on Gabirol, his writings, and philosophy). The crowning work of Munk's life was his three-volume edition of the original Arabic text (in Hebrew characters) of Maimonides' *Guide of the Perplexed* from Paris, Oxford, and Leyden manuscripts with a French translation (*Guide des Egarés*) and extensive notes (1856–66; Arabic text re-edited by B.J. Joel, 1960). All subsequent translations are based on this classic edition.

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MUNKÁCSI, BERNÁT (**Bernhard**; 1860–1937), Hungarian philologist and ethnographer. Born in Nagyvárad (now Oradea, Romania) into a family of rabbis, as a student in Budapest he came under the influence of several distinguished specialists in Hungarian studies (including Arminius *Vámbéry) and decided to dedicate himself to Hungarian linguistics and ethnography. He and a fellow student undertook a journey, collecting linguistic and other data on the Sereth (Siret) and Moldavo areas. Additional scientific trips were made from 1885 to study the language of the Votyak and Chuvash in the Kama and Middle Volga regions. With grants from the Hungarian Academy of Sciences and the Russian government, he made ethnographic tours of the northern parts of the Urals. After 1893 he served as editor of *Ethnographia*, and in 1900 he was cofounder of a philological journal *Keleti Szemle, Revue orientale des études oural-altaïques* (1900–32), to which he contributed numerous studies on Magyar culture, linguistics, and history. During World War I he carried out linguistic research in Ossetic by interrogating Russian prisoners of war who spoke this Iranian language of the Caucasus.

From 1890 to 1930 he served as an inspector of religious instruction in the Jewish schools of Budapest. As a professional teacher, he helped raise the level of existing schools, specifically the Jewish ones in Pest which he had helped to found. He prepared a program of studies for teachers, evolved a series of tests, and edited textbooks published by the Jewish community. Munkácsi's *Volksbraeuche und Volksdichtungen der Wotjaken* was edited by D.R. Fuchs and posthumously published in 1952.

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[Ellen Friedman]

MUNKÁCSI, ERNÖ (1896–1950), Hungarian jurist and art writer. Born in Páncélcseh, then Hungary, the son of Bernát *Munkácsi, he entered public service in Budapest in 1921 and was the secretary of the Neolog community. In 1923 he became legal adviser and served as chief secretary from 1942 until he went underground. During the period of the Holocaust, he proposed the idea of contacting the Hungarian anti-Nazi underground movement, and he was one of the editors of the underground manifesto which revealed to the non-Jewish community the horrors of deportation. After the war he published documents and lists from the period of the Holocaust *Hogyan történt?* ("How Did It Happen?" 1947). As a jurist, Munkácsi devoted himself to the interpretation of the laws relating to the legal standing of the Jews. He strove for complete autonomy of the Jews in Hungary, within the framework of the laws of emancipation (1867) and repatriation (1895). He wished within this framework to educate toward a historical Jewish consciousness, and to eradicate the widespread ignorance of Jewish matters. He published many articles in Jewish journals, in particular the periodical *Mult és Jövö* ("Past and Future"), and *Libanon*, where he served as one of its editors. He later collected these articles in a volume entitled *Könyvek és kövek* ("Books and Stones," 1944). In his short book *Római napló* ("Diary from Rome," 1931), he described the relics of the Jewish past in Rome. In his comprehensive *Miniatürmüvészet Itália könyvtáraiban; héber kódexek* ("The Art of the Miniature in the Libraries of Italy. Hebrew Codices," 1937), he traced most of the miniature material found in the leading libraries of Italy. His German book *Der Jude von Neapel* (1939) dealt with the remants of Jewish art in southern Italy, and his English article "Ancient and Medieval Synagogues in Representations of the Fine Arts" (*Jubilee Volume Bernhard Heller*, 1941, 241–51 ed. by Munkácsi) was devoted to the representations of art in synagogues.

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[Baruch Yaron]

MUNTNER, ALEXANDER SUESSMAN (1897–1973), medical historian. Muntner was born in Kolomyya, Poland, and received his medical education in Berlin, at the same time pursuing Jewish studies. He graduated in 1928 and in 1933 immigrated to Ereẓ Israel where, apart from his military service during the War of Liberation and as medical officer in the South of France in charge of North African immigrants to Israel, he engaged in private practice. In 1959, he was appointed visiting professor in the history of medicine at The Hebrew University. Muntner devoted his life to the history of Jewish medicine in the Middle Ages, and particularly to *Asaph ha-Rofe, Shabbetai *Donnolo, and *Maimonides. He undertook the publication of the medieval Hebrew translation of Maimonides' medical treatises, both from manuscripts and previous versions.

In 1949, he published a fully annotated book on Donnolo, which included his extant works, and in 1957 he published his *Mavo le-Sefer Asaph Ha-Rofe*, and later an edition of the full Hebrew text. He was the *Encyclopaedia Judaica* first-edition departmental editor for medicine.

A bibliographical list of his works appears in *Korot* (see Bibliography).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Korot*, 6, nos. 3–4 (February 1973). This volume is dedicated to the memory of Muntner.

MUQADDIM (Ar. مُقَدِّم, "leader," also *muqaddam*, literally "the one in front"), Arabic word, one meaning of which designates a chief heading an army, a ship, or a community. In North African countries, this term was employed to designate a *parnas* of the Jewish community, while in the Hebrew documents of Castile, Aragon, and Navarre it was employed as a synonym for **adelantados*.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Baer, Spain, index; Neuman, Spain, index; Hirschberg, Afrikah, index.

MURABBAʿAT SCROLLS, manuscripts found in 1951 and 1952 in caves in Wadi Murabbaʿat, which runs down to the Dead Sea from the west about 18 km. (11 mi.) south of Wadi Qumrān and some 25 km. (15 mi.) southeast of *Jerusalem. The presence of inscribed material in this area was first suspected in October 1951 when Taʿāmra Bedouin offered some fragments of skin with Hebrew and Greek writing to the Palestine Archeological Museum, Jerusalem. The site was visited early in 1952 by a team led by G.L. Harding and Père R. de Vaux, and they explored four caves, which yielded a considerable quantity of manuscript material. In March 1955 another cave was entered by local shepherds, who found a scroll of the *Twelve Minor Prophets*, containing substantial portions of the Hebrew text of nine of the 12 books.

General

The Murabbaʿat caves contained traces of human occupation at six distinct periods in antiquity – the Chalcolithic Age (4th millennium B.C.E.), the Middle Bronze Age (c. 2000–1500 B.C.E.), the Iron Age (more specifically the 8th and 7th centuries B.C.E.), the Hellenistic period, the Roman period, and the Arab period. From the third, fourth, fifth, and sixth of these periods written documents were discovered. From the third period, the era of the later kings of Judah, came a papyrus palimpsest inscribed in Phoenician (paleo-Hebrew) characters. The earlier writing seems to have been a letter; part of it runs: "… yahu says to you, 'I send greetings to your family. And now, do not believe every word that… tells you….'" The original writing was washed out and replaced by four lines of script, each containing a personal name followed by numbers (perhaps listing quantities of produce to be delivered by peasants to the royal exchequer). From the Hellenistic period come two inscribed potsherds (2nd century B.C.E.). From the Arab period come some paper documents in Arabic and one or two Greek papyri. But the most numerous and by far the most interesting manuscripts come from the Roman period. These last are specially interesting because their presence at Murabbaʿat is due to the use made of the caves as outposts of guerrilla fighters during the Bar Kokhba Revolt (132–5 C.E.). There are fragments of Genesis, Exodus, Deuteronomy, and Isaiah on skin, a few *tefillin* fragments, and a piece of a *mezuzah*. The biblical texts are uniformly of protomasoretic type. The *tefillin* are of the type which became standard from the beginning of the second century C.E. onward, unlike those found at Qumrān, which belong to an earlier type and include the Ten Commandments. There is a fragment of a liturgical document in Hebrew and fragments of some literary works in Greek. There are quite a number of contracts and deeds of sale in Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek; of those which are intelligibly dated, the majority belong to the period preceding and during the Bar Kokhba Revolt. There are several lists of deliveries of grain and vegetables, one or two in Aramaic and/or Hebrew but mostly in Greek. Some papyrus fragments and one potsherd contain Latin writing.

The Ben Kosebah Letters

Chief interest attaches to some correspondence between Joshua b. Galgula, apparently leader of the Murabbaʿat guerrillas, and other insurgents. One letter comes to him from the administrators of Bet Mashiko (a village in southern Judea, it appears) informing him that a certain cow has changed ownership. Another letter comes from the defenders of En-Gedi, yet another from someone at Meẓad Ḥasidin, "the fortress of the saints," perhaps meaning Khirbat Qumrān – which is shown by archaeological excavation to have been occupied by insurgents during the Bar Kokhba Revolt. Two letters come to Joshua from the leader of the revolt in person, whose name is shown to have been Simeon b. Kosebah. (It was formerly known that the name Bar Kokhba, "son of the star," had been given him by R. Akiva and other supporters on the basis of Numbers 24:17, and the name Bar Koziba, "son of falsehood," given him by his opponents. His official designation "Simeon prince of Israel" is also found on coins of the Second Revolt.) One of the letters runs: "From Simeon b. Kosebah to Joshua b. Galgula and the people of Ha-Baruk (?), greeting! I call heaven to witness against me that if any of the Galileans who are with you is ill-treated, I will put fetters on your feet as I did to Beni Aflul. Simeon b. Kosebah in [his own person]." It is not known who the luckless Beni Aflul was, or what he had done; neither is there any information that would throw light on the Galileans mentioned (there is no reason to suppose that they were Christians). The second letter (which, like the other, is in Hebrew) runs: "From Simeon to Joshua b. Galgula, greeting! Take cognizance of the fact that you must arrange for five *kors* of wheat to be sent by the [members of] my household. So prepare for each of them his lodging place. Let them stay with you over the Sabbath. See to it that the heart of each is satisfied. Be brave and keep up the courage of the people of the place. Peace! I have ordered whosoever delivers his wheat to you to bring it the day after the Sabbath." Plainly Simeon b. Kosebah was a man of peremptory temperament, a quality no doubt desirable in the leader of a revolt. With this requisition of wheat it is possible to correlate the lists of grain and vegetables discovered in the same caves. The Murabbaʿat caves seem to have been the last redoubt of Joshua and his men and their families. The Romans pursued them there and wiped them out, as they did to their comrades in Naḥal Ḥever. Some of the manuscripts bear signs of having been violently torn up by the invaders.

Linguistic Importance

The Murabbaʿat scrolls provide evidence that the inhabitants of Judea were trilingual at the time of the Second Revolt as they had been in the Herodian period: Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek were used by Jews with equal facility. One Aramaic manuscript of earlier date than most (55–56 C.E.) contains the name of the Emperor Nero spelt in such a way as to yield the total 666 (NRWN QSR) – a pointer to the "number of the beast" in Revelation 13:18.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Benoit et al., *Discoveries in the Judaean Desert*, 2 (1961); Yaron, in: JJS, 11 (1960), 157–77.

[Frederick Fyvie Bruce]

MURASHU'S SONS, prominent banking and commercial family in the Babylonian city of Nippur, active during the reigns of Artaxerxes I and Darius II. In 1893 an expedition from the University of Pennsylvania uncovered 730 clay tablets from the family archive dating from 455 to 403 B.C.E. The texts deal with diverse undertakings such as payment of taxes on behalf of others, land management, and the granting of loans to be repaid at a high rate of interest. Some 50 of the 730 tablets contain names which were thought to be Jewish, and this led some to deduce that the Murashu family itself was Jewish. However, the conclusion is unfounded. Apart from the purely indigenous name of the firm (*muraššû* – means "wildcat" in Akkadian), caution must be exercised in deciding which of the names of the clients or witnesses are characteristically Jewish and which are merely of West Semitic origin. The fact that names like Ḫanana (חנן, Hanan), Minaḫḫimmu (מנחם, Menahem), Miniamini (מנימין, Minyamin), or names compounded with *ilī* (אֵל, El) are attested elsewhere in Jewish contexts does not necessarily mean that their bearers at Nippur were Jews. They may have been Arameans or members of some other West Semitic group living in Babylonia. Undisputed evidence for the presence of Jews is furnished by such names as Aḫiyama (אחיה, Ahijah, Aiyyah), Yaḫulakim (יהולכם, Yeholakhem), Yaḫulunu (יהולינו, Yeholanu), and Yaḫunatanu (יהונתן, Jonathan, Yehonatan), which are compounded with the Tetragrammaton or some combining form of it and by such names as Shabbetai son of Haggai. The picture of the Jewish exiles in Mesopotamia which emerges after an examination of these names is one of a people engaged in a wide range of activities: they act as witnesses in documents dealing with taxes, as tenants cultivating the land of others, and as landowners on whose behalf taxes are paid. Some seem to be highly placed royal officials.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: G. Cardascia, *Les archives des Murašû* (1951), incl. bibl.

[David B. Weisberg]

MURCIA, capital of the former kingdom of Murcia, S.E. Spain. The kingdom was first taken from the Muslims (1243) during the reign of Ferdinand III of Castile. After the revolt of the Muslims, it was reconquered by James I, king of Aragon, who handed it over to Castile in 1265. Among those who assisted the king in his conquest of the region were Judad de la *Cavallería, who lent money for outfitting the navy in the war against the Muslims, and Astruc (or Astrug) Bonsenyor (d. 1280), father of Judah *Bonsenyor, who conducted the negotiations with the Muslims for their capitulation, and who was also translator of Arabic documents in the kingdom. Jewish officials of the kingdom of Aragon met with Jewish officials of the kingdom of Castile in the town, and in 1292, Moses ibn Turiel of Castile held important administrative positions there. *Alfonso X of Castile (1252–84), son-in-law of James I, allocated a special quarter for the Jewish community, explicitly ordering that Jews were not to live among the Christians. However, at the time of their settlement various Jews received properties in the Jewish quarter and beyond it, in the town itself. A site was also allocated for the Jewish cemetery. Once the regulations of the settlement had been stipulated, an annual tax of 30 dinars was imposed on every Jew. Jews were also compelled to hand over tithes and the first fruits of all their possessions and herds to the cathedral, as was customary in Seville. In 1307 jurisdiction over the Muslims of the kingdom of Murcia was entrusted to Don Isaac ibn Yaish, the last Jew to hold such a function.

Toward the close of the 14th century, several Jewish tax farmers were active in the kingdom and in the town, among them Solomon ibn Lop, who settled in Majorca after 1378 and who was granted the special protection of the king of Aragon. During this period, the Jews of Murcia were noted for their generosity in the redemption of prisoners and for their participation in maritime trade; this was in addition to their usual occupations in commerce, crafts and agriculture. Although there are no details available on how the Jews of the town fared during the persecutions of 1391, the community continued to exist after that time. Some 2,000 Jews earned their livelihood in a great variety of activities. Close mutual relations were maintained with the Christian population, and two of the community elders attended the meetings of the municipal council. Throughout the 15th century, Jews of Murcia were often tax farmers, both in the kingdom of Murcia and in other towns near and distant. In 1488 Samuel Abulafia was taken under the protection of the Catholic monarchs for two years in appreciation of his services to the crown during the war against Granada. Solomon b. Maimon Zalmati printed Hebrew books in Murcia in 1490.

Details on the departure of the Jews from Murcia at the time of the expulsion are unknown but it may be assumed that they left from the port of Cartagena. After the expulsion, debts owed by Christians to the Jews were transferred to Fernando Nuñez Coronel (formerly Abraham *Seneor) and Luis de Alcaláfor collection. Murcia also had Conversos, some of whom remained faithful to Judaism. Conversos even used to come there in order to return to Judaism; one such case is mentioned in the La Guardia trial (1490). At an early date, an Inquisition tribunal was established at Murcia.

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[Haim Beinart]

MURMELSTEIN, BENJAMIN (1905–1989), rabbi, scholar, and public figure of the Holocaust period. Born in Galicia, Murmelstein studied at the Juedisch-Theologische Lehranstalt, Vienna, where he became a lecturer in 1930. From 1923 he served as rabbi of the Vienna Jewish community. He was associated with S. Krauss in preparing the supplementary volume, published in 1936, to *A. Kohut's famous talmudic dictionary, *Arukh ha-Shalem*, and Murmelstein published a popular *Geschichte der Juden* and annotated selections from Josephus (both in 1938). When the Nazis occupied Austria in 1938, Murmelstein became a member of the *Judenrat appointed by them. In this capacity he wielded power, which he was accused of having used arbitrarily. Later he was deported to *Theresienstadt concentration camp; he was made deputy *Judenaeltester* (head of the Jewish council) in January 1943 and succeeded P. Epstein as chief *Judenaeltester* in December 1943, after Epstein was murdered by the Nazis. As *Judenaeltester* – an officer whose exact and tragic powers and responsibilities are difficult to assess – Murmelstein was both hated and feared; he was described as a complex character, gifted, ambitious, cynical, and calculating. When the camp was liberated in May 1945, Murmelstein remained and held himself at the disposal of the Czech authorities. He was arrested in June and remained in custody until December 1946, when the public prosecutor withdrew the indictment because "he had been able to disprove all accusations." Murmelstein settled in Rome, where he worked first at the Papal Biblical Institute and later as a commercial agent, taking no part in Jewish communal life. He published an account of events in *Terezin-Ghetto Modello di Eichmann* (1961) and in several newspaper articles (in *Neue Zuercher Zeitung* (Dec. 17, 1963), 3; Hamburg *Die Welt* (Jan. 14, 1964)).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: H.G. Adler, *Theresienstadt* (Ger., 1960^2), introd. and index; Z. Lederer, *Ghetto Theresienstadt* (Eng., 1953), 166–7.

MURRAY, ARTHUR (**Moses Teichman**, 1895–1991), America's most famous ballroom dance instructor; businessman. He was born in New York and trained with Irene and Vernon Cast. After winning a waltz contest at the age of 17, he started selling dance lessons via mail, by sending out footprint diagrams designed to teach students the steps of the popular social dances. Shortly after 1923 Murray opened a highly structured dance studio in New York occupying six floors and employing dozens of teachers, which was followed by the establishment of an extensive network of other studios which provided dance instruction in the U.S. and Europe.

In the 1950s, Murray and his wife, Kathryn Kohnfelder, who became his dance and business partner, presented a long-running television series, which helped to popularize ballroom dancing. Murray is credited with creating many of the standard steps still used today in the foxtrot and the rumba.

In 1964, Murray resigned as president of the Arthur Murray Dance Studios but remained as a consultant.

[Amnon Shiloah (2nd ed.)]

MURVIEDRO (in Catalan, **Morvedre**; now **Sagunto**), city in Valencia, E. Spain, near the Mediterranean coast, built on the ruins of the Roman city Saguntum. According to a legend, a tombstone was found there bearing the inscription in Hebrew "Adoniram, treasurer of King Solomon, who came to collect the tax tribute and died." Another spurious inscription mentioned King Amaziah's military commander as having also met his death in Murviedro. Jews lived in Murviedro during Muslim rule. On capture of the city by King James I of Aragon, the Vives family was given a bakery in the city, as a reward for services rendered during the siege. Several Jews served as royal bailiffs there including Solomon Baye, Solomon b. Lavi de la *Cavallería (1273), and Joseph ibn Shaprut (1279–80). At the time the community numbered 50 taxpayers. The Jewish quarter was on the west side of the Roman theater, the present Calle Segovia and Calle Ramos being the main streets. In 1321 James II authorized the Jews to fortify their quarter. A large portion of the community's revenue was derived from taxes on the sale of meat and wine. Silversmiths and cobblers are specifically mentioned among the artisans obliged to pay taxes; artisans who earned less than six *denarii* a day were exempt from taxes. R. *Isaac b. Sheshet permitted indigent artisans in Murviedro to work during the intermediate days of the Jewish festivals. In 1328 the community acquired grounds for a new cemetery, tombstones from which are still preserved.

During the 1391 persecutions, the Jews of Murviedro found refuge in the fortress which was near the Jewish quarter. Hence after the massacres, Murviedro, the only surviving community in the Kingdom of Valencia, became one of the most important communities of the Crown of Aragon. In the 15th century, the Jewish quarter had 120 houses and probably more than 600 residents. In 1394 the king ordered that the Jews of Murviedro should not be investigated in respect of their activities to counteract conversion or for bringing back Conversos to Judaism and assisting them to leave the country. In 1402 Queen Doña María authorized the Murviedro community to establish several societies for catering to communal needs: the *Bikkur Ḥolim society, to care for the sick; a burial society; and a *Talmud Torah* society. Various problems arose with the increased number of conversions. In 1416 Alfonso V dealt with the division of property of deceased Jews between the heirs who had remained Jews and those who had been converted. The Jewish silversmiths of Murviedro were celebrated for their craft; especially notable was Vidal Astori, who in 1467–69 worked for the future King Ferdinand the Catholic. In 1474 the *muqaddimūn* (**adelantados*) complained to the bailiff-general about some nobles who had forbidden their vassals to trade with the Jews of Murviedro. The bailiff decided in favor of the community and proclaimed freedom of trade in the area.

The Jews of Murviedro did much to encourage their Converso brethren to return to Judaism. After the decree of expulsion was issued in March 1492, Gerica, one of the local Jews, reached an agreement with Valencia merchants to transfer 300 Jews from Murviedro to Oran, in North Africa. Other agreements dating from the end of July relate to the conveyance of Jews from Murviedro to Naples. A total of 500 Jews left the city, and the synagogue in the present Calle de la Sangre Vieja was turned into a church named Sangre de Cristo ("Blood of Jesus").

The Jewish quarter of Murviedro is one of the best preserved in Spain, probably because it did not suffer any attack in 1391. The Jewish quarter is in the upper part of the city. Entrance to the quarter is through an arch which was called *Portal de la juheria.* It is situated near the Roman theater and includes within its boundaries the streets Antigones, Segovia, Pelayo, Ramos and Sang Vella. The Portal is at the beginning of Sang Vella Street when one enters from Castillo Street. The synagogue was probably at the corner of Sang Vella and Segovia streets.

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[Haim Beinart / Yom Tov Assis (2nd ed.)]

MUSAF (Heb. מוּסָף), the additional sacrifice or prayer instituted on the Sabbath and the festivals. In addition to the daily morning and afternoon sacrifices offered in the Temple, the Bible prescribed additional offerings to be brought on Sabbaths, the three *Pilgrim festivals, Rosh Ha-Shanah, the Day of Atonement, and the New Moon (Num. 28–29; see *Sacrifice). These were offered after the regular morning sacrifices (Yoma 33a). An additional prayer was already recited on these days by some worshipers even when the sacrificial cult still existed (Tosef., Ber. 3:3; Suk. 53a). After the abolition of sacrifice with the destruction of the Temple, the additional prayer was formalized and took the place of these sacrifices (Ber. 26b; see *Prayer, *Liturgy). There were some *tannaim* who regarded the *Musaf* prayer service as exclusively communal, and they held that it could only be recited when one worshiped with a quorum (*minyan; Ber. 4:7 and Ber. 30a–b). The rabbis, however, made the additional service obligatory upon every individual, both when praying alone or with a quorum, and they endowed it with the same importance as the regular morning service (Ber. 30b; Sh. Ar., OḤ 286:2).

It is customary to recite the *Musaf* service immediately after the reading of the weekly Torah and *haftarah* portions which follow the morning prayers on Sabbaths and festivals. It is, however, permissible to recite it at any time during the day. Nevertheless, one who negligently postpones its recitation until after the seventh hour of the day is considered a "transgressor" (Ber. 4:1 and Ber. 26b, 28a).

The *Musaf* is introduced by the reader's recitation of the Half *Kaddish. This is followed by the *Musaf *Amidah* which, except on Rosh Ha-Shanah, consists of seven benedictions. The first three benedictions of praise and the last three benedictions of thanks are identical with those of the daily *Amidah*. The benediction *Kedushat ha-Yom* ("Sanctity of the Day") is inserted between these blessings. It consists of an introductory paragraph, followed by a prayer for the restoration of the Temple service, and concludes with the appropriate selection from the Torah detailing the additional sacrifice for the day. In the *Musaf* for Rosh Ha-Shanah three blessings are added in the middle: the **malkhuyyot* (*malkhiyyot*), **zikhronot*, and **shofarot*. In communal prayer, the *Musaf Amidah* is generally repeated in full by the *ḥazzan* (*Rema* to Sh. Ar., OḤ 286:2). In some congregations, however, particularly among the Sephardi Jews, the *ḥazzan* chants the first three blessings aloud with the congregation. This, however, is not done on the High Holy Days, when the entire *Amidah* is always repeated by the *ḥazzan*.

The Sabbath *Musaf Amidah*, after the initial three regular blessings, consists of a composition in which the initial letters of the first 22 words follow the inverted order of the Hebrew alphabet. This prayer concludes with the description of the Sabbath *Musaf* offering from Numbers 28:9–10. A short prayer for those who observe the Sabbath follows, and the "Sanctity of the Day" concludes with the prayer beginning with the invocation "Our God and God of our fathers," common to all the *Amidot* of the Sabbath (Hertz, Prayer, 530–4).

On New Moons, the *Musaf* consists of a prayer expressing sorrow over the abolition of the sacrificial ritual and hope for its restoration. Numbers 28:11, describing the New Moon sacrifice, is quoted, and it concludes with a prayer for a blessed and happy month (*ibid.*, 778–82). When the New Moon falls on a Sabbath, the first prayer is greatly altered and is very similar to the corresponding formula for the festivals. It concludes with the quotations from Numbers for both Sabbaths and New Moon offerings (*ibid.*, 542–4).

The *Musaf Amidah* for the three festivals begins with the prayer "But on account of our sins we were exiled from our land." God is asked to gather the scattered remnant of Israel to the Holy Land and to build the Temple. The appropriate passage detailing the *Musaf* offering is then inserted, and the regular prayer for the blessings of the festival concludes this section (*ibid.*, 820–8).

The *Musaf* service for the New Year is the longest in the liturgy. It opens with the same format as the other *Amidot* of that day, followed by the prayer "But on account of our sins," and concludes with the selection from Numbers 29:1–2 describing the *Musaf* sacrifice. After this, *Aleinu* is recited, followed by the above mentioned three additional benedictions.

The *Musaf Amidah* for the Day of Atonement begins in the same way as that of the New Year. After the biblical selection in which the additional sacrifices for the day are detailed (Num. 29:7–8), a prayer for the forgiveness of sins is recited. The *Confession (see **Al Ḥet*; **Ashamnu*) forms an integral portion of this *Musaf* service, just as it does in the other *Amidot* of the Day of Atonement.

It was customary to interlace the *ḥazzan's* repetition of the *Musaf Amidah* on festivals and special Sabbaths with various *piyyutim*. Except for Rosh Ha-Shanah and the Day of Atonement, this is hardly done nowadays. Even on those two holidays most modern congregations recite only selections from the huge volume of *piyyutim* composed throughout the generations.

The *Musaf* services of the first day of Passover and of Shemini Aẓeret are known by special names: the former as *Tal* ("dew"), because prayers for abundant dew are recited during the repetition of the first two blessings by the cantor; the latter as *Geshem* ("rain"), because prayers for rain are recited by the cantor at the same juncture. (In Israel, the custom is to recite these two prayers before *Musaf*.)

In Reform congregations in the 19th century the *Musaf* service was either entirely abolished or modified, since Reform Judaism no longer anticipated the restoration of the sacrificial cult. In the course of time, the tendency was to omit it entirely. Some Conservative congregations have rephrased references to the sacrifices so that they indicate solely past events without implying any hope for a future restoration of sacrifice.

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[Aaron Rothkoff]

MUSAR HASKEL (Heb. מוּסַר הַשְׂכֵּל; also known as **Shirei Musar Haskel** or **Sha'arei Musar Haskel**), the name of a frequently printed ethical poem of the 11th century, usually attributed to *Hai ben Sherira Gaon (939–1038). The poem as printed consists of 180 verses, but there is a possibility that it was not printed in full and that in some manuscripts there is more material belonging to it. It was first printed in Fano, probably in 1505, and has appeared many times since then, mostly together with the *Ka'arat Kesef* of Jehoseph b. Hanan b. Nathan *Ezobi and occasionally also with S.J. Rapoport's essay on Hai Gaon. Although there is not sufficient proof to support the traditional attribution of the work to Hai Gaon, neither is there any evidence that the attribution is impossible. The poem is written in the literary style of the Book of Proverbs and of the Wisdom of Ben Sira. It deals with many aspects of human life, religious and social; it shows in short, rhymed epigrams the ethical way of life. Among other subjects it deals with prayer, the love of God, the love of knowledge, fear of the divine judgment, the treatment of women, and the correct way to conduct business. Every couplet of the poem usually stands alone as an epigram, and only rarely is a topic dealt with in more than two lines. The work was translated into Latin by Jacob Ebert (Frankfurt, 1597).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Benjacob, Oẓar, 307. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** *Musarei Haskel bi-Meliẓah Na'ah le-Rabbenu Hai Ga'on* (n.p., 19th cent.).

[Joseph Dan]

MUSAR MOVEMENT, movement for the education of the individual toward strict ethical behavior in the spirit of *halakhah*; it arose in the 19th century, continuing into the 20th, in the Jewish culture of the *mitnaggedim* in Lithuania, in particular becoming a trend in its yeshivot. Originally inspired by the teachings and example of the life of Joseph Sundel b. Benjamin Benish *Salanter, it began as a movement for influencing members within the community. Circumstances, however, caused a radical change in its character at an early stage and turned it from the ideal of creating a pattern for leading and exemplary members of the community to forming the personality of the young students in the yeshivot.

Israel *Lipkin (Salanter) had primarily intended to establish the movement for members of the community through their activities. About the middle of the 19th century, the mitnaggedic Jewish culture was facing a severe crisis as a result of its vulnerability to the corroding influence of Haskalah ideology. The growing poverty and congestion in the *shtetl* in the *Pale of Settlement were causing severe tension and bitterness within Jewish society. The world of the leading circles of Lithuanian Jewry was breaking up. The pupil and co-worker of Israel Lipkin, Isaac *Blaser, complained in the second half of the 19th century about the moral degeneration: "The fear of God has terribly deteriorated … sins are proliferating whereas formerly Torah and the fear of God went together among Jews … now, because of our many sins, this unity has broken up; the bonds have gone and the connection joining them has been severed. In the end, without the fear of God, the knowledge of Torah will disappear too, God forbid" (his introduction to Lipkin's *Or Yisrael* (1900)). This expressed a typical complaint of the *Mitnaggedim* of the period. Blaser was alarmed by the new phenomenon presented by the graduates of the yeshivah, who, though learned, were no longer devoted to the rigorous pattern of *halakhah*. Confronted by ḥasidism on the one hand, and on the other by the trends in German Jewry of *Haskalah, *Reform, and *Neo-Orthodoxy, mitnaggedic Jewry was faced with the problem of how to sustain a rigorous traditional Jewish life, based mainly on learning and intellectuality. Israel Salanter at first intended to tackle the problem directly in the communities. In his first letter to the Vilna community in 1849, proposing the creation of a *musar shtibl* ("a room for moral deliberation") he wrote: "The busy man does evil wherever he turns. His business doing badly, his mind and strength become confounded and subject to the fetters of care and confusion. Therefore appoint a time on the Holy Sabbath to gather together at a fixed hour … the notables of the city, whom many will follow, for the study of morals. Speak quietly and deliberately without joking or irony, estimate the good traits of man and his faults, how he should be castigated to turn away from the latter and strengthen the former. Do not decide matters at a single glance, divide the good work among you – not taking up much time, not putting on too heavy a burden. Little by little, much will be gathered … In the quiet of reflection, in reasonable deliberation, each will strengthen his fellow and cure the foolishness of his heart and eliminate his lazy habits." His program, meant to meet the needs of busy traders, proposed their meeting for moral reflection and self-improvement on the day of rest. In his third letter to the Vilna community he proposed that women join in this concern with the study of morals. In his *Iggeret ha-Musar*, Salanter particularly stressed the sin of financial fraud.

However, the movement failed to attract the settled members of the community; their "laziness of habit" was too deeply ingrained. Blaser, and not Salanter, had estimated correctly: the trouble lay not so much in the area of individual morality as in the dichotomy between Torah learning and the fear of God. It may be surmised that Israel Salanter's personality – which was both admired and criticized by Orthodox and Haskalah circles – was also one of the reasons for the failure of the movement among the upper circles of mitnaggedic society.

In the later years of Israel Salanter, through the energetic drive of his devoted pupils Isaac Blaser and Simah Zissel *Broida, the supporters of the Musar movement turned to the education of the young, and in particular to influencing the students of the yeshivot to form early in life the alertness of moral habit which had proved so difficult to instill at a later age. Blaser founded a *kolel* at Lubcz (Lyutcha). In 1872 Simah Zissel founded a *musar shtibl* at Kelme. He also founded a school for youngsters at Grobina, Courland, obtaining some financial support from Orthodox circles in Germany. As the Musar movement began to penetrate the yeshivot, both through the indirect influence of its own institutions and through the direct introduction of *musar* study and methods (see below) into the yeshivot, sharp opposition arose from the traditional yeshivah leadership. Rabbis and leaders, such as Aryeh Leib *Shapiro and Isaac Elhanan *Spektor of Kovno, openly opposed the new educational system, but without success. Subsequently some of its opponents explicitly renounced their objection, while others ceased to speak openly against it. By the beginning of the 20th century, *musar* had become the prevailing trend in the Lithuanian yeshivot.

Methods and Goals

After its adoption by the yeshivot, and the earlier establishment of *musar shtibl* and educational institutions, the Musar movement developed an individual institutional and educational pattern. The reading of ethical works, of isolated sayings from the Midrash and Talmud, and of verses from the Bible served as vehicles for creating a certain mood and for implanting certain feelings. The principal activity was to recite passages from these works, or a saying or verse, to a melody – taken from the repertoire of the **maggidim* – suitable for evoking a pensive atmosphere of isolation and mood of emotional receptivity toward God and His commandments, preferably in twilight or subdued lighting (from a certain aspect this resembles the "spiritual exercises" recommended by Ignatius of Loyola for the Jesuits). The reading of the intellectual matter in the text served to stimulate an emotional response, which was intended to help the student both in forming moral personality and in devotion to Talmud study.

Formally, the Musar movement was based on the study of *ethical literature, although its conception of this was highly eclectic, and its libraries included works by authors as diverse as *Jonah b. Abraham Gerondi, Moses b. Jacob *Cordovero, Moses Ḥayyim *Luzzatto (who had been excommunicated in his time), and Naphtali Herz *Wessely (one of the leaders of Enlightenment). However, several generations of study of this variegated literature by many brilliant young men did not produce for the movement, as far as is known, a single systematic commentary, either on the literature as a whole or on an individual work.

In the "minimalistic" *musar* yeshivot, students devoted at least half an hour daily to studying one of these texts in unison, intoning them in the same plaintive melody. Unity was demanded only in the melody used, each student being allowed to read the book of his own choice. In these yeshivot, the **mashgi'aḥ* ("supervisor") became a second spiritual mentor of the students, equal to the *rosh yeshivah*; in the case of some personalities, such as Jeroham Lebovitch at the *Mir yeshivah, he was even superior. The *mashgi'aḥ* held a *shmues* ("talk") with all the yeshivah students at least weekly, on either a general moral topic – a kind of a special yeshivah sermon – or some specific incident that had occurred in yeshivah life. Devout *musar* students often combined into a *va'ad*, several youngsters gathering together for a period to chant some *musar* saying and achieve the proper *musar* mood. Larger groups would create a *musar berzhe*, in which they would act collectively and enter collectively through a more protracted way into the same mood. In these yeshivot, commonly called "Slobodka-style" yeshivot (see also *Kovno), the student's mind was molded through this activity, through his comradeship in emotivity with fellow students, and through the influence of the *mashgi'aḥ*. In this highly charged emotional life intellectual Talmud study became encapsulated by the atmosphere created by *musar*.

The crisis in the yeshivot brought about by secularizing influences, such as the *Bund, general socialist revolutionary trends, Zionism, and Haskalah, was counteracted to a large extent by the influence of the Musar movement. Israel Salanter's original aim was also largely achieved, though indirectly, as the "*muserniks*" who entered the life of the upper circles of the *shtetl* were now imbued with the new proud and rigoristic spirit engendered by *musar* and the collective sense of identity.

There also developed a second, "maximalist," trend of *musar* yeshivot, in the so-called "Nowardok style." Its proponent, Joseph Josel, the "old man of Nowardok" (Novogrudok), applied a deeper psychological approach. This not only included many hours devoted to the study of the *musar* texts, employing if possible a more plaintive melody, with less light, but the student would also be taught to discipline himself by a series of *peules af* … ("actions to …"). Such actions were calculated to subdue his natural instincts of vanity, economic calculation, or love of material goods. A student, for example, might be ordered to go to a drug store and ask for something inappropriate, such as nails, to mingle with well-dressed people in rags, or to enter a train without a coin in his purse. By the Nowardok method, a man not only trained himself to subdue his animal and social nature, but also to check if he did so in complete emotional depth. Ḥayyim *Grade described it:

"When you ask the *Nawardoker*, 'How do you do?' the meaning is 'How is Jewishness with you? Have you advanced in spirituality?' … He who has studied *musar* will never enjoy his life further, Ḥayyim, you will remain a cripple your whole life. You write heresy… but is there any one of you really so strong that he does not desire public approval for himself? Which one of you is prepared to publish his book anonymously? … Our spiritual calm you have exchanged for passions which you will never attain, for doubts which, even after much self-torture, you will not be able to explain away. Your writing will not improve a single person, and it will make you worse" (from his "My Quarrel with Hersh Rasseyner," in: I. Howe and E. Greenberg (eds.), *Treasury of Yiddish Stories* (1954), 579–606).

Even after many years the *musarnik* remembered this naked prolonged cry, "O voices of ecstasy, O hoary voices, I follow you – I follow the echo of my Elul nights seven years ago" (idem, *Mussernikes* (1969), 9).

The Musar movement is thus a civic trend which, deflected from its original aim, gradually developed an entire educational system, based on, and aiming toward, integration and subjection of the youthful emotions to a deeply instilled emotional defense system of a rigoristic Jewish life according to *halakhah*. It promoted unity through pride in this fraternity of feelings and intentions and thus served as a social bond among those who emerged from the *musar* hothouse in the yeshivot. The Slobodka and Nawardok approaches differed in their degree of extremism and the emphasis on spiritual exercise, but were based on the same principle. By 1970 the main yeshivot of the Lithuanian type were *musar* oriented, the majority of Slobodka style, and a small minority Nawardok style. Despite the system, or to some extent because of it, many left the *musar* yeshivot for more secular trends of education.

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[Haim Hillel Ben-Sasson]

MUSÉE D'ART ET D'HISTOIRE DU JUDAÏSME (MAHJ). Open to the public since December 1998, the MAHJ is located in the area of le Marais, the historical heart of Paris and, since the 19th century, one of the main Jewish residential areas in the city. The MAHJ is located in a renovated 17th-century mansion, property of the city of Paris and assigned to the housing of a museum of Jewish civilization by Jacques Chirac, then mayor of Paris, already in 1986. All the costs for the construction and functioning of the museum were and are covered in equal terms by the municipality of Paris and the Ministry of Culture. The very rich collections of the MAHJ originated in the collections of the Musée d'Art Juif, a former Jewish museum created in 1948 which discontinued its activities, and in the Jewish collection of the National Museum for the Middle Ages. Among several donors and depositors, one can mention the Paris Consistory, which entrusted to the MAHJ its important collection of ritual objects. Apart from the permanent exhibition, the MAHJ organizes temporary exhibitions, hosts cultural events in its auditorium, receives the public in its library and documentation center, and puts very special emphasis on workshops for youth. The founder-president of MAHJ was Claude-Gérard Marcus, who was succeeded by Théo *Klein. In 2006 the director was Laurence Sigal.

MUSELMANN (German for Muslim), death camp slang word for prisoners on the edge of death who have surrendered to their fate, i.e., showing the symptoms of the last stages of hunger, disease, mental indifference and physical exhaustion. This term was mostly used at Auschwitz. It seems to have originated from the typical deportment of the sufferers, e.g., to squat with their legs tucked in an "Oriental" fashion, their faces masklike in stiffness. Often the muselmann was the target of anger from fellow prisoners, who avoided them lest they too be overcome by despair at the conditions they faced.

Primo *Levi has argued that had the *lagers* lasted a little longer they would have developed a language of their own. His chilling description of the muselmann indicates the depth of their despair: "The musselmaner, the drowned, form the backbone of the camp, an anonymous mass, continually renewed and always identical, of non-men who march to labor in silence, the divine spark dead within them, already too empty to suffer. One hesitates to call them living; one hesitates to call their death death, in the face of which they have no fear, they are too tired to understand.… If I could enclose all the evil of our time in one image, I would choose this image, which is familiar to me: an emaciated man with head dropped and shoulders curved, on which face and in whose eyes not a trace of thought is to be seen."

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[Yehuda Reshef / Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

MUSEUM OF JEWISH HERITAGE: A LIVING MEMORIAL TO THE HOLOCAUST (MJH: ALMTTH). The opening of MJH: ALMTTH, in September 1997, marked the culmination of a long and difficult process to create a Holocaust Memorial in New York City. Beginning with the dedication of the site for a Holocaust Memorial, in Manhattan's Riverside Park, on October 19, 1947, and until the Museum opened its doors to the public 50 years later, the aspirations and plans to establish an appropriate commemoration of the Holocaust were loaded with frustrations and repeated dismissal.

Over the years, numerous plans for a N.Y. Holocaust Memorial were submitted but were either rejected by the City's planning authorities or failed to raise the necessary funding. The artists chosen by the various planners to submit designs for the planned monument included some of the most renowned architects and sculptors. These included Eric Mendelsohn (1951), two designs by Nathan Rapoport (1962 and 1964), and Louis Kahn (1968). Rapport's 1964 rejected submission was ultimately installed in the Jerusalem Hills and titled *Scrolls of Fire*.

A heightened awareness of the significance of the Holocaust for contemporary society from the late 1970s onwards, resulted in increased endeavors to commemorate the Holocaust and address both Jews and non-Jews alike. This included major TV productions, educational curriculums, and ultimately the establishment of Holocaust memorial centers and museums. Especially significant was the 1979 decision to create the *United States Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington, D.C.

In July 1981, New York's Mayor, Edward *Koch established a Holocaust Memorial Task Force, which evolved in September 1982 to the New York City Holocaust Commission, co-chaired by philanthropist and real estate developer George Klein and Manhattan district attorney, Robert M. Morgenthau. The stated goal was the creation of "a living memorial," meaning a museum rather than only a monument. Koch's declared rationale was clear: " New York City is regarded by all as the cultural and spiritual nucleus of American Jewry and is home to the largest number of Holocaust survivors… It is tragic that the city… still does not have a fitting memorial to the six million martyrs lost in the Second World War."

In February 1986, Governor Mario Cuomo was added to Mayor Koch as founding chairman of the now State Commission. This new development allowed for greater leverage in obtaining State-controlled properties on the tip of Manhattan in Battery Park. Other than allocation of land by the State, the project was to be funded by private financing. Yet, despite support by the local authorities, the project was unable to raise the required funds, resulting in repeated delays and causing it to be nearly forsaken.

Finally in October 1994, ground-breaking ceremonies unveiled Kevin Roche's design for a substantially reduced 30,000 sq. ft. building in Battery Park, symbolically situated opposite two major icons of American Jewish life, the Statue of Liberty and Ellis Island.

Having weathered the ups and downs of creating the new memorial since 1986, Museum director David Altshuler enthusiastically moved ahead in 1995 to create the team that would develop the Core Exhibit. Patrick Gallagher was hired as exhibit designer, Yitzchak Mais, the former director of Yad Vashem's Historical Museum, was appointed chief curator and together with filmmaker Max Lewkowicz combined to create a novel approach to Holocaust commemoration.

The three floors of the Museum portray Jewish life in the 20th century, before, during and after the Holocaust, thus providing an essential but all too often overlooked context for this tragic period in Jewish history. The exhibit's integration of artifacts, photos, text and videos, depict the human drama and highlight the personal narrative of individuals who actually experienced the historical events. This allows the visitors to develop an intimacy with the historical "participants," and results in a powerful emotional experience that will be remembered long after many of the facts, figures, and maps have faded.

The exhibit's narrative, while emphasizing the particular Jewish tragedy, permits its diverse audiences the opportunity to also focus on themselves – their own backgrounds, traditions and history – as they encounter the values, customs, and heritage of the Jewish people. The more universal a story is in its appeal, the more it can bridge cultural differences. Any group's life experiences are unique, but there are characteristics that are common to all people – hope, desire, frustration, fear, courage, and the instinct for survival. The museum's innovative approach of highlighting Human history, with a capital "H," tells the particular Jewish story with universal relevance for all audiences.

This approach is especially evident in the museum's second floor, "The War Against the Jews." In contrast to most other Holocaust exhibitions in North America which depict the Jews under Nazi domination as mere objects in a reign of ongoing terror, MJH:ALMTTH highlights how the Jews perceived and responded to the evolving persecution. Hence, based on the changing Nazi policies and the Jews' understanding of its implications, the Jews are not perceived by the visitors as passive victims, but rather as active agents who exhibited resourcefulness and vitality within the limitations imposed by the tragedy and calamity the Jews experienced during the Holocaust.

The review of the Core Exhibition in *The Wall Street Journal,* highlighted this innovative approach:

> Although the Museum of Jewish Heritage documents with unflinching detail Hitler's war against the Jews, it never permits its visitors to view Jews as faceless extras in the drama of Nazi butchery.

Appointed Museum director in 2000, David Marwell guided MJH: ALMTTH, to its role as a major educational and cultural institution. The realization of the original plans, which were scaled down for lack of budget, were finally accomplished with the dedication of the Robert M. Morgenthau wing in 2003 which provided auditoria, classrooms, a conference center as well as temporary exhibition space.

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[Yitzchak Mais (2nd ed.)]

MUSEUMS. In her entry on museums for the 1948 *Universal Jewish Encyclopedia* the eminent historian of Jewish art Rachel Bernstein Wischnitzer (1885–1989), founding curator of the Jewish Museum in Berlin, cited the origin of collecting and exhibiting of objects of Jewish art and archaeology as dating to 1863 when Félicien de Saulcy brought sarcophagi discovered in Jerusalem to the Louvre. In this way, she wrote, "Since the excavations in Palestine and other sites of [Jewish] archaeological interest were conducted by expeditions from many countries, Jewish excavation finds found their way into various museums all over the world …" Many finds were not related to the Jewish cultural heritage, but the significance of excavating in the Land of Israel was the study of the Bible. Similarly, interest in the Bible and other texts of the "people of the Book" led to the acquisition of important manuscripts and printed texts as some ceremonial objects for libraries and museums throughout Europe. The earliest group of Jewish ritual artifacts was acquired by the Victoria and Albert Museum, then called the South Kensington Museum, in London in 1855, just four years after the museum was established.

It is only in the modern age that there has been a concerted effort to develop museums of the Jewish cultural heritage with far-ranging collections to reflect the 4,000 year history of the Jewish people and Jewish life as it evolved in many lands among many different peoples. Beginning in the 1890s, the formation of Jewish museums in Europe, the United States, and in Ereẓ Israel reflected the phenomenon in Europe of the creation of public museums that began a century earlier and specifically the establishment of ethnographic collections in the mid-19th century. Prior to that time, collecting was the provenance of the nobility and the wealthy. While private wealth did enable some individuals to form collections of Jewish art, in the period before World War I, with increasing secularization, demographic changes, and the rise of nationalism, there was a growing trend to mobilize community preservation efforts and to raise public awareness of the importance of sustaining cultural heritage. Jewish art activities in Europe continued to thrive in Europe even after the Russian Revolution and World War I and heroically persisted even as the Nazis came to power.

In the decades following the Holocaust, there was some limited activity in Europe, but the major mantle of scholarship in the field of Jewish art became the responsibility of Jewish communities in the United States and in Israel. After the Six-Day War in 1967, there was a tremendous upsurge in interest in Jewish life and culture. In America, this occurrence paralleled a focus on ethnicity which significantly impacted American life. Since the late 1970s the most profound aspect of the emphasis on history as memory has been the building of hundreds of Holocaust museums and memorials worldwide. The effort to preserve local Jewish history has been a major impetus to establish Jewish museums in communities across the globe by restoring historic synagogues, in many cases where few Jews remain. Perhaps most astonishing is the revival of Jewish museums in Europe even where the Jewish community was largely destroyed during the Holocaust. By the 1950s Jewish museums had been established or reopened in the Netherlands, Germany, Austria, Greece, Italy, Spain, England, Ireland, Scandinavia, France, and Belgium.

With the collapse of communism in the late 1980s, Jewish museums, many in restored synagogues and other former Jewish communal buildings, have been created in the former East Germany, Hungary, Poland, the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Belarus, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Croatia, Latvia, Lithuania, Romania, Serbia, and Ukraine. Several collections thought to have been plundered during World War II have been brought to light. An ironic consequence of the loss of cultural artifacts during the Holocaust, is the development of contemporary *genizah* projects, the search for once discarded and hidden Judaica in Europe. The efforts of the Hidden Legacy Foundation in London and the Jewish Museum in Prague for example, have led to the discovery in *genizot* buried artifacts of a number of communities in Germany and Czechoslovakia. While these documents, sacred texts, and ritual objects were buried because they were outworn or no longer usable, their conservation has now become necessary because of the dire fate of the locations in which they were placed for safekeeping and the destruction of the communities that cared for them.

Over 20 countries with representation of several dozen museums are members of the Association of European Jewish Museums (AEFM), an important forum for new plans and developments. The association was established to promote the study of European Jewish history and seeks to protect and preserve Jewish sites and the Jewish cultural heritage in Europe. The Association of European Jewish Museums, the Council of American Jewish Museums (CAJM), which represents over 80 institutional and associate members, along with representatives of the vast network of museums in Israel, and colleagues worldwide – from Australia to South Africa, from Chile to China – seek more and more ways to work in partnership to preserve and interpret the Jewish cultural heritage.

Western Europe and the Mediterranean Rim

Isaac Strauss (1806–1888), conductor of the orchestra at the Paris Opera and for Napoleon III, was an avid art collector and purchased Judaica during his extensive travels. The first public display of Jewish ceremonial art was an exhibition of his collection at the Exposition Universelle at the Palais de Trocadéro in Paris in 1878. The Strauss Collection was purchased in 1890 by Baronne Charlotte, wife of Nathaniel de Rothschild, given to the State, and housed at the Musée de Cluny. The Strauss collection was fortuitously spared during World War II. The Strauss Collection was given a new home in 1999 when the *Musée d'art et d'histoire du Judaïsme opened in Paris in the magnificent restored 17th-century Hôtel de Saint-Aignan in the Marais quarter. The new museum is a successor to the Musée d'Art Juif which was founded in 1948 and acquired its collections. The grandchildren of Captain Alfred *Dreyfus (1859–1935) gifted the museum with the archives, numbering over 3,000 items, that chronicle the "Dreyfus Affair" – the accusation of treason, his court-martial, conviction, imprisonment, and finally exoneration in 1904 – which revealed the persistence of antisemitism in France and became an international issue. The museum also has a long-term loan of ceremonial objects from the Consistory of Paris, never before seen by the general public.

Paris was also the home of the oldest Jewish national historical society, the Société des Études Juives, founded in 1880. On the eve of the French Revolution, Alsace was home to more than half of French Jewry. When the decree of emancipation in 1791 gave Jews full citizenship and the right to practice any trade, many Jews left the rural communities. In 1905, the Société d'Histoire des Israélites d'Alsace et de Lorraine was established to preserve traditional folkways. Headed by Rabbi Moise Ginsburger and Charlés Levy, the society collected objects and recorded oral traditions. These were deposited in the Musée Alsacien in Strasbourg specifically created to preserve the distinctive regional folk culture. In recent years, there has been an upsurge in documentation of Jewish life in Alsace. Over 200 sites are on record, a number of which have already been restored and now are home to Jewish museums including in Bischheim, Bouxwiller, Colmar, and Marmoutier. Two 18th-century synagogues in Carpentras and Cavaillon in Comtat Venaissan, formerly an area where Jews were given protection by the popes of Avignon, have also been preserved.

The first attempt to create a Jewish museum in Belgium dates to 1932, but it was not successful. The 1981 exhibition, "150 years of Belgium Jewish Life," held at the Brussels town hall was the impetus for establishing the Pro Museo Judaico. The Jewish Museum in Brussels opened in 1990 and in 2004 moved to a building donated by the Belgian government.

The Anglo-Jewish Historical Exhibition presented at the Royal Albert Hall in London in 1887 was the first major exposition organized to further interest in the historic preservation of Judaic art and artifacts. Plans for the exhibition grew out of the attempt to establish an Anglo-Jewish historical society and motivated by the threatened demolition of the Bevis Marks Synagogue, a landmark since its dedication in 1701. The exhibition was spearheaded by Lucien Wolf (1857–1930), a historian and publicist, and Alfred A. Newman (1851–1887), a collector of Anglo-Jewish books, pamphlets, and portraits, and guided by Sir Isidore Spielmann (1854–1925), an organizer of art exhibitions. Some 2,500 items were displayed, including ceremonial objects, antiquities, paintings, prints, documents and books on loan from some 345 lenders, both individuals and institutions and included the Strauss collection from Paris. Another important collection was that of Reuben D. Sassoon (1835–1905), largely purchased from Philip Salomons (1796–1867), the brother of Sir David *Salomons, the first Jew to serve as lord mayor of London.

A diverse, ecumenical general committee participated in the planning of the exhibition and related public programs. This inclusion reflects a political agenda that factored in the rescue and preservation of the cultural artifacts of the Jewish people. In England, as elsewhere in Europe and in the United States, an underlying aim was to dispel age-old prejudices and stereotypes and to increase awareness of the contributions made by Jews and the Jewish community to society at large. The Anglo-Jewish Historical Society was formed in 1893. The London Jewish Museum was established in 1932, an effort spearheaded by historian Cecil *Roth (1899–1970) and Wilfred *Samuel (1886–1958). The Jewish Museum is considered the National Collection of Judaica. Important early collections include objects from the Arthur Howitt collection purchased in 1932, the Kahn Collection of 18th-century textiles, and the Franklin Collection of ceremonial silver. For many years, the collection was housed in the Library of the Jews' college at Woburn House in Tavistock Square, along with the main institutions of the Jewish community. Since 1995, the museum has been located in the Raymond Burton House in Camden, a restored 1844 building. Today, the London Jewish Museum also encompasses the London Museum of Jewish Life founded in 1983 to focus on the more recent history of Jewish life in Britain from the late 19th century to the present. The Ben-Uri Society was established in 1915. The founders, many of whom were Yiddish-speaking immigrants, aspired to develop a collection of fine arts that would demonstrate the significant contribution of Jewish artists. Today its collections represent the work of some 350 artists and is one of the most important of its type in Europe. In Manchester the Jewish Museum opened in 1984 in the former Spanish and Portuguese Synagogue built in 1874.

The Irish Jewish Museum, dedicated in 1985, is housed in the now restored Walworth Road Synagogue, in the heart of what was once a Jewish neighborhood of Dublin. The collections represent Jewish communities in Belfast, Cork, Derry, Dublin, Limerick, and Waterford.

The Jewish community in Italy was the very first in Western Europe, and only in Italy has there been continuous settlement since Jews first arrived during the era of the Roman Empire. Today few, if any, Jewish residents remain in many of the once thriving communities. A number of synagogues have been restored and often ceremonial objects, along with a history of the particular locale, are displayed.

Rome is home to the largest Jewish community in Italy. The Jewish Museum in Rome is located in the Tempio Israelitico, built in 1904 in the area of the old demolished ghetto. The Jewish Museum in Florence is located in the historic 1882 Moorish revival style synagogue. Also in Tuscany, there is a Jewish museum in Livorno, and the Sienna synagogue has been restored. In Venice, all of the five synagogues in the area that was the ghetto have been preserved. Each represents one aspect of the community's diverse background, the richly appointed interiors epitomizing the greatness of Italian Jewish art. In nearby Padua, the museum is at the site of the last surviving synagogue, which dates back to 1548 and which was actually closed from 1893 until after World War II. The Jewish Museum in Bologna, located in the area of the former ghetto, and along with the synagogue of Modena and the Jewish museums of Soragna and Ferrara promote an awareness of the long, rich history of Jewish culture in the Emilia-Romagna region. In Piedmont, Jewish museums are found in the restored synagogues in Asti, Casale Monferrato, and Turin. There is also a Jewish Museum in Trieste.

Jewish settlement in Spain also dates to the first centuries of the Roman Empire. The expulsion of the Jews from Spain in 1492 was a major turning point in the history of the Jewish people, and it was not until the second half of the 19th century that Jews returned. The Museo Sefardi in Toledo, Spain established in 1964 which is now located in the restored El Tránsito Synagogue, built between 1336 and 1357 by Samuel ha-Levi, who held several important posts in the court of King Pedro I of Castilla. Fortunately, in 1877, the building, which had been used as a hospital and later a church, was declared a National Monument. Preservation was begun by the government and completed under the auspices of the Museo Sefardi. A museum has also been formed in Girona in conjunction with the Naḥmanides Institute for Jewish Studies. Following the expulsion from Spain some 150,000 Jews fled to Portugal. But it was not to be a safe haven and in 1497 Jews were forced to leave. The oldest existing synagogue in Portugal was built in 1438 in Tomar. Classified as a national monument in 1921, it was donated to the state in 1939 for use as a museum. Today it houses the Abraham Zacuto Luso Jewish Museum.

The Joodsch Historisch Museum (Jewish Historical Museum) in Amsterdam, founded in 1931 was re-opened in its original home in the medieval Waagebouw (Weigh-House) in 1955. Eighty percent of its collection was lost during the war; the rest was recovered in Germany. In 1974, the Amsterdam City Council, which then held title to the buildings, voted that the abandoned Ashkenazi Synagogue complex should become the new home of the Jewish Historical Museum. Four historic synagogues, two of which were built in the 17th century and two in the 18th, were restored and physically linked to form the museum. The buildings had been badly damaged in the war, and the replacement elements are all of contemporary design, symbolically serving as a reminder of what has been lost.

The effort to establish a Jewish museum in Denmark was launched in 1985. The museum opened in 2003, in what was the Royal Boat House, built by King Christian IV at the turn of the 17th century. The choice of this site is significant because it was at the invitation of King Christian that Jews were fist invited to settle in Scandinavia. Noted architect Daniel *Libeskind transformed the historic space for use as the Jewish museum using the concept of *mitzvah* for the overall matrix of his plan.

The Jewish Museum in Basle exhibits objects and documents related to the history of the Jewish community in Switzerland. Basle was the site of the First Zionist Congress in 1897 and documents and mementos from the Congress are on display. A group of tombstones from the 13th century are installed in the courtyard.

The Jewish Museum in Stockholm, was founded in 1987. In 1999, it was accorded the status of a national museum by the Swedish government. In Norway, the Jewish Museum in Trondheim opened in 1997 in the main building of the former railway station, built in 1864, which was converted for use as a synagogue in 1925 and rededicated after World War II.

The Jewish Museum of Greece in Athens was founded in 1977 by Nikos Stavroulakis, who was also the founding director of the Jewish Museum in Thessaloniki in 2000. In addition to collecting archives and artifacts of the two-millennia-old Jewish heritage in Greece, both museums have undertaken the recording and photographing of Jewish monuments, synagogues, and cemeteries endangered because nearly 90 percent of the Jewish population perished during the Holocaust. The Jewish Museum of Rhodes was founded in 1997 and is located adjacent to the Kahal Shalom Synagogue built in 1577. The Jewish community in Turkey also traces its roots to antiquity. The Jewish Museum in Istanbul, housed in the historic Zülfaris Synagogue, was founded in 2001 by the Quincentennial Foundation, which commemorates the 500th anniversary of the 1492 expulsion of the Jews from Spain and the welcome to the Ottoman Empire. The Jewish Museum is the first to be established in a predominantly Muslim country. The vast majority of Moroccan Jews left for Israel, France, and the United States after 1948. The Jewish Museum in Casablanca, Morocco, preserves and records the long history of Jewish life in Morocco and has been involved in the restoration of synagogues.

Central and Eastern Europe

Beginning with a study group in Vienna established in 1895, there was a proliferation of societies in Europe dedicated to the furtherance of Jewish art, which was a consequence of the growing awareness of issues of Jewish identity in the face of modern life. The Gesellschaft fuer Sammlung und Konservierung von Kunst und historischen Denkmälern des Judentums (Society for the Collection and Conservation of Jewish Art and Historic Monuments) also established the first Jewish museum. About 20,000 objects and 30,000 books were recovered in 1945 and returned to the Jewish community. In the 1960s there was a short-lived effort at re-opening the museum. In 1990, the city of Vienna founded a new Jewish Museum, which opened in 1993. The Museum Judenplatz Vienna was inaugurated in 2000 along with a Holocaust memorial designed by Rachel Whiteread. The museum, entered through a 500-year-old Jewish community building still active today, preserves the remains of a newly discovered 13th-century synagogue.

The home of Samson *Wertheimer (1658–1724), court Jew to Emperor Leopold I, in Eisenstadt today houses the Austrian Jewish Museum that opened in 1982. An earlier Jewish museum that was founded by Sándor Wolf (1871–1946) in the 1930s was plundered during World War II. Samson Wertheimer, who was also a rabbi, had a private synagogue in his home. His *schul*, one of the few Jewish places of worship not destroyed during the Holocaust, was rededicated in 1979. A Jewish museum in Hohenems is located in the historic Heimann-Rosenthal villa which dates to 1864 and focuses on Salomon *Sulzer (1804–1890), renowned composer of Jewish music.

Alexander David (1687–1765), a Court Jew from Braunschweig, formed the earliest known collection of Judaica originating with the ceremonial objects used in his private synagogue. In 1747, the private synagogue became a community house of prayer and was maintained as such until 1875. Today, David's collection forms the core of the Judaica department of the Braunschweig Landesmuseum in Germany.

In Frankfurt-am-Main, a Catholic art historian and director of the Duesseldorf Kunstgewerbemuseum (Museum of Applied Art), Heinrich Frauberger (1845–1920), formed the Gesellschaft zur Erforschung Juedischer Kunstdenkmaeler (Society for the Research of Jewish Art Objects) in 1901. The Frankfurt Jewish Museum, established in 1922, was destroyed on **Kristallnacht*, the Night of the Broken Glass, Nov. 9, 1938, and was reopened in 1988 in the former Rothschild Palais on the 50th anniversary of the infamous pogrom that began the massive destruction by the Nazis of Jewish homes, businesses, and cultural and religious institutions. Frauberger also formed a collection of Jewish art. In 1908, he curated the first exhibition in Germany of Jewish ceremonial objects at the Duesseldorf Kunstgewerbemuseum. Frauberger later sold his collection to Salli Kirschstein (1869–1935), a successful Berlin businessman. In addition to the influence of Frauberger and the Frankfurt group, Salli Kirschstein's collection also reflects the work of Max *Grunwald (1871–1953), who had issued a call in Hamburg in 1896 to establish a Museum fuer juedische Volkskunde, which aimed to study Jewish folklore studies as a means for Jews to represent what they shared in common with other peoples. A Jewish museum was subsequently established in Hamburg prior to World War I. Today, the Hamburg Historical Museum maintains Judaica department.

Salli *Kirschstein established a private museum in his Berlin home to educate Jews and non-Jews alike through the material evidence of Jewish culture. In particular this was his response to the absence of any representation of Jewish life in the Arts and Crafts and Ethnology Museum in Berlin. Kirschstein's encyclopedic approach to collecting including ceremonial objects, fine arts, manuscripts and rare books as well as historic documents would later serve as a paradigm for other Jewish museums.

There were other initiatives to bring Jewish art to Berlin. The first exhibition of the work of Jewish artists sponsored by the Verein zur Foederung juedischer Kunst (Society for the Furthering of Jewish Art) was held in Berlin in 1908. Another effort at establishing a Jewish Museum in Berlin was based on the art collection of Albert Wolf (1841–1907). In 1917, the collection was displayed in the community administration building adjacent to the historic Neue Synagog on Oranienburgerstrasse. Lack of funding, and a theft in 1923, left the community collection in compromised straits. A new society to support a Jewish Museum in Berlin was established in 1924, with Salli Kirschstein as a participant. However, his collection never became the nucleus of the expanded effort. In 1926, Kirschstein sold his collection numbering over 6,000 items to the Hebrew Union College in Cincinnati, Ohio, in the United States. A second group of objects he collected was sold at auction in 1932. Fifteen of them became part of the collection of the Jewish Museum in Berlin which was, at long last, dedicated on January 24, 1933, just six days before the Nazis came to power. The Nazis closed the museum in 1938 and Allied bombing heavily damaged the Oranienburgerstrasse Synagogue. When the city became divided, the synagogue was in the eastern sector. A change in government policy precipitated by the declining fortunes of communism led to the decision in 1988 to create the Stiftung Centrum Judaicum-Neue Synagoge, which established a memorial and cultural center in the synagogue. In West Berlin, a Jewish Department of the Berlin City Museum, which was located in the Kollegienhaus, a former Baroque Prussian courthouse, was established in the early 1970s. In 1989, Daniel Libeskind's design won a competition for what was officially the "Expansion of the Berlin Museum with a Jewish-Museum Section." The striking post-modern building became a destination in its own right and was visited by a quarter of a million people during a year and a half period after the building was completed in 1999 before closing to install the exhibitions. The Jewish Museum Berlin opened officially on September 8, 2001. Among its creators were two men exiled from Berlin by the Nazis: Michael Blumenthal and Jeshajahu Weinberg,

In the interwar period, Jewish museums were also established in Kassel, Munich, and Mainz. Theodor Harbinger conducted a survey for the Center for Collecting Jewish Art in Bavaria in Munich under the auspices of the Verband Bayerishcher Israelitischer Gemeinden. Plans are in the works for a new Jewish museum to be built in Munich in a complex that will also include a synagogue and community center. In Mainz the museum was formed by the Verein zur Pflege Juedischer Altertuemer in Mainz where in 1931 there was a landmark convention of Jewish art historians, collectors, and curators who met to discuss collaborating on developing a unified methodology of cataloging, photographing and exhibiting collections of Jewish art.

From the mid-1980s and especially since the reunification of Germany, numerous Jewish museums have been established and nearly 100 synagogues have been restored, many of them with exhibitions. The Jewish Museum of Franconia has three sites: in Fuerth, in the former home of the Court Jew family Fromm, built in 1702; in Schnaittach, in a synagogue built in 1570; and in Schwabach, where a painted *sukkah* was found in a house on Synagogengasse. The Jewish Museum in Augsburg is in a restored synagogue – originally dedicated in 1917, it was badly damaged in 1938 and restored in 1985. In 1982, the former wedding hall of the Jewish quarter of Worms located next to the destroyed Romanesque synagogue became the home of Rashi House, a Jewish museum and archive named in honor of the leading commentator of the Bible Rabbi Solomon ben Isaac (*Rashi; 1040–1105). Others are to be found in Baisingen, Essen, Groebzig, Halberstadt, Ichenhausen, Rendsburg, and Veitshoechheim. The site of Jewish Museum Creglingen was a Jewish property from 1618 which was restored to Jewish ownership in 1998 by a descendant of the original owner.

In Prague, Salomon Hugo *Lieben (1881–1942), a historian, galvanized efforts to collect Judaica when urban renewal threatened the demolition of several historic synagogues. He founded the Verein zur Gruendung und Erhaltung eines juedisches Museums in Prag (Organization for the founding and Maintenance of a Jewish Museum in Prague). Lieben's efforts to preserve the Jewish cultural heritage of Bohemia and Moravia extended to rural villages as well. In 1926, the growing collection was moved into the former Ceremonial Hall of the Prague Ḥevra Kaddisha, the burial society, which is still used as an exhibit space for the museum. Lieben headed the museum until 1938. During World War II the Prague synagogues and the museum were used as storehouses for confiscated Jewish property from Bohemia and Moravia. Ironically, a plan for preservation of the property in order to care for and promote the unique heritage of Jewish culture suggested by Dr. Karel Stein (1906–1961) led to the establishment of a Central Jewish Museum in Prague. The plan was accepted by the Nazis for a very different reason – they wanted to create a perfect storehouse – a resource for the study of the Jewish people from which future exhibitions could be developed. They presumed that the Jewish "race," as they termed it, would be extinct.

At the end of the war, the collection which numbered 1,000 objects in 1939, had over 100,000 catalog cards recording information about the over 200,000 objects, books, and archives handled by the museum staff. The museum, under the aegis of the Prague Jewish Community Council, renewed its work focusing on efforts to return property to individuals and to any re-established Jewish communities. However, by 1949, the council determined it could no longer maintain the historic buildings in Prague's Jewish Quarter or the museum collections. In April 1950 the Prague Jewish Museum was taken over by the state and placed under the control of the Ministry of Education. Finally, in October 1994, five years after the fall of the Communist government, the museum was returned to the Federation of Jewish communities of the Czech Republic. In addition to the former ceremonial hall of the Prague burial society, the exhibits are housed in five historic synagogues. Across Bohemia and Moravia, with the leadership of the Jewish Museum in Prague, sites are being researched, reclaimed, and preserved. A number of restored synagogues, some of which serve other functions such as concert halls, also have museums including in Boskovice, Decín, Holešov, Kolin, Mikulov-Nikolsburg, Plzeň, Polná, Rakovnik, Rychnov, Slavkov-Austerlitz, and Třěbíč.

In the Slovak Republic the Museum of Jewish Culture in Slovakia was established in 1991 Bratislava as part of the Slovak National Museum. The Jewish Museum Prešov housed in the restored 1898 synagogue is seen as the successor to the museum organized in 1928 by Rabbi Theodore Austerlitz and Eugen Bárkány. That collection was among those sent to Prague during the war and when returned became part of the Bratislava collection.

The Jewish museum in Budapest was founded in 1910 and officially opened in 1916. In 1932, under the direction of Erno Naményi (d. 1958), the museum, which had fallen on hard times, reopened in a building attached to the famed Dohány Synagogue. During the war, the most important of the museum's objects were crated and hidden in the basement of the Hungarian National Museum, fortunately these were returned in good order. After the war, Naményi and others worked to restore the museum. The museum was reopened in 1947, but the next years would be difficult. Ilona Benoschofsky, director for two decades from 1963, with the expertise of renowned manuscript scholar Alexander Scheiber catalogued the collection. The museum underwent a major renovation in the 1990s.

The Jewish Historical Museum in Belgrade, Serbia, was established in 1948 and since 1969 has been housed in the Federation of Jewish Communities building. The collection includes many objects saved during World War II and later returned to Jewish hands and the archives document many destroyed Jewish communities. Marking the 400th anniversary of Sephardi settlement in Bosnia-Herzegovina, a museum of the history of the Jews was opened in Sarajevo in 1965 in the synagogue built in 1580. Closed during the Bosnian War, the museum has not reopened. The famed Sarajevo *Haggadah* was put on display in the National Museum in 2002. The Jewish Museum in Sofia, Bulgaria is located adjacent to the Sofia Central Synagogue. In Dubrovnik, Croatia a museum was established in the 17th-century Kahal Adat Yisrael Synagogue which was restored and rededicated in 1997. In Bucharest, the Museum of the Jewish Community in Romania opened in the former Great Synagogue in 1992.

The demographics of the Jewish world rapidly shifted with the onset of a wave of pogroms in Eastern Europe beginning in 1881 following the assassination of Czar Alexander II. No longer willing to endure the poverty and degradation, over two million Jews left Eastern Europe and moved westward, with the United States, and the promise of economic opportunity and religious and political freedom, the chosen destination of the majority of them. Even as many were leaving there were already profound changes taking place within Jewish society, as many Jews had begun to abandon traditional Judaism as they sought a more modern way of life. Simon Dubnow (1860–1941) issued what was the earliest appeal to recognize the importance of the historical documents and other cultural artifacts of the Jews of Eastern Europe. The rapid changes in Jewish life also motivated the well-known author S. *An-Ski (Solomon Zainwil Rapoport, 1863–1920) to organize an expedition to collect documents, ceremonial objects, and ethnographic artifacts and to gather folktales and songs. An-Ski's motivation was the idealistic belief that the materials collected would provide a source for a Jewish cultural renaissance. The collecting efforts went on from 1912 to 1914 throughout the Ukraine, Podolia, and Volhynia. Even during the war, An-Ski, dressed as a Russian officer and working with the Red Cross, continued to salvage what he could from destroyed Jewish villages on the Galician front. The An-Ski collection was deposited in the State Ethnographic Museum in St. Petersburg. There is now also a Jewish Museum in St. Petersburg which sees its work as being in the tradition of An-Ski and of the first Jewish museum which closed in 1929.

An-Ski escaped from Russia in 1918 and made his way to Vilna. Though in poor health, he re-established the museum founded by the Society of Lovers of Jewish Antiquity in 1913, its collection having been destroyed during the war. *YIVO, the Yidisher Visenshaftlikher Institute (Institute for Jewish Research) founded in Berlin in 1925, with Vilna selected to be the central site of the new organization, became the most important center for research on Eastern European Jewish art and ethnography. In 1939 Max *Weinreich (1894–1969), co-founder and guiding light of YIVO, was on a lecture tour in Finland when the Germans invaded Poland. He made his way to New York and immediately began to work to keep YIVO active. Fortunately, a large portion of the collection of books, manuscripts, and archival items looted by the Germans was recovered after the war and transferred to YIVO's new home in New York.

During the war, Herman Kruk (1897–1944) led a heroic effort of cultural resistance by maintaining a library in the ghetto and collecting ceremonial objects, artwork, and other cultural artifacts belonging to deported Jews and in abandoned Jewish institutions. Aware that the Nazis were on to their plan Kruk and a few assistants known as the "Paper Brigade" attempted to hide rare books and documents. Two survivors of the Paper brigade, Abraham Sutzkever and Smerke Kaczerginski, returned to Vilna in July 1944 with the Soviet army liberating the city. Little remained, but they determined to reopen the Jewish museum. Beset with difficulties from the authorities, the museum staff shipped out what they could from Soviet Vilnius. The museum was shut down in 1948. After the breakup of the former Soviet Union, YIVO documents were discovered in Vilnius in a church used by the Lithuanian national library for storage. Though not returned to YIVO, a compromise was reached and the documents were sent to New York to be microfilmed then sent back to Vilnius. In 1989, a new Jewish museum was established in Vilnius as the Vilna Gaon State Jewish Museum. On October 3, 2000, the Lithuanian Parliament voted to return 300 scrolls from the holdings of the National Library to the Jewish people. In January 2002, a delegation from Israel led by then Ashkenazi chief rabbi Israel Meir *Lau, himself a survivor, traveled to Vilnius to bring the scrolls to Israel. YIVO now a partner in the Center for Jewish History which opened in New York in the spring of 2000 expanded its scope of work after the move to New York, with the scholarly mission adding a focus on the influence of East European Jewish culture as it has developed in the Americas.

Another group of objects rediscovered in the aftermath of the collapse of the Soviet Union were artifacts from the private collection of Maksymilian Goldstein (1880–1942) and which, along with the contents of the Lvov (Lviv) Jewish Community Museum, were feared to have been destroyed or lost during World War II. Today the collection is housed in the Ukrainian Museum of Ethnography and Artistic Crafts. Goldstein had placed his collection with the museum after the German occupation 1942. Though the movement to form a collection in Lvov had been spearheaded by Goldstein, there was interest in the general community to form such a collection. The nationalist impulse was a major factor, and indeed, Jewish objects had already been displayed at the Municipal Museum as early as 1894 as part of a regional exhibition.

A Jewish museum established by the Jewish Cultural League in Kiev in 1920 existed for about a decade and another in Odessa, also closed in the 1930s. Plundered by the Nazis, the Odessa collection was removed to Germany and was discovered in Bavaria by British forces after the war. The Museum of the History of Odessa's Jews opened in 2002 during an international conference. Other Jewish Museums in the Ukraine are located in Nikolaev, Simferopol, and Sevastopol.

In Belarus, the Marc Chagall Museum, opened in the artist's boyhood home in Vitebsk in 1992. In Riga, the Museum of the Jews in Latvia is housed in the Jewish Community Center and highlights many important Jewish personalities from Latvia, including R. Abraham *Kook, the first Ashkenazi chief rabbi of Palestine during the period of the British Mandate. With the political change in Russia, there even are now plans to develop a major Jewish museum in Moscow to be located in a former bus depot donated by the government.

In Poland, Matthias Bersohn (1823–1908) spearheaded the effort to establish a Jewish museum in Warsaw. Bersohn also contributed to ethnographic and folklore studies with his photographic survey of wooden synagogues in Poland. The museum in Warsaw which opened in 1910 was founded with his bequest. The museum was destroyed during the bombardment of Warsaw in 1939. The Museum of the Jewish Historical Institute in Warsaw began its activities in 1948, the first museum to collect artifacts of the Jewish cultural heritage in the postwar period. In the early 21st century building plans were underway for a new museum.

Bersohn's survey was expanded through the efforts of Majer Balaban (1877–1942), a Lvov native and historian of Polish Jewry who photographed Jewish landmarks, life, and artifacts. In Krakow in 1935, Balaban encouraged the creation of a Jewish museum to preserve the many treasures of the large synagogues, the Stara Synagoga, the Rema Synagogue, and the Hoyche Schul. During the war the collection was plundered and the Stara Synagoga was used as a warehouse by the Nazis. Restored after the war, since 1958 the synagogue has housed a Museum of Jewish History and Culture as a branch of the Krakow History Museum. A Jewish museum was established in Breslau (now Wroclaw) in 1929, also by a Society of friends, the Verein Juedisches Museum Breslau.

In Danzig (Gdansk, Poland, since 1945) a museum was founded in the Great Synagogue in 1904 when Lesser Gieldzinski (1830–1910) presented his private collection of Judaica to the synagogue to commemorate his 75th birthday. In 1939, the Gieldzinski Collection, along with the ceremonial objects of the Great Synagogue of Danzig, was sent to the Jewish Museum in New York. An agreement stipulated that if after 15 years there were no safe and free Jews in Danzig the objects were to remain in America for the education and inspiration of the rest of the world.

[Grace Cohen Grossman (2nd ed.)]

Ereẓ Israel

The history of Jewish museums in Ereẓ Israel began with the efforts of Boris *Schatz, who founded the *Bezalel School for Arts and Crafts in Jerusalem. The Lithuanian-born Schatz (1866–1932) trained in Paris and in 1895 became court sculptor to Prince Ferdinand of Bulgaria. In a meeting with Theodor Herzl in 1903 Schatz proposed his vision for an art school that meshed with Zionist ideology. He chose the name of the biblical artist Bezalel as a symbol of the continuity of art in Jewish life. Schatz expressed that his mission was for a Jewish art to come into being which would weave together the cultural threads that had been pulled apart and damaged during the 2,000 years of the Diaspora experience. His idealism was tempered with reality for he planned for the students to learn crafts, which could be sold to help support the school. In the wake of Herzl's untimely death at age 44 in 1904, Schatz sought the backing of various Zionist institutions. His proposal was officially accepted at the 1905 Zionist Congress and the school was launched a year later. The Bezalel Museum was founded soon thereafter. By 1910, Bezalel had 32 different departments, over 500 students and a ready market for its works in Jewish communities in Europe and the United States. The school was closed during World War I and again after Schatz passed away in 1932. The museum was incorporated into the *Israel Museum when it opened in 1964 as the national museum (see below). The Bezalel Academy of Art and Design remains as a premier art school today.

From its beginnings in the mid-19th century archaeologists have actively explored the land of Israel seeking evidence of the rich heritage of cultures and civilizations of the peoples who have played a part in shaping its history. Some 15,000 archaeological sites are currently known and new ones are discovered all the time. Though of course many date well before the period of the Israelites and span in time to much later settlers, the sense of being enveloped by history is all-encompassing. Numerous excavation sites have become archaeological parks.

It is perhaps emblematic of how deeply museums are entwined with history that David Ben-Gurion announced the establishment of the State of Israel in the Tel Aviv Museum of Art. Independence Hall is located in what was originally the home of Meir *Dizengoff, first mayor of Tel Aviv. Dizengoff gave it to the city for the creation of an art museum. With its rich collections of modern paintings, sculpture, and graphic art, and its many visiting exhibits, the museum was housed in a new building in 1971. Founded in 1932, it expanded with the addition of the Helena Rubinstein Pavilion in 1958.

The complex Ha-Areẓ ("Homeland") Museum started with nine separate pavilions: museums for glass, ceramics, numismatics, ethnography and folklore, science and technology (including a planetarium), antiquities of Jaffa and Tel Aviv, the history of Tel Aviv, the alphabet, and Tel Qasile excavations. There are also ten other museums in Tel Aviv, including a Museum of Man and his Work, the Haganah, and the Jabotinsky Museum.

The Israel Museum, situated in the heart of modern Jerusalem, houses a collection of Jewish and world art, the archaeology of the Holy Land, and the Dead Sea Scrolls. The museum was founded to collect, preserve, study, and display the cultural and artistic treasures of the Jewish people throughout its long history as well as the art, ethnology, and archeology of the Land of Israel and its neighboring countries. It also aims at encouraging original Israeli art. The exhibition area totaled 17,000 sq. m. (about 20,500 sq. yd.) with an additional 19,000 sq. m. (about 23,000 sq. yd.) for storage, laboratories, workshops, a library, and offices, including those of the Israel government Department of Antiquities. The museum includes the Billy Rose Art Garden and the Shrine of the Book.

The Haifa municipality administers museums of ancient and modern art, a maritime museum, and the "Dagon," a grain museum showing the cultivation and storage of grain through the ages.

No section of the country is without its regional and local museums, most of them created and maintained to satisfy the intense interest of the people in their past. In the north, *Beth-Shean, the ancient fortress city guarding the road from the east, displays a collection of archaeological finds and mosaics from the town and its environs; at the nearby kibbutz *Nir David is a museum of Mediterranean archaeology. The Mishkan le-Ommanut, the art museum at kibbutz *En-Harod, the first rural museum in the country, started in 1933. The object of this museum is to collect Jewish art, and it has already a rich collection of Jewish painting, sculpture, and Jewish folk art from all over the world. Beit Sturman at En-Harod exhibits the history and archaeology of the region. Wilfred Israel House, at kibbutz *Ha-Zore'a, exhibits artistic objects from the Far East and archaeological finds from the village fields; Bet Ussishkin, in kibbutz *Dan, is both a natural history museum for the Ḥuleh region and the site museum for the excavations at nearby Tel Dan. There are museums at *Ḥanitah and *Sasa in Upper Galilee, Tiberias and Nazareth in Lower Galilee, *Ayyelet ha-Shaḥar by ancient *Ḥazor, *Bet She'arim, close to the Jewish necropolis of the talmudic period, and *Megiddo with its imposing mound.

The coastal region is represented by municipal museums in *Acre, site museums in *Sedot Yam showing the antiquities of *Caesarea, and *Ma'agan Mikha'el showing objects found in the sea; the regional museum at Midreshet Ruppin in Ḥefer Plain exemplifies the local flora and fauna, as well as the history of the area's modern villages and their ancient sites. In the Negev, Beersheba has an archaeological museum; the kibbutzim Gevulot, Kissufim, Mishmar ha-Negev, and Nirim have their own collections; the site museums of Masadah, En-Gedi, Arad, and Avedat exhibit representative collections of the finds; *Eilat has a museum of modern art, as well as a maritime museum.

Since 1948, museums have flourished throughout Israel and today number over 150. Among them are numerous museums devoted to topics of Jewish and Israeli history, Jewish art, ceremonial art, ethnography and folklore. Important collections have been developed reflecting the ingathering to Israel of refugees from Europe and Arab Lands. An important development in recent years has been the focus on the vibrant legacies of communities like Afghanistan, Kurdistan, Iraq, Morocco, Yemen and of Jews who lived under Ottoman rule.

[Avraham Biran / Grace Cohen Grossman (2nd ed.)]

The Americas

UNITED STATES. The oldest collection of Judaica in the United States was established in 1887 as part of a department of comparative religion at the Smithsonian Institution. The collection was acquired under the direction of Cyrus *Adler (1863–1940), a young curator who had just completed his Ph.D. at Johns Hopkins University, the first to be awarded in the field of Semitics in the United States. Like his compatriots in England who organized the Anglo-Jewish Historical Exhibition, Adler intended that the collection of Jewish ceremonial objects be used in educational exhibitions in order to counteract ignorance of Judaism and prejudice against Jews.

Adler was also a central figure in the founding of the *American Jewish Historical Society in 1892. The AJHS, which has the distinction of being the first ethnic historical organization in the United States, pioneered the collection of archives, books, and artifacts of American Jewry.

In 1904, Judge Mayer *Sulzberger (1843–1923) presented the Jewish Theological Seminary Library in New York with a gift of 26 ceremonial objects to serve as the nucleus for a Jewish museum. Judge Sulzberger was a cousin of Cyrus Adler's, who by this time had become president of JTS in addition to his responsibilities at the Smithsonian. In 1925, Adler was responsible for the acquisition of the collection of Hadji Ephraim Benguiat (d. 1918), an antique dealer who amassed the earliest collection of Sephardic Jewish objects, which he brought to the United States in 1888 and which was displayed at the 1893 World's Fair and subsequently at the Smithsonian Institution. The ominous storm clouds gathering in Europe in the late 1930s brought two additional collections to the museum. The first, through the American Jewish *Joint Distribution Committee, was the Danzig Collection. The second was the collection of Benjamin and Rose Mintz which they brought to the United States from Poland in 1939. The Mintz Collection was purchased by the museum in 1947.

In 1947, the *Jewish Museum moved to its own quarters in the former Warburg Mansion on Fifth Avenue. Stephen Kayser (1900–1988) and Guido Schoenberger (1891–1974), both distinguished art historians and émigrés from Nazi Germany, set a standard of leadership in exhibitions and collections development for nearly two decades. The collection would grow even more with the gift of 10,000 objects from museum supporter Harry G. Friedman (d. 1965), who began acquiring Judaica during the war years. The Jewish Cultural Reconstruction (JCR) was based at the Jewish Museum through 1952. In the aftermath of World War II, the JCR was the organization given the authority by the U.S. State Department to identify and redistribute Nazi looted Jewish ceremonial objects, archives, and books for which no heirs could be found that were located in the American Occupied Sector of Germany. Salo W. *Baron (1895–1989), pre-eminent Jewish historian, spearheaded the campaign to form the JCR, which included representatives of all the major Jewish national and international organizations and served as its president. Hannah *Arendt (1906–1979), political philosopher and author, was the executive secretary for day-to-day operations.

A pioneering initiative was the establishment in 1956 of the Tobe Pascher Workshop for contemporary ceremonial art, whose founding director was Ludwig Wolpert (1900–1981), a German-trained silversmith who came from his home in Jerusalem to direct the workshop. Another was the annual commission by collectors of contemporary art, Albert and Vera List, to commission prominent American artists to make an original graphic for the museum for the Jewish New Year.

From 1970, when Joy Ungerleider-Mayerson (1920–1994), archaeologist and philanthropist, became director, and during the tenure of her successor Joan Rosenbaum beginning in 1980, the museum has continued to actively develop its collections and to present a wide-ranging series of exhibitions and programs. In recent years, The Jewish Museum has focused on presenting a series of major art exhibitions. The JTS Library has maintained a large and important collection of illustrated manuscripts, illuminated ceremonial texts, and prints.

A second Jewish Museum was founded at the Hebrew Union College Library in Cincinnati in 1913 through the impetus of the National Federation of Temple Sisterhoods, whose members recognized the merit of saving family heirlooms. The HUC Librarian Adolph Oko (1883–1944) undertook to develop the museum by acquiring important collections in Europe. His crowning achievement was the purchase of the Salli Kirschstein collection in 1926. Unfortunately, the collections remained in storage for many years until the museum was officially reestablished in 1948 by then president Dr. Nelson *Glueck (1900–1971), a pioneering biblical archaeologist who contributed to the museums growth by depositing artifacts from his excavation in Israel. Franz Landsberger (1883–1964), former director of the Berlin Jewish Museum, rescued through the displaced European Jewish Scholars program, became director of the museum and he was succeeded by Joseph *Gutmann (1923–2004), who became one of the preeminent scholars in the field of Jewish art. In 1947, Jacob Rader *Marcus (1896–1995) established the American Jewish Archives at HUC, which now bears his name. The Union Museum was renamed the Skirball Museum when the collection was moved to Los Angeles in 1972. During a 30-year tenure as director, Nancy Berman fostered the growth of the collection with a focus on contemporary Judaica. In 1996, the museum opened in greatly expanded quarters in the new *Skirball Cultural Center. Exhibitions and related programs reflect the mission of the cultural center to explore the connections between 4,000 years of Jewish history and American democratic values. A branch of the Skirball Museum is in Cincinnati and the HUC Klau Library in Cincinnati maintains an important collection of visual arts. Established in 1983, Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion Museum in New York presents exhibitions illuminating Jewish history, culture, and contemporary creativity. The Skirball Museum of Biblical Archaeology in Jerusalem exhibits archaeological artifacts discovered during the HUC-JIR excavations from 1963 to the present.

Fortuitously some major synagogues saved historic commemorative artifacts as well as important ceremonial objects that later formed the basis of museum collections in those congregations. Congregation Emanu-El of the City of New York established a collection in 1928 with the gift of the private collection of Henry Toch, a trustee, and dedicated the Herbert and Eileen Bernard Museum decades later in 1997. In the post-World War II era, new Jewish museums slowly began to be founded in the United States. While it took another generation before the American Jewish community focused efforts on creating Holocaust memorials and museums, in the aftermath of the destruction of the European Jewish community, there was a new sense of the importance for Jews in the United States and in the new state of Israel to preserve Jewish culture. The first formally established synagogue museum, at Temple-Tifereth Israel in Cleveland, was dedicated in 1950 by the eminent Rabbi Abba Hillel *Silver (1893–1963) in 1950 on the occasion of the centennial anniversary of the congregation.

The Leo Baeck Institute, dedicated to the history of German-speaking Jewry, was founded in New York in 1955. The B'nai B'rith Klutznick National Museum in Washington, DC, was founded in 1957. The core of its collection was the gift of Joseph B. and Olyn Horwitz of Cleveland. The Judah L. Magnes Museum is in Berkeley, California in 1962. The prime mover behind the founding of the museum and its director for more than 30 years was Seymour Fromer, who built the collection as a community-based endeavor, without the resources of a parent institution. The Spertus Museum of Judaica was created in Chicago in 1968 in large measure with the private collection of Maurice Spertus. Two additional Jewish museums were founded in the 1970s. The Yeshiva University Museum in New York was officially opened in 1973, but the university did maintain some collections of Jewish art in its library prior to that time. Sylvia Herskowitz was the director of the museum from its opening. The *National Museum of American Jewish History in Philadelphia opened in 1976 in honor of the Bicentennial of the United States. The museum is located across Independence Mall from the Liberty Bell and Independence Hall. It shares its site with Congregation Mikveh Israel, one of the oldest synagogues in America.

In 1977, at a meeting of the Association of Jewish Studies, Dov Noy, professor of Jewish folklore of the Hebrew University, proposed that the U.S. Jewish museums form an organization to further the efforts of the museums to "collect, preserve, and interpret Jewish art and artifacts." The Council of American Jewish Museums (CAJM), affiliated since 1980 with the National Foundation for Jewish Culture, has now grown to represent over 80 institutional and associate members.

In the late 1970s planning began for the *United States Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington, D.C. which opened in 1993. The USHMM serves as America's national institution for the documentation, study, and interpretation of Holocaust history, and as the memorial of the United States to the millions of victims. Through its multifaceted programs, the museum's mission is "to advance and disseminate knowledge about this unprecedented tragedy; to preserve the memory of those who suffered; and to encourage its visitors to reflect upon the moral and spiritual questions raised by the events of the Holocaust as well as their own responsibilities as citizens of a democracy." The USHMM is a Federal institution. There are Holocaust memorials in communities throughout the United States and many Holocaust museums. The *Simon Wiesenthal Center, Museum of Tolerance in Los Angeles, which opened in 1993 is named in honor of the survivor and well-known Nazi hunter Simon *Wiesenthal and is dedicated to the cause of human rights. The *Museum of Jewish Heritage: A Living Memorial to the Holocaust in New York opened in 1997. It is sited in view of the Statue of Liberty and Ellis Island and just five blocks form the former site of the World Trade Center. The museum was "created as a living memorial to the Holocaust" to honor the lives and legacy of the victims of the Holocaust even as it recounts the tragedy of their deaths.

The tremendous growth in interest in preserving Jewish cultural heritage has reached communities large and small throughout the United States. An important aspect of the work of many of these museums is the focus on local and regional history. The Gomez Hill House, built in Marlboro, New York in 1714 by Luis Moses Gomez, a Sephardi immigrant, is the oldest surviving homestead in the country and a foundation to preserve it was established in 1979. Museums have been formed in a number of historically important synagogues. The Touro Synagogue in Newport, Rhode Island, built in 1763, was the first prominent synagogue to be built in America, and is the only one to survive from the colonial era. The beginnings of Kahal Kadosh Beth Elohim in Charleston, South Carolina can be traced to 1775. The temple and a museum are housed in an 1841 Greek Revival building that is the second oldest synagogue in the United States and the oldest in continuous use. The Jewish Historical Society of Greater Washington is housed in the Adas Israel Synagogue dedicated in 1876. The Beth Ahabah Museum and Archives in Richmond, Virginia, maintains materials dating back to the 18th century. The Jewish Museum of Maryland in Baltimore is unique in that it saved and restored two historic structures – the Lloyd Street Synagogue of the Baltimore Hebrew Congregation built in 1845 and the original house of worship of the Chizuk Amuno Congregation which dates to 1876 – and incorporated them into a museum complex. The Eldridge Street Synagogue, completed in 1887, was the first designed and built in America by immigrants from Eastern Europe. The Vilna Shul, built in 1919, is now the Boston Center for Jewish Heritage.

The Museum of the Southern Jewish Experience, now incorporated as part of the Goldring/Woldenberg Institute of the Southern Jewish Experience, was founded in 1986, through the initiative of Macy Hart to represent Jewish culture in the states of Mississippi, Louisiana, Alabama, Arkansas, and Tennessee and is now endeavoring to cover all 12 states of the South. With changing demographics especially in rural communities and small towns, the Jewish population in them has dwindled or no longer exists. The collection in many ways serves as a rescue mission. In addition to collecting artifacts and archives, the museum provides planning assistance for congregations, works to save historic properties, and to care for untended cemeteries. The museum is also a genealogical center. The Jewish Museum of Florida in Miami Beach restored Congregation Beth Jacob, an art deco building dating from 1936. The museum originated as MOSAIC, a project organized by Marcia Kerstein Zerivitz, as a statewide grassroots preservation effort on the history of Jewish life in Florida. The Oregon Jewish Museum was founded in 1986 and in 1996 merged with the Jewish Historical Society of Oregon, acquiring its archives of 150 years of Jewish experience in Oregon and the Pacific Northwest.

Numerous other Jewish museums have been established in synagogues and in Jewish community centers including: the Sylvia Plotkin Museum at Temple Beth Israel in Scottsdale, Arizona; the Elizabeth S. and Alvin I. Fine Museum of Congregation Emanu-El in San Francisco; the San Francisco Jewish Museum originated in 1982 at the Jewish Federation and is developing a major new site designed by Daniel Libeskind; the Gotthelf Gallery at the San Diego Center for Jewish Culture; the Mizel Center for Arts and Culture in Denver; the Chase/Freedman Gallery of the Greater Hartford Jewish Community Center; the Harold and Vivian Beck Museum of Judaica at the Beth David Congregation in Miami, Florida; the William Breman Jewish Heritage Museum in Atlanta, Georgia; the Rabbi Frank F. Rosenthal Memorial Museum at Temple Anshe Sholom in Olympia Fields, Illinois; the Kansas City Jewish Museum; the Goldsmith Museum at Chizuk Amuno Congregation in Baltimore, Maryland; the Janice Charach Epstein Gallery at the Jewish Community Center of Metropolitan Detroit, Michigan; the Temple Israel Judaic Archival Museum in West Bloomfield, Michigan; the Benjamin and Dr. Edgar R. Cofeld Judaica Museum of Temple Beth Zion; the Judaica Museum of the Hebrew Home for the Aged in Riverdale; the Judaica Museum of Temple Beth Sholom in Roslyn, New York; Judaica Museum of Central Synagogue in New York City; Kehila Kedosha Janina Synagogue and Museum in New York City; the Rosenzweig Museum and the Jewish Heritage Foundation of North Carolina in Durham; the Sherwin Miller Museum at the Tulsa Jewish Community Center in Oklahoma; the American Jewish Museum of the Jewish Community Center of Greater Pittsburgh; Philadelphia Museum of Jewish Art of Congregation Rodeph Shalom in Philadelphia; Temple Judea Museum of Reform Congregation Keneseth Israel in Elkins Park, Pennsylvania; Mollie and Louis Kaplan Judaica Museum at Congregation Beth Yeshurun in Houston, Texas; Rabbi Joseph Baron Museum in Milwaukee, Wisconsin.

A unique initiative was the creation of the *National Yiddish Book Center founded in 1980 to rescue Yiddish books. The center's headquarters in Amherst, Massachusetts, is described as a lively "cultural shtetl." The newest and most ambitious Jewish cultural entity to be established in the United States is the Center for Jewish History located in New York City which opened in 2000. The center houses the combined holdings of the American Jewish Historical Society, the American Sephardi Federation, the Leo Baeck Institute, the Yeshiva University Museum, and the YIVO Institute for Jewish Research. The Center for Jewish History is the largest repository of Jewish artifacts, archives, and historical materials in the United States. Undoubtedly the brightest note in the Jewish museum world in the United States is the focus on special installations for children and the creation of independent Jewish children's museums including the Zimmer Children's Museum in Los Angeles, the Jewish Children's Museum in Brooklyn and the Jewish Children's Learning Lab in New York City.

CANADA. In Canada, the Beth Tzedec Reuben & Helene Dennis Museum in Toronto was established in 1965 with the purchase of Cecil Roth's collection. Roth, a pre-eminent scholar of Jewish history and founder of the London Jewish Museum, formed his collection over a 50-year period. Also in Toronto is the Silverman Heritage Museum, located at the Baycrest Centre for Geriatric Care. The Royal Ontario Museum maintains a gallery of Jewish ceremonial objects. Jewish historical societies document life in several cities across Canada in Alberta; Vancouver, British Columbia; Winnepeg, Manitoba; St. John, New Brunswick; and in Montreal, Quebec.

LATIN AMERICA. Several Jewish Museums are active in Latin America. In Argentina, the Museo Judio de Buenos Aires established in 1967 and re-opened in 2000 is located in the Congregación Israelite. It is dedicated to the Jewish historical contribution to the Argentine Republic. A museum dedicated to Jewish immigration is located in Moiséville. A museum is being planned in Cochambamba, Bolivia. The Jewish Museum in Rio de Janeiro was established in 1977. In Chile, there is the Sephardic Historical Museum in Santiago and in Valparaiso there is a Jewish museum and the Israelite Society of Education "Max Nordau." The Museo Historico Judio "Tuvie Maizel" is located in the Ashkenazi community headquarters in Mexico City. The Jewish Museum of Paraguay, established in 1990, is located in Asunción. In Venezuela, the Separdi Museum of Caracus "Morris E. Curiel" was founded in 1998.

THE CARIBBEAN. Mikvé Israel Emanuel Synagogue in Curaçao, Netherlands Antilles, was founded in 1651 and its current building, which dates to 1732 is the oldest continuously functioning congregation in the western hemisphere. The museum opened in 1970. The Hebrew Congregation of St. Thomas was established in 1796. The present building dates to 1833. The community celebrated its bicentennial in 1995 and the Weibel Museum was created to commemorate the history of the Jews in the community. Plans are underway to develop a Jewish museum in Kingston, Jamaica.

Australia

In Melbourne, Australia Rabbi Ronald Lubofsky, London born and raised, initiated plans for a Jewish museum which was established in 1982. An important focus of the museum has been the acquisition of archives, art, and artifacts reflecting the 200 years of Jewish experience in Australia which "helps strengthen and define our identity as Jewish Australians." Originally housed at the Melbourne Hebrew Congregation, the museum moved to new quarters opposite the stately 1927 St. Kilda Synagogue in 1995. The Sydney Jewish Museum established in 1992 is dedicated to the documenting and teaching about the Holocaust.

South Africa

In Capetown, South Africa a new cultural and heritage center opened in 2000 and located on a site which over a century ago had served a growing immigrant population from Europe. Vivienne Anstey, who directed the effort to develop the new museum, wrote of the South African Jewish community that it has "grappled with the responsibility of upholding moral and religious values aimed to serve the needs of its own community and the needs of South Africans in general. It has walked the tightrope in its integration in the South African context, at the same time dedicating itself to Jewish continuity." Adjacent to the new South Africa Jewish Museum is the Cape Town Holocaust Centre. There are also Jewish museums in Calvinia, in Malmesbury in the former synagogue, the C.P. Nel Museum in Oudtshoorn, the Jewish Pioneers' Museum in Port Elizabeth, and in Pretoria there is the Sammy Marks Museum, a historic house of this South African Jewish pioneer who immigrated from Lithuania in the mid-nineteenth century.

India

The Paradesi Synagogue in Cochin, India was built in 1568 by descendants of Spanish, Dutch, and other European Jews. Though the synagogue is still functioning, the Cochin Jewish community intends to deed the synagogue to the Indian government as a historic monument when the last Jews have left Cochin. Restoration work on the synagogue was made possible by the Yad Hanadiv Foundation under the leadership of Jacob Lord Rothschild. There are several historic synagogues in Mumbai (Bombay) that are preserved including the Gate of Mercy Synagogue (Shaar Harachmim) built in 1796, Keneseth Eliyahoo Synagogue, and the Tifereth Israel Synagogue.

China

The Ohel Rachel Synagogue in Shanghai, China, built in 1920 by Sir Victor Sassoon is currently being renovated, although it is not yet in use again for worship services. Once a center of Jewish life for the 30,000 Jews who found refuge in Shanghai, first when fleeing the 1905 pogroms of Russia, and then from Nazi persecution, the synagogue was last used for services in 1952. The building was then confiscated by the Communist government. Attention was given to the preservation efforts when the synagogue was visited by then First Lady Hilary Rodham Clinton in 1998. Ohel Rachel was added to the World Monuments Fund Watch List of 100 Most Endangered Sites in 2002. The Ohel Moishe Synagogue, the Jewish Refugee Memorial Hall of Shanghai, was the center of religious life for Jewish refugees during World War II. The museum was established in 2002.

Ongoing Endeavors

The search for art and artifacts of the 4,000-year long Jewish experience continues and new finds are regularly being discovered. The most ambitious effort to document the visual culture of the Jewish people is the Index of Jewish Art of the Centre for Jewish Art established in 1980 at the Hebrew University. Founded by Bezalel *Narkiss, the centre has ongoing research projects in Europe and in Israel, presents symposia on a wide-range of projects, maintains an active publications program, including the annual journal *Jewish Art* and organizes tours to Jewish sites. A center for the study of Jewish art has been created at Bar-Ilan University and has published its first journal. The International Survey of Jewish Monuments, spearheaded by Samuel Gruber in the United States, has been actively involved not only in identifying and studying historic Jewish sites in over 35 countries that are in need of preservation, but in spearheading efforts to undertake the needed work. The Ronald S. Lauder Foundation supports vital educational programs and community projects in Central and Eastern Europe with a special focus on developing schools and camps. The commitment on the part of the Lauder Foundation to "pick up the pieces of a history shattered by Nazism and stifled by Communism" includes preservation efforts as well. Ronald Lauder has also long chaired the Jewish Heritage Program of the World Monuments Fund. Centropa is a project of the Central Europe Center for Research and Documentation, with headquarters in Vienna. The vision of its director, photographer and filmmaker Edward Serotta, an international team works to explore both the history of the Jewish communities and what is currently happening to Jews in Central and Eastern Europe the former Soviet Union, and Turkey & the Balkans, to convey that information to the public through a variety of technologies.

Holocaust Memorials and Museums

The importance of memory is central to all of the efforts in developing Jewish museums, but it is even more so in the dedication of Holocaust memorials and museums. It is a remarkable phenomenon that so many Holocaust memorials and museums have been established in recent years. In 1969, the American Jewish Congress published *In Everlasting Remembrance: A Guide to Memorials and Monuments Honoring the Six Million*. The slim booklet, only 48 pages in length, was compiled so that American Jews visiting Europe could visit the sites "where European Jewry suffered its catastrophe," the rationale being so that the American Jew could "remember as a witness, to recall the particulars of the Holocaust by [his] presence at the actual sites." At the time, there were but 20 listings. Of the 17 in Europe, most were at sites of ghettos and concentration camps, the Anne Frank House was listed for Amsterdam. Memorials in Brussels and London were only in the planning stages. In Israel, a documentation center and museum had opened in 1951 at kibbutz *Loḥamei ha-Getta'ot, at Ghetto Fighters House. *Yad Vashem, the Martyrs and Heroes Remembrance Authority, was created by an Act of the Israeli Knesset (Parliament) in 1953. In the United States, plans had just been developed for a memorial in New York City, designed by architect Louis Kahn, and sponsored by a coalition of more than 30 national and local Jewish organizations. The original Kahn design was never realized.

Three decades later, the publication of the Association of Holocaust Organizations includes hundreds of listings. The mission of the Association is "to serve as a network of organizations and individuals for the advancement of Holocaust programming, awareness, education, and research." Today, around the world, millions of people visit Holocaust memorials and museums annually. The places of memory differ widely. As James Young wrote in his 1994 book *The Art of Memory*, "the reasons for Holocaust memorials and the kind of memory they generate vary as widely as the sites themselves.

Some are built in response to traditional Jewish injunctions to remember, others according to a government's need to explain a nation's past to itself." In 1993, the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum opened in Washington, D.C., adjacent to the national mall and within view of monuments to U.S. Presidents Washington, Lincoln and Jefferson. During the 1990s with the collapse of the Soviet Union and the reunification of Germany many more Holocaust memorials and museums have been created or are in the planning stages. Perhaps most symbolic among them, a Holocaust Memorial in Berlin is situated close by the restored Reichstag (parliament) under a law passed on the Tenth Anniversary of the Treaty of German Unity, the so- called "Foundation for Remembrance, Responsibility and Future." (See also *Holocaust: Museums.)

[Grace Cohen Grossman (2nd ed.)]

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MUSHER, SIDNEY (1905–1990), U.S. food and pharmaceutical chemist, born in New Jersey. His career was in industrial chemical development and he was vice president of Cooper Tinsley Laboratories Inc. from 1963. He took an active interest in the economic development of the State of Israel, being treasurer of the Pan-American-Israel Economic Corporation, president of the American Committee for Palestine Inc., and a board member of Palestine Endowment Funds Inc., as well as being member of the Jewish Reconstruction Foundation and the American Jewish Historical Society, etc.

MUSHROOMS, fungus. Israel is rich in various species of mushroom which grow chiefly in the winter. A large number of them are poisonous. The poisonous ones are mainly of the genus *Amanita*. Easily recognizable among edible mushrooms are those of the genus *Boletus*, called in modern Hebrew *orniyyot* because they grow on the roots of the pine (mod. Heb. *oren*), of which most of the forests planted in Israel consist. The mushroom is not mentioned in the Bible, though some exegetes (Rashi, D. Kimi) identify it with the poisonous *pakku'ot* of II Kings 4:39–40. The *pakku'ot*, however, are the colocynth. In rabbinic literature the combination *kemehim u-fitriyyot* ("truffles and mushrooms") is usually found. They have in common that, although they "grow in the soil," one does not recite over them the blessing for vegetables but the blessing "by whose word everything was created." The Talmud gives as the reason that, unlike ordinary plants, "they do not draw their nourishment from the ground but from the air" (Ber. 40b). In this way they explained the fact that they possess no true roots, being fed by other plants, and absorbing moisture from the air. Mushrooms and truffles are also exempt from tithes (see: *Ma'aser), "because they do not grow by being sown, or, because the earth extrudes them" (TJ, Ma'as. 1:1, 48d). The latter reason refers to their quick growth, which makes it seem as if the earth is expelling them. The extensive sprouting of mushrooms after rain is reflected in the *aggadah* about *Honi ha-Ma'agel who prayed for rain after drought. After rain had fallen in abundance and the heavens were free from clouds "the people went into the fields and brought home mushrooms and truffles" (Ta'an. 23a). Truffles are found chiefly in the light soils of the Judean wilderness and in the sands of the Negev. In contrast to mushrooms, they grow under the surface. In addition to *kemehim*, truffles are called *shemarka'im* (Uk. 3:2) in the Mishnah.

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[Jehuda Feliks]

MUSIC. This article is arranged according to the following outline:

- **INTRODUCTION**
  - **WRITTEN SOURCES OF DIRECT AND CIRCUMSTANTIAL EVIDENCE**
  - **THE MATERIAL RELICS AND ICONOGRAPHY**
  - **NOTATED SOURCES**
  - **ORAL TRADITION**
  - **ARCHIVES AND IMPORTANT COLLECTIONS OF JEWISH MUSIC COLLECTIONS**
- **HISTORY**
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  - **THE EMERGENCE OF SYNAGOGUE SONG**
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      - PSALMODY
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      - THE EARLY STYLE OF PRAYER CHANT
      - THE POPULAR BACKGROUND
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      - THE "LEARNED ART" OF BIBLE CHANT
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    - **Musical Minhag**
    - **Modal Scales in Synagogue Song**

Performance and Practice of Synagogue Song
MIGRATION AND BLENDING OF MUSIC STYLES (C. 1500–1750/1800)
The Mystical Movement of Safed
MUSIC AS CONCEPT AND PRACTICE
THE LURIANIC KABBALAH
MAJOR THEMES CHARACTERIZING THEIR APPROACH
Humanism and the Renaissance
THE HUMANISTIC APPROACH TO LETTERS AND MUSIC
ART MUSIC
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CONSOLIDATION OF THE ORIENTAL STYLE OF JEWISH MUSIC
THE EASTERN BRANCH OF ASHKENAZI SONG
Incipient Westernization of Ashkenazi Song
MODERN TIMES
The Nineteenth Century
THE ḤASIDIC NIGGUN
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The "Improved Service" and Its Music
THE EVOLUTION OF EAST ASHKENAZI ḤAZZANUT
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THE COLLECTION AND EXAMINATIONS OF THE INHERITANCE
THE REVIVAL OF NATIONAL VALUES IN MUSIC
NEW WAYS IN SACRED MUSIC
FOLK MUSIC
WOMEN'S FOLK MUSIC
ART MUSIC IN MODERN ISRAEL
THE *YISHUV* PERIOD
Transplantation of Music Institutions
The Palestine Orchestra
The Palestine Conservatoire
The Palestine Broadcast Service
Bridging East and West
Composition, First Generation
AFTER THE FOUNDATION OF THE STATE OF ISRAEL
Institutional Expansion
Musicological Research
Composition, Second and Third Generations
Immigrant Artists
MUSIC AND THE HOLOCAUST

INTRODUCTION

The most workable definition of Jewish music would seem to be the functional one proposed by Curt *Sachs: "Jewish music is that music which is made by Jews, for Jews, as Jews" (in his opening lecture, to the First International Congress of Jewish Music, in Paris 1957). This defines the scope of inquiry without prejudicing its results, leaving it free to undertake the tasks of description, analysis and whatever conclusions may be drawn.

As in all other national and ethnic cultures, the musical dimension of Jewish culture is both determined by its origins and modified by its history in proportions peculiarly its own. Through their dispersion, the Jews came into contact with a multiplicity of regional musical styles, practices, and ideas, some of which were more closely related to their own patrimony (as in the Near East and around the Mediterranean) and others intrinsically different (as in Europe north of the Alps and the Pyrénées).

These factors shaped the character of the mainstream of Jewish music. They have also determined the nature and location of the sources, which the musicologist must explore in order to obtain his facts. The problem can be most easily understood by a comparison with the source situation of European historical musicology. There the sources of information can be ranked as follows: compositions by individuals, created and preserved by musical notation; theoretical treatises; historical documents; instrumental relics; evidence from the visual arts (iconography); and complementary evidence from the fields of religion, the verbal arts, philosophy, political history; and other complementary evidence exploited at the discretion of each scholar. Among the latter, the most important source is the folk music of the area, which survives both in tone and word by a purely oral tradition, except for a few accidental notations made in the past by curious savants, and is in itself the subject of a parallel discipline – ethnomusicology.

The source situation of Jewish music is completely different. All the factors listed above are present, but in entirely different proportions – both absolutely and for each Diaspora area and period. A particularly complicated case is that of musical notation. On the one hand, no tone script, in the European sense of the term (one sound = one symbol) was evolved in Jewish musical culture. Even European Jewry adopted the tone script of the surrounding culture only in a few communities during certain periods and only for certain sections of its total musical activity. On the other hand, the masoretic accents serve as universal indicators of certain melodic motives for the cantillation of some of the biblical books (according to principles basically common to all Jewish communities), and their syntactical and grammatical function is supported by a written tradition of doctrine and discussion. Nevertheless the melodic content of this cantillation differs in each Diaspora area and is transmitted by a purely oral tradition (cf. *Masoretic Accents, Musical Rendition).

Although this oral tradition cannot convey information of its own past, some motives (of both the Ashkenazi and the Sephardi tradition) have been preserved in notation from the beginning of the 16th century onward. Thus even for this single category of Jewish music, the "art" and "folk" components, the historical and ahistorical, musical and extra-musical, and the local and universal are woven together so tightly that no single strand can serve as the base for any generalization.

As in all other parts of the mainstream tradition of music in Jewish culture, the notated document is not the point of departure, but a fortunate find which may occur on the way but more often is absent. The same holds for autonomous treatises on the "art of music," whether technical or philosophical. Literary sources of all kinds are the main storehouse of historical fact, and very often the only source, since it is here that Jewish life has always documented itself most fully, including its musical actions and thoughts. Yet another important source are the relics of actual musical instruments (especially for the biblical period) and the depictions of instruments and music making ranging from the dawn of history through *illuminated manuscripts to the photographs of *klezmer* ensembles in Eastern Europe before the Holocaust. The living oral traditions preserved and studied through sound recording, followed by sophisticated techniques of acoustical analysis and musical transcription, are equal in importance to the written, notated, and visual relic, and the application of the historical evidence can very often give them a great measure of historical dimension. Finally, there are the external sources. Judicious comparisons with the musical heritage of those cultures, with which the Jewish people came into contact, taking and – especially in the case of the formation of Christianity – also giving, can yield valuable insights. In addition, through still wider comparisons, even with historically unrelated cultures, Jewish music can be put into the overall perspective of the music of mankind.

The following survey of the sources is intended to give a general picture of the situation.

WRITTEN SOURCES OF DIRECT AND CIRCUMSTANTIAL EVIDENCE

Most of these do not appear as independent literary units but as parts of larger works. Potentially, the field includes the entire written heritage of Jewish culture. Some source categories have proved to be particularly fruitful in information, such as rabbinic Responsa, community registers and regulations, the literature of philosophy and the sciences, the early Midrash, travelers' accounts and various kinds of traditional exegesis. In many cases, textual criticism must be applied before the source can be utilized. Manuscripts of medieval and later poetry very often contain indications that the poem is to be sung "to the tune of …" (*be-laḥan, be-noʿam, be-niggun*); even if the tunes themselves cannot be recovered, the existence of the repertoire itself is thus documented. When the tunes are taken from a gentile environment, which uses notation – as in the German-speaking areas – even the tunes themselves can often be recovered from contemporary manuscripts or printed music. A further stage is reached by the libretti of the cantata-like works, which were written mainly in Italy from the 16th century onward. The music for some of these has also survived or still waits to be recovered from the archives; but even if only the texts remain, they often contain indications such as *aria*, *solo*, and *duetto*. Finally, there are also a certain number of theoretical and practical treatises on music, as independent works or more often as chapters in larger treatises. Except for the "cantors' books" (such as Solomon Lipschitz' *Teʿudat Shelomo*, Offenbach, 1718), the material naturally reflects the theories and practices of the surrounding culture, in the Islamic regions of Spain and the Near East or in Italy and France. Direct biographical and social evidence can be gleaned from inscriptions (including tombstones), community registers, the **Memorbuch* sources, and other archival material. A special contribution is made by extra-Jewish sources. Both non-Jewish writers and apostates from Judaism often give very detailed descriptions of musical practices in Jewish society, in works written for enlightenment or polemic, and echoes of the musical life of a Jewish community are also bound to appear in official documents of the local and state authorities. They range from a tax collector's list from Ptolemaic Egypt, mentioning "Jacob the son of Jacob, an aulos-player," to the petitions of gentile musicians to the municipality of Prague against their Jewish competitors in the 17th century.

THE MATERIAL RELICS AND ICONOGRAPHY

For the biblical and Second Temple periods, the written sources are complemented by literally hundreds of archaeological finds from Palestine itself. The soil conditions of Palestine are generally not favorable to the survival of instruments made of organic material, such as drums or string instruments. The archaeological finds, including metal cymbals, bells, pottery rattles, bone and ivory clappers, however, are effectively supplemented by figurines, frescoes, mosaics, pottery decorations, graffiti, images on coins, etc. External sources, such as the Phoenician ivories and bowls which reached the neighboring countries by way of commerce or booty, the decorations of synagogues in the early Diaspora (particularly important for the history of the form of the *shofar*), or the trumpets depicted in relief on the Arch of *Titus, further add to the evidence. It is, therefore, no longer necessary to "illustrate" the story of music in ancient Israel by archaeological finds from the Egyptian or Mesopotamian cultures. Such material may still be used for purposes of comparison, but only if corroborated by a local find.

The correlation of these material relics with the textual ones, above all the Bible, is a task as difficult as it is important. In later periods, the wide choice of instruments in other cultures is limited, for Jewish society, to the *shofar* and simple noisemakers, such as decorative bells on the *rimmonim* of the synagogal scrolls or the various forms of rattling and banging devices for *Purim. The iconographical evidence, however, is to be found in many sources: illuminated manuscripts and marriage contracts, printed books (especially those written by gentiles on "Jewish customs"), synagogue decorations, embellished ritual objects, and, in later periods, even portraits.

NOTATED SOURCES

As indicated above, one cannot expect the notated sources of Jewish music to be plentiful. For the entire period before the 19th century, these notations come only from the settlements of the Ashkenazi, Italian and European Sephardi communities (except for the earliest specimen so far discovered, the 12th-century notations of *Obadiah the Norman Proselyte, which was found in the Cairo *Genizah*). These documents are most conveniently divided into two categories: notations reflecting oral tradition, liturgical, religious, and secular; and manuscript or printed compositions in the style of contemporary art music.

Several German humanists of the 16th century included specimens of masoretic cantillation in their works on the Hebrew language, *masorah*, etc. The best known of these is the notation in Johannes *Reuchlin's *De accentibus et orthographia linguae hebraicae* (Haguenau, 1518). Some 15 other gentile writers up to the end of the 18th century feature such notations of masoretic cantillation in works on Judaist subjects and later on also in chapters on the "Music of the Hebrews" in histories of music. As a rule, they copied and recopied the specimens from their predecessors, so that the total stock of notated documentation rises very slowly. The most prominent additions are those by Athanasius Kircher (*Musurgia Universalis*, Rome, 1650), who features the German-Italian cantillation which he heard in a Roman synagogue; by Daniel Jablonski, in his edition of the Hebrew Bible (Berlin, 1699), where a specimen of notated cantillation of the Pentateuch according to the tradition of the Amsterdam Sephardi community was supplied by David de Pinna (cf. *Masoretic Accents, Musical Rendition); and the 12 specimens of Ashkenazi and Sephardi cantillation, psalm intonation, and hymn tunes collected by the composer Benedetto Marcello in Venice in order to base his collection of Psalm compositions, *Estro poetico-armonico* (1724–27, and subsequent editions), on "authentic Jewish tunes." They are featured in his own notation at the head of the respective settings. The musical scholar Giovanni Battista Martini gathered all the notations of his predecessors in the first volume of his *Storia della Musica* (Bologna, 1757–81, repr. facsim. 1967), whence they were taken over (with one omission) by Johann Nikolaus Forkel in his *Allgemeine Geschichte der Musik* (Leipzig, 1788–1801, repr. facsim., 1967).

A few notations of other kinds of traditional music are found from the beginning of the 17th century onward, such as the "learning tune" of the Talmud, some of the songs of the Passover **seder*, the *Priestly Blessing, and the 13 religious folk song tunes printed by Elhanan Kirchhan (Kirchhain) in his *Simḥat ha-Nefesh*, part 2 (Fuerth, 1726/27). The earliest cantorial manual found to date is that of Judah Elias of Hanover, dated 1740, and it is followed by many others, especially toward the end of the 18th century (cf. Aaron *Beer; Isaac *Offenbach). Whether the "Jew parodies" found in the works of several Renaissance and baroque composers actually reproduce what was heard in a synagogue or played by a Jewish musician still remains to be ascertained in each case.

Art music composed in the Western European style is documented by a certain number of scores and parts of scores from Italy, southern France and the "Portuguese" community of Amsterdam. The earliest work of this kind is Salamon de *Rossi's *Ha-Shirim Asher li-Shelomo* (Venice, 1622/23); for a more extended description of these sources see *Cantatas, Hebrew.

ORAL TRADITION

The chief treasure house of Jewish music is the living oral tradition – the many thousands of melodies and variants still current in the synagogues, schools, and homes in all Jewish communities, which adhere, or at least have kept in some measure, to the ways of the past. Their systematic collection, now being made by sound recording, is an awesome and theoretically endless task. A fairly representative selection of several regional traditions was collected by A.Z. *Idelsohn in Jerusalem at the beginning of the 20th century and published in his *Thesaurus of Hebrew-Oriental Melodies* (10 vols. 1914–32): Yemen, Iraq, Persia (with some material from Bukhara and Dagestan), the "Jerusalem Sephardic" tradition, Morocco and Eastern Europe. Earlier and contemporary collections of synagogal music (see bibliography), mainly of the Ashkenazi and European Sephardi areas, also contain varying amounts of truly traditional melodies, even if these are sometimes distorted by inadequate notation or attempts at "modernization." Much essential material still remains to be recorded.

[Bathja Bayer]

ARCHIVES AND IMPORTANT COLLECTIONS OF JEWISH MUSIC COLLECTIONS

Since most of the traditional Jewish music was transmitted orally from generation to generation, there was a need to create a sound archive to document the music and promote its study. This need was fulfilled by the establishment of the National Sound Archives in Jerusalem (NSA) in 1965 as a section of the Music Department of the Jewish National and University Library (JNUL). The musicologist Israel *Adler founded the archive incorporating the field recordings of Jewish music (and recordings of other people living in the area) that were made since the 1920s. The NSA also holds a large collection of commercial recordings of Jewish and Israeli music as well as music and other sound documents produced by Kol Israel (Israel Broadcast Authority).

The first great scholars who recorded Jewish music were Abraham Zvi *Idelsohn and Robert *Lachmann. Idelsohn's recordings are at the Austrian Phonogramm Archive in Vienna; those of Lachmann are mainly at the Berlin Phonogramm-Archiv but some copies as well as unique records are at the NSA.

Important collections at the NSA are known by the names of their creators such as: The Robert Lachmann collection (300 wax cylinders, which are copies of the originals of Berlin), 960 unique ethnographic records, most of which are made of tin, and 167 early commercial records of Oriental music. Robert Lachmann (1892–1939) recorded in North Africa and in Palestine. His interest was Oriental music. His recordings were made during the 1930s. His lectures and the musical demonstrations survived and are preserved at the NSA and at the Music Department (Mus. 26). Other collections are that of Johanna *Spector, who recorded in the late 1940s and early 1950s, including about 60 hours of music performed by Jewish immigrants just arriving in the new State of Israel from Yemen, Tunisia, Morocco, Pakistan, and Iraq as well as the

Samaritans of Israel; the collection of Leo *Levi made during the late 1950s and the 1960s, including about 70 hours of Jewish musical traditions of the Italian Jews, Greek Jews, and Jews from Holland, Ethiopia (in Israel), Georgia, Czechoslovakia, and other locations; and the collection of Edith *Gerson-Kiwi, who was a student of Lachmann, including 700 records and 240 reel-to-reel tapes of new immigrant Oriental traditions made between the 1950s and 1970s.

A historical collection of commercial records and broadcasting material is included in the Jacob Michael Collection, collected in New York during the 1950s and 1960s. The Jacob Michael collection contains 3,000 records and 480 tapes, mostly of Yiddish radio material.

Since 1965 the NSA has continuously expanded its collections by promoting new recordings both through fieldwork and recordings at the NSA studio. Most of the Jewish liturgical recordings are made in the studio or other locations, but not during actual prayer services, since it is forbidden to use any electrical equipment on the Sabbath and holidays. The NSA also benefits from donations from scholars who deposit their recordings at the NSA; to mention just a few of them: Amnon *Shiloah, Shoshana Weich-Shahak, Mark Kligman, Yaakov Mazor, Simha *Arom.

Since 2000, the Depository Law for books and prints in Israel has been expanded to include all non-book material. Thus a copy of all CDs and videotapes produced in Israel must be deposited at the NSA. Also, recordings made by Kol Israel during the 1950s and the 1970s were deposited at the NSA. These include mainly Israeli songs, Israeli art music, and some traditional music. The NSA catalogue is available online on the JNUL website. It is open to the public (at the JNUL) and serves mainly scholars and educators. The NSA continues to collect, preserve and publish its collections.

Other collections in Israel are at The Institute for Religious Jewish Music – *Renanot*, which has its own archive as well as copies at the NSA. It contains recordings of experts in Jewish musical performance, especially *ḥazzanim* of different traditions and their liturgical repertoire. The Beit Hatefutsot Music Center has a good collection of commercial recordings, which are available on site. All the departments of music and musicology in Israel have collections of recorded sound; however, their focus is not on Jewish music.

In America, universities, libraries, museums and Jewish institutions also have collections of recorded sound. Some of the important collections of Jewish music are: The Robert and Molly Freedman Jewish Music Archive, which was donated to the University of Pennsylvania's Rare Book and Manuscript Library. The Freedman Jewish Music Archive comprises over 1,800 recordings, primarily in Yiddish and Hebrew. The Harvard University Judaic Library has a large collection of Israeli popular music. The YIVO Institute in New York holds a good collection of commercial and broadcasting material of Yiddish music. The Library of Congress Folklife Center and the Sound Archives also have Jewish recordings, both field recordings and commercial records.

Some institutions and private music lovers and collectors provide Jewish music databases and music online for research and teaching, for example Hazzanut Online and Virtual Cantor.

[Gila Flam (2nd ed.)]

HISTORY

BIBLICAL PERIOD

The Bible is the foremost and richest source for knowledge of the musical life of ancient Israel until some time after the return from the Babylonian Exile. It is complemented by several external sources: archaeological relics of musical instruments and depictions of musical scenes; comparative material from the neighboring cultures; and post-biblical sources, such as the writings of *Philo and *Josephus, the *Apocrypha, and the *Mishnah. A truly chronological ordering of the biblical evidence on music is hardly possible, since it frequently happens that a relatively late source attributes certain occurrences to an early period, in which they could not have existed. A case in point is the chronicler's reports about the ordering of the Temple music by King David. Many details – above all the prominent status of the Levitical singers, which almost overshadows that of the priests – are probably a projection back from the chronicler's own time. Some of the reports may even be nothing more than an attempt to furnish the Levitical singers with a Davidic authorization in order to strengthen their position. It is therefore more prudent to draw a synthetic picture in which most of the facts can be assumed to have existed for at least a considerable part of the time.

The mythical dimension of music is represented in biblical tradition only by the story of Jubal, who was "the ancestor of all who play the *kinnor* and *uggav*" (Gen. 4:21; for names of instruments see below). Another relic of the same kind may well be found in the allusion, in God's speech to Job, to the day on which the creation was finished, whereupon, "the morning stars sang together and the Sons of the God[s?] Raised a shout of acclamation" (Job 38:7). Most of the evidence concerns the place of music in the cult. Music is conspicuously absent in the stories of the Tabernacle in the desert wanderings. The bells (perhaps only rattling platelets, see below) on the tunic of the high priest had no musical function but an apotropaic one. The trumpets served mainly to direct the movements of the camping multitude, and their function for arousing God's "remembrance" is common to their use in the sacrifice and in war (Num 10:1–10). In the transport of the Ark to Jerusalem by David, which is accompanied by the playing of lyres, drums, rattles, and cymbals (II Sam. 6:5; I Chron. 13:8), the context is that of a popular fête, not an established cult ritual. Even the description of the inauguration of Solomon's Temple in the first chapters of I Kings lacks an explicit reference to music. Only the trumpets are mentioned in the reconstitution of the Temple services in the time of Joash (II Kings 12:14).

In Chronicles, the musical element suddenly appears as the most prominent part of the service, with detailed and repeated "duty rosters" (and genealogies) of the levitic singers and instrumentalists, as planned by David and established by Solomon. Since the lists of the returned exiles from Babylon, in Ezra and Nehemiah, include a certain number of families of Temple singers, it can be assumed that, at least toward the end of the First Temple, there was already some kind of organized cult music in Jerusalem. On the other hand, there are grounds to believe that the role of music in the First Temple was minimal. In the sanctuaries outside Jerusalem, it was probably much more prominent: witness the "prophets' orchestra" at the high place of Gibeah (I Sam. 10:5) and Amos' fulminations against the external pomp in one of the cult centers of the northern tribes, perhaps in Shechem, "take away from me the roaring of thy songs and the playing of thy lyres will I not hear" (Amos 5:23).

After the return from Babylon, music as a sacred art and an artistic sacred act was gradually given its place in the organization of the Temple services. It seems that this did not pass without opposition. Some scholars have even tried to adduce a power struggle between the levites and the priests. Although the evidence does not mention music as a subject for quarrel, the striving of the levitic singers for prestige is implicit in the chronicler's descriptions, and may even be the reason for the insertion of the poem, or set of poems "By the waters of Babylon," in the collection of Psalms (Ps. 137). The weepers by the waters of Exile were not an abstract personification; they were the levitic singers, whom their captors would have join the other exotic court orchestras that the Assyrian and Babylonian kings kept for entertainment and took care to replenish by their expeditions of conquest. The court and temple orchestras of Mesopotamia in this period are the prototype for the Temple music established in Jerusalem after the return: a large body of stringed instruments of one or two types only (in Jerusalem *kinnor* and *nevel*); a small number, or a single pair, of cymbals; and a large choir. The trumpets of the priests constituted a separate body in every respect, with a ritual but not really musical function. In the earlier stages of religious organization, centered on inspirational ecstatic prophecy, the role of music was understandably important (cf. I Sam. 10:5 and the story of Elisha's musically-induced prophetic seizure in II Kings 3:15). David's playing and singing before Saul belongs to a related psychological aspect.

At coronations, the trumpets were blown as part of the formal proclamation (II Kings 11:14), and the spontaneous and organized rejoicings after victory in war were accompanied by women who sang, drummed and danced; (a practice still current among the Bedouin), cf. The Song of the *Sea, and the women's welcome of David and Saul in I Sam. 18:6–7. Music at popular feasts is described in Judges 21:19 ff. Finally, the musical accompaniment at the feasts of the rich and, of course, at the king's court is also described several times, often with a note of reproach (II Sam. 19:36; Isa. 5:12; Amos 6:5; Eccles. 2:8). The musical expression of mourning is implicit in the verses of David's lament for Saul and Jonathan and explicit in the mention of the male and female mourners who repeated specially composed dirges (II Chron. 35:25). True folk music is mentioned only rarely, such as the songs and rhythmic shouts of the workers in the vineyards (probably the grape treaders) alluded to by the prophets.

The number of identifiable terms for musical instruments in the Bible comes to about 19. Some other terms, notably those appearing in the headings of the Psalms, have also been taken to represent instruments but probably mean some kind of indication of the melody. For many of the terms, a precise archaeological equivalent can already be proposed. Others still await the yield of future excavations. In the following section, the instruments will be listed and described briefly.

(1) *Asor* (עָשׂוֹר), see below, under *nevel.*

(2) *Ḥalil* (חָלִיל), double-pipe wind instrument, with the mouthpieces probably of the single-reed ("clarinet") type and probably made up of one melody pipe and one drone pipe. A folk and popular instrument, it was used for rejoicing and also in mourning ceremonies.

(3) *Ḥaẓoẓerah* (חֲצוֹצְרָה), trumpet, made of precious metal, generally silvers. Blown by the priests, it was used in the sacrificial ceremony, in war, and in royal coronations.

(4) *Kaitros/Katros*, see below, under "Daniel instruments."

(5) *Keren* (קֶרֶן), Aram. *karna* (קַרְנָא), see below, under *shofar.*

(6) *Kinnor* (כִּנּוֹר). A stringed instrument of the lyre family, constituted by a body, two arms, and a yoke. The Canaanite type of the instrument, which was certainly the same as used by the Israelites, is asymmetric, with one arm shorter than the other, and its body is box shaped. The instrument was probably of an average height of 20–23 in. (50–60 cm.) and sounded in the alto range, as evinced by surviving specimens from Egypt (which took over the form and even kept the name of the instrument from the neighboring Semites). The *kinnor* is the noble string instrument of Semitic civilization, and became the chief instrument of the orchestra of the Second Temple. It was played by David and was therefore held in particular honor by the Levites. According to Josephus, it had ten strings and was sounded with a plectrum (Ant., 7:306), and according to the Mishnah, its strings were made of the small intestines of sheep (Kin. 3:6).

(7) *Mashrokita* (מַשְׁרוֹקִיתָא), cf. below, under "Daniel instruments."

(8) *Menaʿaneʿim* (מְנַעַנְעִים), mentioned only in II Samuel 6:5 among the instruments played during David's transport of the Ark to Jerusalem. The parallel narrative in I Chronicles 13:8 substitutes *meẓiltayim* (cymbals). The numerous finds of pottery rattles make it highly probable, by etymological analogy (נענע "shaking"), that the term can be applied to them. After about the seventh century B.C.E., these rattles disappeared and were replaced by the newly-invented metal bell (see below, under *pa'amon*).

(9) *Meẓiltayim, Ẓilẓalim, Meẓillot* (צִלְצְלִים, מְצִילּוֹת, מְצִלְתַּיִם), the first two forms probably standing for cymbals. The cymbals found in excavations were made of bronze, in the form of plates with a central hollow boss and with a metal

thumb-loop. The average diameter of the finds is about 4.5 in. (12 cm.). They were played by the Levites in the Temple. The *meẓillot* of the horses, mentioned in Zechariah 14:20, are probably the same metal ball-jingles as those depicted on Assyrian reliefs.

(10) *Minnim* (מִנִּים), an unclear term (Ps. 150:5 and perhaps also Ps. 45:9), presumably a stringed instrument, and perhaps the lute, which was never an integral part of the Canaanite and Israelite instrumentarium.

(11) *Nevel* (נֵבֶל), a type of lyre, perhaps originating in Asia Minor, constructed differently from the *kinnor*-lyre – larger, and therefore of deeper tone. The coins of Bar Kokhba show it in a schematized form. According to Josephus, it had 12 strings and was played by plucking with the fingers (Ant., 7:306). Extra-biblical sources, which describe it under the name of *nabla* mention its "breathy" or "rumbling" tone. It was the second main instrument in the Temple orchestra. According to the Mishnah (Kin. 3:6), its strings were made of the large intestines of sheep. The *nevel asor* (נֵבֶל עָשׂוֹר), or, in its brief form, *asor* (Ps. 33:2; 92:4; 144:9), was perhaps a slightly smaller *nevel* with ten strings only.

(12) *Paʿamon* (פַּעֲמוֹן), mentioned only in Exodus 28:33–34 and 39:25–26 (and later by Josephus), as attached to the tunic of the High Priest alternating with the ornament called *rimmon* (pomegranate) and made of gold. The usual meaning of the term is a bell. Bells came into use in the Near East only in the seventh century B.C.E., so that the noise-making attachments to the high priest's garment in the desert Tabernacle could not have been bells proper. If the description in Exodus is not a pure projection back from the period of the First or Second Temple, the original *paʿamonim* must have been metal platelets. Later on, real bells substituted these. Most bells found in Palestine are small, made of bronze and have an iron clapper.

(13–14) *Pesanterin* פְּסַנְתְּרִין and *sabbekha* (סַבְּכָא/שַׂבְּכָא), see below, under "Daniel instruments."

(15) *Shalishim* (שָׁלִישִׁים), mentioned only in I Samuel 18:6–7, as played by women. By analogy with Ugaritic *tlt*-metal (and not *tlt* and *shlsh* as meaning "three"), these may be cymbals or struck metal bowls.

(16) *Shofar* (שׁוֹפָר), the horn of the ram or a wild ovine, and the only instrument to have survived in Jewish usage, probably identical with the *keren* (קֶרֶן) and *keren ha-yovel* (קֶרֶן הַיּוֹבֵל). In the Bible, its function is that of a signaling instrument especially in war; its famous appearance at the siege of Jericho must be understood in this sense and not as a magical noisemaker. The *shofar*-like sound at the receiving of the Ten Commandments is also a transfer from the same domain. Only after the *shofar* was taken into the service in the Second Temple did it regain its primitive magical connotation.

(17) *Sumponyah* (סוּמְפּוֹנְיָה), cf. below, under "Daniel instruments."

(18) *Tof* (תּוֹף), a shallow round frame drum, frequently played by women (cf. *Miriam), and associated with the dance.

(19) *Uggav* (עוּגָב), still unclear, but very probably not the wind instrument which medieval exegesis would have it to be. Perhaps the harp, which, like the lute (*minnim*?) was never an integral part of the Canaanite and Israelite instrumentarium.

(20) "Daniel Instruments." Daniel 3:5 describes, in Aramaic, an orchestra at the court of the Babylonian king, which includes the *karna*, *mashrokita*, *kaitros*, *sabbekha*, *pesanterin sumponyah*, "and all kinds of instruments." *Karna* is the horn, and *kaitros*, *sabbekha*, and *pesanterin* are but Aramaized versions of the Greek *kithara*, *sambyke*, and *psalterion*. *Mashrokita* is a whistling or piping instrument; *sumponyah* parallels the Greek *symphoneia*, which, in itself, means only "the sounding together." It is highly probable that the term does not stand for an instrument at all, but means the concerted sound of those mentioned before. The closing of the sentence, "and all kinds of instruments," would thus be nothing but an explanatory gloss.

The forms of music can only be surmised from the forms of those parts of biblical poetry, which are clearly meant to be sung. The most important of these are the Psalms, or at least a great part of the 150 poems gathered into the canon of the Psalter. Many of these, open with an "invitation to music" ("Let us go and sing," "Sing to the Lord a new song"). Before the body of the Psalm itself, a shorter or longer heading formula often appears, in which at least some of the elements have a presumably musical meaning. *Mizmor* and *shir*, also combined as *mizmor-shir* and *shir-mizmor*, are clearly of this kind, but their musical difference has so far remained obscure. The term *lamenaẓẓeʾaḥ* has often been thought to mean "to the choirmaster." Most tantalizing of all are the phrases prefixed by *al* ("upon"?) such as "*al-ayyelet ha-shaḥar*" (Ps. 22, literally "upon the hind [?] of the dawn"), or "*al ha-sheminit*" (Ps. 6, literally "upon the eighth"), and others which are untranslatable even literally. The most reasonable hypothesis is that these designate certain melodic types. Whether the term *selah* which appears at the end of certain verses in many psalms (and often creates a tripartite division of the psalm) has a musical meaning still remains to be proved.

The sounds themselves are lost. Although comparative studies of living Jewish and other Near Eastern traditions may be able to point to certain melodic and formal elements as "very old," their attribution to the biblical or early post-biblical period can never be confirmed by objective proof.

SECOND TEMPLE PERIOD

Only the last part of this period is documented by contemporary literature (chiefly Philo, Josephus, and in the writings of the sectarians of Qumran). Much of the mishnaic narrative concerning music in the Temple service is based on eyewitness memories. The information is often very precise, such as the description of the daily morning sacrifice in Mishnah *Tamid* and the numbers of instruments in the Temple orchestra in Mishnah *Arakhin*. The figure of the Temple musician himself appears much more clearly. Thus there is Hogras ben

Levi, who was prefect of the singers and would not teach his own technique of virtuoso voice production to others (Shek. 5:1; Yoma 3:11). Of the instruments mentioned in the Bible, only the Temple instruments proper appear again: *kinnor*, *nevel*, *tziltzal* and *metziltayim*, *ḥaẓoẓerah*, and the newly accepted *shofar*. The *ḥalil* is also mentioned as a popular instrument, which was played in the Temple only on 12 days of the year (Ar. 2:3). The term *abbuv* (pipe) is used for the separate pipes of the *ḥalil*.

Other terms proposed as musical instruments by later commentaries, from the *Gemara* onward, are very probably not instruments at all, such as *niktimon*, *batnun*, *markof*, *iros*. Neither is the *magrefah*, a rake, which was noisily thrown on the floor after the cleaning of the altar to signal to the singers in their chambers to proceed to their stations, which talmudic exegesis later turned into the equivalent of the Byzantine organ.

A separate body of musical practice and doctrine was evolved by the dissident sectarians of the period. The choral singing of the *Therapeutae in Egypt is described by Philo and Josephus and seems to be the musical base of some of the hymns found in the Dead Sea Scrolls. The sectarians seem to have eschewed the use of musical instruments, holding "the fruit of the mouth," i.e., singing, as the more pure expression of devotion. Some passages in their writings and in Ben Sira may indicate the existence of ideas, which approach very closely to the sphere of musical, or rather musical-poetical theory. The catastrophe in 70 C.E. put an end to the Temple-centered music of the Jewish people and opened a new period, in which the *synagogue became the focal point of creativity in word and tone.

[Bathja Bayer]

THE EMERGENCE OF SYNAGOGUE SONG

Late Hellenistic civilization made music an all-penetrating cultural activity. The Eastern scene was dotted with theaters, arenas, and circuses where singers and virtuosos flocked together at musical contests (organized even by Herod; Jos., Ant., 15:269ff.; 16:137). Amateur philosophers at social gatherings of every kind discussed music. Jingling, banging, and rattling accompanied heathen cults, and the frenzying shawms of a dozen ecstatic rites intoxicated the masses. Amid this euphoric farewell feast of a dying civilization, the voices of nonconformists were emerging from places of Jewish and early Christian worship; *Philo of Alexandria had already emphasized the ethical qualities of music, spurning the "effeminate" art of his gentile surroundings. In the same spirit, early synagogue song intentionally foregoes artistic perfection, renounces the playing of instruments, and attaches itself entirely to "the word" – the text of the Bible.

The new style of Jewish music made its appearance at a specific and fateful moment. When the destruction of the Temple in 70 C.E. demanded a complete rearrangement in the religious, liturgical, and spiritual fields, music became involved in several ways. The abolition of Temple worship also put an end to the refined instrumental art of the levites. The use of instruments in the synagogue service was prohibited (and remained so, with certain exceptions), leaving music a strictly vocal art. Needless to say, this limitation left its imprint on musical style and form. Moreover, the musical skill of the Levitic singers and their tradition, accumulated over generations, were not utilized in synagogue song, and their professional teaching and rules had not survived in writing. Synagogue song was thus a new beginning in every respect – especially with regard to its spiritual basis.

In the new era, prayer was to take the place of sacrifice in providing atonement and grace (RH 17b). Levitical music had been an integral part of the order of sacrifices (Er. 13:2; Ar. 11a; TJ, Pes. 4:1, 30c). Its nature probably was to be as pure and flawless as the offering itself, for it was directed at the heavens and not at a human audience. It must have striven for objective and transcendental beauty and have been "art music." The task of synagogue song was a different one. The individual and the congregation both appeal to God by means of the spoken word. Prayer, regarded as "service of the heart" (*'avodah she-ba-lev*), had to express a broad scale of human feelings: joy, thanksgiving, and praise, but also supplication, consciousness of guilt, and contrition. All these emotions urge subjective expression in song and human warmth, rather than abstract beauty. The strong human element in synagogue music made itself acutely felt as soon as the professional solo singer began to appear. Before this, however, any member of a congregation could be called up to lead in prayer as a "delegate of the community" (*sheli'aḥ ẓibbur*). The gift of a fine voice obliged a member of the community to accept the function of lay precentor (PR 25: PdRK 97a).

Among the different singing styles in which the early nonprofessional *sheliḥei ẓibbur* may have performed, are elementary ones that can be ascribed with certainty to the early synagogue. They are suited to a gathering of people assembled for singing prayer and praise and for the majority of whom artistically contrived song and complicated tunes were normally out of range. Such congregations had to be cemented together by a kind of music that was easily grasped and performed. The musical forms of psalmody, chanted Bible reading, and prayer tunes bases on a simple melodic patternfullfil these conditions. These are the archetypes of synagogue song and have been preserved by the whole range of Jewish communities over the ages.

THE ROOTS OF SYNAGOGUE SONG IN THE NEAR EASTERN COMMUNITIES (C. 70–950 C.E.)

The Formation of the Basic Pattern (c. 70–500 C.E.)

A strong similarity of style can be detected in the recitation of the Psalms or chapters from other biblical books by different Jewish communities. Exactly the same recitation style is to be found in the most ancient traditions of the Catholic, Orthodox, and Syrian churches. Since there was a close contact between the faiths only at an early period, the musical structure or styles of singing must have been accepted by Christianity together with the Holy Scriptures themselves. Many of its different forms, which are still employed by Jewish communities in many different parts of the world, were also described in ancient literature. The findings point to a common source of Bible song in the early synagogue.

PSALMODY. The singing of Psalms occupies an important place in Jewish and in Christian worship. Both creeds share a musical pattern, traditionally and also in musicological parlance known as psalmody (Greek-Christian *psalmodia*). Its outlines and internal organization follow closely those of the poetic form. Each psalm may consist of a smaller or greater number of verses, without being organized in symmetrical stanzas. Accordingly, the melody of one verse may become a musical unit, which is repeated, as many times as there are verses in the psalm. Most of the verses are subdivided into two equal parts (hemistichs) by a caesura; similarly, the psalmodic melody is given a bipartite structure. The biblical verse is formed and characterized solely by the number of its stressed syllables, disregarding completely how many weak syllables there are between the stresses. The verse of a psalm may consequently vary widely in length, since the overall number of syllables is not constant. The tune has to be adaptable to these floating conditions; a "recitation note," which may be repeated according to the particular situation, provides for the required elasticity.

In practice, the singer of a psalm verse reaches the "recitation note" through a short initial motion of the voice, dwells on the former for the main part of the text, and concludes the first hemistich with a medial cadence. The second hemistich is performed in the same manner, but concludes with a final cadence. Thus the basic psalmodic formula consists of:

> Initial motion/recitation note/medial cadence//
> initial motion/recitation note/final cadence (see Mus. ex. 1).

The simple melodic material of this basic formula can be grasped and reproduced by an average audience after listening to a verse or two. In this respect, psalmody is a truly collective genre of music. Its aesthetic and psychological effect is governed by the recurrent repetition of the same melodic phrase – an element of stability coupled and contrasting with the constantly changing text. The tune, after a few repetitions, loses all its interest: the attention automatically turns to the words, which continually offer something new. The accompanying vocal inflections merge and form an acoustical background which infiltrates the subconscious and creates a distinct mood, which eventually becomes associated with a certain feast or time of prayer or with grief and other emotions. The unchanging repetition of the formula throughout a psalm, which is the rule in Gregorian chant, is, in fact, seldom practiced in Jewish song. Apparently, even an unsophisticated congregation wanted to avoid dullness and to enliven the sound of the Davidic hymns (Song R. 4:4).

One line of development in psalmody led to the distribution of the performance between groups of singers. Responsorial psalmody was described as early as the Mishnah (Suk. 3:11; Sot. 5:4) and both Talmuds (Sot. 30b; Suk. 38b; TJ, Suk. 3:12, 53d). Precentor and congregation alternated in singing full verses or hemistichs; the precentor may intone the beginning and the choir takes over; or the choir may sing the concluding words. Moreover, a verse or part thereof may serve as refrain, "like an adult reading the *Hallel*, and they respond to him with the initial verse [as, e.g., in the Song of the Sea]: Moses said, 'I will sing unto the Lord,' and they say, 'I will sing unto the Lord'; Moses said, 'for he hath triumphed gloriously,' and they say, 'I will sing unto the Lord'…" This *baraita*, transmitted in the name of R. Akiva (d. 136 C.E.) and some of his contemporaries, treats the various forms of responsorial psalmody as

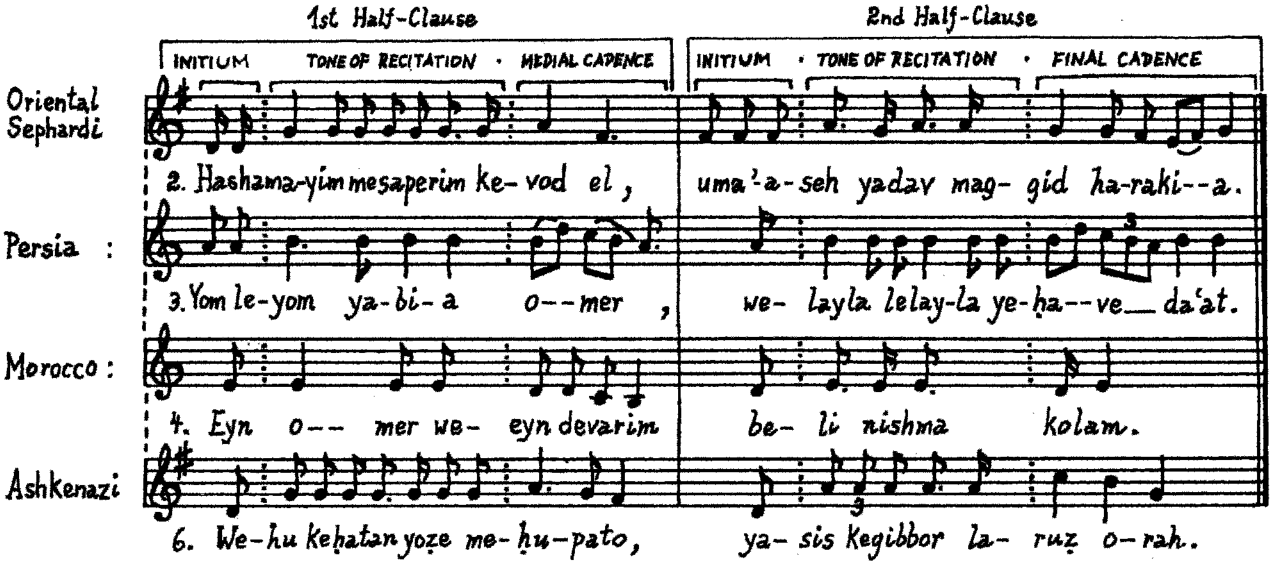
1st Half-Clause
2nd Half-Clause
INITIUM
TONE OF RECITATION
MEDIAL CADENCE
INITIUM
TONE OF RECITATION
FINAL CADENCE
Oriental Sephardi
2. Hashama-yim mesaperim ke- vod el,
uma'a-seh yadav mag- gid ha-raki--a.
Persia :
3. Yom le-yom ya-bi-a o--mer ,
we- layla lelay-la ye-ḥa--ve__ da'at.
Morocco :
4. Eyn o-- mer we- eyn devarim
be- li nishma kolam.
Ashkenazi
6. We-hu keḥatan yoẓe me-ḥu-pato,
ya- sis kegibbor la- ruẓ o-rah.

Example 1. The basic formula of psalmody. Verses of Psalm 19, as chanted in various communities. After Idelsohn, Melodien, *vol. 4, no. 25 (Oriental Sephardi):* ibid., *vol. 3, no. 51 (Persia);* ibid., *vol. 3, no. 171 (Morocco): I. Lachmann,* Awaudas Yisroeil, *vol. 1, 1897, no. 154 (Western Ashkenazi).*

old and well established. It demonstrates the transformation of the first hemistich into an actual refrain. The exclamation "Hallelujah" may be given this role when it is inserted at discretion between verses. This practice was described by Rava (c. 300 C.E.; Suk. 38b), and is found in the Christian tradition as *Psalmus alleluiatus*, and is still perpetuated by the Yemenite Jews (see mus. ex. 2a)

Additions alien to the biblical text are very rare in Jewish tradition (mus. ex. 2b) but have become the rule in the antiphonal psalmody of the churches. The Greek term *antiphonos* originally meant alternate singing in different pitches (e.g., by men and women or men and boys); Philo heard this performed by the sect of Therapeutae. However, worship in the synagogue, which was a congregation exclusively of men and lacked a separate clergy, was unfavorable to the formation of permanent choirs, and the embellishment of a psalm was contrary to the obligation of faithfulness to the holy text. There was no limitation, however, on the strictly musical development of psalmody, with the basic formula serving as a mere skeleton for more complex forms. The musical evolution is achieved mainly by means of variation – just as the poetic language of the Psalms draws largely upon variation within the framework of *Parallelismus membrorum*. Once again, musical composition enhances the poetry.

Jewish psalmody prefers to have hemistichs recited on different tone levels, which is very exceptional in Plain song. Moreover, the recitation note need not remain rigid but may hover around its axis, raising stressed syllables here, marking a subdivision there, or simply adorning the tune. The initial phrases may be redoubled as well as omitted. Finally, several psalmodic formulas may be joined within the same psalm. The device of variation is capable of producing true artistic effects by a gradual escalation of its resources as, for instance, in Psalm 29 for Sabbath eve as sung in Iran (Idelsohn, *Melodien*, III (1922), no. 3): here the melody gradually gains momentum and increasingly dense texture in accord with the intensification of the poetic images. Psalmodic music may change its features to a certain extent according to its multiple uses as well as the contents of the text, nevertheless, it must be content to strengthen, but never outdo, the effect of the words. The ancient pattern of psalmody is still extensively used in Jewish communities all over the world. It is worth noting that the detailed accents later added to the psalm text by the Masoretes were disregarded: the traditional manner of intoning psalms was already too deeply rooted (see also *Psalms, Musical Rendition).

BIBLE READING BY CHANT. Chapters from the Pentateuch and the Prophets are regularly read in the synagogue service, the other books of the Bible being reserved for certain feasts. It is characteristic of the synagogue that the Bible is never read like speech or declamation; it is always chanted to mu-

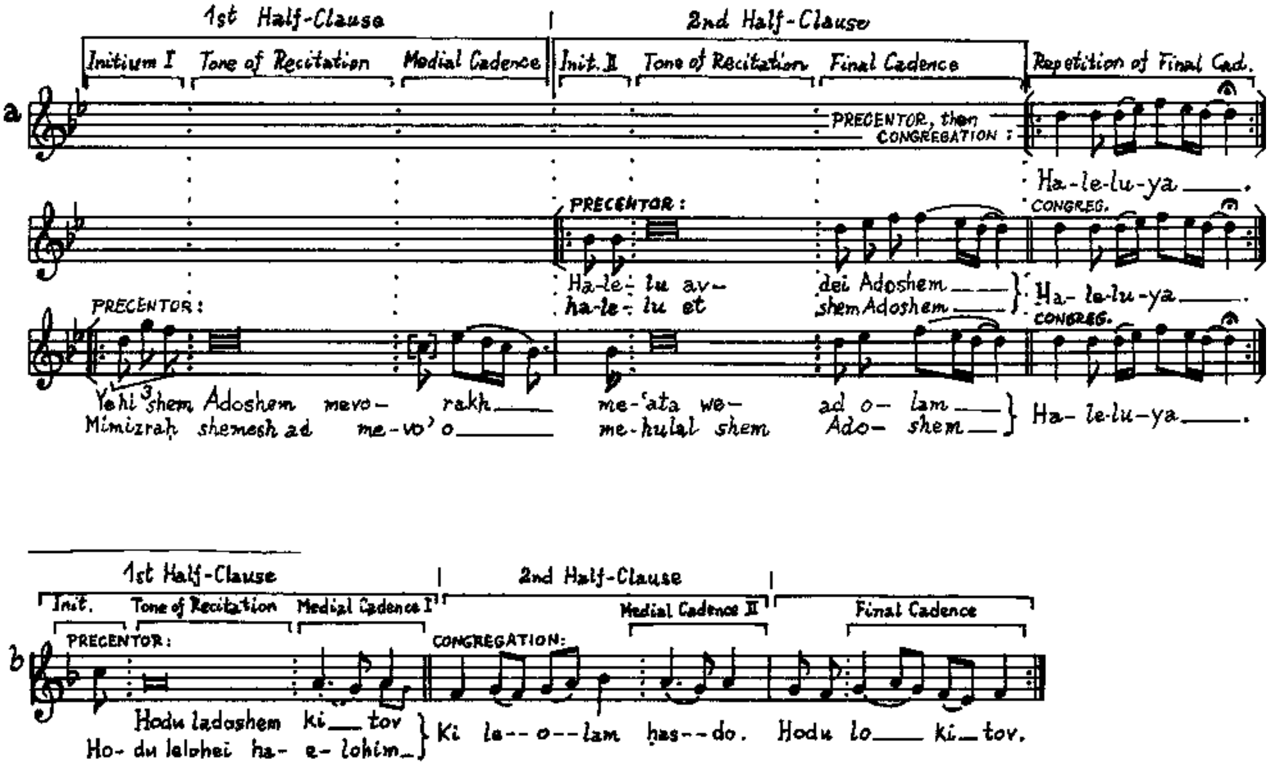
a
1st Half-Clause
2nd Half-Clause
Initium I
Tone of Recitation
Medial Cadence
Init. II
Tone of Recitation
Final Cadence
Repetition of Final Cad.
PRECENTOR, then CONGREGATION:
Ha-le-lu-ya
PRECENTOR:
CONGREG.
Ha-le- lu av- dei Adoshem
ha-le- lu et shem Adoshem
Ha- le-lu-ya
PRECENTOR:
CONGREG.
Yehi shem Adoshem mevo- rakh
Mimizrah shemesh ad me-vo'o
me-'ata we- ad o- lam
me-hulal shem Ado- shem
Ha- le-lu-ya
b
1st Half-Clause
2nd Half-Clause
Init.
Tone of Recitation
Medial Cadence I
Medial Cadence II
Final Cadence
PRECENTOR:
CONGREGATION:
Hodu ladoshem ki tov
Ho- du lelohei ha- e- lohim
Ki le-- o--lam has--do. Hodu lo ki tov.

Example 2. Responsial psalmody. (a) Hallel *Psalm 113, as chanted in Yemen, with a Hallelujah response by the congregation after each verse, similar to the Gregorian* Psalmus alleluiatus. *After Idelsohn,* Melodien, *vol. 1 no. 32; (b)* Hallel *Psalm 136, as chanted in Iraq, with the unwritten response,* Hodu Lo ki tov *(Praise Him for [He] is good), by the congregation after each verse. After Idelsohn,* Melodien, *vol. 2, no. 23.*

sical pitches and punctuated by melodic cadences attached to clauses and periods. The reading of the Bible at home or at school is performed in the same way (see also *Masoretic Accents, Musical Rendition). This custom is strange to European habits. The ancient Greeks already knew well how to distinguish between the rising and falling of the voice in rhetorical speech or stage declamation on the one hand, and true musical intervals, on the other. When the Church took over biblical chanting from the synagogue, its Roman branch retained the chant in a simple form and did not develop it any further. Eastern Christianity, however, embarked on its own development and elaboration of scriptural chanting, which took a course parallel to the developments within Judaism.

There is ample evidence of Bible chant in Jewish sources as early as the second century C.E., by which time it was an old and well-established custom. In the third century, Rav interpreted the verse "And they read in the book, in the Law of God… and caused them to understand the reading" (Neh. 8:8) as a reference to the *piskei te‘amim*, i.e., punctuation by means of melodic cadences (Meg. 3a). Still earlier, Rabbi Akiva expressed his demand for daily study – also executed in chant – by the words "Sing it every day, sing it every day" (Sanh. 99a). Finally, Johanan, head of the Tiberias Academy (d. 279), formulated the central idea of chant in this categorical manner: "Whoever reads [the Torah] without melody and the studies [Mishnah] without song, to him may be applied the verse (Ezek. 20:25): Wherefore I gave them also statutes that were not good, and ordinances whereby they should not live" (Meg. 32a). As an external witness, Jerome (c. 400 C.E., in Bethlehem) testifies that the Jews "chant off" the Torah (*decantant divina mandata*: PL 24. 561).

Talmudic sources state that the biblical verse was subdivided into clauses according to its meaning and the rhythm of speech. This division was called *pissuk te‘amim* and was strictly an oral tradition, the transmission of which was incumbent upon the teachers of children. Their method of instruction was the ancient practice of chironomy – hand and finger signs that evoked the medial, final, and other cadences of Bible chant (Ned. 37b; attested by R. Akiva, Ber. 62a). Chironomy had already been used by the singers of ancient Egypt and was later also adopted by the Byzantines. Jews practiced it in the time of the masoretes, of Rashi (comm. on Ber. 62a) and, until recently, in Italy and Yemen. On the other hand, their absence in the sources indicates that there were no written "accents" (*te‘amim*) during the Talmudic period. These were gradually developed and introduced – together with vocalization – by the masoretes in the second half of the first millennium ("Although the cadential division of the verses and the reading tune were given at Mount Sinai, they were uttered according to oral tradition and not to accent marks in the book" *Maḥzor Vitry*, par. 424; 11th century). The nature of this primitive, unwritten Bible chant can be inferred from the present custom of some communities, notably the Yemenites and Bukharans, which still disregard the written accents and read the Bible in a much simpler manner, using only the well-known cadences of psalmody plus an intermediate stop (see Mus. ex. 3).

The antiquity of this modest kind of chanting is proven by its existence in the Roman Church. Like psalmody, it appears to have been accepted there as a body foreign to Western musical concepts and remained, therefore, in its primitive state.

Psalmody and melodic reading are common traits of all the "peoples of the Bible." Repeated attempts to find an archetype of it in pagan antiquity have not succeeded. Melodic enunciation has been connected with Bible recitation from the very beginning and has accompanied the Holy Scriptures through their translation into every tongue. In contrast to sensualist tendencies in art, which take the Bible text as a mere opportunity for writing a beautiful piece of music, Bible chant is the genuine expression of a spiritual concept and, as such, is opposed to the general trend of the Hellenistic period. Its restriction to a small range of notes and limited ornamentation is intentional, not "primitive," with the purpose of ensuring that the melody will never interfere with the perception of the words and the apprehension of their meaning and spiritual message. As defined by Curt *Sachs, such music making is "logogenic" – proceeding from the word and serving the word (see *Masoretic Accents, Musical Rendition).

THE EARLY STYLE OF PRAYER CHANT. During the first period of synagogue song, the precentor was normally chosen from the ranks of the congregation, and his devotion did not

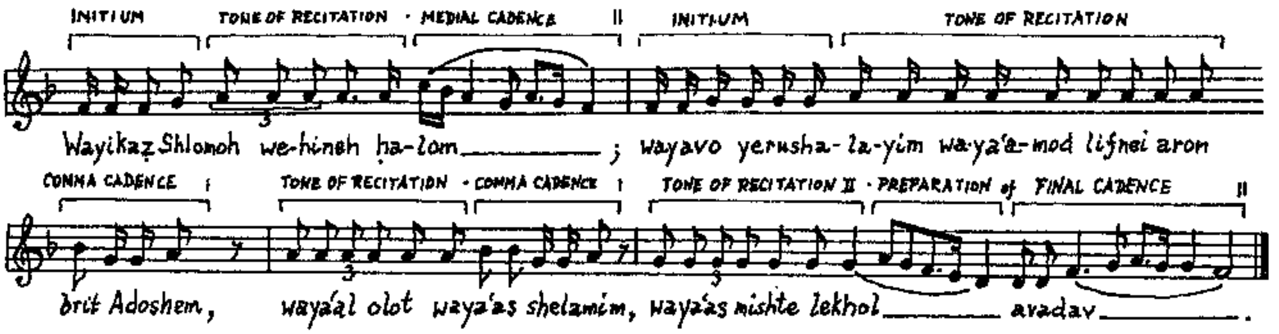
INITIUM
TONE OF RECITATION · MEDIAL CADENCE
INITIUM
TONE OF RECITATION
Wayikaz Shlomoh we-hineh ha-lom ; wayavo yerusha-la-yim wa-ya'a-mod lifnei aron
COMMA CADENCE
TONE OF RECITATION · COMMA CADENCE
TONE OF RECITATION II · PREPARATION of FINAL CADENCE
brit Adoshem, waya'al olot waya'as shelamim, waya'as mishte lekhol avadav.

Example 3. Simple form of biblical cantillation. I Kings 3:15, as chanted in Bukhara to a psalmodic pattern. After Idelsohn, Melodien, *vol. 3, no. 138.*

always have to be balanced by musical gifts and skills. Prayer tunes thus had to be simple and, simultaneously, of a plastic and variable nature in order to be fitted to longer or shorter phrases of the prose texts without difficulty. These demands are met by the "prayer modes" (*nusaḥim*) traditional and common in the Eastern and Western synagogues of today. Although it is impossible to ascribe individual tunes heard today to the early synagogue with any degree of certainty, it is legitimate to speak of the principle of chanting according to a *nusaḥ*.

Jewish prayer chant is essentially an evolution of traditional melodic patterns classifiable as "*Tefillah*-mode," "*Yotzer*-mode," and so on. The melodic pattern of a certain *nusaḥ* consists of several motives, which are not in any fixed rhythm or meter, but are rather a melodic formula, which is apt to be expanded or shortened according to the text. The motives may be repeated or omitted, they may change places and, above all, they may be subjected to variation by the singer. Melodic patterns of this kind are used in Sephardi, Ashkenazi, and Oriental communities alike. Their nature may best be recognized from their adaptation to metrical prayer texts (see mus. ex. 4a), as well as to free recitation (mus. ex. 4b).

The musical effect of an Ashkenazi prayer mode rests on its "varied unity"; it establishes a common stock of motives for a whole group of prayers without imposing a rigid, unchanging framework upon it. The melodic development is stimulated by improvised variation – which has always been an important element in Jewish music (see **Nusaḥ*; **Shtayger*).

THE POPULAR BACKGROUND. Psalmody, melodic reading of Bible texts, and prayer chant were made to fulfill a function in collective Jewish worship; they grew organically from a popular treasure of forms, under the guidance of basic religious ideas. The latter excluded from worship the use of the multitude of instruments which were, in fact, in the hands of Jews in Palestine and Babylonia: the frame drum tabla (Ar. *duff*;) accompanied non-synagogal song and dance and pleased the women especially ("The sexagenarian as much as the six-year-old runs after the drum": MK 9b); the reed-pipe abbuv was blown; the long-necked lute tanbura (Ar. *ṭunbūr*) plucked. Workmen used to sing to lighten monotonous toil such as plowing, boat towing, or weaving (Sot. 48a). Song was heard in the tavern (Sanh. 101a), and every kind of musical entertainment at the fair (Ta'an. 22a; BK 86a see Rashi) and social gatherings (Sot. 48a).

Radical religious authorities of the Babylonian Jews opposed popular music making as unsuitable for a nation in distress (relying upon Sot. 9:11 and 14). Their negative attitude ("Song in the house – destruction at the threshold," Sot. 48a) became even more entrenched when the feudal aristocracy of Sassanian Persia made music part of their hedonistic enjoyment of life, and even the exilarch Mar *Ukba I, who was, according to the chronicle of the scribe R. Nathan ha-Bavli (written in the 10th century), a poet-musician himself and throughout the year composed and performed his own paeans of praise to the king, who allowed himself to be attended with music at his ceremonial levee (TJ, Meg. 3:2, 74a; Git. 7a). At this time Rav *Huna issued his famous prohibition of music, which, however, had undesirable side effects and was dropped by his successor *Ḥisda (Sot. 48a). Palestine was apparently spared this unrealizable prohibition. There was never any intention to interfere with the music making at wedding festivities (hillula); on the contrary, this was regarded as a religious duty (*mitzvah*).

Several legends tell of the rabbis' eagerness "to gladden the groom and bride" (Ber. 6b; TJ, Pe'ah 1:1, 15d, etc.). On these occasions, genuine responsorial singing was performed (Ber. 31a): an honored guest had to improvise a verse suitable for the company to answer with one of the current refrains (such as Ket. 16b–17a). Responsorial psalmody may have been influenced by such common customs. Antiphony, in its original meaning of alternating choirs of different pitch, was also employed at the popular level (Sot. 48a). Instrumental playing at the wedding hillula was officially encouraged, and this favorable attitude of the Talmud teachers became a guideline for later legal decisions.

It is not known when and why playing the flute before the bridal pair (rooted in ancient life and fertility symbolism) was abandoned; it was once a familiar and absolutely legal custom (BM 6:1). The same question arises with regard to flute playing at funerals, where this instrument symbolized life and resurrection; it was customary at the time of Josephus (Wars 3:437) and the Gospels (Matt. 9:23), and its legal aspects were still given consideration by the tannaim (Shab. 23:4; Ket. 4:4), but it, too, disappeared without any trace. Lamentation of the dead by wailing women could assume the form of a dirge (**kinah*, hesped) in responsorial patterns (MK 3:8; Meg. 3b; 6a); but it often remained a short acclamation (MK 28b), probably repeated to current melodic phrases. A funeral song of the Diaspora Jews is attested in Canon 9 of the Council of Narbonne in 589 (Juster, Juifs, 1 (1914), 368, n. 3).

A relationship between synagogal and domestic singing patterns has already been noted. Since responsorial and antiphonal song is found as a frequent practice among many peoples, it may be surmised that the related forms of psalmody also derived from popular usages. As far as can be judged from the necessarily one-sided talmudic sources, Jewish folk music remained relatively immune to the omnipresent Hellenistic influences. Near Eastern Jewry belonged to the Aramaic-speaking peoples (as evinced, for example, by the nomenclature of their musical instruments) and may have kept away from Greek theaters and circuses at the behest of their teachers (Av. Zar. 1:7; TJ, ibid., 1:7, 40a; Av. Zar. 18b, etc.). In the Diaspora, however, the Jews of Miletus, Antioch, and Carthage liked the stage and the arena (Juster, Juifs, 2 (1914), 239–41). Jewish (Purim?) plays were restricted by the Codex Theodosianus of 425 (ibid., 1 (1914), 360 n. 2). At any rate, the lasting influence of Hellenistic musical activities in the Jewish sphere cannot be proven.

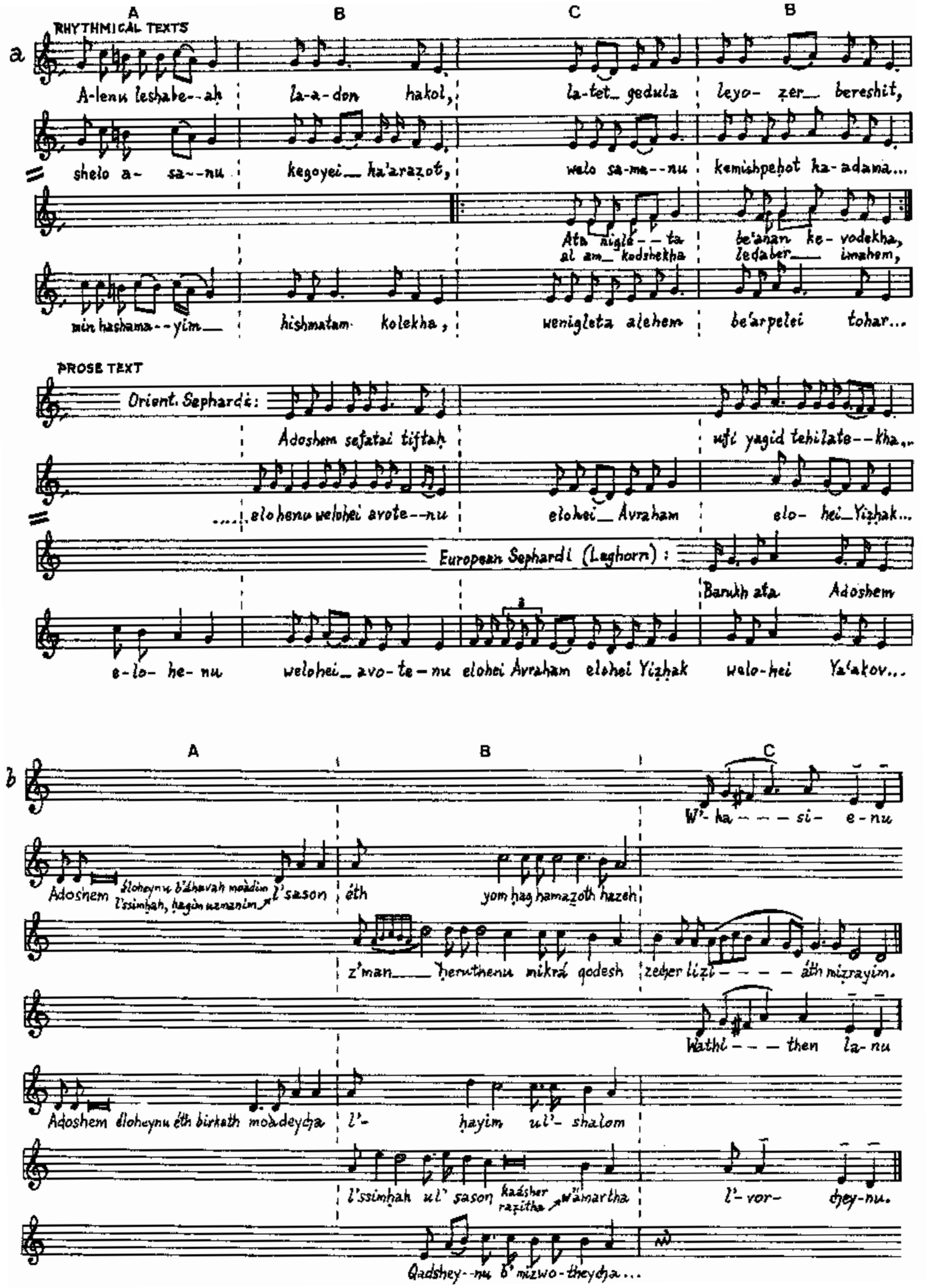
A
B
C
B
RHYTHMICAL TEXTS
a
A-lenu leshabe--ah
la-a-don hakol,
la-tet_ gedula
leyo- zer_ bereshit,
shelo a- sa--nu
kegoyei_ ha'arazot,
welo sa-ma--nu
kemishpehot ha-adama...
Ata nigle--ta
al am_ kodshekha
be'anan ke-vodekha,
ledaber_ imahem,
min hashama--yim_
hishmatam kolekha,
wenigleta alehem
be'arpelei tohar...
PROSE TEXT
Orient. Sephardi:
Adoshem sefatai tiftah
ufi yagid tehilate--kha...
....elohenu welohei avote--nu
elohei_ Avraham
elo- hei_Yizhak...
European Sephardi (Leghorn):
Barukh ata Adoshem
e-lo- he- nu
welohei_ avo- te-nu
elohei Avraham elohei Yizhak
welo-hei Ya'akov...
A
B
C
b
W'- ha---si- e-nu
Adoshem Eloheynu b'ahavah moadim l'ssimhah, haggim uzmanim
l'sason
eth
yom hag hamazoth hazeh
z'man_ heruthenu mikra qodesh
zecher lizi----ath mizrayim.
Wathi---then la-nu
Adoshem eloheynu eth birkath moadeycha
l'-
hayim ul'- shalom
l'ssimhah ul' sason kaasher razitha wa'martha
l'-vor- chey-nu.
Qadshey--nu b'mizwo-theycha...

Example 4. Structures of prayer modes (nusaḥ),
(a) Sephardi: Musaf *of the High Holy Days;* Aleinu le Shabbe'aḥ. *Oriental Sephardi, After Idelsohn,* Melodien, *vol. 4 no. 249.* Ata Nigleta, *ibid., no. 254;* Adonai Sefatai Tiftaḥ, *ibid., no. 233: European Sephardi (Leghorn), after F. Consolo,* Sefer Shirei Yisrael – Libro dei Canti d'Israele, *1892, no. 335.*
(b) Western Ashkenazi: prayers on feast days and the New Moon, blessing for Passover, after S. Naumbourg, Zemirot Yisrael, *vol. II. 1847, no. 141.*

IDEAS ABOUT MUSIC. The influence of religious law (*halakhah*) on the structure of synagogue music, such as the discontinuation of instrument playing and the entire Levitical tradition, has been noted above. To this should be added the rejection of the female voice from the service and other public performances, exemplified by Rav's harsh statement: "The voice of a woman is indecency" (Ber. 24a, etc.). The rabbi's indifference or hostility to the sound of music changes, however, in the aggadic parts of the Talmud, where many instances of true musical feeling and appreciation of the charm of sounds are recorded. The rabbis dwelled on King David's allegoric lyre, which was sounded by the midnight wind like an Aeolian harp (Ber. 4a, etc.), they perceived the "song of the ears of grain" in the field (RH 8a), and let trees burst into song (TJ, Ḥag. 2:1, 77a). They fostered ideas that became universal sources of artistic inspiration: the parallel singing of celestial music of the angels and the righteous (Ḥag. 12b; 14a; Av. Zar. 3b; Er. 21a; Sanh. 91b; Meg. 10b, etc.; Tosef. Sot. 6:2); and the "trump of doom" (later Midrashim: *Otiyyot de-Rabbi Akiva*, letter T; Midrash Daniel, etc.). In other Midrashim (of more or less disputed date), the eternal link between mystical and musical conceptions, already extant in some of the above-quoted Talmud passages, reveals its full strength in certain peculiar hymns aimed at inducing a visionary trance. These hymns were assembled in the treatise *Heikhalot Rabbati* ("All these songs Rabbi Akiva heard when approaching the *Merkabah and understood and learned before the heavenly throne what its servants sang unto it"). They are composed in a language rich in "word-music" and vocal harmony; and one can imagine them being sung to the repetition of short melodic phrases characteristic of suggestion-inducing and spell-casting songs all over the world.

The same *Heikhalot* treatise reveals a guiding idea of sacred song in legendary form: "R. Ishmael said: Blessed is Israel – how much dearer are they to the Holy One than the servant-angels! Since as soon as the servant-angels wish to proceed with their song in the heights, rivers of fire and hills of flames encircle the throne of glory, and the Holy One says: Let every angel, cherub, and seraph that I created be silenced before Me, until I have heard and listened to the voice of song and praise of Israel, my children!" Human song of praise is given preference over the pure and flawless beauty heard from the heavenly hosts, and the standards of sacred song are set by the warmth of devotion resounding from earthly voices, imperfect and human as they may be.

This concept differs from the basic idea of ecclesiastical song as laid down by Dionysius the Areopagite and repeated throughout the Middle Ages. This notion propounds that the perfect beauty of angelic song descends to the lower ranks in heaven and reaches earth as a faint echo. Church music endeavored by imitation to approach the heavenly model; it had to strive increasingly for superhuman, transcendental beauty, thus creating a perfect but cold product of art. This fundamental difference between the Jewish and Christian view of sacred music indicates what to look for in the evaluation of synagogue song. It must be judged by the perseverance of its original intention, which is to be an expression of human feelings, disregarding beauty for its own sake. Whenever, during its development, appreciation of the pleasant sound as such became prominent, this attitude was most often initiated by foreign influences. As a rule, however, the basic patterns set during its first period have survived as a permanent background of Jewish music.

Evolution of the Basic Pattern and Creation of New Forms (c. 500–950)

After the completion of the Talmud, c. 500 C.E., new developments began in the liturgical and musical fields. The Near Eastern communities maintained their leadership, and the innovations created there became an integral part of Jewish tradition in the entire Diaspora. During this time, as far as can be judged, Jewish music was spared serious conflict with foreign influences.

THE "LEARNED ART" OF BIBLE CHANT. According to the early, oral tradition of reading the Bible by chant, only a few main sections of a verse were distinguished by means of melodic cadences (see Mus. ex. 3 above). Although the text of the Hebrew Bible was fixed long since, every sequence of words could become meaningful only by the correct grouping of the words and a clear interrelation of clauses and sub-clauses. The division of a verse could become a matter of interpretation, or even ideology, and raise debates with dissenting sects or a foreign creed. It was no wonder that in epochs of insecurity a need was felt to mark the accepted infrastructure of biblical verses in an indisputable way – in writing. This was achieved by the masoretic accents which have accompanied the text ever since.

Written reading accents are a feature unknown in the Talmud (that is to say, until c. 500 C.E.). They appear to have developed from the sixth century onward. During the same period, the Syrian and Byzantine churches also introduced written reading signs. Even small groups like the Samaritans invented such signs, although the period of their origin is uncertain. No priority can be ascertained today, but the former hypothesis of a Hellenistic prototype has been finally abandoned, as has the idea of interdependence between the different accent systems. It was a general but variously realized tendency of this era to make a new attempt at a musical script – the first one since the ancient Greeks, and completely different from their method. Greek musicians had expressed single pitches by means of graphic signs, as is done in modern European notation. This method is based on analytical thought. Writing music with accents, however, rests upon the conception of complete melodic figures or motives, which are retained in the singer's memory. Their specific application in singing may be brought about by gestures of the hand (chironomy), as documented already in the talmudic era. The motive may be given a suggestive name (*etnaḥta* "sign of rest"; *zakef* "upright," etc.); the first letter of its name may be written above the text, as was done by the Babylonian masoretes.

Finally, freely invented signs could also be used, as was done by the masoretes of Tiberias.

The development of biblical accents (*taʿamei mikra*) was a prolonged process which was completed definitely only between 900 and 930 by Aaron b. Moses *Ben-Asher of Tiberias. This final and authoritative system was imposed upon the whole of Jewry. The earlier Palestinian and Babylonian accentuations fell into disuse and have only recently been recovered from rare manuscripts. The general trend of development was from simplicity to complexity. The masoretes "in good faith furnished the 24 biblical books with accents of correct judgment, with a clear manner of speech, with a sweetly enunciating palate, with beautiful oration… Whoever reads shall hear, whoever hears shall understand, and whoever sees shall grasp" (Moses Ben-Asher, autograph colophon of the Cairo Codex of the Prophets, dated 895 C.E.). They proceeded from the subdivision of a sentence by accent pairs (Babylonian system) to a total accentuation of one sign, and occasionally two, on every word. Having begun with the simple indication of the traditional places of the cadences, they ultimately arrived at a "learned art" of Bible chant, prescribing how the reader was to organize his recitation.

In evaluating the musical consequences of the Tiberian "total accentuation," one basic fact should be borne in mind: an accent can seldom be regarded as a detached, self-contained unit. Not only is a disjunctive accent ("king") most often accompanied by a conjunctive one ("servant"), but also several of these pairs are frequently combined to form typical groups. In music, motive groups or melodic phrases match these accent groups: a chanted Bible verse is made into a continuous chain of musical motives (see Mus. ex. 5) and is clearly distinguished from the old-fashioned, psalmody-like style (see Mus. ex. 3 above).

Since the single motives are often linked by a short bridge of linear recitation (see ex. 5), this kind of chant may also be likened to a string of beads. An entire chapter read in this manner resembles a mosaic in which the same pieces are assembled in constantly varying combinations.

The translation of the masoretes' intentions into music was not accomplished smoothly. First of all, the Tiberian system of accentuation is too detailed and complex to be followed perfectly by even the most scrupulous reader. Moreover, there were Jewish communities with closer ties to the Babylonian than to the Tiberian school; they accepted the Tiberian system as a matter of book learning, but interpreted in song only part of it (the king accents) or disregarded it altogether. Writers of the 14th and 16th centuries (Simeon b. Ẓemaḥ *Duran, Elijah *Levita) explicitly attest that the Sephardim who used to obtain books and teachers from Babylonia neglected all the servant accents and some of the kings as well, and they still do so today. In Iran and Yemen there arose hybrid styles of melodic reading in which the three or four cadences of the old style are permutated arbitrarily in order to comply with the Tiberian rulings. Some remote communities, such as that of Bukhara, continue to recite simply in the old, psalmody-like style (Mus. ex. 3 above). In this way, Jewish reading practices of today form a living museum of chanting styles as they were at different stages of their development.

THE LITURGICAL HYMN (PIYYUT). Although the composition of religious poetry most certainly did not break off with the destruction of the Second Temple, the introduction of hymns as an integral part of synagogue liturgy is ascribed to the sixth century. An old tradition (first recorded by *Yehudai Gaon c. 760) connects the admission of hymns into the synagogue with an interdiction against studying the law and reciting the *Shema Yisrael*, generally linked with the hostile edict of Emperor Justinian I promulgated in 553 (Juster, Juifs, 1 (1914), 369–77). This, however, is not sufficient to explain the continuing production of hymns over the centuries, the immense creative power invested in them, the mystical touch present since the very beginning, nor the musical elaboration which they brought about. Hymn writing and singing must be regarded rather as an elementary religious force, effective in Jewry as in every other faith, and one of the main promoting forces of musical evolution.

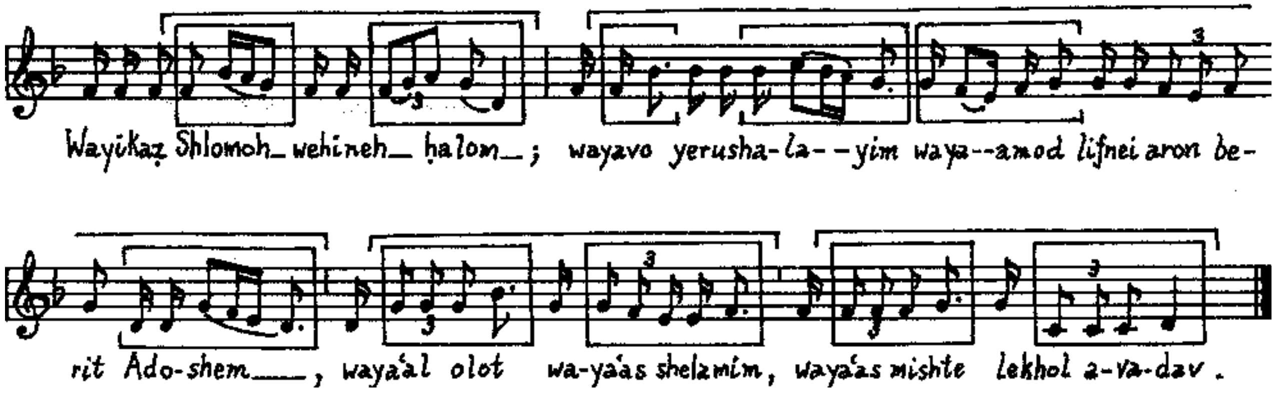
Wayikaẓ Shlomoh_ wehineh_ ḥalom_; wayavo yerusha-la--yim waya--amod lifnei aron be-
rit Ado-shem___, wayaʿal olot wa-yaʿas shelamim, wayaʿas mishte lekhol a-va-dav.
3
3
3
3
3

Example 5. Ashkenazi biblical chant according to the masoretic accents. I Kings 3:15, following the rendition of Joshua 1:1 in Idelsohn, Melodien, *vol. 2, 50 no. 11.*

The early designation of the genre, **ma*ʿ*amad*, was soon replaced by the borrowed Greek word *piyyut*. The choice of a foreign term probably indicates the introduction of innovations, such as consequent rhyming and the division of a poem into stanzas of identical structure. In time, the stanza form became highly important to musical form: it offered the opportunity of changing the unarticulated cumulation of verses into a divisive organization of the song. This possibility, however, is hardly exploited in tunes of the older style. In present-day synagogue song, *piyyut* melodies continue the traditional usage of repeating the first line throughout the entire song. The cause is certainly the poetic rhythm, which remained as it was in biblical poetry: an equal number of stresses in the verses, occurring at unequal intervals because of the changing number of unaccentuated syllables in between. Thus, a well-known hymn of Eleazar *Kallir (early seventh century?) reads:

> Ṭal ya'asis ẓuf harim = 3 accents, 6 syllables
> ṭa'em bi-meodkha muvḥarim = 3 accents, 8 syllables
> ḥannunekha ḥalez̤ mi-masgerim = 3 accents, 10 syllables

A tune appropriate to such poems in "free rhythm" must be capable of extension or contraction according to the length of the text. In addition to psalmody and the principle of prayer chant, another solution to this problem was found by singing according to modal patterns, still practiced today by the Sephardim and the Eastern communities. The basic musical idea or modal pattern consists of not more than one or two tetrachords (four-tone rows); this framework is filled, in actual singing, with melodic curves, step patterns, and ornaments of every kind. A particular musical realization of the scale model will seldom be repeated, but every verse of the stanza offers a new variation of the preconceived pattern (Mus. ex. 6b).

This method of "endless variation" is characteristic of the Oriental style of Jewish song. Its Ashkenazi counterpart is more closely related to the *nusaḥ* structure of prayer chant (see above), being a plastic sequence of variable and interchangeable motives (Mus. ex. 6a). The Ashkenazi style is distinguished by the clear-cut outline of its motives and the retention of the recitation tone technique related to psalmody.

It should be understood that there is no other means of evaluating the historical forms of *piyyut* singing than by inference from present-day traditions. Tunes, which show archaic features and conform neatly to the poetical form, may be regarded, as a working hypothesis, as representative of the original style. The texts of the *piyyutim* contain a considerable admixture of mystical elements recognizable, inter alia, by the exuberant accumulation of divine attributes (found as early as in the hymns of the Qumran sect and later explicitly condemned by the *tanna'im*, Ber. 33b; Meg. 18a). The exact musical consequences of these tendencies are not known, but they caused the later *geonim* (Yehudai, Nahshon) to urge the general removal of hymns from the liturgy. However, hymnal song had captivated the hearts of the people to such a degree that this proved impossible. The rabbis, therefore, looked with a certain suspicion upon the principal exponents of *piyyut* singing, the precentors who by then had already become professional ministers.

THE ḤAZZAN AND THE SYNAGOGAL SOLO STYLE. *Piyyut* as sung art-poetry demanded the expertness of a gifted soloist,

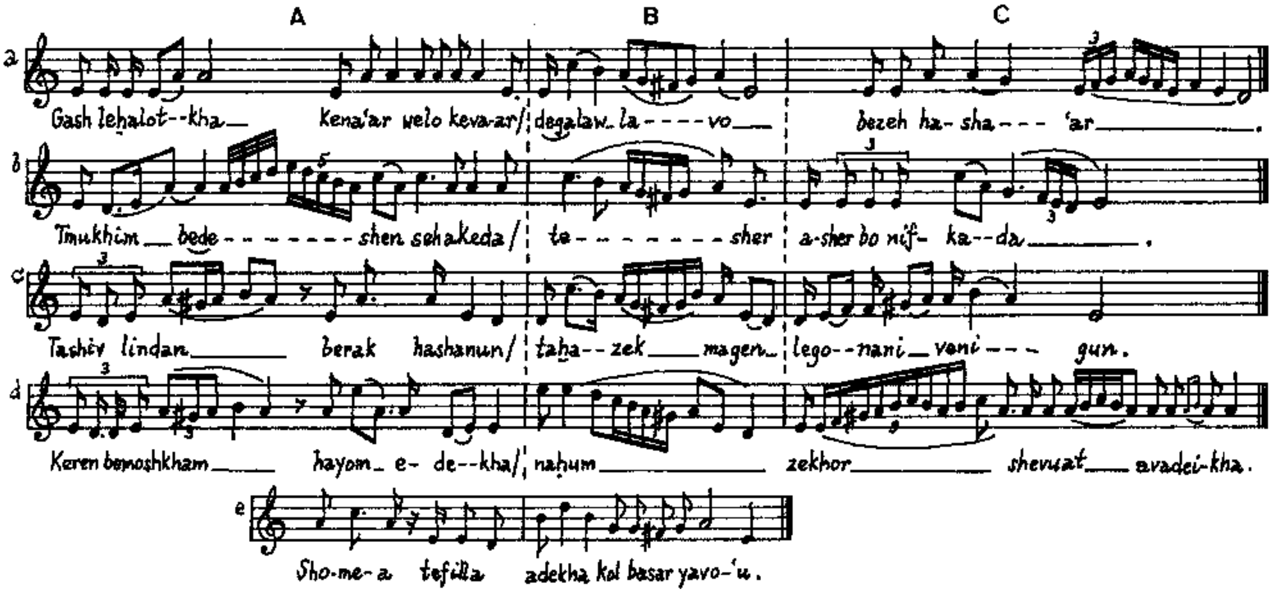
A
B
C
a
Gash lehalot--kha__ Kena'ar welo keva-ar/ degalaw. la----vo__ bezeh ha-sha--- 'ar___.
b
Tmukhim__ bede--------- shen sehaKeda/ te---------sher a-sher bo nif- ka--da___.
c
Tashiv lindan___ berak hashanun/ taha--zek___ magen_ lego--nani_ veni--- gun.
d
Keren bemoshkham___ hayom_ e- de--kha/ nahum___ zekhor___ shevuat___ avadei-kha.
e
Sho-me-a tefilla adekha kol basar yavo-'u.

Example 6a. Hymn-tune constructed as a chain of variated motifs. Ashkenazi melody for the kerovah *hymns for the High Holy Days: (a) for* Neʿilah *of the Day of Atonement, Bavarian version c. 1800–40 (Loew Saenger, 1781–1843), after Idelsohn,* Melodien, *vol. 7 part 3, no. 211; (b) for* Shaḥarit *of the New Year, Frankfurt version c. 1883 after F. Ogutsch (1845–1922),* Der Frankfurter Kantor, *1930, no. 179; (c) for* Musaf *of the New Year, Ukrainian version, c. 1860–80, after J. Bachmann,* Schirath Jacob, *1884 no. 90; (d) for* Musaf *of the New Year, Jerusalem version of the Lithuanian tradition as noted in 1963, after J.L. Neeman,* Nusaḥ la-Ḥazzan, *vol. 1, 1963, part 2. no. 17; (e) Psalm 65:3, chanted at* Kol Nidrei *to motives A and B of the kerovah melody, "Polish" version, 19th century, after A. Baer,* Baal T'fillah, *1883^3, no. 1307.*

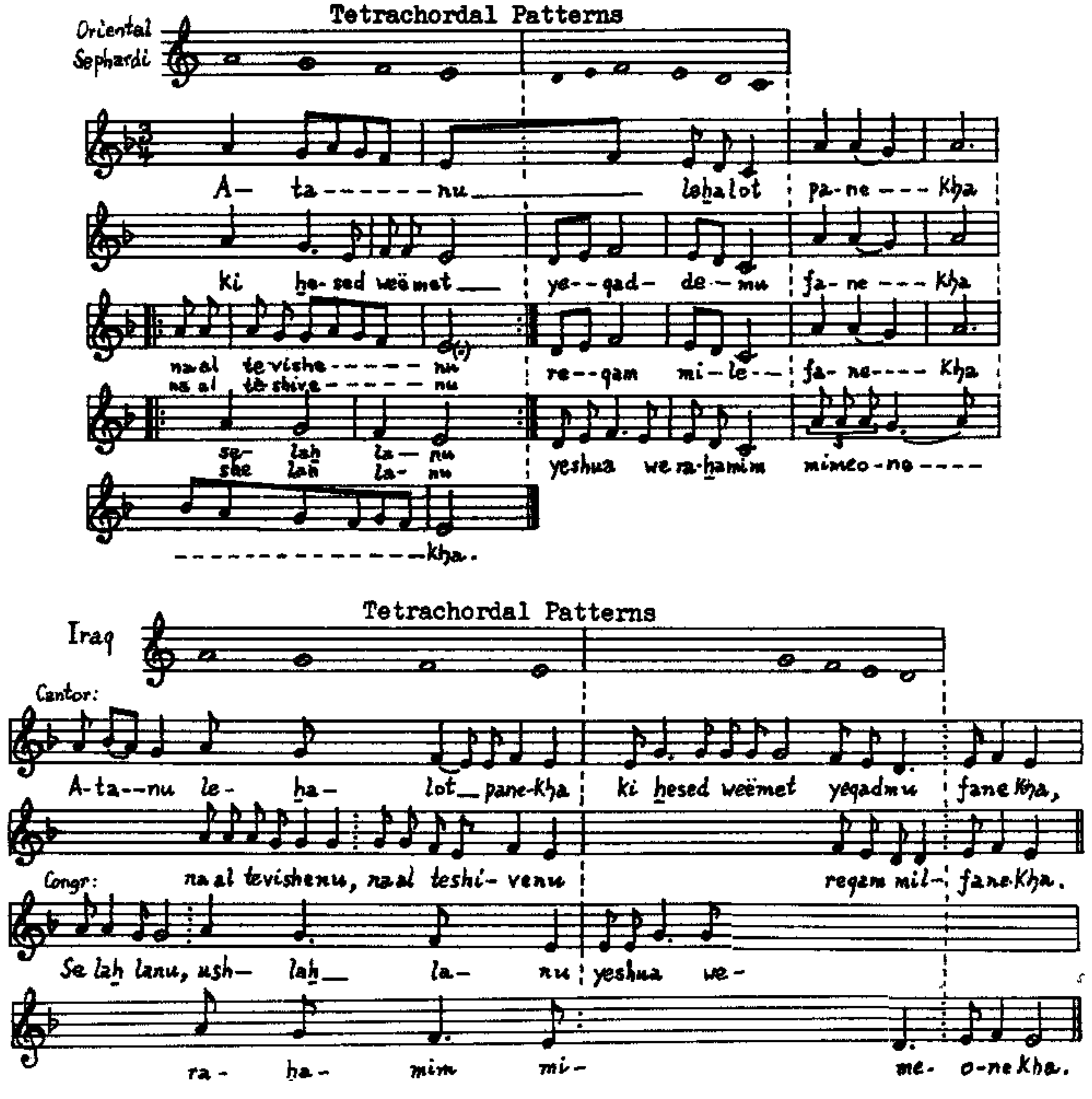
Tetrachordal Patterns
Oriental Sephardi
A– ta––––––nu lehalot pa-ne–––Kha
ki hesed weëmet ye––qad- de–mu fa-ne–––Kha
naal tevishe––––––nu re––qam mi–le–– fa-ne––––Kha
na al teshive––––––nu
se- lah la–nu yeshua we ra-hamim mimeo-no––––
she lah la-nu
––––––––––––––kha.
Tetrachordal Patterns
Iraq
Cantor:
A-ta––nu le- ha- lot pane-Kha ki hesed weëmet yeqadmu fane Kha,
Congr: naal tevishenu, naal teshi- venu reqam mil- faneKha.
Se lah lanu, ush– lah la– nu yeshua we-
ra- ha- mim mi- me- o-ne Kha.

Example 6b. Hymn-tunes constructed of variations on a modal pattern. The penitential hymn, Atanu leḥalot. *Oriental Sephardi, after Idelsohn,* Melodien, *vol. 4, no. 95 and Iraq,* ibid., *vol. 2, no 45. For the same as sung in Persia to a pattern comprising one tetrachord only, cf.* ibid., *vol. 3, no. 40.*

especially when the singer himself was expected to compose both text and tune. A lay precentor could hardly continue to fulfill such a task. It is surmised that the early *paytanim* performed their creations themselves, having also composed or adapted the melody. It was at this period, in the last quarter of the first millennium, that the new function of the professional solo singer came into existence – presently the well-known figure of the **ḥazzan*. The title *ḥazzan* was not new. It had formerly designated an assistant of the *archisynagogus. In addition to several secular tasks, this functionary had to arrange and supervise the ceremonies in public worship. It was an honored post: the Code of Theodosius exempted its holders from taxes in 438 and Pope Gregory the Great endorsed it c. 600. It was reasonable enough also to require musical ability of applicants for the post of this synagogue master of ceremonies. The term *ḥazzanut*, derived from the title *ḥazzan* designates, either the official post or, more often, the specific melodies and musical style of the solo singer.

For the chronological determination of the *ḥazzan's* specialization in music, a *terminus ante quem* is to be found in

*Nahshon's decision of about 875–880: "A *ḥazzan* who knows *piyyut* shall not be admitted to the synagogue" (B.M. Lewin, *Oẓar ha-Ge'onim*, 1 (1928), 70). The assumption of the title *ḥazzan* by the singer probably took place during the ninth century. Since the function of *ḥazzanut* soon came to be passed on from father to son, this vocation became almost a closed social class, where it was the custom for a *ḥazzan* to marry the daughter of his master or of a colleague. The ties of certain families to a musical profession are important for the growth and early training of talents and, in the long run, for the preservation of a musical tradition. There is mention, for instance, of a family of *ḥazzanim* flourishing in Baghdad in the 10th and 11th centuries: Joseph *Albaradani, the "Great Ḥazzan" (d. 1006), left sons and grandsons who became successive incumbents of his position, and all of them also wrote *piyyutim*.

The close connection between *ḥazzanut* and *piyyut* is demonstrated by some letters preserved in the Cairo **Genizah* (S.D. Goitein, *Sidrei Ḥinnukh* (1962), 97–102; idem, in: *Tarbitz*, 29 (1960), 357f.). The congregations in medieval Egypt were always eager to hear new hymns, and the *ḥazzanim* were compelled to exchange *piyyutim* among themselves, write them down secretly from the singing of a colleague, and engaged in correspondence as far afield as Marseilles.

It is difficult to imagine the musical character of early *ḥazzanut*. One can, however, attempt to demonstrate the common features of Oriental and European *ḥazzanim* of today with comparable gentile melodies taken as a control group. In addition, the tunes noted down by Obadiah the Norman Proselyte in the first half of the 12th century is available for comparison. With due precaution, it may be said that *ḥazzanut* implies the free evolution of a melodic line (without reference to any system of harmony). The tune therefore proceeds by seconds and other small steps, while leaping intervals are avoided. The melodic texture is dense: there are no empty intervals, no extended notes that are enlivened by dissolution into small steps (Mus. ex. 7).

The *ḥazzan* must command a good measure of musical creativeness. He does not simple reproduce a preconceived piece of music, but must give final shape to the general outlines of a theme by an improvisation of his own. In this way, the stanza of a *piyyut* may develop in a series of variations on the traditional theme (Mus. ex. 8a)

This feature is already found in the tunes notated by Obadiah the Norman Proselyte (Mus. ex. 8b) in the 12th century. The expressive element so characteristic of *ḥazzanut* can also be discovered in Obadiah's notations. The music of a *piyyut* fragment exhibits the repetition of words, the expressive motives, and the lively "pulsation" around a single note that have remained the pride of the *ḥazzan* until today.

To sum up, musical tradition in *ḥazzanut* means a melodic pattern to be followed, the choice of a specific tetrachord or other scale, which is representative of a certain mood, or a stock of motives to be arranged and rearranged in changing melodic structures. The most ancient heritage of synagogue music cannot be confined to bar lines or enclosed in a framework of symmetric phrases. Its rhythm is as free as that of the Hebrew poetry of the time. It is worth noting that melodies in free rhythm have been preserved even in European communities, as a body separate from Western music.

MUSIC OF THE MEDIEVAL DIASPORA (C. 950–1500)

The close connection between musical development and changes in thought and national or social conditions is demonstrated perfectly by the changes which occurred in Jewish music as a result of the Islamic conquests, which introduced strong secular and cosmopolitan traits into the cultural life of the Near East, North Africa, and Spain. The Jewish mind does not favor revolutions in sacred music, but new and powerful elements were added to the ancient stock and gave rise to mutual reactions and interactions. In the field of secular music, however, there was a strong trend towards integration, often impeded by forced separation from the gentiles, but thrusting forward as soon as conditions allowed. This general picture is colored by the existence and interplay of different spiritual factors within Jewry itself, each of which contributed to the shaping of musical ideas and forms.

The beginning of a new period in Jewish music may be placed about the middle of the tenth century. By then, the accent systems of Bible chant had been completed; music was made a subject of philosophical reasoning; and sung poetry took on a new look by the introduction of meter and the aesthetic values connected with it. These developments in the spiritual and artistic fields went hand in hand with most important events and changes in the Near East. The conquest and unification of the Near Eastern countries by Islam brought the local Jewries into a larger world of relative liberty and openmindedness. Art and science were no longer restricted to the service of certain religious dogmas, and Jews were free to integrate themselves into the material and spiritual realms of the general culture, but the price was paid by giving up the administrative autonomy of the Jewish population, and the

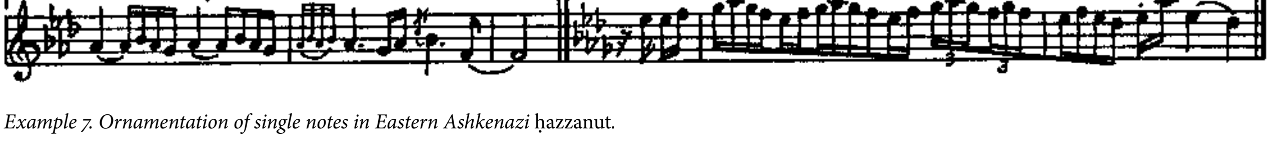

Example 7. Ornamentation of single notes in Eastern Ashkenazi ḥazzanut.

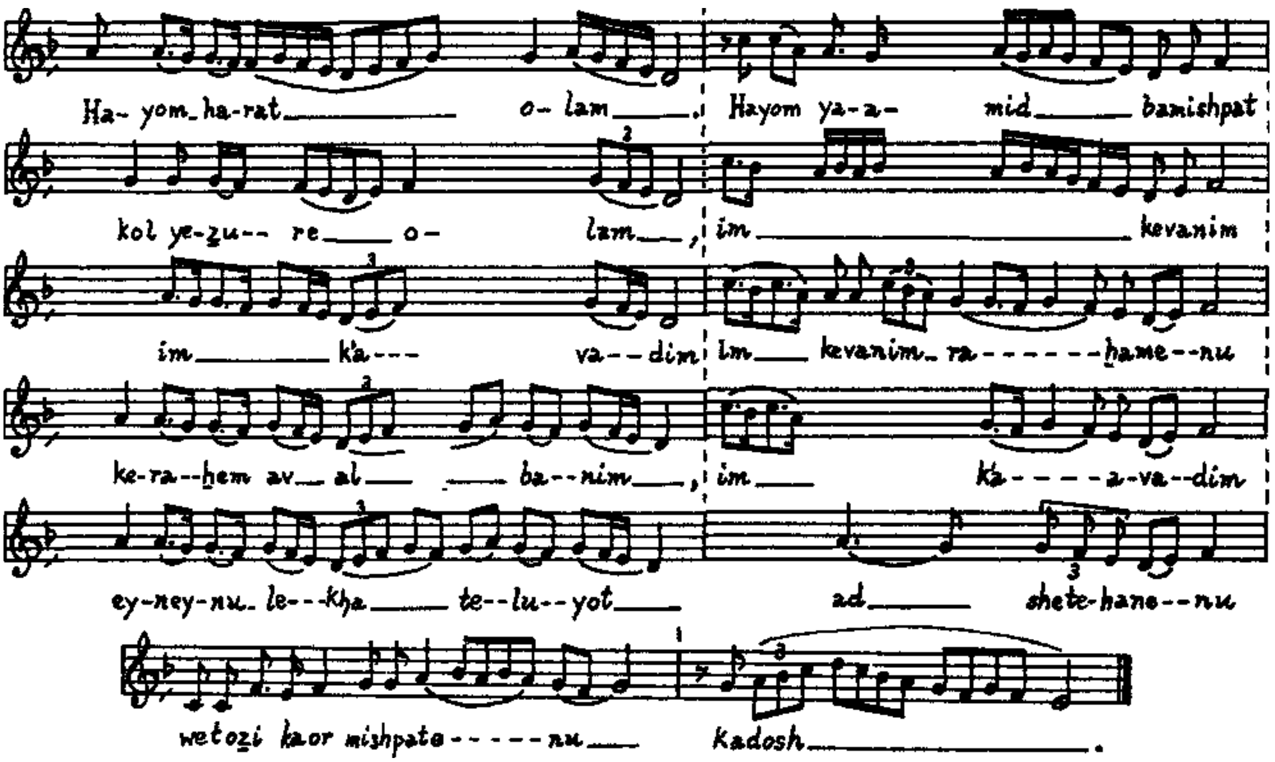
Ha- yom_ ha-rat ____ o- lam ___, Hayom ya-a- mid ___ bamishpat
kol ye-zu-- re ___ o- lam ___, im ____ kevanim
im ____ k'a--- va--dim Im ___ kevanim_ ra------hame--nu
ke-ra--hem av_ al ___ ___ ba--nim ___, im ___ k'a----a-va--dim
ey-ney-nu_ le---kha ___ te--lu--yot ___ ad ___ shete-hane--nu
wetozi kaor mishpate-----nu ___ Kadosh ___.

Example 8a. Improvisatory variation of a theme. Oriental Sephardi, after Idelsohn, Melodien, *vol. 4, no. 255.*

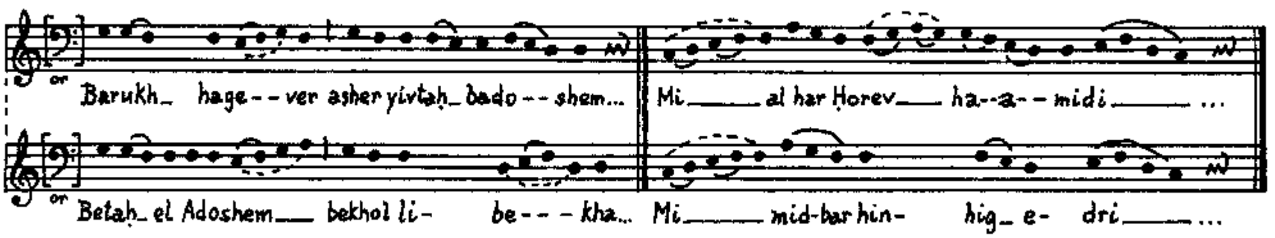
or Barukh_ hage--ver asher yivtah_ bado--shem... Mi ___ al har Horev ___ ha--a--midi ___ ...
or Betah_ el Adoshem ___ bekhol li- be---kha... Mi ___ mid-bar hin- hig_ e- dri ___ ...

Example 8b. Variative development. Two of the melodies notated in the 12th century by Obadiah, the Norman proselyte. Transcription by H. Avenary (cf. JJS *16, 1966, 87ff.).*

rapid decline of the academies and geonic authority. As a result, the hegemony of Eastern Jewry – which, until then, had supplied the Diaspora with legal decisions, books, *piyyutim*, *masorah*, rabbis, teachers, and *ḥazzanim* – came to an end. The dispersed Jewish communities were compelled to take matters into their own hands.

Integration in the Realm of Secular Music

THE SCIENCE OF MUSIC. The term *musica* did not exist in the Hebrew vocabulary until the tenth century, when it made its first appearance in the Arabized form, *mūsīqī*. It served to express the concept of the science of music (Ar. *ʿilm al-mūsīqī*), as *ḥokhmat ha-musikah*, later also *ḥokhmat ha-niggun*. This branch of science is reckoned as the fourth in the classical quadrivium, "the most excellent and last of the propaedeutic disciplines" (*Dunash ibn Tamim). Muslim scholars followed the ancient Greeks when analyzing acoustic and musical phenomena in the spirit of an abstract science – an idea that attracted Jewish thinkers. In the early tenth century, Isaac *Israeli and his disciple Dunash ibn Tamim held that a full command of philosophical reasoning was indispensable for religious exegesis; they actually employed musical science for their commentary on the *Sefer *Yeẓirah* (ed. by M. Grossberg (1902), 16, 40, 48). Their great contemporary *Saadiah Gaon, who took it upon himself to bridge the widening gap between philosophy and religious tradition, is the author of the oldest known text on music written by a Jew. This is a paragraph at the end of the 10th treatise of his *Kitāb al-amānāt wa'l I'tiaqādāt* (*Book of Beliefs and Opinions*) written in 933. Its subject is the eight rhythmic modes known at the time and their influence on the human soul. Its approach largely expresses the prevailing doctrine of the ethos, which emphasizes the importance of harmony in its broad sense as an equilibrating force. Saadiah's 10th treatise as a whole is entitled "Concerning

How It Is Most Proper for Man to Conduct Himself in This World." It should be noted that the then prevailing ancient doctrine of the ethical influence of music formulated by the Greek philosophers, had been expressed earlier in the biblical stories of David playing before the melancholy King Saul and of prophetic ecstasy aroused by hearing musical instruments (I Sam. 10:6, 16:16, 23; II Kings 3:15).

It is quite likely that Saadiah's major source was the Arabic "Treatise Imparting Concise Information on Music" of the great Arab philosopher al-*Kindī (d. after 870). However, a close comparison of the respective passages shows that Saadiah's contains significant differences and deviations from al-Kindī's.

The historical significance of Saadiah's short chapter far exceeds that of its musical content. It demonstrates the integration of musical theory into Jewish learning. It had now become a challenge for erudite Jews in the Islamic countries to comprehend this art intellectually. Fragments of several books on music discovered in the Cairo *Genizah* were written during the 11th to 13th centuries in the Arabic language, but in Hebrew letters. Among them are extracts from the famous treatise on music of the secret 10th century Arab confraternity Ikhwān al-Ṣafā', and a fragment on the elements of lute playing. Contemporary book lists also provide an indication of what could be found on music in private libraries and on bookstalls, and one can imagine how much must have been lost in Cairo and in cities like Baghdad, Damascus, Kairouan, or Cordova.

The scientific approach also makes itself felt in the fields of grammar and *masorah*, thus transferring the treatment of biblical accentuation to a higher level. The system of accents itself had been completed and summed up in somewhat naïve rhymes designed to aid memorization (*Dikdukei ha-Teʿamim*, ascribed to Aaron Ben-Asher himself). This old-fashioned method of teaching continued only by the Ashkenazim (versified teachings of Rabbenu Jacob *Tam in the 12th century and of *Joseph b. Kalonymus in the 13th century). A completely different spirit governs the dry but scientific classification given to the accents by Judah *Ḥayyuj (late tenth century), *Ibn Balaʿam or *Ibn Janaḥ (11th century). It is difficult to gauge the extent to which these works influenced musical performance proper, but they are witnesses to a new trend in the theoretical foundations of synagogue chant.

The classes of literature mentioned so far were addressed to a small stratum of society and never exerted as broad an influence as the books of biblical exegesis, whose study was everyone's moral duty. Thus the exegetes and their works achieved great power in the spiritual life of the nation and inevitably played a part in forming a body of common ideas about music. It was Saadiah Gaon who won the title "head of the speakers and first of the exegetes" in the post-midrashic era. His Arabic translation of and commentary on the Book of Psalms adheres scrupulously to the principle that all instrumental music be prohibited until the Temple is rebuilt, and he even claims that instrumental music was restricted to the Temple in ancient times. Saadiah was very particular about explaining obscure musical passages in the Bible out of the biblical text alone, but, on the other hand, he rather unconcernedly translated the Hebrew words *nevel* and *kinnor* by the Arabic names of contemporary string instruments. His practice was continued by Abraham *Ibn Ezra and innumerable others.

An example of an exegesis drawing on current philosophical opinions is *Baḥya b. Asher's comments on Ex. 32:19 and 15:20 (*Be'ur*, written 1291 in Spain). Relying upon the view of "the masters of musical science" that the nine musical instruments of Psalm 150 allude to the nine heavenly spheres and that seven of them derive their power from the seven planets, he explains why the *maḥol* (= Mars = evil) was the instrument played before the golden calf, while the *tof* (= Jupiter (*ẓedek*) = Justice) was beaten by Miriam, sister of the just priest Aaron. The *maḥol*, he points out, was the symbol of a sinful woman. In the course of time the opinion took shape that *maḥol* and other terms from the headings of the psalms, such as *ayyelet ha-shaḥar* and *alamot*, were musical instruments or names of musical "modes." This view recurs in literature until quite recent times. In general, the exegetical books spread an understanding and a high esteem of music; they endowed it with an image of strong spiritual power – not very different from that developed by philosophy – rather than of a self-sufficient art or a despised entertainment.

THE CHALLENGE OF NEW FORMS OF ARTS. The philosophy and theory of music were conceived by scholars and, as an abstract science, were detached from musical composition and performance. This did not prevent leaders like Saadiah Gaon from writing hymns in the free rhythms of Kallir's school. The following generation (about 940–950), with Saadiah's disciple *Dunash b. Labrat as its leader, introduced contemporary Arab metrics into Hebrew poetry. This was a revolutionary act of immense influence on poetry and music. Arabic poets had accepted the ancient Greek metrics based upon measured syllable durations as early as the eighth century: "Since the ancient Arabs by nature measured [their language], its very nature accorded with tonal proportions and musical composition" (*Ibn Danan, *Perek be-Ḥerez*, 15th century). The differentiation of long and short syllables is foreign to the Hebrew language; it was, rather, the intensity of enunciation that provided the poetic "weight" (*mishkal*). It may be seen, for instance, from *Yose b. Yose's *Darkekha Eloheinu le-Ha'arikh Appekha* that the singer had to utter one, two, or three syllables, as the case may be, between the accents; this precluded a regular beat and meter, and the tune had to be either psalmodic or in free rhythm. It can be said that this poetry did not include the dimension of time as an object of artistic configuration.

This old Semitic heritage was challenged by the Greco-Arab meters, which give a precise order and division to the continuum of time. The heavy pace of the old *piyyutim* was regarded as "bothersome to the public," which now preferred smoothly flowing rhythms flattering to the ear. The formal element had become autonomous, so to speak; its former dependence upon an idea (expressed in a natural flow of speech) had weakened. This process was justified by the slogan "that the beauty of Japheth should dwell in the tents of Shem." Aesthetic appreciation was clearly a new aspect in Hebrew poetry and song. Of course, it had to overcome stiff opposition, but its victory was almost complete and lasted more than half a millennium. "A pleasant musical sound" was henceforth demanded when offering a prayer (Joseph *Albo, *Ikkarim*, 4:23, 8).

In the musical field, too, a new type of melody made its appearance. Its novelty in Jewish musical tradition is signaled by the fact that there was no term to designate it, and the Arabic word *laḥn* had to be adopted for the purpose. This type of melody demanded metrical texts, and an early Muslim theoretician, Ibn Rashik, held that meter was also the foundation of melody. This idea was repeated and developed by several Jewish writers down to the 17th century (e.g., Samuel *Archevolti). Both Moses and Abraham ibn Ezra (*Ẓaḥut* (Venice, 1546), 142a, written in 1145) advocated that a poem intended to be sung should be written in equal metrical units throughout. It is understandable that mixed meters would have led to alternating double and triple time within the melodic phrase and this seems to have been regarded as unbalanced.

Since neither Islamic nor Jewish culture record their music in writing, it is only by inference that the *laḥan* can be regarded as a "melody" according to European notions, i.e., a musical structure built of equal or corresponding sections and shaped according to a rhythmic scheme (meter). This design differs from the traditional tunes of free rhythm, as metrical poetry differs from biblical verse, and has the same advantages and drawbacks, as *Judah Halevi demonstrated (*Kuzari* 2:69).

In modern Jewish singing practice, a *laḥan* may be very closely to the cyclic structure of the stanzas and can be notated with bars according to the meter of the text (Mus. Ex. 9).

It is evident from the example that a "metrical" tune need not be syllabic; a series of short notes may appear on a long syllable. To judge from present practice, however, the absolute identity of poetic and musical rhythm is relatively rare. More often the tune is given its own rhythm, but even then it will be symmetrical or cyclic.

With the emergence of metrical poetry, the formal idea of the stanza became predominant; it constituted a major cycle, which comprised the minor elements of metrical units and rhythms of light character. Its introduction into serious songs was apt to broaden their public appeal. In the Jewish sphere, this implied the explicit invasion of musical tradition by environmental elements. This development was heralded by the extensive use of the Arabic strophic forms established in Spain: the *shir ezor* ("girdle song," *muwaššaḥ* in Arabic and the more popular genre the *zajal*, which were probably the ancestors of both the Spanish *villancico* and the French *virelai*). This form is characterized by a certain order of rhymes and by an unchanging refrain (*pizmon*) to be performed in chorus by the audience (*Tanḥum ha-Yerushalmi*, s.v. *pazzem*; see Y. Ratzhaby in: *Tazlil*, 8 (1968), 16). The melody of a *shir ezor* could be either original or taken from an earlier composition ("With the Greeks, the song was composed together with its tune; with the Arabs, every song has a tune, but not every tune has a song [exclusively associated with it]," Moses ibn Ezra, c. 1100 (Heb. transl. B.Z. Halper, *Shirat Yisrael*, 1924, 110)). The transfer of melodies from one song to another is also a common feature of Hebrew hymns from the 11th century onward ("The scribes of Spain… would write the tune of a well-known *piyyut* above the column of the *piyyut*," Abraham ibn Ezra, commentary on Ps. 7:1). In a sample of about 80 hymns from the Cairo *Genizah*, published by J.H. *Schirmann in 1966 (*Piyyutim Ḥadashim min ha-Genizah*), the superscriptions of 32 refer the reader to the tunes of other Hebrew poems. Seventeen others, however, were written to Arabic melodies assumingly well known in their day. This shows clearly that the acceptance of a foreign form was often accompanied by the adoption of foreign music – either by the transfer of actual melodies or as an imitation of style. Simeon Duran writes (c. 1400) of "the tunes for songs and elegies:.. some were composed in the lands of Spain and taken by the poets from the songs of Ishmael [i.e., of the Arabs] which are very attractive: others were taken from the popular songs of the French countries and are driven to extreme melodic height and extension" (*Magen Avot*, ed. Leghorn 1785, 55b). Sometimes approved, but more often attacked, the custom of using foreign tunes remained a permanent feature in Jewish music. Later it even became an issue of mystical ideology and, in music itself, a source of hybrid forms.

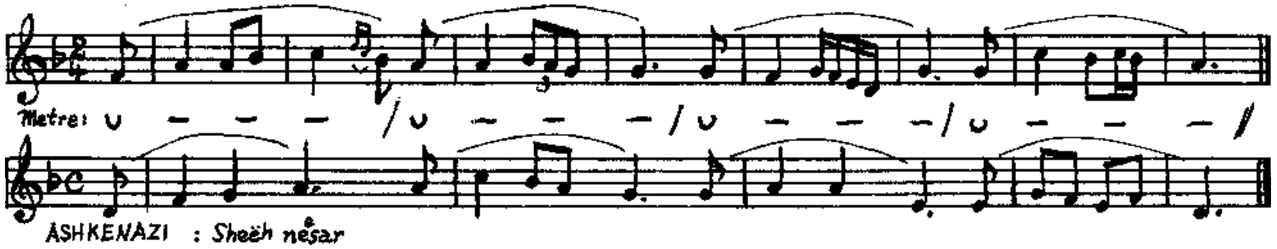
ORIENTAL SEPHARDI : Yede rashim
Metre: ∪ – – – / ∪ – – – / ∪ – – – / ∪ – – – /
ASHKENAZI : Sheëh nesar

Example 9. Melodies shaped according to the meter of the poetry. (a) Oriental Sephardi, after Idelsohn, Melodien, *vol. 4, no. 218; (b) basic Western Ashkenazi melody; cf. A. Baer,* Baal T'fillah, *1883^{3}, no. 225.*

The new development in poetry and music may be reduced to one common formula: both arts are given a periodic ordering, an artificial structuring of the dimension of time acquired from Greco-Arabic precedents. The mere sound of speech and song thereby becomes an experience of its own. The listener may give himself up to rhythms and sounds more harmonious and relaxed than those found in harsh reality; the words may pass before him without posing a special challenge or demand. This phenomenon was alien to the older forms of Hebrew poetry in which the "weight" of accents, like pounding hammers, drove the words into the consciousness. It is difficult to imagine that one could listen to the "beautiful flow of speech" of Isaiah or Job without being moved by its message. The impact of a sensual and aesthetic appreciation of art was a new element in Jewish music, and the first tangible sign of its progressive integration with the cultural environment.

MUSIC AT THE SOCIAL AND POPULAR LEVELS. As a result of the relative freedom in daily life that the Jews were granted, musical elements that had no connection whatsoever with either religion or secular learning came to the fore. At the popular level, song and play had certainly never ceased to enliven festival and ordinary activities, exactly as is related of the Talmudic era (see above). An uninterrupted stream of reports and notices from the Middle Ages tell about Jewish minstrels and jugglers roaming the countries and performing before Jews and gentiles. The wandering artist had a very low status in medieval society; he was almost an outcast in Christian civilization and was regarded with the same suspicion, as sometimes were the Jews. Nevertheless, minstrelsy was a very old vocation, which had spread over the continent in the path of the Roman legions. When the Jews were expelled from their country, many joined the universally open class of *ludarii* (M. Jastrow, REJ, 17, 308–10), *ministrerii*, and *ioculatores*. The movement of Jews into this way of life continued during the Middle Ages and later on. Most of the Jewish communities could not offer a livelihood to all who possessed an artistic gift and felt an urge to practice it. These artists used to master not only singing and instrumental play but also the recitation of long epics and the composition of various kinds of poetry, as well as dancing, rope walking, knife throwing, etc.

This kind of "art" was acceptable not only in the villages or market places; men of high standing were also fond of hearing and seeing the minstrel and juggler, and those they liked best they would attach to their retinue. Since the roaming artist was an outsider in any case, his Jewish extraction was of no consequence in making him the court musician of a caliph or emir or of a Christian king, bishop, or knight. Some examples of the Jewish minstrels' appearance before high-class audiences may shed some light on this continuously recurring phenomenon. From Jewish tribes who settled in seventh-century Hijaz and went to war with shawm and drum came the famous singer *al-Gharid al-Yahudi of Medina, said to have pleased Muhammad himself by his song. In Andalusia, *al-Mansur al-Yahudi was appointed court musician by al-Hakam I, the caliph of Cordoba, early in the ninth century and sent to Kairouan to escort the famous musician Ziryab to Cordoba; others are known to have served the nobles of the Ibn Shaprut family, such as a certain Isaac b. Simeon (c. 1100). The Christian kings of Spain also held Jewish musicians in high esteem. Their court accounts of the 14th–16th centuries repeatedly mention Jewish *juglares* (mostly vihuela players) who received considerable remuneration and were granted pompous titles (*ministrerii de stroments de corda de casa de la señora reyna*). Wandering singer-poets of Jewish descent were welcome with kings and aristocrats since they added a popular flavor to the sophisticated, but sometimes dull, court atmosphere. "El Ropero," the son of a Jewish tailor, was maliciously called *malvado cohen, judio, zafío, logrero* by his rivals, but nevertheless allowed to address Isabella the Catholic with a protest song against the persecution of the Marranos in 1473. One of his contemporaries Juan (Poeta) of Valladolid, pleased the Spanish court of Naples.

The activities of Jewish singers immediately before the expulsion of the Jews from Spain, testifies again that they were regarded as outsiders in every respect. They also appear in the company of Provençal troubadours, French trouvères, or, like *Suesskind of Trimberg (c. 1220), at the seat of the bishop of Wuerzburg. The poetries of these Jewish singers, even the songs on biblical subjects and those obviously written for a Jewish audience, were in the vernacular. They mastered the international repertoire to no less a degree than their gentile colleagues and added to it subjects from Bible and Midrash. One of the unexpected discoveries in the Cairo *Genizah* was the notebook of a Jewish minstrel of 1382, writing German in Hebrew letters. It contains a lengthy German epic, as well as songs on Moses, Abraham, Joseph, and a parable from the Midrash. The authors, "Eizik and Abraham the Scribes," rarely use Hebrew words (but "church" is pejoratively called *tifleh*).

The wandering singers were a class between the nations and, in general, rather estranged to their origin. They spread the works and motifs of literature over the countries and continents (e.g., Samson Pine, who interpreted the French epic of Parzival to German scribes in 1335). The tales of King Arthur were introduced to the Jewish public as well when they were transferred to the Jewish idiom or imitated, as in the **Shmuel Bukh* (15th century), the *Akedat Yiẓḥak* poem, and similar compositions. Reliable sources show that such Jewish epics were sung to a fixed melodic phrase throughout the whole work like the *Chanson de Geste* and similar poems the world over. Regrettably, such tunes as the *Niggun Shmuel Bukh* were never recorded in music, but their counterparts have been preserved in the biblical ballads of the Sephardim, which show that the recurrent standard phrase was varied with every repetition (Mus. ex. 10).

Minstrelsy in general holds an important share in the formation of common European melody types. Its Jewish repre-

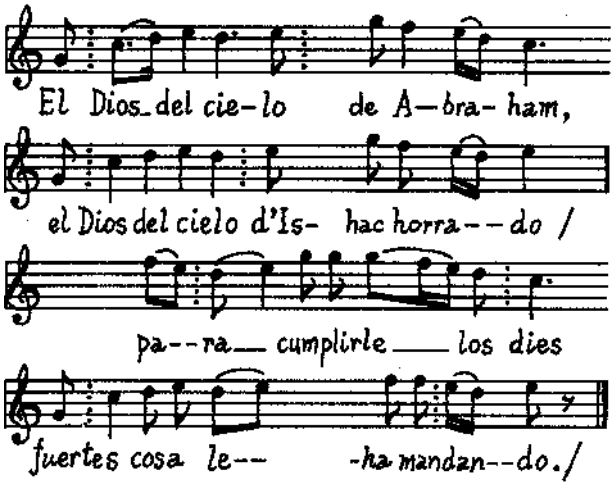
El Dios_del cie-lo de A-bra-ham,
el Dios del cielo d'Is- hac horra--do /
pa--ra__ cumplirle___ los dies
fuertes cosa le-- -ha mandan--do./

Example 10. Standard phrase of epic song. In this example, the phrase is varied by alternating open and closed cadences. Ladino ballad on the sacrifice of Isaac, Morocco, after A. Larrea Palacin, Cancionero Judio del Norte de Marrucos, *vol. 1,* Romances de Tetuan, *1952, 123.*

sentatives served as intermediaries between the ghettoes and their environment. They were also the bearers of an instrumental tradition, especially in the field of dance music. When conducting the elaborate musical rites of wedding ceremonies and other occasions, they transferred part of the international repertoire to the Jewish quarter (Mus. ex. 11).

It is no wonder that common European formulas of dance melodies invaded the more popular part of religious and even synagogue song (Mus. ex. 12). Although these processes belong to the popular level, their importance can hardly be overrated. It was the broad masses of the people who sang certain hymns and regulated the musical taste by giving or denying their emotional approval to the precentor. Periods when an educated musical understanding decided the forms of liturgical song remained rather isolated phenomena. One can hardly discover any influence of that art music which was so highly esteemed during the Golden Age of Andalusian Jewry, when *Moses ibn Ezra gained relief from melancholy by listening to a lute player ("The sinew of my heart becomes one of his strings… skillful hands that feel their way and jump on a fret in just time, spread joy over the breathing souls… the dark doors closed, and the seat of the Most-High lies open to the initiated eyes…," *Shirei Ḥol*, ed. Brody, no. 72), or *Al-Ḥarizi who gave his thankful greetings to a certain Isaiah, master on the Arabic lute (he "stirs up the lute strings to sing… like a child in mother's lap who smiles and emits exultant shouts, not weeping… His playing over a dead body would awaken it, and the spirit of life would dwell upon it again…," *Taḥkemoni,* ed. Kahana, 463). Those beautiful and poetic words bear witness of the deep emotions felt on listening to elaborate art music. However, the conditions of the Jewish exile did not allow for a continued delight in the refined art; time and again the Jews were thrown back to the level of poor people and to the kind of music enjoyed by the same.

THE FORMATION OF CONCEPTS OF JEWISH MUSIC (12TH–14TH CENTURIES)

Since the dawn of the second millennium the impact of the musical idioms of the host cultures was felt more and more in Jewish life, religious and secular. In the face of powerful external influences, the traditional attitude to music was also revised and, eventually, rearranged. By the 13th century, three main concepts had developed that circumscribed the role of music in Jewish life in such a fundamental way as to retain their power through the ages down to the present.

The Rabbinic Attitude to Music

Wherever the Torah is applied to life in its entirety, the ethical potential of music is esteemed above its aesthetic values. Beauty of sound and formal perfection fade and are ranked as a mere means of reaching a higher goal, beyond the realm of art. Rabbis did not appreciate any kind of music that was merely pleasing to hear but had no edifying objective. It goes without saying that they condemned music that was likely to stir up excessive human passion. From the time of *Hai Gaon (c. 1000) the most important Talmud commentaries and legal decisions constantly uttered warnings against listening to Arab love songs (*shiʿir al-ghazal*, *Alfasi) or the popular "girdle songs" (*muwaššaḥ*, *Maimonides). The latter called the occupation with songbooks (*sifrei niggun*) a "waste of time in vanity" (Comm. to Sanh. 10:1). On the condition that the singer refrains from losing himself in sensual pleasure and evoking primitive instincts, however, most rabbis held music in high esteem. Song is regarded as a very desirable accompaniment to prayer. Musical performance at

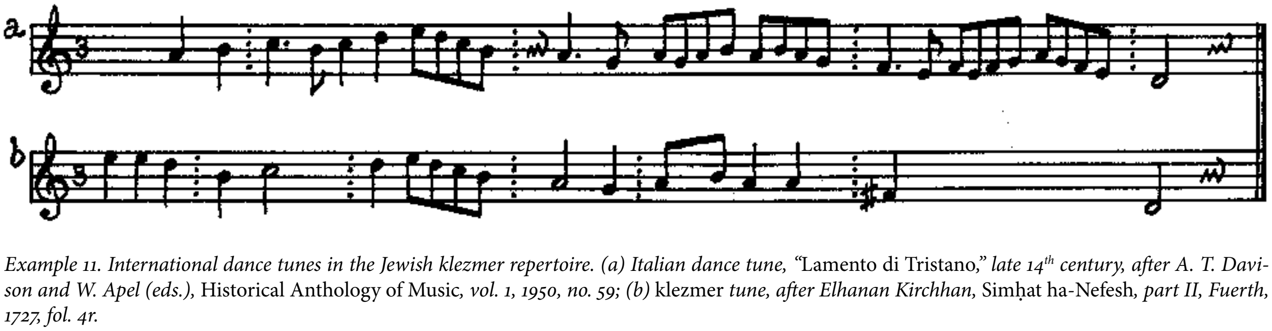

Example 11. International dance tunes in the Jewish klezmer repertoire. (a) Italian dance tune, "Lamento di Tristano," *late 14th century, after A. T. Davison and W. Apel (eds.),* Historical Anthology of Music, *vol. 1, 1950, no. 59; (b)* klezmer *tune, after Elhanan Kirchhan,* Simḥat ha-Nefesh, *part II, Fuerth, 1727, fol. 4r.*

public worship was naturally subject to certain prohibitions, e.g., the prohibition on playing instruments and listening to them during the Sabbath, imitating rites of foreign worship, or listening to female singing voices. Regulations of this kind impeded the introduction of the organ or the formation of mixed choirs in synagogues, for example. Another rabbinical doctrine demands that everyone in full, including the participants in responsorial chant, should enunciate the psalms. This gave rise to the strange "concatenated" alternation of hemistichs still practiced in several Eastern communities:

> *Solo*: The heavens declare the glory of God,
> *Choir*: and the firmament sheweth his handiwork. Day unto day uttereth speech,
> *Solo*: and the firmament sheweth his handiwork. Day unto day uttereth speech,
> *Choir*: and night unto night sheweth knowledge. There is neither speech nor language,
> *Solo*: and night unto night sheweth knowledge. There is neither speech nor language (Psalm 19).

Rabbi Isaiah *Horowitz, who settled in Jerusalem in the early 17th century, recommended this custom also to the West (*Kiẓẓur Shelah* (ed. 1715), fol. 66a).

The competence of the *ḥazzan* was judged by his personal respectability and good repute rather than by musical standards. This frequently expressed view was codified later in the Shulḥan Arukh (OḤ 53:4). Time and again, rabbis were inclined to reject *ḥazzanim* of a prominently artistic or virtuoso disposition, since they were suspect of aiming at public applause alone. Nevertheless, rabbis very often had to compromise or even resign themselves to the demands of the public (Solomon Luria, *Yam shel Shelomo*; Ḥul. 1:49). The guardians of law however, did not cease calling singers to order by their warnings not to disturb the balance of word and tone or sever the bond between related words by extended coloraturas: indeed, a style of singing came into existence in which vocalized coloraturas occurred only as a sort of interlude between integral word groups, instead of being sung to the syllable or a word. In the later centuries, *ḥazzanim* were often blamed by their rabbis for a "theatrical" or "operatic" mode of performance or (in unconscious conformity with Plato) for their "imitation of nature," such as when they pictured vocally the "sound of great waters" in Ps. 93:4 (Judah Leib Zelichower, *Shirei Yehudah*, 1696, fol. 27b).

The innermost meaning of music was defined by Maimonides with reference to the perfect music of the Levites in the Temple as cognate to the faculty of discerning the pure idea (*Guide of the Perplexed*, 3, 46), with pleasantness of sound a precondition of its effect on the soul (*ibid*., 3, 45). About three centuries later an exile from Spain, Isaac ben Ḥayyim Cohen wrote in his *Eẓ Ḥayyim* that the singing of the Levites is intended to prepare their minds for contemplation, as befits those fulfilling sacred tasks. These statements demonstrate how a well-established tradition may be corroborated by philosophical argumentation.

Philosophy and Secular Education

Music was included in the ardent debates about this problem, since it formed part of the curriculum of sciences. It remained for Maimonides' followers to establish its rightful place within Jewish education and learning. Joseph ibn *Aknin was the first to undertake this task in his book *Cure of the Souls* (*Tibb al-Nufus*, ch. 27). In Ibn Aknin's opinion the Bible itself obliges the Jewish people to learn the art of music, not only because of its association with the holy sacrifices and its high esteem in the ancient times, but because the spiritual power of music had been a source of prophecy, "guiding the mind to clear sight, to keen distinction, to the faculty of meditation." Music now penetrated education as a medium of shaping the character and developing emotional abilities. "Understanding music" (as a goal apart from practical execution) was accepted as an educational factor by the Jews of Moorish Andalusia and of Christian southern Europe, from about 1230–40. Transfer of the language of musical literature from Arabic to Hebrew marked the turning point. Already a century earlier *Abraham b. Ḥiyya wrote in Hebrew a comprehensive encyclopedia of the sciences of which the section on music, "On *Ḥokhmat ha-Niggun* called *musika* in Greek" is in manuscript in the Vatican library. Shemtov *Falaquera gave music its appropriate place in his educational work of 1236 *Ha-Mevakkesh* ("The Searcher" – after wisdom and happiness) and in his *Reshit Ḥokhmah* ("Beginnings of Wisdom," also translated into Latin); he also advocated Hebrew as the preferred language of studies. The latter idea guided the Jews of Provence when they appointed Andalusian authors to translate science books into Hebrew. Judah ibn *Tibbon had already supplied a version of Saadiah's philosophical work together with its musical appendix (see above). Judah Al-Ḥarizi translated the Ḥunayn ibn Isḥāq's *Sayings of the Philosophers* (ch. 18–20 about music). Anonymous translators contributed the extensive music treatise from the encyclopedia of *Ibn Abi al-Ṣalt. Fragments of a musical treatise by *Moses b. Joseph ha-Levi have been preserved as a quotation.

The activities of these promoters of music education coincided – certainly not by chance – with the endeavors made in Christian Castile, Provençe, and Sicily to create a European spiritual culture independent of ecclesiastical dogma but following classical antiquity. A cosmopolitan and humanistic spirit governed the circles that fostered this movement, and the above-mentioned Abraham b. Ḥiyya served them as a translator, as did many Jews and Moors. This breath of fresh air awoke hopes for a normalization of exile conditions by transferring ingredients of secular culture into Hebrew. During these heydays of medieval civilization, Jews ornamented their books with excellent miniatures, sang the love songs of the troubadours ("a very bad custom, taken over from the surrounding peoples," Jacob *Anatoli, c. 1230) or romances (*Sefer *Ḥasidim* 142; cf. 3; 238, c. 1200) and listened to popular tales and epics. Hebrew poets of Provence appreciated the art of famous troubadours (Abraham *Bedersi, late 13th century) but wrote exclusively in their own tongue, albeit for a limited au-

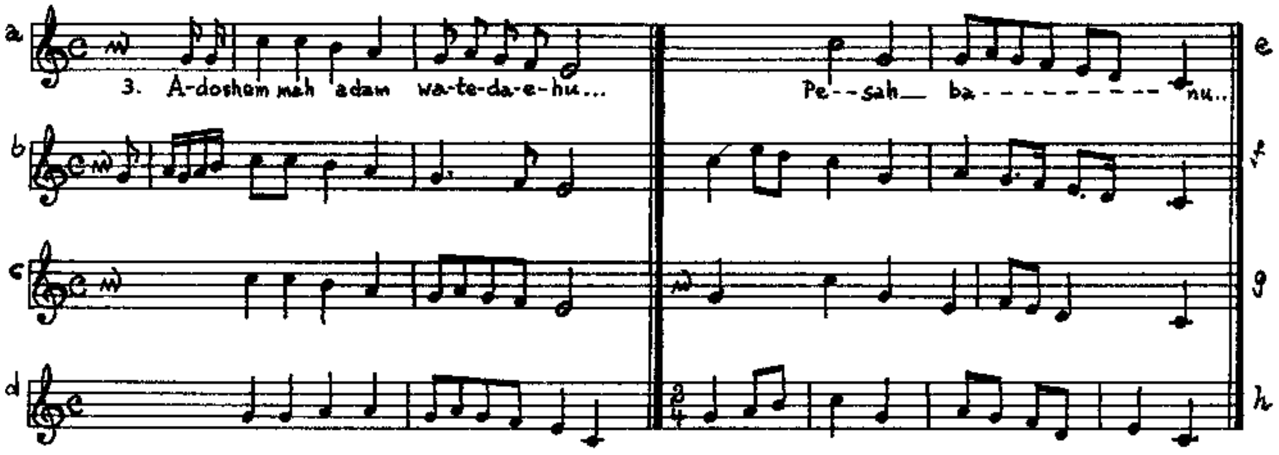
a
3. A-doshom mah adam wa-te-da-e-hu...
Pe--sah__ ba----------nu..
e
b
f
c
g
d
h

Example 12. Common European idioms in Western Ashkenazi melodies. (a) Psalm 144, Ashkenazi, as sung on Sabbath eve, notated by H. Avenary; (b) German dance song, 1556, after W. Salmen, MGG, vol. 7, 1957, col, 227; (c) Bulgarian dance melody, ibid., *(d)* Bergamasca, *a north Italian melody widely known since the 16th century; here in a version by Salamon de' Rossi, after P. Nettl,* Altjuedische Spielleute und Musiker, *1923, 21; (e) Ashkenaz Passover hymn, after G. Ephros,* Cantorial Anthology, *vol. 3, 1948, 85; (f)* klezmer *tune, 1727, after E. Kirchhan,* Simḥat ha-Nefesh, *part 11. fol. 2v.; (g)* klezmer *tune* ibid., *fol. 5v; (h) European dance-music formula, descending the major scale, after W. Wiora in* Report, Sixth Congress of the International Musicological Society, *Bamberg, 1953, 1954, 170.*

dience ("My lyre, awaking melodies in this generation, what is it more than a forlorn song?" Abraham Bedersi).

Such tendencies received fresh impulse from the movement of the Proto-Renaissance and from new trends in French and Italian music early in the 14th century. The poet and thinker *Immanuel of Rome ("O science of music, who will understand any more the art of thy flutes and drums?" *Maḥbarot*, 21) complained: "It is a well-known fact that the science of music – a wonderful and esoteric science and art – was once thoroughly understood by our nation… but nowadays, none of us knows anything of it, and it is entirely in Christian hands" (Comm. Prov. 23:13). Such ideas, of whom Immanuel was only one exponent, now gave rise to a new wave of Hebrew musical literature drawn from Latin and Italian sources. The connection of its compilers with the Proto-Renaissance movement is obvious. *Kalonymus b. Kalonymus, who served King Robert II of Anjou as a science translator, also wrote a Hebrew version of Al-*Farabi's *Classification of the Sciences* (3:5 on music), in 1314. *Levi b. Gershom, collaborating with Johannes de Muris in mathematics and astronomy, was commissioned by Philippe de Vitry to write a treatise *De numeris harmonicis* in 1343 and was thus in close touch with two outstanding figures of the *Ars Nova* in France, as was probably also that unknown music student whose Hebrew notebook refers to teachings of Jean Vaillant (c. 1400). Italian Trecento music is reflected by the notebook of another anonymous Jew who translated into Hebrew a brief compilation of musical theory attributed to the famous Marchettus of Padua from Italian. A more comprehensive treatise of musical theory was translated from Latin by a certain *Judah b. Isaac. In his preface, the translator brings forward the favorite idea of that epoch: that Jewish occupation with musical science actually means the recovery of one's own property, lost in the turmoil of exile. 14th-century Spain contributed some discussions on the role of music in medicine; they are only marginal phenomena, when compared to the strong tendency of Provençal and Italian Jewry to make the science of music a building stone of a secular culture of their own.

The endeavors of medieval Jewry to attach themselves to contemporary musical conceptions were buried under an avalanche of severe catastrophes that threatened the very existence of the Jews. These prompted the question whether the devotion to art and worldly goods was at all appropriate to a people in exile. Solomon *Ibn Verga (late 15th century) expressed such opinions in a fictional discussion between King Alfonso VIII and three Jewish leaders (*Shevet Yehudah*, par. 8): "Why should you teach your children music" asks the king, "whereas you are obliged to tears and mourning all your life since the God of Heavens called you a wretched people and dispersed you for it, which he did to no other nation." The Jewish respondents cannot proffer a real answer and demonstrate a disheartened retreat from their former aims and hopes. Pushed back by the turn taken by medieval civilization, Jews had to abandon their tentative contacts with art music and musical learning. This problem was to repeat itself several times later on.

According to a pattern that became standard, rejection led to a return to traditional standards and ideas. In music, this meant a move back to the use of musical language for predominantly religious expression. By the 15th century, however, the latter had already lost its original sober purity by the adoption of metric tunes for hymnal song and by the practice of florid melodies fostered by a strong mystical movement.

Mystical Ideas and Forms

Tradition on the lines of pure *halakhah* hardly considered the innate dynamics of musical expression, but judged it by external (albeit exalted) standards. Direct and constant relations between religious experience and music are rather found in the mystical approach to faith, which needed music for communicating ideas that cannot be expressed by words and as a means of imparting visions and secret revelations. Such tendencies are already evident in the Midrashim of earlier Jewish mysticism. During the 13th century, the mystical trend gained in impetus and exerted an unprecedented power over both the contemplative and the active modes of life.

When the Kabbalah attempts to reveal the secrets of creation or of the heavens, it often has recourse to musical symbols, metaphors, and allegories. The reciprocal relation between the lower and the upper world, for exampe, is made comprehensible by analogy with musical resonance; divine love and grace are pictured by various allegories of song and dance. The Zohar gathers almost every musical allusion to mystical ideas found in the Talmud and Midrash, without adding anything really new; but it renovates and strengthens the impact of such visions as the angelical choirs (*Va-Yetze*, ed. Mantua, fol. 158b–159b) and their counterpart, Israel's song of praise ("so that the Holy One may be exalted from above and from below in harmony," *Shemot*, 164b; cf. *Va-Yeḥi*, 231a–b). Images of this kind had earlier been drawn in the *Heikhalot* literature (see above). Especially significant is the demand for cheerfulness in prayer, concretely expressed in song and melody: "… we know that the **Shekhinah* does not dwell in sad surroundings, but only amid cheerfulness. For this reason Elisha said (II Kings 3:15): 'But now bring me a minstrel; and it came to pass, when the minstrel played, that the hand of God came upon him'" (*Va-Yeshev*, 180b; cf. *Va-Yeḥi*, 216b; 249b). Contemporary and later kabbalists connect their allegories with a rather precise, almost scientific, description of musical phenomena (e.g., Abraham *Abulafia; Isaac *Arama). Mystical meditation, however, by its very nature, had to remain a privilege of the selected few. Its massive influence on music was made effective by books or commentaries in the prayer book and, more directly, by the personal example of individual mystics acting as cantors and rabbis.

Among the *Ḥasidei Ashkenaz, mystical ideas penetrated the particular mode of devout life taught by Judah he-Ḥasid and his followers. Their aim was to demonstrate the love of God and the joy in his commandments every day, and this strongly emotional element shaped a musical idiom of its own. Prayer and praise are the center of life, but they can be conducted in true perfection only by inseparable union with a tune. Singing is the natural expression of joy, and a frequent change of melodies prevents daily prayer from becoming mere routine. Absorption in song releases the abandonment of the self and the innermost concentration on the words uttered. Moreover, mystical prayer also has an active end in sight: **kavvanah*, the "intention" or concentration on the mystical union of world and creator, is to be brought about by contemplating the hidden sense behind the plain meaning of the words. These unspoken matters must be deliberated during the utterance of certain key words of the prayers. In this context, the tune has several tasks: to eliminate the diversion of mind by the surroundings, to make room for a chain of thoughts around a word, and to remind the congregation of a specific "intention." The technical term for this application of melody was *le-ha'arikh be-niggun, li-meshokh niggunim* (extending the tune), *be-orekh u-vemeshekh niggun*, or *niggunim arukhim* (long tunes). All these terms point to the long melismas, mostly wordless coloraturas, before or within the prayer that became a distinguishing mark of mystical prayer song.

A rather simple example of melodically expressed *kavvanah* may be found in the recitation of the Book of Esther, which does not contain any explicit mention of God. When reaching chapter 6, verse 1, "On that night the king could not sleep," the same long melisma which ornaments the word "the King" during High Holiday morning prayers is intoned, symbolizing that it actually was the King of the World who intervened at this point. Other examples are the legendary association of the **Aleinu* prayer with Joshua and the walls of Jericho, which is evoked by inserted trumpet-like flourishes, or the extended tune of *Barekhu* on Sabbath night which was believed to give the souls suffering in hell an additional moment of relief. Undoubtedly a certain poetical element dwells in the "long melodies" and, at the same time, provides a challenge for the performing cantor. The latter always took pride in giving musical shape to these sometimes phantasmagorical ideas.

Along with this outlet of dynamic music making, medieval mysticism also opened the door to the intrusion of definitely popular musical elements. Just as everyone was obliged to say daily prayers, no one would be dispensed from doing so in song:

> You should never say: My voice is not agreeable… Speaking this way, you complain against him who did not make your voice beautiful. There is nothing that induces man to love his Creator and to enjoy his love more than the voice raised in an extended tune… If you are unable to add something [of your own to the prescribed text], pick out a tune that is beautiful and sweet to your ears. Offer up your prayer in such tunes, and it will be full of *kavvanah*, and your heart will be enchanted by the utterings of your mouth… (*Sefer Ḥasidim*, 11; 13th century).

This trend necessarily led away from every artistic or elaborate kind of music. Although the *Sefer Ḥasidim* clearly rejected "music from the tavern," the door was thrown open to a new invasion of foreign melodies, at least at the popular level of Jewish mysticism. A time was even to come when the "redemption" of a beautiful gentile tune, by its adaptation to a sacred text, was to be regarded as a great merit. The concepts of music developed by the Ḥasidei Ashkenaz deeply penetrated the communities and lasted for a long time in Central Europe. Made popular by the writings of *Eleazar b. Judah (Ha-Roke'aḥ) of Worms and numerous prayer books with commentaries of his inspiration, the musical expression of *kavvanot* became an essential task of *ḥazzanut*. It remained so as late as the 18th century, when it was replaced by the influence of East European Ḥasidism.

THE CONSOLIDATION OF REGIONAL STYLES

The spiritual developments which shaped the various concepts of sacred song were largely concluded by 1300. It fell to the 15th century to shape music itself according to the chosen ideal and to direct the accepted patterns into the channels of a continuous tradition. Differences of ideology and taste gave rise to separate musical traditions – not only of the larger groups (*Minhag Ashkenaz*, *Sefarad*, *Italyah*, *Romanyah*), but even on the community level. Important but limited groups, such as the Jews of Avignon (*Carpentras), Mainz, and Prague, developed a characteristic musical custom (*minhag*) of their own.

Musical Minhag

Scattered references related to the music of certain prayer or hymn texts can already be found in the earlier compendia of liturgical practice, such as *Abraham b. Nathan ha-Yarḥi's *Ha-Manhig* (c. 1205). Moreover, their disciples passed down the practices of venerable rabbis and *ḥazzanim* through oral tradition. Some of the musical *minhagim* go back to the talmudic period, such as extending the melodies of "*eḥad*" in *Shema Yisrael* (Ber. 13b; 61b), (Mus. ex. 13a), of the *Amen (Ber. 47a), and of the *Priestly Blessing (Kid. 71c), see Mus. ex. 13c. The halakhic sayings that *shofar* and *megillah* are to be treated alike (Ber. 30a; Meg. 4b, etc.) are evoked by the use of an identical tune for the benedictions of both of them (Mus. ex. 13b).

The efforts to consolidate an Ashkenazi tradition of sacred song were concentrated in the school of Jacob b. Moses *Moellin, commonly called the Maharil. Although a rabbi by rank and authority, he liked to function as a *ḥazzan* (*Sefer Maharil*, ed. Lemberg, 1860, fol. 55a–b; 49b). The musical usage taught by him was, on the one hand, a continuation of existing traditions accepted from former *Ḥazzanim* (*ibid.*, 28a; 82b), but on the other, his personal choice and example became normative. As a rule, the Maharil used to acknowledge the right of local custom:

> Maharil said: Local custom should not be altered at any price, even not by unfamiliar melodies. And he told us an event in his life. Once he was *ḥazzan* during the High Holidays at the Regensburg community and sang all the prayers according to the custom of the land of Austria, which is followed there. It was difficult for him, however, so that he said the *haftorah* in the tune customary in the settlements near the Rhine.

It is remarkable how elaborate and thoughtful the musical performance of the Maharil was. His disciple, Zalman of St. Goar, recorded many details with great care and transmitted to posterity a "score without music," so to speak, of the most important parts of the liturgy. In the service for the Ninth of Av, for instance (fol. 49b–50b), not only is the distribution of texts between congregation and cantor defined, but also what the latter had to sing in a loud, medium, and low voice, what in a mournful intonation, and where a cry of pain was to be sent up. The pauses at the end of the verses and chapters are not forgotten, nor are the extension of melodies and other discriminate implements of expression. The music of the Day of Atonement is treated in a similar way (fol. 63a; 65a).

The Maharil used to stress the importance of hymns (*Krovez*, 83b), but he wished to exclude those in the German vernacular (117a), which apparently existed then, as do such in *Ladino with the Sephardim to the present. Often the Ma-

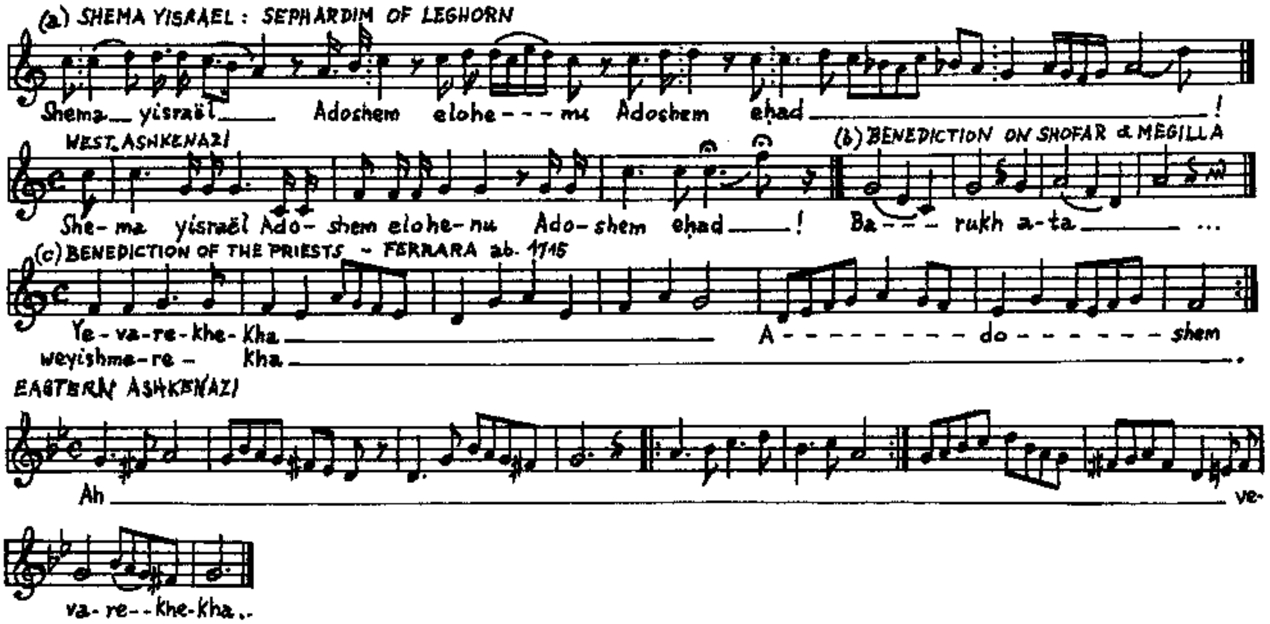
(a) SHEMA YISRAEL: SEPHARDIM OF LEGHORN
Shema__ yisraël____ Adoshem elohe---mu Adoshem ehad____!
WEST. ASHKENAZI
She-ma yisraël Ado- shem elohe-nu Ado-shem ehad____!
(b) BENEDICTION ON SHOFAR & MEGILLA
Ba---rukh a-ta____ ...
(c) BENEDICTION OF THE PRIESTS - FERRARA ab. 1715
Ye-va-re-khe-Kha____ A---------do--------shem
weyishme-re- kha____.
EASTERN ASHKENAZI
Ah____ ve-
va-re--khe-Kha..

Example 13. Old tradition of melodic extension. (a) Italian Sephardi, after F. Consolo, op. cit., Ex. 4, no. 12; Western Ashkenazi, after I. Lachmann (see Mus. ex. 1) no 8: (b) Western Ashkenazi, notated by H. Avenary: (c) Italian, after Mordecai Tzahalon, Metzitz u-Melitz*, Venice, 1715; Eastern Ashkenazi, after H. Wasserzug,* Schirei Mikdosch*, I, 1878, no. 65.*

haril points to the identity between certain hymn tunes (28b; 74b). Unlike many other rabbis, he regarded melody as an essential element of liturgical traditon.

The "musical *minhag*" of the Maharil is also full of mystical "intentions" (*kavvanot* 40b; 55b; 56a; 66a). There are striking examples of their influence on melodical configuration: "He used to extend [the tune at] the word 'Thou' very much, obviously concentrating his mind on the faculty of 'Thou' known to all the adepts of mystics" (56a). Such musical suggestions of a hidden sense of the words were indicated by remarks in the prayer books. The *Maḥzor Hadrat Kodesh* (Venice, 1512), for instance, advises the *ḥazzan* to sing a certain chapter "to a melody" or "in a long and beautiful tune" and assigns to the prayer *Nishmat Kol Ḥai* "a beautiful melody, since all the people of Israel are given *Neshama yetera* on the Sabbath." Other books attest the use of veritable leitmotifs in the recitation of the Book of Esther when, for instance, the drinking vessels of Ahasuerus are mentioned to the tune of the Lamentations (for they supposedly formed part of the booty from the Temple of Jerusalem). It was also an old custom to prolong the tune of *Barukh she-Amar* in the Morning Prayer (mentioned in *Ha-Manhig*, c. 1205 and in 1689 by the convert Anton *Margarita); the author *Samson b. Eliezer (14th century) relates that he used to sing it as an orphan in Prague with such a sweet voice that he was given the name *Shimshon Barukh she-Amar* (*Sefer Barukh she-Amar*, preface). Although directions for musical execution are found in the works of many authors, the Maharil was made the legendary patron of Ashkenazi *ḥazzanut* and the invention of traditional melodies was ascribed to him. In particular, the so-called **Mi-Sinai* melodies – a common heritage of Ashkenazi synagogues in both Western and Eastern Europe – were believed to go back to the authority of the Maharil (sometimes confused, by uneducated cantors, with *Judah Loew b. Bezalel, Maharal of Prague). As a matter of fact, these melodies, ascribed to an oral tradition stemming "from Mount Sinai," i.e., revealed to Moses, are common to Ashkenazi congregations all over the world. They kept their identity in Jewish settlements as distant from each other as eastern Russia and northern France, south of the Carpathians, and in Scandinavia or Britain. There is no doubt that they antedate the great migrations from Central to Eastern Europe in the 15th century or even earlier. The structural principle of the *Mi-Sinai* melodies is basically Oriental, inasmuch as a cycle of certain themes or motifs is used in manifold combinations and variants according to a traditional master plan. Of course, manifestations of local taste and of "acculturation" are most often present (see **Aleinu le-Shabbe'aḥ; *Avodah*); however, the essential identity of all the variants is undeniable. They may well have been inherited by the Ashkenazim from a still unspecified epoch in the Middle Ages.

Modal Scales in Synagogue Song

The term "modal" in music is often used (although not with scientific precision) for those tone sequences which are different from the familiar major and minor scales, an example being the Church modes. When applying the term "modal" to Jewish music, several precautions should be borne in mind. Firstly, a modal scale need not be an octave, but may be composed of more or less than eight notes. Furthermore, it must not necessarily repeat the same intervals over the whole gamut; on the contrary, an E natural, for instance, may appear in the lower octave and an E-flat in the upper one. Finally, the interval of the augmented second sometimes joins the tone and semitone as a note proper to the key. Of course, scales of vocal music will not necessarily be in the equal temperament of the piano, but may retain a certain flexibility (sharpened leading notes, neutral thirds). In Oriental Jewish song, micro-intervals in the style of the region are common.

The peculiarity of Jewish modes can be recognized and evaluated best in the Ashkenazi and European-Sephardi song, since their special character stands out against the background of the music of the gentile environment. The structural framework of West and North European song consists of chains of thirds bridged by whole tones, but repressing or avoiding semitones (as does Scotch and Irish folksong still today). Oriental song, on the other hand, is built on the **maqam* modal scale system, which is basically conceived as a combination of several small groups of notes, whether of the same intervallic structure or not, called "genera," a skeleton of consecutive notes, including a semitone or even micro-intervals as may be seen from examples 4a and 6b.

As to the Jewish settlements in Europe, tunes determined by a tetrachordal skeleton are found among the Sephardim, including the communities of Carpentras (Avignon and Com\tat Venaissin), Bayonne, Rome, and the rest of Italy (the Balkans belonging to the realm of Eastern music). In Ashkenazi song, however, tetrachordal patterns have almost entirely vanished. This has preserved, instead, some features of the earliest Western, semitoneless melodics (Mus. Ex 14)

In spite of this environmental influence on Ashkenazi song, a particular "Jewish" character does prevail there in certain scale structures, which are strange in the context of Western music. These are called **shtayger* (a Yiddish term equivalent to mode, manner). Actually there are more *shtaygers* than the "four synagogue modes" proposed by earlier research, but two of them outweigh the others by far: the *Ahavah Rabbah* and the *Adonai Malakh*. Their special features may be recognized from the melody-excerpts given in example 15 and accompanying analyses of their scales (Mus. ex. 15).

As the present Ashkenazi liturgy is an accumulation of hymns and prayers successively added in the course of time, its music also exhibits many characteristics of medieval monody. Among them are the Re- and Mi-modes (similar to the Dorian and Phrygian of plainsong), and several peculiar final clauses. A Jewish origin has often been claimed for them but can hardly be proved. An Oriental or Mediterranean character is evident, however, in most of the genuine *shtaygers*, especially the *Ahavah Rabbah* and kindred scales. Its nearest par-

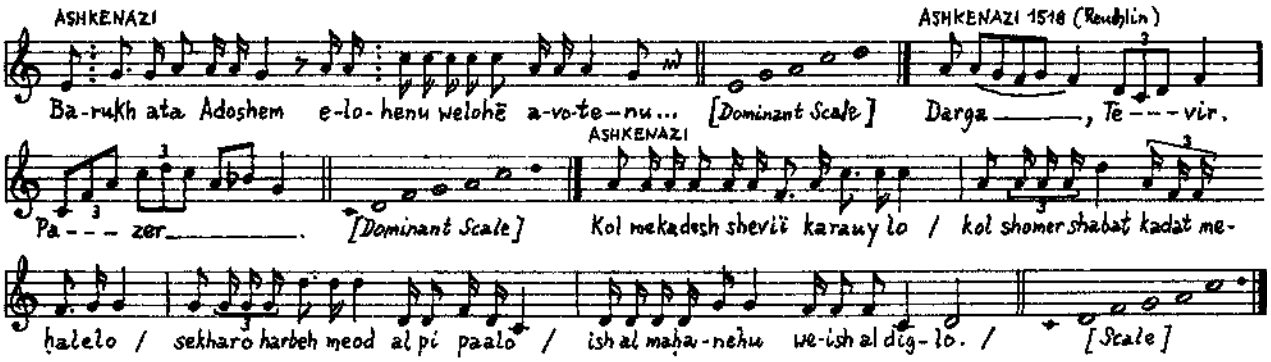
ASHKENAZI
Ba-rukh ata Adoshem e-lo-henu welohē a-vo-te-nu...
[Dominant Scale]
ASHKENAZI 1518 (Reuchlin)
Darga ———, Te---vir.
Pa--- zer ———.
[Dominant Scale]
ASHKENAZI
Kol mekadesh shevi'i karauy lo / kol shomer shabat kadat me-
halelo / sekharo harbeh meod al pi paalo / ish al maḥa-nehu we-ish al dig-lo. /
[Scale]

Example 14. Old European scales in Ashkenazi melodies. Blessing formula, after Idelsohn, Melodien, *vol. 7, part I, no. 10: motifs of masoretic cantillation, after J. Reuchlin,* De accentibus, *Hagenau, 1518; Sabbath song after A. Nadel,* Die haeuslichen Sabbatgesaenge.

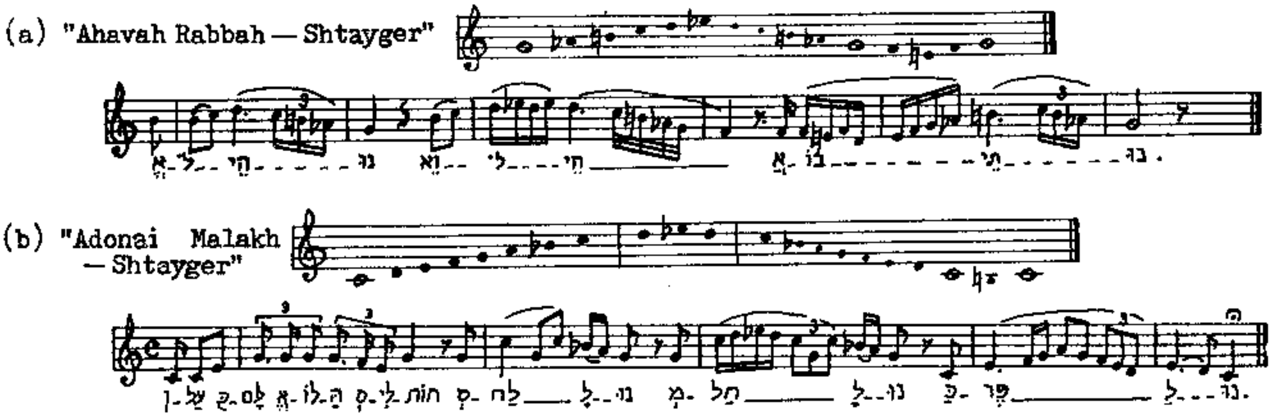
(a) "Ahavah Rabbah — Shtayger"
(b) "Adonai Malakh — Shtayger"

Example 15. Scales and examples of two Ashkenazi shtayger. *(a) after A.B. Birnbaum,* Ommanut ha-Ḥazzanut *2, 1912(?), no. 35; (b) after M. Deutsch,* Vorbeterschule, *1871, no. 409.*

allel is the second mode of the Greek Orthodox tradition; it may also be compared with the Persian-Arab *ḥijāz* scale, but it has no parallel in Western art or folk music.

The Sephardi communities that settled in Italy, France, Amsterdam, and London after their expulsion from Spain also preserve European elements in their melodies. The most remarkable of these is a strange chromaticism which imparts a certain soft and floating tonality to some of their tunes (Mus. ex. 16); it might possibly be defined as a superimposition of two different modes, or as a bi-modality, which is very remote from Western concepts of functional harmony. This kind of chromaticism is found most characteristically in examples of biblical chant notated in 1693 (Rome) and 1699 (Amsterdam), as well as during the 19th and 20th centuries. Similar "floating" phrases are found in prayers and hymns; they are a characteristic of the "sweet singing of Sepharad," whose Oriental roots may at present be postulated only speculatively but cannot as yet be proved by scientific deduction.

Performance and Practice of Synagogue Song

The collaboration of a soloist (*sheli'aḥ ẓibbur* or *ḥazzan*) and the choir formed by the whole congregation represents the main feature of synagogue music. These two bodies alternate or answer each other according to a traditional division of the liturgical texts. Especially the Sephardi communities have preserved very old practices of responsorial performance. As indicated in the Talmud (Sot. 30b) and also adopted by the Roman Church, the cantor may intone the first words of a chapter, whereupon the choir takes over, or they may alternate and respond one to the other. Among the Sephardim the congregation is also accustomed to take up the keywords of the more important prayers from the mouth of the cantor. The division of tasks between solo and choir sometimes affects the melodical configuration. If a particular prayer is sung to a *nusaḥ* (see above), its original free rhythm may change into measured time when taken over by the congregation, and the *ḥazzan* may execute the simple pattern in elaborate coloraturas (Mus.ex. 17).

Many non-Ashkenazi communities provide the cantor with two assistants (*mezammerim, somekhim, maftirim*) who flank him at the prayer desk and take over at certain points of the liturgy. This custom is rooted in certain ideas about the community's representation before the Most High; here the participation of three singers does not influence the shape and manner of their music making. However, a special development in this field took place in the Ashkenazi synagogues. Their cantors also attached to themselves two assistant singers, but they did so with a view to the enrichment and beauty of their singing. According to a fixed rule, one of these assistants (*meshorerim*) had to be a boy-descant, called *singer*, and the other an adult, called *bass*. It is not known, when and why this custom was introduced; a picture in the so-called *Leipzig Maḥzor* of the 14th century may be regarded as the earliest representation of such a trio. The heyday of *ḥazzanut* with accompanying *meshorerim* was the 17th and 18th centuries, and it is only from the sources of this late period that its nature can be inferred. According to it, the assistants improvised an accompaniment of hummed chords, drones, or short figures; the *singer* also intoned thirds and sixths parallel to the cantilena of the *ḥazzan*. In addition, both *singer* and *bass* had their solo parts – most often extended coloraturas to be performed while the cantor paused. Famous cantors traveled, with the *meshorerim* as a part of their household, from one large center to another as guest ministers, while the less famed undertook such wanderings in search for a hoped-for permanent post. In the late baroque period, if not earlier, the traditional number of two assistants was supplemented by performers of distinctive tasks, such as the *fistel singer* (falsetto) and specialists in the imitation of musical instruments (*Sayt-bass, fagott-bass, fleyt-singer*, for strings, bassoon, and flute, respectively).

The use of musical instruments proper is attested in medieval Baghdad by the traveler *Pethaḥiah of Regensburg, between 1175 and 1190. However, this was a rare exception and restricted to the half-holidays, since the ban on instrumental music remained in force. It was only by the influence of later mystical movements that the play of instruments was employed in some 17th century Ashkenazi synagogues before the entry of the Sabbath as a token of the joy of the day of rest. Vocal performances nevertheless remained the basic characteristic of synagogue music. An incessant struggle took place in this field between older singing styles and the musical expression of spiritual tendencies that arose during the Middle Ages. This interplay of forces kept Jewish liturgical music from the petrifaction typical of many other traditions of religious chant.

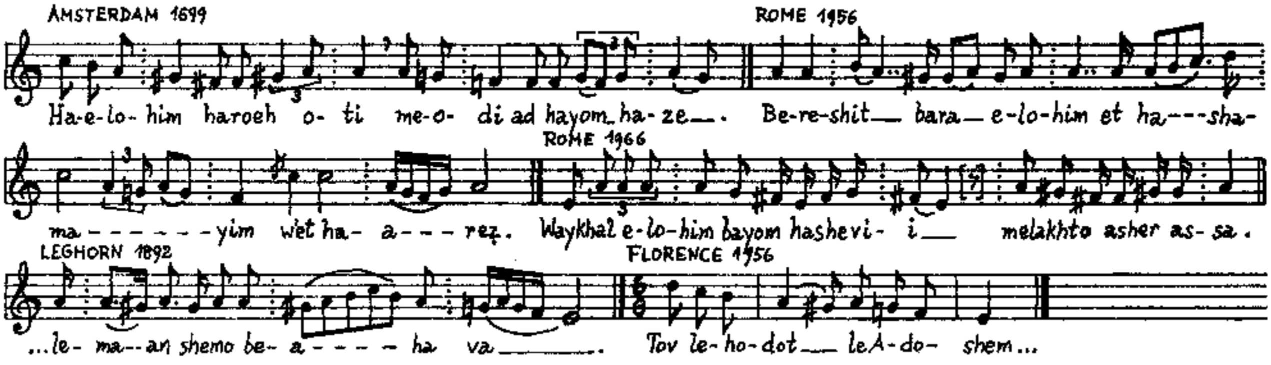
AMSTERDAM 1699
ROME 1956
Ha-e-lo-him haroeh o- ti me-o- di ad hayom ha-ze—.
Be-re-shit— bara — e-lo-him et ha---sha-
ROME 1966
ma-------yim wet ha- a---rez.
Waykhal e-lo-him bayom hashevi- i— melakhto asher as-sa.
LEGHORN 1892
FLORENCE 1956
...le- ma--an shemo be- a----ha va———.
Tov le-ho-dot— leA-do- shem...

Example 16. Typical Western Sephardi chromaticism. Amsterdam, 1699, as notated by David de Pinna in D. E. Jablonski, Biblica Hebraica*, Berlin, 1699; Rome, 1955(?), after E.Gerson-Kiwi, Bat Kol, I, 1955, 15; Rome, 1966, after E. Piattelli,* Canti Liturgici di rito Italiano*, 1967, 15; Leghorn, 1892, after F. Consolo, op. cit., Ex. 4, no. 335; Florence, 1956, after L. Levi,* Scritti in memoria di Sally Mayer*, 1956, 174.*

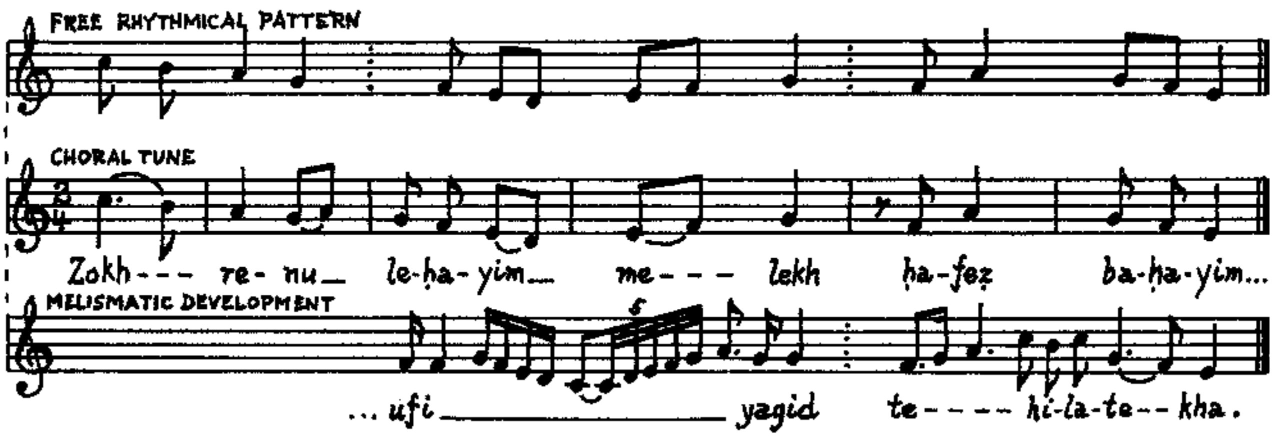
FREE RHYTHMICAL PATTERN
CHORAL TUNE
Zokh--- re- nu— le-ḥa-yim— me--- lekh ḥa-fez ba-ḥa-yim...
MELISMATIC DEVELOPMENT
... ufi——— yagid te---- hi-la-te-- kha.

Example 17. Mutations of a nusaḥ *pattern, Italian Sephardi, after F. Consolo, op.cit., nos. 335–6.*

MIGRATION AND BLENDING OF MUSIC STYLES (C. 1500–1750/1800)

The era of the Middle Ages is generally regarded as completed at about 1500. The Jews, however, were not yet relieved of the pressure that had built up during medieval times. For them the period between 1500 and about 1800 was a time of forced migrations, of many a spiritual crisis, of ethno-geographical regrouping, and the formation of new centers. The uprooting of large communities and their confrontation with new environments inevitably left its imprint on their music. The most conspicuous event was the migration of these exiled from Spain to the Ottoman Empire, Italy, and other countries, followed by a steadily trickling rearguard of *Marranos; the persecutions in Central Europe also directed a Jewish mass movement to the (then very spacious) Polish kingdom. The eastbound migrations of both Sephardi and Ashkenazi Jews share the fact that the emigrants preserved their original vernacular and their liturgical customs, as well as part of their music, and even imposed these on the local communities. In the long run, however, the musical atmosphere of the new lands permeated the intonation and scale structure of their song, while its melodic structure was affected to a lesser degree. The developments were not left to mere chance. New ideologies came into being and also became guiding stars for the forms and contents of musical expression.

[Hanoch Avenary]

The Mystical Movement of Safed

MUSIC AS CONCEPT AND PRACTICE. An ideological approach to music and its role in worship took root particularly within the mystical movement. In the mystic's world, prayer and the singing associated with it were perceived as elevating the soul to celestial realms where it could bask in the supreme glory. The mystic hears singing everywhere, in his imagination the entire universe incessantly sings the praise of the Lord, as is written in Psalm 150: "Let everything that have breath praise the Lord." Leaders of this movement claimed that music is shared by angels and the Children of Israel and is part of the music of the cosmos destined to sing the Glory of the Creator; as such it helps to establish harmony between the micro- and the macrocosmos. The role assigned to music as leading to knowledge and the constant repetition of music's revelation through mystical intention indicates, according to the Kabbalists, that music was God's creation. He created it on the third day, making angels out of his own breath to sing his glory day and night. This special attitude deriving from the cosmic meaning inherent in the kabbalist's approach to song also encouraged the use of song as an enhancement to ritual.

THE LURIANIC KABBALAH. Theories dealing with the meaning, power and function of song were, in particular, developed and given important practical application in the kabbalistic doctrine that flourished in Safed in the 16th century; this kabbalistic school had its wellsprings in the teachings of Isaac Luria, reverently called *ha-Ari ha-Kadosh* (the saintly Ari). These kabbalists, among whom were talented poets and musicians, believed in fostering poetic and musical creativity, since they could raise the individual and help him overcome the drabness and mundane tribulations of life in this world. They believed that the heavenly gates opened to receive one who intoned a Psalm and conscientiously sang hymns and supplications. He thus became a part, so to speak, of the universal singing of the celestial angels, and of the wind that stirs the trees in paradise. The systematic thinker of this kabbalistic circle, Moses Jacob Cordovero (d. 1570) wrote: "The peoples on earth are birds of varied plumage, each with its own type of music and its own song, and no sooner does the boundless power of God descend to the lower spheres than the song of the birds is heard drawing Him through all the rooms to hear the sweet music. Their singing symbolizes the fulfillment of the Divine command, and therefore great skill is required for the birds to sing the song as it should be sung; since it is part of the sage's wisdom, this skill cannot be gained unless the sage himself teaches it to the birds" (*Shi'ur Komah*, Warsaw, 1883, par. 20–44).

MAJOR THEMES CHARACTERIZING THEIR APPROACH. It should be noted at the outset that concepts relating to the importance and virtues of music that developed in the mystical doctrine and contributed to the enrichment of the musical repertoire are so interwoven with the symbols and concepts comprising the word of the Kabbalah that it is often difficult to treat them separately.

Some of the major themes that expanded considerably and influenced the development and practice of song are the following:

(1) The sanctity of the Sabbath considered as a kind of small-scale paradise and personified as a heavenly queen imprisoned in the sky, which descends to earth once a week to dispense her holiness. This idea gave birth to a fundamental rite associated with the day, **Kabbalat Shabbat*, receiving the Sabbath with the singing of appropriate hymns, as well as the introduction of the concept, *oneg shabbat* (Sabbath enjoyment), which consists of honoring the Sabbath through engaging in pleasurable activities. This includes the three obligatory meals which are times of supreme joy and exaltation expressed by communal singing while eating, etc.

(2) The idea of rising at the midnight hour to sing became very popular. This led to the establishment of choral groups of early risers and Watchmen of the Morning to perform a sophisticated sequence of special hymns called **bakkashot* (supplications). The custom has been perpetuated up to our own days and continues to be held in great esteem.

(3) The analogy between man and the universe and the sought-after resonance and harmony between them are frequent themes in mystical speculation. It is said in this regard that everything done by the individual or the community in the mundane sphere is magically reflected in the upper region. The sublime nature of Israel's singing is related to the theme of the parallel singing of the angels, the power of this singing achieves its highest expression only when both choirs simultaneously intone the praise of God. This acquires particular

importance in the performance of the *Kedushah* – the Trisagion. This parallelism extends not only to the *Kedushah*, but implies full concordance between the singing of those on high and those below. Hence the singing of hymns on earth contributes to the establishment of perfect tuning and harmony between man and the macrocosm.

(4) Evil forces constantly obstruct the way leading to this perfect harmony meaning salvation; sacred music and prayer directed by mystical intention are the most formidable weapons in the combat for salvation.

(5) This combat is partly related to the magical power of the *shofar* and the symbolical roles it fulfills. Indeed many passages of the Zohar deal with its shape, the material it is made of, and the sounds it emits. Among the salient roles assigned to it are the dissipating of harsh divine judgment and to change its nature from punishment to clemency; important historical events in the life of the nation are associated with the sound of its blowing (the Exodus, the revelation of Sinai) as are events of the future – that is to say the redemption.

Some of the many symbols developed in Jewish mystical theories and practice, made their mark on and were bound up with daily activities of the past several hundreds years.

[Amnon Shiloah (2nd ed.)]

The democratic tendencies in the ideology of religious song gave rise to a new wave of popular and profane tunes that infiltrated Hebrew hymnody. The Sephardim had always been very fond of singing and did not lose this predilection during the bitter days of the expulsion. This is proven by the respectable production of Hebrew hymns for extra-synagogal use, written in the popular style and connected with tunes borrowed from songs in the vernacular. An early print of **bakkashot* (Constantinople, c. 1525) attests the popularity of 13 Spanish songs with the exiles from the peninsula; six of the hymns by Solomon b. Mazal Tov (printed in 1545) were to be sung to the tune of Spanish songs, 30 to Turkish, and 29 to older Jewish ones. Solomon Mevorakh's song book of 1555 refers to only ten Turkish melodies (since it was written in Greece), and 14 taken from Jewish songs, but it quotes no less than 30 Spanish tunes that obviously were familiar to his contemporaries. Among the latter are "evergreens" of the Iberian repertoire and many pieces that have since fallen into oblivion. The natural inclination of the people to sing, both in Hebrew and in vernacular tongues, received backing from a mystical idea which, suggested that every melody, even those drawn from popular or gentile sources, may become a vehicle of elated feelings.

Menahem di Lonzano preferred to compose hymns to Turkish melodies because of their ascending "to the tenth over the note *duga*" (the note D in the Persian-Arabic scale); he held that this "utmost range of the human voice," not reached by Greek, Romaniote, or Arabic tunes, was the real meaning of the Psalm verse "On the *Asor* and on the *Nevel*" (*Shetei Yadot*, fol. 141b–142a). Thus, a rabbi and mystic used his well-founded musical knowledge for imparting high flight to his hymnal song. Religious hymns designed both for the prayer house and outside (*pizmonim*; *bakkashot*) propagated the pious mood of Safed in the Jewish world. Among the most prominent songs of this kind are: *Asadder bi-Shevaḥin* (ascribed to Isaac Luria himself), **Lekhah Dodi* by Solomon *Alkabeẓ, *Yedid Nefesh* by Azikri, and *Yah Ribbon Olam* by Israel *Najara. The last was a very productive and inspired poet-musician gifted with a sense for musical nuances. Many of his hymns (printed between 1587 and 1600) were written to the tunes of well-known secular songs in the Spanish or Turkish vernacular, less often in Greek and Arabic.

Najara continued an older custom of providing for a phonetic correspondence of the foreign and the Hebrew text. In this manner, the singer of a gentile song was reminded of the preferred religious alternative. The manuscript of Solomon Mevorakh (Greece, 1555), for instance, shows the replacement of the Spanish song "*Alma me llaman a mi alma*" by the very similar sounding Hebrew "'*Al mah ke-alman ammi, al mah*." Najara substituted for the Arabic "*Ana al-samra wa-sammuni sumayra*" the words "*Anna El shomera nafshi mi-levayim*." He strengthened the associative bridge still further by giving the plot of the gentile song a religious meaning. Thus the famous romance on the knight-errant Amadis becomes a tour de force of phonetic sound imitation and, at the same time, a fine allegory of Israel and God's errant glory:

(Spanish-Jewish romance)
Arbo*leda*, arbo*leda*,
Arboleda tan gen*til*,
La rais tiene d'*oro*
Y la rama de mar*fil*.
(Najara)
Ḥil yo*ledah* bi so*ledah*
Ḥil yo*ledah* bi so*ledah*
Keshurah al lev bi-fe*til*
Al dod meni histir *oro*
U-me'oni me-az he'e*fil*
(Mevorakh)
Ashorerah li-fe'*erah*
Azam*erah* na b*e-shir*

Najara fostered music in the broadest meaning by acknowledging the union of word and tone – not as an artistic game (as did later imitators), but for the pious inspiration of the common people by ways of a musical language that was their own.

Humanism and the Renaissance

Contemporary with the era of Safed mysticism, another encounter of East and West in the field of Jewish music was initiated by the Renaissance and Humanist movements in Italy and other parts of Europe. This was an interlude in history acted out in the circles of learned scholars and before an erudite and refined audience of art music.

THE HUMANISTIC APPROACH TO LETTERS AND MUSIC. In the world of science, a direct dialogue with the authors of antiquity replaced the traditional definitions and views of the

Middle Ages. This trend extended to the Bible and later Hebrew works. Several Christian scholars studied Hebrew language and grammar, including the rules of *masorah* and its accentuation. After a short time, the students themselves wrote books on Hebrew grammar, which contained chapters on the *teʿamim*, sometimes adding the music of biblical chants. Among these were Johannes Reuchlin (*De accentibus et orthographia linguae Hebraicae*; Hagenau, 1518), Sebastian *Muenster (*Institutiones grammaticae in Hebraeam linguam*; Basel, 1524), and Johann *Boeschenstein (Munich Cod. Hebr. 401). Many later writers, such as Johannes Vallensis (*Opus de prosodia Hebraeorum*; Paris, 1545) and Ercole Bottrigari (*Il Trimerone*, Ms. dated 1599) took over their notated examples. The Ashkenazi Pentateuch tunes, notated independently by several of the authors, are of very similar outlines and are based upon that same semitoneless scale which is still recognizable in the Bible chant of modern times. The renewed interest in grammar and *masorah* seized Jewish circles as well. Early in the 16th century, several Hebrew authors undertook the description of contemporary practices of biblical chant. The features of the Sephardi version were described by Calo Kalonymus (Appendix to Abraham de *Balmes, *Mikneh Avram*, 1523), and compared with Ashkenazi practice by Elijah Levita (*Tuv Taʿam*, 1538).

In the field of art proper, the open-mindedness of the Renaissance period favored the reconciliation of a progressive Jewish public with art music, especially in the small town-states of upper Italy and Tuscany. A very dry historical source – the book lists delivered to the papal censor by the Jewish families of Mantua in 1559 – speaks eloquently when stating that a certain Samuel Ariano had Zarlino's voluminous *Instituzioni harmoniche* in his library and that Isaac *Norzi possessed madrigal books of Cipriano de Rore, Donato, Stabile, and others. Two influential leaders of the Mantua community discussed the integration of art music in Jewish life. Judah *Moscato, rabbi of that town in 1587–94, preached a long sermon titled *Higgayon be-Khinnor* ("Meditations on the Lyre"), published in *Nefuẓot Yehudah* (Venice, 1589). He examined the subject "man and music" under the aspects of Jewish tradition from the Talmud and Midrash down to the contemporary kabbalists, as well as with reference to the Greek and Arabic philosophers. The rabbi stressed the interrelation of the harmony found in music and the harmony imagined in the soul and character of man, striving to show the legitimacy of musical art in Judaism.

His contemporary, the physician and rabbi Abraham *Portaleone II of Mantua, wrote the book *Shiltei ha-Gibborim* ("Shields of the Heroes"; posthumously printed Venice, 1612) which may be viewed as an early attempt at biblical archaeology based on the interpretation of literary sources, in the spirit of Renaissance scholarship. The author dwells at length on Levitic song and the form and nature of its musical instruments. Outstanding Christian writers soon regarded these chapters as a "source" of Hebrew music, especially after Blasio Ugolino had translated them into Latin in 1767. Disregarding its dubious informative value, this book is symptomatic of the mood governing Renaissance Jewry. Even before 1480, *Judah b. Jehiel Messer Leon of Mantua had become enthusiastic about the concordance between the Bible and ancient Greek rhetoric and other literary genres; Azariah de *Rossi took up these views, and Abraham Portaleone finally applied them to the field of music. At the time, R. Portaleone's book was likely to strengthen the consciousness of the Hebrew share in the culture of antiquity and the importance of its musical achievements.

ART MUSIC. With the partial release of external and internal pressure, a generation of gifted Jewish musicians and composers cropped up during the 16th century. They straightway were absorbed into the fervent development of Italian music, and several Jewish composers saw their works appear in the famous printing establishments of Venice between 1575 and 1628. Outstanding talents had already begun to run the social blockade early in the Cinquecento. The convert Giovan Maria, a lute player, won great fame even beyond the Alps. He successively served the courts of Urbino (1510), Mantua (tutor of the princes, 1513–15), and finally Pope Leo X (chamber musician, 1515–21) and Clement VII (1525–26). At the Gonzaga court of Mantua the harp players Abramo (Abraham Levi) dall' *Arpa and his family were appointed before 1550. They are mentioned as high-ranking musicians by the art theoretician G.P. Lomazzo (1584; 1587); Daniel Levi dall'Arpa was sent to the imperial court of Vienna between 1550 and 1560. The social situation of such Jewish musicians is understood from the fact that Abramo dall' Arpa also held a license for the ritual slaughterhouse and for moneylending in his native town; his son Daniel was granted a special passport to move freely about the country.

The first Jewish composer to see his works appear in print was David *Sacerdote (Cohen) of Rovere. His first book of six-part madrigals was dedicated to the Marchese del Vasto and printed in 1575 (until now only the *Quinto* part book has been rediscovered). For the first time the designation *Hebreo* was added to the composer's name; this became the rule with all those who came after him, most probably by decree of the censor.

The most conspicuous developments took place in the duchy or Mantua, whose court harbored composers of worldwide fame such as Monteverdi. Ensembles of Jewish actors and musicians contributed to the fervent musical life of that town, including several members of the de Rossi family ("Min-ha-Adumim"). A female singer of this family participated in the performance of one of the precursors of the opera (1608), and an Anselmo Rossi had a motet based on psalm texts printed in a collective work (1618). In 1651, Giuseppe de Rossi served the duke of Savoy at Turin. The most important musician of the family was composer Salamone de *Rossi, whose life is documented between 1586 and 1628 (see below). His works were much favored by his contemporaries, as attested by several reprints and their admission to collected editions published in

Copenhagen (1605) and Antwerp (1613; 1616). He also secured a firm place in the general history of music, especially by his progressive instrumental compositions and the early application of the thorough bass. Other Jewish composers whose works have been preserved in print were Davit *Civita (1616; 1622; 1625) and Allegro Porto (1619).

Outside Italy Jewish folk musicians were very active but were not given an opportunity to gain a footing in the ranks of art music. The relative freedom prevailing in Renaissance Italy came to a sudden end with one of the usual crises of Jewish existence. When the House of Gonzaga died out and troubles seized the duchy of Mantua, the Jewish musicians had to emigrate (most went to Venice). The prosperity of that city and its large Jewish population encouraged them to found a Jewish *accademia musicale* (concert society) called "accademia degli Impediti" and later on "Compagnia dei musici." The music-loving R. Leone *Modena promoted their activities. Attempts were made to introduce instrumental play into the synagogue at the feast of *Simḥat Torah*; but the initiators had to yield to rabbinical objections, since the organ used by them was too reminiscent of "the foreign cult." Finally it was again a catastrophe – the plague of 1630 – that cut off the manifestations of Jewish integration in art music. Severe rabbis about the middle of the century quenched the last flickering of such intentions, but not before the first works of synagogal art music had come into existence.

EFFORTS TO ESTABLISH ART MUSIC IN THE SYNAGOGUE. From the eloquent recommendation of Judah Moscato and the delight in art music fostered in wide circles of Renaissance Judaism, it was not a far cry to welcome art music in the synagogue as well. The enthusiasm for the ancient Temple music (Abraham Portaleone, see above) suggested its reinstitution in the house of prayer. The power of conservatism and exile – conditioned humility and pessimism, however, proved hard to overcome. The power behind these progressive tendencies was Leone Modena, who, although ordained as a rabbi, was actually rather one of the errant literati and jack-of-all-trades like many a learned humanist or his younger contemporary Joseph *Delmedigo. While music was for Delmedigo a matter of science (*Sefer Elim*, Amsterdam, 1629), it was one of the 26 crafts in which Leone Modena claimed to have been engaged.

As a rabbi in his native Ferrara about 1605, he saw to the installation of a synagogue choir and to the systematical instruction of its six to eight singers in music. They performed hymns such as **Adon Olam, *Yigdal, *Ein ke-Eloheinu*, and *Aleinu le-Shabbe'aḥ* on the occasion of feasts and special Sabbaths, "in honor of God according to the order and right proportion of the voices in the art [of music]." This innovation met with the stiff resistance of a local rabbi who held that music was prohibited in exile; but Leone Modena secured a decision of four other rabbis in favor of polyphonic synagogue singing. This document was to become the main weapon for many later attempts in this direction. It was reprinted by the progressive cantor Solomon Lipschitz in 1718, as well as by Adolf *Jellinek of Vienna in 1861 (Ben Chananja 4, no. 27 suppl. as "topical for the still pending question of introducing choir singing in the sacred service of the Hungarian communities"). The most prominent place in which this decision was printed, and, at the same time, the recompense of Leone Modena's efforts, was the edition in print of Salamone de Rossi's collected synagogue compositions *Ha-Shirim Asher li-Shelomo* (Venice, 1622/23). The preface of the editor (de Modena) states that de Rossi, after his success in secular music, "dedicated his talents to God… and wrote down psalms, prayers and praises. As soon as one started singing [them], all the listeners were taken away by their ear-flattering beauty." The wealthy Moses Sullam and other notabilities of Jewish Venice (including the editor himself) worked hard in persuading the composer to have these liturgical works published in print.

If the flowery language of this preface can be taken at face value, de Rossi's choral works for the synagogue had already been performed from the manuscript at Mantua (possibly also at Ferrara where a Benjamin Saul Min-ha-Adumim was *ḥazzan* before 1612). The three-to eight-voiced compositions of the *Ha-Shirim Asher li-Shelomo* are not only a "first" and a solitary phenomenon in early synagogue music, they have also a particular standing within the musical work of Salamone de Rossi himself. Considering his way from the youthful freshness of the *Canzonette* (1589) down to the ripe and dramatized lyricism in his *Madrigaletti* (1628), the restraint and objectivity of his religious works becomes obvious. Rossi had no Jewish tradition of choral polyphony to start from; he could not use the idiom of church music, nor did he wish to employ his command of madrigalesque expressivity. Thus he turned to a sort of objective choral psalmody, on the one hand, and to the representative chordal columns of Gabrieli, on the other, interspersed with fine specimens of polyphonic voice weaving and a diversity of nonfunctional chords. The expressive values and musical declamation are austere, however, as compared with Rossi's secular works. They comply with Pietro Cerone's rules for psalm composition (*El Melopeo*, 1613) rather than evoking the customary conceptions of synagogue style. It should be emphasized that Rossi's compositions were intended only for particular occasions, such as "special Sabbaths and feasts," and were not designed to replace the traditional synagogue chants.

At the Crossroads of the East and West

In the course of the 16th century, a rearrangement of the Jewish population in the lands of the Diaspora had taken place. The most important moves were the influx of exiles from Spain and Portugal into the Ottoman-ruled East and the immigration of Ashkenazim into Poland and the rest of Eastern Europe. These mainstreams of migration led to the formation of an Oriental-Sephardi and an East-Ashkenazi branch of Jewish music each developing a special character that had not previously existed.

CONSOLIDATION OF THE ORIENTAL STYLE OF JEWISH MUSIC. The obstinacy shown by the Sephardim in their cling-

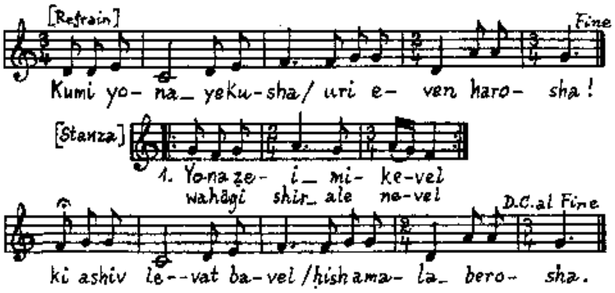
[Refrain]
Fine
Kumi yo- na_ yeku-sha/ uri e- ven haro- sha!
[Stanza]
1. Yona ze- i_ mi- ke-vel
wahägi shir_ ale ne-vel
D.C. al Fine
ki ashiv le--vat ba-vel /ḥishama- la_ bero- sha.

Example 18. Hymn in Spanish villancico form. Poem by Israel Najara, from his Zemirot Yisrael*, Safed, 1587; melody as sung in Iraq, beginning of 20th century, after Idelsohn,* Melodien*, vol. 2, no. 120.*

ing to the Castilian vernacular and folk song did not prevent them from yielding to the powerful influence of Oriental, especially Turkish, music. This is indicated, for instance, by the increasing use of Turkish melodies for Hebrew hymns. Musical assimilation became more spectacular when the system of **maqām* was adopted in Jewish song. Israel Najjara, late in the 16th century, appears to have been the first to assign every poem to a cetain *maqām*, even when he demands a Spanish folk tune for it. His *Kumi Yonah Yekushah*, for instance, is accompanied by the instruction "Tune: *Linda era y fermosa*" but, at the same time, is classified as belonging to the *maqām Ḥusaynī* (today it is sung to the *maqām Nawā;* see Mus. ex. 18) According to the Eastern custom, Najjara arranged his hymns for publication in a *diwān* of 12 *maqāmāt*. The framework of *maqāmāt*, each of which also represents a certain mood or "ethos," was imposed on synagogue song in general and extended even beyond hymnody proper. The majestic *Siga* became the mode for reading the Torah and all texts referring to it; the gay *Ajam-Nawruz* was used on *Shabbat Shirah*, *Simḥat Torah*, and for weddings; the mournful *Ḥijāz* expressed the mood of the Ninth of Av, funerals, and pericopes mentioning death. *Ṣabā* ("chaste love, filial affection") was reserved for texts connected with circumcisions. The most systematic adherence to the mood conventions of the *maqāmāt* was by the Aleppo community.

Poetry books dating from the 17th century onward open the section of every *maqām* with an introductory verse or independent verses called (*petiḥah*) – an improvised vocal piece rhythmically free and highly ornamented underlining the characteristics of the *maqām* as well as the art skillfulness of the performer. The Jews of North Africa (Maghreb) adhere to the Andalusian modal system called *ṭubuʿ* ("natures," *maqāmāt*), which include sequences of rhythmical pieces introduced and interspersed with improvised free rhythmical short pieces similar to the *petiḥah*, which are called *Bitain* and *mawwāl* and constitute part of the prestigious compound form, the *Nuba* (see *North African Musical Tradition).

All musical characteristics quoted up to now demonstrate the progressive Orientalization of the Jews who came from the Iberian Peninsula and intermingled with the veteran settlers. However, while the melodic configuration itself came to follow the ways of the East, some formal traits of European origin were retained such as the syllable-counting verse known from the Romance literature.

After Najara's time, the Orientalization of Eastern Sephardi music went on both at the popular and the artistic levels. In major centers of the Muslim world Jewish musicians became powerful agents in the exchange of tunes and styles; they were also fully accepted by the gentiles and their rulers. Jewish ensembles and entertainers were active in the major cities of Morocco. The most famous of them was Samuel ben Radan's group in Marakesh. Sultan ʿAbd al-Aziz, who ruled from 1894 to 1908, was particularly fond of Jewish musicians. In Iraq there were ensembles that excelled in the art of the prestigious *Iraki maqam* genre. In Tunisia, Iran, Central Asia, and elsewhere, Jewish musicians formed famous bands. The Turkish traveler Evliya Tchelebi describes the parade of the guilds before Sultan Murad IV in 1638: 300 Jewish musicians were led by their chief, Patakoglu, together with the famous Yaco and the *tunbur*-player Karakash; later on marched the Jewish dancers, jugglers, and buffoons. The reliability of the recorded numbers is proven by Ludwig August *Frankl, who found 500 Jewish musicians of Turkish nationality in Constantinople of 1856 forming 5.6% of all the craftsmen registered by the Jewish community.

The ranks of respected Turkish musician-composers were joined by Aaron Hamon (Yahudi Harun) late in the 17th century. Some of his *peshref*-suites were preserved in the so-called Harpasun notation. After him, Moses Faro ("Musi," d. 1776) and Isaac Fresco Romano ("Tanburi Issak") won great fame in the late 18th century. Turkish art music left its unmistakable imprint on the *ḥazzanut* of that country (Mus. ex. 19), as it did also in the case of the *maftirim* choirs (see above) that sometimes claim dependence on the fine melodies of the dervish orders.

As to the Sephardim settling in Italy, Amsterdam, and other parts of Christian Europe, the situation was quite different. Certainly they preserved modes and tunes of an old standing, which they held in common with their Oriental brothers; there was also a steady immigration from the Eastern communities. On the other hand, Marranos escaping from the peninsula permanently reinforced the European Sephardi congregations; they were most often highly-educated people with a flair for contemporary music. The writer Daniel Levi de *Barrios (born in Spain, from 1674 in Amsterdam) mentions several newcomers to the "Portuguese community" who excelled in playing the harp and *vihuela* (guitar) or flute, as well as in singing. As these returning converts were setting the fashion in cultural life, it is not surprising that the preserved music exhibits the character of contemporary art. It was in this style that Purim plays and comedies with music were performed and cantatas were composed for *Simḥat Torah* and other festive occasions. One of the better-known composers of this style of music was Abraham *Caceres in Amsterdam early in the 18th century. De Barrios also refers to the cantors of the Amsterdam Portuguese community, some of whom re-

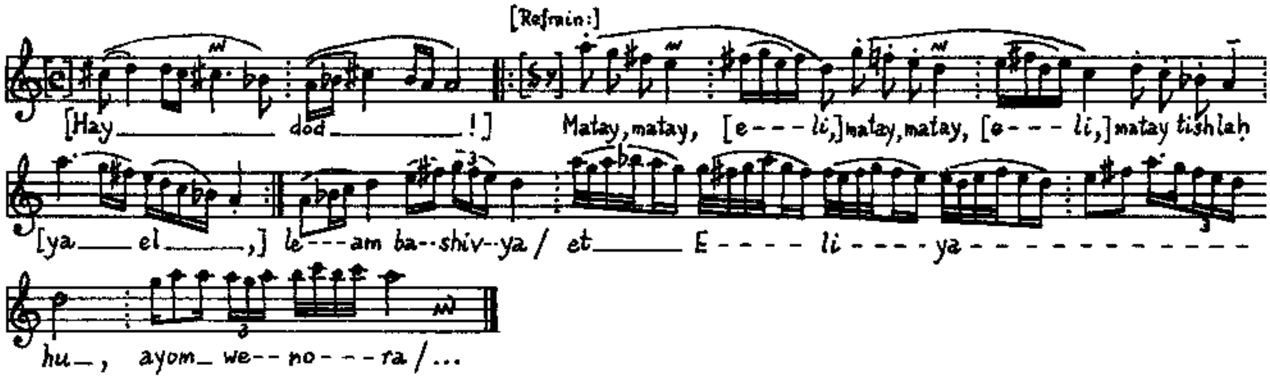
[Refrain:]
[Hay ___ dod ___!] Matay, matay, [e - - - li,] matay, matay, [e - - - li,] matay tishlah
[ya ___ el ___,] le - - - am ba - - shiv - - ya / et ___ E - - - - li - - - - ya - - - - - - - - - - -
hu —, ayom _ we - - no - - - ra / ...

Example 19. Turkish style of ḥazzanut. *Refrain of a* pizmon *by Israel Najara. The addition by the singer of words and interjections such as those shown in brackets is typical of this style of art music. Notated in Istanbul in 1936 and published by Th. Fuchs in* Ommanut, *Zagreb, 1, 1936–37, music supplement, 2.*

ceived commissions from the London, Hamburg, and other Sephardi synagogues. A musical manuscript of the *ḥazzan* Joseph de Isaac Sarfati (mid-18th century) contains liturgical solo pieces composed in the taste of his time or directly taken over from contemporary secular works Mus. ex. 20). It must be born in mind, however, that the *ḥazzanim* of that period used to write down only "composed" music of their own production or that of their contemporaries; there was no need to notate traditional melodies and recitations that every cantor knew by heart.

Traditional Amsterdam-Sephardi song as it is intoned or recorded today makes a deep but somewhat strange impression on the listener. One is tempted to say that this Oriental music is misunderstood both by singers and notators and nevertheless performed in naïve faithfulness. Further research may perhaps disclose that it was brought to the Netherlands by *ḥazzanim* recruited from Tunis or other Eastern areas in order to fill the vacuum of traditional song felt by the Marranos. The sound of Hebrew prayers was like a revelation to them and was faithfully preserved in spite of its displaced Oriental character. But the transplantation of Eastern music to the north inevitably ended in degeneration. That this was a slow process is indicated by a tune of a *kinah* (lament) for the Ninth of Av notated in 1775 (Mus. ex. 21): the modality, the articulation of the profuse coloraturas, and especially the attack of every new phrase after a caesura still bears the unmistakable mark of Eastern origin.

The biased character of Amsterdam Portuguese music is found in the other Sephardi communities of Europe in varying degrees. London proved more "progressive" in the direction of Westernization, while the Bayonne and other Carpentras communities preserved more of the Mediterranean character (see **Avi Avi*). Leghorn and Rome retained many a non-European feature in their synagogue songs, such as tetrachord scales, free rhythm, and the variative development of modal patterns. Side by side with this conservative attitude, the Italian congregations liked to celebrate certain holidays, weddings, circumcisions, and special events (like the dedication of a new prayerhouse) by Hebrew *cantatas written in the contemporary style. Their music was of a strictly utilitarian character and significant only for the very average taste of their respective times.

THE EASTERN BRANCH OF ASHKENAZI SONG. An uninterrupted flow of Ashkenazi emigrants poured forth to the East European countries beginning in the Middle Ages and accumulated to form the most powerful Jewish community until the 20th century. The Eastern Ashkenazim preserved their old German-Jewish idiom but developed a rich religious and secular culture of their own. The special flavor of their melodies and singing habits can be distinguished from that of the Western Ashkenazim even when the tunes are identical. The material roots of this musical evolution are uncertain. The proposed influence of the *Khazars or of Byzantine Jews is only hypothetical and cannot be proven. What remains credible is the effect of country and surroundings, just as these factors imparted a Slavic tint to the song of the German settlers in the Volga region. Such influence has been proven to alter intonation and rhythm and promote the favoring of certain modal shades, as well as supply a predominantly sentimental disposition of the singer. The Eastern Ashkenazi way of singing was first discerned at its appearance in Western Europe after the renewed migration in about 1650 caused by the *Chmielnicki persecutions. A small but steady flow of rabbis, teachers, and cantors continued infiltrating the West during the 17th and 18th centuries. Thus, in 1660, Ḥayyim Selig from Lemberg was appointed *ḥazzan* at *Fuerth: Judah Leib served in several synagogues of western Germany and published a critical essay entitled *Shirei Yehudah* (Amsterdam, 1696); Jehiel Michael from Lublin established, in about 1700, *ḥazzanut* with assistant singers in the Amsterdam Ashkenazi synagogue; a traveling *ḥazzan* of great fame during the years 1715–25 was Jokele of Rzeszow; and Leib b. Elyakum from Gorokhov-Volhynia was made the first cantor of the new Ashkenazi prayerhouse of Amsterdam (1730). Through the activities of cantors from Poland in the most prominent places, Western Jewry

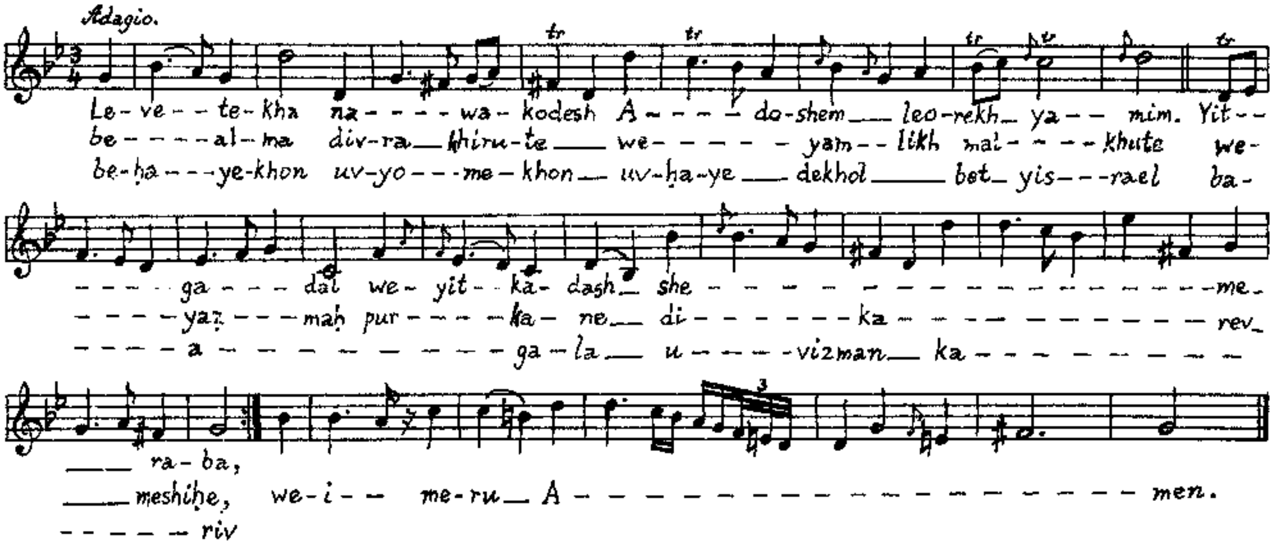
Adagio.
tr
Le-ve--te-kha na----wa-kodesh A----do-shem__ leo-rekh__ ya-- mim. Yit--
be----al-ma div-ra__ khiru-te___ we----- yam--likh mal----khute we-
be-ḥa---ye-khon uv-yo---me-khon__ uv-ḥa-ye__ dekhol___ bet__ yis---rael ba-
----ga---dal we-yit--ka-dash__ she-------------me-
----yaz---mah pur----ka-ne__ di-------ka-----------rev_
----a-----------ga-la__ u----vizman__ ka---------
___ ra-ba,
___ meshiḥe, we-i-- me-ru__ A-----------men.
------riv

Example 20. Kaddish *for Sabbath eve, from the notebook of the* ḥazzan *Joseph Sarfati, Amsterdam, middle of 18th century. The melody is adapted from the composition* Ha-Mesi'aḥ Illemim *by Abraham Caceres (fl. 1720). Jerusalem,* J.N.U.L.*, ms. 8° Mus 2, fol. [21]v.*

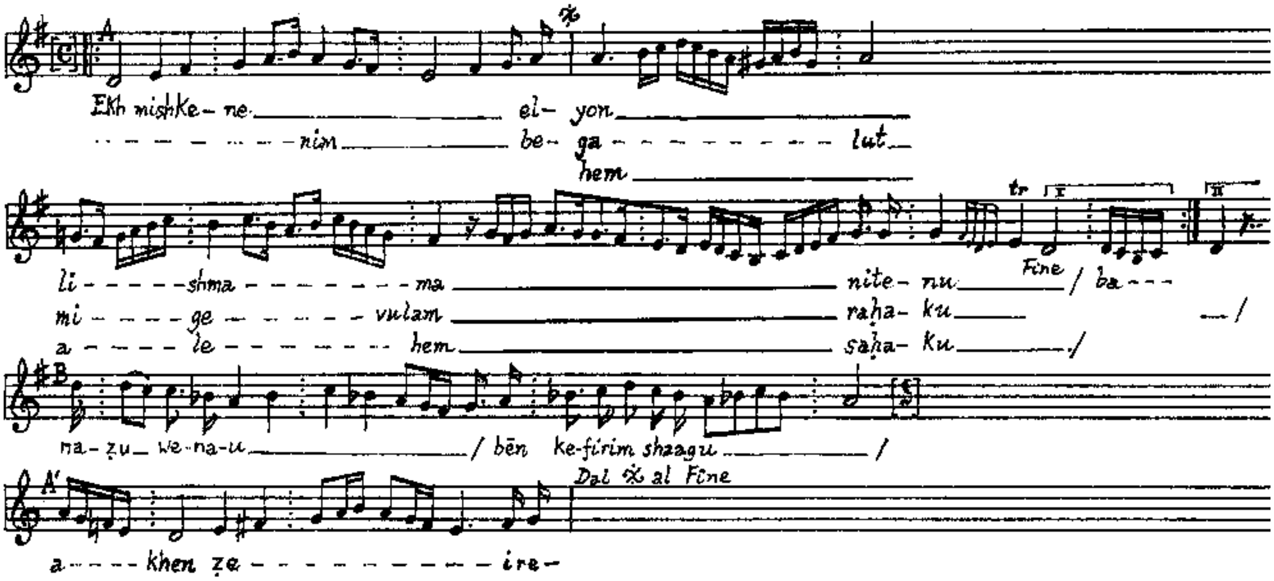
A
Ekh mishke-ne.___ el- yon___
-------nim___ be- ga--------- lut__
hem___
tr
I
II
li-----shma--------ma___ nite-nu___ Fine / ba---
mi-----ge-------vulam___ raḥa- ku___ __/
a-----le--------hem___ saḥa- Ku___/
B
na-zu_ we-na-u___/ bēn ke-firim shaagu___/
A'
Dal 𝄋 al Fine
a----khen ze-----------ire-

*Example 21. Oriental singing style in the Amsterdam synagogue, 18th century. Lamentation (*kinah*) for the Ninth of Av, after H. Krieg,* Spanish Liturgical Melodies of the Portuguese Israelitisch Community, Amsterdam*, vol. 2, 1954, 2.*

was confronted with the Eastern Ashkenazi style of singing and came to like it.

Among the special features of the East Ashkenazi *ḥazzanut* was its emotional power, which was stressed in particular by the early writers. The chronicle of martyrdom *Yeven Metzulah* (by Nathan *Hannover) tells of the surrender of four communities to the Tatars in 1648. When the *ḥazzan* Hirsh of Zywotow chanted the memorial prayer *El Malei Raḥamim*, the whole congregation burst forth in tears, and even the compassion of the rough captors was stirred, until they released the Jews. A similar story was told much later of the *ḥazzan* Razumny; his *El Malei Raḥamim*, said after the *Kishinev pogrom of 1913, has been taken over by many cantors (Mus. Ex. 22).

Common to the Russian and other East European peoples is the tendency to attribute to music a decisive power over human behavior and mode of action; the same is true of the Jews living among them. A highly significant characterization of East Ashkenazi *ḥazzanut* was given by Rabbi Selig Margolis in 1715 (*Ḥibburei Likkutim*, 4b–5a): a *ḥazzan* who delivers his prayers devotedly and with beautiful melodies, he holds, may stir up hearts more than any preacher. Margolis gives as an example the fact that the *ḥazzan* Baruch of Kalish moved the congregation to tears by his expressive rendition of "Perhaps the feeble and miserable people may vanish" or even by the recitation of the "Thirteen Attributes of God." In particular, during the penitential days, when he chanted the prayers that had always been the domain of individual cantorial creation (*Zokhrenu le-Ḥayyim; Mekhalkel Ḥayyim*; *Seder ha-Avodah*), "there was nobody in the synagogue whose heart was not struck and moved to repentance… all of them pouring out their hearts like water – the like of which does not occur in other countries that have neither melody (*niggun*) nor emotion (*hitorerut*); the *ḥazzanim* of our country, however, know well how to arouse penitence by their voices." This self-assertion stresses the emotional attitude, which already distinguished Eastern Ashkenazi *ḥazzanut* in the pre-ḥasidic period. Since the late 18th century, the Jews of the West have called it "the Polish style." This designation implied, *inter alia*, a certain profile of rhythm shaped by syncopes and dance-like configurations. Western cantors wrote down some early examples around 1800. It is possible that some of them reflect the practices of ḥasidic singing, such as the dance tune to the words "He redeemeth from death and releaseth from perdition" (Mus. ex. 23a); dancing is suggested here by the four-bar strains repeated with open and closed cadenzas and, especially, by the "bridge bars" between the phrases, which are also known from the *oberek* and other Slavic dances.

A minor tune of the same type (Mus. ex. 23b) embodies the full pattern of what is called "a Jewish dance." Since it is very remote from the music written by Western cantors of the 18th century, this may also be regarded as an echo of the East Ashkenazi style.

The vigor of musical life in Eastern Europe is reflected by several historical sources. It is proved by the very restrictions that the Council of the Four Lands imposed on it. As early as 1623 this board of congregations limited the creative impulse of its cantors to three or four extended works on Sabbath day; the victims of the 1650 and 1655 pogroms were mourned by reducing the instrumental music of the wedding celebration to those ceremonies where it was regarded as essential ("covering" the bride and during the night after the wedding). The council also protected the *sheli'aḥ ẓibbur* and the beadle from arbitrary dismissal (1670). It controlled the livelihood of popular singers and entertainers (*marshalek, *badḥan*) by obliging them to apply for a special license (*ketav badḥanut*).

Incipient Westernization of Ashkenazi Song

It was for good reasons that the music of the Jews from Eastern Europe was appreciated in the West as a genuine and heartwarming manifestation of the true Jewish spirit in song. Whether its special character resulted from the intense "Jewishness" of life in the Eastern countries or was the outcome of a happy merger with the melos and rhythms of Slavic music, Western European Jewry has welcomed it with a sort of nostalgic feeling down to the 20th century. Apparently it was felt to be a counterpoise to the Westernization that progressively displaced national music.

This process of Westernization started and developed first at the bordering strata of Jewish society, one of which was the substratum of folk musicians (*klezmerim*) who had ever been "wanderers between two worlds" and agents of musical exchange between peoples. Their instrumental performance

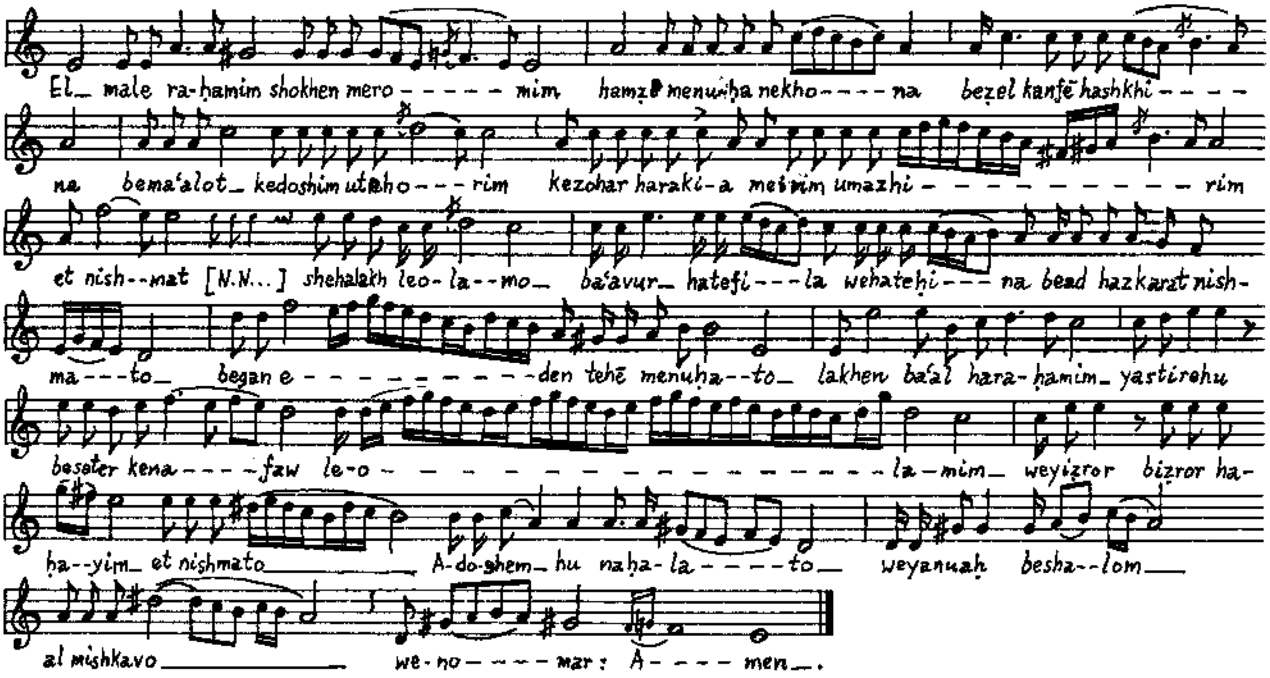
El_ male ra-ḥamim shokhen mero - - - - - mim hamẓi menuḥa nekho - - - - na beẓel kanfē hashkhi - - - -
na bema'alot_ kedoshim utehoho - - - rim kezohar haraki-a meirim umazhi - - - - - - - - - - - rim
et nish--mat [N.N…] shehalakh leo-la--mo_ ba'avur_ hatefi - - - la wehatehi - - - na bead hazkarat nish-
ma - - - to_ began e - - - - - - - - - - - - den tehē menuḥa - - to_ lakhen ba'al hara-ḥamim_ yastirehu
beseter kena - - - - faw le-o - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - la-mim_ weyiẓror biẓror ha-
ḥa--yim_ et nishmato________ A-do-shem_ hu naḥa-la - - - - - to_ weyanuaḥ besha--lom___
al mishkavo__________ we-no - - - - - mar: A - - - - men_.

Example 22. El Malei Raḥamim*, as sung by Shlomo Razummi, 1903. After A. Nadel, EJ, vol. 6, 1930, cols. 381–2.*

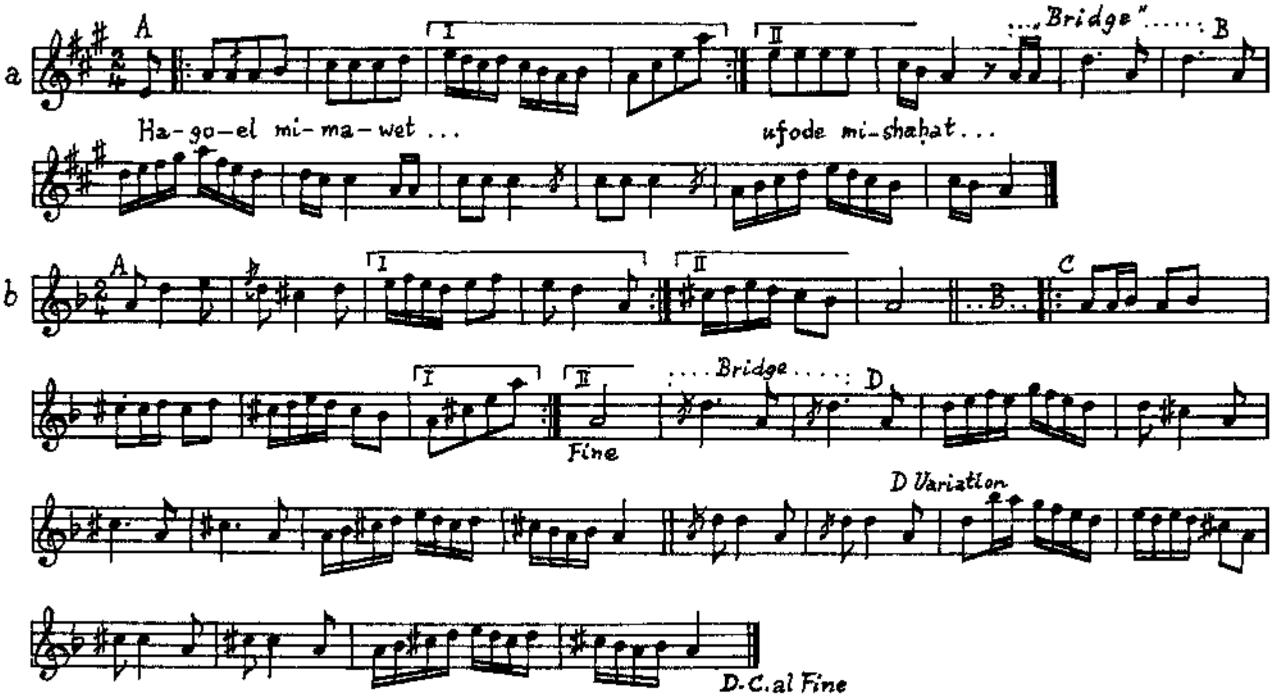

Example 23. Dance-like melodies from cantorial manuals of the late 18th century. (a) After Idelsohn, Melodien, *vol, 6, part 2, no. 20; (b)* ibid., *vol 10, no. 245; cf. sections C and D with sections A and B of the first melody.*

was accorded a definite social function, since wedding music was regarded as a sort of religious obligation, and *klezmerim* were regularly employed at the feast of Simḥat Torah and Purim, the transfer of the Torah scrolls to a new synagogue, and numerous other occasions. Even the rabbinical authorities were willing to make special legal arrangements in order to secure instrumental performance wherever it was desired.

The folk musicians of Ashkenaz used to play the lute or form small ensembles of bowed strings, preferably two violins and a gamba. They were mostly true professionals and sometimes formed trade unions or guilds (Prague, 17th century). The more important communities put their musical capacity to full display at festival processions in honor of their sovereigns (Prague in 1678, 1716, 1741; Frankfurt in 1716). At the Prague festival of 1678 (described in a special Yiddish booklet) five of the usual string trios, cembalo with two fiddlers, a harpsichord with two fiddlers, a portable organ, two choirs with organ accompaniment, and a choir of *ḥazzanim* with their *meshorerim* (who "carried a sheet of music in their hands and pointed with the finger") marched in procession. The many trumpeters and drummers were probably hired from the outside, but Jewish dilettante musicians played the organs and the keyboard instruments..

Splendid performances of this kind did not take place every day; as a matter of fact, professional musicians seldom found a base for a decent living in their community alone. The rule was that Jewish musicians also served their Christian neighbors, and the *klezmerim* met stiff opposition from their Christian colleagues and their guilds. In 1651 the *arme Prager Juden Musicanten und Spielleuthe* had to appeal to the authorities to retain the privilege of 1640 granting them the right to play "when we are demanded by various people of rank and Christians to make music at Sundays and holidays" lest "we are bound to die miserably and to perish together with our folks" since "we poor people have to make a living of the art acquired by ourselves." Serving a broad and diversified audience called for a repertoire that pleased wide circles. The Jews in their closed quarters thus obtained their share of popular songs and fashionable dance music, besides their traditional Jewish dances and tunes.

The musical features of *klezmer* music are largely unknown today, but there is some circumstancial evidence that the Jewish minstrels played in a kind of "hot style" of unusual scales and lively rhythms. This becomes obvious from Hans Newsidler's parody of a "Jews' dance" (Mus. ex. 24a) and from the scornful description by their gentile competitors (Prague, 1651) that "they keep neither time nor beat, and mockingly deprive noble and sweet music of its dignity." It appears that people nevertheless liked the exotic spices of *klezmer* music, which may perhaps be compared with the fascination exerted by gypsy tunes.

Several old *klezmer* tunes were notated by Elhanan Kirchhan of Fuerth in 1727 (*Simḥat ha-Nefesh* 2; facs. repr. New York, 1926). Mus. ex. 24b shows a Purim song obviously composed in a humorous mood. These specimens of 1727 indicate that the general trend was already directed toward adoption of the European baroque style. A Purim *niggun* notated by cantor Judah Elias in 1744 (Mus. ex. 24c) exemplifies the inorganic linking of a traditional Jewish tune (I, G minor) through dance-like "bridge bars" (II), with a continuation in the contemporary taste (III, D minor; IV, B-flat major, modulation and *da capo*); some strains of the melody are echoed in the 1794 Purim tunes of Aaron Beer (Idelsohn, *Melodien*, 6, nos. 117–8) suggesting a common popular source. Songs in the vernacular followed the same direction as instrumental music. Although their foreign melodies were balanced by original invention, their constant use advanced the Westernization of music at the popular level.

Since the 17th century, the affluent classes had become accustomed to have their children, especially daughters, instructed in singing and instruments (cf. Jos. Kosman, *Noheg ka-ẓon Yosef*, 1718, 18a; Jos. Hahn, *Yosif Omeẓ*, 1723, 890). *Glueckel of Hameln relates that her stepsister knew how to play the harpsichord well (c. 1650). During the Prague festival of 1678, the granddaughter of the community chairman played the cembalo, and Isaac Mahler's daughter the harpsichord. The tendency toward integration in music grew stronger among the upper classes during the late 18th century, when Rachel (Levin) *Varnhagen could report: "My musical instruction consisted of nothing but the music of Sebastian (Bach) and the entire school [of the period]." Heinrich *Heine's mother, Peierche van Geldern (b. 1771), had to conceal her flute ("my truly harmonious friend both in joy and grief") from her strict father. Sara Levi, daughter of the Berlin financier Daniel *Itzig, was the last and most faithful disciple of Wilhelm Friedemann Bach (d. 1784) and preserved many of his autograph works for posterity. These developments in the upper class prepared the way for the emergence of composers like Giacomo *Meyerbeer and Felix *Mendelssohn.

The trend of integration in European music finally came to affect the broad masses of the people, and the *ḥazzan*, their speaker and representative, was too dependent upon the goodwill of the public not to gratify its taste. Whereas early in the 17th century only the use of foreign melodies had been protested (by Isaiah *Horowitz and Joseph *Hahn), about 1700 and thereafter the entire style of cantorial performance was challenged by practices adopted from secular music. Violent discussions about the unstable state and reputation of cantorial art are reflected in several pamphlets. The deeper reasons for this crisis were exposed by Judah Leib Zelichover (*Shirei Yehudah*, Amsterdam, 1696). The author still clings to the medieval idea that *ḥazzanut* should be the musical expression of mystical intentions (*kavvanot*) by means of extended vocalises; he begrudges the cantors applauded by his genera-

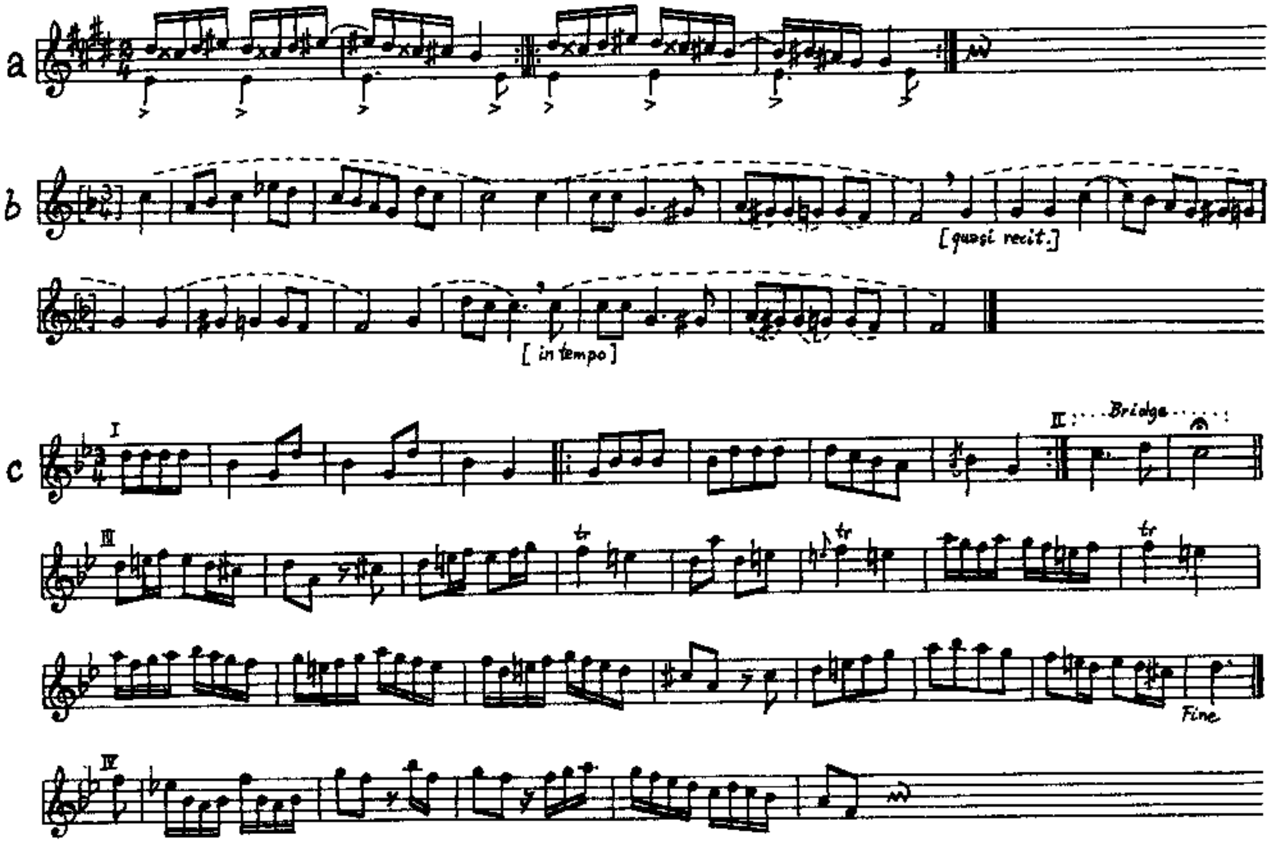

Example 24. Characteristics of early klezmer *music. (a) parody,* "Der Juden Tantz," *lute piece by Hans Newsidler, 1554, after P. Nettl,* Alte juedische Spielleute und Musiker, *64–65; (b) Purim song, after E. Kirchhan,* Simḥat ha-Nefesh, *part II, fol. 7r.; (c)* "Purim Niggun" *from the manual of Judah Elias of Hanover, 1744, no. 224, after A. Nadel, unidentified facsimile publication, Jerusalem, J.N.U.L., Jakob Michael Collection of Jewish Music, JMA 3997.*

tion for neglecting the traditional mode of singing ("saying: It's outdated and does not satisfy us") and replacing it by their own inventions or borrowings from the opera, dance bands, of street singers.

Considering the isolation of Judaism in those days and its divorce from secular art, these declarations could hardly be called overstatement. A remedy was suggested about one generation later by the cantor Solomon *Lipschitz (*Teʿudat Shelomo*, Offenbach 1718, no. 30). He also censures the ambitious individualism of his colleagues ("everybody builds a stage for himself"), which mostly turned out to be imitations of the simplest forms of music, since the cantors lacked any formal musical education. Lipschitz wishes to replace the old form of Jewish singing leaning on the lower strata of the music of the gentile environment, by more accomplished forms of art: "Making music without knowing the rules of *musica* is like a prayer without true intention [*kavvanah*]!"

The results of such ideas soon became manifest. Close to the middle of the 18th century, cantors began to use musical notation and thus began the "literary period" of Ashkenazi *ḥazzanut*. It was not the old and venerable traditions of synagogue song, however, which were put on paper, but rather the new compositions of the individual *ḥazzanim*. The earliest known document of this kind is a manuscript from 1744 written by the *Herr Musicus und Vor Saenger Juda Elias in Hannover.* After this work come the manuscripts of the most eminent cantor of his age, Aaron *Beer (1738–1821); famous as *der Bamberger Ḥazzan*; from December 1764 in Berlin). His collection contains both his own versions or new creations of synagogue melodies and those of a dozen contemporaries (published in Idelsohn, *Melodien*, 6). Other important manuscripts go back to *meshorerim* who also served their cantors as "musical secretaries" (Idelsohn, op. cit.).

The character of these cantorial works is defined, first of all, by its strict homophony, tailored to the needs of a virtuoso singer wishing to display his coloraturas (*lenaggen*), while the text is given a subordinate role. The structure of these compositions remains in the line of traditional *ḥazzanut* by developing a theme by means of variative improvisation. The resources of the basic melodies, however, are borrowed from the post-baroque music of about 1700 to 1760, often recalling the fashionable composers of that period (Monn, Wagenseil, Zach). There is little left of the strong pathos and dramatics of the true baroque, although the artistic evolution of the opening theme statement and the extensive use of sequences were imitated, as was the instrument-like treatment of the voice (Mus. ex. 25a); later in the century, some influence of the early classicists can be observed (Mus. Ex 25b).

The "new trend" of cantorial art catered to the musical taste of about 1720, but the merger of traditional and modern style was far from complete. The customary Jewish freedom of rhythm and the roving melodical line could not easily be harnessed; attempts to do so resulted in asymmetrical phrases, awkward modulation, and other flaws in conventional workmanship. Most of these cantorial compositions shared only the platitudes and the most insipid musical idioms of the period. They were the product of a superficial connection between incompatible styles – the first sign of that dualism in the West Ashkenazi musical practice that was to become the hallmark of the 19th century.

MODERN TIMES

The Nineteenth Century

By the 18th century, conditions of life had become almost unbearable in the ghettos and crowded Jewish settlements of the continent. The protracted persecutions aimed at economic, moral, and physical ruins nearly accomplished their purpose and were balanced only by the firm belief in final redemption, unbroken self-confidence, and vital energy. The growing pressure put European Jewry on two different paths of self-deliverance, as divergent from each other as the leaders Moses *Mendelssohn and *Israel b. Eliezer Baʿal Shem Tov. Assimilation, aiming at civil emancipation, was the external way toward joining the society of an enlightened Europe; *Ḥasidism, on the other hand, was entirely directed toward intrinsic values and was coupled with a certain abrogation of bitter reality. Both tendencies penetrated all aspects of life and had strong repercussions on music. A specific kind of music could demonstrate a certain ideology (e.g., use of the organ in synagogue service) or be made an essential means of spiritual exaltation (the ḥasidic *niggun*); music became a vehicle of both social integration and spiritual escapism.

THE ḤASIDIC NIGGUN. East European Jewry, suffering from increasing pauperization and the incessant menace of extermination for centuries, underwent a critical disillusionment with the failure of *Shabbetai Ẓevi and its aftereffects. At this doleful juncture, between 1730 and 1750, arose the ḥasidic movement, with its message of delivery of the soul from its detention in the body and the troubled earthly life by its ascent to spiritual, true values, thus partaking of a higher existence. As a continuation of the mystical tenets of Safed (see above), "a joyful heart and a devoted soul learning for our Father in Heaven" were made the cornerstone of prayer, and singing became a focal point of religious experience. For the first time, music of Jewish mysticism itself becomes known and may still be heard today. Ḥasidic singing spans the entire gamut from grief and deep concern to extreme joy, from a meditative mood to ecstatic exaltation, from purposeful melodic construction to open forms or shallow banality (see *Ḥasidism: Musical Tradition).

THE ABSORPTION OF THE EUROPEAN ART STYLE. While the Jews of Eastern Europe decided to overcome their miseries by a spiritual divorce from the environment, those of the West witnessed Lessing declare the equivalence of religions and the French Revolution proclaim freedom and equality for all men. This atmosphere encouraged their striving for integration in a future society of enlightened Europeans and tendencies of assimilation that ranged from slight external changes to total surrender. Music was regarded as an essential part of future

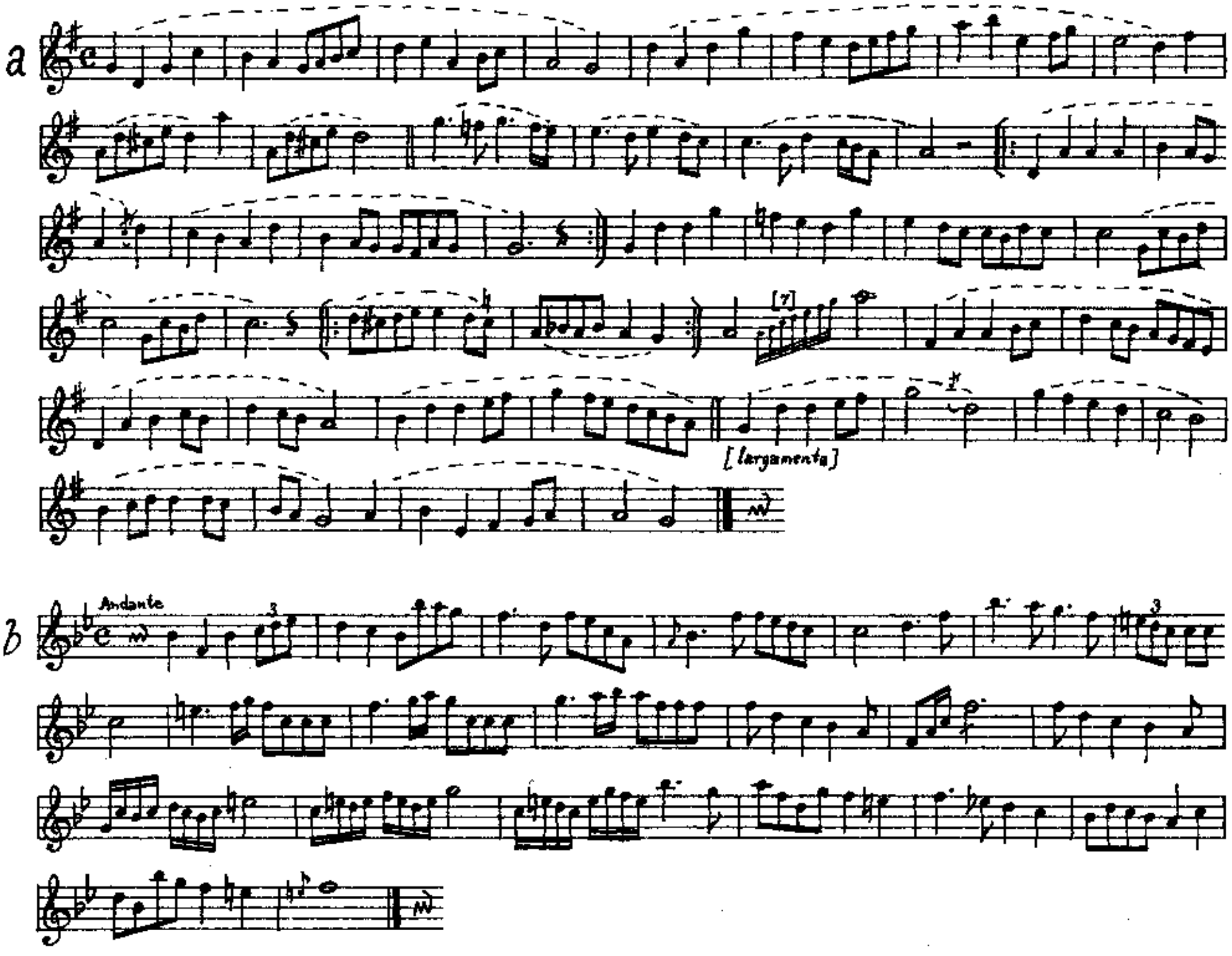

Example 25. Cantorial compositions in 18th-century style. (a) Hodu *for* Ḥanukkah *from the manual of Judah Elias of Hanover, 1744, after A. Nadel,* Der Orden Bne Briss 9–10, *95; (b) from Hodu for* Ḥanukkah *by Moses Pan (before 1791), after Idelsohn,* Melodien, *vol. 6, no. 55. Both compositions use the traditional melody of* Ma'oz Ẓur *as a point of departure.*

integration. Therefore, both tradition and acquired practices (which could barely be kept apart) were put to a test against the taste, rules, and forms of contemporary music. The prolonged prelude of this process has already been mentioned; by the 19th century, it gained sway and momentum of decisive power. As soon as the obstacles of personal advancement were removed, musicians of Jewish birth broke away from their faith, either formally or tacitly. The Jewish community suffered from a heavy drain of talent of higher and medium caliber. This incessant process principally affected synagogue music until, in the second half of the century; it became partly dependent upon immigration of cantors from Eastern Europe – not to speak of the lack of high-ranking composers.

The extent and nature of this exodus can be gauged by the numerous Jewish-born musicians who entered the fields of European art and were famous enough to merit entries in general encyclopedias. Among those born between 1790 and 1850, the most prominent categories were instrumentalists, especially virtuosos (28), and composers (21); next came singers and the scholars and pedagogues (11). Allegedly "typical Jewish" occupations are as yet clearly in the minority: conductors (6), publishers (2), impressarios (1), critics (0). A peak (60%) is formed by those born in the decade 1830 to 1839 who chose their profession about 1848, hopeful of being granted full civil rights. These forces were practically lost for the cultivation and development of the Jewish musical heritage. As to synagogue music, the impetus for immediate and drastic innovations came from a sudden turn at the political level. Napoleon wished to promote the social integration of his Jewish subjects by granting the superintendents of all communities with over 2,000 members an official status. Consequently, organized and binding changes in liturgy and its music could be enforced against the will of any opposition.

The Reform Movement. Napoleon also conferred his synagogue constitution upon some annexed countries, such as the

Kingdom of Westphalia; among them, the Koeniglich Wuerttembergische israelitische Oberkirchenbehoerde even survived his rule. These authorities gave the official and legal framework to the already existing tendencies of correcting and amending the synagogue service. The disregard of external form, dignity, and beauty was regarded by many as an abasing stigma of exile conditions. The mystical ideas and symbols that provided so much content to *ḥazzanut* and its coloraturas were no longer understood; the congregations had changed into an audience that expected music to evoke feelings they could not find within themselves. A small but energetic circle of extremists used the communal constitution given to Westphalian Jewry to materialize its vision of a liturgy modeled after European ideas and aesthetics. Perspicaciously, they started working with the young generation, on the initiative of Israel *Jacobsohn, court factor of Jerome Bonaparte and fervent champion of synagogue reform. The pupils of the Jewish mechanics school at Seesen were given formal instruction in music from 1804; they formed the choir and sang to the *organ installed in the prayer hall of their institution (1807). The music consisted of chorale-like melodies composed by their Christian music teacher to Hebrew and German texts. Soon afterward, Jacobsohn opened another Reform synagogue with organ and part-singing in the Westphalian capital of Kassel. Both his institutions were forced to close, however, with the end of the kingdom in 1814. The reformer and his musical assistant went to Berlin and opened a private synagogue with an organ and a boys' choir from the free school (1815). Two years later (1817), they moved to the private synagogue established in the house of Meyerbeer's father, the banker Jacob Herz Beer, where an organ with two manuals and pedal was put at their disposition. The bold innovations of liturgy and liturgical singing aroused disputes and quarrels with the conservatives, whereupon the government ordered the synagogue to be closed (1818).

Meanwhile, the Reform movement has spread to other communities. The Hungarian rabbi Aaron *Chorin published a book in defense of the synagogue organ (*Nogah ha-Ẓedek*, Dessau, 1818). Reform congregations had been founded at Frankfurt (Philanthropin orphanage, 1816), Hamburg (1817), and during the Leipzig Fair (a synagogue opened in 1820 with tunes composed by Meyerbeer). The Hamburg synagogue was joined by many of the local Sephardim and their cantors, was very active, and existed until 1938. Its members regarded the melodic recitation of prayers and Bible reading as opposed to the spirit of the age and replaced them by plain declamation. On the other hand, some Sephardi tunes (of the "civilized" kind favored by the Marranos) were adopted. Above all, Reform congregations created German-language hymnals on the pattern of the Protestant *Gesangbuch* (first: Jos. Joelson's *Shirei Yeshurun*, Frankfurt (1816)). The Hamburg hymnal (1819, many editions) contained some melodies composed by well-known musicians like A.G. Methfessel and, later, the Jewish-born Ferdinand *Hiller.

Reform congregations, however, were generally unable to recruit composers with both stature and real involvement with the task. The original tunes of their hymnals, mostly the products of music teachers, match the feebleness and absence of inspiration found in the texts. Furthermore, there existed an ideological impulse to integrate prayers with the Christian environment by adopting the tunes of well-known Protestant chorales. Banal new texts were connected with the melodies of Christological songs (*Sefer Zemirot Yisrael*, Stuttgart, 1836). After all the effort, a few jewels also took root outside Reform synagogues (*Seele, was betruebst du dich*, music by J.H.G. Stoewing; *Hoert, die Posaune toent mit Macht*, poetry by Abraham *Geiger). More important are two achievements of a general nature. First, the instruction of the youth in part singing – no longer in the old, improvised manner, but of music written according to the rules of harmony – through the schools, orphanages, and seminaries spread the understanding of European music to the less-privileged classes as well. Another innovation of lasting effect was playing the organ during the service. An object of raging and never-settled debates, the use of the organ in synagogues was made a cornerstone and symbol of later liberalism against strict observance in religious matters.

The "Improved Service" and Its Music. Attempts at radical reformation of the liturgy and its music did not go beyond a certain sector of the larger communities; in the provinces, they failed almost completely. This does not imply indifference or sluggishness on the part of the majority. In fact, a more decided and massive move toward musical "acculturation" has seldom been observed. Even where the liturgical tradition was handled with caution or left untouched, the conditions prevailing in prayer performance caused much indignation. Western Jewry strove for an improvement – for a *geordneter Gottesdienst* – and this concept included the entire field of sacred song ("orderly music of the divine service"; Sulzer).

First came the renunciation of the brilliant coloratura in the cantorial solo, once regarded as an asset in its own right. By 1800 *ḥazzanut* was hopelessly pervaded with foreign elements (mostly baroque) and had developed as a sort of halfbreed that, unfortunately, demonstrated the weak spots of both its ancestors. Independent attempts at modernization were initiated by provincial cantors (Mus. ex. 26) whose abilities and taste were not up to their exaggerated aspirations. Therefore, these experimental works were discarded by the more urbanized taste.

The changed attitude toward musical performance also wished to dispose of the usual trio consisting of the cantor and two assistant singers (*meshorerim*). The improvised accompaniment executed by the latter was to be replaced by harmonies of academic regular structure, and their solo coloraturas were to be clipped as eccentricities of an outmoded taste. Likewise, the boisterous chorus of the entire congregation lost its value as a moving acoustical experience with ancient roots and was to be silenced and substituted by well-rehearsed part singing. Such ideas and tendencies materialized during the period between the Congress of Vienna (1814–15;

disappointing the hope for emancipation) and the revolutions of 1848 that led to the admission to citizenship. In the meantime, synagogue music was remodeled according to the ideas of the "Jewish European." Fortunately, a cadre of real talents remained after the great exodus of musicians to devote itself entirely to this task. All of them were proficient in synagogue song and were backed by family tradition in this vocation. Most of them were gifted with extraordinary voices, and some had already excelled as child prodigies; rich patronage had paved their way to studies of musical theory and instrumental playing. They were given the chance to realize their ideas on a large scale when they were between 19 and 30 years of age: the ardent idealism of youth contributed much to the breakthrough of the new trend.

Two forerunners had already set the first standards. Israel *Lovy, a cantor and concert singer with a phenomenal voice, established a four-part choir in the new Paris synagogue in 1822. The music he composed for this body indiscriminately combined the old *meshorerim* tradition and the choral style of the *opéra comique*. The other precursor of things to come, Maier (Meir) *Kohn of Munich, did not demonstrate Lovy's creativeness when he was commissioned to establish a choir of boys and men in 1832. He had to resort to local non-Jewish musicians for choral compositions or, at least, the harmonization of melodies arranged or composed by himself and others. Kohn's compilations, (*Vollstaendiger Jahrgang von Terzett-und Chorgesaengen der Synagoge in Muenchen…*) known as the *Muenchner Terzettgesaenge* (1839), became, for some decades, a vademecum for small to medium-sized communities. The compositions offered by the early proponents of the "improved service" extended to selected chapters of the liturgy and touched upon only a small part of the highly important role of the *ḥazzan*. Thoroughgoing changes of the whole extent of the musical liturgy were finally put into effect by Solomon *Sulzer in Vienna (from 1826), Hirsch *Weintraub at Koenigsberg (1838), Louis *Lewandowski in Berlin (1840), and Samuel *Naumbourg in Paris (1845). The principles guiding the various renovators of synagogue music have much in common:

> We might find out the original noble forms to which we should anchor ourselves, developing them in an artistic style… Jewish liturgy must satisfy the musical demands while remaining Jewish; and it should not be necessary to sacrifice the Jewish characteristics to artistic forms… The old tunes and singing modes, which became national should be improved, selected, and adjusted to the rules of art. But new musical creations should also not be avoided (Sulzer, *Denkschrift*, 1876).

The point of departure had to be a survey of the entire body of tunes and recitatives transmitted by oral tradition. For the first time in history, the complete cycle of obligatory or commonly accepted melodies was recorded in musical notation (until then, only the extraordinary, individual compositions and arrangements had been written down). In examining these invaluable documents, one should disregard the enclosure in bars of recitative and free-rhythmic tunes by which the notators paid tribute to contemporary usage; the obligation to fill the bars regularly resulted in shortening and lengthening of notes, and most of the ornamental passages do not disclose their deliberate *rubato* tempo.

The tendencies of "improvement, selection, and adjustment to artistic forms" (Sulzer) enter the picture at this point. They were justified for their time, however painful to the adherents of modern historicism and folklore conservation. However, personal liberty in the aural interpretation of traditional melody patterns or "ideas" had been the characteristic procedure of Jewish music at all times; it was also the duty of the 19th-century cantor, as it had been of his predecessors. Therefore it was not a fault but their right when can-

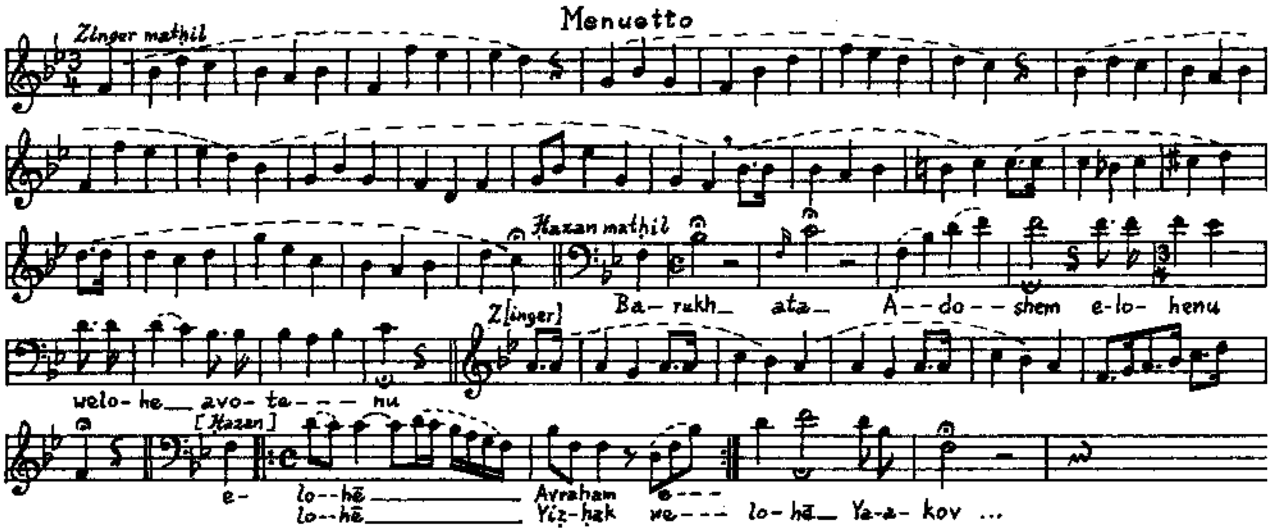

Example 26. German provincial setting of the Amidah *prayer for* ḥazzan *and "singer." The indications are: singer begins,* ḥazzan *begins. From an anonymous Ms., possibly Bavarian, probably early 19th century. Jerusalem, J.N.U.L., Jakob Michael Collection of Jewish Music, Ms. JMA 4249 (1), fol. 15v.*

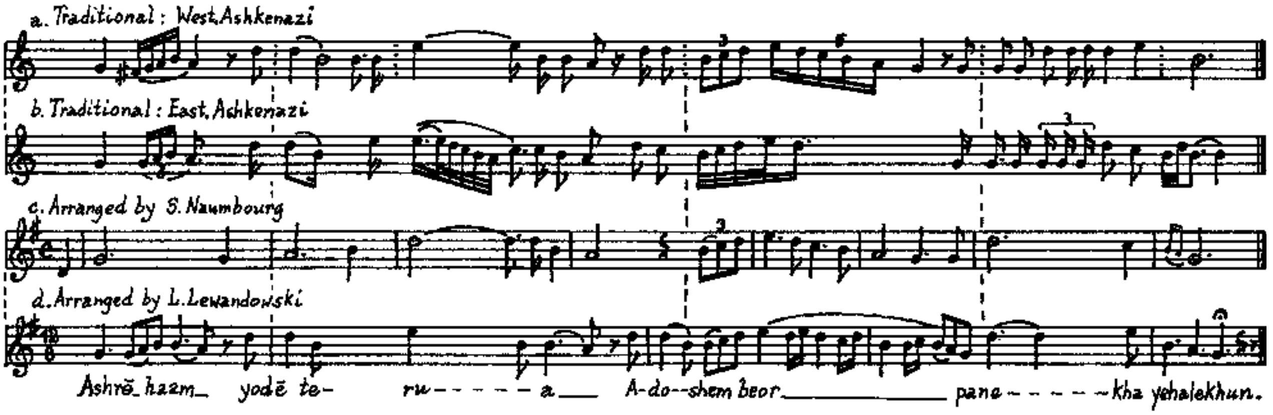
a. Traditional: West Ashkenazi
b. Traditional: East Ashkenazi
c. Arranged by S. Naumbourg
d. Arranged by L. Lewandowski
Ashrē_haam_ yodē te- ru------a___ A-do--shem beor________ pana------kha yehalekhun.

Example 27. A traditional melody and its 19th-century adaptation. (a) A. Baer, Baal T'fillah, *1883*^{3}*, no. 1158; (b) Ch. Vinaver,* Anthology of Jewish Music, *1955, no. 23; (c) S. Naumbourg,* Zemirot Yisrael, *vol. 2, 1847, no. 228; (d) L. Lewandowski,* Todah W'Simrah, *part 2, 1882, no. 179.*

tors now followed the earlier trend toward classicism with a new trend oriented toward the early romantic style in music. Consequently, their arrangements of traditional material tend toward melodies of clean-cut outlines and logical, if possible symmetric, structures. The old modes were preferably transformed to major or minor; if the specific *shtayger* scales are preserved, they are sometimes disturbed by leading notes and other dressings of modern tonality (Mus. ex. 27). The recitatives were toned down to a rational declamation, in which melismatic figures are admitted only for scoring meaningful words or marking the clauses of the sentence.

The intended "improvement" of the cantor's part demanded a gentle touch guided by sensitivity for genuine and authentic values. A bolder approach was suited to the passages assigned to the choir. Precedents of choral performance were the *meshorerim* accompaniment of the cantor and the largely turbulent responses of the entire congregation. The traditional singing of *meshorerim* contained elements that could be rearranged to form a choral style of genuine flavor. Naumbourg, Sulzer, and Lewandowski made attempts at this. Naumbourg's arrangement of one of the *Mi-Sinai* tunes demonstrates the special features of this style (Mus. ex. 28).

The melody is given to one of the inner parts, the cantor's tenor, embedded in the chords of male voices and tender boy sopranos. The latter proceed very often in parallel thirds or sixths (both in relation to the cantor's tune and between themselves) and produce an effect similar to certain mixture stops of an organ. The basses refrain from a steady accompaniment, entering only with hummed chords at melodic vantage points or acting like a community that joins in with the cantor's prayer. There are also solo sections provided for the bass and the soprano, frequently exhibiting an instrumental character; a sweet soprano could become a favorite of the public, and many of them later became famous cantors. The resources of this original style were tapped but not developed to any importance in Western Ashkenaz, but they became preeminent in East Ashkenazi synagogue music, as shall be seen later.

The free composition of choral works in the contemporary style was challenged by still another factor–the need to give shape to the songs and responses of the congregation itself. Sulzer and Lewandowski were gifted with the inventiveness and skill for creating choir pieces of high quality. The religious element in Sulzer's music exhibits delicate feeling with a sentimental timbre, clad in simple but sweet harmonies, while Lewandowski expresses himself in a more forceful manner and avoids that common intelligibility which is apt to turn into triviality in a short while.

The first synagogue choirs were quite an experience to the congregations who had been annoyed by singing habits perpetuated by inertia alone or by barren experimentation. Sulzer's choir in the Vienna Seitenstettengassen Synagoge, was also praised by Christian visitors such as Liszt, the Abbé Mainzer, and others as both a human and musical experience. The impact of Sulzer's achievements was felt very soon by the brisk demand for his scores. Synagogue choirs were founded in Prague, Copenhagen (before 1838), Breslau, Berlin, Dresden (1840), and London (1841). Sulzer's disciples or choir singers transmitted the music of the "improved service" to the United States as well (G.M. Cohen, New York 1845; A. Kaiser, Baltimore 1866; M. Goldstein, Cincinnati 1881; E.J. Stark); their appearance antedated that of East Ashkenazi synagogue song in the Western hemisphere (New York, 1852). Cantors from the East European communities came to Vienna in order to perfect themselves with the "father of the new song in Israel" (Pinchas *Minkowski). The more important of Sulzer's Eastern disciples or followers were Osias *Abrass, Jacob *Bachmann, Nissan *Blumenthal, Wolf *Shestapol, Spitzburg ("the Russian Sulzer"), and others.

In these ways and by these men, the stage was set for musical life in the Western houses of prayer. During the second half of the century, after 1848, the liberal wing of conservative (non-Reform) synagogues added organ playing to the service order. A progressive cadre of communal leaders had decreed its admissability during the second Assembly of Rabbis held at Frankfurt in 1845. It was, however, a partial vote that did not oblige or convince any sworn opponent. For instance, five years before the Berlin New Synagogue was finally furnished with an organ (1866), seven rabbis were consulted; Rabbi Michael Sachs was among the opponents, Abraham *Geiger was with the advocates. In the end 74 German-Jewish communities came to have organs played at their service, according to a count made in 1933. In Russia, the first synagogue organ was installed not before 1901 (Union Temple, Odessa). Very few of the composers writing for this instrument understood its technique and spirit. Lewandowski, a pupil of E.A. Grell, was the first to produce real organ music for the synagogue.

The absorption of European standards in the musical service was paid for later in the 19th century with the weakened understanding and cultivation of the old tradition, especially of the cantor's role. The impending loss of acknowledged values was noticed in time and was averted by collecting and publishing what remained of oral tradition. Some of the related publications exhibit a remarkable sense of authenticity: outstanding is Abraham *Baer's voluminous, almost single-handed, collection, *Baal T'fillah* (1877); relatively reliable is F. *Consolo's *Libro dei canti d'Israele* (Leghorn-Sephardi tradition, 1892). Other authors who intended to create handbooks for the cantor's training imparted a little polish to the original tunes, but may still serve well for critical research (Moritz *Deutsch, *Vorbeterschule*, 1871; Meier Wodak, *Ha-Menaẓẓe'aḥ*, 1898; etc.). The Sephardi rite of Carpentras was noted by J.S. & M. Crémieu (1887), that of Paris by E. Jonas (1854), and a selection of London Portuguese melodies by the piano virtuoso E. *Aguilar and D.A. de *Sola (1857, unfortunately in a harmonized and metricized arrangement).

Parallel with the activities in collecting and editing, inquisitive minds strove to answer the question of the distinctive elements in Jewish music. The particular nature of the *shtayger* scales or modes, already noted by Weintraub (1854) and Naumbourg (1874), was demonstrated by the Viennese cantor and disciple of Sulzer, Josef *Singer in an attempt at systematization (1886). Outstanding in this first generation of researchers was Eduard *Birnbaum, Weintraub's successor at Koenigsberg from 1879. A sound Jewish education enabled him to place musical questions in the context of history and literature and achieve an unusually high level. His inconspicuous article (later a booklet) *Juedische Musiker am Hofe von Mantua* (1893) has become a classic in its field. An asset of lasting value is Birnbaum's collection of cantorial manuscripts and other source material (at present in the Hebrew Union College Library, Cincinnati); partly exploited by Idelsohn, it holds research tasks for generations to come.

The 19th century also witnessed the professional organization of West European cantors and the edition of periodicals in which the publication of source material and research had a place (*Der Juedische Cantor*, ed. A. Blaustein, 1879–98; *Oesterreichisch-Ungarische Cantorenzeitung*, founded by Jacob *Bauer, 1881–1902). In spite of all the activity and alertness in matters of synagogue song, the West European communities were drained more and more of its musical talents, including cantorial candidates. The gap was filled by immigrants from Eastern Europe, especially after the Russian persecutions of 1882. The Western synagogues could maintain their musical standard by recruiting the often-brilliant singers originating, on a nearly equal scale, in Russia, the Baltic states, Poland, Hungary, and the neo-Prussian provinces. Finally, they outnumbered their local colleagues in the ratio of three to two. The newcomers, mostly ambitious and studious youths, learned the melodies of the Western rite with great zeal; as prescribed by Jacob Moellin (Maharil), there was no intermingling of regional traditions before 1900. Exceptions were Joseph Goldstein's enclave of Eastern virtuoso song in Vienna (1858–99), and Ḥayyim Wasserzug (Lomser), who went to London (1875) as a famous *ḥazzan*.

THE EVOLUTION OF EAST ASHKENAZI ḤAZZANUT. The breakdown of inherited musical forms in the West was the work of a few decades and generally affected synagogue and Jewish communal life, albeit to varying degrees. East European Jewry remained completely immune from the advance of the times and kept its ears shut before art music, which had now become available to the middle classes throughout Europe. The developments there, however, occurred by way of a gradual and organic evolution.

The reasons for this development in Eastern Europe must be sought both in social and intellectual conditions. The Jewish population of Eastern Europe was massed in its assigned *Pale of Settlement and bound by almost medieval restrictions. Even outstanding musical talents could find an outlet only in synagogue song or, alternatively, in popular music making and entertaining. They had to contribute their sometimes- considerable gifts compulsorily, to the musical life of their community, which was deeply concerned with all matters of music. Within that responsive musical microcosm, synagogue song represented the highest level of art; the interest and knowledgeability of the public was focused on the solo performance of the *ḥazzan* and subjected it to both relentless criticism and unconditional adulation. P. Minkowski, for example, commented:

> The Odessa community was not an ordinary one, but was split in two factions, accusers and defenders… When I had sung ancient melodies known to every listener, a dispute arose on the spot… as to whether my song was in the style of Abrass [Pitche] or of Bachman, and people of venerable age also conjured Zalel [Shulsinger] up from his grave in Ereẓ Israel in order to pitch my singing against Tzalel's… (Recollections).

Ashkenazi *ḥazzanut* represented an original and self-sufficient kind of music, comparable only with certain Oriental styles of song. Its most conspicuous attribute is its expressivity, the prayer of the community subsiding, as soon as the *ḥazzan's* voice is heard, and the mind completely identifies itself with the voice. Unlike the self-imposed restraint of the Western cantor, the aim is to produce an upsurge of religious feelings (*hitorerut*) and a strong and immediate response. The

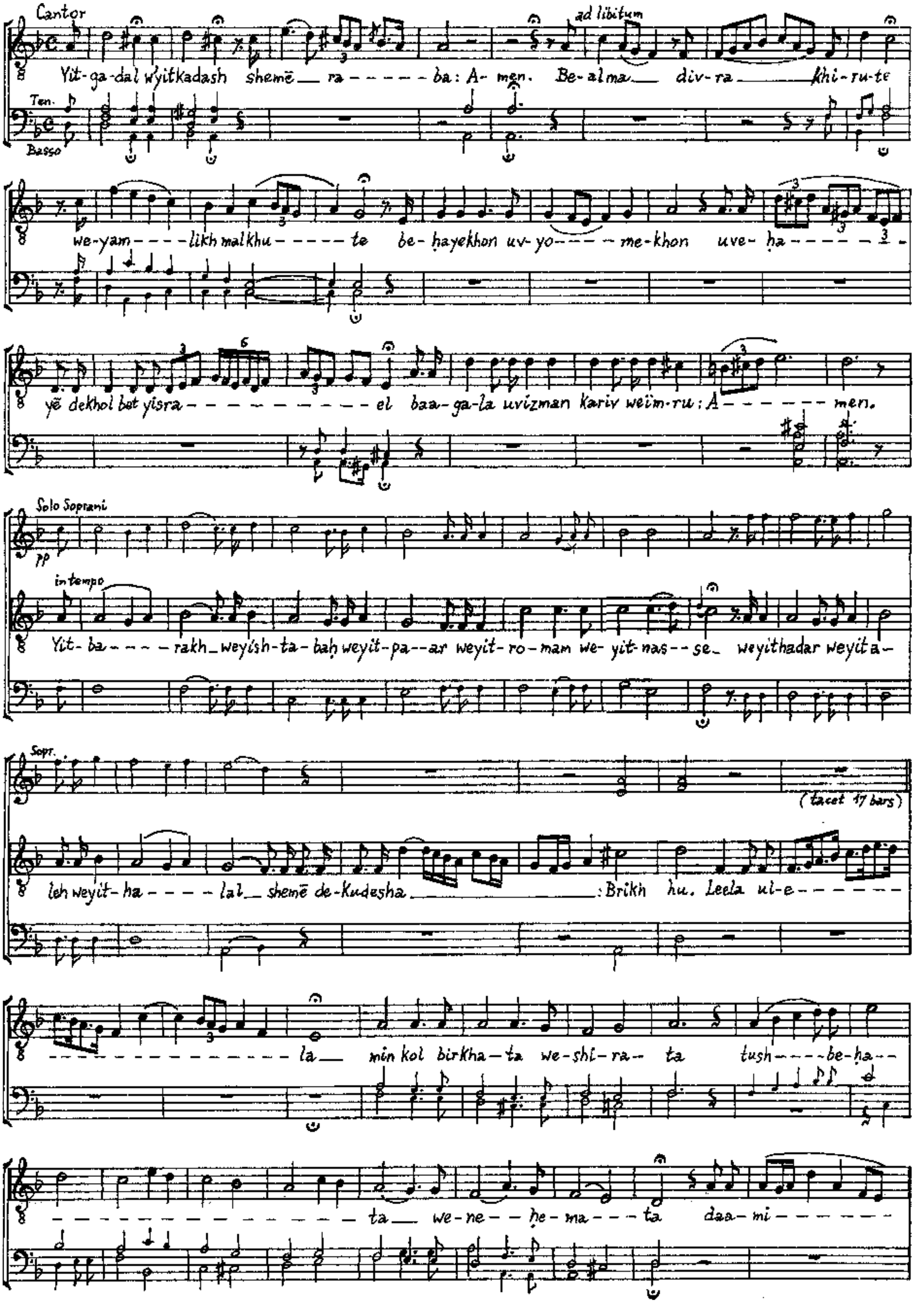
Cantor
ad libitum
Yit-ga-dal weyitkadash shemē __ ra------ba: A- men. Be-alma __ div-ra ____ khi-ru-te
Ten.
Basso
we-yam----likh malkhu-----te be-hayekhon uv-yo----me-khon uve-ha-----3-
yē dekhol bet yisra-----------el baa-ga-la uvizman kariv weim-ru: A------men.
Solo Soprani
pp
in tempo
Yit-ba----rakh_weyish-ta-bah weyit-pa--ar weyit-ro-mam we-yit-nas--se_ weyithadar weyita-
Sopr.
(tacet 17 bars)
leh weyit-ha----lal__ shemē de-Kudesha ____: Brikh hu. Leela ul-e-------
------------la__ min kol birkha-ta we-shi-ra- ta tush----be-ha--
--------------ta__ we-ne--he-ma---ta daa-mi-------

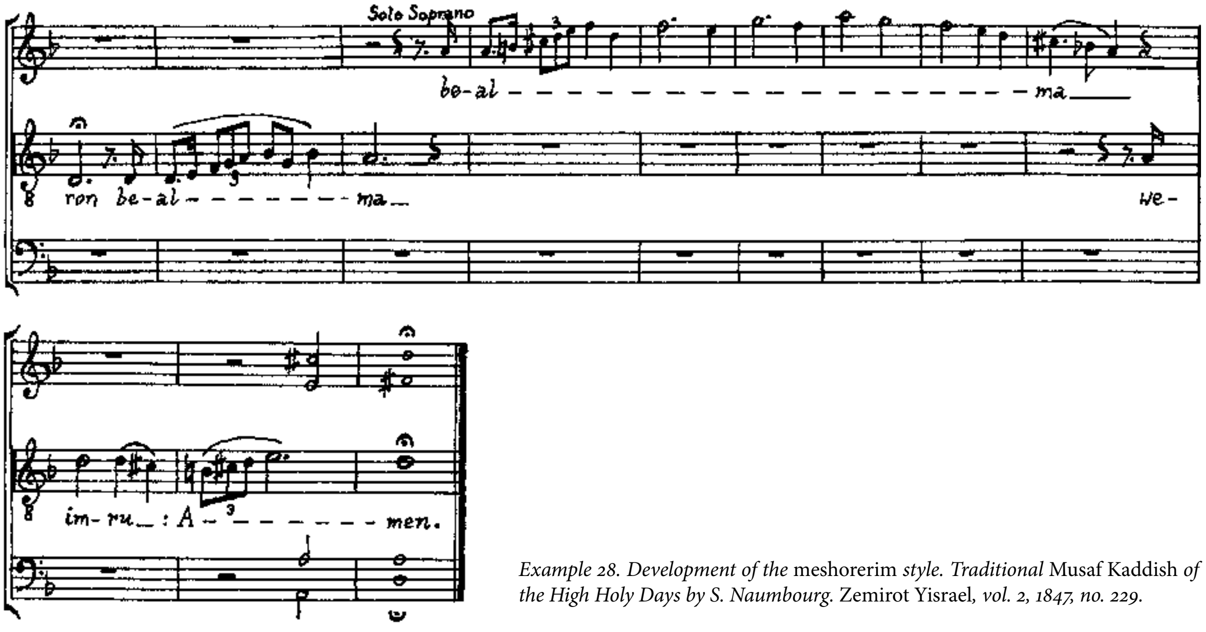
Solo Soprano
be-al — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — ma
ron be-al — — — — — — — ma
we-
im-ru : A — — — — — — — men.

Example 28. Development of the meshorerim *style. Traditional* Musaf Kaddish *of the High Holy Days by S. Naumbourg.* Zemirot Yisrael, *vol. 2, 1847, no. 229.*

impressive capacities of this particular kind of song are not easily described in precise technical terms. The cantorial melody develops as a strictly monodic line, with structural points of support quite different from those of European harmony. It proceeds by many small movements, creating melodic cells, which build up the body of the tune (Mus. ex. 29 and 30) Phrases composed of long-drawn single notes are nonexistent: they appear to be dissolved into flickering. Rhythm is not confined to bars and stringent symmetry, but is as free as in the music of the Oriental ancestors and relations of this style. Melodies are often shaped to *shtayger* scales; modulations are rather frequent and a proof of mastery, like the Oriental singers' shifting from *maqām* to *maqām*. Another archaic element is still in full vigor: the principle of variation

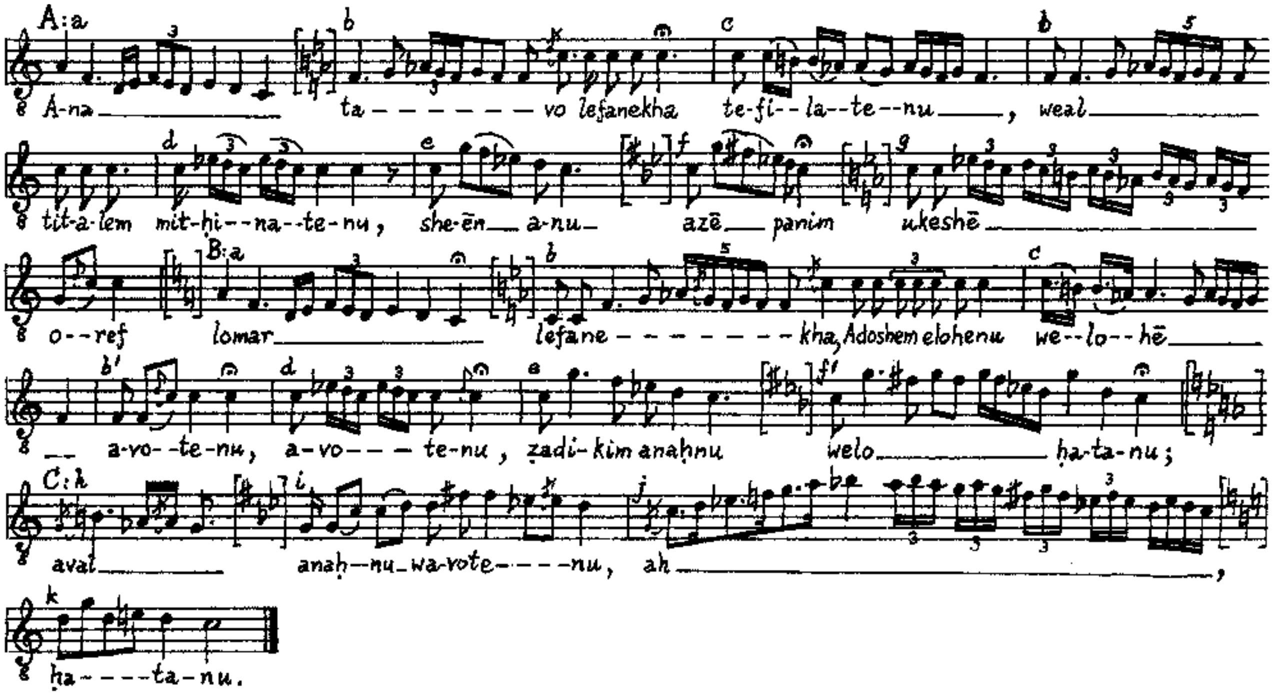
A:a
b
c
d
e
f
g
B:a
b'
f'
C:h
i
j
k
A-na — ta — — — — — — vo lefanekha te-fi--la--te--nu, weal
tit-a-lem mit-hi--na--te-nu, she-ēn — a-nu — azē — panim ukeshē
o--ref lomar — lefane — — — — — — — — kha, Adoshem elohenu we--lo--hē
a-vo--te-nu, a-vo— — te-nu, zadi-kim anaḥnu welo — ḥa-ta-nu;
aval — anaḥ—nu-wa-vote— — — -nu, ah —,
ḥa- — — -ta-nu.

Example 29. Eastern Ashkenazi ḥazzanut, *c. 1800. Introductory prayer to the confession of sins on the Day of Atonement, by Solomon Weintraub (Kashtan), as notated from oral translation by D. Roitman, after G. Ephros (ed.),* Cantorial Anthology, *vol. 2, 1940, 135.*

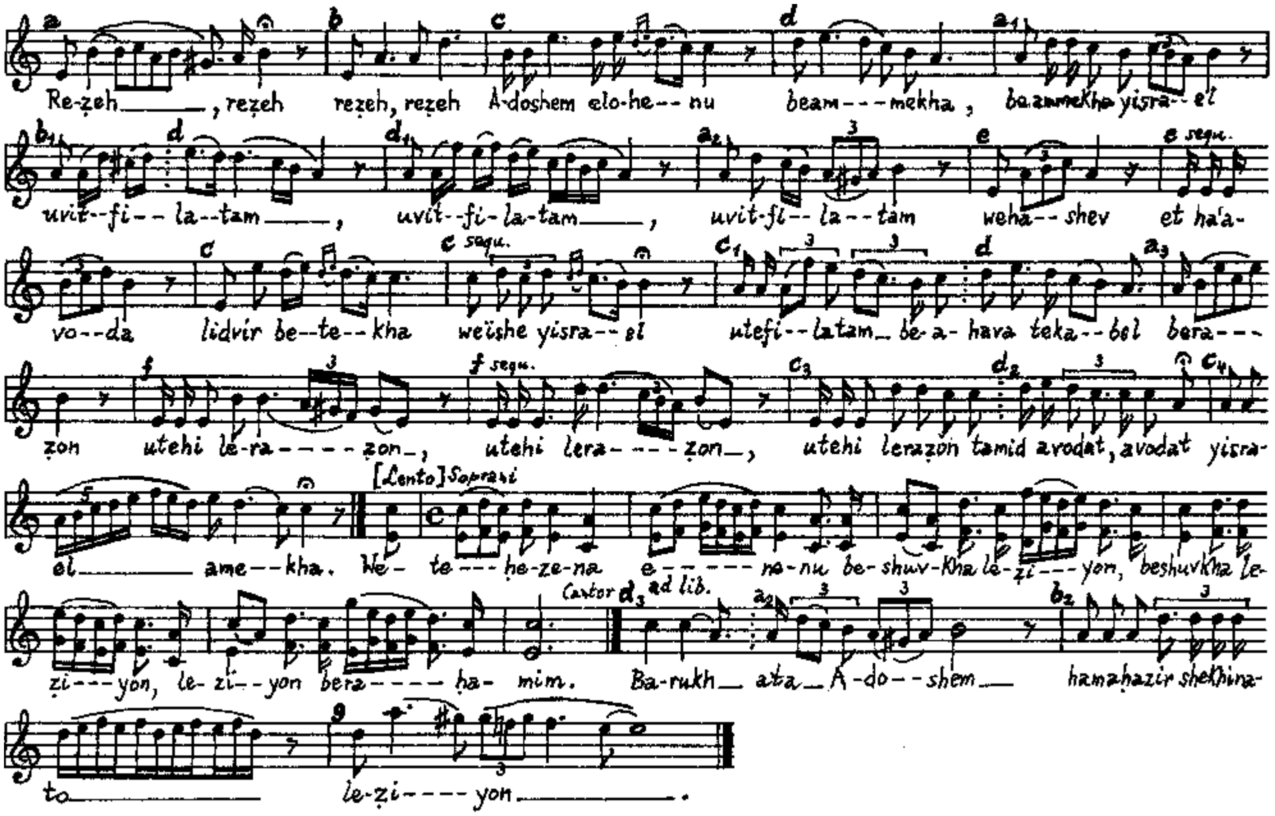
a
b
c
d
a1
Re-ẓeh ___, reẓeh reẓeh, reẓeh A-doshem elo-he--nu beam---mekha, baammekha yisra--el
b1
d
d1
a2
3
e
e sequ.
uvit--fi--la--tam ___, uvit--fi-la-tam ___, uvit-fi--la--tam weha--shev et ha'a-
c
e sequ.
c1
3
3
d
a3
vo--da lidvir be--te--kha weïshe yisra--el utefi--latam be-a-hava teka--bel bera---
f
3
f sequ.
c3
d2
3
c4
ẓon utehi le-ra-----ẓon, utehi lera-----ẓon, utehi leraẓon tamid avodat, avodat yisra-
5
[Lento] Soprani
el ___ ame--kha. We- te---he-ze-na e------na-nu be-shuv-kha le-ẓi---yon, beshuvkha le-
Cantor d3
ad lib.
a2
3
3
b2
3
ẓi---yon, le-ẓi--yon bera----ha-mim. Ba-rukh ata A-do--shem hamaḥazir shekhina-
g
3
to ___ le-ẓi----yon ___.

Example 30. Eastern Ashkenazi ḥazzanut *with "singer" soli, c. 1990.* Retzeh, *by Aryeh Lev Schlossberg (1841–1925), after G. Ephros (ed.),* Cantorial Anthology, *vol. 4, 1953, 368–9.*

governs both the melodic cells at every instance of recurrence and the whole structure of a piece. Often a cantorial composition contains a "double course" of the same section – first as an original statement and then as a variation of the same (Mus. ex. 29). At times, the work is composed of melodic cells arranged without any apparent order (Mus. ex. 30) exactly as the ancient *nusaḥ* style demands (see above).

One of the rules of *ḥazzanut*, however, is that there is no rule of adhering to one plan or the other: expression is the element, which counts. The expressive intention is overwhelming: it dissolves the form of the underlying poetic text past recognition; single words may be repeated over and over (Mus. ex. 30), in spite of halakhic prohibition; emotional exclamations intermingle and long coloraturas expand certain syllables, in particular towering above the penultima at the end of compositions. These traits may appear exaggerated to a taste accustomed to classicist restraint, but they are capable of the most suggestive presentation of sentiments, mostly in the pitiful and lachrymose mood (the expression of joy being channeled mostly through imitations of foreign song). The *ḥazzan*'s voice plays on a variety of sound colors, complemented by a high falsetto (in the old contralto manner) and prefers techniques such as the gliding passage from tone to tone, slowly entering trills, and other characteristics of an advanced vocal culture.

The development of East Ashkenazi *ḥazzanut* is known only since its early 19th-century protagonists, whose exploits and compositions had been preserved in the memory of their congregations and disciples. Besides, regional schools and stylistic subdivisions, such as the Jewish-Lithuanian, Ukrainian, etc., a parting line is recognized between an older, "classical" *ḥazzanut* and a younger style influenced by Western art music.

The "classical" stage is represented in the communities of the Ukraine and Volhynia by the impressive personalities of Bezalel *Shulsinger ("Tzalel Odesser"), Yeruḥam *Blindman ("Yeruḥam ha-Koton"), Yeḥezkel of Zhitomir, and Solomon *Weintraub (Kashtan). The old style was perpetuated by Israel Shkuder (1804–46) and Nissan *Spivak ("Nissi Belzer"). To judge from the small part of their music preserved, the early cantors did not indulge in the excessive coloraturas and superficial tricks preferred by the later synagogue singers. In Lithuania and Poland, the old style was upheld by Sender *Polachek of Minsk, who excelled in particular melodic formations (Sender's *shtayger*), and his disciple Baruch *Karliner, a master of spontaneous improvisation "when the spirit dwelled upon him." Galicia and Hungary had David'l

Strelisker ("Dovidl *Brod"), who assumed the airs of a noble dilettante and would not give in to the modernistic tendencies of the Budapest *chor shul* of 1830.

The first waves of Sulzer's musical reform reached Eastern Europe promptly and impressed both singers and ambitious community leaders. Cantor Nissan *Blumenthal of Odessa was the first to adopt Western ways by cultivating a smooth bel canto style. Some went or were sent to Sulzer himself in Vienna (see above). Others acquired their formal education in Eastern Europe, such as Joel David Strashunsky (the "Vilner Balabess'l") with Moniuszko in Poland, and Jacob *Bachmann with Anton Rubinstein in Russia. The "Westernizing" *ḥazzanim* limited the influence of art music to choral composition, while the solo parts of their own were left almost untouched. In general, choral composition kept to the *meshorerim* style, touched up with more regular harmonic sequences; but those who were tempted to introduce fugues or other musical devices of advanced academic training also inserted showpieces of artful elaboration indiscriminately. In addition, their works frequently reflect the fascination exerted by Rossini and other idols of the day. The so-called choral synagogues soon brought forth specialists in choral leadership and composition, such as A. Dunajewski, Eliezer *Gerovich, and David *Nowakowski. Their creations do not lack touching moments, but are "conductors' music," incompatible with the strong and style-conscious works of their older contemporary Nissan *Spivak ("Nissi Belzer").

Research in traditional Jewish music was taken up by cantor Pinchas *Minkowski, one of the prominent *ḥazzanim* who left for the West. Immediately before the mass emigration of star cantors, the splendor of Ukrainian *ḥazzanut* flashed once again with Solomon *Razumny.

The Twentieth Century

At the beginning of the 20th century, the specific kind of music inherited by European Jewry had no good expectations. The spiritual and social landslides in the West had buried the characteristic features under the quicksand of fashionable tastes, leaving the original outlines barely recognizable. The traditional solo style, still fostered in the East, drifted toward brilliant but shallow display and mingled with the first attempts in formal artistry. The musical situation reflected the general conditions of European Jewry during the period. A major part of the Jewish musicians seemed to have been integrated into the gentile environment as composers and performers; nevertheless, they were looked upon as outsiders by society.

Even the most liberal individuals referred disparagingly to these Jewish musicians. *Moscheles was referred to by Schuppanzigh in a letter to Beethoven in 1823 as "this Jewish boy"; H.A. Marschner in a letter to his wife referred to the "Jews' music fabrication" while *Tausig is referred to as "the little Jew" (Esser to the publisher Schott, 1861). They vary from the single reference to descent (with certain overtones) to the blunt identification of Jewish musicianship with the negative elements in art (a point driven home in Richard Wagner's pamphlet *Das Judentum in der Musik* (1850) and accepted by certain composers from Pfitzner's standing downward). The keen observer Heinrich *Heine held (1842) that Jewish-born artists, *Mendelssohn among them, were characterized by "the complete lack of naiveté; but is there, in art, any ingenious originality without naiveté?" He obviously intended to ascribe a certain degree of mannerism to their works of art. The general validity of this sweeping statement is not easily proven; but the greatest Jewish talents did go to the extreme boundaries of stylistic means or sentiment, as if they were looking for an indefinable something that would bestow ultimate perfection upon their creations. Arnold *Schoenberg has demonstrated (*Style and Idea*, 82–84) how Gustav Mahler probed into the subconscious and unknown in his last major work of 1911 (Mus. ex. 31), "An extraordinary case, even among contemporary composers, is the melody from *Abschied*, the last movement of Mahler's *Das Lied von der Erde*. All the units vary greatly in shape, size, and content, as if they were not motivic parts of a melodic unit, but words, each of which has a purpose of its own in the sentence."

The free rhythm of this truly "talking" passage; its construction by means of addition, instead of subordination of elements; and even certain melodic idiomatics have a familiar ring to an ear trained in Jewish singing and belonging to a sphere of sound forms which includes Jewish music. A similar structural affinity is also found with the "principle of permanent variation" that governs the formation of Schoenberg's serial compositions from the early 1920s onward. It was, how-

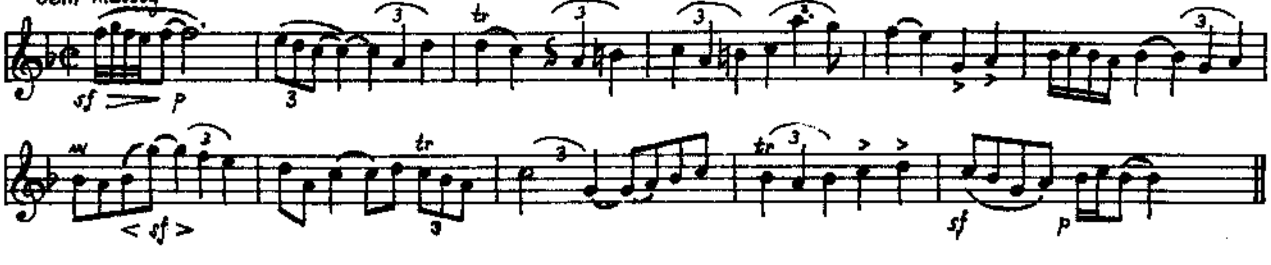

Example 31. Gustav Mahler, Das Lied von der Erde, *opening melody of the last movement, "Abschied" ("Parting"), singled out by Arnold Schoenberg for its unique melodic character (see A. Schoenberg,* Style and Idea, *1950, 85–86). Music, courtesy Universal Edition Vienna.*

ever, a far cry from the visionary and subconscious achievements of the great masters in the open field of pure music and the practical solutions demanded for applied music, such as synagogue song, which had to cope with tradition and habitude. But its composers also felt the need to express Jewish identity much more strongly than in the past century. The first obstacle to be overcome was their estrangement from the genuine sources of inspiration; moreover, these sources lay buried under much debris.

THE COLLECTION AND EXAMINATIONS OF THE INHERITANCE. Gathering and transcribing the oral tradition of synagogue song had begun in the Western countries during the 19th century and was almost completed by the end of that era. This labor and the incipient research had been the work of cantors personally involved in maintaining the vocal traditions. It became the task of the present century to approach the material under broader aspects and, above all, to extend its scope to the Oriental Jewish communities. The decisive step was taken by Abraham Zvi *Idelsohn (1882–1938), a disciple of Eduard Birnbaum – who imbued him with the inquisitive and historical approach to tradition – educated at German conservatories and in the principles of the Leipzig school of musicology.

The impact of Idelsohn's publications made itself immediately felt in general musicology, especially in Plainchant research (Peter Wagner, *Einfuehrung in die Gregorianischen Melodien* 3, 1921; frequently borrowed and repeated in later research). The reaction of specialized Jewish research came with the confrontation of European and Oriental music in Israel. A wave of re-recording and extensive or intensive surveying swept over the fields of folklore, now widened beyond expectation by the "ingathering of the exiles" (from 1948). These activities form a base for present research, in addition to historical and liturgical studies by modern methods. The integration of Jewish music in the general history of music (especially its comparative branch, foreshadowed in Curt *Sachs' writings) is close to being accomplished.

Parallel to the research in Jewish Oriental song went the collection of musical folklore in the European communities. The collection and transcription of these treasures began about 1900. It was not necessarily in the wake of Herder's ideas on folk song and national character that the Warsaw watchmaker Judah Leib *Cahan began his famous collection of folk song texts and music in 1896 (published from 1912); rather he felt the waning of his Jewish world so lovingly described in I.L. *Peretz's and *Shalom Aleichem's novels. The menace came from secularization (*Haskalah) and the attraction of the Russian big cities but it was the progressive and assimilated circles themselves that approached Jewish folk music with the methods of ethnomusicology. In 1898, the writers Saul *Ginsburg and Pesaḥ *Marek initiated a collecting campaign of folk song texts (published 1901), and the critic and composer Joel *Engel began noting down Jewish folk tunes. Their motivation sprang from the conscious acceptance of the national trend in music, already realized by the Czechs, Spaniards, and the Russians themselves. Texts alone were still published by Noah Prilutzki (1911–13); but music was the foremost issue in the phonograph recordings of "expeditions" sent to the countryside by the *Petrograd Society for Jewish Folk Music and Baron *Guenzburg in 1912–14 (under the direction of S. *An-Ski). The output of Edison cylinders found its way into Soviet archives in Kiev, and the recordings were transcribed and published in part by M. *Beregovski.

After World War I, An-Ski's Jewish Historical-Ethnographical Society took over (1925–39) and published the first volume of its *Muzikalisher Pinkas* (1927, ed. A.M. *Bernstein). Only a fraction of its members as well as some of their collections reached the United States and set up the YIVO Society, New York, among others. Yiddish folk song found warm and intelligent attention there (such as the collecting activity of Ruth *Rubin). Several smaller anthologies, like those of Menahem *Kipnis (Warsaw, from 1930) and Fritz Mordecai Kaufmann (Berlin, 1920) were instrumental in deepening the appreciation of Ashkenazi folkways in song.

The development was quite different as regards the Judeo-Spanish folk song of the Sephardim. The first texts, published by A. Danon in 1896/97 (REJ, 32–33), aroused the interest of historians of Spanish literature (see Romancero Musical Tradition).

THE REVIVAL OF NATIONAL VALUES IN MUSIC. The idea of imprinting a "national style" on art music of nonreligious description came late to the Jewish composers. It sprang up in Russia, but not from those composers who were linked to traditional or folk music (M. Dulitzki, D. Kabunowski, A.M. *Bernstein) and had set to music the Hebrew lyrics of the Haskalah and *Ḥibbat Zion authors. It cropped up, rather, within the thin layer of gifted students paying their precious admittance to metropolitan conservatories by complete assimilation. They were either unaware of their people's special singing style or ashamed of it and did not follow the model of the national trend in Russian music, from Glinka to Mussorgsky. The impulse had to come from the outside. In St. Petersburg in about 1902, Rimsky-Korsakov used to refer all his non-Russian students to their folk music. He also urged the Jews among them to cultivate their "wonderful music, which still awaits its Glinka" (according to *Saminsky). In a similar way, the young critic Yuli Dmitrevich (Joel) *Engel of Moscow was aroused to think of his cultural identity after having been asked point-blank by the mentor of the Russian national school, Vladimir Stassov: "Where is your national pride in being a Jew?" (according to Jacob *Weinberg). Many of these Jewish musicians, born between the 1870s and 1890s (the generation of Scriabin and Stravinsky), had little inner relation with living folk and traditional music (except for the few who had been disciples of cantors, such as E. Shkliar, M. *Gnesin, S. *Rosowsky). Saminsky, *Milner, *Zhitomirsky, *Achron, Lvov, and *Engel became enthusiasts of folk song collecting and arranging.

The rediscovered treasures were quickly brought before the public in unsophisticated arrangements for concert performance. Engel presented his folk song arrangements at concerts of the Moscow Ethnographical Society as early as 1901–02. The Petrograd Society for Jewish Folk Music (1908–18) had a statistically splendid record of concert performances. Its publishing house, Juwal, produced 58 works of 16 composers up to 1914, in addition to Engel's numerous songs and a collective songbook for schools. The results were sound craft-productions but not creative art. In consequence, the works of the National School did not gain ground beyond a certain sector of the Jewish audience. Talents like Joseph Achron struggled tragically for the fusion of Eastern-rooted Jewish and Western art music. The important problem of connecting self-sufficient melodic lines and modal (anti-harmonic) structures with harmonies was not solved; experiments went on in the tracks of Balakirev and Mussorgsky and later with the application of sound shading à la Debussy.

A short Russian spring after the October Revolution promised a new efflorescence of national aspirations in art. Hebrew and Yiddish *theaters (after having been banned since 1883) were founded (*Habimah, 1917; Vilna Troupe), and gave a fresh stimulus to Jewish composers. In fact, the latter's performances were at their best with incidental music such as Engel's *Dybbuk Suite* (op. 35), or A. *Krein's music to I.L. Peretz' *Night in the Old Market Place*. But very soon Jewish national art was dispersed for political reasons and its exponents went westward. After a short rallying in Berlin (about 1920–22), they made their way to the United States or Palestine. Others rode the tide and became useful members of the Soviet musical establishment (M. Gnesin, A. Krein, A. *Veprik).

Those who remained in Central Europe continued the national trend. The Juwal publications of music were transferred to Vienna and carried over to the new Jibneh series (closed in 1938). This group of composers did much to foster the conscience of Jewish identity in the Western communities (J. *Stutschewsky, A. *Nadel, J.S. Roskin, and singers like cantor L. Gollanin); they also became closely associated with the Zionist movement.

The earlier delegates of the National School who went to Palestine left only a superficial and transitory imprint on local art development because of their inflexible views and frozen stylistic traits; but a few representatives of the old guard, such as J. Engel and J. Stutschewsky (from 1938) played important roles in musical life.

The massive immigration of Jewish composers and musicians to America was quickly absorbed in the well established communities of East Ashkenazi extraction with their own music theaters, choral societies, and virtuoso star cantors. Members of the National School such as Lazare Saminsky, Joseph *Yasser, and others became important organizers of both sacred and secular music. They remained indebted to East Ashkenazi folk song or the styles based upon it, as can be seen, for instance, from the proceedings of the Jewish Music Forum (New York, from 1939) and similar institutions. The hope of deriving a universal Jewish style from that particular sector, with a directness bordering on imitation, is still nurtured by composers who have not experienced the pluralism of forms brought together in Israel – especially the Oriental components.

The production of Jewish music in America was well appreciated within its own small province of well-disposed listeners, but it did not conquer the general and international audience of the concert halls. This was accomplished by those few Jewish composers who were gifted enough to assimilate tradition and folkways to their own language and make them part of a profound expression of musicality. They are represented by Ernest *Bloch, Darius *Milhaud, Arnold Schoenberg, and Leonard *Bernstein – each in his own, highly individual way. A new leaf in national music was turned by the generation of composers who witnessed the reestablishment of the Jewish state in Israel (for the artistic problems to be overcome and the ideas and tracks followed by them, see *Israel, State of: Cultural Life).

NEW WAYS IN SACRED MUSIC. The trend in art-music of Jewish orientation was from the display of an upgraded Ashkenazi idiom to a more universally understood language. This language was the common musical vernacular; it also encroached upon liturgical music, but did not altogether supersede the traditional style. The contribution of the 20th century to synagogue song must therefore be evaluated in the light of the development of East Ashkenazi *ḥazzanut* in the West. It is true that the image of this original art has been marred by virtuosity for its own sake, the search for external effects, flattering the tastes of an undiscriminating public, and by the inroads of the record industry. The field is too wide and variegated for generalizations, however, and any judgment should Orient itself to the outstanding accomplishments. The development of East Ashkenazi *ḥazzanut* in the United States was initiated and furthered by immigrants from about 1880 until the end of World War II. Earlier arrivals, such as *Minkowsky and Samuel *Morogowski ("Seidel Rovner"), were followed by Joseph *Rosenblatt, David *Roitman, Moses (Moshe) *Koussevitzky, and many others, who continued the traditional personal union of performer-composer. From the ranks of this generation, Zevulun (Zavel) *Kwartin (immigrated 1920) created and published works that can be taken as models of progressive *ḥazzanut* (Mus. ex. 32)

The most evident mark of this purely single-voice composition is the coloratura. Although it includes some recurrent patterns, these appear in no way as merely decorative adornment and avoid the brilliance for the sake of brilliance displayed by J. *Rosenblatt and others. The ornament often underlines the sense and expressive contents of the text, sometimes recalling the old cantors' musical *kavvanot* (mystical "intentions"). Coloraturas are affixed to points of internal or external tension, concentrating on the essential, while the intervening, preparatory words may be passed by with a certain indifference. Kwartin claimed that he absorbed "genuine

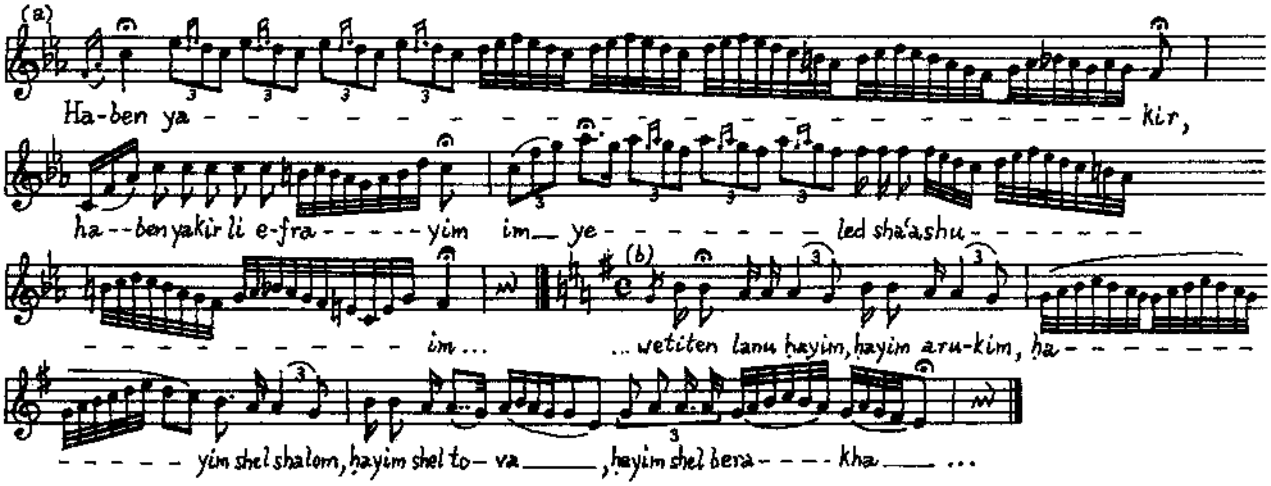
(a)
Ha-ben ya - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - kir,
ha--ben yakir li e-fra - - - - - yim im__ ye- - - - - - - - led sha'ashu- - - - - - -
(b)
- - - - - - - - - - - im ... ... wetiten lanu hayim, hayim aru-kim, ha- - - - - - -
- - - - - yim shel shalom, hayim shel to- va ___, hayim shel bera - - - - kha ___ ...

Example 32. Eastern Ashkenazi style ḥazzanut *from the United States. Two compositions by Zawel Kwartin. After Z. Kwartin,* Zmiroth Zebulon*, vol. 1, 1928, nos. 35 and 18.*

Oriental formulations" during his stay in Palestine (1926–27), and took them as a model for his compositions (*Zmiroth Zebulon* 1, preface, 1928). He succeeded in combining the two related musical styles and paved the way for a revival of the venerable, but outworn, art of *ḥazzanut*.

This sphere of music, well circumscribed by tradition, barely raised the problem of harmonic accompaniment or choral harmonies; the latter was left to the usual semi-improvisatory *meshorerim* style, with the spontaneous congregational responses. However, where the service followed the Western trend of part singing and eventually came to include the organ accompaniment of choir and cantor, the problem of harmony became acute. Out of dissatisfaction with the solutions propounded during the 19th century, three specific questions – old and new – came to the fore: how to harmonize melodies of an unharmonic conception, by what means to replace romanticism in synagogue composition, and how to write choral tunes inviting the participation of the congregants. Since there was no ready-made solution, the demands of the various communities had to be met by trial and error. From the 1920s, American synagogues did much to encourage the search for solutions of this problem, by sponsoring the composition of complete services or sections, often according a great measure of freedom to the composer.

The initiative in composing new synagogue music was taken by immigrant adherents of the National School, such as Lazare Saminsky (in the U.S. from 1921) and Joseph Achron (from 1925). Previously, these had dealt with the folkloristic manifestations of sacred song, or, occasionally, with single pieces of concert appeal; now they had to adopt a modern musical language appropriate to the Jewish service or, at least, had to modernize the traditional idiom (a venture quite legitimate in the flexible ideological framework of Jewish music). They understood that they should abandon the well-trodden ways of romanticism as well as the feeble "edifying" style and obtrusive sentimentality ("to vitriol away the 'cello sentimentality' of Messrs. Bruch, etc."; A. Schoenberg on his *Kol Nidrei* version, letter to Paul *Dessau, 1914). Saminsky, for instance, consciously renounced the plaintive *shtayger* scales in favour of what he called "the beautiful and majestic major and Aeolian minor of Hebrew melodies" (*Sabbath Evening Service*, preface, 1926). He drew much inspiration from the motive stock of Ashkenazi biblical chant and its basically pentatonic structure (*ibid.*, ch. 36). He has the Sabbath Psalm 93 sung to a tune derived from the motive-chains of Bible reading (Mus. ex. 33). The effect is an unusual relaxed expression of joy, Jewish in substance, but completely divorced from the perpetual tension of *ḥazzanut*. The composer evaded the problem of harmony by prescribing the unison of choir and organ.

Lazar *Weiner, too, relied upon pentatonics (Mus. ex. 34a), but in a more schematic way and took some of his inspiration from the earlier Israel song composers (Daniel *Sambursky, Marc *Lavry). Russian-born Isadore *Freed, educated in America and in France with Vincent d'Indy, approached the problem of harmony by employing the subtle, somewhat pallid, chords of late French romanticism (Mus. ex. 34b).

The harder line of the "expanded tonality" featured by Ernst *Toch or Hindemith, with its tonal flexibility and harsh harmonies, had a refreshing influence on modern synagogue composition: here was an antithesis to romanticism, and a certain affinity to the antiharmonic elements and heterophonic performing habits of the earlier synagogue. Heinrich *Schalit applied some of these topical principles to his *Sabbath Eve Liturgy* (Munich, 1933; revised ed. New York, 1951), using several original Oriental-Sephardi tunes (e.g., the radiant ecstasy of the *Kedushah* in Idelsohn's *Melodien* 4, no. 41). A remarkable, but isolated, progress toward a synagogue choral style was made by American-born Frederick *Jacobi in one of his later works. The harmonies brought forth by the four-part choir have been severed from functionalism; the doubling of the

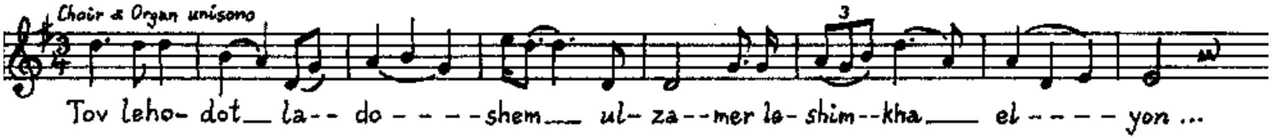
Choir & Organ unisono
3
Tov leho- dot__ la-- do - - - - -shem___ ul- za- -mer le- shim- -kha____ el - - - - yon ...

Example 33. Choir tune developed from motifs of biblical cantillation. From L Saminsky, Sabbath Evening Service, *op. 26, 1930.*

voices serves rather for the acoustical strengthening and coloration as known, in principle, from *meshorerim* practice. The voices go in unison at one time and move apart at another, as in the natural heterophony of a praying congregation; there are also reminiscences of choral psalmody.

Perhaps the most prolific innovator was Hugo Chaim *Adler, cantor and disciple of Toch. When still in Germany, in Mannheim, he recoined the concept of Brecht-Hindemith's ethical cantata to the ideas of Buber's *Juedisches Lehrhaus*. After escaping to the United States in 1939, he gave a new shape to the musical service and community life of his Worcester, Massachusetts, congregation (synagogue compositions 1934–52; cantatas 1934–48). Drawing upon the same techniques as Schalit and Jacobi, Adler was more consistent in stressing the specific Jewish elements. Traditional features such as *shtayger* modality, and restraint to the musical essentials endow his works with character and stature.

The specimens quoted so far may demonstrate some important trends and achievements in adapting contemporary musical language to the synagogue. Among the considerable number of commissioned works are the liturgies of L. Saminsky (1926), J. Achron (1932), Darius *Milhaud (op. 279; 1947), and L. *Algazi (1952). In a different category are the para-synagogal cantatas and prayer arrangements with obligatory orchestra accompaniment that are suited to concerts or meetings of religious or national celebration; this class is represented by the important works of Ernest *Bloch (*Avodat ha-Kodesh*, 1930), which was commissioned for a Reform synagogue and which entered the concert repertoire, and Arnold Schoenberg (*Kol Nidrei*, 1938). Selected prayers were set to music, on the commission of prominent communities, by Leonard Bernstein (1946), Mario *Castelnuovo-Tedesco (op. 90; 1936), Lukas *Foss, Morton *Gould (op. 164; 1943). Alexander *Tansmann (1946), Kurt *Weill, and others. The composers' names suggest the wide range of schools and individual styles employed but do not guarantee a degree of personal involvement and familiarity with the actual demands of the service. At any rate, the publication of new synagogue compositions, both on the traditional and the decidedly contemporary line, is growing in number, the output of the 1960s exceeding by far that of the 1950s. The impact of modern tendencies on synagogue music as a whole is checked, however, by the differences of approach to liturgy and service which form part of more comprehensive principles and ideological controversies. A new factor has been added to the question of conservativism or progress in sacred music by the meeting and clash of widely differing ritual and singing cultures in Israel. The most ancient fundamentals of Jewish song form the only common ground left for any synthesis that may be in the offing.

[Hanoch Avenary]

FOLK MUSIC

It is today acknowledged that differences between folk music and art music, and what is called "popular music," are not clearly defined. However, major features are usually noted as characteristic of folk music. It is transmitted orally from mouth to ear and learned through listening rather than through written notated documents. This suggests that the music can change when passed from one individual to another depending on the memory and creative power of the performer and the measure of acceptance in the performer's community. Gifted individuals who gave of the fruits of their poetical and musical talents frequently borrowed familiar pre-existing melodies and made new songs out of them. In many cases the names of the composers were forgotten and the compositions became anonymous. Folk song, primarily rural in origin, is functional, meaning that it is associated with other activities; yet it also exists in cultures in which there is a technically more sophisticated urban musical tradition and where this cultivated music is essentially the art of a small social elite.

As a whole, these and other characteristics are hardly applicable to the complex web of Jewish musical traditions, which have been rooted in many and diverse cultures through the long years of dispersion where alien traditions impinged on Jews wherever they resided. Viewed as a unit they represent a multiplicity of idioms, simple and more sophisticated musical styles in which the sacred and secular overlap. Considered separately, each tradition has numerous forms of expression, being partly folkloristic in character and partly drawing upon the sophisticated art of the surrounding environment. Thus, for instance, non-Jewish art music from the surrounding culture insinuates itself into the Oriental synagogues and other forms through the the art music spread through the areas under Islamic control, which in itself, despite its considerable sophistication, is based on oral transmission.

Another characteristic that sets Jewish musical traditions apart from other musical traditions is the use of Hebrew as a common language and the recourse to the same corpus of sacred classical texts for reading from biblical books and the liturgy. This has created a special blend of highly varied musical lore transmitted orally from generation to generation and written textual lore that operates as a unifying and stabilizing factor.

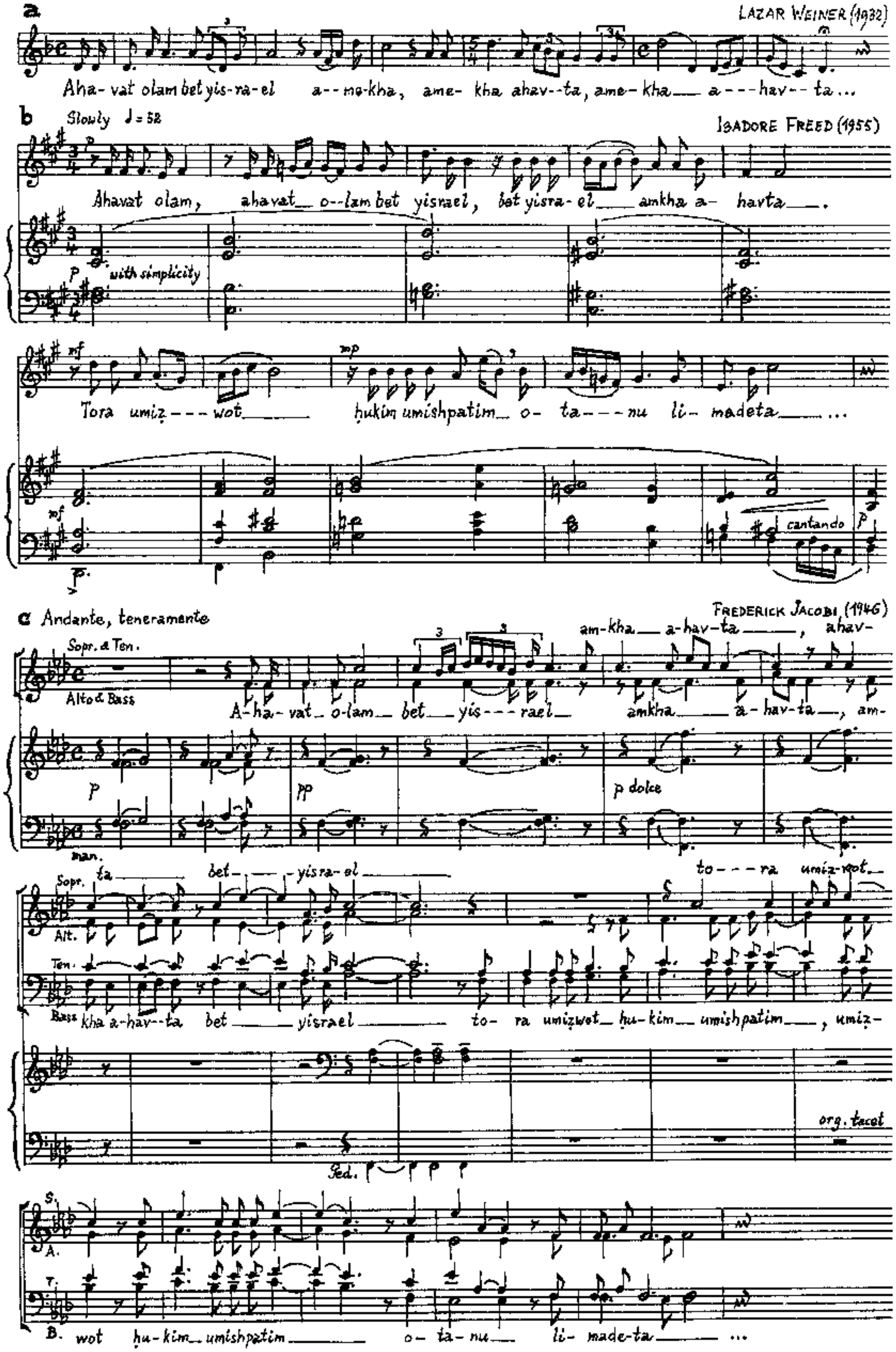
a
LAZAR WEINER (1932)
Aha-vat olam bet yis-ra-el a--me-kha, ame- kha ahav--ta, ame-kha a---hav--ta...
b
Slowly ♩= 52
ISADORE FREED (1955)
Ahavat olam, ahavat o--lam bet yisrael, bet yisra-el amkha a-harta.
with simplicity
Tora umiz---wot hukim umishpatim o- ta---nu li- madeta...
cantando
c Andante, teneramente
FREDERICK JACOBI (1946)
Sopr. & Ten.
Alto & Bass
A-ha-vat o-lam bet yis---rael amkha a-hav-ta, am-
am-kha a-hav-ta, ahav-
p dolce
man.
Sopr.
Alt.
Ten.
Bass
ta bet- yis-ra-el to---ra umiz-wot
kha a-hav--ta bet yisrael to- ra umizwot hu-kim umishpatim, umiz-
Ped.
org. tacet
S.
A.
T.
B.
wot hu-kim umishpatim o- ta-nu li- made-ta...

Example 34. Modern compositions for the synagogue. (a) Lazar Weiner, 1932, in G. Ephros (ed.), Cantorial Anthology, *vol. 5, 1957, 64; (b) Isadore Freed, 1955, in G. Ephros,* ibid.,*66; (c) Frederick Jacobi, 1946, in D. Puttermand (ed.),* Synagogue Music by Contemporary Composers, *New York, 1951, 180–2.*

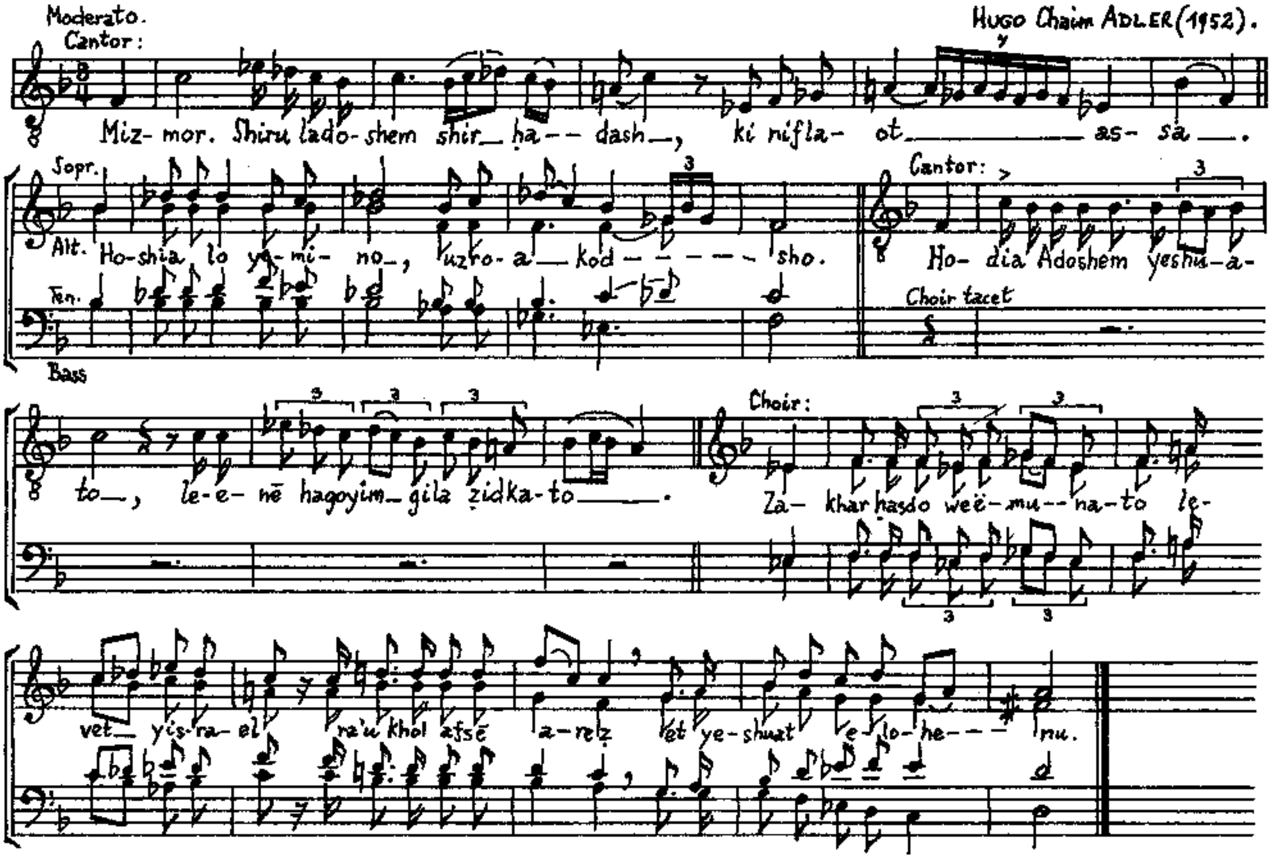
Moderato.
Cantor:
Hugo Chaim Adler (1952).
Miz- mor. Shiru lado-shem shir_ ha-- dash_, ki nifla- ot_____ as- sa__.
Sopr.
Alt.
Ho-shia lo ye-mi- no_, uzro- a_ kod - - - - - sho.
Ten.
Bass
Cantor:
Ho- dia Adoshem yeshu-a-
Choir tacet
to_, le-e- nē hagoyim_ gila zidka-to____.
Choir:
Za- khar hasdo weē-mu--na-to le-
vet_ yis-ra- el ra'u khol afsē a-rez et ye-shuat e-lo-he- - - nu.

Example 35. Modern psalmody for cantor and choir. Hugo Chaim Adler, Nachlat Israel – Sabbath Eve Service, *1952, 28–29. The organ accompaniment has been omitted here.*

Although Hebrew is dominant and shared by all Jews in the religious hymns enhancing events marking the cycle of life and the Jewish year, extra-synagogal music displays a complex and diversified idiomatic picture in both language and music.

Celebrations of circumcision, the bar mitzvah, and weddings usually consist of two musical parts: the distinctly paraliturgical, which is almost indistinguishable from synagogue music, and what may include an almost unlimited use of secular music from the surrounding society, including instrumental accompaniment, despite the fact that musical instruments continue to be banned inside the synagogue. The accompaniment is often no more sophisticated than simple rhythm instruments but professional singing and playing is often included. One famous example out of many instrumental entertainers is that of the *klezmerim*. This represents a purely oral tradition, with its practitioners true professionals who, although of relatively low social status, are often given an important place in social life and public events.

The musical manifestations found in the various Jewish communities that have exclusively or predominantly folk elements are associated with the aforementioned events; at other times it focuses on the private life of the individual. There are times when the singing has a defined function, but it may also be entirely dissociated from any specific happening. Individuals may express themselves in lyrical song even if there is no apparent relation between the song and whatever evoked the urge to sing. The themes and contents of the songs are as extensive as the range of occasions that inspire them. Generally speaking they encompass events associated with (1) the Jewish calendar such as Sabbath songs (*zemirot*), the Purim plays, the Passover *Seder* and the like; (2) general festive gatherings such as the songs of *hillulot* or pilgrimage to the tombs of saints. Among those whose holiness has been recognized by the entire nation the outstanding figure is certainly Simeon bar Yoḥai, whose grave at Meron attracts great masses from all Jewish groups. One can add to this category the celebrations of the **Maimuna* by the Moroccans and the *Seherane* by the Kurds; (3) The third category and undoubtedly the richest concerns the life cycle. A person's lifetime, from birth to death, is filled with a succession of outstanding occasions, many of which are celebrated in song and dance. A new element enters the scene here, one that is totally nonexistent in synagogue singing: women take part and even create texts that are performed in suitable circumstances and on occasions have unique reference to their world, some being considered their exclusive province, such as cradle songs and dirges (see below).

WOMEN'S FOLK MUSIC

The phenomenon of women singing for other women on various occasions was undoubtedly a way of circumventing restrictions engendered by religious and social bias that limited their public musical activities and their participation in synagogue rituals. Women are also circumscribed by the talmudic injunction to the effect that "hearing a woman's voice is an abomination," which was interpreted as a prohibition against their singing in public. In his extensive response to the Jews of *Aleppo concerning the lawfulness of music, Maimonides, the prominent religious authority, included among the major prohibitions "Listening to the singing and playing of a woman."

All this seems to have encouraged the emergence and crystallization of songs with unique values and characteristics, as women singing for other women became a way of getting around these prohibitions. In their songs women can express their world of experiences and the Jewish and human values they uphold. The songs seem to have been a form of release through which they could express – even if only to themselves – those experiences and aspects of their lives that were special. They also often included Jewish ethical instructions, reaction to public and political events, as well as various communal happenings.

The song's texts have a broad thematic scope: comments on important historical and current events; songs of religious character, which are in the form of translations or paraphrases of biblical stories; the life cycle from birth to death with special emphasis on the wedding and its colorful attendant ceremonies; lyrical songs that accompany a woman when she is alone, when doing housework, when remembering the bitter experiences in her life, her troubles, complaints, and dreams, whether in a lullaby or a song of love or jealousy. There are also humorous and satiric songs like the songs of curses ostensibly meant to entertain women by introducing a light atmosphere.

With few exceptions, women's songs are in the language and Jewish idiom spoken locally. Their singing falls within the realm of oral tradition and consequently their songs are usually not fixed in permanent form so that gifted women can exhibit their creative ability by adding verses of their own or by rearranging the material they include in their repertoires.

The songs are sung in public on occasions of a folk nature either by a group of women or by one individual with a good voice. There are also professional performances by female musicians who are specialists in specific genres; particularly notable is the performance of funeral laments and dirges, which are considered the province of women who excel as keeners. Professional performances, much like of those of men, are given by one or two specialists – the main singer and her "assistant." They are usually performed in responsorial form and the women accompany themselves on the most characteristically feminine instrument, the frame drum. This phenomenon goes back to ancient times; one finds such instances in biblical stories like that of Miriam the prophetess in the Book of Exodus.

There are also female ensembles that enhanced women festivities such as the professional singers called *tañaderas* (drummers). This is a group of three women who sing and drum and are well versed not only in the musical repertoire but in all the customs. Another, larger all-female ensembles is the *daqqaqat* (drummers) in Baghdad, which at one time was a Jewish ensemble comprising four to five women beating various drums (frame drum, kettle drums, two-headed drum). The leader of the band was noted for her fine voice and, being a talented performer, she was the soloist.

From a musical standpoint, are the women's songs different from those of the men? Reflecting on the sexual aspect in the development of music, the prominent musicologist C. *Sachs wrote in *The Rise of Music in the Ancient World:* "If singing is indeed an activity of all our being, sex, the strongest difference between human-beings must have a decisive influence on musical style … woman's influence was particularly strong in shaping the structure of melody" (1943). Another great figure, composer Bela Bartok, who studied the folk songs of Hungary, Romania, and elsewhere, noted in his "Essay on the Collecting of Folk Music" (1976) the uniqueness and archaic nature of women's singing. He was of the opinion that an ancient stratum of song was reproduced therein because in the traditional societies they had little contact with the external world.

In recent decades, great interest in the subject has arisen, particularly in the United States and Canada, with deepening focus on gender as an analytical category in music research. In the realm of Jewish music, one should note in this respect Ellen Koskoff's article: "The Sound of a Woman's Voice: Gender and Music in a New York Ḥasidic Community," which has been included in the collection essays of which she is the editor: *Women and Music in Cross-Cultural Perspective* (1989).

In this context, it would be interesting to briefly draw attention to the phenomenon of the emergence of a professional class of talented Jewish women musicians by the beginning of the 20th century. These artists gained prominence and recognition as outstanding vocalists and creative artists in Muslim societies in a broad cultural region extending from Central Asia to the major centers of North Africa.

[Amnon Shiloah (2nd ed)]

ART MUSIC IN MODERN ISRAEL

Musical life in the *Yishuv* and in Israel has always been dominated by dialectical contrasts. In the broader spheres of musical activity, each Jewish ethnic group conducted intensive daily musical activity within its traditional community life, ruled by the yearly and life cycle. Such activity was inherently compartmentalized and intended only for members of the specific group (as may still be observed in the older, Orthodox neighborhoods of Jerusalem). By contrast, the national ideology – first carried forward by the Zionist movement and then as an official policy of the State of Israel – activated a drive for national unification around common values, most importantly the revival of the Hebrew language. In the case of music the national ideology was expressed in the endeavor to create a new and inherently national style of folk, popular, and art music, which acted as a powerful unifying social agent, including social gatherings in contexts of music making and concert activity. At the same time, the immigrants from Europe were reluctant to discard their rich cultural heritage. The immigrants from Europe were thus dominated by the dialectical conflict between the Vision of the East and the Heritage of the West.

Within the narrower sphere of art (concert) music and concert life, the maintenance and practice of European music – whether as active music making at home or in passive attendance of concerts – played a paramount role in softening the trauma of immigration and resettlement. By contrast, composers, strongly guided by the Vision of the East, endeavored to create a new, intrinsically national Israeli musical style. Reaching beyond a blurred vision to actual musical parameters proved a nearly insurmountable obstacle, which composers have been struggling with to the present day.

THE YISHUV PERIOD

Music was second only to the revived Hebrew language as a powerful agent in the creation of a unified, national culture in the *Yishuv* and in Israel. As the most sociable art, it had the power to bring people together, mostly for singing folk songs at work and in leisure time, but also for group performance and for passive listening.

Transplantation of Music Institutions

The Jewish immigrants from Europe took the momentous step of transplanting the European institutional model to the social setting of the *yishuv*. In 1895 a community orchestra was founded in the early settlement of Rishon le-Zion. It was a well-organized amateur wind band with a paid conductor, which took part in all festive and social functions of the settlement (including playing at the historical visit by Herzl in 1897). The model was soon adapted by all other settlements, such as Petaḥ Tikvah, as well as in the Jewish community of Jaffa. All of the orchestras were grouped under the rubric "Kinnor Zion" (the Violin of Zion).

The German-born singer Shulamit Ruppin founded in Jaffa in 1910 the first music school (named after her upon her untimely death in 1912). The Shulamit School maintained a pure German curriculum, with individual instrumental instruction of violin, piano, and voice, theory classes, and a student chorus and orchestra. The first director was the versatile violinist, conductor, and concert manager Moshe Hopenko, who also owned a music store and imported pianos to Palestine. The school stimulated lively interest with an unexpectedly large enrollment. Shulamit Ruppin founded a branch in Jerusalem, which soon became an independent school. The Shulamit School served as model for additional music schools such as Bet Leviim (Levite House) in Tel Aviv and Conservatoire Dunya Weizmann in Haifa.

The horrendous hardships of World War I dealt a heavy blow to all musical activities of the *Yishuv*, yet recovery after the institution of the British Mandate in Palestine was strikingly quick, especially due to the renewal of Jewish immigration. In 1923, conductor Mark Golinkin made the daring step of founding the Palestine Opera, which lasted against all economic odds for four seasons. Golinkin presented mostly mainstream operas such as *La Traviata*, *Otello*, *Faust*, and *The Barber of Seville*. Yet he placed special emphasis on operas by Jewish composers, with Meyerbeer's *Les Huguenots*, Halevy's *La Juive*, and Anton Rubinstein's *The Maccabeans*. The performers were fine singers, mostly from Russia, and the productions enjoyed full houses. Yet the lack of funds, which did not allow a proper orchestra and chorus, and the bad physical conditions of performances in badly equipped movie houses plunged the opera into deep financial crisis and it collapsed in 1927. Between 1941 and 1947 composer and conductor Marc *Lavri established the Folk Opera, which presented operettas, occasionally accompanied by two pianos. Yet the Folk Opera also pioneered the first production of a local opera, Lavri's *Dan ha-Shomer* ("Dan the Watchman").

There were several short-lived attempts in the 1920s to form symphony orchestras, such as conductor Max Lampel's extremely popular outdoor concert series in Tel Aviv. The performances of these groups attracted large audiences, which showed that they answered a deep need among the immigrants to maintain their connection to European art music. But these were ad hoc ensembles that recruited musicians at their miserable venues in cafes and silent movie houses, and no regular orchestra could emerge from such initiatives.

A European quality prevailed in the unique Chamber Music Association founded in Jerusalem by cellist Thelma *Bentwich-Yellin and her sister, violinist Marjorie, in 1921. They performed full seasons with their fine string quartet, including an all-Beethoven series, as well as concerts by piano trios, piano recitals, and baroque ensembles.

The most significant developments occurred in the 1930s with the Fifth Aliyah, which was called the German Aliyah. While most immigrants in the 1930s came from Poland, the Fifth Aliyah effected a major cultural change in general and in music in particular in the *Yishuv*, due to the high musical standards of the Jews who came from Central Europe (Germany, Austria, and countries strongly affected by German culture such as Hungary and Czechoslovakia). The so-called German immigration brought to Palestine not only well-trained composers, performers, and music teachers but also a discerning audience.

The Palestine Orchestra

The momentous act which violinist Bronislaw *Huberman undertook in founding the Palestine Orchestra (later the

Israel Philhamronic Orchestra) in 1936 was of paramount importance in placing musical activity in Palestine on a high international level. Huberman's original vision was to turn the Jewish community of Palestine into an international center replacing what he considered "the declining West." The rapid deterioration of conditions in Europe made him take the emergency step of establishing a first-class philharmonic orchestra. He obtained the consent of the British Mandate authorities to grant entry certificates to the musicians he auditioned in Europe from among the fine Jewish instrumentalists who had been fired from their orchestras by the Nazi and Fascist managements. In this way he saved scores of musicians and their families from the Holocaust. The Palestine Orchestra was inaugurated in December 1936 with a concert, which served as a national celebration, conducted by the legendary Arturo Toscanini, who turned it into a powerful, internationally publicized anti-Nazi demonstration. The best international conductors and soloists followed Toscanini and performed with the orchestra, most of them gratis, and in this way it maintained the strict professional standards, which Toscanini had demanded. The core of the repertoire was the mainstream Classic-Romantic symphonic repertoire, but the orchestra also performed almost every new orchestral composition composed in Palestine. The members of the orchestra also founded fine chamber music ensembles and provided high-level instrumental instruction to children.

The Palestine Conservatoire

In 1933 violinist Emil *Hauser founded the Palestine Conservatoire in Jerusalem, with a large faculty of over 30 teachers and a comprehensive curriculum for most instruments as well as classes in composition, history, and theory in addition to instruction in the Arabic *ʿūd* given by Ezra *Aharon and courses in non-Western music given by Edith *Gerson-Kiwi. The conservatoire also initiated advanced professional studies. Hauser received 70 certificates from the Mandate authorities and in this way saved the most brilliant young Jewish music students from the Nazis. The conservatoire gave rise in the mid-1940s to the Academies of Music in Jerusalem and Tel Aviv, which have continued to be the leading professional music schools in the country

The Palestine Broadcast Service

In March 1936, the British founded the Palestine Broadcast Service, which alternated broadcasts in Arabic, English, and Hebrew. The Music Department included a large chamber ensemble, which soon became the radio orchestra, later the Jerusalem Symphony. The Music Department also initiated an ensemble of Arabic instrumentalists and singers headed by Ezra Aharon.

Bridging East and West

Pioneer individuals made the first attempts. The great researcher Abraham Zvi *Idelsohn (1882–1938) settled in Jerusalem in 1907 with the original vision of rediscovering the original chant of the ancient Hebrew Temple through thorough fieldwork which would reveal elements common to all Eastern ethnic groups, Arabic music, and Plainchant. Idelsohn's hypothesis was that the groups of Jews in the Middle East, such as in Yemen and Babylon (Iraq) were barely influenced by the neighboring Arabs, unlike the European Jews whose liturgical chant and music were strongly imbued with Western influences. Idelsohn selected Jerusalem as the center of his activity since it presented to him a unique concentration of all Jewish ethnic groups in one location. Idelsohn's ambitious project could not be realized, yet he did extensive and unprecedented fieldwork, using the newly-invented Edison phonograph. The first volume of his monumental and influential *Thesaurus of Jewish Melodies*, the one including the Yemenite chants, was published in 1914. The travails of World War I and the lack of public support made his life in Jerusalem unbearable and in 1921 he left Palestine and settled in the United States, where he continued his monumental Thesaurus.

In 1924 the researcher and collector Yoel *Engel moved the center of activities of the Society of Jewish Folk Music, founded in St. Petersburg (1908) and briefly domiciled in Berlin (1922), to Tel Aviv. His main project was the publication of hundreds of Jewish folk songs, which he and his colleagues had assembled, as cheap sheet music, easily available. His project was curtailed by his untimely death in 1927.

Proceeding from the East westwards, singer Bracha *Zefira (1910–1990) started a unique project. Born to a Yemenite family, she was orphaned in childhood and raised by foster families of different ethnic origins, registering in her superb memory scores of traditional songs. After studies in Jerusalem and Berlin, she initiated in 1931 public concerts of songs of diverse ethnic Jewish and Arabic groups with improvising pianist Nahum *Nardi, which revealed the wealth of Eastern traditions to Western-educated concertgoers. From 1939 she commissioned arrangements from most local composers, deliberately using piano and Western chamber ensembles, as well as performing with the Palestine Orchestra. The Yemenite composer, singer, and choreographer Sara *Levi-Tanay made a lasting contribution to Israeli folk song, with her *Kol Dodi* and *Ali Be'er.* In 1948 she founded the *Inbal Yemenite Dance Company. The Yemenite singer Shoshana *Damari was one of the most important performers of the newly-invented Israeli folk song, having frequently performed with composer Moshe *Wilensky at the piano.

The Yemenite artists effected a major change in the self-image of Yemenite women in Palestine and Israel and were pioneers in the liberation of the Yemenite woman from her traditional boundaries.

Composition, First Generation

About 30 composers immigrated from Europe between 1931 and 1938. Most of them were of German origin and had finished their studies also in Germany. A smaller group originated from Eastern Europe, most of whom did their advanced studies in Paris. Having never met before, they did not coalesce into any "school." The often mentioned concept of a so-called "Mediterranean School" is misleading. Each composer responded to the powerful internal and external ideological pressure in an individual way. Moreover, most composers found ways to compose in different idioms and techniques at the same time, thus maintaining their Western heritage on the one hand and trying to find links with the East – whether ethnic or imaginary – at the same time. Such was Stefan *Wolpe (1902–1972), who remained dedicated to the powerful expressionism and dodecaphonic technique of *Schoenberg in his orchestral and piano works (1935–38) while composing at the same time simple settings of modern Hebrew poetry for voice and piano and arrangements of folk songs for kibbutz choirs. Wolpe's avant-garde approach was not accepted in Jerusalem and in 1939 he emigrated to the U.S. All other major immigrant composers overcame the immigration trauma and initiated intensive activity in creation and instruction in Tel Aviv and Jerusalem.

The only person who produced a clearly defined ideology was Alexander U. *Boskovitch (1907–1964), who demanded that the Israeli composer acts as a *shali'aḥ ẓibbur* representing the collective and responding to the local "static and dynamic landscape," i.e., both the visual and acoustical scenery of the country, especially the sound of biblical and modern Hebrew as well as Arabic. Boskovitch created the regional concept of "Mediterranean Music," according to which Jewish music from Europe had nothing to do with the future Israeli national style. Boskovitch turned to the sonorities and the melos of Arabic music, but stressed the difference between "the Jewish and the Arabic shepherds." Boskovitch systematically realized his ideology in his early works, the Oboe Concerto (1943), Semitic *Suite* (1946), and *Adonai Roʿi* ("The Lord is my Shepherd," 1943).

The other composers never subscribed to his ideology, and the term itself was quoted only once, by Menahem *Avidom, in his *Mediterranean Sinfonietta*. Still, all composers responded to the ideological call of the Vision of the East. Most characteristic was the substitution of modes (in the romantic sense of scales with no leading tone) for the Western major-minor tonal system. Erich Walter *Sternberg (1891–1974) rejected all external ideological pressures and in his introduction to his large-scale *Twelve Tribes of Israel* (1938) he proclaimed his commitment to the inner call of a composer to respond to new surroundings in his own individual way. His language was deeply ingrained with late Romanticism, especially under the influence of Brahms, Bruckner, Reger, and *Mahler. Joseph *Tal (1910) repeatedly declared that the very fact of his being a composer creating in the social and cultural environment of Israel would shape his music in a new way. Tal insisted on staying abreast of new developments in Western music. A concise illustration of Tal's attitude is found in the second movement of his Piano sonata (1952) in which an ostinato quote of simple, modal melody by his friend Yehudah *Sharett serves as the basis for a series of extremely chromatic and dissonant variations. The prolific Paul *Ben-Haim found his own manner of proceeding in simultaneous tracks. He produced over 30 arrangements for Bracha Zefira, whose melodies he later quoted and interpreted in his large scale works, such as the Clarinet Quintet and his two symphonies. In his early piano works he resorted to naïve, romantic depiction of imaginary Eastern pastorals, whereas his First Symphony (1940) is a powerful artistic response to the horrendous first months of World War II, with strong Mahlerian influences. Ben Haim also initiated the genre of the Hebrew Lied, setting great poetry by Bialik, Rachel, Sh. Shalom, and Leah Goldberg. In his *Sabbath Cantata* (1940) Mordechai *Seter made a strongly personal synthesis of melodic quotes of Baylonian Jews from Idelsohn's Thesaurus, cast in a combination of contrapuntal Palestrina style and 20th century modal-dissonant harmony. Marc *Lavri (1903–1967) departed from the ideology of creating an easily accessible, tuneful, and popular style, which would obliterate the dividing line between folk and art music, as in his extremely popular Emek (Jezreel Valley) song which he developed into a folk-like symphonic poem. Lavri was the first to incorporate the Hora dance into chamber and symphonic music (the Palestinian Hora has nothing to do with the Romanian Hora Lungha; it is a dance cast in regular, brief phrases in common time, with constant syncopations, and it came out of ḥasidic dance).

During the last two decades of the British Mandate period the immigrant composers created a large repertoire of symphonic, chamber, and especially piano music, as well as songs, which was the basis of Israeli art music.

AFTER THE FOUNDATION OF THE STATE OF ISRAEL

Institutional Expansion

By the time the State of Israel was proclaimed in 1948 the institutional and ideological musical infrastructure had been established. The Palestine Orchestra was renamed the Israel Philharmonic Orchestra, which continued to be the leading representative ensemble of Israel, attracting large subscription audiences. Concert life evolved in the direction of expansion and diversification. Orchestras were formed in Haifa and Beersheba. In 1972 the small radio orchestra was expanded and became the Jerusalem Symphony.

Soprano Edis *de Philippe founded and directed the Israeli Opera from 1948, but financial difficulties and abrasive personal relations hindered its progress for more than 30 years. New municipal orchestras emerged such as in Haifa and Beersheba. The first wave of immigration from the Soviet Union in the early 1970s made possible a significant expansion of the radio orchestra, which as mentioned became the Jerusalem Symphony. Direct initiatives of the government, other than providing for limited financial subsidies through the Public Council for Culture and the Arts, were realized in a few large-scale ventures, most importantly the establishment of the annual Israel Festival in 1960, which from the start introduced some of the foremost international artists such as Pablo Casals and Igor Stravinsky to the Israeli audience. Once every few years the State of Israel has granted the prestigious Israel Prize to composers and performers.

Following the demise of the Israeli Opera following de Philippe's death, a new opera company was founded in 1985 with a new house erected in Tel Aviv. The New Israeli Opera (later named The Israeli Opera) soon reached high professional standards and brought about a significant change on the Israeli musical scene, collaborating with major opera houses in productions of operatic masterpieces. It started a project of commissioning new operas from Israeli composers, the first of which was Tal's *Joseph*.

The large wave of immigration from the former Soviet Union after 1990 effected an unprecedented expansion of the community of professional musicians, leading to the founding of several new orchestras, foremost among them the Rishon le-Zion Symphony (which is also the opera orchestra) and the Raʿanannah Orchestra.

Musicological Research

The immigration of the ethnomusicologists Robert *Lachmann and Edith (Gerson) Kiwi in 1935 initiated a highly productive period of field research, now preserved and digitalized at the Sound Archives of the Hebrew University. The Music Department of the National and University Library and the Center for Jewish Music Research, founded by Israel *Adler, initiated studies and publications and became the world repository of archives of Jewish and Israeli music. The first Department of Musicology was founded at the Hebrew University in 1965, with scholars doing high-standard historical and ethnomusicological research, including extensive field work and recording in the ethnically extremely diverse Jewish and Arab society in Israel, among them ethnomusicologists and historians Amnon *Shiloah, Ruth *Katz, Dalia Cohen, and Don *Harran. This was followed by musicology departments at Tel Aviv University (1966) whose faculty included Edith Gerson-Kiwi, Herzl *Shmueli, and Judith Cohen, and Bar-Ilan University (1969) with Bathia *Churgin, Uri Sharvit, and Judith Frygesi on the faculty.

Composition, Second and Third Generations

The founders of Israeli music persisted in their individual ways of coping with the expectations of critics, fellow musicians, and the composers themselves for a new Israeli style to emerge as a fusion of east and west. After the long period of isolation during wartime, the country was reopened to the west and composers renewed direct contacts with new music, such as when Haim *Alexander (1915) participated in the Darmstadt workshops, interpreting the serial techniques in his personal way (*Sound Patterns* for piano) while retaining folk-like modal tuneful writing such as in *Nature Songs*. Mordekhai *Seter developed an extremely individual synthesis of Eastern chant and primeval dissonant harmony, combined with direct quotes of traditional Yemenite tunes in his monumental *Midnight Vigil*. Paul *Ben Haim persisted in simultaneous tracks, ranging from the daring adoption of Arabic melos and sonorities in his *Sonata a tré* for mandolin, guitar, and harpsichord, to the dense contrapuntal texture of his Metamorphoses on a Bach Chorale, written a year apart (1967–68). Joseph Tal composed dramatic, innovative symphonies, and founded the first studio of electronic music in Israel, his work there culminating in the opera *Metzada* for singers and magnetic tape, and the large-scale vocal work *Death Came to the Wooden Horse Michael* to a poem by Nathan Zach.

The second and third generations of composers included Ben-Zion *Orgad, Zvi *Avni, Yehezkel *Braun, Ami *Maayani, Noam *Sheriff, and others. They all received their initial training under the founders of Israeli music, but then went abroad for advanced studies. Their styles branched in new directions of increased pluralism. Yehezkel Braun always maintained flowing tuneful melodies, even in his dodecaphonic works, Orgad found his inspiration in the rhythms and sound qualities of the Hebrew language, whether biblical or modern. Avni established his own individual synthesis of Eastern declamation and rich Western atonal harmony, such as in his powerful *Meditations on a Drama*, and Maayani likewise turned to syntheses of Arabic maqams with Western counterpoint, such as in his tense and dramatic String Quartet.

New waves of immigrations, such as from the Soviet Union in the early 1970s, further diversified Israeli music. Mark *Kopytman (1929) found his own strongly personal heterophonic technique with strong influences of Eastern music, such as in *Memory*, which is a complex orchestral interpretation of a traditional Yemenite song which opens and closes the composition, and of traditional Jewish prayer chant of Eastern Europe such as in *Beyond*.

The younger generations of composers further diversified the extreme pluralism of Israeli music, in response to the increasing diversification of Western music since the 1970s. Haim Permont (1950) turned in his powerful opera *Dear Son of Mine* to a direct commentary and critique of painful issures in contemporary Israeli society. The endeavor to achieve a synthesis of Jewish traditions continued and reached its peak with Betti *Olivero (1954–), whose rich repertoire presents a strongly personal interpretation of Jewish Eastern, ḥasidic, and Sephardi traditions within advanced Western harmonic techniques.

Since the 1980s several composers have achieved new breakthroughs in Arab music, strongly influenced by the contemporary emergence of "World Music." Ensembles combining Arab and Western instruments such as Bustan Avraham with the *ʿūd* and violin virtuoso Taisir Elias were founded, and the Music Academy in Jerusalem opened a department for applied study of Arab music. Composer Tzipi *Fleischer (1946–) undertook full academic studies of Arab music and culture and composed vocal works to classical and modern Arabic poetry, culminating in her Hexaptichon – six versions of the same composition moving from a powerful Arab rendition to a purely Western version for two pianos. Michael Wolpe (1960) combined the *ʿūd* and Arab drum with a string trio and the voice of a Persian-born singer in his poignant *Songs of Memory*. Wolpe also turned to nostalgic evocation and commentary in the style of early instrumental and folk music, such as in his Piano Trio no. 3 "On Israeli Songs."

The musical scene was further expanded with the large-scale immigration from the former Soviet Union in the 1990s, especially with a group of composers coming from the Central Asian republics, such as Joseph *Bardanashvili and Benjamin Yosupov (see below).

Interest in the performance of contemporary music was stimulated through the regular performances of three fine ensembles: Musica Nova, The Ensemble of the Twenty-First-Century, and Caprizma.

(See also "Israel, State of: Culture Life – Music and Dance.)

[Jehoash Hirshberg (2nd ed.)]

Immigrant Artists

The wave of over one million immigrants from the former Soviet Union since 1989 brought to Israel a great number of musicians. To the 1,500 active professional musicians in Israel, another 5,500 arrived from the U.S.S.R. Some of them went back to their countries of origin; some moved on to other countries, and some even changed their professions. Those who continued their careers in Israel changed the musical life of the country. They were employed in existing orchestras, chamber ensembles, and ballet troops, founded new orchestras (the Israel Symphony Orchestra of Rishon Le-Zion, Camerata Jerusalem, the Hed Big Band of Tel Aviv and others). They have also filled pedagogical positions at academies and conservatories. New concert halls were built for some of these orchestras, like those in Rishon le-Zion and in Kefar Shmaryahu. Concert life has also been enriched by the performances of new soloists. The most noted among them are the singers Susanna Poretsky, Felix Lipshitz, and Yuri Shapovalov; pianists Raimonda Sheinfeld, Irena Berkovich, Dinna Yoffe, Gabriela Talrose, and Evgeny Shenderovich; jazz-pianists Viacheslav Ganelin and Leonid Ptashka; violinists Maxim Vengerov and Sergey Ostrovski; cellists Mikhail Homitzer and Oleg Stolpner; clarinetist Evgeny Ehudin; bassoonist Alexander Fain; harpist Julia Sverdlova, and others. Many of the new artists appear as guests in concerts.

As many as 50 new composers from the former Soviet Union have joined the existing 150 members of the Israel Composers' League. The musicians imported a variety of styles, from followers of "socialist realism" to followers of Gubaidulina, Kancheli and other representatives of the Russian post-modernism. Among the post-modernists, the highest achievements were attained by Josef *Bardanashvili, who in a few years won the most prestigious Israeli awards and became one of the leading composers (especially in the fields of theater and film scores). His piano composition was selected as the compulsory piece at the 2005 International Rubinstein piano competition. Even though he spent only his last years in Israel (from 1994), Valentin Bibik (1942–2003) had significant achievements and produced important new works. The composers who came from the Asian republics of the former Soviet Union also had interesting achievements combining the elements of modernism and post-modernism along with a variety of local musical elements from their regions. In Israel, Jewish elements were added (Yusupov, Pigovat, Davydov, Fel, Perez, Freidlin, Heifets). Most of the composers from this group display a growing interest in Jewish themes. Many new compositions have been written in the "Jewish style." In most cases it is only a simple rearrangement of popular Jewish melodies. However, some composers have created remarkable works (Bardanashvili, *The Children of God*; Yusupov, Sonata for Two Pianos).

Among the winners of the Klon Prize for the best young Israeli composer are also some newcomers: Benjamin Yusupov, Karel Volnianski, and Uri Brener.

In the field of electro-acoustic music, the most noted newcomer artists are Marcel Goldmann (from France) and Simon Lazar (from Bulgaria). Among the musicologists, Marina Ritzareva and Yulia Kreinina achieved the best works.

[Dushan Mihalek (2nd ed.)]

MUSIC AND THE HOLOCAUST

Life during the Holocaust, the suffering of the Jews under the Nazi regime, has been reflected in music and musical life. Musical performance created venues to express humanity under inhuman conditions, it was a way to escape from reality, a way to find comfort and hopes and express freedom.

Shortly after the Nazi rise to power in 1933, the regime established a central office to control all musical activity in Germany. The composer Richard Strauss was appointed its president, and the conductor Wilhelm Furtwangler his deputy. All Jewish professional musicians in Germany were dismissed from their posts and works of Jewish composers were banned. Many of them immigrated to Palestine and the U.S. and resumed their careers there.

In July 1933, Jewish performers set up the Kulturbund Deutscher Juden (Cultural Society of German Jews) for promoting music and the arts among German Jews. In its eight years of existence the Kulturbund organized over 500 concerts of opera, operettas, symphonic and chamber music, Jewish cantorial music, and other genres. When the Kulturbund could no longer function, some of the musicians left Germany while others were sent to ghettos and concentration camps and continued to perform there, like those at the Theresienstadt (Terezin).

During the war, there were public musical activities in some ghettos as well as performances for private occasions where people sang, played, and even danced. Street performances were known in some ghettos, such as Lodz, Warsaw, and Cracow, where several singers performed songs, some of them composed ad hoc, on ghetto life while others were set to pre-composed melodies. One of the popular street performers in the Lodz ghetto was Yankele Hershkowitz (1910–1970).

Professional musical performance was censored and controlled by the authorities; however, the freedom to sing and compose music could not be controlled or censored totally. Thus music became a symbol of freedom. In Warsaw, Adam Furmanski (1883–1943) organized small orchestras in cafés and in soup kitchens. In the Warsaw ghetto a symphonic orchestra played until April 1942, when the German authorities put an end to the orchestra, punishing it for having performed works by German composers. In Lodz, the Jewish Council chairman, Mordechai Chaim Rumkowski, centrally directed musical activities. The community center organized musical and theatrical performances, a symphony orchestra, the Zamir choral society, and a revue theater appeared on its stage. In the Cracow ghetto, chamber music recitals and concerts of liturgical music were performed. The Vilna ghetto had an extensive program of musical activities, with a symphony orchestra and several choirs. A revue theater presented many popular songs composed in the ghetto on ghetto life. A conservatory with 100 students was established in the Vilna ghetto.

Many songs were heard in the ghettos – some old, perhaps with new words, and some new. One of the first anthologies of songs was published in 1948, under the title *Di Lider fun Getos un Lagern* ("Songs of Ghettos and Camps"), which was collected and edited by the poet, teacher, and partisan from Vilna Shmerke Kaczerginski (1908–1954). The anthology contains 236 songs (lyrics) and 100 melodies. However, many songs were lost forever.

Among the best-known songs composed and performed during the Holocaust are songs of the Vilna Ghetto "*Zog nit Keymol*" ("Never Say"), also known by its postwar title "Song of the Partisans," written by Hirsh Glik (1922–1944) to a melody of Russian composer Dimitry Pokrass; "*Shtiler, Shtiler*" ("Quiet, Quiet") with words by S. Kaczerginski and music by the 11-year-old Alexander Volkoviski (*Tamir; 1931–); "*Friling*" ("Spring"), words by S. Kaczerginski, music by Abraham Brudno (1910(?)–1943), and "*Yisrolik*," words by Leyb Rozental and music by Mischa Veksler (1907–1943). Songs of the Vilna ghetto inspired the writer Yehoshua *Sobol in his play *Ghetto*, which made the songs popular in many languages around the world. Many of the Vilna ghetto theater songs became songs of remembrance and are still performed in commemoration ceremonies, mainly in translation, especially in Hebrew and English. The songwriter Mordecai *Gebirtig (1877–1942) from Cracow wrote another song "*Es Brent*" ("It Burns") that became popular during the Holocaust and afterward. The song was written in 1938 under the impact of the pogrom in Przytyk and became a prophecy of the Holocaust. It became after the war a symbol for the fate of the Jews in Eastern Europe.

Those who became partisans composed songs in a variety of languages, which were performed mostly in group singing. Some of the partisan groups also used an instrument for accompaniment. The best-know partisans' songs from Vilna gained fame thanks to the collection work of Kaczerginski.

Many songs performed and composed in the camps were popular prewar songs in a variety of languages and were not transmitted from one ghetto to another. However, after the war, at the DP camps, songs were also transmitted and were shared by Holocaust survivors.

In the Theresienstadt ghetto, where professional composers as well as classical and jazz musicians were interned, many compositions were created and many musical pieces were performed. Viktor Ullman (1898–1944) composed there three of his piano sonatas (No. 5, Op. 45, 1943; No. 6,Op. 49, 1943; No. 7, 1944), String Quartet (No. 3, Op. 46, 1943), three songs for baritone and piano, and arrangements of songs for choir. His last piece, the opera *The Emperor of Atlantis*, was never performed, and Ullman was sent to the gas chambers in Auschwitz in August 1944. In the same transport, his colleagues Pavel Haas (1899–1944), Hans Krasa (1899–1944), and Gideon Klein (1919–1945) were also sent to Auschwitz. Gideon Klein composed in Theresienstadt a Piano Sonata (1943), Fantasie and Fugue for string quartet (1942–43), Trio for violin and cello (1944), Two Madrigals (1942–43), and arrangements of folk songs. One of the more memorable performances was of the children's opera *Brundibar* by Hans Krasa (1899–1944) (in Czech), which was composed in 1935 and performed in the ghetto with a children's choir, soloists, and piano. Hans Krasa also composed a Theme and Variations, based on Brundibar's song for string quartet (1942), Songs (1943) for baritone, clarinet, viola and cello, Dance (1943) for trio, Passacaglia and Fugue for trio, and more. Other composers interned in Theresienstadt who composed there were Zigmund Schul (1916–1944), Erwin Schulhoff (1894–1942), and Carlo S. Taube (1897–1944), who was also a singer and conductor.

In most of the big concentration and extermination camps, the Germans formed orchestras from among the prisoners and forced them to play when Jews arrived at the camps, on their way to the gas chambers, when they marched to work, and also for the pleasures of the SS men.

The Auschwitz camp had six orchestras at one point. The biggest one, in Auschwitz I (the main camp), consisted of 50 musicians. A women's orchestra in Auschwitz-Birkenau consisted of 36 members and eight women who wrote musical notes under the musical direction of the singer Fania Fenelon. All four of the extermination camps – Treblinka, Majdanek, Belzec and Sobibor – had orchestras as well as Mauthausen and Buchenwald camps. Dachau had four orchestras and a string quartet.

The written documentation published after the Holocaust includes the earliest anthologies of ghetto and camp songs compiled by Yehuda Eisman (Bucharest 1945); that of Zami Feder (Bergen-Belsen, 1946), and that of Kaczerginski (New York, 1948). Kaczerginski also made recordings among survivors in Displaced Persons camps in 1946, some of which survived at Yad Vashem archives. Composers and poets who immigrated to Israel, the U.S., and other countries composed new songs about the Holocaust, such as Henek Kon in the anthology *Kdoishim-Martyrs* (New York, 1947). Later even popular musicians such as the Israeli Yehudah *Poliker composed songs to lyrics of Yaakov Gilad, like "*Efer ve-Avak*" ("Ashes and Dust," 1988). Both of them are sons of Holocaust survivors.

Several organizations of people from the same home city or ghetto, the State of Israel, other countries around the world, etc. organized commemoration gatherings for Holocaust survivors. In these ceremonies the song "*Zog Nit Keynmol*" of the partisans of Vilna became the Holocaust hymn. Other ghetto and camp songs were never performed again while new songs about the Holocaust or related themes such as survival, uprising, belief, and hope were added to the ceremonies.

New compositions have been composed since the Holocaust, including Arnold Schonberg's *Survivor from Warsaw* (1947), *Dies Irae* of the Polish composer Krzystof Penderecki, the *Thirteenth Symphony Babi Yar* by the Russian composer Dimitry Shostakovich, *I Never Saw Another Butterfly* by Charles Davidson, and more.

With the growth of research on music of the Holocaust and the revival of Jewish Yiddish music since the 1980s more songs were recorded, especially by American musicians, and performed to mixed audiences around the world. (See also: *Israel, State of – Cultural Life, Music and Dance; *Hasidism; Dance.)

[Gila Flam (2nd ed.)]

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°**MUSIL, ALOIS** (1868–1944), Czech Orientalist, born in Rychtarov in Bohemia. He studied at the theological faculty of Olomouc and was ordained a priest in 1891; in 1895 he went to Jerusalem to join the Dominican Ecole Biblique. His field exploration began with a trip to *Egypt in 1896 and to Petra in 1897, when he traveled from *Gaza to *Damascus by way of the Negev and Transjordan. In 1898 the Vienna Academy sent him on a mission to Arabia Petrea, which he explored until 1902, discovering the desert palaces at Quṣayr ʿAmra, Ṭūba, al-Bāyir, and al-Muwaqqar. He was one of the first explorers of the ancient cities of the Negev. In addition to archaeology, he was greatly interested in mapping and in the manners and customs of the Bedouin. From 1902 to 1909 he taught at Olomouc and from 1909 to 1918 at Vienna. He explored the Syrian Desert in 1908–09, the northern *Hejaz in 1910, and the Palmyrene and northern *Arabia to the Hejaz in 1912–15; the last mission was semipolitical. In 1920 he began to teach at Prague University. Musil published *Ḳuṣejr ʿAmra und andere Schloesser…* (2 vols., 1902); *Arabia Petraea* (Ger., 4 vols., 1907–08), which contains the first good map of the Negev; and a four-volume series of topographical itineraries through northern Arabia, including maps of the region (1926–28). He was an exact observer, although his archaeological training was insufficient.

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[Michael Avi-Yonah]

°**MUSOLINO, BENEDETTO** (1809–1885), Italian statesman who foretold the return of the Jews to Ereẓ Israel. Born in Pizzo (Calabria), Musolino was an exile in his youth and later joined Garibaldi's army. From 1861 he served as member of the Italian parliament and later as a senator in united Italy. He published seven books on philosophy, law, and social justice. Musolino visited Ereẓ Israel four times and wrote *Gerusalemme ed il Popolo Ebreo* (1851, first published in 1951). Based upon an analysis of the situation of the Jews in the Diaspora and their yearning to return to Ereẓ Israel, the book suggests that Britain support the establishment of a Jewish principality in Ereẓ Israel under the Turkish Crown. Musolino even formulated a complete constitution, which stipulates a prince at the head of the principality and a bicameral parliament. The official religion of the principality is Judaism and the language is Hebrew. The right to vote and to be elected would be granted only to those who read and write Hebrew. All the public offices, including jurisdiction, would be determined by the elections for one-year terms. Citizenship would automatically be granted to Jews settling there and to non-Jews who request it. Other laws include freedom of speech and assembly, the prohibition of polygamy, and compulsory education between the ages of four and sixteen. Immigration and absorption would be under the control of a domestic settlement company, and the principality would guarantee the right to work.

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Empire, 1883,” in J.M. Landau, *Exploring Ottoman and Turkish History* (2004), 89–93.

[Moshe Ishai]

MUSSAFIA, ADOLFO (1834–1905), Italian philologist. Born in Split (Spalato), Croatia, Mussafia specialized in Romance studies and taught for almost 50 years at the University of Vienna, first (from 1855) as an Italian professor, then (from 1860 to 1903) as a professor of Romance philology, to which he added the role of curator of the manuscripts at the Imperial Library. In 1901 he was appointed a member of the Austrian House of Lords. Having tried in vain to have an Italian center for higher studies established in Trieste, he eventually moved to Florence, where he spent the last years of his life. Though the son of the rabbi of Split John Amadeus, Mussafia was estranged from Judaism and converted to Catholicism in 1860. A philologist of wide interests, he was one of the pioneers who took up the study of the Italian and Romance dialects, founding Romance philology in Vienna, and devoting his valuable and painstaking attention to early texts in Italian and the Italian dialects (*Monumenti antichi dei dialetti italiani*, 1864, and *Darstellung der romagnolischen Mundart*, 1871). Mussafia also did research in comparative literature, investigating the origins of many medieval legends about Christian saints (*Zur Katharinen-Legende*, 1874, and *Sulla leggenda del segno della Croce*, 1870), elucidating many texts, and writing critical reviews. His other major publications include *Italienische Sprachlere in Regeln und Beispielen* (1860; reprinted until recent years under the title *Der neues Mussafia*); *Sul testo della “Divina Commedia”* (1865); *Sul testo del “Tesoro” di Brunetto Latini* (1870); *La difesa d'un illustre* (G. Boccaccio, 1861); and the *I codici Vaticani Latini 3195 e 3196 delle “Rime” del Petrarca* (1899).

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[Louisa Cuomo / Alessandro Guetta (2nd ed.)]

MUSSAFIA, BENJAMIN BEN IMMANUEL (1606–1675), rabbi, philologist, physician, and author. A descendant of Spanish Marranos, he was probably born in Spain; little is known of his early years. He received a broad philosophical education, and, apart from his great talmudic scholarship, had a sound knowledge of Latin, Greek, and Arabic. He lived in Hamburg where he distinguished himself as a physician and gained fame in the medical profession with the publication of his books on medicine. Consequently, he was invited to act as personal physician to King Christian IV of Denmark, to whom he dedicated the scientific work *Mei ha-Yam* (Amsterdam, 1642). When the king died in 1648, Mussafia moved to Amsterdam where he became a member of the well-known *bet ha-midrash* “Keter Torah.” In his old age, he acted as one of the scholars of Amsterdam, and his signature was first on the eulogy and letter of recognition of Shabbetai Ẓevi, the false messiah, which was signed by Portuguese and *bet ha-midrash* “Keter Torah” scholars. In consequence, Jacob Sasportas, a zealous fighter against the Shabbateans, attacked him in his *Oholei Ya'akov*.

Mussafia's most important work is *Musaf he-Arukh* (Amsterdam, 1655), a supplement of linguistic entries to the *Arukh* of *Nathan b. Jehiel of Rome, in which he also gave new explanations to Latin and Greek words in that work. In his research he based himself largely on *Buxtorf's lexicon. The book gave him a world reputation as a scholar, and it was published in more than 20 editions. *Zekher Rav* (Hamburg, 1638) is his first published work (subsequently in about 16 editions and many translations); written in verse, it relates the marvels of the creation. His commentary on the Jerusalem Talmud has not been published. His scientific works, written under the Latin pseudonym, Dionysius, include *Mei Zahav* (Hamburg, 1638), on the healing properties of gold; and *Mei ha-Yam* (Amsterdam, 1642), on the tidal flow.

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[Itzhak Alfassi]

MUSSAFIA, ḤAYYIM ISAAC (1754–1831), rabbi. Mussafia was born in Jerusalem. In 1796, while serving as an emissary of Jerusalem to the Balkan states, he was appointed *av bet din* of Spalato in Dalmatia. His only published work is *Ḥayyim va-Ḥesed* (pt. 1, Leghorn, 1844), responsa, appended to which are the laws of blessings by Yom Tov b. Abraham *Ishbili and talmudic novellae by early Jerusalem rabbis. Isaac Badhab affirmed that part two was in his possession. Mussafia also wrote *Derekh ha-Ḥayyim ve-Tokhaḥat Musar*, and *Maskil le-Eitan*, a supercommentary on the Pentateuch commentary of Rashi and Elijah Mizraḥi (see introd. to the responsa). He was succeeded at Spalato by his son, ABRAHAM ḤAI, who was also born in Jerusalem and served as a rabbi there. Abraham founded a yeshivah in Jerusalem called Shevet Aḥim (acronym of **A**vraham **H**ai **I**saac **M**ussafia), which was in existence until shortly before World War I. He composed poems and was a contributor to *Ha-Maggid*.

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[Simon Marcus]

°MUSSERT, ANTON ADRIAAN (1894–1946), National Socialist leader in Holland. Originally an engineer in government service, he became active in politics in 1925. He founded the National-Socialist movement (1931), which at the peak of its popularity in the 1935 election received 8% of the votes. When Holland was occupied by Nazi Germany in May 1940, he tried to conduct a national policy and resisted annexation to Germany, but eventually he became a mere tool in the hands of the Germans. After the war he was condemned to death for collaboration with the enemy. Initially Mussert did not follow an anti-Jewish policy, and even accepted Jews as members of his party. From 1935, however, Jews could not hold office in the party, and in 1940 it was decided under German pressure to expel them altogether. Mussert unsuccessfully warned against the introduction of the yellow badge. For this reason, and because he tried to save some of his Jewish comrades, the Germans regarded him as a "Jew-servant."

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[Jozeph Michman (Melkman)]

°MUSSOLINI, BENITO (1883–1945), Italian dictator, founder of Fascism. Mussolini's policy toward the Jews was opportunistic, while his personal view of them, although unsystematic, was not unbiased. As early as 1908, in his essay "*La filosofia della forza*," Mussolini the socialist adopted *Nietzsche's view that Christianity, as a "reevaluation of all values," was the spiritual revenge by which the Jews in Ereẓ Israel overcame their secular enemies, the Romans. In June 1919, reflecting the line of the extreme right-wing "fasci" he had created shortly before, Mussolini attacked world Jewry in his organ *Popolo d'Italia*, defining it as "the accomplices, the soul of both Bolshevism and of capitalism." However, he reversed this stand in October 1924, saying that "Bolshevism is not, as is believed, a Jewish phenomenon," and further claiming that "Italy does not know antisemitism and we believe that it will never know it." At the same time he excluded Zionism, declaring that "the new Zion *[nuova Sionne]* of the Italian Jews is found here, in our beloved land, that many of them heroically defended with their blood." By its very nature, Mussolini's opportunistic maneuvering delayed a systematic anti-Jewish policy, to a greater extent than did the presence of Jews in the ranks of Fascism from its earliest phases. From 1922, when he acceded to power, to 1938, when he branded them as racially impure, Mussolini endeavored to use the Jews as an instrument of policy, especially on the international level, in conformity with his distorted view of Judaism as an "international, occult body." At the same time, he permitted a parallel undercurrent of antisemitism (see *Preziosi, *Farinacci) which he repudiated or encouraged in turn, whenever he saw a chance of blackmailing the Western democracies. As a rule, antisemitism was deemed counterproductive as a propaganda tool, as well as on the official level. In November 1923, Mussolini declared to Angelo *Sacerdoti, chief rabbi of Rome, that "the Italian government and Italian Fascism have never intended to follow nor are following an antisemitic policy." Concerning mixed marriage, however, Mussolini's views were strictly Catholic. In 1929, the year of the Concordat with the Vatican, he forbade his daughter Edda's projected marriage with a Jew as "a real and proper scandal."

His attitude to Zionism was similarly ambivalent. To Chaim *Weizmann he said, shortly after his accession, "You know, we could build your state *en toute pièce*." In February 1928, he personally approved and encouraged the creation of the Italy-Palestine Committee, but rebuked the Italian Zionists in November of the same year (probably in deference to the Vatican, with whom he was about to sign the concordat) charging them with disloyalty to Italy: "We therefore ask the Italian Jews: are you a religion or a nation?" (*Popolo di Roma*, Nov. 29, 1928). Subsequently he resumed his pro-Zionist policy, purely from expansionist motives, and maintained it until after the conquest of Ethiopia. As long as Mussolini kept an open window on the Western world, he was eager to present an image of Italian Fascism as "Latin" and unprejudiced, in contrast with "savage and barbarous" National Socialism. Antisemitism remained a "German vice" and Hitler "a fanatical idiot." Racialism was "the Aryan fallacy" (*Popolo d'Italia*, Aug. 4, 1934).

Mussolini soon reversed his position. From 1936, to all intents and purposes, he dissociated himself from the Western world and drew near to his derided disciple and future master. He blamed "international Jewry" for the sanctions which castigated Italy for its Ethiopian adventure and marked the end of his rapprochement with the Western democracies. As a result, the Italian Jews had become expendable and could finally be treated in conformity with Fascist latent intolerance toward "alien groups." Undoubtedly, Mussolini also sought to please his new German ally, but the Italian Jews were not sacrificed merely for the sake of Hitler's "brutal friendship." In search of a formula which would bind his own irresolute hands, create an unbridgeable gap between non-Jews and Jews in Italy, and enable him to be rid of all the latter in one stroke, Mussolini resorted to racialism which he now saw as politically profitable. The *Dichiarazione della Razza* of July 1938, introducing racial measures in Italy, was largely compiled and edited by himself and due entirely to his initiative; there is no evidence whatsoever that he was subjected at any moment to pressure by Hitler. His acceptance of the racial vice, deliberate and cynical, was rejected by the Italian people in their great numbers. The extent to which he was personally willing to cooperate in the physical destruction of Jews is shown by events occurring during World War II. In August 1942 the Germans asked the Italians to hand over to the German-Croatian authorities the Jews who had gone into hiding in Dalmatia, in the Italian occupation zone, and a memorandum on the subject, indicating the terrible fate in store for the Jews, was submitted to Mussolini. He scrawled in the margin: "nulla osta" ("no objection").

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[Emmanuel Beeri]

MUSTAʿRAB, MUSTAʿRABS, name of the Arab-speaking, old, established Jewish communities and residents in the Middle East. The term is borrowed from the Arabic. According to Arab genealogists, the "ʿArab al-Mustaʿriba" were not of native Arab stock; they were naturalized, "Arabized," Arabs. In Muslim Spain the Christians who adopted Arabic and Arab customs were called "Mozarabs." The term Mustaʿrab (better: Mustaʿrib) for Arabized Jews seems a late one; it occurs from the 15th century onward and seems to have been first used by immigrants from Christian Europe for the old, established Jews in Egypt, Palestine, and Syria. The terms al-Mashāriqa ("Easterners") and Moriscos are sometimes used in the same sense.

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[Haïm Z'ew Hirschberg]

MUSTARD (Heb. חַרְדָּל, *ḥardal*), the name applied to two species, the common mustard (*Sinapis alba*), known in rabbinical literature as "Egyptian mustard," and the kind called simply "mustard." The latter was extracted from the seeds of a different botanical genus, *Brassica nigra*, the mustard prepared from it being darker and more pungent than the former. This species, like white mustard, grows wild in Ereẓ Israel but was also cultivated. Given favorable conditions, the plant reaches a height of more than six feet. The *aggadah* relates that a man having sown "a single seed of mustard… would climb it as he would a fig tree" (TJ, Pe'ah 7:4, 20b). The seed of this species is very small (1–1.6 mm.) and was used to indicate the smallest measure of size (Ber. 31a). The contrast between the size of the plant and the seed is used in a parable in the New Testament (Matt. 13:31). Although these two species of mustard belong to different botanical genera they are very similar in appearance (except that the white mustard plant is smaller and its seed larger). Hence the rule that mustard and Egyptian mustard do not constitute *mixed species (*kilayim*; Kil. 1:2). Both have conspicuous yellow flowers (cf. Kil. 2:8–9). In Israel there are many species belonging to the family of Cruciferae which have yellow flowers and seeds with a pungent flavor. Among these the species *Sinapis arvensis* is very widespread. This is called in the Mishnah *lafsan* ("charlock") and it was laid down that "mustard and charlock, although resembling one another, do constitute *kilayim*" (Kil. 1:5).

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[Jehuda Feliks]

MUSZKAT, MARION (**Marian, Maks**; 1915–1995), jurist. Born in Suwalki, Muszkat served in the Polish army during World War II, rising to the rank of colonel. In 1944 he was appointed a military judge and in the following year headed the Polish military delegation at the Nuremberg war-crimes trials. In 1949 Muszkat became lecturer at the Polish Academy of Political Science and later professor of international law at the University of Warsaw. He emigrated to Israel in 1957 and lectured in international law at the Tel Aviv extension of The Hebrew University, being appointed professor when the institution became Tel Aviv University. Muszkat's works include *Interwencja – zbrodńiczej-polityki Stanów Zjednoczonych* ("Intervention – Criminal Weapon of U.S. Policy," 1953), *Kavei-Yesod ha-Mishpat ha-Bein-Le'umi* (2 vols., 1959–61), and *Hitpatteḥuyyot Ḥadishot be-Mishpat u-ve-Irgunim Bein-Le'ummiyyim* (1967); and he edited *Zarys prawa międzynarodowego publicznego* ("Outlines of Public International Law," 2 vols., 1955–56) and the quarterly *Be'ayot Bein-Le'ummiyyot*.

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[Israel (Ignacy) Isserles]

MUTER, MELA (1873–1967), French painter. She was born in Warsaw and as a young woman left Poland to study in France. There she abbreviated her family name, Mutermilch, using

"Muter" as her professional name. In 1937 she received a gold medal at the Paris World's Fair, and two years later she was represented in the World's Fair of New York. When the Nazis invaded France, Mela Muter was in her late sixties. Her son was killed in the war, but she managed to elude the Germans in Avignon, in southern France. There she continued to live for many years, in great poverty, until in 1965 she was rediscovered by a gallery in Cologne. Two years later, a few months before her death, her work was exhibited in New York. Crippled and no longer able to paint, she enjoyed her new fame; she used most of her earnings to aid sick children. Her "psychological portraits" were much admired. In addition to portraits, she painted mother and child groups, landscapes and still lifes, either in vigorous oils or in tender aquarelles.

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[Alfred Werner]

MUTNIK (Mutnikovich), ABRAHAM (pseud. **Gleb**; 1868–1930), cofounder of the *Bund. Mutnik was born in Vilkomir (Ukmerge), Russian Lithuania. In Kovno he belonged to a revolutionary circle of Narodnaya Volya (the People's Will movement) which functioned among the pupils of his school, and he was subsequently expelled from the school. In the 1880s he studied in Berlin and became acquainted with the German workers' movement. He was expelled from Germany and on returning to Russia lived in Ponevez, Lithuania, gave private lessons, and disseminated illegal revolutionary propaganda which led to his arrest. From 1894 he was a central figure among the *Jewish Social Democrats in Vilna. On its behalf he wrote a detailed report for the Congress of the Socialist International in London (1896). At the founding convention of the Bund he was elected, with V. *Kossovski and A. *Kremer, to its central committee. Mutnik drew up the first proclamation of the Bund (May 1, 1898) and represented it at the first conference of the Russian Social Democratic Workers' Party (March 1898). He was arrested in Lodz, but in 1900 he escaped abroad. In the years 1902–06 he was secretary of the Bund "committee abroad" in London and Geneva and a member of the editorial board of its organ, *Der Yidisher Arbeter.* He published an important article on the history of the Bund and its activity (in *Zhizn*, no. 2, May 1902 signed G. Ya.); he returned to Russia in 1906 and took charge of the Bund press. He then withdrew from party activities and after World War I lived in Germany. His autobiographical memoirs were published in *Zukunft* (38 (1933), 509–13, 595–6, 664–6, 718–20).

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[Moshe Mishkinsky]

MUYAL (Moyal), AVRAHAM (1847–1885), representative of Ḥovevei Zion in Ereẓ Israel. Born in Rabat, Morocco, Muyal went to Ereẓ Israel with his parents in 1860, becoming a wealthy merchant and banker. As a French national, he had close ties with the French consul in Jaffa. He also had considerable influence in Turkish government circles and was treated with respect by the Arab population, with whose customs and way of life he was well acquainted. Muyal did much to help Jewish settlement and obtained a permit to build houses at Ekron. He was also entrusted with financial dealings by Baron Edmond de *Rothschild concerning the settlements of Ekron and Rishon le-Zion. In 1885 Muyal was appointed as the Ḥovevei Zion representative. He built houses and established farms in Petaḥ Tikvah and put the settlement on a sounder basis. In the *Bilu settlement Gederah, where it was forbidden to build houses, he secured shelter for the settlers by rapidly erecting a structure of wooden boards and covering it with a roof. Under Turkish law, destruction was thereupon illegal.

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[Israel Klausner]

MYER, MORRIS (**Mayer**; 1876–1944), Romanian-born Yiddish editor and Zionist worker, settled in London in 1902 and became active in Yiddish journalism and the Labor movement. A member of the Po'alei Zion, he became prominent in the British Zionist Federation and was a delegate to Zionist Congresses. From 1919 he sat on the Board of Deputies of British Jews and its joint foreign committee. Through the popular Yiddish daily, *Die Tsayt*, which he founded in 1913 and which existed until 1950, he was a prime molder of opinion among Yiddish readers in England when Whitechapel was a hub of Jewish life. He founded the Federation of Jewish Relief Organizations and was a Yiddish theater enthusiast and perceptive drama critic, as seen in his lively *Yidish Teater in London 1902–1942* ("Yiddish Theater in London, 1902–1942," 1943). His Yiddish writings include *Der Sveting System, Vi Vert Men fun ihr Poter* ("The Sweating System, How to Abolish It?" 1907), *A Yidishe Utopye* ("A Jewish Utopia," 1918), *Dzhordzh Elyot, di Englishe Nevie fun der Renesans fun Idishen Folk* ("George Eliot, English Prophetess of the Jewish People's Renaissance," 1920), and *Dos Organizirte Yidntum in England* ("Organized Jewry in England," 1943).

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[Joseph Leftwich / Leonard Prager (2nd ed.)]

MYER, SIDNEY (Simcha) BAEVSKI (1878–1934), Australian retailer and philanthropist. Myer was born in Poland and in 1897 he migrated to Australia. After working briefly at odd jobs in Melbourne, he opened a shop in Bendigo in partnership with his brother, Elkan B. Myer. This venture failed, but later Myer bought another shop in Bendigo, and this time his business expanded rapidly. In 1911 Myer purchased a store in Melbourne which he called the Myer Emporium and which became the largest business of its kind in Australia. He had also obtained control of Marshall's of Adelaide, another large department store. In the early 1930s Myer had 5,300 employees working for him in his enterprises. He provided rest houses for his workers at the seaside and in the country. The Myer Emporium is still one of the largest and most successful retailers in Australia, and its flagship store in central Melbourne is probably the leading department store on the continent.

In 1920 Myer divorced his Jewish wife and married an 18-year-old girl, Marjorie Merlyn Baillieu, the daughter of a prominent gentile financier in Melbourne. The marriage caused a scandal, and Myer and his wife were forced to live in America for nine years. To placate his wife's family, Myer converted to Anglicanism and distanced himself from the Jewish community. Ironically, two of his sons were allegedly blackballed from membership in the exclusive Melbourne Club on antisemitic grounds.

Sidney Myer was one of Australia's richest men when he died. In addition to his many contributions to Jewish and general charities, Myer donated large sums for unemployment relief during the depression of the 1930s. He left sizable endowments for the promotion of free orchestral concerts and the Melbourne Symphony Orchestra and an additional large sum for the general purposes of the University of Melbourne.

ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY: J. Browning and L. Critchley, *Dynasties* (2002), 131–67; A. Pratt, *Sidney Myer: A Biography* (1993); H.L. Rubinstein, *Jews in Australia, II,* 321–22, index.

MYERHOFF, BARBARA GAY SIEGEL (1935–1985), U.S. anthropologist. Myerhoff was born in Cleveland, Ohio, and was raised there and in Los Angeles by her mother Florence Siegel and her stepfather Norman Siegel. She received a B.A. in sociology (1958) and an M.A. in human development (1963) from the University of Chicago, and a Ph.D. in anthropology from UCLA in 1968. Myerhoff served on the Anthropology faculty at the University of Southern California for her entire academic career, developing a program in visual anthropology and chairing the department. She was part of a group of scholars in the 1970s who introduced the importance of understanding storytelling, who pioneered the study of one's own community, and who investigated the relationships among age, ethnic identity, and gender.

Myerhoff's initial scholarship was devoted to the developing field of ritual and symbolic studies. Her dissertation and subsequent book, *Peyote Hunt: the Sacred Journey of the Huichol Indians* (1974), was highly regarded for its treatment of pilgrimage and the religious life of a Mexican Indian group. She explored those same themes in *Number Our Days* (1979), her innovative ethnographic study of elderly Jews who met at a senior center in Los Angeles, demonstrating the ways in which rituals, both traditional and invented, gave the aged the visibility they had been denied by family and society. Performances of all types, including storytelling, rituals, and quarrels, provided a certainty of their place in social interaction that was both reassuring and tenuous. From these observations Myerhoff wrote about the ways in which culture offers and withholds visibility. One of her most important contributions to the study of women and religion was the concept of "domestic Judaism" that she developed in *Number Our Days*. Myerhoff effectively challenged the notion that religion can best be understood from an elite, usually male perspective linked to formal practices. Rather, her work demonstrated that a well-articulated religious system for women ran parallel to men's sacred worlds.

Prior to the publication of *Number Our Days*, Myerhoff collaborated with Lyn Littman on a documentary film with the same title that was awarded an Oscar and two Emmys.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: B. Myerhoff. "Bobbes and Zeydes: Old and New Roles for Elderly Jews," in: J. Hoch-Smith and A. Spring (eds.), *Women in Ritual and Symbolic Roles* (1978); B. Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, "Forward," in: M. Kaminsky (ed.), *Remembered Lives: The Work of Ritual and Story Telling, and Growing Older* (1992); R.E. Prell, "The Double Frame of Life History in the Work of Barbara Myerhoff," in: Personal Narratives Group (ed.), *Interpreting Women's Lives* (1980).

[Riv-Ellen Prell (2nd ed.)]

MYERS, SIR ARTHUR MELZINER (1867–1926), New Zealand businessman and politician. Myers came from a family of German immigrants who opened a brewery in New Zealand. His father, who became a jewelry salesman, drowned in 1870 and Myers was raised by an uncle in Wellington, where he eventually became head of the family brewery. Myers became managing director of a large business concern in his native city, Auckland, and from 1905 to 1909 was mayor of Auckland. He entered the New Zealand parliament in 1910 and in 1912 became a member of the cabinet as minister of finance, defense, and railways. In the National Government from 1915 to 1919, he was minister of customs, munitions, and supplies, in which capacity he laid the foundations for compulsory military service. He retired from parliament in 1921. Myers was noted for his benefactions to the city of Auckland, including the Myers Park in which he built a kindergarten and a school for backward children. He lived in England from 1923 and was a member of the Royal Commission on Local Government. He was knighted in 1924.

ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY: R.C.J. Stone, "Sir Arthur Myers," in: *The New Zealand Dictionary of Biography*; A. Gluckman (ed.), *Identity and Involvement: The Jewish Community in Auckland, 1840–1990* (1990).

MYERS, ASHER ISAAC (1848–1902), British journalist. Born in London, Myers started in the clothing trade and then became publisher of the *Jewish Record*. In 1869 he joined the *Jewish Chronicle*, later becoming general manager. After the death of the editor, Abraham *Benisch, in 1878, he achieved editorial control and part-ownership, and conducted the paper successfully until 1902, broadening its contents to include more cultural material. He also engaged widely in Jewish communal service. In 1874 he published *The Jewish Directory*, the first British compilation of its kind.

ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY: D. Cesarani, *The Jewish Chronicle and Anglo-Jewry, 1841–1991* (1994).

MYERS, CHARLES SAMUEL (1873–1946), British psychologist. Born in London, Myers was educated at the City of London School and Cambridge. He became a physician and, on taking his degree, immediately left on an anthropological expedition to Torres Strait and Borneo with W.H.R. Rivers, the founder and first director of the Cambridge Psychological Laboratory. The successful expedition returned the following year with data on hearing, smell, taste, reaction time, rhythms, and music of the local population. In 1900 he spent some time in Egypt, studying hieroglyphics, excavating, and taking anthropometric measurements in Cairo and Khartoum. On returning to Cambridge he was appointed to the psychological laboratory where, after considerable opposition, he succeeded Rivers. He published his *Textbook of Experimental Psychology* in 1909 (1925^3). It was the first text to have laboratory exercises and to treat statistics for psychology students. There was also a briefer *Introduction to Experimental Psychology*, which he published in 1911 (1925^3). Myers held the posts of professor in experimental psychology at King's College, London (1906–09), and also held a variety of positions at Cambridge, where, in 1921–22, he was reader in experimental psychology.

During his stay in Cambridge, Myers conducted research on primitive music, synesthesia, auditory localization, and individual differences among listeners to music. He helped to found the *British Journal of Psychology* in 1904 and edited it from 1911 to 1924. The new psychological laboratory at Cambridge, established in 1912, was made possible by a grant which he made anonymously. He was elected secretary and, in 1920, president of the British Psychological Society.

Myers' interest in applied psychology was initiated in World War I, when he was the first to recognize shell shock as an essentially psychological condition and to treat it by psychotherapy. He had secured a commission in the Royal Army Medical Corps. In 1922 he resigned his post at Cambridge and went to London to establish the National Institute of Industrial Psychology, where work was conducted on tests of mechanical ability, manual dexterity, performance measures of general intelligence, problems of attention, and industrial fatigue. Myers became the driving force in British applied psychology and helped to gain official recognition for psychological practitioners. He was widely honored for his work. Although his desire to occupy the first chair in psychology at Cambridge was not fulfilled, he exerted considerable influence on the next generation of British psychologists through his students and his textbooks. He also wrote: *Psychology* (1910), *Mind and Work* (1920, 1921^2), *Industrial Psychology* (1926), *Ten Years of Industrial Psychology: An Account of the First Decade of the National Institute of Industrial Psychology* (1932).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: T.H. Pear, in: *American Journal of Psychology*, 60 (1947), 289–96. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** ODNB online.

[Helmut E. Adler]

MYERS, GUSTAVUS (1872–1942), U.S. political reformer and historian. Myers was born in Trenton, New Jersey. As a reporter for several newspapers, he belonged to the muckraking movement, attacking big business and political abuses. Myers' first exposé, *History of Public Franchises in New York City* (1900), was followed by *History of Tammany Hall* (1901, 1917^2), and his best-known work, the *History of Great American Fortunes* (1910, 1936^3). Among Myers' other works are: *Beyond the Borderline of Life* (1910), *History of the Supreme Court of the United States* (1912), *The History of American Idealism* (1925), *The Ending of Hereditary American Fortunes* (1939), and *History of Bigotry in the United States* (1943), in which he attacked all forms of prejudice, including antisemitism. Myers' reputation rests principally on his painstaking research. Highly critical of the conditions that had made abuses possible, he became convinced in later years that modern innovations were contributing toward the elimination of some economic inequalities.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: S.J. Kunitz and H. Haycroft, *Twentieth Century Authors* (1942); J. Chamberlain, *Farewell to Reform* (1932), index; L. Filler, *Crusaders for American Liberalism* (1939), index.

[Hans L. Trefousse]

MYERS, LAWRENCE E. (**Lon**; 1858–1899), U.S. track athlete. Born in Richmond, Virginia, Myers began his career as a runner in 1878 and a year later became the first man to better 50 seconds for 440 yards. Between 1879 and 1884, Myers won 15 U.S., ten Canadian, and three British national titles at distances from 100 to 880 yards. He visited Great Britain in 1881, 1884, and 1885, and set the then world marks for 440 yards (48.6 seconds) and 880 yards (1:55.4). In 1881 he became the first foreign runner to win a British national title.

Myers faced his most formidable opponent, Britain's Walter George, for the first time in 1882. George won two of three races at the Polo Grounds in New York City. Racing three years later as a professional, Myers won all three races at New York's Madison Square Garden. After repeating his victory over George in Australia in 1887, Myers retired from track the following year.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: B. Postal et al. (eds.), *Encyclopedia of Jews in Sports* (1965), 475–8.

[Jesse Harold Silver]

MYERS, SIR MICHAEL (1873–1950), lawyer; chief justice of New Zealand. Born in the small township of Motueka, Myers was educated in Wellington and joined the largest law firm there, acting in crown cases that were both criminal and civil. In 1922 he was appointed king's counsel and began his own practice. Six cases in which he was involved went to the Privy Council and in all of them he was successful. From 1929 to 1946, Myers was chief justice of New Zealand, and his wide practical experience and keen sense of justice earned him a high reputation. In 1936 he served as justice on the Privy Council and in 1946 he represented New Zealand on the United Nations committee of jurists. Myers took an active interest in all Jewish affairs and was president of the Wellington synagogue from 1912 to 1921, a post previously held by both his father and elder brother. Myers was intensely interested in Jewish history and was patron of the Australian Jewish Historical Society. On several occasions he acted for the governor-general during the latter's absences from New Zealand.

ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY: P. Spiller, "Sir Michael Myers," in: *The Dictionary of New Zealand Biography.*

[Maurice S. Pitt]

MYERS, MORDECAI (1776–1871), U.S. merchant, army officer, and politician. Myers was born in Newport, R.I. He lived in New York State most of his life, while intermittently maintaining residence in Charleston, S.C. A member of New York City's Shearith Israel Congregation after 1792, he served as a trustee from 1800 to 1805 and donated a generous sum toward the construction of a new synagogue in Greenwich Village. Subsequently he joined the army and was commissioned captain in the Third Regiment of the First Brigade Infantry (1811). He served with the Thirteenth Infantry in the War of 1812, was wounded in the battle of Chrysler's Field, and was later promoted to major. In 1814 Myers married a non-Jewish woman, and thereafter ceased to play a role in the Jewish community. He was a ranking Mason from 1823 to 1834 and was offered the office of grand master for New York State, which, however, he declined. In 1828 and from 1831 to 1834 Myers served as a Democratic assemblyman in the state legislature from New York County. Subsequently he moved to Schenectady, where he was elected mayor in 1851 and 1854. In 1860, at the age of 84, he ran unsuccessfully for a seat in the U.S. Congress.

[Leo Hershkowitz]

MYERS, MOSES (1752–1835), U.S. merchant and civic leader. Moses Myers, the son of Haym and Rachel Louzada Myers, was born in New York City. For a time he was a junior partner in Isaac Moses & Co., a New York import-export firm, but the bankruptcy of Isaac *Moses in 1786 led Moses Myers to seek a new enterprise. With his friend Samuel *Myers, also a junior partner in the bankrupted firm, he opened a store in Norfolk, Virginia, 1787. After Samuel moved to Petersburg, Virginia (1789), Moses expanded his operations into importing and exporting. By 1812 he was the leading merchant south of the Potomac. During his early years in Norfolk, he functioned also as agent for the Philadelphia financier Stephen Girard, as superintendent of the Norfolk branch of the Bank of Richmond, and as consular agent for France and the Batavian Republic. He was elected to the city's Common Council for 1795–97 and, because he polled the largest vote, served as council president. The Embargo Acts of 1807–15 and a second bankruptcy of Isaac Moses, with whom he had investments, led Moses Myers and his eldest son, John, into bankruptcy. Myers never totally recovered from this setback, despite the testimonials of 277 Norfolk and Portsmouth merchants. President John Quincy Adams later named him collector of customs, superintendent of lights, and agent for the Marine Hospital, declaring him "the first honest man in the post"; he served from 1827 to 1830.

In 1787, he married Eliza Judah of Montreal, widow of Detroit pioneer Chapman Abraham. Myers' handsome home, erected in 1792, remains a Norfolk landmark.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Stern, in: *Southern Jewish Historical Society Journal*, 1 (1958), 5–13; Rosenbloom, Biogr Dict.

[Simon Vega]

MYERS, MYER (1723–1795), U.S. silversmith. Myers was born in New York, where his parents had emigrated from Holland. He learned his trade early and at 23 set up shop on Lower Wall Street, where he not only engaged successfully in his craft but also sold tea, coffee, spices, and tobacco. By 1755 he had expanded his trade to Philadelphia. Myers was active in the general community, in Freemasonry, and in the synagogue, serving as president of Congregation Shearith Israel in New York in 1759 and again in 1770. During the American Revolution he was a patriotic stalwart, and he and his family moved from the city during the British occupation, going first to Norwalk, Connecticut, and later to Philadelphia. There he used his skill to smelt down metal household goods and turn them into bullets. Myers returned to New York in 1783 and was a signatory of the address to Governor George Clinton from the "congregation of Israelites lately returned from exile." Myers was a highly skillful and versatile master craftsman, who created the first American examples of Jewish ceremonial objects and was also distinguished for his general ornamental and functional pieces. There are many examples of his work in places of worship, museums, and private collections. For the synagogues of New York, Newport, and Philadelphia he made silver Torah bells (*rimmonim*) which are still in use. His versatility is revealed in his alms basins and baptismal bowls. His mark "myers" was most frequently stamped on his work in script in a shaped cartouche though sometimes he merely used his initials, MM. In 1786 he was elected chairman of the Gold and Silversmiths' Society of New York. He was buried in the cemetery that still exists off Chatham Square in Lower Manhattan.

The U.S. Post Office issued an 8-cent stamp on American Independence Day 1972 to commemorate Colonial American craftsmen. The first day cover reproduces the Torah Scroll ornaments which Myers created for Congregation Shearith Israel in New York City. The single largest collection of Myers' silver is on display in the Klutznik Exhibit Hall of the B'nai B'rith Building in Washington.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: J.W. Rosenbaum, *Myer Myers, Goldsmith* (1954), includes bibliography; G. Schoenberger, in: AJHSP, 43 (1953), 1–9.

[Alfred Werner]

MYERS, SAMUEL (1755–1836), U.S. merchant. Samuel Myers was the second child of New York silversmith Myer *Myers and his first wife, Elkaleh Myers-Cohen. As a child he worked in his father's silver shop, but soon joined his friend Moses *Myers as a junior partner in Isaac *Moses' import-export firm. A year after the firm's bankruptcy in 1786, Samuel and Moses opened a store in Norfolk, Virginia, but two years later they separated. Samuel moved to Petersburg, Virginia, the first known Jewish resident of the town. His half-brothers MOSES MEARS MYERS and SAMPSON MEARS MYERS joined him there, all three becoming tobacco dealers. By 1798, Samuel was active in Richmond, contributing to Congregation Beth Shalome. He settled there permanently by 1803 and played an active role in business and social life as a leading Jewish citizen. Samuel's first wife, Sarah, daughter of Samuel *Judah of New York, died a year after their marriage. In 1796 Samuel and his brother Moses married daughters of the Boston merchant Moses Michael Hays. His second son, GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS MYERS (1801–1869), became Richmond's leading Jew, serving for nearly three decades on the City Council and for 12 years as its president.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Rosenbloom, Biogr Dict; J.W. Rosenbaum, *Myer Myers, Goldsmith* (1954); H.T. Ezekiel and G. Lichtenstein, *History of the Jews of Richmond* (1917), index.

[Saul Viener]

MYERSON, BESS (1924–), Miss America and philanthropist. Born to Louis and Bella Myerson in the Bronx, New York City, Myerson grew up in the Sholom Aleichem Cooperative. She attended the High School of Music and Art and graduated from Hunter College in 1945. In 1945, the 5-foot-10 Myerson won the Miss New York City pageant after her sister Sylvia entered her in the contest, and on a lark she entered the Miss America contest with the hope of winning a $5,000 scholarship to continue with her music studies and buy a piano. A pageant official suggested she change her name to the less Jewish-sounding Beth Merrick, but she refused. After her win, Myerson encountered blatant antisemitism among sponsors and during her tour of the United States over the next year. Inspired by the bigotry she encountered, she spoke out on behalf of the Anti-Defamation League. Myerson went on to study music at Juilliard School and Columbia University, and appeared as a guest soloist for the New York Philharmonic in 1946. In October 1946, she married Allan Wayne. The couple had a daughter together, but divorced in 1957. Myerson became a hostess and game show panelist on a variety of television programs from 1947 to 1968. In 1962, she married Arnold Grant, who adopted her daughter. Mayor John Lindsay appointed Myerson as New York City's commissioner of consumer affairs in 1969. During her four-year term, she helped pass the city's Consumer Protection Act and hosted the consumer affairs television show, *What Every Woman Wants to Know.* She went on two publish two books, *The Complete Consumer Book* and the *I Love New York Diet.* Myerson enjoyed presidential appointments to a variety of commissions in the 1970s, but the decade also brought another divorce and a fight with ovarian cancer. In 1980, she lost a Democratic Senate bid and suffered a stroke. From 1983 to 1987 she served as New York's commissioner of cultural affairs, but her reputation was tarnished by bribery and conspiracy charges. Myerson was acquitted, but not before pleading guilty to separate shoplifting charges in South Williamsport, Pa. In 1987, she released her autobiography, *Miss America, 1945: Bess Myerson's Own Story.* A founder of the Museum of Jewish Heritage in New York, she continued to champion social causes and Israel.

[Adam Wills (2nd ed.)]

MYNONA (**Salomo Friedlaender**; 1871–1946), German philosopher and author. Born in Gollantsch in Posen, Mynona studied medicine, philosophy, German literature, archaeology, and art history in Munich, Berlin, and Jena between 1894 and 1902. In Jena he wrote his dissertation on Schopenhauer and Kant (1902), seeing from then on in Kantian philosophy not only the solution of the central problems of 20th century in general, as did his contemporary teacher, the neo-Kantian Ernst Marcus, but also an expression of modern Judaism. Also in his later, main philosophical work *Die schoepferische Indifferenz* (1918), Mynona relied on Kant to overcome the classical dualism of subject and object in a purified, absolute self. In 1906, Mynona went to Berlin, starting to write under the literary name "Mynona," an anagram of "anonym" (i.e., anonymous), poetry, which he published in books like *Durch blaue Schleier* (1908) and expressionist publications like *Der Sturm* and *Die Aktion*, being intimate with the Berlin expressionist circle of Herwarth *Walden, Else *Lasker-Schueler, and Samuel *Lublinski. At the same time he wrote satirical and grotesque prose works (*Rosa, die schoene Schutzmannsfrau*, 1913; *Mein Papa und die Jungfrau von Orleans*, 1921; *Das Eisenbahunglueck oder der Anti-Freud*, 1925; *Mein hundertster Geburtstag und andere Grimassen*, 1928); in these philosophical satires Mynona exposed the other side of Kantian rationalism. In 1933, he fled to Paris, where he wrote his last published literary work, the grotesque *Der lachende Hiob* (1935), confronting the will to annihilation of the Nazis with his idea of the purified self by answering torture with laughter. Other works, like *Vernunftgewitter* and *Das Experiment Mensch,* remained unpublished. The autobiographical work *Ich* was published in 2003. Mynona died in Paris. In 1980, H. Geerken published two volumes of Mynona's prose.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Salomo Friedlaender/Mynona. Ausstellungskatalog der Akademie der Kuenste* (1972); P. Cardorff, *Salomo Friedlaender (Mynona)* (1988).

[Andreas Kilcher (2nd ed.)]

MYRRH (Heb. מוֹר, *mor*), one of the most important perfumes of ancient times. It is referred to 11 times in the Bible, more than any other perfume. The Hebrew, *mor,* refers to its bitter taste (*mar,* "bitter"); the root is common to the various Semitic languages, from where it was transferred to Greek Μύῤῥα and Latin *myrrha*. It is first mentioned along with the ingredients from which the holy anointing oil in the Tabernacle was prepared (Ex. 30:23–25), where it is called *mor deror,* i.e., myrrh congealed to form granules (*deror* from *dar,* "pearl") and then dissolved in olive oil. The king's garments were perfumed with myrrh (Ps. 45:9), and the faithless wife perfumed her couch with it when she wanted to seduce men (Prov. 7:17). The maidens were treated with it for six months before being presented to Ahasuerus (Esth. 2:12). In the Song of Songs myrrh is mentioned no less than seven times. It grew in the imaginary spice garden to which the charms of the beloved one are compared (Song 4:14; 5:1). It is upon "the mountain of myrrh" that the beloved dreams he will meet his heart's desire (4:6). The queen arrives for a meeting with the king "from the wilderness… perfumed with myrrh and frankincense" (3:6). The beloved one watched for her lover with her fingers dripping "flowing myrrh" (5:5), i.e., oil of myrrh, and his lips too were "dripping with flowing myrrh" (5:13). The man lying in the arms of his beloved is likened to the crystallized myrrh which the women used to wear as "a bag of myrrh" (1:13).

Myrrh is extracted from certain trees or shrubs growing in Africa or in the Arabian peninsula: *Commiphora abyssinica* and *Commiphora schimperi*. These plants contain a fragrant sap under the bark like the sap of the *acacia, from which gum arabic is prepared (Gr. κόμι; mishnaic Heb. קומוס, *kumos*). The sages warned against those who adulterated myrrh with this *kumos* (Sifra 1:12). Myrrh is variously interpreted homiletically by the rabbis as referring to Moses and Aaron or to Abraham: myrrh, the prince of spices, is Abraham who offered his son Isaac on Mt. Moriah (connecting "*mor*" with "Moriah"; Song R. 3:6, no. 2). They also connected it with Mordecai whose name was explained to mean *mor-dakhya*: "pure myrrh" (Ḥul. 139b). The *mor over,* "flowering myrrh," of the Song of Songs alludes to Israel's troubles which will pass: "Read not *mor over* but *mar over*: "passing bitterness" (cf. Shab. 30b). Saadiah Gaon, followed by Maimonides, identified "a bag of *mor*" with musk, the perfume extracted from the aromatic gland of the musk deer (see *Incense and Perfumes) but there is no basis for this.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Loew, Flora, 1 (1928), 249, 305–11; H.N. and A.L. Moldenke, *Plants of the Bible* (1952), 316 (index), s.v.; J. Feliks, *Olam ha-Ẓome'aḥ ha-Mikra'i* (1968^{2}), 252–4.

[Jehuda Feliks]

MYRTLE (Heb. הֲדַס; *Hadas*), *Myrtus communis*, a shrub, and occasionally a tree, possessing fragrant and glossy leaves. It grows wild on Mount Carmel and in Upper Galilee, and its use as a decorative shrub is widespread. The leaves usually grow in series of two and opposite each other. Some have leaves arranged in groups of three. Burning the shrubs produces a higher proportion of the latter form. The plant flowers during the summer months and later bears black berries. There are other varieties whose ripe fruit is white and whose small leaves are arranged in groups of four or more. The plant is called *asu* in Akkadian and *asa* in Aramaic. The *eẓ avot*, twice mentioned in Scripture, refers, according to rabbinical tradition, to the myrtle. It is one of the *Four Species (Lev. 23:40). The Book of Nehemiah, however, refers to both *hadas* and *eẓ avot*, in connection with the observance of the Feast of Tabernacles (Neh. 8:15). In consequence some scholars think that the name *eẓ avot* applies to any tree whose branches are closely braided together (*avotim*, "compact"). The rabbis explain that *hadas* refers to the wild myrtle branches gathered for covering the *sukkah*, while *eẓ avot* refers to the twigs of three-leaved myrtles which were "with the *lulav*" (Suk. 12a). They explained that *eẓ avot* means a tree "whose branches cover its trunk… is shaped like a plait and resembles a chain" (Suk. 32b). The leaves of the *oleander are of similar form but were declared invalid on the grounds that it is poisonous (*ibid.*). To satisfy the regulation concerning Tabernacles "a myrtle producing groups of three leaves from a single node" is necessary; there was a dispute concerning the validity of those varieties of myrtle, like the Egyptian myrtle, which produce many leaves from a single node (Suk. 32b–33a).

The myrtle is an evergreen (Targ. Sheni, Esth. 2:7), and the rabbis thus compared it with the good qualities of Esther whose Hebrew name was Hadassah ("myrtle"). Its aromatic branches were used for preparing the bride-groom's wreaths (Tosef., Sot. 15:8). They were used in festivities and betrothal celebrations, and some of the sages would juggle with myrtle branches, throwing them up and catching them (Ket. 17a). The leaves of the myrtle have the shape of the eye (Lev. R. 30: 14). Its fruits, called *benot Hadas* ("myrtle products"), were occasionally eaten, but are tasteless (TJ, Or. 1:1, 60c–d; Suk. 32b). Some recommended myrtle leaves as a remedy for blood pressure in the head (Git. 68b). The custom still obtains in some places of pronouncing the blessings for spices at the *Havdalah on the termination of the Sabbath over myrtle leaves. According to *Bet Hillel the benediction over the myrtle takes precedence over the benediction over aromatic oil (Ber. 43b).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Loew, Flora, 2 (1924), 257–74; H.N. and A.L. Moldenke, *Plants of the Bible* (1952), 316 (index), s.v.; J. Feliks, *Olam ha-Ẓome'aḥ ha-Mikra'i* (1968^{2}), 99–101. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** Feliks, Ha-Ẓome'aḥ, 51.

[Jehuda Feliks]

MYSH, MICHAEL (1846–?), Russian lawyer and writer; born in Korets, Volhynia. Of a poor family, Mysh attended the government Jewish school of his town. He completed his studies at the law faculty of the University of Kiev and contributed to the Russian Jewish press, devoting himself to the study of anti-Jewish legislation in Russia. He wrote commentaries, surveys, and guides on the restrictive laws against the Jews. The most important of them was *Rukovodstvo po russkim zakonam o Yevreyakh* ("Guide to the Russian Laws Concerning the Jews," 1892), which ran into four editions. He also wrote essays and books on general legal problems. His son, VLADIMIR (1873–1947), was a professor of medicine and a member of the Soviet Academy.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: J. Frumkin (ed.), *Russian Jewry 1860–1917* (1966), 475.

[Yehuda Slutsky]

MYTH, MYTHOLOGY (Gr. μῦθος; "word," "word content," "narrative"). A myth is a story about the universe that is considered sacred. Such a story deals with the great moments of man's life: birth, initiation, and death, referring them to events that took place in "mythical time." The myth is often recited during a dramatic representation of the event it narrates (e.g., the *Enūma eliš* was recited at the Babylonian New Year festival). Through the ritual, man becomes contemporary with the mythical event and participates in the gods' creative actions. Thus man can create, maintain, or renew fecundity, life, etc. Myths can be classified according to their subjects, as: theogonic, cosmogonic, anthropogonic, soteriological, and eschatological, myths of paradise, myths of flood, hero myths, etc.

In the Bible

The word "myth" was first applied to biblical narratives in the 18th century, when the question of the historicity of the first chapters of Genesis arose. For J.G. Eichhorn, for instance, the biblical narratives contain philosophical truth (e.g., the Garden of Eden narrative) or are based on a kernel of historical truth (the narratives concerning the Patriarchs). In the mid-19th century the term myth acquired a more precise meaning in biblical research. Biblical scholars who held that myth and polytheism were inseparable (e.g., Y. Kaufmann and H. Frankfort) denied any possibility of finding myths in the Bible, though they do not deny the existence of residues of myths or "demythologized myths" in the Bible. A number of apparent myths and mythical subjects which found their way into the Bible, have been collected and compared with extra-biblical parallels. In the prophetic and poetic books, references are made to the Lord's struggle with the primeval dragon, variously named *Tannin* ("Dragon," Isa. 27:1, 51:9; Ps. 74:13; Job 7:12), *Yam* ("Sea," Isa. 51:10; Hab. 3:8; Ps. 74:13; Job 7:12), *Nahar* ("River," Hab. 3:8; Ps. 93?), Leviathan (Isa. 27:1; Ps. 74:14), and *Rahab* (Isa. 30:7; 51:9; Ps. 89:11; Job 9:13; 26:12–13). A special parallel to this theme is found in the Ugaritic myth of Baal and his struggle against *Yam*, in which mention is made of Leviathan (*ltn*; C.H. Gordon, *Ugaritic Textbook* (1965), 67, 1:1) and *Tannin* (*tnn*; *nt, ibid.*, 3:37) as well as of *Nahar* (*nhr*). In this myth the dragon is called, as in Isaiah 27:1, *bari'aḥ* ("fleeing serpent") and *ʿaqallaton* ("twisting serpent"; cf. Gordon, *ibid.*, 67, 1:2–3). The same theme is found in the Babylonian creation epic *Enūma eliš* (Marduk's fight with Tiamat, "Sea") and in the Hittite myth of the storm-god and the dragon Illuyankas (Pritchard, Texts, 125–6), and with variations in Sumerian, Egyptian, Phoenician, and other literatures.

The idea that man was made out of clay (Gen. 2:7; Job 33:6) is common to the Bible and other extra-biblical literatures, especially the myth of Atraḥasis (W.G. Lambert and A.R. Millard, *Atra-Ḫasīs* (1969), 56ff.; cf. also *Enūma eliš*, 6:1–38 and the creation of Enkidu, *Gilgamesh* 1:30–40, in Pritchard, Texts, 68, 74). In Genesis 2:7, the Lord breathed into man's nostrils the breath of life; in Atraḥasis, man is the product of the mixture of clay and the flesh and blood of a slaughtered god. In the latter source, man is created to do the work the inferior gods refused to do (cf. Gen. 2:15).

The biblical story which has the most striking Mesopotamian parallel is the flood story (Gen. 6–8; *Gilgamesh*, tablet 11 – in Pritchard, Texts, 93–97, cf. also Atraḥasis). In both accounts a man and his household escape the deluge thanks to divine providence; the flood hero is told to build a ship (ark); after the flood, the ship comes to rest upon a mountain (Ararat or Niṣir); birds are sent out in exploration; a much appreciated sacrifice is offered by the survivor; God (or the gods) repents of His bringing about the flood. As in other myths, the main difference between the biblical and extra-biblical version of the flood story resides in the fact that the biblical one is monotheistic. Other differences can be pointed out. For example, the fact that Noah takes with him only his family, while Utnapishtim (the Babylonian flood hero) makes a point of taking craftsmen with him, may well point to different types of society.

Residues of hero myths can be found in Genesis 5:24; 6:1–4; 10:8–9; and II Samuel 23:8ff., for example. The stories about Samson, Jephthah, Gideon, and so on have much in common with the hero myth genre.

In biblical poetry there are echoes of myths: the wind has wings (I Sam. 22:11: Hos. 4:19); thunder is the Lord's voice (II Sam. 22:14; et al.); the Lord rides the clouds (Ps. 68:5), etc. Although mythical patterns can be found in the Bible, the biblical authors are not especially interested in "extra-temporal events," but rather deal with God's intervention in history. The Bible is less interested in the cosmos than in man.

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M'ZAB, region containing six towns, one of the major groups of oases of the Sahara in central *Algeria. It was founded in the 11th century by M'zabite *Berbers belonging to the Ibadiyya sect who formerly dominated *Tripoli (part of modern *Libya today). Although the French had occupied Algeria in 1830 and removed it from Ottoman domination, the M'zab was annexed to France only in 1882 and reverted to Algerian indigenous rule in summer 1962 upon its national independence. Ghardaia is the main town and capital of the M'zab, while el-Ateuf is the oldest settlement in the region. Beni Isguene is the most sacred Berber Islamic town. It prohibits all non-M'zabites from various sections of this town and all foreigners from spending the night within its walls. Melika is populated by black Africans and contains spacious cemeteries, while Guerrera and Berriane have been part of the M'zab since the 17th century. The total population of the M'zab in the early 21st century exceeded 70,000.

M'zab Jewry are apparently the descendants of Jews from Tahert, an ancient metropolis destroyed in 902 C.E., but also from Sedrata and Ouargla in the important region of Ifriqiyya – which in ancient and medieval times contained the territories of present-day Libya and *Tunisia. Ouargla was a center of *Karaite Jews. Until 1300 the Jewish community of the M'zab was reinforced demographically by Jews from the island of *Djerba (southern Tunisia) and Jebel Nafusa (the region of Tripolitania in modern Libya). Overwhelmingly residing in Ghardaia, the Jews were mainly employed as goldsmiths as well as being suppliers of ostrich feathers whose exports to Europe were monopolized by their coreligionists in parts of the Mediterranean.

The Jews of Ghardaia dwelled in their own special quarter, were forced to wear black clothes, and were not allowed to engage in farming or to purchase rural land. Unlike the Jews of the major urban centers of the regions of *Algiers, *Oran, and *Constantine, M'zab Jewry were not beneficiaries of the October 1870 Crémieux Decree which granted French citizenship to Algeria's Jews. This is attributed to the fact that the French could only grant this privilege to Jews in their sphere of influence. The M'zab was not under French control until over a decade later. It was only in the early 1960s that the Crémieux Decree was extended to include M'zabite Jews. By then, however, it was too late, for in 1962 the French granted Algerian Muslims independence. On the eve of Algerian independence, after numerous M'zabites Jews (out of 6,000) relocated to France (many resettled in Strasbourg), as many as 3,000 still remained behind.

In June 1962, as the Jewish Agency Israeli immigration emissaries were about to leave Algerian soil, a cable arrived at the Immigration Office in Algiers from Jerusalem. It instructed them to remain there for the time being because, based on reliable information, Algerian Muslim rebels in the south intended to harm the 3,000 remaining Jews of the Saharan community of Ghardaia. On June 12, 1962, the Jewish Agency requested Ben-Zion Cohen, one of the emissaries in Algiers, to fly to Ghardaia and warn that community about the potential dangers. The State of Israel also contacted the French authorities in the south to inform them of Cohen's arrival. Upon his arrival Cohen met with Jacob Blocca, Ghardaia's community president. Blocca then convened an emergency meeting of the community council members in which Cohen prodded them to permit the Jewish Agency to evacuate the Jews before it was too late. The community leadership gave its approval.

Already in mid-June Cohen began to register the families at the local *talmud torah* building. Of the 3,000 Jews in Ghardaia, 2,700 agreed to leave immediately. Meanwhile, the Jewish Agency in Europe received from Cohen precise data on the size of the immigration and the number of planes needed for the operation. The Grande Arenas transit camp in Marseilles was prepared to accommodate the transients. However, the Algerian rebels found out about the operation and were determined to prevent the departures. Not wanting to risk lives, Cohen telephoned the French governor, who himself was about to leave Algeria. The latter sent a military vehicle with several armed paratroopers to guard Cohen and accompany him to the local military base for his own protection. Toward the end of June the French planes chartered by the Jewish Agency reached Ghardaia's military airport. The immigrants could now take the 12-kilometer ride to the airport on buses, guarded by military jeeps and a helicopter. Algeria was a sovereign nation when the evacuation process ended successfully in July 1962.

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[Michael M. Laskier (2nd ed.)]

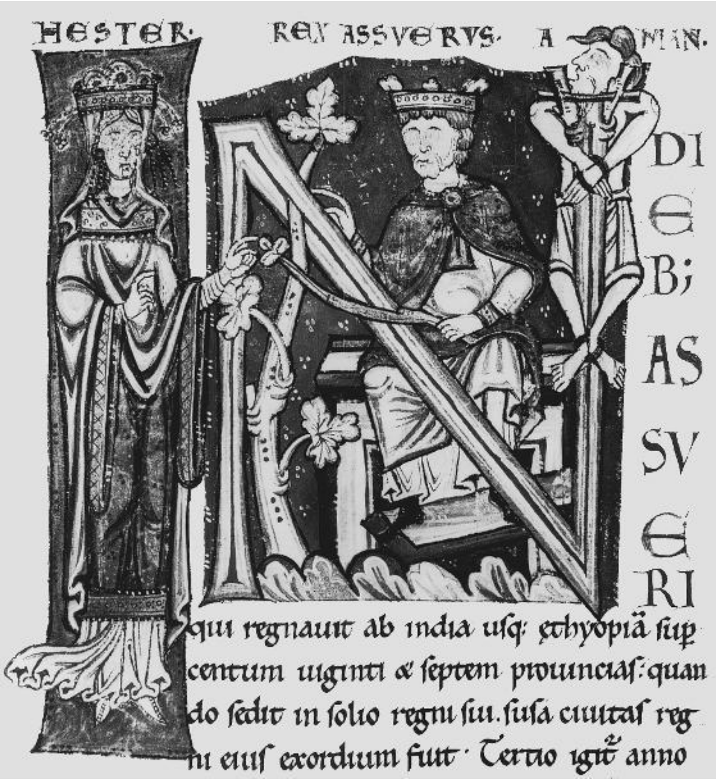
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*The letter "N," a part of the illuminated word In (*diebus Assueri*) at the beginning of the Book of Esther in a 12th–century Latin Bible. On the right of King Ahasuerus, Haman is being hanged. The "I" frames the figure of Esther. Rheims. Bibliothèque Municipale, Ms. 159, fol. 5v.*

Naa-Nas

NAAMAH (Heb. נַעֲמָה; "pleasantness"), two biblical figures.

(1) Daughter of Lamech and Zillah and sister of Tubal-Cain (Gen. 4:22).

(2) Ammonite wife of Solomon, mother of Rehoboam (I Kings 14:21; II Chron. 12:13).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: EM, 5 (1968), 891–2 (incl. bibl.).

NAAMAN (Heb. נַעֲמָן, "pleasant"; the name occurs in Ugaritic and is an epithet of heroes in Ugaritic epics), Syrian commander, healed of leprosy by the prophet *Elisha. According to II Kings 5, Naaman, a valorous man, held by his king in great esteem but afflicted with leprosy, had a female slave from the land of Israel. From her, his wife learned that "the prophet that is in Samaria" could cure Naaman of his leprosy. Naaman departed for the land of Israel taking with him a letter from the king of Aram to the king of Israel, as well as lavish presents. The king of Israel thought that the letter asking him to cure Naaman was nothing but a trick "to seek an occasion against him." Elisha, however, asked that Naaman be brought to him. When Naaman and his escort arrived at Elisha's house, he was told by a messenger to wash seven times in the Jordan River. Offended by the prophet's brusqueness and aloofness, Naaman decided to leave the land of Israel, but on the way his servants convinced him to do what the prophet prescribed. He washed in the Jordan and was cured. Naaman then went back to Elisha convinced that "there was no God in all the earth but in Israel." In vain he entreated the prophet to accept his presents. He then asked for "two mules' burden of earth, for thy servant will henceforth offer neither burnt offering nor sacrifices unto other gods, but unto the Lord." The fact that Naaman felt it was necessary to take earth from the land of Israel to build an altar for the Lord hints at the belief that sacrifices to YHWH could only be offered on Israelite soil (cf. Josh. 22:10ff.; II Sam. 26:19). Naaman also asked forgiveness for the fact that because of his office at the court he would be obliged to perform acts that could be interpreted as idolatry. Soon after Naaman's departure, Gehazi, Elisha's servant, ran after Naaman and through deceit received from him two talents of silver and two changes of clothing. As a punishment he was cursed with Naaman's disease. That neither Naaman nor Gehazi was isolated from society (II Kings 8:4; cf. Lev. 13–14) suggests that Naaman's disease was not what is now known as *leprosy.

In the Aggadah

Naaman was the archer who drew his bow at a venture and mortally wounded Ahab, King of Israel (I Kings 22:34) and thus it was that through him "the Lord had given deliverance unto Syria" (II Kings 5:1). It would therefore follow that his master, referred to in 5:18, was Ben Hadad (Mid. Ps. 90). Two reasons are given for his leprosy, one that it was a punishment for his haughtiness (Num. R. 7:5; cf. Rashi to Lev. 14:4) and the other that it was for taking an Israelite girl as maidservant to his wife (Tanḥ. Tazri’a, end). According to the *Mekhilta* (Yitro, Amalek 1), Naaman was an example of the righteous proselyte, ranking even higher than Jethro; according to the Talmud, however (Git. 57a), he became merely a *ger toshav*, a “resident alien” who accepted only the seven Noachide laws but not all the commandments.

NA’AN (Heb. נַעַן), kibbutz in central Israel, E. of Reḥovot, affiliated with Ha-Kibbutz ha-Me’uḥad. It was founded in 1930 as the first village of *Ha-No’ar ha-Oved youth. The founders were later joined by immigrants from many countries. During the 1936–39 disturbances Na’an maintained friendly ties with Arab villages in the vicinity and was not attacked, but it came under siege by the British army on “Black Saturday,” June 29, 1946, when 23 settlers were wounded. In 1969 Na’an had 870 inhabitants; in 2002, 1,140. Its economy was based on highly intensive farming (citrus groves, avocado plantations, field crops, and dairy cattle) and it ran a metal plant producing irrigation and other equipment. The settlement’s name is adapted from the Arabic name of the site, Naʿana, which in turn may be the original town of Naamah of the tribe of Judah (Josh. 15:41).

[Efram Orni / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

NAAR, DAVID (1800–1880), U.S. politician, journalist, and public servant. Naar, who was born in St. Thomas, Danish West Indies (now Virgin Islands), was sent to Manhattanville, New York, at the age of 15 to be educated. He spent about five years there. Because of Black insurrections in the Caribbean and the decline of trade, his family moved to New York City in 1834 and continued their tobacco importing and exporting business. In 1838 Naar purchased a farm near Elizabeth, New Jersey, became active in politics as a Democrat, and was rewarded politically with an appointment as lay judge of the Court of Common Pleas. He was appointed mayor of Elizabeth in 1849. In 1844 he was a delegate to the state constitutional convention where he vigorously and successfully advocated giving Roman Catholics the right to vote and hold office. President James K. Polk appointed him as commercial agent of the United States to St. Thomas (1845–48). Naar moved to Trenton in 1853 and bought the *Daily True American* which he edited until 1870. His nephew and son then edited the paper until 1905. The newspaper, which became a very influential factor in the Democratic Party, espoused the cause of the South, favored (at first) secession and states’ rights, and was pro-slavery. Naar was attacked by his Republican opponents as “a West Indian Jew” and other epithets. Naar served as treasurer of New Jersey and a member of the Trenton Common Council. He favored free public school education, free public libraries, and was one of the founders of the Normal School for Teachers (now the College of New Jersey).

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[S. Joshua Kohn]

NAARAH (Heb. נַעֲרָה), town in the Jordan Valley on the boundary between the territories of Ephraim and Benjamin (Josh. 16:7; I Chron. 7:28 – Naaran). It is called Neara by Josephus, who relates that Herod’s son *Archelaus diverted the waters of the village to irrigate groves of palm trees (Ant., 17:340). Eusebius refers to it as Noorath and describes it as a Jewish village five miles from Jericho (Onom. 136:24). A Midrash mentions that hostile relations existed between Naarah and Jericho (Lam. R., 1:17, no. 52). The Jews living there are mentioned in late Christian sources (Simeon Metaphrastes, *Life of St. Chariton* (Gr.) 7:578; Palladius, *Historia Lausiaca*, 48). Naarah is now identified with ʿAyn al-Dūk, 4½ mi. (7 km.) north of Jericho. In 1918 a mosaic pavement was accidentally uncovered there by Australian troops when a shell exploded, and some fragments were removed and transported to Sydney. The site was subsequently excavated by L.H. Vincent and B. Carrière in 1919 and 1921, and published by P. Benoit in 1961. The pavement was found to be part of a synagogue which consisted of a court with a pool, an L-shaped narthex, and a hall, 72 × 49 ft. (22 × 15 m.), paved with mosaics. On the pavement are depicted two gazelles at the entrance and geometric designs in the aisles. The nave is decorated with images of birds within interlocking rhombuses and circles; a zodiac with the sun in the center and the symbols of the seasons in the corners; Daniel flanked by two lions; two candelabra and ritual objects. Another candelabrum was depicted in front of the main entrance to the hall. Inscriptions in the pavement commemorate the donors: Phinehas the priest, his wife Rebekah, a certain Samuel, Benjamin the *parnas*, Marutah, Ḥalifu, etc. The images of living beings had suffered from iconoclasm at a later date. The synagogue dates to the sixth century. The pavement (and some additional details, previously unknown) was rediscovered in 1970.

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[Michael Avi-Yonah / Shimon Gibson (2nd ed.)]

NABAL (Heb. נָבָל; connected with the Ar. *nabīl*, “noble”), man of the town of Maon who owned much livestock near the neighboring town of Carmel, southeast of Hebron on the edge of the desert of Judah; a Calebite (I Sam. 25:3; *keri* and versions). David extended his protection to Nabal’s flocks when he was camping with his men in the desert of Judah (25:14–16). Nabal refused to give him a “gift” out of his produce at the time of the sheep-shearing (25:10–11). *Abigail, Nabal’s beautiful wife, appeased David and dissuaded him from taking revenge (25:18ff.). Her husband, she said, punning on his name, “as his name is, so is he; Nabal [נָבָל] is his name and outrage [נְבָלָה] is with him” (25:25). After Nabal’s death by a stroke, she became

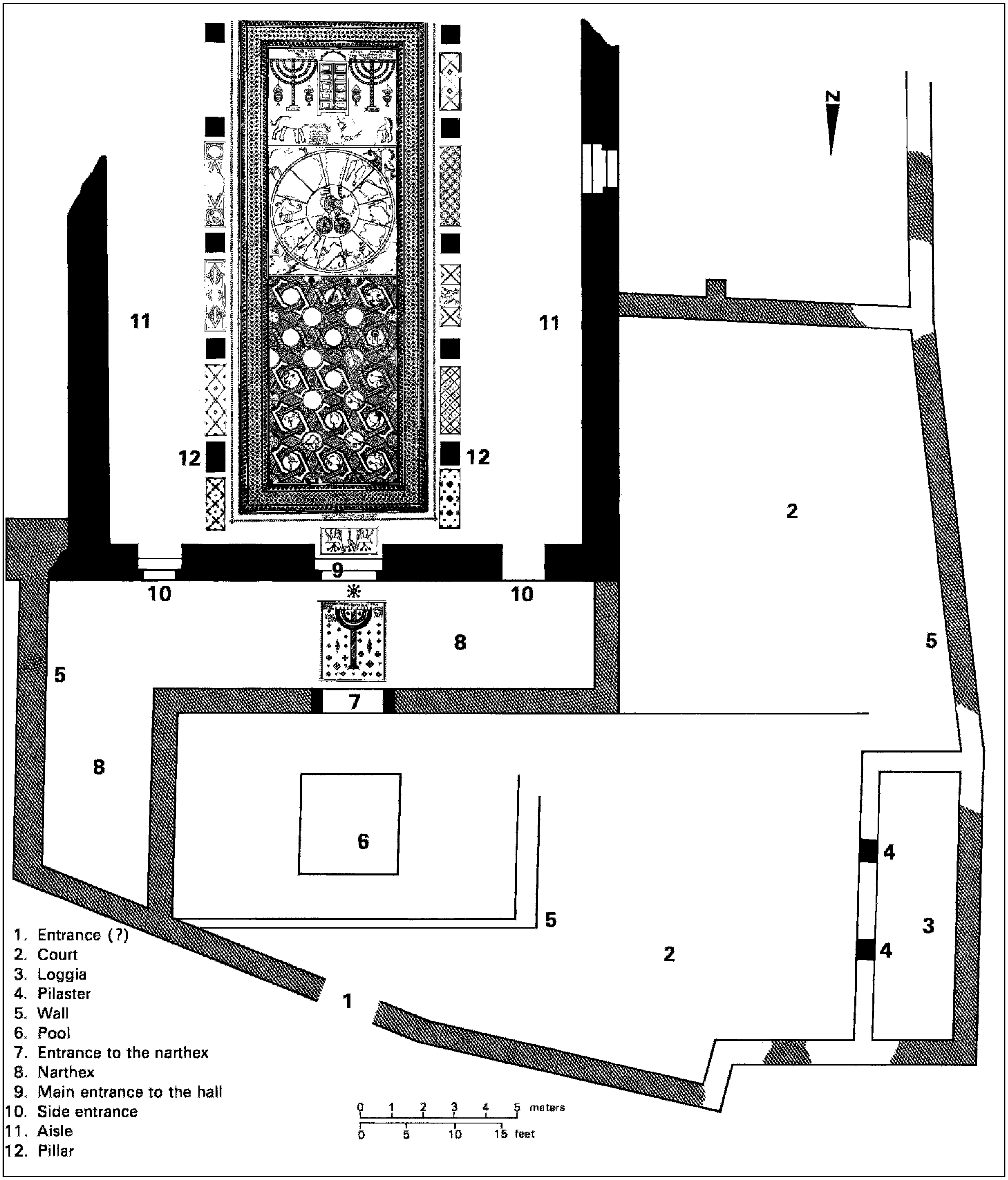
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3
1. Entrance (?)
2. Court
3. Loggia
4. Pilaster
5. Wall
6. Pool
7. Entrance to the narthex
8. Narthex
9. Main entrance to the hall
10. Side entrance
11. Aisle
12. Pillar
0 1 2 3 4 5 meters
0 5 10 15 feet

Plan of the synagogue at Naarah, sixth century C.E., with drawing of the mosaic floors in the nave and in the narthex. Based on Encyclopaedia of Archaeological Excavation in the Holy Land, *Jerusalem, 1970.*

David's wife (1 Sam. 25:42). This tale is one of the finest narratives in the Bible and is a faithful description of the life of the prosperous cattlemen on the border of the desert of Judah.

[Yohanan Aharoni]

In the Aggadah

In the Aggadah Nabal is referred to as a descendant of Caleb in order to compare his own illustrious ancestry to that of David who was descended from Ruth the Moabitess (TJ, Sanh. 2:3, 20b). He denied God, had idolatrous thoughts and was guilty of unchastity. Like *Laban, the letters of whose name are identical with those of Nabal, he was a scoundrel (Mid. Ps. 53:1). Ten days intervened between his illness and his death (I Sam. 25:38) because he had given food to each of David's ten men (I Sam. 25:5; RH 18a); or because these were the Ten Days of Penitence, when God hoped that Nabal would repent (TJ, Bik. 2:1, 64d). According to another opinion, however, Nabal was smitten more than a week after Samuel died, his death being delayed in order to avoid any confusion between the mourning for a righteous man and a wicked one (Mid. Ps. 26:7).

NABATEANS, ancient people in the Middle East. Originally a pastoral, nomadic people, the Nabateans became merchants in the trade of oils, aromatics and spices, frankincense and myrrh from southern Arabia. By the second century B.C.E., they controlled the Red Sea coastal cities and were considered unwelcome competition by Ptolemaic shipping interests (Diodorus 3, 43:5). Soon thereafter the expansionist Nabateans established settlements on the lucrative trade route, dominating the passage from the Hejaz through Petra to Damascus, and from Petra through the Negev to the Mediterranean port city of Gaza. Nabatean remains are found at over 1,000 sites in this area. At their height they controlled and colonized parts of modern-day Syria, Jordan, the Israeli Negev, Sinai, parts of eastern Egypt, and a northwestern section of Saudi Arabia. Nabatea's apogee is from the first century B.C.E. to the second century C.E. Nabatean material culture reaches its zenith in the second half of the first century B.C.E., before the Romans established control in 106 C.E.

The Nabateans (Gk. *Nabataioi*) are identified as people from the Arab kingdom of Nabatea. They refer to themselves as *Nabatu* on their Aramaic inscriptions. Their origins are controversial, but according to Graf the Nabateans arose within the Aramaic-speaking world of the so-called "Fertile Crescent" (Hieronymous of Cardia, *apud* Diodorus Siculus 19:95), and they may have been a sub-tribe from Qedar or the Persian Gulf. Philip C. Hammond places their origins in the Arabian Hejaz. However, the fact is that we do not know where they come from; thus, their origins are unknown. Whatever their origins, we do know that by 312 B.C.E. the Nabateans were already living in Petra, where they defended themselves successfully from an attack by Antigonus the "One-Eyed," a veteran commander from Alexander the Great's eastern campaigns.

The Nabatean Kingdom was strategically located. It was interlaced with east-west routes traversing the desert of the region now designated as the Israeli Negev (south of Beersheba) to the ports of Gaza, Ascalon, and Raphia (Rafa) in the Sinai, the latter a border town between Gaza and Egypt on the Mediterranean Coast. It also included the vast desert of the Sinai. From Petra, which served as the nexus for the redistribution of goods for the caravan traffic, the most important route to the west crossed the Negev to the Sinai. Here the Nabateans established settlements in the Negev that served as their intermediary links either to the Mediterranean or to Jerusalem and Phoenicia in the north. The best known of these towns include: Nessana (Auja al-Hafir in Arabic, Nitzana in Hebrew), and in the Negev, Sbeita or Sobata (Isbeita in Arabic, Shivta in Hebrew), Elusa (Khalasa in Arabic, Halutza in Hebrew), Oboda (Abda in Arabic, Avdat in Hebrew), Rehovot-in-the-Negev (Ruheibeh in Arabic), and Mampsis (Kurnub in Arabic, Mamshit in Hebrew). From Mediterranean ports ships sailed westward to the North African coast to Egypt and Alexandria, and northwards to Palestinian and Phoenician ports, primarily Caesarea and Tyre, and to Anatolian ports, such as Miletus. Goods were then transported further afield to Europe.

What little is known of Nabatean history is through Greek, Latin, Hebrew, and Nabatean sources which have been extensively researched by the Abbé J. Starcky (1966), P.C. Hammond (1973), R. Wenning (1987), and G.W. Bowersock (1983). Writing in the Augustan period, two writers are particularly important for our understanding of the Nabateans. One is the first century B.C.E. Sicilian-born Greek historian, Diodorus Siculus, whose *Bibliotheca historica* (19:94–100) is based on Hieronymos of Cardia. The second historian is Strabo, who wrote about the Nabateans in his *Geography*.

Petra – Capital of Nabatea

Located in a north-south deep canyon, approximately 50 miles (80 km.) south of the Dead Sea, via the Desert Highway some 160 miles (260 km.) south of Amman, Petra is enclosed by the towering majesty of the scarp which forms the Dead Sea Rift System. It can be said that the city of Petra (*Raqmu* in Nabatean) is symbolic of the religious, social, and political order of the Nabateans, and we have little physical evidence that is more central to their study. This complex, remarkable capital of the Nabatean kingdom is unique in its setting and architecture, including not only opulent temples and 800 tombs but also all the trappings of an active major urban center with a theater, baths, and administrative buildings.

The chronologies of Nabatean monarchs for these periods are provided by Abbé J. Starcky 1966, Z.T. Fiema and R.N. Jones 1990, and R. Wenning 1993 (see chart of Nabatean kings below). Although the early rulers are shrouded in mystery, the list begins with a reference to the Nabateans in the war with the Seleucid king Antigonus of Syria. The Nabatean King Aretas I (ca. 170–160 B.C.E.) is referred to as the "tyrant of the Arabs" and the "King of the Nabatu," or King of the Nabateans. It is also Aretas I who is cited in II Maccabees 5:8 as the protector of the High Priest Jason, who asks for asylum in Petra. He also rules when cordial hospitality is offered to the Maccabean leaders Judas and Jonathan. There is scholarly debate (see Bowersock 1983) as to whether Aretas I is or is not succeeded by a king known as Rabbel I.

Although the known rulers are male, there is clear evidence for the high status accorded queens, for the coinage demonstrates that both the king and the queen occupied prominent positions. And in some cases they probably serve as joint rulers.

Nabatean Language and Writing

The Nabateans were apparently multilingual. Their native language was Arabic, many of their personal names were in Arabic, and they spoke Arabic, but they adopted the *lingua franca*, Aramaic, which they wrote in their own script for formal inscriptions. After the Romans occupied and established a strong military presence in the area, Petra continued to retain its native language but used Greek for business. After 106 C.E. the Nabateans incorporated Roman institutions and employed Latin for government and business.

Nabatean Religion

The main deities of the Nabateans were Dushara, and Al-'Uzza (on the various deities see Sourdel, 1952). Dushara – Dusares in Greek, Dus-sara (pronounced Dushara, or "Lord of the Shara") – was the tutelary deity of Petra, the supreme deity of the Nabateans and of Petra. He is associated with vegetation and fertility, and is also the everlasting, deathless god. At Petra Dushara has been recognized by a black obelisk and huge rectangular blocks of stone that carried his spirit (Glueck 1965). The tradition handed down by Arab folklore is that the djinn blocks and tower tombs are representations of Dushara and embody his spirit. The djinn are considered to be malevolent spirits that inhabit some 26 of these blocks of stone found at Petra. Dushara was also worshipped in carved quadrangular niches with *betyls* in them.

In the Hellenistic period, Dushara became equated with Dionysos, and was syncretized with the Egyptian gods Serapis and Osiris. Later he may be identified with the Hellenistic Zeus and Ares.

Al-'Uzza (sometimes associated with the Syrian Atargatis, meaning "the mighty One") is the Nabatean mother goddess, the Arabian Aphrodite sometimes referred to as Al-'Uzza-Aphrodite. She symbolizes fertility and vegetation, and is also the paramount queen, the sky-mother, and the patroness of travelers. Most important of all, she is the creator and sustainer of life.

Nabatean Material Culture

Among the most remarkable of Nabatean technological achievements are the hydraulic engineering systems they developed for water conservation. Utilizing their ingenuity, they constructed dams, terraces, and aqueducts to divert and harness the rush of swollen winter waters. As brilliant engineers they diverted flash flood conduits to funnel the precious resource throughout Petra.

Nabatean architecture exhibits an eclecticism achieved by a combination of styles, with Hellenistic Greek, Seleucid, Ptolemaic, Egyptian, and to a lesser extent Parthian architectural concepts. These are combined with a Nabatean sense of Orientalism. A strong native style asserts itself in both architecture and sculpture. Most of their monuments were constructed within a 200-year period. The artisans were probably imported, perhaps from Alexandria. With time the stylistic development of sculptural decoration became simplified, so that by the Roman period, most of the recovered sculpture is more bold and crude in character with less warmth, and a metamorphosis takes place resulting in a style that has all but lost its individuality.

Nabatean construction primarily employed sandstone ashlar blocks – either bonded together with mortar or drylaid. Their walls are set with timber stringcourses that provide tensile reinforcement against earthquakes. The diagonally chiseled surfaces are designed to hold colorful stucco commonly used for decoration. Ornamented plaster, and sometimes marble imported for use as revetments, also decorated many of the buildings.

Nabatean Coinage

Minted for 170 years, the earliest Nabatean coins were struck during the period of 62–60 B.C.E. These coins are important sources of information about Nabatean political standing.

Nabatean Pottery

Nabatean pottery is unique. It is what archaeologists refer to as a "horizon-marker" or an "index fossil," because it is different from any other wares produced at this time. Not only is it recovered in prodigious numbers at Petra and known Nabatean sites in Jordan, but large quantities also are found in Saudi Arabia, the Negev, and the Sinai. The origins of Nabatean pottery are obscure, but it makes its earliest appearance at Petra during the reign of Aretas II, or between 100 and 92 B.C.E.

In conclusion, Nabatean research proves the existence of a highly original culture that flourished from the second century B.C.E. to the second century C.E. Nabatea has not yet, however, yielded all the secrets concealed in its soil.

(The names of sites and monuments in Petra and Jordan are based on the official transliteration system used by the Royal Jordanian Geographic Center (RJGC).)

The Chronology of Nabatean Kings
(based on Z.T. Fiema and R.N. Jones (1990)

Aretas I	ca. 170–160 B.C.E.
(?) Rabbel I	
Aretas II	ca. 100–96/92 B.C.E.
Obedas I	93–85 B.C.E.
Aretas III Philhellenos	85–62 B.C.E.
Obedas II	62/61–59 B.C.E.
Malichus I	59/58–30 B.C.E.
Obedas III	30–9/8 B.C.E.
Aretas IV "Lover of his People"	9 B.C.E.–40 C.E.
Malichus II	40–70 C.E.
Rabbel II	70–106 C.E.

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[Martha Sharp Joukowsky (2nd ed.)]

NABLUS, city in Ereẓ Israel (in later times called *Shechem in Hebrew). Nablus was founded by Vespasian in 72/73 C.E. as Flavia Neapolis on the site of the Samaritan village Mabartha ("the passage") situated between Mts. Ebal and Gerizim near biblical Shechem (Jos., Wars 4:449). Biblical Shechem is identified with Tel Balatah, which has remains from protohistoric times down to the late Persian period. Because of its favorable geographic position and abundance of water the Roman city prospered; it was endowed with an extensive territory including the former Judean toparchy of Acraba. Neapolis was hostile to Septimius Severus, who therefore temporarily deprived it of municipal status. In 244 Philip the Arab turned it into a Roman colony called Julia Neapolis; its coinage continued until the time of Trebonianus Gallus (251–3). Its temples included an Artemision and the city also had an agora, colonnaded streets, a stepped nymphaeum, a theater and hippodrome, etc. In recent years important remains of Roman Neapolis have been unearthed by Y. Magen. Christianity took root early in Neapolis; it was the birthplace of *Justin Martyr (c. 100) and had a bishop as early as the Council of Ancyra in 314. In Byzantine times it was depicted on the Madaba Map as a walled town, Neapolis was also an important center for the *Samaritans who twice revolted and set up a "king." The city was conquered in 636 by the Arabs, who retained its name in the form Nablus. It is mentioned several times in talmudic literature as Nipolis (TJ, Av. Zar. 5:4, 44d); the rabbis, as well as some early Christian authors, confused it with Shechem, and even with Samaria. Under Muslim rule Nablus contained a mixed population of Muslims, Persians, Samaritans, and Jews. The synagogue built in 362 by the high priest Akbon was turned into a mosque (al-Khaḍra'). From 1099 to 1187 the city was held by the crusaders, who called it Naples. It was the second capital of the royal domain and contained a palace and a citadel; the city itself was unwalled at that time. In 1522 a Jewish community is mentioned in Nablus; its fortunes varied throughout the 18th and 19th centuries until it completely abandoned the city shortly after 1900. Nablus remained a center of the Samaritans, some of whom still live there.

[Michael Avi-Yonah / Shimon Gibson (2nd ed.)]

Modern Period

After World War I Jews again tried to live there, but Nablus was a center of Muslim fanaticism, and the 1929 Arab riots ended these attempts. The town suffered severe damage in the 1927 earthquake and was largely destroyed. The Mandatory Government aided its reconstruction along modern lines but sought to preserve its Oriental character. The Samaritan quarter lies at the foot of Mt. Gerizim; wealthier inhabitants have built their homes, mostly in the last decades, on the slopes of Mt. Ebal and Mt. Gerizim. Under the Jordanian regime (1948–67), the economy of Nablus, then the center of the largest district of the West Bank, was based mainly on administrative services and farming. In addition to its traditional industry of soapmaking (its raw material coming from the extensive olive groves of the vicinity), the first modern manufacturing enterprises made their appearance, most of them in the Sokher Valley to the east. In the *Six-Day War, on June 7, 1967, Nablus was taken by an Israeli column coming from the east. In the census held by Israel in the fall of 1967, Nablus had 44,000 inhabitants (as against 23,300 in 1943), of whom all were Muslim, except for 370 Christians and about 250 Samaritans. When, however, the populations of villages and refugee camps next to the town were added, the total number amounted to about 70,000, making Nablus the largest urban center of Samaria.

By the early 21st century the population of the city had reached 100,000, while the Nablus district had a population of 200,000. Nablus was one of the West Bank towns from which Israeli troops withdrew in the wake of the 1995 Oslo II agreement signed at Taba. With the outbreak of the second intifada in 2000 it became part of the terrorist infrastructure and a jump-off point for terrorists making their way to Israel. In 2002 it was targeted by Israeli forces in Operation Defensive Shield and since then has been subjected to roadblocks, searches, and security actions by Israel.

[Efraim Orni]

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NABONIDUS (**Nabû-na᾽id**), last king of Babylon (556–539 B.C.E.), son of a governor, Nabû-balaṭsu-iqbi, and a votaress of Sin. A native of *Haran, Nabonidus was a military commander in his sixties when he ascended the throne of Babylon.

The principal cuneiform sources concerning his reign are: the Nabonidus Chronicle (Pritchard, Texts, 305–7); a basalt stela, which relates his rise to power (*ibid.*, 308–11); a memorial inscription from Haran, which tells the story of his mother (*ibid.*, 311–2); the so-called "Verse Account of Nabonidus," a libel which accuses Nabonidus of mendacity, madness, and of impiety (*ibid.*, 312–5); and foundation documents relating the rebuilding of sanctuaries.

The same period is recorded also by Herodotus, Xenophon, and Josephus. His religious activities were multiple. He restored the ziggurat of Ur and its various temples, e.g., Esagila – the great temple of Marduk in Babylon. One of his dreams was to reconstruct the temple of Sin in Haran. This important city commanding the highways from northern Mesopotamia to Syria and Asia Minor had been in the hands of the Medes since 610. To expel the Medes, Nabonidus sought the help of the young Persian king *Cyrus. In the battle that followed, Cyrus captured the Median king Astyages – his grandfather – and annexed the Median kingdom, thus initiating the building of a great empire which was to include Babylonia as well. In the third year of his reign, Nabonidus went to Syria to raise troops for his campaign in Arabia. He took Hamath, rebuilt the temple of Sin in Haran, stayed during a brief illness in the Anti-Lebanon, and started for Arabia. He took Adummu (al-Jauf) and destroyed *Tema, which he rebuilt and made his residence for several years. His son Bêl-šar-uṣur (*Belshazzar, cf. Dan. 5) stayed in Babylon as regent during Nabonidus' long absence. His stay in Tema still puzzles historians, and various explanations have been put forward, the most accepted being that his major aim was the resurrection of the ancient moon religion of Sin.

In the fall of 539 Cyrus, with the approval and perhaps even on the initiative of the priesthoods of Babylon and the other cities of southern Mesopotamia, invaded the Babylonian empire. By that time Nabonidus was back in the capital. During Cyrus' siege of Opis on the Tigris, the inhabitants revolted against Nabonidus, who massacred them. On the 15th of Tashritu (September–October), Sippar surrendered to Cyrus without battle. Nabonidus fled. The next day Babylon – whose priests, especially the priest of Marduk, opposed him – opened its gates to Cyrus and his allies (the Gutians). Nabonidus was later arrested upon his return to Babylon. On the third day of the following month Cyrus made his triumphal entrance into Babylon. "Great twigs were spread before him. The state of 'peace' was imposed on the city." Nabonidus' end is obscure; according to Josephus, however, he was treated humanely by the conqueror, who assigned Carmania (Central Iran) for his residence (Jos., Apion 1:153). Aramaic fragments from Qumran in which Nabonidus (*Nbny*) relates that while in Teman (so!) he was afflicted with an inflammation of the skin (*sheḥin*) for seven years until an unnamed Jewish soothsayer (*gazar*, a word which also appears in the Aramaic of *Daniel) advised him to pray to the God of Heaven instead of to the idols, show what sort of speculations the king's prolonged residence in remote Tema gave rise to. This suggests that the story about the seven years' lycanthropy of Nebuchadnezzar in Daniel 4 goes back ultimately to such malicious speculations about Nabonidus on the part of disaffected Babylonians.

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[Laurentino Jose Afonso]

NABOTH (Heb. נָבוֹת), owner of a vineyard close to the palace of *Ahab king of Israel (I Kings 21:2). Naboth came from the town of Jezreel. Ahab coveted Naboth's vineyard, but Naboth refused to sell or exchange it, basing his refusal on the tradition that inherited family property cannot be taken out of the family's hands: "The Lord forbid it me, that I should give the inheritance of my fathers unto thee" (21:3). In order to obtain the vineyard, Ahab's wife *Jezebel fabricated an accusation against Naboth that he blasphemed God and the king (21:10). According to the custom in the Ancient East, the property of a rebel against the monarchy was confiscated and taken into the royal treasury. Evidence of this custom has also been preserved in one of the *Alalakh documents (No. 17). As a result of a staged trial Naboth's property was confiscated and he himself was stoned. Another biblical tradition states that his children were also killed. Elijah the prophet raised his voice against Ahab because of Naboth's execution, and Elijah's scornful words branded Ahab a murderer and robber and foretold the doom of the royal house (I Kings 21:17–24). The story of Naboth serves as an example and symbol of the Israelite's close attachment to his inheritance and his family-tribe tradition. Furthermore, this story points to the limits of royal authority in Israel, which cannot deal arbitrarily with the lands belonging to the people. For this reason Jezebel had to represent Naboth as a rebel against the king and as blaspheming God.

[Hanoch Reviv]

In the Aggadah

Naboth was Ahab's cousin, with the result that the king, by killing Naboth's sons (II Kings 9:26), could claim his vineyard by right of inheritance (Sanh. 48b). He used to make regular pilgrimages to Jerusalem, and as a great singer, many followed him. It was because he once failed to make his customary journey that his false conviction took place (PR 25, 127a). Naboth's opportunity for revenge, however, came when God asked: "Who shall entice Ahab that he may go up and fall at Ramoth-Gilead?" (I Kings 22:20–21). It was the "spirit" of Naboth which volunteered for the task (Shab. 149b).

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NACHÉZ, TIVADAR (**Theodor Naschitz**; 1859–1930), violinist and composer. Born in Pest, Hungary, Nachéz as a boy played with Liszt and studied under *Joachim in Berlin. In 1889, after settling in London, he embarked on his career as an internationally renowned violin virtuoso. His compositions include *Danses Tsiganes*, a violin concerto, and a string quartet. He also edited Vivaldi's violin concertos in A minor and G minor.

NACHMANN, WERNER (1925–1988), industrialist and German-Jewish communal leader. Born in Karlsruhe (Baden), he fled with his family to France in 1938 and returned as an officer in the French army to his native city in 1945. He was the chairman of the Karlsruhe Jewish community (1961–88), of the Association of Jewish Communities (Oberrat) in Baden, and of the Central Council of Jews in Germany between 1969 and his death in 1988. He received numerous awards, such as the Theodor Heuss Prize, for his efforts regarding the improvement of Jewish-Christian relations. He was, however, also criticized during his long tenure as top official of Germany's Jewish communities as being too lenient toward former Nazis. Thus, his defense of the minister president of Baden-Wuerttemberg, Hans Filbinger, who faced accusations over his role as a judge during World War II, caused considerable protest within and beyond the Jewish community. Immediately after Nachmann's death it was discovered that he had embezzled about DM 33 million of restitution money. Although his successor, Heinz Galinski, made this affair public and tried to discover where the money had gone, it was never resolved conclusively.

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[Michael Brenner (2nd ed.)]

NACHMANOVICH (Pol. **Nachmanowicz**), wealthy family in *Lvov, Poland; its members were among the leaders of the community within the walled city of Lvov during the late 16th and early 17th centuries.

The first-known member of the family, ISAAC BEN NAḤMAN (d. 1595), is mentioned in 1565 as *dayyan* of the community, and for many years was among its leaders. As chief of the representatives of the communities of the "Land of Russia" (*Senior generalis ziem ruskich*) he participated in meetings of the Council of the Four Lands. In 1589 he was *parnas* of the Council and in 1590 he and his son Mordecai paid the first installment of a tax in its behalf. Isaac attained his high position in the community through his diversified activities as a spice merchant and tax farmer. Among other undertakings he leased an important customs station in Sniatyń, in the Lvov region, and held the rights to the lease of the state revenues in the city of Lvov and the sub-district (*starostwo*). He was also engaged in large-scale moneylending against pledges of real estate and valuables. Through his wealth and prestige he was able to appear in the Polish law courts without having to take the Jewish *oath (*more judaico*). Isaac also had access to the Polish kings Sigismund II Augustus and Stephen Báthory. In 1581, he was authorized to acquire a plot of municipal land where he built a magnificent synagogue in Gothic style at his own expense after the plans of an Italian architect. It became known as the "Turei Zahav" synagogue.

Isaac's elder son, NAḤMAN ISAAKOVICH (Naḥman ben Isaac; d. 1616), took over his father's affairs, including his tax farming and moneylending undertakings, and acquired the lease of the market imposts and other revenues of Lvov. He served as head of the community a number of times, and was admitted to the citizenship of Lvov, being known among Christians by the honorific "Generosus." He was also a scholar. Naḥman, who was stringent in collecting the taxes, had frequent conflicts with the local inhabitants who accused him of overcharging the customs dues, but the city council, which was dependent on his loans, rejected their complaints. From 1603 Naḥman headed a struggle to preserve the synagogue erected by his father which the Jesuits in Lvov wished to convert into a church and seminary. In 1609 a compromise was reached which left the synagogue in the ownership of the Nachmanovich family, while the Jewish community undertook to procure a suitable site for the needs of the Jesuits in the suburbs of Lvov for a sum of 20,600 zlotys. Immediately afterward, Naḥman and his brother Mordecai completed the construction of the synagogue, adding a women's gallery and magnificent religious requisites. In honor of its opening R. Isaac ha-Levi composed a "Song of Redemption" which was sung by the Jews of Lvov for many generations. The deliverance of the synagogue was preserved in the memory of the local community and gave rise to a number of legends. It was connected in folklore with Naḥman's wife Rojse ("Di gildene Rojse," as she was called by the Jews) who was renowned for her beauty and wisdom. After the death of her husband, Rojse took charge of his business affairs until her death in 1637. Her tombstone, which was preserved until the Nazi occupation, was inscribed with a Renaissance-style epitaph extolling her deeds.

The younger son of Isaac, MORDECAI (MARCUS) BEN ISAAC (d. 1635?), ranked among the elders (*seniores*) of the Lvov community, and also engaged in tax farming. In 1627 the merchants of Lvov accused him of overcharging the customs duties. He became court purveyor in 1634 to King Ladislaus IV, furnishing supplies to the Polish army in the war with Russia.

The son of Naḥman Isaakovich and Rojse, ISAAC NACHMANOVICH (Junior; b. 1595), after years of apprenticeship under the tutelage of his mother and uncle, resumed the business in his own right and on occasion acted as court banker. In 1626 he lent considerable sums of money to the royal treasury during the war with Sweden. In 1634 Isaac was given the status **servus camerae* by King Ladislaus IV, and exempted from paying all customs duties and imposts, whether levied by the crown or privately. He also expanded his commercial activities, especially the trade in textiles and supply of oxen to the army, and in partnership with others, leased the state revenues in the districts of Lvov and *Drogobych. However, by 1637 he was on the verge of bankruptcy, and in 1646 was arrested for debt. He succeeded in escaping from prison and disappeared.

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[Arthur Cygielman]

NACHOD (Czech **Náchod**), town in N.E. Bohemia, Czech Republic. Its Jewish community was one of the four oldest in *Bohemia and is first mentioned in the city records of 1455. The Jewish street dates from the end of the 15th century. Jews were expelled from Nachod in 1542 and robbed on their way to Poland. They returned in 1544 and founded a school which is mentioned in 1547. The cemetery dates from 1550 and a *mikveh* from 1592. Eleven families were recorded in the town in 1570. In 1663, the Jews were accused of having caused a conflagration in which their quarter and a large part of the town was destroyed. One member of the community was executed; the whole community was attacked, and its members fled. Some founded a community in Ceska Skalice which was expelled in 1705. Soon reestablished, the Nachod community had 60 families in 1724. The synagogue was rebuilt in 1777. Jews were active in making Nachod a center of the textile industry; in 1848 Isaac Mautner founded the famous Mautner textile company. At the end of the century they were beset by antisemitic riots and plunder in connection with the *Hilsner case (1899). There were 150 Jewish families in Nachod in 1852; 630 persons in 1893; 463 in 1921; and 293 in 1930 (2.1% of the total population). In 1902 there were 100 Jews in 22 surrounding localities, among them formerly important communities such as Hronov, Cerveny Kostelec (Ger. Rothkosteletz), and Police nad Metuji, who were affiliated to the Nachod community. In 1934 the *Moller family transferred their textile factory to Palestine, founding the Ata company at *Kiryat Ata. Among the rabbis of Nachod were Heinrich (Ḥayyim) *Brody, who officiated from 1898 to 1905, and Gustav *Sicher. Under Nazi occupation in June 1939, the synagogue was desecrated, and in July the Gestapo raided Jewish homes. The cemetery – its oldest monument dating from 1648 – was also destroyed. In December 1942 the Jews were deported to Theresienstadt, and from there to the death camps of Poland. After World War II a small congregation affiliated with the *Liberec community was established, primarily by veteran soldiers from *Subcarpathian Ruthenia. Nachod was one of the important transit stations for *Beriḥah (1945–46). A monument was erected there for the victims of the Holocaust in 1958. The synagogue building was demolished in the 1960s.

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[Jan Herman]

NACHOD, JACOB (1814–1882), merchant and second president of the *Deutsch-Israelitischer Gemeindebund. An orphan, he studied at the Wolfenbuettel Samsonschule and went to Leipzig in 1830. There he founded in 1844 the Gesellschaft der Freunde, the forerunner of the Leipzig communal organization established in 1868. He cooperated with M. Kohner in the founding of the Deutsch-Israelitischer Gemeindebund (1869) and succeeded him as its president on Kohner's death in 1877. Nachod's main contributions were in the field of education and welfare.

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NACHOD, OSKAR (1859–1933), German historian and bibliographer. Born in Leipzig, Nachod began to write a definitive history of Japan. He abandoned the immense task after completing two volumes. These volumes, *Die Urzeit* (1906) and *Die Uebernahme der chinesichen Kultur* (1930), have remained classics. Nachod's magnum opus was the seven-volume *Bibliographie von Japan* (1928–44), the last parts of which were completed by other scholars. It is a catalog of books and periodical articles dealing with Japan published in European languages between 1906 and 1943.

NADAB (Heb. נָדָב; "[God] has been generous"), eldest son of *Aaron and Elisheba daughter of Amminadab (Ex. 6:23; Num. 3:2, et al.). For details see *Abihu. (The two are always mentioned together and what applies to Abihu is also true of Nadab.) Nadab too left no sons (Num. 3:4; I Chron. 24:2).

[Morris M. Schnitzer]

Nadab and Abihu in the Aggadah

Apart from the one sin which brought about their mysterious deaths, Nadab and Abihu were righteous men. As to the nature of the sin – the "strange fire" which they offered up – there are various interpretations. The most obvious explanation bases itself on the injunction against the priests' partaking of wine and strong drink before entering the sanctuary (Lev. 10:9), which immediately follows this episode. It is therefore suggested that Nadab and Abihu were in a state of intoxication when they offered up the "strange fire." A number of interpretations suggest that they neglected the various ritual requirements connected with the offerings (Lev. R. 20:8–9).

It is also suggested that their overbearing haughtiness was responsible for their deaths. They did not marry because they considered no woman good enough for themselves, saying, "Our father's brother [Moses] is a king, our mother's brother [Nahshon] is a prince, our father [Aaron] is a high priest, and we are both deputy high priests – what woman is worthy of us?" (Lev. R. 20:10). They even went so far as to wish for the death of Moses and Aaron so that they could assume the mantle of leadership (Sanh. 52a; Lev. R. 20:10). Even in the performance of the sacrifice they displayed their haughtiness by refraining from consulting with one another and by neglecting to ask Moses and Aaron whether they might offer such a sacrifice, depending instead upon their own judgment. The sages deduce from this episode that it is forbidden for a disciple to render a legal decision in the presence of his master (Lev. R. 20:7). It is, however, also suggested that their death was a vicarious punishment for their father's sin with regard to the golden calf. Moses relates: "Moreover the Lord was very angry with Aaron to have destroyed him" (Deut. 9:20), and "destruction" means extinction of offspring (Lev. R. 10:5). Moses attempted to comfort his brother by assuring him that his two remaining sons were greater than Nadab and Abihu. At Sinai, Moses was told that he would sanctify the Tabernacle through the death of a great man. He thought that the reference was to himself or Aaron, but now he realized that Nadab and Abihu were nearer to God (Lev. R. 12:2).

Their deaths were caused by "two streams of fire,… branched off into four, and two entered into each of the nostrils of Nadab and Abihu." Their souls were burnt, although no external injury was visible (Sanh. 52a). The whole House of Israel was bidden to bewail the death of Nadab and Abihu (Lev. R. 20:12) for "the death of a pious man is a greater misfortune to Israel than the destruction of the Temple" (Sif. Deut. 31).

[Aaron Rothkoff]

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NADAB (Heb. נָדָב), son of Jeroboam whom he succeeded on the throne of Israel (907–906 B.C.E.). Nadab is said to have ruled for two years (I Kings 14:20; 15:25). Since it is also related that he came to the throne in the second year of Asa's reign in Judah and that he was assassinated and succeeded by *Baasha in the third year of Asa's reign (15:28), the actual period of his rule must have been less than two years. During his short reign he fought against the Philistines and laid siege to *Gibbethon. Baasha, who presumably was one of his officers, revolted against him. The usurper assassinated all the descendants of Jeroboam as predicted by Ahijah the Shilonite (15:29).

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[Josef Segal]

NADAV, ẒEVI (1891–1959), Second Aliyah and Ha-Shomer activist, editor, and author. Born in Ein Zeitim near Safed, he was brought up in Bobruisk, Belorussia, and returned to Ereẓ Israel in 1906. Nadav was one of the founders and outstanding members of *Ha-Shomer ("Watchmen's Organization") and among the first settlers at Umm Jūnī (*Deganyah) and *Merḥavyah. In 1917, when the Nili intelligence network was uncovered, he was sentenced to forced labor in Turkey, but escaped to Russia and returned to Palestine in 1919. He was a member of *Gedud ha-Avodah ("The Labor Legion") and was active in the organization of Jewish defense in Jerusalem in 1920, in Jaffa in 1921, and in Haifa in 1929. He studied engineering and was the editor of the journal *Tekhnikah u-Madda* ("Mechanics and Science"). His memoirs, which appeared in *Koveẓ ha-Shomer* ("Ha-Shomer Anthology," 1937), and his books, *Mi-Ymei Shemirah ve-Haganah* ("The Days of Vigilance and Defense," 1954), and *Kakh Hitḥalnu* ("Thus We Began," 1958), are a source for the history of the period.

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[Yehuda Slutsky]

NADDAF, ABRAHAM ḤAYYIM (1866–1940). Born in *San'a, Yemen, to a family of rabbis and communal leaders, he settled in Jerusalem in 1891 with R. Shalom *Alsheikh, his close friend and partner for many years in the leadership of the Yemenite community in Jerusalem. From his arrival he acted to disengage the Yemenite community from the Sephardi *kolel* (communal organization) in order to promote the economic and cultural life of his community, which was included in the Sephardi *kolel* and was discriminated against in the distribution of financial resources. With R. Alsheikh he took decisive steps to separate his community from the Sephardi *kolel*, against the policy of the older recognized leadership. As a young person he was the first in the communal leadership to understand and use modern political and communal standards. For that end he established independent community institutions such as schools, yeshivot, and a hostel for newcomers from Yemen, and what was crucial for their independent existence, namely, a network of fundraising to finance these institutions. He traveled several times as an emissary of both the Sephardi and the Yemenite communities to *Syria, *Lebanon, and Yemen. Following complaints by the Sephardi *kolel,* he and many other Yemenite separationist leaders were arrested in 1907 by the Ottoman government in Jerusalem, but he was successful in escaping from prison dressed as a woman and went to Constantinople, where he could obtain a *firman* from the Sublime Port for establishing an independent Yemenite *kolel*. In 1908 he carried out a comprehensive and detailed census of the Yemenite community in Jerusalem which constitutes a very helpful source for our knowledge of that community. To preserve the Yemenite tradition he worked for the publication of the essential liturgical religious books: *tāj* (Pentateuch, including the *tafsīr,* Arabic translation of *Sa'adia Gaon) and a *tiklāl* (*siddur*). In 1903, he represented the Yemenites of Jerusalem at the first assembly of Ereẓ-Israeli Jews in Zikhron Ya'akov's *kolel*. He was the first Yemenite rabbi in Ereẓ Israel to investigate Yemenite traditions and published several books and articles on the subject, such as the first bibliography of the works of Yemenite scholars, *Seridei Teiman* ("Remnants of Yemen," 1928), *Anaf Ḥayyim* (notes on *tiklāl Eẓ Ḥayyim* by R. Yiḥye Ṣaliḥ). In consequence of a disagreement with younger leaders in the community he retired and moved to Tel Aviv, devoting his last years to research. His rich literary legacy, preserved by his descendants, was used by Prof. Y. Ratzaby for his research on Yemenite Jews, including his memoir *Zekhor le-Avraham*.

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[Yosef Tobi (2nd ed.)]

NADEL, ARNO (1878–1943), German poet and liturgical musicologist. Born in Vilna, Lithuania, Nadel studied liturgical music under Eduard *Birnbaum in Koenigsberg. In 1895, he entered the Jewish Teachers' Institute in Berlin and spent the rest of his life in Berlin. His first book, a volume of aphorisms and verse entitled *Aus vorletzten und letzten Gruenden* (1909), betrayed the influence of Nietzschean philosophy. His later works dealt mainly with biblical and Jewish themes. They include the play *Adam*, staged in Karlsruhe in 1917; *Das Jahr des Juden* (1920), a collection of 12 poems; *Rot und gluehend ist das Auge des Juden* (1920); *Der Suendenfall* (1920); and *Juedische Volkslieder* (1923). His most important verse collection, *Der Ton* (1921, enlarged 1926), constitutes his Jewish reply to the nihilism of his time. He also published a German translation of *An-Ski's drama, *Der Dybbuk* (1921). *Der weissagende Dionysos* (1934), a collection of his later poetry, was republished after World War II.

In 1916 Nadel was appointed conductor of the choir at the synagogue in the Pestalozzistrasse, and later became musical supervisor of the Berlin synagogues. He devoted much effort to the collection and study of synagogal music and East European Jewish folk song, searching for manuscripts and noting oral traditions. Many of these he published and discussed in the music supplements of the *Berlin Gemeindeblatt* and *Ost und West*, and in his articles on Jewish music in the *Juedisches Lexicon* and the German *Encyclopaedia Judaica*. Some of the Yiddish folk songs were also published separately, as in his *Jonteff Lieder* (1919) and *Juedische Liebeslieder* (1923). Drawing on his researches, Nadel restored old traditions and raised the standards of the synagogue choirs. His manuscript collection included several unique cantors' manuals, such as that of Judah Elias of Hanover (1744). All of this he planned to incorporate in a multivolume compendium of synagogal music entitled *Hallelujah*, which was to have been published under the auspices of the Berlin community. The preparation of the earlier volumes was apparently well under way before Nadel was transported to Auschwitz, where he was murdered. His papers were reported to have been hidden in time, but most have not been recovered.

Nadel was himself a composer, and wrote the incidental music for Stefan *Zweig's *Jeremias* (1918). A man of many talents, he also excelled as a graphic artist and as a painter of landscapes and portraits.

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[Sol Liptzin and Bathja Bayer]

NADEL, SIEGFRED FERDINAND STEPHAN (Frederick; 1903–1956), British anthropologist. Born in Austria, Nadel studied with Moritz Schlick and Karl Buehler, and developed a command of contemporary philosophical and psychological theory. In 1932 he began the serious study of anthropology at the London School of Economics under B. Malinowski and C.G. Seligman. He studied the music of primitive peoples, and African linguistics with D. Westermann. He did field work in the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan and with the Nuba, from 1938 to 1940. During World War II he served with the British armed forces and later as a lieutenant colonel with the British Military Administration, 1945–46. He successfully applied his anthropological knowledge to the administration of peoples of various origins and traditions. When a department of anthropology was established at the University of Durham in 1948 he was appointed to the chair, and in 1950 took the new chair of anthropology and sociology at the Australian National University, and was dean of the Research School of Pacific Studies. His ethnographic work was shown in *A Black Byzantium* (1942). In his research he investigated the deeper bases of cultures and employed new psychological techniques of investigation such as intelligence tests. Nadel's primary accomplishment, however, is in theory, which he developed in two major works, *The Foundations of Social Anthropology* (1951) and the *Theory of Social Structure* (1957). His great concern was how to unify the conceptual systems of social anthropology and sociology with a psychological framework. His *Theory of Social Structure* has been described as "one of the great theoretical teatises of twentieth century anthropology… which will have a lasting place in the fundamental literature of our subject" (Meyer Fortes). Nadel died unexpectedly of a heart attack at the age of only 52.

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[Ephraim Fischoff]

NADELMAN, ELIE (1882–1946), U.S. sculptor. Nadelman, who was born in Warsaw, studied art there and in Cracow. He lived in extreme poverty in Paris for some years, but his first one-man show in 1909 was a triumph. His work at this time was mainly influenced by classical Greek art, but certain drawings and pieces of sculpture hinted at a search for a new direction. Andre Gide wrote in his *Journal* (1909): "Nadelman draws with a compass and sculpts by assembling rhombs. He has discovered that each curve of the human body is accompanied by a reciprocal curve opposite it and corresponding to it." Nadelman, who regarded himself as the father of cubism, resented his not being recognized as such. He made his way to the U.S. early in World War I, and had his first American one-man show in New York at the end of 1915. Over the years Nadelman became very successful with his fashionable, witty portrait busts. Nadelman and his wealthy wife assembled one of the finest collections of American folk art. The depression of the 1930s, however, brought a change in his fortunes and after 1932 he was virtually forgotten. He spent his last years doing voluntary occupational therapy at the Bronx Veterans' Hospital and making sentimental little plaster figures for mass reproduction. Nadelman was rediscovered when in 1948, two years after his death, the New York Museum of Modern Art, in collaboration with the Boston Institute of Contemporary Art and the Baltimore Museum of Art, mounted a memorial exhibition of his work. This revealed him as an important sculptor, remarkable for the supple languor of his marble heads, his translations of folk art, and his comments on human foibles.

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[Alfred Werner]

NĀDER SHAH, Persian king of the Turkish-speaking tribe of Afshār, originating from the northeastern region of Iran, who according to reliable sources acted as the head of a band of highway robbers and later became the king of Iran (1736–47). Nāder was a Sunni and thus aimed at diminishing the influence of the Shiʿite religious authority which became predominant in Iran during the Safavid period (1501–1736). This trend of thought to some extent brought relative relief to the Jews, who suffered extreme persecution and conversions under the Safavids. He may have entertained the idea of uniting all the monotheistic religions, at least in Iran, but he never acted seriously to implement his idea except for ordering the heads of the Jews, Christians, and Muslims to translate their holy books into Persian. The translation of the Jewish Holy Scriptures was made by Rabbi Bābāi ben Nuriel of *Isfahan. The translation was made into *Judeo-Persian (Persian language in Hebrew letters). It was later transliterated into Persian script by a Muslim. The manuscripts of these Bible translations are preserved in the Vatican Library, the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, and the *Ben-Zvi Institute in Jerusalem.

In addition, Nāder entered Jewish history for being involved in two other events: (1) According to the Chronicle of *Bābāi ben Farhād (written around 1730), during his wars to expel the invading Afghans from Iran (1722–30), Nāder, who in the Chronicle is called by his pre-royal name, Tahmasb Nader-Quli, extracted a large amount of money from the Jews of *Kashan and Isfahan and treated them badly. (2) Nāder, who made *Meshed the capital city of Iran, was responsible for the transfer of many Jews from *Kazvin and *Gilān provinces to the east and northeast of Iran which eventually resulted in the settlement of a group of Jews in Meshed around 1746. Nāder's mistreatment of the Jews in the Eastern Caucasus is described by Altshuler.

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[Amnon Netzer (2nd ed.)]

NADICH, JUDAH (1912–), Conservative rabbi and postwar special advisor for Jewish affairs to General Dwight David Eisenhower. Nadich received his Bachelor of Arts degree with Phi Beta Kappa honors from the City College of New York and his Master of Arts degree from Columbia University. He was ordained by the Jewish Theological Seminary of America, which also awarded him the degrees of Master of Hebrew Literature, Doctor of Hebrew Literature, and Doctor of Divinity (*honoris causa*).

Upon ordination he served as rabbi of Temple Beth David in Buffalo from 1936 to 1940 and of Anshe Emet Synagogue in Chicago from 1940 to 1942. He then enlisted and served as an army chaplain for four years, spending 3½ years in the European Theater of Operations as senior Jewish chaplain with the U.S. armed forces and deputy to the theater chaplain. After the first German concentration camps were liberated, General Eisenhower appointed him his advisor on Jewish affairs, in which capacity he was instrumental in creating livable conditions for Jews who had survived the Holocaust, working with Displaced Persons and with other Jewish chaplians to urgently alleviate their desperate conditions. He received several American decorations, the French Croix de Guerre, and the Order of the British Empire. He retired from active duty in 1946 with the rank of lieutenant-colonel. The government of Israel decorated him with the Ittur Loḥamei ha-Medinah for his service during wartime. The Jewish Welfare Board honored him with the Frank L. Weil Award for distinguished service in the Armed Forces. Following his retirement from the Army, Nadich spent a year and a half on an extended speaking tour, addressing Jewish communities in 40 states on behalf of the *United Jewish Appeal. On behalf of the *Joint Distribution Committee, he addressed Jewish communities throughout South Africa, Zimbabwe, and Zambia as the guest of the South African Jewish War Appeal.

He then went on to serve in the pulpits of two major Conservative congregations, very different in kind and in constituency. He was rabbi of Kehillath Israel (KI) in Brookline, Massachusetts, from 1947 to 1957; and in 1957 he came to Park Avenue Synagogue in Manhattan after the death of Milton *Steinberg, where he remained for three decades as rabbi and, after 1987, as rabbi emeritus. KI was located in a middle class suburb of Boston and its congregants were arch traditionalists; a four-day a week Hebrew School was the norm, followed by high school supplemental education at Boston Hebrew College. The congregation produced dozens of rabbis and Judaic scholars from its student body. Park Avenue Synagogue is located on the prestigious upper East Side. Its congregants were leaders of business and industry, Wall Street and the worlds of banking and finance. Nadich served both communities well.

Active in national as well as local affairs, Nadich was president of the Rabbinical Assembly; the Association of Jewish Chaplains of the Armed Forces; and the Jewish Book Council of America; vice president of *Hadoar*, the American Hebrew weekly magazine and an honorary vice president of the Jewish Braille Institute and a member of its board of directors from 1957. He was chairman of the Commission on Jewish Chaplaincy of the Jewish Welfare Board. At the invitation of the Department of Defense and the Armed Forces Chaplains Board during November 1971, he conducted Torah Convocations in South Vietnam and Japan and visited Jewish chaplains and servicemen in those countries and in Thailand, with the brevet rank of major-general; similarly, in Germany in November 1974. In July 1990, he officiated at the first bat mitzvah in China. In 1992 the secretary of the Army appointed him to the commitee of the Department of Defense commemorating the 50th anniversary of World War II.

He wrote *Rabbi Akiba and His Contemporaries, The Legends of the Rabbis* (2 vols.; 1994), *The Jewish Legends of the Second Commonwealth* (1983), and *Eisenhower and the Jews* (1953); he was the editor and translator of *The Flowering of Modern Hebrew Literature* (1959) by his late father-in-law, Menachem Ribalow; the editor of *Al Halakhah ve-Aggadah* (1960), a volume of Hebrew essays by Louis Ginzberg. His brochure on Yom Kippur, written for Jews in the armed forces of the United States, has a distribution in the hundreds of thousands.

[Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

NAḌĪR, BANŪ l-, one of the three major Jewish tribes in *Medina (pre-Islamic Yathrib) that became famous in Islamic historiography through their conflict with *Muhammad. Following their defeat, the Naḍīr left their fortifications and orchards and went into exile. The Naḍīr and their brother-clan, the *Qurayẓa, probably considered themselves descendants of Aaron ben Amram, and hence their nickname *al-kāhināni*, "the two priests," or "the two priestly tribes." Several years before Muhammad's arrival at Medina (the *hijra*), the two tribes cooperated with the Arab tribe of Aws in the battle of Buʿāth, although the Naḍīr had been beforehand, and were afterwards, allied with the Arab tribe of Khazraj; the Qurayẓa were constantly allied with the Aws. But with regard to tribal status the two tribes were unequal: the Naḍīr were more prestigious than the Qurayẓa and were entitled to a higher rate of blood money. Against this background there was tension between the tribes of which Muhammad presumably took advantage.

Roughly up to the middle of the sixth century Medina was controlled by a Sassanian military governor whose seat was in al-Zāra on the coast of the Persian Gulf; the Naḍīr and Qurayẓa were then "kings" and exacted tribute from the Aws and Khazraj on behalf of the Sassanians. In the last quarter of the sixth century the king of al-Ḥīra made an Arab of the Khazraj the king of Medina, which indicates that the Jews were no longer "kings" and tribute collectors. However, they later regained their power, and in the above-mentioned battle of Buʿāth they, together with the Aws, defeated the stronger Khazraj. After Muhammad's arrival the Jews were still the owners of fortresses and weapons par excellence. Muhammad concluded non-belligerency agreements with the Naḍīr as he did with the other main Jewish tribes; these agreements were not related to the so-called "Constitution of Medina" in which the main Jewish tribes did not participate.

The town of Zuhra in the Medina area that was close to al-Quff, the town of the *Qaynuqāʿ, was "the town of the Naḍīr," although it was also inhabited by others. In Zuhra there were reportedly 300 goldsmiths, but it is not clear whether all or part of them belonged to the Naḍīr. The town was located near the eastern Ḥarra (stony tract) of Medina that was named after it, Ḥarrat Zuhra.

Beside agriculture, the Naḍīr were involved in commerce: one of them, Abu Rafi, is referred to as "the biggest merchant among the people of Hijaz." They traded in textiles, wine, and weapons. In addition to the common tower-houses (*uṭum*, pl. *āṭām*) which were also used for residence, the Naḍīr had a castle capable of sheltering the whole tribe in times of war. But the accounts of Muhammad's war against them speak of house-to-house fighting, which may indicate that they were taken by surprise.

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[Michael Lecker (2nd ed.)]

NADIR, MOYSHE (pseudonym of **Isaac Reis**; 1885–1943), Yiddish poet and humorist. Born in eastern Galicia, Nadir emigrated to New York at the age of 13 and at 16 began to write lyrics in which he emphasized the hardships of the immigrant generation. His later lyrics were more skeptical and often bitingly satirical. In addition to poetry, Nadir published feuilletons, essays, short stories, plays, and criticism in dozens of different Yiddish periodicals and anthologies, as well as dozens of his own books. He tried to mask his sentimentalism in biting irony, which increased as he found life increasingly meaningless, and sought escape from nihilistic moodiness in jesting. He said: "When God had nothing to do, He created a world. When I have nothing to do, I destroy it." He coedited the humorous biweekly *Der Yidisher Gazlen* and was a frequent contributor to *Der Groyser Kundes*, the most widely read Yiddish humorous periodical of his time. He participated in the literary projects of Di *Yunge and aroused interest with his volume of erotic lyrics *Vilde Royzn* ("Wild Roses," 1915). His popular poem "Rivington Strit" ("Rivington Street," 1936), published with the illustrations of Yosl Cutler and William Gropper, was transformed into a performance piece. Delighting readers with his paradoxes and wit, his writings served, at the same time, as a means through which he vented his anger at the world. His plays, poems, and essays were intended to shock respectable society. The fantastic is a thread often running through his stories. His major contribution to Yiddish literature, however, was his imaginative use of the language, demonstrating through his puns and coinages the plasticity of Yiddish. Active in communist circles, he was hailed by adoring Jewish crowds during a 1926 visit to the Soviet Union, and in his articles in the communist Jewish daily, *Frayhayt* (1922–39), he attacked opponents of the Communist Party line. However, severe disillusionment came with the Stalin-Hitler pact of 1939, and his collection of poetry *Moyde Ani* ("I Confess"), written in 1941 and published posthumously in 1944, includes an autobiographical section in which he repudiated his former beliefs (English transl. in I. Howe and E. Greenberg, *A Treasury of Yiddish Stories*, 1953).

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[Sol Liptzin / Edward Portnoy (2nd ed.)]

NADLER, JERROLD LEWIS (1947–), U.S. congressman, lawyer, and activist. Born in Brooklyn, N.Y., to Emanuel and Miriam, Nadler was raised as an Orthodox Jew. He attended the Crown Heights Yeshiva and then Stuyvesant High School. He holds an A.B. from Columbia College, where he was a Pulitzer scholar and co-founded a youth activist group called "West Side Kids" that sought better housing and education for Manhattan's West Side, supported liberal political candidates, and opposed the Vietnam War. He also holds a J.D. from Fordham University. Nadler's varied positions within Congress have included committees and subcommittees on transportation, the environment, and law. He is widely regarded as one of the most liberal members of Congress, representing one of the most liberal districts in the United States.

After serving in the New York State Assembly for 16 years, Nadler was elected to the House of Representatives in 1992, filling the seat of Ted Weiss who had died in office. He was elected to his seventh term in 2004. Nadler is best known as a defender of civil rights and civil liberties, efficient transportation options, affordable health care and housing, support for the arts, and defense of the Social Security system. Nadler has been an outspoken supporter of some of politics' most sensitive issues, including reproductive rights and sexual orientation discrimination. An expert in transportation issues, Nadler has worked with New York City officials to relieve congestion of major arteries, enhance bus and ferry routes, and improve subway access.

Nadler's commitment is tied to his constituents, those residents of the 8th Congressional District of New York, which is considered one of the most diverse districts in the nation; the district is also known as having one of the largest Jewish communities in any congressional district. Nadler has been a constant supporter of the Jewish community, authoring the bill granting federal tax exemptions on settlements received by Holocaust survivors, working to improve African American–Jewish relations, and backing federal hate crimes legislation. He also represents the largest gay community in the United States and took forceful issue with President Bill Clinton's "don't ask, don't tell" policy, adding that it also meant "don't get caught." He argued that it sanctioned bigotry in the United States, only changing the means by which it will be enforced.

Nadler acted as a staunch and vocal advocate of efforts to clean up the contaminants left behind in the wake of the World Trade Center terrorist attacks and the subsequent buildings' collapse. Nadler's immediate reaction to the attacks in 2001 was to help coordinate aid and supplies to residents and to help secure funds for victims; following that he worked for funding for community development and small businesses. He then focused on air quality, and called attention to what he felt was negligence by the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) in allowing residents to return to their homes near the collapse site, citing unsafe levels of environmental contaminants.

[Lisa DeShantz-Cook (2nd ed.)]

NADLER, MARCUS (1895–1965), U.S. economist. Born in Austria, he joined the Austrian army in 1912. During World War I he became a Russian prisoner of war and was sent to Siberia. From there he worked his way through Manchuria to the United States, where he enrolled as a night student at Columbia University and completed his studies at George Washington University. For several years he worked for the Federal Reserve Board, and in 1927 joined the faculty of New York University as professor of finance. He also served as a consulting economist for several New York banks and research director of the Devine Institute of Finance at New York University. His publications include *The Banking Situation in New York State* (1956), *The Money Market and its Institutions* (1955), and *International Money Markets* (1935) with J.T. Madden.

[Joachim O. Ronall]

NADSON, SEMYON YAKOVLEVICH (1862–1887), poet. He was grandson of an apostate Jew. After the death of his parents, his uncle, despite his opposition, sent him to army high school and to officers' school, from which he was discharged only because he became ill with tuberculosis. Owing to his illnesses during childhood, he suffered from antisemitic persecution from members of his mother's noble family. The sensitive and optimistic lyrics of his *Stikhotvoreniya* ("Poems," 1885) reflect an orphan's childhood and tragically brief career. Often republished in the U.S.S.R., Nadson's verse appealed especially to younger readers. Despite his Christian upbringing, he dedicated one poem to the Jews – "Ya ros tebe chuzhim, otverzhenny narod" ("I Grew Up Strange to You, Parish People") – which appeared in *Pomoshch* (1901), an anthology published to raise funds to aid devastated Jewish communities.

NADVORNAYA (Pol. **Nadwórna**), city in Ivano-Frankovsk (Stanislavov) district, Ukraine. An organized Jewish community existed from the beginning of the 18th century. According to the 1765 census, 937 Jews paid the poll tax in Nadvornaya and the surrounding villages. During the second half of the 18th century the ḥasidic movement made its influence felt among the local Jews. Nadvornaya Jews engaged largely in agricultural trade and owned oil wells, refineries, and saw mills. In 1880 the community numbered 4,182 (64% of the total population); by 1900 the number had decreased to 3,644 (48%); and in 1921 only 2,042 Jews (34%) remained, because of the pogroms perpetrated by Cossacks, Ukrainians, and Petlyura soldiers during World War I. Between the two world wars many Jews earned their livelihood from the lumber industry.

Holocaust Period

In 1941 there were about 5,000 Jews in Nadvornaya. Under Soviet rule (1939–41), community institutions and all Jewish parties ceased to function. With the outbreak of war between Germany and the U.S.S.R. (June 22, 1941), the city was occupied by the Hungarians, who were allies of the Germans. Some 2,000 Jews were expelled to there from the Transcarpathian province. The Ukrainians attacked the Jews, murdering many of them and looting their property. In September the Germans entered the town. On Nov. 6, 1941, an *Aktion* took place in which about 2,500 Jews were killed, among them 1,000 expellees. In the winter of 1941–42 a number of Jews were taken to concentration camps. A ghetto was established on June 20, 1942, and in another *Aktion* in the summer of 1942, hundreds were sent to the *Belzec death camp. In September and October 1942 groups of Jews were transported to the ghetto at Stanislav and murdered there. Although at the end of 1942 the ghetto at Nadvornaya was destroyed, a few Jews succeeded in escaping and hiding in the surrounding forest; some crossed the border into Hungary. Jewish life was not reconstituted in Nadvornaya after the war.

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[Aharon Weiss]

NAEH, BARUKH BEN MENAHEM (1880–1943), Turkish translator and legal writer. Active in Adrianople (Edirne) public affairs, he was a Turkish infantry officer during World War I and immigrated to Palestine in 1923. Naeh's translations include works by Yehuda Burla, A.S. Friedberg, and Sholem Asch, as well as part of the Ottoman *Majalla* legal code. He also compiled a volume of guarantees and laws governing loans and debts (1937).

NAFTALI, PERETZ (**Fritz;** 1888–1961), Israeli economist and politician, member of the First to Third Knessets. Born in Berlin, he studied at a Realschule in Berlin and at the Higher School for Trade (ZIA). In 1909–12 he worked for an export company in Berlin and Brussels. Naftali joined the German Social Democratic Party in 1911. In 1911–12 he served in the German army and in 1917–18 fought in World War I. In 1921–26 he was the economic editor of the German daily *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, and in 1926 became the director of the economic research institute of the Deutscher Gewerkschaftsbund (German Trade Union Federation). Naftali was viewed as a pioneer in the field of "economic democracy" and published a book under that title which earned him considerable fame in the international labor movement. Naftali joined the Zionist Organization in 1925, was chairman of the League for Labor Palestine, and a member of the Zionist Executive in Germany. In 1931 he took part in the Zionist Congress. In 1933, when the Nazis came to power in Germany, Naftali settled in Palestine. In 1933–36 he was a lecturer in economics at the Haifa Technion, and in 1936–37 at the Tel Aviv School of Economics and Law. In 1938–49 he served as the director general of Bank Hapoalim. He was a member of Asefat ha-Nivḥarim in 1941–48 on behalf of Mapai and a member of the Tel Aviv Municipal Council and the *Histadrut Executive. Naftali was elected to the first three Knessets on the Mapai list and served as minister without portfolio in 1951–52 and again in 1958–59, minister of agriculture in the years 1952–55, minister of commerce and industry in 1955, and minister of social welfare in 1959. In the First and Second Knessets, when he did not serve as a minister, Naftali was a member of the Knesset Finance Committee.

Among his writings are *Kalkalat Yisrael: Halakhah u-Ma'aseh* ("Israel's Economy: Theory and Practice," 1964); *Demokratya Kalkalit: Mivḥar Ketavim* ("Democratic Economics: A Selection of Writings," 1965).

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[Susan Hattis Rolef (2nd ed.)]

NAGARI (**Naʿari**), **MOSES BEN JUDAH** (14th century), philosopher. Nagari probably lived in Rome around 1300. He is the author of *Ma'amar ba-Ma'arekhet*, an index to Maimonides' *Guide of the Perplexed*, which also contains explanations of philosophical terms. This work was printed together with questions on the *Guide* addressed to Isaac *Abrabanel by Saul Cohen (Venice, 1574; reprinted in *Abrabanel, Ketavim al-Maḥashevet Yisrael*, vol. 3, 1967). Steinschneider suggested that Nagari's name should be read Naʿari and that he was a member of the Ne'arim (Adolescentoli) family. He also corrected certain mistaken notions about Nagari (Cat Bod, 1834).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Benjacob, Oz̤ar, 282 (no. 204), 355 (no. 33).

NAGASAKI, port in S. Japan. With the opening of Japan to international relations in the mid-19th century, Nagasaki gradually grew into a center of foreign trade. In the 1860s a small number of Jews, mainly from Eastern Europe, settled in the city. In the following years they organized religious and communal activities, built a synagogue, and maintained a burial ground. In the late 19th century (when the community numbered around 100) many of them earned a livelihood by catering to the needs of Russian sailors whose ships called regularly at the port. When this business ceased with the outbreak of the Russo-Japanese War in 1904, many of the Jews moved elsewhere, and the organized Jewish community came to an end.

[Hyman Kublin]

NAGEL, ERNEST (1901–1985), U.S. philosopher. Nagel, who was born in Nove Mesto (Moravia), emigrated to America at an early age. He received a B.S. from the City College of New York in 1923 and an M.A. (1925) and a Ph.D. (1930) from Columbia University. He was appointed to Columbia's faculty in 1930. He became John Dewey Professor of Philosophy in 1955 and university professor in 1967. Upon his retirement, he was professor emeritus at Columbia.

Though he was best known for his incisive and learned essays in the philosophy of science, Nagel's interests as a philosopher were broad. Many of his writings deal with social and political questions and with questions of religion. In these latter domains, influenced by his interest in the philosophy of science, his work emerges as a type of philosophical naturalism. According to Nagel, the types of explanation of the world that produce human knowledge are essentially those based on the model of explanation in the physical sciences. He argued, however, that such types of explanation must not be interpreted narrowly, as a kind of rigid scientism, but rather broadly; e.g., explanations of mental phenomena are not to be reduced to descriptions of the movement of material particles as in the physical sciences. He thus distinguished between naturalistic explanations and materialistic ones, where "materialism" is taken to mean that philosophical view which denies the existence of mind or mental qualities. In a similar vein, Nagel argued that "determinism" in physical theory is not such as to entail the denial of human freedom with regard to moral and political decisions. His analysis of morality and of human history accordingly allowed for the attribution of responsibility to human agents for their actions. Thus he maintained that naturalism, although committed to giving a correct account of scientific knowledge, includes within its scope a place for imagination, liberal values, and human wisdom. Nagel's main contribution to the philosophy of science is to be found in *The Structure of Science* (1961). He served as president of the Association of Symbolic Logic (1947–49), and as president of the Philosophy of Science Association (1960–62).

Among Nagel's other important writings are *An Introduction to Logic and Scientific Method*, with Morris Raphael Cohen (1934); *Principles of the Theory of Probability* (1939); *Sovereign Reason* (1954); *Logic without Metaphysics* (1956); *Gödel's Proof*, with James R. Newman (1958); *Observation and Theory in Science* (1971); and *Teleology Revisited and Other Essays in the Philosophy and History of Science* (1979).

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[Avrum Stroll / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

NAG HAMMADI CODICES, a collection of Coptic papyrus manuscripts discovered in 1945 in the Egyptian desert near the base of the Gebel et-Tarif in the vicinity of Nag Hammadi. The manuscripts, 13 in all, date from the fourth century and comprise a "library" of 52 tractates (not all of which are fully preserved). Presumably all of these writings are translations from Greek originals. Most, but not all, of the documents are gnostic in character, and therefore shed considerable light on the history and character of the gnostic religion of late antiquity, since before the discovery of this library of original texts, most of our knowledge of Gnosticism was dependent upon the writings of opponents, especially the Church Fathers.

These documents contain massive evidence concerning the Jewish elements in the development of Gnosticism, and refute once and for all the old opinion that Gnosticism originated as a Christian heresy. What follows is but a small sampling of this literature.

The Apocalypse of Adam (Codex v, tractate 5) is especially important, since it appears to be devoid of Christian influences, and it, or perhaps rather its *Grundschrift*, may even be a pre-Christian work. The *incipit* indicates at once the literary genre of the work: "The relevation which Adam taught his son Seth in the seven-hundredth year, saying …" The document is in direct continuity with the pseudepigraphic Adam literature of the Second Temple period (e.g., the Book of the Life of *Adam and Eve) and with well-known legends concerning Adam and Seth (cf., Jos., Ant. 1:67–71). In form it is an example of the "testament" literature (cf. e.g., the Testaments of the Twelve *Patriarchs and Gen. 49), Adam in this document giving his dying speech to his son Seth. (The "seven-hundredth year" is reckoned from Seth's birth, and according to the chronology of Gen. 5:3, the Septuagint, Pseudo-Philo, *Liber Anti-quitatum Biblicarum* 1:2, and Jos., Ant. 1:68, is the year of Adam's death.) Adam's speech deals with the experience of himself and Eve after creation, alluding to the Genesis accounts and to well-known Jewish *aggadot* (e.g., the "glory" of Adam before his fall). But the thrust is typically gnostic. The Creator, called "Saclas" (Aramaic for "fool"), holds Adamic man in fear and bondage. A revelation from the higher realm is necessary to effect salvation for gnostic man, the "Sethians." Adam recounts to Seth and his seed a revelation he has received from three angelic figures (cf. Gen. 18:2) prophesying the coming destruction by flood, by fire (cf. Sodom and Gomorrah), and the end of the world. The coming of a savior-figure, the "Illuminator," is also prophesied, in terms reminiscent of Iranian traditions, but also of Jewish messianic traditions. The Jewish elements in the *Apocalypse of Adam* are central, yet mutated in a heretical direction.

This is the case, too, with very many of the other Nag Hammadi documents. An "Ophite" version of the Paradise story is recounted in *On the Origin of the World* (II, 5), *The Hypostasis of the Archons* (II, 4), and, probably in its earliest form, in a Midrash imbedded in *The Testimony of Truth* (IX, 3), wherein the serpent and Eve are the revealers of knowledge, and the Creator is an envious villain. In addition to the Genesis story itself, aggadic traditions known from the Jewish Midrashim, including Aramaic word-plays ("serpent" חויא / "Eve" חוה / "instruct" חוא, cf. Gen. R. 20:27) are utilized in the text, but are, of course, retold in a gnostic, heretical direction.

The Apocryphon of John (II, 1; III, 1; IV, 1) is a document which is attributed, in an obviously secondary redactional framework, to *Jesus as a revelation to his disciple John. However, the basic revelation consists of a cosmogonic myth, with a Midrash on the first six chapters of Genesis, in which the figure of Jesus is altogether extraneous. At least a part of this myth was known also to Irenaeus (Adversus haereses 1:29). The myth contains speculations concerning the Highest God and the divine world (*ma'aseh merkabah*) and on the creation of the cosmos (*ma'aseh bereshit*). Speculation in, and study of, both these subjects was severely limited if not actually condemned by the rabbis of the tannaitic period (cf. Hag. 2:1 and see *Merkabah Mysticism). In accordance with a trend in post-biblical Jewish theology (cf. Jos., Apion, 2.167: "uncreated … immutable … unknowable"), the Highest God is described in negative terms which stress his utter transcendence. From him emanate other divine beings, including four angelic "light-bearers" that serve as attendants (cf. the four ḥayyot of Ezek. 1:5). However, what marks this document as heretical is that the Transcendent God is not also the Creator. Creation results from the "fall" of Sophia ("Wisdom," cf. the role of *ḥokhmah* in Prov. 8:22ff.; and sophia in Wisd. 7:22ff.), whose product is Ialdabaoth (also called "Saklas" and "Samael"). "Ialdabaoth" is the biblical Creator, and he, together with his fellow "archons," creates the world and the corporeal part of man. In his "ignorance" he claims to be the only God (he quotes Ex. 20:5 and Isa. 45:5). This myth is found not only in the Apocryphon of John, but in numerous other gnostic writings as well.

The creation of man in the *Apocryphon of John* is not only a retelling of the Genesis story, but is based on Jewish traditions of interpretation of key biblical texts. For example, the account of the fashioning of man's lower nature by Ialdabaoth and his fellow-archons is based on the Alexandrian-Jewish interpretation of Genesis 1:26f. and 2:7, that God relegated the creation of man's mortal nature to the angels (cf. Fug. 68–70: Justin, *Dialogue with Trypho the Jew*, 62). The duality of man's soul, i.e., a lower *psyche* and a higher *pneuma* ("spirit"), is based on the Hellenistic Jewish (probably Alexandrian) interpretation of the Septuagint of Genesis 2:7 (cf. Spec. 4.123; Det. 84). The detail that Adam was inert and lifeless until he received the heavenly "inbreathing" is developed from the Palestinian interpretation of Genesis 2:7 that depicts Adam as a *golem (cf. Gen. R. 8:1; 14:8; Sanh. 38b).

An interesting example of continuity between the *Dead Sea Scrolls and the Nag Hammadi documents is the tractate *Melchizedek* (IX, 1), wherein the figure of *Melchizedek is presented as a redeemer-holy-war figure, just as in the fragmentary scroll discovered in cave 11 at Qumran (11 Q Melch.). Other features of Melchizedek's role as presented in the Nag Hammadi tractate are reminiscent of Jewish traditions found in the Enoch literature, esp. 2 (Slavonic) Enoch.

Study of the Nag Hammadi documents provides a clearer picture of some of the gnostic groups described by the Church Fathers, especially the Valentinians and the so-called "Sethians." The following Nag Hammadi tractates are related to the Sethian form of Gnosticism: *The Apocryphon of John* (II, 1; III, 1; IV, 1), *The Hypostasis of the Archons* (II, 4), *The Gospel of the Egyptians* (III, 2; IV, 2), *The Apocalypse of Adam* (V, 5), The *Three Steles of Seth* (VII, 5), *Zostrianos* (VIII, 1), *Melchizedek* (IX, 1), *The Thought of Norea* (IX, 2), *Marsanes* (X, 1), *Allogenes* (XI, 3), and *The Trimorphic Protennoia* (XIII, 1). While some of these documents (but not all) are Christian in their present form, it is now clear that Sethian Gnosticism, in its earliest stages, developed independently of, and possibly even prior to, Christianity. The Jewish components of Sethian Gnosticism are central and constitutive.

In short, a wide variety of Jewish traditions may be found in the Nag Hammadi documents, biblical and extra-biblical, "main-line" and "sectarian," from Palestine and from the Diaspora, to the extent that the Jewish element in Gnosticism must be seen as primary and not secondary. Paradoxically, the hermeneutical thrust in the use of these materials is outspokenly heretical, even "anti-Jewish." These documents, therefore, present an exceedingly interesting area of study for scholars working in the fields of religious history, sociology, and psychology.

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[Birger A. Pearson]

NAGID (Heb. נָגִּיד, pl. נְגִּידִים; Ar. *ra'īs al-yahūd*), the head of the Jewish community in Islamic countries (except under

*Abbasid rule where Jewry was led by the *exilarchs). In the Middle Ages, beginning with the tenth century, there were *negidim* in *Spain, *Kairouan, *Egypt, and *Yemen; in *Morocco, *Algeria, and *Tunisia there were *negidim* from the 16th to the 19th centuries.

History of the Institution of the Nagid

When the Abbasid caliphate was split up and independent kingdoms came into being, the new rulers found it necessary to appoint a leader for each non-Muslim community. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān I (751–788), founder of the *Umayyad emirate in Spain, appointed a Visigoth prince to head the Christian community, and subsequent leaders of the Christians were appointed from among Christian courtiers or candidates proposed by the community. The duties of the head of the Christian community consisted of representing the community before the authorities, ensuring the payment of taxes, supervising community life, and administering the judiciary, which applied Visigoth law. In a similar manner, the heads of the Jewish community were appointed from among persons holding high rank at the court of the caliph or sultan, such as vizier, secretary, or treasurer; most, however, were physicians. Their task was to see to it that the Jewish community fulfilled the duties imposed on it (such as observing the Covenant of *Omar); they also appointed *dayyanim* and other community officials. Thus, the office of *nagid* came into being to serve the purposes of the Muslim state, but its existence was also in the interests of the Jews, for these **nesi'im* (the term *nagid* was first applied in the beginning of the 11th century) would intervene in their behalf to obtain better conditions or to bring about the cancellation of anti-Jewish decrees. The archetype of the institution of *nagid* was the Babylonian exilarch, with certain differences. The *negidim* did not claim Davidic descent, their appointment being based on their own achievements and their standing with the authorities, rather than their blood line, and they did not, as a rule, derive their income from taxes imposed on the community, as did the exilarchs. The similarity of the duties of the two institutions seems to account for the legend mentioned by *David b. Solomon ibn Abi Zimra (Responsa no. 944) and Joseph b. Isaac Sambari (Neubauer, Chronicles, 1 (1887), 115–6), according to which the office of *nagid* in Egypt was created by a member of the Babylonian exilarch's family who had been invited to Egypt by the Abbasid wife of the Egyptian ruler; D. Ayalon (Neustadt, see bibliography) has shown that there is no historical truth to this legend, for there is no record of any daughter of an Abbasid caliph marrying a Fatimid caliph, and, as stated, the *negidim* did not claim Davidic descent.

Spain

Among those known to have held the office of *nagid* in Spain are Ḥisdai ibn *Shaprut, physician and statesman at the courts of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III (ruled 912–61) and his son al-Ḥakam II (961–76). Ibn Shaprut did a great deal for the Jews in his own country, as well as for Jewish communities in other parts of the world; Dunash b. *Labrat refers to him as "judge." Jacob ibn *Jau, who succeeded Ibn Shaprut, was, according to Abraham ibn *Daud, appointed head of the Jewish community by Manṣur ibn Abi ʿAmir, the guardian of Hisham II (976–1013); the latter "issued him a document placing him in charge of all the Jewish communities from Sijilmassa to the river Duero… [The decree stated] that he was to adjudicate all their litigations, and that he was empowered to appoint over them whomsoever he wished and to exact from them any tax or payment to which they might be subject… he placed at his disposal… the carriage of a vicegerent. Then all the members of the community of Córdoba assembled and signed an agreement [certifying] his position as *nasi*, which stated: 'Rule thou over us, both thou, and thy son, and thy son's son also" (Abraham ibn Daud's *The Book of Tradition*, ed. by G.D. Cohen (1967), 69). Ibn Jau was in office for only one year, and was removed by the vizier al-Manṣur. The source quoted above illustrates the duties of the office, the manner in which the appointee was chosen by the authorities, and the appointee's acceptance by the community. Both Ibn Shaprut and Ibn Jau fulfilled the duties of *nagid*, but neither bore the title. Two Spanish *negidim* who did hold the title were Samuel ibn Nagrela (Samuel *ha-Nagid; 993–1056) and his son Jehoseph *ha-Nagid. Samuel was the treasurer and secretary of King Ḥabbus of Granada; S.D. Goitein (see bibliography) assumes that the title *nagid* was awarded to him by *Hai Gaon. His son, who also served as the king's secretary, was killed in 1066; according to Goitein, he was awarded his title by Daniel b. *Azariah, *nasi* and *Gaon* of Palestine from 1051 to 1062. Both *negidim* received their titles in recognition of the aid they extended to the *yeshivot*, both in Palestine and in Iraq (Babylonia).

Kairouan

During the same period, there was a separate Jewish leadership in Kairouan, Tunisia. The first official *nagid* who was appointed by the Zirid emir was ʿAbu Isḥaq Ibrahim ibn ʿAta (Natan), who served as court physician to the emir Badis (966–1016) and his son al-Muʿizz (1016–62), the rulers of the eastern Maghreb (Tunisia and Algeria). The appointment apparently was made during the period of the Fatimid al-Ḥākim bi-Amri'llah (1010–1221), at which time the opportunity was grasped to free themselves from Fatimid rule. It may be assumed that even before this there was local Jewish government in Kairouan, but without formal independent status. Ibrahim, like the Spanish *negidim*, extended aid to the Babylonian *yeshivot*, in addition to attending to the needs of his own community, and earned the praise of Hai Gaon, who in 1015 awarded him the honorary title of *negid ha-Golah* ("*nagid* of the Diaspora"). He died in about 1020 and was succeeded by Jacob b. Amram, who was referred to by such titles as *negid ha-Golah, sar ha-Segullah* ("the chosen prince"), and *pe'er ha-ʿedah* ("pride of the community"). There is no record of his early activities and the last report about him dates from 1041. He helped the Kairouan community in times of need, sent contributions to the *yeshivot* in Palestine and Babylonia, and earned the praise of the exilarch Hezekiah b. *David. He was also in contact with the Jewish community in Sicily. It is probable that there was one more *nagid* in Kairouan before the community ended in the 1160s.

List of Negidim in Egypt

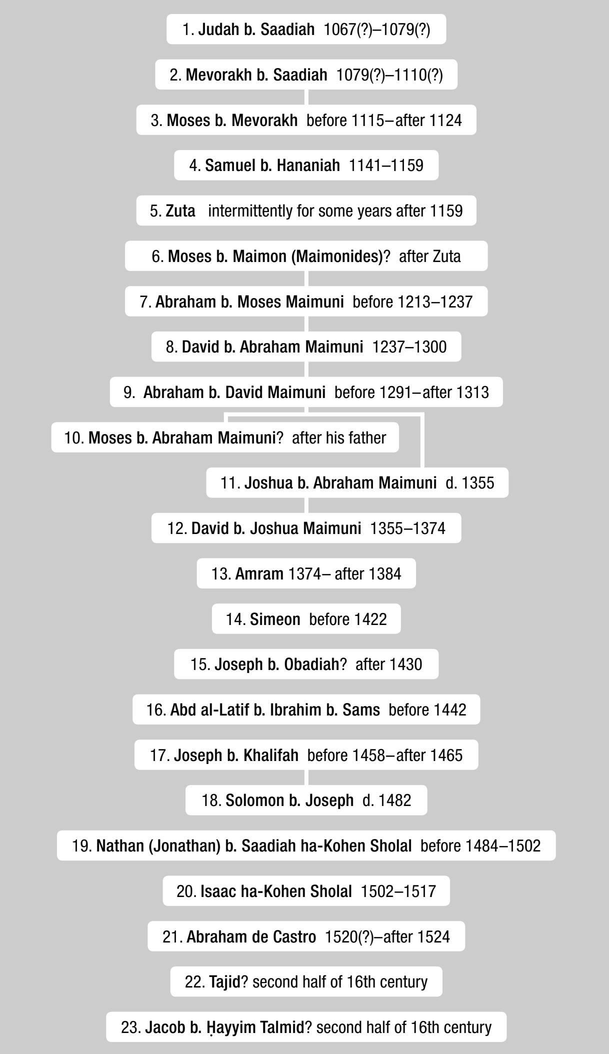

1. **Judah b. Saadiah** 1067(?)–1079(?)
2. **Mevorakh b. Saadiah** 1079(?)–1110(?)
3. **Moses b. Mevorakh** before 1115–after 1124
4. **Samuel b. Hananiah** 1141–1159
5. **Zuta** intermittently for some years after 1159
6. **Moses b. Maimon (Maimonides)**? after Zuta
7. **Abraham b. Moses Maimuni** before 1213–1237
8. **David b. Abraham Maimuni** 1237–1300
9. **Abraham b. David Maimuni** before 1291–after 1313
10. **Moses b. Abraham Maimuni**? after his father
11. **Joshua b. Abraham Maimuni** d. 1355
12. **David b. Joshua Maimuni** 1355–1374
13. **Amram** 1374– after 1384
14. **Simeon** before 1422
15. **Joseph b. Obadiah**? after 1430
16. **Abd al-Latif b. Ibrahim b. Sams** before 1442
17. **Joseph b. Khalifah** before 1458–after 1465
18. **Solomon b. Joseph** d. 1482
19. **Nathan (Jonathan) b. Saadiah ha-Kohen Sholal** before 1484–1502
20. **Isaac ha-Kohen Sholal** 1502–1517
21. **Abraham de Castro** 1520(?)–after 1524
22. **Tajid**? second half of 16th century
23. **Jacob b. Ḥayyim Talmid**? second half of 16th century

1. Ashtor, Toledot, 1 (1944), 41; S.D. Goitein, in: HUCA, 34 (1963), 180.
2. S.D. Goitein, *Sidrei Ḥinnukh* (1962), 37, 128.
3–4. idem, in JQR, 53 (1962/63), 95–96.
5. E. Ashtor, in: HUCA, 27 (1956), 313–5.
6. D. Neustadt, in: *Zion*, 11 (1945/46), 147–8.
7. Goitein, in JQR, 53 (1962/63), 96, 104.
8. *Ibid.*, 104; idem, *Sidrei Ḥinnukh*, 114.
9. idem., *Sidrei Ḥinnukh*,114; idem, in: *Tarbiz*, 34 (1965), 249–50. He served as *nagid* for several years with his father.
10. idem, in: Tarbiz, 34 (1965), 255.
11. Ashtor, Toledot, 1 (1944), 298 ff.
12. Ibid., 3002–2; 3 (1970), 88; A.H. Freimann, in: *Minḥah li-Yhudah*, dedicated to J.L. Zlotnik (1950), 175–8.
13–17. Ashtor, Toledot, 2 (1951), 22–26, 84, 86–87.
18. *Ibid.*, 3 (1970), 154.
19. *Ibid.*, 2 (1951), 450–3.
20. *Ibid.*, 505 ff.; A. Shoḥet, in: *Zion*, 13–14 (1948/49), 43.
21. A.N. Pollack, *ibid.*, 1 (1936), 24, 28–31.
22–23. Rosanes, Togarmah, 3 (1937/38)^{2}, 220–1.

Egypt

In Egypt the office of *nagid* remained in existence for over 500 years; there are extant documents which contain a wealth of details on the *negidim* and their authority and acts. Some scholars accept the view that the first *nagid* of Egyptian Jewry was *Paltiel, an Italian Jew who was brought to Egypt by al-Muʿizz, the Fatimid conqueror of Egypt (969), and was part of the ruler's officialdom. The sole source for this information is the *Ahimaaz Scroll; there is an assumption that the Shiʿite Fatimids, who decreed themselves Imams (caliphs), did not wish to depend in any way upon the Sunnite Abbasid caliphs, preferring to appoint a separate head for the Jews under their ruler rather than have them acknowledge the authority of the Babylonian exilarch, an official who was part of the Abbasid hierarchy. There are various theories concerning the true identity of Paltiel, the most recent being the one expressed by M. Gil (see bibliography), according to which he was Fadl ben Salih, a chief commander of the Fatimid army. Another theory is B. Lewis's (see bibliography), according to which he was Musa b. Eleazar, al-Muʿizz's physician. Mann (Egypt, 1920, see bibliography) was the first to suggest this theory of Paltiel's being the first *nagid* on the Fatimids initiative.

The *Genizah* documents contain no proof of the existence of the office of *nagid* in the first half of the 11th century. On this basis some scholars, such as Goitein (1971, see bibliography), Cohen (1980, see bibliography), and Gil (1992, see bibliography), wrote against Mann's theory. Today there are certain scholars, such as Sela (1995, 1998, see bibliography) and Bareket (1998, 1999, see bibliography) who are re-adapting the old Mann theory. The first *negidim* for whom details are found in the *Genizah* are Judah b. Saadiah, who was a court physician, held the post of *nagid* in the 1060s and the 1070s, and was referred to as "*nagid* of the People of God," and his brother *Mevorakh, who was *nagid* from about 1079 (with temporary interruptions) to 1110. Mevorakh was the physician and adviser of al-Malik al-Afdal, the acting ruler of Egypt, and was awarded no less than 14 honorary titles, some of which were typical of those used by the *yeshivot* in Babylonia and Palestine. For a while, Mevorakh was removed from office, a result of the machinations of David b. *Daniel, a member of the house of the Babylonian exilarch who had succeeded in gaining the governor's support for his claim to the leadership of Egyptian Jewry. Such competition for the office occurred on several occasions, up to the 13th century. As a rule the challenge came from members of the Babylonian exilarch's house or the Palestinian yeshivah.

THE INSTITUTION OF NAGID. The *nagid* was appointed by the authorities after receiving the agreement of prominent members of the community. The choice, however, was not made in a democratic manner. Rather than the official representatives, it was the influential members of the community who recommended the candidate. Sometimes the vizier was bribed to recommend a particular person; this happened, for example, in the middle of the 12th century, in the case of

*Zuta. The appointment of the *nagid* did not depend upon the consent of the exilarch or the heads of the *yeshivot*, and the mention of such consent in the existing documents must be regarded as a mere formality. At times it was the son of the deceased *nagid* who was appointed in his father's place, while on some occasions preference was given to a person who had achieved a prominent position at the ruler's court. Beginning with Abraham b. Moses b. *Maimon, the son of *Maimonides, the office became hereditary, and four of his descendants served as *negidim*, the last being David b. Joshua *Maimuni. From the end of the Ayyubid dynasty and throughout the Mamluk period, the office of *nagid*, or *raʾīs al-yahūd*, had the character of a permanent institution, whose functions were defined by the authorities. Several letters of appointment from the Mamluk period are extant which contain the provision that the *raʾīs* always be a Rabbanite and that he also be in charge of the *Karaites and *Samaritans. It was his duty to appoint a prominent Karaite as leader of that community, although the head of the Samaritans received his own letter of appointment from the government. According to Qalqashandi (d. 1418), the status of *nagid* was parallel in nature to that of the Christian patriarch, and like any person of official rank wore official dress, the *khalʿa*. The Arab chronicler Ibn Faḍl Allah al-ʿOmarī, whose work was written in 1340, tells about a *nagid's* letter of appointment in which his authority and functions were described as follows: consolidation of the community; administration of justice to the members of the community on the basis of its religious law; responsibility for matters of personal status – betrothals, marriages, and divorces; the right of excommunication; supervision of the observance of the commandments, according to the Law of Moses and the decisions of the rabbis; the duty to ensure compliance with the Covenant of Omar, especially the prohibition of constructing new synagogues, and the order concerning the wearing of garb different from that of the Muslims; supervision of synagogues and prayer services; grading the status of the members of the community (this apparently applies to tax assessment, for there were three different rates for the poll tax, depending upon a person's economic situation); and general responsibility for the maintenance of law and order by the community. Jewish sources, primarily *Genizah* documents dating from the Fatimid period and after, give further information on the wide range of the *nagid*'s duties and activities. He protected his community from oppression by government officials and interceded with the authorities for the cancellation of unjust and severe decrees. He served as arbitrator in cases of injustice, discrimination, and unfair economic competition; attended to the needs of the weak and the suffering; and tried to retrieve lost goods, rescue Jews from prison and captivity, and raise the ransoms required for such purposes. It was he who authorized the payment of tuition fees from the communal trust fund for the education of orphans and children of the poor (five such payment orders by a single *nagid*, Abraham b. Moses b. Maimon, were found in the *Genizah*). The *nagid* was not responsible for collecting the poll tax, but it was he who ensured the payment of the tax on behalf of the poor, when the authorities did not exempt them. He had his own officials through whom he supervised *kashrut*, ritual slaughter, and marriages. Decisions made by the various communities required his confirmation, and in general he supervised the community operations by means of the *muqaddam*, his personal representative to the local community. Although he was the supreme legal authority for the community, he did not actually function as a judge, but appointed *dayyanim* who sat on his *bet din* and handled legal conflicts; the court was known as the Great *Bet Din* and it was headed by the *dayyan al-yahud*. Legal documents such as marriage writs, divorce writs, and wills were issued "by the authority" of the *nagid*. According to Meshullam of *Volterra, who visited Egypt in 1481, the *nagid's* penal powers included the right to impose capital punishment (*Massa Meshullam mi-Volterah*, ed. by A. Yaari, 1948, 57), but it is doubtful whether the authorities did in fact grant him such power. Obadiah *Bertinoro, writing in 1487–88, states that the *nagid* was empowered by the caliph "to punish, imprison, and flog" anyone who opposed his will; this seems to be a more realistic description of the *nagid's* authority. He could also use excommunication and imprisonment in those cases where the prestige of his office was not sufficient to achieve compliance with his decisions. In the Fatimid and Ayyubid periods the *negidim* did not impose taxes for the maintenance of their office; usually they were wealthy court physicians and property owners, and also received gifts from members of the community. In the Mamluk period a change seems to have taken place, and according to the testimony of David b. Solomon ibn Abi Zimra marriage and divorce proceedings became subject to a fee, out of which the *nagid* would pay the scribe, while the rest would go into his own treasury. The honors accorded to the Egyptian *nagid* were similar to those of the exilarch. Thus, the reading of the weekly portion of the Torah would be preceded by an introductory recital in honor of the *nagid*, in which he was mentioned by name. Special *Yizkor* (i.e., memorial) *piyyutim* were composed to commemorate departed *negidim*. The conquest of Palestine by Saladin (1187) created the need for the appointment of a separate leadership for Jewish communities of Palestine and Syria, and the office of *nagid* of "Ereẓ Israel and Judah" was created. The names of two such *negidim* are known, both of whom served in the 13th century; Obadiah b. ʿUlah and Hillel b. Moses. Under Mamluk rule, Palestine had a deputy *nagid*, who was under the authority of the *nagid* of Egypt. As a rule the Egyptian *negidim* were chosen from local Jewish leaders. The last two *negidim* appointed under Mamluk rule, however, were from a family of Maghreb *ḥakhamim*: Nathan (or Jonathan) *Sholal, *nagid* from 1484 to 1502, who went from Algeria to Palestine but then moved to Egypt, and his nephew Isaac *Sholal, who was director of the Egyptian mint. Isaac founded a yeshiva in Jerusalem and attended to the needs of the city's scholars. In 1509 he and his *bet din* enacted an ordinance exempting religious scholars from all taxes, except for the poll tax. He was deposed from his office in 1517, when Egypt was taken over by the Ottomans, and died in 1524. Under Ottoman rule, two more *negidim* were appointed in Egypt: Abraham *Castro, who was also the director of the Egyptian mint, and Jacob b. Ḥayyim *Talmid, who was sent from *Istanbul to Egypt in order to take up the post. According to a report by Joseph *Sambari (Neubauer, Chronicles, 1 (1887), 116–7), Jacob Talmid became involved in a controversy with Bezalel *Ashkenazi, whereupon the Egyptian governor decided to abolish the office of *nagid* in Egypt. Henceforth, it was the *ḥakham* (chief rabbi) who acted as the representative of Egyptian Jewry before the authorities.

Yemen

The existence of the office of *nagid* in Yemen may be deduced from fragmentary information contained in letters found in the *Genizah* and from inscriptions on Yemenite tombstones, both sources dating from the end of the 11th up to the beginning of the 14th centuries. The first *nagid* of whom there is knowledge was Japheth (Hasan) b. Bendar, apparently of Persian origin, who in a document dating from 1097 is referred to as a "prince of the communities." He and his descendants were residents of *Aden, were clerks for merchants, and dealt in the trade with India; they exercised some measure of control over the trade routes and the price of the transit goods which passed through Yemen on their way to Egypt. Japheth's son, Maḍmun, mentioned in letters from the period 1132–51, was granted the title of "*nagid* of the Land of Yemen" by the exilarch; he also maintained contact with the gaon Maẓliaḥ *ha-Kohen from Egypt and received an honorary title from him (in addition to six other titles of honor that he bore). In an official report of the *bet din* he is described as "appointed by the exilarchs and heads of the *yeshivot* over all of Israel and acknowledged by the respective rulers in the lands of the sea and of the desert"; the latter passage seems to imply that Maḍmun had agreements with the pirate chiefs who controlled the sea routes. His son Ḥalfon inherited the title of *nagid* and served from 1152 to 1172. During his lifetime there were two other *negidim*, R. Nethanel *al-Fayyumi (d. after 1164) and his son Jacob b. Nethanel *al-Fayyumi, who was in charge of the communities in central Yemen; the latter received Maimonides' famous *Iggeret Teiman*. There are reports of another *nagid* by the name of Maḍmun (he may be identical with Shemariah b. David), who served from 1202 to 1218. Three *negidim* are known from the first half of the 13th century: Maḍmun (apparently a descendant of the first Maḍmun mentioned above) and his sons, Ḥalfon and Joshua. The title of *nagid* was also held by David b. Amram *Adani, author of *Ha-Midrash ha-Gadol*, who lived at the end of the 13th and the beginning of the 14th centuries, and may have been a descendant of the Maḍmun family.

North Africa

In the Jewish communities of the Maghreb from the 16th to the 19th centuries the office of *nagid* was held either by prominent Jewish merchants or Jews who had close contacts at the ruler's court and served as interpreters and diplomatic agents. In rabbinic literature of the time, they are referred to as *nagid me'ulleh* ("most excellent *nagid*") or *nasi*. They differed from the medieval *negidim* in that they served only a single community, rather than a whole country, and were really *rashei kahal*. Some of them, however, extended their influence beyond the confines of their own community. They were elected by the prominent members of the community and in some cases also received an appointment from the Muslim ruler. They participated in the drafting of community statutes, and were authorized to impose corporal punishment and fines and report to the Muslim authorities any person violating community regulations. The *negidim* are frequently mentioned in the "Statutes of Fez" (*Kerem Ḥemed*, 2, 1871). In the 18th century their official title in Algeria was *muqaddam*, while in Tunisia and Tripolitania it was *qā'id*.

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[Eliezer Bashan (Sternberg) / Elinoar Bareket (2nd ed.)]

NAGIN, HARRY S. (1890–), U.S. civil engineer. Born in Romny, Russia, Nagin went to the U.S. in 1906. From 1924 he was executive vice president of a large steel products company in Pennsylvania. He took out over a hundred patents on steel structures, bridge floors, gratings, concrete, and plastics.

NAGLER, ISADORE (1895–1959), U.S. labor leader. Born in Austria, Nagler went to the United States in 1909 and worked as a cutter, joining Local 10 of the Cutters' Union. In 1920 he was made an official of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union (ILGWU) and was a prominent anti-communist. He became vice president of the ILGWU in 1929 and worked closely with the union president, Benjamin *Schlesinger and his successor David *Dubinsky. Nagler was general manager of the Joint Board of the Cloakmakers Union from 1928 to 1939 and was one of the founders of the American Labor Party (ALP). In 1944 he left the Labor Party with Dubinsky in protest against its pro-communist line and helped found the Liberal Party in which he was a prominent figure. He was prominent in the New York Jewish Education Committee, the Federation of Jewish Philanthropic Societies, and *ORT.

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[Melvyn Dubofsky]

NAGY, ENDRE (1877–1938), Hungarian author and stage manager. Some of Nagy's early stories had Jewish themes, but he later converted to Christianity. He was founder and manager of Hungary's first political cabaret, to which he contributed topical commentaries. Two of his more important works were *A kaberé regénye* ("The Story of the Cabaret," 1935) and *Várad-Pest-Párizs* (1958).

°**NAGYBACZONI-NAGY, VILMOS** (1884–1976), Hungarian general and minister of defense. In 1942 Nagybaczoni-Nagy was appointed minister of defense. At that time Jews were excluded from the Hungarian army and were drafted into the labor service. Their situation was at times intolerable, particularly at the Russian front. When Nagybaczoni-Nagy assumed office, he reviewed the labor battalions at the front and immediately ordered an improvement in their conditions. Claiming that labor service was the same as military service, he abolished the discriminations against Jewish draftees and their families, then in force through anti-Jewish legislation. He ordered officers and commanders "when dealing with Jews to refrain from showing their personal feelings, and not to increase work norms and discipline by unlawful means." Nagybaczoni-Nagy expressly forbade attacking or humiliating Jews in public. He was concerned with the release of the sick and invalids, with healthy and sufficient food, a daily eight-hour rest, and with the personal cleanliness of the members of the labor battalions. In addition, he gave his attention to the religious needs of the draftees, e.g., the keeping of the Jewish festivals, as well as allotting sufficient time for donning the phylacteries. Nagybaczoni-Nagy did not hesitate to put on trial officers and commanders who behaved with cruelty.

Following repeated pressure by the Arrow Cross opposition in the Hungarian parliament, Nagybaczoni-Nagy was forced to resign. After the German occupation of Hungary (March 19, 1944) Nagybaczoni-Nagy was arrested and deported to Germany. His memoirs for the years 1939–44 were published in 1946 under the title *Végzetes esztendők* ("Crucial Years"). In 1967 Nagybaczoni-Nagy was recognized by *Yad Vashem as one of the *Righteous of the Nations.

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[Baruch Yaron]

NAGYKANIZSA, city in S. Hungary. It is almost certain that Jews were living in Nagykanizsa in 1710, and by 1745 the community owned a synagogue. The first inscription in the register of the *ḥevra kaddisha* dates from 1782. The community was officially established in 1786 and the new *bet midrash* was erected in 1805. The community of Nagykanizsa was among the first to join the *Reform movement, although only after bitter disputes. In 1829 it adopted the ritual of the famous composer S. *Sulzer (which was identical with the traditional ritual) and introduced an ensemble of ten violinists to accompany the choir during all services except those of the New Year and the Day of Atonement. In 1845 an organ was also introduced, the first case of its kind in the service of a Hungarian Jewish community. Noteworthy Orthodox rabbis of the community were H. Torai (1776–92) and Meir Szántó (until 1831). The first rabbi belonging to the Reform movement was L. *Loew (1841–46). He was succeeded by H.B. Fassel (1851–83) and E. Neumann (1883–1918). The latter was the only Hungarian rabbi to incorporate some of the ritual reforms suggested by A. *Geiger. The last rabbi of the community, E. Winkler (1919–44), who reintroduced the traditional ritual, accompanied his community to Auschwitz. He died in Melk (1945).

In the first Jewish school (1786–1809), opened following the reforms of Joseph II, the language of instruction was German. In 1832 Jewish education was offered in the Hungarian language. A pre-secondary school was opened in 1867, which offered courses in natural sciences as well as religious matters. In 1891–92 it was converted into a secondary commercial school (the only Jewish school of its kind in Hungary) which functioned until 1933. In addition, a general pre-secondary school was opened in 1890. The Jews of Nagykanizsa played an important role in the industrial and commercial development of the town during the first years of the 20th century. The golden era of the community lasted from 1863 to 1902 under the community presidents of the Guttman family who received the title Baron. The leading charitable institutions were the *ḥevra kaddisha* (founded in 1782), whose beautiful *pinkas* has been preserved in the Jewish Museum of Budapest, the Jewish Hospital (founded in 1832), and the women's organization (1843). The population rose from 500 in 1782 to 1,000 in 1830, 2,875 in 1880, 3,378 in 1910, and 3,663 in 1920. After the German occupation (March 19, 1944), Jewish males between the ages of 16 and 60 became the first Jews of Hungary to be deported to Auschwitz, on April 29. The rest were sent to Auschwitz on June 3–4. Only 300 returned in 1945. In 1970, 100 Jews were living in Nagykanizsa.

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[Jeno Zsoldos]

NAḤAL (Heb. נַחַ"ל, *Noar Ḥalutzi Loḥem*; Fighting Pioneer Youth), in its classic form a regular unit of the Israel Defense Forces whose soldiers were organized in *garinim* ("groups") of pioneering youth movements in Israel and Zionist youth movements in the Diaspora that educated their members toward cooperative settlement in Israel. During their term of military service, these soldiers simultaneously participated in intensive training and social and ideological preparation toward their future as members of cooperative agricultural settlements. Naḥal had two aims: to produce first-class soldiers and to prepare *garinim* for establishing new settlements or joining existing ones. All members of such a potential group were mobilized together, form a single army unit, and together underwent training. Training consisted of initial military training (at a Naḥal army camp) which was combined with ideological and social activities. There was then a period of combined agricultural and military training in a kibbutz or at a Naḥal outpost. Advanced military training in paratroop, tank, artillery, engineering, or other units followed for the men, while the girls went to live in their destined settlement where they were later joined by the men. The group then served for a period of *shalat* (*sherut le-lo tashlum*, "unpaid service").

The Naḥal outpost was a typical army camp with military ranks and discipline, but at the same time preparations were made for a civilian agricultural settlement. During the first 20 years of its existence, Naḥal founded 36 outposts, of which 22 became permanent settlements. Another 18 settlements were founded or refounded by soldiers who once served in Naḥal; in a further 70 settlements, Naḥal soldiers constituted half the membership, while in hundreds of other kibbutzim and moshavim there were smaller groups of ex-Naḥal soldiers. It has been found that four years after mobilization (i.e., a year after completing Naḥal), about a third of the soldiers remained on the land and, of these, about half (that is 15% of those who were originally members of the group), stayed in their settlements after 15 and 20 years.

Naḥal was sometimes employed on special projects. For example, in 1949 it built a road to En-Gedi along the west bank of the Dead Sea. In the early 1950s it organized large-scale vegetable production. In the 1960s it employed its soldiers to teach reading and writing to both young and adult illiterates in development towns. Other countries showed interest in Naḥal methods, and courses for Naḥal instructors were organized in Israel for countries in Asia, Africa, and South America. Many Israelis were employed as instructors in training similar groups in developing countries.

In the 1980s, Naḥal changed its character. The name Naḥal is now used for two different army units: the Naḥal Command working under the Education Corps and responsible for the *garin* activity; and the Naḥal brigade, which is a regular infantry brigade and part of the Central Command. It includes the Naḥal *ḥaredi* battalion for ultra-Orthodox soldiers. The Naḥal *garinim* focus on educational activity in civilian communities.

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[Yehuda Schuster / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

NAHALAL or **NAHALOL** (Heb. נַהֲלֹל, נַהֲלָל).

(1) Town in the territory of the tribe of Zebulun, along with Shimron and Beth-Lehem (Josh. 19:15, 21:35). The Israelites were apparently unable to dispossess the Canaanites from Nahalol (Judg. 1:30). Later, probably in the days of David, it became a levitical city belonging to the family of Merari (Josh. 21:35). In the Talmud (TJ, Meg. 1:1, 70a), it is identified with Mahalol, which corresponds to the present-day Arab village of Maʿlūl southwest of Nazareth; the remains that can be found there are of the Roman period only and include a mausoleum (Qaṣr al-Deir). The site of Nahalal proper is still in dispute.

[Michael Avi Yonah]

(2) The first moshav ovedim in Ereẓ Israel. It was founded in 1921 in the western Jezreel Valley by veteran pioneers of the Second *Aliyah, some of whom had been members of the first kevuẓah, *Deganyah. The 80 settling families each received 25 acres (100 dunams) of land, and they drained the malarial swamps. (Malaria had prevented two previous attempts at settlement, one by Arabs and one by Germans.) In the 1920s, the first farm branches – field crops, cattle, and poultry – were developed and concrete stables built, while the settlers lived in wooden huts for 15 years. The village layout, devised by the architect Richard *Kauffmann, became the pattern for many of the moshavim established before 1948; it is based on concentric circles, with the public buildings (school, administrative, and cultural buildings, cooperative shops, and warehouses) at the center, the homesteads in the innermost circle, the farm buildings in the next, and beyond it ever wider circles of gardens and fields. In 1929 a Girls' Agricultural Training Farm was established at Nahalal by *WIZO; it was headed by Hannah Maisel-Shoḥat, wife of Eliezer *Shoḥat. In the 1940s it became a coeducational farming school of *Youth Aliyah. Nahalal is one of the principal centers of the Tenu'at ha-Moshavim. More water became available in the 1930s from the *Mekorot regional network and deep wells were drilled in the vicinity. Farming then became more intensive, fruit orchards were added, and existing branches expanded. In 1969 Nahalal, including the agricultural school, had 1,020 inhabitants. By the mid-1990s its population had grown to 1,240, but in 2002 it was down to 925, with 350 resident farmers, 165 permanent non-farming residents, 100 school employees, and the rest temporary residents. The main farming branches were dairy cattle, poultry, fruit orchards, flowers, and field crops.

[Efraim Orni / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

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NAḤALAT YEHUDAH (Heb. נַחֲלַת יְהוּדָה), urban community with municipal council status, on the Coastal Plain of Israel near Rishon le-Zion, founded in 1914 as a moshavah by members of the Ḥibbat Zion movement of Russia. Naḥalat Yehudah was characterized by auxiliary farmsteads whose owners were employed in Rishon le-Zion or in Jaffa and Tel Aviv. After 1948 an immigrant camp (*ma'barah*) was established in Naḥalat Yehudah's municipal area, increasing its population to over 5,000. The new immigrants were later given permanent housing in other localities, so that the population decreased to 2,350 (1969). Although a number of industrial enterprises existed in Naḥalat Yehudah, many inhabitants were employed in other communities in the Tel Aviv conurbation. Subsequently Naḥalat Yehudah became part of Rishon le-Zion and its name was given to a *WIZO youth village accommodating approximately 300 students. The youth village had originally been founded in 1922 as a workers farm training women in various farm branches. After the establishment of the State of Israel it became an agriculture high school with a dormitory. The name Naḥalat Yehudah commemorates Judah Leib *Pinsker.

WEBSITE: www.nachlat.org.il.

[Efraim Orni / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

NAḤAL OZ (Heb. נַחַל עֹז), kibbutz in southern Israel, established in 1951 as a border settlement by a *Naḥal group near the Gaza Strip, affiliated with Iḥud ha-Kevuẓot ve-ha-Kibbutzim. Later, pioneers from South America and other countries joined the kibbutz. Before the *Sinai Campaign (1956), and in the days before the *Six-Day War (1967), Naḥal Oz was frequently a target for attacks and shelling from beyond the Gaza Strip border. After June 1967, a point near the kibbutz became an entrance gate to the Strip. The kibbutz economy was based on intensive farming (field crops, dairy cattle, and poultry) and a hi-tech enterprise in the field of video communications. In 1997–98 the kibbutz began going over to a private wage economy. This was accompanied by a great crisis causing many residents to leave the kibbutz and the population to drop from 495 in the mid-1990s to 288 in 2002. The name Naḥal Oz points both to the original Naḥal outpost, and to nearby Gaza (whose Hebrew name, Azzah, is derived from the same root as *oz*, meaning "strength").

WEBSITE: www.sng.org.il/meida/yeshuvim/nahal-oz.htm.

[Efraim Orni / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

NAHARIN, OHAD (1952–), Israeli dancer and choreographer. He was born in Israel on kibbutz Mizra, and grew up in the town of Tivon, near Haifa; he is the son of artistic parents who were involved in music and theater.

Naharin started professional dance training after he finished his army service. After a year of training with the *Batsheva Dance Company, he performed in *The Dream* (1974) and was asked to stay on with the troupe for another year. He then studied for a year at Juilliard in its Professional Studies Program. He danced for a year with Maurice Béjart's Ballet of the 20th Century and moved to New York. He married Mari Kajiwara, the Japanese-American dancer who danced in the Alvin Ailey Company. His dance creations are performed by the top dance companies of the world. Naharin's first work as choreographer was *Haru No Umi* (1980). In New York he founded the Ohad Naharin Dance Company, which toured worldwide. In 1990, he was appointed the artistic director of the Batsheva Dance Company. His choreography challenges visually and excites the senses. "If you could hold one of Ohad Naharin's dances in your hand, it would feel smooth. Think of a polished stone, it looks like a piece of secret sculpture, but hurl it and it becomes a weapon" (Deborah Jowitt, *Village Voice*, New York). His works include: *Black Milk* (1986), *Tabula Rasa* (1987), *Sinking of the Titanic* (1990), *Kyr* (1990), *King of Wara* (1990), *Anaphase* (1993), and *Mamootot* (2003). In his work *Playback* (2004), performed in Eilat, he appeared as dancer, singer, and instrumentalist. Naharin won the Israel Prize for dance of 2005.

[Ruth Eshel (2nd ed.)]

NAHARIYYAH (Heb. נַהֲרִיָּה), city in N. Israel, 6 mi. (10 km.) N. of Acre. Nahariyyah was founded in 1934 as a village (moshavah) by a group of middle-class immigrants from Germany. Their company, headed by the engineer Yosef Levi, bought the land, and thus gained the first Jewish foothold in the Acre Plain and Western Galilee. The settlers encountered difficulties in changing over to farming from their previous occupations in commerce and the professions. They also found themselves in an endangered and isolated position when the 1936–39 Arab riots broke out. By then beginnings were made to turn Nahariyyah into a seaside resort, in addition to developing agriculture. The population, with about 1,000 in 1941, increased to 1,400 in 1945 when manufacturing, particularly in the food branch, first began. In the years just prior to statehood, Nahariyyah served as a landing place for "illegal" immigrant ships. In the War of Independence (1948), Nahariyyah, together with ten other Jewish settlements in Western Galilee founded in the preceding decade, was completely cut off by Arab Acre, and only intermittently were communications with Haifa maintained by means of small motor boats going to Haifa. With the capture of Acre by Israel forces, Nahariyyah was able to resume contact with the rest of the country and was included in the State of Israel. Numerous immigrants from various countries, mainly from Romania, North Africa, and Iraq settled there. The population grew from 9,200 in 1953 to 20,700 in 1968, 37,100 in the mid-1990s, and 47,400 in 2002, occupying a municipal area of about 4 sq. mi. (10 sq. km.). The city's economy was based on tourism and recreation, industry, farming, trade, and services. In 1968 the city had over 30 hotels and pensions with a total capacity for 1,400 tourists. On the bathing beach a breakwater was built creating two bays, for swimming and for sailboats. There were also swimming pools. Farming was mostly for specialized export crops (strawberries, avocados, flowers). Local industry included textiles, asbestos cement, metal instruments, electrical appliances, fine mechanics, paper products, agricultural machinery, etc. A new industrial zone for large enterprises was added in the north to supplement the older industrial zone near the railroad station. The commercial center was laid out along the central avenue on both sides of the Ga'aton Stream. The hotel zone stretched mainly along the beach and the city had 21 public parks and ornamental gardens. At the turn of the 20th century, residents earned their living in industry (45%), services (40%), tourism (11%), and agriculture (4%). The city's name is derived from *nahar* ("stream"), referring to the Ga'aton Stream which passes through part of the city.

WEBSITE: www.nahariya.muni.il.

[Efraim Orni / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

NAHASH (Heb. נָחָשׁ; "snake"), king of the Ammonites, who enjoyed a long reign from the beginning of Saul's reign over Israel (I Sam. 11:1ff.) until some years after David was established at Jerusalem (II Sam. 10:1). Nahash is first mentioned when he encamped against Jabesh-Gilead and sought to subjugate it on most humiliating terms. The Jabeshites appealed for help to their fellow Israelites, and the crisis called forth Saul's latent capacity for leadership. He issued a call to the tribes to rally behind him and march to the relief of Jabesh-Gilead; and the force that responded inflicted a stunning defeat on the Ammonites (I Sam. 11:1ff.). Nothing more is related about Nahash until the notice of his death, where the Bible states that he had shown kindness to David (II Sam. 10:2). It is likely that he was friendly toward David because David was also an opponent of Saul. David attacked Nahash's son and successor Hanun and reduced the Ammonites to dependency. Shobi, another son of Nahash, who was one of those who befriended David at Mahanaim during Absalom's rebellion, may later have been reigning over the Ammonites as David's vassal. Nahash, according to II Samuel 17:25, was the father of David's sister Abigail. Since David's father was Jesse, this would imply that David and his sister had only one parent in common – their mother, the tracing of their relationship through their mother being a characteristic of a beena marriage. The Nahash referred to in this verse might be Nahash king of the Ammonites, which would be an additional reason for the latter's friendliness toward David. It has been suggested, however, that there is a corruption in the text, and Nahash intruded into this verse from verse 27. According to this, "daughter of Nahash" is to be emended to read, with the Septuagint, "daughter of Jesse."

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Noth, Personennamen 230; J. Morgenstern, in: ZAW, 47 (1929), 91–110; 49 (1931), 46–58.

NAHʾĀWENDĪ (Nahāwandī), BENJAMIN BEN MOSES AL- (mid-ninth century), *Karaite scholar, surnamed after the city of *Nehāvand (Nahavand, Nihavand), in Persia. He probably lived in Persia or Iraq, since Karaite settlement in Palestine, particularly in Jerusalem, did not begin until after Nahʾāwendī's death. In the official Karaite memorial prayer he is ranked next to *Anan's son Saul, and in medieval Arabic accounts the Karaites as a group are sometimes referred to as "the followers of Anan and Benjamin." Al-*Kirkisānī, who lived a century later and whose information is usually highly reliable, states that Nahʾāwendī was "learned in the lore of the Rabbanites and strong in Scripture, and served for many years as a judge." Karaite tradition regards Nahʾāwendī as the person who established early Karaite teaching on a firm footing by purging it of Anan's supposedly excessive leaning toward Rabbanite doctrines. It is true that Nahʾāwendī disagreed with Anan on many points of law, but at the same time he appears to have been rather tolerant; he not only had no objection to adopting Rabbanite legal ordinances, including some which have no direct support in Scripture, but is even said to have declared that every person may be guided in legal matters by his own judgment and is not obliged to submit to the decisions of commonly acknowledged authorities. On the other hand, later Karaites rejected some of Nahʾāwendī's views, particularly his theory that the world was not created immediately by God, but that God created an angel who, in turn, created the world. Further, he was of the opinion that the Law was revealed by an angel, not by God, and the prophets received their prophecy from an angel. The purpose of this theory was to refer all the anthropomorphic passages in Scripture, or those which might be contrary to pure monotheism, to this angel-creator, and not to God Himself. This theory presumably represents an adaptation of a Gnostic idea, subsequently modified into the Philonic-Christian doctrine of the *logos (creative word). Nahʾāwendī's borrowings from Rabbanite law seem to testify to his realization that the cry "Back to the Bible!" raised by Anan and earlier pre-Karaite schismatics, while tactically useful for their purpose of basing their laws solely on the Bible, was impractical, since biblical legislation alone could not efficiently govern the Karaites' social and economic life a thousand years later, in the vastly different conditions prevailing in the Muhammadan empire. Hence he was forced to provide guidance for his coreligionists (probably out of his own experience as a practicing judge) in such matters as identification of witnesses, loans, agency, conjugal property rights, revokable gifts, and inheritance and wills, for which Scripture supplies only vague guide rules or none at all. Unlike Anan, who wrote (so far as is known) only in Aramaic, and unlike his own successors who wrote in Arabic, Nahʾāwendī wrote (again, so far as is known) in clear and fluent Hebrew, sharply distinct from the stilted Hebrew of later Karaite scholars and translators in the Byzantine Empire. His legal works comprise *Sefer Mitzvot* ("Book of Precepts") and *Sefer Dinim* ("Book of Rules"), both presumably parts of a comprehensive code of Karaite law. The *Sefer Dinim*, dealing with civil and criminal law, was published by A. Firkovich under the title *Masat Binyamin* (1835); extracts in English translation are found in L. Nemoy, *Karaite Anthology* (1952). Fragments, presumably of the *Sefer Mitzvot*, were published by A. Harkavy (*Studien und Mittheilungen*, 8 (1903), 175–84).

Nahʾāwendī also wrote commentaries on some of the books of the Bible (the Pentateuch, Isaiah, Song of Songs, Ecclesiastes, Daniel), which were highly regarded even by an authority like Abraham ibn Ezra. The colophon of the *Sefer Dinim* contains the earliest-known occurrence of the term "Karaites."

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Baron, Social², 5 (1957), 223–6; H. Wolfson, in: JQR, 51 (1960–61), 89–106; Guttmann, Philosophies, 58–59.

[Leon Nemoy]

NAḤMAN BAR RAV HUNA (first half of the fifth century C.E.), Babylonian *amora*. According to the letter of Sherira Gaon (ed. by B.M. Lewin (1921), 94f.), during 452–55 Naḥman was head of the academy in Mata Meḥasya which had been revived by Ashi, succeeding Idi b. Avin, Ashi's successor. According to Halevy, the *amora* Naḥman mentioned in the Babylonian Talmud as a contemporary of Ravina and Ashi (Er. 27a; Ket. 7a; Kid. 6b; et al.) is the same person. Halevy suggests that he was the brother of the younger Ravina who was considered by some scholars to have completed the editing of the Babylonian Talmud, since, according to Sherira, the father of Ravina was also Huna, but this is refuted by S. and Ḥ. Albeck (see bibl.).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Hyman, Toledot, 940f.; Halevy, Dorot, 3 (1923), 91–93; S. Albeck, in: *Sinai – Sefer Yovel* (1958), 70f.; Ḥ. Albeck, *Mavo la-Talmudim* (1969), 434.

[David Joseph Bornstein]

NAḤMAN BEN ISAAC (d. c. 356), Babylonian *amora*. His mother was the sister of Aḥa b. Joseph (Shab. 140a). Naḥman studied under his uncle Aḥa, who because of his age leaned upon Naḥman's shoulder and was led by him (Shab. 140a). He is referred to as having waited upon a Mar Samuel (Beẓah 25b). According to R.N. Rabbinovicz, however (*Dikdukei Soferim*, ad loc.), the reference is to Simeon b. Abba and the great *amora* Samuel of a previous generation. He was the head of the **kallah* in the academy of Rava where he was friendly with Adda b. Abba, with whom he attended Rava's discourses (BB 22a). He also taught in Drukeret (Shab. 94b), where he went at the invitation of Naḥman b. Ḥisda (Ta'an. 21b) and assisted him in his teaching (BB 8a), defending him several times against the criticism of Rava (Ket. 63b; Shevu. 12b; Ḥul. 88b). It is probable that he was active in Drukeret before his appointment with Rava. After Rava's death in 352 Naḥman joined the academy of Pumbedita which, since the death of Abbaye in 338, had been combined with Rava's school in Maḥoza, and held this post for the last four years of his life.

Naḥman b. Isaac is frequently quoted in the Babylonian Talmud (the occurrence of his name in the Jerusalem Talmud – BK 9:1; BB 3:3; et al. – is a mistake for Naḥman b. Jacob). Naḥman continually stressed the need for assembling and arranging the material taught, as in Pes. 105a–b, where he calls himself *sadrana*, an arranger of tradition (cf. Epstein, *Introduction*, 432; E.S. Rosenthal, *Pesaḥ Rishon*, 254). As a result he paid careful attention to the correct name of the transmitters of teachings (Pes. 107a; Kid. 44a) and also made frequent use of mnemonic formulae (Shab. 60b; Ta'an. 10a; et al.). He devoted himself to biblical study and was well versed in the *masorah* (Shab. 28b, 55b; Yoma 75b; et al.), often using it to arrive at the correct text of the Mishnah (Shab. 77a; Beẓah 35b; BK 60a).

The Talmud relates that his mother was told by astrologers when she was pregnant that her son would be a thief, so she watched over him from his childhood, taking care he should always go about with his head covered in order to make him conscious of the fear of Heaven. One day he was sitting and studying under a palm tree when temptation overcame him, and climbing up he bit off some of the dates. He then realized why his mother insisted on his keeping his head covered. This is one of the talmudic sources for keeping the head covered (*ibid.*; see *Head, Covering of the). It is also told that since Naḥman's father was not a scholar, Naḥman showed greater honor to his friend Naḥman, son of the leading *amora* Ḥisda, than he would permit his namesake to show him (Ta'an. 21b). Among his colleagues were Mar son of Ravina (Shab. 61a, 108a), Papa, and Ḥuna son of Joshua (BB 22a). He died in Pumbedita.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Halevy, Dorot, 2 (1923), 499–502; S. Albeck, *Mishpeḥot Soferim* (1903), 181ff.; Hyman, Toledot, 941–5; Ḥ. Albeck, *Mavo la-Talmudim* (1969), 371f. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** E.S. Rosenthal, "The Redaction of Pesaḥ Rishon" (Ph.D. diss., 1959), 222–96.

[David Joseph Bornstein / Stephen G. Wald (2nd ed.)]

NAḤMAN BEN JACOB (usually referred to without patronymic; d. c. 320 C.E.), Babylonian *amora* and a leading personality of his time. Born in Nehardea, where his father was a scribe of Samuel's *bet din* (BM 16b), Naḥman sometimes quotes his father's teachings (Beẓah 26a; Zev. 56a). Naḥman may have studied under Samuel, since he transmits teachings in his name (Ber. 27b; Shab. 57b) and refers to him as *rabbenu* ("our master"; Ber. 38b, Er. 16b); but if so he must have then been very young, since Samuel died in 254. Naḥman also transmits sayings in the names of Rav (Er. 72b; Pes. 13a), Adda b. Ahavah (BK 24a), Shila (Ber. 49b), and Isaac (Shab. 131b), with whom he was on close terms (Ta'an. 5a–6a). His main teacher, however, was Rabbah b. Avuha (Yev. 80b; Git. 72a) in whose name he frequently transmits statements (Ber. 36b; Shab. 17a). Rabbah b. Avuha wanted to give him his daughter in marriage (Yev. 80b), although it is not clear whether this occurred. It is known that Naḥman ultimately married into the family of the exilarch (Ḥul. 124a) and in consequence was held in high esteem (Kid. 70a), and that his wife, *Yalta, had influence in the house of the exilarch (Rashi to Git. 67b). When Nehardea was destroyed in 259 by Odenathus, Naḥman went to Shekanzib, but returned to Nehardea when it was rebuilt, teaching and serving as *dayyan* there (Er. 34b; Kid. 70a–b; BB 153a). There are many statements by him on both *halakhah* and *aggadah* in the Talmud, and his name is one of those most frequently mentioned in the Babylonian Talmud and also appears quite frequently in the Jerusalem Talmud. Huna held him equal to

Samuel as a judge in civil law (BK 96b), and Naḥman regarded himself as of sufficient standing to judge cases on his own (Sanh. 5a). In later generations it was laid down that in any dispute between Naḥman and a colleague, the former's opinion was to prevail (Ket. 13a; Kid. 59b). He often visited Sura (Suk. 14b; Ket. 94a) and frequently transmitted teachings in the name of Huna, who taught there (Pes. 40a), and with whom Naḥman frequently disputed (Er. 42a), referring to him as "our colleague Huna" (Git. 52b). An important contemporary was *Judah b. Ezekiel, the founder of the academy of Pumbedita; Naḥman often differed with him (BK 27b) but held him in high esteem (BM 66a). On one occasion he summoned Judah to court. Judah was advised by Huna to overlook the discourtesy, and he appeared. It was only then that Naḥman realized who the respondent was. Judah, however, plainly showed his irritation, whereupon Yalta advised her husband to settle the case quickly lest Judah make him appear an ignoramus (Kid. 70a–b). Other of his colleagues were Ammi (Ber. 47b) and Assi (Er. 32b), as well as Ḥiyya b. Abba *(ibid).* and R. Isaac of Palestine. Once, when parting from Naḥman, Isaac compared him to a rich shady fruit tree growing by the side of a stream, not lacking wealth, reputation, or honor, and said that he could only pray that each shoot taken from the parent tree should be the equal of the sire (Ta'an. 5b–6a). Among his pupils were Zera (RH 20b), Rabbah (Pes. 40a), Joseph (Yev. 66b) and Rava (Ber. 23b). Some of his aggadic sayings are: "When a woman is talking she is spinning" (a web to capture the male; Meg. 14b); "Haughtiness does not become a woman" (*ibid.*). There is definite mention of a number of his sons, Rabbah (Shab. 119a), Hon (Yev. 34b), Mar Zutra (BB 7a), and Ḥiyya (BB 46a). Naḥman is said to have had two daughters who were taken captive. R. Elesh, taken captive with them, wanted to take them with him when he was about to escape, but did not do so, on discovering that they practiced witchcraft (Git. 45a). On his deathbed Naḥman requested Rava, who was sitting by the bed, to pray to the angel of death to spare him a painful death. He later appeared to Rava in a dream and said that though his death was not painful, he would prefer not to face the fear of it again (MK 28a).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Hyman, Toledot, 928–39; Frankel, Mevo, 116b; Halevy, Dorot, 2 (1923), 417–21; Bacher, Bab. Amor., 79–83; Ḥ. Albeck, *Mavo la-Talmudim* (1969), 298–301; Neusner, Babylonia, 3 (1968), index.

[David Joseph Bornstein]

NAḤMANIDES (**Moses b. Naḥman**, also known as **Naḥamani** and **RaMBaN** – an acronym of **R**abbi **M**oses **B**en **N**aḥman; 1194–1270), Spanish rabbi and scholar and one of the leading authors of talmudic literature in the Middle Ages; philosopher, kabbalist, biblical exegete, poet, and physician. Naḥmanides was born in Gerona, Catalonia, and it was after his native town that he was also referred to as Rabbenu Moses Gerondi or Yerondi. His Spanish name was Bonastrug da Porta. Naḥmanides was a descendant of Isaac b. Reuben, a contemporary of Isaac b. Jacob *Alfasi. His mother was the sister of Abraham, father of Jonah b. Abraham Gerondi. His teachers included *Judah b. Yakar, a disciple of *Isaac b. Abraham of Dampierre, who established his yeshivah in Barcelona, and *Meir b. Isaac of Trinquetaille. From the first, he received the tradition of the tosafists of northern France, while from the second he learned the methods of study employed in the yeshivot of Provence. He maintained close contact with Meir b. Todros ha-Levi Abulafia of Toledo who replied to his queries, and even more so with his cousin, Jonah b. Abraham of Gerona. His colleagues also included Samuel b. Isaac *Sardi, to whom he sent the largest number of his responsa, as well as *Isaac b. Abraham of Narbonne. The responsa of Solomon b. Abraham *Adret (part 1, 120, 167) relate that Naḥmanides earned his livelihood as a physician. Even though there is no information available on Naḥmanides' yeshivah in Gerona, there is no doubt that it existed. His disciples included the leading halakhists of the following generation, such as Solomon b. Abraham Adret, *Aaron b. Joseph ha-Levi, David Bonafed, Jonah b. Joseph, Naḥmanides' cousin, and many others. There is reason to believe that after the death of Jonah b. Abraham Gerondi in 1264, Naḥmanides acted as chief rabbi of Catalonia until his emigration to Ereẓ Israel. The Spanish rabbis of subsequent generations regarded him as their great teacher and referred to him as *ha-rav ha-ne'eman* ("the trustworthy rabbi"). In his *Nomologia*, Immanuel *Aboab states that throughout Spain it was the custom to refer to him simply as "the rabbi" or "the teacher."

When the *Maimonidean controversy broke out in *Montpellier in 1232, Naḥmanides attempted to find a compromise between the opposing camps, although he agreed with *Solomon b. Abraham of Montpellier and his followers in condemning the detrimental use which had been made of the works of Maimonides by the "philosophizers" to whom the study of secular sciences was a principal object. On the one hand, in the letters which he sent to the community leaders of Aragon, Navarre, and Castile, he sought to prevent them from taking measures against the extremists of Montpellier, while on the other hand, in his famous letter "Before I raise my voice, I err," he requested the rabbis of France that they annul the *ḥerem* which they had proclaimed against the writings of Maimonides. He argued that these were not intended for French Jewry, which was faithful to Jewish tradition, but for the Jews of the south (Provence and Spain), among whom philosophic culture had struck roots, with the objective of bringing them back to the path of the faithful. In order to avert a schism between the opposed communities and camps, he proposed a detailed program which would suit the varying conditions prevailing in France and Spain and would regulate the study of the various sciences according to the age of the students and the locality. Naḥmanides' program failed because the extremists in both camps gained the upper hand and he was isolated.

He exercised extensive influence over Jewish public life in Catalonia; even King James I (1213–1276) consulted him and in 1232, on the strength of Naḥmanides' opinion, rejected the claims of the *Alconstantini family to the position of *dayyan* over all the Jews of the kingdom. In 1263 King James coerced him into a public disputation in Barcelona with the apostate Pablo *Christiani. The disputation, which was held in July in the presence of the king and the leaders of the *Dominicans and the *Franciscans, was a victory for Naḥmanides, the king even presenting him with 300 dinars in appreciation of the manner in which he had stated his arguments. (For further details see *Barcelona, Disputation of.) At the request of the bishop of Gerona, Naḥmanides summarized his views in a book, apparently the *Sefer ha-Vikku'aḥ*, which is still extant. The Dominicans, who had initiated the disputation, did not remain inactive, and in April 1265 they called Naḥmanides to trial for his supposed abuses against Christianity. Before the tribunal Naḥmanides stated that his words had been spoken during the disputation after the king had promised him freedom of speech, and that he had written his work at the request of the bishop. The king thereupon succeeded in extricating Naḥmanides from the complications of the trial, which was postponed for an indefinite period. Dissatisfied, the Dominicans sought the aid of Pope *Clement IV, who sent a letter to the king of Aragon requesting him to penalize Naḥmanides for writing the above work. Naḥmanides barely succeeded in escaping from Spain and during the same year emigrated to Ereẓ Israel.

A prayer in the spirit of the Psalms, which Naḥmanides composed at sea while on his way to Ereẓ Israel, has been preserved. He arrived in *Acre during the summer of 1267 and on Elul 9 of that year he went to Jerusalem. In a letter to his son Naḥman, he described the ruined state of the city seven years after the invasion of the Tatar hordes. He found few Jews, "only two brothers, dyers who bought their dye from the governor and were joined by up to ten Jews in their home on Sabbaths for prayers." On his arrival in the town he organized the remnants of the Jewish community and erected a synagogue in a derelict house; it appears that he also founded a yeshivah. Reports of his activities circulated rapidly; many Jews streamed into Jerusalem. In 1268 Naḥmanides moved to Acre, where he became the spiritual leader of the Jewish community, in succession to *Jehiel b. Joseph of Paris. From this period a sermon which he delivered in the synagogue on Rosh Ha-Shanah in 1269 has been preserved. The site of his tomb has not been ascertained; some believe that he was buried at the foot of Mount Carmel; others that he was buried in Haifa, beside the tomb of Jehiel b. Joseph of Paris; while others say that he was interred in Acre. There is also a tradition that he was buried in Jerusalem, under the slope of the mountain near the village of Silwan, and another that his tomb is in Hebron.

Naḥmanides had three sons: Naḥman, to whom he sent the above-mentioned letter from Jerusalem; Solomon, who married the daughter of Jonah b. Abraham Gerondi; and Joseph, who was a favorite at the court of the king of Castile and owned an estate in *Valladolid. One of Naḥmanides' daughters married *Gershom b. Solomon, and their son was *Levi b. Gershom.

Works

About 50 of Naḥmanides' works have been preserved, in addition to many works which are doubtfully attributed to him. The majority of his works are novellae on the Talmud and *halakhah*. He also wrote books and letters connected with his public activities, including the *Sefer ha-Vikku'aḥ* already mentioned. He devoted a special work to the nature of the belief in Redemption, the *Sefer ha-Ge'ullah*, written in about 1263. He was also a gifted *paytan*, writing a number of poems and prayers, including a prayer which he composed on his entry into Jerusalem. Four of his sermons have been preserved: *Ha-Derashah la-Ḥatunnah*, dating from his youth; *Torat ha-Shem Temimah*, which he apparently delivered after the disputation of Barcelona; one on the Book of Ecclesiastes, which he delivered before his departure for Ereẓ Israel; and the sermon mentioned above, delivered in Acre on Rosh Ha-Shanah. All his works bear the imprint of his original personality, a synthesis of the culture of Spain and the piety of Germany, a talmudic education together with the teachings of Kabbalah, as well as a broad knowledge of sciences and Christian theological works. An edition of his works has been published by Ch. D. Chavel (see bibliography).

[Joseph Kaplan]

As Biblical Commentator

Naḥmanides wrote his commentary on the Torah in his old age. He composed the main part in Spain, but added to it after his arrival in Ereẓ Israel. In the introduction he states the purpose of his commentary: "To appease the minds of the students, weary through exile and trouble, when they read the portion on Sabbaths and festivals." It is an extensive commentary, both on the narrative and legislative part of the Bible. Unlike his most noted predecessors, *Rashi and Abraham *Ibn Ezra, who devoted themselves chiefly to the elucidation of individual words and verses, Naḥmanides, though he followed strict philological procedure when he deemed it necessary to establish the exact meaning of a word, concerns himself mainly with the sequence of the biblical passages and with the deeper meaning of the Bible's laws and narrative. He makes frequent use of the aggadic and halakhic interpretations of the talmudic and midrashic sages, but whereas Rashi quotes these without expressing his own opinions, Naḥmanides dwells on them at length, analyzes them critically, develops their ideas, and probes their compatibility with the biblical text.

The commentary of Naḥmanides is more than a mere commentary. It reflects his views on God, the Torah, Israel, and the world. The Torah is the word of God and is the source of all knowledge. The narratives of the Bible are not simple records of the past, but are portents of the future. The account of the six days of creation contains prophecies regarding the most important events of the succeeding 6,000 years, while the Sabbath foreshadows the seventh millennium which will be the Day of the Lord, and the accounts told about the patriarchs foreshadow the history of the Jewish people as a whole. Naḥmanides does not hesitate to criticize the patriarchs when their actions seem to him unjustifiable. According to him

(Gen. 12:11), Abraham "unintentionally committed a great sin," when, on coming to Egypt, he said out of fear for his life that his wife Sarah was his sister, for in this way he exposed her to moral corruption; rather, he should have had faith that God would save both him and his wife. Naḥmanides demonstrates great psychological insight when describing the behavior of biblical personalities. In the story of Joseph the Bible relates that "he fell on his neck and wept on his neck for a while" (Gen. 46:29). The question arises: Who wept? Jacob or Joseph? It is obvious who is more likely to weep at such a time, Naḥmanides says, the old father who finds his son alive after he had mourned for him as lost, not the son who has risen to become a king. Naḥmanides explains the laws in the light of halakhic tradition. He maintains that there is a reason for every commandment. The commandments are all for the good of man, either to keep from him something that is hurtful, to remove from him evil beliefs and habits, to teach him mercy and goodness, or to make him remember the miracles of the Lord and to know him. He explains some of the dietary laws in terms of health regulations; others he interprets as seeking to keep us from eating foods that dull the mind and harden the heart.

Naḥmanides very often quotes Rashi and Abraham ibn Ezra. Despite his great reverence for Rashi, he polemicizes with him. At times he praises Ibn Ezra, but attacks him sharply for those of his views which run counter to tradition. He holds Maimonides in high esteem, but rejects some of the reasons given in the *Guide of the Perplexed* for the commandments. He regards (Gen. 18:1) Maimonides' view that the visit of the angels to Abraham was a mere vision to contradict the Bible. Naḥmanides was the first commentator to introduce Kabbalah into his commentary.

The commentary, written in a lucid style, contains many a word of encouragement and solace to the Jewish people. At the end of the Song of *Ha'azinu* (Deut. 32), Naḥmanides writes: "And behold there is nothing conditional in this song. It is a charter testifying that we shall have to suffer heavily for our sins, but that, nevertheless, God will not destroy us, being reconciled to us (though we shall have no merits) and forgiving our sins for His name's sake alone…. And so our rabbis said: 'Great is the song, embracing as it does the present, the past (of Israel) and the future, this world and the world to come….' And if this song were the composition of a mere astrologer we should be constrained to believe in it, considering that all its words were fulfilled. How much more have we to hope with all our hearts and to trust to the word of God, through the mouth of his prophet Moses, the faithful in all his house, like unto whom there was none, whether before him or after him." Naḥmanides' commentary became very popular and has been widely drawn upon by later commentators. Supercommentaries have been written upon it and kabbalistic treatises have been composed on its kabbalistic allusions (see below). Baḥya b. Asher and Jacob b. Asher incorporated large parts of it into their commentaries. The commentary was printed for the first time in Rome prior to 1480. A scholarly edition based on manuscripts and early printings, prepared by Ch. D. Chavel, was published in Jerusalem in 1959–60.

The commentary on Job, too, was probably written by Naḥmanides in his old age. Naḥmanides regards Job as a historical figure. He intimates that the answer to the problem of the suffering of the righteous and the prosperity of the wicked – the central theme of the book – is to be found in the belief in the transmigration of souls. The righteous are punished and the wicked rewarded for their deeds in an earlier life. Comments on other books of the Bible are found dispersed throughout Naḥmanides' writings. His *Book of Redemption* (*Sefer ha-Ge'ullah*) contains comments on various passages of the Book of Daniel. He also wrote a commentary on Isaiah 52:13–53:12.

[Tovia Preschel]

As Halakhist

Naḥmanides' halakhic works rank among the masterpieces of rabbinic literature, and some of them have become classics. They may be divided into four categories: novellae on the Talmud, halakhic monographs, **hassagot* ("criticisms"), and responsa.

Naḥmanides' novellae, which originally covered the entire orders of *Mo'ed, Nashim*, and *Nezikin* – from early times the parts of the Talmud customarily studied in Spain – and which are for the most part extant, mark the summit of the halakhic and religious literary creativity of Spanish Jewry. They also opened a new chapter in the cultural history of that cultural community. In his novellae Naḥmanides based himself on the best of the earlier Spanish tradition and constantly availed himself of the writings of *Samuel ha-Nagid, most of which are no longer extant, of *Hananel b. Ḥushi'el, Isaac *Alfasi, Isaac *Ibn Ghayyat, *Judah al-Bargeloni, Joseph *Ibn Migash, and their contemporaries. Nevertheless, he mainly adopted the mode of learning characteristic of the French *tosafists, whose teachings were previously little known in Spain and whose method was not followed there. In this way Naḥmanides created a new synthesis in the method of study in Spain which was henceforward concerned with a comprehension of the talmudic argumentation for its own sake after the manner of the French scholars and not merely with elucidating *halakhah* for practical purposes, as had until then been customary among the Spanish scholars. Accordingly Naḥmanides emphasizes in his work the theoretical meaning and academic significance of the pronouncements and decisions of the leading earlier Spanish codifiers. Thus he inaugurated a new school in the method of studying the Oral Law which laid the stress on an apprehension, for its own sake, of the talmudic *sugyah* ("theme") as a whole, in point both of its inner tenor and of its relation to other relevant *sugyot* dispersed throughout the Talmud, without, however, becoming entangled in lengthy, sterile discussion. Yet there was no complete dissociation from the practical halakhic aspect. While these two trends are to be found side by side also in the *tosafot*, Naḥmanides was undoubtedly the first fully to achieve this synthesis, which pervades his novellae.

A further local "Spanish" factor which he synthesized with the French system was his constant search for ancient, critically examined, and established texts of the Talmud so as not to become involved in needless discussions to solve questions arising from corrupt readings. The tosafists, too, were aware of this problem, but not having access to enough ancient texts, they were compelled to take such versions from secondary sources, such as Hananel's glosses or the works of the *geonim*, available to them largely at second or third hand, or they made conjectural emendations of the talmudic text which led to a grave and protracted controversy among the tosafists. In this respect, Naḥmanides enjoyed an obvious advantage. Living in Spain, he had at his disposal the best talmudic texts that had been sent to that country direct from the academies of the Babylonian *geonim* 200–300 years earlier. Another factor, chiefly Spanish and conspicuous in Naḥmanides, is his extensive use of the geonic writings and the Jerusalem Talmud. This system of Naḥmanides completely superseded the earlier Spanish tradition. The greatest of his pupils, as also their pupils, having continued, developed, and improved this system, established it as the method for future generations among ever broadening circles of students of the Oral Law.

In addition to the teachings of the French scholars, of whom he speaks with profound esteem, Naḥmanides' works also contain the teachings of Provence, which he incorporated into his system of study as an inseparable part of it. The teachings of *Abraham b. Isaac of Narbonne, *Abraham b. David of Posquières, *Isaac b. Abba Mari, and many others, form an integral part of his works, the last mentioned to a large extent anonymously. Although not very apparent from a superficial reading, his associations with the teachings of Provence are even closer than with those of Spain. Besides the earlier Provençal scholars, he mentions many others from Provence, contemporaries of his, whose statements he discusses. This threefold Spanish, French, and Provençal trend is undoubtedly connected with two of his principal teachers, *Judah b. Yakar and *Nathan b. Meir of Trinquetaille, both of whom were pupils of *Isaac b. Abraham of Dampierre, the well-known tosafist. Naḥmanides' contemporary and relation, Jonah Gerondi, who likewise studied under the tosafists, also based his teachings on a similar method of study.

Naḥmanides' novellae are notable for their wealth of sources and mode of presentation, their clear, lucid style and logical structure. In his desire to arrive at the authentic literal meaning, he did not hesitate to disagree even with the *geonim* and the most illustrious of the earlier authorities, such as *Hai Gaon, Isaac *Alfasi, and others. He was among the first of those who in their writings developed the theoretical method, at once logical and profound, that aimed at comprehending the pivotal argument on which the *sugyah* as a whole depends. Often his novellae range far beyond the limits of the *sugyah* under discussion to a fundamental investigation of various subjects central to the *halakhah*. He also devotes much space to methodological discussions, to be found dispersed in his glosses, on the principles of the Talmud. The novellae on the Talmud were not published simultaneously, the first to appear having been those on *Bava Batra* (Venice, 1523) and the last those on *Bava Meẓia* (Jerusalem, 1929) and, in a complete edition, on *Ḥullin* (New York, ed. by S.Z. Reichmann, 1955). Most of his novellae – those on *Berakhot*, on *Mo'ed, Nashim, Nezikin*, and on *Ḥullin* and *Niddah* – were published between 1740 and 1840. His novellae to *Ketubbot* go to this day under the name of Solomon b. Adret. Nearly all these were known throughout the intervening years from many manuscripts, and leading scholars, particularly among the Sephardim, quoted them in their works. His novellae were published in their entirety for the first time in 1928 in Jerusalem in two volumes. Some of his novellae on a few tractates are extant in the form of short extracts on several pages of a tractate only. He presumably composed them in this manner and was unable to complete the entire work.

Until the expulsion from Spain, Naḥmanides' novellae occupied, alongside Rashi's commentary, the place that the *tosafot* do among students of the Talmud. To such an extent were his words minutely examined and debated that methodological rules were laid down for them. In this respect, Isaac *Campanton was especially notable, declaring that Naḥmanides' statements are to be so closely studied that not a single word should appear superfluous. He even established many minute rules for extracting Naḥmanides' underlying meaning from every single passage. From the time his novellae first appeared in print their influence has become increasingly pronounced also among Ashkenazi students and yeshivot. To this day their study occupies in yeshivot of Polish-Lithuanian origin a principal place together with Rashi, the *tosafot*, and Maimonides.

The second class of Naḥmanides' halakhic literary works comprises his halakhic monographs, of which there are seven:

(1) *Dinei de-Garme* deals with a clarification of the laws regarding inconvenience to a neighbor, injury to his property, and their relation to the law of torts. Since the subject is treated in the second chapter of *Bava Batra*, this short excellent monograph was appended to his novellae on that tractate from its first appearance in print. In it Naḥmanides summarizes the principal views of the earlier authorities on the various aspects of the laws of the *assailant and his victim in general, including damage to a neighbor. In presenting the various opinions Naḥmanides treats of each with great profundity. On this subject he was, he says, forestalled by monographs of French scholars, whose names, however, he does not mention. In recent years there was published (in *Hadorom*, 23 (1966), 31–53), from a manuscript *Gerama ve-Garme* by one of the tosafists, apparently *Ephraim b. Isaac of Regensburg, and Naḥmanides may be referring to this or to a similar work. This small work of Naḥmanides was highly praised by scholars, several of whom wrote commentaries on it. A comparison between his work and that of the scholar previously mentioned clearly reveals Naḥmanides' superiority as a writer of glosses and systematizer.

(2) *Mishpetei ha-Ḥerem* deals with the ways in which a ban is imposed and release obtained from it. It also treats at length of **Kol Nidrei*, said on the eve of the Day of Atonement. Although casting some doubt on its value, he nevertheless states that those accustomed to say it should not be prevented from doing so, since they rely on a custom instituted by the earlier authorities.

(3–5) *Hilkhot Bekhorot* and *Hilkhot Ḥallah* written by Naḥmanides as a supplement to *Hilkhot ha-Rif* of Alfasi, from which these laws were omitted. Here Naḥmanides adopts, with great fidelity, the Aramaic used by Alfasi, as well as his particular style and mode of writing. Naḥmanides also wrote *Hilkhot Nedarim* to fill a gap in Alfasi (those printed on tractate *Nedarim* are not Alfasi's). In this work Naḥmanides included, to a much larger extent than is to be found in the writings of Alfasi, novellae and argumentations in the style characteristic of his glosses on the Talmud.

(6) *Torat ha-Adam* is a comprehensive and unique monograph on all the laws concerning death, starting with what is prohibited and permitted and what is a *mitzvah* as regards the sick and dying, and concluding with the laws of mourning. In point of fact this work is also in the nature of a "supplement" to *Hilkhot ha-Rif,* but in it Naḥmanides, expatiating on the subject, included many scores of talmudic and tannaitic sources as also of Sephardi and Ashkenazi views, which he compared and discussed at length in the light of the sources. Very great importance was attached to the work by the leading codifiers, *Jacob b. Asher incorporated it, in its actual order and form and with corresponding sections, in his *Tur*, as did Joseph *Caro later in his Shulḥan Arukh. Commentators on the Talmud set great store by it when dealing with the interpretation of the relevant *sugyot* in the Talmud. Of special interest on its own account is *Sha'ar ha-Gemul*, the 30th chapter of the work which, published separately some 30 years before the whole (Naples, 1490), deals with reward and punishment after death.

(7) *Hilkhot Niddah* was printed in *Todat Shelamim* (Venice, 1741) of Isaiah *Bassani.

The third category of Naḥmanides' halakhic writings, and the first to appear in print, comprises his works of criticism, of which there are three:

(a) *Hassagot* ("criticisms") of *Maimonides' *Sefer ha-Mitzvot* (Constantinople, 1510);

(b) *Milḥamot Adonai* (in *Rif,* Venice, 1552) attacking *Zerahiah ha-Levi of Lunel's criticisms of *Hilkhot ha-Rif* as well as criticizing Zerahiah's *Sefer ha-Ẓava*; and

(c) *Sefer ha-Zekhut*, (in *Shivah Einayim*, Leghorn, 1745) attacking Abraham b. David's criticisms of Alfasi.

These three share a common feature, namely Naḥmanides' desire to vindicate the earlier authorities against the criticism of later scholars, and hence their contents do not everywhere reflect Naḥmanides' own view; thus, Maimonides having written his *Sefer ha-Mitzvot* mainly against the enumeration of the 613 commandments by the author of the *Halakhot Gedolot*, Naḥmanides took upon himself the task of defending the earlier authority against this criticism. The most important of them is *Milḥamot Adonai* which also has great intrinsic value for the comprehension of a *sugyah*, Naḥmanides devoting himself with his signal profundity and unique talents to an accurate reconstruction of the earlier views that appear to conflict with the *sugyah*. The style of the work is terse, vigorous, and not always easy to understand, calling for much concentration by the reader. In general Naḥmanides, in keeping with the basic purpose of the work, limited himself to the criticisms directed against Alfasi, but in its earlier parts the author went beyond these self-imposed limits to include in them arguments against Zerahiah ha-Levi even where the subject matter did not touch directly on Alfasi.

Naḥmanides' halakhic writings had a decisive influence on the entire history of subsequent rabbinic literature. Solomon b. Abraham Adret's glosses on the Talmud are founded on those of Naḥmanides, and Adret literally copied extracts from his work. Based principally on Naḥmanides' writings are *Sefer *Ha-Ḥinnukh* (which is also based on Maimonides) and Samuel b. Meshullam *Gerondi's *Ohel Mo'ed*. A complete series of works on *Hilkhot ha-Rif* by an anonymous author, mistakenly identified as Nissim *Gerondi, are by a "pupil of Naḥmanides" and based on his teachings. Menahem b. Solomon *ha-Me'iri devoted an entire work, *Magen Avot*, to a controversy with Naḥmanides' pupils who had brought with them to Provence their teacher's customs, which were diametrically opposed to those of Provence. The very great authority enjoyed by Naḥmanides is apparent from the fact that ha-Me'iri found himself compelled to defend the views of the leading earlier authorities of Provence against those of Naḥmanides. Of his responsa only a small number are extant; a large number of them being written in reply to the questions of Samuel b. Isaac ha-*Sardi, who incorporated them in their entirety in his *Sefer ha-Terumot*. A few other responsa by him appeared in *She'elot u-Teshuvot ha-Ramban*, the vast majority of which, despite the title of the work, are by Solomon b. Abraham Adret.

It is difficult to fix the chronological order of Naḥmanides' halakhic works. It is known that he composed *Hilkhot Nedarim* in his youth, and it is clear that he wrote *Milḥamot Adonai* before most of his novellae on the Talmud. Since he composed his novellae over many years, it is impossible to determine their order.

[Israel Moses Ta-Shma]

In Kabbalah

There is evidence that in an earlier version of his Commentary on the Pentateuch (Rome, 1480) Naḥmanides intended to discuss kabbalistic matters more explicitly, but he fell ill and was informed in a dream that he should desist. An extant fragment from an earlier version seems to indicate such a tendency. However, immediate doubts about the authenticity of the fragment were raised by Naḥmanides' students. Hints of kabbalistic references sprinkle his prolific writings, especially his commentary on the Pentateuch (Naples, 1490), commentary on the Book of Job, and the sermons. Kabbalistic concepts are woven into the eschatological discussion in the last section of his halakhic work, *Torat ha-Adam*; this section has often been printed as a separate work titled *Sha'ar ha-Gemul*. Kabbalistic elements are readily recognizable in his liturgical poems, e.g., in *Shir ha-Neshamah*, and in the prayer on the death of R. Abraham Ḥazzan, one of the kabbalists of Gerona. Naḥmanides' single work dealing exclusively with the Kabbalah is his commentary on the first chapter of *Sefer Yeẓirah*.

Despite the paucity of his kabbalistic writings, he came to be known in his later years as an expert on the subject. Kabbalists in the late 13th and early 14th centuries made considerable literary attempts to try and solve the secrets of Naḥmanides' commentary on the Pentateuch. The most important commentaries in this vein are *Keter Shem Tov* by R. Shem Tov *Ibn Gaon and *Me'irat Einayim* by R. Isaac b. Samuel of Acre. Even as late as the beginning of the 14th century, Naḥmanides' kabbalistic writings were studied and relied upon to a far greater degree than the *Zohar itself; a definite preference for the Zohar became apparent only in about 1325.

In the course of time Naḥmanides came to be regarded as such an authority that other authors' works were wrongly attributed to him, e.g., *Ha-Emunah ve-ha-Bittaḥon* (Korets, 1485), which has been proven to be the work of R. Jacob b. Sheshet *Gerondi. G. Scholem has made intensive surveys of Naḥmanides' method in Kabbalah in his *Ursprung und Anfaenge der Kabbala* (1962) and in his series of lectures, *Ha-Kabbalah be-Geronah*, ed. by I. Ben Shlomo (1964).

[Efraim Gottlieb]

Naḥmanides' Mysticism in Light of Late 20th Century Research

Researchers throughout the 20th century attempted to decipher Naḥmanides' mystical teachings in the context of their general and Jewish cultural contexts, and there were several efforts to present his mysticism and theology systematically, both by academic and Orthodox authors. In the 1980s a collection was published in which various articles explored diverse aspects of Naḥmanides and his thought: his Andalusian background, his conservative transmission of kabbalistic traditions, and the blatant contrast between Naḥmanides and *Azriel of Gerona regarding Adam's sin and other physical and spiritual subjects. In the 1990s scholarly interest grew regarding Naḥmanides' exegetical writings and their social implications, and major advances were made in focusing on Naḥmanides' hermeneutics in their Jewish and general context.

MYSTICISM IN NAḤMANIDES' BIBLE COMMENTARIES. Bible commentaries formed the literary and spiritual context in which Naḥmanides functioned as a kabbalist. His kabbalistic creativity cannot be separated from its appearance in his Bible commentary, and this exegetical work forms the essential context for understanding his kabbalistic teaching. Naḥmanides functioned in a context in which the literary genre of Bible exegesis – especially exegesis of the *peshat* (plain meaning of the text) – had already been developed by its classical exponents: Abraham Ibn Ezra in Spain, and Rashi and his school in France. In contrast with the *peshat* exegesis, which was thus already an established and structured literary genre, there was not yet any tradition of kabbalistic exegesis, especially in the specific sense of attempting to explicate the secrets of the Kabbalah in an exegesis following the *peshat*-exegetical paradigm. Accordingly, Naḥmanides had to shape a new strategy of writing, and made a highly significant choice to distinguish between two different paths in the text: the path of *peshat* and the path of truth. This choice created a problematical exacerbation of the gap between prior bodies of knowledge and the mysticism evolving in this period.

Whole sections of the Bible had, perhaps, not previously been dealt with from a mystical perspective, and certain parts of Scripture had no specific traditions of esoteric interpretation, just as other parts had rich traditions of interpretation. The question of attitude toward the Torah was especially sharp.

Naḥmanides sought to compose a consistent and continuous mystical commentary to the Torah, relying only on existing mystical material or on established tradition. He thereby encountered two complementary problems: (a) the Torah contains passages lacking any mystical exegetical tradition; (b) there are mystical doctrines which lack any clear and direct relation to the text of the Torah. This does not mean that Nahmanides faced discontinuity in the mystical tradition; there is an essential and profound difference between what seem to the reader to be "interpretative gaps" and what is lost material. These two phenomena should not be confused. Even if the exegete's self-conception is related to lost knowledge, the processes leading to this phenomenon are frequently related to the gap resulting from a change in the focus of the exegesis. Another complementary problem exists, namely that the rules of preserving the mysteries, which were at the heart of ancient mysticism, and which were also involved in oral transmission, often led to their being lost.

CONSERVATISM AND INNOVATION. A lively controversy has surrounded the question of Naḥmanides' innovation or conservatism in the Kabbalah. We can state, however, that both factors are active in his Kabbalah, and we need to explicate the relations between them. On the one hand, Naḥmanides transmitted bodies of knowledge which were transmitted in whispers, carefully preserving their character; on the other hand, he transmits them in a reorganized and different manner, in the form of Bible exegesis. One facet of innovation was his attempt to interpret the Bible mystically, an attempt motivated by the notion, characteristic of his time, that "everything is learned from the Torah." Presenting the mystical meaning while following the linear continuity of the text was also related to his time, since prior mystical traditions were not shaped in direct relation to the text of the Torah. To what, and by means of what exegesis, and on the basis of which texts, could the mystical traditions be connected? This was the urgent and immediate question faced by the early kabbalists, a question closely connected to the process of historical and social uncovering of the Kabbalah and its becoming written down.

Rabbi Ezra and Rabbi Azriel, in contrast with Naḥmanides, chose to interpret the talmudic *aggadot*. Their choice was simpler: they could review and write Kabbalistic commentaries on *aggadot* which had a mystical background or tendency. In this respect they remained closely and obviously related to rabbinic materials arranged in a midrashic manner. At the same time, the connection between what they chose to interpret is related to specific points in the Talmud, just as Naḥmanides did in his commentary to the Torah, which reflects the fact that we are referring to a process of uncovering existing knowledge, and not merely an exegetical decision.

CONCEPTIONS OF HISTORY AND TIME: CHRISTIANITY AND ISLAM. Attitudes toward Christianity and Islam alike provide additional contexts for Naḥmanides' writings. His attitude toward the Christianity of 13th century Europe becomes blatant in his concept of history and his historiosophy. His attitude toward Islam also finds occasional expression, but less in historical references than in more substantive phenomenological parallels to contemporary mystical doctrines known from the Ismaili Islam.

Naḥmanides' method regarding "the actions of the ancestors are a sign for their children" and "pictures of things," implemented on the level of *peshat*, confirms the relationship between his conception and Christian conceptions of history, whereas his overall conception of time (of which the conception of history is a part), such as his theory of *shemitot* (sabbatical years of release) based on his theory of the **Sefirot*, is implemented on the mystical level, and is related to Ismaili concepts of cyclical cosmic time.

NAḤMANIDES' THEOLOGY: THE RELATION BETWEEN CONCEPT AND SYMBOL. Naḥmanides' thought, which can be called kabbalistic thought or a "religious system," connects basic symbols of the mystical tradition and fundamental concepts in Jewish religion. Naḥmanides was a creative theologian, whose new system of thought includes such theological and philosophical concepts as miracle, nature, providence, exile, redemption, time, will, commandment, Torah, faith, image and story. In turn, his thought influenced a broad spectrum of Jewish thinkers, kabbalists and non-kabbalists alike, including thinkers of an opposite point of view from his, such as Crescas, Judah Loew ben Bezalel (Maharal), Isaac Luria, Cordovero, Abraham Cardozo, Elijah ben Solomon Zalman (Vilna Gaon), Moses Sofer (Ḥatam Sofer), Krochmal, Rabbi Kook, the Satmar *rebbe*, and others. Basic ideas of his theology are also subtly connected to a body of symbolic knowledge and render Naḥmanides' Kabbalah uniquely profound, and resulted in its influencing a broader circle outside of Kabbalah alone.

THE STRUGGLE BETWEEN TWO MYSTICAL THEORIES: NAḤMANIDES AND THE ZOHAR. The conservative and normative aspect of Naḥmanides' mystical theory reflects his communal and halakhic leadership as well as his being a kabbalist. However this conservatism was expressed more in the oral manner of his transmitting his theory than in its content. Recent research has increasingly explored the social aspect of two different conceptions of mysticism, related to two strategies of transmission and writing.

The controversy between Naḥmanides' school and the school of the Zohar surrounds a core issue: a differing view of God and man, which in turn is reflected in a differing view of reality and history. Naḥmanides' conception of God contains a dimension of transcendence, absolutely beyond human comprehension, expression, revelation or theurgy, and is experienced by God's remoteness from language. By the language of the *Sefirot*, Naḥmanides was able to express a hierarchy between two levels of divinity: the known and the unknown, reminiscent of Pseudo-Dionysius.

The school of the Zohar, by contrast, provides a different conception of God and man: the transcendent is open to revelation, theurgic contact and even ecstasy (what can be called theurgic ecstasy). The transcendent is experienced by its absolute proximity to language. The concept of God and man is thus "realized" in the concept of history as a gate open to infinite fields. The acosmic vector of this concept applies to history's beginning or pre-history, and not to its end. By giving up on the concept of cyclical *shemitot*, it cuts any link to an apocalyptic world-view, and thus the center of gravity shifts from the cosmos seeking its end, to a cosmos moved by its beginning, and the shift from a cosmic process to a historical process.

There is a close correlation between determining an unequivocal and sharp end to the cosmos and history, and the concept of a defined reservoir of souls, just as there is between the infinity of history, especially in the transition to messianic times, and the continual renewal of souls and the perpetual self-perfection of God.

In recent research there have been diverse claims regarding the pseudepigraphical authorship of the Zohar in relation to the school of Naḥmanides, which faithfully preserved his oral teachings in the generation after his death, and served as guardians of canonical kabbalistic writing. The texts of the school of the Zohar, on the other hand, did not exist as a formed corpus in the 13th century, and only at the end of the 13th and beginning of the 14th century did the idea of "the Book of the Zohar" take shape, in response to the canonization of Naḥmanides' commentary to the Torah and to the rise of a genre of mystical exegesis.

COMMENTATORS ON NAḤMANIDES. Some of the commentators on Naḥmanides are known by name; others are anonymous. The supercommentaries of R. Joshua *Ibn Shuaib and R. Shem Tov *Ibn Gaon are regarded as the most authoritative for the transmission of the teachings of Naḥmanides and his students Solomon ben *Adret and *Isaac Todros, and are important to understanding Naḥmanides. Although *Isaac of Acre's commentary *Me'irat Einayim* also follows the order of the biblical text, it is a topical key to Naḥmanides' thought. Other commentaries of an interpretative and homilectical character are R. Joshua ibn Shuaib's *Derashot* on the Torah and Bahya ben Asher's Torah commentary. R. Menahem Recanati's commentary to the Torah also contains commentary on Naḥmanides and citations from the Zohar.

The works which present Naḥmanides' teachings in a systematic manner are anonymous, and differ in strategy from super-commentaries: they uncover a system, rather than follow step by step. These include *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut*, and two works referred to in scholarly literature as the unknown commentary of Naḥmanides' mysteries, and an anonymous commentary from the circle of Solomon ben Adret, as well as a commentary to the *Sefer ha-Bahir.*

Following these anonymous works written in Spain, the literature of the circle of the *Sefer ha-*Temunah* in Byzantium also needs to be mentioned. These writings discuss the meaning of the shapes of the letters of the Hebrew alphabet together with the theory of Sabbatical cycles. A similar combination may also be found in the thought of Naḥmanides' grandson, R. David ben Judah he-Ḥasid, whose contacts with the circle of the Zohar were complex. He combined knowledge of the Zohar with knowledge of Naḥmanides' teachings, and was a primary conduit for the transmission of Naḥmanides' Kabbalah to the circle of *Sefer ha-Temunah*.

In the first and second generations after Naḥmanides, there were thus students who received his teachings and transmitted them, sometimes by personal word of mouth. Some of them, however, combined his teachings with other kabbalistic systems. In terms of content, many of the anonymous works focus on the mysteries of time and the nature and character of its historical or cosmic cycles. In this regard, they resemble ancient apocalyptic literature. In terms of form, the anonymous works break out of the limits of oral transmission.

Later developments, which follow in the path of *Sefer ha-Temunah* and, like it, rely on Naḥmanides' teachings, are *Sefer ha-*Kaneh* and *Sefer ha-Peli'ah*, which reinforce its apocalyptic paradigm, in which the *shemitot* cycles are also used to explain the commandments, in terms of the cycle of human religious life. The mystical transmission is no longer only oral and within the family, but now includes revelation and written transmission, personal revelations and revelations of Elijah.

Such transmission by anonymous revelation is dialectically related to Naḥmanides' own conceptions. It is not necessarily opposed to his strict rules of oral transmission. Rather, the rich power and agitation already existing in the oral circles branched out in writing and revelation. Naḥmanides himself had been described, shortly after his life, as someone capable of restraining his horses while galloping at full speed.

NAḤMANIDES BETWEEN CATALONIA AND CASTILLE. The great difference between the behavior of Naḥmanides' students and that of kabbalists in the area of Castille leads to the conclusion that the earlier kabbalists of Naḥmanides' circle, who tended to preserve traditions and to obey strict rules of transmission, were careful in the way they committed these teachings to writing, at the same time that the Zohar was being distributed and thereafter. This does not, however, provide evidence of influence of Castille on Catalonia. To the contrary: earlier material was uncovered later on, in diverse dialogical relations with the kabbalists of Castille. Parallels between the kabbalists of Catalonia and Castille do not necessarily mean that the Catalonians internalized teachings from Castille, but just the opposite: it is possible that the kabbalists in Castille broke earlier restrictions and were the first to commit to writing theories they learned from people close to the circle of Solomon ben Adret, without accepting their strict rules of secrecy, whereas Naḥmanides' students were reticent to take this step. We know about some of these people from the testimony of R. Shem Tov Ibn Gaon, and one of them was likely R. David ha-Kohen.

Such violation of the rules of transmission made possible a much broader explication of mystical teachings than had been previously known through oral transmission, whether direct or indirect. Naḥmanides' students, as well as those of Solomon ben Adret and Isaac Todros, had committed themselves to the strict restrictions of oral transmission. We have the testimony of R. Shem Tov ibn Gaon, one of Adret's students, that his teachers made the condition that he only transmit the kabbalistic teachings to a wise and humble student, over the age of 40. His testimony also indicates that these strict restrictions sometimes failed; the teachers occasionally misjudged a person who had already learned Naḥmanides' teachings.

The difference regarding innovation and knowledge is not what divided the circle of Naḥmanides from the kabbalists in Castille. It is merely an external symptom of a more extreme struggle over the content of completely differing conceptions of reality and God, and the dynamics of the controversy cannot be separated from the essential content.

MOSES DE LEON'S CONTROVERSY WITH NAḤMANIDES. *Moses de Leon's attitude toward Naḥmanides was quite complex. Their ideological and religious controversy was conducted on several levels: the concept of transcendence; the concept of God as binary (i.e., the dichotomy of good and evil, being vs. destruction) or unitary; later on "positive" destruction at the end of time (i.e., rest, identified with the good) or "negative" destruction in the beginning (i.e., motion, identified with evil); theurgy directed at part of the divine vs. a theurgic connection to all of divinity; dimensions of divinity closed to experiential knowledge vs. all levels of divinity being open to contact in ecstatic revelation; the destiny of the sinful soul after death: purification and immersion in water (according to Naḥmanides' circle) vs. purification by fire (according to Moses de Leon); cosmic cycles of time vs. cycles of the year, festivals and Sabbaths. A correct understanding of Naḥmanides' theories thus provides a criterion which may permit a break-through in understanding how Moses de Leon's circle accepted and rejected Naḥmanides.

The awareness of the *peshat* was critical for the development for Naḥmanides' awareness of *sod* (mystical meaning) as a defined exegetical layer of the text. Such refinement of the concept of *sod*, not only in the content but also in the literary expressions and forms of the text and its transmission led to mystical exegesis, but also to a reaction against Naḥmanides in the Zohar, which rejected the distinction between the two layers.

Naḥmanides conceived of the transcendent as entailing a level closed to human attainment. This accords with the concept of the infinite as a dimension lacking any representation in the stories of the Torah, the concept of the three highest *Sefirot* which the Torah's commandments can only hint at but not aim at them or affect them. In other words, theurgic contact with them is absolutely precluded. Similarly, these *sefirot* cannot be imagined in anthropomorphic terms of any human bodily organ. There is a fundamental connection between the concept of the divine image and the concept of the cycles of *shemitot*, in other words between the anthropomorphic conception of God in terms of only some of the *Sefirot* and the limitations of religious language, and the conception of the cosmos as limiting history. This conception of two dimensions of God – the revealed and the hidden – may be congruent to mystical doctrines known from Hasidei Ashkenaz and from ancient mysticism; but in Naḥmanides' teachings they find additional expression.

The Zohar, on the other hand, in most places, offers a different view: it mentions the *Ein Sof* (infinite), and it relates to all the *Sefirot*, even to the highest ones, in anthropomorphic terms, and provides a theurgic and ecstatic connection with all of them.

THE CONTROVERSY OVER ESCHATOLOGY AND THE THEORY OF SHEMITOT. The controversy described above, regarding conceptions of God and the world, also involves completely differing conceptions of exile, the present and the messianic era. At this critical stage in the history of the Kabbalah and its transition from esoteric to exoteric teaching, the apparently temporary collapse of the theory cosmic cycles, namely the ancient doctrine concerning the passage of time, is related to a completely different conception of the present, an immeasurably long exile, which the circle of the Zohar regarded as the building blocks of the immeasurably long messianic future, to be effected by the knowledge of God and influencing Him.

This early kabbalistic interest in eschatology is congruent in some respects to general culture. On the level of the fate of the individual soul there is prominent interest in locating and characterizing the stages of the trial of the soul after death. Such interest may already be found in Sa'adiah Gaon's *Book of Beliefs and Doctrines* and in Eleazar of Worms' book *Wisdom of the Soul*, and it is particularly prominent in Naḥmanides' *Sha'ar ha-Gemul* as well as in the thought of his bitter opponent, Moses de Leon. Naḥmanides' work describes a continuity from the time of illness to the time of dying and death, to the fate of the soul after death, and also describes allusions to a collective eschatology. Similar questions occupied other kabbalistic trends of thought: where are paradise and hell located – on heaven or on earth, or in both? What is the essence of the judgment fortifying the soul for the life of the world to come – burning in fire (according to Moses de Leon) or immersion in water (according to Naḥmanides' circle)? Is there an intermediate state, a liminal area in which there is no right to be judged, or (in the Zohar's terms) a naked state? Can the *ẓaddik* effect an improvement of the sinful souls of the dead? The kabbalists disagreed over these questions and over their answers. In some cases they accommodated their views to ideas they heard in contemporary Christianity, but generally they related to a broad range of options found in rabbinic sources.

Questions of esoterics vs. exoterics, of closed vs. open knowledge, were only the tip of the iceberg in a much deeper struggle over a wide spectrum of religious issues (theology and praxis) grounded in differing world-views. Naḥmanides' conservative theory of *shemitot* preserved a more ancient worldview, which apparently no longer was relevant to the contemporary experience of reality of some 13th century kabbalists. A different conception of time bursts out of the writings of the kabbalists in Castille, who rejected the theory of *shemitot*. Instead, they regarded the present day as the time for creative messianic activity, a view related to general processes taking place in Christian European society, such as the rise of the city and mercantile economy, with their concepts of time. These new concepts of time were internalized in the religious life of these kabbalists, and not merely in the way they supported themselves financially. These differences split the world of 13th century Kabbalah, but we would not be witness to these changes of seasons in the conception of time were it not for the conservative component in Naḥmanides' teaching.

[Haviva Pedaya (2nd ed.)]

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NAḤMAN OF BRATSLAV (1772–1810), ḥasidic *admor* (“master, rabbi, and teacher”) and fertile thinker in the fields of philosophy and literature. His personality and his work resonate to this day far beyond the boundaries of the ḥasidic stream he founded.

On his mother's side, Naḥman was the great-grandchild of the Ba'al Shem Tov, Rabbi *Israel ben Eliezer, considered to be the founder of ḥasidic Judaism. His mother, Feiga, was the daughter of Adil, daughter of the Ba'al Shem Tov. On the side of his father, Rabbi Simḥah, Naḥman was the grandson of *Naḥman of Horodenka (Gorodenka), a disciple of the Ba'al Shem Tov and part of the first group of Ḥasidim headed by the Ba'al Shem Tov.

Naḥman was born in Medzhibezh, in the Ukraine, the town where the Ba'al Shem Tov worked and was buried, and where Naḥman's uncle and the grandson of the Ba'al Shem Tov, Rabbi Baruch of Medzhibezh, continued to work. Naḥman therefore grew up in the heart of the ḥasidic world, and from a young age already saw his destiny as being a ḥasidic rabbi. He was betrothed as soon as he reached bar mitzvah age, and married a year later, at the age of 14. At his wedding he met Rabbi Simeon, who became a student and loyal friend and accompanied him throughout his life. After his wedding, as was the custom at that time, he went to live in the home of his father-in-law, Rabbi Ephraim of Ossatin, in the Kiev district of Podolia. The rural nature of this place attracted Naḥman, and he often wandered among the fields and went off by himself to the caves and forests, to commune with God. He used to go out rowing by himself on the river, although he was not a very good oarsman. His life during this period had a considerable influence on the life he encouraged his disciples to live. Seclusion, walks in the countryside, and conversations with the Maker as if conversing with a friend, are the salient features of Bratslav Ḥasidism to this day.

After Rabbi Ephraim became widowed and remarried, Naḥman did not get on with his father-in-law's new wife and moved to the town of Medvedevka, in the Kiev district. There he began to gather his first disciples around him, and embarked on the path of a ḥasidic leader.

In 1798 Naḥman set out on a journey to Ereẓ Israel. He traveled anonymously, and only his friend Simeon accompanied him and knew his identity. On his way to Ereẓ Israel he acted childishly, playing soldiers with youngsters and unnecessarily provoking other Ḥasidim traveling with him on the boat. These actions can be interpreted in various different ways. In Ereẓ Israel he met the local ḥasidic leadership, who received him with great honor and respect, as befitting the great grandson of the Ba'al Shem Tov. He visited Acre, Safed, and Tiberias, as well as other places, but after a few months, when Napoleon's army began to arrive in the country, he fled back home. His return journey was also accompanied by various adventures, since he mistakenly boarded a Turkish warship and was only released after payment of a large ransom.

After his journey to Ereẓ Israel he returned to Medvedevka and to leadership of his ḥasidic community. During this period, the first disputes also began to take place with other ḥasidic leaders in the same area. At the same time, Naḥman began to develop his view of disputation as a source of growth and development and as something with positive aspects, arising in places where new paths are broken in the worship of God.

In Elul 5560 (1800) Naḥman moved to Zlatopol, in the Kiev district, not far from the town of Shpola, home of Reb *Aryeh Leib, known as the Shpola Zeide (“the Grand Old Man of Shpola”), who was the oldest of the ḥasidic *admorim* in the region and whose authority also extended to Zlatopol. Shortly after Naḥman arrived in the town, a serious disagreement broke out with the Shpola Zeide, who apparently saw Naḥman's arrival in town – which had not been coordinated with him as was customary – as an encroachment and an affront. In due course Baruch of Medzibezh and other *admorim* in the Ukraine joined the dispute against Naḥman.

From a series of meetings that he had with ḥasidic rabbis in the area on his return from Ereẓ Israel, it appears that Naḥman did not conceal his criticism of the *admorim*, most of whom were many years older than he. Naḥman told them bluntly that the revelations of which they were so proud were false, and frequently attacked the "erroneously famous" rabbis who did not know how to lead themselves, but wanted to lead others.

Naḥman saw himself as the greatest **ẓaddik* of his generation, and as a true saintly man. He considered his rank to be incomparably higher than that of the other rabbis of his generation, and also of *ẓaddikim* of previous generations, including the Ba'al Shem Tov, the founder of Ḥasidism. Naḥman even hinted that he was higher in rank, at least in some respects, than all the outstanding Jewish figures throughout the generations, from the creation of the world and the first man and right up to the days of the Messiah. This is the message that comes across from the conversations, sermons, and stories of Naḥman, and more explicitly from the esoteric material discovered and published only at the beginning of the 21st century, in particular from those parts that were censored and omitted in the printed version of the book *Ḥayyei Moharan* ("The Life of our Teacher Rabbi Naḥman"), but preserved in the manuscript version.

These bold pretensions naturally aroused opposition, which came as no surprise to Naḥman; he even said: "How could there not be disputes around me, since I am taking a new path that no one has ever taken before, not even the Ba'al Shem Tov, nor any being since the Torah was received, even though it is a very ancient path and even though it is completely new" (*Ḥayyei Moharan*, Jerusalem 5760, p. 338). Naḥman even saw himself as a potential messiah, and as the trailblazer for the coming of the Messiah, who would lead the world with the help of the tools and the advice that Naḥman had prepared and renewed, and the whole world would become Bratslav Ḥasidim.

As a result of the dispute, Naḥman was forced to move to Bratslav (1802). At this stage he was joined by Rabbi Nathan Steinhartz (1780–1845), who soon became Naḥman's scribe and the disseminator of his doctrine. Naḥman stayed in Bratslav for some eight years, until the last year of his life, and there he established and expanded his work as a ḥasidic rabbi and teacher. Even then, the disputes did not abate, accompanying Naḥman until his final days. The most notable of the ḥasidic rabbis who supported Naḥman during these difficult times was Rabbi *Levi Isaac of Berdichev, who stood by him until his own death, about a year before Naḥman's.

In 1805 Naḥman's son Solomon Ephraim was born. Naḥman had messianic hopes for the infant, which increased in fervor during 1806. In the summer of 1806 the "Holy Child" died, and with him the hopes of coming redemption. Shortly afterwards Naḥman first revealed the *Megillat Setarim*, an esoteric discourse describing the "order of the coming of the righteous redeemer." This scroll, to which Naḥman returned in 1809, was encompassed by walls of stringent secrecy, and Bratslav tradition claims that only one person in each generation should know it. The scroll was set out in writing but only in brief hints and acronyms. In the book *Yemei Moharanat*, which is Reb Nosen's autobiography, it was claimed by the publisher that the scroll was lost. However it emerged that contrary to what was declared, the scroll is still in existence and is preserved by the Bratslav Ḥasidim. Recently, the scroll has also been exposed to research.

Naḥman regularly traveled between the towns where his supporters lived. One important journey that left an impression on him was his journey to Lemberg (Lvov). At the time, there were important doctors staying in Lemberg and Naḥman went to see them because he was suffering from tuberculosis, the disease from which he would eventually die. However, apart from the medical aspect, the encounter with the doctors in Lemberg, which continued for some eight months, was significant for Naḥman in that, for the first time, he came into lengthy and intensive contact with educated Jews. Naḥman also made other journeys, some of them incognito, whose purpose and meaning he did not explain.

Some six months before his death, in the spring of 1810, when he was already well aware that his days were numbered, Naḥman moved to the town of Uman. There were a number of reasons for the move. Naḥman, who had prayed for a long time for the privilege of dying a martyr's death, apparently wanted to be buried in the cemetery in *Uman, where many Jews martyred in the 1788 Gonta massacre were buried, and in this context declared that he had come to engage in *tikkun neshamot*, the perfection of souls. Naḥman was also interested in meeting with the Uman intellectuals. To the amazement of his disciples, he preferred to live in a house previously occupied by one of the important intellectuals of the town, Naḥman Nathan Rapaport, and not in the home of one of his followers. Naḥman even used to meet with prominent members of the circle of Uman intellectuals, and had a special connection with Hirsch Be'er Horowitz, who some time later immigrated to England, changed his name to Herman Bernard, and became a professor of Oriental languages at Cambridge University. It is not clear what they talked about at these meetings, but we know that the meetings were social in nature and that they played chess together. Naḥman saw them as an important mission and found them very interesting, even though they prompted surprise among his disciples. Bratslav tradition tells that these intellectuals "almost" returned to their religious roots, and had Naḥman not died an untimely death they would certainly have fully returned to the fold.

Bratslav Ḥasidism was never a large sect, and after the move to Uman it became even smaller, with only a few hundred loyal Ḥasidim remaining and not put off by the disputes and persecution, or by the strange actions of the rabbi.

The tuberculosis from which Naḥman was suffering for a third year become worse, and any conversation or speech cost him great effort and severe pain. Nonetheless, to his last days Naḥman continued his homiletic and literary activities, and even expounded doctrine to his congregation of disciples, and some of his most complex and interesting teachings were given during this difficult period. During *Ḥol ha-Mo'ed* Sukkot of 1810 Naḥman died and was buried in Uman.

Naḥman of Bratslav's Spiritual Work and Character

Naḥman of Bratslav is one of the most original creative minds of ḥasidic contemplation and oration and the most notable writer in the field of ḥasidic literature. His book *Likkutei Moharan* (1808) contains theoretical homilies which were, for the most part, written down by his disciple Reb Nosen, with a few written by Naḥman himself. In terms of genre, the book clearly belongs to ḥasidic homiletic literature, containing Naḥman's teachings presented in a manner that is full of imagination and vision. The innovation and imagination can be seen both in the content and the penetrating way in which the theological and existential problems are presented, and at the level of the literary qualities of the homilies, such as the surprising linking of characters and the unexpected way in which Naḥman quotes sources in order to build his sermon. Although on first reading the homilies appear to document Naḥman's disorganized flow of associations, at the end and on second reading it becomes clear that Naḥman has woven a colorful and changing tapestry into a tale whose end lies in its beginning, and which has both structure and a point to make.

The book *Sippurei Ma'asiyyot* (1815) presents 13 stories told by Naḥman during the last three years of his life, written down by his disciple Rabbi Nathan of Nemirov (Reb Nosen). The stories were published, on Naḥman's instructions, in a bilingual edition – Hebrew and Yiddish, with the Hebrew version above and the Yiddish version below. These stories represent an independent division in ḥasidic literature, and there is nothing else like them in the field. Unlike most ḥasidic stories, these were told by the rabbi and not by the disciples. However, a more important characteristic lies not in the identity of the author but in the character and content of the stories. Unlike other ḥasidic literature, which is entirely hagiographic, the tales of Naḥman are not paeans of praise dealing with an exemplary figure, and only one of the 13 deals with the ḥasidic world, while most of them make no mention at all of the Jewish world. The stories in *Sippurei Ma'asiyyot* are told about the daughter of a king captured by the Evil One, about a gang of pirates, about dust that makes anyone who steps on it mad, about the heart of the world and its pining, and about the love of birds, lovers' yearnings and their song. In addition to the tales collected in *Sippurei Ma'asiyyot*, there are dozens more short stories by Naḥman published in Bratslav literature down the generations. A group of stories was written down by Reb Nosen and disseminated in his various writings (mainly in *Ḥayyei Moharan*), while the other stories are scattered through later Bratslav literature. These stories are not all the same in character; they include parables and tales of praise, dreams and visions.

Other than the sermons and stories, Reb Nosen also collected conversations and short sayings of Naḥman which, although they are not as complex and well developed as his homiletic and literary work, contain a clarity of thought and a directness that are not to be found in the work that is clad in literary and homiletic dress.

Naḥman attributed great importance to the rituals he established with the aim of amending man's sins and defects. He instituted a *Tikkun le-Mikra Laila* (nocturnal pollution), which mainly involved reciting ten psalms; the *Tikkun Kelali* (General Remedy), which does not deal with a specific sin but is intended to amend entire areas where man is defective, such as the subject of speech, money, and particularly eroticism; and a third *tikkun* which is visiting his grave after his death, and which also allows general amendment of all man's sins, and to which we will relate below.

The figure of the *ẓaddik* is very important in Naḥman's work, and he emphasized rank and virtue and the importance of believing in the *ẓaddik*. And yet, Naḥman's teachings and conversations were spoken and written in a personal and confessional tone, including the reader not only in the *ẓaddik's* moments of elation but also in his moments of crisis. Naḥman often refers in his conversations to his struggle with evil inclinations and his times of weakness, bordering on despair and depression. Even questions of belief and denial are presented in all their seriousness, and the feelings of helplessness that even a *ẓaddik* feels when faced with the skepticism which has no answer are brought up openly. Despite the noticeable presence of the threat of skepticism, weakness, and despair, it would not be correct to say that the Bratslav climate is pessimistic. Naḥman declared war against sadness and despair in a unique way. He called upon his disciples not to ignore and escape sorrow and anguish but to draw them too into a joyous dance and turn pain and suffering into a source for the awakening of life, elation, and happiness. In Naḥman's work there is a rare combination of a pessimistic sense of reality and a positive and optimistic response to the question of what a man can accomplish in life and whether it is given to a man to achieve joy in his life. These extremes are also expressed in Naḥman's theological world and in his sermons, which place side by side the strong feeling of distance and absence of God on the one hand, and at the same time the ability to sense the divine in everything. The role of the *ẓaddik*, according to Naḥman, is to know the *ḥasid* standing before him and to adapt his words accordingly. With a spiritually arrogant *ḥasid*, the feeling of distance and the question "Where is God's place?" should be emphasized, whereas with a *ḥasid* who is feeling distant from God, it is the divine presence that should be stressed, and the saying that "The earth is filled with the Lord."

Naḥman is one of the greatest of the mystics of the Jewish people who have left written records of their mystical experiences. He gave voice to his mystic world in his sermons, in stories, and in direct documentation of the revelations he experienced, both while awake and when dreaming. One of these intense experiences, which undoubtedly had considerable weight in shaping Naḥman's self-awareness, was documented in the secret tale called "*Ma'aseh me-ha-Leḥem*." In this tale, Naḥman describes a mystic experience in which he received a new Torah, with a re-statement of the ten commandments and the Torah as a whole. This story was kept secret for over 200 years, and only in recent years has it been published. In the published Bratslav literature there are also reports by Naḥman of various revelations he experienced and teachings he developed as a result. Naḥman's self-confidence in this respect was so great that he even dared to attack other *ẓaddikim*, even those who were many years older than he, who claimed to have seen revelations and angels, saying to them: "This is not how Metatron appears … many have anticipated expounding on the Chariot, but have never actually seen it" (*Ḥayyei Moharan*, 113, p. 148).

When Naḥman's disciples raised doubts as to the ability of *ẓaddikim* to experience revelations such as Ezekiel's chariot, Naḥman replied: "Why are you so surprised? Ezekiel was only human" (*Ḥayyei Moharan*, 553, p. 437). In his sermons and conversations, Naḥman often related to devotion to God and to the states of awareness that are derived from this. He dedicated long sermons in clarification of the issue of devotion, the Holy Spirit, and prophetic visions. Belief and prophecy, for Naḥman, are part of a single spiritual scale whose basis is man's simple faith and whose highest point is the prophetic experience. Both belief and prophecy, each at its own level, require man to be willing to cast aside his intellect in order to reach a state of awareness without knowledge, in which the power of imagination, which is an active and vital part of belief and prophecy, is the central and dominant power at work in his consciousness. Naḥman considered mystic devotion to be a main aim, and all Bratslav work and customs are directed towards helping man to achieve it. Seclusion and conversing with the Creator, shouting and clapping hands, paying attention to the song of the wild grass and searching for hints – all of these modes lead to devotion to God.

Bratslav Ḥasidism after the Death of Naḥman

Naḥman's view of himself as the *Ẓaddik le-Dorot*, the likes of whom would not be seen again until the coming of the Messiah, left no room for the appointment of a successor after his death, and the Bratslav Ḥasidim remained a ḥasidic community without a living rabbi. This phenomenon, which had not been seen before in Ḥasidism, provoked astonishment and mockery, manifested in the nickname that adhered to the community: the *Toete Ḥasidim* – the Dead Ḥasidim. It was Rabbi Nathan of Nemirov (Reb Nosen), Naḥman's disciple and scribe, who took it upon himself to lead the community and ensure its continuity. At first the older Ḥasidim objected, but Reb Nosen's leadership gradually took shape. Although Reb Nosen did not try to take the place of Naḥman, he played a central role in shaping Bratslav literature and customs for the following generations. Apart from the fact that all the Bratslav literature about Naḥman was written by Reb Nosen, he also continued his own creative momentum, following in the spirit and footsteps of Naḥman, especially in his greatest work, *Likkutei Halakhot*. Reb Nosen set up an independent printing press and ensured that the writings of his rabbi would be published and distributed, while completely neglecting his own affairs. Reb Nosen wandered among the disciples and encouraged them to continue adhering to the path of their rabbi even after his death, and even succeeded in attracting new disciples and infusing a new spirit into the community, which had been in deep crisis after Naḥman death. Reb Nosen initiated the construction of a new *bet midrash* for the Bratslav Ḥasidim in Uman, and also established the Rosh Ha-Shanah gathering at Naḥman's grave. During this period the dispute over Bratslav Ḥasidism was rekindled, with Reb Nosen at the center of the disputes and persecution this time, the persecutor being Rabbi Moses Ẓevi of Savran. At the height of the dispute, many left the path of their master and did not return even after the dispute died down. After the death of Reb Nosen, the unofficial leadership passed to Rabbi Naḥman of Tulchin (1814–1884), who acquired this status as Reb Nosen's student and right-hand man. In the next generation, the outstanding figure accepted as having authority and continuing the Bratslav tradition was his son, Rabbi Abraham Ḥazan (1849–1917), who was a prolific writer. In addition to expositions on the work of Naḥman, he and his students wrote up many Bratslav traditions which until then had been preserved only orally. After his death, Rabbi Levi Isaac Bender (1897–1989) achieved prominence and was considered by many as the main channel for passing on the Bratslav tradition to the next generation, and as the most devoted student of Abraham Ḥazan. From the beginning of the 20th century and until World War I, there was an improvement in the standing of Bratslav Ḥasidism, and Bratslav centers also sprang up in Poland alongside those in the Ukraine. However, the instability in Eastern Europe, World War I, the Holocaust, and then Soviet rule all had a serious effect on this small ḥasidic community and the only center that survived was a small group of Ḥasidim in Israel.

Since the 1970s there has been a surprising renaissance in the strength and scale of Bratslav Ḥasidism and the status of Naḥman in Israeli culture. Thousands of new disciples joined the community, and wider circles of students and admirers of Naḥman also developed who are not counted as his disciples. Bratslav Ḥasidism split up into a number of factions, some of which have a very tense relationship with each other. During this period, from being a small and persecuted group Bratslav Ḥasidism became a large and influential community. Most of the outstanding figures of this generation were students of Rabbi Levi Isaac Bender.

The following are the different factions of Bratslav Ḥasidism at the turn of the 20th century:

The main faction, also known as Bratslav Me'ah She'arim, comprises veteran Bratslav families, a small minority of them the descendents of Naḥman and Reb Nosen and the majority the descendants of families which joined Bratslav Ḥasidism in later generations. This sect does not have a single leader, and has a number of influential rabbis, including Rabbi Ya'akov Meir Schechter, Rabbi Shemuel Moshe Kramer, Rabbi Nathan Libermunsh, and others. The head of the World Bratslav Ḥasidism Committee, which constitutes the official leadership of this sect, is the elderly ḥasidic rabbi Mikhal Derfman, head of the Bratslav yeshivah Or ha-Ne'elam in the Me'ah She'arim neighborhood of Jerusalem.

Unlike this sect, the majority of members of the other Bratslav factions are new Ḥasidim with no previous family connection to Bratslav Ḥasidism. The vast majority are *ba'alei teshuvah* from secular families, and a minority are from an ultra-Orthodox or religious Zionist background. A large number of them are from Oriental communities.

The largest faction is led by Rabbi Eliezer Berland, the head of the Shuvu Banim Yeshivah, and his student Rabbi Shalom Arush, head of the Ḥut shel Ḥesed institutions. The center of this sect is in Jerusalem, on the outskirts of the Me'ah She'arim neighborhood, and its communities are scattered throughout Israel.

Another sect is led by Rabbi Eliezer Schik (Moharash), who travels between the two main centers of his followers in the town of Yavniel in Galilee and in New York City. Rabbi Schik's literary activity is extensive and includes free distribution of his booklets. It is worth noting his correspondence, which includes over 40 volumes of letters to his disciples. In his writings there are hints that indicate that he sees himself as a kind of incarnation of Naḥman and as continuing not only his path but also his personality.

A faction that is small in number but has a large public presence in Israel are the followers of Rabbi Yisroel Ber Odesser, known as the "*Na Naḥim*." Odesser (1888–1994) claimed to have found a note personally sent to him by Naḥman of Bratslav. Among other things, the note contained the expression "*Na Naḥ Naḥm Naḥman mi-Uman*," which became the mantra and charm of Reb Yisroel's disciples. These Ḥasidim believe that repeated chanting and dissemination of this phrase play a key role in speeding up redemption, which is why they spread it by means of stickers and graffiti and in any other way they can. White knitted yarmulkes with this phrase embroidered on them have become the dress code of this faction. After the death of Reb Yisroel "*Ba'al ha-Petek*," his followers split up and have no agreed leadership, and their main occupation is spreading word of the note and Bratslav literature.

One of the main characteristics of these factions, as opposed to the mainstream, is the considerable status accorded to their living *ẓaddik* leader. For the first time in Bratslav tradition since the death of Naḥman, the respect and honor given to the leader is not significantly different from that given by other ḥasidic communities to their living rabbi. However, it is still the case among these factions that the figure of Naḥman is the unequivocal center of the ḥasidic experience.

The great expansion of Bratslav Ḥasidism is part of broader processes that took place in the second half of the 20th century, one of which is the increasing resonance of the figure of Naḥman in Israeli culture outside Bratslav ḥasidic circles. Both in secular circles and in national religious and traditional circles there is increasing interest in the works of Naḥman, manifested among other things in study of his writings in the national religious yeshivah framework and in informal secular frameworks, and in the ever-increasing presence of his personality and writings in Israeli literature and culture. This phenomenon in itself is part of the wider phenomenon of the rise of mysticism in Israeli and Western cultures as part of the "New Age" phenomenon. Yet even against the background of the New Age, the Bratslav renaissance provokes astonishment in its scale and power, and it seems today (2006) that we are still in the midst of the process and that it is too early to summarize it and predict its future.

The main and most significant event in Bratslav Ḥasidism, bringing together all the different factions, is the Rosh Ha-Shanah pilgrimage to Naḥman's grave in Uman. Naḥman felt a special connection with this holiday and instructed all his disciples to gather together every Rosh Ha-Shanah, even if this involved great effort and devotion. Not directly connected to this matter, Naḥman also expressed his wish that his followers come to visit him even after his death, and in preparation for this he laid down a special ritual for the pilgrims visiting his grave, offering great benefits in return: Naḥman promised anyone who comes to his grave, no matter who he is and what his sins are, providing he undertakes not to repeat his sins, gives charity for the elevation of Naḥman's soul, and says 10 particular verses of Psalms, that he will intercede on his behalf and will drag him up from the depths of Hell by his sidelocks. After his death, his followers put these two dictates together and, under the leadership of Reb Nosen, made Rosh Ha-Shanah the holiday when all the Bratslav Ḥasidim gather in Uman at their rabbi's graveside. And indeed, throughout the generations the Bratslav Ḥasidim made great efforts to maintain this tradition. When they were not able to reach Naḥman's grave in Uman, the Ḥasidim gathered in Lublin, Jerusalem, or Meron.

In the 1990s, after the fall of the Soviet Union, the gathering in Uman was reestablished and the number of participants gradually increased. In 2004–05 over 20,000 people arrived in Uman for Rosh ha-Shanah. The vast majority came from Israel, by air, on the eve of the holiday, and a minority came from the United States, Canada, and France. A new synagogue was built. On the top floor and in the surrounding courtyard over 4,000 people pray in the traditional Bratslav manner, and on the ground floor some 2,000 people pray in Mizrachi style. The other worshipers pray in smaller *minyanim* nearby. On Rosh Ha-Shanah it is not only Naḥman's Ḥasidim who come to Uman but also people who clearly belong to other streams of Judaism, both religious and secular, and yet take an interest in this gathering. Only men are allowed in Uman on Rosh ha-Shanah. Not all Bratslav ḥasidism are able to join the gathering on Rosh ha-Shanah and various Bratslav gatherings are held in parallel in Israel and other parts of the world. Due to the fast-changing dynamics of the movement, it is difficult to estimate the number of Bratslav Ḥasidim in the different factions. It is harder still to estimate the scope of the widening circles of people who see Naḥman as a figure of authority and inspiration with a significant influence on their lives but who do not belong to any particular Bratslav community. The processes of change in Bratslav Ḥasidism are still in formation and it is too early to speculate on the future of this lively branch of Ḥasidism.

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[Zvi Mark (2nd ed.)]

NAḤMAN OF HORODENKA (**Gorodenka**; d. 1780), disciple of *Israel b. Eliezer Ba'al Shem Tov; his son married Feige, the granddaughter of the Ba'al Shem Tov, and their son was *Naḥman of Bratslav. Little information is available on the personality of Naḥman of Horodenka and his teachings. From the scattered quotations in the early ḥasidic literature attributed to him, it appears that he occupied himself essentially with practical questions on the method of divine worship. His encounter with the Ba'al Shem Tov became the turning point of his life, as he himself confirms: "When I was a great pietist I immersed myself every day in a *mikveh*, so cold that nobody else could bear. When I came to my house and found the place so warm that the walls were almost burning, I did not feel the warmth for almost an hour. Even so, I could not rid myself from impure thoughts until I was compelled to seek the wisdom of the Besht [Ba'al Shem Tov]" (*Shivḥei ha-Besht* (1961), 112). This change of attitude expresses the complete reversal of his world outlook from ascetic to non-ascetic Ḥasidism. In 1764 Naḥman emigrated to Ereẓ Israel with *Menahem Mendel of Peremyshlany at the head of a group of Ḥasidim and settled in Tiberias.

His journey was described by Simḥah b. Joshua of Zalozhtsy in *Ahavat Ẓiyyon* (Gorodnya, 1790; published a second time under the title *Doresh Ẓiyyon*, Jerusalem, 1887). Some teachings are recorded in his name by his father-in-law *Moses Ḥayyim Ephraim of Sudylkow in *Degel Maḥaneh Efrayim*, as well as in the *Toledot Ya'akov Yosef* by *Jacob Joseph of Polonnoye.

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[Esther (Zweig) Liebes]

NAḤMAN OF KOSOV (d. 1746), kabbalist and one of the early Ḥasidim. A wealthy land contractor and grain dealer, he lived for a time in Ludomir (Vladimir *Volynsky) where he built a *bet midrash* with adjoining bathhouse; Naḥman was associated with a group of Ḥasidim in Kutow (Kuty) which was active even before the appearance of *Israel b. Eliezer Ba'al Shem Tov and possibly remained independent of him even later. At first Naḥman was opposed to the Ba'al Shem Tov, refusing to accept him as a religious leader. Even after recognizing the latter's authority Naḥman preserved his spiritual independence, and his connections with the Ba'al Shem Tov were apparently weak. It is known that among the Kutow group "there was a condition that none of them should prophesy" (*Shivḥei ha-Besht*) but Naḥman did not always observe this condition. He was considered a "man of the spirit," possessing contemplative power and known for his ecstatic manner of praying; he was one of the first to introduce into public prayer the *Nosaḥ ha-Ari* (prayer rite of Isaac *Luria).

Naḥman was among the foremost teachers of devotion (**devekut*), emphasizing constant contemplation of God; *devekut*, according to him, does not contradict the requirements of social life and is not confined to moments of spiritual concentration or a propitious occasion. It is carried out by a visual technique, the letters of the Tetragrammaton and the other names of God appearing before the eyes of the person meditating (the visual method of seeing letters). Naḥman recognized the importance of the dialectical fabric of a society composed of "men of matter" (the masses) and "men of form" (i.e., of the spirit), holding that man's spiritual elevation from his lowliness will take place by his association with the great and pious. Everyone should aim at progress toward perfection day by day and a gradual ascent through completeness and unity of will and intention (*kavvanah*). Naḥman admitted the struggle in man's soul between the powers which are his good and evil inclinations. Life is like a "running and returning" (Ezek. 1:14), with ascents and descents; sometimes what seems to be an ascent is actually a descent, but the descents are prerequisites of the ascents and are not absolutely evil, for "intellect proceeds from instinct and spiritual desire from physical desire" (*Ẓafenat Pa'ne'aḥ*, 38a).

Naḥman was suspected of Shabbateanism and since he supported Jonathan *Eybeschuetz, Jacob *Emden publicly censured him as "Naḥman Kosover, the ignoramus of the Shabbatean sect" (Emden, *Petaḥ Einayim*, 14b; *Sefer Hitabbekut* (1862), 20b). However there is no real proof that Naḥman was a Shabbatean. His teachings are cited in *Toledot Ya'akov Yosef* by Jacob Joseph of Polonnoye, in *Shivḥei ha-Besht* (Horodezky ed. (1922), 56–57), etc.

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[Esther (Zweig) Liebes]

NAḤMIAS, IBN (15th–16 centuries), family of Hebrew printers from Spain. DAVID IBN NAḤMIAS, his brother SAMUEL, and David's son SAMUEL left Spain in 1492 and made their way to *Constantinople. There they published *Jacob b. Asher's *Turim* in 1493 (5254). The correctness of this date, written out in words in the colophon, has been doubted by scholars such as M. *Steinschneider (*Juedische Typographie*, 1938, 17), who assume an error of ten years. More recently, the case for the 1493 date has been strongly defended by A.K. Offenberg (see bibliography). After an interval of over ten years, the Ibn Naḥmias brothers printed a Pentateuch with Rashi, including *haftarot* with David Kimḥi's commentary and the Five Scrolls with that of Abraham ibn Ezra (1505–06). Several other books followed, among them Alfasi's *Halakhot* and Maimonides' *Code* (both 1509), and three works by Abrabanel, the only ones printed in the author's lifetime. Samuel Sr. died in 1509 or 1510, and David ibn Naḥmias about a year later. David's son Samuel carried on, alone or with a partner, to 1518, when the press was leased to others. The first two works printed (*Turim* and Pentateuch) have as *printer's mark a *Magen David* surrounded by leaves and flowers.

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NAḤMIAS, JOSEPH BEN JOSEPH (first half of 14th century), biblical commentator in Toledo. Naḥmias belonged to an ancient and distinguished Spanish family. Apart from the fact that he studied under *Asher b. Jehiel, little is known of his life. His reputation rests upon his biblical commentary which apparently originally encompassed most of the Bible.

The following parts have been published with introductions by M.A. Bamberger: Esther (1891), Proverbs (1912), and Jeremiah (1913). Bamberger also published Naḥmias' commentaries to *Avot* (1907) and to the *piyyut Attah Konanta* (in: JJLG, 6 (1909)), on the order of the Temple service for the Day of Atonement. His commentary to the tractate *Nedarim* has been preserved in manuscript. Naḥmias is also known to have translated many parts of Maimonides' *Guide of the Perplexed*.

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[Israel Moses Ta-Shma]

NAHMIJAS, DANILO (1926–), novelist. Born in Bosnia and raised in Sarajevo, Nahmijas joined the partisans at the age of 17 and after the war became a writer and journalist. He published short stories about his war experiences and three novels dealing with the Holocaust, the Nazi occupation, and Jewish resistance: *Nema mjesta pod suncem* ("No Place under the Sun," 1959), *Razvejano seme* ("Seeds Scattered by the Wind," 1960), and *Oganj* ("Conflagration," 1963).

NAHON, family of rabbis and community leaders of Portuguese origin, in various cities of *Morocco. R. ISAAC BEN JOSEPH NAHON (mid-16th century) was a rabbi of the community of Spanish exiles (Heb. *megorashim*) in *Fez and a signatory of its *takkanot* in 1545. Apparently either BENJAMIN (Joseph's father or brother) or JOSEPH was the author of *Sefer ha-Derashot* (Neubauer, Cat Bod 998). In the 17th and 18th centuries, the Nahons were international merchants in *Algiers; the family originating in *Tetuán. ISAAC (d. 1730) was rabbi in Tetuán. During the 18th and 19th centuries the family was prominent in *Marrakesh, *Mogador, and particularly *Tangier, where they built the Great Synagogue. They greeted Sir Moses *Montefiore on his trip to Morocco in 1864. JONAS BENASULI (b. 1888) was an architect in Tangier. MOSES (Moïse; b. 1870), a distinguished educator, Francophile, and the inspector of the Alliance Israélite Universelle schools throughout Morocco, was active in several philanthropic societies, as were the Nahon women. Other members lived in London, Gibraltar, and Leghorn, Italy.

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NAHON, GERARD (1931–), Jewish scholar and historian. Nahon was born in Paris to a family that came from Algeria in the 1920s and took refuge in Pau during the war. He studied philosophy, history, and Hebrew at the Sorbonne, the Institut national des langues et civilisations orientales (INALCO), and the Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes (EPHE). After working as an educator for the Oeuvre de Secours aux Enfants, and as a high school history teacher, he was appointed in 1965 to the Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, where he developed a research unit devoted to French Jewish history, "Nouvelle Gallia Judaica," which he directed until 1992. In 1977 he becomes directeur d'études at the Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes, section des Sciences religieuses, where he held the chair of medieval and modern Jewish history until 2000. He also taught Jewish history at the Séminaire israélite de France, at the INALCO, and at the University of Brussels. A former curator of the Archives of the Consistoire de Paris and president of the Société des études juives, he served from 1980 to 1996 as editor of the *Revue des études juives*. A student of Georges *Vajda and I.S. *Revah, and an indefatigable archive researcher, he devoted a large part of his studies to the scholarly edition of sources and documents and trained numerous students in this rigorous craft.

Chronologically, his research and publications cover extensive ground with a clear focus on two distinct areas, French medieval Jewry and early modern Sephardi history, and revolve around a few recurrent themes. He did research on the history of rabbinical literature, institutions, and personae. Through the study and publication of wills and epitaphs Nahon contributed to the historiographical emergence of the issue of death in Jewish studies. The bulk of his work focuses on the Sephardi Diaspora, particularly on the Portuguese nations of southwestern France, Bayonne, Bordeaux as well as the lesser communities. Through works on the relations between the Portuguese nations of Western Europe and their links to the Holy Land, he promoted the investigation of intercommunal links within the early modern Jewish world. Finally, he devoted several studies to the history of the Jews in Ereẓ Israel and translated Joshua Prawer's works.

As well as numerous articles in the aforementioned areas, his works and publications include: "Communautés judéo-portugaises du Sud-Ouest de la France (Bayonne et sa région) (1684–1791)," unpubl. diss., 1969; Menasseh ben Israël, *The Hope of Israel,* with Henry Mechoulan, (1987); *Les "Nations" juives portugaises du Sud-Ouest de la France (1684–1791) Documents* (1981); *Inscriptions hébraïques et juives de France médiévale* (1986); *Métropoles et périphéries sefarades d'Occident. Kairouan, Amsterdam, Bayonne, Bordeaux, Jérusalem* (1993); *La Terre sainte au temps des Kabbalistes 1492–1592,* (1997); *Juifs et judaïsme à Bordeaux* (2003).

[Evelyne Oliel-Grausz (2nd ed.)]

NAHOR (Heb. נָחוֹר; cf. Assyrian personal names Naḫaru, Naḫiri, Ur III, Naḫarum).

(1) The son of Serug, the father of Terah, and the grandfather of Abraham. Of those enumerated in the genealogy of the descendants of Shem, he had the shortest life – 148 years (Gen. 11:22–25; I Chron. 1:26).

(2) The son of Terah, the brother of Abraham and Haran, and the grandson of Nahor (1). His wife was Milcah, the daughter of his brother Haran (Gen. 11:26–29).

This was a consanguineous marriage such as is common in the narratives of the Patriarchs (for example, that of Jacob with Rachel and Leah). According to E.A. Speiser, such marriages are to be seen in the light of a custom known from Horite law, whereby a girl was adopted as a daughter with the intention that the adoptive father or his son would marry her. Apparently Bethuel, the son of Nahor and Milcah, died while still young, and his children came under the protection of their grandfather Nahor. Hence Laban is called "the son of Nahor" (Gen. 29:5). However, "the son of Nahor" may constitute a clan name, as is sometimes the case in the Bible.

Abraham and Nahor are described as the progenitors of two clans which intermarried. In the ceremony marking the covenant between Jacob and Laban, the latter declared (31:53): "'May the God of Abraham and the god of Nahor' – their ancestral deities – 'judge between us'"; the patriarchal god of each family would judge in any dispute between them, this being customary also in treaties in the ancient Near East, in which each party cited his gods as witnesses to the pact.

The genealogy of Nahor states that his wife Milcah bore him eight sons and his concubine Reumah four. This represents a schematic genealogical outlook whereby 12 sons are ascribed to a progenitor, analogous to the 12 sons of Ishmael or of Jacob. B. Mazar holds that the genealogy of the sons of Nahor reflects an ancient historical reality which tallies with the expansion of the West Semitic tribes in the first half of the second millennium B.C.E. Support for this assumption is to be found in the reference to Aram as the grandson of Nahor, which indicates that the Aramean tribes were still a young and insignificant element. However, in the Table of the Nations, Aram is represented as descended from Shem himself, and Uz, the firstborn of Nahor, is represented as the firstborn of Aram (Gen. 10:22ff.). This genealogy points to a later period, when the Arameans had attained the pinnacle of their power in the Fertile Crescent. Thus the "Aramaization" of Bethuel and Laban (cf. Gen. 31:47) – and indirectly of Nahor himself, which contradicts the genealogical scheme of Nahor's sons – is to be apprehended as a later anachronism engendered after the rise and expansion of the Arameans in the region of Nahor and of Aram-Naharaim at the end of the 12th and in the 11th centuries B.C.E. The ascription of Nahor's sons to a wife and a concubine expresses a geographical and population distribution – the sons of the wife symbolizing tribes, clans, and geographical limits in the region of Aram-Naharaim and the middle Euphrates and on the borders of the Syrian desert, and the sons of the concubine, areas, tribes, and cities in the south of Syria and northern Transjordan.

(3) The city of Nahor (Assyrian Naḫur, Til Naḫiri). In Genesis 24:10 it is related that the servant of Abraham went to "Aram-Naharaim, to the city of Nahor." Whether this was a place named Nahor or a city in which Nahor's family lived cannot be determined. Those holding the latter view identify the place, on the basis of Genesis 27:43 and 29:4, with *Haran. Nahor is also mentioned in Akkadian sources dating from the beginning of the second millennium to the middle of the seventh century B.C.E., as the name of a city in the Balikh valley. Nahor is first mentioned in Assyrian documents from Kanish of the 20th–19th centuries B.C.E. as an important station

in the Assyrian trade with Asia Minor. Much information on the city during this period is contained in the *Mari archives, from which it is clear that Nahor was a regional capital subject to Mari and a location of its agents. From Nahor supervision was exercised over the Balikh area and the upper stretch of the Habor river; in Nahor intelligence was collected from all parts of Aram-Naharaim. Nahor was also a center for nomadic tribes which, defying all authority, endangered the caravan trade. Accordingly, the rulers of Mari were from time to time constrained to employ military means to suppress their depredations.

In the Middle Assyrian period, Nahor belonged to the kingdom of Hanigalbat, whose rulers erected a palace there. In the 13th century it was captured by the Assyrian kings Adad-Nirari I and Shalmaneser I. During this period it was the seat of a governor, as attested by Assyrian documents, from which it appears that Nahor was included in a district whose capital was Haran, near which it was apparently situated. Although the sources, as well as the archaeological survey conducted in the region of Haran, do not help to fix the exact site of Nahor, it is to be located at an important junction on the caravan route.

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NAHOUM, ḤAIM (1872–1960), chief rabbi of *Istanbul and *Cairo. Born in Manisa, Turkey, Nahoum moved to *Tiberias with his family and received his elementary education there. He then went to Smyrna, Turkey, where he was graduated from government high school, and then to Istanbul, where he studied law. Between 1893 and 1897 he studied at the rabbinical seminary in Paris, where he was ordained, and at the Higher Seminary for Semitic Languages of the Collège de France. When he returned to Istanbul, Nahoum was appointed secretary-general of the community committee and deputy director of the rabbinical seminary founded in 1898 by his father-in-law, R. Abraham *Danon. At the same time, he received a government appointment as history teacher in the Turkish Military Academy. At that time, he became acquainted with the "Young Turks" who were exiled in Paris, and when they seized power in the *Ottoman Empire in 1908 they appointed him chief rabbi of the Empire. In this position, Nahoum successfully intervened in favor of Jews in various localities of the Empire, especially in assuring government protection for them during World War I (it seems that it was due to him that the project of expelling the Jews from Jerusalem was averted). After the defeat of the Ottoman Empire and the removal of the "Young Turks" from power, Nahoum left Istanbul for Paris in 1920. In 1925 he was elected chief rabbi of Cairo, a post he held until his death. In June 1931 the king of Egypt appointed Nahoum a member of the Egyptian senate, and in 1933 he was appointed a member of the Arabic Language Academy in Cairo. He was also awarded many honors by the governments of Turkey, Egypt, France, Austria-Hungary, and Ethiopia. Proficient in many languages, he engaged in research on the history of Egyptian Jewry. He also published – with a French translation, notes, and a glossary of Turkish terms – a collection of 1,064 firmans (decrees by the sultan) that had been sent to the rulers of Egypt between 1597 and 1904. This work is entitled *Recueil de firmans impériaux* (1934).

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[Haim J. Cohen]

NAHRAI BEN NISSIM (11th century), community leader of the Iraqi Jews in Cairo. Nahrai, who was originally from *Kairouan, settled in Egypt where he became a wealthy merchant. He maintained commercial ties with several countries and specialized in the export of such precious goods as spices, pearls, and indigo to Tunisia and Sicily. However, he was also a scholar with halakhic experience and religious and legal questions were addressed to him. He was referred to as "The eminent Rabbi, the greatest of the yeshivah." He is mentioned in documents dated between 1048–95. Nearly 200 letters addressed to him were found in the *genizah* of Fostat; these are certainly only a part of his original archives.

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[Eliyahu Ashtor]

NAHRAWĀN, town in Iraq, E. of *Baghdad. Nahrawān was a flourishing town during the time of the *Abbasid caliphs (8th and 9th centuries) because the main highway to Persia passed through the town, crossing the Nahrawān canal at this point. At this time it had a large Jewish community, some of whose members were said to have come there from *Egypt. The Nahrawān community belonged to the "domain" of the exilarch. To judge by the large income that the exilarch derived from the Nahrawān community (and from Jews living in its vicinity), according to Nathan ha-Bavli the community must have been of considerable size. In the first half of the tenth century a blind scholar from Nahrawān, R. *Nissi (Nissim) al-Nahrawāni was *resh kallah* at one of the academies. He brought about a reconciliation between the exilarch David b. Zakkai and the head of the Pumbedita academy. R. Nissi subsequently became one of the exilarch's advisers. In the late Middle Ages the caravans to Persia changed their route and as a result Nahrawān fell into decay.

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[Eliyahu Ashtor]

NAHSHON (Heb. נַחְשׁוֹן; "little (?) serpent"), son of Amminadab (Ex. 6:23; Num. 2:3, et al.). Nahshon was chieftain of the tribe of Judah (Num. 2:3) which consisted of 74,600 men (Num. 2:3–4; 10:14). He assisted Moses in taking a census of the community (Num. 1:7). He was the first to present his offering at the dedication of the Tabernacle (Num. 7:12–17) and the first to proceed in the desert marches (Num. 10:14). Elisheba, his sister, married Aaron (Ex. 6:23). He was the descendant of *Perez, the son of Judah and Tamar, and his son Salmah (Ruth 4:20; Salmon, 4:21; Salma, 1 Chron. 2:11) was the father of Boaz. King David was thus one of his descendants.

In the Aggadah

According to a well-known *aggadah*, Nahshon was the only one among the Israelites on reaching the Red Sea to obey the command of Moses to descend into the waters and courageously enter the waves, trusting that the promised miracle would occur and the sea be parted. The members of the tribe of Judah followed their leader's example (Mekh., Be-Shallaḥ 5; Sot. 37a). This version of the story is attributed to Tarfon (early second century).

According to an opposing version, all the tribes were eager to obey the command and competed among themselves, who was to be the first; eventually, the tribe of Benjamin jumped first into the water, but the tribe of Judah, infuriated by Benjamin's success, attacked them with stones (Mekh. loc. cit.; Sot. 36b). Benjamin's reward for being the first to descend into the sea was that the first king of Israel – Saul – was chosen from their tribe (Targum Ps. 68:28 and 1 Sam. 15:17), or else that the *Shekhinah* (Divine Presence) dwelt in their territory (the Temple was built in the territory of Benjamin; Mekh. and Sot., loc. cit.). According to the version which ascribes the outstanding feat of courage to Nahshon, the reward to the tribe of Judah was that kingship in Israel was accorded to them permanently. Tarfon's version was probably meant to encourage acts of rebellion – in the period of unrest preceding the Bar Kokhba Revolt – as the one and only means to reattain kingship for Judah, that is to say, to regain political independence. Various attempts to explain this *aggadah* against the background of other events remain unconvincing.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Ginzberg, Legends, 3 (1947^{3}), 195, 220–1; 6 (1946^{3}), 75–76.

[Joseph Heinemann]

NAHSHON BAR ZADOK, *gaon* of Sura from 871–79, succeeding *Amram Gaon (who mentions him several times in his *Seder*). Nahshon's father, Zadok, had previously been *gaon* of Sura for more than 50 years, and Nahshon's son, Hai, held the office from 889–96.

Nahshon is the author of numerous responsa, in reply to queries addressed to him from various countries. Various works have been attributed to him, among them *Sefer Re'umah* (in J. Onkeneira, *Ẓafenat Pa'ne'aḥ*, Constantinople, 1566), on ritual slaughter, and he is thought by some to have been the author of *Seder Tanna'im ve-Amora'im*. Nahshon made a special study of the Jewish calendar, and is best known for his discovery that the Jewish calendar repeats itself exactly every 247 years. His writing on this phenomenon, known as the *Iggul de-R. Naḥshon*, was published under that name in the *She'erit Yosef* of *Joseph b. Shem Tov (Salonika, 1521). It is possible that it was this calendrical research which led him to take up the study of Karaite literature, since he had to familiarize himself with the works of the founder of the Karaite sect for this purpose (L. Ginzberg, *Gaonica*. 1, (1909), 158), and his interpretations of words in the Bible and Talmud may well be related to his polemics with the Karaites. Nahshon's conservative outlook led him to discourage the innovation of reciting *piyyutim* in prayer, and he disapproved of the recitation of *Kol Nidrei* on the eve of the Day of Atonement, as did his son Hai. Most of Nahshon's responsa are written in terse and difficult Aramaic, but those ascribed to him in D. Cassel's *Teshuvot Ge'onim Kadmoniyyim* (1848; see German introduction, 45) are written in a simple and fluent Hebrew. Some of his decisions conflict with the Talmud and his talmudic-aggadic interpretations do not always agree with those of former aggadists.

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[Meir Havazelet]

NAHUM (Heb. נַחוּם; a *qattūl* hypocoristic of a name like נְחֶמְיָה, "YHWH has comforted," like שָׁלוֹם for שֶׁלֶמְיָה, שַׁמּוּעַ for שְׁמַעְיָה etc.), one of the Twelve Minor Prophets. Nothing is known of the man himself other than the statement in the book's title that he was an "Elkoshite." A place called al-Qūsh, containing a grave said to be that of Nahum, is located in the neighborhood of Mosul near ancient *Nineveh, whose ruin Nahum depicts in chapters 2 and 3; this tradition connecting al-Qūsh with the prophet cannot, however, be traced beyond the 16th century. Jerome, in the prologue to his commentary on Nahum, records that the prophet was a native of a village in Galilee, which in Jerome's time was called Elcesi and is identified with el-Qauze, west of Tibnin. Some older modern scholars, such as A.W. Knobel and F. Hitzig, have suggested locating Elkosh at Capernaum ("Village of Nahum"). More credible seems to be the tradition recorded by Pseudo-Epiphanius (*De Vitis Prophetarum*), which mentions a Judean Elkesi, "yonder," i.e., south of Eleutheropolis or Bet Guvrin, but the name Elkesi may represent Lachish, since the town of this name was situated directly south of Bet Guvrin. No definite identification of the locality denoted by the designation "Elkoshite" can therefore be made.

Nahum's literary activity took place after the capture of the Egyptian Thebes (biblical No-Amon) by Ashurbanipal in 663 B.C.E., an event which is alluded to in Nahum 3:8–10. It is not certain, however, whether he wrote before the fall of Nineveh in August 612, when the Assyrian capital was captured and razed by the Babylonians and Medes, or shortly after its fall, when the joyful news of the oppressor's defeat was conveyed to Judah. The perfect tenses employed in chapters 2 and 3, where the event is depicted with poetic vividness and force, suggest that Nineveh had already fallen. But several passages (such as 3:11, 14–15) seem to indicate that the resistance was not yet completely crushed. It may therefore be inferred that the Book of Nahum was composed in the very year 612, shortly before Nineveh's final downfall.

The Book of Nahum

The original title of the book as a whole is probably contained in the second part of the superscription: "The book of the vision of Nahum the Elkoshite." The first part – "Oracle concerning Nineveh" – was perhaps the title of the oracle proper on Nineveh's fall; in any case, it correctly describes the main contents of the book. Chapter 1 is generally thought to form an acrostic hymn of theophany. In the opinion of several scholars the entire alphabet was represented in the original poem. The text of Nahum 1 and 2:1, 3 has accordingly been rearranged and reconstructed, mainly by G. Bickell and H. Gunkel, to form a complete alphabetic psalm of an eschatological character which they regarded as a later addition to the book. The restoration of a complete acrostic, however, is impossible; in fact, the poem seems to follow the alphabet only down to the letter *samekh* (1:2a, 3b–8, 9c–10a, 9ab, 2b, 10bc), with verses 9ab and 2b having been transferred to their present position by the book's last editor. One can only conjecture whether the acrostic was composed by Nahum; it is more probable that this text, like other similar ones in the Psalter, was a part of the Jerusalem liturgy. The theophany proper, employing the ancient themes of God's rule over the primordial forces of nature, is contained in verses 3b–6. It serves here as an introductory motif to a national psalm of confidence (1:7–8, 9c–10a, 9ab, 2b, 10bc), followed by an oracle addressed to Judah (1:12–13; 2:1). This liturgy actually forms the exordium to the poem on the fall of Nineveh.

The oracle addressed to the Assyrian capital was perhaps headed by the words "Oracle concerning Nineveh" (1:1). It opens with the introduction 1:11, 14, and is followed by 2:2, 4ff. and 3. The descriptions in Nahum's masterful poetry are singularly picturesque and vivid (especially 2:4–6, 11; 3:2–3, 17–19). The absence of distinctly religious motifs is remarkable, and yet P. Humbert (followed to a certain extent by E. Sellin, A. Lods, H. Lamparter, and S.J. de Vries) tried to prove that the whole Book of Nahum was a liturgy for the enthronement festival of the Lord after the fall of Nineveh in 612. Although other scholars have rejected this view, A. Bentzen (*Introduction to the Old Testament*, 2 (1958^4), 151) considered that the book might be an "imitated" liturgy, consisting of the introductory hymn (chapter 1), the invitation to a festival (2:1), and the curse against Nineveh (chapters 2–3). A. Haldar, on the other hand, has ascribed the Book of Nahum to a cultic prophet who, in c. 614 B.C.E., foretold the approaching destruction of Nineveh by the Lord and employed the images and expressions normally used in depicting the cultic-mythical struggle of God against his foes. As these motifs are paralleled in Sumero-Akkadian and Ugaritic texts, the Book of Nahum would accordingly derive from cultic circles (see below). S. Mowinckel early considered Nahum one of the nationalistic temple prophets of the kind attacked by Jeremiah (*Jesaja-disiplene, Profetien fra Jesaja til Jeremia* (1926), 56). Following A. Kuenen (*De Boeken des Ouden Verbonds*, 2 (1889^2), 384), he suggested that the immediate occasion of the oracle may have been the Median attack upon Nineveh in 623 B.C.E. which, though it was aborted and cost King Phraortes his life, may have turned the prophet's thoughts toward the city and its future destiny. Several other commentators (such as Th. H. Robinson, K. Elliger, and M. Delcor) also consider the book an actual prophecy of doom against Nineveh uttered before its fall in 612. Nahum, however, in his extant writings, was more a nationalist poet than a prophet predicting the future. He expressed his joy over the imminent downfall of Nineveh in the forceful and vivid language of poetry, depicting the assault upon the city, the entrance effected by her foes, the scene of carnage and tumult in the streets, the flight of her inhabitants, the treasures plundered by the captors (chapter 2), and in 3:2–3 he again visualized the chariots and horsemen of the victor forcing a path through the streets. Since the Lord is against Nineveh (3:5–6), she will be as unable to avert her doom as was Thebes in Upper Egypt (3:8–11). Nineveh's fortresses have given way; her men have become as women (3:12–13); in vain she tries to endure the siege (3:14); and amid the rejoicings of all who have suffered at her hands, the proud empire of Nineveh passes away forever (3:18–19). The Book of Nahum thus indirectly depicts God's moral government of the world; He is the Avenger of wrongdoers and the sole source of security to those who trust in Him. Though some of the text is very difficult (1:10, 12; 2:4, 11), the book makes use of vivid images in rapid succession (e.g. 1:3–6). Christensen posits musical influence on the book, which he traces to the prophet's participation in the temple cult of Jerusalem. The book was known to the Qumran sectarians who composed a **pesher* to the book, an exegetical commentary based on the premise that ancient prophecies found their fulfillment in the life and times of the sect. The graphic imagery of the exposure of a harlot (3:4–5) finds its parallel in Jeremiah 13:26–27; Hosea 2:4–5; Ezekiel 16:37–38; and in the eighth century Aramaic treaty from Sefire (Avishur; see COS II, 214; 11, 35b–42).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: H. Gunkel, in: ZAW 13 (1893), 223–44; W.R. Arnold, *ibid.*, 21 (1901), 225–65; S.R. Driver, *The Minor Prophets…* (1906, The Century Bible); P. Haupt, in: JBL, 26 (1907), 1–53; J.M.P. Smith, *Micah, Zephaniah, Nahum, Habakkuk, Obadiah, and Joel* (ICC, 1911); W. Nowack, *Die kleinen Propheten* (1922^{2}); G. Hirshler, in: Kahana (ed.), *Terei Asar* (1930), 51–71; Th. H. Gaster, in: JBL, 63 (1944), 51–52; A. Haldar, *Studies in the Book of Nahum* (1947); Th. Laetsch, *The Minor Prophets* (1956); Kaufmann Y., Toledot; A. George, in: DBI, s.v.; S.J. de Vries, in: VT, 16 (1966), 476–81; E.G. Kraeling, *Commentary on the Prophets* (1966); Y. Licht, in: EM, 5 (1968), s.v. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** J. Roberts, *Nahum, Habakkuk and Zephaniah* (1991); M. Floyd, in: JBL, 113 (1994), 421–37; K. Cathcart, in: ABD, 4, 998–1000; Y. Avishur, in: Z. Weisman (ed.), *Sefer Terei Asar Bet* (*Enẓiklopediyah Olam ha-Tanakh* 15b, 1994), 66–85; D. Christensen, in DBI, 2, 199–201; K. Spronk, *Nahum* (1997).

[Edward Lipinski / S. David Sperling (2nd ed.)]

NAHUM, AARON SASSON BEN ELIJAH (c. 1872–1962), educator and communal worker in *Iraq. From 1920 he was chairman of the Zionist Organization in Iraq; his Zionist work was done underground because of Iraqi persecution of the Zionist movement. In 1920 he helped found a Hebrew Literary Society in *Baghdad. He was the founder and, from 1924 to 1935, director of Pardes Yeladim, a school which fostered the use of Hebrew. In 1935 he settled in Palestine, where he continued to work as an educator. In 1920 he founded a Hebrew-Arab weekly in Baghdad, *Yeshurun*, of which only five numbers appeared. Under the pseudonym of "Ha-Moreh," he published a book of poems, *Sefer Shirei ha-Teḥiyyah*, containing translations and original works (2 parts, 1925; part 3 in 1931). His poems express his longing for Zion. In Palestine he also published a number of booklets, in which he appealed for religious observance.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: H. Ben-Yoseph, in: *Ba-Ma'arakhah*, 2 (March 1963), 15; H.J. Cohen, *Ha-Pe'ilut ha-Ẓiyyonit be-Iraq* (1969), passim.

[Abraham Ben-Yaacob]

NAHUM, ELIEZER BEN JACOB (c. 1653–c. 1746), rabbi in *Turkey and Ereẓ Israel. He served as rabbi in Adrianople, where his pupils included Solomon Shalem, later rabbi of the Sephardi community in *Amsterdam. He later settled in Jerusalem and was elected *rishon le-Zion* (chief rabbi), a position he held for ten years. Among his colleagues in the *bet din* were Meyuḥas b. Samuel, Isaac *Azulai (father of Ḥ.J.D. Azulai), and Judah *Diwan. He wrote a number of works, including a commentary on the mishnaic orders *Kodashim* and *Tohorot*, entitled *Ḥazon Naḥum* (Constantinople, 1705). The commentary on the order *Zera'im* is still in manuscript form.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Frumkin-Rivlin, 2 (1928), 161–3.

[Samuel Abba Horodezky]

NAHUM THE MEDE (fl. second half of the first century C.E.), *tanna*. Nahum lived in Jerusalem during the period of the destruction of the Temple (Naz. 5:4). According to the *tanna* *Nathan, he was one of the judges of civil law, known as *dayyanei gezerot* (Ket. 105a; Tosef., BB 9:1). Three of Nahum's teachings have been preserved in the Mishnah (Shab. 2:1; Naz. 5:4; BB 5:2), and several more in *beraitot* (Av. Zar. 7b; Tosef., BB 9:1).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Bacher, Tann, 1; Hyman, Toledot, s.v.

[David Joseph Bornstein]

NAHUM OF GIMZO (late first and early second century C.E.), *tanna*, mentioned once only in tannaitic sources (Tosef. Shav. 1:6) as the man from whom R. Akiva derived his famous hermeneutical method of expounding the particles "*akh*" (but) and "*rak*" (only) as exclusionary, on the one hand, and "*et*" and "*gam*" (also) as inclusory, on the other (see **Midrashei Halakhah*, Distinct Exegetical Methods). Though in all our talmudic sources his name is written "*gam zo*" (two words), it has been suggested his name is derived from *Gimzo (II Chron. 28:18) in the center of Ereẓ Israel. Despite the importance of his contribution to the history of rabbinic exegetical methodology, no additional information about him or his teachings has been preserved from the early tannaitic period. In three places, Gen. R. (1, 22, and 53) ascribes to R. Ishmael the statement that R. Akiva studied under Nahum for "22 years." This, however, is almost certainly a late aggadic embellishment of the tradition in Tosefta *Shavuot*, based on the notion that Akiva was willing to expound not only particles like "*et*" and "*gam*," but also individual Hebrew letters – hence 22 years, one for each letter of the Hebrew alphabet.

Like many tannaitic figures about whom we possess only the most meager information, the talmudic *aggadah* transmits a number of fascinating legends concerning Nahum. The designation Gimzo (גמזו) was regarded as meaning "this too" (גם זו, *gam zo*), in reference to his custom of asserting of every happening, however inauspicious it seemed, "this too is for the best" (*gam zo le-tovah*), a habit elsewhere attributed to Akiva (Ber. 60b). Thus when on one occasion he was carrying a casket full of jewels as a gift to the Roman emperor and they were stolen from him at an inn and replaced by earth, he declared "this too is for the best." When he arrived at his destination and the emperor desired to put him to death for mocking him, the prophet Elijah appeared in the guise of a senator and suggested that this was possibly the legendary earth which, if thrown at the enemy in battle, is converted into deadly arrows. On being put to the test, it did indeed prove to be that earth (Ta'an. 21a). Nahum's piety is described in a story concerning a journey on which a poor man accosted him and asked for food. The *tanna* asked the man to wait until he had unloaded his ass, but meanwhile the hungry man died. Nahum reproached himself for not being quicker in providing help and prayed that, as a punishment, he should lose his hands, feet, and sight, and his whole body be covered with sores. Thereafter he lay in that condition in a dilapidated house on a bed with its legs immersed in water to keep away the ants, with his disciples tending him (*ibid.*, cf. TJ Peah 8:8, 21b, Shek. 5:4, 49b).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Bacher, Tann, s.v.; Hyman, Toledot, 920–1.

[David Joseph Bornstein / Stephen G. Wald (2nd ed.)]

NAIDITSCH, ISAAC ASHER (1868–1949), philanthropist and Zionist. Born in Pinsk, Naiditsch joined the Ḥibbat Zion movement in his youth. Later, he settled in Moscow and became one of Russia's greatest alcohol industrialists. He was sent by the Russian government on commercial missions several times. He carried on his Zionist work, wrote about literary subjects in Hebrew periodicals, and generously supported Hebrew writers. At the beginning of World War I he was one of the founders and directors of the Central Committee for the Relief of Jewish War Sufferers (YEKOPO). After the Russian Revolution (1917), he donated large sums of money for the purpose of promoting Hebrew culture. When the Soviet regime became established, he emigrated to France. Together with Hillel *Zlatopolsky, he suggested the idea of the *Keren Hayesod and was one of its first directors. When the Nazis occupied France, he fled to the United States, but returned to Paris in 1946. He was a close friend and adviser of Chaim *Weizmann from their youth.

Naiditsch wrote articles on Zionism and current events. Some of them were in the book *Ba-Ḥalom u-va-Ma'aseh* ("In Dream and in Practice," 1956), which also contains a collection of appreciations of his personality. He also wrote a book entitled *Edmond de Rothschild* (1945), based upon his conversations with the baron.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: I. Gruenbaum, *Penei ha-Dor* (1958), 333–5.

[Yehuda Slutsky]

NAIDUS, LEIB (**Leo Najdus**; 1890–1918), Yiddish poet. Born in Grodno, Belorussia, Naidus began writing poems in Yiddish, Hebrew, and Russian while attending gymnasium in Vilna. His first book of Yiddish poems, *Lirik* ("Lyrics," 1915) revealed virtuosity in versification and was a manifestation of modern literary aestheticism. From 1916 to 1918 Naydus composed large poetry cycles and epic poems, where he expressed vitalism as his poetic philosophy. After his premature death, his works were published in six volumes (1923–28), including two volumes of translations of Russian, German, French, and English romantic and symbolist poetry.

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[Melech Ravitch / Mindaugas Kvietkauskas (2nd ed.)]

NAIN, village in the Jezreel Valley, 2 mi. south of Mount Tabor, where according to the New Testament Jesus revived a dead man (Luke 7:11). It was situated on the slopes of the hill of Moreh. In the Midrash, it is located in the territory of Issachar (Gen. R. 98:12). For many centuries, it was one of the villages of the district of Sepphoris. It was a large village, for it had a gate and presumably a wall (if one accepts the testimony of Luke). In the fourth century, Nain was made independent, remaining a separate district within Palaestina Secunda until the Arab conquest. The area of the village included the valley of Iksalo (Exaloth). In 1101 Naym appeared in a list of villages in the possession of the abbey of Mount Tabor. The present-day village (Kafr Na'im) has retained the same name and is built on a slope, 5 mi. (8 km.) south-southwest of Nazareth. A spring in the village irrigates plantations of olives and figs. Rock-cut graves were found in the crags along the road leading from the village to the southwest. In the area of the village are remains of a church or chapel, later transformed into a mosque (maqam Sayidna), ruined buildings, and a mosaic pavement.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Alt, in: PJB, 22 (1926), 60; idem, in: ZDPV, 68 (1951), 61; see also: ZDPV, 73 (1957), 141–2. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** B. Bagatti, *Ancient Christian Villages of Galilee* (2001), 218–24; Y. Tsafrir, L. Di Segni, and J. Green, *Tabula Imperii Romani. Iudaea – Palaestina. Maps and Gazetteer.* (1994), 192; D. Pringle, *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem. A Corpus.* Vol. 2: *L–Z* (*excluding Tyre*) (1998) 115–16.

[Michael Avi-Yonah / Shimon Gibson (2nd ed.)]

NAJAR (**Nadjar**), prominent rabbinical family of Spanish refugees in *Algeria and *Tunis. R. MAIMON NAJAR (14th and early 15th century) left Majorca for Algeria in 1395. He settled in *Constantine, serving as *dayyan*. Author of *Kunteres ha-Minhagot* on local practices, he corresponded with Simeon b. Ẓemaḥ *Duran on religious matters. His brother MORDECAI went to Tunis in 1391 because of persecutions in *Spain; Mordecai later spent some time in Bougie, but returned to Majorca where, under duress, he had accepted Christianity. He finally settled in Algiers in 1435. NATHAN BEN MAIMON (15th century) was rabbi in Constantine and corresponded with Solomon b. Simeon Duran. JUDAH BEN JACOB (d. 1830), talmudist, author, and *dayyan* in Tunis, wrote the following works: *Limmudei ha-Shem* (Leghorn, 1787), on hermeneutics in the Talmud; *Alfei Yehudah* (Leghorn, 1794), a commentary on *Shevuot; Shevet Yehudah* (Leghorn, 1801), a commentary on the *Mekhilta; Simḥat Yehudah* (Pisa, 1816), on *Keritot, Soferim*, and *Semaḥot; Ḥayyei Yehudah* (Pisa, 1816), on *Gerim, Avadim*, and *Kuttim*; and *Oholei Yehudah* (Leghorn, 1823), on the *Sifrei*. DAVID (early 19th century) was a rabbi in Tunis and wrote *Ẓemaḥ David*, which was published posthumously with Judah Cohen *Tanuji's *Admat Yehudah* (Leghorn, 1828) and contains novellae on tractates of the Talmud and on parts of Maimonides' *Yad ha-Ḥazakah*.

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NAJARA, family of rabbis and kabbalists in Ereẓ Israel and *Syria, originating from the town of Nájera in *Spain. Apparently, the head of the family, LEVI NAJARA, settled in Constantinople after the expulsion from Spain (1492). His son MOSES (1) (1508?–1581), rabbi and kabbalist, lived in *Damascus and in *Safed. Apparently before 1546, he served as a rabbi in Damascus and corresponded with Moses di *Trani. He remained in Damascus until after 1555. He spent some time in Safed as a student of Isaac *Luria and wrote a commentary on the Torah, *Lekaḥ Tov* (Constantinople, 1571). *Sha'ar ha-Kelalim*, published in the beginning of *Eẓ Ḥayyim* of Ḥayyim *Vital, is attributed to Najara in several manuscripts. Different discourses on Lurianic Kabbalah are found in his name in manuscripts and in published works of Ḥayyim Vital. According to Shabbatean tradition, Baruchia (Russo), the head of the *Shabbateans in *Salonika, is reputed to have been a reincarnation of Maharam Nayar, i.e., Moses Najara. In his last years he continued to serve as rabbi in Damascus, where he died. His son was the distinguished poet Israel *Najara. The son of Israel, MOSES (2), succeeded his father as the head of the Jewish community in *Gaza, according to David Conforte (*Kore ha-Dorot*, 49b), who passed through Gaza in 1645 and studied Torah with Najara. Kabbalistic sermons preserved in manuscript were attributed to him but it is possible that they were written by his grandfather, Moses Najara (1). JACOB, his son, who succeeded Moses (2), is known to have been a fervent believer in Shabbetai *Ẓevi. When Shabbetai Ẓevi reached Gaza in 1665, he stayed with Najara, whom he appointed "High Priest," although Najara was not of a priestly family (*Kohen*). In 1666 Jacob Najara sent propagandistic letters abroad supporting the messianism of Shabbetai Ẓevi and the prophecy of *Nathan of Gaza. Even after Shabbetai Ẓevi's apostasy, Najara believed in him and visited him in Adrianople in 1671 (*Sefunot*, 5 (1961), 254–61). MOSES (3), apparently a member of this family, may have been a rabbinic emissary. Between 1760 and 1790 he was one of the rabbis in Debdou, in eastern Morocco. JUDAH NAJARA, a rabbi in Constantinople, may also have been a member of this family.

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[Abraham David]

NAJARA, ISRAEL BEN MOSES (1555?–1625?), Hebrew poet. Born apparently in *Damascus, Israel served as secretary of that community, in which his father, Moses *Najara, was rabbi. While acknowledging Israel's poetic ability, some of the rabbis of Damascus, e.g. Menahem *Lonzano and Ḥayyim *Vital, spoke disparagingly of his unconventional conduct and of his imitation of foreign poetic styles and melodies, acquired, it seems, in Arab taverns. His conduct may also account for his many wanderings. In 1587 Israel published his books *Zemirot Yisrael* and *Mesaḥeket ba-Tevel* in *Safed. One of his responsa is preserved in manuscript (Oxford, Mich. Add. 66). Subsequently, he served as rabbi in *Gaza, where, upon his death, his son Moses succeeded him as rabbi. Though during his youth Israel also wrote secular and love poems, his chief compositions are sacred. These are distinguished by their deep religiosity, by their references to Jewish suffering, and by his yearning for redemption. He learned much from the great Jewish poets of the Spanish-Arabic period, but nevertheless frequently employed original forms and contents. His poems, numbering hundreds – the greater part still in manuscript – are outstanding in both their wealth of language and in their polished style. His poems and *piyyutim* achieved wide circulation among the various Oriental communities and countries and are sung in those synagogues. The Ashkenazi communities also adopted his Sabbath song, written in Aramaic, **Yah Ribbon Olam ve-Alemayya* ("God of the World, Eternity's Sole Lord"). Well known, too, is his *Ketubbah le-Ḥag ha-Shavu'ot* ("Marriage Contract for Shavuot"), a poetic parody describing the wedding conditions made between Israel and God, read in many Oriental communities on Shavuot. The Shabbateans and Frankists highly respected him, mistakenly regarding him as a kabbalist. They were so fond of one of his poems that they made it a hymn.

Israel's works include *Zemirot Yisrael* (Safed, 1587), 109 poems; second edition (Salonika, 1594); third edition enlarged (Venice, 1599–1600), 346 poems (a scientific edition printed by A. Avrunin and edited by I. Pris-Ḥorev, 1946); *Mesaḥeket ba-Tevel* (Safed, 1587), moral instruction in a rhetorical style similar to that of the *Beḥinat Olam* of *Jedaiah ha-Penini Bedersi; *Meimei Yisrael*, rhetorical letters with secular and love poems, composed during his youth and appended to the third edition of his *Zemirot Yisrael; Keli Maḥazik Berakhah* (Venice, 1620), laws of grace after meals; *Shoḥatei ha-Yeladim* (Amsterdam, 1718), laws of slaughtering in an easy language comprehensible even to children; *Pizmonim* (1858), 120 poems; *She'erit Yisrael* (in ms.), a large collection of poems, many of which have been published by various scholars; *Piẓei Ohev* (Constantinople? 1597?) a commentary on the Book of Job. Some other of his works are known but not extant: *Ma'arekhot Yisrael*, a commentary to the Torah; *Mikveh Yisrael*, homilies.

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[Abraham David]

NAJDORF, MIGUEL (1910–1997), Polish-Argentinean chess grandmaster. Born in Warsaw, Poland, as Mieczysław Najdorf, at age 20 he was an International Chess Master. In 1939, at the outbreak of the World War II he was in Buenos Aires, where he participated in the 8th Chess Olympiad representing Poland. He decided to stay in Argentina and became separated from his family. There he adopted Argentine nationality and developed his chess prowess, although for many years he worked in insurance. Between 1943 and 1965 he won many international tournaments. In 1950 Najdorf became an International Grandmaster. He played well in Candidates' tournaments, in 1950 (finishing in fifth place) and 1953 (finishing sixth). He won important contests in Mar del Plata (1961) and Havana (1962 and 1964). In the Chess Olympiads in Helsinki he obtained second place. Najdorf was noted for some extraordinary feats of simultaneous play. At São Paulo in 1950 he played 250 boards, winning 226 and drawing 15. His blindfold exhibitions were also impressive. At one time he held the record of 40 such games played simultaneously.

[Gerald Abrahams / Efraim Zadoff (2nd ed.)]

NÁJERA (**Najara**, **Nagara**, **Naiera**), city in Castile, N. Spain. It had an old and important community which maintained relations with the Babylonian *geonim*. Letters from the community have been found in the Cairo **Genizah*. As early as the beginning of the 11th century, the community enjoyed a *fuero* ("municipal charter"), which later served as a model for similar grants of privileges to other localities. The blood price for a Jew as specified in the charter was equal to that paid for killing a knight or a member of the clergy. The charter was ratified in 1136 by Alfonso VII, and in the 13th century was included in the *fuero* of Castile. The Jewish quarter of Nájera was located near the city wall and the marketplace in the southern part of the city, and remains of the synagogue have been discovered there. The Jews of Nájera owned land and vineyards in the vicinity of the city. The importance of the community toward the end of the 13th century is shown by the tax levied upon it, which amounted in 1290 to 30,318 (according to another source 24,106) maravedis. In 1360, during the civil war between Peter the Cruel and Henry of Trastamara, Henry's supporters attacked the Jews in Nájera and many were killed. The community suffered once more at the time of Peter's victory over Henry in 1367 near Nájera. During the 15th century the position of the community in Nájera, as well as of the others in the kingdom, deteriorated, although at the beginning of the century some Jews still owned land and real estate in the old city. During the war against Granada a special levy of 18½ gold castellanos was imposed on the Jews of Nájera, San Millán de la Cogolla, and Cañas. No details are known about the fate of the community at the time of the expulsion of the Jews from Spain in 1492.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Baer, Spain, 1 (1961), 43, 53, 366; Baer, Urkunden, index; F. Cantera, *Sinagogas españolas* (1955), 252–3; idem, in: *Sefarad*, 2 (1942), 326; 22 (1962), 89; L. Serrano, *Cartulario de San Millán de Cogolla* (1930), 219; J. González, *El Reino de Castilla en la época de Alfonso VIII* (1960), 132; F. Cantera Orive, *Un cartulario de Santa María la Real de Nájera del año 1209* (1960); Suárez Fernández, Documentos, 69, 76, 101; Ashtor, Korot, 2 (1966), 20; Ashtor, in: *Sefarad*, 24 (1964), 44ff.

[Haim Beinart]

NAJĪB AL-DAWLA (d. c. 1315), court physician and administrator at the court of the Il-Khāns in Persia at the end of the 13th century and beginning of the 14th century. Najīb al-Dawla was closely associated with the Jewish vizier, *Sa'd al-Dawla, and with the court physician, vizier, and historian, Rashīd al-Dīn (of Jewish origin, according to some sources). He seems also to have been for some time governor of the city of Nubandagan, near Shiraz in Persia.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Fischel, Islam, 105; B. Spuler, *Mongolen in Iran* (1968^3), index.

[Walter Joseph Fischel]

NAJMAN, JULIJA (1905–1989), author and translator. Born in Slavonia, Najman studied in Vienna and Lausanne. In some works, such as the short story collection *Pri ča o Ani* ("The Story of Anna," 1968) and the drama *Žuti kavez* ("Yellow Cage"), she chose Jewish themes. Her fiction dealt mainly with World War II or contemporary life, showing a keen insight into female psychology and employing a simple, compelling style. Her best-known work is *Lica, nameštanja, lica* ("Appearance, Simulacrum, Appearance"), which contains psychological insights into the behavior of Jewish refugees in troubled times. She also translated French works and published interviews with famous literary personalities.

NAJNUDEL, LEÓN DAVID (1941–1998), Argentinean basketball player and coach. Born in Villa Crespo, one of the traditional Jewish neighborhoods of Buenos Aires, Najnudel started his career as a basketball coach in 1963. After many years in the U.S. and Europe, where he learned more about basketball, he was one of the creators of the Liga Nacional de Básquet en Argentina (Argentinean National Basketball League) in 1982. Najnudel was the manager of the Sport Club and Ferrocarril Oeste teams, and led the latter in winning many championships. He was considered a teacher and pioneer of basketball in Argentina.

[Alejandro Dubesarsky (2nd ed.)]

NAJRĀN, chain of fertile oases and a town in north *Yemen; in 1936 the area became part of *Saudi Arabia, after the war between the two states. A Jewish community made up of both merchants and farmers existed in Najrān long before the influx in the fifth century of Christians, who were mostly Monophysites from al-*Hira. Najrān became the center of Christian propaganda in southern *Arabia. The persecution of the Christians of Najrān by the Jewish proselyte king of *Himyar, Yosef Dhū Nuwās, in about 523, is recorded in Greek, Syriac, and Ethiopic Christian literature. The Ethiopians, aided by Justinian to some extent, wrested control of the town from Dhū Nuwās and the Himyaris. Nonetheless, Jews continued to live in Najrān, maintaining their former status. Muhammad guaranteed the Christians rights in Najrān, as they quickly made an agreement with him which was confirmed by his successors *Abu Bakr and *Omar. Jewish communities continued to exist in Najrān until their emigration to Israel in 1949.

Contemporary Period

According to Yemenite Jewish tradition, the Jews of Najrān trace their origin to the Ten Tribes. They lived in the region of Najrān in Saudi Arabia and were the only group of Yemenite Jews who lived outside Yemen under the rule of another kingdom. On the strength of the laws of the desert and tribal protection, they were not subjected to persecution as were the Jews of Yemen. They enjoyed the same equality of rights as the Arabs of Saudi Arabia, were not taxed, and did not pay the **jizya* (the poll tax imposed on non-Muslims in the Muslim countries "in exchange for the protection" granted them by the government). The Bedouin of Saudi Arabia, who belonged to the Sunni Islam sect, practiced religious tolerance toward them and ate meat slaughtered under their laws of *sheḥitah*. The Jews of Najrān carried weapons in self-defense, as did the other inhabitants, and were renowned for their courage and strength. There was no other place in the Arabian Peninsula where Jews lived in such dignity and freedom as in Najrān. By profession they were craftsmen: they worked essentially in goldsmithing and repairing arms. They earned a good livelihood and their material conditions surpassed those of Yemenite Jews. Their settlements were scattered throughout Najrān in small units of two to forty families. They lived in clay houses or in huts. Their clothes, of both men and women, were slightly different from that of Saudi Arabians and Yemenite Jews. The strict barrier between men and women, which was customary in social life throughout Yemen, was nonexistent among them. At festivities and celebrations men and women sat together and women danced to the sound of the men's singing. After 1936, their relations with Yemenite Jews were not very close, because the two groups were under the rule of different kingdoms which occasionally were at war with each other. The life of the Jews of Najrān, dispersed as they were in small settlements, did not encourage the development of Torah studies among them or the fostering of an independent spiritual culture. In matters of religion and *halakhah* they were dependent on the community of nearby Saʿdah (one day away from them), and when necessary, on the *bet din* of *Sanʿa. The Jews of Saʿdah served as their spiritual guardians in times of need: they provided them with religious books and guided them in their religious practices. Therefore, their prayers, customs, and system of study were very closely related. In Israel they are concentrated in Kiryat Ekron, which is inhabited by the Jews of Saʿdah. When the Jews of Najrān immigrated to Israel in 1949, they numbered about 250.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: H.Z. Hirschberg, *Israel Ba-'Arav* (1947). **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** Newby, *The History of the Jews in Arabia*; Y. Tobi, *Jews of Yemen* (1999).

[Yehuda Ratzaby]

NAKAR, MEIR (1926–1947), Jew executed by the British in Palestine. Nakar was born in Jerusalem and joined Betar at the early age of 13. In 1943 he joined the British army and served for four years in Egypt, Cyprus, and Greece. On his release from the army in 1946, he joined IẒL and five months later was captured during the break into the Acre prison together with Avshalom Ḥaviv and Yaacov Weiss, was sentenced to death and hanged with them.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Y. Nedava, *Olei-ha-Gardom* (1966); Y. Gurion, *Ha-Niẓẓaḥon Olei Gardom* (1971).

NAKDIMON BEN GURYON (first century C.E.), mentioned in one version of a tannaitic story (Sifre Deut. 305; cf. Mekh. Baḥodesh 1) concerning *Johanan b. Zakkai, as the aristocratic and wealthy father of a young woman reduced to abject poverty and humiliation in the aftermath of the destruction of Jerusalem. Like many figures mentioned in passing in the early tannaitic sources, the later talmudic and post-talmudic *aggadah* transmits many elaborate legends concerning his life and the dramatic events in which he reportedly took part. According to the Talmud (Git. 56a) he was one of three celebrated wealthy men of Jerusalem during the last years of the Second Temple. Like his affluent associates *Ben Ẓiẓit ha-Kassat and *Ben Kalba Savu'a, Nakdimon studied under the rabbis and was highly regarded by *Johanan b. Zakkai (cf. PdRE 2). Legendary accounts are given of his wealth and philanthropy. On his daily journey to the house of study (the texts of that period often confuse the house of study with the Temple), he had the whole way covered with woolen carpets which he left lying there for the poor to take (Ket. 66b). Other accounts speak of his daughter's excessive use of cosmetics (*ibid.*) and his daughter-in-law's expenditure on her kitchen (Ket. 65a). He was also regarded as a wonder-worker. During a water shortage he borrowed 12 cisterns filled with water from a wealthy Roman official on condition that by a certain day he would either return the cisterns full of water or pay 12 silver talents. On the evening of the last day of the appointed time, in answer to his prayers, rain fell and filled the cisterns. When the Roman objected that the sun had already set and the appointed time had passed, Nakdimon caused the sun to shine by means of his prayer (Ta'an. 19b). During the siege of Jerusalem, he and his two associates promised to supply the city for 21 years with all necessary provisions. The Zealots, however, burned all the provisions so that need would induce the people to fight against the Romans (Git. 56a). With the fall of Jerusalem, Nakdimon lost all his wealth, and Johanan b. Zakkai met his daughter (Miriam; Lam. R. 1:16, no. 48, cf. Sifre Deut. 305) picking out barley corns from cattle dung (Ket. 66b; Lam. R. *ibid.*). According to a talmudic tradition his proper name was not Nakdimon but Boni (Ta'an. 20a).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Hyman, Toledot, 948–9; J. Neusner, *Development of a Legend: Studies on the Traditions Concerning Yohanan Ben Zakkai* (*Studia Post-Biblica*, vol. 16) (1970), 21–22, 235–38.

[David Joseph Bornstein / Stephen G. Wald (2nd ed.)]

NAME, CHANGE OF. The Bible records changing of names as symbolic of a new status or destiny, e.g., Abraham (Gen. 17:5), Sarah (*ibid.* 15), Jacob (*ibid.* 32:38), and Joshua (Num. 13:16). Basing itself upon this precedent, the Talmud declares that among the "four things that cancel the doom of man" is change of name (RH 16b). From this there developed in the Middle Ages the custom of changing, or more accurately giving an additional name to, the name of a person who was dangerously ill, or suffered some other misfortune, in the belief that the Angel of Death would be confused as a result of the new name. This new name was sometimes chosen by opening a Bible at random and selecting a name which occurred there, except for such names of ill repute as Esau or Korah. The most widespread custom, however, which persists to the present day, was to choose auspicious names such as Ḥayyim or, among the Sephardim, Ḥai (Life), Raphael (may God heal), Hezekiah (may God give strength) for males, and Ḥayyah for females. (The name Alter (old) was frequently given to a boy if several children in the family had died during infancy, this name being regarded as a good omen that he should reach old age.) In the Ashkenazi rite the change of name is effected by pronouncing a special *Mi she-Berakh* prayer which contains the following passage: "Just as his [her] name has been changed, so may the evil decree passed on him [her] be changed from justice to mercy, from death to life, from illness to a complete cure." The Sephardi rite has a different formula.

The new name given to a person is henceforth used in addition to his former name (e.g., Ḥayyim Abraham) for all religious purposes (e.g., to be called up to the Torah, in a bill of divorce, on the tombstone, etc.).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: L. Zunz, *Namen der Juden* (1837), 51; H.E. Goldin, *Ha-Madrikh: The Rabbi's Guide* (1939), 103ff.; J. Trachtenberg, *Jewish Magic and Superstition* (1961^2), 204–6.

NAMÉNYI, ERNEST (**Ernö**; 1888–1957), Hungarian art historian, economist, and writer. Born in Nagykanizsa, Naményi was the son of Rabbi Ede Neumann. He studied in Budapest and in Brussels, and after he received his doctorate in law was appointed a research associate in the Institut de Sociologie Solvay from 1911 to 1914. He specialized in banking with his uncle, the noted banker P. *Philipson. With the outbreak of World War I he returned to Hungary, and from 1916 to 1949 served as the secretary and later the director of Országos Iparegyesület ("National Industrial Association"). He published economic and sociological articles in Hungarian and French. He also did research in Jewish art, which he felt was an educational means of striving for aesthetics and ethics in Judaism. This outlook led him to found the Jewish Liberal program movement known as "Ézsajás Vallásos Társaság" ("Isaiah Religious Society"). He was among the leaders of the Jewish Museum, and from 1942 served as its director and from 1947 as chairman, succeeding in collecting for it the best works of Jewish artists in and out of Hungary. He also worked for the central Jewish library, which included the remnants of both public and private Jewish libraries, and these collections were housed in the Rabbinical Seminary in Budapest. When the journal *Libanon* was transferred to the Jewish Museum, Naményi participated in its editing until 1944. Together with P. Gruenwald, he wrote the history of the synagogues in Budapest, *Budapesti zsinagógak* ("Synagogues of Budapest," 1949). In 1949 he emigrated to Paris, where he devoted himself to literary work exclusively in the field of Jewish art. He also published two essays on Jewish art in: C. Roth, ed., *Jewish Art* (1961), 423–54, 575–638. His last book was *L'Esprit de l'Art Juif* (1957; *The Essence of Jewish Art*, 1960).

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[Baruch Yaron]

NAMES.

In the Bible

Biblical proper names, together with proper names in Old South Arabic, Canaanite (East-or Proto-Canaanite, Ugaritic, and Phoenician), Old Aramaic, Akkadian, and – with some reservations – Old Egyptian, comprise one division of the Semitic onomasticon. Within this division, the Hebrew names have particularly archaic traits. In this respect they are connected with Old South Arabic, East-or Proto-Canaanite, and Ugaritic proper names, and are distinguished from the Akkadian and Old Egyptian names, whose development led them away from the early Semitic type of naming (cf. Stamm, in *Fourth World Congress*…, 141–7).

The most important source for Hebrew proper names is the Bible. In addition to individual proper names found throughout the Bible, biblical genealogies from early and late times also offer numerous examples. Other sources of Hebrew names are Palestinian inscriptions (ostraca and seals), the Elephantine Papyri, and Babylonian clay tablets from the Persian period.

In Hebrew, as in old Semitic generally, two forms of proper names are to be distinguished: propositional names and epithetic names. Propositional names can be classified as either verbal or nominal sentences. A separate group is constituted by the very numerous short names, which cannot be taken into consideration here (see Noth, in bibl., p. 36ff.).

In addition to these formal criteria, another distinction, relating more to content, is that between theophoric and secular proper names.

The predicate of the (theophoric) verbal propositional names is generally in the perfect or imperfect tense. In contrast to the Akkadian, the use of the imperative mood, directed either to the divinity or to the environment, is rare. Late names such as עֲשִׂיאֵל (Asiel, "Do it, O God!") and חֲזִיאֵל (Haziel, "Look, O God!") may be considered as belonging to the former, and רְאוּבֵן (Reuben, "See, a son!"; cf. also Noth, in bibl., p. 32, and Stamm, op. cit., p. 142), as belonging to the latter.

In the perfect-tense names the "predicate-subject" type (e.g., נְתַנְאֵל, Nethanel) is, according to Hebrew syntax, on the whole more frequent than the inverse, i.e., "subject-predicate" (e.g., אֶלְנָתָן, Elnathan; cf. Noth, in bibl., pp. 20–21). The meaning of these names is expressed by the use of the past tense: they signify thanksgiving for an act of charity bestowed by the divine (e.g., "God has given").

In names formed with the imperfect tense, the "subject-predicate" type is hardly represented. This type appears only in the later monarchical and the post-Exilic periods (יְהוֹיָכִין, Jehoiachin; cf. Noth, in bibl., p. 28). On the other hand, the "predicate-subject" type is much more frequent (יְכוֹנְיָה, Jechoniah). Certain of the oldest proper names are of this type, some appearing as abridged forms not containing the word אֵל of the complete form. Examples of these are יִצְחָק (Isaac), יַעֲקֹב (Jacob), יִשְׂרָאֵל (Israel), יוֹסֵף (Joseph), and יְרַחְמְאֵל (Jerahmeel). This type occurs more often in the periods of Moses and the Judges. It becomes scarcer during the Davidic period, almost disappearing, but regaining favor shortly before the Exile and in post-Exilic times (cf. Noth, loc. cit.).

As the Hebrew imperfect tense is both preterit and jussive in character, its meaning in proper names is disputed. Noth, probably because he believed that the perfect expresses the past tense unequivocally, preferred the jussive interpretation for the imperfect, as expressing a wish. Several proper names, which certainly contain such wishes, e.g., יְחִיָּה, יְחִיאֵל (Jehiel, Jehiah, "may he live, O God/YHWH!"), יוֹסֵף (Joseph, "may he [God] add!"), and יֶחְדְּיָהוּ, יַחְדִּיאֵל (Jahdiel, Jehdeiah, "may he rejoice, O God/YHWH!"), can be quoted in support of this theory. In opposition to it, however, there are to be found names which are vocalized not as jussive forms but as statements, such as אֶלְיָקִים (Eliakim, "God had made [the deceased] stand up again"), אֶלְיָשִׁיב (Eliashib, "God has brought back [the deceased]"), and יָעִיר (Jair, "He has protected"; for the translation of this name on the basis of the Ugaritic and Hebrew (Deut. 32:11a; Job 8:6b; root *ʿyr/ʿwr*), see Stamm, in: *Studies … B. Landsberger…*, p. 421a). It should, therefore, be taken into account that the imperfect tense should be rendered in proper names, as in general usage, sometimes as a statement, sometimes as a wish. It is not always easy to decide which of these it is, and the subject warrants further investigation. It appears that the past tense is to be preferred for the oldest names, whereas in the case of the later names the jussive is also to be considered (cf. Stamm, *ibid.*, pp. 414–5; Stamm, in: *Fourth World Congress…*, p. 142).

The content of theophoric propositional names is that the divinity: (1) has given, created/made, or added the child named; (2) has granted, helped, saved, and had mercy, spared, restored justice, and cured, or that it may do so. Whereas in Akkadian the content of groups 1 and 2 both refer to the child named, insofar as it is not only the object of divine gift and creation but also of mercy and salvation (cf. J.J. Stamm, *Die akkadische Namesgebung* (1939), 23ff.), this is not the case in Hebrew. Here, naturally, the content of group 1 also refers to the child; however, the content of group 2 refers to the parents. They are the ones whose prayer was granted or to whom justice was done. This is explained in the interpretation of names in the Bible (Gen. 29:31–30:24; Ex. 2:10, 22; I Sam. 1:27–28). This may well have been the case originally, while the situation in Akkadian (and in Egyptian) may represent a modernization which might have taken place under the influence of liturgical literature.

Such a modernization can also be seen in the fact that in Akkadian and Egyptian there exist propositional names with a suffix indicating the child named. Thus there are in Akkadian (for Egyptian, see J.J. Stamm, in: *Die Welt des Orients* (1955), 111–9), besides Išme-^{d}Adad ("Adad has hearkened"), the forms Ili-išmeanni ("My God has hearkened to me") and Ištar-išmēšu ("Ishtar has hearkened to him"; cf. also Stamm, in: *Fourth World Congress…*, 145). Hebrew, on the other hand, has nothing but נְתַנְיָה(וּ), נְתַנְאֵל (Nethanel, Nethaniah(u), "God/YHWH has given") and שְׁמַעְיָה(וּ), יִשְׁמָעֵאל (Ishmael, Shemaiah(u), "God/YHWH has granted"). This concise, coined form dominates also in corresponding names in Old South Arabic, and with a few exceptions, also in Ugaritic-Canaanite (cf. Stamm, in: *Fourth World Congress…*, pp. 143–4).

In (theophoric) nominal propositional names, the first remarkable trait is that, unlike the Akkadian, those names containing a participle are scarce and of rather late origin. The only biblical examples are: מְשֵׁיזַבְאֵל (Meshezabel), מְהֵיטַבְאֵל (Mehetabel), מַהֲלַלְאֵל (Mahalalel), (מְשֶׁלֶמְיָה(וּ) (Meshelemiah(u)). Very common, on the contrary, are the so-called names of reliance, consisting of a theophoric element and an appellative, such as אֵלִיָּה(וּ) (Elijah(u), "YHWH is my God") and עֻזִּיָּה(וּ), עֻזִּיאֵל (Uzziel, Uzziah(u), "God is my strength"). In these, the possessive "my" can refer both to the giver of the name and to its bearer. It expresses a personal utterance which the father or mother pronounces at first for the child, until the child is able to make it his own. Besides the forms containing the suffix of the first person singular there are also forms which are suffixless and, therefore, do not contain any reference to the speaker. Examples of the latter are יוֹאָב (Joab), יוֹאָח (Joah), יוֹאֵל (Joel), יוֹעֶזֶר (Joezer) ("YHWH is father/ brother/God/help"). Again, in contrast to Akkadian and Egyptian, there are no forms with a suffix of the third person singular ("YHWH is his/her father"). The suffix of the first person plural occurs only in the cry for salvation, which later became a name, עִמָּנוּאֵל (Immanuel), and in the messianic name, ה׳ צִדְקֵנוּ (Jer. 23:6).

Theophoric epithetic names are not particularly common in Hebrew, a fact which is related to the absence of the following type, common in Akkadian and Egyptian: "son/daughter of divinity X." The most popular names in this category are those constructed with עֶבֶד (*ʿeved*, "slave"), e.g., עַבְדִּיאֵל (Abdiel, "God's slave") and עֹבַדְיָה(וּ) (Obadiah(u), "[small] slave of YHWH"; cf. further Noth, in bibl., pp. 135–9).

In the above-mentioned name groups, the most frequently occurring theophoric elements are אֵל (*ʾel*) and the tetragrammaton, the latter always used in abridged form, namely, יְהוֹ (*yeho*) and יוֹ (*yo*) at the beginning, יָהוּ (*yahu*) and יָה (*yah*) at the end, of the word. The first personal name that was definitely constructed with the tetragrammaton is יְהוֹשֻׁעַ (Joshua). The name of Moses' mother, יוֹכֶבֶד (Jochebed), is more ancient, but it is extremely questionable if it really contains the biblical divine name; as for יְהוּדָה (Judah), it is certain that it does not contain the divine name. From the period of the Judges, five personal names belonging to this group, יוֹאָשׁ

(Joash), יוֹתָם (Jotham), מִיכָיָה(וּ) (Micaiah(u), יְהוֹנָתָן (Jonathan), and יוֹאֵל (Joel) should be mentioned. During the monarchical period, names of this group became frequent and dominant and even retained their lasting predominance – together with those containing the theophoric אֵל (ʾel) – afterward. אֵל (ʾel) is common in personal names up to the beginning of the monarchical period, during which time it fell into almost complete disuse, reappearing again and becoming more frequent from the seventh century onward, and remaining common after the Exile (see Gray, in bibl., pp. 166 ff.; Noth, in bibl., pp. 82 ff.).

With other old Semitic personal names, especially South Arabic and Proto-or East-Canaanite, Hebrew names have in common the particularity that terms of kinship can take the place of the theophoric element. These are terms like אָב (*ʾav*, "father"), אָח (*ʾaḥ*, "brother"), and עָם (*ʿam*, "paternal uncle"), thus, for instance, אֲבִירָם (Abiram), אֲחִיטוּב (Ahitub), and עַמְרָם (Amram; for other examples, see Noth, in bibl., pp. 66 ff.; Stamm, in: *Studies … B. Landsberger…*, pp. 416 ff.). These names have their origin in the early Semitic and nomadic conceptions of tribal and clan structure, according to which deceased relatives enjoyed the divine privilege of being worshiped. In Israel, after the Conquest, this belief became extinct. If corresponding names continued to be used, this was undoubtedly based on the supposition that terms denoting kinship could be assimilated to YHWH. However, not all of these originally had a theophoric meaning. There exist those in which אָב (*ʾav*), אָח (*ʾaḥ*), and עָם (*ʿam*) designate the (deceased) father, brother, or uncle of the one named. These are the so-called substitute names (see below). (On the problem of distinguishing these secular names from the theophoric, see Stamm, in: *Studies … B. Landsberger…*, p. 418.)

Other words, some of which are very ancient, which can be used in a theophoric sense in names are צוּר (*ẓur*, "Rock"), שַׁדַּי (*shaddai*, "the Almighty"), אָדֹן (*ʾadon*, "Lord"), בַּעַל (*baʿal*, "Possessor/Lord"), and מֶלֶךְ (*melekh*, "king"; cf. Noth, in bibl., pp. 114 ff.).

Secular epithetic names have in Hebrew, as in related languages – particularly Akkadian and Egyptian, the most diverse and disparate contents. These retain the day of birth (חַגַּי, Haggai, "he who was born on the festival"), or the origin (יְהוּדִי, Jehudi, "the Judean"), or the position within the family (בְּכוֹרַת, Becorath, "firstborn"). Other proper names give expression either to the relationship between the child and his parents, or to their joy, such as יְדִידָה (Jedidah, "the loved one") and שִׁמְשׁוֹן (Samson, "little sun"). Also frequent are names given on the basis of particularly distinctive physical traits or flaws, e.g., לָבָן/לִבְנִי (Laban/Libni, "white," probably after the color of the skin, particularly of the face), גָּדוֹל ("tall"; a proper name from Elephantine), הַקָּטָן/צוּעָר (Hakkatan/Ẓuar, "[the] small one"), בַּרְזִלַּי (Barzillai, "as hard as iron"), and קֹרַח/קָרֵחַ (Kareah/Korah, "the bald headed"; for other examples see Noth, in bibl., pp. 221 ff.). In addition, names of animals and plants are not infrequent as proper names.

Two other groups of names which should be mentioned specially are substitute names, names in which expression is given, in some manner, to the view that the bearer of the name reincarnates a deceased relative, or that the latter has returned to life in, or through, the former, and women's names. This is an ancient idea which has its roots in the conception of tribal and clan structure and which does not presuppose the belief in the transmigration of souls. Parallel forms to this category of proper names can be found in many peoples; among the Semitic peoples they are particularly numerous with the Babylonians and the Egyptians.

Most groups which occur in other proper names can be found also among the substitute names. Only a few examples of each will be given here (for further illustration of the subject see Stamm, in: *Studies … B. Landsberger…*, 213–24): verbal proposition (secular): יָשָׁבְעָם (Jashobeam, "the uncle has come back"), יָשׁוּב (Jashub, "he [the deceased] has returned"); verbal proposition (theophoric): אֶלְיָקִים (Eliakim), אֶלְיָשִׁיב (Eliashib), and יָעִיר (Jair, see above); nominal proposition: אֲבִירָם (Abiram), עַמְרָם (Amram; "the father/uncle is great"), and אֲבִיהוּד (Abihud), אֲחִיהוּד (Ahihud), עַמִּיהוּד (Ammihud; "my father/brother/uncle is splendor"). In these proper names the praise of the deceased simultaneously keeps his memory alive.

A form which cannot be found outside this category of substitute names is represented by those uttering, in the sense of a complaint, the quest after the deceased, thus אִיכָבוֹד (Ichabod) and אֵהוּד (Ehud; "where is the glory?"), also אִיזֶבֶל (Jezebel; "where is nobility?"), and אִיעֶזֶר (Iezer; "where is help?"). The interrogative particle *ai/e/i*, used in all these names, may also be discerned in אִיּוֹב (Job; "where is the father?").

In the epithetic names, the child either simply bears the epithet of the relative whom he replaces, thus אַחְאָב (Ahab; "father's brother"), or is named after the function which devolves to him as substitute, מְשֻׁלָּם (Meshullam, "the replaced"), מְנַחֵם (Menahem, "one that consoles"), and מְנַשֶּׁה (Manasseh, "he who makes forget").

As for women's names, the theophoric ones are relatively scarce. Much more frequent are the secular ones, i.e., designations based on the time of birth, or the origin of the bearer (of the name), on a characteristic physical or spiritual quality, or the relationship with the parents. Names of jewels, plants, and animals are also used as women's names (for details, see Stamm, in: VTS, 16, where the question as to the reasons for the relative scarceness of theophoric women's names also is raised).

[Johann Jakob Stamm]

Hypocoristica, or shortened names, were common, and were formed in various ways (see Noth, Personennamen, 36–41). Very common, especially in later times, was the formation *qattūl*, as in זַכּוּר (Zakkur) for זְכַרְיָה (Zechariah), חַשּׁוּב for חֲשַׁבְיָה, נַחוּם for נְחֶמְיָה, etc. At Elephantine we even find הצול, Haẓẓūl, for הצליה and יחמול, Yaḥmūl, for יחמליה, so that the Elephantine name גדול, which was interpreted above as the adjective *gadol*, "large," is more probably to be read Gaddūl as a hypocoristicon of גְּדַלְיָה, Gedaliah.

[Harold Louis Ginsberg]

In the Talmud

Insofar as names are concerned the talmudic literature covers a period of some 700 years, from the time of Simeon the Just (c. 200 B.C.E.) to 500 C.E. A distinction must be made between fact and homiletical propaganda. Thus, the often repeated statement giving one of the causes of the deliverance of the Children of Israel from bondage as "they did not change their names" (e.g., Lev. R. 32:5) is certainly to be viewed as a homily appealing for the retention or giving of Hebrew names, in view of the prevalent tendency of adopting foreign names. It is in this light that the interesting equivalents, Rofe (Rufus?) for Judah, Luliani (Julianus?) for Reuben, Lestim (Justus?) for Joseph, and Aleksandri for Benjamin, quoted there are to be regarded. Zunz, somewhat casuistically, suggests that these passages are to be understood as referring specifically to the change from a Hebrew name already given to a gentile name, a custom which was disapproved of as a sign of deliberate assimilation, but not to the initial granting of non-Jewish names. To be regarded in a similar light is the Targum to Amos 6:1 which renders *nekuvei reshit ha-goyim*, "they give their children the same names as do gentiles." The Talmud states only that "the majority of Jews in the Diaspora have the same names as the gentiles" (Git. 11b; in Babylonia only names of idols were avoided – Git. 11a; the name Tammuza (Judah b. Tammuza; TJ, Meg. 4:5, 75b) is not evidence of the adoption of the name of the god Tammuz (= Adonis), since Tammuz had already become Hebraized as the name of the Hebrew month, cf. Dosa b. Tevet, Song R. 7:8). However, the evidence of the widespread use of non-Jewish names also in Ereẓ Israel is too obvious to be overlooked.

All the characteristics and permutations of names which are found in later generations are found among the names of the rabbis. Examples of almost every type of nomenclature can be found in the short list of the **zugot* (including their fathers) as they appear in the first chapter of *Avot*. They include purely traditional biblical names, such as Simeon (see later), Joshua, and Judah; Hebrew names which are not those of biblical worthies, though they occur there, such as Hillel, Gamliel, Johanan, and Joezer; purely Greek names such as Antigonus (in the generation immediately after Alexander the Great; cogent evidence of the rapidity of the social assimilation in nomenclature) and Avtalyon; and Aramaized forms of Hebrew names, such as Yose (twice) for Joseph, Tabbai (probably for Tobiah), and what appears to be a purely Aramaic name, Nittai. Of special interest are purely Hebrew names which do not occur in the Bible, such as Peraḥyah and (probably) Shetaḥ.

With few exceptions, all other names fall into those categories. The only forms missing are Greek names which are an obvious Grecization of Hebrew names, such as Dositheus for Nethanel or Jonathan, and purely Roman names, such as Julianus (Lulianus). There are fathers with non-Hebrew names whose sons have Hebrew names, such as Eliezer b. Hyrcanus, as there is the reverse, such as Dostai (Dositheus) b. Judah. Of interest are the names of the five sons of R. Yose b. Ḥalafta, given as Ishmael, Eleazar, Ḥalafta, Abtilus, and Menahem (Shab. 118b). Three (Ishmael, Eleazar, and Menahem; for Ishmael see below) have purely biblical names; Ḥalafta has an Aramaic name, like his grandfather (cf. Gen. R. 37:7, where R. Yose explicitly refers to the custom of giving a child the name of "our fathers," and the eight other examples in the Talmud, of which the best known are the dynasty of Hillel, the son of Eliezer b. Hyrcanus (Men. 35a), and R. Ishmael; this custom is thought to have been derived from the Greeks – L. Loew, *Beitraege zur jued. Alterskunde*, 2, 9b); and the fifth Abtilus, has a Greek name (probably a corruption of Εὔπολεηος). Another passage (TJ, Yev. 1:1) gives the names as Ishmael, Eleazar (Lazar), Menahem, Ḥalafta, and Avdimos (Eudymos) and asks about another son of Yose called Vardimon; the Talmud explains that Vardimon is identical with Menahem, but he was so called because "his face was like [*domeh*] a rose [*vered*]." This is a homiletical interpretation similar to that which makes of Tiberias *Tovah Re'iyyatah* ("of goodly appearance"; Meg. 6a). These names raise the interesting question whether it was not the custom to have two names, one Semitic (Hebrew or Aramaic) and one Greek, as was the case with Hasmonean rulers such as John (Johanan) Hyrcanus and Salome Alexandra, and whether that is not the simple explanation of the names of the five sons of Mattathias: "Johanan called Gaddis, Simeon called Thassi, Judas called Maccabeus, Eleazar called Avarah, and Jonathan called Apphus" (I Macc. 2:2).

It is equally natural that there were names which were avoided because of their unhappy associations, and this is explicitly stated. The Talmud interprets the verse "and the name of the wicked shall rot" (Prov. 10:7) to the effect that "none name their children after them" and points to the grim example of a child being given the name of *Doeg, whose mother would every day give the increase in his weight in gold to the Temple, yet "when the enemy prevailed she slaughtered and ate him" and, because of the unfortunate choice of the name of a wicked person, "see what happened to him" (Yoma 38b). Similarly the Midrash states, "Have you ever heard that a man should call his son Pharaoh, or Sisera or Sennacherib? But (one does give the name) Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Reuben, Simeon, Levi or Judah" (Gen. R. 49:1), and in general it is stated that the name of a person determines his destiny (Ber. 7b).

In respect to this, the repeated name of Ishmael raises a difficulty. R. Yose (Gen. R. 71:3) divides names into four categories according to their beauty or ugliness as well as according to their bearers' deeds and gives Ishmael as an example of one whose "name was beautiful but his actions ugly." How then is this name so frequently found? The *tosafot* (loc. cit.) explain that it was only because, according to rabbinic tradition, he repented; and because of the bad association of the names they alter the name of Absalom, the father of Hanan the Judge (Ket. 13:1), to Avishalom (because Absalom "has no portion in the world to come" (Sanh. 103b)) and Shebna to Shechna (Tos. Yoma 38b; Ket. 104b).

By the same token, there are homilies as to the efficacy and desirability of giving names after those of biblical worthies. To the above quoted passage that fathers call their children Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Reuben, Simeon, Levi, Judah, there is the positive injunction "One should ever examine names, to give his son a name worthy for him to become a righteous man, for sometimes the name is a contributory factor for good as for evil" (Tanḥ. Ha'azinu 7). Ephraim is praised that "the best of my sons shall be called after thee" (Lev. R. 3:2). On the contemporary plane there are quoted cases of a woman in gratitude calling her child after Nathan ha-Bavli because he had saved its life (Shab. 134a) and children called Eleazar after Eleazar b. Simeon because of a similar boon (BM 84b).

Despite that fact, however, there is one puzzling phenomenon, namely, the complete absence of names which one would expect. Not a single rabbi is known by the name of Moses (the name occurs only once in the whole talmudic literature as borne by the father-in-law of a certain scholar Huna – BB 174b, Ar. 23a), Abraham, Israel, David, or Solomon. Aaron is borne by only two *amoraim*. Of the sons of Jacob, a decided preference is given to Simeon and Judah, and among the *amoraim* to Levi and Joseph (there are no *tannaim* called Joseph and only two called Levi though, as stated, the Aramaized form Yose is common). Dan, Gad, and Asher do not occur at all, the others only rarely. (Steinschneider draws attention to a similar phenomenon among the Jews in Arabic-speaking countries.) A similar position exists with regard to the names of the prophets. Of the 15 prophets, Jeremiah, the name of one *tanna*, appears to have become popular in the amoraic period, and only one *amora* is known by the name of Ezekiel. Nahum and Jonah are of greater frequency, but the former seems to be in a class by itself, since the frequent occurrence of other names of the same root, Naḥman, Tanḥum, Tanḥuma, suggests that it was the root meaning "comfort" which decided its choice. Similarly Jonah, which occurs only among the *amoraim*, may have been influenced by the many amoraic *aggadot* (cf. Gen. R. 33:6) which identified the dove (Jonah) with Israel. Zechariah is the only name which occurs with any frequency (three *tannaim* and two *amoraim*) and Haggai (and Ḥagga). Isaiah, Hosea, Joel, Amos, Obadiah, Micah, Habakkuk, Zephaniah, and Malachi are not found at all.

It is specifically mentioned (ARN 12) that humans were not given the names of angels, and in fact such names as Raphael and Gabriel are not found.

Lastly, attention should be drawn to a passage in *Pesaḥim* 113b to the effect that Joseph of Huẓal is identical, inter alia, with Issi, the son of Gur Aryeh, who is also named Issi b. Judah. The alternatives Judah and Gur Aryeh seem to be the only example known of the custom widely prevalent in later ages to give double or alternative names on the basis of Genesis 49 and Deuteronomy 33: "Judah Aryeh," "Naphtali Zevi," "Benjamin Ze'ev," and "Joseph Bekhor Shor."

On the other hand, there is clear evidence of the use of different names. In *Gittin* 34b there is a case mentioned of a woman in Babylonia known in one place as Miriam and in another as Sarah, and of a query sent from the Diaspora to Rabban Gamliel as to the procedure to be adopted with regard to the name to be inserted on a bill of divorce in the case of a man who came from Palestine where he was known as Joseph but in Babylonia (probably) as Johanan. The fact that the vice versa is mentioned suggests that this case is also one of "anonymous names."

[Louis Isaac Rabinowitz]

Medieval Period and Establishment of Surnames

Variations in onomastic styles – generally a useful index of cultural diversity and change – are especially prominent in Jewish history. As the Jews moved from area to area, through many linguistic milieus, they were affected, in varying degrees, by the patterns of nomenclature in the societies around them. The tendency toward adoption of names in vogue with the non-Jewish majority – discernible throughout the Middle Ages – accelerated during the late 18th and 19th centuries with intensification of the process of emancipation. As modern Jews reaped the benefits of this emancipation, they increasingly imitated the mores of their neighbors, appellations included. Governments in some instances furthered this tendency by rewarding or even legislating the adoption of European forenames and family names. The 20th century – witness to both a deepening of the thrust toward integration of the Jews into Western society as well as repudiation of such integration – has seen rapid changes in Jewish name styles. While the Jews of the Americas and Western Europe have continued to pursue onomastic assimilation, their brethren in Israel have revived the old Hebrew nomenclature and created a new one.

Middle Ages

During the Middle Ages, Jews retained a preference for Hebrew forenames. In most cases these names were readily adaptable to the language of the surrounding society. Thus, in the Arab world, Abraham became Ibrahīm and David, Dāwud. In the Greek milieu, Joseph became Iosiph (ʾΙωσηῐφ) and Shemariah, Samargia, while in the Latin West, Moses (Moshe) became Moyses and Ḥayyim, Hagin. Often Jews bore Hebrew names along with related, but not identical, non-Hebrew appellations, e.g., Eleazar-Manṣūr, Yefet-Ḥasan, Eliakim-Anastasios, Mattathia-Dieudonné, Jehiel-Vivant, Ḥayyim-Vital. Some designations popular in non-Jewish circles were taken over by Jews with no regard for Hebrew equivalence. In general, there was a greater likelihood of a non-Hebrew given name among the female members of the community. The range of non-Hebrew names adopted was broader and the percentage of women bearing such designations was higher than among the male Jewish population. Popular female forenames included Masʿūda and Sulṭāna (Arabic); Anastassu, Cali, and Zoe (Greek); Angélique, Fleurette, and Précieuse (French); Esperanza and Gracia (Spanish). Conversion into and out of the Jewish community was almost always accompanied by a symbolic change of name. The most common names for those entering the Jewish faith were Abraham and Sarah. Jews leaving their heritage took new names as well. In the Christian world, for example, designations such as Paul, Christian, and Mary were widespread, as was adoption of the names of prominent ecclesiastical or secular sponsors.

Designations appended to the given name, to identify more clearly the individual, developed already during antiquity. This tendency grew more marked throughout the Middle Ages. The most traditional of these surnames was the patronym, readily adapted from the Hebrew "ben" to the Arabic "ibn" and the French "fils." A special Arabic usage was the identification of the father by his firstborn son, the "abū" designation. In most areas a favored style of byname was that which derived from locale, in some cases the bearer's birthplace and others his adult residence. In the Arab world prominent examples are R. Isaac Alfasi and R. Saadiah al-Fayyumi. The great 13th-century leader of French Jewry was known both by the Hebrew R. Jehiel of Paris and by the French Vivant of Meaux, the latter his birthplace and the former the locus of his adult activities. Surnames derived from locale became particularly widespread in the wake of the periodic expulsions suffered by medieval Jewry. Both for ease of identification and out of nostalgia, Jews chose names that recalled their earlier homes. Thus, for example, in Turkish Jewry subsequent to 1492 surnames such as De Leon, D'Alvo, Zamora, and Toledano abounded. Another source of bynames was occupation. Medicine, printing, masonry, tailoring, dyeing, minting – all left their mark on Jewish onomastics. Physical and spiritual characteristics, such as size, age, complexion, honesty, and piety, also gave rise to series of widely used surnames. With the passage of time, in Jewish society as in general, these surnames tended to crystallize into family names, passed on from generation to generation.

There are two special types of designation, popular during the Middle Ages and early modern period, which deserve special mention. The first is the acronym. The components drawn upon for the acronym might include a title (rabbi, morenu ha-rav, ha-gaon), the given name, or the surname. Well-known examples include RASHI (Rabbi Solomon Yiẓḥaki), RAMBAM (Rabbi Moses b. Maimon), HA-GRA (Ha-Gaon Rabbi Elijah). The second style of designation stems from an author's *magnum opus*. In many instances, e.g., the Roke'aḥ (R. Eleazar b. Judah) and the Tur (R. Jacob b. Asher), given names and surnames were almost totally obscured by such literary appellations.

Modern Times

With the onset of emancipation there was growing imitation of forenames current in general society. Study of Berlin Jewish forenames at the beginning of the 20th century has shown a marked tendency toward appropriation of popular German designations, although some names remained peculiarly Jewish. In the U.S., the transition from immigrant-generation to first-, second-, and third-generation status has been accompanied by constantly changing given name styles. Certain names extremely popular with an earlier generation have subsequently been totally rejected, usually out of a sense that such names were excessively identified with immigrant status and with Jewishness.

Concern over the process of emancipation occasionally led governments to restrict the range of choices for Jewish given names. Such was the force, e.g., of the Austrian edict of 1787, limiting the Jews to biblical first names. The total repudiation of emancipation espoused by the Nazis expressed itself clearly in the sphere of nomenclature. On Aug. 17, 1938, a governmental decree specified 185 forenames for men and 91 for women – many with derogatory connotations – which were henceforth to be used by German Jews. Jews already bearing names other than those specified were to assume, by Jan. 1, 1939, the additional name of Israel for a male and Sarah for a female. These new appellations were to be duly registered and faithfully used in all business and legal transactions.

Along with Zionism and the revival of the Hebrew language came a new interest in Hebrew forenames. This interest was expressed in the establishment of a Commission for Hebrew Nomenclature (Va'ad Shemon Ivri) and in the compilation of a multivolume *Shemon Ivri*, containing both rules for Hebraization of non-Hebrew names and a wealth of information on specific Hebrew designations. Within the Jewish community of Palestine and subsequently the State of Israel there have been numerous forename styles, reflecting differences of origin and of generation. Each of the various elements that have been woven together into Israeli society has retained its own traditional nomenclature. Successive generations of native-born Israelis have tended to reject older patterns and create their own – sometimes utilizing obscure biblical names, sometimes reviving prebiblical Canaanite designations, sometimes fashioning wholly new appellations. This dignified return to Hebrew forenames has been carried over, in limited measure, into the Western Jewish communities. While the predominant tendency remains Westernized, a steady growth in the utilization of Hebrew names popular in Israel can be discerned in the United States and Western Europe.

As the Jews passed increasingly into the mainstream of European life, the adoption of a fixed surname became ever more important. The modes of establishing these surnames, already noted, included patronyms (Abramson, Abramowitz, Jacobson, Jacobowitz, Mendelssohn), names based on localities (Berliner, Bresslau, Poznanski, Moscowitz), vocational designations (Drucker, Schneider, Wechsler), and appellations drawn from characteristics (Alt, Klein, Schwartz). The process of altering names to suit increasingly Western tastes has been inevitable. This tendency has been obvious in the U.S. Jewish community, where the family names brought from Eastern Europe generally branded their bearers as immigrants. Cumbersome Slavic endings were dropped to form short and American-sounding names. In the earlier stages of emancipation, government edicts often had to be enacted in order to institute among the Jews the regular use of surnames. Such a step was included in the Austrian legislation of 1787. Jewish surnames were to be registered by a government commission, and where the Jews refused to select a name, this same commission was empowered to make the choice. In France, Napoleon decreed the fixing of family names for the

Jews in 1808, and in Prussia in 1812 emancipation of the Jews was made contingent upon the adoption within six months of acceptable surnames. In the United States the practical necessity of registration of immigrants coupled with ignorance of English resulted in the creation of a host of new surnames for bewildered newcomers. The Zionist experience has often been associated with the Hebraization of family names. The major political figures of the first few decades of the State of Israel reflect this phenomenon: Ben-Zvi (formerly Shimshelevitz), Shazar (Rubashov), Ben-Gurion (Gruen), Sharett (Shertok), Eshkol (Shkolnik), Meir (Myerson). The most common methods of fashioning new Hebrew surnames have been the use of patronyms, the translation of the non-Hebrew name into a Hebrew equivalent, and the adoption of a Hebrew designation phonetically similar to the non-Hebrew.

The demographic upheavals and the ideological conflicts of the 19th and 20th centuries have thoroughly shattered the onomastic unity of many Jewish families. Brothers and cousins spread across the Diaspora and Israel often bear totally different family appellations – a curious testimony to the unparalleled disruptions of the past century of Jewish life.

[Robert Chazan]

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NAMIAS, JEROME (1910–1997), U.S. meteorologist. Born in Bridgeport, Conn., Namias worked during the 1930s at the Blue Hill Observatory affiliated with Harvard University. In 1941 he set up the extended forecast division of the U.S. Weather Bureau in Washington, D.C., and during the years of World War II prepared the weather forecasts for the convoys crossing the Atlantic and for military maneuvers. After the war Namias was appointed assistant director of the National Meteorological Center at Suitland, Maryland. Here he developed methods for the study of weather phenomena in three dimensions.

[Dov Ashbel]

NAMIER (Bernstein-Namierowski), SIR LEWIS (1888–1960), English historian and Zionist, pioneer of the trend in historical scholarship known as "Namierism." Born in eastern Galicia, where his parents were landowners, Namier became aware of his Jewish origin at the age of nine, upon overhearing antisemitic sneers at his parents' efforts to work their way into the Polish gentry. This traumatic experience turned him into a dedicated Zionist. After a spell at Vienna and Lausanne, he arrived in England in 1908. He graduated from Balliol College, Oxford, where he mixed with young men who were later to become famous, such as T.E. Lawrence and the historian Arnold J. Toynbee. Among his Jewish contemporaries were Leonard Stein and Leonard Montefiore. In 1914 Namier volunteered for the British army. He served for a time in the Foreign Office Intelligence Service and was taken to the Versailles Peace Conference to advise on problems concerning the old Hapsburg Empire, Poland, and Eastern Europe. After the war he did not turn at once to an academic career but tried his luck – unsuccessfully – in business. He needed the help of friends to complete the research for his first book and masterpiece, *The Structure of Politics at the Accession of George III* (1929). After publication of *England in the Age of the American Revolution* (1930) he was appointed professor of modern history at Manchester University (1931), holding the chair until 1953. Namier was one of the most influential British historians of the 20th century. His method, of deeply researched collective biography, widely known as "namierization," influenced several generations of historians. He was also seen as an influential conservative thinker, whose respect for the virtues of the British constitution was heavily influenced by its contrast with the catastrophic experience of the continental nations.

After his war service Namier devoted himself to the Zionist cause, although he was viewed with distrust by leaders of the Zionist movement, especially from Eastern Europe, as an outsider. Namier's Zionist creed, stemming from the outsider's need for roots and the wanderer's yearning for an anchor, found expression in 1930 in a powerful cry (in *England in the Age of the American Revolution*):

> To every man the native land is his life-giving Mother and the State raised upon the land is his law-giving Father, and the days cannot be long of a nation which fails to honor either. Only one nation has survived for two thousand years, though an orphan – my own people, the Jews. But then in the God-given Law we have enshrined the authority of a state, in the God-promised Land the idea of a Mother-Country; through the centuries from Mount Sinai we have faced Eretz Israel, our Land. Take away either, and we cease to be a nation; let both live again, and we shall be ourselves once more.

From 1929 to 1931 Namier served as political secretary to the Zionist Executive, and it was as the chief draftsman of the

*Jewish Agency, with Blanche Dugdale, that Namier, with his pedantic insistence on the niceties of formulation and protocol, made his chief contribution to the Zionist cause. He played a considerable role as an intermediary in obtaining the Ramsay MacDonald Letter, which in fact canceled the Passfield *White Paper of 1930. Thanks to his friendship with Reginald Coupland, the author of the 1937 report of the Peel Commission (the first British document to bring up the idea of a Jewish state in a partitioned Palestine), Namier was able to exercise a direct impact on matters of great political importance. He served for a time as deputy to Chaim Weizmann on the Anglo-Jewish Committee for Refugees from Germany, taking up a determined stand against the "barons" of Anglo-Jewry. At the time of the St. James' Conference on Palestine, which resulted in the anti-Zionist White Paper of May 1939, Namier insisted on a forceful Zionist policy toward the British government, occasionally criticizing the line taken by Weizmann. On the outbreak of World War II he was on loan full time from Manchester University to the Jewish Agency, for which he worked until 1945. Namier kept aloof from the ideological struggles among the Zionist factions. He disliked the religious parties and had close friends in the Labor leadership. His Zionism was a romantic nationalism in the tradition of Mazzini and Pilsudski – the vision of a historic breakthrough conceived in messianic terms – but it lacked any Jewish cultural sustenance.

Namier's historical research may be classified under four headings: the social-political structure of England in the 18th century; the 1848 revolutions; the twilight of the Hapsburg monarchy; and the international crisis leading up to World War II. All four inquiries may be said to be variations on one theme: cohesion versus disintegration. His chief work, *The Structure of Politics…*, is a microscopic examination of the composition of the successive Houses of Commons under George III. His concern was with how politics are made by members of a governing elite, to the neglect of intellectual trends and social forces. Namier's biographical method was applied to the great collective *History of Parliament* (initiated by Whitehall and Westminister), of which he was coeditor. In recognition of his achievement as an historian, Namier was elected a member of the British Academy in 1944, was knighted in 1952, and was invited to give the prestigious Romanes Lecture at Oxford. These honors went some way to assuage his feelings of disappointment at having been bypassed for the Regius Professorship of Modern History at Oxford University. The rather eccentric and intensely self-centered outsider with strong and forcefully expressed likes and dislikes scared off many contemporaries. There has long been speculation as to whether his academic disappointments, beginning with his failure to be elected to a fellowship at All Souls College, Oxford, in 1912, was chiefly due to his foreign Jewish background or to his unpleasant and gauche personality. While capable of deep emotions, he lacked flexibility and was very vulnerable. After an unhappy first marriage, Namier married in church the former Julia de Beausobre, a daughter of the Russian gentry who was deeply committed to the Greek Orthodox Church and had suffered in Soviet prisons and concentration camps (described in her book *The Woman Who Could Not Die*, 1938). She played a great role in Namier's life.

Namier paid many visits to Palestine. His only visit to the State of Israel took place in 1959 in connection with the scheme for the publication of the Weizmann papers, in which he took great interest. On that occasion he gave a memorable address to the modern history seminar at the Hebrew University. It contained a kind of confession and testament and was preceded by the Hebrew incantation "If I forget thee, O Jerusalem" tearfully.

Namier's publications include *Skyscrapers* (1931); *Additions and Corrections to Sir John Fortescue's Edition of the Correspondence of King George III* (1957); *In the Margin of History* (1939); *Conflicts* (1942); *1848: The Revolution of the Intellectuals* (1946); *Facing East* (1947); *Diplomatic Prelude* (1938–39, 1948); *Europe in Decay* (1936–40, 1950); *Avenues of History* (1952); *In the Nazi Era* (1952); *Personalities and Powers* (1958); and *Vanished Supremacies* (1958).

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[Jacob L. Talmon]

NAMIR (Nemirovsky), MORDECHAI (1897–1975), Israeli labor leader and politician, mayor of Tel Aviv-Jaffa, member of the Second to Sixth Knessets. Born in Bratolinbovka in the Ukraine, Namir studied in a traditional *ḥeder*, a reformed *ḥeder*, and a secular high school. After the Bolshevik Revolution Namir studied economics and law at the University of Odessa but was arrested for underground activities within the framework of the *Zionist Socialist Party, and expelled from the university. He also studied music. Namir settled in Ereẓ Israel in 1924, working at first as a laborer but soon joining the management of the Histadrut's daily *Davar.* In 1926–30 he served as the secretary of Aḥdut ha-Avodah in Tel Aviv. He was the director of the statistical section of the Histadrut in 1929–35. In 1935 he was elected to the Tel Aviv City Council and in 1936–43 he was secretary of the Tel Aviv Workers' Council. Namir joined the Haganah Command in Tel Aviv in 1933. In 1940 he was arrested by the Mandatory authorities for organizing demonstrations against the White Paper policy. In World War II he served as head of the bureaus for Jewish enlistment to the British army. After the establishment of the state, Namir was sent on diplomatic missions to Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, and Romania. In 1948–49 he served as first advisor in the Israeli consulate in Moscow, and in 1940–50 served as consul in Moscow. Namir was elected to the Second Knesset in 1951 on the Mapai list, simultaneously being elected to the position of secretary-general of the Histadrut, in which capacity he served until 1955. He served as minister of labor in 1956, holding the post until he was elected mayor of Tel Aviv-Jaffa in 1959. As mayor, Namir was responsible for extensive modernization and development schemes. Namir remained mayor and a Knesset member until 1969.

Among his writings are a book about Aḥdut ha-Avodah, *Aḥdut ha-Avodah: Ma'asef Mifleget Po'alei Ereẓ Yisrael* (1946) and one about his years as consul in Moscow, *Sheliḥut be-Moskva: Yeraḥ Devash u-Shenot Za'am* (1972).

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[Susan Hattis Rolef (2nd ed.)]

NAMIR (née **Toib**), **ORA** (1930–), Israeli politician, member of the Eighth to Thirteenth Knessets. Namir was born in Ḥaderah, and grew up in Moshav Ḥoglah. In the War of Independence she served as an officer in Upper Galilee. During the Second Knesset she served as the secretary of the Mapai parliamentary group, and secretary of the coalition administration. In Israel she studied at the Lewinsky Seminary and the Givat ha-Sheloshah Seminary. In 1954–57 she studied English literature at Hunter College in New York, and served as a secretary with the Israeli delegation to the United Nations, in the years when Abba *Eban was ambassador. When she returned to Israel she went back to her job in the Knesset, and for a while worked as the secretary of the architects' office that was designing the new Knesset building, under Tel Aviv architect Shimon Powsner. In 1959, she married Mordechai *Namir, who was elected as Mapai's first mayor of Tel Aviv in that year, and started to work in the field of social work. In 1967–79 she was secretary of Na'amat (the Histadrut women's section) in Tel Aviv, serving also on the secretariat of national Na'amat (1970–74).

Namir was first elected on the Labor Alignment list to the Knesset in 1973. In 1975, after her husband had passed away, she was appointed by Prime Minister Yitzhak *Rabin as chairperson of a committee of inquiry concerning the status of women in Israel. The committee completed its work after the 1977 political upheaval, and Namir presented its report to Prime Minister Menaḥem *Begin in 1978. After the publication of this report, which pointed to widespread discrimination against women in Israel, the official approach to the subject started to change.

In the Ninth and Tenth Knessets, Namir served as chairperson of the Knesset Education and Culture Committee, and in the Eleventh and Twelfth as chairperson of the Labor and Welfare Committee, earning for herself the reputation of a hard-working and highly demanding MK. Her hope to be appointed minister in the National Unity government formed in 1988 was not fulfilled. The following year she considered running for secretary-general of the Labor Party opposite Micha Harish, but withdrew her candidacy claiming that the competition was not fair. In the primaries to the Labor Party leadership in February 1992 she contended opposite Yitzhak *Rabin, Shimon *Peres, and Israel *Kessar, but received less than five percent of the vote. In the government formed by Rabin after the elections to the Thirteenth Knesset she was at first appointed minister of the environment, and in December 1992, minister of labor and welfare. Namir ran in the Labor primaries for the elections to the Fourteenth Knesset, but even though she received a realistic place in the list, she was offended by the fact that among the women Dalia *Itzik came before her. She then resigned from the Thirteenth Knesset shortly before the elections, after being appointed ambassador to Beijing – a position she held from 1996 to 2000.

[Susan Hattis Rolef (2nd ed.)]

NANCY, capital of Meurthe-et-Moselle department, northeastern France; former capital of the Duchy of *Lorraine. In 1286 the Jews acquired a cemetery at nearby Laxou. In 1341, and later in 1455, several Jews settled in Nancy itself but were expelled from the Duchy in 1477. The Jews temporarily reappeared in Nancy in 1595. Maggino Gabrieli, known as the "consul-general of the Hebrew and Levantine nation," attempted to establish two banks and a pawnshop in 1637–1643. In 1707 and 1712 Duke Leopold authorized three Jewish bankers from *Metz to settle in Nancy, one of whom, Samuel *Lévy, became the duke's chief tax collector in 1715. After Lévy fell into disgrace, there was a hostile reaction toward the Jews. Nevertheless, in 1721 an edict authorized 70 Jewish families to remain in Lorraine, eight of them in Nancy and its surroundings. The 90 Jewish families in Nancy in 1789 (50 of whom were without authorization) included such wealthy merchants and manufacturers as the *Alcan, Goudchaux, and Berr families from whom the trustees of the Duchy's Jewish community were chosen. Herz *Cerfberr became squire of Tomblaine, and *Berr Isaac Berr became the leader of the Ashkenazi Jews in 1789. There was a house of prayer in 1745, but it was not until 1788 that a synagogue was officially built, eight years after the chief rabbi of Lorraine established himself in Nancy. (The synagogue was renovated in 1842 and again in 1935.) Notable among the chief rabbis of the consistory formed in 1808 were Marchand Ennery and Solomon *Ullmann. With the influx of refugees from Alsace and Moselle after 1870, the number of Jews in Nancy increased to some 4,000 by the end of the century. Nancy made important contributions to French Jewish cultural life. The prayer room of the Polish Jews was decorated by the artist *Mané-Katz. Nancy was the birthplace of the writer André *Spire and Nobel Prize winner F. *Jacob.

[Gilbert Cahen]

Holocaust Period

Many of Nancy's prewar Jewish population (about 3,800 in 1939) fled the city under the German occupation. Those who stayed were brutally persecuted. In three *Aktionen* in 1942–43, 130 Jews of foreign origin were arrested and deported, while over 400 others who had fled to the "free" zone in the south were arrested and deported after it was overrun by the Germans in 1942. Only 22 survivors returned. Among the old French Jewish families, 250 victims were deported, of whom only two survived. The majority were arrested on March 2, 1944, along with 72-year-old Chief Rabbi Haguenauer, who despite his being forewarned, refused to desert the members of his community. A street in postwar Nancy bears his name. The synagogue, as well as other buildings belonging to the Jews, were plundered by the Nazis. The synagogue interior was destroyed, while the holy books were sold to a rag collector. Several of the art works and books in the local Musée Historique Lorrain and departmental archives were saved. After the war the community of Nancy rapidly recovered, and by 1969 it had about 3,000 members with a full range of Jewish communal institutions. A chair for Hebrew studies was set up at the university. In 1987, the community was said to number 4,000.

[Georges Levitte]

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NANTES, city in Brittany, capital of the department of Loire-Atlantique, western France. The first mention of Jews there dates from 1234. In 1236 the Jews of Nantes, as well as those in the rest of *Brittany and other provinces of western France, were victims of a riot that broke out during the Sixth Crusade. The attack was followed by their expulsion in 1240. The importance of the community is shown by the cemetery for which evidence exists from 1231. The Rue des Juifs which the community occupied still retains its name.

From the second half of the 16th century many Portuguese of *Marrano origin settled in Nantes. The Vaz, Mendez, Rodriguez, and other families found here generally became loyal Christians, whose members frequently chose an ecclesiastical career. Some Marranos whose sympathies remained with Judaism occasionally passed through Nantes but did not settle there. Thus, toward the end of the 16th century, Abraham d'Espinoza, the grandfather of Baruch *Spinoza, stayed in Nantes with a few members of his family before establishing himself in Holland. In 1636, however, several Portuguese Jews of *Bayonne, expelled from this frontier town at the time of the Franco-Spanish War, settled in Nantes. At the end of the 18th century local merchants, led largely by the old clothes dealers, leveled legal charges against several Jewish merchants who were newly established in the town. Public opinion sympathized with the Jews, however, as evidenced in articles in the *Journal de la Correspondence de Nantes* of 1789 to 1791, and in the Feuille Nantaise of 1795. There were 25 Jewish families in Nantes in 1808–09. In 1834 they established an organized community with a membership of 18 families. A synagogue was built in 1870, and by 1898 there were about 50 families.

According to the census of 1942 carried out by the Vichy government, there were 531 Jews in Nantes. By the beginning of September 1943, the number had been reduced to 53 as a result of arrests and deportations. At first, some Jews were arrested and imprisoned in the Caserne Richemont of Nantes, but in January 1944 they were deported. After World War II, few Jewish families settled in Nantes and in 1960 there were said to be only about 25. The growth of the city, and especially the arrival of Jews from North Africa, led to an increase in the Jewish population. By 1969 Nantes had over 500 Jewish inhabitants. There was a combined synagogue and community center, religious instruction classes, and youth activities.

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[Bernhard Blumenkranz / David Weinberg (2nd ed.)]

NAOMI (Heb. נָעֳמִי; probably from *nuʿmay* (Ugaritic, *nʿmy*), "pleasantness"), the wife of *Elimelech the Ephrathite from Beth-Lehem in Judah who, because of famine, immigrated to Moab with his wife and his sons Mahlon and *Chilion (Ruth 1:1–2). Her husband and her two sons, who had married Moabite women, died in Moab. When she heard that the famine in Judah had ended, Naomi returned there. Her daughters-in-law wanted to accompany her, but she tried to dissuade them from binding their destiny to hers. Chilion's widow, *Orpah, was persuaded, but Mahlon's widow, *Ruth, clung to her mother-in-law (4:10). Naomi, in return, looked after the interests of her faithful daughter-in-law so that Ruth was taken in marriage by *Boaz, a relative of the family. Naomi adopted and nursed the son born to Ruth and Boaz and so achieved a measure of consolation in her old age.

[Isaac Avishur]

In the Aggadah

Naomi was of outstanding beauty. She and Elimelech were cousins, their fathers being the sons of Nahshon son of Amminadab. From this the rabbis taught, "even the merit of one's ancestor is of no avail when one emigrates from Ereẓ Israel" (BB 91a). Naomi was so anxious to return to Ereẓ Israel that she set out on her journey barefoot and in rags. She did not even stop to rest on the Sabbath (Ruth R. 2: 12). On the way she taught Ruth the laws concerning proselytes (*ibid.*). She arrived in Beth-Lehem on the day of the funeral of Boaz's wife (BB 91a). In her youth Naomi had been a nurse to Boaz as she later became a nurse to Ruth's son, Obed (*Lekaḥ Tov* on Ruth 4:16). Proverbs 31:19 is interpreted to refer to Naomi who brought Ruth under the wings of the *Shekhinah* (Mid. Hag., Gen. 23:1). She is thus included in the 22 women of valor enumerated by the rabbis (*ibid.*).

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NAPHTALI (Heb. נַפְתָּלִי), the sixth son of Jacob and second son of Bilhah, Rachel's maid (Gen. 30:7). The name is said to derive from Rachel's words, "A fateful contest (*naftule*) I waged (*niftalti*) with my sister; yes, and I have prevailed" (Gen. 30:8). Its exact origin is uncertain. Nothing is related about Naphtali in the biblical sources except that he had four sons. He gave his name to one of the tribes of Israel.

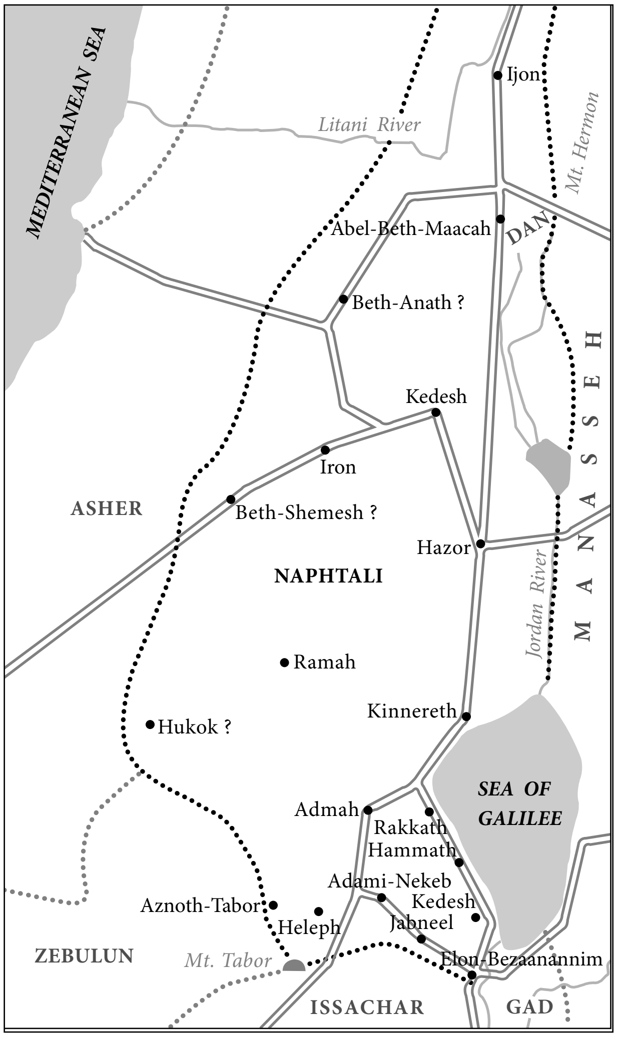

Territory of the tribe of Naphtali. After Y. Aharoni, Lexicon Biblicum, *Dvir Co. Ltd, Tel Aviv, 1965.*

The Tribe and its Territory

The affiliation of Naphtali to Bilhah testifies to an inferior status, at some period, among the tribes of Israel, as does its position in the listings of the sons of Jacob where it appears in the ninth (Deut. 33:23; Gen. 49:21), tenth (Gen. 35:23ff.; I Chron. 2:1), eleventh (Num. 1:15, 42), and occasionally even in last place (Gen. 46:24; Deut. 27:13). The four clans of the tribe of Naphtali are Jahzeel, Guni, Jezer, and Shillem (Gen. 46:24; Num. 26:48–50; and with some slight variants, I Chron. 7:13). These names do not seem to have any connection with settlements, a fact which testifies to their tribal, rather than territorial, origins. This would contradict the view of the German school about the formation of the Israelite tribes. (Guni may be an exception as a place name, possibly to be identified with Umm Jūnī on the east bank of the Jordan.) However, the matter is complicated because of a Gadite family with the same name (I Chron. 5:15). Naphtali's territory was the sixth to be decided by lots at Shiloh in the tribal division of the land. The description in Joshua comprises border points and a list of cities (Josh. 19:32–39). The description of the boundary begins with the south, and proceeds from west to east, from the Tabor to the Jordan, with five designated border points: Heleph (apparently Khirbat ʿArbītā north of the Tabor), the Elon-Bezaanannim (apparently a geographic designation; cf. Judg. 4:11), Adami-Nekeb (apparently Khirbat Dāmiya), Jabneel (either Tell Anʿam or Khirbat Yamma), and Lakkum (apparently Khirbat el-Manṣūra close to the Jordan). The western and eastern boundaries are only alluded to by reference to the boundary of Zebulun at the south and Asher on the west. In the south, the text designates only Hukok, the point of intersection of the three tribes Naphtali, Zebulun, and Asher (Hukok is apparently the ruins of Khirbat Jumayjima to the east of Cabul). The description of the northern boundary is missing, but by reference to the northern boundary of Asher which extended to Sidon (Josh. 19:28), and relying on the fact that the northern border of David's kingdom at the time of David's census was "to Dan and from Dan they went around to Sidon" (II Sam. 24:6), it may be assumed that it followed the line Dan-Ijon-Sidon. The northern boundary of Naphtali's territory can thus be envisioned to have been to the east of this line. The list of cities is probably not complete since, according to its title, it includes only "fortified cities" (Josh. 19:35), which testifies to the character and origin of the list. Furthermore, an archaeological survey has shown that there were many populated areas in the territory of Naphtali during the period of settlement. The total number of 19 cities given at the end of the list (19:38) does not refer to the given list, and perhaps it includes also the settlements described in the list as border points.

The History of the Tribe

Information is sparse and is based only on inference. The importance of Naphtali's territory from an agricultural (Deut. 33:23) and military standpoint (Josh. 19:35, "fortified cities") and the designation of the whole of Galilee as "the land of Naphtali" (II Kings 15:29) testify to the prominent and central role of this tribe among the northern tribes during the historical period, in contrast to the nomadic. At the beginning of the period of the Judges, the members of the tribe of Naphtali appear to have constituted a minority living among the Canaanites and to have been subject to them (Judg. 1:33). Only after the decisive battle between the Canaanites and the Israelite tribes during the time of Deborah did they overcome those Canaanites living within their territory. In this war, the tribe played an outstanding role. The rebellion was led by Barak the son of Abinoam from Kedesh-Naphtali (Judg. 4:6) and the men of his tribe risked their lives on the heights of the field (5:18). High praise is given to Naphtali and its territory both in the blessings of Jacob and Moses which refer to the period of the Judges. In the united kingdom of David and Solomon, Naphtali became a royal administrative district which seems to have also included the territory of Dan. (Apparently, the families of Dan were absorbed by Naphtali; cf. I Kings 7:13–14 with II Sam. 24:6; I Kings 15:20; II Chron. 2:13; 16:4.) The importance of the tribe and the districts is perhaps expressed in the appointment of the king's son-in-law as his officer there (I Kings 4: 15). Apparently deriving from the same period is the list of three levitical cities in Naphtali – Kedesh, Hammoth-Dor, and Kartan (Josh. 21:32, with minor variants in I Chron. 6:61), which were religious and administrative centers set up by the central government. One of the important fortresses established in the days of Solomon was the city of Hazor in the territory of Naphtali (I Kings 9:15). Information about the tribe and its territory after the division of the kingdom is exceedingly scanty. From the little available it is clear that the tribe suffered from the protracted conflict between the kingdoms of Israel and Aram. In the reign of Baasha, Ben-Hadad, the king of Aram, invaded "and conquered Ijon, Dan, Abel-Beth-Maacah and all Chinneroth, with all the land of Naphtali" (I Kings 15:20), and he may possibly have annexed them to his kingdom. However, in the time of Omri and Ahab the tribe was certainly liberated. In 732 B.C.E., Tiglath-Pileser III conquered, among other places, "all the land of Naphtali and he carried the people captive to Assyria" (II Kings 15:29). It is reasonable to assume that he exiled only a section of the population, and that the territory, along with those remaining, was annexed as an Assyrian province with its center at Megiddo. In the days of Josiah, an attempt was made to reunite the northern tribes with the kingdom of the house of David, and apparently Naphtali was among them (II Chron. 34:6). However, it proved unsuccessful owing to the death of Josiah at Megiddo and the subsequent subjugation of the land.

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[Isaac Avishur]

NAPHTALI, TESTAMENT OF. A Hebrew fragment of a Testament of Naphtali was identified among the *Dead Sea Scrolls. It seems that this work was one of the sources of the Jewish Greek Pseudepigrapha, the Testament of the Twelve *Patriarchs. The Hebrew fragment deals with the genealogy of Bilhah and is longer than the parallel passage in the Greek text. A Testament of Naphtali in medieval Hebrew is preserved in two versions, the second, published by Wertheimer, being a secondary elaboration of the first one. The medieval Hebrew Testament, which is not identical with the text discovered in Qumran – it does not contain a genealogy of Bilhah – nor with the Greek Testament of Naphtali in the Testament of the Patriarchs, is a translation from a non-Hebrew source, probably Greek. This source was composed in the same trend as the Testament of the Patriarchs and shows clear affinities with the extant Greek Testament of Naphtali.

The ethical teaching of the medieval Hebrew Testament is based on fear of God and the golden rule (in the negative form). The stress on the importance of Levi and Judah is common to this text, the Greek Testament of the Patriarchs, and the Book of Jubilees; behind this idea lies, apparently, the Qumran concept of the two Messiahs, Messiah b. David, the anointed of Judah, and Messiah, the anointed of Aaron. In the text a dream of Naphtali is narrated which is similar to that in the Greek text (Naphtali 5:1–3). In both versions of the dream, Levi is identified with the sun and Judah with the moon. This passage, as indeed the whole work, shows a polemical tendency against Joseph and his descendants, in sharp opposition to the very positive appreciation of Joseph in the Testament of the Patriarchs. The second dream also has a parallel in chapter 6 of the Greek Testament of Naphtali, and it also shows the same polemical attitude toward Joseph. It is an interesting fact that the text praises the Hebrew language, which is in accordance with the ideology of the whole major religious trend exemplified in the Testament of the Patriarchs and the Dead Sea Scrolls. The treatise ends with the blessing of the man "who does not defile the Holy Spirit of God which hath been put and breathed into him," a theologoumenon which has its exact parallel in the *Damascus Document.

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[David Flusser]

NAPLES, city and former kingdom in Campania, S. Italy. The first Jewish settlement there probably dates to the beginning of the first century C.E., if not before. Josephus (Antiquities, XVII, 23–25, and Wars, II, 101–05) reports that during Augustus' rule there was already a Jewish community at Puteoli (Dicaearchia), near Napoli. Puteoli was the most important mercantile harbor of Roman Italy in that period. Some sepulchral inscriptions in Latin dated to a later period indeed attest a Jewish presence in the area. By the fourth century C.E. the community of Naples was of considerable size and economically important. A Jewish burial ground was excavated in 1908 in Corso Malta. The tombs date from the end of the fourth century to the middle of the fifth century C.E. Three of the inscriptions are in Latin, one in Greek. It is interesting that one of the inscriptions in Latin is followed by an inscription in Hebrew. All the inscriptions are decorated with the *menorah*. The *etrog* as well as the Holy Ark decorate two of the inscriptions. In 536, according to the Byzantine historian Procopius (War V, 8:41, 10:24–25), the Jewish population helped the Goths, although unsuccessfully, to defend the city when it was besieged by the Byzantines.

Eleventh- and twelfth-century documents show that the Naples community had a synagogue and a school. Jews enjoyed the right to own real estate and to dispose of it as they wished. *Benjamin of Tudela, who visited the town in c. 1159, found 500 Jews living there. From 1288, under Charles II, anti-

Jewish disorders incited by Dominican preachers occurred; they reached their height in 1290 when serious outrages were committed and a synagogue was converted into a church. However, in 1330, Robert of Anjou invited Jews from the Balearic Islands to settle in Naples and in the rest of his kingdom, promising them protection against annoyance and the same taxation rights as those enjoyed by Christians. From 1442, under the rule of Aragon, conditions for the Jews in Naples and its surroundings were favorable, and attracted Jews from various parts of Europe.

At the end of 1492 and the beginning of 1493, a large influx of refugees from Sicily, Sardinia, and Spain found temporary asylum in Naples. The Spanish refugees, undernourished and sick, probably introduced the pestilence in 1492 that struck down 20,000 persons in Naples alone. Among the Spanish refugees who landed in Naples in 1492 was Don Isaac *Abrabanel, who became fiscal adviser to King Ferdinand I and Alfonso II. In 1495 the Kingdom of Naples was conquered by the Spanish and in 1496 a decree for the expulsion of the Jews was issued, although it was not implemented. The expulsion of the Jews was definitively ordered in 1510 and finally carried out: exception was made for 200 wealthy Jewish families who undertook to pay an annual tax of 300 ducats to the crown. In 1515 the *New Christians were also expelled from the kingdom. The 200 wealthy families, who had been joined by others in 1520, had increased to 600 within the following decade. Although a new decree of expulsion was issued in 1533, permission was granted to the Jews in November 1535 to reside in Naples for a further ten years against the payment of 10,000 ducats. However, the agreement was not respected by Emperor Charles V, and in 1541 he ordered the total expulsion of the Jews; this coincided with the establishment of a Christian loan bank (*Monte di Pietá) in Naples.

It was not until 1735, when the kingdom passed to the Bourbons, that Jews were readmitted into Naples and the vicinity by an edict signed by Charles IV on Feb. 3, 1740. However, following pressure by Jesuits and the Church, the few Jews who had accepted the invitation were again expelled (Sept. 18, 1746). In 1822, under the suggestion of Metternich, the Austrian premier, Solomon de Rothschild had his brother, Karl Mayer von *Rothschild of Frankfurt on the Main, settled in Naples as court banker of the Bourbons. There Rothschild did much to help the ruling dynasty economically, and he pushed for a liberalization of the government. Rothschild resided in Villa Acton-Pignatelli in Via Chiaia. Rothschild's task came to an end in 1860, when Garibaldi conquered Naples. By then a small Jewish community had developed around Rothschild. Religious services began to be held in Naples in 1831, but a synagogue was not opened until June 1864. The synagogue located in the Palazzo Sessa was inaugurated in 1864 thanks to the influence of Baron Rothschild. In the entrance there are two marble statues; one in honor of the community president Dario Ascarelli who bought the premises for the synagogue in 1910 and the other which commemorates the deportation of Neapolitan Jews during World War II. Restoration was carried out in 1992.

[Ariel Toaff / Samuele Rocca (2nd ed.)

In 1931 there were 998 Jews in the community of Naples, whose authority extended to all southern Italy. Persecutions during World War II had minor consequences as the Allied landing led to a speedy liberation of southern Italy. Nevertheless, 11 Jews were taken to extermination camps from Naples and others were killed elsewhere. From 1943 to 1945 Naples was the biggest harbor that served the Allies in the Mediterranean. Thus various Jewish units from Palestine served in the area as well as Jewish chaplains from the U.S. Army. Both assisted the local Jewish community. After the war, the U.S. Navy held regular services for American Jewish sailors in Naples. At the war's end 534 Jews remained in the community. In 1969 there were 450 Jews in Naples. In the early 21st century the community numbered a handful of families.

[Sergio DellaPergola / Samuele Rocca (2nd ed.)]

Hebrew Printing

A Hebrew press was established in Naples not later than 1485, and in the decade which followed nearly 20 books were published, making the city one of the most important cradles of Hebrew *incunabula. Naples was then a center of general book printing and the book trade, and wealthy members of the Jewish community including immigrants from Spain and Portugal, financed the publishing of Hebrew books. The first Jewish printer there was the German Joseph b. Jacob *Gunzenhausen, who was followed in 1490 by Joshua Solomon *Soncino. A third printer was Isaac b. Judah ibn Katorzo (of Calatayud in Spain). The first book published (in 1487) was Psalms with David Kimḥi's commentary, followed by Proverbs with a commentary by Immanuel of Rome (n.d.), and the rest of the Hagiographa in 1488. A Pentateuch (with Rashi), the Five Scrolls, and the Antiochus *Scroll appeared in 1491. The first printed edition of Abraham ibn Ezra's Pentateuch commentary came out in 1488; Naḥmanides' Pentateuch commentary was printed in 1490 by Katorzo; and that of Baḥya b. Asher in 1492. The magnificent first edition of the entire Mishnah (with Maimonides' commentary) was published in 1492. Halakhic works included Jacob Landau's *Agur* (n.d.), the first Hebrew work with approbations (*Haskamot) and the second printed in the lifetime of the author (who was one of Gunzenhausen's typesetters); the first edition of the *Kol Bo* (n.d.); and Kimḥi's *Sefer ha-Shorashim* was published by Gunzenhausen in 1490, and by Soncino (and Katorzo?) in 1491. Baḥya b. Joseph ibn Paquda's "Duties of the Heart" (*Ḥovot ha-Levavot*) appeared in 1489, and Naḥmanides' *Sha'ar ha-Gemul* in 1490. Of particular interest are Pereẓ Trabot's *Makre Dardekei* (1488), a 14th-century Hebrew glossary with Italian, Arabic, and also French, Provençal, and German translations; Kalonymus b. Kalonymus' satirical *Even Boḥan* (1489); a Hebrew grammar, *Petaḥ Devarai* (1492); a five-volume Hebrew translation of Avicenna's medical canon *Ha-Kanon ha-Gadol* printed for the first and only time. The fourth edition of Dante's *Divina*

Commedia was published by an anonymous Jewish printer in Naples in 1477.

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NAPLES AND COLLIER COUNTY, county in Florida, U.S. At the beginning of the 21st century, Naples and Collier County hosted perhaps the newest and fastest-growing Jewish community in Florida. This area on the southwest coast of Florida did not welcome Jews and there are none recorded there until the late 1950s. When Joseph and Helen Weinfeld drove into Naples, interested in purchasing real estate, they were told, "If you are Jewish, just keep going." Through persistence, by 1956, Joe Weinfeld was selling lots in Naples. The earliest known families to settle were the Freschels, Gilmans, Dinaburgs, and Luffs. These families with young children ventured to Naples and established businesses. The Freschels and Gilmans opened the Anchor Bar; the Dinaburgs made cement blocks; and Gabriel Luff was the first Jewish real estate person in town. There were no streetlights and no doctors and mosquitoes were a major challenge. A few years later the developer of Golden Gate and Golden Gate Estates employed some Jewish salesmen who added to the tiny community and there were enough Jews to have High Holiday services. In 1962 the Jewish Community Center of Collier County was founded with Garson Dinaburg as the lay leader and Leo Spiegel as the volunteer cantor. Three years later a board of directors was established. Services were held in various venues around town and the family of builder Sam Chudnow donated a Torah in 1965 when he had to say *kaddish*. In 1966 the State of Florida issued a charter, signed by president Garson Dinaburg, secretary Gabriel Luff and vice president/treasurer William Freschel. By 1970 retirees helped increase their numbers along with younger professionals and retailers with families. Judy Dinaburg married Charles Wallowitz in the first Jewish wedding and their daughter, Jennifer Relkin, was the community's first baby naming. Joseph Weinfeld started a religious school in 1972 with eight children. By 1973 there was a bar mitzvah and congregation president Joseph Weinfeld and lay leader Garson Dinaburg led efforts to secure from Collier Development Corporation about two acres of land on Pine Ridge Road for $15,000. Led by Rabbi Simon Friedman of Cape Coral, 57 member families participated in the dedication of the new synagogue on April 31, 1975. The first paid rabbi was Abraham Shusterman of Baltimore, who came in 1977. An educational and social wing was added in 1980 and the name of the reform congregation was changed to Temple Shalom that year. Rabbis Mark Golub, Alan Tuffs, and Seth Philips each served the congregation for three years. Recognizing the need for expanded space in 1988, young congregation members purchased another piece of property on Pine Ridge Road, close to State Road 951. A new synagogue was dedicated in 1991 with a membership of 375 families. In 2005 there were 713 member families of this pioneer congregation. Rabbi James Perman became spiritual leader in 1993 and Rabbi Daniel Sherman joined him as assistant in 1999.

As of 2005 the Jewish population of about 6,000 (not including snowbirds), mostly from the Midwest and lately also from the New England area, was distributed all over the county from Marco Island north through Naples and into Bonita Springs and Estero. With an annual growth rate of about 15%, there are many young families, a gap in the 50-somethings and then early retirees. A high percentage of the Jews are affiliated; about 50% belong to a congregation. There are three Reform congregations (Temple Shalom of Naples, Jewish Congregation of Marco Island, and Naples Jewish Center), a Conservative (Ma'ayan Congregation), and a Chabad with their various havurot, Sisterhoods, and Men's Clubs. Jewish organizations are vibrant and diverse: Jewish Family Services, Naples Friends of ARMDI (Magen David Adom); Hadassah, National Council of Jewish Women; Brandeis; ORT, Israel Bonds, Jewish War Veterans, Southern Florida Holocaust Museum, and even a Yiddish Club. Monies have been raised for the United Jewish Appeal since about 1980.The Jewish Federation of Collier County raised $660,000 in 2004. The Federation, which counts 30% of the households as contributors, publishes *Federation Star* monthly with community news.

[Marcia Jo Zerivitz (2nd ed.)]

°**NAPOLEON BONAPARTE** (1769–1821), emperor of the French. He proclaimed the *emancipation of the Jews in the Italian states which he had established, and the majority of the Jews in Italy hailed Napoleon as a liberator and political savior, calling him "Ḥelek Tov" (lit. "Good Part"; cf. Bona-Parte). Even by this time, however, problems had arisen from the contradictions posed by Jewish laws and communal autonomy on the one hand and the political and civic obligations of the Jews on the other. In May 1799, during Napoleon's campaign in Palestine (see below), the government newspaper *Moniteur* published the information that Napoleon had issued a manifesto in Palestine which promised the Jews their return to their country. Many European newspapers reproduced this information, although today it is questioned whether Napoleon really issued such a declaration. The news concerning the manifesto and Napoleon's Palestine campaign made little impression on the Jews in Europe. On the other hand, the campaign gave rise to millenarian hopes among certain nonconformist circles in England; for the first time, their expectation of the return of Israel to Palestine and hence to the Church was linked with realistic political projects.

The principal influence exercised by Napoleon as emperor on Jewish history was in the years 1806 to 1808 when he convened the Assembly of Jewish *Notables and the (French) *Sanhedrin, and established the *Consistories. The programmatic documents formulated during this period and the institutions which then came into being embody the first practical expression of the demands made by a centralized modern state on the Jews who had become its citizens – "the separation of the political from the religious elements in Judaism." The news of the activities of the Jewish assemblies stirred both Jewish and gentile sectors of society in Central and Western Europe. The Austrian authorities were apprehensive that the Jews would regard Napoleon in the light of a messiah. In England, theological hopes and political projects for the "Return of Israel" intensified. On March 17, 1808, however, Napoleon issued an order restricting the economic activity and the freedom of movement of the Jews in the eastern provinces of the empire for a period of ten years, an order which became known among Jews as the "Infamous Decree."

Napoleon's victorious armies brought civic emancipation to the Jews in all the countries of Central and Western Europe where governments dependent on him were formed. The central Jewish Consistory established in the Kingdom of Westphalia was the first Jewish institution in Europe to introduce reforms into the Jewish religion. The Jews of Eastern Europe were only ephemerally influenced by Napoleon's conquests. Discussions were held among Ḥasidim as to whether support should be given to Napoleon or the Russian Czar Alexander I in order to hasten the coming of the messiah.

[Baruch Mevorah]

The Palestine Campaign (Feb. 8–June 1, 1799)

After the conquest of Egypt in August 1798 by Napoleon's army, the defeated survivors fled to Palestine, where the pasha of *Acre, Ahmad al-Jazzār, and the Turks attempted to organize resistance. At the beginning of February, Napoleon moved into Palestine at the head of a 13,000-man army. He took El Arish on Feb. 20 and reached Gaza on Feb. 24; the small Jewish community there fled to Hebron. On March 1 Napoleon reached Ramleh and on March 7 Jaffa surrendered after a four-day siege. The French army continued northward, crossed the southern Carmel on March 16 and 17, and reached al-Ḥāvithiyya (west of Sha'ar ha-Amakim). Haifa was captured on March 18. On March 19 the French army reached the walls of Acre; however, supported by British warships, the city withstood a protracted siege and several assaults by the French. A Jew, Ḥ.S. *Farḥi, Ahmad al-Jazzār's chief aide, played an important role in its defense. By June 1799, Napoleon's army, now plague-ridden and decimated, had moved back into Egypt.

From a political point of view, Napoleon's campaign in Palestine marked the beginning of a renewed interest of the Western Powers in Palestine as occupying an important international position. From a social-cultural point of view, the importance of the campaign was much more limited. However, this was the first substantial contact made between the inhabitants of Palestine and Westerners since the destruction of Crusader Acre.

[Abraham J. Brawer]

Impact on Jewish History

The forces unleashed by Napoleon brought in their wake contradictory effects on the course of modern Jewish history. The breakup of old European feudal patterns of societal organization was eventually to open up a range of new economic and political options for the Jew. The closed societies that restricted but sheltered him were never again to be the same. On the other hand, the immediate effect of these forces was to provoke an almost total reversal in the process of civic emancipation brought about in the course of Napoleonic conquests. Nonetheless, Jewish Emancipation was to come eventually, even if its triumph was to be delayed till later in the century. Well in advance of that time the Napoleonic uprooting of the established order forced the Jewish community to contend with the many challenges posed by that process to their traditions and their lives. Already before Napoleon there were individual Jews seeking an accommodation with the world outside the ghetto. The events that surrounded the Napoleonic adventure extended the concern of the few to the preoccupation of the people as a whole. Moreover, Napoleon's insistence on a price to be paid by the Jew for his entrance into the modern world was to set the tone for much of the debate within the Jewish community during the Emancipation era. How to remain loyal to the traditions of his people and at home in the modern world was a problem with which the Jew wrestled throughout the period of his modern history; it is a problem first posed practically and seriously by the threat of Napoleonic successes.

[Alexander Shapiro]

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NAQUET, ALFRED JOSEPH (1834–1916), French chemist and republican politician. Born at Carpentras, Vaucluse, Naquet became professor of chemistry at the Polytechnic Institute at Palermo in 1863 and later professor of medicine in Paris. He participated in the 1867 Peace Conference at Geneva, where he spoke out against the French Empire and was imprisoned for 15 months. Naquet was again imprisoned following the publication of *Réligion, Propriété, Famille* in 1869, in which he opposed religious marriage, and was also deprived of his civic rights. Following his release he went to Spain but returned to France in 1870, working for the republican government in Tours. In 1871 he was elected deputy for

Vaucluse, and from 1882 was a member of the senate. Naquet represented the left wing of the Assembly and the Senate and repeatedly pressed for legislation on divorce, the laws of 1884 being known as the "loi Naquet." His support for General Boulanger in 1888 did considerable harm to his career, and following allegations of complicity in the Panama scandal, he fled to England. Although subsequently vindicated, Naquet did not take any further part in French politics. His writings include *Principes de chimie fondés sur les théories modernes* (1865); *Le Divorce* (1877); *L'Humanité et la patrie* (1901); *La République radicale* (1873); and *Socialisme collectiviste et socialisme libéral* (1890).

[Samuel Aaron Miller]

NARA (also **ONR: Obóz Narodowo-Radykalny:** "National-Radical Camp"), a nationalistic, antisemitic organization in Poland, formed on April 14, 1934. The group was organized by youth who seceded from the *Endecja (ND) Party, which was also antisemitic. Whereas ND was anti-German, NARA, inspired and supported by the Nazis, wanted to serve as a bridge between the antisemitic ideologies of both Germany and Poland. The program of NARA envisaged a fascist regime modeled on the Nazi plan. It called for the assimilation of the Slavic minorities in Poland (Ukrainians, Belorussians), and the expulsion of Jews by means of economic boycott, by seizing their sources of living, confiscating their assets, and denying them all civil rights. With such forceful economic measures against Jews, NARA aimed to win the sympathy of the masses during a critical economic period and, at the same time, form a strong movement in oppositon to *Pilsudski's regime. The membership of NARA embraced mainly city youth and university students. After widespread terrorist activities against Jews, particularly Jewish students, NARA was dissolved by the government (July 10, 1934) and its newspaper *Sztafeta*, prohibited. The group continued its illegal activities, supported and increased by various rightist groups, until it met with complete defeat in the municipal elections of December 1938.

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NARBATA, Jewish district E. of Caesarea, which perhaps inherited the name of Arubboth in the third district of Solomon (I Kings 4:10); it appears in the Book of Maccabees (I Macc. 5:23) as Arbatta, a city from which Simeon evacuated Jews at the beginning of the Hasmonean revolt. In 66 C.E., the Jews of Caesarea moved to the toparchy of Narbata because of persecution (Jos., Wars. 2:291). It is mentioned (in a different form) in the Jerusalem Talmud as the site of an inn (Ber. 6:1, 10b). The district of Narbata was inhabited by a mixture of Jews, Samaritans, and pagans. It is identified with Khirbat Baydūs, where there are remains of a town of the Roman period.

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[Michael Avi-Yonah]

NARBONI, family of French origin which established itself in Algeria toward the close of the 14th century. ALLAL BEN SIDUN BEN JOSHUA (15th century) was a wonder-working rabbi in Tlemcen. He composed a large number of *piyyutim*, some of which were included in the *maḥzor* of Tlemcen. Until recently, frequent pilgrimages were made to his grave. SHALOM (d. 1691), a financier in Algiers, was appointed **muqaddim* of the Jews of that town and played a political role in the relations with the Christian countries. MORDECAI (d. 1794) edited the work *Kol Yehudah* by Judah *Ayash of Algiers. Accused of having blasphemed Islam, he was given the alternative of conversion or death; he was beheaded in Algiers. ELIE and GEORGES, both heroes in World War I, were respectively president of the Jewish Consistory in Constantine and an army medical officer. ANDRÉ (1912–1979), lawyer and a leader of Algerian Jewry, participated in the defense of his coreligionists, particularly during the antisemitic Vichy government. A fervent Zionist, he was one of the founders of the Algerian Zionist movement. When Algeria achieved independence (1962), he settled in Israel, where he became a member of the executive of the Jewish Agency. From 1972, he headed the department for Sephardi communities.

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[David Corcos]

NARBONNE, town in S. France, 5 mi. (8 km.) from the Mediterranean. The capital of medieval Septimania, Narbonne was ruled successively by the Visigoths (413?), the Saracens (719), and the Franks (759). About 900 it became the possession of the local viscount. In 1508 Louis XII of France annexed it to his domains. The earliest written evidence of a Jewish presence in France, from about 471, comes from Narbonne. Sidonius Apollinaris, bishop of *Clermont, entrusted a Jew by the name of Gozolas and a customer of Magnus Felix of Narbonne, with a letter for the latter. Jews are not mentioned again in Narbonne until a *Church council was held there in 589, which forbade Jews, under penalty of a heavy fine, to recite prayers aloud, even in Jewish funeral processions (canon 9, in Mansi, Collectio, IX, 1016). Soon after (597) Pope *Gregory I ordered an inquiry into a report that four captive Christian brothers had been bought by Jews of Narbonne who held them in their service. The earliest known inscription relating to the Jews of France also comes from Narbonne. It is an epitaph in Latin, including the phrase "Peace to Israel" in Hebrew, to three siblings who died either at the same time or within a short period of one another, probably victims of a plague recorded in Septimania at about the same period.

While there is no information about the Jews of Narbonne during the period of Muslim occupation, a legendary tradition of the 12th and 13th centuries tells of the election of "Jewish kings" there when the town was taken by Pépin the Short in 759. According to some sources (Philomena, *Gesta Caroli Magni ad Carcassonam; Milḥemet Mitzvah* of *Meir

Simeon ha-Me'ili), Jews helped to drive out the Muslims and as a sure means of appreciation, were granted the right to be governed by a "Jewish king." Another source (the addition to the *Sefer ha-Kabbalah* of Abraham *Ibn Daud) states that Charlemagne invited a certain Machir to become the founder of the dynasty of "Jewish kings." Although this princely dynasty is confirmed authentically only from the 11th or 12th centuries, the Jews held freehold properties by 768. Pope Stephen III in a letter addressed to Aribert, archbishop of Narbonne, was critical of the fact that Jews, by virtue of the privileges granted by the kings of France, not only owned alodial properties in both the towns and their surroundings, but also employed Christians to work in their vineyards and fields. At the close of the ninth century King Charles III the Simple (898–923) tried to dispossess the Jews of Narbonne of their estates, at first those that had been recently acquired from Christians, and later all others. These measures did not remain in force for long, and a short while later Jews again owned property, including mills which they also worked.

The partition of jurisdiction over the town between the viscount and the archbishop resulted in the emergence of two distinct groups of Jews, from the point of view of their civic administration (among themselves the Jews formed a single community). In the 11th century Archbishop Pons d'Arce nominated two Jews as toll gatherers. Between 1134 and 1143 clashes which broke out as a result of differences between Ermengarde, viscountess of Narbonne, and Alphonse Jourdain, count of Toulouse, worsened the situation of Narbonne's Jews, and many of them then emigrated to *Anjou, *Poitou, and to the kingdom of France. According to the addition to the *Sefer ha-Kabbalah*, the Jews of Narbonne numbered 2,000 around 1143; in 1161 Benjamin of Tudela mentions 300 Jews there (but since this figure probably refers to heads of families there was probably a Jewish population of some 1,500). In 1163 Jews were the objects of attacks by the Spanish crusaders but were protected by both Viscount Bérenger and Archbishop Guiffrey.

The Jewish quarter of the viscounty (known as *Grande Juiverie, Jouzaigas Majours*, etc.), which was of considerable size, situated to the north of the present Place de l'Hotel de Ville and Cours de la République, did not constitute a "closed" quarter and non-Jews and Jews lived side by side. From 1217 the Jews benefited from a very advantageous charter granted by the viscount, in which they were represented by ten arbitrators. Although the Jewish quarter under the archbishop's jurisdiction, situated in the Belvèze quarter, did not obtain such an advantageous charter until 1284, the two Jewish sections shared all community resources. In the viscounty there were at least two synagogues, a hospital, baths, and workrooms, and in the archbishopric there was a cemetery, known as Mont judaïque (or Montjuzaic), some of whose epitaphs were found and preserved in the museum.

In 1236 a petty brawl between a Jew and a fisherman that ended in an accidental homicide set off an anti-Jewish riot which was rapidly suppressed by Viscount Aimeri IV, who ordered the restitution of all objects stolen during the pillage. The Jewish community celebrated its good fortune by a local Purim. At the end of 1246 Viscount Amauri I demonstrated his sympathy toward the Jews by attending a protest meeting against the anti-Jewish policies of King *Louis IX. It was, therefore, not surprising that the Jewish quarter of the viscounty attracted Jews from the rest of the province as well as from the archbishop's part of the town. After disputes between the two overlords of the town over the judicial status of certain Jews, both joined forces to defend themselves against the claims of the monarchy, which sought to deprive them (from the close of the 13th century) of the jurisdiction over "their" Jews. When the expulsion order was issued, however, there was no evidence of protest by either the archbishop or the viscount, and it was only with the liquidation of Jewish property that both intervened to claim their share of the profits. (Only the viscount made a satisfactory settlement with the king.) In 1306, on the eve of the expulsion, the town register indicated 165 Jewish households, or about 825 persons (less than 5% of the total population). The exiled Jews moved mainly to *Roussillon or to the Catalonian regions. A few returned in 1315 and later, in 1359, more returned. Tradition has it that three events caused the decline of the town of Narbonne: the silting of the Aude River; the expulsion of the Jews in 1306; and the *Black Death plague of 1348.

The Jews of Narbonne were engaged in both agriculture and the production of wine. With the transfer of ownership of cultivable areas Jews, nevertheless, often retained part of the harvest for themselves. Jews were also involved with salt mines and water mills. Serving as public functionaries, Narbonne's Jews also collected fees for the archbishop and acted as brokers as well as traders. A Jewish notary served to draw up contracts between Jews. There were a number of Jewish physicians in Narbonne and also some goldsmiths. Many Jews practiced moneylending, particularly from the beginning of the 13th century. (Loans were generally given against pledges, personal property, or real estate.)

In his *Sefer ha-Kabbalah*, Abraham ibn Daud mentions only two French communities which were outstanding for their learning and one of them was Narbonne. Important scholars were R. *Moses b. Joseph b. Merwan ha-Levi, R. *Abraham b. Isaac of Narbonne, and R. Meir b. Joseph (toward the middle of the 13th century), who "caused the Torah to shine forth before their disciples by the study of the Pentateuch, the Bible, the Mishnah, the Babylonian Talmud, and the Jerusalem Talmud." Benjamin of Tudela praised the town "which already has an ancient reputation for erudition. And from there, the Torah has spread throughout all countries. Scholars and men of great authority live there." Among Narbonne's most famous scholars were *Moses ha-Darshan, exegete and head of the yeshivah (toward the middle of the 11th century); Abraham b. Isaac of Narbonne, referred to as *av bet din*, the father-in-law of *Abraham b. David of Posquières and author of ritual works and talmudic commentaries (second half of the 12th century); Joseph *Kimḥi (*Maistre Petit*) and his two sons Moses *Kimḥi and David *Kimḥi (second half of the 12th and early 13th centuries); *Isaac b. Meir of Narbonne, liturgic poet (first half of the 13th century); Moses b. Joseph b. Merwan ha-Levi, teacher of (among others) Abraham b. David; Meir b. Simeon ha-Me'ili, author of *Milḥemet Mitzvah* (middle of the 13th century); and Maestro David de Caslari, physician and poet famous for his commentary on *Maimonides' *Guide*; and *Moses b. Joshua b. Har David Narboni (late 13th century). There were others who stayed for a time in Narbonne or who were born there but whose activities were restricted to other places. Numerous personalities later bore the surname *Narboni. The 13th-century Jewish troubadour, Bofilh, also came from Narbonne.

From the beginning of the 18th century, Jewish merchants from Avignon were authorized to visit Narbonne four times a year in order to trade there for a period of one month each time. From the close of the 18th century Jews settled in the town as permanent residents. On the eve of World War II there were hardly any Jews in Narbonne, as was still the situation in subsequent decades.

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[Bernhard Blumenkranz]

NARDI (Narodietzky), NAHUM (1901–1977), composer. Born in Kiev, Nardi studied the piano and composition at the Kiev, Warsaw, and Vienna conservatories and went to Palestine in 1923. There he began to give piano recitals but soon turned to composing, inspired by Arab Bedouin and peasant songs and the Sephardi and Yemenite melos. Many of his songs for children and adults became folk songs for which he developed an original style of piano accompaniment. Many of them were first performed at his joint recitals with the Yemenite singer, Brachah *Zefira, his first wife. For these recitals he developed an original style of piano accompaniment. In later years Nardi also promoted the careers of several other singers of Yemenite origin. Among other associations which contributed to his production and style were those with Ḥayyim Naḥman *Bialik, the poet and educator Levin *Kipnis, and the poet and composer Yiẓḥak Navon.

Nardi's songs, which have achieved folk song status, include: *Shir ha-Avodah ve-ha-Melakhah, Bein Nehar Perat, Yesh Li Gan* (Bialik), *Mi Yivneh Bayit be-Tel Aviv, Shanah Halkhah, Ani Purim* (L. Kipnis, the latter also metamorphosed by an unknown kindergarten poet into the ubiquitous *Ha-Shafan ha-Katan); Kakhol Yam ha-Mayim* (N. Alterman); *Udi Ḥamudi* (M. Dafna); *Alei Givah* (Broides, the tune beginning DGFED as distinct from M. *Ravina's setting); *Pattish Masmer Nikkakh Maher* (E. Harussi); *Shetu ha-Adarim* (A. Penn); *Sisi Admat ha-Sharon* (Y. Fichmann); *Mi Yitteneni Of* (D. Shimoni), *Im Yesh Ei Sham* (Y. Karni) – both transformations of Oriental Jewish folk melodies.

[Bathja Bayer]

NARESH, town situated on the bank of the Euphrates, south of the old city of Babylon and of *Sura. A canal went from near Naresh to Nippur. The town was situated in a hilly district and extended over a very wide area (Er. 56a). As a result it was not surrounded by a wall and this constituted a danger to the safety of its inhabitants at night (Ḥul. 127a). This particularly affected the women of the city who were obliged to undergo their ritual bathing (Nid. 67b). Naresh became renowned in the talmudic era because of Rav Papa, a native of Naresh, who lived and was active there in the middle of the fourth century C.E. Rav Papa studied at *Maḥoza under Rava, and after Rava's death some of his pupils left for Naresh, where Papa served as head of the academy and Huna b. Joshua as head of the *Kallah*. The Jews of Naresh engaged in agriculture (BM 68a), and among the products made by its inhabitants, thick blankets were famous (Yoma 69a). The inhabitants had a bad reputation and were known as extortioners and thieves; it was said: "If a native of Naresh kisses you, count your teeth" (Ḥul. 127a).

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[Moshe Beer]

NARKISS, BEZALEL (1926–), Jewish art historian. Narkiss was born in Jerusalem, the son of Mordechai *Narkiss, director of the Bezalel Art Museum. He studied at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem and then taught history for five years at a secondary school in Haifa. It was only after his father's death, while examining and arranging his papers, that Narkiss found his vocation; to establish Jewish art as a specialized academic discipline. Consequently, he retrained, studying at the Courtauld Institute of Art and the Warburg Institute at the University of London. Specializing in the history of medieval art, where his interests were divided between iconographic and stylistic studies, he was particularly influenced in his approach to art by Hugo Buchthal and Francis Wormald, his supervisors in London, and Yitzḥak *Baer, professor of medieval Jewish history in Jerusalem. After his return to Israel in 1963, Narkiss taught in the department of art history at the Hebrew University, serving as chairman from 1974 to 1976. His positions included serving as art editor of Masada Press (1963–73) and foreign editor of *Gesta* International Center of Medieval Art (1973–80). He was the editor-in-chief of the *Journal of Jewish Art* (1974–86) and director of the Catalogue of Hebrew Illustrated Manuscripts of the British Isles. He was illustrations consultant and art editor of the first edition of the *Encyclopaedia Judaica* (1970). He was also the art adviser to the Diaspora Museum (Beth Hatefutsoth), and sat on the boards of the Israel Museum and the Wolf Foundation.

Narkiss' unique contribution was as the founder of the Index of Jewish Art in 1974, thus undertaking the task of indexing all works of Jewish art worldwide. Through Narkiss' seminal work, the study of Jewish art has been transformed into a specialized academic discipline. He stressed the relationship of the style to that of the general art of the region, while pointing to specific Jewish elements and iconography. The Center for Jewish Art at the Hebrew University, founded and initially led by him (1979–91), established the *Journal of Jewish Art* (now *Jewish Art*) and he served as its editor in 1974–86. He worked towards the computerization of the Index, while concomitantly encouraging the continuing documentation of Jewish art around the world. He also encouraged documentation and preservation activities in areas of Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union that had been less accessible before 1989. As a result of his activity, a school of students and researchers has evolved since the mid-1980s and the study of Jewish art as a discipline has spread from Israel to Europe and the United States. For this significant work he was awarded the Israel Prize in 1999. From 1999 he was a visiting scholar at Princeton and the National Gallery of Art in Washington, DC. Narkiss published widely on the subject of illuminated Hebrew Manuscripts, and his major work on the subject, *Hebrew Illuminated Manuscripts*, has appeared in several editions.

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[Susan Nashman Fraiman (2nd ed.)]

NARKISS, MORDECHAI (1898–1957), Israel curator and art historian. Narkiss was born in Skala, Poland. In 1920 he settled in Ereẓ Israel, where he continued his studies at the *Bezalel School, Jerusalem, and became assistant to the director, Boris *Schatz. Narkiss began to devote himself to amassing a collection of Jewish art and antiquities, and in 1932 became director of the *Bezalel Museum. The museum had closed down with the school after Schatz's death, but Narkiss founded the Society of Friends of the Bezalel National Museum and reopened it under the auspices of the executive of the Zionist Organization.

Narkiss wrote on many aspects of Jewish art. Among his publications were *Matbe'ot Ereẓ Yisrael* ("Coins of Ereẓ Israel," two parts, 1936 and 1938), *The Channuka Lamp* (1939), *The Artcraft of the Yemenite Jews* (1941), and *Niello Work as a Jewish Craft* (1942). He also wrote many articles, translated books on art, and was art editor of the *Encyclopaedia Hebraica*. The sixth volume of *Eretz Israel* (1960), one of the publications of the Israel Exploration Society, was dedicated to his memory. It included a complete bibliography of his works.

NAROL, small town in the region of Lubaczow, southeastern Poland. Founded in 1585 as the settlement of Floryjanowa, the town later received the name of Narol. Jews who settled there were active as merchants and lessees. They developed an economically flourishing community which existed until 1648–49, when the entire settlement of some 12,000 was destroyed in the *Chmielnicki pogroms. About 40,000 refugees from neighboring settlements fled to Narol in 1648 in fear of the Cossacks. When the town was captured (1649) all of them were slaughtered. Nathan Nata *Hannover, in his *Yeven Meẓulah*, described the massacre in these words: "Many were drowned in the water, many hundreds shut themselves up in the synagogue, but they broke down the doors and first slew the Jews inside it and then burnt the synagogue with the slain. There was no such slaughter in the whole of Poland …" Documents on the history of the Jews in the town were also destroyed during the massacre. Although much wealth was lost in the Cossack plunder, a large part of it hidden under the ruins of the houses was discovered in the 19th century. Moses Kohen, rabbi of Narol, who was saved from the slaughter and later appointed rabbi of Metz in France, composed a **seliḥah* in which he lamented the destruction of Narol – the death of its scholars and the loss of the Torah centers in the town. The settlement never returned to its prior glory. When the *Council of Four Lands was disbanded, the town still owed sums of money on taxes and other payments to the Council. Narol was incorporated into the territory of Austria following the partition of Poland in 1772. After World War I, Narol became part of independent Poland, and in 1921 the number of Jews totaled 734 (out of 1,817). The majority of its Jews were Zionists who took an active part in the affairs of the Zionist Federation. In 1933 misfortune again overtook the town when a fire completely destroyed the houses of 23 families. In 1939 the Germans expelled the Jews to the Soviet sector.

[Shimshon Leib Kirshenboim]

NAROT, JOSEPH (1913–1980), U.S. Reform rabbi and communal leader. Narot, who was born in Vilna, immigrated with his family to Ohio where he grew up and was educated. He was ordained by Hebrew Union College in 1940. He served first as assistant rabbi (1940–41), then as rabbi (1941–50) of Temple Beth Israel in Atlantic City, New Jersey. In 1950 he became rabbi of Temple Israel, Miami, that city's oldest Reform synagogue. In Atlantic City, Narot was active in UJA drives and was founder and president of the Atlantic City Forum, composed of 60 civic organizations. He continued to divide his time between Jewish and civic concerns in Miami where he was member and chairman of the Dade County Community Board (1964–68). He was also president of the Dade County Welfare Planning Council (1961–63) and a founder of the Interfaith Agency for Social Justice.

[Gladys Rosen]

NARROWE, MORTON (1932–), rabbi. Born in Philadelphia in the U.S., Narrowe came to Sweden in 1965 as rabbi for the Stockholm Jewish congregation, becoming chief rabbi in 1975 and emeritus in 1998. He was a member of the Swedish Bible Commission from 1974 to 2000 and in 1975 cofounded the Joint Jewish-Christian Interfaith Council. In 1977 he published a book entitled *Handledning för sörjande* ("Guidelines for the Bereaved") and in 1990 he received his doctorate at the Jewish Theological Seminary of America. His thesis, "Zionism in Sweden: From Its Beginning until the End of World War I," provides unique insight into early Zionist history in Sweden. Rabbi Narrowe also wrote numerous newspaper and magazine articles about Jews and Judaism, and participated in many radio and TV programs.

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[Ilya Meyer (2nd ed.)]

NASATIR, ABRAHAM PHINEAS (1904–1991), U.S. historian. Born in Santa Ana, California, Nasatir taught at the University of Iowa and then moved to San Diego State College. He was a fellow of the Social Science Research Council and president of the Pacific Coast Branch of the American Historical Association.

Nasatir specialized in the history of the United States West and Southwest, and published *Before Lewis and Clark* (2 vols., 1952). He edited Etienne Derbec's *A French Journalist in the California Gold Rush* (1964). Later his interest in the southwest expanded beyond the U.S. frontier to include Hispanic America and led to a history of that area, together with Helen M. Baily, *Latin America* (1960, 1968²). He was active in Jewish affairs.

In 1965 he received the Outstanding Professor Award from the California State University Foundation. The Nasatir Professorship of Modern Jewish History was established in his honor at San Diego State University, where Nasatir taught history for 46 years and was active in the community as an advocate of Jewish education.

His writings include *French Activities in California* (1945); with G.E. Monell, *French Consuls in the United States* (1967); with N.M. Loomis, *Pedro Vial and the Roads to Santa Fe* (1967); *Spanish War Vessels on the Mississippi, 1792–1796* (1968); *Borderland in Retreat* (1976); and *The Imperial Osages* (with G. Din, 1983).

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[Stanley J. Stein / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

NASAUD (Rom. **Năsăud**; Hung. **Naszód**), town in Bistrita-Năsăud county (Transylvania), Romania. Until 1918 and between 1940 and 1945, Nasaud was part of Hungary. While still under Hungarian rule, it was a center of the Romanian nationalist movement. Jews settled in Nasaud after the law prohibiting their settlement was abrogated in 1848 while residence in the town itself was still barred. Jews lived in the nearby village of Jidovitza (Entredam), today named *Rebreanu. The community was Orthodox and strongly influenced by *Ḥasidism. In 1885 the government designated the community as the administrative center for the Jews of all the villages in the district. At the beginning of their residence in Nasaud the Jews belonged to two different communities: the "Hungarian" and the "Polish." This situation lasted until the 1880s, when they decided to unite the congregations. The community possessed a large synagogue, a *bet midrash*, and a *ḥeder*. Jewish children attended elementary and secondary school in which the language of instruction was Romanian. The Jewish population in Nasaud itself declined from 859 in 1866 to 425 (12% of the total) in 1930, and 415 (12.9%) in 1940. Between the two world wars there was an important Zionist movement in the town. There were 1,198 Jews living in the surrounding villages in 1930. Some 400 Jews were deported to Auschwitz in the summer of 1944. In 1941 the Hungarian Horthiite authorities deported the "foreign" Jews to Kamenets-Podolski, in the Ukraine, where they were soon murdered by the Nazis. In 1944 the remaining local Jews were sent to a ghetto in Bistrita, the district capital, and from there deported to Auschwitz. After World War II, about 110 Jews returned to Nasaud, including former residents who had survived the camps and some who had previously lived in the surrounding district. As a result of immigration to Israel and elsewhere, the Jewish population dwindled and by 1971 only two families were left in the town.

[Yehouda Marton / Paul Schveiger (2nd ed.)]

NASHIM (Heb. נָשִׁים; "Women"), third order of the Mishnah, according to the accepted order mentioned in the homily of *Simeon b. Lakish (Shab. 31a; according to the order given by Tanḥuma (Num. R. 13:15), it is the first). *Nashim* deals essentially with matrimonial law and with the laws governing the relations between husband and wife. It also includes the tractates **Nedarim* ("vows") and **Nazir* ("the Nazirite"), respectively, since according to the Bible (Num. 30:4ff.), the vow of a wife or a girl during her minority can be annulled by the husband or father (cf. Sot. 2a). The tractates included in *Nashim* are **Yevamot*, 16 chapters; **Ketubbot*, 13; *Nedarim*, 11; *Nazir*, 9; **Sotah*, 9; **Gittin*, 9; and **Kiddushin*, 4. As is customary, the tractates are arranged in descending order according to the number of chapters (see *Mishnah). The *mishnayot* of *Nashim* also contain incidental aggadic passages, but at the end of *Sotah* and *Kiddushin* there are more continuous aggadic passages. In the Tosefta, *Yevamot* has 14 chapters; *Ketubbot*, 12 (or 13); *Nedarim*, 7; *Nazir*, 6; *Sotah*, 15; *Gittin*, 7 (or 9); and *Kiddushin*, 5. The aggadic section is richer than that of the Mishnah, particularly in *Sotah*. Because of their practical importance for matrimonial law and sexual morality, the tractates of the order *Nashim* are stressed in rabbinic study, and the more practically relevant parts have received extensive treatment by both the medieval commentators and the later rabbinical authorities, including all the responsa literature.

[David Joseph Bornstein]

NASH PAPYRUS, a second-century (c. 150) B.C.E. papyrus fragment written in square Hebrew script, containing the *Decalogue and the *Shema. The Nash Papyrus was the oldest biblical text known before the discovery of the *Dead Sea Scrolls. A single sheet, not from a scroll, was purchased from an Egyptian dealer by W.L. Nash, secretary of the Society of Biblical Archaeology in England, and published by S.A. Cooke in 1903. The papyrus is of unknown provenance, although allegedly from Fayyum. The text of the Decalogue accords closely with the Septuagint of Exodus (20:2ff.), and must resemble the Hebrew that underlay the Septuagint translation (see table of variants in article *Decalogue). The *Shema* follows (Deut. 6:4–5), including the Septuagint's preliminary to verse 4: "And these are the statutes and the judgments that Moses (so Nash; LXX, "the Lord") commanded [the Israelites] in the wilderness when they left the land of Egypt." The papyrus breaks off after the second letter of verse 5. The combination of the Decalogue and the *Shema* indicates that the text of the papyrus represents the Torah readings included in the daily morning liturgy of Second Temple times (cf. Tam. 5:1: "they recited the Decalogue, the *Shema*, etc.").

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[Moshe Greenberg]

NASHVILLE, city in central Tennessee, U.S. Although there had been individual Jewish families in Nashville almost since it was founded in 1780, it was not until 1851 that the Hebrew Benevolent Burial Society purchased land for a cemetery. This piece of land is still a part of The Temple Cemetery, which was listed on the National Register of Historic Places in 2004. The first congregation, K.K. Mogen David, chartered in 1854, was made up of the mostly German members of the Hebrew Benevolent Burial Society. A second congregation, Ohava Emes, was chartered in 1860. In 1867 the two congregations reunited under the name of Ohava Sholom. A short-lived Reform congregation, B'nai Yeshurun, had begun in 1864. Ohava Sholom adopted the Reform ritual and took the name "Vine Street Temple" when it completed a new sanctuary in 1876. It later relocated and took the name The Temple, Congregation Ohabai Sholom. Also in 1876 the Conservative congregation Adas Israel was chartered. It later became the present West End Synagogue. The Hungarian Benevolent Society, chartered in 1871, evolved into the Orthodox congregation Sherith Israel. In 1992 a second Reform congregation, Congregation Micah was started. The Chabad Congregation Beit Tefilah began in 2001.

Nashville's very active Jewish community belies its population of barely 8,000. The Gordon Jewish Community Center was established in 1902 as the YMHA. Because of Jewish involvement in the civil rights movement, the Jewish Community Center was dynamited in 1958. The Jewish Federation, founded in 1936 as the Jewish Community Council, helps Jews everywhere sustain communal life. The Nashville Section of the National Council of Jewish Women was founded in 1901. Jewish Family Service celebrated its first hundred and fifty years in 2003. It has assisted in the settlement in Nashville of Holocaust refugees and survivors and Jews from the former Soviet Union. B'nai B'rith and Hadassah are active in Nashville.

Nashville's Vanderbilt University has an active Ben Schulman Center for Jewish Life and offers undergraduate and graduate degrees in Jewish studies.

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[Annette Ratkin (2nd ed.)]

NASI. In biblical usage, *nasi* signifies an important person, ranging from a king to a tribal chief or the head of a large family. The *nesi'im* are the leaders of the people in the wilderness (Ex. 16:22, 34:31) and are counted by name (Num. 1:5–16); they are sent to spy out the land and are charged with its apportionment (Num. 13:1–15, 34:16 ff.); they bring special gifts and sacrifices to the tabernacle (Ex. 35:27; Num. 7: 10 ff.). The institution reflects the tribal covenant and declines with the conquest of Canaan; it is revived by Ezekiel, who denotes by it the future ruler of the people. This prophet so names the rulers of other small nations as well, but his avoidance of the term *melekh* ("king") for the future ruler of Israel may signify disapproval of monarchical absolutism. Jewish rulers during the period of the Second Temple used the title *nasi*, thus asserting their authority while avoiding the assumption of kingship. I Maccabees 14:41 tells that Simeon the Hasmonean was declared ethnarch ("ruler of the people") by the people in 141 B.C.E., the Hebrew original of that title probably being *nasi*. Coins minted by *Bar Kokhba during the abortive revolt against Rome bear the inscription *Shimon Nesi Yisrael*, demonstrating that the rebel leader considered himself *nasi* of the people; the title is similarly found in letters credited to Bar Kokhba.

While the rabbis understood certain biblical instances of the term to mean "king" (see Hor. 3:3), they applied the title in a more limited sense to the president of the Sanhedrin, and perhaps to the heads of other bodies and orders too. The secular head of the sect described in the *Dead Sea Scrolls also bore the title (War Scroll, ed. Yadin, p. 184; in the English edition, p. 279). Rabbinic sources call one of the "pairs" (*zugot*), going back to Yose b. Joezer (c. 165 B.C.E), the *nasi* (Ḥag. 2:2), and continue to use the term for the head of the court through amoraic times. Historians have long been divided on the reliability of these early sources: some claim the title is used anachronistically, its actual usage commencing only with *Judah ha-Nasi (fl. 190 C.E.); others believe it first came into use after 70 C.E., or in 30 B.C.E. at the time of Hillel the Elder; yet others accept the mishnaic testimony (the head of a Phoenician *synodos* is called *nasi* in 96 B.C.E.) and even claim that the office is pre-Maccabean. The office was held by scions of the Hillelite family, though unusual circumstances may have allowed others to hold the office for relatively short periods, and it may have been unfilled when conditions were most disturbed (such as during the Hadrianic persecutions). The last Hillelite *nasi* was Rabban Gamaliel (VI), who died in 425.

With the destruction of the Temple in 70 C.E., the office of the *nasi* becomes more significant. Onkelos performed the mourning ritual for Rabban Gamaliel II as though he were a king (see Sem. 8), and there is a strong implication that Rome extended him its recognition (see Eduy. 7:7). The Hillelite *nasi* was recognized as political head ("Patriarch") of the people by the Roman government (Cod. Theod. xvi. 8), an arrangement that allowed for more effective control and administration of its Jewish subjects. From the Jewish point of view, the Patriarchate provided the people with a Roman official sympathetic to their needs, and it placed significant power in rabbinic hands. The rabbis, for their part, relaxed certain religious laws so as to allow the patriarch greater ease in Roman society. Internally, the *nasi* presided over the Sanhedrin, fixed the calendar together with the court by proclaiming the new month and intercalating the year, led public prayers for rain, and ordained scholars (the content and scope of this ordination being somewhat unclear). He kept in touch with the Jewish communities of the Diaspora, dispatching apostles to preach, teach, set up courts, and raise funds. His court possessed legislative powers, and so most *takkanot* ("enactments") were attributed to the presiding *nasi*.

[Gerald Y. Blidstein]

Post-Geonic Period

The title *nasi* persisted for many centuries and in different lands throughout the Middle Ages, sometimes as the title of a defined head of a Jewish institution, sometimes as an honorific title only, given to important personages and to sons of illustrious families. The *nasi* as the leader of the community (see *Autonomy) is found in Jerusalem; in Fostat, Egypt; in Baghdad, Damascus, and Mosul, Syria; and in Spain under Muslim rule. Some had considerable power, similar to that of the exilarch, especially the *nesi'im* of Ereẓ Israel, Syria, and Egypt. The earliest person known in the post-geonic period to bear this title is Ẓemaḥ in Egypt or Syria, with the latest Sar Shalom b. Phinehas, who is mentioned in 1341 in Egypt and Baghdad. Most of the other twenty-odd names are from the 11th century, among them *Daniel b. Azariah, *David b. *Daniel, and Jedidiah b. Zakkai. One, Shem Tov, a most respected *nasi* of Jerusalem, could not prove Davidic descent and was exiled. Some *nesi'im* in Muslim Spain were appointed by the court and repesented the Jews at court, collected taxes, and acted as chief justices. The *Karaites also called their heads *nasi*, from their founder *Anan b. David through the 18th century. From early modern times the title *nasi* was also given to the heads of the **kolel* institutions of the **Ḥalukkah*. In later modern times the title "president," especially of democratic political and social bodies, was translated into Hebrew as *nasi*; as such it has been carried over into the political nomenclature of the State of Israel, being used to designate the president of the State.

[Isaac Levitats]

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NASI, GRACIA (c. 1510–1569), Marrano stateswoman and patroness. A member of the first generation of Portuguese Marranos (probably of Spanish descent), her original name as a Christian in Portugal, where she was born, was Beatrice de Luna. In 1528 she married Francisco Mendes, also a Marrano, who with his brother Diogo *Mendes built up out of a business in precious stones an important banking establishment, with a branch in Antwerp (directed by Diogo) which soon outdid the main establishment in importance. In 1537, after her husband's death, the widow left Portugal with her family (including her nephew, João Micas (Miques, Miguez), later Joseph *Nasi) and went via England to the Low Countries, where she joined her brother-in-law. There she became known in aristocratic society, and assisted her brother-in-law in his efforts to aid the flight of the Marranos and to stop the activity of the Inquisition in Portugal. After Diogo's death in 1543 she fled from Flanders (1545), leaving much of her property behind, and settled in Venice. There she was denounced to the authorities as a Judaizer by her own sister Reyna, Diogo's widow. João Miques, however, secured Turkish diplomatic intervention on her behalf and she was released. She and her family then settled in Ferrara. About this time she threw off the disguise of Christianity and became known by her Jewish name of Gracia Nasi.

In Ferrara she continued her remarkable work for organizing the flight of fugitive Marranos from Portugal; this is described in Samuel *Usque's *Consolaçam as Tribulaçoens de Israel*, which (together with the Ferrara Spanish Bible of 1553) is dedicated to her in admiring terms. In 1553 Gracia Nasi settled in Constantinople, where she continued similar activity; she also patronized scholars and established academies and synagogues in Constantinople and Salonika, and perhaps elsewhere. In 1556–57, she attempted to organize a punitive boycott of the port of *Ancona in Italy, in retaliation for the burning there of 26 Marranos as renegades from the Christian faith; she secured the intervention of the sultan for some of the accused who were Turkish subjects, including her business agents. In 1554 she was joined in Constantinople by her nephew (henceforth Joseph Nasi), who married her only child Reyna and was now associated closely with all her enterprises, both political and commercial. In 1558 or 1559 she secured from the sultan, in return for an annual payment of 1,000 ducats, a grant of the ruined city of *Tiberias in Ereẓ Israel, where she set up a yeshivah; this grant was subsequently renewed, with a political motivation by Joseph Nasi.

Doña Gracia was certainly the outstanding Jewess of her day, and perhaps of the entire period between the fall of the Jewish state and the present. She was known as *La Senora*, or *Ha-Geveret*, and the synagogue known by this name long continued to exist in Constantinople. She was, however, inactive, perhaps because of ill health, for some years before her death, possibly in Ereẓ Israel, in 1569.

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dame juive de la Renaissance: Gracia Mendesia Nasi (1929); P. Grunebaum-Ballin, *Joseph Naci duc de Naxos* (1968), passim; Ginsberger, in: REJ, 83 (1930), 179–92.

[Cecil Roth]

NASI, JOSEPH (c. 1524–1579), statesman. Nasi was born as a Marrano in Portugal, perhaps descended from the ancient Spanish Jewish family of Nasi. (See Chart: Nasi Family). He was the son of the Portuguese royal physician Agostinho (formerly Samuel) Micas (d. 1525), who taught medicine at the University of Lisbon. Joseph, known originally as a Christian by the name of João Micas (Miques, Míguez), accompanied his paternal aunt, Beatrice de Luna (Gracia *Nasi), when she went from Lisbon to Antwerp in 1537. After studying at the University of Louvain, he entered the banking establishment of *Mendes and was responsible for settling the family's affairs when Gracia left in 1545 for Italy. He was then in contact with Emperor *Charles v and the queen regent of the Netherlands, and is said to have been the jousting partner of their nephew, the future emperor Maximilian. Despite the dexterity of his negotiations, he was unable to save the family property from confiscation, and fled after them in about 1547. The following years he spent in France, where he became known to King Francis i, and later in Italy. He is alleged to have sought the Venetian government's concession of one of their islands as a refuge for fugitive *Marranos. Early in 1554 he joined his aunt, Gracia Nasi, in Constantinople, where he was circumcised and assumed the name of Joseph Nasi. In August he married her daughter Reyna. Henceforth, he was closely associated with his aunt in her commercial and political activities. In 1556 he joined her in organizing the blockade of the port of *Ancona to avenge the persecution of the Marranos there.

In the struggle for the succession to Sultan *Suleiman i between his sons Selim and Bajazet he supported the former, with the result that he received many favors from him, including the rank and emoluments of *muterferik* ("gentleman of the imperial retinue"). Due to his intimate knowledge of European affairs and statesmen, and his chain of agents throughout the Western world, he exercised great influence on the foreign policy of tile Sublime Porte, helping Alexander Lapuseanu, the former voivode of Moldavia, to recover his throne and taking a prominent part in the peace negotiations between Poland and Turkey in 1562. In 1569 he encouraged the Netherlands' revolt against Spain and a letter of his, promising Turkish support, was read out at a meeting of the Calvinist consistory of Amsterdam. By then his influence at Constantinople had grown, due to the accession to the throne (1566) of his friend Sultan *Selim ii, who esteemed him as his favorite. Immediately after this, he was granted a monopoly on the import of wines through the Bosporus, said to have brought him a net income of 15,000 ducats annually. In addition, he obtained important trading privileges in Poland. In order to satisfy certain claims against the king of France (who had sequestered the family property left in that country, on the pretext that Jews were not tolerated there), he obtained the sultan's firman (1568) ordering the confiscation of one-third of the merchandise on French ships docking at Alexandria. This firman was revoked in August 1569, the sultan stating that he had been misled. At this period, Nasi's influence at court seemed to wane and the French envoy, Grandchamp, launched an elaborate plot with Nasi's former physician, Daoud, in the hope of disgracing him. The plot failed and Daoud was excommunicated by the principal Jewish communities of the Turkish Empire.

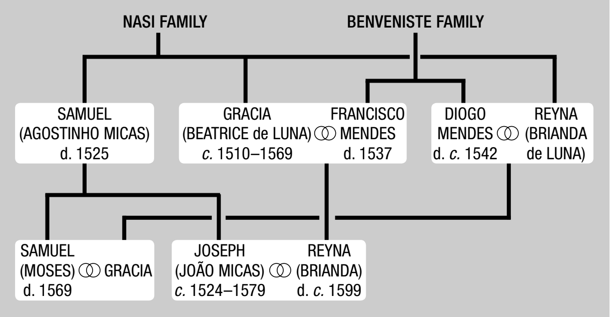
NASI FAMILY
BENVENISTE FAMILY
SAMUEL (AGOSTINHO MICAS) d. 1525
GRACIA (BEATRICE de LUNA) ⚭ FRANCISCO MENDES
c. 1510–1569
d. 1537
DIOGO MENDES ⚭ REYNA (BRIANDA de LUNA)
d. c. 1542
SAMUEL (MOSES) ⚭ GRACIA
d. 1569
JOSEPH (JOÃO MICAS) ⚭ REYNA (BRIANDA)
c. 1524–1579
d. c. 1599

Soon after Selim's accession, he appointed Nasi duke of the island of Naxos and the adjacent archipelago, whose Christian duke had recently been deposed, and eventually he also became count of Andros. He administered his duchy mainly from his palace at Belvedere near Constantinople, his local representative being Francisco Coronel or Coronello, a descendant of Abraham *Seneor, the last chief rabbi of Castile. During the War of Lepanto (1570–71) Nasi's dominions were reconquered by the Venetians for the former duke, but Nasi's authority was soon reinstated. In compensation for his loss, he is supposed to have been appointed voivode of Walachia in 1571, but the facts concerning this are obscure.

As early as 1558 or 1559, Doña Gracia obtained from the sultan various concessions in *Tiberias, then in ruins, probably with the intention of founding a yeshivah there. In 1561 Joseph obtained confirmation and extension of this grant, giving him plenary authority in Tiberias and seven nearby villages in consideration of an annual payment. In the winter of 1564–65 the rebuilding of the ruined walls of Tiberias was completed, ensuring a certain degree of physical security. This was the only practical attempt to establish some sort of Jewish political center in Palestine between the fourth and 19th centuries. It is not clear, however, whether Nasi thought of it primarily as a political, a charitable, or even an economic enterprise; it is certain in any case that he never visited his domain. He attempted to develop it commercially, fostering the wool and silk industries. He also sent a circular letter to the Jewish communities of Italy inviting them to settle there, and the community of Cori in the Campania made preparations (not perhaps fulfilled) to accept his invitation *en masse*. The intrigues of the native Arabs and Christians and the jealousy of Nasi's rivals in Constantinople led him to concentrate his interest elsewhere. Nevertheless, he remained titular lord of Tiberias until his death, the concession being afterward renewed for Solomon *Abenaes.

Nasi encouraged Jewish scholarship by his patronage of various scholars, such as Moses *Almosnino who composed his "Treatise on Dreams" at Nasi's request; the physician *Amatus Lusitanus, who dedicated his fifth *Centuria* to Nasi; Isaac *Akrish, whom he supported when he was impoverished by the Constantinople fire of 1569; and Isaac Onkeneira, his translator and director of the yeshivah and synagogue that he maintained at Belvedere. A fine library from which some manuscripts still survive adjoined these institutions. Joseph's only independent literary production, edited by the same Isaac Onkeneira, was his *Ben Porat Yosef* (Constantinople, 1577) – a polemic against astrology, which records a dispute he had with certain Christian dignitaries.

In 1569 Nasi threw his powerful influence on the side of the war party in Constantinople, and was considered to be mainly responsible for the Turkish war against Venice over Cyprus. It was reported that the sultan had promised to make him king of this island, though it would remain a Turkish fief. Some suggest that Nasi thus planned to provide a political solution to the Jewish problem of the day. Although the Turks conquered Cyprus in 1571 they suffered a naval disaster at Lepanto, in consequence of which the peace party led by Grand Vizier Mehemet Sokolli gained the ascendant. Nasi's influence henceforth waned, though he remained in possession of his dignities and privileges until his death. The balance of his achievement was disappointing, due to his inconstancy of purpose. It is difficult to decide what credence can be placed in the Spanish report that he repented of his action in abandoning Christianity and desired to return to Western Europe.

Joseph was survived by his widow, REYNA, duchess of Naxos (d. c. 1599), who maintained his library and allowed scholars access to it. In 1592 she set up a printing press in her palace at Belvedere. It was directed by Joseph b. Isaac Ashkeloni, and operated until 1594; it operated again from 1597 to 1599. Some 12 works, commemorating Reyna's generosity on the title page, were issued from the press.

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[Cecil Roth]

NASIELSK (Rus. **Nasyelsk**), town in Warszawa province, E. central Poland. It received its first municipal privileges in 1386. The date of the first Jewish settlement is unknown, but a wooden synagogue was erected in 1650. The community listed 1,410 Jews in 1808, 4,741 in 1910 (76% of the total population), and 2,691 in 1921. Jews were not integrated into the economic life of the town and many of them emigrated after World War I. During the period of Polish independence, there was a significant number of unemployed and poor among the Jews, a situation which deteriorated even further as a result of a boycott by Polish antisemites. Tension between Jews and Christians came to the fore in 1923, when the latter accused the Jews of a ritual murder. Dominant in the community was the *Agudat Israel, which in 1920, 1924, and 1931 won half of the seats of the community council. Among the educational institutions, there were the Beth Jacob schools of the Agudat Israel, the *Tarbut of the Zionists, and a Yiddish school, as well as such cultural institutions as a library and various drama circles. The wooden synagogue was rebuilt in 1880. Renowned *ẓaddikim*, such as R. Jacob Landa (d. 1886) and Ezekiel ha-Levi b. Meir Jehiel (d. during the Holocaust) settled in the town.

[Shimshon Leib Kirshenboim]

Holocaust Period

During the Nazi occupation, Nasielsk belonged to Bezirk Zichenau, established and incorporated into East Prussia by Hitler's decree of Oct. 26, 1939. Before World War II Nasielsk had about 3,000 Jews. During the bombardment of the town, a considerable number of Jews fled eastward. After the Germans entered, the Jewish community there existed for only three months. Existing data leave doubt whether the Jews were deported in one mass *Aktion* (deportation) on Dec. 3, 1939, or in two deportations, beginning in September or October. Some of the victims were shut up for a day or more in the local synagogue, beaten, and herded to the station. They were loaded onto trains and dispatched to Lukow, Mezhirech, and Biala Podlaska railroad stations. There they were driven out of the train and dispersed among various towns in the Lublin region of the General Government. Some of them reached the Warsaw Ghetto, where many Jews from Nasielsk, refugees from the first days of the war, already lived. After the deportation from Nasielsk, the local Germans and soldiers seized all Jewish property. Only about 80 Jews from Nasielsk survived the Holocaust.

[Danuta Dombrowska]

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Sefer ha-Ẓeva'ot*, 1 (1945), 145.

NASNA (generally referred to in Hungarian Jewish historiography as **Náznánfalva**), village near Tîrgu-Mureş in Transylvania, Romania, within Hungary to 1918 and from 1940 to 1945. With the exception of *Alba-Iulia, Nasna had the oldest Jewish community within the borders of historic Transylvania. The first reliable information about the Jews there dates from 1601. Several were members of the Turkish Sephardi community and had family or communal connections with Jews in Alba-Iulia. The curious wooden synagogue of Nasna, of which only the eastern wall was constructed of brick, was apparently built in 1747 (or according to some opinions in 1757 or 1785). The exterior resembled a granary or warehouse and the walls, ceiling, pillars, and platform were painted and ornamented in the style of the contemporary church decoration of the local Unitarians. Quotations from the Psalms and prayers were inscribed on the walls and ceiling. The synagogue was completely demolished in 1940. Some of the decorated boards which were salvaged were transferred to the Jewish Museum in Budapest. Members of the Nasna community were among the first Jews to settle in Tîrgu-Mureş from which Jews had been excluded until 1848. After the prohibition was abolished the Jewish population of Nasna dwindled. During the Holocaust the last two Jewish residents were deported to the ghetto in Tîrgu-Mures (and from there to their deaths). After World War II the Jewish community of Nasna was not revived.

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[Yehouda Marton]

NASSAU, former duchy in Germany. In the Middle Ages Jews were to be found in Limburg on the Lahn, Diez, Montabaur, and other towns in the duchy. Limburg was the most important community before the *Black Death persecutions (1348), when all the Jews were annihilated. The settlement was reestablished, but there is evidence that they were again severely persecuted and expelled. After the Thirty-Years War (1618–48) *Wiesbaden emerged as the leading community. When the duchy of Nassau split up into minor principalities, Jews settled in the villages, where they engaged in peddling and livestock trading. In 1798 the French army abolished the **Leibzoll* ("body tax") in Nassau-Usingen, but it was reapplied in 1801 and only finally abolished in 1808 through the intervention of Wolf *Breidenbach, the *Court Jew of Brunswick. The authorities compensated themselves by raising the *Schutzgeld* ("protection money"; see **Schutzjuden*). Nassau-Usingen, which had 104 Jewish families, increased its territory and included about 530 Jewish families in 1805; after 1815–16, a single duchy was created. In 1836 there were 1,238 Jewish families (6,147 persons) distributed in 229 localities and conducting services in 95 *Judenschulen*. Only 11 communities in the various localities had more than 100 persons; the largest, Heddernheim, had 327, but almost all of the men were peddlers who were generally absent on their business. The capital, Wiesbaden, had 234 persons, and its rabbi, Abraham *Geiger, who served from 1832 to 1838, appealed unsuccessfully to the government to be appointed **Landrabbiner.* The Orthodox communities opposed his efforts, and Geiger left in frustration. In 1842 Reform services modeled on those of Wuerttemberg were introduced and four district rabbinates created. In 1848 full civic equality was temporarily granted, and in 1861 the Jewish *oath was abolished. In 1865, a year before it was annexed to *Prussia, as part of the province of Hesse-Nassau, there were in Nassau 7,000 Jews (1.5% of the population). Through emigration from the rural communities to the cities, in particular to Wiesbaden, their numbers subsequently decreased.

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NASSAUER, RUDOLF (1924–1996), German-born poet and novelist. From a wealthy family of German Jews, Rudolf Nassauer was, by profession, a wine merchant as well as a writer. He wrote *Poems* (1947), and an ambitious novel, *The Hooligan* (1960), a powerful, imaginary picture of concentration-camp life. The victim's search for power over the aggressor is also the theme of *The Cuckoo* (1962). In 1947 he married the well-known British novelist Berenice *Rubens. They were divorced in 1967.

[William D. Rubinstein (2nd ed.)]

°NASSER, GAMAL ABDUL (1918–1970), president of the United Arab Republic (Egypt) and spokesman of the Pan-Arab movement. As a leading member of the revolutionary group of "free officers," in 1952 Nasser participated in overthrowing the Egyptian monarchy and establishing a republican regime. Quickly becoming the political leader of the "new" Egypt, he tried, with considerable success, not only to introduce economic and social reforms into his own country (including an agrarian reform and efforts at industrialization), but also to place Egypt and himself in the forefront of the nonaligned nations, the so-called Third World, together with Nehru's India and Tito's Yugoslavia. During this process, his extremely belligerent attitude toward Israel, as well as his interventions in the internal affairs of other Arab states, served as the main instruments of his policy. His anti-Israel policy included the organization of an economic boycott, armed infiltration and sabotage, closing of the Suez Canal to Israel shipping, and open belligerency.

Nasser participated as an officer in Egypt's invasion of the newly established State of Israel in 1948 and was a commander of the regiment besieged at the Faluja pocket. Upon his return to Egypt, he was decisively instrumental in the bloodless military coup, led by General Mohammad Naguib, which overthrew King Farouk. By 1954 he had succeeded in ousting Naguib, assuming full power, and overcoming the opposition of the Muslim Brotherhood and remnants of the previous ruling Wafd Party and the Communists. To reinforce his leadership, he created a political framework that became the only legal party in Egypt. At that time he wrote his book *The Philosophy of the Revolution* (1955). In the first years of his rule Nasser decisively changed the political course of events in Egypt and the Middle East by several drastic steps. His arms deal with the Soviet Union (ostensibly with Czechoslovakia) overturned the delicate balance of forces between Israel and her Arab neighbors, maintained by the Western powers, and inaugurated the Israel-Egyptian arms race, which from then on dominated the Middle Eastern scene and almost evolved into a confrontation of the super powers in the late 1960s and the beginning of the 1970s. By evicting the last remnant of British forces from the Suez Canal zone and nationalizing the Suez Canal Company (1956), thus removing a barrier between Egypt and Israel, and by his deliberate policy of actively supporting the murderous *fedayeen* raids deep into Israel territory, from the *Gaza Strip and from Sinai, Nasser exacerbated the situation until it exploded in the *Sinai Campaign. In spite of Egypt's total military defeat, Nasser, mainly with Soviet support, succeeded in converting it, at least in the eyes of his devoted followers, into a political victory that enhanced his prestige.

In 1956 and 1965 Nasser was the only candidate for presidential election. In the course of his reforms, Nasser nationalized the Egyptian press and removed his enemies and critics from influential positions. Over the years his anti-imperialist policy became more and more pro-Soviet, until Egypt became so dependent on the U.S.S.R. in military and economic spheres (heavy armament deliveries, military advisers, the construction of the Aswan Dam and of individual industrial plants, etc.) that in May 1967 Moscow was able to lead Nasser into the adventurous steps that provoked the *Six-Day War. After the defeat, Nasser resigned (on June 9) for a few hours, but reassumed power in response to mass demonstrations in the streets of Cairo demanding the continuation of his leadership. He tried to place the blame for the defeat on the senior military echelons, including his vice president, Marshal Abdel Ḥakīm ʿAmer, who committed suicide. Other military leaders were convicted in show trials, and Nasser held a new election to the Arab Socialist Union.

After 1967 Nasser visited the U.S.S.R. several times. In his public pronouncements about Israel, he was careful to formulate the aim of Israel's destruction in non-explicit terms, though from time to time, particularly just before the Six-Day War, he left no doubt that this was the real aim of his policy. This again became clear at the Arab Summit Conference in Khartoum (Aug. 29–Sept. 2, 1967), when he initiated the policy of pledging the Arabs not to recognize Israel, not to negotiate with her, and not to conclude peace agreements with her. Nasser maintained that Egypt's acceptance of the Nov. 22, 1967 Security Council resolution was compatible with the "three noes" of Khartoum, but he interpreted the resolution as demanding an Israeli withdrawal from all occupied territories without negotiations and a peace treaty. When his policy failed to achieve any effective pressure on Israel, he renewed military attacks along the Suez Canal zone. When this failed to achieve its aim and ultimately turned into military setbacks for Egypt, in August 1970 Nasser accepted a U.S. initiative for a limited cease-fire period and indirect negotiations with Israel, under the Security Council resolution, in exchange for an Israeli acceptance of the principle of withdrawal from occupied territories. Nasser died suddenly in September 1970 before the new stage of his policy bore any fruit.

Nasser was adept at adjusting his personal image and tone to whomever he addressed, so that while in Arab eyes he was the incarnation of the fight against Israel and for Arab glory, many Western circles and media were impressed by his reasonableness and moderation. This diversity became particularly evident when, on the one hand, he gave an Indian newspaper editor a copy of the Protocols of the *Elders of Zion as an explanation of the Jewish "world conspiracy," while on the other, with Western people, he continuously stressed that he clearly distinguished between Jewry and Zionism. These declarations notwithstanding, Egypt's Jews suffered persecution and humiliation during his rule, chiefly after Egypt's defeat in 1967.

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NASSY, DAVID DE ISAAC COHEN (late 18th century), Caribbean physician, Jewish community leader, and publicist. Nassy, born in Surinam into its leading Sephardi family, was a descendant of David Nassy, who had founded the Jewish community there in 1664. The younger David first appears in 1785 as a signatory to a petition for a college of letters in Surinam. Shortly thereafter he became president of the *Regenten* (board) of the local Jewish community, and in this capacity was the first signatory of a communication to the German Christian advocate of Jewish rights, Christian Wilhelm von *Dohm. At the latter's request, Nassy played a leading role in compiling *Essai historique sur la Colonie de Surinam* (2 vols., Paramaribo, 1788), a record of the Jewish role in the history of the colony. Restrictions on Jewish freedom led him to St. Thomas for a time and subsequently to Philadelphia (1792), where he was the first Jewish physician to practice in that city. An outbreak of yellow fever the following year brought him into conflict with his foremost colleague, Dr. Benjamin Rush, over diagnosis and treatment. Nassy published his findings in *Observations on the Cause, Nature, and Treatment of the Epidemic Disorder Prevalent in Philadelphia* (1793), in which he pointed out his success in losing only 19 patients (11 of whom had already received Rush's treatment) out of 117 afflicted. Nassy's scientific work earned him election to the American Philosophical Society. In 1795 he returned to Surinam, where he went into business. Three years later he published *Lettre Politico-Theologico-Morale sur les Juifs* (1798?) with a Dutch translation, supporting the emancipation of Dutch Jewry.

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[Malcolm H. Stern]

NASZ PRZEGLĄD ("Our Review"), Jewish Polish-language newspaper. *Nasz Przegląd* was published in Warsaw from 1923 to 1939 and served as an informative political organ with a Zionist-nationalist orientation. It had been preceded by *Nasz Kurjer*, which first appeared in 1917 at the incentive of the journalist Jacob Appenszlak, aided financially by Joseph *Dawidsohn and Samuel Jacob *Jatzkan, editor of **Haynt*. In 1920 *Nasz Kurjer* was reorganized on a cooperative basis, and in 1923 appeared under its new name *Nasz Przegląd* as a nonparty nationalist organ. Nathan Szwalbe, Saul Wagman, Jacob Appenszlak, and Samuel Wołkowicz all served as associate editors. Its permanent contributors included noted Jewish writers and publicists, such as Samuel *Hirschhorn, Florian Sokolow, Fishel *Rotenstreich, Janusz *Korczak, the political writer Bernard Singer (who wrote under the pseudonym "Regnis"), and the historians Majer *Balaban and Emanuel *Ringelblum. Several prominent progressive Polish intellectuals worked within the framework of the newspaper, including the philologist Baudouin de Courtenay and the journalist W. Rzymowski. It had many Polish non-Jews among its readers.

Nasz Przegląd was not a campaigning newspaper and did not take a fixed ideological stand, developing a tendency to adapt to the changing political situation. The members of its staff differed in their outlooks, although the pro-Zionist trend was marked. While *Nasz Przegląd* supported the Polonization of Jewish culture, many of the Jewish intelligentsia became influenced by it toward the Zionist cause. It published installments of important works of Yiddish and modern Hebrew literature in Polish translation, including those of Joseph *Opatoshu and Singer, and J. *Klausner's *Jesus of Nazareth. Nasz Przegląd 's* daily circulation reached 40,000 and its staff comprised some 50 writers. The newspaper owned a modern printing-house which published a children's supplement, *Mały Przegląd*, edited by Janusz Korczak, as well as a women's weekly, *Eva*, edited by Paulina Appenszlak.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: EG, Warsaw, 1 (1953), 512–4; A. Levinson, *Toledot Yehudei Varshah* (1953), 305–6. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** M. Fuks, *Prasa zydowska w Warszawie* (1979), 259–74; J. Gothelf (ed.), *Ha-Ittonut ha-Yehudit she-Hayeta* (1973), 207–13.

[Moshe Landau]

Restored family houses from the talmudic era (3rd–5th centuries C.E.) found at Kaẓerin in the Golan Heights. *Photo: Z. Radovan, Jerusalem.*

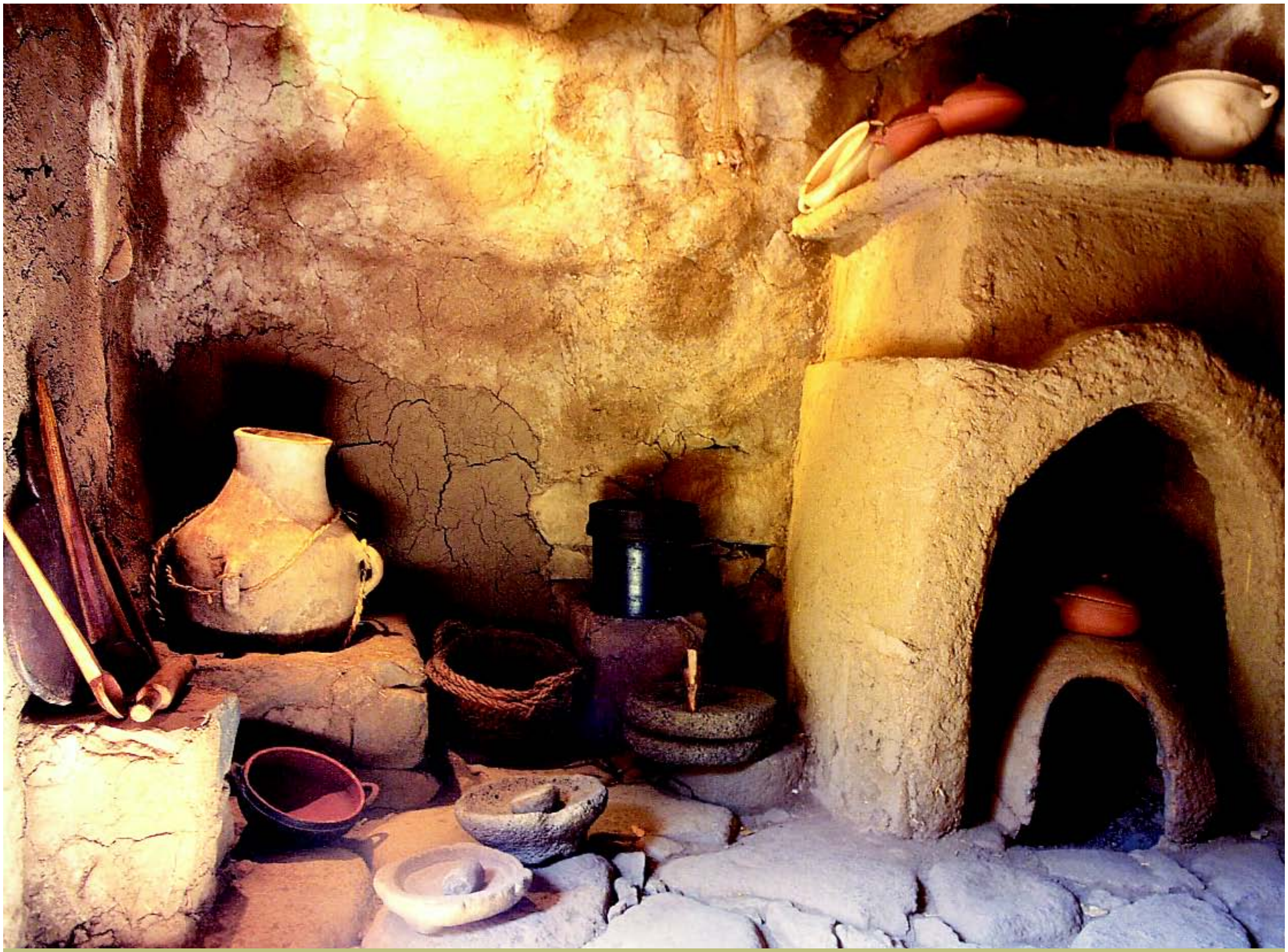

The Land of Israel offers a fascinating variety of archaeological findings that illuminate the attachment of the Jewish people to its ancient homeland from the birth of the nation in the biblical period through the period of the Second Temple and beyond. They are a part of the Israeli landscape as much as its flora and fauna.

ARCHAEOLOGY

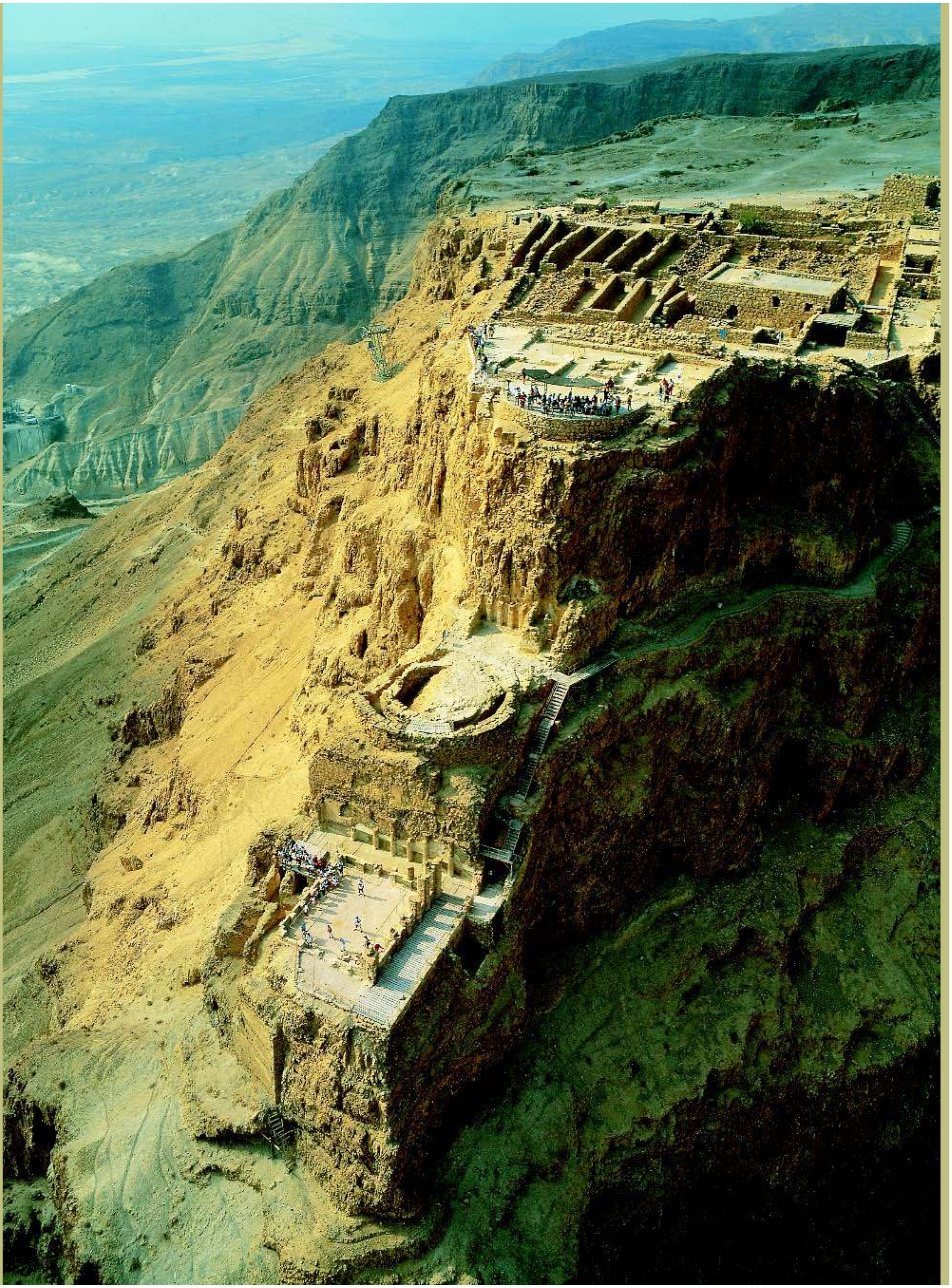

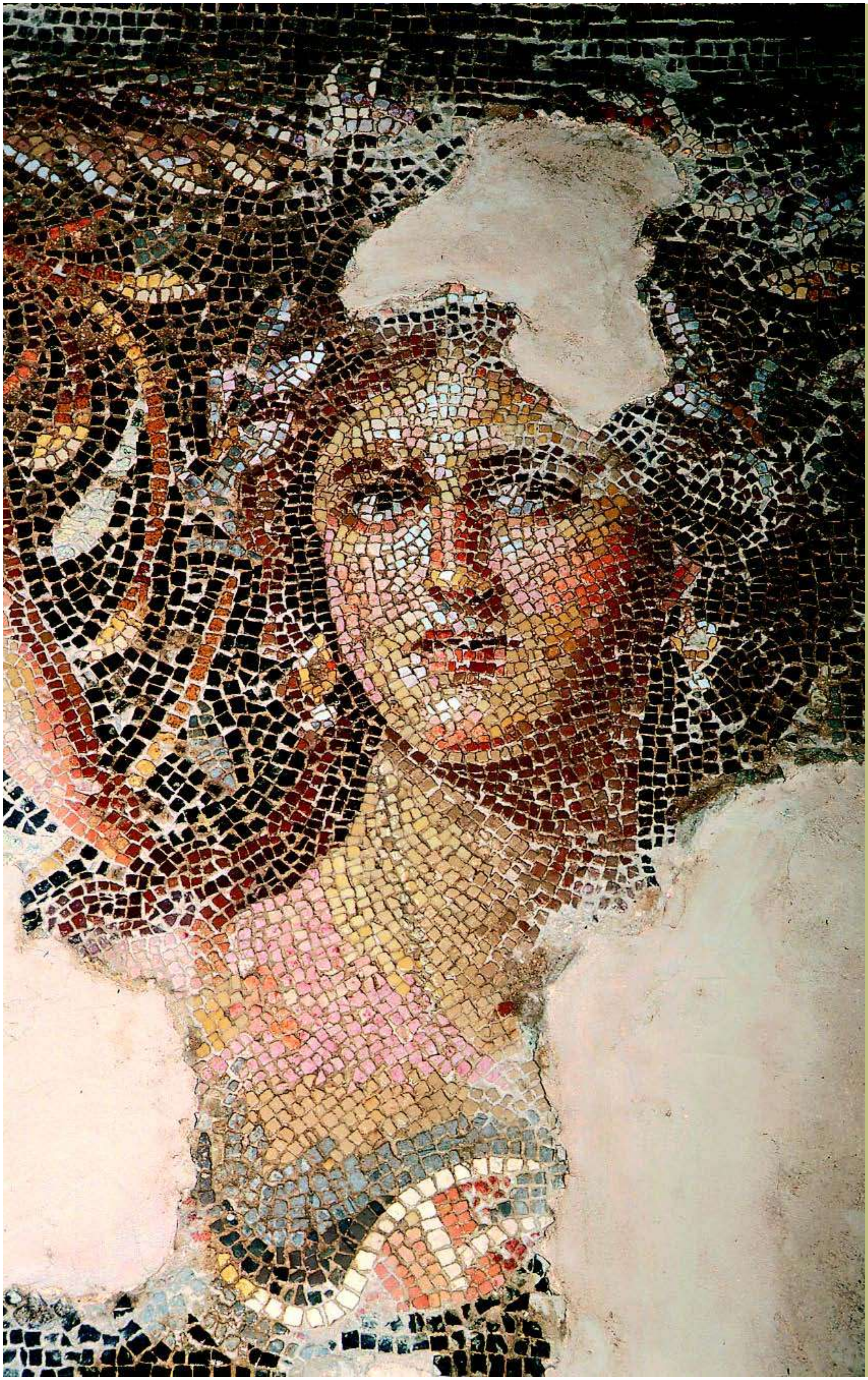

(opposite page): **Masada—Backdrop of the aerial view of Herod's reconstructed palace.** *Photo: Albatross Aerial Photography.*

(this page): **A mosaic of the "Galilean" Mona Lisa, found at Zippori, early 3rd century C.E.** *Photo: Dinu Mendrea.*

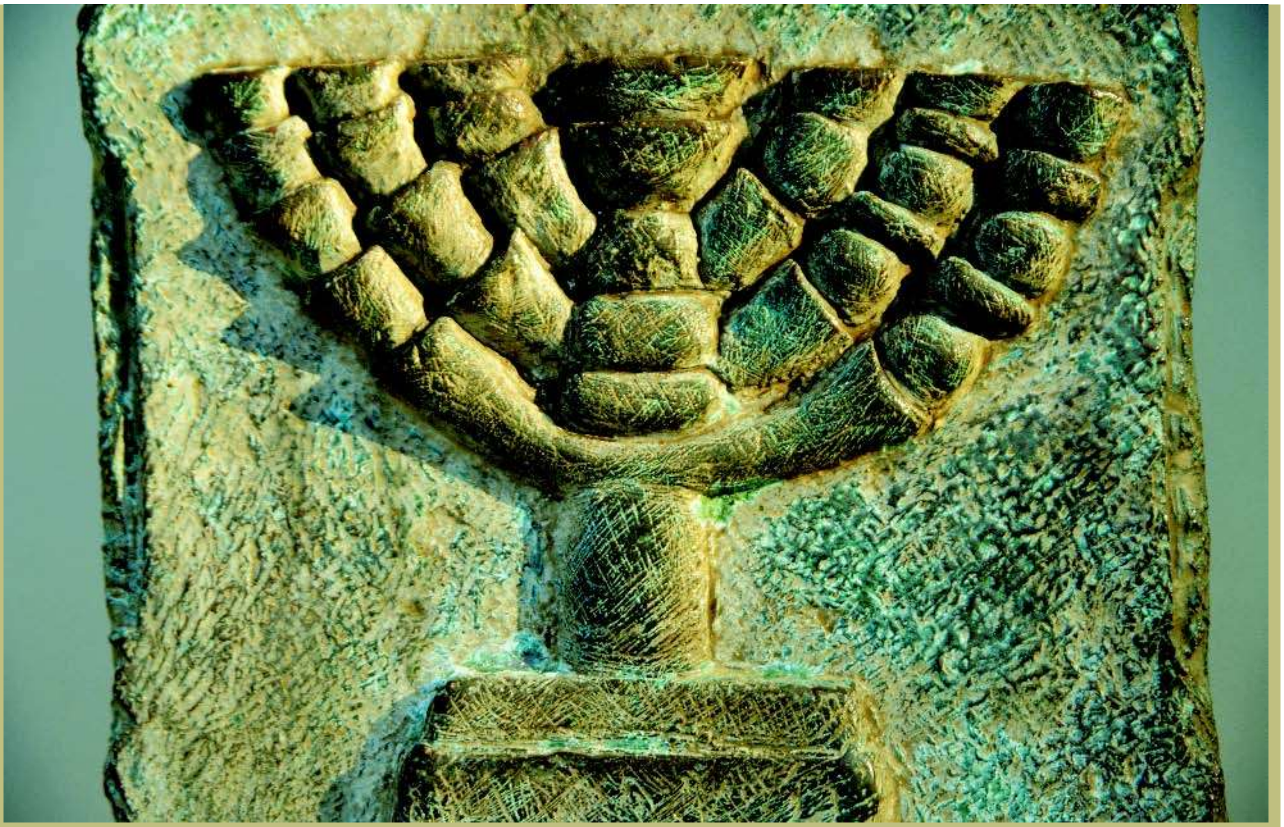

Bas relief of a *menorah* from the 3rd century C.E., Bet She'arim, which became a center of Jewish learning as attested in rabbinic literature. *Photo: Hanan Isachar.*

A capital from the synagogue in Kaẓerin with symbols of the *menorah* and the four species, from the talmudic era (3rd–5th centuries C.E.) *Photo © Katzerin Museum, Israel.*

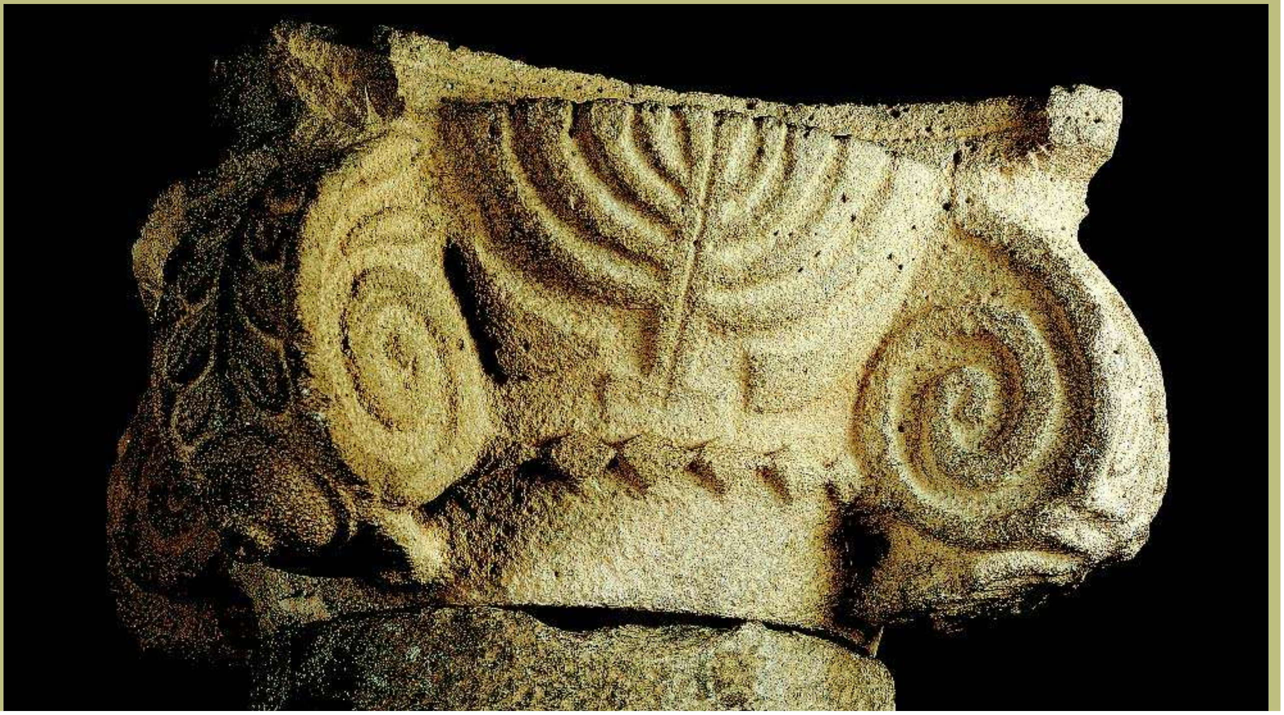

Interior of the Shrine of the Book housing the Dead Sea Scrolls, at the Israel Museum, Jerusalem, designed by American architects Armand Bartos and Frederick Kiesler. *Photo: Hanan Isachar.*

Isaiah scroll, 1st c. B.C.E.–1st c. C.E., one of the Dead Sea scrolls found in Cave 1 at Qumran. The Shrine of the Book at the Israel Museum, Jerusalem. *Photo © The Israel Museum, Jerusalem, by David Harris.*

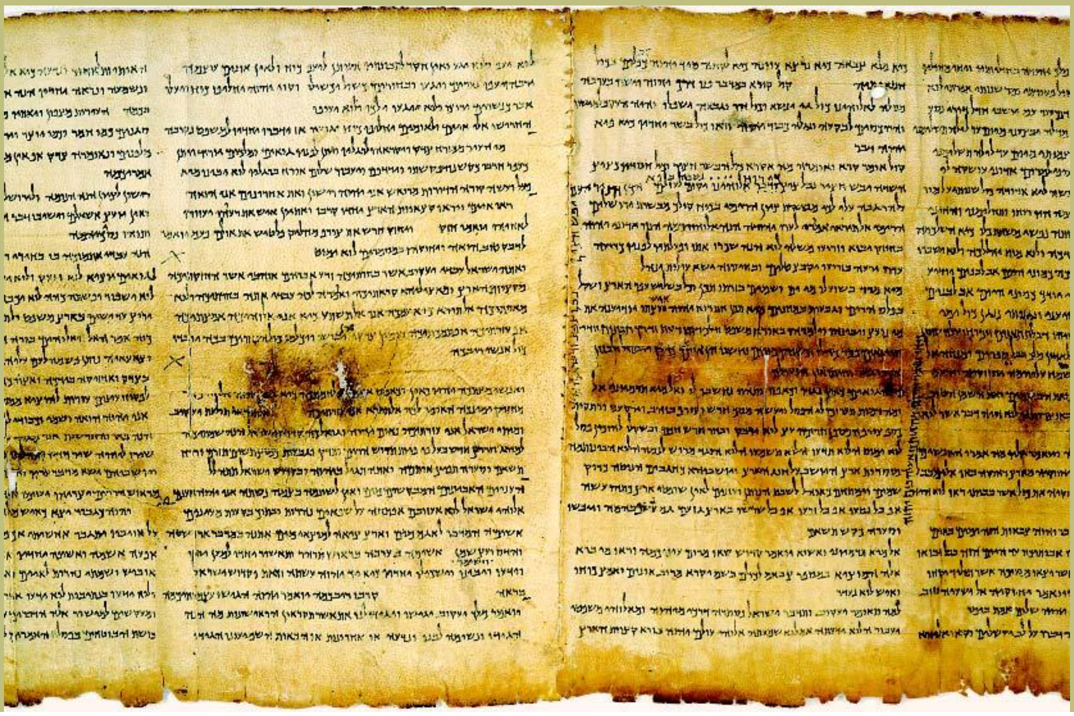

The ruins of Kazerin, a talmudic village in the Golan Heights. *Photo: Hanan Isachar.*

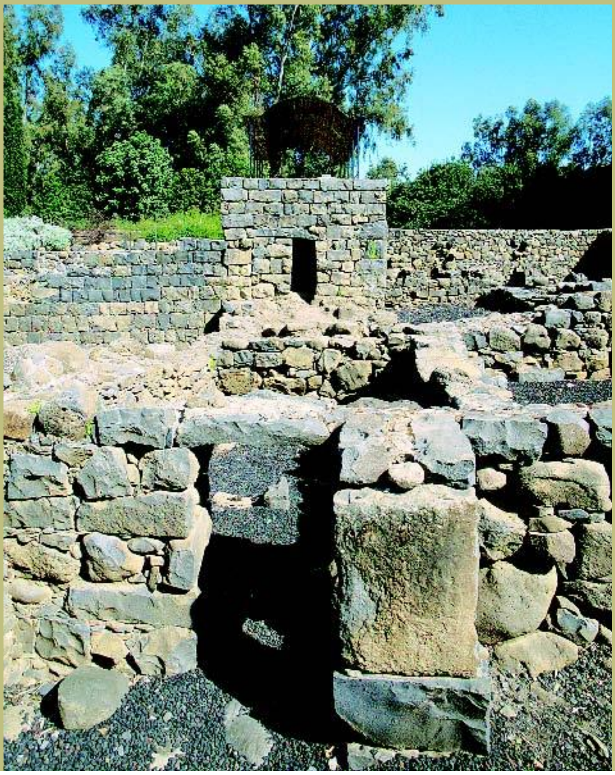

Remains of the Ḅar'am Synagogue in the Golan Heights, 3rd century c.e. *Photo: Dinu Mendrea.*

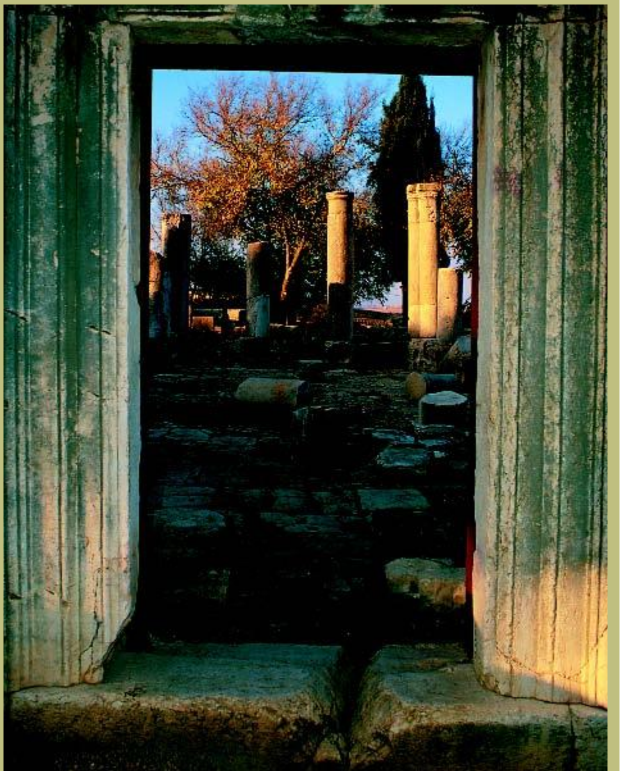

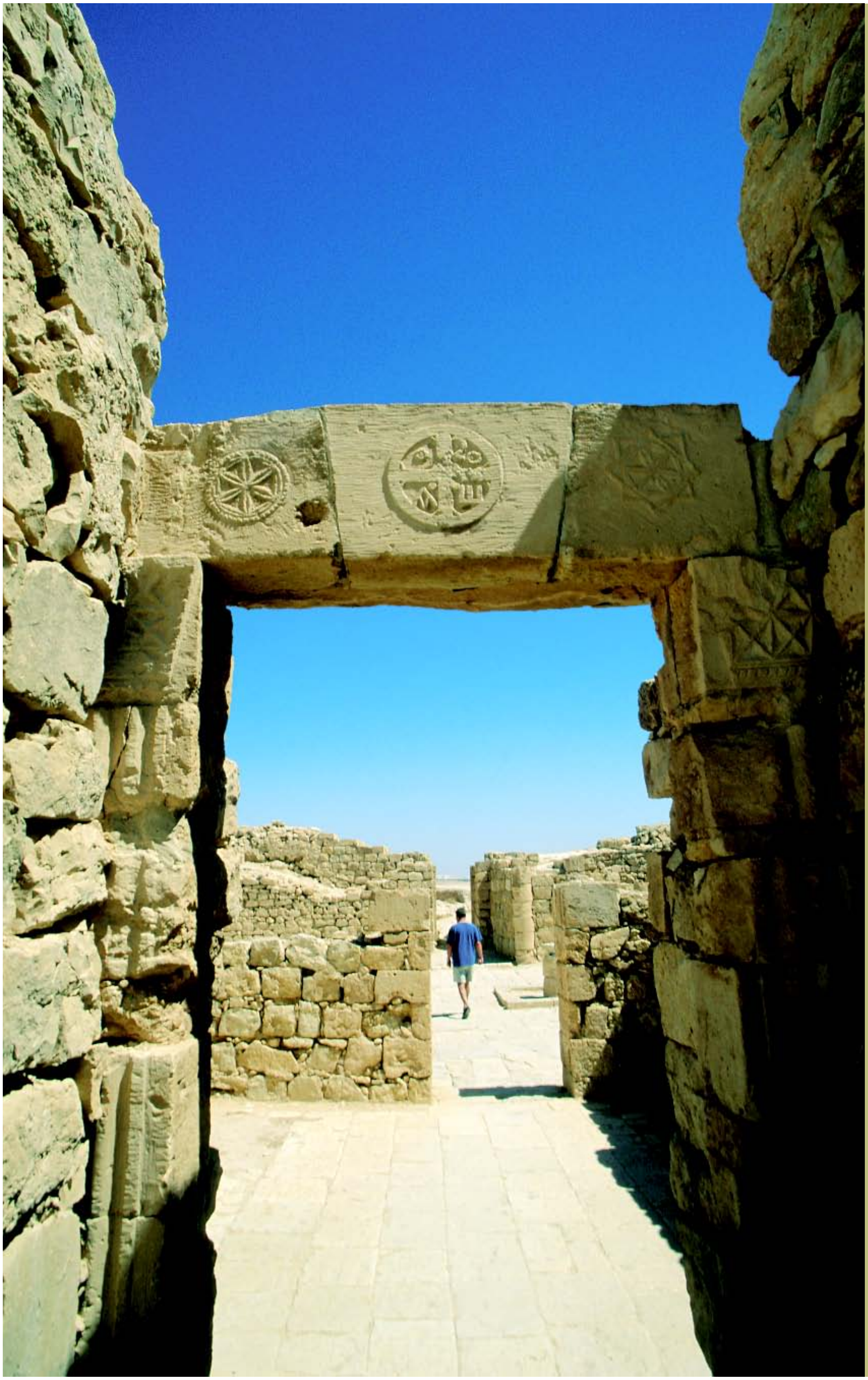

(opposite page) TOP: **Street lined by Roman columns in the Amphitheater of Bet She'an, destroyed in 749 C.E. and restored by archaeologists.** *Photo: Dinu Mendrea.*

(this page): **Remains of the ancient Nabatean city of Shivta, which flourished mainly in the 4th to 6th centuries C.E. Shivta was declared a World Heritage Site by UNESCO in June 2005.** *Photo: Hanan Isachar.*

Central medallion of the synagogue pavement (5th–6th century C.E.). The birds are depicted in the new, more orthodox abstract approach of Jewish art in the Byzantine period, breaking away from the naturalistic forms of the earlier Hellenistic period. *Photo: Z. Radovan, Jerusalem.*

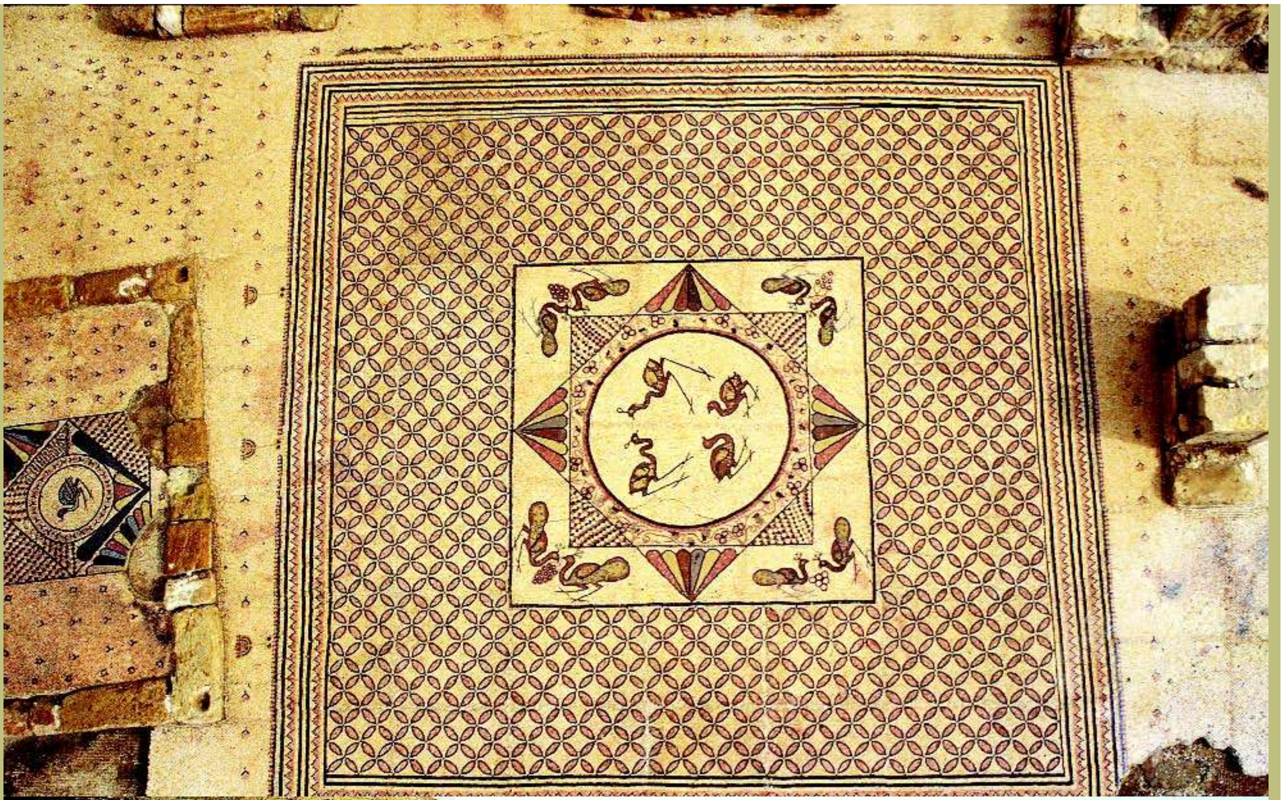

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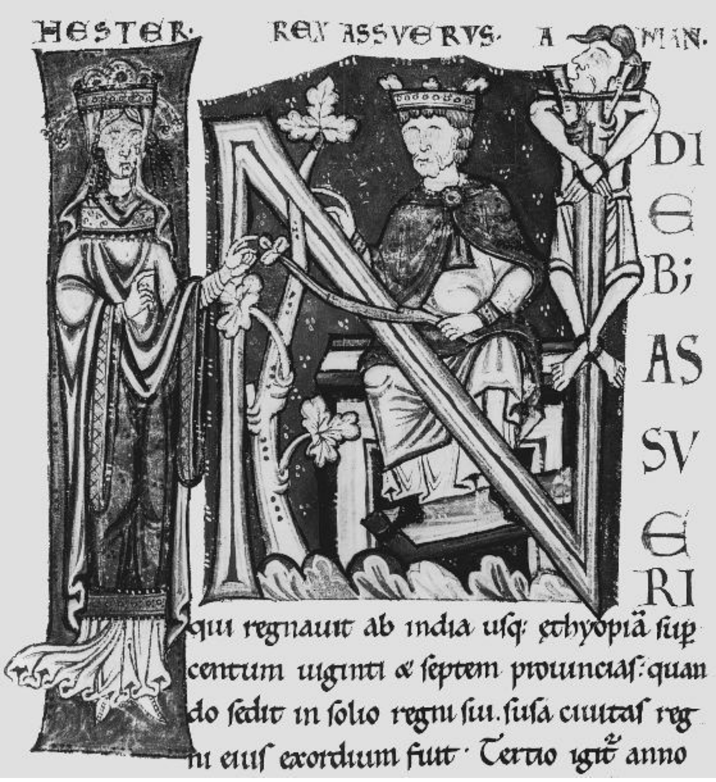
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do ſedit in ſolio regni ſui. ſuſa ciuitaſ reg
ni euiſ exordium fuit · Tercio igit anno

*The letter "N," a part of the illuminated word In (*diebus Assueri*) at the beginning of the Book of Esther in a 12th-century Latin Bible. On the right of King Ahasuerus, Haman is being hanged. The "I" frames the figure of Esther. Rheims. Bibliothèque Municipale, Ms. 159, fol. 5v.*

NAT-NY

NATANSON, LUDWIK (1822–1896), physician and communal worker. A member of the Jewish intellectual and assimilationist circle of Warsaw, Natanson was the son of the banker and industrialist Wolf Zelig Natanson (1795–1879). In 1847 he founded the periodical *Tygodnik Lekarski*, one of the first modern medical publications in Polish, which he edited and financed until 1872. Natanson was also one of the public health pioneers in Poland, and was active in the campaign against the cholera epidemic in Warsaw (1848–52). In 1863 he was elected to the presidency of the Polish medical society. In 1871 he became chairman of the executive of the Jewish community of Warsaw, a position he held until his death. As chairman, Natanson successfully reorganized and considerably extended the public and administrative services of the community, managing also to balance its budget. He encouraged productivity among the Jewish poverty-stricken classes and was the initiator and founder of vocational schools and a community workshop center. He supported (1878–88) the secondary school which had 1,400 Jewish pupils. On his initiative, a new school building was erected, and community organizations and the cemeteries were renovated. He was the initiator of a project to erect a modern Jewish hospital in the Czyste district, and it was also during his term of office that the magnificent synagogue of Tłomacka Street was built. In 1874 Natanson obtained authorization to establish a Jewish seminary for teachers. He was supported in his public activities by bourgeois circles and the assimilationist Jewish intelligentsia. The energy which he showed during the pogrom in Warsaw in December 1881 was of great assistance in maintaining the morale of the Jewish community.

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[Arthur Cygielman]

NATANSON, MARK (1849–1919), Russian revolutionary. Born in Svenziany, the son of a wealthy Jewish businessman, Natanson graduated from a Kovno secondary school. He was the leading figure of the "Chaikovski circle," which played a great part in molding the opposition spirit against the Czarist regime among the Russian university youth in the 1870s, and was prominent in the Populist movement ("narodniki"). A brilliant organizer, and possessed of considerable business abilities, he was responsible for many daring revolutionary undertakings. Together with his first wife, Olga – a highly intelligent person and a passionate believer in radical ideas – he masterminded Prince Peter Kropotkin's escape from prison. He was a close friend of Georgi Plekhanov, who later became "the father of Russian Marxism." He managed to continue his revolutionary activities even during the many years he spent as a convict in Siberia. In 1917, he joined the left wing of the Russian Social Revolutionary Party and helped Lenin to disband the Constituent Assembly. He later became disillusioned with the Communist regime, left the Soviet Union, and died a lonely man in Switzerland. From the time that he joined the Russian revolutionary movement, he completely identified himself with Russian life, taking no interest in Jewish affairs.

[Schneier Zalman Levenberg]

NATHAN (Heb. נָתָן), prophet in the days of David and Solomon). Nathan, together with Zadok the priest, anointed Solomon as king after encouraging and activating the people of the royal court to proclaim him king. Two of his prophecies are known: one about the postponement of the building of the Temple from David's time to the time of his son (II Sam. 7; I Chron. 17) and the election of David's dynasty; the second is the prophecy of rebuke to David about Bath-Sheba and the killing of Uriah (II Sam. 12: 1–15). From his involvement in the life of the court and the clear connection of his prophecy to the king and the monarchy, Nathan, like the prophet Gad, may be designated as a court prophet. From the contents of his prophecies, however – not only his sharp rebuke in connection with Bath-Sheba but also his advice regarding the Temple, which was not in any way subject to the king's approval or control – there is justification for placing Nathan in the category of prophets who rebuke and advise, such as Elijah and Elisha (see *Prophets and Prophecy).

In his prophecy about the postponement of the building of the Temple to the time of Solomon, Nathan promises the House of David unconditionally that his dynasty will endure forever, and that the relationship between the Lord and each of David's successors will be like that between father and son. The reason for the postponement of the building of the Temple is not clarified. (The explanation of bloodshed in I Chron. 22:7–10 seems to have been inserted later.) On the basis of the wanderings in the wilderness, where God was present in the Tent and the Tabernacle, it would appear, however, that the monarchy was not yet firmly established and that the time had not yet come for removing the symbols of tribal tradition – the Tent and the Tabernacle and replacing them with a permanent house (temple) of the Lord, similar to the house (palace) of the king. The view of the monarchy in Nathan's prophecy – in which it is seen as granted to David by an act of divine grace (no reference is made to the monarchy of Saul) and as a complete and unbroken continuation of the Lord's providence and governance from the time of the Exodus from Egypt to the time of the judges – differs essentially from that of I Samuel 8–12, according to which Samuel opposed monarchy as such. The antiquity of the prophecy attributed to Nathan is attested by the description of the monarchy as a calm and secure period of respite, without any intimation of the division of the kingdom. The punishment of a king's son who transgresses will be a rebuke only "with the rod of men, and with the stripes of human beings" (II Sam. 7:14). In the rebuke over the affair of Bath-Sheba, Nathan, by means of the parable of the poor man's lamb, traps David (even with his privilege as king) into passing judgment upon himself. This prophecy contains a harsh vision of the future of the house of David: "the sword shall never depart from your house" (II Sam. 12:10). This prediction, which is not recalled in this way in any other passage in the Bible, and which probably does not allude to any actual event such as the division of the kingdom, stamps the rebuke with the seal of authenticity. Nathan appears not only as warning against evil and demanding expiation for murder but also as commanding the king to establish law and justice, which is his duty as judge and is embodied in the monarchy itself, as explicitly stated in the chronicles of David's reign (II Sam. 8:15; see *David, *Solomon). The "book of Nathan the prophet," which relates the histories of David and Solomon, is mentioned in Chronicles (I Chron. 29:9; II Chron. 9:29), in keeping with the theory of the author of Chronicles who also represents other prophets as chroniclers of the events of their days.

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[Samuel Abramsky]

NATHAN, English family, distinguished in public service. The first member of the family to settle in England was MEYER (Michael) NATHAN who came from Dessau about 1790. His grandson, Jonah, married twice. SIR NATHANIEL (1843–1916), the son of Jonah's first marriage, a barrister practicing in Birmingham from 1873 to 1888, became attorney general, judge of the Supreme Court, and from 1901 to 1903 acting chief justice of Trinidad. His half brother, SIR FREDERIC LEWIS (1861–1933), explosives expert and soldier, joined the Royal Artillery in 1879 and organized explosives manufacture before and during World War I. Later, he specialized in fuel problems and was president of the Institution of Chemical Engineers from 1925 to 1927. From 1905 to 1926 he was commandant of the Jewish Lads' Brigade. Frederic's brother SIR MATTHEW (1862–1939) joined the Royal Engineers in 1880 and served in Sudan and India. The first Jew to be a colonial governor, he was governor of the Gold Coast (1900–03), Hong Kong (1904–07), and Natal (1907–09). Secretary to the General Post Office and the Board of Inland Revenue, he was appointed undersecretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland in 1914 and was in sole charge of Dublin Castle when the Easter Rising occurred in 1916. An inquiry criticized his failure to warn the British government of the danger. After serving as secretary of the Ministry of Pensions he became governor of Queensland (1920–26) and retired to Somerset where he took part in local government and wrote a monumental local history. In Jewish life, he represented the New West End Synagogue on the United Synagogue Council. The fourth brother, SIR ROBERT (1866–1921), served in the Indian civil service from 1888 to 1915 and was appointed chief secretary to the governor of Eastern Bengal and Assam in 1910. In World War I he did important work in counterespionage.

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[Vivian David Lipman]

NATHAN, U.S. family. SIMON NATHAN (1746–1822), who was born in England, went to the colonies in 1773 by way of Havana. During the Revolution, he supported the revolutionary cause and helped ship supplies to the colonists from Jamaica where he then resided. After leaving the island, he proceeded to New Orleans and from there went to Williamsburg, Virginia, in 1779. He loaned large sums of money to the Virginia state government for which he received the thanks of the then governor, Thomas Jefferson. When these loans were not repaid he suffered great financial loss, and was involved in protracted litigation with Virginia for many years. Possibly as a consequence of this litigation, he went to Philadelphia and enlisted in the militia. There, in 1780, he met and married Grace Mendes Seixas (1752–1831), the daughter of Isaac Mendes *Seixas. Nathan became a Mason the following year, a trustee of the Congregation Mikveh Israel in 1782, and president of

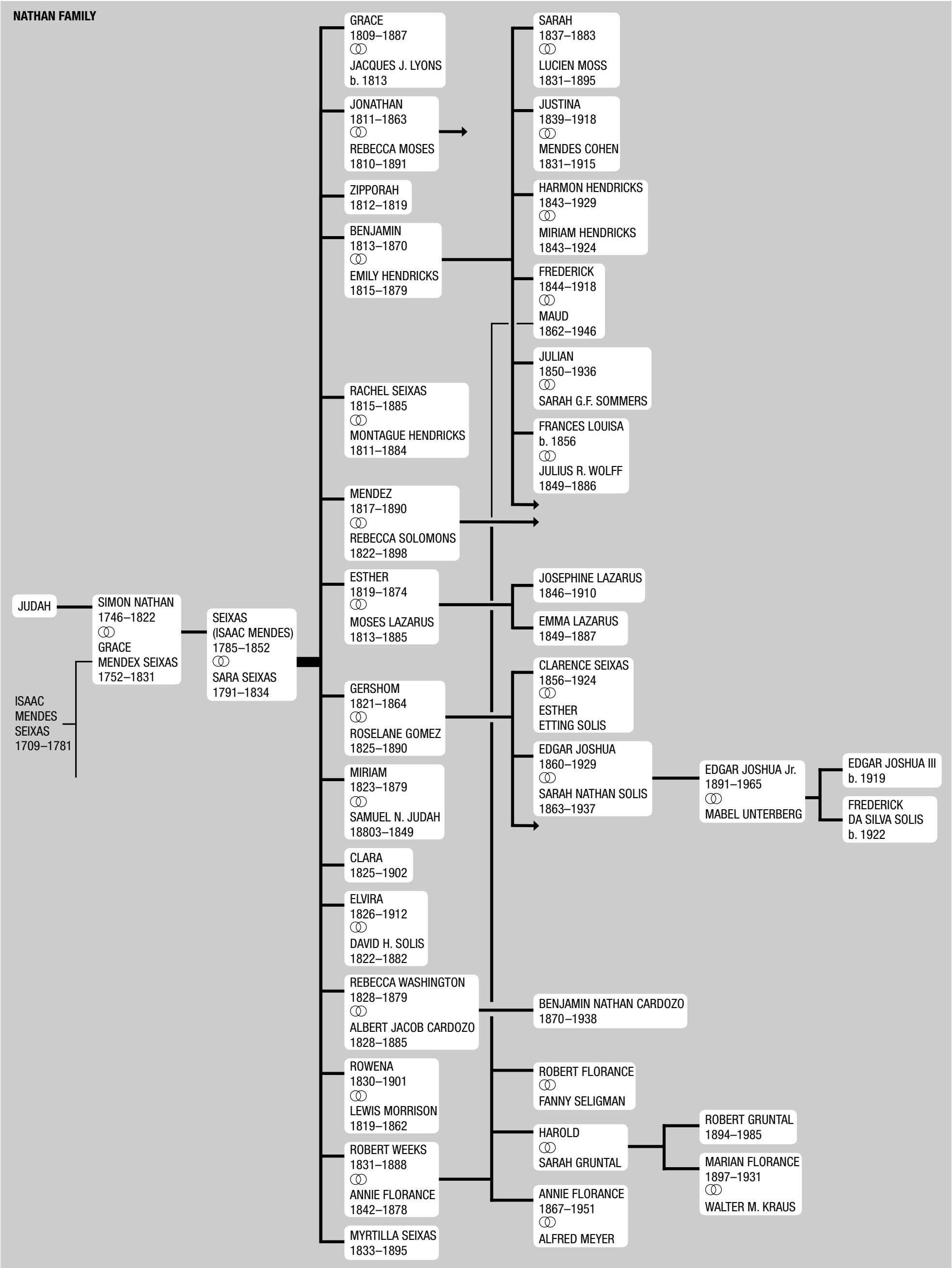
NATHAN FAMILY
JUDAH
ISAAC MENDES SEIXAS 1709–1781
SIMON NATHAN 1746–1822 ⚭ GRACE MENDEX SEIXAS 1752–1831
SEIXAS (ISAAC MENDES) 1785–1852 ⚭ SARA SEIXAS 1791–1834
GRACE 1809–1887 ⚭ JACQUES J. LYONS b. 1813
JONATHAN 1811–1863 ⚭ REBECCA MOSES 1810–1891
ZIPPORAH 1812–1819
BENJAMIN 1813–1870 ⚭ EMILY HENDRICKS 1815–1879
RACHEL SEIXAS 1815–1885 ⚭ MONTAGUE HENDRICKS 1811–1884
MENDEZ 1817–1890 ⚭ REBECCA SOLOMONS 1822–1898
ESTHER 1819–1874 ⚭ MOSES LAZARUS 1813–1885
GERSHOM 1821–1864 ⚭ ROSELANE GOMEZ 1825–1890
MIRIAM 1823–1879 ⚭ SAMUEL N. JUDAH 18803–1849
CLARA 1825–1902
ELVIRA 1826–1912 ⚭ DAVID H. SOLIS 1822–1882
REBECCA WASHINGTON 1828–1879 ⚭ ALBERT JACOB CARDOZO 1828–1885
ROWENA 1830–1901 ⚭ LEWIS MORRISON 1819–1862
ROBERT WEEKS 1831–1888 ⚭ ANNIE FLORANCE 1842–1878
MYRTILLA SEIXAS 1833–1895
SARAH 1837–1883 ⚭ LUCIEN MOSS 1831–1895
JUSTINA 1839–1918 ⚭ MENDES COHEN 1831–1915
HARMON HENDRICKS 1843–1929 ⚭ MIRIAM HENDRICKS 1843–1924
FREDERICK 1844–1918 ⚭ MAUD 1862–1946
JULIAN 1850–1936 ⚭ SARAH G.F. SOMMERS
FRANCES LOUISA b. 1856 ⚭ JULIUS R. WOLFF 1849–1886
JOSEPHINE LAZARUS 1846–1910
EMMA LAZARUS 1849–1887
CLARENCE SEIXAS 1856–1924 ⚭ ESTHER ETTING SOLIS
EDGAR JOSHUA 1860–1929 ⚭ SARAH NATHAN SOLIS 1863–1937
EDGAR JOSHUA Jr. 1891–1965 ⚭ MABEL UNTERBERG
EDGAR JOSHUA III b. 1919
FREDERICK DA SILVA SOLIS b. 1922
BENJAMIN NATHAN CARDOZO 1870–1938
ROBERT FLORANCE ⚭ FANNY SELIGMAN
HAROLD ⚭ SARAH GRUNTAL
ANNIE FLORANCE 1867–1951 ⚭ ALFRED MEYER
ROBERT GRUNTAL 1894–1985
MARIAN FLORANCE 1897–1931 ⚭ WALTER M. KRAUS

the congregation in the years 1782 and 1783. Soon afterward, he moved to New York, where he served as president of the Congregation Shearith Israel in 1785, 1786, 1794, and 1796. He opened a successful dry goods business with Aaron Pimental, enabling him to contribute sums of money to the synagogue.

Their son SEIXAS (Isaac Mendes) NATHAN (1785–1852) married his cousin Sara Seixas (1791–1834), daughter of Benjamin Mendes Seixas (1746–1817). They had 15 children. They and their children married into the Lazarus, Lyons, Cardozo, Gomez, and Hendricks families among others. Some of Simon Nathan's descendants include: the noted poetess EMMA *LAZARUS; her sister JOSEPHINE (1846–1910), a noted essayist; the novelist ROBERT *NATHAN; ANNIE NATHAN *MEYER, founder of Barnard College; MAUD NATHAN (1862–1946), suffragette and president of the Consumers' League for 20 years; and BENJAMIN N. *CARDOZO, member of the United States Supreme Court.

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[Leo Hershkowitz]

NATHAN, ABRAHAM (d. 1745), founder of the London Ashkenazi community, also known as Reb Aberle, Aberle London, and Abraham [of] Hamburg. The son of R. Moses Nathan (Norden) of Hamburg, he was a wealthy diamond merchant and a rabbinical scholar of considerable attainment. It was through him that Ẓevi *Ashkenazi was induced to go to London in 1705 to arbitrate in the dispute then dividing the Sephardi community regarding the orthodoxy of the opinions of the haham David *Nieto. In 1704 Nathan was prevented by the Court of Aldermen from erecting a separate synagogue with a yeshivah attached. Later, however, he took the lead in vindictive fashion in the divorce dispute which resulted in the setting up of the Hambro' Synagogue by his rival Marcus Moses. He ultimately returned to Hamburg in reduced circumstances.

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[Cecil Roth]

NATHAN, DAVID (1816–1886), pioneer New Zealand businessman and communal leader. Nathan arrived in Kororareka from London in 1840, trading as storekeeper. In 1841 he married Rosetta Aarons in New Zealand's first Jewish marriage. He opened a store in Auckland when it became the capital and bought 2,500 acres of land in the adjoining Manurewa. Nathan served on the Auckland City Council and on many local bodies. He went into auctioneering and established New Zealand's oldest and most diversified wholesale business. Sabbath and holiday services were held at his warehouse for over a decade. He served four terms as president of the Auckland Hebrew Congregation. Through his leadership and example he unified and conciliated all groups in the congregation. A strong force in the town's financial affairs, Nathan showed particular interest in working class welfare. His two sons L.D. and N.A. Nathan successively led the congregation after his death for almost half a century.

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[Maurice S. Pitt]

NATHAN, ERNESTO (1845–1921), Italian statesman and the first Jewish mayor of Rome. Born in England, he came into contact with the Italian patriot Guiseppe Mazzini who was exiled to London for his radical views. Nathan was taken to Italy by his mother in 1859 and settled in Rome in 1871 soon after Rome became part of the Kingdom of Italy. He became manager of Mazzini's newspaper *Roma del Popolo* and was a passionate republican and an advocate of the secular state. Nathan became an Italian citizen in 1889 and was twice grand master of the Italian Masons. He was elected mayor of Rome in 1907 and held office until 1913. Following the Italian entry into World War I in 1915, Nathan enlisted in the army and although over 70 served at the front as a lieutenant.

ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY: M.I. Macioti, *Ernesto Nathan: un sindaco che non ha fatto scuola* (1983); P.D. Mandelli, "Ernesto Nathan cittadino pesarese," in: *La presenza ebraica nelle Marche: Secoli XIII–XX* (1993), 355–62; A.M. Isastia, *Ernesto Nathan: un "mazziniano inglese" tra i democratici pesaresi* (1994); R. Ugolini, *Ernesto Nathan tra idealità e pragmatismo* (2003).

NATHAN, GEORGE JEAN (1882–1958), U.S. drama critic and editor. Born in Fort Wayne, Indiana, Nathan became the foremost American critic of his time, and took the lead in freeing the American theater of the stagy and melodramatic trappings of the *Belasco period. He was in journalism for more than 50 years, mostly linked with the world of Broadway as critic for *The Bohemian Magazine* (1906–08), *Harper's Weekly* (1908–10), *The Smart Set* (1908–23), and *The American Mercury*, which he founded with H.L. Mencken in 1924. He was also a founder – with Theodore Dreiser, Eugene O'Neill, and others – of *The American Spectator* (1932–39).

A detached, sophisticated, and cynical figure, Nathan was something of a boulevardier, not only in his personal habits but also in his writings. Nevertheless, he was a man of learning, critical insight, and courage, who paved the way for Eugene O'Neill and his type of dramatic writing. Nathan labored consistently to educate American taste to accept writers such as Sean O'Casey, Jean Giraudoux, and Ludwig Thoma. He wrote several books with Mencken, including the satirical play *Heliogabalus* (1920).

His own books, over 30 in number, include: *Mr. George Jean Nathan Presents* (1917); *The Theater, the Drama, the Girls* (1921); *Materia Critica* (1924); *Testament of a Critic* (1931); *The Theater of the Moment* (1936); *Morning After the First Night* (1938); an *Encyclopaedia of the Theater* (1940); and *The Theater of the Fifties* (1953).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: I. Goldberg, *Theatre of George Jean Nathan* (1926); C. Angoff (ed.), *World of George Jean Nathan* (1952); S.J. Kunitz, *Twentieth Century Authors*, first suppl. (1955), incl. bibl.; *New York Times* (April 8, 1958), 1; (April 9, 1958), 36.

[Charles Angoff]

NATHAN, HARRY LOUIS, BARON (1889–1963), English lawyer and politician. Born in London, the son of a fine arts publisher, Nathan was educated at St. Paul's school before becoming a solicitor. He fought in Gallipoli, Egypt, and France during World War I. In the 1920s he became legal advisor to the British Zionist Organization and to many Jewish bodies in Palestine. From 1929 to 1934 he was a Liberal member of Parliament and then switched and was a Labour member of Parliament from 1934 to 1935 and from 1937 to 1940. Following the outbreak of World War II Nathan became chairman of the National Defense Public Interest Committee. He was elevated to the House of Lords in 1940 as Baron Nathan and from 1946 to 1948 was minister of civil aviation in the postwar Labour government. Later he was departmental chairman of the governmental committee on the law of customs and excise and chairman of the governmental committee to investigate the law and practice of charitable trusts, which led to a new act. Lord Nathan was an active figure in Jewish communal affairs as a member of the Board of Deputies of British Jews, and president of the European Committee of the third, fourth, fifth, and sixth *Maccabiah. He was also prominent in national civic affairs as chairman of the Royal Geographical Society and of the Royal Society of Arts. Lord Nathan wrote *Medical Negligence* (1957) and *The Charities Act, 1960* (1962). His wife, ELEANOR (Stettauer; 1892–1972), was the second female chairperson of the London County Council in 1947–48.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: H.M. Hyde, *Strong for Service: The Life of Lord Nathan of Churt* (1968). **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** ODNB online.

NATHAN, HENRY (1842–1914), Canadian politician. Nathan was born and educated in London, England, and as a young man of 20 moved to Victoria, British Columbia. In Victoria he established himself as an importer and wholesale merchant, also taking an active interest in public affairs. In 1865 he was elected master of the local Masonic lodge. With the support of prominent politicians, in 1870 Nathan ran successfully for a seat in British Columbia's last legislative assembly before the colony entered the Confederation of Canada. He was strongly in favor of the union of British Columbia with Canada and urged such measures as increased representation, responsible government, and greater nonsectarian education. In November of 1871, shortly after B.C. became part of Canada, Nathan was elected one of the new province's first six members of Parliament, becoming the first Jew to sit in the Canadian House of Commons. As an MP, he was a staunch supporter of Prime Minister John A. MacDonald's government, using his position as the representative of Victoria's business interests to urge that the terminus of the Trans-Canada Railway be built as close as possible to the provincial capital. Nathan was re-elected in 1872 and served until 1874, when he retired from politics. Although the national railway was never extended to Victoria, Nathan is widely credited as being a prime mover in bringing British Columbia into the Dominion of Canada.

[Barbara Schober (2nd ed.)]

NATHAN, ISAAC (1790?–1864), composer, singer, and writer. Nathan was born in Canterbury, England, and his father was probably the local *ḥazzan*. He studied with Solomon Lyon at Cambridge to enter the rabbinate, but in about 1810 he went to London and began a career as singer, composer, and music teacher. From Domenico Corri he learned the classical tradition of Italian vocal culture, stemming from Corri's master, Porpora; Nathan's *Musurgia Vocalis* (1836^{2}) is one of the few remaining written documentations of this method. In London he became friendly with Lord *Byron, whose *Hebrew Melodies* were written at Nathan's request and set by him to music. In the first editions of this work (from 1815 onward), which achieved great popularity, the name of John *Braham was featured on the title page as composer, in addition to that of Nathan, but Braham contributed nothing to the work except his prestige. After a financial setback, caused mainly by debts incurred while on a secret mission on behalf of King William IV, Nathan immigrated to Australia in 1841 and settled in Sydney as Australia's first resident professional composer. There he organized musical performances, published a magazine entitled *The Southern Euphrosyne*, and composed the first opera written and produced in Australia, *Don Juan of Austria* (1847). Nathan died in Sydney from injuries received while stepping off (or being run over by) a tram. His great-granddaughter Catherine Mackerras wrote his most informed biography, and her son was the conductor Charles Mackerras. His great-nephew was the pianist Harold Samuel.

Nathan's works include various operas and songs. Several traditional Jewish melodies are found in his *Musurgia Vocalis*. For some of the *Hebrew Melodies* he also used some traditional tunes, but, except for *Ma'oz Ẓur (set to Byron's "On Jordan's Banks"), they are quite transformed by his superficial compositional initiative. In certain of the songs published in Australia, he reworked aboriginal melodies. His grandson, Harry Alfred Nathan, has been proposed as the composer of the popular Australian song "Waltzing Matilda," but the claim is a matter of dispute.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: E. Foreman, *The Porpora Tradition* (1968); C. Mackerras, *Hebrew Melodist: A Life of Isaac Nathan* (1963); O.S. Phillips, *Isaac Nathan, Friend of Byron* (1940); C.H. Bertie, *Isaac Nathan, Australia's First Composer* (1922); R. Covell, *Australia's Music* (1967), 13–15, 59, 68–69; E.R. Dibdin, in: *Music and Letters*, 22 (1941), 85.

[Bathja Bayer]

NATHAN, JOSEPH EDWARD (1835–1912), New Zealand businessman and communal leader. Born in London, Nathan prospected unsuccessfully in the Australian goldfields before arriving in Wellington in 1857. There he went into partnership with Jacob Joseph and built up the flourishing wholesale import-export business which later became Joseph Nathan and Company. He held office on the Wellington Harbor Board, the Chamber of Commerce, the Gas Company, and other enterprises, and was chief promoter and chairman of the Wellington-Manawatu railway. Glaxo Laboratories, which later became important in the manufacture of pharmaceutical products in England, developed from his cooperative farming ventures. (The pharmaceutical giant Glaxo Wellcome, developed in part from his firm, became one of the largest drug manufacturers in the world. Nathan's son Alexander registered the name "Glaxo" for his dried milk powder in London in 1906.) In 1887 Nathan retired to London after having been one of the leaders of the Wellington Jewish community for over 40 years and president of its first synagogue (1870). His family remained prominent in New Zealand life.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: L.M. Goldman, *History of the Jews in New Zealand* (1958), 148, 150, 219. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** J. Millen, "Joseph Edward Nathan," in: *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography.*

[Maurice S. Pitt]

NATHAN, MANFRED (1875–1945), South African lawyer, author, and communal leader. Born in Hanover (South Africa), the son of a German pioneer in the Cape, Nathan practiced at the Johannesburg Bar. He served for a time on the Natal Bench and became president of the South African Special Income Tax court in 1931. An assiduous writer on legal and constitutional subjects, Nathan was the author of a four-volume work, *The Common Law of South Africa* (1904–09) and the studies *The South African Commonwealth* (1919) and *Empire Government* (1928). Among his many other writings were a life of President Paul Kruger, an autobiography, *Not Heaven Itself* (1944), and several works on South African history. Nathan was active in Jewish communal life. He was a founding member of the Transvaal Jewish Board of Deputies (1903) and was president in 1905 and 1907. He was on the first executive of the South African Board of Deputies (1912) and vice president of the South African Zionist Federation (1904–1907).

Nathan was also active in politics and was elected to municipal and provincial legislative bodies in the Transvaal, and served on the boards of educational institutions and hospitals.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: G. Saron and L. Hotz (eds.), *The Jews in South Africa – a History* (1955), index.

[Louis Hotz]

NATHAN, MAUD (1862–1946), U.S. activist, suffragist, and president of the Consumer's League. The second of four children born to Annie Florance and Robert Weeks Nathan, Nathan descended from a line of Sephardi Jews in America that included Gershom *Seixas, the first *ḥazzan* in the New York Jewish community, poet Emma *Lazurus, and Benjamin *Cardozo, a United States Supreme Court Justice. Her sister, Annie Nathan *Meyer, founded Barnard College. Maud Nathan married wealthy financier Fredrick Nathan, a first cousin 19 years her senior, in 1879; their only child, Annette, died in 1895 at the age of nine. The loss of her daughter and a desire to become more involved in society led Nathan to join the board of directors of New York's Mount Sinai Hospital. She also volunteered as a teacher of English to immigrants at the Hebrew Free School Association and served as her synagogue's first sisterhood president. Expansion of her involvement outside the Jewish community soon followed as the Board of Exchange for Women's Work offered an opportunity to engage in politics. Nathan successfully lobbied the sponsors of a bill placing a high tariff on imported beads, arguing that it would increase the economic pressures already placed upon women doing needlework in their homes. Nathan was then contacted by Josephine Shaw Lowell, founder of the Consumer's League, who asked for her assistance in investigating the conditions under which women worked in retail stores, including bad sanitation and meager earnings. As president of the Consumer's League from 1897 to 1927, Nathan investigated the bad conditions experienced by women working in retail and encouraged consumers to patronize shops which provided decent environments and salaries for their workers. Nathan then became active in the women's suffrage movement, serving as president of the Fifteenth Assembly District of New York's Women's Suffrage Party (WSP). While her husband strongly supported her involvement, other family members, including her three siblings, disagreed with the suffrage platform. Undeterred, Nathan specifically targeted Jewish women, including recent East European immigrants, for involvement in WSP activities. Her efforts within Jewish and non-Jewish circles on behalf of women's rights won her the admiration of individuals such as Carrie Chapman Catt, founder of the League of Women Voters, who wrote the foreword to Maud's autobiography, *Once Upon a Time and Today* (1933). Nathan was also the author of *Story of an Epoch-Making Movement* (1926), about the Consumers League.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: A. Kaufman. "Nathan, Maud," in: P.E. Hyman and D. Dash Moore, *Jewish Women in America*, 2 (1997), 967–68; L. Gordon Kuzmack. *Woman's Cause: The Jewish Woman's Movement in England and the United States, 1881–1933* (1990), 144–45.

[Shira Kohn (2nd ed.)]

NATHAN, MORDECAI (15th cent.), French physician of Avignon, the teacher of Joseph b. Solomon *Colon. Nathan was mentioned among three "Jews and doctors of medicine" together with three "Christian doctors of medicine in Avignon" in a manuscript entitled "Thoroughly Tested Prescription for Pestilential Disease" (Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. Français 630, fol. 54). It appears that he was also identified with M. Nadi, the mathematician (Wolf, Bibliotheca, 4 (1733), 904).

He is known by his work *Me'ir Nativ,* also called *Ya'ir Nativ* (Venice, 1523), the first Hebrew concordance of the Bible, compiled between 1437 and 1448. Nathan was familiar with Christian scholarly circles, and more than once engaged in theological polemics with them. He became convinced from these polemics of the need to prepare a Hebrew concordance of the Bible to make it easier for Hebrew-speaking Jews to reply to Christians. He arranged the books of the Bible in the order of the Vulgate (Latin translation). He explained the roots of the words in the most concise language. Verbs and nouns, however, appear in disorder, and he omitted prepositions and formative letters. He also omitted proper nouns and the Aramaic words in the Bible. Christian scholars engaged in the study of Hebrew attached great importance to the work. Mario de Calascio published the concordance a second time (Rome, 1621) together with a Latin translation, in which the defects of the Hebrew edition were remedied. Differences of opinion have arisen about the identity of the author of *Me'ir Nativ.* The inner title page gives Mordecai Nathan as the name of the author, whereas the introduction is signed by Isaac Nathan. Johannes Buxtorf concluded, therefore, that Mordecai Nathan was also known as Isaac Nathan. I.S. *Reggio concluded that the author was Isaac Nathan and that the name Mordecai on the title page was an error. A. Tauber thought that the author was Mordecai Nathan, while the Isaac, who wrote the introduction, was apparently his relative.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: I.S. Reggio, *Iggerot Yashar*, 1 (1834), 70–76; Gross, Gal Jud, 10; Gross, in: MGWJ, 29 (1880), 518–523; S. Mandelkern, *Heikhal ha-Kodesh* (1896), introd., 9–11; A. Tauber, in: KS, 2 (1925), 141–4; Renan, Rabbins, 533; E. Wickersheimer, *Dictionnaire biographique des médicins en France au Moyen-Age* (1936), 537; E.R. Malachi, *Oẓar ha-Leksikografyah ha-Ivrit* (an appendix to *Heikhal ha-Kodesh* of S. Mandelkern, 1955), 12f., 27f., 30.

[Isidore Simon and Abraham David]

NATHAN, MULLA IBRAHIM (1816–1868), British intelligence agent born in *Meshed, Persia. In about 1837 he and his brother Musa left their homeland and entered British service. They traveled throughout Afghanistan, Turkestan, and Bukhara and were connected with all the major British expeditions in Central Asia. During the first Anglo-Afghan War (1839–42), they supplied funds for British officers on remote missions, gathered intelligence and information for the military authorities, and rescued and assisted British prisoners in *Afghanistan after the disaster to the British army at Kabul. They left Afghanistan in 1842, and settled in Bombay in 1844. In recognition of their services, the British government in India granted them compensation for their losses as well as a life pension. Mulla Ibrahim was offered diplomatic employment in Meshed, but refused to return to the city in which the Jews had recently been forced to adopt Islam. In Bombay Mulla Ibrahim took an active part in the Baghdadi-Jewish community. Jacob *Saphir states that he was appointed as a customs official, but was exempted from duty on the Sabbath and Jewish holidays.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Fischel, in: HUCA, 29 (1958), 331–75.

[Walter Joseph Fischel]

NATHAN, PAUL (1857–1927), German politician, Jewish leader, and philanthropist. A protégé of Ludwig *Bamberger and Theodor Barth, he was associated with the Berlin liberal publication *Die Nation*, serving as its editor until 1907. Because of his influence in political circles and as founder in 1901 of the *Hilfsverein der deutschen Juden, Nathan was often regarded as the spokesman of German Jewry apart from the Zionists. He was active in almost all international Jewish conferences on emigration and relief for Jewish victims of pogroms and wars, helping to shape international political and relief campaigns to aid them. Nathan was convinced that the Jewish problem in Russia was part of the general Russian problem, to be solved only by change of regime – if necessary by revolution. He advocated economic pressure on Russia by the West, primarily through refusals to grant loans. Under Nathan's influence the Hilfsverein der deutschen Juden aided liberal and even revolutionary movements in Russia, and he was also instrumental in influencing Lucien *Wolf in England and Jacob H. *Schiff in the United States to accept its policies toward Russia. The Hilfsverein published the *Russische Korrespondenz*, which informed the press, political leaders, and other personalities of the true situation in Russia, and similar bulletins in England and Paris.

During the *Beilis trial of 1913 Nathan, with the help of Lucien Wolf in London, organized the defense of Beilis outside Russia. In Germany Nathan obtained a large number of signatures of non-Jewish personalities in favor of Beilis and expert opinions by scientists. At the same time Nathan published the book *Der Fall Justschinski*, an account of the German pro-Beilis campaign. He was among the founders of the Comite zur Abwehr Anti-semitischer Angriffe in Berlin. In 1896 he published *Die Kriminalitaet der Juden* and *Die Juden als Soldaten* and *Uber das juedische rituelle Schaechtverfahren*.

Nathan was basically a sincere assimilationist who saw only in complete assimilation with the non-Jewish population the possiblity of full emancipation in every country. Thus he strongly opposed the Zionist movement. During World War I, while German Zionists demanded autonomous rights for Jews in countries occupied by the German armed forces, Nathan gave constant help to the assimilationists of Poland. When the war broke out he helped to gain the sympathy of Jews in neutral countries for the cause of the Central Powers, his main argument being that a war against Russia, the country of barbaric pogroms, should be supported by Jews. At the beginning of the Weimar Republic Nathan officially joined the Socialist Party (SPD). The German government asked him to accept the post of its ambassador to Vienna, but Nathan declined the offer because of his close association with the major Jewish organizations at a time when antisemitism was strong in Austria. Through his many friends abroad he tried to gain sympathy for Germany, constantly warning that the harsh conditions of the Versailles Treaty would help bring back a totalitarian and reactionary regime in Germany from which both that nation and others would suffer. Nathan's enthusiasm for Jewish colonization in Soviet Russia led to his publishing a pamphlet in 1926 in which he favored the concentration of Soviet Jews in the far-eastern part of that country.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: E. Feder, *Paul Nathan, ein Lebensbild* (1929); Szajkowski, in: JSOS 19 (1957), 47–50; 29 (1967), 3–26, 75–91; idem, in: PAAJR, 31 (1963), 197–218; idem, in: YLBI, 9 (1964), 131–58; idem, in: YLBI, 3 (1958), 60–80; idem, in: HJ, 14 (1952), 24–37.

NATHAN, ROBERT ROY (1908–2001), U.S. economist. Born in Dayton, Ohio, Nathan joined the Department of Commerce in 1933 and became prominent in President Roosevelt's reconstruction programs. During World War II he was deputy director of the War Production Board and the Office of

War Mobilization and Reconversion. After the war, in 1946, he opened his own consulting firm, Robert R. Nathan Associates, which was active in counseling postwar rehabilitation work and economic development in many countries, such as France, Burma, Indonesia, Korea, Afghanistan, Ghana, Colombia, and El Salvador. During the late 1940s and the early 1950s he devoted much of his time and effort to guiding various Israeli government authorities in their first official contacts with the United States government. His main professional interest was developmental economics; his vision was of a free-enterprise democratic system that benefited all of society. To that end, his economic consulting firm advised business, industry, labor unions; and state, local, national, and foreign governments, applying tested economic principles. The firm became a leader in developing master plans for economic growth, sometimes spending decades in a country. A natural humanitarian, Nathan championed social causes, including civil rights, welfare legislation, and minimum wage, and he was the director of a foundation that contributed to low-income housing and equal opportunity programs. By the time Nathan turned the presidency of his company over to John Beyer in 1978, the firm had provided economic consulting services in most sectors of the U.S. economy.

Nathan Associates Inc. established the Robert R. Nathan Memorial Foundation, which endows a fellowship in applied economics at Nathan's alma mater, the Wharton School of the University of Pennsylvania.

Nathan's major publications include *Mobilizing for Abundance* (1944) and *Palestine – Problem and Promise* (with O. Gass and D. Craemer, 1946).

[Joachim O. Ronall / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

NATHAN, VENGUESSONE, major landowner and moneylender in 15th-century Provence. In a survey of 1424 Nathan is listed as the largest Jewish landowner in Arles, with property including a house, vineyard, and shop where she sold drapery and crockery. She also owned books in Hebrew and Latin. At her death, she was owed money from debts, claims, and pledges. In her will, notarized in 1436, Venguessone's largest bequests went to her grandsons. (Her son, Isaac, had a great deal of money of his own.) Her unmarried granddaughters received money for their dowries (probably in addition to what their father would contribute) and her married granddaughters received 25 florins for clothing for their first birthing. Venguessone left several charitable legacies, including money for the cemetery, a light for the synagogue, ten florins for the crown of the Torah scroll, and money for dowries for poor brides.

Venguessone's mother, Esther de Caylar, granddaughter of Bonjues Nathan, the patriarch of a prominent Arles family, is known to have represented the Nathan family as a delegate, with one other woman, Regina, at an assembly for the reorganization of a free school for the Arles Jewish community, held from November 8–December 23, 1407.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: P. Hildenfinger, "Documents relatifs aux Juifs d'Arles," in: *Revue des études juives* 42 (1900), 87; D. Iancu-Agou, "Une vente de livres hébreux à Arles en 1434: Tableau de l'élite juive Arlesienne au mileu du XVe siècle," in: *Revue des études juives* 146 (1987), 5–62; L. Stouff, "Isaac Nathan et les siens. Une famille juive d'Arles des XIVe et XVe siècles," in: *Provence Historique* 37:150 (1987), 499–12; E. Taitz, S. Henry, and C. Tallan, "Nathan, Venguessone," in: *The JPS Guide to Jewish Women, 600 B.C.E.–1900 C.E.* (2003), 82; idem, "Esther de Caylar," *ibid.*, 79.

[Cheryl Tallan (2nd ed.)]

NATHAN BEN ABRAHAM I (d. c. 1053), *av bet din* of the academy of Ereẓ Israel in Jerusalem. Nathan was a scion of one of the families whose members held respected positions in the academy. Around 1011 he traveled to Kairouan to settle the estate of his father, who had died there. He remained there for a number of years, studying under R. *Ḥushi'el. After the death of his maternal uncle, Rav ben Yoḥai, *av bet din* of the academy of Ereẓ Israel, Nathan claimed the position – although according to accepted custom it belonged to Tobiah, who ranked third in the academy – at the same time attempting to oust R. Solomon b. *Judah as *gaon* of the academy. In the struggle, Nathan was sponsored by Diaspora scholars, while Solomon b. Judah was supported by the local community and also favored by the Fatimid governor of *Ramleh. Nathan lived in Ramleh, attempting to assume the functions of *gaon* there, while Solomon still held his position in Jerusalem and issued a ban against Nathan. In 1042 both parties agreed that Nathan should succeed Solomon as *gaon* of the academy after the latter's death. However, when this occurred (before 1051) the office of *gaon* passed to Daniel b. *Azariah. Nothing is known of Nathan's teachings. In one of his letters of 1042 he mentions his son Abraham, whose son Nathan *II was later *av bet din* of the academy.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: J. Mann, in: HUCA, 3 (1926), 273–6; R. Gottheil and W.H. Worrell, *Fragments from the Cairo Genizah in the Freer Collection* (1927), 197–201; S. Assaf, in: *Zion*, 2 (1927), 115 f.; Mann, Texts, 1 (1931), 323–45; S. Assaf and L.A. Mayer, *Sefer ha-Yishuv*, 2 (1944), index; Shapira, in: *Yerushalayim*, 4 (1953), 118–22; Hirschberg, Afrikah, 1 (1965), 240–3; Goitein, in: *Tarbiz*, 36 (1967), 62 f.

[Abraham David]

NATHAN BEN ABRAHAM II (d. before 1102), *av bet din* of the academy of Ereẓ Israel. Nathan was a grandson of Nathan b. Abraham *I. Few biographical details are known of him. He was appointed *av bet din* of the academy of Ereẓ Israel during the gaonate of *Abiathar in 1095, in succession to Zadok b. Josiah. Nathan compiled a short Arabic commentary to the six Orders of the Mishnah, in which he incorporated explanations of many specific words. A Yemenite scholar who lived in the 12th century copied his commentary, and added some commentaries of other scholars to it. In the opinion of some scholars, however, Nathan is himself responsible for some of the additions from the commentaries of his predecessors. It is not clear which literary sources were already used by Nathan himself and which were added by the Yemenite scholar. The scholars quoted in the commentary, except for two contemporaries, Nathan b. Jehiel of Rome and Isaac Alfasi, lived before him. Nathan, or the Yemenite scholar, frequently quotes the later *geonim*, particularly Saadiah Gaon, Samuel b. Ḥophni

Gaon, Sherira Gaon, and Hai Gaon. There are few quotations from the earlier *geonim*. In general the commentary gives the meaning of words and concepts, a more extensive commentary being found only for a few tractates: *Berakhot, Shevu'ot*, and *Avot*. A few tractates are preceded by a short introduction explaining general concepts and essential matters necessary for an understanding of the whole tractate. R. Nathan, or the Yemenite scholar, gives a short survey of the development of the oral law down to his time in his introduction to the work. He discusses the relationship of the Tosefta to the Mishnah, taking the view that the Tosefta explains obscurities of the Mishnah. He also discusses the principles laid down by talmudic scholars for deciding *halakhah* where there are opposing opinions. The chapter divisions of the tractates in the commentary differ from the accepted form. The commentary seeems to have been widely known and it was already used by Baruch Samuel of *Aleppo.

A number of extracts were published in the original with a Hebrew translation by S. Assaf and by M.L. Sachs. The whole commentary in the Hebrew translation of J. *Kafaḥ was published by El ha-Mekorot (Jerusalem, 1955–58) together with the Mishnah text and other commentaries.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Mann, Egypt, 1 (1920), 151, 193f.; 2 (1922), 229–32; S. Assaf, in: KS, 10 (1933/34), 381–8, 525–45 (= Assaf, Ge'onim, 294–332); M.L. Sachs, in: *Sinai*, 17 (1945), 167–75; S. Abramson, *Rav Nissim Ga'on* (1965), index.

[Abraham David]

NATHAN BEN ISAAC HA-KOHEN HA-BAVLI (i.e., the Babylonian; tenth century), chronicler who probably lived in *Baghdad. The fragments of his work that have been preserved appear to be part of his book on the Jews of Baghdad, *Akhbār Baghdād*. These fragments are an important source for the study of the history of Babylonian Jewry in the tenth century. In the first fragment Nathan gives a description of the office of the exilarch, the method by which he was appointed, his duties, and his functions. The fragment also contains details of two great controversies that raged in Babylonian Jewry in the tenth century. In one, the adversaries were the exilarch *Ukba and the *Gaon* of Pumbedita, Kohen *Ẓedek; it lasted from 909 to 916. In the other controversy, the adversaries were the exilarch David b. *Zakkai and Saadiah *Gaon, in about 930. From the contents of the fragment it appears that Nathan was in Babylonia at the time that the latter controversy took place. His vivid account of the ceremonial observed at the installation of an exilarch is of exceptional interest (see *Exilarch). This fragment was published (in Hebrew) in Samuel Shulam's edition of Abraham *Zacuto's *Sefer Yuḥasin* (Constantinople, 1566), and again in A. Neubauer's *Medieval Jewish Chronicles* 2 (1895), 77–88. A second fragment describes the rise of *Natira and his sons at the court of the Abbasid caliph at the end of the ninth and the beginning of the tenth century. It was published, in Arabic and in a Hebrew translation, by A.E. Harkavy (see bibliography). A third fragment, also dealing with the Ukba-Kohen Ẓedek quarrel, was published, in the original and in English translation, by I. Friedlander (see bibliography). The fragments lead to the assumption that Nathan ha-Bavli was closely associated with the circles surrounding the exilarchs and the academy heads, and that he may have been a student at one of the academies, apparently Sura. His writings contain inaccuracies and glaring omissions, e.g., he errs in the names of the *geonim* and in the chronological data. Nevertheless, he made an honest and unbiased effort to report events as he saw them happen or as they were reported to him. Some of the information contained in the fragments has been confirmed by other sources.

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[Abraham David]

NATHAN BEN JEHIEL OF ROME (1035–c. 1110), Italian lexicographer, also called **Ba'al he-Arukh** ("the author of the *Arukh*") after the title of his lexicon. Few biographical details are known of him. Some state that he belonged to the De *Pomis or Delli Mansi family, but the view is widespread that he actually belonged to the famous *Anau (Anav) family. He was taught in his youth by his father, a *paytan* and the head of the yeshivah of Rome, and may as a young man have studied in Sicily under Maẓli'aḥ b. Elijah ibn *al-Bazak, a pupil of Hai Gaon. However, there is reason to believe that the scanty references to Maẓli'aḥ's name in Nathan's work are the addenda of an earlier copyist named Mevorakh, some of whose marginal notes, in which he also mentions that he was al-Bazak's pupil, were later incorporated in the text of the *Arukh*. Nathan also studied under Moses ha-Darshan of Narbonne, as well as, in the view of some scholars, under Moses Kalfo of Bari and Moses of Pavia. When his father died immediately after Nathan's return to Rome about 1070, he and his two brothers Daniel and Abraham succeeded him as the heads of the yeshivah of Rome. With them he wrote responsa to halakhic questions addressed to him by various scholars, among whom was a Solomon Yiẓḥaki, identified by some as Rashi. Noted for his charitable acts, Nathan built a magnificent synagogue and a ritual bathhouse for his community. It was while serving as head of the Rome yeshivah that he wrote his classic work (which he completed in 1101), the *Arukh*, a lexicon of the Talmud and the Midrashim, containing all the talmudic terms in need of explanation; in the course of time various additions were made to it (see below). At the end of the *Arukh* there is a poem written in particularly difficult language and therefore of somewhat obscure meaning; in it the poet, lamenting his bitter lot, tells of the death of four out of his five sons during his lifetime.

In the *Arukh* Nathan gives not only the meaning but also the etymology of the words of the Talmud, including some of Aramaic, Latin, Greek, Arabic, and Persian origin. Nathan quotes many geonic interpretations and an earlier lexicon by a Ẓemaḥ of uncertain identity, as well as the comments of earlier and contemporary rabbis – among them works otherwise unknown – and halakhic decisions, although apparently irrelevant to the object of the work. He describes Jewish customs, such as that of the Babylonian Jews, who in celebrating Purim burned Haman's effigy, singing around and leaping over a bonfire (s.v. *shavvar*). The *Arukh* is important for the study of the **Midrash Yelammedenu*. Of the other Midrashim he cites, particular note should be taken of the *Midrash Hashkem* of which only quotations have survived, and many of his citations from the Midrashim are not to be found in the extant editions. He also quotes the Palestine Targum to the Pentateuch. Words were still treated by Nathan as though they belonged to uniliteral or biliteral consonantal roots, even though the work of Judah ibn Ḥayyuj, showing that the Hebrew verb has a triliteral root, had already appeared.

The main importance of the *Arukh* lies in the extensive collection of explanations of words and subjects in the Talmud and in the profusion of the author's excellent readings, all drawn from the three chief Torah centers of that time: the teaching of the Babylonian *geonim*; the commentaries of Hananel b. *Ḥushi'el of Kairouan, which he uses extensively but in the main without acknowledgment; and the "Mainz commentaries" mentioned by him under different names ("scholars of Mainz," "pious ones of Mainz," "Mainz commentary," etc.). These explanations occur in the extant commentaries of Rabbenu Gershom without mentioning Nathan's name. Apart from these three sources he also had before him not a few of the early commentaries of Provence. Nathan frequently explains words and subjects according to the reading of Hananel b. Ḥushi'el without indicating that his explanation is based thereon. At times he goes beyond the explanation of the word and explains the whole theme. It has now been established that these explanations are also from Hananel, given by him in other contexts. In the printed editions of the Talmud, Rashi mentions him once (Shab. 13b). The whole passage, however, is missing in some manuscripts, and it is clear that Rashi made no use of the *Arukh*. The many anonymous parallels that exist between the two works have their source in the common use made by the two scholars of "the teaching of Mainz" and of the other common exegetical traditions.

The *Arukh* achieved exceptionally wide circulation. It was apparently first published in Rome in 1469–72?, an edition that is a better version than that found in later ones printed from a different manuscript. Because of the great importance attached to the work, many supplements to and emendations of it were written. Among them is the *Agur* of Samuel b. Jacob ibn *Jama (12th century), consisting of addenda to the *Arukh* derived from the language found in geonic writings, which was published by S. Buber in *Jubelschrift…. H. Graetz* (1887). Menahem de *Lonzano wrote addenda, emendations, and explanations to the *Arukh* under the title of *Ha-Ma'arikh*, published in his work *Shetei Yadot* (Venice, 1618). The physician and philologist Benjamin *Mussafia, in his *Musaf he-Arukh*, which was printed in the *Arukh* (Amsterdam, 1655), corrected the Greek and Latin words. Isaiah *Berlin (18th century) wrote *Hafla'ah she-ba-Arakhin*, addenda and notes to the *Arukh* up to the letter *kaf* in the Lemberg 1857 edition of the *Arukh*. A scholarly edition, based on seven manuscripts, was published by Alexander Kohut under the title of *Arukh ha-Shalem* or *Aruch Completum* (1878–92), to which a supplement and addenda were issued by S. Krauss in his *Tosefot he-Arukh ha-Shalem* (1937). A condensed version, entitled *He-Arukh ha-Kaẓar*, by an anonymous epitomist, was first published in Constantinople.

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[Abraham David]

NATHAN DE-ẒUẒITA RESH GALUTA, Babylonian exilarch. According to a statement in the Talmud (Shab. 56b), he is identical with Ukban b. Nehemiah (320–340), but in the *Seder Olam Zuta* two different exilarchs are mentioned called both Ukban and Ẓuẓita: one, called Nathan Ukban (Nathan de-Ẓuẓita), lived in the third century, and the other, Mar Ukban de Ẓuẓita, a near contemporary of R. Joseph, in the fourth. Nathan seems originally to have lived a sinful life, but he later repented. The *amora* Joseph expressed the view that he must be regarded as one of the most celebrated of penitents of all time, and that he was much beloved in heaven. According to an old *aggadah* cited by Rashi (Sanh. 31b), Nathan (Masukba) was consumed by passion for a married woman and unfulfilled desire made him ill. On one occasion, in need of money, she paid him a visit of her own free will. Although he could now have had his desire, he restrained himself, and she departed untouched. From that moment his passion subsided, and a ray of light was seen to shine over his head. It is to this that the name Ẓuẓita (ray of light) refers. According to the *geonim* Ẓemaḥ and Sa'adiah, however, the name derives from the fact that in his youth Nathan used to dress and curl the fringes (*ẓiẓiot*) of his hair (B.M. Lewin, *Oẓar ha-Ge'onim* (Shab.; 1930), pt. 2 24). Rashi identified him in that passage with Mar *Ukba the *av bet din*, a contemporary of Samuel (cf. also R. Aḥai Gaon. *She'iltot*, Va-Era 42; ed. by S.K. Mirsky, 3 (1963), 43). In the manuscripts of the *She'iltot*, however, the passage, "and his name is Nathan b. Ẓuẓita" does not occur. See also *Ḥibbur Yafeh min ha-Yeshu'ah* of Nissim Gaon (ed. by H.Z. Hirschberg (1954), 73–76), from which it appears that he lived in the tannaitic period.

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[David Joseph Bornstein]

NATHAN HA-BAVLI ("the Babylonian"; middle of the second century C.E.), *tanna*. It is said of Rabbi *Judah ha-Nasi and Rabbi Nathan that they constituted "the conclusion of the Mishnah" (BM 86a), i.e., that they were the outstanding scholars of the close of the tannaitic period. Like other prominent figures of the last generations of *tannaim*, Nathan's statements are rarely quoted in the Mishnah – only twice, and even those two passages are additions which do not appear in the manuscripts. In one passage he interpreted Psalms 119:126 to mean: "They have made void the law because it was a time to work for the Lord" (Ber. 9:5). The other passage lays it down that "The surplus of money collected for burial … is used to build a monument over the grave" (Shek. 2:5). On the other hand, he is quoted by name over 60 times in the Tosefta, and over 100 times in tannaitic midrashim, mostly in midrashim of the school of R. Ishmael. It was reported that he had a Mishnah collection of his own (Tem. 16a). Nathan's appellation "ha-Bavli" ("the Babylonian") is only mentioned in one tannaitic source, and even then only in the Vienna manuscript of the Tosefta (Tosef. Shab. 15:8) in the talmudic parallels of this tradition (Shab. 134a, Ḥul. 47b; cf TJ Ket. 4:11, 29a). According to a geonic tradition (see *Arukh* s.v. *kamra*), he was the *exilarch. He transmitted traditions in the names of *Ishmael (Tosef. Shab. 1:13), *Eliezer b. Hyrcanus (Tosef. Pes. 3:8), *Tarfon (Tosef. Zev. 10:13), and *Yose ha-Gelili (Men. 38b). When the Hadrianic persecutions broke out he fled to his native Babylon. He is reported to have traveled overseas to a number of countries, including Cappadocia (Ḥul. 47b). When *Hananiah the nephew of Joshua b. Hananiah fixed the calendar in Babylon, Nathan was one of the two scholars who were sent to remonstrate with him and succeeded in persuading him to desist (TJ, Ned. 6:13 40a; Sanh. 1:2, 19a). He is cited as the one who transmitted the important halakhic rule that if A owes B money and B owes C, then C may claim from A (Ket. 19a; see **Shi'buda de-Rabbi Nathan*). In later tradition he was considered to be the author of **Avot de-Rabbi Nathan* and of the 49 *hermeneutical rules of Rabbi Nathan. He was regarded as an authority on civil law because of his experience as a *dayyan* (BK 39a; BM 117b). According to the *aggadah* (Git. 70a), the prophet Elijah appeared to him and taught him. Among the aggadic sayings ascribed to him are: "One may modify a statement in the interest of peace" (Yev. 65b); "Do not taunt your neighbor with your own blemish" (BM 59b); and "There is no greater love than love of the Torah; there is no wisdom like the wisdom of Ereẓ Israel, and there is no beauty like the beauty of Jerusalem" (ARN, 28, 85).

According to an *aggadah* in the Babylonian Talmud Nathan was *av bet din* under the *nasi* *Simeon b. Gamaliel, at the time R. Meir was the *ḥakham* (Hor. 13b). According to this tradition Simeon b. Gamaliel took steps to strengthen the status and honor of his office at the expense of these other two sages, which Meir and Nathan took as a personal affront. Nathan and Meir engaged in a conspiracy to discredit Simeon b. Gamaliel and to remove him from office. Their plan was foiled and Simeon in turn attempted, unsuccessfully, to have them removed from the *bet ha-midrash*. Nevertheless, as a punishment for their opposition to the *nasi*, it was decreed that all subsequent statements made by Meir and Nathan should be introduced anonymously, the former being quoted merely as "others say" and the latter as "some say" (Hor. 13b–14a). While some scholars have held that this story accurately reflects the forms of communal leadership practiced during the late tannaitic period, and have also accepted it as evidence for a power struggle between these well-known historical figures, Goodblatt has shown quite convincingly that this story is in fact a late Babylonian elaboration and embellishment of certain earlier Palestinian traditions (cf. TJ MK 3:1, 81c), and has little or no historical value.

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[David Joseph Bornstein / Stephen G. Wald (2nd ed.)]

NATHAN OF GAZA (1643/4–1680), one of the central figures of the *Shabbatean movement. His full name was Abraham Nathan b. Elisha Ḥayyim Ashkenazi, but he became famous as Nathan the Prophet of Gaza, and after 1665 his admirers generally called him "the holy lamp" (*buẓina kaddisha*), the honorific given to R. Simeon b. *Yoḥai in the Zohar. His father, Elisha Ḥayyim b. Jacob *Ashkenazi, who had come from Poland or Germany, settled in Jerusalem and for many years served as an emissary of its community, visiting Poland, Germany, Italy, and (frequently) Morocco. He was a respected rabbinical scholar with kabbalistic leanings. Nathan was born in *Jerusalem, probably about 1643/44. His main teacher was the famous talmudist Jacob *Ḥagiz and he seems to have been a brilliant student, quick to understand and of considerable intellectual power. Before he left Jerusalem in 1663, having married the daughter of a wealthy merchant of Gaza, Samuel Lissabonna, and settled in the latter's home town, he must have seen Shabbetai *Ẓevi, then twice his age, in the Jewish quarter of Jerusalem, where Shabbetai lived for almost the whole of 1663. It is also clear that he must have heard a great deal of talk about this strange personality and his tribulations. Strongly attracted by an ascetic way of life, Nathan took up the study of Kabbalah in 1664. The combination of great intellectual and imaginative power which was his main characteristic resulted in his having visions of angels and deceased souls after a short time. He delved deeply into Lurianic Kabbalah, following the ascetic rules laid down by Isaac *Luria. Shortly before or after Purim 1665 he had a significant ecstatic experience accompanied by a prolonged vision (he speaks of 24 hours) of the divine world revealing how its different stages were connected, a vision that differed in many significant details from the Lurianic scheme. Through this revelation he became convinced of the messianic mission of Shabbetai Ẓevi, whose figure he saw engraved on the divine throne. (For his further intensive activities during the following year, see the article on Shabbetai *Ẓevi). When the latter returned from his mission to Egypt and came to see him in Gaza, Nathan finally convinced him of his messianic destiny by producing a pseudepigraphic vision, attributed to a medieval saint, Abraham Ḥasid, who as it were foretold the birth and early history of Shabbetai Ẓevi and confirmed his superior rank.

In his ecstasy Nathan had heard a voice announcing in the name of God that Shabbetai Ẓevi was the Messiah; he therefore became the prophet of the "son of David," the mission that the biblical prophet Nathan had fulfilled for King David. As he had been vouchsafed charismatic gifts since his ecstatic awakening, many people made pilgrimages to him from Palestine, Syria, and Egypt. He showed "the roots of their souls," revealed their secret sins, and prescribed ways to penance. Since his prophetic powers were widely acknowledged as genuine, his endorsement of Shabbetai Ẓevi's messianic claim gave the decisive impetus to the mass movement which swept the Jewish people everywhere. Remaining in Gaza after Shabbetai Ẓevi left for Jerusalem and Smyrna (Izmir), he wrote letters to the Diaspora confirming that redemption was at hand and laying down elaborate kabbalistic rules of penance (*tikkunim*) to be followed by those who wished to usher in the new age. These were widely copied, and the exoteric portions of the ritual were printed in many editions during 1666. It is not known why the rabbis of Jerusalem, the majority of whom (including Jacob Ḥagiz) took a stand against the messianic claims of Shabbetai Ẓevi, did nothing to interfere with Nathan's activities. The fact that the small community of Gaza, including their rabbi, Jacob *Najara, were among his followers, is insufficient explanation. In the summer of 1666, during Shabbetai's confinement in Gallipoli, Nathan composed several kabbalistic tracts of which the *Derush ha-Tanninim* has survived (published in G. Scholem, *Be-Ikkevot Mashi'aḥ*, 1944), glorifying Shabbetai's mystical state since the beginning of creation. His correspondence with Shabbetai Ẓevi during this time, however, is lost.

After receiving the news of Shabbetai's apostasy, he left Gaza early in November 1666, accompanied by a large group of supporters, including his father-in-law and his family. On Nov. 20, 1666, he wrote to Shabbetai Ẓevi from Damascus announcing that he was on his way to see him, apparently on the latter's invitation. By this time he had already begun to sign himself Nathan Benjamin, the new name Shabbetai had given him in Gaza when he appointed 12 scholars to represent the 12 tribes of Israel. Nathan's faith in his messiah never wavered, and from the beginning he hinted at mystical reasons which justified the apostasy. Originally he planned to travel by sea via Alexandretta (Iskenderun) but he changed his route and went with his entourage by land, avoiding the larger Jewish communities which had been warned against him by the rabbis of Constantinople. By the end of January 1667 he arrived at Bursa (Brusa), where he was threatened with a ban unless he stayed out of the town and "kept quiet." Dispersing his group he continued with only six associates, including Samuel Gandoor, a scholar from Egypt, who became his constant companion until his death. Before leaving Bursa, he wrote a letter to Shabbetai's brothers in Smyrna, opening a long series of letters, tracts, and other pronouncements defending the apostasy and Shabbetai's continued messianic mission on kabbalistic grounds. Many of these have been preserved. On March 3, 1667, he arrived at a small village near Smyrna, then stayed until April 30 in Smyrna itself; there he met with some of the believers but kept largely to himself. He became very reserved toward all outsiders and even repelled the delegation of three northern Italian communities who were on their way to Shabbetai Ẓevi and had been waiting to hear Nathan's explanations. The Dutch clergyman Th. Coenen has left a description of his meeting with Nathan on April 25. Nathan tried to reach Adrianople, where he would see his messiah, but he was held up in the nearby small community of Ipsala and met by a delegation from Adrianople and Constantinople. After being interrogated he was forced to sign a document (dated May 31, 1667) promising not to approach Adrianople, not to correspond with "that man" in Adrianople, and not to convene public meetings, but to keep to himself; finally he admitted that all his words would be given the lie unless the messiah appeared before September 14, a date he had fixed earlier on the strength of an additional vision. Later Nathan repudiated all these obligations, claiming that he had acted under duress. He went to see Shabbetai Ẓevi secretly, then wandered with Gandoor through Thrace and Greece where sympathy with the movement was still very strong.

Early in 1668 he traveled from Janina to Corfu, where he held secret conclaves with his adherents. On the initiative of Shabbetai Ẓevi himself he then undertook a journey to Italy, with the intention of carrying out a mystic ritual at the seat of the pope in Rome. His arrival in Venice around March 20 caused considerable excitement and apprehension. Under pressure from someone in the government, he was allowed to enter the ghetto where he spent approximately two weeks, being closely questioned by the rabbis but also beleaguered by a host of admirers and followers. The events of Ipsala were repeated; the rabbis published the results of their examination in a broadsheet, including a declaration in which Nathan admitted his errors; later Nathan repudiated this in statements to the believers. From Venice he and Gandoor traveled to Bologna, Florence, and Leghorn, where he stayed for some weeks strengthening the hopes of the remaining believers. He and a wealthy Italian believer, Moses Cafsuto, then proceeded to Rome, perhaps disguised as gentiles. He stayed a few days only (end of May or beginning of June) performing some secret rituals patterned on those outlined at an earlier time by Solomon *Molcho. He returned to Leghorn or, according to another source, went straight to Ancona, where he was recognized and met the rabbi, Mahalalel *Halleluyah (Alleluyah), a fervent believer, who has left a detailed account of their meeting. By that time Nathan had written an account of his mission to Rome, couched in elusive Aramaic filled with kabbalistic and apocalyptic metaphors. This was widely distributed to the groups of believers. On his return to Turkey via Ragusa and Durazzo, Nathan went to stay for some time with Shabbetai Ẓevi in Adrianople. After this he spent six months in Salonika, where a considerable group of scholars flocked to him to receive his new version of the Kabbalah according to Shabbatean principles. For the next ten years he remained in Macedonia and Bulgaria – apart from secret pilgrimages to Shabbetai Ẓevi after the latter's banishment to Dulcigno in Albania (1673 – staying mainly in Sofia, Adrianople, and Kastoria, and paying occasional visits to Salonika. He maintained close contacts with many other leaders of the movement, who continued to consider him as a charismatic figure of the highest rank. Although Shabbetai Ẓevi never asked him to follow him into Islam, he staunchly defended not only the necessity of the messiah's apostasy but also those "elect ones" who emulated him on his command. Many of the rabbis of the Macedonian communities stood by him, paying no heed to the excommunications and warnings emanating from Constantinople and Adrianople.

Nathan's letters reveal him as a strong personality, although the few that have been preserved from his intense correspondence with Shabbetai Ẓevi are couched in adoring and submissive terms. They contrast curiously with his obvious moral and intellectual superiority over his master. In spite of all this, there were periods of tension between the two. After Shabbetai's death Nathan withdrew even more from public contact, although he continued to preach in the synagogues of Sofia on some occasions. Refusing to admit defeat, he upheld the theory that Shabbetai Ẓevi had only "disappeared" or gone into hiding in some higher sphere, whence he would return in God's own time. Israel Ḥazzan of Kastoria, who served as his secretary for about three years, took down many of his teachings and sayings after Shabbetai's death. Nathan continued to lead an ascetic life and, feeling that his end was near, left Sofia and went to Skoplje (èskśb), where he died on Jan. 11, 1680. His grave was revered as that of a saint, and over the generations many Shabbateans made pilgrimages there. His tombstone, whose inscription has been preserved, was destroyed during World War II. The many legends spread about Nathan during his lifetime increased after his death. He had two sons, of whose fate nothing is known. A sketch of Nathan drawn by a ship's mate who saw him in Gaza in the summer of 1665, which was reproduced in several contemporary broadsheets, may be authentic.

Between 1665 and 1679 Nathan embarked on a manifold literary activity. Some of his many letters are in fact theological treatises. At first, he composed kabbalistic rules and meditations for a fast of six consecutive days, *Seder Hafsakah Gedolah shel Shishah Yamim ve-Shishah Leilot*, partly printed anonymously under the title *Sefer le-Hafsakah Gedolah* (Smyrna, 1732). These were accompanied by *Tikkunei Teshuvah*, both treatises being preserved in several manuscripts. The printed edition omits all mention of Shabbetai Ẓevi's name. At about the same time he began the explanation of his new vision of the process of creation, sending several tracts on this to Raphael Joseph in Cairo. Of these only the *Derush ha-Tanninim* has been preserved. After Shabbetai's apostasy he developed his ideas in a more radical way. The most elaborate presentation of his kabbalistic system, containing constant references to the function of the Messiah and his paradoxical actions, is found in the *Sefer ha-Beri'ah*, written in 1670, in two parts. It was also known under the title *Raza de-Uvda de-Bereshit*, and in some manuscripts was accompanied by a lengthy preface which may have been conceived as a separate literary entity. The work is extant, complete or in parts, in approximately 30 manuscripts and must have enjoyed a wide distribution in Shabbatean circles up to the middle of the 18th century. A short synopsis of its ideas, from Ms. Oxford, Neubauer Cat. (Bod.) no. 2394, is included in Scholem's *Be-Ikkevot Mashi'aḥ*. During the same period Nathan composed the book *Zemir Ariẓim* which, as well as other kabbalistic matters, contains long disquisitions on the state of the Torah in the messianic era and a justification of Shabbetai Ẓevi's antinomian actions (complete in British Museum Or. 4536, Margoliouth, Cat, no. 856 and elsewhere). In some manuscripts it was called *Derush ha-Menorah* and was partly included in the collection *Be-Ikkevot Mashi'aḥ.* These books were widely quoted by secret Shabbateans, sometimes even in printed works. Of his many pastoral letters, special mention must be made of the long apology for Shabbetai Ẓevi, published in *Kovez al Yad*, 6 (1966), 419–56, apparently written about 1673–74. Fragments of other writings are dispersed through several manuscripts and Shabbatean notebooks. Collections dealing with his special customs and behavior were made by his pupils in Salonika (who saw him as a reincarnation of Luria) and were distributed in Turkey and Italy. These are extant in several versions. An abridgment of Nathan's system was incorporated as the first part of the *Sha'arei Gan Eden* by Jacob Koppel b. Moses of *Mezhirech and was published as an authoritative kabbalistic text (Korets, 1803) without its heretical character being recognized.

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[Gershom Scholem]

NATHANS, DANIEL (1928–1999), U.S. Nobel laureate in medicine (1978). Nathans was born in Wilmington, Delaware, of Orthodox Jewish immigrants from Latvia and graduated in chemistry from the University of Delaware (1950) and in medicine from Washington University, St Louis, in 1954. His career in medical research began at the Rockefeller Institute in 1959 with work on protein synthesis before he switched to animal viruses, specifically the DNA virus SV40. During a 1969 sabbatical at the Weizmann Institute with Leo *Sachs and Ernest Winocour, Nathans realized the relevance of the newly discovered restriction enzymes to viral research. These enzymes cut DNA at specific sites, providing DNA fragments whose genetic function can be precisely mapped. Daniel's mapping of the SV40 gene pioneered the application of restriction enzyme techniques to genetics and was an essential step in the development of molecular cloning and recombinant technology. He was awarded the Nobel Prize for this work, jointly with Werner Arber and Hamilton Smith. His later interest in the genetic regulation of cell growth led him to study the response of cellular genes to growth factors. He moved to Johns Hopkins University in 1962, where he served as chairman of the Department of Microbiology and university president and was revered for his teaching and organizational skills. His honors included election to the U.S. National Academy of Sciences and the National Medal of Science.

[Michael Denman (2nd ed.)]

NATHANSEN, HENRI (1868–1944), Danish playwright and novelist. Born in Hjørring, Jutland, Nathansen practiced law before becoming a writer. He published some 20 works, nearly half of them plays, and in 1909 became stage director of Copenhagen's Royal Theater. Many of his plays dealt with contemporary Jewish problems. The drama *Daniel Hertz* (1908) was followed in 1912 by *Indenfor murene* ("Within the Walls") considered to be one of the finest plays in the Danish language. Nathansen here analyzes the position of the Jew in a non-Jewish environment and, in portraying the conflicts engendered by a Copenhagen Jewess' wish to marry a gentile, succeeds in airing the whole question of Jewish-Christian relations in a free society. Jewish themes also dominate Nathansen's comedy *Affaeren* (1913), the semi-autobiographical novel *Af Hugo Davids liv* (4 vols., 1917), and the last work published in his lifetime, the novel *Mendel Philipsen og Sön* (1932). His other outstanding publications include a biography of Georg *Brandes (1929) and *Portraetstudier* (1930), studies of eminent Scandinavian writers. In 1919 Nathansen issued a protest against the persecution of Polish Jewry, and in 1930 called for solidarity in the Copenhagen Jewish community to counteract the dangers of Nazi antisemitism. Together with the majority of Danish Jews, he fled to Sweden in October 1943. There, in a fit of depression, he took his own life.

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[Torben Meyer]

NATHANSON, BERNHARD (**Dov Baer**; 1832–1916), Hebrew writer, biographer, and lexicographer. Born in Satanov, Podolia, Nathanson was a contributor to *Ha-Maggid* and *Ha-Meliẓ*. After the death of I.B. *Levinsohn in 1860 he was commissioned to prepare Levinsohn's manuscripts for publication, a task to which he devoted most of his literary career. He wrote a popular biography of Levinsohn, *Sefer ha-Zikhronot* (1876). Nathanson also compiled *Ma'arekhet Sifrei Kodesh* (1870), a Jewish historical lexicon, and *Sefer ha-Millim* (1880), a dictionary of foreign words.

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[Yehuda Slutsky]

NATHANSON, JOSEPH SAUL (1810–1875), **posek*. Nathanson was born in Berezhany, the son of Aryeh Leibush Nathanson of Brody, a wealthy businessman who was also a profound talmudist. In 1825 he married Sarah Idel, the daughter of Isaac Aaron Ettinger, who was also a great scholar and a wealthy man. Nathanson, as was customary in those days, was maintained in his father-in-law's home. When his father-in-law died shortly after his marriage, his mother-in-law administered the business and took care that he would be able to live and study without financial cares, and when she died in 1841, his wife took over the responsibility. In his father-in-law's house Nathanson found a colleague in his brother-in-law, Mordecai Ze'ev *Ettinger. They studied together for several years and compiled a series of halakhic works, but they separated as a result of a difference of opinion which came to a head on the question of the permissibility of machine-baked *matzah*. The two brothers-in-law were rival candidates for the rabbinate of Lemberg to which Nathanson was appointed in 1857. The same year his wife died, but in 1858 he married a wealthy woman and did not accept a salary.

Nathanson was the outstanding *posek* and writer of responsa of his generation. Problems reached him from all parts of the world and he corresponded with all the great contemporary scholars. In his works he is revealed principally as an instructor in practical *halakhah*. He regarded himself as responsible for the condition of *halakhah* in his time, in succession to such scholars as Akiva *Eger and Moses *Sofer. He was opposed to the method of **pilpul* for its own sake, regarding it as suitable only for youths (*Divrei Sha'ul*, *Aggadot*, 29b) but not for those destined to be religious teachers. He did not necessarily base his decisions "upon the statements of *aḥaronim*" (*Sho'el u-Meshiv*, 2 pt. 3, no. 108), but based his rulings mainly upon the Talmud and the *rishonim*.

He tended to leniency in his rulings, and took contemporary circumstances into consideration. He was one of those who permitted machine-baked *matzah* in opposition to the view of Solomon *Kluger. Although Kluger decided that **etrogim* from Corfu were invalid because of the fear that they were hybrids, Nathanson permitted them (*Yosef Da'at, Kilei Begadim*, no. 302). He also regarded the birds called "kibbitzer" hens as permitted according to the dietary laws although other authorities forbade them (*Sho'el u-Meshiv*, 3 pt. 2, no. 121). Although known for his permissive approach, he sometimes declared things forbidden simply as a precaution (*Yosef Da'at, Terefot*, 64–65). It was this which prompted

Dov Berush *Meisels, rabbi of Warsaw, to say of him: "I know him of old as one who adopts a stringent and not a lenient line" (end of the pamphlet *Moda'ah le-Veit Yisrael*). Despite his leniency in halakhic ruling, he fought with all his power against the progressives in his community who wanted to introduce reforms into education. When the government sought to compel the Jews of Galicia to send their children to government schools and to bar them from the *ḥeder* until they had passed four classes of the secular schools, as well as to make the teachers pass an examination in German and pedagogy, Nathanson took the initiative in uniting the great talmudic scholars to obtain the repeal of the edict (see S. Kluger's letter of 1867 in *Toledot Shelomo* (1956), 113ff.).

On the other hand he was resolutely opposed to schism, and when Zalman Spitzer, the son-in-law of Moses Sofer, published a proclamation calling on 400 rabbis to sign a ban against the payment of taxes to communities whose leaders were progressives, he declined to sign because it would lead to discord. He also maintained harmonious relations with the preachers of the "temple" (i.e., Reform synagogue), Dr. Simeon Schwabacher and Bernhard Loewenstein.

Nathanson was completely opposed to the ḥasidic movement and its new customs. As such he upheld the Ashkenazi *minhag* opposing the custom of reciting **Hallel* in the synagogues on Passover eve (*Sho'el u-Meshiv*, 2 pt. 4, no. 135) and the custom of not donning *tefillin* during the intermediate days of the festivals (*ibid.*, 2 pt. 3, no. 87). Despite his opposition to Ḥasidism, however, he respected their leaders if they were great scholars and quoted them in his works. While still a youth in the house of his grandfather in Berezhany, he made the acquaintance of the ḥasidic rabbi Abraham David of Buczacz and wrote a commendation for his *Da'at Kedoshim* (1880). In his own works he quotes Levi Isaac of Berdichev (*Divrei Sha'ul* on the Pentateuch, passim), and among the other ḥasidic leaders he had great respect for Isaac Meir Alter, author of the *Ḥiddushei ha-Rim*, and was on friendly terms with Ḥayyim Halberstamm, the author of the *Divrei Ḥayyim*.

Although mainly occupied with *halakhah*, Nathanson devoted part of his time to biblical study, and wrote *Divrei Sha'ul*, on the Pentateuch and the Five *Scrolls. He applied himself to the study of Kabbalah, but like the other great *posekim* of his generation refrained from quoting it in support of the *halakhah (Sho'el u-Meshiv*, 2 pt. 3, no. 87). He was also versed in the scientific works of the Middle Ages and applied modern methods in practical halakhic rulings, such as ordering a chemical analysis to determine the presence of an admixture of forbidden matter in food (*ibid.*, 3 pt. 1, no. 377). He lectured to his students twice daily (*ibid.*, 2 pt. 3, no. 101). He did not prepare his lesson in advance, but involved his pupils in the discussions, and his lesson became a workshop for his novellae. Among his distinguished pupils were Ze'ev Wolf Salat, the publisher of his responsa, and Ẓevi Hirsch Ornstein. He supported talmudic scholars and authors, and Solomon Buber testified of him that "without exaggeration there are extant 300 commendations by him," so that he was designated *Sar ha-Maskim* ("chief approver," a pun on Gen. 40:9).

Besides the works he compiled with his brother-in-law Moses Ze'ev Ettinger, Nathanson wrote a series of works in *halakhah* and *aggadah*. His classic work in *halakhah* is his responsa *Sho'el u-Meshiv* (1865–90), in six volumes comprising 15 parts. He was also the author of *Divrei Sha'ul veha-Sefer Yosef Da'at* (1878–79) on the Shulḥan Arukh, *Yoreh De'ah*, in two parts; *Yad Yosef ve-Yad Sha'ul* (1851); *Hilkhot Nedarim*; Shulḥan Arukh (YD 203–35), *Beit Sha'ul*, on the Mishnah (in the Romm Vilna edition); *Divrei Sha'ul* (1877), on the *aggadot* of the Talmud; *Divrei Sha'ul* (1875), on the Pentateuch and the five scrolls, in two parts; *Divrei Sha'ul ve-hu Sefer Ḥelek le-Shivah* (1879), on the *Naḥalat Shivah* of Samuel b. David ha-Levi; *Torat Moshe*, on the *Torat Ḥattat* of Moses Isserles (in: *Ḥamishah Sefarim Niftaḥim* (1859)); novellae glosses on the four parts of the Shulḥan Arukh; *Melekh be-Yofyo* (1866), a sermon calling to contribute to the Austrian war effort; *Avodat ha-Leviyyim* on the *Torat ha-Adam; Divrei Sha'ul ve-hu Sefer Edut bi-Yhosef* on the topics of Maimonides' *Mishneh Torah* and part of the Shulḥan Arukh; and *Ẓiyyon vi-Yrushalayim*, on the Jerusalem Talmud (in the Zhitomir edition). Many works and articles have remained unpublished.

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[Shillem Warhaftig]

NATHANSON, MENDEL LEVIN (1780–1868), Danish merchant and editor. Born in Altona, Nathanson went to Copenhagen at the age of 12 to join relatives. In 1798 he settled down as a wholesale draper and until 1831 was a prosperous businessman. Later on he wrote works on economics and in 1838 became editor of the *Berlingske Tidende*, making it the leading newspaper in Denmark. Nathanson was a tireless exponent of the emancipation of Danish Jews. Through his initiative the Jewish Free School for boys was founded in Copenhagen in 1805 and five years later a similar school for girls. He organized the administration of the Jewish community, favoring the religious Reform movement, and had a large share in the Danish government's edict of March 29, 1814 which gave the Jews equal rights. His writings on economics are still studied, especially his historical and statistical presentation of Denmark's administration of public revenues up to 1836. Of special Jewish interest is his history of the Jews in Denmark, *Historisk Fremstilling af Jødernes Forhold og Stilling i Danmark* (1860). Nathanson's children all converted to Christianity.

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[Julius Margolinsky]

NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON SOVIET JEWRY. At the initiative of Rabbi Abraham Joshua *Heschel, a leading Jewish religious figure active in the American civil rights movement, and of Jewish political leaders, the Jewish community had begun to explore strategies to address the plight of Soviet Jews as early as 1963. In April 1964, with Rabbi Heschel's encouragement, and the guidance of Senators Jacob *Javits and Abraham *Ribicoff, as well as Associate Justice Arthur J. *Goldberg, Jewish organizational leaders gathered at the historic Willard Hotel in the nation's capital. Their mission was to articulate the Jewish community's concerns for Soviet Jews, and to engage fellow Americans in their defense.

The convening of an American Jewish Conference on Soviet Jewry (AJCSJ) concluded with a decision to create a continuing but ad hoc arrangement to mobilize the organized Jewish community. Many voices were opposed to the creation of a free-standing advocacy effort, including the leadership of the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations and the National Jewish Community Relations Advisory Council, who were reluctant to see a new, independent organization that might diminish their own central roles in the Jewish community. Some personalities, such as Nahum *Goldmann, feared that aggressive activities would be seen as anti-Soviet and lead to the worsening of the situation for Soviet Jews.

The Israelis, acting under the aegis of the office known as the *Lishkat ha-Kesher* (Contact Office), responsible to the prime minister, were virtually the architects of the new coalition. The rescue of Soviet Jewry was an important task that the Israeli government thought that the people of Israel could not undertake directly and certainly not on their own.

At about the same time other organizations emerged that argued against the seemingly more orderly "establishment" approach of the AJCSJ, or even its more activist successor, the National Conference on Soviet Jewry. This included the Union of Councils for Soviet Jewry, a loose coalition of local activist groups from across the country, and the Student Struggle for Soviet Jewry, launched several weeks after the initial AJCSJ meeting.

Joining such personalities in trying to energize the Jewish world was the eminent author Elie *Wiesel whose visit to the Soviet Union led to his forceful book *The Jews of Silence*. Then only emerging as a voice of conscience, Wiesel linked this effort of rescue with the failure to rescue one generation earlier. He also appealed for the silent Jews in the free West, who had a free choice, to become engaged on behalf of their coreligionists.

In the face of mounting harassment against Soviet Jews, and with the prodding of Israeli officials, the Council of Jewish Federations, the National Jewish Community Relations Advisory Council, and other leading Jewish organizations agreed to fashion the National Conference on Soviet Jewry out of the older AJCSJ.

The newly minted NCSJ began to function in June 1971 and eventually encompassed a massive network of over 50 national Jewish organizations and several hundred local Jewish federations and community relations councils. This extensive coalition would spearhead the advocacy campaign for Soviet Jews for the next 20 years, until the collapse of the Soviet Union and the easing of anti-Jewish restrictions.

The NCSJ created an ever-expanding network of support groups to engage a broad range of citizens, including non-Jews. This included doctors, Congressional Wives (later Congressional Spouses) for Soviet Jews, and a special legal team for Soviet Jewish Prisoners of Conscience.

Concluding that public attention must be focused, NCSJ became more aggressive in its efforts with the national media, the power brokers in Washington, Congress and the administration, and stimulated "grass roots" activism through its member groups. It accelerated local community and synagogue activities as part of a year-round program. To help safeguard individuals in the Soviet Union, and focus attention on the specifics of their cases, the NCSJ created links to Jewish activists in the Soviet Union through visits, telephone calls, and letter writing. Such activities also helped personalize the movement for people thousands of miles away.

Using the expanding concept of politicizing the campaign, the NCSJ fostered meetings with and programs of letter writing to government officials in Moscow and Washington, and organized conferences, public meetings and demonstrations targeting the Soviet Union so that it would loosen anti-Jewish restrictions. It also maintained constant contact with U.S. officials to reinforce their involvement with Soviet officials.

As a result the NCSJ came to be recognized by the White House as acting on behalf of the organized Jewish community in regard to the Soviet treatment of its Jewish citizens. With its broad reach the NCSJ could organize nationwide appeals and petitions, such as the delivery of over one million names to the White House prior to President Richard Nixon's visit to Moscow to meet Soviet leader Leonid Brezhnev.

A major crisis developed following the May 1972 summit meeting between Nixon and Brezhnev, when the Soviet government announced a special tax on would-be emigrants, labeled a "ransom tax." The exorbitant fees embarrassed an administration seeking détente with Moscow, and led to strong reactions. In the United States members of Congress, under the leadership of Senator Henry "Scoop" Jackson and Congressman Charles Vanik, joined with the NCSJ to create legislation linking trade benefits to emigration practices, an effort supported by the UCSJ and the SSSJ.

Despite powerful opposition from the Nixon Administration, a successful two-year campaign served as an effective means of popularizing the issues as well as inflicting additional pressure on Moscow. It also demonstrated how far the Jewish community had come in honing its political skills and resisting high-level political pressure by standing firm on principles.

The Jewish world was again threatened by a divisive issue that erupted over the destination point for Jews finally allowed to leave the Soviet Union. The NCSJ took no formal position. Rather, it attempted to focus on the issues of the right to leave, an end to antisemitism, and the right to recreate Jewish life. But it did support the decision of Jewish refuseniks in the Soviet Union and of Israeli authorities to support direct flights to Israel. This position was based on invitations from Israel, which helped secure the permits to emigrate, and the Zionist orientation of the refuseniks. The UCSJ and others rejected the Israeli plan and pressed for a so-called "freedom of choice" solution. That decision antagonized many of the Zionist organizations in the NCSJ as well as the government of Israel and the Jewish Agency, the instrument for easing emigration to Israel.

Putting aside the controversy over destination, the campaign reached its zenith in the 1980s with a defining moment. On December 6, 1987, on the eve of President Ronald Reagan's first summit meeting in the United States with General Secretary of the Communist Party Mikhail S. Gorbachev, 250,000 people marched in the nation's capital. Christian dignitaries and members of Congress joined Jews from every state as well as leaders of different ethnic groups, students and labor leaders. It was the largest national event ever held in Washington for any Jewish cause.

Organized under the aegis of a special task force created by the NCSJ, the Student Struggle for Soviet Jewry and the Union of Councils for Soviet Jews had been invited to cooperate and help create a wall-to-wall effort. While they could not bring a mass of people needed to give form to the broad scope of the movement, a demonstration of unity was critical.

The march and the broad media coverage did in fact signal to Gorbachev that the Soviet Union would not be considered part of the family of modern, industrial nations until its persecution of Jews and other minorities halted. Within a few years over one million Jews had been allowed to leave for Israel and elsewhere, while Jewish cultural and religious life was allowed to reorganize.

The struggle for Soviet Jews had encouraged the Jewish community in the United States to develop a strategy that encompassed strong national as well as localized efforts, with a strong political overlay. Jews had entered the political mainstream in an aggressive manner. As a result of the experience the community was better prepared in the future to utilize the political process to protect Jews wherever they were threatened. It was a powerful lesson not to be lost.

The Soviet Jewry movement brought together survivors of the Holocaust, their children and their grandchildren. It energized Zionists and non-Zionists as well as secular and religious Jews. Rabbis spoke from the pulpits of synagogues and came down from them; they were joined by Christian clergy of many denominations.

It mobilized activists from the American civil rights movement, who transferred their zeal and their experiences to this new campaign. It enlisted human rights advocates.

Within two decades after the Holocaust, the Jewish community had developed a sense of confidence lacking in earlier years. With this increasing self-confidence it learned how to identify the levers of power, and how to use them. The campaign was an exemplary use of "soft weapons" to achieve Jewish and human rights objectives, rather than call for or rely upon hard or military weapons.

[Jerry Goodman (2nd ed.)]

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF JEWISH WOMEN (NCJW), U.S. national organization, was founded by Hannah Greenebaum *Solomon in 1893, when she and other Jewish women from across the country gathered to participate in the World Parliament of Religions at the Chicago World Exposition. The National Council of Jewish Women undertook a wide range of religious, philanthropic, and educational activities, from organizing vocational training for Jewish women and girls, to managing settlement houses and offering free baths to poor urban dwellers. Starting with the belief that those in need required skills instead of alms, "friendly visitors" acted as pioneer social workers and family aides. Council sections sponsored free libraries, employment bureaus, kindergartens, day nurseries, and projects providing summer outings for children. They also established Sabbath schools in communities without synagogues.

When Jewish immigrants began to arrive in the United States in great numbers at the turn of the century, the council met and cared for incoming women and girls, creating a permanent immigration-aid station at Ellis Island in 1904. Representatives in 250 American cities and in European ports assisted the girls with immigration problems and protected them from white slavery. NCJW also promoted English classes and job-skills training, and guided girls to employment and lodging. The National Council of Jewish Women combined social action with local service, assisting with programs to help poor children with free milk, penny lunches, and health programs in school. In 1909 the council participated in President Taft's White House Conference on Child Welfare, and in 1911 it set forth its first complete program for social legislation, including regulation of child labor, low-income housing, civil rights, public-health programs, and food and drug regulations. After World War I, the council helped thousands of refugees stranded in internment camps as the U.S. tightened its immigration laws. Out of the rescue work came the International Council of Jewish Women, which is today a network of Jewish women in 47 countries. During the 1920s the council sponsored classes for unemployed workers and brought health care to Jewish people in isolated rural communities.

When Nazism brought a new wave of refugees, the council participated in the formation of the National Coordinating Committee for Aid to Refugees and Emigrants Coming from Germany, which became the National Refugee Service. In the post–World War II period, it established homes for unattached girls in Paris and Athens to help victims of the European Holocaust. To help rebuild Jewish welfare and educational institutions, it brought educators and welfare workers from Israel and Jewish communities abroad to the U.S.

for advanced training, with the stipulation that they return home to use their new skills. Toys and educational supplies were sent to children's institutions in Europe, and to Israel, Morocco, and Tunisia. In Israel the council began to assist the Hebrew University's teacher education program, helping to establish its John Dewey School of Education and building a campus for the Hebrew University High School in 1959. In 1968, it established the Research Institute for Innovation in Education, to educate Israeli children who are socially at risk, at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem. In the 1960s the National Council of Jewish Women had more than 100,000 members in communities throughout the U.S. Council women were pioneers of the Head Start pre-school program and the Golden Age Clubs (the first nationwide network providing recreation for seniors). The council has participated in interfaith efforts to assist low-income women, and adopted a major national program to promote day-care facilities in communities across the country.

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[Hannah Stein]

NATIONAL FEDERATION OF TEMPLE SISTERHOODS (**Women of Reform Judaism**), national organization of synagogue women's organizations dedicated to promoting Reform Judaism, founded in 1913. This organization, renamed the Women of Reform Judaism in 1993, counted 75,000 members in 500 local affiliates in the United States, Canada, and 12 other countries in 2005. Founding President Carrie Obendorfer Simon did not want NFTS to duplicate the work of existing Jewish women's organizations, especially that of the *National Council of Jewish Women, which in 1913 focused especially on immigrant aid. Instead, Simon saw NFTS carrying the banner of religious spirit forward in Jewish congregational life. Although she initially invited women from synagogue sisterhoods of all denominations to join NFTS, within a decade sisterhood women in both Conservative and Orthodox synagogues would create their own national associations.

At its inception NFTS declared that it would use the forum of a broad, public organization to further Jewish women's responsibilities to Reform Judaism, its synagogues, religious schools, seminary, and the wider Jewish community. NFTS encouraged its members to attend services weekly, to beautify their synagogues, and to be involved with their synagogue religious schools and the education their children received there. Reform Jewish women extended their mandate for youth work to rabbis-in-training, funding scholarships and building a dormitory at Hebrew Union College in 1925. After World War II, its leaders helped create the North American Federation of Temple Youth (NFTY) for Reform Jewish high school students.

For decades, the guiding light behind NFTS was executive director Jane Evans. Joining NFTS in 1933 at the height of the Great Depression, Evans pushed Reform Jewish women to look beyond the confines of the synagogue and to engage the great issues of the day. Subsequently, its members took stances on access to birth control, civil rights, fair employment practices, and a host of other issues important to American women. In 1963, NFTS voted overwhelmingly in favor of their movement's considering women's ordination. A decade later they endorsed the Equal Rights Amendment.

Through NFTS, sisterhood women exercised a collective voice. Although they shared the public spaces of their synagogues and Reform Judaism's national institutions with their husbands and sons, NFTS nationally and through its local chapters allowed women a venue for the creation of a female Reform Jewish culture. Through its programs and shifting interests, the NFTS helped change the expectations of American Jewish women's proper behavior within the portals of their Reform synagogues and ultimately prepared them to enlarge their roles there and in the world.

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[Pamela S. Nadell (2nd ed.)]

NATIONAL FOUNDATION FOR JEWISH CULTURE (NFJC), U.S. organization that supports Jewish artistic creativity, academic scholarship, and cultural preservation in America. The NFJC was established in 1960 by the Council of Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds (now the United Jewish Communities), following a ground-breaking study on National Jewish Cultural Services in America, chaired by Sidney Vincent of Cleveland, Ohio. The study recommended creating a central organization to respond to the cultural needs of the American Jewish community in the post-war era, particularly in the areas of Jewish Studies, scholarly publication, archives, and libraries. The NFJC's mission expanded in the 1980s to include new creativity in the arts as well as the dissemination of contemporary Jewish culture through national programming and publications.

NFJC provides grants and awards to writers, filmmakers, visual artists, composers, choreographers, playwrights, and scholars. Its national and international conferences, networks of cultural institutions, publications, and partnerships with local communities are intended to help define, interpret, and advance the contours of American Jewish culture for both the Jewish community and the broader American public.

Since its inception, the National Foundation for Jewish Culture has awarded over $2.5 million in Doctoral Dissertations Fellowships to more than 400 graduate students pursuing careers in Jewish Studies. This program, along with the Foundation's early support for the Association of Jewish Studies, and its special grants for publication and research projects, helped fuel the development of the field of Jewish Studies in America in the later decades of the 20th century.

Over a 30-year period, the NFJC allocated almost $10 million to major archival, scholarly, and Yiddish culture organizations through the Joint Cultural Appeal, comprised of allocations from the Jewish Federations of North America. Since 2000, the NFJC has awarded more than $1.2 million on a competitive grants basis through the Fund for Jewish Cultural Preservation to libraries and archives for the preservation of historically important books, archives, manuscripts, periodicals, ritual objects, art and artifacts, photographs, recordings, and films.

In addition, the NFJC was instrumental in establishing and administering both the Council of American Jewish Museums (CAJM) and the Council of Archives and Research Libraries in Jewish Studies (CARLJS) as professional associations to support the cultural infrastructure of American Jewish life.

In the area of the arts, the National Foundation for Jewish Culture encourages and supports new creative expression in a wide variety of disciplines – film, theater, literature, music, dance, and visual arts.

The Fund for Jewish Documentary Filmmaking was created in 1996 with a challenge grant from Steven Spielberg's Righteous Persons Foundation and a matching grant from the Charles H. Revson Foundation. It has awarded 49 grants totaling more than $1.25 million toward the production of documentary films which explore the variety of the Jewish experience. The NFJC has also initiated the Conference of American Jewish Film Festivals which provides a forum for film festival directors, staffs, and volunteers to network and address field-wide concerns.

The New Play Commissions in Jewish Theater has supported the initial development of 69 new plays presented by both mainstream and Jewish theaters. An anthology of *Nine Contemporary Jewish Plays*, selected from these commissions, was published by the University of Texas Press in November 2005. The NFJC also maintains an on-line database of *Plays of Jewish Interest*.

Other grants in the arts include the Goldberg Prize, which recognizes the work of young, emerging Jewish writers, and the Heyman Prize, which recognizes the work of emerging visual artists.

The NFJC also presents the premier annual Jewish recognition awards in the arts and humanities, which include the Jewish Cultural Achievement Awards in Scholarship and Arts, the Jewish Image Awards in Film and Television, the Patron of the Arts Award, and the Alan King Award in American Jewish Humor.

Over the years, the National Foundation for Jewish Culture, with support from the U.S. government's National Endowments for the Arts and Humanities, Jewish foundations, and local Federations, has sponsored a number of seminal conferences and special programmatic initiatives across the country. These have included North American and international conferences in Jewish theater, ethnic music, dance, and literature; artist retreats in the performing arts, visual arts, and music; community-based and institution-based artist-in-residence programs; and public lecture series, film programs, and exhibitions.

The NFJC was instrumental in creating "Celebrate 350," the organizing committee for the celebration of the 350th anniversary of Jewish life in America. Its own 350th programs included the commissioning of "Klezmerbluegrass," a new work by the Paul Taylor Dance Company; the production of "Passover Dreams," a radio special distributed by PRI to over 150 stations nationwide; and a series of national conversations – both live in local communities and virtually over the Internet – on "American Jewish Icons."

The NFJC publishes the semi-annual *Jewish Culture News*, reaching over 20,000 households, which provides context and perspective to the contemporary Jewish experience, and the annual *Jewish Literary Supplement,* with a distribution of over 250,000, as a resource for readers, book groups, and schools. It also has an Internet presence through www.jewishculture.org, with on-line resources, information on Jewish culture, interactive discussions, and links to other Jewish and general culture sites.

[Richard Siegel (2nd ed.)

NATIONAL HAVURAH COMMITTEE (NHC). The National Havurah Committee was founded in 1980 to facilitate the activities of fellowships known as havurot and to spread havurah values and enthusiasm to the larger Jewish community, thereby serving as a model for revitalizing Jewish living and learning in North America. The NHC was organized following a successful conference at Rutgers University in July 1979 that brought together different groups that shared the name "havurah." These included independent havurot that were formed as part of the counterculture of the 1960s, synagogue havurot that were created within Reform and Conservative synagogues, and Reconstructionist congregations that considered themselves havurot. Though differently organized, havurot, now as then, share the mission of creating small communities in which all members participate in creating authentic and meaningful Jewish experiences. Independent havurot also tend to be non-denominational, egalitarian, and inclusive. Havurah leadership is generally shared by the members; havurot typically do not have professional rabbinic or spiritual leaders.

The first NHC Summer Institute (at the University of Hartford in July 1980) was organized to help provide and empower havurah members with the knowledge to grow Jewishly and the skills to enable them to create and sustain such communities. (The first institute was organized and co-chaired by Joseph G. Rosenstein and Michael Strassfeld who, with Elaine S. Cohen, coordinated the 1979 conference; they were the first three chairs of the NHC.) Annual week-long summer institutes have been conducted by the NHC each year since 1980 and have attracted an average of 250 adults (plus many children) of varying Jewish backgrounds and observance. Courses at the institute address the variety of Jewish texts, arts, culture, spirituality, issues, and practice from many different perspectives. Institute teachers are expected to attend as well as to offer courses. The NHC has inclusively recruited teachers from many backgrounds and women instructors when that was considered radical, and served as a prominent forum for discussing feminist perspectives of Judaism in the 1980s. The NHC model of summer programs for lay adults has been adapted by other organizations. Both the longevity of the institute and the replication of the model attest to its success.

Since 1996, an important feature of the summer institute is the participation of the Everett Fellows, a cohort of future leaders of the Jewish community who participate, often for the first time, in a heterogeneous community that manifests both excitement and commitment about Judaism and that embraces diverse ways of living Jewishly. (This program is funded by the Everett Foundation, established by Edith and the late Henry Everett.) Another unique annual feature (since 1995) is the celebratory completion (or *siyyum*) of a volume of the *Encyclopaedia Judaica* by study groups who have read a page a day (*daf yomi*) since the last institute.

The NHC also sponsors regional weekend retreats, including an annual New England retreat (since 1986) and an annual Canadian-American retreat (since 1993), publishes newsletters, and maintains on its website (www.havurah.org) a list of havurot. In the 1990s it published in a number of newspapers a weekly D'var Torah column that were written by a diverse group of writers representing all branches of Judaism, and that served as a prototype for subsequent D'var Torah columns; it also published three issues of a journal with the appropriately oxymoronic title of "New Traditions."

Although havurot and individuals participate in the NHC, it has not functioned as a membership organization; its programs have been organized by a volunteer board with modest staff assistance. The NHC has created and sustained programs and promoted values – such as inclusiveness, lay leadership and teaching, involvement, egalitarianism, fellowship – that have had an impact on the wider Jewish community.

[Joseph G. Rosenstein (2nd ed.)]

NATIONAL JEWISH CENTER FOR IMMUNOLOGY AND RESPIRATORY MEDICINE, non-sectarian hospital and research facility in Denver, Colorado, for respiratory, immune and allergic disorders. As early as the 1860s, hundreds and later thousands of men and women flocked to Colorado to "chase the cure" and seek a remedy for tuberculosis, the most dreaded disease of the era and the leading cause of death in 19th-century America. There was no single accepted treatment standard for tuberculosis or consumption as it was commonly called in the early years, but by 1880 medical opinion emphasized fresh air and high altitude for respiratory ailments, and Colorado, with its dry and sunny climate, drew tuberculosis victims like a magnet. By 1896 Colorado was being flatteringly referred to as "the World's Sanatorium." Yet, consumptives who flocked to Denver in the hope of finding a cure were often unable to secure simple lodging, let alone medical care. Since no publicly supported institutions for tuberculosis existed at the time, the challenge of adequate care was left to private institutions. In Denver, the Jewish community was the first to come to their aid with the founding of National Jewish Hospital for Consumptives.

Frances Wisebart *Jacobs, nicknamed Denver's "Mother of Charities," was the impetus behind the founding of National Jewish Hospital. Launching a relentless campaign on behalf of the sick and indigent, she enlisted the assistance of the new rabbi at Temple Emanuel, Rabbi William Friedman, and they worked together with other community members for many years to make her dream a reality. The Jewish community, which numbered about 500 at the time, was composed primarily of acculturated German Reform Jews from Central Europe, and National Jewish Hospital was finally opened in 1899, with the financial assistance of the International Order of B'nai B'rith, the first sanatorium in Denver for tuberculosis patients. The hospital was formally non-sectarian and treated all patients free of charge; however, the vast majority of patients in the early years were East European Jews, and in addition to medical treatment the hospital taught classes in English, civics, and skills for new trades in an effort to Americanize the new immigrants and help make them financially self-sufficient. Like most early TB sanatoria, treatment emphasized enforced rest, fresh air and sunlight, and a diet rich in milk, eggs, and meat.

With the advent of antibiotic treatment, over the years the threat of tuberculosis was brought under control, and National Jewish Hospital evolved with the times. In 1978, National Jewish merged with the National Asthma Center, which grew out of the original Jewish Sheltering Home for Jewish Children (later the famed Children's Asthma Research Institute and Hospital (CARIH)), founded to assist the children of parents who were tuberculosis victims, and in 1986 the two institutions became known as the National Jewish Center for Immunology and Respiratory Medicine. The passing of time brought yet another change, and today the institution is called the National Jewish Medical and Research Center and continues to treat patients from throughout the country with cutting-edge medicine and research. It is known worldwide for treatment of patients with respiratory, immune and allergic disorders, the only facility in the world dedicated exclusively to these illnesses. Since 1998 National Jewish has been ranked by *U.S. News & World Report*'s "America's Best Hospitals" as number one in the nation for excellence in treating respiratory diseases. In 1999 National Jewish marked its centennial and a legacy of one hundred years of healing. Today, it continues as a non-sectarian, independent, not-for-profit clinical and medical research center whose mission is to develop and provide innovative programs for treating patients of all ages and to discover knowledge to educate health care professionals and provide them with the tools for treatment and prevention.

[Jeanne Abrams (2nd ed.)]

NATIONAL JEWISH DEMOCRATIC COUNCIL (NJDC). Jews may be the Democratic Party's second most reliable constituency (after African Americans), but by the mid-1980s Jewish Democrats were beginning to feel insecure as Republican outreach to their community intensified and as the Democrats drifted further away from support for Israel. There was a palpable fear that such a potent combination could portend a Jewish exodus from the Democratic Party. To quell Jewish alienation from the Democratic Party, a group of concerned activists led by Morton Mandel of Cleveland decided to organize a Jewish voice *within* the party, and the NJDC was founded in 1990. Mandel became founding chairman; other initial organizers include Sheldon Cohen of Washington, D.C., Monte Friedkin of Florida, and David Steiner of New Jersey.

Ronald Reagan's early presidency brought a new wave of Jews into the Republican Party; dubbed neo-conservatives, many had been followers of Democratic senators Henry "Scoop" Jackson of Washington and Daniel Patrick Moynihan of New York. Neo-conservatives were ardently pro-Israel and hawkish on Cold War issues but were also domestic liberals, who nonetheless saw their party moving too far to the left and increasingly critical of Israel's hardline Likud-led government.

The Democrats' problem was compounded by the growing influence of the two-time Democratic presidential nominee Rev. Jesse Jackson, an African American civil rights activist. Jackson's hostility toward Jews – he privately referred to them as "hymies" and New York as "hymietown" – his open sympathies for Yasser Arafat and the Palestinian cause, and his avid courtship of Arab-American support were sources of great concern for the Jewish community.

The Republican Party exploited rifts within the Democratic party, as well as new pro-Israel voices within it to draw Jewish defectors. What became known as the Republican Jewish Coalition (RJC) was founded in 1985 to build support for the Republican party and its candidates in the Jewish community. However, Republican outreach to the Jewish community had little impact on Jewish voting habits, despite growing Republican support for Israel during the Reagan years and again under President George W. Bush, whose hostility toward Palestinian leader Yasser Arafat and sympathy for Prime Minister Ariel Sharon won praise from some hardline pro-Israel groups.

In the closing years of the 20th century and the early 21st both Democratic and Republican administrations were pro-Israel, and the majority of Jews (est. 70 percent) voted Democratic because of the conservative domestic agenda of the GOP, and particularly the enormous influence of the party's right-wing evangelical Christian base, widely seen as the Jewish community's most powerful adversaries on church-state issues. Both partisan groups seek to build Jewish support for their party. The RJC focuses overwhelmingly on Israel-related issues, including the war on terror, while the NJDC stresses a much broader agenda, particularly emphasizing the deep differences between the parties on domestic issues, such as civil liberties, reproductive freedom, the environment, gun control, and privacy rights.

The NJDC has always been very open about its ties to the Democratic party, while its rival group was apparently reluctant to advertise its partisan identity. In an apparent appeal for Jewish support and to appear neutral to Democratic voters, the RJC initially simply called itself the National Jewish Coalition.

NJDC is aligned with the Democratic Party and its agenda, but it is not formally linked to the party itself. Legally, it (like RJC) is independent. NJDC, with Democrats' larger and less fragile Jewish voter base, is more likely than its counterpart group to criticize members of its own party who are seen as acting hostile to Israel or the Jewish community's interests. NJDC coaches candidates and politicians on how to deal substantively as well as politically with the Jewish community, and it trains grass roots advocates to work and organize at the local level. A special emphasis has been on developing a new generation of Jewish Democratic leaders around the country. NJDC also stages "get out the vote" efforts for each election and organizes debates among competing candidates or Jewish spokesmen for the two parties. NJDC also works with the Congress and the Jewish and national media in support of its agenda. It sponsors trips to Israel for leading political figures to better educate them on the views and concerns of Jewish voters back home.

[Douglas M. Bloomfield (2nd ed.)]

NATIONAL MUSEUM OF AMERICAN JEWISH HISTORY. The National Museum of American Jewish History opened its doors on July 4, 1976 on Independence Mall in Philadelphia.

At the beginning of the 21st century, the National Museum of American Jewish History announced plans for a new museum in Philadelphia's historic district, at the corner of 5th and Market streets, adjacent to the Liberty Bell, one of the most heavily traversed intersections in the city.

The NMAJH plans to build a landmark museum on Independence Mall dedicated to the history and contributions of Jews in America with dramatic interactive galleries and exhibition halls, a state-of-the-art resource center and a theater for films, lectures and performances. The lead architect is James Polshek, design principal of the Polshek Partnership in New York. The award-winning firm has designed many top museums, including the American Museum of Natural History's Rose Center for Earth and Space, the Smithsonian Institution's National Museum of the American Indian, and the Clinton Presidential Center.

The new location is a half block from the museum's current site, but the new location will put it across the street from the Liberty Bell and a block away from Independence Hall. As Museum board member George Ross said, "Right now we are on the fifty yard line on Independence Mall. With our new location, we will be in the owner's box."

The new location has many advantages over the current one, such as the site's larger footprint offers a more effective layout of exhibition space and the opportunity to build and operate a more efficient museum; visitation will be enhanced by being across the street from Independence Hall and the Liberty Bell Center: the latter attracts more than 2 million tourists annually; the new site's corner is also the location of a subway station, making it easily accessible for public transit riders.

In recent years, both the Liberty Bell Center and the National Constitution Center opened in Independence National Historical Park on Independence Mall as part of the largest urban revitalization project in the nation. Spurred by the new construction, park visitation surged by 35 percent and now has four million visitors annually.

Mary A. Bomar, director of the Northeast Region for the National Park Service, noted that

> The Museum's presence on the mall is fitting because the story of the Jewish community in America is a story of freedom and what can be achieved when a group finds freedom. Visitors from around the world will now have another way to experience this vital American value during visits to Independence National Historical Park.

The museum will connect Jews more closely to their heritage and will inspire in people of all backgrounds a greater appreciation for the diversity of the American experience and the freedoms to which Americans aspire. The museum will collect historical materials and present experiences and educational programs that preserve, explore and celebrate the history of Jews in America. Situated next to Independence Hall and the Liberty Bell, the new museum will cooperate with all parts of the American Jewish community and will provide a symbolic location in the United States that is representative of all American Jews.

Congregation Mikveh Israel, which shares its location with the museum, will remain at the current site.

Among the significant exhibitions the Museum has presented since its opening are "A Worthy Use of Summer: Jewish Summer Camping in America" and "Bridges and Boundaries: Two Peoples Face to Face," a collaborative exhibitions project with the Afro-American Historical and Cultural Museum (now the African American Museum in Philadelphia.) Both museums were awarded the Ione Dugger Multicultural Award from Temple University and the Philadelphia Commission on Human Relations' Human Rights Award in recognition of the project.

The museum's most recent core exhibition (as of 2005), "Creating American Jews," won an Award of Merit for Institutional Achievement from the Pennsylvania Federation of Museums and Historical Organizations.

The museum has also been in the forefront of the Jewish crafts movement. Its first "Contemporary Artifacts" exhibition, in 1981, provided a showcase for Jewish ritual art and help spur the expression of traditional Jewish heritage in an American context.

The museum also innovated an annual family program held each December 25, "Being Jewish at Christmas." The program attracts approximately 1,000 people and provides an opportunity for families to explore their Jewish heritage through performances and other entertainment, crafts projects, and special children's activities.

[Josh Perelman (2nd ed.)]

NATIONAL PARKS IN ISRAEL. The National Parks Authority was established by law in 1963 to take over the functions carried out from 1956 (with the same staff) by the Department for Landscaping and the Preservation of Historic Sites in the prime minister's office. These functions are: the preparation, laying out, and maintenance of park areas for the general public; the restoration, landscaping, and preservation of historical and archaeological sites; the construction of access roads and amenities for recreation and leisure; and, in the case of ancient sites, the provision of explanatory notice boards and pamphlets. The Authority has also established museums at several historic sites.

Israel is rich in biblical sites and the remains of post-biblical Jewish, Roman, Byzantine, Muslim, and Crusader settlements, often in surroundings of beauty, and most of the national parks have been linked with these sites. Many had suffered from centuries of neglect, since they were of little interest to the successive occupying authorities. The Authority had to clear overgrowth and thick layers of debris, undertake restoration programs where possible, and provide amenities and access for visitors, both local and from overseas. Some parks were laid out without any connection with a historic site, in order to preserve rural areas from the encroachment of urban development. Occasionally, archaeological sites were taken over for preservation and maintenance by the Authority, where the excavations had been particularly dramatic, as at *Masada; or where scholars had made spectacular finds of wide public interest, as at *Hazor, the *Bet She'arim necropolis, the ancient synagogues at *Bet Alfa, *Baram, and *Hammath (Tiberias), the Roman theater at *Caesarea, and the excavations at *Bet Yeraḥ and *Ramat Raḥel. At some sites the National Parks Authority was responsible for the excavations, undertaken by specially commissioned archaeologists, as well as for their restoration and current maintenance. Examples are: the Crusader city of Caesarea, complete with moat, walls, gates, and towers; the crypt, tunnels, and some of the walls of Crusader *Acre; the castles of *Yehi'am and *Belvoir; the Roman theater at *Beth-Shean; the Nabatean-Byzantine city of *Avedat, with its citadel, acropolis, and two churches; and the Nabatean cities of *Shivta and *Kurnub. At Masada, much of the restoration work was carried out at the same time as the excavations.

The Authority is also responsible for sites designated as national parks. Those already open to the public, in addition to the ones already mentioned, are: Ḥurshat Tal in Upper Galilee, with its streams, pond, lawns, and woods; the spring, bathing pool, and woodland slopes of Ma'ayan Ḥarod in the

Valley of Jezreel; the three natural pools and landscaped banks of Gan ha-Sheloshah, also in Jezreel; the seashore park and antiquities of *Ashkelon; the natural pools of Ein Avedat in the northern Negev; the 25,000-acre parkland and forest of Carmel; and the Crusader remains at Aqua Bella (Ein Ḥemed) near Jerusalem. The Authority has also renovated some of the medieval synagogues of Safed, and improved the amenities at the tomb of Maimonides in Tiberias. It has carried out site-improvement work at Mount Zion in Jerusalem and at the tomb of R. *Simeon b. Yoḥai at *Meron. The Authority was one of the initiators in setting up the park at *Yad Mordekhai, which contains a reconstruction of the Egyptian attack on the kibbutz in 1948 and a small museum devoted to the defense of the southern kibbutzim during the War of Independence. Among the new parks for which plans have already been completed by the Authority is the Jerusalem national park – a green belt circling the Old City walls and covering 500 acres. The number of visitors to the national parks in 1968 exceeded 2,000,000.

In 1998 the National Parks Authority was united with the Nature Reserves Authority as the Israel Nature and Park Authority. The new Authority's goal is to preserve Israel's green areas in the face of rapid urban development, increasing transportation needs, and the steep growth of Israel's population. The Authority's tasks are to locate sites for the establishment of nature reserves and national parks; to establish, maintain, and manage existing reserves and parks; to oversee natural resources; to initiate educational activities; and to conduct research on nature preservation. The Authority is responsible for 380 nature reserves spread over 2,350 sq. mi. (6,130 sq. km.) and 115 national parks spread over 140 sq. mi. (370 sq. km.). Fifty-eight nature reserves and national parks are open to the public, with over 10 million visitors in 2003.

WEBSITE: www.parks.org.il.

[Yaacov Yannai / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

NATIONALRAT (Ger. "[Jewish] National Council"), committee of Zionist roof organization in Austria. It was formed at the time of the collapse of Austria-Hungary in November 1918, in Vienna, to advance the claims of the Jewish people as a national entity in still unsettled postwar Austria and was active until the end of 1920. Initially it consisted of 50 members, representing a number of Jewish organizations. The Zionist Robert *Stricker was its most active chairman and its outstanding leader. The other chairmen were Adolf Boehm, Isidor Margulies, Bruno Pollack Parnau, and Saul Sokal. Its secretary was Robert Weltsch. Due to the segmentation of the Jewish population of old Austria, the sphere of influence of the Nationalrat was limited to the Jews of German-speaking Austria, who were too weak to demand extended minority rights. The Nationalrat was not based on elections and represented only part of the Jewish population. Its claims were opposed by the non-Zionist Jews who were satisfied with the existing legal autonomy of the Jewish religious community, and by the Social-Democratic Party, and were not accepted. Similar organizations were later established in other postwar Central European countries. The Nationalrat organized a legal department, a social welfare department for former soldiers, and an employment exchange. Its department for social welfare was directed by Anitta Mueller-Cohen. The Nationalrat was instrumental in promoting modern Hebrew education by initiating the Hebrew Teachers' College (Hebraeisches Paedagogium), founded in 1917, and by establishing the Jewish Realgymnasium in 1919, a secondary school with the language of instruction partially in Hebrew, directed by Viktor Kellner. The program of the Nationalrat was later taken over by the *Juedische Volkspartei ("Jewish People's Party").

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[Hugo Knoepfmacher / E. Adunka (2nd ed.)]

NATIONAL RELIGIOUS PARTY (NRP), Israeli party known in Hebrew as **Hamafdal** (acronym for Ha-Miflagah ha-Datit ha-Le'ummit). The NRP was founded in June 1956 through the merger of two national religious Zionist parties, *Mizrachi and *Ha-Po'el ha-Mizrachi, and additional religious circles. In the elections to the Third to Twelfth Knessets it ran in elections under the name Ha-Ḥazit ha-Datit ha–Le'ummit (the National Religious Front). It constitutes a part of the World Federation of Hamizrachi-Hapo'el Hamizrachi. Unlike the *ḥaredi* religious party, the NRP always considered itself an integral part of the State of Israel, and despite its adherence to *halakhah*, has accepted the supremacy of the secular laws of Israel on most issues. Its basic position was that the secular laws and halakhic laws can exist side by side with each other. Though rabbis have played an important spiritual role in the NRP, and their influence has grown in recent years, the party is run on democratic lines, and it is the members, not the rabbis, who decide the party's line. Like the other Orthodox religious groups in Israel, it opposes recognition of Conservative and Reform Judaism.

Until the Six-Day War the NRP followed a moderate political line, and concentrated its activities on preserving the Jewish character of the state in various spheres, including the provision of religious services, the preservation of the religious *status quo* on such issues as *kashrut*, respect for the Sabbath, nurturing of the national religious education system, the religious kibbutz movement, and social welfare. It advocated full military service for men, together with religious studies within the framework of *yeshivot hesder*, and nonmilitary national service for women.

Until 1976 it maintained a political alliance with *Mapai, and then the *Israel Labor Party, commonly known as "the historical coalition," and was a member of all the Mapai- and Labor-led governments, except for a brief period in 1974, soon after Yitzhak *Rabin formed his first government. However, after the Six-Day War, and even more so after the

Yom Kippur War, a shift to the right began in its political positions, especially with regard to the future of those parts of Ereẓ Israel occupied in the course of the Six-Day War, and in religious terms it shifted to a more messianic brand of Judaism.

In 1968 the NRP convention adopted the following policy decisions: "The National Religious Party views the political and security accomplishments that have been achieved by this generation in Ereẓ Israel, as the beginning of realization of the will of Divine Providence and of the processes directed toward complete salvation of the Jewish people in the land of its forefathers; the State of Israel must pursue all means at her disposal to lay the foundation for peace between itself and the neighboring states, and to negotiate peace treaties; in the negotiations for peace treaties, the State of Israel must be guided by three basic principles: the aspiration toward enduring peace; the historic religious rights over the Promised Land; and assuring secure borders for the state."

The NRP was at first an active actor within the *Gush Emunim settlement movement that was founded in 1974, though quite rapidly Gush Emunim started to develop independently of it. This shift in positions was both the result of the new political circumstances, and the growing influence of the younger generation in the party, headed by Zevulun *Hammer. The formal breach between the NRP and the Labor Party occurred in 1976, after its ministers abstained in a vote in the *Knesset on a motion of no confidence in the government, over the issue of the alleged official breach of the Sabbath as a result of a ceremony held in an air force base on a Friday afternoon.

The NRP joined the government that Menaḥem *Begin formed in 1977 and joined all subsequent governments, except for that formed by Yitzhak Rabin in 1992. In November 2004 it left the government of Ariel *Sharon over his Gaza disengagement plan.

In 1981 the Moroccan-born MK Aharon Abuhazeira left the NRP, claiming that the party had not stood by him during a corruption trial, due to his ethnic origin, and established his own party called Tami, which entered the Tenth Knesset. In 1988 a group of moderate members, who objected to the NRP's religious and nationalist radicalization, left the party and established a moderate religious party called Meimad. However, Meimad remained weak, and entered representatives into the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Knessets only because it ran in a single list with the Labor Party.

The NRP was adamantly opposed to the Oslo process initiated by the Rabin government, and voted against all the various interim agreements signed with the Palestinians, starting with the DoP in September 1993. The assassination of Rabin in November 1995 by a young man, Yigal Amir, who had studied in the religious Bar-Ilan University, resulted in serious soul-searching within the NRP, but this did not stop a further shift to the right thereafter. Prior to the elections to the Sixteenth Knesset, Effie Eitam, a former brigadier general, who was born on a secular kibbutz but gradually adopted radical religious right-wing views, was elected as the leader of the NRP. The NRP was the only religious party that joined the government formed by Ariel Sharon after the elections to the Sixteenth Knesset but soon found itself in opposition to Sharon's disengagement plan. Nevertheless, the majority of the party continued to support a pragmatic line, while Eitam favored taking the NRP into the right-wing National Union Party. This resulted in his being removed from the leadership of the party, and his leaving the party together with MK Yitzhak Levy in June 2004, to form their own parliamentary group called Religious Zionism. The NRP remained in the government for another five months, but finally left the government in November 2004.

The NRP's political leaders since its establishment have been Ḥayyim Moshe *Shapira (1956–70), Dr. Yosef *Burg (1970–86); Zevulun Hammer (1986–98); Yitzhak Levy (1998–2003), Effie Eitam (2003–04), and Zevulun Orlev (2005–).

From the Third to Ninth Knessets the NRP had 10–12 Knesset seats; in the Tenth Knesset it went down to 6, losing seats to the Teḥiya and Tami, and until the Sixteenth Knesset received only 4–6 seats, except for a brief revival in the Fourteenth Knesset when it went up again to 9, as it did in the Seventeenth (2006).

Until 1977 the NRP usually held the ministries of Postal Services, Welfare, Religious Affairs, and the Interior. After 1977 the Ministry of Education and Culture was held by the NRP in numerous governments, and as of the 1990s also Transportation, Construction, and Housing and National Infrastructures.

The party publishes a daily called *Haẓofeh*. From 1957 to 1969 it published an ideological journal called *Gevilin*, which started to appear again in 1990.

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[Susan Hattis Rolef (2nd ed.)]

NATIONAL SOCIALISM (for short, **Nazism**), a movement in Germany patterned after fascism, which grew under Adolf *Hitler's leadership and ruled Germany from 1933 to 1945. The Deutsche Arbeiterpartei, founded on Jan. 5, 1919, changed its name in the summer of 1920 to Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei (NSDAP) and Hitler, who had been the seventh member of the original party, soon became its undisputed leader (*Fuehrer*). From then on, the history of National Socialism became virtually identical with Hitler's career.

As an ideology, National Socialism was a mixture of extreme nationalist, racialist ideas and a trend of populist radicalism which never formed a coherent unity. Among its major tenets were biological racialism, social Darwinism – the survival of the fittest – unrestrained antisemitism, anti-Bolshevism, and the quest for *Lebensraum* – German conquest of living space to the East. It preached a folkish antisemitism, pan-Germanism and the *Dolchstosslegende* – stab in the back myth – that Germany would have won World War I if it had not been attacked at home by Jews and others. It built itself on the myth of blood and soil and on the notion of Germans as the master race and Germany dominating Europe.

Prior to 1923 the Nazi Party was active mainly in Bavaria, where in November it attempted to overthrow the Weimar Republic in what became known as the Munich Beer Hall Putsch, or Hitler's Putsch. The coup was crushed and Hitler was imprisoned for a surprisingly short period of time; and it was there in Landsberg that he wrote *Mein Kampf.* The book became the bible of the movement, the platform of the party. Prior to 1928 it was a marginal party of virtually no significance, receiving less than 3% of the vote in 1928. Yet in the interim it organized, attracting more moderate elements along with folkish groups and a core of militant followers that it knew how and when to deploy effectively. The worldwide economic depression of 1929 and 1930 which hit Germany hard added to the dissatisfaction with the Weimar Republic and to the attraction of extremist parties. In September 1930 the Nazi seat total rose to 107 in the 608-seat Reichstag, winning some 6.4 million (18%) of the vote. They improved their performance in the elections of July 31, 1932, when they received 37.3 percent of the vote, which translated into 230 of 608 seats. Yet in the elections of November 6, 1932, the last free elections before Hitler's rise to power, the Nazis received only 33.1 percent of the vote and won 196 seats. Hitler came to power as the head of a coalition government, with conservative elements believing that once in power he would moderate his views due to the responsibilities of office and that he and his followers could be controlled.

Once in power, Hitler moved swiftly against external opposition, establishing concentration camps to house political opponents of the regime, using the pretext of the Reichstag Fire of February 27, 1933, to establish rule by decree, and suspending existing guarantees, and then eliminating the remaining non-Nazi parties. By July 1933 the Nazi Party was the only party in Germany.

In 1934 Hitler decided to act against his opponents within the party, eliminating SA chief Ernst Rohm and other rivals – perceived or real. On August 2, President Von Hindenburg died and Hitler was named head of state as well. After the pressures of 1933–34, the Nazis consolidated power and achieved successes at home and abroad. Unemployment was lowered and Germany was no longer isolated. Hitler's achievements in the realm of foreign policy were indeed impressive to the German people. He had reversed the shame of Versailles, returning Germany to the world stage and rearming its military. From the Nazi perspective the annexation of Austria and the entrance into the Sudentenland were triumphant.

From 1938 onward Nazism became increasingly unrestrained. **Kristallnacht* was the eruption of violence against Jews, the letting loose of controlled mob violence. Wartime was the best time to solve certain problems that could not be addressed at other times. Thus, the "*Euthanasia Program," an extreme expression of Social Darwinism and of applied biology, was approved in an order backdated to September 1, 1939, to give it the appearance of a wartime measure. The conquest of territories, the incorporation of lands, and the appeal to ethnic Germans living in other countries, were all expressions of Nazi ideology. Above all, so was the "Final Solution to the Jewish Question," which wanted to eliminate all Jewish blood from the face of the earth and therefore remake the human species.

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[Jozeph Michman (Melkman) / Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

NATIONAL YIDDISH BOOK CENTER, cultural institution dedicated to collecting and distributing endangered Yiddish books and, through programs and education, opening up their contents to new readers. Located in Amherst, Massachusetts, the Center safeguards a collection of 1.5 million Yiddish books rescued from individuals and institutions worldwide. The collection contains original Yiddish novels, plays, poetry, nonfiction, periodicals, and sheet music, most in duplicate copies. The majority were published between the late 19th- and mid-20th century, mainly in Eastern Europe, the United States, and South America. The books fell into disuse as spoken Yiddish was gradually replaced by English and other languages after World War II. All the Center's volumes are available for sale at nominal cost to individuals, libraries, schools, and colleges and universities.

Because of the physical deterioration of many volumes, the Center created the Steven Spielberg Digital Yiddish Library in 1998, making reprints of every title available for purchase as brand-new, hardcover, acid-free editions. The Spielberg Digital Yiddish Library is believed to be the only project ever to digitize an entire modern literature, preserving it permanently for future generations of readers, students, and scholars.

History

The Yiddish Book Center is a nonprofit institution, and its programs are funded by contributions from over 30,000 (as of 2005) members, and gifts and grants. Founded in 1980 by Aaron Lansky, the Center was one of the first organizations in America dedicated to the preservation of Yiddish literature and culture. As a young graduate student, Lansky saw the need to save endangered books that were being discarded by the children and grandchildren of elderly Jewish immigrants. His call to save Yiddish books from destruction led to a massive, ongoing rescue operation by a worldwide network of *zamlers* (volunteers). Lansky won the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation's so-called "genius" award in recognition of his extraordinary work.

In the early years of collection, most books, the personal property of Eastern European Jewish immigrants, came from locations within the United States. The mid-1990s saw a shift in origin, with volumes shipped from South Africa, Argentina, Mexico, and Brazil – sites of once-large Yiddish-speaking immigrant communities. All books coming into the Center are sorted by hand and new titles are catalogued according to library standards. As of 2005, 25 years after its founding, the Center still receives an average of 500 Yiddish books each week.

Programs

In 1997 the Yiddish Book Center moved into permanent headquarters in Amherst. The building, designed by architect Allen Moore, recalls the dramatic lines of the lost wooden synagogues of Eastern Europe. It is open to the public six days per week and houses library-style stacks of Yiddish books as well as exhibits, a theater, bookstore, and offices. Approximately 10,000 visitors come to the Center each year to view exhibits on modern Yiddish literature and culture and to attend programs ranging from week-long conferences to concerts, performances, readings, lectures, films, and family-oriented events.

The Book Center publishes an English-language magazine, *Pakn Treger*, which features essays, fiction, new translations, cultural reporting, photographs, and art connecting contemporary Jewish life to its roots in Yiddish culture. The Center's "Jewish Short Stories from Eastern Europe and Beyond," a 13-part audio series produced for National Public Radio in 1995, introduced hundreds of thousands of listeners to the riches of Yiddish and other modern Jewish literature, in English.

In 1989 the Center invited college students to take part in an internship program that provided Yiddish language instruction in combination with hands-on work sorting and shelves incoming Yiddish volumes. The popular program grew into the Steiner Summer Internship Program and now offers dozens of students an opportunity to study Yiddish language and literature in intensive accredited courses and to take part in the ongoing work of the Center for eight weeks each year. Many alumni of the program have gone on to enter the field of Jewish and Yiddish studies as educators, writers, and community leaders.

In 2002 the Center joined with the Fund for the Translation of Modern Jewish Literature and Yale University Press to create the New Yiddish Library, an initiative producing new translations of modern Yiddish literature. New Yiddish Library titles include works by Shalom Aleichem, Itzik Manger, and Lamed Shapiro. The Center also produced the Rohr Library of Recorded Yiddish, which preserved as CD compilations more than two dozen full-length works of modern Yiddish literature read by native Yiddish speakers, in partnership with the Jewish Library of Montreal.

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[Nancy Sherman (2nd ed.)]

NATIONS, THE SEVENTY, a conception based on the list of the descendants of Noah given in Genesis 10, usually called "The Table of Nations." According to the table, all the nations of the earth may be classified as descended from one or another of Noah's three sons, Shem, Ham, and Japheth. The principle behind the classification is generally geographic proximity rather than ethnic or linguistic connections. Those nations descended from Japheth are *Gomer (Cimmerians), Madai (Medes), Javan (Ionians), *Ashkenaz (Scythians), *Elisha and *Kittim (Cypriots), and others (10:2–4). The lands occupied by the Japhethites bordered the Fertile Crescent in the north and penetrated the maritime regions in the west. The principal subdivisions of the descendants of Ham are Cush (the peoples of the southern shore of the Red Sea), Miẓraim (Egypt), Put (location uncertain, probably Cyrene), and Canaan (10:6–20). The descendants of Cush are listed in 10:7 as Seba, *Havilah, Sabtah, Raamah, and Sabtecha. According to 10:8, Cush had another son, *Nimrod, whose rule extended over all Mesopotamia. That a Mesopotamian ruler is here linked to the peoples adjacent to the Red Sea stems from the confusion caused by the fact that there were two nations known by the name Cush, one in the Nile region ("Nubia, Ethiopia") and another in Mesopotamia (the Kassites; Akk. *Kaššû*). The Bible often telescopes the two. The inclusion of the Philistines and the Cretans (Caphtorim) in the list of the descendants of the Egyptians (Miẓraim; verses 13–14) is another problem, as there is clearly no ethnic or linguistic connection between these peoples. The reason for including the Philistines in the list must, therefore, have been geographic; Crete was included because it was the original home of the Philistines. The inclusion of the Ludim, if this refers to the Lydians, in this list is also a problem. It is possible that this refers to the invasion of Egypt by the Sea Peoples. Another Lud is also mentioned as a descendant of Shem (verse 22). The classifying of Canaan in the Hamite branch of nations is again perplexing, there being no ethnic or linguistic connections between the Canaanites and the Egyptians (verse 6). The subdivision of the Canaanites is problematic too: the inclusion of Phoenicia (Sidon) among the subdivisions of the Canaanites is appropriate, since the Phoenicians referred to their country as Canaan, and the Phoenician language is close to Hebrew. However, it cannot be on ethnolinguistic grounds that the Jebusites, Hittites, Hivites, and others are listed as Canaanites (10:15–18). It seems that once again the principle behind the classification is geographic proximity. The territory of the Hamites extended from Phoenicia, through western Palestine, to northeastern Africa. The Shemites included all the "children of Eber," the eponym of the Hebrews (10:21), and hence were therefore given prominence. The Assyrians, Arameans, and numerous tribes of Arabians were classified as Shemites. It is not clear why the Elamites, whose center was southwest Persia, were considered Shemites (10:22). Perhaps they were listed with Ashur (Assyria) because they were the nearest neighbor to the east of Mesopotamia. Arpachshad, listed as the grandfather of Eber, is otherwise unknown; the name appears to be non-Semitic.

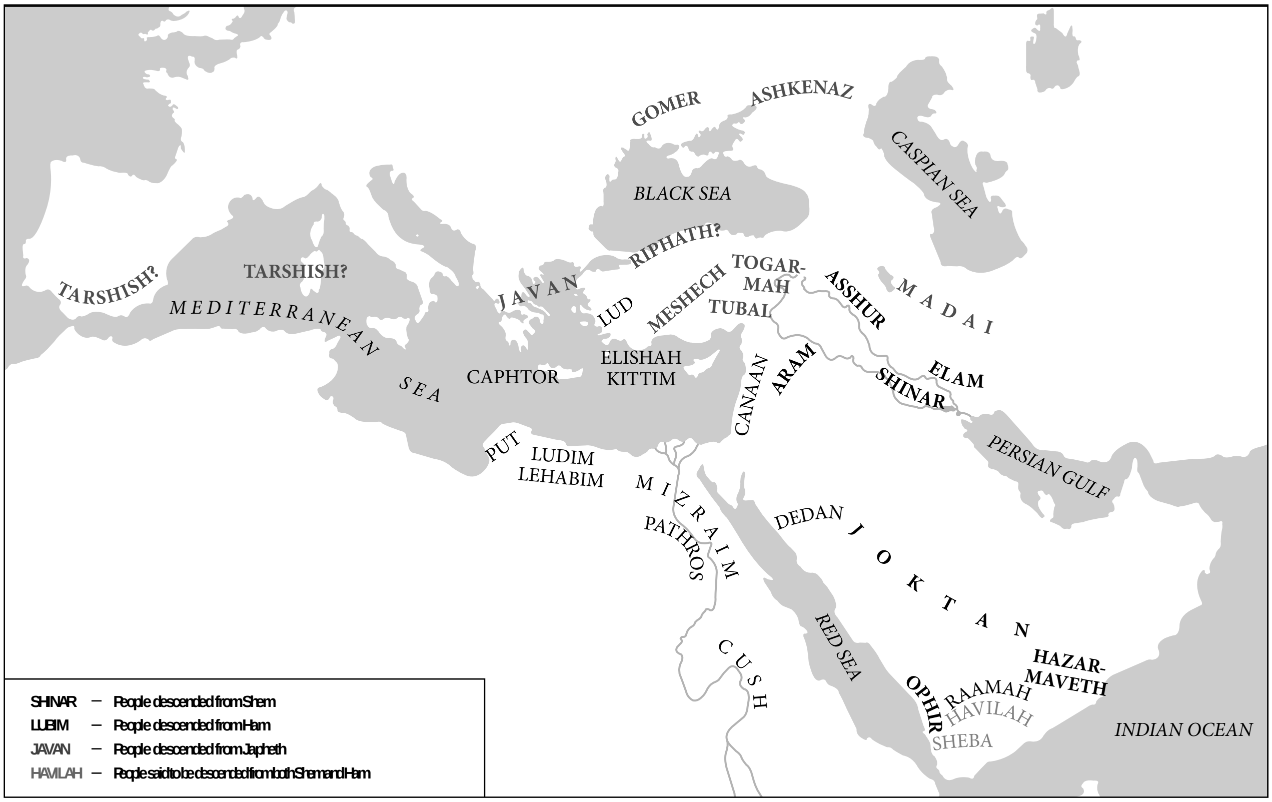
GOMER
ASHKENAZ
CASPIAN SEA
BLACK SEA
RIPHATH?
TARSHISH?
TARSHISH?
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
JAVAN
LUD
MESHECH
TOGARMAH
TUBAL
ASSHUR
MADAI
ELISHAH
KITTIM
CAPHTOR
CANAAN
ARAM
ELAM
SHINAR
PERSIAN GULF
PUT
LUDIM
LEHABIM
MIZRAIM
PATHROS
DEDAN
JOKTAN
RED SEA
CUSH
HAZARMAVETH
OPHIR
RAAMAH
HAVILAH
SHEBA
INDIAN OCEAN
SHINAR – People descended from Shem
LUBIM – People descended from Ham
JAVAN – People descended from Japheth
HAVILAH – People said to be descended from both Shem and Ham

The Hebrew Table of the Nations (from Genesis 10 and related sources). After the Westminster Historical Atlas to the Bible, 1945.

That the table does not aim at completeness is suggested by verse 5a, "From these [sons of Japheth] the maritime nations branched out" – here unnamed. Moab and Ammon, the descendants of Nahor and Keturah, the Ishmaelite tribes and Edom, and Israel itself are intentionally omitted, for they find their place at later stages of the narrative. Unexplained is the omission of Babylon. The earliest dating of the table is determined by the presence of the Cimmerians and the Scythians, who appeared in Asia Minor only in the eighth century. In general, the horizon of the table agrees remarkably (with the exception of Babylon) with that of Jeremiah (e.g., 46:9; 51:27–28) and Ezekiel (27:1ff.; 38:2ff.; 39:1), and it is likely that the table in its present form was known to these prophets. Heterogeneous and inconsistent (cf. the discrepancy between verse 7 and verses 28–29 regarding Havilah and Sheba), the table is assumed to be a combination of various sources. The material is conventionally allocated between J (verses 8–19, 25–30) and P (all the rest). Together with the story of the Tower of Babel, the table marks the end of the primeval history of mankind and the transition to the patriarchal history, which is played out against a background of a world filled with nations. Like the genealogies of 11:10–30; 25:12–18; and 36:1ff., it enables the narrative to maintain its focus on the main line of Israel's descent by summarily disposing of all collateral lines. At the same time, it shows the fulfillment of God's blessing of Noah and his sons with fertility (9:1, 7), and locates the ancestors of Israel in relation to the rest of mankind. The Jewish tradition that mankind is made up of 70 nations is based on the count in the table – although a sum is not stated in the text (cf. the itemization in *Pesikta Zutreta*, *No'aḥ*) and seems to underlie Deuteronomy 32:8, which speaks of God's "dividing mankind… in accord with the number of the sons of Israel" (namely, 70; Gen. 46:27). On the other hand, the Septuagint and the 4Q Deuteronomy fragment that read "the sons of God" (i.e., angels) instead of "the sons of Israel" reflect the notion, dated as early as the Persian period (Dan. 10:20) and possibly earlier (Ps. 82:7) that every nation has a divine patron – again, 70, in accord with Jewish tradition (Charles, Apocrypha, 2 (1913), 363 (late Hebrew Test. Patr., Naph. 9), *Pesikta Zutreta*, *ibid.*).

The Table of Nations served as the basis of later Jewish ethnography; for representative attempts to embrace contemporary ethnogeography under its rubrics compare Jubilees, chapters 8–9; Josephus, *Antiquities*, 1:122–147; Targum Jonathan to Genesis 10; *Genesis Rabbah*, 37; and for the late Middle Ages, Abrabanel, at the end of his commentary to Genesis 10.

In the Midrash

In early Christian sources 72 nations and tongues were assumed (e.g., Hippolytus, 10:26; Clement of Alexandria, *Stromata* 1:26), perhaps following the Septuagint version of Genesis 10. This chapter was considered a scientific account of the division of mankind into three races – Semitic, Hamitic and

Japhethic – distributed in three separate zones (Jub. 7:10 ff.). There are, however, varying opinions as to how many nations belonged to each "race." The commonest system (Mid. Ps. to 9:7; et al.) ascribes to Japheth 14 nations, Ham 30, and Shem 26 (total 70), while the *Yalkut Shimoni*, Genesis 61 gives a reckoning of Japheth 15, Ham 32, and Shem 27. From this total of 74, however, subtract Shem, Arpachshad, Shelah, and Eber, who were righteous, and thus again there is a total of 70.

There is, moreover, another tradition of 60 nations, based on an exegesis of the Song of Songs 6:8 (Mid. Hag. to Gen. 10:1). *Numbers Rabbah* 14:10 speaks of 70 nations and 60 kingdoms, giving a total of 130 (cf. Num. 7:13). The tradition of 72, which is found in A. Zacuto's *Yuḥasin* (ed. Cracow (1580–81), 135) is also echoed in *Midrash Haggadah* to Genesis 10:32. It has been suggested that the 72 nations are the 70 "Noahite" nations plus Israel and Edom. However, Abrabanel (on Gen. 10:2) states that a straightforward reading of chapter 10 suggests 73 nations; thus 72 may have been reached by excluding the Philistines, who in Genesis 10:14 are designated as a mixed race. Just as there were 70 nations, so there were 70 languages (cf. Targ. Jon., Gen. 11:7 and Deut. 32:8). Thus the law engraved on the tablets on Mt. Ebal (Deut. 27:2 ff.) was written in 70 languages (Sot. 7:5), so that all nations might read it. For the same reason, the divine voice that made itself heard at Sinai divided itself into 70 tongues (Shab. 88b et al.). However, according to *Aggadat Bereshit* 14 there are 71 languages. Perhaps the Philistines were included in that reckoning. The motif of the 70 nations is widely used in rabbinic literature (as is its derivative, the 70 tongues, e.g., *Sefer ha-Yashar*, Mi-Keẓ). Thus the 70 sacrifices offered on Tabernacles are said to atone for the 70 nations (Suk. 55b). The silver bowls, which the princes of the 12 tribes offered to the Tabernacle (Num. 7:13) weighed 70 shekels; so too did 70 nations spring from Noah (Num. R. 14:12). The 70 members of the Sanhedrin were likewise thought to correspond to the 70 nations of the world (Targ. Yer., Gen. 28:3).

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[Daniel Sperber]

NATONEK, JOSEPH (1813–1892), rabbi, pioneer of Zionism in Hungary, and Hebrew grammarian. Born in Komlo, Hungary, Natonek, as a merchant, supplied the Hungarian revolutionary army in 1848 until its collapse. He became the principal of the Jewish school in Surany (south Slovakia), and subsequently (1861–67) rabbi in Jaszbereny and in Szekesfehervar (Stuhlweissenburg). In 1867, Natonek negotiated with the Turkish government in Constantinople to obtain a charter for the reclamation of Palestinian soil for Jewish settlement. When his endeavors proved fruitless, he returned to Budapest, where he published the magazine *Das einige Israel* ("The United Israel," 1872), in which he propagated the Zionist idea. He also produced a booklet in Hungarian, *Messiás, avagy értekezés a zsidó emancipatióról* ("The Messiah – or On the Emancipation of the Jews," 1861), in which he opposed the idea of ameliorating the Jewish situation by cultural emancipation, advocating in its place national emancipation in the spirit of Moses *Hess and modern Zionism.

Natonek's other works include the unpublished Hebrew manuscript, "On the Divine Revelation to Moses"; *Wissenschaft-Religion* (1876); and an edition of the Song of Songs (1871), published with German translation and commentary by L. Hollaender, with some additional comments of his own. He also began to prepare a dictionary of five languages, *Pentaglotte* (1861) in collaboration with Bishop Feuer of Szekesfehervar.

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[Menahem Zevi Kaddari]

NATRA, SERGIU (**Nadler, Serge**; 1924–), Israeli composer. Born in Bucharest, Romania, he studied at the Musical Academy there under Leo Klepper, won the Georges Enesco Prize (1945) for his March and Chorale (which was performed by the Palestine PO in 1947, 14 years prior to his immigration to Israel) and the Romanian State Prize (1951). In 1961, he immigrated to Israel and settled in Tel Aviv and from 1975 to 1985 he taught at the Rubin Academy of Music, Tel Aviv. His Israeli honors include the Milo (1965), Engel (1970), and Prime Minister's (1984) prizes for composers. Natra's early works show the influence of Stravinsky, Prokofiev, and Hindemith. However, after he immigrated to Israel, his works were influenced by the new landscape, the Hebrew language, and biblical themes. In the 1970s he also composed in free atonality. Among his works are *Symphony for Strings* (1960); *Music for Violin and Harp* (1960); *Toccata for Orchestra* (1963); *Music for Harpsichord and Six Instruments* (1964); *Sonatina for Harp* (1965); *Song of Deborah*, for mezzo-soprano and chamber orchestra (1967), *Sonatinas for Trumpet, Oboe, and Trombone with Piano* (1969); *Interlude for Harp and Prayer for Harp* (1970); *Dedication for Mezzo-soprano and Orchestra* (1972);*Trio for Piano, Violin and Cello* (1971); *Divertimento for harp* (1976); *Ness-Amim Cantata* (1984); and *Sonata for harp and string quartet* (1997).

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[Uri (Erich) Toeplitz / Yohanan Boehm / Israela Stein (2nd ed.)]

NATRONAI BAR HILAI (ninth cent.), *gaon* of Sura from 853 to 858. Natronai's father Hilai, who died in 797, was also *gaon* of Sura. One of the most prolific writers of responsa among the *geonim* of the ninth century, Natronai always replied in the language in which he was addressed, whether Hebrew, Aramaic, or Arabic. He is said to have been the first to use Arabic for scholarly correspondence. He had strong ties with all parts of the Diaspora, especially Spain, and in particular Lucena, of whose Jews he was especially demanding, "since there is no non-Jew among you." His responsa deal largely with matters pertaining to liturgy, and his responsum to a query from the Lucena community as to how to fulfill the rabbinic dictum to recite 100 benedictions daily, constitutes the nucleus of the Jewish prayer book. He gave a historical explanation of Rav's statement (Shab. 24a) that it is necessary to recite the *haftarah* after the reading of the Pentateuch portion at the Sabbath afternoon service. According to him the Persians objected to this custom. This practice was abolished and never reinstated. He is the author of the earliest responsum regarding the geonic ordinance that debts may be collected from movable property. In another responsum, he stresses the importance of the study of the Babylonian Talmud for the unlearned since it includes both Bible and Mishnah.

Natronai did not insist that his questioners act in accordance with the customs prevailing in the two Babylonian academies. Only where he suspected Karaite influence, did his tone become authoritarian, and he declared that he who omitted the midrashic sections in the Passover *Haggadah* should be considered a heretic and liable to excommunication. Natronai once even denounced a Palestinian law which differed from the Babylonian, maintaining, "They err and have gone astray." Natronai insisted on regular congregational recitation of the Aramaic Targum, a decision which was incorporated in R. *Amram's prayer book. He prohibited recitation from vocalized scrolls in the synagogue, a practice encouraged by the Karaites. Natronai also included in his responsa commentaries to various tractates of the Talmud. A collection of *halakhot* similar to the **Ḥalakhot Keẓuvot* which has been ascribed to him is probably a condensation from his responsa, and some of the responsa attributed to Natronai bar Hilai are probably those of Natronai bar Nehemiah, *Gaon* of Pumbedita.

Natronai was also stated to practice mysticism, through the agency of which he caused himself to be transported to Spain, where he taught the people and, just as mysteriously, to have transported himself back to Babylon. Hai Gaon denied this, suggesting that some adventurer may have impersonated Natronai in Spain. Natronai became a legendary personality and many fictitious and fanciful decisions were attributed to him, particularly in Yemenite Midrashim.

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[Meir Havazelet]

NATRONAI BAR NEHEMIAH (also known as **Rav Yenuka**), *gaon* of *Pumbedita, 719–730. Natronai married into the family of the exilarch. According to *Sherira Gaon he was said to have dealt so severely with the students of the academy that some of them left and went to the academy at Sura, returning only after his death. Natronai was lenient to the repentant followers of the false messiah Severus (*Serenus), though they had rejected certain talmudic ordinances, permitting them to return to the communal fold. In one responsum however, he opposed the acceptance into the community of children of certain heretical Jews, who had renounced both biblical and talmudic Judaism. Virtually nothing is known of his halakhic decisions.

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[Meir Havazelet]

NATRONAI BEN ḤAVIVAI (**Zavinai**; second half of eighth century), exilarch in Babylonia and pupil of R. *Yehudai Gaon. R. *Sherira relates in his epistle (*Iggeret Rav Sherira Ga'on*, ed. Lewin (1921), 104) that in the year 1082 of the Seleucid era (771) a conflict over the exilarchate broke out between Natronai and Zakkai b. Aḥunai, who had already occupied this position for a number of years. R. Malkha b. R. Aḥa, the *Gaon* of Pumbedita, supported Natronai, but both yeshivot supported Zakkai b. Aḥunai. When R. Malkha died, Natronai was compelled to leave Babylonia. He then traveled to the Maghreb (or Spain). According to Spanish tradition, Natronai prepared from memory a copy of the Babylonian Talmud for the Spanish Jews. It is possible that Natronai was the grandfather of Natronai, the exilarch in Babylonia after 857.

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[Avraham David]

NATURE. Though the Bible is full of the awareness and appreciation of nature from the creation narrative up to the Psalmist's declaration, "The heavens declare the glory of God…" (Ps. 19:2), it does not profess a comprehensive doctrine of nature in relation to man and God. Nature is a testimony to the work of the Creator (Isa. 40:26; Amos 5:8; Job 38–41), not a subject for speculation. As opposed to the pagan world-view which endowed natural objects with divinity, the Bible makes it quite clear that the natural world was produced by, and totally subject to, God – not in any way part of Him. This, in sum, is its doctrine of nature.

In Rabbinic Literature

A similar lack of speculative interest in nature is apparent in rabbinic literature, though to a lesser degree. Contemplation of the majesty of the heavens or the myriad creatures on earth served the rabbis as a reminder of the wondrous ways of the Creator rather than as the starting point of physical speculation. Thus when R. Akiva considered the manner in which land and sea animals were confined to, and dependent on, their respective elements he would say, "How mighty are Thy works O Lord" (Ps. 104:24; Ḥul. 127a). On the other hand, the purely aesthetic appreciation of nature was played down in preference to the more centrally religious values. This is apparent in the (generally misunderstood) passage, "He who walks by the way studying, and interrupts his studying by saying 'How pleasant is this tree, how pleasant this plowed field'… it is as if he were deserving of death" (Avot 3:8).

The nearest to a conceptual discussion of nature comes in rabbinic consideration of cosmogony and of miracles. The ideas that God looked into the Torah and using it as a blueprint created the natural world (Gen. R. 1:1), and that miracles were built into the natural order at the creation (Avot 5:5; Gen. R. 5:5) would seem to reflect Stoic doctrine (see *Creation and Cosmogony; *Miracles).

The teleological argument, from design in nature to the existence of a Designer, is found in rabbinic literature, albeit in a philosophically naive form. Thus it is said of Abraham that he first came to know God by pondering on the comparison between the world and a palace. Just as a palace which is illuminated must have an owner so too must the world (Gen. R. 39: 1; cf. *Midrash Temurah* 5).

In Hellenistic and Medieval Jewish Philosophy

In their philosophy of nature, as in other branches of philosophy, Hellenistic and medieval Jewish thinkers were influenced greatly by the current general philosophical doctrines. Thus, for the most part, they adopted the view that the universe is governed by immutable laws; that all objects in the sublunar world are formed out of combinations of four basic elements – earth, air, fire, and water; that the celestial world consists of a fifth element; and that substances in the universe can be classified hierarchically as inanimate, vegetative, animate, and rational. However, the philosophical view of nature posed problems for the traditional Jewish view as expressed in the Bible and Talmud. For traditional Judaism the universe did not run according to set immutable laws. Rather God directly regulated the workings of the universe that He had created, ensuring that events would lead to the specific goal He had in mind. The medieval Jewish philosopher, unable to give up this view of nature completely, sought in his philosophies of nature to reconcile the biblical and talmudic concepts of *creation and *miracles with the theories of secular philosophy. For some of them, the design and order that they observed in nature constituted the evidence for the existence of a Creator – the teleological argument.

*Philo held that the world was governed by laws which were instituted by God at the time of creation. He maintained that all objects in the universe were composed of combinations of the four elements, interpreting the wings of the seraphim in Isaiah's vision (Isa. 6) as the four elements, one pair representing earth and water, and the second pair, fire and air. The third pair he interpreted as the forces of love and opposition which initiate movement in the other four elements (*De Deo*, 9–10).

*Saadiah, too, held that all objects are composed of four basic elements (*Emunot ve-De'ot*, 10:17; 1:3; 2:2), and that the world is governed by set laws. As a follower of the *Kalam, which accepted creation and advanced proofs for it, Saadiah had no difficulty with the doctrine of creation. Among the proofs which Saadiah advanced for creation was one based on the order existing in nature, a proof that he adopted from the Kalam. Saadiah argued that since all composite objects must be fashioned from their component parts by an intelligent being, so the world, which is itself a composite of many composites, must have been created (*ibid.*, treatise 1). *Baḥya ibn Paquda employs a similar argument in his *Ḥovot ha-Levavot* (1:6).

NEOPLATONISM. Adopting the neoplatonic conception of the universe as a series of descending spheres, Jewish neoplatonists sought to combine the theory of emanation with the biblical concept of creation. In attempting to do so, Isaac *Israeli, somewhat arbitrarily, maintained that the intellect, which next to God is the highest being in the world, was created by God, and that all other objects emanate from the intellect (S. Fried (ed.), *Sefer ha-Yesodot* (1900), 69). Aristotelian influences are evident in Israeli's doctrine of the elements.

Joseph ibn *Ẓaddik, although generally a neoplatonist, adopted Aristotle's philosophy of nature. However, he deviated from it in his definition of matter and form, assigning to matter the position of the one real substance and to form a status similar to that of accidents (*Sefer Olam Katan*, 1:2).

*Judah Halevi, who was generally critical of Aristotelian philosophy, criticized the Aristotelian doctrine of the four elements on the ground that it has no basis in experience, for while we do perceive the qualities of heat, cold, wetness, and dryness, we do not perceive them in their pure form as primary elements (*Kuzari*, 5:14).

ARISTOTELIANISM. Abraham *Ibn Daud, the first of the Jewish Aristotelians, in his *Emunah Ramah*, adopted the Aristotelian concepts of form and matter, substance and accident, and the categories, finding allusions to the categories in the 139th Psalm. Unable to accept the Aristotelian doctrine of the eternity of matter insofar as it conflicted with the biblical concept of creation, Ibn Daud posited the existence of a formless prime matter which was the first stage in the process of creation.

*Maimonides, while he totally accepted Aristotelian physics, differed with the Aristotelian view that the world is eternal. Maintaining that neither eternity nor creation could be proved, he chose to accept creation as the theory advanced in the Bible. He held that miracles were predetermined at the time of creation, and that they were not abrogations of natural laws, but occurred through the exertion of one natural force upon another.

*Levi b. Gershom disagreed with the Aristotelian notion that time and motion are infinite (*Milḥamot Adonai*, pt. 6, 1:10–12). Levi proved that the world was created from the teleological character of nature. Just as every particular object in nature moves toward the realization of its own particular goal, so the universe, the sum total of all the things that exist within it, moves toward an ultimate end. He is unique among Jewish philosophers in that he rejects the idea of creation *ex nihilo*, maintaining that there existed an eternal absolutely formless matter out of which God at a particular point in time created the universe (*ibid.*, 1:17–28). He interprets the biblical story of creation to coincide with this theory.

*Crescas criticized Aristotelian physics, especially his doctrine of space, maintaining that, in opposition to Aristotle, a vacuum was possible (*Or Adonai*, bk. 1, pt. 2, ch. 3). Crescas believed that it was inconsequential whether or not the world was eternal; what is important is that God created the world *ex nihilo*, but not necessarily at a specific moment in time.

[Alfred L. Ivry]

Modern Period

Scientific philosophy entered a new phase with the doctrine of Kant that the natural world was phenomenal, being the manifestation, through the categories, of the noumenal world – the unknowable *ding an sich*. The development of this doctrine in Fichte, Hegel, and Schelling and the bifurcation of spirit and nature influenced Jewish philosophers of the school of idealism.

Solomon *Formstecher gave Schelling's doctrine of the nonconscious world soul a theistic interpretation. The world soul is the essence of the natural world though separate from and independent of it. Nature, in turn, is totally dependent on the world soul, being but one aspect of its manifestation. Formstecher makes a distinction between the religion of nature – in which the world soul is merely the highest principle of nature, and the religion of the spirit – in which the world soul is independent of nature and is the essence of ethics. The former is paganism, the latter Judaic religion.

In the philosophy of Samuel *Hirsch the central problem is more anthropocentric, namely, the relationship of man to nature, and the framework of his solution is Hegelian. Hirsch relates man and nature to God by regarding Him as the ideal to which man strives in asserting his freedom against nature. For in such ethical striving man is supporting spirit against nature, and spirit is the common element between man and God. Hirsch too distinguishes between the ethical religion of the spirit (Judaism), and nature religion.

Nachman *Krochmal does not, like Formstecher and Hirsch, start from the assumption of a split between spirit and nature. For him nature is merely an end point on the scale of spiritual development, which rises in degrees from primitive religion up to the Jewish world view. This leads him near to a pantheistic position in that he claims that all existence is immanent in the Absolute Spirit, God.

In the early system of Hermann *Cohen, which while accepting Kantianism rejects the unknowable *ding an sich*, the idea of God plays the role of a bridge between ethics and the natural world. It is the guarantee that ethical fulfillment is possible in nature. Since, however, God is ideal rather than real, Judaism is in essence ethics as religion. His later philosophy, however, represents a complete volte-face. There it is God who has prime ontological status, and the natural world is the vehicle of God's manifestation with no independent being of its own.

A.I. *Kook, whose philosophy has been summarized by Hugo Bergman as "mystic pantheism," believed all reality to be a manifestation of God in a myriad of individual forms which in turn have no reality without Him. The plurality of the natural world is unified in God, the source and ground of its being. Adapting a kabbalistic notion, Kook believes that holy sparks are everywhere in nature, for it is shot through with a harmonious divine force. This "life force" of nature is not, like Bergson's *élan vital*, blind, but rather purposive. Evolution of nature is interpreted to mean that all creation, striving to be reunited with God, moves toward the Divinity. Judaism is thus, for Kook, the preeminent attempt to see nature in its total harmony and to sanctify, rather than reject, the material world.

A similarly positive approach to nature is apparent in the ideology of the early Labor Zionist Movement, especially in the work of A.D. *Gordon. Here however, there are clearer heterodox tendencies toward pantheism. Life's ideal, for Gordon, is a form of cosmic harmony of the human and material worlds. This harmony has been interrupted by the unnatural urban life of the Jew in the Diaspora, and in order to reestablish it he has to return to the soil to be as near to nature as possible. Gordon's ideal of unity with nature is not simply an ethical goal but is based on the metaphysical belief that man is organically united to the cosmos, and that it is the unbalanced emphasis on the intellect rather than on man's intuition which is at the root of human alienation.

In the dialogic writings of Martin *Buber, particularly in *I and Thou*, there is an echo of the belief in the existence of "sparks" in all things. It is possible, according to Buber, to enter into an I-Thou relationship even with inanimate objects, and this relationship need not be simply passive but may be one of full mutuality. In answer to criticisms of how one can enter into what seems an essentially personal relationship with nonpersonal nature, Buber remarks that in such a relationship the natural object reveals its being. There is a reciprocity of being between the person who addresses the object as "Thou" and the object so addressed, for the world is potentially a revelation of the divine (*I and Thou*, postscript, rev. ed. 1958).

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NATURE RESERVES IN ISRAEL. Despite its limited area, Israel has an extraordinarily varied landscape and a rich array of flora and fauna. There are some 2,800 different species of wild plants (150 of them indigenous) – an extremely high number in relation to the area – in its three geobotanical regions: Mediterranean, Saharo-Sindi, and Irano-Turani, as well as enclaves of tropical and European flora, the most northern and southern known. About 250 of the plants are endemic. The fauna is also varied, though it is only a remnant of the wild life of biblical times; at least 15 large mammalian species have become extinct. There are more than 20 varieties of freshwater fish, several species of amphibians and eight of reptiles, and 380 varieties of birds (150 of which nest in Israel, the remainder being migratory or winter visitors). Israel hosts over 150 million migratory birds each year during the spring and fall seasons. In addition, there are about 70 species of mammals, mostly small rodents and bats. Gazelle, wild boar, ibex, hyena, wolf, jackal, hyrax, caracal, and lynx are still to be found.

The dynamic development of modern Israel has inevitably affected plant and animal ecology. Some 500 new villages and a score of new towns, as well as the rapid expansion of existing ones, have encroached on areas of hitherto undisturbed wild life and natural vegetation. The quadrupling of the population, the rise in the standard of living, and the vast expansion of tourism, have brought large numbers of hikers and trippers to the countryside.

To protect the flora and fauna, a Nature Reserves Authority was established by the government in 1963. Some 380 areas have been selected as nature reserves in which landscape, flora, and fauna are protected in their natural condition. Some are large reserves, in which the flora and fauna maintain an equilibrium, for instance on Mt. Meron (about 70,000 dunams: 17,500 acres). There are also the smaller areas maintained for specific scientific reasons, e.g., winter pools to preserve lower crustacea and amphibians, a ridge of sandstone with its typical flora, islands on which common tern nest, and sites such as Ḥorshat Tal and Circassia as reminders of the landscape that once existed. While most of the reserves are open to the public, some are closed to preserve their scientific value. Facilities for visitors have been provided at Tel Dan, the "Tannur" near Metullah, the cave of "Pa'ar," the "Masrek" near Jerusalem, En-Gedi, etc., and the work is being extended to other places throughout the country. The Nature Reserves Authority has also undertaken to reintroduce species that have become extinct in Israel. At the *Ḥai-Bar* (wildlife) Biblical Game Reserve at Yotvata (34,500 dunams; 8,650 acres), attempts were begun in 1966 to breed some of these extinct species, with the approval of the World Wildlife Fund. Another *Hai-Bar* is located on Mt. Carmel (6,000 dunams; 1,500 acres) and includes species that used to live on the mountain. In 1998 the Nature Reserves Authority became part of the Israel Nature and Park Authority, a combined authority responsible for all the natural and archeological reserves and parks in Israel.

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[Abraham Yoffe / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

NATZWEILER-STRUTHOF, Nazi concentration camp in Alsace, southwest of Strasbourg, that operated from May 1941 to Aug. 31, 1944. The site was mainly chosen because of its proximity to vast quarries where prison labor could be exploited. The camp became known as Natzweiler-Struthof because until the Natzweiler camp was completed, prisoners were housed in the nearby former Hotel Struthof. The camp was in the third or harshest category of concentration camps, and served as a concentration and redistribution center for political prisoners. Beginning in the summer of 1943, it was used to intern "Night and Fog" (*Nacht und Nebel*) prisoners from France and southwest Germany. In 1944, the camp was used to produce arms and to construct underground manufacturing facilities. The commandants were Hans Huettig, Egon Zill, Josef Kramer (the "Beast of Belsen," who served at Bergen Belsen), and Fritz Hartjenstein, who was in charge from April 1944 until the camp inmates and staff were evacuated and sent to *Dachau with the approach of the Allies. Natzweiler-Struthof provided the Reich University at Strasbourg with inmates to be used for various pseudo-medical (including lethal) experiments. The scientists at Strasbourg experimented with combat gases and infectious diseases (hepatitis and others), with Roma (gypsies) being the primary victims. In August 1943, a gas chamber was constructed. Kramer gassed about 100 Jewish prisoners specially brought from *Auschwitz to supply August Hirt at the Reich University with specimens for his anthropological and racial skeleton collection in the anatomical institute. Among those especially brought for execution at Natzweiller were female agents of the French Resistance. Altogether, it is estimated that 25,000 prisoners died in the camp.

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[Yehuda Reshef / David Weinberg (2nd ed.)]

NAUHEIM (**Bad Nauheim**), town in Hesse, Germany. Jews may have lived in Nauheim as early as 1303; during the *Black Death persecutions (1348) they were expelled from the duchy of *Hanau. In 1464 three Jewish households are noted in the city; in a document of the same year they appear as imperial *Kammerknechte* ("serfs of the chamber"; see *servi camerae* **re-gis*) whose tax payments form part of a transaction between the margrave of Brandenburg and the count of Hanau. Jews are again attested as taxpayers in Nauheim in the 16th century. They were expelled once more in 1539. From the middle of the 16th century onward some **Schutzjuden* lived in Nauheim, but their number was small. Nauheim Jews began worshiping in a rented prayer room in 1830. In 1861 there were 34 Jews in Nauheim. A Jewish cemetery was consecrated in 1866, and a new one in the first years of the 20th century. The first synagogue dates from 1867; a second larger one was built in 1928. At that time, the community had a religious school and a *ḥevra kaddisha*. In 1933 the Jewish population numbered 300. The synagogue survived the Nazi period and was used once more by a reestablished congregation that totaled 124 persons in 1970. The Jewish community numbered 84 in 1989 and 341 in 2005. The increase is explained by the immigration of Jews from the former Soviet Union.

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[Larissa Daemmig (2nd ed)]

NAUMBOURG, SAMUEL (1815–1880), *ḥazzan*, composer, and writer. Born in Dennelohe, near Ansbach (Bavaria), the descendant of almost ten generations of south German *ḥazzanim*, Naumbourg received his musical education at Munich and sang there in Maier *Kohn's synagogue choir. After an engagement as choirmaster in Strasbourg, he came to Paris in 1843. In 1845 he was appointed first *ḥazzan* at the synagogue in the Rue Notre-Dame-de-Nazareth, under the sponsorship of Jacques Fromental *Halévy and with the government authorization to carry out his plans for a thorough reform of liturgic music (which had lapsed into disorder after the death of Israel *Lovy in 1832). In 1847 he published the first two volumes of his *Zemirot Yisrael* (vol. 1 for the Sabbath, vol. 2 for the High Holidays), with vol. 3 *Hymnes et Psaumes* added when the work was reissued in 1864 (repr. 1874, 1954). In 1874 he brought out a collection of traditional synagogue melodies, *Aguddat Shirim*, which also included some western Sephardi material, and a long preface on the history of Jewish religious music. In 1877 Naumbourg published the first modern edition of Salamone de *Rossi's *Ha-Shirim Asher li-Shelomo* (30 out of 33 pieces) and a selection of his madrigals, with the collaboration of Vincent d'Indy, under the name of *Cantiques de Salamon Rossi*; the historical importance of the undertaking is in no way diminished by its many editorial failings and liberties. Naumbourg's *Zemirot Yisrael* achieved an influence comparable to the works of his senior Solomon *Sulzer and his junior Louis *Lewandowsky. The pieces are set for *ḥazzan* and 2- to 4-part choir, with some organ accompaniments and, apart from Naumbourg's own compositions and arrangements, include some melodies by Lovy and two works by Halévy and *Meyerbeer. About half of the pieces are based on traditional material, mainly south German. The others reflect the various styles then current in the Parisian grand opera, which "gave to Naumbourg's work some international features and helped it to become widely known, and much liked and used" (Idelsohn).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Sendrey, Music, index; Idelsohn, Music, 262–6 and index.

[Bathja Bayer]

NAUMBURG, U.S. family of bankers and philanthropists. The founder, ELKAN NAUMBURG (1834–1924), was born in Germany, and went to the U.S. in 1850. He subsequently became a partner in the clothing firm of Naumburg, Kraus, Lauer & Company. After the firm was dissolved in 1893, Naumburg founded the banking house of E. Naumburg and Co., which specialized in advancing loans to business enterprises. A lover of music, he established and endowed the free summer concert programs at New York City's Central Park in 1905, and contributed the funds for the park's band shell. He also gave liberally to other philanthropies.

His eldest son WALTER WEHLE NAUMBURG (1867–1959), who was born in New York, entered his father's clothing business and then entered the newly established family banking business. He and his younger brother George Washington dissolved the firm in 1931 in order to devote themselves to charity. Besides continuing the Central Park concerts instituted by their father, Walter Naumburg founded the Walter W. Naumburg Musical Foundation (1926) which sponsored the debuts of talented musicians and the Musicians Foundation to care for needy musicians. He was a trustee of Mt. Sinai Hospital and a member of the Salvation Army's board.

His wife, ELSIE MARGARET BINGER NAUMBURG (1880–1953), was a well-known ornithologist who served on the staff of the American Museum of Natural History. Her monograph, *The Birds of Matto Grosso, Brazil* (1930), dealt with the ornithological finds of Theodore Roosevelt's expedition to Brazil. She established the Dr. Frank Chapman Memorial Fund to support ornithological research.

GEORGE WASHINGTON NAUMBURG (1876–1970). George Washington Naumburg was born in New York City, and entered the family banking business after graduating from Harvard in 1898. During World War I, he served as assistant chief of the cotton section of the War Industries Board. In 1933, two years after his bank's dissolution, he was appointed president of the New York Guaranteed Protection Corporation. A vigorous advocate of government economy, Naumburg was treasurer of the National Economy League in the 1930s and a director and vice president of the Citizens Budget Commission. As a philanthropist, Naumburg's principal interest lay in the area of child welfare. He was active in the National Child Welfare Association, and supported psychiatric treatment programs for children. Also active in Jewish affairs, Naumburg was a director of the Joint Distribution Committee, head of the Federation of Jewish Philanthropies finance committee, trustee of the Jewish Board of Guardians, and president of the Baron de Hirsch Fund (1932–70).

ROBERT ELKAN NAUMBURG (1892–1953). Robert Elkan Naumburg was born in New York, and graduated from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. A mechanical engineer and inventor, Naumburg constructed the visigraph, a machine allowing the blind to "read" electrically-embossed characters on paper. After World War II, Naumburg donated the invention to the federal government for use by sightless veterans.

NAUMBURG, MARGARET (1890–1983), U.S. psychoanalyst, art therapist, and educator. Born in New York, Naumburg graduated from Barnard College, Columbia University. She then studied speech therapy with F. Matthias Alexander at the London School of Economics and child education with Maria Montessori in Rome. Influenced by Freud's theories, Naumburg maintained that the child was an individual with his own inner life and needs and that education should serve the child, and not the child education. In 1913, she founded and conducted the first Montessori class in New York City at the Henry Street Settlement. A year later she launched her own school, the Walden School, based on the importance of the personal relationship between pupils and teachers. She was a pioneer in art education and in the use of art for therapeutic purposes. From 1930 on, she concerned herself primarily with developing art therapy technique and moved away from progressive education. She devoted much of her life to the establishment of art therapy as a discipline. Naumburg taught at New York University into her eighties. She initiated art therapy instruction there at the undergraduate level. A graduate program for art therapy was instituted in 1969.

Naumburg's methods were disseminated by exhibitions at meetings of the American Psychiatric Association and at international psychiatric congresses. Naumburg's books include *The Child and the World* (1928); *Studies of the "Free" Art Expression of Behavior Problem Children and Adolescents as a Means of Diagnosis and Therapy* (1947); *Schizophrenic Art: Its Meaning in Psychotherapy* (1950); *Psychoneurotic Art: Its Function in Psychotherapy* (1953); and *Dynamically Oriented Art Therapy* (1966).

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[Ernest Schwarcz / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

NAUPAKTOS (**Lepanto**, **Inebahti**), town in W. central Greece. Benjamin of Tudela, the 12th-century traveler, reported 100 Jews in the town. The Venetians ruled there from 1408 to 1499. Documentation from 1430 shows the existence of large-scale commercial dealings by Jewish bankers between the ports of Lepanto and Patras. There was a *Romaniot community in Naupaktos and after 1492 refugees opened two synagogues, one according to the Spanish rite and the other according to the Sicilian. Jewish merchants used to send to Budapest and Turkey *lulavim* and *etrogim* which they grew in the vicinity of Naupaktos. A special "Purim of Lepanto" was celebrated on the 11th of Tevet in memory of the community's miraculous preservation following the Turkish conquest of the city (1571). In the 16th century R. Joseph Pirmon attempted to unite the three communities but was opposed by the Romaniot minority who were supported by Samuel *Medina. At the beginning of the 17th century, the local Jews suffered greatly from efforts of the local governor to extort large sums of money from them. In the 1720s and 1730s, two local Jewish partners served Ottoman ministers. In 1746, a group of 16 Jews left the city to settle in Ereẓ Israel but were captured at sea and taken to the Island of Mykinos, being released after enduring much hardship. In 1806, the Jewish community numbered 30 families, or 150 people. In the wake of the Greek uprisings against the Turks in 1821-22, the Jewish community was destroyed.

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[Simon Marcus / Yitzchak Kerem (2nd ed.)]

NAVARRO, Portuguese family, prominent in the 14th and 15th centuries.

MOSES NAVARRO of Santarem (d. c. 1370), personal physician to King Pedro I and his chief tax collector, served for nearly 30 years as chief rabbi (**arraby moor*) of Portugal. The king granted Moses and his wife, Salva, the right to adopt the family name Navarro and to bequeath it to his descendants. His son, JUDAH, inherited the posts of personal physician and chief tax collector under Pedro I and continued in the latter capacity under John I. He and Solomon Negro agreed to pay some 200,000 livres annually for five years for the privilege of farming taxes. He is also known to have given the king a rich estate in Alvito, Alemtejo. Moses' grandson (or son according to Amador de los Rios), also called MOSES (d. c. 1410), was likewise chief rabbi and personal physician to the king, in this case John I. All three Navarros used their offices to benefit their fellow-Jews. Particularly noteworthy are the efforts of the younger Moses Navarro at the time of the large-scale massacres of the Spanish Jews in 1391. In that year he presented the Portuguese king with the bull decreed on July 2, 1389, by Pope Boniface IX (based on a bull of Pope *Clement VI), forbidding Christians to harm the Jews, desecrate their cemeteries, or attempt to baptize them by force. On July 17, 1392, the king ordered the promulgation of this bull throughout Portugal, reinforcing it with legislation of his own. Moses was also instrumental in acquiring the king's protection for Jewish refugees from Spain.

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[Martin A. Cohen]

NAVARRO, ABRAHAM (d. c. 1692), envoy in China and India. Navarro, a London Sephardi who may have earlier lived in Jamaica, was commissioned in 1682 by the East India Company to accompany the ship *Delight* to China as interpreter and linguist. In 1683 it reached Amoy, where Navarro began negotiations for opening trade relations. When these failed, Navarro returned to India, and engaged in trade. In 1689 Navarro was sent to the court of the powerful Moghul ruler Aurangzeb to negotiate a peace treaty. After a personal audience with the emperor, a firman for the British trade was obtained.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Fischel, in: PAAJR, 25 (1956), 39–62; 26 (1957), 25–39.

[Walter Joseph Fischel]

NAVEH (Heb. נָוֶה), city in Bashan, possibly mentioned in the lists of cities conquered by Thutmosis III (no. 75) and Ramses II (no. 13). *Zeno visited it during his travels in 259 B.C.E. In talmudic times, it was a well-known Jewish center with its own territory (Tosef., Shev. 4:8); the *nesi'im* had extensive possessions there. Naveh and the neighboring city of Ḥalamish were at odds (Lam. R. 1:17, no. 52). Eusebius calls it a Jewish town (Onom. 136:3). The Jewish community persisted until the time of the Crusades, and the city was the home town of many scholars. In Byzantine times it was part of Provincia Arabia and had a bishop. It is the present-day Arab village of Nawā, in which the legendary tomb of *Shem and the tomb of Joseph b. Saadiah (1062) are located. Jewish remains include many fragments of a synagogue built by Bar Yudan and Levi.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: G. Schumacher, *Across the Jordan* (1866), 167ff.; Dalman, in: PJB, 8 (1913), 59–60; Mayer and Reifemberg, in: BJPES, 4 (1936), 1ff.; Braslavski, *ibid.*, 8ff.; Klein, *ibid.*, 76ff.; Amiran, in: IEJ, 6 (1956), 243–4; Avi-Yonah, Geog., 155; Press Ereẓ, 3 (1952^{2}), 624.

[Michael Avi-Yonah]

NAVON, BENJAMIN MORDECAI BEN EPHRAIM (1788–1851), kabbalist and halakhist, one of the outstanding Jerusalem sages of his time, son of Ephraim b. Jonah Navon. Navon was called Jilibin (Çelebi, a Turkish title of honor). He was head of the kabbalists of the "Midrash Ḥasidim Kehillah Kedoshah Bet El" and head of a *bet din*. He devoted himself to a great extent to communal affairs, and assisted Israel Bak in establishing his pioneer printing press in Jerusalem in 1841. Navon wrote many responsa, some of which were published under the title *Benei Binyamin* (1876) by Jacob Saul *Elyashar, his stepson and disciple, who also included many of his sermons in his *Ish Emunim* (1885).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Frumkin-Rivlin, 3 (1929), 292f.; M.D. Gaon, *Yehudei ha-Mizraḥ be-Ereẓ Yisrael*, 2 (1937), 450f.; Benayahu, in: *Sinai*, 24 (1948/49), 205–14; idem, *Rabbi Ḥayyim Joseph David Azulai* (1959), 275.

[Abraham David]

NAVON, DAVID (1943–), Israeli psychologist. Born in Tel Aviv, he studied at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem and received his doctorate in psychology from San Diego University in California. He taught at Haifa University where he became a professor in 1984 and was dean of the Faculty of Psychology. He was a leading researcher in cognitive psychology. Among his areas of interest were attention and perception. He is known mainly for a widely used experimental model and for a number of influential theoretical papers. In all, his papers have been cited around 2,400 times. In 1992 he became a member of the Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities and received the Israel Prize for social sciences.

[Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

NAVON, EPHRAIM BEN AARON (1677–1735), rabbi and halakhist. Navon was born in Constantinople, and emigrated to Jerusalem about 1700, together with his father-in-law, Judah Ergas. He returned to Turkey in 1721 as an emissary of Jerusalem. On the termination of his mission there in 1723, he was appointed a *dayyan* in the *bet din* of Judah *Rosanes in Constantinople, and later received the appointment of rabbi. While in Constantinople, he continued to concern himself with the amelioration of the material conditions of the Jewish community of Jerusalem. In 1738 his *Maḥaneh Efrayim* appeared in Constantinople, containing responsa and novellae on the Talmud and the works of early halakhic authorities. ARYEH JUDAH NAVON (1707–1761), his son, was the teacher of Yom Tov *Algazi.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Frumkin-Rivlin, 2 (1928), 157; Rosanes, Togarmah, 4 (1935), 207; M.D. Gaon, *Yehudei ha-Mizraḥ be-Ereẓ Yisrael*, 2 (1937), 449; Yaari, Sheluḥei, 116, 130, 361–2.

[Avraham David]

NAVON, ISAAC ELIYAHU (1859–1952), Israeli composer and poet. Born in Adrianople (Edirne), Turkey, he taught in a Hebrew school established by his father in Constantinople and wrote for Jewish newspapers. He also helped to reorganize the Maftirim fraternity of Adrianople (most of whose members had immigrated to Constantinople), and to publish their songbook *Shirei Yisrael be-Ereẓ ha-Kedem* (1921), which contained a number of his own poems and a foreword by *Bialik. In 1929 Navon settled in Jerusalem, later in Tel Aviv, and devoted himself to spreading the Sephardi musical tradition. Some of the songs he collected or composed entered into the Israeli folksong tradition, notably "*Nizzanei Shalom,*" "*Ḥaddesh ke-Kedem Yameinu,*" and "*Gizratekh Tavnit Nogah.*" He published further poems of his own in 1932.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: M.D. Gaon, in: I.E. Navon, *Yinnon* (1932), introd.; I. Levy (ed.), *Yonah Homiyyah, Mi-Shirei Yiẓḥak Eliyahu Navon* (1950), includes music; Barkai, in: *Hallel*, 1 (1930), 45–47; L. Saminsky, *Music of the Ghetto and the Bible* (1934), 159, 161; Bayer, in: *Taẓlil*, 7 (1967), 149; Tidhar, 2 (1947), 728–9.

[Bathja Bayer]

NAVON, JONAH BEN HANUN (1713?–1760), rabbi and author. Navon was born in Jerusalem where his father was a rabbi. He studied in the *bet ha-midrash* Bet Ya'akov Pereira under Israel Meir Mizraḥi. In 1746 he headed the *bet ha-midrash* Keneset Yisrael, founded by Ḥayyim ibn *Attar, and when the yeshivah Gedulat Mordekhai was established Navon was appointed to head it, and was at the same time one of the heads of the Yefa'er Anavim yeshivah. Among his pupils was Ḥ.J.D. *Azulai, who was the son of his brother-in-law. He traveled as an emissary of Jerusalem to North Africa in 1737, and again to Turkey and Greece during 1746–48. He was the author of responsa *Neḥpah ba-Kesef* (2 parts, Constantinople, 1748; Jerusalem, 1843), to which was added his supercommentary on Elijah *Mizraḥi's commentary to the *Sefer Mitzvot Gadol* (*Semag*) of Moses of *Coucy; *Get Mekushar* (Leghorn, 1785), novellae and comments on the *Get Pashut* of Moses ibn *Ḥabib. His other works have remained in manuscript. His sons were Ephraim, Benjamin, and Mordecai.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Frumkin-Rivlin, 3 (1929), 20–22; Yaari, Sheluḥei, 306–7; M. Benayahu, *Ha-Ḥida* (1959), 333–5.

[Abraham David]

NAVON, JONAH MOSES BEN BENJAMIN (d. 1841), rabbi and Jerusalem emissary. Navon, together with his cousin, Joseph Saadiah Navon, was sent to Gibraltar and to various Moroccan communities by the rabbis of Jerusalem in 1802–03 in order to mobilize financial aid for the Jerusalem community. He went on a second mission in 1804, and on his return was appointed a member of the *bet din* of Solomon Moses Suzin, whom he succeeded at the end of 1836 as *Rishon le-Zion*, a position he held until his death. Navon used his great authority to assist the Ashkenazi community of Jerusalem in acquiring the "Ḥurvah Synagogue" of Judah he-Ḥasid from the Arabs and in erecting a synagogue on the site. Navon added novellae and glosses to the *Neḥpah ba-Kesef*, vol. 2 (Jerusalem, 1843) of his grandfather, Jonah b. Hanun *Navon, and some of his own responsa appear in the *Ḥukkei Ḥayyim (ibid.*, 1843) of Ḥayyim *Gagin.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Frumkin-Rivlin, 3 (1929), 274–5; M.D. Gaon, *Yehudei ha-Mizraḥ be-Ereẓ Yisrael*, 2 (1937), 453; Benayahu, in: *Sinai*, 24 (1948/49), 25–14; Yaari, *ibid.*, 25 (1949), 320–30; Yaari, Sheluḥei, 566–7.

[Abraham David]

NAVON, JOSEPH (1858–1934), pioneer of Ereẓ Israel development. Navon was born into a prominent Sephardi family in *Jerusalem. His father, Eliahu Navon, was the Jewish representative in the Jerusalem regional council. Joseph was educated in France, and on his return became a merchant and banker. He and his uncle Ḥayyim *Amzalak helped the settlers in Petaḥ Tikvah and Rishon le-Zion enter their lands in the land registry. With his banking partner Frontiger he pioneered in popular housing schemes in Jerusalem (including the Beit Yosef and Battei Navon quarters). He had ambitious schemes for the development of Ereẓ Israel, including railway development, the building of a port in *Jaffa, and providing irrigation facilities for the citrus groves of the coastal plain. After lengthy negotiations in Constantinople, he received a concession in 1888 to construct a railway from Jaffa to Jerusalem, which he, in turn, transferred to the Société Ottomane de Chemin de Fer de Jaffa à Jerusalem et Prolongements founded by him in France in consideration of one million francs. After the opening of the line, he received the title *bey* from the Ottoman government in recognition of his services in developing Ereẓ Israel. After he lost his capital, he moved to Paris in 1894. Here he met *Herzl and tried to interest him in his plans for developing Ereẓ Israel. He died in Paris.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: K. Grunwald, in: K.H. Manegold (ed.), *Festschrift W. Treue* (1969), 240–54 (Eng.); M.D. Gaon, *Yehudei ha-Mizraḥ be-Ereẓ Yisrael*, 2 (1937), 454–6; Tidhar, 1 (1947), 70–71.

[Yehuda Slutsky]

NAVON, YITZHAK (1921–), Israeli politician, writer, and the fifth president of the state of Israel; member of the Sixth to Twelfth Knessets. Navon was born in Jerusalem to an old Sephardi family of well-known rabbis that had settled in Ereẓ Israel in the 17th century. He received religious schooling until the end of primary school, and then attended the Beit ha-Kerem high school. After graduating from the Hebrew University, where he studied Literature, Arabic, Islamic Culture and Education, he became a teacher. In 1946–48 he headed the Haganah Arab Department in Jerusalem. After serving in the Israeli embassy in Argentina and Uruguay in 1949–50, he was appointed political secretary to Minister for Foreign Affairs Moshe *Sharett in 1951, and director of the prime minister's office, serving under both David *Ben-Gurion and Sharett in 1952–63. In 1963–65 he was director of the cultural section in the Ministry of Education and Culture. Navon joined the *Rafi party in 1965 and that year was elected to the Sixth Knesset in which he served as one of its deputy speakers. Within the framework of Rafi he joined the *Israel Labor Party when it was formed in 1968. In 1972 he was elected chairman of the Zionist General Council, in which capacity he served until 1977. In the Eighth Knesset Navon served as chairman of the Knesset Foreign Affairs and Security Committee. In 1977 Navon headed the public committee established to determine the method for determining tuition in universities. In 1978, even though the Likud was in power, Navon was elected by the Knesset as Israel's fifth president. In October 1980 he paid the first-ever official state visit to Egypt by an Israeli president. Navon decided not to run for a second term as president, resigning in 1983 in order to run for the leadership of the Labor Party, being encouraged to do so by Uzi *Baram. He finally decided not to run opposite Shimon *Peres but ran in the elections to the Eleventh Knesset. In the National Unity governments that served from 1984 to 1988 Navon was appointed deputy prime minister and minister of education and culture, continuing to serve as minister of education and culture until March 1990, when Labor left Yitzhak *Shamir's government. As minister of education he paid special attention to education for democracy, the battle against racism, and the inculcation of Jewish and universal values. After leaving the government Navon served as chairman of the public council that prepared the events in commemoration of the 500th anniversary of the expulsion of the Jews from Spain that was to take place in 1994. Navon did not run in the elections to the Thirteenth Knesset, and declined a proposal to run in the 1993 elections for mayor of Jerusalem. Had he run he might well have defeated the Likud candidate Ehud *Olmert. In 1996 he served as chairman of the public committee appointed to investigate the scandal of the destruction of blood donated by Ethiopian immigrants. He served as president of the National Authority for *Ladino which acts for the preservation of the Ladino language and culture.

Navon wrote the text for two popular musical plays based on Sephardi folklore, *Sephardic Romancero* (1968) and *Bustan Sephardi* ("Spanish Garden," 1970). Among his writings are

Sheshet ha-Yamim ve-Shivat ha-She'arim ("The Six Days and The Seven Gates," 1976).

[Susan Hattis Rolef (2nd ed.)]

NAWI, rabbinical and philanthropic family in Iraq. REUBEN BEN DAVID (end of 18th century–1821) was a prominent disciple of outstanding *ḥakhamim* in *Baghdad. His main teacher, the *ḥakham* Moses b. Ḥayyim, nominated him during his lifetime (1810) as his successor as *av bet din* in Baghdad, but he died prior to his master. Nawi's teachings are extant in the works of his disciples, the *dayyanim* R. Abdullah Somekh, Jacob b. Joseph b. Jawb ha-Rofe, and others. Many legends concerning his life are current among Baghdad Jews. At the end of the 19th and in the first quarter of the 20th centuries SOLOMON REUBEN and MANASSEH SOLOMON took an active part in the affairs of the Baghdad community, and improving the health conditions of Baghdad Jewry.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: A. Ben-Yaacov, *Yehudei Bavel* (1965), index; D.S. Sassoon, *History of the Jews in Baghdad* (1949), 136–7.

[Eliyahu Hirschberg]

NAZARETH (Heb. נָצְרַת), town in Galilee, mentioned several times in the New Testament as the home to which Mary and Joseph, her husband, returned with the child from Egypt and where *Jesus was brought up (Matt. 2:23; Luke 2:39, 51). Archaeological evidence has shown that the area was settled as early as the Middle Bronze Age, and tombs have been found dating from the Iron Age to Hasmonean times. According to the New Testament, Joseph and Mary lived in Nazareth before Jesus' birth, which was announced there to Mary by the angel Gabriel (Luke 1:26; 2:4). When Jesus tried to preach to the people of the town, he was attacked, his assailants attempting to throw him headlong from a cliff, identified by tradition as the Jebel Qafza, a hill 350 m. above sea level. Although he left Nazareth, possibly as a result of the incident (Luke 4:16–30; Matt. 4:13), the name Jesus of Nazareth nevertheless remained in common use both in his lifetime and among his followers, especially the apostle Peter. Members of Jesus' family continued to live in Nazareth at least into the second century. The term "Nazarene" was a derogatory name utilized by one's enemies during the first century (Matt. 21:11), and the Hebrew and Arabic terms for Christians (*Noẓeri, Nasrāni*) are derived from the town's name. Nazareth is not mentioned in non-Christian sources until the third or fourth century, when it was recorded in an inscription found at Caesarea listing the priestly courses and their seats in Galilee. According to this list (which is reproduced in the seventh-century liturgical poems of Kallir and others), the family of Happizzez (I Chron. 24:15) settled in Nazareth, a name derived in this source from the root *nṣr* (to guard). It is described by Jerome as a very small village in Galilee (Onom. 141:3). Constantine may have included it in the territory of Helenopolis, a city which he founded, but the town remained purely Jewish in the fourth century.

Excavations conducted by B. Bagatti from 1955 to 1968 on the site of the Church of the Annunciation revealed the remains of a church with a mosaic pavement dating to about 450. Below the church and nearby were the remains of a Jewish town from the Roman period in which were pear-shaped silos, vaulted cellars, cisterns, ritual immersion pools (*mikva'to*), and olive presses. Among the remains were about 80 partly-stuccoed and inscribed stones, as well as column bases. The excavators view these finds as the remnants of a Judeo-Christian synagogue or a Constantinian church built for Jews. The first mention of a church in Nazareth was made in 570 by Antoninus Placentinus, who describes it as a converted synagogue.

In 614 the Jews in the mountains of Nazareth joined the Persians in their war against the Byzantines. Shortly before the Crusader conquest, the town was destroyed by Muslim Arabs. Tancred captured Nazareth, and the Crusaders built a church, whose finely sculptured capitals (now in the Franciscan Museum) exhibit French workmanship of the 12th century. The archbishopric of Beth-Shean was transferred to Nazareth during the Crusades. After winning the decisive battle against the crusader forces on July 4, 1187, Saladin captured the town; its crusader forces and European clergy were forced to retreat to the coast. At that time, according to an eyewitness account, the townspeople were either massacred or imprisoned while the Basilica was profaned. The city was again in Christian hands in 1240 and 1250, and in 1252 St. Louis of France visited there. In 1263 Baybars ordered a pogrom against the Christians and destruction of churches of the land which included the Basilica at Nazareth, which remained in ruins for 400 years. The Franciscans returned to the town in 1620 by permission of the emir Fakhr al-Dīn. A new church was built under Ẓāhir al-ʿAmir in 1730. In 1955 the present Basilica was commissioned by Franciscans, and the building was consecrated in 1969 based upon a three-level design incorporating the remains from a Roman Period pubic building and the Byzantine and Crusader Basilicas in the lower church.

[Michael Avi-Yonah / Stephen Phann (2nd ed.)]

Modern Nazareth and Naẓerat Illit

In April 1799 *Napoleon's troops occupied Nazareth, but with his retreat it was recaptured by Aḥmad Jazzār Pasha. In 1890 the German scholar G. Schumacher estimated Nazareth's population at 7,500. Shortly before the outbreak of World War I, the German military command established its Palestinian headquarters there. The town was taken by the British in 1918; at that time there were 8,000 inhabitants, two-thirds of whom were Christian, and the rest Muslim. In the 1920s Nazareth's economy was still based largely on agriculture, as its inhabitants owned lands in the Jezreel Valley. The town remained surrounded with olive groves, which supplied it with raw materials for the manufacture of oil and soap. The Muslim element in Nazareth was strengthened when villagers from the vicinity were absorbed there. Nazareth became a market center for a wide agricultural region and a pilgrimage and tourist center, developing handicrafts, while inhabitants also found work in the Haifa industrial zone.

In July 1948, during the War of Independence, the Israel army took Nazareth from Kaukji's forces in "Operation Dekel." Its population remained and was augmented by Arabs who had abandoned other locations in Israel. It thus increased from 9,000 inhabitants in 1947 to 25,100 in 1961 and 32,900 in 1969, Muslims attaining a slight majority over Christians. In 2002 the population of Nazareth was 61,700, with a municipal area of 6.4 sq. mi. (16.5 sq. km.). It included 67% Muslims and 33% Christians. Unemployment reached 14%, including 80% among women, and income was about half the national average. Tensions between Muslims and Christians, increasing as the Muslims gained hegemony, reached a peak when Muslim residents sought to build a mosque near the Church of the Annunciation.

Nazareth became the largest Arab center in the State of Israel (in its pre-1967 borders) and, with a number of private and public secondary schools, an important center of Arab education and culture. It has a hinterland of Arab villages both in Galilee to the north and in the southern Jezreel Valley and the Iron Hills to the south, constituting a highway junction connected with Haifa, Tiberias, Afulah, and Shefar'am. In 1970 Nazareth had 24 churches and convents of different Christian denominations, the newest being the Catholic Basilica of the Annunciation – the largest church in the Middle East – constructed between 1955 and 1968 over the Grotto of the Annunciation and the foundations of the original Byzantine church. Tourism and pilgrimages have been important sources of Nazareth's economy. Other branches of its economy comprise small industries and workshops and administrative services. An increasing number of laborers have been employed in Naẓerat Illit.

In 2000, Nazareth was declared a high-priority tourist site, and the Nazareth 2000 Project initiated large-scale roadwork and rehabilitation of the Old City, together with the construction of new hotels and museums.

In 1957 the ground was laid for the neighboring Jewish development town of Naẓerat Illit. Israel-born settlers formed the nucleus of its population, which was augmented by immigrants mainly from Europe. It received city status in 1974. Its population increased from 1,000 in 1957 to 13,200 in 1969, and reached 35,200 by the mid-1990s and 44,290 in 2002, including 91% Jews, 2% Muslims, and the rest Christians. In these latter years the city absorbed 25,000 new immigrants, which led to construction of new neighborhoods. The municipal area extends over 11.5 sq. mi. (29.7 sq. km.). The city has broad avenues tracing the hill contours, with large apartment buildings occupying the western and central sections and industrial structures on the eastern one. The economy of Naẓerat Illit was based on relatively large enterprises. In the early 2000s, its industrial areas included approximately 100 factories in various industries, such as food, textiles, electronics, steel, etc.

[Shlomo Hasson / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)

BIBLIOGRAPHY: C. Kopp, *Holy Places of the Gospels* (1963), 49ff.; idem, in: JPOS, 18 (1938), 181ff.; 20 (1946), 29ff.; M.J. Stiassny, *Nazareth* (Eng., 1967); Prawer, Ẓalbanim, index; M. Barash, in: *Eretz-Israel*, 7 (1964), 125–34 (Heb. section); A. Olivari, in: *La Terre Sainte* (Aug.–Sept. 1961), 201–6; M. Benvenisti, *Crusaders in the Holy Land* (1970), index; W.E. Pax, *In the Footsteps of Jesus* (1970), index. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** B. Bagatti, *Excavations in Nazareth*, vol. 1, *From the Beginning till the XII Century,* tr. from Italian by E. Hoade (1969); B. Bagatti and E. Alliata, *Excavations in Nazareth,* vol 2, *From the 12th Century until Today*, tr. from Italian by R. Bonanno (2002). Websites: www.nazareth.muni.il; www.nazareth-illit.muni.il.

NAZI-DEUTSCH, specific use of the German language by the National Socialists. The use of language as a tool of psychological warfare against the "enemies" of the regime occupies a special place among the instruments of persecution and extermination. Nazi-Deutsch concealed the real intentions of the governing authorities from the potential victims and lulled them into submissiveness. Unprecedented crimes were masked by the use of "innocent words." It was, in the words of Raul Hilberg, a tool of concealment, not only from the victims but also – at least psychologically – from the perpetrators as well. Aware that words of long-standing usage acquire frightening meanings, the National Socialists dubbed the deportation to the death camps from Central Europe "evacuation to the East" (*Evakuierung*), from the Netherlands "recruitment for labor in the East" (*Arbeitseinsatz*), from Eastern Europe "resettlement" (*Umsiedlung*). The word "shower" was used to lead the unsuspecting victims to the gas chambers. New secret words were coined with *prima facie* innocent appearance to smooth over ominous meanings. The mass destruction of the Jewish people in Europe was called the "Final Solution" (*Endloesung*), a neologism. The word "final" was altogether apt; the proposed murder of all Jews was conceived to solve the Jewish problem forever. The actual process of physical destruction was mostly referred to as "Special Treatment" (*Sonderbehandlung*). The underground gas chambers were special cellars, the surface chambers were bath houses for special actions. In the daily reports at *Auschwitz, the statistics showing the number gassed refer to numbers of "SB" (*Sonderbehandelte*, "specially treated"). The expression SB was taboo even in interoffice correspondence on the highest level. While no objection was raised by Himmler against the use of the word "Final Solution" by the inspector of statistics, Richard Korherr (author of a November 1943 top secret statistical report on the "progress of the Final Solution"), Himmler ordered the word "special treatment" to be replaced by "transporting." The Ministry of Information gave daily instructions to the press and strictly enforced the proper "use of language" (*Sprachregelung*). Dictionaries of this language exist.

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[Jacob Robinson / Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

NAZI MEDICAL EXPERIMENTS. During the Nazi regime a series of medical experiments were carried out, some even before the war, to advance German medicine without the consent of the patients upon whom the experiments were conducted and with total disregard for their suffering or even their survival.

Some experiments had legitimate scientific purposes, though the methods that were used violated the canons of medical ethics. Others were racial in nature, designed to advance Nazi racial theories. Most were simply bad science.

The experiments fall into three categories.

1. Racial experiments
2. War-injury related experiments
3. Pharmaceutical testing of drugs and experimental treatment.

The Law for the Prevention of Offspring with Hereditary Diseases was promulgated on July 14, 1933. It led to the sterilization of more than 200,000 Germans and to a great interest on the part of German physicians in sterilization. If successful, sterilization could rid the master race of those within it who were less than masterful and, if perfected, it could have enabled Germany to utilize the populations in the territories it occupied without fearing their reproduction with its consequences for the master race.

Two modes of sterilization were the subject of experimentation: X-rays and injections.

Air force physician Dr. Horst Schumann ran experiments at Auschwitz. Two to three times a week, groups of 30 prisoners – male and female – were brought in to have their testicles or ovaries irradiated with X-rays. Schumann varied the dosage. As a rule, prisoners subjected to these experiments were sent back to work, even though they suffered from serious burns and swelling. The results of sterilization experiments by means of X-ray irradiation proved disappointing. Surgical castration was more dependable and time-efficient. Nevertheless Schumann continued his experiments.

The most infamous experiments at Auschwitz were conducted by Dr. Josef *Mengele, who became the chief physician of Birkenau in 1943. Mengele wanted to "prove" the superiority of the Nordic race. His first experiments were performed on gypsy children supplied to him from the so-called kindergarten. Before long he broadened his interest to twins, dwarfs, and people with abnormalities. The tests he carried out were painful, exhausting, and traumatic for the frightened and hungry children who made up the bulk his subjects. The twins and the crippled people designated as subjects of experiments were photographed, their jaws and teeth were cast in plaster molds, and prints were taken from hands and feet. On Mengele's instructions, an inmate painter made comparative drawings of the shapes of heads, auricles, noses, mouths, hands, and feet of the twins. When the research was completed some subjects were killed by phenol injection and their organs were autopsied and analyzed so that more information could be obtained. Scientifically interesting anatomical specimens were preserved and shipped out to the institute in Berlin-Dahlem for further research.

On the day Mengele left Auschwitz, January 17, 1945, he took with him the documentation of his experiments. He still imagined that they would bring him scientific honor. According to his son, he took them with him to South America even when he was fleeing for his life.

There were several forms of war injury-related experiments. At Dachau, a series of experiments were conducted to ascertain how German military personnel might survive conditions of combat. Civilian physicians Siegfried Rugg and Hans Romberg of the German experimental Institute of Aviation joined Air Force physician Sigmund Rasher in high-altitude experiments carried out to see how long people could withstand the loss of air pressure. Prisoners were put into pressure chambers to replicate what might happen at high altitudes. Some died; many suffered. Presumably, this was meant to ascertain at what altitude Air Force personnel could bail out of an airplane.

Freezing experiments were conducted to find a treatment for hypothermia. Victims were put into tanks of ice water for an hour or more and various methods of warming up their bodies were tried. No painkillers were used. Others were placed in the snow for hours. Physicians also experimented with prisoners who were forced to drink sea water.

At other concentration camps such as Sachsenhausen, Dachau, Natzweiler, Buchenwald, and Neuengamme, pharmaceutical compounds were tested to fight contagious diseases such as malaria, typhus, tuberculosis, typhoid fever, yellow fever, and infectious hepatitis. Sulfa drugs, only recently discovered, were tested at the Ravensbrueck camp. Elsewhere, prisoners were subjected to gas poisoning to test antidotes. In Ravensbrueck new methods were explored to deal with fractures and war wounds. Prisoners' legs were broken or amputated; transplants were attempted.

The physicians enjoyed complete freedom to act without regard to basic medical ethics, without any consideration for the health of the patient.

There were some 70 such "medical-research" programs at Nazi concentration camps involving some 7,000 prisoners and some 200 physicians, who worked directly in the concentration camps, but they were not alone. They maintained close professional and research contacts with leading medical institutions and universities and an ongoing relationship with research laboratories. Indeed, the German medical establishment was involved in this work.

Medical experimentation on human subjects has long been practiced. This experimentation was different. It was left to the Physicians Trials, begun on October 25, 1946, at Nuremberg, which were the forerunner of the subsequent trials, to determine precisely how different.

Twenty-three men stood in the docket. Seven were sentenced to death; nine to long prison terms and seven were acquitted. Two physicians, Mengele and Schumann, had disappeared, and Clauberg was tried in the Soviet Union.

More important than the judgment were the principles articulated by the Court. They form the foundation for contemporary medical practice and define what was wrong with the Nazi practice.

The judges found that certain basic principles must be observed in order to satisfy moral, ethical, and legal concepts:

1. The voluntary consent of the human subject is absolutely essential.

The duty and responsibility for ascertaining the quality of the consent rests upon each individual who initiates, directs, or engages in the experiment. It is a personal duty and responsibility which may not be delegated to another with impunity.

2. The experiment should be such as to yield fruitful results for the good of society, unprocurable by other methods or means of study, and not random and unnecessary in nature.

3. The experiment should be so designed and based on the results of animal experimentation and knowledge of the natural history of the disease or other problem under study that the anticipated results will justify the performance of the experiment.

4. The experiment should be so conducted to avoid all unnecessary physical and mental suffering and injury.

5. No experiment should be conducted where there is an *a priori* reason to believe that death or disabling injury will occur, except, perhaps, in those experiments where the experimental physicians also serve as subjects.

6. The degree of risk to be taken should never exceed that determined by the humanitarian importance of the problem to be solved by the experiment.

7. Proper preparations should be made and adequate facilities provided to protect the experimental subject against even remote possibilities of injury, disability, or death.

8. The experiment should be conducted only by scientifically qualified persons. The highest degree of skill and care should be required through all stages of the experiment of those who conduct or engage in the experiment.

9. During the course of the experiment the human subject should be at liberty to bring the experiment to an end, if he has reached the physical or mental state where continuation of the experiment seems to him to be impossible.

10. During the course of the experiment the scientist in charge must be prepared to terminate the experiment at any stage, if he has probable cause to believe, in the exercise of the good faith, superior skill, and careful judgment required of him, that a continuation of the experiment is likely to result in injury, disability, or death to the experimental subject.

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[Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

NAZIMOVA, ALLA (1879–1945), Russian-U.S. actress. Born in Yalta, Nazimova went to New York with a Russian company in 1905, making her debut in the play *The Chosen People*. She stayed in the United States, became a success on the U.S. stage, and had her first screen role in *War Brides* (1916). One of the earliest film stars, she played in *Heart of a Child* (1920), *Madonna of the Streets* (1924), *Since You Went Away* (1944), and *In our Time* (1944). She also appeared in the anti-Nazi film *Escape* (1940).

NAZIR (Heb. נָזִיר; "Nazirite"), fourth tractate in the order *Nashim*, in the Mishnah, Tosefta, and the Babylonian and Jerusalem Talmuds. It deals, as its name indicates, with the laws of the *Nazirite (Num. 6:1–21), and its position after the tractate *Nedarim ("Vows") is determined by the fact that the assumption of Naziriteship was by vow. In the Babylonian Talmud it comes before *Sotah* ("The Unfaithful Wife") – although in the Bible it follows it – because "whosoever sees the degradation of an unfaithful wife will forbid himself the use of wine as leading to such behavior" (2a).

The tractate consists of nine chapters. Chapter 1 deals with the various verbal formulas used in undertaking the vow and their implications, and the duration of the three forms – the ordinary, the Samson, and the lifelong Naziriteship. Chapter 2 continues the same theme and discusses whether it is possible to limit Naziriteship to only part of its obligations. Chapter 3 deals with multiple Naziriteships, the procedure of polling the head at the end of the Naziriteship, and the intervening of ritual uncleanness terminating the Naziriteship. In Mishnah 6 of this chapter, there is the story of Queen *Helena of Adiabene who fulfilled a vow that if her son returned safely from war, she would take a Nazirite vow for seven years; this incident confirms the statement of Josephus (Wars, 2:313) that it was the custom for someone in trouble or danger to undertake a Nazirite vow. Chapter 4 deals with Naziriteship made dependent upon that of another, a stranger, husband, or wife; the consequences of annulling a Naziriteship; the father's power to impose Naziriteship upon his son; and the son's right to utilize his deceased father's Nazirite money. Chapter 5 discusses vows made in error and the situation which arose when the destruction of the Temple made the adoption of the complete Nazirite vow impossible. Chapter 6 discusses the duties of a Nazirite in greater detail, as well as the sacrifices to be brought either when the Naziriteship is interrupted by uncleanness or when it is completed in cleanness. Chapter 7 discusses on which occasions the Nazirite may defile himself for the dead, and which sources of uncleanness interrupt the Naziriteship. Chapter 8 deals with uncertain breaches of the vow. Chapter 9 discusses the fact that gentiles cannot, but women and slaves can, become Nazirites and whether the prophet Samuel was a Nazirite.

It can be demonstrated that several *mishnayot* of *Nazir* belong to the Second Temple period. Among them are 1:1, which predates the schools of Shammai and Hillel (Tosef., Naz. 1:1 and 2:1), and *mishnayot* 7:2–3, the laws of which were disputed by the *zekenim ha-rishonim* ("the first elders," who lived during the Second Temple period; Tosef., 5:1 and Naz. 53a). The remainder of the Mishnah of *Nazir* derives from the *Mishnayot* of Akiva's disciples, Meir, Yose, and, especially, Judah and Eleazar (Epstein, Tannaim, 386). The six chapters in the Tosefta to *Nazir* follow a different order from that of the Mishnah. Many *mishnayot* have no corresponding Tosefta and vice versa. The Tosefta includes some aggadic material. Noteworthy is the story of the high priest Simeon the Just who, though in principle opposed to people taking Nazirite vows, made an exception for a handsome youth from the south. When Simeon asked him why he had decided to cut off his flowing hair, he replied that on beholding his reflection in a pool he had become vain of his beauty and had taken a vow to "shear these locks to the glory of Heaven" (4:7).

The Babylonian Talmud to *Nazir* differs from the rest of the Talmud in language and is similar to that of the Jerusalem Talmud (cf. Pseudo-Rashi on Nazir 32a, s.v. *amar mar*). Epstein claims that it was compiled in Maḥoza and Pumbedita, where a special Aramaic dialect was used (Amoraim, 72–83), and that the anonymous discussions in the Jerusalem Talmud were taken from Rava's discussion in the Babylonian Talmud. A. Weiss, however, maintains that there is an essential difference in style, content, and the names of the rabbis quoted, and attributes the differences to the fact that the study of *Nazir* was neglected, and therefore lacks the post-amoraic embellishments given to the other tractates. The Babylonian Talmud has an important passage (23a) dealing with the importance of motive in action. It also contains the dictum (23b): "A man should always occupy himself with the Torah and its precepts even though it be for some ulterior motive, for the result will be that he will eventually do it without ulterior motive."

The rabbinic attitude to *asceticism can be seen in the dictum of Eleazar ha-Kappar (19a); that the Nazirite is called "a sinner by reason of the soul" (Num. 6:11) because he denied himself wine: "If then one who denies himself wine only is termed a sinner, how much so then one who is an ascetic in all things!" Support for this point of view is also found in the Jerusalem Talmud (Kid. 4:12, 66d): Man is destined to be called to account for everything (permitted) he saw (and desired) but did not partake of. After the destruction of the Temple, since it was impossible to complete Naziriteship by offering the sacrifices on its conclusion, the practice fell into disuse. Tractate *Nazir* was not studied in the academies of the *geonim*, nor were there any *halakhot* on it in the *Halakhot Pesukot, Hilkhot Re'u*, or *Halakhot Gedolot* (B.M. Lewin, *Oẓar ha-Ge'onim*, 11 (1942), 8, and Epstein, Tannaim, p. 72). The commentary to *Nazir* attributed to Rashi was apparently written by his son-in-law Meir b. Samuel, who recorded the commentaries of Isaac b. Eleazar ha-Levi, Rashi's teacher. According to Epstein the *tosafot* to *Nazir* were written by the disciples of Perez of Corbeil. The talmudic tractate in the Soncino edition was translated into English by B.D. Klien (1936).

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NAZIR, MOSES HA-LEVI (second half of 17th century), rabbinic author and Hebron emissary. Moses was the son-in-law of Abraham b. Hananiah, a Jerusalem scholar. He was called Nazir because of his acceptance of the ascetic practices enjoined on the *Nazirite. At the beginning of each year he would undertake the observance of such practices for that year, and the text of one of these resolutions has survived. In 1668–71 he traveled in Syria and Turkey as an emissary of Hebron and a copy of the account book of this mission is extant. It contains the names of the communities he visited, the amount received in each of them, his traveling expenses, how much was stolen during the journey, etc. While on his mission he wrote several responsa to Ḥasdai b. Samuel ha-Kohen Peraḥyah, *av bet din* of Salonika, and these too reveal Moses' fine character. He also wrote halakhic novellae on the laws of the festivals, which were published by his son Joseph, and the *Yedei Moshe* on *Ḥoshen Mishpat*, which is still in manuscript.

Moses' son JOSEPH (d. 1713) was born in Jerusalem, studied under Hezekiah b. David da Silva, then settled in Hebron with his father, and was apparently a Hebron emissary to Europe in 1689. From Hebron, Joseph went to Egypt and served as *av bet din* in Cairo. His responsa and novellae were published after his death by his son-in-law Joshua Zein, according to the order of the *Arba'ah Turim*, under the title *Matteh Yosef* (2 pts., Constantinople, 1717–26); the numerical value of *matteh* is 54, which is the number of responsa. In them he discussed halakhic problems with contemporary scholars, especially with Abraham Blom, rabbi of Egypt.

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[Avraham Yaari]

NAZIRITE, person who vows for a specific period to abstain from partaking of grapes or any of its products whether intoxicating or not, cutting his hair, and touching a corpse (6:3–9). Such a person is called a Nazirite (Heb. *nazir*, נָזִיר) from the root *nzr* (נזר), meaning to separate or dedicate oneself (e.g., *nifal*, Lev. 22:2; *hifil*, Lev. 15:31; Num. 6:2, 5, 12). The subject is dealt with in the Priestly Code (Num. 6:1–21) and the purpose of the law is to prescribe the proper ritual if the Nazirite period is aborted by corpse contamination (Num. 6:9–12) or if it is successfully completed (6:13–21).

In the person of the Nazirite, the layman is given a status resembling that of the priest, as he now is "holy to the Lord" (Lev. 21:6; Num. 6:8; cf. Philo, I LA, 249). Actually, in his taboos, he approximates more the higher sanctity of the high priest in that (1) He may not contaminate himself with the dead of his immediate family (Lev. 21:11; Num. 6:7; cf. the ordinary priest, Lev. 21:1–4); (2) For him, as for the high priest, the head is the focus of sanctity (Ex. 29:7; Num. 6:11b. Note the same motive clauses, Lev. 21:12b; Num. 6:7b and compare the dedication of the ordinary priest, Ex. 29:21); (3) He abstains from intoxicants during his term (Num. 6:4) – a more stringent requirement than that of the high priest, whose abstinence, like that of his fellow priests, is limited to the time he is in the Sanctuary (Lev. 10:9).

A more instructive parallel to the Nazirite is the case of the dedication of land to the Sanctuary (Lev. 27:16ff.). Both result from a votive dedication (Lev. 27:16; Num. 6:2), and both dedications are for limited periods, the land reverting to its owner on the Jubilee if not redeemed earlier (implied by Lev. 27:21; Num. 6:13). In both cases the period of dedication can be terminated earlier – the Nazirite's by contamination (Num. 6:9–12), the land's by redemption (Lev. 27:16–19). In the case of premature desanctification, a penalty is exacted: the Nazirite pays a reparation offering (*ʾasham*) to the Sanctuary, and the owner of the land pays an additional one-fifth of the redemption price to the Sanctuary. If the dedication period is completed, no desanctification penalty is incurred. True, the Nazirite offers up an array of sacrifices together with his hair (Num. 6:13–20), but the sacrifices are mainly for thanksgiving, and the hair, which may not be desanctified, is consumed on the altar. Similarly, dedicated land (so the text of Lev. 27:22–24 implies) reverts to its original owner on the Jubilee without cost. In the case when the Nazirite period is interrupted by contamination, the following ritual is observed: the Nazirite must undergo sprinkling with purificatory waters on the third and seventh day (inferred from Num. 19:14ff.); he shaves his hair on the seventh day; and on the following day three rituals are prescribed: he is purified of his contamination by a purification offering, his hair is reconsecrated and his Nazirite period begins anew, and a reparation offering is brought to expiate his desecration.

The uncut hair of the Nazirite is his distinction. (In this respect the priest differs; though forbidden to shave his hair, he is compelled to trim it; cf. Ezek. 44:20.) Its importance is indicated by the root of the term Nazirite, נזר, which refers at times to the hair (Num. 6:6, 7, 12, 18; Jer. 7:29. Note the parallelism in Gen. 49:26; Deut 33:16). Since hair continues to grow throughout life (and apparently for a time after death), it was considered by the ancients to be the seat of man's vitality and life-force, and in ritual it often served as his substitute. A ninth-century B.C.E. bowl found in a Cypriot temple contains an inscription on its outside surface indicating that it contained the hair of the donor. It was placed there, if the reconstructed text is correct, as "a memorial" to Astarte (cf. Ex. 28:12, 29; 30:16; Num. 10:10; Zech. 6:14), i.e., as a permanent reminder to the goddess of the donor's devotion. The offering of hair is also attested in later times in Babylonia (Pritchard, Texts, 339–40), Syria (Lucian, *De dea Syra*, 55, 60), Greece (K. Meuli), and Arabia (W.R. Smith).

The narrative and prophetic literature corroborate the existence of Nazirites in Israel. Samson and Samuel were lifelong Nazirites (Judg. 13:7; I Sam. 1:21 (4Q Samç), 28). Indeed, they resembled the prophets in that their dedication began not at birth but at conception (Isa. 49:1, 5; Jer. 1:5; cf. Amos 2:11). The taboos prescribed in the Torah are verified in their lives. Neither polled his hair (Judg. 13:5; 16:17; I Sam. 1:11) nor drank any wine (to judge by the prohibition to Samson's mother during her pregnancy; Judg. 13:4, 7, 14). However, the law forbidding corpse contamination was not observed (Judg. 14:9, 19; 15:8, 15; I Sam. 15:33). This divergence from the Priestly Code is implicitly reinforced by the rule set down by the angel to Samson's mother (Judg. 13:14), i.e., that she must eschew forbidden food; nothing, however, is said about contracting impurity from the dead which, according to the Priestly Code, would have automatically defiled her embryo.

[Jacob Milgrom]

In Talmud

The Mishnah and the Talmud distinguish between a lifelong Nazirite and a "Samson Nazirite" since Samson, unlike the lifelong Nazirite, was never allowed to thin his hair even when it became burdensome (Naz. 1:2). On the other hand, Samson was permitted to defile himself through contact with the dead, since the angel did not enjoin him from such defilement when delineating the laws of his abstinence (Naz. 4b).

When the period of the vow was not specified, it was understood to be 30 days (Naz. 1:3). In addition to being subsumed under the general regulations governing vows, many specific formulas were developed for Nazirite commitments. "If a man says 'Let my hand be a Nazirite' or 'Let my foot be a Nazirite,' his words are of no effect. However, if he says, 'Let my head be a Nazirite' or 'Let my liver be a Nazirite' [or some other vital organ], he becomes a Nazirite" (Naz. 21b). It was customary for the wealthy to aid poor Nazirites in the purchase of their offerings (Naz. 2:5, 6), since it was felt that the most meritorious aspect of abstinence was the chance to bring a sin-offering at its conclusion (Ned. 10a). It is related that at the time of *Simeon b. Shetaḥ, 300 Nazirites came to Jerusalem. He absolved half of them of their vow, and not revealing the fact to the king Alexander Yannai, persuaded him to give what purported to be half the sacrifices needed, he "offering" to provide the other half (TJ, Ber. 7:2, 11b). The Nazirite laws applied only to Ereẓ Israel. It is related that *Helena of Adiabene took Nazirite vows for seven years. After this period she went to Ereẓ Israel, where Bet Hillel ruled that she must continue for a further seven years (Naz. 3:6).

There were different reasons for taking the Nazirite vow. Some did it for the fulfillment of a wish, such as for the birth of a child (Naz. 2:7–10). One who saw the conduct of an unfaithful wife was advised to abstain completely from wine by becoming a Nazirite (Ber. 63a). Thus the passages on the wife suspected of adultery and the laws of the Nazirite are juxtaposed in the Bible (Num. 5:11–31, 6:1–21). The pious simply made a freewill vow of abstinence to afford them an opportunity to bring a sin-offering at its conclusion (Ned. 10a). The Nazirite vow was severely discouraged by the rabbis, since *asceticism was against the spirit of Judaism (Ned. 77b; Naz. 19a; Ta'an. 11a). Their discouragement of the practice was almost certainly in protest against the excessive mourning after the destruction of the Second Temple, when large numbers of Jews became ascetics, vowing not to eat meat or to drink wine (BB 60b). The rabbis even designated the Nazirites as sinners in accordance with the verse: "And [the priest] shall make atonement for him, for that he sinned against a soul" (Num. 6:11; Ned. 10a). The high priest Simeon the Just only once in his life ate of the trespass-offering brought by a defiled Nazirite. This was when a young, handsome shepherd possessing beautiful, thick locks of hair undertook to become a Nazirite and thus had to cut his hair in order to avoid sinful thoughts (Ned. 9b; cf. the Narcissus legend in Greek mythology). The observance of the Nazirite vow may have continued for many centuries. However, it ultimately disappeared, and there is no reference to Nazirites in the Middle Ages. In modern times Nazirite practices have been observed in Jerusalem by David Cohen, a disciple of Chief Rabbi A.I. Kook.

[Aaron Rothkoff]

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NEANDER, AUGUST (originally **David Mendel**; 1789–1850), Church historian and convert. His Orthodox father abandoned the family, complaining that his liberally educated wife was corrupting the children (four of five were eventually baptized). Though poor and sickly, David was an immediate success at the Johanneum Gymnasium in Hamburg. His honorary public address presented in Latin on the conclusion of his studies in 1805, demanding equality for the Jews in all respects but advocating the abrogation of some rites, aroused wide interest. The speech was inspired by his rationalist benefactor, who was also principal of the school. David soon fell under the varied influences of Plato, *Schleiermacher, and romanticism, and embraced Christianity at the age of 17. Neander (Gr. "new man") rapidly attained prominence in the field of Church history and became a professor at the age of 24. During the *Damascus affair (1840) he publicized his opinion that the whole ritual murder charge was a falsehood. In 1847 he opposed the admission of Jews to Berlin University, identifying them with the anti-Christian movement of the left-wing Hegelians.

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NEBAIOTH (Heb. נְבָיוֹת, נְבָיֹת), a tribe or a group of tribes of nomads in the border deserts of Israel, identified with the Nabaiāte mentioned in the Assyrian documents from the time of Ashurbanipal. The Nebaioth are not to be connected with the *Nabateans, as some classical authors mistakenly did (cf. Jos., Ant. 1:221; 12:335, et al.; Jerome in his commentary to Gen. 25:13–18). According to Genesis 25:13 and I Chronicles 1:29, Nebaioth was the firstborn of Ishmael and according to Genesis 36:3 he was also the brother of Esau's wife Basemath, daughter of Ishmael. In Isaiah 60:6–7 Nebaioth is mentioned with Kedar, another son of Ishmael (Gen. 25:13), among the nomadic tribes on the border of Israel.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: EM, 5 (1968), 744–6 (incl. bibl.).

NEBENZAHL, ITZHAK ERNST (1907–1992), Israeli state comptroller. Nebenzahl was born in Frankfurt on the Main, Germany, and studied at the universities of Frankfurt, Berlin, and Freiburg. He was appointed lecturer in civil law at Frankfurt in 1932. A strictly observant Jew, Nebenzahl was president of the Ezra religious youth movement in Germany in 1929–30. Following Hitler's rise to power in 1933 he immigrated to Ereẓ Israel. A partner in the world-wide Hollander concern, and chairman of the Board of Directors from 1947 to 1961, he has served on most of the important economic bodies of Israel, including the Jerusalem Economic Corporation, the Israel Post Office Bank, and the Bank of Israel, where he was chairman of the advisory committee and council (1957–62). In 1961 Nebenzahl was elected state comptroller of Israel for a five-year period, and was re-elected in 1966, 1971, and 1976, retiring at the end of 1981. In 1976 he also became ex-officio commissioner for complaints from the public (Ombudsman) of the State of Israel.

NEBO (Heb. נְבוֹ).

(1) High mountain E. of the Jordan River, opposite Jericho. It forms part of the heights of Abarim bordering the Moab plateau, where the Israelites encamped on the last stage of their journey (Deut. 32:49). The mountain is identified with Jebel Shayhān that has two peaks: Ra's al-Nibā', 2,739 ft. (835 m.), and Ra's Siyāgha, 2,329 ft. (710 m.). In the Bible the peak of Mt. Nebo is called Pisgah; from there Moses beheld the Promised Land before dying. Although Ra's al-Nibā' has retained the biblical name, scholars regard the second peak as the more likely site of Pisgah, because of the magnificent view from there. Moses died on the mountain and was buried in a valley "and no one knows his burial place to this day" (Deut. 34:6). According to an apocryphal source, Jeremiah buried the Ark of the Covenant and various other objects from the Holy of Holies on the mountain (II Macc. 2:5ff.). In Byzantine times the tomb of Moses was "rediscovered" by a shepherd (Petrus Iberus, 88) and a memorial church was erected together with a monastery on Ra's Siyāgha. The church consists of a basilica with a trefoil apse, a baptistery (dated 597), and a chapel, all paved with mosaics. Eusebius locates "Phasgo" (= Pisgah) on the way from Livias to Heshbon (Onom. 18:3).

(2) Reubenite town (Num. 32:3, 38) near Mt. Nebo, belonging to the family of Bela (I Chron. 5:8). It remained an Israelite possession till the revolt of the Moabite king Mesha

against the house of Omri. On his stele (lines 14ff.) Mesha describes his conquest of the town, the destruction of the sanctuary of the God of Israel before the Moabite god Chemosh and the sacrifice of 7,000 men, boys, women, girls, and maidservants (see Mesha *Stele). The prophets Isaiah (15:2) and Jeremiah (48:1, 22) mention Nebo among the cities of Moab in their descriptions of the "burdens" on that land. Eusebius refers to it as a ruined town, 6 (or 8) mi. (c. 11 or 14 km.) west of Heshbon (Onom. 136:6–13).

Scholars identify Nebo either with Khirbat al-Muḥayyit southeast of Ra's Siyāgha or with Khirbat ʿUyūn Mūsā ("Springs of Moses") northeast of the mountain, beside a spring of the same name. Iron Age fortresses have been discovered at both sites.

(3) Town in Judah whose inhabitants were among those who returned from Babylonian Exile (Ezra 2:29; 10:43; Neh. 7:33). The place may be identical with Nob.

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[Michael Avi-Yonah]

NEBRASKA, state on the Great Plains located near the geographical center of continental United States. Its population in 2005 was 1,729,000 of whom approximately 7,200 are Jews, a decline of some 10% in three decades. Most live in Omaha, the home of four synagogues, a Jewish community center, and a *mikveh*; the majority of the other Jews in the state live in Lincoln, the home of the state university and two synagogues.

Nebraska was organized as a territory in 1854, and within a year the stream of Jewish settlement had begun. The first Jewish settlers are believed to have been two brothers, Lewis and Henry Wessel, who went to Nebraska City from St. Louis in 1855. The next few decades brought a steady trickle of Jews who were predominantly of Central European origin (Alsace-Lorraine, Germany, Bohemia). Many had settled briefly in cities on the eastern seaboard before moving to the west, where, especially after the Civil War, the Homestead Act and railroad construction attracted new settlement. The early Jews in Nebraska were mainly merchants, such as Aaron Cahn and Meyer Hellman, who established a clothing business in Omaha to supply pioneers striking out on the Oregon Trail, and Carl Ernest Louis Golding, who was an Indian trader in Plattsmouth.

One of the most colorful figures in early Jewish life in Nebraska was Julius Meyer, who settled in Omaha in 1866 and became a successful Indian trader. He mastered at least six tribal dialects, was adopted into the Pawnee tribe, and was given the name "curly-headed-white-chief-with-one-tongue." He later became a government interpreter for the Indians and accompanied a party of them to the Paris Exposition. Another early Indian merchant, Harris L. Levi, was less fortunate. In 1869 he joined a surveying party, all of whom were massacred by the Indians in retaliation for the slaying of two Indian youths by the surveyors.

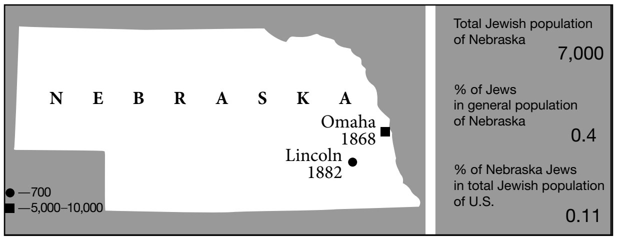
NEBRASKA
Omaha 1868
Lincoln 1882
● —700
■ —5,000–10,000
Total Jewish population of Nebraska
7,000
% of Jews in general population of Nebraska
0.4
% of Nebraska Jews in total Jewish population of U.S.
0.11

Jewish communities in Nebraska and dates of establishment. Population figures for 2001.

The most important early Jewish settler was Edward *Rosewater, who went to Omaha in 1863 as manager of the Western Union, and then became active as a journalist, founding the *Omaha Evening Bee News* (1871). Rosewater was a leading and controversial figure in Republican Party affairs in the state, served as National Republican Committeeman from Nebraska, and was twice defeated for the U.S. Senate.

After 1881 Russian Jews began to arrive in large numbers, many of whom were systematically sent out west by the Industrial Removal Aid Society of New York. Some abortive attempts were made to settle the newcomers on the soil, and the Jewish Agricultural Society tried to found a colony in Cherry County in 1908, but by 1916 the experiment was abandoned.

With the exception of a handful of ranchers, the Jewish population of Nebraska, by 1970, was almost entirely concentrated in business and the professions. Scattered groups of Jews live in some of the smaller Nebraska towns (Grand Island, Norfolk, Scottsbluff, Beatrice), but only *Omaha and Lincoln sustain organized community life. Lincoln has two congregations, one Conservative and one Reform, and a Jewish Welfare Federation. The Esther K. Newman Camp, between the two cities, serves the Jewish youth of the state during the summer.

Jews have served in a wide variety of public offices in the state since its inception. Many have been mayors of their municipalities, and as early as 1863 Aaron Cahn served in the legislature. Henry *Monsky of Omaha gained national importance in the B'nai B'rith. Ben Greenberg of York was chairman of the Board of Regents of the University of Nebraska. Edward Zorinksy was a United States Senator (1976–87) after serving as mayor of Omaha and defeating long-time incumbent Roman Hruska.

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[Sanford Ragins / Renee Corcoran (2nd ed.)]

NEBUCHADNEZZAR (**Nebuchadrezzar**; Heb. נְבוּכַדְרֶאצַּר, נְבוּכַדְנֶצַּר; Akk. **Nabû-kudurri-uṣur**, "O, Nabû, guard my border!"), son of Nabopolassar the Chaldean, ruler of Babylon (605–562 B.C.E.). Nebuchadnezzar succeeded to his father's throne at the time when the struggle between Babylon and Egypt for the territories that had been part of the Assyrian empire was at its height. According to the *Babylonian Chronicle*, Nebuchadnezzar waged his first war against Egypt in the region of the Euphrates, in the last year of his father's reign (605). In that year he defeated the Egyptian armies in a battle fought at *Carchemish on the Euphrates (cf. Jer. 46:2), thereby frustrating Pharaoh-Neco's attempt to gain control of Syria and Palestine, and at the same time paving the way for the rise of Babylon as a world power. In his pursuit of the Egyptian forces, Nebuchadnezzar reached the region of Hamath in central Syria but was obliged to return to Babylon in consequence of his father's death. In the same year he returned to the land of Ḫatti, i.e., Greater Syria, and according to the *Babylonian Chronicle*, "He marched unopposed through the Ḫatti-land; in the month of Šabāṭu (Shevat) he took the heavy tribute of the Ḫatti-territory to Babylon." It would seem that Nebuchadnezzar reached Palestine and subjected Judah to his rule one or two years later. At the end of 604 he conducted a military campaign against Palestine, besieging and capturing the city of Ashkelon. In the words of the *Babylonian Chronicle*, "All the kings of the Ḫatti-land came before him and he received their heavy tribute." One of these kings was apparently *Jehoiakim of Judah.

After consolidating his rule in Palestine and Syria, Nebuchadnezzar attempted the conquest of Egypt (end of 601). The stubbornly fought encounter between the Babylonian and Egyptian armies was indecisive. Nebuchadnezzar's failure to obtain a clear-cut victory over the Egyptians may have encouraged various states in Syria and Palestine, including Judah, to revolt against Babylon. In Kislev (December) 598 Nebuchadnezzar entered Palestine, and, according to the *Babylonian Chronicle*, "he encamped against the city of Judah [i.e., Jerusalem] and on the second day of the month of Adar [i.e., March 16, 597] he seized the city and captured the king [i.e., Jehoiachin]. He appointed there a king of his own choice [i.e., Zedekiah], received its heavy tribute and sent it to Babylon" (see *Zedekiah). In the following years the Babylonian king was occupied with wars against the Elamites to the east of the Tigris, and was also obliged to suppress a revolt in the country of Akkad (695/94). His absence from Syria, and the events in Babylon and Elam, apparently encouraged the kings of Syria and Palestine to plot a further revolt against their overlord. The Egyptian rulers no doubt lent their support to uprisings against Babylon, and Zedekiah's open revolt enjoyed their active aid (Jer. 37:5ff.). In 588 the siege of Jerusalem began, and in the summer of 586 Nebuchadnezzar captured the city, laid the Temple waste, carried off a large part of the population of Judah into captivity, and put Zedekiah and other Judean nobles to death. The land of Judah was turned into a province (see *Gedaliah son of Ahikam).

Some information about the fate of the exiles in Babylon in Nebuchadnezzar's day is found in Babylonian administrative documents, in which King Jehoiachin and his sons are mentioned as receiving a regular allowance of oil from the royal treasury. On the other hand, it is hard to draw any conclusions from the Book of Daniel about this subject because of the legendary character of the stories related there. Some scholars are of the opinion that the name Nebuchadnezzar in these stories is an error for Nabonidus, since in an Aramaic text from Qumran there is a story about Nabonidus which resembles the story about Nebuchadnezzar in Daniel. Of similarly doubtful authenticity is the mention of Nebuchadnezzar in the Book of *Judith. In the years following the capture of Jerusalem, Nebuchadnezzar waged a war in Phoenicia against Tyre, most probably in 585, which, according to Josephus, lasted for 13 years (Ezek. 29:18; cf. Jos., Ant., 10:220–2; Jos., Apion, 1:154–60). Three years later (582/81) he conducted a campaign against Ammon and Moab (Jos., Ant., 10:181–2), in the course of which he also took captives from Judah (Jer. 52:30). Nebuchadnezzar must have been aware of Egypt's part in inciting the vassal states to revolt against Babylon and of its desire to establish its own power in Palestine and Syria. He therefore attacked Egypt too, but the source material dealing with this war is fragmentary and unreliable.

Despite his many foreign wars, Nebuchadnezzar did not neglect Babylon itself. From various inscriptions and archaeological finds he emerges as a dynamic and able monarch in the administrative and architectural no less than in the military field. He adorned and fortified his capital city, Babylon, with the booty and tribute that poured in from all over the Near East. He restored and renovated ancient temples in the cities of Babylonia in order to gain the support of the Babylonian priests. He also made provision for the regular irrigation of the lands of Babylonia by means of a whole network of canals connected with the Euphrates. In his reign the neo-Babylonian empire attained the pinnacle of its greatness.

[Bustanay Oded]

In the Aggadah

The description of Nebuchadnezzar in the *aggadah* seems largely to be a veiled reference to Titus. He is frequently referred to as "the wicked one" (Ber. 57b; Shab. 149b; et al.) as well as "a wicked slave," and "hater and adversary" of God (Lam. R., Proem 23); Titus is depicted in similar terms (Git. 56b). The "wicked slave" charge may be connected with the notoriously humble origin of the Flavian dynasty (Suetonius, *Vespasian*, 1:1; 3:1).

Despite the relatively favorable attitude to Nebuchadnezzar in Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and Daniel, the rabbis, for the most part, depict him as a cruel, merciless conqueror who, among other things, tore the flesh off a hare and ate it while it was still alive (Ned. 65a; Lam. R. 2: 10, no. 14), and forced his client kings to enter into homosexual relations with him (Shab. 149b). Several Roman emperors, including Titus (cf. Suetonius, *Divus Titus* 7:1), were said to have indulged in pederasty. Nebuchadnezzar was also reported to have cast Jehoiakim's body to the dogs (Lev. R. 19:6) and to have killed large numbers of Judean exiles in Babylonia (Sanh. 92b; PdRE 33). Likewise, he is frequently accused of having made himself into a god (Gen. R. 9:5; Ex. R. 8:2) – a transparent criticism of the Roman emperors who claimed divine honors.

Nebuchadnezzar's treatment of Zedekiah was at first favorable, and he even placed five kings under his rule; but when it seemed that they were prepared to plot against Nebuchadnezzar, Zedekiah reviled him in their presence, whereupon they betrayed Zedekiah to his suzerain (Lam. R. 2: 10, no. 14). Although ostensibly based on Jeremiah 27:3, the story is remarkably similar to Josephus' account of the congress of five kings held by Agrippa I at Tiberias and rudely dispersed by the Roman governor of Syria (Ant., 19:338–41). There, too, it seems that some anti-Roman plot was being hatched, with the result that henceforth the Roman authorities became hostile to Agrippa.

Nebuchadnezzar charged the Sanhedrin with absolving Zedekiah from his vow of loyalty, and he had them punished by having their hair tied to tails of horses and being made to run from Jerusalem to Lydda (Lam. R. 2: 10, no. 14). Since, according to II Kings 25: 18–21, 72 leading citizens of Jerusalem – a number almost equivalent to the traditional great Sanhedrin – were executed at Riblah in Syria, the punishment mentioned in the Midrash undoubtedly alludes to some incident in the Roman period, probably to the execution of Jewish rebels at Lydda by order of Ummidius *Quadratus, governor of Syria; the dispatch from Lydda of a number of Jewish leaders to Rome where their fate was to be decided; and the subsequent beheading of a Roman tribune after being dragged round Jerusalem (Jos., Ant., 20: 130–6; Jos., Wars, 2:242–6).

According to the Midrash, Nebuchadnezzar hesitated to attack Jerusalem and destroy the Temple (Lam. R. Proems 23, 30) – which is precisely what Vespasian did in 68–69 C.E., though his motives were political, not religious. Interpreting Ezekiel 21: 26, the rabbis depict Nebuchadnezzar as practicing belomancy and studying various auguries before deciding whether to proceed against Jerusalem (*ibid.* 23). The same is reported in the Talmud concerning Nero (Git. 56a).

Since Nebuchadnezzar left the task of subduing Jerusalem and burning the Temple to Nebuzaradan, he is assailed mainly for trying to force image worship on the Jewish exiles. Interpreting Daniel 3: 16, the Midrash depicts Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed-Nego as saying to Nebuchadnezzar, "You are our king only as regards taxes, *annonae*, fines, and poll taxes; but in this matter of which you speak to us you are just Nebuchadnezzar … You and a dog are alike to us. O Nebuchadnezzar, bark like a dog, swell like a pitcher, chirp like a cricket" – a curse which was duly fulfilled (Lev. R. 33:6). The Roman taxes enumerated indicate an allusion to the Roman period, probably to Caligula who insisted that his statue be placed in the Temple and who was a madman just like Nebuchadnezzar (Jos., Ant., 18:261ff.; Jos., Wars, 21:184ff.; Tacitus, *Historiae*, 5:9; Philo, *In Flaccum*, 31).

Occasionally, however, Nebuchadnezzar is viewed in a more favorable light, mainly in later rabbinic sources composed at a time when hostility to the Romans had subsided. Thus, he is said to have taken pity on the Jews after the exile of Jehoiachin, and, indeed, on Jehoiachin himself, whom he provided with a wife during his long imprisonment (Lev. R. 19:6; PR 26:129). Nebuchadnezzar was one of the five persons saved from the army of Sennacherib, and from that time he was inspired by the fear of God (Sanh. 95b). He was the scribe of Merodach Baladan and corrected him for writing the name of Hezekiah before that of God (Sanh. 96a). For this act he was rewarded by ruling over the whole world (Song R. 3:4, no. 2), including the world of animals, and by sitting on Solomon's throne (Est. R. 1:12).

A historically significant Midrash reports that when the "exiles of Zedekiah" were brought to Babylonia by Nebuchadnezzar, they were met by the earlier deportees (of 597 B.C.E.), wearing "black underneath but white outside" and hailing Nebuchadnezzar as "conqueror of the barbarians" (Lam. R., Proem 23). This story evidently alludes to the Jews of the Hellenistic and Roman Diaspora, as well as to individuals such as Josephus and Agrippa II, who had to conceal their mourning for Jerusalem and proclaim their loyalty to the Roman conquerors.

[Moses Aberbach]

In Islam

In the *Koran (Sura 17:4–7) it is related that the people of Israel sinned twice and were therefore punished twice. The description of these events in the Koran is very vague, and the traditional Muslim commentators therefore found it difficult to present a clear and crystallized explanation of these verses. According to them, the two sins were the murder of *Isaiah or the imprisonment of *Jeremiah or the murder of *Zechariah son of Iddo; and the murder of John the Baptist. However, some elements from the *aggadah* on the murder of Zechariah have also been introduced into this story (cf. Targum Lam. 2:20). In any case, the Koran clearly hints at two destructions of the Temple.

According to Muslim legend, the punishment was meted out either by *Goliath, Sennacherib, Nebuchadnezzar (Bukhtanaṣar), one of the Nabatean kings, or Persian invaders. Among the intermediaries whom Allah used to punish the people of Israel, the figure of Bukhtanaṣar stands out; folklorists make frequent references to him, even adding a beautiful story about his youth to his biography. According to them, one of the people of Israel dreamed that a poor, orphaned youth would destroy the Temple and exterminate the people. He set out in search of this youth, traveled as far as Babylonia, and almost gave up the hope of finding him. Some people finally pointed out a poor orphan who carried a bundle of twigs on his head. The Israelite gave him three dirhams with which to buy meat, bread, and wine. He repeated this act the next day and for several more days. When his time came to leave, the youth was saddened by the fact that he was unable to repay the generosity of his Israelite benefactor. The latter told the youth that his reward would be the youth's written promise that when he ascended the throne he would spare his life and the lives of all those with him. The youth answered that his benefactor and friend was mocking him. Upon the entreaties of his mother he finally granted the request of the Israelite and gave him the written promise; a sign was even convened upon by which Bukhtanaṣar would recognize the Israelite among the great crowd. The story of Yaḥya ibn Zakariyyā (i.e., John the Baptist) has been added to some versions of this story. The continuation of the story relates that Nebuchadnezzar destroyed the Temple as a punishment for the murder of John the Baptist and that he ordered the bodies of those who had been killed to be thrown among the ruins. Everyone who obeyed his command was exempted from the payment of the *jizya* (poll tax) for that year. The Israelite, the benefactor of Nebuchadnezzar, was not in Jerusalem on that day and was therefore unable to make use of the written promise which he had received years ago; thus, no one was saved by it. As usual, there are several versions of this story. It does not appear to have any Jewish origin, except for a weak echo of the story of the encounter between Rabban Johanan b. Zakkai and Vespasian, when Rabban Johanan announced to Vespasian that he would become king and destroy Jerusalem (Git. 56a–b).

[Haïm Z'ew Hirschberg]

In the Arts

Although few of the literary, artistic, or musical works associated with Nebuchadnezzar are of the first rank, they are rather numerous; and the Babylonian king also figures in works dealing with the notable Jews who have contact with him in the Bible. Two of the earliest literary treatments were an old English play, *Nebuchadnezzar's Fierie Furnace* (re-edited by M. Roesler, 1936), and an Italian miracle play in verse, *La Rapresentatione di Nabucdonosor Re di Babillonia* (c. 1530; Florence, 1558^{2}). A second English play on the theme is known to have been staged in London in 1596. Nebuchadnezzar's treatment of Zedekiah and the royal house of Judah forms the subject of *Sédécie, ou les Juives* (1583), one of the most important works of the French dramatist Robert Garnier. Later, the German playwright Christian Weise added *Nebukadnezar* (1684) to his series of biblical dramas. In the 18th century, Christian Friedrich Hunold wrote a "*Singspiel*," *Der gestuerzte und wieder erhoehte Nebucadnezar, Koenig zu Babylon, unter dem grossen Propheten Daniel*, which was staged at Hamburg in 1728; and the Russian writer and publisher Nikolai Ivanovich Novikov published a *Komediya Navukhodonosor* (1791; in *Drevnyaya Rossiyskaya Biblioteka*, Moscow, 1788–91). Works on the subject that appeared in the 19th century include *Nabucco* (1819), a five-act verse tragedy by the Italian writer Giovanni Battista Niccolini; *Nabuco in Gerusalemme* (1829), an Italian *azione sacra* in verse; and *Nebuchodonoser* (1836), a four-act French drama by Auguste Anicet-Bourgeois written in collaboration with Francis Cornu and staged in Paris. The tragic end of the Judean monarchy also inspired Ludwig *Philippson's German dramas *Jojachin* (1858) and *Die Entthronten* (1868). On the whole, 20th-century writers have avoided the subject, an exception being the German author Heinz Welten, whose novel *Nebukadnezar: der Koenig der Koenige* appeared in 1924.

In art, the main subjects treated are the king's dreams and visions and their eventual realization. There are several works illustrating Nebuchadnezzar's dream of the metal statue with feet of clay (Dan. 2:31–35). The stone hewn without hands which topples the statue was thought by the Church Fathers and later Christian symbolists to represent the Virgin Birth (i.e., Jesus conceived without human agency). The dream is depicted in medieval manuscripts and in carvings from the Gothic cathedrals of Amiens and Laon. Nebuchadnezzar's vision of the tree (Dan. 4) appears in medieval illuminated manuscripts and on the front of Laon Cathedral, as well as in stained glass and paintings of the Middle Ages. The pitiful figure of the king reduced to grazing with the beasts (Dan. 4:32) appealed particularly to the artistic imagination of the Romanesque period (11th–12th centuries) with its feeling for the awesome and the grotesque. This scene appeared in illuminated manuscripts of the commentary on the New Testament Book of Revelations by the eighth-century Spanish monk Beatus and on the capitals of French Romanesque churches. A more recent treatment of the episode is the English visionary poet and artist William *Blake's striking depiction of the shaggy, wild-eyed monarch walking on all fours (1795). The image also occurs in Blake's prophetic work *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell* (1790) with the caption "One Law for the Lion and the Ox is Oppression." Nebuchadnezzar occasionally figures in medieval manuscript illustrations of the Three Hebrews in the Fiery Furnace (Dan. 3). In the early 15th-century *Très Riches Heures* of the Duc de Berry (Musée Condé, Chantilly), he is shown complacently stoking the furnace which encloses Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed-Nego.

Musical compositions involving Nebuchadnezzar largely deal with episodes drawn from the Book of Daniel, notably that of the Three Hebrews. They include an opera by Caldara (1731), Darius *Milhaud's *Les Miracles de la Foi* (1951), and Benjamin Britten's *The Burning Fiery Furnace* (1966). To mark the coronation of the Austrian emperor Ferdinand I as king of Lombardy and Venice, a ballet entitled *Nabucodonoser* was performed at La Scala, Milan, on September 6, 1838. The Italian composer Giuseppe Verdi was in Milan at the time and subsequently found inspiring reading in T. Solera's libretto *Nabucodnosor*, which described the Babylonian king's enslavement of the Jews and the plight of the latter in their distant exile. *Va, pensiero…*, the chorus of the Hebrew captives in Solera's text, fired Verdi's dormant patriotism and the opera which he wrote, *Nabucco*, had its premiere at La Scala in 1842. Its performance created widespread enthusiasm in Italy, where the Hebrew captives' prayer for deliverance was seen as a comment on the country's state of subjugation to Austria, or as the lament of exiled Italian patriots. When *Nabucco* was staged at Her Majesty's Theater, London, in 1846, it was retitled *Nino* and the biblical characters renamed, since the stage performance of biblical subjects was then still taboo in England. *Nabucco*, translated into Hebrew by Aharon *Ashman, has often been performed by the Israel Opera since its foundation in 1958.

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NEBUZARADAN (Heb. נְבוּזַרְאֲדָן; Akk. **Nabu-zēr-iddina**; "Nabu has given offspring"), commander of *Nebuchadnezzar's guard who was in charge of the destruction of the Temple and the deportation of the people of Judah. Acting on orders, Nebuzaradan set fire to the city of Jerusalem and leveled its walls (II Kings 25:9ff.). Certain of the ecclesiastical, military, and civil officers and leading citizens who were supporters of *Zedekiah were brought before Nebuchadnezzar at Riblah and executed (25:20), and *Gedaliah son of Ahikam was placed in charge of the remaining population. Five years later, Nebuzaradan deported another 745 people (Jer. 52:30).

The official title of Nebuzaradan is given as *sar ha-ṭabbaḥim*, although such a designation of a court official is unknown in Mesopotamian literature. The Septuagint translates the term as "chief cook or butcher." In an inscription from the time of Nebuchadnezzar II, the chief court officer is referred to as Nabû-zēr-iddina, whose official Babylonian title is *rab nuḥatimmê* (cf., talmudic Heb. *naḥtom*, "baker"). Scholars have thus identified this officer with Nebuzaradan, and assume that the biblical title is a translation of the Babylonian one. The Aramaic translations render the term as "chief butcher" or "slaughterer," and it is probable that this official belonged to the king's guards whose duty was the infliction of capital punishment.

In the Aggadah

Nebuzaradan's loyalty to his king is praised. He attached Nebuchadnezzar's portrait to his chariot, so that he might always feel that he stood in his presence. For the same reason he accepted the assignment to conquer Jerusalem, even though he had personally witnessed Sennacherib's defeat there (Sanh. 95a–96b). His success was due to divine aid. According to one Midrash, after three and a half years he was about to abandon the task but was advised by God to measure the city walls. As soon as he did so they began to sink into the ground and ultimately disappeared (Lam. R., introd. 30). According to another account, he was on the point of returning home after all the axes but the one at his disposal had been broken in the attack on Jerusalem. At that moment a voice cried out: "The time has come for the Sanctuary to be destroyed and the Temple burnt," and with his last remaining ax he destroyed one of the city gates (Sanh. 96b).

When he led the exiles into captivity he commanded his soldiers not to touch married women captives, lest they provoke God's wrath (Lam. R. 5:11). He forbade the captives to pray, putting to death those who did so. When, however, they had crossed the Euphrates, he desisted since they were now beyond the territory under the dominion of Israel's God (*ibid.* 5:5). Nebuzaradan is identified with Arioch (Dan. 2: 14), since he roared like a lion (*ari*) at his captives. When he saw the blood of the murdered Zechariah boiling (of. II Chron. 24:22), he put to death in revenge the scholars, young priests, and 14,000 of the people, but still the blood did not rest. In despair he exclaimed: "I have destroyed the flower of them. Do you wish me to massacre them all?" The blood immediately subsided, but so stricken was Nebuzaradan with grief that he exclaimed: "If they who killed only one person have been so severely punished, what will be my fate?" He thereupon became a righteous proselyte (Sanh. 96b).

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NECO (or **Necoh**; **Wehemibre Neko** II; c. 609–593 B.C.E.), Twenty-fifth Dynasty king of Egypt, who played a major role in the fall of Judah. Marching to aid the Assyrians after the fall of Nineveh in 612, Neco found his passage blocked at Megiddo by King *Josiah (II Kings 23:29ff.; II Chron. 35:20–24). The defeat and death of Josiah there allowed Neco to consolidate and control Syria and Palestine as far as the Euphrates. He deposed *Jehoahaz, Josiah's successor, after a three-month reign and exiled him to Egypt (II Kings 23:31–35 and Jer. 22:10–12), replacing him with *Jehoiakim as an Egyptian puppet. The Babylonian conquerors of Assyria were quick to react. In 605 *Nebuchadnezzar, the son of Nabopolassar, "crossed the river to go against the Egyptian army … He accomplished their defeat and beat them into non-existence" (*Babylonia Chronicle*, ed. Wiseman, 25, 67–68), and "the king of Egypt did not come again out of his land, for the king of Babylon had taken all that belonged to the king of Egypt from the brook of Egypt to the river Euphrates" (II Kings 24:7). Judah and the other Egyptian vassals gained a brief respite, for the death of Nabopolassar compelled Nebuchadnezzar to abandon his victorious advance and hasten back to Babylon to secure the throne. The respite was short, and by the end of 604 the Babylonians were in Philistia. An Aramaic letter, found in Egypt, begging the Egyptian pharaoh for aid against the Babylonian invader, probably came from Ashkelon. Jehoiakim, willingly or not, defected to the Babylonians (II Kings 24:1), but rebelled after Nebuchadnezzar was checked by Neco at the Egyptian frontier in 601. Two years later he died (was perhaps assassinated) and was replaced by his son, *Jehoiachin. Within three months Jerusalem fell, and the royal family was exiled to Babylon (II Kings 24:10–17). In 593 Neco died, but his son Psammetichus II continued to incite Zedekiah, the new ruler of Judah, against Babylon. Egypt provided no assistance, however, when Jerusalem finally fell in 587.

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[Alan Richard Schulman]

NEDARIM (Heb. נְדָרִים; "Vows"), third tractate of the order *Nashim*, though in some editions the order varies. It is based upon Numbers 30 and deals mainly with the binding quality of the spoken vow by means of which a person may forbid the use of things to himself and his own property to others. The inclusion of this topic in the order dealing with family law arises, in part, from the right of the father to annul the vows of his daughter during her minority and the right of a husband to annul most or all of his wife's vows. The Mishnah consists of 11 chapters. Chapter 1 deals with the formulas which constitute binding vows and Chapter 2 with formulas that are not binding. Chapter 3 deals with vows not binding because of lack of serious intent, constraint, and the like, as well as the interpretation of certain vow formulas; there is an incidental digression on the importance of circumcision. Chapter 4 discusses the consequences of forbidding benefit to, or being forbidden benefit from, another person. Chapter 5 continues this subject in connection with the property of partners and of members of a community or people. Chapter 6 lays down guidelines for determining what is to be included in, and what excluded from, vows appertaining to produce. Chapter 7 continues this topic in connection with places and periods of time. Chapter 8 deals with the extension in time to be given to expressions connected with recurring events, and vows made in general language arising from some specific event. Chapter 9 deals with the absolution of vows, and the grounds on which such absolution may be granted.

It includes the following moving account (Mishnah 10): It once happened that a man vowed to have nothing to do with his niece (i.e., not to marry her because of her uncomely appearance). R. Ishmael took her into his household and had her treated cosmetically ("beautified her"). He then said to the uncle: "Was it against this woman that you took the vow?" He answered in the negative, and R. Ishmael released him from his vow. Whereupon R. Ishmael wept and said: "the daughters of Israel are comely, but poverty destroys their comeliness!" When R. Ishmael died the women of Israel lamented: "Ye women of Israel, weep for R. Ishmael."

Chapter 10 deals with revocation by both father and fiancé of the vows of an affianced maiden; women whose vows cannot be revoked; the impossibility of revoking vows in advance; and the period allowed for such revocation. Chapter 11 treats of the type of vow that a husband can revoke: those which affect their relations or involve self-denial; vows of women not requiring revocation; and of women whose vows are not subject to revocation. *Nedarim* is a rich source for linguistic and syntactical usages in mishnaic Hebrew and is so used by the *Gemara*. The oldest stratum of this tractate including 1:3; 2:4; 3:4; 5:5 dates from the Second Temple period. *Mishnayot* 1:1; 7:1; 9:5–6; 11:4 are apparently derived from the *mishnayot* of Akiva while the rest of Mishnah *Nedarim* originated in the *mishnayot* of his disciples, Meir, Judah, and Yose. Chapter 4 belongs to Meir; 1:1; 3:6–10; 6:1; 7:5; 8:5–7; 9:1–8 belong to R. Judah, and the passages 3:1–5, 11; chapters 5; 1:1–7 belong to Yose who actually states that Elijah the Prophet taught him the section on *Nedarim* (Songs Zuta, ed. Schachter, 44; Buber 39; Epstein, Tanna'im 140–1). *Mishnah* 11:8 to the end of the tractate consists of supplements and glosses on the laws concerning vows. *Mishnah* 1:2 mentions several terms for vows about which the *amoraim* debate whether they were borrowed from foreign languages or were coined by the rabbis (10a). One of these terms, "*konam*," was found in the Punic inscription of Ashmanezer, king of Sidon (4:20), meaning "curse" or "vow," but it is not certain whether this Phoenician word is connected with the mishnaic term (S. Lieberman, *Greek in Jewish Palestine* (1942), 129 n. 106). Many of the laws in *Nedarim* should be seen in light of the Hellenistic practices of that period (*ibid.*, 115–43).

The Tosefta consists of only seven chapters and many of the *mishnayot* of *Nedarim* have no corresponding comments in the Tosefta, nor does the order of the laws in this Tosefta always follow that of the Mishnah. On the other hand, the Tosefta gives several laws not included in the Mishnah.

There is a *Gemara* to *Nedarim* in both the Babylonian and the Jerusalem Talmuds. The Babylonian *Gemara*, as is the case with regard to the tractate *Nazir*, is written in a peculiar dialect and various theories have been propounded to explain it. Epstein is of the opinion that it originates in the academy of Maḥoza, and since very little of the Talmud of Maḥoza reached Sura or Pumbedita, the *geonim* overlooked this tractate. In fact, during the whole of the geonic period the study of *Nedarim* was neglected in the Babylonian academies (Yehudai Gaon; B.M. Lewin, *Oẓar ha-Ge'onim*, 11 (1942), 23; cf. Adler Ms. no. 2639. See A. Marmorstein, in MGWJ, 67 (1923), 134ff.). A. Weiss maintains that the differences are due solely to its neglect in the academies in later ages, and that it therefore lacked the benefits of final polishing given to the other tractates in the post-amoraic period, though he adds that it contains a certain amount of post-amoraic material, and regards the first two discussions as entirely savoraic. The Babylonian Talmud is usually printed with the commentary of Nissim Gerondi (the Ran) in addition to one attributed to Rashi, and with *tosafot* and the commentary of Jacob b. Asher. The text is not in very good condition and the commentaries contain many variant readings.

Aggadic Material

Both Talmuds, especially the Babylonian, are rich in aggadic material as exemplified by the following sayings: "The ancestors of the arrogant never stood on Mount Sinai" (20a); "If the people of Israel had not sinned, they would have been given only the Pentateuch and the Book of Joshua" (22b); "Why have scholars very often no learned children? In order that knowledge may not be thought transmissible by inheritance and that scholars may not pride themselves on an aristocracy of mind" (81a). Biblical scholars find interest in the Talmud's remarks on the masoretic division of the Bible into verses and on the *keri* and *ketiv* which do not entirely coincide with the existing masoretic text (37b–38a). The Jerusalem Talmud tells of letters which Judah ha-Nasi addressed to Hananiah, the nephew of Joshua b. Hananiah, to dissuade him from decreeing leap years abroad. The discussion that followed ends with the saying that "a small group in Ereẓ Israel is more precious to me than a Great Sanhedrin in the Diaspora" (6:13, 40a).

The talmudic tractate was translated into English in the Soncino edition by H. Freedman (1936).

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NE'EMAN, YEHOSHUA LEIB (1899–1979), Israeli **ḥazzan*, writer, and teacher. Born in Jerusalem, Ne'eman sang as a *meshorer* with A.Z. Idelsohn and other *ḥazzanim* and studied liturgical music and singing with Solomon Rosowsky. His lyric tenor voice and emphasis on correct pronunciation and accentuation of the prayers made him a popular *ḥazzan* in many of Jerusalem's synagogues. He was often accompanied by his choir, Shir Ẓiyyon. From 1948 Ne'eman was lecturer in biblical cantillation at the Academy of Music in Jerusalem, and from 1958 to 1965 was director of the school for *ḥazzanim* for the Israel Institute for Sacred Music. He wrote extensively on biblical cantillation including *Ẓelilei ha-Mikra* (1955), and also published *Nusaḥ la-Ḥazzan* (1963, with demonstration records). Rosowsky based his *The Cantillation of Bible* (1957) on Ne'eman's renderings which he accepted as the pure representation of the Ashkenazi tradition.

NE'EMAN, YUVAL (1925–2006), Israeli physicist, defense expert, engineer, and political activist. Born in Tel Aviv, he graduated from high school at the age of 15 and studied at the Technion (1941–45), graduating in mechanical engineering and applying it at the family's pump factory. He had joined the Haganah in 1940 and fought in 1948 defending the Jerusalem road, then on the Egyptian Front (Givati Brigade operations officer), staying on in the IDF until 1960. On the General Staff, serving as director of planning (1952–55), he is credited with the elaboration of the IDF's fundamental strategic and organizational doctrine, followed until after the Six-Day War. From 1955 to 1957 he served as deputy director of the Defense Intelligence Division (with the rank of colonel), where he contributed to the introduction of advanced information technologies and was, in addition, responsible for the operational secret link with France at the time of the Sinai Campaign. In 1958 he was appointed defense attaché to the UK and the Scandinavian countries. At that time he embarked upon a new career, studying physics at London's Imperial College under Nobel laureate A. Salam. Since J.J. Thomson's discovery of the electron in 1897 and E. Rutherford's discovery of the proton (1911), nearly 100 particles had been discovered, forming a confusing jumble for which Ne'eman proposed in 1960–61 a classification scheme based on a mathematical symmetry (the "SU(3)-octet" model, popularly known as the "Eightfold Way") which was experimentally confirmed in 1964. The same scheme was suggested simultaneously and independently by M. *Gell-Mann and is often regarded as an analog of D. Mendeleev's Periodic Chart of the chemical elements or C.V. Linne's classification of the living and plant species. In 1962, Ne'eman also conceived the sub-structure that would create such an order, an idea further developed by M. Gell-Mann and independently by G. *Zweig, now known as the "quark model." During 1961–63, Ne'eman served as scientific director of the Israel Atomic Energy Commission's Soreq Research Establishment.

Appointed professor of physics, he founded the Department of Physics and Astronomy of Tel Aviv University and chaired it from 1965 to 1972. In mathematical physics, from 1974 to 1979, he made important contributions to the new areas of Lie "superalgebras" and to "supergeometry" and "superconnections," including new physical predictions which will be experimentally tested at CERN in Geneva when the construction of a new accelerator will be completed in 2007. He also developed with A. Kantorovich a new approach to evolutionary epistemology.

Ne'eman introduced astronomy in Israel with the inauguration of the Wise Observatory (40" telescope) in the Negev in 1971. At Tel Aviv University he also created the School of Engineering and the Jaffe Institute for Strategic Studies and was elected to succeed George Wise as Tel Aviv University president in 1971. He resigned in 1975, joining the Ministry of Defense as senior advisor to the minister, having served in the same capacity on a part-time basis in 1972 and 1974. At Tel Aviv University he was also director of the Mortimer and Raymond Institute of Advanced Studies from 1979 to 1997. In the Defense Ministry, he resigned as senior advisor in protest over the surrender of the Sinai (Abu Rudeis) oilfields in the Interim Agreement with Egypt, having advocated since the Six-Day War the annexation of Judea, Samaria, the Golan Heights, and parts of Sinai in order to establish secure borders, calling for a massive Jewish settlement in the occupied areas and supporting the Gush Emunim settlement movement. He also served as president of the Israel Bureau of Standards (1972–76) and chief defense scientist (1975–76), chairman of the National Research Council (1982–84), and president of the Israel Association of Engineers, Architects and Academics in the Technological Disciplines (1997–2002).

In the political arena, in the beginning of 1979, around the time when MKs Ge'ula *Cohen and Moshe *Shamir left the Likud and established an independent parliamentary group against the background of the Egyptian-Israeli Peace Treaty, Ne'eman called for all the opponents of the agreement with Egypt to join forces. In October the Teḥiyyah party was formed, and he became its chairman. He was elected to the Tenth Knesset in 1981 on the Teḥiyyah list and served as minister of science and development from 1981 to 1984, simultaneously serving as deputy chairman of the joint Settlement Committee of the government and the World Zionist Organization. In 1983 he founded the Israel Space Agency, chairing it into the 21st century. He was reelected to the Eleventh and

Twelfth Knesset, but in January 1990 resigned from the Knesset to enable the next in line on the Teḥiyyah list – Eliakim Haetzni – to enter the Knesset in his place. In the government formed by Yitzhak *Shamir in June 1990, after the fall of the National Unity Government, Ne'eman was appointed minister of Energy and Infrastructure, without being a member of the Knesset. In this capacity he was the first Israeli minister to meet Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev, not long before the collapse of the Soviet Union. He resigned from the government in February 1992, against the background of the Madrid Conference and the Washington talks. Following the failure of Teḥiyyah to enter the Thirteenth Knesset, and Cohen's decision to rejoin the Likud, Ne'eman left active political life, and returned to Tel Aviv University. During these years he was also in the forefront of the struggle to get Jewish scientists out of the Soviet Union.

Altogether, he published some 400 research articles and some 20 books in the physics of particles and fields, cosmology, and the history and philosophy of science. Ne'eman received the Israel Prize in 1969 and the EMET Prize in 2003 as well as the Albert Einstein Medal in 1969 and other international awards.

NEGA'IM (Heb. נְגָעִים; "Plagues"), third tractate of the order *Tohorot* in the Mishnah and Tosefta. It deals with ritual uncleanness resulting from the plague referred to in Leviticus 13 and 14, which is usually translated as "leprosy." *Nega'im* consists of 14 chapters. Chapter 1 defines the colors and shades of the various symptoms of human leprosy. Chapter 2 discusses the time these symptoms may be inspected, the posture of the sufferer when being examined, and the person qualified to make the examination. Chapter 3 details when the examination can be postponed, the procedure when the examination is made by a non-priest, and the symptoms of the plague in persons, houses, and garments. Chapter 4 contrasts the various symptoms indicating uncleanness, and the consequence of different leprous signs appearing simultaneously or in succession. Chapter 5 deals with doubtful signs of leprosy and symptoms that disappear and reappear in the same or in changed form. Chapter 6 discusses the minimum sizes of leprous signs and the parts of the body in which the appearance of the symptoms do not give rise to uncleanness. Chapter 7 deals with spots that are clean and natural or induced changes during or after the inspection. Chapter 8 discusses when the symptom covers the whole body and chapter 9 the symptoms of the plagues termed "boil" and "burning" and their relationship to one another. Chapter 10 deals with scales, chapter 11 with the leprosy of garments, and chapter 12 with the uncleanness of houses. Chapter 13 continues with the uncleanness of houses and how they and a leper pass on uncleanness. Chapter 14 deals with the procedure at the leper's cleansing and at his offering of sacrifices.

The Tosefta to *Nega'im* has only nine chapters and contains details not found in the Mishnah, as well as several independent groups of laws. Two groups are found in this Tosefta, the first characterized by the legal formula, "One does not" (1:11–13), and the second group by its opening word "*netek*" (i.e., a bald spot on the head or beard, 4:2–6). *Tosefta* 6:1 cites an anonymous opinion stating that the laws concerning a house defiled by leprosy have only theoretical validity because such houses never existed and never will; other rabbis, however, cite cases of such houses. *Tosefta* 6:7 claims that leprosy is a punishment for the sins of gossip and haughtiness. The laws of *Nega'im* and *Oholot* were regarded as extremely complicated and difficult, and consequently the rabbis referred to them as prototypes of deep halakhic learning. For example, the Talmud relates that Eleazar b. Azariah told Akiva: "Why do you deal with *aggadah*? Occupy yourself with *Nega'im* and *Oholot*" (Ḥag. 14a). The *aggadah* also claims that King David pleaded that his Psalms, the most spiritualized form of worship, be considered before God as *Nega'im* and *Oholot* (Mid. Ps. 1:8). English translations of the Mishnah were published by H. Danby (1939), in the Soncino Talmud by I.W. Slotki (1948), by P. Blackman (1955), and by J. Neusner (1991), who also translated the Tosefta (2002).

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[David Joseph Bornstein]

NEGBAH (Heb. נֶגְבָּה; "toward the Negev"), kibbutz in southern Israel, 6 mi. (10 km.) E. of Ashkelon, affiliated with Kibbutz Arẓi Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir. Negbah was founded by pioneers from Poland as a *stockade and watchtower settlement in the last month of the Arab riots (July 1939) and constituted the country's southernmost Jewish village at the time. As the kibbutz' name indicates, its establishment was the first of a systematic effort to gain footholds in the south and Negev. Isolated among strong Arab villages, Negbah had to repulse attacks in the first days of its existence. In the Israeli *War of Independence (1948) the Egyptian army made all-out efforts to take the kibbutz. The settlers held out for six months in their entrenchments under continuous shelling, air bombardment, and tank attacks, after Egyptian forces occupied the nearby dominating Iraq Suweidān police fortress. The kibbutz was completely destroyed aboveground. The Egyptians, in violation of the local cease-fire agreement, interfered with the passage of Israeli convoys from Negbah to the Negev settlements and this led to the "Ten Plagues" Operation of the Israeli army (Oct. 15, 1948); a strong Egyptian pocket continued to hold Negbah under fire until the police fortress fell on Nov. 9. The kibbutz preserved its ruined water tower in memory of the battles, and erected a monument to the defenders in its cemetery. After 1948 Negbah developed a flourishing farming economy based on intensive field crops, citrus and other fruit orchards, and dairy cattle. It also established a sewing factory and a metal workshop. Its population in 1968 was 404. In the mid-1990s the population was approximately 665, dropping to 407 in 2002.

[Efraim Orni]

NEGEV (Heb. נֶגֶב; from the root נגב, "dry," "parched"), an area comprising those southern parts of the Land of Israel which are characterized by a totally arid desert climate, contrasting with the semiarid Mediterranean climate of the country's center and north.

Geography

On the map describing an inverted triangle, with an apex directed to Eilat in the south, the Negev covers an area exceeding 4,600 sq. mi. (12,000 sq. km.), i.e., about 62% of Israel's area. Compared with other regions (Sinai excepted), distances in the Negev are considerable, exceeding 150 mi. (250 km.) from north to south, and 80 mi. (125 km.) from west to east. Whereas the Negev's northern border is a climatic one, roughly following the line of 12 in. (300 mm.) annual rainfall, the eastern border is a topographical one, sharply delineated by the Edom scarps emerging from the Arabah Valley, while in the west and southwest there is a gradual transition into Sinai. Structurally, the main partition of Cisjordan – into the Coastal Plain, the hills and the rift – continues into the Negev, with the following subregions recognizable:

(1) the Negev Coastal Plain, linking up in the east with the Beersheba Basin;

(2) the Negev Hills, composed of the northern and central hill regions, the Paran Plateau, and the Eilat Mountains;

(3) the Arabah Valley.

Geologically, most of the Negev hills resemble the hills of central and northern Israel, where folding constitutes the principal tectonic element, and hard limestones and dolomites, or softer chalks with flint intercalations, are the predominant surface rock strata. Desert weathering, however, has imposed on these rocks dissimilar landscape features, which are mostly sharp and angular. The only exception is the Eilat Mountains, which, with their crystalline rocks and Nubian sandstones, form a continuation of the geological province of southern and southeastern Sinai. With the exception of the Beersheba Basin, arable soil is absent from practically all of the Negev, and wide expanses are covered with sharp flint or limestone gravel.

The Negev lies within the global subtropical desert belt of the northern hemisphere. Its climate is of the "continental" type and has two outstanding characteristics – sharp temperature differences between day and night, and summer and winter, and extremely limited amounts of precipitation, which diminish from an annual 10 in. (250 mm.) on the region's northwestern fringe to 2–4 in. (50–100 mm.) in most of its parts, and 1–2 in. (25–50 mm.) or less in the Arabah Valley and the Eilat area. Solar radiation and evaporation are strong during all seasons, and relative humidity and cloudiness remain low. Whereas the tempering influence of the Mediterranean Sea reaches inland for a score of miles at best, the Red Sea and the Eilat Gulf do not exert any such influence on the adjoining land.

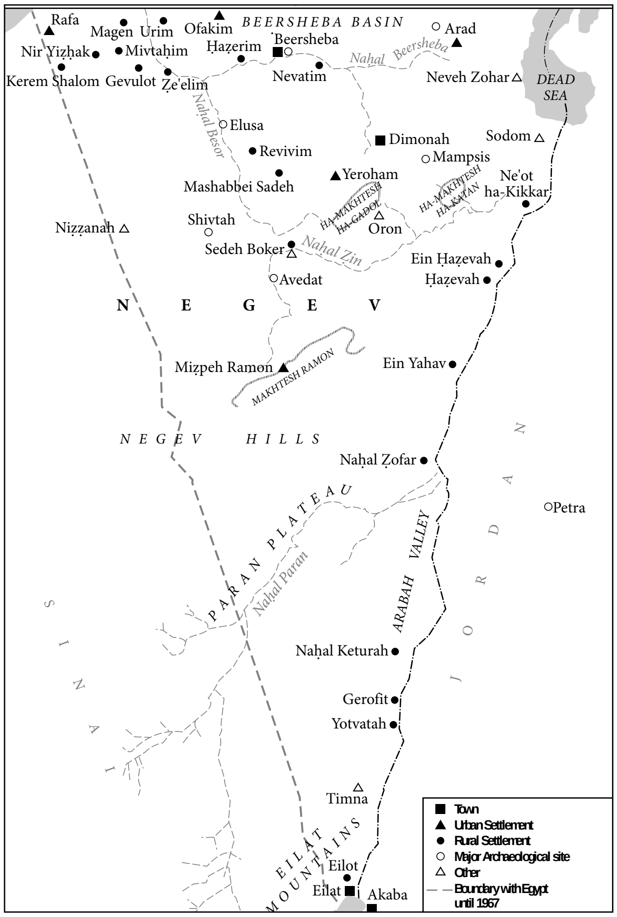
Rafa
Magen
Urim
Ofakim
BEERSHEBA BASIN
Arad
Nir Yiẓhak
Mivtaḥim
Ḥaẓerim
Beersheba
Naḥal Beersheba
Kerem Shalom
Gevulot
Ze'elim
Nevatim
Neveh Zohar
DEAD SEA
Naḥal Besor
Elusa
Dimonah
Sodom
Revivim
Mampsis
Mashabbei Sadeh
Yeroham
Ne'ot ha-Kikkar
HA-MAKHTESH HA-GADOL
HA-MAKHTESH HA-KATAN
Niẓẓanah
Shivtah
Oron
Sedeh Boker
Naḥal Ẓin
Ein Ḥaẓevah
Ḥaẓevah
Avedat
NEGEV
Mizpeh Ramon
MAKHTESH RAMON
Ein Yahav
NEGEV HILLS
Naḥal Ẓofar
PARAN PLATEAU
Petra
Naḥal Paran
ARABAH VALLEY
JORDAN
SINAI
Naḥal Keturah
Gerofit
Yotvatah
Timna
EILAT MOUNTAINS
Eilot
Eilat
Akaba
■ Town
▲ Urban Settlement
● Rural Settlement
○ Major Archaeological site
△ Other
Boundary with Egypt until 1967

The Negev, ancient sites and modern settlements.

The Negev's vegetation cover is universally sparse, and practically absent over large expanses. Most of the Beersheba Basin, together with the highest reaches of the central Negev Hills, falls within the Irano-Turanian semidesert zone, while the rest of the Negev belongs to the Arabian Zone, which has full desert characteristics. Similarly, the Negev has a desert fauna, including a number of indigenous species; its animal kingdom has somewhat increased in numbers due to nature-preservation measures in force since the 1950s. In the Beersheba Basin, which gradually rises eastward from 350 ft. (less than 100 m.) to 1,650 ft. (500 m.) above sea level, a thick cover of yellowish-brown loess, in sections of the west overlaid by coarse dune sands (the Ḥaluẓah, Shunrah, and Agur dunes), determines both landscape features and farming possibilities. In restricted areas, gullying by flashfloods resulted in a broken badland topography, which, however, has since the 1950s largely disappeared thanks to leveling in the framework of the soil reclamation program. Almost the entire Beersheba region belongs to the drainage basin of Naḥal Besor, which crosses it from southeast to northwest and receives three important tributaries from the east and northeast – Naḥal Be'er Sheva, Naḥal Ḥevron, and Naḥal Gerar. The width of their beds bears no relation to the minute annual quantities of water running through them, which, at least during the last millennia, have been limited to occasional, short-lived winter floods.

In the central Negev Hills, whose folds attain heights of 3,000–3,400 ft. (900–1,035 m.) above sea level (Mt. Ramon, Mt. Sagi, Mt. Loẓ, Mt. Arif, and others), the most striking landscape feature is represented by the three huge erosional cirques (Makhtesh Ramon, Ha-Makhtesh ha-Gadol, Ha-Makhtesh ha-Katan). The wild Zin Canyon divides the hills into a northern and central section. The Paran Plateau, whose topography is more monotonous, is inclined from the southwest to the northeast, descending from 2,000 ft. (600 m.) to 330 ft. (100 m.). Naḥal Paran, the longest and most spectacular of Israel's desert wadis, runs through the plateau. Although the peaks of the Eilat Mountains attain heights of only 3,000 ft. (800–900 m.), the landscape of this area is truly mountainous and of infinite variety, with rock towers, indented and crenellated crests, between which narrow clefts cut in various directions. There is a wide range of igneous rocks (granites, diorites, quartz-porphyry, diabase, gneiss, quartzite, etc.), as well as vividly colored (ocher, yellow, rose, red, white, black and so on) Nubian sandstones, but also strongly contorted limestones and other marine sediments.

The Arabah Valley, that section of the rift extending from the Dead Sea to the Gulf of Eilat for 105 mi. (over 170 km.), is hemmed in by the continuous rock wall of Edom in the east and by the Negev Hills, of lesser height and uniformity, in the west. Its bottom ascends from 1,150 ft. (350 m.) below sea level in the Sedom salt flats over a relatively prominent step to 690 ft. (210 m.) below sea level near Ḥaẓevah, and thence continues to rise more gently to 755 ft. (230 m.), above sea level near the Sheluḥat Noẓah ridge, which protrudes into the valley 48 mi. (75 km.) north of Eilat; from that point southward, it gradually descends to the Eilat shore. The Arabah bears a cover of alluvium (sand, gravel, etc.) which obscures its rock foundations. Alluvial fans, mostly spreading in front of the Edom Mountains, obstruct the drainage of the southern Arabah and are the cause of the formation of playas (saline marshes), e.g., those of Eilat, Avronah, Yotvatah, and Sa'īdiyin. The central and northern Arabah are drained by Naḥal ha-Aravah, which is the lower section of Naḥal Paran. Springs in the Arabah are mostly weak and brackish on the western, but stronger and sweeter on the eastern, rim. Deep well drillings in the 1960s yielded water in previously unsuspected quantities.

History

In the Bible, Negev refers to southern and southeastern Judah, an area split up between various groups, each of which is connected with a Negev of its own: Negev of Judah, around Beer-Sheba; Negev of Caleb, north of it; Negev of the Cherethites (Philistines), to the northwest; Negev of the Kenites, to the east; Negev of the Jerahmeelites, to the southeast. Today the name is applied to the whole southern region of Israel, extending from Beersheba to Eilat. In prehistoric times, the Negev was a well-watered and settled region, till the desiccation which accompanied the Mesolithic period. In the Chalcolithic period, a new culture developed along the dry river beds around Beer-Sheba, with pasture-bred animals, underground dwellings, and the beginning of exploitation of the Arabah copper mines for a metallurgic industry. A chain of short-lived settlements of a seminomadic, pastoral populace again appeared in various parts of the Negev in the intermediate period between the Early and Middle Bronze Ages (c. 2000 B.C.E.). The suggestion that these were situated along the main routes in the time of Abraham is refuted by most scholars. At the time of the Exodus, the Amalekites roamed in the southern part of the Negev, while the Canaanites of Arad held strongly to the north. Attempts by the Israelites to pass through the Negev on the direct route to Canaan ended in failure. The northern region is included within the boundaries of the land of Israel (Num. 34:4; Josh. 15:3). After Joshua's conquest, Simeon had a weak hold on the northern Negev centering on Beer-Sheba. Saul and David fended off the Amalekites, and Solomon and his successors set up fortresses to guard the routes to Elath and Egypt. Uzziah made the greatest effort to develop the Negev in the Israelite period, keeping up his communications with Elath through this region, and, apart from extending agriculture (II Chron. 26:10), building large fortresses at Kadesh, Arad, Ḥorvat ʿUza, and other sites.

After the return from Babylonian exile, Jewish connections with the Negev in the post-biblical period are tenuous. The northern part was held by Alexander Yannai (Jannaeus). It came under the control of the *Nabateans, who used its highway (the so-called "spice and incense" route) primarily for conveying caravans of goods (such as frankincense and myrrh) from their capital Petra and from their port Aila (Elath) to Gaza and the shores of the Mediterranean. Sites discovered include way stations, forts and towers, and regional roads. It was once thought the *Nabateans were the first to develop terraced agriculture in the Negev, but although they were undoubtedly masters in sophisticated water-gathering systems, which were especially important for the caravans of camels and men passing through the region, there is no evidence that they practiced wide-scale cultivation in the area, except perhaps in a very limited fashion. Toward the end of Nabatean rule in the Negev, settlements flourished along the trade route, as is now known from remains uncovered at Avedat, Mampsis, and Elusa, with inscriptions, temples, caravanserai, and other structures. After the annexation of Nabatea by Rome in 106 C.E., the importance of the region declined; it revived toward the middle of the third century C.E. and entered its most prosperous era in antiquity during the Byzantine and Umayyad periods. Impressive towns from these periods existed at Elusa (Heb. Halutza), Subeita/Sobata (Arab. Isbeita; Heb. Shivta), Nessana (Arab. Auja al-Hafir; Heb. Nitzana), Oboda (Arab. Abda; Heb. ʿAvedat), Rehovot-in-the-Negev (Arab. Ruheibe), and Mampsis (Arab. Kurnub; Heb. Mamshit). Impressive churches are known at many of these sites. An important archive of manuscripts was uncovered at Nessana. It has been estimated that by the Late Byzantine/Umayyad periods 40,000 dunams (10,000 acres) of the Negev highlands were under cultivation; this was mainly achieved by the careful terrace and dam building and the efficient diversion and distribution of rainwater by channels. Numerous agricultural settlements have been investigated. The Negev settlements began declining in the Abbasid period.

[Michael Avi-Yonah / Shimon Gibson (2nd ed.)]

At the earliest stages of the modern Jewish return to the land, the Negev was visualized as a possible area of settlement by men like Z.D. *Levontin, who aimed at founding a settlement south of Gaza (1881–2). Like other Jews at the beginning of the 20th century, however, they had to abandon attempts at purchasing holdings, mainly because Bedouin vendors could not produce title deeds entered in the land registry for the tracts they offered. Attention was again directed to the Negev when Theodor *Herzl took up Davis *Trietsch's proposal of the *El-Arish Project (1903), and a daring plan for a Jewish-Bedouin alliance was also put forward. After World War I, veterans of the Jewish *Legion tried to settle on state land offered by the British authorities near the tell of Arad, but they despaired when no water was found. After the end of the 1930s, the Jewish National *Fund took over, securing and enlarging scattered holdings in the Negev which had been acquired beforehand by Jewish individuals. Thus the three "observation villages" – Gevulot, Beit Eshel, and Revivim – were set up in 1943, followed by 11 more villages established on the night of Oct. 6, 1946 and four more – preceding the outbreak of the War of Independence – in December 1947. All outposts were modestly supplied with water from two pipelines drawn from the Nir Am and Gevar'am wells in the southern Coastal Plain. In the 1949 Armistice Agreements with Egypt and Jordan, Israel's hold of the entire Negev was endorsed, with the single exception of the Gaza Strip. Whereas the Negev Bedouin population, of which about 15,000 remained in the Negev after 1948, increased to about 27,000 in 1969, Jewish settlement was the principal factor causing population density in the Beersheba subdistrict (whose borders are nearly identical with those of the Negev) to rise from 2.85 per sq. mi. (1.1 per sq. km.) in 1948 to 36.5 per sq. mi. (14.1 per sq. km.) in 1969; in the latter year, 180,400 inhabitants were counted, of whom 153,300 were Jews and 27,100 were Arabs. By 2003 the population had increased to 534,700 (107 per sq. mi.; 41.3 per sq. km.), including 366,900 Jews and 135,400 Arabs living in 167 settlements. The Negev's population comprises about 7% of the country's total.

Rural settlement quickly progressed as great efforts were invested in bringing mounting quantities of water to the Negev, first through the reconstituted pipelines from the Nir Am area in the 1950s, from the Yarkon springs ("Yarkon-Negev line"), and in the 1960s via the National Water Carrier. In the pattern of settlement comprising over 70 villages, three groups can be discerned:

(1) the bulk of villages, mostly moshavim, concentrated in the northwestern Negev and arranged in regional projects (Benei Shim'on, Merḥavim, Eshkol regions);

(2) security settlements, preponderantly kibbutzim, along the border of the Gaza Strip;

(3) outpost settlements, of the kibbutz and moshav types (mostly in the Arabah Valley), which combine the task of border defense with pioneering new methods in desert and oasis farming. Agricultural initiative has brought citrus groves to the northwestern Negev and developed out-of-season vegetable and flower cultivation both in the western Negev (Eshkol region) and the Arabah Valley, while cotton, fodder crops, sugar beet (all irrigated), wheat, and other grain crops (the latter grown unirrigated or with auxiliary irrigation) are characteristic of the interior part of the northwestern Negev. However, present-day irrigation is no longer based only on the National Water Carrier; it also utilizes purified sewage water and wells. A number of kibbutzim have also developed industrial enterprises.

Among urban settlements, the city of Beersheba has surpassed all other centers in growth and contains nearly 34% of the Negev's total population; second is Dimona on the Negev Hills; and third is Eilat. Other urban settlements were established, in the northwest (Netivot, Ofakim) to serve as regional centers for agricultural areas and elsewhere to promote mining and industrial development (Arad, Yeroḥam, Miẓpeh Ramon). During the 1990s the region absorbed many immigrants from the former Soviet Union, a process that augmented mainly the urban settlements of the Negev, which include 82% of the Negev's population. However, by the beginning of the 21st century the Negev had not yet realized its full potential for settlement and development.

The Dead Sea minerals, as well as phosphates, copper, clay minerals, glass sand, and methane gas constitute the principal foundation for the Negev's industrial-development projects, whose important centers are the towns of Beersheba, Dimona, and Arad, the Oron and Ẓefa-Efeh phosphate mines, the factories near the latter site. The Sodom Dead Sea industrial zone has no resident population. However, high-tech industries have also begun to find a home in the Negev, mainly in Beersheba's industrial zones. Another economic branch, which developed mainly since the peace agreements with Egypt and Jordan, is tourism. The Negev offers many natural wonders, walking routes, and tourist attractions, among them Ben-Gurion's cabin, which became a museum located at kibbutz *Sedeh Boker.

The communications network of the Negev is of great importance in the framework of Israel's economic infrastructure. Among highways, the Sodom-Eilat road is particularly busy. Second, comes the Beersheba-Dimona-Miẓpeh Ramon-Eilat highway. The northern and western Negev has a well-developed road network. Railways link Beersheba with Kiryat Gat and Lydda in the north and with Dimona and the Oron and Ẓefa-Efeh mines in the south. Another important economic asset is the Eilat-Ashkelon oil pipeline. Finally, the

Eilat port and oilport are Israel's marine outlets to the south and east.

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[Efraim Orni]

NEḤALIM (Heb. נְחָלִים; "streams"), moshav in central Israel, near Lydda (Lod) airport, affiliated with Ha-Po'el ha-Mizrachi moshavim association. Originally founded by veteran farm laborers in 1943 in the Ḥuleh Valley (where its name, referring to the Jordan River headstreams, was chosen), the moshav was largely destroyed in the Israeli War of Independence and the settlers were transferred to the present site on the land of the former German colony, Wilhelma (August 1948). There, the group was joined by settlers from moshav Neveh Ya'akov, north of Jerusalem, which had to be given up in May 1948. Later, new immigrants from Hungary and Poland joined the moshav. The village economy was based on intensive and fully irrigated farming. Neḥalim had 710 inhabitants in 1969, part of them staff and pupils of a yeshivah which was opened in 1958. In the mid-1990s, its population was 1,520, growing further to 1,920 residents in 2002.

[Efraim Orni]

NEHAMA, JOSEPH (ca. 1880–1971), Greek educator and historian. Nehama was born in Salonika, the son of the reformist rabbi Judah Nehama, and studied at the Ecole Normale Orientale, the teacher training school of the Alliance Israélite Universelle in Paris. In his capacity as teacher and school principal of the local Alliance Israélite Universelle, Nehama devoted his life to educating several generations of Salonikan youth.

For a number of periods, Nehama was a member of the Committee of the Jewish Community of Salonika representing the non-Zionist general stream of the Jewish community. As a historian he made a major pioneering effort in tracing the Salonikan Jewish community's roots in his seven-volume work, *Histoire des Israélites de Salonique.* Another noteworthy work was *La Ville Convaitée* under the pen name P. Risal.

As a writer Nehama's literary ability was demonstrated in the dozens of essays he contributed to such French literary publications as *Mercure de France.* He wrote numerous studies and articles in Judeo-Spanish on Jewish history, health codes, and commerce which appeared in the press of Salonika and Paris. Nehama made a great contribution to the propagation and research of the Judeo-Spanish language by writing a comprehensive Judeo-Spanish-French dictionary. The work, entitled *Dictionnaire du Judéo-Espagnol*, was published in 1977 several years after his death.

Nehama was a prominent banker in his capacity as president of the Banque Union. During the Holocaust, Nehama managed to escape the Germans in Salonika by fleeing to Athens. However he was caught by the Nazis and deported on March 25, 1944, to Bergen-Belsen. He was liberated by the American army in the last days of the war.

The Holocaust not only was a personal tragedy for Nehama, but a changing point in his attitude toward Zionism. Previously he had little belief in the potential of political Zionism and its ability to create a viable and prosperous homeland for the Jews. He had been one of the key community leaders in the 1930s who encouraged Jews to stay in Salonika and not immigrate to Palestine. After the Holocaust Nehama was greatly saddened that the prosperous Diaspora center of Salonika had come to an end and regretted his earlier stand against emigration. He was joint author (with Michael Molho) of *The Destruction of Greek Jewry 1941–1944* (Hebrew, 1965). In 1973, the Jewish community of Salonika put out a French version of the book.

[Yitzchak Kerem (2nd ed.)]

NEHARDEA, town in Babylon, situated on the Euphrates at its junction with the Malka River, which was an important Jewish center and seat of a famous academy. Nehardea was surrounded by walls and by the Euphrates River, preventing its penetration by enemies (Jos., Ant., 18:311). The Jewish settlement of Nehardea was an early one. The first settlers were, according to tradition, those exiled in the time of Jehoiachin, king of Judah in the sixth century B.C.E. These exiles erected there a synagogue which they built with stones and earth brought from the site of the Temple. The synagogue was called Shaf ve-Yativ, i.e., "[the Divine Presence has] removed [from the Temple] and settled [in this place]" (*Iggeret Rav Sherira Ga'on*, ed. by B.M. Lewin (1921), 72 and appendices). The existence of its Jewish settlement in the century before the destruction of the Temple is attested by the fact that the Jews of Babylon concentrated in it the half-shekel offering and their donations and offerings for the Temple and dispatched them from there to Jerusalem (Jos., *ibid.*). Josephus also relates the exploits of *Anilaus and Asinaus who were natives of Nehardea. At the beginning of the second century C.E., Akiva visited Nehardea and there intercalated the year, thus testifying to the importance of the local Jewish settlements (Yev. 15:7). Nehardea was also the seat of the exilarch and his *bet din*. The town attained the zenith of its influence in the first half of the third century in the days of *Samuel, who headed its academy, and its influence was widespread (Ket. 54a). Of the scholars active there at the beginning of the amoraic period, Karna, Shila, and Abba b. Abba (Samuel's father) were noteworthy. The academy of Nehardea was destroyed in 259 by Papa b. Neẓer and its scholars moved to *Pumbedita. When spiritual activity was renewed there, many important scholars were active in it, including Dimi and Amemar.

[Yitzhak Dov Gilat]

The Arab Period

There is no extant information on a Jewish settlement in Nehardea during the Arab period. Even after the town was rebuilt, the academy did not return there. Its memory was preserved in Pumbedita, however, by the fact that a group of sages who sat in one of the first three rows of the academy was referred to as "the row of Nehardea." In his responsum to R. Moses b. Meshullam of Mainz, *Elijah b. Solomon ha-Kohen refers to the academy of Sura by the name of Nehardea. In connection with a question on the custom of saying the prayer of *Ve-Hassi'enu* on Rosh Ha-Shanah and the Day of Atonement, the *gaon* replied: "Heaven forbid that there be a difference over this matter, because it is our custom in the two *metivta* (academies) in Ereẓ Israel and Nehardea, that *Ve-Hassi'enu* is said on Rosh Ha-Shanah and the Day of Atonement." B.M. Lewin has pointed out that the reference was to Sura, where this custom prevailed, in contrast to Pumbedita, where it did not. On the other hand, for Sherira, Nehardea was synonymous with the academy of Pumbedita because it was the continuation of Nehardea. In connection with the customs of prayer he writes: "the custom is according to the established *battei midrash* of Nehardea and Sura" (B.M. Lewin (ed.), *Ginzei Kedem*, 1 (1922), 5–6). Benjamin of Tudela, who visited *Iraq during the 1170s, also identifies Pumbedita with Nehardea.

[Eliezer Bashan (Sternberg)]

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NEHAR PEKOD, according to earlier scholars a town in the district of Nehardea (Babylonia), and according to more recent research, between Sura and Nippur. Nehar Pekod gained note after the *tanna* R. Hananiah, the nephew of the *tanna* R. Joshua b. Hananiah, settled there following the suppression of the Bar Kokhba revolt in Ereẓ Israel (Sanh. 32b). The town seems to have rapidly developed into a major center of Jewish life. R. Hananiah tried to establish a *bet midrash* and a Sanhedrin with the authority to continue the practice of intercalating years and fixing months, an authority which was a privilege of Ereẓ Israel (see Ber. 63a–b; Sanh. 32b; TJ, Sanh. 1:1, 19a). The reactivated leadership in Ereẓ Israel immediately intervened and quashed this separatist move. It is reported that R. Hananiah died and was buried in Nehar Pekod. Further testimony about the town and its Sages stems from the geonic period.

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[Eliyahu Hirschberg]

NEHĀVAND (also pronounced **Nahāvand**), a city situated in west central Iran about 75 km south of *Hamadan. It was an important city during the Sasanian period. Its conquest by the invading Arabs (642 C.E.) is considered the beginning of the end of the Iranian empire. It is mentioned in the Babylonian Talmud as a *golah* (Diaspora) which may allude to the existence of a Jewish community in Nehāvand (Kid. 72a). *Benjamin of Tudela (1167) mentioned a city by the name "NHR-VNT" where 4,000 Jews lived. It is possible that he meant the city of Nehāvand.

During the medieval period an important *Karaite community lived there. Prominent in it was R. Binyamin ben Mosheh Nehāvandi (mid-9th century). We possess some fragments of his *Sefer ha-Mitzvot* and *Sefer ha-Dinim*. R. David d'Beth Hillel visited the city around the year 1827 and according to him 20 Jewish families lived there, all of whom were poor. He estimated the number of the Muslim population at 3,000 families. Ephraim Neumark (1884), who did not visit the city, heard that 30 Jewish families lived in it.

According to *ʿĀlam-e Yahud* (1945), a Jewish Persian monthly published in *Teheran, 115 Jewish families lived in Nehāvand, of whom 15, among them some physicians and land owners, were considered rich, 50 ranked as middle class, and the rest were poor. There were two synagogues in the city and one elementary school administered by Alliance Israélite Universelle, where 137 pupils (98 boys and 39 girls) studied up to the sixth grade. The sanitary conditions were reported as unsatisfactory (1945). After the 1979 Islamic Revolution many left for Teheran, Israel, and the U.S., so that no Jewish family was reported as living in Nehāvand by the end of the 20th century.

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[Amnon Netzer (2nd ed.)]

NEHEMIAH (Heb. נְחֶמְיָה; "YHWH has comforted": fifth century B.C.E.), cupbearer of *Artaxerxes I and later governor of Judah. Nothing is known of the parentage of Nehemiah except that he was the son of Hacaliah. Two other persons of that name are mentioned in the Bible: one returned with Zerubbabel (Ezra 2:2; Neh. 7:7), and the other, a son of Azbuk, was the chief of half the district of Beth-Zur and helped in rebuilding the wall of Jerusalem (Neh. 3:16). Nehemiah the son of Hacaliah was a high official at the Persian court of Artaxerxes I, perhaps a eunuch (cf. LXXĆ, Neh. 1:11, *eunochos* for *oinochoos* of LXXḂ). Origen considers Nehemiah, the king's cupbearer, and his eunuch as one person. E. Weidner (see bibl.) has pointed out the importance of the cupbearer at the Assyrian court which, according to Herodotus (3:34), continued at the Persian court.

Being a trusted Jew, though a layman, Nehemiah was, at his own request, placed in charge of a very important and delicate mission – that of the governorship of Judah, which involved rebuilding the walls of Jerusalem and reorganizing the Judean province. He was thus invested with great authority which he wielded with distinction and propriety. The first tasks to which he set himself with great zeal were providing protection for Judah by restoring the walls of the capital, and erecting houses for its population so that all aspects of the community could function more smoothly. Though he suffered almost continuous interference from the governor of Samaria, and perhaps from those of Ammon, Arabia, and Ashdod (6:1–9), he was sufficiently astute to avoid serious conflict, probably because he used his authority wisely and gained the confidence of his fellow Jews. Having achieved his primary objective, he next devoted himself to establishing order and justice in the community (7:1–3). Conscious of his position as a layman (and perhaps, eunuch), he submitted to the religious regulations of his time but was himself a profoundly religious man as is evident from his concern for the levites (13:10–14), his conception of the sanctity of the Temple as shown in the Tobiah affair (13:4–9), his appreciation of the Sabbath (10:32; 13:15–21), and his provision for offerings (10:33–40). It is of interest that he had drawn up his memoirs, which were doubtless placed in the Temple precincts as an inscription of his deeds and works.

Nehemiah is praised by Ben Sira (49:12b–13) and in II Maccabees 1:18, 20–36. Josephus (Ant. 11:159–74) embellished the story of Nehemiah, but the Talmud and the Church Fathers were not so complimentary. The date of Nehemiah's first period of service (5:14) extended from the 20th to the 32nd year of Artaxerxes I (i.e., c. 445–433 B.C.E.). The length of his second period (13:6–7) is not stated.

See also *Exile, Babylonian; *Ezra and Nehemia; *History.

[Jacob M. Myers]

In the Aggadah

Nehemiah is identified with *Zerubbabel, the latter name being considered as indicative of his Babylonian birth (Heb. זְרוּעַ בָּבֶל, "conceived in Babylon"; Sanh. 38a). He was called Tirshatha (Neh. 8:9) because the authorities absolved him (*hittir*) from the prohibition against gentile wine, permitting him, as cupbearer to the king, to drink (*shatah*) with him (TJ, Kid. 4:1, 65b). The strict rabbinic enactment prohibiting the handling of most vessels or utensils on the Sabbath was attributed to Nehemiah as a means of counteracting the laxity in Sabbath observance during his period (Shab. 123b; Neh. 13:15). The sages did not call the Book of Nehemiah by his name and referred to it as the second part of Ezra because Nehemiah utilized a seemingly vain expression (Neh. 5:19) and also spoke disparagingly of his predecessors, who included Daniel (Neh. 5:15; Sanh. 93b). Nehemiah completed the Book of Chronicles which was started by Ezra (BB 15a).

[Aaron Rothkoff]

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NEHEMIAH (middle of second century C.E.), *tanna*. Nehemiah was considered one of Akiva's outstanding disciples and is mentioned in all the talmudic traditions that described the reestablishment of the center of learning in Galilee after the Bar Kokhba revolt. Thus it is reported that on the easing of the Hadrianic persecution he took part in the activity for the renewal of the teaching of the Torah (Gen. R. 61:3; Eccles. R. 11:6). Similarly, Nehemiah was listed as one of the five ordained by *Judah b. Bava at the cost of his life (Sanh. 14a), and also among the scholars who gathered at Usha to reconstruct the religious life of the people (Song R. 2:5, no. 3). He was also described as having been active at Bet Rimmon when the renewed calendar arrangements were made (TJ, Ḥag. 3:1), and as having taken part in the convention of Jabneh (Ber. 63b). Though these traditions have been viewed by some as representing distinct historical events, they should more properly be viewed as a family of related traditions with definite lines of literary dependence between them, as has been recently argued convincingly (Oppenheimer, 78–79).

The Talmud (Sanh. 86a) ascribes to R. Johanan the statement that סְתָם תּוֹסֶפְתָּא ר׳ נְחֶמְיָה (*setam tosefta Rabbi Neḥemyah*), apparently ascribing to Nehemiah the authorship of all anonymous statements in the Tosefta. Both the authenticity and the exact intent of this statement are unclear (see: *Tosefta), and in any case it is clear that R. Nehemiah is neither the author of our Tosefta (nor of any earlier version of the Tosefta which may have once existed), nor do his traditions take up any considerable percentage of this work. His name is mentioned 20 times in the Mishnah and about 60 times in the Tosefta, and given the fact that the Tosefta is between three to four times longer than the Mishnah, the two figures correspond almost exactly. Nehemiah is also mentioned about 60 times in the *midrashei halakhah* and is well represented in both tannaitic *halakhah* and *aggadah*.

The Talmud attributes to him the grammatical rule that the suffix ה to a noun is equivalent to the prefix ל (Yev. 13b). According to the printed edition of the Talmud, Nehemiah's name is associated with the study of Merkabah mysticism (Shab. 80b), but in the manuscript readings of this passage (Oxford, Vatican 108, Munich 95) Nehemiah is not mentioned. Similarly, the Talmud ascribes to him a statement on the creation, transmitted in the name of his father (Pes. 54a). A tannaitic source ascribes to him the following aggadic saying:

"Beloved is suffering. For just as sacrifices bring atonement so does suffering" (Sif. Deut. 32). In a much later aggadic saying he is reported to have said: "A single individual is as important as the whole of creation" (ARN^1 31, p. 46). According to the Jerusalem Talmud (Ta'an. 4:2, 88a) he was descended from the biblical Nehemiah. He lived in great poverty and on one occasion shared his pottage of lentils with a poor man, who died from eating such scant fare (Ket. 67b). He worked as a potter (TJ, BM 6:8, 11a).

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[Stephen G. Wald (2nd ed.)]

NEHEMIAH BAR KOHEN ẒEDEK (tenth century), *gaon* of the Pumbedita academy from 960 to 968; son of R. Kohen *Zedek, who also held this post. His brother R. Hophni was the father of R. Samuel b. *Hophni. R. *Sherira Gaon tells of the controversy between R. Nehemiah and *Aaron b. Joseph ha-Kohen Sarjado which arose several years after R. Aaron Sarjado had been appointed *gaon* of Pumbedita (943); it appears that the original cause of the controversy was R. *Mubashshir b. R. Kimoi's appointment of R. Aaron as president of his *bet din*, an appointment which Kohen Ẓedek viewed with disfavor. The struggle between Nehemiah and Aaron Sarjado broke out after the death of R. Amram, president of R. Aaron's *bet din*; Aaron wished to appoint R. *Sherira in Amram's place, while Nehemiah contended that the position was properly his. Failing to achieve his aim, Nehemiah set himself up as *gaon* in rivalry with R. Aaron. In 960, when Aaron Sarjado died, Nehemiah officially succeeded him as *gaon* of Pumbedita, and his brother Hophni was the president of his *bet din*. Sherira Gaon refused to recognize Nehemiah's appointment as *gaon*, although he did not suggest himself as *gaon* in his stead. Apparently he did not want to undermine the foundations of the gaonate. After the death of R. Hophni in 962, however, the two men agreed that Sherira Gaon would serve as Nehemiah's *av bet din*, and after the latter's death in 968, Sherira Gaon succeeded him as the *gaon* of Pumbedita. Nothing remains of Nehemiah's teachings or responsa; only a number of letters survive.

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[Abraham David]

NEHEMIAH HA-KOHEN (17th century), Polish kabbalist, apparently born in Lvov. His personality remains obscure, though certain details emerge from the sometimes contradictory sources. Late in the month of Av, 1666, he arrived at the fortress in Gallipoli, Turkey, where *Shabbetai Ẓevi was imprisoned, and visited him there early in the month of Ellul. In his memoirs Loeb b. Ozer quotes information that he heard from Nehemiah concerning his disputation with Shabbetai Ẓevi, indicating that Nehemiah rejected the latter's messianic pretensions. According to Christian sources, however, Nehemiah claimed that he himself was Messiah ben Joseph and remonstrated with Shabbetai Ẓevi for announcing himself as Messiah ben David before Messiah ben Joseph had started out on his journey of tribulations. Hence for the first time Shabbetai Ẓevi found himself on the defensive before a man who, unlike all his other visitors, was not overwhelmed by him. I. Sonne questions the truth of the story about the disputation, considering it improbable that in an atmosphere of messianic tension anyone should, in the presence of the Messiah, cast doubts on the very fact of his being Messiah. After three days Nehemiah despaired of Shabbetai Ẓevi, and notified the authorities of the fortress of his own intention of converting to Islam. From there he repaired to Adrianople, where he complained to the civil authorities that Shabbetai was an impostor. Shabbetai was then brought before the sultan, in whose presence he too was converted to Islam. Having passed on his information to the Turkish authorities, Nehemiah returned at once to Lvov and to the religion of his fathers. His activities caused an uproar throughout Poland: some vindicated them, since their sole intention was to bring an end to the specious doings of Shabbetai Ẓevi, while others disapproved, since Nehemiah's activities had terminated the great messianic awakening. Nehemiah, however, was obliged to wander from place to place, ultimately leaving Poland in about 1675, excommunicated and outcast. He even changed his name to Jacob in an attempt to obscure his identity. His persecution presumably stemmed from the bitterness of the Jews of Poland and Germany, and their disillusionment with the messianic movement.

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[Abraham David]

NEHER, ANDRÉ (1914–1988), scholar and philosopher; born in Obernai (Alsace). After having taught German in a high school before and some years after World War II, Neher spent the war years together with his father Albert Neher, his elder brother, Judge Richard Neher, and the rest of his family, dedicating his time to intensive Jewish studies. After the liberation of France, Neher emerged as a highly original and captivating thinker, and quickly became one of the spiritual leaders of the young intellectuals of the French-speaking world, preaching ideals of reasoned belief and of respect for tradition. After being appointed to the chair of Jewish Studies at the University of Strasbourg, he contributed to the development among the local Jewish community of deep feelings of responsibility toward the Jewish people in the world and toward the State of Israel in particular. Algerian Jews who came to Strasbourg found a warm welcome there, as a result of Neher's interest in them. Respected in all quarters, Neher was able to convince the local Catholic and Protestant leaders of the legitimacy of Jewish aspirations, including Zionism, and this had its repercussions at various national and international conventions.

Neher took part in various initiatives on behalf of Israel in the Diaspora. He established himself in Jerusalem, dividing his time between the University of Strasbourg and academic activity in Israel (mostly at Tel Aviv University). He was a consulting editor to the *Encyclopaedia Judaica*. The moving force of his philosophy is the "alliance" of God with Man, and in particular with the People of Israel. Neher found in the teachings of Judah Loew b. Bezalel (Maharal) a guide and inspiration.

His principal works include: *Transcendance et immanence* (1946; with Richard Neher); *Amos, contribution à l'étude du prophétisme* (1950); *Notes sur Qohélét* (1951); *L'Essence du prophétisme* (1955); *Moïse et la vocation juive* (1956); *Jerémie* (1960); *Histoire biblique du peuple d'Israël* (2 vols., 1962; with Renée Neher-Bernheim); *L'Existence juive* (1962), a collection of articles; *Le Puits de l'exil – la théologie dialectique du Maharal de Prague* (1966): *De l'hébreu au français* (1969); *Etincelles, textes rabbiniques traduits et commentés* (1970; with Abraham Epstein and Emile Sebban); *L'Exil de la Parole, du silence biblique au silence d'Auschwitz* (1970, English trans., 1980); *Dans tes Portes Jerusalem* (1972); *David Gans, disciple du Maharal de Prague, assistant de Tycho Brahe et de Jean Kepler* (1974); *Clefs pour le Judaisme* (1977); *Oubekhol zot* ("Nevertheless," in Hebrew, 1977); *Le dur bonheur d'être Juif* (1978); *Ils ont refait Leur Ame* (1979); *Jérusalem, vécu juif et message* (1984); *Jewish Thought and the Scientific Revolution of the Sixteenth Century* (1986); *Faust et le Maharal de Prague, le mythe et le réel* (1986); and *Korot Am Israel be-Or ha-Mikra* (an adaptation in Hebrew of his *Histoire Biblique du Peuple d'Israël*, in collaboration with his wife Renée Neher-Bernheim; 1986). In 1980 there appeared the second edition of his *Jeremiah* (1960). On the occasion of his 60th birthday Neher was presented with *Melanges André Neher*, containing a bibliography of his articles, listing 336 items. In addition, in 1983 appeared the third edition in French and the Italian and Japanese translations of his *L'Exile de la Parole*, the Japanese translation of his *Moïse et la vocation juive*, while in 1984 there appeared a selection of his writings in Russian, *The Philosophy of André Neher*. He received the 1977 Remembrance Award for Holocaust Literature established by the World Federation of the Bergen-Belsen Associations.

His wife, RENÉE NEHER-BERNHEIM (1922–), a historian, was born in Paris. In 1972 she was appointed lecturer in Jewish History at the School for Overseas Students of the Hebrew University, Jerusalem. She wrote *Le Judaïsme dans le monde romain* (1959), *La Déclaration Balfour* (1969), and in 1974 completed the publication of her *Histoire Juive – faits et documents – de la Renaissance à nos jours* (1963–65, 1974). In 1977 she published *Documents inédits sur l'entrée des Juifs dans la société française (1750–1850)*, 2 volumes and in 1983, *Feu Vert à Israël, l'époque décisive de la Déclaration Balfour*. She later wrote *Jérusalem, trois millénaires de histoire* (1997), *La vie juive en terre sainte sous les Turcs ottomans (1517–1918)* (2001), and *Histoire juive de la Révolution à l'Etat d'Israël* (2002).

[Moshe Catane]

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NEHORAH (Heb. נְהוֹרָה; "light"), rural center in southern Israel established in 1956 in the framework of the *Lachish regional development project, to service a bloc of moshavim comprising Nogah, Zohar, Oẓem, Shaḥar, and Nir Ḥen. Nehorah had 131 inhabitants in 1970. By 2002 its population was 1,020.

[Efraim Orni]

NEHORAI (end of second century C.E.), *tanna*. Nehorai is referred to three times in the Mishnah, once in *Nazir* 9:5, mentioning that Samuel was a Nazirite; once in *Avot* 4:14, where he says, "Exile thyself to a place of Torah; and say not it will come after thee or that thy companions will assist thee to maintain it; and lean not upon thine own understanding"; and lastly in *Kiddushin* 4:14, where he states, "I would disregard all other crafts and teach my son only Torah. For man enjoys its reward in this world, while its principal remains to him for the world to come." In *Nazir* he engages in discussion with R. Jose; the Mishnah at the end of *Kiddushin* is a late addition from Tosefta *Kiddushin* 8:16, where his words appear between those of Rabbi and of R. Simeon ben Eleazar. Similarly, in *Avot* 4:14 his statement is placed in the context of 4th and 5th generation *tannaim*. On the other hand he is quoted as transmitting traditions in the name of R. Joshua (*Seder Olam* 22, Nazir 5a). The reference to Nehorai in Tosef. RH 1:16 has been identified with the *tanna* Nehorai ben Shinai mentioned in Tosefta Ma'asrot 1:1 (see Lieberman, *Tosefet Rishonim,* 4, 194). If these two figures are one and the same, then the notion that Nehorai dealt almost exclusively with *aggadah* would have to be modified somewhat.

The Talmud asserts (Shab. 147b) that his name was not Nehorai at all, and that he is actually to be identified with the far better known *tanna* R. *Nehemiah, or perhaps even with the famous figure *Eleazar b. Arakh, and he was called Nehorai ("light") because he enlightened the eyes of his colleagues in knowledge of *halakhah*. This assertion, however, should be understood in the light of the general tendency of the Talmud, both when retelling biblical stories and when elaborating the biographies of early talmudic sages, to identify obscure and little known figures with more famous and well known figures. The further statement (Er. 13b) that Meir is the same as Nehorai is little more than a play on words (both names being derived from words denoting "light"), and cannot be taken as reflecting a serious historical tradition, since Nehorai is found together with Meir in *Avot* 4:10 and in *Kiddushin* 4:14 they are both mentioned in the same Mishnah.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Hyman, Toledot, 918f.; Bacher, Tann, 2 (1890), 377–83.

[David Joseph Bornstein / Stephen G. Wald (2nd ed.)]

NEḤUNYA BEN HA-KANAH (dates uncertain), *tanna*. Mishnah Ber. 4:2 relates two prayers which he would recite when entering and leaving the study hall. An aggadic statement is transmitted in his name in Avot 3:5, and two *halakhot* are transmitted in his name in Tosefta Ket. 3:5. One of these *halakhot* is brought in Tosefta BK 7:18, apparently responding to the words of R. Meir. Similarly his statement in Avot follows the statements of R. Simeon and Haninah b. Hakinai, which would place him in the fourth generation of *tannaim*, in the middle to end of the second century. On the other hand, the Babylonian Talmud asserts that *Ishmael received from Neḥunya his practice of interpreting the Torah with the hermeneutical rule of *kelal u-ferat* ("general propositions and particulars," see **Midrashei Halakhah*, Distinct Exegetical Methods), which would place him in the second generation of *tannaim*. This tradition may, however, be a later expansion and elaboration of the relatively early tradition according to which Akiva learned the principle of *ribbui u-mi'ut* ("extension and limitation") from *Naḥum of Gimzo (Shevu. 26a). Similarly, the Talmud relates a discussion between Neḥunya and Johanan b. Zakkai (see BB 10b), but this is a relatively late aggadic traditon whose historical authenticity cannot be confirmed. So also the *Tanḥuma* (Deut. to 26:13) cites a halakhic discussion between him and Joshua b. Ḥananiah, referring to him as Neḥunya b. ha-Kanah of Emmaus. He is named in the TB as disputing with R. Eliezer and R. Joshua (Ḥullin 129b), but in *Eduyot* 6:3 and 4 it is clear that the *tanna* originally mentioned in this tradition was Neḥunya b. Elinathan of Kefar ha-Bavli.

He dictum in Avot was: "He who takes upon himself the yoke of Torah will have the yoke of worldly care removed from him; but he who casts off the yoke of Torah will have placed upon him the yoke of the kingdom and the yoke of worldly care" (Avot 3:5). The talmudic tradition transmits the text of the prayers which he spoke when entering and leaving the house of study as follows: "On entering what did he say? 'May it be Thy will, Oh Lord, that I become not impatient with my fellows and that they become not impatient with me, that we declare not the clean unclean nor the unclean clean… so that I be not put to shame both in this world and in the world to come.' On his departure what did he say? 'I give thanks to Thee, O Lord, that thou hast set my portion with those who sit in houses of study and in synagogues and not with those who sit in theaters and circuses. For I toil and they toil. I am industrious and they are industrious. I toil to possess the Garden of Eden and they toil for the pit of destruction'" (TJ, Ber. 4:2, 7d: cf. Ber. 28b for another tradition). The TB relates that when Neḥunya's pupils asked him by what virtue he had attained old age, he replied: "Never in my life have I sought honor through the degradation of my fellow, nor has the curse of my fellow gone up with me upon my bed [i.e., he forgave all who had vexed him before retiring to sleep], and I have been generous with my money" (Meg. 28a). The medieval Kabbalists attributed to him the mystical work *Sefer ha-Bahir*. The prayer *Anna be-Kho'aḥ (based upon the Divine Name of 42 letters) is also ascribed to him.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Hyman, Toledot, 923; Frankel, Mishnah, 105; Bacher, Tann, 1 (1903^{2}), index; J. Bruell, *Mevo ha-Mishnah*, 1 (1876), 94.

[Yitzhak Dov Gilat / Stephen G. Wald (2nd ed.)]

NEHUSHTAN (Heb. נְחֻשְׁתָּן), the name of the *copper serpent which King Hezekiah broke into pieces (II Kings 18:4). The name suggests both its serpentine shape (*naḥash*) as well as the material (*neḥoshet*) of which it was made. Since the smashing of the copper serpent parallels the shattering of the pillars and the cutting down of the Asherah (*ibid.*), it was probably located in the Temple court in Jerusalem. It was thus one of the cultic symbols of the people who assembled in the Temple courts. Like the local shrines (*bamot*), however, and like the two other objects named in the verse, it was illegitimate in the Deuteronomic view, in accordance with which Hezekiah abolished the former and destroyed the latter (*ibid.*). The Nehushtan probably stood in the Temple court, and the people believed that it had the power of curing sicknesses. Serpents are also associated with fertility. In this respect the copper serpent differed from the *cherubim, whose location was in the innermost sanctum of the Temple, hidden from human sight. Some scholars hold that the copper serpent in Jerusalem was set near "the stone of Zoheleth ("the crawler's [i.e., serpent's] stone"), which is beside En-Rogel" (I Kings 1:9), that is, outside the Temple enclosure. However, there are no grounds for connecting the copper serpent with the stone of Zoheleth. At the latter, sheep and oxen were sacrificed (*ibid.*), whereas only meal-offerings were offered to the copper serpent.

The account in Numbers 21:6–9 states that its form was that of a *saraf*, traditionally, a "fiery serpent." It probably had wings, for so *serafim* are described in the Bible (cf. Isa. 14:29; 30:6). Herodotus (2:75; 3:109) also states that in his day people told of the existence of flying serpents in the Arabian desert.

Some scholars assume that the copper serpent entered the Israelite cult as a Canaanite heritage and only popular belief ascribed it to Moses, but this is to assume that we know more about "popular" vs. "official" religion in ancient Israel than we do. (For the problem of "official" vs. "popular," see Berlinerblau.) M. Noth contends that this tradition is somewhat later than the others associated with the Exodus from Egypt, since it can only have arisen after David had captured Jerusalem. H. Gressmann suggested that Moses adopted the copper serpent from the Midianites, but this has been rejected by other scholars. Ackerman believes that Asherah was connected with serpents so that the destruction of Asherah and the serpent would likewise be connected. Note that Nehushta, a name similar to that of the serpent, was borne by the mother of King Jehoiakin (II Kings 24:8). For serpent iconography and the Bible, see Williams-Forte.

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[Menahem Haran / S. David Sperling (2nd ed.)]

NEḤUTEI (Aram. נָחוֹתֵאי, נְחוּתֵאי, *Nahutei*, sing. נְחוּתָא *Neḥuta*; "one who goes down"), rabbis who went from Ereẓ Israel academies to those of Babylonia, or vice-versa. The name was first applied to *Ulla, a native of Ereẓ Israel in the third century C.E. (TJ, Kil. 9:4, 32c). He was given this epithet because from time to time he "went down" from Ereẓ Israel to Babylonia and had discussions in Babylonia with the heads of its academies and its scholars. Rav *Ḥisda referred to Ulla as "our teacher who came down from Ereẓ Israel" (Ber. 38b: see *Dikdukei Soferim*). When he came to Babylonia, Ulla brought with him the halakhic and aggadic sayings of Johanan and Eleazar, the heads of the academy of Tiberias at that time. He also described the customs and ways of the Jews of Israel, and evoked historical memories and popular sayings current among them. He used to compare the customs current among the Jews of Babylonia with those current in Ereẓ Israel. Generally he gave preference to the customs of Ereẓ Israel, and more than once he uttered caustic comments about the Jews and scholars of Babylonia (Ta'an. 9b). In the first half of the fourth century the name *neḥutei* was given to a few scholars, born apparently in Babylonia, who traveled to the academies of Ereẓ Israel and brought back with them the teachings of its scholars. The best known of them were *Dimi, Samuel b. Judah, Rabin, and *Isaac b. Joseph. The purpose of their activity was to transmit the teachings of Ereẓ Israel to Babylonia, and vice versa. Through their activity, the texts of the Mishnah and the *beraitot* and their exact meaning were established, and the halakhic and aggadic sayings of the first *amoraim* of Ereẓ Israel, such as *Ḥanina, *Johanan, *Eleazar, and *Simeon b. Lakish in Tiberias and *Abbahu in Caesarea, and of the first *amoraim* of Babylonia, such as *Rav and *Samuel, *Huna and *Ḥisda, and others, were elucidated.

By their activities the *neḥutei* contributed to the cross-fertilization of the academies of Ereẓ Israel and Babylonia. Their words were tested in the academies and compared with parallel traditions, and in this way they attempted to arrive at the precise implication of the statements, their truth, and their reliability. In this manner the *neḥutei* made their contribution to the formation and elucidation of many topics in the Babylonian Talmud. As a result of the connections established by the *neḥutei* between the academies of Ereẓ Israel and Babylonia the mutual knowledge of the two large Jewish communities was increased, and so the Oral Law was prevented from developing separately with the two communities becoming two nations, alien one to another. The scholars mentioned were especially active in two academies – in Tiberias in Ereẓ Israel and in Pumbedita in Babylonia. References are found at times to the *neḥutei* informing Babylonia of various *halakhot* by means of letters (Git. 9b). These scholars were active until the middle of the fourth century C.E. In the opinion of *Sherira Gaon (*Iggeret*…, ed. B. Lewin, p. 61) their mission ceased because of the increase of restrictive edicts in Ereẓ Israel and the decrease of Torah there. The reference is apparently to the restrictive edicts of Constantius (377–361) in the 340s and 350s and the revolt by a section of the Jews of Ereẓ Israel against Gallus in 351.

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[Moshe Beer]

NE'ILAH (Heb. נְעִילָה), a worship service deriving from the ritual of the Second Temple, but subsequently recited only on the Day of Atonement as its concluding rite (see Ta'an. 4:1; Ta'an. 26b and TJ, Ta'an. 4:167c; TJ, Ber. 4:1, 7b–c; Yoma 87b and TJ, Yoma 8:8, 45c). It was originally recited on all public fast days, in addition to the Day of Atonement. It also concluded the daily **Ma'amadot*, where laymen from provincial communities prayed with their priestly delegates in Jerusalem. The full name of the service is *Ne'ilat She'arim* ("Closing of the Gates"), referring to the daily closing of the Temple gates. On the Day of Atonement this literal closing (*ne'ilat sha'arei heikhal*) was associated with the symbolic closing of the heavenly gates, which remained open to prayer until sunset (*ne'ilat sha'arei shamayim*). Throughout the year, according to the Talmud, *Ne'ilah* was recited one hour before sunset, when the Temple Gates were closed; on the Day of Atonement, because of its length, *Ne'ilah* did not begin until close to sunset. Once *Ne'ilah* was limited to the Day of Atonement, it began before twilight and ended at nightfall.

By the third century *Ne'ilah* consisted of an **Amidah* of seven benedictions, parallel to the other statutory services of the day. It likewise featured confession of sins. *Attah yode'a razei olam* ("Thou knowest the secrets of the world"), however, and **Al Ḥet* were replaced by two prayers unique to the confession in the *Ne'ilah* service: *Attah noten yad le-foshe'im* ("Thou stretchest forth Thy hand [in forgiveness] to sinners") and *Attah hivdalta enosh* ("Thou has distinguished man [from the beast]"). These recapitulate the biblical-talmudic doctrine that God eagerly forgives the truly penitent. In accordance with the rabbinic idea that the divine judgment, inscribed on *Rosh Ha-Shanah, is not sealed until the Day of Atonement ends, the word to "inscribe" (כתב, *ktv*) (in the Book of Life) is amended to "seal" (חתם, *ḥtm*). To set it off from the preceding *Minḥah* service, *Ne'ilah* is prefaced by *Ashrei* (Ps. 145) and *U-Va le-Ẓiyyon Go'el*, which ordinarily introduce *Minḥah*.

Ne'ilah was eventually embellished with sacred poetry, especially *Seliḥot*. Impressive melodies heightened the emotional impact of *Ne'ilah*. The central motif is exhortation to make a final effort to seek forgiveness before the heavenly gates close at sunset. Yet the overall tone is one of confidence, especially in the final litany. The service proper concludes with **Avinu Malkenu* and **Kaddish*. The entire ritual culminates in responsive proclamations of **Shema*, followed by *Barukh* *shem kevod malkhuto*, and "The Lord, He is God" (1 Kings 18:39). A single *shofar* blast announces the end of the "Sabbath of Sabbaths."

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[Herman Kieval]

NEILSON, JULIA (1868–1957), English romantic actress. Born in London, Julia was the daughter of Alexander Ritchie Neilson, a silversmith and jeweler, and Emily Davis, and was a cousin of three other well-known actresses of the Davis family, Lily Hanbury, Hilda Jacobson, and Nora Kerin. She made her first appearance(1888) in W.S. Gilbert's *Pygmalion and Galatea*, toured with Beerbohm Tree in 1889, and acted with him at the Theatre Royal, Haymarket, for five years. In 1890 she married Fred Terry, brother of the celebrated Ellen Terry. Julia became famous for her acting in such plays as *A Woman of No Importance, The Prisoner of Zenda, Sweet Nell of Old Drury,* and *The Scarlet Pimpernel*. Her greatest success was as Rosalind in *As You Like It* (1896). She visited the U.S. in 1895 and again in 1910. In 1900, she and her husband went into management and for the next 30 years played and toured with their own company. Both their children, Dennis (1895–1932) and Phyllis (1892–1977), acted under the name of Neilson-Terry. Neilson's memoirs, *This for Remembrance*, were published in 1940.

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NEIMAN, YEHUDAH (1931–), Israeli painter. Neiman was born in Warsaw. After immigrating to Ereẓ Israel in 1940, he studied painting in Tel Aviv and created stage designs for theaters but settled in Paris in 1954. From 1955 to 1965 he painted lyrical abstract paintings, concerning himself mainly with colors, by means of which he constructed his compositions of line, space, and light. At that time he was known as the leading "Luminist painter" because of his lyrical synthesis of space and light. In 1966, he made his first mechanical works using photographs which were printed on sheets of canvas or painted aluminum. This "photoméchanique," in which he was a master-artist, enabled him to multiply one photograph form and thus create a symmetrical composition. His art portrayed an erotic spirit, using different parts of the human body as subject matter and creating erotic suggestions in the composition. He applied this "photoméchanique" method to silkscreen and sculpture. Neiman held many exhibitions in Europe and Israel, and was represented at the "Erotic Art" exhibition in Sweden (1968), the "Mec-Art" exhibition in the Apollinaire Gallery, Milan (1969), and the Erotic Art exhibition in the Museum of Modern Art, Stockholm, in the same year.

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[Judith Spitzer]

NEIPRIS, JOSEPH (1918–1991), Israeli social worker. Neipris was born in Malden, Massachusetts. He served as a psychiatric social worker, and in 1950 settled in Israel, where in 1952 he became administrative director of the Lasker Mental Hygiene and Child Guidance Clinic. In 1968, he was appointed deputy director of the School of Social Work at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. Neipris was co-author of *The Individual and the Group* (1953) and the author of *Social Welfare and Social Services in Israel* (1981). He was the *Encyclopaedia Judaica* departmental editor for Jews in social welfare.

NEISSER, HANS PHILIPP (1895–1975), economist. Born into a distinguished professional family in Breslau, Germany, Neisser obtained a doctorate in jurisprudence from the University of Breslau. He served on various government economic commissions, was economic adviser to the Weimar government, and edited one of Germany's leading economic weekly magazines, *Wirtschaft* (1922 to 1927). In 1927 he began to teach at the University of Kiel and was at the same time director of the Institute for World Economy. Emigrating to the U.S. in 1933, he was professor of monetary theory at the University of Pennsylvania from 1933 to 1943, the first Jew to attain a position at that university. During the last two years of this period he headed the division of research at the U.S. Office of Price Administration in Washington. He was also research principal at the Institute of World Affairs (1943–51). From 1943 to 1965 he was professor of economics in the graduate faculty of the New School for Social Research in New York City, where he also served in a leadership capacity, including tenure as chairman of the department of economics, until his retirement. He then became professor emeritus (1965–75). Under his guidance, the New School became the first teaching institution in the metropolitan area to establish a training center for econometric study. Described as one of the most brilliant economic minds of his generation, Neisser focused mainly on general economic theory, international economics, and monetary and banking developments.

His publications include *Der Tauschwert des Geldes* (1928); *Some International Aspects of the Business Cycle* (1936); *National Incomes and International Trade* (with F. Modigliani, 1953); and *On the Sociology of Knowledge, an Essay* (1965).

[Joachim O. Ronall / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

NEIZVESTNY, ERNST (1926–), Russian sculptor and draughtsman. Neizvestny was one of the few living Russian artists whose work became known and admired in the West. This was largely the result of the admiration and advocacy of the English art critic John Berger, in whose opinion "Neizvestny is principally the first visual artist of genius to have emerged in the Soviet Union since the twenties." He came into prominence during the regime of Nikita Khrushchev. On a famous occasion Neizvestny argued with the Russian leader at the opening of an exhibition of advanced art he had organized in Moscow. Neizvestny's art is best when dealing with the human figure. He cast his bronzes personally in a small furnace, since access to a state foundry was denied him. Both his drawings and sculptures have a heroic quality, even willfully abstract. After Khruschev's deposition, a close friendship developed between the two and the headstone over Khrushchev's tomb in the Novodevichi cemetery in Moscow was carved by Neizvestny, in accordance with a wish expressed by Khrushchev before his death.

Neizvestny later immigrated to the United States after leaving the Soviet Union for Switzerland in 1976. He held exhibitions in many countries including Scandinavia, Italy, and Switzerland. His essays on art, literature, and philosophy, collected in *Space, Time and Synthesis in Art*, appeared in English in 1990. After the breakup of the Soviet Union he was commissioned to erect three Gulag memorials.

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[Charles Samuel Spencer]

°**NEKLYUDOV, NICOLAI ADRIANOVICH** (1840–1896), Russian criminologist, counselor to the Ministry of Justice. From 1877 Neklyudov served as member of the committee for the advancement of the economic status of the Jews. In 1880 he, together with V.D. Karpov (an official of the Ministry of Interior), submitted a memorandum to the committee refuting the charge that the Jews were engaged in unproductive activities and exploited the non-Jewish population. Neklyudov stood for the emancipation of the Jews, advocating the dissolution of the *Pale of Settlement. Such a step, he averred, would be advantageous to the non-Jewish population through the development of trade and commerce in the interior of Russia. At the same time he argued that "Reason does not justify placing a population of several millions in the same category as criminals." No action was taken on his proposal, as the committee was soon dismissed.

NELSON, BENJAMIN (1911–1977), U.S. sociologist. Born in New York, Nelson graduated in medieval history from Columbia University. He taught at the universities of Chicago and Minnesota and the State University of New York before taking the position of professor of sociology and history in the graduate faculty of the New School for Social Research in 1966. Nelson's chief interest was in the sociological approaches to history and in the sociology of psychoanalysis and the arts. He opposed theoretical and practical "uniformitarianism" in favor of studying varied cultural histories. For Nelson, history comprised not only all the great civilizations described in the historical record but also their interconnections and evolutions since the beginning of civilization itself. His later work emphasized the study of civilizational complexes and encounters, particularly comparisons between China and the West.

Nelson helped found the Society for the Scientific Study of Religion and served as its vice president from 1976. He also was president of the International Society for the Comparative Study of Civilizations from 1971 until his death.

Among his numerous publications are "The Legend of the Divine Surety and the Jewish Money Lender" (1939); *The Idea of Usury: From Tribal Brotherhood to Universal Otherhood* (1949); and *On the Roads to Modernity* (1981). He also edited *Freud and the Twentieth Century* (1958).

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[Werner J. Cahnman / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

NELSON, LEONHARD (1882–1927), German philosopher, a descendant of Moses Mendelssohn. Born in Berlin, he was baptized while a child. He became lecturer in philosophy in the faculty of natural sciences at Goettingen in 1909 and professor in 1919. He founded the "New Fries School," which, following J.F. Fries (1793–1873) and using psychological method, wanted to renew Kant's teaching, but on a basis entirely different from that of the Neo-Kantians. To provide a forum for this school, Nelson founded the "Discussion groups of the Fries School" (1904–08), and published many articles, the most famous of which is *"Die Unmoeglichkleit der Erkenntnistheorie"*; the English version of which appeared in the collection of his articles *Socratic Method and Critical Philosophy* (1949). His main interest was in ethics, and his own ethics are close to those of Kant but without sharing their severe pendantry. Nelson developed his ethics in *Vorlesungen ueber die Grundlagen der Ethik*, 3 vols. (1917–32). Volume 1 dealt with the bases of ethics, volume 2 with pedagogy, and volume 3 is devoted to the philosophy of law and politics. In politics Nelson was close to moderate Socialism, similar to that of Franz *Oppenheimer. The principles of society's existence cannot be surrendered to majority decisions, since this would abandon them to arbitrariness and chance, for one cannot be certain that the majority even knows what is best for it. His students issued some of his unpublished lectures, among them the great work *Fortschritte und Rueckschritte der Philosophie; von Hume und Kant bis Hegel und Fries* (1962), edited by Julius Kraft. A list of his works is to be found in *L. Nelson zum Gedaechtnis* (1953).

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[Samuel Hugo Bergman]

NELSON, LOUIS (1895–1969), U.S. labor leader. Born in Kharkov, Russia, Nelson immigrated to the United States with his family as a young child. He left school at the age of 12 to work in the needle trade, joining the Raincoat Makers' Union and then the Amalgamated Clothing Workers as a tailor. A member of the Young People's Socialist League and affiliated with the left wing of the Socialist movement, he was active in opposition to the Amalgamated leadership. He was expelled from Amalgamated in the early 1920s, became a dressmaker in a dress shop and worked with the dual, Communist-controlled union, the Needle Trades Industrial Union. Later he reappraised his own position and came to believe that the small shop, which he had supported, permitted employers to avoid enforcing union conditions and that the installation of machines had in fact preserved jobs in those shops where they were installed. Nelson rejoined the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union in 1931 and took an active part in the successful dressmakers' strike of 1933. In the following year he became manager of Local 155, the Knit Goods Workers' Union, an industrial local with a membership of under 1,000. As manager of this union for 35 years, Nelson built it up to one of the strongest and most responsible of the ILGWU locals and by 1969 it had a membership of about 14,000. In 1952 he was elected a vice president of the ILGWU and served in that post until his death.

Long interested in Yiddish culture and education, Nelson supported the Folksbine theater and the work of YIVO. By the 1960s the membership of Local 155 was no longer primarily Jewish but Nelson continued to arrange the appearance of Jewish artists and singers before the local's members. He was prime mover in the establishment of the Jewish Labor Committee. A non-Zionist, he supported the Bund position in regard to a Jewish state.

NEMEROV, HOWARD (1920–1991), U.S. poet and novelist. Nemerov was born in New York. His sister was Diane *Arbus, the photographer. He was educated at Harvard and served as a pilot in World War II. He was awarded the Pulitzer Prize (1978) and was the Poet Laureate from 1988 to 1990. His poetry is marked by a brooding, illuminating intelligence as well as comic irony and wit: for example, in "A Memory of My Friend," a "Jewish atheist stubborn as Freud" says to a departing guest, "… instead of 'Good night,' 'Go with God.'" His Judaism was secular though he did focus on themes drawn from Hebrew Scripture and Jewish history, as, for example, in "To the Babylonians" and "False Solomon's Seal," and in the poetic dramas, "Endor" and "Cain." He also brought Hebrew Scripture into the narrative allusiveness of the poem, as in "Small Moment," with its epigraphic reference to Isaiah 54:7, and in "The First Day." He wrote three novels: *The Melodramatists* (1949); *Federigo; or, The Power of Love* (1954); and *The Homecoming Game: A Novel* (1992). His *Collected Poems* were published in 1977; *A Howard Nemerov Reader*, in 1991.

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[Lewis Fried (2nd ed.)]

NÉMETH, ANDOR (1891–1953), Hungarian and French author and critic. From 1938 Németh lived in France, where he published *Kafka ou le mystère juif* (1947). His other works include a study of the empress Maria Theresa (1938). From 1947 until his death as a paralytic, Németh edited the Hungarian literary periodical, *Csillag*, also translating many works from English and French.

NEMETZ, NATHAN THEODORE (1913–1997), Canadian lawyer, judge, and community leader. Born in Winnipeg, Manitoba, Nathan Nemetz moved to Vancouver, British Columbia in 1923. He completed a history degree at the University of British Columbia (UBC) in 1934 and was called to the bar in 1937. Moved by the problem of high unemployment, Nemetz entered the field of labor law, eventually representing both the provincial government and numerous workers' associations as one of BC's top mediators. His strong social conscience also led Nemetz to an active pursuit of anti-discrimination work and inter-ethnic relations. During the 1950s he was a founding member of the Vancouver section of the Canadian Civil Liberties Union and a board member of the Vancouver Civic Unity Association, which successfully lobbied the provincial government to pass legislation making it illegal to discriminate in public places based on racial grounds. Nemetz was also active in the Jewish community. In addition to serving as president of the local chapter of B'nai B'rith and guiding much of the community relations work of the Pacific Region of the Canadian Jewish Congress, Nemetz was for many years the co-chairman of the Canadian Council of Christians and Jews. He was appointed to the BC Supreme Court in 1963 and was named chief justice in 1973. Between 1978 and 1988 he served in the province's top judicial position as chief justice of the BC Court of Appeal, doing much work to modernize the appeal process. Nemetz maintained a long association with the University of British Columbia, serving a term as chancellor from 1972 to 1975. Nemetz was named to the Order of British Columbia and was made a Companion of the Order of Canada, the nation's highest civilian award. Following his 1997 death, the Nathan T. Nemetz Chair in Legal History at the UBC Faculty of Law was endowed in his honor.

[Barbara Schober (2nd ed.)]

NEMIROV (Pol. **Niemirów**), town in Vinnitsa district, Ukraine. It was annexed by Russia after the second partition of Poland (1793), and was incorporated in the district of Podolia until the Russian Revolution. Under Polish rule it was a fortified city of considerable importance. A Jewish settlement in Nemirov is first mentioned in 1603. In the 1630s, Yom Tov Lipmann *Heller held rabbinical office there for a while. During the *Chmielnicki persecutions of 1648 thousands of Jews from other localities sought refuge in Nemirov; however, the city fell to the Cossacks, who massacred 6,000 Jews. The slaughter at Nemirov, one of the worst of that period, created a profound impression, becoming a symbol of all the terrible massacres the Jews suffered at the hands of cruel rioters. Reports and legends spread about the heroic acts of the Jews of Nemirov who chose martyrdom (see **Kiddush ha-Shem*) and rabbis and *paytanim* composed special *kinot* and *seliḥot* on the destruction of the community. At a meeting of the *Council of the Lands held in 1650, the anniversary of the massacre (20th of Sivan – 20 of June) was proclaimed a day of mourning and public fasting. Reports and legends spread about the heroic acts of the Jews of Nemirov who chose martyrdom (see **Kid-*

dush ha-Shem). Jews started to resettle there when the town was retaken by the Poles, and their situation was especially satisfactory under the Turkish rule over Podolia (1672–99). In the 18th and 19th centuries Jews owned a large distillery, dyeing factory, and hide-processing facilities. At the beginning of the 18th century the Great Synagogue was erected. Early in the 19th century, Nemirov became a center for the Ḥasidim of *Naḥman of Bratslav. In 1765, 602 Jewish poll-tax payers were registered; the Jewish population increased from 4,386 in 1847 to 5,287 (59.3% of the total population) in 1897. In 1917 a democratic community headed by the Zionists was established, but with the consolidation of the Soviet régime it was liquidated. During the Russian Civil War, the Jews also suffered, but they created an armed self-defense unit with their Christian neighbors and succeeded in averting a pogrom on January 19, 1918. There were 4,176 Jews (57.2% of the population) living in Nemirov in 1926, dropping to 3,001 (36.7% of the total population) in 1939. Between the wars a Yiddish school and orphanage operated in the town. Most of the Jews worked in artisans' cooperatives and dozen of families in a Jewish kolkhoz. The Germans took Nemirov on July 21, 1941, and created a ghetto. In November 1941 2,000 Jews were murdered, and 1,500 were executed on June 26, 1942. About 1,000 Jews who had been expelled to Nemirov from Transnistria were also murdered. The last group of skilled laborers was executed in April–August 1943.

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[Yehuda Slutsky]

NÉMIROVSKY, IRÈNE (1903–1942), French author. Born in Kiev to a well-to-do assimilated family, Némirovsky received an aristocratic education, speaking French at an early age. Her early years were marked by tragic experiences during the civil war in Russia (including a pogrom). Her father was a banker and the revolutionaries set a price on his head. The family hid in a Moscow apartment, until they could escape to Finland. They lived a year in Sweden and eventually settled in Paris, where the father gradually rebuilt his fortune. These experiences found their way, at least indirectly, into Némirovsky's novels. When she married and became a mother, she hoped to live in peace and happiness, but the Nazi occupation shattered all. She sought refuge with her family, in rural central France. She was denounced, arrested by the French police in 1942, and deported to Auschwitz, where she died, apparently of typhus.

Her first and best-known novel, *David Golder* (1930) won wide acclaim. The hero, a Russian Jewish banker, is a ruthless character, ready to sacrifice all in order to strengthen his financial empire. Having destroyed all human relationships, he faces ruin in utter loneliness. His one remaining shred of humanity, manifest in his devotion to an unworthy daughter, gives the elder Golder the strength to rebuild his fortune for her sake and die a grandiose, moving, solitary death.

This was followed by *Le Bal* (1930), a short novel and literary gem. *Les mouches d'automne* (1931) and *L'Affaire Courilof* (1933) illustrate the author's Russian vein. *Le vin de solitude* (1935) her most overtly autobiographical novel, describes her tragic childhood experiences and painful relations with her mother, a strange woman who rejected her daughter in her obsession to preserve her beauty, youth and glowing womanhood. The mother's obsession also forms the subject of *Jezabel* (1936).

As Nazi threats loomed Némirovsky wrote a true "Jewish novel," *Les chiens et les loups* (1939), which opens with a pogrom viewed through the eyes of two ghetto children, Ada and her cousin Ben. The two reach the beautiful and peaceful quarters of their rich cousins, where young Harry lives like a prince, heir to the banking empire of his uncles. As the story unfolds in a French setting, Harry, the wealthy assimilated immigrant, and Ben, the struggling refugee, ever wandering in anguish, realize that they are, in spite of all, identical Jewish brothers with distant roots set in a "peculiar way of loving, of desiring" some unattainable truth set in every Jewish heart. Ada, a painter, expresses the same yearning in the lonely pursuit of artistic creation.

While in hiding Némirovsky wrote *Les Feux de l'automne, La Vie de Tchekhov,* and *Les Biens de ce monde* (posthumously published after the war). She used an original narrative technique: the story builds itself, in the absence of any narrator. The events unfold according to their own implacable logic, leaving no place for the creator's narrative design, ideas, or appeals to pity.

[Marthe Robert]

NEMON, OSCAR (1906–1985), British sculptor. Nemon was born in Croatia, the son of a pharmaceutical manufacturer. He spent his early years training in Vienna, where he knew and modeled a bust of Sigmund Freud, and then studied art in Brussels. Nemon emigrated to Britain in 1939 and was naturalized in 1948. He lived most of the rest of his life in London. He became one of the best known sculptors of important political figures and other notables, and was especially famed for his monumental effigy of Winston Churchill. He also produced busts of Eisenhower, Montgomery, the British Royal family, and Margaret *Thatcher, among others.

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[William D. Rubinstein (2nd ed.)]

NEMOY, LEON (1901–1997), scholar and librarian. Born in Balta, Russia, Nemoy studied classical and Slavic languages at the University of Odessa. After moving to the U.S. in 1923, he studied Semitic languages at Yale University (1924–29), where he received his Ph.D. He served as a librarian at the Society for the Propagation of Knowledge, Odessa, Russia (1914–21), the Academic Library of Odessa (1919–21), and the University Library of Lvov, Poland (1922–23) before assuming his duties at Yale in 1923. Rising to the post of curator of Hebrew and Arabic literature at Yale's Sterling Memorial Library, he became the university's first Judaica and Arabic curator. During his tenure, Yale received the Alexander Kohut Memorial Collection of Judaica (1915 and 1935) and the Sholem Asch Collection (1946). The acquisition of these significant collections was instrumental in making Yale a center for the study of Jewish literature, history, and culture. Under Nemoy's direction, important Arabic manuscripts were acquired as well. Upon his retirement, Nemoy became scholar-in-residence at Dropsie University, Philadelphia, where he was editor of the *Jewish Quarterly Review.*

Nemoy's scholarly activities were mainly devoted to research on the history of the *Karaites. His major work is his edition of the Arabic text of al-*Kirkisānī's *Kitāb al-Anwār wa-al Maraqib* (5 vols., 1939–43). He also translated a valuable collection of Karaite texts into English from Arabic, Hebrew, and Aramaic (*Karaite Anthology*, 1952), with introduction and annotations. He also compiled *Arabic Manuscripts in the Yale University Library* (1956). Nemoy contributed numerous articles on Arabic philology, Karaite subjects, and the history of Jewish and Arabic medicine to various scholarly journals. He also published a catalog of the Hebrew and Yiddish books donated by Sholem *Asch to Yale (*Catalogue of Hebrew and Yiddish Manuscripts and Books from the Library of Sholem Asch*, 1945). Nemoy was one of the editors of the *Yale Judaica Series* and departmental editor for the *Encyclopaedia Judaica* on the Karaites.

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[Menahem Schmelzer / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

NEMȚEANU, BARBU (originally **Benjamin Deutsch**; 1887–1919), Romanian poet. Born in Galatz, Nemțeanu was the son of a teacher at the local Jewish elementary school. From 1907 onward his own verse, as well as translations of foreign poetry, appeared in Bucharest literary journals such as *Viața Nouă* and *Flacă+ra*, and the Jewish periodicals *Mántuirea* and *Lumea evree*. His collection of verses, *Stropi de soare* ("Drops of Sunshine", 1915) was warmly received by leading critics. Not a profound poet, he wrote lyrical verse about love and everyday life which was touched with light humor. He is better known for his translations from Victor Hugo, Baudelaire, Oscar Wilde, *Lessing, and, above all, *Heine, whose *Hebrew Melodies* appeared posthumously in his Romanian translation in 1919. He also translated Yiddish works by Eliezer *Steinberg and Jacob *Groper. Nemțeanu died of tuberculosis at the age of 32.

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[Abraham Feller]

NEO-ARAMAIC, general name for the various branches of spoken Aramaic, both western and eastern. Three groups of dialects are known. The first includes the dialects of Maʿlūla, a continuation of the western branch of Middle Aramaic, spoken by Christians and Muslims in three villages about 60 km. (38 mi.) north of Damascus. The second comprises the dialects spoken by Christians in the Ṭūr ʿAbdīn area in the Mardin region of southern Turkey. These dialects occupy an intermediate position between the first group and the third, the Aramaic dialects that are the continuation of the eastern branch of Middle Aramaic and are used in Kurdistan in the area on the common border of Iraq, Persia, and Turkey. Christians and Jews speak these dialects. Most of the Jews have immigrated to Israel; the Christians have spread out through the United States, Europe, and elsewhere. The recently discovered spoken dialect of the Mandeans in Persia has a special position in the third group.

The Jewish dialects can be divided into three groups:

(1) The dialects spoken in northwest Iraq (Iraqi Kurdistan). Important settlements are Nerwa, ʿAmadiya, Zāxō, and Dehōk, to which Jezira and Čalla (Çukurca) in Turkey should be added. The dialects of this group are particularly important for historical-linguistic study, since they clearly resemble Ancient Aramaic, in pronunciation, forms, and vocabulary.

(2) (Persian) Azerbaijan. Important settlements are Salmas (Shahpur), Urmia (Rizaiyah), Naǵada (Solduz), Ushnuiyeh (Šinno), to which Bašqala in Turkey should be added.

(3) Persian Kurdistan. Important settlements are Sablaǵ (Mahabad), Saqqiz, Bokan, Bana, and Senna, and the Iraqi towns of Rawanduz, Irbil, Sulaymaniya (before Iraq was established as an independent political entity after World War I, it was part of the Ottoman Empire). The southernmost Aramaic-speaking settlement is Kerend.

From the Middle Ages Jews are known to have spoken Aramaic in Kurdistan. Some scholars hold that Aramaic was not the original language of some of these Jews, but that they adopted it after their emigration (from Persia?) to the Aramaic-speaking areas. Perhaps not all the Jews from this area spoke Aramaic. The census takers did not distinguish between Jews who spoke Aramaic and those who spoke other languages. It appears that in the cities where Arabic (or Turkish) rule was strong the Jews adopted the language of their surroundings, after a period of bilingualism. Jews from places where, according to travelers, Aramaic was still spoken in the 19th century, did not bring this language with them to Israel. Immigrants from Irbil exemplify this process: both Arabic and Aramaic are the everyday language of the older generation.

When the State of Israel was established the total number of Aramaic-speaking Jews was estimated at 20,000; most of them are now in Israel, grouped largely according to their provenance. The Jews (especially from Persia and Turkey) have called their language the "language of the Targum." Other names are "the language of the Jews," "our language," and "Jabali." In Israel this language is commonly called Kurdi, even though this is the scientific name for the Iranian language of the Muslim Kurds. It seems that rabbinic scholars on rare occasions called this language Aramaic, as can be seen in two manuscripts, one from the beginning of the 18th century, the other from the beginning of the 20th. The scientific name given this language is "Northeastern Neo-Aramaic" or "modern Syriac" (the latter suitable to the Christian dialects). The Christians who use this language consider Syriac the language from which their language evolved, but there is no linguistic proof for this contention.

From the historical-linguistic point of view it is assumed that the eastern dialects of Neo-Aramaic developed from a language similar to Babylonian talmudic Aramaic and Mandaic, but there are no documents extant in this language since it was not used as a literary vehicle. Similarly, the exact connection between eastern Neo-Aramaic and the Aramaic of the Babylonian Jews before they began speaking Arabic is unknown.

An idea may be obtained of some of the major features of these dialects by a description of the dialect as spoken in Zāxō, which is of particular importance for historical-linguistic study.

Phonology

The glottal stop, ʾ, parallels three consonants of Ancient Aramaic, גֿ, ע, א. ʾ from ע (or גֿ) is always retained, while the ʾ from א is liable to disappear in certain situations: *ʾurxa* ("road"), *burxa* ("on the road") as against *ʾisra* ("ten") and *bʾisra* ("by ten"). This is important in determining the etymological origin of a particular ʾ. ח is pronounced as *x* (= כֿ).

The phonemes of *b, g, d, k, p, t* which in Ancient Aramaic, as in Hebrew, had two variants each, have attained phonemic status in the modern dialects for each of their variants. The spirantized and *dageš* forms appear in all environments and are not conditioned by the accepted rules of Ancient Aramaic, for example, the ת of שתי, יתב is always given the hard pronunciation, even though it was spirantized in Ancient Aramaic under certain conditions.

The following is the transposition of *b, g, d, k, t* in Neo-Aramaic: בֿ = *w*; גֿ (through ע) = ךְ; כֿ = *x*; דֿ = *z*; תֿ = *s*. The different pronunciations of דֿ and תֿ in the various dialects serve as a criterion for differentiating them.

As in Eastern Syriac, the phoneme פ is always pronounced *p*. In all the Jewish dialects, however, *f* is found only in loanwords, while in most of the Christian dialects *f* is replaced by *p*.

Neo-Aramaic dialects

Anc. Aram.	Zāxō	Dehōk	ʿAmadiya	Urmia	Irbil
ידֿא "hand"	ʾīza	ʾīḏa	ʾīda	īda	īla
ביתֿא "house"	bēsa	bēṯa	bēṯa	bēla	bēla

In loanwords the phonemes ʾ, ḥ, ʿ, ġ, č, j, are also found. The diphthongs in Ancient Aramaic have become monophthongized: *ay* > *ē* (בַּיְתָא > *bēsa*), *aw* > ō (יָוְמָא > *yōma*). The same is true for diphthongs originating in Neo-Aramaic as a result of the בֿ > w shift: חָבֿלָא *xōla*. The doubling of consonants has largely been eliminated and replaced by the lengthening of the preceding vowel, as יַמָּא > *jāma*.

Morphology

The new status constructus is formed by adding the suffix *it* to the noun base: *baxta* ("a woman"); *baxtit axōna* ("the brother's wife"). In the plural there is no differentiation of gender in adjectives, pronouns, or the verb, as: *gōra sqīla* ("A handsome man"), *baxta sqïlta* ("a beautiful woman"); *gūrē sqīlē* ("handsome men"), *baxtāsa sqīlē* ("beautiful women"). There is only one set of possessive pronouns suffixed to the nouns (both the singular and the plural).

The verb differs radically from Ancient Aramaic both in form and in content. Whereas in Ancient Aramaic the tense system has two parts (past and future), in Neo-Aramaic it is tripartite: past, present, and future. The prefixed and suffixed forms which in Ancient Aramaic were perfect and imperfect have been replaced by other forms. The form *šāqïl* (שָׁקִל in Ancient Aramaic = active participle) is a subjunctive. It is conjugated by adding the enclitic pronouns. *Šāqil* refers to the actor and the recipient of the act is indicated by-*l*- plus pronominal suffixes, e.g., *šāqïllē* ("that he will take"). The present is formed by prefixing *g/k* to *šāqïl* (*gzamir,* "he plays"); the future by prefixing *b/p* to this form (*bzāmïr,* "he will play").

Šqīl (= שְׁקִיל, the passive participle) is the basis of the past and the recipient of the action. The actor is indicated by-*l*- plus personal suffixes: *šqilē* ("he took"), *šqilālē* ("he took her"), *šqililē* ("he took them").

Neo-Aramaic has also introduced compound tenses which indicate different aspects (continuous action and perfect). The infinitive *šqāla* (*bi* usually precedes the infinitive of the first conjugation) plus the copula produce the continuous present: *bïšqāla lē* ("he is taking"). The form *šqīla*, conjugated according to gender and number, with the copula, forms the present perfect: *šqīlā lē* ("he has taken"), *šqïltā lā* ("she has taken"), *šqīlē lū* ("they have taken"). By adding the suffix *wa* every tense can be cast one degree into the past: *gšaqïlwa* ("he used to take"), *šqïlwālē* ("he had taken").

There are only three conjugations which parallel *qal*, *pael*, and *afel*. The reflexive conjugations that were used in Ancient Aramaic to express the passive are not found in Neo-Aramaic where the passive is formed with the passive participle plus an auxiliary verb.

Especially noteworthy is the syntax of the copula. In a sentence whose predicate is not a verb, the predicate is formed through the addition of the copula, as: *baxta sqïlta* ("a beautiful woman"), *baxta sqïlta lā* ("the woman is beautiful").

Neo-Aramaic was greatly influenced by the neighboring languages. The impact of Kurdish seems to have been especially strong in the early stages of the language and there are those who attribute the changes in the verb to it. As in all Jewish languages there are many words from Hebrew, especially in the sphere of tradition, which were absorbed in Jewish Aramaic: סעודה (!), ברכה, גזירה, מצוה, נשמה, etc.

Writing

The Jews use the Hebrew alphabet in writing their language and they add certain diacritical signs to represent the missing consonants. In the earliest known manuscripts (17th century, north Iraq) the long vowels are indicated by *matres lectionis*: א = *ā*; ‘י’= *ī* or *ē* (final *ē* by ‘ or ה/יה’); *waw* for short and long *u* and *o*. In later manuscripts the system was not consistently maintained, vocalization also being used for this purpose.

The use of Neo-Aramaic as a written language was limited to certain literary types intended to be read in the synagogue both during prayers and apart from it: *tafsirs* (elaborated translations) of *haftarot* and *piyyutim*; Midrashim for some of the *parashiyyot*; the midrashic Targum of Song of Songs, etc. Hebrew is used for secular purposes. It seems that the epic poems on biblical themes and the Targum in different dialects were first transcribed in Israel through the efforts of Joseph Joel *Rivlin.

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[David Cohen]

NEO-FASCISM. Neo-Fascism lends itself to an exact definition even less than *Fascism, its ideological progenitor. In the postwar world all radical right-wing movements, irrespective of their doctrinal contents and differences – except those explicitly aiming at the restoration of an antisemitic, racialist, Nazi-type dictatorship (see *Neo-Nazism) – are commonly referred to as "neo-Fascist." They share an attitude of extreme, militant nationalism; a belief in authoritarian rather than democratic government; and a total rejection of socialist, particularly Marxist, dogma with its underlying universalist and egalitarian ethos. Inhabiting the social periphery between the middle and the working class, Neo-Fascism appeals mostly to those deprived of their former independent status (as artisans, white-collar workers, small-holders, craftsmen, etc.) by the growth of an urban, industrialized society and driven to xenophobia and hostility toward minority groups, which they believe to have either caused their social and economic decline or contributed to it. Hatreds vary according to demographic conditions. In the United States and Britain, Neo-Fascist movements have a strong anti-color bias, whereas similar French groups in the 1950s and early 1960s were anti-Algerian, and in Switzerland these prejudices inspired agitation against alien workers. Antisemitism is almost always implicit in such attitudes and it can easily become, as in the case of the Argentinian Tacuara or the Swedish Nordiska Rikspartiet (Nordic Realm Party), an ideological focal point. In the West, the shock of the Nazi Holocaust militated after World War II against the spread of Neo-Fascist movements, particularly obsessively antisemitic ones; however, the Israel-Arab *Six-Day War (1967) modified this trend. Formerly disreputable antisemitic prejudices relabeled "anti-Zionism" became respectable again when disseminated by the Communist establishment, the *New Left, and Black Power activists. Arab anti-Israel propaganda agencies, until 1967 associated with the extreme right, have since – and without breaking their Neo-Fascist links – been courted and supported by the radical left as well.

Neo-Fascism survived best in Italy. The Movimento Sociale Italiano (MSI) obtained close to 1,500,000 votes (5.2% of the total poll) in the 1970 provincial elections, sending 32 deputies to the regional councils. However, neither occasional swastika-daubing forays into Rome's old ghetto (1958, 1960) nor parliamentary representation dating back to the early 1950s elevated the MSI to a significant position. Further to the right, the minuscule Ondine Nuovo (New Order), formed by activist dissidents from the MSI, is a terrorist, but otherwise negligible, force, cultivating links with like-minded European "New Order" movements. Prince Valerio Borghese, a former honorary MSI president, founded the militant National Front which made an abortive attempt to overthrow the government (December, 1970). In France the horrors of Nazi occupation inhibited the revival of overtly Fascist movements. Efforts by the Sidos brothers to channel resentments brought about by the loss of empire (Indochina, North Africa) into the Neo-Fascist Jeune Nation failed, while the less clearly defined anti-establishment campaign of Pierre Poujade won 60 parliamentary seats (1956). Both his party and the anti-Gaullist extremists of the Algérie-Française OAS had Fascist and antisemitic overtones, but neither survived the nationalist appeal of de Gaulle's presidency. In the post–de Gaulle era, Ordre Nouveau, the successor organization to the Occident (banned 1968), gained some notoriety for militancy and street-fighting.

Neo-Fascism also failed to prosper in postwar England. Sir Oswald Mosley's once-powerful British Union Fascists, renamed British Union, had dwindled into irrelevance. A number of extremist organizations like the Empire Loyalists, the British National Party, and the Racial Preservation Society (whose street-fighting propensities gained them brief notoriety in the early 1960s), combined in 1967 to form the National Front, without, however, making any impact on national politics. In the 1970 general election the Front put up ten candidates, none of whom polled more than 1,600 votes. In the United States old-style primitive antisemitism flourished among such movements as the Ku Klux Klan and the Christian Crusader, while the more sophisticated John Birch Society vented their anti-Jewish resentments on the "liberal establishment" represented as being predominantly Jewish. The Klans, Crusaders, and Birchists were typically U.S. phenomena; lacking any party organization able to attain power, they cannot be regarded as true neo-Fascists.

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[Ernest Hearst]

NEOLOGY (**Neologism**), unofficial name of the communities in Hungary belonging to the *Reform movement. On the basis of the decisions of the General Jewish Congress (1868–69; see *Hungary), they constituted the majority and therefore called themselves the Congressionals. Reform tendencies had already appeared in the community organizations of Hungary from the beginning of the 19th century. Some were expressed in programs like that of Rabbi A.L. Rappoch (from the town of Veszprem, 1826) which called for centralization and supervision in the choice of rabbis, teachers, and communal officials. At about the same time Aaron *Chorin urged the convention of a synod of rabbis and laymen. From 1850 the Austrian government sought to assure the supervision of Jewish schools in Hungary. At that time a commission was set up to draft a constitution of 285 articles encompassing every aspect of Jewish communal life. One of the demands was for the establishment of a rabbinical seminary, which became one of the main questions of reform that led to the disputes between the communities of *Nagykanizsa, *Papa, Gyöngyös, and others.

The organizational activities of the advocates of Reform aroused the energetic but disunited opposition of *Orthodoxy, expressed particularly in the decisions of the *Michalovce Orthodox convention (1865). After the attainment of full civil rights (1867), the leaders of Pest, the most powerful Neologist community, took the initiative of preparing a memorandum on the organization of Hungarian Jewry which they submitted to the Minister of Public Instruction and Religious Affairs, Baron J. *Eötvös. They suggested that a convention of the delegates of Hungarian Jewry be held without the participation of the rabbis, in order to prevent a debate on theological questions and because the latter were liable to intervene beyond the scope of their function. This approach, which aroused the objections not only of the Orthodox but also of the Neologist Leopold *Loew, became one of the fundamental platforms in the organization of Neologist communities. Differences of opinion were already apparent at the congress's preliminary meeting, to which Orthodox delegates were not invited. In their discussions with Eötvös, the Orthodox requested permission to convene a separate congress, but Eötvös rejected any move which was liable to imply that there were two sects within Judaism. Subsequently, however, it was decided that rabbis would also be invited to the congress. The elections, which were held after extensive propaganda and not always by valid processes, assured a Neologist majority with 57.5% of the vote (the Orthodox gained 42.5%). At the end of 1868 Minister Eötvös opened the congress, whose principal theme was the organizational structure of the communities. Violent disputes broke out at once over the determination of the objectives of debates. While the Neologists tried to define the community as "a society providing for religious needs," the Orthodox insisted on the declaration that "the Jewish community of Hungary and Transylvania consists of the followers of the Mosaic-rabbinic faith and commands as they are codified in the Shulḥan Arukh." The question of the rabbinical seminary, which was to be financed by the "school fund" granted by Francis Joseph I from the fine paid by the Jews of Hungary after the 1848 Revolution, was also a much disputed one. In the end, 48 of the 83 Orthodox delegates walked out and the decisions of the congress were ratified. The Orthodox, however, succeeded in organizing themselves, obtaining the authorization of the emperor. On several occasions the Neologists endeavored without success to convene another congress. Finally a meeting was held in 1935 (at which only the Neologists were represented). In 1950, on the instructions of the Communist government, a decision on the unification of Hungarian communities was passed.

The attempts of the Neologists to amalgamate with the Orthodox were to no avail. The hope of establishing this union caused the Neologists not only to refrain from introducing drastic reforms in the prayers and religious services (with the exception of the question of the organ and the pulpit, which was removed from the center of most synagogues) but also to adopt a distinctly conservative orientation, particularly in the district synagogues of the capital. There is no doubt that this preserved the unity of Hungarian Jewry in spite of the ideological split. The hoped-for ideological consolidation of the Neologist camp did not materialize either and many differences remained. As early as 1848 a circle of the younger members and even some important personalities of the Pest community sought to establish a Reform synagogue, but the community, which had already alienated itself from Orthodoxy, wished to prevent a complete split; it therefore obtained from the authorities a liquidation order against the small Reform organization (1852). In 1884 a number of individuals once more attempted to establish a Reform community. However, the national office of the Neologists intervened to deny them this right. Some stood for a liberal orientation, and for the adoption of the conservative ideology (1943). The ideological consolidation was hindered by the special organization of the communities. These contradictions were particularly evident after World War I, when the community became the sole focal point for the social activities of those who had been estranged from Judaism over a lengthy period and were attracted by communal life only because they were excluded from general society. These extreme assimilationists prevented Zionism from penetrating the communities.

During the period of Hungarian Jewry's utter isolation from the social and economic life of the country (1938–44), there was a great awakening within the Neologist communities. Their educational and charitable activities were extended until they were among the most developed in the sphere of widespread mutual assistance (where they also collaborated with the Orthodox). When the communities were reorganized after World War II, they were imbued with Zionism and a readiness to maintain relations with world Jewry, but this evolution was halted with the official prohibition of Zionist and foreign relations activities in 1949.

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[Baruch Yaron]

NEO-NAZISM, a general term for the related fascist, nationalist, white supremacist, antisemitic beliefs and political tendencies of the numerous groups that emerged after World War II seeking to restore the Nazi order or to establish a new order based on doctrines similar to those underlying Nazi Germany. Some of these groups closely adhered to the ideas propounded in Hitler's *Mein Kampf*; others espoused related beliefs deriving from older Catholic, nationalist, or other local traditions. Some openly embraced the structure and aspirations of the Third Reich by displaying swastika flags and glorifying Nazi achievements, while others sought to mask their ideology and agenda. Neo-Nazi activity has surged and declined in unpredictable waves in Germany, France, England, Russia, the Scandinavian countries, the United States, Canada, South Africa, and elsewhere. In April 1993, after a series of incidents, the Italian government passed an emergency measure aimed at punishing racial, ethnic, and religious discrimination. The Mancino Law (Law No. 205) permits prosecution of individuals who incite violence using a broad range of methods, including displaying symbols of hate, such as swastikas. Hundreds of youths have since been convicted under the law. In February 2005, European Union ministers agreed to continue a long-term debate over the regulation of racism and xenophobia. Among the proposals under consideration is making it punishable by law to deny the Holocaust or other crimes against humanity.

Why do people become neo-Nazis? In the 1980s, social scientists began to move beyond notions of deviance and psychopathology to theories of social mobilization that see people who join any social movement – even neo-Nazis – as motivated by shared grievances shaped by social circumstances, recruited by face-to-face interaction, and focused on goals that seem practical and reachable.

Major factors in the global neo-Nazi upsurge included unstable economic, political, and social conditions, with their many causes – including, in the 1970s, simultaneous inflation and recession caused in great part by dependence on Arab oil; the disruptions of globalization and the collapse of the Soviet empire; waves of nonwhite immigration into Europe (from places formerly ruled or dominated by Europeans) and the United States; the constant threat of war, especially in the Middle East and the Persian Gulf; and the continued sense among white men that they were losing power and prestige in areas ranging from world affairs to their living rooms to their relations with women. In the United States, racial issues, not resolved in the 1960s, took the form of conflict over school desegregation, affirmative action, social welfare provision, and government social spending in general. Moreover, the failure of the Vietnam War, based on untenable Cold War premises, produced an atmosphere of political and cultural resentment on the right that became increasingly strong over time.

Leaders of neo-Nazi groups skillfully exploited the anxieties caused by these and other factors. The worldview of neo-Nazis is shaped by the way leaders frame issues and use narrative stories. While most neo-Nazi frames and narratives are based on myths, demonization, and scapegoating, this does not make them less effective in building a functional identity for individuals, even if they come from dysfunctional families. This process allowed neo-Nazis to adapt to changing historic conditions and expand their targets beyond Jews and black people.

Neo-Nazis were among the earliest users of online computerized networks in the 1980s, and surged onto the Internet with hundreds of websites allowing for the mass distribution of hate material, including claims that America was controlled by "ZOG," the Zionist Occupation Government, in Washington, D.C. As the gay rights movement grew, so did neo-Nazi attacks on gay men and lesbians. In response to the feminist movement, neo-Nazis crafted new roles and avenues for participation by women, while preserving a dominant role for men. Women were still placed on a pedestal with one arm around their children protecting hearth and home, but now they were expected to use the other arm to cradle an automatic weapon. Three other significant ideological innovations among neo-Nazi groups are "Third Position" neo-Nazism, Skinhead neo-Nazism, and neo-Nazi theologies built around hybrids of religion such as Protestantism and Paganism.

One group of neo-Nazis which denounces both capitalism and communism occupies what it calls the Third Position. This merges the early Nazi Party left wing's National Socialism with "revolutionary" white supremacy and opposes both globalization and multiculturalism. It calls for local economic cooperatives, support for the working class, and ecologically sound policy using populist "voelkisch" rhetoric. Third Position National Socialist parties have been organized in Japan, Iran, Scotland, Russia, Lithuania, and the United States, among other countries.

Nonracist Skinheads originated in the late 1960s as a multiracial working class youth subculture in Britain built around black music imported by immigrants from former Caribbean colonies. The neo-Nazi National Front helped convert the skinhead movement into a vehicle of white rage built around racism and violence. In the mid-1980s the movement jumped to continental Europe and the United States through the music of racist bands such as Skrewdriver; skinheads in the U.S.A. then split into racist and anti-racist factions.

A hybrid of Protestant Christianity with neo-Nazi racialism produced the Christian Identity movement in the United States, discussed below. A more widespread phenomenon was the rise of pagan neo-Nazis in the 1990s, built around racist forms of Norse religious traditions: Odinism, Ásatrú, and Wotanism. This drew on Nazi fascination with Aryanism and esoteric religions. These groups appealed primarily to youth.

Bridges to the Mainstream

Starting in the 1970s, a trend of conservative, right-wing populist, ethnonationalist, and neofascist challenges to sitting centrist or social democratic governments allowed right-wing groups a degree of legitimacy they did not possess in the immediate post-World War II era. In response neo-Nazi groups have developed a variety of ways to build bridges to more mainstream political and social movements. Some neo-Nazis repackage their beliefs as forms of "White Nationalism" or "White Separatism," hiding behind broader racist movements for "White Rights," with alliances spanning Europe and North America. At the same time, Europe, North America, the Middle East, and South Asia saw the development of numerous right-wing populist political parties and reactionary fundamentalist religious movements that served to bridge the extreme right to the mainstream.

In several countries neo-Nazis (sometimes in alliance with quasifascist or xenophobic right-wing populist allies) became more involved in electoral politics, stressing anti-immigrant and sometimes antisemitic themes. Rather than simply staging street demonstrations, they ran for office, with surprisingly good results in some instances. According to the political scientist Cas Mudde, between 1980 and 1999 over 50 European extreme-right political parties ran candidates in Austria, Belgium, Denmark, France, Germany, Greece, Italy, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, and the United Kingdom.

This interaction has created a dynamic in which antisemitic ideas and conspiracy theories once circulated almost exclusively by German Nazis and their neo-Nazi offspring entered popular culture, mainstream political debate, and even broadcast television series, especially in Islamic and Arab countries in the Middle East. These even included a revival of the false allegations from *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion*. These conspiracy allegations moved into more mainstream circles through bridging mechanisms that often mask the original overtly anti-Jewish claims by using coded rhetoric about "secret elites" or "Zionist cabals." The international organization run by Lyndon LaRouche is a major source of such masked antisemitic theories globally. In the U.S. the LaRouchites spread these conspiracy theories in an alliance with aides to Minister Louis Farrakhan of the Nation of Islam. A series of LaRouchite pamphlets calls the neoconservative movement the "Children of Satan," which links Jewish neoconservatives to the historic rhetoric of the blood libel. In a twisted irony, the pamphlets imply the neoconservatives are the real neo-Nazis.

Another way neo-Nazis launder antisemitic conspiracy theories is through *Holocaust denial, the attempt to "prove" that the Holocaust was a fiction and that the Nazis never used gas chambers to exterminate Jews. The international clearinghouse for this movement is the California-based Institute for Historical Review (IHR), founded in 1979, which held its first conference on "Historical Revisionism" that same year. IHR, publisher of the *Journal of Historical Revisionism*, was established by Willis Carto, founder of the Liberty Lobby and a figure long associated with organizing and propagandizing projects involving neo-Nazi, pro-Hitler, antisemitic and extreme-right alliances. Carto later lost control of IHR in a lawsuit, but started a new denial publication, the *Barnes Review*, edited by former IHR staff members. Holocaust denial also persists in France, where a scandal in the late 1970s was caused by the claims of Professor Robert Faurisson. In Britain, author David Irving sued American historian Deborah Lipstadt in the late 1990s for calling him a Holocaust denier. In 2000 Irving lost the case (see *Irving v. Lipstadt), which gained international headlines. Irving had previously appeared at an IHR conference, and Faurisson and other IHR advisors testified along with Irving on behalf of Canadian Holocaust denier Ernst Zundel.

Neo-Nazis often use Holocaust denial material along with anti-Jewish conspiracy theories, sometimes coming up with grotesque slogans. Neo-Nazis not only blamed the 1973–74 oil crisis on a Jewish conspiracy, but in the U.S. they distributed literature that proclaimed "burn Jews, not oil!" This approach was repeated during the 1990 Gulf War, which saw the extension of a rhetorical device in which Jews, Zionism, Israel, and Israeli government policies were conflated into a conspiracist stew serving up the Israeli spy agency Mossad as the secret power behind world affairs. Thus echoes from the *Protocols* moved from neo-Nazis into wider circles, including some pro-Palestinian organizers and left-wing antiwar activists. After the terror attacks in New York and Washington on September 11, 2001, some neo-Nazi groups praised the terrorists for striking a blow against this global conspiracy.

[Jack Nusan Porter and Chip Berlet (2nd ed.)]

Post–World War II, 1945–1970

Neo-Nazism in Germany came to be identified with antisemitic, ultranationalist, extreme right-wing movements, whether made up of old or new Nazis. In Germany, incitement to race hatred, as well as any attempt to resuscitate the Nazi Party, were and are explicitly outlawed by the constitution and the criminal laws of the German Federal Republic (as they were by the German Democratic Republic); no party overtly attempting to revive Nazism can legally exist there. Without seriously threatening the still fragile West German democracy (in East Germany such political tendencies were severely repressed), a number of such movements gained some short-lived popularity and notoriety. The first to draw ex-Nazis into a political party, if somewhat unwittingly, was Alfred Loritz, a confused demagogue with an anti-Nazi record. His Bavarian Economic Reconstruction Association, founded in 1945 with U.S. consent, denounced Allied policies and articulated the widespread economic discontent of the pre-"economic-miracle" era. The "blonde Hitler," as he was sometimes called, frightened the young republic and the world at large when he gained 14.4 percent of the vote in his native Bavaria, winning 12 seats in the Bundestag, in the first West German general election in 1949. The lack of positive policies, however, coupled with internal dissension, rent the party asunder long before the following general election of 1953, in which it failed to gain a single seat.

Similarly spectacular and ominous was Fritz Dorls' deliberate attempt to revive Nazism through the Socialist Reich Party (SRP). Its leadership was made up entirely of old Nazis, the most prominent of whom was the deputy chairman, Otto-Ernst Remer, the Wehrmacht officer who successfully thwarted the July 20, 1944, plot against Hitler. Apart from distributing antisemitic election leaflets reminiscent of *Der Stuermer*, the SRP even boasted a gang organized on storm-troop lines, the so-called Reichsfront. In 1951 when the SRP gained 11 percent of the Lower Saxony vote, an alarmed federal government contested the party's legality before the Constitutional Court. Declared illegal as an attempt to reestablish the proscribed Nazi Party, this particular specter of resurgent Nazism disappeared. It reappeared a year later when the British arrested Dr. Naumann, one of Goebbels' top-ranking officials, whose plot to subvert the respectable Free Democratic Party by infiltrating ex-Nazis into key positions was well on the way to succeeding.

In the 1960s the spectacular and unexpected success of the NPD (National Democratic Party of Germany) aroused worldwide fears of a Nazi revival. Founded in 1965 by Adolf von Thadden to unite the hitherto splintered and ineffectual "nationalist opposition," the party shocked German and world opinion when in the 1966–67 *Land* (state) elections it gained admission to a number of *Land* parliaments (*Landstagen*) by substantially exceeding the required 5 percent of the vote. Careful not to fall afoul of the Constitutional Court, the NPD, run largely by ex-Nazis, appealed to exactly the same prejudices and national self-assertion to which Germans responded so overwhelmingly in the Hitler era. Jews were not openly denigrated, but the state of Israel and its policies were viciously attacked. The "domination by alien big powers," reminiscent of the Nazi fiction of a "Judeo-Marxist world conspiracy," was denounced, as were references to Nazi crimes. The party manifesto demanded "an end to the lie of Germany's exclusive guilt which serves to extort continuously thousands of millions from our people," apparently a reference to restitution and compensation payments to Israel and individual Jews. Beset like its predecessors by internecine leadership struggles and lacking forward-looking policies, the NPD failed to gain the qualifying 5 percent in the 1969 general election. This failure led to a crisis of confidence, which resulted in the party's losing its seats in the various *Landstagen* after the 1970 elections. At that time it was doubtful whether neo-Nazism still commanded a politically meaningful potential, although the phenomenon still lingered on in violently "anti-Israel" weeklies like the *Deutsche National Zeitung* and in the publications of ex-Reich press chief Suedermann's Druffel Verlag and similar publishing houses.

In Austria, neo-Nazism lacked the organizational framework or a sufficiently numerous following to qualify as a politically relevant force. Among the minuscule groupings more or less openly committed to propagating Nazi ideas and extolling Nazi achievements, Theodor Soucek's Sozialorganische Bewegung Europas (SOBRE) was perhaps the most noteworthy in the early 1950s. It tried to coordinate efforts of Nazi collaborators and sympathizers in the former occupied territories to revitalize the Hitlerian "new order" in the context of the then emerging Europe. SOBRE enjoyed the support of Konrad Windisch, one of the founders of the Bund Heimattreuer Jugend (BHJ, Federation of Homeland-Faithful Youth), whose initials HJ, recalling the Hitler Jugend (Hitler Youth), proclaimed its ideological lineage and identification. Despite the insignificance of these movements, residual antisemitism and subliminal Nazi sympathies seemed to be more widespread in Austria than in Germany; thus the marked reluctance of Austrian authorities to prosecute and of juries to convict such war criminals and Eichmann aides as Murer, Novak, or Raiakovic, and the parsimoniousness of Austrian restitution.

Argentina figured prominently in the Nazis' plans to save the movement and themselves after defeat. This tied in well with President Juan Peron's dreams of Argentinean hegemony based on a modernized army and an independent armaments industry, which the Nazi experts were to develop. Nazis headed nuclear research institutes, while World War II air aces like Rudel and Galland advised the Argentinean air force and Professor Tank, a German jet designer, started an Argentinean aircraft industry. Eichmann and others prominent in the Final Solution (Klingenfuss, Rademacher, and Mengele) found sanctuary, while Johannes von Leers, head of an anti-Jewish department in Goebbels' Propaganda Ministry, became an adviser to Peron. Moreover, the Nazi gospel continued to be preached in German in *Der Weg* (Buenos Aires) and other Duerer Verlag publications. After Peron's fall

(1955), some of these fugitives moved to Egypt (a Nazi sanctuary since 1945), where military needs and anti-Israel, antisemitic resentments offered them scope. Years later the efforts of ex-Nazis to develop Egyptian jet engines, supersonic fighters, and rockets (the Messerschmidt, Brandner, and Pilz teams) caused greater international consternation than the activities of von Leers and SS General Bender in the Egyptian Ministry of National Guidance or of the former Gestapo chief Sellman as a police adviser on "anti-Jewish action."

[Ernest Hearst]

Into the Present, 1970–2006

The interaction among right-wing populist movements, quasi-fascist political parties and organizations, and outright neo-Nazi groups blurred boundaries and created controversy over where specific groups fell on the political spectrum.

The European National Front was a network of right-wing Christian nationalist groups. Members and affiliates included groups in the Czech Republic (Narodni Sjednoceni (National Unity)); France (Renouveau Français (French Renewal)); Greece (Patriotike Summachia (Patriotic Alliance)); Italy (Forza Nuova (New Force)); Latvia (Nacionala Speka Savieniba (National Power Unity)); Netherlands (Nationale Alliantie (National Alliance)); Poland (Narodowe Odrodzenie Polski (National Rebirth of Poland)); Portugal (Partido Nacional Renovador (Party of National Renewal)); Serbia (Otacastveni Pokret Obraz (Dignity Fatherland Movement)); and Slovakia (Slovenska Narodna Jednota (Slovak National Unity)), Jednota Slovenskej Mladeze (Association of Slovak Youth). Delegations attending meetings included those from Hyrsi Avgi (Golden Dawn), Greece; Nationale Alliantie, Netherlands; and Noua Dreapta (New Right), Romania. Supporters included Alternativa Espanola (Spanish Alternative) and La Falange (the Phalanx, the former ruling party under the Franco dictatorship), Spain; Garde Franque, France; and English First, United Kingdom.

Other nationalist far-right parties and groups operated in Australia (National Action, Patriotic Youth League); Austria (Freiheitliche Partei Österreichs (Freedom Party)); Austria and Slovenia (Kärntner Heimatdienst (Carinthian Homeland Service)); Belgium (Vlaams Belang (Flemish Interest), formerly Vlaams Blok); Canada (Heritage Front, Reform Party); Denmark (Dansk Folkeparti (Danish People's Party), Nationalpartiet Danmark (Danish National Party), Fremskridtpartiet (Progress Party)); Estonia (Eesti Rahvuslaste Keskliit (Estonian National League), Eesti Kodanik (Estonian Civic Union), Eesti Paremäärmuslik Organisatsioon (Estonian Extreme Rightist Organization)); France (Front National (National Front), Mouvement National Républicain (National Republican Movement)); Germany (Republikanische Partei (Republican Party), Deutsche Volksunion (German People's Union), Nationaldemokratische Partei Deutschlands (National Democratic Party of Germany)); Greece (Ellinoko Metopo (Hellenic Front)); India (Bharatiya Janata (Indian People's Party)); Italy (Lega Nord (Northern League), Alleanza Nazionale (National Alliance), Movimento Sociale Fiamma Tricolore (Tricolor Flame Social Movement)); Latvia (Nacionala Speka Savieniba (National Power Unity)); Malta (Imperium Europa); Netherlands (Centrumdemocraten (Democratic Center), Nederlandse Volks-Unie (Netherlands People's Union), Nieuwe Nationale Partij (New National Party), Nederlands Blok, Nationale Alliantie, Nieuw Rechts (New Right), Pim Fortuyn's List, Liveable Netherlands, Centrum Partij 86 (banned in 1998)); New Zealand (National Front, New Zealand First); Norway (Progress Party); Portugal (Popular Party); Switzerland (Swiss People's Party); Russia (National Unity, Liberal Democratic Party); and United Kingdom (British National Party, Scottish National Party).

Most of these right-wing nationalist political parties denied any connection to fascism or neo-Nazism, yet they echoed many of the same xenophobic (and sometimes antisemitic and racist) themes, and provided a recruitment pool for neo-Nazi organizers.

Conversely, right-wing politicians in several countries often tried to capture those voters who might be inclined toward neo-Nazism, without offending those segments of the electorate that would be alienated if the appeal were too apparent and the link too explicit.

They walked a political tightrope, especially when it seemed as if they had the opportunity to be acceptable to a mainstream public. Their political parties were described as "extreme right" or "radical right-wing populist" by academics, while their political critics called them quasi-fascist or outright neo-Nazi, with their actual ideologies ranging along a continuum. In some countries, the right-wing electoral parties were built around ethnoreligious forms of nationalism, as was the case with numerous militant Islamic political parties, some sectors of the Israeli right, some Christian Right political groups, and the Hindu nationalist Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) in India. Another common form, and more easily recognized, were the right-wing ethnonationalist parties that featured xenophobia and populist rhetoric.

In Austria, where an explicit appeal would shut down other forms of political support, the candidacy of Jörg Haider was a prime example of these phenomena. Haider took over the Austrian Freedom Party (Freiheitliche Partei Österreichs (FPO)) in 1986 and moved it further to the political right. By 1999 the FPO was gaining more than 25 percent of the vote, and the next year joined with the conservative People's Party to form a ruling coalition government. The FPO stumbled, however, and in 2002 only attracted some 10 percent of votes.

The French National Front (Front National [FN]) was founded in 1972 by Jean-Marie Le Pen, but only began attracting significant voter support in the mid-1980s. Since then the party and Le Pen have become major players on the French political scene, pulling 10–15 percent of voters. In 2002 Le Pen stunned observers with more than 17 percent of the vote, placing him in the second round of the French presidential election. To the right of the FN is a splinter group, the Mouvement National Républicain, led by Bruno Mégret.

The German Republican Party (Die Republikanische Partei (REP)) was founded by a former member of the Waffen SS in 1983, and began running candidates, whose fortunes varied over time. In 1989 some candidates attracted around 7 percent of votes in a West Berlin election, but then vote totals dropped. In 1992 the party staged a comeback with vote tallies in the 8–10 percent range in some elections. To the right of the REP was the German People's Union (Deutsche Volksunion) and the National Democratic Party (Nationaldemokratische Partei Deutschlands).

Flemish Interest (Vlaams Belang), formerly called the Vlaams Blok, was one of several ethnonationalist regional political parties around the world that called for more autonomy or outright secession, and often were highly critical of immigrants and immigration. The Northern League in Italy was another example.

In Italy, Forza Italia, led by Silvio Berlusconi, forged a fractious parliamentary alliance with the more obviously right-wing Northern League (Lega Nord) and National Alliance (Alleanza Nazionale (AN)), coming to power briefly in 1994, and again in 2001. Further to the right was the Movimento Sociale Fiamma Tricolore. In the late 1980s and early 1990s the Italian Social Movement/National Right (Movimento Sociale Italiano/Destra Nazionale (MSI/DN)) fielded candidates including Alessandra Mussolini (Il Duce's granddaughter). These candidates gained as much as 45 percent of the votes cast in local elections. When the MSI/DN split in 1995, Alessandra Mussolini joined the faction that created the National Alliance (AN), and sat in the national Chamber of Deputies. She left the AN in 2002 after its leader denounced fascism while in Israel. She then founded Liberta d'Azione and won a seat in the European Parliament.

In the United States Pat Buchanan pulled significant vote totals when running as a Republican Presidential candidate in 33 state primaries in 1992, attracting three million votes. His similar campaign in 1996 generally attracted 15–25 percent of Republican primary votes in the states where he was on the ballot. Buchanan's support plummeted, however, when he ran as the Reform Party candidate in 2000. The rhetoric of Buchanan's speeches included specific phrases that seemed innocuous but had special meaning for militant sectors of the Christian Right and the armed militia movement. Critics charged that Buchanan flirted with antisemitism and racism. Notorious antisemite Lyndon LaRouche, who shifted from left to right yet ran as a Democrat, has appeared on the presidential primary ballot for decades, attracting tens of thousands of votes in some states. The Constitution Party led by Howard Phillips and the America First Party (a splinter from the Reform Party) also fielded candidates for office.

Russian variants included several groups that more openly engaged in neo-Nazi and antisemitic rhetoric. These groups frequently complained about a gigantic Jewish or Zionist conspiracy. One of the largest of over 100 nationalist groups in Russia is the Russian National Unity Party, founded in 1990 and led by Aleksandr Barkashov. The founder of the ultranationalist Liberal Democratic Party is Vladimir Zhirinovsky. In 2001 he caused a scandal when, as a member and deputy speaker of the lower house of parliament, the Duma, he refused to stand for a minute of silence in remembrance of the victims of the Nazi genocide. He later expressed regret for his actions, which he claimed did not reflect antisemitism. In 1998, however, Zhirinovsky blamed Jews for starting World War II and provoking the Holocaust.

As extreme-right political parties gained election victories across Europe, the language used to describe them became more moderate, raising fears that the situation was not being openly confronted. As the Belgian political scientist Jérôme Jamin explained:

> Can one still apply the term fascist to a xenophobic party like the Lega Nord now that it has been in power… for many years? Can one view France's Front National as a mere relic of Pétainism when it made it into the second round of the presidential election… and when cities such as Toulon, Orange, Marignane and Vitrolles have had mayors from the FN? In what terms is it possible to stigmatize the Vlaams Blok in northern Belgium – a direct offshoot of pro-Nazi collaboration during World War II – when this party is one of the most powerful in Flanders? It is very hard to use the old words to characterize those parties in power today. It was a lot easier yesterday when they were small and noisy racist parties instead of the big powerful actors they have now become.

While neo-Nazis interacted with right-wing and mainstream political parties, they remained tiny marginal movements compared to national populations, although they were capable of brutal acts of violence. Much of their energy, however, was devoted to organizing within their own subculture.

Some neo-Nazis studied the ideological writings of Julius Evola, who promoted high-culture intellectual fascism, and Corneliu Codreanu, advocate of a mystical-spiritual form exemplified by the Romanian Iron Guard. Others remained disciples of Hitler, or supported the pre-regime national socialism of the Nazi Party's left wing, associated with the Strasser brothers. Many overt neo-Nazis were networked internationally through Blood and Honour, which emerged from the racist skinhead scene. Based in the United Kingdom, in 2006 Blood and Honour claimed active branches in Australia, Canada, Croatia, Cyprus, Denmark, Finland, Flanders (Belgium), France, Germany, Greece, Italy, Netherlands, Portugal, Slovenia, Spain, Ukraine, and the United States. Blood and Honour recruited primarily through white supremacist music. Not all racist skinheads engaged in violence, but violence was a hallmark of the movement. In Canada, for example, neo-Nazi skinheads desecrated Jewish synagogues and cemeteries. In 2005, a report for the International Bureau of Human Rights estimated that there were more than 120,000 neo-Nazi skinheads worldwide. A true count was, of course, difficult because neo-Nazi organizations were rarely registered with any official agency, and they hid their true numbers.

United States

Postwar neo-Nazism in the United States began in earnest when George Lincoln Rockwell organized the American Nazi Party in 1959, gaining much publicity but negligible support. The group was later renamed the National Socialist White Peoples Party. After Rockwell's assassination by a former party member in 1967, several splinter groups emerged, including the National Socialist Party of America led by Frank Collin, who garnered international headlines in the mid-1970s by threatening to lead a march through the Chicago suburb of Skokie, Illinois, home to many Holocaust survivors. Instead, after winning a legal battle over the free speech issue, Collin led his uniformed brownshirts in several demonstrations in other Chicago suburbs and neighborhoods and a downtown plaza.

The next few years saw a great many neo-Nazis run for office, winning several primaries and one state legislative post. This trend began in 1975–76, when a neo-Nazi named Arthur Jones ran for mayor of Milwaukee, Wisconsin. Jones, campaigning vigorously on radio and in newspapers, gained 5,000 votes and lost decisively against incumbent Mayor Henry Maier, a popular and strongly pro-Israel politician. In November 1976, Richard Johanson, a 31-year-old neo-Nazi, ran for the San Francisco Board of Education and received 9,000 votes. Other neo-Nazi candidates ran and lost in Houston (for mayor), in Chicago (for alderman), and Georgia (for governor and lieutenant governor). The notorious white supremacist J.B. Stoner of Georgia ran for several offices in the 1970s and later on a platform calling for the "eradication" of Jews and blacks. His best finish was in the governor's race in 1978, when he received 71,000 votes and came in fourth out of ten candidates. (In 1980 he was convicted for a church bombing in 1958.)

In August 1980, Tom Metzger, a Ku Klux Klan leader and Nazi sympathizer, surprised political analysts by winning the Democratic primary in the 43rd Congressional District in Southern California, the most populous district in the U.S., although he had fewer than 50 volunteers on his staff and less than $10,000 in campaign contributions. As the Democratic Party nominee in the November general election, however, he received only 35,000 votes (14 percent of the total) and was defeated by the Republican incumbent.

In Detroit, Gerald Carlson, a former member of the Ku Klux Klan, the John Birch Society, and the American Nazi Party, who ran a campaign based on a single issue – white "superiority" over blacks and Jews – defeated the official party candidate in the Republican primary in Michigan's 15th Congressional District to face the Democratic incumbent in the fall of 1980. The Michigan Republican Party was so embarrassed by the victory that it asked voters to vote for his Democratic opponent. Carlson went on to gain 53,000 votes (about 32 percent) in the November general election.

On May 6, 1980, Harold Covington, one of the major leaders of the American Nazi Party, ran in the North Carolina Republican primary election for state attorney general, and although campaigning with virtually no money and no neutral media coverage, received 56,000 votes, 42.88 percent of the total, losing by a narrow margin.

The most successful electoral drive was by David Duke, who spent years moving through various neo-Nazi, Ku Klux Klan, and racist groups. The photogenic Duke attempted to sanitize his views, establishing in 1979 the National Association for the Advancement of White People. In 1989 Duke was elected to the Louisiana House of Representatives as a Republican. He lost his campaign for governor in 1991, but pulled 55 percent of white votes.

NEW FORMS. In the United States, Christian Identity became a significant variant of neo-Nazism in the 1970s by merging a racialized version of Protestantism called British Israelism with theories of racial superiority. By claiming that a tribe of Jews migrated to the British Isles and then to the United States, Identity adherents asserted that White Christian Protestants in the U.S. were the true descendants of the biblical Hebrews, the chosen people of God's Covenant. Contemporary Jews were dismissed as fakes. Adherents of Christian Identity, which had been condemned by Catholic and Protestant leaders, usually blended their theology with race hate and antisemitism. Throughout the 1980s, Richard G. Butler's Aryan Nations compound in Idaho served as the most visible racist Identity institution; however, most practitioners worshipped in small halls and private homes in the absence of an organized national religious structure.

Christian Identity theology foresaw an apocalyptic race war between white Christians and inferior Jews and blacks, seen as doing the bidding of Satan, in the End Times prophesied in the New Testament Book of Revelation. This confrontational stance led to violence, such as the 1999 attack by Buford O'Neal Furrow, Jr., who wounded several children and their teachers at a Jewish community center near Los Angeles, and then killed a Filipino-American postal worker. When arrested, Furrow proclaimed his act was a "wake-up call to America to kill Jews".

The murder in Texas in 1998 of James Byrd, Jr., a black man, was in part motivated by the Christian Identity beliefs shared by some of the white attackers who dragged Byrd to death on a chain attached to a pickup truck. Christian Identity beliefs were often acquired through neo-Nazi prison gangs, as in this incident, especially through the Aryan Brotherhood, which operated inside and outside of prisons. Two California brothers with views similar to Christian Identity's carried out 1999 arson attacks on three synagogues and a reproductive services clinic, and murdered a gay couple.

The National Alliance was founded in the mid-1970s by William Pierce, a former supporter of Rockwell and the National Socialist White People's Party. Pierce used a pseudonym to pen two books that became staples of neo-Nazi libraries, *The Turner Diaries* and *Hunter.* The books celebrated the murder of Jews, blacks, and homosexuals as part of a white revolution against what became known in neo-Nazi circles as the "Zionist Occupation Government" (ZOG) in Washington, D.C.

In the 1990s, the National Alliance was the largest and most active neo-Nazi group in the United States. Pierce paid some $250,000 in 1999 to purchase Resistance Records, a race-hate music company that produced and sold CDs and White Power paraphernalia to a mostly young audience. Within a few years the Alliance was collecting over $1 million in annual sales and had more than a dozen full-time staff, as well as active members in over a score of states. The organization saw bitter feuds and near-collapse after Pierce's death in 2002.

White Aryan Resistance (WAR), founded by former California Klan leader Tom Metzger, brought the Third Position form of neo-Nazism to the United States, where it became popular in the late 1980s. The group collapsed after Metzger lost a civil lawsuit stemming from a murderous racial attack by several of his followers. Third Positionist groups such as National Vanguard and Volksfront continued to operate.

Ben Klassen invented the Creativity religion (originally World Church of the Creator) in 1973, and after his death, the organization eventually ended up in the hands of Matt Hale, later jailed for soliciting the assassination of federal judge. A follower of Creativity, Benjamin Nathaniel Smith went on a 1999 shooting spree across Illinois and Indiana. He was an equal-opportunity racist, wounding six Orthodox Jews on their way home from synagogue on a Friday evening, and a man of Taiwanese descent, and killing an African American and an Asian American.

VIOLENT UNDERGROUND. On November 3, 1979, a confrontation between the National Socialist Party of America (NSPA) and the Ku Klux Klan on the one hand, and the Maoist Communist Workers Party on the other, in Greensboro, North Carolina, led to the shooting death of five communists, one of them a Jew, and the wounding of ten others. Fourteen neo-Nazis and KKK members were arrested and charged with five counts of first-degree murder and conspiracy to commit murder, but they were subsequently acquitted.

Following this incident, a number of neo-Nazis and members of right-wing "Patriot" groups began to move underground, while others began to set up armed survivalist and "militia" units. A 1983 shootout involving law enforcement agents and Gordon Kahl, an organizer for the Posse Comitatus wing of this underground movement, prompted neo-Nazi leader Louis Beam to call for "leaderless resistance" against the government. Kahl later died in a stand-off with authorities. Members of one Oklahoma Christian Identity group, Covenant, Sword, and Arm of the Lord (CSA, not coincidentally the initials of the Confederate States of America), began planning and staging attacks, including the 1984 murder by Richard Wayne Snell of a black Arkansas state police officer.

During this period eight persons affiliated with Aryan Nations, the National Alliance, and the KKK formed an underground terror cell called the Order, known internally as the "Bruder Schweigen" (Silent Brotherhood). The Order staged armed robberies, and was responsible for the June 1984 assassination in Denver of Alan Berg, an outspoken Jewish radio talk-show host. The government responded with arrest warrants, rounding up the cell and killing Order founder Robert J. Matthews in a December 1984 shootout. In 1985 the government raided the CSA headquarters. A second Order cell formed in 1986 and used arson attacks to target human rights advocates, before being rounded up by authorities.

The federal government issued conspiracy indictments in 1987 naming several neo-Nazi and Patriot movement leaders. A jury acquitted the defendants, but the incident only added to growing anti-government anger. This increased after two raids were mishandled by government authorities. In August 1992 a raid on the Weaver family, Christian Identity survivalists, at Ruby Ridge, Idaho left the mother and teenage son dead, along with a federal marshal. In April 1993 a standoff at the Branch Davidian compound in Waco, Texas led to a shootout and conflagration in which 74 men, women, and children in the group died. Four federal agents died during the course of the standoff.

On April 19, 1995, the anniversary both of the first battle of the American Revolution and the raid on the Branch Davidian compound, and the day CSA member Snell was executed for murdering a state trooper, Timothy McVeigh carried out the bombing that destroyed the Oklahoma City Federal Building, killing 168 people. McVeigh, a U.S. Army veteran of the 1991 Gulf War, had drifted into neo-Nazi circles, and sold copies of the *Turner Diaries*. Another group, the Aryan Republican Army, staged 22 bank robberies and bombings between 1992 and 1996. The *Turner Diaries* was required reading for members.

Germany

Both states of the divided Germany were effective in combating neo-Nazism. In Communist East Germany, all neo-Nazi parties were banned, while West Germany was quite stringent in its reaction to right- and left-wing terrorism and successful in containing neo-Nazism. However, a terrorist bomb that exploded during Oktoberfest in Munich in 1980, injuring several people, was attributed to a neo-Nazi group. After the reunification of the country a number of neo-Nazi youth gangs arose, especially in the former East Germany, exploiting economic turmoil and racism toward nonwhite immigrant "guest workers" (many of whom had resided in Germany for decades, or had been born there, and were prevented from becoming citizens by restrictive ethnicity-based naturalization laws).

An American neo-Nazi, Gary R. ("Gerhard") Lauck of Lincoln, Nebraska, was a major publisher of neo-Nazi publications and in the late 1970s began to smuggle them into Germany, which had banned them. Lauck was deported from Germany several times for distributing Nazi material; arrested in Denmark in 1995, he was extradited to Germany where he was convicted and jailed for inciting hatred and distributing banned materials.

Before reunification, there were approximately 18,000 members of extreme right-wing groups in West Germany, members of the National Democratic Party (NDP), Neo-Nazi

(NSDAP) and National Freedom groups, and others. After reunification in 1990, especially in the former East, thousands of young adults joined openly neo-Nazi groups. There followed a wave of violent attacks on refugees, immigrants, "guest workers," and Jews. In 1992 and 1993 two attacks left eight Turkish women and girls dead and a number of other family members and friends seriously injured. During this period German officials banned 17 neo-Nazi organizations, but the groups continued to thrive underground. Small groups called freie Kameradschaften (free fellowships) were set up to operate on a regional level. In 2002 a young man, Marinus Schoeberl, was tortured and murdered by neo-Nazi youth north of Berlin in the village of Potzlow. The attackers thought he "looked like a Jew." More than 100 murders by neo-Nazis and their allies occurred between reunification and the year 2006, with some 150 like-minded groups being monitored by government authorities; the number of adherents was estimated to be in the 10,000–25,000 range. At the same time, there were huge demonstrations in Germany against the rise of neo-Nazism and xenophobic attacks, and the number of neo-Nazis was tiny compared to the size of the population.

France

France's collaborationist and antisemitic legacy during World War II was exploited by neo-Nazi groups to gain legitimacy in France in the late 1970s, as was the strong pro-Arab and anti-Israel position concerning the Middle East. Later, the increase in immigrants from Arab and Muslim countries became a major factor.

In 1980 there were several attacks against individuals in the Jewish quarter of Paris in July and August, and a bomb exploded on October 4 in front of the Rue Copernic synagogue, a few minutes walk from the Arc de Triomphe, killing four passers-by, two of them non-Jews and one of them an Israeli woman, and injuring over 20. A telephone caller claimed responsibility on behalf of the European Nationalist Fascists, a neo-Nazi group led by Marc Fredriksen. Two other synagogues, two Jewish schools, and a Jewish war memorial were machine-gunned.

The bombing had political ramifications since it was alleged that 10–20 percent of the 150 members of the European Nationalist Fascists (FNE) were members of the police, and the government was criticized for its failure to stop the perpetrators. Massive demonstrations took place after the bombing.

Sporadic neo-Nazi activity and violence continued over the next twenty years, built around anti-Jewish, anti-Arab, and anti-Muslim bigotry. In addition, antipathy toward Jews from Muslim immigrants also increased, and it was clear that antisemitic conspiracy theories were shared by a range of anti-Jewish groups, not just in France, but across Europe.

In the mid-1990s the Front National de la Jeunesse (National Front for Youth), claiming 12,000 members, pursued a revolutionary nationalist agenda. This tendency was supported by its parent group, the National Front, led by Jean-Marie Le Pen. The racist skinhead movement in France remained small throughout the 1990s, but its list of targets was familiar, including not just blacks, Arabs, and Jews, but also communists and drug addicts. The Charlemagne Hammerskins, however, claimed 1,500 members in the late 1990s. They blended neo-Nazi lore with pagan satanism and distributed printed and online materials promoting race hate, antisemitism, Holocaust denial, and Hitler.

In 2005 France sought to ban all neo-Nazi groups after violent incidents increased from 27 in 2003 to 65 in 2004. French government agencies estimated that such groups had 3,500 members.

United Kingdom

John Tyndall was a major figure in organizing British neofascist groups. He left the League of Empire Loyalists and in 1960 joined elements from the White Defence League to create the British National Party (BNP). Tyndall became a national BNP organizer, and also worked with a paramilitary group established by Colin Jordan. In the 1960s, neo-Nazis in London carried out 34 arson attacks on Jewish institutions. In 1967, the National Front was formed through a merger of the BNP and the League of Empire Loyalists. Tyndall became chairman of the group, which gained consideration as a serious political movement, garnering electoral support in some districts.

There was a significant increase in racial tensions in England during the 1970s, due to the increased waves of African, Caribbean, Indian, Pakistani, and other "Third World" immigrants. Previously, Jews had been more or less secondary targets but this began to change. The NF made a considerable appeal to the British masses as a result of its constant emphasis on racism, on Britain's loss of power and prestige, and the "grand conspiracy" theory that Jews or pro-Zionist non-Jews dominate the world with their liberal and radical policies, and their assertion that "white races" will become extinct through the "mongrelization" and integration policies espoused by black leaders and their Jewish/Zionist allies.

Tyndall left NF in a dispute to form the New National Front, which reclaimed the name British National Party in 1982. When the NF itself went through further splits, the reformed BNP emerged as the leading far-right electoral party in Britain.

The original skinhead subculture emerged in Britain in the 1970s, but was converted into a racist movement in the 1980s by organizers from the British National Front, including "Ian Stuart" (Ian Stuart Donaldson), who was lead singer in the white power band Skrewdriver. Beginning in 1992 a militant neo-Nazi group named Combat 18, established to provide security for the BNP, was responsible for a wave of street-fighting violence. In April 1999, bombings targeted the black community of Brixton, the Asian community of Brick Lane, and a gay bar in Soho where three died. In all 139 people were injured. David Copeland, active with the neo-Nazi British National Socialist Movement, told police he had acted alone, but had tried blaming the bombings on Combat 18, which he described as a "bunch of yobs." Another neo-Nazi group, the White Wolves, had also been suspected of the bombings. Copeland apparently learned how to make the bombs from Internet instructions. Nick Griffin, educated at Cambridge and trained as a leader of the National Front, took over the British National Party from Tyndall in 1999. In recent years the BNP has combined racism with anti-European Union sentiment to gain a small but significant degree of public support.

Russia

Russian nationalists and neo-Nazis began to emerge and intersect after the collapse of the Soviet Union. Pamyat (Memory) was formed from a number of smaller groups around 1980. It split up in 1985. The National Patriotic Front/Pamyat was formed in 1987 but became inactive in the late 1990s. The Russian National Union, founded by Konstantin Kasimovsky with Aleksei Vdovin in a leadership role, split off from Pamyat in the early 1990s. The group became the Russian National Socialist Party in 1998. A similar group, also split off from Pamyat and the most popular such organization, is Russian National Unity, led by Aleksandr Barkashov. Some followers have used violence, and took credit for the 1998 bomb that exploded outside a synagogue in Moscow, injuring three. The organization began splitting in 2005 as new leaders started to emerge and followers chose sides. The National Front Party, led by Ilya Lazarenko, is more open in celebrating the Nazi heritage, as is the tiny Werewolf Legion, known for terrorist attacks.

In January of 2006, Russian President Vladimir Putin acknowledged that antisemitism and the growth of neo-Nazism in Russia were problems when he attended ceremonies marking the sixtieth anniversary of the liberation of Auschwitz. Also in 2006, Moscow's police chief promised to deploy officers to protect synagogues after a 20-year-old man was arrested for charging into the city's Chabad Bronnaya Synagogue with a knife, shouting "I will kill Jews." He managed to stab at least eight people. Russian newspapers noted that the young man had been reading a book about the Jews betraying Russia.

In a 2005 report for the International Bureau of Human Rights, Semyon Charny estimated that there were more than 50,000 neo-Nazi skinheads in Russia and more than a dozen neo-Nazi organizations there.

Scandinavia

In Scandinavia a number of groups emerged that oscillated between national socialist electoral activity and neo-Nazi activism: in Denmark, Danmarks Nationalsocialistiske Bevegelse (National Socialist Movement of Denmark); in Finland, Blood and Honour; in Norway, Norges Nasjonalsosialistiske Bevegelse (National Socialist Movement of Norway), Blood and Honour, and Vigrid (a branch of the National Alliance); in Sweden, Nationalsocialistisk Front (National Socialist Front), Svenska Motståndsrörelsen (Swedish Resistance Movement), Vitt Ariskt Motstånd (White Aryan Resistance), Riksfronten (Reich Front), Ariska Brödraskapet (Aryan Brotherhood), and a branch of the U.S.-based Creativity Movement.

In Sweden, the number of active neo-Nazis has fluctuated between 100 and 1,000, with at least ten times as many supporters. There were violent acts, such as the murder of John Hron in 1995 by neo-Nazi skinheads. In Norway, a small national socialist skinhead movement has flourished.

The Future

It appears that neo-Nazism has become a permanent fixture on the global political scene. Limiting the growth of neo-Nazi movements in the West is the historical memory of Hitler and his SS, who spread war and genocide across Europe. The main forms of postwar neo-Nazism are xenophobic nationalism and National Socialism, but increasingly there are hybrids similar to the interwar clerical fascism. These theocratic forms of fascism have already produced several neo-Nazi movements. It is possible that if militant religious fundamentalism, especially within Islam, continues to expand, there will more intersections with fascist and Nazi ideas, a process that is already producing lethal threats to societies around the world. Whether these could ever approach or surpass the destruction of Hitler's Nazi movement cannot be predicted.

[Chip Berlet and Jack Nusan Porter (2nd ed.)]

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NEO-ORTHODOXY, name of the modernistic faction of German *Orthodoxy, first employed in a derogatory sense by its adversaries. Its forerunners were to be found among the more conservative disciples of Moses *Mendelssohn and N.H.

*Wessely, like Solomon *Pappenheim and Naḥman b. Simḥah Barash. At the time of the controversy over the *Hamburg Temple (1818), the participants in the campaign against the reformers included some rabbis who adopted a stance similar to that later advocated by the Neo-Orthodox; for example those of Amsterdam, Hanau, Rawicz, and other communities, who produced the polemic, *Elleh Divrei ha-Berit* (1819). Other forerunners were the new Orthodox preacher of Hamburg, Isaac *Bernays; Jeremiah *Heinemann (1788–1855) of Berlin, the editor of *Jedidja* (1817–31); and Solomon Plessner (1797–1883) of Breslau, the author of various apologetic works.

However, the ideology of Neo-Orthodoxy crystallized later and its institutions were only established during the second half of the 19th century. In essence, the movement is connected with Samson Raphael *Hirsch and his doctrine of *Torah im derekh ereẓ* ("Torah together with the conduct of life," meaning in this context secular culture), which he expressed in his major writings. In 1851 he became rabbi of the Orthodox separatist community of Frankfurt and was able to realize his ideas and plans in a suitable environment. During the second half of the 19th century, the rabbinical leadership had already suffered defeat in the campaign against reformers and assimilationists. The small groups which remained faithful to tradition referred to themselves as "remnants." At the same time, the rising tide of the Reform movement was curbed. The process of Jewish integration into general society was well advanced and was no longer conditional on their "religious" reform. Moreover, the radical line adopted by such Reform leaders as Abraham *Geiger and Samuel *Holdheim during those years had alienated important elements among the non-Orthodox (Leopold *Zunz, Zacharias *Frankel, and others).

The development of a trend combining features from both *Reform and *Orthodoxy thus became feasible. From the Reform movement it adopted the aim of integration within modern society, not only on utilitarian grounds but also through the acceptance of its scale of values, aiming at creating a symbiosis between traditional Orthodoxy and modern German-European culture; both in theory and in practice this meant the abandonment of Torah study for its own sake (as in the classical yeshivah) and adopting instead an increased concentration on practical *halakhah*. Other Reform features were the replacement of Hebrew by German as the language of Jewish culture; the acceptance of the Haskalah program in educational matters; the struggle for emancipation and the positive appreciation of the Exile; the exchange of the material idea of "Return to Zion" for that of the "Universal Mission"; German patriotism; the renouncement of a particular Jewish appearance (involving readiness to cut off the beard and the side-locks, to uncover the head when not at worship, etc.); the education of women, including their participation in religious life and their political emancipation; the abolition of the coercive powers of the community; and the acceptance of the liberal concept of freedom of conscience. From Orthodoxy the faction took: dogmatism (*emunat ḥakhamim*, "faith in the rabbis"); reservation toward the preoccupations of the Wissenschaft des Judentums and opposition to the principle of freedom of research; the acceptance of the authority of the Shulḥan Arukh and the traditions and customs of the late 18th-century German communities; acceptance of the Orthodox position on laws which came into being as a result of its campaign against the reformers, such as those against the demands for changes in synagogue usage; excessive strictness in the observation of the precepts and customs; and acquiescence in the disruption of the Jewish community and the sectarian nature of those remaining true to Orthodoxy. The second most important leader of this trend was Azriel (Israel) *Hildesheimer, who founded a rabbinical seminary (1873) and broke the monopoly of the non-Orthodox in Jewish studies. He thus made possible the integration of the intelligentsia into the neo-Orthodox circle, in contrast to Hirsch, whose system was tailored to the requirements of the ordinary community members, the so-called *ba'alei batim*. Hildesheimer was more attached to ancient rabbinic Judaism than Hirsch and his attitude to Jewish affairs in general was more positive, while his approach to general culture was less enthusiastic. As a result of this, the role Hildesheimer played in world Jewish affairs led to the creation of contacts between the German Neo-Orthodoxy, East European Jewry, and the *Ḥibbat Zion movement. In 1876 a law (the *Austrittsgesetz*) was passed which enabled an individual to secede from a church or community without changing his religious affiliation. This facilitated the secession (*Austritt*) of Orthodox minorities from communities where they considered that coexistence with the reformist leadership was impossible. In many places this situation induced the reformers to make far-reaching concessions to the Orthodox minority. German Orthodoxy thus became split over the question of whether the new law should be exploited in order that they might secede from all communities administered by reformers. To Hirsch, the *Austritt* concept became a supreme religious principle, while Seligmann Baer (or Dov Baer) *Bamberger, his Orthodox opponent, showed reserve toward both the modernism and the extremist separatism of Hirsch, and preferred to preserve the unity of the community. After some time, German Orthodoxy was again divided on another issue: the attitude toward *Zionism. One section joined the *Agudat Israel movement, while the other showed a preference for the *Mizrachi and *Ha-Po'el ha-Mizrachi and later for the *Po'alei Agudat Israel.

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[Moshe Shraga Samet]

NEOPLATONISM, the system elaborated by Plotinus and his pupil Porphyry on the basis of antecedent Middle Platonic and neo-Pythagorean developments. The system was modified by their successors, the main post-Plotinian currents and schools of late antiquity being (according to K. Praechter): the Syrian school founded by Iamblichus; the school of Pergamum (Sallust, Julian); the school of Athens (Plutarch, Syrianus, Proclus, Damascius); the school of Alexandria (Hierocles, Hermias, Ammonius and his followers: the pagans, Asclepius and Olympiodorus, and the Christians, Philoponus, Elias, David, and Stephanus); and the Neoplatonists of the West (Macrobius, Chalcidius, Boethius). In the Middle Ages Neoplatonism survived in the Latin West (Johannes Scotus Erigena) and the Byzantine East (Michael Psellus) and within the Arabo-Hebraic cultural sphere, and it underwent a revival during the Renaissance (Gemistos Plethon in the Byzantine East; Marsilio Ficino, *Pico della Mirandola, and Giordano Bruno in the West).

Neoplatonism postulates the derivation by a process of emanation of a hierarchically ordered series of spheres of being, leading from an ineffable and unqualified first principle (the One) to the material world. The "descent" is associated with increasing determination and multiplicity (imperfection). Although matter at the lowest rank in the scale of being is the principle of evil, the material world, as a reflection of the intelligible, possesses goodness and beauty (cf. *Gnosticism), and by contemplation of it the human soul ascends to the spiritual world. The human soul, being spiritual and self-subsistent, is independent of the body and having descended from the supernal world, reverts to its source by means of ethical and intellectual purification (or by theurgy; e.g., Iamblichus). The stages of ascent were commonly designated (after Proclus) the *via purgativa* (purification), *via illuminativa* (illumination), and *via unitiva* (union), the highest stage, a kind of *unio mystica* (mystical union) and apotheosis, being the sole means by which the One is apprehended. Individuation and investiture of the soul with a body is devalorized; release from the fetters of the body in ecstasy or in death is equivalent to salvation, this philosophical soteriology tending toward combination with a doctrine of metempsychosis.

Neoplatonism is thus seen to be a religious movement and a doctrine of salvation as well as a philosophical system. As such, it was potentially an antagonist and an ally of the monotheistic faiths. Ancient Neoplatonism (excluding the school of Alexandria) was hostile to Christianity: Porphyry and Julian wrote refutations of Christianity; Iamblichus, Proclus, and Damascius were implacable opponents of Christianity. Indeed, Neoplatonism as a philosophical interpretation of pagan mythology (e.g., Iablichus and Proclus) represents the dying gasp of ancient paganism. The fundamental postulates of Neoplatonism conflict with those of the monotheistic faiths: an impersonal first principle, rejection of creation and revelation, the conception of man as essentially soul, and the attendant soteriology-eschatology (including metempsychosis) involving submergence of the individual soul in the universal soul. Nevertheless, for monotheistic philosophers the contradictions were not insurmountable. In fact, the method of figurative interpretation cultivated by ancient Neoplatonists (after the Pythagoreans and Stoics) in order to identify pagan mythological themes with philosophical ideas (Proclus, for example, identified the henads of his system with the traditional gods) was employed by monotheistic philosophers in order to read their neoplatonic doctrines into the text of Scripture. The ladder of Jacob's dream was thus interpreted as a symbol of the soul's ascent (e.g., by Ibn Gabirol; see A. Altman, *Studies in Religious Philosophy and Mysticism* (1969), 54–55; and A. Nygren, *Agape and Eros* (1953^2), 230, 375, 441). Creation became a metaphor for eternal procession. Revelation and prophecy were discussed in terms reminiscent of the *unio mystica*. This identification was not without some basis in ancient Neoplatonism either, if one considers the aspect of grace or divine initiative implicit in *Enneads* 5:3, 17 and 5:5, 8, or the use of the Chaldean Oracles and Orphic Hymns by Porphyry and Iamblichus. Assimilation to the divine, the goal of philosophy according to the neoplatonic introductions to Aristotle of the Alexandria school, resonated with similar ideals of the monotheistic traditions. The deep spirituality of Neoplatonism promoted the kind of synthesis with religious feeling that finds moving expression in Ibn Gabirol's poem, *Keter Malkhut*.

In order to grasp the character of Neoplatonism as it was transmitted to the medieval world of Judaism and Islam, it is necessary to understand that it was closely bound with much of the religious and pseudo-scientific heritage of late antiquity (alchemy), Hermetism (see *Hermetic Writings), magic, theurgy. Also, Neoplatonism was not simply an amplification of *Plato. Plotinus admitted into his system those aspects of Aristotelianism (also Pythagoreanism and *Stoicism) which met its requirements. Porphyry went even further and initiated the reception of *Aristotle's lecture courses into the Neoplatonic curriculum. The school of Alexandria devoted much of its labors to commentaries upon Aristotle. The thesis that the views of Plato and Aristotle coincided, if properly understood, a theme traceable to Ammonius Saccas, the teacher of Plotinus, was embraced by Porphyry and influenced the course of Neoplatonism and its absorption within the Arabo-Hebraic milieu (cf. al-*Fārābī's *On the Harmony of the Opinions of the Two Sages, the Divine Plato and Aristotle*).

While reception of Neoplatonism in the medieval Latin West was mainly confined to Proclus and Pseudo-Dionysius, the Arabo-Hebraic milieu was saturated by numerous currents. Plotinus was conveyed in the guise of the *Theology of Aristotle* (a paraphrase of parts of Books 4–6 of the *Enneads*), through other paraphrases ascribed to "the Greek Sage," and a work entitled *The Divine Science* (J. van Ess, in bibl., 334ff.). The *Theology of Aristotle* is extant in a shorter (vulgate) and longer version, the latter preserved in an Arabic manuscript in Hebrew characters (in Leningrad). This longer version was translated (on the basis of a Damascus manuscript) into Hebrew and Italian by a Cypriot Jewish physician, Moses Arovas, who was also instrumental in having it rendered into Latin (S.M. Stern, in bibl., 59 n. 4, 79 n. 1).

Underlying the longer version of the *Theology of Aristotle* is another Aristotle pseudograph discovered by S.M. Stern and called by him "Ibn Ḥasdāy's Neoplatonist" (it was incorporated by *Ibn Ḥasdai in his *Ben ha-Melekh ve-ha-Nazir; see Altmann and Stern, in bibl., 95 ff.; Stern, in bibl.). (On knowledge of Porphyry's work in the medieval world of Islam, see J. van Ess, in bibl., 338; R. Walzer in *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2 (1965), 948–50.) Proclus' *Elements of Theology* was transmitted in the guise of the Arabic *Kitāb al-ḥayr al-maḥḍ* ("Book of the Pure Good"), known in the West as *Liber de causis* and generally understood to be a work by Aristotle, and three propositions of the *Elements of Theology* have been recovered in Arabic. Proclus' work *On the Eternity of the Universe* was also known. (For the transmission of works by Proclus, see J. van Ess, in bibl., 339 ff.; H.D. Saffrey, in *Miscellanea Mediaevalia*, 2 (1963), 267 ff.; and R. Walzer in *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 1 (1960), 1340.) Another pseudo-Aristotelian work of neoplatonic character was the *Liber de pomo*, which was extremely popular and available in Arabic, Persian, and Hebrew (see J. Kraemer, in *Studi orentalistici in onore di Giorgio Levi della Vida*, 1 (1956), 484–506). Neoplatonic ideas are also associated with pre-Socratics (particularly Pythagoras and Empedocles) in Arabic doxographic and gnomological collections (e.g., Ṣā'id al-Andalusi's *Ṭabaqāt al-umam* and *al-Shahrastānī's al-Milal wa al-niḥal*). *Empedocles in neoplatonic dress is also preserved in *The Book of Five Substances*, of which a Hebrew translation from Arabic is extant (D. Kaufmann, *Studien ueber Salomon ibn Gabirol* (1899), 16 ff.). Teachings of the school of Alexandria were transmitted mainly by Syriac-speaking Christians. The accommodation of Christian beliefs in that school (e.g., by Ammonius; see Westerink, in bibl. xii–xxv) may have served as a model for adjustment to religious belief on the part of Islamic and Jewish philosophers.

Medieval Islamic and Jewish Neoplatonism is not confined to philosophers. In both Judaism and Islam Neoplatonism entered the mystical stream. One finds such influence, for example, in the later Sufi works of al-*Ghazáli (the end of his *Mishkāt al-anwār*); it permeated Jewish kabbalistic circles in Spain and Provence, transforming an earlier gnostic tradition, and had an impact upon the German pietists (Scholem, Mysticism, 117). Israeli's *Chapter on the Elements* ("The Mantua Text"), largely based upon "Ibn Ḥasdāy's Neoplatonist," was studied by the Gerona kabbalists, attracted by the similarity between its emanationist scheme and their own system of *Sefirot*, and it was commented upon by *Azriel of Gerona (*Perush ha-Aggadot*; see Altman and Stern, in bibl., 130–2; Stern in bibl., 61).

Isaac *Israeli is the fountainhead of Jewish Neoplatonism. He defines philosophy, following the neoplatonic introductions to Aristotle, as assimilation to God according to human capacity (from Plato's *Theatetus* 176b; see Altmann and Stern, in bibl., 28 ff., 197). Ascent of the human soul to the divine is described according to Proclus' three stages (*ibid.*, 185 ff.), the ultimate stage depicted as becoming angelic or divine, an experience to which he applies the term *devekut*, thus anticipating its employment by later Jewish philosophers and mystics (Altmann and Stern, in bibl., 190). The famous Plotinus passage on his own ecstatic union with the One (*Enneads*, 4:8, 1) may have inspired Israeli; quoted in the *Theology of Aristotle* and in the *Rasā'il Ikhwān al-Safā'* ("Epistles of the *Brethren of Sincerity"), it is also referred to by Moses *Ibn Ezra, Ibn *Gabirol, and Shem Tov ibn *Falaquera (Altmann and Stern, in bibl., 191–2). The neoplatonic doctrine concerning the unknowability of the first principle is expressed in Israeli's thesis that only God's existence (or quoddity: *anniyya, ḥaliyya*) is knowable, and not his essence (quiddity: *mahiyya*), a distinction perpetuated by *Baḥya ibn Paquda, *Joseph ben Ẓaddik, *Judah Halevi, and Abraham *Ibn Daud (Altmann and Stern, in bibl., 21–23).

The transplantation of Jewish thought to Andalusia is marked by an initial neoplatonic direction inaugurated by Ibn Gabirol. His *Mekor Ḥayyim* is unique in that it sets forth a philosophical system of neoplatonic tincture without any admixture of Jewish teaching. Significantly, the only authority named is Plato. Characteristically, the goal of human existence is the conjunction (*ittiṣāl, applicatio*) of the human soul with the supernal world through knowledge and action, i.e., intellectual and ethical purification (1:2; Arabic fragments published by S. Pines in *Tarbiz*, 27 (1958), 225–6). The fruit of the study of philosophy is said to be liberation from death and conjunction with the source of life (5:43). In the neoplatonic manner, knowledge of the First Essence is precluded because it transcends everything and is incommensurable with the intellect (1:5; Pines, *ibid.*, 224–5). Like Plotinus, Ibn Gabirol tends to rely upon concrete imagery from the world of senses in order to explain suprasensous phenomena. But the insertion of will (*irāda, voluntas*) after the First Essence and his universal hylomorphism set his system apart from that of Plotinus.

Though the impact of the *Mekor Ḥayyim* was greater upon Christian scholastic philosophy than it was in the Jewish philosophical tradition, it did exert some influence in Jewish circles. Moses ibn Ezra quoted it in his *Arugat ha-Bosem* and a Hebrew epitome was made by Falaquera. Also, Ibn Gabirol's views are quoted by Abraham *Ibn Ezra in his commentaries, from which it can be seen how Ibn Gabirol bridged between his Neoplatonism and Judaism through figurative biblical interpretation.

Ibn Gabirol's successors do not evince his depth or originality. Baḥya ibn Paquda combines commonplace neoplatonic themes (e.g., God's absolute unity as distinct from the relative unity of this world) with his mystical pietism. The anonymous (Pseudo-*Baḥya) *Kitāb Ma'ānī al-Nafs* treats its main theme of psychology in a neoplatonic manner. The soul is a spiritual substance whose home is the supernal world. In its descent it assimilates impressions from the celestial spheres and the zones of the elements (a gnostic-Hermetic notion), and it reascends by means of ethical and intellectual purification, whereas evil souls may be confined to the region beneath the heavens (cf. Altmann and Stern, in bibl., 114). There are also neoplatonic elements in *Abraham b. Ḥiyya's writings (his theory of emanation and doctrine of metempsychosis), and Joseph ibn Ẓaddik makes a common neoplatonic motif – that man is a microcosm – the theme of his work (*Ha-Olam ha-Katan*); but no one, aside from Ibn Gabirol, is as deeply committed to a neoplatonic world view as is Abraham ibn Ezra, even as regards such sensitive subjects as creation and prophecy. Also to be considered is Judah Halevi, whose notion of "the divine influence" (*al-Amr al-Ilāhi/ha-inyan ha-Elohi*) may be of neoplatonic origin and whose idea of the God of Abraham is said to have been "conceived metaphysically in terms of the neoplatonic idea of God" (Guttmann, Philosophies, 133).

The Aristotelian reaction in the Islamic world (*Averroes) is paralleled on the Jewish side, where in the middle of the 12th century Aristotelianism begins to displace Neoplatonism as the regnant system. However, despite Ibn Daud's strictures against Ibn Gabirol and the authoritative opinion of *Maimonides in his disesteem for Israeli, neglect of Ibn Gabirol, and contempt for popular neoplatonic works, Neoplatonism did not entirely lose its appeal for Jewish thinkers. In fact, Ibn Ḥasdai respected Israeli, as did Falaquera. Furthermore, Aristotelianism was itself thoroughly suffused with neoplatonic themes. Maimonides was far from untouched by neoplatonic influence. Words for emanation occur approximately 90 times in the first two parts of the *Guide* (D.H. Haneth, in *Tarbiz*, 23 (1952), 178). Neoplatonic traces are also discernible in his description of knowledge in terms of light and lightning metaphors (from *Avicenna or *Avempace: Pines, *Guide of the Perplexed*, civ–cv), his insistence upon denying positive attributes of God, his placing limitations upon human knowledge, and perhaps the idea of assimilation to the divine at the end of the *Guide* (3:54).

The last work in the tradition of Jewish Neoplatonism is Judah *Abrabanel's *Dialoghi di amore*, written in the atmosphere of the Renaissance revival of Neoplatonism in the manner of contemporary discussions of the *Symposium* and love treatises (see J.C. Nelson, *Renaissance Theory of Love* (1958), passim). Love is a universal unifying force. The neoplatonic One and the theory of emanation are ascribed to Plato. Divine intellect (wisdom) emanates from God as light emanates from the sun, and this intellect is the creator of the world (cf. *Enneads*, 5:9, 3), containing all essences or forms in a simple and unified way (S. Caramella (ed.), *Dialoghi d'amore* (1929), 348). Judah Abrabanel was clearly influenced by Ibn Gabirol, whom he mentions by name along with his work (*ibid.*, 246).

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[Joel Kraemer]

NE'OT MORDEKHAI (Heb. נְאוֹת מָרְדְּכַי; "Pastures of Mordecai"), kibbutz in northern Israel, 5 mi. (8 km.) S.E. of *Kiryat Shemonah. When the village was founded in 1946, Arabs launched an attack and two of the volunteers who were helping set up the first huts were killed. The founding members were from Czechoslovakia, Austria, and Germany. In 1970 the kibbutz had 625 inhabitants, dropping to 489 in 2002. Originally affiliated with Ha-Kibbutz ha-Me'uḥad, Ne'ot Mordekhai decided, after the 1951 split in the movement, to remain outside any kibbutz federation, thus becoming the only unaffiliated kibbutz in the country. Kibbutz farming included field crops, fruit orchards, turkeys, and beehives; it also operated the Naot shoe factory, Naot Toys, and Palrig, manufacturing, marketing, and exporting polyethylene and polypropylene. The kibbutz is named after the Argentinian Zionist Mordecai Rozovsky.

[Efraim Orni / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

NEPHILIM (Heb. נְפִילִים), a race of giants said to have dwelt in pre-Israelite Canaan (Num. 13:33). Genesis 6:1–2 relates that the "sons of gods," i.e., divine or angelic beings, took mortal wives; verse 4 continues, "It was then, and later too, that the Nephilim appeared [lit., were] on earth – when the divine beings cohabited with the daughters of men, who bore them offspring. They were the heroes [Heb. *gibborim*] of old, the men of renown." This could mean that the Nephilim were contemporaneous, but not identical, with the offspring of divine beings and earthly women, who were called *gibborim* (so, e.g., Morgenstern, in HUCA 14 (1939), 85ff.). The above translation, however, follows an ancient tradition in equating the Nephilim and the *gibborim* as offspring of the union of *angels and mortals.

In apocryphal writings of the Second Temple period this fragmentary narrative was elaborated and reinterpreted. The angels were then depicted as rebels against God: lured by the charms of women, they "fell" (Heb, *nfl.* נפל), defiled their heavenly purity, and introduced all manner of sinfulness to earth. Their giant offspring were wicked and violent; the Flood was occasioned by their sinfulness. (None of these ideas is in the biblical text.) Because of their evil nature, God decreed that the Nephilim should massacre one another, although according to another view most of them perished in the Flood. One version asserts that the evil spirits originally issued from the bodies of the slain giants. These giants, or their offspring, are identified as Nephilim (See 1 En. 6–10, 15–16; Jub. 7:21ff.). As this dualistic myth does not appear in the apocalypses of Baruch and Esdras nor in the *aggadah* of the talmudic period, it was apparently rejected as incompatible with Jewish monotheism. The "sons of God" are explained in the Targum to Genesis

6:4 and the Midrash (Gen. R. 26:5) as young aristocrats who married the daughters of commoners. The Targum renders both *gibborim* and Nephilim by *gibbaraya*; the Midrash (Gen. R. 26:7) lists seven names applied to giants. The Babylonian Talmud mentions the names of Shamhazzai, Uzza, and Uzziel, the leaders of the fallen *angels in Enoch, but does not say that they were angels: *Yoma* 67b alludes to the sins of Uzza and Uzziel; *Niddah* 61a states that Sihon and Og were descendants of Shamhazzai. In Deuteronomy 3:11 *Og is described as a giant, and this theme was developed to a large degree in aggadic legend. In post-talmudic literature (cf. Rashi, Yoma 67b) the long-suppressed myth came to the surface again. The Palestinian Targum gives the orthodox rendering of Genesis 6:1, but translates verse 4 as: "Shamhazzai and Uzziel fell from heaven and were on earth in those days" – identifying the Nephilim as the fallen angels rather than their children. The same identification is found in a late Midrash, which calls the fallen angels Uzza and Uzziel; another passage in the same document says the Nephilim were descendants of Cain (*Aggadat Bereshit*, ed. S. Buber, introd., p. 38). The Zohar (1:58a) also identifies the Nephilim with the fallen angels. The standard medieval Bible commentators generally followed the classical *aggadah* in rejecting the mythological interpretation and asserting that the marriages in Genesis 6 were human. Some variant opinions about the "sons of God" are offered – e.g., that their distinction was not only social, but physical and even moral, and that the offspring were called Nephilim because they "fell short" of their fathers in these respects (Naḥmanides, Abrabanel).

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[Bernard J. Bamberger]

NEPPI, HANANEL (**Grazziadio**; 1759–1863), Italian rabbi and physician. Neppi was born in Ferrara and studied under Jacob Moses *Ayash and Solomon Lampronti. He was a rabbi in Ferrara, and represented his community at the *Assembly of Jewish Notables called by Napoleon in Paris (1806). In 1822 he settled in Cento, where he was rabbi until his death. (The inscription on his tombstone was engraved on a wall of the Cento synagogue.)

His works include *Zekher Ẓaddikim li-Verakhah*, a biographical and bibliographical lexicon of earlier Jewish scholars, modeled on the *Shem ha-Gedolim* of Ḥ.J.D. *Azulai and printed together with the *Toledot Gedolei Yisrael* of Mordecai Samuel *Ghirondi (1853); *Livyat Ḥen*, a collection of responsa in six volumes, in manuscripts, some of which were printed by Yare (1908); sermons (in Mss.). An ardent student of Kabbalah, Hananel was styled "*ḥakham ḥen*" by his contemporaries. A catalog of his library was published at Lemberg in 1873.

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[Shlomo Simonsohn]

NERGAL-SHAREZER (Heb. נֵרְגַל שַׂר־אֶצֶר, נֵרְגַל שׂ(שׂ)רְאֶצֶר Akk. *dNergal šar-uṣur* ("Nergal protect the king!"), classical: Neriglissar), high-ranking official (*Rab Mag*) of Nebuchadnezzar (Jer. 39:3, 13). Nergal-Sharezer took part in the siege and conquest of Jerusalem in 587 B.C.E. He is probably identical with Neriglissar, a son-in-law of Nebuchadnezzar, the circumstances of whose succession to Evil-Merodach as king of Babylon are unknown, and who reigned from 560 to 556 B.C.E.

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NERIAH (**Menkin**), **MOSHE ẒEVI** (1913–1995), Israeli rabbi and *rosh yeshivah*. Neriah was born in Lodz, Poland. His father, R. Petahiah Menkin, later served as rabbi in various towns in Belorussia. At the age of 13, Neriah studied at the clandestine yeshivah in Minsk, and later in Shklov. In 1930 he immigrated to Ereẓ Israel to study in the Merkaz Ha-Rav Yeshivah established by Rabbi A.I. Kook, and while still there took a prominent part in the *Bnei Akiva movement, formulating its educational program and editing its monthly *Zera'im.* He received *semikhah* from Rabbi J.M. *Ḥarlap. Neriah was a youth delegate to the 20th and 21st Zionist Congresses. In 1940, he founded the Bnei Akiva Yeshivah in Kefar ha-Ro'eh, where he introduced many original educational principles which opened a new chapter in Torah education in Israel, including youth camps attached to the yeshivah. From this yeshivah there developed a network of some 20 Bnei Akiva yeshivot.

Neriah was particularly active in spreading Torah education, conducting study courses in Talmud over the radio, and lecturing extensively. A prolific writer, he devoted himself to halakhic problems connected with the emergence of the State, contributing articles to *Dat u-Medinah* and publishing *inter alia Milḥemet Shabbat* on the right to wage war on the Sabbath; *Kehal Gerim* on conversion; *Mishmeret Yiḥudenu* on the "Who is a Jew?" question; and *Ki Sheshet Yamim Asah Ha-Shem* on the theological aspects of the Six-Day War. Following the reorganization of the educational system, he was elected to the Seventh Knesset in 1969, where he devoted himself particularly to questions of education, but was not a candidate for the Eighth Knesset.

In 1973 he published his *Massekhet Nazir*, a biography presenting the system of thought of R. David *Cohen, and was awarded the Tel Aviv Municipality Prize for education.

Rabbi Neriah received the Israel Prize for special contribution to Israeli society in 1978.

[Itzhak Goldshlag]

°**NERO**, Roman emperor, 54–68 C.E. Nero reigned during a critical period in the relations between the Jews of Judea and imperial Rome. His reign saw the decline of the authority of the procurators in Judea and the outbreak of the Jewish War. He seems to have had no personal enmity against the Jews. Indeed, he supported Jewish vassal rulers and extended the borders of the kingdom of *Agrippa II to include Tiberias and a number of other towns (Jos., Ant., 20:159; Jos., Wars, 2:252). He also bestowed Armenia Minor upon Aristobulus, son of the Jewish king of Chalcis (Ant., 20:158). In a dispute that broke out between the leaders of the high priesthood and the Jerusalem populace on the one side, and Agrippa and the procurator *Festus on the other, over the wall that had been erected to prevent Agrippa's palace from overlooking the Temple court, he decided in favor of the former (Ant., 20:195). His wife *Poppaea Sabina, who had a certain sympathy for the Jews, had a hand in this decision. Nero's persecutions after the fire in Rome affected only the Christians but not the Jews. However, a number of factors combined to damage relations between the Jews of Ereẓ Israel and the Roman government. The excesses and extravagances of the court were reflected in monetary extortion in the provinces, including Judea. Moreover, the rise of hellenizing elements in the administration benefited the non-Jewish inhabitants of the country while damaging the interests of the Jews. The procurators of Judea in Nero's time apart from Festus (60–62 C E.) were *Felix (52–60 C.E.), who had already been appointed by *Claudius, *Albinus (62–64 C.E.), and Gessius *Florus (64–66 C.E.). They were the worst in the history of the Roman government of the country, and their rule saw the collapse of law and order in Judea. This was particularly so during the procuratorship of Florus, a Greek from Asia Minor, whose oppressive rule showed nothing but hatred toward the Jewish population. The situation was particularly bad in Caesarea, where, in a municipal dispute between the Jews and the Syrians, Nero decided against the Jews, annulling their privileges. Florus' conduct also caused the outbreak of disturbances in Jerusalem, which led up to the great revolt of 66. Nero, determined to crush the rebels, sent *Vespasian at the head of a large army to the country. Galilee was speedily reconquered by the Roman forces, but Jerusalem continued to hold out. According to talmudic tradition Nero became a proselyte (Git. 56a).

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[Menahem Stern]

NER TAMID (Heb. נֵר תָּמִיד; "eternal lamp"), a light which burns perpetually in front of the *ark in synagogues. It is usually placed in a receptacle suspended from the ceiling. The *ner tamid* consisted of a wick burning in olive oil and it was considered a meritorious deed and an honor to give donations for the upkeep of the *ner tamid*. Indeed, people who do so are specially mentioned in the **Mi she-Berakh* prayer recited after the Torah reading in the synagogue on Sabbath mornings. In modern times, however, the *ner tamid* is an electrical bulb. The receptacle and the chains of the *ner tamid* are usually made of precious metal.

The institution of the *ner tamid* in the synagogue is a symbolic reminder of the **menorah* which burned continually in the Temple (see Ex. 27:20; Lev. 24:2), as the synagogue is considered a spiritual replica of the Temple ("small sanctuary," Meg. 29a). Originally, therefore, the *ner tamid* was placed into a niche in the western wall of the synagogue in remembrance of the position of the *menorah* in the Temple. Later, however, it was suspended in front of the Ark. In many East European synagogues which were built of wood, the *ner tamid* was placed in special vaulted stone niches because of the possible danger of fire. The *ner tamid* has also been interpreted as being symbolic of God's presence amid Israel (Shab. 22b) or as the spiritual light which emanated from the Temple (Ex. R. 36:1).

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°NERVA (**M. Cocceius Nerva**), Roman emperor, 96–98 C.E. He mounted the throne at the tumultuous time following the death of *Domitian and succeeded in reconciling the interests of the traditionalist senate with those of the forces of spiritual revolution, Jews, Judeophile, or Christian. He had a generous social and economic policy which attempted to alleviate the fiscal excesses and increasing pauperism in the empire. He abolished the extortionist procedure of the *Fiscus Judaicus that had given rise to abuse under Domitian. In commemoration of this he issued coins with the inscription *Fisci Judaici Calumnia Sublata*. He exempted adherents of the Christian faith from the obligation to pay the *Fiscus Judaicus*, thus officially recognizing Christianity as a new religion and not merely a sect.

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[Alfredo Mordechai Rabello]

NESHAMAH YETERAH (Heb. נְשָׁמָה יְתֵרָה, "additional soul"), a popular belief that every Jew is given an additional soul from the entrance of each Sabbath until its termination. This belief originated with the story in the Talmud (Beẓah 16a): "Resh Lakish said, 'On the eve of the Sabbath, God gives man an additional (or enlarged) soul, and at the close of the Sabbath He withdraws it from him, for it says; "He ceased from work and rested," i.e., *va-yinnafash* (Ex. 31:17): once it (the Sabbath) ceased, the additional soul is lost.'" (וַיִּנָּפַשׁ – play on the word which could be read – וַי(לְ)נֶפֶשׁ *vai* (*lenefesh* "woe to the soul"). The notion of *neshamah yeterah* was richly expanded in kabbalistic literature, especially in the Zohar. One explanation for the use of spices at the *Havdalah service is that with the departure of the *neshamah yeterah* at the end of the Sabbath, it is necessary to strengthen the faint remaining soul (Tur, OḤ 297:1).

NESHER (Heb. נֶשֶׁר), urban community with municipal council status in northern Israel, 4 mi. (6 km.) S.E. of Haifa. Nesher was founded in 1925 as a workers' quarter for employees of the Nesher Cement Works. Until 1948 it consisted mainly of small wooden huts. In the *War of Independence (1948), two nearby Arab villages whose inhabitants had participated in the massacre of Jewish employees from the oil refinery were captured by Jewish forces and abandoned by their inhabitants. The villages were later taken over by new immigrants and renamed Tel Ḥanan. They were finally included in the municipal area of Nesher. Nesher's population increased from 1,500 in 1948 to 9,450 by 1968. In the mid-1990s the population was approximately 16,000, and at the end of 2002 it was 20,900. The growth of Nesher's population was mainly due to its proximity to Haifa, with many young families who work in Haifa moving there, especially to its new neighborhoods. In 1995 Nesher received city status, its municipal area running to 5 sq. mi. (13 sq. km.).

[Efraim Orni / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

NESVIZH (Pol. **Nieśwież**), town in Baranovichi district, Belarus; formerly in Poland. Jews are mentioned in Nesvizh in the early 16th century. In 1589 the Radziwill family, who owned the town, granted the Jews certain rights, and they were subject to the jurisdiction of the prince. The Lithuanian Council of 1623 (see *Councils of the Lands) assigned Nesvizh to the Brest-Litovsk province but in 1634 it was made capital of its own province. Nesvizh was a center for fairs, and *dayyanim* were sent there from all Lithuanian communities. The community wielded considerable influence in the Lithuanian Council, which convened there in 1761. According to a council decision of 1634, the Nesvizh representative was one of the five men who determined the amount of funds required "to wreak vengeance for murder," referring to a blood libel against the Jews. Of the 60,000 zlotys demanded as poll tax from the whole of Lithuanian Jewry in 1721, the council fixed the share of Nesvizh and the neighboring town of Sverzhen at 1,000 zlotys, as against 1,100 zlotys imposed on Vilna. In 1811 there were 716 Jews in Nesvizh; 153 of them were craftsmen, including 91 needleworkers, 21 tanners, and 13 barbers. The community numbered 5,053 (72.7% of the total population) in 1878; 4,678 (55.4%) in 1897; 5,344 (53%) in 1914; 3,346 (48.9%) in 1921, and 3,364 (out of a total population of 7,586) in 1931. Besides commerce and crafts the Jews of Nesvizh engaged in horticulture and market gardening, including marketing of agricultural products. It had a textile factory, a sawmill, and a cooperative Jewish bank.

Nesvizh was known for its talmudic scholars. Among the well-known rabbis who officiated in the community at various periods were Isaac Elhanan *Spektor and Samuel Avigdor "Tosfa'ah." The last rabbi was Yitzhak Isaac Rabinovitch. Joseph Baer *Soloveichik and Pinḥas *Rozovski were natives of Nesvizh. The community had a yeshivah, a Hebrew school and kindergarten, and a Yiddish school. A branch of *Ḥovevei Zion was founded in 1871 and revived in 1888. There was considerable Zionist activity and in the 1930s *Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir maintained a training farm in Nesvizh. An association of Jewish craftsmen originally known as Po'alei Ẓedek was founded in 1908, and there was also a branch of the *Bund and Jewish members of the Communist Party.

Among the outstanding personalities who originated from Nesvizh were the philosopher Solomon *Maimon; Eliezer Dillon, who was one of two "deputies of Jewish people" sent to St. Petersburg; Moses Eleazar *Eisenstadt, the **kazyonny ravvin* in St. Petersburg; the authors and educators Nisan *Touroff and Falk Halperin; the authors Jacob Zalman Reizin and Mordecai Ze'ev Reizin; and Nahum Meyer Shaikevich (*Shomer), the Yiddish author.

[Dov Rabin]

Holocaust Period

During the period of Soviet rule (1939–41), the community institutions were liquidated and the activity of the political parties was forbidden. Zionist youth movements, however, maintained their frameworks underground. Large economic concerns were nationalized, small-scale trade almost came to a complete stop, and artisans were organized in cooperatives. The city was captured by the Germans on June 27, 1941. Looting and anti-Jewish incidents began. On October 19 a fine of 500,000 rubles and 2.5 kg. of gold was imposed. On October 29, 1941, all the Jews were ordered to gather in the market square and a "selection" was carried out. From among those gathered, 585 artisans were picked out and the others, about 4,000 in number, were executed near the city. The remnant of the community was concentrated in a ghetto that was surrounded by a wire fence.

At the end of December 1941, an underground organization was founded in the ghetto. It began with the acquisition of arms and the preparation of other means of self-defense. In July 1942 news of the destruction of nearby communities reached the ghetto and the underground prepared to fight. The chairman of the Judenrat, Magalif, a lawyer from Warsaw, cooperated with the underground. On July 17 the Germans surrounded the ghetto to carry out a selection. When the Germans broke through the gate, the Jews set their houses afire and defended themselves, with the few weapons they had and with knives, hatchets, and sticks. About 40 Germans were hit, but the Germans and their Lithuanian collaborators overcame the inhabitants of the ghetto. About 25 fighters fled into the forests. Some organized into a partisan unit and were integrated into the Chkalov battalion of partisans that was active in the forests of Volozhin. With the liberation of the city by the Soviets, Jewish life was not reconstituted. The survivors went to Poland, and from there some went to Ereẓ Israel and others migrated overseas.

[Aharon Weiss]

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NES ẒIYYONAH (Heb. נֵס צִיּוֹנָה; "Banner toward Zion"), semiurban settlement with municipal council status in central

Israel, between Rishon le-Zion and Reḥovot. Nes Ẓiyyonah was founded in 1883 in the Arab hamlet Wadi Ḥanīn on the initiative of a single Jewish immigrant from Russia, Reuben Lehrer. A few more Jewish families joined the founder in the first years. The moshavah was given its present name in the 1890s when, for the first time in the country, the blue and white Jewish flag was raised at its anniversary celebration. In the first decade of the 20th century, citrus groves became prominent there and attracted both immigrants of the Second *Aliyah and, in even greater numbers, Arab workers, some of whom settled there. Nes Ẓiyyonah thus became the principal stage in the struggle for the "conquest of labor." Until 1948 Nes Ẓiyyonah was the only village in the country with a mixed Arab-Jewish population – the two communities living on opposite sides of the main road and, on the whole, coexisting peacefully. In the *War of Independence (1948), the Arabs abandoned the village, which had by then 1,800 Jewish inhabitants. After 1948 Nes Ẓiyyonah quickly expanded and reached 9,500 inhabitants in 1953; its rate of growth, however, slowed down subsequently. There were 11,900 inhabitants in 1968, in a municipal area extending over 6 sq. mi. (16 sq. km.), of which nearly two-thirds were cultivated for farming. Aside from the citrus branch, Nes Ẓiyyonah was a beekeeping center, producing an annual average of 330,000 lb. (150,000 kg.) of honey. Industry was a prime factor in the local economy, employing workers in factories for building materials, electric appliances, fiberglass, rubber, metal, and foodstuffs. The Institute for Biological Research, a top-secret defense establishment employing 350 people, was also located there. By the mid-1990s the population had nearly doubled to 21,800, and in 2002 it was 25,800. In 1992 Nes Ziyyonah received city status.

WEBSITE: www.ness-ziona.muni.il.

[Efraim Orni / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

NES ẒIYYONAH, a clandestine Zionist society founded in 1885 by students of the yeshivah in Volozhin. The purpose of Nes Ẓiyyonah was to organize a group of people (rabbis, preachers, and writers) to propagate the idea of the settlement of Ereẓ Israel. The members of the society were sworn to secrecy and took it upon themselves to promote their cause orally and in print and to establish new Ḥovevei Zion societies (see *Ḥibbat Zion). The central committee of Nes Ẓiyyonah distributed circulars among its members and, when it acquired a duplicating machine, also published a *Mikhtav Itti u-Khelali* ("General Periodical") in Hebrew. It also initiated a collection of essays and asked rabbis to submit their views on the idea of settlement in Ereẓ Israel. Replies received from several outstanding rabbis served as a kind of positive "responsa" to the Ḥovevei Zion ideology. Some of the replies were published in the Hebrew press, but the book itself never came out because at the end of 1891 the police discovered the existence of the society, confiscated the duplicating machine and the archives, and put an end to Nes Ẓiyyonah's activities. Some of the rabbis' letters were included in *Shivat Ẓiyyon* (1891), a collection edited by A.J. *Slutzky. A group of former members of Nes Ẓiyyonah then founded another society with similar aims, called Neẓaḥ Israel. Among the founders was Ḥayyim Naḥman *Bialik, who was asked to formulate the aims of the new society. An article by Bialik – his first effort to appear in print – was published in **Ha-Meliẓ* 31, No. 80 (1891). The stated purpose of the society was "the settlement of our holy land in the spirit of holiness and Judaism." The society planned the establishment of a rural settlement in Ereẓ Israel with a majority of members from Nes Ẓiyyonah, which would serve as an example to all the other settlements, especially in matters of education. In 1890 societies by the name of Nes Ẓiyyonah were founded in Aleksot near Kovno and in Suwalki for the purpose of establishing a settlement in Ereẓ Israel based on religious-national ideals. Eventually the two societies merged into one and, augmented by additional members from Mariampol, laid the foundations of Ḥaderah. When the Volozhin yeshivah was closed by Russian authorities, the activities of Neẓaḥ Israel came to an end. It was reestablished at Minsk by I. Nissenbaum and was finally disbanded in 1894.

[Israel Klausner]

NETA'IM (Heb. נְטָעִים; "Plantations"), moshav in central Israel S.W. of Rishon le-Zion affiliated with Tenu'at ha-Moshavim, founded in 1932 by veteran farm laborers of the Second *Aliyah in the framework of the Thousand Families Settlement Scheme. Citrus groves were among its intensive farming branches. In 1968 its population was 212 and in the mid-1990s approximately 265, jumping to 456 in 2002 after expansion.

[Efraim Orni]

NETANYAH (Heb. נְתַנְיָה), city in central Israel, on the Sharon coast. Netanyah is named after the U.S. Jewish philanthropist Nathan *Straus. It was founded in 1929 as a moshavah based on farming by 40 young people of the *Benei Binyamin association, led by Oved *Ben-Ami, whose parents were veteran settlers in moshavot. The village soon served as a nucleus for the settlement of the central Sharon where no Jewish villages had existed before, particularly as its founding coincided with the purchase of the *Ḥefer Plain by the *Jewish National Fund. Because it was situated between Tel Aviv and Haifa, Netanyah was able to develop as a market town for its quickly expanding rural hinterland. In the initial period citrus groves constituted Netanyah's principal economy, employing a considerable number of hired workers and thus causing an increase in population. A further growth factor was Netanyah's location at a communications center. In 1948 the population was 8,500. Later Netanyah was given city status and by 1951 its population had already risen to 30,000, then to 60,100 by 1968 as large numbers of new immigrants were absorbed. By the mid-1990s the population had again more then doubled to 142,700 and in 2002 it was 164,800, making Netanyah the ninth largest city in Israel. Its area was 11 sq. mi. (28.5 sq. km.), with accelerated expansion continuing in the first years of the new century as new neighborhoods burgeoned.

The city's economy was based mainly on tourism and industry. Netanyah is one of Israel's foremost seaside resorts with dozens of hotels and pensions. The foremost industrial branch was diamond polishing, of which Netanyah became the Israeli center in the 1940s, when the industry was transferred from Nazi-dominated Belgium to Palestine – although subsequently the center moved to the Tel Aviv area and over the years most of the diamond-polishing workshops were closed. The city's industry is now concentrated in two industrial areas and includes hi-tech industries, steel, pharmaceuticals, food, beer, textiles, rubber, furniture, electronics, etc. In addition, Netanyah become a regional commercial center, including the first and only branch of the IKEA Corp. Public institutions located at Netanyah included the Ohel Shem Culture Hall, the Malben Old Age Home, the Wingate Sports Center, and Ulpan Akiva. The Netanyah Academic College has an enrollment of 3,500 students. During the al-Aqsa Intifada the city came under a number of terrorist attacks, most notably a suicide bombing at the Park Hotel in 2002, killing 22 and wounding 140 at a Passover *seder.*

WEBSITE: www.netanya.muni.il.

[Shlomo Hasson / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

NETANYAHU, BENZION (1910–), scholar and Zionist. Born in Warsaw, Netanyahu moved with his family to Tel Aviv in 1920. There he became active in the Zionist-Revisionist Party and its successor, the New Zionist Organization. From 1932 to 1935 he served on its executive committee and in 1934–35 as editor-in-chief of its daily paper *Ha-Yarden*. In 1940 he went to the United States as a member of the delegation, headed by Jabotinsky, of the World New Zionist Organization, and in the following year was appointed executive director of the New Zionist Organization of America; until 1948 he headed its press campaign and diplomatic action in the United States. From 1946 to 1948 he was a member of the American Zionist Emergency Council, under the leadership of Abba Hillel Silver.

After the establishment of the State of Israel, Netanyahu turned to his numerous scholarly interests in the field of Judaica. He became the editor-in-chief of the *Encyclopedia Hebraica* (1948–62); general editor of *The World History of the Jewish People* (1954–64); editor-in-chief of the *Encyclopaedia Judaica* (1961–63); co-editor of the *Jewish Quarterly Review* (1959–60); and editor of the works of Herzl, Nordau, and Pinsker. He was a professor at Dropsie College from 1957 to 1968, serving as chairman of its Department of Hebrew Language and Literature from 1962 to 1968. From 1968 he was professor of Hebraic studies at the University of Denver and in 1971 was appointed professor of Judaic studies and chairman of the Department of Semitic Languages at Cornell University. Upon his retirement, he became professor emeritus of Jewish studies at Cornell and a scholar at Princeton University.

Netanyahu published numerous original studies in various fields of Jewish history and literature, including *Don Isaac Abravanel* (1953), 1968^2), *The Marranos of Spain* (1966), and *The Origins of the Inquisition in Fifteenth Century Spain* (1995).

He is the father of Binyamin *Netanyahu, prime minister of Israel in 1996–99.

[Martin A. Cohen]

NETANYAHU, BINYAMIN (**Bibi**; 1949–), Israeli politician, prime minister in the years 1996–99. Netanyahu was born in Israel, to a Revisionist family, son of historian Benzion *Netanyahu. He was raised in Jerusalem, and in Philadelphia where his family lived in 1956–58 and 1963–67. Netanyahu returned to Israel in 1967 to do his military service, reaching the rank of captain in the elite *Sayyeret Matkal* unit. He finished his military service in 1972, and then returned to the U.S., where he attended the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, receiving a bachelor's degree in architecture. While studying at MIT he returned to Israel to participate in the Yom Kippur War. He then went back to complete a master's degree in business administration, and considered doing a doctorate in political science. While in the U.S. Netanyahu changed his name to Benjamin Nitai and started working in the international consulting firm the Boston Consulting Group. In these years he was active in presenting information about Israel. After his brother Jonathan (Yonni) was killed in the course of the *Entebbe operation in July 1976, Netanyahu returned to Israel in 1978, and started advocating international action against terrorism. In 1980 he set up and headed the Jonathan Institute for the Study of Terror, which was named for his brother. He also started working as marketing manager for the Jerusalem-based furniture manufacturer Rim. Netanyahu's speaking skills and fluent English brought him to the attention of Israel's ambassador in Washington, Moshe *Arens, who supported his appointment as minister plenipotentiary in the Israel Embassy in Washington, where he served from 1982 to 1984. In 1984–88 he served as Israel's ambassador to the United Nations. Inter alia, he got the UN archive to open its files on Nazi war criminals, and frequently appeared in the American media to explain Israel's positions. Netanyahu returned to Israel in time to run in the elections to the Twelfth Knesset on the Likud list. In the National Unity government he was appointed deputy minister for foreign affairs under Arens. After David *Levy succeeded Arens, Netanyahu was appointed deputy minister in the prime minister's office. During the first Gulf War he was one of Israel's leading spokesmen, and played a similar role in the Madrid Conference of October–November 1991. He was one of the staunch supporters of the direct election of the prime minister. After the Likud's electoral defeat in the elections to the Thirteenth Knesset in 1992, and Yitzhak *Shamir's resignation from the Likud leadership, Netanyahu was elected chairman of the Likud in March 1993, despite a well-publicized scandal over an affair he had had. In the Thirteenth Knesset he served on the Knesset Foreign Affairs and Defense Committee, and headed the opposition to the Oslo process led by Prime Minister Yitzhak *Rabin. Nevertheless, he supported the peace treaty with Jordan. Netanyahu was accused by the left of having participated in the incitement against Rabin that led up to his assassination in November 1995. However, after convincing David Levy's Gesher party and Raphael *Eitan's Tzomet to run together in a joint list with the Likud in the elections to the Fourteenth Knesset in 1996, Netanyahu beat Shimon *Peres in the first direct election for prime minister, thus becoming Israel's first prime minister to be born after the establishment of the state. Netanyahu established a right of center–religious government, and soon after its establishment traveled to Washington, Cairo, and Amman, proclaiming that while Israel was committed to the peace process and the Oslo Accords, he would insist on the Palestinians' implementing all their undertakings, including the cancelation of the articles in the Palestine National Covenant that rejected Israel's right to exist, and putting an end to Palestinian terror against Israel. Netanyahu met with Palestinian leader Yasser *Arafat in September 1996, signed the Hebron Memorandum in January 1997, and the Wye River Memorandum in November 1998. He offered Syria negotiations based on the concept "Lebanon first," and an Israeli withdrawal from the security zone in southern Lebanon as a prelude to talks on other issues. However, Syrian President Hafez el-Asad rejected the initiative.

Netanyahu's government was characterized by a succession of scandals, some connected with his own political style, and others with various controversial decisions that he took, such as his choice of candidates for minister of justice and attorney general. Growing dissatisfaction with his leadership within the Likud led to several prominent members' leaving the party, while the partnership with Gesher and Tzomet fell apart. Finally, a slowdown in the economy and difficulties in getting the 1999 budget approved by the Knesset led Netanyahu to call for early elections to the Fifteenth Knesset.

In the direct election for the prime minister held in May 1999, Netanyahu lost by a large margin to Labor's Ehud *Barak. Rather than continue to lead the Likud in opposition, he decided to leave politics temporarily and engage in business and lecturing. Prior to the elections to the Sixteenth Knesset in January 2003 he returned to active politics and was reelected to the Knesset on the Likud list. In the government formed by Ariel *Sharon in 2003 he was appointed minister of finance, in which task he was forced to confront a deep economic recession. Pursuing an extreme neoliberal economic policy, Netanyahu managed to improve the performance of the economy, though at the cost of severe cuts in Israel's social welfare system and growing gaps between rich and poor.

Netanyahu opposed Sharon's policy of disengagement from the Gaza Strip, and the dismantlement of settlements, but on October 26, 2004, failed in an effort to vote down the policy in the Knesset. He then threatened to resign from the government unless a referendum were held on the disengagement, but he finally lifted his threat due to pressure that he remain in the Ministry of Finance to see the 2005 budget through. Netanyahu finally resigned from the government on August 9, one week before the beginning of the evacuation of the settlements in *Gush Katif and northern Samaria, before the 2006 budget was brought to the Knesset. His intention was to contend for the Likud leadership before the elections to the Seventeenth Knesset, a post he won in December 2005 after Sharon bolted the party to form Kadimah.

He wrote *Don Isaac Abravanel, Statesman and Philosopher* (1982); *Fighting Terrorism: How Democracies Can Defeat Domestic and International Terrorists* (1995); and *A Durable Peace: Israel and Its Place among the Nations* (2000); he edited *Terrorism: How the West Can Win* (1986); and *A Place Among the Nations: Israel and the World* (1993).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: B. Kaspit, *Netanyahu: The Road to Power* (1998); N. Lochery, *The Difficult Road to Peace: Netanyahu, Israel and the Middle East Peace Process* (1999); R. Vardi, *Bibi: Mi Atta Adoni Rosh ha-Memshalah?* (1997); R. Gelbard, *Shinui Emdot Manhigim be-Sikhsukh Kiyyumi u-Murkav: Binyamin Netanyahu* (2003).

[Susan Hattis Rolef (2nd ed.)]

NETHANEL BEN AL-FAYYUMI (d. about 1165), Yemenite scholar and philosopher. Nethanel appears to have been the father of Jacob b. Nethanel to whom *Maimonides addressed his *Iggeret Teiman*, ("Epistle to Yemen").

Nethanel wrote the Judeo-Arabic *Bustān al-ʿUqūl* ("Garden of Intellects"), a compendium of theology published by R. Gottheil, in: *Festschrift… Steinschneider* (1896), 144–7; text edited and translated into English by D. Levine, 1908; translated into Hebrew under the title *Gan ha-Sekhalim* by Y. Kafaḥ, 1954. The seven chapters of the work deal with (1) divine unity, (2) man as a microcosm, (3) obedience to God, (4) repentance, (5) reliance upon God and providence, (6) the nature of the Messiah with a discussion of the Islamic concepts of the abrogation of the Torah and the prophethood of Muhammad, and (7) the future life. In his discussion of the abrogation of the Torah, Nethanel denied that the Torah would be superseded, but, at the same time, maintained that there is a certain validity in the legislation of other religions. His tolerance is evident from his contention that God sent different prophets to the various nations of the world with legislations suited to the particular temperament of each individual nation.

The *Bustān al-ʿUqūl*, a popular work, contains numerous citations from *aggadah* and from Arabic legendary and anecdotal materials. In addition to drawing upon Jewish sources, such as *Saadiah's *Book of Beliefs and Opinions* and *Baḥya's *Duties of the Heart*, Nethanel borrowed heavily from Islamic philosophy, from the Epistles of the *Brethren of Sincerity, and, as S. Pines points out, from the writings of the Ismāʿīllya, in particular of the Fatimid branch. The Ismailian influence is particularly prominent in Nethanel's discussion of the nature of God, and the primary emanations. Pines considers the *Bustān al-ʿUqūl* an Ismailian treatise that was inspired by the theology of the Fatimids, in the same way that a work like Saadiah's *Beliefs and Opinions* was inspired by the Mutazilite *Kalām. Some identify the author of *Bustān* with Nethanel b. Moses ha-Levi the Gaon of Fostat or with the son of Fayyūmī b. Saadiah who sent an epistle to Maimonides.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: EJ, 2 (1925), 260ff.; A.S. Halkin (ed.), *Iggeret Teiman (Moses Maimonides' Epistle to Yemen)* (1952), viiff.; M. Steinschneider, in: JQR, 10 (1897/98), 522–3; idem, Arab Lit, 182; Neubauer, Cat, 2 (1906), 380; Mann, Egypt, 1 (1920), 244; 2 (1922), 315–6; S. Pines, in: *Revue de l'histoire juive en Egypte*, 1 (1947), 5–22.

[Frank Talmage]

NETHANEL BEN ISAIAH (14th century), Yemenite scholar. Nethanel's fame rests upon his extensive midrashic anthology, *Nur al-Ẓalam* ("Light in the Darkness"). The book is a typical Yemenite Midrash: it is based upon the standard Midrashim, though with stylistic changes and adaptations, and the influence of Maimonides, with whom the author shows great familiarity, is conspicuous. Philosophical ideas from other schools as well as kabbalistic sayings are also woven into the work.

Nur al-Ẓalam contains few of the peculiarities of the other Yemenite Midrashim and is of a much higher literary standard, being comparable in this respect to the *Midrash ha-Gadol. It was utilized by authors of later Yemenite Midrashim, among them Manẓur Aldamari, in his *Sarag al-Ekol*, and Shalom *Shabazi. The Midrash was published in its entirety with a Hebrew translation accompanying the Arabic original, by Y. Kafaḥ (1957). Nethanel also wrote a commentary on Maimonides' *Mishneh Torah* which was extant until recently and subsequently lost.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Nathanel b. Isaiah, *Me'or ha-Afelah*, ed. by Y. Kafaḥ (1957), introd.; A. Kohut, "*Light of Shade and Lamp of Wisdom*"… composed by Nethanel ibn Yeshâya (= *Studies in Yemen-Hebrew Literature*, pt. 2), (bound with proceedings of the fourth Biennial Convention of the Jewish Theological Seminary Association, 1894).

[Israel Moses Ta-Shma]

NETHANEL BEN MESHULLAM HA-LEVI (1660/1665–1735?), Italian kabbalist. Nethanel was born in Modena and was ordained rabbi around 1685. His first rabbinical post appears to have been in his native town, during the lifetime of his father, Meshullam b. Benzion ha-Levi, a kabbalist, who was a member of the Modena rabbinate. From 1693 Nethanel was also rabbi in Lugo, Pesaro, Padua, and Cento. In 1728 he returned to Modena, apparently succeeding Ephraim Kohen of Ostrog as chief rabbi, serving in that position until his death. Some of his responsa were published in the works of his contemporaries, such as the *Paḥad Yiẓḥak* of Isaac *Lampronti and the *Shemesh Ẓedakah* (Venice, 1743) of Samson *Morpurgo. Of great importance is his responsum written in Pesaro (in *Shemesh Ẓedakah*, ḤM, no. 33), in which he discusses communal taxation and intercommunity responsibility, and protests against rabbis who pass judgment on matters concerning other communities without the consent of their local rabbis. In the sphere of Kabbalah his work exhibits affinity with the thought of Moses Ḥayyim *Luzzatto. He was close to the Kabbalah circle of Abraham *Rovigo and Mordecai *Ashkenazi. His son, ẒEVI HA-LEVI, an emissary of the Holy Land, was one of the scholars of the yeshivah of Ḥayyim ibn *Attar in Jerusalem.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Wilensky, in: KS, 23 (1946/47), 131–9; 24 (1947/48), 160.

[Abraham David]

NETHANEL BEN MOSES HA-LEVI (12th century), *gaon* and *rosh yeshivah* in *Cairo. Nethanel inherited his position from his father Moses and according to documents of the Cairo **Genizah*, he held this position from 1160 to 1170. At that time, the role and the authority of the Cairo *rosh yeshivah* increased to a considerable extent because, after the death of *Samuel b. Hananiah, the position of the **nagid* was weakened as a result of the activities of *Zuta. Nethanel appointed judges and other religious officials in all the communities of Egypt and he headed the great *bet din*. He received a letter of ordination from R. *Daniel b. Ḥasdai, the exilarch in *Baghdad, who thus sought to impose his authority on Egyptian Jewry; on the other hand, *Samuel b. Eli, the head of the *yeshivah* of Baghdad, supported the *geonim* of *Damascus. *Benjamin of Tudela, the 12th-century traveler, relates that Nethanel was in royal service. In 1171 Nethanel was succeeded by *Maimonides as head of the Jews. For some unknown reason Maimonides was compelled to give way to *Sar Shalom ha-Levi, the brother of Nethanel.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Mann, Egypt, 1 (1920), 234–5, 237; 2 (1922), 292ff.; Mann, Texts, 1 (1931), 230–1, 257–62; Assaf, in: *Tarbiz*, 1:3 (1929/30), 68; idem, *Be-Oholei Ya'akov* (1943), 91; Goitein, in: *Tarbiz*, 33 (1963/64), 184.

[Eliyahu Ashtor]

NETHANEL OF CHINON, French tosafist of the first half of the 13th century. Nethanel is mentioned several times in the standard *tosafot* (e.g., Beẓah 3a) and is probably identical with the Nethanel and the Nethanel ha-Kadosh ("the saint" – so called because of his piety and not because of his having died a martyr's death) mentioned in *Shitah Mekubbeẓet* (BK 18a; Men. 7a). *Jehiel of Paris approached Nethanel with a problem and was directed by him to Isaac b. Todros, his older contemporary (Resp. Maharik 102). *Samuel of Evreux turned to him with halakhic problems (*Mordekhai, Ḥul.* 681). Nethanel's fellow townsman *Samson of Coucy made abundant use of his teaching in his *Sefer ha-Keritut* (Constantinople, 1516). Nethanel b. Joseph of Chinon, younger brother of Eliezer of Chinon, the author of several *piyyutim*, was probably a grandson of this Nethanel.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: A.M. Habermann, *Shirei ha-Yiḥud ve-ha-Kavod* (1948), 73–85; Urbach, Tosafot, index s.v. *Nethanel mi-Kinon.*

[Israel Moses Ta-Shma']

NETHERLANDS, THE (**Holland**), kingdom in N.W. Europe.

The Middle Ages

It is not known when exactly the Jews settled in the area which is now called The Netherlands. As early as the 11th century one can find some indications of Jewish settlers in what was then called the Lowlands, an area which included the Southern Netherlands.

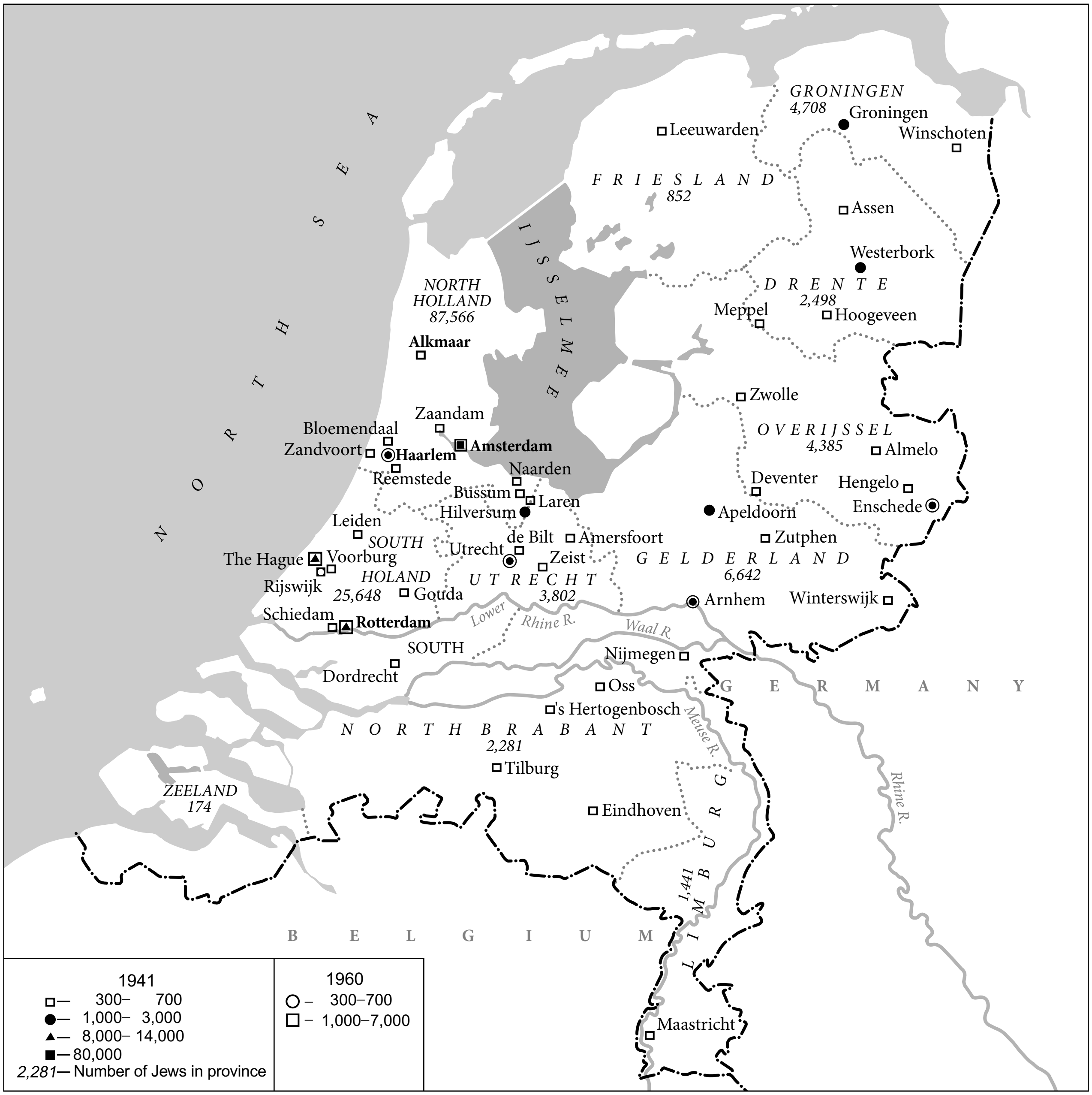
N O R T H S E A
GRONINGEN
4,708
Groningen
Winschoten
Leeuwarden
F R I E S L A N D
852
Assen
Westerbork
D R E N T E
2,498
Meppel
Hoogeveen
IJSSELMEER
NORTH
HOLLAND
87,566
Alkmaar
Zaandam
Bloemendaal
Zandvoort
Haarlem
Amsterdam
Reemstede
Naarden
Bussum
Laren
Hilversum
Zwolle
O V E R I J S S E L
4,385
Almelo
Deventer
Hengelo
Enschede
Apeldoorn
Leiden
SOUTH
HOLAND
25,648
The Hague
Voorburg
Rijswijk
Gouda
Utrecht
de Bilt
Amersfoort
Zeist
U T R E C H T
3,802
Zutphen
G E L D E R L A N D
6,642
Arnhem
Winterswijk
Schiedam
Rotterdam
Lower
Rhine R.
Waal R.
SOUTH
Dordrecht
Nijmegen
Oss
's Hertogenbosch
G E R M A N Y
N O R T H B R A B A N T
2,281
Tilburg
Meuse R.
Rhine R.
ZEELAND
174
Eindhoven
L I M B U R G
1,441
B E L G I U M
Maastricht
1941
□— 300– 700
●— 1,000– 3,000
▲— 8,000– 14,000
■— 80,000
2,281— Number of Jews in province
1960
○ – 300–700
□ – 1,000–7,000

Main Jewish communities of the Netherlands in 1941 and 1960. Bold face type indicates places of Jewish settlement in the 17th century.

Early sources from the 11th and 12th centuries mention official debates or *Disputationes* between Christians and Jews, in which attempts were made to convince the Jews of the truth of Christianity and to try to convert them. It is not certain whether the Jews were residents in the area or whether they were just passing through.

However, as of the 13th century, there are sources which indicate that Jews were living in the areas of Brabant and Limburg, mainly in cities such as Brussels, Leuven, Tienen, and Maastricht. Sources from the 14th century also mention Jewish residents in the cities of Antwerp and Mechelen and in the northern region of Geldern.

Between 1347 and 1351, the entire area covering Europe was hit by the plague or Black Death and this led to a new theme in medieval antisemitic rhetoric. The Jews were held responsible for the epidemic and for the way it was rapidly spreading, because presumably they were the ones who had poisoned the water of the springs used by the Christians. Various medieval chronicles mention this, e.g., those of Radalphus de Rivo (c. 1403) of Tongeren, who wrote about how the Jews were murdered in the Brabant region and in the city of Zwolle because they were accused of spreading the Black Death. This accusation was added to the other traditional accusations against the Jews, such as piercing the Host used for communion and using Christian children as an offering during Passover. For this reason local Jewish communities were often murdered in part or entirely or exiled. Thus, in May 1370, six Jews were burned at the stake in Brussels because they were accused of theft and of desecrating the Holy Sacrament. In addition to these drastic measures, traces can also be found of abusing and insulting Jews, e.g., in the cities of Zutphen, Deventer, and Utrecht, for allegedly desecrating the Host.

From the 15th century, Jews also resided in the Northern Netherlands. Their most important occupation was moneylending, making them dependent on the economies of the cities. In this way, Nijmegen became an important financial marketplace where a great many of Jewish families came to settle. Nonetheless, Jews continued to choose the large cities in the Southern Netherlands as for their home base. In the 16th century the city of Antwerp came to be a very important location for Jewish tradesmen and moneylenders because of its flourishing economy. This also turned it into a refuge for a number of Marranos who had been expelled from Spain and Portugal after 1492. Jewish bankers usually settled there using a Christian pseudonym. Francisco Mendes, born into a distinguished family of bankers, opened a branch in Antwerp that was one of the largest banks in Europe. After his death in 1536 it was run by his wife Gracia *Nasi. The flourishing Jewish trade in Antwerp ended, however, when The Netherlands were divided during the reign of king Philip II and many Jews took refuge in the Northern Netherlands, especially in *Amsterdam.

[Monika Saelemaekers (2nd ed.)]

Sephardim and Ashkenazim until 1795

The independent Dutch Republic was a popular emigration destination because of its economic prosperity and relative tolerance. Many job-seeking Germans, Huguenot Frenchmen, and dissenting scholars tried their luck in this strange country where, instead of a sovereign, the bourgeoisie were the rulers. Also Jews found their way to the Republic.

Among the Portuguese merchants in the Netherlands in the 17th century many were Marranos. It is known of one of them, Marcus Perez, became a Calvinist and played an important role in the Netherlands' revolt against Spain. Without doubt there were many Marranos among the 20,000 merchants, industrialists, and scholars who left Antwerp in 1585 for the Republic of the United Provinces. Around 1590 the first indications of a Marrano community are to be found in Amsterdam, but its members did not openly declare themselves as Jews. The Beth Jaäcob community was founded around 1600. It was discovered in 1603 and the Ashkenazi rabbi Moses Uri b. Joseph ha-Levi, who had come from Emden the previous year, was arrested. Religious liberty was not yet granted in Amsterdam and therefore the Marranos who had returned to Judaism, along with newly arrived Jews from Portugal, Italy, and Turkey, tried to obtain a foothold somewhere else. In 1604 they were granted a charter in Alkmaar, and in 1605 in Haarlem and Rotterdam. Not only were they accorded privileges regarding military service and the Sabbath but they were also permitted to build a synagogue and open a cemetery as soon as their numbers reached 50, and to print Hebrew books. Nevertheless, only a few availed themselves of these privileges, and in spite of the difficulties most Jews settled in Amsterdam; among them was the representative of the sultan of Morocco, Don Samuel *Palache.

In 1608 a second community, Neveh Shalom, was founded by Isaac Franco and in the same year the first Sephardi rabbi, Joseph *Pardo, was appointed. As the legal status of the Jews was not clearly defined, the authorities were asked by various bodies to clarify their attitude: the two lawyers, Hugo *Grotius and Adriaan Pauw, were asked to draw up special regulations for the Jews. However, in a resolution of Dec. 13, 1619, the provinces of Holland and West Friesland decided to allow each city to adopt its own policy toward the Jews. The other provinces followed this example, and this situation remained in force until 1795. For this reason the status of the Jews differed greatly in the various towns. In Amsterdam there were no restrictions on Jewish settlement, but Jews could not become burghers and were excluded from most trades; however, no such disabilities existed in several other towns. A large number of Portuguese Jews, in search of greater economic opportunities, took part in the expedition to *Brazil and in 1634 Joan Maurits van Nassau-Siegen granted the charter they had requested. When the Netherlands was compelled to cede Brazil to Portugal (1654) many Jews returned to Amsterdam. The Dutch Republic, however, demanded that its Jews be recognized as full citizens abroad and that no restrictive measure be imposed on them if they visited a foreign country, especially Spain (1657). The Ashkenazim also enjoyed the rights which the Portuguese Jews had obtained in the larger towns.

In the first half of the 18th century in the eastern part of the country also, in the area bordering Germany, small communities could be founded with complete religious liberty. Following on the activities of some Jewish robbers, however, several cities enacted measures against Jewish settlement: Groningen (1710), Utrecht (1713), Gouda, the province of Friesland (1712), and the province of Overijssel (1724). Amersfoort protested against one such regulation in the province of Gelderland (1726), and it was decided to introduce a certificate of good behavior, which subsequently became a requirement in most cities. Because this certificate was issued by the *parnasim*, who also had to guarantee the good behavior of the applicant, they acquired considerable power over the newcomers. Until the Emancipation the legal position of the Jews remained unclear since it was wholly dependent on local or provincial authorities. In legal cases the Jews were subject to the laws of the land and were judged in the government courts. As they could not take the usual – Christian – oath, a special formula was introduced by the different provinces (the last in Overijssel in 1746), but this had no derogatory content. Sometimes Jews even sought the decision of Christian scholars in religious affairs. The municipal authorities intervened in the communities in the case of serious internal conflicts, as in Amsterdam in 1673 where the Polish *kehillah* was ordered to join the German one (see below) and when the authorities had to approve the regulations of the *kehillah*.

Economic Expansion

In spite of the restrictive regulations to which they were subject (which included among other things exclusion from the existing guilds), the Sephardi Jews were able to acquire some economic importance. Thanks to their knowledge of languages, administrative experience, and international relationships, they played an important part in the expanding economy of the young Republic of the Netherlands, especially from 1610 onward when Amsterdam became an established center of world trade. After 1640 there was an increase in the number of current account customers and the size of their accounts at the discount bank (Wisselbank). In the second half of the 17th century the Sephardim also occupied an important place among the shareholders of the East India Company, the most powerful Netherlands enterprise. Portuguese Jews also acquired some prominence in industry, especially in sugar refineries, and the silk, tobacco, and diamond industries; although the latter had been initiated by Christian polishers, in the course of time it became an exclusively Jewish industry. However they became most celebrated for book printing; in 1626 a large number of works were produced at a high standard of printing for the day. Among the richest Portuguese Jews, who were purveyors to the army and made loans to the court, were Antonia Alvarez *Machado, the Pereira family, Joseph de Medina and his sons, and the baron Antonio Lopez *Suasso. These and other Portuguese Jews traded in stocks and shares from the second half of the 17th century and probably constituted the majority of traders in this field (see *Stock Exchange). Such activity was centered in Amsterdam; the only other important settlements were in The *Hague, because of the proximity of the royal court, and Maarssen, a village near Utrecht (which itself did not admit Jews) which was the center of the country houses of the rich Portuguese families. From Amsterdam the Portuguese Jews took part in the economic exploration and exploitation of old and new regions, mainly in the Western hemisphere: Brazil, New Amsterdam, *Surinam, and Curaçao.

During the course of the 18th century trade declined and economic activity concentrated to a growing extent on stockjobbing. Daring speculations and successive crises led to the downfall of important families, such as the De *Pintos. The situation worsened after the economic crisis of 1772/73 and became grave during the French occupation (from 1794) when trade in goods practically came to a standstill. Government monetary measures struck especially at the rentiers, and by the end of the 18th century the once wealthy community of Amsterdam included a large number of paupers: 54% of the members had to be given financial support.

Cultural Activities of the Portuguese Community

The 17th century, the "Golden Age" of the Republic of the Netherlands, was also a time of cultural expansion for the Portuguese community. The medical profession was the most popular, and there were often several physicians in one family, as in the case of the Pharar family (Abraham "el viejo," David, and Abraham), and the *Bueno family (no less than eight, the most famous being Joseph, who in 1625 was called to the sickbed of Prince Maurits of Nassau, and whose son, Ephraim *Bueno, was painted by Rembrandt), and the De Meza, *Aboab, and De Rocamora families. The most celebrated physicians were *Zacutus Lusitanus and Isaac *Orobio de Castro. From 1655 onward there were physicians who had completed their studies in Holland, especially in Leiden and Utrecht. They were free to practice their profession among non-Jews also, but they were required to take a special oath. In Amsterdam, where the surgeons and pharmacists (who needed no academic training) were organized into guilds, Jews could not be officially admitted to these professions (according to the regulation of 1632). Nevertheless they set up in practice, with the result that in 1667 they were forbidden to sell medicine to non-Jews. This regulation was ignored, and so when a new

The Maastricht synagogue, built in 1841. Courtesy Maastricht Municipality.

regulation was issued in 1711 the restrictive clause was not included. Many Portuguese Jews were artists (notably the illuminator Shalom *Italia and engraver Jacob Gadella) and writers, mainly of poems and plays in Spanish and Portuguese; there were even two special clubs where Spanish poetry was studied. The best-known poet was Daniel Levi (Miguel) de *Barrios, the first historian of the Marrano settlement in the Netherlands.

More interesting, however, was the high level of study of Judaism and its literature from the early days of the settlement, and this in spite of the fact that large numbers of the newcomers had returned to Judaism at an advanced age. In order to teach the younger generation about Judaism the two *kehillot* in Amsterdam, Beth Jaäcob and Neveh Shalom, founded in 1616 the Talmud Torah or Ets Haim yeshivah. Through the efforts of teachers from the Sephardi Diaspora, such as Saul Levi *Morteira and Isaac *Aboab da Fonseca, the yeshivah became renowned. Among the later teachers were, *Manasseh ben Israel, Moses Raphael de *Aguilar and Jacob *Sasportas. The facilities for printing books (see above) contributed to the high level of scholarship, and the independent production of scientific, theological, and literary works in Hebrew also developed. The most important writers were Moses *Zacuto, Solomon de *Oliveyra, Joseph *Penso de la Vega, and in the 18th century David *Franco-Mendes.

The return of the Marranos to Judaism was accompanied by conflicts about the nature of their religion. In 1618 a group of strictly Orthodox Jews left Beth Jaäcob and founded the Beth Jisrael community because they did not accept the liberal leadership of the *parnas* David Pharar. Soon after, Uriel da *Costa's attack on Orthodox Judaism caused an upheaval throughout the whole *Marrano Diaspora. The most famous case was that of Baruch *Spinoza, who was banned from the *kehillah* for his heretical opinions. At this period – as among Sephardim elsewhere – Lurianic *Kabbalah had many followers in Amsterdam, which explains the enthusiasm for *Shabbetai Zevi that prevailed in the community in 1666. The Shabbateans maintained a strong influence for a long period and, during the chief rabbinate of Solomon *Ayllon, there was a serious conflict in which the Ashkenazi chief rabbi of Amsterdam Zevi Hirsch *Ashkenazi (Ḥakham Ẓevi) was involved (1713). The failure of the Shabbatean movement on the one hand and the power and wealth of the *kehillah* (all three congregations united in 1639) on the other led to an ever-increasing isolation from the rest of the Jewish world and to a rapprochement with Dutch society. The turning point was the founding of the famous Esnoga (synagogue), inaugurated in 1675, which subsequently dominated Sephardi community life.

The Ashkenazim

Unlike the Sephardim, the Ashkenazim spread throughout the whole Republic of the Netherlands, although their main center was also in Amsterdam. The first Ashkenazim arrived in Amsterdam around 1620, establishing their first congregation in 1635. The first emigration was from Germany but in the second half of the 17th century many Jews also came from Poland and Lithuania: they founded a separate community (1660), but in 1673, after disputes between the two, the municipal authorities ordered it to amalgamate with the German one. The community grew rapidly, outnumbering the Portuguese in the 17th century though remaining in a subservient position until the end of the 18th century. During the 17th century, the most important communities outside Amsterdam were in Rotterdam and The Hague. At that time Jews also settled in several towns in the provinces bordering Germany: Groningen, Friesland, Overijssel, and Gelderland. In spite of restrictive measures, their number increased in the 18th century, and they extended to a large number of smaller towns. There were a few very rich Ashkenazi families, such as the *Boas' (The Hague), the Gomperts (Nijmegen and Amersfoort), and the Cohens (Amersfoort), but the overwhelming majority earned a meager living as peddlers, butchers, and cattle dealers. In Amsterdam the economic difficulties of the Ashkenazi Jews were even more acute and the poverty among them even greater. Apart from the diamond and book printing industries, very few trades were open to them and the majority engaged in trading in second-hand goods and foodstuffs. Foreign trade, mainly in money and shares, was concentrated in Germany and Poland. Culturally the Ashkenazi *yishuv* depended on Germany and Eastern Europe, from where most of their rabbis came. The colloquial language was Yiddish, increasingly mixed with Dutch words. Contact with the non-Jewish population was superficial, except among the very small upper class which arose in the second half of the 18th century.

[Jozeph Michman]

Political Emancipation and National Integration, 1795–1870

EMANCIPATION PERIOD, 1795–1815. *Politics.* The Batavian Revolution of 1795, inspired by the French Revolution of 1789, brought an end to the Dutch Republic and the presence of the House of Orange in it. The Oranges left for England and in the local and national authorities the Orangist establishment was replaced by the enlightened party of the Patriots. The French army and French diplomats played a significant role in the political transformation of the country. Gradually the Batavian Republic, as it was called, replaced the old federalist system by a centralist structure. Several coups of more radical groups destabilized the political system. In 1806 the Kingdom of Holland replaced the Batavian Republic, providing the country a more direct link with the French Empire through the appointment of Louis Napoleon as king. He acted, however, too independently of his brother, resulting in his forced abdication and the annexation of the Kingdom of Holland to the Napoleonic Empire (1810). The discontent with the French grew in this period, because of the impoverishment of the country and the forced recruitment of Dutch boys for Napoleon's army. After the fatal Russian campaign, the French left the Netherlands in 1813. William of Orange returned to the country and after the Congress of Vienna in 1815 became the first king of the United Netherlands, which included the Southern Netherlands.

Demography. There was a gradual drop of the number of newcomers, owing to the difficult economic situation and the Napoleonic wars. At the beginning of the Batavian period some influential families left with the stadtholder's family to England, including a part of the important Cohen family. Migration from Germany and Eastern Europe dropped in these years. Most Jews lived in Amsterdam, with significant communities in the other large cities: Rotterdam and The Hague. In 1810 there were 49,973 Ashkenazim and 5,000 Sephardim in the Netherlands.

Economy. The Continental System, introduced by Napoleon to prevent economic relations with his arch-enemy, England, had a devastating impact on Dutch economy. Not only the ties with British companies had to be ended, also the seaways to the colonies were henceforth closed to Dutch traders. The British empire took all Dutch colonies, including the East Indies, Ceylon, and Surinam. Many rich Sephardi families had put their money in the East and West Indies Companies, which were dissolved. This had a great impact on the Sephardi community, resulting in increasing impoverishment. Also the Ashkenazi community was hit by the economic measures. In the cities the proletariat grew, while in the countryside many Jews tried to earn a living as itinerant merchants, peddlers, and beggars.

Political position. The Batavian Revolution resulted in a new republic in which enlightened ideas became policy. On the demand of the predominantly Jewish *Felix Libertate society the national parliament discussed the granting of citizenship to the Jews. On September 2, 1796, the government published the Emancipation Decree, granting civil rights to the Dutch Jews. From now on, Jews could vote and be elected to all political representative functions (including the courts). Jews were also allowed to settle anywhere in the Republic, thus opening cities like Utrecht to Jewish settlement. The ban on Jews in certain economic fields, via exclusion from the guilds, was lifted as well. After a few years the guilds were even abolished.

This political emancipation resulted in the first two Jewish parliamentarians. In 1798 H.L. Bromet and H. de H. Lemon were elected and were active in the radical enlightened faction within parliament. Jews were also elected to the municipal councils of Amsterdam, The Hague, and Rotterdam.

Organization. The Emancipation Decree also meant the abolition of the semi-autonomous "Jewish Nation." The chief rabbis and *parnassim* of the communities no longer had the legal right to rule to community as before and to enforce obedience to the *halakhah* in the private lives of its members. The authority of the *bet din* to settle all internal conflicts according to the *halakhah* was severely diminished and reduced to the strictly religious domain. Because from now on the Jewish community was no longer a corporation within the state but an association of free and independent citizens, the *parnassim* no longer had the right to collect taxes for the community. Although the legal situation changed, in practice many Jewish communities continued operating as before. In Amsterdam, the small group of enlightened Ashkenazi Jews tried to change things from within but failed and founded their own congregation, *Adat Yesurun*. Only under severe pressure of King Louis Napoleon was this community reunited with the older and larger one several years later.

One of the most enduring changes in this period was the centralization of the Jewish community. Just like the other religious groups within the Republic, the Dutch Reformed Church and the Evangelical Lutheran Church, the Jewish community was subsumed under a national organization, uniting all local communities that had enjoyed independence before. Modeled after the French consistorial system, the Opperconsistorie (1808–10) had to unite, control, and reorganize the Dutch Jewish community. The Sephardim were allowed to remain outside this organization. The Opperconsistorie functioned as part of the Department of Religious Affairs and was headed by Jonas Daniel *Meyer. Carel *Asser also played a decisive role in this organization. The Netherlands were divided into 11 provinces, headed by a consistorial synagogue controlling the *kehillot* in its vicinity. Through its rigorous emancipation policy it soon faced considerable opposition from the old establishment of *parnassim* and rabbis. It advocated the translation of the Bible into Dutch, promoted the erection of a special Jewish Corps in the army, and tried to ban Yiddish from synagogue.

After the annexation of the Kingdom of Holland into the French Napoleonic Empire in 1810, the Opperconsistorie was replaced by four regional consistories. These consistories operated under the aegis of the Consistoire Central in Paris, just like other consistories within the Empire. Because of the political developments, however, the new regional consistories had hardly any time to start their activities. In 1813 the French left the Netherlands and the consistories stopped their activities.

CENTRALIZATION AND NATIONALIZATION, 1815–1870.

Politics. The Kingdom of the Netherlands united once again Northern and Southern Netherlands. Both Amsterdam and Brussels acted as its capitals, but The Hague remained the actual administrative city, with the permanent residence of the king and his family. In 1830 a revolt broke out in the Southern Netherlands against William I's enlightened centralistic policies, including use of the Dutch language policy and control over the Catholic Church. This resulted in the establishment of Belgium, a fact accepted at last by William I in 1839. After he abdicated he was succeeded by his son, William II. Growing dissatisfaction with the autocratic style of leadership of the Oranges resulted in a growing Liberal movement. Fearing the wave of liberal revolutions that swept over Europe in 1848, William II agreed to adopt a constitution. The new constitution transferred much of the king's power to parliament. Also the election system was reorganized, resulting in the political participation of a larger part of the population.

Demography. The Jewish community remained stable in this period. As a result of the economic situation, many Jews left the cities and sought to earn their livelihoods in the countryside (called the *mediene* in Dutch Yiddish). Regional cities which had banned Jews in the Dutch Republic were now open to them. Jews settled in even the smallest villages. This resulted in a growing regional differentiation among Dutch Jewry, because regional relations determined the fate of the Jewish families in the countryside. They married among themselves, started communal life, erected synagogues, and buried their dead in new Jewish cemeteries. Also economically the *mediene* Jews cooperated intensively. This is the only period in which the relatively dominant position of Amsterdam within the Jewish community declined.

Economy. The political emancipation of 1796 did not imply socio-economic emancipation. Although political barriers were lifted and the guilds no longer existed, the position of the Jews on the labor market remained one-sided and problematic. Most Jews did not break away from the traditional patterns of employment, because of family traditions and the non-Jewish fear of new competitors. Only in the course of the century did the Jewish poor learn crafts in order to broaden the economic base of the Jewish community. In the first half of the century, however, the situation remained precarious. In the cities no less than half the Jewish population were paupers. In the countryside Jews eked out a living as butchers, peddlers, and petty merchants.

Only a small but nevertheless growing part of the community succeeded in entering new domains. The Jewish newspapers proudly mentioned Dutch Jews who obtained important jobs in the government, juridical system, or army. A number of Jewish lawyers enjoyed authority, such as Jonas Daniel *Meyer, who was a member of the constitutional committee in 1815. The *Asser and De *Pinto families produced a number of renowned lawyers, while M.H. *Godefroi became the first Jewish minister of justice. In the countryside there was a small Jewish elite, such as the families Hartogensius in Brabant, Duparc in Frisia, and Schaap in Amersfoort and Groningen.

Organization. After the collapse of the consistorial system, in the wake of Napoleon's defeat, a number of *kehillot* advocated a return to the old model, in which they enjoyed independence. The Dutch government, however, created a new central organization, the Hoofdcommissie tot de zaken der Israëliten (Supreme Committee on Israelite Affairs). This committee, being a part of the Department for Religious Affairs, functioned as an intermediary body between the government and the Jewish community. In it, the Sephardim and the Ashkenazim were brought together in one national organization. On the one hand, it enforced government laws within the community, which was structured hierarchally with the Hoofdcommissie at the top. On the other hand, the Hoofdcommissie brought complaints of the Jewish community to the attention of the government. In this way, antisemitic local authorities were dealt with by the national government. The Hoofdcommissie, functioning from 1814 to 1870, had two equally important goals: the centralization and the nationalization of the Dutch Jewish community.

In the first half of the 19th century the entire Jewish community was restructured. Local Jewish communities were brought together under the jurisdiction of the largest provincial community, called the Supreme Synagogue. Also the Southern Netherlands, until 1830, and the colonies became part of this structure. For the rabbis a similar structure was created, with the chief rabbis responsible for the jurisdiction of their Supreme Synagogue. But also Jewish education, poor relief, and the *mohalim* were reorganized in order to make it easier to be controlled by the Hoofdcommissie and the national government.

Nationalization. The centralization of the community served the second objective of the Hoofdcommissie, namely its nationalization. The Emancipation Decree reduced Jewish identity to a religious one only. All national Jewish characteristics had to be eradicated and replaced by a Dutch identity. Therefore, Yiddish was combated and Dutch promoted. This language policy was successful in the end. The implementation of the policy was gradual. In order to have the new generation raised with Dutch as its mother tongue, much attention was paid to the Jewish schools. At first new Dutch textbooks were written to replace older Yiddish methods. Besides the Dutch language and Dutch history, also geography and mathematics were introduced into the school curriculum. As most of the teachers were only able to teach in Yiddish – because they were recent immigrants from Poland – they were tolerated for a while, until the new generation of Dutch schoolteachers was ready. Thereafter things went quickly and Yiddish was completely banned from the Jewish schools. The national inspector, Dr. Samuel Israel *Mulder, reported to the Hoofdcommissie on the language situation in the schools. If Yiddish was still in use somewhere, the government subsidy was withdrawn. After the new school law of 1857, which ended government subsidies for religious schools, the Jewish schools were closed and the children started attending public schools. Jewish religious instruction was given after regular school and on Sundays.

No less important was the shunting aside of Yiddish in the religious domain. This began with a prohibition against making announcements in Yiddish. These now had to be in Dutch. The second step was the promotion of Dutch sermons, replacing the Yiddish (and Portuguese) *derashot*. A prize was established for the best Jewish sermon in Dutch. Because many rabbis were from Poland and Germany and were not able to preach in Dutch, they were allowed to give their addresses in German. In the meanwhile the Dutch Israelite Seminary was reorganized in order to produce a new generation of

Dutch-speaking rabbis. After the installation of Joseph Hirsch *Duenner as rector of the Seminary in 1862, his pupils gradually took over the rabbinical positions in the Netherlands. From that moment on, Yiddish vanished from the pulpits and only Dutch was used to address the communities.

This language policy was accompanied by a series of measures to Protestantize synagogal liturgy. The Jewish elite that staffed the Hoofdcommissie and the boards of *parnassim* of the local *kehillot* promoted decorum and order in the synagogue. They forbade speaking during the service, banned traditional *Homenkloppen* on Purim, and tried to introduce the ceremony of confirmation in addition to the bar mitzvah.

Religion. However, these innovations did not result in the founding of Reform communities in the Netherlands. Although there were some attempts to introduce Reform Judaism in the Netherlands, especially in Amsterdam and the Eastern Provinces, they failed. Because the Jewish community, via the Hoofdcommissie, was controlled by the government, there was no chance for Reform Judaism. The government did not want any arguments within the community. The ruling Jewish elite had adopted the same policy as the Dutch patricians: a constant search for the middle way and avoidance of extremes. In order to keep the whole community together, only minor innovations were introduced, and all the religious ones had to be approved by the chief rabbis. The boundaries of the *halakhah* determined the space of policymakers in the Netherlands. On the whole, the Sephardi model, in which social integration and religious halakhic observance were combined, was popular among both Ashkenazi and Sephardi elites.

[Bart Wallet (2nd ed.)]

1870–1940: Rapid Growth and the Emergence of a Dutch-Jewish Sub-Culture

WHY 1870–1940? The year 1870 has been widely accepted in Dutch and Dutch-Jewish historiography as the beginning of a new period. Generally, industrialization and economic expansion improved the economic situation of all sectors of society, but also caused growing social awareness and the creation of trade unions; the democratization process caused the masses to get involved in politics, thus promoting political parties. Yet, this was accompanied in The Netherlands by a segmentation of society into several subgroups (the Protestant "pillar" with its subcurrents; the Catholic one; the Liberal or "neutral" one; and the leftist one, which included Socialists and various Communist factions). These developments affected all Jews very much – but especially those in Amsterdam, which was the capital and a major harbor – and Jewish society was deeply involved in all of them. Additionally, the countrywide community structure (with its two traditional wings: the Ashkenazi Nederlandsch-Israëlitisch Kerkgenootschap and the Sephardic Portugeesch-Israëlitisch Kerkgenootschap), which had started to evolve during the "French period" at the beginning of the 19th century, received its renewed structure in 1870, as a (delayed) result of the introduction of the constitutional principle of separation of church and state some 30 years before.

As the Netherlands did not participate in World War I, it affected Dutch Jewry only partially and indirectly and did not constitute a major turning point in its history, as was the case in most other European countries. Therefore, the period starting in 1870 can be seen as ending only in 1940, with the Nazi German occupation of the country.

DEMOGRAPHY AND OCCUPATIONS. The Jewish population grew during this period from 68,003 in 1869 (1.90% of the general population) to 97,324 in 1889 (2.15%), 106,409 in 1909 (1.81%), and 115,223 in 1920 (1.68). Afterwards a certain decline began: the registered number of Jews (who declared themselves as such) in 1930 was 111,917 (1.41%), a decline that can be attributed to lower birth dates and a growing percentage of intermarriages (in Amsterdam this grew between 1901 and 1934 from 6 to 17 percent, which was still low as compared to other West European countries). However, in the 1930s, mainly due to the emigration of many thousands of Jewish refugees from Nazi Germany and Austria, of whom about 16,000 remained in the country, the number grew again (for the census carried out in 1941 under the German occupation, see the Holocaust section below). The Jews anticipated general demographical trends in the Netherlands, both regarding the rapid growth during the second half of the 19th century and the declining birth and death rates, which point to their earlier and faster modernization. This included urbanization (in 1930, 80% lived in seven major cities: Rotterdam and the Hague, each with more than 10,000 Jews, and Groningen, Apeldoorn, Arnhem, and Utrecht with 2,500 to 10,000; Amsterdam towered over all other communities and became the main Jewish city, with 44% of all Jews in the country in 1869, amounting to 30,000, about 60%, or 68,758, in 1920 and almost 57% in 1941, or 80,000) and an improvement in their socio-economic position. The developments from the beginning of the 20th century also caused the rapid aging of the community.

As a result of the processes of modernization in general and of industrialization in particular, the occupations of Jews diversified. Jews were overrepresented in commerce, but quite underrepresented in the agrarian sector. They constituted a major part of the diamond trade and industry, and had also a considerable share in the textile industry. The poverty among the Amsterdam Jews declined somewhat from the end of the 1860s as a result of the development of the diamond industry. However, this branch had its ups and downs, affecting a great part of the Jewish population in the city, particularly in the 1930s. Thus, in spite of a general improvement, the Jewish proletariat remained large. Some Jewish families became extremely successful (and wealthy) in some economic sectors: textile (Salomonson, Menko, Spanjaard, Van Gelderen, etc.), retail chains (Cohen, Gerzon, Goudsmit, Isaac), food (Van den Bergh, whose enterprise later developed into the multinational Unilever), Zwanenberg, whose meat factory later evolved into the pharmaceutical giant Organon, and some in banking (Lissa en Kann, Van Nierop, Rosenthal, Teixeira de Mattos, Wertheim, Mannheimer). Jews were also overrepresented in the educated classes and the professions (higher percentages with academic titles, dentists, economists, physicians, and lawyers), even though the general numbers were relatively low.

RELIGIOUS DEVELOPMENTS AND SECULARIZATION. The secularization of the Jewish community intensified during this period, and this also eased the accompanying process of acculturation. Indeed, this process was more marked in the big cities, but as a result of the urbanization process its impact was decisive. Nevertheless, most of the Jews remained formally attached to the official orthodox community organizations, especially in the communities in the countryside. Together with the relatively low intermarriage rate, a Dutch-Jewish sub-culture thus crystallized. With the relative improvement in the economic situation of many Jews and the emergence of a Jewish bourgeoisie, many communities decided during this period to build new synagogues or renovate them. Some were designed by well-known architects (for instance, in Groningen).

The secularization process affected the tiny Portuguese (Sephardi) community immensely, and it was hence characterized by ongoing stagnation; only the splendor of the past kept the descendants attached to it. However, in the Ashkenazi community, which was also affected by the same developments, some noteworthy facts should be mentioned. First, it succeeded in keeping wealthy secular figures involved in leading positions in the community, on the condition that they would not interfere in religious issues. An illuminating example of this "pact," which would characterize all the communities in the country for decades, was the banker and politician A.C. *Wertheim, who served as vice chairman of the Amsterdam Jewish community between 1878 and 1886, and afterwards, until his death in 1897, as chairman. In the religious sphere, the coming of the Cracow-born and Bonn University graduate Rabbi Joseph Zwi (Hirsch) *Duenner in 1862 was of major importance. He first was appointed as rector of the Nederlandsch-Israëlitisch Seminarium (rabbinical seminary). In this function, where he served until his death in 1911, he reformed the curriculum by introducing an academic approach to talmudic studies. He thus trained and shaped several generations of Dutch rabbis who served throughout the country. After a decade of success in the seminary, he was appointed chief rabbi of Amsterdam and the province of North Holland in 1874. In this position, and because of his religious and general scholarly capacity, he became the unparalleled spokesman of Dutch orthodoxy and Jewry in general. And as there was no official chief rabbi of the country, he was in effect regarded as such. Duenner had been a proto-Zionist since the 1860s, corresponding with such persons as Moses *Hess and R. Zacharias *Frankel in Germany. Upon the establishment of the Zionist movement by Theodor *Herzl in 1897, he welcomed and supported it. His Zionist views legitimized the movement in the Netherlands but were not accepted by most of his students at the seminary. However, a minority of his students became active in *Mizrachi, and played a significant role in it. Most of his children and descendants also became fervent Mizrachists and made *aliyah* before the Holocaust.

As there was no chief rabbinate for the entire country, the chief rabbis of the different provinces decided at the turn of the century to try to coordinate their views on major issues from time to time. This was done through the unofficial body named Vergadering van Opperrabbijnen, which existed until the deportations of the Jews from the Netherlands in the Holocaust (in 1942).

Reform Judaism, so strongly developing in Central Europe, Britain, and the United States from the mid-19th century, did not find a real echo in the Netherlands until 1930. At the end of the 1920s Lily *Montagu of England, chairperson of the World Union for Progressive Judaism (WUPJ), first approached the industrialist Zwanenberg, and through him contacted several wealthy persons in the Hague. After several speeches on Reform Judaism by visiting leading Reform personalities, a tiny community was established in that city at the end of 1930, headed by Rabbi Meir Lasker, who was chosen and sent by the WUPJ. About a year later a Liberal-Religious Church Organization (i.e., countrywide roof organization) was institutionalized, followed by the establishment of a second community, established in Amsterdam, in January 1932. The appearance of Reform/Liberal Judaism on the Dutch Jewish scene caused much debate, even though the number of adherents of the new stream was at that time actually insignificant. One interesting point was the fact that among the first Reform Judaism activists there were many Zionists. With the influx of German-Jewish refugees from 1933, the movement became rooted, albeit with a clearly German character causing tensions within the movement between the "Dutch" and "Germans". Among the German refugees joining this movement was the Otto *Frank family, whose daughter Anne would become famous for the diary she wrote during the Holocaust.

Jews in politics and Jewish politics: between Socialism and Zionism. While this period witnessed both the emergence of modern antisemitism and vehement outbursts of traditional Jew-hatred in other parts of Europe, the Netherlands was never plagued with these phenomena. Religious anti-Judaism existed, however, as it was part and parcel of Christian thought. It was expressed in some of the literature and also in politics, mostly by the founder of the Anti-Revolutionary (i.e., right-wing Protestant) party, Abraham Kuyper, in the last decades of the 19th century. Fascist and racist antisemitism made its appearance only in the 1930s, and remained marginal. No party proposed the abolition of the emancipation. Nevertheless, the marked segmentation of Dutch society and its relative conservatism perpetuated reservations about the Jews. Consequently, until 1940 no Jews were appointed to national or key representative positions, such as mayors, commissioners of the king, governors of colonies, ambassadors, or consuls. Many other functions also remained closed to Jews. But Jews were members of political parties – from the Liberals to the Social Democrats to the Communists; they were especially strongly represented in the Social Democratic Workers Party (SDAP). The attraction of Jews to socialism had started already in the 1860s, with the Jewish diamond cutters being the first to organize in a general labor union (ANDB). This union served as a cornerstone from which the larger labor union and afterward the SDAP emerged. Henri *Polak (1868–1943) played a major role in these developments; he succeeded in leading large parts of the Jewish proletariat in Amsterdam to socialism. He was for several years chairman of the party, and afterwards its representative in the Dutch senate (Eerste Kamer). A number of other Jews also filled leading positions in the movement. The radical left wing David *Wijnkoop (1876–1941), son of a rabbi, was the most prominent figure. He was one of the founders of the Communist Party, and represented the party in the House of Commons (Tweede Kamer) and in the Amsterdam municipal council for most of the interwar period.

During the first half of the 19th century, Dutch Jewry had developed some strong ties to Palestine. In the beginning of the century the European-wide fundraising organization *Va'ad ha-Pekidim ve-Amarkalim was established by Zwi Hirsch *Lehren, and his sons continued his initiative, playing a major role in the life of the old *yishuv.* A group of Dutch Jews immigrated to Palestine and established Kolel HoD (Holland-Deutschland). But the influence of the Lehrens gradually declined, both in Palestine and in the Netherlands, from the beginning of the second half of the century. The Ḥovevei Zion movement, whose emergence was strongly linked to the difficult situation of the Jews in czarist Russia, did not win much support in the Netherlands.

But the political Zionist movement, established by Herzl, attracted two high-profile figures: the banker Jacobus *Kann, who attended the first Zionist Congress in Basel in 1879, and Rabbi Duenner, who openly and avidly supported the new movement from its inception and thus made possible its introduction into Dutch Jewish society. The Dutch Zionist Union (NZB) was established in 1899. In the beginning it attempted to attract the Jewish proletariat, but this effort failed almost entirely. In middle-class and certain religious circles success was higher, thus creating an active nucleus. Some of the first- and second-generation of Dutch Zionists played an important role in the world movement and in the new *yishuv* in Palestine in the first decades of the 20th century, such as Jacobus Kann, Eliezer Siegfried *Hoofi̇en, Nehemia *de Lieme, and later Fritz (Perez) *Bernstein. The convening of the 1907 Zionist Congress in the Hague, contributed to the growth of the Union. It nevertheless met resistance from many circles. During World War I, a considerable number of East European Jews from Antwerp fled to the country, mainly to Scheveningen. As many among them were Zionists, their presence had an impact on the spread of Zionism in the Netherlands, especially among youngsters. It was in the wake of this and of the Balfour Declaration, which demonstrated the political success of Zionism, that the training of *halutzim* (first from abroad) at Dutch farms started, and a roof organization for all Zionist youth movements in the country – the Joodse Jeugdfederatie (JJF – Jewish Youth Federation) – was established. The Balfour Declaration also contributed to securing for the NZB an important place in Dutch Jewish organizational life. In the 1930s, in the face of the rise of antisemitism in general and the rise of the Nazis to power in particular, the movement continued to grow. Among its youngsters radicalism grew stronger, and calls for "dissimilation" from identification with the Netherlands and Dutch culture were voiced.

Social care, education, and culture. With modernization and acculturation proceeding, the traditional Jewish local organizations for social care ("Chevres") were transformed into a network of modern philanthropic organizations, many of them countrywide. They included organizations such as the Dutch-Jewish Organization for the Poor (Nederlandsch-Israëlitisch Armbestuur) and homes for the aged; health care institutions, such as the Joodsche Invalide and the Nederlandsch Israëlitisch Ziekenhuis (hospital); institutions for the mentally ill, such as the Apeldoornsche Bosch, etc. In the 1920s a (pro-Zionist) Union of Jewish Women (Joodsche Vrouwenraad) was established, which focused on welfare activities. Many organizations dealt especially with youth. Most of these institutions were supported by wealthy assimilated Jews.

The Jewish school system had deteriorated towards the middle of the 19th century. But the Elementary Education Act of 1857 changed the situation dramatically. The Jewish schools for the poor were abolished, and the children were integrated in the general school system (schools with 50% Jewish students would close on the Jewish Sabbath). Almost all children attending middle-class schools were also integrated in the general schools. Only in Amsterdam did several Jewish schools continue to exist, with a reduced numbers of students. The norm for Jewish children became to attend a local public school and have supplementary Jewish lessons on Sundays. In several communities additional lessons in Judaism were given at other times. The impact of this collapse of Jewish education was a rapid decline in Jewish knowledge among Dutch Jews. In order to counter this development a school network – Jewish Special Education – was established in Amsterdam in 1905. As a result of social awareness, teachers of Jewish studies at elementary and high schools organized in a union called Achawa in 1894.

With the growing number of Jews – secular as well as religious – getting academic training, together with a renewed search for Jewish identity, interest in Jewish studies and especially in Dutch Jewish history developed. An association for Jewish studies was established, and many publications, usually with an emancipatory approach, were published and read by a broad audience. In the second half of the 1920s the weekly *De Vrijdagavond* served as a spokesman for this trend. One of the outstanding historians of Dutch Jewish history was Sigmund *Seeligmann, who had emigrated from Germany.

The Jewish press played an important role in daily life and in promoting Jewish identity. The major general weeklies were the Amsterdam *Nieuw Israëlitisch Weekblad* (NIW), established in 1865, which became the leading Jewish newspaper of the country (existing into the 21st century); the *Centraal Blad voor Israëliten in Nederland* and the *Israëlitische Letterbode*. Beside these there were many organizational weeklies, such as the Zionist *Joodsche Wachter*, or cultural ones, such as *De Vrijdagavond*.

This period is also characterized by the emergence of many Jews active in the fields of literature, theater, cabaret, and the arts. The best-known authors were: the dramatist Herman *Heijermans (1864–1924), who depicted Jewish life in Amsterdam; the poet Jacob Israel de *Haan (1881–1924), a Zionist who emigrated to Palestine and became an ultra-Orthodox anti-Zionist and was murdered by an activist of the Haganah; his sister, the prose writer Carry van *Bruggen (1881–1932), who became one of the most influential writers in the Netherlands in the first decades of the 20th century; and the novelist Israel *Querido (1872–1932). There were many performing musicians among the Jews, but the only composer of importance was Sem Dresden (1881–1957). Many more Jews were active in the theater: Esther de Boer van Rijk (1853–1937), Louis de Vries (1971–1940), and the noted cabaret performer Louis Davids (1883–1939). The most famous painter was Jozef *Israëls (1824–1911); others were his son Isaac Israëls (1865–1934) and Martin Monnickendam (1874–1941). The most important sculptor was Joseph Mendes *da Costa (1863–1939), and the best-known architect was Michel *de Klerk (1884–1923), founder of the "Amsterdam School."

Refugees from Nazi Germany and the threat of the 1930s. The rise of Nazism in Germany caused the emigration and flight of tens of thousands of Jews from there. Neighboring Netherlands, with its language close to German, became an important country for the (temporary) stay and for the transit of fleeing German Jews. A total of about 34,000 Jewish refugees arrived in the Netherlands; around 24,000 stayed for more than two weeks, and after the German occupation in 1940 there were still 15,000–16,000 in the country. The rise of Hitler to power and the first anti-Jewish measures prompted the establishment of a Comité voor Bijzondere Joodsche Belangen (CBJB – Committee for Special Jewish Interests) in March 1933, consisting of a number of prestigious figures in the Dutch Jewish community and headed by Abraham *Asscher. The influx of refugees caused the CBJB to establish a subcommittee for Jewish Refugees (JVC), headed by Prof. David *Cohen. The combined CBJB-JVC turned into the most powerful organization in Dutch Jewry on the eve of the Holocaust, which dealt with the Dutch authorities and with international organizations and maintained contact with Jews and non-Jews of all parts of society, monitored political developments, and commanded a large budget. Its leaders and infrastructure became the basis for the Joodsche Raad (Jewish Council) during the Nazi occupation.

On the Eve of the Holocaust. All in all, on the eve of the German invasion in May 1940, Dutch Jewry had generally adapted itself to the Dutch mentality and way of life and saw themselves as full Dutch citizens. However, the percentage of mixed marriages, although growing, was still low as compared with other West European democratic countries; and within the segmented Dutch society Jews had developed a marked subculture. With the influx of Jewish refugees, which were assisted by the Dutch Jewish community, the perception by Gentiles of "the Jews" as a different entity was reemphasized. From the Jewish side, the infusion of Dutch Jewry with new energy linked to general worldwide Jewish crosscurrents and organizations – such as Zionism, which became an important force in the 1920s and 1930s, and Reform Judaism, which emerged in the 1930s – pointed to possible new directions of development.

1940–1945: The Holocaust

The historiography of the Holocaust in the Netherlands has been relatively intensive and comprehensive as compared to almost all countries (except for Germany) and started immediately after the end of World War II. A first comprehensive history (authored by Hans Wielek/Kweksilber) appeared as early as 1947, and another five were written in the following six decades (by Abel Herberg, Jacques Presser, Louis de Jong, Jozeph Michman/Hartog Beem/Dan Michman, and Bob Moore). In addition, many partial studies have been made. The reason for the intensity in research is to be found in the urge to find answers to the puzzling fact that about 102,600 of the 140,000 "full" Jews (according to the German definition) living in the Netherlands at the beginning of the German occupation perished due to the persecutions, i.e., 74%. This is, in relative terms, the highest death toll in any West European Jewish community, including Germany itself. Among the additional 20,000 "half" and "quarter" Jews, most survived.

GERMAN INTENTIONS. Whereas the German attitude towards France in the wake of the occupation of Western Europe starting in May 1940 was relatively conciliatory, and whereas policies regarding Belgium were for a long time undecided, the intentions towards the Netherlands were clear from the start. The Dutch were perceived as a German tribe which had taken a separate course for several centuries, but should now be reintegrated into the commonwealth of Germanic tribes. Consequently, Arthur *Seyss-Inquart, an Austrian Nazi, was appointed Reichskommissar for the occupied country, Reichskommissar being in the Nazi vocabulary a title assigned to persons appointed to carry out a special ideological mission. He articulated his fanatic adherence to his mission in a public speech in Amsterdam on March 12, 1941, which was translated into Dutch and disseminated among the population. Also resulting from this was the fact that the position of the SS in the Netherlands was from the beginning much stronger than in other West European countries. The "final solution" of the Jewish question in the Netherlands was implemented by the German authorities – whose heads consisted of Nazi radicals, among whom were several other Austrians in addition to Seyss-Inquart – with much fervor from shortly after the occupation. Before the Nazi decision in the matter of a

European-wide Final Solution (in the second half of 1941), this meant segregation and impoverishment; afterwards – from 1942 – it meant the nearly total removal of the Jews through well-organized arrests and deportations. Dutch Jewry was not a tabula rasa for the occupiers: the Jewish Department of the *Sicherheitsdient* of the SS had already produced a report in March 1939 on "The Jews in Holland," which outlined the basic structure of Dutch Jewry and included the names of many of its leading figures.

ANTI-JEWISH MEASURES BEFORE THE DEPORTATION PERIOD (1940–1942). The first months following the capitulation of the country (May 14, 1940) passed relatively quietly, although some minor anti-Jewish actions were taken (such as the removal of Jews from anti-aircraft defense units or the first registration of Jews in the province of Zeeland); some Dutch organizations fired Jews on their own initiative. In September 1940 the German authorities, under the direction of Generalkommissar Fritz Schmidt, started the planning of systematic anti-Jewish measures. All Jewish newspapers were closed down. Then, in October–November, all people serving in the civil service (governmental, provincial, municipal, judicial, schools and universities) were ordered to sign an "Aryan declaration" (a statement of not having Jewish parents or grandparents) for themselves and their spouses; Jews were consequently fired (November 4). Both the secretaries-general (the Dutch heads of ministries who had stayed in the country after the flight of the government) and the majority of the Supreme Court decided to accede to this order, which consequently affected even the Jewish president of the Supreme Court, Judge Lodewijk E. *Visser. Protests were limited, and voiced mainly at some universities. At the same time, Jews were ordered to register their enterprises (October 22), making possible "Aryanization" (20,690 enterprises, most of them small, were listed). On this occasion the term "Jew" was legally defined (as in Germany).

On January 10, 1941, registration of all Jews was ordered. Only a small number of Jews did not show up. With the introduction of identification cards, IDs for Jews were stamped with a "J." On March 12, the first of four expropriation and Aryanization decrees was promulgated. The most fateful among them, conceived by the economic mastermind *Generalkommissar* Hans Fischboeck, was the one enacted in August; it ordered the concentration of all bank accounts of Jews in a special branch of the Jewish Lippmann-Rosenthal ("Liro") bank, which was under German control. The possibility to use the accounts was restricted, and on January 1, 1943, all individual accounts were concentrated in one joint account. From the opening of the bank, the Jewish accounts were used by the German authorities to finance, and thus supervise, the activities of the Joodsche Raad (see below). In addition, *Einsatzstab* Rosenberg confiscated Jewish private and public libraries, works of art, and later also furniture. From the summer of 1941 Jews were prohibited from visiting parks and other public places, and a daily curfew from 8 P.M. to 6 A.M. was imposed on them; they were allowed to buy in shops only between 3 and 5 P.M. Jews were also removed from all general organizations and societies. In August *Generalkommissar* Friedrich Wimmer ordered the removal of all Jewish children from the general school system; a Jewish school system was opened under the auspices of the Joodsche Raad.

All these (and more) legal measures were accompanied from time to time by brutal roundups ("razzias") and arrests. On Saturday February 22, in the wake of a violent incident in a Jewish café, in which a *Sicherheitpolizei* unit was involved, the old Jewish quarter in the center of Amsterdam was closed and around 390 Jewish youngsters were brutally arrested and beaten – all upon the orders of *Generalkommissar* Hanns Albin Rauter. They were deported shortly afterwards; 50 died in the Buchenwald concentration camp and only one survived, around 340 were sent to the Mauthausen concentration camp, and died there in horrific conditions. In June another 300 were rounded up in Amsterdam, in mid-September more than a 100 in several cities in the provinces, and in November several dozen in other cities in the east of the country. All were sent to Mauthausen and worked to death. As "death notices" were sent from Mauthausen to the families, "Mauthausen" became the most feared symbol of Nazi terror for Jews in the country (it was replaced by "Auschwitz" only after 1945). During this whole period, from time to time Dutch Nazis acted with violence towards Jews and Jewish institutions, such as synagogues. Such clashes with Jews, in the second week of February 1941, which ended with the death of one Dutch Nazi, served as the background for the establishment of the Joodsche Raad.

JOODSCHE RAAD VOOR AMSTERDAM (JR; JEWISH COUNCIL). The JR, established on February 12, 1941, on the verbal order of Senator Dr. Hans Böhmcker, Seyss-Inquart's personal representative in charge of the city of Amsterdam and of anti-Jewish measures, became a pivotal institution in Jewish life under the German occupation. Its creation was apparently an improvised reaction to the above-mentioned clashes between proletarian Jews and Dutch Nazis several days before. In spite of the abundance of documentary material on the activities of the JR from German, Jewish, and Dutch sources, there is no document from before its establishment regarding any intentions to do so. Its establishment can be seen better in the broader context of the establishment of *Judenraete* on the initiative of SS officials throughout Europe, as a step in controlling the Jewish community as a collective entity. The authority of the JR was first limited to Amsterdam only, but, during 1941, with the involvement and sanction of the German authorities, it gradually extended to the entire country (through a network of "representatives"); this status was finalized at the end of October with the dissolution of the Jewish Coordination Committee (see below). It was headed by Abraham Asscher and Prof. David Cohen, who had chaired the Committee for Special Jewish Affairs and the Jewish Refugee Committee in the 1930s (see above), and were also active in general and Jewish politics. The JR was supervised by the Zentralstelle fuer juedische Auswanderung, established in April 1941. Through the JR the Germans incrementally segregated the Jewish population and created an administrative and mental ghetto. All announcements concerning Jews were disseminated through its weekly, *Het Joodsche Weekblad*. Social care, first of the former refugees from Germany and afterwards of the increasingly impoverished Dutch Jews, was transferred to the JR and made many dependent on its services. It had to organize the segregated Jewish education system from September 1941. When industrialist Bernard van Leer was allowed to leave the country in September 1941, he left behind an enormous fund which enabled the JR to sponsor cultural institutions and activities (orchestras, theaters, cabaret, lectures, sports). For its financial needs the JR first solicited contributions (those who did not contribute money could received no services from the JR), but afterwards it obtained its money from Jewish funds administered by the Germans. Its bureaucracy grew constantly and peaked at the end of 1942 to more than 17,000 people. Although not intended in the beginning to be exploited for deportations, this institution became vital to their success in 1942–43. Through its administration deportation orders were disseminated, and deportees were cared for while those remaining behind were provided with food, health care, and welfare services.

FORCED LABOR, CONCENTRATION OF JEWS IN AMSTERDAM, DEPORTATIONS. Among the later measures of the pre-deportation period was the recruitment of Jews for forced labor. This was imposed on about 7,500 Jewish males from 85 towns (about 2,500 were later released) from the beginning of 1942, through the JR; they were sent to 42 camps, all over the Netherlands. These people were ready victims at the start of the deportations (the so-called "labor recruitment" – *Arbeiteinsatz*) "to the east."

Non-Dutch Jews had to leave the coastal region shortly after the occupation. At the end of 1941 Jews from the coastal region could move only to Amsterdam. Later the Jews in other parts of the country were forced to resettle in Amsterdam. Finally, the Jews were forbidden to live in eight of the eleven provinces. The remaining three provinces were restricted on April 13, 1943, leaving Amsterdam the only city for Jews to live in.

The cleansing of the Netherlands from its Jews as part of the Final Solution was planned by Adolf *Eichmann and his staff as part of the joint cleansing of Western European. Planning commenced in April 1942. On April 29 the JR was ordered to distribute a yellow "Jewish Star" to all Jews in the country; this was carried out within a few days in the beginning of May. Deportation orders were sent out, through the JR, in the beginning of July, and a first roundup was carried out on July 14. From then until September 29, 1943, more than 100,000 Jews were deported in about 100 transports, mainly to Auschwitz (60,000) and Sobibor (34,000, all in 1943); only a handful survived. They were sent via the *Westerbork *Polizeiliches durchgangslager* (Police (Jewish) transit camp), a camp originally established in 1939 by the Dutch government for German Jewish refugees. In the camp certain cultural and religious activities were allowed. Tuesdays, the weekly day on which deportations trains left the camp, were the fearful "judgment days." A tiny group of *Prominenten* was transported to Theresienstadt (about 5,000). In 1943–44 about 4,000 Jews with "Palestine papers" were sent to the Bergen Belsen "exchange camp" (*Austauschlager*) for a possible exchange for Germans from abroad. 222 were indeed exchanged in the summer of 1944 for Templars from Palestine; 136 entered Switzerland; 25% of the Bergen Belsen Jews survived. In addition to Westerbork there was *KL Herzogenbusch*, next to the city of *Vught, a camp built in 1943. It served as a place for forced labor and later also for the concentration of Jews. From June 1943 to June 1944 all 12,000 inmates of Vught were sent to Westerbork.

JEWISH LIFE AND RESPONSES; FLIGHT AND HIDING. At the beginning of the occupation Jews tried to maintain their prewar life. The community organizations continued their existence until the end of the deportations, but from 1941 lost their importance. As pressure on the Jews grew in the fall of 1940, a Joodsche Coordinatie Commissie (Jewish Coordination Committee, JCC), initiated by Zionists, backed by the community organizations, and headed by Lodewijk Visser, was established in December 1940. Its major aims were to advise the Jews politically in the new situation, help those who were in economic distress, and develop cultural activities. It was first helped by the organizational infrastructure of the Committee for Special Jewish Affairs and the Jewish Refugee Committee, headed by David Cohen. With the establishment of the JR less than two months later, the ways of the two organizations parted and later clashed; the JCC was finally dissolved in October 1941. With the growing expropriations, removal from jobs, and other segregation measures, the economic situation of most Jews rapidly deteriorated. Religious life was allowed by the Germans until the end of the deportations. However, ritual slaughter was prohibited, except for poultry. For Sukkot (Feast of Tabernacles) in 1940 and 1941 *etrogim* could be imported from Italy and *matzot* were openly baked by the Hollandia *matzah* factory.

Dutch Jews have been called "naïve" in their reaction to the deportations; this would account in part of the high percentage of deportees. It is, however, clear that the emancipatory background which caused Dutch Jews not to be rebellious vis-à-vis authorities, the late emergence of a significant Dutch resistance (only in 1943), and lack of knowledge about what was happening in "the East" together shaped the pattern of response of many Jews. Additionally, the enormous concentration of Jews in Amsterdam made it hard for many to find hiding places; in other parts of the country the chances of survival were generally higher. As for knowledge about the murders, it is typical that the JR team in charge of gathering information on the fate of the deportees still reported in January 1943 that apparently many of those sent to Auschwitz were alive and living in family units! Nevertheless, after the first weeks of arrests in the summer of 1942, the percentage of Jews ignoring deportation orders grew enormously. According to a recent study by Marnix Croes and Peter Tammes (2004), about 28,000 Jews went into hiding, finding shelter with non-Jews. But only about 16,000 of these "divers" survived, as many were apprehended. Apparently, many more Jews looked for hiding places. Others tried to escape through Belgium and France to Switzerland and Spain, and some succeeded in doing so. Among them was a considerable number of members of the Halutz underground organization, headed by Joachim (Shushu) Simon, succeeding thanks to the organization and support of Joop *Westerweel and some aides. Some Jews, especially from the political left, albeit not too many, participated in general resistance groups

ATTITUDE OF NON-JEWS: PROTESTS, RESCUE, INDIFFERENCE, AND COLLABORATION. In spite of the high percentage of Dutch Jews who perished, the view of the Dutch as having helped the Jews is widespread. Like any historical generalization this perception is a distortion and quite exaggerated – yet not entirely erroneous. With the removal of Jews from the civil service in October 1940, Leiden University law professor R.P. Cleveringa openly delivered a protest lecture, and was later arrested. On February 25–26 a general strike, initiated by the Communist movement but spontaneously supported by many thousands of citizens, was held in Amsterdam and surroundings. The strike was sparked by many weeks of anti-Jewish actions by Dutch Nazis, and by the brutal roundup of February 22. The strike, unparalleled in Europe under the Nazi regime, was suppressed. It became a much-praised symbol, but had no long-term effect on the persecutions. With the beginning of the deportations in July 1942, an unprecedented initiative was undertaken by all Dutch churches to jointly protest against the persecutions during Sunday prayer services. Under the pressure of the occupier the Protestant churches retreated; the Catholics, under the leadership of Archbishop J. de Jong, did not give in and read out the declaration of protest. In reprisal, all Jews converted to Catholicism were arrested and almost all of them sent with the first deportees to Auschwitz. Among them was Edith *Stein (1891–1942). As mentioned, about 28,000 Jews went into hiding, finding shelter with non-Jews – the majority of them Catholics in the southern provinces and *Gereformeerde* Protestants in Friesland and elsewhere. As hiding could be maintained only with a circle of support, this number signifies that a considerable number of ordinary Dutchmen extended help. On the other hand, about 12,000 "divers" were apprehended, many of them through denunciators. Moreover, it can fairly be said that the efficiency and general disciplined obedience of the Dutch bureaucracy served the Germans in the persecution and deportation operations. For instance, the registration of the Jews in 1941 was carried out with the utmost punctuality. And as recent study has shown, during the Final Solution some sectors, such as the police command and especially the Amsterdam police, collaborated to a considerable extent. The overall picture is therefore varied.

[Dan Michman (2nd ed.)]

Postwar and Contemporary Period

RESTORATION. The reintegration of surviving Jews into Dutch society after the devastation of World War II was not without serious problems. Jews who returned from the concentration camps or emerged from their hiding-places were faced with neglect and sometimes outright hostility. In addition, Jews suffered from a trend, supported by the former Resistance movements, to remold them as soon as possible into full Dutchmen without the slightest reference to their Jewishness. This attitude led to the suppression of Jewish identity and also placed Jews in a disadvantageous position, since their situation was the same as that of other Dutchmen. They had lost most of their relatives and all of their possessions and the supportive infrastructure of the Jewish community no longer existed. The Jews received support from international Jewish organizations, such as the American Jewish *Joint Distribution Committee, the *Jewish Agency, and the *Jewish Brigade. In the summer of 1945 the central Jewish weekly, the *Nieuw Israelietisch Weekblad*, resumed publication. Other institutions slowly followed.

Prewar Jewish rights were not automatically restored; for example, a bitter struggle developed over Jewish war orphans who had been in hiding with non-Jewish families. These children were not handed over to the Jewish community as a matter of course. The authorities established a committee with a Christian majority of former rescuers and a minority of Jews. The central issue was not whether it was better for some of these children to remain with their foster families or to return to a Jewish family or orphanage. The main question was who was to decide their fate: the Jewish community – as would have been the case with Jewish orphans in prewar circumstances – or the Christian rescuers. Some 358 children remained in non-Jewish homes, just over a quarter of the cases the committee had to decide upon.

Restitution of buildings and other fixed assets proceeded at a slow pace and while most had been returned to the Jewish community by around 1950, other forms of compensation and restitution came only in stages and over a much longer period of time. The possessions of murdered Jews, who had no heirs, initially were considered Dutch and not specifically Jewish. Insurance companies, banks, and the government itself, after much pressure, made these final restitutions to the Jewish community only around the year 2000.

DEMOGRAPHY. In 1945 the surviving number of Jews in the Netherlands was estimated at between 28,000 and 35,000, of whom about 8,000 had survived because they were married to non-Jews. In addition to this group there were another 20,000 "people of Jewish descent," persons with one Jewish parent or one Jewish grandparent, who also had had a much better chance to survive. Some of them rejoined the community. The fact that many survivors were married to non-Jews or were children of mixed marriages transformed the community into a far more assimilated one when compared with the prewar situation. A second major change was of a socioeconomic nature: the proletariat of Amsterdam had been wiped out completely. The postwar community was a typically middle-class one. A third feature was the fact that more Jews who originated in Eastern Europe were among the survivors: being more suspicious than the average Dutch Jew, they had quickly understood the seriousness of their situation and had taken measures at an earlier stage during the occupation. In the immediate postwar years some 5,000 Jews left the country, mainly for the U.S. Some 1,500 Zionists among these emigrants, who were very active in the postwar leadership of the community, went to Israel before 1950.

According to demographic studies in 2000 the total Jewish population in the Netherlands remained at 43,000; 70% had a Jewish mother, and fewer than 25% were affiliated with the official community. In Amsterdam 56% of the Jews still had two Jewish parents, in the Randstad (western part of the Netherlands) 44%, and in the rest of the country 33%. Some 20% of the Jews in the Netherlands come from Israel, and there are several hundreds refugees from Iraq and Iran and the former Soviet Union who were admitted on humanitarian grounds. The community has a low birth rate (1.5) and a disproportionately large number of elderly people, but despite all these factors, the Jewish community of the Netherlands has not declined in absolute numbers since 1945. However, the total population in the Netherlands grew quite dramatically from 9 million in 1945 to over 16 million in 2005.

INTEGRATION. In general, Jews became well integrated in public life after the war. The relationship between Jews and the Dutch government improved greatly from 1955 on. The 1960s are generally characterized by goodwill, both toward the Jewish community and the state of Israel. A major problem came to the fore in 1972 when the government intended to set free three German war criminals with direct responsibility for the deportation of the Jews. A by-product of the successful protests of the Jewish community was the familiarization of the wider Dutch public with the collective Jewish war trauma and the difficulties some of them had, as a result, even to earn a decent living. A special law came into being, guaranteeing a monthly income to victims of persecution.

In spite of their small numbers, Jews were members of Parliament and several became ministers of government. While before the war Jews did not serve as mayors, after the war several towns, like Amersfoort and Groningen, had Jewish mayors. Amsterdam had four in succession. Jews played an important role as university professors, journalists, artists, and so on. Abel Herzberg, a renowned lawyer and chairman of the Dutch Zionist movement, was a highly respected publicist in non-Jewish circles as well. Henriette *Boas was a prolific writer of articles and letters on the subject of Dutch Jewry and everything connected with Israel. Jaap Meijer was a leading voice in the postwar period castigating the bogus sentiments and pseudo-romanticism in the historical reconstruction of Dutch Judaism. In the literary works of Judith Herzberg, Gerhard Durlacher, Leon de Winter, Marga Minco, and Arnon Grunberg, the Holocaust is often a painful source of inspiration.

ודבר אלהינו יקום לעולם

Ark of the Law and bimah in the Liberal synagogue built in Amsterdam after World War II. Photo M. Ninio, Jerusalem.

Two major changes had an impact on the relationship of the Jews with Dutch society since the 1970s. Firstly, the Netherlands moved from a clear pro-Israel stand to a political position that fell into line with the more critical European one. A second major change was the growth of a considerable Muslim community in the Netherlands. Jews no longer are the only non-Christian minority group. In spite of often opposed views of the Middle East conflict, the Jewish and the Muslim communities actively seek to build a positive mutual relationship. Christian denominations which had shown much interest in their Jewish roots and in the land of Israel in the first decades after World War II, became more critical, but at the same time lost much of their relevance as a result of secularization. Jewish-Christian dialogue, the Protestant-oriented Counsel of Jews and Christians and the Catholic Counsel for Church and Israel, have contributed to a better understanding of Judaism.

INTERNAL ORGANIZATION. The Jewish community has undergone many changes. In 1950 the dominant Ashkenazi Orthodox Nederlands Israelietisch Kerkgenootschap (NIK) had actively registered some 19,500 persons. Many of those were only included since the NIK still claimed to represent "the Jewish Nation" in the Netherlands. The majority of these registered Jews – about 10,000 – lived in Amsterdam, but the real active membership in Amsterdam comprised only some 5,200 Jews in 1951. Other Jews mostly lived in the *Randstad*-area, including The Hague and Rotterdam, where communities of several hundred Jews were reestablished. Smaller numbers of Jews live in towns like Groningen, Enschede, and Amersfoort, where they succeeded in reviving their congregations. Amsterdam is the only place with Jewish day schools. The presence of a considerable number of Israelis – about 8,000 in the whole country around 1995 – contributed to the operation of these schools.

Between 1945 and 2000, the membership of the Ashkenazi Orthodox community dwindled to fewer than 5,000 Jews in the whole country and the NIK lost its dominant position. Until the 1970s the character of Orthodox Judaism under the leadership of Chief Rabbi Aron Schuster hardly changed. Schuster was supported by Rabbi Vorst in Rotterdam and Rabbi Berlinger in Utrecht. Eli Berlinger was rabbi for most of the provinces and caused many Jews from smaller places to move to Israel. Since the 1970s, rabbis from abroad, such as Rabbi Meir Just from Hungary, and the Lubavitch movement had a significant impact on the community. All were more rigorous in their interpretation of the *halakhah* and changed local traditions. This led to a partial estrangement of the original Dutch membership. In 2005, this tendency resulted in the establishment of the first Conservative congregation, which – in Weesp and Almere together – started off with some 80 members. The Portuguese community is also still in existence but its numbers are very small: in 1945 there were about 800 Portuguese Jews left; in 2005 some 450 members were counted.

The only growing community after the war was the Union of Liberal Religious Jews in the Netherlands, established in 1931, and a member of the World Union for Progressive Judaism. Only in Amsterdam did a small community of some 130 Liberal Jews – mainly German refugees – survive the war. During its first 10 years the congregation in danger of disappearing, until Dutch-born Rabbi Jacob *Soetendorp was named to lead it in 1954. Under his leadership, together with Dr. Maurits *Goudeket and Robert *Levisson, the community added dozens of families to its ranks every year. New congregations were established in The Hague, Rotterdam, and Arnhem. Around 1970 a younger generation, represented by David Lilienthal and Awraham Soetendorp, took over as rabbis of Amsterdam, The Hague, and Rotterdam, followed by Rabbi Edward van Voolen in Arnhem in 1978. The Progressive community continued to grow and in 2000 it had a membership of well over 3,000, distributed in nine congregations throughout the country. The community has its own rabbinical seminary.

Outside the religious community – comprising only 20% of the total Jewish population – Joods Maatschappelijk Werk (Jewish Social Work, JMW), undertook much activity. JMW was established in 1946 and all Jewish organizations are represented in it. With its neutral and non-religious character, JMW was able to reach Jews who had lost formal contact with the community. JMW also cared of the elderly and many people who suffered from war trauma. In the days of the establishment of the State of Israel Zionism was very strong: the Dutch Zionist Union (NZB) had a membership of 3,232 in 1948, and nearly all other Jews supported Zionism without formal membership. The NZB reestablished its journal *De Joodse Wachter* ("The Jewish Guardian"). Po'alei Zion was its largest faction, but when most members left for Israel the group declined. During the 1980s ARZA, the new Zionist faction of the Movement for Progressive Judaism, dominated the NZB as part of a worldwide struggle for equal rights for Progressive Jews in Israel. Later on the NZB was reorganized in order to achieve greater efficiency and was renamed the Federation of Netherlands Zionists (FNZ), but the organization barely continued to exist. The need to deal with growing anti-Israel sentiments in the Dutch media and public opinion since the early 1970s led to the establishment of CIDI, the Center for Information and Documentation on Israel. On the board of this organization all streams of Judaism are represented, and CIDI developed into a professional public relations office working on behalf of the organized Jewish community. WIZO is the oldest functioning network for Jewish women in the Netherlands and although both the Orthodox and the Progressive Jewish community developed their own women's networks, WIZO remained very popular. One of its strongest features is that it is open to both religious and non-religious women alike.

Although on an administrative and public relations level the Orthodox and Liberal Jewish communities worked well together, the establishment of an umbrella organization comparable to the Board of Deputies in England or the CRIF in France did not materialize for a long time in the Netherlands. The Orthodox continued to claim that they were the only representative body of the Jews. In the end, however, numerical developments in the religious community shaped a new reality. In 1997, the CJO (or CJOEB: Central Committee of Jewish Organizations – External Affairs) was founded in which the religious, social, and political organizations of the community cooperate.

IDENTITY. Most Jews are not connected with the traditional community. For those who still feel a need for Jewish contacts, informal frameworks came into being, like social cafés and meeting groups. Israelis also have their own social activities. Loneliness is a large problem in the community, since most people still feel the absence of relatives and normal family life as a result of the Holocaust. Visits to the Jewish Historical Museum in Amsterdam and the annual *Yom Havoetbal* (Jewish Soccer Day) are the most popular expressions of identification. The Holocaust plays a major role in both Jewish and national consciousness: the central Jewish memorial sites are the Hollandse Schouwburg in Amsterdam, the Westerbork transit camp, and the Vught camp. Many cities and villages have dedicated local monuments in memory of their own deported Jews.

In the first decades after the war synagogues were sold and turned into churches, shops, garages, and laundries. Hartog Beem, who knew the prewar communities from his own vivid experiences, was for some time the only individual who wrote extensively on earlier Jewish life in provincial towns and villages. He also documented the use of Yiddish in the Dutch language. During the late 1970s and early 1980s the tendency to close synagogues was reversed by a growing interest among Jews and non-Jews in the visible history of their local Jewish communities. New studies were published with detailed descriptions and efforts were made to restore Jewish cemeteries and synagogues. Restored synagogues became museums or were given other useful purposes in memory of the destroyed communities. In several cases synagogues returned to their previous use and became houses of prayer again, mostly for Progressive Jewish congregations. This happened in The Hague with the ancient Portuguese synagogue and also with the Ashkenazi synagogues of Tilburg and Haaksbergen. The synagogue of Weesp is in use by the first Conservative congregation in the Netherlands.

In academic and archival institutions the growing interest in the communities aside from Amsterdam resulted in some large-scale projects, such as in the province of Groningen, where the histories of all communities were written up and all tombstones were photographed and described. The richest center of Jewish studies in the Netherlands is no doubt Amsterdam, but a newly established independent institute of Jewish education is Crescas, which organizes courses in all parts of the Netherlands in an effort to strengthen Jewish identity also outside of Amsterdam.

[Wout J. van Bekkum and Chaya Brasz (2nd ed.)]

Relations with Israel

A long-standing history of cooperation links the Jewish people to the Dutch, from the period of the "Golden Age" of Dutch Jewry after the expulsion of the Jews from Spain and Portugal until the demonstrations of support and acts of rescue during the Nazi occupation of the Netherlands. On Nov. 29, 1947, the Netherlands voted in favor of the UN plan to partition Palestine, and thus for the establishment of a Jewish state, and soon afterward officially recognized the new State of Israel. Formal diplomatic relations were established on the ambassadorial level, with Holland being the first country to set up its diplomatic representation in Jerusalem. The Netherlands supported Israel in the United Nations as well as in other international frameworks on a number of occasions; supported Israel against the Arab boycott and Arab aggression; and played a role in the struggle for persecuted Jews, especially Jews in the Soviet Union and the Arab countries. It was also Israel's major aid in its efforts to establish ties with the European Economic Community. When the Soviet Union severed diplomatic relations with Israel in 1953, the Netherlands represented Israel's interests in the U.S.S.R. and contributed to the resumption of diplomatic ties between the two states. It again assumed this role when the U.S.S.R. and other Communist states broke diplomatic relations with Israel after the Six-Day War (1967); subsequently Israel's interests in the U.S.S.R. and Poland were represented by Holland.

Trade relations between the two countries reached $75,000,000 in 1966 and rose to $84,000,000 by 1968, with Dutch exports to Israel somewhat larger than Israel exports to Holland. Tourism from Holland to Israel also rose, with 7,983 tourists in 1966, 9,308 in 1967, and 14,047 in 1968. The high points in cultural exchanges were the arrangement of a Dutch art exhibit in Israel and an exhibit from the Land of the Bible and appearances of the Israel Philharmonic Orchestra in Holland. Every year an Israel delegation participated in the popular march in Nijmegen, and a Dutch delegation took part in the yearly marches that take place in Israel, which are modeled on the Dutch ones. Prime ministers, foreign ministers, and other members of the government and of parliament of the two countries carried out mutual visits.

[Yohanan Meroz]

Netherlands governments in various coalitions continued to support Israel in the immediate post–Six-Day War period. On several occasions the Netherlands succeeded in having a UN anti-Israel draft resolution toned down. In the UN General Assembly Dec. 4, 1985, it was one of 16 countries voting against a resolution demanding unconditional withdrawal by Israel from all Palestinian and other Arab territories occupied since 1967. It was also among the 22 countries voting against a resolution calling the Israel decision of Dec. 1981 to introduce Israel laws and jurisdiction and Israeli administration into the Golan Heights an act of aggression and demanding a military, economic, diplomatic, and cultural boycott of Israel. On the other hand, it voted in favor of a resolution calling the incorporation by Israel of Jerusalem unlawful. The Dutch government criticized Israel for its bombardment of PLO headquarters in Tunisia.

The Netherlands withheld diplomatic recognition of the PLO and continued to limit the status of the Palestinian office in The Hague, which was opened in July 1983, to that of an Information Office.

In July 1983 the government, with the full approval of Parliament, decided to withdraw the Dutch Unifil battalion from South Lebanon as from October 19, 1983, as it could no longer play a useful role there.

The Netherlands continued to represent Israel's interests in Moscow and to mediate in the applications for visas to Israel by Soviet Jews until Israel was able to open its own consulate in Moscow.

In the Gulf War the Netherlands fully supported the American stand against Iraq and participated in the Allied forces, be it in a modest way.

At the end of January 1991 the entire Second Chamber of Parliament, with the exception of a few members of the

Green Left party, approved the government decision to lend eight Patriot systems to Israel, with 70 instructors and maintenance personnel. By the time they arrived in Israel the Iraqi Scud attacks had ceased, so that they never went into action. At the same time the government, in addition to the F 3,000,000 it had donated already for food for the Palestinians in the Administered Areas, gave another F 2,000,000 for this purpose, plus 10,000 gas masks. The news media had repeatedly pointed to the absence of gas masks for the Palestinians.

The first Intifada, from its start, received very great attention in the Dutch news media. The emphasis was often on the "cruelty" of the Israeli soldiers firing at young children who merely threw stones. Among the organizations showing great sympathy for the Palestinians was the Netherlands Council of Churches (mainly Protestant) and the Dutch branch of the Roman Catholic "Pax Christi."

Two small extreme left-wing parties, the PRP (Political Radical Party) and the PSP (Pacifist Socialist Party), often publicly criticized Israel. In 1987, together with the small Communist Party (CPN), they merged into the Green Left which often criticized Israel, as did some members of the Labor left wing.

On the second anniversary of the outbreak of the *intifada* the PLO representative in The Hague, Afif Safieh, organized a large-scale meeting, to which he invited representatives of all the major parties as speakers, but all declined. Nor was any official representative of the Foreign Ministry present. The meeting was addressed by the chairman of the Netherlands Council of Churches, Prof. Dirk C. Mulder.

The Israel-Palestine peace talks in Madrid had originally been scheduled to take place in The Hague, but Syria had objected for a number of reasons. The Hague was thus dropped, much to the relief of the Dutch authorities, in view of the vast organizational and security problems it would have caused.

No Palestinian terrorist attacks against Jewish persons or property took place throughout the decade under review.

On January 19–21, 1986, Israeli Prime Minister Shimon Peres paid an official visit to Holland, where he also met Spanish premier, Felipe Gonzalez.

The ICN or Israel Committee Netherlands, which consists of orthodox Protestants, is fully pro-Israel and every year from 1980 sent tens of thousand of flower bulbs to Israel to adorn its public gardens.

The Collective Israel Actie (United Israel Appeal) in 1992 raised some F 9,240,000, of which F 6,260,000 came from the campaign itself and some F 3,000,000 from bequests. This was a reduction of F 2,500,000 against 1991, but F 2,500,000 more than in 1989. In contrast to the situation in the 1950s and 1960s, many Israeli institutions now freely solicit funds in Holland.

The disaster of the El Al Boeing 747 cargo aircraft which crashed into two tall apartment buildings in the Bijlmer district of southeastern Amsterdam on Oct. 4, 1992, made a deep impression. In addition to the three Israeli crew members and one Israeli woman passenger, 43 local residents were killed and four seriously wounded, nearly all of them recent immigrants from Third World countries. In all, 80 apartments were destroyed and 160 others were no longer safe for habitation. The ultimate blame for the disaster was eventually placed upon the Boeing company.

On the whole, beginning in the 1970s, the Netherlands has come closer to the more critical attitude of the European community toward Israel, but it still remains a very friendly nation. In 2004, exports to the Netherlands totaled $1.23 billion while imports reached $1.48 billion.

[Henriette Boas]

For the musical tradition of Jews in the Netherlands see *Amsterdam.

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NETHERWORLD, the abode of the dead. The peoples of the Ancient Near East had elaborate doctrines concerning the dead and their abode. The Egyptians were very optimistic concerning the afterlife. They believed that ceremonies of mummification, rituals and spells, and declarations of guiltlessness would ensure them a happy afterlife almost identical to the life they led in this world. In the afterlife they would plow, harvest, eat, and drink; in short, do all they did while they were alive (*The Book of the Dead*, 110).

For the Babylonians, on the other hand, the realm of the dead was a place to be dreaded. It was a well-organized kingdom with Ereshkigal and *Nergal as its queen and king, respectively. To enter it one had to pass through seven gates and remove one's garments. The netherworld is depicted as "… the land of no return … the dark house … the house which none leave who have entered it … the road from which there is no way back … the house wherein the entrants are bereft of light, where dust is their fare and clay their food, [where] they see no light, residing in darkness, [where] they are clothed like birds, with wings for garments, [and where] over door and bolt is spread dust" (*Descent of Ishtar to the Netherworld*, 1–11, in Pritchard, Texts, 107; cf. *Epic of Gilgamesh*, 7, 3:33–39, in Pritchard, Texts, 87). The plight of the dead could be worsened or alleviated depending on whether they were properly buried, and whether or not food and drink were brought to them. Such practices and speculations are not entirely wanting in the Bible. Deuteronomy 26:12, 14 implies that only food that has been consecrated as tithe may not be left as a gift for the dead, the practice of feeding the dead as such being permitted, while Isaiah 14:14–19 and Ezekiel 38:18ff., reflect a belief that those who are slain by the sword (and not decently buried), as also such as die uncircumcised, are assigned the lowest – and no doubt the least desirable – level of the netherworld (see Ginsberg in bibl.). On the other hand, the practice of occult arts including necromancy was abhorred by the Bible (Deut. 18:11; Isa. 8:19), and there was no sacrifice to the dead (Ps. 106:28). Sacrifice to the dead means sacrifice to no-gods, such as Baal-Peor; cf. Numbers 25:2–3.

Apart from the Isaiah and Ezekiel passages referred to above, the numerous biblical references to the netherworld are vague and inspired by Ancient Near Eastern folklore. Several names are given to the abode of the dead, the most common being *She'ol* – always feminine and without the definite article – a sign of proper nouns. The term does not occur in other Semitic languages, except as a loan word from the Hebrew *She'ol*, and its etymology is obscure. Other common designations of the netherworld are: *ʾereẓ*, "earth" or "underworld" (e.g., I Sam. 28:13; Jonah 2:7; Job 10:21–22); *qever*, "grave" (Ps. 88:12); *ʿafar*, "dust" (Isa. 26:5, 19; cf. Gen. 3:19); *bor*, "pit" (e.g., Isa. 14:15; 38:18; Prov. 28:17); *shaḥat*, "pit" (Ps. 7:16); *ʾavaddon*, "Abaddon" (e.g., Job. 28:22); *dumah* (apparently = "the place of abiding"; Ps. 94:17; 115:17); *naḥale beliyyaʿal* ["the torrents of *Belial"; II Sam. 22:5); "the nether parts of the earth" (Ezek. 31:14); "the depths of the pit" (Lam. 3:55); "the land of darkness" (Job 10:21). The netherworld is located somewhere under the earth (cf. Num. 16:30ff.), or at the bottoms of the mountains (Jonah 2:7), or under the waters – the cosmic ocean (Job 26:5). It is sometimes personified as a voracious monster with a wide-open mouth (e.g., Isa. 5:14; Hab. 2:5; Prov. 1:12). Kings and commoners, nobles and paupers, masters and slaves are equal in Sheol (Job 3:13–19; Ezek. 32:18–32). For Israel's neighbors, the rule of the universe was divided among various deities, and the netherworld was the dominion of a pair of infernal gods. For Israel, however, the Lord rules over the whole universe, His sovereignty extends from heaven to Sheol (Ps. 139; Job 26:6; cf. Ps. 90:2; 102:26–28). However, there is no communication between the dead and the Lord (Ps. 88:6); no praise to the Lord comes from the netherworld (Isa. 38:18; Ps. 30:10; 88:12–13).

[Laurentino Jose Afonso]

In the Aggadah

In the *aggadah*, the name Gehenna takes the place of the biblical Sheol as the abode of the dead. The name is derived from *Gei Ben Hinnom* (Valley of the son of Hinnom, Josh. 15:8; 18:16; et al.), a valley south of Jerusalem where children were made to pass through fire to the god *Moloch (see *Gehinnom). Jeremiah prophesied that it would become "a valley of slaughter" and a place of burial (Jer. 7:32). In the course of time, the name of this accursed valley, designated for suffering, became identified with the place of retribution for the wicked after their death.

No suggestion of this later notion of Gehenna is to be found in Scripture, but in the Talmud and Midrash "Gehenna" is so used. Joshua b. Levi refers to it by seven names (Er. 19a), all of which are synonyms for the netherworld of Scripture. Later, these seven names were given to the seven divisions of Gehenna (Mid. Ps. to 11:6, Sot. 10b). Descriptions of Gehenna include foreign elements which were widespread in the Hellenistic world (through Orphic and Pythagorean sources). The punishment of "the wicked one whose tongue hangs out to lap the water of the river but is unable to reach it" (TJ, Ḥag 2:2 77d) is reminiscent of the punishment of Tantalus in Hades (Odyssey, 11:582–5). The source of this description is probably Greek, passing to Judaism, and thence to Christianity (Luke 16:24) and Islam. Most accounts of Gehenna, however, draw chiefly on the scriptural descriptions of the land of the dead. There is discernible in the *aggadot* on Gehenna a tendency to mitigate the application of strict justice, by limiting the categories of its victims (Ber. 10a; Er. 41b; et al.), and by detailing the many possibilities whereby the Jew might be delivered from its punishment (Pes. 118a; Git. 7a; et al.).

The *aggadot* about Gehenna in the Talmud and Midrash speak of its site, size, entrances, gates, divisions, and princes. A variety of motifs and partial descriptions from the Bible (sometimes self-contradictory) are combined. The *aggadah*, basing itself on verses which describe the site of the land of the dead, variously, as beneath the earth (Gen. 37:35; Deut. 32:22; et al.) and beneath the sea (Jonah 2:3–4; Job 26:5), states that Gehenna has entrances in the sea and on dry land (Er. 19a). In the school of Johanan b. Zakkai it was stated that one of its entrances is in the valley of Hinnom, near Jerusalem. There are also traditions, however, that Gehenna is in the sky (Tam. 32b), and that it is "beyond the dark mountains" (*ibid.*).

As against *aggadot* which, in the main, speak of the fire of Gehenna (Pes. 54a; BM 85a; BB 74a; et al.), there are those which describe the darkness reigning there (I Enoch, 10:4; et al.). According to Josephus, the Essenes described it as a cold and dark cave (Wars, 2:155). There are also sources combining both ideas, speaking of a fire found in Gehenna which gives no light – "fire causing darkness," or "the darkness of eternal fire." Descriptions of rivers of fire (Ḥag. 13b) in Gehenna appear also to be combinations of descriptions of its fire and of a river flowing in or near it (TJ, Ḥag. 2:2, 77d; Shab. 39a) with descriptions of the hot springs of Tiberias, whose heat is conceived as deriving from their passing the entrance to Gehenna. Extravagant accounts are given of the size of Gehenna and the power of its fire. "The world is one sixtieth of the Garden, the Garden one sixtieth of Eden, Eden one sixtieth of Gehenna – hence the world to Gehenna is as the lid to the pot. Others say Gehenna is immeasurable" (Ta'an. 10a). The account of the gates of Gehenna is followed by descriptions of the gatekeepers (Ḥag. 15b; Mid. Gan Eden, in: A. Jellinek (ed.), *Beit ha-Midrasch*, 5 (1938), 42–51) and these gatekeepers are identified with its princes (Shab. 104a).

The descriptions of the sufferings of the wicked in Gehenna are faithful reflections of the judicial procedures during the era of their composition. The concept of "measure for measure" lies at the root of these punishments. "The suffering commences from the limb that began the transgression" (Sif. Num. 18; Tosef., Sot. 3:2). The cruel torments of Gehenna, such as hanging by different limbs of the body (TJ, Ḥag. 2:2, 77d; Mid. Gan Eden, *ibid.*; Mid. *Ke-Tappu'aḥ*), roasting by fire (excerpt from "*Ḥazon Eliyahu*" quoted by Lieberman, in *Louis Ginzberg Jubilee Volume* (1946), 249–70 (Hebrew Section)) and suffocating by smoke (Mid. Gan Eden, *ibid.*), are also found in Christian books of the second, third, and fourth centuries which describe the divisions of Gehenna and the suffering of the wicked therein (e.g., "The Vision of Peter," "The Acts of Thomas," and "The Vision of Paul," the influence of the Jewish *aggadah* being easily recognizable). Undoubtedly, the cruel torments used by the Roman government in its system of punishments played their part in the envisioning of Gehenna. The punishment of the wicked in Gehenna was conceived of as parallel to the procedures for punishment in this world. Just as the lower court does not inflict punishment on the Sabbath, so in Gehenna: "During weekdays they suffer, but on the Sabbath they are given rest" (Gen. R. 11:5).

Some are characterized by severe contrast. The wicked are cast into fire, then into snow, and the process repeated (TJ, Sanh. 10:3, 29b; PDRK, 97). There is a difference of opinion between Bet Shammai and Bet Hillel as to the duration of the punishment in Gehenna (RH 16b–17a); according to the former, the thoroughly wicked remain there for everlasting disgrace; the intermediate ones (between the wicked and the good) descend to Gehenna to be purged, and ascend after purification. According to the latter, the intermediate ones do not go there at all (ARN^1 41:15), and whereas transgressors (both Jewish and gentile) are punished in Gehenna for only 12 months, only special categories of sinners – informers, those who deny the resurrection of the dead and those who lead the masses into sin – are punished there for all time (RH *ibid.*). Rabbinic literature incorporates legends of visits to Eden and Gehenna of a type similar to that found among other peoples. Some of these are solitary visits in a dream (TJ, Ḥag. 2:2, 177d), and some escorted visits, in a dream at night. At times the visit takes place in a vision ascribed to one of the scriptural personalities, such as Moses (Mid. *Ke-Tappu'aḥ*), Isaiah (Mid. Gan Eden, *ibid.*), Daniel, Enoch, and Baruch (Apocrypha). Similar visits are attributed to *tannaim* and *amoraim* (Joshua b. Levi in Ket. 77b), of whom many *aggadot* are extant.

[Batya Kedar]

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NETILAT YADAYIM (Heb. נְטִילַת יָדַיִם; lit. "raising the hands"), rabbinic term for the obligatory washing of the hands. The rabbis made this ritual mandatory in the following instances:

(1) upon rising from sleep (Ber. 60b; Sh. Ar., OḤ 4:1)
(2) after the excretion of bodily wastes
(3) after the paring of nails
(4) after the removal of shoes
(5) after the combing of hair or touching parts of the body that are usually covered
(6) after leaving a cemetery or participating in a funeral
(7) after sexual intercourse (Sh. Ar., OḤ 4:18)
(8) before prayer and the recitation of the *Shema* (Ber. 15a; Sh. Ar., OḤ 92:4)
(9) before eating bread (Ḥul. 105a; Sh. Ar., OḤ 158:1)
(10) before reciting Grace (Ḥul. 105a; Sh. Ar., OḤ 181:1)
(11) before eating the parsley at the Passover *seder* (Pes. 115a–6; Sh. Ar., OḤ 473:6)
(12) the levites wash the hands of the kohanim before the *Priestly Blessing (Sh. Ar., OḤ 128:6)

In all these instances the hands must be washed at least up to the third joint of the fingers, i.e., the junction of the phalanges and the metacarpus. Nevertheless, the rabbis considered it preferable to wash up to the wrist (Sh. Ar., OḤ 161:4). However, when washing before Grace, it is sufficient to wash only up to the second joint of the fingers (Sh. Ar., OḤ 181:4). A minimum of ¼ *log* (approx. ½ pint) of water is poured over the hands from a utensil with a wide mouth, the lip of which must be undamaged (Sh. Ar., OḤ 159:1, 3; 160:13). The hands must be clean without anything adhering to them prior to the ritual washing, and no foreign object such as a ring may intervene between them and the water (Sh. Ar., OḤ 161:1–3). Upon rising from sleep, each hand must be washed three times (Sh. Ar., OḤ

4:2), but before partaking of bread, it is sufficient if they are washed once (Sh. Ar., OḤ 162:2). It is customary to hold the cup in the left hand and wash the right one first, and then to reverse the procedure (Mishnah Berurah to Sh. Ar., OḤ 158:1 n. 4). A benediction is only recited after washing the hands upon rising and before eating bread. Its text reads "… and commanded us concerning the washing of the hands." After rising, it is today recited as part of the preliminary *Shaḥarit service, while before the meal it is recited prior to the drying of the hands (Sh. Ar., OḤ 158:11–12).

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NETIRA (d. 916), businessman in *Baghdad. Netira wielded considerable influence in the court of the caliphs and the Jewish society of Babylonia. He was at first connected with the business of his father-in-law *Joseph b. Phinehas and his partner Aaron b. Amram. With the appointment of Caliph al-Muʿtaḍid in 892, he became the principal figure of Babylonian Jewry and much authority was accorded him. He held this position until his death. During the reign of Caliph al-Muʿtaḍiḍ, Netira succeeded in frustrating the design of one of the caliph's ministers, Ibn-Abi al-Bagl, who planned to put many Jews to death. Between 909 and 916, when the controversy between the *rosh yeshivah* of *Pumbedita and the *exilarch *Ukva broke out, he and his father-in-law Joseph b. Phinehas supported the *gaon*. As a result of their intervention, the exilarch Ukva was twice banished from the country. According to Nathan b. Isaac ha-Bavli, the *gaon* in question was R. *Kohen Zedek, but J. Mann has proved, on the basis of *Iggeret Rav Sherira Ga'on*, that it was R. Judah b. Samuel, the grandfather of R. *Sherira Gaon. His sons Sahl and Isaac followed their father's example and they also held important positions in Jewish society. When the dispute between the exilarch *David b. Zakkai and R. *Saadiah Gaon broke out in 930, they supported Saadiah, who was also the teacher of Sahl. It seems that his third son was Joseph b. Netira, who was one of the heads of the Fostat community in the second half of the 10th century. Apparently the sons of Netira lost their influence during the rule of Caliph al-Qāhir (932–934).

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[Abraham David]

NETIV HA-LAMED-HE (Heb. נְתִיב הַל"ה), kibbutz in the Elah Valley, central Israel, affiliated with Ha-Kibbutz ha-Me'uḥad. It was founded by a group of Israeli youth in 1949, later joined by immigrants from various countries. In the initial years Netiv ha-Lamed-He was an isolated outpost, but it progressed after the *Adullam Region development project was launched in the mid-1950s. Its farming included field crops, fruit plantations, poultry, and dairy cattle. In addition, the kibbutz manufactured water filters and ran a guest house. In 2002 its population was 420. The name of the kibbutz, "Pathway of the Thirty-Five," commemorates the *Haganah unit of 35 men who were killed by Arabs while trying to reach the besieged Ezyon Bloc in the Israeli *War of Independence (1948; see *Kefar Ezyon). A memorial has been erected near the kibbutz.

WEBSITE: www.netiv.org.il.

[Efraim Orni / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

NETIVOT (Heb. נְתִיבוֹת; "Roads," from Prov. 3:17), Israel development town in N.W. Negev, 9 mi. (15 km.) S.E. of Gaza. Netivot was founded in 1956 in the framework of Israel's regional settlement and population dispersion policy. It was initially named Azzatah ("Toward Gaza"). Although placed in the center of a quickly expanding agricultural region, Netivot's progress was handicapped by the proximity of two other development towns, *Sederot and *Ofakim, and by its inability to attract educated veteran citizens in addition to new immigrants. Netivot's growth was slow, its population rising from 1,231 in 1957 to 4,830 in 1968; 95% of the immigrants came from Tunisia and Morocco. One of Morocco's most renowned rabbis, Yisrael Abuhatzeira (the Baba Sali), settled there as well. After his death in 1984 his tomb became a major pilgrimage site, attracting hundreds of thousands of people every year. In the mid-1990s the population was approximately 13,600, rising further to 21,800 in 2002. The increase was due to the arrival of many new immigrants; 43% of the residents were below the age of 14. In 2000, Netivot received city status. The municipal area was 2.3 sq. mi (6 sq. km.). Most residents worked in local commerce and industry, with others commuting to the bigger cities of the region: Beersheba, Ashkelon, and Kiryat Gat. Income was about half the national average.

[Efraim Orni / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

NETOPHAH (Heb. נְטֹפָה), Judean village, evidently near Bethlehem (I Chron. 2:54). It was the hometown of two of David's heroes (II Sam. 23:28, 29) and of a captain of Gedaliah (II Kings 25:23; Jer. 40:8). It appears after Bethlehem in the list of those returning from Babylonian exile (Ezra 2:22; Neh. 7:26). In Byzantine times, it is placed in the vicinity of Tekoa (*Life of Cyriacus*, in: PG, vol. 115, p. 929); the same source mentions a "desert of Netopha." The usual identification is with Khirbat Badd Falūḥ, about 3.4 mi. (5½ km.) south of Bethlehem, where Iron Age to Byzantine pottery was found. It has also been located at Ramat Raḥel, which, however, is identified with Beth-Cherem by its excavator.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Abel, Geog, 2 (1938), 399; Aharoni, Land, index; EM, 5 (1968), 829–30 (incl. bibl.).

[Michael Avi-Yonah]

NETTER, CHARLES (**Yiẓḥak**; 1826–1882), leader of the *Alliance Israélite Universelle and founder of the *Mikveh Israel Agricultural School. Born in Strasbourg, Netter went into business, first in Lille and then in Moscow and London. He moved to Paris in about 1851 and began a life-long career of public activities, establishing a Jewish vocational school in 1865, a society for safeguarding the rights of workers, and a hostel for poor artisans in 1880. A founder of the Alliance Israélite Universelle (1860), he was elected its treasurer. Various proposals submitted to the Alliance to extend its activities to Ereẓ Israel met with a favorable response on Netter's part, and the Alliance board, although opposed to the encouragement of emigration to Ereẓ Israel, was ready to help Jews already there. In 1867 Netter submitted a proposal to the Alliance to assist Jews from Persia and other Eastern countries to emigrate to Ereẓ Israel and to found agricultural settlements for them. The following year he visited Ereẓ Israel on behalf of the Alliance, and upon his return he recommended the creation of an agricultural school, to be followed by the founding of settlements for the school graduates. In his report Netter noted that Ereẓ Israel would provide a shelter for Jews fleeing from hostile surroundings and enable them, in the course of time, to occupy and settle the Holy Land. When his proposal was approved, he left for Constantinople in 1869, where he received the approval of the grand vizier of the Imperial State Council for the establishment of the school and the authorization of Rashid Pasha, governor of Syria, for the acquisition of 650 acres (2,600 dunams) of land for the annual rental of 1,800 francs, with a right of renewal for 25 years. A *firman* of 1870 confirmed the arrangement, whereupon he returned to Ereẓ Israel and founded the school, naming it Mikveh Israel. After a stay of four years, he fell ill and had to return to Paris, revisiting Ereẓ Israel for six months in 1873. He resumed his political activities on behalf of Jewish causes and in propaganda for the school. In 1877 he again went to Constantinople on behalf of the Alliance, and on the basis of this visit he submitted a report to the Great Powers on the situation of the Jews, especially in Romania and Serbia. In the following year he attended the Congress of Berlin. In 1880 he was at Madrid, where an international conference was deliberating the status of Morocco, and intervened on behalf of the Jews of that country. He was disappointed with the lack of success recorded by Mikveh Israel and the general unsuitability of Ereẓ Israel for the absorption of large numbers of Jews. As a result, he opposed the *aliyah* of Russian and Romanian Jews in the 1880s, when events in those countries created strong pressure for emigration and a movement developed to resettle Ereẓ Israel. At the end of 1881 he visited Brody, remaining there for some months, during which he arranged for the emigration of 1,200 Russian Jewish refugees to America and of a group of 28 children to Mikveh Israel. In March 1882 he even came out with a statement in the press opposing immigration to Ereẓ Israel. Similarly, a conference of Jewish organizations in Berlin, in which Netter participated, decided to support emigration to the United States and to look for other countries where Jews could find refuge, but failed to consider settlement in Ereẓ Israel. Probably under the influence of Baron Edmond de *Rothschild, who believed that an attempt should be made to turn Ereẓ Israel into a center for Jewish immigration, Netter revised his views, and in August 1882 he revisited the country. There he met Russian Jews who had settled in Rishon le-Zion and members of the *Bilu movement and offered them his help. He developed many plans for agricultural activities and the development of crafts in Ereẓ Israel, but died a month after his arrival.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Z. Szajkowski, in: JSOS, 4 (1942), 291–310; N. Sokolow, *Ḥibbath Zion* (Eng. 1935), 20, 30–34; S. Jawnieli, *Sefer ha-Ẓiyyonut*, 2 pt. 2 (1944), 16–23, 34–37; A. Druyanow, *Ketavim le-Toledot Ḥibbat Ẓiyyon ve-Yishuv Ereẓ Yisrael* (1919), index; I. Klausner, *Ḥibbat Ẓiyyon be-Rumanyah* (1958), index; idem, *Be-Hitorer Am* (1962), index; B. Dinaburg, *Mefallesei Derekh* (1946), 69–89; J. Shapiro, *Sefer Mikveh Yisrael* (1970); G. Weill, in: *Nouveaux Cahiers*, 21 (1970), 2–36; 11 (1967), 11–16; S. Hillels, *Mikveh Yisrael* (1931).

[Israel Klausner]

NETTL, PAUL (1889–1972), musicologist. Born in Hohenelbe, Bohemia, Nettl was lecturer in musicology in Prague from 1919 until 1939, when he immigrated to the United States. He taught in Chicago, and at Indiana University (1946–60). His works include: *Alte juedische Spielleute und Musiker* (1923); *The Story of Dance Music* (1947); *The Book of Musical Documents* (1948); *The Other Casanova* (1950) concerning Lorenzo da Ponte; *Forgotten Musicians* (1951); *Beethoven Encyclopedia* (1956); and *Mozart and Masonry* (1957). His son BRUNO was an ethnomusicologist, specializing in the study of American Indian music.

NETUREI KARTA, group of ultra-religious extremists, mainly in Jerusalem, who regard the establishment of a secular Jewish state in Ereẓ Israel as a sin and a denial of God, and therefore do not recognize the State of Israel. Their name, which is Aramaic for "guardians of the City," derives from a passage in the Jerusalem Talmud (Ḥag. 76:3) stating that religious scholars are the guardians and defenders of the city. Most of them come from the old *yishuv*, but they have been joined by some immigrants from Hungary, disciples of R. Joel *Teitelbaum of Satmar.

Neturei Karta broke away from *Agudat Israel in 1935, when the latter attempted to restrain extremist demands for an independent ultra-Orthodox Jerusalem community completely separate from the rest of the "Zionist" community. The group first adopted the name Ḥevrat ha-Ḥayyim, after R. Joseph Ḥayyim *Sonnenfeld. It aimed at creating "a circle free from the influence of the contemporary spirit and its fallacious opinions," and a condition of membership was "the education of sons and daughters in the traditional Jewish manner, without any change (girls' schools which teach Hebrew do not provide education in the traditional Jewish manner)." The last phrase alluded to Agudat Israel's Bet Ya'akov girls' schools, where the language of instruction is Hebrew. The name Neturei Karta was first used in 1938 by a group of youths, including members of Ḥevrat ha-Ḥayyim, who violently opposed the Jewish community's levying of the voluntary defense tax, *kofer ha-yishuv.*

During World War II, Neturei Karta came out in opposition to Agudat Israel, when it cooperated more closely with the Jewish community and the *Jewish Agency, and attacked it in *Ha-Ḥomah*, a newspaper which began to appear in 1944. In 1945, at the elections to the Orthodox Community Committee (*Va'ad ha-Edah ha-Ḥaredit*), Neturei Karta and its sympathizers gained control; one of their first acts was to exclude from membership anyone educating his daughters at a Bet Ya'akov school. During the War of Independence, Neturei Karta opposed the creation of a Jewish state and Israel's control of Jerusalem, and tried to bring about the internationalization of the city.

The most consistent members refuse to accept an Israel identity card, to recognize the competence of Israel courts, and to vote in municipal or general elections. Although they consist of only a few dozen families – concentrated in the Me'ah She'arim quarter of Jerusalem and in Bene Berak – they gained some support in wider Orthodox circles by creating periodic religious controversies, such as their demonstrations against Sabbath violation and mixed bathing. In 1966 Neturei Karta split, following the marriage of their leader R. Amram *Blau to a convert, Ruth Ben-David. Members of Neturei Karta derive their livelihood mostly from small trade and contributions from abroad, notably from disciples of the Satmar rabbi in the United States. The Neturei Karta continued its spirited anti-Israel activities into the 21st century, demonstrating against Zionist organizations at every opportunity and agitating for the return of the Land of Israel to the Palestinians.

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[Menachem Friedman]

NEUBAUER, ADOLF (**Abraham**; 1831–1907), scholar, author, librarian, and bibliographer. Born in Nagybanya, Hungary, Neubauer studied in Prague with S.J.L. *Rapaport and at the universities of Prague and Munich. In 1857 he went to Paris, where he pursued research at the Bibliothèque Nationale, and in 1864 to Jerusalem as a member of the staff of the Austro-Hungarian consulate. There, too, he sought out rare Hebrew books and manuscripts, discovering in the Karaite synagogue a manuscript of extracts from the lexicon of *David b. Abraham of Fez (15th century) which he published in the *Journal Asiatique* in 1861–62. Returning to Paris, he was befriended by the Orientalists S. *Munk, J. *Derenbourg, and E. *Renan. Invited to St. Petersburg in 1864 to examine the *Firkovich collection of Karaite manuscripts, Neubauer wrote a report for the French Ministry of Education (*Rapports…* (1865) with S. Munk) and published *Aus der Petersburger Bibliothek, Beitraege und Dokumente zur Geschichte des Karaeerthums und der karaeischen Literatur* (1866). He presented his prize-winning essay *La Géographie du Talmud* (1868) to the Academie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres which in spite of some criticism (J. Morgenstern, *Die franzoesische Akademie und die "Géographie des Talmuds,"* 1870^2) has remained an important reference book. His *Notice sur la lexicographie hebraïque…* (1863), foreshadowing his edition of Jonah *Ibn Janaḥ's *Sefer ha-Dikduk* (1875, 1968^2), with additions and corrections by W. Bacher, and *Melekhet ha-Shir* (1865), a collection of extracts from manuscripts concerning Hebrew poetry, belong to the same period.

In 1865 Neubauer settled in England, becoming librarian at the Bodleian Library, Oxford (1868), which he enriched by judicious purchases, particularly from the Cairo **Genizah*; in 1884 he was appointed reader in rabbinic Hebrew at the university. There he produced some of his finest work, cut short in 1899 by failing eyesight. His works there include *Catalogue of the Hebrew Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library* (3 vols., 1886–1906; the second was finished by A.E. Cowley), with over 2,500 entries (some items consisting of 20–50 works); the third volume contains 40 facsimiles that illustrate Hebrew paleography of different countries and periods. He also prepared a *Catalogue of the Hebrew Manuscripts in the Jews' College* (1886).

His *The Fifty-Third Chapter of Isaiah According to the Jewish Interpreters* (vol. 1, texts, 1876; vol. 2, translations with S.R. Driver, 1877; repr. 1969) provided biblical scholarship with an anthology of Jewish reactions to christological interpretations. He was the first to publish original Hebrew portions of *Ben Sira as they were found in the Cairo *Genizah*, together with the text of early versions, quotations of Ben Sira in rabbinical literature, and an English translation (with A.E. Cowley, 1897). His two volumes of *Medieval Jewish Chronicles* (*Seder ha-Ḥakhamim ve-Korot ha-Yamim*, preface and notes in English, 1887–95, repr. 1967) collected texts of a number of talmudic, geonic, and medieval historiographical writings. The fruits of Neubauer's collaboration with Renan were two remarkable works of literary history: *Les rabbins français du commencement du quatorzième siècle* (1877) and *Les écrivains juifs français du XIVe siècle* (1893). Other editions of his include *Vocabulaire hebraïco-français* (in: *Romanische Studien*, 2 (1875)), and *Petite Grammaire hebraique provenant de Yemen* (Arabic, 1891) as well as *Talmudical and Rabbinical Literature* (in: *Transaction of the Philological Society*, 1875–76). Neubauer also contributed a stream of articles, notes, and book reviews to most of the learned Jewish (and many non-Jewish) periodicals of his time. In 1901 he moved to Vienna to live with his nephew A. *Buechler, and when the latter became principal of Jews' College, London, in 1906, he returned to London where he died shortly afterward.

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NEUBAUER, JACOB (**Jekuthiel**; 1895–1945), halakhist and law historian; born in Leipzig. In 1917 Neubauer published

Bibelwissenschaftliche Irrungen and in 1918 his important dissertation *Beitraege zur Geschichte des biblisch-talmudischen Eheschliessungsrechts*. When he was appointed lecturer at the Wuerzburg teachers' training school, his home became a center of Jewish intellectual life for students of all faculties. In 1933 he was chief lecturer at the rabbinical seminary in Amsterdam. Neubauer was an outstanding scholar in the history of Jewish law and in the exposition of the development of individual laws. He died in Bergen-Belsen. His *Ha-Rambam al Divrei Soferim* was published in Jerusalem in 1957.

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[Frederik Jacob Hirsch]

NEUBERG, GUSTAV EMBDEN CARL (1877–1956), German biochemist. Born in Hanover, Neuberg joined the Pathological Institute of the University of Berlin, becoming professor in 1919, and from 1920 directed the Kaiser Wilhelm Institute of Biochemistry, Berlin-Dahlem. The Nazis dismissed him in 1938, and he went to Amsterdam. In 1939–40 he was professor of biochemistry at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. In 1941 he went to America, was professor at New York University until 1950, and then for a time visiting professor at Brooklyn Polytechnic. Neuberg's field of research was principally in sugars, albumen, fermentation processes, the biochemical action of light, and glycerin substitutes. He was an honorary member of ten national academies of science, the recipient of many honorary doctorates, prizes, and medals.

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[Samuel Aaron Miller]

NEUBERGER, ALBERT (1908–1996), British biochemist. Neuberger, born in Hassfurt, Bavaria, qualified as a doctor of medicine in Wuerzburg. He then settled in England, where he undertook research first at London University and then (1939–42) at Cambridge. In 1943 he joined the Medical Research Council. After war service in India he returned to work at the University of London until 1947, when he became head of the biochemistry division of the National Institute for Medical Research. In 1955 he was appointed professor of chemical pathology at St. Mary's Hospital Medical School in London. Neuberger's main research was in the metabolism of proteins and amino acids. He was a fellow of the Royal Society, chairman of the Biochemical Society, and a governor of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem.

[Samuel Aaron Miller]

NEUBERGER, RICHARD LEWIS (1912–1960), U.S. senator, journalist, and author. Neuberger, born near Portland, Oregon, graduated from the University of Oregon (1935), where he edited the student newspaper. He began writing in 1928, and in 1933 *The Nation* published an article of his that realistically described the Nazi persecution of Jews and the preparation for war, which he had witnessed on a visit through Germany. From 1939 to 1954 he was the *New York Times'* Northwest correspondent. Neuberger served in the Oregon House of Representatives from 1941 to 1942, when he entered the U.S. Army. An aide-de-camp to General James O'Connor during the construction of the Alaska Military Highway, he left the army a captain in 1945.

In 1948 Neuberger was elected to the State Senate, and in 1955 he became the first Democratic U.S. senator from Oregon in 40 years. An affable liberal, Neuberger was active on behalf of natural conservation, civil rights, cancer research (he was himself afflicted), housing measures, Congressional reform, and Alaska statehood. He was chairman of the Subcommittee on Indian Affairs and a member of the Interior and Public Works committees, which dealt with conservation.

His books, which generally discuss politics and conservation in the northern U.S., include *An Army of the Aged* (with Kelley Loe, 1936), *Integrity – The Life of George W. Norris* (with S.B. Kahn, 1937), *Our Promised Land* (1938), *The Lewis and Clark Expedition* (1951), *Royal Canadian Mounted Police* (1953), and *Adventures in Politics* (1954).

His wife, H. MAURINE (BROWN) NEUBERGER (1907–2000) – who was not Jewish – served in the State House of Representatives from 1951 to 1955. The couple gained notice as the first married couple in U.S. history to serve together in a legislature – he in the Oregon Senate and she in the House. She worked closely with her husband, completing his Senate term after his death. In 1960 she was elected to the Senate, serving until 1967. She was the third woman elected to the U.S. Senate and the only woman from Oregon to serve in the legislative body.

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NEUBURGER, MAX (1868–1955), Austrian medical historian. Born in Vienna, Neuburger worked at the Rudolfspital and the Allegemeines Krankhaus and in 1898 went to teach at the University of Vienna. There he devoted himself more and more to medical history and was appointed professor of the history of medicine in 1904. He developed the department into a proper institute for the study of medical history and built up its library and museum (later described by A. Levinson, see bibl.). From 1901 to 1913 he collaborated with J. Pagel on a revised and enlarged edition of the history of medicine by his mentor, Theodor Puschmann. It appeared in three volumes, under the title *Handbuch der Geschichte der Medizin* (1902–05), a comprehensive and authoritative account of medical history. At the same time he wrote *Geschichte* *der Medizin* (vol. 1, 1906; vol. 2, 1911; Eng. trans. by E. Playfair 1910–25) which served at the time as the most authoritative textbook on medical history of the ancient and medieval period, and aroused much interest in its treatment of Arabic and Jewish medicine. In 1928 on the occasion of his 60th birthday, he was presented with a Festschrift by his colleagues, friends, and disciples, *Festschrift zur Feier seines 60. Geburtstages… Max Neuburger.*

He showed an interest in Jewish aspects of medicine, writing *Die ersten an der Wiener medizinischen Fakultaet promovierten Aerzte juedischen Stammes* (1918), and in 1936 he read a paper on Jewish doctors at the international congress for history of medicine in Jerusalem, published as *Die Stellung der juedischen Aerzte in der Geschichte der medizinischen Wissenschaften* (1936). Neuburger fled from the Nazis in 1938, settling in England, where he worked in The Wellcome Historical Medical Museum (1938–48). While in Britain he continued his research, writing *British Medicine and the Vienna School* (1943), in which he showed the reciprocal influence of both countries in medicine in the 18th and 19th centuries, and *British and German Psychiatry in the Second Half of the Early Nineteenth Century* (1945).

On his retirement in 1948 he was presented with *Festschrift zum 80. Geburtstag Max Neuburgers* in his honor (containing a bibliography). He then went to live in the U.S. until 1952, when he moved to Vienna, where he died. His other works include *Die Medizin im Flavius Josephus* (1919); *Hermann Nothnagel; Leben und Wirken* (1922); *Die Lehre von der Heilkraft der Natur im Wandel der Zeiten* (1926); and *Gomez Pereira, ein spanischer Arzt des 16. Jahrhunderts* (1936).

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NEUCHÂTEL, canton and its capital city in W. Switzerland. The earliest records of Jews in the canton date from 1288, when they were accused of a blood libel and a number were put to death. During the Black Death excesses in 1348 the Jews of Neuchâtel were burned. After 1476 there are no further references to Jews living in the canton until 1767, when a few who had come from Alsace were expelled. In 1772 they arrived in the towns of *La Chaux-de-Fonds and Le Locle, but were refused permanent residence rights. By the 1780s the Jews were considered useful to the canton as they played an important part in the export of watches, though this did not prevent their expulsion in 1790. They began to return in 1812 and obtained residence rights in 1830. The Jewish population of the canton in 1844 was 144. They thrived economically during the 19th century and in 1900 numbered 1,020, declining, however, to 266 by 2000.

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NEUDA, ABRAHAM (1812–1854), rabbi in *Lostice (Loschitz), one of the first in Moravia to have a secular education. His father, Aaron Moses, was also a rabbi in Lostice from 1812 to 1831. When his father became ill, Abraham, a favorite pupil of the *Landesrabbiner* Nahum *Trebitsch of *Mikulov (Nikolsburg), substituted for him on the authorization of his teacher. After the death of Aaron Moses in 1831 the community elected Abraham rabbi, but this time Trebitsch refused his authorization because Abraham had not only preached in German but also had acquired too much secular education (albeit clandestinely) at the yeshivah. A six-year-long conflict was finally brought before the provincial authorities, who requested the advice of Loeb *Schwab on the matter. Abraham was supported by Isaac Noah *Mannheimer. The authorities compelled Trebitsch to examine Neuda before a committee of two other rabbis and a Catholic priest. In the end Trebitsch was forced to acknowledge Neuda as rabbi of Lostice. Neuda published a collection of his sermons under the title, *Massa Devar Adonai*, in 1845. In his works, he attempted to reconcile the traditional **derash* with the modern sermon. Parts of his historical account of the Jews of Moravia were published posthumously by Gerson *Wolf in **Neuzeit* (1863).

A year after Neuda's death, his wife, FANNY (1819–1894), sister of the Vienna rabbi Abraham Adolf *Schmiedl, published in his memory a prayer book in German for women, entitled, *Stunden der Andacht, ein Gebet-und Erbauungsbuch fuer Israels Frauen und Jungfrauen*, which attained great popularity among Jewish women in central Europe. It was the first prayer book of its kind to be written by a woman and took into account, besides the divine services, all the occasions in the life of a woman. Until the 1920s, 28 editions of the prayer book had been sold. In 1936 Martha Wertheimer published a revised version for the special conditions of Nazi Germany. An English translation by M. Maier, *Hours of Devotion*, was published in New York.

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[Meir Lamed]

NEUFELD, DANIEL (1814–1874), Polish writer and educator. His name is connected with the Jewish weekly in Polish, *Jutrzenka* (*Ayyelet ha-Shaḥar*). Published in Warsaw from 1861 to 1863, the paper expressed Polish-Jewish solidarity during the 1863 revolution. Its goals were threefold; the diffusion of learning and culture; the promulgation of the idea of Jewish responsibility toward the Polish state; and the defense of Jews against antisemitism. It published serious works of scholarship on Polish Jewry and emphasized Jewish integration into the life and affairs of the general community. Such well-known personalities as Ḥayyim Zelig *Slonimski, editor of *_Ha-Ẓefirah_, the historian Alexander Kraushar, and Mattias *Bersohn wrote for the journal. Publication ceased when its editor was exiled to Siberia in 1863.

Neufeld believed in a synthesis of Jewish and Polish cultures which would combine Polish patriotism and the Jewish religion. He was conservative in religious matters and progressive in his social concerns. Positively disposed toward Hebrew language and literature, Neufeld opposed Yiddish as obstructive of Jewish progress. He favored a scientific study of Jewish culture as a way of bridging past and present. Opposed to the _maskilim_ of Galicia, he considered *Ḥasidism a positive force, hoping that it would encourage Polonization of the Jews. At the same time he opposed extreme assimilationist tendencies, regarding them as a break with talmudic tradition, which he saw as a nationalistic and political synthesis successful in preserving Jewish spiritual values. Presenting his ideas on education to Marquis Wielopolski, Neufeld called for the compulsory study of religion, along with Hebrew language, Jewish history, and the geography of Ereẓ Israel. Neufeld was editor of the Jewish department of a general encyclopedia published by his friend Orgelbrand. He wrote a scholarly study of Napoleon's *Sanhedrin and a pamphlet on the establishment of a *consistory in Poland. Although he began the important task of translating the Bible into Polish, he had difficulty in obtaining permission to publish his work, the Catholic censors preferring that Jews should have to study the Bible in a Christian translation. Permission was finally granted on condition that the title page carry the notice that the translation was intended for Polish Jews. The Book of Genesis with both the Hebrew text and a Polish translation appeared in 1863, under the title _Piécioksiąg Mojźesza dla Żydów-Polaków._

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[Moshe Landau]

NEUFELD, HENRY (1923–1986), Israeli cardiologist. Neufeld was born in Lvov, Poland. He received his M.D. degree at the University of Vienna in 1948 and completed his residency training there in 1951. He emigrated to Israel in 1951 and, from 1951 to 1959 he served as a cardiologist at the Chaim Sheba Medical Center in Tel Aviv. After spending two years at the Mayo Clinic in Rochester, Minnesota, he returned to Israel and became director of the institute of cardiology at Tel Ha-Shomer, introducing cardiac intensive care into Israel for the first time. Neufeld became professor of medicine at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem in 1965. From 1962 he served for eight years as the chief scientist of the Ministry of Health and professor of medicine and cardiology at Tel Aviv University Medical School, where he developed the department of cardiology. He was elected president of the International Cardiological Federation in 1978 and was president of the Israel Heart Association. He was elected in 1984 to the Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities, and in 1985 he received the Israel Prize for medicine. Neufeld was a man of great academic and personal distinction; he was an excellent clinician and an outstanding humanitarian and leader. He was a member of numerous committees of the World Health Organization, including the WHO Task Force against Heart Disease and the WHO Task Force on Cardiovascular Emergencies. Neufeld received worldwide recognition for his work. He was an honorary member of cardiac associations in Mexico, Portugal, Australia and New Zealand, Germany, and Britain. He was an honorary fellow of the Council of Clinical Cardiology, American Heart Association, and held that society's Honorary Citation for International Achievement. He published over 400 articles in major cardiology journals, 10 books, and 22 book chapters.

[Bracha Rager (2nd ed.)]

NEUGARTEN, BERNICE (1916–2001), U.S. psychologist and leader in the fields of human development and aging. Neugarten was born in Norfolk, Nebraska, to Lithuania-born David Levin and his wife, Sadie. She spent her educational and academic careers at the University of Chicago, obtaining her B.A. (English and French) and M.A. (Educational Psychology), before receiving the first doctorate from the innovative interdisciplinary program, the Committee on Human Development, in 1943. She became chair of the Committee in 1969. In 1980 she started a doctoral program in Human Development and Social Policy at Northwestern University but returned to the University of Chicago in 1988 as Rothschild Distinguished Scholar at the Center on Aging, Health, and Society, retiring in 1994. She and her husband, Fritz, had two children. Neugarten was the author or co-author of eight books and numerous articles, book chapters, addresses, and reports; these include _Vita Humane_ (later titled _Human Development_) and a collection of essays, _The Meanings of Age: Selected Papers of Bernice L. Neugarten_ (1996), edited by her daughter, Dr. Dail A. Neugarten. Neugarten's research disproved stereotypes about aging and the aged as well as misconceptions about development over the lifespan. Her coinages, including "the social clock," referring to the way individuals judge whether developments in their life are "on-time" or "off-time," "age-integrated society," "fluid life cycle," etc., have become mainstays of development studies; and her ideas greatly influenced social and governmental policies. For example, prior to her research, it was thought that personality was set early on. In contrast, she and her co-author David Gutmann found that personality develops and changes throughout life (1958). Similarly, while a vast body of medical and biological literature focused on the climacteric, her research revealed that middle-aged women did not view menopause as a significant event in their lives (1963). Her recognition that people age differently, based on their health and economic status, as well as chronological age, led her to cluster 55–74-year-olds as what she dubbed "young-old," and those over 75 as "old-old." In 1969–70 Neugarten chaired a faculty study on the status and opportunities open to women faculty and students at the University of Chicago, which made a series of recommendations for improving their experiences and adding to their numbers. She was president of the Gerontological Society of America (1969) and served a term on the United States Federal Council on Aging in the early 1980s.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: N.K. Schlossberg and L.E. Troll, "Bernice L. Neugarten (1916–)," in: A.N. O'Connell and N.F. Russo (eds.), *Women in Psychology: A Bio-Bibliographic Sourcebook* (1990), 256–65.

[Phyllis Holman Weisbard (2nd ed.)]

NEUGEBAUER, OTTO (1899–1990), scientific historian and mathematician. Neugebauer was born in Innsbruck, Austria, and studied mathematics at the University of Gottingen where he later became a staff member. The Nazis forced him to leave in 1933, first to Copenhagen and in 1939 for Brown University in the United States, where he immediately became a citizen. Neugebauer started his career as a mathematician and later became the foremost authority on Babylonian mathematics and mathematical astronomy throughout the ancient world, in Islamic countries, and in medieval and Renaissance Europe. His Jewish interest included a study on Maimonides and astronomy and the Jewish calendar, which he showed to be the source of the Islamic calendar. His polymath knowledge made him a preeminent historian of the exact sciences and Brown became the leading institution in this field. From 1950 he was a member of the Institute for Advanced Studies, Princeton. His many awards included election to the U.S. National Academy of Sciences (1977) and his publications include the definitive history of mathematical astronomy.

[Michael Denman (2nd ed.)]

NEUGEBOREN, JAY (**Michael**; 1938–), U.S. writer. He graduated from Columbia University, Phi Beta Kappa, in 1959. Originally and primarily a fiction writer, Neugeboren makes sense of the world by imposing narratives on it. In both his fiction and his later nonfiction, he fixes on a narrative thread running through events, following it even as it twists in unexpected and multiple directions. In whichever genre he chooses, Neugeboren is, in short, a teller of tales.

Early in his career, he told tales about invented characters, but with nonfiction he draws increasingly on his own experience. In *Open Heart: A Patient's Story of Life-Saving Medicine and Life-Giving Friendship* (2003), he describes the technology and compassion that saved his life as a quintuple-bypass patient. Without formal training in psychiatry, he questions in *Transforming Madness: New Lives for People Living with Mental Illness* (1999) the puzzling, asystematic system with which America cares for its mental patients. For over 50 years, Neugeboren has been caring for his brother Robert, who has been sporadically institutionalized for a mental illness that has been hard to diagnose and harder to treat. Abandoning polemics to argue for kinder, more inventive, more progressive, and just plain better treatment for the mentally ill, Neugeboren simply tells the stories of the colorful, often strikingly intense mental-health advocates and patients he met while trying to move his brother from one institution to another (and, finally, out of institutions entirely). Though filled with therapeutic and pharmacological detail, *Transforming Madness* is mainly narrated through the stories of these afflicted and driven souls. It is a passionate indictment told by a gifted raconteur.

Neugeboren tells his brother's story somewhat more intimately in his award-winning memoir, *Imagining Robert: My Brother, Madness, and Survival* (1997), and somewhat more obliquely in his fiction: in the powerfully inventive multilayered masterpiece *The Stolen Jew* (1981), one of whose plots concerns a writer's troubled relationship with his deranged brother, the characters are deeply connected and painfully estranged, often both at once. The recurring story of the two brothers, one quite mad, the other brainily rational, may serve as a synecdoche for Neugeboren's overarching interest in closeness and apartness.

The Diaspora is also omnipresent in his work, as a historical theme, as an ongoing development, and as a metaphor. Perhaps the most moving tale in *News from the American Diaspora* (2005) emerges in the preface, where Neugeboren describes his recent first meeting with an elderly cousin, separated from Neugeboren's family for nearly 60 years following the Holocaust. Those early postwar years were covered quite differently in his first collection of stories, *Corky's Brother* (1967), whose themes Neugeboren distinguishes from those in his second collection, *Don't Worry about the Kids* (1997): his early stories, he explains, concerned young people coming of age, "pastoral versions of growing up in Brooklyn, but these new stories are much more demanding of my reader…. If the *Corky's Brother* stories were pretty paintings, maybe you could think of these as woodcuts. The [1997] stories are more challenging, they're about grownups instead of teenagers, and their subject is mainly family life and things that threaten it, though the voices of the stories – and the settings – are more varied than my earlier work. Some … are ghost stories, of a sort, more like Cheever's urban fantasies than like Singer's." Moving beyond the appealing first-person narration employed throughout *Corky's Brother*, particularly in the title story, he noted one technical shift: "I'm able to be a little more expansive in third person, use more far-ranging images and metaphors."

Neugeboren's linguistic playfulness, using puns, stories within stories, jokes, dreams, and fantasy, has increasingly touched on the borders of traditional fiction. As prolific as he has been in other genres – he has written prize-winning screenplays such as *The Hollow Boy* (1991), children's literature such as *Poli: A Mexican Boy in Early Texas* (1989), and personal memoirs such as *Parentheses: An Autobiographical Journal* (1970), and has edited and introduced his brother's *The Hillside Diaries and Other Writings* (2004) and *The Story of* Story *Magazine by Martha Foley* (1980) – Neugeboren is a novelist at heart. In a 20-year period, he wrote six novels, varying widely and inventively in their descriptions of the life of the mind and the life of the body: *Big Man* (1966), *Listen*

Ruben Fontanez (1968), *Sam's Legacy* (1974), *An Orphan's Tale* (1976), *The Stolen Jew* (1981), and *Before My Life Began* (1985); and he continued to write fiction in his retirement from academic life. From 1971 through 2001, Neugeboren served at the University of Massachusetts, Amherst, as writer-in-residence and professor.

[Steven Goldleaf (2nd ed.)]

NEUGROESCHEL, MENDEL (1903–1965), Yiddish poet, essayist, and editor. Born in Nowy Sacz, Galicia, Neugroeschel practiced law in Vienna until the *Anschluss*. He was sent to the Dachau and Buchenwald concentration camps but was released in March 1939 and immigrated to Brazil. Two years later he settled in New York. In his Vienna period he was influenced by Rainer Maria Rilke and *Mani-Leib, as is evident from his first three lyric collections: *In Shvartsn Malkhes* ("In the Dark Realm," 1924), *Getseltn* ("Tents," 1930), and *Kaylikhdige Teg* ("Circular Days," 1935). In 1936 he published *Kleyne Antologye fun der Yidisher Lirik in Galitsye 1897–1935* ("A Brief Anthology of Yiddish Poetry in Galicia"). In New York he felt himself a stranger and wrote sad, nostalgic lyrics about the Jewish world of his youth. His prose study, "Di Moderne Yidishe Literatur in Galitsie" ("Modern Yiddish Literature in Galicia," in: *Fun Noentn Over,* 1 (1955), 267–398), affords rich insight into the Galician neo-romantic group which was influential between 1904 and 1918.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: LNYL, 6 (1965), 212f.; Rejzen, Leksikon, 2 (1927), 552; J. Leftwich, *The Golden Peacock* (1961).

[Melech Ravitch]

NEULANDER, ARTHUR H. (1896– 1988), U.S. Conservative rabbi, author. Neulander was born in Hungary and immigrated to the United States in 1903. He received his M.A. from New York University in 1918 and was ordained at the *Jewish Theological Seminary in 1921. Neulander spent his entire career as a congregational rabbi on the East Coast of the United States, serving Temple Gates of Prayer, Flushing, N.Y. (1922–25); Society for the Advancement of Judaism, New York City (1925–26); Temple Beth-El, Camden, N.J. (1926–27); Temple Beth Israel, Richmond Hill, N.Y. (1928–53); and Bayswater Jewish Center, Far Rockaway, N.Y. (1953–68). Neulander's contributions to the workings of the *Rabbinical Assembly, meanwhile, were instrumental in shaping Conservative Judaism. As a member and later chairman (1954–59) of the RA's Committee on Jewish Law and Standards, he wrote and influenced key responsa that modernized **halakhah*: permitting the use of electricity on Shabbat "in consonance with the spirit of the Sabbath"; permitting *aliyyot* (to the Torah) for women; and reopening the study of the **agunah* problem.

Neulander also served for many years on the RA's executive committee and edited the *Proceedings of the Rabbinical Assembly* (1941–44). In addition, he chaired the Committee on Textbook Publications for the United Synagogue Commission on Jewish Education (1946–47). On behalf of the U.S. government and world Jewry, Neulander traveled to Hungary in the wake of that country's 1956 revolt against Communist oppression to escort 20,000 fleeing Jewish refugees to the United States. As a regional officer of the Zionist Organization of America, he spearheaded fundraising efforts that enabled the purchase of the land now belonging to Neveh Ilan, a moshav in the Jerusalem Corridor settled by many American *olim*.

[Bezalel Gordon (2nd ed.)]

NEUMAN, ABRAHAM AARON (1890–1970), U.S. rabbi, historian, and educator. Neuman was born in Brezan, Austria, and immigrated to the United States in 1898. He studied at the Rabbi Isaac Elhanan Yeshivah, Columbia University, and the Jewish Theological Seminary, where he was ordained in 1912. Before his ordination, he taught at the Teachers Institute of the Seminary, but the year after, he joined the faculty of *Dropsie College in Philadelphia, where he taught history until 1940. Neuman held rabbinical posts in Philadelphia at the B'nai Jeshurun congregation (1919–27) and the Sephardi congregation Mikveh Israel (1927–40). After Cyrus Adler's death in 1940 Neuman became president of Dropsie College, a post he held until his retirement in 1966. During his incumbency the college expanded its curriculum, adding departments in Middle Eastern studies, education, and philosophy. Active in the development of the Zionist movement in the United States and renowned as an orator, he was much sought after as a public speaker. He also participated actively in the work of the United Synagogue of America.

Neuman produced a number of works of high scholarly merit, chief among them being *The Jews in Spain* (2 vols., 1942). Based primarily on the responsa of Solomon ibn *Adret (RaShBA), the work has served as a model of research in this type of Jewish source material. *Cyrus Adler, a Biography* (1942) is the evaluation of the life of an exemplary public servant during the period when American Jewry was assuming worldwide responsibilities. Neuman contributed to many scholarly periodicals, and a number of these studies appeared in *Landmarks and Goals* (1953). From 1940 to 1966 he collaborated with Solomon Zeitlin in editing the *Jewish Quarterly Review*.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Zeitlin, in: *Studies and Essays in Honor of A.A. Neuman* (1962), vii–xiii.

[Solomon Grayzel]

NEUMANN, ALFRED (1895–1952), German novelist. Born in Lautenburg, West Prussia, Neumann studied in Munich. For several years he was literary adviser to the Munich publishing house of Georg Mueller. In 1938 he settled in Nice and from there emigrated to the U.S. in 1941. Neumann moved from Los Angeles to Florence in 1949 and died in Switzerland. Together with Heinrich Mann, Max *Brod, Alfred *Doeblin and Lion *Feuchtwanger, Neumann was responsible for the revival of the German historical novel.

His first great work, *Der Patriot* (1925), dramatized in English as *Such Men are Dangerous*, dealt with the assassination of Czar Paul of Russia. *Der Teufel* (1926) was set during the reign of Louis XVI of France. *Rebellen* (1927) and *Guerra* (1929) were concerned with the uprising of the Carbonari and the Risorgimento movement in 19th-century Italy. His other historical novels include *Koenig Haber* (1926), in which the central character recalls the rise and fall of Joseph Suess *Oppenheimer ("Jew Suess"); *Koenigin Christine von Schweden* (1936); *Neuer Caesar* (1934); *Kaiserreich* (1936); and *Die Volksfreunde* (1941), concerning the government of Napoleon III, the occupation of Paris in 1870, and the uprising of the commune in 1871. In his *Es waren ihre sechs* (1949) he was inspired by the resistance movement of the White Rose (*Weisse Rose*) among Munich students opposing National Socialism.

In 1950, an editon of his collected works (*Gesammelte Werke*) was published in two volumes. A selection of his work (*Eine Auswahl aus seinem Werk*) in one volume was edited by G. Stern in 1979. In 1977 Neumann's Correspondence with Thomas *Mann appeared (ed. P. de Mendelssohn).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: F. Lennartz, *Deutsche Dichter und Schriftsteller unserer Zeit* (1959^8), 552–5. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** K. Umlauf, *Exil, Terror, Illegalität. Die aesthetische Verarbeitung politischer Erfahrungen in ausgewaehlten Romanen aus dem Exil 1933–1945* (1982); G. Stern, "Alfred Neumann," in: G. Stern, *Literatur im Exil* (1989), 249–81; G.F. Probst, "Alfred Neumann's and Erwin Piscator's Dramatization of Tolstoy's 'War and Peace' and the Role of Theatre as a Contribution to America's War Efforts," in: *Exile and Enlightenment* (1987), 265–72; G. Stern, "The Image of America in Exile Literature: Alfred Neumann's Unpublished Film Script 'Commencement Day'," in: H.D. Osterle (ed), *Amerika* (1989), 19–28.

[Rudolf Kayser / Kurt Feilchenfeld (2nd ed.)]

NEUMANN, EMANUEL (1893–1980), U.S. Zionist leader. Neumann was born in Libau (Liepaja), Latvia, and was brought to the United States by his parents shortly after his birth. He received a B.A. in modern languages and a doctorate of laws from Columbia University; he practiced law in New York City for many years while dedicating much of his life to the establishment and development of the state of Israel.

Active in American Zionist affairs from his youth, Neumann edited the *Young Judean* in 1914–15, and served as education director of the Zionist Organization of America (ZOA) in 1918–20. Neumann was later elected president of the ZOA in 1947–49, and again in 1956–58.

As a co-founder of the *Keren Hayesod in the U.S. in 1921, Neumann served as its director from 1921 to 1925 and was chairman of the executive committee of the United Palestine Appeal from 1925–28. He was also president of the Jewish National Fund in the U.S. from 1929 to 1930, and from 1931 to 1941 he was a member of the Jewish Agency in Jerusalem. Returning to the U.S., he was political representative of the Jewish Agency in Washington during the 1940s and instrumental in winning influential political figures to Zionism.

In 1943 Neumann organized and directed the work of the Commission on Palestine Surveys that presented an investment proposal of approximately $200 million in irrigation facilities and hydroelectric power development in the Jordan Valley.

A close collaborator of Abba Hillel *Silver in influencing the Jewish community and American public opinion to the post–World War II Zionist program, Neumann served with Silver as vice chairman of the American Zionist Emergency Council.

In 1947 he was a member of the Jewish Agency panel in its unsuccessful negotiations with England and a member of the agency's delegation to the UN Special Committee on Palestine which recommended that Palestine be partitioned. Although Neumann had opposed partition, he accepted the committee's recommendation as the best that the Jews would be able to obtain. After Israel's establishment, Neumann devoted himself to obtaining military and economic aid, and political sympathy for the country.

From 1951 to 1953 he headed the Jewish Agency's economic department and its information and public relations department. He was appointed chairman of the United States section of the World Zionist Organization-Jewish Agency in 1956, a position he held until 1972. Neumann also founded the Herzl Foundation in 1954 and the Tarbuth Foundation for the Advancement of Hebrew Culture in 1961, and served as inaugural president for both organizations.

In 1958, he led a majority of the World Conference of General Zionists into a new organization of the same name, remaining as president until 1963 when he was elected president of the World Union of General Zionists. While in these positions, Neumann voiced the belief that while Jews in the United States owed political allegiance only to the United States, their spiritual allegiance belonged to their Jewish heritage. In 1976, he published *In The Arena: An Autobiographical Memoir.* He died in Tel Aviv.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Alfred E. Clark, Obituary, *New York Times* (Oct. 27, 1980).

[Jonathan Freund (2nd ed.)]

NEUMANN, ERICH (1905–1960), Israeli psychologist and psychoanalyst. Neumann, who was born in Berlin, studied analytical psychology under Carl Jung in Zurich. In 1934 he immigrated to Palestine, where he resumed his career as a psychoanalyst and therapist of the Jungian school. Later he was a frequent lecturer at the Eranos congresses in Ascona.

Neumann dealt with the inner crisis of modern man in two works, *Tiefenpsychologie und neue Ethik* (1949; *Depth Psychology and a New Ethic*, 1966) and *Krise und Erneuerung* (1961). Another major work, *Ursprungsgeschichte des Bewusstseins* (1949), first created a systematization of the human consciousness. The principal themes of his research into depth psychology were the world of archetypes, the psychology of creative man, the psychology of the female, and the archetypal in art. Other major publications were *Umkreisung der Mitte*, 3 vols. (1953–54); *Die Grosse Mutter* (1956; *The Great Mother*, 1955); *Der schoepferische Mensch…* (1959); *Die archetypische Welt Henry Moores* (1961; *The Archetypal World of Henry Moore*, 1959); *Das Kind* (1963); and essays in the *Eranos-Jahrbuch*, and psychological journals.

NEUMANN, HENRY (1882–1966), U.S. Ethical Culture leader. Neumann, who was born in New York, became leader of the newly formed Brooklyn Society for Ethical Culture in 1911, serving until his retirement in 1961. He also taught ethics in New York's Ethical Culture schools. In 1922, with his wife Julie, he founded the Brooklyn Ethical Culture School. Neumann's work reflects a combination of classic wit, moral rigor, and ethical humanism. Chief among his seven books is *Education for Moral Growth* (1923). Key figure in the American Ethical Union (Federation of Ethical Culture Societies), he was editor of *The Standard* (later the *Ethical Outlook*) and chairman of the Fraternity of Ethical Leaders (1952–61).

[Howard B. Radest]

NEUMANN, JOHANN (Johnny) LUDWIG VON (1903–1957), U.S. mathematician. Von Neumann was born in Budapest and showed outstanding mathematical ability at an early age. He accepted a chair at Princeton University in 1931. Two years later he was appointed the first professor of mathematical physics at the newly formed Institute for Advanced Study at Princeton. In 1954 his health began to deteriorate, and he died after a prolonged and painful illness.

Von Neumann's thought processes were rapid and his associates often found it difficult to keep up with his vast flow of ideas. He was also a linguist and could converse in seven European languages. He preferred general to special problems, and rarely worried about mathematical elegance. In connection with a long-winded but straightforward proof he is quoted as saying that he "didn't have the time to make the subject difficult." Von Neumann's interest in quantum mechanics was aroused by his stay in Goettingen in 1926. He aimed at developing the subject as a vigorous mathematical discipline in *Mathematische Grundlagen der Quantenmechanik* (1932). This investigation led him to research in Hilbert space and the initiation of continuous geometry. In addition, Von Neumann made important contributions to measure theory, ergodic theory, continuous groups, topology, classical mechanics, hydrodynamic turbulence, and shock waves. He opened up a new branch of mathematics with his paper "*Zur Theorie der Gesellschaftsspiele*," (in *Mathematische Annalen*, 100 (1928), 295–320) and the book *Theory of Games and Economic Behavior* (1944, 1953^3) written in collaboration with O. Morgenstern.

Von Neumann's work in the war effort convinced him of the need for high-speed computers. He was instrumental in the development of MANIAC (the mathematical analyzer, numerical integrator, and computer) and was a member of the U.S. Atomic Energy Commission from 1955 until his death. His *Von Neumann Collected Works* were published in six volumes from 1961 to 1963.

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[Barry Spain]

NEUMANN, ROBERT (1897–1975), novelist and satirist. Born in Vienna, the son of a mathematician and bank director, Neumann studied chemistry and literature and got his Ph.D. with a thesis on Heinrich Heine. After losing his money in the inflation of the 1920s, he went to sea. His two early verse collections *Gedichte* (1919) and *Zwanzig Gedichte* (1923) attracted little attention, but *Mit fremden Federn* (1927), a volume of parodies, brought him fame. Of the works that followed, the anti-Nazi novels *Sintflut* (1929) and *Die Macht* (1932; Eng. tr. *Mammon*, 1933), and *Unter falscher Flagge* (1932), another book of parodies, were particularly successful. In February 1934, less than a year after the public burning of his books by the Nazis, he moved to England. Other works of his pre-World War II period were the novels *Karriere* (1931; *On the Make*, 1932); *Sir Basil Zaharoff, der Koenig der Waffen* (1934; *Zaharoff, the Armaments King*, 1935); *Struensee* (1935; *The Queen's Doctor*, 1936); and *An den Wassern von Babylon* (written 1937–38, Ger. orig. publ. 1945; *By the Waters of Babylon*, 1939).

Neumann also began to write in English, later novels including *The Inquest* (1944; *Bibiana Santis* (Ger.), 1950); *Children of Vienna* (1946; *Kinder von Wien*, 1948); and *Blind Man's Buff* (1949). A witty and ironical writer and a gifted political and social satirist, he had a fondness for the erotic and a genius for parodying modern poets. After the war, when he settled in Switzerland, he wrote an autobiography, *Mein altes Haus in Kent* (1957), and then turned to somber themes relating to the Holocaust. Works of this kind are the documentaries, *Ausfluechte unseres Gewissens* (1960), on Hitler's "Final Solution"; *Hitler, Aufstieg und Untergang des Dritten Reiches* (1961); *The Pictorial History of the Third Reich* (1962); and *Der Tatbestand oder Der gute Glaube der Deutschen* (1965). Neumann also wrote plays for radio and television and another autobiography, *Vielleicht das Heitere*, was published in 1968. Selected editions of his parodies appeared as *Typisch Robert Neumann* (with a preface by R.W. Leonhardt) in 1975 and *Meisterparodien* (ed. by J. Jessen) in 1988.

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[Sol Liptzin]

NEUMANN, YEḤESKEL MOSHE (1893–1956), Yiddish poet, satirist, journalist, editor. Born in Zhichlin, Poland, he was educated in Lodz. He wrote for the *Lodzher Morgnblat*, edited booklets on literature and art, and was a founder of the Lodz writers' group "Yung Yiddish"; he later wrote film and theater reviews for the Warsaw daily *Haynt*, whose literary editor he became in 1933. In addition to contributing to various Yiddish periodicals, he was among the pioneers of Yiddish film, co-writing the scripts for "*Al Ḥet*" ("For the Sin," 1936) and "*Tkias Kaf*" ("Handshake," 1937). During World War II he fled to Russia, before immigrating to Palestine (1940) and joining the editorial board of the daily *Davar*. He wrote about problems of the Yiddish and Hebrew theater, published articles in the Yiddish journal *Di Goldene Keyt*, and wrote about Jewish artists and architects. He also composed the dramatic poem "*Don Kishot in Shotn fun der Palme*" ["Don Quixote in the Shadow of the Palm Tree," in: *Di Goldene Keyt* (1951)] and "*A Khasene in Yerusholayim*" ("A Wedding in Jerusalem," *ibid*., 1953).

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[Israel Ch. Biletzky]

NEUMARK, DAVID (1866–1924), scholar and philosopher of Reform Judaism. Born in Galicia, Neumark was ordained as rabbi at the Lehranstalt fuer die Wissenschaft des Judenthums in 1897. He served as rabbi in Rakonitz (Rakovnik), Bohemia, from 1897 to 1904, and as editor in chief of the division of philosophy and *halakhah* of the proposed Hebrew encyclopedia *Oẓar ha-Yahadut* from 1904 to 1907, whose specimen volume on the principle and philosophy of Judaism he edited in 1906. He was professor of Jewish philosophy at the Veitel-Heine-Ephraimschen Lehranstalt in Berlin in 1907 and professor of philosophy at the Hebrew Union College in Cincinnati from 1907 to 1924. In 1919 Neumark founded *The Journal of Jewish Lore and Philosophy*, which became *The Hebrew Union College Annual* in 1921.

Neumark's philosophy of Judaism is representative of the Reform Jewish position of his time, and includes the following points: Judaism is an evolving religion which has undergone change in the past and will continue to do so in the future; the vital continuing element in Judaism is ethical monotheism, which Jewish philosophy must defend, explicate, and refine; the Bible was written by men, and while it is a source of inspiration and instruction, it is not binding and may be disagreed with. Neumark was unusual among the Reformists of his day in that he was an ardent Zionist. However, on the basis of his philosophy of Judaism, he insisted that Zionism must have a religious base, which for him was the only *raison d'être* for any significant Jewish enterprise.

Neumark's scholarship reflected his concept of Judaism. He attempted in his many works to show that throughout the evolution of Judaism the basic commitment of the Jew was to religion, and that the Jews remained true to Judaism through the ages only because their concepts of God and morality differed from and were superior to all other religions and philosophies of their time. Neumark's magnum opus, *Geschichte der juedischen Philosophie des Mittelalters* (1907–10; translated into Hebrew under the title *Toledot ha-Filosofyah be-Yisrael*, vol 1, 1922, vol. 2, 1929), combines considerable acumen and occasional penetrating insights with a lack of critical method and an excess of imagination. His *Essays in Jewish Philosophy* (1929) contains a bibliography of his writings, which also included "The Philosophy of Judaism" (HUCA 1925), *The Philosophy of the Bible* (1918), and *Toledot ha-Ikkarim be-Yisrael* (Odessa, 2 vols., 1912–19).

[Alvin J. Reines]

NEUMARK, EPHRAIM (1860–?), traveler and writer. Born in Eastern Europe, Neumark was taken by his parents to Ereẓ Israel. At the age of 23 he left *Tiberias on a three-year journey through the Jewish communities in *Syria, Kurdistan, Mesopotamia, *Persia, *Afghanistan, and Central Asia. The account of his travels, *Massa' be-Ereẓ ha-Kedem*, is distinguished by critical observation and scholarly approach. He gives a detailed picture of every aspect of the Jewish communities in the Orient, their geographical diffusion, occupations, religious life, practices, and customs.

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[Walter Joseph Fischel]

NEUMEYER, ALFRED (1867–1944), lawyer, chairman of the Jewish Community of Munich (Israelitische Kultusgemeinde Muenchen); founder and chairman of the Association of Jewish Communities in Bavaria (Verband Bayerischer Israelitischer Gemeinden). Born in Munich, Neumeyer completed the renowned Maximilians-Gymnasium and studied law in Munich and Berlin. He worked as a judge in several Bavarian cities until he was appointed to the Higher State Court (*Oberlandesgericht*) in Munich in 1918. In 1929 he was appointed to the Bavarian Highest State Court (*Oberstes Bayerisches Landesgericht*) in Munich. In June 1933 he was forced to retire. Neumeyer led the Jewish community in Munich until his immigration to Colonia Avigdor (Argentina) in January 1941. His brother, Karl *Neumeyer, committed suicide in July 1941.

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[Andreas Heusler (2nd ed.)]

NEUMEYER, KARL (1869–1941), German international lawyer. Born in Munich, Neumeyer completed the renowned Maximilians-Gymnasium. After studying law in Munich, Berlin, and Geneva, he became a lecturer at the University of Munich in 1910. He was a member of the Institut de Droit

International in The Hague and represented Germany at the sixth Hague conference on private international law in 1928. In 1929 he was made professor of international law at Munich University and in 1931 became dean of the faculty of law. Though removed from all his posts in 1933 following the Nazi rise to power, Neumeyer refused to leave Germany and continued his research under most difficult conditions. After the Nazis confiscated Neumeyer's private library and it became obvious that the couple would be forced to leave their residence at Koeniginstrasse, Karl Neumeyer and his wife, Anna, committed suicide in July 1941. His brother Alfred *Neumeyer immigrated to Argentina in January 1941.

Neumeyer was the author of several important works on international law, including *Die gemeinrechtliche Entwicklung des internationalen Privat-und Strafrechts bis Bartolus* (2 vols., 1901–16), a history of international law; *Internationales Privatrecht* (1923), a detailed analysis of the sources of international law; and *Internationales Verwaltungsrecht* (4 vols., 1910–36), in which he set out his system of international administrative law.

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[Andreas Heusler (2nd ed.)]

NEUSNER, JACOB (1932–), leading figure in the American academic study of religion. He has achieved this prominence and influence in three ways. First, he revolutionized the study of Judaism and brought it into the field of religion. Second, he built intellectual bridges between Judaism and other religions and thereby laid the groundwork for durable understanding and respect among religions. Third, through his teaching and his publication programs, he advanced the academic careers of younger scholars and teachers, both within and outside the study of Judaism. Neusner's influence on the study of Judaism and religion is broad, powerful, distinctive, and enduring.

Judaism and the Study of Religion

Educated at Harvard, Jewish Theological Seminary, Oxford, and Columbia, Neusner began his career in the early 1960s, when religion was a minor field in American universities, largely limited to biblical studies and Christian (mostly Protestant) theology. Judaism was studied parochially, confined primarily to Jewish institutions. Neusner changed this. He understood that the power of the study of religion is its capacity to generalize, to discern common structures across religions, and, through them, to understand the similarities and differences among diverse traditions. Neusner also knew, as did no other student of Judaism, that scholars cannot generalize about religions that are closed to them.

Neusner addressed these problems in two ways. First, he established a career agenda to bring critical questions to the study of Judaism. His staggering success transformed not only the study of Judaism; it also affected the study of religion. Neusner was the first to see that the sources of classical Judaism were not constructed to answer standard historical questions. He invented the documentary study of Judaism, through which he showed, relentlessly and incontrovertibly, that each document of the rabbinic canon has a discrete focus and agenda, and that the history of ancient Judaism has to be told in terms of its texts rather than personalities or events. His *Judaism: The Evidence of the Mishnah* (Chicago, 1981, translated into Hebrew and Italian) is the classic statement of his work and the first of many comparable volumes on the other documents of the rabbinic canon.

Neusner's discovery of the centrality of documents led to his even more decisive perception of Judaism as a system: an integrated network of beliefs, practices, and values that yield a coherent worldview and picture of reality for its adherents. This approach generated a series of very important studies on the way Judaism creates categories of understanding and how those categories relate to one another, even as they emerge diversely in discrete rabbinic documents. Neusner's work shows, for instance, how deeply Judaism is integrated with the system of the Pentateuch, how such categories as "merit" and "purity" work in Judaism, and how classical Judaism absorbed and transcended the destruction of the Jerusalem Temple in 70 C.E. His work depicts Rabbinic Judaism as the result of human labor in response to what its adherents believe is God's call and demonstrates its persistent vitality and imagination.

Second, in the process of producing his scholarship, Neusner translated, analyzed, and explained virtually the entire rabbinic canon – a massive compendium of texts – in English. The Mishnah, the Tosefta, the Jerusalem Talmud, the Babylonian Talmud, and nearly every work of rabbinic Bible interpretation are available to scholars of all backgrounds because of Neusner's scholarship. In the study of Judaism, no one in history can match Neusner's work.

In all of this, Neusner made Judaism and its study available to scholars and laypeople of every background and persuasion. That Judaism is now a mainstream component of the American study of religion is due almost entirely to Jacob Neusner's scholarship.

Bridges of Intellect and Understanding

Neusner's work did not stop with his exposition – in translation, description, and interpretation – of Judaism alone. To the contrary, unlike any other scholar of his generation, Neusner deliberately built outward from Judaism to other religions. He sponsored a number of very important conferences and collaborative projects that drew different religions into conversation on common themes and problems. Among other topics, Neusner's efforts have produced conferences and books on the problems of religion and society, religion and material culture, religion and economics, religion and altruism, and religion and tolerance. These collaborations build on Neusner's intellectual vision, his notion of a religion as a system, and would not have been possible otherwise. By working towards general questions from the perspective of a discrete religion, Neusner produced results of durable consequence for understanding other religions as well.

In addition to these efforts, Neusner has written a number of works exploring the relationship of Judaism to other religions around difficult issues of understanding and misunderstanding. For instance, his *A Rabbi Talks with Jesus* (Philadelphia, 1993, translated into German, Italian, and Swedish; second edition Montreal and Kingston, Ithaca, 2004) establishes a religiously sound framework for Judaic-Christian interchange and earned the praise of Pope Benedict XVI. He also has collaborated with other scholars to produce comparisons of Judaism and Christianity, for instance, *The Bible and Us: A Priest and A Rabbi Read Scripture Together* (New York, 1990, translated into Spanish and Portuguese; second edition *Common Ground: A Priest and A Rabbi Read Scripture Together* (Eugene, 2005). He has done the same with scholars of Islam on Judaism and Islam. Neusner conceived the very effective textbook *World Religions in America: An Introduction* (third edition, Nashville, 2004), which explored how diverse religions have developed in the distinctive American context. It has had a strong impact in both colleges and secondary schools. He also has composed numerous college and school textbooks and general trade books on Judaism. The two best known examples are *The Way of Torah: An Introduction to Judaism* (seventh edition, Belmont, 2003) and *Judaism. An Introduction* (London and New York, 2002, translated into Portugese and Japanese). No American scholar of any religion replicates Neusner's intellectual outreach.

Advancing the Careers of Others

Throughout his career, Neusner has established publication programs and series with various academic publishers. Each of these he has opened to the widest range of scholars and scholarship. Through these series, through numerous reference works that he conceived and edited, and through the conferences he has sponsored, Neusner has advanced the careers of literally dozens of younger scholars from across the globe. By fostering scholarship, he has stimulated the research of others and helped many younger scholars from around the world realize their potential. There is no one else in the American study of religion who has had this kind of impact on students of such a broad range of approaches and interests.

Conclusion

Jacob Neusner is often celebrated as the most published scholar in history. He has written or edited more than 900 books. He has taught at Columbia University, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, Brandeis University, Dartmouth College, Brown University, the University of South Florida, and Bard College. He is a member of the Institute of Advanced Study, Princeton, NJ, and a life member of Clare Hall, Cambridge University. In addition, he is the only scholar to serve on both the National Endowment for the Humanities and the National Endowment for the Arts. He also has received scores of academic awards, honorific and otherwise.

The real measure of Jacob Neusner's contribution to the study of religion emerges from the originality, excellence, and scope of his learning. He founded a field of scholarship: the academic study of Judaism. He built out of that field to influence a larger subject: the academic study of religion. He created durable networks and pathways of interreligious communication and understanding. And he cared for the careers of others. Ever generous with his intellectual gifts, Neusner is one of America's greatest humanists. In all aspects of his career, he exemplifies the meaning of American learning. In all he has done, Jacob Neusner fulfills the distinctive promise of the academic study of religion in an open and pluralistic society that values religion as a fundamental expression of freedom.

For a discussion of Neusner as a Talmud scholar see *Mishnah.

[Wm. Scott Green (2nd ed.)]

NEUTRA, RICHARD JOSEPH (1892–1970), U.S. architect. Born in Vienna, after World War I Neutra worked in Switzerland as a nurseryman and landscape gardener, an experience which helped to develop his remarkable talent for his buildings fitting into the landscape. In 1922 he joined Erich *Mendelsohn in Berlin, and the following year they were awarded first prize for their joint design for a business center for Haifa, Palestine. Neutra emigrated to the U.S. in 1923 and studied under Frank Lloyd Wright at his architectural center at Taliesin, Wisconsin. In 1926 he settled in Los Angeles, where he entered the office of the Vienna-born architect, Rudolph Schindler. The buildings they designed and erected were among the first creations of the international style in America. Neutra was at this period concerned with town planning and architectural technology. This aspect of his work is seen in his "Rush City Reformed" (1923–30), a plan for an ideal city, in his designs for prefabricated housing units, and in his Channel Heights Housing Project, San Pedro, California (1942–44). It was for his private homes, however, that Neutra was best known. "Lovell House" (1927–29), a rambling construction in the then-modern style, established his reputation. The houses he built after World War II are often regarded as his greatest achievement. They are usually luxurious residences in which glass is extensively used to give a feeling of space; the effect of the glass is often enhanced by the use of reflecting pools of water. Neutra wrote several books, including *Survival Through Design* (1954).

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NEUWIRTH, BEBE (1958–), U.S. actress. Born in Newark and raised in Princeton, N.J., Neuwirth majored in dance at the Juilliard School in New York. She made her Broadway debut in *A Chorus Line* in 1980 but she achieved fame as Dr. Lilith Sternin-Crane, a dour psychiatrist married to a psychiatrist, in the long-running hit television series *Cheers* and its spin-off *Frasier.* A singer and dancer, she featured in the

Broadway musicals *Damn Yankees, Sweet Charity*, and *Chicago* and won two Tony awards. In 2005 she starred in the crime drama series *Law & Order: Trial by Jury*. She appeared in more than 25 movies.

[Stewart Kampel (2nd ed.)]

NEUZEIT, DIE ("Modern Times"), liberal Austrian Jewish weekly in German language "for political, religious and cultural interests" (*Wochenschrift fuer politische, religioese und Kultur-Interessen*), published in Vienna from 30 August 1861 to 25 December 1903 (43 volumes). Modeled after the **Allgemeine Zeitung des Judenthums* (1837–1922) in Germany, *Die Neuzeit* marked the actual beginning of the Jewish press in Austria in the second half of the 19th century and became the main organ for Jewish emancipation until 1867. Before 1850, the Hebrew year books **Bikkurei ha-Ittim* (1820–45), **Kerem Hemed* (1833–56) and *Kokhevei Yiẓḥak* (1845–73), I. *Busch's German *Kalender und Jahrbuch fuer Israeliten* (1842–47), and his weekly **Oesterreichisches Central-Organ* (1848) had appeared in Vienna, besides a few other short-lived periodicals in 1848. From 1849 to 1852, M. *Letteris continued to publish two far from successful papers, followed by his *Wiener Mitteilungen* (1854–69), Joseph *Wertheimer's *Jahrbuch für Israeliten* (1854–67), and *Das Morgenland* (1855) of Jacob *Goldenthal.

Die Neuzeit was founded by the Bohemian writer Leopold *Kompert (1822–1886) and the Hungarian rabbi and educator Simon *Szántó (1819–1882). In a way, both embodied the continuity of the German-Jewish press in Austria since 1842, taking over Wertheimer's *Jahrbuch*, which had succeeded Busch's annual and the *Central-Organ*. While *Die Neuzeit* was edited by Szántó till his death, Kompert withdrew after the first volume, still contributing articles from time to time. In 1882, the paper was carried on by the Vienna preacher and scholar Adolf *Jellinek (1821–1893), and in 1893, by his colleague D. Loewy (died 1902).

In their first editorial ("*An unsere Leser!*") of August 30, 1861, Kompert and Szántó were aware of filling a gap in the daily press, especially for Austrian Jewry, at the same time also hoping for non-Jewish readers. Judaism, as they saw it, should serve as a mirror for general society in a modern age, reflecting any progress or disruption in their time. *Die Neuzeit* sought to take the position of a peaceful yet determined mediator, ready to fight if necessary. By spreading information on a scientific basis, the paper was to serve an outward function as an organ for emancipation and apologetics, and an inward function by mediating between East and West, religious stagnation and radical reform.

Szántó, however, who wrote the majority of articles, assumed a rather liberal stance, both politically and religiously. While his paper reflected most religious controversies of the time, he distanced himself from the more conservative Ludwig *Philippson and the *Breslau *Juedisch-Theologisches Seminar* of Zacharias *Frankel, strongly opposing *Neo-Orthodoxy both in Germany and Hungary, which was led by Samson Raphael *Hirsch and Azriel *Hildesheimer. Instead, Szántó favored the reform efforts of Abraham *Geiger and participated in the *synods of Leipzig (1869) and Augsburg (1871), presided over by Moritz *Lazarus. In 1871/72, together with Ignaz *Kuranda, he strongly supported the supposed reforms of Adolf *Jellinek in Vienna against the leader of Austrian Orthodox Jewry, Reb Zalman *Spitzer. In stressing the universalistic and ethical aspects of Judaism and its historic world mission against undue emphasis on ceremonial law, Szántó's *Neuzeit* was largely in keeping with the views of Jellinek, who had been called to Vienna in 1858, contributed to the paper from time to time, and finally became its editor in 1882. Politically, *Die Neuzeit* hailed the new era of Austrian liberalism that began in 1860/61, when a liberal constitution was restored and the situation for Austrian Jewry gradually improved. At the same time, much attention was also given to the newly founded *Alliance Israélite Universelle (1860). Although Szántó's paper promoted the concept of a Jewish *Stamm* as some kind of ethnic unity, it always stressed its loyal liberal German-Austrian position, opposing Polish *Hasidism and East European emigrants, who were unwilling to integrate into Austrian society. While rejecting both secular Jewish nationalism and *Zionism, it called for a common Jewish consciousness and solidarity against *antisemitism.

Like most Jewish weeklies, *Die Neuzeit* appeared on Fridays, and was designed for reading on the Sabbath. Due to a large concession it quickly spread throughout the German-speaking parts of the country and beyond, providing information on all of Austria-Hungary. Besides subscription fees *Die Neuzeit* was financed by a separate advertising section, and it served for some time as the official organ of several Jewish organizations. Its variety of contents also contributed to the paper's success. As stated in its first issue, *Die Neuzeit* was to offer editorials on politics and religion, relevant news from all parts of the country, popular rather than scholarly essays on science and literature, articles on Jewish communal affairs and the educational system in Austria-Hungary, a *feuilleton* section for pleasure and edification, and local news on weddings, births, and funerals in Vienna and beyond.

Szántó's death in 1882 in a way marked the end of the liberal era in Austria, in which *Die Neuzeit* had had its share for more than two decades. The rise of antisemitism in Austria and Hungary from the early 1880s brought about a profound change among the Jewish papers in Vienna – as to both their contents and their staff. Several new periodicals were founded, the most prominent being Dr. Joseph S. *Bloch's *Oesterreichische Wochenschrift* (1884–1920). *Die Neuzeit* was taken over by Jellinek, who considerably changed its style and substance. The paper turned toward the plight of East European Jewry and the question of emigration in a less polemic way, though still rejecting the *Hibbat Zion movement. At the same time, it actively fought antisemitic attacks, especially those of August *Rohling and Georg von *Schoenerer. In 1884, however, Bloch's *Wochenschrift* came to the fore – in opposition to the old liberal German-Jewish attitude of Jellinek's *Neuzeit*. From 1893, when Jellinek was succeeded by D. Loewy, *Die Neuzeit* gradually lost in importance. In 1899, Loewy was joined by Siegfried Fleischer, later secretary-general of the *Oestereichisch-Israelitische Union, to counterbalance Loewy's sympathies with Theodor *Herzl's new movement of *Zionism. *Die Neuzeit* ceased publication at the end of 1903. It has been reproduced on microfilm from the collection of the Leo Baeck Institute New York.

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[Hugo Knoepfmacher / Johannes Valentin Schwarz (2nd ed.)]

NEVADA, state located in western U.S.; Jews numbered approximately 82,100 out of a population of 2,019,00 in 2005, which is a dramatic increase from the 2,380 out of a total of 440,000 in 1969 and more than four times the total of 1990. The two principal Jewish communities were in Las Vegas, which in 2005 was the fastest growing Jewish community in the United States, and the Reno-Carson City area which numbers some 2,100 Jews. There are Reform synagogues in Stateline and Summerlin. Reno still has three synagogues – Reform, Conservative, and Chabad – as well as a *mikveh.* More than 600 Jewish families are estimated to move to Las Vegas each month, and in 2005 it had some 80,000 Jewish residents. Las Vegas boasts 18 congregations, three day schools, and a Holocaust memorial and resource library. Chabad operates four centers employing seven full-time rabbis. Orthodox residents and visitors can avail themselves of three *mikva'ot* (ritual baths), six kosher restaurants, a Glatt Kosher market, and two kosher stores embedded in local supermarkets. Three major casinos, meanwhile, maintain full-service kosher kitchens. Community affairs are chronicled in two community newspapers, *The Jewish Reporter* and *The Israelite*, and a monthly periodical, *Life & Style: The Las Vegas Jewish Magazine*. A Hillel Union at the University of Nevada, Las Vegas, tends to the needs of Jewish students on campus.

Jews first went to Nevada from California in 1859 with the discovery of gold on the Comstock Lode and the silver rush around Virginia City in 1862. The gold and silver strikes brought a flood of emigrants from all corners of the country, including Jewish engineers, storekeepers, traders, lawyers, journalists, doctors, and fortune hunters. Nevada's first directory in 1862 listed 200 Jews in Virginia City, Gold Hill, Silver City, Austin, Dayton, Eureka, and Carson City. All but the latter were ghost towns by the 1960s. A congregation and B'nai B'rith lodge were organized in Virginia City in 1862. In the same year a burial society was organized there and in Eureka. Worship services were first held in Carson City in 1869. When the U.S. went on the gold standard and silver deposits gave out, Nevada's population shrank and the Jewish communities in the mining towns faded away. Carson City still has a historic Jewish cemetery known as the Bonanza Days Jewish Cemetary. A short-lived community grew up at Goldfield at the turn of the century when new gold and silver discoveries were made there. In 1969 the oldest permanent Jewish community was in Reno, which became the state's principal city after the mining towns were abandoned in the 1870s.

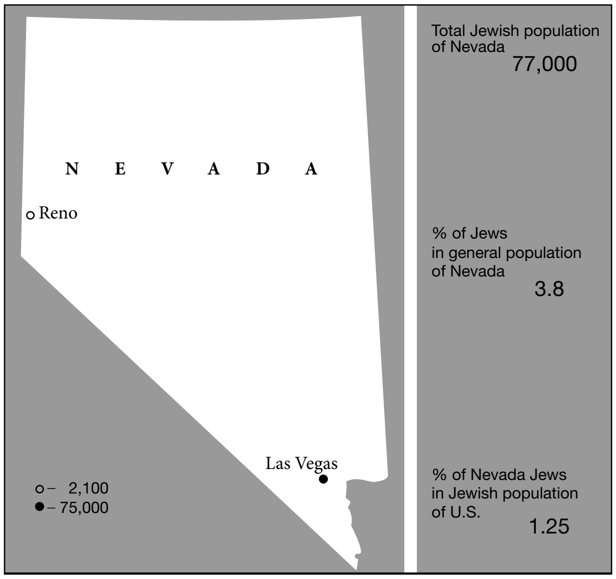
N E V A D A
Reno
Las Vegas
○– 2,100
●– 75,000
Total Jewish population of Nevada
77,000
% of Jews in general population of Nevada
3.8
% of Nevada Jews in Jewish population of U.S.
1.25

Jewish communities in Nevada. Population figures for 2001.

Among the pioneer Jews was Herman Bien, a rabbi, who opened the first Jewish school at Virginia City in 1861, and served in the first territorial legislature. He was one of four Jewish members of the convention that drafted the state's first constitution in 1864. Adolph *Sutro, later mayor of San Francisco, who arrived in 1860, built the Sutro tunnel that greatly aided mining operations. Albert *Michelson, the United States' first Nobel Prize winner, spent his boyhood in Virginia City, where his father was a storekeeper. Joseph Goodman was co-owner of *The Territorial Enterprise*, the first printed newspaper in Nevada, which employed Samuel Clemens (Mark Twain) as a reporter. Samuel Platt, whose father came to Carson City in 1864, served as speaker of the state legislature and U.S. attorney for Nevada, and was three times Republican candidate for the U.S. Senate. Col. David Mannheim commanded troops in the Indian wars of the 1860s, and Mark Strouse was the first sheriff of Carson City. Milton Badt was chief justice of the Nevada Supreme Court from 1947 to 1966, and David Zenoff was appointed to the court in 1965. The mayor of Las Vegas from 1999 was Oscar Goodman (1939–). Brian Greenspun, the scion of newspaper magnate, land developer and arms smuggler to pre-state Israel, Herman "Hank" Milton Greenspun (1909–1989), was the editor of the *Las Vegas Sun* and active in real estate and casino management. Casino mogul Steve *Wynn (1941–), who built the opulent Bellagio and Wynn Las Vegas hotels, is credited with the Las Vegas Strip's successful marketing, during the 1990s, as a family friendly environment. Rival Sheldon Adelson (1933–), who built the

Venetian Hotel, established Las Vegas as a major convention and trade show venue. Democratic Congresswoman Shelley *Berkley (1951–) was elected to the House of Representatives in 1998 and won her fourth term in 2004. Jacob "Chic" Hecht (1928–) served in the Nevada State Senate from 1967 to 1975, as a Republican in the U.S. Senate from 1983 to 1989, and as U.S. Ambassador to the Bahamas (1989–94).

Many Jews serve the casino industry; others are retirees, many more are professionals, physicians, lawyers and accountants, meeting the needs of a booming economy and a growing population. While attention is concentrated on the Las Vegas strip, family life thrives in the suburbs around Las Vegas in Summerlin, Desert Shores, Seven Hills and Green Valley, and Henderson.

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[Bernard Postal / Sheldon Teitelbaum (2nd ed.)]

NEVAKHOVICH, JUDAH LEIB (1776–1831), one of the earliest *maskilim* in Russia. Born in Polonnoye (today Khmelnitskii district), Ukraine, Nevakhovich was a teacher and a companion of Abraham *Peretz, son-in-law of the wealthy Joshua *Zeitlin of Shklov. Together with the Peretz family, Nevakhovich settled in St. Petersburg at the end of the 18th century. Having mastered German and Russian, he was employed by the Russian government as a translator of Hebrew documents, including those connected with the imprisonment of R. *Shneur Zalman of Lyady.

During the debate over legislation concerning the Jews of Russia at the beginning of the 19th century, Nevakhovich took an active part in the deliberations and wrote the pamphlet *Vopl Dushcheri iudeyskoy* (St. Petersburg, 1803; repr. in *Budushchnost*, Vol. 3, 1902). The purpose of this pamphlet was to combat anti-Jewish hatred. Such hatred, Nevakhovich believed, was the cause of all the decrees and persecutions endured by his coreligionists. He called on his Russian countrymen to treat the Jews with sympathy and tolerance. He pointed out that there was no foundation to the accusations – including blood libels – brought against the Jews, and that Judaism, furthermore, was not opposed to the laws of Russia. Nevakhovich rejected the demands of Christians that the Jews be converted. Within a year of its publication, Nevakhovich's pamphlet also appeared with various changes and additions in Hebrew, under the title *Kol Shavat Bat Yehudah* ("The Cry of the Daughter of Judah" (Shklov, 1804); repr. in *He-Avar*, vol. 2, 1918). The Hebrew version also includes a short history of Russia, followed by an essay on "the hatred of religions, truth and peace," which is in the form of a discussion between "truth" and religious hatred, with words of praise for Alexander I who convened a committee for "the reform of the situation of the Jews to their benefit and that of the country." The pamphlet, in both its Hebrew and Russian versions, marks the beginning of Haskalah literature among Russian Jewry, but it also signifies the end of Nevakhovich's literary activity on behalf of the Jews.

In 1809 his name is present on the list of signatories to *Ha-Me'assef*, and it was about this time that Nevakhovich converted to Lutheranism. He was employed as a government official in Poland and later engaged in commerce. He also wrote dramas which were presented in St. Petersburg's theaters and translated German literature into Russian. The conversion of Nevakhovich and his companion, A. Peretz, turned many Jews away from the Haskalah movement, even in its most moderate forms. Although Nevakhovich's works appear episodic and without continuity in the literature (both Hebrew and Russian) of the Haskalah, they did, nevertheless, herald the arrival of a new period in the spiritual life of Russian Jewry. The scientist Elie *Metchnikoff was the grandson of Nevakhovich, through his daughter.

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[Yehuda Slutsky]

NEVATIM (Heb. נְבָטִים; "Sprouts"), moshav in southern Israel, 5 mi. (9 km.) E. of Beersheba, affiliated with Tenu'at ha-Moshavim. It was the easternmost moshav of the 11 settlements erected in the night of Oct. 6, 1946, in the south and Negev. The founding group originated from various European countries, but immigrants from Cochin (South India) took their place after 1948. Nevatim's farming was of the oasis type, based on greenhouses and poultry. Some residents were employed outside the moshav, in the nearby factories. In 1968 Nevatim's population was 426, increasing to 540 in the mid-1990s and 753 in 2002 after expansion.

[Efraim Orni / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

NEVEH EITAN (Heb. נְוֵה אֵיתָן; "Habitation of the Strong"), kibbutz in central Israel in the Beth-Shean Valley, affiliated with Iḥud ha-Kevuẓot ve-ha-Kibbutzim. It was founded in 1938 as a tower and stockade settlement, after the group, which had originated from Poland, had participated in setting up neighboring *Ma'oz Ḥayyim and had lived there for several months. Farming at Neveh Eitan was intensive and irrigated, comprising field crops (e.g., cotton), dairy cattle, and carp ponds. The kibbutz also operated a plastics factory and guest rooms. The name is based on a passage in Jeremiah 49:19. In 1968 its population was 250, dropping to 172 in 2002.

[Efram Orni / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

NEVEH YAM (Heb. נְוֵה יָם; "Sea Dwelling"), kibbutz in northern Israel, on the Carmel Coast near Athlit, affiliated with Iḥud ha-Kevuẓot ve-ha-Kibbutzim. Neveh Yam was founded in 1939 by a pioneer group, Ma'pilim-Gordonia, from Poland, which had received training in seafaring in the Polish port of Gdynia; they were joined by immigrants from Austria and Czechoslovakia. The kibbutz sought to develop sea fishing and aid "*illegal" immigration. Farming was at first only a sideline, but after 1948 became the mainstay of the kibbutz's economy, in addition to a guest house and a fish-canning factory. Fishing, however, was discontinued. In 1968 Neveh Yam had 130 inhabitants. In 2002 its population was 178. In the 1990s the kibbutz underwent a severe economic crisis. Its sources of livelihood in the early 2000s were a holiday village, field crops, and a fishery.

At the end of 2002 the population of Neveh Yam was 188 residents.

[Efram Orni / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

°**NÈVEJEAN, YVONNE** (1900–1987), head of Belgium's Children's National Care Authority (Oeuvre Nationale de l'Enfance, also known as ONE) and Righteous Among the Nations. During the years of the German occupation in 1940–44, she agreed to shelter in ONE establishments (homes, summer camps, and rehabilitation centers) Jewish children trying to avoid deportation to concentration camps. In this major undertaking she worked closely with the Jewish Defense Committee (Comité de Défense des Juifs – CDJ), a clandestine organization created by Jewish activists to help people find hiding places and provide them with false papers. Yvonne Jospa, in charge of the CDJ's children department, coordinated the rescue effort with Nèvejean. Various religious and lay organizations in the country also lent a hand to save the children. The work involved finding suitable addresses with organizational or private homes for the fleeing children, then assigning people to check on the care and living conditions of the children as well providing them with clothing and defraying the additional costs of their hosts. Nèvejean was also successful in freeing a group of children of the Wezembeek Jewish Children's Home, arrested by the Germans on October 30, 1942, by appealing directly to Queen Elisabeth, who in turn intervened with the German authorities to have the children released. It is estimated that up to a thousand children, and perhaps a bit more, benefited from the care provided by ONE. Local financial institutions, such as the Société Générale Bank, helped defray the costs of Nèvejean's large-scale rescue operation with monthly allowances. The Belgian government-in-exile in London also underwrote some of the debts incurred by ONE. As the Allied armies advanced toward Belgium in August 1944, Nèvejean learned that the Germans planned to pick up the remaining Jewish children, until then permitted to stay in several Jewish children homes, and in one sweep take them away for deportation. She immediately recruited her staff to take emergency measures, to fetch the children in time and remove them to temporary safe havens – an undertaking which proved successful. In 1965, Yad Vashem awarded her the title of Righteous Among the Nations.

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[Mordecai Paldiel (2d ed.)]

NEVELAH (Heb. נְבֵלָה; "carcass"), descriptive noun for any animal, bird, or creature which has died as a result of any process other than valid ritual slaughter (**sheḥitah*).

The Pentateuch forbids the consumption of such meat, which can be given to a resident alien, or sold to a non-Jew (Deut. 14:21; see also Pes. 21b). Punishment for eating *nevelah* applies only to "clean" animals (Meil. 16a; Maim. Yad, Ma'akhalot Asurot, 4:17) and is not added to the normal punishment for eating "unclean" animals. The *nevelah* is also one of the principal categories of ritual impurity (*tumah*), and touching or carrying it causes ritual impurity (Lev. 11:39–40; Maim. Yad, She'ar Avot ha-Tumah, 1–3).

See *Dietary Laws; *Purity and Impurity, Ritual; Animals.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Eisenstein, Dinim, 254.

NEVELSON, LOUISE (1900–1988), U.S. sculptor and printmaker. Arriving in the United States in 1905, Nevelson grew up in Rockland, Maine. Her father owned a lumberyard, an important influence on her mature sculpture when Nevelson adopted wood as her most significant material. She took her husband's surname after her marriage in 1920, the same year that the couple moved to New York. Her artistic apprenticeship spanned several years, including private painting and drawing lessons with William *Meyerowitz and Theresa *Bernstein, followed by studies at the Art Students League (1928–31, 1933). Nevelson's drawings and canvases from this period are figurative and expressionistic in nature. In 1931, she studied in Munich with Hans Hoffman, where she became familiar with Cubism. In 1932, Nevelson, along with Ben *Shahn, assisted Diego Rivera with his Rockefeller Center mural.

Nevelson made her first sculpture in 1934, at which time she took a class at the Educational Alliance with Chaim *Gross. Working in terracotta, bronze, and plaster, Nevelson executed blocky, figurative sculptures. Under the auspices of the Works Progress Administration, she taught sculpture at the Educational Alliance in 1937. She exhibited paintings and sculpture influenced by Cubism and Surrealism at her first solo show, held at New York's Nierendorf Gallery in 1941. In the 1940s she began to make sculptural environments around themes, such as *The Circus – The Clown Is the Center of His World* at the Norlyst Gallery in New York (1943). Her sculptures grew increasingly abstract through the 1940s, influenced in part by non-Western art. In 1947 she also started making etchings, drypoints, and aquatints.

Around 1954, Nevelson began designing large wood, Cubist-inspired abstract constructions. In 1956, Nevelson made her first wall sculptures. The dramatic *Moon Garden + One* (1958) established Nevelson's reputation. Open-faced, stacked wood boxes filled with disparate found objects such as furniture legs, broom handles, spindles, and other wooden abstract shapes, covered the walls of the Grand Central Moderns Gallery. The installation, which included the enormous *Sky Cathedral* (Museum of Modern Art, New York), was painted a uniform black in an effort to occlude the original identity of the objects and to unite them.

Subsequent reliefs retained a monochrome appearance, painted entirely in either black, white, or gold. The all-white installation *Dawn's Wedding Feast* appeared in 1959 at the Museum of Modern Art's "Sixteen Americans" exhibition, and gold sculptures showed at *The Royal Tides* exhibition at the Martha Jackson Gallery (1961).

Nevelson expanded her materials in the second half of the 1960s, creating sculptures out of aluminum, Plexiglas, and Cor-ten steel. In 1964 Nevelson made the Holocaust memorial *Homage to 6000000* (private collection) using her iconic stacked boxes filled with wood collage elements. The first version was painted in black, but a second version, installed at the Israel Museum in Jerusalem in 1965, was painted white. In the early 1970s Nevelson received several commissions, including sculptures for Temple Beth-El, Great Neck, New York (1970); Temple Israel, Boston (1973); and seven metal sculptures for the Louise Nevelson Plaza in Lower Manhattan (1979).

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[Samantha Baskind (2nd ed.)]

NEVERS, capital of the Nièvre department, central France. In 1208 Pope Innocent III protested vehemently to Hervé, count of Nevers, against the excessively advantageous conditions which he had granted the Jews of his town and county. This situation changed rapidly: in 1210 Hervé personally signed a promise that he would not retain any of the royal Jews fleeing to his lands from the king's demesne. Countess Mahaut ratified *Louis VIII's restrictive ordinance on the Jews immediately after its publication in 1224. Finally, Count Robert expelled the Jews from his county in 1294.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Gross, Gal Jud (1897), 387–8; R. de Lespinasse, *Le Nivernais et les Comtes de Nevers*, 2 (1911), 31f., 44, 116, 373; S. Grayzel, *The Church and the Jews in the XIIIth Century* (1966), index.

[Bernhard Blumenkranz]

NEVINS, SHEILA (1939–), U.S. television executive. Born in New York, Nevins earned a bachelor of arts degree from Barnard College and a master of fine arts from the Yale University School of Drama. She began her career with the United States Information Service, which produced and distributed documentaries about American life. After producing children's shows and documentaries for television, she joined Home Box Office, a pay television cable network, in 1979 as director of documentary programming and was named executive vice president, original programming, for HBO and Cinemax, a related company, in 1999. In that role, Nevins oversaw production of nearly 200 documentaries. They earned nine Oscars, 13 Primetime Emmy awards, 22 news and documentary Emmys, and 14 George Foster Peabody awards for HBO and one personal Peabody award. She was inducted into the Broadcasting and Cable Hall of Fame in 2000. Among the notable documentaries she was involved in were *The Times of Harvey Milk* (1984), the story of a gay political activist in San Francisco who was murdered along with the city's mayor; *One Day in September*, the recounting of the events at the 1972 Summer Olympics in Munich, where 11 Israeli athletes were killed; and *Protocols of Zion* (2005), a film that traces the history of the notorious fake antisemitic book. She has had an impressive record of awards with Holocaust-related documentaries based on survivor testimonies. Among her most memorable were *One Survivor Remembers: The Gerda Weissmann Klein Story* and *Into the Arms of Strangers,* a film on the *Kindertransport*.

[Stewart Kampel (2nd ed.)]

NEVU'AT HA-YELED (Heb. נְבוּאַת הַיֶּלֶד; "The Prophecy of the Child"), a medieval Hebrew short story. The body of the tale is followed by a number of occult prophecies in Aramaic. First printed at the end of *Sefer Nagid u-Meẓavveh* by Jacob *Ẓemaḥ (Constantinople, 1726) and published many times since, it was known already as early as the end of the 15th century and the beginning of the 16th when some kabbalists, among them R. *Abraham b. Eliezer ha-Levi, wrote commentaries on the prophecies in *Nevu'at ha-Yeled*. The story tells of a wonder child, Naḥman, born in the fifth century to a kabbalist; the child died very young, but immediately upon birth began to tell his mother secrets of the heavenly worlds. His father cautioned him not to reveal mysteries forbidden to man, and from then the child spoke only obscurely and enigmatically.

Modern scholars have attempted to date the story and the prophecies therein by tracing known historical events hinted at, and relating them to the text. The obscurity of the text makes this very difficult, but it seems probable that historical events in the 15th century, especially in the East, are referred to in the prophecies. However, the purpose of the story and its prophecies was to anticipate the coming of the Messiah and to describe the major political and historical events and catastrophes bringing about his final revelation. The kabbalists interpreted the prophecies as hinting at the coming of the Messiah in the early 16th century.

In literary genre, there is a great similarity between the prophecies of the Jewish child and comparable phenomena in non-Jewish literature, e.g., the cryptic prophecies of the wizard Merlin (according to legend, told when he was a boy) which many medieval Christian scholars interpreted as foretelling future events. A parody on *Nevu'at ha-Yeled* was written by R. Joseph *Delmedigo in his *Maẓrefle-Ḥokhmah* (Basel, 1629) about a child in Poland whose duplicity was revealed.

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[Joseph Dan]

NEVZLIN, LEONID BORISOVICH (1959–), Russian tycoon. Nevzlin was born in Moscow and graduated from the Gubkin Institute of Oil and Gas in 1981, specializing in automation and computers. Subsequently he graduated from the G.V. Plekhanov Economic Academy, specializing in management and marketing. In 1981–87 Nevzlin worked as a programming engineer at the Zarubezhgeologia foreign trade firm. In 1987 he was appointed manager of the contract department of the Center for Scientific and Technical Creativity for Youth (MENATEP), attached to the district Komsomol committee. There he began his long-time association with Mikhail Khodorkovsky, who would become Russia's richest man. In 1989–91 Nevzlin was the president of the Commercial Investment Bank for Scientific and Technical Progress.

In the privatization period Komsomol money was an important source of private business formation. Nevzlin enjoyed rapid advancement in the MENATEP bank and in 1993–96 was first vice chairman of its board of directors and the head of the public relations department (1994–96). In 1996 he became first vice chairman of the board of directors and vice chairman of the executive committee of the ROSPROM financial and industrial group. In 1996 he was appointed vice president of the YUKOS joint-stock oil company and made a member of the board of directors. In 1996 he was named among the 50 most influential businessmen in Russia. He was the chairman of the Russian Investors Union, a director of the TEPKO bank, and a member of the editorial board of *Ekho Planety* magazine. In 1997 Nevzlin became first vice chairman of the joint board of directors of the ROSPROM-YUKOS group. In 1997–98 he was first deputy to the general director of the Russian ITAR-TASS information agency in charge of economic affairs. He worked out the gradual transformation of the agency into a joint-stock company. In 1998 he became first vice chairman of the board of directors of the YUKOS-Moscow company.

Nevzlin was active in Jewish communal life. In 2000 he became chairman of the coordinating council of the Congress of Jewish Religious Communities and Organizations. In 2001 he was nominated acting president of the Russian Jewish Congress. He resigned at the end of year when he was appointed representative of the Mordovian Republic in the Federation Council, the upper chamber of the Russian parliament. The political activity of Nevzlin was greatly appreciated by President Yeltsin. During the Putin presidency, however, relations between the authorities and the business community changed. With Khodorkovsky's arrest and prosecution and later accusations of economic crimes against the heads of MENATEP and YUKOS, Nevzlin came under fire. In 2003 he resigned from the Federation Council and left Russia, becoming an Israeli citizen. In June 2003 the Leonid Nevzlin Center for the Study of Russian and Eastern European Jewry was opened at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. His net worth has been estimated at $2 billion.

[Naftali Prat (2nd ed.)]

NEW BEDFORD, a city in southeastern Massachusetts; estimated total population of 95,000, in 2005, Jewish population of greater New Bedford (including Dartmouth and Fairhaven) numbers approximately 3,000. Because of its proximity to Newport, the port of New Bedford in colonial days was of importance to two Jewish-Portuguese merchants, Aaron Lopez and Jacob Rodrigues Rivera, who settled in Newport. They came to New Bedford to learn the art of candlemaking at the Rodman Candleworks which was important in the whaling industry at the time. In the middle of the 19th century, a group of German Jews settled in the city and were later joined by new arrivals. The B'nai Israel Society, established in 1857, purchased a cemetery plot for these German-Jewish immigrants in the Peckham West Cemetery in the city.

The New Bedford Directory for 1869 contains Jewish names such as Adolphus Levi; Leon Levy, dry goods and variety store; Louis Henry, cigar maker; and Julius Simon, dry goods, fancy and retail. After 1877, Eastern European Jews went to New Bedford in large numbers. Ahavath Achim Synagogue began in 1893 with the purchase of a plot of land upon which the synagogue was built and incorporated in 1899 in the South End on Howland Street, and in the 1940s moved west to County Street. In 2005 the rabbi was Barry Hartman. Congregation Chesed Shel Emes was incorporated in 1898, and a synagogue was built in 1904 on Kenyon Street in the north end of the city. This synagogue was destroyed in the late 1950s to make room for the highway through the city. The Conservative Congregation Tifereth Israel Synagogue was dedicated in 1924, and its rabbi in 2005 was Raphael Kanter. Other Jewish organizations and branches of fraternal orders also existed. A communal Talmud Torah existed until 1935. The establishment of various industrial enterprises in the 1930s, and the establishment of the JCC (Jewish Community Center) from 1947 to 1972 added to the Jewish activity in the city. Since 1973, the Jewish Federation of Greater New Bedford has absorbed the programs of the JCC and continues to provide for the activities of the Jewish community through Jewish social service programs, under the leadership of executive director, Wil Herrup, and a board of directors.

[Rudolf Glanz / Mel and Cindy Yoken (2nd ed.)]

NEW BRUNSWICK, U.S. industrial city on the Raritan River, in New Jersey, approximately 30 miles S.W. of New York City. It is the home of Rutgers University, the State University of New Jersey. It is estimated that the Jewish population of Middlesex County is 45,000 but given the nature of suburban Jewish life in northeastern New Jersey, it is also part of the larger community of more than 400,000 Jews in the area. Rutgers University has approximately 4,500 students.

New Brunswick's earliest Jewish settler seems to have been Daniel Nunez, who was a justice of the peace in 1722, about 40 years after the founding of the town (1679–80). Nunez was in business in Piscataway, a small village just outside the New Brunswick city limits. Hannah Lonzoda, a widow, lived in New Brunswick from 1750 on. In 1850 some

Bohemian and German Jews settled in the town, and by 1852 about 20 to 25 Jews were living there. The Jewish population grew from 90 in 1865 to 280 in 1897, slightly more than 1% of the general population. In 1888 an influx of Eastern European Jews began, and from the turn of the century on, the Jewish population of the greater New Brunswick area continued. In 1969, two Reform, five Conservative, and five Orthodox synagogues were serving the area. The oldest synagogue in New Brunswick, now Anshe Emeth Memorial Temple (Reform), was founded in 1859, probably as an Orthodox congregation; it became a Reform temple about 1890. Congregation Ahavas Achim (Orthodox) was founded in 1889. The Highland Park Conservative Temple was founded in 1930.

The Jewish Federation of Raritan Valley, launched in 1948, coordinates fund raising, social service, welfare, educational, and communal activities "calculated to enhance Jewish communal life." In 1969, 28 religious, social, and educational organizations were affiliated with the federation. A YM-YWHA was organized in 1911.

Before 1900, most New Brunswick Jews were peddlers and small shopkeepers. A few were professionals, including some Jewish teachers in the public schools in 1893, one of whom served as school principal. From 1900 to the 1930s, most of the Jewish population worked as tradesmen and artisans. In the 1960s many Jews were practicing the professions of law, medicine, accountancy, and teaching; many were engaged in business and industry. A number were serving as elected officials in municipal government. Samuel D. Hoffman (1900–1957), attorney and first president of the Jewish Federation, served as a city commissioner of New Brunswick in 1935. Harry S. Feller (1885–1954), second president of the federation and one of the organizers of the Ad Hoc Committee for United Jewish Appeal, taught in New Brunswick High School (1908–16) and served as first principal of the evening school (1912).

The Allen and Joan Bildner Center for the Study of Jewish Life at Rutgers

The Allen and Joan Bildner Center for the Study of Jewish Life at Rutgers, the State University of New Jersey, is committed to the pursuit of academic excellence, fostering faculty research, and sponsoring a variety of community outreach programs. The Bildner Center promotes scholarly exchange on an international scale by bringing visiting scholars to Rutgers to teach special courses and to contribute to the intellectual life of the University community. The center works closely with the department of Jewish Studies offering a wide range of extracurricular programs for students and seminars for faculty. The center's active agenda of community outreach includes: public lectures and symposia, Jewish communal initiatives, the Rutgers New Jersey Jewish Film Festival, and the activities of the Herbert and Leonard Littman Families Holocaust Resource Center.

The department of Jewish Studies offers an interdisciplinary approach to the academic study of all aspects of the Jewish experience. Courses offered by the department, which are open to all students, address the historical, social, cultural, religious and political life of the Jewish people from ancient times to the present. Drawing on faculty from 12 departments, as well as on visiting fellows sponsored by the Bildner Center, the Jewish Studies curriculum offers over 60 interdisciplinary courses. Students pursuing a B.A. degree may major or minor in Jewish Studies. The department and the Bildner Center work together to promote Jewish Studies at Rutgers.

Hillel

Hillel partners with student leadership in planning and implementing religious, social, and cultural events for Rutgers/New Brunswick's 4,500 Jewish students. While Hillel is physically located on the Rutgers College/College Avenue campus, events are run on all five New Brunswick campuses. Pluralistic events include learning sessions, Birthright Israel, weekly Shabbat services and free dinners, *tikkun olam*/social action program, holiday and cultural commemorations, and programs for graduate students.

At Rutgers University is an active and extremely vibrant Hillel. Its mission is to enrich the lives of Jewish undergraduate and graduate students so that they may enrich the Jewish people and the world. Hillel student leaders, professionals, and lay leaders are dedicated to creating a pluralistic, welcoming, and inclusive environment for Jewish college students, where they are encouraged to grow intellectually, spiritually, and socially. Hillel helps students find a balance in being distinctively Jewish and universally human by encouraging them to pursue *ẓedek* (social justice), *tikkun olam* (repairing the world), and Jewish learning, and to support Israel and global Jewish peoplehood. Hillel is committed to excellence, innovation, accountability, and results.

Chabad House-Lubavitch, founded in 1978, nurtured and supported by concerned members of communities throughout New Jersey, is dedicated to the re-establishment and strengthening of our Judaic faith, principles, identity, commitment, and pride.

The Les Turchin Chabad House, a unique and vibrant center, provides a "home away from home" for college students at Rutgers, the State University of New Jersey. Chabad House operates over 20 community service programs. The new Chabad House is proud to serve as the largest Jewish Center on any university campus in the U.S. The new complex is located in the heart of Rutgers University. Serving as headquarters for all Jewish activities, the building features: housing for students, peer counseling and drug prevention centers, student activity offices, a 300-seat synagogue, a publications center, library, kosher dining hall, student lounges and a computer area. Some of its programs include: hospital and prison visitations; holiday rallies and festivals; counseling and Social Services; and Kosher Meals on Wheels. Rabbi Carlebach, the executive director of Chabad House-Lubavitch, is also the rabbi of Congregation Sons of Israel-Chabad in Wayside.

The Jewish News

The *Jewish News* has been an influential voice in the New Jersey Jewish community since its founding in 1946. Coverage includes local, national and world events; explorations of the world of Jewish culture and the arts; supplements on Israel, the holidays and other topics of interest; and a wide array of feature stories. Beginning as *The Jewish News*, the paper merged in 1947 with the Newark-based *Jewish Times*, keeping *The Jewish News* name. In 1988, reflecting the demographic changes in a community that was moving west to the suburbs, the paper was renamed *MetroWest Jewish News*. In 1997, *MetroWest Jewish News* acquired a second newspaper – *The Jewish Horizon* – of Union and Somerset counties; a new name, *New Jersey Jewish News*; and a new focus on Jewish issues statewide.

In the early 21st century *NJJN* published four editions, reaching more than 50,000 households. The MetroWest edition continued to serve Essex, Morris, Sussex, and part of Union county and was mailed directly to the homes of 24,500 subscribers. In 1998, *Jewish News* further strengthened its position in the state when it acquired the *Jewish Reporter* and started publishing a third edition in the Princeton Mercer Bucks region. That edition covers the area from the Route 1 corridor to the greater Princeton area, to Yardley, Pa., and more.

In November 2000 the *Jewish News* began publishing a greater Middlesex County edition. With its newly acquired 14,500 subscribers, the Middlesex edition gives the paper contiguous coverage from Montclair to Princeton and from Morristown to Newark.

With its growth, the *Jewish News* has become the second largest Jewish newspaper in America, and the largest-circulation weekly newspaper in the state. The *Jewish News*' role is to be a strong, statewide voice representing the interests of all Jews as well as a weekly chronicle of the ways individuals are expressing their Jewishness both within and beyond the institutional Jewish world.

[Abraham Halperin / Allie Rimer (2nd ed.)]

NEWCASTLE-UPON-TYNE, port in Northumberland, N.E. England. Its small medieval Jewish group was expelled in 1234 at the request of the townspeople. Although there were individual Jews in the city by 1775, the organized community dates from 1831 – a year after a cemetery had been acquired –by which time there were about 100 Jewish residents. A synagogue was built in 1838, but by 1868 it had become too small for the growing population and a second congregation was formed. In 1873 the two groups amalgamated and a new synagogue was opened in 1880. The community increased during the mass immigration from Eastern Europe (1881–1914) and by 1900 numbered about 2,000. The small but very Orthodox community of *Gateshead is on the opposite bank of the River Tyne from Newcastle. Newcastle itself has an Orthodox and a Reform congregation. In addition there is the normal structure of communal institutions which is headed by a Representative Council of North-East Jewry. The estimated Jewish population for Tyneside (Newcastle, Gateshead, etc.) was 3,500 (0.38% of the total population) in 1969. In the mid-1990s, the Jewish population of Newcastle numbered approximately 1,230. The 2001 British census found 960 Jews by religion in Newcastle, with another 1,564 in Gateshead.

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[Vivian David Lipman]

NEW CHRISTIANS, a term applied specifically to three groups of Jewish converts to Christianity and their descendants in the Iberian Peninsula. The first group converted in the wake of the massacres in Spain in 1391 and the proselytizing fervor of the subsequent decades. The second, also in Spain, were baptized following the decree of Ferdinand and *Isabella in 1492 expelling all Jews who refused to accept Christianity. The third group, in Portugal, was converted by force and royal fiat in 1497. Like the word *Conversos, but unlike *Marranos, the term New Christian carried no intrinsic pejorative connotation, but with the increasing power of the *Inquisition and the growth of the concept of limpieza de *sangre, the name signaled the disabilities inevitably heaped on those who bore it. In Portugal, the Marquis de Pombal officially abolished all legal distinctions between Old and New Christians in May 1773. Comparable measures were not enacted in Spain until 1860, by which time much of the distinction had been eroded by assimilation and inquisitorial repression. However, pockets of social discrimination against New Christians still continued, as, for example, against the *chuetas of the Balearic Isles.

[Martin A. Cohen]

In Halakhic Literature

The New Christians who continued secretly to observe the precepts of Judaism as much as possible after their conversion were not regarded as voluntary apostates. The basis of this decision was the statement of *Maimonides (Yad, Yesodei ha-Torah 5:3–4) that although one should allow oneself to be put to death rather than abandon one's faith in times of persecution, "nevertheless, if he transgressed and did not choose the death of a martyr, even though he has annulled the positive precept of sanctifying the Name and transgressed the injunction not to desecrate the Name, since he transgressed under duress and could not escape, he is exempted from punishment." In accordance with this, Isaac b. *Sheshet ruled that those New Christians who remained in their countries because they were unable to escape and flee, if they conduct themselves in accordance with the precepts of Judaism, even if only privately, are like full Jews, their *sheḥitah* may be relied upon, their testimony in law cases is accepted, and their wine is not forbidden by touch as that of non-Jews (Resp. Ribash, no. 4). However, some authorities ruled that if the Marranos of a certain locality succeeded in fleeing to a country where they could return to Judaism, while others remained there in order to retain their material possessions, the latter were no longer presumed to have the privilege of being regarded as Jews (Ribash, *ibid.*) nor are they regarded as valid witnesses (*Tashbeẓ*, 3:47; Resp. Redakh, no. 24). Others, however, expressed more lenient views and held that no one is to be deprived of his rights as a Jew as long as he is not seen to transgress the precepts of Judaism even when there is no danger involved (*Tashbeẓ*, 1:23). Moses Isserles, too, rules that even those Marranos who are able to flee but delay because of material considerations and transgress Judaism publicly out of compulsion while remaining observant privately do not make wine forbidden by their touch (Sh. Ar., YD 124:9, and see *ibid.* 119:12).

The problem of the Marranos in *halakhah* became increasingly complex as the length of their stay and that of their descendants in their native lands wore on. Jewish religious tradition was gradually forgotten by the descendants of the Marranos in Spain and Portugal, and many of them assimilated and intermarried with the gentiles. Since for several centuries individuals and groups of descendants of Marranos continued to escape to other countries where they were absorbed in the Jewish community, doubts and differences of opinion related to the laws of marriage and personal status arose among the great talmudists about the Marranos returning to Judaism. Isaac b. Sheshet, Simeon b. Solomon Duran in Algiers, and Elijah Mizraḥi in Constantinople ruled that the children of Marranos counted as Jews in matters of marriage, divorce, levirate marriage, and *ḥaliẓah even after several generations (*Yakhin u-Vo'az*, pt. 2, no. 38; *Mayim Amukkim*, no. 31; Maharik, Resp. no. 85 in the name of Rashi). On the other hand, some ruled that the children of Marranos born after their parents had converted and succeeding generations were to be regarded in all ways as non-Jews; their betrothal to a Jewish woman was invalid, levirate marriage did not apply to them, and even if a Marrano begot a child by a woman forbidden under penalty of *karet the offspring does not rank as *mamzer, and should he become a proselyte would be permitted to marry a Jew. The Marranos who had lived among gentiles for more than a century came to regard those things forbidden by the Torah as permitted and married non-Jewish women, with the result that their children were presumed to be non-Jewish unless it could be proved that their mothers were Jewish (*Keneset ha-Gedolah*, EH 4; Resp. Maharit, vol. 2, EH no. 18).

A Marrano who could have fled but did not was penalized, in that he did not inherit the property of his Jewish relatives, while every Marrano heir who hastened to return to Judaism canceled the rights of the other Marrano heirs (Resp. Reshakh, pt. 1, no. 137). According to some authorities, the customs of dowry and marriage allowance applying to Marranos while they lived as gentiles remain in force (Resp. Maharashdam, ḤM no. 327), but according to others the agreements made by Marranos at the time of their marriages in accordance with gentile usages had no binding force (Joseph Caro, in *Avkat Rokhel*). A testamentary disposition or the gift of a dying person made by a Marrano not in accordance with Torah law was not binding (Joseph ibn Lev in *Edut be-Ya'akov*, no. 71, 195b; *Keneset ha-Gedolah*, ḤM 161; *Torat ha-Minhagot*, no. 51).

The scholars of Safed headed by Jacob Berab imposed flagellation upon Marranos who returned to Judaism as a punishment for transgressing the prohibitions which rendered them liable to *karet* in their previous condition (*Kunteres ha-Semikhah* at the end of Resp. Maharalbaḥ); and since flagellation can be imposed only by ordained *dayyanim*, Jacob Berab and his colleagues wanted to enforce punishment when ordination was renewed (see *Semikhah). A Marrano who escaped from his native land but was not circumcised through neglect was prevented from participating in the sacred service in the synagogue until he was circumcised (*Mayim Rabbim* of Raphael Meldola, YD nos. 51 and 52).

[Moshe Nahum Zobel]

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NEWFIELD, MORRIS (1869–1940), U.S. Reform rabbi and social worker. Newfield was born in Hungary, where he earned a B.D. from the Jewish Theological Seminary in Budapest in 1889. In 1891, he abandoned his studies at the medical college of the University of Budapest to immigrate to the United States and attend Hebrew Union College and the University of Cincinnati concurrently. While at HUC, Newfield taught a course in Talmud and was superintendent of the John Street Temple Sunday School. In 1889, he received his B.A. from the University of Cincinnati and was ordained at HUC, which also awarded him an honorary D.D. in 1939, added to his honorary Doctor of Literature degree from the University of Alabama. Immediately after ordination, Newfield was appointed rabbi of Temple Emanu-El in Birmingham, Alabama, a position he retained throughout his life. He also joined the faculty of Howard College, where he taught Hebrew and Semitics.

In Birmingham, Newfield established himself as a civic and interfaith leader and fighter for social justice in the conservative South; a proponent of social gospel theology, his efforts were motivated by the classical Reform belief that the Jews' mission is to establish a Kingdom of God on earth. Accordingly, he founded the city's first free kindergarten and was an organizer and director of the Associated Charities (precursor of the Community Chest) and of the Citizens Relief Committee. He was particularly active in the fight against tuberculosis, as a founder of the Anti-Tuberculosis Society and of the Alabama Anti-Tubercular League. He also challenged prohibition and Sunday blue laws; despite this latter conflict with local Christian clergy, together they founded a chapter of the National Conference of Christians and Jews. As president of the Alabama Sociological College, he was a driving force behind ending child labor abuses, joining the Alabama Child Labor Committee and helping to establish a juvenile court, the Department of Child Welfare, and the Alabama Children's Aid Society. He also served as chairman of the Red Cross Advisory Case Committee and was responsible for assisting caseworkers in solving difficult problems.

During World War I, despite his misgivings as an advocate of peace, Newfield served as a part-time chaplain at Alabama's Camp McClellan, partly to show the Christian community that Jews were patriotic. After the war, he served as chairman of the Home Services Committee of the local Civilian Relief Committee, assisting returning veterans.

His involvement in the causes of the wider community notwithstanding, Newfield founded the local Federation of Jewish Charities, later renamed the United Jewish Fund. He was also instrumental in organizing the Alabama Jewish Religious School Teachers Association, serving as its president for two years. He brought his passion for social activism to the national stage via the *Central Conference of American Rabbis, which adopted an official position against child labor in 1910.

Newfield went on to serve as secretary of the CCAR and was ultimately elected to its highest office in 1931. During his two-year term as CCAR president, Newfield steered a non-Zionist course; within a few years, however, in response to the rise of Nazism, he had become a staunch Zionist. He spent the final years of his life championing the cause of the Jewish homeland in Palestine.

[Bezalel Gordon (2nd ed.)]

NEW HAMPSHIRE, one of the New England states, located in northeastern United States. One of the original thirteen colonies which broke from England in 1776, in 2005 it ranked 46th in area of the 50 states and 41st in population. While no accurate demographics are available, the best estimate is that 12,000 to 14,000 Jews lived within this small state (9,351 square miles, 1,299,500 inhabitants in 2005). The Jewish population is concentrated in the more urban south and southeast section (Manchester, Concord, Nashua, Portsmouth, and the seacoast).

The state was not always hospitable to its Jewish citizens (or Roman Catholics, for that matter) for the first state constitution in 1784 limited office-holding to Protestants. That requirement was in force until 1877 when the document was amended to remove religious qualifications. However, the number of Jewish inhabitants was small. Early records name William Abrams and Aaron Moses as having moved from New Castle on the coast to Sanbornton in 1693. A list of grants to settlers in 1770 included Joseph Levy, a settler near the present Ossipee. In 1862, the *American Israelite* reported that a *minyan* had gathered in Manchester to observe the holidays, but no further report followed. In 1880, a J. Wolf was the first recorded permanent Jewish resident. Ten years later the first congregation in the State, Adath Yeshurun, was organized.

A second Manchester synagogue, Anshei Sfard (now Temple Israel) followed in 1897 as a dissident breakaway from the Adath Yeshurun group. The first building erected as a synagogue anywhere in New Hampshire was built in 1911 to house the older *shul* and soon thereafter (1917) Anshei Sfard also built its own place of worship. Meanwhile, both congregations had purchased cemetery land, adjacent to each other but separated by a fence. The fence stood until 1946 when elders from the two congregations decided to build a memorial chapel on the dividing line and removed the fence as part of the project.

The early Jewish settlers (particularly from the influx escaping the problems of eastern Europe) came as small merchants and trades people. Few, if any, worked in Manchester's huge Amoskeag textile mills. The first peddlers became merchants, and the downtown areas of Manchester, Nashua, Dover, Portsmouth. Keene, and Claremont soon had numbers of Jewish entrepreneurs. Professional people, lawyers, physicians, dentists, teachers began to appear, often from the first generation of native born Americans. At the same time, economic and political influence grew. No Jews served on the state's bench until Harry Lichman was appointed a probate judge in Keene and Bernard Snierson a municipal court judge in Laconia in the mid-1940s. No Jewish judge served on the Superior Court bench until Philip Hollman in 1987, and no federal judge until Norman Stahl was appointed to the Federal District Court in 1990 (in 2005 he was a senior judge for the U.S. Court of Appeals on the First Circuit). Jews joined bank boards in the late 1940s, Saul Greenspan and Milton Machinist, both in Manchester, being the first, and Jews became members of boards of trustees of the Manchester Historic Association, the Currier Gallery (now Museum) of Art, and the NH Historical Society.

The Jewish community also established its own non-synagogue groups. A YM-YWHA was founded in Manchester in 1906. Over time, the organization metamorphosed into a Jewish Community Center with a community Hebrew school, and later, in the 1970s, into the Jewish Federation. In 2005 the Jewish Federation of Greater Manchester became the Jewish Federation of New Hampshire as the only Jewish social agency

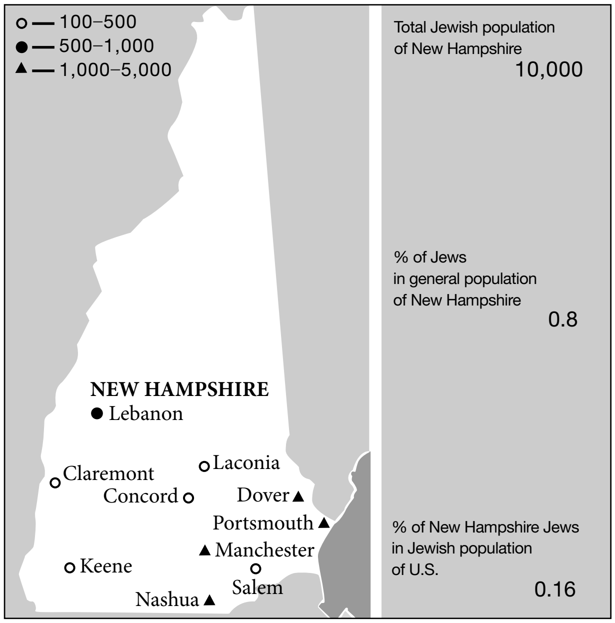
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▲ — 1,000–5,000
NEW HAMPSHIRE
● Lebanon
Claremont
Laconia
Concord
Dover
Portsmouth
Manchester
Keene
Salem
Nashua
Total Jewish population of New Hampshire
10,000
% of Jews in general population of New Hampshire
0.8
% of New Hampshire Jews in Jewish population of U.S.
0.16

Jewish communities in New Hampshire. Population figures for 2001.

in the State. The Federation produces a monthly newspaper mailed to every identified Jewish household in NH. The mailing list totals 3,100.

New Hampshire's role in national elections from the beginnings of the preferential primary in 1954 grew and Jewish citizens, always alert to the political scene, have been involved at many levels in the national campaigns. Gerald Carmen, Republican activist and state chairman in the first Ronald Reagan campaign, went on to serve as General Services Administrator in Washington and in a State Department role at the League of Nations in Geneva, Switzerland. Jewish voters tended to be Democrats, but many were Republicans. Several have served in the 400-member New Hampshire General Court and a number in the State Senate as well. Saul Feldman of Manchester was probably the first Jewish General Court member in the late 1950s. Manchester lawyer Samuel Green served in the New Hampshire Senate and as its president from 1961 to 1963. During a period of Governor Wesley Powell's illness, Green stepped in as acting governor. In 2005, Debora Pignatelli of Nashua, former legislator, was a member of the five-person Governor's Council. Warren *Rudman, a Republican and former attorney general (an appointive post) served as United States Senator from 1980 to 1993 when he declined to seek re-election.

While there were remnants of discrimination ("No Jews" signs were found in White Mountain resort areas until the 1940s), many barriers dropped after World War II. The state's two largest institutions of higher education (Dartmouth College in Hanover and the University of New Hampshire in Durham) certainly were not friendly to Jewish faculty until after World War II. Dartmouth had only two Jewish faculty members in the early 1940s, and UNH one (in the engineering school) until 1954 when historian Hans Heilbronner was hired in the College of Liberal Arts. Since then Dartmouth has had two Jewish presidents (John Kemeny, 1970–81, and James O. Freedman, a Manchester native, from 1989 to 1998); UNH has had one, Evelyn Handler (1980–83) who left to become president of Brandeis University. Dartmouth, which has the smallest percentage of Jews among its student body of all the Ivy League Colleges, has long had a distinguished Judaic Studies program. Jacob *Neusner, Arthur *Hertzberg, Steven *Katz, Marshall *Meyer and the current incumbent Susannah Heschel have all served on its faculty.

The demise of the Amoskeag Manufacturing Company in 1936 left the largest NH city with a vast surplus of industrial space and a large pool of skilled workers. A concerted effort to attract new employers brought numbers of Jewish manufacturers to New Hampshire. The Blums and Sidores brought Pandora Industries to the city, the Greenspans Waumbec Mills, the Cohens BeeBee Shoe, Boston's Gordon brothers, JS and BD, opened Hampshire Designers and MKM, both textile manufacturers. Until the migration of garment work overseas in the 1980s, there was a thriving Jewish presence in soft goods manufacturing. At the same time, growth in high tech industry with many Jewish participants replaced some of the old industrial base and the number of Jewish professional men and women grew enormously.

As the Jewish population increased, new synagogues have been established in towns like Amherst and Derry, home to few Jews two generations ago. In 2005 there were fifteen synagogues or temples about the state, and most had full-time rabbis. The immigrant community was hardly distinguishable from the general community.

[David G. Stahl (2nd ed.)]

NEW HAVEN, U.S. port city in Connecticut. New Haven has a Jewish population of 24,300 (2001) out of a general population of about 124,000. It was settled in 1638 by Puritans who envisioned it as a Wilderness Zion based on biblical law. It was 120 years later, in 1758, that the first Jews, the brothers Jacob and Solomon *Pinto, arrived. They were soon integrally involved in the city's life. With the outbreak of the Revolutionary War, the three sons of Jacob Pinto – Solomon, Abraham, and William – took up arms in the Continental army. In 1783, Jacob Pinto was a signer of the petition to Connecticut's General Assembly which brought about the incorporation of New Haven as a town.

President Ezra *Stiles of Yale College recorded in his diary the arrival of an unnamed Venetian Jewish family in the summer of 1772 who observed the Sabbath in traditional Jewish manner, "worshiping by themselves in a room in which were lights and a suspended lamp." He noted that this was purely private Jewish worship, since the Venetians were too few to constitute a synagogue quorum, "so that if thereafter there should be a synagogue in New Haven, it must not be dated from this."

A slow influx of Jewish settlers began about 1840. Families from Bavaria, their friends and kinsmen soon constituted a *minyan* which became Congregation Mishkan Israel. A burial ground was acquired in 1843. Mishkan Israel was New England's second congregation and the 14th Jewish congregation established in the United States. Soon after its founding, divergences in religious approach arose, one in the direction of Orthodoxy, the other toward Reform. In 1846 a first break occurred: a Reform group broke away, for several years conducting its own congregational service.

Until 1854 the pioneer New Haven congregation met for prayers in a variety of local halls. In 1854, Mishkan Israel Congregation, along with other U.S. congregations, received a $5,000 bequest from the estate of the philanthropist Judah *Touro. With this sum it purchased and refurbished a church as its first synagogue. By then the Reform segment of the congregation had become the majority and in 1855 the Orthodox members seceded permanently and established B'nai Sholom Congregation, which continued as a small congregation until it went out of existence in the late 1930s. Only the cemetery of this early German Orthodox congregation remains.

Mishkan Israel prospered over the decades, led by German-Jewish rabbis who maintained close ties with Rabbi Isaac

M. *Wise and the growing Reform movement. In 1897 the congregation built a large synagogue in Byzantine style, in keeping with its growing affluence; the sermons, previously in German, and much of the service as well, were now in English.

The first Jewish refugees arrived from Russia in February 1882, and were followed by a steady influx of Russian-Jewish families. By 1887 the Jewish population had grown to about 3,200. In the next decade it grew to about 8,000 and the increase was greatly accelerated in the wake of the Kishinev pogrom of 1903. By the beginning of World War I, New Haven Jewry numbered about 20,000.

The first congregation organized by the immigrants from East Europe was B'nai Jacob Congregation (1882), which grew into New Haven's largest Conservative congregation. Of the 11 Orthodox congregations organized during the height of the immigration period, four remained in 1968. Several new ones have been established as a response to the new religiosity of the last decades of the 20th century.

The first organized charity by the Jews of New Haven was undertaken in 1881. The pioneer German Jews established the Hebrew Benevolent Society to assist the Russian-Jewish immigrants, and the latter established the Hebrew Charity Society in 1885. In 1910 the sisterhood of Mishkan Israel began to devote itself to charitable enterprise, opening a special office for the purpose. In 1919 the three charitable undertakings were formally organized into the United Jewish Charities. The Jewish Family Service, professionally staffed, came into existence in 1939.

By the mid-1920s there were in New Haven over 60 Jewish religious, charitable, fraternal, and Zionist organizations, and in addition the Young Men's and Young Women's Hebrew Association, the Jewish Home for Children, and the Jewish Home for the Aged. Community leaders, recognizing the need for coordination, in 1928 created the New Haven Jewish Community Council, to which member organizations regularly elected delegates. Out of the council's efforts there emerged the Jewish Welfare Fund and, subsequently, the Bureau of Jewish Education.

Jewish education of children has improved since the 1950s with the growth of synagogue schools, the Lubavitcher-sponsored Hebrew Day School, and the Conservative-sponsored Ezra Academy. These schools are coordinated by the Bureau of Jewish Education. A community-sponsored Hebrew High School is maintained under the bureau's supervision. The first memorial to the Holocaust built on public land was erected in New Haven and the first project to video-tape Holocaust Survivors was begun in New Haven by local survivors, psychologist Dore Laub, and media specialist Laurel Vlock. It evolved over time into the Fortunoff Archive housed at Yale University Sterling Library. There are seven synagogues in New Haven itself. Neighboring Orange has three synagogues, Reform, Conservative, and Chabad, and also is the home of the New Haven Hebrew Day School, an Orthodox K-8 school. Woodbridge, which is now the center of Jewish activity, has a major Conservative synagogue, Congegation B'nai Jacob, which moved from the city along with the Jewish Community Center that moved from downtown New Haven to the suburbs and Ezra Academy, a Solomon Schechter Day School affiliated with the United Synagogue of Conservative Judaism. The Jewish Community Center is housed in a 106,000 square foot building containing an Olympic-size shallow depth lap pool, two full-court gymnasiums, racquetball courts, health spa, fitness center, personal training, Judaic gift shop, Claire's kosher vegetarian restaurant, a library, auditorium and more, all on 53 acres. Hamden has two synagogues, one Reform and the other Conservative.

The Jewish Family Service has served the community since 1881.

Yale University is a major center of Jewish life. After generations in which there was a quota on Jews, in the early 21st century Yale has a large Jewish student body, a Jewish president, Richard *Levin, a distinguished Jewish Studies Department with scholars such as Paula *Hyman, Steven Fraude, and Ivan Marcus and a large Hillel building near the Center of campus, the Slifka Center. The Hillel Children's School at Yale which helps children aged 7 to 13 discover positive Jewish identities. Jewish life is a presence on campus and Jewish faculty participate in the community. Judaic scholars are a resource for New Haven Jews. There is an active Chabad presence at Yale.

The most famous Jewish citizen of New Haven is Joseph I. *Lieberman, the United States senator and an observant, self-described Orthodox Jew who was the Democratic nominee for vice president in 2000. He credits the rabbi of the Young Israel of New Haven with mentoring him on how to unite a staunch commitment to Jewish observance with his responsibilities as a United States senator. Marvin Lender, a New Haven based philanthropist whose family began Lender Bagels, is credited as national chairman of the United Jewish Appeal with convening a group of Mega donors to coordinate their own private philanthropy with the ongoing needs of the Jewish community.

[Arthur Chiel / Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

NEWHOUSE, SAMUEL IRVING (**Solomon Neuhaus**; 1895–1979), U.S. publisher. Born in New York City, Newhouse was the first of eight children of poor immigrant parents. Newhouse's initial venture came when, as a 16-year-old office boy in a law office, he was told by his employer to take charge of the *Bayonne* (N.J.) *Times*. He made the paper such a success that by age 21 he was earning $30,000 a year. In 1922 he acquired the floundering *Staten Island* (N.Y.) *Advance* for $98,000. Six years later he turned down an offer of $1,000,000 for it. His formula for success was to cut operating costs, stimulate advertising and circulation, and allow local editors complete autonomy. During the Depression of the 1930s he bought five newspapers, and continued adding others, including the *Portland Oregonian* and the St. Louis *Globe-Democrat*. In 1955, in what was described as the biggest transaction in American newspaper history, he paid $18,642,000 for a package that included the *Birmingham* (Alabama) *News*, the *Huntsville* (Alabama) *Times*, and four radio and television stations. In 1959, to diversify his holdings, Newhouse bought controlling interests in two important magazine publishing firms – Condé Nast (*Vogue, Glamour, House and Garden*) and Street and Smith (*Mademoiselle* and five other periodicals). He owned 15 daily newspapers, 12 national magazines, and nine radio and television stations. In 1960 he gave two million dollars to Syracuse University to establish the Newhouse Communications Center, intended to be the world's largest educational and research institute for the study of the mass media, and he made provision for its future maintenance. In the 1960s Newhouse purchased the *Oregon Journal*; the *New Orleans Times-Picayune* newspaper group; three Springfield (Massachusetts) newspapers – *News*, *Republican*, and *Union; the Mobile Register*, *Mobile Press* and *Mississippi Press-Register;* and the *Cleveland Plain Dealer.* In 1976 he gained total ownership of the eight Booth newspapers and *Parade* Magazine.

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[Irving Rosenthal / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

NEW ISRAEL (Rus. **Novy Izrail**), Jewish religious sect initiated in Odessa during the 1880s. At the beginning of 1882 Jacob Priluker, a teacher at the government Jewish school of Odessa, published an article in the *Odesskiy Listok* in which he proclaimed the 15 principles of a sect to be known as New Israel, whose objective was to introduce reforms in the Jewish religion which would reconcile it with Christianity. These principles recognized the Mosaic law only, and articulated "an attitude of contempt" toward the Talmud. The day of rest was transferred from Saturday to Sunday, while circumcision and the dietary laws were abolished. The members of the sect were required to consider Russian as their national language and to observe the laws of the state. The Russian government was requested to grant civic rights to the members of the sect, to authorize them to spread their doctrine among the Jews, and to permit them to wear a special sign which would distinguish them from other Jews. Their platform was to be a breakthrough for Russian Jewry after the tribulations it had suffered through the riots and increased antisemitism which followed the assassination of Czar Alexander II in 1881. However, even those *maskilim* who strove for reforms within Judaism regarded Priluker's proposals with reserve. They pointed to the utilitarian nature of his reforms, which suggested that part of the Jewish heritage be abandoned in exchange for civic rights. On the other hand, Priluker was encouraged by the Russian authorities. During the same year, his book *Reform Jews* (published under the pseudonym of E. Ben-Sion) was published in St. Petersburg with government assistance. It contained a violent attack on the Talmud and traditional Judaism, thus supplying material for antisemitic propaganda. In 1887 Priluker traveled to Western Europe at the government's expense to establish contacts with missionaries. However, his preaching to the Jewish masses of southern Russia met with no success and the Russian government's sympathy for him declined. Indeed, his appeals for support in the publication of a Jewish newspaper which would propagate his ideas were rejected by the government. In 1891 Priluker apostatized to Protestantism and immigrated to England, and this marked the end of the attempt to establish the New Israel sect.

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[Yehuda Slutsky]

NEW ISRAEL FUND, THE. Founded in 1979, the New Israel Fund was designed to expand the work that the United Jewish Appeal was then doing. It sought to protect Israel's strength by protecting democracy, human rights, justice, and equality for all Israelis – Jews and Arabs. An international partnership of Israelis, Americans, Canadians, and Europeans, NIF pioneered the funding of Israel's social change organizations and advocacy groups, and is widely credited as the founder of much of Israeli civil society. NIF has funded more than 750 Non-Government Organizations with approximately $200 million in 26 years.

From minority rights to religious pluralism, NIF is widely recognized to be on the "Dovish," "leftist" spectrum of Israeli and American Jewish politics. It perceives itself and structures itself in the vanguard of fighting for social change in Israel. NIF grantees work in three core areas: (1) civil and human rights: Flagship NIF grantees such as B'Tselem and the Association for Civil Rights in Israel have won court battles on issues ranging from the prohibition of torture in civilian interrogations to changes in the route of the separation fence to respect humanitarian concerns. Other grantees work on issues ranging from evenhanded urban planning and land sales to women's and minority rights; (2) social and economic justice: As a nation with many disadvantaged minority groups, from citizen Arabs to Ethiopians to Oriental Jews, Israel has a special responsibility to observe its founders' vision and values of "freedom, justice, and peace as envisaged by the prophets of Israel." Racism, injustice, and fanaticism defile Jewish values and threaten Israel's long-term security. NIF grantees organize communities, advocate for equitable government policies, and empower disadvantaged Israelis to help their communities and themselves; (3) religious pluralism and tolerance: NIF has long been a principal supporter of a pluralistic and tolerant Israeli culture that includes diverse approaches to Judaism and Jewish identity. NIF grantees are in the forefront of the struggle for civil marriage and other life-cycle events, recognition of non-Orthodox conversions, and the equal and unbiased allocation of government resources.

Through Shatil, the Empowerment and Training Center for Social Change Organizations, NIF provides grantees and other social change organizations hands-on assistance and training in the basics of nonprofit management. Widely regarded as one of the world's most successful capacity-building organizations, Shatil regularly originates and discovers best practices for Israel's growing NGO sector and disseminates them.

The New Israel Fund also partners with other philanthropists in joint initiatives, including a multiyear program funded by the Ford Foundation to promote peace and social justice in Israel. Another joint program, the Green Environment Fund, is the first funding collaboration in Israel to protect and preserve the environment. NIF is also partnering with another U.S. foundation and with the Joint Distribution Committee to advance infrastructure development for the Negev Bedouin.

The NIF is headquartered in Washington, D.C., and employs people in the United States, Canada, and the U.K., as well as in four Israeli offices – in Jerusalem, Haifa, Beersheba, and Lod.

WEBSITE: www.nif.org.

[Naomi Paiss (2nd ed.)]

NEW JERSEY, one of the original 13 states of the United States, total population 8,429,000, Jewish population 485,000 (2001 est.). Jews have lived throughout the state from the northern border with New York State to the southern border with Delaware and Pennsylvania, on the eastern coast as well as within the suburban New York communities. The largest concentration of Jews is in Bergen County (83,700), Essex County (76,200), Monmouth County (65,000), Middlesex County (45,000), Cherry Hill and southern New Jersey (49,000), Ocean County in the Northeast (29,000), Union County (30,000), and Atlantic and Cape May counties (15,800). While cities such as Newark, Paterson, and Camden were once the scene of thriving Jewish communities, Jews in New Jersey tend to be suburban and to a lesser extent exurban. New Jersey granted religious tolerance to its citizens as early as 1665, and the state constitution of 1844 abolished all religious qualifications for voting and holding public office.

Although the first organized Jewish communities in New Jersey were not established until the middle of the 19th century, Jewish merchants from Philadelphia and New York conducted business in the state as early as the 17th century. Among the first Jewish settlers were Aaron and Jacob Lozada, who owned a grocery and hardware store in Bound Brook as early as 1718. Daniel Nunez appears in a 1722 court record as town clerk and tax collector for Piscataway Township and justice of the peace for *Middlesex County. Perth Amboy, on the *Trenton-Philadelphia road, was a center for Jewish and other merchants from the time it became the capital of East Jersey in 1685. Among the early prominent settlers in the state was David *Naar, who was active at the state constitutional convention in 1844, became mayor of Elizabeth in 1849, and purchased the Trenton *True American* newspaper in 1853. Naar was instrumental in developing the first public school and public library in Trenton.

German Jews settled in *Trenton, the state capital, in the 1840s, the most prominent among them being Simon Kahnweiler, a merchant and manufacturer. The Mt. Sinai Cemetery Association was incorporated in the town in 1857 and Har Sinai Congregation held its first service in 1858. The first organized Jewish community in New Jersey was in Newark (see *Essex County), where Congregation B'nai Jeshurun was incorporated in 1848. Other early communities with organized congregations included: Paterson (1847), New Brunswick (1861), Jersey City (1864), Bayonne (1878), Elizabeth (1881), *Vineland (1882), *Passaic (1899), Perth Amboy (1890), *Atlantic City (1890), Woodbine (1891), *Camden (1894), and Englewood (1896; see *Bergen County).

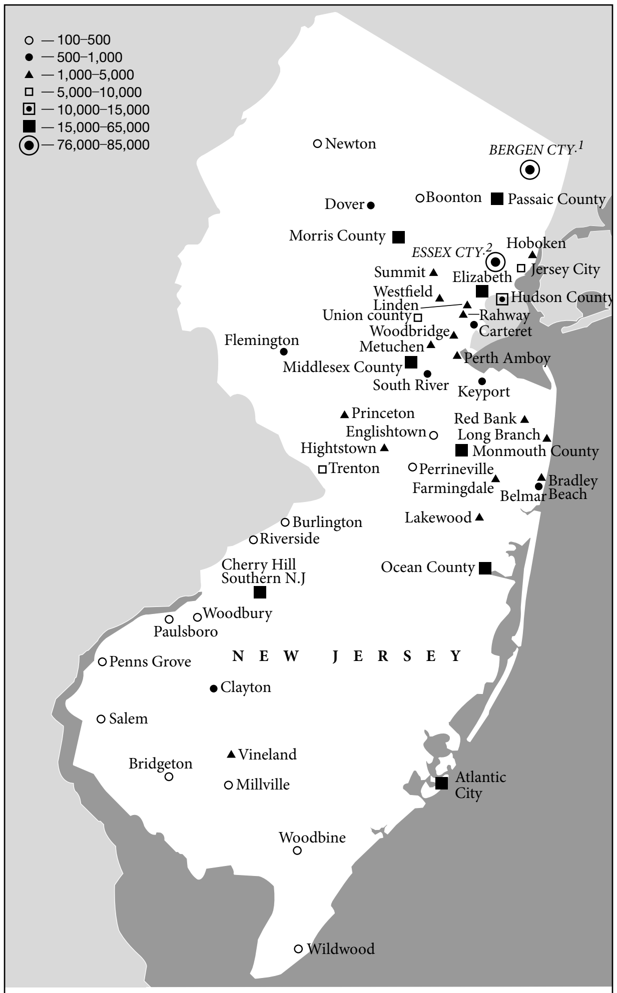
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Newton
BERGEN CTY.1
Dover
Boonton
Passaic County
Morris County
ESSEX CTY.2
Hoboken
Summit
Elizabeth
Jersey City
Westfield
Linden
Hudson County
Union county
Rahway
Woodbridge
Carteret
Flemington
Metuchen
Perth Amboy
Middlesex County
South River
Keyport
Princeton
Red Bank
Englishtown
Long Branch
Hightstown
Monmouth County
Trenton
Perrineville
Farmingdale
Bradley Beach
Belmar
Burlington
Lakewood
Riverside
Cherry Hill Southern N.J
Ocean County
Woodbury
Paulsboro
NEW JERSEY
Penns Grove
Clayton
Salem
Vineland
Bridgeton
Millville
Atlantic City
Woodbine
Wildwood

Total Jewish population of New Jersey	485,000
% of Jews in general population of New Jersey	5.7
% of New Jersey Jews in Jewish population of U.S.	7.87

[1] Bergen County includes: Englewood, Fair Lawn, Fort Lee, Hackensack, Paramus, Ridgewood, Teaneck
[2] Essex County includes: Livingston, Montclair, Newark, South Orange, West Orange

Jewish communities in New Jersey. Population figures for 2001.

Newark once boasted a vibrant community of 80,000 Jews, immigrants from Eastern Europe. They started out destitute and within a generation had achieved a prosperity that fueled a second mass migration, to the suburbs of Essex County and beyond. Newark's demise as a center of Jewish life, and death – at one time there were nearly 100 cemeteries – has been traced to the riots and looting of 1967. The riots wiped out much of the merchant class when stores were pillaged in a burst of rage. Actually, Jews began to leave earlier, lured by the charms of suburbia, the alternative to cramped urban living. The postwar building boom, generous loans to returning GIs, and the affordable automobile sent Jews out of Newark and to Livingston, Millburn, and the Oranges. Philip Roth immortalized the Weequahic section of Newark where he grew up in several novels, particularly *Portnoy's Complaint* and *The Plot Against America.* Weequahic, on the south side of Newark, was a destination place for recently arrived Jews who lived in cold-water flats and then moved up to the middle class. That neighborhood faded away, along with the Riviera, a fancy hotel where Roth's mother and father spent their wedding night. It is now the shabby Divine Hotel Riviera, named after Father Divine, a religious leader who founded a sect in the early part of the 20th century. By 2004, B'nai Jeshurun, Newark's first synagogue, had become the Hopewell Baptist Church on Muhammad Ali Boulevard.

Demographically (1970), New Jersey was divided into two major areas of settlement – northeastern New Jersey, from Bergen County to Middlesex County, which included nearly 300,000 Jews, and the Camden area, near Philadelphia, which included about 18,000 Jews – as well as the northeastern shore area (Long Branch and Asbury Park), the southeastern shore (Atlantic City, 10,000 Jews), the Trenton area (10,000 Jews), and other smaller communities. The Jewish population of New Jersey, which was dependent upon the economic development in the northeastern sector of the state, both for employment and market outlets in nearby New York City, grew from an estimated 5,600 in 1880, to 25,000 in 1900, 40,000 in 1905, 70,000 in 1907, 258,306 in 1927, and leveled off to 259,970 in 1937. By 1969 there were 387,000 Jews in the state. Whereas a third of the state's Jewish population resided in Newark in 1937, by the late 1960s the overwhelming majority of the Jews in the northeastern area (as was also true of the general population) lived in the suburban areas of Bergen, Essex, *Hudson, Passaic, and *Union Counties.

The economic life of New Jersey during the last half of the 19th century was largely dominated by the German Jewish community, which was small in number and engaged in small businesses and merchandising. By the end of the 1920s the waves of East European immigrants from Russia and Poland had changed the demographic nature of the northeastern part of the state. The silk industry of Paterson – largely in the hands of Polish Jews who had worked in the textile industry in Lodz and Bialystok – and the garment industry in Jersey City and Newark, as well as the woolen and worsted mills of Passaic, drew heavily upon the East European and Slavic population of the area. Sephardic families from the Mediterranean and the Balkans settled in New Brunswick and Atlantic City. Between 1912 and 1924 the Sephardim constituted about one third of the Jewish community of 2,500 in New Brunswick. Many worked at Johnson & Johnson, U.S. Rubber, and Michelin Tire. Michelin was a French company, and because many of the Sephardim spoke French, it was an attraction as a workplace. The original members of the Atlantic City community came from many areas of the Middle East, and some worked for or ran auction houses or galleries on the Boardwalk. In the 1970s a large group moved from a Syrian enclave in Brooklyn (their ancestors were from Aleppo and Damascus) to Monmouth County, particularly Deal, Bradley Beach, and Elberon near the Atlantic Ocean. Strictly observant, the community flourished through the early years of the 21st century.

The Jewish colonies of Vineland, Carmel, Woodbine, Rosenhayn, and others, which were started in the late 19th century in southern New Jersey, were helped initially by the Alliance Israélite Universelle and the Baron de Hirsch Fund. Some of the communities, such as Carmel and Woodbine, found the soil generally poor and inadequate for agricultural uses, but Vineland, which had an estimated Jewish population of 2,450 in 1970, established a thriving poultry industry. Jews also played a significant role in the tourist industry of the shore areas of Lakewood, Long Branch, Asbury Park, and Atlantic City.

Jewish community life, which until World War II was largely distinguished by local congregations, Hebrew schools, Jewish centers, fraternal groups, and local philanthropic organizations of an Old World character, quickly changed in the 1950s and 1960s with the mass migration to the suburbs. Center city congregations merged and area-wide organizations like the Community Council of Passaic-Clifton, which administers the United Jewish Appeal, and the Passaic-Clifton Board of Rabbis, which supervises kashrut in the community, served a far-flung community. The Jews of Bergen and Essex counties, with more than 75,000 Jews each, were scattered among 100 communities – 70 separate municipalities in Bergen County alone. More than 100 Jewish organizations operated within Bergen County.

In recent years, younger Jews have moved from New York City to more affordable communities in New Jersey like Fort Lee, Jersey City and the gentrified Hoboken. Their influx was accelerated by an improvement in rail and bus service, which made Essex and adjacent counties a relatively easy commute into Manhattan.

Various community newspapers have appeared in the state since the beginning of the 20th century. In 1910 Mordechai Mansky began publication of the *Newarker Wochenblat*, a Yiddish weekly which appeared until 1914. Among the early Anglo-Jewish newspapers published were the *Jewish Chronicle* of Newark (founded in 1921), *The Jewish Post* of Paterson, and the *Jewish Review* of Jersey City. In 1947 the *Jewish News*, a weekly, was founded, and by 1969 it had a circulation of over 25,000, the largest of any community newspaper in New Jersey.

[Yehuda Ben-Dror / James Marshall (2nd ed.)]

The *Jewish News* has been an influential voice in the New Jersey Jewish community for nearly 60 years. It publishes four editions, reaching more than 50,000 households. With its growth and mergers, the *Jewish News,* or *NJJN,* has become the second largest Jewish newspaper in America, and the largest-circulation weekly newspaper in the state.

[Abraham Halperin (2nd ed.)]

Several New Jersey universities have thriving programs in Judaic Studies, and Richard Stockton University in the Atlantic City area offers a Master's Program in Holocaust teaching.

U.S. Senator Frank R. *Lautenberg remains the most prominent Jewish political leader in the state and one of its most important philanthropists. He was born, raised, and established his company in New Jersey (A.B. Data). For many years, he was the junior senator to Bill Bradley and then briefly its senior senator before retiring. Recalled into politics following a political scandal, he ran in 2004 and won again.

A New Jersey native, Michael *Chertoff, the Jewish day school-educated son of a rabbi, was President George W. Bush's second secretary of homeland security.

[David Twersky (2nd ed.)]

NEW LEFT, the wave of left-wing radicalism, which attracted many students and other young people in the U.S. and in Western Europe especially in the late 1960s. It had no consistent doctrine and embraced various ideologies, from the Maoist interpretation of Marxism to outright anarchism. The Jewish aspect of the movement was twofold: a disproportionate participation of Jews in the leadership and sometimes also in the ranks, and the issue of Israel and Arab anti-Israel terrorism after the Six-Day War.

In the United States

As mentioned, the New Left counted a disproportionate number of Jews among its leaders and rank-and-file activists. In organizations such as the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), the Congress of Racial Equality, the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, as well as in the Free Speech and anti-Vietnam war movements, American Jews pressed for a social reform agenda that valued "participatory democracy" and rejected institutionalized power.

By the late 1960s, Jewish New Leftists clashed with their non-Jewish counterparts. The rise of the Black Power movement alienated Jewish civil rights workers while the anti-Cold War ethos of the New Left turned against the Jewish State, deemed an "imperialist aggressor" after its decisive 1967 victory in the Six-Day War. While some Jewish New Leftists remained active in secular political causes, others translated the tactics and strategies of direct-action protests to particularist Jewish causes.

Sociologist C. Wright Mills first coined the phrase in his 1960 "Letter to the New Left." Mills sought to distance himself from the labor-centered leftist political ideologies of the 1930s, which were subsequently labeled the "Old Left." During the era of the Great Depression and Franklin D. Roosevelt's New Deal, most progressive political activism centered on unionization issues and the rights of workers. Members of the Old Left embraced strategies that sought to realign the United States government's relationship to labor.

At the 1962 SDS conference, Tom Hayden issued the founding document and constitution of the New Left movement, the Port Huron Statement. Named for the town that hosted the SDS meeting, the Port Huron Statement joined Old Left Marxism with contemporary liberal beliefs and the hopeful optimism of a post-war American middle class. It called for "participatory democracy" and pressed for direct action protests against injustices. "We are a people of this generation, bred in at least modest comfort, housed now in universities," Hayden and his SDS colleagues lamented, "looking uncomfortably to the world we inherit."

New Leftists opened a broad-ranged movement intended to challenge organizational authority and effect new systems of power and governance. They joined the emerging civil rights movement, engaging in direct-action protests they hoped would focus the world's attention on the injustices of southern racism.

In 1964, New Leftists claimed victory at the University of California, Berkeley, where the Free Speech Movement galvanized students, mobilized faculty support, and helped launch a national student-centered political movement. With Congressional passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965, New Leftists turned their attention away from domestic issues and focused on United States foreign policy in Southeast Asia. They spearheaded the anti-Vietnam war protest movement, rejecting the Cold War assumptions of mainstream liberal America in favor of an anti-imperialist critique that blamed the United States for much of the world's economic inequality.

In the late 1960s and early 1970s, the New Left fractured beyond repair. Those on the liberal-leaning side of the movement celebrated the successful conclusion of the civil rights movement and the U.S. withdrawal from Vietnam by stepping away from political activism. From the other extreme, New Left radical groups such as the Weather Underground Organization pressed for more confrontational strategies that included violent resistance, alienating their one-time political allies.

Though neither Tom Hayden nor most of the earliest New Left founders claimed Jewish ancestry, the movement grew to include a disproportionate number of Jews, including Mark Rudd, Jerry Rubin, and Abby Hoffman. Scholars estimate that Jews constituted between one-third and one-half of the New Left activists on college campuses across the country.

At a time when Jews represented just three percent of the American population and ten percent of those attending college, they constituted a majority of the New Left's most active members. Numerous social scientific studies pointed to strong Jewish influences in the nation's leading New Left groups. At the University of California, Berkeley, Jewish students lit candles during a sit-in protest that coincided with the holiday of Hanukkah. The Oscar-nominated documentary film *Berkeley In The '60s* features Jewish student protesters leading Israeli folk dancing during a demonstration inside Sproul Hall, the university's main administration building.

During the civil rights movement, American Jews joined a number of local and national organizations including SNCC and CORE. When northern college students ventured south during the 1964 Mississippi summer, between one-third and one-half were Jewish. Jews remained throughout this period the most liberal white ethnic group in the United States, lending their time, money, and political influence to combating Jim Crow.

With Israel's dramatic victory in the 1967 Six Day War, Jewish progressives faced their greatest challenge. The New Left, splintering along racial and ideological lines, grew critical of the Jewish State, equating its occupation of the West Bank and Gaza Strip to the evil imperialist impulses of the United States in the Cold War. Many in the New Left rejected Zionism, labeling it a chauvinistic, even racist, manifestation of nationalism.

At the 1967 Conference for a New Politics held in Chicago, for example, African American delegates pressed for passage of a resolution that characterized the June 1967 conflict as an "imperialist Zionist war." As Black Power leader Stokely Carmichael said at a 1968 convention of the Organization of American Students, "We have begun to see the evil of Zionism and we will fight to wipe it out wherever it exists, be it in the Ghetto of the United States or in the Middle East."

Jewish New Leftists in Berkeley responded by creating the Committee for a Progressive Middle East in March, 1969. The Committee intended to strike a balance between the strident anti-Zionist influences growing with the New Left and the much less critical Zionist voices of Hillel and other Jewish groups. Radical Jewish Zionists, despite their attempts to locate progressive Zionism within the boundaries of the New Left, failed to re-unite Jewish leftists with an ever more radical, and anti-Zionist, movement.

The rise of Black Power also alienated Jews from the New Left, which had, by the mid-1960s, come to locate black militancy in its movement's vanguard. The rise of ethnic nationalism ended the inter-racial civil rights movement of the Martin Luther King, Jr., years. Jews, once valued as liberal America's most committed social reform advocates, faced a Black Power-inspired critique that labeled them white oppressors.

When Jewish New Leftists sought a strategic alliance with Oakland's Black Panther Party, for example, they were rebuffed. As one Jewish New Leftist explained, "Even if I were a superaltruistic liberal and campaigned among the Jews to support the Panthers' program, I would justifiably be tarred and feathered for giving aid and comfort to enemies of the Jews. I would rather it were not this way, but it was you who disowned us, not we who betrayed you." The end of the civil rights movement at home combined with Jewish concerns over the New Left's critique of Israel when, in 1969, Eldridge Cleaver told a *New York Times* reporter that "the Black Panther Party in the United States fully supports Arab Guerillas in the Middle East."

By the early 1970s, the New Left lost most of its earlier Jewish influence. Jews, weary of anti-Zionism, occasional antisemitism, and the rise of ethnic and racial consciousness, turned inward, applying many of the New Left's political strategies to Jewish communal concerns.

The Soviet Jewry movement, nascent since its founding in the 1950s, enjoyed rapid growth in the years after 1964 when Jewish civil rights workers turned their attention to the plight of their co-religionists in the Eastern Bloc. In San Francisco, Jewish radicals staged a "pray in," emulating the Free Speech Movement's "sit in," to force that city's Jewish Federation Council to increase its support of Jewish education. Other groups such as Jews for Urban Justice and Breira – which counteracted the slogan in Israeli politics *ein breira* [there is no choice] – emerged as well, focusing attention on progressive political issues within the Jewish community.

In the final analysis, the New Left offered Jewish radicals a powerful legacy of both ethnic and religious identity. What began as a univeralist movement for participatory democracy and inter-racial cooperation ended with an impressive campaign for progressive Zionism, stronger Jewish education, and greater focus on Jewish ethnic and religious continuity.

[Marc Dollinger (2nd ed.)]

In Western Europe

The West European New Left of the late 1960s differed in two respects from its U.S. counterpart. It lacked the reservoir of supporters among both the black masses and sections of the white population opposed to the war in Vietnam and it was opposed by the entrenched Socialist and Communist parties. The appeal of the European New Left thus tended to be restricted to amorphous groups on the periphery of society. However, the French students' revolt of May 1968 and similar, though less violent, demonstrations in Germany and throughout Europe, proved that under favorable conditions the New Left could act as an ideological catalyst and set into motion events of considerable consequence. Its total rejection of prevailing standards and social structures was echoed in the inarticulate, though widespread, misgivings about the values and workings of the "affluent society" and the "deadness of its culture." This applies to the well-publicized and opinion-forming sector of the New Left. There were, however, particularly in Great Britain, other, near-clandestine groupings that concentrated on disruptive industrial action, as, for example, Tariq Ali's Trotskyist International Marxist Group or the Socialist Labor League, which aimed at the subversion of the trade union and have been more disruptive than the 1968 student demonstrations at the London School of Economics and other British universities.

Whereas the protagonists of the European New Left were young, its ideologues were elderly scholars, such as the French writer-philosopher Jean-Paul Sartre and Herbert *Marcuse, a German-Jewish émigré and a cofounder of the Frankfurt Institute of Sociology. In his attempt to harmonize the teachings of Freud with those of Marx, Marcuse totally rejected the basic assumptions and ultimate objectives of the prevailing industrial society. Alienation in work and the repression of basic human drives could be overcome, Marcuse maintained, in a truly democratic and participatory society so organized as to serve essential human needs rather than the requirements of the socio-industrial complex. Since the service of the latter has corrupted mankind, the only hope for its future lies in the classes still untouched by the exigencies of the productive processes, which have become an obsession both under capitalism and Communism. These classes are the students of the industrialized nations and the masses of the developing Third World. From these assumptions it follows that New Left thinking on the Arab-Israel confrontation tends to sympathize with the Arabs as representatives of the oppressed Third World, while regarding the Westernized, technology-oriented Israelis with instinctive hostility. The Marxist rationalization of these feelings runs along arguments well known to Old Left Communists, that Israel and Zionism in general are only the "lackey of American imperialism," etc. Marcuse, however, disassociated himself from this attitude while on a visit to West Berlin shortly after the Six-Day War (1967).

In the Federal Republic of Germany, the New Left's most important protagonist, the SDS (Sozialistischer Deutscher Studentenbund) in 1969 repeatedly disrupted public meetings at which the Israel ambassador was to appear. Later that year New Left terrorists tried to blow up West Berlin's Jewish community hall during a service commemorating the 1938 Nazi pogroms. The revulsion aroused by these activities was criticized by their perpetrators, who, in leaflets, under the headline "Shalom and Napalm," deplored the guilt feelings of the German Left toward the Jews as "neurotic, backward-looking anti-Fascism" disregarding the "non-justifiability of the state of Israel." German New Left leaders, such as Ulrike Meinhof of the left-wing weekly *Konkret* and Dieter Kunzelmann of West Berlin's Kommune I, joined the Palestinian *fedayeen* in Amman and inveighed against "bourgeois Germany's *Judenkomplex*." Except in the universities, the German New Left remained a negligible factor and failed to gain working-class support. Similar tendencies were at work in Italy, where such New Left organizations as Lotta Continua were militantly "anti-Zionist."

In France, in May 1968, the New Left students' revolt led to nationwide strikes, a grave government crisis, and contributed to the eventual resignation of President de Gaulle (June 1969). Among the student leaders were many Jews, such as Alain Krivine, Marc Kravetz, Alain Geismar, and Daniel Cohn-Bendit, who, as "Red Danny," became the figurehead of the uprising. Although their Jewishness did not induce them to follow an independent line on the Arab-Israel conflict, it sufficed to revive antisemitic resentments on either side of the political spectrum. Attacks against the German-Jew Cohn-Bendit and slogans like "France for the French" were once countered by students chanting "We are all German Jews." The French New Left succeeded temporarily in involving the workers in its struggle, but the subsequent leftist (old and new) defeat at the polls ended its role as a significant political factor. Characteristically it was the non-Jew Sartre who opposed the New Left anti-Israel slogans. It is absurd to pretend, he maintained, that "Israel is an imperialist state and that the Arabs are socialists, including their feudal states."

[Ernest Hearst]

In Israel

In Israel, the New Left remained a fringe phenomenon and those groups which actively identified with the New Left received little support, even in student circles. Maẓpen ("Compass"), which broke away from the Ha-Olam ha-Zeh group in the early 1960s, was especially vocal after the Six-Day War in calling for withdrawal from territories occupied in the war. It never had more than a handful of members and in 1970 these split into three groups.

The Semol Yisra'eli Ḥadash ("Israel New Left," known as Si'aḥ) was founded in 1969. Consisting mainly of students and members of Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir kibbutzim, it called for a more resolute peace policy on the part of the Israeli government. Si'aḥ was not crystallized as a political party but stressed its nonidentification with the policies of the Rakaḥ Communist Party (see *Communism: Israel).

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°**NEWLINSKI, PHILIPP MICHAEL** (1841–1899), *Herzl's diplomatic agent in Constantinople and the Balkan countries. The son of a Polish aristocratic family, Newlinski took up journalism. He was appointed to the staff of the Austro-Hungarian embassy in Constantinople where he became familiar with the situation in Turkey and the Balkan States, established contacts with the royal houses, and gained influence with the sultan. In 1880 he resumed his profession as a journalist, first in Paris and from 1887 in Vienna, where he founded his own newspaper, *Correspondance de l'Est*. He also published booklets on political themes. Herzl established contact with Newlinski in 1896 and persuaded him to work for the realization of Zionist aims. At first Newlinski was paid for his efforts, but under Herzl's influence he became a zealous supporter of the movement and served as Herzl's trusted adviser. He accompanied Herzl on his first visit to Constantinople and tried to arrange an audience with the sultan, but succeeded only in attaining a decoration for Herzl as a sign of the sultan's esteem. Newlinski did arrange a meeting between Herzl and Crown Prince Ferdinand of Bulgaria, and himself met with the king of Serbia, obtaining the latter's support for the Zionist cause. He tried to gain the sympathy of Bismarck and the Vatican and in general was instrumental in recruiting many prominent personalities in support of Herzl's vision. Illness prevented him from attending the First Zionist Congress, but he was present at the Second Congress. His newspaper devoted a special column to Zionist affairs. In 1899 Herzl sent him to Constantinople, where he was received by the sultan. On his return from this mission Newlinski died.

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[Israel Klausner]

NEW LONDON, city in S.E. Connecticut; population (2000) approx. 26,000; Jewish population of New London and its environs, approx. 3,900. The first recorded Jewish presence in New London dates from March 1685 when a Dutch Jew brought the brigantine Prosperous to the port of New London. Due to the official Christian charter of the Connecticut colonial government, which restricted Jewish and Catholic settlement in Connecticut, Jews did not establish a recognized community in Connecticut until 1843. The first Jews to make their home in New London were Joseph Jacob Schwartz, his wife, Esther, and son, David in 1860. The initial Jewish community was entirely German Jews, who came from communities in Central Europe that were not orthodox.

In 1878 the first congregation, Achim Shalom, was organized through the efforts of Joseph Michael, and a burial society was formed and purchased a section of the city's Cedar Grove Cemetery.

The German Jewish community did not grow, and in 1885, Samuel Cott of Lithuania, the first of a wave of refugees from Eastern Europe and Russia arrived in New London and transformed the community. These more orthodox Jews established regular services in 1892 and formed the Sick Benefit Society of Ahavath Chesed in July 1892. They also purchased land for a Jewish cemetery. In 1894 Kalef Soltz and his son Joseph opened the first kosher meat market, which remained open and active under Soltz ownership until 1995.

In 1895 the Ukrainian Jews organized their own congregation but rejoined the Lithuanian-dominated Ahavath Chesed in 1905 when that congregation moved into a new synagogue. In 1911 many of the Ukrainians reestablished their congregation, the Ohave Sholom Sick Benefit Society, and built their own building in 1919.

New London became a vacation destination for Jews from Hartford, CT., and Springfield, MA., and in 1925 a third Orthodox synagogue, Temple Israel was opened near the Neptune Park section of New London to cater to summer residents.

Conservative services began in 1924, with the congregation, Beth El, formally organizing in 1932. Rabbi Samuel Ruderman of Boston was the first rabbi, and services were held at a Community House on Blackhall Street, with *oneg Shabbat* and *kiddush* held at the home of Benjamin Kaplan. The congregation bought land in downtown New London near a major Protestant church but decided to build on Ocean Avenue closer to the beach and to new residences that were being purchased by younger Jewish families. The land in downtown New London was sold to the Greek Orthodox community. In 1951 a permanent home for Beth El was constructed on Ocean Avenue.

In 1960 a Reform congregation, Temple Emanu-El, was organized, meeting first at the Mohican Hotel in New London, then at a church in Groton, before building a permanent home in Waterford, CT.

Just to the north of New London a Jewish farming community was established in the 1890s with the help of the Baron de Hirsch Fund. This community built a synagogue, The New England Hebrew Farmers of the Emanuel Society. The community did not survive, but many of their members moved to New London, two of them, the Gruskins and Schneiders, opening hardware stores that joined a growing collection of Jewish merchants who helped create a vibrant downtown shopping district.

In 1899–1900 the *American Jewish Year Book* records a chapter of Chovevei Zion in New London, and in 1913 Morris Mallove, a jeweler in downtown New London established the Sons of Zion. Mallove became an active Zionist leader in Connecticut and helped raise funds to purchase land in the Jezreel valley of Palestine, near Afulah. He traveled to Israel in 1950 as part of a delegation from Connecticut to show support for the new state of Israel and continued to be active as a leader of Israel Bonds for many years.

The community organized a United Palestine Appeal in 1925, and worked hard after WWII to raise funds and to collect material for the Haganah. As a Navy town (Sub Base New London) there were a lot of surplus supplies that were collected and shipped to Palestine.

New London was one of the first cities, and Connecticut one of the first states, to observe the national Days of Remembrance of the Holocaust, a program supported by the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Council, and organized by New London businessman and Holocaust survivor Sigmund Strochlitz. He succeeded in having all 50 states of the Union officially observe a Holocaust Memorial Day. For two decades New London was represented in Congress by Sam Gejdenson, the child of Holocaust survivors who had settled in nearby Bozarah.

The Jewish community organized a Jewish Federation in 1975, and the Federation began to arrange for social welfare programs for seniors and others in need of help. It became a federally recognized refugee resettlement agency, and resettled over 350 Jews for the former Soviet Union. It was called upon by the state to be the relocation agency for victims of Hurricane Katrina who arrived in southeastern Connecticut.

In 2005 the Jewish community of New London was part of a greater Jewish community in eastern Connecticut. The community supported: a senior center and kosher hot lunch program; a Solomon Schechter school; a bi-weekly paper, the *Jewish Leader*; a full-time Orthodox congregation, Ahavath Chesed; a conservative congregation, Beth El; a summer congregation, Temple Israel: a Reform congregation, Temple Emanu-El (in Waterford); a Chabad House; a Hillel for Connecticut College, the Coast Guard Academy, and Mitchell College; and a Jewish Literacy Project for the public schools, as well as several commemorative and cultural programs that are open to the entire community.

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[Jerome E. Fischer (2nd ed.)]

NEWMAN, ALFRED (1901–1970), U.S. film composer, conductor, pianist. Newman was born in New Haven, Conn., to produce dealer Michael Newman and cantor's daughter Luba Koskoff, both Russian immigrants. As a music lover, his mother took an active role in her son's music career. His first public performance as a piano prodigy was at the age of eight. After winning a scholarship to Sigismond Stojowksi's Von Ende School of Music in New York, Newman's debut recital came on November 5, 1916. However, financial problems at home forced Newman to become a vaudeville musician, working on *Hitchy-Koo* from 1917 to 1918. The show's music director encouraged Newman to study conducting, and by 1919 he was conducting musical comedies. A recommendation from George Gershwin landed him the position as music director for the 1920 Broadway show *Scandals*. In 1930 Newman went to Hollywood at the invitation of United Artists. After working on the musical *Whoopee!* (1930), he became the studio's music director. During almost nine years with UA, Newman composed music for such films as *The Count of Monte Cristo* (1930), *The Prisoner of Zenda* (1937), and *Wuthering Heights* (1939). In 1940, he signed with Darryl F. Zanuck as general music director of Twentieth Century Fox, where he wrote music for such films as *How Green Was My Valley* (1941), *All About Eve* (1950), and *The Robe* (1953). With Martha Montgomery, whom he married in 1947, he had five children in addition to two from previous marriages. The 1960s found Newman working as a freelancer for projects like *How the West Was Won* (1962), *The Greatest Story Ever Told* (1965), *Flower Drum Song* (1967), and *Camelot* (1967). Newman received 45 Oscar nominations during his career and won nine, and was posthumously nominated for his final score, *Airport* (1970).

[Adam Wills (2nd ed.)]

NEWMAN, ARNOLD (1918–), U.S. photographer. Born in New York, Newman studied art at the University of Miami (1936–38) but did not complete his studies due to financial difficulties, and became a photographer's apprentice in Philadelphia. In 1945 he moved to New York, where he did freelance photojournalism for such publications as *Life*, *Look*, *Newsweek*, *The New Yorker*, *Esquire*, and *Fortune*. He specialized in portraiture, developing a style that did not necessarily flatter the subject but revealed his personality. Implementing an approach known as "environmental portraiture," he used as background associations and symbols connected with the life and work of the person he was photographing. Igor Stravinsky, for example, was shown seated at the extreme left of the picture, the lid of his grand piano serving to emphasize the character of the composer. Brooks Atkinson, the critic, was photographed sitting in an empty theater, where the seats created a pattern of forms and highlights. Prime Minister David Ben-Gurion was shown with the 1948 Declaration of Independence of the State of Israel. Over the decades, Newman photographed most of the major celebrities and public figures of the 20th century. His photographs are exhibited in many of the world's major art museums.

Newman's published works include *One Mind's Eye* (1974), *Arnold Newman: Five Decades* (1986), *Tropical Rainforest* (1990), *Arnold Newman's Americans* (1992), and *Arnold Newman* (with P. Brookman, 2000).

[Peter Pollack / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

NEWMAN, AUBREY (1927–), British historian. Educated at Glasgow and Oxford Universities, Newman was professor of history at Leicester University. He has published widely in two different fields, the 18th-century British aristocracy and Anglo-Jewish history. His work on *The Stanhopes of Chevening* (1970) is well known, as are his works on Anglo-Jewish history such as *The United Synagogue, 1870–1970* (1970). Newman was twice president of the Jewish Historical Society of England and was a founder of the Stanley Burton Centre for Holocaust Studies at Leicester University.

[William D. Rubinstein (2nd ed.)]

NEWMAN, BARNETT (1905–1970), U.S. painter. Newman was born in New York, to immigrant parents who were interested in music, literature, and art. He began to make drawings as soon as he could hold a pencil. At high school he was introduced to the Metropolitan Museum of Art, after which he regularly studied American painting. Deciding to become a professional artist, Newman persuaded his parents to allow him to enroll in the Art Students League, where he spent considerable time learning to draw from casts. He also studied at the City College of New York. At the Art Students League, he met Adolph *Gottlieb, two years his senior, who became one of his closest friends. When Newman graduated in 1927, his father insisted on his joining the family clothing business, which he virtually took over after the 1929 crash. From 1931 to 1939 Newman worked as a substitute art teacher in high schools.

Although he drew and painted throughout this period, it was not until the late 1940s that he emerged as a major artist, alongside a brilliant group of young Americans, including Pollock, de Kooning, Gorky, *Rothko, Gottlieb, and David Smith, now identified as the Abstract-Expressionists. They reacted to the Ecole de Paris in a moralistic, puritanical manner, against art as luxury. Newman in particular, well-educated and articulate, was the intellectual codifier of the movement. His work became abstract and symbolic, with some influence from Surrealism. Gradually he moved toward a single band or stripe, which allied to titles like "Adam," "The Beginning," "The Word," "The Command" indicates their Jewish mystical origin. He held his first one-man exhibition in January/February 1950, at Betty Parsons Gallery, New York; this and similar early displays of his work met with public hostility. Ten years later, Newman and his fellow Abstract-Expressionists were recognized as the first indigenous modern American school of painting. He once wrote: "Instead of working with the remnants of space, I work with the whole space." It is this concept of "wholeness" which has been exploited by the younger generation of American painters.

[Charles Samuel Spencer]

NEWMAN, ISIDORE (1837–1909), U.S. banker and philanthropist. Newman, who was born in Germany, went to the U.S. in 1851. During the Civil War, he founded a bank in New Orleans. He subsequently bought and ran the Carrolton Railroad, before selling it to become main owner of New Orleans' Maison Blanche department store. Active in New Orleans' Jewish affairs, Newman was a founder of that city's B'nai B'rith lodge and a generous patron of the Jewish Children's Home (renamed for him in 1913).

NEWMAN, JON O. (1932–), U.S. Court of Appeals judge. Born in New York City, Newman graduated magna cum laude from Princeton University in 1953 and earned his law degree from Yale Law School in 1956. He was admitted to the bar in Connecticut and in the District of Columbia in 1957, and he served as senior law clerk to Chief Justice Earl Warren in 1957 and 1958. Newman was partner in the law firm of Ritter, Satter and Newman in Hartford, Connecticut, from 1958 to 1960.

In 1959 Newman served as counsel to the majority in the Connecticut General Assembly, then from 1959 to 1961 he was special counsel to the governor of Connecticut. In 1961 and 1962 Newman served as executive assistant to the U.S. Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare, Abraham Ribicoff. From 1963 to 1964 he was administrative assistant to Ribicoff when he was elected to the U.S. Senate from Connecticut. Following that, he served as a U.S. attorney in Connecticut until 1969, when he entered private practice.

In 1972 Newman was appointed a judge on the U.S. Court of Appeals for the District of Connecticut. He served as circuit judge until 1993, then as chief judge until 1997, when he became a senior judge. He made significant contributions to copyright law, issues of federal jurisdiction, and the application of international law by U.S. courts. Within the judiciary, Newman served as a member of the U.S. Judicial Conference, as chairman of its Committee on Federal Rules of Appellate Procedure, and as a member of committees on Appellate Judge Education, Codes of Conduct, and Cameras in the Courtroom.

Newman was a member of the International Society for the Reform of Criminal Law and the American Law Institute, serving as an adviser for its Restatement of the Law of Unfair Competition. He was a fellow of the American Bar Foundation and a member of its Action Commission on Tort Liability, and he is a fellow of the Connecticut Bar Foundation. Judge Newman lectured at the University of Connecticut Law School, and he served as chair of the Board of Regents of the University of Hartford. The author of many articles for law reviews, he has also coauthored a high-school textbook, *Politics: The American Way.*

[Dorothy Bauhoff (2nd ed.)]

NEWMAN, LOUIS ISRAEL (1893–1972), U.S. Reform rabbi and author. Newman was born in Providence, R.I., and received his B.A. from Brown University in 1913 and a Ph.D. from Columbia University in 1924. He became an assistant to Rabbi Stephen *Wise at the Free Synagogue in 1917 and was ordained by Wise and Martin *Meyer in 1918, whereupon he assumed the pulpit of the Bronx Free Synagogue (1918–21). In 1921, he became rabbi of Temple Israel in New York City and was appointed to the faculty of the Jewish Institute of Religion (JIR) when it was founded the following year. He also served as president of the Intercollegiate Menorah Association. In 1924, Newman succeeded Meyer at Temple Emanu-El in San Francisco, returning in 1930 to New York City to become rabbi of Temple Rodeph Sholom, where he was to remain until his retirement. He rejoined the JIR faculty and became active in the Zionist Revisionist movement, championing Zionism as primarily a political movement and the necessity of the creation of a Jewish state in Palestine. He was the chairman of the Palestine Mandate Defense Fund and honorary chairman of both the Revisionist Tel Hai Fund and the American Friends of a Jewish Palestine. He also served on the American advisory committee for the *Hebrew University and as a vice president of the *American Jewish Congress.

His books include *Jewish Influence on Christian Reform Movements* (1924) and *Jewish People, Faith and Life* (1957). He also compiled and translated the classic work *The Hasidic Anthology, Tales and Teachings of the Hasidim: The parables, folk-tales, fables, aphorisms, epigrams, sayings, anecdotes, proverbs, and exegetical interpretations of the Hasidic masters and disciples; their lore and wisdom* (1934, 1968, 1972), which has become a standard textbook for courses in Jewish studies.

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[Bezalel Gordon (2nd ed.)]

NEWMAN, PAUL (1925–), U.S. actor. Born in Cleveland, Ohio, Newman was the son of an Irish-Catholic mother and a German-Jewish father who owned a successful sporting goods store. After high school he served in the navy until 1946. After graduating from Kenyon College, Newman spent a year at the Yale Drama School and then went to New York, where he attended the Actors Studio.

Newman first appeared on Broadway in *Picnic* (1953) and won a Theater World Award. His first film was *The Silver Chalice* (1954). His performance in the biblical costume epic proved to be such an embarrassment to him that he placed a full-page ad in *Variety*, apologizing for his appearance in the film. His career improved immeasurably after his impressive performance in *Somebody Up There Likes Me* (1956).

Among Newman's many notable films are *The Long, Hot Summer* (1958), *Cat on a Hot Tin Roof* (Oscar nomination for Best Actor, 1958), *Exodus* (1960), *From the Terrace* (1960), *Sweet Bird of Youth* (1962), *The Hustler* (Oscar nomination for Best Actor, 1961), *Hud* (Oscar nomination for Best Actor, 1963), *The Prize* (1963), *Torn Curtain* (1966), *Hombre* (1967), *Cool Hand Luke* (Oscar nomination for Best Actor, 1967), *Rachel, Rachel* (director, 1968), *Winning* (1969), *Butch Cassidy and the Sundance Kid* (1969), *Sometimes a Great Notion* (and director, 1971), *The Effect of Gamma Rays on Man-in-the-Moon Marigolds* (director, 1972), *The Life and Times of Judge Roy Bean* (1972), *The Mackintosh Man* (1973), *The Sting* (1973), *The Towering Inferno* (1974), *The Drowning Pool* (1975), *Fort Apache, the Bronx* (1981), *Absence of Malice* (Oscar nomination for Best Actor, 1981), *The Verdict* (Oscar nomination for Best Actor, 1982), *The Color of Money* (Academy Award for Best Actor, 1986), *The Glass Menagerie* (director, 1987), *The Hudsucker Proxy* (1994), *Nobody's Fool* (Oscar nomination for Best Actor, 1994), *Message in a Bottle* (1999), *Twilight* (1998), *Where the Money Is* (2000), and *Road to Perdition* (Oscar nomination for Best Supporting Actor, 2002).

On the Broadway stage, Newman appeared in *The Desperate Hours* (1955), *Sweet Bird of Youth* (1959), *Baby Want a Kiss* (1964), and *Our Town* (Tony nomination for Best Actor, 2003).

In 1994 Newman was awarded the Jean Hersholt Humanitarian Award, and in 1986 he was given an Honorary Academy Award "in recognition of his many and memorable and compelling screen performances and for his personal integrity and dedication to his craft."

In 1990 he was named by *People* magazine as one of the 50 Most Beautiful People in the World.

In 1982 he founded Newman's Own, a successful line of food products (salad dressing, spaghetti sauce, microwave popcorn, etc.) that has earned in excess of $150 million, all of which he donates to charity and education.

Newman has been married to actress Joanne Woodward since 1958.

Books written by Newman include *Speed: Indy Car Racing* (with C. Jezierski, 1985), *Newman's Own Cookbook* (with A.E. Hotchner, 1999), and *Shameless Exploitation in Pursuit of the Common Good* (with A.E. Hotchner, 2003).

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[Jonathan Licht / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

NEWMAN, PAULINE (1889–1986), U.S. labor activist and advocate for workers rights. Newman was the first woman organizer for the International Ladies Garment Workers Union (ILGWU). She worked for that organization most of her adult life, also serving the union as a journalist, educator, and government liaison. Born in Kovno, Lithuania, to a traditional Jewish family, Newman was literate in Hebrew and learned Talmud from her father. Her discomfort at a young age with gender segregation in worship was a source of her commitment to fighting sex discrimination in her adult life. Newman emigrated to the United States in 1901 with her mother and two sisters after her father's sudden death, joining her brother, who had already settled in New York City. Newman, who began to work in a hairbrush factory at age nine, taught herself English. By age 16 she was writing commentaries for the *Jewish Daily Forward* about bad conditions for factory workers. In 1907 she organized a rent strike in lower Manhattan; although unsuccessful in its immediate goals, the strike galvanized the tenant movement.

Newman's activism gained the attention of labor leaders. From 1909 to 1913 she traveled around the United States organizing garment worker strikes in Philadelphia, Cleveland, and Boston. She spoke out for women's suffrage and supported electoral efforts of the Socialist Party. From 1913 to 1917 Newman served the New York State Board of Sanitary Control as a factory inspector and lobbyist for safety legislation for women workers. In 1917 she became an organizer for the Women's Trade Union League (WTUL), an organization that brought together upper-class and working-class women in support of the workers' movement, creating a chapter in Philadelphia. It was there that Newman met Frieda Miller, a research assistant in the Economics Department at Bryn Mawr College. Miller and Newman began a relationship that lasted until Miller's death in 1974. The women shared an apartment in Greenwich Village beginning in 1923 and raised a daughter together. Although lesbian relationships were not generally public at that time, Newman's relationship with Miller was known and accepted by her Jewish socialist union organizer colleagues.

From 1923 to 1983, Newman served as the educational director for the ILGWU's Health Center. She was relied upon as an expert consultant by the New York State Legislature, the U.S. Public Health Service, and the United Nations, and was part of the circle of women who advised Eleanor Roosevelt on worker rights. After World War II, Newman and Miller were sent by the Departments of State and Labor to investigate factory conditions in Germany. When the women's movement was revitalized in the 1970s, Newman was recognized by feminist historians as an important figure in the struggle for women's rights in the earlier part of the century. She died in 1986 at the home of her daughter, Elisabeth Burger Owen. Her papers are in the Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe College, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

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[Rebecca Alpert (2nd ed.)]

NEWMAN, PETER CHARLES (1929–), Canadian journalist, author, biographer. Newman was born into a prosperous Jewish family in Vienna, Austria. In 1940 he and his family escaped Nazi Europe when his father, a wealthy Czech factory owner, obtained a rare Canadian visa by promising to buy a farm through the Canadian Pacific Railway. Their ship to Canada, a converted cruise ship, was twice attacked by German U-boats before landing at Halifax's Pier 21. Newman later wrote about Pier 21, the "place where we became Canadians," describing the depth of feeling and expectation of refugees like himself arriving in the "new world." A refugee child, in 1944 Newman was enrolled at Toronto's elite private Upper Canada College. He went on to study at the University of Toronto and to a career in journalism and as an author of Canadian biography and history. While he continued to see himself as something of an outsider, he came to know many in the Canadian political and financial establishment. Newman interviewed every prime minister of Canada since Louis St. Laurent. He also served as editor-in-chief of one of Canada's most important newspapers, the *Toronto Star*, and editor of Canada's foremost news magazine, *Maclean's*.

A fellow writer described Newman as the "chronicler and conscience of a country often confused by its identity and perhaps the most influential journalist Canada has ever known." He remained widely respected for his intimate understanding of Canadian business and politics and of those who wield power in Canadian society. He wrote numerous articles and more than 20 books, mostly biography and history, including a biography of the prominent Canadian Jewish *Bronfman family, *The Bronfman Dynasty: The Rothschilds of the New World* (1978).

In 1978 Newman was named an Officer of the Order of Canada and in 1990 a Companion of the Order of Canada. His autobiography, *Here Be Dragons: Telling Tales of People, Passion and Power*, was published in 2004.

[Mindy Avrich-Skapinker (2nd ed.)]

NEWMAN, RANDY (1943–), U.S. singer-songwriter. He was born Randall Stuart Newman to internist Irving George Newman and secretary Adele (née Fox) in New Orleans, Louisiana. His parents were assimilated Jews, and his father considered himself an atheist. He was a nephew of *Alfred, Emil, and Lionel Newman and a cousin of David and Thomas Newman, all film composers. In 1948, Irving Newman moved his family to Los Angeles. Newman began playing the piano at the age of six. He developed an appreciation for the blues when he visited with his mother's Jewish family in New Orleans, but was also affected by the racism and antisemitism of the South. At 16, he worked as a songwriter for Metric Music, and then studied music composition at UCLA. In 1967, he went on to work as a session arranger at Warner Bros. Newman's first two albums were commercial flops, despite positive reviews for his second album, *12 Songs*. Over the years his hits included *Sail Away* (1972), which contained "You Can Leave Your Hat On"; *Little Criminals* (1977), which featured his breakout hit "Short People"; and *Trouble in Paradise* (1983), which launched his commercial anthem, "I Love L.A." Newman then turned to the family business: composing songs for feature films. His first score was for *Ragtime* (1981), followed by such films as *The Natural* (1984), *Awakenings* (1990), and *Toy Story* (1995). In 1995, he released a musical version of *Faust*, which again received critical acclaim but did not meet with any commercial success. Nominated for 14 Academy Awards, Newman won the Oscar for the *Monsters, Inc.* song "If I Didn't Have You" in 2001.

[Adam Wills (2nd ed.)]

NEWMARK, Los Angeles family. JOSEPH NEWMARK (1799–1881), who was born in Neumark, West Prussia, moved to New York in 1823; he helped to found Congregation B'nai Jeshurun in that city in 1825. He lived in St. Louis from 1840 to 1845, serving there as president of the fledgling congregation. Returning to New York in 1846, Newmark helped to organize yet another congregation before he moved to the village of Los Angeles with his wife and six children in 1854. He was the first spiritual leader of the Jewish community, conducting religious services, weddings, and funerals voluntarily until a professional rabbi was engaged. He founded the Hebrew Benevolent Society in 1855 and was the founding president of Congregation B'nai Brith (today's Wilshire Boulevard Temple) in 1862. During Newmark's lifetime the congregation remained Orthodox out of respect for him.

His nephew HARRIS NEWMARK (1834–1916) went to Los Angeles in 1853 and engaged in a variety of mercantile endeavors, ultimately establishing a wholesale grocery. For more than 60 years he was intimately involved in the civic, economic, and Jewish life of the community. He was a member of the committee that brought the first railroad connection to Los Angeles and was an organizer of the Agriculture Society of the 6th district, the public library, Board of Trade, and Chamber of Commerce. He engaged in real-estate activities and was one of the developers of the town of Newmark, now Montebello.

Toward the end of his life, Newmark wrote his memoirs of early Los Angeles; published as *Sixty Years in Southern California* (1916^1, 1926^2, 1930^3), this work stands as the classic autobiographic history of southern California.

Harris's son MARCO ROSS NEWMARK (1878–1959), like his father a businessman and civic figure, served as president of the Los Angeles Produce Exchange and as vice president of the National Wholesale Grocers Association. He was ardently interested in the early history of Los Angeles and with his brother Maurice Harris (1859–1929) co-edited his father's memoirs. The two brothers also edited and published *Census of the City and County of Los Angeles, California, for the Year 1850*. His numerous articles on general and Jewish history were gathered in *Jottings in Southern California History* (1955). Newmark was a president of the Historical Society of Southern California. One of the leaders in the Jewish community, he served as president of the Federation of the Jewish Welfare Organizations, the Los Angeles Lodge of B'nai B'rith, and of the Los Angeles District of the Zionist Organization of America.

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[Max Vorspan]

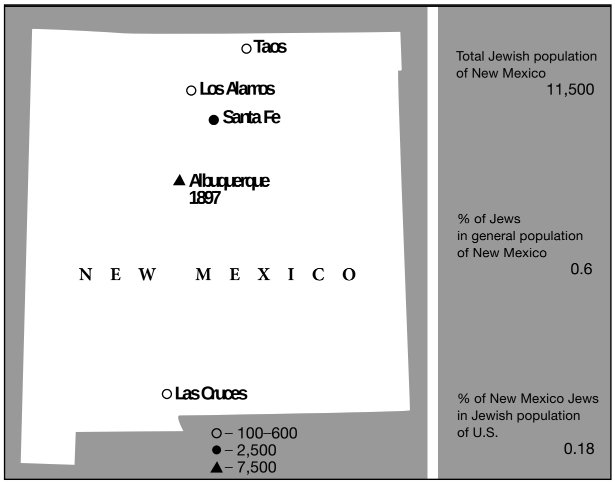
Taos
Los Alamos
Santa Fe
Albuquerque
1897
NEW MEXICO
Las Cruces
○ – 100–600
● – 2,500
▲ – 7,500
Total Jewish population of New Mexico
11,500
% of Jews in general population of New Mexico
0.6
% of New Mexico Jews in Jewish population of U.S.
0.18

Jewish communities in New Mexico and dates of establishment. Population figures for 2001.

NEW MEXICO, a southwestern state of the U.S. with a minimally estimated Jewish population of 11,500 in the year 2001. Albuquerque, the largest city in the state, held about 7,500 in that year. In 2005, other significant Jewish numbers resided in Santa Fe, Las Cruces, Los Alamos, and Taos. Smaller groups dwelt in a number of towns. In 2005 Albuquerque had organized religious communities of Reform, Conservative, Renewal, Chabad, and Chavurah expression. Santa Fe had several Reform, Orthodox, Renewal, and Chabad communities. Las Cruces had a Reform congregation. Smaller communities such as Carlsbad, Los Alamos, Rio Rancho, Roswell, and Taos had less well-defined groups. Several regional groups existed in Gallup, New Mexico, and in Durango and Trinidad, Colorado, that included parts of New Mexico.

New Mexico became a settled part of New Spain with the expedition northward from Mexico of Juan de Onate in 1598. Recent research suggests the presence of crypto-Jews among the early settlers, following a period of active investigation and trials by the Holy Office of the Inquisition in Mexico City against the well-placed Carvajal family in Nuevo Leon in the mid-1590s. The existence of descendents of crypto-Jews reemerged in the latter decades of the 20th century with open declarations of their past and, for some, their continuing of reawakened adherence to Judaism.

The takeover of the southwest by the United States from the mid-1840s allowed the influx of Americans (Anglos), among them Jewish traders who had accompanied the American military expeditions into the area. The earliest Jewish settlers, mostly from Germanic states, established a pattern of inviting family members or acquaintances to join them after they established themselves as merchants. Many of their enterprises proved highly successful, producing some of the wealthiest Anglo families in the Territory until the coming of the railroads in 1879–1880. They engaged in retail enterprises along with wholesale operations that linked local farmers with supplying army forts and Indian reservations. They lived mainly in Santa Fe, the capital, Las Vegas, and Las Cruces. Among the best known were the Spiegelbergs and Staabs of Santa Fe, the Ilfelds in Las Vegas, and the Freudenthal-Lesinskys in Las Cruces. In 1880, there were probably some 180 Jews in the whole Territory.

Religious and social institutions developed very slowly. The scarcity of Jewish women and the slow development of family life probably contributed to that condition. It was only after the railroad reached New Mexico that the first formal institutions appeared. B'nai B'rith led the way in Albuquerque in 1883 followed by the first congregation, Congregation Montefiore, in Las Vegas in 1884. Albuquerque's Jews organized Congregation Albert in 1897, today the oldest extant religious community in the state. Both congregations followed the practice of Reform Judaism. In 1920 Congregation B'nai Israel was formed in Albuquerque, which adopted the practice of Conservative Judaism.

Santa Fe suffered a sharp economic decline in the 1880s as a result of the main line of the railroads bypassing the town, and it recovered only in the second decade of the 20th century. Its Jewish population had dwindled as the town's economic condition worsened. No formal Jewish organization existed until the creation of a B'nai B'rith chapter in the mid-1930s.

After the railroad's arrival, the old-style enterprises largely disappeared to be replaced by more modest mercantile operations and some expansion into ranching and mining in the more easterly plains and southwestern mountains where newer towns such as Roswell, Clayton, and Silver City flourished. Where Jews lived in some 16 places in 1880 they lived in no less than 35 towns in 1900. One of the more unusual events arising out of the close contacts of isolated Jews with local populations was the marriage of Solomon Bibo to Juana Valle, a member of the Acoma Indian pueblo. He was appointed its governor in 1888 and served in that post a number of times.

New Mexico's Jews participated heavily in the political life of the territory and state. They served as both appointed and elected officials in local communities and countries across the Territory. Nathan Jaffa of Roswell became secretary of the Territory after 1907. The first mayor of Albuquerque after its incorporation in 1885 was Henry N. Jaffa, who later was a stalwart member of Congregation Albert. In 1890, Mike Mandell was also elected to the post of mayor. In 1930 Arthur Seligman of Santa Fe attained the governorship of the state and died while in office, although his adherence to Judaism has been questioned.

World War II and the half-century since brought great and rapid changes to New Mexico and its Jewish population. Its open spaces, clear weather, and isolation persuaded the federal government to build a number of air force facilities and locate the site for the Manhattan project to create the atomic bomb in Los Alamos. The Cold War that followed World War II witnessed expansion of what had begun during the war years. The half million population of the state in 1940 had more than tripled by the year 2000. Albuquerque grew from 35,000 in 1940 to 200,000 in 1960 to nearly a half-million in 2000.

The Jewish population stood at somewhat over 1,100 in 1940. By the year 2001, it had grown to at least 11,500, outpacing the growth of the general population. Increased numbers also altered the economic makeup of the Jewish community. Where in 1940 merchants had formed an overwhelming proportion of the Jews' economic activity, the changing economy fostered by the federal government's goals brought in a professional population of scientists, engineers, professors, and doctors. The growth of Los Alamos, a new town, exemplifies some of the change. Population growth and the GI Bill offering college education to veterans of the war swelled the numbers in state universities. The University of New Mexico established medical and law schools adding considerable numbers of Jewish professors to the general faculty as well as to the professional school faculties. Growing recognition of New Mexico as a place to retire led to the creation of such towns as Rio Rancho, which drew Jews from the northeast in the 1960s and 1970s. The new population, by the nature of its employment, outdistanced its older mercantile appearance that had existed before World War II.

The problems created by the war, for the Jews, such as a large refugee population in Europe and the establishment of Israel, gave impetus to a rapid expansion of Jewish organization – both secular and religious. Increasing numbers allowed the formation of formal congregations where there had been none before the war and growth in those institutions that did exist. The desire to collect funds for aid and relocation of refugees and support for the new and endangered state of Israel led to the formation of the Albuquerque Jewish Welfare Fund, which translated itself into the Jewish Community Council of Albuquerque and into a broader Jewish Federation of Greater Albuquerque. In 1971 the community created a monthly newspaper, the *New Mexico Jewish Link*, which contains the most concentrated source of information concerning Jewish activity in the state.

Jews continued to make their mark in the economic and political affairs of the state. More specialized than in the past, large businesses made a new appearance or grew greatly in the post-war economy. Among the most successful were those in furniture sales (American Furniture), home building (Sam Hoffman), and building supplies (Duke City Lumber), especially in the early decades after the war. Jews also moved into new areas of visibility, as they became police chiefs, conductors of the symphony, and leading architects. Well-known artists, such as Judy *Chicago, moved to the state. In the late 1980s a Jew and a Republican, Steve Schiff, was elected to the national House of Representatives where he remained for five terms until his death in 1998.

While New Mexico was heavily Catholic historically, the rapid growth of a diverse religious population led to an atmosphere of toleration and interreligious toleration and cooperation in the post-World War II period. Following Vatican II, in 1965, Jews and Catholics established formal dialogues. Jews became far more active in social causes such as civil rights and the rights of women than was the case before World War II. At the turn of the 20th century that expansive mood still existed.

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[Henry J. Tobias (2nd ed.)]

NEW MOON (Heb. רֹאשׁ חֹדֶשׁ, *Rosh Ḥodesh*; "head of the month"), the first day or beginning of the month. The Torah placed its celebration on a par with the observance of the festivals, declaring "Also in the day of your gladness, and in your appointed seasons, and in your new moons, ye shall blow with the trumpets over your burnt-offerings…" (Num. 10:10). A special *Musaf* sacrifice was ordained for the day (Num. 28:11–15). The Bible mentions various practices observed on it, including festive meals (I Sam. 20:18, and Rashi ad loc.), abstention from business transactions (Amos 8:5), and the practice of visiting the prophet (II Kings 4:23). When foretelling the chastisements that will come upon the Jewish people, Hosea says that the joys of the New Moon will cease (Hos. 2:13). The redemption is viewed as a time when "from one new moon to another, and from one Sabbath to another, shall all flesh come to worship before Me saith the Lord" (Isa. 66:23).

Originally, the New Moon was not fixed by astronomical calculations but was solemnly proclaimed after witnesses had testified to the reappearance of the crescent of the moon. On the 30th of each month, the members of the High Court assembled in a courtyard in Jerusalem, named Beit Ya'azek, where they waited to receive the testimony of two reliable witnesses; they then sanctified the New Moon. If the moon's crescent was not seen on the 30th day, the New Moon was automatically celebrated on the 31st day. To inform the population of the beginning of the month, beacons were kindled on the Mount of Olives and thence over the entire land and in parts of the Diaspora. Later, however, the Samaritans began to light misleading beacons, and the High Court dispatched messengers to far-removed communities. Those Jews who lived great distances from Jerusalem always celebrated the 30th day of the month as the New Moon. On those occasions when they were informed of its postponement to the 31st, they also observed this second consecutive day as the New Moon (RH 1:3–2:7). By the middle of the fourth century, the sages had established a permanent *calendar and the public proclamation of the New Moon was discontinued. A relic of the original practice is, however, retained in the synagogue custom of announcing the *New Moon on the Sabbath preceding its celebration.

Work is permitted on the New Moon (Shab. 24a; Ḥag. 18a; Ar. 10b), although it was customary for women to abstain from it (TJ, Ta'an. 1:6, 64c). They were allowed to observe this additional semi-festival as a reward for not having surrendered their jewelry for the creation of the golden calf (Tos. to RH 23a, s.v. *Mishum*). It later became customary for them to refrain from difficult labor, such as weaving, but to do light work such as sewing (Simon b. Ẓemaḥ Duran, *Tashbeẓ*, pt. 3no. 244; cf. Rema, OḤ 417).

The biblical commandment of joy, so basic to festivals, (Deut. 16:14) is not explicitly prescribed in relation to the New Moon. Nevertheless, the rabbis inferred its applicability from the fact that the Bible equated the New Moon with the festivals (Num. 10:10) and from the duty to recite on it "This is the day which the Lord hath made; We will rejoice and be glad in it" (Ps. 118:24; ADPB, 770; Tur, YD, 401). It is therefore forbidden to fast on the New Moon (Ta'an. 2:10), and any funeral service is abbreviated (MK 3:9 and Sh. Ar., OḤ 420). Conversely, it is meritorious to partake of a festive repast (Sh. Ar., OḤ 419:1).

The recitation of the half-**Hallel* on the New Moon goes back to talmudic times (Ta'an. 28b). Parts of the *Hallel* were omitted, since the day was not biblically sanctified by the prohibition of labor (Ar. 10b). There is a difference of opinion among the codifiers as to whether the usual blessing that "who has hallowed us by Thy commandments and has commanded us to read the *Hallel*" (ADPB, 756) should be recited on Rosh Ḥodesh. In most communities, the blessing is recited (Isserles and Sh. Ar., OḤ 422:2), but Shneur Zalman, the founder of Ḥabad Ḥasidism, ruled that only the cantor is to say the blessing, while the congregation merely responds "Amen."

On the New Moon the special prayer **Ya'aleh ve-Yavo* is inserted in the *Amidah* and in the Grace after Meals (Shab. 24a), and *Taḥanun is not recited. The Torah reading designated for the day describes the New Moon sacrifices (Num. 28:1–15; Meg. 21b–22a). *Musaf* is also recited, since an additional sacrifice was brought on this day; it begins with the words: "The beginnings of the months Thou didst assign unto Thy people for a season of atonement throughout their generations" (ADPB, 778).

The day before the New Moon has achieved importance among kabbalists, who observe it as a day of fast and repentance. It is called *Yom Kippur Katan, a minor day of atonement.

[Aaron Rothkoff]

Contemporary Observance by Women

Female Rosh Ḥodesh groups first appeared in New York City in 1972, created and fostered by women seeking a uniquely female communal religious rite with ancient and medieval antecedents. Building on a teaching of the Tosafists (Tos. to RH 23a) which describes Rosh Ḥodesh as a reward for Israelite women's righteousness and an anticipation of the messianic restoration of the moon to the size of the sun, women gathered together to celebrate the new month, to express gratitude to God for being created female and to acknowledge the accomplishments and wisdom of Jewish women over the generations.

Rosh Ḥodesh groups have typically met outside of synagogue and community structures and have no standard form. Activities may include Torah study or other learning, singing, festive eating, story telling, performance of rituals expressing aspects of women's experiences, and prayer. As part of a larger Jewish feminist movement that has encouraged study of Jewish women's history, creation of new Midrash about women, and liturgical innovation, Rosh Ḥodesh groups have produced rituals and prayers subsequently used in other settings. These include the *Kos Miryam* (Cup of Miriam), a ritual vessel of water signifying Miriam's sustaining leadership in Egypt and the wilderness, which has become a part of many American Passover *seders*. As women's Rosh Ḥodesh groups grew in popularity throughout North America and Israel, they also became part of the regular programming of community centers, women's organizations, college Hillel programs, and synagogues from many religious streams.

[Jody Myers (2nd ed.)]

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NEW MOON, ANNOUNCEMENT OF. The Sabbath before the *New Moon, following the reading of the *haftarah*, the reader leads the congregation in announcing and blessing the coming month. This custom was introduced by the *geonim*, and its main purpose was to make a public pronouncement of the exact day(s) on which the New Moon will fall (*Maḥzor Vitry*, ed. by. S. Hurwitz (1923^{2}), 173; Abudarham, *Seder Rosh Ḥodesh*, ed. Jerusalem (1959), 193). It is possible that this practice was based upon the statement of R. *Yose, that he did not pray the *Musaf* service (on the Sabbath before the New Moon) until he knew exactly when the New Moon was to occur (TJ, Sanh. 5:3, 22d; *Arukh ha-Shulḥan*, OḤ 417:8). The announcement is made after a special prayer for the house of Israel, and in the Ashkenazi rite begins: "He Who wrought miracles for our fathers, and redeemed them from slavery into freedom, may He speedily redeem us and gather our exiles from the four corners of the earth, even all Israel united in fellowship; and let us say, Amen." The exact time of the *molad* (see *Calendar) is then announced and the reader proclaims the day(s) of the week on which the first day of the coming month falls; and the blessing concludes with the prayer that the New Moon be for life, peace, gladness, salvation, and consolation for the house of Israel (Hertz, Prayer, 510). Prior to the proclamation of the New Moon, the Ashkenazi ritual contains an introductory prayer, *Yehi Raẓon,* which is substantially the private petition recited daily by Rav upon the completion of the *Amidah* (Ber. 16b). In order to adjust this prayer to the occasion, the sentence "to renew unto us this coming month for good and for blessing" was inserted (Hertz, Prayer, 508). This introductory prayer was first recited in the Polish ritual during the first part of the 18th century. It then gradually spread to all Ashkenazi rituals. In some rites the words "*bi-zekhut tefillat Rav*" ("by the merit of the prayer of Rav") appear at the end of the prayer. It has been suggested that this is a mistake for a marginal note which originally read *berakhot, tefillat Rav* ("blessing [see Tractate *Berakhot*] the prayer of Rav") to indicate the source and authorship of the prayer. These words were later erroneously incorporated in the liturgy, *berakhot* being changed to *bi-zekhut*. A further mistake in some rites changed *Rav* to *rabbim* making it end "by the merit of congregational prayer" (E. Munk, *The World of Prayer*, 2:49). Many Sephardi and Oriental rituals contain introductory prayers for the ingathering of the exiles and the well-being of the rabbis (cf. Abudarham, loc. cit.). It became customary to recite the announcement of the New Moon while standing, in remembrance of the original sanctification of the New Moon by the *bet din* in Jerusalem, which was done when standing (*Magen Avraham* to Sh. Ar., OḤ 417:1). It is also customary for the reader to hold the Torah scroll while reciting this prayer. The Sabbath on which the New Moon is announced is popularly known as *Shabbat Mevarekhim* ("the Sabbath of the Blessing"), or the Sabbath which contains "*Rosh Ḥodesh bentshn.*" A special sermon in honor of the event is preached in some communities. The New Moon of *Tishri is not blessed in advance since it is also Rosh Ha-Shanah and everyone knows when it will occur (*Mishnah Berurah, Sha'ar ha-Ẓiyyun*, 417:1, no. 2).

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[H. Elchanan Blumenthal]

NEWMYER, ARTHUR GROVER (1885–1955), U.S. newspaper publisher. Newmyer, born in Washington, became advertising manager of *The Washington Times* (1906), and national advertising manager of the *Munsey* newspapers (1909). Going to New Orleans as business manager of *The New Orleans Item* (1912), he became its publisher in 1927. After a year with Hearst newspapers, he returned to Washington in 1939 as associate publisher and general manager of *The Times-Herald.*

NEW ORLEANS, U.S. port and commercial center near the mouth of the Misxsissippi River in the State of *Louisiana. Before Hurricane Katrina struck the city on August 29, 2005, had an estimated population of approximately 1,200,000, of which about 12,000 were Jewish. As of January 2006, the future of the city, and its Jewish population remained uncertain. All but one of its major synagogues had been reopened, but the flood damage had wiped out large residential areas.

New Orleans was founded in 1718 by the French, who, six years later enacted *The Code Noir,* or Black Code, which regulated the slave population, but also contained a clause expelling Jews from the territory. There are no records of transient Jewish traders until the arrival of Isaac Rodrigues Monsanto in 1757. He and his family were Dutch Sephardic Jews who had settled in Curaçao until they braved the Code Noir to settle in New Orleans. The French, in their usual lax fashion, ignored the laws and allowed them to prosper, until the cession of Louisiana to Spain following the French and Indian War. In 1769, the Spanish governor Don Alejandro O'Reilly expelled the Monsanto family because they were Jewish, and confiscated their money and property. They fled to Pensacola, then an English territory, but soon were allowed to return minus their possessions.

After the Louisiana Purchase in 1803, and the dissolution of the *Code Noir,* New Orleans became more attractive to Jewish pioneers.

Judah *Touro, later a wealthy merchant and philanthropist, arrived in 1802, and Ezekiel Salomon, son of the American Revolution patriot Haym *Salomon, was a governor of the United States Bank in New Orleans from 1816 to 1821. Two more Jews who later achieved high position settled in the city in 1828: Judah P. *Benjamin, later Secretary of State of the Confederacy, and his cousin, Henry M. Hyams, later lieutenant governor of Louisiana. In the 1830s Gershom Kursheedt, who became the first communal leader, arrived in New Orleans; his nephew, Edwin Isaac Kursheedt, was a colonel in the Washington Artillery, the historic New Orleans regiment.

Shaarei Chessed, the first synagogue, was chartered in 1828. In 1848 James C. Gutheim of Cincinnati was invited to serve as rabbi. The Portuguese Congregation, Nefutzoth Yehudah, was founded in 1845. Temple Sinai, the first Reform congregation, founded in 1870, recalled Rabbi Gutheim to New Orleans from Temple Emanu-El in New York, to be its first rabbi. The first two congregations merged in 1881 to become what later was called Touro synagogue, which was reformed by 1892. Congregation Gates of Prayer, organized in 1850, was Reform by the turn of the century. The Reform congregations have the largest number of members, followed by Shir Chadash, New Orleans's only Conservative congregation, which resulted from the merger of Tikvat Shalom and Chevra Tehillim. Congregation Beth Israel (1904), and Agudas Achim Anshe Sfard (1896) remain the only Orthodox synagogues.

Beth Israel's Synagogue, located near Lake Pontchartrain, was inundated with over ten feet of water during Hurricane Katrina.

The Hebrew Benevolent Association, which funded many Jewish organizations, was founded in 1844. Touro Infirmary, still serving New Orleans, was founded by Judah Touro in 1852. The Jewish Widows and Orphans Home, later the Jewish Orphans and now Jewish Regional Services, was founded in 1856, and the Young Mens' Hebrew Association was founded in 1891. In 1913, 18 separate Jewish welfare and charity organizations merged to form the forerunner of the Jewish Welfare Federation.

Architects of the mid-19th century New Orleans were businessmen like Isidore Newman, Leon Godchaux, and Julius Weis, who led by example in creating and supporting Jewish institutions.

Among some of the prominent Jews of New Orleans in the late 19th and 20th centuries were the attorney Monte M. Lemann; Isaac Delgado, who gave the city its art museum; Samuel *Zemurray, president of the United Fruit Company; Captain Neville Levy, chairman of the Mississippi River Bridge Commission; Percival Stern, benefactor of Tulane and Loyola universities, Newman School, and the Touro Infirmary; Mr. and Mrs. Edgar B. Stern, who supported many institutions and schools as did Malcolm Woldenberg, Steven Goldring, and Sydney J. Besthoff III, whose extensive sculpture collection now graces the New Orleans Museum of Art. Jews have served as presidents and board members of practically all cultural, civic, and social-welfare agencies. Originally, because of its unhealthy climate and poor economy, New Orleans received little of the Eastern European Jewish immigration to America, although a small but vibrant group of Eastern European Jews settled in the Dryades Street neighborhood, with its own kosher markets, Orthodox synagogues, and small shopkeepers. In 2005 that neighborhood had, like the lower east side of New York, completely lost its Jewish flavor, and, like most of America, New Orleans Jews have bonded into a single community, forgetting their origins. In the aftermath of Hurricane Katrina they faced a challenge which exceeded even the Civil War and Reconstruction difficulties, as they sought to return to their city, their jobs, their flooded homes, and their synagogues.

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[Catherine Kahn and Irwin Lachoff (2nd ed.)]

NEWPORT, city in Rhode Island located at the southern tip of Aquidneck Island in Narragansett Bay. Newport was founded in 1639 by religious dissenters from Massachusetts Bay Colony. Roger Williams, also an outcast from the Puritans' dominion, had founded Providence, at the head of Narragansett Bay, three years earlier. Newport became the first of five rotating capitals in a state still known officially as Rhode Island and Providence Plantations.

In 1658, approximately 15 Jews from Barbados settled in Newport. The Jewish cemetery, consecrated in 1677, was the subject of Henry Wadsworth Longfellow's poem published in 1854. Jews Street was identified in John Mumford's map drawn in 1712.

Newport's Jewish community was reestablished during the 1740s, when settlers arrived primarily from New York City. Several Jewish merchants flourished through trade with American ports, the West Indies, England, and West Africa. By far the most successful was Aaron Lopez, who emigrated from Portugal in 1752. He gained renown as a merchant, shipper, and manufacturer.

Congregation Yeshuat Yisrael (Salvation of Israel) was established in 1756, and land for a synagogue was purchased three years later. Peter Harrison, a Newporter and one of the colonies' most distinguished architects, designed an exquisite two-story brick building with a central *bimah* based on prototypes in Amsterdam and London. It accommodated approximately 30 Jewish households or 200 people, less than two percent of the town's population. Ezra Stiles, the Congregational minister who became president of Yale College, documented the synagogue's dedication in 1763 as well as other aspects of Jewish communal life. In 1773, Ḥayyim Caregal, a rabbi from Hebron in the Holy Land, preached in Newport. When it appeared in the *Newport Mercury*, his was the first Jewish sermon published in North America.

During the Revolution, Newport's Jews were loyalists and patriots. Most fled the lengthy British occupation.

In 1781, President George Washington visited the synagogue when it housed Rhode Island's General Assembly and Supreme Court. When he returned to Newport on August 17, 1790, Washington received a congratulatory letter from the Hebrew congregation, written by *ḥazzan* Moses Seixas, a fellow Mason. Washington's reply, perhaps America's most important expression of religious liberty, proclaimed "For happily, the government of the United States, which gives to bigotry no sanction, to persecution no assistance, requires only that they who live under its protection should discern themselves as good citizens, in giving it on all occasions their effectual support." The statement reflected the language of the invitation to Washington, but it help set the tone for religious liberty in the United States.

As Newport's economy continued to decline, however, Jews sought opportunities elsewhere. In 1822, Moses Lopez, the last Jew, departed for New York City.

The first reference to Touro synagogue occurred in 1824, when the nearby street, originally known as Griffin, was renamed Touro. Two years earlier, Abraham Touro provided funds to maintain the synagogue in memory of his father, Isaac, who had been the congregation's first *ḥazzan*. In 1854, the magnanimous bequest by Abraham's unmarried brother

Judah, of New Orleans, provided for the perpetual care of the synagogue and cemetery. Keith Stokes, a business leader and historian currently living in Newport, is a sixth-generation descendant of Judah Touro and his free African-American mistress, Ellen Wilson.

Although the synagogue reopened for summer visitors, it was not reconsecrated until 1883, when Rabbi Abraham Mendes arrived. Its ownership, retained by the founding families, was transferred to New York City's Shearith Israel in 1894. Though there were fewer than 100 Jewish families in Newport, two groups vied for Touro's use. An agreement reached in 1903 permitted Shearith Israel to lease the building to an Orthodox congregation of its choice and participate in the selection of a rabbi. The congregation's longest-serving clergy, beginning in the 1940s, were Cantor Ely Katz and Rabbi Theodore Lewis.

A second Orthodox congregation, Ahavas Achim, which existed from 1915 until 1981, participated in a United Hebrew School. In 1919 a YMHA was established, and in 1926 a historic house was moved to a site opposite Touro for use as a community center.

In 1946, largely through the efforts of Arthur Sulzberger, publisher of the *New York Times*, the synagogue was one of the first buildings designated a National Historic Site by the Interior Department. Though it was America's oldest surviving synagogue, Touro's recognition derived from the building's association with George Washington and its design by Peter Harrison. In 1982, Washington's 250th birthday was commemorated with a postage stamp showing Touro and quoting the "to bigotry no sanction" passage from his letter.

Touro's Society of Friends, which restored and helps maintain the building, has emphasized the synagogue's importance as a symbol of religious liberty. The reading of the Seixas and Washington letters has become an annual tradition. Numerous dignitaries have participated, including President Dwight D. Eisenhower and Justice Ruth Bader Ginsburg. Patriots' Park was built adjacent to the synagogue, and a visitors' center is planned.

Newport has been home to two of America's most successful summer music series. The Jazz Festival began in 1954, and the Folk Festival followed five years later. Both have featured numerous Jewish performers, and both have been produced by George Wein, a Jewish impresario.

In 2002, the Jewish population of Newport County was about 1,000. Rabbi Marc Jagolinzer was the long-time leader of Temple Shalom, a Conservative congregation in Middletown, which built its synagogue in 1978.

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[George M. Goodwin (2nd ed.)]

NEWSPAPERS, HEBREW.

This article is arranged according to the following outline:

- **THE SPREAD OF THE HEBREW PRESS**
- **MAIN STAGES OF DEVELOPMENT**
  - **In Europe Through the Early 1880s**
    - IDEOLOGY OF THE EARLY PRESS
  - **In Europe Until World War I**
  - **In Europe Between the Wars**
- **THE DURATION OF THE HEBREW PERIODICALS**
- **THE LEADING PERIODICALS AND NEWSPAPERS IN EUROPE**
  - **The First Period: Yearbooks and Periodicals**
    - IN GERMANY
    - IN AUSTRO-HUNGARY
  - **The Second Period: Early Newspapers**
    - LINGUISTIC AND IDEOLOGICAL DEVELOPMENT
  - **Hebrew Dailies**
  - **The End of the Hebrew Press in Eastern Europe and Russia**
- **THE HEBREW PRESS IN NORTH AMERICA**
- **LIST OF HEBREW NEWSPAPERS AND PERIODICALS**

The term "Hebrew press" has undergone a basic metamorphosis since its early days. Originally, the term covered periodicals of varying frequency (yearbooks, monthlies, and irregular publications), the majority of which were literary and scientific in character, while only a small percentage were devoted to current affairs. News sections were almost nonexistent, and indeed would have been impractical in periodicals appearing infrequently. The first Hebrew newspaper worthy of the name, according to the concept of the time, began to appear in the mid-19th century, giving news of the Jewish and general world and containing literary, scientific, and social columns. Articles on public and current affairs, which were rare in the Hebrew periodicals of the previous 100 years, became increasingly popular in some journals. Thus a differentiation was created between the newspaper and other types of periodicals. The periodicals, too, began to modify their form and gradually devoted more attention to current affairs.

All types of periodicals, therefore, must be included within the term "Hebrew press" in its first century (1750–1856). Following this period, a gradual differentiation set in between scholarly and literary periodicals and purely news media. This development was particularly noticeable in Ereẓ Israel where Hebrew became a living language, and periodicals began to appear, covering every field – literature, art, science, technology – while the daily newspaper grew to resemble its counterpart in European journalism.

THE SPREAD OF THE HEBREW PRESS

The Hebrew press began in Western Europe, mainly in Germany, in the second half of the 18th century. It gradually spread to Austria, and Galicia, and, a century after its initiation, appeared in czarist Russia, where there were more Hebrew readers. As the press began to flourish there, it declined in Western Europe. About the same time, a Hebrew press of an essentially Eastern European nature began to appear in Ereẓ Israel. The waves of Jewish emigration to the United States in the second half of the 19th century brought about the establishment of a Hebrew press in that country too (from the 1870s). Smaller centers of the Hebrew press were also established in England, South Africa, and, in later periods, in Latin America. Two factors determined the expansion or decline of the Hebrew press in the Diaspora: the degree of attachment to Hebrew of the Jews of a particular country, and the extent to which they acquired its native tongue. By the late 1930s the Hebrew press had almost disappeared in Eastern Europe. In Soviet Russia its decline had been deliberately encouraged, while in Poland it was brought about by competition from Polish and Yiddish. By contrast, the Hebrew press flourished in Ereẓ Israel: from modest beginnings in Jerusalem in 1863, it gradually and confidently expanded, becoming the focal point of the Hebrew press after World War I, with its center in Tel Aviv-Jaffa. Since World War II, the Hebrew press in Eastern Europe has ceased to exist; outside Israel, several periodicals are still published with varying frequency, mainly in the United States. A real Hebrew press, encompassing daily papers and periodicals covering a range of subjects, now exists only in Israel.

While, in its early years, the Hebrew press constituted only a small percentage of the total Jewish press in all languages, by the outbreak of World War II it held fourth place in the Jewish press (after English, German, and Yiddish). Today, as a result of the expansion of the Hebrew press in Israel, it holds second place (after English), and, quantitatively, accounts for more than one-quarter of the total Jewish press in all languages.

MAIN STAGES OF DEVELOPMENT

In Europe through the Early 1880s

One of the earliest consequences of the Haskalah movement in Germany was the creation of Hebrew periodicals, such as those published in Germany and devoted to literature, philosophy, and social problems. This initial stage, which lasted almost a century (approximately 1750–1856), was inaugurated by the periodical *Kohelet Musar*, edited by Moses *Mendelssohn. The differing intervals at which the variety of periodicals at this time were published was a decisive factor in determining the contents of those periodicals: much space was given over to belles lettres, translations, world literature, and various aspects of Judaic studies while very little was devoted to news matters. In this early period Hebrew began to adapt itself to modern expression, gradually discarding its cloak of sanctity and adopting neologisms and new literary forms. During the second stage (1856–86), current affairs were gradually introduced, at first by simply citing belatedly news items from other papers. Gradually, however, the traditions of the modern press developed, ranging from reports by regular correspondents to lead articles and political commentary, simultaneously continuing the traditions of the earlier Hebrew periodicals, by devoting considerable space to all subjects. The periodical press also continued to develop as before, improving its standards and its form. The interrelation between these two areas of the press is reflected in the fact that the same writers contributed to both. The Russian censorship constituted a great hindrance to the development of journalism on public affairs, and editors consequently became adept at disguising statements in phraseology whose hidden meaning was clear to their own readers. Hebrew papers appearing outside Russia were also compelled to restrain their political commentaries, since most of their readers lived in Russia, where the papers might be banned. This accounts for the remarkable panegyrics on the czarist regime, which should not be taken at face value.

IDEOLOGY OF THE EARLY PRESS. Up to the early 1880s, the main trend was the dissemination of the Haskalah and its program for attaining equal rights. This ideology resulted in several by-products: the appeal for the creation of a productive Jewish economy by means of agricultural settlement in Russia or by engaging in crafts, and for the improvement of Jewish education by replacing the old-fashioned methods of the *ḥeder* with the teaching of secular subjects and vocational skills. After the anti-Jewish pogroms in southern Russia in the early 1880s, however, Haskalah ideology changed, and almost all the newspapers and periodicals now supported the *Ḥibbat Zion movement. Only *Ha-Maggid* had anticipated this new ideology by 20 years. Attitudes to the movement ranged from hostility (*Ivri Anokhi*) or hesitant support (**Ha-Ẓefirah*) to complete identification (*Ha-Maggid* and later **Ha-Meliẓ*).

Throughout this period, the press gradually progressed technically, nurturing several generations of writers of all types. Indeed, there is hardly a Hebrew writer who did not take his first literary steps in one of the newspapers. Some outstanding writers, such as J.L. *Gordon, also served as editors, acting as patrons to many others.

Two events, however, disturbed the peace of the press. The first, in the late 1860s and early 1870s, was the controversy regarding religious reform, sparked by its two chief advocates, Moses Leib *Lilienblum and J.L. Gordon, mainly in *Ha-Meliẓ*, and taken up by the extreme and moderate Orthodox elements in **Ha-Levanon*. The second event, less significant at the time as regards public reaction and support, but important historically, was the appearance of the socialist organs, *Ha-Emet* and **Asefat Ḥakhamim*, edited by A.S. *Liebermann, Morris *Vinchevsky, and others. These journals attracted a considerable number of writers and contributors and served as a platform for those discontented with the czarist regime on the one hand, and with the traditional Jewish way of life on the other.

In Europe until World War I

The third stage in the Hebrew press was inaugurated by the establishment of the first Hebrew daily **Ha-Yom* edited by J.L. *Kantor (St. Petersburg) – a revolutionary event, the novelty of which is now hard to appreciate. For the first time the Hebrew press and the Hebrew language were faced with the challenge of dealing, journalistically and linguistically, with day-to-day events. *Ha-Yom* introduced many innovations and experiments. Despite the gradual disappearance of florid and involved phraseology (*meliẓah*) in all types of literature, it was still used in Hebrew journalistic writing. The new paper gradually eradicated its last traces. To meet the competition, *Ha-Ẓefirah* and *Ha-Meliẓ* also became dailies in the same year (1886). All at once, a tradition of modern Hebrew journalism developed. Although almost all the Hebrew papers now shared the ideology of Ḥibbat Zion, they varied both in their local color – *Ha-Ẓefirah* being Polish and *Ha-Meliẓ* Russian – and in their particular stands within the Ḥibbat Zion movement.

The Hebrew press of Eastern Europe had now reached a peak which it was to sustain until World War I. A modern press in the true sense of the word, it attracted the best Hebrew writers of almost three generations, and Hebrew literature, in turn, flourished, as it spread to the many and varied literary publications of the day. Both *Aḥad Ha-Am and *Bialik, key figures of Hebrew literature, were nurtured by this press. Though the first Russian Revolution (1905) temporarily halted this development, it resumed shortly afterward, ending only with World War I. There was a brief but glorious and unparalleled era in the history of the Hebrew press and periodicals in Russia after the fall of the czarist regime in 1917. However, the Soviet regime soon declared the Hebrew language counterrevolutionary and suppressed all Hebrew publication.

In Europe between the Wars

The former heights were never regained in Poland between the wars. In the 1930s, after a long struggle for survival, the only daily Hebrew paper ceased publication. It was replaced by the weekly *Ba-Derekh*, and there were years when only the pioneer youth movements maintained Hebrew newspapers in Poland. Some Hebrew journals survived within the framework of the underground movements in Nazi-occupied Poland, but ceased to exist after World War II. Through the efforts of determined individuals, the Hebrew press in other countries, such as England, survived, and appeared regularly for years (cf. Suwalski's *Ha-Yehudi*). But most of the papers and journals published outside Central Europe were short-lived, since their sole support came from emigrants from the East. As these readers acquired the language of their new country, circulation dropped, and the periodicals ceased publication. Apart from Ereẓ Israel, only in North America is there an uninterrupted tradition of Hebrew periodicals.

The one characteristic common to most Hebrew papers and periodicals over the years and throughout the world (with the exception of the extreme Orthodox and left-wing) is their strong attachment to Ḥibbat Zion, Zionism, and the State of Israel. There is an organic fusing of language and Israel content, overlapping their Jewish content. In this they are unique.

THE DURATION OF THE HEBREW PERIODICALS

Only a very small percentage of Hebrew newspapers and periodicals enjoyed longevity. The record until 1970 was held by the weekly **Ha-Po'el ha-Ẓa'ir* (63 years), the dailies **Haaretz* (57) and **Davar* (45) – all in Israel – and the weekly *Hadoar* (49) in the United States. In earlier periods the record was held by *Ha-Maggid* (47 years), *Ha-Ẓefirah* (almost 50, with short intervals), and *Ha-Meliẓ* (43). The latter two began as weeklies and later became dailies. The periodical **Ha-Shilo'aḥ* appeared in 46 volumes. Longevity is not always, however, an indication of the importance of the paper. Some short-lived papers, like the daily **Ha-Ẓofeh* at the turn of the 20th century, were of vital importance. There were also papers which appeared for decades under different names so as to evade censorship or because of licensing problems as was the case with *Ben-Yehuda's papers in Jerusalem.

THE LEADING PERIODICALS AND NEWSPAPERS IN EUROPE

The First Period: Yearbooks and Periodicals

Kohelet Musar, published by Mendelssohn (about 1750), was the first attempt at translating traditional ethical concepts into a modern idiom.

IN GERMANY. Although the initial experiment was short-lived, it was revived in 1783 by a group of Mendelssohn's disciples who published *Ha-Me'assef*, the first modern Hebrew periodical. Appearing sporadically in several German towns between 1783 and 1811, it had considerable influence on the general evolvement of Hebrew Haskalah literature and, in particular, on that of the Hebrew press, both in style (as "purely" biblical as possible) and content (e.g., original and translated belles lettres, and studies of various aspects of Judaism). *Ha-Me'assef* dealt extensively with current affairs, but its main goal – the attainment of the Haskalah – was achieved at a more rapid rate than the editors and participants had ever anticipated. German Jewry, accultured to its society, no longer needed a Hebrew journal. As a result, from the first third of the 19th century, the focal point of the Hebrew Haskalah began to shift to Austria, relying mainly upon readers in Galicia, Moravia, and Italy.

IN AUSTRO-HUNGARY. The new periodical press in Austro-Hungary, which both culturally (i.e., Jewish culture) and geographically lay on the border between West and East, was inaugurated by the yearbooks **Bikkurei ha-Ittim*, **Kerem Ḥemed, Kokhevei Yiẓḥak, Oẓar Neḥmad, Bikkurim* – which appeared for over 40 years (1821–65), mainly in Vienna, but also in Prague and Berlin. Varied in content, they attracted the best of the Haskalah writers. At the same time, periodicals and literary collections began to appear at regular intervals in various parts of Galicia, serving as a nursery for modern Hebrew literature by creating the science of Judaic studies and by adapting the Hebrew language to modern belles lettres. The pioneers of Hebrew periodicals in Germany and Austria were closely attached to the German language, as is evidenced by German sections (printed in Hebrew characters) in the first volumes of *Bikkurei ha-Ittim*, and by the many translations from that language. In contrast to the above-mentioned periodicals, which allotted little or no space to current events, *Zion*, edited by I.M. *Jost and M. *Creizenach, prevailed on East European writers to participate in discussions on contemporary affairs.

An examination of the language and style of these periodicals reveals how the Hebrew language developed in liveliness and suppleness from one issue to the next. Recent studies (particularly those by Dov *Sadan) of the florid *meliẓah* style of the early *maskilim* have demonstrated that this style did not, as was formerly believed, contain biblical elements exclusively, but rather drew from the linguistic and cultural traditions of centuries of Hebrew language and literature. As a result of the intimate acquaintance which the writers of this period had with the Bible and its study over the generations, their biblical commentaries are full of valuable insights. Since, in general, the periodical press was imbued with the spirit of the moderate Haskalah, elements from all movements could contribute to it, and it managed to remain as neutral as possible, apart from sharp polemics against extreme Reform Judaism as practiced by *Geiger. This tradition of neutrality was maintained in the Hebrew press outside Ereẓ Israel as a rule, although there were periodicals that expressed more extreme views, e.g., the extreme Orthodox *Shomer Ẓiyyon ha-Ne'eman*, and the radical **He-Ḥalutz*.

The Second Period: Early Newspapers

These periodicals constituted a 100-year-long preparation for a regular journal with the form and content of a newspaper. Such a newspaper, *Ha-Maggid*, which appeared in 1856 in Lyck, eastern Prussia, on the Russian border, thus inaugurating the second period of the Hebrew press, was meant for Russian Jewry. The only periodical which Russian Jewry had hitherto produced, *Pirkei Ẓafon*, enjoyed only two issues (1841 and 1844) before it ceased publication. With *Ha-Maggid* A.L. Silbermann, the editor, created not only a new organ for Russian Jewry but also the first Hebrew newspaper that devoted considerable space to reportage and editorial comment on the news. As such, the new paper required different tools from those employed in earlier periodicals. It also introduced other innovations, e.g., a section containing translations of news items from the general press which are to be found in almost every issue; other periodicals followed suit. The Hebrew language gradually evolved into a living language, even though it retained a considerable amount of *meliẓah*. *Ha-Maggid* was also the pioneer in two other aspects: in the early 1860s it began to advocate Ḥibbat Zion and the settlement of Ereẓ Israel, while all the other newspapers remained attached to the Haskalah ideology till the early 1880s; for many years it was the only paper of general Jewish character that reflected events in all the Jewish communities, including the United States and Australia. Immediately after its establishment, four other newspapers sprang up (1860–62), which dealt primarily with events in their own geographical area: *Ha-Meliẓ* (Odessa-St. Petersburg) for Russian Jewry; **Ha-Karmel* (Vilna) for Lithuanian Jewry; *Ha-Mevasser* (LVOV) for the Jews of Galicia; and *Ha-Ẓefirah* (Warsaw and, for a short period, Berlin) for Polish Jews. (Originally devoted to science, *Ha-Ẓefirah's* later concern, under the editorship of *Sokolow, was primarily news.) All these newspapers covered current events, but likewise continued their traditions by devoting special columns to belles lettres, science, and criticism, so that even today it is difficult to envisage a Hebrew paper without such columns. These papers still constitute a rich source for Jewish scholarship; only the lack of indexes prevents their being utilized properly. The papers also stimulated additional literary forms, for which there had not been room in periodicals, and developed reportage from provincial towns and, later, from overseas. Although this reportage may contain trivia, it also constitutes an extremely rich source of information on Jewish communities throughout the world.

LINGUISTIC AND IDEOLOGICAL DEVELOPMENT. A superficial comparison of a newspaper of 1856 with one of 1886 is sufficient proof of the radical development of the Hebrew press in this second stage. A new language had been created which differed greatly from that of *Ha-Me'assef* or even *Ha-Maggid* in their first years. There was also a change in the ideological content. Reality, and particularly the pogroms in southern Russia in the early 1880s, made Jews aware of the failure of the Haskalah's proposed solutions to the Jewish problem. There was, therefore, a gradual transition from the old ideals of the Haskalah and the Emancipation to the new ones of settlement of Ereẓ Israel, Zionism and, finally, political Zionism.

The distinction between the periodical press and newspapers was still obscure, since current affairs began to play a more important role in the former. Such was the case with *Smolenskin's monthly **Ha-Shaḥar*, in which an attempt was made, particularly by the editor himself, to clarify Jewish problems, both past and future, and which first arrived at the ideology of "the people of the spirit." It then took up nationalism and Zionism, strongly criticizing the Haskalah and its methods. The same is true of its rival, *Ha-Boker Or*, edited by A.B. *Gottlober, which defended Mendelssohn's school of thought. The articles on Judaica in these publications became more popular and readable as a result of the growing flexibility of the language, while their scientific basis was not impaired.

Hebrew Dailies

In the meantime, the editors were obliged to enlarge the format of their papers and to produce them at greater frequency than the original weeklies. In 1886, exactly 30 years after the publication of the first issue of *Ha-Maggid*, J.L. Kantor published *Ha-Yom*, the first Hebrew daily. To meet the competition, *Ha-Meliẓ* and *Ha-Ẓefirah* also began to be published as dailies. The letters of J.L. Gordon (then editor of *Ha-Meliẓ*), who frowned upon this new development, show the difficulties that faced Hebrew editors. Conditions, however, forced them to accept the new burden. In the daily press it was essential to eliminate florid Hebrew, since the need for rapid translations of news dispatches left no time for complicated phraseology.

From 1886, the feuilleton which had existed before the development of the daily press became an integral part of the dailies, particularly of *Ha-Yom*, to which D. Frischmann and J.L. *Katzenelson (known as Buki ben Yogli) contributed. *Ha-Meliẓ* and *Ha-Ẓefirah* continued, of necessity, to appear as dailies even after *Ha-Yom* ceased publication (1888). The oldest of the papers, *Ha-Maggid*, remained a weekly, until discontinued in 1903.

In the mid-1880s, Sokolow – a man whose grasp of the spirit of the times was almost unique in his generation of Hebrew journalism – radically changed the periodical press. In 1884 he began to publish *Ha-Asif,* weighty annuals encompassing almost all the literary forms. Enjoying unprecedented circulation, their success spurred others to issue similar annuals (e.g., *Keneset Yisrael* by S.P. *Rabinowitz, 1886). It was a new development for Hebrew periodicals to reach thousands of readers, all of them subscribers. The publication of *Ha-Asif* is therefore frequently regarded as the first literary event which created a mass Hebrew readership. Innumerable periodicals, almost all of them short-lived, appeared in the last third of the 19th century in various places in Eastern Europe, and, occasionally in the West (mainly on Judaica or as appendixes to the German Jewish press). An important contribution to the rapid adaptation of Hebrew to everyday life was made by the numerous translations in the press, periodicals, and separate books, some of which were to become classics (particularly in the field of poetry). In the early 1880s even the Orthodox *Ha-Levanon* ceased its ideological polemics with the other papers and, because of its editor, J. *Brill, joined in preaching the settlement of Ereẓ Israel and Ḥibbat Zion. Simultaneously, an Orthodox anti-Zionist press arose, e.g., *Ha-Peles, Ha-Modi'a, Ha-Kol*, which copied the modern style of the pro-Zionist press. In the 1870s the first two Hebrew socialist journals appeared, *Ha-Emet*, and *Asefat Ḥakhamim*, edited by A.S. Liebermann, M. Vinchevsky, and others. These journals, which were short-lived because of the attitude of the East and West European authorities, created a new Hebrew by introducing terms taken from socialism and communism, and by translations.

At the beginning of the present century, the two veteran papers, *Ha-Maggid* and *Ha-Meliẓ*, closed down. As if to symbolize the rise of a new and younger generation in literature and in the press, two new dailies were established in Poland and Russia: *Ha-Ẓofeh*, in Warsaw, and *Ha-Zeman*, first in St. Petersburg, later in Vilna. A new generation of writers and journalists was nurtured by these papers. *Ha-Ẓofeh* was the first paper to hold a literary competition (1903). In that competition Y.D. *Berkowitz was discovered. At the same time, *Ha-Ẓefirah* reappeared after a lengthy interval. In 1904 the weekly **Ha-Mizpeh*, edited by S.M. Lazar, began to appear in Cracow, in place of *Ha-Maggid*, and encouraged many new writers (including S.Y. *Agnon, A. *Hameiri, U.Ẓ. *Greenberg, and Z. *Diesendruck). In none of these papers was there a clear distinction between the literary and journalistic realms. The best of the Hebrew writers of the period contributed to them (e.g., *Fichmann, *Bershadsky, *Shneour, Berkowitz).

The End of the Hebrew Press in Eastern Europe and Russia

The most outstanding of these literary periodicals was the monthly, *Ha-Shilo'aḥ*, edited by Aḥad Ha-Am and, later, by J. Klausner; others included *Ha-Dor,* edited by Frischmann, *Ha-Zeman*, the annuals *Lu'aḥ Aḥi'asaf* and Sokolow's *Sefer ha-Shanah. *Ha-Olam*, the official Hebrew organ of the Zionist Organization, for decades provided opportunities for Hebrew writers. It would be hard to envisage the development of the young Hebrew literature that flourished at this time – starting with Bialik – without the periodicals of the early 20th century. Although this vital period came to an abrupt end with the outbreak of World War I, its influence could be felt almost until the 1960s. The Hebrew press in Eastern Europe never recovered its former glory after World War I but gradually flickered out. In Russia, after the downfall of czarism, Hebrew literary activity flourished briefly with the appearance of the literary journals **Ha-Tekufah, Massu'ot, He-Avar, Ha-Mishpat ha-Ivri, Ereẓ*, and others, and the establishment of literary projects of formerly unknown scope (e.g., Stybel publishing house). The weekly *Ha-Am*, which later became a daily, also began to appear in this period. Soviet Russia's silencing of the Hebrew language, however, put an end to all this, a circumstance which has persisted, apart from certain isolated periodicals published in Russia, or published abroad by Russian Hebrew writers. The departure from Russia of the great majority of Hebrew writers, beginning with Bialik, marks the end of Hebrew literature and journalism in that country, and the gradual shift of its focal point to Palestine, via Berlin.

The papers and literary journals set up in Western Europe from the turn of the century till the 1930s and 1940s were a natural continuation of the Eastern European tradition. With one notable exception – *Ha-Yehudi*, edited in London from 1897 to 1913 by I. Suwalski – they were all short-lived. Another London-based journal, whose effect was in inverse ratio to its duration, was J.Ḥ. *Brenner's *Ha-Me'orer (1906–07).

While the extreme Orthodox circles, having adopted methods of the secular press, attacked Zionism, the press of the Orthodox *Mizrachi Zionist Organization, which opposed the secular movement, fought anti-Zionist Orthodox elements. It established the monthly *Ha-Mizraḥ* (1903) as well as the weeklies *Ha-Ivri* (first in Berlin and later in New York) and *Ha-Mizraḥi* in Poland after World War I.

Toward the end of the 19th century the Hebrew press in Eastern Europe began to produce more specialized journals. An educational press which lasted for decades was developed in Russia and Poland; magazines for children and youth began to appear, some of them of extremely high standard, such as *Olam Katan*, edited by S.L. *Gordon. I.H. Tawiow even put out a daily for children (*He-Ḥaver*; see *Children's Literature). Poland became the major Hebrew center in Eastern Europe between the wars after that language had been silenced in Soviet Russia. Its one Hebrew daily, however, *Ha-Ẓefirah*, could not survive in the face of the growing competition from Yiddish, on the one hand, and Polish, on the other. *Ha-Ẓefirah* closed down, was revived under another name (*Ha-Yom*), revived again under its old name, and finally discontinued in the early 1930s. For several years, it was replaced by the weekly, *Ba-Derekh*, the last Hebrew paper in Poland, which later also closed down.

A unique phenomenon, particularly in Poland between the wars, was the press of the *He-Ḥalutz and the pioneering youth movements, especially that of Ha-Shomer *ha-Ẓa'ir. At a time when Hebrew was abandoned in Poland even by the official Zionist Organization (the press of which was mainly in Yiddish and Polish), and Hebrew readers could no longer support the burden of maintaining a Hebrew paper, the youth movements safeguarded Hebrew expression (and speech) with unbounded loyalty and material sacrifice. For these young people, the Hebrew language and pioneer training were stepping stones to Zionist self-realization. Thus He-Ḥalutz issued the paper *He-Atid*, and Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓair, its organ, bearing that movement's name; other youth movements followed suit. This press was noted for its ties with Ereẓ Israel and its constant contact with the labor press there.

[Getzel Kressel]

THE HEBREW PRESS IN NORTH AMERICA

Unlike the Anglo-Jewish, German-Jewish, and Yiddish presses in the United States, all of which have served large bodies of readers who often were literate in their native tongue alone, the Hebrew press was restricted from the outset to a relatively small coterie of subscribers. Nevertheless, a Hebrew periodical press has existed practically uninterrupted in the United States since the last decades of the 19th century.

The first Hebrew periodical in the United States, Zvi Hirsch *Bernstein's newsletter *Ha-Ẓofeh ba-Areẓ ha-Ḥadashah* ("The Observer in a New Land") appeared in 1871, a year after the first two Yiddish journals in America, one of which was Bernstein's New York *Juedische Post*. In their early years, in fact, the two presses frequently had intertwined fates: the same publishers, editors, and writers played active roles in both. *Ha-Ẓofeh ba-Areẓ ha-Ḥadashah* appeared irregularly until 1876. Hebrew was also one of four languages to appear in Bernstein's *Hebrew News*, an unusual polyglot venture published for several months in 1871.

A number of Hebrew periodicals appeared briefly in New York in the 1880s and 1890s, many of them largely one-man productions. Among them were the Ḥovevei Zion organ *Ha-Le'ummi* ("The Nationalist," 1888–89), the *maskil* Ezekiel Enowitz's *Ha-Emet* ("The Truth," 1894–95) and *Eẓ ha-Da'at* ("The Tree of Knowledge," 1896), Michael *Rodkinson's *Ha-Sanegor* ("The Defender," 1890) and *Tekhunat Ru'aḥ ha-Yisre'eli* ("The Spirit of the Israelite," 1899), and Abraham *Rosenberg's *Ner ha-Ma'aravi* ("The Western Light," 1895–97). Somewhat longer lived were Zeev Wolf *Schur's *Ha-Pisgah* ("The Summit"), published irregularly in New York, Baltimore, and Chicago from 1891 to 1899, and *Ha-Ivri* ("The Hebrew," 1892–98, 1901–02), which was founded by the Yiddish publisher Kasriel *Sarasohn and edited by Gershon Rosenzweig.

The first attempt to publish a Hebrew daily in the U.S. took place in New York in 1909 with the appearance of *Ha-Yom* ("The Day") under the editorship of Moses Hacohen *Goldman, but the paper failed within a brief time, as did an effort to revive it in 1913. The latter year also witnessed the launching of the literary monthly *Ha-Toren* ("The Mast," weekly from 1916 to 1921), which in quality of contents and regularity of appearance far surpassed any of its predecessors. Edited originally by a staff composed of such eminent Hebraists as Max *Lipson, Daniel *Persky, Abraham *Goldberg, Y.D. Berkowitz, and Benjamin *Silkiner, *Ha-Toren* was managed from 1919 until its demise in 1925 by the author Reuben *Brainin. Contemporary with it was the literary and political Mizrachi weekly *Ha-Ivri* ("The Hebrew," New York, 1916–21), edited by Meir *Berlin, who had previously managed the same journal in Germany.

The most successful and permanent of all Hebrew periodicals in the United States, however, was the weekly *Hadoar* ("The Post"). Started as a daily in 1921 by a staff directed by Lipson and including Persky, Hirsch Leib *Gordon, Abraham Orlans, and Menachem *Ribalow, *Hadoar* was briefly discontinued in the summer of 1922 and then resumed publication as a weekly under the auspices of the *Histadruth Ivrith of America. In 1925 Menachem Ribalow became sole editor, a position he held for nearly 30 years. During this period, except for a brief hiatus in 1925, *Hadoar* appeared every week in spite of continual financial straits, publishing Hebrew authors of note from all over the world and especially numbering among its steady contributors such U.S. Hebrew writers as Hillel *Bavli, Moshe *Feinstein, Reuven *Grossman, Simon *Halkin, Ephraim *Lisitzky, Daniel Persky, Gabriel *Preil, Abraham *Regelson, Zvi *Scharfstein, Eisig *Silberschlag, Yochanan *Twersky, Meyer *Waxman, and Reuven *Wallenrod. From 1934, *Hadoar* issued a biweekly youth supplement titled *Ha-Musaf la-Kore ha-Ẓa'ir*. Ribalow was succeeded as editor in 1953 by Moses *Maisels, who was in turn followed in 1959 by Moshe Yinon. *Hadoar's* circulation in 1970 was about 5,000. It attempted to reconstitute as a quality journal but was unsuccessful. It ceased publication in the early 21st century.

In addition to *Hadoar*, the literary monthly *Bitzaron* was published in New York from 1939 until 1992. Though the establishment of the State of Israel led to a broadening of interest in Hebrew among the U.S. Jewish public, the local Hebrew press has not grown as a result; the reasons are many. Air transportation has allowed the quick distribution of Israeli publications in the United States. Additionally, American Hebraists preferred to write for the much larger Israeli audience and also to read the best of Hebrew literature in Israeli publications. The introduction of the Internet made some Hebrew language publications in the United States superfluous. Some Hebrew newspapers are published in the United States, primarily in New York and Los Angeles, for the Israeli community living the United States. Printed locally, they most often contain reprints of articles that have appeared in Israeli newspapers and advertisements aimed at the local American-Israeli community.

For Hebrew newspapers in Ereẓ Israel and the State of Israel, see *Israel, State of: Cultural Life (Press).

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[Hillel Halkin / Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

LIST OF HEBREW NEWSPAPERS AND PERIODICALS

Since the 1920s the Hebrew press, particularly in Ereẓ Israel, has greatly and rapidly developed. From the point of view of quantity it exceeds, several fold, all the Hebrew press from its beginning until that time. Consequently, the following list is, of necessity, very selective and only the outstanding Hebrew newspapers and periodicals in all the countries and periods have been included. One of the aims of the list has been to provide a representative sampling of the vast professional and light literature press in the State of Israel, a sampling which is likewise very selective.

Jubilee and memorial volumes, periodicals of all types of educational institutions (from primary school to university), newspapers issued by individual settlements in Israel (of which there are hundreds), house organs of institutions, organizations, factories, and social and political movements, etc. have not been included. There is however a small sampling of Israel governmental publications: for the rest see *Reshimat Pirsumei ha-Memshalah* ("List of Government Publications") which appears quarterly.

The dates of the newspapers listed present a special problem in that it has not always been possible to transalte the Hebrew date accurately because the Hebrew year starts with Rosh Ha-Shanah (which usually falls in September) whereas the secular year starts on January 1. Another problem has been that of the continuity of many of the publications; some newspapers and periodicals did (or do) not actually appear with the regularity claimed and thus many items are described as "irregular." A large number of newspapers are unavailable and have not been litsted; for others of this kind, which have been listed, no exact statistics have been recorded.

Notwithstanding the above factors, however, the list does reflect the scope and nature of the Hebrew press of the last 300 years.

Abbreviations used are:
A. = Annual
B-M. = Bimonthly
B-W. = Biweekly
D. = Daily
F. = Fortnightly
Irr. = Irregular
Jer. = Jerusalem
Lit. = Literary
M. = Monthly
N.S. = New Series
N.Y. = New York
Q. = Quarterly
S-A. = Semiannual
T.A. = Tel Aviv
W. = Weekly

1901–1940 indicates that the item appeared from 1901 until 1904; 1901, 1904 indicates that the item appeared in each of these two years only.

Title	Freq.	Place of Publication	Year(s) of Appearance	Main Characteristics
A.B.	F.	Ḥolon	1969	the first Samaritan newspaper
Adrikhalut	Q.		1966	architecture, city planning, engineering, interior design, and construction arts
Aḥdut – see also: Ha-Aḥdut Le-Aḥdut ha-Avodah				
Aḥdut ha-Avodah	1	Jaffa	1919	the first organ of the Aḥdut ha-Avodah party
Aḥdut ha-Avodah	M.	T.A.	1930–1932	lit., Mapai
Aḥdut ha-Avodah	1–4	T.A.	1943–1946	collections of issues related to Mapai
Aḥi'asaf – see: Lu'aḥ Aḥi'asaf				
Akhsanyah	1	T.A.	1955	lit.
Akhshav	Irr.	Jer.	1957	lit.
Akrav	W.	T.A.	1946–1947	humor and satire
Al Admat Bessarabyah	Irr.	T.A.	1959–1963	history of Bessarabian Jewry, 3 vols.
Alef	1	Lvov, Galicia	1937	lit.
Alef	Irr.	T.A.	1938	organ of the Ha-Ivrim movement (Canaanities)
Aleh	M.	T.A.	1959	youth organ of the Iḥud ha-Kevuẓot ve-ha-Kibbutzim; continuation of Nivim, 1951–59
Alei Hadas	1–4	Odessa, Russia	1865	lit.
Alei Mishmeret	Q.	T.A.	1958	organ of the National Religious Party Youth
Alei Si'aḥ	1–3	T.A.	1966–1967	literary circles of the Iḥud ha-Kevuẓot ve-ha-Kibbutzim
Al ha-Ḥomah	M.	T.A.	1938	organ of Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir; appeared under various other titles
Al ha-Mishmar	W.	Jer.	1922–1923	nonpartisan
Al ha-Mishmar	D.	T.A.	1943–2005	originally Mishmar, organ of Ha-Kibbutz ha-Arẓi Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir; from 1948 Al ha-Mishmar, Ḥotam organ of Mapam; from 1970 also weekly magazine
Al ha-Saf	1	Jer.	1918	the last organ of Po'alei Zion in Ereẓ Israel before it merged with Aḥdut ha-Avodah
Al Ḥuk ha-Mikra	1–4	T.A.	1947–1954	biblical research
Alil	1–2	N.Y.	1946–1947	lit.
Alim	1	Kiev, Ukraine	1912	lit.
Alim	Irr.	Jer.	1939–1956	Youth Aliyah; ceased publication in 1956 and renewed in 1970
Alim	Irr.	T.A.	1951–1963	theoretical organ of the Ha-No'ar ha-Ẓiyyoni movement.

Title	Freq.	Place of Publication	Year(s) of Appearance	Main Characteristics
Alim le Bibliografyah u-le-Safranut	B-M.	T.A.	1947–1948	bibliography and librarianship; first volume published under the names Yad la-Safran and Ha-Safran
Alim le Bibliografyah ve-Korot Yisrael	Irr.	Vienna	1934–1937	bibliography and Jewish history
Aliyah	Irr.	Jer.	1934–1937 1969	published by the Aliyah Department of the Jewish Agency
Almanakh ha-Ishah	A.	T.A.	1961–1965	women's almanac
Almanakh Miẓpeh	1	T.A.	1930	literary almanac of the Miẓpeh Publishing House
Alonekh	M.	T.A.	1950–1963	women's publication
Alon ha-Congress	Q.	T.A.	1967	published by the Israel branch of the World Jewish Congress
Alon ha-Dayyagim	Q.	Haifa	1951–1962	bulletin on fisheries; superseded by Dayig u-Midgeh
Alon ha-Ḥevrah ha-Numismatit	Q.	T.A.	1966	numismatics
Alon ha-Note'a	M.	T.A.	1945	cultivating fruit trees
Alon ha-Palmaḥ	Irr.	T.A.	1942–1950	illegal organ of the Palmaḥ; without a masthead and no mention of an address
Alon ha-Shofetim	Irr.	T.A.	1963	bulletin of soccer referees
Alon ha-Shomerim	Irr.	T.A.	1935–1957	organ of the Association of Guards
Alon ha-Tenu'ah ha-Bein-le'ummit le-Sarevanei Milḥamah mi-Ta'amei Maẓpun	Irr.	T.A.	1949–1959 1963–1964	bulletin of the international movement of conscientious objectors
Alonim (Kibbutz Dati) – see: Ammudim				
Alon Kibbutzei ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir	M.	T.A.	1965	economic problems of the settlements organized in Ha-Kibbutz ha-Arẓi ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir
Alon Mishkei ha-Iḥud	Irr.	T.A.	1963	economic problems of the settlements organized in Iḥud ha-Kevuẓot ve-ha-Kibbutzim
Alon Mishkei ha-Kibbutz ha-Me'uḥad	Irr.	T.A.	1961	economic problems of the settlements organized in ha-Kibbutz ha-Me'uḥad
Al Penei Kaddur ha-Areẓ	1	T.A.	1943	view of the world during World War II
Al Saf ha-Maḥar	1	T.A.	1945	problems of the post-World War II period
Alummah	1	Jer.	1936	research in Judaic studies
Almmanah	1	Jer.	1939	research in Judaic studies
Almmanah	A.	Jer.	1956–1957	Torah culture
Ammot	B-M	T.A.	1962–1965	lit. and Jewish problems
Ammud ha-Yirah	Irr.	Jer.	1879–1880	ultra-Orthodox organ devoted to propaganda for the settlement of Ereẓ Israel; previously published in Hungary
Ammudim	W.	T.A.	1944–1947	new Aliyah
Ammudim	Irr.	T.A.	1955	organ of Kibbutz Dati
Am u-Medinah	W.	Jer.	1950–1951	general affairs
Am va-Sefer	Irr.	Jer.-T.A.	1936	Hebrew culture in Ereẓ Israel and the Diaspora; published by Brit Ivrit Olamit; continuation of Berit Am
Am ve-Admato	Q.	Jer.	1963	problems of land settlement; organ of the Jewish National Fund; continuation of Karnenu
Anakh	1	T.A.	1954	lit.
Appiryon	M.	N.Y.	1923–1927	rabbinics; printed in Hungary
Arakhim	1	Warsaw	1919	lit.
Arakhim	Irr.	T.A.	1968–1969	collections for holidays and festivals published by the Religious Department of the Histadrut
Arakhim	Irr.	T.A.	1969	ideological organ of the New Communist Party (Rakaḥ)
Areshet	1	Jer.	1944	lit. organ of religious writers
Aresheth	A.	Jer.	1958	bibliography and Hebrew booklore
Ari'el	W.	Jer.	1874–1877	newspaper published by former members of the editorial board of Ḥavaẓẓelet
Arkhitekturah – see: Adrikhalut				
Asefat Ḥakhamim	M.	Koenigsberg, E. Prussia	1877–1878	the second socialist periodical in Hebrew (after Ha-Emet); officially a supplement to Ha-Kol
Aspaklaryah	M.	N.Y.	1904	lit.
Aspaklaryah	W.	Jer.	1922–1923	lit. and general affairs
Aspaklaryah	M.	T.A.	1938–1947	digest of Hebrew and non-Hebrew newspapers in Ereẓ Israel and abroad
Aspaklaryah shel ha-Sport	W.	T.A.	1946–1948	sports

Title	Freq.	Place of Publication	Year(s) of Appearance	Main Characteristics
Asuppot	Irr.	T.A.	1945	history of Ereẓ Israel and Jewish labor movement
At	M.	T.A.	1967	women’s magazine
Atidenu	M.	Berlin	1924	culture and education
Atidenu	M.	Buenos Aires	1926–1927	lit. and current affairs
Atidot	Irr.	T.A.	1944–1959	lit. for youth; frequency of publication changed several times
Attikot	Irr.	Jer.	1946	archaeology
Avaryanut ve-Ḥevrah	A.	Jer.	1966	delinquency; first year semiannually
Avodah u-Vittu’aḥ Le’ummmi	M.	Jer.	1949	labor and national insurance
Ayin	W.	T.A.	1951–1952	lit.
Ayin be-Ayin	W.	Jer.	1958–1959	religious illustrated magazine; superseded by Panim el Panim
Ba-Avodah	1	Jaffa	1918	first publication edited by Berl Katznelson general affairs
Ba-Derekh	F.	Vienna	1920–1921	general affairs
Ba-Derekh	W.	Warsaw	1935–1937	the last Hebrew newspaper in Poland
Ba-Derekh	A.	Givat Ḥavivah-Merḥavyah	1967	Jewish labor movement in Israel and abroad
Ba-Derekh (communist) – see: Zo ha-Derekh				
Ba-Histadrut	M.	T.A.	1943–1970	weekly review of all Histadrut activities; called Pinkas li-Fe’ilei ha-Histadrut during first year of publication; ceased publication in 1960 and renewed in 1962; ceased publication in 1970
Ba-Kefar	M.	T.A.	1947–1952	organ of agricultural workers
Ba-Kibbutz	W.	T.A.	1950	information weekly of Ha-Kibbutz ha-Me’uḥad
Ba-Kibbutz ha-Arẓi – see: Ha-Shavu’a ba-Kibbutz ha-Arẓi				
Ba-Kur	F.	T.A.	1931	organ of Ha-No’ar ha-Oved; seven issues published 1927–30
Ba-Ma’arakhah	W.	Jer.	1931–1934	extreme anti-Mandatory publication
Ba-Ma’arakhah	Irr.	Jer.	1948, 1961–	problems of Sephardi Jews (see also: Shevet va-Am)
Ba-Ma’avar	1–4	Warsaw	1925	published by Hitaḥadut in Poland
Bamah	B-M.	Jer.	1933–1948 1959	theatrical review
Ba-Maḥaneh	W.	T.A.	1948	published by Israel Defense Forces; formerly published underground in mimeographed form
Bamat ha-Ishah	Q.	T.A.	1960	published by WIZO
Ba-Mesillah	M.	T.A.	1946–1947	published by Mizrachi
Ba-Midgeh	M.	Nir David	1948	fisheries; continuation of Alon li-Megaddelei Dagim
Ba-Mifal	M.	Haifa	1942–1950	industrial Histadrut
Ba-Mifneh	F.	T.A.	1935–1940	published by Left Po’alei Zion; formerly collections published for special occasions under this title
Ba-Mishor	W.	Jer.	1940–1946	lit., religious
Ba-Mivḥan	M.	T.A.	1943	published by Maḥanot ha-Olim, Deror, Tenu’at ha-No’ar ha-Ḥalutzi; appeared irregularly from the 1930s to the 1940s
Ba-Nativ	M.	Jer.	1951–1955	aviation club publication
Ba-Nekhar	1	Alexandria, Egypt	1918	published by Palestinian refugees in Egypt during World War I
Ba-Rekhev	M.	T.A.	1955	transportation
Bar-Ilan	A.	Ramat Gan	1963	Judaica and humanities
Barkai	Irr.	Vienna	1886	lit.
Barkai	W.	Odessa, Russia	1919	lit.
Barkai	F.	Johannesburg	1933	lit.; a few first numbers called Ba-Sad
Ba-Sa’ar	1	T.A.	1943	lit.; Hebrew writers for Jewish soldiers
Ba-Sha’ar	F.	T.A.	1947–1952	Youth Movement of Mapam
Ba-Sha’ar	M. & B-M.	T.A.	1958	ideological organ of Mapam
Ba-Telem	Irr.	T.A.	1954–1960	published for moshavim of new immigrants
Bat Kol	D., W.	Cracow-Lvov, Galicia	1911–1914	lit., religious
Be’ad ve-Neged	B-M.	Jer.	1963	social and political problems

Title	Freq.	Place of Publication	Year(s) of Appearance	Main Characteristics
Be'ayot	M.	Jer.	1944–1949	Jewish-Arab cooperation; continuation of Be'ayot ha-Yom
Be'ayot Beinle'ummiyyot	Q.	T.A.	1963	international affairs, underdeveloped countries
Be'ayot ha-Ḥinnukh ha-Meshuttaf	Q.	T.A.	1937	pedagogical organ of Ha-Kibbutz ha-Arẓi Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir
Be'ayot ha-Yom				Jewish-Arab cooperation, superseded by Be'ayot
Be-Ḥakla'ut u-va-Meshek	M.	T.A.	1960–1995	labor and output
Beḥinot	1–11	Jer.	1952–1955	literary criticism
Beḥinot	Irr.	T.A.	1970	studies of Russian and East European Jews
Beinetayim	1	Jer.	1913	lit.
Bein ha-Meẓarim	1–2	Jer.	1915	organ of Po'alei Zion during World War I
Bein ha-Zemannim	1	Safed	1916	organ of Po'alei Zion during World War I
Bein ha-Zemannim	1–2	Kharkov, Ukraine	1918–1919	lit.
Bein Milḥamah ve-Shalom	1	T.A.	1945	post World War II political problems
Beitar	M.	Jer.	1933–1934	lit.; Revisionist
Beit Eked	1	Berdichev, Ukraine	1892	lit.
Beit ha-Keneset	1	Jer.	1955	studies of synagogues
Beit ha-Midrash	M.	Vienna	1865	Judaic studies
Beit ha-Midrash	1	Cracow, Poland	1888	rabbinics and Judaic studies
Beit ha-Midrash he-Ḥadash	M.	Grajewo, Poland	1928–1931	Judaic studies
Beit Mikra	Q.	Jer.	1956	Bible studies
Beit Oẓar ha-Sifrut – see: Oẓar ha-Sifrut				
Beit Talmud	1–5	Vienna	1881–1889	studies of rabbinic literature
Beit Va'ad la-Ḥakhamim	M.	Grosswardein (Oradea), Transylvania	1875	Judaic studies
Beit Va'ad la-Ḥakhamim	M.	London-Leeds	1902–1904	rabbinics and Judaic studies
Beit Va'ad la-Ḥakhamim	M.	N.Y.	1903	rabbinics
Beit Va'ad la-Ḥakhamim		Satu Mare (Szatmar), Transylvania	1922–1939	rabbinics
Beit Ya'akov	M.	Jer.	1959	education and lit., religious
Beit Yiẓhak	A.	N.Y.	1952–1961	
Beivar	Q.	T.A.	1959	zoo
Be-Maḥaneh Gadna	M.	T.A.	1949	organ of the *Gadna
Be-Maḥaneh Naḥal	M.	T.A.	1949	organ of the *Naḥal
Be-Misholei ha-Ḥinnukh	Irr.	Kaunas (Kovno), Lithuania	1936–1940	pedagogy
Ben Ammi	M.	St. Petersburg	1887	lit.
Bereshit	1	Moscow-Leningrad	1926	lit.; printed in Berlin
Beri'ut	F.	T.A.	1933–1935	health
Beri'ut ha-Am	Q.	Jer.	1926–1927	health
Beri'ut ha-Oved	Irr.	T.A.	1924–1929	workers' health
Beri'ut ha-Ẓibbur	Q.	Jer.	1958	health
Be-Sha'ah Zu	1–3	Jaffa	1916	organ of Ha-Po'el ha-Ẓa'ir during World War I
Be-Sherut ha-Ezaḥ	Q.	T.A.	1957	Magen David Adom in Israel
Be-Sherut ha-Ta'asukah	B-M.	Ramat Gan	1959	problems of employment
Be-Terem	M., F., Q.	T.A.	1942–1960	semilegal organ of the Haganah; originally called Milḥamtenu and also known by other titles until the establishment of the State of Israel
Betiḥut	M.	T.A.	1957	safety and hygiene at work
Be-Ẓok ha-Ittim	1	Safed	1919	lit.
Bikkoret ha-Ittim	Irr.	Leipzig, Germany	1864–1865	the first humor and satire periodical in Hebrew

Title	Freq.	Place of Publication	Year(s) of Appearance	Main Characteristics
Bikkoret u-Farshanut	Irr.	Ramat Gan	1970	literary criticism
Bikkurei ha-Ittim	A.	Vienna	1821–1831	lit. and Judaic studies: first few volumes partly in German
Bikkurei ha-Ittim	1	Vienna	1844	lit. and Judaic studies
Bikkurei ha-Ittim ha-Ḥadashim	1	Vienna	1845	lit. and Judaic studies
Bikkurei ha-Shanah	A.	Amsterdam	1843	Hebrew and Dutch almanac
Bikkurei To’elet	A.	Amsterdam	1820	almanac
Bikkurim	A.	Vienna	1864–1865	lit.
Billui Na’im	F.	Jer.	1969	humor, crossword puzzles, etc.
Bimat ha-Ḥovevim	Irr.	T.A.	1959	amateur theater organ
Binyan va-Ḥaroshet	M.	T.A.	1927–1928	organ of the Engineers’ Union; continuation of Yedi’ot
Bi-Sedeh Ḥemed		T.A.	1957	Pedagogical organ of religious teachers
Bi-Sedeh ha-Beniyyah	M.	Haifa	1953	engineering
Bi-Sedeh ha-Tekhnikah	Irr.		1941–1946	Technology; name changed from Bi-Shevilei ha-Tekhnikah to Be-Darkhei ha-Tekhnikah to Bi-Netivei ha-Tekhnikah
Bi-Tefuẓot ha-Golah	A.	Jer.	1958	World Jewry, published by the Zionist Organization
Bittaḥon ve-Higyenah ba-Avodah	Q.	Jer.	1949–1956	safety and hygiene at work
Bitta’on	M.	Chicago	1934–1938	pedagogy, originally mimeographed
Bitte’on Ḥabad	Irr.	T.A.	1953	published by Ḥabad Ḥasidim
Bitte’on Ḥeil ha-Avir – see: Ḥeil ha-Avir				
Bittu’aḥ	Q.	T.A.	1967	insurance
Bitzaron	M.	N.Y.	1939–1992	lit. and Judaic studies
Bul	W.	T.A.	1965	gossip and sex
Bulim – see also: Ha-Bulai	M.	T.A.	1957–1963	stamps; superseded by Ha-Yarḥon ha-Yisre’eli le-Vula’ut
Bulletin shel ha-Makhon le Ḥeker ha-Kalkalah		T.A.	1937–1948	economics
Bustanai – see also: Mi-Yamim	W.	Reḥovot	1929–1939	organ of the Hitaḥadut ha-Ikkarim (Farmers’ Association): youth supplement Bustanai la-No’ar, 1934–37
Daf	Irr.	T.A.	1950	information bulletin of the Hebrew Writers Association
Daf ha-Tenu’ah	W.	T.A.	1960	organ of Ha-No’ar ha-Ẓiyyoni
Dagesh	F., M.	T.A.	1950–1954	digest of the Hebrew press abroad
Dappei Aliyah	Irr.	Jer	1949	aliyah problems
Dappim	Q.	Jer.	1948	Youth Aliyah
Dappim	M.	Johannesburg	1950–1953	lit.
Dappim	Irr.	Jerusalem	1950–1955 1964	pedagogical and special problems
Dappim le-Fiyyut u-le Vikkoret	1	Jer.	1916	poetry and criticism
Dappim le-Ḥeker ha-Sho’ah		T.A.	1951	Holocaust research by Isaac Katznelson House, N.S. 1970
Dappim le-Limmud Ta’amei ha-Mikra	Irr.	T.A.	1959	biblical accents
Dappim li-Tezunah	M.	Jer.	1950	nutrition; formerly Yarḥon ha-Tezunah
Dappim li-Ydi’ot ha-Sefer ve-ha-Safranut	Irr.	Jer.	1942–1943	booklore and librarianship
Dappim Refu’iyyim	B-M.	T.A.	1935	medical organ of Kuppat Ḥolim
Darkenu	1	Odessa, Russia	1917	Hebrew culture and education
Darkhei ha-Kalkalah	B-M.	T.A.	1939–1940	economics
Darkhei ha-No’ar	1	Jer.	1938	problems of youth in the Zionist framework
Darom	M.	Buenos Aires	1938	lit.; see also Zohar
Dat u-Medinah	1	T.A.	1949	published by religious members of the Histradut
Davar	D.	T.A.	1925–1994	Histradrut daily; the first daily newspaper of Jewish workers in Ereẓ Israel
Davar la-Golah	W.	T.A.	1939–1940	Davar aimed at a readership abroad
Dayig u-Midgeh	Q.	Haifa	1963	fisheries
Degel ha-rabbanim	Irr.	Lodz, Poland	1926–1929	rabbinics
Degel ha-Torah	M.	Warsaw	1921–1922	rabbinics
De’ot	Irr.	Jer.	1957	published for religious students
Derekh – see also: Ha-Derekh				
Derekh ha-Po’el	M.	T.A.	1934–1946	Left Po’alei Zion

Title	Freq.	Place of Publication	Year(s) of Appearance	Main Characteristics
Devarenu	M.	Vienna	1930–1931	lit.
Devar ha-Moreh	Irr.	Warsaw	1930–1939	pedagogy
Devar ha-Moreh	Irr.	N.Y.	1945	pedagogy
Devar ha-Po'elet	M.	T.A.	1934	women's magazine of the Histadrut
Devar ha-Shavu'a	W.	T.A.	1946	illustrated magazine; became the weekly supplement of Davar
Devar ha-Shilton ha-Mekomi – see: Ha-Shilton ha-Mekomi				
Devir	Q.	Berlin	1923	Judaic studies
Diglenu	M.	Warsaw	1920–1930	Ẓe'irei Agudat Israel
Diglenu	M.	T.A.	1939	Ẓe'irei Agudat Israel in Ereẓ Israel; irregular
Dinei Yisrael	A.	Jer.	1970	Jewish law and family law in Israel; partly in English
Divrei ha-Akademyah le-Madda'im	A.	Jer.	1966	transactions of the Academy
Divrei ha-Keneset		Jer.	1949	deliberations of the Knesset; preceded by deliberations of the Provisional State Council, 1948–49
Divrei Ḥakhamim	1	Metz, Lorraine	1849	collection of edited Hebrew manuscripts from the Middle Ages
Divrei ha-Yamim	1–4	Jer.	1950–1955	ancient and medieval history of the Jews in the form of a modern newspaper
Divrei Soferim	1	T.A.	1944	lit.
Diyyunim	Irr.	Ẓofit (Bet Berl)	1970	discussions of current problems
Do'ar – see also: Ha- Do'ar	Q.	Jer.	1952	published by the Ministry of Posts
Do'ar ha-Yom	D.	Jer.	1919–1936	newspaper published by native-born Palestinian Jews and supported by farming circles and older settlers; for some time edited by V. Jabotinsky and supported by the Revisionist movement
Dorenu	M.	Chicago	1934–1935	lit.
Dorot	F.	T.A.	1949–1950	lit.
Dukhan	A.	Jer.	1960–1966	music and religion
Edot	Q.	Jer.	1945–1948	folklore and ethnology
Edut le-Yisrael	Q.	N.Y.-Lvov	1888–1898	missionary newspaper
Egel ha-Zahav	W.	T.A.	1939	humor and satire
Egoz	A.	Jer.	1968–1969	lit.
Ein ha-Kore	Q.	Berlin	1923	lit. and bibliography
Ein ha-Moreh	Irr.	Sedeh Boker	1969	pedagogy
Ein ha-Sefer	Irr.	T.A.	1945–1947	bibliography
Eitanim – see also: Ha-Eitanim	M.	T.A.	1948	health and hygiene; for a number of years included a youth supplement, Eitanim li-Yladeinu
Eked	Q.	T.A.	1960	poetry
Emunim	1	Jer.	1955	collections of poems by religious poets
Ereẓ	1	Odessa, Russia	1919	lit.
Ereẓ Yisrael		Jer.	1923	the first morning daily in Ereẓ Israel
Eretz Yisrael	A.	Jer.	1951–1969	archaeology and history of the yishuv; each volume is dedicated to a scholar
Eshkolot	Irr.	Kishinev, Moldavia	1927–1929	lit.
Eshkolot	A.	Jer.	1954	the classical world
Eshnav	Irr.	T.A.	1941–1947	illegal organ of the Haganah; 157 issues printed
Etgar	Irr.	T.A.	1960–1967	organ of the "Semitic movement"
Foto-Roman	M.	T.A.	1970	picture stories
Gadish	1	T.A.	1930	lit.
Gallim	F.	Vilna	1929–1930	lit.
Gammad	M.	T.A.	1957	humor
Gan ha-Yerek	M.	Jaffa	1917–1918	vegetable growing; published Berl Katzenelson's articles on vegetables

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Gannenu	Irr.	Jer.	1919–1925	kindergarten
Gan Peraḥim	1–3	Vilna	1882–1893	lit.
Gan va-Nof	M.	T.A.	1945	gardening and planting
Gazit	M.	T.A.	1932	lit. and art; first published in Jerusalem
Genazim – see also: Yedi’ot Genazim	A.	T.A.	1961	collection of documents of modern Hebrew literature
Ge’on ha-Areẓ	A.	Warsaw	1893–1894	lit.
Gerizim	F.	Ḥolon	1970	the second Samaritan newspaper
Gesher	Q.	Jer.	1954	problems of Jews and Judaism
Gevillin	Q.	T.A.	1957	published by the National Religious Party
Gevulot	Irr.	Vienna	1918–1920	lit.
Gilyonenu	Irr.	N.Y.	1946–1954	religious education of American Mizrachi
Gilyonot	M.	T.A.	1933–1954	lit.
Ginzei Kedem	Irr.	Jer.	1922–1944	collections of research on the geonic period
Ginzei Nistarot	Irr.	Bamberg, Germany	1868–1878	Judaic studies
Ginzei Schechter	Irr.	N.Y.	1928–1929	genizah studies
Gittit	M.	T.A.	1964	music
Gordonyah	Irr.	Warsaw	1926–1933	published by World Center of the Gordonia movement
Goren Kiddon	M.	T.A.	1948–1951	sports: published by Hapoel
Ha-Adamah	M.	T.A.	1920, 1923	lit.; final issues appeared after its editor, J.H. Brenner, was killed
Ha-Aḥdut – see also: Aḥdut	W.	Jer.	1910–1915	first Hebrew organ of Po’alei Zion in Ereẓ Israel; a monthly in 1910
Ha-Aḥot be-Yisrael	Q.	T.A.	1948	nursing; copies of Ha-Aḥot came out in Jerusalem during the 1930s and 1940s
Ha-Am	W.	Moscow	1916–1918	lit.
Ha-Am	D.	Moscow	1917–1918	the last Hebrew daily in Russia; closed by the Bolsheviks
Ha-Am	W.	N.Y.	1916	lit.
Ha-Am		Jer.	1931	Revisionist; superseded by Ḥazit ha-Am
Haaretz		Jer.-T.A.	1919	until Dec. 2, 1919 called Ḥadshot ha-Areẓ; in Jerusalem until 1923 and from then in Tel Aviv; many supplements for youth and others; weekly magazine supplement issued since the beginning of 1963
Ha-Areẓ	Irr.	Jer.	1891	lit.
Ha-Areẓ ve-ha-Avodah	Q.	Jaffa	1918–1919	organ of Ha-Po’el ha-Ẓa’ir
Ha-Ari’el – see: Ari’el				
Ha-Asif	A.	London-Leipzig	1847, 1849	Judaic studies
Ha-Asif	A.	Warsaw	1884–1893	lit.
Ha-Be’er	Q.	Zamosc, Poland	1923–1938	rabbinics
Ha-Bimah ha-Ivrit	M.	Buenos Aires	1921–1928	lit.
Ha-Binyan	Irr.	T.A.	1934–1938	architecture; known under other names
Ha-Boker	D.	Warsaw	1909	
Ha-Boker	D.	T.A.	1935–1965	General Zionists (B), Liberals; many supplements
Ha-Boker Or	M.	Lvov-Warsaw	1876–1886	lit.
Ha-Boneh ha-Ḥofshi	B-M.	T.A.	1933	freemasonry; began as a quarterly for a number of years
Ha-Bulai ha-Ivri	Irr.	T.A.	1950–1957	stamps; during the last year of publication known as Ha-Bulai
Ḥadashot	W. & D.	T.A.	1937–1940	general affairs
Ḥadashot Aḥaronot	D.	Jer.	1936–1937	general affairs
Ḥadashot Arkheologiyyot	Q.	Jer.	1962	archaeology
Ḥadashot me-ha-Areẓ ha-Kedoshah	W.	Jer.-Cairo	1918–1919	newspaper of the British occupation authorities; the first newspaper to appear in Palestine after the British conquest; its continuation was Ḥadashot ha-Areẓ the first incarnation of Haaretz
Ha-Dayig ha-Yisre’eli	M.	T.A.	1950–1961	fisheries
Ha-Degel – see: Ha-Yehudi				
Ha-Derekh	M.	Frankfurt Zurich-Vienna	1913–1914 1919–1924	central organ of Agudat Israel

Title	Freq.	Place of Publication	Year(s) of Appearance	Main Characteristics
Ha-Derekh	Irr.	Warsaw	1928	World Union of Jewish Youth
Ha-Derekh	W.	T.A.	1942–1947	Agudat Israel
Ha-Derekh	Irr.	T.A.	1951–1965	theoretical organ of the Israel Communist Party; superseded by Zu ha-Derekh of the New Communist List (Rakaḥ)
Ha-Deror	W.	N.Y.	1911	lit.
Ha-Devir	M.	Jer.	1919–1923	Judaic studies and rabbinics
Ha-Devorah	M.	N.Y	1911–1912	lit. and satire
Hadoar	D.	N.Y.	1921–1923	255 issues
Hadoar	W.	N.Y.	1923	lit.
Ha-Dor	W.	Cracow Poland	1901, 1904	lit.
Ha-Dor	D.	T.A.	1948–1955	Mapai afternoon paper
Hadorom	S-A.	N.Y.	1957	rabbinics and Judaic studies
Ḥadshot ha-Erev	D.	T.A.	1946–1947	afternoon paper of Mapai
Ḥadshot ha-Kalkalah ha-Ereẓ Yisre’elit	M.	Jer.	1945–1948	economics
Ḥadshot ha-Neft	M.	T.A.	1965	published by the Israel Oil Institute
Ḥadshot ha-Sport	D.	T.A.	1954	sports
Ḥadshot ha-Taḥburah	F.	Ramat Gan	1970	air, land, and sea transportation
Ḥadshot ha-Yom	D.	Jer.	1943	a government newspaper in Hebrew that was published when all Hebrew newspapers were confiscated on the eve of the siege and search of Ramat ha-Kovesh by the British; eight issues published in November 1943
Ḥadshot N.C.R.	Q.	T.A.	1964	N.C.R. news
Ḥadshot Pensyah u-Vittu’aḥ Soẓyali	M.	T.A.	1968	pension and social security
Ḥadshot Sport ve-Toto	W.	T.A.	1970	sports and Toto (football pools)
Ha-Edah	Q.	Jer.	1966	ultra-Orthodox community in Jerusalem
Ha-Eitanim	M.	Drohobycz, Galicia	1897–1898	the first pedagogical periodical in Hebrew; only three issues published
Ha-Emet	M.	Vienna	1877	the first Socialist periodical in Hebrew; only three issues published; two reprints
Ha-Em ve-ha-Yeled	A.	T.A.	1934–1936	child care; also under the names Sefer ha-Shanah ha-Em ve-ha-Yeled or Lu’aḥ ha-Em-ve-ha-Yeled
Ha-Esh	M.	T.A.	1955–1962	published by the Fire Department; isolated pamphlets under this title came out in 1930 and 1940
Ha-Eshkol	A.	Cracow, Poland	1898–1913	Judaic studies (1–7)
Ha-Ezraḥ	M.	Jaffa	1919	lit.
Ha-Galgal	F. & W.	Jer.	1943–1948	lit. and radio; continuation of Radio Yerushalayim; official paper of the Mandatory government
Ha-Galill	1	Tiberias-Safed	1919	lit.
Ha-Gan	1	St. Petersburg	1899	lit.
Ha-Gat	1	St. Petersburg	1897	lit.
Ha-Gedud	Irr.	T.A.	1923–1929	published by the “Defenders of the Hebrew language”
Ha-Gesher	Q.	Chicago	1939–1940	pedagogy
Ha-Ginnah	Irr.	Odessa-Jer.	1917–1925	nursery school problems
Ha-Goren	A.	Berdichev-Berlin	1897–1928	Judaic studies
Ha-Goren	1	St. Petersburg	1898	lit.
Ha-Ḥarsa – see: Ha-Shemesh				
Ha-Ḥayyal ha-Ivri	F. & D.		1941–1946	originally mimeographed in the North African desert and later in various places in Europe; a daily under the name La-Ḥayyal, 1944–1946
Ha-Ḥayyal ha-Meshuḥrar	Irr.	T.A.	1946	began to appear as Ha-Ḥayyal ha-Ivri, the newspaper of the demobilized soldiers, and later under other names until it became the organ of disabled veterans of Israel wars; currently Ha-Loḥem
Ha-Ḥayyim	W.	Vilna	1920	lit.
Ha-Ḥayyim	W.	Jer.	1922	illus. lit.; one of the first illustrated weeklies
Ha-Ḥayyim Hallalu	W.	T.A.	1935	illus.
Ha-Ḥazit	Irr.	T.A.	1943–1948	organ of Leḥi; mostly mimeographed organ
Ha-Ḥazit	M.	T.A.	1966	organ of the extreme nationalists (formerly Leḥi) and after the Six-Day War supporting the territorial integrity of Ereẓ Israel

Title	Freq.	Place of Publication	Year(s) of Appearance	Main Characteristics
Ha-Hed	M.	Jer.	1926–1952	lit., religious; unofficial organ of the Department of Religion of the JNF
Ha-Ḥerut – see also: Ḥerut	F. & D.	Jer.	1909–1917	a daily from 1912; the only newspaper to appear in Jerusalem during World War 1
Ha-Ḥerut	D.	Jer.	1932	Sephardi organ
Ha-Ḥevrah	Irr.	T.A.	1940–1946	pro-Revisionist
Ha-Ḥevrah	Irr.	T.A.	1959–1964 1969	pro-Mapai academicians; now under the name Adademot
Ha-Ḥinnukh	M., B-M.Q. Q.	Jer. T.A.	1910	the oldest pedagogical periodical still appearing
Ha-Ḥinnukh ha-Gufani	B-M.	T.A. Netanyah	1944	originally published by the Va'ad Le'ummi and now published by the Wingate Institute; publication periodically interrupted
Ha-Ḥinnukh ha-Ivri	Q.	N.Y.	1938–1939	pedagogy
Ha-Ḥinnukh ha-Meshuttaf – see: Be'ayot ha-Hinnukh				
Ha-Ḥinnukh ha-Musikali	Irr.	Jer.	1950	music education
Ha-Ḥoker	Irr.	Cracow-Vienna	1891–1893	Judaic studies
Ha-Ḥomah	Irr.	Jer.	1944	published by the Neturei Karta under various names, including Ḥomatenu, Mishmeret Ha-Ḥomah, etc.
Ha-Ḥozeh	W.	Berlin-Hamburg	1881–1882	lit.
Ha-Ikkar	Irr.	Jer.	1893–1895	first agricultural periodical in Hebrew – first two issues are partly in Yiddish
Ha-Ishah	M.	Jer.	1926–1929	women's magazine
Ha-Ishah ba-Medinah	M.	T.A.	1949–1953	women's magazine
Ha-Ishah be-Yisrael	Irr.	T.A.	1948–1949	WIZO organ; first issued entitled WIZO bi-Medinat Yisrael
Ha-Itton ha-Demokrati	Irr.	T.A.	1945	the "Third [Trotskyite] Force Movement"
Ha-Itton ha-Rasmi	F.	Jer.	1921–1948	official gazette of the British in Palestine; also in Arabic and English
Ha-Itton ha-Yehudi	Irr.	Jer.-T.A.	1963	organ of the World Union of Jewish Journalists; partly in Yiddish, three in English; first 17 issues entitled Korot
Haivri – see also: Ivri	W.	N.Y.	1892–1898 1901–1902	lit.; with short interruptions
Ha-Ivri	W.	Berlin-N.Y.	1910–1921	Mizrachi; from 1916 in New York
Ha-Ivri	Irr.	T.A.	1935–1936	vocalized, for new immigrants
Ha-Ivri he-Ḥadash	1	Warsaw	1912	lit.
Ha-Kabbai ha-Mitnaddev	B-M.	T.A.	1938–1945	volunteer firemen
Ha-Kabbelan ve-ha-Boneh	M.	T.A.	1952	Building Contractors' Association
Ha-Kalban	M.	Jer.	1944–1947	dog owners and trainers
Ha-Kalkalah ha-Ereẓ Yisre'elit	M.	T.A.	1935–1938	economy of Palestine
Ha-Karmel	W. & M.	Vilna	1860–1879	the first Hebrew weekly of Lithuanian Jews; a weekly until the beginning of 1871
Ha-Karmel	D.	Haifa	1938	afternoon daily
Ha-Kaspan	M.	Jer.	1932–1934	financial and economic affairs
Ha-Kedem	Q.	St. Petersburg	1907–1909	Judaic studies
Ha-Kenes ha-Madda'i ha-Meyuḥad	Irr.	Jer.	1956	published by the Association for the Advancement of Science in Israel
Ha-Kerem	1	Warsaw	1887	Judaic studies, lit.
Ha-Kerem	1	Vilna	1906	lit.
Ha-Kerem	1	Berdichev, Ukraine	1897	lit.
Ha-Kerem	B-M.	Boston, Mass.	1915	pedagogy
Ha-Keshet – see also: Keshet	M.	Berlin	1903	lit. and art; the first art periodical in Hebrew
Ha-Khimai be-Yisrael	Irr.	Haifa	1968	organ of the Israel Chemistry Society
Ha-Kinnus ha-Arẓi le-Torah she-be-Al Peh	A.	Jer.	1959	halakhic transactions
Ha-Kinnus ha-Olami le-Madda'ei ha-Yahadut	Irr.	Jer.	1952, 1967–1968	papers of the First and Fourth World Congress of Jewish studies; partly in other languages

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Ḥakla'ut be-Yisrael		T.A.	1956	agriculture
Ha-Kokhavim	1	Vilna	1865	lit.
Ha-Kokhavim be-Ḥodsham	M.	Jer.	1954	astronomy
Ha-Kol – see also: Kol	F. & W.	Koenigsberg, E. Prussia	1876–1880	the second Hebrew Socialist newspaper, Asefat Ḥakhamim, was published under the auspices of this paper
Ha-Kol	W. & F.	N.Y.	1889	a continuation of the previous entry
Ha-Kol	W.	Warsaw	1907	ultra-Orthodox
Ha-Kol	D.	Jer.	1949–1967	Po'alei Agudat Israel
Ha-Le'om	M. & W.	N.Y.	1901–1908	during the first years partly in Yiddish
Ha-Le'ummi	W.	N.Y.	1888–1889	lit.
Ha-Levanon	M., F. & W.	Jer., Paris-Mainz-London	1863–1886	the first newspaper published in Jerusalem (1863–64); afterward in Europe with interruptions
Halikhot – see also: Shanah be-Shanah	Q.	T.A.	1958	religious publication
Hallel	M.	Jer.	1930	music and song
Ha-Loḥem – see: Ha-Ḥayyal ha-Meshuḥar				
Ha-Ma'arav	F. & W.	T.A.	1950–1952	
Ha-Ma'as	Irr.	T.A.	1944–1950	organ of Leḥi during the British Mandate
Ha-Mabbit	W.	Vienna	1878	lit.; some issues under the title Ha-Mabbit le-Yisrael
Ha-Madda ve-ha-Tekhnikah – Ha-Tekhnai ha-Ẓa'ir – see: Ha-Tekhnai ha-Ẓa'ir				
Ha-Maggid	W.	Lyck-Berlin-Cracow	1856–1903	the first modern newspaper in Hebrew; from the 1890s the name varies: Ha-Maggid he-Ḥadash, Ha-Maggid le-Yisrael, Ha-Shavu'a
Ha-Maḥar	Irr.	T.A.	1927–1931 1940	a nonconformist publication by A. Hameiri
Ha-Makkabbi	Q.	Odessa, Russia	1918	Maccabi Russia
Ha-Makkabbi	Irr.	Jer.-Jaffa-T.A.	1913–1938	various pamphlets and organs by this name were published irregularly by the Maccabi Organization
Ḥammamot u-Feraḥim	Irr.	T.A.	1968	flower growing
Ḥamishah ha-Kunteresim	1	Vienna	1864	collection of edited ancient manuscripts
Ha-Ma'or	M.	N.Y.	1946	rabbinics
Ha-Mashkif	D.	T.A.	1938–1948	Revisionist organ; superseded by Herut
Ha-Matos	M.	T.A.	1954	aviation
Ha-Mattarah	W.	T.A.	1933	published by the Grossman faction, which split from the Revisionist movement in the same year
Ha-Ma'yan	M. & Q.	Jer.	1952	halakhic and Judaic studies
Ha-Mazkir	Irr.	Lvov, Galicia	1881–1886	Hebrew supplement to the Polish-Jewish Assimilations paper Ojczyzna
Ha-Me'ammer	Irr.	Jer.	1905–1920	collections of Palestinography
Ha-Me'assef – see also: Me'assef	Irr.	Koenigsberg-Berlin-Breslau-Altona-Dessau	1783–1811	inaugurated the Haskalah period of modern Jewish literature
Ha-Me'assef	1	Breslau, Germany	1829	lit.; partly in German
Ha-Me'assef	1	Vienna	1862	new edition of the first volume of Ha-Me'assef with many additions
Ha-Me'assef	1	Koenigsberg, Prussia	1879	lit. supplement to Ha-Kol
Ha-Me'assef	M.	Jer.	1896–1915	rabbinics
Ha-Me'assef ba-Areẓ ha-Ḥadashah	1	N.Y.	1881	organ of the first Society of Lovers of Hebrew in the United States
Ha-Me'assef li-Shenat ha-Sheloshim shel ha-Ẓefirah	1	Warsaw	1903	in honor of the 30th anniversary of Ha-Ẓefirah
Ha-Medinah	D.	T.A.	1948	a political newspaper

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Ha-Me'ir	M.	Jaffa	1912	Palestinography
Ha-Melakhah	Irr.	Jer.	1943–1950 1958	published for craftsmen
Ha-Meliẓ	W. & B-W.	Odessa-St. Petersburg	1860–1903	St. Petersburg from 1871; a daily from 1886
Ha-Melonai	Q.	T.A.	1967	published by the Hotel Association in Israel
Ha-Melona'ut	Irr.	T.A.	1949	published by the Union of Hotel Employees in Israel
Ha-Me'orer	M.	London	1906–1907	lit.
Ha-Me'orer	Irr.	T.A.	1953–1958	organ for Sephardim and members of Oriental communities
Ha-Meshek ha-Ḥakla'i	M.	T.A.	1940	continuation of Ha-Ḥakla'i ha-Ẓa'ir; early volumes entitled Ha-Meshek ha-Ẓa'ir, first volume in German
Ha-Meshek ha-Shittufi	F.	T.A.	1932	cooperative economics; ceased publication in 1948 and reissued in 1953
Ha-Meshek ha-Ẓa'ir – see: Ha-Meshek ha-Ḥakla'i		.		
Ha-Messilah	M.	N.Y.	1936–1943	rabbinics; partly in Yiddish
Ha-Messilah	Irr.	Jer.	1956–1964	organ of yeshivah students and immigrants from Yemen
Ha-Mevakker ha-Penimi	Q.	T.A.-Jer.	1963	published by the Association of Internal Auditors
Ha-Mevasser	W.	Lvov, Galicia	1861–1866	the first Hebrew newspaper in Galicia; its literary supplement was called Ha-Nesher
Ha-Mevasser	W.	Constantinople	1910–1911	a Zionist paper published after the revolution of the Young Turks
Ha-Mevasser	D. & W.	Jer.	1948–1952	Agudat Israel; originally an afternoon daily, later a weekly
Ha-Mevatte'aḥ ha-Yisre'eli	Irr.	T.A.	1941–1960	insurance; two issues appeared in 1932 under the title Ha-Mevatte'aḥ
Ha-Mifal	M.	T.A.	1953	output and export
Ha-Minhal	Q.	T.A.	1950–1959	management
Hamisderonah	M.	Jer.	1886–1887	rabbinics and Judaic studies; the first issues were printed in Frankfurt
Ha-Misḥar	W., F. & M.	T.A.-Jaffa	1933–1940 1945–1956	trade
Ha-Misḥar ba-Ammim u-ve-Yisrael	1	T.A.	1941	trade
Ha-Mishpat – see also: Mishpat	M.	Jer.-T.A.	1927–1934	law
Ha-Mishpat ha-Ivri	1	Odessa, Russia	1918	Jewish law
Ha-Mishpat ha-Ivri	A.	T.A.	1926–1939	Jewish law
Ha-Miẓpeh	M.	St. Petersburg	1886	lit.
Ha-Miẓpeh	W.	Cracow, Poland	1904–1914 1917–1921	S.Y. Agnon published his first literary endeavors in this paper
Ha-Miẓpeh	M.	N.Y.	1910–1911	rabbinics and Judaic studies
Ha-Miẓpeh	Irr.	Warsaw	1926–1936	publication of Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir in Poland
Ha-Miẓpeh	Irr.	T.A.	1945–1949	publication of Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir in Israel
Ha-Miẓpeh	S-A.	Jer.	1961–1968	organ of the National Religious Party
Ha-Mizraḥ	M.	Cracow, Poland	1903	first organ of Mizrachi
Ha-Mizraḥ	W.	T.A.	1938	affairs of the Yemenite community
Ha-Mizraḥ he-Ḥadash	Q.	Jer.	1949	published by the Israel Oriental Society
Ha-Mizraḥi	W.	Warsaw	1919–1922	organ of Mizrachi in Poland
Ha-Modi'a	W.	Poltava, Ukraine	1910–1914	ultra-Orthodox
Ha-Modi'a	D.	Jer.	1950	Agudat Israel; supplement for children, 1952–59
Ha-Modi'a le-Ḥodahsim	M.	N.Y.	1900–1901	lit.
Ha-Moreh	M.	N.Y.	1894	lit.
Ha-Moreh	1	N.Y.	1924	pedagogy
Ha-Moriyyah – see also: Moriyyah	F.	Jer.	1892	Informative material from Ereẓ Israel
Ha-Musakh	M.	T.A.	1954	automobile repairs
Handasah ve-Adrikhalut	B-M.	T.A.	1931	engineering; in the first year appeared irregularly under various names
Ha-Ne'eman	Irr.	T.A.	1945	organ of yeshivah students

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Ha-Nesher	M.	Pressburg (Bratislava), Czechoslovakia	1933–1940	rabbinics; for Ha-Nesher of Lvov, see Ha-Mevasser
Ha-Nir	1	Jer.	1909	lit. religious
Ha-No'ar ha-Musikali	M.	T.A.	1957–1961	music education
Ha-No'ar ve-ha-Areẓ	B-M.	T.A.	1926–1927	for older youth
Ha-Noked	Irr.	Merḥavyah Haifa	1940	published by the Association of Shepherds
Ha-Of	M.	T.A.	1939	poultry raising; superseded by Ha-Meshek ha-Ẓa'ir and Ha-Meshek ha-Ḥakla'i
Ha-Ofek	Irr.	Jer.	1952–1959	published by the "Le-Ma'an ha-Tenu'ah el ha-Makor" faction of Ha-Po'el ha-Mizraḥi
Ha-Ohel	Q.	Jer.	1955	rabbinics
Ha-Ohelah	Irr.	Jer.	1925–1926	Ha-Po'el ha-Mizraḥi
Haolam – see also: Olam	W.	Cologne-Vilna-Odessa-London-Berlin-Berlin	1907–1914 1919–1950	organ of the World Zionist Organization
Ha-Olam ha-Zeh	W.	Jer.-T.A	1937	organ of Ha-Olam ha-Zeh–Ko'aḥ Ḥadash; founded as Tesha ba-Erev; name changed to Ha-Olam ha-Zeh in 1947; came under new direction in 1950; first Hebrew magazine to introduce sex
Ha-Omer	Irr.		1907–1908	lit.; S.Y. Agnon's works first appeared here under the name Agnon
Ha-Or	M.	Lvov, Galicia	1882–1883	lit.
Ha-Or – see: Ha-Ẓevi				
Ha-Or	W. & F.	T.A.	1925 1930–-1939	Communist (Trotskyite)
Ha-Or	M.	Jer.	1956–1958	organ of the Karaite community; mimeographed
Ha-Oved	Irr.	Warsaw	1921–1922	organ of the Ẓ.S. in Poland
Ha-Oved ha-Dati	Irr.	T.A.	1947–1967	Ha-Oved ha-Dati of the Histadrut
Ha-Oved ha-Le'ummi	M.	T.A.	1943–1959	central organ of the Histadrut ha-Ovedim ha-Le'ummit
Ha-Oved ha-Ẓiyyoni	M.	T.A.	1936–1955	organ of Ha-Oved ha-Ẓiyyoni
Ha-Pardes	M.	Several places in Poland & in the U.S.	1913	rabbinics
Ha-Pardes – see also: Pardes	W. & B-W.	Jer.	1909	general affairs
Ha-Pedogog	M.	Cracow, Poland	1903–1904	the first modern educational periodical
Ha-Peles	M.	Poltava-Berlin	1900–1904	ultra-Orthodox, anti-Zionist
Ha-Peraḥ	W.	Calcutta, India	1878–1889	in Hebrew and Arabic
Ha-Peraklit	Q.	T.A.	1943	published by Israel Bar Association
Ha-Pisgah	W.	N.Y.-Baltimore-Boston-St. Louis-Chicago	1888–1900	with interruptions; from the sixth volume known as Ha-Teḥiyyah; Saul Tchernichowsky's first poem was published therein in 1892
Ha-Pisgah	A.	Vilna	1895–1902	rabbinics; 9 vols.: in the second volume were printed articles by Rabbi Y.L. Fishman-Maimon
Ha-Po'el ha-Mizrachi	M.	Jer.	1923–1926	organ of Ha-Po'el ha-Mizraḥi
Ha-Po'el ha-Vatik	Irr.	T.A.	1938	organ of the older workers organized in the Histadrut; changes in title; from 1959 Shelabbim
Ha-Po'el ha-Ẓa'ir	F. & W.	Jaffa-T.A.	1907–1970	organ of Ha-Po'el ha-Ẓa'ir, Mapai, and Ha-Avodah; mimeographed two issues in 1907; from 1912 W.; publication interrupted from 1916 to 1918
Ha-Posek	M.	T.A.	1940–1953	rabbinics
Ha-Problemai	M.	Kabri-Givat Brenner	1954–1969	chess; originally Problemai
Ha-Rashut ha-Mekomit	M.	T.A.	1954–1969	municipality problems
Harefuah – see also: Refuah	Irr.-F.	Jer.-T.A.	1920	newsletter of the Medical Association, 1921–22; known as Harefuah from 1924

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Ha-Ro'eh	Irr.	Lvov-Ofen (Budapest)	1837, 1839	pungent criticism
Ha-Rofe ba-Histadrut	Irr.	T.A.	1953–1956	problems of the physician in the Histadrut
Ha-Rofe ba-Mosad	Irr.	T.A.	1946–1968	organ of the Kuppat Ḥolim physician
Harofe Haivri	Irr., S-A.	N.Y.	1928–1965	medicine and the history of Jewish medicine, special editions for Ereẓ Israel; irregularly from 1928 to 1933; twice annually from 1937; published partly in English
Ha-Roke'aḥ ha-Ivri	Irr., B-M.	T.A.	1940	published by the Pharmaceutical Association; called Ha-Roke'aḥ, 1940–1946
Ḥaroshet u-Melakhah	M.	T.A.	1965	innovations in production in Israel industry and crafts
Ha-Sedeh	M.	T.A.	1920	agriculture; the only publication of its kind to reach its 50th anniversary (1970)
Ha-Sedeh la-No'ar	B-M.	T.A.	1948–1958	agriculture publication for youth; superseded by Teva va-Areẓ
Ha-Sedeh le Gan va-Nof – see: Gan va-Nof				
Ha-Safah	Irr.	St. Petersburg	1912	Hebrew language studies
Ha-Safran – see: Alim le-Bibliografyah u-le-Safranut				
Ha-Sanegor	Irr.	N.Y.	1890	lit.
Ha-Sefer	Irr.	Jer.	1954–1961	bibliography; superseded by Kunteres ha-sefer ha-Torani
Ha-Sefer b-Yisrael	M.	T.A.	1959	organ of publishers in Israel; continuation of Olam ha-Sefer
Ha-Sefer ha-Ivri – see: Jewish Book Annual				
Ha-Segullah	Irr.	Jer.	1934–1940	editions of manuscripts
Ha-Sha'ar	D.	T.A.	1964	management and the stock market
Ha-Shaḥar	M.	Vienna	1868–1884	lit; the leading periodical of this period
Ha-Shaḥmat – see: Shaḥmat				
Ha-Sharon	1	Cracow, Poland	1893	lit.
Ha-Sharon	F.	Lvov, Galicia	1895	lit.
Ha-Shavu'a – see: Ha-Maggid				
Ha-Shavu'a ba-Kibbutz ha-Arẓi	W.	Merḥavyah-T.A.	1950	appeared from 1930 as under various titles organ of the kibbutzim of Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir
Ha-Shavu'a la-Mishpaḥah	W.	T.A.	1932	entertainment
Ha-Shemesh	W.	T.A. Sighet, Transylvania–Kolomea, Galicia	1878–1892	lit.
Ha-Shilo'aḥ	M.	Cracow-Warsaw-Odessa-Jer.	1896–1926	lit.; the leading literary journal in Russia until World War I
Ha-Shilton ha-Mekomi be-Yisrael	M. & B-M.	T.A.	1950	municipal problems
Hashkafah – see: Ha-Ẓevi				
Ha-Shofar	Irr.	Haifa	1914, 1923	Jewish-Arab problems; originally as supplement to an Arab newspaper
Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir	F.	Warsaw	1927–1931	organ of Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir
Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir	F.	T.A.	1931–1943	organ of Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir Ha-Kibbutz ha-Arẓi from 1934; superseded by Mishmar
Ha-Sifrut	Q.	T.A.	1968	science of literature
Ha-Soker		Budapest		Judaic studies
Ha-Solel	M.	Lvov, Galicia	1933–1934	lit.
Ha-Sport – see also: Sport	Irr.	T.A.	1932, 1940–1941	sport
Ha-Sport ha-Le'ummi	W.	T.A.	1949–1950	sport; Betar
Ha-Ta'asiyyah – see also: Ta'asiyyah	M.	T.A.	1937–1938, 1941	published by the Manufacturers' Association
Ha-Tarbut ha-Yisre'elit	1	Jaffa	1913	lit.
Ha-Tashbeẓ – see: Tashbeẓ				

Title	Freq.	Place of Publication	Year(s) of Appearance	Main Characteristics
Ha-Teḥiyyah – see: Ha-Pisgah				
Ha-Teḥiyyah	Irr.	Berlin	1850, 1857	Judaic studies
Ha-Tekhnai be-Yisrael	Q.	T.A.	1963–1967	published by the Technicians’ Organization
Ha-Tekhnai ha-Ẓa’ir	M.	Kiryat Shemonah	1945	technical problems for youth; later changed name to Ha-Madda ve-ha-Tekhnikah
Ha-Tekhnion	A.	Haifa	1966	organ of the Technion, Haifa
Ha-Tekufah	Q. & A.	Moscow-Warsaw-Berlin T.A. – N.Y.	1918–1950	lit.
Ha-Tenu’ah le-Aḥdut ha-Avodah – see: Le-Aḥdut ha-Avodah				
Ha-Tenu’ah le-Yahadut shel Torah	A.	Jer.	1966, 1968	published by the Yahadut and Torah movement
Ha-Te’ufah	Irr., M.	T.A.	1947–1956	aeronautics
Ha-Teva ve-ha-Areẓ	M.	T.A.	1932–1940 1947–1954 1959	natural sciences, nature and geography of Israel
Ha-Tikvah	W.	N.Y.	1901	lit.; the first publication in the United States to introduce a vocalized supplement for children
Ha-Tor	M.	Sighet, Transylvania-Kolomea, Galicia-Cracow, Poland	1874–1876 1880–1882	lit.
Ha-Tor	W.	Jer.	1920–1935	organ of Mizrachi in Ereẓ Israel
Ha-Torah ve-ha-Medinah	A.	T.A.	1949–1960	religion in Israel
Ha-Toren	M.W.	N.Y.	1913–1926	lit.; weekly, 1916–19
Ha-Ummah	W.	N.Y.	1915	lit.; merged in 1916 with Ha-Toren ha-Shevu’I
Ha-Ummah	Q.	Jer.	1962	lit.
Ḥavaẓẓelet	W.	Jer.	1863–1864 1870–1911	the second newspaper in Ereẓ Israel
Ha-Ya’ar	Irr.	Jer.-Netanyah	1947–1955	problems of afforestation
Ha-Yahadut	F.	Lvov, Galicia	1885	lit.
Ha-Yahalom	Irr.	T.A.	1943–1944 1947	professional and managerial problems in the diamond industry
Ha-Yahalom	Irr.	T.A.	1967	problems in the diamond industry
Ha-Yam	Irr. M.	T.A.	1938–1963	seamanship
Ha-Yamai ha-Yisre’eli	M.	Haifa	1951	published by the National Union of Seamen
Ha-Yarden	Irr.	Stanislavaov, Galicia	1906	lit.
Ha-Yarden	M.	Zurich-N.Y.	1919–1925	lit.
Ha-Yarden	D. & W.	Jer.-T.A.	1934–1941	Revisionist publication
Ha-Yare’aḥ	Irr.	Koenigsberg, Prussia	1871–1872	lit.
Ha-Yare’aḥ	1	Jer.	1896	lit.
Ha-Yarhon – see also: Yarḥon ha-Yisre’eli le Vula’ut	M.	T.A.	1966	stamps; continuation of Bulim
Ha-Yehudi	W.	Pressburg (Bratislava), Czechoslovakia	1875–1878	lit.; the first Hebrew newspaper in Hungary
Ha-Yehudi	W.	London	1897–1913	lit.; the only Hebrew newspaper in England that enjoyed a long career
Ha-Yehudi	M.	N.Y.	1936–1938	lit.; religious
Ha-Yehudi ha-Niẓḥi	Irr.	Lvov, Galicia	1866	Judaic studies
Ha-Yekev	1	St. Petersburg	1894	lit.
Ha-Yesod	W.	T.A.	1932–1948	religious apolitical

Title	Freq.	Place of Publication	Year(s) of Appearance	Main Characteristics
Ha-Yishuv	W.	T.A.	1924–1927	lit. and general affairs
Ha-Yisre'eli	W.	N.Y.	1903	lit.
Ha-Yom	D.	St. Petersburg	1886–1888	the first Hebrew daily (Feb. 12 1886–March 12, 1888)
Ha-Yom	D.	Warsaw	1906–1907	
Ha-Yom	D.	N.Y.	1909	the first Hebrew daily in the United States (90 days); exact data on the second attempt before World War I unavailable
Ha-Yom	D.	Warsaw	1925–1926	
Ha-Yom	D.	Jer.	1948–1949	originally called Itton ha-Yom; began to appear in Jerusalem during the siege of the War of Independence
Ha-Yom	D.	T.A.	1966–1969	published by Gaḥal; result of merger of two papers, Ha-Boker and Ḥerut
Ha-Yonah	1	Berlin	1851	Judaic studies
Ha-Yonah	1	Odessa, Russia	1907	rabbinics and Judaica; the first editorial endeavors of Y.L. Maimon (Fishman)
Ḥayyei Olam	1	Paris	1878	collection of edited ancient manuscripts
Ḥayyei Sha'ah	W.	T.A.	1953–1958	entertainment
Ha-Ẓafon	W.	Haifa	1926–1927	lit. and general affairs
Ha-Ẓa'ir	Irr.	Zloczow (Zolochev), Ukraine	1910	lit.
Ha-Ẓa'ir	1	Jer.	1916	lit.
Ha-Ẓefirah	1	Zolkiew (Zholkva), Galicia	1823	lit.
Ha-Ẓefirah	W. & D.	Warsaw (Berlin)	1862 1874–1906 1910–1921 1926–1928 1931	the first Hebrew newspaper in Warsaw; during the first years devoted mainly to science; 1874–75 in Berlin; from 1886 a daily and 1917–19 a weekly
Ha-Zeman	W.	N.Y.	1895–1896	lit.
Ha-Zeman	F.	Cracow, Poland	1890–1891	lit.
Ha-Zeman	1	Warsaw	1896	lit.
Ha-Zeman	Q.	St. Petersburg	1903	lit.; published Bialik's famous poem "Be-Ir-ha-Haregah"
Ha-Zeman	M.	Vilna	1905	lit.
Ha-Zeman	B-W., D.	St. Petersburg-Vilna	1903–1915	first 92 issues biweekly; from 1905 in Vilna; know as Hed ha-Zeman, 1907–11
Ha-Zeman	D.	T.A.	1930	general
Ha-Zeman	D.	T.A.	1941–1944	a nonconformist paper edited by B. Katz, editor of Ha-Zeman in Vilna
Ha-Ẓevi	W. & D.	Jer.	1884–1915	a daily from 1908; sometimes called Ha-Or, Hashkafah; the pioneer of modern journalism in Ereẓ Israel; several interruptions in publication
Ha-Zibbul	Q.	Jaffa-T.A.	1924	problems of agricultural fertilization
Ha-Ẓillum	M.	T.A.	1965	originally appeared in 1947 under the title Ẓillum; from 1971 published by the Association of Amateur Photographers
Ha-Ẓir	Irr.	Jaffa	1919	Mizrachi
Ḥazit ha-Am	B-W., W.	Jer.	1932–1934	Revisionist publication
Ḥazit ha-Oved	M.	T.A.	1958	organ of Ha-Oved ha-Le'ummi in the Histadrut
Ha-Ẓiyyoni ha-Kelali	W.	Jer.	1932–1935	General Zionists (B)
Ha-Ẓiyyoni ha-Vatik	Irr.	T.A.	1940–1941	organ of the old-time Zionists; appeared under various titles
Ha-Ẓiyyonut	A.	T.A.	1970	studies in the history of the Zionist movement and of the Jews in Ereẓ Israel
Ha-Ẓofeh	Irr.	Lvov, Galicia	1878	lit.
Ha-Ẓofeh	D.	Warsaw	1903–1905	general; the first to introduce literary contests; the first prize was won by Y.D. Berkowitz
Ha-Ẓofeh	D.	Jer.-T.A.	1937	organ of Mizrachi – National Religious Party; the first issues were published in Jerusalem
Ha-Ẓofeh	Irr.	Jer.	1935–1946	scouting

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Ha-Ẓofeh ba-Areẓ ha-Ḥadashah	W.	N.Y.	1871–1876	the first Hebrew newspaper in the United States
Ha-Ẓofeh le-Ḥokhmat Yisrael	M.	Budapest	1911–1915, 1921–1931	Judaic studies; originally called Ha-Ẓofeh me-Ereẓ Hagar
Ha-Ẓofeh le-Veit Yisrael	Irr.	London	1887	lit.
Ha-Ẓofeh le-Veit Yisrael	M.	Cracow, Poland	1890	lit.
Ḥazon	Irr.	T.A.	1943–1955	Mizrachi youth
Ḥazut	A.	Jer.	1953–1960	discussions on questions of Zionism, the Jewish People, and the State of Israel
He-Atid	Irr.	Berlin	1908–1926	six collections on matters concerning Jews and Judaism
He-Atid	F.	Warsaw	1925–1934	organ of the He-Ḥalutz World Center
He-Atid	Irr.	T.A.	1939–1941	organ of Po'alei Agudat Israel
He-Atid	Q.	T.A.	1966	published by the West German embassy, Tel Aviv
He-Avar	Q.	Petrograd	1918	history of the Jews
He-Avar (Heawar)	Q. & A.	T.A.	1952	history of the Jews in Russia
Hed ha-Am – see also: Ha-Hed	W.	Jer.	1924–1926	religious publication
Hed ha-Defus	Irr.	T.A.	1937–1961	published by the Organization of Printing Workers; the name differs on various editions
Hed ha-Gan	B-M. & M. & Q.	T.A.	1934	published by the Association of Nursery School Teachers
Hed ha-Ḥinnukh	F. & W.	Jer.-T.A.	1926	published by the Teachers' Association; a weekly from 1949
Hed ha-Karmel	D.	Haifa	1940	general affairs; one of the attempts to establish a daily newspaper in Haifa
Hed ha-Kevuẓah	Irr.	Detroit, Mich.	1941–1961	lit.
Hed ha-Mizraḥ	F. & W.	Jer.	1942–1951	Oriental communities in the past; first issues called Ha-Mizraḥ
Hed ha-Moreh	M.	N.Y.	1915	the first Hebrew pedagogical periodical in the U.S.
Hed ha-Sport	W.	T.A.	1965–1966	sports
Hed ha-Zeman – see: Ha-Zeman				
Hed ha-Ẓiyyoni ha-Vatik – see: Ha-Ẓiyyoni ha-Vatik				
Hedim	B-M.	T.A.	1922–1928	the leading literary journal in the 1920s
Hedim li-She'elot ha-Ḥevrah ha-Kibbutzit	Irr. & Q.	Merḥ avyah	1934	organ of Ha-Kibbutz ha-Arẓi Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir
Hed Lita	F.	Kaunas (Kovno), Lithuania	1924–1925	lit.
Hed Yerushalayim	W.	Jer.	1939–1946	general affairs; during the final year of publication called Ha-Shavu'on ha-Ereẓ Yisre'eli ve-Hed Yerushalayim
Hegeh	D.	T.A.	1940–1947	vocalized daily
Hegeh	W.	T.A.	1939–1940	afternoon paper of Davar
Hegeh	W.	T.A.	1947–1949	Saturday evening paper
He-Hadar	M.	T.A.	1928–1940	citrus
He-Ḥalutz	Irr.	Lvov-Breslau-Prague-Frankfurt-Vienna	1852–1889	Judaic studies
He-Ḥalutz ha-Ẓa'ir	Irr.	Warsaw	1926–1939	published by He-Ḥalutz ha-Ẓa'ir; partly in Yiddish
He-Ḥaver	Irr.	Berne-Berlin	1912, 1914	organ of the student Zionist organization He-Ḥaver
Heikhal ha-Ivri	W.	Chicago	1877–1879	the first Hebrew paper in Chicago
Ḥeil ha-Avir	S-A.	T.A.	1948	air force organ
Ḥeil ha-Yam – see: Ma'arekhot Yam				
Ḥemdah Genuzah	A.	Koenigsberg, E. Prussia	1856	collection of edited ancient manuscripts
Ḥermon	A.	Lvov, Galicia	1902–1903	lit.

Title	Freq.	Place of Publication	Year(s) of Appearance	Main Characteristics
Ḥerut	D.	T.A.	1948–1966	organ of the Ḥerut Party; a number of editions were published earlier in Jerusalem as a weekly
Ḥeshbona'ut u-Missim	Irr.	T.A.-Ramat Gan	1962–1967	published by the Union of Accountants and Tax Consultants
Heyeh Nakhon	Q.	Jer.-T.A.	1946	scouting
Higyenah Ruḥanit	M.	Jer.	1944–1951	hygiene in the schools
Higyenah u-Veri'ut	Q.	Jer.	1940–1948	health and hygiene
Ḥikrei Avodah	Q.	T.A.	1947–1954	labor studies and social security
Ḥinnukh	Q.	N.Y.	1935–1939	education
Ḥok u-Mishpat	F.	Jer.-T.A.	1954	law
Ḥol va-Ru'aḥ	1	Holon	1964	lit., Hebrew and Yiddish
Horeb	S-A.	N.Y.	1934–1960	Judaica studies
Ḥotam	F.	T.A.	1964	Mapam; from 1970 weekly magazine of Al ha-Mishmar
Iddan Ḥadash	M.	T.A.	1968	organ of Ha-Merkaz ha-Ḥofshi
Iggeret la-Ḥaverim	W.	T.A.	1951	organ of Iḥud ha-Kevuẓot ve-ha-Kibbutzim; continuation of Iggeret; organ of Ḥever ha-Kevuẓot
Iggeret le-Ḥinnukh	Q.	T.A.-Tel Yosef	1952	educational organ of Iḥud ha-Kevuẓot ve-ha-Kibbutzim
Iggeret li-Meḥannekhim	B-M.	T.A.	1964	educational organ of Ha-Kibbutz ha-Me'uḥad
Ikkarei Yisrael	A.	T.A.	1954–1962	annual of the Farmers' Association
Ikkarei Yisrael	M.	T.A.	1962	organ of the Farmers' Association
Ittim	W.	T.A.	1946–1948	lit.
Itton ha-Bonim	M.	T.A.	1937–1939 1946–1949	organ of the Association of Landlords and Property Owners
Itton le-Misḥar	Irr.	T.A.	1936–1939	trade
Itton Meyuḥad	W.	T.A.-Jer.	1933–1951	pioneer of sensational reportage
Ivri Anokhi	W.	Brody-Galicia	1865–1890	indirect continuation of Ha-Mevasser, sometimes: Ha-Ivri
Iyyim	1	London	1928	lit.
Iyyun	Q.	T.A.-Jer.	1945	philosophy
Iyyunim Beinle'ummiyyim	Irr.	Ramat Gan	1951–1964	international affairs – superseded by International Outlook
Iyyunim bi-Ve'ayot Ḥevrah	A.	T.A.	1969	social, educational and cultural problems
Iyyunim le-Vikkoret ha-Medinah	Q.	Jer.	1960	Bulletin of the State Comptroller's Office
Jewish Book Annual	Q.	N.Y.	1942	Hebrew-English-Yiddish, bibliography
Kadimah	M.	N.Y.	1899	lit.
Kadimah	1	Kiev, Ukraine	1920	philosophy and science of religion
Kalkelan	W., M.	Jer	1952	finance and economy
Kammah	A.	Jer.	1948–1952	Keren Kayemeth
Karmelit	A.	Haifa	1954	lit.
Karmi	M.	Pressburg (Bratislava), Czechoslovakia	1881–1882	general, Hebrew and Ladino
Karmi Shelli	Irr.	Vienna	1891	general, Hebrew and Ladino
Karnenu	Q.	Jer.	1924–1963	Keren Kayemeth, superseded by Am ve-Admato
Katif	A.	Petaḥ Tikvah	1954	
Kav	Q.	Jer.	1965	lit.
Kavveret	1	Odessa, Russia	1890	lit.; Ḥibbat Zion
Kaẓir	M.	T.A.	1945–1946	digest of books
Kaẓir	1.	T.A.	1964	history of Zionism in Russia
Kedem	Irr.	Jer.	1942, 1945	archaeology of Palestine
Kedmah	M.	T.A.	1963–1964	organ of Betar
Kehilliyyatenu	1	T.A.-Haifa	1922	the first organ of Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir in Ereẓ Israel, new reprint
Keneset	1	Odessa, Russia	1917	lit.
Keneset	1	T.A.	1928	lit.
Keneset	A.	T.A.	1936–1946 1960	lit.; Bialik and Judaic studies
Keneset ha-Gedolah	Irr.	Warsaw	1890–1891	lit.
Keneset Yisrael	A.	Warsaw	1886–1889	lit.
Keneset Yisrael	M.	Vilna	1930–1934	rabbinics

Title	Freq.	Place of Publication	Year(s) of Appearance	Main Characteristics
Kerem Ḥemed	A.	Vienna-Berlin	1833–1856	lit. and Judaic studies, 9 vols.
Keren Or	M.	Chicago	1889	lit.; only 2 issues
Kesafim u-Misḥar	D.	T.A.	1966–1967	finance and economy
Kesher ve-Elektronikah	M.	T.A.	1967	electronics, Israel Defense Forces
Keshet	Q.	T.A.	1958	lit.
Ketavim	Q.	Reḥovot-Bet Dagon	1951	Agricultural Research Station
Ketuvim	W.	T.A.	1926–1933	lit.; organ of the young Avantgardists
Kevuẓat Ḥakhamim	1	Vienna	1861	Judaic studies
Kikyon Yonah	1	Paris	1860	Judaic studies
Kirjath Sepher	Q.	Jer.	1924	bibliography of the Jewish National and University Library Jer.; the first regular scientific publication of the Hebrew University
Kitvei ha-Universitah	1	Jer.	1924	Judaic studies, mathematics and physics; printed in Leipzig
Ko'aḥ Ḥadash	Irr.	T.A.	1966–1967	organ of Ha-Olam ha-Zeh – Ko'aḥ Ḥadash
Kohelet	1	St. Petersburg	1881	lit.
Kohelet Musar	Irr.	Berlin	1750	the first literary-moralistic periodical in Hebrew; 2 issues, 2 reprints
Kokhevei Yiẓḥak	A.	Vienna	1845–1869 1873	lit.; central organ of the Hebrew Haskalah movement; 37 vols.
Kol – see: Ha-Kol				
Kol ha-Am	D., W.	T.A.	1947	Communist; from the 1920s in various forms; underground newspaper; 1970 – weekly
Kol ha-No'ar	Irr.	T.A.	1940–1966	Communist youth
Kol ha-Shabbat	M.	Jer.	1957	Sabbath observance
Kol Nekhei Milḥamah	M.	T.A	1949	war invalids
Kolno'a	F.	T.A.	1931–1935	cinema; the first of its kind
Kolot	M.	Warsaw	1923–1924	lit.
Kol Sinai	M.	Jer.	1962	religious
Kol Torah	M.	Jer.	1929, 1932	rabbinics
Kol Ya'akov	W.	Jer.	1922–1928 1933–1934	religious
Kol Yisrael	W.	Jer.	1921–1929	Agudat Israel
Komemiyyut	A.	T.A.	1951–1954	lit.; appeared each year on Independence Day
Ko'operaẓyah	F.	T.A.	1930–1939	cooperative affairs
Korot – see also: Ha-Ittonai ha-Ivri	Q.	T.A.	1952	history of medicine and science
Korot	M.	T.A	1970	history of the yishuv and Zionism
Koveẓ al Yad (Kobez al jad)	Irr.	Berlin-Jer.	1885	editions of ancient manuscripts; vols. 1–10 Berlin, N.S. Jer. 1937–
Koveẓ ha-Ḥevrah la-Ḥakirat Ereẓ Yisrael	Irr.	Jer.	1921–1945	archaeology of Palestine and history of the yishuv; 4 vols; in several parts
Koveẓ Harẓa'ot ha-Ḥevrah ha-Historit	Irr.	Jer.	1964–1966	lectures on history from the annual seminar of the society
Koveẓ Harẓa'ot shel ha-Iggud ha-Yisre'eli le Ibbud informaẓyah	A.	Jer.	1965	information processing – partly in English
Koveẓ ha-Tammim	Irr.	Warsaw	1935–1937	Ḥasidei Ḥabad, Ḥasidei Lubavitch
Koveẓ li-Ve'ayot ha-Ḥinnukh ha-Gufani	B-M.	T.A.	1962–1965	Wingate Institute, physical education
Koveẓ Ma'amarim le-Divrei Yemei ha-Ittonut ha-Ivrit be-Ereẓ Yisrael	A.	T.A.	1935–1936	history of the Hebrew press in Ereẓ Israel
Koveẓ Schocken le-Divrei Sifrut	1	T.A.	1941	lit.; superseded by Lu'ah ha-Areẓ
Koveẓ Sifruti	A.	Jer.	1914	lit.; ed. by Po'alei Zion
Kunteres	W.	T.A.	1919–1929 1940–1944	organ of Aḥdut ha-Avodah; in the 1940s of Mapai
Kunteres	Irr.	Riga-Warsaw	1929–1937	Ḥasidei Lubavitch
Kunteres Bibliografi	M.	T.A.	1950–1970	bibliography
Kunteres ha-Sefer ha-Torani – see: Ha-Sefer				
Kunteresim	Irr.	Jer.	1937–1942	Hebrew language studies; new ed. 1964
Lada'at	M.	Jer.	1970	popular science
La-Gever	M.	T.A.	1963–1969	entertainment

Title	Freq.	Place of Publication	Year(s) of Appearance	Main Characteristics
La-Ḥayyal – see: Ha-Ḥayyal				
La-Ishah	W.	T.A.	1947	women's magazine
La-Kore ha-Ẓa'ir	M.	T.A.	1950–1954	bibliography
La-Matḥil	W.	Jer.	1955	easy Hebrew; for some years did not appear in order
La-Merḥav	D.	T.A.	1954–1971	organ of Aḥdut ha-Avodah, the first months as F. and W.; merged with Davar
La-Mishpaḥah	M.	N.Y.	1963	general
La-Mo'ed	Irr.	Jer.	1945–1947	collections for festivals; 7 appeared
La-Ya'aran	Q.	Netanyah	1950	forestry
La-Yehudim	A.	Jer.	1909–1912 1921–1925	humor, the first humorist periodical in Ereẓ Israel
La-Yogev	A.	T.A.	1945–1949	cultivation problems
Le-Aḥdut ha-Avodah	W.	T.A.	1944–1948	organ of Le-Aḥdut ha-Avodah party, from its split with Mapai until its amalgamation with Mapam
Lefi Sha'ah	Irr.	Jer.	1915–1917	8 issues during World War I
Leket Amarim	1	St. Petersburg	1889	lit.
Le-Ma'an ha-Yeled ve-ha-No'ar	F.	Jer.	1942–1949	Szold Institute for children and youth
Le-Shabbat	W.	Jer.	1922	general
Leshonenu	Q.	Jer.	1928	Hebrew language studies
Leshonenu la-am	M.	Jer.	1945	Hebrew language studies in popular form
Lev Ḥadash	Irr.	T.A.-Jer.	1922–1928	critical-radical
Le Yad ha-Hegeh	Irr.	T.A.	1952–1959	taxi drivers' bulletin
Li-Kerat	Irr.	T.A.	1952–1953	Hebrew young writers
Likkud	M.	T.A.	1946–1947	leftist
Livyat Ḥen	1	Warsaw	1887	lit.
Lu'aḥ Aḥi'asaf	A.	Warsaw	1893–1904, 1923	lit.; 13 vols.
Lu'aḥ Aḥi'ever	A.	N.Y.	1918, 1921	lit.; 2 vols.
Lu'aḥ Ereẓ Yisrael	A.	Jer.	1895–1915	Palestinography and lit.; 21 vols.
Lu'aḥ ha-Areẓ	A.	T.A.	1941–1954	lit.; almanac of Haaretz
Lu'aḥ ha-Em-ve-ha-Yeled – see: Ha-Em-ve-ha-Yeled				
Lu'aḥ ha-Me'orer	1	T.A.	1935	Ereẓ Israel labor movement
Lu'aḥ Keren Kayemet – see: Moladti				
Lu'aḥ Ko'operativi	A.	T.A.	1931	cooperative types; now; Lu'aḥ ha-Ko'operaẓyah
Lu'aḥ Sha'ashu'im	1	Cracow, Poland	1902	lit.
Lu'aḥ Yerushalayim	A.	Jer.	1940–1951	history of Jerusalem and the yishuv; 12 vols.
Ma'anit	A.	Jer.	1926	lit.; Hebrew writers for Keren Kayemeth
Ma'anit	B-M.	T.A.	1939–1954	youth of Tenu'at ha-Moshavim
Ma'anit	Irr.	T.A.	1946–1958	moshavim of Ha-Po'el ha-Mizrachi
Ma'arakhot	M., Q.	T.A.	1939	military journal of the Haganah and the Israel Defense Forces
Ma'arekhot Ḥimmush	Q.	T.A.	1961	ammunition problems, ordinance corps
Ma'arekhot Yam	Q.	T.A.	1948	naval organ
Ma'ariv	D.	T.A.	1948	independent; the first issues – Yedi'ot Ma'ariv
Ma'avak	Irr.	T.A.	1947	organ of the Kena'anim
Ma'avak	W.	T.A.	1952–1954	party organ which separated from Mapam until its amalgamation with Mapai
Ma'abarot	M.	T.A.-Jaffa	1919–1921	literary organ of Ha-Po'el ha-Ẓa'ir
Mabbat Ḥadash	W.	T.A.	1965–1968	organ of Rafi
Mabbu'a	Q.	N.Y.	1952–1954	lit.
Mabbu'a	A.	Jer.	1963	religious literature
Madda	B-M.	Jer	1956	popular science
Madda'ei ha-Yahadut	A.	Jer.	1926–1927	Judaic studies of the Hebrew University, Jer.; continuation of Yedi'ot ha-Makhon le-Madda'ei ha-Yahadut
Madrikh li-Mekomot Avodah Me'urganim	A.	T.A.	1956–1965	list of work places where work is organized by the Histadrut

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Maggid Mishneh	W.	Lyck, E. Prussia	1879–1881	lit.
Maḥanayim	Irr.	T.A.	1948	collections for the festivals and specific subjects by the army chaplaincy; the first 18 booklets called Yalkut ha-Rabbanut ha-Ẓeva'it
Maḥanot	M.	T.A.	1942–1947	organ of the camp workers
Maḥazikei ha-Dat	W.	Lvov, Galicia	1879–1913	extreme Orthodox, sometimes Kol Maḥazikei ha-Dat
Maḥazikei ha-Dat	W., B-M.	Jer.	1919–1924	extreme Orthodox, partly in Yiddish
Maḥbarot le-Marxizm	Irr.	Givat Ḥavivah	1950–1951	studies on Marxism
Maḥbarot le-Sifrut	B-M.	T.A.	1940–1954	lit.
Maḥbarot le-Soẓyologyah	B-M.	T.A.	1943–1945	sociology
Maḥberet	Q.	Jer.	1952–1967	lit. organ of Alliance Israélite Universelle, partly in French
Makkabbi – see: Ha-Makkabbi				
Marot ha-Kalkalah be-Yisrael	M.	Jer.	1955–1966	economics
Masakh	Irr.	T.A.	1954–1955	lit., theater and art
Maslul	W.	T.A.	1951–1952	for Yemenite and Eastern immigrants
Massa	F.	T.A.	1951–1954	lit., from 1954 literary supplement of La-Merḥav and from 1971 of Davar
Massad	A.	N.Y.	1933, 1936	lit.
Massad	Irr.	T.A.	1951, 1967	No'ar Dati Oved
Massekhet	1	T.A.	1951	lit.
Massu'ot	1	Odessa, Russia	1919	lit.
Mattekhet	Q.	Haifa	1958–1967 1971	Israel metal industry in the Technion
Ma'yan ha-Ḥasidut – see also: Ha-Ma'yan	A.	Jer.	1964	ḥasidic affairs
Ma'yanot	A.	Jer.	1952–1968	religious
Maẓpen	Irr.	T.A.	1943–1944	pro-Revisionist
Maẓpen	W.	T.A.	1954–1955	general
Maẓpen	Irr.	T.A.-Jer.	1963	leftist
Me'assef – see also: Ha-Me'assef	1	St. Petersburg	1902	lit.
Me'assef	A.	Jer.-T.A.	1960–1968	lit.; 8 vols.
Me'assefim Madda'iyyim shel ha-Tekhniyyon	Irr.	Haifa	1944–1955	science; 6 vols.
Me'assef Soferei Ereẓ Yisrael	1	T.A.	1940	lit.
Me'assef Soferei Ereẓ Yisrael	1	T.A.	1942	lit.; 2 vols
Me'at me-Harbeh	1	T.A.	1947	lit.
Me-Et le-Et	1	N.Y.	1900	lit.
Me-Et le-Et	M.	Vilna	1918	lit.
Megammot	Q.	Jer.	1949	child problems by Szold Institute
Meged Geresh Yeraḥim	M.	Vienna	1848	lit.; supplement to the weekly Centralorgan fuer juedische interessen
Meged Yeraḥim	M.	Lvov, Galicia	1855–1856	lit.; 4 issues
Megillot	M.	Jer.	1950–1953	Hebrew culture and education
Me-Ḥag le-Ḥag	Irr.	N.Y.-Baltimore	1915, 1918	lit.; 2 issues
Mehallekhim	Irr.	Jer.	1969	organ of the Torah Judaism movement
Me-Havvayot ha-Zeman	M., Irr.	T.A.	1944–1946 1952	contemporary affairs
Meḥkarim be-Geografyah shel Ereẓ Yisrael	A.	Jer.	1960	Palestinography
Me'ir Einayim	A.	Bene-Berak	1968–1969	bibliography
Mekhes ve-Ta'avurah	Irr.	T.A.	1949–1956	organ of the Association of Customs Agents
Mekhon ha-Tekanim	Q.	T.A.	1968	Israel Standards Institute
Melilah	A.	Manchester, England	1944–1955	Judaic studies; 5 vols. (double 3/4)
Meliẓ Eḥad Minni Elef	1	St. Petersburg	1884	lit.; in honor of the 100th copy of Ha-Meliẓ
Menorah	F.	Lodz, Poland	1930	Judaic studies
Meshek ha-Bakar ve-ha-Ḥalav	Q.	T.A.	1952	dairy farming

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Meshek ha-Ofot	M.	T.A.-Tel Yosef	1949	poultry farming
Mesibbah	1	T.A.	1926	lit.; the first editing work in Ereẓ Israel by E. Steinman
Mesillot	M.	Warsaw	1935–1937	education and Hebrew culture
Meteorologyah be-Yisrael	Q.	Bet Dagon	1963	meteorology
Mevasseret Ẓiyyon	M.	Jer.	1884	the first periodical edited by E. Ben-Yehuda; 4 issues
Mevo'ot	M.	T.A.	1953–1956	lit.
Meẓudah	Irr.	London	1943–1954	lit. and Judaic studies; 5 vols. (2 doubles)
Mi-Bayit	1	T.A.	1946	lit.; from Ereẓ Israel authors for the remnants of the Holocaust
Mi-Bifenim	Irr., Q.	En-Harod-T.A.	1923	organ of Ha-Kibbutz ha-Me'uḥad; new reprint of the first 28 issues
Mifgash	Irr.	T.A.	1964	lit.; first of its kind in Hebrew; Hebrew and Arabic literature; Hebrew and Arabic on parallel pages
Mi-Keren Zavit	1	Detroit, Mich.-Baltimore, Md.	1921	lit.
Mikhtav Ḥozer – see: Ha-Refu'ah				
Mikkun Ḥakla'i	Q.	T.A.	1956	farm mechanization
Miklat	M.	N.Y.	1919–1920	lit.
Milḥamtenu – see also: Be-Terem				
Mi-Mizraḥ u-mi-Ma'arav	M., Irr.	Vienna-Berlin	1894–1899	lit. and Judaic studies
Minḥah	1	T.A.	1930	lit.
Min ha-Yesod	F.	T.A.	1962–1965	organ of Min ha-Yesod faction; two collections were issued with the name in 1962–63
Misḥar ha-Makkolet	M.	T.A.	1940–1951	grocery business; previously issued under Soḥer ha-Makkolet
Misḥar ve-Ta'asiyyah	F.	T.A.	1923–1933	trade, factories, and agriculture
Mishmar – see: Al ha-Mishmar				
Mishpat ha-Shalom ha-Ivri	1	T.A.	1925	magistrates' court problems during the Mandate
Mishpat ve-Khalkalah	M.	T.A.	1955–1959	law and economics
Mi-Teiman	1	T.A.	1938	history of the Yemenite Jews' immigration to Israel
Mi-Tekufat ha-Even	A.	Jer.	1960	prehistoric studies in Israel
Mivrak	D.	T.A.	1947–1948	afternoon paper; organ of Leḥi
Mi-Yamim Rishonim	M.	T.A.	1934–1935	history of Zionism and the yishuv
Mi-Yerushalayim	Irr.	Warsaw	1892	lit.; Ereẓ Israel topics; 2 issues
Mi-Ẓiyyon	1	Warsaw	1895	lit.
Miẓpeh – see also: Ha-Miẓpeh	1	T.A.	1953	lit.; Ha-Ẓofeh annual
Mizraḥ u-Ma'arav	M.	Jer.	1919–1932	Judaic studies, in particular on Spanish and Sephardi Jewry
Mo'adon Mekhoniyyot ve-Sayyarut be-Yisrael	M.	T.A.	1966	automobile and touring club
Molad	M., B-M.	T.A.-Jer.	1948	lit.; N.S. 1967-the last years B-M.
Moladti	A.	Jer.	1936–1938	most years on behalf of Keren ha-Kayemeth
Moriyyah	W. & D.	Jer.	1910–1915	Orthodox; from 1913, daily
Moznayim	W.	T.A.	1929–1933	lit.; organ of the Hebrew Writers' Association
Moznayim	M.	T.A.	1933–1947 1955	lit.; organ of the Hebrew Writers' Association
Moznayim	F.	T.A.	1948	lit.; organ of the Hebrew Writers' Association
Muze'on ha-Areẓ	A.	T.A.	1959	on all museums in the Tel Aviv vicinity
Naḥali'el	Irr.	Jer.	1965	religious
Nativ	Irr.	T.A.	1934–1935	a nonconformist periodical by A.L. Yaffe, "the father of the moshavim"
Ner	F., Irr.	Jer.	1950	Jewish-Arab relations
Ner ha-Ma'aravi	M.	N.Y.	1895, 1897	lit.
Ner Ma'aravi	A.	N.Y.	1922, 1925	rabbinics and Judaica

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Nerot Shabbat	Irr.	Jer.	1943–1952	Sabbath observance
Netivah	F., Irr.	Jer.	1926–1938, 1943	Ha-Po'el ha-Mizraḥi
Netivei Irgun	M., B-M.	Jer.	1954	organization and administration; from 1969 B-M.
Netivot	1	Warsaw	1913	lit.
Netivot	A.	Jer.	1953–1968	religious education for Diaspora Jews
Nimim	1	N.Y.	1923	lit.; printed in Berlin
Nir – see also: Ha-Nir	A.	N.Y.	1952	education and lit.; continuation of Ha-Nir 1930–38
Nir	M.	T.A.	1948–1959	education through J.N.F.
Nisan	1	Warsaw	1930	lit.
Nisan	1	T.A.	1942	lit.
Niv	Irr.	N.Y.	1936–1966	lit.; organ of the Young Hebrew Writers in U.S.
Niv ha-Kevuẓah	Irr., Q.	T.A.	1930	organ of Ḥever ha-Kevuẓot and from 1952 of Iḥud ha-Kevuzot ve-ha-Kibbutzim; some interruptions
Niv ha-Midrashiyyah	A.	T.A.	1963	lit. rabbinics, religious education
Niv ha-Moreh	M.	T.A.	1958	teachers of Agudat Israel
Niv ha-Rofe	Q.& S-A.	T.A.	1951	organ of the Histadrut doctors
Niẓoẓ	Irr.	Kaunas (Kovno)-Dachau-Munich	1940–1948	at the beginning in Kovno ghetto and Dachau camp, then in Munich, the only permanent Hebrew newspaper of the remnants from the Holocaust
No'am	A.	Jer.	1958	clarification of contemporary halakhic problems
Nogah ha-Yare'aḥ	M.	Lvov- Tarnopol, Galicia	1872–1873 1880	Judaic studies, lit.
Ofakim	Irr.	Warsaw	1932–1934	education
Ofakim	Irr.	T.A.	1943–1961	education by Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir
Ofek	1	T.A.	1970	lit.
Ohel – see also: Ha-Ohel	1	T.A.	1921	lit.
Ohel Mo'ed	Irr.	Cracow, Poland	1898–1900	rabbinics
Ohel Mo'ed	Irr.	Warsaw	1926–1935	rabbinics
Ohel Torah	M. Irr.	Jer.	1926–1927 1929	rabbinics
Oholei Gadna	M.	T.A.	1952–1960	vocalized, for Gadna
Olamenu	1	Odessa Petrograd, Moscow	1917	lit.
Olam ha-Defus	M, Q.	T.A.	1956	typography
Olam ha-Elektronikah	M.	Jer.	1962–1965	electronics, continuation of Radio ve-Elektronikah
Olam ha-Ishah	F.	T.A.	1940–1963	women's magazine
Olam ha-Kolno'a	W.	T.A.	1951	cinema
Olam ha-Mistorin	Q.	T.A.	1968	parapsychology
Olam ha-Sefer	Irr.	T.A.	1954–1958	organ of publishers; superseded by Ha-Sefer be-Yisrael
Olam ha-Ẓillum	M.	T.A.	1966–1967	photography
Olamot Aḥerim	Irr.	T.A.	1970	parapsychology
Omer – see also: Ha-Omer	1	T.A.	1927	lit.
Omer	W., Irr.	T.A.	1936–1942	weekly 1936–39; from then on monthly sometimes in place of the banned Davar
Omer	D.	T.A.	1951–1979	daily; vocalized (with Davar)
Omer	A.	T.A.	1955–1960	rabbinics
Ommanut	Q.	Jer.	1940–1942	art
Ommanut ha-Kolno'a	Irr.	T.A.	1957–1963	cinema
Or ha-Mizraḥ	Q.	N.Y.	1954	rabbinics, Judaic studies
Orlogin	Irr.	T.A.	1950–1957	lit.; 13 issues
Orot	Irr.	T.A.	1950–1955	cultural work of the Histadrut; 3 vols.
Orot	B-M. Q.	Jer.	1950–1966 1968	lit. and Hebrew culture; N.S. from 1968 Q.; partly in English

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Or Torah	Irr.	Lvov, Galicia-Frankfurt, Germany	1874	lit.; 4 issues
Or Torah	Q.	Jer.	1897–1901	rabbinics
Oshyot	Irr.	T.A.	1947–1957	educational problems before school
Ot	Irr., W.	T.A.	1966–1968 1971	organ of the Israel Labor Party
Ovnayim	A.	Bet Berl	1961–1966	collection – Bet Berl affairs
Oẓar Genazim	1	Jer.	1960	printed manuscript letters on history of Ereẓ Israel
Oẓar ha-Ḥayyim	Irr.	De a-Seini, Romania	1924–1938	Judaic studies
Oẓar ha-Ḥokhmah ve-ha-Madda	Irr.	N.Y.	1894	lit.; 2 issues
Oẓar ha-Sifrut	A.		1887–1896 1902	lit.; 5 vols.+1
Oẓar Ḥokhmah	Irr.	Lvov, Galicia	1859–1865	lit.; 3 issues
Oẓar Neḥmad	Irr.	Vienna-Pressburg (Bratislava), Czechoslovakia	1858–1863	Judaic studies; 4 vols.
Oẓar Tov	Irr.	Berlin	1878–1886	mainly editions of Hebrew manuscripts
Oẓar Yehudei Sefarad	A.	Jer.	1959	research on Spanish Jewry past and present
Palmaḥ – see: Alon ha-Palmaḥ				
Pamalyah	1	T.A.	1953	lit. collection dedicated to young authors
Panim el Panim	W.	T.A.-Jer.	1954–1956 1959	religious illustrated magazine, during the interruption appeared as Ayin be-Ayin – see there.
Pardes – see also: Ha-Pardes	Irr.	Odessa, Russia	1892–1896	lit. 3 vols; in the first volume Bialik's first poem was published
Pargod	Irr.	Jer.	1963, 1966	theater, 2 issues
Perakim (Peraqim)	Irr.	N.Y.	1955–1966	Judaic studies 4 vols.; organ of Hebrew Academy in N.Y.
Perakim	F.	Haifa	1958–1965	lit. continuation of the journal of the same name in Buenos Aires
Peri Eẓ Ḥayyim	Irr.	Amsterdam	1691–1807	the first rabbinical periodical
Peri To'elet	1	Amsterdam	1825	lit.
Perozedor	Irr.	T.A.	1962–1965 1968	problems of religion
Pesi'ot	Irr.	Jer.	1926–1935	educational problems in the low grades
Petaḥ	A.	Bet-Berl	1959–1968	studies on various problems
Petaḥim	B-M.	Jer.	1967	modern approach to religion
Pinkas Histadrut ha-Ovedim	Irr.	T.A.	1922–1925	the first periodical of the Histadrut; superseded by Davar
Pinkas Histadrut ha-Ovedim	M.	T.A.	1936–1938	new series in another form
Pinkas le-Inyenei ha-Pekidim – see: Shurot				
Pirḥei Ẓafon	A.	Vilna	1841, 1844	lit.; the first Hebrew periodical in Russia
Pirkei Bessarabyah	Irr.	T.A.	1952, 1958	history of the Bessarabian Jewry; 2 vols.
Pirsumei ha-Iggud ha-Yisre'eli le-Ibbud Informaẓyah	A.	T.A.	1968	information processing
Praxis	Irr.	T.A.	1968	leftist
Problemai – see: Ha-Problemai				
Problemot	M., Irr.	T.A.	1962	nonconformist-anarchist; party in Yiddish
Qadmoniot	Q.	Jer.	1968	archaeology of Palestine and biblical lands
Radio	W.	Jer.	1960–1962	Kol Israel newspaper
Radio ve-Elektronikah	M.	Jer.	1957–1961	radio and electronics
Radio Yerushalayim	W.	Jer.	1938–1942	radio newspaper of the Mandate; superseded by Ha-Galgal; in the times of Ha-Galgal, supplement for few years; partly in English

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Ramah	M.	N.Y.	1937–1939	lit.
Ramzor	M.	Jer.-T.A.	1961–1962 1965	in the beginning, organ of the Mapai student cell in Jerusalem; from 1965, Mapai youth in Tel Aviv
Refu’ah Veterinarit	Irr., M.	T.A.-Bet Dagon	1939	in the beginning irregular; organ of veterinary surgeons
Refu’ah ha-Shinnayim	B-M.	T.A.	1944	organ of dentists
Reshafim	W.	Warsaw	1909	lit.; 50 issues
Reshimat Ma’amarim be-Madda’ei ha-Yahadut	A.	Jer.	1967	index of articles on Jewish studies
Reshimat Pirsumei ha-Memshalah	Q.	Jer.	1956	list of government publications
Reshit	Q.	Warsaw	1933–1934	lit.
Reshummot	Irr.	Odessa-Berlin-T.A.	1918–1930	folklore, first issued in Odessa; 6 vols.
Reshumot	A.	T.A.	1945–1953	folklore; 5 vols.
Revivim	Irr.	Lvov-Jer.-Jaffa	1908–1919	lit.; 6 vols.
Rihut ve-Dekoraẓyah	Q.	T.A.	1961	furnishing and decoration
Rimmon	Irr.	Berlin	1922–1924	lit. and art
Rimmon	W.	T.A.	1956–1957	ill. weekly
Rimmon	Irr.	Buenos Aires	1966–1968	lit.
Rivon ha-Aguddah ha-Zo’otekhnit	Q.	Reḥovot	1969	Association of Zootechnics
Rivon Handasat Betiḥut	Q.	T.A.	1968	security engineering
Rivon Katan	Q.	N.Y.	1944	lit.; 2 issues
Rivon le-Banka’ut	Q.	T.A.	1961	banking
Rivon le-Inyenei Missim	Q.	Jer.	1965	taxes
Rivon le-Khalkalah	Q.	T.A.	1953	economics
Rivon le-Matematikah	Q.	Jer.	1946	mathematics
Rivon Merkaz ha-Beniyyah ha-Yisre’eli	Q,	T.A.	1970	building
Rivon Mishteret Yisrael	Q.	T.A.	1956–1965	police
Ro’eh ha-Ḥeshbon	Irr., B-M.	T.A.	1939–1946 1950	accounting
Rotary Yisrael	Q.	Ramat Gan	1960	Rotary
Sa’ad	B-M.	Jer.	1957	social welfare
Saddan	Irr.	T.A.-Jer.	1924–1926	lit.; organ of U.Ẓ. Greenberg
Sadot	Irr.	T.A.	1938–1945	under various names – Ha-No’ar ha-Lomed
Sarid u-Falit	1	T.A.	1945	Judaic studies (mainly editions of manuscripts)
Sedarim	1	T.A.	1942	lit.; 4 vols.
Sedemot	Irr.	T.A.	1949–1954	Ha-No’ar ha-Lomed
Sedemot	Q.	T.A.	1960	previously Iḥud ha-Kevuẓot ve-ha-Kibbutzim, later youths from all various collective settlements
Sefatenu	Irr.	Odessa-Berlin	1917, 1923	Hebrew language studies
Sefatenu	1	T.A.	1927	league of defenders of the Hebrew language
Sefer ha-Misḥar	Q.	T.A.	1964–1967	commerce
Sefer ha-Shanah – see also: Shenaton	A.	Warsaw	1900–1906	lit.; 5 vols
Sefer ha-Shanah	A.	Chicago	1935–1959	lit.; College of Jewish Studies
Sefer ha-Shanah	A.	N.Y.-T.A.	1964	history of Polish Jewry; first English, Hebrew, and Yiddish, 2–3 Yiddish and Hebrew
Sefer ha-Shanah be-Amerikah shel Histadrut Benei Ereẓ Yisrael	A.	N.Y.	1931–1947	lit.; superseded by Yisrael
Sefer ha-Shanah le Bibliografyah Yehudit be-Polanyah	A.	Warsaw	1934	Jewish bibliography in Poland; 1 vol.
Sefer ha-Shanah ha-Em ve-ha-Yeled – see: Ha-Em ve-ha-Yeled				
Sefer ha-Shanah le-Anaf ha-Beniyyah	A.	T.A.	1966, 1969	building trade; in 1935 building annual issued
Sefer ha-Shanah li-Kehillot ve-Irgunim	A.	Jer.	1970	world Jewish communities and organizations annual
Sefer ha-Shanah li-Melekhet ha-Defus	A.	T.A.	1938	typography and printing; 1 vol.
Sefer ha-Shanah li-Yhudei Amerikah	A.	N.Y.	1931–1949	lit.; 11 vols. (2 doubles)
Sefer ha-Shanah li-Yhudei Polanyah	A.	Cracow, Poland	1938	Polish Jewry; 1 vol.

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Sefer ha-Shanah shel Ereẓ Yisrael	A.	T.A.	1923–1926 1934–1935	lit.
Sefer ha-Shanah shel ha-Ittona’im	A.	T.A.	1942	journalists and journalism
Sefunot	A.	Jer.	1956–1966	research on the Jewish communities in the East
Sekirah Ḥodshit	M.	T.A.	1954	monthly review and for the Israel Defense Forces
Semol	Irr.	T.A.	1953–1954	Moshe Sneh’s organ, between his leaving Mapam and joining Maki
Seneh	M.	Warsaw	1929	lit.
Senuit	M.	Lvov, Galicia	1910–1912	lit.
Sha’arei Beri’ut	M.	T.A.	1931–1932	health and hygiene
Sha’arei Halakhot	A.	Jer.	1966	rabbinics
Sha’arei Torah	M.	Warsaw	1907–1927	rabbinics
Sha’arei Ẓiyyon	W.	Jer.	1876–1884	in the first year partly in Yiddish; the first Yiddish newspaper in Ereẓ Israel
Sha’ar la-Kore he-Ḥadash	W.	Jer.	1961	easy Hebrew, vocalized
Sha’ar Ẓiyyon	B-M.	London	1946	religious, Judaic studies; partly in English
Shaḥarit	M.	Odessa-Warsaw	1913	lit.
Shaḥmat	Irr.	T.A.-Haifa-Jer.	1923, 1932 1936–1937 1946, 1960	chess – various newspapers under this name or Ha-Shaḥmat
Shai	1	Jer.	1925	lit.; Hebrew writers for J.N.F.
Shallekhet	1	Lvov, Galicia	1910	lit.
Shalom	Irr.	T.A.	1953–1956	organ of the Peace Movement
Shanah be-Shanah	A.	Jer.	1960	religious, lit.; annual of Hechal Shlomo in Jer.; the first volume called: Halikhot
She’arim	W., D.	T.A.	1945–1981	Po’alei Agudat Israel from 1939; W. from 1949, daily from 1951
Sheḥakim	Irr.	Kefar Ḥabad	1969	organ of Aircraft Industries
She’ifoteinu	Irr., M.	Jer.	1927–1933	organ of Bet Shalom (Jewish-Arab cooperation)
Shelabbim – see: Ha-Po’el ha-Vatik				
Sheluḥot	M.	Jer.	1945–1962	religious youth department of the Jewish Agency, continuation of Iggeret la-Golah
Sheluḥot	F.	T.A.	1950–1955	department of Yemenites belonging to Mapai
Shelumei Emunei Yisrael	A.	Odessa, Russia	1898–1902	lit.; 4 vols.
Shema’atin	Q.	Bene Berak	1963	organ of teachers of religious subjects in religious secondary schools
Shemoneh ba-Erev	W.	T.A.	1968	radio and T.V.
Shenaton – see also: Sefer ha-Shabat Agudat Yisrael-Amerikah	A.	T.A.	1951, 1953	Agudat Israel-America
Shenaton ha-Aguddah ha-Yisre’lit le-Shikkum	A.	T.A.	1964	rehabilitation of invalids and soldiers
Shenaton ha-Histadrut	A.	T.A.	1963	sketches of Histadrut activities
Shenaton ha-Hitaḥadut le-Khadduregei	A.	T.A.	1959 1964/65	football
Shenaton ha-Memshalah	A.	Jer.	1949	activities of the government; appears also in English as Government Yearbook
Shenation ha-Po’el	A.	T.A.	1968	sport
Shenation ha-Sefer – see: Jewish Book Annual				
Shenaton ha-Student	A.	Jer.	1965–1966 1968	students in Israel
Shenaton ha-Televizyah	A.	Haifa	1969	T.V.
Shenaton Ḥerut	A.	T.A.	1953–1954	activities of Ḥerut movement
Shenaton Hidrologi	A.	Jer.	1950	hydrology
Shenaton le-Mishpat Ivri	A.	Jer.	1970	Jewish law
Shenaton Massadah	A.	Ramat Gan	1968	1967 events
Shenaton Statisti le-Yisrael	A.	Jer.	1950	statistical summary
Shenaton Yedi’ot Aḥaronot	A.	T.A.	1966	newspaper annual; also called Yedi’on

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Shenaton Yisrael le-Ommanut ha-Ẓillum	A.	T.A.	1963	photography
Shenayim Plus	M.	T.A.	1970	ill. entertainment magazine
Shevet va-Am	A.	Jer.	1954–1960 1970	Sephardi Jews past and present
Shevilei ha-Ḥinnukh	F., Q.	N.Y.	1925–1930 1940	education
Shevilim	Irr.	T.A.	1955–1958	organ of Ha-No’ar ha-Ẓiyyoni
Shevilin	S-A., A.	T.A.	1962	organ of rabbis in Mizrachi and Ha-Po’el ha-Mizrachi movement
Shevut Teiman	1	T.A.	1945	history of Yemenite Jews; various booklets with this name concerning Yemenites issued in years 1940–44
Shibbolim	F.	N.Y.	1909	lit.; the first modern lit. journal in U.S.; 7 issues
Shittuf	M., B-M.	T.A.	1948	organ of the central cooperative of the Histadrut
Shivat Ẓiyyon	A.	Jer.	1950–1956	history of Zionism and the yishuv; 3 vols. (one double)
Shomer Ẓiyyon ha-Ne’eman	Irr.	Altona	1846–1856	rabbinics, Orthodox; 222 issues, new reprint
Shorashim	Irr.	Jer.	1936–1953	teachers’ platform for Keren ha-Kayemeth
Shoval	Q.	T.A.	1962–1967	20 issues; public council for culture and art
Shulamit	F.	Jer.	1935	women’s magazine
Shurot	Irr.	Beltsy, Bessarabia	1935–1937	lit.
Shurot	Irr. M.	T.A.	1938	organ of clerks-office workers
Si’aḥ	Irr.	T.A.	1969	New Left in Israel
Sifrei Sha’ashu’im	Irr.	Cracow-Buczacz, Galicia	1896–1899	lit.
Sifrut – see also: Ha-Sifrut	Irr.	Warsaw	1908–1909	lit.; 4 issues
Sifrut Ẓe’irah	W.	Jer.	1939	lit.; organ of young writers
Signon	B-M.	T.A.	1970	architecture and interior design
Sikkot	W.	T.A.	1940–1945	humor
Sinai	A.	Bucharest	1928–1933	Judaic studies; 5 vols
Sinai	M.	Jer.	1937	Judaic studies, rabbinics
Sport ba-Olam – see also: Ha-Sport	M.	T.A.	1964–1965	sport
Sport ha-Am	B-M.	T.A.	1947–1959	sport; from 1951 W., from 1959 included in Davar
Sport ha-Boker	W.	T.A.	1936	sport; separate sport edition of Ha-Boker, afterward included in Ha-Boker
Sport ha-Shavu’a	W.	T.A.	1947–1948	sport
Sport Kadduregel	W.	T.A.	1965–1966	soccer
Sport ve-Toto	W.	T.A.	1968–1969	sport and Toto (lottery)
Sport Yisrael	W.	T.A.	1949–1954	sport
Sugyot	1	Givat Ḥavivah	1956	collection of studies from the Ha-Shomer ha-Za’ir on Jewish and general problems
Sullam	M.	Jer.	1949–1964	theoretical organ of Leḥi members and their adherents in Ereẓ Israel
Sura	A.	Jer.	1954–1964	Judaic studies; 4 vols.
Ta’asiyyah u-Misḥar	M.	Jer.	1959	industry and trade
Ta’asiyyah ve-Khalkalah	M.	Jer.	1937–1941	industry and economics
Tafrit	M.	T.A.	1949–1953	entertainment – army
Tagim	1	Bene-Berak	1969	bibliography
Taḥbiv	M.	T.A.	1962–1963, 1970	hobbies
Taḥburah ve-Tayyarut	M.	T.A.	1962	transport and tourism
Taḥkemoni	Irr.	Berne-Berlin-Jer.	1910–1911	Judaic studies; 2 issues
Talpioth	Q.	N.Y.	1943–1963	rabbinics and Judaic studies

Title	Freq.	Place of Publication	Year(s) of Appearance	Main Characteristics
Talpiyyot	1	Berdichev, Ukraine	1895	lit.; largest collection of its kind issued in those days
Talpiyyot	W.	Jassy (Iasi), Romania	1898	lit.; Zionist
Tambir	Q.	T.A.	1960	costing and business economics
TaRAV(Tav Resh-Ayin-Vav)	1	Jer.	1916	Ereẓ Israel and Jerusalem in World War I
Tarbiz	Q.	Jer.	1930	Judaic studies; in the first years also humanities
Tarbut	M.	N.Y.	1919–1920	education
Tarbut	M.	Warsaw	1922–1924	Hebrew culture and education
Tarbut	B-M.	London	1944–1968	lit.; from 1940 under various names
Tashbeẓ	F., Irr.	T.A.-Nahariyyah-Ramat Gan	1954	crossword
Tav-Shin	A.	T.A.	1943–1956	lit.; almanacs of Davar, some under different names
Taẓlil	A.	Haifa	1960	music research and bibliography
Te'atron	M.	T.A.	1953–1954	theater
Te'atron	B-M.	Haifa	1962–1966	theater
Te'atron ve-Ommanut	M.	T.A.-Jer.	1925–1928	theater and art
Tefuẓot Yisrael	B-M.	Jer.	1962	Jewish life in the Diaspora
Teḥiyyah – see also: Ha-Teḥiyyah	M.	N.Y.	1913	lit.
Teḥumim	Q.	Warsaw	1937–1938	lit.
Tekhnikah u-Madda	M.	T.A.	1937–1954	popular science
Tekhunat ha-Ru'aḥ ha-Yisre'eli	1	N.Y.	1889	lit.
Tekufatenu	Q.	London	1932–1933	lit.
Tekumah	Irr.	N.Y.	1938–1939	education and J.N.F.
Telamim	Irr., Q.	T.A.	1933	organ of the moshav movement
Telegramot Aḥaronot	D.	T.A.	1941	independent afternoon paper
Tel-Talpiyyot	F., Irr.	Vac, Hungary	1892–1938	rabbinics; interruption during years 1921–22
Temurot	M.	T.A.	1938	General Zionist Labor movement, afterward Liberal
Teraklin	M.	T.A.	1949–1965	lit. and entertainment
Terapyah Shimmushit	M.	Petaḥ Tikvah	1965	physiotherapy
Terumah	1	T.A.	1925	lit.; Hebrew writers for J.N.F.
Tesha ba-Erev – see: Ha-Olam ha-Zeh				
Tesha Tesha Tesha	Irr.	T.A.	1953–1957	police (named after the tel. no 999)
Te'urah	Q.	Chicago	1944–1946	education
Tevai	Q.	T.A.	1965	architecture, town planning, plastic art
Teva u-Veri'ut	Q.	Petaḥ Tikvah	1956	organ of vegetarians and naturalists
Teva va-Areẓ – see: Ha-teva ve-ha-Areẓ				
Tevunah	Irr.	Memel-Koenigsberg, E. Prussia	1861	rabbinics; organ of the Musar movement
Tevunah	Irr.	Kovno, Lithuania	1922–1924 1928	rabbinics
Tevunah	W., F.	Jer.	1932–1933 1941–1958	religious
Torah mi-Ẓiyyon	Irr.	Jer.	1886–1906	rabbinics
Torat Ereẓ Yisrael	M.	Jer.	1930–1955	rabbinics; some interruptions
Torat ha-Areẓ	Irr.	Petaḥ Tikvah	1935–1938	rabbinics
Turim	W.	T.A.	1933–1934 1938–1939	lit.
Udim	Irr.	Beltsy, Bessarabia	1939	lit.
Urim	Irr. M.	T.A.	1935–1966	education organ of Ha-Merkaz le-Ḥinnukh of the Histadrut; M. from 1953
Urim le-Horim	Irr. & M.	T.A.	1946	education problems for parents; M. from 1954

Title	Freq.	Place of Publication	Year(s) of Appearance	Main Characteristics
Uvdot u-Misparim	M.	Jer.	1947–1969	facts and figures of the Keren Hayesod and the U.J.A.
Uzzenu	A.	T.A.	1949–1948	sport annual of Hapoel
Uzzenu	F. & M.	T.A.	1933–1935	sport organ of Hapoel
Va'ad Ḥakhamim	M.	Jer.	1923–1924	rabbinics
Va-Yelakket Yosef	F.	Bonyhad-Munkacs, Hungary	1899–1918	rabbinics
WIZO… – see Ha-Ishah be-Yisrael				
Ya'ad	Irr.	T.A.	1962	organ of Ha-No'ar ha-Oved ha-Le'ummi
Yadan Ma'ariv	A.	T.A.	1956	Ma'ariv annual
Yad la-Koré	B-M.	T.A.	1943–1944	bibliography and librarianship
Yad la-Koré	Q.	T.A.-Jer.	1946	bibliography and librarianship
Yad la-Safran – see: Alim le-Bibliografyah u-le-Safranut				
Yad Vashem – see also: Yedi'ot Yad Vashem	A.	Jer.	1957	research on the Holocaust and Resistance
Yagdil Torah	Irr.	Odessa, Russia	1879–1885	rabbinics
Yagdil Torah	Irr.	Berlin	1890–1893	rabbinics
Yagdil Torah	W. & M. B-M. & Irr.	Slutsk, Belorussia	1908–1928	rabbinics; with interruptions; the last rabbinical periodical in Russia
Yagdil Torah	Irr.	London	1949–1959	rabbinics
Yagdil Torah	Irr.	T.A.	1962–1965	history of Polish Jewry; Hebrew and Yiddish; 2 issues
Yaḥdav	M. & Irr.	T.A.	1953	Ha-Kibbutz ha-Me'uḥad brigade
Yalkut ha-Mikhvarot	Irr.	T.A.	1949–1966	bee breeding
Yalkut ha-Mizraḥ ha-Tikhon	M.	Jer.	1935–1951	Middle East affairs
Yalkut ha-Re'im	Irr.	T.A.	1942–1946	lit.; organ of young writers; 4 issues
Yalkut Ma'aravi	A.	N.Y.	1904	lit.
Yalkut Magen	Irr.	T.A.	1956	organ of the Association to Help Soviet Russian Jewry
Yalkut Moreshet	S-A. & A.	T.A.	1963	research on the Holocaust; organ of the M. Anielewicz Institute for Research on the Holocaust at Yad Mordekha
Yalkut Tekhni	B-M.	T.A.	1955–1960	institute for work productivity and production
Yalkut Vohlin	Irr.	T.A.	1945	history of Volhynian Jews
Yarhon ha-Avodah – see also: Ha-Yarḥon	M.	T.A.	1949–1958	labor and social security (National Insurance)
Yarḥon ha-Ḥazzanim	M.	Czestochowa, Poland	1896	song, music, ḥazzanut; the first of its kind in Hebrew; 4 issues
Yarḥon ha-No'ar ha-Musikali be-Yisrael	M.	T.A.	1957–1961	music for youth
Yarḥon ha-Sport	M.	T.A.	1960–1961	sport
Yarḥon Statisti la-Shetaḥim ha-Muḥzakim	M.	T.A.	1971	statistics figures on the occupied territories
Yarḥon Statisti le-Yisrael	M. & Q.	T.A.-Jer.	1949	statistical figures on all walks of life in Israel; some appendices
Yavneh	M.	Lvov, Galicia	1929–1931	Judaic studies and lit.
Yavneh	A.	Jer.	1939–1942	Judaic studies; 3 vols.
Yavneh	Irr.	Jer.	1946–1949	organ of religious academicians
Yeda Am	Irr.	T.A.	1948	folklore
Yedi'on – see: Shenaton Yedi'ot Aḥaronot				
Yedi'on ha-Aguddah le-Gerontologyah	Irr.	T.A.	1945	gerontology
Yedi'ot	A.	Jer.	1959–1966	religious music; 8 vols.
Yedi'ot Aḥaronot	D.	T.A.	1939	independent

Title	Freq.	Place of Publication	Year(s) of Appearance	Main Characteristics
Yedi'ot Arkhiyyon u-Muze'on ha-Avodah	Irr.	T.A.	1933–1951	history of the labor movement in Ereẓ Israel
Yedi'ot Beit Loḥamei ha-Getta'ot	Irr.	Haifa	1951–1960	Holocaust research; organ of the Isaac Katznelson Institute for research on the Holocaust at kibbutz Loḥamei ha-getta'ot
Yedi'ot Ereẓ ve-Emunah	Irr.	T.A.	1954	religious J.N.F.
Yedi'ot Genazim	Irr.	T.A.	1962	documentation material on the history of Hebrew literature by the Genazim Institute
Yedi'ot ha-Ḥevrah le-Ḥakirat Ereẓ Yisrael va-Attikoteha	Q.	Jer.	1933–1967	archaeology of Palestine and Bible lands; superseded by Kadmoniyyot
Yedi'ot ha-Makhon le-Ḥeker ha-Shirah ha-Ivrit	Irr.	Berlin-Jer.	1933–1958	research on Hebrew poetry during the Middle Ages; from 4 vols.; in Jer. 7 vols.
Yedi'ot ha-Makhon le-Madda'ei ha-Yahadut	Q.	Jer.	1925	the first publication of the Judaic Institute of the Hebrew University; 2 issues; superseded by Madda'ei ha-Yahadut
Yedi'ot ha-Mazkirut	Irr.	T.A.	1947	Ha-Kibbutz ha-Me'uḥad secretariat; appeared under various names
Yedi'ot ha-Tenu'ah le-Aḥdut ha-Avodah – see: Aḥdut ha-Avodah				
Yedi'ot Taḥanat ha-Nissayon	Q.	Reḥovot-T.A.	1926–1931 1936–1938	agricultural research station of the Zionist movement; 4 vols.
Yedi'ot Yad Vashem	Q. & Irr.	Jer.	1954	Holocaust research; Yad Vashem, Jer.
Yehudah vi-Yerushalayim	Irr.	Jer.	1877–1878	newspaper interrupted by the editors on occasion of the founding of Petaḥ Tikvah; motif of settling Ereẓ Israel; new ed. 1955
Yerushalayim	A.	Zolkiew-Lvov	1844–1845	lit.
Yerushalayim	A. & Irr.	Vienna-Jer.	1882–1919	Palestinography and history of Ereẓ Israel; 13 vols.; the first of its kind in Hebrew
Yerushalayim	B-M.	Cracow, Poland	1900–1901	bibliography
Yerushalayim	1	Jer.	1913	lit.; dedicated to Jerusalem
Yerushalayim	Q.	Jer.	1947–1955	history of Ereẓ Israel and Jerusalem
Yerushalayim	A.	Jer.	1965	lit.; the collection which was issued in 1968 was called Ve-li-Yrushalayim; a gift to those who fought in the Six-Day War
Yeshurun (Jeschurun)	A.	Lvov-Breslau-Bamberg	1856–1878	Judaic studies; 9 vols.; partly in German
Yeshurun	M.	Bucharest	1920–1923	lit. and Judaic studies
Yokhani	Irr.	T.A.	1961–1967	lit.; 7 issues
Yosef Da'at	F.	Andianople, Turkey	1888–1889	Judaic studies; partly in Ladino
Yuval	1	Jer.	1968	studies in Jewish music
Ẓarekhanut Shittufit	M.	T.A.	1959–1969	economics and cooperatives; afterward incorporated into Davar
Ẓelilim	M.	Jer.	1940–1941	music and art; 6 issues
Ẓelil va-Omer	Q.	Haifa	1957–1962	music for youth; 21 issues
Zemannim	D.	Jer.	1953–1955	Progressives newspaper
Zera'im	M.	Jer.-T.A.	1936	organ of Bnei Akiva, Mizrachi youth, the first two years irregular
Zeramim	W.	Vilna	1931–1932	lit.
Ẓeror Mikhtavim	Irr.	T.A.	1933–1951	organ of Ha-Kibbutz ha-Me'uḥad; continuation of Iggerot mi-Bifenim 1929–1934
Ẓeror Mikhtavim li-She'elot ha-Ḥinnukh ha-Meshuttaf	Irr.	T.A.	1938	pedagogical organ of Ha-Kibbutz ha-Me'uḥad; change of names
Żikhoronot Devrim shel ha-Aguddah ha-Mediẓinit ha-Ivrit	Irr.	Jaffa	1912–1914	the first medical journal in Hebrew; 5 issues (one double)
Zikhronot ha-Akademyah la-Lashon ha-Ivrit	A.	Jer.	1949	Hebrew language studies; until 1954; memoirs of Va'ad ha-Lashon
Ẓiklon	M.	T.A.	1953–1963	included later in Ma'arekhet; world newspaper translations for soldiers
Ẓillum – see: Ha-Ẓillum				
Ẓilẓelei Shama	1	Kharkov, Ukraine	1923	lit.; the only literary publication in Hebrew printed and edited in U.S.S.R.

Title	Freq.	Place of Publication	Year(s) of Appearance	Main Characteristics
Zimrat ha-Areẓ	Q.	Jassy (Iasi), Romania	1872	lit.
Zion	Q.	Jer.	1936	history of Jews
Zion, Me'assef	A.	Jer.	1926–1934	history and ethnography of Jews; 6 vols.
Zion, Yedi'ot	M.	Jer.	1929–1931	folklore and ethnography of Jews; 11 issues
Ẓippor ha-Nefesh	W.	T.A.	1964–1965	humor and satire
Ẓiyyon	Irr. & M.	Drohobycz, Galicia	1885, 1888 1896–1897	lit.
Ẓiyyon	A.	Frankfurt	1841–1842	lit.; 2 vols.
Ẓiyyon he-Ḥadash	1	Leipzig	1845	lit.
Zo ha-Derekh	W.	T.A.–	1965	organ of Rakaḥ
Zohar	M.	Buenos Aires	1961–1964	lit.; joined later with Darom
Zot ha-Areẓ		T.A.	1968	organ of the Greater Israel Movement

[Getzel Kressel]

NEW SQUARE, an incorporated village in Rockland County, southeastern New York. It has close to 6,000 residents. All its inhabitants are Skvera ḥasidim, followers of the Grand Rabbi (Rebbe) of Skvira, David Twersky (1940–). The group has its roots in the Ukrainian town of Skvera (*Skvira). New Square is an anglicized version of New Skvira.

The village was built on property purchased by the Zemach David Corporation, representing the then Skvera Rebbe and father of David, Rabbi Jacob Joseph Twersky (1900–1968), in 1954. Twersky was the third Skvera *rebbe*, whose predecessors were descended from the Chernobyl dynasty. Immediately upon his arrival in America in 1948, the *rebbe* began to lay plans to establish an all-ḥasidic village, outside the New York City area, in order to better maintain their traditional lifestyle and beliefs. Ḥasidism in the United States had taken a decidedly urban character and this was an attempt to build a ḥasidic community apart from the urban environment and its temptations. After two years which the group spent in Boro Park and seven in the Williamsburg sections of Brooklyn, the first four families moved to New Square in December 1956.

The settlement was confronted with a mixed reaction from the local community and the village's early years were plagued with controversy centering on the Ramapo Township's claims that New Square's sewer and drainage facilities and road patterns were not in keeping with required standards. Defenders of the village, including local government leaders as well as rabbis representing all Jewish denominations, saw in these criticisms a veiled desire to prevent the ultra-Orthodox from settling in large numbers.

A solution was sought by New Square leaders via incorporating the community which would free it from much of the Town Board's control. This move was contested in the courts by Ramapo. After a protracted struggle, ending in New York State Supreme Court, the New Squarers emerged triumphant and the village was incorporated in 1961.

New Square has seen rapid growth during its 50 years of existence, with families usually having ten or more children. The village is constantly expanding and was on the verge of having built on all its available space in the early 2000s. Attempts were made to locate another property where the *rebbe*'s followers would found a satellite community. In addition, the movement has a network of affiliated synagogues and schools in Brooklyn's Jewish centers and in major ḥasidic communities worldwide, including Montreal, London, Antwerp, Jerusalem, and Bene-Berak.

The New Square community has strict standards geared to restricting the influences of the modern world, such as the banning of television, maintenance of rigorous separation of the sexes, and requirements that all children be educated in the village schools. In addition, the community requires that its citizens adhere to the customs of the Skvera tradition and follow the *rebbe*'s rulings. These demands upon those choosing to live in the village are accompanied by a welcoming openness to visitors and guests featuring extensive hospitality. New Square also operates a host of charitable services which service people throughout the metropolitan area.

The *rebbe* often travels to Jewish communities around the world and many of his followers make pilgrimages to New Square to seek his counsel.

In 1997 four New Squarers were sentenced to prison terms ranging from two to six years on charges of having allegedly misused federal Pell Grant monies. On January 20, 2005, on his last day in office, President Clinton significantly reduced these sentences, after he was visited several weeks before by the Skvera *rebbe*, who interceded on the men's behalf. Defenders of Clinton's decision claimed that the original sentences were not in keeping with other similar cases of individuals who had channeled federal funding into non-profit institutions.

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NEW TESTAMENT (Gr. ἡ καινὴ διαθήκη), the Christian Holy Scriptures (other than the Hebrew Bible and the Apocrypha).

Content

"The New Testament" (NT) is the usual name for a collection of 27 ancient Greek books concerning Jesus of Nazareth and his earliest followers. It forms the second part of Christian Bibles following "the Old Testament," which in Protestant Bibles contains the same books as Jewish Bibles but in a different order. Catholic and Orthodox Christian Bibles have their own orders of "the Old Testament" in which other ancient books are interspersed. Such additional books are sometimes found in Protestant Bibles in a separate section titled "Apocrypha" and placed between the two "Testaments." Thus, whereas the extra books are authoritative for Catholics and Orthodox, for Protestants they have the lower status of informative and edifying material that bridges between the "Old" and the "New."

The NT begins with the Gospels of Matthew, Mark, Luke and John, four accounts of the activities of Jesus. The authors do not write under those names; the ascriptions come from early Christian traditions. Thus the fourth gospel's anonymous writer claims to be recording the testimony of a source figure identified only as "the beloved disciple" of Jesus. In broad terms, these gospels present similar versions of Jesus' arrest, condemnation, death, and resurrection, but the Gospel of John has a markedly different account of earlier events and of the content of Jesus' teaching. Consequently, the first three are commonly termed the "Synoptic Gospels" because of the ease with which they can be printed in parallel columns as a "synopsis." Matthew and Luke contain versions of the virgin birth of Jesus to Mary (Matthew: shortly before the death of Herod, i.e., 4 B.C.E.) and Luke includes his visit to Jerusalem at age 12; otherwise only the last period of his adult life is featured (Luke: from age "about 30" on).

Next comes the Acts of the Apostles, which introduces itself as the continuation of the third gospel. In it, "apostles" mostly refers strictly to 12 early close disciples of Jesus. Acts begins with the last instructions of Jesus to his followers (after his resurrection), his ascent to heaven from the Mount of Olives, and their subsequent reception of the Holy Spirit. Their attempts to win over other Jews lead to clashes with the authorities and to the dispersal of most of them elsewhere. But then the appearance of Jesus himself in a vision to a certain Saul, who was their chief persecutor, turns Saul into an ardent follower. The latter, now called Paul, makes a series of journeys to the Jewish Diaspora, where his preaching about Jesus causes divisions among Jews but has remarkable success among non-Jews, especially those previously close to Judaism. He eventually returns to Jerusalem, where the followers of Jesus are again living peacefully among other Jews, but his eager style creates new clashes and leads to his arrest. After years of detention by the Romans in Caesarea, he is sent to Rome for two more years, awaiting trial, where the book ends rather abruptly (c. 60 C.E.).

The next 21 books are epistles of various early Christians. Nine epistles to Christian communities and four to individuals announce themselves as from Paul. A 14th, the Epistle to the Hebrews, lacks that announcement, but its concluding statement is in Pauline style. Others come from "James" (1), "Peter" (2), and "Jude" (1), who calls himself "brother of James." Traditionally, Peter is identified with the initial leader of the followers of Jesus in Jerusalem, and James, as "brother of Jesus," with their subsequent leader after Peter set out on his own missionary journeys. The other three epistles are traditionally ascribed to "John," who is identified with the source figure of the fourth gospel and with the author of the last book of the NT, Revelation, in which a certain John records a series of heavenly visions. These include messages to seven Christian communities and prophecies about coming persecutions (mostly Roman) and the eventual end of history, in which a new Jerusalem descends from heaven to inaugurate the universal rule of Jesus with God.

Language and Style

It is frequently, but wrongly, said that the NT books are written in popular Hellenistic Greek as opposed to the literary Attic Greek of the period. In fact, Hellenistic Greek was the language not merely of the populace but of learned scholars and officials in the Greek-speaking world created by the conquests of Alexander of Macedon. This scholarly language modified Attic by replacing its more idiosyncratic features with forms and words current in the wider world. The attempts of purists to impose the exact dialect of ancient Athens began around 200 B.C.E., gained ground slowly, and triumphed completely only in the later second century C.E.

There is indeed great variation in the language of the NT, reflecting the origins and genres of the various books. Thus in Matthew and Luke (to a lesser extent in Mark) and in the early chapters of Acts, much of the language has affinities to the "translation Greek" characteristic of the Septuagint as well as containing Hebraisms recognizable from rabbinic literature. By contrast, the introductions to Luke and Acts, the later chapters of Acts, and the Epistle to the Hebrews consist of elegant Hellenistic prose. Paul's writings addressed to communities are composed in a brilliant epistolary style that evoked the admiration of Wilamowitz, the leading 20th-century authority on Greek literature. Only one book, Revelation, contains plain grammatical errors. The anonymous writer of the Gospel of John, however, writes in a Hellenistic Greek that is both very simple and very correct.

Origins, Acceptance, and Canonization

There is little firm evidence on which to date the precise composition of the NT books, except that the few Christian writings surviving from the early second century indicate knowledge of those four gospels and of collections of Pauline epistles. The NT books give almost no clear dates for Jesus himself (Matthew and Luke, as above). Thus their dating mostly reflects scholarly fashion. Whereas earlier fashion dated many of them to the period 100–140 C.E., current fashion puts almost all of them within 50–100 C.E. One leading scholar, John A.T. Robinson, dated them all before 70 C.E., above all because it is difficult to identify any NT author who is clearly aware of the Jewish catastrophe of that year.

At the beginning of the second century, only the Hebrew Bible or the Septuagint counted as inspired Scripture for Christians. By the end of that century, almost all the 27 books had widely acquired that status and Christian writers were speaking of Scripture as "the writings of the Old Covenant and of the New Covenant." The contrast is derived from the expression "new covenant" (*berit ḥadashah*) of Jeremiah 31:31 (30), which receives various interpretations (as *kainê diathêkê*) in the NT books. The English names "Old Testament" and "New Testament" reflect the translation of that expression (as *novum testamentum*) in Latin versions of the NT.

The final list, the "canon," was established only through the convocation of bishops from all over the Christian world in Ecumenical Councils, beginning in the fourth century. Only in some cases can a doctrinal reason be identified for the exclusion of what are called "New Testament Apocrypha," such as other gospels and the acts of apostles not recorded in the canonical Acts. An interesting case is an ancient account of the childhood of Mary the mother of Jesus, currently called "the Protevangelium of James." Although never canonized, it provides the source for many Christian holy sites in Israel and its story features in well-known traditional icons.

History of Scholarship

Scholarly studies of the NT fall into two main areas: edition of the text and analysis of the content. The widely used early edition of Erasmus (1517) was based on a handful of later manuscripts, among other defects. Later editors have employed hundreds of Greek manuscripts as well as translations into other ancient languages and quotations in early Christian writers. Today's critical texts follow the lead of Westcott and Hort (1882), as updated in the many editions of Eberhard Nestlé and Kurt Aland.

Through his long residence in the Netherlands (1628–49), the philosopher Descartes provoked probably the earliest harsh questioning of the content of the Bible. The "Cartesian method" prescribes that in order to find secure foundations for science, one must first reject any statement about which the slightest doubt can be raised. Descartes himself explicitly excluded theology from such questioning, but his ardent Dutch disciples had fewer scruples. Especially the writings of Baruch *Spinoza and Balthasar Bekker provoked a massive controversy and scores of polemical publications in Dutch. Only the Latin works of Spinoza, however, had a major impact on the broader European public.

In the early 19th century, the Cartesian approach gained ground in classical philology in Germany. Under the influence of Friedrich August Wolf (1759–1824) especially, it became fashionable to question the authenticity of works ascribed to ancient authors merely on the basis of inconsistencies in the alleged author's style and viewpoint. For example, major dialogues of Plato and a dozen speeches of Cicero (including the four against Catilina) were declared unauthentic. The Iliad and Odyssey, following Wolf, were seen as loose collections of poems by multiple authors; "Homer" was a fiction.

This skeptical paradigm of research was at its peak in the middle decades of the century, when German scholars began to apply the methods of classical philology to biblical studies. Ready targets were the differences of style and emphasis in the Pauline writings and the very existence of four different gospels, which contain evident minor discrepancies in parallel passages as well as the broader differences noted above. In particular, the studies of David Friedrich Strauss (1808–1874) and Ferdinand Christian Baur (1792–1860) provoked first furious rejection, then cautious imitation. Both of them employed various arguments to undermine the testimony of the NT authors; then they employed Hegelian dialectics to build up reconstructed versions of the life of Jesus, the history of the first Christian communities, and the process whereby the NT books emerged.

By the early 20th century, classical philology had largely retreated from this kind of skepticism. Plato recovered his dialogues and Cicero his speeches. Both the Iliad and the Odyssey were now seen as brilliantly integrated compositions of a poetic genius; the remaining question was whether there was one Homer or two. In NT studies, by contrast, skepticism spread further, such that today its practitioners and classicists have difficulty in finding a basis for a shared discussion. Anything from four to 13 epistles are ascribed to Paul by different scholars, but using arguments of the kind that classicists today treat with great caution.

The result is that NT scholars have amassed an impressive quantity of information about the background of the NT but are deeply divided over questions of the origins and content of the books. As with Strauss and Baur, skepticism creates room for ingenious speculations rather than firm results. Concomitantly, a host of methods borrowed from elsewhere, be it "form criticism" and "redaction criticism" or methods of analysis of modern literature, are employed to find lasting significance in these theologically authoritative texts. An example is the commonly maintained view that the Gospel of Mark is the oldest and that it was used in the composition of Matthew and Luke in various combinations with a lost document designated as "Q." During the later 20th century the main arguments in favor of this view were undermined by criticism. Yet it continues to be taught, less out of conviction than because its critics failed to gain acceptance for any of the proposed alternatives.

Relationships with Judaism

A Jewish reader will readily note in the NT books such resemblances to Jewish tradition as are evidence that they were written by Jews or in a Jewish milieu. A massive commentary on the NT from rabbinic sources was compiled by Paul Billerbeck (1922–28). Yet the significance of such relationships has often been minimized in skeptical scholarship. Many NT scholars have refused to take rabbinic literature into account because its earliest written source, the Mishnah (early third century), is "too late" for any reliable comparison. For classical scholars, of course, the mere "lateness" of a source is irrelevant; thus the main witness to Parmenides is Simplicius, who wrote a thousand years later.

Since no writing by Jesus himself is known, many scholars have advocated a "criterion of double dissimilarity" in order to ascertain the nature of his teaching. Take all his many sayings in the gospels one by one, they say, and set aside any that have parallels in Jewish tradition or later Christian writings, since the authors of the gospels may have projected the latter back upon Jesus. Whatever little is left may stem from him. Overlooked in this Cartesian approach is that it equates our knowledge with our ignorance. For if a new Dead Sea scroll or a lost early Christian work is discovered, it may well contain parallels with whatever the criterion has not yet excluded. Built into the criterion, therefore, is the assumption that ultimately nothing can be known about what Jesus taught, but that whatever he did teach was antipathetic to Judaism.

Particular violence was done to the interpretation of Paul in attempts to distance him from Judaism. To this end, early 20th century scholars invented a parody of rabbinic Judaism as a religion that sought salvation in an obsessive preoccupation with the minute details of Torah observance. Paul was proclaimed as the liberator from all that. More recent studies, fortunately, have demonstrated the falsity of that image of Judaism. Also, Paul expected Jews to remain faithful to Torah and rather sought to reformulate Judaism's demands upon faithful non-Jews.

Dissent from the dominance of skepticism has come from two directions. On the one hand, there are NT scholars whose original training was in classics. On the other, the renewal of Jewish existence in the Land of Israel created new realities. Besides Israeli scholars who brought their familiarity with land, language, and tradition, there are Christian scholars who acquired similar familiarities by living in this Jewish society. A pioneer among the latter was the Anglican scholar Herbert Danby, whose translation of the Mishnah into English (1933) remains a standard. A pioneer among the former was Joseph *Klausner with his studies of Jesus (1929) and Paul (1946). His major important insight was to see that most characteristic of Jesus is less individual sayings, which have other Jewish parallels, than the ethical vision that suffuses them as a whole.

More recently, the decades-long cooperation at the Hebrew University between David *Flusser and Shmuel Safrai promoted a generation of younger Jewish and Christian scholars whose shared familiarity with both traditions transcends denominational affiliations. One of Flusser's personal contributions was his pioneering use of the Dead Sea scrolls to illuminate a layer of thought that underlies various NT epistles. Another was the realization that the normal language of the teaching of Jesus, and especially of his parables, was not Aramaic but Hebrew, enabling a reconstruction of parts of that teaching through careful comparisons of the text of Luke and Matthew with Jewish sources. Flusser also found a novel solution to the paradox of the Gospel of Matthew, which is in some regards the most Judaic of the four, yet it contains the most severe attacks upon the Jewish people. The attacks occur precisely in passages that are less Hebraic, or lack parallels in Luke and Mark, or give an unusual twist to parallels there. This Greek gospel is an adaptation of a Hebrew original by a sect of non-Jews who (like today's "black Hebrews" in Dimona) felt that the Torah should belong to them because they were observing the Torah far more faithfully than the Jews.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: The literature on the NT is too vast to be surveyed here. Since 1956 it has been recorded systematically in *New Testament Abstracts*. Besides book reviews, this journal summarizes articles from many periodicals both under general categories and by NT book, chapter, and verse. The standard *Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament* is by F.W. Danker (2000^3), continuing the work of Walter Bauer. For the main textual issues, see the various books of Bruce M. Metzger. The relevant work of John A.T. Robinson is *Redating the New Testament* (1976). On the paradigms of scholarship and their history, see Malcolm F. Lowe, "The Critical and the Skeptical Methods in New Testament Research," in: *Gregorianum* 81 (2000), 693–721. The problematic attitude of early 20th-century scholarship to Judaism was exemplified in Emil Schuerer's *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ*; the thoroughly revised edition by G. Vermes, F. Millar, and M. Goodman (1973–87) eliminated Schuerer's biases and provides excellent background information for the NT. The Flusser-Safrai approach can be seen in the series *Compendia Rerum Iudaicarum ad Novum Testamentum* (many authors). See also the revised version of Flusser's *Jesus* (1997) and his articles collected as *Judaism and the Origins of Christianity* (1988), edited by his pupils Steve Notley and Brad Young, respectively. The reevaluation of Paul and his relationship to Judaism is due to W.D. Davies, E.P. Sanders, Krister Stendah and John Gager among others.

[Malcolm F. Lowe (2nd ed.)]

NEWTON (Neustaedter), HELMUT (1921–2004), fashion photographer. Born in Berlin to a well-to-do German-Jewish family, Newton became a widely imitated fashion photographer after his provocative, erotically charged photographs became a mainstay of *Vogue* and other publications. He was guided by a passion for the strength and allure of the female form and his unquenchable taste for sexual imagery, including the bizarre and scandalous, earning the nickname the King of Kink. Newton got his start in Berlin as an apprentice to the fashion photographer Else Simon. At 18 he fled Nazi Germany and moved to Singapore, then to Melbourne. After serving in the Australian army during World War II, he opened a studio of his own and his photographs appeared in Australian *Vogue*.

In 1961 he moved to Paris with his wife, June (known as the photographer Alice Springs), and made his name with French *Vogue* as well as *Queen, Nova, Marie Claire*, French *Elle, Stern* and *Vanity Fair.* He brought stylized cruelty to mainstream fashion. His images, often in stark black and white, were calculated to shock, and featured tall, blonde, sometimes naked women in heels, perhaps illuminated by headlights or trapped in a dark alley. "Fashion for me," Newton once said, "is not an illustration but an idea around which to create a scene." The scenes were often based on familiar pornographic depictions. Bondage, sadomasochism, voyeurism, murder, pornography, and prostitution were exploited and explored. Models were dressed and used in unexpected ways:

in orthopedic corsets, or in wheelchairs, or on all fours wearing a dog collar. His work was closely associated with leading fashion designers like Yves Saint Laurent, who favored tight, wide-shouldered suits and long-legged models, which Newton embraced. His work was also associated with photographers like Guy Bourdin and Deborah Turbeville, and sometimes drew the ire of groups that felt his depictions of women could be demeaning and exploitive. Newton and his wife frequently photographed themselves and each other naked: at rest, exercising, posing, joking, bathing.

In a 1996 interview, Newton suggested that his German upbringing and his experiences with the Nazis played a large part in his artistic philosophy. "The point of my photography," he said, "has always been to challenge myself. To go a little further than my Germanic discipline and Teutonic nature would permit me to." After working as a freelancer in the 1940s, he moved to France in the late 1950s. He kept a home in Monte Carlo, which was often a setting for his photographs, and from 1981 to his death he wintered at the Chateau Marmont hotel in Hollywood.

Newton published ten books during his lifetime, including an erotic photo album in 1976 called *White Women* and in 2003 *Autobiography,* a memoir of his adventures through life, women and high-fashion photography. Shortly before his death he created the Helmut Newton Foundation in Berlin. He also picked a symbolic home for the foundation, a former Prussian army officers' club that stands beside the railroad station where, as a teenager, he boarded a train and fled Hitler's Germany. He and his wife made an initial permanent loan of 1,000 prints of their work to the foundation. They stipulated that, after their deaths, their negatives and archives as well as all rights, royalties and income from sales of prints will go to the foundation. "It is my wish that the Helmut Newton Foundation be a viable and living institution, not a dead museum, that will financially exploit these archives," he said. Berlin's cultural establishment embraced the foundation with enthusiasm, not only for its artistic merit but also for the message implicit in a Berlin Jew's decision to return home.

Newton was fatally injured when he lost control of his car and crashed into a wall outside the Chateau Marmont. The city of Berlin offered him an honorary grave. On June 2, 2004, two days before the foundation's inauguration, Newton's ashes were laid to rest in the Friedenau cemetery in Berlin.

[Stewart Kampel (2nd ed.)]

NEWTON-JOHN, OLIVIA (1948–), U.K.-born, Australia-raised singer and actress who scored numerous top-10 pop and country hits in the 1970s and 1980s, including, "Physical" and "Have You Never Been Mellow." Newton-John is the granddaughter of German Nobel Prize-winning physicist Max *Born, who was a friend of Albert *Einstein. In a 2004 TV interview, Newton-John said: "My mother tells me … that there used to be music in the house and Einstein used to come and play music with my grandfather." She has never been publicly identified as being Jewish. Newton-John moved to Australia with her family at age five, but was back in the U.K. at age 16 to pursue a singing career. She joined the cast of U.K. singer Cliff Richard's TV show in 1972, and began releasing record albums. Her first British hit was a version of Bob *Dylan's "If Not for You." She topped the U.S. record charts for the first of five times in 1974 with "I Honestly Love You." Other No. 1 titles include: "Have You Never Been Mellow" (1975), "You're the One that I Want" (1978, a duet with John Travolta from the film *Grease*, in which she co-starred), and "Magic" (1980, from the film *Xanadu*). Her 1981 pop-disco song "Physical" spent 10 weeks at No. 1. She has not charted since 1985, but sang at the opening ceremony of the 2000 Sydney Olympics. She recuperated from breast cancer in 1992, and afterward became a spokeswoman for breast cancer awareness. Newton-John was recipient of the OBE (Order of the British Empire) from Queen Elizabeth in 1979.

[Alan D. Abbey (2nd ed.)]

NEW YEAR. The Mishnah (RH 1:1) enumerates four separate days of the year, each of which is regarded as a New Year (Heb. *Rosh Ha-Shanah, lit. "head of the year"). The fixing of those dates was essential, not only for civil and political purposes, but for the regulations concerning the procedure regarding the religious injunctions connected with agricultural produce. Since, for example, the tithe had to be given of animal produce, the fruit from the first three years of a tree's growth (**orlah*) was forbidden, and the beginning and end of the *Sabbatical year had to be determined, it was necessary to lay down when the year began for those various calculations. With one exception (and that only according to *Bet Hillel), all the New Years begin on the first of the month.

(1) The first of Nisan is the New Year for (Jewish) kings and for the religious calendar (for festivals). Thus if a king ascended the throne during Adar, the next month would constitute the second year of his reign, and Passover is the first festival of the year. The Talmud (RH 7a) adds that it is also the New Year for the purchase of congregational sacrifices with the *shekalim collected in Adar, and for the renting of houses.

(2) The first of Elul is the New Year for the tithing of cattle (but see the first of Tishri), i.e., tithes had to be given for all cattle born between the first of Elul and the 30th of Av.

(3) The first of Tishri is the New Year for the civil calendar (including the counting of the reigns of foreign kings; see RH 3a–b and cf. Git. 8:5) for the Sabbatical and Jubilee years (plowing and planting being forbidden from that date), and for the year of planting of fruit and vegetables. The establishment of the first of Tishri as the religious New Year (see *Rosh Ha-Shanah) depends upon the statement that on that day "all the world is judged" (RH 1:2). According to R. Simeon and R. Eleazar the first of Tishri is also the New Year for the tithing of cattle and therefore there are only three New Years.

(4) The first of Shevat is the New Year for trees, according to Bet Shammai, but Bet Hillel fixed the date as the 15th of Shevat, and since the *halakhah* is established accordingly, it is this date which is celebrated today (see *Tu bi-Shevat). The

reason given in the Talmud (RH 14a) is that on that date the greater part of the year's rain has fallen.

Only Rosh Ha-Shanah is fully celebrated, though in recent times a minor celebration has developed, especially in Israel, for Tu bi-Shevat. The others, as stated, are merely for calendrical computations.

NEW YEAR'S CARDS. The widespread custom of sending Jewish New Year's cards dates to the Middle Ages, thus predating by centuries Christian New Year's cards, popular in Europe and the United States only since the 19th century. The custom is first mentioned in the Book of Customs of Rabbi Jacob, son of Moses *Moellin (1360–1427), the spiritual leader of German Jewry in the 14th century (*Minhagei Maharil*, first ed. Sabionetta, 1556). Based on the familiar talmudic dictum in tractate Rosh ha-Shanah 16b concerning the "setting down" of one's fate in one of the three Heavenly books that are opened on the Jewish New Year, the Maharil and other German rabbis recommended that letters sent during the month of Elul should open with the blessing "May you be inscribed and sealed for a good year." Outside of Germany and Austria, other Jewish communities, such as the Sephardi and Oriental Jews, only adopted this custom in recent generations.

The German-Jewish custom reached widespread popularity with the invention – in Vienna, 1869 – of the postal card. The peak period of the illustrated postcard, called in the literature "The Postal Card Craze" (1898–1918), also marks the flourishing of the Jewish New Year's card, produced in three major centers: Germany, Poland, and the U.S. (chiefly in New York). The German cards are frequently illustrated with biblical themes. The makers of Jewish cards in Warsaw, on the other hand, preferred to depict the religious life of East European Jewry in a nostalgic manner. Though the images on their cards were often theatrically staged in a studio with amateur actors, they preserve views and customs lost in the Holocaust. The mass immigration of the Jews from Eastern Europe to the United States in the first decades of the 20th century gave a new boost to the production of the cards. Some depicted America as the new homeland, opening her arms to the new immigrants, others emphasized Zionist ideology and depicted contemporary views of Ereẓ Israel.

The Jews of 19th c. Ereẓ Israel ("the old *yishuv*"), even prior to the invention of the postal card, sent tablets of varying sizes with wishes and images for the New Year, often sent abroad for fundraising purposes. These tablets depicted the "Four Holy Cities" as well as holy sites in and around Jerusalem. A popular biblical motif was the Binding of Isaac, often taking place against the background of the Temple Mount and accompanied by the appropriate prayer for Rosh ha-Shanah. Also common were views of the yeshivot or buildings of the organizations which produced these tablets.

In the 1920s and 1930s the cards highlighted the acquisition of the land and the toil on it as well as "secular" views of the proud new pioneers. Not only did this basically religious custom continue and become more popular, but the new cards attest to a burst of creativity and originality on the subject matter as well as in design and the selection of accompanying text. Over the years, since the establishment of the State of Israel, the custom has continued to flourish, with the scenes and wishes on the cards developing as social needs and situations changed. The last two decades of the 20th century have seen a decline in the mailing of New Year's cards in Israel, superseded by phone calls or internet messages. In other countries, especially the U.S., cards with traditional symbols are still commonly sent by mail, more elaborately designed than in the past. Thus, the simple and naïve New Year's card vividly reflects the dramatic changes in the life of the Jewish people over the last generations.

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[Shalom Sabar (2nd ed.)]

NEW YORK CITY, foremost city of the Western Hemisphere and largest urban Jewish community in history; pop. 7,771,730 (1970), est. Jewish pop. 1,836,000 (1968); metropolitan area 11,448,480 (1970), metropolitan area Jewish (1968), 2,381,000 (including Nassau, Suffolk, Rockland, and Westchester counties). (For later population figures, see below: 1970–2006.)

This article is arranged according to the following outline:

1654–1870
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1870–1920
  - MIGRATION AND POPULATION GROWTH
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1920–1970
  - DEMOGRAPHY
  - ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES
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- COMMUNAL, RELIGIOUS, CULTURAL, AND EDUCATIONAL AFFAIRS
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1970–2006

- DEMOGRAPHY
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1654–1870

DUTCH COLONIAL PERIOD. The arrival of some 23 *Sephardi and Ashkenazi Jews on the French privateer *St. Catherine* early in September 1654 marked the end of a tortuous journey that began earlier in the year when they left Recife, Brazil, after helping in the unsuccessful defense of the Dutch possession from Portuguese attack, rather than stay and face the Inquisition. The director general of New Netherland, Peter Stuyvesant, and the dominie Johannes Megapolensis tried to refuse haven to the penniless and tired refugees. They protested to the Dutch West India Company against the possible settlement of a "deceitful race" who professed an "abominable religion" and whose worship at the "feet of Mammon" would threaten and limit the profit of loyal subjects of the company. While Stuyvesant's plea was under consideration, other Jews including David de Ferrara and Abraham de *Lucena arrived in the spring of 1655. The population as a whole accepted the group. Instructions from the Dutch West India Company followed letters written by the Jews to their coreligionists in the company, which directed that newcomers be permitted to live, trade, and travel in New Netherland, and, in effect, to have the same privileges enjoyed in the Netherlands. Probably in deference to Stuyvesant, and because of the small size of the Jewish colony, the Jews, although permitted a burial ground, were not allowed to build a synagogue.

Despite the orders of the company, the newcomers faced other obstacles. The right to trade with some areas, including Albany, was denied as were rights to serve in the militia in lieu of paying a special tax, to own land, and to engage in retail trades like baking. These restrictions were all put forth by Stuyvesant. The Jews' response was twofold. The first took the form of a series of petitions drawn by Abraham de Lucena, Salvador d'Andrada, and Jacob Cohen Henriques addressed to the company in 1655 and 1656. The answers were affirmative. Burgher right, the right to conduct retail and wholesale trade in New Amsterdam, was extended to Jews in 1657, and the right to hold property was also upheld. Some Jews fought Stuyvesant on his own ground. Asser *Levy and Jacob *Barsimon (who had arrived with Solomon Pietersen in August 1654, prior to the main body of settlers) began a successful court action in November 1655 to permit Jews to serve in the militia in lieu of the payment of a special derogatory tax. Thus the Jews gained primary civil rights within a few years of settlement.

Having secured a foothold, the first Jews began the task of sustaining themselves. While economic opportunity was quite limited compared with those in the more stable, secure, and richer markets of Europe and the Caribbean, the average Jew managed well. In 1655 Jewish taxpayers paid 8% of the cost of the Palisade or "Waal," later the site of Wall Street, while they made up only about 2% of the assessed population. Asser Levy became the most prominent and successful merchant. He built a prosperous real estate business, had a kosher butcher shop, and won the right to participate in the citizens' guard. Another member of the founding group, Levy, a butcher and tanner by trade, carried on his business just outside the city's wall. He expanded his interests to real estate and trade within the city, as well as in communities along the Hudson River. Levy was one of the few pioneer Jews who remained and died in the province and whose descendants could be traced to 18th-century New York.

ENGLISH COLONIAL PERIOD. The surrender of New Amsterdam to the British in 1664 brought a number of changes to the Jewish settlement. Generally, civil and religious rights were widened. Jews were permitted to hold and be elected to public office and restrictions on the building of a synagogue were lifted. While there is some evidence that a synagogue existed as early as 1695, it was undoubtedly a private home used for this purpose by the Jewish community. Shearith Israel, the first congregation in New York, was probably organized in about 1706. Between 1729 and 1730 the congregation erected the first synagogue, a small building on Mill Lane – known also as Mud Lane – the site of present South William Street. This event occurred some 75 years after the original settlement and was an indication of its permanence as well as of the acceptance by English authority of the Jewish economic and social position. Interestingly, the London and Curaçao communities, which were also founded in 1654, had built synagogues within a few years of their founding. The hesitancy of New York Jews was probably due to the smallness of their numbers, as well as to the transient nature of their status and to governmental opposition.

The roots of the colony depended upon its economic viability. Jewish merchants took a major interest in overseas trade, partly because ocean traffic negated somewhat onerous local control and requirements and partly because it provided a measure of freedom that allowed them to use their special skills. Movement from place to place was its own protection: investments were widespread and thus less vulnerable. The transient, wandering Jew was an answer to the ghetto and enclosing walls, for he was more difficult to tax and to ghettoize. He carried his wealth with him, and he had knowledge of languages – Hebrew, Yiddish, German, Spanish, Portuguese, Dutch. In the correspondence of Nathan Simson, there are letters written in three and sometimes four languages. Simson had knowledge of the international market, and his kinsmen were in the Caribbean, Italy, Spain, the Near East, and India. This provided an opportunity not usually afforded the restricted Catholic or Protestant. Certain markets were specialties. When in 1699 Governor Bellomont wanted a bag of jewels that had been seized from an accused pirate appraised, he "ordered a Jew in town to be present, he understanding Jewells well."

Jews concentrated on such commodities as conditions required. They were among the first to introduce cocoa and chocolate to England and were heavily engaged in the coral, textile, and slave trades, and at times had virtual monopolies in the ginger trade. They are also said to have introduced whale-oil spermaceti candles to the colonies. In 1701 Jewish merchants accounted for 12% of those engaged in overseas trade, though they represented only about 2% of the general population. In 1776 they were less than 1% of the population and less than 1% of the overseas merchants. The decline of the overseas trade indicated not only that New York Jews had become rooted but also that they had found other means of earning a living. The colonial transience gave way to permanence.

During this process Jews struggled to obtain full citizenship, especially as it applied to trade. The Jew who wished to engage in overseas or wholesale trade had to face the question of his status, whether he was a citizen or an alien. As a citizen, except for some ambiguity with respect to his right to vote or hold office, he was allowed most rights including the right to trade. Since the English accepted Dutch citizenship equally with English, Jews who were burghers of New Amsterdam, as well as native-born colonists, continued to be citizens under British rule. The problems facing aliens, the status of the majority of Jews, were clearly set forth in the Trade and Navigation Acts passed between 1650 and 1663. This central body of British law applying to the colonies was intended not only to foster mercantilism but also to prevent the encroachment upon trade by "Jews, French and other foreigners." Under these acts aliens could not engage in British commerce without severe penalty.

The necessity for some form of citizenship became obvious by the Rabba Couty affair. In November 1671 Couty's ship *Trial* was condemned by the Jamaica Vice-Admiralty Court on the ground that Couty, a Jew, was by definition a foreigner. In appealing the decision in England to the Council of Trade and Plantations, Couty obtained certificates from Governor Lovelace of New York indicating that he had been a free burgher of New York for several years. On this evidence and the fact that the ship and crew were English, the council held the sentence illegal. Those Jews, therefore, who could prove native birth did not need to bother with naturalization proceedings, but the alien Jew had to become a citizen if he was to engage in foreign trade. In general, however, the Jews in New York found that the procurement of naturalization, the right to trade and hold property, and the right of inheritance were not too difficult to obtain. Merchants in England were rarely naturalized; mostly they were endenizened – i.e., they could trade, but not hold real estate. In New York, on the other hand, 46 Jews were naturalized but only six endenizened. Freemanship, the right to engage in retail trade, was also relatively easy to obtain, despite instances of prohibition. Forty-seven Jews were made freemen between 1688 and 1770.

The decline of the overseas trade brought a corresponding increase in the numbers of Jews who were local retailers and craftsmen. They sold a wide range of goods, such as guns (especially during war), rum, wine, ironware, glass, furs, and foodstuff. Such merchants as Jacob Franks, Rodrigo *Pacheco, Judah *Hays, and Sampson *Simson often advertised their wares in newspapers. They were frequently in partnership with non-Jews, including members of the Livingston, Cuyler, and Alexander families. In some instances such partnerships developed into long friendships, as was the case of Rodrigo Pacheco with James Alexander. Myer *Myers, made freeman in 1746, became a noted silversmith and goldsmith whose work was much in demand and is displayed today in many museums. Benjamin *Etting, also a goldsmith, was made a freeman in 1769; Michael Solomon *Hays in 1769 was a watchmaker; and Abraham Isaacs in 1770, a tailor. These occupations were not found in the period of initial settlement, and there were few Jews in the professions during this period. Dr. Elias Woolin was in the city in 1744, but there were no Jewish members of the bar, though Jews represented about 10% of the litigants in the various courts. In addition, some Jews were not successful financially. A number, including Isaac Levy, Moses Hart, and Michael Jacobs, became insolvent debtors. Some were jailed and others, like Aaron Machado and Abraham Myers Cohen, were written off as bad debts.

During the period of British control Jewish merchants were able to hold many positions of responsibility. Jacob *Franks and his son David were provision agents for the Crown during the French and Indian War. Sampson Simson was a member of the group that received the charter for the Chamber of Commerce in 1770. Perhaps the highest position held by a Jew in colonial New York was that of colonial agent representing the colony's interests in Parliament. This post was given to Rodrigo Pacheco in 1731. Daniel and Mordecai Gomez served as Spanish interpreters to the Supreme Court in New York. A number of Jews were elected to office, generally as constables or assessors. Members of the Hays family made the constabulary something of a tradition. For Jewish citizens, Christian oaths necessary for office, voting, and naturalization were often modified or eliminated. It was quite unusual for Jews to hold office in the other colonies, and the fact that they did in New York was an indication of the cosmopolitan nature of the colony and its general acceptance of the Jewish community. There was no ghetto and little overt anti-Jewish feeling. Most of the Jewish population lived in the area below Wall Street, generally in the Dock and South wards facing the East

River, mixed among their Christian neighbors. Jacob Franks lived off Coenties Slip and Asser Levy on Stone Street, as did Jacob Acosta. The burial ground off present-day Chatham Square was also on the East Side, at the end of Pearl Street, the main road through that part of town. In 1748 the Swedish naturalist Peter Kalm, then residing in the colony, wrote that Jews "enjoyed all the privileges common to the other inhabitants of the town or the province."

Precise census figures are not generally available, but for most of the 17th and 18th centuries Jews represented 1% to 2% of the total New York City population. In 1700 there were 17 households listed in the assessment rolls; estimating this at six per family, there were about 100 individuals, or 2% of the general population of 4,500. In 1722, 20 households are named, or about 1½%. A peak of 31 families was recorded in 1728, about 2.3% of the general population of 8,000. This was followed by a gradual decline to 19 families in 1734, or 1.2%. In that year Jews paid 1.9% of the city's taxes; in 1722 they had paid 2%. As a group they were seemingly slightly more affluent than their neighbors. After 1734 there are no extant assessment lists for New York City, so population figures are questionable, but it is fairly safe to rely on the 1% figure for the remaining period, although it may have been more.

Congregation Shearith Israel provided a cohesive force. Not the least of its functions was to provide a secular education, for there were no public schools. Religious subjects, as well as arithmetic and English, were taught by itinerant teachers. Moses Fonseca, for example, was brought in from Curaçao to be a *ḥazzan* as well as teacher. There were strong pressures for intermarriage. The limited number of Jews and hostility between Sephardim and Ashkenazim, plus a basic tolerance, created an atmosphere conducive for intermarriage. In 1742 Phila Franks, daughter of Jacob and Abigail Franks, one of the most noted Jewish families, married Oliver Delancey, an aristocrat and an Episcopalian. A few months later her brother David married Margaret Evans of Philadelphia; their children were baptized. By the eve of the American Revolution the pioneer Jewish citizens – the Pinheiros, De Mesquitas, Asser Levys, and their descendants – had all but disappeared from the New York scene.

REVOLUTIONARY PERIOD. The advent of the American Revolution found the Jewish community divided. In the past Jews had expressed their fealty to the Crown by word and deed. Numbers of Jews served in the colonial wars. Samuel Myers Cohen, Jacob Franks, and others were in the militia during the King George War, Abraham Solomon died in service during the French and Indian War, and others had served aboard privateers. Some, like members of the Franks family, were commissary agents for the British government. New York Jews, however, along with many others, sensed the emancipatory action of the Revolution and the possibility of full civil and political rights. Between 1768 and 1770 some 11 Jewish merchants, including Samuel *Judah, Hayman *Levy, and Jonas *Phillips, signed Non-Importation Articles that sought repeal of the Townshend Acts, which placed duties on the importation of tea, paper, lead and paint among other articles. The conquest of the city by the British in 1776 caused many Jews to flee to unoccupied places, such as Philadelphia and several locations in Connecticut. One supporter of the American cause was Haym *Solomon, who for a time was imprisoned by the British as a spy. *Ḥazzan* Gershom Mendes *Seixas fled to Philadelphia and helped found Congregation Mikveh Israel there. Others, confident of British justice, chose to stay, and the congregation carried on services during the occupation. Among the Loyalists was Abraham Wagg, who left for England in 1779 and attempted reconciliation between the contending factions. Uriah *Hendricks, a noted merchant, remained loyal. David Franks was accused by Congress of being a Loyalist and relieved of his commissary rights with the American government. He held a similar post under the British. He also left for England, but returned after the war for a time. The majority of Jews preferred a neutral position in the conflict, partly in fear of the consequences of a wrong guess. Jews sympathetic with the British cause knew what to expect from England but did not know what their status would be under the new government. Patriotic Jews, on the other hand, looked forward to a new freedom.

EARLY AMERICAN PERIOD. The end of the Revolution brought many distinct changes. Civil liberties, often a matter of governmental whim under the English, became part of the New York State constitution. Opportunities were expanded and new fields opened. Within a decade after the Revolution, Judah Zuntz and Solomon *Simson were admitted to the bar. In 1792 Benjamin *Seixas and Ephraim *Hart were among the founders of the New York Stock Exchange. Gershom Mendes Seixas served as a trustee of Columbia College from 1784 to 1814, and was one of 14 ministers who participated at George *Washington's first inaugural in April 1789, and Col. David M. Franks was one of the marshals in charge of the processional at the inaugural. Among the first Jewish graduates of Columbia College was Sampson Simson in 1800. Walter Judah, admitted to the college in 1795, also attended the medical school. He died while treating the sick during the yellow fever epidemic of 1798. In 1818 Governor De Witt Clinton attended the opening of Shearith Israel when the congregation rebuilt the synagogue on the Mill Street site. No colonial governor is known to have ever shown such deference to the community.

The Revolution reduced the Jewish population to less than 1% of the population. It remained at that level until the 1830s and 1840s, when an influx of German and Polish Jews caused a sudden rise to perhaps 15,000 in 1847 and to some 40,000, or approximately 4%, on the eve of the Civil War. Replacing the old and for the most part extinct pioneer generation were mostly German Jews, such as Harmon *Hendricks, son of Uriah, a mid-18th-century immigrant, who established possibly the first copper-rolling mill in the country in 1813. One of the distinctive changes in postwar New York was Jewish involvement in the political life of the community, perhaps best seen in the career of Mordecai Manuel *Noah. Born in Philadelphia in 1785, he entered public service as consul to Tunis in 1813. He became a member of the Democratic Party and was elected high sheriff of New York in 1821, surveyor of the port from 1829 to 1833, and judge of the Court of Sessions in 1841. In 1825 he started the unsuccessful Jewish settlement of Ararat on the Niagara River. As editor of the newspaper *The Evening Star* during the 1830s, he broke with Andrew Jackson and became a founder of the Whig and Nativist parties. His espousal of Jewish causes and his involvement with politics reflected a distinct example of the interests of the community. His funeral in 1851 was attended with the most elaborate ceremony by the Jewish settlement. The publishers Naphtali *Phillips and Naphtali *Judah were powers in the Tammany Society in the first two decades of the 19th century. Mordecai *Myers was elected to the state assembly in 1829 and 1831, while Emanuel B. *Hart was elected to the House of Representatives in 1851. He also held the posts of surveyor of the port and president of the Board of Aldermen. Greater social mobility of the Jews after the Revolution could be seen in their movement uptown from the area below Wall Street into other parts of the city. Sampson *Isaacs and Naphtali and Benjamin Judah lived in the Third Ward, the present-day Greenwich Village. The residences of Jacob B. *Seixas and Asher Marx were located on the newly burgeoning East Side. The lower midtown area was the residence of Henry Hyman, Isaac *Moses, and Hayman *Seixas. The wealthiest Jews and non-Jews resided a little below and a little above Wall Street. Harmon Hendricks, probably the richest Jew of early 19th-century New York, lived at 61 Greenwich Street. Near him, on this "quality lane," resided the almost equally wealthy Solomon J. *Isaacs, Lewis Marks, and Mrs. Isaac Moses.

The changing character of the community was also evident in the changing religious organization. In 1825 a group of Ashkenazi Jews, led by Barrow E. Cohen and Isaac B. *Kursheedt, complaining of its formality and control, broke away from the parent body, Shearith Israel, and formed the Bnai Jeshurun Congregation. In 1828 another dissenting group of Dutch, German, and Polish Jews broke from Bnai Jeshurun and formed the Congregation Anshe Chesed. In 1839, Polish members of these two groups formed Congregation Shaarey Zedek. Other German Jews formed Shaarey Hashamayim in 1839, Rodeph Shalom in 1842, and Temple Emanu-El in 1845. Dutch Jews established Bnai Israel in 1847 and French, Shaarey Brocho in 1851. The proliferation of congregational organizations and divisions of the Jewish community were due partly to the new freedom resulting from the Revolution. At first, these new congregations used a number of privately owned buildings before erecting their own synagogue buildings in what became a period of synagogue construction. The old Mill Street synagogue was sold by Shearith Israel in 1833 and a new building was erected on Crosby Street. In addition, there were five major synagogue structures in New York by 1860: Bnai Jeshurun on Greene Street, Shaarey Tefilah on Wooster, Anshe Chesed on Norfolk Street, Temple Beth El on 33rd Street, and Rodeph Shalom on Clinton Street. In the 1850s Anshe Chesed was the largest congregation in the United States. By the Civil War, Temple Emanu-El and Shearith Israel were the wealthiest and most influential of the congregations.

Religious organizations produced a number of distinguished leaders. Samuel M. *Isaacs, an English Jew who arrived in New York in 1839, was *ḥazzan* and possibly the first regular preacher in New York City. He was engaged as *ḥazzan* by Bnai Jeshurun and Shaarey Tefilah. From 1859 he edited the *Jewish Messenger*, one of the most influential Jewish periodicals. Jacques Judah *Lyons, the *ḥazzan* of Shearith Israel in the 1840s, compiled material for a proposed history of Jews in America, a task he did not complete. The first ordained rabbis arrived in the 1840s from Europe. Among them was Leo Merzbacher who ministered to Anshe Chesed and Rodeph Shalom and helped in establishing the Reform Temple Emanu-El, where he delivered sermons, attended official functions, and assisted in the education of the children. Others included Dr. Max *Lilienthal, considered the most capable preacher in German, and Dr. Morris J. *Raphall, who had a distinguished career with generally German congregations. *Ḥazzanim* with excellent singing voices who enhanced the synagogue services included Leon Sternberger of Warsaw and Ignatius Ritterman of Cracow.

The period after the Revolutionary War also saw the start of mutual-aid societies and *landsmanshaften*, which generally began as burial societies (*ḥevra kaddisha*). The Hebrah Gemilut Hasadim, organized at Shearith Israel in 1786, disbanded in 1790. As a successor, Rabbi Gershom Mendes Seixas founded Hebrah Hesed Vaemet in 1802, an organization still in existence. In 1826 Bnai Jeshurun formed the Hebrah Gemilut Hesed, known as the Hebrew Mutual Benefit Society, the forerunner of many such societies. The first president of this important group was Isaac B. Kursheedt. Anshe Chesed helped organize several societies, including the Montefiore Society in 1841.

Numerous fraternal orders began, the most important being the Independent Order *B'nai B'rith, founded in 1843 by 12 men, including Henry Jones, Isaac Rosenberg, and R.M. Roadacher. It combined mutual aid and fraternal features in an effort to bring harmony and peace among Jews. The groups spread rapidly with lodges and memberships throughout the country. Another such society was the Hebrew Benevolent Society, established in 1822 with Daniel Jackson as its first president. He was succeeded by John I. Hart and Roland M. Mitchell. (These names are an indication of the difficulty of identifying Jews during this period.) In 1820 women of Shearith Israel had organized a Female Hebrew Benevolent Society. In 1844 the German Hebrew Benevolent Society, a more narrowly based *Landsleute* group, was formed. These groups worked so well that by the eve of the Civil War few, if any, Jews had to apply to city institutions for aid. The Hebrew Benevolent Society and German Hebrew Benevolent Society united just prior to the Civil War, but other groups continued to maintain independence. Under the urging of Rev. Samuel

Isaacs in the *Jewish Messenger* and Dr. Samuel *Adler of Temple Emanu-El, the Hebrew and German societies formed the Hebrew Orphan Asylum in 1859.

For years after the Revolution there were demands for a Jewish hospital. It was not until 1852, however, that Sampson Simson, with the assistance of Shearith Israel and Shaarey Tefilah and a group of native and English Jews, founded "Jews' Hospital in the City of New York." This became known as Mount Sinai in 1866. Contributions from Judah *Touro of New Orleans and N.K. Rosenfeld of Temple Emanu-El, among others, helped in the construction of the building in 1853. Poor patients were given free treatment. The staff, as well as patients, were Jewish and non-Jewish.

Young men's Jewish groups also became part of the social scene of 19th-century New York and reflected a universal interest in education and its dissemination, so much a part of Jacksonian America. In 1852 a Hebrew Young Men's Literary Society was founded. A splinter group formed the Philodocean Society, and in 1854 another group formed the Touro Literary Institute. Other groups included the Montefiore Literary Association and the Washington Social Club. In 1858 the Young Men's and Touro groups merged to form the Hebrew Young Men's Literary Society. Jews also organized military organizations that had strong social overtones. These included Troop K, Empire Hussars, and the Young Men's Lafayette Association. Most of these social organizations, which included the Cultur Verein and Sange Verein, were formed as *landsmanshaften*, i.e., Young Men of Germany, Polish Young Men, etc. The Harmonie Club of German Jews is still in existence. Various members of these socially and culturally conscious organizations joined B'nai Brith before the Civil War and in 1850 also founded the Maimonides Library Association. This was a large library, housed on Orchard Street, and it was open to the public. Elaborate balls, dinners, and charity concerts did much to enliven New York Jewish society. The annual ball of the Young Men's Hebrew Benevolent Society was first held in 1842, and the annual dinners of the Hebrew and German Hebrew Benevolent Societies were highlights of the social season.

The flourishing of New York Jewish society found expression in the rise not only of community organizations but also of the press. The late 18th-century bookseller and publisher Benjamin Gomez was joined in his profession by Naphtali Phillips, publisher of the *National Advocate*, and Solomon Jackson, publisher of the first Jewish periodical in the United States, a monthly entitled *The Jew* (issued from 1823 to 1825). The first successful Jewish periodical was Robert Lyon's *The Asmonean* (1848–58), which published the debates between Jewish leaders over the necessity of a union of American Jews. In 1857 Rabbi Samuel Isaacs' *Jewish Messenger* became the voice of Orthodox Judaism and called for a union of Jewish charities, while championing a Jewish free school. There were printers skilled in German type, including Henry Franks, who printed a holiday prayer book, *Maḥzor mi-Kol ha-Shanah*, among other items. Isaac Bondi, rabbi of Anshe Chesed, edited the *Hebrew Leader* from 1859 to 1874. Among the works of Jewish authors published during this period were Mordecai Noah's imaginative *Book of Yashar* and Rev. Raphall's *Post-Biblical History of the Jews*. Despite an interest in literature and the arts, few scholarly works were produced by Jews during this time. Highly skilled Jewish artisans in the tradition of Myer Myers were few, an exception being Jacob R. *Lazarus, a painter and student of Henry Inman, whose works are today in the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

Jewish education varied little from the 18th century, except that free public schools, which were Protestant in tone, were available from 1805. These schools were extensively used by the Jewish population, especially after they came under governmental control in 1842, slowly gave up sectarianism, and greatly expanded, thus lessening the demand for synagogal day schools. In 1842 Rabbi Samuel Isaacs of Bnai Jeshurun converted an afternoon school to the New York Talmud Torah and Hebrew Institute. It lasted until 1847. Other congregations such as Anshe Chesed and Rodeph Shalom also started short-lived Hebrew and English schools. Jews generally objected to the teaching of Christian ethics and the use of Christian textbooks in public schools. Such objections helped trigger the expansion of Hebrew schools in the 1850s. Bnai Jeshurun, Temple Emanu-El, Shaarey Zedek, and Shearith Israel all started parochial day schools combining secular and religious education. By 1854 there were seven such schools but there was great debate over their necessity. As in the colonial period, the education of Jewish girls was not considered too important; they were either sent to public schools or taught by private tutors. A few unsuccessful attempts were made to establish institutions of higher education. Sampson Simson organized the Jewish Theological Seminary and Scientific Institution, but there was little else. Jews of New York did not support Isaac Wise's Zion Collegiate Institute in Cincinnati and little was done for Samuel M. Isaacs' Hebrew high school founded in the 1850s.

Several world events stirred the community. The *Mortara case in Italy in 1859, in which a Jewish boy was converted to Christianity despite family objections, led S.M. Isaacs to form the *Board of Delegates of the American Israelites; it was intended to protect and secure civil and religious rights of Jews in the U.S. and abroad. An earlier episode, the *Damascus Affair (an accusation of ritual murder against the Jews of Damascus), led to several mass meetings in 1840 calling for President Van Buren to protest this accusation.

There was tremendous diversity to Jewish business interests during this period. Generally, however, the latter centered on small retail shops and small handicraft businesses. Some Jews held posts in civil service, generally of a minor nature, an exception being Albert *Cardozo, justice of the Supreme Court of New York. There were a few men of prominence in business. Hayman *Levy, one of the largest fur traders in the colonies, employed John Jacob Astor in his business after the Revolution. Another was Eli Hart, who was in the wheat and flour business. Daniel Jackson was a noted broker and banker.

Bernhard *Hart was honorary secretary of the New York Stock Exchange from 1831 to 1853. August *Belmont represented Rothschild interests in New York after he replaced Joseph L. and J. Josephs in 1836.

CIVIL WAR. The Civil War found the Jewish community, like the rest of the country, divided over slavery. New York City in many ways resembled a Southern city. Though slavery was prohibited after 1827, schools and theaters were segregated. Many Jews, including members of the Manumission Society of New York City, had freed their slaves, others retained them until forced to set them free. Mordecai M. Noah supported the pro-slavery position, as did Dr. Morris J. Raphall, who observed that the Ten Commandments condoned slavery. This position was attacked by Michael *Heilprin, writing in the *Tribune*, and he was joined by Rev. Samuel M. Isaacs as well as many others. With the start of the war the Jewish response was overwhelmingly in favor of the Union. On April 20, 1861, Joseph *Seligman was vice president of a Union meeting held at Union Square. His firm, J. and J. Seligman & Co., sold federal bonds in the astonishing sum of $200,000,000. Although Jews enlisted quickly, there was strong anti-Jewish bias in the army. At first Jewish chaplains were not permitted to serve, but Samuel M. Isaacs and his son Myer were among the leaders of the successful struggle to change the restrictive terms of the law. Jewish soldiers were dispersed throughout the army, and there were few Jewish enclaves, except for Company D of the 8th, New York, National Guard.

Jews also supported the war effort by aiding the United States Sanitary Commission, and held numerous Purim balls or Feasts of Esther to help the sick and wounded. Shearith Israel, Anshe Chesed, and Temple Emanu-El were in the forefront of the effort to raise money for the war effort. The 1864 Sanitary Fair in New York, the largest held during the war, found Benjamin Nathan and Moses Lazarus on the executive committee and Moses Schloss and Lewis May on the general committee. The Jews Hospital opened its wards to the wounded and between 1862 and 1865 treated hundreds of soldiers of all faiths. Judge Albert Cardozo and Col. E.B. Hart were on the Advisory Committee of the New York State Soldiers Committee. By the end of the war the Jewish community was numerous, well-represented, and established. It had prepared the ground for future, more massive immigration. Newcomers after 1865 found a community with a history and a background of accomplishment that proved receptive to them.

[Leo Hershkowitz]

1870–1920

MIGRATION AND POPULATION GROWTH. Beginning in the 1870s and continuing for half a century, the great migration from Eastern Europe radically altered the demography, social structure, cultural life, and communal order of New York Jewry. During this period more than a million Jews settled in the city. They were overwhelmingly Yiddish-speaking and impoverished, the products of intensive, insular Jewish life and wretched economic conditions. Meeting the harsh problems of economic survival, social integration, and the maintenance of the ethnic heritage required vast physical, emotional, and intellectual efforts.

On their arrival in the city the East European Jews (commonly called Russian Jews) found a Jewish settlement dominated by a group strikingly different in cultural background, social standing, and communal outlook. By the 1870s this older settlement had become, with some important exceptions, middle class in outlook, mercantile in its economic base, and Reform Jewish in group identity. Successfully integrated in the economic life of the city and well advanced in its acculturation to the larger society, the established community drew its leadership from a socially homogenous elite of bankers, merchant princes, brokers, and manufacturers. The two groups – the prosperous and Americanized "uptown Jews" and the alien and plebeian "downtown Jews" – confronted and interacted with each other, a process that significantly shaped the course of community development.

Two-thirds of the city's Jews in 1870 were German born or children of German-born parents. Together with the smaller subgroups – descendants of the 18th-century community, clusters of English, Dutch, and Bohemian Jews, and a growing contingent of Polish Jews (who formed a distinctive subcommunity) – the Jewish population numbered 60,000, or 4% of the inhabitants of the larger city (Manhattan and Brooklyn). By 1920, New York (all five boroughs) contained approximately 1,640,000 Jews (29% of the total population), and they made up the largest ethnic group in the city. (The Italians, the second most numerous, formed 14% of the population. Their arrival in the city paralleled the Russian Jewish migration, and their initial areas of settlement adjoined the Jewish immigrant quarters.) By 1920, 45% of the Jewish population of the United States lived in New York.

As the main port of entry for immigrants, New York served as a transit point and temporary domicile. The city also attracted a portion of those who entered the country through other ports, particularly Philadelphia and Baltimore, or who came to the city after having lived inland for a time. Of all immigrant groups, Jews ranked first in their preference for New York. According to S. Joseph, 1,372,189 Jews passed through the port of New York between 1881 and 1911, of whom 73% settled in the city. The Table: Population Growth-NYC and Jews indicates the population growth of New York and of its Jewish community. (The statistical data for New York City and Brooklyn are combined for the period prior to 1898 to permit comparison with the later period. New York City in 1870 was restricted to Manhattan Island. In 1874 it annexed three western townships in the Bronx and in 1895 annexed the eastern towns. Brooklyn remained a separate city until 1898 when it consolidated with Manhattan, the Bronx, Queens, and Richmond (Staten Island) to form the present-day city. Before 1900 only scattered Jews lived in the areas that later became the boroughs of Queens and Richmond.)

New York City Population Growth and Jewish Population Growth: 1870–1920

Year	Total Population of Greater New York	Estimated Jewish Population	Percentage of Jews to Total Population
1870	1,363,213	60,000	4%
1880	1,912,698	80,000	4%
1890	2,507,414	225,000	9%
1900	3,437,202	580,000	11%
1910	4,766,883	1,100,000	23%
1920	5,620,048	1,643,000	29%

Population dispersion within the city accompanied this growth (See Table: New York - Population Growth). In 1870 nearly two-thirds of the inhabitants of Greater New York resided in Manhattan. Fifty years later Manhattan's population had grown two and a half times, but it contained only two-fifths of the city's inhabitants. During this period Brooklyn's population multiplied fourfold, the Bronx's fifteenfold, Queens' ninefold, and Richmond's threefold. Queens and Richmond, still the most thinly inhabited areas of the city, had a density per acre of 6.1 and 3.2 persons, respectively, compared with 27.6 for the Bronx, 39.5 for Brooklyn, and 160 for Manhattan. On Manhattan's Lower East Side – bounded by Catherine Street, the Bowery, Third Avenue, 14th Street, and the East River – the population numbered 415,000 in 1920, a decline from a peak of 540,000 in 1910. At the height of its congestion, one-fourth of Manhattan's residents occupied one-twentieth of the island's space, an area of 1.5 sq. mi. For most of 50 years these East Side blocks, already overcrowded in 1870, were the reception center for the flood of Russian Jewish immigration. Only after 1900, when the immigrants themselves established new neighborhoods in areas like Harlem and Brownsville in Brooklyn, did some newcomers go directly there, bypassing the Lower East Side.

New York by Borough: Population Growth by Boroughs, 1880–1920, and Jewish Population by Boroughs in 1920

	1880	1910	1920	Jewish Population 1920 (est.)	Percentage of Jews to Pop. 1920
Manhattan	1,164,673	2,331,542	2,284,103	657,101	28.8
The Bronx	51,980	430,980	732,016	278,169	38.0
Brooklyn	599,495	1,643,351	2,018,356	604,380	29.9
Queens	56,559	284,041	469,042	86,194	18.4
Richmond	38,991	85,969	116,531	17,168	14.7
Total	1,912,698	4,766,883	5,620,048	1,643,012	29.2

The Jews constituted the most conspicuous element in this dual phenomenon of rising congestion and rapid dispersion. In 1870 the less affluent, and those whose occupations required it, lived in the southern wards of the Lower East Side along the axis of East Broadway. Germans, Irish, and native Americans constituted a majority of the district's population. The northern tier of wards, stretching from Rivington to 14th streets, were heavily populated by Germans. Two-story frame houses were the prevailing type of residence, though many of these had already been converted to multiple-family use. By 1890, with Russian Jews pouring in, the great majority of the earlier inhabitants, including the German Jews, left the 80 square blocks of the southern wards. Ten years later they were in the process of abandoning the entire region below 14th Street to the rising tide of Jewish immigrants. The characteristic type of residency in the enlarged Jewish quarter was now the double-decker or "dumbbell" tenement. (The dumbbell shape met an 1879 municipal regulation requiring an airshaft between contiguously built tenements.) These tenements were five to eight stories in height, they occupied 75 to 90% of a plot 25 feet wide and 100 feet deep, and each floor contained four apartments – a total of 14 rooms, of which only one in each apartment received air and light from the street or from a cramped backyard. The most congested area was the tenth ward, the heart of the Jewish East Side. In the 46 blocks between Division, Clinton, Rivington, and Chrystie Streets that made up the ward (an area of 106 acres), there were 1,196 tenements in 1893. The population was 74,401, a density of 701.9 persons an acre.

The German Jews who left the Lower East Side in this population displacement joined their more prosperous brethren, who had moved halfway up the east side of Manhattan in the years following the Civil War. They settled between 50th and 90th Streets, a region that included the beginnings of Yorkville with its heavy concentration of Germans. Smaller contingents settled farther north in the upper-class neighborhood of Harlem, north of Central Park, and scattered numbers reached the zone of well-situated brownstone homes west of Central Park.

The relocation of synagogues and the establishment of other Jewish institutions underscored this process of removal and social differentiation: the geographical division, in short, of the Jewish populace into "uptown" and "downtown." As early as 1860 the venerable Shearith Israel moved from Crosby Street, in a rapidly declining downtown area, to 19th Street near Fifth Avenue. In 1897 it moved to Central Park West and 70th Street, its present site. (Shaarey Tefillah, the first congregation on the Upper West Side, erected its synagogue on West 82nd Street four years earlier.) Temple Emanu-El, the leading Reform congregation in the city, moved from East 12th Street to Fifth Avenue and 43rd Street, where the congregation in 1868 consecrated an impressive Moorish-style edifice. In 1872 Ahavath Chesed occupied its fourth site in its 26-year existence when it moved to Lexington Avenue and 55th Street (known as the Central Synagogue, this is the oldest building in continuous use as a synagogue in New York). A year later Anshe Chesed left downtown Norfolk Street for Lexington Avenue and 63rd Street. Soon after, it consolidated with Adas Jeshurun to form Temple Beth El, which in 1891 moved to Fifth Avenue and 76th Street. Though Bnai Jeshurun, the oldest Ashkenazi congregation in the city, eventually moved to the West Side, it, too, belonged to the mainstream migration to the mid-East Side. In 1865 it occupied a newly completed house of worship, its third, on 34th Street and Broadway. It migrated further uptown to Madison Avenue and 65th Street in 1884. In 1918 the congregation moved to its present synagogue on West 88th Street near West End Avenue.

Also located in the mid-East Side area were a number of private clubs that catered to the social needs of the wealthier Jewish businessmen: Criterion, Fidelio, Freundschaft, Lotus, Progress, and the prestigious Harmonie, the club of the German-Jewish elite. Harmonie occupied its own building on 42nd Street west of Fifth Avenue from 1867 to 1912, when it moved to 4 East 60th Street. In 1872 uptown Jews transferred one of their most esteemed philanthropic institutions, Mount Sinai Hospital, to 67th Street and Lexington Avenue. By the turn of the century additional institutions supported by the older community were operating in the area. The Baron de Hirsch Trade School on East 64th Street, the Clara de Hirsch Home for Working Girls on East 63rd Street, and the Young Men's Hebrew Association (YMHA) at Lexington and 92nd Street were the most prominent. Fourteen synagogues served the growing Yorkville settlement, half of them Reform or Conservative. They occupied spacious buildings – Beth El seated 2,400 and Emanu-El 1,600 – and congregants had average annual incomes that ranged from Bnai Jeshurun's $20,000 to Emanu-El's $46,000. The Orthodox congregations mainly served a Central European group, though affluent East European Jews were moving into the area and joining them. Zichron Ephraim, organized in 1889 and located on 67th Street near Lexington Avenue, was the wealthiest. Its rabbi was New York-born and had received his university and rabbinical training in Germany and the U.S.

The Jewish settlement in Harlem developed along broadly parallel lines, though with some differences. It grew more slowly at the start. Less accessible to the center of the city – hence beyond the reach of most middle-class families – Harlem became a residential suburb for the wealthy. In 1874, when Temple Israel was established, it was the sole congregation in Harlem. Fourteen years later, when it dedicated its new synagogue on Fifth Avenue and 125th Street, three other small congregations were serving the community as well. By 1900 the number of permanent synagogues had grown to 13. Significantly, four of these had been founded by East European Jews, a sign that the movement of Russian Jews from the Lower East Side to Harlem was already well under way.

The immigrant influx inspired the poet Emma Lazarus in 1883 to compose *The New Colossus*, a paean to the future Americans. The famous sonnet echoes many of the conflicting identities and ideals swirling around the new arrivals. The compassion of the lines "huddled masses yearning to breathe free" welcomes the tired immigrants, but the following image of the "wretched refuse of your teaming shore" hints at the condescension these refugees were to suffer. These tensions, between ancient and modern, Jew and American, freedom and oppression, give Lazarus' work meaning and power. The sonnet was engraved on a plaque and placed in the pedestal of the Statue of Liberty in 1903, 16 years after her death.

The completion of the first elevated railway in the late 1870s inaugurated a new age of transit, opening cheap, semi-rural land to intensive urban development. Along a network of expanding elevated and subway routes, Russian Jewish immigrants moved out of the downtown quarter in two great streams: north to Harlem and then to the Bronx, and southeast across the East River to Brooklyn's Williamsburg and Brownsville. By the 1880s three elevated lines were running the length of Manhattan. In 1904 the first subway was completed. One route extended to the tip of Manhattan and opened the West Side and Washington Heights to mass settlement. A branch ran through Harlem and even before its completion brought a wave of construction to peripheral areas. The subway placed sections of the Bronx within the reach of families of modest means. In like manner the transit net spread to Brooklyn. The barrier of the East River was first breached in 1883 with the completion of the Brooklyn Bridge. The Williamsburg Bridge (1903) and the Manhattan Bridge (1909) and subway tunnels under the river vastly improved interborough transportation. A construction boom in multi-family dwellings marked the years 1904–07. In 1914 and 1915 twice as many apartment units were built in Brooklyn as in Manhattan, a ratio that held into the 1920s, when additional subway facilities were completed.

Though transportation and moderate rents were essential for geographic mobility, rising expectations and economic progress were no less significant. The physical conditions the new immigrant encountered were tolerable while he made his initial adjustment and saved to bring the family that was left behind. With this achieved, the Jewish immigrant family looked beyond the immigrant quarter. Improved housing and environmental conditions, particularly as they might affect the young, were the predominant motives in a family's calculations (new neighborhood housing was superior because of the more stringent municipal regulations under which it was built). For the working class, moreover, the Lower East Side was losing its "walk to work" advantage. By 1910 the main immigrant area of employment – the clothing industry – was moving to the West Side between 14th and 23rd Streets (during the 1920s its center reached the Pennsylvania Station district). This development reflected the decreasing role of the sweatshop. Once the tenement-flat sweatshop, based as it was on cheap labor drawn from the neighborhood, was restricted or eliminated, a major feature that had attracted newly arrived Jewish immigrants to the Lower East Side disappeared. The gradual elimination of the sweatshop belonged to a general improvement in labor conditions beginning after 1900, when municipal housing regulations began having some effect over the worst abuses in the tenement sweatshops, and was especially marked in the 1910s, owing to the new militancy and effectiveness of the labor unions (see below). A shorter work week and higher wages created the margin in time and money needed to leave downtown for more congenial surroundings. In many cases the move became possible, or was hastened, when children became old enough to add to family earnings. A study of pensioned clothing workers shows that 88% of the Russian Jews left the Lower East Side after residing in the area, on the average, for 15 years. In all likelihood those who became entrepreneurs lived on the Lower East Side for a briefer time. Indeed, between 1910 and 1915 the population of the Lower East Side declined by 14% and between 1915 and 1920 by a further 11%.

The most graphic instance of the growth of a new area of settlement is the case of the Brownsville-New Lots district of Brooklyn. A small group of Jews of German origin had settled in the village of New Lots. Only in 1885, however, did they establish a synagogue, Bikur Cholim (Temple Sinai). In 1886 real-estate promoters began dividing the farmland into lots for sale, and between 1890 and 1900 the Jewish population increased from less than 3,000 to more than 15,000. Five years later it had passed 49,000, and by 1916 the Brownsville-New Lots population had reached 225,490. It was served by 72 synagogues, all Orthodox.

In 1920, the primary immigrant quarter, the Lower East Side, was continuing to lose population at a rapid pace. Other areas of settlement, some of which had assumed features of the immigrant quarter, were beginning to lose population as well. Harlem was the outstanding instance. Around 1920 it passed its peak and began a steep decline as a large and culturally important Jewish neighborhood as its Jewish residents moved to the East Bronx and Washington Heights. In the Bronx, the direction was from the East Bronx and south-central region to the upper reaches of the Grand Concourse and the Tremont-Fordham areas. A similar trend occurred in Brooklyn. Though Brownsville and New Lots were still growing in 1920, the more affluent Jews were moving to leafy Eastern Parkway, Boro Park, Coney Island, and Flatbush. They were being replaced, at least in part, by a less affluent exodus from Williamsburg. By 1920 a socioeconomic hierarchy of Jewish neighborhoods had come into being.

The dispersion of Jewish population and the diversification of neighborhoods were indicators and facets of the process of acculturation.

ECONOMY. In a number of fields the Jews of New York loomed large in the economy of the city. One group of German-Jewish families played an outstanding role in revolutionizing retailing. In the decade after the Civil War, fathers and sons entered the dry goods business and transformed their establishments into great department stores, which still bear their names. Bavarian-born Benjamin *Bloomingdale and his sons Lyman and Joseph, both born in New York City, opened a dry goods store in 1872. By 1888, under the sons' direction, Bloomingdale's employed 1,000 people in its East Side emporium. On the West Side, the department store founded by Benjamin *Altman and his brother Morris expanded to the point where it required 1,600 employees. The giant in the field was R.H. Macy, which Isidore and Nathan *Straus joined in 1874, becoming the sole owners in 1887 (Oscar, a third brother, had an interest in the business as well). Lazarus Straus and his three sons had migrated to New York from Georgia in 1865 and opened a pottery and glassware house that became the springboard to their association with Macy's. Stern's, Gimbel's, and the Brooklyn firm of Abraham and Straus (A&S) were also established during this time.

A significant number of German Jews entered investment banking. Closely knit by ethnic, social, and family bonds, they formed a recognizable group within the business community. Membership in the same temples and clubs, common philanthropic endeavors, and frequent marriages within the social set welded the group together, a fact that was important in their business dealings and led to frequent collaboration. Possessing excellent financial ties with banking interests in Europe – and especially in Germany – they were able to tap these sources for the U.S. market. Kuhn, Loeb & Company, under the leadership of Jacob H. *Schiff, was the leading house. But other firms achieved considerable standing in the financial world, including J. and J. Seligman & Co., James Speyer and Company; Goldman, Sachs & Company; Hallgarten and Company; and J.S. Bache and Company. Henry Lehman, an immigrant from Germany, had opened a small shop in Montgomery, Ala., in 1844. Two brothers joined him six years later. But the Civil War disrupted their business. When hostilities ended, the brothers moved to New York, where they helped found the Cotton Exchange. During the vigorous economic expansion of the second half of the 19th century, Lehman Brothers broadened its expertise beyond commodities brokerage to merchant banking. Building a securities trading business, they became members of the New York Stock Exchange in 1887. At the turn of the century, Lehman Brothers was a founding financier of emerging retailers like Sears, Roebuck & Company, F.W. Woolworth Company, May Department Stores, Gimbel Brothers, and R.H. Macy.

German Jews played a central role as entrepreneurs in the city's growing ready-made clothing industry. In 1888, of 241 such clothing manufacturers, 234 were owned by Jews and accounted for an annual product of $55,000,000. The needle trade was fast becoming New York's most important industry. In 1870 the city's factories and shops produced men's clothes worth $34,456,884. In 1900 the value of goods they produced reached $103,220,201, and during the same period their work force rose from 17,084 to 30,272. The growth of the women's clothing branch of the industry was more spectacular. The value of goods produced rose from $3,824,882 in 1870 to $102,711,604 in 1900. Where 3,663 workers were employed in 1870, 44,450 were employed in 1900. In 1913 the clothing industry as a whole numbered 16,552 factories and 312,245 employees.

East European Jews began streaming into the industry in the 1880s and by 1890 were the dominant element. They nearly completely displaced the German, Irish, and English craftsmen, as well as the German-Jewish manufacturers. One estimate, made in 1912, calculated that approximately 85% of the employees in the needle trades were Jewish.

Jewish Craftsmen in New York, 1890

Tailors (General) 9,595	Tailors (Women's Coats) 2,084	Tailors (Wholesale) 1,043	Cigarette Manufacturers 976
Haberdashers 715	Painters 458	Carpenters 443	Tinsmiths 417
Butchers 413	Gold + Silver Smiths 287	Bakers 270	Glaziers 148
Typesetters 145	Machinists 143	Shoemakers 83	Musicians 67

The immigrant Jews entered the apparel trade in such numbers because it was close at hand, required little training, and allowed the congeniality of working with one's kind. The contracting system, which became widespread in the industry by 1890, was responsible in large measure for these conditions. Contractors, acting as middlemen, received cut goods from the merchant or manufacturer, rented shop space (or used their own tenement flat), bought or hired sewing machines, and recruited a labor force. Generally, about ten people worked in these "outside shops" (in contrast to the larger "inside shops," where the manufacturer directly employed the work force and where working conditions were better). The minute division of labor that prevailed permitted the employment of relatively unskilled labor. In the intensely competitive conditions of the time – compounded by the seasonal nature of the industry – hard-pressed contractors recurrently raised the required "task" of garments for payment. Under these circumstances the notorious sweatshops developed with their cramped quarters and long hours of work. In 1890 the journalist and social reformer Jacob Riis wrote:

> The homes of the Hebrew quarter are its workshops also… You are made fully aware of [economic conditions] before you have traveled the length of a single block in any of these East Side streets, by the whir of a thousand sewing-machines, worked at high pressure from earliest dawn till mind and muscle give out altogether. Every member of the family, from the youngest to the oldest, bears a hand, shut in the qualmy rooms, where meals are cooked and clothing washed and dried besides, the livelong day. It is not unusual to find a dozen persons – men, women, and children – at work in a single small room.

Until the turn of the century, a 70-hour work week was not uncommon.

Despite notorious abuses, the system of small shops on the Lower East Side had advantages for the new arrival. Old Country ties often played a role in the system and softened harsh conditions with an element of familiarity. Manufacturers set up fellow townsmen, *landsleit*, as contractors; contractors hired *landsleit*. Bosses who were practicing Orthodox Jews made allowances for the religious requirements of their workers. The smaller shops of the contractors, in particular, were closed on the Sabbath. Reuben Sadowsky, a large cloak manufacturer, not only closed on the Sabbath but encouraged weekday services in his factory. The production system with its extreme specialization also had its advantages. The new immigrant could master a subspecialty commensurate with his experience – or lack of it – and his physical stamina, and do so quickly. Finally, the very competitiveness and instability of the industry provided opportunities and hope. The ascent from worker to contractor to small manufacturer, categories not far removed from one another, beckoned to the enterprising and ambitious.

Although the needle trade was the largest single employer of East European Jews, Jewish immigrants found employment in other industries as well. Approximately 20% of the cigar makers in the city in the early 1900s were Russian Jews. The building boom attracted Russian Jewish builders, who opened the way for their countrymen to enter the field as craftsmen. At first, because of limited capital and the discriminatory practices of the craft unions, Jewish building activity was limited primarily to renovating old tenements. But in 1914, for example, when the Jewish painters were finally accepted into the Brotherhood of Painters and Paperhangers, 5,000 joined the union. An Inside Iron and Bronze Workers Union, organized in 1913 under the auspices of the United Hebrew Trades, had a membership of 2,000 in 1918. Branches of the food-processing industry – like baking and the slaughtering and dressing of meat – were "Jewish industries" because of the ritual requirements of *kashrut*. One of the oldest labor unions in the Jewish quarter represented the bakers. It had 2,500 members by 1918.

The compact Jewish settlements had a broad working-class base. A survey of the most heavily populated Jewish wards of the Lower East Side conducted by the Baron de Hirsch Fund in 1890 showed that 60% of those gainfully employed were shopworkers in the needle trades, 6.9% were shopworkers in other industries, 8.2% were artisans (mainly painters, carpenters, and tinsmiths), and 23.5% were tradesmen, nearly half of these being peddlers. Except for Hebrew teachers and musicians, no other profession was listed, and the latter group accounted for but 1.4%.

By 1920, however, the occupational and class structure had changed considerably. The change was expressed in a decrease in the number of blue-collar workers, an increase in the number of college students, the rise of a professional group of notable size, the growth in the magnitude and income of the mercantile class, and the consolidation of a wealthy stratum composed primarily of clothing manufacturers and real estate entrepreneurs. Jacob Lestchinsky, the sociologist and economist, suggested that in 1916 nearly 40% of all gainfully employed Jews in New York City were garment workers, while the total employed in all manual work was more than 50%. By the turn of the century, a majority of the students at tuition-free City College was Jewish, and in 1918 the proportion of Jewish students was 78.7% of total enrollment. In the College of Dental and Oral Surgery, the comparable figure was 80.9%, while at the city's college for women, Hunter, the proportion was 38.7%. In 1907, 200 physicians, 115 pharmacists, and 175 dentists served downtown's Jews (the number of Jewish physicians in the borough of Manhattan rose from 450 in 1897 to 1,000 in 1907). To this group of professionals, add the growing number of lawyers. Evening law school – generally a two-year course of study – enabled a younger generation to prepare for a professional career while being self-supporting. The careers of Morris *Hillquit and Meyer *London, labor lawyers and socialist leaders; Leo Sanders and Aaron J. Levy, active in Tammany politics; and Isaac A. Allen and Benjamin Koeningsberg, who were involved in Orthodox Jewish causes, indicate some of the avenues open to the young lawyers. Especially striking was the observation of Isaac M. *Rubinow, physician, economist, and statistician. Writing in 1905 he noted the growth of "Russian Jewish fortunes in New York," many of which ranged between $25,000 and $200,000. "Almost every newly arrived Russian-Jewish laborer comes into contact with a Russian-Jewish employer," he wrote, and "almost every Russian-Jewish tenement dweller must pay his exorbitant rent to a Russian-Jewish landlord." He was alluding to such wealthy clothing manufacturers as Joseph H. Cohen, Louis Borgenicht, William Fischman, and Israel Unterberg, and to real-estate developers like Harry Fischel and Nathan Lamport. It was within this context of a "Jewish economy" that the Jewish labor movement in New York developed and made its impact. Organizing the Jewish clothing workers – the primary sphere of trade-union activity – entailed dealing with a constituency that considered its occupation temporary and was conservative in temper to a large degree. It meant negotiating with a multitude of bosses and a host of elusive contractors. However, the fact that the trade-union struggle took place in New York and in the garment industry also made it a Jewish communal affair. This had its mitigating consequences. Clothing manufacturers like Joseph Cohen and William Fischman were also leaders of the community. Downtown social workers like Henry *Moskowitz and Lillian *Wald and their uptown sponsors, Jacob Schiff and Louis *Marshall, were no less concerned with the good name of the community and the social integration of the newcomers. In the 1910s this led to a stabilization of the unions, vastly improved working conditions, and a pioneering formula of labor-industry relations. For the 20 years until the great strikes of 1909–16 the Jewish trade unions were weak and dispirited, despite occasional victories. The 1890 strike of the cloakmakers led by Joseph *Barondess was one such instance. The early success of the United Hebrew Trades was another. But ideological factionalism and seasonal apathy sapped the strength of the unions. From 1901 to 1909, the groundwork was laid, however, for the emergence of an aggressive, responsible, and socially progressive Jewish labor movement. The rising curve of immigration was drawing members and adherents of the *Bund, who were deeply committed to trade-union work. The socialist *Forward* was developing into the most widely read Yiddish daily and becoming a major educational medium for the Jewish working class. The Jewish socialist fraternal order, the Arbeiter Ring (*Workmen's Circle), was gaining strength. The "uprising of the twenty thousand" – a strike of the waistmakers, mostly young women – in the fall of 1909 was followed by the "great revolt" of the cloakmakers a half year later. These strikes increased the numbers and the stability of the *International Ladies Garment Workers Union (ILGWU).

One tragic event in 1911, however – a fire at the Triangle Shirtwaist Company factory in lower Manhattan, in which 146 young women perished – led to sweeping changes in safety laws and gave a powerful impetus to the fledgling labor movement. The fire broke out near the end of a six-day, 52-hour workweek on the top three floors of a 10-story building. About 500 women, mostly Jewish and Italian immigrants, worked there behind locked doors making blouses. Within 15 minutes after the fire broke out, nearly 30% of the workers were killed. Firetruck ladders could reach only to the seventh floor. Firefighters held nets below, but so many women were jumping at the same time that the nets tore and did not hold them. Some rushed to the elevator shaft, hoping to escape by sliding down the cables, only to lose their grip. The owners of the business were acquitted of responsibility for the deaths, but in 1914, civil suits brought by relatives of 23 victims ended with payments of $75 to each of the families. The fire became the most vivid symbol of the struggle for workplace safety. As outrage mounted after the fire, the ILGWU intensified its demands for safer working conditions. New York established a Bureau of Fire Investigation and over the next three years enacted 36 safety laws.

In the summer of 1912, the furriers fought their battle for recognition. From January to March 1913 nearly 150,000 struck different branches of the apparel trades, but in particular the men's clothing industry. The strike led to the founding of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America (ACWA). The strikes had much in common. High emotion and a deep sense of dedication marked them all. The scene of workers pouring into the streets from their shops at the appointed hour reminded the chairman of the cloakmakers' strike of the Jews leaving Egypt. Characteristic, too, was the climate of opinion: the Jewish labor movement succeeded in mobilizing broad material and moral support for the strikers both from its own ranks and from reform circles. In all instances, moreover, prominent Jewish communal leaders intervened and mediated between Russian Jewish labor leaders and Russian Jewish manufacturers. In the best-known case, the 1910 strike, Louis *Brandeis, Louis Marshall, A. Lincoln *Filene, Henry Moskowitz, Jacob Schiff, and Meyer Bloomfield became involved at one point or another in mediating the dispute. In the furriers' strike, Judah L. *Magnes, former rabbi of Temple Emanu-El and chairman of the New York Kehillah, was instrumental in ending the dispute. He became permanent chairman of the conference committee of the fur industry and later chairman of the council of moderators of the men's clothing industry. Finally, in all cases, negotiations ended with some form of recognition for the union, a preferential or union shop, a smaller work week (generally 50 hours), a rise in wages, and arrangements for the continual arbitration of grievances. The latter provision led to the creation of joint sanitation, grievance, and arbitration committees under the chairmanship of "impartial chairmen" aided by professional staffs, which supervised the enforcement of the decisions. This groundbreaking innovation in labor relations reflected a particular ethnic-economic reality and a particular Jewish group response.

COMMUNAL LIFE. In 1870 the New York Jewish community appeared to be well on its way to achieving homogeneity in form and content, directed by its Americanized element of German origin. For this group, Jewish communal life expressed itself in membership in a Reform temple, and sponsorship of Jewish welfare institutions. Lay leaders of the established community found in the institutional forms a way to maintain their Jewish identity in a manner they considered compatible with American practice. Though they drew upon Jewish communal traditions, these leaders were profoundly affected by the model of American liberal Protestantism with its emphasis on denominationalism, voluntarism, and morals rather than ritual.

By 1900 there were 14 Reform synagogues in the city: nine in Manhattan, one in the Bronx, and four in Brooklyn. In 1918 there were 16 Reform and 32 Conservative synagogues. These synagogues held services on weekends, sponsored one-day-a-week religious schools, and engaged university-trained rabbis. Their weekly sermons were reported by the leading newspapers as part of the notable sermons in the city's houses of worship.

Among the distinguished Reform rabbis who served in New York between 1870 and 1920 were Gustave Gottheil, Joseph Silverman, Judah L. Magnes, and Hyman G. Enelow at Emanu-El, David Einhorn, Kaufmann Kohler, and Samuel Schulman at Beth El (later amalgamated with Emanu-El), Aaron Wise, and Rudolph Grossman at Rodeph Shalom, Adolf Huebsch, Alexander Kohut, and Isaac S. Moses at Ahavath Chesed (later the Central Synagogue), and Maurice H. Harris at Temple Israel of Harlem (later on the West Side). The establishment of the Free Synagogue in 1907 as a pulpit for Stephen S. *Wise was a novel religious development, for its services were conducted on Sunday mornings at Carnegie Hall, and it also embarked upon a wide-ranging program of social service. Wise, who came to New York in 1907, and Magnes, who arrived in 1904, represented a new type of Jewish minister. American-bred and American-trained, they were young, excellent orators, and forceful – even daring – in espousing their causes and attracting large followings. Wise became best known for his attacks on municipal corruption and industrial conditions, while Magnes' main efforts were directed toward cultural and social improvements within the Jewish community.

During the last third of the 19th century, the established community built a number of large and progressive philanthropic institutions: general relief agencies, hospitals, old-age homes, orphan asylums, vocational training schools, and neighborhood centers. The outlook of these institutions reflected the receptivity of uptown's Jewish leaders to the social thought and patrician practices of the time. The emergence of scientific philanthropy, with its insistence on thorough investigation of the needy applicant, emphasis on economic and vocational rehabilitation, and espousal of the professionalization of welfare services, guided the policies of the older Jewish charities. So did the related sociological view of poverty that emphasized environmental factors, uplift, and "preventive work."

The United Hebrew Charities (UHC; formed in 1874 by six philanthropic societies) was illustrative of this development. In addition to poor relief, UHC operated an employment bureau and a vocational training school, granted loans to aid families launching small businesses, and maintained a work room where women were paid while they learned one of the garment trades. Its medical department employed a physician, visiting nurses, and social workers who handled home births and consumption cases. In 1911 UHC opened a bureau to meet the problems of family desertion. The agency's expenditures rose from $46,000 in 1880, to $153,000 in 1900, to $344,000 in 1917. In 1886, 2,500 applied for assistance, and in 1900, 23,264 asked for aid. Beginning in 1901, the number of families receiving material aid decreased steadily from 8,125 to 6,014 in 1916. The vast majority were by then Russian Jewish immigrants. (As late as 1885 the largest single group of applicants were of non-East European stock.) An excerpt from a Yiddish article published in 1884 suggests the gulf that existed between the "professional methods" employed in the uptown-sponsored institutions, and the immigrant clients:

> In the philanthropic institutions of our aristocratic German Jews you see beautiful offices, desks, all decorated, but strict and angry faces. Every poor man is questioned like a criminal, is looked down upon; every unfortunate suffers self-degradation and shivers like a leaf, just as if he were standing before a Russian official.

Child care was a priority. Two of the leading institutions in the city were the Hebrew Orphan Asylum at Amsterdam Avenue and 136th Street, which in 1917 had a capacity of 1,250 children and an annual budget of $407,130, and the Hebrew Sheltering Guardian Society. The latter moved to Pleasantville, New York in 1912, where it introduced the "cottage plan," a model program. The uptown Jews were the sponsors of Mount Sinai Hospital. In 1904 it moved to its present site, Fifth Avenue and 100th Street. By 1916 the hospital had reached a capacity of 523 beds; its dispensary treated 243,161 patients.

These institutions were served by a distinguished group of lay and professional leaders. Lee K. Frankel and Morris D. Waldman of the United Hebrew Charities, Ludwig B. Bernstein of the Hebrew Sheltering Guardian Orphan Asylum, Solomon Lowenstein of the Hebrew Orphan Asylum, and Dr. Sigismund S. Goldwater of Mount Sinai belonged to the first rank of administrators. Philanthropists like Jacob H. Schiff, Irving Lehman, Isidore Straus, and George Blumenthal were intimately connected with the routine management as well as with the financing of the Montefiore Home, the

92nd Street Young Men's Hebrew Association (YMHA), the Educational Alliance, and Mount Sinai Hospital, respectively.

The notion that philanthropic institutions should be nonsectarian clashed with a second approach, which stressed the encouragement of Jewish cultural and religious activity. Supporters of the latter position debated such fundamental issues as the meaning of Americanization, the legitimacy of preserving the Old World heritage and its secular offsprings, and the nature of inter-group relationships within the New York Jewish community. These issues found their clearest institutional expression in the work of the Educational Alliance, the largest and most influential community center on the Lower East Side. In 1889 a number of uptown societies sponsoring Jewish cultural activities on the Lower East Side amalgamated and formed the Hebrew Institute. Four years later, reorganization led to a change in name, emphasizing its nonsectarian stand by replacing Hebrew Institute with Educational Alliance. Its official scope was "of an Americanizing, educational, social, and humanizing character." In 1897 the agency's president, Isidore Straus, explained that "our work may seem sectarian… [because] we have reached chiefly Jews, but this is due to the fact that the neighborhood is inhabited principally by Jews." Nevertheless, the Alliance did recognize the background of its constituents. The library and reading room were well stocked with Yiddish, Hebrew, and Russian books and periodicals. A synagogue and a religious school were established as well. The Alliance followed on the heels of the founding of the Henry Street Settlement on the Lower East Side by Lillian D. Wald in 1893. Wald, who became one of the most influential and respected social reformers of the 20th century, began teaching health and hygiene to immigrant women. Within a decade the Settlement included a team of 20 nurses and was offering an array of innovative and effective social, recreation, and educational services. In the early 1900s, the Alliance softened its attitude toward Yiddish and Yiddish culture. Zvi H. *Masliansky's discourses became a weekly event that drew large crowds, as did guest appearances by such Yiddish literary figures as Shalom Aleichem. Orthodox Jewish leaders, however, still viewed the Alliance as a bastion of Reform Judaism located in the very heart of their quarter, while to the radical intelligentsia it represented the "uptown's" use of charity and Americanization to silence social protest. Despite the opposition, Jews took advantage of the opportunities the institution opened for them. There were English-language classes and naturalization courses for adults, preschool instruction for newly arrived immigrant children, literary and civic clubs, music classes, and a children's orchestra, drama circles, and art exhibits. The Breadwinner's College, inspired by Thomas Davidson, a physical education program, and the Aguilar Free Library added to the appeal. During the first decade of the 20th century, as many as 37,000 people went weekly to the main building and to the two branch centers. Some of those who served as key members of the staff were David Blaustein, Henry Leipziger, Paul Abelson, and Belle Moskowitz. Similar agencies of smaller scope were the Jewish Settlement House and the Temple Emanu-El Brotherhood.

Important as uptown's welfare agencies were in aiding the immigrants, they at best complemented the communal order being created by the East European Jews. Transplanted religious institutions – synagogues, *talmud torahs*, and traditional charities – constituted a major part of that order. Mutual aid associations, fraternal orders, and benevolent societies provided other avenues of group endeavor. Finally, secular institutions spun a network of facilities, adding to the heterogeneity of Jewish life and enriching it intellectually.

In organizing their synagogues, the first and most typical communal undertaking, the immigrants mostly established congregations of *landsleit*, deriving their synagogues' names mostly from the congregants' town of origin. *Landsleit* congregations proliferated. In 1887 Moses Weinberger estimated there were 130 Orthodox congregations in New York City, by far the largest number on the Lower East Side. By 1902 the number of synagogues there had reached 254, and by 1917, 418. A 1917 study estimated that 40% of 365 congregations located in the older sections of the Lower East Side possessed traditional adult study groups, 45% free loan associations, 33% sick benefit societies, and 91% cemetery plots. Their average seating capacity was about 180. In addition, 50 to 70 "temporary" synagogues operated for the High Holidays on the East Side alone. In 1917 only 20% of the permanent congregations owned their synagogue building.

A few older synagogues gained stature as central institutions in the downtown community. They transcended the localism of *landsmanshaft*, though they still retained a regional identity. These included the Beth Hamidrash Hagadol on Norfolk Street, the Kalvarier Sons of Israel on Pike Street, the First Hungarian Congregation Ohab Zedek on Norfolk Street, and the First Roumanian Congregation Shaarei Shomayim on Rivington Street. (The Beth Hamidrash Hagadol is still located in the Norfolk Street building it acquired in 1888.) These larger synagogues were also among the minority of congregations able to support rabbis. In 1887 there were three or four East European rabbis in New York, and in 1917 the number may not have reached more than 50. Among the most prominent were Philip H. Klein of Ohab Zedek, Moses Z. Margolis of Kehillath Jeshurun of Yorkville, Shlomo E. Jaffe of Beth Hamidrash Hagadol, Simon J. Finkelstein of Oheb Shalom in Brownsville, and Gabriel Z. Margolis of Adath Israel, an East Side mutual aid and burial society. In 1917 the number of congregations in the newer centers of Russian Jewish population was: the Bronx, 35; Williamsburg, 49; and Brownsville and East New York, 70. All of New York City contained 784 permanent and 343 temporary synagogues. In 90% of them, Yiddish was the language of the sermon and of public announcements.

The plethora of small synagogues, the localism that produced them, and their constant precarious financial condition impeded their efficient operation and growth. Rivalries and vested interests compounded the situation and dogged all efforts at community collaboration. There were two signal attempts at unity. In 1887 a number of Orthodox congregations federated for the purpose of creating a central religious authority to be headed by a chief rabbi. A renowned European scholar, Rabbi Jacob Joseph of Vilna, was installed as chief rabbi in 1888. The attempt failed, chiefly because of the inability of the chief rabbi and his supporting organization to establish communal regulation of *kashrut* and in the refusal of other rabbis to accept the chief rabbi's leadership. In 1902 Rabbi Joseph died in poverty. Under the auspices of the New York Kehillah (see below), a renewed effort was made from 1910 on to create an authoritative board of rabbis and to federate all Orthodox institutions in its support. Once again the supervision of *kashrut* was considered the key to its success. By bringing *kashrut* supervision directly under the purview of the board it was hoped that an assured income would be realized from the fees of supervision, which would then be used for financing neighborhood rabbinical courts, placing rabbis and other religious functionaries on the community's budget, and providing for Jewish religious education and other Orthodox needs. After early progress, the undertaking foundered. The community was too fragmentized; the struggle for a livelihood too consuming; and the Old World rabbis ill equipped to provide the kind of leadership required in the complex new conditions of the U.S.

Orthodox religious education suffered as a consequence. In 1909 the first systematic study of Jewish education, by Mordecai M. Kaplan, found that three-quarters of the Jewish children of school age received no religious education at all. Of those who did, 27% supplemented their public school sessions with attendance in 468 or more improvised, ungraded, one-room private schools, the *ḥadarim*. The level of instruction on the whole was poor; the *ḥadarim* were beyond the reach of any form of communal supervision. About 20% of those receiving Jewish instruction attended the city's 24 *talmud torahs*. Since these institutions were supported by independent associations and accepted children who could not pay the tuition fee, they were in effect communal schools, supported by small contributions from over 6,000 people. The eight largest schools averaged 881 students, and were generally superior to the *ḥadarim*. The most auspicious endeavor to upgrade the *talmud torahs* – by means of modern textbooks, a graded curriculum, modern pedagogical methods, improved preparation and remuneration of teachers – was sponsored by the Bureau of Education of the Kehillah beginning in 1910. Dr. Samson Benderly directed the bureau and Jacob H. Schiff and his family were its chief financial supporters. Benderly encountered considerable opposition from Orthodox circles who feared the bureau's interference with the independence of the *talmud torahs* and mistrusted it because of the religious views of its lay supporters and staff. Nevertheless, in its first seven years, the bureau achieved notable results. It recruited and trained a group of young educators, popularized the notion of communal responsibility for Jewish education, established model schools, and conducted educational research. The bureau survived the demise of the Kehillah.

The year 1912 saw the beginning of the Young Israel movement. Immigrants' sons, concerned with what they viewed as the erosion of Orthodoxy, sought to combat radicalism, Reform Judaism, and indifference to the tradition by making the Orthodox service more appealing to younger worshipers. In 1915 Yeshivat Etz Chaim and the Rabbi Isaac Elchanan Theological Seminary united, and the institution began to offer a general high school education as well as yeshivah studies.

The comradeship of *landsleit* and the wish for protection in case of disability or death produced a vast network of mutual benefit societies, benevolent associations, and fraternal orders. Originally part of the congregations, they increasingly developed into separate organizations, offering some form of insurance, sick benefits, and interest-free loans, as well as cemetery rights. In 1917 there were about 1,000 such independent societies in New York with an aggregate membership of over 100,000, many of which found it financially advantageous to affiliate with a fraternal order. The largest order in New York City was the Independent Order Brith Abraham, which in 1917 had 90,000 members in 354 lodges. Various ideological movements recognized the attractiveness of the fraternal order and organized their own. The Arbeiter Ring (Workmen's Circle), appealing to workingmen in the name of socialism and insurance benefits, had 25,000 members in the city, and Zionists and Labor Zionists each had their own fraternal order.

Landsmanshaft societies too began to form federations. The Galician Jews were the first, in 1903. The Polish *landsmanshaftn* united in 1908, while the Romanian Jews were split into two federations. In 1911 the Federation of Oriental Jews was established, reflecting the increasing numbers coming from the Ottoman Empire. These were loose groupings. The unifying factor was some joint effort at overseas aid and some major philanthropic undertaking. The Galicians supported the Har Moriah Hospital, the Polish Jews Beth David Hospital, and the Bessarabians the Hebrew National Orphan Home.

This concern for self-help and for one's own welfare agency also produced central institutions that came to be identified with the city's East European Jewish subcommunity as a whole, of which the Hebrew Sheltering and Immigrant Aid Society (HIAS) was perhaps the most prominent. Beginning in 1909, when two older organizations merged to create it, HIAS expanded rapidly and succeeded in winning broad support in the immigrant community. Beth Israel Hospital, organized in 1890, was an instance of a downtown welfare facility whose standing became comparable to the older community institutions. It was founded in 1890 to provide services like kosher food and places for physicians of East European origin, neither of which were available at Mount Sinai Hospital. By 1917 it had 130 beds and a budget of $155,000. One of the most respected community-wide bodies was the Hebrew Free Loan Society, established in 1892. By 1916 it had branches in the Bronx and in Brooklyn, and had granted 24,330 loans, aggregating $711,940.

During the first decade of the century, influential leaders became increasingly aware of the social costs of institutional parochialism, profusion, and confusion. The sharp rise in immigration following 1903 underscored the need for more rational use of the resources and communal wealth. Uptown Jews, marginally identified with the total Jewish community, sought better ways to stem the social disorganization they sensed in the Jewish quarter and to expedite the integration of the immigrants. Some downtown leaders recognized the ineffectualness of their own institutions. In both sectors of the community some viewed with alarm the alienation of the younger generation from Judaism and Jewish life.

These concerns had led to two seminal events. The first was the short-lived New York Kehillah, an attempt to create a united community structure. The immediate catalyst was the accusation of police commissioner Theodore A. Bingham in 1908 that 50% of the criminals in the city were Jews. (Though the figure was exaggerated, crime in the Jewish quarter was a vexing problem.) Led by Judah *Magnes, a coalition of representative leaders in 1909 established the Kehillah as a federation of Jewish organizations. Magnes served as chairman until its demise in 1922. The Kehillah created a number of bureaus, for education, social morals (dealing with crime), industry (concerned with labor relations), and philanthropy. In addition, it organized a rabbinical board and a school for training communal workers. The Kehillah's productive years, however, were brief. By 1916 it had encountered financial problems, which led to the separation of its bureaus. Ties to the elitist American Jewish Committee drew it into controversies over the establishment of an American Jewish congress. During World War I interest was diverted to overseas relief and international Jewish affairs, while Magnes' pacifist activity crippled his effectiveness as chairman and adversely affected the Kehillah. These factors made it impossible to overcome the fragmented state of organized Jewish life. Though a number of the activities the Kehillah initiated proved to be of lasting significance, its failure pointed to the impediments that lay on the path of community organization. No similar attempt would be made again.

The establishment in 1917 of the Federation for the Support of Jewish Philanthropies, far more limited in scope than the Kehillah, proved more lasting. The federation movement to coordinate fund raising and encourage communal planning came late to New York, and from the early 1900s it encountered the opposition of the older philanthropic institutions sponsored by the German Jews, who feared it might impinge upon their independence. Some, moreover, objected to a federation of Jewish charities since such a grouping cast the pall of sectarianism upon their welfare agencies. However, the proliferation of East European institutions, the failure of the Kehillah as a device of social control, and the consequent threat to their own hegemony softened their opposition to federation.

As in other cities, the New York federation encompassed the larger welfare bodies and was therefore overwhelmingly a federation of the German-Jewish philanthropies primarily interested in nonsectarian social welfare work. Of the original trustees of the federation only three were East European; of 54 constituent societies, four belonged to the East European community. A smaller Brooklyn Federation of Jewish Charities was established in 1909. Its 1917 budget was $174,000 compared to the New York federation's budget of $2,117,410.

There were signs, however, that the New York federation might develop into more than a central fund-raising agency. Soon after its establishment, under the pressure of the group that had supported the Kehillah, the federation accepted five *talmud torahs* and the Kehillah's Bureau of Jewish Education as beneficiary agencies. This implied that the federation would concern itself not only with the relief of distress but with the support of Jewish cultural endeavor. Jewish education was to become a responsibility of the Jewish community's exchequer. The federation also indicated in its first year that it expected to become the spokesman of the entire community. But the statements proved little more than declarations of intention.

After 1900 Zionism and Socialism played, with varying success, many-sided roles in the organizational and cultural life of the New York Jewish community. In institutional terms, the Zionist achievements were minimal. The Federation of American Zionists, the Order Sons of Zion, Mizrachi, Po'alei Zion, the Jewish National Workers Alliance, Hadassah, and the Intercollegiate Zionist Association in 1917 numbered about 8,500 members who belonged to 95 loosely organized chapters. The influence of Zionism, however, went beyond membership figures. Much of the interest in Hebrew culture, Jewish education, and community planning stemmed from Zionist circles. Up to World War I the cultural Zionists who emphasized the need to revitalize Jewish cultural life in the Diaspora predominated. Judah Magnes, Israel Friedlaender, Henrietta Szold, and Mordecai Kaplan gave vigorous expression to this position from the lecture podium, in the press, and as professional and lay leaders of Jewish institutions. The socialist Po'alei Zion was similarly short on numbers and organizational success but strong on ideology and polemics. It constituted an intellectual force of significance at a time when the leadership of the Jewish labor movement was largely cosmopolitan and assimilationist in outlook. Following the outbreak of World War I, Zionists of all shades vastly increased their influence in the community through the Jewish congress movement. In June 1917, 125,000 participated in the election of delegates from New York City. The 100 delegates elected to represent New York's Jews were overwhelmingly of East European origin, the majority sympathizers of Zionism.

The Socialists, through the Workmen's Circle (Arbeiter Ring), possessed a stronger organizational framework than the Zionists. The order's 240 New York lodges and 25,000 members made it in 1917 the second-largest fraternal order in the city. Though the Workmen's Circle drew its membership from the Yiddish-speaking immigrants, it did not consciously identify itself with the Jewish community as a whole until World War I. During the war years Jewish Socialists began participating in Jewish communal affairs. The Workmen's Circle, Jewish labor unions, and the Jewish Socialist Federation (12 branches in New York) were active in the local fund-raising campaigns for overseas relief. They also joined the American Jewish congress movement, and the Workmen's Circle in a principal policy change that undertook direct support of Jewish cultural activity like Yiddish schools.

CULTURAL LIFE. The Yiddish-speaking masses who settled in New York created a rich and varied cultural life. No less than the community's institutional structure, this life aided the newcomers in their adjustment to the great metropolis. The very size of the immigrant community, its compactness and heterogeneity, and the impact of the new condition of freedom encouraged a multiplicity of cultural undertakings. Between 1872 and 1917, for example, about 150 journals in Yiddish appeared. Ideologues, literati, artists, and entrepreneurs competed in offering guidance, information, entertainment, and psychic relief for a generation in the throes of accommodation to a strange civilization.

The Yiddish-language daily press in particular served these ends (see *Press, Jewish, in U.S.A.). By the early 1900s, four stable dailies had evolved: the Orthodox and Zionist *Tageblat*; the **Jewish Morning Journal*, Orthodox, conservative on social issues, and anti-Zionist; the radical and nationalistic *Warheit*; and the socialist **Forward*. In 1914 the **Tog*, pro-Zionist and liberal, was established; it absorbed the *Warheit* in 1919. The estimated daily circulation for New York City in 1916 was: *Forward* (149,170), *Jewish Morning Journal* (81,375), *Warheit Tageblat* (41,335). It was estimated in 1917 that nearly 600,000 people in New York City read the Yiddish newspapers daily. Besides the staple of general and Jewish news the papers contained serialized novels, literary criticism, political essays, and a woman's page. The *Forward* created the *Bintl Brief* column of personal woe and editorial advice. It was so successful that it inspired imitators in other papers. Editorials were slashing and polemical, frequently dealing with municipal problems and local Jewish affairs. The considerable advertising included notices of theaters, cantorial performances, books published, medicine and health aids, and, in the *Jewish Morning Journal*, want-ads. The *Forward*, in particular, sponsored communal undertakings like theater benefits and other fund-raisers.

The functions of the Yiddish press made its publishers and editors major communal leaders. Jacob Saphirstein of the *Jewish Morning Journal* was deeply involved in rabbinical politics. Leon Kamaiky, a proprietor of the *Tageblat*, was a vice president of the Hebrew Sheltering and Immigrant Aid Society and a member of the American Jewish Committee and the executive committee of the Kehillah. *Forward* editor Abraham Cahan's position in the Jewish labor movement was less formal but more powerful. Indeed, the preeminent place of the Yiddish press and its editors was recognized uptown. In 1902 Louis Marshall established the *Yiddishe Velt* in an effort to assert his group's influence. The initiative that led to the establishment of the *Tog* in 1914 came from the same circles and for the same reasons.

The role of the Yiddish press found its fullest expression in the *Forward*. Cahan was the great innovator and his paper the pacemaker of Yiddish journalism. His apprenticeship as a reporter for the New York *Commercial Advertiser* under Lincoln Steffens served him well in turning the *Forward* into the leading Yiddish daily. The simple, direct style of the paper, its humanistic, undogmatic brand of socialism and its eschewal of the Orthodox-baiting of earlier socialist journals won it great popularity. Cahan appealed to highbrow no less than lowbrow tastes, and side by side with the *Bintl Brief* he published virtually every Yiddish author of note. From 1912 the *Forward* occupied its own ten-story building on East Broadway, close to the Educational Alliance. The United Hebrew Trades, the Jewish Socialist Federation, and the Arbeiter Ring (Workmen's Circle) had their offices in the building. The *Forward* was the focal center of the Jewish labor movement, a powerful cultural factor in the community, and thus had become a force for Jewish group continuity. Yiddish was so ubiquitous that when Shalom Aleichem, the great storyteller, died in 1916, his funeral was one of the largest public events in New York history.

Weeklies and monthlies filled out the broad range of ideas, movements, and professional interests of the New York community. Some, like the *Amerikaner* and the *Idishe Gazetten*, were weekly family supplements of existing newspapers. The anarchist *Freie Arbeiter Stimme*, the Zionist *Idishe Folk*, and the socialist *Zukunft* were representative of the literary and political journals sponsored by the various ideological camps. More local in their interests were journals published by the trade unions: the *Fortschritt* of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America and *Naye Post* of the Joint Board of the Cloak and Skirt Makers Union. Catering to small audiences were the Hebrew journals *Ha-Ivri* and *Ha-Toren*, and the Ladino *La America* (see Hebrew *Newspapers, N. America). The Yiddish journals and dailies drew to New York and sustained a significant colony of intellectuals, writers, poets, and critics whose work was read in the press and discussed in the lecture halls and coffeehouses of the East Side.

The Yiddish theater reinforced the press. It was, Moses Rischin wrote, "educator, dreammaker, chief agent of charity, social center, and recreation hub for the family." Melodrama and romantic musicals depicted historical and topical events drawn from the classic Jewish past, the "old home," immigrant life in the New World, and current American affairs. Nearly all weekday performances were benefits raising funds for some charity, strike fund, or literary journal. About 1900, three theaters were devoted exclusively to Yiddish drama. Together with other houses giving occasional performances, they drew about 25,000 patrons a week. By 1917 the number of houses presenting Yiddish theater reached seven, including one in Harlem and one in Brownsville.

Jewish immigrant life in New York inspired some of the earliest belles-lettres by Jews in English, notably Cahan's *Yekl* (1896) and *The Rise of David Levinsky* (1917). For most second-generation American Jews, Yiddish literature was a closed book, and Jewish themes in the language of the land were of peripheral interest. The Anglo-Jewish weekly *The American Hebrew* supplied the older settlement with a resume of Jewish news and social happenings. Its circulation was less than 10,000.

POLITICS AND CIVIC AFFAIRS. For Jews, as for all minority groups, election to public office meant social recognition and acceptance into the body politic of the city. Before the 1900s the number of Jewish officeholders was small, their posts for the most part minor, their ethnic identity an insignificant factor, and their political careers brief. Three Jewish congressmen were elected in New York City between 1870 and 1899, and all served but one term; the most prominent was Isidore Straus. Considerably more served in the state legislature. Among them was Joseph Blumenthal, who was a member of the Committee of Seventy, which played a role in the downfall of the Tweed Ring. Joseph Seligman and Simon Sterne were other members of that reform group. Blumenthal was a trustee and president of Shearith Israel and from 1886 to 1901 president of the board of trustees of the Jewish Theological Seminary. In municipal government Adolph L. Sanger, elected in 1885 as an anti-Tammany Democrat, served as president of the Board of Aldermen for one term. He, too, was active in Jewish communal affairs, serving at different times as president of the Board of Delegates of American Israelites and vice president of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations. In the 1890s Edward Lauterbach, a specialist in railway law and a director of a number of street railways, served for three years as chairman of the Republican County Committee. Lauterbach was a director of the Hebrew Benevolent and Orphan Asylum and the Hebrew Technical Institute. Jews held minor judgeships prior to 1900, and only one, Albert Cardozo, served on the state Supreme Court. In 1871, in the wake of the Tweed scandals, Cardozo resigned to avoid impeachment (his son was Benjamin Nathan *Cardozo, on the Court of Appeals from 1914 until his elevation to the U.S. Supreme Court in 1932).

In the years following 1900 the densely populated Jewish neighborhoods and the rising political awareness of the immigrants carried increasing political weight. That a number of assembly districts and several congressional districts had Jewish majorities or pluralities was reflected in the ethnic origin of the candidates, the particular issues raised, and the language of the campaigns. The number of Jewish voters was large enough to influence the outcome of city-wide elections. Though uptown Jews denied it, a "Jewish vote" existed. It was not prone to act en bloc, but nevertheless responded to group interests and ethnic pride and was unafraid to demand its political due.

Jews came of age as a political force during the domination of the Tammany Hall political machine. Led by astute and, if need be, ruthless politicians, Tammany offered a host of services in return for votes, and some of its leaders were attuned to the moods and needs of their Jewish constituents. Although a lag existed between Jewish numbers and numbers of Jewish officeholders, Tammany was sensitive to ethnic ambitions. In 1900 Henry M. Goldfogle went to Congress as representative of the Lower East Side, serving until 1921 with the exception of two terms. By 1910 Aaron J. Levy and Moritz Graubard were entrenched as East Side assemblymen, and Jews received 5 to 8% of the mayor's top appointments.

Support of Tammany was not, however, monolithic, particularly in mayoral and presidential campaigns. Anti-Tammany forces recognized this, and when mounting major reform campaigns, paid particular attention to the Jewish immigrant neighborhoods. In 1901, for example, the Fusion ticket flooded the Jewish districts with Yiddish circulars. Seth Low and William Travers Jerome were elected mayor and attorney general, respectively. Jacob A. Cantor, who had fought for tenement house reform as an assemblyman in the 1880s, was elected borough president of Manhattan as a Reform Democrat. The publisher William Randolph Hearst, in his effort to defeat the Tammany candidate for mayor in 1905, carried the Jewish East Side. His *New York American* had featured stories of Russian barbarism and solicited funds for the relief of pogrom victims. Hearst even launched a Yiddish newspaper for a time. John P. Mitchel, elected mayor in 1913 on a Fusion anti-Tammany ticket, won broad support in the Jewish districts. Henry Moskowitz, head of the Madison House Settlement and a native downtown reformer, became Mitchel's commissioner of Civil Service. The downtown voters exhibited similar independence in presidential elections. From 1888 to 1912 no party carried the Eighth Assembly District, heart of the Jewish quarter, twice in succession. However, Theodore Roosevelt, a Republican, was a particular favorite.

Among the uptown Jews a group of patrician "good government" reformers emerged who helped finance these repeated efforts to dislodge Tammany. Among them were men like Nathan and Oscar *Straus, who belonged to the Grover Cleveland wing of the Democratic Party, and liberal Republicans like Jacob Schiff, Isaac N. *Seligman, and Adolph *Lewisohn. They assumed a particular responsibility for wooing their downtown brethren away from the "twin evils" of Tammany and socialism by supporting the reform candidates in their East Side campaigns.

Socialism indeed had a significant political following in the Jewish immigrant districts. On the Lower East Side the Socialists could count on a straight party vote of about 15%, and in some Jewish election districts in Brooklyn and the Bronx it may have been even higher. However, only when the party offered a candidate able and willing to appeal to the particular interest and ethnic sentiment of the East European Jew did it win at election time. In 1914 it sent Meyer London to Congress, the first socialist elected to the House of Representatives and the first elected socialist for any office from New York City. London, a lawyer for a score of Jewish labor unions, lived in the Jewish quarter, and thus spoke the language of the immigrant. He eschewed party dogma. Reelected in 1916, he won a third term in 1920 despite the fact that his party was then in complete disarray. Of special interest were the elections of 1917. Morris Hillquit, the outstanding figure in the Socialist Party, showed remarkable strength in his bid for the mayoralty. He won 22% of the vote – twice that of the Republican candidate. Ten socialist assemblymen went to Albany, seven aldermen to City Hall, and one socialist, Jacob Panken, was elected municipal court judge. The vote reflected the strong anti-war sentiment among the East European Jews as much as it did socialist sentiment.

The war years expedited the social processes that molded a variegated and fragmented Jewish public into a more homogeneous ethnic community. The same processes integrated that community into the larger polity. War brought prosperity, which enabled families to leave overcrowded immigrant districts for a better, more "American" environment and so accelerated the process of acculturation. The war also confronted all Americans with the problem of their group identity, Americanized Jews of German origin no less than recently arrived East European Jews. Though it brought to the surface sharp tensions, the Jews of New York by 1920 could see themselves as a major group at home in the city.

[Arthur Aryeh Goren]

1920–1970

DEMOGRAPHY. Following World War I the Jewish population of New York City grew moderately to 1,765,000 in 1927 and to 2,035,000 in 1937. It tapered off around 2,100,000 in 1950, and slowly decreased as Jews moved to the suburbs of Long Island, Westchester, and New Jersey from the 1950s. By 1960 the Jewish population of the city had declined to 1,936,000, while that of the metropolitan area increased to 2,401,600, owing to the large growth in the suburban counties (see *New York State). The city's Jewish population, which fell further to 1,836,000 by 1968, was aging as younger families moved out. The move by Jews and other middle-class whites in search of more comfortable residences and greener neighborhoods was intensified from the mid-1950s by negative developments, primarily an increase in crime and racial tensions, a loss of confidence in the public schools, a perceived inadequacy of middle-class housing, and a decline of municipal services.

No less than during immigrant years, New York Jews preferred to dwell near one another. Thus, 676,000 of Brooklyn's 857,000 Jews in 1940 resided in areas where Jews formed 40% or more of the total population; and later, in 1958, 388,000 of the Bronx's 493,000 Jews were similarly concentrated. Anti-Jewish discrimination in the sale and rental of housing had been effectively quashed before 1950, except for isolated instances in opulent areas of Manhattan.

Within the city's five boroughs, Jewish population centers shifted as Jews abandoned highly congested Jewish areas and moved to more widely dispersed areas farther from the older, more centrally located neighborhoods. In 1918, 696,000 Jews (46% of the city's total Jewish population), lived in Manhattan. Most of them were on the Lower East Side and uptown in Harlem. Masses of Jews left the Lower East Side as their economic circumstances improved, mainly before the Depression of 1929. While 314,200 Jews lived on the Lower East Side in 1923, by 1940 only 73,700 remained. By 1960 about 70,000 Jews lived there, mainly in cooperative housing projects sponsored by Jewish-dominated trade unions, and made up 34% of the general population compared with 40% in 1930. West and East Harlem, for a time the home of wealthier immigrant Jews, had about 177,000 Jews in 1923. Immediately thereafter Harlem became a black neighborhood; fewer than 5,000 Jews remained in 1930 and in 1940, only 2,000.

Many Jews from Manhattan and other areas moved north to the more recently settled Bronx, where in 1918 they totaled about 211,000. By 1927 about 420,000 Jews lived there, primarily in its south and south-central districts, where they made up 40% and 70%, respectively, of the general population in 1925. By 1937 the Bronx Jewish population rose above 592,000, making that borough 44% Jewish. As new subway lines and apartment buildings were built, Jews moved increasingly to more northerly and less populous regions of the Bronx. The number of Jews in the South Bronx fell from 34,200 in 1923 to less than 15,000 in 1960. Tremont, in the west-central Bronx, which had 121,000 Jews (96% of its total population) in 1925, dropped to about 44,000 before the 1960s, most of whom also left the area during the decade that followed. However, nearby Fordham rose from 13,600 Jews in 1923 to 83,350 in 1930 and 103,000 in 1960, about 48% of the general population. The middle-class West Bronx Jewish population increased from 26,000 in 1923 to 142,886 in 1940. It declined to 121,000 in 1960, when it was still 65% of the general population, and this downward trend continued. The Jewish population of Pelham Parkway, in the northeast Bronx, rose from 3,000 in 1923 to 65,000 by 1960, or 48% of the general population, and continued to rise. Following the general trend toward the suburbs, Jews began leaving the Bronx in the 1950s, so that by 1968 only 395,000 Jews remained, with new concentrations in the outlying Van Cortlandt and Riverdale areas.

From the 1920s Brooklyn became the borough most heavily populated by Jews as the number rose from 568,000 in 1918 to 797,000 in 1927. In contrast to Manhattan and the Bronx, Brooklyn tended to be a borough of well-defined neighborhood communities. Jewish religious life in Brooklyn apparently was more active than in other boroughs. While the older Jewish neighborhoods in the northern and western regions of Brooklyn began to lose their large Jewish populations by the 1930s, Jews were moving outward to form vast new communities in the central, southern, and eastern sectors. Thus, Williamsburg, across the East River from Manhattan, a community in which Jews numbered 140,000 in 1923, had only 33,400 Jews in 1957, though even as its population declined, it attained some celebrity as the home of a large Hasidic colony of post-World War II immigrants from Hungary and Eastern Europe. Bedford-Stuyvesant's 70,000 Jews in 1923 declined below 30,000 in 1957 and fell further in the 1960s as the area became a low-income African-American neighborhood. In 1925 about 250,000 Jews, or 82% of the population of the area, lived in East New York-New Lots-Brownsville. However, only 96,000 remained in 1957, and most of those left during the 1960s as Brownsville became predominantly black. On the other hand, in central Brooklyn the number of Jews in Boro Park increased from 46,000 in 1923 to 67,000 by 1950, in Bensonhurst from 45,000 in 1923 to 85,000 by 1950, and in Flatbush from 16,400 in 1923 to 123,000 by 1950. Sheepshead Bay in southern Brooklyn had 7,100 Jews in 1923 but 48,000, or 62% of the population, by 1950. Residential, middle-income Midwood-Marine Park grew from 3,200 Jews in 1923 to 64,000 by 1957. Jews settled early in the southern Coney Island-Manhattan Beach area, which was nearly 70% Jewish in 1940 when 53,400 Jews resided there. From the 1930s Jews also began to settle the eastern Flatlands-Canarsie area, whose Jewish population rose from 4,400 in 1923 to 28,000, or 60% of the population, in 1957.

Altogether, the Jewish population of Brooklyn began to decrease, dropping from its heights of 975,000 in 1937 and 950,000 in 1950 to 760,000 in 1968. Thus Crown Heights, close to Bedford-Stuyvesant, dropped from over 75,000 in 1950 to 58,400 by 1957, and similar drops occurred after World War II in Bensonhurst and Coney Island. The heavily Jewish East New York-New Lots area, in which 106,000 Jews lived in 1923, decreased to 74,000 Jews in 1950; it rose again, however, to 90,000 by 1957 with the construction of new housing on unoccupied land. Boro Park, long a center of Orthodox Judaism, became strongly Ḥasidic with an influx of Williamsburg Ḥasidim.

The borough of Queens saw a sustained increase in its middle-to upper-middle class Jewish population, owing to its newness, relative remoteness from the center of the city, and the rapid building of large apartment-house complexes like Lefrak City and other red-brick edifices constructed by Samuel J. LeFrak and his organization. While only 23,000 Jews lived there in 1918, the Jewish population grew to 200,000 by 1950 and 420,000 by 1968. Over 200,000 Jews moved there during the 1950s and large Jewish concentrations developed in Forest Hills-Rego Park, which had over 73,000 Jews, or 66% of the general population, by 1957; the Whitestone area, which had 24,000 Jews in 1957; Central Queens, in which 51,000 Jews lived in 1957; and Douglaston-Little Neck-Bellrose, which had 31,500 Jews in 1957. About 18,200 Jews lived in the Rockaways on the shore in 1923, and nearly 30,000 lived there by 1957.

About 5,000 Jews called the little-settled, isolated borough of Richmond (Staten Island) home in 1918, and that number increased moderately. In 1950 about 8,000 Jews lived there, but by 1968, after the construction of the Verrazano-Narrows Bridge between the borough and Brooklyn, their number reached about 11,000.

The Jewish population of Manhattan declined from the 1920s. In 1937 there were 351,000 Jews on the island, while only 250,000 remained in 1968. Nevertheless, several neighborhoods increased. The number of Jews in well-to-do cosmopolitan sections of the West Side rose from 21,300 in 1923 to 71,000, or 29% of the general population, by 1957. Washington Heights, the uptown residential area, had 31,500 Jews in 1923 but nearly 70,000 by 1957. It was the center for German Jewish refugees of the 1930s. Nearly all Manhattan Jewish neighborhoods experienced declines in the 1960s, however, except the expensive, rebuilt Upper East Side, where Jews increased from 22,000 in 1940 to 42,000 in 1958.

The movement to the suburbs raised the Jewish population of rapidly built Nassau County, across the city boundary, from unknown but small numbers before 1940 to 329,000 in 1957 and 372,000 in 1963. Many families achieved the American dream of owning their own home by obtaining low interest loans offered to veterans of World War II and by buying the low-price, mass-produced homes of William and Alfred Levitt, who created a vast Levittown (17,311 nearly identical homes built between 1947 and 1951) in Long Island. Following already established city patterns, Jews tended to dwell together in suburban centers like Great Neck and Roslyn on the North Shore of Long Island and Woodmere, Cedarhurst, Lawrence, three of the Five Towns, and Baldwin and Hempstead on the South Shore. Beyond Nassau lay Suffolk County, in which the previously negligible Jewish population reached 12,000 in 1957 and 42,000 in 1963, with significant increases thereafter.

ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES. New York Jewry formed so large a proportion of the city's population that Jewish economic habits and aptitudes broadly influenced the city's economy. Jewish labor in the garment industry, the city's foremost industry, reached its peak at about 1920. In 1921, production of men's apparel in New York City was valued at $326,832,000, and of women's, $759,628,000. The value of allied industries like knit goods, was put at $83,490,000. Perhaps 200,000 Jews belonged to the trade unions of the garment industry. From this point, the proportion of Jewish workers in the clothing industry steadily declined, until in the men's clothing branch it reached 39% in 1937; the new working group was largely composed of Italian women and, later, Puerto Ricans. The same process operated in the ladies' garment industry. One large local of the ILGWU was about three-quarters Jewish in the 1940s but declined to 44% in 1958. Jews remained in the garment industry in upper levels of skill as cutters and sample makers, and also as entrepreneurs and salesmen. The city, whose Garment Center epitomized the apparel business, provided the setting for the emergence of Ralph Lauren, Calvin Klein, Anne Klein, Arnold Scaasi (Isaacs backwards), Liz Claiborne, and Donna Karan, among others, in the design and marketing of men's and women's clothing. One woman, Helena Rubinstein, virtually created the cosmetics industry. After World War I, she opened beauty salons around the country, selling pots of face creams and other products. She trained sales people to teach women skin care and devised a diet plan for beauty. An ardent supporter of Israel, she created the Helena Rubinstein Pavilion of Contemporary Art in Tel Aviv, and her foundation, created in 1953, provided funds to organizations concerned with health, medical research, and rehabilitation.

The Jewish labor movement in New York, after its heroic era of strike victories during the 1910s, was firmly established by 1920. The unions turned back attempts between 1920 and 1922 to reestablish the open shop. However, they were beset during the 1920s by violent factional quarrels with Communists. The latter derived support not only because of their tactical and propagandistic skill but also from post-World War I Jewish immigrants who entered the industry and felt somewhat excluded by the established union leadership and ideology. Communists secured control of the New York Joint Board and led it into a series of disastrous strikes culminating in 1926. The union was left in ruins and did not reestablish itself until the New Deal period. The Amalgamated was more fortunate, however, in maintaining its unity and power. A third garment union, the International Fur Workers' Union, succeeded in its trade-union objectives under Communist leadership, while the United Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers did likewise under liberal leaders.

During the 1920s the New York Jewish unions entered areas of activity never previously known to U.S. trade unions. They conducted large-scale adult education, ran health clinics, owned a bank and summer resorts, built model urban housing, and generously subsidized struggling trade unions in such other industries as steel, coal, and textiles. Except for their Communist wing, they became pioneers of liberal political action, thus preparing a place for themselves in New Deal political and legislative affairs.

The Jewish immigrant generation was heavily represented as workers – 23% "operatives and kindred" and 16% "craftsmen, foremen, and kindred" as late as 1950. The 32% who were "managers, officials, and proprietors" included a mass of shopkeepers and small businessmen. Jewish retailers were especially heavily represented in such areas as candy and stationery stores, grocery stores, hardware stores, haberdashery stores, tailor shops, and delicatessens and small restaurants. An incomplete estimate placed Jewish trade-union membership about 1928 at 134,000 of a total of 392,000 concentrated, in addition to needle and leather trades, in amusement and food preparation and distribution.

The immigrants' children, however, shifted towards sales and clerical occupations and independent business; in 1950, 55% of immigrants' sons were in these groups, and only 22% remained in traditional working-class occupations. One important channel of ascent was New York's excellent public school and college system. Jews constituted 51% of enrollment in the city's academic high schools in 1931, and 49.6% of the city's college and university students in 1935. As early as 1915 they were 85% of the student body in the city's unique free municipal college system, a percentage that probably did not decrease before 1960; others attended college outside the city. This higher education launched thousands of young Jews from poor or very modest circumstances into independent business and the professions. During the 1950s about 17% of New York Jews, including the older, immigrant group, were professionally employed.

Areas of Jewish economic activity often were clearly demarcated. Thus, the port of New York, shipping and other transportation, large banks and insurance companies, and heavy industry hardly employed any Jews. Even after the removal of discriminatory employment policies in 1945, there were few Jews in these industries. Small, independent businesses, the garment trade and light industry employed masses of Jews, and Jewish entrepreneurs could be found in those fields as well as in real estate, building, and investment banking. By the 1930s, over half the city's doctors, lawyers, dentists, and public school teachers were Jews, notwithstanding sharp anti-Jewish discrimination in certain universities and schools. After World War II, Jews became strong components of the city's mercantile and professional class, heavily represented in academic, scientific, and civil service organizations. Reflecting their occupational changes, they formed a large part of the membership and most of the leadership in unions of teachers and other public employees.

POLITICAL AND CIVIC LIFE. As the largest single ethnic group, Jews were a highly important factor in the political life of the city. Jews, who were about 27% of the city's population, were outnumbered only by the Irish-dominated Catholics, who were just over half. In no other city could Jews as a group weigh so heavily in politics, or were real or alleged Jewish political interests reckoned with so carefully. Until the 1930s the city was governed through the Manhattan organization of the Democratic Party, known as Tammany Hall, which held the support of most immigrants, including Jews. Jewish Republicans, conspicuous by their low numbers, pursued interests in civic reform, like Stanley M. Isaacs and Nathan Straus Jr., and the party's New York County leader, Samuel S. Koenig. In addition, Jews in East Harlem during the 1920s supported that district's dynamic U.S. Congressman, Fiorello H. *La Guardia, a rebel Republican. On the far left, Jews dominated the Socialists and Communists. Jews generally followed the Democratic Party, and some received the rewards of party loyalty – personal and business favors, municipal appointments, and judgeships.

The period from 1928 to 1945 witnessed far-reaching change. Jews had heavily supported Alfred E. Smith, a liberal Tammany reformer of Irish stock, in his successful campaigns for the governorship of the state and unsuccessful attempt for the presidency in 1928. The onset of the Great Depression in 1929 brought New York Jewry overwhelmingly behind the New Deal and the Democratic Party. Support for Franklin D. *Roosevelt during his presidential campaigns of 1932, 1936, 1940, and 1944 ran from 80% to 90%, higher than among any other group in the city. The urban liberalism of the New Deal had many of its seeds in the Jewish trade unions, East Side settlement houses, and among Jewish philanthropists and social workers. New York Jews were enthusiastic for the New Deal Democrat, Herbert H. *Lehman, elected to the governorship in 1932, 1934, 1936, and 1938, and the German immigrant New Deal Senator, Robert F. Wagner. La Guardia, a Republican, gained the mayoralty of New York in 1933 by the votes of Italians, Jews, mostly of middle-class reform sympathies, and upper-class good-government supporters. Of Italian stock but partially Jewish in descent, and fluent in Yiddish, La Guardia's mastery of ethnic politics succeeded by 1937 in attracting the Jewish working class and left wing for his municipal version of the New Deal. During La Guardia's incumbency, from 1934 to 1946, Jews figured more prominently as city officials and political leaders. As fervent supporters simultaneously of the Protestant aristocrat Roosevelt, the Jewish banker Lehman, and the Italian commoner La Guardia, New York Jews preferred liberal, reform-minded candidates and avoided Republicans unless they significantly differed from the generally conservative habits of that party. The American Labor Party (founded in 1936) and the Liberal Party (organized in 1944), served their intended purpose of drawing voters of the left, especially Jews, to liberal or left-liberal candidates.

Following La Guardia's tenure, the major parties adopted a policy of "ethnic balance." They regarded it as necessary to nominate a Jew, Irishman, and Italian for the three city-wide electoral offices. Under the non-Jewish Democratic mayoralties from 1945 to 1966, Jews remained firmly and prominently Democratic. During most of this period, Jews were elected city-wide comptrollers (Lazarus Joseph, Abraham D. *Beame), presidents of various boroughs (Abe Stark), and to the powerful position of county surrogates as well as other local judgeships. In 1965, the reigning Democrats for the first time nominated a Jew, Beame, for the mayoralty, but largely owing to a considerable Jewish defection to John V. Lindsay, the Republican reformer, Beame lost. As the number of blacks and Puerto Ricans in the city increased, Jewish and other white influence began to decline. But Jews, well-established, assimilated, and with money to finance political campaigns, continued to be major players.

Jews and other minorities suffered widespread discrimination by the hiring practices of banks, insurance companies, large corporations, law firms, and department stores, some of which were even owned by Jews. Several private universities and professional schools also imposed stringent admissions quotas against Jews and others, but the professional schools at the city's Catholic colleges enrolled a high proportion of Jews. Social discrimination against Jews, on the other hand, was so firmly fixed that even the most notable Jews could not belong to many of the city's leading business and social clubs, some of which their grandparents in fact had helped to found. Long-continued pressure, primarily from New York City and led by Jews, resulted in the passage of the state's Fair Employment Practice Act in 1945 prohibiting discrimination in employment. It was the first such law in the U.S.

After World War II, as the Cold War gripped the nation, Jews in New York figured prominently in the signature event of that period. Julius and Ethel Rosenberg, husband and wife, and members of the Communist Party, went on trial in 1951 for conspiracy to commit espionage, specifically for transmitting nuclear weapons secrets to Russian agents. Largely based on testimony by David Greenglass, Ethel Rosenberg's brother, the couple were convicted and sentenced to death by Federal Judge Irving Kaufman. The assistant United States attorney prosecuting the case, Roy Cohn, stated in his autobiography that he had influenced the selection of the judge and had pressed him to impose the death penalty on both defendants. Kaufman held the Rosenbergs responsible not only for espionage but also for deaths in the Korean War. The case became the center of controversy over communism in the United States, with supporters steadfastly maintaining that the convictions were an egregious example of persecution typical of the hysteria of those times. Some likened it to the witch hunts in Salem, a comparison that provided the inspiration for Arthur Miller's critically acclaimed play, *The Crucible*. Despite appeals on humanitarian grounds from Pope Pius XII and others, the Rosenbergs were executed in the electric chair in 1953, both steadfastly maintaining their innocence. The case lingered in the public consciousness for decades, but in 1995, when decrypted Soviet communications became publicly available, the evidence indicated that Julius Rosenberg was actively involved in espionage, but there was no evidence that he was involved in the specific charges against him or that his wife was involved at all.

Antisemitic organizations existed spasmodically in New York City. The Ku Klux Klan barely appeared during the 1920s. The pro-Nazi Friends of New Germany and its successor, the German-American Bund, were active from 1934 to 1941 against fierce Jewish and pro-democratic opposition. The same held true of the contemporary "Christian Front," led by Joseph E. McWilliams and Father Edward Lodge Curran, a leading propagandist, which was close to Father Charles E. Coughlin's antisemitic movement. It conducted antisemitic street meetings and fostered petty hooliganism. These groups collapsed during World War II, following which organized antisemitism was virtually unknown for some 20 years. From about 1965 black militants, on the outer fringe of the civil rights movement, fostering and feeding upon black-Jewish frictions, helped stimulate the renewal of antisemitism. A climax was reached during the New York City teachers' strike of 1968, when some blacks made openly antisemitic remarks about the union and its leadership. The inclusion of antisemitic material at the same time in an exhibit on Harlem at the Metropolitan Museum of Art also proved highly provocative. Anti-Zionist statements from black militants and members of the New Left that emerged in the 1960s became difficult to distinguish from antisemitism. At the same time Jewish militants led by Rabbi Meir *Kahane organized the Jewish Defense League, a vigilante "self-defense" group. Ironically, two young New York Jews, Andrew Goodman and Michael Schwerner, seeking to registers black voters in Mississippi, were killed in one of the watershed events of the civil rights struggle. It took decades for their killers to be brought to justice. Significantly, New York Jews were in the forefront in raising funds for civil rights causes across the country (see *Black-Jewish Relations in the United States).

Between 1940 and 1965, New York's black population tripled as a great wave of migrants poured in from the South. Older black neighborhoods like Harlem and Bedford-Stuyvesant could not accommodate the newcomers, and blacks moved into adjoining areas like Ocean Hill-Brownsville, from which whites, including large numbers of Jews, promptly fled. In 1963 and 1964, at the height of the movement to integrate New York's public schools, Jews in Brooklyn and Queens joined with white Catholics to form Parents and Taxpayers, a militant antibusing organization that eventually had half a million members. The group, known as PAT, staged massive demonstrations and even established a separate private academy. Its efforts were instrumental in the defeat of integration initiatives in the public school system. In response, black leaders sought to control their neighborhood schools. In 1967, the Board of Education began an experiment in community control of schools in the predominantly black Ocean Hill-Brownsville area, where residents elected a local board to run their schools. The local board soon clashed with the United Federation of Teachers over the extent of its personnel powers. The local board claimed the power to hire and fire teachers and administrators; the union argued that only the central board could do so.

In 1968 a junior high school science teacher, Fred Nauman, who was a chapter chairman of the 90%-white, majority Jewish, union, was fired. The action resulted in three citywide teacher strikes aimed at reinstating Nauman and nine co-unionists, who were also fired. The strikes lasted two months in all, affecting almost two million children, and they would be the most bitter in the city's modern history, full of charges of racism, union-busting, and antisemitism. The strikes pitted the city's white middle class, which backed the union, against the city's black poor and supporters of the community control idea. Mostly, the issues pitted blacks against whites, specifically blacks against Jews. The conflict exposed hidden fissures between the races. The strikes ended in mid-November 1968, substantially on the union's terms: the teachers were reinstated and the community control experiment was discontinued. But the controversy went beyond that. It helped to redefine the politics and culture of the city for decades. Outer-borough Jewish voters shifted to the right, moving closer to their white Catholic neighbors. The patrician mayor, John V. Lindsay, lost support in the wake of Ocean Hill-Brownsville, losing almost 60% of the Jewish vote, previously his strength. The city's next mayoral election, in 1973, produced its first Jewish mayor, Abraham D. Beame, elected with strong Jewish and Catholic votes.

The great growth of New York and its suburbs would not have been possible without Robert Moses, the master builder of the 20th century. Although he never held elective office, Moses was probably the most powerful person in New York City government from the 1930s to the 1950s. He changed shorelines, built roadways, and transformed neighborhoods. His decisions favoring highways over public transport helped develop Brooklyn, Queens, and the suburbs of Long Island. Moses rose to power under Al Smith after catching the eye of the governor's top assistant, Belle Moskowitz. In several assigned tasks, Moses excelled, particularly the development of Atlantic Ocean beaches, pools, and parks at Long Island's Jones Beach, a recreation area without peer that accommodated thousands year after year. After Franklin D. Roosevelt became president, Moses anticipated the availability of New Deal dollars and secured funding for a host of projects. At one point, one quarter of federal construction dollars was being spent in New York, and Moses had 80,000 people working under him. He built hundreds of parks and recreation facilities, but just one pool in Harlem. His highway projects on Long Island followed a circuitous path so as not to cross the properties of wealthy land owners, all the while he demolished numerous middle-class neighborhoods throughout New York City. During the Depression, Moses and La Guardia were responsible for the construction in the city of 10 large swimming pools; they could accommodate 66,000 swimmers. At one point Moses held 12 separate city and state titles. For the city he was parks commissioner, and for the state he was chairman of the Long Island Parks Commission and Secretary of State as well as chairman of the New York State Power Commission, responsible for building hydroelectric dams. By doling out contracts and making deals, Moses built support from construction firms, insurance companies, labor unions, and real-estate developers. He used his influence to put projects on fast tracks, a tactic later repaid by legislators with funds for other projects. Moses controlled most public housing construction projects, but exercised vast power as chairman of the Triborough Bridge Authority. The bridge connects the Bronx, Manhattan, and Queens and the income earned from tolls helped Moses finance projects like the Brooklyn Battery Tunnel, a vehicle link to Manhattan. After La Guardia's retirement, a series of mayors agreed to almost all of Moses' proposals. From the 1930s to the 1960s, Moses was responsible for the building of the Throgs Neck, Bronx-Whitestone, the Henry Hudson and the Verrazano Narrows bridges. His other projects included the Staten Island Expressway, the Cross-Bronx Expressway, the Belt Parkway, the Laurelton Parkway, and many more. In the 1960s, he was the mover behind Shea Stadium, home of the New York Mets baseball team, and Lincoln Center for the Performing Arts. After a series of questionable decisions involving the 1964-65 World's Fair, Moses' power began to wane. His high-handedness and arrogance, depicted in Robert Caro's biography, *The Power Broker: Robert Moses and the Fall of New York* (1974), which won the Pulitzer Prize, presented Moses with a different face.

COMMUNAL, RELIGIOUS, CULTURAL, AND EDUCATIONAL AFFAIRS. In the years after World War I, New York retained its unchallenged position as the center of U.S. Jewish life. After World War II, the city became the capital of the entire Diaspora, as Zionist and other Jewish movements established their main offices in New York. The organizations sponsored rallies and mass meetings on behalf of overseas Jewry, sometimes attracting more than 100,000 people.

Jacob H. Schiff's death in 1920, Judah L. Magnes' withdrawal about 1918, and his removal to Palestine in 1922 left as the most representative New York figures Louis Marshall (d. 1929), Felix M. Warburg (d. 1937), and Stephen S. Wise (d. 1949). The former two were distinctly "uptown" leaders, Marshall a lawyer and Warburg a banker-philanthropist. Wise, a Zionist and Reform rabbi, was closely linked with liberal political and religious movements and drew much of his strength as an urban populist spokesman for the mass of working and lower middle-class Jews. His personal stature and influence was the source of much of the influence of the *American Jewish Congress, which he reestablished and headed from 1930 as a politically liberal, activist, pro-Zionist counterweight to the "uptown" bodies, the *American Jewish Committee in particular. Much of the Congress' importance was lost with Wise's death and the softening of social and ideological differences after 1945. Moreover, the Committee eventually broadened its communal base and retracted the anti-Zionism it had adopted during the preceding decade. The ambitious attempt to coordinate communal life in the Kehillah ended by 1920, and by then New York Jewry had acculturated with much rapidity and formed a proportion of the city's ethnically and religiously diverse population.

Virtually every Jewish organization had chapters and members in the city, including *landsmanshaftn* and benefit societies, lodges, cultural bodies, charitable groups, political causes, Zionists, and synagogues, so that the total number of Jewish organizations probably exceeded 4,000 before the 1940s; with the disappearance of many lodges, benefit societies, and small immigrant synagogues there was probably a decrease thereafter. Altogether the city's Jews constituted an agglomeration of social classes, ideologies, clustered interests, and institutions, possessing Jewish identification in varying degrees of intensity.

Alongside vigorous local activity on behalf of such national or worldwide causes as Zionism, there were fairly distinct although overlapping spheres of interest. The Federation of Jewish Philanthropies served the poor and dependent. All of the federation-affiliated hospitals and many other institutions associated with it were nonsectarian. The federation's original 54 affiliates numbered 130 by 1968, and included: hospitals, institutions for the aged and chronically ill, casework agencies, summer camps, Young Men's and Women's Hebrew Associations and neighborhood centers, and the Jewish Education Committee. Affiliates also received funds from patient and client fees, the Greater New York Fund, government assistance, and direct contributions and endowments. Service to the increasing number of aged and to troubled families (through the Jewish Family Service, successor to the United Hebrew Charities), and recreation and informal education for middle-class youth and adults slowly replaced the earlier relief services. The Jewish hospitals, some of which were rated among the world's finest, totaled about 7,000 beds in 1968. They included Mount Sinai, Montefiore, Joint Diseases (orthopedic), Brooklyn Jewish, Long Island Jewish, Jewish Hospital for Chronic Diseases, Beth El (renamed Brookdale), Beth Israel, Maimonides, Bronx-Lebanon, Hillside, and Jewish Memorial. In addition, Jacobi Hospital, a municipal hospital, was attached to Yeshiva University's Albert Einstein Medical School, and Mount Sinai Hospital opened a medical school in 1968 as a unit of the City University of New York.

Life centered on Yiddish institutions typified by the daily *Forward*, the Workmen's Circle, Yiddish cultural societies and schools, the *Jewish Labor Committee after 1934, and the scholarly institution, *YIVO, held on, tenuously. Perhaps the foremost writer in Yiddish of that period was Isaac Bashevis Singer, who emigrated from his native Poland to New York in 1935 and who continued to write in the mother tongue for *The Forward* before achieving widespread recognition in English translation (and the Nobel Prize in literature in 1978). The early associations with Jewish trade unionism lessened as Yiddish secularism became a cultural and fraternal middle-class movement. Hebraists, centered in the *Histadrut Ivrith and the weekly *Hadoar*, and closely tied to Zionist and educational affairs, had a smaller group of adherents. Composed largely of writers, Hebrew teachers, and rabbis, the Hebrew group shrank as the reality of Hebrew in Israel took hold.

Religion played a major role in daily life, especially for the Orthodox. In several neighborhoods, particularly Boro Park, Crown Heights, Williamsburg, and sections of Flatbush in Brooklyn, as well as the Lower East Side even in its decline, Sabbaths and Jewish holidays provided an opportunity for Jews to assert their identity. Orthodox synagogues were full, stores in heavily Orthodox areas were shut, even those owned by non-Jews, and sectors of the garment and diamond industries regularly closed. The commerce and industry of the city came near a standstill on Rosh Ha-Shanah and Yom Kippur. Beginning in the 1960s the public schools closed on those days because Jews, who formed a majority of the teaching staff, absented themselves.

In 1967 there were 539 Orthodox, 184 Conservative, 93 Reform, and five unclassified synagogues known in Greater New York; all but 163 of the total were within the city's boundaries. Actual synagogue affiliation tended to be low, however. A study of Brooklyn suggested that merely one-quarter of its Jews belonged to synagogues in 1945–46, a proportion that probably differed little in other boroughs.

The Reform movement, using a good deal of English in the prayer book, liberal in social outlook, and generally wealthier than the immigrant community, attracted regular worshipers to its major temples, some of which were monumental or historic. Temple Emanu-El continued to be foremost because of its size, wealth, and prestige, and occupied a splendid edifice at Fifth Avenue and 65th Street from 1929. Other major congregations included the Central Synagogue (whose building at Lexington Avenue and 55th Street dated to 1870), the Free Synagogue, Rodeph Shalom, Shaarey Tefilah (West End Synagogue until its transfer from the West Side to the East Side of Manhattan in 1959), Union Temple and Beth Elohim in Brooklyn, and Central Synagogue in Rockville Centre (Nassau County). The older congregations did not share much in the movement within Reform toward more traditional worship. But many Reform Jews became active philanthropists. From the 1950s there was a gradual shift in the Reform movement toward liberal social and political action as a major goal, but there were objections and Temple Emanu-El left the Union of American Hebrew Congregations in protest at this direction. The foremost Reform rabbi was Stephen S. Wise, who in 1922 founded the Hebraic and Zionist-oriented Jewish Institute of Religion (JIR), which opened in 1925. Although the JIR intended to train rabbis for all denominations, most of its graduates went to Reform congregations. The notable early faculty included Salo W. Baron, R. Marcus, H. Slonimsky, S. Spiegel, C. Tchernowitz, and others, but the school declined after its first decade. Other New York Reform rabbinic notables included Samuel Schulman, Jonah B. Wise, Louis I. Newman, Bernard J. Bamberger, Samuel H. Goldenson, Julius Mark, Charles E. Shulman, and Edward E. Klein.

By the 1940s Orthodoxy in New York lost its intimate association with immigrant life, and tended to be divided internally between modernists oriented to the problems of Orthodox Judaism in a secular, scientific, urban society, and others indifferent or hostile to such concerns. The latter stressed piety, study, and aloofness from non-Orthodox Judaism. The modernist trend included such congregations as Kehillath Jeshurun, The Jewish Center, Fifth Avenue Synagogue, Riverdale Jewish Center, and such rabbis as Leo Jung, Emanuel Rackman, Joseph H. Lookstein, Simon G. Kramer, Walter S. Wurzberger, and Irving Greenberg. The "pietist" group was led mainly from yeshivot and was augmented by Ḥasidic immigration from the 1940s. Special Orthodox segments were the S.R. Hirsch school of German Orthodoxy, transplanted in 1938–40 to upper Manhattan under the leadership of Rabbi Joseph Breuer, and Sephardi congregations, largely in Brooklyn, composed of contemporary immigrants from Turkey, Greece, Syria, and Iraq. The venerable Shearith Israel continued under the ministry of H.P. Mendes, D. de Sola Pool, and L.C. Gerstein. The common institutional effort of Orthodox Jewry was the promotion of yeshivot, whose enrollment multiplied from below 2,000 in 1920 to approximately 5,000 in 1935, 8,000 in 1945, and 45,000 in 1968. Yeshiva College became Yeshiva University in 1943 under the leadership of Samuel Belkin, and expanded to include several high schools, the college, graduate and professional schools, and a medical school. Its yeshivah brought notable rabbinic scholars from Europe to serve as principal *rashei yeshivah*, the first two being Rabbis S.H. Polacheck and Moses Soloveichik; Joseph B. Soloveichik later succeeded his father. Other notable Orthodox yeshivah scholars and talmudists were Rabbis Joseph E. Henkin, Moses Feinstein, Jacob Kamenetsky, Moses A. Shatzkes, and Aaron Kotler.

The city's Conservative congregations leaned close to Orthodoxy, in which most of their members had been raised. The Jewish Theological Seminary was the focal institution of the Conservatives, and exercised broad spiritual influence. Partly owing to the influence of Mordecai M. Kaplan, Conservative synagogues also served as community centers, offering social, cultural, and recreational activities. The Jewish Center and the West Side Institutional Synagogue in Manhattan, both Orthodox although founded by Kaplan, began the trend. The Society for the Advancement of Judaism (Reconstructionist), B'nai Jeshurun, and Park Avenue Synagogue in Manhattan and the Brooklyn Jewish Center, Flatbush Jewish Center, and East Midwood Jewish Center in Brooklyn replicated this approach, which was continued in many large newer synagogues in Queens and the suburbs. The Conservative growth was greatest in Queens and the new suburban towns, where 145 of their 184 synagogues were situated in 1967. Rabbinic leaders, besides Kaplan, included Israel Goldstein, Max Drob, Israel H. Levinthal, Harry Halpern (d. 1981), Robert Gordis, Ben Zion Bokser, Milton Steinberg, William Berkowitz, and Judah Nadich.

The Jewish Division of the New York Public Library and the library of the Jewish Theological Seminary (damaged by fire in 1966) were two of the six or seven leading Jewish libraries in the world. No other city of the Diaspora offered such an abundance of Jewish scholars, books and manuscripts, and varied opportunities for study in a communal milieu that was profoundly Jewish.

The city was home to one of the greatest educational achievements of modern times, and it had a lasting effect on the individuals, the city, and the nation. Four colleges, City College and Hunter in Manhattan and Brooklyn and Queens Colleges, offered free tuition to qualified students. In the years when top-flight private schools were restricted to the children of the Protestant Establishment, thousands of indigent but brilliant Jewish New Yorkers attended the colleges. For struggling immigrants and their offspring, this proved an unparalleled opportunity to gain a first-rank education, prepare for life's challenges, and to broaden skills. Building on the accomplishments of earlier graduates like Bernard Baruch in finance and Felix Frankfurter in law, the colleges prepared students in the sciences, government, economics, education, political science, and the law. Beginning with Julius Axelrod, of the class of 1933, City College nurtured nine Nobel Prize winners, all of them Jewish, in economics, chemistry, physics and medicine, a figure unmatched by any public institution in the United States. All nine obtained their undergraduate degrees between 1933 and 1950. Across a wide path, the colleges educated such nationally recognized figures as Daniel Bell in sociology, Nathan Glazer and Irving Kristol in politics, Ira Gershwin, the lyricist, Bernard Malamud, the writer, Stanley Kaplan, founder of Kaplan Educational Services, the actors Edward G. Robinson, Judd Hirsch, Zero Mostel, Eli Wallach and Richard Schiff, and business and technology giants like Andrew Grove of Intel. Graduates of the city colleges rose to prominent positions on Wall Street as teachers, administrators, union officials, journalists, accountants, etc., becoming the backbone of the educational system, the economy, and society in general, all for the cost of subway fare. During the

1930s and through the 1950s, the colleges were bastions of free debate, with roiling political discussions over hot topics like communism vs. socialism and Trotskyites vs. Bolsheviks dominating campus activities. In the last years of the 1930s, as fascism threatened to dominate Spain, a contingent of New Yorkers (many of them leftist Jews recruited from the college campuses) made up the Abraham Lincoln Brigade and set off for Spain to "save" the country from Generalissimo Francisco Franco. These idealists, whose cause was dominated by Communists and other left-wingers, proved unsuccessful. In the late 1960s, black and Puerto Rican activists and their white allies demanded that the City University colleges implement an aggressive affirmative action program. The administration came up with an open-admissions plan under which any graduate of a New York City high school could matriculate at one of the 20 colleges in the system. But that program came at a high cost, as the colleges' academic standing declined (along with the number of Jews, now more affluent and able to afford private, out-of-town schools).

Still another important achievement in higher education involved the founding of the University in Exile at the New School for Social Research. From 1933 until the end of World War II, the University in Exile served as a base for scholars who had been dismissed from teaching and government positions by totalitarian regimes in Europe. The university later became the New School's Graduate Faculty of Political and Social Sciences, providing an academic base for notable scholars like the psychologists Max Wertheimer and Aron Gurwitsch and the political philosophers Hannah Arendt and Leo Straus.

New York provided the launching pad for the nation's feminist movement, beginning with the publication of Betty Friedan's *Feminine Mystique* in 1963. At the time a suburban New York housewife, Friedan analyzed "the problem that has no name," as she called it, based on interviews with women unhappy with their lot as housewives, babysitters, cooks and laundresses, and with limited career prospects. The book struck a nerve, providing the intellectual basis for the feminist movement. It permanently transformed the social fabric and consciousness of American society. Friedan was joined by more than two dozen women, including Gloria Steinem, in founding the National Organization for Women, and was its first president, serving from 1966 to 1970. The two Jewish women became the best-known figures in the feminist movement in the United States. Friedan's death in 2006 reminded generations of women of the debt they owed to the founding mother of feminism, who campaigned tirelessly for equal treatment of women in the workplace and in all areas of public and private life.

CULTURE. The half-century following the end of World War I witnessed the entry of Jews in large numbers into every corner of New York artistic and cultural life. Since this period also marked the growing domination by New York City of U.S. cultural life in general, and in some areas, such as theater, music, and publishing, its virtual monopolization, New York Jews prominent in these fields found themselves automatically at the center of national attention. The role of New York Jews as consumers of the arts also grew immensely. From the 1920s on, Jews formed a disproportionately high percentage of New York's theatergoers, music listeners, book purchasers, and art collectors. (One rough estimate placed Jews at 70% of the city's concert and theater audience during the 1950s.) Similarly, Jews also emerged in these years as major patrons of the arts. After World War II, particularly, they played a prominent part in endowing and supporting local cultural and artistic institutions.

In literature many Jewish writers of the 1920s and especially of the Depression years of the 1930s drew on their backgrounds in the immigrant communities to write memorable novels, essays, poetry, and short stories in the realms of social realism and "proletarian fiction." Left-wing Jewish intellectuals like Sidney Hook, Irving Howe, Alfred Kazin, Philip Rahv, and Michael Gold wrote for *The Nation, The New Masses, The New Leader*, and *Partisan Review*. Some of the best descriptions ever written of New York life in the early and mid-20th century, especially of its immigrant neighborhoods, can be found in books like: Samuel Ornitz' *Haunch, Paunch and Jowl* (1925), Henry Roth's *Call It Sleep* (1934), Michael Gold's *Jews Without Money* (1930), Alfred Kazin's *On Native Grounds* (1942) and *A Walker in the City* (1951), Bernard Malamud's *The Assistant* (1957), Paul Goodman's *The Empire City* (1959), and the novels of Joseph Heller and Wallace Markfield (see *United States Literature, Jews in).

The poetry of Louis Zukofsky was suffused with the atmosphere of New York life, while Kenneth Koch was a leader of the school of "New York poets" in the 1960s. In the years after World War II, the 92nd St. YMHA served as a center for readings of modern American poetry and for the introduction to a wide public of a number of young contemporary poets. Perhaps no poet commanded the attention of the general public as did Allen Ginsberg (d. 1997), who created a storm with his first published work, *Howl* (1956), a long poem about consumer society's negative human values. "I saw the best minds of my generation destroyed by madness" was the opening line, and Ginsberg, a homosexual and leader of the Beat generation, drew on Walt Whitman and others for inspiration. He famously wrote about his relationship with his mentally disturbed mother in *Kaddish for Naomi Ginsberg* (1961).

The Broadway musical theater and the world of popular music from the late 1920s through the 1960s were dominated by Jewish composers and librettists: Irving Berlin, George Gershwin, Jerome Kern, Harold Arlen, Frank Loesser, E.Y. (Yip) Harburg, and the teams of Rodgers and Hart, Rodgers and Hammerstein, and Lerner and Loewe. Many entertainers got their start in vaudeville, including Al Jolson, Eddie Cantor, the Marx Brothers, George Jessel, Fanny Brice and Sophie Tucker, and then transferred their talents to radio, the movies and television. Brooklyn-born Barbra Streisand attained fame on Broadway as a singer and actress before becoming a Hollywood star and director. The leading Broadway playwrights of the 1930s and 1940s, Lillian Hellman, Clifford Odets, and Elmer Rice, achieved renown with their searing, realistic dramas, while George S. Kaufman, Abe Burrows, and Moss Hart, among others, lightened the stage with bon mots and witty comedies. Arthur Miller's *Death of a Salesman* (1949) won recognition as the best drama produced on the American stage in the second half of the 20th century. A series of popular comedies by Neil Simon, beginning with *The Odd Couple* (1968), achieved critical and popular success. In 1931, Lee Strasberg co-founded the Group Theater, a company that spawned such theatrical legends as John Garfield and Stella Adler, and in 1949 Strasberg started the Actor's Studio, where Paul Newman, Dustin Hoffman, and Eli Wallach trained. During this period, all the major Broadway theaters were owned and controlled by members and descendants of the Shubert family, which earned fees for the use of the theaters and sometimes became involved in producing the shows. Although others owned some Broadway theaters, the Shubert organization, by the 1970s, owned half of all the houses. Beginning in the mid-1960s Joseph Papp promoted the idea of offering free performances of Shakespeare in the parks of New York. His long campaign led to the founding of the Public Theater, supported by commercial Broadway productions like *A Chorus Line*. The Shakespeare performances continued well into the 21st century with major actors taking on classic roles in Central Park. David Merrick dominated the Broadway stage, producing successful musicals and straight plays for more than 20 years. Sol Hurok, who began his career organizing local Jewish productions in Brooklyn's Brownsville, developed into the leading musical impresario in the U.S. The avant-garde Off Broadway theater came into its own in the 1960s and provided venues for talented writers and actors. The Living Theater of Julian Beck and Judith Malina and the Open Theater of Joseph Chaikin staged a variety of provocative productions.

Indicative of the impact of Jewish audiences on the New York theater was the fact that a number of Broadway hits of the 1950s and 1960s were on Jewish themes, the most successful of all being the musical *Fiddler on the Roof*. Set in the fictional *shtetl* of Anatevka, the musical drew on the short stories of Shalom Aleichem about Tevye the dairyman. Zero Mostel's over-the-top portrayal of the central character became the talk of the town. The musical, written by Joseph Stein, and the music, by Sheldon Harnick and Jerry Bock, dominated the airwaves and graced stages around the world as it offered a universal message about family life in troubled times. A young Stephen Sondheim began his career as a composer by writing the lyrics for the smash *West Side Story* (1957), which had a book by Arthur Laurents, music by Leonard Bernstein, and was produced, choreographed, and directed by Jerome Robbins. The plot borrowed liberally from Shakespeare's *Romeo and Juliet* and became a staple of the musical repertory. After the 1920s, the Yiddish theater in New York lost much of its vitality. In 1928 there were at least 11 Yiddish theaters, giving hundreds of performances a month, but the number dwindled to a mere handful and only occasional productions by the 1960s.

The New York musical world, both classical and popular, served as a showcase for a host of Jewish talent. Jews, who made up 70% of the membership of the musicians' union, Local 801 from the 1930s on, held most of the important instrumentalist chairs of the New York Philharmonic Orchestra, the Metropolitan Opera Orchestra, and the National Broadcasting Company Symphony Orchestra, which was led by Arturo Toscanini during its heyday. The leading musical performers included the conductors Artur Rodzinski, Bruno Walter, Lukas Foss, and Leonard Bernstein; the opera singers Richard Tucker, Robert Merrill, Jan Peerce, Roberta Peters, Beverly Sills, and Friedrich Schorr; the pianist Vladimir Horowitz and the violinist Isaac Stern. In the 1960s, with the assistance of Jacqueline Kennedy Onassis, Stern led a successful drive to save Carnegie Hall, one of the greatest musical venues in the world. Their effort preserved the New York landmark, which had one of the clarion sounds in the world of music. Although Benny Goodman, one of the most important jazz clarinetists, was born in Chicago, it was in New York that he came to prominence. In 1938, Goodman and his group of swing musicians were booked to play in Carnegie Hall, then a citadel of upper-crust society and "high-class" music. Carnegie Hall had a seating capacity of 2,760 and Goodman's concert had been sold out for weeks. The concert started off on a polite, though tepid note. But when the group tore into *Sing Sing Sing*, an energetic, rhythmic and bouncy tune, the audience responded with deafening applause. That concert came to be regarded as the most significant in jazz history, proving that jazz could be accepted by mainstream audiences. Goodman was also responsible for a significant step in racial integration in the United States. In the early 1930s, black and white jazz musicians could not play together in most clubs or concerts. In the Southern states, racial segregation was enforced by Jim Crow laws. Goodman broke with tradition by hiring Teddy Wilson to play with him and the drummer Gene Krupa in the Benny Goodman Trio. In 1936 he added the black Lionel Hampton on vibes to form the Benny Goodman Quartet.

The financier Otto Kahn was a leading financial backer of the Metropolitan Opera in the 1920s and 1930s, while Morton Baum helped found the City Center for Music and Dance and was instrumental in the establishment of Lincoln Center for the Performing Arts. One of the premier American classical composers, Aaron Copland, got his start in Brooklyn. Lincoln Kirstein paired with the genius of George Balanchine, a non-Jew, to shape 20th-century dance. Kirstein thought of the idea of the New York City Ballet, which became one of the foremost dance companies in the world. It was solely responsible for training its own artists and creating its own works. The company had 90 dancers, making it the largest dance organization in the United States and into the 21st century had an active repertory of more than 150 works, many choreographed by Jerome Robbins, who created serious dance works as well as choreography for the Broadway theater.

In the early 1960s, a young singer-songwriter from Hibbing, Minn., drifted into Greenwich Village and changed the nature of popular music. Originally Robert Zimmerman, he took the name Bob Dylan and performed his own compositions of story songs that quickly gained notice for their fierce political nature and their poetry. His "Blowin' in the Wind," about the changes looming on the American landscape, became one of the anthems of the civil rights movement as well as for the anti-Establishment postcollege generation in the wake of opposition to the war in Vietnam. Dylan's whining delivery of his protest songs, and his adoption of acoustic techniques, also influenced generations of musicians. In the late 1960s, following Dylan's success, the team of Simon and Garfunkel, songwriters and performers from Queens, achieved enduring popularity after their music ("Mrs. Robinson," "The Sound of Silence") was featured in the movie *The Graduate,* directed by Mike Nichols.

In painting, the Soyer brothers – Raphael, Moses, and Isaac – and Chaim Gross were prominent in the social-realistic art movement that flourished in Greenwich Village in the 1920s. Ben Shahn and Jack Levine were among the many Jewish artists whose early careers were associated with the art programs of the Works Projects Administration during the Depression years. The Nazi persecution brought to New York a number of German expressionist painters, including Max Weber. Prominent in the "New York School" of abstract expressionists and other movements that developed after World War II were Franz Klein, Larry Rivers, Louise Nevelson and Mark Rothko. In the 1960s, the Jewish Museum diverged from its tradition of exhibiting Jewish art only to sponsor a number of important avant-garde shows of sculpture and art. The far-flung and diverse Guggenheim family played a major role as patrons. Peggy Guggenheim moved her gallery from Europe to New York during the war years and her uncle, Solomon Guggenheim, endowed a new building for the Guggenheim Museum of Modern Art on upper Fifth Avenue. The only building in New York designed by Frank Lloyd Wright, it opened in 1960 and quickly became one of the architectural landmarks of the city, if not the nation. In 1969 Robert Lehman's world-renowned collection of impressionist and post-impressionist painting was willed to the Metropolitan Museum of Art. New York was the home, and the canvas, for a slew of important photographers: Richard Avedon (fashion), Helen Levitt (street life), Weegee (crime), and Diane Arbus (people on the fringes of society). Richard Meier, Paul Rudolph, Robert A.M. Stern, Gordon Bunshaft, Marcel Breuer, and Frank Gehry cut their architectural teeth in New York during this period.

In WEVD, established by the *Jewish Daily Forward* in 1931 and named with the initials of the socialist Eugene V. Debs, New York boasted the world's only full-time Yiddish radio station, though by 1970 much of its programming had gone over to English. Gertrude Berg, Fanny Brice, Morey Amsterdam, Walter Winchell, and Barry Gray, New York radio personalities, became household names. Berg wrote and starred in *The Goldbergs*, a series about Jewish life in the Bronx. From the show's opening – "Yoo hoo, Mrs. Goldberg!" – listeners got a brace of Jewish New York, complete with mannerisms and Yiddish. The series transferred successfully to television. An entire school of television comedy, often deriving from the comic routines of the "Borscht Belt" (see *New York State), gave professional life to performers like Sam Levenson, Sid Caesar, and Jerry Lewis. But it was Milton Berle, with his Tuesday night variety show, who almost single-handedly changed the nation's evening habits. Television was in its infancy when Berle, broadcasting from New York, wowed audiences week after week, interrupting acts, dressing in drag and participating in skit after skit. Audiences found him outrageously amusing and flocked to buy their own television sets, millions of them in the postwar years. Berle, or Uncle Miltie as he called himself, was known as Mr. Television. The National Broadcasting Company signed him to a 30-year contract, and Berle, who started in show business at the age of 4, continued to perform into his 90s.

Thanks to television, a "new breed" of comedian found favor with more sophisticated audiences. They were social commentators and satirists of common situations. Their styles varied widely, from the comedy sparring of the team of Nichols and May to the storytelling of Alan King to the obscenity spewing Lenny Bruce to the kvetching of the stage milquetoast Woody Allen to the angst of Shelley Berman. Jewish humor, in cabarets, nightclubs, on television, and in the movies, found a broad American audience.

At that time, the three major commercial television networks, the Columbia Broadcasting System (William Paley), the National Broadcasting Company (David and Robert Sarnoff), and the American Broadcasting Company (Leonard Goldenson), were run by Jews.

From the 1920s on, Jews played a prominent role in the New York publishing business, among them Horace Liveright of Liveright & Boni. B.W. Huebsch and Harold Guinzberg of Viking Press, Henry Simon and M. Lincoln Schuster of Simon & Schuster, Alfred Knopf of Alfred A. Knopf, Bennett Cerf of Random House, Roger Straus of Farrar, Straus & Giroux, and Jason Epstein of Anchor Books. The German-Jewish house of Schocken Books moved to New York City in 1946. Bloch Publishing Co., Thomas Yoseloff, and Abelard & Schumann put out a largely or wholly Jewish line. Brooklyn was the launching pad for the literary career of Norman Mailer, who wrote the signature book of World War II, *The Naked and the Dead*. Irwin Shaw, a prolific writer of short stories, got his start in Brooklyn as well. And beginning in 1955, New York was home to Elie Wiesel, the memoirist of the Holocaust and campaigner for human rights, who settled in the city after his liberation from Buchenwald. Wiesel wrote most of his more than 40 published works in the city.

In journalism, the unparalleled international coverage and national reporting of *The New York Times*, under the patronage of the Ochs and Sulzberger families, won widespread respect, proven in 90 Pulitzer Prizes and other recognized awards. Its publisher throughout the 1940s and 1950s, Arthur Hays Sulzberger, was a staunch anti-Zionist who opposed the creation of the State of Israel. He saw Judaism as a religion only and he had a series of disputes with the leading American Jewish organizations over the newspaper's coverage. Particularly galling, in retrospect, was *The Times*' coverage of the Holocaust and Hitler's campaign against the Jews, which received limited space in the "paper of record." After the 1956 war in the Middle East, the newspaper's coverage of Israel got serious attention and its reports competed for space with all other news developments. *The New York Post* during the 1940s and into the 1960s, under the ownership of Dorothy Schiff, a descendant of Jacob Schiff, and the editorship of James Wechsler, gave voice to liberal and underdog causes while walking a financial tightrope. Numerous reporters came to prominence during World War II, the Korean War, and the war in Vietnam, including David Halberstam, Meyer Berger (*About New York*), Bernard Kalb and his brother Marvin Kalb, A.M. Rosenthal (*There Is No News From Auschwitz*, he famously wrote in *The Times* in 1958), Joseph Lelyveld, the son of a rabbi, and Max Frankel, a Holocaust survivor. The Yiddish press flourished despite declining circulations in the 1920s and 1930s, but lost ground steadily in the years after World War II. Three New York periodicals with nation-wide audiences were also under Jewish ownership or editorship: *The New Yorker, The Village Voice*, and the *New York Review of Books*. **Commentary* and *Midstream*, published under the auspices of Jewish organizations, had influential readerships (see *Press, Jewish, in U.S.A.). The Newhouse family played a major role in publishing as owners of newspapers and a plethora of national magazines, based in New York.

After World War I, Jews took a greater interest in popular sports, both as spectators and as performers. Hank Greenberg, a product of the Bronx, achieved renown as a home-run slugger (58 in one season) at a time when there were few Jews in major league baseball. Sandy Koufax, one of baseball's greatest pitchers, pointedly refused to pitch a World Series game on Yom Kippur. Although he was not observant, Koufax said he felt he had to be a role model. Among other well-known New York athletes were the boxers Benny Leonard and Barney Ross, the baseball players Harry Danning, Sid Gordon, and Cal Abrams, the football quarterback Sid Luckman, and the basketball star and coach Nat Holman. One of the signature events in sports occurred during Holman's tenure at City College, which fielded a basketball team assembled from the regular student body, not players recruited for their athletic ability. In the 1950–51 season, City College, known as the "Cinderella team," won the two most important basketball titles of the time, the National Invitational Tournament and the National Collegiate Athletic Association championship. But the celebrations were short-lived when it was disclosed that certain players on the team had "shaved" points, or played to reduce their margin of victory, at the behest of gamblers. It was a watershed moment in basketball, in the lives of the players, Jewish and non-Jewish, some of whom went to prison, and the college, which was forced to de-emphasize basketball.

(For biographies of the figures mentioned above, see individual entries.)

Jewish involvement in New York cultural life in the middle decades of the 20th century was so complete that it had an impact on local speech, gestures, food, humor, and attitudes. It is doubtful if anywhere else in the history of the Diaspora such a large Jewish community existed in so harmonious a symbiosis with a great metropolis, without either isolating itself from its surroundings or losing its own distinct sense of character and identity. If the Jews gave to New York unstintingly of their experience, energies, and talents, they received in return an education in urbanity and a degree of cosmopolitan sophistication unknown to any other Jewish community of similar size in the past. When 20th-century New York Jews thought of the city they lived in, they did not simply consider it a great capital of civilization that had generously taken them in; rather, they thought of themselves as joint builders of this greatness and one of its main continuing supports. Such a relationship marks a unique moment in Jewish history, and one that, given current cultural and demographic trends in the United States and the world at large, is not likely to recur again.

[Lloyd P. Gartner, Hillel Halkin, Edward L. Greenstein,
and Yehuda Ben-Dror / James Marshall (2nd ed.)]

1970–2006

DEMOGRAPHY. At the center of international finance, politics, entertainment, and culture, with a nearly unrivaled collection of museums, galleries, performance venues, media outlets, international corporations, and financial markets, New York, the Big Apple, has long attracted large numbers of immigrants, as well as people from all over the United States. They settled in the city because of its culture, energy, cosmopolitanism, and economic opportunity. Perhaps the most compelling reality of the eight-county New York area Jewish community (the five counties of New York City and Westchester County, Nassau County and Suffolk County) at the tail end of the 20th century was its sheer size. The New York area was home to the largest Jewish community in the world outside of Israel: 643,000 Jewish households; 1,412,000 adults who consider themselves Jewish and children being raised as Jews; and 1,667,000 people living in Jewish households, including non-Jews (typically spouses who are not Jewish or children not being raised as Jews).

Kings County (Brooklyn) with 456,000 Jews led the way in a 2002 survey by Jewish Community Studies of New York, followed by Manhattan with 243,000, Nassau with 221,000, Queens with 186,000, and Westchester with 129,000. Suffolk with 90,000, the Bronx with 45,000, and Staten Island with 42,000 Jews had the smallest Jewish populations. One out of eight individuals in the eight-county New York area was Jewish. In the United States as a whole (including New York), nearly one person in 50 was Jewish. Of all the Jewish communities in the United States, only Los Angeles was home to more Jews than the borough of Brooklyn. Manhattan and Nassau County each had more Jews than either the Boston or Philadelphia areas. During the 1990s, the population remained essentially stable: the number of Jewish households increased by less than 1% and the number of Jewish people decreased by less than 1%. But the number of people in Jewish households increased by 7%, from 1,554,000 in 1991 to 1,667,000 in 2002.

The city, despite a 5% decrease in population, towered as the geographic hub of the Jewish community, providing leadership and guidance in social, recreational, health, cultural, and educational programs, as well as delivering major philanthropic support from virtually all fields of endeavor. Unlike other Eastern and Midwestern Jewish communities, where suburbanization changed the geography of Jewish life, most Jewish households – 70% – were found in the city proper.

During the 1990s, however, there were substantial geographic shifts: greener, more affluent, car-friendly Westchester County recorded a 41% increase in the number of Jews from 1991 to 2002. Both Brooklyn, where large-family Ḥasidim and Russian immigrants flourished, and once-remote Staten Island experienced significant increases, 23% and 27%, respectively. The Bronx, despite a stable – and vibrant – Jewish community in Riverdale, showed a 45% decline, continuing a decades-long trend. Smaller declines occurred in Queens (20%) and Manhattan (21%).

During the 1990s, there were substantial changes in the composition of the population. In 1991, children made up 22% of the community while seniors aged 65+ made up 16%. In 2002, the community included about the same percentage of children younger than 18 but seniors were 20%. In addition, reflecting greater longevity because of advances in health care, those 75 or older more than doubled after 1991, from 5% to 11%. One organization, the Jewish Association for Services to the Aged, beginning in 1968, became a prime social-service agency in the city and suburbs, with assistance on home, housing, and legal services on a nonsectarian basis, to help sustain the elderly in their homes and communities and to offer opportunities for a better quality of life.

Unlike Jewish communities in other parts of the United States, New York's was a mix of different kinds of households. Over 378,000 lived in Orthodox homes (240,000 in Brooklyn, many in the distinct Ḥasidic garb). Over 220,000 lived in Russian-speaking households, about 94% of them in the five boroughs. In 1991, 13% of all Jewish adults said they had been born outside the United States. By 2002, this percentage had increased to 27%. Adults born in the former Soviet Union accounted for 43% of all foreign-born adults in 2002, compared with 26% in 1991.

The New York area, with 55,000 people, also had by far the largest number of survivors of the Holocaust in the United States, although it was aging significantly. Singles accounted for 35% of the Jewish households in Manhattan, which was home to one of the greatest concentrations of Jewish singles in the United States, 55,000, according to the 2002 survey. These singles participated in a broad range of social and cultural activities tied to a variety of Jewish institutions. Many singles successfully trolled popular Internet sites like JDate.com in an effort to meet their lifetime mates.

One of the most contentious and troublesome issues in Jewish life was intermarriage. In 2002, according to the survey, the New York rate, 22%, was approximately half the national average, probably because of the large Ḥasidic population, where arranged marriages were not uncommon, and the insular Russian groups, who often selected Russian-speaking mates. While still low by national standards, intermarriage rates in the eight-county area increased significantly (36% of marriages) in the 1998–2002 period.

Jewish children aged 6 to 17 had relatively high levels of Jewish education. About 45% were enrolled in a full-time Jewish day school. Only 13% had not received any formal Jewish education.

While there was substantial affluence within the community, there was also substantial poverty. As 17% of New York Jewish households reported an income of more than $150,000 a year, 31% said they had an annual income of less than $35,000. There were more poor Jews in New York than there were Jews in all but the largest Jewish communities in the United States. Poverty increased significantly in New York City after 1991 during a period when overall poverty rates in the city declined. From 1991 to 2002, the number of people estimated to be living in Jewish households under the poverty level in New York City rose from 167,500 to 226,000, an increase of 35%.

The poorest by far in the survey were in Russian-speaking households with seniors age 65 or older. Eighty-five percent of people who were both older and Russian-speaking reported significant poverty-level incomes, reflecting limited American work histories and therefore lack of qualification for traditional Social Security and private pensions. This group seemed to reflect the immigrant period of struggle and adjustment on the road to absorption in the American community.

Many people have defined New York by its ever-changing and ever-renewing neighborhoods, from the densely populated Lower East Side around the turn of the 20th century to the apartment-house-dominated Bronx and Queens at the middle and end of that century. Jewish New York in the 21st century was a continuation of that phenomenon, of living with like-minded and economically equal neighbors. About 84% of the Jews in the area lived in 26 specific areas. One out of four lived in five areas: Flatbush/Midwood/Kensington (107,800); Boro Park (82,600); the Upper East Side (73,300); the Upper West Side (71,800); and Central/Southeastern Westchester (64,300), a relatively easy commute to Manhattan.

In Brooklyn neighborhoods like Boro Park, Flatbush, Kings Bay/Madison and Coney Island/Brighton and in Nassau County's Five Towns, on the city's border, over 40% of the residents were Jewish. By contrast, areas like the Northeast Bronx, Western Suffolk, Southwestern Westchester, and Central Suffolk had Jewish populations of only 10%.

[Jacob B. Ukeles (2nd ed.)]

POLITICAL AND CIVIC LIFE. In the last quarter of the 20th century and into the 21st, Jews operated at the center of New York political life and power, partly because of numbers and partly because of the high percentage of voter turnout, even in off-year elections. Following in the long tradition of activism and participation in democratic government, Jews took strong roles in city affairs, neighborhood disputes, and grassroots activities. Political-minded individuals often sought change through the ballot box or by becoming candidates themselves. As of 2006, three of the previous five mayors (and none before them) were Jewish: Abraham D. *Beame, elected in 1973, Edward I. *Koch, who served three four-year terms, and Michael R. *Bloomberg, who won re-election in 2005 with a whopping 59% of the vote. The candidates had taken different roads to the top, reflecting the complexity, diversity, and realities of political life in the city. Beame came up through the ranks of the Brooklyn Democratic organization, using his skills as an accountant to eventually win election as city comptroller, guardian of the finances. He followed the flashy tenure of John Lindsay, who led the city into a financial crisis. Beame's financial skills were not deft enough to save the city from near ruin, but eventually the city emerged with the help of some key power brokers (who happened to be Jewish): Felix Rohatyn, a Wall Street figure, and Victor Gotbaum, a labor leader, who put together a plan to save the city with new bonds and commitments from the well-financed union-city pension funds. Koch became active in his local reform Democratic organization in Greenwich Village, fighting to maintain its special neighborhood characteristics. After defeating a longtime "boss" in his home district, Koch secured the nomination to represent the area in the House of Representatives. He won the seat and served until he gained the mayoralty nomination and then triumphed in the citywide election. Bloomberg, a Democrat who ran as a Republican, was given little chance in the heavily Democratic city. But the multibillionaire businessman spent lavishly and campaigned hard and defeated a little-known candidate. When he ran for re-election, the formerly shy Bloomberg, who was not known for his religious observance, had no hesitancy about reaching out to Jewish audiences, and he campaigned in the Catskills, a favorite summertime retreat for New York Jews. Privately, he was one of the most philanthropic individuals in the world. He contributed regularly to at least a dozen Jewish organizations or institutions, and he and his sister endowed a fund in their mother's name to send teenagers to a kosher camp that is part of Young Judaea, a Zionist youth movement. And just before the election, ultra-Orthodox leaders in Williamsburg, Brooklyn, held what was by far the largest rally of Bloomberg's campaign. With searchlights flashing across the sky and klezmer music blaring from loudspeakers hoisted on cranes, thousands of Ḥasidim cheered the mayor from rooftops and blocks upon blocks of bleachers. One barely mentioned controversy involved the city's Health Department drive, as a preventive measure, to ban an ancient form of ritual circumcision practiced by some Ḥasidic *mohelim* that had been linked to three cases of neonatal herpes in late 2004, one of them fatal. And as an indication of the sensitivity and power of the Jewish electorate, a candidate for a fringe party, Lenora Fulani, who had said that Jews "had to sell their souls to acquire Israel" and had to "function as mass murderers of people of color," was removed from a leadership position after her party concluded that her inflammatory comments about Jews were "outrageous and distasteful."

During that period, prominent Jewish officeholders showed their ambitions by making runs for nomination or election but fell short. They included Ruth Messinger, then borough president of Manhattan and later president of the American Jewish World Service; Harrison J. (Jay) Goldin, the city's comptroller during the Beame years and president of the American Jewish Congress' Metropolitan Region; Albert Blumenthal, who was majority leader of the New York State Assembly; Richard Ravitch, former head of the Metropolitan Transit Authority who also served as head of the Jewish Community Relations Council and the Charter Revision Commission; Ronald Lauder, the cosmetics heir and former head of the Conference of Presidents of Major Jewish Organizations and former Ambassador to Austria, and Representative Anthony D. Weiner, a former congressional aide to Charles *Schumer, later U.S. Senator Schumer.

It was not unusual in New York City to see politicians strolling the streets or ambling in the parks, chatting with constituents. Although their surnames easily identified them as Jews, they did not campaign or serve as Jewish office holders, particularly in a vast, multicultural environment. One regular was Henry J. Stern, who served as Parks Commissioner for more than a dozen years under six mayors. Another popular political figure, Robert Morgenthau, son of Franklin D. Roosevelt's Treasury secretary, Henry *Morgenthau, Jr., won election as Manhattan district attorney in 1974 and kept getting elected, even at the age of 86, serving more than 32 years, a record. From his safe Lower East Side district, Sheldon Silver, Orthodox and observant, exercised considerable power in Albany for many years as a leader of the state assembly, a position he attained through seniority and political dexterity. In Congress, no one fought harder for equal rights for women than Bella S. Abzug, who represented a Manhattan district in Congress. Abzug, who was active in several feminist groups, including NOW, pressed for an Equal Rights Amendment, but the measure failed to gain approval in enough state legislatures to be adopted.

A number of Jews tried to use their political and financial base in New York City as a springboard for national or statewide office. These included three attorney generals: Louis *Lefkowitz, a popular Republican who campaigned as Looie, and two Democrats, Robert *Abrams and Elliot *Spitzer; and the comptrollers Alan Hevesi and Arthur Levitt, Sr., who served for six terms until 1979 and whose son, Arthur Levitt, Jr. was chairman of the Securities and Exchange Commission. During the last quarter of the 20th century, all the governors of New York were gentiles. By the second half of the 20th century, realizing that they had to appeal to a broad and more sophisticated electorate, Jewish candidates were barely mentioning their religious affiliation.

One crowning achievement, the appointment of Ruth Bader Ginsberg of New York to the United States Supreme Court in 1993, pointed to the importance of both Jews and women in politics.

In the last quarter of the 20th century, no citywide candidate could be elected without Jewish votes and no statewide candidate could ignore the sizable downstate Jewish vote in the city, on Long Island and in Westchester. Either because of firmly held opinions or because of political considerations, non-Jewish candidates for citywide and statewide office often took strong pro-Israel stances. Famously, Mayor Rudolph Giuliani turned down a donation for the victims of 9/11 from a Saudi Prince who had tied the 9/11 attacks to U.S. policy in favor of Israel. Senator Alfonse D'Amato, who served 18 years in the Senate, was an ardent champion of Israel. Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan was beloved in the Jewish community because of his support for Israel during his tenure as U.S. ambassador to the United Nations. In 1975, when the U.N. passed a resolution declaring "Zionism is a form of racism and racial discrimination," basically an endorsement of antisemitism, Moynihan said: "This is a lie." And when Idi Amin, the tyrant who ruled Uganda, went before the world body and demanded the "extinction of Israel as a state," Moynihan called him a "racist murderer." Moynihan, who had never visited the Middle East, took his political direction from the State Department, he said, but on Zionism, Jewish history, antisemitism, and related topics, he relied on the advice of Norman Podhoretz, editor of *Commentary* magazine, and by that time a neoconservative, as was Moynihan. The senator was also a vigorous supporter of the rights of Soviet Jewry. Moynihan spoke out publicly and worked tirelessly with Jewish groups to get the Soviet Union to relax its grip on the dissidents and other Jews who sought to leave the Communist state. More recently, Hillary Clinton, who while First Lady committed the faux pas of embracing Suha Arafat, the wife of Yasser Arafat, became one of the most avid supporters of Israel in the U.S. Senate.

New York was the most important source of political fund-raising in the United States. Four of the top five zip codes in the nation for contributions were in Manhattan. The top zip code, 10021, on the Upper East Side, where many wealthy Jews resided, generated the most money for the 2000 presidential campaigns of both George W. Bush and Al Gore.

No event touched the soul of New York more than the attacks on the World Trade Center towers on the morning of Sept. 11, 2001. There were Jewish victims among the almost 3,000 dead, of course, but they had not been singled out as Jews. Indeed, the diversity of the victims was one of the hallmarks of the event, a tragedy that cut across all ethnic and religious lines, but the Moslem extremists who perpetrated the attack had identified Jews with New York City and with American capitalism. One rumor in the Moslem world that circulated shortly after the attacks was that Jews working in the World Trade Center had received phone calls from Israel warning them not to go to work on Sept. 11. The rumor was patently false.

A few years later, after the dust had settled, literally and figuratively, Larry Silverstein, the owner of the property, sought to rebuild after receiving insurance payments for both buildings. He enlisted the architect Daniel Liebeskind to design new towers and a memorial to the victims, but the project became bogged down in disputes among the city, state, families of the victims, commercial interests and others. Liebeskind's design was eventually abandoned and the timetable for construction was delayed.

[Neil Goldstein (2nd ed.)]

BUSINESS AND ECONOMICS. As the city emerged from its financial nightmare of the early 1970s ("Ford to City: Drop Dead," was the headline in *The Daily News* when its plea for aid was turned down by the White House) and became reenergized, it became clear that the economy and the engines that ran it were ready to reassert New York's primary position in the world of finance. On Wall Street, in banking, in fashion and merchandising, in department stores and in diamonds, among other areas, many Jewish New Yorkers were in the front ranks of movers and shakers. The old German-Jewish families that had established beachheads even before the wave of immigrants arrived toward the end of the 19th century, the Schiffs, Warburgs, Lehmans, Morgenthaus, Oppenheims, and Guggenheims, to name a few, remained in the top tier at the giant financial brokerages like Kuhn Loeb, Goldman Sachs, Lazard Frères, and their successors. But the firms were so large that by the 21st century management was in the hands of a multitude of partners and officers, many of whom were Jewish and many of whom were not. Some individuals earned reputations on Wall Street, like Abby Joseph Cohen, a lead financial analyst for Merrill, Lynch, and Felix Rohatyn, who headed Lazard Frères, with time out for service as Ambassador to France, and Saul Steinberg, who rode a tiger to great wealth and renown in the insurance industry, only to suffer a letdown. Henry Kravis and Peter Kalikow won fame in a series of leveraged buyouts and Gerald Levin wound up as chief executive of the merged Time Warner AOL empire. Carl Icahn earned his stripes as a feared corporate raider and Ivan Boesky won riches and then shame dealing in junk bonds and other enterprises. Peter Cohen headed American Express for a time. The Greenberg clan, father Maurice and two sons, were powers in the insurance business, heading major companies until a scandal in 2005. Mortimer Zuckerman, who made a fortune in real estate in Boston and New York, bought and was publisher of *The Daily News,* once the newspaper with the largest daily circulation in the United States. Robert E. Rubin, who was born in New York, rose from the risk arbitrage department at Goldman Sachs to become its vice chairman and co-chief operating officer until he was plucked by President Clinton to serve in his administration. Rubin became the 70th United States Secretary of the Treasury, spanning both Clinton terms. And with New York as his base, George Soros, an immigrant from Hungary, formed private hedge funds and became the wealthiest man in the world – until he decided to start giving away much of his fortune to charitable endeavors. In the same vein, Michael Bloomberg started on Wall Street and established a financial information service that became a "must have" for financial institutions large and small. Bloomberg, removing himself from his far-flung business empire, which included computerized data and radio and television stations stressing financial news, twice won election as Mayor of New York. In banking, Sanford G. Weill rose to become chairman of Citigroup, one of the largest institutions in the United States, encompassing banking, credit cards, mortgages, home equity loans, the brokerage Smith Barney and other consumer financial services. In the unpublicized and lightly regulated field of money management, investors like Michael Steinhardt accumulated fortunes. Steinhardt used some of the funds to become the driving force behind Birthright Israel, a project aimed at strengthening the connection between young Jews and Israel.

Estee Lauder, who was born in Queens, transformed beauty into big business. In the 21st century, her company controlled 45% of the cosmetics market in U.S. department stores. Its products were sold in 118 countries. Even after 40 years in business, she attended the launch of every new cosmetics counter or shop. Her sons Ronald and Leonard were important figures in New York business, culture and philanthropy. Well-known names in the fashion industry like Ralph Lauren, Calvin Klein, Isaac Mizrachi, Liz Claiborne, and Marc Jacobs found exposure in the great department and clothing stores of New York, like Jewish-founded Barney's (once a store for hard-to-fit youth but later a fashion emporium), Bloomingdale's, B. Altman, Gimbel's, Saks, and Macy's. But in the face of competition and changing tastes, the family-started stores found it difficult to continue. Some closed and some were bought out. One venture, Alexander's, the best-known clothing store in the Bronx, was owned by the Farkas family. When it expanded to Manhattan and opened a vast store near Bloomingdale's, Alexander's failed, and the family eventually closed its stores. The tale of Stern's, once a magnet for class-conscious German immigrants early in the century, later a destination for the aspiring middle class after World War II, provided a case in point. Four sons of an impoverished German Jewish immigrant founded Stern's in 1867. Buoyed by their initial success, the Stern brothers led a retail migration to Ladies' Mile in 1878 with the opening of a seven-story building on 23d Street between Fifth and Sixth Avenues. It was the largest department store in New York until 1910. In 1913 the store moved to 42nd Street and Fifth Avenue and catered to show business people because of its proximity to Broadway. The store stocked other merchandise in an attempt to feed the aspirations of less wealthy shoppers. It thrived in this middle-market niche for decades but in 1951 Stern's was bought by Allied Stores and a new era began. In the competitive postwar retail landscape, Stern's began marketing itself to the masses. But ultimately, Stern's lost out to big box stores and to the fact that, during the 1980s, customers of all incomes became bargain hunters. Stern's is now gone. And Bloomingdale's and Macy's became part of Federated Department Stores. Another family-owned concern rose up out of Brooklyn to succeed, on a smaller scale, on Long Island, in Manhattan, and in suburban New Jersey and Westchester. In the Brownsville-East New York section of Brooklyn in the 1920s, under an elevated subway line, Max and Clara Fortunoff sold dishes, linens, and other dry goods at low prices. As they watched the neighborhood decline in the late 1960s, the Fortunoff offspring sensed that their customers were moving to Long Island, so Fortunoff branched out to Long Island with housewares, furniture, luggage, and luxury goods like fine china and jewelry. In Manhattan, Fortunoff opened a jewelry store on Fifth Avenue.

Throughout this period, and stretching back to before World War II, 47th Street between Fifth and Sixth Avenues flourished as the diamond capital of the United States. It was a tightly-knit industry and was controlled by Jews, just as it had been for centuries, from the mines in South Africa to the skilled cutting and polishing craftsmen in Antwerp and other world capitals. As in the diamond exchange in Tel Aviv, deals on 47th Street were consummated by handshake and Yiddish confirmations. Trust ruled the transactions. Dozens of sales people, many in Ḥasidic garb, dominated the streets, which had the highest concentration of police protection in the city to thwart temptation. Secrecy and discretion were unspoken bywords, and in the 21st century the diamond district remained almost totally in Jewish hands.

REAL ESTATE AND HOUSING. The real-estate business in the city was a dynastic enterprise, the great fortunes being passed down from one generation to another, and Jewish families were front-and-center in acquiring land, building homes and commercial structures, and running vast enterprises. The practice bore little relationship to the modern world of the corporation. While the elders and parents of a generation made deals and brokered arrangements, their children went to school and summer camp with one another, cementing relationships for the future. The families, Rose, Tishman, Rudin, Milstein, Tish, LeFrak, to cite a few, occupied the top tiers of the business. These oligarchies were only a few generations old, tracing their roots and business involvement to the immigrant arrivals and pushcarts that flooded New York in the previous century. Some concentrated in Manhattan, shrewdly accumulating property slowly and rarely selling. Others tried to be prudent, rarely taking risks. Others built massively in the outer boroughs like Brooklyn and Queens, where lower prices prevailed. In addition to shaping the landscape of New York City, the families were the backbone of philanthropy. Not only did they give extensively to Jewish charities, but they were identified with hospitals and educational institutions. And many found the time to serve in high positions in government and civic life. Lewis Rudin, for example, was the founder of a group called the Association for a Better New York, which promoted the city's reputation and performed good works. Seymour Milstein and his brothers, on the other hand, used their fortune to buy other companies, and at one time owned United Brands, the Starett Housing Corporation, and Emigrant Savings Bank. Although they gave their word to city officials that they would protect the famed gilded clock and Palm Court lounge of the Biltmore Hotel, they demolished both in 1981. The family, once extraordinarily close, later split, and filed so many suits against one another that they almost destroyed themselves. When Seymour Milstein died in 2001, his nephew issued a statement that read in its entirety: "We will always cherish the happy times we shared and our many years together."

If the real estate interests were bound by common interests, so were the social strivers who sought the best living arrangements. While the state banned discrimination in the sale and rental of housing, Jews in New York sometimes experienced more subtle stumbling blocks. Many of the grand old buildings lining Central Park West and Fifth and Park Avenues in Manhattan were cooperatives, and prospective tenants had to be screened and approved by the respective boards before being allowed to make their purchase. A number of high-profile, wealthy Jews, like Barbra Streisand, the singer; Mike Wallace, the television reporter; Ron Perelman, the financier; and Steve Wynn, the casino entrepreneur, were rejected, usually without reason. The co-ops functioned as private clubs and could determine if the applicant possessed the "right" connections or ethnicity or earned their living in an "approved" manner. Sometimes Jews were admitted one week and not the next, after some quota was reached. Whereas religion was once a key unspoken factor, by the early years of the 21st century rejection on economic grounds was much more common as old prejudices lost much of their sting.

CULTURE. Following the success of Stephen Birmingham's *Our Crowd: The Great Jewish Families of New York*, published in 1967, Irving Howe weighed in with *World of Our Fathers* in 1973. Historically, the exhaustively researched tale of Jewish immigrant life on the Lower East Side provided a cultural anthropology spanning the Old Country to the settlement houses and synagogues, the matchmakers, dance halls, and the culture of Yiddish, from poets, novelists, and intellectuals to theatrical figures and popular entertainers. Although he was a scholar and an intellectual, Howe in *World of Our Fathers* taught a new generation about the notion of egalitarian socialism and how it emerged from the struggle for social justice, according to Morris Dickstein, writing two decades after the publication of the surprise best-seller. The book, written with the assistance of Kenneth Libo, made its way into virtually every Jewish home, and its readers, many of them second-generation Jews who had moved to the suburbs, were able to reconnect to a world of struggle and idealism.

Although Bernard Malamud, who died in 1986, set many of his stories in New York, sometimes a geographical New York, sometimes a metaphysical one, and used Jewish characters extensively, he was not considered a "Jewish" writer, but rather an American writer. To the writer and critic Jonathan Rosen, Malamud's city was a place of surprises, of trials, and of ultimate meaning. In his best fiction, New York haunted his imagination, and his prose told the story of struggling tailors, shoemakers, matchmakers, light-bulb peddlers, and immigrants. His work, critics said, showed a regard for tradition and the plight of ordinary men, and was imbued with the theme of moral wisdom gained through suffering. His death was followed five years later by that of Isaac Bashevis Singer, who won the Nobel Prize in literature in 1978. Singer wrote largely in Yiddish, although he had lived in New York since before World War II. His 1970 novel, *Enemies: A Love Story*, set in 1949 in New York, dealt with survivors of the Holocaust who felt guilty about having survived. It became a successful film in 1989.

The immigrant experience provided the background for E.L. Doctorow's *Ragtime*, first as a novel in 1975 and then as a musical on Broadway in 1998. Doctorow, a New Yorker, had earlier won acclaim for *The Book of Daniel*, a fictionalized story of the executed atomic spies, the Rosenbergs, in 1971.

On the stage, through the end of the 20th century, Arthur Miller continued to churn out drama, although none achieved the commercial or critical success of his earlier works, which included *All My Sons* and *After the Fall*, a fictionalized version of his life with Marilyn Monroe, who converted to Judaism for their marriage.

The Broadway stage proved the perfect vehicle for Wendy Wasserstein (d. 2006), a Brooklyn-born playwright of wry, smart, and often highly comical plays. In 1989 she won both the Tony and Pulitzer Prizes for her play *The Heidi Chronicles*, and explored topics ranging from feminism to family to pop culture in such works as *The Sisters Rosensweig*, *Isn't It Romantic* and *An American Daughter*. Like Miller, who often mixed his art and politics, Tony Kushner, who was born in New York and educated there, made a splash with *Angels in America,* a two-play exploration of the state of the nation in terms of sexual, racial, religious, political, and social issues that confronted the nation during the Ronald Reagan years as the AIDS epidemic spread. *Angels* is really two full-length plays. Part I: *Millenium Approaches*, won the Pulitzer Prize for drama in 1993. Part II: *Perestroika,* won the Tony award. Four characters represented Jews, Christians and agnostics; homosexuals and heterosexuals; blacks and whites; and men and women caregivers and patients – an American mix. The prolific Kushner's masterpiece was directed for television in 2004 by Mike Nichols, proving its durability, and won numerous awards. AIDS, the great affliction of the 1980s in New York, found its chief stage and real-life opponent in Larry Kramer, a dramatist, author and gay rights activist. Beginning in 1981, Kramer published a series of articles on the growing AIDS epidemic, urging immediate government and private action. He was a founder of Gay Men's Health Crisis, a New York-based advocacy group, which remains the world's largest provider of services to gay men with AIDS. In 1987, increasingly discontented with the response to AIDS by both the U.S. government and the gay male community, Kramer founded the AIDS advocacy and protest organization, ACT-UP, which engaged in civil disobedience. His 1985 play about the early years of AIDS, *The Normal Heart*, was one of the most important cultural responses in the 1980s to the devastation of AIDS. It had more than 600 productions all over the world.

By contrast, Mel Brooks, the comedian and comedy writer, adapted his 1968 movie, *The Producers*, into a Broadway musical, with Thomas Meehan. The outrageous work was the smash hit of the 2000-2001 season, winning 12 Tony Awards, the most for one show. Brooks wrote the satiric – and some said offensive – *Springtime for Hitler*, a number that carried the story line, about a down and out producer who raises money for the world's worst show, a musical based on the life of Hitler. The humor took political incorrectness to a new level, which Brooks defended by saying that he had "to bring Hitler down with ridicule. It's been one of my life-long jobs – to make the world laugh at Adolf Hitler."

On television, one of the most popular programs of the 1990s was *Seinfeld,* a comedy about "nothing." Set in New York, the program had four main characters: Jerry Seinfeld, a comedian; George Costanza, played by Jason *Alexander and based on the life of the show's co-creator, Larry David; Elaine Benes, played by Julia *Louis-Dreyfus; and the lovable but loopy Kramer, portrayed by Michael Richards, based on a real New Yorker named Kramer. Many scenes were shot in a reproduction of a Manhattan diner and explored familiar problems among singles in the city.

In 2004 the Jewish Museum celebrated its 100th birthday, having achieved the status of one of the city's major art museums. The museum began as a repository of Jewish culture but became a significant force in the art world, unafraid to mount exhibitions with provocative themes that challenged and sometimes angered visitors. Before World War II, it bought important Judaica and became an important home to objects from a lost civilization. It expanded in 1983, adding exhibition space and a kosher café. Membership reached 11,250 and visitors reached more than 200,000 a year by around 2005. The museum was not the only repository of Jewish heritage. In 2003 a Center for Jewish History opened in four buildings in the Chelsea neighborhood of Manhattan. The center's members include: the American Jewish Historical Society, the American Sephardi Federation, the Leo Baeck Institute, the Yeshiva University Museum, and the YIVO Institute for Jewish Research. At the end of the 20th century, the Museum of Jewish Heritage opened at the foot of Manhattan as a living memorial to the Holocaust. The museum honored those who died by celebrating their lives. Its core exhibition of photographs, personal objects, and original films illustrated the story of Jewish heritage in the 20th century.

Perhaps the best-known cultural center in New York was the 92nd Street Y, a multifaceted institution and cultural center founded in 1874 by German-Jewish professionals. It grew from an organization guided by Jewish principles but serving people of all races and faiths. In 2006, it was serving over 300,000 people annually in 200 programs a day. Its programming encompassed Jewish education and culture, concerts featuring classical, jazz, and popular music, humanities classes, dance performances, film screenings, a nursery school, etc.

RACE RELATIONS. The most densely populated major city in North America, New York became known as "the melting pot" because of its hordes of immigrants from diverse places in Europe. But that sobriquet took on new meaning in the 1960s and later in a changing city as advocates for civil rights stepped up pressure for equal treatment in schools, housing, and employment. In 1984, the Rev. Jesse Jackson became the second black American to mount a nationwide campaign for President of the United States, running as a Democrat. A major controversy erupted early in the campaigns when Jackson, speaking to reporters, referred to Jews as "hymies" and to New York City as "Hymietown." Later he made a perfunctory apology. While Jews, themselves victims of discrimination, had lived side-by-side with blacks for decades, and had been prominent in leadership and financial support for civil rights causes, they, and the city, were living in a new time. Crime was high on the list of concerns in the late 1960s and 1970s, drugs appeared to be easy to come by and many whites and blacks were eyeing each other warily. In 1991, in what came to be an iconic moment in the relationship between Jews and blacks in the city, a car in the motorcade of the Lubavitch grand rabbi, Menachem M. Schneerson, swerved onto a sidewalk, killing a 7-year-old black boy, Gavin Cato. The accident, combined with simmering tensions between Orthodox Jews and black residents, created a cauldron of ethnic suspicions. Three hours later, a group of black youths, incited by cries of "go get a Jew," attacked Yankel Rosenbaum, an Australian Lubavitch student, apparently in retaliation. Four days of rioting and violence engulfed Crown Heights, headquarters of the Lubavitch, and a prosecutor called the crimes "emblematic of the worst kind of violence and religious hatred this city has every seen." Fueling the violence was a deep-rooted belief among many blacks in Crown Heights that Jews received preferential treatment, not only from the police but also in city services. (In fact, studies after the disturbances showed that black organizations in Crown Heights received more city and state money than many Ḥasidic organizations.) Before his death, Rosenbaum identified Lemrick Nelson Jr., then 16, as his assailant. A bloody knife was found in Nelson's possession, and Nelson confessed the murder to the police. But a jury of six blacks, four Hispanics and two whites acquitted him. A day later, the jury members joined Nelson and his lawyer in a New York restaurant to celebrate the verdict. In a second trial, in 2003, Nelson was found guilty of violating Rosenbaum's civil rights, but the jury found that he had not directly caused Rosenbaum's death. The hate-crime killing seemed to have symbolized much of what had gone wrong in the special relationship between blacks and Jews in the city and was tirelessly debated on the streets, in the media, and in the courts. It took years for the case to be settled, and passions aroused by the incident were slow to cool. For David N. Dinkins, the city's first black mayor, Crown

Heights became a crushing political weight, and he was defeated when he sought re-election. Because the case took so many years in the courts, many youths in Crown Heights interviewed in the early years of the 21st century were barely aware of the circumstances of the deaths.

While relations between blacks and Jews were sometimes fragile in New York, Jews in the early 21st century were thrust into the debate over events in Israel, particularly on college campuses, as professors and students took a hostile approach to developments in the Middle East. On the campuses of Columbia University and Barnard, for instance, pro-Israel students said they had been intimidated by professors of Middle Eastern studies both in and out of the classroom. Symbolically, the incident pointed to a mood on American campuses skeptical of Israeli activities and sympathetic to Palestinian complaints, views originally espoused and pursued by the New Left of the 1960s and 1990s.

UJA-FEDERATION AND ITS ROLE IN THE COMMUNITY. As the largest avenue of philanthropy in New York and North America, UJA-Federation consistently ranked in the top tier of *The Chronicle of Philanthropy's* listing of U.S. charities that raised the most in donations from individuals, foundations, and corporations. The only institutions that raised more funds made national appeals (American Red Cross) or used funds primarily for endowment and plant rather than programs (universities, hospitals, and museums), making UJA-Federation of New York the largest broadly-based local philanthropy in the United States. In 2005, its campaign year closed at a record-breaking $231,347,113, including $140 million from its annual campaign, $71.9 million in planned giving and endowments, and $15.9 million raised through capital gifts and special initiatives. An additional $3.3 million was contributed to an emergency relief fund. The total combined budget of UJA-Federation's local network of agencies exceeded $1 billion.

In 1973, at the outbreak of the Yom Kippur War, community leaders combined the Federation campaign with a special United Jewish Appeal Drive called the Israel Emergency Fund. After raising a record $100 million, the UJA-Federation Joint Campaign was created in July 1974 and Israel became the primary Jewish concern of the bulk of New York Jews. To meet both local and overseas needs, the joint effort raised an average of $100 million annually, reaching $110 million by 1983.

In 1999, UJA-Federation of New York became the first federation in the country to see the division of "domestic" and "overseas" as anachronistic and to instead organize its planning and allocations around types of services like health and human services, Jewish education and identity building, and Jewish peoplehood (rescue, resettlement, and fostering connections between Jewish communities in New York, Israel, and around the world).

As political, social, and technological changes fostered this increasingly global focus, other economic, social, and tax law changes forced changes in how the federation raised its funds. The primary vehicle for fundraising remained the Annual Campaign. At the time, 80 to 90 percent of the funds came from just 10 to 20 percent of the donors. While efforts continued to be made to broaden the base, through direct marketing (mail and phone) and the Internet, the majority of the organization's fundraising efforts were targeted at higher-end donors through one-on-one relationships and to mid-level donors at more than 700 fundraising events each year targeting specific trades and professions, synagogues, communities, women, and families. UJA-Federation also opened full-service offices in Westchester (1988) and Long Island (1989), where affluent Jewish populations resided. The Annual Campaign reached over $120 million per year from over 75,000 donors in the first years of the 21st century. At the same time, the donor base was shrinking (as recently as 1996, there had been over 91,000 donors), cuts in government spending for social services placed significant pressure on the agencies, and the modest increases in the campaign were counterbalanced by the effects of inflation.

By the end of the 20th century, needs had further shifted. The majority of Jews in New York were now long-time Americans who no longer needed help with the most basic needs and with integration into American society. The enormous wave of immigration from the former Soviet Union slowed down by the mid-1990s, and immigration was not anticipated ever to reach such heights again. In the 21st century, UJA-Federation's mission was revised to place equal emphasis on caring for those in need, rescuing those in harm's way, and renewing and strengthening the Jewish people in New York, Israel, and around the world. The share of local unrestricted grants for community centers, human-service agencies, and Jewish education increased by 11 percent between 1995 and 2003, while the share of grants to hospitals and geriatric centers decreased by 98 percent and 9 percent, respectively.

For the human-service agenda, the need to provide services to the most vulnerable continued. Despite the upward mobility of much of the community, significant pockets of poverty existed, particularly in Brooklyn and Queens. Publication in 1971 of "The Invisible Jewish Poor," by Anne Wolfe, revealed widespread poverty among Jews, with particular emphasis on senior citizens. The Metropolitan Council on Jewish Poverty was created in 1972 to provide clothing, food, housing, and job-placement services to Jewish New Yorkers in poverty. As poverty continued and some populations experienced difficulty accessing public services, the New York Legal Assistance Group was organized in 1990 to provide free legal help to at-risk and low-income individuals. In 2005, UJA-Federation developed a comprehensive system for individuals and families coping with terminal illness, helping them access medical, social, psychological, and spiritual care through three regional care centers, and opened the first and only state-certified residential hospice under Jewish auspices in New York State.

[Jennifer Rosenberg (2nd ed.)]

RUSSIAN JEWS. Mention "Russian Jews in New York" and what immediately comes to mind for most New Yorkers is

Brighton Beach – a garish, boisterous strip of Russian restaurants, nightclubs, and specialty food stores hunkered under the rumbling elevated subway line. A block or two away is the nearby boardwalk, one of New York's great people-watching locations in the summer, where svelte "New Russians" enjoy caviar and *blini* at a string of outdoor cafes, while babushkas with golden teeth sit on nearby benches watching their grandchildren play, and knots of men sit at tables playing chess and backgammon.

Yet Brighton is only the tip of the iceberg of Russian-speaking New York – a sprawling human archipelago of 350,000 people, 70 to 80% of whom are Jewish. According to a 2003 population survey conducted by UJA-Federation, 19% of the Jews in the five boroughs of New York were Russian-speakers. The survey found that 62% lived in Brooklyn (124,000), 19% in Queens (39,000); 5% in Staten Island (11,000), 5% in Nassau County (10,000), and 4% in Manhattan (9,000). Russians made up 27% of Brooklyn's Jewish community, 21% of Queens Jewry, and 26% of Staten Island's. It was believed that there were as many as 50,000 Russian-speaking Jews in the suburbs of northern New Jersey.

The Russian-speaking community got its start in southern Brooklyn during the mid-1970s but spread far beyond that neighborhood east to the more upscale marine communities of Manhattan Beach and Sheepshead Bay, and west to scruffy Coney Island, where it abutted African-American and Hispanic communities. The Russians then spread north to Bensonhurst, which they shared with Italian-Americans, Ocean Parkway, which had a large Syrian Jewish population, and Midwood, where they intersected with Pakistanis and Arab-Americans.

Away from Brighton Beach and Brooklyn, a second huge enclave of Russian speakers, the exotic Bukharan Jewish community of Persian-speaking Jews from *Uzbekistan, *Tadjikistan, Kyrgyzstan, Kazakhstan and Turkmenistan, all part of the former Soviet Union, set up home and culture in the Central Queens communities of Rego Park, Forest Hills, and Kew Gardens. There, 50,000 Bukharan Jews lived in streets filled with Bukharan yeshivot, synagogues, and restaurants/nightclubs, from which the sound of sinuous but exuberant Bukharan music exploded into the night. Although Bukhara is a city in Uzbekistan, the term Bukharan refers to all Central Asian Jews who speak Bukhari, a Jewish dialect of Persian. Bukharans celebrate and commemorate in big ways. Nightly, the community turned out for events: weddings, bar mitzvahs, birthdays, cultural presentations or memorials. Whereas most of their homes in Europe faced inner courtyards, in Queens they lived in cramped apartments, so restaurants became their courtyards. The neighborhood, along Queens Boulevard, from Rego Park to Forest Hills to Kew Gardens to Briarwood, featured small businesses runs by Bukharans and ethnic specialties like fried fish, dried fruits, and Samarkand raisins. Kosher bakeries with tandor ovens dispensed crusty round breads called non, topped with black sesame seeds, baked on the clay walls. Noni toki, a domed matzolike bread, was also a favorite, as were samosi, a pastry filled with a nut mixture, and lavz, a mixture of nuts and spices compressed into a flat bar. Most community events involved live music, whether the classical tradition of the shash maqam, a repertory of vocal and instrumental sounds, folk songs, or Russian pop. The Bukharan Jewish National Theater performed regularly, sometimes using its other name, Vozrozhdenie (Russian for renaissance). Twenty synagogues served the community; their prayer books featured Hebrew on one side and a Russian transliteration on the other.

In that area, too, were the smaller but still substantial Oriental communities of Georgian and Mountain Jews, who hailed from *Azerbaijan and the northern *Caucasus. Some lived in Washington Heights at the uppermost tip of Manhattan, an area that attracted a community of so-called Russian intelligentsia – artists, writers, and bohemians. Over the years, many Russian families moving into the middle class left the gritty streets of Brooklyn for semi-suburban Staten Island, while others moved on to the commuter towns of northern and central New Jersey, as well as communities in Long Island, Westchester and southern Connecticut.

The origin of the emigration goes back to the period directly after the Six-Day War of 1967, when Soviet Jews giddy with the smashing military victory of the Israel Defense Forces against the armed forces of Egypt and Syria, armed to the hilt by the Soviet government, began to shake off their fear of the Soviet regime and demanded to be allowed to repatriate to Israel.

By the early 1970s, the Soviet government, seeking détente with the West, began to allow some Soviet Jews to leave for Israel on humanitarian grounds, for family reunification. It was during this period that many Soviet Jews who received invitations ("*vysov*") from real or supposed relatives in Israel managed to get out of the Soviet Union, "dropped out" along the way to Israel in Vienna, and instead applied to emigrate to the United States as political refugees. Though the Israeli government objected strongly to the dropout phenomenon and chastised those who decided to go West, the U.S. Jewish community leadership upheld the principle of freedom of choice and by the late 1970s as many or more Soviet Jews were coming to the U.S. as to Israel. Soviet Jewish immigration to the U.S. started en masse.

Close to half of all Soviet Jews headed for New York City and a significant number of families and individuals who were brought to smaller communities across the U.S. under the auspices of local Jewish communities also eventually headed for New York, the only city where it soon became possible to lose oneself in a largely Russian environment.

About a third of the Russian-speaking Jewish population in New York at the beginning of the 21st century arrived during the 1970s. The New York Association of New Americans (NYANA) provided them with housing, language training, and help in finding jobs, began routing many Russian families to southern Brooklyn, a strongly Jewish area with excellent low-rent housing stock that had become increasingly down at the heels as American-born Jewish families left. The rollicking environment of crass mercantilism and *joie de vivre* for which Brighton Beach became known had much in common with the spirit of Odessa on the Black Sea, but even many Jews from very different environments like Moscow and Leningrad initially moved to Brighton so they could live in a Russian linguistic and cultural environment.

By the late 1970s, restaurants and businesses catering to the Russian community began to spring up, helping to bring renewed economic vigor and stabilizing real estate values.

As a result of 35 to 40 years of immigration, 700,000 Soviet-born Jews were living in the U.S., about half of them, or 350,000, chose New York and its vicinity as their permanent home. By any account, the number exceeded those of Russia and Ukraine combined, making New York the world's most populous Russian-Jewish city. The 1990s arrivals differed from their predecessors in many respects. The refugees of the 1970s tended to be ideologically deeply anti-Communist and anti-Soviet, ready to risk everything, including a term in prison, for a chance to get to the West. The refugees of the 1990s came at a time of virtually free emigration after Communism had collapsed, and were more inclined to be pursuers of a better life.

Since education was always a primary social value, Russian Jewish immigrants came with a high level of educational attainment. Their striving for education continued in America, where they made up the best-educated group in U.S. immigration history. Virtually all younger Russian Jews went to college, and New York city, state, and private colleges were full of the Russian-speakers. In 2005, two Russian-Jewish students, Lev Sviridov from the City College and Eugene Shenderov from Brooklyn College, won highly competitive and prestigious Rhodes scholarship for graduate education in Oxford.

[Sam Kliger and Walter Ruby (2nd ed.)]

NEIGHBORHOODS. One of the defining characteristics of New York are the neighborhoods, especially for Jews, who tended to live among fellow religionists for a variety of reasons, including proximity to local synagogues, friends, and familiar foods. Indeed, the history of New York Jewry is intertwined with the history of the neighborhoods: some with accommodating welcome mats, some achieving smashing successes, some declining over the years, some being reborn.

Following are snapshots of four local areas that have a distinctive Jewish flavor and history:

Boro Park. With the largest ultra-Orthodox Jewish enclave in the world outside Jerusalem, Boro Park combined the atmosphere and strictures of a 19th-century European religious-based village with many of the trappings of a 21st-century American consumer-oriented society. As home to several Ḥasidic sects, including the Bobover, Belz, Satmar, Stolin Vizhnitz, Munkacz, Sprinka, Klausenberg, Gerer, and Pupa, Boro Park was a center of Jewish learning and devotion, with hundreds of synagogues and yeshivas, and a Yiddish-speaking community where the rich, poor, and working class could shop in high-priced and low-priced stores and buy kosher specialties from well-stocked supermarket shelves.

Boro Park, also spelled Borough Park, was a mainly rural part of south-central Brooklyn in the last years of the 19th century. One of the original settlers, Electus B. Litchfield, built a subdivision in 1887 and called it Blythebourne. In 1898 State Senator William H. Reynolds bought a tract of land abutting the east side of New Utrecht Avenue, extending from 43rd to 60th Streets. He called it Borough Park, and it eventually swallowed Blythebourne. All that remained of that name by the 21st century was Blythebourne Station, the local post office.

The first synagogue in the area was built in 1904 as Russian Jews, living in the teeming and overcrowded Lower East Side of Manhattan, trickled in to join Italian and Irish families in single-family attached houses. During the Brooklyn real-estate boom of the 1920s, the area thrived in a confluence of democratic trends.

After World War II, the Italian and Irish families began moving out, and Jews who practiced a modern Orthodox faith spread to neighboring Flatbush and Midwood. For the Jewish community, it was the heyday of assimilation, when most were intent upon being inconspicuous. The Ḥasidim, practicing an 18th century form of ecstatic Judaism rich with ceremony and prayer, were different. Wearing beards and side curls, black hats and 19th-century suits and speaking Yiddish, the men stood out. The conservatively garbed women, in wigs and often pushing baby carriages, kept to themselves and their tight-knit families and friends. Many mainstream Jews found Ḥasidim, at first a tiny minority in New York, self-righteous, almost embarrassing, unsettling reminders of what these secular co-religionists once were. Tentatively, the Ḥasidic survivors clustered anew around the few rabbis who had survived the war.

One of the first Ḥasidic groups to move to Boro Park were the Skverer, who trace their roots to Chernobyl, Ukraine. Like other Ḥasidim, who practice an ecstatic brand of Judaism, each sect centers on a charismatic spiritual leader, often called a tzaddik, or righteous one, and on an individual's direct relationship with God. In 1922 Rabbi David Twersky was born in Kishinev, Russia, in a long line of distinguished rabbis. When he was 2, the family moved to the Lower East Side, where his father, Yitzchok, established a synagogue. Yitzchok later moved the synagogue to Williamsburg in Brooklyn and finally to 47th Street in Boro Park. David was 19 when his father died, and he took over the Skverer's leadership. Rabbi Twersky, who raised his sons as though they were in an East European shtetl, aided many victims of the Holocaust in their efforts to emigrate to the United States. He also established a network of yeshivas, separately serving boys, girls, and married men, planting the Old World in the New World of Boro Park.

Rabbi Shlomo Halberstam, a Holocaust survivor, nurtured the postwar rebirth of the Bobover sect, a group based in southeastern Poland that was nearly exterminated by the Nazis. He arrived in New York in the late 1940s, with only his oldest son. Much of his family had been killed. During this period, according to Samuel Heilman, a professor of Jewish studies and sociology at Queens College, the rabbi apparently had a crisis of faith, shaved his beard, and lost his desire to be a rabbi. But he soon recovered, and his change of heart proved inspirational to many Orthodox Jews coping with poverty and psychological distress in the wake of the war. His success in recruiting Jews in America to the Bobov sect was attributed to the fact that he was both nonconfrontational and charismatic. Under about 50 years of his conciliatory leadership, the Bobover became the leading Ḥasidic group in Boro Park, perhaps a third of all the Ḥasidim. The Bobovers tended to look to their grand rabbi more than most sects for advice on business, marriage, and family. Unlike the Satmars and Lubavitch, the Bobovers flourished with little public infighting. The main Bobov synagogue, on 48th Street between 15th and 16th Avenues, was known as Bobover Promenade. The Bobover, who like other Ḥasidism did not recognize the State of Israel, were conspicuously absent from Satmar-inspired anti-Israel rallies at the United Nations, and the Bobover developed good relations with the more ambiguously Zionistic Klausenbergers and Belzers. Those two groups accepted educational stipends from the Israeli government.

As Boro Park became more Ḥasidic, the community's boundaries were considered to be between 12th and 18th Avenues and between 40th and 60th Streets. Its commercial center was 13th Avenue, with its aromatic bakeries, kosher pizzerias, and Judaica shops. But there were no video stores or national retail or food chains on the main shopping streets. The community flourished with the growth of Ḥasidism worldwide. Families grew, not only to follow the Biblical commandment to be fruitful and multiply but to replenish the post-Holocaust Jewish population. The fertility rate in Boro Park was double that of the city as a whole. Families with many children were common, and some had as many as 18 or 19. To accommodate the burgeoning population, homes expanded forward, backward, upward and even downward. In 1992 the city created a special zoning district in Boro Park so homeowners could legally build on 65% of their lot, and the footage for setbacks and rear yards was halved. From 1990 to 1998, the city's Building Department issued more permits, 822, for private construction projects of new homes and additions than in any other residential neighborhood of Brooklyn. Every other family was adding wings or floors just to keep pace with its growing brood. Sometimes wealthy families bought adjacent lots, razed row houses and built imposing single-family edifices from scratch. Others lived in a near-chronic state of renovation.

About 80% of the roughly 100,000 people were Jewish, according to estimates by Community Board 12 and local residents, early in the 21st century. Pockets of Moslems, Italian, and Irish as well as Mexicans, Chinese, Pakistanis, Russians, and Poles also lived in Boro Park, which in the early years of the 21st century also encompassed parts of Bensonhurst, Kensington and Flatbush. The boundaries were determined to be 8th Avenue to 20th Avenue, and 37th to 62d Streets and Dahill Road.

Life in Boro Park was decidedly different from other parts of New York. At 8 A.M. every morning, an armada of yellow buses lined up to transport girls in long skirts and boys in curly earlocks to the 65 religious schools in the neighborhood. Many blocks had several synagogues, from hole-in-the-wall shtiebels to vast tiered synagogues, with a ceiling that reached three stories above long wood tables where clusters of boys and men pored over Hebrew texts late into the night. One synagogue, Shomre Shabos, was called the local minyan factory. From dawn until 1:30 A.M., quorums of 10 men shuffled in and about, arranging themselves in parallel lines, swaying back and forth in prayer.

Rich, poor, and working class lived side by side, praying together and sending their children to the same schools. The wealthy paid tuitions that supported the neighborhood's many religious schools and cobbled together a kind of private social service system, complete with group homes and a volunteer ambulance corps. There were perhaps 150 interest-free loan associations to help the needy. Every night, young men in worn black coats and hats knocked on the back doors of the larger homes seeking charity. Every Thursday afternoon, in a converted transit way station, dozens of students and volunteers packed hundreds of Sabbath charity boxes with eggs, milk, noodles, chickens, and kosher wine. By evening, 65 young men packed the boxes into cars and vans to drop on the doorsteps of the poor families.

From sundown Friday to sundown Saturday, all the shops – perhaps 400 – were closed (while the synagogues were full). A car that traversed the neighborhood on the Sabbath was looked on unkindly, and occasionally was stoned. After Shabbat and on Sunday, most residents shopped, strolled, and frequented kosher food shops like Mendel's 18th Avenue Pizza near 50th Street, where falafel, pirogies, or blintzes could be munched, Amnon's Kosher Pizza on 13th Avenue, the Donut Shop on 13th Avenue and 47th Street, where omelets and pancakes were also on the menu, and China Glatt, on 13th Avenue at 45th Street, one of the few nondairy restaurants. There were no bars on 13th Avenue and there were no parks in Boro Park.

[Stewart Kampel (2nd ed.)]

Upper West Side. Running diagonally across Manhattan, from the lower tip of Manhattan to the island's upper reaches, Broadway on the Upper West Side serves as the areas backbone and heart. Originally a Native American trail and built as Bloomingdale Road in 1703, Broadway, the widest street in the neighborhood, is a well-worn pathway to synagogues, famous food stores, Jewish cultural sites, and schools. With its parklike island, Broadway is also the communal front stoop, the place of serious and friendly networking, or schmoozing, among friends, neighbors, local politicians, and community leaders. The Upper West Side stretches from 59th to 110th Street, from Central Park West to Riverside Drive, and is sandwiched between two large city parks, Central Park and Riverside Park.

According to the Jewish Community Study of 2002, the Jewish population of the Upper West Side is 59,400 (the number of Jewish households is 37,100, with 71,800 people living in those households). Thirty percent of the households belong to a synagogue, with 14% affiliating with Orthodox, 25% with Conservative, and 28% with Reform; 16% identify as non-denominational and 13% as secular. One segment of the community is heavily committed to Jewish life, with 47% of neighborhood children having some day school education, and 64% having visited Israel. On the other hand, the intermarriage rate of 35% is slightly higher than the overall rate for Manhattan.

Although the Upper West Side does not have the largest Jewish population in Manhattan – there are more Jews living on the Upper East Side – the Upper West Side has much more of the distinctive feel of a Jewish neighborhood. Its streets are lined with kosher restaurants and food stores, supermarkets with kosher sections, Jewish bookstores and Judaica shops, schools – from Chabad to the first Reform day school in the country – and cultural institutions like Makor, a division of the 92nd St Y and the Jewish Community Council of Manhattan. Posters hung on street lamps and storefronts announce Jewish speakers and concerts. Its many synagogues range from grand to humble, with rich history behind them. Early mornings, it is not unusual to see people rushing off to shuls for the daily minyan (women too, as there are daily egalitarian services) and to the recently-built JCC for daily meditation.

But it is on Shabbat and holidays that the Jewish character of the neighborhood is most visible. Many families and individuals, dressed up to varying degrees, walk comfortably to the synagogues. An *eruv* strung around the neighborhood enables observant Jews to carry items on Shabbat and push baby carriages, activities otherwise not permitted.

The history of the neighborhood as a Jewish area is closely tied to the history of its synagogues. The neighborhood began to develop as a residential area after 1904, when the subway was constructed, connecting the West Side to midtown and Lower Manhattan. As the area became populated, several synagogues moved uptown, both following and leading their congregants, who moved from Lower Manhattan and points in between. Congregation Shearith Israel, the Spanish-Portuguese Synagogue – the oldest synagogue in New York, founded in 1654 – moved to its striking neoclassical building on Central Park West and 70th Street in 1897. Congregation B'nai Jeshurun – the first Ashkenazi synagogue in New York and the second oldest congregation, having broken from Shearith Israel in 1825 – moved to its Moorish Revival structure, on 88th Street between Broadway and West End, in 1918.

The Reform Rodeph Shalom, founded on the Lower East Side in 1842, moved to its Romanesque building on 83rd Street off Central Park West in 1930, from an intermediary building in the East 60s. In celebration of the synagogue's 150th anniversary in 1991, Rabbi Robert Levine and 75 congregants retraced the six-mile journey on foot, from Clinton Street, the site of its first building, to West 83rd Street.

Other synagogues in the area, like the Institutional Synagogue (now called the West Side Institutional Synagogue), on 76th Street off Columbus, and Ohab Zedek, on 95th Street off Columbus, moved to the area from Harlem.

The Jewish Center, a modern-Orthodox synagogue on West 86th Street, had its roots on the Upper West Side. Led by Rabbi Mordechai Kaplan, it was the first synagogue-center, founded in 1918 on the philosophy that cultural, recreational and religious activities be incorporated in one institution. When Rabbi Kaplan had disputes with the synagogue, he went on to found the Society for the Advancement of Judaism, one block east on 86th Street in 1922, which would become the first Reconstructionist synagogue.

All the synagogues were functioning in 2006.

In the years before and after World War II, many European immigrants moved to the neighborhood, including refugees and Holocaust survivors. Clusters of Jews from Austria, Czechoslovakia, and also Iraq settled in the area, and brought a foreign flavor and accent to the restaurants and cafes. Many who came from European cities felt at home in the stately prewar apartment buildings along Broadway and West End Avenue, built in the similar styles to those they had left behind.

In the 1950s and 60s, new Jewish residents trickled in, while many Jews left the neighborhood for the suburbs and other places in the city. But in the late 1960s and 1970s, younger Jews began moving to the area; the *Havurah* movement, embracing small groups that met for study, prayer, and to observe life cycles, established a strong base on the West Side as progressive Jews, many influenced by the counterculture movement, sought to create alternative, traditional communities based on egalitarianism. Members of groups like the New York *Havurah* sought new ways to reinvigorate ritual with meaning, much in the spirit of the highly successful *Jewish Catalog*, a best-selling book that found an audience among the baby-boom generation. Rejecting existing religious institutions, they favored participatory prayer in intimate settings, often meeting in members' homes. Many leaders of the *Havurah* community would go on to take leadership roles in the New York Jewish community decades later.

One such group began meeting at Ansche Chesed, a once thriving synagogue and community center with a substantial congregation at 100th Street and West End Avenue whose membership had dwindled, and helped bolster and revitalize that congregation. The synagogue and its community center were saved from planned destruction by a community effort that saw Montessori and another locally based, parent-run day-care center rent space in the complex. Since then, many Jewish and non-Jewish organizations and projects co-habitated and revitalized the "plant." That synagogue became a new model: a congregation made up of several lay-led services, going on simultaneously on Shabbat. Rabbi Michael Strassfeld, a co-editor of *The Jewish Catalog* (before he was ordained), was the first rabbinic leader of the reconstituted Ansche Chesed (and later would go on to lead the Society for the Advancement of Judaism).

At the same time as *Havurah* movement was getting under way, another significant development in Jewish life was unfolding about thirty blocks south. Under the leadership of Rabbi Shlomo Riskin, Lincoln Square Synagogue, a modern-Orthodox institution, was founded in 1964; its members first met in the Lincoln Towers complex before erecting their own building in 1970, with an unusual sanctuary-in-the-round. Rabbi Riskin drew young, professional and single people to the new synagogue, delivering weeknight talks on popular topics like relationships, with Torah underpinnings, to overflow audiences. The synagogue became a meeting spot for Jewish singles, many of whom stayed in the area after marrying. In 1983, Rabbi Riskin and his family, along with several Lincoln Square families, moved to Israel and settled in Efrat, where he served as chief rabbi and headed several educational institutions.

In subsequent years, the Lincoln Square population aged, and the center of young Orthodox Jewish single life moved north, to several synagogues in the West 80s and 90s.

Rabbi Sally Priesand, American's first female rabbi, who served the Stephen Wise Free Synagogue for several years beginning in 1972, and Rabbi Marshall Meyer, who died in 1993, made significant contributions to Jewish life in the area. Rabbi Meyer, after spending 25 years in Buenos Aires and founding Jewish institutions there, returned to New York in 1985 and spearheaded the revival of B'nai Jeshurun. Its Friday night services, filled with music, singing, and spirited prayer, attracted more than a thousand individuals, including many young people. The synagogue was nondenominational, having broken with the Conservative movement over the issue of gay ordination. Committed to social action, B'nai Jeshurun became a sought-after model for synagogues around the country.

In 1991, after its roof collapsed, the congregation of B'nai Jeshurun was invited by its neighbors on West 86th Street, the Church of St. Paul and St. Andrew, to hold services in their sanctuary. Together, congregants of the two institutions created a large banner, with the words of Psalm 133: "How good it is when brothers and sisters dwell together in harmony." It hangs at the front of the church. Even after the synagogue roof was repaired, the congregation continued to use the church on Shabbat mornings and holidays, having outgrown the synagogue space.

Rabbi Shlomo Carlebach, the descendent of a German rabbinical family, was known internationally for his neo-Ḥasidic musical style, deep and joyful spirituality and extensive outreach. In his final years, he was based on the Upper West Side, at the Carlebach Shul on West 79th Street. He died in 1994, and the Orthodox congregation continued his tradition of welcoming people from all backgrounds.

Although Lincoln Square Synagogue was the last Upper West Side synagogue to construct a new building, several new congregations were founded without buildings and used the facilities of schools and community centers. These minyan groups stressed community and took prayer seriously; their services were traditional and experimental, not necessarily defined by denominational boundaries.

Along with synagogues of every denomination, there were "beginner's services" in various synagogues as well as smaller congregations known as shtiblach, usually named for the rabbi who led them, and located in brownstones on the side streets. The area also had a Chabad and other Ḥasidic presence: it was not uncommon to see men walking on Shabbat in traditional shtreimels and bekeshes, long black tailored coats.

There was fluidity among the congregations, with some people belonging to several institutions at once, others who attended services in different places, and people who moved from synagogue to synagogue. In the years before 9/11, when there were fewer security concerns, synagogues jointly held outdoor Simchat Torah celebrations, with dancing in the streets, and some returned to the practice as tensions eased. The synagogues and minyan groups convened together for Yom HaShoah commemorations. On the first day of Rosh Hashanah, the Jewish community is out in force. It gathers on the walkway above the banks of the Hudson River for the ceremony of *Tashlikh*, casting breadcrumbs into the water and reciting verses from Scripture relating to repentance. It is one of the more colorful scenes of city life, with fashionably dressed women, men in new suits, and some in more casual clothing exchanging greetings of the new year.

Some of the synagogues featured soup kitchens and operated shelters for the homeless. Some housed nursery and afternoon schools.

A neighborhood landmark that drew shoppers as well as tourists, Zabar's was a long-running family business on Broadway, featuring traditional Jewish specialties along with other food, fancy and plain. Barney Greengrass, an appetizing store and café on Amsterdam Avenue, was famous for its smoked fish, and Murray's, on Broadway, was a neighborhood favorite for similar fare. The dairy restaurants of decades ago, where neighborhood habitués like Isaac Bashevis Singer – the Nobel laureate who had a section of West 86th Street named in his honor – are no more. They gave way to kosher steak houses, sushi bars, pizza shops, and places that served Moroccan, Yemenite, and other ethnic food.

On any given evening on the Upper West Side, it was possible to hear Jewish music, attend a kosher cooking class, or study Jewish texts, listen to a Jewish author read from a new work, participate in a healing service, or sit in on a panel discussion on Jewish issues of the day. That tradition was likely to continue.

[Sandee Brawarsky (2nd ed.)]

Washington Heights. With its hills and parks overlooking the Hudson and Harlem Rivers, Washington Heights at the northern end of Manhattan proved especially attractive to European immigrants. The Heights was one of the last parts of the island to be settled. Before World War I, the areas east of Broadway and south of 181st Street became an urban neighborhood, but the more affluent areas to the north and west were settled mainly in the 1920s and 1930s. Virtually all the neighborhood housing consisted of five- and six-story brick apartment houses.

The first Jews in Washington Heights were mainly immigrants from Eastern Europe and their children who moved to the Heights from the Lower East Side or from neighboring Harlem, especially in the 1920s and 1930s. A number of institutions that were founded in Harlem moved north with their followers and constituents. Although located in Manhattan, Washington Heights resembled Jewish areas of second settlement in the Bronx and Brooklyn more than other parts of its own borough. Jews never made up a majority of the population, though they were probably between 35 and 40% of the total. Other ethnic groups included persons of Irish, Greek, and Armenian background. Washington Heights was considered a prestigious middle-class area, and in 1928 Yeshiva University relocated to Amsterdam Avenue in Washington Heights precisely because of the prestige of the address. The Moorish building of the university's main building became the nucleus of a campus that sprawled over a number of blocks on the eastern end of the neighborhood between 184th and 187th Street.

In the late 1930s the Jewish community was reinforced by a large influx of German-speaking Jews fleeing the Nazis. In all, 20,000 to 25,000 German-speaking Jews settled in, constituting about 40% of the Jewish population. Although Washington Heights was the home of the largest concentration of German Jewish escapees from Nazi Germany, its residents were not typical of the overall wave of German Jewish immigrants of the 1930s. Those in Washington Heights were atypical in their greater religious traditionalism, their overwhelmingly South German and often rural background, and their relatively modest socioeconomic and education levels. Though more "bourgeois" than most immigrants to the United States, the German Jews of Washington Heights bore little resemblance to the famous "intellectual immigrants" of the 1930s.

Most of the newcomers arrived between 1938 and 1940. Some moved to Washington Heights immediately. Others joined them. In the late 1930s, the newcomers began to build a network of institutions and give the neighborhood a German Jewish atmosphere. Social clubs and places of entertainment played an important role in the life of the community until about 1950, although many German Jews also found culture and entertainment outside of Washington Heights. After World War II German Jewish institutional life in the neighborhood was concentrated in the numerous immigrant synagogues founded between 1935 and 1949. Besides a dozen congregations organized by the immigrants themselves, there were several pre-existing synagogues in which they gained a majority and heavily influenced the congregational atmosphere. The synagogues influenced by German Jews in Washington Heights stretched across a broad spectrum, from the Reform Hebrew Tabernacle to right-wing Orthodox congregations.

Most of the synagogues followed Orthodox forms, though in some of them strictly observant Jews were in the minority. The largest German Jewish congregation in Washington Heights was K'hal Adath Jeshurun, founded in 1938 by former members of the separatist Orthodox community of Frankfurt, which had once been headed by Samson Raphael *Hirsch. The congregation was called Breuer's, after its first rabbi, Joseph *Breuer (1882–1980), Samson Raphael Hirsch's grandson. The Breuer community established an all-encompassing European-style communal structure highly unusual for the United States. Besides its large synagogue, social hall, and burial society, it had its own *kashrut* supervision, *mikveh*, school system from nursery school through postgraduate yeshivah, synagogue newspaper (*Mitteilungen*), and charitable and women's groups. Most of the other German synagogues in the neighborhood were also large and formal, often with several cantors, a choir, and an involved institutional structure.

Although German Jews were far from a majority of the population of Washington Heights, the German Jewish character of the neighborhood was evident in many subtle ways. Many of the immigrants spoke German at home and on the street, even after they learned some English, although the German language was almost never used in shop signs or public notices. German was also used in synagogue sermons and bulletins well into the 1960s. From the mid-1950s to the early 1970s, there was a slow transition to English after which German disappeared from every official capacity in synagogue life, though individual congregants sometimes continued conversing in German.

German Jewish culture was also evident in the conservative styles of dress and formalism in interpersonal behavior. German immigrants could often be seen sitting on benches in the park or standing in groups on the sidewalk conversing quietly in German. Some sat for hours over a cup of coffee in local restaurants talking about the olden days. As a sophisticated and educated group, many German Jews brought their libraries of German literature with them and attended classical concerts in other parts of the city. Even synagogue social events sometimes included classical music. These interests in high culture were not nearly as common among the many rural Jews who settled in Washington Heights. In general the immigrants who came to Washington Heights had a far stronger Jewish identity and more intense Jewish religious practice than German Jews who settled in other neighborhoods. Most severed their sense of connection to Germany after World War II. Though some residents of Washington Heights made occasional visits to Germany, to visit the graves of their relatives, see their hometowns, or do business, a larger number visited Israel, with which they had a far closer emotional tie.

Like most other immigrants, the great majority of the German Jews of Washington Heights sent their children to public schools, where they rapidly became acculturated to the English language as well as American political and cultural values. Most gave their children some supplemental Jewish education in synagogue Hebrew schools, though a growing proportion of the Orthodox minority sent their children to Jewish day schools. The American-born generation had little identification with the German culture of their parents, rarely learned German, and almost never spoke it to one another. They also rejected many of the cultural values of their parents, especially what they considered the older generation's formality and rigidity. Members of the second generation saw themselves as American Jews whose German background was only a small part of their identities.

The children of the immigrants generally did well economically and educationally. Unlike most of their parents, they went on to higher education and entered the professions. Probably more than half married outside the German Jewish community (but generally not outside the Jewish community). As they grew up and succeeded, most of the children of the immigrants moved away from Washington Heights to the suburbs or more prestigious neighborhoods in New York. Some of the more successful of the immigrants also moved away.

The overall ethnic makeup of Washington Heights underwent a slow but thoroughgoing change. In the late 1940s and the 1950s, blacks and Hispanics began moving in large numbers into the southern sections of Washington Heights, which soon became merely a part of Harlem. In the 1960s and 1970s people of color slowly became the majority of the population of all of Washington Heights, except a small section of northwest Washington Heights near Fort Tryon Park. Most of the white residents moved away, though German Jewish outmigration may have been a bit slower than the "flight" of other white groups. Washington Heights became a primarily Hispanic neighborhood populated mostly by people from the Dominican Republic. The shops and institutions catered mainly to the new population, with many signs in the Spanish language. The social prestige of the neighborhood declined as crime and drug trafficking increased.

As they became more and more of a minority in the neighborhood, the remaining Jews organized to defend their stake in the area. They ran candidates for the local school board, organized a safety patrol, settled recently arrived Soviet Jews in the neighborhood, and created a Jewish neighborhood council. This council was dominated by the Breuer community, whose role among Jews became ever greater. Unlike other congregations, the Breuer was able to retain a considerable portion of its American-born generations within the neighborhood.

By the late 1980s, the German Jews of Washington Heights were an aging and shrinking community mainly huddled in one part of western Washington Heights. Most of their synagogues closed, moved, or merged, many German Jewish stores and food shops closed, and the German Jewishness of the community became less and less apparent. Besides the remnant of the German Jewish immigrant community, the main Jewish elements that remained were the campus of Yeshiva University and the Russian-speaking recent arrivals, neither of whom interacted very much with the German Jews.

The "decline" of Washington Heights began to be reversed in the late 1990s and thereafter. Two groups of young people began to move into the neighborhood. The first consisted mainly of Orthodox Jewish singles and young couples, often studying at, or recently graduated from, Yeshiva University. They tended to live near the campus in the eastern part of the neighborhood or on Bennett Avenue near the Breuer synagogue. Few of them were of German-Jewish background and most stayed in the area only a few years, but they did give a boost to the German Jews who had remained. The second group consisted of upwardly mobile young professionals attracted by the area's closeness to midtown Manhattan and its picturesque views of the Hudson River. Some of these newcomers were Jews but they rarely showed much interest for the Jewish culture of the neighborhood. They tended to live in co-ops or condominiums on the streets bordering the Hudson River south of Fort Tryon Park, an area that real estate agents began to call "Hudson Heights" to distinguish it from the rest of the neighborhood. This new population brought with it many of the features of gentrification of poor neighborhoods, including finer restaurants and cultural events. By the beginning of the 21st century, real estate values in the area began to skyrocket. The remaining German Jews, in the early 21st century, who had come to America as children or adolescents, were now mostly in their 80s or even older. Whether the Jews ever return in large numbers remains to be seen.

[Steven Lowenstein (2nd ed.)]

Williamsburg. Three bridges unite the boroughs of Manhattan with Brooklyn – the Brooklyn Bridge, the Manhattan Bridge, and the Williamsburg Bridge. After it opened in 1903, the Williamsburg was nicknamed Jews' Highway because it drew immigrants from the teeming Lower East Side to the south Brooklyn neighborhood adjoining the East River. Served by trolley cars and an elevated subway line, Williamsburg became one of New York's major Jewish communities in the early part of the 20th century.

Williamsburgh (the h was later dropped) was first incorporated as a village in 1827, but its history goes back to 1638, when the Dutch West India Company purchased the land from Canarsie Indians. A period of squatting by farmers of various nationalities followed. It did not become a major residential area until 1803, when a real-estate investor, Richard Woodhull, purchased 13 acres of land, to be surveyed by his friend, Jonathan Williams, a grandnephew of Benjamin Franklin who planned and built most of the forts in New York Harbor. Williamsburg would later be named in Williams' honor.

Woodhull and Williams intended the area to be a residential alternative to Manhattan, accessible by ferry. Williamsburg became a city in 1827, with new docks, shipyards, and other businesses that profited from proximity to New York's port. The New York Navy Yard, colloquially known as the Brooklyn Navy Yard, was opened in 1801 and employed 6,000 men by the start of the Civil War. By the 1850s, Williamsburg had grown into a suburban-style city, with 31,000 people, and it was home to resorts, farms, distilleries, and breweries. It later became part of the city of Brooklyn, which joined New York City in 1898. The availability of jobs drew immigrants from Ireland, Italy, Germany, and England.

The character of Williamsburg would change dramatically, though, when the Williamsburg Bridge, built to relieve traffic on the Brooklyn Bridge, caused the displacement of almost 20,000 people and the destruction of their property. With Williamsburg linked to the Lower East Side, farms, resorts and mansions gave way to multiple-unit dwellings to accommodate the waves of immigrants. By the 1920s, the population exceeded 250,000, and the area was one of the most densely populated regions of the country.

In 1938, the growing need for public housing led to the first federal housing project in the nation, the Williamsburg Houses. The project, which cost about $12 million, accommodated 1,622 low-income families in 20 four-story apartment houses. These buildings were the forerunner of a series of low-income and middle-income subsidized housing in the borough and the city. Completed near the end of the Depression, the projects, as they were known, provided clean and fresh apartments for civil servants, small-business owners and others, regardless of religion, and were an oasis of greenery in an area of small, largely dilapidated wood-frame housing. Almost 70 years later, in the 21st century, the projects continued to provide low-rent accommodations to a changing population. The working class influx also fueled an industrial boom, and Williamsburg became a center of manufacturing until a decline in the 1950s.

After World War II, the area was host to the renaissance of the Satmar Ḥasidic sect, which was nearly obliterated by the Nazis, and a majority of Jews living in the neighborhood today are Ḥasidim. The New York Jewish Population Survey of 2002 estimated that 57,600 Jews lived in Williamsburg, 40,000 of them Ḥasidic. In 2006, the Satmar, the men distinctive by their long black coats and *shtreimels*, or fur hats, and the women by their conservative dress and wigs and turbans as head coverings, was believed to be the world's largest Ḥasidic sect with 100,000 adherents. The name Satmar comes from the Romanian Satu Mare, or large village. Members of the Pupa, Wien, and Klausenberger sects, named for the areas of Europe from which they emigrated, also had a presence in Williamsburg.

The explosion of Williamsburg Ḥasidic life began in 1946 with the arrival of the Satmar Grand Rebbe, Joel Teitelbaum, who escaped from Nazi-occupied Hungary and the Bergen-Belsen concentration camp. The community thrived, founding an extensive network of synagogues and yeshivas and organizations like Bikur Cholim, providing help and support for the sick and needy. Overcrowding led followers to establish a satellite community, Kiryas Joel, in Orange County, NY. During the 1950s and subsequent decades Williamsburg's Jews ran the gamut of religious observance and affiliation, but the non-Ḥasidic population gradually declined. When Rabbi Teitelbaum died in 1979, his nephew, Rabbi Moshe Teitelbaum, formerly known as the Sigeter Rebbe, succeeded him. Since 1999, the sect has been engulfed in conflict after Rabbi Teitelbaum named his younger son, Zalman, to lead the central Satmar synagogue, Yetev Lev Bikur Cholim, bypassing his eldest son, Aaron, whose followers were mostly in Kiryas Joel. Factions supporting both brothers battled for years in court, and occasionally on the streets, where their clashes prompted a police response.

Bedford Avenue, with historic brownstones in tip-top condition, was one of the leafier enclaves of Jewish Williamsburg, and was along the route of the annual New York City Marathon. Although they rarely ventured out of their life of study and religious practice, it was not unusual to see the Ḥasidim cheering on the runners and providing refreshments during the race. On one particularly hot day, the Ḥasidim sprayed runners with seltzer, adding to the color of the race. The shopping strip on Lee Avenue had a distinctive Jewish flavor, with decades-old businesses flourishing under signs in Yiddish and English, and restaurants and take-out stores filling the air with the scent of kosher food. Children were everywhere, an average of about eight to a family. By the early years of the century, new grand synagogues were being built by the Satmar, while a few modern Orthodox congregations, like Beth Jacob Ohev Sholom on Rodney Street, persisted.

Beneath the surface of the bustling and thriving community, however, was the reality that Williamsburg harbored one of the poorest Jewish communities in the United States, with an estimated 59 percent living below the poverty line and eligible for government services like food stamps and subsidized housing. Many large families lived in cramped apartments, and it was not uncommon to find bathtubs doubling as beds. Some of the members of the sect supported their families by working in the diamond district in Manhattan, but more commonly the men studied or worked in yeshivahs as teachers, which for many was a calling. Some also earned a kollel, or stipend, for learning. The community itself also provided free food for Shabbat.

Jews were not the only large ethnic group in the neighborhood. Spanish-speaking Latinos or Puerto Ricans had congregated in the area following the end of World War II and the need for affordable housing caused stress between the groups. This conflict required regular intervention and mediation by public officials. In 1997, during the administration of Mayor Rudolph Giuliani, the groups agreed to place proceeds from the sale of city-owned property into a housing fund that would benefit both communities. Amid the conflict, Jews and Hispanics found much common ground, fighting the closing of fire stations and opposing possible environmental hazards like a proposed incinerator on the site of the Brooklyn Navy Yard (since defeated) and hazardous lead paint falling from the Williamsburg Bridge. The area had one of the highest incidences of asthma in the city. Jews and Hispanics joined to address the influx of artists and others fleeing the exorbitant rents of Manhattan studios and apartments. They were drawn to old commercial lofts that the city rezoned for residential use in 1985. Their presence led to the opening of galleries, museums, live-music night clubs, cafes and restaurants and an avant-garde branch of the Museum of Modern Art. The Hasidim, who shun secular culture, called on members of their community to avoid renting to the artists. Both groups feared that they would be priced out of their own neighborhood if developers catered to the newcomers and that the rezoning they fought for to create affordable housing would be exploited for profit. The newcomers, however, helped to stabilize and revive the over-all neighborhood.

In the early 1950s, low-income Williamsburg was the scene of a sweeping transformation when the city planner Robert Moses designed the Brooklyn-Queens Expressway to pass through the neighborhood, cutting it in half and leaving the western segment between the highway and the East River, a destination for poor immigrants, in decline. Some 5,000 people were displaced, and numerous homes and businesses were condemned by eminent domain to clear space for the project. Many later attributed the area's high asthma rate to exhaust from the heavy expressway traffic. The Brooklyn Navy Yard was decommissioned in 1966, although it was sold to New York City and later became a major industrial park, with over 200 business tenants and 3,500 employees.

In addition to rabbinic councils and charities, the area's Jewish community was served by the United Jewish Organizations, an umbrella group affiliated with the Metropolitan Council on Jewish Poverty and the Jewish Community Relations Council of New York. Led for many years by Rabbi David Niederman, the organization lobbied for and administered government funding and acted as liaison with public officials. Jewish leaders played a significant role in charting the future of the neighborhood.

In May, 2005, Mayor Michael Bloomberg and the City Council approved a plan to rezone the North Side of Williamsburg and Greenpoint for residence and a waterfront park as well as luxury high-rises. The population of the area could increase by 40,000. The plan also aimed to attract top-name retailers. Critics lamented that the plan did nothing to return the thousands of lost manufacturing jobs to the neighborhood, which dropped from a peak of 93,000 in 1961 to fewer than 12,000 in 2006. They also feared that the city would not be able to improve transportation and safety in the area, and that it would make Williamsburg more like Manhattan.

[Adam Dickter (2nd ed.)]

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NEW YORK STATE, an eastern state of the U.S., bounded on the north and west by the St. Lawrence Seaway, Lake Ontario, and Lake Erie, and at the southern tip, by the Atlantic Ocean. Of its 18,990,000 inhabitants (as reported in 2001), about 1,657,000 are Jews (down from 2,522,000 Jews in 1969).

In 1654, 23 Spanish Portuguese Jews, refugees from the Inquisition, arrived in New Amsterdam (*New York after 1664) from Recife, Brazil, and founded the first permanent Jewish settlement in North America. They stayed in part because they had no choice: they were without resources. When Peter Stuyvesant asked the Dutch West Indies Company what to do with the refugees, Jews who were part of the company in Amsterdam were influential enough to provide for them to stay. While the tiny community did not thrive at first, one of its leaders, Asser *Levy, by 1658 had real-estate holdings as far north as Albany, and in 1678 Jacob de Lucena was trading in Kingston, up the Hudson River. Successful merchants, Luis Gomez and his sons built a trading post on the Hudson near Newburgh in 1717, and in 1732 the *Hays family settled near New Rochelle in Westchester. During the French and Indian War, Hayman *Levy, a Hanoverian, conducted a large fur trade around Lake Champlain in the north, and Lyon and Manuel *Josephson supplied goods to northern British forts. In the 1760s, some Jews settled on Long Island and in Westchester. Until the 19th century, most Jews who settled in the area that became New York State in 1788 were of Spanish-Portuguese origin.

Following the War of 1812, improvements in maritime technology and transportation, particularly the use of steam and the opening of the Erie Canal, combined to intensify Jewish settlement. Aaron *Levy, for example, visited the Lake George region from 1805 to 1834. Significant Jewish communities developed in Albany, Syracuse, Rochester, and Buffalo between 1820 and the Civil War. During the substantial German Jewish immigration that began during the 1830s, many immigrants settled along the upper transportation routes to the Middle West: Newburgh (1848), Poughkeepsie (1848), Kingston (1853), Hudson (1867), *Albany (1838), Schenectady (1840s), Troy (1850s), Amsterdam (1874), Gloversville (1850s), *Utica (1848), Syracuse (1839), *Rochester (1848), and *Buffalo (1847) on the Hudson-Mohawk River route. Other settlements were founded in Binghamton (1885), Elmira (1850), and Olean (1882) along the southern Susquehanna River, Plattsburgh (1861) on Lake Champlain, and Ogdensburg (1865) on the St. Lawrence River. Isaac M. Wise, the principal architect of Reform Judaism in the United States, served briefly in Albany beginning in 1846. There he established the custom of mixed seating in American synagogues. By 1860 there were 20 congregations in the state and 53 by 1877. These Jews were predominantly merchants and peddlers, while some were farmers. By 1909 there were seven Jewish farmers' organizations in the state, and the first Jewish farmers' credit union was formed in 1911.

An estimated 60,000–80,000 Jews lived in the state in 1880. East European immigration increased that number to

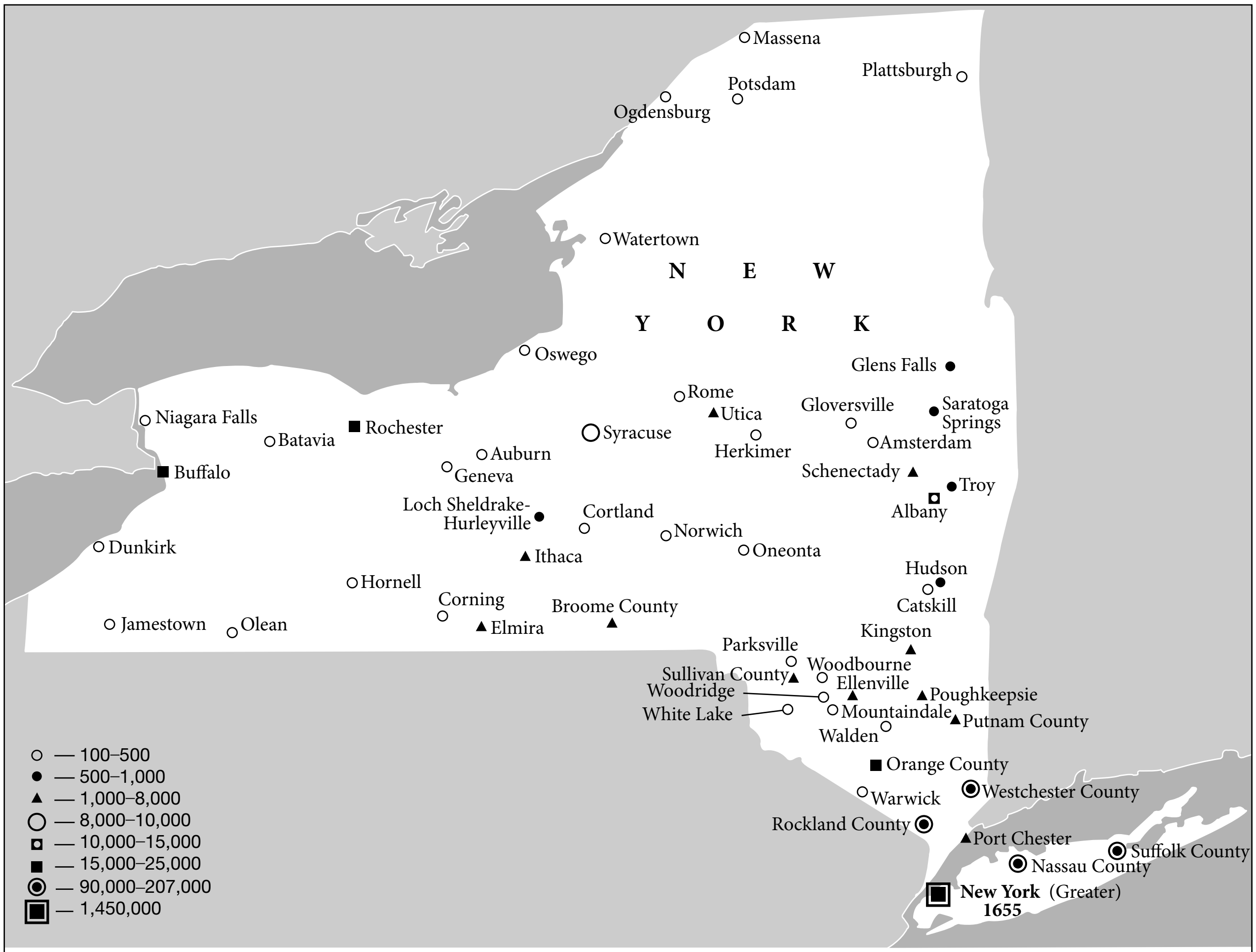
Massena
Potsdam
Plattsburgh
Ogdensburg
Watertown
N E W
Y O R K
Oswego
Glens Falls
Rome
Utica
Gloversville
Saratoga Springs
Niagara Falls
Rochester
Syracuse
Herkimer
Amsterdam
Batavia
Auburn
Schenectady
Buffalo
Geneva
Troy
Loch Sheldrake-Hurleyville
Cortland
Albany
Norwich
Oneonta
Dunkirk
Ithaca
Hudson
Hornell
Catskill
Corning
Broome County
Jamestown
Olean
Elmira
Kingston
Parksville
Woodbourne
Sullivan County
Ellenville
Woodridge
Poughkeepsie
White Lake
Mountaindale
Putnam County
Walden
Orange County
Westchester County
Warwick
Rockland County
Port Chester
Suffolk County
Nassau County
New York (Greater)
1655
○ — 100–500
● — 500–1,000
▲ — 1,000–8,000
○ — 8,000–10,000
▣ — 10,000–15,000
■ — 15,000–25,000
◉ — 90,000–207,000
▣ — 1,450,000

Total Jewish population of New York	1,657,000
% of Jews in general population of New York	8.7
% of New York Jews in Jewish population of U.S.	26.92

Jewish communities in New York. Population figures for 2001.

900,000 by 1910. By 1928 the number reached 1,835,500. Although most of the East Europeans settled in New York City, others, encouraged to alleviate congestion, went to towns in the north, such as Haverstraw (1896), Ossining (1891), Peekskill (1894), New Rochelle (1880s), Lake Placid (1903), Liberty (1880s), Spring Valley (1901), Yonkers (1860s), Mamaroneck (1890), Massena (1897), Suffern (1880s), and Tarrytown (1887), as well as Ithaca (1891) in the central part of the state. In 1940, 90% of the state's 2,206,328 (1937 figure) Jews resided in the city. However, the next two decades saw a flow to the suburbs. In 1940 fewer than 100,000 Jews lived in all the New York City suburbs, but Nassau, fueled by returning GIs owning their own homes, had 329,000 Jews by 1956 and 372,000 in 1968; Suffolk, 20,000 by 1956 and 42,000 in 1968 and 90,000 at the turn of the 21st century; and Westchester, 116,900 by 1956 and 131,000 in 1968 (the number has been stable since).

In 1902, Jewish organizations established summer camps for urban Jewish youth, beginning with the Educational Alliance's Surprise Lake Camp, in Cold Spring. And Jews made themselves felt on rural Long Island, too. In 1909, a Jewish dentist, Dr. Henry W. Walden, invented and flew the first American monoplane from Mineola Airport. One Long Island company, the Elberson Rubber Factory in Setauket, had so many Jews on its payroll that it had to close for the High

Holidays, even though the owners weren't Jewish. The Baron de Hirsh Jewish Agricultural Society operated a training farm in Kings Park and farm communities in Center Moriches, Riverhead, Calverton, East Islip, and Farmingdale. Turn-of-the-century Centerport was the home of a camp for boys and young men operated by the 92nd Street Y. It advertised "the finest in kosher cuisine."

Relief from summer heat, sweatshops, and squalor led to the development of the "Borscht Belt" in Sullivan, Ulster, and Orange counties. Some left the Lower East Side and bought small farms. But farming was not their forte, and soon the farms became boarding houses, then inns and bungalow colonies for visitors from the city. The guests insisted on entertainment, and by the 1920s that became a major undertaking. Waiters and busboys doubled as comics and entertainers, or tummlers, while the social directors became impresarios. Among the social directors were Moss *Hart, the future playwright, and Don Hartman, who became head of Paramount Pictures. The tummlers included David Daniel Kaminsky, Aaron Chwatt, Jacob Pincus Perelmuth, Morris Miller, Eugene Klass, Joseph Levitch, Milton Berlinger, Joseph Gottlieb and Murray Janofsky, later to become well-known as Danny Kaye, Red Buttons, Jan Peerce, Robert Merrill, Gene Barry, Jerry Lewis, Milton Berle, Joey Bishop, and Jan Murray.

The queen of the mountains was Jennie Grossinger, who became the region's best-known hostess, and her namesake hotel the most imitated. One of the imitators was Arthur Winarick, the bald manufacturer of Jeris hair tonic and the owner of the Concord Hotel, who constantly tried to one-up Grossinger's. In later years, television, jet travel, and increased competition proved serious threats to the region, and Grossinger's was sold in 1985 for conversion to condominiums and ski houses. Dozens of hotels closed or became retreats for religious cultists.

For 100 years, beginning at the end of the 19th century, Jewish life had a presence in the area. Synagogues were constructed in almost every hamlet. By 1999, 15 remained. Seven of them were listed on the National Register of Historic Places. They were: Agudas Achim, Livingston Manor; B'nai Israel, Woodbourne; Anshei Glen Wild, Glen Wild; Bikur Cholim B'nai Yisroel, Swan Lake; Chevra Ahavath Zion, Monticello; Tifereth Israel Anshei, Parksville; and the Jewish Community Center of White Sulphur Springs. Sharon Springs developed as a high-end Jewish refuge. After World War II, Sharon Springs got a second wind from the West German government, which paid medical care reparations to Holocaust survivors, holding that therapeutic spa vacations were a legitimate part of the medical package. Many hotel guests had tattoos on their arms.

Politically, the roster of New York Jews who served in Congress began in the 19th century and included Edwin Einstein (1879–81); Joseph Pulitzer (1883–85); Isidor Straus (1894–95); Israel Frederick Fischer (1894–95); Lucius N. Littauer (1897–1907); Mitchell May (1899–1901); and Jefferson M. Levy (1899–1901; 1911–15). In the 20th century, Herbert Tenzer (1965–69) was the first Orthodox Jew in Congress; Allard K. Lowenstein (1869–71), a leader of the anti-war movement, won election from Long Island, and Gary L. Ackerman (1983–), representing Queens and Long Island, was host in his office to *minḥah* prayers each afternoon at the Capitol.

Herbert H. *Lehman was governor from 1933 to 1942, and U.S. senator from 1949 to 1957. Jacob K. *Javits served as U.S. senator from 1957 to 1981. Charles *Schumer first served as a congressman and later as a senator beginning in 1998. Benjamin N. *Cardozo (1927–32), Irving Lehman (1940–45), and Stanley H. Fuld (1966-73) were chief justices of the Court of Appeals, the state's highest bench. Pressure from Jewish members of the State Legislature led to the passage of the Fair Employment Practice Act in 1945, the first in the U.S. to prohibit discrimination in employment practices.

Jewish newspapers were published in Buffalo (since 1918), Rochester (1924), Westchester (1942), Long Island (1944), and Schenectady (1965).

[Edward L. Greenstein]

The 1,657,000 Jews of New York State represented around 9% of the total population of the state. New York City, long the most populous and influential of the American Jewish communities, had fewer than 1,000,000, with the Bronx being virtually without Jews except for Riverdale (45,000), Manhattan having 243,500 Jews, Brooklyn 456,000, Queens 186,000, and Staten Island 42,700. The metropolitan area, which included the suburbs as well as those in New Jersey and lower Connecticut, was the most predominant Jewish community outside of Israel, containing some 40% of all American Jews. Excluding New York City, there are more than 513 synagogues in New York State and some 50 *mikvehs*. Other population centers include: Nassau County (221,000), Suffolk County (90,000), Westchester (129,000), Rockland County (90,000), Rochester (22,500), Orange County (including Monroe and Newburgh, 19,000), Buffalo (18,500), Albany (12,000), and Syracuse (9,000).

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NEW ZEALAND, independent country and member of the Commonwealth, situated in the South Pacific. In 1829, some 60 years after the rediscovery of New Zealand, the Sydney firm of Cooper and Levy established itself in the South Island at Port Cooper (Lyttleton) and Port Levy, a little to the north. Solomon Levy, the Jewish partner, later became a benefactor of both Jewish and Christian educational and charitable institutions. During the next decade, other Jewish traders began to arrive. In 1830 Joseph Barrow Montefiore (a member of the English *Montefiore family) from Sydney established Montefiore Brothers, dealing largely in flax and whale oil. In 1831 Joel Samuel *Polack, author of two books on New Zealand, came first to Hokianga to trade and deal in land. He shortly

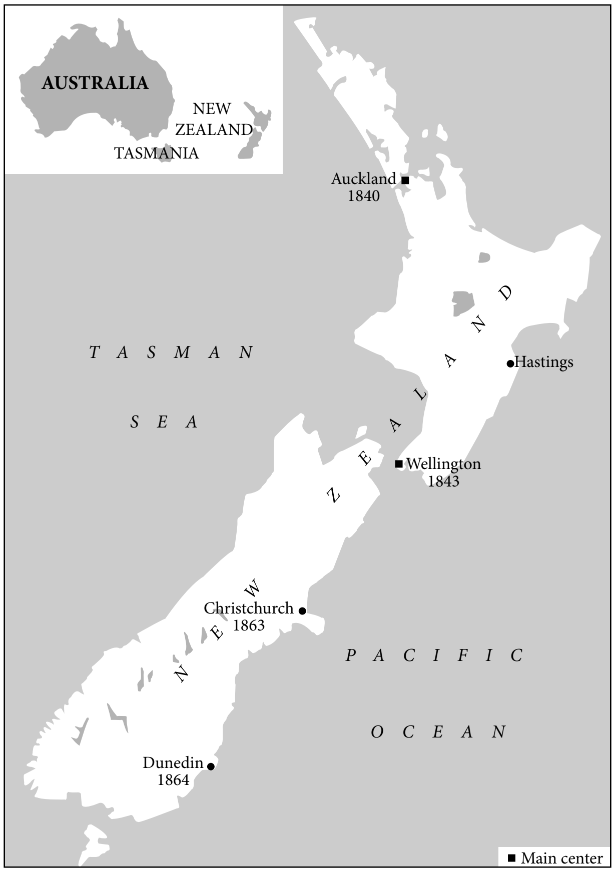

Jewish communities in New Zealand with dates of establishment.

transferred to Kororareka, Bay of Islands, where a cousin of J.B. Montefiore had established a trading post in 1831. Four other Jews were resident at Kororareka in 1838, but along with David *Nathan who had arrived in 1839 they moved to Auckland after it was made the capital in 1840. With a handful of other Jewish storekeepers and traders, David Nathan founded the Auckland Jewish community. Members of the congregation read the services and conducted religious functions – a pattern to be followed elsewhere in New Zealand. The first ordained minister (J.E. Myers of Auckland) was appointed to a New Zealand congregation in 1859.

In Wellington the first Jewish arrival appears to have been Abraham Hort, Jr. who came in 1840 with two carpenter brothers, Solomon and Benjamin Levy. These were followed in 1843 by Abraham *Hort, Sr. (1799–1869), a London Jewish communal leader who went to New Zealand with the intention of founding a community and promoting planned immigration to relieve Jewish poverty in England, through the New Zealand Company which in 1840 had begun colonizing parts of the country. Although successful in founding the Wellington community, he failed to achieve his immigration plans. The discovery of gold in Otago and Westland in the 1860s led directly or indirectly to the establishment of the communities of *Dunedin and *Christchurch and to the temporary founding of those in Hokitika, Timaru, and Nelson; the Timaru synagogue still stands without a congregation. David Isaacs, formerly of the Wellington and Dunedin congregations, was appointed shortly after 1863 to Nelson, and I. Zachariah of the gold-mining town of Hokitika was appointed in 1870 to the Christchurch congregation. Most of the ordained ministers came from Jews' College, England, including Herman Van Staveren (Wellington, 1877–1930) and Alexander Astor (Dunedin and Auckland, 1926–71). Chananiah Pitkowsky (Wellington, 1905–30) and the brothers N. Salas (Auckland and Christchurch, 1929–58) and M. Salas (Auckland, 1934–55) came from Ereẓ Israel.

New Zealand's links with Ereẓ Israel date from the time of the Crimean War, when money was being collected in Auckland and Wellington for starving Jews in Ereẓ Israel. In 1862 Jacob *Saphir of Jerusalem visited Dunedin on a similar mission. Before New Zealand became a British colony in 1840, the Jewish population numbered less than 30. By 1861 it had risen to 326 (0.3% of the total), and six years later to 1,262 (0.6%). The gold rushes brought hundreds of Jews there, but by the 1870s their number had fallen to approximately 0.2%, above which it has never risen. The Jewish population numbered 1,611 in 1901, 2,380 in 1921, 3,470 in 1945, 4,006 (out of 2,750,000) in 1961, and just over 4,000 in 1968. In the 1980s significant numbers of Jews settled in New Zealand from the former U.S.S.R. and especially from South Africa. The number of Jews by religion reported in the 1991 New Zealand Census was 3,126. Most observers regard the actual number as significantly higher, in the range of 4,500–5,000. The vast majority of Jews are distributed between New Zealand's largest city, Auckland, and the country's capital, Wellington. For much of the country's history these two centers have had comparable numbers of Jews. However, from about the mid-1980s as Auckland's growth continued to outpace that of the rest of the country, so too the numbers of Jews in Auckland began to significantly outnumber the numbers in Wellington. Apart from the city's position as New Zealand's economic capital – with roughly one in four New Zealanders residing there – the imbalance between the two communities has also been the result of larger numbers of South African Jews choosing to migrate there.

For much of New Zealand's history there have been highly restrictive government policies on immigration, with migrants from Great Britain receiving preference. Only a minuscule number of Jews seeking to flee from Europe during the years of Nazi rule were able to gain entry to New Zealand. Similarly, after the war only a small number of homeless Jewish refugees were admitted to the country. Those fleeing persecution in Russia and Eastern Europe during the Cold War also faced strong obstacles if they sought haven in New Zealand.

Those European Jews who did manage to go to New Zealand generally did so through family or communal ties to New Zealand Jews. Jewish leaders also made strenuous efforts to assist Jews trying to go to New Zealand, lobbying parliamentarians and cabinet ministers. Communal organizations were established to provide aid to Jewish immigrants to what was, for nearly all of them, a vastly different country from the one they left.

The Jews arriving in the 1930s had an impact on the New Zealand community, as some of them brought with them styles of worship and observance distinct from the largely ex-British Jewry of the country's congregations. Subsequent groups of migrants – including Jews fleeing the Hungarian uprising in 1956, former Soviet Jews during the 1980s and 1990s, and Jews leaving South Africa during the 1990s – have each had an impact on Jewish communities through participation in various communal organizations.

Assimilation into New Zealand society by the country's Jews reflects their being comfortable with the country's predominantly secular outlook and the overall absence of overt antisemitism. The growth of the Jewish population has been small not only because of assimilation and intermarriage, but because there has been substantial emigration from New Zealand over the years, particularly to Australia, by all New Zealanders, Jews among them. Emigration to Israel – *aliyah* – has been a further factor affecting communal growth and vitality, not only in absolute numbers but because many of those emigrating to Israel, identifying with the country and seeking a stronger Jewish lifestyle, have been those who, had they remained, would have been expected to be among the leaders of their communities.

Today, though complemented by various Zionist, social, and educational organizations, the synagogues remain the hub of the communities in Auckland and Wellington, where there are Orthodox ministers under the authority of the chief rabbi in London. Progressive congregations exist in Auckland (1959) and Wellington (1960). Smaller communal groups are also to be found elsewhere, in Christchurch, Dunedin, and Hamilton. Jewish youth groups continue to exist in Auckland and Wellington, with small numbers of Jews going annually on various programs to Israel – for some, the beginning of a process culminating in eventual *aliyah*.

From the turn of the century, Jewish social and welfare organizations have developed. Internationally affiliated *B'nai B'rith lodges were established in Wellington (1960) and Auckland (1961). The first national monthly Jewish journal, the *New Zealand Jewish Times*, was started in the 1920s. In 1971, there was one monthly newspaper, the *New Zealand Jewish Chronicle*.

Interest in Zionism was rather academic until the *Balfour Declaration and the return after World War I of units from the Palestine campaign. After 1918 Louis Phillips of Auckland, who had been New Zealand's first delegate to the International Zionist Conference, led the Zionist movement. A number of young New Zealanders settled in Israel after 1948.

Free from any discriminatory disabilities, the Jews in New Zealand have made valuable contributions to the country's development and progress. Sir Julius *Vogel, twice premier (1873–75 and 1876), has been called New Zealand's most far-sighted statesman, while Sir Arthur *Myers was minister of munitions in World War I. Almost every major city in New Zealand has honored a Jew as its chief magistrate. There have been five Jewish mayors of New Zealand's largest city, Auckland; these were Philip A. Philips (1869–74) and Henry Isaacs in the 1870s, Sir Arthur Myers (1905–08), Sir Ernest David (1935–41), and Sir Dove-Myer Robinson (1959–65 and 1968–80). Sir Michael *Myers of Wellington was Chief Justice from 1929 to 1946 and acted as administrator during the absence of the governor. Some noteworthy Jewish names in New Zealand journalism have been Julius Vogel, Benjamin *Farjeon the poet and novelist, Fred Pirani, Mark Cohen, and Phineas Selig, and in medicine Sir Louis Barnett (surgery), Alfred Bernstein (chest diseases), and Bernard Myers (medical services). Wolf Heinemann, the philologist of Dunedin, was the first Jew to be appointed professor in a New Zealand university (Otago, 1895). Jews have pioneered in both business and farming. The oldest business in New Zealand is that of L.D. Nathan and Company. Joseph Nathan (Wellington) developed the Glaxo pharmaceutical company, a worldwide concern now operating chiefly from England, while the establishment of New Zealand's steel mills owes much to the industrialist Sir Woolf Fisher. Jews were instrumental in developing New Zealand's brewing and hotel industries, and in the wholesale and retail clothing industries they formed early national groups. Among Jewish farmers and agriculturalists was Coleman Phillips, who formed the first cooperative dairy farm in either Australia or New Zealand. In other aspects of New Zealand life, particularly sporting, cultural, and artistic, Jews have also played their full part.

The number of Jews in New Zealand was estimated at around 5,000 in 1980, most of whom lived in Auckland and Wellington, in roughly equal numbers. There was still considerable assimilation, with a high proportion of Jews marrying non-Jewish partners, some of whom chose to convert to Judaism.

In October 1980, Colin King, an Orthodox Jew, was elected mayor of Auckland succeeding Sir Dove Myer Robinson, also Jewish, who had served as mayor for 12 years. Two Jewish day schools exist in New Zealand – Kadimah College in Auckland, opened in the late 1970s, and Moriah College in Wellington, opened in 1987. There are also Jewish preschool facilities.

In 1981 the fresh supply of kosher meat for the Wellington Jewish community was organized by the Wellington Hebrew Congregation's board of management as a cooperative which functions at the local Jewish community center.

The New Zealand Jewish Council was established in 1981 as an umbrella organization authorized to represent the New Zealand Jewish community, and Wally Hirsch of Wellington was chosen to be the first chairman of the council. The council subsequently relocated in Auckland. Regional councils were also established, with leadership of the New Jewish Council alternating between community leaders in Auckland and Wellington.

Relations between the Jewish community and the New Zealand government soured considerably under the Labor government led by David Lange (1984–90), which constantly criticized Israeli policy on the West Bank and opened a dialogue with the PLO. Left-wing unions in New Zealand, powerful under the Labor government, tended to be dominated by hard anti-American elements who are also anti-Zionist. Relations improved following the return of the more conservative, pro-American National Party government in 1990.

A number of books have appeared over the last few years on New Zealand Jewish life, including Ann Beaglehole's *A Small Price to Pay: Refugees from Hitler in New Zealand, 1936–46* (1988), on the very restrictive government policy toward Nazi-era refugees, as well as her *Facing the Past: Looking Back at Refugee Childhood in New Zealand, 1940s-1960s* (1990), which contains accounts of 20th-century Jewish migration to (and adaptation in) New Zealand; Odeda Rosenthal's *Not Strictly Kosher: Pioneer Jews in New Zealand* (1988); and Ann Gluckman's two volumes on the Auckland community, *Identity and Involvement: Auckland Jewry Past and Present* (1990, 1993). Stephen Levine's commemorative volume on the Wellington Jewish community, *A Standard for the People: The 150th Anniversary of the Wellington Hebrew Congregation 1843–1993* (1995) describes the community groups, leaders, rabbis, and families of the Wellington congregation. His book *The New Zealand Jewish Community* (1999) is an analysis of New Zealand's Jewish organizations, part of a worldwide study of Jewish community groups sponsored by the Jerusalem Center for Public Affairs. In 2005 the New Zealand government's Ministry for Culture and Heritage launched its online Encyclopedia of New Zealand, including a chapter (with text and illustrations) on the country's Jews: see Stephen Levine, "Jews [of New Zealand]," in *Te Ara: the Encyclopedia of New Zealand*, New Zealand government, Ministry for Culture and Heritage, 2005 (online): *http://www.teara.govt.nz/NewZealanders/NewZealandPeoples/Jews/en.htm*

Other publications of note include Livia K. Wittmann, *Interactive Identities: Jewish Women in New Zealand* (1998) and Lotte Weiss, *My Two Lives* (2003) – the latter a biography by a Holocaust survivor who subsequently went to Wellington.

A conference was held in Auckland in 1994 under the heading "Beyond 2000 – Jewish Continuity in New Zealand," which provided a forum for frank analysis. The community, still numbering about 5,000, struggles with problems of resources stemming from a lack of involvement and persistently high rates of emigration, both by young and old alike.

During the 1990s the Jewish day schools in Auckland and Wellington continued to maintain high academic standards and substantial enrollments. In both cases, however, there were generally as many non-Jewish students as Jewish, somewhat defeating the purpose of establishing Jewish day schools. Other positive developments during this period included immigration from South Africa and the former Soviet Union; the maintenance of synagogues in Auckland and Wellington (for both Orthodox and Progressive congregations); and the continued distribution of the national Jewish newspaper, the *New Zealand Jewish Chronicle*. An important means of communication is also the various congregational newsletters distributed to the membership.

Expressions of anti-Jewish prejudice were sporadic, although declining support for Israel worldwide and an increasingly antagonistic news media made possible often virulent anti-Jewish and anti-Israel correspondence in the country's newspapers. While the influence of organized religion in New Zealand continued to decline, there was an increase in interfaith activity by the Council of Christians and Jews. The campaign of the Anglican Church to remove references to "Zion" from the Psalms was reversed (see below). Where appropriate, Jewish community leaders involved themselves in lobbying with the government, although the presence of an Israeli ambassador in Wellington made intervention by Jewish leaders seem less necessary than during the pre-1975 period. The New Zealand government joined with other countries in cosponsoring the successful United Nations resolution reversing the "Zionism is Racism" resolution.

New Zealand's Jewish community in 2005 remained focused around the congregations of Auckland and Wellington. Unlike the colonial period, when the country was being established, or the era during which New Zealand's primary businesses were being developed, Jews were less conspicuous as leading figures within New Zealand society. Although several members of Parliament had Jewish ancestry, there were no members of Parliament identifying themselves as Jews. The communities in Auckland and Wellington were the focal point of much Jewish spiritual and cultural activity, and the leadership of these communities in turn continued to focus on the usual problems of small communities, reflecting limited human and financial resources. As has been the case for some time, rabbinical leadership has been available from non-Commonwealth sources – the United States and Israel – as well as from the United Kingdom and Australia.

The community's concerns about security and survival were augmented by a number of factors during the post-1996 era, a period that coincides with New Zealand's introduction of a new electoral system (based on proportional representation) giving greater political strength to smaller groups that previously were unable to gain much if any representation in Parliament or government. One of the smaller parties, the Greens, has been more hostile to the United States, even opposing a parliamentary resolution of support in the aftermath of September 11, 2001. Another party, New Zealand First, has had much of its support based on its hostility to immigration, a stance that, for some, lends legitimacy to feelings of hostility to immigrants, law-abiding or otherwise. The opportunity for more politically marginal groups to gain a voice, and influence, has coincided with an increased antipathy toward Israel on the part of the news media and the government, particularly with the election of a Labor coalition in 1999. Even when the U.S. government signaled its loss of confidence in Yasser Arafat, the New Zealand government continued its contacts with him, extending to a visit and a handshake in Ramallah from New Zealand's minister of foreign affairs.

The attacks on Jewish cemeteries in Wellington (see below), as well as an attack at a small Jewish memorial in the provincial city of Wanganui, provoked considerable alarm and distress, particularly among remaining Holocaust survivors – migrants from Europe who had been in New Zealand for decades – and their descendants. Their sensitivities have been affected as well by elements of "Holocaust denial" in New Zealand, including controversies at several New Zealand universities. Victoria University introduced a course on the Holocaust in its History program in 2001, making a permanent staff appointment in this subject in 2003. Intermittent (though well-publicized) attempts by a British Holocaust denier, David *Irving, to go to New Zealand have also attracted considerable attention, with editorial writers, talk-back radio participants, and newspaper letter-writers divided over questions about the Holocaust, freedom of expression, and other issues. In 2004 the New Zealand government denied permission for him to go to New Zealand based on a conviction in another jurisdiction.

New Zealand's Jews thus faced the future with some of their institutions intact (but lacking strong numbers); with congregations in place in Auckland and Wellington (but facing decisions about resources and about possible relocation, particularly in Auckland); and with some concern about the reputation of Israel, and the image of Jews (and Judaism), in the news media (both New Zealand-based and from overseas) and more widely.

Antisemitism

Antisemitism (often influenced from abroad) has appeared at times over the years, particularly in periods of economic hardship, but its manifestations have been limited.

In 1989 the Anglican Church in New Zealand changed its Prayer Book to omit any references to "Zion," substituting phrases like "God's Holy City." According to Jewish sources, this was made in part through anti-Zionist pressures, although this has been officially denied by the Anglican Church. On the other hand, Councils of Christians and Jews have been established in Auckland and Wellington.

There was a small but often noisy extreme right-wing movement in New Zealand associated with the Australian League of Rights, as well as antisemitic Christian fundamentalist groups, but levels of antisemitism continued to be low, with few reports of anti-Jewish vandalism or violence. In 1990, there was a serious knife attack on school children at Kadimah College by a deranged non-Jewish woman who was placed under psychiatric care.

However, in 2004 unprecedented events occurred that led to a renewed focus on the dangers of anti-Jewish sentiments in New Zealand. Following a strong public statement from New Zealand's prime minister, Labor leader Helen Clark, downgrading relations with Israel in the wake of an attempt by an alleged Israeli intelligence agent to obtain a New Zealand passport, the historic Jewish cemetery in the capital, containing the graves of early Jewish settlers, was vandalized. Despite an outcry, no arrests were made. Only several weeks later a second Jewish cemetery, currently in use, was also attacked, and the Jewish prayer house at the site was set ablaze. Once again the police were unable to apprehend anyone. In response to this second desecration – each event found New Zealand gaining unwelcome international publicity – the New Zealand Parliament passed a unanimous resolution deploring antisemitism, with many members of the Jewish community watching from the public gallery. The resolution, introduced and passed on August 17, 2004, was moved by Acting Prime Minister Michael Cullen, who opened the debate, saying: "It is a sad day for this nation when it comes to the point that it is necessary to move a motion of this sort in Parliament."

The resolution, unprecedented for New Zealand, stated: "That this House deplores recent attacks on Jewish graves and a Jewish chapel in Wellington; recalls the terrible history of antisemitism stretching over many centuries, culminating in the Holocaust under Nazi rule; and expresses its unequivocal condemnation of antisemitism, violence directed against Jews and Jewish religious and cultural institutions and all forms of racial and ethnic hatred, persecution and discrimination."

Following speeches by each of New Zealand's party leaders, the speaker of the New Zealand House of Representatives rose and, unusually, made his own personal statement, describing the events this way: "In all the 37-and-a-half years I have been in Parliament, this, for me, has been one of the most shocking incidents I have ever noted in this country." He then announced that he was sending the text of the resolution, and all of the speeches made with respect to it, to the speaker of the Knesset, Israel's parliament. Subsequently the speaker of the Knesset expressed his appreciation for the resolution and the action taken by New Zealand's speaker.

Relations with Israel

Friendly ties between the two countries go back to the relations established between the *yishuv* and New Zealand soldiers who served in Palestine and the Middle East during the two world wars. Israel honored the Australian and New Zealand soldiers (ANZAC) by erecting a memorial near Be'eri in southern Israel. New Zealand voted for the partition of Palestine in 1947 and accorded Israel recognition early in 1949. In the early postwar period New Zealand still maintained only a very small foreign service, with embassies located only in a handful of overseas capitals. However, even following subsequent growth in its international representation, New Zealand chose not to be directly represented in Israel, opting instead for one of its ambassadors elsewhere (for many years its ambassador in the Hague) to be accredited to Israel. Israel's ambassador to Australia was accredited to New Zealand until 1975 when the first resident ambassador arrived in Wellington. This asymmetry continued until 2003 when the Israeli government chose to close the Wellington embassy (and consulates in other countries) in a move described by Israel's

Ministry of Foreign Affairs as being taken for financial reasons. As a result, Israel's representation in New Zealand was provided from this point on by an honorary consul; the first such appointee was David Zwartz, who was also head of the New Zealand Jewish Council (and, for one term, a member of the Wellington City Council).

During the early years following Israel's reestablishment as an independent state, New Zealand gave the country its support at the United Nations. New Zealand does not recognize Jerusalem as Israel's capital and, accordingly, the country's news media, and particularly publicly owned broadcast services, refrain from describing the city as part of Israel. New Zealand's reliance on oil imports, as well as its at times highly profitable trade with Arab countries, contributed to a desire on the part of the government (under both National and Labor administrations) to maintain a more distant relationship with Israel. Following the Yom Kippur War in October 1973 the New Zealand government tended to adopt a more pro-Arab stance, but popular support for Israel's achievements continued.

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[Stephen Levine (2nd ed.)]

NEYRAC, PIERRE, pen name of **Naphtali Cohen** (1898–1960), novelist. A fourth-generation Palestinian, Neyrac immigrated to France in 1927 and practiced as a physician. He expressed nostalgia for his homeland in three novels, *L'indifférence perdue* (1933), *La mort de Frida* (1934), and *La jeunesse d'Elias* (1956).

NEẒER SERENI (Heb. נֵצֶר סֵירֶנִי), kibbutz in central Israel, between Nes Ẓiyyonah and Ramleh, founded on June 20, 1948, during a short cease-fire of the Israel *War of Independence, by "Kibbutz Buchenwald," composed of young survivors of the Holocaust who, while still in a displaced persons' camp, had formed a pioneering group for settlement in Palestine. The site, a German farm from the beginning of the century, was temporarily used during World War I as Gen. *Allenby's headquarters. After the 1951–52 split in *Ha-Kibbutz ha-Me'uḥad a large minority group from *Givat Brenner decided to join Kibbutz Neẓer which was affiliated with Iḥud ha-Kevuẓot veha-Kibbutzim. In 1968 the kibbutz numbered 510 inhabitants, in 2002 it was 499. The kibbutz engaged in intensive farming and started up three industrial plants, for foodstuffs, metal, and wood products. The name "Neẓer" ("Young Shoot") refers to Kibbutz Buchenwald's origins. After the members of Givat Brenner joined, the kibbutz was named Neẓer Sereni to commemorate the Haganah parachutist Enzo *Sereni, who had been a member of Givat Brenner.

[Efraim Orni]

NEZHIN, city in Chernigov district, Ukraine. Jews first settled in Nezhin in the early 17th century, but the community was destroyed during the Khmelnitski uprising. They resettled there in the early 18th century. The *ẓaddik* Dov Ber of *Lubavich, the son of *Shneur Zalman of Lyady, the "middle rabbi" of Chabad Ḥasidism, died and was interred in Nezhin in 1827. The town became a center for the Chabad Ḥasidim of the Ukraine. It was especially well known while Israel Noah *Schneersohn lived there from 1867 to 1882. In 1847, 1,299 Jews were registered in the community; in 1897 there were 7,631 Jews (24% of the total population). The waves of pogroms which overtook Russian Jewry on July 20–22, 1881, and in 1905 also affected the Jews of Nezhin. On September 2, 1919, Nezhin's Jews were attacked by soldiers of the "volunteer army" of *Denikin, 100 Jews were killed, many women raped, and much property pillaged. The dead included Menahem Mendel Ḥen, rabbi of Nezhin. The Yiddish poet *Mani-Leib (Mani-Leib Brahinski) was born there. In 1926, there were 6,131 Jews in Nezhin (16.1% of the population), their number dropping in 1939 to 2,725 (7% of the total population). The Germans occupied the town on September 13, 1941. Most of the Jews succeeded in escaping. The few dozens who remained were killed by October 1941. In 1959 there were 1,400 Jews (3% of the total population) in Nezhin.

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[Yehuda Slutsky]

NEZIKIN (Heb. נְזִיקִין; "torts"), fourth order of the Mishnah according to the order given by Simeon b. Lakish (Shab. 31a), although according to another tradition (Tanḥuma in Num. R. 13:15), it is the sixth. Originally *Nezikin* was the name of the first tractate only (see below). Because of Simeon b. Lakish's homily applying to it the word *yeshu'ot* ("salvation") in Isaiah 33:6, it is so called in many rabbinic sources, including the Tosefta. *Nezikin* is devoted to civil law (except for matrimonial law, dealt with in the order **Nashim*), and the administration of justice and legal procedure, as well as penal law insofar as the subject does not appertain to some other part of the Mishnah. The tractate **Eduyyot* was included in *Nezikin* because it contains "testimonies" most of which were given before the Sanhedrin of *Jabneh after the destruction of the Temple, and is consequently connected with the tractate **Sanhedrin*. **Avodah Zarah* was placed in *Nezikin* because it deals with the *halakhot* of idolatry, some of which are given in *Sanhedrin-Makkot*, and also because it opens with prohibitions against trade with idolators, thus connecting it with the tractate *Nezikin* (**Bava Kamma*, **Bava Meẓia*, and **Bava Batra*), which gives the laws of trade in general. The inclusion of the aggadic tractate *Avot*, which deals with moral maxims, is due to the fact that it contains an exceptional number of instructions to **dayyanim*, dealt with in *Sanhedrin*.

Nezikin contains ten tractates, although at first there were only seven, the first three originally forming one tractate now divided into *Bava Kamma, Bava Meẓia*, and *Bava*

Batra (see Av. Zar. in Mishnah Kaufmann and Cambridge, etc.). The name of the first tractate was then applied to the whole order. *Sanhedrin* and **Makkot* were also originally one tractate (and are so in the Kaufmann and Parma Mishnah, in *genizah* fragments, and elsewhere), which contained 14 chapters; they were divided into two tractates, also apparently in Babylon, for reasons that are not yet sufficiently clear. Thus in the order *Nezikin*, too, the tractates were originally arranged according to the number of chapters in descending order. *Nezikin* has the following separate tractates: *Bava Kamma*, with 10 chapters; *Bava Meẓia*, 10; *Bava Batra*, 10; *Sanhedrin*, 11; *Makkot*, 3; **Shevu'ot*, 8; *Eduyyot*, 8; *Avodah Zarah*, 5; *Avot*, 5; and **Horayot*, 3.

In the Tosefta of *Nezikin* each of the three *Bavot* has 11 chapters; *Sanhedrin*, 14; *Makkot*, 4 (or 5); *Shevu'ot*, 6; *Eduyyot*, 3; *Avodah Zarah*, 9 (or 8); and *Horayot*, 2 chapters; there is no Tosefta to *Avot*. *Eduyyot* and *Avot* have no *Gemara* in either the Jerusalem or the Babylonian Talmud. The importance of nearly all the tractates in the sphere of practical *halakhah* led to an abundant development of these spheres in rabbinic literature. Especially comprehensive is the literature on the first three tractates and on *Shevu'ot*, about which innumerable studies and commentaries have been written, which have material discussed in the responsa of all periods, and which (together with **Ketubbot* in the order *Nashim*) encompass the whole of Jewish civil law.

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[David Joseph Bornstein / Stephen G. Wald (2nd ed.)]

°**NICANOR**, one of the Syrian officers sent by *Lysias to fight against Judah Maccabee. He is mentioned at length in I and II Maccabees, both passages giving an account of the battle of Emmaus in which Nicanor and Gorgias were defeated by Judah. There is also mention of a Syrian commander called Nicanor who played an important role in the war against Judah in the time of Demetrius. He attempted to approach Judah peacefully or, as another version has it, to capture him by deceit. At all events he was unsuccessful. Enraged that Judah had eluded him once and later defeated him in a battle near Kefar Shalem, he threatened to wreak his vengeance on the Temple and its priests. With the arrival of reinforcements from Syria, Nicanor was once more in a position to confront Judah. In 161 B.C.E. a decisive battle was fought at Bet Horon, but Judah once again triumphed and Nicanor was slain. This was Judah's last military victory. It is uncertain whether the Nicanor who took part in the battle of Emmaus is to be identified with the Nicanor sent by Demetrius against Judah Maccabee, but it is probable that they were two separate persons. The downfall of Nicanor, who had reviled and insulted the Temple, brought joy to the people and the day of triumph, the 13th of Adar, was established as an annual festival.

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[Uriel Rappaport]

NICANOR'S GATE, one of the gates leading to the Temple courtyard during the period of the Second Temple. According to the Mishnah, "There were seven gates in the Temple courtyard.… In the east there was the gate of Nicanor, which had two rooms attached, one on its right and one on its left, one the room of Phinehas the dresser and one the room of the griddle cake makers" (Mid. 1:4). This gate was one of the best known of the gifts made to the Temple and "miracles were performed in connection with the gate of Nicanor and his memory was praised" (Yoma 3:10). Of these miracles the Talmud states: "What miracles were performed by his doors? When Nicanor went to Alexandria in Egypt to bring them, on his return a huge wave threatened to engulf him. Thereupon they took one of the doors and cast it into the sea but still the sea continued to rage. When they prepared to cast the other one into the sea, Nicanor rose and clung to it, saying 'cast me in with it.'" The sea immediately became calm. He was, however, deeply grieved about the other door. As they reached the harbor of Acre it broke the surface and appeared from under the sides of the boat. Others say a sea monster swallowed it and ejected it out onto dry land. Subsequently all the gates of the Sanctuary were changed for golden ones, but the Nicanor gates, which were said to be of bronze, were left because of the miracles wrought with them. But some say that they were retained because the bronze of which they were made had a special golden hue. R. Eliezer b. Jacob said, "It was Corinthian copper which shone like gold" (Yoma 38a). Corinthian gold was the name given to a family of copper alloys with gold and silver which were depletion-gilded to give them a golden or silver luster (see Jacobson). An important production center for Corinthian gold was in Egypt, where, according to tradition, alchemy had its origins.

Scholars disagree over where the gates stood. Some claim that they were on the western side of the Court of Women which was to the east of the Court of Israelites; others maintain that they were on the eastern side of the Court of Women. The basis of this conflict is in the interpretation of a passage in Josephus (Wars, 5:204). Schalit's discussion of the problem concludes that the words of Josephus are to be explained as meaning that the gates of Nicanor were "beyond" the entrance to the Sanctuary and facing "the gate that was larger," i.e., that it was on the eastern side of the Court of Women. The gates were undoubtedly made after the time of Herod (the most reasonable date being about the middle of the first century, a generation before the destruction) and were the work of an Alexandrian craftsman. Nicanor is also recorded in a first century C.E. inscription on an ossuary found in October 1902 in a cave on Mt. Scopus in Jerusalem ("the Cave of Nicanor"). The Greek inscription reads: "the remains of the children of Nicanor of Alexandria who made the doors." Nicanor's name also appears in a Hebrew inscription as well. Nicanor's gift was so well known that no additional explanation was necessary. Nicanor was an Alexandrian, though he may have gone to live in Jerusalem. It seems more likely, however, that his remains were brought from Alexandria to Jerusalem, where he had a family tomb. The ossuary mentioning Nicanor is now in the collections of the British Museum. Klein (1920; see also Tal 2002) expressed certainty that the Nicanor of the ossuary was the same as the Nicanor who made the set of gates of the Temple according to rabbinic sources; Schwartz (1991), however, has expressed some doubts about this.

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[Uriel Rappaport / Shimon Gibson (2nd ed.)]

NICARAGUA, Central American republic. Although some Jews settled in Nicaragua in the 19th century, a new community was founded by Jews who arrived from Eastern Europe after 1929. They established the Congregación Israelita de Nicaragua, the most important Jewish association in the country. The majority of the Jews lived in Managua and engaged in commerce, industry, and agriculture; the few who lived in the interior also engaged in agriculture and commercial representation. The congregation maintained close ties with Jewish institutions abroad. All the women in the community belonged to *WIZO, which had been active in the country since 1941. Since 1935 the congregation had its own cemetery and, since 1964, its own synagogue in Managua. Services were held on the Sabbath and on all festivals, and rabbis from abroad were invited to officiate.

[Leonardo Hellemberg]

The community peaked in 1972 with 250 Jews, most living in the capital Managua, but after the disastrous earthquake of December 1972 many Jews emigrated. In 1978, the synagogue in Managua was attacked by five Sandinistas guerrilla fighters. The Sandinista government, which ruled from 1979 to 1990, took different measures against the small Jewish community, which culminated in the virtual expulsion of the few Jewish families that remained in Nicaragua and the implementation of antisemitic propaganda. The government sequestered the synagogue and other Jewish property and imprisoned the community leader Abraham Gorn (at age 70), who however managed to escape. Until 1979 there was a central Jewish organization, but in the early 21st century only a few Jews lived in the country.

Relations with Israel

Nicaragua voted in 1947 for the UN Resolution on the partition of Palestine, and from the establishment of the State of Israel very cordial relations existed between the two countries. Israel was represented in Managua by a nonresident ambassador residing in Costa Rica, and Nicaragua was represented in Israel by a nonresident ambassador residing in Rome. Israel enjoyed Nicaragua's wholehearted support in the international arena, and Nicaragua repeatedly took steps to counteract anti-Israel moves in the United Nations. Israel developed a ramified program in the area of technical aid. Nicaraguan trainees participated in courses in Israel, mainly in the fields of agriculture and community organization. Israel experts were active in Nicaragua in the field of agricultural settlement and conducted a mobile course in agricultural cooperation. In 1969 the scope of trade reached $100,000 in Israeli exports to Nicaragua, mainly in synthetic fibers. In the 1970s Nicaragua became an anti-Israel stronghold, in Latin America and on the international front, particularly following the take-over of power by the Sandinista Junta in July 1979. In 1982 the Sandinista government severed diplomatic relations with Israel, but with the ousting of the Sandinista regime in 1990, ties with Israel were restored.

[Moses Aberbach / Efraim Zadoff (2nd ed.)]

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°**NICARCHUS** (date unknown), author of a book on the Jews in which he says that Moses was called Alpha because of the many leprous spots (*alphous*; cf. a similar canard in *Manetho) which he had on his body. (Alpha was an honorific title for senior members of the museum in Alexandria, and was regarded as synonymous with excellence.)

NICE (Heb. ניצה), capital of the Alpes-Maritimes department, on the Mediterranean coast of France. The first specific mention of Jews can be found in the Statutes of Nice, enacted in 1342 while the town belonged to Provence, which compelled the Jews to wear a distinguishing *badge. By 1406, when Nice belonged to Savoy, the community had a bailiff. In 1408 it owned a cemetery, and from at least 1428, a synagogue. An edict issued by the duke of Savoy in 1430, which was also intended for the Jews of Turin, protected the Jews from forced baptism, while imposing a series of prohibitions (on moneylending, on interest, etc.) and obligations (confining Jewish residence to a separate quarter, the *Giudaria*, etc.). In 1449, a Jew was authorized to settle there and charge a rate of 20% interest. In 1499, Jews expelled from the island of Rhodes were permitted to settle in Nice. From 1551, the Jews were placed under the jurisdiction of a *Conservator* (except in cases of crimes and offenses committed against the Catholic religion) and were allowed to engage freely in moneylending. In the same period, Jews in Nice also engaged in commerce and could practice medicine freely. Beginning in 1648, many newcomers of "Portuguese" origin (*Marranos) from Italy and Holland, attracted by the free port edict, which expressly favored the Jews with numerous privileges, joined the "old Nissards." Twenty years later, many Jews began arriving from Oran (Algeria), often bringing with them their slaves. The newcomers, who settled outside the ghetto, were accorded full rights in the existing community institutions without having to contribute toward its upkeep. The Jewish community of Nice, which had been affiliated to that of Turin, became separated from it from the beginning of the 17th century. The fusion of the diverse groups of Jews was achieved slowly. At the same time, the authorities allowed the legal differences, which had benefited some groups and disadvantaged others, to become obsolete. In particular, beginning in 1732, every Jew was obliged to live in the Jewish quarter, the Rue Giudaria (the present Rue Benoît Brunice). The community, known as *Università*, was led by *massari-parnassim*, deputies, councillors, and a treasurer. The Jews of Nice conversed in Judéo-Niçois, a mixture of the local dialect and Hebrew. The temporary reunion of Nice with France from 1792 to 1814 brought emancipation to the Jews, but they lost their rights after the restoration of Sardinian administration. In 1828, for example, they were ordered to return to the ghetto, and it was only in 1848 that emancipation was finally guaranteed. The annexation of Nice by France in 1860 did not result in further changes in the social and economic situation of the Jews. The number of Jews did not grow substantially during the 19th century. In 1808, the population was approximately 300. In 1909, there were 500 out of a total population of 95,000, and the number did not substantially change up to World War II.

[Bernhard Blumenkranz / David Weinberg (2nd ed.)]

Holocaust and Contemporary Period

During World War II Nice came under Italian control, which was far less severe than the German occupation. As a result, thousands of Jews took refuge there. For a while, the city became an important center for various Jewish organizations, especially after the landing of the Allies in North Africa (November 1942). When the Italians signed the armistice with the Allies, however, German troops invaded the former Italian zone (Sept. 8, 1943) and initiated brutal raids. Alois Brunner, the SS official for Jewish affairs, was placed at the head of units formed to search out Jews. Within five months, 5,000 Jews were caught and deported from Nice and surrounding areas. A great number of others were martyred in the city itself. The courage displayed by the resistance and Jewish youth movements, however, along with the sympathy of the vast majority of the population and clergy, helped save thousands who were either hidden or were helped to escape.

After the liberation several hundred Jews, including original inhabitants of Nice and refugees, reestablished the community. With the influx of Jews from North Africa in the 1960s, the Jewish population in Nice and the vicinity increased from 2,000 to 20,000 by 1969. An estimate of the number of Jews in 1987 in Nice suggested that the population had not changed appreciably since then. The community has two main synagogues (Ashkenazi and Sephardi) and boasts a variety of Jewish institutions, including restaurants, butchers, and a *mikveh*. The Musée Marc Chagall, containing the painter's major works on biblical themes, is situated in Nice.

[Georges Levitte / David Weinberg (2nd ed.)]

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°**NICHOLAS**, name of five popes.

NICHOLAS III (Giovanni Gaetano Orsini), pope 1277–80. During his brief reign Nicholas displayed a considerable zeal for the conversion of the Jews. His bull *Vineam sorce* encouraged conversion through "sermons and other means." Copies of the document were sent (1278–79) to the *Franciscans and provincial priors of the *Dominicans in various provinces. Concurrently, however, he renewed the decisions of his predecessors forbidding the forcible baptism of Jews and protecting them from attacks by Christians. Nevertheless, several *Church councils and synods legislated against the free intercourse of Jews and Christians. It is not clear whether it was the supposed hostility of Nicholas or his mildness toward the Jews which prompted Abraham b. Samuel *Abulafia to announce his intention of visiting the pope to demand the release of captive Jews. (When he arrived, however, the pope was already on his deathbed.)

NICHOLAS IV (Girolamo Masci), pope 1288–92. Like many medieval popes, Nicholas IV displayed a mixed attitude toward the Jews. On the one hand, he issued various instructions (1288) to the inquisitors to proceed against *Conversos and he renewed earlier legislation concerning the Jews in Portugal, compelling them to wear a *badge. On the other hand, he specifically protected the Jews of Rome from being molested by Christians (January 1291). He wrote to Emperor *Rudolph (Aug. 29, 1288) requesting the release of *Meir b. Baruch of Rothenburg from prison. There is a belief that he enlisted the services of the Jewish physician and scholar Isaac b. Mordecai Maestro Gaio, who also attended Boniface VIII and who was the first of the Italian Jewish papal physicians.

NICHOLAS V (Tommaso Parentucelli), pope 1447–55. The attitude toward the Jews of this otherwise enlightened pontiff might be characterized as cruelty tempered by a certain moderation. Soon after his election, under the malign influence of John of *Capistrano, he revived the persecutory legislation of his predecessor, *Eugenius IV. Originally framed for Castile and Leon, this legislation was applied en bloc to Italy. Several subsequent edicts, based generally on those of Eugenius, imposed very severe restrictions on Jewish life. Nevertheless, while urging strong measures against Crypto-Jews, Nicholas insisted on the complete equality of New and Old Christians. After a protest by Emperor Frederick III, Nicholas reversed anti-Jewish legislation adopted by various German synods, and he also granted Borso, duke of *Ferrara, complete freedom to allow Jews to reside in his states and operate banks (1451).

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[Nicholas de Lange]

°**NICHOLAS**, name of two Russian czars.

NICHOLAS I, czar of Russia from 1825 to 1855. His reign was marked by a general reaction, the persecution of liberal elements in the country, and the oppression of religious and national minorities. Nicholas I regarded the Jews as a harmful alien group whose unity should be destroyed so that it would become completely assimilated within the Russian people. To achieve this, he adopted many measures. The first, which left its imprint on the whole of his Jewish policy, was the introduction of compulsory military service for the Jews (1827). This was accompanied by the seizure of Jewish children, who were to be educated in the schools for soldiers' children in the spirit of the Christian religion (see *Cantonists). The area of the Pale of *Settlement was reduced and the Jews were expelled from *Kiev, *Sevastopol, and *Nikolayev. There was also a suggestion that they be expelled from within 50 versts of the border. On the other hand, the government encouraged renewed agricultural settlement of the Jews in southern Russia and around their townlets, exempting the settlers from military service. The government of Nicholas I supported the *maskilim* in their struggle against Orthodoxy. Under the influence of the *maskilim*, a severe censorship was imposed on Jewish books, their publication being authorized at two presses only, in *Vilna and *Zhitomir. During the 1840s the government set out to develop the network of Jewish government schools, particularly the rabbinical seminaries of Vilna and Zhitomir, which offered a general education in addition to a Jewish education in the spirit of the *Haskalah. At the end of the 1840s, the Jews were forbidden to wear their traditional garb.

Toward the close of Nicholas' reign the "classification" (*razbor*) of the Jews into "useful" (merchants, craftsmen, agricultural workers) and "non-useful" persons was proposed. Severe repressive measures were to be adopted against the "non-useful" – principally the intensification of conscription. This project was interrupted by the death of Nicholas I, which also resulted in the abolition of the special conscription of Jews and in other alleviations. Of the hundreds of anti-Jewish laws which were passed during his reign, the most important for the Jews were the Jewish statutes of 1835 and 1844 (which officially abolished the Jewish communities and introduced the status of **kazyonny ravvin*). In the memory of the Jewish people, the reign of Nicholas I is regarded, especially because of the Cantonists decree, as one of the darkest periods in the history of the Jews in czarist Russia.

NICHOLAS II, Russian czar from 1894 to 1917. His reign was marked by a violent struggle against the revolutionary movement, the war against Japan (1904), which was followed by the first Russian Revolution (1905–06), and Russia's participation (1914–17) in World War I, which culminated in the Revolution of the spring of 1917 and the removal of Nicholas II from the throne. At the outset of his reign the Jews, like other Russian circles, hoped that the new czar would change the extreme reactionary and antisemitic policy of his father *Alexander III. This hope was, however, soon disappointed. The czar, whose education at the hands of Constantine *Pobedonostsev had made him an indubitable Jew-hater, regarded the Jews as the principal factor in the Russian revolutionary movement. He favored antisemitic statesmen, rejected any attempt to change the anti-Jewish laws in spite of the advice of some of the leading statesmen of his court (such as S. *Witte and P. Stolypin), and took under his aegis the violent antisemitic movement, "*Union of Russian People" (popularly known as the "Black Hundreds"), and other organizations formed in reaction to the liberal and revolutionary organizations. The pogroms against the Jews, which were at first due to the free hand given to anti-Jewish incitement and the rioters, were later directly perpetrated by the police and the army, as part of the campaign against the revolution. The *Beilis blood libel trial at Kiev, which was designed to set off renewed persecutions of the Jews, was inspired by the czar. Although no new anti-Jewish laws were passed during the reign of Nicholas II, the administrative pressure which accompanied the pogroms encouraged hundreds of thousands of Jews to emigrate to the U.S. and elsewhere.

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[Yehuda Slutsky]

°**NICHOLAS, EDWARD**, author of a famous 17th-century plea in favor of the resettlement of the Jews in England. Entitled *An Apology for the Honourable Nation of the Jews, and all the Sons of Israel*, and published in London in 1648, it was translated into Spanish, perhaps by *Manasseh Ben Israel, and made a profound impression. However, since the author is otherwise unknown, there is reason to believe that the publication was inspired or even written by a Jew. Its theme was that England should make amends for her former maltreatment of the Jews by readmitting them to the country. Some scholars believe that its actual author was Rev. Henry Jessey (1601–1663), a philo-semitic Nonconformist minister. Little is known about Edward Nicholas himself beyond the fact that he was apparently a young man reading for the bar in 1648. He is sometimes confused with Sir Edward Nicholas (1593–1669), a government official who was in exile with Charles II in 1648, but this man was 55 when *An Apology* appeared.

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[Vivian David Lipman / William D. Rubinstein (2nd ed.)]

°**NICHOLAS DE LYRE** (incorrectly **Lyra**; c. 1270–(not before)1349), Bible commentator and theologian. A 15th-century allegation of his Jewish extraction lacks all basis. Born in Lyre, near Evreux, Normandy, Nicholas joined the Franciscan Order at Verneuil (c. 1291) and subsequently studied in Paris. He held the position of professor of theology at the Sorbonne until he was appointed Franciscan provincial of Burgundy in 1325. He wrote controversial studies against Judaism (e.g., *De Messia … ad Judaei argumenta, De diversis contra Judaeos* …) and produced a commentary on Peter Lombard's *Sentences*, which, together with the Bible, constituted the basis of Western theological studies. His importance, however, lies in *Postillae Perpetuae*, which he composed from 1322 to 1330 (published in Rome, 1471–72).

These works form a continuous commentary on the entire Bible, with priority accorded to the literal meaning, while other senses ("*moralitates*") are relegated to 35 substantial appendixes. The *Postillae* constitute the first Christian Bible commentary to be printed. The literalist approach led Nicholas to *Rashi, whom he often cites by name (Salomo). In this he had been anticipated by the Victorine scholars, especially by *Andrew of Saint Victor whom he quotes (G. Calandra, *De… Andreae Victorini… in Ecclesiasten* (1948), 83–85). However, Nicholas, who records his perusal of a controversial tract *hebraice scriptus* ("written in Hebrew"; see Hailperin in bibl., p. 140), used Rashi directly as well. In addition he read some rabbinic material in Raymond *Martini's *Pugio Fidei*. Soon after his death, Nicholas' *Postillae* were available in virtually every library in western Christendom. Nicholas had abiding influence (Hailperin, p. 282f.). Wycliffe acknowledged his indebtedness to Nicholas in his (later) English version of the Bible (c. 1388). *Luther was particularly dependent on him, especially on Genesis. In his commentary to Daniel, Abrabanel controverts Nicholas' christological exegesis.

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[Raphael Loewe]

°**NICHOLAS OF DAMASCUS** (b. c. 64 B.C.E.), Greek historian, peripatetic philosopher, orator, dramatist, and statesman. Nicholas came from a distinguished family in *Damascus, where his father, Antipater, occupied a prominent position and was proud of his origin. For a time he was in the service of Antony and Cleopatra, acting as their children's instructor. Later he joined the court of *Herod whose confidant he became, instructing him also in philosophy and rhetoric. It was at Herod's instigation that he wrote his Universal History (see below). Nicholas' fame as a writer and an intellectual, his outstanding talents as an orator, and his connections with leading Romans equipped him to undertake delicate diplomatic tasks. He acted as Herod's representative to Marcus *Agrippa in 14 B.C.E., when the Jews of Asia Minor submitted their complaints against the inhabitants of the Greek cities (Jos., Ant., 16:29–58). He also interceded with *Augustus on behalf of Herod when the latter had lost favor in Rome due to his aggressive action against the Arabs in 8 B.C.E. (*ibid.*, 16:335–55). Nicholas exercised great influence on Herod's internal policy. According to his own testimony, he was a consistent opponent of *Antipater, Herod's eldest son, and helped to get rid of him (*ibid.*, 17:106–21). Even after Herod's death, Nicholas remained loyal to him: he traveled to Rome in 4 B.C.E., with *Archelaus, Herod's son, to obtain Augustus' confirmation of Herod's will and to defend the name of the dead king and the interests of Archelaus against the charges brought by representatives of the Jewish nation (*ibid.*, 240–8). At the same time Nicholas persuaded Archelaus not to oppose the granting of independence to the Hellenistic cities on the borders of Herod's former kingdom. On this occasion, too, Nicholas' efforts were successful, and Augustus confirmed Herod's will in broad outline. This was Nicholas' last active intervention in the affairs of Judea. He apparently stayed on in Rome.

The most famous of Nicholas' many writings was his *His-*

toria Universalis in 144 books, in which events are described in greater detail the nearer they approach the days of the author. Those in which he was personally involved are given special treatment. Nicholas' intervention on behalf of the Jews of Asia Minor is described in books 123 and 124 (Jos., Ant., 12:126–7). He also wrote an autobiography, the contents of which correspond to some extent to the last books of the history, as well as a biography of Augustus. Nicholas used to provide Augustus with a choice variety of dates from his estate, which Augustus called after him (Athenaeus 14:652). They are possibly the dates referred to in rabbinical literature (Av. Zar. 146; Num. R. 3:1) as "Nikolaos." Nicholas' history is no longer extant, except for lengthy excerpts, particularly those dealing with most ancient times, preserved in the compilations of Constantine Porphyrogenitus, the 10th-century Byzantine emperor. Shorter extracts have been preserved in the works of Josephus, Athenaeus, Stephanus of Byzantium, and others.

Nicholas' connections with Herod, his acquaintance with the Jews, and his defense of them on several occasions precluded him from adopting a contemptuous attitude toward the ancient Jewish tradition, as did most Greek and Roman writers. Thus he reveals a tendency to combine the Damascene-Syrian with the biblical-Jewish traditions. In the fourth book of his history he deals sympathetically with the personality of Abraham (Jos., Ant., 1:159), whom he depicts as a foreigner who came at the head of an army from the land of the Chaldees to Damascus, where he reigned as king and from which he later migrated with his people to the land of Canaan. The name of Abram, says Nicholas, is still honored in the region of Damascus. In the same book of his history he refers to the biblical account of the wars between Israel and Aram in the days of David as well as after the division of the kingdom (*ibid.*, 7:101–3). Among pre-Christian Greek writers, Nicholas is the only one to mention David. He recalls the biblical tradition when referring, in the 96th book of his history, to the Flood, and mentions that "Moses, the Jewish legislator, wrote" (*ibid.*, 1:95). To judge from these fragments, Nicholas' interest in Jewish history is due chiefly to Jewish connections with his native city, Damascus; it seems unlikely that he was a major source for the early books of Josephus' *Antiquities* which parallel the Bible.

In regard to Jewish history in the period of the Second Temple, he describes the actions of *Antiochus Epiphanes against the Jews (Jos., Apion, 2:83–84) and is quoted by Josephus a number of times verbatim. Josephus was perhaps naturally attracted to the work of a man who, like himself, had written an autobiography defending himself against charges of time-serving. Nicholas' *Universal History* provided the basis of Josephus' description of Herod's kingdom in *The Jewish War* (book 1) and *Antiquities* (books 15–17). As is to be expected from a courtier and collaborator in the policy of the king, Nicholas' books about Herod are a panegyric upon him. Marked by their dramatic tension and replete with pathetic descriptions, these books are written in a spirit of open hostility toward Antipater, the son of Herod and Nicholas' mortal enemy. These characteristics are also notable in Josephus' account, except that in the *Antiquities* Josephus makes a conscious effort to free himself from the panegyrical approach of Nicholas. Josephus' dependence on Nicholas is further shown by a comparison between his account and the excerpts preserved in Nicholas' autobiography, and by the fact that for the period no longer covered by Nicholas' work (after 4 B.C.E.) Josephus' narrative is meager. The description, too, of the Hasmonean kingdom in Josephus' two works is chiefly derived from Nicholas' history, a conclusion that necessarily follows from the non-Jewish viewpoint that generally characterizes this description.

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[Menahem Stern]

NICHOLS, JACK (1921–), Canadian painter, draftsman, printmaker, educator. Born in Montreal, Nichols is one of the best-known official Canadian World War II artists. Unable to afford traditional schooling, he was mainly self-taught. However, he occasionally worked with the Montreal artists Louis Muhlstock and Frederick Varley, and considered the former his mentor. After he enlisted in the Merchant Navy in the fall of 1943, the National Gallery of Canada commissioned him to produce drawings during his service on Caribbean-bound ships. In 1944, he was appointed an official war artist with the rank of lieutenant in the Royal Canadian Naval Reserve. Nichols witnessed the D-Day landing, and traveled on a number of warships, including the HMCS *Iroquois*, which together with British warships destroyed a German convoy as it attempted to evacuate the town of Brest in 1944. Nichols depicted this event in at least two compositions: the drawing *Men on H.M.C.S.* Iroquois *at Action Stations* represents a crowd of Canadian soldiers and their varying reactions to the violence at sea. *Action Aboard His Majesty's Canadian Ship* Iroquois again represents a dense mass of soldiers, three of whose massively muscled arms seem to press against the picture plane, while other sailors ready weapons in the background. Nichols' characteristically dark palette and his attention to facial expressions conveying fear, anguish, and suffering draw the viewer's attention to the vulnerability of his subjects as they face their mortality. One of Nichols' most famous paintings, the expressionistically rendered *Drowning Sailor,* depicts the screaming anguish of a seaman desperately trying to extricate himself from the maelstrom of water encircling him. Many of Nichols' compositions have Christian overtones. For example, *Ammunition Passer* is reminiscent of traditional depictions of Christ carrying the Cross. The oil painting *Taking Survivors on Board* portrays a prone man supported by another figure in a position which recalls a Pietà. At the time he left the navy in 1946, Nichols had created 20 works on paper and nine oil paintings. In 1947, Nichols won a Guggenheim fellowship which enabled him to paint and study printmaking in different parts of the United States. He taught at the Vancouver School of Art in 1948. In 1952, he garnered a prize at the Second International Exhibition of Drawing and Engraving in Lugano, Switzerland. Six years later, his lithographs were displayed at the Venice Biennale. Nichols lived and worked in Toronto. The artist had exhibitions at the Ellen Gallery at Concordia University, the McCord Museum, Montreal, the MacKenzie Art Gallery, Saskatchewan, and the Vancouver Art Gallery, among other venues. His work is owned by the Canadian War Museum, Ottawa and the Canadian War Records Collection.

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[Nancy Buchwald (2nd ed.)]

NICHOLS, MIKE (**Michael Igor Peschkowsky**; 1931–), U.S. comedian and director. Born in Berlin, Nichols and his family fled Germany in 1939. Educated at the University of Chicago, he studied for a time with Lee Strasberg in New York. Nichols was one of the founders of The Compass, an off-campus theater group, later forming the Second City Improvisational company in Chicago. He toured in cabaret with Elaine May (see *Theater) from 1954, and in 1960 they presented *An Evening with Mike Nichols and Elaine May* on Broadway, for which they won a Grammy for Best Comedy Performance (1961).

In 1961 Nichols turned to acting on his own, and then directed a series of successful plays on Broadway. Among them were *Barefoot in the Park* (Tony Award, 1963), *The Knack* (1964), *Luv* (Tony Award, 1964), *The Odd Couple* (Tony Award, 1965), *The Apple Tree* (1966), *The Little Foxes* (1967), *Plaza Suite* (Tony Award, 1968), *The Prisoner of Second Avenue* (Tony Award, 1971), *Uncle Vanya* (1973), *Streamers* (1976), *Comedians* (1976), *Annie* (producer, Tony Award, 1977), *The Gin Game* (1977), *The Real Thing* (two Tony Awards, 1984), *Hurlyburly* (1984), and *Spamalot* (Tony Award, 2005). Turning to movies, he directed the film version of *Who's Afraid of Virginia Woolf?* (Oscar nomination for Best Director, 1966); *The Graduate* (Academy Award for Best Director, 1967); *Catch-22* (1969); *The Day of the Dolphin* (1973); *The Fortune* (1975); *Gilda Live* (1980); *Silkwood* (Oscar nomination for Best Director, 1983); *Heartburn* (1986); *Biloxi Blues* (1988); *Working Girl* (Oscar nomination for Best Director, 1988); *Postcards from the Edge* (1990); *Regarding Henry* (1991); *Wolf* (1994); *The Birdcage* (plus screenplay, 1995); *Primary Colors* (1998*); What Planet Are You From?* (2000); the Emmy award-winning TV movie *Wit* (2001); the Emmy award-winning TV miniseries *Angels in America* (2003); and *Closer* (2004).

Nichols is one of a handful of celebrities to have garnered the coveted quartet of an Oscar, an Emmy, a Tony, and a Grammy.

In 2003 he was one of the recipients of the Kennedy Center Honors. He is chairman emeritus of the non-profit organization Friends in Deed, founded in 1991 to provide support to those affected by life-threatening illness.

After three divorces, Nichols has been married to news personality Diane Sawyer since 1988.

Nichols wrote the books *Life and Other Ways to Kill Time* (1988); *Real Men Belch Downwind* (1993); and *Women Are from Pluto, Men Are from Uranus* (1996).

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[Lee Healey and Jonathan Licht / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

NIDDAH (Heb. נִדָּה "menstruating woman"; literally, "one who is excluded" or "expelled"). According to Jewish law, a man is forbidden to maintain sexual relations with his wife during and for some time both before and after (see below) her menses. Marital intimacy may resume only after the wife has undergone ritual immersion (see **Mikveh*; *Ablution) at the appropriate time. These strictures of separation and ritual cleansing, which apply only to married Jewish women, are intended to preserve men from the ritual pollution that would follow from any contact with their ritually impure wives. Procedures for calculating the intervals of time when spousal contact is forbidden rely heavily on a woman's knowledge of the stages of her cycle. Fidelity to the rules of marital separation, self-examination, and expedient immersion comprise one of the three areas of ritual obligations specifically incumbent on women (together with **ḥallah*, separating a part of the dough used to make Sabbath loaves, and *hadlakah*, kindling Sabbath lights (see *Candles)). Jewish girls were traditionally taught to comply strictly and promptly with *hilkhot niddah*, the regulations pertaining to the menstruating woman.

The laws relating to the *niddah* comprise some of the most fundamental principles of the halakhic system. They also constitute one of the few remnants of biblical regulations pertaining to ritual impurities that survived in Jewish life following the destruction of the Second Temple. Among the most difficult and intricate in the entire range of the *halakhah*, these laws are elucidated in a lengthy and detailed tractate of the same name devoted to the subject (see *Niddah*, tractate). The historical development of the relevant *halakhot* through the centuries is likewise extremely complicated. To decide a law relating to a *niddah* demands, besides a profound knowledge of the *halakhah*, experience in various medical matters, and at times also the ability to assume the grave responsibility of disqualifying a woman from pursuing a normal married life and of – at times – separating her forever from her husband. In every generation and in every place there have generally been men, referred to in the Talmud simply as "sages," who specialized in the subject, as did eminent *tannaim* and *amoraim*, to whom particularly difficult questions were sent, even from remote places, together with specimens of blood (Nid. 20b). In brief, the *halakhah* as at present codified is that sexual intercourse (and any other intimacies which may lead to it) is forbidden from the time the woman expects her menses until seven "clean" or "white" days (i.e., days on which no blood whatsoever is seen) have elapsed. For this purpose a minimum of five days is fixed for the menses themselves. Thus the minimum period of abstention from marital intimacies is 12 days. On the evening of the seventh day without sign of blood the woman immerses herself in a **mikveh* and normal marital relations are resumed until the next menses are expected. Any bleeding in ensuing days is considered as menstrual and requires a waiting period of seven "white" days (see below). The laws of *niddah* are codified in the *Shulhan Arukh, Yoreh De'ah*, 183–200.

In the Bible

A detailed discussion is devoted to the *niddah* as part of the general "law of him that hath an issue" (Lev. 15:19–32), within the framework of the many laws of ritual purity and impurity whose main purpose was to preserve the purity of the sanctuary and its precincts. To this aspect the Bible adds a further prohibition against sexual intercourse with a menstruating woman, the punishment for which is *karet* for both the man and the woman (*ibid.* 20:18). While this prohibition at present constitutes the main feature of the *niddah*, in the Bible it is the former context that is the decisive factor. According to the literal meaning of the biblical passages, most of which are, however, unclear, the law is thus: A woman who discerns blood within and up to a period of seven days is ritually "impure" (*teme'ah*) for those seven days from the time the blood first appears. On the eighth day – if she sees no further blood – she is "pure" (*tehorah*). Whoever touches her or anything she sits or lies on during the week of her "uncleanness" is "unclean until the evening" and must bathe himself in water and wash his clothes. One who has sexual intercourse with a menstruant is unclean for seven days, since she transfers her condition of ritual impurity to him ("and her impurity is upon him"). If, however, a woman sees blood for more than seven days, she becomes a *zavah* ("one who has a discharge") and is in a state of ritual impurity until her discharge of blood ceases. All the laws previously mentioned apply to her. Unlike the *niddah*, however, the *zavah* does not revert to her state of ritual purity immediately after her discharge of blood stops but has to wait a further seven "clean" days, reckoned from the day she has ceased to see blood. At the conclusion of this period she brings "two turtle-doves, or two young pigeons" as a sacrifice. Although not specifically mentioned in the Bible, the purification of the *niddah* of both the first and second types was undoubtedly associated with immersion in a ritual bath, since this is clearly stated in the Bible with respect to others rendered levitically impure by reason of a discharge. The Bible does not lay down the normal length of time between one menses and another.

In the Talmud

On the basis of the tradition of the Oral Law, the sages gave the biblical passages a different interpretation. Their basic assumption is that there is a fixed cycle of 18 days, comprising seven days of *niddut* (the state of being a *niddah*) and 11 days between one menses and another, this being, in the view of the sages, the "allotted" interval. This cycle of 18 days is counted consecutively from the appearance for the first time of blood in a female at the age of puberty and in rare instances even earlier. A woman who sees blood on one or all of the seven days is ritually impure for these seven days and becomes ritually pure again on the eighth day on condition that she immerses herself in a *mikveh* ("ritual bath"; see also Ablution) and that no further blood has appeared before her immersion. If blood reappears on the eighth day, she is ritually impure on that day, immerses herself on the following morning, and waits until the evening. If no more blood is seen she is ritually pure; if it is seen, she has to adopt the same procedure on the next day. If after the conclusion of the seventh day blood is discerned on three consecutive or non-consecutive days during the 11 days between one menses and another, the woman becomes a *zavah* and has to count seven "clean" or "white" days, as stated above. If, however, she passes the 11 or at least nine of the days between one menses and another in a state of ritual purity, she reverts to the beginning of a new cycle and any blood that she may see during the subsequent seven days does not necessitate seven "white" days. These 11 days are a traditional law ascribed to Moses ("*Halakhah le-Moshe mi-Sinai*"). Any blood appearing during the interval between one menses and another – on the conclusion of the above-mentioned cycle of 7+11 days – is due to a discharge that requires seven "white" days. This cycle commences from the day blood appeared for the first time and no longer depends on the appearance or nonappearance of blood: the seven days are "appropriate" for blood of menstruation, the 11 days for blood of a discharge, and only childbirth interrupts this automatic reckoning (see below). Such is the basic law; however, as early as the end of the tannaitic period, Jewish women were accustomed to observe seven "white" days for any spot of blood they observed that was as large as a mustard seed (see below).

The problem that arises if a woman does not examine herself during the days when she is in a state of ritual purity and suddenly sees blood is dependent on the tannaitic controversy over whether the laws of fixed menses are of biblical or rabbinical authority. In the former instance, the woman automatically reverts to her state of ritual impurity retrospectively from the beginning of her fixed menses unless she has examined herself and found no blood, whereas in the latter case she is ritually pure until she physically feels the movement of, or sees, blood. In any event it is halakhically of great importance that a woman knows the dates of her menses, since she has to refrain from sexual intercourse near their onset, so that they should not come on during sexual intercourse. In the tractate *Niddah* the various types of menses, the way in which they are fixed, and their halakhic significance form the subject of extensive talmudic discussion.

The sages distinguished among several types of blood, some ritually pure, others ritually impure, that issue from a woman, the distinction being based on the different sources of the blood in the womb. However, since modern knowledge of a woman's anatomy and physiology does not accord with the sages' assumptions, their statements are not clear. Various scholars have unsuccessfully tried to harmonize the statements of the sages on this subject with existing anatomical knowledge. But although the sages have given indications for distinguishing between one type of blood and another, either by its appearance or by various examinations made in a woman's body, already in talmudic times a thorough knowledge of the subject was limited to experts. In consequence, the *halakhah* states that, since we are not adept in the matter, all blood renders a woman ritually impure. A very difficult and painful question concerns instances of a discharge of blood which is due to an external cause, as for example, an internal wound, but cannot definitely be identified as such. This problem was particularly formidable so long as its solution depended on halakhic discussions among the sages and not on a clear, objective medical examination. A more general distinction is made between a woman's blood and her other discharges which are not blood and hence do not render her ritually impure. In this instance, too, the sages have given several indications, based mainly on the intensity of the reddishness of the discharge. Here it has similarly been laid down that we no longer possess the knowledge requisite to make a precise distinction and hence any discharge, unless it is white or green (in their various shades), causes ritual impurity. Whereas nowadays doubt can be easily and definitely resolved, previously this problem, like the former one, was often one of paramount human significance and an obstacle to married life for not a few couples. Accordingly, the works of the codifiers in all periods contain hundreds of responsa dealing with the subject out of a manifest desire to alleviate this hardship, though with a very scant possibility of doing so.

Another problem in this category, much rarer but devoid of any practical solution, concerns a woman who bleeds during the act of sexual intercourse. This blood is assumed to be menstrual blood, and its regular appearance at such a time prevents any possibility, according to the *halakhah*, of a married life between the couple, since after several recurrences it is considered a permanent feature, and hence intercourse is prohibited from the outset. In this case the couple have to be divorced, particularly if the husband has not yet fulfilled the *mitzvah* of procreation. Virginal blood forms a special halakhic subject, being in principle ritually pure, for, since its source is an external one, it is in every respect identical with blood that has issued from a wound. This was the earlier *halakhah*. Later a stricter view was taken in the matter, particularly in Babylonia, for fear that such blood might be mingled with menstrual blood discharged due to sexual excitement, and hence the couple had to keep apart from each other immediately after the first coition. In Ereẓ Israel this stricter view was not common practice. In geonic times this restriction received, in Babylonia, the force of absolute law, but from the many questions addressed to the *geonim*, it is evident that in fact the prohibition did not extend throughout that country. The subject was still included as a section in *Sefer ha-Hillukim she-Bein Benei Bavel u-Venei Erez Yisrael*, compiled in the middle of the geonic period. With the spread of the influence of the Babylonian Talmud this prohibition was generally observed among almost all Jewish communities and was laid down as a *halakhah* in the Shulhan Arukh (EH, 193).

An essential change in the entire laws of the *niddah*, which since talmudic times became the accepted law throughout Jewry, relates to the addition of the seven "clean" or "white" days. This change took place due to a twofold difficulty arising from the earlier procedure: first, the lack of a reasonable and practical possibility of keeping a methodical, precise, and consecutive count of the days of menstruation and of discharge, as described above, from the first day of the appearance of blood until the end of the period of the menses; and secondly, the recognition that there is no real possibility of distinguishing with any certainty between clean and unclean blood, thus making the actual counting impracticable. In the days of Judah ha-Nasi the first regulations in this connection were issued, and in the middle of the amoraic period it was already accepted as axiomatic that seven "white" days were to be counted for any blood seen (Nid. 66a; et al.). The essence of the regulation was that the days of menstruation were henceforth equated with those of any other discharge. To this regulation a further restriction was added, according to which a single spot of blood is treated as a regular flow also with regard to the necessity of counting seven "white" days. It is evident from the sources that originally only sexual intercourse was prohibited during the seven "white" days, as against the prohibition of all physical contact during the actual days of menstruation (see below). In the course of time, however, this latter prohibition was extended to cover the "white" days as well, which thus became further days of ritual impurity (Shab. 13a).

Although trangressing the prohibition with regard to a *niddah* is punishable with *karet*, a marriage with a woman who is menstruating is binding, and her offspring is entirely legitimate, fit even for the priesthood and suffering only from a "taint" which is unattended by any halakhic consequences. The marriage ceremony of a bride who has begun menstruating shortly before is not postponed, even though, generally speaking, a marriage should be capable of immediate consummation. Nevertheless, many restrictions and minutiae with regard to the prohibition relating to the *niddah* came to be observed. In ancient times a *niddah* was completely segregated, particularly in Ereẓ Israel where the laws of purity were still in vogue from the time when the Temple existed. Excluded from her home, the *niddah* stayed in a special house known as "a house for uncleanness" (Nid. 7:4), she was called *galmudah* ("segregated," RH 26a), and was not allowed to adorn herself until R. Akiva permitted her to do so, that she might not be repulsive to her husband (*Sifra, Meẓora*, 9:12). No food was eaten with a *niddah* (Tosef., Shab. 1:14) nor did she attend to her household duties, until the stage was reached in which "during all the days of her menstruation she is to be segregated" (*ARN* A 1, 4). The origin of this segregation lies in the custom, prevalent in Erez Israel long after the destruction of the Second Temple, of eating ordinary meals prepared according to the levitical rules originally prescribed for sacred food. This custom did not obtain prevalence in Babylonia where there was neither any reason for, nor any halakhic possibility of, observing absolute purity, and where accordingly all these expressions of the *niddah*'s segregation were not practiced. Thus, in Babylonia, she attended to all the needs of her household, with the exception of filling her husband's cup of wine, making his bed, and washing him (Ket. 61a). In the latter half of the geonic period the *geonim* of Babylonia, adopting an increasingly stricter view with regard to the ritual impurity of the *niddah*, accepted the restrictions of the earlier scholars of Erez Israel. Related to the spread of the Muslim religion which was particularly strict in matters associated with "cleanness and uncleanness," this process reflects the strong desire of the *geonim* not to be inferior in their practices to their neighbors. Nevertheless, Maimonides at a later stage maintained that the restriction imposed on the *niddah* to refrain from cooking, touching a garment, and so on, was devoid of any significance and might even savor of Karaism. These restrictions were generally not adopted in Europe where the two factors that led to their introduction in Erez Israel and Babylonia were lacking, as well as because of the high status enjoyed there by the Jewish woman in managing the affairs of her household.

Yet it was mainly in Europe that new limitations and prohibitions were imposed on the *niddah* and on the members of her family. These measures are all contained in a small work entitled *Baraita de-Niddah* (1890), which is so strange that some scholars contended that it originated in a heretical Jewish sect. Where and when it was written has, up to the present, not been determined, although it has generally been assigned to the end of the geonic period. The special limitations mentioned in the work include the following: The *niddah* is prohibited from entering synagogue, as is also her husband if he has been rendered impure by her in any way (by her spittle, the dust under her feet, and so on). She is likewise prohibited from kindling the Sabbath lights. One is not allowed to enquire after her welfare or to recite a benediction in her presence. A priest whose wife, mother, or daughter is a *niddah* may not recite the priestly benediction in synagogue. No benefit may be derived from the work of a *niddah*, whose very utterances defile. From the beginning of the Rabbanite period the influence of this work on codifiers has been particularly marked, and although it is generally admitted that its statements have no halakhic validity, they adopted its stringent measures. This is especially notable with regard to prohibiting a *niddah* from entering a synagogue, which gave rise to a not insignificant literature among the early scholars of Germany.

This phenomenon is best understood against the background of the various superstitions current among the Jews, some of which derived from the non-Jewish environment. These superstitions held that the breath of a *niddah*'s mouth causes harm, that her glance "is disreputable and creates a bad impression," that a menstruant's blood proves fatal to anyone drinking it, and if mingled with the bloodstream produces pustules and boils in the newly born child. If a *niddah* looks for a long time in a mirror, red drops resembling blood appear on it. She pollutes the air in her proximity, is regarded as sick and even as afflicted with plague, despite the fact that menstruation is natural to a woman (Nahmanides, *Gen.* 31:35; *Lev.* 12:4, 18:19). A menstruant at the beginning of her menses who passes between two men causes one of them to be killed; she produces strife between them if she is at the end of her period (Pes. 111a).

A Woman after Childbirth

The law relating to the woman who has given birth to a child is stated in Leviticus 12:1–8. According to the literal meaning of the passage, her discharge of blood is in the same category as menstrual blood and hence she is in a state of ritual impurity, like a *niddah*. This extends for seven days if she bears a boy and for 14 days if she has a girl. In addition to this, a further period of 33 days in the former instance and 66 in the latter is laid down, these being "the days of her purification," and the blood seen during that time is called "the blood of purification." During this period she is sexually permitted to her husband but may not enter the sanctuary until the days of her purification have ended. On their conclusion she had to bring the prescribed sacrifices. The law of the post-partum woman was preserved in this form by the sages, who, however, added that any blood seen during the days of her purification renders her ritually impure, requiring immediate ritual immersion before further sexual contact with her husband. In the view of the sages, childbirth and the counting of the days associated therewith annuls that of the above-mentioned 11 days and a new cycle of menses begins. In the geonic period the regulation in respect of the "white" days, previously referred to, was extended to include "the days of her purification," and consequently the custom obtained in Babylonia, Ereẓ Israel, Spain, and North African countries that a woman who had given birth to a child observed seven "white" days for any spot of blood seen during the days of her purification. This extended regulation, which is wholly incompatible with the essential character of "the days of purification," in that they are not subject to the ritual impurity that accompanies menstruation, was not accepted in France and Germany, where sexual intercourse was permitted after a discharge of "blood of purification" (see *Yad, Issurei Bi'ah*, 11:6–7). The *baraita* in tractate *Niddah*, quoted above, mentions a yet more stringent custom according to which a woman is prohibited to her husband as a *niddah* for all the 40 and 80 days after the birth of a son and a daughter respectively, even though she has seen no blood during the entire period of her purification. This custom was regarded by Maimonides (Yad, *ibid.*, 11:15) as "the way of heretics," and is indeed practiced by the *Karaites (Anan, *Sefer ha-Mitzvot*, 19) – as also by *Beta Israel.

Non-Jewish Women

A non-Jewish menstruating woman does not impart ritual impurity (*Sifra, Tazri'a*), but there are scholars who hold that in ancient times this was not so – a state of affairs which explains Bet Hillel's statement in the Mishnah (Nid. 4:3). Furthermore, it is held that it was precisely this ancient *halakhah* that led to the decree that gentiles, in general, were ritually impure as a result of having intercourse with their menstruating wives. Most scholars, however, hold the opposite view, contending that Bet Hillel's statement refers merely to the ritual impurity conveyed by a *niddah*'s blood, and that it did not refer to the actual menstruating woman herself. It was rather the Hasmonean *bet din* which first "decreed that a Jew who had intercourse with a heathen woman is liable on account of her being a *niddah*" (Av. Zar. 36b), and that this decree was a general restriction intended to deter Jewish men from sexual relationships with gentile women.

[Israel Moses Ta-Shma / Judith R. Baskin (2nd ed.)]

Aggadic Traditions

Rabbinic aggadah stresses the seriousness of *niddah* regulations and encourages their observance; they are considered *gufei Torah* ("essential laws"; Avot 3:18). According to the Talmud, when the Romans issued decrees intended to undermine Judaism, they ordered Jews to have intercourse with women in a state of *niddah* (Me'il. 17a). Midrashic homilies praise notable women of Israel who scrupulously prevented themselves and their husbands from transgressing this prohibition; these include Sarah (Gen R. 48:15) and Esther (Meg. 13b). The sages also stressed the psychological importance of the enforced separations required by *hilkhot niddah* in sustaining romance in a married couple's sexual relations (Nid. 31b). Genesis Rabbah 17:8, on the other hand, is among a number of midrashic sources that connects women's three ritual obligations, including *hilkhot niddah*, with women's supposed culpability in bringing death into the world. In several aggadic texts, menstruation and *niddah* regulations are described as atonements or eternal punishments brought upon women to remind them of Eve's responsibility in the death of Adam, and therefore in all human mortality. *Avot de-Rabbi Nathan* B 9 states that the commandments of *niddah* were given to women because "Adam was the blood of the Holy One, blessed be He, and Eve came and spilled it." According to Shabbat 2:6, women who disregard any of these three commandments may die in childbirth (also ARN B 9). Such dire pronouncements may be part of a rabbinic polemic against non-compliance with *hilkhot niddah*.

The rabbinic extension by a week of the length of time a wife and husband were to abstain from physical contact following a woman's menses indicates how seriously later formulators of rabbinic literature and Jewish social practice took the prospect of even accidental contact with a *niddah*. Evidence that this separation was resented by some as onerous is evident in the statement criticizing men who are unable to wait until their wives' purification: it was said that "the law concerning young trees (whose fruit is forbidden for the first three years – Lev. 19:23) cuts off the feet of those who have sexual intercourse with menstruating women" (that is, should teach them patience). Such men were regarded by the sages as the worst type of transgressor. The *Midrash on Psalms*, 146:4, says that although nothing is more strongly forbidden than intercourse with a *niddah*, "In the time-to-come, God will permit such intercourse," based on Zech.13:2. While this minority view is immediately countered with the ascetic statement that it is sexual intercourse itself which will be forbidden in the messianic era, it has been suggested that this midrash may be read as one "voice of protest raised against the legal strictures on sexuality" (D. Biale).

Contemporary Practice

Reform Judaism has consistently held that the observance of the laws of *niddah* is not necessary in modern times. In the first half of the 20th century, observance of these laws appears to have declined significantly, even among nominally traditional families. This was despite Orthodox exhortation in sermons and written tracts on the spiritual and medical benefits of **taharat ha-mishpahah* (family purity regulations), as these laws came to be called. Many Jewish feminist writers of the late 20th century condemned *niddah* regulations as archaic expressions of male anxieties about the biological processes of the female body and argued that they reinforced the predominant construction, in rabbinic Judaism, of women as other and lesser than men.

However, the 1980s and 1990s saw a resurgence in the numbers of Orthodox Jews and a new sympathy for various previously discarded practices of traditional Judaism in Reform, Conservative, and Reconstructionist Judaisms. In this period, positive new interpretations of observance of *hilkhot niddah* emerged, praising the ways in which they enhanced the sanctity of marriage and human sexuality. Some writers maintained that traditional Judaism recognized and valued the fluctuating rhythms of human relationships by mandating a monthly separation between husband and wife when spousal communication and empathy must be enhanced in non-physical ways (Frankiel). Supporters commended the elevating value of fulfilling a demanding divinely ordained mandate and also praised the consciousness of the body and its rhythms that these rules impose on women, as well as the feeling of personal renewal and rebirth following each ritual immersion (Adler).

Reflections on Hilkhot Niddah

In a religious system like rabbinic Judaism, which likens ritual impurity to a state of spiritual death, periodic female flows of blood were central to male characterizations of women as sources of potential pollution and as portents of physical extinction. Such fears were deeply rooted in the cultures of the ancient Near East, and similar taboos are found in cultures worldwide. While separation from the *niddah* is often presented as a matter which is of concern only to husband and wife, both biblical and rabbinic sources connect contact with any menstruating woman to defilement and even to danger (eg: Ezek. 7:19–20; Lam. 1:17; Ezra 9:11; II Chron. 29:5). Shabbat 9:1 quotes Isaiah 30:22 in equating the desecration conveyed by carrying a *niddah* to that acquired by carrying an idol.

S.J.D. Cohen has pointed out that such attitudes, more expressive of folk piety than legal formulation, confirm "the marginality of all women, menstruating or not, in the organized, public expressions of Jewish piety." That *niddah* regulations are essentially androcentric is evident in the fact that menstruating women constitute no danger to themselves or to other women, nor were they halakhically prohibited from taking part in rituals or in study. Ber. 2:12 is quite clear that "Men who have experienced an abnormal genital discharge and women who have experienced an abnormal genital discharge, as well as menstruating women and women who have recently given birth, are permitted to chant Torah, Prophets, and Writings out of a scroll and to chant from memory *mishnah*, *midrash*, *halakhot*, and *aggadot* …" Significantly, however, the Talmud at Ber. 22a omits any mention of the licit participation of women, whether *niddah* or not, in such activities, and takes for granted that these acts of worship and study are exclusively male prerogatives. Since Berakhot 22a affirms that words of Torah are not susceptible to ritual impurity, it seems clear that the exclusion of women from these activities is not based on any apprehension that they might defile the divine word. Rather, it appears to originate in a rabbinic concern that women might defile the men with whom they would come into contact if their presence was encouraged in sites of worship and learning. (Although, as M. Gruber has noted, many Jewish men have been content to let women believe that the reason for their exclusion from study of Torah was because of their susceptibility to menstrual impurity.) *Hilkhot niddah* demonstrate that the rabbis inscribed male piety on female bodies: in order to construct fences to protect male ritual sanctity from the *niddah*, all women had to be eliminated from places of holiness. Moreover, the *halakhah* also subordinated women in the most intimate areas of their lives. As C.E. Fonrobert has observed, in rabbinic writings women appear as ciphers in legal discussions of their bodily discharges or as speakers in narratives fashioned by men. To study tractate *Niddah*, she has argued, is to witness men insisting upon their authority to interpret women's bodies.

[Judith R. Baskin (2nd ed.)]

See also *Purity and Impurity, Ritual; **Taharat ha-Mishpaḥah*.

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NIDDAH (Heb. נִדָּה; "menstruous woman"), seventh tractate of the order *Tohorot* in the Mishnah and in the Babylonian Talmud – the only tractate of the order with *Gemara*. The tractate deals with the ritual uncleanness of a woman which is caused by menstruation or other fluxes, and is based chiefly upon Leviticus chapters 12 and 15:19 ff.

The Mishnah consists of ten chapters. Chapter 1 discusses the determining of the onset and duration of menstruation in those with regular and irregular menses. Chapter 2 continues that topic and deals with the source and colors of the blood causing uncleanness. Chapter 3 discusses the uncleanness of a woman following miscarriage, abortion, and childbirth. Chapter 4 deals with the untrustworthiness of Samaritans and Sadducees with regard to menstruation; menstruation in the case of heathens and after childbirth; difficult confinements; and menstrual regularity. Chapter 5 deals with caesarean births; the moment that uncleanness commences; and the different ages and stages in the development of a male and female child. Chapter 6 continues this theme; deals incidentally with a list of cases in which the presence of one factor presupposes another although the reverse is not true; and deals with doubts about the source of bloodstains. Chapter 7 discusses the uncleanness of the blood itself; cases where its origin is uncertain; sources of uncleanness that have dried out; and, once again, with the untrustworthiness of Samaritans in regard to uncleanness. Chapters 8 and 9 continue the subject of doubtful stains or flows of blood. Chapter 10 continues this theme and deals with the duration of menstruation and borderline cases.

It is possible to discern several strata in the Mishnah. Thus 2:6 may predate the schools of Shammai and Hillel, and Akavya b. Mahalalel. Moreover, several earlier *mishnayot* are interpreted in later *mishnayot*: Thus Mishnah 1:1 is explained in 1:2, 1:3 in 1:4–6, and 2:2 in 2:3. *Mishnayot* 5:3–6 form a distinct group, which gives the various ages, from one day to 20 years, at which laws become applicable for males and females. These laws are irrelevant to the subjects of *Niddah* and were incorporated because the first Mishnah states that a female child has the potential of becoming a *niddah* from the age of one day. Similarly *mishnayot* 6:2–10 consist of various laws which have as their common theme that wherever A occurs B will be found, but not the reverse. These follow 6:1, where the formula occurs with regard to the *niddah*. A. Weiss claims that most of these grouped *mishnayot* are of ancient origin, and that the editor collected and condensed most of them from older mishnaic sources (*Al ha-Mishnah* (1969), 31). The end of *Niddah* contains supplements to various *mishnayot* in the tractate; for example, *mishnayot* 9:8–10 are supplements to 1:2; *mishnayot* 9:1 and 10:1 supplement 1:7; and *mishnayot*

10:2–3 supplement 4:7 (see further Ḥ. Albeck, *Shishah Sidrei Mishnah, Seder Tohorot* (1959), 377f.).

In the Tosefta, *Niddah*, containing nine chapters, is the fifth tractate in the order *Tohorot*. It includes original legal and aggadic passages, such as a section on birth control which is debated in 2:6. Another passage sounds like a version of the Jonah story and tells about a ship that was caught in a storm; the passengers prayed to their own gods, but a little boy reproached them: "How long will you delude yourselves? Pray to the Creator of the ocean," i.e., to the God of Israel (5:17). Another group of *beraitot* tells of several reforms of existing customs, some of which were instituted for the dignity of the poor and women (9:16–18), such as the decision to give the same simple burial to both rich and poor alike. Only three chapters (and a fragment of a fourth) of the Jerusalem Talmud to *Niddah* are extant. It is placed after *Nezikin* and contains very little aggadic material. In the Babylonian Talmud there is *Gemara* on the whole tractate. Because of its practical importance the tractate is much studied and much space is devoted to it both in the various codes and in the responsa literature. It contains aggadic material, one noteworthy view being (16b) that while a man's physical qualities are preordained, his moral character and spiritual outlook are left to his free choice. There is also a vivid description of the wonderful life of learning and joy that the embryo enjoys in his mother's womb. Before birth he is made to take the oath: "Be righteous and not wicked, and if all the world tells you 'you are righteous' consider yourself wicked" (30b). Another passage reports 12 questions and answers on law and *aggadah* that the Alexandrians asked Joshua b. Hananiah (69b–71a). The Mishnah was translated into English by H. Danby (*The Mishnah*, 1933), and J. Neusner published a translation of both the Mishnah (1991) and the Tosefta (2002). The Babylonian Talmud was translated into English in the Soncino edition by I.W. Slotki (1948), and the Jerusalem Talmud by J. Neusner (*The Talmud of the Land of Israel;* vol. 34 – *Horayot & Niddah*, 1982).

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NIEBUHR, CARSTEN (1733–1815), German traveler. In 1760 he was proposed to join the expedition sent out by Frederick V of Denmark on the initiation of J.D. Michaelis, the renowned German biblical scholar, for the scientific exploration of *Egypt, *Arabia, *Syria, and *Persia (1761–67), visiting *Jerusalem in 1766. He was assigned the position of surveyor and geographer. All the members of the expedition died during the trip, except Niebuhr, who saved his life and restored his health by adopting native habits in dress and food. Niebuhr's account of his travels, *Reisebeschreibung nach Arabien und andern umliegenden Laendern* (2 vols., 1774–78), are considered classics on the geography, the people, the antiquities, and the archaeology of much of the district of Arabia which he traversed and were accepted with enthusiasm by Western scholars. A third volume, *Reisen durch Syrien und Palaestina*, was published by J. Olshausen in 1837. His books were translated into Dutch, French, and English. Two recent Arabic books sum up his travel to *Yemen and to *Iraq. His travels and publications are an important landmark for modern Oriental studies in the West in general and especially for the Jews of Yemen.

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[Yosef Tobi (2nd ed.)]

°**NIEBUHR, REINHOLD** (1892–1971), U.S. Protestant theologian who spent most of his teaching career at New York's Union Theological Seminary. Niebuhr brought to this position a social conscience formed during a pastorate in Detroit, Michigan, in the 1920s. Active in many public causes, gifted as a journalist, he fashioned his ethical approach in countless articles and a number of books, the most famous being the Gifford Lectures, *The Nature and Destiny of Man* (1941–43). Niebuhr frequently acknowledged that his social passion had been born at the side of activist Jews, even as his prophetic realism was nurtured by a reading of the Hebrew prophets. His own preaching reproduces something of their cadences and much of their concern for justice. "I have as a Christian theologian sought to strengthen the Hebraic-prophetic content of the Christian tradition." His conception of Judaism and blatant opposition to Christian missionary activity among Jews are expressed in Chapter 7 of his book *Pious and Secular America* (1958; publ. in England under the title: *The Godly and the Ungodly* (1958)). By 1941 Niebuhr had begun publicly to advocate a Jewish homeland, particularly for European refugees, though he also wanted to welcome refugees to America. Though consistently arguing that Palestine should be that homeland, he had a reputation for fair-mindedness in Middle Eastern affairs and was not identified with ideological Zionism. He was awarded an honorary doctorate by the Hebrew University of Jerusalem in 1967.

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[Martin E. Marty]

NIEDERSTETTEN, city in Wuerttemberg, Germany. Jews were mentioned there as victims of the *Rindfleisch massacre of 1298. There is no further trace of them in the city throughout the Middle Ages until their settlement in 1675. By 1714 the community had acquired a prayer room; in 1737 a cemetery was consecrated in which Jews from Archshofen, Creglingen, Gerabronn, and Mulfingen were also buried. In that same period a *ḥevra kaddisha* was also founded. The Jews earned their livelihood mainly from trade in livestock, wine, and wool. By 1744 a synagogue was built, and by 1807 the community numbered 138 Jews. The number rose to 171 in 1824, and in 1832 the community was included in the rabbinate of *Mergentheim. A religious school was also founded in the 1830s. The community numbered 215 in 1854, decreased to 163 in 1900, and to 81 in 1933. In the 20th century, Jews were active as wholesale merchants in leather and wine, and as shopkeepers. They also engaged in textile manufacturing and banking. They were active in the political and cultural life of the town, and one Jew was a member of the municipal council during the Weimar Republic. In 1933 Jewish merchants were subject to the Nazi *boycott, and some leaders of the community were physically assaulted. This resulted in large-scale Jewish emigration. During the general destruction on *Kristallnacht* in 1938, the synagogue itself was preserved, but eight Jewish men were sent to concentration camps. Between 1941 and 1942, 42 Jews were deported to extermination camps, never to return. In early 1945 the synagogue was destroyed as a result of the war. The ritual objects of the community were saved, however, and turned over to a U.S. Army chaplain when the war ended. All that was left of a once active community in Niederstetten was the Jewish cemetery. A plaque has been mounted to commemorate the former synagogue.

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[Alexander Shapiro]

NIEGO, JOSEPH (1863–1945), teacher and social worker. Niego was born in Adrianople into a rabbinical family. In about 1891 he was appointed director of the *Mikveh Israel Agricultural School (near Tel Aviv). He served in this post for 18 years, and during that time he went to Kurdistan on behalf of the *Alliance Israélite Universelle. On his return he presented an interesting report about the Kurdish Jews which was published in French and in a Hebrew translation. Later he was nominated as inspector of the Jewish Colonization Association agricultural settlements in Oriental and European countries, including its colonies in Palestine (Gederah, Be'er-Toviyyah, Sejera, Ḥaderah, etc.). He remained at this post for 20 years. His headquarters were in Istanbul, but he was also very active in agricultural research in Anatolia. In 1923 he became the manager of a loan association in Istanbul which was established by the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee. Niego took part in the social life of the Jews in the city and was president of the B'nai B'rith Grand Orient Lodge. A jubilee book was published on his 70th birthday that was dedicated to his activities and includes some of his lectures and articles (see bibl.).

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[Eliyahu Hirschberg]

NIEMIROWER, JACOB ISAAC (1872–1939), chief rabbi of Romania. Niemirower was born in Lemberg. In 1897 he was appointed rabbi of Jassy and in 1911 rabbi of the Sephardi community of Bucharest. In 1921 he was appointed rabbi of the main synagogue of Bucharest and shortly after, chief rabbi of Romania. He succeeded in uniting the Jewish communities of Romania under his leadership. As chief rabbi he was elected in 1926 to the Romanian senate – the first Jew to receive such an appointment – and was recognized by the government as the representative of all Romanian Jewry. He fought against the humiliating wording of the Romanian oath, *more judaico*, and succeeded in having it annulled. By force of his intellect and personality he became the chief figure in the religious as well as in the general communal life of Romanian Jewry. Although his election was largely due to the progressive element which dominated Jewish communal life there, Niemirower's authority was accepted by all circles, including the Orthodox, and his influence was decisive. He did much in the sphere of Jewish education – founding Jewish schools and establishing a theological seminary, a society for Jewish education called Sharon, a society for Jewish studies, etc. He was president of the order of B'nai B'rith in Romania. He was an active Zionist and took part in the First Zionist Congress. In 1936 a Romanian nationalist made an attempt on his life and Niemirower was slightly wounded. He published many works in Romanian, German, and French on various Jewish topics. Between 1918 and 1932 his complete works were issued entitled *Scrieri Complete* (4 vols.). The fourth and fifth volumes of the journal *Sinai* (1932–33) were dedicated to him in honor of his 60th birthday.

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[Itzhak Alfassi]

NIERMAN, LEONARDO (1932–), Mexican artist. Nierman sought a relationship between abstract art and cosmic phenomena. In 1956 he painted a mural at the Mexico University School of Commerce. In 1965 he executed a mural for the Golden West Savings Bank in San Francisco, California, and in 1966 made the stained glass windows at the Jewish Cultural Center of Mexico City. Collected all over the world, Nierman is considered by many to be Latin America's greatest abstract artist. In 2002 the mayor of Chicago proclaimed a Leonardo Nierman Day, and in 2003 he received the Gloria Award from the International Latino Cultural Center of Chicago. "Painting," he wrote, "is to me the aperture through which it is possible to enter a certain world; in it the viewer may find an endless number of magic images, objects, remembrances, associations, fears, joys, hopes and dreams.… It is my non-verbal world surrounded by combat, stress and sights; joy, sensuality and death. Dreams, moments of ecstasy in the creation of images. Piercing the darkness, radiant smoke and dust, a world of volcanic vapors, lava, storms, prehistoric vegetation, bottoms of oceans, enchanted caves filled with stars, precious stones and cosmic winds ascending into the silence of infinity."

NIEROP, VAN, family of Dutch jurists and bankers. NIEROP, AHASVARUS SALOMON, VAN (1813–1878), jurist, politician, and communal leader. Born at Hoorn, Holland, Van Nierop became a prominent attorney in Amsterdam. He published numerous articles on commercial law in the law journals *Themis* and the *Weekblad voor het Recht*, and sat in the Second Chamber of Parliament from 1851 to 1853 and from 1864 to 1866. Van Nierop was the first Jewish MP in the Netherlands He also became a member of the Communal Council of Amsterdam and of the First Chamber of Parliament. Van Nierop played an important part in the reorganization of Jewish communal bodies which led to the establishment of the Nederlands Israelitisch Kerkgenootschap of which he was chairman of the executive (1870–71). His son FREDERIK SALOMON VAN NIEROP (1844–1924), banker, was born in Amsterdam and graduated in law at the University of Leiden. For some years he practiced law in Amsterdam. In 1871 he became the founder of the Amsterdamsche Bank. As one of its directors Van Nierop played an important part in expanding its operations. A progressive liberal, he was a member of the Amsterdam Municipal Council (1879–1905), of the North Holland Provincial Council (1883–99), and of the First Chamber of Parliament (1899–1922). Though an assimilated Jew and religiously indifferent, he became president of the Nederlands Israelitisch Kerkgenootschap and president of the Consistory of the Amsterdam Kehillah (1876–99). A principled liberal, he favored the emancipation of Jews as Dutch citizens, and opposed private Jewish education and the Zionist movement. His son HENDRIK ABRAHAM VAN NIEROP (1881–1976), banker, succeeded him as a director of the Amsterdamsche Bank in 1916, but played no part in the community.

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[Henriette Boas / H.F.K. van Nierop (2nd ed.)]

NIETO, DAVID (1654–1728), philosopher and haham of the Spanish and Portuguese Synagogue in London (1701–28). Having studied medicine at the University of Padua, Nieto functioned as *dayyan*, preacher, and physician in Leghorn before going to London. He was proficient in languages and an astronomer of some repute. His calendar (1717) served the London community until the 19th century as a guide for the Sabbath and festivals. His works indicate that he was fully aware of the religious currents and crosscurrents of his time, including *Spinozism, Deism (see conceptions of *God), and Shabbateanism. *Matteh Dan* (1714), his *magnum opus*, devoted to a defense of the Oral Law against the attacks of ex-Marranos to whom the rabbinic tradition was both novel and unacceptable, has frequently been reprinted as a defense of rabbinic Judaism (last edition: Jerusalem, 1958). *Esh Dat* (1715) was directed against the Shabbatean heresiarch, Nehemiah Ḥiyya Ḥayon. Previously, Nieto had published *Pascalogia* (1702), dealing with the date of the Christian Easter in relation to that of the Jewish Passover, and *De La Divina Providencia* (1704). The latter was an elaboration of a sermon Nieto had delivered to combat the deistic notion of a "Nature" apart from God. Nieto identified Nature with God; and, although he made it clear that he had *natura naturans*, and not *natura naturata* (see *Spinoza) in mind, he was accused of Spinozistic leanings. Nevertheless, "Ḥakham Ẓevi" Ashkenazi (cf. his responsum no. 18) ruled in his favor. Nieto's *Reply to the Archbishop of Cranganor*, published posthumously in 1729, controverts the christological interpretation of the Bible. In his writings, Nieto gives evidence of wide reading in science and the humanities. He argues for the compatibility of Judaism and scientific investigations. Nieto is also one of the very few Jewish theologians who used the argument *de consensu gentium* to establish the dogmas of God's existence and of retribution.

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[Jakob J. Petuchowski]

NIETO, ISAAC (1687–1773), English rabbi. Born in Leghorn, Nieto was taken to London when his father David *Nieto became haham in 1701. He was appointed to succeed him in 1732, after an interregnum of four years. Nieto seems to have had a difficult character however, and held office only until 1741, when he went abroad. Returning to England, he was admitted as a public notary and built up a considerable practice. On the death of Moses Gomes de *Mesquita (1688–1751), who had been haham since 1744, Nieto was appointed *av bet din* (in effect, acting rabbi) of the community, but resigned in 1757 in protest against the appointment to the *bet din* of Moses Cohen *d'Azevedo (1720–1784, haham from 1761). During the controversy over ritual slaughter in London, which began in 1761 through the captious criticisms of Jacob Kimḥi, Nieto attacked the *bet din* so vigorously that the *Mahamad ordered that his decisions in matters of Jewish law should thereafter be disregarded. Nieto published a number of sermons in Spanish and Portuguese, of which one appeared also in English (London, 1756) on the occasion of the earthquake of 1756; this was the first Jewish sermon to be published in English. His translations into Spanish of the liturgy for Rosh Ha-Shanah and the Day of Atonement (*ibid.*, 1740) and of the daily prayers (*ibid.*, 1771) were highly regarded for their style. Following his father's example, he also published a series of calendars.

His son PHINEHAS NIETO (1739–1812) carried on the family tradition by publishing a "New Calendar" (London, 1791), and his remoter descendant ABRAHAM ḤAYYIM NIETO published "Nieto's Jewish Almanac for One Hundred Years 5663 – 1902 to 5763 – 2002" (1902).

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[Cecil Roth]

°**NIETZSCHE, FRIEDRICH WILHELM** (1844–1900), German philosopher, one of the key influences on modern thinking. The perception of Nietzsche's philosophy is to a considerable extent – more than is the case with other philosophers – marked by the transforming impact of its reception after he himself lapsed into silence (1887–89) due to mental illness. His highly enigmatic philosophy was subsequently adopted by circles which later had a powerful influence on Fascism, Nazism, and related movements. Using barely understood slogans from his works like "the Will to Power," "the Superman," and "Transvaluation of Values," they gave their own racist and antisemitic twist to the philosopher's conceptions. The Nazis hailed Nietzsche as one of the spiritual progenitors of Nazism, along with H.S. *Chamberlain and R. *Wagner. His letters and writings do indeed contain antisemitic remarks, and his nihilistic critique of liberalism, democracy, and modern culture contributed to the rise of irrational political movements. The claim that he was antisemitic was reinforced by Nietzsche's sister Elizabeth (the wife of Bernhard Foerster, a rabid professional antisemite), his literary executor; she forged, emended, and selectively edited his writings to bring them into line with her ideology.

In the course of his friendship with Richard Wagner, Nietzsche himself voiced some anti-Jewish opinions; after his break with the composer, however, he condemned antisemitism in the strongest terms. His attitude toward Judaism is usually described as ambivalent; yet this description blurs the intentions of his statements. His main reproach against Judaism was that it had given birth to Christianity, the religion of humility, weakness, and an inverted and unnatural "slave morality" that had caused immeasurable harm to the Western world. Thus he was attacking ancient, post-exilic Judaism, particularly its priests, who drew the ire of his anticlerical convictions. According to Nietzsche, the "priests" (and Pharisees) of the Second Temple period, or rather the proto-Christian priests, developed a morality according to which the weak hate and negate the strong (his "slave morality," *Sklavenmoral*). Nietzsche saw this development as a total re-evaluation of morality and as a revolutionary success, and it is against this *ressentiment* (that they have in common with his contemporary antisemites) that Nietzsche battled against ardently. Biblical and Diaspora Judaism, by contrast, earned his admiration for their august strength (even in times of persecution) and creativity. Accordingly, he considered contemporary Jewry as a possible source of ferment for his ideal, "dionysian," atheistic world.

His first acclaim came from Georg *Brandes, the Danish literary historian and critic. Oscar Levy was the first to translate Nietzsche into English, further helping to spread his ideas. Nietzsche also exerted a considerable influence on modern Hebrew writers, namely M.J. *Berdyczewski, J.Ḥ. *Brenner, Uri Zevi *Greenberg, and S. *Tchernichowsky. He also influenced certain activist elements within the nascent Zionist movement, an influence severely criticized by *Aḥad Ha-Am.

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[Henry Wasserman / Marcus Pyka (2nd ed.)]

NIFOCI (Nafusi), ISAAC (late 14th century), physician-astronomer and scholar of *Majorca. In 1359 King Pedro IV of Aragon invited Nifoci to Barcelona to construct clocks and astrolabes. Three years later, he was appointed palace astronomer (*maestre astralabre de casa del senyor rey*) and also received the sinecure of ritual slaughterer and inspector (*shoḥet u-vodek*) of the community of Majorca, an office he was empowered to pass on to his son Joseph. In 1380 he entered the service of the infante John as manufacturer of astrolabes (*maestre de fer stralaus*). During the persecutions of 1391 he was forcibly converted to Christianity. However, shortly afterward he took refuge in Bugia (Bougie), North Africa, where he returned to Judaism, then emigrated to Ereẓ Israel. From Bugia, Nifoci addressed a question to Simon b. Ẓemaḥ *Duran and *Isaac b. Sheshet, on whether it was permissible "to set out on a caravan journey to Palestine, on a Friday" (cf. Duran's responsa, vol. 1, no. 21).

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NIGER, SHMUEL (pseudonym of **Shmuel Tsharny**; 1883–1955), Yiddish literary critic. Niger was born in 1883 in Dukor, a village near Minsk. His father was a fervent follower of Chabad Ḥasidim who died when Shmuel was six years old. Among his siblings were BORUCH TSHARNY VLADECK (1886–1935), managing editor at the Yiddish *Forverts* and founding president of the Jewish Labor Committee in New York, and DANIEL TSHARNY (1888–1958), one of the foremost Yiddish poets, journalists, and memoirists of his time. When

Niger attended yeshivah in Minsk, he came in contact with the Zionist ideas of *Aḥad Ha-Am and the socialist doctrines of Russian revolutionists, soon joining the newly founded Vorozhdenye Party, and helping to found the *Zionist-Socialist Workers Party and participating in its often illegal propaganda activities. Though repeatedly arrested and tortured in Russian prisons, he continued to write revolutionary proclamations and articles, in particular for *Der Nayer Veg*. His 1906 essay, "*Vos iz der Yidisher arbeter*" ("What Is the Jewish Worker"), was his first work with wide distribution. His initial literary efforts were in Russian and Hebrew, but after the onset of the 1905 Revolution he wrote mainly in Yiddish. A major essay on Sholem *Asch, "*Vegn der Tragedye fun Goles*" ("On the Tragedy of Exile," 1907), was his initial attempt to place himself at the forefront of the new Yiddish literary culture as well as to introduce the still relatively unknown Asch to a much broader audience. The following year, together with the Bundist dramatist A. Vayter and the Zionist essayist S. *Gorelik, he founded the short-lived journal *Literarishe Monatshriftn* in Vilna, which is widely credited with having launched the Yiddish literary renaissance. Niger's reputation soon equaled, and later eclipsed that of *Ba'al-Makhshoves, the founder of Yiddish literary criticism. In 1909 Niger left for Berlin and soon after for the University of Berne, Switzerland, in order to extend his knowledge of philosophy, world literature, and European literary criticism. In 1912 he returned to Vilna to edit a new monthly, *Di Yidishe Velt*, which rapidly became the authoritative organ of Yiddish *belles lettres*. That same year he published a collection of his early essays, *Vegn Yidishe Shrayber: Kritishe Artiklen* ("On Yiddish Writers: Critical Articles"). Assisted by Ber *Borochov, he edited *Der Pinkes* (1913), the first Yiddish scholarly volume devoted to the study of Yiddish literature, language, folklore, criticism, and bibliography. He also edited Zalmen *Rejzen's *Leksikon fun der Yidisher Literatur un Prese* ("Lexicon of Yiddish Literature and Press," 1914). The best of his essays from this period were later collected in a volume entitled *Shmuesn vegn Bikher* ("Conversations on Books," 1922). After the 1917 Revolution he edited the Moscow weekly *Kultur un Bildung* (1918), and the Vilna monthly *Di Naye Velt* (1919). In April 1919, Polish legionnaires stormed Vilna, broke into an apartment Niger was sharing with A. Vayter and Leib *Jaffe, shot Vayter, and arrested the others. After his release from prison, Niger left for the U.S. In 1920, he joined the staff of the New York daily *Der Tog* and for 35 years wrote weekly reviews of books and articles on literary trends, becoming the most revered and feared Yiddish critic of his generation. His praise or censure often made or destroyed reputations. His participation in the literary monthly *Di Tsukunft*, which he co-edited from 1941 to 1947, helped to maintain its high quality and enduring influence. Niger was a pillar of the *YIVO Institute for Jewish Research from its very beginning, contributing studies to its important publications. He was also active in CYCO (Central Yiddish Culture Organization), editing its complete edition of the works of I.L. *Peretz, on whom he wrote a definitive study (1952). Niger was the chief adviser of the Louis La-Med Foundation for the Advancement of Hebrew and Yiddish Literature and, under its auspices, published his study *Di Tsveyshprakhikayt fun Undzer Literatur* ("The Bilingualism of our Literature," 1941). In this study, he emphasized that bilingualism had been a Jewish tradition since biblical days and that in the modern era both Hebrew and Yiddish were necessary pillars sustaining Jewish culture. In 1948, Niger helped to found the *Congress for Jewish Culture. In 1954, he undertook to co-edit its *Leksikon fun der Nayer Yidisher Literatur* ("Lexicon of the New Yiddish Literature"). He died while the first volume was in press. A number of his works were published posthumously: *Yidishe Shrayber in Soviet-Rusland* ("Yiddish Writers in Soviet Russia," 1958); *Bleter Geshikhte fun der Yidisher Literatur* ("Page from the History of Yiddish Literature," 1959); *Kritik un Kritiker* ("Criticism and Critics," 1959); *Sholem Asch* (1960).

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[Sol Liptzin / Barry Trachtenberg (2nd ed.)]

NIGER OF PEREA (d. 68 C.E.), patriot leader of Perea, Transjordan. After distinguishing himself in the attack on Cestius at the outset of the revolt against the Romans in the autumn of 66, Niger apparently took charge of operations against them in Idumea, in due course becoming for a short time deputy governor of this province. Later in the same year he was placed in command of the disastrous expedition against *Ashkelon, together with *John the Essene and Silas the Babylonian. He was the only one of the three to survive, leading another attack later on with no greater success from his base in Idumea. During the reign of terror in *Jerusalem after the triumph of the Zealot extremists, he was among the moderates who were executed, apparently on suspicion of wishing to come to terms with the Romans (Jos., Wars, 2:520, 566; 3:11–27; 4:359–63).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Graetz, Hist, 2 (1893), 264, 296.

[Cecil Roth]

NIGHTINGALE (Heb. זָמִיר (mod.), *zamir*), a name applied to singing birds of the genus *Luscinia*, of which three species are found in Israel. The most outstanding for its song is the *Luscinia megarhynchos* which hatches its eggs in the thickets of the Jordan. It is a small brown bird, common in Western Europe. The Hebrew word is mentioned only once in the Bible in a description of spring in Ereẓ Israel: "The time of the *zamir* is come, and the voice of the turtledove is heard in our land" (Song 2:12). The parallelism between *zamir* and turtledove indicates that the reference here is to a bird and, according to the meaning of the Hebrew root, to a singing one. Apparently the nightingale is not specifically meant but rather all singing birds that in spring and during the breeding season fill the air with their melodious song. Some, however, maintain that *zamir* is derived from the root signifying "fruit-picking," since in the *Gezer Calendar there occurs the expression *yarḥo zamor* denoting the fruit-picking months in summer. But as the Song of Songs speaks of spring, this interpretation is improbable.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: N.H. Tur-Sinai, *Ha-Lashon ve-ha-Sefer*, 1 (1954^{2}), 51; J. Feliks, *Animal World of the Bible* (1962), 87.

[Jehuda Feliks]

NIGHT PRAYER (Heb. קְרִיאַת שְׁמַע עַל הַמִּטָּה, *Keri'at Shema al ha-Mittah*; "the reading of the **Shema* on retiring," lit. "on the bed"), a prayer recited before retiring for the night. The custom to pray before going to sleep reflects man's need for protection in a state of suspended consciousness and vulnerability, especially since sleep was held in ancient times to be similar to death. Possibly practiced earlier, the Night Prayer in which one commends one's soul to God for the night became obligatory only in mishnaic times. It was incorporated into the prayer book of nearly all Jewish communities in an almost identical form (but see below): When **Arvit* became established as a community prayer to be recited in the early evening, the Night Prayer became the individual concluding prayer of the day. The name *Keri'at Shema al ha-Mittah* refers to the central part of the prayer which is the first paragraph of the *Shema*. The Talmud states that he who wishes to go to sleep should say the *Shema* until the words *Ve-hayah im shamo'a* and recite the prayer *Ha-Mappil* to God "Who causes the bands of sleep to fall upon my eyes…" (Ber. 60b). Some codifiers demand the recitation of the first two sections of the *Shema* (see R. Asher to Ber. 9 no. 23); the majority, however, require the first one only (Maim. Yad, Tefillah, 7:1–2; Tur and Sh. Ar., OḤ 239:1), to be preceded by *Ha-Mappil* (Maim. loc. cit., but see Tur and Sh. Ar., loc. cit.). The order of these two portions of the Night Prayer is widely accepted and is probably derived from the talmudic view that "man ought to recite the *Shema* and repeat it until sleep overcomes him" (TJ, Ber. 1:1, 2d). The rabbinic concept of sleep being a state of minor death is in consonance with this outlook; just as one is obliged in the last hour of life to recite the *Shema* and bless the unity of God, so one should recite the *Shema* at night and commend one's spirit to God before succumbing to sleep. The reversed order, in which the *Shema* is recited first and is followed by *Ha-Mappil*, is given by *Amram Gaon, but is less common. In Amram's order, the *Shema* is prefaced by blessing "the Lord Who has sanctified us with His commandments and commanded us to recite the *Shema*," and concludes (as in the Italian rite) with blessing "the Lord Who guards His people Israel forever." The *Ha-Mappil* benediction underwent a number of changes and considerable curtailment compared with the original talmudic version (see Yad, Tefillah 7:1, R. Asher to Ber. 9 no. 23; Tur, OḤ 239).

The significance of the Night Prayer is prophylactic: the *Shema* and *Ha-Mappil* are invocations of divine protection against the various dangers that might befall man at night and during sleep, and especially against sin. The latter idea derives from Psalm 4:51: "Tremble, and sin not, commune with your heart upon your bed, and be still." Consequently, some scholars held (Ber. 5a–b) that for a man whose sole occupation was the study of the Torah no Night Prayer was necessary or one short supplicatory text was sufficient, e.g., "I commend my spirit into Thine hand" (Ps. 31:6). According to the Mishnah (Ber. 2:5), a bridegroom on the night of his wedding was exempted from the obligation of reciting the *Shema* at night because, excited over his nuptials, he would not be able to muster the necessary concentration (Ber. 16a–b; Maim. Yad, Keri'at Shema, 4:1). In later times, however, this exemption was abolished since proper spiritual concentration at prayer was rare anyway (Tur, OḤ 70).

Subsequently more prayers and scriptural texts were added to the Night Prayer by the talmudists and later authorities: e.g., Psalm 91 (also known as *Shir shel Pegga'im*; "Song against Untoward Happenings"), Psalm 3, and certain sections from *Arvit* (e.g., *Hashkivenu* and *Barukh Adonai ba-Yom*). Further additions were made under kabbalistic influence, the latter strengthening earlier angelological elements (e.g., Gen. 48:16) in the Night Prayer.

It is customary not to recite these additional prayers and texts on the first night of Passover; as this is a "night of watching unto the Lord" (Ex. 12:42) God Himself guards the Jews from the dangers of this night (Sh. Ar., OḤ 481:2).

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[H. Elchanan Blumenthal]

NIGRI (Niger), PETRUS (Peter Schwarz; 1434–1483), Hebraist and polemist. Born in Bohemia, Nigri entered the Dominican Order and studied Hebrew, perfecting his knowledge in Spain, where he apparently acquired or compiled anti-Jewish polemical material subsequently exploited in his writings. On his return to Germany, he launched a conversionist campaign in several Jewish communities and ingratiated himself with the antisemitic bishop of Regensburg by arranging a week-long religious disputation there in 1474. In the following year, Nigri published his *Tractatus contra perfidos Judaeos de conditionibus veri Messiae…* (Esslingen, 1475), the first incunabulum to contain printed Hebrew characters, which was later consulted by Conrad *Pellicanus. It was followed by a treatise in German, *Der Stern Maschiach* (Esslingen, 1477), another early document of the Christian Kabbalah. Both works contained appended guides to the study of Hebrew and were venomously anti-Jewish and anti-talmudic. Their author characteristically identified the Trinity in the second word of the Hebrew Bible, *bara* ("created"), being said to represent the initials of *Ben* ("Son"), *Ru'aḥ* ("Spirit"), and *Av* ("Father"). Nigri, who also wrote a commentary on the Psalms, is said by Yom Tov Lipmann Heller (*Sefer Niẓẓaḥon*, 1644, p. 191) to have been a Jewish apostate.

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NIKEL, LEA (1918–2005), Israeli painter. Nikel was born in Zhitomir, Ukraine, the daughter of Bat Sheva and Haim Nikelshperg, who immigrated to Ereẓ Israel two years after she was born because of the pogroms. Although she lived in many cities during her lifetime, she identified with Tel Aviv. Nikel can be seen as a self-taught artist. She studied for a short while with the artist Haim Gliksberg and spent some time in the famous studios of Yehezkiel *Streichman and Avigdor *Stematzky. In these studios Nikel was exposed through books and reproductions to the world of modern art, and her decision to travel to Paris matured. Nikel remained in Paris 11 years (1950–61). She was fascinated by the artistic atmosphere there, enjoying the possibility of visiting art museums housing European collections and of considering herself an artist. Nikel's first steps in the abstract style took place in this period. The attraction of the art world and the need to become part of it influenced her mode of wandering from place to place. From the 1970s Nikel lived close to open spaces, near nature, in Moshav Kidron. In 1995 she won the Israel Prize.

Nikel was an independent artist committed to her own style. Despite criticism, she continued to work on her abstract, colorful, and optimistic paintings. Nikel's courage in coping with abstraction was unique in Israel's art world. Art critics labeled her style Lyric Abstraction, a term that came from the New Horizons art group. But Nikel's works took abstraction one step further since she examined formal questions of the abstract without linkage to local places as the other members of the group did.

The main artistic tool in Nikel's paintings is color. She used a wide variety of colorful compositions. They move from figurative dark painting to abstract colorful works during the 1960s in Paris. From geometric compositions with contour lines and muddy color (*View from the Window of My Chambre de Bonne: Paris*, 1950, Tel Aviv Museum of Art) she turned to a spontaneous turbulent style (*Untitled*, 1969, Israel Museum, Jerusalem).

In the 1990s her style was still vivid and optimistic, and she was invited to exhibit in very stylish new galleries. Her perception of art as emotional creativity produced nuanced changes and renewal in her painting. Occasionally a new image would appear in some of her paintings and then disappear (*Black Butterfly*, 1994, Private Collection).

Nikel passed away ten years after a retrospective exhibition of her art was shown at the Tel Aviv Museum of Art. During this last decade, being quite elderly and ill, she continued to create in a fresh and vivid style.

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[Ronit Steinberg (2nd ed.)]

NIKITIN, VICTOR (1839–1908), writer and scholar. Nikitin's special field was the history of Jewish agricultural settlement in Russia. At the age of nine, he was kidnapped and sent to the *Cantonist regiment in Nizhni Novgorod. There he was forced to convert to Christianity, and his Jewish name (not known) was changed. Because of his excellent handwriting he was assigned to office work in the army. While in the army, he studied on his own, and after completing his military service (1869), he served as a high official in the Ministry of Agriculture. Nikitin described the life of kidnapped children and the Jewish Cantonists in "*Vek perezhit – ne pole pereyti*" (in *Yevreyskaya Biblioteka*, 4 (1876), 164–213), and in *Mnogostradalnye* ("Those who Suffer"). The latter was banned by the censors but later appeared in two editions (1872, 1896). There is a great deal of material of historical importance in his *Yevrei Zemledeltsy* ("Jewish Tillers of the Soil"), published in *Voskhod* (1881–86) and later in 1887 as a separate work, and in *Yevreyskiye poseleniya severnykh i yugo-zapadnykh guberniy* ("Jewish Settlements in Northern and Southwestern Provinces," 1894), which was written on the basis of archival material.

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[Yehuda Slutsky]

NIKOLAYEV, port on the Black Sea coast, Nikolayev district, Ukraine. The town was founded in 1789 and Jews settled there from its earliest days, engaging in commerce and crafts. Many of them moved there from Galicia. In 1830, among the inhabitants of the town were 24 Jewish families of merchants, 691 families of townsmen, and 424 individual Jews. In 1829 a government order prohibited the residence of Jews (with the exception of those serving in the army) in Nikolayev and *Sevastopol, using the existence of naval bases in the two towns as a pretext. The Jews were allowed two years to arrange their departure. The local authorities opposed the decree, arguing that the expulsion of the Jews would harm the development of the town; the expulsion was therefore postponed until 1834. At the beginning of the reign of Alexander II the right of residence in the town was granted to Jewish merchants and industrialists (1857), and later also to craftsmen (1861). Many Jews lived in the villages and estates in the vicinity of Nikolayev, where they conducted their commerce. In 1866 all restrictions were lifted and the Jewish community of Nikolayev developed rapidly. In 1880 there were 8,325 Jews in Nikolayev, and in 1897 the number rose to 20,109 (21.8% of the total population). A native of the town, Moshe Katz, described Nikolayev in the early 20th century in his memoirs, *A Dor Vos Hot Farloren di Moyre* (1956). Jews suffered in the pogroms of May 1881 and April 1899. The pogrom of 1905 was averted by Jewish self-defense units. In the early 20th century the community supported 15 schools. During the Civil War (1919–20) the Jews of neighboring towns suffered severely. In 1926 there were 21,786 Jews (about 20.8% of the total population) in Nikolayev. A court held its sessions in Yiddish in the 1920s, and 5 elementary schools, a vocational school and a high school existed in Nikolayev between the wars. Many Jews worked in factories, including the steel plant, and in the shipyard. There were 25,280 Jews in 1939 in the city (15.2% of the total population). The Germans occupied the city on August 17, 1941. On September 21–23, 1941, the Germans murdered 7,000 Jews in the vicinity of the city. With the liberation of Nikolayev (March 1944), Jews began to return to the city. According to the 1959 census, there were 15,800 Jews (7% of the population) in Nikolayev, but the actual number was probably closer to 20,000. The last synagogue was closed down by the authorities in 1962. In 1970 there were 17,978 Jews in the Nikolayev district, but later in the 1990s many emigrated to Israel.

[Yehuda Slutsky]

NIKOPOL (Nicopolis), small city in the Plevna district of Bulgaria. A Byzantine Jewish community existed in Nikopol during the tenth century. Jewish refugees arrived in Nikopol after their expulsion from Hungary in 1376 and also from Bavaria after expulsion in 1470. Jews expelled from Spain also sought refuge there. During the 16th century there were six synagogues in Nikopol – a Romanian, Hungarian, Wallachian, and Ashkenazi synagogue and two Sephardi synagogues. From 1523 to 1536 R. Joseph *Caro lived in Nikopol where he founded a famous yeshivah and continued the writing of his *Beit Yosef*. The synagogue that bears his name, Maran Beit Yosef, was destroyed several times and rebuilt in 1895. Some of the Jews expelled from Italy in 1569 by decree of Pope Pius V went to Nikopol. Those Jews who did not succeed in escaping at the approach of Michael the Brave of Wallachia, during the Turkish-Wallachian wars from 1595 to 1599, were taken to Wallachia and executed. After the wars R. Isaac *Beja (d. before 1630), author of *Bayit Ne'eman*, was the rabbi of the city. In 1688 the Jewish population increased with the arrival of war refugees from Smederevo (Semendria; Serbia) following the German invasion.

During the Russian-Turkish War of 1877 the Jews of Nikopol fled to Plevna (Pleven), and Adrianople, returning after the peace treaty of 1878. The economic situation, which deteriorated after the war, induced many Jews to settle in other Bulgarian towns. In 1904 there were still 210 Jews in Nikopol, but in 1926 only 12 Jewish families remained. During World War II the city received refugees from Germany and other European countries. The Nazis converted Maran Beit Yosef synagogue into a warehouse and stable. In 2004, after a process of migration process, only a few Jewish families lived in Nikopol.

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[Simon Marcus / Emil Kalo (2nd ed.)]

NIKOVA, RINA (1898–1972), Israeli dancer and choreographer, who originated a style for the interpretation of biblical subjects in dance. Born in Russia, trained in Moscow, Nikova made her first appearance in Berlin. In 1925 she joined the opera company of Mordecai *Golinkin in Tel Aviv as prima ballerina. In 1931 she formed the Palestine Singing Ballet, a Yemenite group. She established Jerusalem Biblical Ballet, 1949.

NILE, river in N.E. Africa. The Nile is the lifestream of the civilizations flourishing in the valley bordering it. If the river is too high or too low in one year, disaster and famine follow in the next. Indeed, the ancient Egyptians saw in the yearly inundation the annual renewal of the first act of creation, the rising of the primeval mound out of the primordial ocean. From the correct observation of this yearly flooding, which enriched the fields of the lower Nile Valley with the fertile black alluvial soil, developed much of the later civilization of the pharaohs, and particularly the 365-day calendar. Unquestionably, the Egypt of the pharaohs was "the gift of the Nile." The Hebrew word for the Nile, יְאֹר, is a loan word from the Egyptian *ʾitrw* ("river") which by the period of the Middle Kingdom came to designate the Nile as the river par excellence.

Although the name Nile is not explicitly mentioned in the Bible, it is alluded to as "the river" (Gen. 41:1; Ex. 2:3), the "river of Egypt" (Gen. 15:8), the "flood of Egypt" (Amos 8:8), Shihor (Josh. 13:3), brook of Egypt (according to some, but see *Egypt, Brook of), river of Cush, and many more. The Nile plays a prominent part in the early stories of the Exodus (Moses, Ex. 2:3; the ten plagues, 7:15, 20; et al.), and is used by the prophets as the symbol of Egypt (Amos 8:8; 9:5; Jer. 46:8).

[Alan Richard Schulman]

NILES (Neyhus), DAVID K. (1890–1952), U.S. presidential aide. Born in Boston to immigrant Russian parents, Niles went to work in a local department store. He regularly frequented Ford Hall's Sunday forum of public lectures and discussions, and caught the eye of the forum's director, George W. Coleman, who eventually made him his assistant. During World War I, when Coleman went to Washington as an official in the Labor Department, Niles accompanied him as an aide. After the war he continued his association with Ford Hall, of which he was appointed associate director in 1924. Through his work there he became acquainted with numerous political figures, as a result of which he took part in La Follette's 1924 presidential campaign on the Progressive ticket. In subsequent elections, he was active in the Democratic Party, working for Smith in 1928 and Roosevelt in 1932. In 1935 he returned to Washington as labor assistant to Harry Hopkins, director of the Works Progress Administration and an intimate of President Roosevelt. He remained with Hopkins when the latter was made secretary of commerce in 1938. By then a member of the White House's inner circle, Niles helped to engineer the third-term "draft" of President Roosevelt in 1940 and was appointed assistant to the president in 1942. In this capacity, he performed the functions of a political trouble-shooter, an unofficial dispenser of patronage, and a liaison man with organized labor and various racial and religious minority groups. He remained in the post when President *Truman took office in 1945 and is said to have been instrumental in helping to shape Truman's ultimately positive stand on the partition of Palestine, which led to swift U.S. recognition of the State of Israel in May 1948. With his characteristic aversion to publicity, however, which often caused him to be labeled by the press as a political "mystery man," Niles publicly referred to his interest in Israel only once in the course of his career. That was in his letter of resignation from office in 1951, in which he gave his desire to visit Israel as a private citizen as one of the reasons for his retirement.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Steinberg, in: *Saturday Evening Post* (Dec. 24, 1949), 24, 69–70; *New York Times* (May 22, 1951), 20.

[Bernard Sternsher]

NILI, secret pro-British spying organization, that operated under Turkish rule in Syria and Palestine during World War I, from 1915 to 1917, under the leadership of Aaron *Aaronsohn, Avshalom *Feinberg, Sarah *Aaronsohn, and Yosef *Lishansky. Its name consists of the initial letters of the Hebrew verse "*Neẓaḥ Yisrael Lo Yeshakker*" נֵצַח יִשְׂרָאֵל לֹא יְשַׁקֵּר – "the Strength of Israel will not lie" (I Sam. 15:29), which served as its password. In British official documents it is named the "A. Organization." Nili was founded by a number of Jews in the moshavot (Jewish agricultural villages), most of whom were born in the country. Their disappointment with the Turkish authorities' treatment of the Jewish population and fear of a fate similar to that of the Armenians led them to the conclusion that the future of the Jews depended on Palestine being taken over by Britain. In January 1915, Avshalom Feinberg, who worked in Aaronsohn's agricultural experimental station at Athlit, was arrested with a group of young men in Ḥaderah who were falsely accused of having contact with British boats off the coast. After his release, Feinberg presented to his teacher and friend, Aaronsohn, a plan for a Jewish revolt with the aid of the British army stationed in Egypt. Aaronsohn, who held an important position in locust control under the Turkish authorities, rejected the plan as impractical, but accepted Feinberg's basic assumption that the British army should be aided by espionage.

Establishing contact with the British headquarters in Egypt was quite difficult. The first messenger, Aaronsohn's brother Alexander, met with the disapproval of the British Arab Bureau in Cairo and went to the United States, where he conducted propaganda against Turkey and Germany. The second, Feinberg, was promised in August that contact with the group would be maintained, but the British did not keep their word; he was caught by the Turks and released only after strenuous efforts by Aaronsohn. Feinberg's trip to Turkey in February 1916, with a view to contacting British agents in neutral Romania, did not bear fruit either. In the meantime the group was joined by Sarah Aaronsohn, Aaron's sister; Yosef Lishansky, head of a watchmen organization in the southern villages; and others, most of them from Zikhron Ya'akov, Ḥaderah, and Rishon le-Zion. Some of the recruits were enlisted in Aaronsohn's locust control staff, thus being able to move all over the country and enter military camps. Military, political, and economic information was collected in the experimental station in Athlit, but there was no way of transmitting it to the British.

To contact the British, Aaronsohn went on a fictional Turkish mission to Germany, in the summer of 1916; then to neutral Denmark, where he contacted British agents; and finally to London. There he met statesmen and soldiers, and, having gained their confidence, was sent to Cairo, where he served as intelligence adviser and helped in the planning of the British offensive against Palestine. In January 1917 Feinberg and Lishansky, disguised as Bedouin, tried to get to Egypt by land to renew contact with Aaronsohn. They were attacked by Bedouin and Feinberg was killed near the British front in Sinai. Lishansky was wounded but found his way to the British lines and joined Aaronsohn. In February 1917 contact was first established between the espionage center at Athlit and British intelligence in Egypt through Lishansky, who was brought to the coast by a British boat. The connections were maintained by sea for several months and the British received useful information collected by the group, supplemented by Aaronsohn's extensive knowledge of the geographical conditions and the personnel of the Turkish command.

The group also sought to help the Jewish population, many of whom were expelled from Jaffa and Tel Aviv by the Turks during the spring of 1917. Aaronsohn devoted much publicity to this persecution, which was later stopped. Other members helped transfer financial support to the *yishuv*, a difficult task after the United States broke off relations with Turkey in April 1917. Aaronsohn founded an assistance committee corresponding to the one in Egypt, which was set up by exiles from Palestine at the beginning of the war. Sarah Aaronsohn and Lishansky went to see Aaronsohn in Egypt and brought back £2,000 in gold coins, which they handed over to the political committee of the *yishuv*. This helped change the attitude of the Jewish population and its leaders, who were afraid of the consequences if Nili's activities were discovered by the Turks. The group was asked to arrange for two representatives of the *yishuv* to meet Aaronsohn and Zionist leaders abroad, to show that the latter approved of Nili's operations. Aaronsohn met Chaim *Weizmann and his colleagues in London in September 1917 and succeeded in convincing them of the importance of Nili's work as part of the political and military work of the section of the Zionist movement that had called for an alliance with Britain from the beginning of the war. It seemed that Nili was trying to become a political factor in Palestine and the Zionist movement; it made approaches to *Ha-Shomer and other groups.

In September 1917 the Turks caught a carrier pigeon sent from Athlit to Egypt that provided clear proof of espionage within the Jewish population, and the leadership again dissociated itself from Nili's actions. Internal conflicts weakened the organization, and there were grave suspicions over the circumstances of Feinberg's death. One of the group, Na'aman Belkind, was captured by the Turks while trying to get to Egypt and gave his interrogators information on the organization and its operations. On Oct. 1, 1917, Turkish soldiers surrounded Zikhron Ya'akov and arrested numerous people, including Sarah Aaronsohn, who committed suicide after four days' interrogation and torture. Lishansky managed to escape. The authorities hunted after suspects in other villages as well. The prisoners were taken to the Khan al-Pasha prison in Damascus. Zikhron Ya'akov was given an ultimatum: if Lishansky was not handed over, the village would be destroyed. The Jewish leaders decided to hand over the suspects and wash their hands of responsibility for them.

Lishansky took shelter among his former friends in Ha-Shomer and was taken from one village to another. As it was impossible to go on like that for a long period, the Ha-Shomer committee decided that he must die in case he fell into the hands of the Turks and brought disaster to the whole *yishuv*. Emissaries of Ha-Shomer set out to assassinate Lishansky, but succeeded only in wounding him, and he managed to escape. On his way to Egypt he was caught by Bedouin near Rishon le-Zion and handed over to the Turks. Following his interrogation in Damascus, more people were arrested. Due to the intensive endeavors of Jewish leaders and the secret intervention of German representatives, most of the prisoners were released, but 12 were sentenced to periods of one to three years in prison and 30 were conscripted into the army. Lishansky and Belkind were sentenced to death and were executed on Dec. 16, 1917. The remaining members of the organization went on with their spying activities. Aaronsohn, who was sent by Weizmann on a political and propaganda mission to the U.S., returned to Palestine in the spring of 1918 with the Zionist Commission. With his death in an air accident on May 15, 1919, the group finally broke up.

From a sociological and historical point of view, Nili was an attempt by young people born in the moshavot, under Aaronsohn's leadership, to form an independent political movement that would win the support of the entire *yishuv*. However, it was unable to appeal to a broad social stratum; hence its rapid dissolution after its leader's death. Its aid in the conquest of Palestine by the British, which was well appreciated, was part of the efforts of the pro-British section of the Zionist movement that was active in 1914–18 and determined policies in the subsequent 20 years.

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[Yehuda Slutsky]

NÎMES, capital of Gard department, S. France. Although a number of Jews took part in the revolt led by Hilderic, governor of Nîmes, against the Visigothic king Wamba in 673, there is no direct evidence that Jews were then living in the town itself. However, a community was established during the second half of the tenth century at the latest, and from 1009 there is documentary evidence of the existence of a synagogue. From the middle of the 11th century, the name Poium Judaicum was used to designate one of the seven hills enclosed within the wall of Nîmes (later Puech Juzieu, etc.; in 1970 the promenade of Mont-Duplan); the Jewish cemetery was situated there. Toward the close of the 11th century, an entire quarter of the town was known as Burgus Judaicus (later Bourg-Jézieu). At the beginning of the 13th century, the community appears to have consisted of about 100 families. Although a church synod held in Nîmes in about 1284 decreed severe measures against the Jews, the bishop of Nîmes, who had authority over the Jews of the town, was nevertheless able to protect them, even from King *Philip IV the Fair who had ordered the imprisonment of several Jews. But the bishop could not prevail against the royal expulsion order of 1306 which, in Nîmes as elsewhere, was accompanied by the confiscation of all their belongings. When the Jews returned to France in 1359, the Nîmes municipal council allocated them the Rue de Corrégerie Vieille (the modern Rue de l'Etoile). After being harassed by the Christians there, they obtained a new quarter in the Rue Caguensol (part of the Rue Guizot) and the Rue de la Jésutarie or Juiverie (Rue Fresque). Shortly afterward they moved yet again, to the Garrigues quarter. There the 1367 census recorded the only three houses in the town (out of a total of 1,400) that were owned by Jews. This community ceased to exist in 1394, after the general expulsion of the Jews from France.

In a letter to *Abraham b. David of Posquières – who lived in Nîmes long enough to be sometimes named after that town – Moses b. Judah of Béziers stressed the superiority of the yeshivah of Nîmes over all the others in southern France, comparing it to "the interior of the Temple, the seat of the Sanhedrin, from where knowledge goes forth to Israel." Other than Abraham b. David, the only scholar of the town who is known is his uncle, Judah b. Abraham. The municipal library of Nîmes possesses a rich collection of medieval Hebrew manuscripts, several of French origin, in the French provinces; all these volumes were obtained from the Carthusians of Villeneuve-lès-Avignon.

From the 17th century, some Jews of *Comtat Venaissin went to trade in Nîmes and a few of them attempted to settle there; the *parlement* of *Toulouse ordered them to leave in 1653 and again in 1679. From the end of the 17th century, the Jews obtained the right to buy and sell in Nîmes for three weeks or a month in every season. Even though this concession was abolished in 1745 and 1754, some Jews succeeded in settling in the town during the second half of the 18th century. The community of 30–40 families appointed a rabbi, Elie Espir from *Carpentras, and set up a small synagogue in a private house. After a split in the community in 1794, a new synagogue (which has been in use ever since) was built in the Rue Roussy, completed in 1796. During the Reign of Terror, three Jews of Nîmes were imprisoned; one of them was subsequently executed. In 1808, when the *consistories were established, the community was affiliated to the consistory of *Marseilles, and there were then 371 Jews in the town, with the surprising number of eight rabbis. Among the rabbis of Nîmes was Solomon Kahn (1854–1931), historian of the Jews of southern France. Other notable personalities who originated from there include Adolph *Crémieux and Bernard *Lazare. From the close of the 19th century, the community diminished steadily in number. Although 40 families were recorded in 1941, some of these were refugees from the interior of France. In 1970 the community of 1,200 persons, mainly of North African origin, possessed a synagogue and a community center.

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[Bernhard Blumenkranz]

NIMOY, LEONARD (1931–), U.S. actor and director. Born to Russian immigrant parents in Boston, Massachusetts, Nimoy starred as Hansel as an eight-year-old in a production of *Hansel and Gretel*. He studied drama at Boston College and Antioch University, and then moved to Southern California, where he studied at the Pasadena Playhouse with Jeff Corey. He took roles in low-budget films, like *Zombies of the Stratosphere* (1951) and *Them!* (1954). After an 18-month stint in the U.S. Army Reserve, Nimoy was discharged as a sergeant in 1956. Back in Hollywood, he turned to television roles, appearing on such shows as *Sea Hunt*, *Twilight Zone,* and *Bonanza*. In 1966, Nimoy helped create his Emmy-nominated role of Mr. Spock in the series *Star Trek* (1966–69). Drawing on his Jewish heritage for inspiration, he used a priestly (kohen) blessing as a Vulcan greeting in the series. After *Star Trek* ended, Nimoy went on to play the spy, Paris, in *Mission: Impossible* from 1969 to 1971, and narrated the documentary series *In Search Of…* (1976–82). His frustration at being typecast as Mr. Spock led him to write the autobiography *I Am Not Spock* (1977). Although Nimoy refused to play Spock for a new TV series, he agreed to star in *Star Trek: The Motion Picture* (1978). In 1982, he received an Emmy nod for his supporting role in *A Woman Called Golda*. After directing *Star Trek III: The Search for Spock* (1984) and *Star Trek IV: The Voyage Home* (1986), Nimoy continued to direct such films as *Three Men and a Baby* (1987) and *Funny About Love* (1990). In 1991, Nimoy produced and acted in the made-for-television film *Never Forget*. He released his second autobiography, *I Am Spock*, in 1995. An avid poet and black-and-white photographer, Nimoy also published his Jewish-themed photo collection *Shekhina* in 2002. The annual Nimoy Concert Series at Temple Israel of Hollywood is sponsored by the Nimoys.

[Adam Wills (2nd ed.)]

NIMROD (Heb. **נִמְרוֹד, נִמְרֹד**), son of *Cush and grandson of *Ham son of *Noah (Gen. 10:8–12; I Chron. 1:10). He is described in the Table of Nations as "a mighty hunter by the grace of the Lord" (Gen. 10:9) whose exploits as a hero of the chase became proverbial. He was also "the first man of might on earth" (Gen. 10:8), i.e., the first to found a great empire after the *flood. He is said to have ruled over the famous capitals of southern Mesopotamia, Babylon, Uruk (Erech), and Akkad as well as, apparently, over the great cities of Calah and Nineveh in the land of Assyria. The term "land of Nimrod" appears as a synonymous variant of Assyria in Micah 5:5. The etymology of the name is uncertain as is also the identification of Nimrod with an historical personality. E.A. Speiser connects him with Tukulti-Ninurta I (13th century B.C.E.), who was the first Mesopotamian ruler effectively to have combined Babylon and Assyria under a single authority. However, the association of Nimrod with Cush son of Ham presents a difficulty if Cush refers to the area south of Egypt. Another possibility is to connect it with the Kassites who conquered Babylon in the second millennium (cf. Gen. 2:13), in which case a confusion of genealogical traditions is to be presumed. The extraordinary notice about Nimrod in the Table of Nations indicates the existence of a well-known and widespread narrative about him. U. Cassuto has postulated that the five verses in Genesis 10 derive from an ancient epic devoted to his heroic exploits.

[Nahum M. Sarna]

In the Aggadah

Nimrod is the prototype of rebellion against the Almighty (Ḥag. 13a), his name being interpreted as "he who made all the people rebel against God" (Pes. 94b). As the first hunter, he was the first to eat meat and to make war on other peoples (Mid. Ag. to Gen. 10:8), and he eventually became a king (PdRE 24). His physical prowess came from his coats of skin, which God had made for Adam and Eve (Gen. 3:21) and which Noah had preserved in the Ark. When the animals saw Nimrod wearing these coats, they knelt before him. He became the first man to rule the whole world and he appointed Terah, Abraham's father, his minister (PdRE 24). Elated by his glory, he became an idolator (*Sefer ha-Yashar*, Noah 9a, 1870). He built the Tower of Babel (which is called by the rabbis, "the house of Nimrod") for idol worship (Av. Zar. 53b) and he had the whole world pay divine homage to him (Mid. Hag to Gen. 11:28). When informed of Abraham's birth, Nimrod ordered all male children to be killed (*Ma'aseh Avraham*, in: A. Jellinek, *Beit ha-Midrash*, 2 (1938^2, 118f.) and he later had Abraham cast into a fiery furnace because he refused to worship fire (Gen. R. 38:13).

Nimrod (identified with *Amraphel) became a vassal of his rebellious general Chedorlaomer, and was later defeated by Abraham (see Gen. 14; *Sefer ha-Yashar*, loc. cit.). He was slain by Esau who was jealous of his success as a hunter and who coveted his magic garments (PdRE 24). In messianic times Nimrod will testify before the whole world that Abraham never worshiped idols (Av. Zar. 3a).

In Islam

Namrūd (Namrūdh) b. Kūsh (Cush), or b. Kanʿān (Canaan), is not mentioned by name in the *Koran. The commentators are justified, however, in their contention that Suras 21:69; 29:23; and 37:95, in which it is said that the courtiers and the people of *Abraham suggested that he be thrown into the fiery furnace, refer to Namrūd. In the discussion between the ruler of the land and Abraham (Sura 2:260), another allusion is made to Namrūd. The allusions to the Jewish *aggadot* about Abraham in the fiery furnace are sufficiently evident. At a later period Nimrod b. Cush (Gen. 10:9), or b. Canaan, is mentioned by name. The theme of Abraham, who worships God and is persecuted by the ruler, recurs in various popular literary works. In a fragment of the *qaṣīda* (poem) attributed to Samaw'al al-Quarẓī, found in the Cairo **Genizah*, the following stanza appears: "It was only in the case of one man [among our ancestors] that the fire which encircled him was changed into fragrant and bowing garden plants." The influence of Muslim legend is most clearly evident in late Jewish legend. These same descriptions are again to be found in the writings of later commentators on the Koran: Zamakhsharī (p. 888; 12th century) and Baydāwī (vol. 1, p. 620; 13th century).

[Haïm Z'ew Hirschberg]

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NIMRODI, family of Israeli press moguls. The family's financial empire ranges from the media to real estate and tourism. YAACOV NIMRODI (1926–) was born in Baghdad. After the family immigrated to Palestine, Nimrodi and his nine siblings grew up in poverty, Nimrodi working as a gardener and warehouseman. In 1948 he joined the Palmaḥ as an intelligence officer and subsequently worked in the Mossad. In 1956 he was appointed IDF military attaché and Israel Defense Ministry representative at the Israel Embassy in Teheran, in which role he was involved in large-scale arms sales to the Shah of Iran in the 1960s. After he left the IDF, he returned with his family to Teheran where he acted as a middleman in arms sales, including involvement in the so-called Irangate affair. Following the fall of the Shah he returned to Israel to pursue his business interests. In 1988, Nimrodi, worth an estimated $48 million, purchased the Israel Land Development Corporation (Hakhsharat ha-Yishuv) from the Jewish National Fund and Bank Leumi. Established in 1909 as the Palestine Land Development Company, the public corporation purchased and developed land for urban and agricultural settlement. The package which Nimrodi received for $26 million, included properties in prime areas like Jerusalem, Tel Aviv, Jaffa, Rishon le-Zion, and Beersheva, and hotels, private dwellings, and industrial holdings. Yaacov had one son, and three daughters. His son, OFER (1957–), born in Teheran and a law graduate from Tel Aviv University, studied business management at Harvard University and in 1989 was appointed the company's managing director. Over the years, the company increased its profitability and moved into such other areas as the media and tourism. Yaacov's three daughters and their husbands filled various positions in the business empire.

In 1992 Yaacov Nimrodi purchased the shares of the **Maariv* newspaper which had been owned by Robert *Maxwell until his death. Nimrodi subsequently sold 50 per cent of the shares, half to *Haaretz* publisher Amos *Schocken, and the other half to an Australian-Israeli consortium. Appointed by Yaacov the financially ailing newspaper's editor-in-chief, Ofer Nimrodi set for himself the goal of winning the circulation war with the highly successful **Yedioth Aharonoth*. Ofer succeeded in reducing the circulation gap, partly by going downmarket in editorial content and layout, but *Maariv* still lagged behind, with 23% of Israelis read the paper daily and 28% on weekends according to a 2005 Teleseker survey. IDLC earnings enabled Ofer Nimrodi to invest in the paper by purchasing new technologies and employing leading journalists. In the 1990s he established local newspapers in key cities – supplements added to *Maariv*'s Friday weekend issue – tapping local advertising potential. The competition between *Maariv* and *Yedioth Aharonoth* reached a climax in the mid-1990s in the so-called wiretapping scandal, as a result of which Nimrodi was imprisoned in 1999 for tapping the phone of *Yedioth Aharonoth* publisher Arnon *Mozes as well as of Dov *Yudkovsky, who had been *Maariv*'s editor under Maxwell. A *Maariv* investigative reporter, Amnon Abramovitch, resigned after discovering that his phone had also been tapped. In 1999 Ofer Nimrodi sold 25% of *Maariv*'s stock to Vladimir *Gusinsky, a Russian businessman, for $85 million; majority control in the newspaper remained in Nimrodi's hands.

Nimrodi's other media-related interests included: magazines geared to youth; a TV guide (*Ratings*); shares in the Tel-Ad subsidiary of Channel 2 television (including studios), which Nimrodi subsequently sold; *Maariv*'s publishing house (Sifriat Poalim); the Hed-Artzi music company; and interests in the cellular phone business. In 2004 he established the NRG Internet news website.

[Yoel Cohen (2nd ed.)]

NIMZOVITCH, AARON (1886–1935), chess master. Nimzovitch, who was born in Riga, won important tournaments in the 1920s but was particularly important as a theoretician. He was responsible, together with Tartakover, Réti, and Alekhine, for the general departure from the dogmatism of *Tarrasch's "strong center" theory. Two of his openings, the Nimzovitch Defense and the Nimzo-Indian, which remained popular long after their inventor's death, carried "hypermodern" theory into practice. His book, *Mein System* (1925; Eng. tr., 1930), a collection of important aperçus on points of technique, is still of great value.

[Gerald Abrahams]

NINE DAYS, period of mourning from the first of *Av until noon after the fast of the Ninth of *Av commemorating the destruction of the *Temple. The period is also called *Bein ha-Meẓarim* ("In Stress") and actually starts previously with the fast of *Tammuz (see *Three Weeks, The). However, from the first of Av onward, the mourning becomes more severe, and strictly observant Jews, especially in the Ashkenazi rite: (1) abstain from meat and wine except on the Sabbath; (2) recite special dirges of lamentation (*kinot*), as well as Psalm 137 ("By the rivers of Babylon") and Psalm 79 (also recited during *Tikkun Ḥaẓot) every noon and midnight; and (3) refrain from wearing new or festive clothing. Even on the Sabbath some wear ordinary weekday clothes. Others, especially Sephardim, observe these rules of mourning only during the week in which the Ninth of Av falls (See: Maim. Yad, Ta'an. 5:6). This is in accordance with the Mishnah which ordains that during that week one should not cut one's hair or wash clothes (except on the Thursday in honor of the coming Sabbath; Ta'an. 4:7).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Sh. Ar, OḤ 551:1–18; 552:1–12; J.T. Lewinski (ed.), *Sefer ha-Mo'adim*, 7 (1957), 268–361; Eisenstein, Dinim, 1, 38–39.

NINEVEH (Heb. נִינְוֵה; Akk. Ninua, Ninâ; in Mari Ninuwa; Ar. Ninawa), the capital of the Assyrian empire from Sennacherib's time on, situated about 1 mi. (about 1½ km.) E. of the Tigris, opposite modern Mosul. Since the cuneiform for Nineveh (*Ninâ*) is a fish within a house, it has been suggested that the name of the city was derived from that of a goddess associated with fish, but it seems that it is of Hurrian origin. From the Akkadian period on, the city was dedicated to the "Ishtar of Nineveh."

The ancient citadel of Nineveh was situated on a hill known today as Quyunjiq ("Little Lamb") and located near the center of the western region of the city. On the hill there were also the Assyrian royal palaces and the temples. South of this citadel is a smaller tell, called Nebi Yūnis ("the Prophet Jonah"), where, according to Islamic tradition, the prophet Jonah is buried, and on which is a large mosque. The city, however, extended over a much larger area.

Archaeological excavations were conducted in the city for about a century, mainly by the British (beginning in 1842). The excavations of 1932 (by M.E.L. Mallowan) laid the foundations for the study of the prehistory of northern Mesopotamia, the city thus becoming a key site for a knowledge and understanding of the prehistoric period.

History

The investigation made during the 1932 excavations of Quyunjiq down to its virgin soil uncovered the tell's earliest stratum, which contains remnants of the Hassuna culture and has been assigned to about 5000–4500 B.C.E.

One of the earliest pieces of written evidence is an inscription of Narâm-Sin of the Akkadian dynasty (2291–2255 B.C.E.). Hammurapi king of Babylonia mentions the city in the introduction to his code of laws as the site of a temple of Ishtar. At the beginning of the 14th century B.C.E. Nineveh belonged to Mitanni. Tushratta king of Mitanni sent the image of "Ishtar of Nineveh" (identified with the Hurrian goddess Šauška) twice to Egypt to heal Amenophis III, his ally and in-law. Subsequently, Nineveh reverted to Assyrian rule, since the Assyrian king Ashur-uballiṭ (1364–1329 B.C.E.) stated that he rebuilt the temple of Ishtar which, according to indications, was renovated a number of times between the 13th and ninth centuries B.C.E. Individual bricks, inscribed with the builders' names and with dedicatory inscriptions that have been brought to light, attest to the existence of several palaces built during these centuries. The earliest palace of which actual remains have been uncovered is that of Ashurnaṣirpal II (883–859 B.C.E.).

The city reached its zenith toward the end of the eighth century B.C.E., when it was in effect reconstructed during the reign of Sennacherib (705–681 B.C.E.) and became the capital of the Assyrian empire. Near the city – and in fact within its limits – Sennacherib planted a botanical garden with trees from all parts of the empire, among them vines and fruit-bearing trees. Magnificent spacious palaces were erected in the city. In the southwestern corner of the site, Sennacherib built a new palace to replace the earlier smaller one that had been there, and called it "the palace which has no equal." Today it is known as "the southwestern palace." On most of the walls of the halls, reliefs have been found depicting scenes from the building of the palace as well as war scenes, including the siege of *Lachish (found in Hall XXXVI). In the disorders that broke out upon the death of Sennacherib, part of his palace was apparently burned down and left in ruins for about 40 years. On the smaller tell (Nebi Yūnis), Esarhaddon (681–669 B.C.E.) built himself a palace. Ashurbanipal (668–627 B.C.E.) reestablished his residence on the main tell (Quyunjiq). Not content with merely renovating and embellishing the palace of Sennacherib, his grandfather, he built his own palace at the extremity of the tell. It was explored in the course of the excavation of Quyunjik, 1853–54, and reliefs portraying scenes from various battles and representing Assyrian art at its zenith were uncovered. Ashurbanipal's greatest achievement was the establishment of a vast royal library in the city, containing several thousand cuneiform documents in the fields of literature and ritual, science and mythology, lexicography, astronomy, and history, as well as economic documents, letters, and state contracts.

At the end of Ashurbanipal's reign, the royal residence was apparently transferred from Nineveh and established, according to one view, in Harran. Nineveh was captured, plundered, and destroyed in the summer of 612 B.C.E. by the forces of the Median and Babylonian empires, and became a desolate heap. The site itself was later occupied again until the Mongol invasion of the 14th century.

In the Bible

According to the Table of the Nations, Nineveh was established – together with other principal centers in Mesopotamia – in the days of *Nimrod (Gen. 10:10–12). In the Book of Jonah (3:3) it is referred to as "an exceedingly great city, three days' journey" (from one end to the other). A subsequent verse (4:11) tells that its infant population alone numbered "more than a hundred and twenty thousand persons." Even if this is somewhat exaggerated, it is probable that the number of Nineveh's inhabitants at the pinnacle of its greatness in the seventh century B.C.E. was indeed extremely large (see *Jonah).

In II Kings 19:36–37 (and in the parallel passage in Isa. 37:37–38), Nineveh is mentioned as the city to which Sennacherib returned after his failure to capture Jerusalem, and in which he was murdered by his sons.

Two contemporary prophets, *Zephaniah (2:13ff.) and *Nahum, prophesied the destruction of Nineveh.

[Yuval Kamrat]

In the Aggadah

Nineveh was a huge city, covering 40 square parasangs and containing a million and a half persons. The "six score thousand persons" alluded to in Jonah 4:11 refer to the population of only one of the 12 districts into which the city was divided. The voice of the prophet Jonah was so stentorian that it reached every corner of the city and all who heard his words resolved to turn aside from their ungodly ways (Mid. Jonah, 99–100, in A. Jellinek, *Beit ha-Midrash*, 1 (1938^{2})). Under the leadership of their king, the people of Nineveh justly compelled God's mercy to descend upon them. The king of Nineveh was the pharaoh of the Exodus, who had been installed by the angel Gabriel. Seized with fear and terror he covered himself with sackcloth and ashes and with his own mouth made proclamation and published this decree through Nineveh: "Let neither man nor beast, herd nor flock taste anything, let them not feed nor drink water, for know that there is no God beside Him in all the world; all His words are truth, and all His judgments are true and faithful" (Yal. Ex. 176). The repentance of the people of Nineveh was sincere. They held their infants heavenward, crying, "For the sake of these innocent babes hear our prayers." They separated the young of their cattle from their dams and both began to bellow. Then the Ninevites cried, "If Thou wilt not have mercy on us, we will not have mercy upon these beasts" (Ta'an. 16a; Mid. Jonah 100–2). The penitence of the people of Nineveh manifested itself not only in fasting and praying, but also in deeds. If a man had usurped another's property, he would return it, even at the cost of leveling his castle in order to restore a stolen beam to its owner (Ta'an. 16a). Others publicly confessed their secret sins and declared themselves willing to submit to their punishment. According to the Palestinian *amoraim*, however, the repentance of the Ninevites was not sincere (TJ, Ta'an. 2:1, 65b). After 40 days they departed again from the path of piety and became more sinful than ever. Then the punishment foretold by Jonah overtook them and they were swallowed by the earth (PdRE 43). The attitude of the Palestinian aggadists in their evaluation of the repentance of the Ninevites may have been a reaction to Christian criticism of the Jews for their stubbornness in not following the example set by the people of Nineveh.

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NINGPO, city in Chekiang province, E. China. The presence of Jewish settlers there in 1461 is recorded on the *Kaifeng stele inscriptions, which state that when the Kaifeng synagogue was destroyed by floods in that year and the sacred scriptures were lost, the Jews of Ningpo presented emissaries of the Kaifeng community with a Torah scroll. No other evidence recording the presence of Jews in Ningpo has been preserved.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: W.C. White, *Chinese Jews*, pt. 2 (1966^{2}), 13, 27, 98.

[Rudolf Loewenthal]

NINGSIA, a province in N.W. of China, (now **Yinchwan**), city formerly in the predominantly Muslim Kansu province of N.W. China. Members of the Jewish Chin family from *Kaifeng community came to settle there but remained in touch with the religious life of the Kaifeng Jewish community. Their donations and active participation are recorded in the Kaifeng stele inscriptions of 1489 and 1512.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: W.C. White, *Chinese Jews*, pt. 2 (1966^{2}), index.

[Rudolf Loewenthal]

NINI, ACHINOAM (1969–), Israeli pop, jazz, blues singer; Israel's most successful performing artist on the international scene. Of Yemenite background, Achinoam Nini or, as she is know abroad, Noa, grew up in New York and returned to Israel at the age of 17. After completing her army service, she enrolled at the Rimon School of Music in Tel Aviv, where she met guitarist Gil Dor, who was on the school's teaching staff, and the two began to perform together. Their first concert, at the Jazz, Blues & Videotape Festival in Tel Aviv, was enthusiastically received. Nini's debut album, *Achinoam Nini and Gil Dor Live*, was recorded live in Tel Aviv and released in 1991. It included songs in Hebrew and reworkings of numbers by the Beatles and Madonna. The material was accessible to audiences both inside and outside Israel and Nini soon began to play at festivals and major venues – such as New York's Carnegie Hall and the White House. In 1993 Nini released an album entitled *Achinoam Nini and Gil Dor* with songs based on the work of two of Israel's most eminent poets – *Raḥel and Leah *Goldberg. This followed a highly successful appearance at that year's Israel Festival and the album sold well in Israel and abroad.

Nini's global profile rose significantly after she released *Noa* in 1994, her first foreign recording. The album, which was produced by acclaimed jazz guitarist Pat Metheny, included a rendition of Bach's "Ave Maria," with new words written by Nini. Following this she became the first Israeli artist to perform in the Vatican when she sang the song in St. Peter's Square, in the presence of Pope *John Paul II. In 1997 Nini performed a program of specially arranged numbers with the Israeli Philharmonic Orchestra, including some of her best-known songs and works by Leonard *Bernstein and by leading Israeli composer Sasha *Argov, as well as a traditional Yemenite song called "Yuma." The concert was recorded and released the following year as *Achinoam Nini & the Israel Philharmonic Orchestra*.

Nini has maintained a very active career, both in Israel and around the globe, and was invited to perform "Ave Maria" for the state Italian television network after the death of Pope John Paul II.

[Barry Davis (2nd ed.)]

NINTH FORT, Nazi killing site four miles from the center of Kovno (Kaunas), Lithuania, which served as the execution and burial site for Jews from Kovno and for German, Austrian, and Czech Jews shipped to Kovno during the Holocaust. Originally built as a military fortress, during German occupation it became a site of torture and mass executions. Abraham Tory reports in his ghetto diary that "single and mass arrests as well as 'actions' in the ghetto almost always ended with a death march to the Ninth Fort, which in a way completed the ghetto area and became an integral part of it."

The road from the ghetto to the Fort was called the "Way to Heaven." Detainees were held in underground cells in conditions of dampness and darkness and above all fear. Jews were forced into pits inside the Fort, which served as mass graves.

In July 1943 the digging of mass graves ceased and in August 1943 under Aktion 1005 the digging up of bodies began. Jewish prisoners of war, ghetto Jews, and four non-Jews made up the squad of 60 men and four women who had to dig up the bodies, extract the gold teeth, and search for valuables in the garments of the dead before they were cremated.

Sixty-four prisoners escaped from the Ninth Fort on December 24, 1943. Some reached the Kovno ghetto; others escaped into the forest. Each escapee brought word of what had happened. Thus this killing field was known even before the war's end.

Some 45,000–50,000 Jews were killed in the Ninth Fort.

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[Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

NIR AM (Heb. נִיר עָם; "The People's Plowed Field"), kibbutz in southern Israel, 6 mi. (10 km.) N.E. of *Gaza, affiliated with Iḥud ha-Kevuẓot ve-ha-Kibbutzim. Its founding in 1943 by immigrants from Central and Eastern Europe, most of them *Youth Aliyah graduates, constituted a step in the expansion of Jewish settlement toward the Negev. Abundant groundwater reserves were discovered soon after, and in 1947 the first pipeline leading to the Negev outposts was laid from the Nir Am – *Gevar'am area. In the Israeli *War of Independence (1948), the kibbutz became the headquarters, hospital, and supply center for the settlements in the south and Negev, cut off for several months from the rest of Israel. The kibbutz economy was based on intensive field crops, citrus groves, and dairy cattle, as well as a factory for fine cutlery. In addition, the kibbutz developed a tourist industry, including a resort, water museum, paintball, an environmental activities site, and catering. In 2002 its population was 301.

WEBSITE: www.nir-am.co.il.

[Efram Orni / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

NIR DAVID (Heb. נִיר דָוִד; *nir* – "Plowed Field"), kibbutz in central Israel, at the foot of Mt. Gilboa, affiliated with Kibbutz Arẓi ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir, founded in 1936 as the first *stockade and watchtower outpost in the Beth-Shean Valley. The settlers, Israel-born youth and pioneers from Poland, set up camp on the site a year earlier but after the outbreak of the Arab riots had to live temporarily at neighboring *Bet Alfa while continuing to cultivate their land. Nir David repelled Arab attacks and soon became a model farming community, pioneering in carp breeding in ponds and in growing crops adapted to its hot climate. Kibbutz farming also included field crops, plantations, and poultry. In addition, it opened factories for farm equipment and plastic tubes. Later it began to develop tourism, opening 26 guest rooms and an Australian zoo with animals such as kangaroos and koalas. Nir David also had a local museum. In 2002 the population was 534. The name commemorates the Zionist leader David *Wolffsohn.

WEBSITE: www.nir-david.org.il.

[Efraim Orni / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

NIRENBERG, MARSHALL WARREN (1927–), U.S. biochemist and Nobel Prize winner. Nirenberg was born in New York City and educated in Orlando, Florida. He received his B.Sc. (1948) and M.Sc. (1952) in zoology from the University of Florida at Gainesville and earned his Ph.D. in biochemistry from the University of Michigan at Ann Arbor, guided by Dr. James Hogg. He joined the staff of the National Institutes of Health, Bethesda, in 1957 where he was appointed chief of biochemical genetics at the National Heart Institute and where he has remained for the rest of his career. Nirenberg and his co-workers showed that genes control protein synthesis through DNA sequences transmitted by RNA. They elucidated the "language" dictating the synthesis of a single amino acid as the first step in understanding what is now termed the "genetic code." He was awarded the 1968 Nobel Prize for physiology or medicine jointly with Robert Holley and Har

Gobind Khorana. Subsequently Nirenberg and his colleagues completed the task of unraveling the full code. He remained an active research worker investigating the conserved genes that control development called "homeoboxes" and the genes and factors that regulate the growth of cell lines derived from the nerve cell tumor, neuroblastoma. His many honors include election to the U.S. National Academy of Sciences (1967), the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, and the American Philosophical Society (2001). His awards include the U.S. National Medal of Science (1966), the Gairdner Award (1967), the Lasker Award in Basic Medical Science (1968), the U.S. National Medal of Honor (1968), and the Joseph Priestley Award (1968). Nirenberg showed great and often controversial interest in the social responsibilities of geneticists and was actively involved in action against world poverty and nuclear proliferation. He often protested against the political repression of fellow scientists including the Soviet refusal to allow Mikhail Stern to immigrate to Israel. He married the biochemist Perola Zaltzman in 1968.

[Michael Denman (2nd ed.)]

NIR EẒYON (Heb. נִיר עֶצְיוֹן), moshav shittufi in N. Israel, on Mt. Carmel, affiliated with Ha-Po'el ha-Mizrachi Moshavim Association. It was founded in 1950, initially as a kibbutz, by the surviving defenders of *Kefar Eẓyon in the Israeli *War of Independence (1948), who were joined by other members of their movement. The economy was based on intensive farming (field crops, orchards, flowers, poultry, and dairy cattle). The moshav opened a resort run on strictly Orthodox Jewish principles and operated a catering service as well. Nir Eẓyon includes the *Youth Aliyah village Yemin Orde, which is named for Orde Charles *Wingate. Its total population in 1970 was 450, rising to 800 in 2002.

[Efraim Orni / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

NIRIM (Heb. נִירִים; "Plowed Fields"), kibbutz in southern Israel, in the "Eshkol Region" of the western Negev, affiliated with Kibbutz Arẓi Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir. Originally established as one of the 11 villages founded in the Negev on the night of Oct. 6, 1946, it was, until 1948, the westernmost Jewish settlement in the country and the closest to Egyptian-held Sinai. The founders, Israel-born youth, were joined by pioneers from Hungary and Romania. In the Israeli *War of Independence Nirim was the first Jewish village exposed to a concentrated attack of the invading Egyptian army (May 1948). Although the kibbutz was entirely leveled, Nirim's members held their ground, compelling the enemy to change tactics and advance exclusively through Arab-inhabited terrain while leaving most of the Jewish settlements to the rear intact. After the cessation of hostilities in April 1949, the kibbutz was transferred to a site further northwest on the Gaza Strip border, while the former site was taken over by Nir Yiẓḥak, another kibbutz of Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir. Besides partly intensive farming (field crops, avocado plantations, flowers, poultry, and dairy cattle), the kibbutz also developed organic farming. An electronics factory mainly for farming aids was later closed. The kibbutz is co-owner of Nirlat, a paint factory located at nearby Kibbutz Nir Oz. In the mid-1990s the population was approximately 445, dropping to 365 in 2002. A beautiful mosaic synagogue floor, dating from the Byzantine period, was unearthed in the Nirim fields.

[Efram Orni / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

NIR-RAFALKES, NAHUM (1884–1968). Israeli labor politician, second speaker of the *Knesset, and member of the First and Third to Fifth Knessets. Born in Warsaw, Nir-Rafalkes studied in a *ḥeder* and then in a gymnasium. He studied natural sciences at the universities of Warsaw and Zurich and law at the University of St. Petersburg, receiving a doctorate in law in 1908. In 1903 he joined the Zionist students' organization Kadimah, and joined *Po'alei Zion in 1905, representing it as a delegate in the Sixth and Seventh Zionist Congresses. In 1906 he was imprisoned for four months for his political activities. In 1917 he represented Po'alei Zion in the All-Russian Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies during the revolution. In 1919 he moved back to Warsaw and was elected to its city council. He participated in the Po'alei Zion Conference in Stockholm in 1919, and after the movement split the following year, he joined Left Po'alei Zion, becoming its secretary, and held negotiations for its entry into Comintern. He remained secretary of Po'alei Zion until 1935. In 1925 he settled in Palestine, where he practiced law and represented his party in the *Histadrut and the Va'ad Le'ummi. After Left Po'alei Zion merged with *Aḥdut ha-Avodah and, with it, joined *Mapam, he became a member of the pre-state People's Council and its deputy chairman. He was elected to the First Knesset on the Mapam list, and from the Third Knesset on the Aḥdut ha-Avodah-Po'alei Zion list. Already in the First Knesset he was chosen as one of the deputies to the speaker, and upon the death of Joseph *Sprinzak in 1959, was elected by an *ad hoc* coalition of all the parties in the plenum except *Mapai as speaker, serving in that capacity until after the elections to the Fourth Knesset. He then returned to serve as deputy speaker until leaving the Knesset in 1965. In the First Knesset he served as chairman of the Constitution, Law, and Justice Committee, and in the Fourth and Fifth Knesset as chairman of the Public Services Committee. He wrote many articles in Russian, Yiddish, and Hebrew and published a number of books. Among his writings are *Wirtschaft un Politik in Eretz Yisrael* (Yiddish, 1930); *Leningrad* (Yiddish, 1942); *Pirkei Ḥayyim – Ba-Ma'agal ha-Dor ve-ha-Tenu'ah 1884–1918* (1958); *Vanderungen* (Yiddish, 1966).

[Susan Hattis Rolef (2nd ed.)]

NIŠ (Lat. **Naissus**), town and important communications center in Serbia. Jews lived in Niš apparently from Roman times but there are no documents to confirm their presence before the 17th century. The disappearance of Jacob, a wool trader, was noted in 1651. Visits by *shadarim* (emissaries from Palestine) are on record for the second half of the 18th century.

The rabbis who served in Niš were Levi Jitzhak Yerushalmi, Jacob de Mayo, Rahamim Naftali Gedalya, Moshe Shaban, and Abraham Daniti. In 1900 the town's Jewish population numbered 800, their number gradually diminishing through emigration. A Zionist group called Zion joined the world movement in 1902.

The Jews were engaged mainly in the textile trade and in moneychanging; some were artisans, while a few were manual laborers. A prayer house was built in 1695 and a synagogue in 1909. Local spiritual leaders consulted the rabbis of Belgrade on halakhic matters. The Jews of Niš participated in Serbia's wars and suffered casualties in them. In 1921 there were 547 Jews in the town. In the 1930s there was a good deal of communal activity, including a choir and Zionist youth groups like Ha-Shomer ha-Tza'ir and, later, also Betar.

In 1939 Yugoslav Prime Minister Cvetkovic, a native of the town, offered to arrange exit visas to Turkey for the Jews of Niš, but the Jews chose to remain despite the danger signs. In 1940 they numbered 430, increasing to 970 in 1941 with the arrival of refugees from Germany, Austria, and Poland. The Germans arrived in April 1941. In October 1941 the Jewish men were imprisoned in the "Red Cross" camp at Bubanj. In February 1942 several inmates escaped from the camp after attacking the guards, and in retaliation several prisoners, most of them Jews, were shot. Two days later, more Jews were shot. In the spring of 1942 all women and children were arrested and after a few days in the "Red Cross" camp they were sent to the Sajmiste (Semlin Judenlager) death camp. In 1952 there were 25 Jews in the city. The community was not renewed. The synagogue was used as a concert hall.

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[Simon Marcus / Zvi Loker (2nd ed.)]

NISAN (Heb. נִיסָן), the post-Exilic name of the first month of the Jewish year. Its pentateuchal name is *ḥodesh ha-aviv* (lit. "month of spring," Ex. 13:4 and parallels) and it is also referred to as the month of the ripening ears of barley (*ibid.* 9:31). The post-Exilic name, occurring in the biblical and apocryphal records (Esth. 3:7, Neh. 2:1; I Esd. 5:6, Add. Esth. 1:1) and frequently in Josephus and rabbinic literature (e.g., *Megillat Ta'anit), is linked with the Babylonian first month, Nisannu (derived from *nesa*, Heb., *nasa* "to start"). The Mishnah calls the first of Nisan the "new year for kings and festivals" (RH 1:1). Reigns of monarchs in biblical times were reckoned from that time, but later it was made the seventh month of the civil year (RH loc. cit.). The zodiacal sign of this month is *Aries*. In the present fixed Jewish calendar it invariably consists of 30 days, and the 1st of Nisan never falls on a Monday, Wednesday, or Friday (see *Calendar). In the 20th century Nisan, in its earliest occurrence, extended from March 13 to April 11, and in its latest from April 11 to May 10. According to R. Joshua, this is the month during which the world was created and the Patriarchs were born (RH 11a). It was in Nisan that God spoke to Moses from the burning bush. In this month redemption will occur in the time to come (*ibid.*). The tabernacle was erected in Nisan (Ex. 40:17), and the princes brought their offerings then (Num. 7:1–2). Because the 12 princes offered their gifts to the tabernacle every day beginning with the first of Nisan, each day was considered a festival. All public mourning is prohibited in Nisan. **Taḥanun* and **Ẓidduk ha-Din* are not recited, nor are eulogies allowed (Sh. Ar., OḤ 429:2). As "the greater part of the month was thus sanctified, the entire month is deemed holy" (*ibid.*, comm. of *Magen Avraham*, 3).

Memorable days of Nisan include the Passover period: the 14th of Nisan, the eve of the biblical feast of *Passover when all leaven is cleared from Jewish households, and in Temple times, the *Paschal lamb was sacrificed (Ex. 12 and parallels); and the festival of Passover from the 15th to the 21st (in the Diaspora, the 22nd) of Nisan. The 15th and 21st of Nisan (in the Diaspora 15th–16th and 21st–22nd), the first and last days of Passover, respectively, are full holidays; 16th–20th of Nisan (in the Diaspora 17th–20th) are the intervening days of the festival, **ḥol ha-mo'ed*. The 16th of Nisan is the controversial "morrow of the Sabbath" (see Lev. 23:11, 15, 16) when an *omer* of barley was offered in the Temple and marked the commencement of the counting of the *omer*. Other traditional dates in this month are 1st–7th of Nisan, the defeat by the Pharisees of the Sadducees' claim that the *tamid* (Ex. 29:38–42, Num. 28:1–8) was to be defrayed by private donations (Meg. Ta'an. 1); 8th–21st of Nisan, a Pharisaic victory over the Sadducees in a dispute concerning "the morrow of the Sabbath" and the day of the month on which Shavuot falls (Meg. Ta'an. 1); 1st (or 8th), 10th, and 26th of Nisan, the respective anniversaries of the death of *Nadab and Abihu, of *Miriam, and of *Joshua, once observed as fasts (Meg. Ta'an. 13).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Eisenstein, Dinim, 267, s.v.

[Ephraim Jehudah Wiesenberg]

NISHAPUR, town in Khurasan, N.E. *Persia. Jewish settlement here allegedly dates from the time of the early Diaspora. According to the 12th-century Jewish traveler *Benjamin of Tudela, the district of Nishapur was inhabited by descendants of the Jewish tribes Dan, Zebulun, Naphtali, and Asher. They were united under a Jewish prince named R. Joseph Amarkala ha-Levi, and were engaged in agriculture and warfare in alliance with the "infidel Turks." There were some scholars among them. In 11th-century fragments from the Cairo **Genizah*, mention is made of an Isaac Nishapuri, an Egyptian silk merchant who settled in *Alexandria.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: A. Asher (ed. and tr.), *Itinerary of R. Benjamin of Tudela* (1840), 83, 85. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** EIS^2 8 (1995), 62–64.

[Walter Joseph Fischel]

NISHMAT KOL ḤAI (Heb. נִשְׁמַת כָּל חַי; "The soul of every living being"), the initial words and name of a prayer recited at Sabbath and festival morning services at the conclusion of the *Pesukei de-Zimra introductory biblical hymns. This prayer expresses the gratitude men owe to God for His mercies in sustaining them. In talmudic literature it is called *Birkat ha-Shir* ("Benediction of the Song," Pes. 10:7, and 117b–118a). Based upon the opinion of R. Johanan, *Nishmat* also became part of the Passover **Haggadah*.

Nishmat consists of three main sections. The first contains an avowal of God's unity: "Besides Thee we have no King. Deliverer, Savior, Redeemer… We have no King but Thee." Some scholars believed that this passage was composed by the apostle Peter as a protest against concepts foreign to pure monotheism (A. Jellinek, *Beit ha-Midrash*, 6 (1938^{2}), 12; *Maḥzor Vitry*, ed. by S. Hurwitz (1923^{2}), 282; Hertz, 416). The second section starting with the words: "If our mouths were full of song as the sea… " originated in the tannaitic period. It is similar to the formula of thanksgiving for abundant rain recited in that period. The passage: "If our eyes were shining like the sun and the moon… we could not thank God for the… myriads of benefits He has wrought for us" especially, is thought to substantiate this ascription to the tannaitic period since it reflects the opinion of Rav Judah that God has to be praised for each drop of rain (Ber. 59b; Ta'an. 6b; Maim. Yad, Berakhot, 10:5). The third section, starting with the words: "From Egypt Thou hast redeemed us," is believed to have originated in the geonic period (c. tenth century C.E.). There is considerable disagreement among scholars about the original version of the *Nishmat*. There is, however, a general consensus that there existed an ancient but shorter version, called *Birkat ha-Shir*, which was later amplified and enlarged. This view is supported by the fact that the *Nishmat* in the Ashkenazi and in the Sephardi ritual, respectively, differ only in the wording of two or three sentences (compare *Seder R. *Amram Ga'on*, 27b and *Maḥzor Vitry* (1923), 148–54). In most prayer books the words *ha-Melekh, Shokhen ad* and *ha-El* are printed in large type, since the *ḥazzan* starts the central part of the morning service at these places, on High Holy Days, Sabbath, and festivals respectively. In the section *Be-fi yesharim* ("By the mouth of the upright") some prayer books mark an acrostic of the names Isaac and Rebekah, which was not customary in Jewish liturgical poetry prior to the Middle Ages. Some scholars consider it a later addition, but it could be also coincidental.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Eisenstein, Dinim, s.v.; Elbogen, Gottesdienst, 113–4; Davidson, Oẓar, 3 (1930), 231–2; E. Levy, *Yesodot ha-Tefillah* (1952^{2}), 134–5, 228; E.D. Goldschmidt, *Haggadah shel Pesaḥ, Mekoroteha ve-Toledoteha* (1960), 66–68, 107–8; E. Munk, *The World of Prayer,* 2 (1963), 29–32; J. Heinemann, *Ha-Tefillah bi-Tekufat ha-Tanna'im ve-ha-Amora'im* (1966^{2}), 41–45, 152; idem, in: *Tarbiz*, 30 (1960/61), 409–10.

NISIBIS (**Neşibin**, **Nezibin**), the modern townlet Nesib in S. Anatolia. Over a long period (under the Roman rule, until 363; and under the rule of Persia and the Arabs) Nisibis was a flourishing trading station on the commercial route from the Far East to the western countries. During the 13th century, as a result of the *Mongol conquests, the town was destroyed; the Maghrebian traveler Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, who visited it during the first half of the 14th century, relates that most of the town was in ruins.

The first evidence of a Jewish settlement in the town was related by Josephus during the first century C.E.; he says that in Nisibis and *Nehardea the Jews of Babylonia consecrated their half shekels and their vows and donations to the Temple in Jerusalem; they traveled from Nisibis to the Holy City. The community appears to have been well founded because it also absorbed the Jews of Seleucia and Ctesipon who fled the vengeance of their neighbors as a result of the acts of *Anilaeus and Asinaeus (see *Nehardea). The town is known to have been a Torah center during the second century, when Judah b. Bathyra II attracted students from as far away as Palestine. During the third century, as a result of the rising influence of the Christians, which surpassed that of their Jewish neighbors, there was a cooling down of Nisibis' relations with Palestine and its scholars.

During the period of Islamic rule the Jewish settlement in the town prospered. At the time of the great emigration of the Jews of Babylonia to the lands which bordered on the Mediterranean Sea during the tenth century, however, Jews also left Nisibis. In a document of 989, for example, Netira b. Tobiah ha-Kohen of Nisibis is mentioned as an inhabitant of the town *Damietta in Egypt. During the second half of the 12th century the traveler *Benjamin of Tudela nevertheless found about 1,000 Jews there; his contemporary Pethahiah of Regensburg mentions a large community, the synagogue of the *tanna* R. Judah b. Bathyra II, and two synagogues which were built, according to tradition, by Ezra the Scribe. After the campaigns of the Mongols the Jewish settlement of the town was also impoverished. R. Moses Basola, who visited the Oriental countries between 1521 and 1523, met a Jew in Beirut from the environs of Nisibis who told him of the pillar of cloud which appears on the 18th of Sivan and at Pentecost over the tomb of the *tanna* Ben Bathyra in Nisibis and also that pilgrimages to his tomb took place from the surrounding areas. Under Ottoman rule the decline of the community continued and its members even turned to the Jews of Cochin with requests for support (D.S. Sassoon, *Ohel David*, 2 (1931), 995). At the close of the 19th century, according to Obermayer, there were approximately 200 miserable clay houses in the town, half of which belonged to Jews. Apparently no Jews resided in Nisibis at the outset of the 21st century.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Neubauer, Géogr, 350; Jos., Ant., 18:312; J. Obermayer, *Landschaft Babylonien…* (1929), 128–30; J.B. Segal, in: J.M. Grintz and J. Liver (eds.), *Sefer… M.H. Segal* (1964), 38–39; Neusner, Babylonia, 3 (1968), index.

[Eliyahu Ashtor and Moshe Beer]

NISSAN (**Katznelson**), **AVRAHAM** (1888–1956), labor politician in Palestine and Israel diplomat, brother of Reuben *Katznelson. Born in Bobruisk, Belorussia, he was a medical officer in the Russian army during World War I. In 1917, between the two revolutions, he headed the Organization of Jewish Soldiers in the Russian army on the Caucasus front (10,000 men) and was attracted to Joseph *Trumpeldor's plan to set up Jewish battalions of 200,000 soldiers and volunteers and transport them to the front in Palestine to fight together with the British army for the liberation of Ereẓ Israel from the Turks. In 1919–20 he was the head of the Palestine Office of the Zionist Executive in Constantinople. In 1921–23 Nissan was active at the central office of Hitaḥdut (the union of *Ha-Po'el ha-Ẓa'ir and *Ẓe'irei Zion) in Vienna and Berlin. He settled in Palestine in 1924, served as the director of the health department of the Zionist Executive and as a member of the Va'ad Le'ummi (1931–48). He was also a member of the central committee of the Ha-Po'el ha-Ẓa'ir Party and of Mapai. From 1950 until his death, he was Israel's minister to the Scandinavian countries in Stockholm.

[Abraham Aharoni]

NISSELOVICH, LEOPOLD (**Eliezer**; 1856–1914), delegate to the Third *Duma in Russia. He was born in Bauska district of Courland, Latvia. After graduating from the law faculty of the University of St. Petersburg (1880), he was employed in the Ministry of Finance. In connection with his work he wrote several studies on economic legislation and on the economic and financial institutions of Russia. In 1882 he left his government post to practice law. In the elections to the Third Duma (1907), he was chosen as representative for Courland province. He joined the Cadet Party (the Russian liberals) on the explicit condition that he would not have to follow the party line in matters concerning Jews. Together with his colleague, N. Friedmann, he represented the Russian Jews at this Duma, and both were frequently the target of attacks by rightist members. Nisselovich was responsible for the bill proposing the abolition of the *Pale of Settlement, presented to the Duma on May 31, 1910, with the signatures of 166 members. The bill was transferred for consideration to the Duma commission on personal freedom but did not reach the full session for debate and vote. His activities in the Duma, and fights against antisemitism, severely undermined his health, and he did not offer his candidacy for the 4th Duma. Nisselovich died in Geneva.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Y. Maor, in: *He-Avar*, 7 (1960), 65–84.

[Yehuda Slutsky]

NISSENBAUM, ISAAC (1868–1942), rabbi, Hebrew writer, and religious Zionist in Poland. Born in Bobruisk, Belorussia, Nissenbaum was ordained as a rabbi. He settled in Minsk, where he began his Zionist activity. When the yeshivah of *Volozhin was closed in 1892, he became head of the secret nationalistic association of that yeshivah, Neẓaḥ Israel, an office which he held until 1894, when he moved to Bialystok. There he became Samuel *Mohilever's secretary. From then on he was a central figure in the Zionist movement, particularly among the Orthodox Jews. After Mohilever's death, Nissenbaum served as a Zionist preacher, traversing towns and townlets in Russia, Poland, Latvia, and Lithuania. He used midrashic elements in his Zionist preachings and had a considerable influence on Orthodox Jews. In 1900 he settled in Warsaw and became a regular preacher in synagogues and other places. He was an active member of Mizrachi from its beginning, a member of the executive of the Polish Zionist Organization, and one of the heads of the Jewish National Fund.

Beginning in 1889, Nissenbaum wrote many essays on current events, Zionism, and religious Zionism, as well as personal memories and several exegetical books. He was one of the editors of *Ha-Ẓefirah*, and after World War I, editor of Mizrachi's weekly in Poland. He edited a series of republished classical books in Jewish studies. The first explanatory pamphlet concerning the Jewish National Fund was written by him (1902). During World War II he remained in the Warsaw ghetto and was murdered there.

Among his homilies are *Derushim ve-Ḥomer li-Derush* (1903), *Derashot le-Khol Shabbatot ha-Shanah ve-ha-Mo'adim* (1908, 1923^2), *Hagut Lev* (1911, 1925^2), and *Imrei Derush* (1926). In the field of religious Zionism he wrote *Ha-Dat ve-ha-Teḥiyyah ha-Le'ummit* (1920), *Ha-Yahadut ha-Le'ummit* (1920), and a monograph on Samuel Mohilever (1930). He also published an autobiography entitled *Alei Ḥeldi* (1929, 1969^2). In 1948 a selection of his writings was published in Israel under the editorship of E.M. Genichovsky, and in 1956 a selection of his letters was edited and published by I. Shapira.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: I. Shapira, *Ha-Rav Yiẓḥak Nissenbaum* (1951).

[Getzel Kressel]

NISSENSON, AARON (1898–1964), Yiddish poet, journalist, and essayist. Born in Chepeli, Belorussia, he immigrated to the U.S. at the age of 13. He graduated as a pharmacist but preferred a literary and journalistic career. In 1918 he co-edited the literary monthly *Der Onheyb.* He was business manager of the New York daily, *Morgn Zhurnal*, for 30 years, while he published his works in the major Yiddish publications of the day, including *Tsukunft*, *Der Yidisher Kemfer,* and *Fraye Arbeter Shtime*. In his later years he was press representative of the *American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee. His first volume of poems, *Hundert Lider* ("Hundred Songs," 1920) was followed by six other books of lyric and dramatic poems. The central hero of his dramatic poem *Der Veg tsum Mentsh* ("The Road to Man," 1934) was the American socialist leader Eugene V. Debs, for him a symbol of a pure-hearted man. In the dramatic poem *Dos Tsugezogte Land* ("The Promised Land," 1937), Nissenson portrayed the struggle between good and evil as embodied in opposing personalities, beginning with Moses and Pharaoh and continuing throughout history. He expressed faith in science as the ultimate redeemer, leading man ever closer to moral perfection. This faith remained with him during World War II, when he composed the poems of *Dos Lebn Zingt Afile in Toyt* ("Life Sings Even in Death," 1943). In his last poems, *In Tsadiks Trit* ("In the Footsteps of the Righteous," 1950), he continued to sing of compassionate, just human beings who would evolve from imperfect contemporary man. Shortly before his death, Nissenson published an English novel, *Song of Man* (1964), whose central character was again Eugene V. Debs.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Rejzen, Leksikon, 2 (1927), 571ff.; LNYL, 6 (1965), 242–5; Y. Bronshteyn, *Ineynem un Bazunder* (1960), 54–7.

[Sol Liptzin]

NISSENSON, HUGH (1933–), U.S. novelist, short story writer, and essayist. Although born in Brooklyn, Nissenson often turned to a broader time and place for subjects. His novel *The Tree of Life* (1985) depicts a settler's life in early 19th century Ohio. His *Notes from the Frontier* (1968) reflect his impressions of Israel and the 1967 War. *My Own Ground* (1976) takes place in the Lower East Side of New York. *The Song of the Earth* (2001) is set in the future. *The Days of Awe* (2005) intertwines personal and family catastrophe, the events of 9/11, and the act of faith itself. *A Pile of Stones* (1965) and *In the Reign of Peace* (1972), collections of stories, are at home in settings as diverse as Israel, Poland, and America. Much of the strength of his writing resides in his depiction of modern, secular Jewish culture and the faith of the religious. His work captures the dissonance – and eloquence – amongst those Jews who are secular and those who are faithful, both groups searching for values and certainties that comport with their circumstances.

In 1988, Nissenson's *The Elephant and My Jewish Problem: Selected Stories and Journals, 1957–1987* was published.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Gale Literary Databases.*

[Lewis Fried (2nd ed.)]

NISSI (Nissim) BEN BERECHIAH AL-NAHRAWANI (late ninth–early tenth century), head of the **kallah* and poet in Babylon. Nissi appears to have come from Nahrawan in Persia. *Nathan ha-Bavli relates (Neubauer, Chronicles 2 (1895), 29–80) that when the Exilarch David b. *Zakkai was embroiled with the head of the Pumbedita Academy Rav *Kohen Ẓedek – in fact, the person involved was Mubashir b. Rav Kimoi *ha-Kohen and not Rav Kohen Ẓedek – it was Nissi, *Resh Kallah* in the Sura Academy, who succeeded in 922 in making peace between the disputants. Nathan ha-Bavli relates there that Nissi was *noda be-nissim* (i.e., a doer of miraculous deeds). In 928 when the question of appointing a *gaon* in the Sura Academy came up, this post was offered to him by *David b. Zakkai, but he refused it because of his blindness. Zemaḥ ibn Shahin and Saadiah b. Josef *Alfayumi competed for this post and despite the recommendation of Nissi that Ẓemaḥ ibn Shahin be appointed, the Exilarch appointed Saadiah to the gaonate. Nissi was one of the most important and fruitful of the *paytanim* of his country. In the Cairo *Genizah*, and also in other sources, poems and *piyyutim* by him were preserved, of which only a few have been published. Well known is his confession for the Day of Atonement, beginning: "Lord of the Universe, before all else, I have no mouth to answer," which has been adopted into many rites and republished hundreds of times. However, only with the discovery of the *Genizah* did the true identity of its author become clear.

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[Abraham David]

NISSI (Nissim) BEN NOAH (11th century), Karaite writer who lived in Persia. Nissi was formerly thought to be a contemporary of *Anan b. David (c. 800), but on the basis of his use of David *Alfasi's Hebrew dictionary and Judah *Hadassi's apparent knowledge of him, Harkavy placed him in the 11th century. Nissi advocated that Karaites should study rabbinic literature and the Talmud. Two works have been attributed to him, *Sefer Aseret ha-Devarim* (Firkovich Ms. 610), a commentary on the Ten Commandments, and *Bitan ha-Maskilim* (now lost), a treatise on the precepts of Jewish Law.

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NISSIM, ABRAHAM ḤAYYIM (1878–1952), Iraqi government official and member of Parliament; born in Baghdad. Nissim served as an employee in the administration of the sultan's estates; he later became a senior officer of the German railways in Iraq. After the British conquest he was appointed assistant to the Hilla District political officer and in the 1920s held a senior post in the Ministry of Finance. From 1930 to 1948 he represented Baghdad Jewry in the House of Representatives. During most of this period he was a member of the budget committee, serving as its draftsman. He settled in Israel in 1951 and died in Ramat Gan.

[Haim J. Cohen]

NISSIM, ISAAC (1896–1981), chief rabbi of Israel and *rishon le-Zion*. Nissim was born in Baghdad. His father was a merchant and also a scholar. Nissim early attained a reputation as a scholar and, although he occupied no rabbinic office, his opinion was sought in religious matters. His method of study approximated closely to that of the Lithuanian rabbis and he engaged in halakhic discussion with them and with heads of yeshivot. He had ties with eminent rabbis of Ereẓ Israel as well as with scholars of Germany and Poland. In 1925 he settled in Jerusalem, where he was closely associated with Solomon Eliezer *Alfandari whose lectures he attended. In 1926 he published *Ẓedakah u-Mishpat*, the responsa of Ẓedakah *Ḥozin, an 18th-century Baghdad scholar, together with an introduction and notes from a manuscript in Iris large library. Nissim wrote responsa on a variety of halakhic topics, some of them being published in his *Yein ha-Tov* (1947). In 1955 he was elected to the office of *rishon le-Zion* and chief rabbi of Israel.

He displayed his independence in various fields of activity and strove for understanding and the creation of amicable relations between all sectors of the population, visiting for example, left-wing kibbutzim, which were regarded as closed to rabbis. He took a strong stand in the halakhic recognition of the Bene Israel of India and refused to meet Pope Paul VI when the latter visited Israel in January 1964. After the 1967 Six-Day War he transferred the supreme *bet din* to a building opposite the southern Wall of the Temple near the site of the Chamber of Hewn Stone, which was the ancient seat of the Sanhedrin.

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[Itzhak Goldshlag]

NISSIM, MOSHE (1935–). Israeli politician and lawyer, and member of the Fourth, and then Seventh to Thirteenth Knessets. Born in Jerusalem, Nissim was the son of Rabbi Isaac *Nissim, who served as Sephardi chief rabbi from 1955 to 1973. Nissim went to the Magen David primary school and the Ma'aleh High School in Jerusalem, and received an M.A. in law from the Hebrew University of Jerusalem in 1964. He served in the IDF as a law officer. He was first elected to the Knesset on the list of the *General Zionists in 1959, at the age of 24, and was thus the youngest person ever elected to the Knesset. He was a delegate to numerous Zionist Congresses on behalf of the World Association of the General Zionists. In 1977 he was elected chairman of the*Israel Liberal Party executive, and was a member of its presidium. In 1978 he was elected chairman of the *Likud executive.

Until the Ninth Knesset, Nissim served on various Knesset committees. From January 1978 until August 1980 he served as minister without portfolio, and from August 1980 to April 1986 as minister of justice. Together with Labor's Moshe *Shahal, Nissim drafted the coalition agreement for the National Unity government established in 1984, on the basis of parity and rotation in the premiership. In 1986 he replaced Yitzhak *Modai in the Ministry of Finance, and continued the policy of economic stabilization introduced by him, in addition to reducing both income tax and corporate taxes. As minister of finance he also successfully refinanced the government debt to the U.S., through the Wall Street capital markets. In the National Unity government formed after the elections to the Twelfth Knesset in 1988 he was appointed minister without portfolio, and in March 1990 minister of industry and trade, replacing Ariel *Sharon, who had resigned from the government over the plan to hold elections in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. In the government formed by Yitzhak *Shamir in June 1990, he was appointed deputy prime minister as well. After the elections to the Thirteenth Knesset, which the Likud lost, Nissim served on the Knesset Foreign Affairs and Security Committee. As a politician Nissim was known for his mild manner. After retiring from politics in 1996 Nissim returned to practicing law, serving as arbitrator and mediator in commercial disputes. He served as chairman of the Public Commission on the Immunity of Knesset Members and of the Public Commission on the Reclassification of Public Lands, and he was a member of the Public Commission on the Status and Authority of the Attorney General.

[Susan Hattis Rolef (2nd ed.)]

NISSIM BEN JACOB BEN NISSIM IBN SHAHIN (c. 990–1062), together with *Hananel b. Ḥushi'el, the outstanding leader and talmudist of North Africa. His father headed a *bet ha-midrash* in Kairouan and was the representative of the academies of *Sura and *Pumbedita for the whole of North Africa. Little is known of Nissim's personal history. It is known that he, too, was head of an academy in Kairouan and maintained close ties with the academy of Pumbedita. After the death or Hananel, he was appointed by the Babylonian academies *Rosh bei-Rabbanan* ("Head of the College") in his stead. There were close ties between Nissim and *Samuel ha-Nagid. Samuel supported Nissim financially and Nissim served as the principal channel for Samuel's knowledge of Babylonian teachings, particularly those of Hai Gaon. When one of Nissim's sons died in childhood, Samuel composed a poem in consolation for the bereaved father. Nissim's daughter married Joseph *ha-Nagid, Samuel's son, and on that occasion Nissim visited Granada and taught there. According to Abraham *Ibn Daud, Solomon ibn *Gabirol was among those who heard his lectures. Nissim's teachers were his father, *Ḥushi'el, and possibly also the latter's son Hananel, whose teachings reveal a close affinity with that of Nissim. Nissim obtained a great part of his halakhic tradition from Hai Gaon, with whom he corresponded. Noteworthy among his pupils is Ibn Gasom, the author of a book on the laws of prayer (see Assaf. bibl.).

Nissim was a prolific and versatile writer. Five works of great length and value are known to have been written by him:

(1) *Sefer Mafte'aḥ Manulei ha-Talmud* (Vienna, 1847) on the tractates *Berakhot, Shabbat*, and *Eruvin* was first published from an early Hebrew translation and then included in the Romm (Vilna) editions of the Talmud. Subsequently, many fragments of the Arabic original were published. It is a reference book for quotations encountered in the course of talmudic study. It also gives the sources of the *beraitot* and *mishnayot* quoted in the Talmud as well as parallels in the Talmud and Midrashim and includes extensive commentaries on many talmudic themes. Only the sections on the orders *Zera'im* (*Berakhot*), *Mo'ed*, and *Nashim* are extant but it is probable that the original scope of the work was greater.

(2) Commentaries on a few tractates of the Talmud, apparently written in Hebrew. Only a few fragments from several tractates are extant.

(3) Halakhic rulings. A few fragments of what was evidently a comprehensive work are extant.

(4) *Megillat Setarim* (completed in 1051 at the latest). This work was very well known among the **rishonim*, Sephardim as well as Ashkenazim. It was written for the most part in scholarly terms. The book contains many variegated, unrelated top-

ics on all subjects coming within the range of interest of the scholars of the generation – beliefs and opinions, scriptural exegesis, religious polemics, explanations of passages in the Talmud and Midrashim in *halakhah* and *aggadah*, responsa on various subjects, customs and their sources, and other matters. This characteristic aspect of the book, as well as its bilingual construction (Hebrew and Arabic), which resulted in its division into two works even during the author's lifetime, led copyists in different places to arrange it in different orders according to their needs and interest, and in consequence to vary the numeration of its passages. Various compilations were made of the work, which were occasionally drawn upon by other authors such as Jacob *Tam whose *Sefer ha-Yashar* includes a number of rulings from it. The halakhic compendium *Sefer ha-Pardes* (written by *Rashi's school) may also have drawn upon it. Although the work is no longer extant, the discovery in the **Genizah* of a subject index contained in the indexer's copy (published by S. Assaf, *Tarbiz*, 11 (1940), 229–59) has made knowledge of its contents far more precise. The book exercised a great influence upon the major halakhists of subsequent generations, including Isaac *Alfasi, *Maimonides, *Nathan b. Jehiel of Rome, *Abraham b. Nathan ha-Yarḥi, and *Isaac b. Abba Mari.

(5) *Ḥibbur me-haYeshu'ah* (Ferrara, 1557), Nissim's best-known work, is a collection of Hebrew stories and folktales taken from early sources. It is designed to strengthen belief, faith, and morality among the people and to raise their spirit. This work, possibly the first prose storybook in medieval Hebrew literature, paved the way for Hebrew belletristic literature as a literary genre. Tradition has it that Nissim dedicated the book to his father-in-law, Dunash, who is otherwise unknown, to console him in his mourning. The first printed edition was published from an early Hebrew translation, and the Arabic text was published by J. Obermann (see bibl.). The Hebrew version has been frequently republished, not always according to the same translation. A new Hebrew translation, together with critical annotations by H.Z. Hirschberg, was published in 1954. Additional Arabic texts have been published by S. Abramson (see bibl.). The work circulated widely even before its first printing, and had a great influence on similar story collections. *Ma'asiyyot she-ba-Talmud* (Constantinople, 1519) was based upon it, and the *Ḥibbur ha-Ma'asiyyot (ibid.*, 1519) is an anthology of its stories. Many of the stories included by Gaster in his *The Exempla of the Rabbis* (1924; 1968^{2}) were taken from it.

Although some other works have been ascribed to Nissim on the basis of various quotations, it may be assumed that all these are from the works already referred to. This may not apply to his many responsa, which are recorded in the works of *rishonim*, though these too may have been included in his *Megillat Setarim*. Most of Nissim's works found in the *genizah* are undergoing the process of identification and publication. S. Abramson devoted the labors of a lifetime to the collection of Nissim's work from the *genizah*, from manuscripts, and from printed works, and published a monumental work.

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[Israel Moses Ta-Shma]

NISSIM BEN MOSES OF MARSEILLES (14th century), radical philosophical exegete. The dates of Nissim's birth and death are unknown. He was the author of a commentary on the Torah, titled, variously, *Ma'aseh Nissim*, *Sefer ha-Nissim*, and *Ikkarei ha-Dat*. The commentary was edited by H. Kreisel (Mekizei Nirdamim, Jerusalem, 2000). This work reflects a single-minded commitment on the part of its author to provide a naturalistic explanation for all seemingly supernatural elements of the Torah, whether it be the story of creation, the longevity of the ancients, the miracles in Egypt, the parting of the Sea of Reeds, the Revelation at Sinai, the rewards and punishments mentioned in the Torah, or the commandments that appear to have no rational reason or appear to involve supernatural intervention (such as the ceremony involving the woman accused of adultery by her husband). In the 14-chapter introduction to the commentary, Nissim deals with such topics as political theology, divine reward, principles of the faith, prophecy (including Mosaic prophecy), providence, and miracles. Most miracles actually occurred in his view, but they were the product of the superior knowledge of the prophet and his divinatory ability. Other miracles did not happen at all but appeared in a vision of prophecy or are to be understood metaphorically. The rewards and punishments mentioned in the Torah are treated by Nissim as the natural consequences of the individual's or nation's behavior. In his commentary he drew heavily from *Maimonides, Abraham *Ibn Ezra, Samuel ibn *Tibbon and his son Moses, as well as other Provençal Jewish thinkers such as *Levi ben Avraham. Nissim was exceptionally well versed in rabbinic literature, which he cites extensively in his commentary. Internal evidence suggests that Nissim composed his treatise sometime after 1315. One of the manuscripts of *Ma'aseh Nissim* contains a philosophical allegorical commentary on Ruth (edited by H. Kreisel in: *Jerusalem Studies in Jewish Thought,* 14 (1998), 158–80), which M. Schorr believes was also written by Nissim. His authorship of this work, however, is questionable.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: M. Schorr, in: *He-Ḥalutz*, 7 (1865), 88–144; C. Sirat, in: *Jerusalem Studies in Jewish Thought,* 9 (1990), 53–76; H. Kreisel, introduction to *Ma'aseh Nissim*, 1–52.

[Howard Kreisel (2nd ed.)]

°**NISSIM BEN REUBEN GERONDI** (known from the acronym of Rabbenu Nissim as the **RaN**; ?1310–?1375), one of the most important Spanish talmudists. Nissim's family originated in Cordova and settled first in Gerona, where he is thought to have been born, and then in Barcelona, which became his permanent place of residence. Few biographical details are known of him. He never held any official rabbinical post, even though in fact he fulfilled all the functions of a rabbi and *dayyan* in his community. Furthermore, many *takkanot* enacted in Spain originated with him, and his reputation as an authoritative *posek* was such that he received queries from as far as Ereẓ Israel and Syria. He is also known to have served as a physician in the royal palace. Because of a calumny, the date and causes of which are not certain, he was imprisoned for some time. It is also known that in 1336 he wrote a *Sefer Torah* for his own use, which became well known and served as a model. This *Sefer Torah* was moved from place to place until it reached Tiberias, where it was preserved until recently. Nissim's main teacher, apart from his father, was Perez ha-Kohen, with whom he was in close correspondence; Nissim even assisted him to become accepted as rabbi of Barcelona (after 1349). It seems that Nissim's main activity in his community was as head of the Barcelona yeshivah. Among his chief pupils were Isaac b. Sheshet *Perfet, who frequently quotes him, mostly anonymously, Ḥasdai *Crescas, Joseph *Ḥabiba, and Abraham *Tamakh.

Nissim's renown rests chiefly on his halakhic works. His method and system were solidly founded in accordance with the tradition of learning acquired from the school of Naḥmanides, Solomon b. Abraham Adret, Aaron ha-Levi of Barcelona, and their contemporaries, and though his works contain many sayings of these scholars without naming them, he adapted their words, crystallized them, and added much of his own so that his works are among the best produced by this school of learning. One of his main works is a commentary on the *halakhot* of Isaac *Alfasi to the Talmud. It seems that all the parts of this work have been preserved, and all have been published on the margin of Alfasi's commentary beginning with its first printed editions down to the present day.

This commentary comprises the tractates *Shabbat*, *Pesaḥim*, *Beẓah*, *Rosh Ha-Shanah*, *Yoma*, *Ta'anit*, *Megillah*, *Sukkah*, *Ketubbot*, *Gittin*, *Kiddushin*, *Shevu'ot*, *Avodah Zarah*, *Ḥullin*, and *Niddah*. He also wrote novellae to the Talmud, of which up to the present the following have been published: *Gittin* (Constantinople, 1711), *Niddah* (Venice, 1741), *Ḥullin* to the end of chapter 8 (in: *Ḥamishah Shitot*, Sulzbach, 1762), *Bava Meẓia* (Dyhrenfurth, 1823), *Shevu'ot* (Venice, 1608, at the end of the responsa of Moses *Galante), *Rosh Ha-Shanah* (1871), *Avodah Zarah* (1888), *Mo'ed Katan* (1937), *Bava Batra* (1963), *Eruvin* (1969), and *Pesaḥim* (1970).

His commentary to the tractate *Nedarim*, which is his best-known work, is published in all the usual editions of the Talmud and serves as the standard commentary to this tractate instead of that of Rashi. Some of his novellae to the Talmud still remain in manuscript, but most of them have been repeatedly republished, since they are among the works most acceptable to scholars of all countries and times. His commentaries to Alfasi differ from those to the Talmud in that they aim at giving the halakhic ruling, and in fact they have no real literary connection with Alfasi, with whom he frequently disagrees. The novellae to tractates *Megillah, Shabbat, Ketubbot*, and *Sanhedrin* published under Nissim's name are not by him. They represent one of the most difficult problems connected with the study of Nissim's works and teachings, as it is definite that a generation and more before him there lived in Barcelona another scholar with the same acronym – RaN (whose personal name is not certain), and whose works to several talmudic tractates have been recently published. Only 77 of Nissim's responsa are extant (Rome, 1545; Constantinople, 1548^2 from a different manuscript; and thereafter in many editions); also a book of 12 sermons (Constantinople 1533^1 and frequently thereafter), of a decidedly anti-philosophical character, though written in the style of philosophical literature; and a commentary on the Pentateuch of which the section on Genesis has been published (1968). The publication of the commentary to the Pentateuch has removed the few doubts that remained among some scholars as to whether Nissim is the RaN of the book of sermons ascribed to him or whether they were perhaps written by the other scholar of the same name. Discernible in both these works is Nissim's strong desire to prove the superiority of prophecy and Bible over philosophy, and thereby to strengthen the people's faith and their spiritual ability to bear up during the difficult periods of persecution and polemics of those times. He also wrote *piyyutim* and poems, some of which have been preserved and published.

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[Leon A. Feldman]

NITRA (Hung. **Nyitra**; Ger. **Neutra**). Slovak historians believe that Nitra is the location of the oldest Slovakian Jewish community. In 896 Hungarian tribes invaded the Panonian plain; in 906 they destroyed the Slavonic kingdom of Moravia and probably captured Nitra as well. One of these tribes may have been the *Khazars of Jewish faith, which settled in the vicinity of Nitra. In a 1248 description of Nitra, "castrum iudeorum" can be interpreted as a Jewish settlement, in the vicinity of the neighboring village of Parovce. For centuries Parovce served as the Jewish extension of Nitra, where Jews were not admitted. In 1840, when the Budapest parliament allowed Jews to settle anywhere, the Jews of Parovce moved to Nitra. Many poor Jews who could not afford to move to Nitra stayed in Parovce. In 1989, with the collapse of Communism in Czechoslovakia, Parovce was inhabited by gypsies.

The anti-Jewish legislation of Emperor Charles VI (1711–1740) encouraged the migration of Moravian and Bohemian Jews to upper Hungary, where those laws did not apply. Nitra and its environs were included in this migration. The 1840 legislation of the Hungarian Parliament permitted Jews to live wherever they chose, which increased the Jewish population of Nitra dramatically.

The Jewish community was established in 1750, numbering 21 families. They had a small synagogue and a rabbi. In 1778 there were 132 people. The royal census of 1785/87 recorded 449 Jews. In 1840 the number rose to 1,654. A Jewish school was established in 1855, with German as the language of instruction. Subsequently, a *talmud torah* was opened. Rabbi Ezekiel ben Jacob Peneth (1773–1864) headed the local yeshivah, which at its peak had 200 students from many countries. In 1880 there were 3,541 Jews (22.4% of the entire population). The 1921 Czechoslovak census records the Jewish population as 3,901; the 1930 census records 3,809. In 1940, on the eve of the deportations, there were 4,358 Jews

After the 1868 Hungarian Jewish Congress, the Nitra congregation remained Orthodox. However, in 1907 a split occurred and a *Neolog congregation was established. Each congregation had a synagogue and a cemetery. The monumental Neolog synagogue was erected in 1914. There was a Jewish hospital in the city, a *mikveh*, an orphanage, a home for the elderly, and a public kosher kitchen. *Machzike Hadas*, the official organ of Slovak Orthodoxy, was published every two weeks.

Nitra was not involved in the riots and vandalism of 1918 and 1919 which spread over Slovakia because the National Guard, manned by Social Democrats and Jews, guarded the town. In 1930 the Catholic Church and the Slovak Nationalist Party, headed by Father Dr. Josef *Tiso, the future president of the wartime Slovak state, instigated against the Jews. Tiso proposed their expulsion. But the Jews had a strong representation in the Social-Democratic Party, and in 1931 Dr. Vojtech Szilagy (Schlesinger) was elected deputy mayor of Nitra. The Zionist movement prospered in Nitra in the early 1900s, but it faced determined Orthodox competition. Rabbi Samuel David *Unger, the leading figure of Slovak Orthodoxy, moved to Nitra from Trnava in 1931 and brought along the Trnava yeshivah. There was long-standing hostility between the two communities. While the Jewish community was generally affluent, there were many impoverished people among them.

On March 14, 1939, the Slovak state was established under the aegis of the Third Reich. The state persecuted Slovak Jewry, peaking in 1942 when the Jews were deported to Poland. Some 4,400 of Nitra's Jews were sent to extermination camps. By the end of August 1944, German troops, accompanied by the local Slovak garrison, entered Nitra and sent the remaining Jews to Auschwitz.

In 1947 there were 784 Jews in Nitra. The returnees established a single congregation, with Rabbi Eliahu Katz serving as its spiritual leader. The synagogue and *mikveh* were reestablished, and the cemeteries were cleaned up. In 1948–49, most of the community emigrated; in 1950 there were 150 Jews. In 1957 a kosher restaurant was opened, and a ritual butcher (*shoḥet*) attended to religious needs. In 1963, the authorities destroyed all Jewish public buildings except the Neolog synagogue. After 1989, the cemeteries were again desecrated and besmirched with swastikas. Local authorities claimed that the Jews were responsible, preparing a provocation.

In 1990 there were 65 Jews in Nitra. A *minyan* continued to convene almost regularly in the early 21st century.

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[Yeshayahu Jelinek (2nd ed.)]

NITTAI OF ARBELA (= *Arbel in Lower Galilee; second half of second century B.C.E.), one of the **zugot*; a colleague of *Joshua b. Peraḥyah. He was a pupil of *Yose b. Joezer of Zeradah and *Yose b. Johanan of Jerusalem, the first of the *zugot*, whom he and Joshua succeeded with Nittai serving as *av bet din* (Ḥag. 2:2; Avot 1:6). All that is known of his teaching is that he took part in the only halakhic dispute of his time: whether the placing of the hands upon a sacrifice (*semikhah*) during a festival is permitted. Nittai held that it was permitted, in contrast to Joshua b. Peraḥyah who forbade it (Ḥag. 2:2). His saying preserved in Avot is, "Keep at a distance from an evil neighbor; do not make yourself an associate of a wicked man; do not abandon faith in [divine] retribution" (Avot 1:7).

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[David Joseph Bornstein]

°**NIXON, RICHARD MILHAUS** (1913–1994), 37th president of the United States. After his discharge from the U.S. Navy in 1946 with the rank of lieutenant commander, Nixon entered politics and was elected to the 80th Congress in 1946. In his first term, Nixon quickly established himself as a staunch conservative on domestic issues, with a preoccupation with internal security, and a firm supporter of the new global role then being assumed by the Truman administration. By 1950 his slashing political style had earned him the lasting enmity of liberal intellectuals and many Jewish voters committed to its civil libertarian tradition. His opportunity to run for the presidency came in 1960, but pitted against John F. Kennedy, he suffered his first political setback. This was followed two years later by a second political setback when he lost the race for the California governorship, and it seemed that his political career was at an end.

In fact, in June 1963 Nixon left his political base in California to join a Wall Street law firm. During the next six years, however, he traveled extensively, becoming a familiar figure at local Republican Party gatherings and earning political credits everywhere. Soon his name was being mentioned once again as a possibility to head the Republican ticket in 1968. The Vietnam and civil rights issues had created serious schisms in the Democratic Party and not even the sacrifice of Lyndon Johnson seemed able to heal them. His hairbreadth victory over Hubert Humphrey resulted in one of the most remarkable political comebacks in American history.

In a geopolitical sense, Nixon was anxious to restore American influence in the Arab world, so that his primary purpose, the containment of Communist influence, might be served. It was not unexpected therefore that the preinaugural fact-finding mission of William Scranton to the Middle East was accompanied by much talk of a new "evenhanded" policy in the area. The words had an ominous ring for Jews since Nixon could easily impose a settlement from on high without too much fear of domestic repercussions. Some American Zionists sorely regretted the absence of a closer connection to the Republican Party.

By February 1969 the Nixon administration appeared ready to impose such a peace on the basis of the Rogers plan. It called for an overall guarantee of security to all the nations in the area and freedom of navigation along the Suez Canal and Straits of Tiran, in return for which Israel would, with minor modifications, revert to the pre-1967 boundaries. Negotiations were begun with the Russians and a cease-fire was arranged. Arms shipments to the area, including promised Phantom jets, were held up.

Then three events reversed the administration's policy: the Russian rejection of the Rogers plan, the Egyptian deployment of SAM missiles in the cease-fire area, with Russian connivance, and the Jordanian civil war. This last event in particular brought Nixon and the Jewish community closer together. Fearing that Syrian intervention would lead to a direct confrontation with the Soviet Union, Nixon made arrangements in secret talks with Yiẓḥak Rabin, the Israeli ambassador, to prevent such a possibility. Israel would, if necessary, stop the Syrian tank column from reaching Amman, while a reinforced Sixth Fleet would protect Israel's rear against Egyptian action. With such an agreement in hand, Nixon was easily able to face down the Soviet Union in his own version of the Cuban missile crisis. For Jews these events put Nixon in a new light. Even if Nixon had no special attachment to Israel, he could be depended upon in a crisis to act in Israel's interests, motivated by the *realpolitik* of the Middle East situation. Nixon was re-elected in 1972. The aid which he extended to Israel during the Yom Kippur War, in 1973, particularly the airlift which supplied much needed arms, showed him as a supporter of Israel.

His resignation in 1974, as a result of the Watergate affair, brought his political career to an end.

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[Henry L. Feingold (2nd ed.)]

NIZER, LOUIS (1902–1994), U.S. lawyer and author. Nizer, who was born in London, England, was taken to the United States in 1903. He graduated from the Columbia School of Law in 1924. He was an expert on contract, libel, divorce, and antitrust law. His expertise in the areas of law related to the arts, including copyright and plagiarism, attracted clients from the theatrical and motion picture fields. He rapidly gained the confidence of the movie industry, and in 1928 was appointed attorney and executive secretary of the industry's trade association. He became well known as a magnetic courtroom lawyer, and a play about his career, *A Case of Libel*, written by Henry Denker, was produced in New York in 1963. Reputed to be a spellbinding speaker both in and out of the courtroom, Nizer represented such celebrities as Charlie Chaplin, Mae West, Salvador Dali, and Johnny Carson.

Nizer was active in the United Jewish Appeal and the Federation of Jewish Philanthropies.

His books include *New Courts of Industry* (1935); *Thinking on Your Feet: Adventures in Speaking* (1940); *What to Do with Germany* (1944), in which he advocated war crimes trials for Nazis, reversion of Nazi-appropriated property to the owners, a new educational system for Germany, and the temporary loss of German sovereignty; two widely read autobiographical volumes, *My Life in Court* (1961);*The Jury Returns* (1966); *Between You and Me* (1964); *The Implosion Conspiracy*, which examined the Rosenberg trial and execution (1973); *Reflections without Mirrors: An Autobiography of the Mind* (1978); *The Uncensored John Henry Faulk* (with J.H. Faulk, 1985); and *Catspaw: One Man's Ordeal by Trials* (1992).

The Carnegie Council on Ethics and International Affairs established the Nizer Lectures on Public Policy in 1994.

[Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

NIẒẒANAH (Heb. נִצָּנָה; Gr. **Nessana**), a ruined town in the Negev identified with ʿAwjā al-Ḥafīr on the Ismailiya road, 50 mi. (80 km.) S.W. of Beersheba. Nessana was the ancient name of the site as revealed in the papyri found there. It was founded in the second or first century B.C.E. by the Nabateans, who built a small fort with round towers (two of which were found in the excavations there) on a small hill dominating the wide and fertile Wadi Ḥafīr. Hasmonean coins found there indicate that the place had commercial relations with Judea. The site was abandoned after the Roman occupation of Petra, the Nabatean capital, in 106 C.E., but was rebuilt as a frontier post by the emperor Theodosius I (379–95). The soldiers of the garrison received plots of land in the valley, and a town was built beneath the fortress (now called Hospice of St. George). Niẓẓanah was connected by a road with Elusa, the capital of the Byzantine Negev, with Elath and with Sinai. The Byzantine town included two churches with mosaic floors (one dated 435) and a large cemetery with tombstones (dated 430–64). It prospered during this period, serving merchants bound for Egypt, pilgrims traveling to Mt. Sinai, and anchorites living in the desert. The town survived the Persian and Arab conquests; papyri discovered by the Colt Expedition in 1936 show that a mixed Arab-Greek administration persisted until approximately 750 C.E. The settlement declined and was eventually abandoned until its reoccupation by the Turks as a police post in 1908. Under the British Mandate a central headquarters for the border police was located there. In May 1948, during the Israel *War of Independence, the Egyptian invasion started from this point. Israel forces took the area in December, and it was declared a demilitarized zone in the Israel-Egypt Armistice Agreement. It was also the site for the Israel-Egyptian Mixed *Armistice Commission meetings until 1967.

[Michael Avi-Yonah]

The site was discovered by U.J. Seetzen in 1807, with the first proper investigations at the site conducted by E.H. Palmer and C.F. Tyrwhitt-Drake in 1870. A. Musil made a detailed plan of the site in 1902, followed by the investigations of C.L. Woolley and T.E. Lawrence in 1913/14. Important excavations were conducted at the site in 1935–37 by H.D. Colt, with the discovery of an important archive of papyri. In 1987 excavations were resumed at the site under the direction of D. Urman and J. Shereshevski on behalf of Ben-Gurion University. Further parts of the flight of steps connecting the town with the acropolis were uncovered. Two building complexes were unearthed close to the Southern Church, and the excavators suggest that they were used by the priests as their living quarters. Further work was done on the acropolis, and a new area of excavations was opened up next to the bank of the wadi which extends between the lower and upper towns, revealing a large living quarter dating to the Late Byzantine period built above *Nabatean settlement remains. A previously unknown church with a martyrium and baptistery was uncovered in the lower town, and an unknown monastery was found on the north edge of the northern hill of the upper town. Numerous ostraca were uncovered inscribed in Greek, Latin, Syriac, Arabic, and Coptic.

[Shimon Gibson (2nd ed.)]

In 1987 the *Jewish Agency for Israel decided to establish an education center in Niẓẓanah. The main aim was to educate Israeli and Diaspora youth about the settlement potential of the desert. The village served as an absorption center and *ulpan for young immigrants. In addition, it offered various educational programs for Diaspora youth. Niẓẓanah was also a research center for environmental studies attached to the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. It had a guest house with 50 rooms for visitors to the region. At the end of 2002 the educational community numbered 230 residents.

[Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

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NIẒẒANIM (Heb. נִצָּנִים; "sprouts"), kibbutz and youth village in southern Israel, 5 mi. (8 km.) N. of Ashkelon, affiliated with Ha-No'ar ha-Ẓiyyoni. Niẓẓanim was founded in 1943 by pioneers from Romania, when efforts were made to expand Jewish settlement in the south and Negev. In the early stages of the Israel *War of Independence (1948), Niẓẓanim was subjected to concentrated attack by the advancing Egyptian army and suffered utter destruction. After five days of resistance, Niẓẓanim was given up on June 8, 1948, and most of its surviving defenders fell prisoner. The site was recovered in October 1948, and the kibbutz was rebuilt by the remnants of the group about 2 mi. (3 km.) further south. In 1949 a farming school, belonging to *Youth Aliyah, was opened on the original site by Niẓẓanim. In 1969 the combined population of the kibbutz and youth village was 594. In the mid-1990s the population dropped to approximately 365, maintaining its size at 375 residents in 2002. Niẓẓanim's economy was based on citrus groves, field crops, and dairy cattle as well as the Paltechnica plant for chairs and seating components.

[Efram Orni / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

NOACHIDE LAWS, the seven laws considered by rabbinic tradition as the minimal moral duties enjoined by the Bible on all men (Sanh. 56–60; Yad, Melakhim, 8:10, 10:12). Jews are obligated to observe the whole Torah, while every non-Jew is a "son of the covenant of Noah" (see Gen. 9), and he who accepts its obligations is a *ger-toshav* ("resident-stranger" or even "semi-convert"; see Av. Zar. 64b; Maim. Yad, Melakhim 8:10). Maimonides equates the "righteous man (*ḥasid*) of the [gentile] nations" who has a share in the world to come even without becoming a Jew with the gentile who keeps these laws. Such a man is entitled to full material support from the Jewish community (see ET, 6 (1954), col. 289 s.v. *ger toshav*) and to the highest earthly honors (*Sefer Ḥasidim* (1957), 358). The seven Noachide laws as traditionally enumerated are: the prohibitions of idolatry, blasphemy, bloodshed, sexual sins, theft, and eating from a living animal, as well as the injunction to establish a legal system (Tosef., Av. Zar. 8:4; Sanh. 56a). Except for the last, all are negative, and the last itself is usually interpreted as commanding the enforcement of the others (Maim. Yad, Melakhim, 9:1). They are derived exegetically from divine demands addressed to Adam (Gen. 2:16) and Noah (see Gen. R. 34; Sanh. 59b), i.e., the progenitors of all mankind, and are thus regarded as universal. The prohibition of idolatry provides that, to ensure social stability and personal salvation, the non-Jew does not have to "know God" but must abjure false gods (Meg. 13a; Kid. 40a; Maim. Yad, Melakhim, 10:2ff.). This law refers only to actual idolatrous acts, and not to theoretical principles and, unlike Jews, Noachides are not required to suffer martyrdom rather than break this law (Sanh. 74a; TJ, Shev. 4:2). They are, however, required to choose martyrdom rather than shed human blood (Pes. 25b and Rashi). In view of the strict monotheism of Islam, Muslims were considered as Noachides (cf. ET, loc. cit., col. 291, n. 17), whereas the status of Christians was a matter of debate. Since the later Middle Ages, however, Christianity too has come to be regarded as Noachide, on the ground that *shittuf* ("associationism" – this was the Jewish interpretation of Trinitarianism) is not forbidden to non-Jews (see YD 151). Under the prohibitions of blasphemy, murder, and theft Noachides are subject to greater legal restrictions than Jews because non-Jewish society is held to be more prone to these sins (Rashi to Sanh. 57a). The prohibition of theft covers many types of acts, e.g., military conquest (*ibid.*, 59a) and dishonesty in economic life (*ibid.*, 57a; Yad, Melakhim, 9:9). A number of other Noachide prescriptions are listed in the sources (see Sanh. 57b; Mid. Ps. 21; Yad, Melakhim, 10:6), e.g., prohibitions of sorcery, castration, mixed seeds, blemished sacrifices, injunctions to practice charity, procreate, and to honor the Torah (Ḥul. 92a). These are best understood as subheadings of "the seven laws." Noachides may also freely choose to practice certain other Jewish commandments (Yad, Melakhim, 10:9–10). Jews are obligated to try to establish the Noachide Code wherever they can (*ibid.*, 8:10). Maimonides held that Noachides must not only accept "the seven laws" on their own merit, but they must accept them as divinely revealed. This follows from the thesis that all ethics are not ultimately "natural," but require a theological framework (see Schwarzschild, in: JQR, 52 (1962), 302; Fauer, in: *Tarbiz*, 38 (1968), 43–53). The Noachide covenant plays an important part in both Jewish history and historiography. Modern Jewish thinkers like Moses *Mendelssohn and Hermann *Cohen emphasized the Noachide conception as the common rational, ethical ground of Israel and mankind (see H. Cohen, *Religion der Vernunft* (1929), 135–48, 381–8), and see Noah as the symbol of the unity and perpetuity of mankind (*ibid.*, 293). Views differ as to whether the ultimate stage of humanity will comprise both Judaism and Noachidism, or whether Noachidism is only the penultimate level before the universalization of all of the Torah (see TJ, Av. Zar. 2:1). Aimé *Pallière, at the suggestion of his teacher Rabbi E. *Benamozegh, adopted the Noachide Laws and never formally converted to Judaism.

[Steven S. Schwarzschild]

In Jewish Law

While in the amoraic period the above-mentioned list of seven precepts is clearly accepted as the framework of the Noachide Laws, a variety of tannaitic sources indicate lack of complete agreement as to the number of such laws, as well as to the specific norms to be included. The Tosefta (Av. Zar. 8:6) records four possible additional prohibitions against: (1) drinking the blood of a living animal; (2) emasculation; (3) sorcery; and (4) all magical practices listed in Deuteronomy 18:10–11.

The Talmud records a position which would add prohibitions against crossbreeding of animals of different species, and grafting trees of different kinds (Sanh. 56b). Nonrabbinic sources of the tannaitic period indicate even greater divergence. The Book of Jubilees (7:20ff.) records a substantially different list of six commandments given by Noah to his sons: (1) to observe righteousness; (2) to cover the shame of their flesh; (3) to bless their creator; (4) to honor parents; (5) to love their neighbor; and (6) to guard against fornication, uncleanness, and all iniquity (see L. Finkelstein, bibl.).

Acts (15:20) refers to four commandments addressed to non-Jews, "…that they abstain from pollutions of idols, from fornication, from things strangled, and from blood." This latter list is the only one that bears any systematic relationship to the set of religious laws which the Pentateuch makes obligatory upon resident aliens (the *ger ha-gar* and *ezraḥ*).

NATURE AND PURPOSE. There are indications that even during the talmudic period itself there was divergence of opinion as to whether the Noachide Laws constituted a formulation of natural law or were intended solely to govern the behavior of the non-Jewish resident living under Jewish jurisdiction. The natural law position is expressed most clearly by the assertion, as to five of the seven laws, that they would have been made mandatory even had they not been revealed (Yoma 67b; Sifra *Aḥarei Mot*, 13:10). Similarly, the rabbinic insistence that six of the seven Noachide Laws were actually revealed to Adam partakes of a clearly universalistic thrust (Gen. R. 16:6, 24:5). The seventh law, against the eating of flesh torn from a living animal, could have been revealed at the earliest to Noah, since prior to the flood the eating of flesh was prohibited altogether. The very fact that these laws were denominated as the "seven laws of the sons of Noah" constitutes further indication of this trend since the term "sons of Noah" is, in rabbinic usage, a technical term including all human beings except those whom Jewish law defines as being Jews. Nor was there a lack of technical terminology available specifically to describe the resident alien. On the other hand, the entire context of the talmudic discussion of the Noachide Laws is that of actual enforcement by rabbinic courts. To that end, not only is the punishment for each crime enumerated, but standards of procedure and evidence are discussed as well (Sanh. 56a–59a). This presumption of the jurisdiction of Jewish courts is most comprehensible if the laws themselves are intended to apply to non-Jews resident in areas of Jewish sovereignty. Of a similar nature is the position of Yose that the parameters of the proscription against magical practices by Noachides is the verse in Deuteronomy (18:10) which begins, "There shall not be found among you…" (Sanh. 56b). The attempt of Finkelstein (op. cit.) to date the formulation of the seven Noachide commandments during the Hasmonean era would also suggest a rabbinic concern with the actual legal status of the non-Jew in a sovereign Jewish state. It might even be the case that the substitution by the *tanna* of the school of Manasseh of emasculation and forbidden mixtures of plants for the establishment of a judicial system and blasphemy (Sanh. 56b) itself reflects a concern with the regulation of the life of the resident alien already under the jurisdiction of Jewish courts. Of course, the seven commandments themselves are subject to either interpretation; e.g., the establishment of courts of justice can mean either an independent non-Jewish judiciary and legal system or can simply bring the non-Jew under the rubric of Jewish civil law and its judicial system.

THE BASIS OF AUTHORITY. A question related to the above is that of the basis of authority of these laws over the non-Jew. Talmudic texts seem constantly to alternate between two terms, reflecting contradictory assumptions as to the basis of authority, namely seven precepts "which were commanded" (*she-niẓtavvu*) to the Noachides, and seven precepts "which the Noachides accepted upon themselves" (*she-kibbelu aleihem*; BK 38a; TJ, Av. Zar. 2:1; Ḥul. 92ab; Hor. 8b; Sanh. 56b). This disparity between authority based on revelation as opposed to consent reaches a climax when Maimonides asserts that the only proper basis for acceptance of the Noachide laws by a non-Jew is divine authority and revelation to Moses, and that "…if he observed them due to intellectual conviction [i.e., consent] such a one is not a resident alien, nor of the righteous of the nations of the world, nor of their wise men" (Yad, Melakhim 8:11; the possibility that the final "*ve-lo*" ("nor") is a scribal error for "*ella*" ("but rather") while very appealing, is not borne out by any manuscript evidence). Of course, this same conflict between revelation and consent as basis of authority appears with regard to the binding authority of Torah over the Jew, in the form of "we will do and obey" (Ex. 24:7) as opposed to "He (God) suspended the mountain upon them like a cask, and said to them, 'If ye accept the Torah, 'tis well; if not, there shall be your burial'" (Shab. 88a).

NOACHIDE LAWS AND PRE-SINAITIC LAWS. The *amoraim*, having received a clear tradition of seven Noachide Laws, had difficulty in explaining why other pre-Sinaitic laws were not included, such as procreation, circumcision, and the law of the sinew. They propounded two somewhat strained principles to explain the anomalies. The absence of circumcision and the sinew is explained through the assertion that any pre-Sinaitic law which was not repeated at Sinai was thenceforth applicable solely to Israelites (Sanh. 59a), whence procreation, while indeed obligatory on non-Jews according to Johanan (Yev. 62a) would nevertheless not to be listed (cf. Tos. to Yev. 62a s.v. *benei*; Tos. to Ḥag. 2b s.v. *lo*).

LIABILITY FOR VIOLATION OF THE LAWS. While committed to the principle that "There is nothing permitted to an Israelite yet forbidden to a heathen" (Sanh. 59a), the seven Noachide Laws were not as extensive as the parallel prohibitions applicable to Jews, and there are indeed situations in which a non-Jew would be liable for committing an act for which a Jew would not be liable. As to the latter point, as a general rule, the Noachide is criminally liable for violation of any of his seven laws even though technical definitional limitations would prevent liability by a Jew performing the same act. Thus a non-Jew is liable for blasphemy – even if only with one of the divine attributes; murder – even of a *foetus; robbery – even of less than a *perutah*; and the eating of flesh torn from a living animal – even of a quantity less than the size of an olive. In all these cases a Jew would not be liable (Sanh. 56a–59b; Yad, Melakhim, ch. 9, 10). One additional element of greater severity is that violation of any one of the seven laws subjects the Noachide to capital punishment by decapitation (Sanh. 57a).

[Saul Berman]

Noachide Laws as Tools for the Interpretation and Development of Jewish Law

THE LIMITS OF THE RULE "DINA DE-MALKHUTA DINA." Noachide laws, which are seen as reflecting universal law, include the general precept of establishing a legal system (*dinim*). This in turn leads to the delimitation of boundaries governing the interaction between the Jewish and other legal systems, within the framework of the principle "*dina de-malkhuta dina* " (see **Dina de-Malkhuta Dina*). According to Naḥmanides (in his Torah Commentary, at Gen. 34:13), the precept of *dinim* is not limited to the establishment of courts, but includes an entire system of fundamental laws regulating commerce and social order. "In my opinion… He also commanded them to observe the laws of theft, fraud, oppression, wages, the laws of bailees, rape, seduction, the laws of tort, damages, borrowing and lending, commerce and so forth, similarly to the laws commanded to the Israelites. And they are liable to capital punishment for theft, oppression, rape, seduction, arson, battery and so forth…." To be sure, this list does not include laws of betrothal and divorce. The Talmud (Gittin 9a–b) brings a *baraita* stating that Jewish law recognizes all documents made in non-Jewish courts with the exception of writs of *divorce. According to Rashi (ad loc.), the general recognition of documents is based on the "*dina de-malkhuta dina*," which affords competence to non-Jewish legal systems on the assumption that they represent universal legal values. But Jewish marital law is not included in universal law, since there are no Noachide laws pertaining to betrothal and divorce. Therefore, "*dina de-malkhuta dina*" cannot be applied to Jewish marital law, not even with respect to its evidentiary aspects. According to this approach, the rule of "*dina de-malkhuta dina*" is identical with the universal law that existed in ancient Hebrew society before the Torah had been given, and which received expression in the seven Noachide laws. Other authorities have taken a rather different approach, stating that the Noachide laws cannot bind the Jewish people, which was separated from the other nations and received its own set of laws (the Torah). For example, the Jewish laws of evidence are not governed by *dina de-malkhuta dina*, since the laws of evidence originate from the ancient Noachide law: "One – one of the seven precepts of Noachide law is to establish a legal system, and their law is administered by a single judge and one witness. But we, the descendents of Abraham, are no longer included amongst them and we are sanctified by this (our laws), and we require two witnesses for all legal matters. As this is according to their ancient laws – Heaven forbid that we should follow them on the basis of "*dina de-malkhuta dina*," since they are [only] Noachide laws" (*Responsa Ḥakhmei Provence*, Sofer Publications, p. 421)

THE SUBSTANCE AND SCOPE OF THE KING'S LAW. The king's Law constitutes a system of law, supplementary to the laws of the Torah, to adjudicate and punish in cases where it would not be possible in accordance with settled *halakhah* (See *Punishment for extensive discussion). Halakhic authorities of the last century noted the similarity between Noachide law and king's law (R. Meir Dan Poltzki, *Hemdat Israel*, *Ner Mizvah* 288, 19th century, Poland); R. Meir Simḥah of Dvinsk, *Or Same'aḥ*, Melakhim 3:10). The king's law resembles Noachide law in that it reflects "natural conduct" as opposed to the Torah law, unique to the Jews, which reflects "Divine conduct." According to the king's law one is permitted to judge on the evidence of a single witness, as in Noachide law, but the scope of the latter is limited to the seven Noachide precepts. The exclusive laws for Jews, which were added to the seven Noachide laws, must be adjudicated only according to the laws of evidence of the Torah – i.e., on the testimony of two witnesses and forewarning (see *Evidence).

Capital Punishment for Violating Noachide Laws – Maximal, Not Mandatory

Even though the Talmud and Maimonides (Sanh. 47a; Yad, Melakhim 9.14) stipulate that a non-Jew who violated the Noachide laws was liable to capital punishment, authorities in recent generations have expressed the view that this is only the maximal punishment. According to this view, there is a difference in this respect between Noachide law and the *halakhah*. According to the *halakhah*, where a Jew was liable for capital punishment, it was a mandatory punishment, provided that all conditions had been met, whereas in Noachide law death is the maximal punishment, to be enforced only in exceptional cases such as when the need arises to fight against the proliferation of crime (viz. *Or Same'aḥ, ibid.*). This is the similarity between Noachide law and the king's law, as stated above. According to some opinions, this approach, in which a differentiation is made between various levels of severity in crimes and sentencing policy in Noachide law, may be corroborated from the works of Maimonides (viz. Bibliography, Enker).

[Menachem Elon (2nd ed.)]

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NOAH (Heb. נֹחַ), son of Lamech, father of Shem, Ham, and Japheth (Gen. 5:28–29; 6:10; I Chron. 1:4). Noah is described as a righteous and blameless man who walked with God (Gen. 6:9) and whom God decided to save from a universal *Flood to become the progenitor of a new human race. He was given instructions to build an *ark, to provision it, and to take aboard members of his family and representatives of the animal and bird kingdoms. After surviving the Flood, Noah disembarked and offered sacrifices to God, who, in turn, blessed Noah and his sons and made a covenant with them. He also laid upon them certain injunctions relative to the eating of fish and the taking of life (6:9–9:17).

In the genealogical lists of the biblical Patriarchs given in Genesis 5 and 11, Noah occupies a position midway between Adam and Abraham. He is also tenth in the line of antediluvian Patriarchs. This tradition is doubtless dependent upon a Mesopotamian source. It is especially reminiscent of a notation in the writings of Berossus (third century B.C.E.) according to which the hero of the great flood was Babylonia's tenth antediluvian king. In the biblical material dealing with the Patriarchs there is an extension of the use of the number ten, or numbers based on ten, not found in the cognate Mesopotamian notices. For instance, ten generations separate Noah from Abraham, and Noah's age is reckoned by tens and multiples of ten. Noah had reached the age of 500 at the birth of his three sons (5:32) and another period of 100 years elapsed before the onset of the deluge (7:11). However, the biblical treatment differs importantly from its Mesopotamian antecedents, for in the latter, the reigns of the antediluvian kings range from 18,600 to nearly 65,000 years. There is no denying that the lifespans of the corresponding biblical personages, including Noah's 950 years (9:28), have been considerably compressed and fall far short of the briefest reign mentioned in the related Mesopotamian texts.

Another discrepancy between the biblical and Mesopotamian traditions lies in the name of the hero. The earliest Mesopotamian flood account, written in the Sumerian language, calls the deluge hero Ziusudra, which is thought to carry the connotation "he who laid hold on life of distant days." The Sumerian name obviously has in view the immortality granted the hero after the Flood. It is this name which is reflected in the later version set down in writing by Berossus. In the ancient Babylonian versions there is likewise clearly an indebtedness to the prior Sumerian account (see *Flood). In one of these versions the hero bears the name Atra(m)ḫasis, meaning "the exceedingly wise." This name apparently is in the nature of an epithet. Woven into the famous Epic of Gilgamesh is another version, in which the man who survived the flood is known as Utnapishtim, signifying "he saw life." This is patently a loose rendering of the Sumerian Ziusudra, which symbolizes the status attained by the hero. The name Noah, by contrast, cannot be related to any of these on the basis of present knowledge.

The foregoing factors strongly suggest that in the transmission of the Babylonian antediluvian lists to biblical chroniclers an intermediate agent was active. The people most likely to have fulfilled this role are the Hurrians, whose territory included the city of Haran, where the Patriarch Abraham had his roots. The Hurrians inherited the Flood story from Babylonia. Unfortunately, their version exists in an extremely fragmentary condition, so that nothing positive can be said one way or the other on the matter. There is preserved, however, a personal name which invites comparison with the name of Noah. It is spelled syllabically: *Na-aḫ-ma-su-le-el*. It is possible, but by no means certain, that Noah is a shortened form of this name.

The Bible itself attempts to interpret the name: "This one will provide us relief from our work and from the toil of our hands" (5:29). This explanation links Noah with the Hebrew *niḥam*, "to comfort," but this is popular etymologizing and not based on linguistic principles. The true significance of the name was probably unknown to those speakers of Hebrew who inherited the Flood narrative. The interpretation of the name seems to refer to Noah's invention of wine. It is possible, however, that it reflects a lost tradition connecting Noah with the invention of the plow. The biblical statement that Noah was the first to plant a vineyard (9:20–21) seems to reflect an ancient attitude that grape culture and the making of wine were essential to civilization. The account also takes for granted that grapes were properly utilized by turning the juice into a fermented drink. Furthermore, Noah's drunkenness is presented in a matter-of-fact manner and not as reprehensible behavior. It is clear that intoxication is not at issue here, but rather that Noah's venture into viticulture provides the setting for the castigation of Israel's Canaanite neighbors. It is related that *Ham, to whom the descent of the Canaanites is traced, committed an offense when he entered the tent and viewed his father's nakedness. The offender is specifically identified as the father of *Canaan (9:22), and Noah's curse, uttered upon his awakening, is strangely aimed at Canaan rather than the disrespectful Ham. In any event, the inspiration for the scene is clearly not Mesopotamian in origin, as is the case with the greater part of the material in the first 11 chapters of Genesis.

Noah as a personality is again mentioned in the Bible only by the prophet Ezekiel (14:14, 20) who refers to him as one of three righteous men of antiquity, although Isaiah (54:9) does describe the Flood as "the waters of Noah."

[Dwight Young]

In the Aggadah

Although the Bible says of Noah that he was (Gen. 6:9) "in his generations a man righteous and wholehearted," and hence was saved, not a single action is mentioned there to illustrate his righteousness. Philo, too, asks (LA 3:77): "why did he [Moses] say 'Noah found grace in the eyes of the Lord' (Gen. 6:8), when previously he had, as far as our information goes, done nothing good?" Filling in details lacking in the Bible, the *aggadah* tells of Noah's righteousness before and during the building of the ark and while he was in it. Noah's first good deed was to "introduce plows, sickles, axes, and all kinds of tools to his contemporaries," thus freeing them from doing everything with their hands (Tanḥ. Gen. 11). He was what the Greeks would call ε'υεργέτης, one whose inventions benefit mankind and cause him to be particularly beloved of the gods. Noah's uprightness and love of his fellowmen are further exemplified in what he did to save his contemporaries. Instead of hurrying to build the ark, he delayed it for many years waiting until the cedars which he had planted for it had grown (Tanḥ. No'aḥ 5). Finding it difficult to disregard God's command, yet dreading the destruction of the human species, he waited for 120 years in the hope that his contemporaries would depart from their evil ways.

Noah also admonished and warned his contemporaries, and called upon them to repent. A similar motif is found also in Josephus (Ant. 1:74) and the Apostolic Fathers (Clement, 1, 7, 6). Noah's reproof of the men of his generation is derived from a reference to him as a righteous man (Gen. 6:9); the *aggadah*, states that "wherever it says 'a righteous man' – the reference is to one who forewarns others" (Gen. R. 30:7), only such a one being worthy of the designation "righteous." In the Bible, Noah figures as a man wholeheartedly righteous and reticent; in the *aggadah*, a prophet, a truthful man, a monitor of his generation, a herald persecuted for his rebukes and honesty.

Noah's righteousness was also shown in his devoted attention to the animals in the ark. Because of the great care taken by Noah and his sons to provide each animal with its usual diet at its usual mealtime, they slept neither by day nor by night (Sanh. 108b; Tanḥ B. 58:2). Noah regarded himself as responsible for the preservation of all the animal species. Philo, too, stresses the fact that when God brought a flood on earth, He wished that all the species He had created should be preserved (Mos. 2:61). Plato, in one of his myths (*Protagoras*, 321), attributes a similar desire to the gods. In spite of these testimonials to Noah's high-mindedness, R. Johanan interpreted the biblical statement, "thee have I seen righteous before Me in this generation" (Gen. 7:1) as indicating Noah's righteousness only in relation to his own generation and not in relation to others (Sanh. 108a). Philo (Abr. 36) concurred, stating that Noah would not have been regarded as upright in relation to the Patriarchs: he affirmed his greatness in opposing the tendencies of his generation (*ibid.* 38).

[Elimelech Epstein Halevy]

In Christianity

In Christian symbolism Noah is one of the most important typological figures. The New Testament describes him as a symbol of the just (II Pet. 2:5), and as an example, in a sinful world, of faith in and submission to God (Heb. 11:7; Luke 17:26–27; I Pet. 3:20). As a type and prefiguration of Jesus, Noah exhorts to repentance and announces the inevitable judgment. Being spared from the universal catastrophe, he appears as a redeemer through whom humanity is saved from complete destruction and is reconciled with God.

The Flood, the ark, and the dove also serve as Christian prefigurations. Just as Noah triumphs over drowning to death in the waters of the flood, so Jesus and the Christians vanquish Satan and death through the water of baptism which initiates them into a new world (I Pet. 3:18–21). In later Christian tradition Noah's ark symbolizes the Church outside of which no salvation is possible. The dove sent out by Noah prefigures the Holy Spirit moving upon the baptismal waters, symbolizing divine reconciliation.

In Islam

Nūḥ (Noah) is one of *Muhammad's favorite biblical characters. He devotes a complete sura to Noah (71) considering Noah's life as a prototype of his own. Noah is the reprover who attempts to make his people repent (7:57–61), but the elders scorn and do not heed him. Following the *aggadah* (Sanh. 108a and other Midrashim) Noah relates that it has been revealed to him that he must build the ark (11:29, 34, 38–39). When Noah and the members of his family entered the ark on Allah's command, one son stood at the side of the Ark and was drowned in the waters of the *Flood because he refused to enter when Noah called (11:43). According to some commentators, this son was *Canaan; hence, the belief that Noah had four sons, and not three as recorded in the Bible. Noah's wife may also have been among those who drowned in the Flood (see Tabarī, below), because as the wife of *Lot, she was not a believer (66:10–11). The Ark settled on Mount Jūdī (11:46). The poets al-Nābigha, al-Aʿshā, ʿAdī b. Zayd, and especially, Umayya ibn Abī al-Ṣalt, who were contemporaries of Muhammad, describe the ark, its construction, and the salvation of Noah. As usual, the commentators on the *Koran add many legendary details and embellishments and are familiar with the names of the sons of Noah (see below). The number of those who were saved varies. One source mentions 80 survivors: Noah, his three sons, their wives, and 73 believers, the descendants of *Seth (Shīth; Tabarī 129). According to others, only eight survived: Noah and his wife (!), his three sons, and their wives.

The three sons of Noah are not mentioned by name in the Koran. Tabarī (vol. 1, pp. 132–3) presents a list stating how the land was partitioned among them, and later (pp. 140–9) includes the genealogies of all the nations which existed in his time. Sām (Shem) was the progenitor of the Arabs, the Persians, and the Rūm (Byzantines) who are considered good nations. Yāfath (Japheth) was the ancestor of the Turks and the Slavs, Yājūj and Mājūj (*Gog and Magog), all of whom possess no good qualities (p. 145), and are not noble. Hām (Ham) gave birth to the Copts, the "Blacks," and the Berbers. His sins were having carnal relations with his wife in the Ark and acting disrespectfully toward his father.

[Haïm Z'ew Hirschberg]

In the Arts

The dramatic aspects of the biblical story of the Flood have ensured Noah's continued popularity as a subject for treatment by writers and artists. During the Middle Ages, Noah was seen as a prefiguration of Jesus (see above) and christological interpretations were also placed on his drunkenness, which was believed to foreshadow the bitter drink of the Passion. At the same time, however, some of the English mystery plays showed Noah and his wife in a comic light, their ribald dialogue appealing to unsophisticated audiences. The English medieval cycles, which used a prefabricated stage setting of the ark, include those of Chester ("The Deluge"), Coventry ("Noah's Flood"), Towneley, and York ("The Building of the Ark" and "Noah and his Wife"). Some of these plays were presented by trade guilds, such as the Newcastle shipwrights (*Noah's Ark, or the Shipwrights' Ancient Play or Dirge*). The theme inspired the Norman poet Olivier Basselin's "*Eloge de Noé*" – a drinking song with the refrain "*O le bon vin!*" Toward the end of the 15th century, the Italian Annius of Viterbo published a book of spurious *Antiquities* (Rome, 1498) containing the "Pseudo-Berosus," a legendary account of Noah and his descendants which especially linked the Japhethites with some of the European nations. The 16th-century epic treatment of the Deluge theme was written by the Polish poet Jan Kochanowski (1558). The subject still retained some popular appeal in 17th-century England, with "Noah's Flood," a musical presentation licensed in 1662; a Bartholomew Fair "droll" entitled *The Creation of the World*; and Edward Ecclestone's opera, *Noah's Flood; or The Destruction of the World* (1679). The Dutch Catholic Joost van den Vondel's five-act drama, *Noah, of ondergang der eerste weerelt* (1667), was on a higher level than all of these.

The only major writer of the 18th century to show interest in the theme was the Swiss poet and dramatist Johann Jacob Bodmer, who devoted two separate epics to the Bible story: *Noah ein Heldengedicht* (1750, 1752^2; published as *Die Noachide*, 1765) and *Die Synd-Flut* (1751, 1753^2). Twentieth-century interpretations have included *Die Suendflut* (1924), a drama by the German anti-Nazi author and artist Ernst Barlach; a poem by the U.S. writer Robert *Nathan (in "A Cedar Box," 1929); *Noé* (1931; *Noah*, 1935), one of the great successes of the French dramatist André Obey; and *Noah and the Waters* (1936), a poem by the Anglo-Irish author Cecil Day Lewis. Two treatments of the post-World War II period were *The Flowering Peach* (1954) by the U.S. playwright Clifford *Odets, who transferred the Noah story to a modern setting; and Hugo Loetscher's *Noah* (1970), a satire on the affluent society, which used the biblical theme to point a contemporary moral.

In art, the main subjects treated are the Flood (Gen. 7, 8) and the drunkenness of Noah (Gen. 9). The subject matter of catacomb art is often drawn from the prayers of the *Commendatio Animae*. Like Isaac and Daniel, Noah is a popular subject in the art of the catacombs because he figures in the prayers as a symbol of the redeemed soul. Notable representations are those in the second-century murals from the catacomb of Priscilla and the fourth-century murals from that of Domitillus. In early Christian Art, the ark is represented as a small floating cask in which Noah stands alone, his arms upraised in an attitude of supplication. Later it became a floating house or three-tiered basilica, differing from a ship in that it had no oars or sails. A representation of Noah's ark is found on a mosaic from the ancient synagogue in Gerasa, Jordan, and scenes from the story of Noah are depicted in the 12th-century mosaics of Palermo and Monreale, and in the 13th-century mosaics from St. Mark's Cathedral, Venice. The theme also occurs in sculpture, frescoes, manuscript illuminations, and stained glass. There are carvings of the subject in the Gothic cathedrals of Bourges, Wells, and Salisbury, and in 12th-century wall paintings from St. Savin, France. It is illustrated in the sixth-century *Vienna Genesis* (National Library, Vienna), the seventh-century *Ashburnham Pentateuch* (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris), the 13th-century *St. Louis Psalter*, and in a number of Hebrew manuscripts, including the French 13th-century *British Museum Miscellany* (Add. 11:639) and the 14th-century *Sarajevo Haggadah*. In the 13th-century Hispano-Provençal

Farḥi Bible (formerly in the Sassoon Collection, Letchworth) there is a plan of the ark.

During the Renaissance, Lorenzo Ghiberti executed a bas-relief of the story of Noah after the Flood on his bronze gates to the Florence Baptistery, and Paolo Uccello painted a fresco of the Deluge in the Church of Santa Maria Novella in Florence. One of the most dramatic representations of the Flood is that by Michelangelo (Sistine Chapel, Vatican), who also depicted the sacrifice and the drunkenness of Noah, and Shem and Japheth covering his nakedness. In this, as in other Renaissance paintings of the subject, the sons are themselves oddly depicted in the nude. The story of Noah also figures in the Raphael frescoes in the Vatican. There are paintings of Noah entering and leaving the Ark by Jacopo Bassano in the Prado, and a painting of Noah leaving the ark by Hieronymos Bosch is in the Bojmans Museum, Rotterdam. In the 17th century, Nicolas Poussin painted the Flood as an image of winter in a series of four paintings representing the four seasons (Louvre). Poussin's painting of the sacrifice of Noah is in the Prado. Among modern artists, Lesser *Ury painted the Flood, and a painting of Noah's Ark by Marc *Chagall is in the Louvre.

In music, there were two 19th-century oratorios on the theme of the Flood, one by Johann Christian Friedrich Schmerder (1823); and *Le Déluge* (1876; première at Boston, U.S., 1880) by Camille Saint-Saëns. In 1970 *Two by Two*, a musical on the theme based on Clifford Odets' above-mentioned play and with Danny Kaye in the star role, was staged on Broadway.

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NOAH, BOOKS OF. Although a Book of Noah is not referred to in the Christian canon lists, there is a good deal of evidence that such a work or works existed. In Jubilee 10:1–15 reference is made to a medical and anti-demonic work transmitted by Noah to his descendants after the Flood, when, in spite of Noah's intercession, a tenth of the demons were left on earth, causing trouble and affliction. What appears to be another form of this passage is to be found in the opening paragraphs of the medieval medical treatise *Sefer Asaf ha-Rofe*. Some scholars, such as Charles, would also attribute Jubilees 7:20–39 to a Book of Noah. A second body of Noah material is that discerned by Charles in I Enoch. The chapters which appear assuredly to be drawn from a Noah book are I Enoch 6–11, 60, 65–69, 106–7. Material closely associated with I Enoch 6–11 and 106–7 appears in 1Q19, the so-called "Book of Noah" from Qumran. This text does not appear to be simply the Hebrew original of the I Enoch Noah material, but to be closely associated with it. Yet another group of Noah texts associated with ritual instructions of a priestly character is referred to in Jubilees 21:10, there as part of Abraham's instructions to Isaac. This tradition was also known to the author of the Greek "Fragments of the Testament of Levi," undoubtedly a very ancient text, again directly attributed to Noah and included in Abraham's instructions to Isaac (Greek fragment 57), and in a brief form, without the attribution to Noah, in the Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs, Levi 9:11. The Jewish magical book Sefer ha-*Razim is also ascribed to Noah.

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[Michael E. Stone]

NOAH, MORDECAI MANUEL (1785–1851), U.S. editor, politician, and playwright. Noah, who was probably the most influential Jew in the United States in the early 19th century, was born in Philadelphia. His father, Manuel Noah (c. 1755–1822), was a bankrupt itinerant merchant, and Mordecai Noah was raised by his maternal grandfather, Jonas *Phillips. After apprenticeship as a gilder and carver, Noah became a clerk in the U.S. Treasury through the assistance of Robert Morris (1734–1806), the financier and senator.

Noah began his political career in Philadelphia in 1808 when he, along with other "Democratic Young Men," supported the Republican candidate, James Madison, for president. A year later Noah went to Charleston, where he edited the *City Gazette*. A war "hawk," he strongly supported the War of 1812. In 1813 he was appointed consul at Tunis, but was recalled two years later after he was accused of misappropriation of funds, though the charges were never proved. On his return to the United States, Noah established himself permanently in New York with the help of his uncle Naphtali Phillips, publisher of the *National Advocate*, which ardently supported the Democratic Party of New York County. Noah became the editor of the newspaper in 1817, giving him access to the Tammany Society. He was appointed high sheriff in 1822 and two years later was elected grand sachem of Tammany.

When Phillips sold the *National Advocate* in 1824, Noah became the publisher of the *New York National Advocate*. He broke with Tammany over its opposition to De Witt Clinton, then commissioner of canals, and in 1825 supported Clinton for governor. Noah continued to oppose Tammany in the paper he established, the *New York Enquirer*, published 1826–29.

Critical of Andrew Jackson, particularly of his attack on the U.S. Bank, he associated himself with the newly created Whig Party in 1834, and as publisher and editor of the *Evening Star*, a Whig paper, demonstrated anti-immigrant and anti-Catholic bias. When the Native American Party of 1835–36, the forerunner of the Know-Nothing Party, was created, he was one of its chief supporters. He also supported the Texas revolt of 1836 against Mexico and angrily attacked the abolitionist cause. In 1841, he became a judge of the Court of Sessions.

Noah was a prolific playwright; many of his plays reflected his patriotic fervor. His first play, *Fortress of Sorrento* (written 1808), was followed by, among others, *She Would Be a Soldier* (1819); *Siege of Tripoli* (1820), also produced as *Yuseff Caramalli*; and *Marion, or the Hero of St. George* (1822).

Noah's interest in Jewish affairs drew him into activities on behalf of the congregations of Mikveh Israel in Philadelphia and Shearith Israel in New York. Long taken by the idea of a Jewish territorial restoration, Noah, in 1825, helped purchase a tract of land on Grand Island in the Niagara River near Buffalo, which he named Ararat and envisioned as a Jewish colony. Though the proposal elicited much discussion, the attempt was not a success and Noah's pretensions as ruler were ridiculed. After the failure of the Ararat experience, Noah turned more strongly to the idea of Palestine as a national home for Jews. As the best-known American Jew of his time, Noah in 1840 delivered the principal address at a meeting at B'nai Jeshurun in New York protesting the *Damascus Affair.

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[Leo Hershkowitz]

NOB (Heb. נֹב), priestly town in the territory of Benjamin, near Jerusalem. When David fled from Saul's court, he traveled by way of Nob (I Sam. 21ff.). Pretending to be on a royal mission, he obtained from the chief priest Ahimelech hallowed bread and the sword of Goliath from the local sanctuary for himself and his men. Doeg the Edomite, Saul's chief herdsman, denounced the priest to the king (I Sam. 22:9ff.); on Saul's order, he slew 85 priests and also "men and women, children and sucklings, and oxen and asses and sheep" (I Sam. 22:19). Abiathar son of Ahimelech escaped and later became high priest to David. Nob was the last stopping point, after Anathoth, of Sennacherib's northern army before their assault on Jerusalem (Isa. 10:32). It was one of the cities settled by Jews returning from Babylonian Exile. In the Mishnah, the question of the permissibility of high places at Nob is discussed (Zev. 14:7; Tosef., Zev. 13:5). The ancient city is identified with an Iron Age site near the village of ʿIsawiyya on Mt. Scopus, near the modern campus of the Hebrew University.

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[Michael Avi-Yonah]

NOBEL, NEHEMIAH ANTON (1871–1922), German Orthodox rabbi and religious leader. Born in Nagymed (Hungary), he was the son of JOSEPH NOBEL (1840–1917), author of a number of exegetical and homiletical works (*Ḥermon*, 1919^3; *Levanon*, 1911; *Tavor*, 1899; and others). After being brought up in Halberstadt, where his father was *Klausrabbinner*, Nehemiah Nobel studied at the Berlin *Rabbinerseminar. He served in the rabbinate of Cologne from 1896 to 1899,and then for several months in Koenigsberg. From there he went to the University of Marburg to study under Hermann *Cohen, who had a great influence upon him, although they did not agree about Zionism. Nobel's activity in the Zionist Movement began in Cologne. He was on close terms with Theodor *Herzl and David *Wolffsohn and was one of the original founders of the Zionist Federation in Germany. He also took part in the founding convention of the *Mizrachi movement in Pressburg (1904). Nobel's Zionist activity, motivated by his conviction that religion and nationhood are organically connected in Judaism, stood out in contrast to the united anti-Zionist front of Orthodox and liberal rabbis in Germany at the time. From 1901 he served in the rabbinate of Leipzig, from 1906 in the rabbinate of Hamburg, and finally, from 1910, in the rabbinate of Frankfurt, where he succeeded Marcus *Horovitz. There he prompted closer contacts with Judaism and Zionism in circles that had been drifting away from Judaism. His sermons and preachings, in which he was extraordinarily impressive, tackled topical problems. He influenced such Jewish thinkers as Ernst *Simon, Oscar Wolfsberg (Y. *Aviad), F. *Rosenzweig, and M. *Buber. The last two helped to publish the jubilee book for his 50th birthday (1921). In 1919 he was elected chairman of the Union of German Rabbis and was head of the Akademie fuer die Wissenschaft des Judentums. He died a short time after having been appointed professor of religion and ethics at the University of Frankfurt. A number of his sermons as well as scholarly and halakhic articles, which first appeared in *Festschriften*, have been published in Hebrew as *Hagut ve-Halakhah* (1969). Nobel's younger brother, ISRAEL (1878–1962), rabbi in Schneidemuehl and Berlin, published *Offenbarung und Tradition* (1908) and a Passover *Haggadah* with German translation and notes (1927).

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[Getzel Kressel]

NOBEL PRIZES, awarded annually to men and women who have "rendered the greatest service to mankind." Since the inception of the prize in 1899 it has been awarded to the following Jews or people of Jewish descent. (See Table: Jewish Nobel Prize Winners.)

Jewish Nobel Prize Winners

Chemistry

1905	Adolph Von Baeyer	1981	Roald Hoffmann
1906	Henri Moissan	1982	Aaron Klug
1910	Otto Wallach	1989	Sidney Altman
1915	Richard Willstaetter	1992	Rudolph Arthur Marcus
1918	Fritz Haber	1994	George Olah
1943	George Charles de Hevesy	1996	Harold Kroto
1961	Melvin Calvin	1998	Walter Kohn
1962	Max Ferdinand Perutz	2000	Alan Heeger
1972	William Howard Stein (jointly with Dr. Stanford Moore)	2004	Aaron Ciechanover
1979	Herbert Brown	2004	Avram Hershko
1980	Paul Berg	2004	Irwin Rose
1980	Walter Gilbert		

Literature

1910	Paul Johann Ludwig Heyse	1981	Elias Canetti
1927	Henri Bergson	1987	Joseph Brodsky
1958	Boris Pasternak	1991	Nadine Gordimer
1966	Shmuel Yosef Agnon	2002	Imre Kertész
1966	Nelly Sachs	2004	Elfriede Jelinek
1976	Saul Bellow	2005	Harold Pinter
1978	Isaac Bashevis Singer		

Physiology or Medicine

1908	Elie Metchnikoff	1972	Maurice Gerald Edelman
1908	Paul Ehrlich	1975	David Baltimore
1914	Robert Bárány	1975	Howard David Temin
1922	Otto Meyerhof	1976	Baruch Samuel Blumberg
1930	Karl Landsteiner	1977	Rosalyn Sussman Yalow
1931	Otto Warburg	1978	Daniel Nathans
1936	Otto Loewi	1980	Baruj Benacceraf
1944	Joseph Erlanger	1984	Cesar Milstein
1944	Herbert Spencer Gasser	1985	Michael Stuart Brown
1945	Ernst Boris Chain	1985	Joseph Leonard Goldstein
1946	Herman Joseph Muller	1986	Stanley Cohen
1950	Tadeus Reichstein	1986	Rita Levi-Montalcini
1952	Selman Abraham Waksman	1988	Gertrude B. Elion
1953	Hans Krebs	1989	Harold Eliot Varmus
1953	Fritz Albert Lipmann	1992	Edmond Fischer
1958	Joshua Lederberg	1994	Alfred Gilman
1959	Arthur Kornberg	1994	Martin Rodbell
1964	Konrad Bloch	1997	Stanley Prusiner
1965	François Jacob	1998	Robert Furchgott
1965	Andre Lwoff	2000	Paul Greengard
1967	George Wald	2000	Eric Kandel
1968	Marshall W. Nirenberg	2002	Sydney Brenner
1969	Salvador Luria	2002	H. Robert Horvitz
1970	Julius Axelrod	2004	Richard Axel
1970	Sir Bernard Katz		

Physics

1907	Albert Abraham Michelson	1978	Peter Leonidovitch Kapitza
1908	Gabriel Lippmann	1978	Arno Penzias
1921	Albert Einstein	1979	Sheldon Glashow
1922	Niels Bohr	1979	Steven Weinberg
1925	James Franck	1988	Leon Lederman
1925	Gustav Hertz	1988	Melvin Schwartz
1943	Otto Stern	1988	Jack Steinberger
1944	Isidor Isaac Rabi	1990	Jerome Isaac Friedman
1952	Felix Bloch	1992	George Charpak
1954	Max Born	1995	Martin L. Perl
1958	Igor Tamm	1995	Frederick Reines
1959	Emilio Segrè	1996	David Lee
1960	Donald A. Glaser	1996	Douglas Osheroff
1961	Robert Hofstadter	1997	Claude Cohen-Tannoudji
1962	Lev Davidovich Landau	2000	Zhores Alferov
1965	Richard Phillips Feynman	2003	Vitaly Ginzburg
1965	Julian Schwinger	2003	Alexei Abrikosov
1969	Murray Gell-Mann	2004	David Gross
1971	Dennis Gabor	2004	H. David Politzer
1973	Brian David Josephson (jointly with Ivan Giaver and Leon Esoki)	2005	Roy Glauber
1975	Benjamin R. Mottelson (jointly with Aage Bohr)		

World Peace

1911	Alfred Fried	1986	Elie Wiesel
1911	Tobias Michael Carel Asser	1994	Yiẓhak Rabin
1968	René Cassin	1994	Shimon Peres
1973	Henry Alfred Kissinger	1995	Joseph Rotblat
1978	Menaḥem Begin		

Economics

1970	Paul Anthony Samuelson	1993	Robert Fogel
1971	Simon Kuznetz	1994	John Harsanyi
1972	Kenneth Joseph Arrow	1994	Reinhard Selten
1975	Leonid Kantorovich	1997	Robert Merton
1978	Herbert Alexander Simon	1997	Myron Scholes
1980	Lawrence Klein	2001	George Akerlof
1985	Franco Modigliani	2001	Joseph Stiglitz
1987	Robert M. Solow	2002	Daniel Kahneman
1990	Harry M. Markowitz	2005	Robert Aumann
1992	Gary S. Becker		

WEBSITE: www.jinfo.org.

°**NOELDEKE, THEODOR** (1836–1930), German Orientalist. Born in Harburg, near Hamburg, Noeldeke taught from 1872 until 1906. Best known for his prizewinning *Geschichte des Qorâns* (1860), he was an acknowledged expert on the comparative philology of the Semitic languages and published grammars of New Syriac (1869), Mandaean Aramaic (1874), and Syriac (1880). His expertise in this field was fully revealed in his *Beitraege zur semitischen Sprachwissenschaft* (1904) and its supplement (1910).

Noeldeke was also a distinguished scholar in the biblical and rabbinic fields. Among his works in this sphere are *Ueber die Amalekiter und einige andere Nachbarvoelker der Israeliten* (1864); "Die Geschichte der Juden in Arabien" (in *Beitraege zur Kenntnis der Poesie der alten Araber*, 1864); *Die alttestamentliche Literatur* (1868), a French edition of which, by H. Derenbourg and J. Soury, appeared in 1873; and *Untersuchungen zur Kritik des Alten Testaments* (1869). Noeldeke, whose pupils included Louis *Ginzberg, was a prolific writer on Islamic history and Arabic and Persian culture, his general works including *Orientalische Skizzen* (1892; *Sketches from Eastern History*, 1892). He also published *Die Inschrift des Koenigs Mesa* (1870), an explanatory work on the Mesha Stele; an essay on the Aramaic papyri of Assuan (1907); and various introductions and annotations to books by other scholars, for example, Friedrich Schulthess' *Grammatik des christlich-palaestinischen Aramaeisch* (1924).

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NOERDLINGEN, city in Bavaria, Germany. Jews were to be found in Noerdlingen from the 12th century, but the sources reflect an organized community only in the 13th century. Eight Jews were martyred there during the *Rindfleisch persecutions (1298), but community life was renewed soon afterward. In 1331 Emperor Louis IV granted four "honorable" Jewish elders the extraordinary privilege of jurisdiction over foreign Jews. There were about 20 Jewish houses in the Judengasse (which was also inhabited by Christians), and the community possessed a synagogue and a cemetery; the Jews made their living as moneylenders. During the *Black Death persecutions of 1348 many Jews were killed or imprisoned; their property and promissory notes were confiscated by the city. Emperor *Charles IV pardoned the burghers and canceled their debts to the Jews. Subsequently he acceded to the city's request to readmit Jews. A synagogue was mentioned in 1357, and in 1378 the community consecrated a cemetery. However, during fresh riots in 1384 about 200 Jews were murdered and the community ceased to exist. After Jews were again admitted into the city in 1401, a new and prosperous community came into being; a new cemetery, which also served the neighboring communities, was put into use in 1415. Taxes were heavy: five **Schutzjuden* ("protected Jews") provided three-eighths of the amount paid by the whole 34-member city council. In 1437 Jews were forbidden to hire Christian servants and ordered to wear the Jewish *badge – though this order does not seem to have been strictly enforced. The Hussite wars resulted in temporary banishment between 1454 and 1459, and hostile agitation by the clergy led to the expulsion of the Jews in 1507. The synagogue was sold in 1517, but refugees who had settled nearby attended Noerdlingen's annual fairs. A community, with 25 families, was organized in 1870, dedicated a new synagogue in 1885, and founded a *ḥevra kaddisha* in 1898. It numbered 489 persons in 1899, and 314 (3.8% of the total) in 1913. By June 16, 1933, only 186 remained; 145 of them left before 1942, when the remnants of the Jewish community were deported. The mayor of the city prevented the destruction of the synagogue in 1938, and in 1952 it was sold to a Protestant group as a community center. The building was rebuilt but, in the process, the architecture of the former synagogue was destroyed. In 1997 the building was demolished and replaced by a new structure. A plaque commemorates the former synagogue.

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NOETHER, family of mathematicians in Germany. MAX NOETHER (1844–1921), born in Erlangen, was professor of mathematics for nearly 50 years. He made important contributions to geometry and was the foremost authority of the algebraic-geometric school in Germany. He wrote many papers on the geometry of hyperspace, Abelian and Theta functions. His son FRITZ NOETHER (1884–1941) became professor of applied mathematics at the Technische Hochschule, Breslau. EMMY (AMALIE) NOETHER (1882–1935), Max's daughter, was born and educated in Erlangen. She went to Goettingen in 1916, but because of the prevailing anti-feminine bias she was unable to obtain an official post. Conditions changed under the Weimar Republic and after much opposition she was appointed "unofficial extraordinary professor" in 1922. She derived an income from a lectureship in algebra. The advent of the Hitler regime forced her to emigrate to the U.S. where she was appointed professor at Bryn Mawr College, Pennsylvania. She was a pioneer in the general theory of ideas, and from 1926 onward initiated advances in non-commutative algebra. A creative mathematician of high caliber, her influence on contemporary mathematics cannot be judged solely by her published work, as she exerted great influence through her students and many of her ideas were developed by them.

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[Barry Spain]

NOLA, ELIJAH BEN MENAHEM DA (baptismal name, **Giovanni Paolo Eustachio**; c. 1530–c. 1602), Italian Hebraist and apostate. One of the leading rabbis in Rome during the late 16th century, Da Nola was also a renowned physician and philosopher. When Moses *Alatino was commissioned to translate Hebrew texts into Latin, he received valuable assistance from Da Nola. While acting as a Hebrew tutor to Tommaso Aldobrandini, brother of Pope Clement VIII, Da Nola was induced to convert to Catholicism in 1568, and eventually became a *scrittore* at the Vatican library. He copied Hebrew manuscripts for Cardinal Federigo Borromeo, archbishop of Milan, many such works in his hand being preserved in the Vatican.

Da Nola later published *Sacro Settenario raccolto dalle sacre Scritture…* (Naples, 1579), on the symbolism of the figure 7 in the Old and New Testaments. A collection of sermons, *Salutari discorsi… aggiuntavi un modo utilissimo de la vita che denno tenere i Neophiti* (Naples, 1582), dedicated to Pope Gregory XII, contained an apologia for his apostasy which, the author claimed, had been based on knowledge and conviction, rather than on fear or greed. Like many others who converted during the Renaissance era, Da Nola endeavored to prove the superiority of Christianity over Judaism by judicious manipulation of kabbalistic books, particularly in regard to the significance of the Trinity and the numerical value of selected Hebrew terms.

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[Godfrey Edmond Silverman]

NOM, IBRAHIM (**Avram Naon**, 1870–1947), Turkish poet and lawyer. A successful *Istanbul attorney, he was prominent in Turkish literary life, publishing a review and writing for leading periodicals. A collection of his verse, *Kalbi Şikeste* ("Broken Heart"), appeared in 1901. Other poems, some of which inspired popular Turkish songs, were published from 1938 until 1947 in the Ladino paper *La Boz de Türkiye*. Nom is said to have pioneered the use of the acrostic in Turkish poetry.

[Shmuel Moreh]

NOMADISM, a socioeconomic mode of life based on intensive domestication of livestock which requires a regular movement of the community in an annual cycle in order to sustain the communal ecological system.

Definition

The defining feature of pastoral nomadism is movement, which is neither aimless nor boundless, from pasture to pasture and from watering point to watering point, along well-defined routes, at fixed periods, in rhythm with the rainy and dry seasons, and in greater or lesser comity with adjoining nomadic and settled groups. Little or no agriculture is practiced. Nomads necessarily rely upon trade with or raids upon agriculturalists for food and other necessities or occasional luxuries not supplied by their herds. Pastoral nomads often supply settled peoples with transport services by providing animals and serving as caravaneers. Occasionally, control of routes and specialization in trade lead to settlement of nomad elites in commercial centers such as Palmyra in Syria and Petra in Edom. Ethnographers are generally agreed that pastoral nomadism arose later than the emergence of neolithic agriculture in the Middle East. At first it involved herders of sheep and goats who adapted themselves to the spartan conditions of life on the steppe but who were unable to venture more than one or two days' journey from water. Full nomadism emerged only in about 1500–1000 B.C.E. with the domestication of camels which can go as long as 17 days without water. Introduction of the horse at a somewhat later date allowed for still more flexibility of movement and agility in warfare. Full nomadism never replaced seminomadism altogether and agriculturalists learned how to specialize on the side in pastoralism through a form of nomadism known as transhumance. Actual nomadic groups are extremely varied according to environmental conditions, types of animals bred, communal forms for establishing kinship, wealth, and status, historical fortunes of the group, and relations to surrounding nomadic and settled peoples.

In Ancient Israel

Ancient Israel was in contact with peoples who practiced pastoral nomadism. Some segments of Israel proper were pastoral nomads for varying periods of time in the arid and semiarid zones of Sinai and the Negev, Transjordan, and the rain shadow regions of Canaan, i.e., mostly on the eastern slopes of the central highlands. Excluded from consideration is animal husbandry, which is frequent in agricultural communities in which a few animals raised by farmers are allowed to forage in the human settlement and to graze on farmland stubble and fallow land. The animals referred to in the early Israelite Book of the Covenant (e.g., Ex. 21:28–37; 22:3–4, 9–12; 23:4–5, 12) reveal that the laws applied to resident farmers for whom animal husbandry was a secondary activity and among whom vast pasturage as a special ecological aspect shaping the entire socioeconomic life was absent. Also, we omit all consideration of non-pastoral nomadism, e.g., wild species moving on their own through an annual cycle and nomadic human communities of hunters, fishers, and gatherers. Full or classic pastoral nomadism entailed maximum independence through human symbiosis with the camel and, to a lesser degree, with the horse. It allowed the nomad to keep a safe distance from the settled lands but, when required to trade or raid, he could do so from a position of considerable strength. The occasional camels mentioned in early Israel, if not an outright anachronism, were for transport and were too few in number and insufficiently domesticated to have become the basis for an entire economy. The only full nomadism directly attested in the Bible is non-Israelite, e.g., a caravan of Ishmaelite-Midianite merchants who bought Joseph from his brothers (Gen. 37:25–28); Midianites, Amalekites, and people of the east who carried out camel razzias against Israel in the time of Gideon (Judg. 6:1–5); and Amalekites who raided southern Judah on a smaller scale in the time of Saul (I Sam. 30).

SEMINOMADISM. Seminomadism or partial nomadism (also known as ass nomadism to distinguish the ass from the camel as the chief form of transport) is a mode of pastoral nomadism loosely applied to peoples who are often conceived as midway in the process of settling down after an earlier fully nomadic life. This is misleading in some instances and erroneous in others. In its origins pastoral nomadism was a specific adaptation of animal domestication to desert conditions after it was first developed among agriculturalists. There are of course instances of full nomads reverting to seminomadism and finally to agricultural settlement. But there are also cases of agriculturalists who are "depressed" into seminomadism by geopolitical circumstances. Sometimes this depression is permanent, while in other cases it is temporary. There is some reason to believe that the Israelite groups in the wilderness between Egypt and Canaan were thrown temporarily into a more fully nomadic life than they had known either in Egypt or prior to their entrance into Egypt and, furthermore, that they were consciously seeking a return to a more stable and perhaps even largely agricultural existence. More precisely, seminomadism indicates the relative dependence of herders of sheep, goats, and asses on the settled peoples or on full nomads for the sharing of water rights and for permission to graze. It also refers to their relative military weakness, lacking as they do a striking force of camels or horses. The concomitant of this reality is the high probability that the seminomad will engage in some form of limited agriculture. He is often sedentary for part of the year; fields and pasture are often interspersed; and the herd sizes relative to the human population are much smaller than in full nomadism. Accordingly, the seminomad will often appear to be an incipient peasant who has not yet attained his goal or a decadent farmer who has lapsed into a less secure life. In many cases, however, the seminomad regards his way of life as more satisfying than the softer and more politically lettered existence of the peasant. Traits of seminomadism appear frequently in the patriarchal stories concerning Abraham and Lot (Gen. 12:16; 13:2–12; 18:1–8; 20:14–15; 21:25–26), Isaac (Gen. 26:12–22), Jacob and Esau (Gen. 30:43; 31:17–18; 32:13–15; 33:18–20; 36:6–8), and Joseph (Gen. 37:2, 7; 42:1–5; 43:11; 46:31–34; 47:6). The precise nature of this type (or these types) of seminomadism is difficult to assess in that the movements are not strictly described as regular but are explained largely with reference to famine, intermarriage, religious pilgrimage, and conflicts within and between groups. The Israelites in Egypt are pictured as small stock breeders who also cultivate vegetable gardens (Ex. 10:24–26; 12:1–13, 31–34, 37–39; Num. 11:4–6). Living close to the Egyptian frontier with Sinai (Ex. 1:11; 9:26; 12:37), the holy place of their deity is located a three-day journey away in the desert (Ex. 3:18; 5:3; 8:24). Their relatively self-contained economy was threatened by the recent imperial policy which forced them to work on state building projects and in state-owned fields. One tradition has it that, as they departed Egypt with their flocks, the Israelites despoiled the Egyptians of jewelry and clothing in the manner of a nomadic razzia (Ex. 3:21–22; 12:35–36). In the wilderness the Israelites present a confused picture of a seminomadic people thrust suddenly into conditions where only well-provisioned travel parties or full nomads with camels might normally survive. The Israelites adjusted to this crisis by retaining their flocks for dairy products, wool, and hides. Occasional sacrifice of their animals provided some meat but food staples were supplied by improvising with quail and wild plant products ("manna"). Water was available from oasis to oasis. Even so they seem to have survived only because the Midianites, into whom Moses is said to have married, supplied them with knowledge of the terrain and with basic survival skills; at least some of these Midianites accompanied certain of the Israelite groups into Canaan (Ex. 2:15b–22; 3:1; 18:1ff.; Num. 10:29–32; Judg. 1:16; 4:11). Although unreported, it is reasonable to suppose that the Israelites cultivated small vegetable plots during the time they spent at the oases in the vicinity of Kadesh. All available evidence points to the fact that the component groups in the larger Israelite confederation in Canaan were predominantly agricultural and engaged in supplementary animal husbandry (cf. the laws of the Covenant Code, Ex. 20:24 (19)–23:9 and the descriptions of tribal life in Gen. 49 and Deut. 33). This type of economy characterized a large majority of the population in the highlands of Galilee, Gilead, Samaria, and Judah – the heartland of ancient Israel. However, a significant minority of Israelites, who lived in the semiarid regions to the east and south, sustained a seminomadic economy. A diminishing frequency of references to such seminomadic life in later biblical books suggests that the percentage of seminomadic Israelites relative to the total population steadily declined. Given the marginal rainfall of the land, however, and the abiding attraction of the steppe for certain individuals and groups, seminomadism never ceased in biblical times. In fact, the *Rechabites were one group who made a sectarian virtue of their seminomadism, identifying it with the pure form of Yahwism and refusing adamantly to build houses or to engage in viticulture or grain-growing (Jer. 35). According to one tradition these Rechabites were actual descendants of the Midianite-Kenite group into which Moses married (I Chron. 2:55). A more individualistic version of the tendency to equate holiness with seminomadic culture was the "consecration" of a person as a nazirite, perhaps originally associated with the spontaneous leadership of a war chieftain (Num. 6:1–21; Judg. 13:5, 7; 16:17). While such primitivist equations of Yahwism with seminomadism were not central to biblical traditions, it is nonetheless striking that many of the features of the early religion of Israel, although developed by a predominantly agricultural people, were powerfully indebted to nomadic influences, e.g., the belief that the original home of YHWH was in the wilderness and the decided preference for a mobile shrine over that of a fixed shrine.

CUSTOMS AND WAY OF LIFE. As a congeries of ethnically, geographically, economically, socially, and politically diverse people formed Israel in Canaan, they adopted a framework for their socioeconomic life which drew on the norms, institutions, and practices of pastoral nomadism, with suitable modifications to settled conditions. Among these abiding influences were the practice of blood revenge (Gen. 9:5–6; Num. 35:19; Judg. 8:18–21; II Sam. 3:30; 14:4–7; 21:1–14); protection of the integrity of the patriarchal family (Ex. 20:12, 14, 17; 21:15, 17; 22:15–16, 21; Lev. 18:6–18; Deut. 25:5–10); the institutions of the *ger* – the protected resident alien (e.g., Ex. 22:20; Deut. 10:19); and the asylum (Ex. 21:13–14; Num. 35; Deut. 19), related to the nomad law of hospitality and asylum. Instead of a primitivist attempt to construct seminomadism in Canaan, early Israel was a synthetic socioeconomic formation of loosely federated seminomadic and peasant populations arranged in a socially fictitious kinship network and cemented by a common cult of HWHY. The complex transformation and adaptation of the seminomadic elements in the Israelite confederation are reflected in the ambivalent biblical attitude toward the desert, which is sometimes idealized as the setting for an originally pure Yahwism but which is more often pictured as a place of rebellion and division, in itself a region of waste and horror, the quintessence of death and danger.

Yet another form of pastoral nomadism is transhumance which occurs in communities with developed agricultural specialization where herds are moved to select pastures for a part of the year by herders who specialize in their tasks. A common form of transhumance is to take the herds into mountain ranges for summer upland pasturage after the snows have melted. In Canaan transhumance took at least two forms. Immediately following the winter rains, herds were taken some distance into the steppes to feed on the temporary spring growth. As the summer wore on, and pasturage withered, they were taken to the better watered seaward-facing plains and mountain slopes. There are some biblical data which may be read as evidence for the practice of transhumance nomadism among the Israelites. Joseph and his brothers care for the flocks near Shechem and Dothan while Jacob remains at Hebron (Gen. 37:12–17). Nabal is a man of wealth in Maon whose hired men or slaves care for his large flocks at Carmel (I Sam. 25). Wealthy landowners in Transjordan provision the exiled David with agricultural and pastoral products (II Sam. 17:27–29; 19:31–32). The Job of the prose framework (Job. 1:1ff.; 42:12–17) is a wealthy farmer who also has thousands of domesticated animals cared for by his servants. The region of Bashan in northern Transjordan was well known as a prime cattle-breeding area, to which wealthy Israelites appear to have sent their flocks and herds (Ezek. 39:18; Amos 4:1; Ps. 22:13). Israelite kings capitalized on this process by appointing stewards over royal herds and flocks which were permanently located in the most attractive pastoral regions (II Sam. 13:23; I Chron. 27:28–30; II Chron. 26:10; 32:27–29).

In order to achieve a more exact socioeconomic characterization of early Israel, scholars will increasingly require expertise both in biblical studies and in ethnography and the social sciences. It is evident that the assumption that Arab Bedouin nomadism supplies the nearest surviving approximation to Israel's nomadism, while broadly apt, lacks all exactitude unless care is taken to distinguish among the various subforms and historical constellations of Bedouin existence.

It is necessary to reject the vague notion that full nomadism in the Arabian peninsula was the temporally original base for Middle Eastern socioeconomic evolutionary development. Far from full nomadism having been some simple state from which seminomadism and agriculture grew, almost precisely the opposite occurred in the Middle East over millennia of time as agriculture originated animal domestication was introduced into the sparse conditions of the desert and was elaborated through the eventual introduction of the camel and the horse. Identification of the mutually illuminating affinities between Arab and Israelite nomadism must not obscure the complex web of cultural and historical factors at work in the two different contexts from age to age and from subregion to subregion.

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[Norman K. Gottwald]

NOMBERG, HERSH DAVID (1876–1927), Yiddish essayist and short story writer. Nomberg was born into a family of rabbis and Ḥasidim, in Mszczonow, near Warsaw. Though he traveled widely, Nomberg remained associated with the Polish capital. After both a traditional Jewish and a self-taught secular education, he joined the circle of Y.L. *Peretz (to which Abraham *Reisen and Sholem *Asch also belonged), becoming an ardent and loyal disciple and one of the best interpreters of his works. It was Peretz who persuaded Nomberg to write in Yiddish, his first poem in this language appearing in 1900. Nomberg wrote for the Warsaw Hebrew paper *Ha-Ẓofeh* (1903–5) and was, for a time, its editor. His first collection of Hebrew stories appeared in 1905, followed by five collections in Yiddish. It was under his and Peretz's influence that the struggle between Hebraists and Yiddishists at the *Czernowitz Yiddish Conference in 1908 was resolved and a compromise resolution adopted which proclaimed Yiddish as *a* (not *the*) national language of the Jews. The anonymous hero of his masterful, psychoanalytical tale "Fligelman" ("Winged Man," 1908) served as a symbol for the entire generation of this crucial period. Indeed, most of Nomberg's heroes can be characterized as "winged men."

After 1910 Nomberg almost entirely gave up belles-lettres for politics and journalism. In 1916, he was one of the founders of the Folkspartei ("People's Party") which advocated concentration on Jewish autonomous rights in Poland, though not opposing emigration to Ereẓ Israel. He served in 1919–20 as a member of the Polish *Sejm*. In 1912, however, he published the later often-staged drama, *Di Mishpokhe* ("The Family," 1912), based on the idea of the potential for moral improvement in humans. His interest in the Yiddish theater was also expressed through reviews and translations.

In general he was a controversial figure: his characters often reverse traditional gender roles, while his language is characterized by minimalist, anti-rhetorical traits. In the press of the time he was often compared with the protagonists of his fiction in their cynicism and lack of values. His criticism of progressive movements, such as the New York group, Di *Yunge, contributed to this trend. Even so, Nomberg helped to provide a home for Jewish writers in Warsaw. He was the driving force behind, and for many years the president of, the Society for Jewish Writers and Journalists, which came to be better known as "Tlomatske 13," after the address of its building, a famed center of Yiddish cultural activity until its liquidation by the Nazis. Jewish audiences followed his perceptive articles, especially in the Warsaw Yiddish daily *Der Moment*, with which he was connected for a decade. When he died in 1927, tens of thousands of his readers accompanied him to his grave near that of his friend and preceptor Peretz. His was one of the few tombstones which survived Nazi destruction.

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[Melech Ravitch / Shifra Kuperman (2nd ed.)]

NONES, BENJAMIN (1757–1826), U.S. patriot and soldier during the American Revolution. Nones, who was born in Bordeaux, France, served as aide-de-camp to his former schoolmate, Marquis de Lafayette (1777), fought in Count Casimir Pulaski's legion during the defense of Charleston and was cited for bravery (1779), and served as aide to General Washington, holding the rank of major. After the Revolution, Nones settled in Philadelphia where he was variously employed as a broker and factor, a notary public, and as government interpreter for French, Spanish, and Portuguese. He was active in Republican politics and, in keeping with his abolitionist sympathies, freed his slaves after the Revolution. Nones served as president of Congregation Mikveh Israel in Philadelphia.

His son JOSEPH B. NONES (1797–1887) was wounded while serving as a midshipman in a battle against Algerian pirates in 1815. At the age of 70, he wrote a colorful account of his adventures in the Navy. He was a pioneer in processing concentrated foods, and in 1829 he proposed a program to combat scurvy in the Navy. In later life, he was an importer in Philadelphia.

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[Abram Vossen Goodman]

NORDAU, MAX (**Simon Maximilian Suedfeld**; 1849–1923), co-founder of the World Zionist Organization, philosopher, writer, orator, and physician. Born in Pest, the son of Rabbi Gabriel Suedfeld, Nordau received a traditional Jewish education and remained an observant Jew until his eighteenth year, when he became a militant naturalist and evolutionist. In 1875 he earned an M.D. degree at the University of Pest, and he settled in Paris in 1880 as a practicing physician. Nordau's career in journalism dates back to his childhood. In 1867 he joined the staff of the *Pester Lloyd*, and in time he became a correspondent for leading newspapers in the Western world, including the *Vossische Zeitung* in Berlin, the *Neue Freie Presse* in Vienna, and *La Nación* in Buenos Aires, Argentina.

Nordau achieved fame as a thinker and social critic with the publication of *Die Conventionellen Luegen der Kulturmenschheit* (1883; *The Conventional Lies of Our Civilization*, 1884). He sharply criticized "the religious lie," the corruption and oppression of monarchical and aristocratic regimes, the deceptions of political and economic establishments, and the hypocritical adherence to outworn sex mores. He set forth as an alternative what has been called his "philosophy of human solidarity." Nordau's "solidaritarianism" signifies the unity of mind and love. It insists on the intimate connection between free institutions and free inquiry in all areas of human concern. The *Lies* was translated into fifteen languages, including Chinese and Japanese. It raised a storm of controversy and was banned in Austria and Russia. It was followed by *Paradoxe der Conventionellen Luegen* (1885^3; *Paradoxes*, 1896), which discussed such topics as optimism and pessimism, passion and prejudice, social pressure and the power of love, sham and genuine success. This work also went through several editions and translations.

Even more controversial was *Entartung* (1892; *Degeneration*, 1895), in which Nordau subjected major figures and trends in European art and literature to scathing denunciation. Applying Cesare Lombroso's term "degeneracy" to the works of such men as Nietzsche, Tolstoy, Wagner, Zola, Ibsen, and such phenomena as symbolism, spiritualism, egomania, mysticism, Parnassianism, and diabolism, Nordau predicted the coming of a human catastrophe of unprecedented proportions. An entire literature developed over *Degeneration*, including a rebuttal in book form by George Bernard Shaw. More than 60 years after its first publication, *Degeneration* continued to be the subject of doctoral dissertations accepted by American universities; the book was republished in New York in 1968. Three other works merit perhaps even greater attention than *Lies* and *Degeneration*. The first is *Der Sinn der Geschichte* (1909; *The Interpretation of History*, 1910), which examines man's advance from parasitism through supernaturalist illusion to knowledge and human solidarity. To Nordau, the purpose of man's history was to achieve a lessening of human suffering and to actualize "the ideal of goodness and selfless love." The second, *Biologie der Ethik* (1921; *Morals and the Evolution of Man*, 1922), is a treatise on the natural roots of ethics, the relations between the legal and the moral, and the meaning of "scientific ethics," which aims at the improvement of human life through the cultivation of the twin "solidaritarian" powers of intelligence and compassion. The third, *Der Sinn der Gesittung*; "The Essence of Civilization" (written in 1920), was published in 1932 in an unsatisfactory Spanish version. In this last, fragmentary work, Nordau advocated "the elevation of the independent local community, the free city-republic, to the general type of community" as the best means of redeeming the individual from his bondage. Nordau argued the case of "solidaritarian socialism," which assigns to private property its proper limits without, however, abolishing it. Nordau regarded Communism as entirely unacceptable and, in its Bolshevik form, as "socialism gone mad."

In the field of belles lettres, Nordau's major works are *Der Krieg der Millionen* (1882), *Die Krankheit des Jahrhunderts* (1888; *The Malady of the Century*, 1896), *Seelenanalysen* (1892), *Das Recht zu Lieben* (1894; *The Right to Love*, 1895), *Drohnenschlacht* (1898; *The Drones Must Die*, 1899); *Doktor Kohn* (1899; *A Question of Honor*, 1907); *Morganatisch* (1904; *Morganatic*, 1904), *The Dwarf's Spectacles, and Other Fairy Tales* (1905), and an unpublished biblical tragedy in four acts, *Rahab* (c. 1922).

The Jewish problem was never foreign to Nordau's thoughts. His revulsion against antisemitism is reflected in his essay on Jacques Offenbach entitled "The Political Hep! Hep!" included in *Aus dem wahren Milliardenlande* (an abridged translation entitled *Paris Sketches* appeared in 1884). In the *Lies* Nordau condemned hatred of the Jew as a symptom of the malady of the age. Nordau's upbringing, his piety toward his Orthodox parents (his observant mother lived in his house in Paris until her death in 1900), and the references to Jewish destiny in his general writings all show that the frequent charge of Nordau's alienation from Judaism in his pre-Zionist period is exaggerated.

Nordau met Theodor *Herzl in 1892. As Paris correspondents for German-language newspapers, they witnessed the manifestations of antisemitism in the French capital. In November 1895 Herzl discussed his idea of a Jewish state with Nordau, after Emil Schiff, a friend concerned over his mental condition, advised him to see a psychiatrist. Far from declaring Herzl insane, however, Nordau concluded the consultation by saying: "If you are insane, we are insane together. Count on me!" To Nordau, the idea of a Jewish state appeared as a most welcome means for the implementation of his "solidaritarian" philosophy by Jews in the land of the Jews.

At the First Zionist Congress (1897), Nordau drafted the famed Basle *Program. He served as vice president of the First to the Sixth Zionist Congresses and as president of the Seventh to the Tenth Congresses. In his famed addresses to these Congresses he surveyed the Jewish situation in the world and described and analyzed the physical and material plight of the Jews in Eastern Europe, as well as the moral plight of the emancipated and assimilated Western Jew, who had lost his contact with his fellow-Jews and faced political and social antisemitism, which excluded him from non-Jewish society. These addresses, together with his other Zionist pronouncements, became classics of Zionist literature. At the Congress of 1911 he warned that if current political trends persisted, six million Jews, i.e., those living in the Russian Empire and other East-European countries, were doomed to perish. He was convinced that only political Zionism could forestall the tragedy. Nordau passionately defended Herzl's political Zionism against *Aḥad Ha-Am's cultural Zionism, which he regarded as being pre-Zionist. He believed that his opponent's idea of a "spiritual center" would only obstruct the Zionist effort to rescue large masses of Jews in Ereẓ Israel. Citing a statement of the "cultural Zionists" – that "we are not concerned with Jews but with Judaism" – Nordau told the Sixth Zionist Congress, "'Judaism without Jews' – we know you, beautiful mask! Go with this phrase and join a meeting of spiritualists!"

In loyalty to Herzl, Nordau supported the *Uganda Scheme and coined the phrase *Nachtasyl* (night asylum) to stress the temporary nature of the proposal. He himself was convinced that the idea of a charter for Uganda was a grave error, because Jews who could not go to Palestine would prefer America or Australia. An assassination attempt in Paris, by a young anti-Ugandist, Chaim Selig Luban, who held Nordau responsible for the scheme, failed. Nordau himself defended Luban before the investigating judge.

In his last conversation with Nissan *Katzenelson, Herzl stated that Nordau should be his successor as president of the Zionist Organization, adding, "I can assure you that he will lead the cause at least as well as I did or better." Nordau, however, declined to serve as president when he was offered the post after Herzl's death; he chose to remain outside the organizational hierarchy. His opposition to the cultural Zionism espoused by Aḥad Ha-Am was only matched by his opposition to the practical Zionists led by Chaim *Weizmann. Nordau believed in political action rather than in small-scale, gradual agricultural colonization.

Nordau spent World War I in exile and in relative isolation in neutral Spain. He favored Vladimir *Jabotinsky's idea of a *Jewish Legion, but felt that the Zionist movement should remain neutral, since Zionists lived in countries on both sides of the international conflict. In 1920 he delivered his celebrated Albert Hall address in London, in which he told British statesmen and Zionist leaders that if the *Balfour Declaration of 1917 was to have meaning, that meaning must be made manifest by the swift creation of a Jewish majority and ensuing Jewish political independence in Palestine. In 1919, when a wave of pogroms swept the Ukraine and other parts of Russia, he began advocating the speedy transfer of 600,000 Jews to Palestine within a matter of months. The Zionist leadership rejected his proposal as unrealistic, and in 1921 Nordau retired from active Zionist work. He died in Paris in 1923 and was interred in the Old Cemetery in Tel Aviv in 1926. In the late 1930s, Jabotinsky was to name his own program for the speedy creation of a Jewish majority in Palestine by the mass transfer of Jews from the Diaspora "The Max Nordau Plan."

[Meir Ben-Horin]

His daughter MAXA NORDAU (1897–1991) was a French painter. She was born in Paris, where she studied under Jules Adler. In 1937 she painted mural decorations in the Palestine pavilion at the Paris international exhibition, and during World War II lived in the U.S. A conservative representational artist, her subjects included Israeli landscapes, urban scenes, workyards, nudes, and portraits. Among her portraits are *Max Nordau, The Young David*, and *The Pioneers*. She illustrated books, including *Contes pour Maxa* by her father, and collaborated with her mother in writing *Max Nordau, a Biography* (1943).

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NORDEN, family of South African pioneers (mid-19th century), consisting of five brothers – Benjamin, Joshua Davis, Marcus, Samuel, and Harry. They were among the 18 Jewish members of the party of settlers sent out by the British government in 1820 to the turbulent frontier of the eastern Cape Colony. The 1820 settlers endured great privations in a wild country exposed to depredations by African tribesmen. After some years many of them, including the Nordens, settled the small towns which had sprung up. BENJAMIN NORDEN (1798–1876), a man of adventurous nature, traveled into the interior, engaged in the ivory trade, and had dealings with the Zulu king, Dingaan. He was a friend of the Boer voortrekker leader, Piet Retief. Norden was interested in plans for the development of Delagoa Bay and Port Elizabeth and joined in a gold prospecting venture. In 1840 he moved from Grahamstown, where he had a trading store with his brother MARCUS, to Cape Town and was associated with the De Pass family in exploiting the guano deposits on the west coast. In Cape Town he was active in civic affairs and was one of the municipal commissioners. He took the lead in forming Cape Town's first Hebrew congregation, Tikvath Israel (1841). When the first synagogue was built in 1849 Norden was president, holding the office until 1857 when he returned to England. JOSHUA DAVIS NORDEN (1803–1846) settled in Grahamstown as an auctioneer after leaving his frontier farm. Like his brother, he served as a municipal commissioner and was leader of the Jewish community. To defend the town from attacks by tribesmen he raised and captained the Grahamstown Yeomanry, which bore his name. In 1846 he was killed at the head of his men in a skirmish during the War of the Axe, one of a long series of "Kaffir wars." As a tribute to his "intrepidity and bravery," his former comrades erected a plaque to his memory on a wall of St. George's Cathedral, Grahamstown. A third Norden brother, SAMUEL, was killed while leading a charge in the Basuto War (1858). A nephew of Benjamin Norden was the famous San Francisco, California eccentric Joshua Davis Norton (1818–1880), known as the "Emperor Norton," who in 1859 proclaimed himself "Norton the First, Emperor of the United States."

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[Louis Hotz]

NORDHAUSEN, city in Thuringia, Germany. The earliest documentary evidence for the presence of Jews in Nordhausen dates from 1290, and by 1300 a Jewish community had come into being. Shortly thereafter a *Judenstrasse, mikveh*, and synagogue were established. A Jewish well is noted in records dating from 1322, and a cemetery is mentioned in 1334. During the course of a disturbance in 1324, the community's synagogue was destroyed. The Jews of the period made their living primarily through moneylending, and their sound economic position brought more Jewish immigrants into the city. In 1333 the municipal council agreed to the adjudication of all disputes between Jews by the rabbinic court. During the course of the *Black Death persecutions of 1349, however, a number of Jews suffered martyrdom. Frederick the Brave was partly responsible for deaths of Jews during this period. (A legendary account published in a Worms prayer book indicates that the entire Jewish community went dancing to its death, willingly submitting to the funeral pyre.) Although refugees from the persecutions fled to *Erfurt and *Frankfurt, by 1350 at least one Jew had already returned to resettle in Nordhausen. Abandoned Jewish property was transferred by King Charles VI to Count Henry von Hohlstein. Despite the upheaval and loss of life and property, by the end of the century a small Jewish community had reestablished itself in Nordhausen, holding its religious services in a private house. In 1391 King *Wenceslaus released the burghers from their debts to the Jews on payment of a fee to the royal chamber.

A small number of Jews continued to live in Nordhausen during the 15th century. In the 16th century they were subject to increasingly restrictive legislation, and they were finally expelled in 1559. They settled in the surrounding towns, however, and continued to trade; the right to trade in Nordhausen itself was granted in 1619. By 1630 there were four *Schutzjuden* ("protected Jews") in the city; in the 18th century, however, no Jews were left. A modern community came into being only in 1808, after Nordhausen was annexed by *Westphalia. By 1817 there were 74 Jews in the city; in 1822 there were 100; in 1840 the number was 210; and in 1880, it was 494. A new cemetery was consecrated in 1827 and enlarged in 1854. The first rabbi in Nordhausen was Nathan Meyer, who assumed his post in 1817. A synagogue was dedicated in 1845, and the community was officially recognized in 1847. Among the prominent members of the community in the 19th century was the banker and philanthropist Jacob Plaut (1816–1901). From 1908 until 1925 the community was served with distinction by Rabbi Alfred Sepp. In 1925 the community numbered 438; in 1933 it had 394 members, five cultural and philanthropic organizations, and a religious school. In 1939, under the pressure of Nazi persecution and consequent emigration, the number of Jews declined to 128; in 1942 there were only 19. The community came to an end during World War II. The Jewish cemetery is preserved. In 1988 a memorial was consecrated to the synagogue that had been destroyed in 1938.

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[Alexander Shapiro]

NORELL, NORMAN (1900–1972), U.S. fashion designer. Born Norman David Levinson in Noblesville, Indiana, the son of a haberdasher, Norell became the dean of American women's fashion designers in the 1950s and 1960s. At that time, he was the one American whose clothes were held to be the equal of anything created by the Paris couture. One of the first designers whose name appeared on a label, he was the first president of the Council of Fashion Designers of America. After attending military school during World War I, Norell traveled to New York City and studied at the Parsons School of Design in 1918 and Pratt Institute from 1920 to 1922. He returned to Parsons as a teacher in the 1940s and continued mentoring design students there until the end of his life. In 1922 he was hired by the New York studio of Paramount Pictures to create clothes for Gloria Swanson and other stars of the silent screen. He also designed for Broadway shows, including the Ziegfeld Follies. In 1928, he was hired by Hattie *Carnegie, working with her until 1941, when he went into partnership with Anthony Traina to form Traina-Norell. Traina retired in 1960 and Norell formed his own company, Norman Norell Inc. He was known for making clothes with clean, precisely tailored silhouettes and superb workmanship. Breaking with tradition, he conducted his fashion shows for visiting buyers in the evening instead of during the working day – and in front of a black-tie audience. In 1943 he received the first of five Coty Awards for Fashion. In 1956, the same year Parsons gave him its Medal for Distinguished Achievement, he was inducted into the Coty Hall of Fame. He died in October 1972, suffering a stroke on the night before the opening of a retrospective of his work at New York's Metropolitan Museum of Art. In 2000, when New York's fashion industry paid tribute to its top designers by installing bronze plaques on Seventh Avenue, the heart of the garment district, Norell was among the first to be so honored.

[Mort Sheinman (2nd ed.)]

NORFOLK, central city of the Tidewater region of S.E. Virginia, noted for maritime activities and the presence of U.S. military bases. Its Jewish population in 2001 was 11,000.

The first-known Jewish settler in Norfolk, Moses *Myers (1752–1835) arrived in 1787 and became one of the city's leading merchants. The home he erected is on display as part of the city's Chrysler Museum of Art.

From the beginning of their existence as an organized community, Norfolk's Jews created a network of synagogues. German immigrants founded the city's first congregation in 1844, Ohev Sholom. In 1850 a traditionalist faction seceded and founded Beth El congregation, which later became an original member of the United Synagogue of America. East European immigrants created several Orthodox congregations, which united after World War II as B'nai Israel. Migration from the North, connected to the economic growth of Norfolk during World War II, and movement from older neighborhoods into newer and suburban areas, resulted in the formation of new congregations: Temple Israel (Conservative) in 1953 and Beth Chaverim (Reform) in 1982. After a successful, city-sponsored revitalization of Norfolk's downtown commercial and residential areas in the 1980s, the synagogues there rebounded, and a Chabad center, first opened in Virginia Beach in 1980, moved downtown in 2002.

After World War II, Norfolk Jewry, now predominantly American-born, asserted itself by creating a network of communal institutions: the Jewish Family Services in 1948; the Jewish Community Council in 1950, which grew into the United Jewish Federation; the Jewish Community Center, 1952, and the Hebrew Academy of Tidewater, a community day school, in 1954. Later institutions include the Beth Sholom [nursing] Home of Eastern Virginia, founded in 1980, and the Torah Day School, an Orthodox yeshivah, in 2003. Spurred by the philanthropic response to the Six-Day War, the United Jewish Federation grew into the central address of the community by the 1970s.

Postwar Jewish residential patterns, and consequent institutional developments, followed national demographic trends. Small towns close to Norfolk, such as Berkley and

Portsmouth, lost all or most of their Jewish residents, and newer suburbs grew. While some Jews were at the forefront of the local civil rights struggle of the 1950s, many Jews moved into the neighboring suburb of Virginia Beach after court-ordered school desegregation in 1959. In 1974, the Hebrew Academy moved to a Virginia Beach location and in 2004 the United Jewish Federation and the Jewish Community Center of Tidewater, along with the Hebrew Academy, relocated to a Virginia Beach campus.

Although Jews had suffered social discrimination prior to World War II, the Jewish community gained increasing social acceptance in the two generations following. Whereas a descendant of Moses Myers, Barton Myers, Sr., mayor of Norfolk from 1886 to 1888, had been raised as a Christian, the mayor of Virginia Beach from 1988, Meyera Oberndorf, was a professing Jew. Jews were prominently active in Norfolk's urban redevelopment work and a variety of general as well as Jewish philanthropic causes throughout the region.

[Michael Panitz (2nd ed.)]

NORMAN, EDWARD ALBERT (1900–1955), U.S. financier and philanthropist. Norman, who was born in Chicago, attended the U.S. Military Academy at West Point before transferring to Harvard. He worked for *The Survey* (1924–25) and as a research secretary for the Cooperative League of the U.S. (1925–28) before assuming the management of his family's various financial interests. Although a non-Zionist, Norman was extremely interested in the welfare of Palestine and its people and he urged a roof organization to coordinate and funnel the American Jewish aid for Palestinian educational, cultural, and social service institutions. The result was the founding of the American Fund for Israel Institutions (1939), of which Norman was president at his death (see *America-Israel Cultural Foundation).

His other posts in Jewish organizational and communal life included president of the American Economic Commission for Palestine (1939–43); national secretary for the American Jewish Committee (1946–55); non-Zionist member of the Jewish Agency's Executive Council; governor of the Hebrew University (1949–55); and director of the Joint Distribution Committee (1936–55). Norman was also president of the Group Farming Research Institute (1940–55), founded for the purpose of studying cooperative systems throughout the world; treasurer of the Urban League (1928–38); and chairman of the finance commission of the Association of American Indian Affairs.

NORONHA (Loronha), FERNÃO DE (1470?–1540?), New Christian explorer and colonizer of Brazil. Noronha was head of the first of the Portuguese *donatários*, associations formed to lease land for development in Brazil, and his association was composed of *New Christians. Arriving in Brazil in 1503 with six ships, troops, and supplies, he discovered an island near the north coast of the country which he named São João, although it was generally known by his name. Following the terms of his contract, he explored and colonized large areas of Brazil, exploiting them for the benefit of his company. In return for his services, King Manuel I named him Knight of the Crown in 1504 and granted him the captaincy for life of the island he discovered. According to a report of 1505 by the Venetian Lunardo Chá Masser, Noronha acted as the Lisbon agent for the senate of Venice and was a pioneer in the import and export of timber, receiving a monopoly on dyewood from the crown. His contract, originally for three years, was apparently extended to 1512 or 1515. Noronha appears to have been a wealthy Jew, close to the court, who had converted to Christianity prior to 1497. He took his surname from his godfather, a nobleman descended from the royal house of Castile.

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[Martin A. Cohen]

NORSA, HANNAH (d. 1784), English actress. The daughter of an Italian Jew from Mantua, who kept The Punch-Bowl tavern in Drury Lane, she went onto the stage and played the part of Polly Peachum in the 1732 production of *The Beggar's Opera* with great success. She subsequently became mistress of the Earl of Orford. Her sister Maria, mistress of the latter's brother, Sir Edward Walpole, is believed to have been the mother of Maria, countess of Waldegrave, whose second husband was the duke of Gloucester, brother of King George III.

ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY: ODNB online.

NORTHAMPTON, town in central England. Its Jewish community, first mentioned in the 12th century, was one of the most important in medieval England. In 1194 representatives of Anglo-Jewry were summoned there to apportion among themselves a levy of 5,000 marks for ransoming Richard I from captivity (The Northampton Donum). Northampton had its own *archa. Though expelled from Northamptonshire in 1237, Jews were allowed to remain in Northampton itself. In 1263 they were attacked by the baronial rebels and took refuge in the castle. A ritual murder accusation occurred apparently in 1277, the repercussions and consequences of which were much exaggerated by historians. Several local Jews were executed in London in 1278 for coin-clipping. The community continued in existence until the expulsion of 1290. R. Isaac b. Perez of Northampton was one of the most distinguished medieval Anglo-Jewish scholars. A small community was established at the end of the 19th century and in 1969 numbered approximately 300. In the 2001 British census, its population of declared Jews was 322. There was an Orthodox congregation.

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[Cecil Roth]

NORTH CAROLINA, state in S.E. U.S. Its population in 2000 was 8,049,313, of which the Jewish population was estimated at 26,500. Jews appeared in early colonial times, but a community did not develop until the late antebellum era, a trend that accelerated after Reconstruction with the rise of an urban and industrial New South. In the later 20th century, as the state transformed from an agrarian, southern society into the prosperous, multicultural Sunbelt, Jewish population grew dramatically.

North Carolina was the site of the first Jewish settler in a British colony in North America when Joachim Ganz, a native of Prague, arrived in 1585, well before the much heralded date of the 1654 settlement in New Amsterdam, on Raleigh's second expedition to Roanoke Island. Ganz, a metallurgist, returned to England two years later. John Locke's Fundamental Constitutions of 1669 opened the Carolinas to "Jews, heathens, and other dissenters," but the colony, beset by sectarian politics, was inhospitable. The 1776 state constitution included a religious test that restricted public office to Protestants. With few navigable rivers, a swampy coast, and a forested terrain, North Carolina lacked commercial opportunities for Jews.

In the early colonial era a few Jewish settlers followed coastal and inland trade routes from Virginia and South Carolina. A 1702 petition protested illegal votes by undesirables, including Jews. Jewish names appear on Masonic rolls and militia rosters. In the Charlotte area were storekeepers and Revolutionary War veterans Abraham Moses, Solomon Simons, and Aaron Cohen. A 1759 document identifies Joseph Laney as a Jew. Newport merchant Aaron Lopez sent 37 ships to North Carolina between 1761 and 1775. Eighteenth-century Sephardic Jews in Wilmington included Rivera, Gomez, David, and Levy. A rabbi, Jacob Abroo, is reported to have died in New Berne in 1790. The Benjamin family, whose son Judah became a U.S. senator and later a Confederate statesman, lived in Wilmington and Fayetteville after 1813.

The most notable family was the Mordecais who settled in Warrenton in 1792, and in 1808 opened the Warrenton Female Seminary, which pioneered the liberal education of women. Jacob *Mordecai was a Hebrew scholar who later served as lay leader of Richmond's Beth Shalome. His daughter Rachel, married to the Wilmington merchant Aaron Lazarus, was a literary figure, and his son Alfred graduated from West Point in 1823. Mordecai children, including George Washington Mordecai, a railroad builder who served as president of the Bank of North Carolina, largely assimilated into the Christian community.

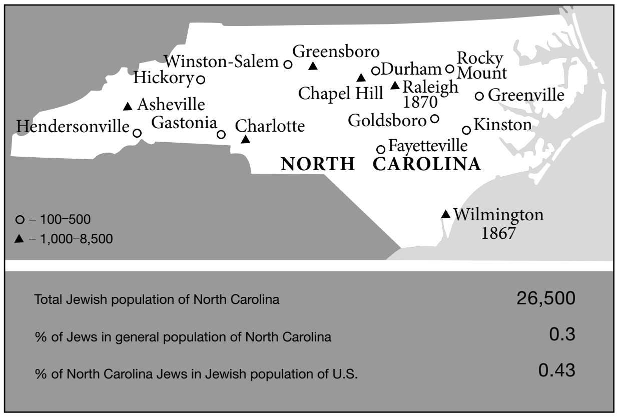

Jewish communities in North Carolina and dates of establishment. Population figures for 2001.

In 1808 Jacob *Henry of Beaufort was elected to the state legislature, but a year later his constitutional right to serve as a Jew was challenged. After an impassioned speech, Henry was permitted to hold his seat, but the legislature reaffirmed the religious test repeatedly, and it was not removed until 1868. German Jews immigrated after 1835 when the state reformed its constitution and embarked on internal improvements. Jews from Norfolk, Baltimore, Charleston, and Richmond settled in coastal ports and market towns along rivers and rail lines. Peddlers, like the Bloomingdale brothers, worked the countryside before opening stores. In the 1850s Lazarus Fels operated a peddler's way station in Yanceyville. In 1858 Herman Weil arrived in Goldsboro, later joined by his brothers, and the family over generations organized the state's Jewry. By 1850 Charlotte had nine Jewish families, and Wilmington claimed 26 Jewish merchants. By 1852 Wilmington supported a burial society, and an Orthodox congregation formed in 1867, which was supplanted by a Reform one in 1872.

When Civil War came, the state's Jews were ardent Confederates. More than 70 Jews served in North Carolina regiments, including six Cohen brothers. Civil War Governor Zebulon Vance, grateful to a courtesy from the merchant Samuel Wittkowsky at war's end, penned a celebrated philo-Semitic speech, "The Scattered Nation," which was delivered and reprinted repeatedly across the South.

As the textile, furniture, and tobacco industries expanded in the New South era, Jews found opportunity in emerging mill and market towns. By 1878, 16 North Carolina towns reported Jews, and the population center began moving from the coastal plain to the piedmont. Country peddlers and urban storekeepers served both a black and a white clientele. Rail lines linked merchants to distribution centers in Baltimore and New York. In 1871 the Wallace brothers of Statesville created the country's largest herbarium. Samuel Wittkowsky, as president of the Board of Trade and founder of the South's first savings and loan, underwrote much of Charlotte's development. In 1895, Moses and Ceasar Cone, traveling agents for the family's Baltimore commercial house, built their first textile factory in Greensboro, and, joined by partners Herman and Emmanuel Sternberger, Cone Mills ranked among the world's largest producers of denim, flannel, and corduroy. In the 1880s Tarboro had 11 Jewish stores and supported a congregation, a B'nai B'rith lodge, a YMHA, and a Jewish Literary Society; in 1885 Henry Morris was mayor. The first synagogue, Temple of Israel, was erected in Wilmington in 1875, followed by Oheb Sholom in Goldsboro (1886) and Temple Emanuel in Statesville (1892). All evolved to Reform. By 1900 congregations could also be found in Asheville, Durham, Lumberton, New Bern, Raleigh, and Winston-Salem. Typically, they accommodated both Reform and Orthodox worship until Jewish population grew sufficiently to form separate congregations.

With an increasing East European immigration, the 820 Jews of 1878 grew to 8,252 by 1927, and congregations increased from one to 22. In the early 1880s J.B. Duke imported more than 100 Jewish immigrants to roll cigarettes in his Durham factory. Jews arrived in family chains, a pioneer drawing relatives and landsleit. Like the Germans before them, they often peddled before opening stores, and they maintained an ethnic economy, mostly in dry goods. The Baltimore Bargain House financed and supplied young immigrants and directed them to towns across the state. In 1929, 53 percent of the state's Jewry was rural. Upward mobility was rapid. Moses Richter of Charlotte earned the title of Peach King for his marketing. William Heilig and Joseph Max Meyers, two Latvian immigrants, expanded their Goldsboro store into the nation's largest furniture chain.

During World War II, Jews headed to North Carolina to serve in military bases and to provide commercial services in camp towns. North Carolina welcomed émigrés from Nazi Europe. The Van Eeden colony, a dairy and agricultural collective on the coastal plain, housed refugee families from the 1930s to 1949. The state's universities offered havens to European scholars. Duke University gave sanctuary to German psychologist Louis *Stern, physicist Fritz *London, and Polish law professor Raphael *Lemkin, author of the Genocide Convention, who coined the very word genocide. In 1981 the state created the North Carolina Council on the Holocaust.

North Carolina's Jews have been notable for their philanthropies and public service. Moses Cone Memorial Hospital in Greensboro was created by a family endowment, and the Brody School of Medicine at East Carolina University in Greenville was named for a local family. The Blumenthals of Charlotte supported the arts, health care, and Jewish causes including the interfaith retreat, Wildacres, and the Jewish Home for the Aged in Clemmons. In 1954 I.D. Blumenthal created a unique Circuit Riding Rabbi program, with a bus outfitted as a synagogue, to serve rural communities. Leon Levine of Charlotte, who created a national network of Family Dollar Stores, has endowed museums, universities, and Jewish facilities. Prominent Jews include Gertrude Weil of Goldsboro, a suffragette leader, who was a tireless advocate for social and racial justice as well as for Jewish and Zionist causes. In 1918 Lionel Weil organized a statewide campaign for the Jewish War Sufferers Fund, and his North Carolina Plan became a national model. Jews have served in the state legislature. Charlotte's Harry *Golden published the *North Carolina Israelite*, which was outspoken in its advocacy of liberalism and civil rights. In 1955 the North Carolina Association of Rabbis passed a resolution calling for rapid integration of the public schools, a stand that they reiterated a year later when the governor called for voluntary segregation.

Solomon Fishblate was elected to his first term as Wilmington mayor in 1878. Jews have also been elected mayors of Chapel Hill, Durham, Fayetteville, Gastonia, Greensboro, Hendersonville, Holly Ridge, Lumberton, Morganton, Tarboro, and Wilmington. E.J. Evans served six terms as mayor of Durham, 1951–1963. Numerous Jews have served in the state legislature.

The success and social acceptance of Jews contrasts with a latent antisemitism that turned occasionally violent. In 1909 a new immigrant to Charlotte, Max Kahn, was murdered, and in 1925 a salesman, Joseph Needleman, was castrated outside Williamston by a mob after he allegedly affronted a woman. In the civil-rights era bombs were planted at synagogues in Gastonia and Charlotte. Jews were generally not accepted into social elites, and the Pinehurst golfing resort maintained antisemitic housing codes. In 1933 University of North Carolina president Frank Graham forced the resignation of the medical-school dean who refused to end a Jewish quota.

North Carolina's Jews maintained communal ties through a network of B'nai B'rith Lodges, Hadassah, and National Council of Jewish Women chapters. The North Carolina Association of Jewish Women, founded by Sarah Weil in 1921, was a nationally unique organization that united communities across ethnic, denominational, and geographical divides. In the 1950s the Jews of High Point sponsored a statewide debutante cotillion. The mountains were home to Jewish summer camps, most notably Blue Star in Hendersonville. Jewish federations, linked to the United Jewish Communities, formed in the Charlotte, Greensboro, Raleigh, and Durham-Chapel Hill areas.

The Sunbelt has welcomed the Jewish doctor, scientist, retiree, and entrepreneur just as the New South welcomed Jewish peddlers, merchants, and industrialists. North Carolina benefited from national demographic trends, which saw Jewish population shift southward. Jewish communities in Charlotte, Wilmington, the Research Triangle (Raleigh-Durham-Chapel Hill), and the Triad (Greensboro-High Point-Winston-Salem) on the high-tech interstate corridor grow while small-town, agrarian communities like Tarboro, Weldon, and Wilson wane or expire. Coastal and mountain resort communities have drawn Jewish retirees. With the breakdown of academic barriers, college towns also have grown dramatically. Jewish studies programs flourish at Duke University, which in 1943 had become the first southern university to establish such a program, and at the University of North Carolina campuses in Asheville, Chapel Hill, and Charlotte. Highlighting the professional migration, Gertrude Elion and Martin Rodbell won Nobel Prizes while working at the Research Triangle Park.

With rapid Jewish population growth, the number of havurot and congregations has grown to more than 40 by 2005. Greensboro is the site of the American Hebrew Academy, a pluralistic boarding school with a global outreach. Charlotte supports the Shalom Park campus that includes a day school, federation headquarters, library, community center, and Reform and Conservative congregations. Lubavitcher Ḥasidim lead congregations in four communities. New or expanded synagogues are arising in all the state's Sunbelt metropolitan areas even as historical Jewish enclaves in mill and market towns struggle to survive.

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[Leonard W. Rogoff (2nd ed.)]

NORTH DAKOTA, state located in the upper Midwestern part of the U.S. The total population (2004) of 634,366, includes fewer than 500 Jews.

History

At least 800 Jewish individuals filed for land between 1880 and 1916. They generally settled in clusters. Many were aided by the Jewish Agricultural and Industrial Aid Society. In addition several of the earliest settlements, Painted Woods and Devils Lake, were aided by synagogues located in Minnesota's Twin Cities. Homesteaders endured great hardships such as plagues of grasshoppers, prairie fires, blizzards and drought. Most left after acquiring full land title (generally five years). A number settled in market towns along the two railroads that crossed the state and where they operated general stores.

By 1889 the country's growing railroad industry lured people to the eastern community of Grand Forks. A permanent congregation was established in 1892. It was from the pulpit of B'nai Israel Synagogue that President William McKinley urged the Jews to participate in the war with Spain. The city of Fargo also grew near the turn of the century and by 1896 a synagogue was chartered there. The Jews of North Dakota are engaged mainly in retailing. A few, such as Fargo Mayor Herschel Lashkowitz, and Federal Judge Myron Bright, distinguished themselves in politics.

Jews also settled in larger towns such as Fargo, Grand Forks, Bismarck, and Minot where they established synagogues and other elements of Jewish communal life. They have also been included in civic life. One rabbi in particular deserves mention: Benjamin Papermaster was sent to North Dakota by the Chief Rabbi of the Kovno Yeshiva, serving in Grand Forks from 1891 to 1934. He was also the circuit-riding rabbi for the state, circumcising babies, officiating at weddings and funerals, and even slaughtering cattle. Today, Fargo and Grand Forks rely on student rabbis. In the 1960s the Jewish population of Fargo was some 500 people; it has declined as young people leave and do not return.

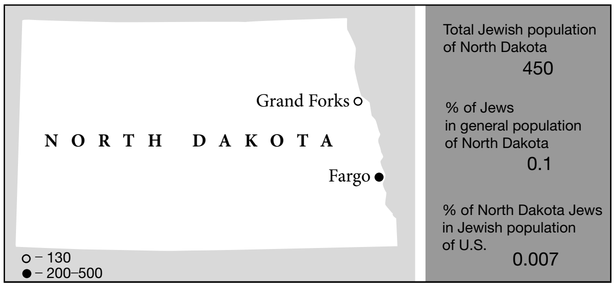
Grand Forks ○
NORTH DAKOTA
Fargo ●
○ – 130
● – 200–500
Total Jewish population of North Dakota
450
% of Jews in general population of North Dakota
0.1
% of North Dakota Jews in Jewish population of U.S.
0.007

Jewish communities in North Dakota. Population figures for 2001.

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[Linda M. Schlof (2nd ed.)]

NORWALK AND WESTPORT, U.S. towns in southeast Connecticut on Long Island Sound, which are joined together with Wilton in a federation. The Jewish population of the communities in 2005 is an estimated 11,500. As early as 1760 there was a small Jewish community in Norwalk. Michael Judah is mentioned in the Connecticut historical annals of that period, and David Judah was a soldier in the Connecticut Line in 1776. In 1776 Norwalk received an influx of Jews from New York, mainly from Congregation Shearith Israel, who were fleeing the British. In 1777 Jews were among the signatories to a petition asking for a patrol vessel for the Norwalk shore. The early community came to an end when Norwalk was burned down by the British in 1779. It was rebuilt in the 1870s by Eastern European immigrants, who were merchants and storekeepers. After 1925 more Jewish families from New York moved to Norwalk, and after World War II many more Jewish families moved to Norwalk in the general move to suburbia and in response to the development of Norwalk as an electronics and engineering center.

Beth Israel Congregation, Orthodox, founded in 1906, was the first synagogue in Norwalk and remained the only one until 1934, when Temple Beth El, Conservative, was organized. The Reform Temple Shalom was formed in 1957. Shortly after World War I, a Young Men's Hebrew Association was founded; it later became the Jewish Community Center. Norwalk has a communal Hebrew school. The United Jewish Appeal drives are sponsored by the Jewish Community Council, formed shortly after World War II to coordinate the efforts of local organizations and fund-raising campaigns.

Participation in community life is extensive. About two-thirds of the Jewish families of Norwalk are affiliated with at least one synagogue; almost 40 percent of the Jewish families belong to the Norwalk Jewish Center; and two-thirds of the adult Jews of Norwalk contribute to the Federated United Appeal Drive. Small Jewish populations in Wilton, Weston, Darien, and Georgetown also participate in Westport and Norwalk's Jewish communal life.

Prominent members of the Jewish community have included Harry Becker, who was superintendent of schools 1952–70; Malcolm Tarlov, the 1967 national president of the Jewish War Veterans; Charles Salesky, who was president of the Hat Corporation of America; and Jack Rudolph, state senator in 1970. Several chairmen of the Board of Education have been Jewish as well. As in most of the United States, most barriers have fallen. There is little discrimination. Employment appears free of anti-Jewish discrimination, but there is still a sense of distinction, though not outright discrimination, in upper-class social clubs.

There are ten synagogues within these towns, which often are joined for Jewish communal activities. Beth Israel Synagogue of Westport/Norwalk, Adat Torah Conservative Congregation, and Beit Chaverim Synagogue of Westport/Norwalk use both towns in their name. Chabad has come to Westport and runs the only Jewish day camp in the towns. There is also a Congregation for Humanistic Judaism in Westport, in which God is not part of the service. Westport itself has a Conservative Synagogue, which is called The Conservative Synagogue of Westport, and a Reform synagogue, Temple Israel, while neighboring Georgetown is the home of Temple B'nai Chaim. There is also a conservative congregation in Wilton, Adat Torah.

The Federation provides all the usual services of a local federation including Family Services and a Home for the Elderly. In addition, it sponsors Kesher, a program for Jewish developmentally challenged adults, which meets to celebrate Jewish holidays with discussion, music and refreshments and Positive Directions (formerly Alcohol and Drug Council), which works with the local Jewish Family Service to offer a 12-step program for Jews in recovery. It belies the myth that Jews don't have these problems.

Many of the Jews are professionals. Some work locally and many commute to neighboring New York City as part of the seamless suburbs of New York in which the Jewish community stretches from the City through Fairfield County and beyond.

[Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

NORWAY, kingdom in N. Europe. Throughout the 17th and 18th centuries, when Norway and *Denmark were united, most general regulations concerning the Jews of Denmark also applied in Norway. However, according to the Norwegian Legal Code promulgated by King Christian v in 1687 the Jews were barred from admission to Norway without a letter of safe-conduct; without this, a Jew risked arrest, fines, and deportation. As a result of this measure the special regulations allowing free access to the so-called "Portuguese" Jews (issued by the Danish crown in 1657, renewed in 1670, 1684, and 1750) were not consistently adhered to by the Norwegian authorities. An incident which took place in 1734 became notorious: three Dutch "Portuguese" Jews were arrested on their arrival in the country and spent two months in prison. In the 17th and 18th centuries, few Jews stayed in Norway, usually only temporarily, though some Jews in other countries had business connections there, such as Manuel Teixeira from Hamburg who was co-owner of some Norwegian mines. In 1814 Norway became free of the union with Denmark and a Norwegian constitution was produced. Despite the liberal tenor of the Norwegian constitution of 1814, Article Two – stating that Lutheran Protestantism is the official state religion in which all Lutheran children must be brought up – confirmed the exclusion of Jews and Jesuits from Norway; this was strictly enforced. A new union was immediately formed with Sweden. At first this did not interfere with Norwegian politics, but from 1884 the Swedes decided to take an active part in Norway's foreign affairs. This union lasted until 1905. In 1817 a shipwrecked Jew was thrown into jail and then deported. In the 1830s, however, a more liberal spirit gradually emerged. The government issued letters of safe conduct from time to time; one was given to Heinrich *Heine's uncle, Solomon *Heine, who was instrumental in the granting of a loan to the Norwegian state by the Copenhagen banking house of Hambro and Son. In 1844 the Ministry of Justice confirmed the free immigration rights of "Portuguese" Jews. The repeal of the ban on Jewish settlement was largely the result of the efforts of writer Henrik *Wergeland. In 1839 he submitted his first proposal to the Storting, the Norwegian parliament, accompanying his proposal with a lengthy memorandum and publishing his essay on the Jewish question, *Indlaeg i Jødensagen* (1841). This was followed by numerous articles in the press, several of them by Wergeland himself. In 1842 a committee on the constitution dealing with the problem made a notable proposal in which it was stated that the right to free immigration was an international one. The motion to give the Jews free access received a simple majority, i.e., more than 50% of the vote, in 1842, 1845, and 1848, but did not ob-

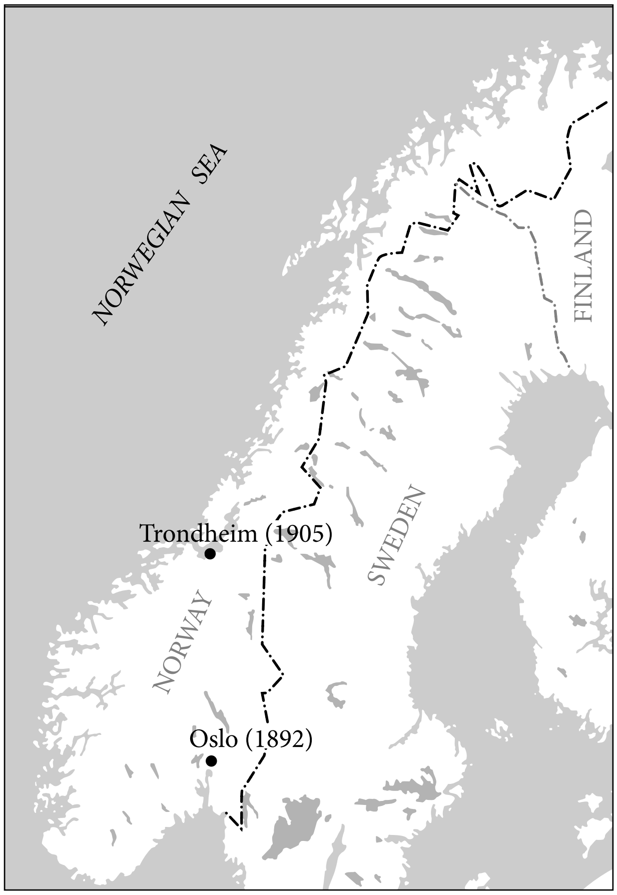

Jewish communities in Norway and dates of establishment.

tain the requisite two-thirds majority until 1851. In that year 93 votes were cast in favor of admitting the Jews with full civil rights, with ten votes against.

The First Communities

The first Jew settled in the country in 1852 and for many years he remained the only representative of his faith; in 1875 only 25 Jews had their permanent residence in Norway. After 1880 immigration increased considerably, and Eastern European Jews gradually became most numerous. In 1890 there were 214 Jews in Norway; ten years later there were 642, most of them in *Oslo, the capital, and in Trondheim. The oldest communities, called "The Mosaic Congregation" (Det Mosaiske Trossamfund), were founded in Oslo in 1892 and in Trondheim in 1905; both congregations are still in existence. (See Map: Jews in Norway). Land for a cemetery was bought in Oslo as early as 1869, and the first burial took place in 1885. For some years there were as many as four congregations in the capital, but only two continued to exist for any length of time. In the 1920s and 1930s, a Jewish orphanage and home for the aged was founded. The census of 1920 recorded 1,457 Jews, of whom 852 lived in the capital. This was the highest number of Jews recorded prior to World War II. In 1930 there were 1,359 Jews in Norway, with 749 resident in Oslo.

In the years before and during World War I, young people's associations, women's groups, Zionist associations and charitable societies were established in Oslo and Trondheim. In the 1930s there were several Jewish theater societies, a choir and other cultural societies, a Norwegian Jewish Youth Society (JUF) that expanded into a Scandinavian Jewish Youth Society (SJUF) as well as an academic society. Two Jewish periodicals were published, *Israelitten* from 1911 to 1927 and *Hatikwoh* from 1929 to 1938. The two synagogue buildings in Oslo and Trondheim, both still in use today, were consecrated in 1920 and 1925 respectively. The second synagogue in Oslo, dedicated in 1921, has not been in use since World War II. (This building was converted into a Jewish museum that opened to the public in 2006.) For many years most Norwegian Jews engaged in trade; gradually they also moved into industry and some entered the professions. Between 1930 and 1940 immigration was comparatively slight.

It is possible to trace the rise of antisemitism in the Norwegian press during World War I and preceding World War II. In the 1930s anti-Jewish race theories were advocated by the Norwegian police, politicians, and press.

Holocaust Period

In 1941–42 the Jewish population of Norway consisted of approximately 1,000 households, numbering a total of 2,173 individuals living mainly in Oslo and Trondheim, but also thinly spread out in other parts of the country. Among these individuals 530 were Jewish refugees from the European continent and were not Norwegian citizens. About 1,800 were registered in the various communities. The number of Jewish refugees was relatively low, Norway being even more restrictive than Denmark and Sweden in the admission of Jewish refugees.

The Jews of Norway were hard-hit during the German occupation in World War II (April 1940–May 1945). Already in October 1940 Jews were prohibited to engage in academic and other professions. In some regions the actual persecution of the Jews began in 1941, but only in the fall of 1942 did it become countrywide. In two raids, on October 25 for all men over 16 and on November 25 for women and children, 767 Jews were seized and shipped via Stettin to *Auschwitz. About 930 Jewish inhabitants succeeded in fleeing to Sweden, while about 60 others were interned in Norway proper. A very small number of Jews managed to remain in hiding, in hospitals, sanatoria or in the Jewish old-age home. Quite a large percentage of Norwegian Jewish men who had managed to escape joined the Norwegian army encampments in Sweden or England and fought with the allied forces throughout the war. Victims of the war, 60% of whom were men (two-thirds of whom were citizens of Norway), totaled 758. Twenty persons perished either through acts of war or were shot in Norway. Of those deported 740 were murdered in extermination camps and only 29 survived. The Germans inflicted heavy damage on the synagogue in Trondheim, and planned to obliterate the Jewish cemetery there. The physical persecution of the Jews by the Germans was facilitated by orders given by *Quisling's government for the forced registration of all Jews (June 1942) and the confiscation of all Jewish property (October 1942). The final arrest was carried out by Norwegian police officers carrying out orders issued by the Nazis. The bishops of Norway sent a protest letter on Nov. 11, 1942 to Quisling. It was also signed by the other Protestant churches of Norway. The letter, in denunciation of the illegal acts, states: "God does not differentiate among people… Since the Lutheran religion is the state religion, the state cannot enact any law or decree which is in conflict with the Christian faith or the Church's confession." The letter was read from the pulpit on Dec. 6 and 13, 1942 and was quoted in the 1943 New Year message. Many Norwegians, with the guidance of the Underground movement, did their utmost to help Jews escape to Sweden, often at the risk of their own lives.

[Leni Yahil / Lynn Claire Feinberg (2nd ed.)]

1945–1970

Most of the survivors of the Holocaust returned to Norway from Sweden after the war. Owing to the liquidation of Jewish property during WWII, most returned to homes that were emptied of all contents or valuables or homes occupied by Norwegians. The same was true of formerly Jewish-owned businesses. Miraculously, one of the synagogues in Oslo, including its Torah scrolls and contents, was untouched. The building had been used to store Nazi literature and property from Jewish homes that the Nazis had confiscated.

The Norwegian government was eager to demonstrate the sympathy of the Norwegian people toward the suffering Jewish people. About 400 Jewish DPs came to Norway in 1947, but many left a while later for North America or Israel. With the abolition of the DP camps in Germany in the 1950s, Norway accepted several scores of "hardcore" cases. By the mid-1950s the Jewish population reached close to 1,000 souls, of whom over 700 resided in Oslo, about 150 in Trondheim, and the rest were scattered throughout the country.

The communities in Oslo and Trondheim were reconstituted: Orthodox services were conducted in the synagogues; a home for the aged that had been in use before the war continued to exist for a few years after the war in Oslo; social work, supported by the American Jewish *Joint Distribution Committee and the Conference on Jewish Material *Claims, was expanded; a *B'nai B'rith lodge was established in Oslo in 1952; a community center was opened in Oslo in 1960; the small community participated in all activities in support of Israel. Rabbi Zalman Aronzon was rabbi of Oslo from 1949 to 1958 and was head of the community's religious instruction. Rabbi Aronzon introduced a bat mitzvah ceremony for girls at the end of their religious instruction. At this time approximately 80 school-age children received regular religious instruction in Oslo and Trondheim; In addition to weekly religious instruction, many children also attended Bnei Akiva, a Zionist youth organization arranging gatherings of a more social nature and summer camps with children from the other Scandinavian countries as well as trips to Israel. During the 1950s and 1960s the Norwegian government, the Church, and all political parties were actively engaged in eradicating antisemitism. Pro-Israel sentiment was very strong and found expression in many actions.

[Chaim Yahil / Lynn Claire Feinberg (2nd ed.)]

1970–2005

POPULATION. The total number of Jews in Norway in 1981 was estimated at 1,100 (0.027% of the total population). In 1992 the number of Jews in Norway was about 1,300–1,400, of which 200–300 were Israelis. More than 1,000 people (including children) were members of the Jewish congregations in the two Jewish communities in Norway: about 900 in Oslo and 135 in Trondheim. This number remained relatively stable throughout the 1990s. There has been a distinct aging process throughout the period with a high percentage of community members older than 65, which explains why there has been a relatively high rate of deaths in proportion to births since the WWII.

Over the years, a small but steady stream of Norwegians have converted to Judaism. There is general tendency among younger members to study and live in places abroad such as Israel, where there are more Jews, and not to return. The number of members of the Oslo Jewish community has traditionally stabilized around the 900 mark but in 2004 there were only about 800 members and in Trondheim only about 100 members. Quite a large percentage of Norwegian-born community members have spouses who are non-Jewish or who have converted. Due to many marriages among Scandinavian Jews, several community members were born in Sweden, Denmark, or Finland. There are also several members who come from other countries.

COMMUNITY. During the late 1970s and 1980s the Jewish community's activities expanded in Oslo. Starting in the 1970s there was a gradual increase in Norwegian school children and other groups visiting the synagogues and learning about Judaism and the fate of the Jews during World War II. Several seminars on Jewish subjects were arranged at the universities of Oslo and Trondheim with Jewish and non-Jewish lecturers. In 1976 Kai Feinberg (1921–1995) became the head of the community, succeeding Harry M. Koritzinsky (1900–1989), who had held this post since 1946. In September 1980 Michael *Melchior (1954–), son of Rabbi Bent Melchior, chief rabbi of Denmark, was inaugurated as rabbi in Oslo by his father after completing his rabbinical studies in Israel. Among those present were representatives of the Lutheran and Catholic Churches, universities, and state and municipal authorities. The community had existed without a rabbi for most of the years following World War II.

In Trondheim religious school instruction recommenced after a break of some years owing to the lack of Jewish children aged 8–13. The community, which celebrated its 75th anniversary in May 1980, had no cantor, and services and religious education were conducted by the community leader.

Moshe Dayan, when foreign minister of Israel, visited Oslo in May 1978, as did his successor Yitzhak Shamir in November 1980. The Jewish community arranged a dinner in the community center for Prime Minister Menaḥem Begin when he received the Nobel Peace Prize in Oslo in 1978.

With Rabbi Michael Melchior the Oslo community experienced a renaissance. Melchior helped make Judaism more visible to the Norwegian public at large and was often cited in newspapers and appeared on national TV. One of his first accomplishments was to open the Jewish kindergarten in Oslo in 1981. The kindergarten received some financial support from the city and soon became an important entry point for Jewish children and their parents into active participation in community life. In 2005 the kindergarten celebrated its 25th anniversary. In collaboration with the synagogue cantor, an Israeli, a children's choir was formed and many new melodies were introduced at the Sabbath morning services encouraging greater participation. Services were followed by a *kiddush*, with refreshments in the community center, also a novelty at this time. This event has since become the weekly meeting place for community members and guests. As a result of Melchior's involvement in the community the frequency of people participating in the Sabbath morning service in Oslo increased. Other services apart from Rosh Ha-Shanah and Yom Kippur were not as well attended. In Trondheim the membership was too small to arrange morning services on Saturday. Services were usually held on Friday afternoons, on Rosh ha-Shanah, Yom Kippur, and some of the other festivals. For many years the service was conducted by the community chairman and superintendent Jacob Kommisar (1922–1995). In recent years the Trondheim community has started holding Friday evening services every two weeks, conducted by one of the community members, often in conjunction with a communal meal. This is in addition to High Holiday services.

With Rabbi Melchior, religious school education was greatly improved; in Oslo in the 1990s the religious afternoon school was taught by the cantor and some community members. There were about 70 pupils in Oslo in the 1990s aged 7–16, and this figure has remained quite stable since. For a number of years, a young member of the Oslo community visited Trondheim every two or three weeks to teach. In recent years several of the teachers at the Trondheim weekly religious school have been recruited from Jewish youth born and raised in Oslo and currently studying at the University of Trondheim. Trondheim also offers weekly religious education for pre-school children.

Beginning in the 1980s, in addition to the ordinary religious school lessons, weekend gatherings (also for the children in the kindergarten) have been arranged once or twice a year in the community vacation home 12 miles (20 km) from Oslo. At regular intervals the community invites children and their parents to spend a weekend at a hotel some 50 miles (80 km) from Oslo and celebrate a full Sabbath. Community members from Trondheim have also participated in these events. The annual summer camps have also been attended by Jewish children from other places in Norway. Bnei Akiva continues to engage members from the ages of 7–18 with weekly gatherings, inter-Scandinavian activities, and trips to Israel.

Twenty apartments for the elderly, partly subsidized by the city of Oslo, were built alongside the synagogue and inaugurated in 1988. A new wing was later added to this building, providing a place for elderly Jews who are too poor to take care of themselves.

The *Jodisk Menighetsblad*, the Jewish community journal, edited by Oskar Mendelsohn, 1976–1991, was succeeded in 1992 by a new publication, *Hatikwa*, which is issued four times a year.

In June 1992 the Oslo Jewish community marked its centenary with various celebrations, seminars and public lectures, while the religious school arranged a walk to and over the Swedish border along one of the fall 1942 escape routes. There was also an exhibition showing the religious holidays and a survey of important events from the past 100 years, which attracted more than 5,000 schoolchildren, and for which a special publication was printed. Jewish children published a paper about Jews in Norway which was distributed to schools. The community published a 230-page jubilee book.

The jubilee, held on June 14, started with a ceremony in the Jewish cemetery at the memorial for Jewish victims of World War II. This was followed by a festive service in the synagogue in the presence of Norwegian authorities and representatives of the other Scandinavian Jewish communities that was broadcast on Norwegian television. Rabbi Michael Melchior spoke and the cantor, the synagogue choir, and Cantor Joseph Malovany of New York conducted the service. There was also a festive concert at which the Norwegian king and queen were present. Rabbi Melchior was honored in 1993 with the Bridgebuilder Prize by the joint council of the Norwegian Church academies. He was granted this award for his significant efforts toward creating a dialogue and building bridges between people of different groups and backgrounds with the aim of counteracting the influence of hatemongers.

In Norway kosher slaughter was made illegal in the 1930s. The community has therefore had to import kosher meat ever since. In 1986 the first shop to sell frozen kosher meat and various kosher food products was opened; until then kosher meat had been sold at appointed times in the community center.

Since 1991 kosher meat has been imported from the U.S. and other kosher foods from Denmark and Israel. In more recent years kosher goods have been imported from Israel and European countries. The import of kosher meat and especially chicken is regularly an issue of concern, due to Norway's strict regulations on the import of agricultural products. The community rabbi has given several Norwegian food products a kosher certificate. The community regularly provides an updated list of kosher products obtainable in Norway.

For a few years starting in 1988, the Oslo community's leadership was divided between the head of the board (administration) and the superintendent of religious affairs. In 2005 Anne Sender was elected the first woman to head the community. Rabbi Michael Melchior, who settled in Israel in 1986, remained the religious leader of the community, spending about four months a year in Oslo until 1999. Since then he has been the chief rabbi of Norway. From 1999 to 2003 the community hired Rabbi Jason Rappoport from England and in 2003 he was replaced by Rabbi Jitzhak Rapoport from Sweden. Over the years the community has had several Israeli cantors serving for an average of two or three years doing service abroad. Services are also conducted by a young Danish Jew who has settled in Oslo and occasionally by local young men from the community.

Antisemitism and Anti-Zionism

There was more evidence of antisemitism during the 1970s and after than in the first decades after World War II, often taking the form of increased anti-Zionism. In January 1979 the synagogue in Oslo was vandalized with swastikas and anti-Jewish slogans in Norwegian and German (*Juden raus!*). The police did not succeed in finding the perpetrators. In autumn 1977 the country's bishops urged a clear and fearless attitude against all forms of antisemitism and aggressive anti-Zionism.

In the 1980s there were numerous articles in the press relating to Israel. Anti-Zionism was on the increase, primarily among political leftists. Pro-Palestinian attitudes, however, were also reflected in youth organizations of the Labor Party and some of the center parties as well as in some trade unions. On the other hand, there were many pro-Israeli articles. In the 1990s there was a tendency to connect anti-Israel and anti-Zionist sentiments with antisemitic statements. The Norwegian press has been increasingly critical of the policy of the State of Israel and many journalists have shown growing sympathy for and bias towards the Palestinians. Many Norwegian

Jews have in later years experienced an increase in antisemitic tendencies, in the guise of anti-Zionist or anti-Israel views. On several occasions newspaper headlines and caricatures have described the Israelis as Jewish aggressors in the Nazi mold. In 2003 the Norwegian head of the Labor Union urged Norwegian shops to stop buying goods from Israel. Several threats have been directed at the Jewish communities.

Renewed Interest in the Holocaust

With a new generation of historians in the 1970s, renewed interest in the Jews and their World War II fate started to emerge. At this time there was a focus on the emergence of Norwegian neo-Nazi youth gangs and ways of taking preventive measures. Many concentration camp survivors began to tell their stories for the first time. "This Concerns You," an account from Auschwitz by Herman Sachnowitz, a Norwegian Jew, was published in 1976 and sold more than 160,000 copies in Norwegian. This was the first of several such accounts written by Norwegian Jewish survivors. In 1978 the television series *Holocaust* led to a whole series of questions related to the fate of the Jews of Norway during the war. Another series about how people were helped to flee to Sweden, among them the nation's Jews, was also aired. One of the questions raised was why persecution of the Jews had received such scant attention in the teaching of history, another related to the complicity of the Church throughout the ages. The *Holocaust* series was succeeded by many information programs on radio and television about events and persecution during the war, including interviews of several of the Norwegian Jewish survivors. Interest was revived in the diary of Anne *Frank. In March 1978 three of the people most active in the resistance movement during the war in helping to rescue Jews were invited by the Jewish community in Oslo to spend a week in Israel and to plant a tree in the Avenue of the Righteous on Har ha-Zikkaron. Several other people who helped Jews during the war have over the years been honored as Righteous Among the Nations by Yad Vashem.

In 1992 the Hvite Busser organization ("White Buses") was formed by Norwegian concentration camp survivors. Their aim has been to arrange field trips to Auschwitz for teenage schoolchildren in order to teach about antisemitism and the Holocaust. Accompanying the groups is a first-hand witness, a Norwegian who survived a concentration camp, and a few of the witnesses are also Jewish. At the 50th anniversary of the end of World War II in 1995, several television programs and films appeared showing interviews with Jewish and non-Jewish Norwegian concentration camp survivors and members of the resistance. There were also several books written by Norwegians depicting the fate of the Jews and putting the role of the Norwegians during WW II in a new light. With the passing of the legislated time period, recently released archive material from the war years was now made available and fresh pages could be written in the nation's history books.

As a result of the focus on Jewish property confiscated by the Nazis during World War II in the Western world, renewed attention was also directed to the fate of the Norwegian Jewish population during the war and their property. In 1996 the Norwegian government formed a committee whose purpose was to ascertain what happened to Jewish property during World War II so as to determine how and to what extent seized assets/property had been restored after the war, and their value. As a result the Norwegian government decided to pay 450,000,000 NOK in restitution. One part was paid as individual compensations to Jewish individuals who had lost one or more relatives in the Shoah and who had been resident in Norway prior to the war. The rest was to be given as collective compensation to the Jewish communities in Oslo and Trondheim. However, in agreement with the Norwegian state some of these funds were to be put aside as the foundation for what has become the Center for Holocaust and Minorities Studies in Norway, a research center and Holocaust museum housed at Villa Grande, the house Vidkun *Quisling used as his home and headquarters during World War II. The Jewish communities also decided to set apart a sum to establish the Fund for Support of Jewish Institutions or Projects outside Norway. The remainder of the restitution money was used to restore the community centers and synagogues in Trondheim and Oslo. Because of the ongoing work that led to the Norwegian restitution, the World Jewish Congress chose to hold its executive meeting in Oslo in November 1996.

As a result of extensive work done by Norwegian Jews and Christians in the former Soviet Union, the Hjelp Jødene Hjem (HJH, Help the Jews Home) organization was founded in 1990 to coordinate all Norwegian contributions to help former Soviet Jews immigrate to Israel. It is a joint venture of a number of Christian organizations in Norway and the Jewish Community of Oslo. HJH also provides information about antisemitism and its consequences. In recent years most of the money collected has been used to support humanitarian projects in Israel.

Since the 1970s Norwegian society has become more multicultural. New immigrants have arrived from many parts of the world, among them many Israelis, bringing their religion and culture with them. The Protestant Norwegian State Church had a tradition of being very homogeneous, the Jews having been one of the very first non-Christian religious minorities in the country. There was now a need to find ways to cope with a new multicultural reality. In 1990 Oslo hosted a conference called "The Anatomy of Hate: Resolving Conflict through Dialogue and Democracy," which was convened by the Foundation and the Norwegian Nobel Committee. Former political prisoners and statesmen, writers and scholars from 30 countries – among them Vaclav Havel, Nelson Mandela, Francois Mitterrand, and Jimmy Carter – discussed ways of living with ethnic and national conflict and managing regional tensions through dialogue. This conference was followed by a series of religious dialogues. The first was held in 1991, called "Common Ethics in a Multicultural Norway." Several smaller and larger interfaith groups followed throughout the country.

From 1991 to 1993 representatives of the Norwegian government were engaged in an ongoing project called "Norway as a Multicultural Society Aiming at Acquiring Knowledge about the Different Minorities' Special Needs."

The Council for Religious and Life Stance Communities in Norway was established on May 30, 1996. The main task of the council is to promote mutual respect and understanding between various religious and humanistic communities. The Council seeks to prevent differences in belief from being used as a basis for prejudice and xenophobia and has received government support for its work since 1998. Representatives from 12 different religious and life stance communities meet regularly to discuss and find resolutions to issues that involve problems arising in the interaction between religious and life stance traditions and Norwegian society at large. Several conferences and dialogue projects have been initiated by this council.

In 1997 the Norwegian government introduced a new subject into the schools: Christianity, Religion and Life Stance – a subject meant to teach different religions against a backdrop of Christian values and religious beliefs. Previously children belonging to religions other than Christianity could be exempt from religious education in school, but now all schoolchildren regardless of their faith were required to learn religion in this way. The various minority religious communities and the humanists lodged strong protests. This was one of the first issues to be dealt with by the Council for Religious and Life Stance Communities in Norway. The strong protest brought about minor alterations in the curriculum and a more lenient approach towards parents who wished to avoid sending their children to these classes. However, despite the negative response to this subject, the effect has also been that all Norwegian schoolchildren regularly learn about Judaism throughout their school years. This has also resulted in a great increase in the number of schoolchildren visiting the synagogues and students contacting the communities for information. There has also been a greater demand to make Jews more visible in society at large.

In 1998 Norway ratified the Council of Europe's convention on acknowledging national minorities. As a result Norwegian Jews were granted the status of a national minority together with several other ethnic minority groups such as Roma (gypsies) and similar groups that have lived in Norway for more than 100 years. Under the new legislation, the Norwegian government is obliged to help its national minorities express, sustain, and develop their individual identities, cultures, and languages. As a result, the two Jewish communities have received government funds for the establishment of Jewish museums. In 1997 a Jewish museum was established in Trondheim and officially opened on May 12, 1997. In 2003 the Oslo Municipality agreed to accept plans to build a Jewish museum in Oslo. This museum was planned to open in 2007 in a building that used to serve as a second synagogue before World War II.

The Restitution Fund from the Norwegian government enabled a major restoration of the synagogue and community buildings of Trondheim and Oslo. In Trondheim the newly restored community center, including a library and multimedia center, was opened in the fall of 2001.

In September 2004 the Oslo Jewish community officially reopened its newly rebuilt community center and redecorated synagogue in the presence of prominent guests from the government.

CULTURE. Many novels and short stories with Jewish motifs and other books on Jewish matters – including the Holocaust – were translated into Norwegian during the 1970s, among them works by Bellow, Heller, Kellerman, Malamud, Potok, Roth, and Wouk. In the late 1970s most of Isaac Bashevis Singer's books were translated as were Eli Wiesel's. In the 1980s and 1990s several books by Amoz Oz and David Grossmann were published in Norwegian as were books by Yoram Kaniuk and in 2004 a book by Etgar Keret.

The Norwegian-Jewish author Eva Scheer published several Jewish folklore collections of tales and stories, with books on 19th-century Jewish life in Lithuania following in the 1970s and 1980s.

Among the many books on Zionism and Israel, *The Right to Survive* (1976), edited by Pater Hallvard Rieber-Mohn and Professor Leo Eitinger – "a book about Israel, Norway and antisemitism" – merits special mention. It includes articles by eleven Norwegians (two of them Jews). Lectures given at the university seminar in Oslo in 1976 in a series called "The Jews and Judaism," with the subtitle "From the Old Testament to the Middle-East Conflict," were published in 1977.

During the 1980s books by Norwegian Jews as well as books on Norwegian Jewry appeared, only some of which are mentioned here. Professor Leo Eitinger edited *Human among Humans: A Book of Antisemitism and Hatred Against Strangers* (1985), the lectures from the Nansen Committee hearing on antisemitism. An autobiography was published by Jo *Benkow; Mona Levin, a well-known author and cultural critic, wrote the biography of her father, the Norwegian Jewish pianist Robert Levin: *Med livet i hendene* ("My Life in My Hands," 1983). Robert Levin (1912–1996), a pianist and professor of piano and interpretation, was one of Norway's most renowned musicians. The author of the two-volume *History of the Jews in Norway during 300 Years* (vol. 1, 1969; vol. 2, 1986; second edition, 1987), Oskar Mendelsohn, was awarded a knighthood, 1st Class, of the Royal Saint Olav Order in 1989 for his work on the history of the Norwegian Jews and in 1993 he received the gold medal of the Royal Norwegian Society of Sciences and Arts, the oldest Norwegian society of science (founded 1760), for his "comprehensive scientific work in the investigation of the history of the Jewish minority in Norway." A concise popular edition of Mendelsohn's work was published in 1992. Mendelsohn died in 1993.

The Holocaust was the subject of many Norwegian books and of several books translated into Norwegian during the 1980s. A Norwegian, Jahn Otto Johansen, wrote *Det hendte også her* ("It Also Happened Here"). In the 1980s came several accounts of concentration camps by survivors still living in Norway: Ernest Arberle, written by Arvid Møller, *Vi må ikke glemme* ("We Must Not Forget," 1980); Robert Savosnik with Hans Melien, *Jeg ville ikke dø* ("I Did Not Want to Die," 1986); Herman Kahan with Knut M. Hansson, *Ilden og lyset* ("The Fire and the Light," 1988); Mendel Szanjfeld, with Simon Szajnfeld, *Fortell hva som skjedde med oss; erindringer fra Holocaust* ("Tell What Happened to Us; Memories From the Holocaust," 1993); Kai Feinberg with Arnt Stefansen, *Fange nr 79108 vender tilbake* ("Prisoner No. 79108 Returns," 1995); Vera Komissar with Sverre M. Nyrønning, "*På tross av alt: Julius Paltiel – norsk jøde i Auschwitz* ("Despite Everything: Julius Paltiel – Norwegian Jew in Auschwitz," 1995). Vera Kommisar also wrote a book about Norwegian Jews who escaped to Sweden in 1942, *Nådetid: norske jøder på flukt 1942* ("Time of Grace: Norwegian Jews on the Run 1942," 1992).

Kristian Ottosen, a Norwegian historian, wrote the account of the deportation of Norwegian Jews during World War II: *I slik en natt* (1994); Karoline Frogner, a Norwegian film producer, did the film and book *Mørketid: kvinners møte med nazismen* ("Time of Darkness: Women's Encounters with Nazism," 1995). It records interviews with several women who survived the Ravensbrueck concentration camp, among them four Jews.

During the late 1990s and early 2000s several books and chapters of books on Judaism were written in Norwegian for all school levels and at university level. As part of a series on religious texts from all religions, central Jewish religious texts were translated and published in Norwegian for the first time. Bente Kahan, a Norwegian Jewish actress and singer, has become known in Norway and Europe for her interpretations of Yiddish songs.

In 2001, the Wergelands Barn (The Children of Wergeland) project was made to commemorate the 150 years since Jews were allowed into Norway in 1851. Brit Ormaasen and Oskar Kvasnes interviewed a number of Norwegian Jews who were alive before the war and collected photographs to depict Jewish life in Norway from the first immigration up until 1945. This work was made into an exhibition that has been shown all over Norway and in 2004–5 in the United States. In 2004 two Norwegian film producers produced a film called *Mannen som elsket Haugesund* ("The Man Who Loved Haugesund"), a story about Moritz Rabinowitz, a Norwegian Jew who lived in Haugesund and who was arrested and killed by the Nazis in 1941.

Relations with Israel

Norway voted for the establishment of a Jewish state in 1947, and Trygve Lie, as secretary-general of the United Nations, used all his diplomatic skill to remove obstacles to the adoption of the resolution. Diplomatic relations between Norway and Israel were soon established, first through nonresident ministers, and since 1961 on the level of resident ambassadors. At the United Nations, Norway frequently came out in support of Israel. The friendly relations found expression in great celebrations of Israel's tenth anniversary and in official visits by prime ministers, foreign ministers and other public figures.

The murder in 1973 of an Arab from Morocco living in Lillehammer temporarily created anti-Israel feelings in the Norwegian press and public. Strained relations developed between Norway and Israel when some of the alleged perpetrators were arrested at the home of an Israeli attaché.

Israel's right to exist within secure borders remained the basic foreign policy of Norway and the Norwegian delegation withdrew from the Geneva Conference on racism in 1978. Israeli policy on the West Bank has been criticized, but all demands for recognition of the PLO were rejected at this time because of the PLO Charter. Representatives of different parties in many cases spoke in favor of Israel, not least those of the Christian People's Party, and Israel has many friends in Christian quarters. However, there is also a smaller Christian pro-Palestinian group.

The group "With Israel for Peace," consisting mostly of non-Jewish youth, including university students, was founded in 1976 for the purpose of disseminating information about Israel and to fight anti-Israel and anti-Zionist propaganda from the Norwegian left-wing.

Cooperation between universities in Norway and Israel was strengthened through technical-scientific symposiums held in Trondheim and in Israel. The organization "Norwegian Friends of the Hebrew University" (reestablished in 1977) raised money for a Norwegian-Israeli research fund. Israeli artists held exhibitions and concerts in Norway, among them the Israel Philharmonic Orchestra. Trondheim and Petaḥ Tikvah became twin towns.

Norway became the center of world attention during the 1990s due to the negotiations that led to the Oslo Accords, a part of the Middle East peace process directly connected with Norway. Due to the close relationship that had developed over the years between the Norwegian and Israeli Labor parties, Norway already had a long-established connection with Israeli officials. During the 1990s Norway also established increasing contacts with the PLO through research projects in the area. Using Norwegian mediators, secret negotiations were conducted between representatives of the PLO and Israel at several locations in Norway. On August 20, 1993, in Oslo, an agreement in principle was signed regarding the establishment of an autonomous Palestinian state. In 1994 Yasser Arafat, Yitzhak Rabin, and Shimon Peres received the Nobel Peace Prize in Norway for this breakthrough. On September 28, 1995, the Oslo II agreement was signed, which was supposed to be the next step in the peace process. Over the years public opinion regarding Israel has changed from being very supportive to being more critical and more in favor of recognizing the Palestinian struggle. Increased hostility towards Israel and its policy continues to characterize the Norwegian press, left-wing intellectuals, and several politicians.

[Oskar Mendelsohn / Lynn Claire Feinberg (2nd ed.)]

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NORWICH, county town of Norfolk, E. England. The medieval Jewish community is first mentioned in 1144, when the discovery of the body of a boy, William of Norwich, in a wood near the town gave rise to the first recorded *blood libel in Europe. Although this apparently had no immediate effect on the community, there were attacks by citizens on the Jews in the 1230s, the one in 1234 following an accusation that the Jews had kidnapped and circumcised a Christian child. The descendants of *Jurnet of Norwich, who were financiers, patrons of learning, and scholars, dominated the community from 1160 to 1260: the lower part of their stone house still stands in King Street (as part of the "Music House"). The 13th-century community (numbering about 100 to 150) seems, from the considerable documentary evidence surviving, mainly to have consisted of financiers who lent to local traders and the rural gentry and villagers. The community suffered from the "coin-clipping" charges of 1279 and the execution for blasphemy of the local magnate, Abraham fil' Deulecresse; by the time of the general expulsion from England in 1290, it numbered only 50 souls. The poems of *Meir b. Elijah of Norwich (c. 1244) have survived, mainly in a Vatican manuscript.

Individual Jews settled in Norwich in the first half of the 18th century and there was an organized community by 1754 when a quarrel in the synagogue attracted much attention in the press. Continuous communal activity dates from the purchase of a burial ground in 1813 and the opening of a new synagogue in 1828. Local 19th-century families included those of Samuel (father of the first Lord *Mancroft), Haldinstein, and Soman (founder of the *Norwich Argus* newspaper). The community was especially known for shoe manufacture, antique dealing, and the press and printing. The synagogue, which was destroyed by bombing in World War II, was rebuilt in 1948; the community's numbers remained between 100 and 200 (1% of the total population) through most of the 20th century. The 2001 British census found a total of 239 declared Jews in Norwich. The town had an Orthodox and a Reform synagogue.

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[Vivian David Lipman]

NORZI, Italian family whose name derives from the Umbrian city of Norcia (where Jews were living from the third century C.E.). The more common forms of the name are de Nursia, da Norcia, da Norsa, Norsa, Norzi. A certain NATHAN (d. 1369) is considered the founder of the family. Many documents attest to the presence of members of the family in Ferrara, in Bondeno, and under the House of Este in the 15th century, mainly in connection with banking activities. Although others lived in Modena, Reggio, Brescia, Verona, and Padua, the *Mantua branch was the wealthiest and most important. According to De Rossi, they came from the regions of Bologna and Turin. The Norzi family played an important part in the life of the community of Mantua. The former synagogue of the family, destroyed when the ghetto was demolished, has been entirely reconstructed on the present community premises, in Via Govi, and is now the only synagogue in Mantua. Many members of the family, pupils of Joseph Colon and Judah b. Jehiel Messer Leon, became rabbis celebrated for their learning beyond Italy.

MANUELE DA NORCIA moved from Rimini to Mantua in 1428 and obtained permission to open a loan bank (*condotta*). LEONE DE NURSIA and others were authorized in 1482 to trade in wool and silk cloths. In 1493 DANIELE DE NURSIA settled in Mantua, where he bought a house which had a painting representing the Virgin on its façade; its erasure by Daniele, although authorized by the bishop, caused a general uproar. Nursia first had to pay 1,100 gold ducats to the painter Andrea Mantegna for a painting of the Madonna, now at the Louvre; he was subsequently evicted, and the house was demolished by order of Marquis Giovanni Francesco II Gonzaga, the ruler of Mantua, who ordered that a church should be built on its premises dedicated to Santa Maria della Vittoria to commemorate his victory over the French at Fornovo. Another work by an unknown painter, now at the Basilica of S. Andrea in Mantua, depicts the ceremony of dedication, with four members of the Norzi family wearing the Jewish *badge; the words *Debellata hebraeorum temeritate* appear at the top of the painting. In 1504 ISAAC BEN DANIEL NORZI was authorized by Gonzaga to engage in moneylending. BENJAMIN BEN IMMANUEL NORZI wrote *Sod La'asot Lu'aḥ* (1477; in Ms.), a study of the Jewish calendar, and commentaries on rulings by R. Isaac Tiburino, and on the Talmud tractates *Pesaḥim, Yoma, Sukkah, Yom Tov, Rosh Ha-Shanah*, and *Megillah* (Wolff, Bibliotheca, 1 (1715), 252).

RAPHAEL BEN GABRIEL (1520–1583?) rabbi at Ferrara and Mantua, was author of various works on rational ethics in religious questions: *Se'ah Solet* (Mantua, 1561); *Marpe la-Nefesh* (Mantua, 1561; Venice, 1571); and *Oraḥ Ḥayyim* (Venice, 1549; Amsterdam, 1557). He exchanged polemics with the rabbi of Ferrara. A *kinah* was published on the occasion of his death (Zunz, Lit, Poesie, 128, 254; C. Bernheimer, *Catalogue des manuscrits et livres rares hébraïques de la bibliothèque du Talmud Tora de Livourne* (1915), no. 27 (1)). ELIEZER BEN DAVID NORZI (16th century), son of a banker from Mantua, cousin of Raphael b. Gabriel, wrote a commentary on Abraham Ibn Ezra's *Sefer ha-Shem* (1834, ch. 6), dealing with the significance of letters and of the Holy Name. The geometrical diagrams in the commentary indicate that he had knowledge of mathematics (Mortara, Indice 45; M. Steinschneider, *Die*

Mathematik bei den Juden (1901), 198; S. Simonsohn, *Toledot ha-Yehudim be-Dukkasut Mantovah* (1964), 458, 474, 528). MOSES BEN JEDIDIAH SOLOMON (d. 1590) was rabbi at Mantua and author of a commentary to tractate *Middot* (Mortara, Indice; Simonsohn, *ibid.*, index). SOLOMON BEN SAMUEL, 16th-century scholar, wrote responsa (Mantua, 1588).

JEHIEL VIDAL BEN JEDIDIAH SOLOMON (d. 1665), son of the rabbi and scholar Jedidiah Solomon Raphael ben Abraham *Norzi, was appointed rabbi of Mantua in 1628 shortly before the expulsion of the Jews from the town, when he led the exiles to San Martino. They resettled in Mantua in 1630 and he devoted himself to the community until his death. He was often at variance with his community. His responsa are scattered in the archives of the community and in works by contemporary authors (Mortara, in: *Corriere Israelitico*, 2–3 (1863–65), 56, 71; S. Wiener, *Mazkerot Rabbanei Italyah* (1898), 40, 66; S. Simonsohn, *ibid.*, index). MOSES BEN JEDIDIAH SOLOMON, rabbi in Mantua in the 17th century, brother of Jehiel, corresponded with Samuel *Aboab (S. Simonsohn, *ibid.*, index). JEDIDIAH SOLOMON BEN ABRAHAM *NORZI (1560–1616) was a rabbi and biblical scholar. ḤAYYIM BEN JEHIEL (d. c. 1698), who sat in the rabbinical tribunal of Mantua in 1665, was a *sofer* in 1677, and became rabbi of the community with the assent of Moses *Zacuto in 1685. With Zacuto and other rabbis he drew up the statutes of the community in 1677, and issued moral precepts for the Jews of Mantua. Some of his responsa were recorded by Zacuto and other *posekim* of that time. He is often confused with another rabbi of the same name of the 16th century (Mortara, Indice, 45; P. Norsa, *I Norsa*, 2 (1959), 122; S. Simonsohn, *ibid.*, 528 and index).

ISAAC BEN MOSES NORSA was rabbi in Ferrara in the 18th century, and author of a ruling on *sheḥitah* as part of a talmudic discussion held at Ferrara and presided over by Isaac Lampronti (*Ittur Bikkurei Kaẓir,* Venice, 1715; Steinschneider, Cat Bod, 140; Fuerst, Bibliotheca Judaica, 3 (1863)). UMBERTO NORSA (1866–1943), scholar, translator from various languages into Italian, including the Psalms (1926, not published), was president of the community of Mantua (G. Bedarida, *Ebrei d'Italia* (1950), index). PAOLO NORSA wrote a history of the Norsa family in the 14th to 16th centuries (*I Norsa*, 2 vols.; 1953–59).

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[Alfredo Mordechai Rabello]

NORZI, JEDIDIAH SOLOMON RAPHAEL BEN ABRAHAM (1560–1616), Italian rabbi, biblical and masoretic scholar. Born in Mantua in a well-known family (see *Norzi), he was a pupil of his uncle Moses Cases, and was later appointed a member of the rabbinate of that town. He achieved a great reputation through his critical masoretic commentary on the Bible, a work to which he devoted the greater part of his life. In his research he not only consulted published works, but undertook journeys to many countries to compare various manuscripts. He succeeded in gaining access to the manuscript of Toledo written in 1277 (known as the Codex de Rossi, no. 782). He consulted his friend R. Menahem *Lonzano, the midrashic and talmudic scholar.

Norzi's work, called *Goder Pereẓ*, was completed in 1626. It is in two parts; the first on the Pentateuch and the five Scrolls, and the second on the remaining books of the Bible together with some grammatical treatises. The work was published under the title *Minḥat Shai* (Mantua, 1742–44). The second edition (without the grammatical treatises) was published in Vienna (1816). *Minḥat Shai* is also printed in the rabbinical Bible *Mikra'ot Gedolot*. Norzi's introduction was published in 1819, and in 1876 by A. Jellinek. A commentary to the *Minḥat Shai* called *Or ha-Ḥayyim* (Vilna, 1867) was written by Ḥayyim Ze'ev Bender of Bobruisk.

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[Hirsch Jacob Zimmels]

NOSSAL, SIR GUSTAV (1931–), Australian immunologist. He was born in Bad Ischl and emigrated to Australia with his family (1938) because of the Nazi threat. He earned his B.Sc. (1952) and medical degree (1954) from the University of Sydney and Ph.D. (1960) from the University of Melbourne. After clinical training at the Royal Prince Alfred Hospital, Sydney (1955–56), he became Research Fellow at the Walter and Eliza Hall Institute of Medical Research in Melbourne (1957–59) and then assistant professor in the Department of Genetics at Stanford University, Palo Alto, California. He returned to the Hall Institute as deputy director for immunology (1961–65), and became director of the institute and professor of medical biology at the University of Melbourne (1965–96). His research mainly centered on the immune cells which produce antibodies and started with the important original observation that each antibody producing cell only makes one kind of antibody. Subsequently he analyzed the way in which these cells respond to stimulation by antigens, their organization within the immune system, and the mechanisms which prevent antibody producing cells from attacking an individual's own tissues. The practical consequences of these discoveries include a better understanding of autoimmune diseases and the development of diagnostic and therapeutic monoclonal antibodies. He collaborated closely with Israeli immunologists including Dr. Ruth *Arnon. Sir Gustav played a major role in national and international organizations concerned with vaccination programs and education in health and science, including chairing the World Health Organization's Global Program for Vaccines and Immunization. He was especially concerned with training health workers working at the grass roots level. He was president of the International Union of Immunological Societies (1986–89) and of the Australian Academy of Science (1994–98). His leadership of many charitable organizations includes that of the Council for Aboriginal Reconciliation. His many academic honors include election to the Royal Society of London and the U.S. National Academy of Sciences, the Albert Einstein World Award of Science, the Rabbi Shai Schacknai Prize, and the Robert Koch Gold Medal. His many other honors include the CBE (1970), a knighthood (1977), the Companion of the Order of Australia (1989), and election as Australian of the Year (2000).

[Michael Denman (2nd ed.)]

NOSSIG, ALFRED (1864–1943), writer, sculptor, and musician; one of the first supporters of the Jewish national movements and of Zionism. Born in Lemberg, Nossig's diversified talents found expression in literature (poems, plays, essays in literary criticism), music (a monograph on the life of Paderewski and libretto for his opera), sculpture (his works were exhibited in a number of world exhibitions and achieved considerable recognition). In addition, Nossig engaged in various public and social activities. Yet all of his life he was a kind of outsider, despite the wide veneration he enjoyed. In his youth he belonged to the assimilationist Polish Jews and was one of the editors of their Polish-language journal. Later he abandoned them and in 1887 published the first Zionist work in Polish, "An Attempt to Solve the Jewish Problem" (*Próba rozwiązania kwestji żydowskiej*, 1887), in which he proposed the establishment of a Jewish state in Palestine and adjacent countries. This book had a great impact on the Jewish intelligentsia, especially in Galicia. From that time, Nossig was active in the area of political Zionism. During that period he published books and essays on Jewish national problems and critical writings on socialism.

Nossig participated in the first Zionist Congresses but he soon ran into conflict with *Herzl, for his individualistic character prevented his cooperating with other people. From time to time, however, Nossig raised new suggestions and plans for the founding of Jewish and general societies to solve the world's problems in general, and those of the Jews in particular. Thus in 1908 he founded a Jewish colonization organization (Allgemeine Juedische Kolonisations Organization – AIKO), which, like other plans of his, was not implemented. In his works on Jewish statistics (1887, 1903), he laid the basis for the Jewish Statistical and Demographic Institute and thus was among the founders of the scientific study of Jewish statistics. His most famous pieces of sculpture were *Wandering Jew*, *Judas Maccabaeus*, *Nordau*, and *King Solomon*. Nossig lived in Berlin until the Nazi rise to power, when he was expelled to Poland. There he continued his diversified activities, among other things, in the design of a monumental piece of statue called "The Holy Mountain" to be placed on Mount Carmel as a symbol of world peace and the establishment of a national home for the Jews in Palestine. After the Nazi occupation of Poland and the establishment of the Warsaw Ghetto, he drew up plans for Jewish emigration and submitted several memoranda to the German authorities. Upon order of the Nazi authorities, the chairman of the Warsaw *Judenrat*, Adam *Czerniakow, nominated him as a member of the *Judenrat* and head of its Department for Art, which actually existed only on paper. Early in 1943 the Jewish Fighting Organization became convinced that Nossig was collaborating with the Nazis. He was sentenced to death by the Jewish underground and shot on Feb. 22, 1943, by members of the Jewish Fighting Organization.

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[Getzel Kressel]

NOSTRADAMUS, also known as *Michel de Nostre-Dame* (1503–1566), French astrologer and physician. Both of his grandfathers, Jean de Saint-Rémy and Pierre de Nostra-Donna, were professing Jews, but when Provence became a French possession in 1488, Charles VIII's anti-Jewish policy induced them to convert to Christianity. Consequently Nostradamus was born and raised as a Catholic. In 1529 he graduated from the University of Montpellier as a doctor of medicine. The unorthodox but successful methods of combating the plague which Nostradamus later described in his *Remède très-utile contre la peste* (Paris, 1561) nevertheless failed to save his own wife and children in 1538. For some years thereafter he led a wanderer's existence and, while in Italy, is reputed to have sought out Jews, especially kabbalists.

On his return to France, Nostradamus turned to the occult sciences and, from 1550 onward, published a number of astrological works. The most famous of these, *Les Prophéties de Maistre Michel Nostradamus* (Lyons, 1555), consisted of some 350 quatrains couched in obscure French. The quatrains were arranged in groups of 100, and the work thus acquired its alternative title, *Les Centuries*. Among the many calamities predicted in it was the French king's death in a duel, and the astrologer's fame was assured when Henri II was accidentally killed at a royal tournament in 1559. In 1564 Nostradamus was appointed physician and counselor to Charles IX. The first complete text of the *Centuries* appeared in 1610 and ran to countless editions, not only in French but also in many other languages. Nostradamus uncannily predicts the English and French revolutions and even the rise and fall of a German dictator (whom he calls Hister). The most celebrated astrologer of all time, Nostradamus remains one of the most fascinating and enigmatic figures of the Renaissance.

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[Godfrey Edmond Silverman]

NOTARIKON (Gr. νοταρικόν; Lat. notaricum, from *notarius*, "shorthand-writer"), a system of abbreviations by either shortening the words or by writing only one letter of each word. This method is used in interpreting the Pentateuch and is the 30th of the 32 hermeneutical rules of the *Baraita of 32 Rules. The word is derived from the system of stenographic shorthand used by the *notarii* in recording the proceedings in the Roman courts of justice (Kohut, Arukh, 5 (1926), 336). The word *notarikon* occurs only once in the Mishnah (Shab. 12:5). Although there is an opinion that the hermeneutic law of *notarikon* has biblical authority (Shab. 105a), the Talmud does not use it for halakhic interpretations. It is only employed in *aggadah* and **asmakhta* (support for the *halakhah*). Nevertheless, there were rabbis who objected to the excessive use of *notarikon* even in *aggadah* (Sif. Deut. 1).

The *notarikon* can be divided into two categories. One kind interprets every letter in a particular word as the abbreviation of a whole word, since "the words of the Torah are written as *notarikon*" (Mekh. Ba-Ḥodesh, 8). Thus the word נִמְרֶצֶת (*nimreẓet*, "grievous"; I Kings 2:8) stands for נוֹאֵף, מוֹאָבִי, רוֹצֵחַ, צוֹרֵר, תּוֹעֵבָה (*No'ef, Mo'avi, Roẓe'aḥ, Ẓorer, To'evah*; "adulterer, Moabite, murderer, oppressor, despised") and the first word of the Ten Commandments, אָנֹכִי (*Anokhi*, "I") was interpreted to mean אָנָא נַפְשִׁי כְּתָבִית יַהֲבִית (*Anna Nafshi Ketavit Yahavit*; "I Myself wrote (and) gave [them]" (Shab. 105a).

A second and later application of *notarikon* consists of breaking up a word into various components. Through this method the name רְאוּבֵן (*Re'uven*, "Reuben"; Gen. 29:32) becomes ראוּ בֵן (*re'u ven*, "see (the) son"; PdRE 36) and the word אַבְרֵךְ (*avrekh*, "senior adviser"; Gen. 41:43) changes into אָב בְּחָכְמָה ר״ךְ בְּשָׁנִים (*Av Be-ḥokhmah, Ra-Kh be-Shanim*, "father in wisdom (though) tender in years"; Sif. Deut. 1). Sometimes, one-syllable words are transposed. An example of this is when the noun כַּרְמֶל (*karmel*, "fresh corn"; Lev. 2:14) is taken to mean רַךְ מֶל (*rakh mel*, "tender and easily crushed"; Men. 66b). At other times, a word is even transposed although the abbreviation for one of the derived words is missing: מְצוֹרָע (*meẓora*, "leper"; Lev. 14:2), is therefore taken to mean מוֹצִיא שֵׁם רַע (*moẓi shem ra*, "slanderer"), although there is no letter *shin* in the original word (Tanḥ. Meẓora, 4). Conversely, a letter may not be used at all. Words were interpreted through the principle of *notarikon* even when the words derived from the original did not necessarily correspond to it. Thus *nazuf* ("under divine censure") is connected with *Nezem Zahav be-aF ḥazir* ("a ring of gold in the snout of a pig"; Avot 6:2). The rabbis made extensive use of the *notarikon* and the anagram in the interpretation of dreams (e.g., Ber. 57a), and many analogous usages of them can also be found in Hellenistic writings of the period (S. Lieberman, see bibl.). The use of the *notarikon* was also widespread in medieval homiletical and kabbalistic writings (e.g., *Ba'al ha-Turim* by Jacob b. Asher). Through such methods of interpretation many words in the Bible became *notarikonim*. An example of such kabbalistic interpretation is the taking of the word בְּרֵאשִׁית (*bereshit*, "in the beginning") to refer to the cosmogenic order בָּרָא רָקִיעַ אֶרֶץ שָׁמַיִם יָם תְּהוֹם (*Bara Raki'a Ereẓ Shamayim Yam Tehom*; "He created the firmament, the earth, the heavens, the sea, and the abyss"). Another example is to interpret *bereshit* to mean בְּרֵאשִׁית ("created in six primordial days"; Zohar, Gen. Prologue, 3b). According to the Mishnah, Queen *Helena of Adiabene had a golden tablet made for the Temple on which the portion of the **sotah* (see *Ordeal) was written in an abbreviated *notarikon* manner (Yoma 3:10; 37b).

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°**NOTH, MARTIN** (1902–1968), German Bible scholar, disciple of Albrecht *Alt, to whose ideas Noth was deeply indebted. Noth was born in Dresden and served as professor at Koenigsberg (1930–45) and Bonn (1945–65). He edited *Zeitschrift des deutschen Palaestina-Vereins* from 1929 to 1964 and was director of the Deutsches Evangelische Institut in Jerusalem from 1965 until his death, Noth brought his extensive topographical studies, mainly published in *Palaestinajahrbuch* and *Zeitschrift des deutschen Palaestina-Vereins*, linguistic research (in particular, *Die israelitischen Personennamen*, 1928), and form-criticism studies to bear on problems of Israelite history. Of primary importance was his thesis that from the time of the settlement, Israel was organized into a 12-tribe confederation, similar to the Greek amphictyony (in his *Das System der zwoelf Staemme Israels*, 1930). He felt that virtually nothing can be known about pre-settlement history.

Noth was one of the foremost representatives of the form-critical approach, and his studies of pentateuchal traditions, *Ueberlieferungsgeschichte des Pentateuchs* (1948, 19602), and Deuteronomy (*Ueberlieferungsgeschichtliche Studien*, 1 (1943, 1957^{2})), had widespread influence on biblical research. In the former work he examined the themes of the pentateuchal narrative and the history of its traditions and presented the idea that both J and E go back to a common source, G (*Grundlage*). In the latter he originated the idea of the Deuteronomic history work, a unified history extending from Deuteronomy to II Kings (minus insertions), in which previously independent units were joined and unified by a distinctive theology and philosophy of history. In *Die Gesetze im Pentateuch* (1940) he linked Hebrew law to the religious confederation rather than to the monarchy. He wrote commentaries to individual books of the Bible: Exodus (1959^{2}, Eng. tr. 1962), Leviticus (1962, Eng. tr. 1965), Numbers (1966), Joshua (1953^{2}), and I Kings 1–16 (1964). He also wrote *Geschichte Israels* (1954^{2}, 1961^{5}; *The History of Israel*, 1960^{2}); and *Die Welt des Alten Testaments* (1946, 1957^{3}). Some of his articles were collected in his *Gesammelte Studien* (1957, 19602). *The Laws in the Pentateuch and Other Studies* (1966) is an English translation of some of his works.

[Michael V. Fox]

NOTKIN, NATA (**Nathan Note of Shklov**, also **Nathan Shklover**; d. 1804), Russian merchant and army contractor.

Notkin was a champion of the improvement of the status of Jews in Russia at the beginning of the 19th century. Born in Shklov, he lived in Mogilev and later in Moscow and St. Petersburg. He was introduced by General Zorich, the squire of Shklov, to Count Kurakin, and used this opportunity to act in behalf of his fellow Jews. He presented the count with a project for the establishment of large-scale agricultural colonies for the Jews of "New Russia" as well as plans for industrial plants near the ports of the Black Sea, which he hoped would direct the Jews to productive labor. Toward the end of 1802 he was invited by G.R. *Derzhavin to be a member at the Committee for the Betterment of the Jews. In all of his writings and projects Notkin tried to demonstrate to the government ways to improve the condition of the Jews, e.g., the gradual removal of Jews from the liquor business, the establishment of Jewish schools, and the direction of Jews toward productive labor. Notkin was one of the founders of the St. Petersburg Jewish community.

[*Encyclopaedia Judaica* (Germany)]

NOTOVICH, OSIP KONSTANTINOVICH (1849–1914), journalist and playwright. Notovich was a graduate of the University of St. Petersburg. In his youth he converted to the Greek Orthodox Church. Acquiring the small daily *Novosti* in 1876, in time he developed it into an important political journal. Although Notovich published facts about the persecution of Jews, he did not come to their defense for fear of losing his Russian readers. Notovich wrote several philosophical works and plays, some of which were performed on the stages of the imperial theaters of Moscow and St. Petersburg. His translation of H.T. Buckle's *History of Civilization in England* (1890) was especially popular. In 1905 Notovich published a revolutionary appeal for a trade union. As a result, his newspaper was confiscated and he was summoned to court. Subsequently, he fled the country and died abroad.

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NOTTINGHAM, industrial city in the E. Midlands, England. In the 13th century Nottingham was one of the 27 centers in which an *archa was established for the registration of Jewish debts. An attack was made on the Nottingham Jews during the Barons' Revolt in 1264. From the resettlement until the 19th century only individual Jews settled in the city. By 1805 there was a small, organized community; a cemetery was acquired in 1822; and by 1880 there were about 50 Jewish residents, though a synagogue was not built until 1890. The Nottingham lace-curtain industry was founded by a Jewish immigrant from Germany, Lewis Heymann. By 1939, the community had increased to 180, but World War II brought an influx of new residents. In addition to an Orthodox synagogue there was a Progressive congregation; communal institutions included a Zionist Association and a University Jewish Society. In 1969 the community was estimated at 1,500 (out of a total population of 310,000), and in the mid-1990s it was estimated at about 1,050. The 2001 British census found 627 Jews by religion in Nottingham. There is a Nottingham Representative Council and an Orthodox and a Progressive synagogue.

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[Vivian David Lipman]

NOVAK, DAVID (1941–), U.S. theologian, rabbi, and leading authority on Jewish law. Born in Chicago, Novak received his bachelor of arts degree from the University of Chicago in 1961, his rabbinical ordination from the Jewish Theological Seminary of America in 1966, and his doctorate in philosophy from Georgetown University in 1971. From 1966 to 1969 he was Jewish chaplain at St. Elizabeth's Hospital, National Institute of Mental Health, in Washington, D.C., and he served as rabbi to congregations in Maryland, Oklahoma, Virginia, and New York City from 1966 to 1989. He taught at Oklahoma City University, Old Dominion University, the New School for Social Research, the Jewish Theological Seminary of America, and Baruch College of the City University of New York. From 1989 to 1997 he was the Edgar M. Bronfman Professor of Modern Judaic Studies at the University of Virginia. In 1997 he joined the University of Toronto, holding the J. Richard and Dorothy Shiff Chair of Jewish Studies as professor of the study of religion, professor of philosophy, and director of the Jewish Studies Programme.

Novak wrote primarily on the philosophical aspects of Jewish legal tradition; his work concerns the foundations of Jewish theology and its application to contemporary problems, especially those involving ethics. His books include *Law and Theology in Judaism* (1974, 1976), *Suicide and Morality* (1975), *The Image of the Non-Jew in Judaism: An Historical and Constructive Study of the Noahide Laws* (1983), *Jewish-Christian Dialogue: A Jewish Justification* (1989), *Natural Law in Judaism* (1998), and *Covenantal Rights: A Study in Jewish Political Theory* (2000). He contributed numerous articles to theology, law, and philosophy journals, and he was a contributing editor of *Sh'ma: A Journal of Jewish Responsibility.*

Novak was a founder of the Panel of Inquiry on Jewish Law of the Union for Traditional Judaism and a founder of the Institute of Traditional Judaism in Teaneck, N.J. He is a fellow of the American Academy for Jewish Research and of the Academy for Jewish Philosophy, and he was a member of the international advisory board to the government of Poland concerning the Auschwitz-Birkenau site. Novak was a fellow of the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars in Washington, D.C., and in 1996 delivered the Lancaster/Yarnton Lectures in Judaism and Other Religions at Oxford University. He lectured extensively throughout North America, Israel, Europe, and South Africa. He spoke Hebrew, Yiddish, and German, and had a knowledge of Aramaic, Greek, Latin, and French.

[Dorothy Bauhoff (2nd ed.)]

NOVAK, ROBERT (1931–), U.S. journalist. Born in Joliet, Illinois, Novak graduated from the University of Illinois in 1952 with a bachelor of arts degree. His journalism career began when he wrote for local newspapers while in college. During the Korean War, Novak served in the Army, attaining the rank of lieutenant. After the war, he joined the Associated Press and became a political correspondent in Indianapolis. In 1957 Novak was transferred to Washington, where he reported on Congress. He left the AP to join the capital bureau of *The Wall Street Journal*, covering the Senate, and in 1961 he became the newspaper's chief congressional correspondent. In 1966 Novak teamed up with Rowland Evans to create the Evans-Novak Political Report, a nationally syndicated column. After Evans's death in 2001, Novak continued the column on his own. By that time, Novak had also become a television personality, appearing on many interview and opinion programs on CNN, most notably *The Capital Gang, Crossfire* and *Evans, Novak, Hunt and Shields*. While he held centrist views early in his career (he supported the Democratic presidential candidacies of John F. Kennedy and Lyndon B. Johnson), he moved to the right and his feisty personality earned him the nickname the Prince of Darkness.

As his career evolved in the 1980s and into the early years of the 21st century, Novak became embroiled in a number of controversies for his public comments and actions. He was frequently criticized as acting as a political operative for the Republican Party while posing as a journalist. He was implicated in a number of political scandals and violations of journalistic ethics and standards. Twice Novak was reportedly involved in situations that led to the dismissal of Karl Rove, later the architect of George W. Bush's presidential victories, from George H.W. Bush's vice presidential campaign and in 1992 while working for Bush's re-election campaign. Both times Rove was dismissed for leaking campaign information to Novak, a charge they both denied. Novak's loyalty to his sources was called into question after he revealed Robert Hanssen as the confidential source for some of his articles. Hanssen was later found guilty of selling state secrets, including the identities of covert operatives, to the Soviet Union. In 2003, Novak disclosed the identity of Valerie Plame, an agent of the Central Intelligence Agency, in his newspaper column. Novak reported that the information had been provided to him by "senior administration officials." Plame was the wife of Joseph Wilson, a former ambassador, who wrote an article charging that the Bush administration twisted intelligence to explain its rationale for going to war against Iraq. The leak and allegations of a possible cover-up were investigated by a special prosecutor and a grand jury. I. Lewis Libby, chief of staff to Vice President Dick Cheney, was indicted on five counts in the case and resigned. Rove was questioned by the grand jury at least four times.

Novak was born Jewish but said he lost his faith while in college. He converted to Roman Catholicism in 1998 and was a member of the ultra-conservative Catholic organization Opus Dei. He was an avid supporter of a Palestinian state and was a fierce critic of the State of Israel and most especially of Ariel *Sharon, whom he deliberately called General Sharon, well after he became prime minister.

[Stewart Kampel (2nd ed.)]

NOVAYA USHITSA, town in Khmielnitskii (Kamenets-Podolski district until 1954), Ukraine. The Jewish community in Novaya Ushitsa and its environs dates from the beginning of the 18th century. In 1765 there were 203 poll tax payers. From 1838 to 1840, 80 Jews of the Novaya Ushitsa region, including rabbis and community leaders, were tried in what became known as the Oyshits Incident. They were accused by the governor of Kiev, General Gurayev, of the murder of two Jews who had informed on "absconders" (unregistered persons who had avoided paying taxes and doing military service) to the authorities. Most of the accused were sentenced by a military court to flogging and exile to Siberia.

The 1847 census records 725 Jews living in Novaya Ushitsa, with 1,235 in the communities of the district. The Jewish population numbered 2,213 in 1897 (34.5% of the total). After the Bolshevik Revolution and the civil war, their sources of livelihood were drastically curtailed. In 1926 there were 1,844 Jews in the town (28.4% of the total), and in 1939 they numbered 1,547 (55% of the total population). In the 1920s there existed a rural Jewish Council (Soviet). Germans entered the town on July 14, 1941. In September a closed ghetto was instituted and in spring of 1942 Jews from the environs were herded there. On August 20, 1942, an *Aktion* was conducted, and 3,222 were murdered. A group was taken to the labor camp in Letichev and perished there. Those remaining in the town ghetto were killed on October 16, 1942. After the *Holocaust the community ceased to exist.

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[Arthur Cygielman]

NOVE, ALEC (1915–1994), British historian and economist. Born Alexander Novakovsky in St. Petersburg, the son of left-leaning middle-class parents, Nove came with his family to Manchester in the 1920s, when his father, a Menshevik, was given the choice of emigration or Siberia by the Bolshevik government. Nove was educated at the London School of Economics and, after serving in the British civil service, became a senior academic in 1958 with a readership at the LSE and, subsequently, a chair at Glasgow University. Nove was regarded as one of the foremost experts in the West on the Soviet economy, publishing *An Economic History of the U.S.S.R.* (1969) and many other works on the realities of the Soviet economic system. He was one of the few Western experts on the Soviet Union to predict the possibility of the reform of the system from within, as actually occurred in the 1980s.

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[William D. Rubinstein (2nd ed.)]

NOVECK, SIMON (1914–2005), U.S. rabbi. Born in Atlanta, he earned a B.A. from Yeshiva College and then moved to the Jewish Theological Seminary where he was ordained in 1941. He earned a Ph.D. from Columbia University in 1955.

He entered the pulpit upon ordination serving Baldwin Jewish center during the early war years (1940–44) and as acting rabbi in Temple Beth El in Cedarhurst during the last part of World War II and rabbi in B'nai Israel in Freeport, Long Island (1946–49). He then assumed the assistant rabbi position at Park Avenue Synagogue under Milton *Steinberg and became rabbi upon his passing in 1950.

Noveck had an active interest in adult education and was director of the National Academy for Adult Jewish Studies (1952–57) that became part of United Synagogue of America. He resigned from Park Avenue to head the Adult Jewish Education Department of B'nai B'rith and initiated the B'nai B'rith Great Books Series (1959–63) which added significantly to the classical texts available in the English language at that time.

Having once succeeded a legendary rabbi in Manhattan, he returned to the pulpit to succeed Morris *Silverman in Hartford, Connecticut. Silverman was the editor of the Conservative Movement Sabbath and Holiday Prayerbook. Noveck helped plan the congregation's move from its imposing sanctuary in Hartford to West Hartford, where it has remained for over a generation.

Among his works are: *Judaism and Psychiatry: Two Approaches to the Personal Problems and Needs of Modern Man* (1956); *Great Jewish Personalities in Modern Times* (1960); *Great Jewish Thinkers of the Twentieth Century* (1963); *Contemporary Jewish Thought: A Reader* (1963); *Creators of the Jewish Experience in Ancient and Medieval Times* (1985); *Milton Steinberg: Portrait of a Rabbi* (1978); and *Creators of the Jewish Experience in the Modern World* (1985).

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[Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

NOVE MESTO NAD VAHOM (Slovak, **Nové Mesto nad Váhom**; Hung, **Vágúhely**), town in western Slovakia, since 1993 Slovak Republic. During the reign of King Luis the Great (1342–1382), Jews lived there, were expelled, and later permitted to return. In 1465 there were 10 Jews; the community was expelled again in 1514. In 1683, many Jews died in the Kuruc massacre in the Moravian city of *Uhersky Brod. The surviving 11 families received permission to settle in Nove Mesto and engage in trade and craft. They belonged to the Uhersky Brod congregation and were obliged to pay taxes. The community continued to grow, with more Moravian Jews arriving. They were subject to the "Familiants" law of the Emperor Charles VI (1711–1740), which permitted only one Jew per family to marry and limited the number of Jews in a city. The others immigrated to upper Hungary.

By 1735 there were 372 Jews in Nove Mesto. In 1780 they built their first synagogue. In 1785 there were 2,320 Jews; it was the second most important Jewish city in upper Hungary, after *Pressburg (Bratislava). In 1830 there were 2,495; in 1840 there were 2,050; in 1880 there were 1,850; and in 1910 they numbered 1,553. In 1930 there were 1,581; in 1940 the number fell to 1,209.

In 1754 the community hired its first rabbi, Moses Hamburger (1754–1764). In 1780 a *talmud torah* was opened. Following the order of Emperor Joseph II (1780–1790), a school was founded in 1783, with German as the language of instruction. During the Hapsburg Empire, the Jews lived undisturbed until the Spring of Nations (1848–49). In May 1848, a massive pogrom claimed many Jewish lives. During the Magyar war of independence, nine Jews enlisted in the Magyar army. Thus Jews clashed with the Slovak national interest, which wanted self-rule. A fire in 1856 destroyed a large part of Nove Mesto. In 1848 a primary school opened, still using German; in the 1860s it switched to Magyar. In 1856 Rabbi Joseph Weisze (1855–1897) founded a government-supported Jewish high school, the first of its kind in Jewish Hungary. When support was lost in 1919, the school was taken over by the authorities and it ceased to be Jewish. In 1860 a school for girls was established, operating until 1919.

After the 1868 Hungarian Jewish Congress many congregations split, but Nove Mesto continued its old tradition, called "Status Quo Ante." In 1921, several families established an Orthodox congregation. They hired a rabbi, built a synagogue, and founded a *ḥevra kaddisha* and a *talmud torah*. In 1928 Rabbi Lipmann Donath established a small yeshivah. The two rival congregations made peace in 1932.

During World War I dozens of Jews were recruited into the army. At the end of the war there was a wave of pogroms in Slovakia, and Nove Mesto was one of the hardest hit. Jews tried to defend themselves, using the rifles they had kept from the army; Hungarian soldiers came to their rescue. Nationalist and Catholic elements continued to persecute Jews. Pro-Czechoslovak and Social-Democratic figures protested, serving to calm the situation.

In the New Czechoslovak Republic, Jewish entrepreneurs helped industrialize Nove Mesto. They established food, metal, wood, and textile industries; Jewish physicians, lawyers, and teachers contributed to intellectual life, and Jews figured largely in retail and handicrafts. The Jewish party played an important role in local political life, and its members were regularly elected to the municipal council and as deputy mayor. The Zionist movement was well established.

With the support of the Third Reich, Slovakia proclaimed independence on March 14, 1939. A wave of antisemitism ensued, culminating in 1942 with the deportation of 1,300 of the city's 2,215 Jews to Sobibor and Treblinka. In August 1944 there was an anti-Nazi uprising in Slovakia in which Jewish youth participated, but the invading German army deported the surviving Jews to Auschwitz.

In 1947 there were 266 Jews in Nove Mesto; most emigrated. In 1965 there were 25. In 1975 the Communist authorities destroyed the ancient cemetery. The synagogue was destroyed during the war, and Jewish communal buildings were expropriated.

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[Yeshayahu Jelinek (2nd ed.)]

NOVE ZAMKY (Slovak. **Nové Zámky**; Hung. **Ersekújvár**; Ger. **Neuhaeusel**), town in S. Slovakia, since 1993 the Slovak Republic. Until 1840, Jews were not permitted to live in Nove Zamky. They attended markets in the town and lived in nearby Surany (Nagysuran). In 1840, when the Hungarian Parliament passed the law permitting Jewish settlement, the first Jewish families moved there, where they traded in grain and horses. In 1855 the community numbered 85. In 1857 they founded a *ḥevra kaddisha* and in 1858 consecrated a cemetery. In 1860 the first synagogue was erected. Railway connections with Budapest and Vienna increased the economic importance of the town, and the Jewish population grew accordingly. In 1857 there were 892 Jews; in 1890 there were 1,491; and in 1910 there were 1,540. The first Czechoslovak census of 1921 recorded 2,087 Jews; the 1930 census recorded 2,535. On the eve of the deportations in 1940 there were 3,000 Jews in Nove Zamky.

In 1842 the first school was founded. The language of instruction was German; it changed to Magyar in 1869, by which time the school was a regular elementary school. In 1920, courses in Slovak and Hebrew were added to the curriculum. After the 1868 Jewish Congress, an Orthodox congregation was founded as well. They built a synagogue and organized a *ḥevra kaddisha*, a primary school, a *talmud torah*, a cemetery, and a yeshivah. In 1927 the community established a Jewish high school and, later, a Beth Jacob elementary school for girls. The Neolog Rabbi Dr. Samuel Klein (1866–1940) as well as his son and heir in the rabbinate, Dr. Ernst Klein, advocated speaking Slovak in daily life.

During World War I, some 85 Jews enlisted in the army. Nove Zamky suffered less than other cities from the wave of pogroms and looting that swept Slovakia in 1918–1919, probably because of the presence of the Hungarian army. However, Czechoslovak troops occupying the region faced Magyar armed resistance; fighting also took place during the Bolshevik Commune in 1919, causing considerable damage.

The Czechoslovak Republic signified prosperity for the Jewish community. Both congregations expanded in number and affluence. The American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee assisted in establishing a credit society that served the entire region; at its peak it held 684 deposits (totaling more than 3,000,000 crowns); 1937 was the society's best year. Jews participated in municipal life and were elected to the city council. The Jewish party and the Zionist movement had important branches in the town. The local branch of Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir was one of the largest in the country, and Brit Trumpeldor thrived.

In November 1938 Nove Zamky was ceded to Hungary. The Hungarian anti-Jewish laws were applied immediately, and the local authorities added their own. They curtailed Jewish economic activity, forbidding them to do business on certain streets. When Hungary introduced the Labor Service System (*Munkaszolgalat*) in 1939, Nove Zamky Jews were recruited. After the German occupation of Hungary in March 1944, the deportation of Hungarian Jewry to Auschwitz began. Nove Zamky's Jews were concentrated in a temporary ghetto comprised of several shabby streets, while neighboring Jews were moved to the Kurzweil Brick Works. On June 12 and 15, 1944, two transports of Jews were sent to Auschwitz. The entire local Jewry was deported; only a few managed to return after the war.

In 1947 there were 501 Jews in Nove Zamky. After the war, the surviving Jews worked hard to revive their congregation. They abolished the division by rite, and reconstructed the Orthodox synagogue (the Neolog synagogue had been bombed), both cemeteries, and the *mikveh*. The congregation remained active during the entire Communist regime, one of the few that retained its religious life. In 1990, there were 70 Jews in the city. A plaque bearing the names of the Nove Zamky Holocaust victims was mounted in the synagogue in 1999. Slovakia has maintained the synagogue and other Jewish communal buildings.

Peter *Ujvary, the author of *Zsido Magyar Lexicon* (Budapest 1929), was born in Nove Zamky.

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[Yeshayahu Jelinek (2nd ed.)]

NOVGOROD-SEVERSK, city in Chernigov district, Ukraine. During the 14th century, Novgorod-Seversk was conquered by the princes of Lithuania; in the 16th and 17th centuries it was alternately in the hands of the Poles and the Russians; and in 1667 it was definitively annexed by Russia. A Jewish settlement is mentioned for the first time in a residence permit granted to the townspeople by King Sigismund III Vasa (1587–1632) of Poland. According to the permit Jews were forbidden to sell meat in the town, except in the courtyard of the synagogue. Also included were several tax levies which Jews were ordered to pay. During the *Chmielnicki persecutions of 1648 many Jews in Novgorod-Seversk were massacred by the Cossacks. The community was renewed only in the late 18th century. In 1847 1,336 Jews were registered in the community; by 1897 the number had risen to 1,956 (32% of the total population). The community suffered in the wave of pogroms which swept over Russia in 1905. On April 6, 1918, units of the Red Army retreating before the German army savagely attacked the Jews of Novgorod-Seversk and 88 Jews (including the author A.J. Slutzky) lost their lives. In 1926 there were 2,089 Jews (22.8%

of the total population) in the town, and in 1939 it dropped to 982 (8.56% of the total population). The Germans arrived there on August 26, 1941, and they found 200 Jews in the town. On November 7, 174 were murdered; others were executed some days later. There is no information on a Jewish community after World War II.

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[Yehuda Slutsky]

NOVI SAD (Hung. **Ujvidék**; Ger. **Neusatz**), city on the Danube in Vojvodina, Serbia. Some Jews from Belgrade seem to have settled at the foot of the later Petroraradin fortress in the 16th century. Under Ottoman rule (16th–17th centuries) they were treated well and engaged in trade on the Danube. During the Austro-Turkish war of 1683–99, Ashkenazi Jews were among the *contractors to the Austrian army. When the region passed under Austrian rule in 1699, it was devastated and depopulated. Jews were therefore exceptionally authorized to settle in the new town of Neusatz opposite the fortress but were not allowed to form a recognized community. Austrian archives mention Salomon Hirschl, probably the first *rosh kehillah* of Novi Sad. At the beginning of the 18th century three Jewish families are known to have lived in Novi Sad; however, there were probably more, as only owners of real estate were registered. Most Jews came from Nikolsburg in Moravia. All Jews had to pay the Jewish tax (until the end of the 18th century). They were subject to limitations, such as the interdiction of acquiring real estate; as only the eldest son of each family could marry in the same town (see *Familiants Laws), others had to leave and settle elsewhere. The *ḥevra kaddisha* was founded in 1729 as a "Holy Welfare Society." Under Joseph II the teaching of German or Hungarian became obligatory, and in order to open a business or marry, Jews had to have some formal education. A Jewish school was built in Novi Sad in 1802 and a synagogue in 1829. During the Hungarian revolution of 1848–49 all Jewish property was destroyed, but in 1851 the synagogue was rebuilt, and a new, monumental one was built in 1901 (still standing in the 1970s). Previously all Vojvodina belonged to Hungary (within Austria-Hungary); however, in 1918, when Vojvodina became a part of the new Yugoslav kingdom, it formed a province closely linked with Serbia.

Between the two world wars communal life was intensive and diversified. There was a Jewish school, a home for the aged, a modern community center, widespread Zionist activities, and Jewish newspapers were published (*Juedisches Volksblatt*, later *Juedische Zeitung Jevreyske Novine*).

Until the Holocaust, in 1941, there were 4,000 Jews in Novi Sad, out of a total population of 80,000. The extermination of the Jews of Novi Sad was carried out in successive waves, initially under the Hungarian occupation and later by German troops. It began with individual arrests, torture, and murders. On Jan. 21–23, 1942, a small rebellion near Novi Sad served as a pretext for the so-called "*razzia*," when total curfew was ordered and Jewish homes were searched and plundered while their occupants were murdered in the streets. On January 23 more than 1,400 Jews were marched to the Danube and lined up in four rows. The ice in the frozen river was broken and throughout the day Jews, including women and children, were shot in the back, disappearing in the waters, which carried corpses down to Belgrade and beyond for weeks. Among the victims were also some 400–500 Serbs. The "*razzia*" caused an upheaval even in Hungarian circles, and cabled orders arrived from Budapest to stop the massacre on the evening of January 23. Several hundred survivors, half frozen and frightened to death, were released. The extermination policy continued, however. During 1942 all male Jews between the ages of 18 and 45 were gathered into "labor battalions," maltreated, and starved (first in Hungary), and then sent to the Ukrainian front, where they perished. The last phase came with the German occupation in March 1944. With the aid of Hungarians, the Germans sought out all remaining Jews and transported about 1,600 to Auschwitz in April 1944. Jewish property was plundered completely, except for personal and worthless items, which were gathered in the synagogue. About 1,000 Jews survived the Holocaust; 700 left for Israel and about 200 remained in Novi Sad in 1970, most of them survivors of POW camps. Subsequently the community grew to around 630 with the addition of former residents returning from abroad and Jews arriving from places depleted of their Jewish inhabitants. Restoration of the synagogue and of community offices was undertaken and legal proceedings initiated for the return of Jewish public buildings like the community center and the Jewish orphanage. The chapel of the cemetery was also renovated. The pre-Holocaust choir was reconstituted and an art club was set up in addition to regular cultural gatherings. The synagogue was used only for holiday services.

The presidents of the community were Pavle Šosberger, Prof. Theodore Kovać, and Tihomir Ungar.

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[Zvi Loker]

NOVITCH, MIRIAM (1908–1990), Holocaust historian. Novitch was born in Yurtishki, White Russia. She studied at the gymnasium in Vilna and at the Superior School for the Languages of Eastern Europe. She traveled to France before World War II and as a French resistance fighter was arrested in June 1943 and taken to the Vittel camp in France. After being liberated by the Americans in 1944, she devoted her life to Holocaust research. She arrived in Ereẓ Israel in 1946 and was a founder of kibbutz Loḥamei ha-Getta'ot, and its Holocaust museum in 1949. She was the first curator of the museum. She was also a pioneer in collecting film on the Holocaust.

She brought archival material from Eastern and Western Europe to the museum, collecting material in Poland, Germany, Czechoslovakia, Spain, Belgium, Italy, and Switzerland. She did pioneering research soon after World War II on the Sobibor death camp, Greek Jewry in the Holocaust, and the confiscation of Jewish art. She was a model to many younger researchers and helped them with scholarships and research. She made many trips to Europe in the early years following the Holocaust when research was difficult and countries were closed to such initiatives.

She published the following books: *Women and The Holocaust, Personal Reflections* (1965); *Le Passage Des Barbares, Contribution a l'Histoire de la Deportation et de la Resistance des Juifs Grecs* (1967, 1982); *La Verite sur Treblinka* (1967); *Sobibor – Camp of Death and Revolt* (1979); *Spiritual Resistance: Art from Concentration Camps 1940–1945 – A Selection of Drawings and Paintings from the Collection of Kibbutz Lohamei Haghetaot* (1981); and *Le Genocide des Tziganes sous le Regime Nazi* (1968).

[Yitzchak Kerem (2nd ed.)]

NOVOGRUDOK (Pol. **Nowogródek**; also referred to by Jews as **Novaredok**), city in Grodno district, Belarus. Novogrudok was within Poland-Lithuania until the third partition of Poland (1795), when it passed to Russia, from 1842, and a county capital in the province of Minsk. It reverted to Poland in 1921, but passed to the Soviet Union in 1939. The Jewish community of Novogrudok, one of the oldest in Lithuania, is first mentioned in documents in 1529. In 1563, at the request of the townspeople, King Sigismund II Augustus ordered that the Jews were to move to one of two streets at a distance from the center, where space had been allocated to them for building houses. In 1576 King Stephan Báthory confirmed all the former rights of the Jews of Novogrudok and of the other Jews in Lithuania. According to a decision of the Council of the Province of Lithuania (see *Councils of the Lands) of 1623, Novogrudok Jews were subject to the jurisdiction of the *Brest community. There were 893 poll tax payers in the community and surrounding villages attached to it in 1765. There were 2,756 persons in 1847 and 5,105 in 1897 (63.5% of the total population). In the 19th century two of Russia's leading rabbis, Jehiel Michael *Epstein and Isaac Elhanan *Spektor, officiated in Novogrudok. At the end of the 19th century the city became one of the centers of the *Musar movement after a *yeshivah and **kolel* had been founded there in 1896 by Joseph Hurwitz, one of the most prominent disciples of Israel *Salanter and a leader of the Musar movement. During World War I the yeshivah was transferred to *Gomel. The Zionist movement and the Bund were active before World War I and after. The community decreased considerably after that war, numbering 3,405 (53.4% of the total) in 1921 and increasing to 6,309 in 1931. There were a Hebrew Tarbut school, a Yiddish CYSHO school that operated for 4 years, and a religious Tushia school (of the Mizrachi). In the 1930s the Yiddish weeklies *Novaredok Life* and *Novaredok Week* appeared in the town.

[Yehuda Slutsky]

Holocaust Period

In 1939 after the outbreak of the war (September 1939) refugees from western Poland settled in town. During the period of Soviet rule (1939–41), the institutions of the Jewish community were destroyed, enterprises were nationalized, small trade was drastically reduced, and artisans were organized in cooperatives. The Jewish schools were closed and a Yiddish one with a Soviet curriculum was opened. There were arrests among the "bourgeois" Jews. With the outbreak of the war between Germany and the U.S.S.R. on June 22, 1941, groups of Jews attempted to reach Soviet territory but the Soviet guards prevented them from crossing the border and they returned to the city. Germans entered the city on July 3, and as early as July 10 they had murdered about 50 men. On December 7 the Jews were ordered to assemble in the courtyard of the district courthouse. About 1,896 skilled laborers with their families (only two children per family) were concentrated in a ghetto, and the others, about 4,500, were murdered outside the town. The *Aktion* was carried out by Einsatzkommando 8, with the help of local policemen. The survivors were concentrated in the ghetto that was set up in the suburb of Peresieka immediately after this *Aktion*. The first chairman of the Judenrat was the lawyer Ciechanowski, and the second was Chaim Ajzykowicz. Jews from the surrounding communities were also brought into the ghetto; they came from Weielub, Korelicze, Iwieniec, Rubiezewicze, Lubcz, and Naliboki.

The second *Aktion* was carried out on Aug. 7, 1942, and about 2,000 Jews perished in it. Only 1,240 artisans survived. They were concentrated in two places: construction workers in Peresieka and the others in a camp that was set up at the district courthouse. In October 1942 a group of about 50 Jews succeeded in escaping to the forests. Contact was made with a partisan unit headed by a Jew, Tuvia *Bielski. On Feb. 4, 1943, the Germans liquidated the camp of construction workers. In another *Aktion* on May 7, about 375 people were killed including the last of the women and children, and 300 skilled workers were left. At the beginning of 1943 a resistance group was created by Berko Joselewicz, Yasha Kantorowiez, and others, and headed by Dr. Yaakov Kagan. They decided to break out of the camp in which they were imprisoned and join the partisans. They dug a tunnel, and about 323 Jews escaped, but only 200 succeeded in reaching the forests; most of them joined the Jewish Battalion commanded by the Bielski brothers. Many of them took part in the fighting against the Nazis, Belorussian collaborators, and others. After the war about 1,200 Jews returned to Novogrudok from hiding in the forests. In 1970 the Jewish population was estimated at about 75 (15 families).

[Aharon Weiss]

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NOVOMEYSKY, MOSHE (1873–1961), industrial pioneer in Ereẓ Israel. Born in Barguzin, a village on Lake Baikal in Siberia, Novomeysky attended a secondary school in Irkutsk, graduated as a mining engineer in Germany, and engaged in gold mining in Siberia. He received a Jewish upbringing and became involved in Zionism, although the Russian revolutionary movement also attracted him and he spent some time in prison. While in Germany in 1906, he became interested in a study of the potentialities of the Dead Sea as a source of valuable chemicals for industrial use. He visited Ereẓ Israel before World War I and participated in the establishment of the Palestine Industrial Syndicate in Berlin. During the war and the Russian Revolution, he was active in Jewish affairs in Siberia and became head of the National Council of Siberian Jews and of the regional Zionist Organization. When the Bolsheviks came to power he left Siberia and settled in Palestine in 1920, where he took first steps toward the realization of his plans for the exploitation of the Dead Sea. It took some ten years to obtain the necessary concession in the face of opposition in the British Parliament; but eventually his Palestine Potash Company became the most important enterprise of its kind in the Middle East. During the Israel War of *Independence (1948), the Potash Works on the north of the Dead Sea were evacuated and totally destroyed by the Arab forces, and only the plant erected in the south, near Sedom, survived. After the establishment of the State of Israel, the Potash Company, registered in Britain, was replaced by an Israel company under government control. Novomeysky was also a founder of Fertilizers and Chemicals, another large chemical enterprise in Haifa.

Apart from his intensive work in the economic field, Novomeysky devoted much time to public affairs. For a time after he settled in Palestine, he acted as treasurer of the *Haganah. He was a founder of the Palestine Economic Society for the study of the country's economic problems. Deeply interested in the Arab question, he succeeded in establishing good relations with the Trans-Jordanian authorities and the hundreds of Arabs employed by his company. In later years he devoted his time to writing his reminiscences, *My Siberian Life* (1956), and the story of the Dead Sea concession, *Given to Salt* (1958). He died in Paris and was buried in Tel Aviv.

[Moshe Medzini]

NOVOSELITSA (Rom. **Nouă Suliţa** or **Suliţa**), town in the Khotin district, region of Bessarabia, Moldova. As a result of the large emigration of Jews to Bessarabia, Novoselitsa developed in the first half of the 19th century from a rural into an urban community. There were 3,898 Jews living there (66% of the total population) in 1897 and 4,152 (86.2%) in 1930. Among the 875 members registered in the loan fund in 1925, were 461 merchants, 213 craftsmen, and 65 farmers. Prior to World War II, community institutions included a *talmud torah*, a kindergarten, and a school, all belonging to the *Tarbut network, and an old-age home. The town was annexed on June 29, 1940, to the Moldavian S.S.R.

[Eliyahu Feldman]

Holocaust Period

The town was captured by Romanian forces on July 2, 1941. On the same day, 800 Jews were murdered on the pretext that Jews had shot at the Romanian troops. Sixty Jews were arrested and taken to the local spirits factory, where they were shot to death. The surviving Jews, as well as others gathered from the entire district, were rounded up and put into the factory. On July 5, the old men, the women, and children were forced into a ghetto in the town. On July 20, all the Jews were put on the road to *Transnistria. En route they were exposed to constant brutality, and the old and weak among them were put to death. They reached *Ataki, on the banks of the Dniester, on August 6, by which time the Germans had closed the Ukrainian border, and the deportees were sent back to *Secureni. In a report by the gendarmerie commander at Cernauti, dated August 11, 2,800 Jews from Novoselitsa are mentioned among the prisoners of the Secureni camp. Their fate was the same as that of the other Jews in that camp; many were killed and others buried alive. Only 200 returned from Transnistria after the war. In 1959 the authorities closed down the community's two synagogues, one of them being converted into a club. In 1970 the Jewish population was estimated at about 1,000.

[Jean Ancel]

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°NOVOSILTSEV, NICOLAI NIKOLAYEVICH (1761–1836), Russian politician. As the czar's adviser in the Polish kingdom (1815), he took charge of Jewish questions. He recommended that the Polish government should gather material on the conditions of the Jews in the kingdom so that the czar could decide how to improve their situation and "make them more useful to the country." He was the author of a project which forbade the Jews to manufacture or trade in alcohol, but at the same time proposed granting them self-government, with the aim of modernizing Jewish life and promoting science and the arts, so that ultimately they would be awarded political rights. However Novosiltsev, head of the secret police, was implacably opposed to Polish nationalism, and the true purpose of this project was to sow dissension between the Jews and the Poles.

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NOVOZYBKOV, town in Oriol district, Russian Federation. Before the 1917 Revolution, Novozybkov was a district town in the province of Chernigov in the *Pale of Settlement. Although the town was founded at the beginning of the 19th century, it was not until the middle of that century that Jews were permitted to live there. In 1847 they numbered 446, and in 1897 there were 3,836 Jewish residents (about 25% of the total population). A *talmud torah* existed there. In October 1905 the town was subjected to pogroms. In 1926, 4,825 Jews (22.4% of the total) lived there, with the number dropping to 3,129 in 1939 (13% of the total population.). The Germans occupied the town on August 16, 1941, and on February 18, 1942, they murdered the 950 remaining Jews in a forest near the railway station. There is no subsequent information on any Jewish life in the town.

[Yehuda Slutsky / Shmuel Spector (2nd ed.)]

NOVY, JIM (1896–1971), U.S. business executive. Novy, who was born in Knyszyn, Poland, went to the U.S. in 1913 and settled in Austin, Texas, where he played a leading role in the metal industry. A member of many Jewish organizations, he was especially active on behalf of the State of Israel. In December 1963 his long-time friend President Lyndon B. *Johnson took part in the dedication of the newly erected synagogue of Novy's congregation, Agudas Achim in Austin, Texas, the first time a United States president ever helped dedicate a Jewish place of worship. In fact, Johnson may well have saved Novy's life 25 years earlier. In 1938, Novy was planning to take his son to Palestine to celebrate his bar-mitzvah and, on the way over, stop in Poland and Germany to visit relatives. But the first German-Czechoslovakian crisis had occurred and Nazism was on the rise, and Johnson, then a Congressman, warned Novy to try to get as many Jews as possible out of the two countries. To that end, as part of "Operation Texas," he supplied Novy with a letter of introduction to the diplomats in the U.S. Embassy in Warsaw and a large number of signed immigration papers. When he reached the embassy, Novy learned that Johnson had already called the consul and asked him to process the visas immediately. Forty-two Jews from Poland and Germany, including four of Novy's relatives, received the documents and safely fled Europe. Novy and his son went on to Paris, but Johnson tracked them down and insisted that they return to the U.S., as the second German-Czech crisis was imminent.

[Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

NOVY BOHUMIN (Czech **Nový Bohumín**; Ger. **Neuoderberg**), town in N.E. Moravia, Czech Republic. In 655 the local lord permitted a Jewish soap-maker and a Jewish distiller to settle under his jurisdiction. In 1751 six Jewish families lived in various localities of the Oderberg domain. Jews settled in the town early in the 19th century, attracted primarily by the fact that Novy Bohumin, a border town, was one of the important railway-crossings in central Europe, and was later the site of an oil refinery. The Jews there first came under the administration of the *Teschen and later of the *Ostrava community. A synagogue was built in 1900; an independent community established in 1911; and a Jewish center opened in 1924. In 1933 a large Maccabiah (sports festival) was held in Novy Bohumin. The Jewish community numbered 722 (6.6% of the total population) in 1931. During the German occupation the Jews were put to work rebuilding a bridge blown up by the Poles. The synagogue was burned on Rosh Ha-Shanah 1939. Later that year most of the Jews were deported to Nisko. The community was not revived after the Holocaust.

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[Meir Lamed]

NOVY BYDZOV (Czech **Nový Bydžov**; Ger. **Neubitschow**), town in N.E. Bohemia, Czech Republic. Jews are first mentioned in town records of 1514; they acquired a cemetery in 1520, the oldest tombstones dating from the mid-17th century. A synagogue was mentioned in 1559 (renovated in 1660 and 1838) and ten Jewish families were recorded in 1570 and 1620. In 1650, after the Swedish invasion of the Thirty Years War, 18 Jewish families were living there. Between 1656 and 1670 Jews sold salt. After a case of plague, the community was temporarily expelled, some of its members founding communities in surrounding villages. There were 90 Jewish families in Novy Bydzov in 1724. Three years later they were segregated from Christians in a special quarter. Expellees from Prague in 1744 reinforced the community. In 1750 Mendel of Novy Bydzov was burnt at the stake in connection with the emergence of the sect of the *Abrahamites. There were 37 Jewish houses in 1786. A new cemetery was consecrated in 1885 (still in existence). Some of the 838 members of the community in 1893 lived in the 35 surrounding villages. The old Jewish quarter burned down in 1903. In 1930 the community numbered 148 (2.1% of the total population). During the Holocaust 98 Jews were deported to *Theresienstadt and from there to the death camps in 1942; one only returned. Synagogue equipment and documents were transferred to the Central Jewish *Museum in Prague. No congregation was reestablished after the Holocaust. The synagogue dating from the mid-16th century was remodeled in 1660, 1838, and 1902. It was last restored in 1985 and subsequently used by the Czech Brethren Protestant Church.

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[Jan Herman]

NOVY DVOR (Rus. **Novyi Dvor**), small town in the Grodno district (county of Sokolka), Belarus. The first Jews settled there during the first half of the 16th century. During the second half of the 16th century there was an organized Jewish community with a synagogue and cemetery. In 1561 12 houses and a number of orchards were owned by Jews. During the following decades Jews from Grodno joined the local community and, according to the decisions of the Council of Provinces of Lithuania (*Councils of the Lands; 1623), the community of Novy Dvor was subordinated to that of Grodno. In 1648 Jewish refugees from Ukraine arrived in Novy Dvor. A few years later local Jews suffered the onslaught of the Russian and Swedish armies. In 1765 there were 299 poll-tax paying Jews in Novy Dvor and the surrounding villages. During the 19th century the sources of livelihood of the Jews of Novy Dvor were cut off and a period of economic stagnation ensued. In 1847 there were 394 Jews and in 1897, 490 (38% of the total population). In 1900 a new synagogue was erected, and during the first weeks of the Polish rule (1918) a Jewish self-defense organization was active. In 1921 there were 402 Jews (33% of the population) in Novy Dvor. From 1925 there was a *Tarbut school. The last rabbi of the community was Isaac Kamieniecki, who perished in the Holocaust.

Holocaust Period

At the end of June 1941, a few days after the Nazis entered the town, 50 Jewish men were deported to concentration camps. In October 1941 the Jews of Novy Dvor were sent to the ghetto at Ostryna, and in the spring of 1942 to the ghetto in Sukhovolia, and finally to the extermination camp of Auschwitz. Only six Jews of the community survived, three of them having joined the partisan movement. No Jews returned to Novy Dvor after World War II.

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[Arthur Cygielman]

NOVY JICIN (Czech, **Nový Jičín**; Ger. **Neutitschein**), town in Moravia, Czech Republic. Jews are recorded in Novy Jicin in the middle of the 14th century as owners of houses, and as cloth merchants. The Jewish lane (*Judengasse*), which in 1581 contained 46 houses, was situated next to the castle, but Jews resided in other streets as well. When the community was expelled in 1562, its leaders sold the synagogue to the mayor and presented the city with the cemetery, requesting that it should not be damaged. The expellees settled in the neighboring villages. In the late 18th and early 19th centuries Jews returned to the vicinity of the town, and by 1828 a few privileged families were again residing in it. Full freedom of settlement was granted only in 1848, and in July 1850 the authorities quelled an attempt to organize anti-Jewish riots. In 1868 the statutes of a *Kultusverein were confirmed, and by 1892 it was acknowledged as a community. The cemetery dates from 1875 and the synagogue from 1908. The Jews of Novy Jicin were active in the local textile industry and in trade. The community numbered 14 in 1847, 155 in 1868, 275 in 1880, 253 in 1900, and 206 (1.4% of the total population) in 1930. Novy Jicin was the site of the first *hakhsharah* farm in Czechoslovakia, organized in 1921. At the time of the Sudeten crisis in 1938, the community dispersed, and it was not revived after World War II.

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NOVY OLEKSINIEC, small town in Kremenets (Krzemieniec), today in Tarnopol district, Ukraine, noted for leather products. In 1765, 203 Jewish taxpayers were registered in Oleksiniec and its suburb (Oleksiniec Stary). The printing press established there in 1760 was one of the first Hebrew presses in Russia. H. Margolis, active between 1766 and 1776, printed some 18 rabbinical works there. Noteworthy is *Zemir Ariẓim ve-Ḥarvot Ẓurim* (1772), a collection of anti-ḥasidic proclamations. Rabbis of Oleksiniec include Mordecai ha-Kohen Rappoport, son of Shabbetai, author of *Imrei No'am* (Oleksiniec, 1767), and Jacob Joseph ha-Levi Horovitz of Brody, installed in 1790.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Yalkut Vohlin*, 1 (1945), 9; B. Friedberg, *Toledot ha-Defus ha-Ivri be-Polanyah* (1950^2).

°NOWACK, WILHELM GUSTAV HERMANN (1850–1928), German Bible critic. Nowack was professor at Halle, and from 1881, of biblical exegesis and Hebrew in Strasbourg.

Among his writings, the *Lehrbuch der hebraeischen Archaeologie* (2 vols., 1894) represents a classical armchair approach to Palestinian archaeology in its description of ancient Israelite realia. He prepared the second edition of E. Bertheau and F. *Hitzig's commentaries on Ecclesiastes for the *Kurzgefasstes exegetisches Handbuch zum Alten Testament* (1883^2) and the third edition of H. *Hupfeld's commentary on Psalms (2 vols., 1888). He also wrote commentaries on Amos and Hosea for the *Religionsgeschichtliche Volksbuecher* (vol. 9, 1908). From 1892 to 1903 he served as editor of *Goettinger Handkommentar zum Alten Testament*, to which he contributed the sections on the Minor Prophets (1897; 1922^3); Judges (1902); Ruth (1902); and Samuel (1902). He also wrote on the religious development of ancient Israel (*Die sozialen Probleme in Israel und deren Bedeutung fuer die religioese Entwicklung dieses Volkes*, 1892), and on Israel's role against the background of the Assyrian Near East (*Die Zukunftshoffnungen Israels in der assyrischen Zeit*, 1902). His other studies on the Bible are: *Die Bedeutung des Hieronymus fuer alttestamentliche Textkritik* (1875); *Die assyrisch-babylonischen Keil-Inscripten und das Alte Testament* (1878); and *Der Prophet Hosea erklaert* (1880). He also prepared the masoretic text of the Minor Prophets for R. *Kittel's *Biblia Hebraica* (1906).

[Zev Garber]

NOWACZYNSKI, ADOLF (1876–1944), Polish playwright and satirist. The son of a Catholic aristocrat and of a Jewess, Nowaczyński (who used the pen name Neuwert) joined the right-wing, antisemitic pamphleteers and wrote many satirical attacks on the Jews and the Polish bourgeoisie. His historical dramas include *Wielki Fryderyk* ("Frederick the Great," 1910), *Pułaski w Ameryce* ("Pułaski in America," 1917), and *Cezar i Człowiek* ("Cesare Borgia and Copernicus," 1937). Nowaczyński was killed during the anti-German Warsaw Uprising.

NOWAKOWSKI, DAVID (1848–1921), Russian choirmaster and cantor. Born in Malin near Kiev, Nowakowski went to Odessa at the age of 21. There he was choirmaster and assistant to Chief Cantor Nissan *Blumenthal in the Brody Synagogue; and then to Blumenthal's successor, Pinḥas *Minkowski. He trained the Brody Synagogue choir, long noted for its quality, and the 30 years during which he worked with Minkowski became a brilliant period in the development of synagogue music. He left printed works and hundreds of compositions in manuscript which continued to be sung by many cantors and choirs. Two volumes of his work, *Shirei David*, were published during his lifetime: *Sabbath Eve and Evening Services* (1901) and *Ne'ilah* for the Day of Atonement (1895). He employed to a large extent the traditional chants of the cantors, integrating them into the choral sections.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Friedmann, Lebensbilder, 3 (1927), 41–43; Sendrey, Music, index.

[Joshua Leib Ne'eman]

NOWY DWOR MAZOWIECKI, town in Warszawa province, central Poland. The Jewish settlement appears to have been founded at the close of the 17th century. From the beginning of the 18th century there was an organized Jewish community owning a synagogue and a cemetery (which until 1780 was also used by the Jews of Praga, a suburb of Warsaw). In 1768–69, a number of Jews fleeing from the *Haidamack massacres in Podolia found refuge in Nowy Dwor, bringing the ḥasidic teachings with them. During that period the Jews earned their livelihood primarily from innkeeping and by trading in wood. A woolen cloth factory established in the 1780s by the Poniatowski family (owners of the town) was to a considerable extent dependent on Jewish merchants for its financing, for supplying its raw materials, and for taking on the bulk of its orders. Jewish craftsmen and merchants earned their livelihood from tailoring, shoemaking, carpentry, construction, innkeeping, and the supply of building materials and food to the military units stationed in the district. In 1808, 183 Jews formed 25% of the town's population; in 1827 there were 334 Jews (28% of the total population), increasing to 1,305 (49%) in 1857. A German editor, J.A. Krieger, had taken over a Hebrew printing privilege from the Warsaw printer and bookseller Du Four, so that between 1781 and 1816 Nowy Dwor had one of the most active Hebrew presses in Eastern Europe, issuing well over 100 works. The driving powers behind the business were Eliezer b. Isaac of Krotoszyn and his son-in-law, Jonathan b. Moses Jacob of Wielowicz, who had also acted as proofreader and later as manager of Krieger's bookshop in Warsaw. An ambitious project of a Talmud edition did not proceed beyond the publication of the first two volumes in 1784, and subsequently the Napoleonic wars put an end to Krieger's enterprise.

During the middle of the 19th century Jews of Lithuanian origin, who were principally employed as purveyors to the Russian authorities, settled in the town. As a result of their powerful economic status they rapidly gained control of most of the community's institutions. During the last third of the 19th century the rabbinical office was held by Jacob Moses *Teomim and until 1904 by R. Menahem Mendel Ḥayyim Landau, a leader of Agudat Israel, later a rabbi in Detroit, Michigan. Landau was succeeded by Moses Aaron Taub, and between the two world wars Judah Reuben Neufeld served as the last rabbi of the town.

Industralization, the departure of Jews from regions suffering pogroms, and the expulsion of Jews from Moscow (1891) caused a rapid increase in the Jewish population of Nowy Dwor. In 1897 there were 4,735 Jews (c. 65% of the population) in the town. In 1905–06 Jewish trade unions gained in strength under the influence of the *Bund and the *Po'alei Zion. In addition to retail trade, the Jews of Nowy Dwor engaged in shoemaking, millinery, carpentry, locksmithing, tailoring, and portage; about 300 Jewish women were employed in embroidery workshops. A general conflagration in 1907, in which more than half the town's houses were destroyed, led many Jews to move to Warsaw or to emigrate to the United States. In 1920, during the war in Soviet Russia, the Polish army expelled hundreds of Jews from the town and desecrated its synagogue. In 1921 there were 3,916 Jews (50% of the population) in Nowy Dwor and 3,961 (42%) in 1931. In the municipal elections of 1927, four Jewish delegates won seats in the town's administration and the delegate of the Bund was appointed vice mayor. For a number of years the CYSHO (Central Yiddish School Organization) and *Tarbut schools as well as the Shalom Aleichem Library were subsidized by municipal funds. In the early 1930s Jewish haulage workers organized a self-defense movement against antisemitic rioters.

[Arthur Cygielman]

Holocaust Period

At the outbreak of World War II there were about 4,000 Jews in Nowy Dwor. The German army entered the town on Sept. 30, 1939. The ghetto was established at the beginning of 1941. In May 1941, 3,250 Jews were deported to Pomiechowek camp, where most of them perished. In November 1942 two deportations to *Auschwitz took place. The ghetto was liquidated on Dec. 12, 1942, when 2,000 Jews from Nowy Dwor and nearby Czerwinsk were sent to Auschwitz. After the war the Jewish community of Nowy Dwor was not reconstituted.

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Dwor (1965). PRINTING: Weinryb, in: MGWJ, 77 (1933), 214ff.; Yaari, in: KS, 9 (1933), 436ff.; 10 (1933/34), 372ff.; 19 (1942/43), 204, 216f.; B. Friedberg, *Toledot ha-Defus ha-Ivri be-Polanyah* (1950²), 75ff.

NOWY DZIENNIK ("The New Daily"), first Zionist Polish-language journal. It appeared daily in Cracow from the end of 1918. The paper was representative of the climate of linguistic assimilation current in certain nationalist Zionist circles in the region. Its founding was to some extent the result of the murder of a Jew: since, to the dismay of the Jewish community, the incident was glossed over by the Polish press, a need was felt for some independent means of expression. For technical reasons and because of censorship, the early editions of *Nowy Dziennik* were published in Moravska-Ostrava. However, by the beginning of 1919, the paper had its own building and presses in Cracow. Dr. Wilhelm Berkelhammer, who served as editor for many years, not only set an example of polished newspaper style but fought numerous and continuous battles against antisemitism. Other noted editors were Isaac Ignacy Schwarzbart, Elijah Tisch, and David Lazar, the last serving until the paper's demise during the Holocaust. Among the regular contributors were Osias (Joshua) *Thon, who set the tone of the paper and gave it its political direction, and Moses Kanfer, literary and artistic critic, who was particularly devoted to the Yiddish theater. Other such well-known personalities as Isaac *Deutscher, Hersch *Lauterpacht, and Ezriel *Carlebach also contributed to the paper. Particularly noted for his essays on antisemitism was Matthias *Mieses. One important role played by the journal was its publication from time to time of a list compiled by the community leaders of Jews who had converted to Christianity but who sought to keep this secret from the Jewish community. Despite governmental interference and the bombing of its building by Polish nationalist extremists in 1923, the paper prospered. Carefully organized and efficiently run by Sigmund Hochwald, it grew from its initial four to a format of 32 pages. While ideologically the journal served as an organ of the Zionist Movement, its scope was quite wide, serving the general Cracow community as well as the region of western Galicia and Silesia.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: I. Schwarzbart, *Tvishn beyde Velt Milkhomes* (1958), 128–42. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** J. Gothelf (ed.), *Ha-Ittonut ha-Yehudit she-Hayeta* (1973), 270–80.

[Moshe Landau]

NOWY SACZ (Pol. **Nowy Sącz**; Ger. **Neu Sandec**; in Jewish sources **Zanz**, **Naysants**), city in the province of Cracow, S. Poland. Jewish settlement is mentioned in a document of 1469; in 1503 a Jewish eye doctor, Abraham, practiced in Nowy Sacz. The Jews participated in the reconstruction of the town after the invasion of the Swedes. The royal privilege of 1676 (ratified in 1682 by King John III Sobieski) accorded them the right to build their houses on the town's empty lots and to engage in commerce (mainly with Hungary) and weaving. The Great Synagogue, renowned for its beautiful frescoes, was completed in 1746. In 1765 there were 609 Jews (154 families) in Nowy Sacz paying the poll tax and owning 70 houses (595 additional Jewish poll tax payers lived in 103 surrounding villages). At the beginning of the 19th century Austrian authorities compelled the Jews to live in a special quarter. During the first half of the 19th century the ḥasidic dynasty of the Zanzer Ḥasidim was established (see *Halberstam). In 1880 there were 5,163 Jews (46% of the total population) living in the town, earning their livelihoods from the sale of wood, agricultural produce, and clothing, or engaging in such trades as tailoring, carpentry, shoemaking, and engraving. By 1890 the number of Jews had decreased to 4,120 (32%), to rise again to 7,990 (32%) in 1910. Between 1900 and 1914 a Jewish school was established by the *Baron de Hirsch fund, which in 1907 was attended by 204 pupils. In 1921 the Jewish community numbered 9,009 (34%). *Tarbut and Beth Jacob schools, a yeshivah, and sport clubs were supported by the community. Over 10,000 Jews lived in Nowy Sacz before the outbreak of World War II, with another 5,000 living in smaller towns of the county.

[Arthur Cygielman]

Holocaust Period

The German army entered the town on Sept. 5, 1939, and the anti-Jewish terror began. In March 1940 about 700 Jews from Lodz were forced to settle there; in August 1941 a ghetto was established. Two forced labor camps for Jews were built by the Germans near the town: one, in Roznow, existed from the spring of 1940 until December 1942, and the second, in Lipie, from the autumn of 1942 until July 1943. Over 1,000 Jewish prisoners perished in these camps. In April 1942 a few score members of the underground *Po'alei Zion organization fell into German hands and were executed on the site of the town's Jewish cemetery. In Aug. 24–28, 1942, the entire Jewish population was deported to the *Belzec death camp and killed there.

[Stefan Krakowski]

BIBLIOGRAPHY: R. Mahler, *Yidn in Amolikn Poyln in Likht fun Tsifern* (1958), index; B. Wasiutyński, *Ludność żydowska w Pólsce w wiekach XIX i XX* (1930), 112, 146, 150, 156; J. Sygański, *Historya Nowego Sącza*, 3 vols. (1901–02); I. Schiper, *Studya nad stosunkami gospodarczymi Żydów w Polsce podczas średniowiecza* (1911), index; idem (ed.), *Dzieje handlu żydowskiego na ziemiach polskich* (1937), index; R. Mahler, *Sefer Zanz* (1970). HOLOCAUST: E. Podhorizer-Sandel, in: BZIH, 30 (1959), 87–109.

NOY, DOV (1920–), scholar in Jewish folklore. Born in Kolomyja, Poland, he graduated from a Polish secondary school, and then immigrated to Palestine where he began his academic studies at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. He interrupted his studies to volunteer for military service in the British Army Royal Engineers during World War II, returning to the Hebrew University to complete his master's degree in Talmud, Jewish History, and Bible studies in 1946. He directed educational and cultural activities in the Cyprus Detention camps of Jewish refugees and worked there until the camps' liberation in 1948. For the next three years he served as editor of the leading Israeli children's weekly, *Davar le-Yeladim.*

Returning to his studies, he received his post-graduate education in folklore, comparative literature, and anthropology at Yale University and at Indiana University, from which he obtained his doctorate in 1954, studying under Stith Thompson.

In 1955 he began his teaching career at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem where he taught *aggadah*, folk literature, general folklore, and Yiddish. He became professor and incumbent of the Chair of Folklore and Hebrew Literature. Noy's contribution to Jewish folklore has been pioneering. He founded and directed the Haifa Ethnological Museum and Folklore Archives (1956–82) and edited the Israel Folktale Archives Publications series until 1981. He founded the Israel Folklore Archives, the largest treasure of Jewish folktales recorded in Israel. He was director of the Hebrew University Folklore Research Center from 1968 and edited *Studies*, its journal. He served as the *Encyclopaedia Judaica* departmental editor for folklore. He also trained a generation of researchers and students to tape and collect folk stories from all the various Jewish ethnic groups. He started the folklore section at Haifa University within the department of Hebrew Literature. From 1985 to 1992, he served as professor of Yiddish Folklore at Bar-Ilan University. In 1992–93 he served as professor of folk literature at Ben-Gurion University and in 1995–96 professor of folklore at Haifa University. In addition to teaching in Israeli universities, Noy devoted himself to spreading Jewish folk culture all over the world. He also wrote and edited about 60 books, covering a wide range of Jewish folklore: European, North African, Yemenite, and others. In 2004 he was awarded the Israel Prize for literary research.

[Elaine Hoter]

NOY, MEIR (1922–1998), Israeli musician, composer, and song collector. Born in Kolomea, Galicia, Noy received a Jewish and musical education. He studied violin and engineering. During World War II he escaped his town's ghetto and joined the Red Army, where he served as a musician and directed a musical ensemble. After the war he emigrated to Israel. On his way, he was interned in a Cyprus British Mandatory camp where he decided to collect Yiddish songs to commemorate the lost Yiddish musical folklore. In Israel, he first joined the army music entertainment troupe, the Tshisbatron, as an accordionist. He also composed his first Hebrew songs, such as "*Ba-Derekh le-Eilat*" (1949) and "*Ha-Pegishah*" (1949), for this troupe, and later composed for other troupes. Other popular songs he composed are "*Ha-Zekankan*" (1956) and "*Al Rosh ha-Djindji Bo'er ha-Kova*" (1957). After his army service, he taught music in a school in Tel Aviv for 30 years. From 1949 until his last day, he collected Yiddish and Hebrew songs from written and oral sources, which he transcribed and catalogued. His collection includes about 100,000 Hebrew songs and 30,000 Yiddish songs. This collection is one of the most complete collections of this sort and contains unique and accurate information about the creation and continuity of Israeli popular song. The collection was donated with the assistance of the Wachs family to the Music Department of the Jewish National and University Library in Jerusalem. The collection was recatalogued and is open to the public and serves scholars from all over the world. Meir Noy also published two books of songs from his collection, *Otiyyot ha-Alef Bet* and *Ma'ayanei ha-Zemer*, in which he compares Yiddish and Hebrew songs with the same melody.

[Gila Flam (2nd ed.)]

NUDEL, IDA (1931–), Russian Jewish activist and *refusenik*. Born in the Crimea, she was trained in Moscow as an economist. Under the impact of the 1967 Six-Day War and the 1970 Leningrad Trial, she and her sister – her sole relative – decided to leave for Israel in 1971. Her sister and her family were permitted to emigrate but Nudel was refused permission on the ground that she was privy to state secrets (she had been working as an accountant in a planning institution which was totally non-secret). Dismissed from her job, she became extremely active in the Jewish Emigration movement and was known as the "guardian angel," caring for Jewish prisoners and their families. Through demonstrations, correspondence, and meetings with foreigners visiting Moscow, she brought the plight of the prisoners to public attention. She was arrested on many occasions, placed under house arrest, harassed frequently and physically abused.

In 1978 she hung a banner on the balcony of her apartment reading "KGB – GIVE ME MY EXIT VISA," as a result of which she was sentenced to four years' exile in Siberia on charges of malicious hooliganism. There she suffered great hardships and after her release in 1982 was refused the right to live in a major city and moved from one place to another. In the Western world she became the best-known woman *refusenik*, winning the active support of many public figures such as Jane Fonda (who visited her in her exile) and Liv Ullmann (who portrayed her in a movie). Finally in 1987 she was permitted to leave for Israel where she settled near her sister in Reḥovot.

NUDELMAN, SANTIAGO ISRAEL (1904–1961), Argentine politician. Born in the colony of Médanos in the province of Buenos Aires, Nudelman graduated in both medicine (1930) and law (1936) from the University of Buenos Aires. He was a member of the Federal Chamber of Deputies representing the Unión Cívica Radical (1946–55) and championed the cause of civil liberties in parliament. In 1958 he became director of the daily newspaper *Critica*. He wrote *El radicalismo al servicio de la libertad* (1947) and *El régimen totalitario – Torturas, presos políticos, negociados* (1960).

NUISANCE. The owner or person in possession of land is not at liberty to use it as he pleases. Land, even if unencumbered, may not be used in such manner as to harm or disturb one's neighbors. Any neighbor can require the offending landowner to abate the nuisance or to have the cause thereof removed from their common boundary.

Among the restraints imposed on the use of land, the Mishnah (BB 2) makes mention of the following: A person may not dig a cistern near to his neighbor's cistern or wall, since they would thus be damaged, and he must remove lime from the vicinity of his neighbor's wall; he may not open a bakery or stable under his neighbor's barn, nor a shop on residential premises where the customers will disturb the neighbors; he may not build a wall so close to his neighbor's windows as to darken them; he must not keep his ladder near his neighbor's dovecote since it will enable a weasel to climb it and devour the pigeons; his threshing floor must not be too near a town or his neighbor's field lest the chaff harm the vegetation. There are further instances of the potentially harmful use of land enumerated in the Talmud.

The *tanna*, R. Yose, is of the opinion that the person creating a nuisance cannot be obliged to abate it and is free to act as he pleases and the injured party must keep his distance if he wishes to avoid suffering harm. The *halakhah* of the Talmud was decided in accordance with R. Yose's view, but the latter was interpreted as admitting that the tort-feasor must abate a nuisance if the interference with his neighbor's use of his property arises from his own harmful act (i.e., an act of his own body, as if he had "shot arrows" into his neighbor's domain; BB 22b). The scope of this qualification is not clear and some scholars hold that most of the injuries enumerated in the Mishnah (above) are of the kind qualified by R. Yose, which the latter concedes must be abated by the tort-feasor. Other scholars hold that R. Yose disagrees with the abovementioned *mishnayot* and obliges the tort-feasor to abate a nuisance only when damage is actually (and directly) caused by his own act (see Rashi and Tos. *ibid.*). In fact, in the post-talmudic period, the instances in which R. Yose was considered to have conceded the existence of tort-feasor's obligation to abate a nuisance were extended as far as possible (see *Asher b. Jehiel (Rosh), quoted in Tur, ḤM 155:20–23). The Talmud (BB 17b) also records the dispute over the question whether the obligation – when it exists – of abating a nuisance applies even if the offender's particular use of his land preceded that of his neighbor – the latter suffering no damage until the time of such conflicting use by him – or whether prior use takes precedence. Thus if the injured party's particular use of his land preceded his neighbor's conflicting use of his land, the latter must curtail his use, but if the other way round the obligation rests upon the injured party. There is an opinion (Tos. *ibid.*, 18b), which holds that the rule of precedence by virtue of prior use is universally accepted and that there is no dispute save with regard to a single case, that of digging a cistern in the vicinity of a common boundary with a neighbor.

Which Nuisance Must Be Abated

An analysis of the cases of nuisance referred to in talmudic literature and the reasoning behind them suggests that all cases of nuisance may be divided into four categories:

(1) An interference arising when land is used in a manner usual for that particular place and time, but the neighbor suffers injury in an unusual manner, either because of the unusual use of his own land or because he is uncommonly sensitive to the disturbance. It is unanimously agreed that in this event the alleged tort-feasor is at no time obliged to abate the so-called nuisance.

(2) The tort-feasor uses his land in an unusual manner for that particular place and time, while the injured neighbor uses his land in the usual manner, in the same way as other people do, and is neither more sensitive nor anxious than most people. In this event all agree that the tort-feasor must always abate the nuisance he has created.

(3) Both parties use their land in the usual manner and the injured party is not uncommonly sensitive.

(4) The tort-feasor uses his land in an unusual manner, and the injured party does so too or is uncommonly sensitive.

The latter two categories are the subject of the dispute mentioned above between R. Yose and the sages, as to whether the party causing the nuisance is obliged to abate it or whether it must be suffered by the injured neighbor; and of the dispute whether the injuring party must always abate the nuisance or whether it is a matter of prior use taking precedence. Most acts of nuisance referred to in the Talmud fall into the third of these categories (see Albeck, bibliography).

The Rules of Nuisance as Part of the Law of Property

The prohibition against using land in a manner interfering with a neighbor's enjoyment of his own property is inherent in the proprietary rights over that immovable property, and the right to the undisturbed use of one's property may be sold like any other proprietary right. A person may sell or transfer part (or all) of his right to the undisturbed enjoyment of his property by agreeing to a particular use of his neighbor's property, whereupon the neighbor may make such use of his land regardless of any nuisance thereby caused to the former. Thus, for instance, a person may become entitled to erect a dovecote alongside this common boundary and may transfer this right, together with the land itself, to a new owner. Furthermore this right is retained by the owner of the disturbing property even when the adjacent land is sold to a new owner (see Sh. Ar., ḤM 155:24). A nuisance which is continued for a period of three years (or even from the outset, according to some scholars), if supported by a plea that the right was granted to him by the injured neighbor (or even without such a plea, according to some scholars), constitutes evidence of such right of user. However, these rules apply only when the nuisance is not so severe as to be insufferable (*ibid.*, 155:35–36.)

Relationship of Nuisance to the Laws of Tort

A person suffering a nuisance may oblige his neighbor to abate the nuisance and if physical damage results from the nuisance which itself was the result of the neighbor's negligence, he is also entitled to be compensated for such damage (BB 20b). If the nuisance is of a kind which the law does not require the tort-feasor to abate, the neighbor cannot oblige the tort-feasor to do so, nor, according to some scholars, can he recover compensation for damage of a physical nature even when caused by negligence, because he, in turn, is expected to take precautions. Other scholars, however, hold the tort-feasor liable for resulting damage. If a person's use of his land is such that it may cause his neighbor damage for which compensation is payable but it is not likely that such damage will result, the neighbor cannot demand the abatement of the nuisance because people are not normally afraid of or disturbed by an unlikely risk; but if in fact the damage does result from the landowner's negligence he is obliged to compensate his neighbor. If such use of the land habitually causes damage for which compensation is payable, people will usually be disturbed thereby and the neighbor can require the abatement thereof. If the damage is of a kind which is foreseeable, the landowner will be deemed negligent, but if the damage was unforeseeable, he is exempt from liability. The law of the State of Israel (Civil Wrongs Ordinance, 1947) defines private nuisance as any conduct which causes a material interference with the reasonable use and enjoyment of another's immovable property. The injured party is entitled to compensation and the court may order the abatement of the nuisance.

[Shalom Albeck]

Visual Trespass (*hezzek re'iyyah*)

The damage occasioned by a neighbor's ability to "look" into another person's home (*hezzek re'iyyah*) is a nuisance bearing unique characteristics. It occurs as a result of the neighbor's ability to observe another person's activities in his home. The damage may be caused when a person builds a window opposite his neighbor's window in a way that enables him to see into his neighbor's home, and the "trespasser" may be compelled to remove the potential source of damage – i.e., his visual trespass into another person's private domain – by requiring him to close off the window (Mish., BB 3:7; Yad, Shekhenim 5:6; Sh. Ar., ḤM 154:3). In the case of partners sharing the same courtyard, the possibility of this kind of trespass, occasioned by the proximity of their dwellings, imposes on each of the parties the advance (financial) obligation of erecting a partition between the separate parts of the courtyard (BB 2:2; Yad, Shekhenim 2:14; Sh. Ar. ḤM 157:1).

Regarding partners to the same courtyard, the *posekim* agree that one cannot acquire a *ḥazakah,* i.e., a right established by ongoing practice, to visually trespass in another person's domain. Hence both parties are entitled at all times to force the other to participate in the construction of the partition, and the other cannot argue that a waiver may be inferred from the length of time that has elapsed without protest (Maim., Yad, Shekhenim 11:4; Sh. Ar., ḤM 155:36). The *posekim* however dispute the question of visual trespass created by the construction of a window. The issue is whether visual trespass under these circumstances establishes a *ḥazakah* (in the sense referred to above) so that in the absence of protest by the other party, the builder of the window gains the right to perpetuate the existing situation, and what length of time must elapse after the window's construction for a lack of protest to be deemed as a waiver on the neighbor's part. This dispute is based on the various tannaitic views cited in the Talmud (BB 59b), and indicates the uniqueness of this type of nuisance. Certain *posekim* view this form of trespass as analogous to any other nuisance, so that if protest is not expressed from the outset, it may be seen as consent and the person causing it will acquire a *ḥazakah* with respect thereto (Yad, Shekhenim 5:6; *Kesef Mishneh*, ad loc.; Yad, Shekhenim 11:4; *Maggid Mishneh*, ad loc.). Other *posekim* classify it as a nuisance in respect of which there can be no *ḥazakah* based on waiver because it falls into the category of nuisance caused without any action being taken and, as such the nuisance is a permanent one and the evidentiary presumption is that others do not pardon it. Nevertheless, if one of the parties waived his right to the other by a formal *kinyan,* his waiver is effective and he cannot retract it (Rif, quoted in *Nimukkei Yosef,* BB 1b; for a general discussion of waiver of obligations, see *Acquisition; *Meḥilah). A third view is presented by the Rashba (Resp. Rashba, vol. 2. no. 268; see also *Ḥiddushei ha-Ramban* to BB 59a). Rashba states that visual trespass is forbidden, not only in terms of civil law, but in order to preserve modesty, which a Jew is not at liberty to waive, and should he do so his waiver is invalid. Rashba finds support for this opinion in the words of Rabbi Johanan in the Talmud (BB 60a), who states that the law of *hezzek re'iyyah* is based on the Biblical verse (Numbers 24:2): "And Bilaam lifted up his eyes and he saw Israel dwelling according to their tribes," which emphasizes the modesty of Israel. In light of this ruling, Rashba stated that a custom accepted by the people in a place not to insist on matters involving visual trespass is an erroneous custom and of no validity (see *Minhag*; *Mistake). Some consider Rashba's statement as the source for protection of privacy in Jewish law (see *Rights, Human).

[Menachem Elon (2nd ed.)]

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[Akiva Zimmerman / Raymond Goldstein (2nd ed.)]

NUMBERS, BOOK OF (Heb. בְּמִדְבַּר; "in the wilderness"), the fourth book of the Pentateuch. Like the other books of the Pentateuch, its name in Hebrew is taken from the first significant word in the book (the fifth word in chapter 1), which also reflects its theme, the wilderness wanderings. The English name Numbers derives from the Greek translation, the Septuagint, which titled the book thematically after the censuses mentioned in the first four chapters. The Greek name corresponds to an earlier Hebrew name in the Talmud, *Ḥummash* (properly, *homesh*) *ha-Pekudim*

Jewish tradition divides the book into 10 *parashiyyot,* "annual pericopes"; based on the Vulgate system the book is divided into 36 chapters.

Contents and Sequence

Numbers is a complex collection of texts woven of a variety of literary genres: legal material; ritual prescriptions; historical narratives; and poetic folk traditions. Its present form reflects a long and intricate literary history. The book can easily be divided by subject matter and other criteria into three major sections; these can be further subdivided into smaller segments. Often it is difficult, however, to determine any meaningful relationship between contiguous segments, though certain structural patterns do exist. Numbers has a broad outline, with the main thread leading from preparations for the departure from Sinai and ending with the stay in Shittim in Moab opposite Jericho. Three main units reflect a literary sandwich of sorts:

(1) 1:1–10:10: Final encampment at Sinai.

(2) 10:11–22:1: Generation-long march in the wilderness from Sinai to Moab.

(3) 22:2–36:13: Encampment on the plains of Moab and preparation to enter Canaan.

According to the chronology in Numbers, the 40 years in the wilderness are divided as follows: 19 days at Sinai (unit 1); approximately 38 years from Sinai to Moab (unit 2); and five months of the 40th year on the plains of Moab (unit 3).

(1) FINAL ENCAMPMENT AT SINAI (1:1–10:10). The first ten chapters conclude the bloc of priestly material dealing with the portable sanctuary, given in the previous books of the Pentateuch. Where *Exodus (25–31 and 35–40) gives the details of the preparation of a portable sanctuary, and *Leviticus the consecration of the officiating clergy and the sacrificial ritual, Numbers 1–10 concentrates on the movement of the sanctuary. The functionaries featured are Levites, who lend logistical support to the priests. This first unit focuses on preparations, practical and cultic, for the desert marches and encampments. Maintenance of cult purity within the camp is stressed, as it assures God's presence. In chapters 1–4 the subject is the group service (*ẓava*, usually military service, but not exclusively; cf. Akk. *ṣābu*, and see Naḥmanides to Num. 1:2). The laic tribes must prepare to engage in battle; the Levites carry the components of the portable sanctuary. The numbers of the able-bodied males are given; and the order in which they camped and marched with the 12 tribes ranged around the sanctuary, three on each side. This first census, oriented to military preparedness as well as procedures for the march, has the same total as Exodus 38:26, namely 603, 550 (Num. 2:32). The numbers are not easy to interpret in detail, but they reflect an effort to clothe the schematic number 600,000 (see *Exodus) with the details of a tribal breakdown. Topics that focus on the Levites include their consecration in place of first-born Israelites, two censuses, and their familial relationships and duties (ch. 3–4).

The next section switches focus from camp organization to maintenance of camp purity. Conditions are outlined for the removal and readmission of persons who have become impure (parts of ch. 5). The procedures for the *Nazirite follow (6:1–21). As seen here in its aspect of supererogatory piety, the institution offers an outlet to the zealous Israelite; he may take on, for a limited time, additional personal restrictions. This part of the book, concentrating on the protection of the Tabernacle, culminates with the Priestly Blessing (6:22–27). Chapter 7, which describes the presents offered by the tribal leaders for the service of the Tabernacle, jointly (six wagons and 12 oxen) and individually, is the longest chapter in the Torah. Each tribal leader is assigned a day for his presentation (following the order in ch. 2), and the formula is scrupulously repeated without variation. The first Passover is celebrated in the wilderness (9:1–14) and Moses makes provisions for ritually impure persons to celebrate a second Passover one month later. In final readiness for the march, two silver trumpets are fashioned (10:1–10), and instructions are provided for their use, in battle and on festive occasions.

(2) GENERATION-LONG MARCH IN THE WILDERNESS FROM SINAI TO MOAB (10:11–22:1). The middle unit is woven of narratives interspersed with sacrificial law, various prohibitions, and expiation processes. Recurring rebellions and murmuring against God and Moses characterize these narratives. Ultimately, all the preparations for the imminent entry into the Promised Land came to naught as a result of the moral degeneration of the people that resulted in the decree that all those who were 20 years and older when they left Egypt, with the sole exception of Joshua and Caleb, were to die in the wilderness. The "murmuring" which runs throughout this part of the book is probably a technical term for disloyalty, in the terminology of a treaty between suzerain and vassal (see *Covenant). Even Moses, Aaron, and Miriam have moments of disloyalty to God. The unit opens with a description of the departure from Sinai on 20 Nisan, year 2 of the Exodus (10:11). It is followed immediately by a litany of grievances and their resolutions (ch. 11); a key complaint is the monotony of the people's staple food, manna, which is then supplemented by the delicacy of quail meat (as in Ex. 16). In satisfying their hunger for substantial food, the people gorge themselves and

are punished by a plague. Woven into this story is the initiation of 70 elders to share the burden of the people of Israel, the prerequisite for such service being an experience of prophetic ecstasy occasioned by the presence of Moses in the vicinity of the Tent. Probably the original number was 72, six from each tribe; the failure of *Eldad and Medad to report to the Tent resulted in the installation of only 70. The next account treats the loss of faith of Miriam and Aaron (ch. 12). The occasion is Moses' marriage to a Kushite, although the laconic account gives no indication of whether the pigmentation of the woman is an issue. The affliction of Miriam with leprosy, which turns her skin white, may be a poetic judgment because she slurred a black woman.

The nadir in the loss of faith is the story of the refusal to invade Canaan from the south (chs. 13–14). Twelve men, eminent representatives of each tribe, reconnoiter the land that has been promised to the Israelites. It is this incident which brings the decree of the death of that generation in the wilderness. The story is of major importance in Israelite tradition. It is similar in many points to the other great act of treason, the episode of the Golden Calf (Ex. 32–34). It has a military context, which is central to the wilderness experience and the conquest of the Promised Land. Chapter 15 is an aggregate of prescriptions, which are apparently placed here as a pause in the drama. It begins with cultic ordinances for Canaan, which serve as a placebo after the dire punishment. Then come prescriptions relating to errant behavior, climaxed by the execution of the man who gathered firewood on the Sabbath. The final section ordains the use of a garment fringe with an azure thread, to serve as a reminder of the Covenant. In pre-Israelite times the fringe had an apotropaic function, the warding off of demonic harm, and was regarded as an extension of the person. As with the *phylacteries, the fringe was transvalued by the Bible, to serve as a reminder to the Israelites that they are a Covenant community. This is a fitting epilogue to the account of the treason in chapters 13–14, as well as to the ordinances of errancy attached to it. The rebellion of Korah (chs. 16–17) blends two (or three) attacks on the authority of YHWH as vested in Moses and Aaron. One reflects the dissatisfaction of a group of laymen from the tribe of Reuben. Another shows the dissatisfaction of a Levite, from the most important family (Kohath) of the Levites with the assignment of Levites to the subordinate service of supporting the priests, who alone are authorized to officiate in the Tent. Through divine intervention both parties are punished. The subsequent murmuring of the Israelites against Moses and Aaron leads to punishment by plague, which is stopped when Aaron carries a pan with burning incense into the midst of the dying. In this way, the authority of Aaron is brought home strikingly, and is underscored by the contest of the staves. This is followed by a restatement of the relationship between the priests and the Levites (ch. 18), including the perquisites due to each group (*terumah* and *tithe). Then comes the prescription of the *red heifer (ch. 19), the ashes of which serve to decontaminate those in a state of ritual pollution; the ashes also contaminate the uncontaminated. This double nature of sanctuary taboo may reflect the attitude toward a superhuman power source, which can electrify or electrocute, as dramatized in the Korah story. Possibly this explains the location of chapter 19. The death of the leadership is the theme of chapter 20, which opens with the death of Miriam and ends with the death of Aaron. The cause of the death of Aaron and the doom of Moses is reported in the laconic account of water from the rock (cf. Ex. 17:1–7): they demonstrate loss of faith, which fits into the catalog of acts of disobedience.

The narrative now moves to the end of the 40 years in the wilderness. The generation of the Exodus is coming to an end. It is here that the Israelites anticipate the move into the area of Transjordan, and they ask for peaceful passage through the southern state of Edom, but permission is refused (20:14–21). They gain a victory over the Canaanite king of Arad (21:1–3), and turn south, to avoid Edom. Another incident of dissatisfaction is recorded, which is met by God with venomous snakes, followed by an antidote in the form of a bronze serpent. Reports of the Israelite itinerary are interspersed with two fragments of poetry supposedly derived from an ancient source, the Book of the Wars of YHWH. Then follows the victory of Israel over the Amorite king Sihon, which results in the first acquisition of territory, and a second victory, over Og king of Bashan. *The unit ends with the Israelites encamped on the plains of Moab.*

(3) ENCAMPMENT ON THE PLAINS OF MOAB AND PREPARATION TO ENTER CANAAN (22:2–36:13). Unit three finds the Israelites encamped on the eastern side of the Jordan River, opposite Jericho. This unit too, is composed of narratives, legislation, and folk tales. Its theme centers on final preparation to inherit the promised land. The first section (chs. 22–24) tells the story of *Balaam, an expert seer who is hired to curse the Israelites (damnation of one's enemies before battle is a practice well known from the ancient Near East). He is summoned in desperation by Balak, king of Moab, with the concurrence of his Midianite overlords. Repeatedly Balaam tries to curse the Israelites but God thwarts his mission and he is able only to bless them. Finally, Balaam is expelled angrily by Balak. The tale of Balaam, recorded in prose and poetry, seems to be an independent composition inserted at this juncture because its outcome determines if Israel will indeed inherit Canaan. Ultimately, it demonstrates the invincibility of Israel under the protection of YHWH, impervious to the greatest outside powers, human or magical. A non-biblical inscription from the site of Deir Alla in Jordan reveals an account of a seer by the same name, indicating at least an ancient tradition surrounding one Balaam known for his prophecies (see Levine, Balaam). Another act of treason follows at the heels of Israel's rescue from Balak's intended curses at Baal-peor. There, the people are enticed by Moabite women, and are attracted to their cultic worship; a (Simeonite) tribal leader is beguiled by a Midianite woman of high position and the two parade their liaison in the presence of the whole camp. Phinehas kills

them, earning for his descendants the right of perpetual priesthood (25:1–15). As revenge for the supposed trickery, the Israelites are enjoined to assail the Midianites. Here the catalog of treacherous acts ends.

The latter part of the book begins with a second census and the apportionment of the land to the tribes. The census of chapter 26 follows the pattern of chapter 1, with a slightly lower total, reflecting the losses resulting from punishment, which offset the natural increase. It also serves to introduce the theme of the remainder of the book and the preparation for the conquest of Canaan. Arising from the tribal allotment is the special case of Zelophehad's daughters, who petition Moses for the right to inherit, since their father *Zelophehad had no sons. Their claim is allowed (27:1–11), with the stipulation, in a later supplemental narrative, that they marry within their own tribe, so as not to disturb the tribal divisions (ch. 36). The promise of the land is the subject of the remaining material. Into this outline is set, first, the ceremony of succession, so that the people have Joshua to command them during the conquest. Again the narrative is suspended, by the insertion of prescriptions concerning festival sacrifices (chs. 28–29). There is no clear reason for the placement of these cultic regulations here, except that they are part of the testamentary matter that preceded the death of Moses, as the subscription (30:1) indicates. The same is true for chapter 30, the regulations governing the validity of vows made by a woman. The defeat of Midian, allegedly in retaliation for the seduction of the Israelites at Baal-peor, is recorded in chapter 31. Chapter 32 records the approval of the request of two and a half tribes to settle in the territory of the Amorites. Chapter 33 contains a list of the stations in the wilderness trek, most of which are unidentified, and many of which are not mentioned elsewhere. It is followed by the command to conquer Canaan and distribute the land among the tribes. There follows an outline of the ideal borders of the territory designated for Israelite settlement, and then the names of the men who will effect the division of the land by lot (ch. 34). Chapter 35 calls for the assignment of cities for special inhabitants: for the Levites, who have no share in the land allotment, and for the unwitting manslayer, to find refuge from the blood-avenger (cf. Ex. 21:12–14). The book ends with the resumption of the subject of Zelophehad's daughters, whose case serves as a model for marriage regulations enjoined on female heirs. The final verse of Numbers (v. 13) forms an inclusio with 22:1, stating the place where the precepts of this unit were given to the Israelites.

Critical View

The problems of the composition of Numbers must be viewed in the broader framework of Bible criticism. Modern critical scholarship – based on stylistic, linguistic, and contextual criteria – identifies separate sources underlying the final version of the book. Primarily, the texts of Numbers derive from various layers of the Priestly source (P); additional texts are identified with two older sources, the Yahwist (J) and the Elohist (E) (see *Pentateuch). The predominant Priestly material frequently serves to expand, supplement, or recast ideologically the earlier *je* texts to fit the agenda of the Priestly writers. The Balaam pericope, both the prose and poetry, seems to derive from a different author altogether. Dating the varying sources in Numbers, as in the rest of the Bible, remains incredibly difficult. Even the priestly material, which Bible scholars at an early date assigned to the post-Exilic period, seems to contain earlier layers. Numerous pre-Mosaic cultic texts from the Ancient Near East have been discovered, which display the same characteristics of the repetition of formulas and scrupulous detail. The argument from exaggerated and schematic numbers is similarly neutralized; earliest texts, such as the Sumerian Kings List, have exactly these features. The prodigious cultic requirements in the priestly material are also found in other early cultures, notably in Hittite sources. The theory that the Priestly legislation reflects the post-Exilic theocracy is still widely held, but has been challenged by a number of scholars. Even the dating of the narrative material of J and E, once believed to be securely dated to the pre-Exilic period, is debated. Essentially, one may recognize various narrative traditions, not necessarily consistent throughout Numbers, combined with Priestly material, narrative and cultic, which is of diverse dates and origins.

Jewish tradition, however, views the apparently disparate texts of Numbers as a single work written by Moses. Even so, the attempt to descry principles and patterns of arrangement is as early as the rabbis of the Talmud. They pursued the question of juxtaposition (or sequence), and it was they who implied an order other than the simple chronological thread: "There is no earlier and later in the Torah" (see Rashi on Num. 9:1). Although critical scholarship does not recognize Mosaic authorship, certain modern approaches have emphasized a kind of literary study that focuses on the final form of the text (synchronic approach) rather than its layers (diachronic approach). This method views the preserved text as an organic unit and searches for techniques of style and structure that bind the individual literary units into a whole (Milgrom, 1990). Finally, redaction criticism demonstrates the interaction of the different parts of the text. Milgrom highlights the literary style of Numbers. His structural analysis focuses on the device of chiasm and introversion as well as the prevalence of repetitive subscripts and resumptions, septenary repetitions, and recapitulations.

Religious Values

According to the critical view it is virtually certain that the Book of Numbers as we now have it is considerably later than Moses. In addition, the historical value of its accounts is considered minimal by most modern scholars, not only because of the late date of the written version, but because the agenda of its authors was to write a redemption history of Israel that focuses on ideology rather than historically accurate records in the modern sense. Several religiously motivated messages can be uncovered in the texts of Numbers and in their interaction with those in other books of the Pentateuch. The treatment of the traditions from the wilderness experience in Numbers has many points of contact with the wilderness journey in Exodus (especially 16–17). According to Abrabanel, the two collections are sharply distinguished: in Exodus, prior to Sinai, the Israelite failure of faith was not punished; in Numbers, after the revelation, it was punished. It seems that the Israelite traditions of the wilderness experience were largely used in duplicate, to convey the implications of the Covenant. Numbers 1–26 stresses the failure of faith even after the elaborate sanctuary ritual is instituted. The peroration comes in Deuteronomy 31:16–21. This reveals the (or a) Torah view regarding humankind: humans are constitutionally capable of rising above the realities of everyday life, but consistently do not. Confronted with circumstances, the theoretical supports of religious experience desert a person, who reacts to human situations with human behavior, which is not the standard set by the deity. On the whole, this is a depressing message. But while individuals and communities fail, the people, chosen by God, survives, always to find another chance to live up to the Covenant standards. God's fidelity, in contrast, remains constant. This hopeful note of recurrent opportunity is muted but audible in the latter section of Numbers. The failures of the wilderness experience are tied off: Israel is ensconced in the territory east of the Jordan. Perhaps in the land of the Covenant, the people of the Covenant will fulfill the terms of the Covenant.

For the traditional view, see *Pentateuch: The Traditional View.

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[Ivan Caine / Nili S. Fox (2nd ed.)]

NUMBERS, TYPICAL AND IMPORTANT. Biblical numbers are primarily based on the decimal system, which is of Hamito-Egyptian origin. The sexagesimal system, however, which ultimately derives from Sumerian usage, also plays an important role in Scripture, and since 60 is divisible by ten and five, the two methods of reckoning easily coalesce. The numbers in the Bible range from one (Gen. 1:5) to 100,000,000 (Dan. 7:10), though the latter figure is to be regarded as a hyperbole rather than a literal numerical expression. The largest number to be understood literally is that given in I Chronicles 21:5 in connection with David's census: 1,100,000 men from Israel plus 470,000 from Judah that drew the sword (but cf. the smaller figures in II Sam. 24:9). The idea of infinity in the mathematical sense (in contrast to the theological concept of God's unlimited powers) is not found in the Bible. However, it is recognized that there are limits to the human ability to count (Gen. 13:16; 41:49).

Biblical Arithmetic

The Israelites in biblical times did not take a special interest in mathematics. Their knowledge was confined, it seems, to their essential needs and was based on Egyptian and Babylonian methods of calculation. The four basic arithmetical operations are represented in the Bible, but only the results – not the method of calculating – are given. Thus there are examples of simple addition (Num. 11:26), subtraction (Gen. 18:28–33), multiplication (Lev. 25:8; Num. 7:84–86), and division (Num. 31:27). More complicated operations, involving "the rule of three," are exemplified in Leviticus 25:50ff.; 27:18, 23. The Hebrews also had an elementary control of fractions, but they seem to have avoided, as did other peoples of antiquity, the problem of converting mixed fractions to a common denominator. The biblical use of complementary fractions (i.e., fractions in which the numerator is one less than the denominator, e.g., 2/3, II Kings 11:7; 4/5, Gen. 47:24; 9/10, Neh. 11:1) shows Egyptian and Mesopotamian influence. Of particular interest is the use of certain parts of the body to express fractions or multiplication, e.g., *yad*, "hand" (fractions: *ibid.*; multiplication: Gen. 43:34); *regel*, "foot" or "times" (multiplication: Num. 22:28); *pi*, "mouth" (fraction: Zech. 13:8; multiplication: Deut. 21:17, according to many exegetes). The term *pi shenayim* originally meant two-thirds but subsequently came to signify "twice as much" (II Kings 2:9). The latter is the meaning it always has in the Mishnah and Talmud. In Deuteronomy 21:17 the sense is uncertain: the expression could mean either two-thirds of the inheritance or a double portion. *Rosh*, "head," frequently occurs in the sense of "sum, total" (Ex. 30:12; Num. 1:2), or "capital" (Lev. 5:24). The curious psychological approach that enables *yad*, for example, to serve both for division and multiplication is also reflected in the use of certain denominative verbs (in the *pi'el*) derived from numbers. Thus *shillesh* denotes "to divide into three" (Deut. 19:3) and "to repeat an action three times" (I Kings 18:34). The value of π was taken to be 3 (I Kings 7:23). Even the Mishnah in *Eruvin* 1:5 retains this approximate value, but *Mishnat ha-Middot* (second century) estimates π as 22/7.

Method of Expression

Biblical numbers are expressed by words denoting units, tens, 100, 200, 1,000, 2,000, 10,000, 20,000, and by combinations of these. There is no real evidence of the use of arithmetical symbols either in Scripture or in monumental inscriptions of the biblical period, like the *Siloam Inscription (c. 700); cf. also the *Mesha Stele of the ninth century. However, the use of figures in everyday documents, chiefly for small numbers, is demonstrated by the *Samaria ostraca (eighth century), where both words and figures are employed for numerals. The *Lachish Letters (sixth century) likewise contain numerical symbols. But, whereas these figures appear to be based on Egyptian models, other Samarian inscriptions display symbols that correspond to the Phoenician-Aramaic tradition. The *Elephantine papyri (fifth century) also use arithmetical signs (chiefly vertical strokes for units and horizontal lines for tens). In later times (the Hasmonean period and throughout the talmudic age), following the Greek example, the letters of the alphabet were given numerical values. The letters *alef* to *tet* represent the digits one to nine; *yod* to *ẓade*, the tens to 90; and *kaf* to *tav* 100 to 400; thousands are expressed by the letters for units with two dots above. The system eventually gave rise to the numerological method called **gematria*, which R. Eliezer b. R. Yose made the 29th of his 32 hermeneutical rules, and examples of which are to be found already in the New Testament (Rev. 13:18), as well as in the Talmud and Midrash; while the kabbalists went to fantastic lengths in the application of this exegetical device. In modern times, G.R. Driver has revived the idea that even in the Bible, numbers are occasionally indicated by the first letter of their name (acrophonic system) or by the numerical value of letters of the alphabet. Thus the number 318 in Genesis 14:14 represents אליעזר (Eliezer) (cf. Gen. R. 43:2, and the *Epistle of Barnabas*).

Symbolic and Rhetorical Use

Biblical numbers are not always intended to be taken at their face value. They are often used indefinitely – as round figures – or rhetorically, for emphasis or in a hyperbolic sense. At times the rhetorical effect is achieved through a latent number, i.e., certain words or names occur a given number of times, although the actual figure is not specified. Many numbers are noteworthy for their symbolic nuances. Hebrew literature is not altogether unique in this regard; analogues are to be found in Egyptian, Sumerian, Akkadian, Canaanite, and Hittite writings. Ugaritic, in particular, provides many examples of the rhetorical and symbolic use of numbers. Especially significant is the biblical use of sacred numbers, which play an important religious role. There is, in addition, a distinct tendency in Scripture to achieve numerical harmony or symmetry. This aspect has been worked out in considerable detail for Genesis, notably its early chapters, by U. Cassuto (see bibliography).

ONE. One is sometimes used as the indefinite article (I Sam. 24:14), and often as an indefinite pronoun, "someone, anyone, a certain man" (II Kings 4:39). Though a cardinal number, it is also used as an ordinal (Gen. 1:5; 8:5, 13; Ruth 1:4). It also signifies uniqueness and indivisibility. Hence it is expressive of the unity of marriage (Gen. 2:24) and of the doctrine of monotheism (Deut. 6:4).

TWO. The fact that various organs and limbs of the body occur in pairs (eyes, hands, etc.) invested the number two with a certain importance. The animals entered the ark in pairs; the Decalogue was inscribed on two tablets of stone. Often two sacrifices were ordained (Lev. 14:22). The fraction one-half is also common in the Bible: the half-tribe of Manasseh (Num. 32:33) and the half-shekel (Ex. 30:13). The Hebrew preference for the concrete to the abstract finds expression, inter alia, in the idiomatic use of two for "a few" (Num. 9:22; I Kings 17:12). Sometimes "three" is added to emphasize the approximate character of the number (II Kings 9:32; Job 33:29; Isa. 17:6). Mention may also be made here of the idiom *temol shilshom*, "hitherto" (literally: 'yesterday, the third day back'). A not uncommon device for achieving emphasis is the repetition (latent two) of a word or phrase (I Kings 13:2; Isa. 43:25).

THREE. Three is a very common biblical number. At times it is difficult to tell whether it is used with precision or as a small round number (Gen. 30:36; Ex. 2:2); but the addition of the next high number establishes its approximate character (Ex. 20:5; Jer. 36:23). Of special importance is its use in sacred contexts. It conveys the idea of completeness, having a beginning, middle, and end. Even in remote antiquity the pagan peoples worshiped triads of gods (in Babylonia: Anu, Bel, and Ea; in Egypt: Isis, Osiris, and Horus). The universe was divided into heaven, earth, and the abyss (or the netherworld), which the three deities represented. The family group of father, mother, and child, without doubt, also contributed to the significance of the number. In the Bible three has various religious associations: a three-year old (or third-born) sacrifice in Genesis 15:9; three feasts (Ex. 23:14); for three years the fruit of a newly planted tree was forbidden (Lev. 19:23); ritual purification on the third day (Num. 19:12; 31:19); Daniel kneeled and prayed three times a day (Dan. 6:11). The following occurrences of three are also of interest: In Genesis 40, three has symbolic significance. It exercises a mystic power in the story of Elijah's revival of the child (I Kings 17:21). Three cities of refuge are mentioned in Deuteronomy 19:7, 9. Three daughters (plus seven sons) seem to be an ideal number (Job 1:2; 42:13). Three is latent in a number of passages where it expresses a complete and perfect number or is used for emphasis. The expression "and God blessed" occurs, for example, three times in Genesis 1:22, 28; 2:3. The Sanctuary has three divisions: a court, a holy place, and a Holy of Holies (Ex. 26:33; 27:9; I Kings 6:16–17). In Aaron's benediction (Num. 6:24–26) the Tetragrammaton occurs thrice, and three pairs of blessings are pronounced. On the other hand, the trisagion in Isaiah 6:3 is a form of superlative (in the Qumran scroll, 1QIsa, "holy" is found only twice); while the occurrence of "temple of the Lord" three times in Jeremiah 7:4 merely lends emphasis to the prophet's mocking rebuke.

FOUR. The importance of the number four is probably derived from the four cardinal points of the compass (some scholars point to the square). It is regarded as sacred in various parts of the world, and signifies completeness and sufficiency. Four rivers issued from the Garden of Eden (Gen. 2:10). Jephthah's daughter was lamented annually for four days (Judg. 11:40). In Jeremiah 15:2 the people is divided into four groups, each subjected to a different type of disaster; in the next verse the category of "the sword" is itself divided into four phases. There are four winds; four quarters of heaven (Jer. 49:36); four sore judgments (Ezek. 14:21); and four horns that scatter Judah (Zech. 2:1 [1:18]). The number four frequently occurs in the measurements of the furniture of the Tabernacle (Ex. 25ff.; 36ff.) and of the Temple (I Kings 7). The bearers of God's throne are four (Ezek. 1, 10), and four chariots issue from two mountains (Zech. 6:1–8). Multiples of four are discernible in the length of the Tabernacle curtains – 28 cubits (Ex. 26:2); in the large round number 400 (Gen. 15:13; Judg. 21:12), and in the still larger figure of 400,000 (Judg. 20:2, 17; II Chron. 13:3).

FIVE. Five probably means simply "a few" in II Kings 7:13, perhaps also in Genesis 43:34; 47:2 (cf. Er. 6:6, 8). Five as a basic number goes back to remote antiquity. There was a primitive Hamitic system based on the number five before the decimal system. It is obviously derived from the fingers of the hand used by early man in his simple calculations. In the Bible, five is related to both the decimal and sexagesimal systems. It is a feature of sacred architecture (I Kings 7:39, 49). It is also found in connection with penalties (Ex. 21:37), redemption (Num. 3:47; 18:16), and gifts (Gen. 43:34; 45:22). The fraction one-fifth is likewise common (Lev. 5:16; 22:14). It is often used as a small round number (Lev. 26:8; I Sam. 17:40; Isa. 19:18). For the multiple 50 see below. Other multiples up to 500,000 occur frequently (Gen. 5:32; Ex. 30:23–24; II Chron. 13:17, et al.).

SIX. Six is part of the sexagesimal system but has little symbolic value. Examples of its occurrence are: the working days of the week (Ex. 20:9); the maximum years of servitude for a Hebrew slave (Ex. 21:2); the steps of Solomon's throne (I Kings 10:19–20); the wings of the seraphim (Isa. 6:2); the six-cubit measuring reed of Ezekiel's vision (Ezek. 40:5; 41:8).

SEVEN. Seven played an exceptionally important role in antiquity. It was sacred to Semitic and other peoples, including the Egyptians, Assyrians, Persians, and the Vedic folk in India. Its importance is often derived from the worship of the seven heavenly bodies: the sun, moon, and the five planets. It is also pointed out that the seven-day week was approximately a quarter of the lunar month (29½ days), and that the Pleiades (Amos 5:8) were thought to comprise seven stars. Others see the origin of the number's prominence in the fact that it is composed of the sacred numbers three and four, or in the "unrelated" character of seven in the series one to ten. Like the Sumerians, the biblical writers often add seven to a large number to indicate a very big figure. U. Cassuto writes: "It clearly follows that the chronology of the Book of Genesis as a whole is also founded on the dual principle of the sexagesimal system and the addition of seven" (*From Adam to Noah*, in bibl., 259). In the Bible the number seven is connected with every aspect of religious life in every period: e.g., the clean beasts in the ark (Gen. 7:2ff.); Abraham's covenant with Abimelech (Gen. 21:28–30); cleansing from leprosy (Lev. 14); the festivals (Lev. 23; Deut. 16:9); Balaam's altars (Num. 23); the induction of the priests and the consecration of the altars (Ex. 29:35–37); sacrifices (Gen. 8:20; Num. 28:11; Job 42:8; I Chron. 15:26); the Temple furnishings (I Kings 7:17); the *menorah* (Ex. 25:31–37; Zech. 4:2); the Temple steps (Ezek. 40:22); the width of the Temple entrance (Ezek. 41:3); the sprinkling of blood (Lev. 4:6, 17;16:14; Num. 19:4) and the like. The innate, mystic power of seven is exemplified in Joshua 6:4, 8, 13 (Jericho); Judges 16:13, 19 (Samson); and II Kings 5:10 (Naaman). It also occurs in connection with punishment (Gen. 4:24; Lev. 26:18; Deut. 28:7, 25; II Sam. 21:6; Prov. 6:31; Dan. 4:13, 20, 29; 9:27). In relation to time, seven represents a fitting (or sacred) period (Gen. 1:3ff.; 8:12; 50:10; Ex. 7:25; Lev. 8:33; Josh. 6). More generally it indicates a complete or round number of moderate size (Isa. 4:1; 11:15; Micah 5:4; Ps. 12:7 [6]; Prov. 26:16, 25; Job 1:2; Esth. 1:10; 2:9). In Deuteronomy 7:1 it is equated with "many." Other interesting references are: Genesis 29:20, 27, 30 and Judges 14:12, 17 (marriage); Ezekiel 9:2 (angels); II Kings 4:35 (sneezes of revival); Genesis 41; II Kings 8:1 (famine and plenty); Genesis 33:3 (prostrations; parallels are found in the Tell El-Amarna Letters and in Ugaritic writings). Multiples of seven bear the same character with added emphasis (Lev. 12:5; Num. 29:13; I Kings 8:65). For 70 see below. The half of seven, three and a half, also has special significance. "Times, time, and half a time" occurs in Daniel 7:25 and 12:7. "Half of the week" in Daniel 9:27 is explained by CH Cornill to mean 3½ years and to have its origin in the 3½ years of Antiochus' persecution. H. Gunkel, however, traces the expression to Babylonia (half Kislev, Tevet, Shevat, and Adar), the references being to the 3½ months between the winter solstice and the festival of Marduk, i.e., the period of the supremacy of Tiamat.

EIGHT AND NINE. The numbers eight and nine do not appear to have any intrinsic symbolic import. Their significance seems to be related to seven and ten, respectively. The eighth day of circumcision (Gen. 17:12), of the consecration of firstborn beasts (Ex. 22:29), of the sacrifices of the defiled Nazirite (Num. 6:10), and of the holy convocation (Lev. 23:36) is simply the day after the important period of seven days. Noteworthy, however, is Ezekiel's predilection for the number eight in the Temple structure (Ezek. 40:9, 31, 34, 37). Nine is at times significant insofar as it is one less than the important number ten (Neh. 11:1).

TEN. Like five, ten is clearly derived from the use of the fingers in counting (the Sefirot, it may be noted, emanate from the fingers according to *Sefer Yeẓirah*) and is the basis of the numeral system chiefly, though not solely, used in the Bible. It expresses completeness and perfection (Gen. 24:10, 22; Josh. 22:14; Judg. 17:10; II Kings 20:9–11; Jer. 41:8; Job 19:3). Its sacred character, which may derive from the fact that it is the product of three and seven (both sacred numbers), is exemplified in the Decalogue (Ex. 20:2ff.), where it may also serve as a mnemonic; the tithes (Gen. 14:20; Num. 18:21, 26; Deut. 26:12); the Tabernacle and Temple furnishings, including multiples of ten (Ex. 26; I Kings 6–7; Ezek. 45; II Chron. 4); and the minimum number of righteous men required to save Sodom. It also occurs in latent form: e.g., there are ten patriarchs from Adam to Noah (Gen. 5), and ten from Noah to Abraham (Gen. 11:10–27). It is stated that the Israelites put the Lord to test ten times (Num. 14:22). In ritual observances the fraction one-tenth occurs frequently (Num. 28).

TWELVE. The number 12 may have derived its importance from the division of the lunar year into 12 months, and from the 12 signs of the Zodiac. It should also be noted that it can be broken down into the significant numbers five (+) seven or three (×) four. But undoubtedly its divisibility and its role in the Sumerian sexagesimal system gave it a special status. In the Bible the fact that the tribes numbered 12 (Gen. 35:22; 42:13, 32; 49:28; Num. 1:44) endowed the number with special religious significance (cf. the Greek amphictyonies). To maintain the number 12, Ephraim and Manasseh were counted as two tribes when Levi was omitted. The tribes of Ishmael likewise numbered 12 (Gen. 17:20). Representative persons and objects often correspond to the number of the tribes (Ex. 24:4; 28:21; Lev. 24:5; Num. 7:3; 17:17, 21; Josh. 4:2; I Kings 10:20; 18:31; Ezek. 48:31ff.; Ezra 6:17; 8:35). Multiples of 12 are found in the 24 classes of priests and Levites (I Chron. 24:4; 25:31); the 48 levitical cities (Num. 35:7); the 24,000 men in the monthly courses that served King David (I Chron. 27:1–15). The male descendants of Adam listed in Genesis 4:1–26 numbered 12, and the verb *yalad* ("to bear") occurs there 12 times.

TWENTY. Twenty marks a distinctive period in human life. Isaac's sons were born 20 years after marriage (Gen. 25:20, 26). Also, the age for army service was 20 (Num. 1:3).

FORTY. Forty is an important round number, indicating a fairly long period. The length of a generation is approximately 40 years. A man reaches full adulthood at 40 (cf. Josh. 14:7; II Sam. 2:10). Isaac and Esau married at 40 (Gen. 25:20; 26:34). The complete span of human life is thrice 40 (Gen. 6:3; Deut. 34:7), while twice 40 represents advanced old age (II Sam. 19:33–36; Ps. 90:10). The Israelites wandered 40 years in the wilderness (Ex. 16:35; Deut. 2:7), in which time an entire generation died out (Num. 14:33; 32:13). In I Kings 6:1 (cf. I Chron. 5:29–36 [6:3–10]) 480 years represents 12 generations. At various periods the land had rest for 40 years (Judg. 3:11; 8:28; I Sam. 4:18; 80 years in Judg. 3:30 is the equivalent of two generations) and David, Solomon, and Joash reigned for 40 years (II Sam. 5:4; I Kings 2:11; 11:42; II Chron. 24:1). This was a sign of divine grace. It is noteworthy that, according to the Mesha Stele, Israel oppressed Moab for 40 years. Periods of special significance often consist of 40 days (Gen. 7:4, 12; 8:6; Ex. 24:18; 34:28; Num. 13:25; Deut. 9:9ff.; 10:10; I Sam. 17:16; I Kings 19:8; Ezek. 4:6; 29:11–13; Jonah 3:4). Other interesting examples of the occurrence of 40 are: 40 lashes (Deut. 25:3); sons (Judg. 12:14); camel loads (II Kings 8:9); shekels (Neh. 5:15); Temple measurements (Ezek. 41:2; 46:22). Forty thousand indicates a very large number (Josh. 4:13; Judg. 5:8; II Sam. 10:18; I Chron. 12:37).

FIFTY. Fifty, a multiple of ten, occurs in measurements (Gen. 6:15; Ezek. 40:15); in compensation (Deut. 22:29); and in civil and military organization (Ex. 18:21; Deut. 1:15). Other multiples of ten, up to 500,000, are frequently encountered (Gen. 5:32; Ex 30:23–24; II Chron. 13:17).

SIXTY. Sixty, the basis of the sexagesimal system, is a heritage from the Sumerians, whose method of calculation has left its mark on the civilized world to this day. The division of the circle into 360 degrees, of an hour into 60 minutes, the minute into 60 seconds, and counting by the dozen and the gross are derived from this ancient people. The system originated, it is suggested, "in a mythical addition of zenith and nadir to the four points of the compass" (Mc-Gee). Although the biblical method of reckoning is based mainly on the decimal system, many scriptural (and likewise talmudic and midrashic) numbers show a sexagesimal structure. Thus the total ages of the patriarchs from Adam to Noah and their ages at the birth of the first son are either exact multiples of five or of five with the addition of seven (see Seven above), in accordance with a stylistic Sumerian usage. All the ages in Genesis 5 are to be analysed in the same way, as U. Cassuto has shown in his commentaries to Genesis (see bibl.). The sexagesimal method of calculation applies to other parts of the Bible, too.

SEVENTY. Seventy (the product of two sacred numbers, seven times ten) is used as a round figure, with symbolic or sacred nuances. It occurs in various contexts; it is the number of the family of Jacob that went down to Egypt (Ex. 1:5; Deut. 10:22); of the palm trees at Elim; of the elders that went up with Moses, Aaron, Nadab, and Abihu (Ex. 24:9); of the elders set round about the Tent (Num. 11:24); of the years that the nations will serve the king of Babylon (Jer. 25:11ff.); and of the weeks mentioned in Daniel 9:24ff. The nations enumerated in Genesis 10 total 70 (or 71, or 72, according to others); cf. also the 77-fold of Lamech's vengeance (Gen. 4:24). In Ugaritic literature 70 funerary offerings for Baal are mentioned, and the gods are referred to as "the 70 children of Asherah."

A THOUSAND. A thousand and its multiples are frequently used in the Bible as round numbers indicating a large amount. Etymologically the Hebrew word *elef* ("thousand") denotes "a crowd," and hence at times has the sense of "tribe," "clan," or designates a military unit, which does not necessarily comprise 1,000 (Ex. 18:21; Deut. 33:17; Judg. 6:15). Flinders Petrie (*Researches in Sinai*), interpreting *elef* to mean a family or tent, reduced the figure for the first census to 5,500, and to 5,730 for the second. Multiples of 1,000 are often hyperbolic expressions (Lev. 26:8; Deut. 32:30; I Sam. 18:7; Ps. 3:7[6]; Song 5:10). Seventy thousand (II Sam. 24:15) and 1,000,000 (Dan. 7:10; I Chron. 21:5; 22:14; II Chron. 14:8) are globular figures indicative of a vast number, while "thousands of ten thousands" (Gen. 24:60) and "ten thousand times ten thousand" (Dan. 7:10) are imaginative numerical ultimates. Similarly high figures are found in Ugaritic literature.

Accuracy

The question of the accuracy of biblical numbers is an exegetical problem. There are actual contradictions within the Bible itself (cf. II Sam. 24:9 with I Chron. 21:5). The correctness of other figures is doubted on other grounds. Unquestionably, some excessively large numbers must be regarded as symbolic or hyperbolic figures. In certain cases critics suppose that estimates – especially of enemy forces – are only rough, and possibly exaggerated, guesses. However, errors in transmission and copying must be taken into account. Manuscripts generally show that they are particularly prone to corruption where numbers are concerned. In Hebrew a single letter could change five to 50, for example. It is interesting to note that one Hebrew Ms. of the Bible (no. 9 of Kennicott) reads in Numbers 1:23, 1,050 for 59,300 (MT); Numbers 2:6, 50 for 54,400; and in Numbers 2:16, 100 for 151,450. There are also considerable divergences between the Masoretic Text, the Septuagint, and the Samaritan versions. For example, the years between the Creation and the Flood are 1,656 in the Hebrew Bible, 2,262 in the Septuagint, and 1,307 in the Samaritan recension.

Ascending and Descending Numbers

The manner in which large numbers are arranged is subject to interesting variations: sometimes they are arranged in ascending order (Gen. 5:17), at other times in descending order (Gen. 23:1; Ex. 38:26), and occasionally a combination of both (Num. 3:43). The conventional explanation is that J, E, and D prefer the descending order, while P favors the ascending order. Cassuto, however, has argued that not a documentary criterion but a linguistic principle is operative here: "When the Bible gives us technical or statistical data and the like, it frequently prefers the ascending order, since the tendency to exactness in these instances causes the smaller numbers to be given precedence and prominence. On the other hand, when a solitary number occurs in a narrative passage or in a poem or in a speech and so forth, the numbers are invariably arranged, save in a few cases where special circumstances operate, according to the more natural and spontaneous order, to wit, the descending order" (*The Documentary Hypothesis*, in bibl., 52).

Numerical Harmony

Another question to which Cassuto has given special attention is that of numerical harmony. He demonstrates, for instance, that heptads repeatedly occur in Genesis 1:1–2:3, leaving no doubt that these literary variations on the theme of seven were carefully designed so as to achieve a harmony of numbers. "This numerical symmetry," he writes, "is, as it were, the golden thread that binds together all the parts of the section and serves as a convincing proof of its unity" (*From Adam to Noah*, in bibl., 15).

Graded Numbers

Another interesting feature of biblical style is the use of graded numbers. This consists of the collocation of two consecutive numbers for rhetorical purposes. The usage may be divided into three categories:

(a) In prose it expresses approximation and, as a rule, fewness, and has a colloquial character (II Kings 9:32; 13:19).

(b) In poetry the two numbers form a parallelism and also express inexactness (Micah 5:4; Job 5:19). A similar usage is found in Sumerian and Akkadian, and, especially, in Ugaritic epic poetry. Since numbers are involved, the parallelism cannot be expressed through synonyms, and consecutive numbers are the only alternative (cf. the parallelism between 1,000 and 10,000 in Ps. 91:17). A combination of the idiom for fewness and poetic parallelism is seen in Isaiah 17:6.

(c) In proverbial sayings a schematic device is employed in which two successive numbers are given of things that share a common characteristic, and the actual items subsequently enumerated conform to the second, i.e., the higher, number (Prov. 30:15–31). The use of numbers in Proverbs (including single numbers as in Prov. 30:15a) is intended as an aid to memory. In Amos 1:3–2:6, where three and four are repeatedly mentioned but only one example is cited, the prophet apparently uses surprise as a rhetorical factor.

Reviewing the facts adumbrated above, it appears that numbers are used in the Bible not solely for statistical or arithmetical purposes. They are also employed as stylistic devices to express symbolically the idea of completeness and perfection, to convey the concept of sanctity, to provide mnemonics, and are often arranged so as to give numerical symmetry or harmony to a passage. They are used both expressly and latently to emphasize the leading thought of a text, and thus often establish its intrinsic unity. The rhetorical uses of numbers in Scripture unquestionably constitute a highly valuable aid to biblical exegesis. Furthermore, the biblical approach to numbers strongly influenced the thinking of later ages. Philo and other Hellenistic writers, the Apocryphal literature, the New Testament, the Talmud and Midrash, and especially the kabbalistic writers laid great stress on numerology in various forms. In this way, numbers became an integral part of both literature and theology.

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NUMBERS RABBAH, aggadic Midrash to the Book of Numbers, also called *Va-Yedabber Rabbah* in medieval literature. (For the name "Rabbah" see **Ruth Rabbah*.)

Structure

The book is divided into 23 sections. The Midrash on chapters 1–8 of the book of Numbers, which are the first two weekly portions as read today – *Ba-Midbar* and *Naso* – is two and a half times longer than the remaining Midrash on chapters 9–36, which cover the eight remaining portions. This disproportion – five sevenths of the Midrash applying to one fifth of the book of Numbers – is in itself sufficient indication that there are here two different Midrashim: *Numbers Rabbah I*, consisting of sections 1–14, and *Numbers Rabbah II*, consisting of sections 15–23.

Numbers Rabbah I

This appears at first sight to be an exegetical Midrash, since (with certain omissions) it forms a kind of consecutive interpretation to Numbers 1–8, chapter by chapter and verse by verse. Nevertheless, many of its long expositions deal with one single theme and are typical of homiletic Midrashim. The division into sections is at times determined by the open and closed sections of the Torah (see *Masorah) and at times by the weekly division of the reading of the law according to the triennial cycle once customary in Ereẓ Israel. In general each section begins with an anonymous proem, either an imitation (not always successful) of the classical proem typical of the amoraic Midrashim (see *Midrash; *Homiletics), or of the type combining *halakhah* and *aggadah* common in the *Tanḥuma Yelammedenu* Midrashim. Some sections have epilogues of consolation or of future destiny. The language of the Midrash is Hebrew, in part mishnaic and in part of the early medieval period. It contains a little Galilean and also Babylonian Aramaic and a few Greek words.

In the light of the many parallels between *Numbers Rabbah I* on the one hand, and **Genesis Rabbati* and *Midrash Aggadah* (see Smaller *Midrashim) which are of the school of Moses ha-Darshan, the 11th-century scholar of Narbonne, on the other, it seems that *Numbers Rabbah I* is also based on Moses ha-Darshan's Midrash to the Pentateuch, of which it preserved not only the contents but even the terminology. This conclusion follows also from the fact that quotations by medieval scholars from the work of Moses ha-Darshan are found in *Numbers Rabbah I*. Since, however, the parallel part of *Midrash Aggadah* (to Num. 1–8) contains many homilies not in *Numbers Rabbah I*, it is obvious that *Numbers Rabbah I* is not an actual part of the work of Moses ha-Darshan, but his book served as the main source for its editor and compiler. The basis of *Numbers Rabbah I* was a Midrash of the *Tanḥuma Yelammedenu* type (which is the reason for the many parallels to these Midrashim and for the homilies which mix *halakhah* with *aggadah*), but the late compiler broke down and reconstructed its homilies, changing its character by greatly enlarging it (particularly in the case of the homilies to *Naso*, sections 6–14, which themselves constitute four sevenths of the whole Midrash *Numbers Rabbah*), adding to it from various sources, especially from the work of Moses ha-Darshan. That work was a combination of biblical commentary, *aggadot* and homilies, and halakhic topics, and included old and new sources (the greater part of which had been revised), together with original novellae. Among the works utilized by Moses ha-Darshan were the *Apocrypha and *Pseudepigrapha of the Second Temple period, especially those of the *Enoch circle (see also *Jubilees; the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs), of which he seems still to have had Hebrew versions. He used all the tannaitic literature, the Jerusalem Talmud, the early amoraic Midrashim, the *Tanḥuma Yelammedenu*, Midrashim (including **Pesikta Rabbati*), **Seder Eliyahu Rabbah* and *Seder Eliyahu Zuta*, the Babylonian Talmud, and even late Midrashim like the *Midrash Tadshe*; his work also contains pseudepigraphic material. *Numbers Rabbah I* also makes use of the *piyyutim* of *Kallir and of *Sefer *Yeẓirah*, and contains topics of esoteric lore, mysticism, and combinations of numbers and calculations. Hence its comparatively late Hebrew is understandable. As the compiler was apparently acquainted with the Midrash **Lekaḥ *Tov*, which like the work of Moses ha-Darshan dates from the end of the 11th century, the middle of the 12th century seems to be indicated as the earliest possible date for the compiling of *Numbers Rabbah I*. It is of interest that the Paris manuscript (no. 149) of 1291 only includes sections 1–5 of *Numbers Rabbah* (on the reading of the law for Numbers), while the Munich manuscript (97, 2) of 1418 includes the whole of *Numbers Rabbah I* but not *Numbers Rabbah II*.

Numbers Rabbah II

This homiletical Midrash of the *Tanḥuma Yelammedenu* type is identical in all respects with the part parallel to it in the printed *Tanḥuma* and in Buber's edition of the *Tanḥuma*. Moreover a much better version has at times been preserved in *Numbers Rabbah II* than in the parallel passages of both the above-mentioned *Tanḥuma* Midrashim. Thus, for example, it has not the Babylonian *She'ilta*, added to the *Tanḥuma* Midrashim *Ḥukkat*, 2. Instead of the expression *Yelammedenu Rabbenu* ("teach us, our master") found in the *Tanḥuma*, it has *halakhah* (in the manuscripts, however, *Numbers Rabbah II* too has *Yelammedenu Rabbenu*). Many of the halakhic proems found in the *Tanḥuma* have been abridged in *Numbers Rabbah II*, as for example the first. However, they are found in full in the manuscripts. The division of *Numbers Rabbah II* into sections, not found in the manuscripts, is, as in the*Tanḥuma*, almost identical with the division of the triennial cycle. The view accepted by the majority of critical scholars is that *Numbers Rabbah II*, which is apparently the second half of a complete Midrash whose first half, which served as the original basis, was lost, was compiled in the ninth century, like most of the *Tanḥuma Yelammedenu* Midrashim. It has, however, also some late additional interpolations from the book of Moses ha-Darshan (18:15–18; 20:5–6, lacking in the *Tanḥuma*; and 18:29 found also in the printed *Tanḥuma*).

The union of *Numbers* Midrashim *Rabbah I* and *Rabbah II* is the work of a copyist of the beginning of the 13th century. The complete Midrash was not yet known to the author of the *Yalkut Shimoni*; it seems that the first to cite it was Naḥmanides. The earliest manuscripts of the whole of *Numbers Rabbah* date only from the 15th century, but they are nevertheless much better than the printed versions.

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[Moshe David Herr]

NUMENIUS, son of Antiochus, Jewish envoy sent by the high priest *Jonathan to renew the Hasmonean pact with Rome. Numenius, together with Antipater the son of Jason, was instructed at the same time to deliver a pledge of friendship to the Spartans, who, according to Josephus, "received the envoys in a friendly manner" and reciprocated with a decree of their own "concerning a friendly alliance with the Jews" (Ant., 13:169–70). It appears that both envoys were used in a similar capacity by Jonathan's successor, *Simeon, and the Spartan reply to Simeon is quoted in I Maccabees 14:20ff. It has been suggested, however, that the two representatives were in fact sent to Rome and Sparta by Jonathan, who died during their mission, and therefore the Spartan correspondence is addressed to Simeon. In any event, Numenius was subsequently sent again to Rome by Simeon, taking with him on this occasion a golden shield in honor of the renewed pact. Numenius participated in yet another mission to Rome, for a similar purpose, during the early years of John *Hyrcanus. The document to this effect, however, was erroneously inserted by Josephus into the priesthood of Hyrcanus II (Jos., Ant., 14:143ff.).

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[Isaiah Gafni]

°**NUMENIUS OF APAMEA** (c. 150–200 C.E.), Greek philosopher, author of a lost work "On the Good" where he introduced the Jews to support his Platonic-Pythagorean view of God as incorporeal. A quotation in Eusebius, *Praeparatio Evangelica* 9:8, praises Moses; according to *Clement of Alexandria Numenius called Plato, whom he revered, "Moses speaking pure Greek."

NUMERUS CLAUSUS ("closed number"), amount fixed as maximal number in the admission of persons (or certain groups of persons) to specific professions (in particular the liberal professions), institutions of higher learning, professional associations, positions of public office, etc.; frequently applied to Jews. The numerus clausus on the admission of Jews to institutions of higher learning was applied in the 19th century, and extended in the 20th century, in particular in the countries of Eastern Europe, but also in others. It assumed its most characteristic form in czarist Russia (see below) as the *protsentnaya norma* where the restrictions and limitations on the admission of Jews were established by special legislation. In countries such as Poland and Romania (see below) the numerus clausus was introduced as a quasi-legal means, or was applied in practice, as part of an antisemitic policy. However, in democratic countries the numerus clausus was also tacitly applied, at least in some institutions of higher learning, for social or prestige reasons. A numerus clausus of this type was applied not only to students but also (sometimes principally) to teaching staff in the universities or in admission to the civil or public services where higher professional qualifications were required. It was also applied in admission to positions which carried a special status, as in the higher ranks of the civil service, the diplomatic service, army, etc.

In Czarist Russia

During the first half of the 19th century, the policy of the Russian government toward the Jews, as formulated in the statutes concerning the Jews ("*polozheniya*") of 1804, 1835, and 1844, was to attract the Jewish youth to Russian schools. This ambition encountered strong opposition from the Jewish masses who regarded education in these schools as a step toward the alienation of Jewish youth from its people and its religion. They also viewed the network of Jewish state schools established by the government to promote general education among the Jews with suspicion. In 1853 there were 159 Jewish pupils in all the secondary schools of Russia (1.3% of the total student roll), while in the universities there were a few dozen. On the other hand, the *maskilim* advocated education in the Russian schools as a means of rapprochement with the Russian people.

During the reign of Alexander II, a radical change occurred in the attitude of the Jews, especially those of the middle and upper classes, toward the Russian schools. This was due to the privileges granted to educated Jews (extension of the right of residence in 1865; important concessions with regard to military service in 1874). In 1880 the number of Jewish pupils in the secondary schools rose to 8,000 (11.5% of the total) and in the universities to 556 (6.8% of the total). These numbers increased yearly. In the educational region of Odessa (which included southern Russia) the proportion of Jewish students rose to 35.2%, and in the region of Vilna (Lithuania) to 26.7%. A Russian-Jewish stratum of intelligentsia rapidly became prominent. As service in the government and administration was closed to them, this intelligentsia concentrated in the liberal professions – medicine, law, and journalism. The members of these professions soon became aware of growing competition from Jews. A propaganda campaign was instigated against the admission of Jews into the class of the intelligentsia; this was sparked off in 1880 by a letter to the editor entitled *Zhid Idyot* ("The Jew Is Coming") which was published in the widely influential newspaper *Novoye Vremya*.

Of their own initiative, higher and secondary schools in various parts of the country began to restrict the admission of Jews within their precincts. This coincided with the general policy of the government of Alexander III which sought to prevent the admission of children of the poorer classes into the higher and secondary schools. It was claimed that the Jewish students introduced a spirit of rebellion and revolution into the schools and thus had a deleterious influence over their Christian fellow students. In July 1887 the Ministry of Education decided that the proportion of Jews in all secondary schools and higher institutions subject to its jurisdiction was not to surpass 10% in the towns of the *Pale of Settlement, 5% in the towns outside it, and only 3% in the capitals of St. Petersburg and Moscow. Many schools were completely closed to Jews. In time, this regulation also spread to schools which were under the supervision of other government ministries (ministry of communications, ministry of finance, etc.). There were individual cases, after the Revolution of 1905, where the restrictions and admission prohibitions were also applied to converted Jews.

These restrictions were introduced during a period when masses of Jewish youth were besieging the Russian schools, and had severe repercussions on Jewish life. Only those who had obtained the highest marks and distinctions were likely to be admitted to Russian secondary and high schools. There were naturally instances of bribery and corruption, or parents who baptized their children so that they could enter the schools. Secondary school graduates began to convert for this end, and during the years 1907 to 1914 this became commonplace. The Lutheran clergyman Piro of Finland became known for selling baptismal certificates at a low price to all those who desired them ("*pirovtsy*"). The Jewish national and Zionist movements fought this phenomenon. These regulations also resulted in the emigration of thousands of Jewish youths to study at the universities of Western Europe (Switzerland, Germany, France, etc.). Jewish students formed the majority of the "Russian" colonies in the university towns of the West. In 1892 the number of Jewish pupils in the secondary schools had decreased to 5,394 (7% of the pupils).

Jewish youths took advantage of the possibility of completing their studies by means of external examinations. In Jewish society, the "extern" studied under the guidance of private teachers and then sat for the state examinations. The antisemitic examiners were severe and failed many of them. In 1911 it was decided that the numerus clausus would also apply to external students, and since the number of non-Jewish external students was very limited this system was brought to an end. During the period of the Russian Revolution of 1905, when autonomy was granted to the institutions of higher learning, the numerus clausus was abolished, but immediately upon the repression of the Revolution the practice was restored. The proportion, however, was increased (to 15% in the Pale of Settlement, 10% beyond it, and 5% in the capital cities). Accordingly, the number of Jewish pupils in the secondary schools rose to 17,538 (9.1% of the pupils), and of Jewish students at the universities to 3,602 (9.4%). In the overwhelming majority of secondary schools for girls, the numerus clausus was not introduced. In 1911 about 35,000 Jewish girls studied at Russian secondary schools (13.5% of the pupils). In the educational region of Vilna (Lithuania) the proportion of Jewish girl pupils rose to 49%, in the region of Warsaw to 42.7% and in the regions of Kiev and Odessa to 33.3% (these four educational regions encompassed the whole of the Pale of Settlement). The numerus clausus served as an impetus for the establishment of private Jewish secondary schools, several of which evolved the beginnings of a national Jewish education.

All restrictions on the admission of Jews to the secondary schools and institutions of higher learning were abolished with the Revolution of February 1917. In 1919, during the brief period when the armies of *Denikin (the "White Army") gained control of large regions of southern Russia, the numerus clausus was temporarily reinstated in many towns under their control.

[Yehuda Slutsky]

In the Soviet Union

There are no indications of any official or unofficial numerus clausus existing in the Soviet Union until the last "Black Years" of Stalin's rule (1948–53). Even then discrimination against Jews seeking admission to Soviet universities seems to have been related to the general atmosphere of distrust and enmity, engendered by the anti-Jewish trend of official policy, rather than the result of a regulated system of limited percentages. Though legally and openly there has never been a numerus clausus for Jews in the U.S.S.R., young Jews seeking admission to certain prestige universities, or to studies leading to positions entailing use of classified information or representative status in the state or on its behalf, increasingly encountered unexpected artificial difficulties in the 1950s and 1960s. Many young Jews complained of having been rejected despite brilliant achievements in the entrance examinations in favor of non-Jews with fewer scholastic qualifications. A number of statements were made by Prime Minister Nikita Khrushchev (for instance to a French socialist delegation in 1957; see *Réalités*, May 1957) or by the minister of culture, Yekaterina Furtseva (to a correspondent of the pro-Communist American magazine, *National Guardian*, June 25, 1956) confirming the existence of a general policy to regulate cadres according to nationality – particularly and explicitly by reducing the proportion of Jews in the intelligentsia and in government departments. These statements seemed to validate the assumption of many Soviet citizens as well as of scholars abroad that, as W. Korey affirms in his study on the legal position of Soviet Jewry (1970), "unpublished governmental regulations appear to have been issued, whether in written or oral form, which establish quotas limiting educational or employment opportunities for Jews." In 1959 the minister for higher education, U.P. Yelyutin, vehemently denied the existence of such quotas, and in 1962 the U.S.S.R. ratified the UNESCO Convention against Discrimination in Education. However, some evidence to the contrary was found in 1963 in Soviet journals such as *Kommunist* and, particularly, the "Bulletin of Higher Education," which acknowledged the existence of "annually planned preferential admission quotas." An American specialist on Soviet education, N. de Witt, reached the conclusion in 1961 that a quota system existed "to the severe disadvantage of the Jewish population." According to de Witt the principle applied makes "the representation of any national or ethnic grouping in overall higher education enrolment" proportional to its size in the total Soviet population. He presented statistical data which showed that between 1935 and 1958 "the index of representation (in higher education) rose for most nationalities, but fell for Georgians and all national minorities, with a very drastic decline for the Jews."

The official statistics on the number of Jewish students, which apparently contradicted this assertion, were misleading (as some scholars, like Alec Nove and J.A. Newth, have found after a meticulous analysis, published in 1970), mainly because these overall numbers included not only students in every kind of "institute" and field of study, but also external (i.e., correspondence) students. The question whether Jews were "able to get into universities of their choice on equal terms with competitors of other nationalities" remained open. The percentage of Jewish students (including evening and correspondence students) fell from 14.4% in 1928–29 to 3.2% in 1960–61. Though the official percentage of Jews in the total population was in 1960–61 approximately 1.1% and in the urban population 2.2%, the above-mentioned percentage of Jewish students should be considered, according to A. Nove and J.A. Newth, to be proportionately low.

The majority of the Jewish proletariat perished during the German invasion in World War II, and there seems to be no doubt that, as a purely urban element consisting of white-collar workers, professional men, engineers, scientists, and people occupied in retail trade "a much larger proportion of Jews than of other nationalities endeavors to obtain higher education. It is this fact that may well give rise to discrimination. Some officials may feel that it is wrong for Jews to be so overwhelmingly non-proletarian in their composition. Others, particularly in the national republics, are concerned to provide special educational advantages for the relatively backward peoples of their own nationality." This conclusion of A. Nove and J.A. Newth seems to be borne out by a large number of case histories related by Soviet Jews themselves.

[Binyamin Eliav]

In Poland

The numerus clausus was one of the manifestations of the widespread antisemitism in Poland between the two world wars. The Polish government made use of the numerus clausus as a quasi-legal means to limit the number of Jewish students in the institutions of higher education to the minimum. The total number of students in Poland increased continuously between 1920 and 1935. From 34,266 students in 1921–22, it rose to 47,200 in 1935–36. In the same period both the number of Jewish students and their proportion in the total declined. In 1920–21 there were 8,526 Jewish students in Poland; in 1923–24 their number reached its peak figure of 9,579; but in 1935–36 their number dropped to 6,200, i.e., a decrease of about 35%. The proportion of Jewish students in the total number of students was 24.6% in 1921–22, 20% in 1928–29, and only 13.2% in 1935–36.

The results of the numerus clausus are especially instructive if the fluctuations in the number of Jewish students in the various faculties are noted. The most striking instance is the faculty of medicine. In 1923–24 there were still 1,402 Jewish medical students, forming 30.2% of the total. In 1926–27 their number dropped to 698 (18.6%), and in 1935–36 Jewish medical students formed only 13.8% of the total number. In the faculty of law their percentage in 1923–24 was 24.6%, while in 1935–36 it was only 12.5%. In the humanities the numbers for the corresponding years were 35.4% and 18.3%, and in the faculty of chemistry 25% and 12%. This tendency to a continuous decrease in the number of Jewish students in all faculties, especially in the professions of medicine, law, and engineering, was an outcome of the numerus clausus policy. It hindered the admission of Jewish students to the institutions of higher education, although the number of Jewish applicants increased in Poland and a growing number of Jewish youths wished to enter academic professions.

In Poland up to World War II there were 14 state institutions of higher education, and nine nongovernmental (e.g., the Catholic University in Lublin; commercial colleges in Warsaw, Cracow, Lvov, Lodz, etc.). Almost all of these institutions applied the numerus clausus as the leading criterion in admitting new students, though some applied it more strictly than others. In the University of Lvov, for instance, the Jewish students comprised 46.6% of the total number of students in 1921–22, while in 1930–31 (there are no statistical data for later years) they comprised only 31.9%; in the University of Warsaw the figures for the corresponding years were 31.4% and 23.8%; in the Warsaw Polytechnic 15.5% and 10.2%; in the Veterinary College in Lvov 13% and 5.4%; and in the institute of Dentistry, 70.4% and 19.7%.

The proportion of females among Jewish students throughout this period was higher than that among non-Jewish students. The percentage of Jewish females was 33.3% in 1923–24 and 39% in 1930–31, while the numbers among non-Jews for these years were 15% and 26%. The authorities of the academic institutions were more willing to admit Jewish female students than Jewish males, since many left the universities before graduating. Another reason for not strictly applying the numerus clausus toward Jewish women was that the majority studied in the faculty of humanities (philosophy, history, literature), instead of the more demanding professions. Thus, for instance, in 1930–31, 50% of the male students studied law; 11% medicine; 16.4% philosophy; and 14.6% sciences, while 11% of the female students studied law; 3.4% medicine; 63.2% philosophy; and 1.7% sciences. In the last few years preceding World War II the authorities took even stronger discriminatory measures against the Jewish students. They introduced the system of "Jewish benches," which allocated special benches at the back of the auditoriums and classrooms to be used only by Jews. The Jewish students revolted against these regulations and refused to sit there. This frequently led to serious clashes in the universities, resulting in bloodshed and tragedy.

[Shaoul Langnas]

In Romania

In Romania in 1922 a numerus clausus of the admission of Jewish students was advocated by Romanian students in the University of *Cluj. These were members of the Association of Christian Students, founded by adherents of A.C. *Cuza in Jassy earlier that year. It was adopted also by the students in the universities of Jassy, Bucharest, and Cernauti (Chernovtsy). December 10, the day of its announcement by the students in Cluj, was declared a holiday throughout Romania by the students, who every year took the opportunity to attack Jewish students on that day. The numerus clausus in Romania was not introduced by law. However, in practice the Christian students, by using force, prevented the Jewish students from regular studies. The position of the science and medical students was especially serious since they were prevented from using the laboratories, taking part in autopsies, etc. In the late 1920s Jewish students in this sphere were forced to go abroad, especially to France and Italy, in order to complete their studies.

At first the majority of teachers in the universities were opposed to the students' antisemitic activities, but with the rise of National Socialism in Germany many professors supported the numerus clausus movement. In 1933 special entrance examinations were introduced and Jewish candidates were deliberately failed. The few who were accepted were prevented by the Christian students from taking part in the studies, and in some faculties there were no Jewish students at all. Thus the numerus clausus became a numerus nullus. The Association of Christian Students was subsidized by all ministers of the interior throughout this period.

In 1935 the Romanian statesmen A. Vaida-Voevod declared a "numerus valahicus" (a "Walachian numerus"), a disguised form of the numerus clausus. The head of the Orthodox Church in Romania, the patriarch Miron Cristea, declared his support of the numerus valahicus in the Romanian senate.

A law on the employment of Romanian employees was passed in 1934, which fixed a proportion of 80% for Romanian workers in every place of employment, and 50% for Romanians in their management. This law was felt especially in the textile industry, banking, and commerce, where a large number of Jews was employed. Professional and trade unions, such as the lawyers', accountants', clerical workers', etc., began to evict the Jews from their membership and refused to accept new Jewish members.

At the beginning of the pro-Nazi regime of Ion Antonescu in 1940, all Jewish students were officially expelled from the schools and universities. This was also the fate of the Jewish workers in the private economic sector.

[Theodor Lavi]

In Hungary

Restrictions affecting the admission of Jewish students into the institutions of higher learning in Hungary were passed as a law in 1920. This laid down that no new students should be accepted in the universities unless they were "loyal from the national and moral standpoint," and that "the proportion of members of the various ethnic and national groups in the total number of students should amount to the proportion of such ethnic and national groups in the total population." According to the official ground for this enactment, the law was intended to prevent a surplus of persons in the liberal professions, which the dismembered country was unable to integrate. But it was clear that the law was directed against the Jews only.

The leaders of the *Neologists in Hungarian Jewry who considered the law a severe blow to Jewish equal rights, as well as the liberal opposition and especially its Jewish representatives, attempted to combat the law, but without success. Jewish students who were not admitted to institutions of higher learning were forced to go abroad to study in Germany, Austria, Czechoslovakia, Italy, France, and Belgium. The Jewish students who were admitted despite the restrictions were often insulted and sometimes beaten up by the non-Jewish students, whose "ideal" was to achieve a "numerus nullus."

Outside Hungary a number of Jewish organizations initiated a struggle against the law on the international level in 1921, basing their claims on the peace treaty of Trianon, in which Hungary had guaranteed that all its citizens should "be equal before the law … without distinction of race, language, or religion." The Jewish organizations sent a petition based on these lines to the *League of Nations. However, the official leadership of Hungarian Jewry refrained from cooperating with these Jewish organizations. Nevertheless the international Jewish organizations received support from Jews in Hungary as well as from the Hungarian Jewish students studying abroad.

The Hungarian government, when asked by the League of Nations to supply information concerning this question, avoided the issue by providing statistical data showing that the Jews were not discriminated against by this law. In 1925 the Joint Foreign Committee and the Alliance Israélite Universelle, fearing that other countries would adopt the numerus clausus, appealed to the Permanent Court of International Justice. This time Hungary was compelled to give a relevant answer. The Hungarian minister of education claimed in 1927 that the law was merely temporary, arising from Hungary's difficult situation, and undertook that the law would shortly be amended. When the amendment was not forthcoming Hungary was asked to hasten the procedure, and in 1928 the bill was submitted to the Hungarian parliament. According to this amendment racial criteria in admitting new students were removed and replaced by social criteria. Five categories were set up: civil servants, war veterans and army officers, small landowners and artisans, industrialists, and the merchant classes. The result was much the same. According to the new socioeconomic criteria the Jews had approximately the same status as before. The theoretically nonracial character of the amended law was a temptation to convert to Christianity. Indeed many Jews did so, like their predecessors of an earlier period, for the sake of office. The numerus clausus remained in force despite the protests of Jews and liberals.

By the second anti-Jewish law passed in 1939 the admission of new students was again put on a racial and not a confessional basis. Students of the rabbinical seminary were exempted from the law's application, since according to the government regulations of this institution its students required a doctorate in philosophy in order to obtain their rabbinical diploma, and were restricted in their choice of subject to Oriental studies and philosophy. The Hungarian constituent national assembly which convened in Debrecen in December 1944 abolished the numerus clausus among the rest of the discriminatory racial legislation.

[Baruch Yaron]

In the United States

In the United States mass immigration after 1881 resulted in the partial exclusion of Jews from many of the professions. There were very few Jews in the teaching profession before 1930. In 1920 there were 214 Jewish students in the medical schools of the State of New York; by 1940 there were only 108 in the same schools. In its Annual Report in 1932, the American Jewish Committee was willing to accept the proposition that this exclusion was not entirely due to antisemitism but that there was "overcrowding in an already overcrowded profession" and that Jews needed to be redirected to other pursuits. This was a vain hope in an era when the opportunities for Jews in the professions were constantly decreasing, so that, for example, the proportion of Jews in veterinary medicine decreased from almost 12% to less than 2% between 1935 and 1946. The situation was somewhat better in dentistry, where by the mid-1930s about one-fifth of the students in the dental schools were Jews, but even here the leaders of the profession tried to keep Jews out.

This trend of exclusion during most of the first half of the 20th century reached down into the undergraduate schools. There was a famous incident in 1923 when President Lowell of Harvard advised that the enrollment of Jews should be limited at his school, in order to preserve the representative character of the leading academic institution of the United States. The committee that he appointed at Harvard was unanimous in opposing him and in insisting that places be given to applicants solely on the basis of merit. Lowell was denounced by the American Federation of Labor, the Boston city council, and the legislature of the State of Massachusetts, which body threatened to remove the tax exemptions that Harvard enjoyed if a discriminatory policy were followed. Despite the storm an unofficial numerus clausus continued until after World War II in most of the major American colleges and universities. In 1931 Rutgers College admitted that it was limiting the number of Jews in order "to equalize the proportion" and to prevent the university from becoming denominational. In the spring of the following year the college authorities withdrew from this position, which had been vehemently attacked by local and national Jewish agencies. Nonetheless, at the end of a generation of struggle a B'nai B'rith survey in 1946 found that Jews indeed formed about 9% of a U.S. college population that was then slightly over two million, but that they were concentrated (77%) in 50 of the largest schools, and the best smaller schools were still discriminating against them. The proportion of Jews in the professional schools was only 7%, thus indicating that discrimination was still high.

The turning point came that year. Rabbi Stephen S. *Wise mounted an attack on Columbia University for practicing unofficial discrimination against Jews by petitioning the city council of the City of New York to withdraw its tax exemption. Columbia had no choice but to announce that the question of religion would no longer figure on any of its application forms. For the flood of soldiers returning from World War II the national government was providing the funds with which to complete their education and the colleges and universities boomed in the next decade. Discrimination against Jews was hard to practice in an era when the educational institutions were seeking the maximum of government funds. In the post–World War II era, faculties were doubling and redoubling, and place was therefore available for Jews. The new postwar industries, especially electronics, required a whole new corps of technicians, and these jobs were staffed without regard to earlier exclusions. By 1968 some opinions were being expressed that the marked presence of Jews everywhere in the professions and the academic world was "arousing some resentment, envy, and discontent among less successful non-Jewish faculty members."

It was estimated that by 1971 Jews formed at least 10% of the faculties of all American institutions of higher learning, and that the more highly regarded a school the more nearly likely would it have a Jewish proportion in its faculty reaching 25–50%, the Harvard faculty being probably one third Jewish. Attacks on Jews in academic life and in the professions were mounted largely from within the black community, which was demanding place for itself consonant with its proportion in the total population (about 10%), regardless of the results of tests or other screening devices. In this demand blacks have come into conflict with Jews who have found what contemporary sociologists have called the "meritocracy" useful and convenient. Blacks have succeeded in obtaining a quota of their own, perhaps to some extent at the expense of Jews, in many of the best colleges.

[Arthur Hertzberg]

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NUMISMATICS. Interest in Jewish coins arose already in the late Middle Ages, e.g., with *Maimonides and Estori *ha-Parḥi. Special studies, however, were carried out only considerably later. For geographical reasons and due to the fact that Jewish coins bear partly Greek legends, these have been generally classified as Greek coins. Among the earliest studies is one by F. Perez Bayer (*De numis hebraeo-samaritanis*, 1781). Bible research gave Jewish numismatics a special interest. One of the first in the field was the English scholar J.Y. Akerman ("Numismatic Illustration of the Narrative of Portions of the New Testament," in: *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1846/47). Another important work was written by the Italian C. Cavedoni (*Numismatic Biblica*, 1850), followed by F. de Saulcy's *Recherches sur la Numismatique Judaïque* (1854). The first work that may claim scientific value was published by F.W. Madden (*History of Jewish Coinage*…, 1864; repr. with introd. by M. Avi-Yonah, 1967). *Coins of the Jews* (1881) was the second edition of the former. Though the research on Jewish numismatics has since greatly advanced, Madden's study remains of basic value even today. T. Reinach's noteworthy book, *Jewish Coins*, appeared in 1903. In 1914 G.F. Hill published his *Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Palestine in the British Museum*. It is an excellent summary of the material then known, based on the almost complete collection of the British Museum. Hill's own critical observations add to the value of this catalog, which is indispensable for the student of Jewish numismatics. In Ereẓ Israel numismatic interest has developed in the 20th century. The first book on Jewish coins was S. Raffaeli's *Matbe'ot ha-Yehudim* (1913). This was followed by M. Narkiss' *Matbe'ot Ereẓ Yisrael* (3 vols., 1936–39). In 1940 A. Reifenberg published his *Ancient Jewish Coins* (Heb. ed., *Matbe'ot ha-Yehudim*, 1947, 1963^2). In 1945 the Israel Numismatic Society was founded, and since then its members have contributed to the progress of numismatic research. Foremost among them was its second president, L. Kadman, who founded the Israel Numismatic Research Fund and published himself four volumes of the *Corpus Nummorum Palestinensium* (1956–61; Aelia Capitolina, Caesarea Maritima, Jewish-Roman War, and Akko-Ptolemais). Kadman was also the sponsor of the Kadman Numismatic Museum in Tel Aviv, which was inaugurated in 1962 and houses the largest numismatic library in Israel. The *Publications of the Israel Numismatic Society* have appeared since 1954. L. Kadman published in co-authorship with A. Kindler a numismatic handbook (Heb., 1963). The latter published, besides many articles on special subjects, the *Oẓar Matbe'ot Ereẓ Yisrael* (with an English summary, 1958); *The Coins of Tiberias* (Heb. and Eng., 1962); and a catalog of the collection of Jewish coins of the Bank of Israel (1969). Y. Meshorer published his corpus of *Jewish Coins of the Second Temple Period* in 1967 (Heb., 1966) with an almost up-to-date listing of all types of Jewish coins known to date.

In 1963 an International Numismatic Convention was held in Jerusalem, and its proceedings were published by the Israel Numismatic Society. The latter holds monthly meetings and seminaries, and annual conventions for its membership of 250. It also publishes a quarterly, *Israel Numismatic Journal*. The American Israel Numismatic Society, based in North Miami, Florida, publishes *The Shekel* six times a year. Numismatic research is not confined to books. Hundreds of articles and minor monographs have been written by various scholars. L.A. Mayer published a Bibliography of Jewish Numismatics which counts 882 items until 1963. In the framework of archaeological research in the Hebrew University and in the Museum of Jewish Antiquities, E.L. *Sukenik built up an extremely important collection of Palestinian coins. He was the first to identify the earliest Jewish coins by correctly reading the legend *Yehud* on them. Other important numismatic collections in Israel are in the Department of Antiquities of the Hebrew University, in the Jewish Museum, in the Bank of Israel, in the Franciscan Biblical School, and in the Pontifical Biblical Institute, all in Jerusalem. Private collections of importance are those of the late A. Reifenberg, Jerusalem, on loan to the Israel Museum; of A. Spaer, Jerusalem; of R. Hecht, Haifa; of J. Meyshan and of J. Willinger, Tel Aviv. Outside Israel the collections of the American Numismatic Society, as well as the private ones of A. Klaksbald, Paris, D. Littman, Geneva, and W. Wirgin, New York, are of importance.

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[Arie Kindler]

NUN (Heb. נוּן; נ, ן), the fourteenth letter of the Hebrew alphabet; its numerical value is 50. The earliest representation of this letter is a pictograph of a serpent , which developed into the early Phoenician 𐤍. The later variants are Hebrew 𐤍 (Samaritan ࠍ), Phoenician 𐤍, and Aramaic 𐡍. During the late fifth century B.C.E. and after, in Aramaic cursive in the medial position the downstroke bent leftward 𐡍. Thus the Jewish medial נ and final ן *nun* forms developed. The Nabatean cursive medial *nun* 𐢓 became more and more similar to medial *bet, yod,* and *taw;* in Arabic diacritic marks distinguish *nun* ن from *ba* (ب), *ya* (ي), and *ta* (ت). The ancestor of the Latin "N", the Archaic Greek Ν, developed from the early Phoenician *nun.* See *Alphabet, Hebrew.

[Joseph Naveh]

NUNBERG, HERMAN (1884–1970), U.S. psychiatrist. Born in a Polish Jewish townlet, Nunberg studied psychiatry with Eugen Bleuler and in 1914 joined the Vienna group of psychoanalysts. At the Psychoanalytic Congress in Budapest (1918) Nunberg maintained the necessity for personal analysis in the training of its practitioners. In 1932 he went to the United States. Nunberg's earliest writings were concerned with psychoanalytic interpretation of psychotic conditions. In 1932 his first book *Allgemeine Neurosenlehre auf Psychoanalytischer Grundlage* appeared. In his preface Sigmund *Freud considered it the most accurate presentation at that time of the psychoanalytic theory of neurotic processes.

In 1949 Nunberg published his monograph, *Problems of Bisexuality as Reflected in Circumcision*, in which he collated psychoanalytic experience, especially with the dreams of a patient who had undergone circumcision after infancy, with mythological and anthropological knowledge. Freud and T. *Reik had recognized the interrelation between circumcision and castration. According to Nunberg circumcision stimulates the feminine as well as the masculine strivings of the boy. Some Jewish tradition states that Adam was created both male and female and that the creator separated his female half. This belief is reminiscent of myths and infantile speculation on the origin of the two sexes. The female is made by castrating (circumcising) the male. An afterthought in this book dwells on the "question of German guilt." The Germans submitted unconditionally to their Fuehrer. By licensing murder the Fuehrer relieved the Germans of their sense of guilt for their inability to restrict their aggression. His book *Curiosity* (1961) was based on a lecture given at the New York Academy of Medicine. He served as a member of the Committee for the Study of Suicides. In later years he was noted for his psychoanalytic elucidation of dreams. As a teacher, researcher, and clinician Nunberg was recognized for the integration of theoretical contributions and clinical observations.

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[Louis Miller]

NUNES VAIS (**Nunez-Vaez**), rabbinical family of Marrano extraction in Leghorn (Italy). ISAAC JOSEPH NUNES VAIS (d. 1768) was one of the rabbis of the community and colleague of *Malachi b. Jacob ha-Kohen. His *Si'aḥ Yiẓḥak* (Leghorn, 1766; 2nd vol. 1768) comprised glossaries on the talmudic tractates *Shevu'ot, Yoma*, and *Ḥagigah* (forming the acrostic of *Si'aḥ*). His son JACOB (d. 1814) became chief rabbi of the consistory established at Leghorn during the period of French occupation, and taught what was termed "practical theology" in the Talmud Torah when it was reorganized in 1812. He edited *Da'at Zekenim* (Leghorn, 1783) comprising amplifications of the tosafists on Rashi's pentateuchal commentaries, and *Amar Neke* (Pisa, 1810), comprising the glosses of Obadiah of *Bertinoro on Rashi. To the same family belonged ABRAHAM JOSEPH NUNES VAIS (1811–1898), physician to the bey of Tunis, and the former's son, the painter ITALO NUNES-VAIS (1860–1932) of Florence.

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[Cecil Roth]

NUÑEZ (**Nuñes**), family name of Portuguese Marranos, prominent in the Sephardi Diaspora, particularly in the American colonies. PEDRO NUÑEZ (1492–1577) was a geographer with a strong attachment to Judaism. Born in Alcarcer do Sal, Portugal, he was professor of mathematics at Coimbra University, and in 1529 was appointed cosmographer to the crown. Credited with being the father of modern cartography for his treatise on the sphere (1537), he was also author of *De crepusculi* (1542) and *De arte atque ratione navigandi* (1546). His complete works were published in 1592 at Basle. HENRIQUE NUÑEZ (d. 1524), who was born in Barba, was baptized in Castile. Enlisted by King John III of Portugal to inform on the *New Christian Judaizers, he provided the monarch with a list of persons secretly conforming to Judaism, even denouncing his own younger brother. When the *Marranos discovered that Henrique was the informer in their midst, they dispatched two men, André Dias and Diego Vaz, to assassinate him. Disguised in Franciscan habit, the two succeeded in stabbing Henrique to death but were apprehended, tortured into confessing, and executed. Henrique was then declared a martyr of the church and dubbed Firme Fé. Another HENRIQUE NUÑEZ, a physician by profession, headed a tiny Marrano group that found respite at *Bristol, England, from at least 1553 to 1555, at which time the new religious policies of Queen Mary Tudor forced him to seek refuge in France. HECTOR *NUÑEZ (1521–1591) was lay head of London's Marrano community during the reign of Elizabeth; through his business agents on the continent he was a source of intelligence for the queen.

BEATRICE NUÑEZ (c. 1568–1632) was martyred at the *auto-da-fé held in Madrid on July 4, 1632. Burned at the same time was ISABEL NUÑEZ ALVAREZ of Viseu, Portugal, who married Miguel Rodriguez of Madrid, and held title to one of Madrid's synagogues. On the same occasion, HELEN and VIOLANTE NUÑEZ both received sentences of life imprisonment. That year saw the death of still another member of the family, CLARA, at an auto-da-fé in Seville, Spain. More fortunate was the beautiful MARIA NUÑEZ (b. 1575 or 1579) who, together with a group of fellow-Marranos, escaped from Portugal in about 1593 aboard a ship bound for Holland. While at sea they were captured by a British vessel and diverted to London. En route, the British captain became infatuated with Maria and proposed marriage. A contemporaneous account tells of how Queen Elizabeth's curiosity was aroused and how Maria was presented to the queen, who then accompanied Maria on a tour of London. Maria insisted on rejoining her Jewish comrades, who went on to Amsterdam to found a community which was to become the major Marrano haven. Communal records of that period in Amsterdam list the marriage of a Maria Nuñez, aged 19, in August 1598, and the marriage of another Maria Nuñez, aged 23, in November 1598. Living in Amsterdam some time around 1700 was DAVID NUÑEZ-TORRES (1728), talmudist and a director of the Abi Yetomim orphanage. He was called to the Hague as *ḥakham* of the Spanish and Portuguese community. Actively engaged in publishing Jewish classics, he also prepared two editions of the Bible and co-edited the 1697 edition of the Shulḥan Arukh, as well as the 1702 edition of Maimonides' code. A catalog of his extensive personal library was published after his death.

The name Nuñez was also prominent in colonial America. J.R. Rosenbloom in his *Biographical Dictionary of Early American Jews* (1960) lists 19 members of the Nunes (Nuñez) family, mostly relatives and descendants of the Marrano SAMUEL RIBEIRO NUÑEZ, who was born in Lisbon where he became a doctor of renown and was appointed to serve the crown. Neither this appointment, however, nor his wealth guaranteed him safety from the menacing surveillance of the Inquisition. In 1732/33 he escaped on a chartered English vessel which he and his family secretly boarded while a lavish dinner party was being held at the Nuñez family mansion. Samuel was able to take some of his wealth with him to London, where he joined a group of Jews embarking for the new settlement of Savannah, *Georgia. There Governor Oglethorpe took note of the man's eminence and went on record as acknowledging that upon landing Dr. Nuñez had saved the colony from a raging epidemic. Accordingly, Oglethorpe suggested to the colonial directors that the usual Jewish disabilities might be waived in this case. With Samuel in Georgia were his mother, ZIPPORAH (b. c. 1680), his sons DANIEL (1704–1789) and MOSES (1705–1787), and his daughter ZIPPORAH (1714–1799). Families of some of the original Jewish settlers continue to live in Savannah. Elsewhere in the Americas, the Nuñez family included ROBERT NUÑEZ (1820–1889), born in *Jamaica, a leading figure there in both business and politics and founder of the journal *The Political Eagle* in 1850. Active in matters of finance, from 1863 until his death he filled a variety of government posts, ranging from member of the Jamaica House of Assembly to magistrate. He also had diplomatic contacts with the United States, Spain, Norway, and Sweden.

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[Aaron Lichtenstein]

NUÑEZ, HECTOR (1521–91), leader of the Marrano community in England. A distinguished physician and successful merchant, Nuñez was born in Portugal and arrived in London about 1550; he was admitted a Fellow of the Royal College of Physicians and of the Royal College of Surgeons in 1554. His large-scale trading activities in the Mediterranean enabled him to provide information for the government, and it was he who brought Sir Francis Walsingham, whose friendship he enjoyed, the first news of the arrival of the Spanish Armada at Lisbon. His wife, Leonara Freire, subscribed to the upkeep of the secret synagogue in Antwerp.

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[Vivian David Lipman]

NUREMBERG (Ger. **Nuernberg**), city in Bavaria, Germany. A report of 1146 records that many Jews from Rhenish towns fled to Nuremberg, but Jews are first mentioned in the city in 1182. By the 13th century a large number of Jews were resident there. In reply to an enquiry from Weissenburg in 1288, the mayor and council of Nuremberg pointed out the laws then governing Jewish moneylending in the city. The **memorbuch* ascribed to Nuremberg by S. *Salfeld (see bibl.) would prove that a synagogue was consecrated there in 1296. Two years later, 728 Jews were victims of the *Rindfleisch persecutions, among them *Mordecai b. Hillel, author of the *Mordekhai*. Jews are mentioned in Nuremberg again in 1303. In 1313 Henry VII allowed the *Schultheiss* ("mayor") to admit more Jews and granted him their protection dues. However, two years later King Louis IV of Bavaria (1314–47) allowed the council to demolish the houses that the Jews had rebuilt. In 1322 the Jews of Nuremberg, and their taxes, were pledged to the burgrave Frederick IV. Although King Louis promised in 1331 to protect the Jews against oppression and demanded an annual payment of 400 florins for three years in lieu of all taxes, he allowed the council to increase this sum according to the Jews' ability to pay. The council exerted strong pressure on the Jews, and many of them fled the town. Two years later, the king declared himself willing to readmit them: a list of 1338 shows that 212 authorized Jewish families (indicating a total of about 2,000 persons) were resident in the city. In 1342 Nuremberg Jews were compelled to pay the *gueldener *Opferpfennig* tax. The council continued to fight an increase in Jewish ownership of houses, and in 1344 Louis IV was obliged to promise that the Jews would no longer be permitted to purchase houses owned by Christians. In the *Black Death massacres 560 Jews were burnt to death on December 5, 1349; the rest fled or were expelled. *Charles IV (1346–76) exonerated the town council: promising the property of the Jews to the burgrave of Nuremberg and the bishop of Bamberg, he allowed the majority of Jewish houses to be demolished to make room for the markets; the St. Mary Church (the Frauenkirche) was built on the site of the synagogue.

However, soon afterward, growing short of money, the city authorities were anxious to attract the Jews back, and in 1351 Charles IV permitted the burgrave to admit them and ordered the officials and knights to assist them. The Jewish community in Nuremberg increased rapidly. A contract concluded in 1352 between the city council and the Jews obliged the latter to live in a special quarter (the present *Judenstrasse*), and all debts of the citizens were cancelled. A tax list of 1382 indicates that the Jewish population then numbered more than 500.

In 1310 King Henry VII had restricted their commerce in the market and established a fixed interest rate. In the 14th–15th centuries the right to live in Nuremburg could be acquired only by the head of a family, on payment to the council of a fee that was probably assessed according to the financial situation of the applicant. In addition, he had to provide guarantors and take an oath of loyalty. If a Jew wished to leave the city, he had to notify the council, pay all taxes and dues for the following year, hand over his pledges to a Jew of Nuremberg, and sell his property only to a citizen. Foreign Jews, with the exception of yeshivah students, could not be given accommodation in any house. If a Nuremberg Jewish couple married, they were allowed to stay four weeks only and during that period had to apply for admittance. Jews and Christians were forbidden to use each other's bathhouses. *Moneylending by Jews was regulated in substantially the same fashion as throughout Germany. Trading was forbidden to Jews in the 13th to 14th centuries except in horses and meat. The latter had to be sold at special stalls, separated from those of the Christians, who were not allowed to buy meat slaughtered by Jews. Jews were also forbidden to sell wine, beer, and some other foodstuffs to non-Jews.

As in other towns in Germany, the protection of the Jews (a profitable source of income) became a bone of contention between the municipality and the king. In 1352 the king granted the city council the right to admit Jews and promised not to pledge or to cede to anyone else the taxes payable by the Jews. However, by 1360 Charles IV admitted Jews to Nuremberg on his own accord and obtained one-third of the receipts for the transference of their protection dues to the municipality; in 1371 he demanded a further 400 florins for 20 years. In 1382 King Wenceslaus IV (1378–1419) again ceded to the city the protection of the Jews and their taxes for 19 years, against an annual payment of 400 florins. Nuremberg shared with Emperor Wenceslaus in the gains from the cancellation of debts to Jews (1385). Jews in Nuremberg were arrested and released only after handing over the pledges they held and promising the city council still larger sums. The council appointed a special commission to collect the debts (without interest in the case of recent debts and with a deduction of one quarter in the case of old ones). The commission kept special accounts of "the Jews' money." Total extortion from the Jews approximated 95,000 florins at that time and a similar sum in 1390. In 1412 King Sigismund (1411–37) handed over to the burgrave in Nuremberg his share of the Jewish taxes. However, in 1414 he forced the Jews to contribute 12,000 florins to the Church Council of Constance, and in 1416 obtained an annual payment of 10% of their movable assets for three years against a promise of leaving their other assets untouched and renouncing new taxes. At times the city council prevented the king from extorting large sums (Frederick III, in 1442, had to content himself with 7,000 florins) since they wanted to retain for themselves the income from the Jews. When the Synod of Bamberg prohibited the Jews from engaging in moneylending, the council intervened to have the decree revoked. The council also saw to it that the regulation requiring Jews to wear a distinguishing *badge and headdress was not strictly enforced; only foreign Jews were obliged to wear *Gugeln*, i.e., tall white caps.

With their increasing indebtedness to them, the common citizens' hatred of the Jews also grew. The position of the Jews was aggravated by the appearance in Nuremberg of John of *Capistrano in 1454; the Jews were compelled to attend his conversionist sermons (as they were in 1478 the sermons of Peter *Schwarz). In 1467, 18 Jews were burnt to death, accused of having killed four Christians. In 1470 the Jews obtained permission from Frederick III to continue moneylending for six years; three years later the council began to agitate for their expulsion. A new municipal code of 1479 forbade them to charge interest and enforced a humiliating Jewish *oath. The Jews refused to obey the council's regulations, and relations between the townspeople and the Jews worsened. Around 1499 the city obtained a legal opinion from the synod that lending on interest to Christians was forbidden to Jews according to the Torah and Canon Law (W. Pirckheimer, *Briefwechsel*, 1, no. 89 (1940), 295–6). In 1498 Maximilian I (1485–1519) at last approved the expulsion of the Jews from Nuremberg forever. In March 1499 they left the city, some settling in the surrounding villages. Their houses and the synagogue were confiscated by the mayor in favor of the emperor and then purchased by the town for 8,000 florins. The cemetery was destroyed and the tombstones used for building purposes; one of these stones is located in the spiral staircase of the St. Lorenzkirche.

Jewish communal *autonomy in Nuremberg was active and in the main respected. Internal Jewish matters, particularly of taxation, were decided by the rabbi (*Judenmeister*) and the council of the Jews (Judenrat); the five members of the latter were appointed every year by the town jurors. Attempts by the Jews to select their own council members were frustrated by the town authorities. The Judenrat apportioned the taxes payable by the community and administered its assets. Several noted personalities taught at the yeshivah in the city and were the community's rabbis: Mordecai b. Hillel, Jacob ha-Levi, Jacob *Margolioth, Jacob *Weil (1430–50), and Jacob *Pollack (from 1470). During Weil's period of office a synod of rabbis was convened in Nuremberg. Meir b. Baruch of Rothenburg is said to have been rabbi of Nuremberg. Some Hebrew was printed in Nuremberg (by non-Jews) during the 16th century, first on an engraved bookplate designed by Albrecht Duerer in 1503, and in J. Boeschenstein's *Vil gutter Ermanungen* (1525) and W. Fugger's *Ein nutzlich und wolgegrundt Formular* (1553). Between 1599 and 1602 large parts of a polyglot Bible were issued by Elijah Hutter; J.L. Muehlhausen's *Sefer Niẓẓaḥon* (with a Latin translation) appeared in 1644, printed by W. Endler.

Return and Settlement

It was not until the end of the 17th century that Jews were allowed to enter Nuremberg to purchase goods on payment of a body tax (*Leibzoll*), but they were not allowed to remain there. In the first half of the 19th century individual Jews occasionally succeeded in staying for shorter or longer periods. At the end of the 1840s, a few Jews were living there, but it was only in 1850 that a Jew (Josef Kohn) was accepted as a citizen by the town council. A community began to form in 1857, subject to the rabbi of Fuerth. In 1859 the *Israelitischer Religionsverein* (Jewish Religious Association) was formed, legalized as the *Kultusgemeinde* five years later. In the same year the cemetery was opened and ten years later (1874) the synagogue was consecrated. In 1875 the Orthodox members founded the Adass Israel community, which opened its own synagogue in 1902 and a primary school in 1921. The Jewish population of Nuremberg increased from 11 in 1825, to 219 in 1858, and 3,032 in 1880. It continued to rise from 5,956 in 1900 to 8,603 in 1915, and 9,000 in 1933, making it the second largest community in Bavaria.

The Nazi Period

Between the two world wars, Nuremberg became the center of the Nazi Party; the molesting of Jews in the streets became an everyday occurrence. Julius *Streicher established one of the first branches of the nascent Nazi Party there in 1922 and edited the notorious antisemitic paper *Der *Stuermer*. Between 1922 and 1933 about 200 instances of cemetery desecration were reported in and around Nuremberg. While the Nazi Party annual rallies were in progress in the city, the Jews lived in fear of humiliation and attack. The reign of terror began in 1933 when Streicher was made *Gauleiter* of Franconia.

On July 30, 400 wealthy and distinguished Jewish citizens were arrested and publicly maltreated; some were forced to trim grass with their teeth. In succeeding years, boycotts and excesses continued without abating. On August 10, 1938, the synagogue and communal center were demolished. Exactly three months later, a systematically organized pogrom broke out. The two remaining synagogues and numerous shops were burned to the ground. Of the 91 Jews in Germany who met their deaths on *Kristallnacht*, 26 (including ten suicides) were in Nuremberg. Immediately afterward, between 2,000 and 3,000 Jews left the city. In 1939 only 2,611 Jews remained. In 1941 there were 1,800. A total of 1,601 were deported during the war (Dr. Benno Martin, head of the police, rescued many Jews from death and alleviated the suffering of others); the three main transports were 512 to *Riga on November 29, 1941 (16 survived); 426 to *Izbica on March 25, 1942 (none survived); and 533 to *Theresienstadt on September 10, 1942 (27 survived).

About 65 of the former inhabitants returned after the war and a community was reorganized, which numbered 181 in 1952 and 290 in 1970. In 1984 a new community center with a synagogue was opened. The Jewish community numbered 316 in 1989; 200 in 1990; and about 1,450 in 2005. More than 80 percent of the members are immigrants from the former Soviet Union.

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NUREMBERG LAWS, anti-Jewish statutes enacted by Germany on September 15, 1935, marking a major step in clarifying racial policy and removing Jewish influences from Aryan society. These laws, on which the rest of Nazi racial policy hung, were written hastily. In September 1935, Hitler decided that the time was ripe for more restrictions on Germany's Jews, especially since many Party militants had expressed their disappointment with the *Arierparagraph*. He outlined new laws for the protection of German blood and honor. These laws would "regulate the problems of marriage between 'Aryans' and 'non-Aryans.'" On September 13, 1935, he called on the desk officer for racial law, Bernhard Loesener, in the Reich Ministry of the Interior (RMI), and on others, among them state secretaries Hans Pfundtner and Dr. Wilhelm Stuckart, to formulate the legal language. Hitler wanted to present these new laws at the Nuremberg Party rally on September 15, leaving only two short days to write them. During these two days, several of the men involved in the drafting process did not sleep. Much preliminary work had been done for the drafting of such laws prior to September 13, but they still had to agree on their severity and language. They wrote notes at mealtimes on menu cards as they threw together the laws that would decide the fate of millions. Hitler had asked these men to translate racial ideology into law. Remarkably, the head of Reich Office for Genealogy Research, Dr. Kurt Mayer, heard about these new laws for the first time when they were officially announced. He openly expressed his anger, humiliation, and surprise at not having been consulted during the drafting process. Hitler made no pretense of basing these laws on any "scientific truths" discovered by his "racial scientists." His driving force was not reason but rather the need for an enemy. Hitler had said that if the Nazis had not had Jews, they would have had to invent them. Since Hitler believed he was the sole authority on racial policy, he had the final say about what the law stated.

The laws issued on September 15, 1935, approved by Hitler personally, deprived Jews of citizenship, prohibited Jewish households from having German maids under the age of 45, prohibited any non-Jewish German from marrying a Jew, and outlawed sexual relations between Jews and Germans. These laws enforced a new morality on Germans. Hitler claimed during a Reichstag session that the Nuremberg Laws would actually help the Jews by creating "a level ground on which the German people may find a tolerable relation with the Jewish people." Hitler's statement was a "blatant deception, aimed at the outside world." Regardless of what Hitler said, he implemented these laws to ostracize, discriminate, and expel Jews from society. This was quickly gleaned from his speech when he next said that if this "tolerable situation" was not found and if the Jewish agitation both within Germany and abroad continued, then the position must be reexamined. In other words, Hitler would then implement further laws and policies to persecute the Jews. The Nuremberg Laws, according to Hitler, were just a precursor to other more degrading decrees. To create his homogeneous and harmonious Aryan society, Hitler had first to discard the Jews, a "people" incompatible with "true Germans." The Nuremberg Laws helped Hitler take the first step toward getting rid of "these parasites" and imposing racial conformity on society.

The Nuremberg Laws issued on September 15, 1935 prohibited marriages between Jews and Germans but failed to specify who counted as a Jew. Years of German-Jewish assimilation made this a difficult question to answer. The debate raged for the next several months. Hitler wavered between declaring half-Jews the same as Jews or keeping them separate as half-Jews. Many issues about *Mischlinge* (partial Jews) and intermarriage were discussed. For example, Nazi hard-liners thought the *Arierparagraph* had been too lenient. Dr. Gerhard Wagner, Reichsaerztefuehrer (Reich doctors' leader) and a fanatical antisemite, had many talks with Hitler during the drafting of the racial laws. He wanted to equate all half-, quarter-, and even one-eighth-Jews with full Jews. Such extremists argued that partial Jews were more dangerous than full Jews because their mix of German and Jewish blood would enable them to lead the state's enemies with the skill of Aryans.

The racial theorist Dr. Achim Gercke in the RMI introduced another argument when he wrote in September 1935 that *Mischlinge* could really be disguised Jews. Anyone who mathematically defined "50 percent, 25 percent, 12.5 percent, 6.25 percent, etc., *Mischlinge*" had not understood Mendel's laws of genetics, Gercke maintained. Gercke warned that *Mischlinge* could also "mendel out pure Jews." At this time, Hitler refused to give his decision on whether to declare half-Jews as Jews. Hitler's wavering was typical of his style of rule. He often avoided giving a final decision that involved choosing different options proposed by two or more of his trusted underlings. And being the good politician that he was, Hitler probably did not declare half-Jews as Jews because he did not want to alienate the Aryan families of *Mischlinge* too much.

The Nazis not only persecuted people of Jewish descent, but Aryan Germans with Jewish spouses as well. Stuckart in the RMI argued that anyone who married a Jew was an inferior German. Any children born to such parents did not deserve any better treatment than Jews, since their German half was not really worth protecting. Julius *Streicher, the editor of the notoriously antisemitic and vulgar newspaper *Der *Stuermer*, tried to convince Frick that Jewish semen permanently polluted an Aryan woman to such an extent that later, although married to an Aryan, she could not bear "pure-blooded Aryan babies." Men like Loesener, who were responsible for drafting these laws, did not take Gercke's or Streicher's beliefs too seriously.

Throughout this process of defining Jewishness, Loesener realized the problems inherent in labeling as un-German people who felt German, thereby marking them for persecution. Loesener feared the disastrous social repercussions that would result from branding as Jews several highly decorated half-Jewish World War I veterans (one a Pour le Mérite recipient) and distinguished supporters of the Nazi movement. Loesener argued that since most felt German and rejected Judaism, their suicide rate would climb dramatically if the government labeled them as Jews. Loesener also cautioned that if they treated half-Jews as Jews, the armed forces would probably lose 45,000 soldiers. He felt that the "laws transformed dissimulation into an established fact [and] would minimize racial hatred," and he "stressed that legal segregation meant legal protection." After the war, Loesener explained his reasoning: "One could no more achieve any movement on the Jewish question in the narrow sense, i.e., the full-Jews, than one could move a mountain. It would also have been tactically the most stupid thing I could possibly have done because it would have removed any further possibility of making use of my position [in helping half-Jews]." He knew the Jews were doomed but felt that he could save the *Mischlinge* from meeting the same fate if he could prevent the authorities from labeling them as Jews. In this battle between the Party, led primarily by Wagner, and the RMI, led by Stuckart and Loesener, the RMI won. Hitler had been content to let these two factions fight it out. Hitler apparently allowed the RMI to enact its version of the law because he feared the unrest in society that the harsh law of the Party fanatics would cause. According to historian Nathan Stoltzfus, Hitler was only concerned "for his popularity" in permitting RMI to get its way.

As Raul Hilberg pointed out, the task of explaining the laws and fully articulating them was left to the bureaucracy. On November 14, 1935, the RMI issued a supplement to the Nuremberg Laws of September 15, 1935, which created the racial categories of German, Jew, half-Jew (Jewish *Mischling* first degree), and quarter-Jew (Jewish *Mischling* second degree), each with its own regulations. Apparently, Hitler decided for the time being to keep half-Jews as such rather than treating them as full Jews. Full Jews had three to four Jewish grandparents. According to Hitler, when someone was more than 50 percent Jewish, he was beyond the point of saving and was evil (*uebel*). Half-Jews had two Jewish grandparents, and quarter-Jews had one Jewish grandparent. The Nazis had to resort to religious criteria to define these racial categories, ultimately determined by birth, baptismal, marriage, and death certificates. Often stored in churches and courthouses, these records indicated what religion one adhered to or had left. When a *Mischling* belonged to the Jewish religion or was married to a Jew, the Nazis counted him as a full Jew. Jews could only marry Jews or half-Jews, and half-Jews could only marry Jews or other half-Jews. Quarter-Jews could only marry Aryans, although in practice they experienced difficulties in doing so. Marriages between a Jew and an Aryan that had occurred before 1935 were called "privileged mixed marriages" and provided some protection for the Jewish spouse. Most Jews who survived the Holocaust in Germany were married to non-Jews. At the same time, Hitler allowed some *Mischlinge* to apply for exemptions under section 7 of the supplementary decrees of November 1935. In some cases, if Hitler approved, the *Mischling* was allowed to call himself or herself an Aryan.

The Nuremberg Laws of 1935 laid the foundation for the next 10 years of racial policy. Subsequent official documents usually replaced the term non-Aryan with the more specific "Jewish *Mischling* first or second degree" and Jew. Although by 1938 Hitler felt the Nuremberg Laws had been too "humane," he never changed them.

As Loesener had predicted, these laws calmed many individuals of Jewish descent by clarifying their situation somewhat. Half-Jew Peter Gaupp, who called the time from 1933 until the racial laws of 1935 the "lawless years," said:

> In 1935, the laws came out, the Nuremberg Laws. That was the first time you knew where you stood legally.… Before it was all guesswork. You could meet a Nazi in some office and he could exterminate you or you could meet a Nazi that was very human and he could help you.… Before 1935, before the laws came out of Nuremberg, you swam your way through.… You know, there was no regulations. The laws of Nuremberg was the first, ah, form, legal shape where you knew where you stood.

Mischlinge felt oppressed, but at least they knew where they belonged. Some Jews welcomed the laws because they felt that now they could live an "orderly existence." Moreover, for a few years after these laws, most *Mischlinge* continued to live fairly "normal" lives – that is, they were able to study, date, serve in the armed forces, and so on. Most felt pleasantly surprised that the majority of their Aryan friends and acquaintances did not treat them differently after the issuance of these laws. Ian Kershaw wrote, "Between the promulgation of the Nuremberg Laws and the summer of 1938, it would not be going too far to suggest that the 'Jewish Question' was almost totally irrelevant to the formation of opinion among the majority of the German people." Many people did not take the new laws seriously. "[The Nuremberg Laws] appear to have passed by much of the population almost unnoticed." It seems that those who did know about these laws, including *Mischlinge*, accepted them without objection.

Stuckart and his assistant, Dr. Hans Globke, in the RMI claimed that Nazi racial laws differed little from Jewish law: "The German people want to keep their blood pure and their culture together just like the Jews have done since the prophet Ezra ordered them to do so." Regardless of what Nazi officials said, these laws inflicted humiliation and suffering on Jews and *Mischlinge.* Quarter-Jew Hans Ranke said, "I was shocked [by these laws]. I no longer felt like a worthy German." The Reichstag felt it had secured the purity of blood essential for the German people's future existence. Lammers wrote Frick on February 20, 1936, that Hitler's goal in *Mischling* politics was to make the "mixed race disappear" and to force *Mischlinge* to lose their citizenship rights. The Nazis used these Nuremberg Laws to define, control, and dehumanize Jews and *Mischlinge* and eventually to expel them from "Aryan" society.

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[Bryan Mark Rigg (2nd ed.)]

NUROCK, MORDECHAI (**Max**; 1884–1962), Religious Zionist and Israeli politician, member of the First to Fifth Knessets. Nurock was born in Tukum in the Courland district of Latvia. His father, Zvi Hirsch Nurock, was rabbi in the capital of the Courland district, Mitau (Jelgava). Nurock was first taught religious studies by his father, and was eventually ordained a rabbi himself. He later studied at a gymnasium in Mitau. In 1902 Nurock attended the Russian Zionist

Conference in Minsk as a delegate from Courland. In 1903 he participated in the Sixth Zionist Congress, at which he took a stand against the *Uganda Plan. At the same time he was instrumental in gaining an important concession from the czarist government which made possible the settlement of more Jews in Courland and in Riga, though these areas were outside the Pale of Jewish settlement. In 1913 Nurock succeeded his father as the official government-appointed rabbi of Mitau. In 1915, when the Russian military command expelled the Jews from Courland, accusing them of spying for the Germans, Nurock was invited to remain in Mitau as a military censor, but he declined the offer, and left for St. Petersburg, where he attended university. In later years he studied at German and Swiss universities, and received a Ph.D. He eventually settled in Moscow, where he lived until 1921, becoming deputy chairman of the Jewish community. Between the February and the October Revolutions of 1917, he was engaged in preparing for the All-Russian Jewish Congress, establishing a united religious front of Zionists and non-Zionists called Masoret ve-Ḥerut (Tradition and Freedom). However, the Congress never met, due to opposition by the new Bolshevik regime. In 1921 Nurock left the Soviet Union and settled in Riga, where he was elected to the Latvian Sejm on a religious Zionist ticket. Five years later, as head of the Minorities' Bloc (Jews, Germans, Russians) in the Sejm, Nurock was formally entrusted with the task of helping form a left-of-center government, which he himself did not join. He was an active defender of the rights of national minorities and participated in the meetings of the Congress of National Minorities. He was a member of the Sejm until it was disbanded in 1934. Nurock was one of the founders of the World Jewish Congress in 1936, and until World War II was a delegate on behalf of *Mizrachi to most of the Zionist Congresses, at which he traditionally served as chairman of the closing session. In addition to his activity in the world leadership of Mizrachi, Nurock was a member of the Zionist General Council, the World Council of HICEM – an organization founded in 1928 by HIAS, ICA and Emig-Direkt to deal with Jewish migration – and other Jewish bodies.

After Latvia was annexed by the Soviet Union, Nurock was arrested in 1941 for his Zionist activities, and sent to Turkestan. He was released the following year. His wife and two sons, who had remained in Riga, perished in the Holocaust. In 1945 Nurock left the Soviet Union, visited Norway, where he was received by King Haakon, and traveled to New York. In 1947 he settled in Palestine. He was elected to the First Knesset on the United Religious Front list, and in the Second to Fifth Knessets on behalf of Mizrachi and then the National Religious Party. Nurock strongly opposed the restitution agreement with West Germany, and the establishment of any sort of formal relations with it, often voting independently from his parliamentary group on this issue. In 1952 he was appointed minister of posts and was a candidate for the presidency of the State opposite Yitzhak *Ben-Zvi in 1952. He passed away in the course of the Fifth Knesset.

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[Mendel Bobe / Susan Hattis Rolef (2nd ed.)]

NUSAḤ (Heb. נֹסַח, נוּסַח, נֻסַּח, Nosaḥ), musical term (for its use in liturgy, see *Liturgy). The common meaning of the Hebrew noun *nusaḥ* is adapted to musical contexts both in a more general and in a very specific way. Expressions like "biblical chant *nusaḥ Sefarad*" (the Sephardi version of melodical Bible-reading; see *Liturgy), or "this cantor has a good *nusaḥ*" (he executes the traditional tunes in good taste) are easily understood as an application of the term in its normal meaning. The word *nusaḥ*, however, is also used as a technical term of synagogue music. In combinations such as *Nusaḥ ha-Tefillah, Nusaḥ Yamim Nora'im, Nusaḥ Shabbat* it denotes the specific musical mode to which a certain part of the liturgy is sung. The musical characteristics of these modes are defined by the following elements: (1) each is based upon a particular series of notes which may simply be a tetrachord, more often a combination of several overlapping tetrachords, or another scale of less or more than eight notes; (2) each contains a stock of characteristic motives which undergo constant variation; (3) each combines these motives in a completely free order, forming an "irrational" pattern; (4) the association of each *nusaḥ*, as defined by the above-mentioned three elements, is with a particular section of a specific holiday liturgy as, for instance, the *Musaf* prayer of the Penitential Feasts, the Morning Prayer on weekdays, and so on.

The musical definition of a *nusaḥ* and its close connection with a certain time and occasion exhibit a strong resemblance to the characteristics which are ascribed to the Oriental **maqām*, the Indian *raga*, and to certain ancient parts of Roman plainsong and Byzantine hymnody (where it is defined by research as "migrating motives" or "a mosaic of motives"). It is worth noting that the *nusaḥ*-principle is known to European as well as to Eastern Jewish communities and may be regarded, therefore, as a very old musical trait in synagogue song.

Other Musical Meanings of Nusah

The plural form *nusaḥim* denotes the particular tunes to which some prominent chapters of the Pentateuch are read, such as Genesis 1, the Song of the Sea (Ex. 15), or the Decalogue. The *nusaḥim* of these chapters are florid variants of the common mode of reading. Furthermore, the Aramaic plural form *nusḥa'ot* ("formulas") is sometimes used by Ashkenazi cantors for denoting a vocal "prelude" without words which introduces important prayers.

[Hanoch Avenary]

NUSINOV, ISAAC (**Yitzhak**; 1889–1952), Russian literary critic and historian. Born in Chernikhov, Volhynia, he studied at universities in Switzerland and Italy, returning in 1917 to Russia, where he became active in cultural life. From 1925 he taught literature at the University of Moscow and at the

Yiddish department of the Western University, Moscow, and participated in the work of the Institute for Jewish Proletarian Culture of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, Kiev. Nusinov published many studies, essays, and papers in Yiddish journals; he also contributed to the *Bolshaya Sovetskaya Entsiklopediya* ("Great Soviet Encyclopedia") and to the *Literaturnaya Entsiklopediya* ("Literary Encyclopedia"). His books include *Teories* (1926), articles of literary criticism; *Problemen fun der Proletarisher Literatur* (1932); and *A History of Yiddish Literature*, scheduled for publication in 1927 but never published, though the manuscript was completed. Nusinov was arrested in 1948 and executed in August 1952.

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[Elias Schulman]

NUSSBAUM, ARTHUR (1877–1964), professor of law. Born in Berlin, Nussbaum published *Der Polnaer Ritualmordprozess* (1906), an attack on the procedure of the prosecution at the trial of Leopold *Hilsner, the man tried after the Polna blood libel. The book led to renewed efforts on Hilsner's behalf and gained Nussbaum considerable distinction as a lawyer. In 1914 he became a lecturer at the University of Berlin and was made professor of law in 1921. Following the advent of Hitler, Nussbaum was forced to relinquish his post and he immigrated to the United States. He was research professor of public law at Columbia University from 1934.

A prolific writer in German and English, Nussbaum was an authority on commercial and private international law and his works were translated into several languages. His principle writings include: *Das Geld in Theorie und Praxis des deutschen und auslaendischen Rechts* (1925; republished as *Money in the Law*, 1939); *Deutsches internationales Privatrecht* (1932); *Principles of Private International Law* (1943); *A Concise History of the Law of Nations* (1947, 1954^2); and *A History of the Dollar* (1957). He also contributed to numerous legal journals and was editor of the *Internationales Jahrbuch fuer Schiedsgerichtswesen in Zivil- und Handelssachen* (1926–34).

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NUSSBAUM, FELIX (1904–1944), German painter and graphic artist. Nussbaum was born in Osnabrueck, Germany. In 1922 he left home to study at the Hamburg School for Arts and Crafts under Cesar Klein, Hans Meid, and Paul Plontke. From 1924 to 1929 he took classes at the Vereinigte Staatsschulen fuer freie und angewandte Kunst in Berlin. Some of his paintings in the style of the Neue Sachlichkeit, also revealing the influence of Karl Hofer and Henry Rousseau, were exhibited in the Berlin *Sezession*. In 1932 Nussbaum was awarded a scholarship at the Deutsche Akademie Villa Massimo in Rome. In Italy he started to paint neorealist landscapes. After some antisemitic incidents in the academy he left for Alassio and in 1935 moved to Belgium. During the German invasion of Belgium in 1940, Nussbaum was caught in Brussels but he was able to flee about four months later. He returned to Brussels, where he and his wife, Felka Platek, went into hiding. It was during this life of despair that he created the bulk of his most impressive paintings and self-portraits foreshadowing the extermination of the Holocaust in a surrealist manner, such as *Soir* (a self-portrait with his wife, 1942), *Self-Portrait with ID Card*, marked "J" for "Jewish," and *Self-Portrait at the Easel*, both painted 1943 (all in the Kulturgeschichtliches Museum, Osnabrueck). In his last known work, *Die Gerippe spielen zum Tanz* (1944, Kulturgeschichtliches Museum, Osnabrueck), a danse macabre reflects his hopeless situation. In 1944 he and his wife were caught by the Nazis and deported to Auschwitz in one of the last trains leaving Belgium. Nussbaum and his wife did not survive the extermination camp. Only his paintings have survived and were retrieved after World War II. In 1998 his native city Osnabrueck opened a museum solely dedicated to his work, the Felix Nussbaum Haus, which was designed by the American architect Daniel *Libeskind.

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[Philipp Zschommler (2nd ed.)]

NUSSBAUM, HILARY (**Hillel**; 1820–1895), Polish historian, educator, and communal worker. Born in Warsaw, he was educated in the rabbinical seminary there and as a young man was active in communal affairs. He became a member ("*dozor*") of the community council, and was instrumental in building the progressive synagogue of Warsaw. Nussbaum may be considered a moderate assimilationist, influenced by the positivist tendencies in the Polish society of his time.

A prolific writer, Nussbaum contributed to the Polish-Jewish periodical **Izraelita*. He was also a writer of apologetics. He published a German translation of a Hebrew treatise by his father-in-law, the Hebrew *maskil* Moses Tenenboim, under the title *Der Talmud in seiner Wichtigkeit* (1880), which was a refutation of *Der Talmud in seiner Nichtigkeit* by a radical assimilationist Abraham *Buchner, an associate of the antisemitic Catholic priest L. *Chiarini. Nussbaum is, however, remembered mostly as an author of popular historical works, namely *Szkice historyczne z życia Żydów w Warszawie* ("Historical Sketches from the Life of Jews in Warsaw," 1881); *Historya żydow od Mojżesza do epoki obecnej* ("History of the Jews from Moses to the Present," 5 vols., 1888–90). The works of Nussbaum, although outdated, still have some value for the history of the Jews in Poland. He attempted to stress their great antiquity and their glorious past. Nussbaum, who knew Hebrew well, also published poems and articles in that language.

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[Judah M. Rosenthal]

NUSSBAUM, JAKOB (1873–1936), German painter. Nussbaum was born in Rhina near Kassel, Germany. His family moved to Frankfurt-on-the-Main ten years later and he was educated for a career in commerce. From 1893 to 1896, however, he studied art in Munich, first at the private academy of arts run by the Hungarian painter Simon Hollósy and later at the Academy of Fine Arts under Gabriel von Hackl. Following the example of French impressionism Hollósy instructed his pupils to emulate nature as the only source of true beauty and paradigm for artistic expression. Nussbaum and several other artists went so far as to accompany Hollósy to Hungary, where he intended to establish a colony of artists devoted solely to plein-air painting. The tenor of impressionist plein-air painting remains visible in Nussbaum's work, even after he had turned to expressionism. In 1902 he returned to Frankfurt, where he had a successful career as a painter of landscapes, still lifes, and portraits, such as the one of Georg Swarzenski (1928, Staedelsches Kunstinstitut, Frankfurt-on-the-Main). He joined the Berlin Secession and together with Corinth, Slevogt, and Liebermann became one of the leading representatives of German impressionism. He also made several trips, such as to Holland together with Max Liebermann in 1908, to Tunisia in 1903/4, and to Palestine and Egypt in 1925, which is reflected in his painting *Street of Tiberias in 1925* (Staedelsches Kunstinstitut, Frankfurt-on-the-Main). During World War I he was drafted to document the war as an artist. In 1932 he became a teacher at the Frankfurt School of Arts and Crafts. He also became an honorary member of the Frankfurt Kuenstlerbund but lost all positions after the Nazi takeover in 1933. As a devoted Zionist he decided to immigrate to Palestine together with his wife and his children shortly after 1933, and settled at Lake Kinneret, where he continued to paint expressionist landscapes.

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[Philipp Zschommler (2nd ed.)]

NUSSBAUM, MAX (1908–1974) U.S. Reform rabbi and Zionist leader. Nussbaum was born in Suczawa, Bukovina, and was ordained in 1933 at the Jewish Theological Seminary in Breslau, Germany, where he also earned a Ph.D. He served as a rabbi in Berlin until 1940, when he came to the United States at the invitation of Stephen S. *Wise, who had been introduced to the young Zionist activist by Chaim *Weizmann. Immediately upon Nussbaum's arrival in New York, Arthur *Sulzberger dispatched him to Washington, D.C., to brief Secretary of the Treasury Henry *Morgenthau on the situation of Jews in Nazi Germany.

Nussbaum's first position in the United States was as rabbi of Temple Beth Ahaba in Muskogee, Oklahoma. In 1941, he was invited to join the faculty of Oklahoma State University in Norman, where he also founded the Jewish Students' Center, which was converted into the campus Hillel organization; Nussbaum was installed as its first director by Abraham *Sachar.

In 1942, he was appointed rabbi of Temple Israel in Hollywood, California, where he remained until his death. An admirer of Mordecai Kaplan, he formed a Reconstructionist group within the temple, which grew considerably during his tenure. His eloquence also shifted the orientation of the congregation from non-Zionist to pro-Zionist. As the charismatic rabbi of a high-profile congregation in the center of the movie industry, Nussbaum conducted numerous celebrity weddings (including that of Elizabeth Taylor and Eddie Fisher) and funerals (Samuel Goldwyn, Al Jolson, Edward G. Robinson, and more). He was one of the first West Coast rabbis to hold the highest offices of major national Jewish organizations, including vice president of the *American Jewish Congress (1946), chairman of the National Executive Committee of the *Zionist Organization of America (1958–62), president of the ZOA (1962–65), chairman of the *American Zionist Council (1964–66), and chairman of the American Section of the *World Jewish Congress (1964–68). He also served as president of both the Southern California Association of Liberal Rabbis and the Western Association of Reform Rabbis. A board member of the National Conference of Christians and Jews, Nussbaum was an active supporter of the civil rights movement; Martin Luther King shared the pulpit with him at one memorable Temple Israel service.

Nussbaum was instrumental in establishing the Los Angeles campus of HUC–JIR, serving as its first vice president. He was the first West Coast recipient of both the Eleanor Roosevelt Humanities Award (from the State of Israel Bonds Organization) and the ZOA's Brandeis Award – shared with his wife Ruth, who became a Zionist leader in her own right as one of the founders of ARZA (Association of Reform Zionists of America) and a member of the boards of Hadassah, the Jewish National Fund, and the State of Israel Bonds. She was also a leading activist in Youth Aliyah.

[Bezalel Gordon (2nd ed.)]

NUSSBAUM, PERRY (1908–1987), U.S. rabbi and activist. In the midst of a somewhat lackluster career, Rabbi Perry Nussbaum found himself thrust into the national spotlight during the Civil Rights era. Nussbaum was raised as an Orthodox Jew in Toronto. He later joined the Reform movement, and was ordained by Hebrew Union College in 1933. Throughout the first 20 years of his career, Nussbaum bounced around between small congregations across the country, at least partly due to his outspoken and sometimes difficult personality.

Nussbaum took the pulpit at Beth Israel Congregation in Jackson, Mississippi, in 1954, not long after the Supreme Court's landmark decision Brown v. Board of Education which mandated school integration. From his arrival, Rabbi Nussbaum was caught up in the civil rights issue. Though he was morally appalled by Mississippi's system of racial discrimination, he faced a congregation that largely did not want to challenge the status quo and wished their rabbi to remain quiet on the issue. At first, Nussbaum avoided getting involved in the burgeoning civil rights movement, though he did occasionally sermonize on the issue.

In the summer of 1961, waves of freedom riders arrived in Jackson protesting segregation in interstate bus travel. These activists, many of whom were Jewish, were arrested and sent to Parchman State Prison. Nussbaum tried to organize the state's rabbis to visit these Jewish protestors regularly, but none of his colleagues would agree to do it. Nussbaum shouldered this burden himself, driving 150 miles each way once a week to visit them, deliver personal supplies and cigarettes, and lead a short worship service. Perhaps most importantly, he took down the names and addresses of the activists' families, and wrote them letters assuring them that their sons and daughters were okay. Although Nussbaum received attention and support from Jews around the country for his work, the rabbi did not publicize his visits to his congregation. He paid his own expenses for these trips.

As the backlash against civil rights became more violent in Mississippi, Nussbaum became more outspoken. In 1964, he helped found the Committee of Concern, an interracial group of ministers that sought to raise money to rebuild bombed or burned churches. At the dedication of Beth Israel's new temple in 1967, both black and white ministers participated. On September 18, 1967, Nussbaum's own house of worship was bombed by local Ku Klux Klan members. Two months later, the same group bombed Nussbaum's home. Though the rabbi was home with his wife at the time, no one was seriously hurt.

Shaken by these attacks, Nussbaum initially tried to leave Jackson, but ended up staying at Beth Israel until his retirement in 1973. Nussbaum's career in Jackson reflected the tremendous pressures that southern rabbis felt in balancing their religious and moral ideals with societal demands to conform to white supremacy. Though they were not as outspoken as their northern colleagues who did not face the same threat of violence, Nussbaum and many of his fellow rabbis in the South helped lay the difficult groundwork for constructing a new South based on racial equality.

[Stuart Rockoff (2nd ed.)]

NUSSENBLATH, TULO (1895–1943), researcher into *Herzl's life. Born in Stryj, Galicia, Nussenblath was an officer in the Austrian army in World War I. After the war he studied law in Vienna, but instead of working as a lawyer he engaged in historical study, concentrating in particular on the life of Theodor Herzl. He published his findings in three books: *Zeitgenossen ueber Herzl* (1929), a collection of contemporary records; *Ein Volk unterwegs zum Frieden* (1933), about the endeavors to found a peace movement, which includes Herzl's correspondence with the Zionist sympathizer Berta von Suttner; and *Herzl Jahrbuch* (1937), which was intended to become a regular annual for researches concerning Herzl's life and era, based primarily on documents not yet published. After the German occupation of Austria in 1938, Nussenblath was expelled to Poland, and when it too was conquered by the Germans, he lived in the Warsaw Ghetto, working there as a communal leader. In the spring of 1943 he was taken to a concentration camp, where he was murdered.

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[Getzel Kressel]

NUT (Heb. אֱגוֹז), in the Bible and Talmud – the walnut, *Juglans regia*, which grows wild in Greece, Asia Minor, and Central Asia. It is mentioned once only in the Bible, but frequently in rabbinic literature. Song of Songs (6:11) refers to "a garden of nuts" where also grew the vine and pomegranates. The verse was regarded as an allegory referring to the Jewish people and the many interpretations afford much information about the growth of the tree, its characteristics, and its fruits: just as regular pruning of this tree assists its development, so does the pruning of the wealth of the Jews by giving charity to those who labor in the Torah (Song R. 6:11); when the walnut tree is smitten with disease, its roots should be exposed, so when Israel suffers, it must examine itself from the foundation (Yal, Song 6:cf. Song R. 6:11); it is a tall tree with a smooth trunk so that a careless person is liable to fall from it and be killed, such too is the fate of a leader of Israel who is not careful (*ibid.*); the walnut has species with shells of varying thickness, so too in Israel some have a soft charitable heart, some are average, and some are hard (*ibid.*); the walnut has "four compartments and a central carina" like the camp of Israel in the wilderness which had "four camps with the tent or meeting in the center" (*ibid.*; see Num. 2); just as if one nut is taken from a heap, all the rest roll, so if one Israelite is smitten, all feel it.

Walnut trees were abundant in Ereẓ Israel in the talmudic period, but because of the great demand for the nuts, they were also imported (Tosef., Dem. 1:9). It flourishes mainly in the cooler regions of Israel. Josephus stresses the exceptional fertility of the valley of Gennesareth which produces trees needing heat like palms, but also walnuts that require a cool climate (Jos., Wars, 3:517). As its wood is highly combustible, it was used for the altar fire in the Temple (Tam. 2:3). Because of the excellence of the timber, it was used to make objets d'art (BB 89b). Its green outer skin supplied material for dyeing (Shab. 9:5) and writing (Tosef., Shab. 11:8). The fruit was regarded as of high nutritional value (Er. 29a). It was particularly beloved by children who played games with the shells. Women too used to play with them (Er. 104a) and walnut shells were also thrown in front of the bride and groom (Ber. 50b). Nowadays walnuts are chiefly to be found in Israel in the gardens of Arabs, very few walnuts being planted in Jewish settlements. The tree is sensitive to pests, but there are giant trees which produce fine crops (like the old walnut tree near the Byzantine church in Abu Ghosh).

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[Jehuda Feliks]

NUZI, ancient city in N.E. Iraq at the present site of Yorghan Tepe, about 10 miles (16 km.) S.W. of Arrapha, modern Kirkuk, near the foothills of southern Kurdistan. Excavations were begun at Nuzi in 1925 by E. Chiera and were continued through 1931 under the joint auspices of the American School of Oriental Research, Harvard University, and the University Museum of Pennsylvania. The earliest occupation of the site can be traced to prehistoric times. During the middle of the third millennium B.C.E. the place was called Gasur (Foster 1987). The city reached the height of its importance during the 15th–14th centuries B.C.E., when it was called Nuzi and was part of the Mitanni Empire centered in northern Syria; its population largely spoke the Hurrian language, though they wrote in Akkadian. It was destroyed by the Assyrians in the 14th century B.C.E.

Interest in Nuzi arose because of apparent parallels between situations discussed in the approximately 7,000 cuneiform tablets from the site with biblical materials especially from Genesis about the Patriarchal Age (Speiser 1962). The tablets reveal activities of perhaps six generations of citizens over fewer than 100 years from 1440 to 1340. The king of nearby Arrapha had a palace in the town, and he was a vassal of Mitanni. But the contacts with the outside world were minimal, and the main story to be derived from the texts is the gradual impoverishment of most of the population and the growth in power of the rich and the large estates they were putting together (Morrison 1992; Maidman 1995; Wilhelm and Stein 2001). Archaeologically the site is of interest because of the regular layout of the streets around the palace and temple, and within the palace and another rich house there were frescoes preserved that show Aegean and Egyptian influence (Wilhelm and Stein 2001, Stein 1997).

It is not so clear that the practices in Nuzi really reflect practices depicted among the Patriarchs. Partly this is because other sites have provided insights into nomadic life in the second millennium and partly this is because the historical memory in the Genesis stories has been affected by much later events. Also customs seen at Nuzi are known now to be widespread in the Ancient Near East, and some persist today (Morrison 1992: 1160–61).

Among parallels that still are of interest is the fact that apparently land could only be sold within families in Nuzi. This recalls the biblical preoccupation with redeeming land and trying to keep it within the same extended family. The Nuzi wheelers and dealers got around the prohibition by having themselves adopted into families (Zaccagnini 2003, 594–96). The biblical material knows nothing of adoption, though it seems that before Isaac's birth Abram assumed his house-born slave would be his heir (Gen. 15:3).

Rachel's theft of her father Laban's household gods (Genesis 31:19) may be explained by the idea that possession of household gods could be part of a legal title to the paternal estate. This interpretation is based on the following tablet from Nuzi: "Tablet of adoption belonging to N., the son of A.; he adopted W., the son of P. As long as N. is alive, W. shall provide food and clothing. When N. dies, W. shall become the heir. If N. has a son of his own, he shall divide [the estate] equally with W., but the son of N. shall take the gods of N. However, if N. does not have a son of his own, then W. shall take the gods of N. Furthermore, he gave his daughter N. in marriage to W. and if W. takes another wife, he shall forfeit the lands and buildings of N." (Meek 1969: 219–20; Zaccagnini 2003, 602–3). Clearly the nature of the material from the Hebrew Bible and from Nuzi is quite different, but the cultural milieus may reflect similar concerns.

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[Daniel C. Snell (2nd ed.)]

NYIREGYHAZA (Hung. **Nyiregyháza**), town in N.E. Hungary. Jews were living in the district in the 18th century, but were excluded from Nyiregyhaza itself until 1840, when they were authorized to settle in the towns. By 1848–49, 71 Jews lived in the town. In 1865 they became affiliated to the community of Nagykallo. After the general Jewish Congress of 1868–69 the community remained within the framework of the *status quo ante communities. In 1904 the Orthodox members formed a separate community. The first synagogue of the congregation was built in 1880, when the Orthodox also built their own synagogue. A Jewish elementary school serving the whole community was established in 1868 and existed until the Holocaust. Rabbis of the community included Jacob K. Friedman (officiated 1856–1905), who participated in the Congress of 1868–69 as representative of the whole district; and the historian, Bela *Bernstein (1900–1944), who was deported with his congregation in the Holocaust. The court hearings of the *Tiszaeszlar blood libel case were held in Nyiregyhaza. The Jewish population numbered 60 in 1850; 1,128 in 1869; 2,097 in 1880; 2,159 in 1890; 3,008 in 1900; 5,066 in 1920; 5,134 in 1936; and 4,993 in 1941. Their economic position was favorable.

Holocaust Period and After

When World War II broke out, refugees from Poland arrived in Nyiregyhaza and were assisted by a special communal committee organized for that purpose. The community also supported refugee children from Slovakia. After the imposition by the Hungarian authorities of anti-Jewish laws and forced labor from 1938 to 1944, the Germans occupied the town on March 19, 1944. During Passover (April 17, 1944) SS units herded the Jews of the town and from 36 surrounding villages, totaling 11,000, into the ghetto. At the end of May and beginning of June, more than 5,000 Jews were deported in the most inhumane conditions in closed cattle wagons. Some days later the synagogue was blown up.

The two congregations in Nyiregyhaza reorganized after the war and opened a yeshivah. The number of the Jewish population decreased from 1,210 in 1946 to 180 in 1970 as most left for Israel after 1956.

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[Laszlo Harsanyi]

NYONS, town in *Dauphiné, in the department of Drôme, S.E. France. Like the other Jews of Dauphiné, those of Nyons were not affected by the expulsions of the Jews from the Kingdom of France in 1306 and 1322. During the latter year, a number of Jews expelled from *Comtat Venaissin joined the Jews already established in Nyons. Their situation was quite satisfactory; a Jew held public office in Nyons and another was in the service of the dauphin. At the time of the *Black Death in 1348, the community suffered violent persecution. It was reconstituted about 1364 and then occupied the present Rue Juiverie. The synagogue, whose dilapidated building still existed toward the end of the 19th century, appears to have belonged to this second community. There were no Jews in Nyons by the end of the 15th century. Known among the scholars of Nyons are Isaac b. Mordecai *Kimḥi, named Petit, a liturgical author, and Ḥayyim of Vienne. At the beginning of World War II about 50 Jewish families, many of them from the Saar, lived in Nyons. Nyons has no organized community.

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[Bernhard Blumenkranz]

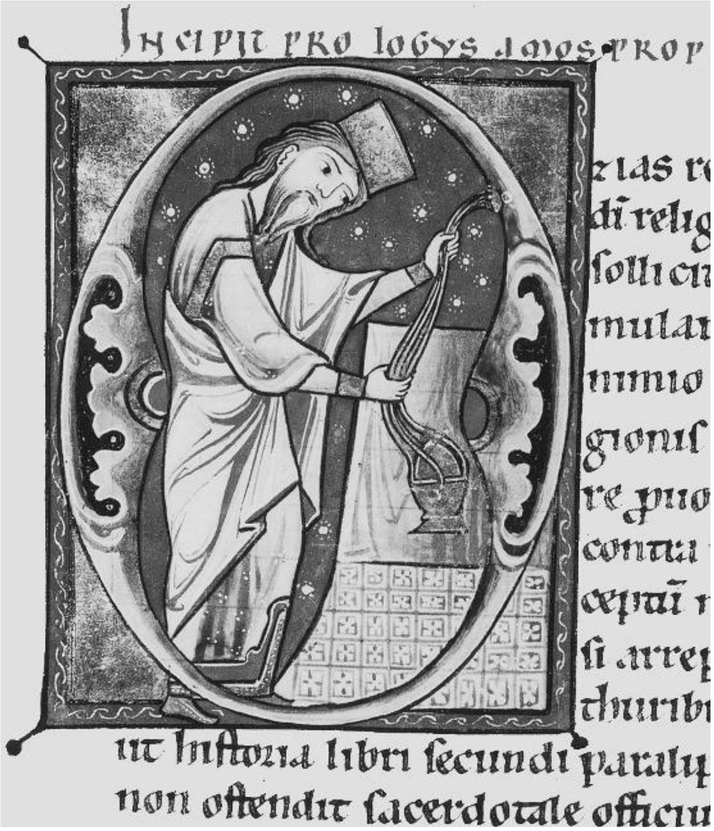
Incipit prologus amos prop
zias re
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non oſtendit ſacerdotale officiu

Initial letter "O" of the word Ozias *at the beginning of the prologue to the Book of Amos in a Latin Bible, France, 13th century. The illumination shows Amaziah, the priest of Beth-El (Amos 7:10–17) waving an incense burner. Lyons, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. 411 fol. 160v.*

OA-OZ

OAK (Heb. אלון), the main trees of Israel's natural groves and forests. The three species which grow there have in common their strong and hard wood and all attain a great height and reach a very old age. The Hebrew name, *allon*, means strong (Amos 2:9). Extensive oak forests still exist in Bashan, and these, together with the cedars of Lebanon, symbolized pride and loftiness (Isa. 2:13; Zech. 11:2). The people of Tyre made the oars for their ships from the oaks of Bashan (Ezek. 27:6). Some oaks served as sites for idol worship (Hos. 4:13), and burial took place under them (Gen. 35:8). The oak is long-lived and when it grows old or is cut down it has the ability to renew itself, putting out new shoots from the stump or roots that in time develop into a strong tree. In his prophecy describing the fate of the Jewish people, for whom it was decreed that they should suffer great losses, the prophet Isaiah uses the image of the old oak (together with an *elah*, *terebinth) standing near the gate Shallekhet in Jerusalem that frequently had its branches and trunk cut down, only its stump remaining; yet no sooner was it felled, than the stump put forth "holy seed," sprouting new shoots (Isa. 6:13). Possibly Isaiah 11:1: "And there shall come forth a shoot out of the stock of Jesse, and a twig shall grow forth out of his roots" is a continuation of this chapter.

Evidence of this phenomenon can be seen in many oaks in Israel today. The most famous, and apparently the oldest of them, is "the oak of Abraham" in Hebron. This oak, or one of its ancestors, is mentioned in the Apocrypha – Jubilees and Tobit – as the tree under which Abraham received the kings. Josephus (Ant., 1:186; cf. Wars, 4:533) also speaks of it. *Jerome notes that Titus sold 10,000 Judean captives under this tree. Since the third century many Jewish and Christian pilgrims have mentioned that this tree is considered sacred. It is an evergreen of the species *Quercus calliprinos*, which constitutes most of the groves in the hills of Judea and Galilee. Most of them look like shrubs as a result of continuous felling and of being gnawed by goats. Some giant trees still survive (as for example at Aqua Bella, now called Ein Ḥemed). The other two species of oak growing in Israel are deciduous. On the hills of Lower Galilee (in the vicinity of Tivon and Allonim) there exist groves of the Tabor oak (*Quercus ithaburensis*). This tree is also to be seen in the Ḥurshat Tal in the Ḥuleh valley where there are about 200 giant trees (50 ft. high with trunks of 16 ft. or more in circumference). The third species is the *Quercus infectoria* (*Quercus boissier*), called in Hebrew by the corresponding name *tola* oak because of the *crimson worm (*tola*) which lives off its branches (as it does off the Tabor oak). This tree, which has a tall straight trunk, is called in the Mishnah *milah* or *milast* (Mid. 3:7).

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[Jehuda Feliks]

OAKLAND, city located on the east shore of San Francisco Bay, California. The 1969 metropolitan Jewish population (including Alameda and Contra Costa Counties) of Oakland was 18,000. It is estimated that the 2005 metropolitan Jewish population (including Alameda and Contra Costa Counties) of the East Bay was 60–80,000.

The first Jewish organization was the Oakland Hebrew Benevolent Society (1862), which owned a cemetery and served the religious and cultural needs of the Jewish community until the founding of the First Hebrew Congregation (now Temple Sinai) in 1875. These two organizations merged in 1881. The Oakland lodge of B'nai B'rith was founded in 1875 and many local relief societies followed. The Jewish population of the city in 1880 was 227, with 68 in the suburbs. Congregation Beth Jacob, Orthodox, was founded by Eastern Europeans in 1887 and Temple Beth Abraham, Conservative, by Hungarians in 1907. The Jewish Welfare Federation of Alameda and Contra Costa Counties was organized in 1918 and the Oakland Jewish Center was built in 1958.

The Jewish Community Federation of the Greater East Bay has its main office in Oakland and an auxiliary office in Walnut Creek. The East Bay Jewish community covers a two-county area (Contra Costa and Alameda) and is comprised of both urban as well as suburban areas, including the cities of Oakland, Berkeley, Richmond, Fremont, Lafayette, Walnut Creek, Danville, San Ramon, and Pleasanton. The East Bay is an active Jewish community. There are now four synagogues in Oakland (one Reform, one Conservative, one Orthodox, and one Renewal), as well as four in Berkeley and 17 in the surrounding areas. Many of the congregations maintain religious schools. There are three day schools, 12 Jewish preschools, and a successful Midrasha program (grades 8–12) that offers weekly educational classes as well as retreats. The Center for Jewish Living and Learning of the Jewish Community Federation coordinates the four Midrashot, special education programs, Holocaust education as well as professional development for both the congregational and early childhood educators. The Jewish Community Federation sponsors a Volunteer Action Center, an Israel Center that runs the largest Federation-based teen trip to Israel each summer, and an active Young Leadership Division. The Federation also supports Building Jewish Bridges, that helps interfaith couples find their place in the Jewish community.

The East Bay Jewish community maintains a *mikveh*, kosher butcher and bakery shops, a synagogue council, a home for seniors and local chapters of the national Jewish organizations. Most of the Jews are in the professions or in mercantile activity. The East Bay Jewish population participates in the social and cultural life of the region and is especially active in social action/Tikun Olam issues as well as those that address educational and environmental concerns. The Jewish community is noted for the good relations between the different religious movements as well for its diversity of population, which includes Jews of different racial and religious backgrounds. To the north of Oakland is Berkeley, containing the main campus of the University of California, which has a Hillel Foundation and many distinguished Jews on the faculty and an important Judaic Studies Program including such scholars as Robert *Alter and Daniel *Boyarin. Also located in Berkeley is the Judah L. Magnes Memorial Museum, which was organized in 1961, and the headquarters of Lehrhaus Judaica, the Bay Area's largest adult school for Jewish studies.

[Riva Gambert (2nd ed.)]

OATH.

IN THE BIBLE

Definition and Form

The truth or inviolability of one's words was commonly attested in ancient Israel by oath – a self-curse made in conditional form that went into effect if the condition was fulfilled; e.g., "May harm befall me if I do so and so" (cf. Eng. "I'll be damned if I will!"). The full form, including the curse, is only rarely found, as, e.g., in the adjuration of the suspected adulteress: "'If no man has lain with you … be immune to harm from this water of bitterness that induces the spell. But if you have gone astray while married to your husband … may YHWH make you a curse and an imprecation among your people as YHWH causes your thigh to sag and your belly to distend'… and the woman shall say, 'Amen, amen'" (Num. 5:19–22). The oath might be accompanied by a gesture expressive of the curse: "Then I called the priests and made them take an oath to act on their word. I also shook out the bosom of my garment and said, 'So may God shake out every man from his house and from the fruit of his labor who does not fulfill his word. So may he be shaken out and emptied!' And all the assembly said, 'Amen'" (Neh. 5:12–13). As a rule, the condition alone appears in oath statements, the self-curse being omitted for superstitious reasons. Thus a negative oath normally is framed as an affirmative conditional statement with aposiopesis: "Swear to me by God, if you will kill me or if you will deliver me to my master […]" (= that you will not kill or deliver me to my master; I Sam. 30:15); "By YHWH's life! if guilt shall come upon you for this […]" (= no guilt shall; *ibid.* 28:10). Less often the self-curse is couched in vague terms (perhaps accompanied by a meaningful gesture): "May God do thus to me and more so, if before sunset I taste bread or anything else!" (II Sam. 3:35). So essential was the curse that the oath might be cited in the form of a curse: "The Israelites had sworn, 'Cursed be he who provides a wife for the Benjamites'" (Judg. 21:18); "Your father adjured the army, 'Cursed be the man who eats bread today'" (I Sam. 14:28). Moreover, the term "curse" (*'alah*) freely interchanges with "oath" (*shevu'ah*): cf.

Genesis 24:8 with 24:41; the exchange of the related verbs in I Samuel 14:23 and 14:28; and the pair yoked in Numbers 5:21; Daniel 9:11; and Nehemiah 10:30. That too is the basis of the contrast in Isaiah 65:16, between "one who invokes a blessing on himself" (*mitbarekh*) and "one who swears" (i.e., one who invokes a curse upon himself). A strong malediction consisted of condemning someone to such exemplary misfortune as would make him citable in an oath: "You shall leave your name for my chosen ones to use in oaths" (Isa. 65:15; cf. Num. 5:21; Ps. 102:9). The close link between oath and curse lends color to the suggested derivation of the terms *hishbiʿaʿ*, "adjure," *nishbaʿ*, "swear," and *shevʿuah*, "oath," from *shevaʿ*, "seven" – based on the use of seven in maledictions: e.g., Leviticus 26:18, 21, 24, etc.; Deuteronomy 28:7; II Samuel 24:13; Job 5: 19; cf. too the repeated sevens in the curses of the Sfire treaty (eighth century B.C.E., Pritchard, Texts^3, 659–60). The original sense might have been "to lay [curses in] sevens on someone" or "to take [curses in] sevens on oneself." (Sevens are also associated with oaths and maledictions in Gen. 21:27–31 and Num. 23; but neither these nor the aforementioned texts support the theory that seven animals were slaughtered at oath-taking, the taker accepting their fate for himself if he broke his word (Lehmann). Biblical and extrabiblical evidence of the symbolic killing of animals at treaty ceremonies never shows so many as seven animals: Gen. 15; Jer. 34:18; Pritchard, Texts^3, 482 no. c, 532.)

Oaths were associated with an invocation of God, or some sacred and powerful equivalent, as the king (Gen. 42:15; both in II Sam. 15:21), either as witness (I Sam. 20:12 [?], 42, cf. Targ.) or in order to convict the perjurer of sacrilege – desecration of the divine name (Lev. 19:12). The terms for such invocation were *nasaʾ shem/nefesh* YHWH, "take up, utter the name/life of YHWH" (Ex. 20:7; Ps. 16:4; 24:4; 50:16) or simply *hizkir be-*[*shem*] *ʾelohim*, "mention [the name of] God" (Josh. 23:7; Isa. 48:1). The commonest formula or invocation is *ḥai YHWH* (Judg. 8:19; I Sam. 14:39), a problematic phrase whose most likely meaning is "[By] the life of YHWH!" (Greenberg). Additions to the repertoire of invocations may be gleaned from oaths ascribed to God. His swearing "by Himself" (Gen. 22:16), "by His great name" (Jer. 44:26), "His life" (Amos 6:8), "His holiness" (Amos 4:2; Ps. 89:36), "the pride of Jacob" (Amos 8:7 [= Himself? cf. Ibn Ezra]) presumably echo man's language. His oath "by His right hand and His mighty arm" (Isa. 62:8) recall later Hebrew formulas where the swearer stakes something precious (e.g., "the life of my head" [Sanh. 3:2]) as a guarantee of his word. The unique adjuration "by gazelles and hinds of the field" (Song 2:7; 3:5) suggests that these animals symbolized love or beauty (cf. Prov. 5:19). "Raising the hand to YHWH" (Gen. 14:22) was an oath-gesture (another time it is "lifting the right and left hands to heaven" [Dan. 12:7]). Of God too it is said that he "lifts His hand [to heaven]" (Ex. 6:8, Num. 14:30; Deut. 32:40; Ezek. 20:5) – meaning that He swears. The origin of the gesture is obscure, as is that of the twice-recorded patriarchal oath-gesture of the swearer's placing his hand under the thigh of his adjurer (Gen. 24:2–3, 9; 47:29). The latter was understood by the rabbis as an oath by circumcision (Gen. R. 59:8).

The Use of Oaths in Ancient Israel

Oath-taking was very common, occasions for oath-taking ranging from the personal and the trivial to the most solemn public undertakings: e.g., Judges 21:1; I Samuel 14:28; 17:55; 20:3; II Samuel 14:19; I Kings 17:1; II Kings 2:2; and Nehemiah 13:25. Personal (Gen. 21:23; I Sam. 20:42) and state or communal (Josh. 9:18; II Sam. 21:2; Ezek. 17 [cf. II Chron. 36:13]) alliances were solemnized by oaths – the parties being termed *baʿale shevuʿah*, "oath-partners" (Neh. 6:18). Israel's covenant with God involved the people in oath-like sanctions (e.g., Lev. 26; Deut. 27–28); however, the covenant sanction is only seldom expressly called an oath (of allegiance) to God, as in II Chronicles 15:12–15, which in turn evokes Nehemiah 10:30. Eschatological acceptance of God by non-Israelites is also expressed through an oath of allegiance to Him (Isa. 19:18; 45:23). The laws of the Torah reckon with the following kinds of oaths:

(a) The exculpatory oath, exacted by the plaintiff from the defendant to back the latter's plea of innocence when no witness to the facts was available; the oath was taken at the Sanctuary (Ex. 22:7, 10; the procedure is described in I Kings 8:31). If the defendant took the oath, the suit was decided in his favor (Ex. 22:10; cf. the effect of the exculpatory oath in the Old Babylonian lawsuits in Pritchard, Texts^3, 218 [E, 1], 545 [no. 10]). On the other hand, if he refused to swear, his plea was automatically rebutted and he lost the suit (cf. Pritchard, Texts^3, 545 [no. 11]). Such a self-convicted liar is referred to in Ecclesiastes 9:2 as "he who is afraid of the oath" (note esp. his position as the second, pejorative member of his pair, paralleling "the wicked," "the impure," etc. of the preceding pairs). A perjurer who repents and wishes to clear himself before God and man must follow the prescription of Leviticus 5:20–26. A special case of exculpatory oath is that of the suspected adulteress; its curse is effected through the ordeal of the "bitter waters that induce the spell" (Num. 5). See *Ordeal of Jealousy.

(b) The adjuration to give testimony or information – uttered by the party interested in the testimony and directed to the community at large or against a particular party (Lev. 5:1; Judg. 17:1–3 [an example of its effectiveness]; I Kings 18:10; Prov. 29:24). One who defied the adjuration and withheld information and later wished to expiate his guilt must follow the prescription of Leviticus 5:6–13.

(c) The voluntary obligatory oath, binding the taker to do or not to do something (Lev. 5:4). The standard of righteousness was to fulfill such oaths even when they resulted in harm to the taker (Ps. 15:4). How to expiate unwitting violations of these oaths is the subject of Leviticus 5:6–13. The oath of self-denial (closely related to the vow) discussed in Numbers 30 belongs to this class. The chief concern of the law is to subject such an oath taken by a woman to the approval of her father or husband. The oath is nicely illustrated in Psalms 132:2–5.

Prohibitions against taking false oaths occur in Exodus 20:7 (Deut. 5:11) and Leviticus 19:12.

Sanctions

The Bible provides no external legal sanctions for oaths; punishment for false oaths is in the hands of God "who will not hold guiltless one who swears falsely by His name" (Ex. 20:7). The perjurer "desecrates" the name of God (Lev. 19:12); he may not have access to God's holy place and its blessings (Ps. 24:4). How the divine sanction was thought to operate may be illustrated from the failure of the oracle due to Jonathan's violation of Saul's adjuration (I Sam. 14:36ff.); from the famine ascribed to Saul's violation of the oath made to the Gibeonites (II Sam. 21:1–2); and from the death of Hiel's sons ascribed to his defiance of Joshua's adjuration not to rebuild Jericho (I Kings 16:34; cf. Josh. 6:26). The divine sanctions of the oath were personified almost as demons: upon the man who was disloyal to God the curses of the covenant would "couch" (Deut. 29:19). Zechariah 5:2–4 speaks of a visionary flying scroll bearing a curse that will destroy perjurers (among others); and Daniel 9:11 speaks of the oath-curses of the Torah "pouring down" upon sinful Israel.

Appreciation of Oaths

The estimate of the biblical period that there was nothing amiss in oaths is manifest in the frequency with which God is represented as swearing. Indeed, the invocation of God in oaths was highly appreciated for its confessional value: "You must revere YHWH your God: Him shall you worship, to Him shall you hold fast, by His name shall you swear" (Deut. 10:20; cf. 6:13). So much was this so that swearing by YHWH could be used as a synonym of adhering to Him: Psalms 63:12; Isaiah 19:18 (cf. Targ. and Radak); 48:1; Jeremiah 44:26; Zephaniah 1:5 (cf. Targ.). Contrariwise, apostasy is expressed through swearing by other gods: Joshua 23:7 (cf. Ex. 23:13); Amos 8:14; Jeremiah 5:7; 12:16. Ibn Ezra's comment to Hosea 4:15 illuminates the sentiment: "Adhering to God carries with it the obligation to make mention of Him in all one's affairs, and to swear by His name, so that all who listen may perceive that he adheres lovingly to God, the name and mention of Him being always on his lips." The only offense recognized in connection with oaths by YHWH was, "Though they may swear, 'By the life of YHWH,' yet they swear falsely" (Jer. 5:2). Ecclesiastes is the only biblical writer who is wary of oaths. In 8:2–3a, he cites a proverb, "Do not rush into uttering an oath by God" (cf. a parallel wariness of vows in 5:1–6). From here it is but a step to Ben Sira's warning against addiction to oaths (23:9ff.), and Philo's recommendation to avoid them entirely (Decal. 84).

[Moshe Greenberg]

TALMUDIC LAW

General Rules

(1) The oath, as here understood, is a mode of judicial proof. It is applicable only in civil and not in criminal cases. (For non-judicial oaths, see *Vows.)

(2) The oath is a residuary proof only: it is admitted only where no sufficient evidence is available (Shev. 45a, 48b). Where an oath had been taken and judgment pronounced, and then witnesses came forward and testified that the oath had been false, the judgment is quashed and any money recovered thereon restituted (BK 106a; Yad To'en ve-Nitan 2:11).

(3) The oath is a party oath, originally administered as purgatory oath to the defendant, but later admitted in special cases also as confirmatory oath of the plaintiff (Shevu. 7:1). (For witnesses' oaths, see below under Post-Talmudical Law.)

(4) The oath is admissible to deny, or confirm, a liquidated and valid claim only: where (or insofar as) the claim does not disclose a cause of action and could be dismissed *in limine*, no oath may be administered (BM 4b–5a; Yad, loc. cit. 1:15). An exception to this rule is made in respect of unliquidated claims for accounts against trustees, partners, and agents (Shevu. 7:8).

(5) The oath need not be confined to one particular cause of action: once the oath is administered to a defendant, he may be required to incorporate in it any number of additional claims in respect of other debts allegedly due from him to the same plaintiff ("*Gilgul Shevu'ah*"; Shevu. 7:8; Kid. 28a; Yad, loc. cit., 1:13; Sh. Ar., ḤM 94, passim).

(6) No oath is administered to suspected liars, such as gamblers, gamesters, usurers, and the like, or to people who have once perjured themselves (Shevu. 7:4; Yad, loc. cit., 2:1–2; ḤM 92:2–3), or who are otherwise disqualified as *witnesses for their wickedness (Yad, loc. cit.; ḤM 92:3).

(7) Not only is no oath administered to minors, or to the deaf and dumb, or insane persons (Yad, loc. cit., 5:12; ḤM 96:5), but originally none would be administered even to rebut the claim of any such person (Shevu. 6:4; Yad, loc. cit., 5:9; ḤM 96:1), until the law was reformed to allow such claims to be presented and require them to be rebutted on oath (Yad, loc. cit., 5:10; ḤM 96:2).

(8) Originally, oaths were admitted to rebut, or confirm, claims in respect of movable property only, excluding lands, slaves, and written deeds (Shevu. 6:5; BM 56b); but the law was later extended to allow, and require, the administration of oaths also in claims for immovables and deeds (Yad, loc. cit., 5:1; ḤM 95:1).

(9) The right to have an oath administered to one's debtor is enforceable in a separate action (BM 17a; Yad, loc. cit., 7:5). The right may, however, be contracted out (Ket. 9:5). Opinions are divided as to whether this right devolves to one's heirs (Shev. 48a; Yad, Sheluhin, 9:3). Like all other enforceable debts, the liability to take an oath lapses in the seventh year of remission (Deut. 15:1; Shevu. 7:8).

(10) The duty to take an oath is personal and does not devolve on the debtor's heirs: if the debtor died after the death of the creditor, the creditor's heirs inherit the chose in action and may recover on taking the oath that the claim is still unsatisfied; but where the creditor died after the debtor's death, the claim is extinguished if it cannot be enforced otherwise than by tendering the oath (Sh. Ar., ḤM 108:11).

Classes of Oaths

The Talmud classifies the judicial oaths chronologically, the classes varying in sanctity and gravity in descending order – the earlier, the more severe.

THE PENTATEUCHAL OATH (SHEVU'AT HA-TORAH). (1) The oath of bailees: where property was entrusted to the defendant for bailment, safekeeping, or other custody, and the defendant claimed that it was lost or stolen, or that it depreciated without his fault, the oath is imposed on him to verify his defense (Shevu. 5 and 8, BK 107b; BM 93a; Yad, Shevu'ot 11:5 and She'elah uFikkadon, 4:1; Sh. Ar., ḤM 87:7; see also **Shomerim*).

(2) Where the defendant admits part of the claim, he will be adjudicated to pay the amount admitted and to take an oath that he does not owe more (Shevu. 6:1; BM 3a; Yad, Shevu'ot 11:5, and To'en ve-Nitan, 1:1; Sh. Ar., ḤM 87:1; see also *Admission).

(3) Where the defendant denies the claim in whole, and the plaintiff could adduce only one witness to prove his claim (for the two-witnesses-rule, see *Witness), the defendant will have to take the oath that he owes nothing (Shevu. 40a; Yad, Shevu'ot 11:5, To'en ve-Nitan, 1:1 and 3:6; Sh. Ar., ḤM 87:1 and 7).

THE MISHNAIC OATH (SHEVU'AH MI-DIVREI SOFERIM). The following are plaintiff's oaths ("they swear and take"):

(1) The laborer's oath: On a claim for wages, the plaintiff is entitled to judgment on taking the oath as to the amount due to him (Shevu. 7:1), provided the contract of employment is uncontested or has first been duly proved, and provided the claim is made promptly (Shev. 45b; Yad, Seḥirut, 11:6; Sh. Ar., ḤM 89:1–3). See also *Labor Law.

(2) The shopkeeper's oath: Where the plaintiff claims to have advanced money or goods to a third party upon the defendant's request, and the request is uncontested or has first been duly proved, the plaintiff may recover on taking the oath as to the amount so advanced and due to him (Shevu. 7:5; Yad, Malveh ve-Loveh, 16:5; Sh. Ar., ḤM 91:1). The fact that a debt was entered in the shopkeeper's books was not originally sufficient in itself to entitle him to recover even on taking the oath (Yad, loc. cit., 16:6); later the rule was established that where a merchant kept regular books on account, his oath would be accepted to verify his books (Rosh, Resp. nos. 86:1–2 and 103:2; Sh. Ar., ḤM 91:4–5).

(3) The landlord's oath: Where it was duly proved, or admitted, that the defendant entered the plaintiff's house empty-handed and left it with chattels in his hands, the plaintiff may recover upon his oath as to what it was the defendant had taken away (Shevu. 7:2; Shev. 46a; Yad, Gezelah va-Avedah, 4:1–2; Sh. Ar., ḤM 90:1). In the absence of the landlord himself, his wife or any other person in charge of the premises could take the oath (Shev. 46b; Yad, loc. cit., 4:6; Sh. Ar., ḤM 90:4; *Sefer Teshuvot ha-Rashba ha-Meyuḥasot le-ha-Ramban*, no. 89). The oath was later extended to all cases where it was proved, or admitted, that some monetary damage had been caused by the defendant, for instance where he had been seen to throw the plaintiff's purse into the water or into fire: the plaintiff would be entitled to recover damages on taking the oath as to what had been the contents of the purse, provided the claim did not exceed what would normally be kept in a purse (BK 62a; Yad, Ḥovel u-Mazzik, 7:17; Sh. Ar., ḤM 388:1).

(4) The injured's oath: Where it was duly proved, or admitted, that the plaintiff had been whole and sound when encountering the defendant, and when he left him he was found injured, the plaintiff is entitled to recover damages on taking the oath that it was the defendant who had injured him (Shevu. 7:3; Yad, loc. cit., 5:4; Sh. Ar., ḤM 90:16). Where the injury could have been neither self-inflicted nor caused by a third party, however, the plaintiff was allowed to recover without taking the oath (Shev. 46b; Yad, loc. cit., 5:5; Sh. Ar., ḤM 90: 16; see also *Damages).

(5) The billholder's oath: While a bill duly proved to have been made by the defendant is normally sufficient evidence of the debt (see **Shetar*), where the plaintiff "detracts" from the bill by admitting to have received part of the debt evidenced by it, he has to take the oath that the balance is still due to him (Tosef., Shevu. 6:5; Shev. 41a; Yad, Malveh ve-Loveh, 14:1; Sh. Ar., ḤM 84:1). The same rule applies to the widow's claim on her **ketubbah* (Ket. 9:7); but the widow's oath was later required even where she did not expressly admit any part payment, so as to establish that she had not received anything on account of her *ketubbah* during her husband's lifetime (Git. 4:3; Sh. Ar., EH 96:1).

(6) The shifted oath: Where the defendant is a suspected liar and cannot therefore be sworn (see above), the oath is shifted to the plaintiff to verify his claim (Shev. 7:4; Yad, To'en ve-Nitan, 2:4; Sh. Ar, ḤM 92:7). If the plaintiff is a suspected liar, too, the liability to take the oath reverts to the defendant, but as he will not be allowed to take it, judgment will anyhow be entered against him (*ibid.*). This highly unsatisfactory result was sought to be avoided by applying the general rule that the burden of proving his claim always rested on the plaintiff (see *Evidence), and as the plaintiff would not be allowed to take the shifted oath, his claim ought to be dismissed (cf. *Rema* Sh. Ar., ḤM 92:7), the more so where the plaintiff had known that the defendant was a suspected liar and ought therefore to have abstained from doing business with him (Rosh, Resp. no. 11:1).

The following is a defendant's oath ("they swear and do not pay"):

(7) The Pentateuchal oath of the bailees was in the Mishnah extended to partners, tenant farmers, guardians, married women (in their capacity as agents of their husbands), and self-appointed administrators of estates (Shevu. 7:8; Yad, Sheluhin ve-Shuttafin, 9:1; ḤM 93:1). The same oath is imposed by the husband on his wife in respect of any business carried on by her (Ket. 9:4).

THE POST-MISHNAIC OATH (SHEVU'AT HESSET). The presumption has been raised that plaintiffs will not put forward unfounded and vexatious claims; and the rule evolved (in the third century) that a plaintiff who could not otherwise prove his claim, was entitled to have an oath administered to the defendant that he did not owe anything (Shevu. 40b; Yad. To'en ve-Nitan, 1:3; Sh. Ar., ḤM 87:1). A defendant unwilling to take this oath, but still persisting in his denial of indebtedness, had the right to shift the oath to the plaintiff who, upon taking it, would be entitled to recover (Shevu. 41a; Yad, loc. cit., 1:6; Sh. Ar., ḤM 87:11); but the Pentateuchal and mishnaic oaths could not be so shifted except as set out above (see the shifted oath). In the event of the plaintiff's refusing to take the shifted oath, the claim will be dismissed (Sh. Ar., ḤM 87:12).

Administration of Oaths

The Pentateuchal and mishnaic oaths are taken by holding the Scroll of the Torah in one's hand and swearing by God (Shevu. 38b; Yad, Shevu'ot, 11:8; ḤM 87:15). God need not be mentioned by name but may be described by one of His attributes. The oath is taken standing up (Shevu. 4:13; Sh. Ar., ḤM 87:16, 17). The post-mishnaic oath is taken without holding the Scroll and without mentioning God (Sh. Ar., ḤM 87:18; a contrary rule is given by Yad, Shevu'ot, 11:13, to the effect that the Scroll should at least be held out to the deponent so as to instill fear into him). The oath is pronounced either by the person taking it or by the court administering it; in the latter case, the deponent responds with "Amen" (Shevu 9:11; Yad, Shevu'ot 11:10). There was a rule to the effect that oaths must always be taken in Hebrew (Yad, Shevu'ot 11:8), but it was later mitigated so as to allow the oath to be taken in the language best understood by the deponent (*ibid.*, 11:14; Sh. Ar., ḤM 87:20).

Before administering the oath, the court warns the deponent of the gravity of the oath and the inescapability of divine punishment for any false oath. This warning is not required for the post-mishnaic oath (Shevu. 39a; Yad, Shevu'ot 11:16; Sh. Ar., ḤM 87:20–21). The court also warns the party at whose instance the oath is administered that he should abstain if his case was wrong, so as not to have the oath administered unnecessarily, whereupon that party has to say "Amen" to confirm his own good faith (Yad, To'en ve-Nitan, 1:11; Sh. Ar., ḤM 87:22).

Sanctions

(1) Where a defendant was by law required to take the Pentateuchal oath and refused, judgment would be entered against him and execution be levied against his property forthwith (Shevu. 41a; Yad, loc. cit., 1:4; Sh. Ar., ḤM 87:9).

(2) Where a plaintiff was by law allowed to take the mishnaic oath and obtain judgment, he could forego his privilege and have the post-mishnaic oath administered to the defendant (Yad, loc. cit., 1:4; Sh. Ar., ḤM 87:12). However, the defendant would then shift the post-mishnaic oath back to the plaintiff (see above), and if the plaintiff still refused to take the oath, his claim would be dismissed (Sh. Ar., ḤM 87:12); but it must be borne in mind that the refusal or reticence to take the much severer mishnaic oath did not necessarily entail such refusal or reticence in respect of the much lighter post-mishnaic oath.

(3) Where a defendant refused to take the mishnaic or post-mishnaic oath, a **ḥerem* (ban) lasting 30 days would be pronounced against him (Yad, loc. cit., 1:5; Sh. Ar., ḤM 87:9); for refusal to take the oath, he would also be liable to *flogging (Yad, loc. cit., 1:5); but judgment would not be entered against him so as to authorize execution upon his goods or lands (Shevu. 41a; Yad, loc. cit.; Sh. Ar., ḤM 87:9).

POST-TALMUDIC LAW

To the classes another class was added at a much later period (as from the 14th century), namely, the testimonial oath. Originally, potential witnesses could be sworn only to the effect that they were, or were not, able to testify on a given matter (Shevu. 4:3) – the purpose of such "oath of the witnesses" was solely to avoid suppression of testimony. It was an innovation to have witnesses, who were prepared and about to give evidence, swear first that they would testify to the truth; but the swearing in of witnesses became a widespread practice (Ribash, Resp. no. 170; Tashbeẓ 3:15; Resp. Joseph ibn Lev 4:1), though not a binding rule of law (*Ḥatam Sofer*, Resp. ḤM no. 207). It is not practiced in the rabbinical courts of today. The rule appears to be that it is in the free discretion of each particular court to administer the testimonial oath whenever in its opinion circumstances so require (cf. *Beit Yosef* ḤM 28:1; *Rema* Sh. Ar., ḤM 28:2; *Urim ve-Tummim* ḤM 28:2; and *Sma*, Sh. Ar., ḤM 28 n. 16); but it has been said justifiably that a witness who cannot be believed without being first sworn, cannot be believed at all (Tos. to Kid. 43b s.v. *Hashta*).

JURAMENTUM JUDAEORUM, MORE JUDAICO (THE JEWRY OATH)

As from the fifth century and throughout the Middle Ages, Jews testifying in non-Jewish (Christian) courts were required to take an oath which was invariably so formulated as to be binding upon them under Jewish law. Its essential elements were the solemn invocation of God; the enumeration of certain miraculous events from biblical history in which God's omnipotence was especially manifest; and curses to discourage perjury (Kisch, Germany, 275). Most medieval lawbooks and statutes contain elaborate provisions and formulae for the Jewry Oath. Many provided for concomitant degradations and insults, such as having Jews take their oaths while standing on a pigskin (*ibid.*, 278 et al.).

[Haim Hermann Cohn]

Oath in Market Overt

The Sages also enacted an oath in the framework of market overt rules (Mish., BK 10:3; see *Theft and Robbery). If a person identifies an article belonging to him in the possession of another person, who bought the article on the open market, and the former brings evidence that the article is his, claiming it was stolen from him – according to Jewish law the buyer must return the article to the owner without compensation, even if he bought it in good faith. This law proved very onerous for commercial life: every buyer had to be concerned that a person might turn up and prove his ownership of the article he had bought, and he would thus lose his money. Therefore, a regulation was enacted that, if the word had spread in town that an article belonging to a person had been stolen, the buyer – who was in possession of the article – must swear to the owner as to the amount he had paid for it, and receive that amount from the owner; he is then obliged to return the article to the owner. Even though the buyer is in possession of the article, and apparently the burden of proof should be on the owner, the buyer is considered trustworthy with respect of the amount he paid *only after taking an oath*. The rationale for this practice is to cause buyers to take care not to buy from thieves, for a buyer will receive his money back from the owner only against the taking of an oath (TJ, BK 10:3; *Penei Moshe*, *ibid.*)

IN POST-TALMUDIC LAW. *Oath of Insolvency.* The basic approach of Jewish civil execution law is characterized by rigorous protection of the debtor's liberty and dignity (see *Execution, Civil). The Torah commands the lender: "Thou shalt not be to him as a creditor" (Ex. 22, 24). Therefore, according to the original law, when the debtor is not able to repay his debt, the creditor is precluded from imprisoning him (see *Imprisonment for Debt), or from demanding that he should show evidence that he is insolvent, and he is not even entitled to require the debtor to swear to that effect (Yad, Malveh ve-Loveh 2:1). However, during the period of the *geonim*, with the development of economic and commercial life and the concomitant rise in the phenomenon of swindlers – who used to claim falsely that they were insolvent – it became necessary to ensure the continued provision of loans by lenders, and to devise an efficient way of collecting debts. One means enacted for facilitating this process was the "oath of insolvency," or "oath of suspicion." The debtor was compelled to take a solemn oath, similar to the oath on the Torah, in which he holds an object, stating that he is in fact insolvent, and that he has not acted deceitfully by transferring his property to others, in order to avoid the obligation to pay his debt. This oath also included a future commitment to the effect that everything he earns in the future, beyond the minimum required for himself and his family for their livelihood, will be given to the creditor, until the entire debt is repaid. (Yad, *ibid.* 2:2). However, this measure was qualified by Maimonides (Yad, 2:4), who ruled that the court must prevent the creditor from imposing such an oath upon a debtor who claims insolvency, when it is clear and obvious to the court and to the public that in fact that debtor is poor and has no means of payment, and the purpose of the creditor in imposing the oath on the debtor is only to inflict pain and humiliation on him, or to make him "go and borrow from the Gentiles, or to take his wife's property (which is not mortgaged to the creditor) and give it to him (the creditor) in order to be saved from this oath": that is forbidden and constitutes a transgression of the biblical admonition, "Thou shalt not be to him as a creditor." On this issue, see the decision of the Israeli Supreme Court (HC 5304/92 *Perach* v. *Minister of Justice*, PD 47(4) 715, 736ff. per Justice Menachem Elon).

The "oath of insolvency" is also invoked in the field of public law, in tax laws, and with respect to the option of taking an oath and avoiding payment of a tax that a person owes the community (Resp. Or Zaru'a, 222).

OATH OF THE WITNESSES. In principle, Jewish law does not exact an oath from a witness with respect to the truthfulness of his testimony, since perjury was one of the prohibitions in the Ten Commandments: "Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbor" (Ex. 20:14), and therefore every witness "is sworn since Mount Sinai" to testify only truthfully. Originally, Jewish law required only that witnesses be warned, before testifying, of their obligation to testify truthfully, of the strict prohibition on perjury and of the punishment prescribed for perjury (Yad, Edut, 17:2; Sanh., 12:3), without swearing them in. However, the popular prevalent assumption was that the prohibition on testifying falsely was less severe than taking a false oath. At the beginning of the 15th century, the halakhic sages in Spain and North Africa, aware of the common conception, and recognizing that "the generation makes light of false testimony" (Resp. Tashbeẓ 3:15), introduced into their courts the possibility of imposing an oath upon those witnesses who were suspected of having transgressed (Resp. Ribash 170), or at the court's discretion. This practice was enacted as *halakhah* by Rabbi Moses Isserles (in his gloss on the Sh. Ar., ḤM. 28:2): "Should the court perceive a need to impose an oath on them so that they shall say the truth – it may do so."

The approach of Jewish law to the issue of imposing an oath on witnesses formed the basis of the law in the State of Israel, and we shall briefly follow the stages of its development: this provides an instructive example of a case in which Israeli legislation has adopted Jewish law. The Civil Procedure Regulations, 5723 – 1963, state that prior to hearing testimony, the Court must warn the witness that he must state the truth, and the witness must swear to testify the truth. However, the witness is entitled not to swear, and, instead, to make a declaration, for reasons of religion or conscience. A similar route was adopted by the legislator with respect to testimony on criminal issues, in the Criminal Procedure Law, 5725 – 1965. In the discussions prior to passage of the Law, it was emphasized that the Law adopts the requirement of an oath as a compromise with the prevailing reality, on the basis of the assumption that the population needs a deterrent factor, in the form of an oath, to prevent false testimony.

In 1978 the Supreme Court considered this issue in the context of the Becker affair (HC 172/78 *Becker* v. *Judge Eilat*, PD 32(3) 370, as per Menachem Elon). In that case, a witness refused to swear when testifying in the Magistrates' Court, as he said, for reasons of religion and conscience, and consequently the Judge did not allow him to testify. The Supreme Court pointed out that the roots of the existing law lie in the principles of Jewish law, and it discussed the aforementioned sources as well as others extensively. It ruled that the appropriate policy is to allow whoever refuses to swear to simply make a declaration, for a number of reasons: the desire to protect freedom of religion and conscience, which requires that a non-religious person not be compelled to take an oath; the serious doubts with respect to the advantages of the oath over a person's declaring upon his honor, as a means of facilitating truthfulness; and the rampant flippancy and affront, "as we see on a daily basis how the act of taking an oath, which has a deep significance specifically for religious persons, becomes a mere insignificant muttering and an object of scorn due to its routine use" (p. 386 of the decision). Because of this, the appropriate policy is to allow the person who refuses to swear to suffice with declaration.

Following this decision, in 1980 the Knesset approved an amendment to the Rules of Evidence Amendment (Warning of Witnesses and Abolition of Oath) Law, 5740 – 1980, canceling the mandatory oath that had prevailed in the legal procedure in the State of Israel, and determining that in every legal proceeding the witness must be warned that he is obliged to tell the truth, but without taking an oath. Section 5 of the Law further states that "should the Court have basis to assume that administering an oath could assist the witness in revealing the truth, then the Court is entitled, at its own initiative or in response to a request by one of the litigants, to make him swear. However, the witness is entitled, having stated that he does so on account of religious or conscientious reasons, not to swear, but rather to affirm upon his honor…." This law complies with the position of Jewish law, and in the explanatory notes to the Bill, the position of Jewish law with respect to the warning and oaths of witnesses, as it developed over the generations and as presented in the aforesaid, was elucidated (HH 5740, 327).

Regarding the mode according to which an oath was administered during the era of the *geonim*, and alternative modes adopted by the *geonim*, see the entries "Gezirta," Ḥerem Setam; and bibliography there.

[Menachem Elon (2nd ed.)]

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OATH MORE JUDAICO or **JURAMENTUM JUDAEORUM**, the form of oath which Jews in the Middle Ages were compelled to take in lawsuits with non-Jews. Both the text of the oath and the symbolic ritual involved in taking it were intended to give it the explicit character of a self-imposed curse, entailing detailed punishment if it were falsely taken. The ceremonial and symbolism were intended to strengthen and make vivid the curse as well as to stress the distrust of the Jew and the wish to humiliate him that were at the root of this special oath ritual. In various formulas, an oath of this kind was the rule in Europe from the early Middle Ages until the 18th century and in some places persisted even later. One such formula is found in a capitulary ascribed to Charlemagne, though it may have been composed at a somewhat later date. The Byzantine emperor Constantine VII (913–959) promulgated such an oath, which was probably patterned after earlier rulings on the subject. Jewish oath formulas written in German are preserved in 12th-century manuscripts from Erfurt and Goerlitz. The oath was taken on the Hebrew Bible. The text of the German *Schwabenspiegel* (c. 1275) exemplifies most of its main characteristics.

> About the goods for which this man sues against thee, that thou dost not know of them nor have them, nor hast taken them into thy possession, neither thyself nor thy servants…
>
> So help thee God, who created heaven and earth, valleys and mountains, wood, foliage, and grass, that was not before;
>
> So help thee the Law that God wrote with His hand and

> gave to Moses on Mount Sinai;… And that so [if] thou eatest something, thou will become defiled all over, as did the King of Babylon; And that sulphur and pitch rain upon thy neck, as it rained upon Sodom and Gomorrah;
>
> …And that the earth swallow thee as it did Dathan and Abiram; … So art thou true and right.
>
> And so help thee Adonai; thou art true in what thou has sworn.
>
> And so that thou wouldst become leprous like Naaman: it is true..
>
> And so that the blood and the curse ever remain upon thee which thy kindred wrought upon themselves when they tortured Jesus Christ and spake thus:
>
> His blood be upon us and upon our children: it is true.
>
> So help thee God, who appeared to Moses in a burning bush.
>
> It is true the oath thou hast sworn:
>
> By the soul which on doomsday thou must bring to judgment.
>
> Per deum Abraham, per deum Isaac, per deum Jacob it is true.
>
> So help thee God and the oath which thou hast sworn
> Amen.

Not all formulas were as detailed or as harsh; most made no reference to the Jews as Christ-killers, yet all were intended to frighten the Jewish deponent in one way or another and to demonstrate visibly his inferior status.

The ceremonies attached to taking the oath were often even more degrading than the text. While Magdeburg jurors simply required that the deponent place his hand on the Pentateuch during the ceremony, many others insisted on ceremonials calculated to humiliate by their ludicrous and fantastic elements. According to old German custom the plaintiff or the judge held out a staff to be touched by the Jewish defendant while the oath was administered. One ritual made the Jew stand on a sow's skin, and in another he was obliged to stand on a hide of an animal that had brought forth young during the preceding fortnight: "The skin shall be cut open along the back and spread on [displaying] the teats; on it the Jew shall stand barefoot and wearing nothing but nether garment and a haircloth about his body." In yet another ceremonial the Jew had to stand on a stool, wearing his cloak and "Jew's hat" and facing the rising sun. The oath was administered either within or outside the synagogue or, less frequently, in the Christian courtroom. Yet in spite of these extravagant aspects of both ceremonial and formula, fundamentally the oath *more judaico* was patterned after Jewish religious law.

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[Isaac Levitats]

OBADIAH, king of the Khazars, a descendant of Būlān, and collateral ancestor of *Joseph according to the *Reply of Joseph* (see *Khazars). Obadiah is mentioned in the correspondence as a reformer in Khazaria who "renewed the state, established the [Jewish] religion, built synagogues and colleges, sent for many of the wise men of Israel and gave them much silver and gold, and they explained to him the books of the Bible, Mishnah and Talmud, and the whole liturgy" (*Reply*, short version). This reform probably took place in about 800 C.E., i.e., about the time when, according to Masʿūdī (*Murūj al-Dhahab*, vol. 2, 8–9), the Khazar king accepted Judaism (see *Būlān).

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[Douglas Morton Dunlop]

OBADIAH, BOOK OF (Heb. עֹבַדְיָה; "Servant of the Lord"). Obadiah, author of the shortest book in the Bible, is the fourth of the Minor Prophets. The same name is not necessarily a later pseudonymous designation of the book, for other persons in biblical times also had this name, including the father of an individual mentioned in Arad letter 10 (Ahituv, p. 68). The Rabbis identified Obadiah with the man of the same name who lived during Ahab's reign (I Kings 18:3–4), and they considered him an Edomite proselyte (Sanh. 39b). However, it should be noted that there is a clear similarity between Jeremiah 49:7–22 and Obadiah 1–11 (cf. Obad. 1–4, 5–6, 8 with Jer. 49: 14–16, 9–10a, 7). A careful comparison of the two recensions seems to indicate that the common elements have been derived from an older source. It may therefore be inferred that in his oracle on Edom the author of Jeremiah 49:7–22 incorporated passages from an anonymous source, which was still later included in the Book of Obadiah. This view, however, does not preclude the Obadian authorship of the second part of the book. Indeed, though its 21 verses are concerned almost entirely with Edom, its unity is disputed quite independently from its relationship with Jeremiah 49.

Some scholars (e.g., A. Condamin, C. von Orelli, S.O. Isopescul, J. Theis, A.H. Edelkoort, G.C. Aalders, M. Bič, and J. Scharbert) regard the book as one single prophetic speech. J. Scharbert takes it as a prophetic liturgy composed by a cultic prophet after the fall of Jerusalem in 587 B.C.E. (verses 1–18), whereas M. Bič interprets it as an expanded oracle for the enthronement festival of the Lord. A liturgical setting is also urged by Woolf, who sees the book as an oracle of assurance delivered by a cult prophet. J.A. Bewer and R. Augé assume that there are two sections, verses 1–14, 15b, and 15a, 16–21, both belonging to the same prophet. This literary division of the text corrects somewhat the view of J. Wellhausen who ascribed verses 1–14 to the prophet Obadiah and considered verses 15–21 as a later addition. G. Wildeboer and J.A. Thompson assume that verses 1–9 constitute a pre-Exilic oracle, and verses 10–21 are a post-Exilic complement. Part of the problem is due to the ambiguity of the prohibitions in vss. 12–14; some scholars interpret them as a reference to future events, while others refer them to the past in the sense "you should not have?" Some scholars divide the book into three (C. Steuernagel, W. Rudolph, D. Deden, M. Vellas, O. Eissfeldt), four (E. Sellin), five (C.-A. Keller), six (G. Fohrer), seven (W.O.E. Oesterley), or eight (T.H. Robinson) sections. There are some formal and stylistic reasons for a division into six oracles. The first is an oracle of woe against Edom (Obad. 1b-4), paralleled in Jeremiah 49:14–16, where, in some passages, more of the original text seems to have been preserved. It mentions the Edomite fortress of Sela ("Rock"; Obad. 3) captured by King Amaziah of Judah c. 800 B.C.E. (II Kings 14:7). The second oracle of woe (Obad. 5–7) is paralleled in Jeremiah 49:8–10a, where the beginning of the poem (Jer. 49:8) is also preserved. It announces that the invader will this time penetrate the dwellings of Edom, identified there with Esau (Obad. 6), and that her allies will abandon her. Obadiah 7 refers to the displacement of Edom by a foreign (*mazor*) population (McCarter). In the third oracle (Obad. 8–11) the prophet first declares that YHWH has deprived Edom of her proverbial wisdom so that she is unable to prevent the ruin awaiting her (Obad. 8–9). Verses 10–11 state the reason for the curse, namely, the violence and outrage of which Edom had been guilty during Jerusalem's calamity in 587 B.C.E. Elements from the beginning (Obad. 8) of this poem are employed as an introduction to the oracles on Edom in Jeremiah 49:7–22. Another curse against Edom, related to the same events, is found in Obadiah 12–14, 15b. (Most scholars now think that verse 15a belongs to the following oracle, and verse 15b to the foregoing one.) In a series of eight imperative prohibitions the prophet summons Edom to desist from her inhuman delight at Judah's ruin, and he concludes with a threat expressed in the form of a law of retaliation.

The first four sections (Obad. 1–14, 15b) address Edom in the second person plural, proclaiming the "Day of the Lord" and announcing salvation on Zion (cf. Joel 3:5) and judgment on the nations, especially on Edom (Obad. 18). The clear mention of Edom, "the House of Esau" which will be exterminated on that Day, reveals that this oracle too reflects the situation after 587 B.C.E. The aid which the Edomites gave the Babylonians against Jerusalem in 587, and which is alluded to in Arad ostracon 24 (Ahituv, p. 78), could not be forgiven. The Edomites not only exulted at the humiliation of the Judahites but actively assisted their foes and sought to intercept and cut off the fugitives. The remembrance of these events inspires the fifth section, as well as the preceding ones, and also Isaiah 34; Jeremiah 49:7–22; Ezekiel 25:12–14; 35; Malachi 1:2–5; Psalms 137:7; Lamentations 4:21–22. These texts all seem to refer to the same events; their dominant thought is that at last Edom will receive its due punishment at the hand of the Lord. The actual disaster that befell Edom was most likely its invasion by the neighboring Arab tribes, which seem to have entirely taken over the land of Edom toward the end of the sixth century B.C.E. so that Edom remained without settled population throughout the Persian period. If so, the oracles of Obadiah 8–18, and 1–7 as well, which are not explicitly motivated by Edom's violence against Judah, may be assumed to belong to the end of the sixth century B.C.E. The opinion of scholars such as E. Sellin and J. Theis, who assign Obadiah 1–10, and especially 1–7, to the time of King Amaziah, about 800 B.C.E. (II Kings 14:7; cf. II Kings 8:20–22; Ps. 60:11–14), is based upon the fact that these verses contain no allusions to the special circumstances of 587 B.C.E. But the invitation addressed to "the nations" in Obadiah 1, the image of "robbers" in verse 5, and the probable allusion to the Babylonian allies of Edom in verse 7, may also suggest a connection between verses 1–7 and the Arab incursion of the sixth century. However, since the author of Jeremiah 49:7–22 seems to have known only Obadiah 1b-11, these verses may have been composed somewhat earlier than verses 12–18. The date and the composition of the last section (verses 19–21) are not known. Many scholars regard it as a later appendix, in which the fate of Edom is reduced to an episode of the eschatological triumph of the Jews: the territory of Judah is to be enlarged on all sides, with the inhabitants of the Negev possessing Edom, and Benjamin overflowing into Gilead. The victorious Israelites (read *noshaʿim*) will ascend Mount Zion to judge the Mountain of Esau, and the Lord's kingdom will be established.

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[Edward Lipinski / S. David Sperling (2nd ed.)]

OBADIAH, THE NORMAN PROSELYTE (third quarter 11th century–first half 12th century). Catholic priest who converted to Judaism. Obadiah later wrote religious works and became a prominent figure in the Near Eastern Jewish communities. He was born in Oppido Lucano (Italy) as Johannes, the son of a Norman aristocrat named Dreux (Dreu, Drogo, Droco); his twin Roger was destined for knighthood. As a youth he was influenced by the conversion of Andreas, archbishop of Bari, who adopted Judaism in Constantinople and subsequently departed for Egypt. Obadiah's conversion (c. 1102) was inspired by a dream shortly after he took priestly vows and was influenced by the study of the Bible and the persecutions of Jews in Europe by precursors of the Crusaders. He left for Constantinople, where he probably began his studies, and was wounded by Crusaders. Obadiah subsequently moved to Baghdad, where he lived in a *hekdesh* ("poorhouse") in the synagogue and studied Hebrew, the Pentateuch, and the Prophets. There he became acquainted with the poverty and the desperate circumstances of Baghdad Jewry and the tragic end of two recent pseudo-messianic movements. In 1113 he left for Aleppo, where he received a letter of recommendation from R. Baruch b. Isaac, head of the yeshivah, verifying the details of his conversion. Later he traveled to northern Palestine and met the Karaite Solomon ha-Kohen, a false messiah, in Banias (Dan) in 1121. The latter invited him to Jerusalem. Obadiah, however, departed for Egypt by way of Tyre and settled in Fostat. The main source of information concerning Obadiah is his autobiography, the so-called "Obadiah Scroll," written in biblical Hebrew. All writings related to him have been found in the Cairo *Genizah*. Only the following fragments are extant:

(1) a chronicle (seven leaves);
(2) a prayer book (one leaf);
(3) music notes (three leaves);
(4) religious poems (one leaf); and
(5) the letter of recommendation by Baruch b. Isaac, part of it in Obadiah's handwriting (one leaf).

CHRONOLOGICAL ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY: The record of the discovery of Obadiah's existence and works dates from the early 20th century. The beginning of the letter by Baruch b. Isaac was published by S.A. Wertheimer in *Ginzei Yerushalayim* (2 (1901), 16a–17a) and the first page of Obadiah's diary was printed by E.N. Adler (REJ, 69 (1919), 129–34). Two fragments discovered in Cambridge and a page of a prayer book written by Obadiah, found in Cincinnati, were presented by J. Mann (REJ, 89 (1930), 245–59). S.D. Goitein published another fragment containing Obadiah's original name, Johannes (JJS, 4 (1953), 74–84) and A. Scheiber, a piece of Obadiah's diary (KS, 30 (1954/55), 93–98). A *piyyut* with musical notation in Obadiah's handwriting is included in the Adler collection. Its discovery was made independently by A. Scheiber (*Tarbiz*, 34 (1964/65), 366–71) and by N. Golb (JR, 45 (1965), 153–6). The continuation of the booklet of music notes was published by N. Allony in *Sinai* (57 (1965), nos. 1–2, 43–55). A. Scheiber also published a *piyyut*, an acrostic of the name Obadiah (*Tarbiz*, 35 (1965/66), 269–73), and the original of a Hebrew fragment (HUCA, 39 (1968), 168–75, Ger.). See also: Prawer, Ẓalbanim, 1 (1963), 423–5 and J. Mann, in: *Ha-Tekufah*, 24 (1928), 335–58.

[Alexander Scheiber]

As Musician

Obadiah's main importance for Jewish studies are his notations of synagogal chant, which are the oldest discovered to date. Two chants and the terminal fragment of a third have been preserved:

(1) Ms. NY, JTS, Adler collection, no. 4096b, one leaf recto-verso, contains a **piyyut, Mi al Har Horev*, together with its melody written in neumes; the text is a eulogy on Moses, intended for *Shavuot or Simḥat *Torah, and its acrostic reveals the name of the author, a certain ʿAmr.

(2) Ms. Cambridge, Univ. Libr. TS K5/41, one leaf containing two chants, also in neumatic notation; the recto, beginning with the words *Va-eda mah*, contains the final fragment of a non-identified *piyyut*; the verso, beginning with the words *Barukh ha-gever*, contains five biblical verses from Jeremiah, Proverbs, and Job. The chants notated in manuscript 1 and on the recto of manuscript 2 are a composition of unknown authorship in the style of the Western monodic chant of the Middle Ages. The chant on the verso of manuscript 2 is not a contemporary composition but a faithful transcription of a traditional synagogal cantillation, which Obadiah must have learned in one of the Oriental communities in which he lived after his conversion. The same cantillation style is preserved up to modern days in the oral tradition of several Jewish communities in the Near East and Mediterranean areas.

[Israel Adler]

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OBADYA, ABRAHAM (1923–), Iraqi poet. His verse collections, published in Baghdad and Cairo, include *Wabīl wa-Tal* ("Shower and Dew," 1949) and *Fī Sukūn al-Layl* ("In the Stillness of the Night," 1947), both dedicated to King Faisal II. He immigrated to Israel in 1951.

[Shmuel Moreh]

OBED (Heb. עוֹבֵד; "worshiper"; perhaps shortened from עֹבַדְיָה), son of Boaz and Ruth; father of Jesse; grandfather of King David (Ruth 4:17, 21–22; I Chron. 2:12).

°OBEDAS, the name of two Arabian kings.

OBEDAS I, Arabian king during the reign of Alexander Yannai (103–76 B.C.E.). Alexander's expansionist tendencies brought him into armed conflict with a number of neighboring rulers, including Obedas. The latter, however, successfully laid an ambush for the Judean king in the Gaulan. Alexander, falling into the trap, lost an entire army which, according to Josephus, "was cooped into a deep ravine and crushed under a multitude of camels." Alexander barely escaped with his life, and his overwhelming defeat rekindled the Jewish nation's hatred toward its monarch (Jos., Wars, 1:90; Ant., 13:375).

OBEDAS II (d. c. 9 B.C.E.), Arabian king during the reign of Herod the Great. Josephus describes Obedas as "inactive and sluggish by nature; for the most part his realm was governed by Syllaeus," who at one time had been on the point of marrying Herod's sister, Salome. Syllaeus eventually became a bitter enemy of Herod. This aroused the Judean king to demand immediate repayment of 60 talents loaned to Obedas, through Syllaeus, with the claim that the time limit on the loan had expired. It is evident, however, that the feeble Obedas had little to say in the matter, and Syllaeus refused. With the death of Obedas his successor Aretas sent a letter to the Roman emperor Augustus, accusing Syllaeus of poisoning the king. This claim was probably correct, and it subsequently became known that most of Obedas' friends perished together with him (Jos., Wars, 1:487; Ant., 16:220, 279ff., 337). See *Nabateans.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: OBEDAS I: Schuerer, Hist, 86f.; Klausner, Bayit Sheni, 3 (1950^{2}), 150, 153. OBEDAS II: Schuerer, Hist, 154; Klausner, Bayit Sheni, 4 (1950^{2}), 38; A. Schalit, *Koenig Herodes* (1969), 253, 599, 614f.

[Isaiah Gafni]

OBED-EDOM (Heb. עֹבֵד אֱדוֹם; "the servant of *Adam [the deity?]"), the name of two biblical figures.

(1) The Gittite to whose house the *Ark of the Lord was transferred after the death of Uzzah (II Sam. 6:10ff.; I Chron. 13:13–14). Uzzah had died after touching the Ark while it was being brought by David to Jerusalem. In order to prevent further calamities, the Ark was brought to the house of Obed-Edom, which was apparently situated between Kiriath-Jearim and Jerusalem. When it was reported to David three months later that the Lord had blessed Obed-Edom and his house, David brought the Ark up to Jerusalem with rejoicing. As a temple gatekeeper for the Ark, Obed-Edom is mentioned several times among the Levites (I Chron. 15:18, 21, 24; 16:5, 38), as are his descendants (I Chron. 26:8, 15).

(2) A descendant of Obed-Edom the Gittite, who was in charge of the gold, the silver, and all the vessels in the Temple in Jerusalem in the days of Amaziah king of Judah (798–769 B.C.E.; II Chron. 25:24).

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OBERMANN, JULIAN JOËL (1888–1956), Orientalist. Born in Warsaw, Obermann taught Semitic languages at the University of Hamburg from 1919 to 1922, achieving recognition with the publication of his work on the philosophy of Al-Ghazālī in 1921. He subsequently became professor of Semitic philology at the Jewish Institute of Religion in New York, where he taught from 1923 to 1931. From 1933 to 1935 Obermann was visiting professor of Semitic languages at Yale University; he became professor in 1935. He served as coeditor of the *Journal of Biblical Literature* (1933–36). In 1944 Obermann became director of Judaic research and editor of the Yale Judaica Series, in which capacity he served until his retirement.

In the course of his career, Obermann made contributions in Semitic philology and epigraphy, Old Testament and Ugaritic studies, Islamic culture, and Arabic philosophy. His works include: *Das Problem der Kausalitaet bei den Arabern* (1916); *Der philosophische and religioese Subjektivismus Ghazalis* (1921); *The Arabic Original of Ibn Shahin's Book of Comfort* (1933); and *Ugaritic Mythology* (1948). He also edited H. Gressman's *Tower of Babel* (1928) and Gandz's translation of Maimonides' *Sanctification of the New Moon* (1956) after the death of the authors.

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[Raymond P. Scheindlin]

OBERMEYER, JACOB (1845–1935), traveler, scholar, and teacher. Obermeyer was born in Steinhardt, Bavaria. He toured North Africa from Morocco to Egypt in 1868, proceeded to Palestine, and from there traveled to Damascus and Baghdad. He taught French at the Baghdad school of the Alliance Israélite Universelle during 1869–72, and from 1872 to 1881 he was the teacher of Prince Naib Alsultana, contender to the throne of Persia, who had been compelled to flee his native country. With his student, Obermeyer toured the whole of Mesopotamia and then accompanied the prince when he signed a peace treaty with his brother the king and returned to Persia. Obermeyer's *Die Landschaft Babylonien*… (1929) is a standard work which includes his personal observations during his years of travel, as well as the works of medieval Arab geographers and various Hebrew sources. From 1884 to 1915 Obermeyer taught Arabic and Persian in Vienna.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: S. Assaf, in: KS, 7 (1930), 60–62; Sassoon, *History of the Jews of Baghdad* (1949), 153–6.

[Zvi Avneri]

OBERNAI (Ger. **Oberehnheim**), town in the department of Bas-Rhin, E. France. The first evidence for the presence of Jews in Obernai dates from 1215. In 1349 a Jewish woman who had been sentenced to death for coin clipping accused the Jews of propagating the *Black Death, whereupon all the Jews of Obernai were burned at the stake. Jews were recorded as living in Obernai again between 1437 and 1477 and from 1498 to 1507. Subsequently Jews were rarely even allowed to travel through Obernai or permitted to visit the local market. Only in 1647, when the town passed under French rule, were Jews again permitted to settle there. In 1784 the number of Jews in Obernai was 196. Many more were recorded as living there on the eve of World War II. About 60 lived there in 1970.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: J. Gyss, *Histoire… d'Obernai* (1866); Germ Jud, 1 (1937), 93f.; 2 pt. 2 (1968), 614f.

[Bernhard Blumenkranz]

OBERNIK, JUDAH (d. c. 1520), talmudist, rabbi of Mestre. Judah was a pupil of Israel Isserlein whose rulings and expositions, both heard directly and reported by others, he entered in his notebook, along with rulings of Jozman Katz, responsa of Sar Shalom of Vienna, expositions of Jacob *Moellin, glosses on the *Tashbaẓ* (Cremona, 1556) by *Perez b. Elijah of Corbeil and other material. *Joseph b. Moses, Judah Obernik's pupil, made abundant use of this notebook in his work *Leket Yosher* (ed. by J. Freimann, 2 vols., 1903–4), which he quotes at length. He conducted a halakhic correspondence with Isserlein and engaged in learned discussions with Judah *Muenz and Joseph *Colon. He was also the author of *Seder Pesaḥ*.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Joseph b. Moses, *Leket Yosher*, ed. by J. Freimann, 2 (1904), xxx–xxxi.

[Samuel Abba Horodezky]

OBLIGATIONS, LAW OF. This law is concerned with the rights of one person as against those of another (*jus in personam*), as distinguished from the law of property, which is concerned with a person's rights in a chattel or other property as against the world at large (*jus in rem*). Unlike Roman law, in Jewish law the mere existence of the obligation automatically creates in favor of the creditor a *lien (*shi'bud*) over his debtor's property, a real right attaching to the obligation, which for a very long time was regarded as stronger than the personal right afforded by the obligation. The term *ḥiyyuv* originates in the word *ḥov*, meaning both the obligation which is imposed on the debtor (e.g., BB 10:6) and the right to which the creditor is entitled (Bik. 3:12; Git. 8:3). However, *ḥov* generally refers to a pecuniary obligation only, whereas *ḥiyyuv* has come to be used in a wider sense to include also the duty to perform an act, etc., comparable to the Roman law concept of *obligatio*.

The two parties to an obligation are the debtor (*ḥayyav*, BM 12b) – on whom the duty of fulfilling the obligation is imposed – and the creditor (*ba'al ḥov*) – who has the right to claim that the obligation be fulfilled. The term *ba'al ḥov* is sometimes used in the sources to describe the debtor as well (see Elon, *Ha-Mishpat ha-Ivri.*, 1, p. 483), which makes it necessary to exercise care in the use of these terms. It may be noted, too, that in Jewish law the term *malveh* ("lender") and *loveh* ("borrower") are not invariably used to denote an obligation arising from the transaction of a loan, but also to describe the parties to an obligation arising from any other transaction. This follows from the tendency in Jewish law to express a plain legal norm in concrete terms (e.g., *keren, shen, bor*, etc.; see *Avot Nezikin*;* *Mishpat Ivri), and thus the transaction of loan (*halva'ah*) is used as a concrete illustration of a clear and common obligation (e.g., sections 97–107 of Sh. Ar., ḤM are grouped under the heading *Hilkhot Geviyyat Milveh*, even though they are not confined exclusively to the recovery of debts originating from loan) (Elon, *Ha-Mishpat ha-Ivri.*, 1, p. 483).

Creation of the Obligation

As in other legal systems, Jewish law recognizes the creation of obligations in two principal ways:

(1) arising from *contract, whereby one party acquires a claim of right against another which the latter is obliged to honor; and

(2) arising from an act of tort (*nezek*; see *Torts), whereby the conduct of one party causes another to suffer damage, so that the latter acquires a claim of right against the tortfeasor for indemnification in respect of the damage, which the law obliges the tortfeasor to honor. The first talmudic tractate of the order of **Nezikin*, namely *Bava Kamma*, deals mainly with the laws of obligations arising from tort, i.e., harm inflicted by one man on another's person (e.g., *assault) or property (e.g., *theft and robbery), as well as harm inflicted by means of one man's property (*mamon*) on the person or property of another. In this case the owner of the property is obliged to compensate the injured party for the damage suffered through his negligence in preventing harm arising by means of his property. The other two tractates, *Bava Meẓia* and *Bava Batra*, deal largely with obligations arising from contract. Jewish law distinguishes between the obligations arising from these two different sources, particularly from the point of view of the manner of recovery of the debt on the debtor's failure to make due payment of it in cash or chattels. Thus obligations arising from tort are recoverable from the best of the land (*idit*), whereas contractual obligations are recoverable only from land of average quality (*beinonit*), and the **ketubbah* obligation from the worst (*zibburit*; Git. 5:1; see also *Execution, Civil). Roman law, in addition to a similar distinction between *obligationes ex contractu* and *obligationes ex delicto*, further subdivides the obligations into those which are quasi-delict and quasi-contract. Although Jewish law also recognizes quasi-contractual obligations, it does not employ the legal fiction of regarding these as arising, as it were, from a contract between the parties (as, e.g., in the case of the *negotiorum gestio*); the degree of liability imposed on the owner of a field toward one who "goes down to his field" and plants there without permission extends to the latter's expenses and, at most, to the value of the improvement from which the field has benefited (Tosef., Ket. 8:8; BK 10:3; Ket. 80a).

Fines (*Kenasot*)

In the case of obligations arising from both contract and tort, the degree of liability is coextensive with the respective objective value of the contractual transaction or with the extent of the loss sustained as a result of the damage inflicted; this liability is called *mamon*. When the measure of liability does not correspond to the value or loss it is called *kenas* ("a fine"; e.g., BK 15 a–b and see *Fines). Liability for such a fine may exist:

(1) by the consent of the parties, i.e., their agreement to pay a certain liquidated sum upon breach of the contract; or

(2) by operation of law, i.e., when the law provides for a measure of compensation that does not correspond to the actual loss caused by the act of tort (BK 15a–b).

Such a fine by operation of law can take three possible forms:

(1) the liability exceeds the actual damage (e.g., a thief being liable to pay double and four-or fivefold compensation: see *Theft and Robbery);

(2) the liability is less than the actual damage (e.g., where only half-damages are payable for a *shor tam* that has gored: see *Avot Nezikin); and

(3) the liability is for a fixed and pre-determined amount (e.g., in the case of defamation of a virgin: Deut. 22:19 and see also 29).

Imperfect (i.e., Unenforceable) Obligations

Jewish law recognizes the existence of two kinds of imperfect obligations. In the first category a legal obligation exists, but the court will provide no remedy for the party seeking its enforcement. Thus in the case of fixed (direct) interest (*ribbit keẓuẓah*; e.g., 100 are lent so that 120 shall be repaid), which is prohibited by Pentateuchal law, the lender is obliged to return the interest paid, and it may even be reclaimed by the borrower through the court; if, however, the interest is indirect (*avak ribbit*, lit. "dust of interest"), which is forbidden by rabbinical law only, the borrower cannot reclaim the interest in court (BM 61b; Yad, Malveh 6:1; Sh. Ar., YD 161; and see *Usury). Similarly, in all cases which are regarded as robbery according to rabbinical law only – e.g., when a person wins money in a game of chance (which is regarded as unjustified even if the loser consents) – the loser cannot reclaim the money in court (Sanh. 25b; Yad, Gezelah 6:6–16, and other *posekim*; see Elon, *Ha-Mishpat ha-Ivri,* 1, p. 194). The second category of imperfect obligations derives from tort; regarding this it was prescribed that "the offender is exempt from the judgments of man but liable to the laws of heaven" (BK 55b), as for example, in the case of a man who bends his neighbor's standing grain toward a fire in such a way that the grain will catch fire if the wind changes or strengthens unexpectedly, although there is no such danger as long as the wind does not alter (BK 55b and codes; see further Law and Morality for obligations carrying a moral or religious sanction only) (see Elon, *Ha-Mishpat ha-Ivri*, 1, p. 129).

The Personal and Proprietary Aspects of Obligation in Jewish Law

Many ancient systems of law (e.g., Babylonian law, Assyrian law, the laws of Eshnunna) provided for the creditor's being able to secure repayment of his debt by enslaving the debtor or the members of his family (see Elon, *Kevod ha-Adam ve-Ḥeruto,* pp. 3–8). According to the early Roman "XII Tables" and by means of the *legis actio per manus injectionem*, the creditor was even afforded the right, after certain preliminary procedures, of putting the defaulting debtor to death and taking his proportionate share of the body if there were several creditors. This "right" was abrogated by the *Lex Poetelia* and replaced by the possibility of imprisoning the debtor (see *Imprisonment for Debt on the position in Jewish law).

On the other hand, Jewish law did not recognize any form of enslavement of the debtor's person (the bondsmanship referred to in the Bible is confined to two cases: one of the thief who lacks the means to make restitution (Ex. 22:2); the other of a person who voluntarily sells himself on account of utter poverty (Lev. 25:39)). The creditor is strongly adjured to act mercifully toward the borrower and not to take in pledge the latter's basic essentials, nor to enter his house for the purpose of seizing a pledge (Ex. 22:24–26; Deut. 24:6, 10–13). If in practice the law was not always strictly observed and there were cases – due to the influence of surrounding legal customs – of enslavement for debt (II Kings 4:1; Isa. 50:1, etc), such cases were roundly condemned by the prophets (Amos 2:6; 8:4–6), and it appears that after the sharp reaction of Nehemiah (Neh. 5:1–13) enslavement for debt was abolished in practice as well (Elon, *Kevod ha-Adam ve-Ḥeruto*, 8–10).

The uncertain personal nature of an obligation in Jewish law led, in the second half of the fourth century, to fundamental differences of opinion on the substance of the borrower's personal liability to repay money to the lender. In the opinion of all scholars, restitution in the case of bailment or robbery constituted a clear legal obligation – since the bailor or the person robbed had a proprietary right in the property concerned. In the case of a loan of money, however, given in the first instance so that it could be used and expended by the borrower, in the opinion of R. Papa, the liability to repay the debt was no more than a religious duty (i.e., it was a *mitzvah* for a person to fulfill his promise and give effect to his statements (Rashi Ket. 86a)) and not a legal obligation. R. Huna, however, expressed the opinion – which was shared by the majority of the scholars and according to which the *halakhah* was decided – that the duty of repaying a debt was also a legal obligation. This personal aspect of the obligation is termed *shi'bud nafsheih* in the Talmud (i.e., pledging personal responsibility; see, e.g., Git. 13b, 49b; BK 40b; BM 94a; BB 173b). From the 11th century onward it seems, it was referred to as *shi'bud ha-guf* ("servitude of the person"), a term apparently mentioned for the first time in the statements of Alfasi (quoted in the Resp. Maharam of Rothenburg, ed. Cremona, no. 146, and in greater detail in the statements of Jacob *Tam cited in the commentary of Nissim Gerondi on Rif, to Ket. 85b; see also *Contract).

The impossibility of securing repayment of a debt by enslaving the debtor created a need for the establishment of an adequate security, i.e., by charging the debtor's assets: land was well suited for this purpose since it could not be carried away and was not subject to loss or extinction. Hence the rule that, immediately after a debt was created, the creditor acquired a lien over all the real estate possessed by the debtor in such a manner that the debt afforded the creditor not only a personal right of action against the debtor but also a right in the form of a lien over all his land. Land was accordingly termed "assets bearing responsibility" (*nekhasim she-yesh lahem aḥarayut*; i.e., guaranteeing the obligation of the debtor; Kid. 1:5; BM 1:6; BB 174a) and recovery therefrom was based on the creditor's charge and not on his right of recourse against the debtor personally. On the other hand, the debtor's chattels, being subject to loss and depreciation, were incapable of "bearing responsibility" for his obligation and were so termed (*nekhasim she-ein lahem aḥarayut*; Kid. 1:5), and the right of recovery from such assets was based on the creditor's personal right of recourse against the debtor (BK 11b; see also *Lien). The demands of developing commerce resulted in a substantive change in the concept of the contractual obligation in post-talmudic times; from an essentially real or property obligation it became an essentially personal one, with the property aspect subordinate to the personal (see Elon, *Ha-Mishpat ha-Ivri*, 1, p. 484).

Recovering Payment out of "Encumbered and Alienated" Assets (i.e., in the hands of a third party)

The creditor's above-mentioned lien over his debtor's property did not preclude the debtor from transferring the encumbered assets to a third party, except that any such transfer could be subject to the creditor's right to seize the assets from the transferee when seeking to enforce payment of the debt. At first this right did not extend to the debtor's chattels, since the creditor had no property right in them and his right of recovery from them derived merely from the debtor's personal obligation (see *Beit ha-Beḥirah*, BB 175b); thus they were beyond the creditor's reach once they had been transferred from the debtor's ownership (Ket. 92a). However, in the course of time, and with the changes in the economic circumstances of Jewish life, this distinction between land and chattels underwent substantial changes. Similarly, the general lien on the debtor's assets gave rise to many problems, concerning both the need to protect trade (*takkanot ha-shuk*) and the rights of third party purchasers, as well as the question of securing debts for the benefit of creditors, concerning which various **takkanot* were enacted at different times (see *Lien).

Verbal and Written Obligations

Jewish law distinguishes between a verbal and a written obligation, termed in the Talmud a *milveh be-al peh* and a *milveh bi-shetar*, respectively (BB 175a; see also Sh. Ar., ḤM 39:1, et al.). Although phrased in the language of loan, these terms are intended to embrace all obligations of whatever origin (see above). The distinction between the two forms of obligation relates to the weight of consequence accorded each one rather than to the substance of the obligation. This finds expression in two main respects:

(1) a written obligation entitles the creditor to recover payment out of the debtor's encumbered assets which are in the hands of a third party, a right unavailable in the case of a mere verbal obligation, since here the obligation or debt has no *kol* ("voice") and does not provide notice that will put prospective purchasers on their guard;

(2) in the case of a written obligation, a plea by the debtor that he has repaid the debt is not accepted without proof, whereas a plea of this kind is accepted without proof in the case of a verbal obligation (Shevu. 41b; Yad, Malveh 11:1, 15:1; Sh. Ar., ḤM 70:1, 82:1; see also *Pleas).

The distinction between the two is not characterized by the mere fact of writing or its absence, and the fact that an obligation is recorded in a document does not of itself ensure the application of the special consequences attaching to a *milveh bi-shetar*. Thus, for example, an undertaking even in the debtor's own handwriting, but not signed by witnesses, will be treated as a *milveh be-al peh*, since only a properly written, witnessed, and signed obligation carries a "voice" and constitutes notice (BB 175b and codes). Similarly, since a written obligation affects the rights of the parties, it is not considered as such unless it has been drawn up and signed in accordance with the instructions of the parties (BB 40a and codes), and with the prior intention of constituting it a *milveh bi-shetar* and not simply an aide-memoire (Sh. Ar., ḤM 61:10). Contrariwise, it is possible that a wholly verbal obligation can be treated as a written one, as in the case of sale of land before witnesses, when the purchaser from whom the land is seized may in turn exact the seller's responsibility to him out of encumbered and alienated assets sold by the latter (BB 41b). So too all verbal obligations claimed through, and upheld by, judgment of the court are treated as obligations by deed (BM 15a) which may be recovered out of encumbered and alienated assets, since in these circumstances they have a "voice" and constitute notice even if they are not evidenced in writing.

The Parties to an Obligation

On the capacity of the parties to an obligation see *Legal capacity (see *Deaf Mute); *Embryo; *Legal Person.

From various scriptural sources it may be inferred that it is possible that an obligation may subsist toward a person unknown at the time (Josh. 15:16; I Sam. 17:25). This principle is also illustrated in this way: "he who says 'whoever shall bring me the tidings that my wife gave birth to a male child shall receive two hundred; that she gave birth to a female child a *maneh*'; [then] if she gives birth to a male he shall receive two hundred and if to a female child, he shall receive a *maneh*" (Tosef., BB 9:5; BB 141b). It was also followed in practice, in the case of a deed granted by the community in respect of the right to collect a tax, in which the name of the grantee was not specified at the time of signature, it being provided that certain communal officials would determine the person to acquire the right (Resp. Rosh no. 13:20).

Plurality of Creditors and Debtors

Both possibilities are allowed for in Jewish law. Most sources indicate that each of the co-debtors is responsible for his proportionate share only; e.g., if they borrow in a common deed (Tosef., BM 1:21), or guarantee a single debt (Tosef., BB 11:15; but cf. Yad, Malveh 25:10 and Sh. Ar., ḤM 77:3 and commentators). In the same way a judgment of the court against one of the debtors does not of itself render the others liable (Rema, ḤM 176:25). Some scholars sought to infer from another source that each of the debtors is liable for the whole amount of the debt (R. Yose, TJ, Shevu. 5:1, 136a; *Piskei ha-Rosh*, ad loc., 2); but most of the *posekim* interpreted this source as prescribing that each of the debtors, in addition to the principal obligation for his proportionate share, is also liable as surety for the remainder of the debt upon default of the other debtors (Yad, Malveh 25:9; Tur and Sh. Ar., ḤM 77:1, and see also commentators); the *halakhah* was decided accordingly.

A similar rule prevails with regard to liability for damage jointly caused by several tortfeasors, namely the apportionment of liability according to the degree of participation of each (BK 10b and codes). Opinions are divided in the codes on the question of whether each of the tortfeasors is also liable as surety for the shares of the others (Tur, ḤM, 410:29 and Sh. Ar., ḤM 410:37). Similarly, when a debt is owed to a number of creditors jointly, each of them is entitled to his proportionate share. Any one of them may claim payment of the whole amount in circumstances where it can be presumed that he is acting as an agent for his fellow creditors with regard to their shares (Ket. 94a and codes). Where there is no room for this presumption and one creditor wishes to claim recovery of his share alone, two possibilities exist: if the share of each of the creditors is known, each may separately claim his own share, e.g., in the case where a creditor is survived by a number of heirs, each claiming his known share; if the proportionate share owing to each creditor is unknown, none may separately claim recovery but must be joined in his claim by the remaining creditors (Sh. Ar., ḤM 77:9–10 and *Siftei Kohen* ad loc., n. 25; Sh. Ar., ḤM 176:25). This is also the law when the debt derives from tort.

Extinction of Obligation

An obligation is extinguished when it is fulfilled by the debtor, whether voluntarily or under compulsion by way of civil execution. (For the consequences of nonfulfillment of an obligation deriving from tort or contract see *Damages; *Tort; and *Contract.) An obligation also becomes extinguished, even if unfulfilled, when a release is granted by the creditor to the debtor (see *Meḥilah*). According to Pentateuchal law, a *Jubilee year terminates certain obligations. *Hillel the Elder and his court instituted the prosbul, whereby the obligation continues to exist and is not wiped out in the seventh year (see also *Loans).

In the State of Israel

The law of obligations in the State of Israel is derived from numerous different sources: Ottoman and mandatory laws, as well as Israel legislation. English common law and equity is a further source of the Israel law of obligation whenever there is a "lacuna" in the existing law (s. 46, Palestine Order in Council, 1922–47). In recent years there has been increasing legislation in this field, showing to a certain extent the influence of Jewish law. (See also *State of Israel, Jewish Law in.) In some of these laws it is stated that the abovementioned section 46 no longer applies to them. See *Contract and Introduction.

See further: *Admission; *Assignment; Bailment; Gifts; Labor law; Lease and Hire; Maritime Law; Partnership; Sale; Servitude; *Shetar*; Suretyship.

[Menachem Elon]

The Obligation as an Undertaking

In the framework of the laws of obligations, a distinction is drawn between a statutory obligation (such as a tort) and a contractual obligation. In the framework of the contractual obligation, a distinction should be drawn between an obligation relating to price – consideration for the purchase of an object or a legal right (such as the obligation of the purchaser or the lessee to pay) and an obligation (or undertaking) that a person takes upon himself for his fellow, with no consideration. In the Talmud, we find several examples of such an obligation. Let us mention a few of them:

1. *Ketubbah's* Increment (*tosefet ketubbah*): a person undertakes to add to the minimum sum prescribed by law for his wife's *kettubah* (M. Ket. 5.1; Ket. 54b).

2. Obligation to Pay Maintenance: The undertaking of a person who marries a divorced woman or a widow to maintain her daughter (M. Ket. 11:1; Ket. 101b).

3. Obligation of a Tenant Farmer: The obligation of a tenant farmer, who undertook to work the field, to compensate the owners if he should leave the field untended. This is a type of obligation to pay a fine for violation of contract (M. BM 9:4; BM 104a).

4. Obligation of Bailees: The undertaking of a bailee to deviate from the biblical laws of bailees, for example an unpaid bailee who undertakes to pay even in the case of theft.

5. Guarantee (surety): A guarantor for a loan undertakes to pay the borrower's debt if the borrower does not pay himself (BB 173b, see *Surety).

This undertaking gives rise to a number of questions, some of which have been discussed in other entries, as will be mentioned below.

THE MODE OF EXECUTION. A transaction is not concluded by words but by an act of acquisition (BM 49a; Yad, beginning of *Hilkhot Mekhirah*). What is the law in the case of an obligation: does it require an act of acquisition, and if so – what is the nature of the act? In several places, the *gemara* requires an act of acquisition in respect to obligations (see BM 58a; 94a; BB 3a). However, from the passage in Ket. 101b, we see that in the case of a person who says to another: "I owe you a certain amount by virtue of a deed," the debt is valid. The *rishonim* disagree as to the meaning of the passage. Rashi explains that it refers to a new obligation, and Ramban and Rashba interpret the passage as referring to an obligation by virtue of a deed. This is also the approach of Rabbenu Tam (Tos. to Ket. 102a, s.v. *aliba*). Maimonides, however, says that the reference is to an oral obligation, if it is uttered according to a certain formula in the presence of witnesses (Yad, Mekhirah 11:15). Accordingly, an oral obligation is also possible (see Sh. Ar., ḤM 40:1), and only a conditional obligation requires an act of acquisition (*Siftei Kohen, ibid.* 3–4). *Keẓot ha-Ḥoshen ad loc.*, however, explains that Maimonides is referring to an acquisition by way of admission (see: *Admission, *Wills), which is one of the modes of acquisition, when it is said, in terms of an admission: "I am indebted"; however, if the person says, "I undertake," an act of acquisition or a deed is required. The normal form of acquisition in relation to an obligation is *kinyan sudar* – acquisition by symbolic barter (see *Acquisition).

"THE PARTICULAR BENEFIT." In several places, the *gemara* indicates that an obligation is valid following a benefit derived by the obligee. For example, parents-in-law may make a mutual undertaking when they negotiate over what they each will supply for their children's needs, and the *gemara* states that "these are in the category of things that are acquired orally" because of the mutual benefit of the parties from the union between them (see Ket. 102b). Similarly in the case of the above-mentioned bailee who takes upon himself a liability beyond that specified by law, the *gemara* cites an opinion, which acquired the status of *halakhah*, that his obligation is effected without *kinyan* due to the benefit of the trust that was placed in him (see BM 94a). The same applies in relation to a guarantee: the obligation is valid without an act of acquisition because of the benefit to the effect that the lender relied upon him (BB 173b).

Ritba, one of the great *rishonim*, extends this idea to other obligations that a person takes upon himself, when he is determined to pay even though there has been no act of acquisition, due to his benefit from the fact that the other person laid out money and relied on him that he would not lose his money. Thus he explains the obligation of an employer to pay the employee if he retracted and caused the latter a loss, even in the absence of a specific contract relating to violation (Nov. Ritba BM 74a.)

Other commentators had recourse to this approach in extending the ambit of obligations. Let us cite a contemporary example. In the case of parents who adopt a child, even if they have not performed an act of acquisition which requires them to maintain him, some authorities obligate them to maintain him by virtue of their benefit in receiving the child (see *Teḥumin* 15, p. 278).

THE CONTENTS OF THE OBLIGATION. Is it possible to obligate oneself with respect to all things, or only with respect to a transfer of money in which a charge is placed on the obligee's property? The *gemara* (BB 3a) explains that a contract made by partners for division in a courtyard is not valid, because it falls within the category of *kinyan devarim be-alma* – a *kinyan* over mere words, a promise which has no legal validity, and which does not apply to anything (see Rashi and Rosh *ad loc.*) At the same time, other sources indicate that an obligation can have validity even when no property is charged, such as a poor groom who undertakes to pay more than the required minimum for his wife's *kettubah* (marriage deed), even though he has no money. On this basis, some understood that the person making the obligation pledges his body, like a worker who pledges his body to his work (see Tos. to Ket. 54b). On the tension between the *in rem* element and the *in personem* element of the obligation, and the transition to the personal aspect, see *Obligations. In any case, according to many opinions, the monetary undertaking is valid, and therefore an undertaking to divorce falls within the category of an oral act of acquisition (*Terumat Hadeshen, Pesakim* 163; *Sema*, ḤM 195:16). Consequently, an undertaking to marry is not valid (*Sema*, ḤM 243:12; *PDR* 4, p. 374, 377). Similarly, a negative undertaking, to desist from an action, is problematic (see Resp. Divrei Ḥayyim 31; *PDR* 3 p. 336.).

BYPASS SOLUTIONS. In order to overcome the constraints of the contract, and particularly the problem of oral acts of acquisition, certain bypass routes were devised:

Making the Act Contingent upon a Monetary Obligation. The prospective groom does not undertake to marry, but rather, to pay a sum of money if he should not marry by the set date. Thus, for example, Tashbez (1:94) explains the validity of the undertaking of a husband not to marry a second wife without his (first) wife's approval, even if it should transpire that she is barren. This is not a negative obligation – an obligation not to marry the (second) woman – but rather an undertaking to pay the first wife compensation if he should marry another woman in addition to her. The practice, in a matchmaking agreement, is to undertake to pay a fine for violation of the agreement, since the agreement to marry is considered to be an oral act of acquisition (*Sema*, *ibid.*). This is how the Maggid Mishneh explains the position of Maimonides (Yad, *Malveh ve-Loveh* 25:14) whereby a guarantor for a body – to bring the debtor to the creditor – actually means only that the person guarantee to pay if he does not produce the debtor. In our times, there are those who propose adopting this approach as a means of exerting pressure on a recalcitrant husband, by means of signing a pre-nuptial agreement, in which the husband does not undertake to divorce, but to pay a large amount of maintenance if he should separate from his wife under certain circumstances (see *Naḥalat Shiva* 9; *Teḥumin* 21 pp. 279–339; and see **Ketubbah*).

Oath and Ḥerem (excommunication). Even if a non-monetary obligation is not valid, an oath or vow to the same effect is valid. These are religious undertakings to stand by one's word vis-à-vis Heaven. Therefore, some authorities had recourse to this legal institution in order to validate several kinds of contracts. According to Rema, for example (YD. 264:1), the undertaking of a father to hand over his son to a particular *mohel* (circumcisor) for circumcision should be strengthened by a *ḥerem* or a handshake which is similar to an oath. To this day, the practice in Sephardi marriage deeds is that the husband takes upon himself not to marry a second wife without the (first) wife's consent (see Resp. *Yabia Omer* 7:2). The *ḥerem*, which is like an oath, was also invoked in relation to a violation of a matchmaking agreement, as mentioned above. Now, a vow or an oath to another must be formulated appropriately, and not in terms of a promise, but if a person promises a contribution to a dedicated fund or to a charity for the poor, even if what he promises does not yet exist, the promise is valid even without an act of acquisition, like an oath (see Yad, *Mekhirah* 22:17, and Tur, Sh. Ar., ḤM 212:7–9). A promise to fulfill a *mitzvah* also is valid by virtue of the laws of vows or oaths (see Rema, YD. 213:2).

OBLIGATION BY VIRTUE OF CUSTOM. On the force of custom, see *Custom. Some authorities hold that even a contract which is not binding, such as one secured by an oral *kinyan*, will be binding if it is acted upon as if binding. Some authorities thus validated the father's undertaking to hand over his son to a particular circumcisor by virtue of custom (see *Pitḥei Teshuvah*, ḤM. 201:2 and *PDR* 6 pp. 315–23). This approach is particularly important in relation to the sale of "a thing which is not concrete." Objects may be sold, but it is not simple to sell rights, and in particular, intangible rights such as the right of passage or right of residence or copyright. Nevertheless, some authorities allowed these transactions by virtue of custom: see *Pitḥei Teshuvah* (ḤM 212:1–2).

A PUBLIC ACT. The statements of a number of *rishonim* indicate that a contract, one of the parties to which is a plurality or a public representative, is not bound by the normal rules of Contract law. Not only is an act of acquisition unnecessary, but there are also no other constraints, such as those relating to something which does not yet exist, or an oral *kinyan*. Therefore, a group that hired a tutor – without any act of *kinyan* – may not retract (see Resp. Rosh. Nos. 6, 19, 21; ḤM 204:9; Rema, ḤM 22:1; 81:1; 163:6). For this reason, the undertaking of a member of the City Council to resign under certain circumstances, despite constituting an oral *kinyan*, is valid, for it relates to the public (*PDR* 6, p. 166).

BREACH OF CONTRACT. What relief is available to a party injured by breach of contract? In some cases, he is entitled to void the contract (see Sh. Ar., YD. 236:6). According to some authorities, this applies only in the case of breach of a fundamental clause (*Taz, ibid.* 13), such as a person who purchased goods in order to sell them at a fair, but the seller was late in delivery. There are others who disagree and hold that the criterion is whether the person making the undertaking made his debt contingent upon the fulfillment of this condition, and in that case, he is exempt, even though the other party did not fulfill his obligation as a result of coercion. If this is not the case, however, he must fulfill his obligation (*Siftei Kohen* on *Nekudot ha-Kessef, ibid.*).

Specific Performance or Compensation. What is the relief for breach of contract? If the contract is valid, an obligation exists to execute it. At times, it is difficult to execute, and money may be obtained from the party in breach. Thus, for example, an employer or employee who violates an employment contract will be obligated to pay (monetary compensation to) the injured party, see *Employment. When a person undertook to sell his house to one person but proceeds to sell it to another, then according to some authorities, the sale to the second person is valid, for a real right takes precedence over an obligation, but the seller must pay compensation to the first "buyer" in respect of whom he breached the contract (*Netivot ha-Mishpat* 39:17). There is, however, an opinion whereby the first undertaking prevails (Resp. Mahara Sasson, 133). Indeed, some authorities hold that this obligation falls within the category of an oral *kinyan*, unless he took upon himself responsibility for the members of the household (*Keẓot ha-Ḥoshen* 203:2).

If a person says that he will sell his house but did not obligate himself expressly to do so, we are faced with the question that was disputed by the *rishonim* as to whether acquisition through uttering the words "I will give" is valid. Some authorities hold that it is not valid, and it is only a vague promise (Resp. Rif, Leiter edition 14), and others hold that the contract is valid, because the assessment is that the person intended to obligate himself (Resp. Rashba 1:1003).

INHERITING OBLIGATIONS. With respect to an obligation to make a payment, a charge is placed on the property, and therefore the heir repays the debts of the deceased from that property. However, the Shulḥan Arukh rules that the heir also pays up from land that he inherited even if it was not mortgaged during the lifetime of the legator, for "a son stands in place of his father" (see Sh. Ar., ḤM 107:1; Sema and *Be'ur ha-Gra ibid.*) There is also a commandment – one which is not forced upon a person – to pay out of movable property that was inherited, by virtue of the law of honoring one's parents. Indeed, the *geonim* made an enactment whereby a debt could be claimed from movable property, even if the property was not charged to the debt (Shulkhan Arukh, *ibid.*), and see also the entry: *Succession.

COERCION. An obligation which was made as a result of coercion, without absolute volition, is not valid (*Sema,* ḤM 205:28). However, if consideration was promised by the coercer, some authorities hold that it will be valid (Maharik, no. 118), and others say that it will not be valid (Resp. Ḥemdat Shelomo 13).

"I was not serious." Sometimes, a person makes an undertaking in the heat of the moment, and he is in something like a situation of coercion, e.g., a person who escapes from prison and reaches the banks of the river, where a barge is moored, and the boatman negotiates with him a higher price than normal: the debtor can later say, "I was not serious." The same applies in relation to a *yevamah* (a woman obliged to undergo *levirate marriage) whose brother-in-law was corrupt and demanded that she pay him an amount of money in order that he release her: she is entitled to retract her obligation with the same claim (Yev. 106a; ḤM 264:7). According to some authorities, this applies only when the other person is commanded to act in this way on his behalf; but where there is no commandment, he is obligated to the full extent of his undertaking (*Mordekhai* on BK 174, and see *PDR* 14, p. 43). Some authorities hold that if there was an act of acquisition, he cannot say, "I was not serious"; others disagree (see *Keẓot ha-Ḥoshen* 81:4, and *Netivot ha-Mishpat* 264:8).

In the case of a person who made an undertaking towards another person, and due to an unusual accident (i.e., a situation of coercion), he cannot uphold his undertaking, some authorities exempt him, as if he had made a condition to that effect (Taz, EH 114:2); others hold that coercion does not constitute grounds for exemption from an obligation, and he is like a borrower who became impoverished, since a charge had already been placed on his property (*Avnei Millu'im*, *ibid.* 2).

FRUSTRATION OF CONTRACT. In the case of a person who undertook to work, but it became impossible to do so, and he is not able to fulfill his obligation; for example, he undertook to water a field from the river, and the river dried up, or conversely, the river flooded the field by itself, or he undertook to transfer barrels from a ship and the ship sank, several opinions have been voiced on the question of who should bear the loss (see Sh. Ar., ḤM. 334; and see *Employment).

TIME IN THE CONTRACT. A continuing contract in which no particular time has been set for execution is a subject of dispute amongst the *rishonim.* For example, if a person undertakes the maintenance of another person, some authorities hold that he is required to support him as long as he is in need, but others say that he is exempt from his obligation after one year (Rema, ḤM 60:3).

If no time has been specified for execution of the contract, it must be executed at the first opportunity, e.g., a person who undertakes to maintain his wife's daughter for five years must do so in the first five years (*Siftei Kohen*, ḤM 42:19).

[Itamar Warhaftig (2nd ed.)]

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OCAÑA, town in central *Spain, in New Castile. Its community maintained close relations with the city of *Toledo. The *Fuero Juzgo* laws on the settlement of debts owed by Christians to Jews did not apply to Ocaña, and King Ferdinand IV prohibited their enforcement in the town (1296). In 1313 King Alfonso XI granted the income from the taxes of the Jews of Ocaña to the commander of the Order of Santiago for life; previously they had paid their taxes together with the community of Toledo. A similar income, amounting to 4,000 maravedis benefiting this order, was ratified in 1386 by King John I. The community of Ocaña suffered during the riots of 1391, but it recovered soon after. Subsequently, there was also a group of Conversos which maintained close links with the local Jews. Some of the Jews who were expelled from Andalusia in 1483 found refuge in Ocaña. Among the refugees was Judah ibn Verga, one of the last Jewish tax-farmers, who lived in Ocaña from 1488 to 1491. He may have been identical with the Rabbi Judah ibn Verga portrayed by Solomon *Ibn Verga in his *Shevet Yehudah*. The rabbi of Ocaña at that time was Isaac de *Leon, one of the last distinguished Spanish rabbis. It was he who maintained relations with Don Alfonso de la Cavallería, when the latter stayed in the town from 1488 to 1489 along with the king's retinue. Information is available on ten Inquisition trials held in Ocaña at the close of the 15th century and the beginning of the 16th; from this, close contact between the Jews of the town and the Conversos from the pre-Expulsion period can be inferred. Ocaña also attracted Conversos during the 16th and 17th centuries.

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[Haim Beinart]

OCHBERG, ISAAC (1879–1938), South African philanthropist and Zionist. Ochberg was born in the Ukraine and went to South Africa in 1894. A successful Cape Town businessman, he was best known for his humanitarian project in bringing some 200 Jewish pogrom orphans from the Ukraine and Poland to South Africa after World War I. In 1921 he traveled to Russia on his own initiative, personally selected the children and organized their transportation to South Africa, where they were cared for by the Jewish orphanages in Cape Town and Johannesburg and the South African Jewish War Victims Fund. He returned to Russia the following year and distributed food, clothing, and medicines to the starving people in the war-afflicted areas. Ochberg served on the Cape executive of the South African Jewish Board of Deputies and other communal bodies. Among his benefactions were bequests to the Isaac Ochberg Fund for bursaries and to the Hebrew University for extensions and scholarships. In Israel the kibbutz Galed was also called Even Yiẓḥak in his honor, and his estate was used to purchase the land of kibbutz Daliyyah, where a monument to him was erected.

[Louis Hotz]

OCHRIDA (ancient **Lychnidos**), town on Lake Ohrid/Ochrida in the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia. There were Jews living in Ochrida during the Middle Ages. The scholar Judah Leon *Mosconi lived in Ochrida. He studied under Shemariah ha-Ikriti (the Cretan) and authored *Even Ha-Ezer,* a commentary on Abraham ibn Ezra's Torah commentary. Jews were probably moved from there under the Ottoman system of sorgun. It is therefore not surprising to find in Constantinople a Romaniot synagogue named after Ochrida. The Jews of Ochrida engaged in the preparation of furs and those of them who settled in *Kastoria developed the same profession there. There is no information on the Jews of Ochrida in recent times.

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[Simon Marcus]

OCHS, U.S. family of newspaper publishers. JULIUS OCHS (1826–1888), founder of the family, was an immigrant from Bavaria who went into business in Louisville, Kentucky, and then in Knoxville, Tennessee. He became a communal leader and served as volunteer rabbi to the Jewish community for 25 years. His three sons rose to prominence as publishers and editors. ADOLPH SIMON OCHS (1858–1935) was the eldest and most distinguished. His career began at the age of 11, when he left school to become an office boy for the *Knoxville Chronicle*. At 17 he became a compositor for the *Louisville Courier-Journal*, and three years later he gained control of the decrepit *Chattanooga Times* for $250. He soon put it on its feet and made it one of the leading papers in the South. In 1896 he went to New York to take over the declining *New York Times*. He revitalized it, and in his 39 years as its publisher he strengthened it all round. Before he died, he saw its circulation rise from 9,000 to 466,000 daily and 730,000 on Sunday. When he went to New York, "yellow journalism" was at its height; he adopted the slogan "All the news that's fit to print" and appealed to intelligent readers with trustworthy and comprehensive coverage. He raised the standards of printing and advertising, and brought responsible journalism to a high level. In 1902 he bought *The Times* and *The Ledger* of Philadelphia, amalgamated them and installed his brother GEORGE WASHINGTON OCHS (1861–1931) as editor. When the company was sold in 1913, George Ochs stayed on for two more years and then became editor of *Current History*, a monthly magazine published by the *New York Times*. He continued in that post until his death. He also served as mayor of Chattanooga, Tennessee (1894–98). In 1917, out of anger at the German atrocities during World War I, he anglicized his Germanic-sounding family name Ochs to Ochs-Oakes. His son, John B. OAKES (1913–2001), a Rhodes scholar who worked as a political reporter for the *Washington Post*, took charge of the editorial page of the *New York Times* in 1961, until 1976. He conceived the concept of the op-ed page and was a pioneer of environmental journalism. In 1993, the John B. Oakes Award for Distinguished Environmental Journalism was established by Oakes' family and friends to promote the highest standards in environmental journalism. The award is housed at the Natural Resources Defense Council, an environmental public policy organization of which Oakes was a founding trustee. MILTON B. OCHS (1864–1955), the youngest brother, served with his brothers in high executive positions in Chattanooga and Philadelphia, and ultimately became vice president of the New York Times Publishing Company.

[Irving Rosenthal / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

OCHS, PHILIP DAVID (**Phil**; 1940–1976), U.S. topical protest singer/songwriter of the 1960s, perhaps best known for his songs "Power and Glory," "There but for Fortune," "Changes," "Small Circle of Friends," "When I'm Gone," "Pleasures of the Harbor" and "Love Me, I'm a Liberal." Ochs was born in El Paso, Texas, the second of three children to Jacob, a doctor, and Gertrude, who came from Scotland. Ochs' father was driven mad by his World War II experiences in Europe, and beginning when Ochs was five, spent two years away from the family in a mental institution diagnosed as manic-depressive. Ochs grew up in New York and Ohio, attended the Staunton Military Academy in Virginia, from where he graduated in 1958, and then Ohio State University, where he studied journalism, became involved in protesting campus ROTC training, and started writing for *The Lantern*, the student newspaper. In 1962, Ochs dropped out of college one semester shy of graduation and headed for New York, where he became an integral part of the Greenwich Village folk music scene. In the tradition of Woody Guthrie and Pete Seeger, Ochs was one of the premier "protest singers" of the era: He played at voter-registration drives in the Deep South during the early days of the civil rights movement, campaigned for striking coal miners in the hills of West Virginia and Kentucky, and was a leading figure in demonstrations against the Vietnam War. A self-styled "singing journalist," Ochs' first album was *All the News That's Fit to Sing* (1964), followed by *I Ain't Marching Anymore* (1965), which gave the anti-war movement two anthems with the title track and "Draft Dodger Rag," and a moving civil-rights piece, "Here's to the State of Mississippi," which he later re-recorded as "Here's to the State of Richard Nixon" to protest Nixon-era politics. In 1966, Ochs sold out Carnegie Hall for a solo concert. On January 16, 1968, Ochs along with seven others including Abbie Hoffman, founded the Youth International Party (Yippies), a theatrical political party that used guerrilla street theater to attract media attention to their causes. They were most successful at the 1968 Democratic Convention in Chicago, where they promoted the Yippie candidate for president – a pig named Pigasus, which Ochs selected and purchased, as he testified at the Chicago 7 trial. Ochs recorded eight albums in 12 years (1964–75), but disappointment over his lack of commercial success coupled with alcoholism, writer's block and depression led Ochs to hang himself in his sister's home at age 35. He is the subject of *Death of a Rebel* by Marc Elliot (1977) and *There but for Fortune – The Life of Phil Ochs* by Michael Schumacher (1996).

[Elli Wohlgelernter (2nd ed.)]

OCHS, SIEGFRIED (1858–1929), conductor and composer. Born in Frankfurt, Germany, Ochs founded the Berlin Philharmonic Choir in 1882, revived neglected works by Bach and Handel, and promoted the music of Bruckner and Hugo Wolf. He later became professor at the Berlin Hochschule fuer Musik. He wrote a comic opera, *Im Namen des Gesetzes* (1888); an autobiographical work, *Geschehenes, Gesehenes* (1922); and *Der deutsche Gesangverein* (4 vols., 1923–28), a history of German choral singing. His humorous piano variations on the German children's song, *S'kommt ein Vogel geflogen*, imitating the style of the masters, started a trend which remained popular.

OCTOBRISTS, constitutional-monarchist party in czarist Russia founded after the issue of the Manifesto of *Nicholas II of Oct. 30, 1905. The goal of the Octobrists was to attain certain limited freedoms, i.e., the freedom of speech, of assembly, and organization. The party also demanded the right to a legislative assembly (*Duma), elected democratically as had been promised to the Russian people in the Manifesto. In the First Imperial Duma (1906), composed mostly of constitutional-democratic factions, the Octobrists did not occupy a significant place, having only 16 seats out of a total of 500. In the Second Duma (1907) they had 44 representatives. The strength and influence of the party rose in the Third Duma (1907–1910) which was elected after electoral reforms had been introduced, conferring preferential rights on the aristocracy and restricting the electoral rights of the broader levels of the social strata. The Octobrists drew close to the reactionary right wing of the Duma which unreservedly supported the czar and his government; the leader of the faction, A. Guchkov, was elected as chairman of the Duma.

On the Jewish question the Octobrists from the very outset adopted an evasive policy. When compelled to take a clear stand, they supported the retention of restrictions on Jewish rights and did not refrain from open antisemitic attacks. In connection with the bill permitting greater freedom of residence outside the *Pale of Settlement (1908), the Octobrists supported the restricting amendment introduced by the reactionary majority of the Duma, which sought to intensify the restrictions. In military affairs the Octobrists demanded that the Jews be withdrawn from army service, since in their opinion the loyalty of Jews could not be relied upon in the event of war. Their opposition to the appointment of Jews as justices of the peace was rationalized on the ground that to place a Jew in such a position was contrary to the principles of a Christian state (1909). By agreement with the reactionary representatives of the Polish faction in the Third Imperial Duma, the Jews were deprived of their municipal rights in the cities of Poland. A slight relaxation in the stand taken by the Octobrists on the Jewish question was evidenced when 26 of its members in the Duma signed a bill submitted by the opposition to abolish the Pale of Settlement (1910).

[Simha Katz]

ODENATHUS AND ZENOBIA. Odenathus ("little ear") Septimius (258–67 C.E.) was a Palmyrene vassal of Rome; Zenobia Julia Aurelia Septimia, his wife, succeeded him as regent for their minor son Vaballathus (267–71 C.E.). Odenathus maintained at least a nominal loyalty to Rome, slaying Callistus and Quietus, the rival pretenders to the throne of the emperor Gallienus and warring against the Persians who had invaded the Roman east. Palmyra reached the zenith of her affluence when Gallienus conferred the title *corrector totius orientis* upon Odenathus, legitimizing him as the virtual viceroy of Rome over the east. His assassination left Zenobia, famous for her beauty and political acumen, the ruler of Palmyra, since their son Vaballathus was still a minor. Zenobia, controlling Syria, Egypt, and Palestine, aimed at political independence from Rome and in 271 openly assumed the title of Augusta. In the ensuing war the Roman emperor Aurelian reconquered all her territory and took her prisoner. According to Zosimus, *Historiae* (1:59, 3), Zenobia perished while crossing the Bosphorus, but most scholars accept the account of Flavius Vopiscus (Aurelian 34, 3) and Trebellius Pollio (The Thirty Pretenders 30, 24, 6) that after being exhibited in Aurelian's march of triumph, she ended her life as a Roman matron on an estate in Tibur (Tivoli).

Graetz was the first to identify Odenathus as the Ben Naẓer of the Talmud, which regards him as half king, half robber (Ket. 51b). Funk, on the other hand, identifies him with "Adi the Arab" (Av. Zar. 33a; Men. 69b). According to the Midrash (Gen. R. 76:6), he succeeded (the pretenders) Macrianus, Carinus, and Quietus (or Cyriades) and was merely an agent of Rome, the "little horn" predicted by Daniel 7:8. If Odenathus is identical with Ben Naẓer, who according to Sherira Gaon (*Iggeret*, p. 82, ed. Lewin) destroyed Nehardea, it becomes clear why the daughters of Samuel who were captured there could be taken to Palestine to be redeemed (Ket. 23a). Zenobia is reported to have pardoned a Jewish prisoner, probably political, when shown the bloody sword with which the prisoner's brother was killed by Ben Naẓer (TJ, Ter. 8:10, 46b; Funk takes this story as a confirmation of Zenobia's collaboration in Odenathus' assassination).

Athanasius (298–373) states that Zenobia was Jewish (*Historia Arianorum ad Monachus* 71, PG 25, 777b). Though this statement is repeated by Theoredet (386–457) and Photius (820–891), scholars (S. Brady, J. Fevrière, etc.) give little credence to it. Her patronizing of Paul of Samosata, a Christian-Jewish thinker, has erroneously been given religious significance. However, recently discovered inscriptions, containing dedications such as "*levarekh shemah le-alma alma*" ("to the One whose name is blessed forever," etc.) as well as expressions from the Psalms, do testify to the penetration of Jewish ideas into the syncretistic religion of the Palmyrene population. Zenobia herself rebuilt a synagogue in Egypt. Both Odenathus and Zenobia figure in Arab legends, which may contain kernels of truth (see T. Noeldeke).

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[Hugo Mantel]

ODESSA, capital of Odessa district, Ukraine. In the 19th century it became the industrial and commercial center for southern Russia. In 1865 a university was founded. Odessa was an important center of the Russian revolutionary movement. Under the Soviet regime it lost some of its importance. In October 1941 Odessa was occupied by the German and Romanian armies and was under Romanian military rule until its liberation in April 1944.

From the 1880s until the 1920s the Jewish community of Odessa was the second largest in the whole of Russia (after *Warsaw, the capital of Poland, then within czarist Russia) and it had considerable influence on the Jews of the country. The principal characteristics of this community, and responsible for its particular importance, were the rapid and constant growth of the Jewish population and its extensive participation in the economic development of the town, the outstanding "Western" character of its cultural life and numerous communal institutions, especially educational and economic institutions, the social and political activity of the Jewish public, the mood of tension and struggle which was impressed on its history, and the Hebrew literary center which emerged there.

Beginnings of the Community

The Russians found six Jews when they took the fortress of Khadzhi-Bei in 1789; the oldest Jewish tombstone in the cemetery dates from 1793. Five Jews were among those who in 1794 received plots for the erection of houses and shops and the planting of gardens. The Gemilut Ḥesed Shel Emet society (*ḥevra kaddisha*) was founded in 1795. In 1796 Jews participated in the administration of the town. The *kahal* (community administration) was already in existence in 1798, when the first synagogue was built; the first rabbi to hold office, in 1809, was Isaac Rabinovich of Bendery.

Growth of the Jewish Population

There were 246 Jews (out of a total population of 2,349) in 1795, 6,950 (out of 41,700) in 1831, 51,378 (out of 193,513) in 1873, 138,935 (out of 403,815) in 1897. During the Soviet period the Jewish population continued to grow: in 1926, 153,243 (of a total population of 420,862), and 200,981 in 1939 (out of 604,217). It was then the second largest Jewish population in Ukraine, after Kiev. After World War II 108,900 Jews lived in Odessa (12.1% of the total) in 1959, and 86,000 (8.4% of the total) in 1979.

Economic Status

From the start, the Jews of Odessa engaged in retail trade and crafts. Their representation in these occupations remained important. In 1910, 56% of the small shops were still owned by Jews; they also constituted 63% of the town's craftsmen. Jewish economy in Odessa was distinguished by the role played by Jews in the export of grain via the harbor, in wholesale trade, banking and industry, the large numbers of Jews engaged in the liberal professions, and the existence of a large Jewish proletariat in variegated employment.

During the first half of the 19th century, the participation of Jews in the grain export trade was limited to the purchase of grain in the villages and estates, and to brokerage and mediation in the capacity of subagents for the large export companies, which were Greek, Italian, and French. By 1838 Jews were well represented among the officials of the exchange, and as classifiers, sorters, weighers, and even loaders of grain. From the 1860s, however, Jewish enterprises won a predominant place in the grain export and succeeded in supplanting the export companies of foreign merchants from their monopolist positions. During the early 1870s, the greater part of the grain exports was handled by Jews, and by 1910 over 80% of grain export companies were Jewish owned, while Jews were responsible for almost 90% (89.2%) of grain exports. This success in Jewish trade was not only due to greater efficiency in the organization of purchases and rapidity in their expedition, but was also connected with the constant rise of grain prices and the decline of commercial profit rates, which resulted in a tremendous increase of the grain exports which passed through the port of Odessa.

Jews also held an important share of the wholesale trade; about one-half of the wholesale enterprises were owned by Jews in 1910. During the 1840s most of the bankers and moneychangers were Jews, and at the beginning of the 20th century 70% of the banks of Odessa were administered by them. Among the industrialists, Jews formed 43%, but their manufactured products amounted only to 39%. In 1910, 70% of those engaged in medicine were Jews; about 56% of those engaged in law, and about 27% of those engaged in technical professions (engineers, architects, chemists, etc.). About two-thirds of the Jewish population were engaged in crafts and industry, in transportation and services, and in other categories of labor. More than one-half of these (about one-third of the Jewish population) belonged, from the social point of view, to the proletariat – industrial workers, apprentices in workshops, and ordinary laborers. During the 1880s these formed a considerable part of the Jewish proletariat (about one-third), and their standard of living, as that of the poorer classes, was very low. With the progress of industrialization in Odessa, many of them were integrated in new enterprises and the number of unskilled workers decreased.

The October Revolution of 1917 brought a decline in the commercial status of Odessa as well as the process of socialization. While this affected the means of livelihood of the majority of Jews, much of their experience and skills were utilized in the new social and economic structure under different designations. In 1926 Jews formed the overwhelming majority of the commercial clerks (in government stores and cooperatives), about 90% of the members of the tailors' union, 67% of the members of the printing workers' union, about 53% of those employed in the timber industries, about 48% of the municipal workers (which also included drivers, electricians, etc.), and about 40% of the members of the free professionals' union. Thousands of Jewish workers found employment in heavy industry (metal industry, sugar refineries, ship building), in which Jews had formerly been absent, and of which only 27% were members of the trade unions: during the same year, the Jews formed up to 64% of those engaged in the smaller private industries which occupied some of those thousands who had remained unemployed and had not been successfully integrated within the new economic regime.

Cultural Trends

From the cultural aspect the Odessa community was the most "Western" in character in the *Pale of Settlement. Its population was gathered from all the regions of Russia and even from abroad (particularly from *Brody in Galicia and from Germany, during the 1820s–30s), and the throwing off of tradition became a quite familiar occurrence. This situation was expressed by a popular Jewish saying: "The fire of Hell burns around Odessa up to a distance of ten parasangs." The low standard of Torah learning within the community and the general ignorance and apathy of the Odessa Jews in their attitude to Judaism were depicted in popular witticisms as well as in literature (Y.T. *Lewinsky). Linguistic and cultural Russian assimilation encompassed widespread classes and thus formed a social basis for the community's role as an active and organized center for the spread of Russian education among the Jews of southern Russia. The social and economic position of the *maskilim* of Odessa (the "Brodyists") drew them closer to the authorities and enabled them to gain considerable influence within the community and the shaping of its institutions. Odessa was thus the first community in Russia to be directed by *maskilim*, who retained their control over its administration throughout its existence: the "Council of the Wealthy and Permanently Appointed Jews" and later the "Commission of the Twenty" (which also included the delegates of the synagogue officials), which was organized as an opposition to the leadership of the community after 1905.

Educational and Communal Institutions

The cultural character of the community was reflected in its educational institutions. At the beginning of the 20th century, there were still about 200 *ḥadarim*, attended by about 5,000 pupils, in Odessa; 97% of these pupils came from the masses of the poor, and the *ḥadarim* were generally not of high standing. At the same time, about 6,500 pupils (boys and girls) attended 40 Jewish elementary schools (of which three were *talmudei torah* and 13 of the *Society for the Promotion of Culture among the Jews of Russia) of public, governmental, or semipublic categories. The language of instruction in these schools was Russian, while Jewish subjects held an insignificant place or were hardly studied at all. Many Jewish pupils studied at the government municipal schools (in 1886, over 200 pupils – 8%) and government secondary schools (about 50% of the male and female pupils in 1910), about 2,500 pupils in private secondary schools, and about 700 pupils in Jewish vocational schools (for boys and girls); there were also many hundreds of Jewish students at the university (the maximum figure in 1906 was 746). In addition, Jews studied at the governmental college for music and arts (60%) and the advanced private professional colleges (for dentistry, midwifery, etc.). There were also numerous evening classes and courses for adults. Of the Jewish schools, noteworthy was the vocational school Trud ("Labor") which was founded in 1864 and was the best of its class, and the yeshivah (founded 1866) which after 1906, when it was headed by Rav Ẓa'ir (Ḥayyim *Tchernowitz) and its teachers included Ḥ.N. *Bialik and J. *Klausner, attracted excellent pupils and achieved fame.

The educational institutions of Odessa became examples and models for other communities from the foundation of the first Jewish public school (in 1826), in which an attempt was made to provide a general and modern Hebrew education (with modern literature as a subject of study) under the direction of Bezalel *Stern; it had considerable influence within the Haskalah movement of Russia. Other institutions which also served as models included the synagogue of the "Brodyists," where a choir and modern singing were introduced during the 1840s, and in 1901, an organ; orphanages; agricultural training farms; summer camps for invalid children; and a large and well-equipped hospital.

Social and Political Activities

The prominent social and political activities of the Jews of Odessa had considerable influence on the rest of Russian Jewry. The community leaders and *maskilim* showed considerable initiative and made frequent representations to the authorities to obtain improvements in the condition of the Jews and their legal equality with the other inhabitants during the 1840s, 1850s, and 1870s, and called for the punishment of those who took part in the pogroms of 1871, 1881, and 1905 (see below). They were the first in Russia to adopt the system of publicly and courageously defending the Jews in the Russian-Jewish press which they had established (**Razsvet* (1860), of Joachim H. Tarnopol and O.A. *Rabinovich; *Zion* of E. Soloveichik and L. *Pinsker; *Den* (1869), of S. Orenstein with the permanent collaboration of I.G. *Orshanski and M. *Morgulis), while the criticisms they published of internal Jewish matters were also sharp and violent in tone. The Hebrew and Yiddish Haskalah press (**Ha-Meliẓ*, 1860; **Kol Mevasser*, 1863) which had been born in Odessa (under the editorship of A. *Zederbaum) also adopted this "radical" attitude to some extent. Jews of Odessa contributed largely to the local press, where they also discussed Jewish affairs. At the beginning of the 20th century, a style of Jewish awareness became apparent in discussions of Russian-speaking and Russian-educated Jews (V. *Jabotinsky and his circle) which was widely echoed within the Jewish public, particularly in southern Russia. The social and political awakening of the Jewish masses was also widespread in Odessa. Odessa Jews played an extensive and even prominent part in all trends of the Russian liberation movement. The Zionist movement also attracted masses of people.

The Pogroms

This social and political awakening of the masses arose in the atmosphere of strain and struggle surrounding the life of the community. Anti-Jewish outbreaks occurred on five occasions (1821, 1859, 1871, 1881, 1905) in Odessa, as well as many attempted attacks or unsuccessful efforts to provoke them. Intensive anti-Jewish agitation shadowed and accompanied the growth of the Jewish population and its economic and cultural achievements. Almost every sector of the Christian population contributed to the agitation and took part in the pogroms: the monopolists of the grain export (especially the Greeks in 1821, 1859, 1871) in an attempt to strike at their Jewish rivals, wealthy Russian merchants, nationalist Ukrainian intellectuals, and Christian members of the liberal professions who regarded the respected economic position of the Jews, who were "deprived of rights" in the other towns of the country, and their Russian acculturation as "the exploitation of Christians and masters at the hands of heretics and foreigners" (1871, 1881). The government administration and its supporters favored the *pogroms as a means for punishing the Jews for their participation in the revolutionary movement; pogroms were also an effective medium for diverting the anger of the discontented masses from opposition to the government to hatred of the Jews (1881, 1905); the masses, the "barefoot," the destitute, the unemployed, and the embittered of the large port city were always ready to take part in robbery and looting.

The severest pogroms occurred in 1905, and the collaboration of the authorities in their organization was evident. In this outbreak, over 300 Jews lost their lives, whilst thousands of families were injured. Among the victims were over 50 members of the Jewish *self-defense movement. Attempts to organize the movement had already been made at the time of the pogroms of the 1880s, but in this city inhabited by Jewish masses it had formed part of their existence before then and on many occasions had deterred attempted pogroms. After the Revolution, during 1917–19, the Association of Jewish Combatants was formed by ex-officers and soldiers of the Russian army. It was due to the existence of this association that no pogroms occurred in Odessa throughout the Civil War period.

Zionist and Literary Center

From the inception of the *Ḥibbat Zion movement, Odessa served as its chief center. From here issued the first calls of M.L. *Lilienblum ("The revival of Israel on the land of its ancestors") and L. Pinsker ("Auto-Emancipation") which gave rise to the movement, worked for its unity ("Zerubbavel," 1883), and headed the leadership which was established after the *Kattowitz Conference ("Mazkeret Moshe," 1885–89). The *Benei Moshe society (founded by *Aḥad Ha-Am in 1889), which attempted to organize the intellectuals and activists of the movement, was established in Odessa. Odessa was also chosen as the seat of the settlement committee (the *Odessa Committee, called officially The Society for the Support of Agricultural Workers and Craftsmen in Syria and Palestine), the only legally authorized institution of the movement in Russia (1890–1917). Several other economic institutions for practical activities in Palestine (Geulah, the Carmel branch, etc.) were associated with it. Jewish emigration from Russia to Ereẓ Israel also passed through Odessa, which became the "Gateway to Zion."

The social awakening of the masses gave rise to the popular character of the Zionist movement in Odessa. It succeeded in establishing an influential and ramified organization, attracting a stream of intellectual and energetic youth from the townlets of the Pale of Settlement to Odessa – the center of culture and site of numerous schools – and provided the Jewish national movement with powerful propagandists, especially from among the ranks of those devoted to Hebrew literature. The group of authors and activists which rallied around the Zionist movement and actively participated in the work of its institutions included M.L. Lilienblum and Aḥad Ha-Am, M.M. *Ussishkin, who headed the Odessa Committee during its last decade of existence, and M. *Dizengoff, Zalman *Epstein and Y.T. Lewinsky, M. *Ben-Ammi and H. *Rawnitzky, Ḥ.N. Bialik and J. *Klausner, A. *Druyanow and A.M. Berakhyahu (Borochov), Ḥ. *Tchernowitz, S. Pen, M. *Gluecksohn and V. Jabotinsky. These had great influence on this youth, who were not only initiated into Jewish national activity, but were enriched in Jewish culture and broadened in general education. Important literary forums were established in Odessa (*Kavveret*, 1890; *Pardes*, 1891– 95; **Ha-Shilo'aḥ*, 1897–1902; 1907–17; **Haolam*, 1912–17); their editors (Aḥad Ha-Am, Y.H. Rawnitzky, Ḥ.N. Bialik, J. Klausner, A. Druyanow, and M. Gluecksohn) not only succeeded in raising them to a high literary standard but also won considerable influence among the public through the ideological integrity of their publications. The publishing houses established in Odessa (Rawnitzky, Moriah; Ḥ.N. Bialik and Y.H. Rawnitzky, S. *Ben-Zion and Y.T. Lewinsky, *Devir, founded by Bialik and his circle, from 1919) were also systematic in their standards and consistently loyal to their ideology. A Hebrew literary center and "Hebrew climate" was created in Odessa. It united the Hebrew writers by an internal bond more closely than in any other place; it attracted toward Hebrew literature authors who had become estranged from it or who had never approached it (Mendele Mokher Seforim, S. *Dubnow, Ben-David, M. Ben-Ammi, S.S. *Frug, V. Jabotinsky); it produced new authors who were to play an important and valuable role in literature (S. *Tchernichowsky, J. Klausner, N. *Slouschz, etc.); it attracted talented young authors (S. Ben-Zion, Y. *Berkowitz, J. *Fichmann, Z. *Shneour, A.A. *Kabak, E. *Steinman, and many others) who sought the benefit of this congenial literary meeting place refecting the spirit of its distinguished founders (Aḥad Ha-Am and Ḥ.N. Bialik). The arguments between the leaders of the national movement (Aḥad Ha-Am and S. Dubnow, M.M. Ussishkin and V. Jabotinsky) and its opponents, grouped around the local branch of the Society for Promotion of Culture among the Jews of Russia who stood for "striking civic roots, linguistic-cultural assimilation, and general ideals" (M. Morgulis, J. *Bikerman, etc.), were published at length and grew in severity from year to year, their influence penetrating far beyond Odessa. With the advent of the Soviet regime, Odessa ceased to be the Jewish cultural center in southern Russia. The symbol of the destruction of Hebrew culture was the departure from Odessa for Constantinople in June 1921 of a group of Hebrew authors led by Bialik. The *Yevsektsiya chose *Kharkov and *Kiev as centers for its activities among the Jews of the Ukraine. Russian-oriented assimilation prevailed among the Jews of Odessa in the 1920s (though the city belonged to the Ukraine). Over 77% of the Jewish pupils attended Russian schools in 1926 and only 22% Yiddish schools. At the University, where up to 40% of the student role was Jewish, a faculty of Yiddish existed for several years which also engaged in research of the history of Jews in southern Russia. The renowned Jewish libraries of the city were amalgamated into a single library named after Mendele Mokher Seforim. In the later 1930s, as in the rest of Russia, Jewish cultural activity ceased in Odessa and was eventually completely eradicated. The rich Jewish life in Odessa found vivid expression in Russian-Jewish fiction, as, e.g., in the novels of *Yushkevich, in Jabotinsky's autobiographical stories and his novel *Piatero* ("They Were Five," 1936) and particularly in the colorful *Odessa Tales* by Isaac *Babel, which covered both the pre-revolutionary and the revolutionary period and described the Jewish proletariat and underworld of the city.

[Benzion Dinur (Dinaburg)]

The Interwar Period (1920–1941)

After 1920 the export of grain almost stopped, and since most of this trade was in Jewish hands, they suffered. In the years 1922–1923 there was great hunger, and in January–June 1922, 12,552 Jews died from hunger or plagues that resulted from it. To overcome it, the authorities started to build food factories and other consumer branches. There were still 34,000 unemployed in 1929. According to the 1926 census, among 77,362 workers, there were 18,789 Jews (27.7%); 7,285 were white collar workers, 5,774 worked in the food industry, 4,354 in the medical branch, 2,317 were teachers, and 1,574 artisans. By the 1930s unemployement was almost eradicated. In 1934 there were 60,000 Jewish workers; a couple of thousand of them worked in big factoriees. The earnings of the workers and artisans were quite low or poor, and the American journalist Hirsh Smolar, who visited the suburb of Moldavanka (7,000 Jews lived there) in 1932 reported on the hunger and poverty. According to him, it looked like a community after a big fire. In the 1926 census only 54% declared Yiddish their mother tongue. Most Jewish children studied in Russian schools. In 1929 there were 15 Yiddish primary schools, 4 nurseries, 3 vocational schools, 1 high school, and a department of Yiddish language and literature in the local university. There was an active Jewish theater, the only museum in U.S.S.R. (which was closed in 1933), and a department of Yiddish books (32,000 volumes) in the city academic library. From 1926 the Yiddish weekly *Odesser Arbeter* ("Odessa Worker") appeared.

Holocaust Period

Odessa was occupied by the Germans on October 16, 1941, after a long siege. Nearly half of the local Jews were evacuated or fled, but their place was taken by thousands of refugees from Bessarabia and South Ukraine. The city was annexed to Transnistria as its capital. On October 22, 1941, the Romanian Army HQ building exploded and many Romanians were killed or wounded. In retaliation 5,000 citiziens were hanged, most of them Jews. On October 24 some 5,000 Jews were concentrated in four stores in the Dalnik suburb – all were burnt down. About 25,000 Jews registered in Dalnik and were taken to Bogdanovka in terrible condition. Until December 20 about 50,000 gathered there. On December 21–23 and 27–29, 1941, almost all of them were murdered. On November 7, 1941, all Jewish males were ordered to report to the city prison, and 1,000 were executed. An order to wear the yellow badge was also given, On December 28 Marshal Ion Antonescu ordered the expulsion of the Jews from the city. On January 10, 1942, the Romanian city commandant ordered the Jews to move to the Slobodka suburb of Kovno, Lithuania, within two days. From there during January and February 1942 they were sent in transports of over 1,000 persons to the villages in the nearby counties, where they were murdered by Romanian policemen, local Germans, and subunits of the *Einsatzkommandos* 10 and 10a. By May 12, 1942, some 28,000 Jews had been killed, and several thousand more died from hunger, cold, and diseases. About 3,000 Jews were concentrated in the ghettos of Domanievka and Akhmetevka and were used for forced labor. The ghetto in the Slobodka suburb existed until June 10, 1942, when the last 400 were deported.

Jews took part in the anti-Nazi underground and partisan units, which were mainly concentrated in the city catacombs. Among 35 underground members caught by the Romanians, there were 6 Jews. In the catacombs a Jewish group of 33 fighters also operated. Among the commanders of the resistance were Robert Sofer and Professor Tatiana Bragarenko-Fridman.

After the last convoy left on Feb. 23, 1942, Odessa was proclaimed *judenrein*. The local inhabitants and the occupying forces looted Jewish property. The old Jewish cemetery was desecrated and hundreds of granite and marble tombstones were shipped to Romania and sold. The gravestone of the poet Simon Frug was recovered and after the war laid in the Jewish cemetery of Bucharest. The Mendele Mokher Seforim Library was sacked and the building demolished. In August 1942 Alexianu and SS-Brigadefuehrer Hoffmeyer – head of *Sonderkommando* R – signed an agreement transferring to the 7,500 Volksdeutsche living in Odessa all the local Jewish-owned apartments, including the furniture. The Jewish Theater became the Deutsches Haus for entertaining German troops in Odessa. In the summer of 1942 the Romanian authorities organized various handicraft workshops for their employees' service for which they brought 50 of the best Jewish artisans from the Transnistrian ghettos (deportees from Romania). They were segregated in ghetto-like quarters in a building on Adolf Hitler Street (formerly Yekaterinovskaya Street). A delegation of the Relief Committee from Bucharest, authorized by the government to visit the ghettos of Transnistria, succeeded in January 1943 in sending them some funds.

Soviet troops under General Malinovsky returned to Odessa on April 10, 1944. It is estimated that at the time of liberation, a few thousand Jews were living in Odessa, some of them under false documents or in hiding in the catacombs. Others were given shelter by non-Jewish families. There had been numerous informers among the local Russians and Ukrainians but also persons who risked their liberty and even their lives to save Jews.

[Dora Litani-Littman / Shmuel Spector (2nd ed.)]

Contemporary Period

After the Jewish survivors returned, Odessa became one of the largest Jewish centers of the Soviet Union. However there was no manifestation of communal or cultural life. In 1959 the Jews numbered 108,900 (12.1% of the total). It dropped to 86,000 (8.4% of the total) in 1979. Until 1956 Israeli vessels visited the port of Odessa for loading and unloading, and Israeli sailors visited the harbor club and were seen in the city's streets. In 1962 private prayer groups were dispersed by the authorities, and religious articles found among them were confiscated. A denunciation of the Jewish religious congregation and its employees appeared in the local paper in 1964. *Matzah* baking by the Jewish congregation was practically prohibited during

1959–65. It was again allowed in 1966. In 1968 the synagogue burned down, but was later rebuilt. While it was still in ruins, thousands of Jews, many of them youngsters, came to the site on *Simḥat Torah* eve to dance and sing. In the 1959 census 102,200 Jews were registered in Odessa, but the actual number has been estimated at about 180,000 (14–15% of the total population). There remained only one synagogue in Odessa, on the outskirts of the city. The old Jewish cemeteries were in disrepair. From 1968 several Jewish families were allowed to immigrate to Israel, following the increased demand for exit permits of Soviet Jews in the wake of the Six-Day War (1967). In the 1990s most Jews emigrated. Those remaining enjoy a full range of community services, including a yeshivah, *mikveh*, and Chabad television.

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ODESSA COMMITTEE, shortened name for the Society for the Support of Jewish Farmers and Artisans in Syria and Palestine, the legalized framework of the *Ḥibbat Zion movement. It was founded in Odessa in 1890, with the permission of the Russian government, and continued the work of Ḥovevei Zion in Russia until 1919. Its official aim was to help Jews who settled in "Palestine and Syria" to earn their living by productive work, especially agriculture. Leon *Pinsker, Abraham *Gruenberg (from 1891), and Menaḥem *Ussishkin (from 1906) served successively as chairmen of the committee. It had an executive committee in Jaffa. When Jewish immigration to Ereẓ Israel increased, as a result of the worsening conditions of Russian Jewry, particularly after the expulsion of Jews from Moscow, the committee assisted settlement societies in the purchase of lands. Vladimir *Tiomkin, chairman of its executive committee in Jaffa, was active in organizing and planning the purchase of lands. When emigration from Russia was forbidden by the Turkish authorities, the purchases were discontinued and the Jaffa committee went bankrupt. The Russian Jews were discouraged and the income of the Odessa Committee decreased, but it gradually increased again, particularly when *Herzl began his activities and the Odessa Committee became the only legal Zionist body in Russia. The committee also received donations for special projects, such as supporting the Hebrew school in Jaffa and the workers' fund. In 1900, after the transfer by Baron Edmond de *Rothschild of the management of the supported settlements to the *Jewish Colonization Association (ICA), the Odessa Committee sent Aḥad *Ha-Am and the agronomist Abraham Sussman to investigate the situation. Their reports spoke of the harm caused by the paternalistic methods of the Baron's bureaucracy. A year later Aḥad Ha-Am took part in a delegation to the Baron, but his reply was not satisfactory.

Following the suggestions of the agronomist Akiva *Ettinger, whom the Committee sent to Ereẓ Israel in 1902, it ceased its support of individuals, encouraging private and public initiative instead. In 1903 a delegation led by Ussishkin was sent by the committee to Ereẓ Israel in order to organize the new *yishuv*. The settlers' delegates held several meetings in Zikhron Ya'akov and laid the foundations for an "Organization of the Jews in Ereẓ Israel" and the Teachers' Association. The former failed, but the latter developed.

The Odessa Committee maintained a network of information bureaus for immigrants in Odessa, Constantinople, Beirut, Jaffa, Jerusalem, and Haifa. It established moshavot and smallholdings for agricultural workers (*Be'er Ya'akov in 1908, *Ein Gannim near Petaḥ Tikvah, and *Naḥalat Yehudah near Rishon le-Zion). It aided in the establishment of the Carmel winegrowers cooperative and Geulah Company for land purchase and supported schools, book publishing, and periodicals in Ereẓ Israel. It gave the first donation for purchasing a plot for the Hebrew University in Jerusalem.

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[Israel Klausner]

ODETS, CLIFFORD (1906–1963), U.S playwright. Born in Philadelphia and raised in the Bronx, New York, Odets became an actor at the age of 15. He was a cofounder of the Group Theater, where his one-act play, *Waiting for Lefty* (1935), based on the New York taxi strike of 1934, brought him early success. Two more plays were staged in the same year: *Awake and Sing!*, a drama about poor New York Jews, marked an important turning point in the portrayal of the Jew on the American stage; and *Till the Day I Die* dealt with left-wing German opposition to the Nazis. These brought Odets to the fore as the most promising playwright of the new generation. He expressed perhaps better than any dramatist of his time the hardships of the great depression of the 1930s, and while his works have lost some of their original appeal, they were in their day of considerable social significance. Their impact owed much to their vivid dialogue and characterization. Probably the finest example of the latter quality is *Golden Boy* (1937), the story of a musician turned prizefighter, which was made into a musical in 1964. Odets also wrote *Rocket to the Moon* (1938), and *Clash by Night* (1941). After spending many years as a screenwriter in Hollywood, he returned to Broadway with *The Big Knife* (1949), a play dealing with the corrupting influence of the film colony. Two later plays were *The Country Girl* (1950) and *The Flowering Peach* (1954), a new version of the biblical story of Noah in terms of Jewish family life.

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[Joseph Mersand]

°ODO OF CAMBRAI (d. 1113), bishop and theologian. Among Odo's works was the polemic text *Disputatio contra Judaeum Leonem de adventu Christi*, which he claimed was an account of a disputation held in *Senlis during the Christmas season of 1106 between himself and a Jew named Léon. The disputation deals mainly with the virginal birth and the incarnation, and in some places it is clear that Odo borrowed from *Anselm of Canterbury. Odo dedicated this text to a certain Acardus, a monk from the abbey of Fémy, near Cambrai, in commemoration of his visit to this abbey, where he had already expounded the subjects covered by the *Disputatio*.

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[Bernhard Blumenkranz]

°ODO (Eudes) OF CHÂTEAUROUX (d. 1273), chancellor of the University of Paris from 1238. Odo was probably one of the judges at the public trial of the Talmud in 1240. Appointed cardinal bishop of Tusculum (Frascati) in 1244, he returned as papal legate to France in 1245 to preach the Crusade. A violent opponent of the Talmud, Odo was incensed by a letter from Pope Innocent IV (1247) instructing him to give back to the Jews any copies which had survived the *auto-da-fé* of 1242 (see *Talmud, Burning of). Adopting a high moral tone in his reply, Odo reproached the pope with having been duped by the wiles of the Jews, and repeated the verdict of Gregory IX that the Talmud prevented Jews from becoming Christians. It would be disgraceful, he said, for books which had been solemnly and justly burned in public to be returned to the Jews at the instance of the pope. On May 15, 1248, he issued a formal condemnation of the Talmud, forbidding copies to be returned.

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[Nicholas de Lange]

°ODO (Eudes) OF SULLY (c. 1160–1208), bishop of Paris from 1196. In several paragraphs of his synodal statutes (par. 15, 37–38, 60, and addenda 1–3), Odo of Sully attempted to restrict relations between Jews and Christians. Particular decrees prohibited priests from standing security for a Jew or giving him church vessels or books in pledge, and forbade Christians to use the skins of grapes which had been pressed by Jews, except as food for pigs or as fertilizer. Here, for the first time, laymen were forbidden – on pain of excommunication – to debate articles of Christian faith with the Jews. These decrees are thought to have been drawn up around 1200, but they were probably issued after July 15, 1205, the date of the letter from Pope *Innocent III to Odo calling for greater severity toward the Jews.

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[Bernhard Blumenkranz]

°OENOMAUS OF GADARA, pagan philosopher of the school of younger Cynics, who lived during the reign of Hadrian (117–38). He composed a number of works, only little of which has survived. His most famous Γοήτων θώρα (*Kata Chresterion*), fragments of which are preserved in Eusebius (Praeparatio Evangelica 1:7ff.), was a lively attack on the belief in oracles. The argument was based on the belief in free will, and it seems to have had some measure of success, because Julian, in the middle of the fourth century, upbraids him for destroying reverence for the gods (*Orationes* 7:209, also 6:199). Oenomaus aimed at a cynicism which did not slavishly follow either Antisthenes or Diogenes, defining it as "a sort of despair, a life not human but brutish, a disposition of the soul that reckons with nothing noble or virtuous or good." Oenomaus is generally identified with Avnimos ha-Gardi, who appears in rabbinic literature as a philosopher friendly toward the rabbis. He once asked them how the world was first created. Declaring themselves not versed in such matters, they referred him to Joseph the builder, who satisfied him with his reply (Ex. R. 13:1).

He was particularly friendly with R. Meir and once asked him; "Does all wool rise that is placed in the dyeing-pot?" Meir replied, "What was clean upon the body of the mother rises, what was unclean upon the body of the mother does not rise" (Ḥag. 15b). This enigmatic dialogue probably refers to the fact of Meir's teacher, *Elisha b. Avuyah, having become an apostate, and the dangers involved in Meir's learning from him (see TJ, Ḥag. 2:1, 77b). Avnimos' question is indicative of an intimate understanding of Jewish problems. This positive attitude is reflected in an episode according to which the pagans asked him whether they could overcome the Jews, and he replied that if they heard the chirping (i.e., studying) of children in the synagogues and academies, they would be unable to overcome the Jews (Gen. R. 65:20). He had some knowledge of the Bible (Ruth R. 2:13), but it is most significant that the rabbis regarded him as the greatest heathen philosopher of all ages (with Balaam, Gen. R. 65:20). This is due to his gibes at the gods and oracles, coupled with his sympathy and closeness to rabbinic circles, but also indicates the measure of their unfamiliarity with Greek philosophy (see S. Lieberman, in *Biblical and other Studies*, ed. by A. Altmann (1963), 129–30).

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[Daniel Sperber]

°OESTERLEY, WILLIAM OSCAR EMIL (1866–1950), English Semitics scholar. Oesterley, who was born in Calcutta, was ordained a clergyman and taught Hebrew and Old Testament exegesis at King's College, London, from 1926. In his work he endeavored to demonstrate talmudic influence on New Testament form and content.

Among his published writings are: *The Jewish Background of Christian Liturgy* (1925); (with T.H. Robinson) *A History of Israel* (vol. 2; *From 586 B.C.E. to A.D. 135*; 1932 and many reprints); *Introduction to the Books of the Old Testament* (with T.H. Robinson, 1934) and *An Introduction to the Books of the Apocrypha* (1935); *The Jews and Judaism During the Greek Period* (1941). Oesterley also wrote commentaries to Psalms (1939; repr. 1962) and Proverbs (1929), *A Fresh Approach to the Psalms* (1937) and a metric translation of the Song of Songs, *Ancient Hebrew Poems* (1938). Together with G.H. Box he wrote an outline of Jewish literature, *A Short Survey of the Literature of Rabbinical and Mediaeval Judaism*, 1920.

OESTERREICHER, TOBIAS VON (1831–1893), Austro-Hungarian rear-admiral. After serving in wars in Hungary, Italy, France, and Prussia, in which Oesterreicher commanded vessels and was decorated, he became a naval captain at the age of 38 and commanded a battleship. He was raised to the nobility and in 1881 he became a rear admiral. Until 1883 he occupied a key position in the Ministry of War and on his retirement received the personal thanks of Emperor Francis Joseph I for his services. On his death, he was given a state funeral.

OESTERREICHISCHE NATIONALBIBLIOTHEK, Austrian government library in Vienna, court library of the Austro-Hungarian Empire until 1918. The Oesterreichische Nationalbibliothek is a major European library founded in 1526.

It possesses 224 Hebrew manuscripts dating from the 13th through the 18th centuries, of which 41 are illustrated. It also has a considerable number of Hebrew incunabula, mostly Bibles, including the first complete Hebrew Bible, printed by the Soncino family in 1488. The library's papyrus collection contains 191 Hebrew texts written on papyri, parchment, and paper. Also among its holdings are a few fragments from the Cairo **Genizah*, including some written in Judeo-Arabic. The library contains an unusually complete collection of rabbinic literature from Galicia and the other eastern portions of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, since a copy of every work published under the empire had to be deposited at the Nationalbibliothek.

The printed volumes of Judaica in the library are part of the Orientalia collection, estimated at about 5% of the library's total holdings. Of the library's Judaica, in 1970 only the incunabula were catalogued separately.

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[Michael A. Meyer]

OESTERREICHISCHES CENTRAL-ORGAN FUER GLAUBENSFREIHEIT, CULTUR, GESCHICHTE UND LITERATUR DER JUDEN, German-language Jewish weekly published in Vienna immediately after freedom of the press was granted at the beginning of the 1848 revolution. Its 49 issues appeared from April 4, 1848 to Oct. 25, 1848. The publisher and editor was Isidor *Busch, and Max (Meir) *Letteris also contributed to the first four issues. A Hebrew supplement, *Meged Geresh Yeraḥim*, edited by Isaac Samuel *Reggio, appeared once (Nisan 5408/1848). Leopold Kompert and Simon Szanto were among its contributors and Busch had many correspondents throughout the Hapsburg monarchy. At first the *Central-Organ* enthusiastically supported the revolution, taking it for granted that Jewish rights would be secured within the framework of general civic rights. Dealing at length with the legal status of the Jews in various countries, the paper was also sensitive to the social discrepancies within Jewish society and attacked leading Jewish capitalists, Rothschild in particular. The outbreak of the anti-Jewish riots in Hungary, Bohemia, Posen, and Alsace brought about a sharp change in its position. After Kompert had published his article *Auf nach Amerika!* (May 6, 1848, No. 6), the *Central-Organ* energetically campaigned for Jewish immigration to the United States, where the Jews were assured of civic equality. Emigration, organization of groups of emigrants, and information for families who intended to emigrate became one of the central themes of the newspaper. The last issue of the newspaper appeared on Oct. 25, 1848, and it probably came to an end as the result of the capture of the city six days later, following the failure of the revolution. Busch himself emigrated to the U.S.

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[Avyatar Friesel]

OETTINGEN, town in *Bavaria, Germany. Jews were to be found in Oettingen from the second half of the 13th century. The Jewish settlement suffered in 1298 during the *Rindfleisch persecutions, and during the *Black Death persecutions of 1348 almost all the Jews were massacred. Emperor *Charles IV then transferred their property to Duke Albrecht of Oettingen. A new Jewish community, consisting mainly of moneylenders maintaining strong commercial and familial ties with *Noerdlingen, was soon reorganized. Privileges were issued for 1383–88, and a *Judenstrasse* was mentioned in 1457. The community absorbed an influx of refugees after clerical agitation resulted in the expulsion of the Jews from Noerdlingen and other Bavarian cities in 1507. Oettingen was the capital of the rival duchies of Oettingen-Spielberg and Oettingen Wallerstein and had two synagogues (a "Catholic" and a "Lutheran" one, so named after the two branches of the Oettingen ruling house) and separate district rabbinates and communal organizations. There were many rural Jewish communities in the villages and towns of the duchies of considerable economic importance; their members were engaged in livestock dealing, peddling, and even farming. The duchies were incorporated into *Bavaria in 1806.

In the 17th and 18th centuries, the Oettingen communities benefited from the patronage of several influential *Court Jews, including Hirsch Neumark, David Oppenheim, and the *Model family, who originated in Oettingen. A pogrom resulting from a *blood libel was narrowly averted in 1690 when the murderer of a young child was discovered to be a Christian; the event was commemorated by a fast day each year thereafter on the 17th of Iyyar. The most distinguished rabbi of Oettingen-Wallerstein was Asher Loew (1789–1809), later rabbi of Metz, who opposed Moses *Mendelssohn's proposal to use a burial hall in the cemetery in order to comply with government regulations requiring corpses to be buried three days after death. Of comparable distinction in Oettingen-Spielberg was Jacob Phinehas Katzenellenbogen (1764–95). The Jewish community of Oettingen numbered about 300 in the 18th century (about 10% of the total population). A cemetery was opened in 1850 and a new synagogue built in 1853. The rural community declined from 430 persons (13.4%) in 1837 to 102 in 1910 and only 66 in 1933. On November 10, 1938, Jewish homes and shops were demolished and the synagogue sacked. The rabbi was beaten and hospitalized and all Jewish men deported to *Dachau. Ten of the 11 Jews still living in Oettingen in 1942 were deported. In 2005 the former synagogue was used to house a medical practice. There are commemorative plaques at the building of the former synagogue and at the Jewish cemetery.

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[Henry Wasserman]

OFAKIM (Heb. אֳפָקִים; "Horizons"), development town, with municipal council status in southern Israel, 15 mi. (25 km.) N.W. of Beersheba. Ofakim was founded in 1955 as a regional center for the "Merḥavim" development region. The new immigrants who settled there suffered in the initial years from unemployment, low cultural standards, and severe social problems. The population, numbering 631 in the first year, grew to 9,200 by 1970. The majority (71%) of the inhabitants in 1965 were from Morocco and Tunisia; 5% came from India, 9% from Persia, 5% from Egypt, and the rest were from Europe or Israel-born. Families were large and the median age low, with 57.2% of the population below 20 years of age. With the opening of industrial enterprises in the 1960s (textiles, diamond polishing, bakery, basketmaking) Ofakim's economic situation improved and a manpower shortage developed. In the mid-1980s, 42% of Ofakim's employees worked in public and community services and another 20% in industry, mainly textile factories. Others were engaged in seasonal agricultural work. In the 1990s, the city's economic resources ran dry and unemployment increased as the population rose to 18,800 in the mid-1990s and then to 23,200 in 2002. The population increase was due to the absorption of new immigrants from the former Soviet Union and Ethiopia. Ofakim received city status in 1995, occupying an area of 4 sq. mi. (10 sq. km.). Income was about half the national average.

[Efraim Orni / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

OFEK, AVRAHAM (1935–1990), Israeli painter and sculptor. Ofek was born in the town of Borgos, Bulgaria. When he was seven years old, his father, Jacob Rubanov, and his mother, Dina, passed away, and Miriam and Leon Algem adopted him. Only when he was 22 years old did Ofek uncover the story of his life and find out that he had two older brothers. After World War II, under Ofek's influence, the family immigrated to Israel. Ofek chose to live in kibbutz Ein ha-Mifraẓ, in order to assimilate into Israeli society. In the kibbutz he painted the vistas that surrounded him, guided by the artist Arie Roitman. During the 1950s Ofek's art style was influenced by modern Italian artists as well as by his social involvement; he chose to draw in a Social Realist style. He described the life of the workers, Jews and Arabs, as monumental figures with bulging muscles.

Ofek, who studied art in Italy, learned the technique of wall painting. In 1963 he and his wife, Talma, moved to Jerusalem, where he became a teacher at the Bezalel Academy of Art and Design. In 1972 he exhibited in the Israeli pavilion in the Venice Biennale. In the 1980s Ofek taught art at Haifa University and, during 1981–83, he was consul for sculpture and science in the Israeli embassy in Rome.

Ofek's first wall painting was created in 1970 in Kefar Uriyyah. From then on he was commissioned for many wall paintings all over the country, most of them dealing with the history of Israel (1972, Post Office, Jerusalem). Ofek's social views were appropriate for the public art of that genre.

In 1976 he was one of the founders of the Leviathan artistic group. The group proclaimed its belief in the need to create, in Israel, art that would be connected with Jewish mysticism. They looked for a primitive and symbolic style with a deep connection to the spirit of modernism. They organized art happenings in the Judean Desert. Ofek screened Hebrew letters and geometric forms made of light on the rocks of the desert. Emphasis was placed on the symbolic meaning of the letters and their forms through the media, their huge size, and the desert space.

Ofek was also involved in sculpture. He preferred the carving technique, usually very flat carving, so the stone stayed in its natural form with a relief on the surface. One of the sculpture series dealt with the *Sacrifice of Isaac*, a subject that combines the Jewish mythos and the history of Israel's wars (1987, Safra Square, Jerusalem).

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[Ronit Steinberg (2nd ed.)]

OFEK, URIEL (1926–1987), Hebrew writer. Born in Tel Aviv, Ofek served in the Palmaḥ (1944–48). From 1951, he was coeditor, and from 1971 editor of the children's weekly *Davar li-Yladim*. His poems, stories, articles, and studies on children's literature appeared in various publications, and his plays were staged in children's theaters. He published many books for children, stories, verse, and anthologies of world children's literature. He also translated many children's books and folksongs into Hebrew. He edited memorial volumes to the soldiers who fell in Israel's War of Independence: *Benei Kiryat Ḥayyim be-Milḥemet ha-Shiḥrur* (1950) and *Le-Vaneinu* (1952). His encyclopedia on children's literature, *Olam Ẓa'ir*, appeared in 1970. Ofek's *Smoke over Golan* was selected as the Israel Honor Book of the International Board on Books for Young People at its congress held in May 1977. Ofek was also chosen to deliver the 1978 Arbuthnot Honor Lecture.

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[Getzel Kressel]

OFER, AVRAHAM (1922–1976), Israeli politician. He was born in Poland and taken to Jerusalem in 1933. In 1941 he was a founder of kibbutz Ḥamadyah. He served with the Israel Navy during the War of Independence, becoming lieutenant-colonel and first commander of a Navy base in Eilat. He was founder and director of Tel Aviv's Mapai Young Guard, 1950–61. After managing Kefar Yarok youth village near Tel Aviv he was secretary of the Egg Marketing Council in 1958 and of the Vegetable Marketing Board in 1961 and deputy director-general of the Ministry of Agriculture, 1960. He resigned his government post in 1963 to become manager of AGREXCO, the agricultural export company. In 1965 he was elected deputy mayor of Tel Aviv. He headed *Shikun Ovdim* in 1967, and also became chairman of the Mashkantaot Leshikun bank. A member of the Knesset from 1969, he headed the Alignment's election campaign in 1973, and was appointed minister of housing in 1974.

In 1976, accusations of corruption were leveled against him and he was dismissed by Prime Minister Rabin but committed suicide before the charges were investigated.

OFFENBACH, city in Hesse, Germany. The Jewish community of Offenbach is mentioned in the list of communities whose members were martyred at the time of the *Black Death persecutions (1348). Individual Jews lived in Offenbach only until after the expulsion of the Jews from *Frankfurt on the Main (1614); fleeing to Offenbach, they founded a small community, which in time developed and grew in strength. In 1702 one of the town's streets was called the *Judenstrasse*. The community was officially constituted in 1707; in the community regulations of that year and in the letters of privileges granted by the authorities in 1708, the organization of the synagogue and all matters of taxation, commerce, and labor were regulated. In 1708 a second *Judenstrasse* was set aside.

From 1788 to 1791 Jacob *Frank lived in the town, and his daughter Eva until 1817. During those years, thousands of Frank's adherents came to Offenbach in order to express their devotion to him and his daughter. Between 1803 and 1806 Wolf *Breidenbach of Offenbach endeavored to obtain the abolition of the body tax (*Leibzoll*) in several of the German states. The Jewish community remained numerically stable at about 1,000 persons throughout the 19th century, while its proportion in the total population declined from about 10% to 3%. It attained a peak of 2,361 in 1910 and totaled 1,435 (1.8%) in 1933. In October 1936 large numbers of Polish Jews were expelled, and on November 10, 1938, the synagogue, built in 1913–16, was burned down. The last rabbi of the community, Dr. Max *Dienemann (served 1918–39), was attacked by the mob and imprisoned. Of 554 Jews who remained on May 17, 1939, 205 were deported in October 1942 and the rest soon after. Seven former inhabitants returned after the war and, with the aid of refugees, rebuilt the community. In June 1956 a new synagogue was consecrated, although in that month 70 tombstones were desecrated. In January 1970, there were 662 Jews living in Offenbach. The Jewish community numbered 829 in 1989 (together with Hanau) and 960 in 2005 (without Hanau, where an independent Jewish community was founded in 2005). About half the members are immigrants from the former Soviet Union. In 1997 a new community center was opened. The synagogue, which was built in 1956, is integrated into the new center. In the mid-1990s the community hired a rabbi, officiating in Offenbach and Hanau.

[Zvi Avneri / Larissa Daemmig (2nd ed)]

Hebrew Printing

The Frankfurt bookseller Seligmann Reiss and his son Herz set up a Hebrew press in Offenbach and issued a variety of Hebrew and Judeo-German books between 1714 and 1721, among them *Beit Yisrael* by Alexander b. Moses Ethausen (1719); *Historie vom Ritter Siegmund* (1714); and similar medieval tales. Israel b. Moses Halle printed Hebrew books in Offenbach with interruptions from 1718 to at least 1738. In 1767 Hirsch Spitz of Pressburg (Bratislava) set up a Hebrew printing press in Offenbach; the press continued to operate until 1832, when competition from *Roedelheim became too strong. The well-known Amsterdam printer Abraham *Proops published Nathan Maz's *Binyan Shelomo* in Offenbach in 1784.

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OFFENBACH, ISAAC (1779–1850), *ḥazzan*. Isaac ben Judah, surnamed Eberst, was born in Offenbach near Frankfurt. After he left his native town in 1799 to become a wandering *ḥazzan* and musician, he began to be called, "der Offenbacher," which soon became his official family name. In 1802 he settled in Deutz as a tavern musician, and in 1816 moved to Cologne, where he became a music teacher and in about 1826 the town *ḥazzan*, a post he held until shortly before his death. The seventh of his nine children, Jacob, was the composer Jacques *Offenbach.

Isaac Offenbach was a versatile musician, a prolific composer (mainly of synagogal works), and a writer and translator of merit. His historical importance stems from the fact that the documentation of his life and work has survived almost in full.

His publications are a *Haggadah* with German translation and six appended melodies, some traditional and some composed by him (1838); a Hebrew-German youth prayer book (1839); and a number of guitar pieces. His manuscripts were given by his granddaughters to the Jewish Institute of Religion in New York, and some items also reached the Birnbaum Collection at the Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati, and the Jewish National and University Library, Jerusalem. The material includes reminiscences by his daughter, and about 20 fascicles and folders of cantorial compositions and notations of traditional melodies. Over and above their value as "cantorial" antecedents of his famous son's work, these manuscripts provide both a treasure trove of the "great tradition" of Ashkenazi *ḥazzanut* and an instructive picture of the development of a *ḥazzan* at the beginning of the Emancipation.

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[Bathja Bayer]

OFFENBACH, JACQUES (1819–1880), French composer of comic operas and operettas. Born in Cologne, Offenbach was the son of Isaac *Offenbach. At the age of 14 young Jacob, as he was then called, was sent to study the cello at the Paris Conservatoire, but after a year, poverty compelled him to earn his living as a cellist in theater orchestras. He received basic instruction in the art of composition from the composer, Jacques *Halévy, and in 1835 took to writing short, sentimental pieces. He attracted attention more because of his eccentric behavior than the quality of his music and his first theatrical works met with little success. They were followed by years of hardship and struggle for recognition. For a time he was a conductor at the Théâtre Français and gradually built a reputation with works such as *Pépito* (1853) and *Oyayayie ou la Reine des Iles* (1855). It was the Paris World Fair of 1855 that proved a turning point in Offenbach's career. He obtained the lease of a small theater in the Champs-Elysées and opened it in time for the Fair under the name of *Les Bouffes Parisiens*. Its success surpassed his expectations. He took Paris by storm with musical plays such as *Les Deux Aveugles* and *Le Violoneux* and had to move to a larger theater in the Passage Choiseul. During the ensuing years he wrote about 100 stage works, many of them of enduring brilliance. Among them were *Orphée aux Enfers* (1858), *La Belle Hélène* (1864), *La Vie Parisienne* (1866), *La Grande-Duchesse de Gérolstein* (1867), *La Périchole* (1868), *Madame l'Archiduc* (1874), and finally his grand opera, *Contes d'Hoffmann*, which was first performed in 1881.

Rossini called Offenbach "our little Mozart of the Champs-Elysées"; others summed him up as "the entertainer [*amuseur*] of the Second Empire." All Europe sang his melodies and danced to his rhythms. He was not as happy, however, in his business dealings. In spite of profitable tours to Berlin, Prague, Vienna, London, and New York, he was frequently in debt and had to face harassing lawsuits. In about 1844 he converted to Catholicism. After the fall of the Empire in 1870, Offenbach's reputation declined, and during the last few years of his life he was a sick man. He did not live to see his *Contes d'Hoffmann* on the stage; when he died it existed only in an annotated piano score, on the basis of which E. Guirard made the orchestration. Together with his librettists, particularly Ludovic *Halévy and Henri Meilhac, Offenbach created a world of fantasy and joy in which, as the critic Karl *Kraus expressed it, "causality is abolished and everybody lives happily under the laws of chaos…."

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[Frank Pelleg]

OFFENBURG, town in Baden, Germany. It appears that there were Jews in Offenburg during the 13th century. A *Judenbad* (*mikveh*), 39 ft. (12 m.) deep, dating from this period was discovered in 1857. At the time of the *Black Death (1348–49), three Jews "confessed" under torture that they had poisoned the wells. Although the well was later examined and no signs of poison were found, the Jews were expelled. The town gates were not reopened to Jews until 1862. A community was formally established in 1866. The number of Jews increased from 37 in 1863 to 337 in 1900. An inn was transformed into a synagogue in 1875 and renovated in 1922. There were 271 Jews in Offenburg in 1933. Offenburg was the seat of the district rabbinate serving dozens of rural localities, the last rabbi being Siegfried (Sinai) *Ucko. On November 9/10, 1938, the interior of the synagogue was demolished, and 91 Jews were deported to *Gurs on October 22, 1941. In 1967 there were four Jews in Offenburg. The Oberrat – the association of Jewish communities in Baden – sold the synagogue to a private owner. In 1997 it was purchased by the municipality of Offenburg. It was restored with public funding and has served as a municipal cultural center since 2002. A small exhibition is dedicated to the history of the building and the Jewish community. The former *mikveh* is open to the public.

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[Zvi Avneri / Larissa Daemmig (2nd ed.)]

OFFICE OF SPECIAL INVESTIGATIONS. The United States Department of Justice's Office of Special Investigations (OSI) was established in 1979 for the purpose of investigating and bringing suit to denaturalize and deport persons who took part in Nazi-sponsored acts of persecution, and to exclude from entry into the United States any person listed on OSI's "watch list" of suspected Nazi and Axis persecutors. Since its inception through 2004, OSI has denaturalized 98 individuals and brought action against an additional 34 suspected persecutors; it has also assembled a list of nearly 70,000 foreign individuals whose names it added to the United States Government's "watchlist" to be denied entry into the country. The targets of OSI's activities are largely Americans who entered the United States under false pretenses by hiding their Nazi past when applying for residency or citizenship; many have been deported. Since 2004, OSI's mandate has been expanded, and the agency is now also responsible for investigating and taking legal action to denaturalize American citizens who took part in war crimes, crimes against humanity, genocide, or torture outside of the United States.

OSI has handled several high-profile cases, including placing former Austrian President and United Nations Secretary General Kurt Waldheim on the "watch list," based on Waldheim's service in the Wehrmacht while in the Balkans and Greece as Jews were being deported and murdered there. OSI also successfully prosecuted Arthur Rudolph, the former project director of NASA's Saturn V moon rocket program, who left the country in 1984 when OSI proved he served from 1943 to 1945 as director of the Mittelwerk slave labor V-2 rocket factory. In 1981, Karl Linnas was stripped of his citizenship when OSI shed light on his notorious past as commander of the Tartu, Estonia, concentration camp and his personal involvement in the killing of thousands of Jews.

One case in which OSI found itself enmeshed in controversy was that of John Demjanjuk, a retired Cleveland, Ohio, auto worker. In news that attracted international headlines, the Justice Department accused Demjanjuk of being "Ivan the Terrible," an infamous and brutal Ukrainian guard at Treblinka. In 1982, Demjanjuk was stripped of American citizenship and deported by OSI to Israel, where he was convicted of murder, though his conviction was overturned by the Israeli Supreme Court in 1993 for lack of evidence. The United States Court of Appeals for the Sixth Circuit subsequently ruled that OSI had "acted with a reckless disregard for the truth" in the case. Nonetheless, in a separate legal case brought by OSI, Demjanjuk was eventually stripped of his citizenship for his activities in the Sobibor death camp and several concentration camps.

The directors of the OSI have included Walter Rockler (1979–80), a former Nuremberg prosecutor, Allan A. Ryan, Jr. (1980–83), Neal M. Sher (1983–94), and Eli M. Rosenbaum (1994–).

[Ralph Grunewald (2nd ed.)]

OFFICIAL, NATHAN BEN JOSEPH AND JOSEPH, leading polemicists of Franco-German Jewry of the 13th century. Both were in the service of the archbishop of Sens as financial agents, and hence the name Official. Joseph, the son of Nathan, is also known as Joseph the Zealot (Joseph ha-Mekanne), because he was zealous in the defense of Judaism and compiled a book under this name. Nathan came from a long line of scholars and communal leaders, many of whom were known for their passionate and indefatigable activities in defense of Judaism. Nathan conducted frequent debates with dignitaries of the Church and also with fanatical converts to Christianity. He was an eloquent debater. Joseph calls his father "the chief spokesman in everything." Among his challengers were a cardinal, archbishops, bishops, priests, monks of various orders, and zealous and fanatical converts. The debates are fully described by his son in his *Yosef ha-Mekanne*. Joseph was a pupil of *Jehiel b. Joseph of Paris and was the author of the Hebrew report of the historic disputation of 1240. Joseph, like his father, was an "Official" and continued the tradition of the family as a defender of Judaism. His book *Yosef ha-Mekanne* is a polemical commentary on the Bible, and contains a large collection of Christological passages which were discussed and refuted by Jewish exegetes and polemicists, most of them members of the Official family. Its purpose was to refute the Christological interpretation of the Bible, verse by verse, as a ready handbook of Jewish answers to the challenge of the Church. At the end of the book Joseph added a short criticism of the life of Jesus according to the Gospels, which contains a Jewish challenge to Christianity. Over 40 Jewish disputants, including some proselytes, and ten Christian disputants, including some converts, are mentioned in the book. Noteworthy is the high degree of freedom in the debates and the courage of the Jewish disputants, who accepted all challenges. This fact is especially surprising since the activities of the Officials fall in the period after the Fourth Lateran Council of 1215 with its severe anti-Jewish resolutions. The close familiarity of the Officials with Christian rites and liturgy is also remarkable. The book sheds light on Jewish-Christian relations in day-to-day life in 13th-century France and Germany, reflecting an atmosphere of relative tolerance, in which the Jew is able to accept the challenge and counter with his own challenge. The book is also important for the history of Hebrew translations of the New Testament. *Yosef ha-Mekanne* was also known under the name of *Sefer ha-Nizzaḥon* ("Book of Disputation"). It influenced similar polemical works of collections of Christologies and their refutations according to biblical order, the best known being the *Sefer ha-Nizzaḥon* of Yom Tov Lipmann *Muelhausen.

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[Judah M. Rosenthal]

OFFNER, STACY (1955–), U.S. Reform rabbi. A *magna cum laude* graduate of Kenyon College in Gambier, Ohio (1977), she received her M.H.L. (1982) and was ordained at Hebrew Union College in New York City (1984). She then went to the Twin Cities where she was the first woman rabbi in the state of Minnesota and went on to be the first openly gay woman rabbi in the United States. She was the founding rabbi of Shir Tikvah (1988). Involved in many community-wide endeavors, Offner also served as adjunct professor of Jewish Ethics at Hamline University for over a decade and served on the Ethics Committee of Children's Hospital and as chair of the Socially Responsible Investing Committee of the Reform Pension Board.

She was president of the Midwest Association of Reform Rabbis, and was the first rabbi ever to serve a term as the officially elected chaplain of the Minnesota State Senate.

Among other activities she is a founding member of Feminists in Faith, Mpls.-St. Paul, 1984–88; a member of the Task Force on Sexual Exploitation Minn. Dept. Corrections, St. Paul, 1985–87; a member of the Disability Services Panel of the United Way, St. Paul, 1985–86.

She is the recipient of the Clergy Appreciation award, Civitan, 1990; Founding Feminist award, Women's Political Caucus, 1988; Sherrill Hooker Memorial Award, Lesbian and Gay Community, 1989.

Among her more innovative ideas for social justice, Rabbi Offner, as chair of the social responsibility subcommittee of the Reform Rabbinic Pension Fund, first responded to the idea of a national campaign to organize Jewish investment in community development financial institutions. The Pension Fund's 1995 investment of $200,000 in four community development banks was the first "mainstream Jewish" investment that the Shefa Fund could say it leveraged.

[Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

OFIR, ARIE (1939–), Israeli designer and silversmith. Ofir was born in Tel Aviv and was a member of kibbutz Bet Nir. During rehabilitation from wounds received during his military service, he developed an interest in metalcraft, and from 1961 to 1964 studied at the *Bezalel Academy of Art and Design and later worked at the studio of D.H. Gumbel, a silversmith in Jerusalem, 1964–66, and from 1966 to 1968 at the workshop of Georg Jensen in Copenhagen, where he was granted a scholarship by the Danish Ministry of Education. On his return to Israel in 1969 he opened his own studio in Jerusalem. In 1969 he was appointed lecturer at the gold- and silversmithing department of Bezalel, its head in 1972, and in 1977 professor of fine arts.

He has held exhibitions at art museums in many countries, and was guest lecturer at various universities. His works are included in many private and public collections. Exhibitions have included the Jewish Museum, New York; Spertus Museum, Chicago; Yeshiva University Museum, New York; Israel Museum, Jerusalem; Schmucksmuseum Pforzheim, Germany; and a Torah crown, breastplate and *yad* at the Victoria and Albert Museum, London (Anglo-Jewish Exhibition 1978). In 1976 Ofir designed and executed a memorial for Jerusalem soldiers killed in the Yom Kippur War, which stands in the Peace Forest between Armon Ha-Naẓiv and Abu Tor. Later he produced striking functional lighting elements by transferring two-dimensional images onto glass. In 1992 he was awarded the Jesselson Prize for Contemporary Judaica Design by the Israel Museum. He is the author of *Yesodot Ha-Ẓorfut* ("Basics of Gold and Silversmithing," 1977).

[Amia Raphael]

OFIR, SHAIKE (**Yeshayahu**; 1929–1987), Israeli actor, comedian, and pantomimist. Ofir was born in Jerusalem as Yeshayahu Goldstein. At the age of 14 he joined the *Palmaḥ, but left to join the Ohel theater. In the War of Independence he rejoined the Palmaḥ. During his service, the Chizbatron, the Palmaḥ's entertainment troupe was created and Ofir joined it. After his service, he went to Paris to study pantomime under Atiene Decrot, the father of modern pantomime. After three years of study and half a year of performing with Marcel *Marceau, he returned to Israel and joined the Cameri Theater. While there, he founded a Cameri pantomime group. In 1956 he went to the United States, working there for four and half years and performing with Marlene Dietrich. In the beginning of the 1960s he returned to Israel. He wrote and directed the first two shows of *Ha-Gashash ha-Ḥiver and was recognized as an established actor, both in theater and film. Of his 28 films, the best known is the award-winning *The Policeman Azulai* (1971), written and directed by Ephraim *Kishon, where he plays a blundering policeman so inept that criminals try to boost his arrest record so that he will remain on the beat. Other Kishon films include *Ervinka* (1967), *The Blaumlich Canal* (1970), and *The Fox in the Chicken Coop* (1978), and Ofir also starred in *Hole in the Moon* (1965) and *Abu al Benat* (1973). His movie career garnered him three Kinor David prizes. He also put on one-man shows such as *A Thousand Faces* and *The Joy of the Poor*, portraying an entire gallery of Israeli types, none more hilarious than the fiery *Histadrut orator eating a sandwich as he delivers a speech. Ofir was called "the king of Israeli entertainment." In 2004, the Israeli film academy named its equivalent of the Oscar the Ofir in his honor

[Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

OFNER, FRANCIS-AMIR (1913–), journalist. Born in Novi Sad, Yugoslavia, he studied law at Besançon, Lausanne and Zagreb (where he obtained the degree of Juris Doctor in 1938). During 1940–41 he was active in the Yugoslav Zionist-Revisionist movement, acting as Netziv Betar (lit. commissioner, i.e., head of the Berit Trumpeldor youth organization). His endeavors at that time included the fostering of illegal immigration of Jewish refugees from Nazi-occupied Europe to Palestine across the Danube.

During 1942–45, he worked in Istanbul at the U.S. Office of War Information, in the capacity of Balkan press liaison officer. Settling in Tel Aviv in September 1945, he started a productive career in international journalism. He worked mainly for the *Christian Science Monitor* of Boston and for the London *Observer* (writing a column syndicated in 300 newspapers). He contributed articles to the German and Swiss press; also to the International News Service, New York. In Israel, he contributed to the *Jerusalem Post* and to *L'Information*; in later years, he acted as senior lecturer on international media at Tel Aviv University. He founded, and for a while chaired, the Foreign Correspondents Association in Israel. He covered major milestones of Israel's history.

In the early 1960s, Ofner occupied the post of press counselor at the Israel Embassy, Washington, D.C. and the Israeli delegation to the United Nations, New York.

On professional missions he traveled to many countries, interviewing leading statesmen, such as the Shah of Iran, Emperor Haile Selassie of Ethiopia, King Hassan of Morocco, and David Ben-Gurion.

Ofner acted as vice chairman of the Israel-German Friendship Society and as Middle East consultant to the Alex Springer Foundation, Berlin and Hamburg.

[Zvi Loker (2nd ed.)]

OFNER, JULIUS (1845–1924), Austrian lawyer and politician. Born in Horschenz/Hořenice, Bohemia, Ofner qualified as a lawyer in Vienna and acquired a considerable reputation as a jurist through his writings on law and philosophy. These included *Das Recht auf Arbeit* (1885) and *Der Urentwurf und die Beratungsprotokolle des oesterreichischen Allgemeinen Buergerlichen Gesetzbuches* (1887–88). He was elected to the Lower Austrian Diet in 1896 and, five years later, to the Reichsrat (1901–18). Later he joined the Austrian Liberal Party and fought for comprehensive social legislation, including the extension of women's rights and the granting of suspended sentences in criminal cases. He also initiated a law preventing criminal prosecution for petty larceny known as the *Lex Ofner*.

In 1913 Ofner was appointed to the Austrian Supreme Court (*Reichsgericht*) and in 1919 was made permanent referee of its successor, the Austrian Constitutional Court (*Verfassungsgerichtshof*). Ofner was instrumental in obtaining the release of Leopold *Hilsner. He advocated the abolition of ecclesiastical jurisdiction in matters of marriage and divorce, and thereby aroused the hostility of the Roman Catholic majority in Vienna. The Catholics particularly resented the fact that it was a Jew who pressed for this measure, and the Jews were afraid that the intervention of a Jew in Christian affairs would lead to antisemitism. In the 1919 elections to the Constituent Assembly, Ofner was defeated but the seat went to another Jew, the Zionist candidate, Robert *Stricker.

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[Josef J. Lador-Lederer]

OFRAN (**Ifrane**), the provincial capital of the Centre Sud region, north central Morocco, is situated in the Middle Atlas Mountains. It is Morocco's winter and summer premier resort area. According to Judeo-African tradition Ofran is regarded as the first site of Jewish settlement in Morocco. Many legends have been created about the ancient community of Ofran, whose first members are said to have arrived from Ereẓ Israel before the destruction of the First Temple in Jerusalem. A Jewish kingdom was set up there which was governed by the Afriat family – then named Efrati. The Jews of this kingdom are said to have belonged to the tribe of Ephraim – one of the lost Ten Tribes of Israel. Indeed, in the modern era the Afriat family administered the affairs of the community of Ofran and of all the communities of the region.

The Jewish cemetery of Ofran is very old, and there are many tombstone inscriptions dating from the Middle Ages. Local tradition ascribes some of them to the first century B.C.E. Pilgrimages were made from every part of Morocco to this cemetery, which contains the remains of revered rabbis and martyrs.

According to local traditions there was a terrible persecution following the destruction of the community by the Byzantine Christians (sic). Other persecutions have been historically proven, the last of which took place in 1792 when the pretender Bou-Hallais, who sought to be proclaimed sultan, arrived in Ofran. He seized 50 Jewish notables and gave them the alternative of converting to Islam or death by fire. Under the guidance of their leader, Judah Afriat, they jumped one after the other into the huge furnace which had been lit for the occasion. Judah Afriat remained to the end in order to encourage those who faltered. The remains of these martyrs, known as the *Nisrafim* ("Burnt Ones"), were piously gathered and interred in the cemetery of Ofran. The account of their martyrdom was copied on parchment and circulated throughout the country. A popular etymology explains the name Ofran as a combination of *efer* ("the ashes of") and the letter *nun* (= 50). Their descendants were greatly esteemed and to the present day they commemorate the anniversary of the event (the 17th of Tishri) by refraining from lighting fires in their homes.

The community of Ofran was prominent and wealthy and a large part of the trans-Sahara trade passed through its hands. After 1792 its members dispersed. They played an important role in the community of *Mogador, especially the members of the Afriat family, and during the 19th century they established a commercial house in London. For more than 50 years the Afriat house was the most important family in Anglo-Moroccan trade. The community of Ofran was reorganized in the 19th century by a few Jewish families of the region (58 families in 1820, 34 in 1883, 122 persons in 1936, and 141 persons in 1951). The community never regained its former prosperity but its members nevertheless lived in security until 1955, when they all immigrated to Israel.

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[David Corcos]

OG (Heb. עוֹג, עֹג), ruler of *Bashan, one of the Amorite kings in the Transjordan area during the time of Moses. The Bible remembers Og as belonging to the race of giants "who was left of the remaining Rephaim," and special attention is paid to the description of his huge iron bedstead (Deut. 3:11). The kingdom of Og comprised Bashan and the Hermon region, and extended to the Jordan river to the west (Josh. 12:4–5). Three or four of the cities of his kingdom are mentioned in the Bible – *Ashtaroth, which was apparently his capital and known as the capital of the realm (Tell el-Amarna letters, no. 197, possibly also Karnaim, cf. Gen. 14:5); Salcah (Josh. 12:5; 13:11, et al.); and *Edrei (Num. 21:33; Josh. 13:12, 31). From this it would appear that his kingdom was one of the remaining *Hyksos kingdoms whose cities at that time were scattered in Palestine. It is also possible that this kingdom was established by Amorites who invaded the area in the time of the Egyptian-Hittite struggle during the reign of Ramses II (13th century). Og was defeated by the Israelites when the eastern side of the Jordan was conquered by those who left Egypt (Num. 21:33, 35; Deut. 3:1ff.). Half of the tribe of Manasseh took Og's land as their inheritance (Josh. 13:31). This victory greatly strengthened the spirit of the people. "Sixty towns … fortified with high walls, gates, and bars" were then conquered (Deut. 3:4–5). Echoes of this victory, which was of exceptional importance, are also encountered in later passages (Josh. 13:12; Ps. 135:11; 136:20; Neh. 9:22).

[Josef Segal]

Og and Sihon in the Aggadah

Sihon and Og were the sons of Ahijah, whose father was the fallen angel Shamḥazai (Nid. 61a), and of Ham's wife (Yal. Reub. on Gen. 7:7). Og was born before the Flood and was saved from it by Noah on the promise that he and his descendants would serve Noah as slaves in perpetuity (PdRE 23). Sihon and Og were giants, their foot alone measuring 18 cubits (Deut. R. 1:25). Og is identified with Eliezer, the servant of Abraham, who received him as a gift from Nimrod. So that he could not claim reward in the world to come for his services to his master, God paid him in this world by making him a king (Sof. 21:9; ed. M. Higger (1937) 366 and PdRE 16). During his reign he founded 60 cities, which he surrounded with high walls, the lowest of which was not less than 60 miles in height (Sol. *ibid.*). When Og, who was present at the feast Abraham made on the occasion of Isaac's weaning, was teased by all the great men assembled there for having called Abraham a sterile mule, he pointed contemptuously at Isaac, saying, "I can crush him by putting my finger on him," whereupon God said to him, "Thou makest mock of the gift given to Abraham – by thy life thou shalt look upon myriads of his descendants, and thy fate shall be to fall into their hands" (Gen. R. 53:10). Sihon, appointed by the other kings as guardian of Ereẓ Israel, extracted tribute from them (Num. R. 19:29). Sihon and Og were even greater enemies of Israel than was Pharaoh (Mid. Ps. 136:11). When Moses was about to attack them, God assured him that he had nothing to fear, for He had put their guardian angels in chains (*ibid.* and Deut. R. 1:22). Though Moses was undaunted by Sihon, he did fear Og because he had been circumcised by Abraham (Zohar, Num. 184a) and because of the possibility that the latter's merit might stand him in good stead for having been the "one who escaped and told Abraham" (Gen. 11:13; Nid. 61a). Moses' fears were unfounded, however, in that Og's real motive had been to bring about the death of Abraham so that he could marry Sarah (Deut. R. 1:25).

Sihon was left to his own resources by Og, who was confident of his brother's ability to conquer Israel unaided (Song R. 4:8). Og himself met his death when a mountain three parasangs long, which he had uprooted to cast upon the camp of Israel, was invaded by ants dispatched by God as he carried it upon his head toward his destination. The perforated mountain slipped from Og's head to his neck, whereupon Moses struck him upon the ankle with an ax and killed him (Ber. 54a–b). Though the victory over Sihon and Og was as important as the crossing of the Red Sea, Israel did not sing a song of praise to God upon it as they had upon Pharaoh's destruction, the omission not being made good until the time of David (Mid. Ps. 136:11).

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OHEL (Heb. אֹהֶל; "Tent"), Israel theater company, originally known as the Workers' Theater of Palestine, founded in 1925 by Moshe *Halevy. It was the company's original intention to create a socialist theater whose members combined work in the theater with agricultural and industrial labor. After about two years, however, it became clear that to reach a high level of accomplishment actors must devote themselves fully to their profession. Furthermore, from the outset Ohel found it difficult to procure ideologically suitable plays. The theater's inaugural production was an adaptation of stories by I.L. *Peretz (1926) that was received with great enthusiasm, especially in the rural settlements for which Ohel's work was primarily intended. This was followed by *Dayyagim* ("Fishermen," 1927), a socialist play about the exploitation of fishermen by entrepreneurs. Thereafter, the company turned to biblical plays and the standard international repertoire.

In 1934 Ohel had reached the climax of its development. The early years of the 1930s witnessed its struggle between being a "proletarian" theater and a "national" one. It sometimes even presented "proletarian" plays that were criticized for being incongruent with the actual social and labor situation in Palestine. On its highly successful European tour in 1934, however, Ohel staged mainly biblical and national plays. Upon its return to Palestine, it produced some of its greatest successes, including "The Good Soldier Schweik" (1935), mostly due to the talents of Meir Margalit (d. 1974), a comedy actor. Two years later it also staged *Yoshe Kalb*, adapted from a novel by the Yiddish author I.J. Singer and directed by Maurice *Schwartz.

The theater progressed until 1958, when it faced a crisis over being suddenly divorced from the Histadrut (General Federation of Labor), which had been its parent body. The motivating factor behind the split was the theater's decline in both quality and audience-drawing power. The decline continued until 1961, when Ephraim *Kishon brought his comedy *Ha-Ketubbah* ("The Marriage Contract") to the Ohel. With Margalit in the lead, the play proved to be such a success that it revived the theater for three seasons. Under the new artistic director, Peter Frye (d. 1991), the theater experienced another major hit, Shalom Aleichem's *Ammekha* (1964), and proceeded to produce works by Ionesco, Brecht, and young British playwrights, using actors from outside the repertory company and the aid of foreign directors. The period of revival was short-lived, however, and the theater closed in 1969.

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[Mendel Kohansky]

OHEV BEN MEIR HA-NASI (late 11th–early 12th century), liturgical poet in Spain. Abraham *Ibn Daud mentions him in his *Sefer ha-Kabbalah* (ed. G.D. Cohen (1967), 73, 102) together with the poet Moses *Ibn Ezra, and refers to him by his Arabic name Ibn Shortmeqas.

Three of Ohev's *piyyutim* were published in *Ḥizzunim* (Constantinople, 1585), a collection of *piyyutim* which were recited in the rite of the "Westerners" who lived in Sicily. One of these, the *ofan* "*Erelim ve-Ḥashmalim*" (i.e., various kinds of angels) resembles in several details the famous *piyyut* "*Malakhim mamlikhim*" ("The Angels Enthrone") of Moses Ibn Ezra. One of his *piyyutim* on the Ten Commandments was discovered in the Cairo *Genizah and published by J. Schirmann.

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OHIO, industrial state in eastern central United States. In 2001, the Jewish population of Ohio was 149,000 of a total population of 11,353,140, or 1.3%. Jewish settlement in Ohio paralleled the opening of new lands to the west of the Allegheny and Appalachian Mountains, the development of canals, roads, and later, railroads. The first documented Jewish settler in Ohio was an English watchmaker named Joseph Jonas, who settled in Cincinnati in 1817. His presence, something of a curiosity to the locals who had never seen a Jew, was well tolerated. As his relatives joined him, and new settlers made their way to *Cincinnati, there was a large enough group to establish Ohio's first congregation, Bene Israel, in 1824. *Cleveland, in the northeastern portion of the state, also attracted Jewish settlers. Daniel Maduro Peixotto arrived in 1835 to teach at Willoughby Medical College, and in 1839 a group of 15 men and women from Unsleben, Bavaria, joined Simson Thorman and founded the Israelitic Society. Prior to the Civil War, five other Jewish communities were founded: *Columbus (1838); *Dayton (1850); Hamilton (1855); Piqua (1858); and Portsmouth (1858). Throughout the German Jewish immigration period (through the 1870s) communities were also established in Youngstown, *Akron, *Toledo, and Canton. With little overt antisemitism, Jews were elected to public office. Marcus Frankel served as mayor of Columbus, and William Kraus and Guido Marx were mayors of Toledo.

Cincinnati's Jewish community played a significant national role in the development of the Reform movement. Rabbi Isaac Mayer *Wise founded *The Israelite* in 1854, the first English language newspaper published west of the Allegheny Mountains. In 1855 he convened a national conference in an attempt to unify American Jewry, which, while unable to achieve that goal, was successful in producing *Minhag America*, a new prayer book co-edited by Rabbi Isador *Kalisch, then rabbi of Cleveland's Tifereth Israel. Wise organized the Union of American Hebrew Congregations in 1873 and in 1875 founded the first American rabbinical seminary, Hebrew Union College.

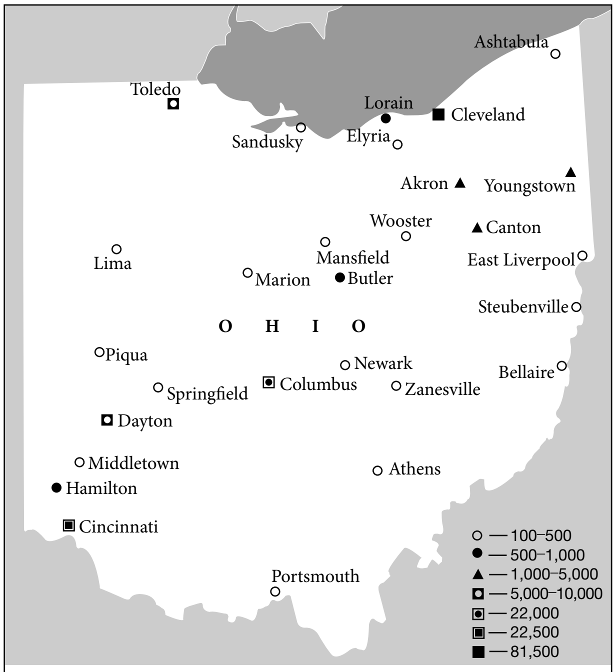

Total Jewish population of Ohio	149,000
% of Jews in general population of Ohio	1.3
% of Ohio Jews in Jewish population of U.S.	2.42

Jewish communities in Ohio. Population figures for 2001.

With the influx of eastern European immigration beginning in the 1880s, the largest of Ohio's Jewish communities created complex organizational structures, which often included federations, social settlements, educational bureaus, hospitals, homes for the aged, schools, labor unions, and social and benevolent societies. Economically, peddling and small businesses led to larger enterprises and the professions. Some nationally known businesses emerging from Ohio were the B. Manischewitz Company and the Federated Department Stores, founded in Cincinnati, and the Cleveland-based American Greetings Corporation and Forest City Enterprises.

In the 20th century there were six Jewish mayors in Cincinnati; Howard M. Metzenbaum, a Democrat from Cleveland, was a United States senator for 17 years; Gilbert Bettman and Lee Fisher were state attorneys general. Pauline Steinem, a suffragist from Toledo, was the first woman to serve on the Toledo Board of Education, and Mary Belle Grossman, an attorney from Cleveland, was the first woman municipal judge in the United States. Sally *Priesand, raised in Cleveland and ordained at Hebrew Union College in 1972, was the first woman rabbi in the United States. Rabbi Abba Hillel *Silver was a leader in the international Zionist movement; rabbis Arthur J. *Lelyveld and Sylvan Ruslander were active in the civil rights movement.

After World War II, there was increased movement of Jewish populations to the suburbs of Roselawn, Golf Manor, and Amberley Village of Cincinnati; Bexley of Columbus; and the "Heights" – Shaker, Cleveland, and University – of Cleveland, as well as Beachwood, which became about 80 percent Jewish.

In 2001 the major Jewish communities in Ohio were in the metropolitan areas of Cleveland (81,500), Cincinnati (22,500), Columbus (22,000), Dayton (5,000), Akron (3,500), Toledo (5,900), Youngstown (3,200), and Canton (1,500). These eight cities and their suburbs all have federations or community councils. The eight federations work together on a state-wide basis to support the Government Affairs Committee of Ohio Jewish Communities, located in Columbus, the state capital. There are more than 100 synagogues in the state, 14 day schools, and seven Anglo-Jewish newspapers: *Akron Jewish News*, *American Israelite* (Cincinnati), *Cleveland Jewish News, Dayton Jewish Observer*, *Jewish Journal* (Youngstown), *Ohio Jewish Chronicle* and *The New Standard* (both Columbus), *Stark Jewish News* (Canton area), and the *Toledo Jewish News*.

There are three institutes of higher Jewish learning in Ohio: the Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion, mentioned above; the Laura and Alvin Siegal College of Judaic Studies in Beachwood; and the Telshe Yeshiva (Wickliffe). All three train either rabbis or educators. Several of Ohio's universities offer Jewish studies majors and graduate level degrees, as well as provide Hillel Foundation meeting centers for students. In addition, a number of prominent families have established foundations that support local, national and international educational efforts, including the Melton, Schottenstein, and Wexner families of Columbus, and the Mandel and Stone families of Cleveland. The Klau Library and the Jacob Rader Marcus Center for the American Jewish Archives (AJA) are located on the campus of Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion in Cincinnati. A major repository of written and audio-visual American Jewish history, the AJA publishes the *American Jewish Archives Journal.* A second source of Jewish archives material in the state, focusing on northeast Ohio, is at the Western Reserve Historical Society in Cleveland. There are two Jewish museums: the Skirball Museum at the Hebrew Union College, which also houses the Center for Holocaust and Humanity Education; a second, the Milton and Tamar Maltz Museum of Jewish Heritage, opened in 2005 in Beachwood. It is to include The Temple-Tifereth Israel's distinguished collection of international Judaica and a new interactive presentation of local American Jewish history.

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[Jane Avner (2nd ed.)]

OHOLIAB (Heb. אָהֳלִיאָב; "the [divine] father is a [or "my"] tent," or, "tent of the father"), son of Ahisamach; of the tribe of Dan. Oholiab was appointed, together with *Bezalel, to construct the Tent of Meeting and its furnishings (Ex. 31:6; 35:34;

36:1–2; 38:23). He is said to have been a "carver and designer, and embroiderer in blue, purple, and crimson yarns, and in fine linen" (Ex. 35:35; 38:23).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Noth, Personennamen, 158–9.

OHOLOT (Heb. אָהֳלוֹת; "tents"), the second tractate in the Mishnah order of **Tohorot*. It deals with the ritual impurity conveyed by a corpse (or parts of it) either through physical contact, or through being under a common roof. There are 18 chapters both in the Mishnah and the Tosefta. The original name of the tractate was *Ahilot* (literally, "overtenting"), by which name it is called both in the Tosefta and when it is mentioned in the *Gemara*. It also occurs in several manuscripts of the Mishnah. The name *Oholot* is a popularization attributable to the influence of the passage in Numbers 19:14: "Whoever dies in a tent." There is no *Gemara* to this tractate either in the Palestinian or Babylonian Talmud. Nevertheless, the great amount of commentary on it scattered in both Talmuds is reflected in the fact that G. Leiner published a large "synthetic" *Gemara* on the tractate by assembling and arranging all this material in an orderly manner. The Talmud (Ḥag. 11a) itself notes that the biblical treatment of the subject, consisting as it does of only four verses (Num. 19:11, 14, 16, 22), is very meager, yet rabbinic exposition has made *Oholot* one of the larger tractates of the Mishnah. The ritual uncleanness conveyed by a corpse is of the severest degree (lasting seven days) and requires sprinkling with water mixed with the ashes of the *Red Heifer (see **Parah*) as part of the purification procedure. With the destruction of the Temple, this type of ritual purification became impossible to observe and it lapsed a century or so later. The laws of the tractate, however, retained their relevance for those of priestly descent, who, except in the case of close relatives, must avoid contact with the dead.

Like most tractates of the Mishnah, *Oholot* is composed of several layers. The basic layer (although not the earliest) reflects the teaching of R. Akiva, primarily as taught by his disciple R. Meir. Other sections reflect the interpretation of R. Akiva's teachings by other pupils: Judah, Simeon, and Yose. Because the greater part of the first tractate, *Kelim*, in this same Mishnah order is rightly attributed to R. Yose, several scholars were formerly of the opinion that *Oholot* was also largely written by him. It has been recently demonstrated, however, that the role of R. Yose in this tractate is even less than of his colleagues. English translations of the Mishnah were published by H. Danby (1939) and P. Blackman (1955), and J. Neusner published a translation of both the Mishnah (1991) and the Tosefta (2002) of *Tohorot*.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: G. Leiner, *Sidrei Tohorot*, 2 (1903); H.L. Strack, *Introduction to the Talmud and Midrash* (1945), 60f.; A. Goldberg (ed), *Massekhet Oholot* (1955). **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** J.N. Epstein, *The Gaonic Commentary on the Order Toharot* (Heb.) (1982); S. Lieberman, *Tosefet Rishonim*, vol. 3 (1939); J. Neusner, *A History of the Mishnaic Laws of Purities* (1974–77), vol. 4–5; idem, *From Mishnah to Scripture* (1984), 45–51; idem, *The Mishnah Before 70* (1987), 269–90; idem, *The Philosophical Mishnah 3* (1989), 47–59; idem, *Purity in Rabbinic Judaism* (1994), 88–95.

[Abraham Goldberg]

OHRBACH, family of U.S. department store founders and owners. NATHAN M. OHRBACH (1885–1972) was born in Vienna and taken to the United States at the age of two. He went into the retail dry goods business and opened his own store in 1911. He established his first department store in New York City in 1923 and another in Newark in 1930. In 1935 he published his memoirs, *Getting Ahead in Retailing*. After his retirement in 1940, his son JEROME KANE OHRBACH (1907–1990), who was born in Brooklyn, became the head of the firm and its affiliates. In 1948 he added the Los Angeles store to the two his father had founded. Both father and son were prominent in numerous general and Jewish public organizations, including New York's Federation of Jewish Philanthropies, the American Jewish Committee, the Boy Scouts, and the City University of New York.

The Orbach's chain had branches across the country until 1987, when the New York store went out of business. The company was bought out by Howland-Steinbach, and the stores reopened under that name.

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[Joachim O. Ronall / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

OIL OF LIFE. There appears to have been a tradition in certain circles according to which the tree of life in the Garden of Eden was an olive tree (a tradition which is not found in Talmud or Midrash, cf. Ber. 40a; Gen. R. 15:7). As a result there emerged the belief that immortality is gained by anointing with oil. According to *Apocalypsis Mosis* 9:3, 13:1–2, when Adam fell ill Seth went to the garden to request "the oil of mercy" with which to anoint Adam and restore his health. His entreaty was refused, but the angel Michael promised that oil would be granted to the righteous at the end of days. In the parallel passage in the Latin *Vitae Adae* the oil is referred to as "the tree of mercy from which the oil of life flows" (ch. 36, cf. 40, 41). The same tradition is to be found in the Acts of Pilate (Gospel of Nicodemus III (XIX). This oil is perhaps to be identified with the heavenly oil with which Enoch is anointed and which transforms him into a heavenly being. Called "the good oil," it is shining and fragrant (II En. 9 = 22:8–9, cf. 14 = 56:2). A further reference to the tree of life in the Garden of Eden as an oil-yielding tree may be found in IV Ezra 2:12 – "*lignum vitae erit in illis in odorem unguenti*" – and this idea is also perhaps to be discerned in the Acts of Thomas §157. The furthest circulation of this concept is to be observed in Pseudo-Clement, *Recognitiones* 1:45 which again refers explicitly to the oil of the tree of life. The legend of Seth's quest for the oil had various later developments and acquired considerable importance in Christian legend and art.

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[Michael E. Stone]

OILS (Heb. שֶׁמֶן; יִצְהָר, "new oil"; תַּמְרוּק, מֶרְקָחָה, "ointment"), unctuous, inflammable substances, usually liquid, obtained from animal, vegetable, or mineral matter. In Job 29:6 and Deuteronomy 32:13, the references to oil flowing from rocks are hyperboles for fertility or prosperity.

Regarded as one of the characteristic products of the Land of Israel (II Kings 18:32; Jer. 40:10), oil served as an element in food (I Kings 17:12), as a cosmetic (Eccles. 9:7–8), as a fuel for lamps (Ex. 25:6), as a medicine (Isa. 1:6), and as a principal export in foreign trade (I Kings 5:25). As oil was apparently applied to leather shields to keep them supple, the expression "to oil a shield" (*mashaḥ magen*) came to be an idiom for "to make war" (Isa. 21:5). As an extension of its use in the preparation of food, oil occupied a place in sacrifices. As an extension of its cosmetic function, it played a role in various investiture proceedings.

The olives were beaten down from the tree with poles (Isa. 17:6) and were pounded into pulp in mortars or by the feet (Micah 6:15). The pulp was placed in wicker baskets from which the lightest and finest oil could easily run off. This grade of oil, known as beaten oil (Heb. *shemen katit*), is mentioned five times in the Bible. It served as fuel for the lamp in the Tabernacle (Ex. 27:20; Lev. 24:2) and as an element in the obligatory daily meal offerings (Ex. 29:40; Num. 28:5). King Solomon traded this type of oil with Hiram of Tyre in exchange for cedar and cypress wood (I Kings 5:25). After the removal of the beaten oil, a second grade was produced by heating and further pressing the pulp (for the method of extraction in the talmudic period see Mishnah Men. 8:4–5 and *Olive). Ointments were made by boiling aromatic substances in oil (Job. 41:23).

Oil was one of the three staples of life. Thus while Jacob prayed for bread to eat and clothing to wear (Gen. 28:20), Hosea described Israel's basic needs as bread and water, wool and flax, oil and drink (Hos. 2:7). As a typical product of Palestine and as a necessity, oil is listed, particularly in Deuteronomy, among the three blessings of the land in time of God's favor – grain, wine, and oil (Deut. 11:14, etc.) The same three shall be consumed by the nation that will rise against Israel from afar if Israel should lose God's favor through disobedience to His laws (Deut. 28:38–40, 51). S.M. Paul calls attention to the triad of basic needs – food, clothing, and oil – mentioned throughout the Mesopotamian legal tradition, and supports that the three necessities with which a master must provide a slave-girl, referred to in Exodus 21:7–11 are meat, clothing, and oil.

In addition, anointing with oil provided protection from the sun. As an element in baking (Num. 11:8; I Kings 7:12), oil played a role also in sacrifices, which are called God's bread (Heb. *leḥem 'Elohim*, Lev. 21:6). The obligatory daily morning and evening burnt offerings included a tenth of a measure of choice flour mixed with a quarter *hin* of beaten oil (Ex. 29:40; Num. 28:5). An individual's voluntary meal offering could be of five types, all of which included oil. These were (1) raw flour on which oil and frankincense were poured; (2) unleavened cakes mixed with oil; (3) unleavened wafers spread with oil; (4) broken griddle cakes on which oil was poured; and (5) choice flour fried in oil (Lev. 21:1–7).

The amount of oil and flour for the personal offering was determined in proportion to the size of the accompanying animal sacrifice according to the following scale: sheep, a tenth of a measure of fine flour and a quarter *hin* of oil; ram, two-tenths of a measure of flour and one-third of a *hin* of oil: ox, three-tenths of a measure of flour and a half *hin* of oil.

Oil was regarded as a symbol of honor (Judg. 9:9), joy (Ps. 45:8), and favor (Deut. 33:24; Ps. 23:5). Therefore, oil was to be withheld from offerings associated with disgrace, sorrow, and disfavor, just as it was withheld from the body in time of mourning (II Sam. 12:20; Dan. 10:3; see *Mourning). Thus it is stated with reference to the special sacrifice offered when a man suspects his wife of adultery: "No oil shall be poured upon it and no frankincense should be laid on it, for it is a meal offering of remembrance which recalls wrong doing" (Num. 5:15). Likewise the choice flour of a sin offering is to be free of both oil and frankincense (Lev. 5:11).

In the ritual purification of a person who has recovered from leprosy oil plays a major role. The sacrifice offered on the eighth day of the procedure includes an offering of choice flour mixed with oil and the presentation of a *log* of oil – the largest measure of oil called for in any biblical rite. Some of the oil is sprinkled "before the Lord" seven times, as was blood. Some is placed on the right ear, right thumb, and right big toe of the recovered leper, where blood has already been placed; that which is left over is poured on his head. These rites symbolize the restoration of God's favor and the return of honor and joy to a man who had previously been disgraced and who had observed rites characteristic of mourning (Lev. 13:45). From the association of oil with vigor and fertility (Ps. 36:9), as, for example, in the term "son of oil" (Heb. *ben shemen*) for "fertile" (Isa. 5:1), it may be surmised that the sprinkling of the leper with oil is also symbolic of his restoration to life since the Talmud regards the leper as "a dead person" (Ned. 64b).

Virtue is frequently likened to fragrant oil (Ps. 133:2; Song 1:3; Eccles. 7:1) because both are so costly to obtain. Thus wisdom writers warn against extravagant use of oil (Prov. 21:17, 20), while the historical books of the Bible testify to its having been guarded as were silver and gold (I Chron. 9:29; 27:28). Perfumed oil was among the treasures which Hezekiah revealed to Merodach-Baladan (II Kings 20:13; Isa. 39:2). As a symbol of affluence, Isaiah (28:1, 4) associates oil with arrogance.

As an element in the normal grooming of all classes of people in the Ancient Near East, anointing with oil, like the washing that preceded and the dressing that followed it (Ezek. 16:9–10; Ruth 3:3), was symbolic of a change in status throughout the Ancient Near East. The practice of anointing in legal and cultic proceedings is to be understood in the light of the role of ablutions and the changing of garments. The Bible speaks frequently of donning victory (e.g., Isa. 59:7), honor (Ps. 104:1), disgrace (Job 8:22), etc. Likewise, it prescribes washing as the key to ritual purity (Ex. 30:20; Lev. 22:6, etc.).

It is not surprising, therefore, that the consecration of Aaron to the priesthood included washing (Lev. 8:6), donning special garments (Lev. 8:7–9), and anointing his head with oil (Lev. 8:12). The consecration of Aaron's sons as priests also included these three elements (Lev. 8:6, 13, 30).

Akkadian documents from Ugarit mention the anointing of manumitted slave girls, while the Middle Assyrian laws (sections 42–43; Pritchard, Texts, 183–4) prescribe the anointing of the bride prior to marriage. In the Bible, God instructs Elijah to appoint Elisha a prophet by anointing him with oil (I Kings 19:16). Similarly, the spirit of the Lord is said to have come upon King David from the time he was anointed (I Sam. 16:13). Both in Ugarit (V AB, B 31ff.; Pritchard, Texts, 136) and in the Bible (Lev. 8:10–11), anointing with oil is associated with the dedication of temples as well as of people. Thus Jacob dedicates an altar at Beth-El by anointing it with oil (Gen. 28:18).

The anointing of kings, attested among peoples of the Ancient Near East only in Israel and among the Hittites, is mentioned in the Bible in connection with Saul (I Sam. 10:1), David (I Sam. 16:1), Solomon (I Kings 1:39), Absalom (II Sam. 19:11), Jehoash (II Kings 11:12), Jehoahaz (II Kings 23:30), and Hazael of Aram and Jehu son of Nimshi of Israel (I Kings 19:15–16). While Saul, David, Hazael, and Jehu were anointed by prophets, Solomon and Jehoash were anointed by priests. Of Absalom and Jehoahaz it is simply stated that "they anointed him." This last expression may be simply an idiom meaning "they made him king." It is certainly in this sense that Jotham employs the phrase in Judges 9:8: "the trees went to anoint (Heb. *limshoʾaḥ*) over them a king." Likewise the noun "anointed one" (Heb. *mashiʾaḥ*) is employed as a poetic synonym for "king" (Heb. *melekh*; II Sam. 22:51). Deutero-Isaiah thus calls Cyrus the Lord's "anointed" (Isa. 45:1), while he refers to the rulers whom the Lord will subdue for Cyrus simply as "kings." Psalm 2:2 similarly contrasts the Lord's "anointed," the Davidic king of Zion, with the "kings of the earth." It is understandable, therefore, that "anointed" should eventually be the term for the human instrument of eschatological redemption (see *Messiah and *Anointing).

As a typical product of the land of Israel with so many diverse uses, oil played an important part in Israel's relations with her neighbors. Thus King Solomon traded 1,000 *kor* of wheat and 20 *kor* of beaten oil annually in exchange for a steady supply of cedar and cypress wood from Sidon (I Kings 5:24–25; II Chron. 2:14–15). Likewise, the same trade was revived in the sixth century by those who returned in the days of Zerubabbel and Jeshua (Ezra 3:7). Hosea 12:2 mentions sending oil to Egypt. D.J. McCarthy notes that the expression "oil is sent to…" in that context appears to be a synonym for "conclude a treaty." If so, the idiom is typical of treaty terminology like "to dissect a calf" (Jer. 34:18), "covenant of salt" (Num. 8:19) and the Greek σπονδη "treaty," "libations" – all examples of synechdoche.

[Mayer Irwin Gruber]

In the Talmud

Although, as stated above, the only oil employed to any extent in biblical times was *olive oil, in the period of the Talmud, many other oils (and fats) were in common use. Those oils and fats were animal, mineral, and especially vegetable. The first two Mishnayot of the second chapter of tractate *Shabbat* give a comprehensive list: pitch, wax, *kik*-oil, tail fat, tallow, both melted and solid, sesame oil, nut oil, fish oil, colocynth oil, tar, and naphtha. The wax was the residue from honey. There is a controversy as to the identity of *kik*. The identification accepted today is that it is identical with the *kikayon* of Jonah 4:6, i.e., castor oil, which is mentioned in the Talmud (Shab. 21a), but two alternative suggestions are made: one that it is produced from a fish of that name (despite the fact that fish oil is specifically mentioned in the next Mishnah) while another opinion is that it is cottonseed oil. In the Jerusalem Talmud (Shab. 2:1, 4c) it is also regarded as of animal origin, but derived from a bird and it is even identified with the *kaʾat* (JPS "pelican") of Leviticus 11:18. Symmachus declares that the only animal oil which may be used for the Sabbath lamp is fish oil and there is no doubt that other oils of animal origin were known and used for secular purposes (Shab. 25b).

An account of the availability of various oils is given in a protest against the opinion of Tarfon that only olive oil may be used for the Sabbath lamp: "What shall the Babylonians then do, who have only sesame oil, or the people of Medea who have only nut oil, or the Alexandrians who have only radish oil, or the people of Cappadocia who have none of these, but only naphtha?" (Shab. 26a). Sesame oil was, as is suggested in this passage, the most common oil in Babylonia, as olive oil was in Ereẓ Israel. As a result, if a man took a vow to abstain from oil without specifying which, in Ereẓ Israel it was taken to refer to olive oil, but in Babylonia to sesame (Ned. 53a). They fulfilled the same needs, for fuel, light, and food. Although extensively cultivated (BB 106a, Git. 73a), they were comparatively expensive and stated to be dearer than wheat, dates, or pomegranates (BM 21a, 104b). Oil presses are mentioned in Nehardea and Pumbedita (BK 27b).

To a different category belong balsam oil and rose oil, which were used as unguents. The former was too volatile and inflammable to be used as fuel, and a case is actually cited of a mother-in-law planning and carrying out the murder of her daughter-in-law by telling her to adorn herself with it and then light the lamp (Shab. 26a). Rose oil was so expensive in Ereẓ Israel that its use was limited to "princes"; in Sura in Babylonia, however, it was in plentiful supply and therefore used by all (Shab. 111b).

[Louis Isaac Rabinowitz]

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OISTRAKH, DAVID FEDOROVICH (1908–1974), Russian violin virtuoso. Born in Odessa, Oistrakh studied the violin from the age of five with *Stoljarsky, made his first public appearance in 1914, and attended the Institute of Music and Drama in Odessa, 1923–26. After winning other prizes he gained international attention when he won the first prize at the Queen Elizabeth competition in Brussels in 1937. Attached to the Moscow Conservatory, he became professor in 1939 and head of the violin department in 1950. On his subsequent world tours he performed in Paris and London in 1953, in the U.S. in 1955, and was acknowledged everywhere as a master. From 1961 he also appeared as a conductor. Foremost Soviet composers (Prokofiev, Miaskovsky, Shostakovich, Khachaturian) wrote violin works for him, and he received many Soviet awards. His son IGOR OISTRAKH (1931–), also a violinist, studied with his father at the Moscow Conservatory (1949–55). Winner of the International Festival of Democratic Youth in Budapest (1949) and the Wieniawski International Contest in 1952, he became a teacher of violin at Moscow Conservatory in 1958, and often appeared in duets with his father.

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[Michael Goldstein]

OKHLAH VE-OKHLAH (Heb. אָכְלָה וְאָכְלָה), early collection of masoretic notes to the Bible text, arranged partly alphabetically and partly in the order of the books of the Bible. Its date and author are unknown but it was mentioned for the first time by Jonah ibn Janāḥ in the tenth century (Abu al-Walīd Marwān ibn Janāḥ, cf. חלךְ), by whom it was considered the most important book on the subject. Originally called *Ha-Masoret ha-Gedolah* by Rashi and R. Jacob Tam, its present name, first mentioned by R. David Kimḥi (*Sefer Shorashim*, ed. Biesenthal-Lebrecht (1864), 334 cf. קרב), derives from the opening words of the first section, which is an alphabetic list of pairs of words occurring only twice in the Bible (once with *waw* and once without), i.e., *okhlah* (1 Sam. 1:9) and *ve-okhlah* (Gen. 27:19). Jacob b. Ḥayyim gained most of his information for the *masora finalis* (list of masoretic notes found at the end of a Bible, as opposed to the *masora marginalis* written on the sides of its pages) from *Okhlah ve-Okhlah* for his Bomberg edition of the Bible (Venice, 1524/5).

After lying in obscurity for over 300 years it was rediscovered and published by S. Frensdorff (*Das Buch Ochlah W'ochlah*, 1864), and shortly afterwards a second manuscript was discovered by H. Hupfeld. Hupfeld's manuscript contains 120 citations more than Frensdorff, and it is concluded that the book was expanded over the centuries (see Graetz, bibl.). In 1954 F. Diaz Esteban prepared a critical edition of the work as a Ph.D. dissertation and published it later, in 1975.

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OKLAHOMA, state in south central United States. The Jewish population in 2001 was about 5,000 out of a general population of 3,453,000. The vast majority resided in Tulsa and Oklahoma City, the two large metropolitan areas of the state. Extensive white settlement began with the famous "run" of April 22, 1889. Jews began coming to Oklahoma and Indian Territory as early as 1875. There were also Jews in the "run" of 1889. Leo Meyer of Tulsa was active in state political offices in the early territorial and statehood days. In 1890 High Holiday services were conducted in Oklahoma City. In Ardmore there were 50 Jewish people in 1890 and about 100 in 1907, when a Reform congregation, Temple Emeth, was organized. In the 1890s Jake Katz went to Stillwater and prospered. In Perry, a Jew named Kretsch arrived in 1892 from his native Bohemia. Subsequently he served as mayor of the town for three or four terms. Seymor C. Heyman arrived in Oklahoma City in 1901, eventually served as president of the local Chamber of Commerce, and later became president of the school board, the only Jew to hold these offices in Oklahoma. Sam and Dave Daube of Ardmore and the Sondheimer family of Muskogee were famed for their philanthropy. Dave Schonwald, a Hungarian immigrant, came to Oklahoma Territory before the turn of the 20th century, served as a penniless section hand on the Santa Fe Railroad in Guthrie, and subsequently became president of a gas and oil company and a bank in Blackwell, ending his days as a prominent Oklahoma City businessman and Jewish leader.

Enid Jewish history began with the Cherokee Strip opening in 1885, when Marius Gottschalk made the "run." In Tecumseh the Krouch brothers, German immigrants, came from Kansas and Colorado to establish a business in the early 1890s. A new elementary school building stands as a memorial to the philanthropy of Max Krouch, while his brother, Julius, who was elected county commissioner in Pottawatomie County in 1916, and sister Erna, who survived Max, continued to contribute lavishly to Jewish and non-Jewish causes. Julius Krouch was a delegate to the Democratic Convention in Denver in 1908 which nominated William Jennings Bryan for president. Max Krouch was chairman of the Excise Board in Pottawatomie County under three governors (Bill Murray, Phillips, and Kerr), until he died in 1948. He also was chairman of the Draft Board in Pottawatomie County during World War II.

In Oklahoma City a Reform congregation, Temple B'nai Israel, was chartered in 1903. Gus Paul, who came from Evansville, Indiana, was a moving figure in the life of the congregation for many years. He was a prominent civic leader and served the municipal government as city attorney. The first ordained rabbi to serve a congregation in Oklahoma was Joseph Blatt. He came in 1906 to minister to the 35 families of Temple B'nai Israel. The Jewish population did not expand in proportion to the growth of the general population. In 1967 the temple's membership numbered 325 families, representing about

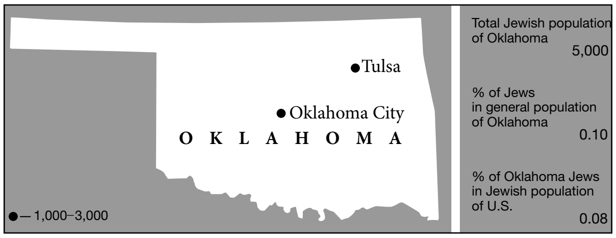
Tulsa
Oklahoma City
OKLAHOMA
● — 1,000–3,000
Total Jewish population of Oklahoma 5,000
% of Jews in general population of Oklahoma 0.10
% of Oklahoma Jews in Jewish population of U.S. 0.08

Jewish communities in Oklahoma. Population figures for 2001.

half of the Jewish population of the city. In 1904 Emanuel Synagogue was organized as an Orthodox congregation. It is now affiliated with the Conservative movement and also embraces about half of the Jewish population of Oklahoma City in its membership. A Jewish community council was organized in 1941 to serve as a fund raising and social service agency.

In Tulsa, Temple Israel (Reform) was organized in 1914. Its first rabbi came in 1917. Orthodox congregation B'nai Emunah has its origins in a *minyan* begun by Latvian immigrants in 1903. The Jewish community council of Tulsa was founded in 1938 to raise funds for national and overseas relief. Early Tulsa Jewish life sponsored the Federation of Jewish Charities – taken over by the Tulsa Community Fund – a Mutual Aid Bank, and a Hebrew Free Loan Society.

Muskogee Jewish history began with the arrival of Joseph Sondheimer in 1881. Alexander, the former's son, was the first court reporter in Oklahoma in 1891. Temple Beth Ahabah, the Reform congregation, was founded in 1905 and was heavily supported and endowed by the Sondheimer family.

Oklahoma Jewry, small though it has been, has participated significantly in the development of every aspect of the state's life. Jews were representatives in the first territorial legislature. There were also Jews in the convention which decided that the Indian Territory and Oklahoma Territory should enter the Union as a single state. A number of Jews served in the state legislature through the years. Some have been elected judges and county commissioners, and have held important state and municipal appointive positions. There are Reform synagogues in Ardmore and Muskogee, as well as Ponca City and Seminole. Oklahoma City, which includes the University of Oklahoma at Norman, has three synagogues: Conservative, Reform, and Chabad, as well as a *mikveh* and a Jewish population of some 2,600 people. Tulsa supports the Charles Schusterman JCC, the Sherwin Miller Museum of Jewish Art; a Conservative Congregation B'nai Emunah, as well as a Reform and Chabad Congregation. The Tulsa *Jewish Review* is published monthly, and the Heritage Hebrew Academy is the Tulsa day school. Although small in number, the Oklahoma Jewish community has had national influence. In the early part of the 20th century, Yeshiva University president Bernard Dov *Revel had business interests and spent considerable time in Tulsa. Irvin Frank was an early chairman of the National Jewish Conference Center, the precursor of CLAL, and Charles Goodall, established the small cities program on the Council of Jewish Federations. The Charles and Lynn Schusterman family are among the mega givers who support Jewish life throughout the country, and their family foundation is among the most important in the United States. The scope of their philanthropic work has given them international outreach. Among their largest gifts were $11.25 million to Synagogue Transformation and Renewal (STAR), a Chicago-based philanthropic partnership committed to enhancing synagogues and increasing their potential to connect and inspire Jews in North American Jewish communities; $10 million to the University of Oklahoma to establish the Schusterman Center at the University of Oklahoma in Tulsa, expanding the OU presence and providing the cohesiveness, facilities, and organizational identity to aid in future program development for the Tulsa campus; $5 million to the World Union of Progressive Judaism to help complete Mercaz Shimshon (Samson Center), a new cultural center in Jerusalem named in honor of Mr. Schusterman's father; $1.5 million to the Partnership for Excellence in Jewish Education (PEJE); an initiative designed to meet the challenge of providing excellent Jewish education for K-12 with the goal of ensuring a Jewish presence into the next century.

They helped build Succat Shalom: The Jerusalem Center for Children and their Families, the Parent-Child Center of Tulsa, and the Schusterman-Benson Library in Tulsa.

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[Joseph Levenson / Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

OKO, ADOLPH S. (1883–1944), librarian and expert on Spinoza. Born near Kharkov, Russia, Oko received his education in Germany and went to the United States (1902), where he worked in the Astor Library, New York. In 1906 he was appointed librarian of Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati, retaining the position until 1933 when he resigned. Under his administration the college library was transformed. A new building, designed to hold 40,000 volumes, was opened in 1913, but so great was the rate of expansion that a second building was needed in 1931. In 1911 he began a collection of Spinozana, which he brought to unusual completeness. He also began the development of the college museum. Shortly after World War I Oko visited Europe and purchased 18,000 items, including the Edward Birnbaum music collection as well as manuscripts and printed books. Throughout his life Oko was a devoted student of Spinoza. He was a trustee of the Domus Spinozana at The Hague and a founder and U.S. secretary of the Societas Spinoza. From 1933 to 1938 he devoted himself to research on Spinoza in England, resulting in *The Spinoza Bibliography* (1964). In addition he wrote several bibliographies, among them: *Solomon Schechter, a Bibliography* (1938) and *Bibliography of… Kaufman Kohler* (1913). He also wrote many articles in *Menorah-Journal*, of which he was associate editor for many years. After returning to the United States he joined the staff of the American Jewish Committee and was associate editor of the *Contemporary Jewish Record* in 1943/44.

OLAH, GEORGE A. (1922–), U.S. chemist and Nobel laureate. Born in Budapest, Hungary, he was educated at the Gymnasium of the Piarist Fathers. After surviving the last months of World War II in hiding in Budapest, he graduated in chemistry from the Technical University, Budapest (1954). He worked in the Central Chemical Research Institute of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences until the failed uprising, when he left Hungary in December 1956 first for London, where he was sympathetically received, and in 1957 for North America. He worked initially in Sarnia, Ontario, and subsequently in Framingham, Mass., for Dow Chemical. In 1965 he joined Western Reserve University in Cleveland, Ohio, and later became chairman of its chemistry department when it merged with that of Case Institute of Technology. In 1977 he moved to the University of Southern California in Los Angeles to head its newly established Loker Institute of Hydrocarbon Research, a center for research and graduate training. He was director of research and Donald P. and Katherine B. Loker Distinguished Professor of Chemistry. Olah's initial research concerned carbocation, the process by which hydrocarbons, consisting of carbon and hydrogen, become positively charged. However the instability of these short-lived intermediate products made them very difficult to study. He faced formidable practical difficulties in impoverished post-war Hungary and scientific scepticism. However, he was able to pursue this research after he joined Dow Chemicals. He succeeded in preparing a wide range of carbocations that were sufficiently stable for detailed analysis by using extremely strong "superacids." His findings launched a very active field of research which led to the synthesis of many new, more complex hydrocarbons. He was awarded the Nobel Prize for chemistry in 1994 for his work on carbocations. His research has greatly influenced the study of bond making and breaking in organic chemistry and the development of "superelectrophiles" with increased reactivity. His findings also have practical applications of major importance for hydrocarbon technology, which he continued to explore at the Loker Institute. These include the more efficient utilization and extraction of fossil fuels and the recycling of carbon dioxide into useful products while reducing the build-up of carbon products in the atmosphere. Other projects include the conversion of methane and methanol into fuels and the production of new materials for use in electrical engineering, optics, and biomedical devices. He was the author or co-author of many standard texts on these subjects. His many honors include election to the U.S. National Academy of Sciences (1976), the American Academy of Arts and Sciences (2002), and the American Philosophical Society (2002), and the award of the Einstein Medal of the Russian Academy of Sciences (2002) and the Priestley Medal of the American Chemical Society (2005).

[Michael Denman (2nd ed.)]

OLAM HA-BA (Heb. עוֹלָם הַבָּא). The term *olam ha-ba* (literally, "the coming world") in contrast to *olam ha-zeh* (literally "this world") refers to the hereafter, which begins with the termination of man's earthly life. This meaning of the expression is clearly implied in the statement of R. Jacob, quoted in *Avot* (4:17): "One moment of repentance and good deeds in this world is better than the entire life of the world to come." The earliest source in which the phrase occurs is Enoch 71:15, which is dated by R.H. Charles (Charles, Apocrypha, 2 (1913), 164) between 105 and 64 B.C.E. A synonym frequently used in place of "the world to come" is *atid lavo* ("What is to come" or "the future") as in Tosefta *Arakhin* 2:7. Often also "the days of the Messiah" are contrasted with the life of this world. An example is the comment by the colleagues of Ben Zoma (1:5) on the phrase "all the days of thy life" (Deut. 16:3) that it includes in addition to this world the era of the Messiah.

Strictly speaking the period referred to by the phrase *olam ha-ba* or its equivalent *atid lavo*, between which and the present order of things comes the age of the Messiah (cf. Zev. 118b; Tosef. Ar. 2:7; also Ar. 13b), is the final order of things beginning with the general resurrection and the last judgment. According to the Palestinian *amora* R. Johanan, the golden age of the future pictured by the prophets concerned only the days of the Messiah. As for the world to come, it is said of it, "Eye hath not seen" (Isa. 64:3). His older contemporary, the Babylonian *amora* Samuel, however, held the view that the only difference between the present time and the Messianic era lay in the fact that Israel's current subjection to the rule of alien empires would cease. The new order of things would, therefore, according to him, first commence after the age of the Messiah was over (cf. Sanh. 99a; Ber. 34b).

A cardinal eschatological doctrine of rabbinic Judaism connected with the world to come was that of the restoration to life of the dead. It is listed as a dogma at the beginning of the tenth chapter of Sanhedrin. "Whoever says that the revivification of the dead is not proved from the Torah," so it is remarked there, "has no portion in the world to come." The matter was, according to Josephus (Wars, 2:8, 14 and Ant. 18:1, 4), one of the chief points of difference between the Pharisees and the Sadducees, the latter asserting that the soul died together with the body. I *Maccabees, which records events down to the time of John Hyrcanus, whose reign began in the year 135 B.C.E., contains no allusion to it. The first definite historical reference to the Pharisees is that which speaks of the rift which took place between them and the aforementioned John Hyrcanus toward the end of his rule (Jos. Ant. 8:10). The Talmud (Kid. 66a) attributes the incident to his son Alexander Yannai. In the canonical Scriptures the first allusion to a return of the dead to life is made in Isaiah 26:19. However, the Sadducees contended (Sanh. 90b) that the statement "Thy dead shall live, my dead bodies shall stand up" might have referred to the dead whom Ezekiel (37:5ff.) had brought back to life in his vision, not to the general resurrection. An unequivocal reference to resurrection is contained in the last chapter of Daniel (7:2), where it is stated: "And many of those that sleep in the dust will wake, these to eternal life, and those to ignominy and eternal abhorrence." The 11th chapter of the Book of

Daniel (21ff.), however, describes events that took place during the rule of Antiochus IV of Syria.

As far as the older books of the Hebrew Scriptures are concerned, man's sojourn on earth is followed by a descent to *Sheol*, which is equivalent to the grave. The patriarch Jacob, upon hearing that his favorite son Joseph had been torn to pieces by a wild beast, moaned that he "would go down in grief to his son in Sheol" (Gen. 37:35). Isaiah (14:3–21) and Ezekiel (31:15–18; 32: 17–32) picture it as a dreary, gloomy place, a land of the shades (Isa. 26:19). In the Book of Job (17:13–16) it is portrayed as an abode of worms and decay. This was also, according to Akavyah b. Mahalalel (Avot 3:1), man's destiny after the termination of his life on earth. "The dead do not praise the Lord," said the Psalmist (115:17), "nor those that go down to the silence [of the grave]." Job entertained no hope of revivification. "But when man lieth down," he remarked gloomily, "he does not rise. Till the heavens be no more they will not awake nor be roused out of their sleep" (14:12).

The rewards and punishment promised in the Hebrew Scriptures as requital for man's actions, as for example in Deuteronomy 13ff. and Jeremiah 3:10ff. were, as *Saadiah Gaon already noted (*Book of Beliefs and Opinions*, 9:2), all of this world. It was in order to reconcile the sufferings of the righteous with divine justice that R. Jacob remarked (Kid. 39b) that "there was no reward for virtue in this world" and that R. Tarfon assured those who would occupy themselves with the study of the Torah that the (full) reward of the righteous would be meted out in the hereafter (Avot. 2:16). As for the nature of man's existence in the world to come, the Babylonian *amora* Rav, who lived at the beginning of the third century B.C.E., was of the opinion that it was quite unlike life in this world. "There is there," he said, "neither eating, nor drinking, nor any begetting of children, no bargaining or jealousy or hatred or strife. All that the righteous do is to sit with their crowns on their heads and enjoy the effulgence of the [divine] Presence" (Ber. 17a). However, no tannaitic parallel to Rav's conception of the world to come has been found; most of his contemporaries and followers believed in the restoration of the souls into the bodies of the resurrected and their rising from their graves fully clothed (Ket. 111b). Even so bold a thinker as Saadiah Gaon, who lived centuries after the redaction of the Talmud, accepted the dogma of physical resurrection. Moses Maimonides included the bodily revivification of the dead among the Thirteen Articles of the Faith in his commentary on the tenth chapter of Mishnah Sanhedrin, though in his *Guide of the Perplexed* he speaks only of the immortality of the soul, which is an incorporated state, and passes over physical resurrection in silence. The traditional Jewish book of prayers includes a praise of God as the revivifier of the dead. The Reformist prayer book omits it completely. As it is expressed in the tenth chapter of the Mishnah of Sanhedrin, all Israelites, with certain notable exceptions, had, in the view of the *tannaim*, a share in world to come. In the opinion of R. Joshua b. Hananiah the righteous among the gentiles were also to be included (Tos. 13:2). Moses Maimonides incorporated his pronouncement in his code, which states: "The pious of the nations of the world have a portion in the world to come" (Yad, Teshuvah 3:5). It is futile to attempt to systematize the Jewish notions of the hereafter. Since its conception belonged to the realm of *aggadah*, great latitude was allowed the individual imagination. It is on this account that there exists considerable ambiguity about the meaning of the phrase *olam ha-ba*. Did it refer to the final state of man or to the one intermediate between the life of this world and the disposition of his soul in either the *Garden of Eden, which is the eternal abode, after the last judgment, of the righteous, or the *gehinnom* (gehenna), the miserable dwelling place of the wicked (Ber. 28b). The question was also asked where the souls of human beings were kept between the time of their death and the resurrection, which is supposed to take place prior to the last judgment. The answer given by R. Yose ha-Gelili was that there were special store-chambers where the souls of the righteous were deposited, as it is stated (I Sam. 25:29): "The souls of the wicked, on the other hand, would, as the verse goes on to say, "be slung away in the hollow of the sling" (Shab. 152b).

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[Samuel Rosenblatt]

OLAN, LEVI ARTHUR (1903–1984), U.S. Reform rabbi and theologian. Olan was born in Russia and immigrated to Rochester, New York, in 1906. He received his B.A. from the University of Cincinnati in 1925 and was ordained by the *Hebrew Union College in 1929. He was awarded a D.D. by HUC-JIR in 1955, and a D.H.L. by Austin College in 1967 and by Southern Methodist University in 1968. He served as rabbi of Temple Emanu-El in Worcester, Massachusetts (1929–49), where he was also president of the United Jewish Charities and an organizer of the People's Forum, sponsoring such speakers as Norman Thomas and Clarence Darrow. In 1949, he was named rabbi of Temple Emanu-El in Dallas, Texas, becoming emeritus in 1970. He also lectured at Southern Methodist University's Perkins School of Theology and at Texas Christian University.

In Dallas, Olan was the host of a popular weekly radio program, which later expanded to television, on the religious issues of life. His courageous attacks on racial segregation earned him the sobriquet "the conscience of Dallas." He was appointed chairman of the city's Housing Authority, a director of the Human Relations Commission, and a regent of the University of Texas.

In the *Central Conference of American Rabbis, Olan was instrumental in establishing a Special Interest Group in Jewish Theology, which he chaired from 1961 to 1965. He also served on the executive board (1946–48, 1969–71) and was elected vice president (1965–67) and then president of the CCAR (1967–68). Additionally, he was vice president of the World Union for Progressive Judaism (1967–68).

As a theologian, Olan described himself as a religious liberal, a rationalist who stressed the role of reason and experience in the search for truth. A philosopher who sought to narrow the gap between conflicting religious and secular points of view, his thinking influenced colleagues, as reflected in the book *A Rational Faith, Essays in Honor of Levi A. Olan* (1984). Olan himself wrote *Judaism and Immortality* (1942, 1971), *Prophetic Faith and the Secular Age* (1982), and *Maturity in an Immature World* (1984; an anthology of his broadcasts).

[Bezalel Gordon (2nd ed.)]

OLBRACHT, IVAN (pseudonym of **Kamil Zeman**; 1882–1952), Czech author and publicist. Olbracht was born in Semily, Bohemia. His mother was Jewish; his father, a non-Jewish writer. Olbracht's early works, *O zlých samotářích* ("Of Evil Lonely Men," 1913), *Žalář nejtemnější* ("Darkest Prison," 1918), and *Podivné přátelství herce Jesenia* ("The Strange Friendship of the Actor Jesenius," 1919), were psychological masterpieces. He became a Communist after a visit to the U.S.S.R. which inspired his *Obrazy ze současného Ruska* ("Pictures from Contemporary Russia," 1920). Later he concentrated on social themes, without, however, embracing "socialist realism."

His *Anna proletářka* ("Anne the Proletarian," 1928) is both a psychological and a social novel, while *Nikola Šuhaj loupežník* ("The Bandit Nikola Šuhaj," 1933) remains, despite its social-revolutionary tendency, a delightful ballad about a "Robin Hood" hero from sub-Carpathian Ruthenia. This poor, eastern region of pre-war Czechoslovakia also provides the setting for three more works by Olbracht: *Země beze jména* ("Land Without a Name, 1932), *Hory a staletí* ("Mountains and Centuries," 1935), and *Golet v údolí* ("*Galut* in the Valley," 1937), the last serving as a literary memorial to ḥasidic life in the sub-Carpathian region. One of his children's books, *Biblické příběhy* ("Bible Tales," 1939), is a modern treatment of Old Testament stories. Olbracht also translated Marx and Engels' *Communist Manifesto* into Czech. He was for some years a member of the Czechoslovak parliament.

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[Avigdor Dagan]

OLDENBURG, city and former state in Lower Saxony, Germany. Jews lived in the city of Oldenburg in the early 14th century. In 1334 the municipal council decided to cease issuing letters of protection (*Schutzbriefe*) to Jews; however, they continued to reside there under the protection of the duke of Oldenburg, who agreed that they be allowed to deal only in money lending. The community ceased during the *Black Death persecutions (1348). Jews must have returned soon after, for a privilege of 1365 granted them the same rate of interest as had been accorded the Jews of Bremen. Between 1667 and 1773 Oldenburg belonged to Denmark. In this period the dukes made use of the services of Sephardi *Court Jews and financiers from Hamburg, such as Jacob Mussaphia and his sons. A few Jews from Oldenburg attended the Leipzig fairs. Three Jewish families lived in Vechta, in the duchy of Oldenburg, in the middle of the 18th century. Their number increased during French occupation after 1810. A law of August 25, 1827, organized communal affairs, made German names and language compulsory, regulated the conditions of their inferior civil status, and ordered a *Landrabbiner* to be appointed for Oldenburg. The first to hold this office was Nathan Marcus *Adler, who took office in 1829 and moved to Hanover in 1831. Samson Raphael *Hirsch succeeded him until 1841 and there he wrote his *Choreb*. His successor was Bernhard Wechsler (d. 1874), who consecrated the new synagogue in the city in 1835. In 1859 Jewish affairs were reorganized by a new comprehensive law. The Jews of the duchy numbered 1,359 in 1900; by 1925 their number had declined to 1,015 (of which 250 lived in the city of Oldenburg). In 1933 there were 279 Jews. Sizable communities existed in the towns of Delmenhorst, Jever, Varel, Vechta, and Wildeshausen; and in the region of Birkenfeld, Bosen, Hoppstaedten, Oberstein, Idar, and Soetern. The synagogue of Oldenburg was destroyed on November 9/10, 1938, and the last *Landrabbiner*, Leo Trepp, was deported to *Sachsenhausen. The community was annihilated during the war. In 1959, 35 Jews were again living in Oldenburg, and in 1967 a memorial was erected on the site of the synagogue. In 1992 the Jewish community was refounded. From the beginning it was egalitarian, counting women and men for the *minyan*. In 1997 there were 150 Jewish residents. From 1995 to 2004 Bea Wyler – a graduate of the Jewish Theological Seminary in New York – officiated as a rabbi in Oldenburg (and Brunswick and Delmenhorst until 2000 as well). Born in Switzerland, she was the first woman rabbi in Germany after the Shoah. In 1995 a new synagogue was consecrated in the presence of Rabbi Leo Trepp. In 2002 a new community building and in 2002 a *mikveh* were inaugurated. In 2005 the community numbered 330. More than 90% of the members are immigrants from the former Soviet Union.

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[*Encyclopaedia Judaica* (Germany) and Zvi Avneri / Larissa Daemmig (2nd ed.)]

OLEANDER (Heb. הַרְדּוּף mishnaic (*harduf*) or הִרְדּוּפְנִי (*hirdufeni*)), the evergreen shrub with rose-colored flowers that grows wild in Israel on the banks of rivers. Cultivated varieties having flowers of various colors are also grown. Its leaves are arranged at the nodes of the stalk in groups of three. In this respect it resembles the three-leaved *myrtle. The Talmud (Suk. 32b) raises the possibility that by *eẓ avot* ("plaited tree"), one of the four species taken on the Feast of Tabernacles (Lev. 23:40), the oleander may be intended, but the suggestion is rejected on the grounds that the Bible would not have required a plant containing a dangerous poison to be taken (see Rashi, Suk. 32b). A fowl that has eaten oleander "is forbidden because of danger to life" (Ḥul. 3:5). It is, in fact, very poisonous and its ground leaves are sometimes used as mouse poison. One *tanna* held that it was because of its bitterness that this tree was used by Moses to sweeten the bitter waters (Ex. 15:25) "for God heals with that with which he wounds" (Ex. R. 50:3). The Talmud (Pes. 39a) mentions a bitter plant called *hardufenin* which is not poisonous and was eaten as a salad. The reference is apparently to the *Scorzonera*, to which the name *hardufenin* is given in modern Hebrew.

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[Jehuda Feliks]

OLEI HA-GARDOM ("Those Who Went to the Gallows"). A collective name for the 12 members of the organizations who fought actively against the British Mandatory Government in the struggle for the emergence of the State and were sentenced to death and executed (with the exception of two who cheated the gallows by taking their own lives). All belonged either to the Irgun Ẓeva'i *Le'ummi (Eẓel) or the Loḥamei Ḥerut Israel (Leḥi), with the exception of Shlomo ben *Yosef, who was hanged before the founding of these two militant organizations. Most of them turned their trials into a defiant "J'accuse" against the alleged illegality and brutality of the British Mandatory Government, and all marched proudly to their deaths with heads erect and singing patriotic songs.

In 1974 the municipality of Jerusalem named a street in the new suburb of East Talpiyyot after the Olei ha-Gardom collectively, and others after each individual member. Symbolically enough, the suburb is adjacent to the building which at the time was the official seat of the British High Commissioner (and is now the seat of the UN organization in Israel).

After their return from Kenya in 1947, where they were exiled by the British, members of Eẓel and Leḥi founded a synagogue, Aḥdut Israel in Jerusalem, in the name of the Olei Ha-Gardom, of which Rabbi L.I. *Rabinowitz was appointed rabbi in 1972.

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OLESKO, town in Tarnopol district, Ukraine (E. Galicia). Twelve buildings in Olesko were owned by Jews in 1628. The provincial council of *Bratslav (see *Councils of Lands) convened here in the 18th century. In 1765, 771 Jewish taxpayers were registered in Olesko and its "boroughs." The Jewish population numbered 832 (20% of the total) in 1910, and 636 in 1920 (10.7% of the total population). Noted rabbis who lived in Olesko include Ze'ev (Wolf) b. Samuel, author of *Ḥiddushei ha-Razah* (Zolkiew, 1771). *Ḥasidism had a following in Olesko which was the residence of *ẓaddikim*; one of them opposed the establishment of a modern Jewish school there by the *Israelitische Allianz of Vienna; it was eventually opened in 1910 after a fierce struggle.

[Nathan Michael Gelber]

In 1931 some 600 Jews lived in Olesko. Soon after the outbreak of World War II and until June–July 1941 the whole of the district of Tarnopol, in which Olesko was situated, was under Soviet administration. After the Nazi occupation the town belonged to the "District Galizien" created in August 1941 by the German authorities and incorporated into the General Government. The majority of the 472 Jews remaining in Olesko were deported to the *Belzec concentration camp on Aug. 28, 1942. A Jewish labor camp, where "selected" men were employed by the Nazis, was situated in the town or in its vicinity; it was liquidated in June 1943.

[Danuta Dombrowska]

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OLESNICA (Ger. **Oels**), town in Silesia, Poland. The first mention of a synagogue dates from 1417. Five members of the local community were accused of desecration of the *Host in *Breslau in 1453. The Jews were expelled in 1492, but by 1521 seven families were again resident. Hebrew printing in Olesnica is mainly connected with the well-known 16th-century Jewish printer Ḥayyim *Schwarz, who, in 1530, produced the first Hebrew book printed by a Jew in Germany, a handsome Pentateuch (with the Five Scrolls and *haftarot*), of which only two copies have been preserved. In 1535 a violent storm destroyed the press, bringing financial ruin to Schwarz's successors – Samuel Ester and Eliakim Herliz – and to the many members of the community who were employed by them. In the same year the community also tried in vain to intercede on behalf of their persecuted brethren in Jaegerndorf. With the destruction of the press, the community gradually dispersed and the synagogue was converted to a church (consecrated in 1695). In 1758 24 Jews were again living in the town. A synagogue served 121 persons when it was consecrated in 1840 and 330 in 1880. By 1933 144 remained, but by 1939 the number had fallen as a result of Nazi persecution.

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°OLEŚNICKI, ZBIGNIEW (1389–1455), bishop of Cracow. During the reign of Ladislau II Jagello of Poland, Oleśnicki was the power behind the throne of Wladislaw Warnenczyk and the spiritual agitator of contemporary hatred of the Jews. He was also the patron of Jan *Dlugosz, the anti-Jewish Polish chronicler. Oleśnicki invited John of *Capistrano to Poland in 1453, and his arrival coincided with the Jews' endeavor to have their general privileges agreed upon by the king. In the resulting riots of Cracow many Jews fled and a few converted to Christianity. Oleśnicki personally took care of some of the converts. He charged Casimir IV Jagello with favoring the Jews, stating that their privileges included articles which were against Christian religious principles. In a letter addressed to the Sejm at Leczyca he called these privileges "disgusting and abject." He demanded the introduction of the Jewish *badge in Poland. After the Polish armies had been defeated by the Teutonic Order at Chojnice, Oleśnicki increased his pressure on the king. At the congress of Great Poland's nobility at Cerekwica in 1454, the king agreed to issue anti-Jewish laws. The knights, facing a new military expedition, forced the king to keep his promise, and in the same year Casimir IV Jagello issued the Nieszawa statutes which canceled the general privileges accorded to the Polish Jews and reinstated the Warta statute of 1423 making moneylending by Jews to Christians more difficult.

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[Jacob Goldberg]

OLEVSKI, BUZI (1908–1941), Soviet Yiddish writer. Born in Volhynia, Olevski graduated in 1930 from the Yiddish department at the Second Moscow State University, where he later defended his doctoral thesis on David Hofstein's oeuvre. In 1926 he debuted as a poet in the Minsk-based journal *Shtern*, eliciting the favorable reaction of critics. He published stories and poems in various Soviet periodicals and anthologies. In the early 1930s he moved to Birobidzhan. His stories depict people in the Civil War and in the air force, the destruction of the Jewish *shtetl*, and the heroism of the Red Army. He also wrote children's literature. Among his books are *In Vuks* ("Growing," 1930), *Shakhte* ("Mines," 1933), *Alts Hekher un Hekher* ("Higher and Higher," 1933), *Birobidzhaner Lider* ("Birobidzhan Poems," 1938), and *Onheyb Lebn* ("In the Beginning of Life," 1939). He was killed in action on the Soviet-German front.

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[Israel Ch. Biletzky / Gennady Estraikh (2nd ed.)]

OLGIN, MOSHE J. (adopted name of **Moses Joseph Novomisky**; 1878–1939), writer, editor, and translator. Born near Kiev, Olgin studied there. He joined a student revolutionary group which developed in the Kiev branch of the Jewish Labor Bund. After leaving Kiev University in 1904, he lived in Vilna where he joined the editorial board of the Bundist *Arbeter Shtime* and the legal publication *Der Veker*. At the end of 1906, Olgin left Russia and settled in Germany, where he studied at the University of Heidelberg. He returned to Russia in 1909 and became active as a teacher and lecturer. In 1913 Olgin moved to Vienna and became the coeditor of the Bundist weekly *Di Tsayt* which was published in St. Petersburg. In 1914 he went to New York, and became a staff member of the *Jewish Daily Forward*. After the split in the Jewish Socialist Federation in 1921, he joined the Workers' Party. He was one of the founders of the Communist Yiddish Daily *Freiheit* (later *Morning Freiheit*) and remained its editor until his death. He was also the editor of the monthly *Der Hamer* (1926) and from 1932, New York correspondent of the Moscow *Pravda*. A prolific writer, he followed the Communist party line and justified Arab riots and pogroms in Palestine. Olgin wrote about political affairs, literature, and the theater.

His books include: *Mayn Shtetl in der Ukrain* (1921); *Fun Mayn Togbukh* (1926); and a posthumous collection of essays *Kultur un Folk* (1949). His books in English include: *The Soul of the Russian Revolution* (1917); *A Guide to Russian Literature* (1920); and *Gorki, Writer and Revolutionist* (1933). Olgin translated Lenin into Yiddish as well as Jack London's *The Call of the Wild* (1919) and John Reid's *Ten Days that Shook the World* (1920).

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[Elias Schulman]

OLGOPOL, townlet in Vinnitsa district, Ukraine. Before the 1917 Revolution, Olgopol was a county capital in the province of Podolia. Jews are mentioned in 1799, and by 1847 the Jewish population was 247; by 1897 the number had increased to 2,473 (30% of the total population). Olgopol suffered heavily in 1919 at the hands of the Ukrainian bands which were active in the surroundings. Jews were also attacked by the armies of *Denikin. In 1926 the Jewish population numbered 1,660 (76.4% of the total), and it dropped to 660 in 1939. In the Soviet period there was a kolkhoz most of whose members were Jews. Yiddish was the official language (beside Ukrainian) in the local council in the 1920s. Olgopol was taken by the Germans on July 26, 1941, and later attached to Romanian Transnistria. A ghetto was set up with a few dozen local families who remained, plus hundreds of people expelled from Bessarabia and Bukovina. The fate of the local Jews is unknown, but on the day of liberation (March 22, 1944) there were still 164 Jews from Bessarabia and 27 from Bukovina there. There was no information on the presence of Jews in Olgopol in 1971.

[Yehuda Slutsky / Shmuel Spector (2nd ed.)]

°**OLIPHANT, LAURENCE** (1829–1888), English writer and traveler, Christian mystic, and active supporter of the return of the Jewish people to Ereẓ Israel. Born of a Scotch family in the Cape of Good Hope, Oliphant traveled in many countries and wrote impressive travel books. From 1865 to 1867 he was a member of parliament. During the Russo-Turkish War (1878) he began to take an interest in the Holy Land and Jewish settlement there, in a blending of political, economical, and religious-mystic considerations. He supported Turkey and thought that the best way to revive it was by improving the condition of its Asian regions, first and foremost Palestine. He decided to submit to the sultan a plan for large-scale Jewish settlement in Palestine, supported by resources from abroad. With letters of recommendation from Lord Beaconsfield and Lord Salisbury, who approved his plan and a letter from the French minister of foreign affairs, William Henry Waddington, he went to Palestine in 1879. He investigated the country and arrived at the conclusion that the best place to start Jewish settlement was the Gilead region in Transjordan. Consequently, he negotiated with the authorities in Constantinople concerning tenancy rights and a concession for settlement. The Turkish cabinet approved the proposal, but the sultan Abdul Ḥamid rejected it for fear that it was a British intrigue. The pogroms of 1881 in Russia moved Oliphant to new undertakings. He established a group of influential Christians in London for the purpose of bringing them closer to his idea. In the same year he provided assistance to Russian Jewish refugees in Galicia by means of the mayor of London's Mansion House Relief fund. In opposition to the representatives of the Alliance Israélite Universelle who directed the emigration to the United States, he advised the Jews to go to Palestine and tried to persuade Alliance spokesmen to do the same. He also decided to renew his negotiations in Constantinople. The Turkish foreign minister, Said Pasha, regarded his plan as practical and wanted to connect it with the project of constructing a railroad in Palestine. But the negotiation could go no further, especially when the Turkish-British relations deteriorated because of Egypt, and Oliphant's efforts came to nothing. He settled in Haifa and engaged in religious and mystic contemplation. Yet he always remained attached to the Zionist idea and provided advice and assistance to the first Jewish settlers in Ereẓ Israel. His Hebrew secretary in Haifa was the poet, N.H. *Imber. Oliphant was the most important Christian figure of his time supporting the idea of the Jewish Return to Zion. The *Bilu'im and Ḥovevei Zion had great hopes for his negotiations in Constantinople, and his firm position on their behalf was encouraging, even though his political undertakings failed. His writings included the programmatic book *Land of Gilead* (1880; Heb. trans. by Nahum *Sokolow as *Ereẓ Ḥemdah*, 1886) and *Haifa, or Life in Modern Palestine* (1887). Oliphant was one of the most famous of British gentile proto-Zionists.

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[Alexander Bein / Nathan Michael Gelber]

OLITSKI, JULES (1922–), U.S. painter, sculptor, and printmaker. Born Jules Demikovsky in Russia, Olitski immigrated to the United States in 1923 and grew up in New York. He studied painting and drawing at the National Academy of Design (1940–42) and sculpture at the Beaux-Arts Institute of Design (1940–42) in New York. He served in the Army during World War II (1942–45), before which he became an American citizen and adopted his stepfather's surname. In 1947 Olitski studied sculpture at the Educational Alliance with Chaim *Gross. Under the GI Bill, Olitski received additional art instruction at the Académie de la Grande Chaumiére (1949–50) and with the sculptor Ossip Zadkine (1949) in Paris. In an effort to transcend his academic training, Olitski made a series of vigorously rendered paintings while blindfolded. He had his first solo exhibition in Paris (1951), where he showed partially abstract, brightly colored paintings. Upon his permanent return to the United States he received a B.S. (1952) and an M.A. (1954) in art education from New York University. Responding to his vibrantly hued Parisian works, during this transition period Olitski made monochrome abstractions and experimented with heavily impastoed imagery in the late 1950s.

Throughout Olitski's career he explored varied modes of color field painting. Adopting a technique made popular by Helen *Frankenthaler and Morris *Louis, in 1960 Olitski started to stain large canvases with hard-edge, oblong shapes; *Born in Snovsk* (1963, Art Institute of Chicago) is one of several paintings in the Core series. In 1964 Olitski applied paint to canvases with spray cans and later with a spray gun. Color mists hover and subtle hues of pink dissolve into each other in *Ishtar Melted* (1965, Princeton University Art Museum). During the 1970s, Olitski reacted against the spray technique and composed abstractions with tactile, dense, often dull-colored paint. Iridescent paintings followed, in which he applied gobs of paint with mittened hands. *Temptation Temple* (1992, collection unknown) exemplifies this period with the energetic texture and sense of relief created by the thick metallic brown color interwoven with highlights of green, purple, and blue.

Olitski began making prints in 1954. His forays into printmaking yielded a wide range of imagery from representational self-portraits to abstractions. Colored silkscreens from the early 1970s are pure abstractions of color akin to his paintings of the period. In 1968 Olitski designed his first sculptures – aluminum abstractions colored with a spray gun. His sculptures are typically produced in series, such as the Ring series (1970–73), a group of works comprised of concentric circles made of thin sheet steel. Olitski's art has been publicly exhibited on numerous occasions. Notably, Olitski represented the United States at the 1966 Venice Bienniale; he was the first living American artist to have a one-person show at the Metropolitan Museum of Art (1969); and in 1973 he enjoyed a retrospective at the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston.

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[Samantha Baskind (2nd ed.)]

OLITZKI, ARYEH LEO (1898–1983), Israeli bacteriologist. Born in Allenstein (E. Prussia), he was an assistant in the Institute of Hygiene of the University of Breslau before moving to Palestine in 1924. He continued his serological research at Hadassah Hospital, Jerusalem, and for some years headed the bacteriology laboratories at the Hadassah hospitals in Jerusalem and Safed. He taught at the Hebrew University from 1928, becoming professor in 1949 and dean of the Medical School from 1961 to 1965. In the course of investigating problems of serology and immunology, especially in relation to infectious diseases peculiar to Israel, he discovered a method of inoculating humans against Brucellosa infection from sheep and cattle. His major breakthrough was the laboratory cultivation (with Zipporah Gershon) of the Lepra bacillus, thus paving the way toward early diagnosis of the disease and the possibility of more effective treatment. Olitzki published many scientific papers and co-authored (with N. Grossowicz) a Hebrew textbook on microbiology and immunology (*Yesodot Torat ha-Ḥaidakkim ve-ha-Ḥasinut*, 2 vols., 1964–68). He was awarded the Israel Prize in Medicine in 1967.

[Lucien Harris]

OLITZKY, family of three brothers, all Yiddish authors. LEIB (1897–1975) was poet, short-story writer, and translator. He taught in Yiddish schools in his native Trisk and in Warsaw until 1939. Fleeing eastward from the German invaders, he spent the war years in Soviet Russia, but returned to Poland in 1946. In 1959 he settled in Israel. His first stories and his first novel, *In an Okupirt Shtetl* ("In an Occupied Town," 1924) dealt with Jewish life under the German occupation of World War I and during the early years of the Polish Republic. There followed juvenilia, books of parables, short stories, and poems. During his years in Russia and in Communist Poland, he translated Pushkin and Krylov, published 10 volumes of prose and poetry, and edited the lyrics of his brother Baruch Olitzky, who had perished under the Nazis. Seven collections of Leib's lyrics were published in Israel (1960–76), as well as a volume of his and his brother Mattes' poems, *Lider tsu a Bruder* ("Songs to a Brother," 1964), a volume of tributes to Baruch Olitzky, some of whose lyrics were also included. Some of Leib's poems and fables have been translated into Polish, Hebrew, and English. BARUCH (1907–1941), was also a poet. Born in Poland, he became a teacher in the Yiddish schools of Volhynia. He made his literary debut in *Literarishe Bleter* in 1925 and subsequently published poems in various newspapers in Poland and Soviet Russia. He was strongly influenced by the poetry of the **Khalyastre*. He perished during the Holocaust in Poland. His brothers Leib and Mattes edited a posthumous volume of his poetry, *Mayn Blut iz Oysgemisht* ("My Blood is Mixed," 1951). MATTES (1915–) published his first book of poems, *In Fremdn Land* ("In Alien Land," 1948), while still in a postwar refugee camp in Germany. His second book, *Freylekhe Teg* ("Happy Days," 1962), the outcome of his experiences as a teacher of Jewish children in New York, consisted mainly of songs which aimed at bringing life and immediacy to Bible stories, and the joys of the Sabbath and Holy Days which he was teaching his pupils, but also included poems recalling Jewish children whom the Nazis summoned from classrooms to death-marches. His other books are *Lider far Yugnt* ("Songs for the Youth," 1974), *Lider fun Frier un Itst* ("Songs From Then and Now," 1980), which include additional poems by his brother Baruch, and *Lid un Esey* ("Song and Essay," 1988). He joined his brother Leib Olitzky in *Lider tsu a Bruder*. His *Geklibene Lider* ("Selected Poems," 1967) covered a wide range of scenes and experiences, from a golden childhood in Poland, through tragic war years, to a calm existence in New York.

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[Sol Liptzin / Tamar Lewinsky (2nd ed.)]

OLITZKY, KERRY M. (1954–), U.S. Reform rabbi, educator, administrator, and author. Olitzky was born in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, and earned his B.A. (1974) and M.A. (1975) from the University of South Florida. He received his M.H.L. from Hebrew Union College in 1980, where he was ordained in 1981 and earned a D.H.L. in 1985. He served as assistant rabbi and director of religious education at Congregation Beth Israel in West Hartford, Connecticut (1981–84), before returning to Cincinnati, Ohio, to become director of the school of education at HUC-JIR (1984–96). In 1991, his title was expanded to National Director for Research and Educational Development, and responsibility for development efforts related to institutional grants was added to his administration of degree programs, as well as of all HUC-JIR programs related to alumni and continuing education. In 1996, he was named National Dean of Adult Jewish Learning and Living, in charge of adult educational programs on all four campuses of HUC-JIR, including the Kollel in New York, the Beit Midrash in Jerusalem, and the Academy for Interfaith Studies in Cincinnati. He also supervised national and regional programs co-sponsored with other branches of the Reform movement and served on the Executive Committee of the CCAR-UAHC-NATE Joint Commission on Jewish Education. In 1998, Olitzky left HUC-JIR to become vice president of the *Wexner Heritage Foundation, with particular responsibility for alumni programs and institutes and for editing the foundation's publications.

In 1999, Olitzky was appointed executive director of the Jewish Outreach Institute in New York City, an independent national organization dedicated to bringing Judaism to interfaith families and the unaffiliated. In addition, he has continued his pioneering work in the area of Jewish twelve-step spirituality, serving as rabbinic adviser to the Jewish Alcoholics, Chemically Dependent Persons, and Significant Others Council (JACS) and as a member of the editorial board of the *Journal of Ministry in Addiction and Recovery.* Olitzky was also the founding editor of the *Journal of Aging and Judaism* and a member of the American Society of Aging Forum on Religion and Aging.

Olitzky was a contributing editor for *Shma: A Journal of Jewish Responsibility* and a consultant to Capstone Press. His books include *An Interfaith Ministry to the Aged: A Survey of Models* (1989); *Recovery from Codependence: A Jewish Twelve Steps Guide to Healing Your Soul* (1993); *The American Synagogue: A Historical Dictionary* (1996); *Grief in Our Seasons: A Mourner's Companion for Kaddish* (1998); *From Your Father's House … Reflections for Modern Jewish Men* (1999); *American Synagogue Ritual* (2000); and *Jewish Paths Toward Healing and Wholeness: A Personal Guide to Dealing with Suffering* (2000). After collaborating with Leonard Kravitz on a critically acclaimed annotated translation with commentary of *Pirke Avot* (1993), Olitzky teamed up with Kravitz to embark on a series of similarly new translations of books of the Bible: *The Book of Proverbs*, *Kohelet*, *Song of Songs, Ruth, Jonah* and *Lamentations* (2000–06).

[Bezalel Gordon (2nd ed.)]

OLIVE (Heb. זַיִת), the *Olea europaea* tree and its fruit. The wild olive grows in the groves of Upper Galilee and Carmel. It is a prickly shrub producing small fruits. There are many varieties of cultivated olives, some being suitable for oil, and some for food as preserved olives. Its foliage is dense and when it becomes old, the fairly tall trunk acquires a unique pattern of twists and protuberances on its bark. There are trees in Israel estimated to be 1,000 years old that still produce fruit. In old age the tree becomes hollow but the trunk continues to grow thicker, at times achieving a circumference of 20 ft. (6 m.). The olive tree blossoms at the beginning of summer and its fruit ripens about the time of the early rains in October. The fruit, which is rich in oil, is first green, but later becomes black. Olive trees have always been the most extensively distributed and the most conspicuous in the landscape of Israel. The olive is numbered among the seven species with which Ereẓ Israel is blessed (Deut. 8:8). The Rab-Shakeh, who besieged Jerusalem, also made use of a similar description for Ereẓ Israel when promising the inhabitants of Jerusalem that he would exile them to a country of like fertility (II Kings 18:32). The bounty of Israel is frequently described by "corn, wine, and oil" (Deut. 7:13, et al.); grain, vines, and olives, which formed the basis of Israel's economy. The olive flourishes throughout the country. Its cultivation dates from early times. When the Israelites conquered the land they found extensive olive plantations (Deut. 6:11). Western Galilee, the territory of Asher, was especially rich in olives (33:24), as it is today. They flourish in mountainous areas, even among the rocks, thus producing "oil out of the flinty rock" (32:13). "The Mount of Olives" (Zech. 14:4) near Jerusalem is Har ha-Mishḥah, "the mount of Oil" of the Mishnah (Par. 3:6). The olive also develops well in the *Shephelah Lowland, where it grows near *sycamores, and David appointed a special overseer over these plantations (I Chron. 27:28).

The olive was the first to be chosen by the trees when they went "to anoint a king over themselves" in Jotham's parable (Judg. 9:8–9). The tree is full of beauty, especially when laden with fruit: "a leafy olive-tree, fair with goodly fruit" (Jer. 11:16). It is an evergreen, and the righteous who take refuge in the protection of God are compared to it (Ps. 52:10). The "olive plants" of Psalm 128:3 are the shoots that sprout from its roots and protect the trunk and, if it is cut down, they ensure its continued existence. This is the simile referred to in the words "thy children like olive saplings round about thy table." The wood is very hard and beautifully grained, making it suitable for the manufacture of small articles and ornaments, the hollow trunk of the adult tree, however, rendering it unsuitable for pieces of furniture. The olive cannot therefore be the *eẓ shemen* from which the doors of the Temple were made (I Kings 6:31).

In spring the olive tree is covered with thousands of small whitish flowers, most of which fall off before the fruit forms (cf. Job 15:33). After the fruit is formed the tree may be attacked by the olive fly, causing the fruit to rot and fall off (Deut. 28:40). The fruits are arranged upon the thin branches in parallel rows like ears of corn (Zech. 4:12). Two such olive branches at the side of the candelabrum symbolize the State of Israel, because "an olive leaf" symbolizes peace (cf. Gen. 8:11). After ripening, the fruit is harvested in two different ways, by beating the branches with sticks or by hand picking. The former way is quicker but many branches fall off and this diminishes successive harvests. This method was used in biblical times, the Bible commanding that the fruit on the fallen branches are to be a gift to the poor (Deut. 24:20). The second method was the more usual in mishnaic times and was termed *masik* ("harvesting olives"), the fingers being drawn down the branches in a milking motion so that the olives fall into the hand. By this method the "harvested" olives remained whole, whereas the "beaten" olives were bruised by the beating (Ḥal. 3:9). The best species for preserving are called *kelofsin* (Tosef., Ter. 4:3) or *keloska* olives (Av. Zar. 2:7). Though there were olives of different varieties and different sizes, the olive was designated as a standard size for many *halakhot*, and the expression "land of olive trees" was interpreted as "a land whose main standard of measurement is the olive" (Ber. 41b). Rabbinic literature contains innumerable details about the oil, its types and methods of extraction; the Midrash (Ex.

R. 36:1) summing it up as follows: "The olive is left to fully ripen while it is yet on the tree after which it is brought down from the tree and beaten,… it is then brought up to the vat and placed in a grinding mill, where it is ground and then tied up with ropes [through which the oil is filtered], and then stones are brought [which press upon the olives] and then at last it yields its oil."

[Jehuda Feliks]

In Israel

Limited Jewish attempts to grow olives date back to the small Jewish settlements established during the First Aliyah. The planting of olive groves on a wider scope began at the Ben Shemen farm in 1905–06, and from then on grew steadily. From the establishment of the State of Israel (1948) there was a decline in the area covered by olives: in 1948–49 there were 137,000 dunams (34,000 acres); in 1959–60, 123,000 dunams; and in 1968–69, 107,000 dunams, of which 82,000 were on non-Jewish farms, especially in Arab villages in the Galilee. The amount of olive produce fluctuated substantially in those years, despite the fact that the area of land under cultivation remained fairly steady. In the most productive year, produce reached a peak of 24,500 tons (1966–67), and in the low years it reached the level of 3,800 tons (1949–50) and 2,800 tons (1954–55). In the peak year of 1966–67, 18,950 tons of olives went for food processing and another 5,550 tons yielded 3,000 tons of olive oil. In the same year the value of the olives produced and processed came to IL 17,998,000. A survey carried out by the Ministry of Agriculture after the Six-Day War (1967–68) revealed 477,600 dunams of land under olive cultivation in Judea and Samaria and 3,000 dunams in the Gaza Strip. Within the borders set by the 1949 Armistice Agreements, the Galilee and the area around Lydda were the main centers of olive cultivation. After the Six-Day War, however, the mountains of Samaria and northern Judea took the lead in olive production within the cease-fire lines.

Since that time a large-scale olive oil industry has been developed in Israel, such that between 1995 and 2002 the consumption rose from 6,000 tons to 14,000 tons of olive oil per year. The increase in olive oil consumption was due to the public's recognition of its medical virtues. This trend led the Ministry of Agriculture to encourage farmers to raise olives for oil instead for eating, and to increase their yields by using advanced irrigation techniques. The majority of olive plantations held by Arab farmers are designated for olive oil, and include 180,000 dunams producing 5,000–6,000 tons of oil a year. Most of these plantations are not irrigated due to water recycling problems in the Arab sector. The main species in these plantations is the Syrian, which yields large quantities of oil and is raised in the Galilee. Jewish farmers hold another 22,000 irrigated dunams designated mainly for eating, yielding 15,000 tons of olives per year and located in central and southern Israel. They raise the Manzileno for eating and the Barnea for oil. Two institutions are responsible for regulating the olive sector in Israel: the Fruit Council is responsible for olives for eating, while the Olive Board is responsible for the development of the farming, production, and marketing of olive oil and the branding of the various oils.

[Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.).]

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OLIVERO, BETTY (1954–), Israeli composer born in Tel Aviv. Her parents, who were born in Greece, emigrated to Palestine in 1932. Her Sephardi-Mediterranean cultural background was the most powerful element in the crystallization of her personality as composer. At the same time, her musical training was completely Western. She graduated from the Rubin Academy of Music in Tel Aviv in 1979, having studied composition with Yitzhak *Sadai and Leon *Schidlowsky. In 1982 she completed graduate studies at Yale University with Jacob Druckman and Gilbert Amy. In 1986 she won the Leonard Bernstein Fellowship at Tanglewood, where she commenced three years of studies with Luciano Berio, which led to a prolonged stay in Italy. In October 2002 she was appointed to the position of professor of composition at Bar-Ilan University, Israel. She won the Koussevitzky Award (2000), the Prime Minister's Prize (2001), the Rosenblum Award (2003), and the Landau Award for the Performing Arts (2004).

Betty Olivero developed a unique personality as a distinctly local Israeli composer who is at the same time deeply identified with contemporary trends in Western music. While highly individual, her communicative and intensive expression represents the most convincing realization of the ideological trend in early Jewish music in Palestine and early Israel, defined as the collective ideology (Hirshberg, 1995, 241–272). Olivero commented that her "thought of the form and the development or way of making decisions, is in completely Western terminology and the precise notation. At the same time the harmony, the melody, the colors, the timbre – are derived from oriental music that I was surrounded by" (Fleisher, 1997, 275). Nearly all of her many vocal compositions use texts from Jewish prayers and folk songs in Hebrew, Ladino, and Arabic. She collaborated for many years with the singer Esti Kenan-Ofri, who specialized in performing Sephardi and Arabic vocal rendition, as well as with clarinetist Giora *Feidman, who has been the most salient performer of ḥasidic music. Olivero's music stresses that which is common to the Jewish heritage rather than that which is specific to different Jewish ethnic groups. For example, in her *Mizraḥ* (East), Feidman smoothly moves from quotes of ḥasidic music to a Sephardi folk song. Her vocal works range from nearly direct quotes of Hebrew, Yemenite, and Beduin folk songs as in *maqamat* to the stylized, powerful expression of intense pain in her *Hosha'anot*.

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[Jehoash Hirshberg (2nd ed.)]

OLIVER Y FULLANA, NICOLÁS DE (fl. c. 1670), Marrano soldier and writer. Born in Majorca, he pursued a military career, rising from sergeant major in the Spanish army in Catalonia to the rank of colonel in Flanders, where he distinguished himself in action against the French. It was probably while in the Low Countries that Oliver y Fullana became a Jew and took the name of Daniel Judah. Nevertheless, he still maintained friendly relations with the Spanish military establishment in Brussels in the 1670s. His second wife, Isabel de *Correa, was a poet in Amsterdam. Oliver y Fullana, who wrote in three languages, exchanged laudatory verses with Miguel de *Barrios. He completed a part of the *Atlas Mayor* (1641) of Jan Blaeu and was cosmographer-royal to the king of Spain.

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[Kenneth R. Scholberg]

OLIVETTI, Italian family of industrialists of Piedmont. CAMILLO OLIVETTI (1868–1943), who founded the firm, started a small industry in his native Ivrea for the production of instruments of electrical measurement, the first of its kind in Italy (subsequently the CGS of Milan). In 1909 he introduced the production of typewriters in Italy, founded the "Ing. C. Olivetti and Co." at Ivrea and invented the typewriter bearing his name. A patriarchal figure, he strove to make his firm one of the most advanced in Europe, both technically and socially, caring especially for the welfare and education of the workers. His son ADRIANO (1901–1960), like his father an outspoken anti-Fascist, was responsible for a radical transformation of the Ivrea plant leading to notable production increases. In 1933, as the general director of the firm, Adriano Olivetti started production on a world scale at Ivrea, Turin, and Pozzuoli, of metal furniture, typing and calculating machines, and telescriptors. He initiated a huge housing scheme at Ivrea and built free holiday resorts. Dedicated to advanced urbanism he initiated the "Movimento di Communità," on behalf of which he sat in the Italian parliament in 1958. In 1959 he took world-wide control over the Underwood Corporation. He wrote *L'ordine politico della Communità* (1946), *Società stato communità* (1948), and *Città dell' Uomo* (1960), which set out his aspirations for social renewal through decentralized economy based on a system of communal cooperatives, each autonomous with its own government, industries, and educational and cultural institutions.

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OLIVEYRA, SOLOMON BEN DAVID DE (d. 1708), rabbi, philologist, and poet. Oliveyra was born in Lisbon, but lived in Amsterdam where he served as teacher of the Keter Torah association and as a member of the rabbinical council, over which he presided after the death of Jacob *Sasportas (1698).

He wrote a number of works in Hebrew and Portuguese, including grammatical treatises, lexicons and translations, of which the following may be noted: *Sharshot Gavlut* (Amsterdam, 1665), consisting of a dictionary of rhymes with chapters on meter; *Ayyelet Ahavim* (*ibid.*, 1665), an account of Abraham and the sacrifice of Isaac in prose and poetry; *Darkhei No'am* (*ibid.*, 1688–89), a guide to the study of the Talmud.

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OLKUSZ (Heb. עלקוש), town in Kielce province, Poland. There was a Jewish settlement in Olkusz by the time of Casimir the Great (1333–70), who expropriated the gold and silver mines in Olkusz belonging to his Jewish banker Levko. In 1374, however, Olkusz obtained the privilege *de non tolerandis Judaeis*; Jews were barred from residing there and left for Cracow. During the reign of John Casimir (1648–69), a Jew, Marek Nekel, was granted the first concession to quarry in the hills and was allowed to trade in metals (1658). An agreement between the Jews and the municipality concluded in 1682 granted Jews domiciliary and trading rights on condition that they helped to defray the town debts; they were accordingly granted the customary privileges by John Sobieski (Dec. 3, 1682) to enable their settlement. The Olkusz community came under the jurisdiction of the Cracow *kehillah*, but in 1692, the community of Olkusz and other towns in the district seceded from Cracow, a decision endorsed by the *Council of the Four Lands. In 1764 there were 423 Jews living in Olkusz. The economic position of the town deteriorated in the 18th century after copper mines in the district had been ruined by the Swedish invasion. A *blood libel involving the Jews in Olkusz in 1787 was the last such case to occur in Poland before its partition. The principal Jew accused, a tailor, was sentenced to death, but the leaders of the community managed to obtain the intervention of King Stanislas Poniatowski and secure a reprieve. Under Austrian rule (1796–1809), the number of Jews living in Olkusz diminished, and when it was annexed to Russia the prohibition on Jewish settlement in border districts applied. However, there were 746 Jews living in Olkusz in 1856 (83.4% of the total population), 1,840 in 1897 (53.9%), 3,249 in 1909 (53%), 2,703 in 1921 (40.6%), and in 1939 about 3,000.

[Nathan Michael Gelber]

Holocaust Period

The Germans entered the town on Sept. 5, 1939, and subjected the Jews to beating and torment, plundering of property, kidnapping in the streets for hard labor, and religious persecution. The Judenrat, created in October 1939, had to take care particularly of 800 deportees who came from other localities in

Upper Silesia. Transports of men to labor camps in the Reich commenced in October 1940 with the dispatch of 140 Jews. A second transport with 130 Jews left Olkusz in January 1941; the third, composed of 300 women, left in August 1941. In the spring of 1942, shortly before the liquidation of the community, the number of transports increased. In March 1942, 150 women were shipped out, followed on April 20, 1942 by 140 men. One month later during Shavuot (May 21–23, 1942) about 1,000 Jews, including women, were sent out. The victims of these transports were mainly the poor, particularly refugees and deportees; those with means could temporarily avoid such transports. In the latter half of 1941 a ghetto was established in a suburb. It was open and probably not fenced off, but leaving the ghetto was forbidden and the entrances were watched by German and Jewish police. There were, together with the new arrivals, about 3,000 Jews interned in the ghetto. In the last few months prior to the liquidation, transports to labor camps increased, and the German police on March 6, 1942 publicly hanged three Jews for illegally leaving the ghetto and smuggling food. Local Jews were forced to build the gallows and carry out the hanging. The final liquidation took place in June 1942. A *Selektion* ("selection") was carried out to separate the most able-bodied men for labor camps from the rest of the inhabitants, among them the local rabbi; the latter were all sent to *Auschwitz. A group of some 20 Jews was left to clear up the ghetto; they were afterward deported and exterminated. The community was not reconstituted after the war.

[Danuta Dombrowska]

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OLLENDORFF, FRANZ (1900–1981), Israeli engineer. Born in Berlin, Ollendorff in 1924 joined the Siemens research department in Berlin, working under Reinhold Ruedenberg. From 1928 he taught in the engineering faculty of the Berlin Technische Hochschule. After being dismissed from his post by the Nazis in 1933, he joined the teaching staff of the Jewish public school in Berlin, moving to Jerusalem when the school and staff transferred there in 1934. Ollendorff returned to Germany in the following year to organize the transfer of Jewish children to Ereẓ Israel within the framework of the newly established Youth Aliyah. In 1937 he was finally expelled by the Gestapo and, on his return to Palestine, joined the staff of the Haifa Technion. Ollendorff was a professor there from 1939. He became research professor in the faculty of electrical engineering and worked in the field of biomedical electronics and physics. He was a member of the Israel Academy of Science and was awarded the Israel Prize for his research in magnetic fields (1954). He was elected a fellow of the American Institute of Electrical Engineers in 1963 and served as the Institute's vice president. His interest in the education of teenagers made him a keen supporter of the Technion's vocational high school. Ollendorff wrote books and papers on electronics, physics, mathematics, acoustics, medical electronics, technical education, and other specialized fields. His publications include *Die Grundlagen der Hochfrequenztechnik* (1926); *Erdstroeme* (1928); *Die Welt der Vektoren* (1950); and *Innere Elektronik* (1955).

[Carl Alpert]

OLLENDORFF, FRIEDRICH (1889–1951), German social welfare expert. Born in Breslau, Germany, Ollendorff studied law. After service in the German army in World War I, he was appointed legal adviser to one of the district municipalities of Berlin. He later turned to social welfare work and was one of the highest officials in the youth welfare and welfare administration of the Berlin municipality. He played an active role in preparing modern welfare legislation in Germany. In 1924 he left his post to become director of the "Zentralwohlfahrtsstelle der deutschen Juden" (Central Office for Social Welfare of German Jewry) and co-editor, with Max Kreuzberger, of the Collection of Welfare Legislation. Ollendorff introduced many new ideas and practices in Jewish welfare work in Germany. In 1934 he immigrated to Palestine and together with his wife, Fanny, a trained social worker, became an adviser to Henrietta *Szold, then director of the social welfare department of the Vaad Leummi (General Council of Palestine Jewry). He introduced the *Kartis ha-Kaḥol* (the blue contribution card) as a means of collecting regular contributions for social welfare. He became the first honorary secretary of the Jerusalem social welfare council, which was composed of the director of social welfare of the Palestine government and representatives of Jewish, Christian, and Muslim welfare institutions. He was also one of the initiators of the International Conference of Jewish Social Work, which held its first meeting in 1928 in Paris.

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[Giora Lotan]

OLMEDO, small town near Medina del Campo, in Old Castile, N. central Spain. The date when Jews first settled there is unknown. The town was captured by Alfonso VI a short while before 1085. In 1095 it was again inhabited and was granted a *fuero* (charter). The community grew particularly during the 13th century. No information is available on Olmedo Jewry throughout the 14th century. In 1458 King John II granted the community an exemption from payment of certain taxes and levies.

Olmedo was the scene of a severe battle fought between the brothers Henry IV and the infante Alfonso in 1467. Although there is no detailed information about the community, it presumably suffered as a result of the war. In 1474 the community taxes amounted to 500 maravedis, while in 1491, immediately before the expulsion from Spain, they increased to 108,500 maravedis, the number of the community having probably increased by refugees from the south. In 1480 the Catholic monarchs ordered an inquiry into the complaint made by the community concerning the closure of the street between the Jewish quarter and the town square. This indicates that the attempts to apply restrictions against the Jews in other Spanish towns were also enforced in Olmedo. After the expulsion of the Jews from Spain in March 1492, Luis de Alcalá and Fernań Núñez Coronel (Abraham *Seneor) were authorized to collect the outstanding debts owed by the Christian population to the Jews who had left because of the expulsion.

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[Haim Beinart]

OLMERT, EHUD (1945–), Israeli politician, mayor of Jerusalem 1993–2003, member of the Eighth to Fourteenth and Sixteenth Knessets, and prime miniter from 2006. Olmert was born in Nahalat Jabotinsky. His father, Mordechai Olmert, was a Knesset Member on behalf of the Ḥerut Movement in the Third and Fourth Knessets. Ehud Olmert went to school in Binyaminah. He served in the Golani brigade and was a military correspondent for the army weekly *Ba-Maḥaneh*. He studied psychology, philosophy, and law at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, and as a student became active in the Ḥerut Movement. At the eighth Ḥerut conference in 1966, he was part of the opposition to Menaḥem *Begin. In 1967 he left the Ḥerut Movement and joined the Merkaz ha-Ḥofshi Party founded by Shmuel *Tamir. He was first elected to the Eighth Knesset in 1973 on the Likud list, of which the Merkaz ha-Ḥofshi was one of the founders. In that Knesset he was especially active on the issue of organized crime in Israel. In 1975 he broke away from the Merkaz ha-Ḥofshi faction within the Likud together with Eliezer *Shostak, and formed Ha-Merkaz ha-Aẓma'i. The following year Ha-Merkaz ha-Aẓma'i joined the La-Am block, and in 1985 La-Am joined the Ḥerut Movement.

Simultaneously with his service in the Knesset, Olmert continued to work as a lawyer, representing *inter alia* clients against state authorities. In 1988 he was appointed minister without portfolio by Yitzhak *Shamir, and after the Labor Party left the National Unity government, he was appointed minister of health. In this capacity he appointed the Netanyahu Commission of Inquiry, to investigate the situation in the health system, and planned to present a national health insurance bill. After the Likud had lost the elections to the Thirteenth Knesset, he ran for election as mayor of *Jerusalem, defeating Jerusalem's long-time mayor Teddy *Kollek with the support of the **ḥaredi* vote. He continued to serve simultaneously as a Knesset member, but resigned from the Knesset in November 1998 after the law had been amended, making it impossible to serve both as a Knesset member and mayor. In the course of the Fourteenth Knesset Attorney General Michael Ben-Ya'ir announced that charges would be brought against Olmert regarding alleged felonies that he had committed while he had served as treasurer of the Likud before the elections to the Twelfth Knesset. His immunity was lifted in October 1996 at his own request, and in September 1997 he was exonerated by the Tel Aviv district court from all the charges against him. As mayor, Olmert supported projects for Jewish construction in various parts of East Jerusalem, in the face of mounting international criticism. He also favored expanding the boundaries of Jerusalem westwards in order to ensure the maintenance of the demographic balance in favor of the Jews in the city, despite the departure of many secular Jews, and the high birthrate among the Arabs.

Olmert did not run in the elections to the Fifteenth Knesset, but decided to run again in the elections to the Sixteenth Knesset, after resigning his post as mayor of Jerusalem. As one of the loyal supporters of Ariel *Sharon, in the government formed by him after the elections to the Sixteenth Knesset, Olmert was appointed vice prime minister and minister of industry and trade, to which was added the labor portfolio, responsibility for the Israel Broadcasting Authority, and additional functions. In this government, until the National Religious Party, the National Union, and Shinui left it, Olmert was one of the more moderate ministers, strongly supporting Sharon's Gaza Strip disengagement plan. Almost single-handedly he campaigned for the plan when it was brought to a vote in the Likud Conference, and he continued to support it after the plan was defeated there. Following the resignation of Binyamin *Netanyahu in August 2005, Olmert was appointed acting minister of finance; in November 2005 he became minister of finance.

In January 2006, after Prime Minister Sharon was disabled by a stroke, Olmert became acting prime minister. He headed the Kadimah list, the party newly formed by Sharon, in the March 2006 elections. In the elections themselves the Kadimah list won 29 seats, making it the largest party in the Knesset. Olmert was able to form a government along with the Labor Party, Shas, and the newly formed Pensioners list. Olmert vowed to fix Israel's final borders during his term of office, either through negotiations with the Palestinians or unilaterally.

[Susan Hattis Rolef (2nd ed.)]

OLMO, JACOB DANIEL BEN ABRAHAM (c. 1690–1757), Italian rabbi and poet. Born in Ancona, his family moved to Ferrara, where he became a student of Isaac *Lampronti. He served as a teacher and later as head of the yeshivah of Ferrara and as rabbi of the Ashkenazi synagogue there. A student of the Kabbalah, he founded a society of *Shomerim la-Boker* ("Morning Watchers") to pray for the return to Zion. With the death of Lampronti, he became head of the local rabbinical court.

Some of Olmo's legal decisions are included in Lampronti's *Paḥad Yiẓḥak*. A collection of his decisions, entitled *Pi Ẓaddik*, is still in manuscript. His *Eden Arukh* is a poetic drama of 274 stanzas which both in form and content is a continuation and imitation of Moses *Zacuto's *Tofteh Arukh*; the two works were published in one volume (Venice, 1743). *Eden Arukh* is based on talmudic, midrashic, and kabbalistic literature. It was translated into German and into Italian by Cesare Foa (1904). He compiled a work on the sages of the Ashkenazi synagogue of Ferrara and wrote occasional poems and hymns included in various Italian liturgical works. One of his poems, in honor of the wedding of a pupil, consisted of 35 stanzas in Hebrew with Italian words echoing the last Hebrew word at the end of each stanza.

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[Yonah David]

OLOMOUC (Ger. **Olmuetz**), city in Moravia, Czech Republic. Jews are first mentioned there by *Isaac b. Dorbelo (c. 1140; a 1060 reference by a later chronicler is unreliable). In 1273 the bishop reported disapprovingly to Pope *Gregory x on the Jews of Olomouc. In 1278 Rudolph I of Hapsburg decreed that the Jews must participate in all payments to the city on the same footing as all other citizens. A 1413–20 register of the Jews (*liber fatalis*) and their transactions is extant. There was a *platea Judaeorum* (*Jewish quarter), but the Jewish community was expelled in 1454 and their property ceded to the municipality, which had to assume the taxes previously paid by the Jews. Some individual Jews, however, continued to be tolerated in the town on weekdays. The Jewish community was reconstituted in 1848 and Jews from *Prostejov (Prossnitz) and *Kromeriz transacted business there. The first Jew permitted to resettle was seized by a mob and transported out of the town on a hearse. In 1863 a congregation (*Kultusverein) was founded, in 1867 a cemetery was established, and in 1891 the community was approved. In 1897 a magnificent synagogue was dedicated and in the same year the first Zionist convention of Austria met at Olomouc. In 1900 part of the new municipal cemetery was allotted to the community. Olomouc absorbed many World War I refugees. Jews were instrumental in its economic development, mainly that of the malt industry. In 1903 there were 2,198 Jews (3.3% of the total population) and in 1941, 4,015. With the German occupation, the synagogue was burned down (on March 15, 1939). Jews from the surroundings were concentrated in the city, and of the 3,445 deported to the extermination camps through *Theresienstadt in June–July 1942, there were 232 survivors. After World War II a small community was reestablished. In 1949 a memorial to the victims of the Holocaust was dedicated in the cemetery and in 1955 a synagogue was established. In 1959 the community numbered 450, and was guided by the district rabbi of *Brno. It remained an active community, becoming part of the Czech Republic in 1993. Olomouc was well-known among East European Jewry as a center for the livestock *trade.

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[Meir Lamed]

OLSCHWANGER, ISAAC WOLF (1825–1896), one of the first rabbis in Russia to join the Ḥibbat Zion movement. Born in Plunge, Lithuania, he was ordained as rabbi in 1845 and held an office in the rabbinate of Taurage (Lithuania). From 1876 until his death he served as rabbi in St. Petersburg. Throughout his life he took part in various public activities and sympathized with the moderate Haskalah movement. At the outset of the Ḥibbat Zion movement in the 1880s, he enthusiastically accepted its tenet of restoring the Jewish people to its homeland and became actively engaged in the movement's undertakings in St. Petersburg, when it still had only a few followers. Later, when the majority of rabbis expressed their opposition to the movement, Olschwanger criticized those rabbis who did not actively strive to bring about the redemption, waiting instead for a divine miracle. Unlike many rabbis, he permitted work on the land in the sabbatical year, when the issue arose for the first time in the settlements in Ereẓ Israel (1889).

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[Getzel Kressel]

OLSEN, TILLIE (1913–), U.S. author. Born Tillie Lerner in Omaha, Nebraska, the daughter of Russian immigrants, her stature rose steadily over the years and she became regarded as one of America's leading writers. Self-taught, with little formal education, she writes about the world with which she is most intimately familiar – the struggles of working people, particularly women.

She was raised in a socialist background and developed her passion for writing as a young girl. In the 1930s she became involved in a variety of political and trade union movements. After dropping out of high school, she was briefly jailed in Kansas City for trying to organize packing-house workers. She then worked full time in various trade unions while writing for left-wing journals.

Married in 1945, she thereafter devoted herself to raising her four daughters, while employed in various menial jobs. A novel begun in the 1930s was finished only 40 years later, and her first book, *Tell Me a Riddle* (1962), a collection of four stories exploring human relationships, was published when she was nearly 50. The title story, published separately in 1961, received the O. Henry Award. It deals with the last months of a terminally ill elderly woman and her attempts to resolve deep-rooted marital conflicts. Another much anthologized story in the collection, "I Stand Here Ironing," explores the relationship of mothers and daughters and the repression of women.

As a result of her publication, Olsen began receiving writing fellowships, including grants from the National Endowment of the Arts, and served as a visiting professor at several universities. In 1974, her novel, *Yonnondio: From the Thirties* was finally published to widespread acclaim. The novel deals with the struggles of a midwestern family during the Depression.

Olsen has also written a biographical and literary commentary of the writer Rebecca Harding Davies who was an early influence on her writing, and a collection of essays, *Silences* (1978). In her 1981 play *I Stand Here Mourning* – a monologue – a mother mourns the blighting of her 19-year-old daughter's life.

[Susan Strul (2nd ed.)]

OLSHAN, ISAAC (1895–1983), Israeli jurist. Born in Kovno, Lithuania, Olshan immigrated to Ereẓ Israel in 1912. He studied at the University of London and served in the Jewish Legion during World War I. From 1927 to 1948 he worked as a lawyer in private practice in Palestine, and after the creation of the State of Israel was one of the original five justices appointed to the Supreme Court. Olshan became president of the Supreme Court in 1953 and served until his retirement in 1965. During his tenure of office he repeatedly emphasized that the state was as much bound by the rule of law as the individual and that respect for the rule of law was one of the foundations of a democratic society.

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°OLSHAUSEN, JUSTUS (1800–1882), German Orientalist, theologian, and Bible scholar. He was born in Schleswig-Holstein and from 1830 to 1852 was professor of Oriental languages at the University of Kiel, and from 1853 professor at the University of Koenigsberg. From 1858, he was adviser to the Prussian Ministry of Religion and Culture. Olshausen was one of the first scholars who used modern philological and comparative linguistic methods in explanation of obscure passages in the Bible. He also applied modern studies in Assyriology to Bible research, and pioneered in the "Arabian School" which employs Arabic as a key to the elucidation of the Bible and the understanding of the Hebrew language and its radicals (in opposition to Ewald's system). In 1826, Olshausen published *Emendationen zum Alten Testament*, giving grammatical and historical explanations to the Old Testament. His theses on the geography, people, and culture of Mesopotamia were confirmed by the findings of later Assyriologists.

Other published works are: *Observationes criticae ad Vetus Testamentum* (1836); *Ueber das Vocalsystem der hebraeischen Sprache nach der sogenannten assyrischen Punktuation* (1865); and *Beitraege zur Kritik des ueberlieferten Textes im Buche Genesis* (1870). His critical method is explained in the second edition of Hirzel's commentary on Job which Olshausen edited (1852), and in his commentary on Psalms (1853), where he stated that most of the psalms were composed in the Maccabean period; this assertion was sharply criticized. His *Zur Topographie des alten Jerusalem* (1833) has been superseded by later discoveries; but *Ueber den Ursprung des Alphabetes und ueber die Vocalbezeichnung im Alten Testamente* (1841), a study on the origin of the Hebrew alphabet and its vocalization, is still important. *Lehrbuch der Hebraeischen Sprache* (1861) is probably his major work. It is a Hebrew grammar; the third volume, devoted to Hebrew syntax, was, however, not published.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Kamphausen, in: J. Herzog and A. Hauck (eds.), *Realencyklopaedie fuer protestantische Theologie und Kirche*, 14 (1904^3), 368–71; ADB, 24 (1887), 328–30.

OLSVANGER, IMMANUEL (1888–1961), folklorist and Hebrew translator. Born in Poland, he was active in the Zionist movement and was a founder of the student Zionist organization He-Ḥaver. He emigrated to Ereẓ Israel in 1933.

Bein Adam le-Kono, his book of verse, was published in 1943. Olsvanger was among the first to translate Far Eastern literary texts (especially Sanskrit and Japanese) from the original into Hebrew; he also translated poems by Goethe, Dante's *Divine Comedy* (*Ha-Komedyah ha-Elohit*, 3 vols., 1944–56) to which he added notes and wrote an introduction, and Boccaccio's *Decameron* (1947). The two collections of Yiddish proverbs and anecdotes he edited were printed in Latin characters, *Rőyte pomerantsen* (1947) and *L'chayim*! (1949).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: D. Lazar, *Rashim be-Yisrael*, 2 (1955), 267–71.

[Getzel Kressel]

OLYKA, town in Volhynia, Ukraine, formerly in Poland-Lithuania. Jews are first mentioned in the mid-16th century. During the Chmielnicki massacres of 1648–49, they found refuge in the local fortress. In the late 17th–18th centuries the Olyka community was the leading member of the Volhynian Council (one of the *Council of Four Lands). It was one of the principal communities of the council for the province of Volhynia (see *Councils of the Lands), with the right of veto in taxation deliberations. In 1703 the Olyka community protested that these rights had been violated by the leaders of the Volhynian council. In 1765 there were 645 poll tax payers in the Olyka congregation; the Jewish population numbered 2,381 in 1847; 2,606 in 1897 (62% of the total population); 2,086 in 1921 (48.1%); and according to figures of the Jewish Colonization Association, 2,500 in 1924. During WWI Jews suffered from Cossack troops and after the October 1917 revolution from various gangs that operated in the vicinity. In the interwar period the Zionist movement flourished, and it controlled the leadership of the community. A Hebrew school and kindergarten existed in Olyka. All these ceased functioning with the Soviet annexation in September 1939. The Germans occupied the town on July 1, 1941, after having bombed and destroyed 70% of the houses and killing 100 Jews. In August 1941 they murdered 700 Jews, and in March 1942 a ghetto was established, housing 3,500 persons, including many refugees. On August 29, 1942, most of them were executed near the old Radziwill castle. The 130 artisans who had been spared were subsequently murdered in early 1944; 23 young Jews escaped into the woods and were engaged in partisan warfare.

[Mark Wischnitzer / Shmuel Spector (2nd ed.)]

OLYMPIC GAMES. Between 1896 and 2004, Jews won 306 medals (137 gold, 79 silver, 90 bronze) in Olympic competition. (See Table: Jewish Olympic Medal Winners.) In addition, Alfred Hajos (Guttmann) of Hungary, a winner of Olympic swimming medals, was awarded a silver medal in architecture in 1924, and Ferenc Mezo (1885–1961) of Hungary received a 1928 gold medal in literature. As the official historian of the Olympic Games, Mezo wrote numerous articles and books on the subject. He served as a member of the International Olympic Committee and president of the Hungarian Olympic Committee.

[Jesse Harold Silver]

Jewish Olympic Medal Winners: G=Gold S=Silver B=Bronze

	G	S	B
1896			
Alfred Flatow, Germany, gymnastics	3		
Felix Schmal, Austria, cycling.	1		
Felix Flatow, Germany, gymnastics	2		
Alfred Hajos-Guttmann, Hungary, swimming	2		
Dr. Paul Neumann, Austria, swimming	1		
Alfred Flatow, Germany, gymnastics		1	
Felix Schmal, Austria, cycling.		2	
Otto Herschmann, Austria, swimming			1
1900			
Myer Prinstein, USA, track	1		
Myer Prinstein, USA, track		1	
Otto Wahle, Austria, swimming		2	
Edouard Alphonse de Rothschild, France, polo			1
Siegfried Flesch, Austria, fencing			1
1904			
Myer Prinstein, USA, track	2		
Samuel Berger, USA, boxing	1		
Daniel Frank, USA, track		1	
Otto Wahle, Austria, swimming			1
1908			
Dr. Jeno Fuchs, Hungary, fencing	2		
Dr. Oszkar Gerde, Hungary, fencing	1		
Lajos Werkner, Hungary, fencing	1		
Alexandre Lippmann, France, fencing	1		
Richard Weisz, Hungary, wrestling	1		
Jean Stern, France, fencing	1		
Alexander Lippmann, France, fencing		1	
Harald Bohr, Denmark, soccer		1	
Edgar Seligman, Great Britain, fencing		1	
Odon Bodor, Hungary, track			1
Otto Scheff, Austria, swimming			1
Clair S. Jacobs, USA, track			1
1912			
Dr. Jeno Fuchs, Hungary, fencing	2		
Dr. Oszkar Gerde, Hungary, fencing	1		
Lajos Werkner, Hungary, fencing	1		
Gaston Salmon, Belgium, fencing	1		
Jacques Ochs, Belgium, fencing	1		
Edgar Seligman, Great Britain, fencing		1	
Dr. Otto Herschmann, Austria, fencing		1	
Abel Kiviat, USA, track		1	
Alvah T. Meyer, USA, track		1	
Ivan Osiier, Denmark, fencing		1	
Imre Gellert, Hungary, gymnastics		1	
Josephine Sticker, Austria, swimming			1
Mor Kovacs (Koczan), Hungary, track			1
1920			
Samuel Mosberg, USA, boxing	1		
Alexandre Lippmann, France, fencing		1	
Samuel Gerson, USA, wrestling		1	
Gerard Blitz, Belgium, waterpolo		1	
Maurice Blitz, Belgium, waterpolo		1	
Fred Meyer, USA, wrestling			1
Montgomery "Moe" Herzowitch, Canada, boxing			1
Gerard Blitz, Belgium, swimming			1
Alexandre Lippmann, France, fencing			1
1924			
Harold Abrahams, Great Britain, track	1		
Elias Katz, Finland, track	1		
Alexandre Lippmann, France, fencing	1		
Louis A. Clarke, USA, track	1		
Jackie Fields, USA, boxing	1		
Janos Garai, Hungary, fencing		1	
Harold Abrahams, Great Britain, track		1	
Elias Katz, Finland, track		1	
Gerard Blitz, Belgium, waterpolo		1	
Maurice Blitz, Belgium, waterpolo		1	
Alfred Hajos-Guttmann, Hungary, architecture		1	
Baron H.L. De Morpurgo, Italy, tennis			1
Janos Garai, Hungary, fencing			1
Sydney Jelinek, USA, crew			1
1928			
Fanny Rosenfeld, Canada, track	1		
Attila Petschauer, Hungary, fencing	1		
Hans Haas, Austria, weightlifting	1		
Dr. Sandor Gombos, Hungary, fencing	1		
Janos Garai, Hungary, fencing	1		
Dr. Ferenc Mezo, Hungary, literature	1		
Fanny Rosenfeld, Canada, track		1	
Attila Petschauer, Hungary, fencing		1	
Lillian Copeland, USA, track		1	
Fritzie Burger, Austria, figure skating		1	
Ellis R. Smouha, Great Britain, track			1
Harry Devine, USA, boxing			1
Harry Isaacs, South Africa, boxing			1
S. Rabin, Great Britain, wrestling			1
1932			
Attila Petschauer, Hungary, fencing	1		
Endre Kabos, Hungary, fencing	1		
Gyorgy Brody, Hungary, waterpolo	1		
Miklos Skarnay, Hungary, water polo.	2		
Irving Jaffee, USA, speed-skating	2		
Lillian Copeland, USA, track	1		
George Gulack, USA, gymnastics	1		
Hans Haas, Austria, weightlifting		1	
Abraham Kurland, Denmark, wrestling		1	
Dr. Philip Erenberg, USA, gymnastics		1	
Fritzie Burger, Austria, figure skating		1	
Rudolf Ball, Germany, ice hockey			1

	G	S	B
Endre Kabos, Hungary, fencing			1
Nikolaus Hirschl, Austria, wrestling			1
Nathan Bor, USA, Boxing			1
Albert Schwartz, USA, swimming			1
Jadwiga Wajsowna (Weiss), Poland, track			1
1936			
Gyorgy Brody, Hungary, water polo	1		
Miklos Skarnay, Hungary, water polo.	2		
Endre Kabos, Hungary, fencing	2		
Samuel Balter, USA, basketball	1		
Irving Meretsky, Canada, basketball		1	
Helene Mayer, Germany, fencing		1	
Jadwiga Wajsowna (Weiss), Poland, track		1	
Gerard Blitz, Belgium, waterpolo			1
1948			
Frank Spellman, USA, weightlifting	1		
Henry Wittenberg, USA, wrestling	1		
Agnes Keleti, Hungary, gymnastics		1	
Dr. Steve Seymour, USA, track		1	
James Fuchs, USA, track			1
Norman C. Armitage, USA, fencing			1
1952			
Maria Gorokhovskaya, USSR, gymnastics	2		
Boris Gurevich, USSR, wrestling	1		
Mikhail Perelman, USSR, gymnastics	1		
Agnes Keleti, Hungary, gymnastics	1		
Judit Temes, Hungary, swimming	1		
Eva Szekely, Hungary, swimming	1		
Claude Netter, France, fencing	1		
Dr. Gyorgy Karpati, Hungary, waterpolo	1		
Sandor Geller, Hungary, soccer	1		
Grigori Novak, USSR, weightlifting		1	
Agnes Keleti, Hungary, gymnastics		1	
Maria Gorokhovskaya, USSR, gymnastics		1	
Henry Wittenberg, USA, wrestling		1	
Lev Vainshtein, USSR, shooting			1
Agnes Keleti, Hungary, gymnastics			2
Judit Temes, Hungary, swimming			1
James Fuchs, USA, track			1
1956			
Alice Kertesz, Hungary, gymnastics	1		
Leon Rottman, Romania, canoeing	2		
Laszlo Fabian, Hungary, canoeing	1		
Isaac Berger, USA, weightlifting	1		
Agnes Keleti, Hungary, gymnastics	4		
Dr. Gyorgy Karpati, Hungary, waterpolo	1		
Boris Razinsky, USSR, soccer	1		
1960			
Mark Midler, USSR, fencing	1		
Allan Jay, Great Britain, fencing		2	
Vladimir Portnoi, USSR, gymnastics		1	
Isaac Berger, USA, weightlifting			1
Boris Goikhman, USSR, waterpolo		1	
Ildiko Uslaky-Rejto, Hungary, fencing		1	
Klara Fried, Hungary, canoeing			1
Moses Blass, Brazil, basketball			1

	G	S	B
Albert Axelrod, USA, fencing			1
Vladimir Portnoi, USSR, gymnastics			1
David Segal, Great Britain, track			1
Robert Halperin, USA, yachting			1
Rafael Grach, USSR, speed-skating			1
Leon Rottman, Romania, canoeing			1
Imre Farkas, Hungary, canoeing			1
Dr. Gyorgy Karpati, Hungary, waterpolo			1
1964			
Lawrence Brown, USA, basketball	1		
Gerald Ashworth, USA, track	1		
Grigory Kriss, USSR, fencing	1		
Mark Rakita, USSR, fencing	1		
Dr. Gyorgy Karpati, Hungary, waterpolo	1		
Tamas Gabor, Hungary, fencing	1		
Mark Midler, USSR, fencing	1		
Arpad Orban, Hungary, soccer	1		
Ildiko Uslaky-Rejto, Hungary, fencing	2		
Irena Kirszenstein, Poland, track	1		
Yakov Rylsky, USSR, fencing	1		
Irena Kirszenstein, Poland, track		2	
Alain Calmat, France, figure skating		1	
Marilyn Ramenofsky, USA, swimming		1	
Isaac Berger, USA, weightlifting			1
Vivian Joseph, USA, figure skating			1
Ronald Joseph, USA, figure skating			1
James Bregman, USA, judo			1
Yves Dreyfus, France, fencing			1
1968			
Irena Kirszenstein-Szewinska, Poland, track	1		
Mark Spitz, USA, swimming	2		
Victor Zinger, USSR, ice hockey	1		
Boris Gurevich, USSR, wrestling	1		
Valentin Mankin, USSR, yachting	1		
Mark Rakita, USSR, fencing	1		
Eduard Vinokurov, USSR, fencing	1		
Mark Spitz, USA, swimming		1	
Mark Rakita, USSR, fencing		1	
Grigory Kriss, USSR, fencing		2	
Josef Vitebsky, USSR, fencing		1	
Semyon Belits-Geiman, USSR, swimming		1	
Ildiko Uslaky-Rejto, Hungary, fencing		1	
Irena Kirszenstein-Szewinska, Poland, track			1
Mark Spitz, USA, swimming			1
Semyon Belits-Gieman, USSR, swimming			1
Naum Prokupets, USSR, canoeing			1
Ildiko Uslaky-Rejto, Hungary, fencing			1
1972			
Mark Spitz, USA, swimming	7		
Valentin Mankin, USSR, yachting	1		
Faina Melnik, USSR, track	1		
Neal Shapiro, USA, equestrianism		1	
Ildiko Sagine-Rejto, Hungary, fencing		1	
Mark Rakita, USSR, fencing		1	
Eduoard Vinokurov, USSR, fencing		1	
Andrea Gyarmati, Hungary, swimming		1	

	G	S	B
Neal Shapiro, USA, equestrianism			1
Grigory Kriss, USSR, fencing			1
Andrea Gyarmati, Hungary, swimming			1
Irena Kirszenstein-Szewinska, Poland, track			1
Donald Cohan, USA, yachting			1
Peter Asch, USA, water polo			1
1976			
Irena Szewinska, Poland, track	1		
Ernest Grunfeld, USA, basketball	1		
Eduard Vinokurov, USSR, fencing	1		
Yuriy Liapkin, USSR, ice hockey	1		
Valentin Mankin, USSR, yachting		1	
Wendy Weinberg, USA, swimming			1
Victor Zilberman, Romania, boxing			1
Edith Master, USA, equestrianism			1
Ildiko Sagine-Rejto, Hungary, fencing			1
1980			
Valentin Mankin, USSR, yachting	1		
Svyetlana Krachevskya, USSR, track and field		1	
1984			
Johan Harmenberg, Sweden, fencing	1		
Mitch Gaylord, USA, gymnastics	1	1	
Carina Benninga, Netherlands, field hockey	1		
Dara Torres, USA, swimming	1		
Robert Berland, USA, judo		1	
Mitch Gaylord, USA, gymnastics			1
Bernard Rajzman, Brazil, volleyball		1	
Mitch Gaylord, USA, gymnastics			2
Mark Berger, Canada, judo			1
1988			
Dara Torres, USA, swimming			1
Brad Gilbert, USA, tennis			1
Carina Benninga, Netherlands, field hockey			1
Seth Bauer, USA, rowing			1
1992			
Joseph Jacobi, USA, canoeing	1		
Dara Torres, USA, swimming	1		
Valeri Belenki, Unified Team, gymnastics	1		
Yael Arad, Israel, judo			1
Arbital Selinger, Netherlands, volleyball		1	
Shay Oren Smadga, Israel, judo			1
Valeri Belenki, Unified Team, gymnastics			1
Dan Greenbaum, USA, volleyball			1
1996			
Sergei Sharikov, Russia, fencing	1		
Kerri Strug, USA, gymnastics	1		
Yanina Batrichina, Russia, rhythmic gymnastics		1	
Sergei Sharikov, Russia, fencing		1	
Myriam Fox-Jerusalmi, France, canoe			1
Gal Fridman, Israel, sailing			1
Maria Mazina, Russia, fencing			1
2000			
Anthony Ervin, Hungary, gymnastics	1		
Lenny Krayzelburg, USA, swimming	3		
Dara Torres, USA, swimming	2		
Sergei Sharikov, Russia, fencing	1		
Maria Mazina, Russia, fencing	2		
Adriana Behar, Brazil, beach volleyball		1	
Anthony Ervin, USA, swimming		1	
Scott Goldblatt, USA, swimming		1	
Jason Lezak, USA, swimming		1	
Yulia Raskina, Belarus, rhythmic gymnastics		1	
Sara Whalen, USA, soccer		1	
Dara Torres, USA, swimming			3
Robert Dover, USA, equestrian			1
Michael Kalganov, Israel, canoe/kayak			1
2004			
Gal Fridman, Israel, sailing,	1		
Lenny Krayzelburg, USA, swimming	1		
Jason Lezak, USA, swimming	2		
Scott Goldblatt, USA, swimming	1		
Nicolas Massu, Chile, tennis	2		
Adriana Behar, Brazil, beach volleyball		1	
Gavin Fingleson, Australia, baseball		1	
Arik Ze'evi, Israel, judo			1
Deena Kastor, USA, athletics			1
Robert Dover, USA, riding			1
Sada Jacobson, USA, fencing			1
Jason Lezak, USA, swimming			1
Sarah Poewe, Germany, swimming			1
Sergei Sharikov, Russia, fencing			1

OMAHA, city in the state of Nebraska, whose total population is 390,000 and Jewish population approximately 6,500. A few Jews went to Omaha, along with Christian pioneers, when the city was first settled in the mid-1850s. The first two Jews to become permanent residents were Aaron Cahn and his brother-in-law Meyer Hellman, who opened a clothing store and eventually became well-known merchants and citizens. Another early arrival, and perhaps the most prominent early Omaha Jew, was Edward Rosewater, founder and editor of the newspaper the *Omaha Bee*. Another pioneer was Julius Meyer who arrived in 1866 and became friendly with the Ponca Indian chief Standing Bear; he learned to speak six Indian dialects and was adopted by the tribe. The Meyer family was interested in music and was instrumental in establishing the first opera house (1885). The Jewish population of Omaha remained small until after the Civil War. The year 1882 marked the arrival of the first contingent of Jewish refugees from Russia, and from that time until World War I the population increased markedly. Omaha Jews have been particularly active in the retail field.

Jonas L. Brandeis, who came to Omaha in 1881, founded the state's largest department store, and a number of other large retail establishments were founded by Jews. Omaha has had two Jewish mayors, Harry Zimman, who served temporary terms in 1904 and 1906, and John Rosenblatt, mayor from 1954 to 1961. Also active politically was Harry Trustin, who served many terms on the city council and was one of the drafters of the present city charter. Jews as a group have been politically influential since the 1890s.

The earliest recorded Jewish services were held in 1867; the Congregation of Israel was formally organized in 1871. Traditional services were held in the 1880s and a Conservative congregation was begun in 1929. Omaha has four congregations, one Orthodox, one Chabad, one Conservative, and one Reconstructionist. The Associated Jewish Charities was established in 1903 and the Jewish community was federated in 1914. Aleph Zadek Aleph, international junior B'nai B'rith lodge, originated in Omaha in 1924; Henry *Monsky, an Omaha citizen and civic leader, served as national president of B'nai B'rith. Edward Zorinsky was the popular Republican mayor of Omaha before being elected as a Democrat to the United States Senate. Omaha Jewry, generally influential in the community as a whole, has been characterized by a large degree of cohesion and cooperation since shortly after the turn of the century, when Orthodox and Reform Jews joined together to work for their common welfare. Rabbi Myer Kripke, the long-time rabbi of Congregation Beth El, maintains a modest lifestyle. Rabbi Kripke, who drove a three-year-old Chevrolet and lived in a $900 a month apartment, shocked his *Jewish Theological Seminary colleagues – who knew the size of his congregation and had a rough idea of his salary – when his contributions made the Slate 60, the 60 largest contributions of 1997, the year that he gave $7 million toward the reconstruction of the Seminary tower and $1 million to the *Reconstructionist Rabbinical College to fund scholarships. Myer and Dorothy Kripke met while both were students at the seminary in the 1930s. They married and moved to Omaha in 1946. The Kripkes became friendly with investor Warren Buffett, the sage of Omaha and one of the most widely admired investors in the United States. Dorothy Kripke, a writer of children's books, urged her husband to invest with Buffett. Myer Kripke finally agreed in 1966, despite his concern that he had so little money to invest that he would look silly. Over the years, Myer Kripke continued as rabbi and Dorothy to write books and raise their three children. When Buffett closed his limited partnership in 1969, "suddenly we found ourselves wealthy people," the couple told the *Omaha World Herald*. Among the other charities they funded was the Rabbi Myer and Dorothy Kripke Center for the Study of Religion and Society at Creighton University. Rabbi Kripke's son is the preeminent Princeton philosopher Saul *Kripke.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: N. Bernstein, in: *Reform Advocate*, 35 (May 2, 1908), 10–52.

[Carol Gendler / Renee Corcoran and Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

OMAR, COVENANT OF (Ar. *ʿahd* /*ʿaqd* - "covenant," or *shurūṭ* – "stipulations"), the series of discriminatory regulations of *Islam applied to the *dhimmī, the protected Christians and Jews, and attributed to the second caliph, Omar (634–644). In various versions it is said that when the Christians of Syria sought their security from Omar, they offered to abide by these conditions. M.J. de Goeje and Caetani have pointed out that this is unlikely because Omar was known for his tolerant and friendly attitude toward the protected subjects who subordinated themselves to him. Furthermore, during the first 50 years of the rule of the *Umayyad Dynasty the protected subjects did not complain of any restrictions, and some of them attained high positions in the administration, while churches were built with the protection of the caliphs. A second reason for doubting the authenticity of the document, as A.S. Tritton wrote, is that "[i]t is not usual for a conquered people to decide the terms on which they shall be admitted to alliance with the victors" (*The Caliphs and their Non-Muslim Subjects*, 8).

Recent research on the Covenant of Omar sees the document in a different light and considers many of its provisions to be consistent with the early years of the conquest, which began in earnest under the caliph Omar. Albrecht *Noth argued that many of the "stipulations" have their source in the conquest treaties or otherwise reflect the reality of Muslim–non-Muslim relations in the earliest period of the conquest. He contended that the *terms* in the covenant originally did not have the restrictive, discriminatory purpose that is so obvious in the actual *text* of the covenant as it existed later on. Many of the stipulations were devised, Noth claimed, to create boundaries between the Muslims and their subjects and protect the fragile identity of the conquerors.

Mark Cohen discussed numerous versions of the covenant, including new ones from the beginning of the tenth century, and addressed the mysterious literary form of the document. Extending Noth's insight, and paying attention to the structure of the texts (as opposed to their content), he explained the document as a petition from the conquered, in which they offered submission in return for protection. In turn, they received confirmation (a decree) from the caliph Omar. This conformed with the normal procedure in Islamic administration and would have been recognized as "authentic" by medieval Muslims. In addition, by placing the restrictive stipulations in the mouth of the dhimmīs, the Muslim case for enforcing the laws and for answering the dhimmīs whenever they violated the rules and claimed ignorance of them was strengthened.

Arabic historical sources indicate that the first caliph to issue discriminatory regulations was Omar ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz (717–720) (Omar II), a zealous ruler who ordered the governor of Khurasan not to authorize the erection of synagogues and churches, to compel "them [Christians and Jews?] to wear special hats and mantles which would distinguish them from the Muslims, and to prohibit them from using a saddle, and from employing a Muslim in their service." These conditions, in addition to the obligation of paying the poll tax, expressed the degradation of the protected subjects according to the principle defined in the *Koran (Sura 9:29), where the word "*sāghirūn*," "kept low," appears, and in keeping with the concept of *ghiyār*, "segregation." Several of the stipulations themselves are identical with the anti-Jewish laws of the Byzantine emperors.

The conditions of the covenant and related texts are not uniform but consist of a collection of regulations and administrative restrictions which were promulgated or repromulgated by caliphs and sultans over the generations whenever religious fanaticism or envy of the status of the protected subjects was in the ascendant. There are various versions of these conditions, ranging from the early *kitāb al-ʾUmm* of Muḥammad ibn Idrīs al-Shāfiʿī (767–820), the founder of the *Shāfiʿī* school, and *fatwās* (responsa) of Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal (d. 855) to the writings of the chroniclers of the *Abbasid and especially the *Mamluk periods, including that of Ibn Khaldūn (1322–1406) and those of two other versions, a short one and a lengthy one brought by Qalqashandī of the 15th century in Egypt. There is also a Hebrew adaptation in the *Divrei Yosef* of Joseph b. Isaac *Sambari who lived in Egypt (1640–1703).

The following points may be summarized from the various versions: (a) The erection or repair of churches and synagogues which did not exist during the pre-Muslim period was prohibited. (b) The Koran was not to be taught to protected subjects. (c) Protected subjects were not to shelter spies. (d) They were not to buy a Muslim slave or maidservant, nor such as were formerly owned by a Muslim. (e) They were not to sell intoxicating liquors to Muslims, nor carcasses of animals not ritually slaughtered, or pork. (f) They were not to employ a Muslim in their service, and in partnerships with non-Muslims they were restricted to the role of the "silent" rather than the trafficking partner. (g) Protected subjects were to honor the Muslims and stand in their presence. They could not deceive or strike them. (h) They were to accommodate Muslim travelers for three days. (i) They were not to prevent anyone from converting to Islam. (j) They were not to resemble Muslims in their clothing or hairdressing. The Jews were to wear yellow clothes, girdles, and hats, the Christians, blue. The girdles were not to be of silk. The color of their shoes was to differ from that of the Muslims. (k) They were not to be called by Muslim names or appellations. (l) Entry into bathhouses was only to be authorized when a special sign was worn on the neck which would distinguish them from Muslims. Special bathhouses were to be built for women so that they would not bathe together with Muslim women. (m) They were forbidden to carry arms. (n) They were not to ride on horses or mules but only on asses, and then on packsaddles without any ornaments, and not on saddles. They were to ride sidesaddle. (o) Their houses were not to be higher than those of the Muslims. (p) Their tombs were not to be higher than those of the Muslims. (q) They were not to raise their voices in their churches or be seen in public with crosses. (r) They were not to be employed as government officials or in any position which would grant them authority over Muslims. (s) The property of the deceased was to belong to the authorities until the heirs proved their right to it according to Islamic law. If there was no heir, the property would be transferred to the authorities.

The head of the religious community was responsible for the enforcement of these conditions. Ibn al-Jawzī (d. 1200) relates that in 1031 the Christian catholics and the Jewish exilarch were ordered to supervise the members of their communities and ensure that they wore the special garb which had been imposed on the protected subjects. Other sources mention that it was the duty of the *raʾīs al-yahūd*, "head of the Jews" (in Hebrew, the **nagid*), "to protect the Muslims from the Jews" by assuming responsibility for the execution of these conditions. The rights which stemmed from the upholding of the Covenant of Omar were security of life and property, freedom of religion, and internal autonomy. Anyone transgressing the covenant or related prohibitions forfeited his right to security, especially in the case of one of the following conditions: failure to pay the poll tax; refusal to accept a Muslim legal decision; the murder of a Muslim by a protected subject; immoral relations with a Muslim woman; spying on behalf of the enemy; and cursing the Prophet in public, which was punishable by death.

The fact that instructions for upholding the covenant were repeatedly issued during various periods, and sometimes at short intervals, shows that most of the conditions were not respected. The Abbasid caliphs also issued discriminatory laws against the Christians and Jews, e.g., Hārūn al-Rashīd (786–809), al-Maʾmūn (813–833), al-Mutawakkil (847–861), who was the most extreme and published a series of restrictions in 850 and 854, and finally al-Muqtadir (908–932). The rulers required the services of physicians, clerks, specialists in minting coins, and other professionals who served them faithfully. They explained that these people were even authorized to serve as viziers upon the condition that their function consisted merely of the execution of orders (*tanfīdh*) and that they were not empowered with any personal initiative (*tafwīḍ*). During periods of religious fanaticism, churches and synagogues were destroyed under the pretext that it had been forbidden to build them (see above, regulation (a)). The most outstanding example was the act of the *Fatimid caliph al-Ḥākim bi-Amr Allah (996–1021) who, as the result of extreme religious fanaticism, ordered – in Egypt from 1004 and in other countries from 1008 – the destruction of all churches, including that of the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem, and of all the synagogues throughout the Fatimid empire, in addition to a series of restrictions, which included the choice between forced conversion to Islam or departure from the country. But this was exceptional during the period of Fatimid rule, which was generally characterized by tolerance and during which Jews and Christians rose to important public positions.

The Decrees of the Almohads

Under the rule of the fanatical *Almohads in Spain and Northern Africa during the 12th century, the alternative was placed before the Jews of conversion to Islam, death, or leaving the country, and restrictions in the spirit of the Covenant of Omar were also imposed on the converts to Islam, who were suspected of only having converted outwardly. They were prohibited from possessing slaves and were disqualified from acting as guardians of orphans; the latter were removed from their families and handed over to Muslims. They were also forbidden to engage in commerce. The purpose of these restrictions was also to separate them from the Muslims by special dress. They were not allowed to wear the *ʿimāma* and *iḥrām* (kinds of headgear). Instead, they were requested to cover their heads with a kind of cap known as a *qalansuwa*. They were ordered to wear black clothes with particularly wide hems. These restrictions were in force until the reign of Abdallah ibn Manṣūr (1199–1214). Even after the decrees of the Almohads were abolished from the 13th century onward, the *ghiyār* decrees governing dress were not completely annulled, but were not enforced as strictly as previously.

The Mamluks

Religious fanaticism intensified during the period of the wars against the crusaders; this was evident from the campaign of incitement and pressure for the application of the Covenant of Omar, and even harsher restrictions during the *Mamluk period (1250–1516). This situation was connected with the fact that the foreign ruling class (the Islamized Mamluk slave dynasty) desired to appear as the protector of Islam and thus came under the influence of religious fanatics. It is known that the regulations concerning distinctive dress and the prohibition of riding horses were enforced with more severity than the other restrictions. The Mamluk rulers, nevertheless, could not dispense with the employment of the protected subjects as officials, among them some of whom attained respected positions. This fact and their obvious economic success occasionally gave rise to waves of jealousy and hatred which resulted in the publication of decrees concerning the enforcement of the laws, especially the exclusion of Jews and Christians as public officials. This was the case in 1290, when a decree in this spirit was issued by Sultan Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Khalīl ibn Qalāʾūn. In 1301 churches and synagogues throughout the empire were closed down for a year. There was even a tendency to destroy them, and this was only averted after it was "proved," with the support of bribery, that they had been erected during the pre-Muslim period. During the middle of the 14th century there was a renewed wave of fanaticism which brought about very severe legislation in 1354, not only including the previous restrictions of the Covenant of Omar but also new restrictions which also affected converts to Islam, e.g., the prohibition of their employment as officials and physicians, the severance of all relations with their nonconverted relatives, and their obligatory presence five times a day at the mosque.

The Ottoman Empire, the Maghreb, and Iran

In the *Ottoman Empire (and in *Iran, with stricter, Shiite embellishments) the Covenant of Omar was in force until the middle of the 19th century. The authorities imposed special dress, and Jews and Christians were forbidden to acquire slaves. There was a prohibition on the construction of synagogues and churches, which could only be circumvented by bribery and special authorization. During the 17th century synagogues and churches in the empire were destroyed on a number of occasions. The *jizya* (poll tax) was also paid, except for those connected with the royal court, e.g., court physicians, who were exempted and who were the only Jews authorized to ride on horses and wear clothing in keeping with their status.

In the 19th century, under the pressure of European countries, especially Britain, France, and Austria, firmans were issued which abolished the discriminatory measures against the Christians. The first of these abolished the poll tax (1839). It was not enforced, and under further pressure an additional firman was issued in 1855, and again in 1856 when the prohibition on the carrying of arms by non-Muslims was also abolished and they were exempted from military service. As an alternative to military service a ransom tax known as *bedel askeri*, which in practice replaced the poll tax, was imposed. This tax was not abolished until the revolution of the Young Turks in 1909, when non-Muslims were also ordered to serve actively in the army.

In the countries of the Maghreb, the Covenant of Omar remained in effect until more recently. The *jizya* was taken into consideration in the Tunisian Constitution of 1857. In the *capitulation treaties between Morocco and the European countries in the second half of the 19th century certain persons are mentioned who were exempted from this tax.

Even though in principle the Covenant of Omar applied equally to Christians and Jews, the position of the former within society was generally more favorable as a result of the backing they received from European states. Thus, in 1664 all the European Christians in Egypt were exempted from the poll tax. Similarly, in the emirate of Bukhara only the Jews paid this tax.

It may be said that in principle protected subjects were bound by the Covenant of Omar, but that its enforcement was conditioned by internal factors of the Muslim countries; it was dependent on the internal struggles and the conflicts between religious and economic interests, on the one hand, and the influence and the status of the protected subjects themselves and their ability to lessen the severity of the decree, on the other. The execution of the restrictions was dependent on the will of the ruler, who generally gave preference to economic interests over religious law. Rarely was the covenant enforced against Jews alone. Exceptions to this were in North Africa in the post-Almohad period, when converted Christians, unlike converted Jews, failed to revert to their former religion, and in the Yemen, where very few Christians dwelled. The so-called "pogrom" against the Jews of Granada in 1066 was also an exception proving the rule.

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[Eliezer Bashan (Sternberg) / Mark R. Cohen (2nd ed.)]

°**OMAR IBN AL-KHAṬṬĀB**, second caliph (634–644), conqueror of Ereẓ Israel, Syria, Iraq, Persia, and Egypt. Omar organized the Muslim empire, established the rules assuring the conquerors of their special status (in spite of their numerical inferiority), fixed the calendar on the basis of the Hegira, and laid the foundations of the legal system. The administrative practices that he introduced were based on Persian and Byzantine models. A man of simple manners and approach, he adopted a humane attitude to non-Muslims as well, and earned the epithet of al-Fārūq ("he who can distinguish truth from falsehood"); according to one tradition, the Jews gave him that name. Balādhurī (d. 862) reports that the Jews of *Khaybar, the last Jewish community in the Hejaz, who had been permitted by *Muḥammad to remain on their land in exchange for one half of their yearly crop, were expelled to Tayma and Jericho by Omar; Ibn al-Athīr (Mosul, 1160–1233) adds that Omar reimbursed them with one half the value of their land. According to Jewish sources, Omar, after the conquest of Persia, gave the Persian king's daughter to *Bustanai in marriage and appointed him to the office of exilarch. A Jewish convert to Islam, *Kaʿb al-Aḥbār, who was a member of Omar's entourage at the time of the conquest of *Jerusalem, is said to have pointed out to Omar the site of the "*Sakhra*," the "**Even Shetiyyah*" ("world's cornerstone") on the Temple Mount; Omar ordered the clearing of the Rock and the site served as a place of prayer until the time of ʿAbd al-Malik (685–705), who built the Dome of the Rock (which became popularly known as the "Mosque of Omar") on this spot. Some Christian and Arab sources report that one of the conditions set by the Christian residents of Jerusalem for their surrender to Omar was a prohibition on the residence of Jews in Jerusalem; the truth of these reports seems doubtful, since Jews did in fact live in Jerusalem during the Arab period. Omar permitted the Jews to reestablish their presence in Jerusalem – after a lapse of 500 years –and also seems to have allotted them a place for prayers on the Temple Mount (from which they were driven out at a later date). Jewish tradition regards Omar as a benevolent ruler and the Midrash (*Nistarot de-Rav Shimon bar Yoḥai*) refers to him as a "friend of Israel." According to Ṭabarī, a Jewish sage told Omar that he was destined to become the ruler of the Holy Land. Omar has been described as the author of the rules discriminating against minorities in Muslim lands (see *Omar, Covenant of), but this allegation does not stand up to scientific investigation.

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[Eliezer Bashan (Sternberg)]

OMER (Heb. עֹמֶר), urban community in southern Israel. Omer is located 4 mi. (6 km.) northeast of Beersheba. It was established in 1961 by a group of Beersheba residents. Some proceeded to earn their livings as farmers and others worked in the nearby settlements and factories. Over the years, agriculture languished and the settlement was further urbanized. In 1974 it received municipal status. In 2002 its population reached 5,840, occupying a land area of 5.4 sq. mi. (14 sq. km.). Seventy percent of Omer's population held an academic degree. Women enjoyed the highest average earnings in the country and men the second highest. The settlement has a nearby industrial park housing such hi-tech companies as Motorola. The name Omer derives from the El Omri hill located in the industrial park area.

WEBSITE: www.omer.muni.il; www.cityindex.co.il.

[Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

OMER (Heb. עֹמֶר, lit. "sheaf"), an offering brought to the Temple on the 16th of Nisan and thus the name of the period between Passover and Shavuot.

The Bible (Lev. 23:9 ff.) prescribes that "when you enter the land which I am giving to you and reap its harvest, you shall bring the first sheaf of your harvest to the priest… the priest shall wave it on the day after the sabbath." After the waving, a burnt offering together with a meal offering and a libation were made at the altar and after that had been done it was permissible to eat of the new harvest: "Until that very day, until you have brought the offering of your God, you shall eat no bread or parched grain or fresh ears." The exact meaning of "the day after the sabbath" in the biblical passage was a major point of controversy between the rabbis and the *Boethusians (Men. 65a–b) and, later, the *Karaites. The latter argued that the ceremony was to be performed on the day after the Sabbath immediately following the first day of Passover whereas the rabbis argued that in this context the word "sabbath" was to be understood not as the weekly Sabbath but as a "holy day" and meant the first day of Passover itself. Since the passage quoted continues with the law "And from the day on which you bring the sheaf of wave offering – the day after the Sabbath – you shall count seven weeks" and the fiftieth day is Shavuot it follows that according to the sectarians the festival of Shavuot always fell on a Sunday. It has been suggested (L. Finkelstein, *The Pharisees* (1962^{3}), 2, 641ff.) that this was a major factor in the dissidents' view, as having the festival always on a Sunday was far more convenient for the Temple cult.

The rabbis, in the light of Exodus 16:36 – "The *Omer* is a tenth of an *ephah*" – interpreted the word as a measure of grain and also ruled that it was to be brought of barley only. The *ephah* was three *se'ot* and thus on the 16th of Nisan three *se'ot* of barley were reaped, brought to the Temple, ground and sifted, and of this, one tenth (the *Omer*) was "waved" by the priest. The Mishnah (Men. 10) describes the ritual in detail. It was celebrated with a great deal of ceremony and festivity in order to stress the opinion of the rabbis that the 16th of Nisan was the correct date. The ceremony, including the reaping, took place even if the 16th of Nisan was a Sabbath; one opinion has it that on a weekday five *se'ot* were reaped since after sifting only three would remain but that on a Sabbath only three were reaped so as to avoid unnecessary work (Men. 10:1). If the barley was ripe it was taken from the vicinity of Jerusalem; otherwise it could be brought from anywhere in Israel. It was reaped by three men, each with his own scythe and basket. The grain was then brought to the Temple where it was winnowed, parched, and ground into coarse flour. It was then sifted through 13 sieves and one tenth was given to the priest who mixed it with oil and frankincense for "a pleasing odor to the Lord" and "waved" it "before the Lord." This was done by the priest taking the offering on his outstretched hands and moving it from side to side and up and down. This ceremony was interpreted as a prayer to God to protect the harvest from injurious winds and other calamities (Men. 62a). After the waving ceremony a handful was burnt on the altar and the rest was eaten by the priests.

Counting the Omer

(Heb. סְפִירַת הָעֹמֶר, *Sefirat ha-Omer*). The injunction to count the 49 days from the 16th of Nisan until Shavuot is considered to be of Pentateuchal authority as long as the *Omer* itself was offered; thus at present time it is of rabbinic authority only. The 49 days themselves are commonly known as the *sefirah*.

The counting is preceded by a special benediction "… concerning the counting of the *Omer.*" Since the Bible states that "You shall count off seven weeks. They must be complete" and "You must count… fifty days," the counting must mention both the number of days and the number of weeks (Men. 65b–66a). Hence the standard formula runs as follows: on the first day, "Today is the first day of the *Omer*"; on the eighth day, "Today is the eighth day, making one week and one day of the *Omer,*" and so on. The time for the counting, which is to be done standing, is after the evening service, that is, when the new day begins (Sh. Ar., OḤ 489:1). One who forgets to count in the evening may count during the following day, without however reciting the blessing. He may then count again the same evening, using the blessing. But if he fails to count for one complete day, he is not permitted to resume the utterance of the blessing for the whole duration of the *Omer* (Sh. Ar., OḤ 489:7–8). And since the sole stipulation of the commandment is that the number of the particular day of the *Omer* is to be spoken aloud, one should avoid uttering it inadvertently once the time for counting has arrived; for example, if one has not yet counted and is asked what the number of the day is, one should reply by giving the number of the previous day (Sh. Ar., OḤ 489:4).

The kabbalists used the 49 days (7 × 7) to form permutations of various *sefirot* denoting the ascent out of the 49 "gates" of impurity of the Egyptian bondage to the purity of the revelation at Sinai. In many prayer books these combinations are printed at the side of each day listed. Because the days counted "must be complete" it has become customary not to recite the evening service for Shavuot until after nightfall of the 49th day, whereas for other festivals it is permissible to start some time before nightfall (see *Day and Night).

In order not to forget the count of the day it was fairly common practice to have an "*Omer* calendar" in the home with movable numbers on it. These "calendars" even developed into an art form and several early specimens show intricate work and lettering.

A Time of Mourning

From an unknown date during the talmudic period, the days of the *Omer* began to take on a character of semi-mourning; the solemnization of marriages was prohibited, then haircutting, and, later still, the use of musical instruments was banned. The mourning is normally associated with a plague said to have decimated the disciples of Rabbi kiva, who died "because they did not treat each other with respect" (Yev. 62b; cf. Sh. Ar., OḤ 493:1). But this reason for the mourning is among the many uncertainties connected with the *Omer* period and with *Lag ba-Omer, the minor festival celebrated on its 33rd day. The Talmud alludes to the plague, but makes no mention of any commemorative mourning. This is first recorded in the eighth century, when Neutrino Gone issued a responsum confirming both the practice of mourning and the accepted reason for it (Levin, Oẓar, Yevamot, 141). Subsequent codes and compilations of custom up to and including the Shulḥan Aruch (OḤ 493) cite this reference; and most, although not all (e.g., *Toledot Adam ve-Ḥavvah*, 5, 4; *Abudraham ha-Shalem* (1959), 245), presume that the custom did in fact originate with the death of Akiva's disciples. On the other hand, Maimonides' *Mishneh Torah* and the Ashkenazi *Maḥzor Vitry* appear unaware of its very existence.

Lag ba-Omer

The origin of Lag ba-Omer is likewise shrouded in mystery. It is not explicitly mentioned any earlier than the 13th century, when Meiri in his commentary to *Yevamot* (*Beit ha-Beḥirah*, Yev. 62b) described it as the day when, "according to a tradition of the *geonim*," the "plague" surceased. Moreover there are differences of opinion as to how the date of Lag ba-Omer is to be calculated. Fundamentally, there are two approaches to the question, which in turn account for the different periods of time (according to various rites) when the mourning restrictions are held to be in force.

One school of thought sees the 33rd day of the *Omer* as the anniversary of the termination of the plague. The authority for this view derives from a Midrash, no longer extant, which was handed down by Joshua ibn Shu'aib in the 14th century, or possibly based on an unknown "Spanish manuscript" cited by Zerahiah b. Isaac ha-Levi of the 12th century (see Tur, OḤ 493). In place of reading "they died from Passover to Shavuot," this Midrash adds the word "*pros*," i.e., "they died from Passover until before (*ad pros*) Shavuot." Pros" is taken to mean 15 days before; and thus implies that the plague terminated a fortnight before Shavuot, and Lag ba-Omer is the anniversary of that day. Strictly speaking, however, 15 days before Shavuot would be the 34th day of the *Omer,* as indeed the Shulḥan Arukh concedes.

The present custom, then, must be attributed to a different calculation which is given by Isserles in his gloss to the Shulḥan Arukh. The explanation stems from a *tosafot*, also no longer extant, cited by Ibn Shu'aib and most fully elaborated on by Jacob b. Moses Moellin in the 15th century in his *Sefer Maharil* (1873), 21b. In this work, Lag ba-Omer appears not as an anniversary at all but as a symbol of the 33 weekdays that occur during the course of the 49 days of the *Omer.* After subtracting the days of Passover, and those of the Sabbath and of Rosh Ḥodesh, only 33 are left from the 49 in which mourning is permissible; this fact is symbolically observed by constituting the 33rd day as a minor festival. This second mode of interpretation gave rise to three divergent customs regarding the mourning period. Some communities observed it for the 33 days from Passover to Shavuot omitting the special days, others for the 33 between Passover and Lag ba-Omer, and others for the 33 from after Rosh Ḥodesh Iyyar to Shavuot excluding Lag ba-Omer itself. The kabbalists took an entirely different approach to the matter. As to *sefirah* days, they stressed the idea of spiritual preparation for Shavuot, the anniversary of the revelation on Mt. Sinai (*Ḥemdat Yamim*, 3, 41d). Lag ba-Omer itself marked the **hillula* – the *yahrzeit* of *Simeon. b. Yoḥai, by tradition the author of the Zohar. It was either the day on which he was ordained by Rabbi Akiva, or when he emerged from the cave in Meron where he had been hiding from the Romans (Shab. 33b), or the day on which he died; and it is observed as a *hillula* – a festivity or a "wedding between heaven and earth." Hence the grand celebrations which take place at Meron (*Zohar Idra Zutra*, end of *Ha'azinu*). However, although the Zohar does speak of Simeon's death as a *hillula*, there is no recorded reference to its date earlier than that in *Peri Eẓ Ḥayyim* by Ḥayyim b. Joseph Vital (16/17th century; *Sha'ar Sefirat ha-Omer,* ch. 7).

While the celebrations at Meron excited enthusiasm among all sections of Jewish society and particularly from the kabbalists, they also provoked severe criticism. R. Moses *Sofer of Pressburg (d. 1839), after opposing the popular observance of lighting bonfires and questioning all of the reasons given above for the observance of Lag ba-Omer, offered his own explanation for the holiday. Lag ba-Omer is the day when manna began to fall in the wilderness (*Resp. Ḥatam Sofer,* YD 236). Since, however, the Talmud (Shab. 87b) and the *Sefer Olam* calculate that this happened two days earlier, there is, in the last resort, no unassailable determination of what actually took place on Lag ba-Omer; the only definite tradition is that the day is a holiday.

It has for a long time been considered – Nachman Krochmal (d. 1840) being the most notable to express this view – that the cryptic reference in the Talmud to the disciples of R. Akiva and their mysterious death is in fact a veiled report of the defeat of "Akiva's soldiers" in the war with Rome (cf. Maimonides, *Yad Melakhim* 11:3; probably based on TJ, Ta'an. 4:5). As a result, a variety of new theories have arisen among modern writers as to the origin of Lag ba-Omer. R. Isaac Nissenbaum of Warsaw, author of several books on religious Zionism, suggested that Lag ba-Omer is the anniversary of some great but brief triumph by the Judeans in their forlorn war with the Romans – possibly the recapture of Jerusalem, for which special coins were struck (*Hagut Lev* (1911), 181). Y.T. Levinsky, in *Sefer ha-Mo'adim* (1955), 340–2, pursues this line further; he cites Josephus (Wars 2:402ff.) as authority for the fact that a Judean uprising commenced in 66 C.E. in the days of the procurator Florus. At the same time he concurs with the tradition associating the victory on Lag ba-Omer with Bar Kokhba 70 years later, as well as with the story that Julius Serverus' campaign against the insurrectionist Judeans was most severe during the period between Passover and Shavuot.

Eliezer Levi (*Yesodot ha-Tefillah* (1952), 232) advanced a hypothesis endeavoring to resolve another problem sensed by earlier writers; namely why we should mourn for the disciples of Rabbi Akiva, since they died as a punishment for their unseemly conduct? In view of the veiled references to the war with the Romans, he suggests, the judgment of the Talmud is to be understood not as condemning Akiva's disciples and their lack of respect for one another, but on the contrary as praising their dedication and teamwork. On the other hand, it may be that the phrases in the Talmud are to be understood in their literal sense: "Akiva's soldiers" were defeated due to a lack of coordination and unified command (see *Panim el Panim*, no. 574, May 22, 1970). The earlier traditions surrounding Bar Yoḥai's connection with Lag ba-Omer are entirely in accord with these theories, and one might then draw up a summary or composite theory in the following vein: Bar Kokhba's (i.e., Akiva's) men suffered an overwhelming defeat during the weeks between Passover and Shavuot; on the 33rd day of the *Omer* they enjoyed an important, though brief, change of fortune; and on this day Bar Yoḥai, one of the leading fighters in the uprising, either emerged from hiding in Meron, or lost his life in securing the victory.

Other Explanations

Extra-rabbinic sources do not help to clarify the matter. Some students of folklore trace the mournful nature of the days of the *sefirah* to the Roman superstition against marriages in May. The fullest statement of this theory was made in the 19th century by Julius Landsberger of Darmstadt (see bibl.). The author cites Ovid (Fast 5: 419ff.), who explains that the Romans did not solemnize marriages in May due to the fact that this was the month of the *Lemuria* when the souls of the departed returned to wander over the earth and disturb the peace of the living. Funeral rites (*Lemuria*) were held to appease the spirits, and no Roman maiden would jeopardize her happiness by marrying during a month associated with funeral ceremonies. According to Landsberger, the Roman superstition was adopted by the Jews, who subsequently lost all recollection of its origin and found a new rationale for it in the tragedy of Akiva's disciples. Landsberger's theory leaves many questions unanswered. It does not explain why there is a ban on haircutting during the *Omer* as well as on marriage, or why the custom prevailed in geonic countries. But it does, however, offer an ingenious explanation of the origin of Lag ba-Omer. Among the Romans, the period of superstitious fear lasted for 32 days starting from Walpurgis Night (the last night of April) and continuing throughout the 31 days of May. In commemoration of this period of 32 days, its conclusion on the 33rd day was celebrated as a festival.

Theodor H. Gaster (*Festivals of the Jewish Year* (1953), 52) suggests that Lag ba-Omer, especially with its custom of children going forth with bows and arrows, is a Jewish version of the English and German custom of shooting arrows at demons on May day, i.e., the day after Walpurgis Night. In the view of Joseph Naphtali Derenbourg (in REJ, 29 (1894), 149), Lag ba-Omer is a day in the middle of the *sefirah* period when mourning is to be relaxed, comparable to *mi-carême* observed midway during Lent. There were 34 (twice 17) bad days during the *sefirah*; a respite was needed and the first day of the second half was chosen. J. Morgenstern (in: HUCA, 39 (1968), 81–90) points out that the date of Lag ba-Omer is the approximate midpoint of the 49-day period for those dissidents who begin their *Omer* offering the day after Passover. L.H. Silberman (see bibl.) following H. Grimme, regards the day as commemorating an anniversary celebrated in honor of Marduk; and Gustav Dalman conjectured that it may have marked the first day of summer between the 13th and 25th of May, which was distinguished by the early rising of the Pleiades (cf. RH 11b).

Later Events During the Omer

If the origins of the mourning during the *sefirah* period remain obscure, more identifiable subsequent events add justification for its observance today. According to 13th-century authorities, the melancholy of the season was in remembrance of the victims of the Crusades in the Rhineland in 1096 and 1146 (*Sefer Minhag Tov, Sefer Asufot*). These Crusades are recollected in *piyyutim* of lament during the Sabbaths of the *sefirah*, together with mention of another series of massacres that took place in the springtime, i.e., those perpetrated in 1648–49 by the Cossacks and the Poles. Later and modern sources, such as the *siddur* of Jacob Emden and the *Arukh ha-Shulḥan* (OḤ 493:1) include these together with the earlier events. And in J. Vainstein's *Cycle of the Jewish Year* (1953), 131–2, the revolt of the ghettos against the Nazis in the month of Nisan is included in the discussion of the *sefirah* and mention is made of the Knesset's decision to fix the 27th of that month as a memorial day for the victims. On the other hand, Israel Independence Day (5th of Iyyar) has the status of a half-holiday, and has been included among the days on which mourning restrictions are suspended (Resp. *Kol Mevasser pt.* 1, no. 21).

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[David M. Feldman]

OMER (Ayin), HILLEL (1926–1990), Hebrew writer and poet. Born and educated in the kibbutz Mishmar *ha-Emek, Hillel fought in the *Palmaḥ during the Israel War of Independence. After the war he studied horticulture in Paris. His first poems were published when he was 18, and his first collection, *Ereẓ ha-Ẓohorayim*, appeared in 1950. His books of stories and verse for children include *Boker Tov* (1961) and *Dodi Simḥah* (1964). In 1968, he was appointed director of the Department of Landscape and Gardening of the Tel Aviv municipality.

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[Getzel Kressel]

OMNAM KEN (Heb. אָמְנָם כֵּן; "Yes, it is true"), initial words and name of a penitential *piyyut* for the *Kol Nidrei service on the eve of the Day of Atonement, known only in the Ashkenazi (German and Polish) ritual. This *piyyut*, of an alphabetical acrostic pattern, was composed by R. *Yom Tov of Joigny, who died as a martyr in the York massacre in 1190. The *piyyut* emphasizes the sinfulness of man who fails because of his evil inclinations, and pleads for God's forgiveness and mercy. Each of its 11 stanzas ends with *salaḥti* ("I have pardoned"), derived from Numbers 14:20.

Text and English translation printed in *High Holiday Prayerbook*, ed. by Morris Silverman (1954^{2}), 233; *Service of the Synagogue, Day of Atonement*, 1 (1955), 38.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Davidson, Oẓar, 1 (1924), 263, no. 5764.

OMRI (Heb. עָמְרִי), king of Israel (c. 882–871 B.C.E., I Kings 16:16–28), contemporary of King Asa of Judah. Omri's father's name is not mentioned in sources. According to II Kings 16:23, Omri reigned over the Kingdom of Israel for 12 years, six of them in Tirzah. But according to the synchronism with the king of Judah, it would seem that he reigned only eight years (I Kings 16:23, 29). The background of Omri's ascent to the throne at Tirzah was the extinction of *Baasha's dynasty and struggle for power among the high officers of the army, When the report was received that *Zimri had liquidated *Elah, son of Baasha, "all Israel" made Omri "the captain of the host," king of Israel. At that time Omri was on the field of battle, fighting the Philistines at the border town of Gibbethon (I Kings 16:15, 17; cf. 15:27). Omri and "all Israel" with him turned north to Tirzah, which they besieged and captured. After Zimri's death, the struggle for the throne continued between Omri and *Tibni son of Ginath (I Kings 16:21–22), each respectively having the support of "half of the people," and ended with the latter's death.

Of all Omri's deeds after he became king of Israel, only one item is mentioned in the Bible, which concerns his founding of the city of *Samaria. Omri left Tirzah, which had been the royal capital since the reign of *Jeroboam the son of Nebat (14:17), and built himself a new capital on land which he bought from Shemer, "the owner of the hill Samaria" (16:24). Samaria remained the capital of the Kingdom of Israel for the rest of its existence. The name Omri became an established term to indicate the Israelite kings (in the Assyrian documents *Bît Ḫumri*) even after the death of Omri and his descendants. According to archaeological evidence, the building of the Samarian acropolis and the royal palace within, begun in Omri's reign, was only completed in the time of his son *Ahab. The removal of the capital from Tirzah to Samaria marks a new chapter in the history of the Israelite kingdom. Omri achieved stability in internal affairs, after a prolonged period of riots and tumult in the court, and founded a dynasty which remained in power for nearly 50 years. The stabilization of the central government brought in its wake a general improvement in Israel's military and political standing. In the stele of *Mesha king of Moab, it is related that Omri gained possession of Madaba in the northern section of the plain north of the Arnon. Omri's successes in southern Transjordan were the result of a policy of mending quarrels and establishing peaceful relations with neighbors in the north and in the south. In Omri's time the prolonged war between Judah and Israel was discontinued. The Davidids accepted (at least temporarily) the existence of the northern kingdom, and the two royal houses made a pact (see: *Ahab, *Jehoshaphat). Israel enjoyed great economic prosperity in the time of Omri as a result of the treaty with Ethbaal king of Sidon, which was sealed by the marriage between Jezebel, Ethbaal's daughter, and Ahab, apparently while Omri was still alive (cf. Amos 1:9, "the brotherly covenant"). The triple alliance between Israel, Judah, and Phoenicia served at the same time as a counterweight to the threat of Aram-Damascus, whose aim was to gain possession of the northern part of Ereẓ Israel and to establish hegemony in Syria and Ereẓ Israel (see: *Ben-Hadad). The triple alliance countered the Aramean threat but could not reduce it entirely. From I Kings 20:34 it becomes apparent that Aram-Damascus had some advantage over the Samarian kingdom. There were "bazaars" in Samaria belonging to Damascus already in Omri's time, and Israel was forced to grant special privileges to Aramean merchants in Samaria. In spite of the relative stability which Omri achieved in internal affairs and his improvement of Israel's political status externally, the biblical historiographer finds fault with Omri (I Kings 16:25–26). This negative assessment stems from the religious and social viewpoint and is in accordance with the Deuteronomic school. Indeed Omri did not abolish the worship of the golden calves which Jeroboam the son of Nebat had introduced. Moreover, the politico-economic alliance with Phoenicia had far-reaching results in cultural, religious, and social spheres – the cult of the Tyrian Baal took root among the royal courtiers, royal officers, and the urban population. The economic prosperity was not felt equally by all groups of the population, and thus the economic rift in Israelite society was widened. The increasing sway of the foreign cults on the one hand, and the social oppression (cf. "the statutes of Omri" in Micah 6:16) on the other, caused the formation of a strong opposition movement to Omri and his house, at the head of which stood the prophets, such as *Elijah and *Elisha, and those who had remained faithful to the Lord.

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[Bustanay Oded]

OMSK, town in S.W. Siberia, Russian Federation. The first Jewish settlers in Omsk were exiles to Siberia. During 1828–56 Jewish children who had been seized for military service were sent to the *Cantonist regiment in Omsk. The community was formed by the exiles and ex-servicemen of the Russian army. In 1855 the first synagogue was founded and a second in 1873. The Jewish population numbered 1,138 Jews (3% of the population) in 1897. There were 4,389 Jews in the province of Omsk in 1926; 2,135 in the city (1.6% of the total) in 1939; and 9,175 Jews in 1959. In 1970 the Jewish population was estimated at about 10,000. In 2002 there were 2,400 Jews in the entire Omsk district, with Jewish life reviving from the 1990s, including Jewish clubs, a Chabad kindergarten, and an active synagogue in the city.

[Yehuda Slutsky]

ONA'AH (Heb. אוֹנָאָה; "overreaching"), the act of wronging another by selling him an article for more than its real worth or by purchasing from him an article for less than its real worth.

Origin and Nature of the Prohibition

The prohibition against *ona'ah* has its origin in the Pentateuch, "And if thou sell aught unto thy neighbor, or buy of thy neighbor's hand, ye shall not wrong one another" (Lev. 25:14). The passage was construed by the scholars as relating to overreaching in monetary matters, and they distinguished three degrees of this, according to whether the discrepancy amounts to one-sixth, less than one-sixth, or more than one-sixth of the value of the article (see below). The law of *ona'ah* applies to undercharging as well as overcharging (Sh. Ar., ḤM) 227:2). The prohibition against *ona'ah* is a separate one but is also embraced within the wider prohibition against robbery. Despite the express enjoinder of the prohibition as a negative command, transgression is not punished by *flogging since the overreaching is remediable by restitution, and the person who has overreached – whether wittingly or unwittingly – is obligated to make good the discrepancy (Yad, Mekhirah 12:1; Sh. Ar., ḤM 227:2).

Three Degrees of Ona'ah

In the case where a person has overreached by one-sixth, the transaction is valid, but he must make good the discrepancy to the injured party (BM 50b). The discrepancy of one-sixth is calculated on the market value. If the discrepancy amounts to less than one-sixth, the transaction is valid and the difference need not be made good (Yad, loc. cit. 12:3). As regards sales and purchases transacted by minors, the scholars, having noted that their transactions shall be valid for the sake of insuring their vital needs, also laid down that, even though minors have no legal capacity to waive their rights, their mistake shall nonetheless be treated in the same way as the mistake of an adult (Sh. Ar., ḤM 235:3), and they must be deemed to waive their right in respect of overreaching amounting to less than one-sixth. If the discrepancy amounts to more than one-sixth, the transaction is void, but the injured party may waive his right in respect of the overreaching and uphold the transaction (Yad, *loc. cit.* 12:4). Some scholars held that the party who has overreached may insist on voiding the transaction even though the injured party is willing to waive his rights in the matter (Tos. to BM 50b).

Contracting Out of the Law of Overreaching

A stipulation between the parties stating, "on condition that there is no overreaching therein" (i.e., in the transaction), or "on condition that you have no claim of overreaching against me," is invalid (Sh. Ar., ḤM 227:21), since the language used implies a stipulation contrary to a prohibition laid down in the Torah and one may not stipulate to set aside the Pentateuchal law; however, when the amounts involved in the transaction are specified, a stipulation of this nature is valid, since the injured party knows the precise amount of the overreaching to which he waives his right, and all stipulations in monetary matters are valid (*ibid.* (*mamon*) see also *Contract). If the parties agreed that the purchase price be determined by the valuation of a third party, the parties to the transaction will have a claim against each other for overreaching if it is later found that the valuer erred in his valuation (Sh. Ar., ḤM 227:25).

Property Not Subject to the Law of Overreaching

Four items are not subject to the law of overreaching: land, slaves, deeds, and consecrated property (*hekdesh*; BM 56b). "Even though it is a decree of the Torah, yet the matter must to some extent be amplified by logical reasoning. For a person sometimes buys land for more than its worth, and the scholars called land something that is always worth the money paid for it. Contrariwise, when a person is in need of money but finds no purchaser, he sells it (land) for much less than its worth, since it is impossible to carry land from place to place. Similarly, slaves are sometimes the source of trouble, yet a person who is in need of a slave may be prepared to pay a high price for him. As regards deeds which are due for payment, these are sometimes subject to depreciation because of the financial position of the debtor or his aggressiveness. Concerning consecrated property in the Temple period, it was decided that 'if *hekdesh* worth a *maneh* had been redeemed for the equivalent of a *perutah*, the redemption was valid' – hence, in the sale of consecrated property also there is no law of overreaching, even though the Temple treasury be wronged, so that the buyer cannot retract since 'a verbal undertaking in favor of the Temple treasury is as a delivery to the common man'" (*Arukh ha-Shulḥan*, ḤM 227:34).

LAND. The law of overreaching applies neither to the sale nor the leasing of land (Yad, Mekhirah 13:14). Anything which is attached to the land is subject to the same law as the land itself, provided that it is dependent on that land itself (Sh. Ar., ḤM 193). An opinion was also expressed that the same law applies to both, even when the article attached to the land is not dependent on that land itself (*Rema*, ad loc.). A very early opinion that land outside Ereẓ Israel is considered as movable property and subject to the law of overreaching was rejected (Tur., ḤM, 95:4).

SLAVES. There is no overreaching as regards slaves, since the law of slaves is analogous to the law of land (BM 56b. See *Slavery). Hence it was laid down as *halakhah* that the law of overreaching does not apply to the hire of laborers, because it is as if the employer buys the laborer for a limited time and the latter's position is assimilated to that of a slave required for a limited period (Yad, Mekhirah, 13:15). The opinion that the law of overreaching applies to a contractor (*kabbelan*; Yad, loc. cit. 13:18) is disagreed with by certain scholars (Nov. Ramban, BM 55a; Maggid Mishneh, Mekhirah 13:15). A minority opinion that the hire of a laborer is subject to the law of overreaching was rejected (Resp. Maharam of Rothenburg, ed. Prague, no. 749; see also *Labor Law). There is no law of overreaching as regards a Hebrew slave (*Minḥat Ḥinnukh*, no. 337).

DEEDS. There is no overreaching as regards bonds, but money bills issued in different countries at the instance of the government are treated as money in all respects since they are officially issued and are taken in payment; however, shares and the like which are not officially issued are apparently like deeds and not subject to the law of overreaching (*Pitḥei Teshuvah*, YD 305, n. 7 and ḤM 95, n. 1).

The scholars expressed differing opinions on the question of whether enormous overreaching gives ground for invalidating a transaction relating to land, slaves, or deeds; one view is that the transaction may be invalidated when the overreaching exceeds one-sixth of the price (*Halakhot*, Rif, BM 57a); another is that this may be done if the overreaching reaches one-half of the purchase price (Rif, loc. cit.); and a third is that the sale is only invalidated when the limit of one-half has been exceeded (*Rema*, ḤM 227:29; *Sma, Siftei Kohen* and *Ha-Gra*, ad loc.). However, the accepted opinion is that, with regard to land, slaves, and deeds, the law of overreaching never applies nor does it ever serve to invalidate the transaction (Sh. Ar., ḤM 227:29; *Siftei Kohen*, ḤM 66, n. 122).

CONSECRATED PROPERTY. In the Temple period the law of overreaching did not apply to consecrated property (BM 56b; Yad, Mekhirah 13:8), but "in these times" the law of overreaching does apply in respect of consecrated property and property dedicated to the poor (ḤM 227, n. 48; see **Hekdesh*). Although it was enjoined, "if you shall sell" the law of overreaching applies to coins (BM 51b), despite the fact that a coin is not something that is sold (ḤM 227, n. 26).

Further Cases of Exclusion from the Law of Overreaching

BARTER. The accepted opinion is that the law of overreaching does not operate in a transaction of barter (see *Acquisition, Yad, Mekhirah, 13:1; Sh. Ar., ḤM 227:20). In the opinion of some scholars, utensils and animals that are stock in trade are subject to the law of overreaching even when bartered, and the rule excluding overreaching in barter was laid down solely in respect of property traded by a layman (Resp. Radbaz, no. 1340, and see below).

"ONE WHO TRADES ON TRUST." There is no overreaching as regards "one who trades on trust" (BM 51b). "How so? If the seller said to the purchaser 'I purchased this article for so and so much and I wish to earn thereon so and so much,' the purchaser will have no claim against him for overreaching" (Arukh ha-Shulḥan 227:28), "even if the overreaching amounts to more than one-sixth" (Yad, Mekhirah 14:1). On the other hand, the scholars laid down that raising the prices of commodities beyond the accepted level, or beyond those fixed by the competent authority, amounts to a transgression of the prohibition against profiteering.

PERSONAL APPAREL. The law of overreaching does not apply to the sale of apparel because the owner would not sell such articles except if he received the price he demanded (BM 51a), and this is so even when he is known to have sold these items on account of financial hardship (Resp. Rosh, no. 105:3). The scholars differed as to whether or not the "layman" has a claim in respect of overreaching (*Shitah Mekubbeẓet* loc. cit.; *Maggid Mishneh*, Mekhirah 13:2). It was held that if he has sold articles which are normally traded, he will have a claim in respect of overreaching (*Ḥananel*, BM 51a).

AGENCY. The law of *ona'ah* does not operate in respect of property sold through an agent. If the agent is overreached in any manner, the sale is void since his principal may say, "I delegated you to act to my advantage and not to my detriment" (Kid. 42b; Yad, Mekhirah 13:9). If the purchaser is the injured party, some scholars hold that the sale is void, as it is in the reverse case, but the accepted opinion is that in this case the law applies as if the agent were acting independently and the purchaser waives a discrepancy of less than one-sixth (Rosh, loc. cit.; Sh. Ar., EH 104:6). When the fact that a party was acting as an agent remained undisclosed, the sale will be valid as long as the overreaching did not reach the stipulated measure (Yad, Sheluḥin 2:4). The principal has the right to retract on account of overreaching even in matters which are not otherwise subject to the law of overreaching (Sh. Ar., ḤM, 227:30). He has the right either to void the sale or to uphold it, but the purchaser is not entitled to seek its invalidation (*Netivot ha-Mishpat, Mishpat ha-Urim* 185, n. 8).

The law of overreaching is the same for a guardian (see *Apotropos) as it is for a principal (Sh. Ar., ḤM 227:30), even when the former is appointed by the court (Mekhirah 13:9). A partner who has bought or sold is subject to the same law as a person who has bought or sold his own property, since this is not a case in which it may properly be said, "I have delegated you to act to my advantage and not to my detriment" (*Siftei Kohen*, ḤM 77, 19). A broker who has an interest in the property sold is held by some scholars to be in the same position as an agent (*Netivot ha-Mishpat, Mishpat ha-Urim*, 222, n. 16), while another opinion is that his position is equated with that of a partner (ḤM 227, n. 42; see also *Shalish). The law of overreaching does not apply to transactions negotiated by the "seven senior citizens" (i.e., public representatives) on behalf of the community (Ran on Rif, Meg. 8a; *Rema*, OH 153:7; *Taz*, thereto, n. 8).

Division of Property by Brothers or Partners

The law of overreaching applies to the division of inherited property by brothers or partners, since their position is assimilated to that of purchasers. This rule applies to partners in respect of the partnership property only and not to a mere profit-sharing or business partnership (*Arukh ha-Shulḥan*, ḤM 8, 227:338; see also *Ownership).

Claim for Restitution or Invalidation of a Transaction

A purchaser who wishes to claim restitution or to invalidate a transaction on the grounds of overreaching must do so within the time it would take for him to show the article to a merchant or other person from whom he may ascertain its market price (Sh. Ar., ḤM 227:7). Longer delay entails forfeiture of his right, but he need not pay the price if he has not yet done so (*Siftei Kohen*, thereto). If the injured party is the seller, he may retract at any time since he no longer holds the article and cannot show it to a merchant (BM 50b; Yad, Mekhirah 12:6; Sh. Ar., ḤM 227:8). However, if the seller should ascertain the value of the article and thereafter fail to claim restitution of the amount of the overreaching or invalidation of the sale, he will forfeit his right to do so (Yad and Sh. Ar., loc. cit.), but another opinion is that the seller retains this right at all times (*Maggid Mishneh*, Mekhirah 12:6).

[Shmuel Shilo]

Further Remarks on the Nature of Ona'ah

In addition to comments above regarding the nature of the law of overreaching, it may be regarded as derivative of the prohibition of robbery, and the Talmud indeed discusses the relationship between overreaching and theft (BM 61a). However, it is more likely that this law was an innovation of Jewish law, being a separate prohibition in its own right, since the prohibition of overreaching has many unique characteristics, as indicated by the details of the laws discussed above, and because the prohibition does not apply to a sale to non-Jews (Yad, Mekhirah 13:7; Sh. Ar, ḤM 227:26), whereas the prohibition of theft applies to the non-Jew as well.

Certain authorities even regard the prohibition as being religiously based, unrelated to civil law (Rabbenu Hanannel, BM 51b; Asheri, BM 4:7), indicating that this law originated from the ethical imperative of conducting business fairly and amicably, based on the verse "that your brother may live with you" (Lev. 25:36).

The unique nature of the prohibition against overreaching is expressed by the conditions of its application: (1) The article to be sold must have a known market value; (2) the buyer must be unaware of this market value. These conditions severely impede the implementation of the law in our times, as the vast majority of items sold do not have a fixed, uniform price, and prices may vary considerably from place to place and among different vendors. Furthermore, a buyer would have difficulty in convincing a court that he did not know that prices of goods are likely to vary.

The Law of Overreaching and Acts of Public Authorities

Actions of a public authority in the areas of finance and commerce differ from those of the private person, in that a public authority must exercise a higher degree of seriousness, integrity, and fairness. One of the manifestations of the special standing of the public authority is that the law of *ona'ah* does not apply to public authorities. Where a public authority sells something, it cannot revoke the sale by claiming that the consideration for the sale was too low, to the extent of constituting *ona'ah* – invoking the talmudic rule that where the contract price was a sixth below the fair price, the seller, who is the injured party in this case, cannot rescind the transaction.

The rationale given for this principle is that "it is unseemly for the community to say: We have made a mistake" (R. Solomon b. Simeon Duran, Algiers, 15th century – Resp. Rashbash, no. 566). This principle and its sources in Jewish law were cited and relied upon in the Israeli Supreme Court in the *Lugasi* case (HC 376/81 *Lugasi v. Minister of Communications*, 36 (2) PD, 449, pp. 465–471, per Justice Menachem Elon, in the context of the obligations of a public authority in its business dealings.

[Menachem Elon (2nd ed.)]

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ONAGER (Heb. פֶּרֶא, Wild Ass; Job 39:5, also עָרוֹד). Two subspecies of the wild ass, the *Equus hemionus hemihippus*, the Syrian onager, and the *Equus hemionus onager,* the Arabian onager, existed in the Syrian desert up to the present century. The onager is described as loving freedom (Jer. 2:24) and fearless (Job 39:5–8). Its habitat is in waste places (Isa. 32:44 and Job 39:6), and Ishmael who was to dwell in the desert is called a wild ass of a man (Gen. 16:12). It appears that from time to time efforts were made to domesticate the wild ass. An ancient Sumerian picture shows it harnessed to a wagon, and the Tosefta (Kil. 5:5) forbids the yoking of an ass with an onager. It was sometimes employed for turning millstones (Av. Zar. 16b). It would appear that the wild ass flourished in the talmudic period, and its flesh was used to feed animals in the arena (Men. 103b). In Babylon fields were fenced in to prevent the onagers from doing damage (BB 36a).

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[Jehuda Feliks]

ONAN (Heb. אוֹנָן; "power," "wealth"), second son of Judah and Shua (Gen. 38:2–4; 46:12; Num. 26:19). After the death of his elder brother Er, Onan was instructed by his father to contract a levirate marriage with his childless sister-in-law Tamar (Gen. 38:7–8). Onan refused to fulfill his fraternal duty, and whenever he had relations with Tamar he would let the semen go to waste (presumably by *coitus interruptus*, although the term *onanism can be actually applied to masturbation), thereby avoiding effective consummation of the marriage (38:9). Onan's offensive conduct was motivated by the fact that the son born of a levirate marriage was accounted to the dead brother (Deut. 25:5–6). His uncharitableness was displeasing to the Lord, who took his life (Gen. 38:10). The Judahite genealogy in I Chronicles 2:3 does not mention the death of Onan.

This story may possibly contain a historical nucleus reflecting the extinction of two clans of the tribe of Judah.

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ONANISM, term derived from the biblical narrative of Onan, son of Judah (Gen. 38, 7–10), who "spilled" his seed "on the ground." Onanism refers to the thwarting of the sexual process in one of several ways. In Hebrew, it is called more fully *ma'aseh Er ve-Onan* ("the act of Er and Onan") and is taken by the Midrash (Gen. R. 85:5; and by Rashi to the Pentateuch) to mean *coitus interruptus* and by the Talmud (Yev. 34b) to refer either to unnatural intercourse or (cf. Nid. 13a) to masturbation. The Zohar (*Va-Yeshev*, p. 188a; *Va-Yeḥi*, p. 219b) expatiates on the evil of onanism in the last sense, which condemnation then entered the Shulḥan Arukh (EH, 23:2) to underscore the gravity of the sin of *hashḥatat zera* ("improper emission of seed"). Halakhically, there is a question whether the prohibition against onanism, in any sense, is a prohibition of biblical or of rabbinic force. A 16th-century legal work by R. Moses Trani, *Kiryat Sefer* (on Yad, Issurei Bi'ah, 21), whose express purpose is to determine which of the commandments are biblical and which rabbinic, did not reach a decision about onanism. The Onan narrative in the Bible is pre-Sinai, and the context makes it sufficiently doubtful whether Onan's sin is his contraceptive act or his frustration of the purpose of levirate marriage, i.e., to establish progeny for his brother. Other biblical bases for onanism or *hashḥatat zera* (Gen. 1:28; 6:12; Ex. 20:13; Lev. 18:6; Isa. 1:15; 57:5) are variously regarded as deductive, or "intimations" (*remez*), from the standpoint of their biblical derivation, though the prohibition is nonetheless clear. The question is of more than academic interest, as evidenced by the circumstances under which onanism is condoned. *Coitus interruptus*, for example, is actually recommended by R. Eliezer in the Talmud (Yev. 34b) as a contraceptive procedure to prevent dilution of the mother's milk during nursing, but is rejected by the other sages and is forbidden by all the law codes, beginning with that of Maimonides (Yad, Issurei Bi'ah 21:18). Yet the factors of intent and constancy (as was indeed the case with Onan) are considered, and the responsa would permit, for example, the continuance of marital relations where interrupted coitus is unintentional or irregular. On the other hand, the deviations of "unnatural" coitus (*she-lo kedarkah*) are objected to on moral grounds (Maim. Comm. to Sanh. 7:4), though legally permitted (Ned. 20b; Sanh. 58b). R. Isaac in *tosafot* (Yev. 34b) reconciled the leniency of the sages in law with what they condemned in Er and Onan, by distinguishing between the corrupt intent of Onan and legitimate heterosexual intent in ordinary marital relations. The responsa, too, ruled in accordance with the latter interpretation – despite the reaction that set in against this point of view after the Zohar appeared, leading R. Joseph Caro to claim that R. Isaac would not have ruled so permissively had he seen what the Zohar says on the subject (*Bedek ha-Bayit* to *Beit Yosef*, EH, 25). Other medieval mystical works sided with the Zohar in this matter, but the legal tradition affirmed the permissibility of *she-lo kedarkah* in marital relations. A post-medieval mystic, R. Jacob Emden (d. 1776), addressed himself to the difference between the talmudic and zoharic attitudes toward onanism in the sense of masturbation, which has consequences for the question of birth control. He prefers the attitude of the Talmud, and calls that of the Zohar "exaggeration" (*Mitpaḥat Sefarim* (Altona, 1768), 1:20). More important, he emphasizes a doctrine, articulated by earlier legal authorities, that the prohibition against onanism in method is not applicable to marital contraception; that when contraception is necessary and abstinence would be the alternative, then possible onanism in the use of a contraceptive device is neutralized by the positive *mitzvah* of marital sex. In the voluminous responsa literature on birth control, the dominant tendency is to rule in this manner; namely, that Onan's marriage to his brother's widow, ordinarily prohibited, was exceptionally permitted in order to produce progeny – a purpose his act frustrated. But in ordinary marriages, the sexual relation without procreative possibility is allowable; and, where contraception must be practiced, the use of a device which smacks of Onan's method but is free of his intent (*Tosefot Ri-D* to Yev. 12b) is preferable to abstinence, so that the *mitzvah* of marital sex can be continued. For reasons such as this, an oral contraceptive – such as the pill, or its talmudic prototype, the *kos shel ikkarin* ("cup of barrenness") – is preferable to other contraceptive devices, for an oral contraceptive is onanistic neither in intent nor in method. Because of the objectionable methods of contraception available, rabbinic responsa by and large allowed contraception only for medical reasons. However, where oral contraception is possible, the responsa would be more permissive – but only in a way consistent with the overriding *mitzvah* of procreation.

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[David M. Feldman]

ONDERWIJZER, ABRAHAM BEN SAMSON HA-KOHEN (1862–1934), Dutch rabbi. Born in Muiden, near Amsterdam, Onderwijzer studied at the rabbinical seminary of Amsterdam under Rabbi J. *Duenner. In 1888 he was appointed rabbi of the Ashkenazi community in Amsterdam and in 1917, chief rabbi of the town and of the province of North Holland. Onderwijzer translated the Pentateuch with Rashi's commentary into Dutch and added his own explanations (1895–1901). In 1895 he founded Bezalel, an organization of Jewish workers, for the amelioration of the religious and economic conditions of the Jewish workers in Amsterdam, most of whom worked in the diamond industry. Bezalel acted in conjunction with the general diamond workers' trade union (A.N.D.B.B.) in Holland.

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[Yehoshua Horowitz]

ONES (Heb. אֹנֶס), either (1) compelling a person to act against his will, or (2) the occurrence of an unavoidable event that prevents or obstructs the performance of certain acts, or causes them to occur. Both categories of *ones* are derived exegetically from the verse in the Pentateuch dealing with *ones* in the sense of compulsion. With regard to the rape of a betrothed maiden, it states (Deut. 22:26): "But unto the damsel thou shalt do nothing." From this the sages inferred that in all cases of "*ones* the merciful [Torah] exempts" (Ned. 27a; BK 28b).

Compelling a Person to Act against His Will

CATEGORIES OF ONES OF COMPULSION. *Ones* of compulsion comprises three categories: the threat of death, physical torture, and financial loss. Compulsion by threat of death or as a result of physical torture is adjudged as *ones* in all cases (Ket. 33b; see Tos. ad loc.). Financial pressure is not considered as *ones* in cases of transgression or **issur* (acts forbidden by the Torah), but as regards money matters, divorce, or an oath, the authorities differ (see below). The threat of duress (*le'enos*) counts as *ones* if the threatener possesses the power to execute the threat himself or through the agency of others (Sh. Ar., ḤM 205:7), but some scholars do not permit the extension of *ones* to such a threat (*Rema*, ad loc). If the threat is made to a kinsman, for example, it is generally counted as *ones* of compulsion (Resp. Rashbash no. 339; *Haggahot Mordekhai Git.* no. 467; Resp. Bezalel Ashkenazi no. 15), but other scholars differ (*Tashbeẓ* 1:1; *Rema*, EH 134:5).

IN COMPULSION TO WRONGDOING. Anyone who commits a transgression through *ones* is exempt (Tos. to Yev. 54a; Yad, Yesodei ha-Torah 5:4) even from the judgment of heaven (Resp. Ribash 4 and 11). Even though a person commits one of the three transgressions of which it is said that he should choose death rather than commit them, he will not be punished if he acted under duress. He is obliged, however, to expend money to enable himself to escape from a situation where otherwise he would be forced to transgress (Resp. Ribash 387; and see *Penal Law).

IN KIDDUSHIN. If a man was compelled under duress to betroth a woman, some authorities hold that the *kiddushin* (see *Marriage) is valid (Yad, Ishut 4:1 and *Maggid Mishnah* ad loc. in the name of Rashba), but others maintain that it is of no effect (Sh. Ar., EH 42:1). Those who hold that the *kiddushin* is valid base their opinion on the fact that a man can *divorce his wife without her consent (*Maggid Mishneh* loc. cit.; *Beit Shemu'el* 42, n. 1) – even after the ban of Rabbenu Gershom prohibiting divorce against the woman's will – should he have been compelled to betroth her under duress (*Beit Shemu'el*, *loc. cit.*). If a woman is compelled under duress to be betrothed, the *kiddushin* is as valid as if she had acted willingly (BB 48b), but nevertheless the rabbis nullified it because of her partner's improper behavior (*ibid.*; see *Marriage).

IN DIVORCE. A husband divorcing his wife must act freely (Yad, Gerushin 1:1–2), and a divorce given by the husband against his will is divorce under duress and therefore invalid. There are, however, cases in which the court may compel the husband to grant a divorce, and in such cases it is valid (Git. 9:2; see *Divorce). Some authorities are of the opinion that in such cases the husband must say, "I am willing" (*Netivot ha-Mishpat, Mishpat ha-Urim* 205, n. 1), but others say that if he gives the divorce without making any remark then this is tantamount to saying, "I am willing" (*Ḥavvot Ya'ir* nos. 55 and 56). Various explanations are given for the validity of this divorce despite its being given under duress. Some explain that just as in a *sale under duress the sale is valid because of the assumption that in the end the seller made up his mind to sell (under certain conditions; see below), this is also the case in a divorce given under duress when compulsion is legally permitted (Tos. to BB 48a); others say that as it is a religious precept to obey the sages, the husband is reconciled to the divorce (*Rashbam* BB 48a); while others hold that the laws of *ones* are not applicable to one legally bound to act in a particular way, even though his act results from compulsion (Yad, Gerushin 2:20). Financial duress counts as *ones* with regard to compulsion to divorce (Resp. Rashba vol. 4 no. 40; Nov. Ritba Kid. 49b s.v. *ve-ha*), but some authorities disagree and do not regard it as *ones* (*Toledot Adam ve-Ḥavvah*, Ḥavvah 24:1).

IN SALE. If a purchaser snatches the property of the seller through giving him the purchase price against his will, then this is an invalid sale. In this case the purchaser is treated as a predator, and he is obliged to restore the article he took as if he were a robber (BK 62a; Yad, Gezelah 1:9; see *Theft and Robbery). In certain circumstances, however, though the seller sells under duress, it is assumed that in the end he agreed to the sale, for he accepted money in consideration of the transferred property. Therefore, if he was given the monetary value of the property for sale and took it into his hands, the sale stands (Sh. Ar., ḤM 205:1). Some hold the sale to be valid only if he took the money at the time of the actual transaction (Yad, Mekhirah 10:1, see *Mishneh le-Melekh*), while others hold it to be valid even if the money was taken afterward (*ibid.*). If he was compelled to reduce the price, the sale is void (Sh. Ar., ḤM 205:4), but some scholars disagree (Resp. Maharik 185). If a man is compelled to purchase, the transaction is void and the purchaser may withdraw (*Rema* ḤM 205:12), but here too there are dissident opinions (*Ha-Gra*, *ibid.*, n. 32). In the event of the purchaser's becoming reconciled to the sale, the seller is unable to withdraw (*Netivot ha-Mishpat*, Mishpat ha-Urim 205, n. 18). In the case of a business transaction that resembles a sale, such as a compromise when it is uncertain where the legal right lies, if the compromise is agreed upon under duress, then the same ruling applies as for sale and the compromise prevails (*Beit Yosef* ḤM 205:16).

IN GIFTS. If a man is compelled to assign a *gift, the gift is void (*Rashbam* BB 47b). A transaction that resembles a gift, such as a compromise when the litigant would have succeeded at law but was forced to compromise, counts as a gift and the compromise is void (*Beit Yosef*, *loc. cit.*). Similarly, an obligation undertaken through an acknowledgment of liability where none exists rates as a gift in regard to *ones*, and the obligation cannot be enforced (*Beit Yosef*, *loc. cit.*).

MODA'AH ("NOTIFICATION"). If the person under duress discloses in advance that the transaction he is about to acquiesce to will be effected against his will and that he has no intention of executing it, the subsequent transaction is void through lack of intent. Such a declaration to witnesses is termed *mesirat moda'ah* ("making a notification"). The witnesses usually wrote a deed of *moda'ah*, but this was not imperative (BB 40a–b; ḤM 205). If the seller makes a *moda'ah*, the sale is void even though he accepts the purchase price (ḤM 205:1). A *moda'ah* made before a single witness is ineffective even if the compeller admits the duress, for, since the person under duress knows that he cannot prove that he made a *moda'ah*, he acquiesces in the transaction (*Sha'ar Mishpat* 46, n. 21). If, however, he made the *moda'ah* in the presence of two witnesses separately, it is effective (*Keneset ha-Gedolah*, ḤM 46, Tur no. 36). Where the sale is void because a *moda'ah* has been made, the purchaser too has the right to withdraw on becoming aware that the seller made a *moda'ah* prior to the sale (*Ḥavvot Ya'ir* no. 40).

A deed of *moda'ah* may not be written in the first instance unless the witnesses know the duress (Sh. Ar., ḤM 205:5), and the witnesses must write "we the witnesses know the *ones*" (Sh. Ar., ḤM 205:1). If they write that the person concerned made a *moda'ah* in their presence, although they were unaware of the duress, the transaction will be void if he subsequently proves that there was *ones*. If witnesses testify to, or write, the *moda'ah* without knowing the *ones*, and other witnesses testify to the *ones*, these are combined and the transaction is void (*ibid.*). In a case where there is duress but the man under it is not able to make the *moda'ah*, if witnesses know of the *ones*, this has the same effect as a *moda'ah* (*Tashbeẓ* 2:169; *Matteh Shimon* 205, Tur no. 39). The deed of *moda'ah* may be written before or after the transaction, providing the one under duress makes the notification before the transaction (*Netivot ha-Mishpat*, Mishpat ha-Urim 205 n. 6; *Keẓot ha-Ḥoshen* 205, n. 1; *Haggahot Maimuniyyot*, Mekhirah 10:2). If the deed of *moda'ah* is undated and it is not known whether notification was made before or after the transaction because the witnesses are not available, it is valid and the transaction is void (*Rema* ḤM 205:9), for since the witnesses knew of the *ones* it is to be assumed, unless there is evidence to the contrary, that the notification was made beforehand (*ibid.*). In the case of gifts and similar dealings, such as remission of *debt, the witnesses may write the *moda'ah* without knowing the *ones*; the *moda'ah* will then testify to lack of intent (Tur ḤM 205:12 and *Beit Yosef* thereto). The authorities differ as to why this should be so, some holding that the *moda'ah* is effective as regards a gift even without the witnesses' knowledge of the *ones*, because if there is no *ones*, why should anyone confer a gift and make a *moda'ah*? It is therefore assumed that there must be *ones*. Accordingly, if it is known with certainty that there is no *ones*, the *moda'ah* may not be written. Others hold, however, that, in the case of a gift, manifestation of lack of proper intent is effective even without *ones* (see Gulak, Yesodei, 1 (1922), 61).

If after making the *moda'ah* the one under duress decides to effect the transaction and cancels his *moda'ah*, the transaction prevails (Sh. Ar., ḤM 205:11 and *Sma* thereto). It is possible, however, to make a *moda'ah* canceling ab initio such a *moda'ah* and declaring that the cancellation all the time of the transaction will result from *ones* and lack of intent. Such a notification, called "*moda'ah de-moda'ah*," cancels the transaction. To make certain that an action was not voided through a *moda'ah*, it became customary at the time of the transaction to cancel every *moda'ah* and every *moda'ah* canceling a *moda'ah ad infinitum*, or alternatively for the party involved to disqualify the witnesses before whom he made any *moda'ah* with regard to the transaction at hand, thus making them unfit to testify on his behalf. By these methods the previous *moda'ot* are voided and the act subsists (*ibid.*; *Beit Yosef* ḤM 205:15).

ACTS COUNTING AS *ONES*. A man who performs an act under an erroneous impression of the facts is described as "forced by his heart"; since his understanding of the case was in error, it is included in *ones*. This *halakhah* occurs especially in connection with an oath pledged under a mistaken impression. The one who swore the oath is delivered from it and exempted from offering a sacrifice, since he swore in error (Shevu. 26a; Ned. 25b; Maim. Yad, Shevuot 1:10; see *Mistake). Forgetting rates as *ones* (BK 26b and *Nimmukei Yosef*, *ad loc.*), as does an act performed as the result of an overpowering impulse. Hence, for example, a woman who is forced to have sexual intercourse is regarded as having been raped, even though she yielded willingly during the final stages of the act, since she had not the power to resist to the end because her natural impulse compelled her desire (Yad, Sanhedrin 20:3, Issurei Bi'ah 1:9; Resp. Ḥatam Sofer, EH pt. 1, no. 18). A minor girl who commits *adultery, even willingly, is regarded as acting under duress, since "the seduction of a minor is deemed *ones*" because she has no will of her own (Yev. 33b, 61b; TJ, Sot. 1:2, 16c). Some hold that adultery committed by a deranged woman also counts as *ones* (*Mishneh le-Melekh*, Ishut 11: 8), but others are doubtful about this (see *Rape).

ACTS COUNTING AS VOLUNTARY. A man compelled to incestuous or adulterous intercourse (see *Incest) is guilty of a capital offense, since "an erection can only take place voluntarily" (Yad, Issurei Bi'ah 1:9), but some hold that he is not liable for the death penalty (*Maggid Mishneh*, *ad loc.*). Duress arising from the person's own situation, as in the case of a man who sells his property because of financial distress, does not count as *ones* (Sh. Ar., ḤM 205: 12). Similarly, if the duress was related to some other action and he was compelled to act as a cause of this – e.g., if he was compelled to give money and because he did not have it was compelled to sell – this is not *ones* (*ibid.*).

Unavoidable Causes

CATEGORIES OF CAUSES COUNTING AS ONES. The scholars developed a threefold division of the types of *ones*, a classification which was made especially in connection with the laws of divorce; a somewhat similar one was made in connection with the law of *obligations, particularly with reference to *torts. The three categories relating to divorce (see below) are (1) an *ones* of common occurrence; (2) an *ones* neither common nor uncommon; and (3) an uncommon *ones*.

The classical examples of these are (1) if a man returning home was delayed because the ferry was on the opposite bank of the river and so he could not cross it; (2) illness; and (3) if a man was killed when a house collapsed, or he was bitten by a snake, or devoured by a lion (Tos., *Piskei ha-Rosh* and *Mordekhai* to Ket. 2b and 3a and to Git. 73a; Sh. Ar., EH 144:1).

A general *ones* not arising from human agency is termed *makkat medinah* ("regional mishap"; BM 9:6). As regards liability in the laws of obligation, the division is made between an absolute *ones* and one which is relative. In the words of the *rishonim*, the distinction is between an *ones* "like theft" and one "like loss." The Talmud (BM 94b) has a dictum that "loss is close to negligence" while "theft is near to *ones*" (Tos. to BK 27b and to BM 82b).

NONFULFILLMENT OF OBLIGATION RESULTING FROM ONES. A man bears no liability for the nonfulfillment of his obligations if he is prevented from doing so by *ones* (BK 28b; Ned. 28a), with the exception of the borrower (BM 93a; see *Bailees). It is possible that a tortfeasor too is excluded from this rule, since "man is always liable, whether acting inadvertently or willingly, whether awake or asleep" (BK 2:6), or in another version, "whether acting inadvertently or willingly, accidentally or deliberately" (Sanh. 72a). It has, however, been ruled that there are kinds of *ones* which exempt even tortfeasors (Tos. to Sanh. 76b). A man accepting liability for every *ones* is not liable for an uncommon one (Resp. Ribash no. 250; Resp. Moharik no. 7; Sh. Ar., ḤM 225:4).

NONFULFILLMENT OF OBLIGATION BY REASON OF ONES. If a man was to execute an act on certain conditions and his nonfulfillment of these conditions was due to *ones*, the *amoraim* differ as to whether the act counts as not having been executed because the condition was not fulfilled, although the nonfulfillment was caused by *ones*, or whether the act stands since it was *ones* that prevented fulfillment of the condition (TJ, Git. 7:6, 49c; see *Beit Yosef* and *Baḥ* ḤM 21; *Siftei Kohen* ḤM 21). Some explain the former opinion as follows: The rule is that "the merciful [Torah] exempts in cases of *ones*" and not that "in cases of *ones* the merciful [Torah] obligates" the other person. For in what way is he concerned with the *ones* of the other? His obligation was dependent on the other's fulfillment of the condition, which in fact was not done (*Siftei Kohen* loc. cit.; Resp. Ḥatam Sofer, ḤM no. 1; for other explanations see the ḤM and *Malbushei Yom Tov*, Kuntres Mishpetei ha-Tanna'im 2). The *halakhah* follows the first view (*Avnei Millu'im*, EH 38:1).

ONES IN DIVORCE. Contrary to the principle "the merciful [Torah] exempts in cases of *ones*," the rabbinic regulation lays down "accident is no plea in divorce." Hence, if a man says to his wife, "This is your bill of divorce if I do not return by such a date," and he does not come back in time because of *ones*, the divorce is effective and he is unable to have it set aside on the plea that he was delayed by *ones*. There were two considerations behind this regulation. If the divorce was regarded as ineffective in a case of *ones*, a chaste woman, when her husband did not arrive on the stated day, would always consider that an accident might have befallen him, even when his absence was deliberate, and thus would remain unable to remarry. A loose woman, on the other hand, would always claim that her husband's failure to return was not due to *ones* and would contract a second marriage; then, when subsequently his nonreturn was found to be due to *ones*, the divorce would be invalid and her children from the second marriage **mamzerim*. As a result the rabbis enacted that the divorce must always take effect, even though the husband's failure to return is due to *ones*, and even though he stands on the other bank of the river and cries aloud, "See I have returned and am not responsible because of *ones*" (Ket. 2b–3a; Tos. to Ket. 3a; Sh. Ar., EH 144:1). The *rishonim* ruled that this *halakhah* applies to *ones* of common occurrence and to *ones* neither common nor uncommon, but not at all to uncommon *ones* (Tos., *Piskei ha-Rosh*, and *Mordekhai* to Ket. 2b–3a and to Git. 73a and codes).

ONES ON THE DUE DATE. A man who was obliged to perform an action within a certain period of time and relied on the fact that he still had the time to do it until the end of the period, who was then overtaken by *ones* at the very end of the period, is regarded as subject to *ones* (Sh. Ar., OH 108:8 and *Magen Avraham* thereto n. 11), but others do not consider this *ones* (*Rema* YD 232:12).

[Shmuel Shilo]

Moda'ah ("Notification")

The *Green* case (CA 457/61 *Green v. Green*, 16 (1) PD 318) concerned a husband who went abroad, left his wife, and for a long period of time refused to give her a *get* (see *Divorce). The husband finally agreed to give her a *get*, but only after the wife had waived all her financial claims, including her right to claim child support for their daughter. In addition the wife gave a declaration, on the basis of which the Rabbinical Court gave its decision, that should the husband nevertheless be forced to pay child support for the daughter, the wife would be obliged to reimburse the husband for any sum he paid as child support. The District Court ruled that this declaration was invalid, because the husband was obliged to pay child support for his child, and that the wife's undertaking to waive child support payments for the child, and compensate the husband for any sum he paid in child support was void, and hence the verdict of the Rabbinical Court was void. In the Supreme Court the husband claimed that the District Court should have adjudicated the matter in accordance with Jewish Law, since it concerned child support which, according to the law, must be decided according to Jewish Law (see *Maintenance). Justice Haim Cohn ruled that, even if the matter ought to be decided in accordance with Jewish law, under Jewish Law the wife's agreement was invalid as it was given under duress. Justice Cohn explained the difference between duress in the case of sale – in which one must give "notification" during the course of the sale in order to void it – and duress in a gift, where there is no need to give "notification" at the time of giving the gift, "for one does not follow anything in a gift except the expressed will of the giver, since if he does not want to give it with all his heart, the recipient of the gift has not acquired it" (Maim., Yad, Mekhirah 10:3). In his opinion, the husband's threats to refuse to grant a divorce to his wife if she did not waive all her rights constituted duress (see *Agunah*) and, in the instant case the wife had given her husband remission from all his debts to her without receiving anything in return. Hence the wife's waiver should be considered as a gift from the wife to the husband, and, therefore, according to Jewish Law, the wife is entitled to retract her undertaking to her husband.

Justice Moshe Silberg opined that the circumstances of this case involved neither waiver nor a gift, since the wife did in fact receive a return for what she waived. Rather, it involved a compromise, in which both sides waived something, and hence is considered a sale according to Jewish Law. In the case of a sale, as noted, since the wife did not give "notification" when making her declaration of waiving the rights due her from her husband, it was impossible to void her undertakings on the grounds of duress according to Jewish law. Nevertheless, Justice Silberg ruled that in this case Jewish law did not apply, as the matter did not concern the laws of maintenance but an ordinary compensation agreement, governed by civil law, under which the wife's undertakings to her husband are void, since she was forced to sign the agreement for fear that her husband would not grant her a divorce and leave her an *agunah*.

Duress in Israeli Law

Section 17(a) of the Contracts (General Part) Law, 5733 – 1973, which bears certain similarities to duress in Jewish Law with respect to contracts, provides that "A person who has entered into a contract in consequence of duress – by force or by threats – applied to him by the other party or a person acting on his behalf may rescind the contract." According to this section, there is no need to give "notification" in order to void undertakings given under duress, the circumstance of duress itself constitutes sufficient grounds to entitle the aggrieved party to rescind the contract.

[Menachem Elon (2nd ed.)]

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ONIAS, the name of four high priests of the Second Temple period (corresponding to the Hebrew חוֹנְיו).

ONIAS I lived at the end of the fourth century B.C.E. I Maccabees 12:20–23 relates that Areios, king of Sparta, sent a letter to the high priest Onias, claiming that the Spartans and the Jews were brethren being descended from Abraham. Although most scholars consider the high priest referred to was Onias I, and the king, Areios I, who reigned 309–265 B.C.E., they regard the letter itself as unhistorical. There is no sufficient reason, however, to cast doubt upon the essential veracity of the incident, and it is probable that the Areios referred to is Areios I, since Areios II came to the throne about 255 B.C.E. and died while still a child. On the other hand, Onias II was not contemporary with any Areios. According to Josephus (Ant. 12:226–7), the letter was sent to Onias III, the grandson of Onias II, but this is clearly erroneous, since there is no knowledge of a Spartan king named Areios at this time.

ONIAS II, son of *Simeon the Just and grandson of Onias I, lived in the second half of the third century B.C.E. According to Josephus (Ant. 12:44) he was a minor when his father died, and his uncle Eleazar officiated for him during his minority. When Eleazar died, another uncle, Manasseh, took his place until Onias was old enough to assume the high priesthood. In his account of Joseph b. Tobiah (*ibid.*, 12:158), Josephus depicts Onias as miserly and foolish, and careless of the dignity of his rank, thereby allowing the rise of Joseph the tax collector. The truth would appear to be otherwise. Onias was involved in the political events connected with the war between Ptolemy III (Euergetes I) and Queen Laodice, the wife and murderess of Antiochus II Theos. Wishing to throw off the yoke of Ptolemaic Egypt, he conspired with the enemies of Ptolemy and refused to pay taxes. Ptolemy threatened to drive the Jews from their land if the tax was not paid. It would appear that Onias was high priest until the close of the second century B.C.E.

ONIAS III, a son of Simeon II and grandson of Onias II, knew how to preserve both the religious and secular authority of the house of Onias. This is demonstrated in the quarrel he had with Simeon, the head of the Temple (II Macc. 3:4). Simeon, an important official in the administration of the Temple, demanded from Onias the post of market commissioner (*Agoranomos*) which Onias refused because the *Agoranomos*, by virtue of his control over such things as the market, the price of goods, and employment, in effect exercised all real authority in the city. When his demand was rejected, Simeon turned to Apollonius, the commander of the Syrian army, and told him that vast treasures belonging to the king were preserved in the Temple vaults. Apollonius informed Seleucus who sent his chancellor, *Heliodorus to remove the treasure. Heliodorus, however, failed to do so, and having thus lost face, had to leave Jerusalem. Thereafter Onias was hated by the Seleucid ruler who suspected him of having brought about the failure of the mission. When Antiochus IV ascended the throne (175 B.C.E.), Onias was summoned to Antioch, and his brother *Jason was appointed high priest in his place, having apparently promised a large sum of money for the appointment. After three years Jason was displaced by *Menelaus, who obtained the appointment by offering a larger sum. Menelaus, an extreme Hellenizer, brought about a rebellion in Jerusalem by the contempt with which he treated the sacrifices of the people. He went to Antioch, apparently in an attempt to restore his standing. He feared the influence of Onias who was living in Daphne, near Antioch, and persuaded Andronicus, a favorite of Antiochus, to murder the exiled high priest. There seems to be a reference to the death of Onias III in Daniel 9:26.

ONIAS IV, son of Onias III, was a candidate for the high priesthood after his father's death, but was ousted by *Alcimus. For this reason and because of the edicts of Antiochus, he left Judea, and went to Egypt. The works of Josephus present contradictory traditions (cf. Wars, 1:33; 7:423–4, and Ant., 12:387–8; 13:62). According to *The Jewish War*, it was Onias III who fled to Egypt because of the persecutions of *Antiochus Epiphanes, whereas according to the *Antiquities*, it was Onias IV, in the time of Antiochus V Eupator. In about 145 B.C.E., Ptolemy VI Philometer granted Onias authority to build a temple in Leontopolis, the Temple of Onias. The view of Tcherikover that the erection of the temple was a political act, of interest to both Onias and Ptolemy, and that it was intended merely as a local center of worship for the Jewish military settlement is a plausible one. This emerges from the fact that the temple fulfilled no religious function in the Jewish community of Egypt whose loyalties were solely to the Temple in Jerusalem. The Mishnah (Men. 13:10) mentions "the Temple of Onias," emphasizing that it had not the same religious status as the Temple in Jerusalem. Josephus regarded Onias' deed as an act of desecration. The priests of Jerusalem regarded the sacrifices in the Temple of Onias as invalid and refused to recognize the priests and levites who ministered there (Jos., Ant., 13:73; Wars, 7:431). Many Jewish soldiers came to Egypt together with Onias, and, as military settlers, were given land between Memphis and Pelusium by Philometor. This region was known from that time as "the land of Onias." Hilkiah and Hananiah, the sons of Onias, served as commanders in the army of Cleopatra III, and participated in the queen's military campaign in Israel and Syria against Ptolemy Lathyrus. They influenced Cleopatra to such an extent that she desisted from annexing Judea to Egypt (Jos., Ant., 13:284–7, 349, 354–5). In the struggle between Cleopatra and Ptolemy Physcon, after the death of Ptolemy Philometor, Onias and his sons supported the queen (Jos., Apion, 2:50). During the reign of Hyrcanus II the Jews of Onias still retained a certain military importance (Jos., Ant., 14:131–2, and Wars, 1:189 state that Pelusium was taken by force from the garrison army). The Temple of Onias was closed in 73 C.E. by order of *Vespasian.

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ONIAS, TEMPLE OF, temple of the Hellenistic and Roman period established in Egypt for Jewish worship and sacrifice. Its location is given by Josephus as being in the district of Heliopolis, where it was built over an earlier ruined temple to Bubastis, the lioness-goddess; hence the area's other name Leontopolis. It was established for the worship of "God the most High," as that at Jerusalem (Ant., 13:62–68). The location is presumed to be at Tel el-Yehudiyah (Mound of the Jewess), the name serving as a clue to its identity. It was first investigated by E. Naville in 1887 and in more detail by Flinders Petrie in 1905. The site is part of an earlier Hyksos encampment outside the present town of Shirban el-Qanatir, 25 km. north of Cairo. Petrie found a towered structure beside a small temple-like enclosure, accessed by a long staircase and surrounded by a mudbrick wall, triangular in plan. He showed a model of his finds to a meeting of the Jewish Community in London in 1906, but the model has since disappeared. The location in Egypt has been visited by a number of archaeologists, including the writer, who have been unable to confirm Petrie's findings, though it is clear that the alleged site is close to a necropolis of Jewish burials in the area known as Leontopolis.

The temple is mentioned several times by Josephus and twice in some detail, but each time differently. He describes it first as being modeled on the Temple of Jerusalem (Ant., 13:72), while the second time he says it was built like a fortress in the form of a tower 60 cubits high, unlike Jerusalem (Wars, 7:426–432). It is presumed that the second description is a correction of the first. Josephus claims that it stood for 343 years (ibid., 436), but this is unlikely; 243 years would be nearer the mark. It was destroyed in 73 C.E. on the orders of Titus or Vespasian (ibid., 421), who feared that it might become the focus of further revolt after the destruction of the Temple of Jerusalem in 70 C.E. At the earliest it could have been built in 170 B.C.E., shortly before the Hasmonean Revolt, because it is always referred to as the Temple of Onias (*Ḥonia* in Hebrew). There are two candidates for that honor, *Onias III (son of Simon II, the Just), who was high priest some time after 200 B.C.E., or his son *Onias IV. It is generally accepted that the earlier Onias, who was ousted by his Hellenizing brother Jason, was murdered in Antioch (II Macc. 4:34), so Onias IV is the more likely candidate. When he saw that his legitimate right to the High Priesthood had been usurped by the Hellenistic party, friendly to the Seleucids, Onias set up a rival sanctuary in Egypt, under the protection of their enemies, the Ptolemies.

It is unlikely that he did this to serve the Jews of Egypt as a whole, who may have had some difficulty in reaching Jerusalem under the Seleucids, as the temple is never mentioned by Philo or other Judeo-Egyptian sources; nor was it located in or near Alexandria, the chief center of Egyptian Jewry. It is more likely that the temple served a military colony under the direction of this Onias, acting in the capacity of an officer willing to bring manpower and troops over to Ptolemy VI Philometor and his queen, Cleopatra II. Josephus records that two sons of Onias acted as generals in assisting Cleopatra in her fight against her son Ptolemy Lathyrus (Ant., 13:285–287 and 348–349). In that role the temple was similar to the earlier fifth century B.C.E. temple serving the Jewish mercenaries at Elephantine, at the southern border of Egypt.

The Talmud takes a somewhat relaxed view of this temple. It claims that it was not an "idolatrous shrine" because Onias had based himself on Isaiah 19:18, which says that, "One day there will be an altar to the Lord in the midst of the land of Egypt," and because he was a legitimate Zadokite priest, a descendant of the high priest Simon the Just (Men. 109b). The Mishnah states that some vows made in the Temple of Jerusalem could be redeemed in the Temple of Onias and, while a priest who served at Onias was precluded from serving in Jerusalem, he could nevertheless eat the *terumah* (consecrated food) there together with his priestly brethren (Men. 13:10).

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[Stephen G Rosenberg (2nd ed.)]

ONION (Heb. בָּצָל), the *Allium cepa*, one of the earliest cultivated plants. It is mentioned only once in the Bible as one of the vegetables eaten in Egypt for which the Israelites longed when they were in the wilderness (Num. 11:5). Onion growing was widespread in Egypt and drawings of it are found on the pyramids. The onion, with its concentric skins, symbolized in Egypt the stellar and planetary system, and was an object of idol worship, some swearing by its name (Pliny, *Historia naturalis*, 19:101). The word appears in family names. Among the Nethinim (see *Gibeonites and Nethinim) who went from Babylon to Ereẓ Israel, a family of the children of Bazluth is mentioned (Ezra 2:52), and the Jerusalem Talmud (Ḥag. 2:2; 77d) mentions a Miriam bat Alei Beẓalim ("onion leaves") which may be a reference to Miriam the mother of Jesus.

The onion is frequently mentioned in rabbinic literature. R. Judah used to say "Eat *baẓal* [onions] and sit *ba-ẓel* [in the shade], and do not eat geese and fowl" (Pes. 114a), i.e., do not desire luxuries but be content with little. They made a distinction between "rural onions" (TJ, Shev. 2:9, 34a) and "urban onions which were the food of city folk" (Ter. 2:5). A species very near to the onion was called *beẓalẓul* (Kil. 1:3), which is possibly the shallot, the Ashkelon onion, and therefore sometimes called "scallion" which was praised by Theophrastus, Strabo, and Pliny. The onion was usually pulled up before it flowered and some of the plants were left to flower and produce seed (Pe'ah 3:3 and TJ, Pe'ah 17c). Many species of *Allium* of the same genus as the onion grow wild in Israel, where the climate and soil are very suitable for onion plants. To the Liliaceae family of onion belong some of the most beautiful of Israel's flowers (see *Flowers of the Bible).

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[Jehuda Feliks]

ONKELOS AND AQUILA (second century C.E.), two translators of the Bible, the one into Aramaic and the other into Greek, both of whom were proselytes. Although there is no doubt of their separate existence, the translation of Onkelos being preserved in its entirety, and that of Aquila in fragments (see *Aramaic (Middle Aramaic) and *Bible, Translations), the similarity of the names has caused considerable confusion. Similar or identical incidents are given in the Babylonian Talmud and the Tosefta as applying to Onkelos, and in the Jerusalem Talmud and the Palestinian Midrashim to Aquila (Akilas). It is therefore convenient to treat both of them primarily as one, while indicating where possible where they can be distinguished from one another. Fact and legend are inextricably interwoven.

According to Epiphanius, Aquila was a native of Pontus and a relative of the emperor *Hadrian, who in about 128 appointed him to an office connected with the rebuilding of Jerusalem as Aelia Capitolina. The Midrash (Tanḥ. 41a, Mishpatim 3) also refers to him as the son of the sister of Hadrian, although the Babylonian Talmud refers to him as "Onkelos the son of Kalonikus [v. Kalonymus] the son of the sister of Titus." He became converted to Judaism, but before doing so he raised the spirits of Titus, Balaam, and Jesus (this last was expurged by the censor from the printed editions), all of whom confirmed that the people of Israel is held in the highest repute in the world to come (Git. 56b, 57a). According to the Tanḥuma, when he formed the intention of converting to Judaism, fearing the anger and opposition of Hadrian, he informed him that he wished to travel (to Ereẓ Israel) on business, and Hadrian offered him all the money he needed to remain in Rome. In any case, he must have been a person of wealth, and this lends point to the comment of the Midrash (Gen. R. 70:5), to the effect that he asked R. Eliezer b. Hyrcanus whether there was no greater reward for the proselyte than that stated in the Bible, that God "loveth the stranger [*ger*, in mishnaic Hebrew a proselyte] in giving him food and raiment" (Deut. 10:18), pointing out that he was short of neither of these things. Eliezer's brusque reply might have discouraged him, but he went to R. Joshua with the same question and Joshua replied that it refers to spiritual benefits. His conversion met with the vigorous opposition of the emperor. According to the Tanḥuma he "smote him on the cheek"; according to the Talmud (Av. Zar. 11a) he sent four successive contingents of soldiers to arrest him, but he succeeded in converting them all to Judaism. Onkelos was a contemporary of Rabban Gamaliel of Jabneh and a colleague and pupil of Eliezer b. Hyrcanus and Joshua b. Hananiah (cf., above). His relationship with Gamaliel was a close one, and when Gamaliel died Onkelos arranged a costly funeral for him, such as was usually reserved for royalty (Tosef., Shab. 7 (8):18; Av. Zar. 11a). He conducted himself with the utmost piety and was particularly meticulous in adhering to the laws of ritual purity, surpassing in this respect even Rabban Gamaliel, applying to ordinary food the rules enjoined for partaking of sacrifices (Tosef., Ḥag. 3:2 and 3). On one occasion he refused to bathe in the ritual baths of Ashkelon (since he regarded it as heathen territory) and made his ablutions in the sea, while Gamaliel (according to one opinion) was not so particular (Tosef., Mik. 6:3). There is one talmudic statement attributed to him (BB 99a) that the faces of the *cherubim were turned sideways "as a pupil taking leave of his master."

The two translators are differentiated from one another in two passages of the Talmud. Where the Babylonian Talmud (Meg. 3a) states that Onkelos the Proselyte translated the Pentateuch into Aramaic (Targum) under the guidance of R. Eliezer and R. Joshua, the parallel passage in the Jerusalem Talmud (*ibid.* 1:11, 71c) clearly refers to the translation of Aquila the Proselyte into Greek, and there are some quotations in the Talmud which clearly refer to a translation into Greek. Since Azariah de *Rossi, attempts have been made to disentangle the confusion between the Aramaic translator Onkelos and the Greek translator Aquila. The prevalent opinion tends to ascribe the talmudic passages to Aquila, but when, in Babylonian sources, the name was corrupted to Onkelos, the existing anonymous translation of the Pentateuch into Aramaic was ascribed to "Onkelos the Proselyte."

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[Louis Isaac Rabinowitz]

ONO (Heb. אוֹנוֹ), town in Judea, first mentioned in Thutmosis III's list of conquered towns in Canaan (No. 65). It was apparently settled originally by descendants of Benjamin (I Chron. 8:12). It appears with Lod and Hadid in the list of places resettled after the return from Babylonian Exile (Ezra 2:33; Neh. 7:37). It was situated near the border of Samaria, for Sanballat offered to meet Nehemiah in one of the villages of the Plain of Ono as on neutral ground (Neh. 6:2). According to Nehemiah 11:35, it was located in the Ge-Harashim ("Valley of Craftsmen"). Ono is frequently mentioned in talmudic sources. According to the Mishnah (Arak. 9:6), it had been fortified "from the days of Joshua"; the Babylonian Talmud locates it 3 mi. (c. 5 km.) from Lod, but relations between the two towns were unfriendly (Lam. R. 1:17, no. 52). Sometime in the third century, it was made an independent municipality: a councilor of Ono is mentioned in a papyrus from Oxyrrhynchus dated 297 (no. 1205). It appears as an independent town in Byzantine town lists of the fifth and sixth centuries (Hierocles Synecdemus 719:4; Georgius Cyprius 1006). The former Arab village of Kafr ʿAnā occupied the spot until 1948. An urban settlement called *Kiryat Ono now exists nearby.

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[Michael Avi-Yonah]

°ÓNODY, GÉZA (1848–?), Hungarian antisemitic leader born in Tiszaeszlar. A member of the gentry, he was elected to the lower house of parliament as a delegate of the opposition Independence Party in 1881. At first, Ónody's antisemitic activities were connected with the blood libel of 1882 in *Tiszaeszlar where he owned an estate. Raising the matter in parliament in May 1882, he opened the public campaign around the libel. From that time, he was one of the leading spokesmen of the group responsible for the anti-Jewish agitation which followed in the wake of the libel. In his work, *Tiszaeszlar in der Vergangenheit und Gegenwart* (1883, orig. in Hung.), Ónody sought to "prove" the authenticity of the blood libel against a historic background. When the antisemitic party was organized in Hungary in 1883, he became one of its leaders, together with Istóczy Cyőző. Because of his activity in the blood libel affair and his work on the subject, he also became renowned among antisemites abroad, especially in Germany. He was among the leaders of antisemitic unions which convened the First International Anti-Jewish Congress (Dresden, 1882) and one of its most prominent participants. In 1884 he was reelected to parliament, this time on an antisemitic platform, and became one of the leaders of the antisemitic faction.

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[Nathaniel Katzburg]

ONTARIO, Canada's second largest province, a vast territory of more than one million square kilometers (415,000 square miles) – an area larger than France and Spain combined. It borders on Quebec to the east and Manitoba to the west, and to the south the St. Lawrence River and Great Lakes form a water border with a series of neighboring northeastern American states running from New York to Minnesota. With a population of more than 12 million, Ontario is today home to about one in three Canadians. Largely English-speaking, 80 per cent of all those who live in Ontario live in urban centers, with the largest concentration in the "Golden Horseshoe" that arcs along the western end of Lake Ontario and includes the Greater *Toronto Area, Hamilton, St. Catharines, and Niagara Falls. About five million people live in the "Golden Horseshoe." In southwestern Ontario, significant populations live in Kitchener-Waterloo, London, and Windsor. In eastern Ontario, Ottawa and Kingston are the predominant cities. In more sparsely settled northern Ontario, smaller municipalities have grown at strategic points along the railway lines that opened up the vast wilderness to mining and logging. The cities that have evolved include Hearst, Moosonee, Kenora, Sudbury, North Bay, Sault Ste. Marie, Thunder Bay, and Timmins.

Ontario's economy had its beginnings in exploitation of natural resources: fur, timber and minerals. The province's many rivers and lakes, particularly the Great Lakes, made for natural transportation routes. As the population of Ontario increased, people started new industries and surveyed, cleared and farmed the rich agricultural land. Today, northern Ontario's economy is still highly dependent on natural resources while southern Ontario, with its proximity to the enormous American market, is heavily industrialized. However, in the 21st century, more Ontarians are employed in service industries than on assembly lines. The fastest-growing sectors are business services, finance, tourism, and culture. Ontario is the economic engine that powers the Canadian economy. This one province contributes about 40 per cent of Canada's total employment. Ontario has relatively high employment in manufacturing and financial and business services, and relatively less employment in agriculture, forestry and mining.

Today Ontario's Jewish population stands at about 212,000, almost 60 percent of all Jews in Canada. Nearly 180,000 of those Jews are concentrated in the greater Toronto area, which is rich in Jewish organizational and religious life. While there are about 25 centers that have synagogues, only *Ottawa, Canada's capital city, *Hamilton, London, Windsor, and Kingston have populations large enough to sustain local Jewish federations, with professional staff.

History

While Ontario was still a British colony, first called Upper Canada and then Canada West from 1841 to 1867, a tiny number of Jews was attracted by the colony's economic opportunities. Many of these Jews, mainly of English or German origin, were merchants or wholesalers involved in the import of manufactured goods. Some had kinship connections to Jewish merchant families in Montreal, New York, or London. But as the number of Jews in Ontario continued to grow slowly through the 1800s only a few Ontario communities had sufficient Jewish population to support synagogues or other Jewish institutions. By the mid-1800s, the largest Jewish community was in Toronto, where community members organized services in private homes or rented space until 1859 when the first Jewish congregation, Holy Blossom, was formed. However, 10 years earlier, in 1849, land was bought and a Jewish cemetery consecrated. The first burial took place in 1850.

After Canadian confederation in 1867, and with the surge of mass immigration of Yiddish-speaking East European Jews to North America starting in 1882, the Jewish population of Ontario began to grow more rapidly. Most new arrivals, looking for both economic opportunity and the comfort of a familiar Jewish community, settled in larger centers like Toronto and Hamilton. But here and there Jews also found their way into smaller towns and villages. By World War I, rare was the Ontario town of any size, even one in a more remote area of northern Ontario, that was not home to one or more Jewish families hoping to make a living as shopkeepers or peddlers or, in some cases, by trading with members of Canada's First Nations. Where numbers warranted, Jews in smaller communities organized synagogues – mostly Orthodox in liturgy – and religious schools for their children. In later years it was not uncommon to find active chapters of Hadassah, Young Judaea, and B'nai B'rith in smaller towns. Some small-town Jewish communities were able to employ rabbis who also often served as the communities' Jewish teachers, *shoḥets* and perhaps even *mohels*. Other communities got by without Jewish professionals, importing rabbis or *mohels* from far away as need arose.

In the years following World War II Jewish populations in smaller communities began to gradually decline as many younger and Canadian-born Jews began leaving, sometimes in search of better job prospects or university education or of Jewish marriage partners – and often all three – in larger centers. Once married and with university degrees and good jobs, many did not return to the smaller centers from which they came but remained in larger cities where, in an atmosphere of declining antisemitism and rising economic prosperity, the opportunities for a rich Jewish communal life were far greater than they had previously known. And as a younger generation of Jews from smaller communities relocated to larger cities, in many cases their parents followed. The result has been a gradual but steady decline in Jewish population in smaller Ontario centers and a rapid growth of urban Jewish population, especially in Toronto and, to a lesser extent, Ottawa.

But this exodus from small-town Ontario since the end of World War II has not been the only reason for the growing concentration of Ontario Jews in centers like Toronto and Ottawa. Two other factors have been at work: a shift in Jewish population from Montreal to Toronto and Jewish immigration to Canada collecting in Toronto. In the wake of a rise in separatist sentiment in Quebec through the 1960s and 1970s, and the first election of an avowed pro-separatist government in Quebec in 1976, fear that Quebec might eventually leave Canada grew among Montreal's overwhelmingly pro-federalist and English-speaking Jewish community. While this has not happened, by the late 1970s a migration of Jews out of Montreal, many to Ontario, and particularly to Toronto, Ottawa, and other larger Ontario cities was underway. As a consequence, Toronto has now replaced Montreal as Canada's largest Jewish center. In addition, since the end of World War II, Ontario and Toronto in particular have been magnets for immigration from around the world. This includes Jewish immigration. Toronto has absorbed more than half of all Jewish immigrants arriving in Canada – including, during the past several decades, new arrivals from the former Soviet Union, Israel, Europe, the United States, and, of late, Latin America.

The figures tell the tale. In 1931 approximately 70 percent of all Jews in Ontario lived in Toronto. By 1961 that number had grown to more than 80 percent. Today more than 85 percent of all Jews live in the greater Toronto area and the Jewish population of Toronto continues to grow both as a percentage of Ontario's Jewish population and in absolute numbers.

Jews and Provincial Politics

Jews have had an important stake in areas that are, in the Canadian federal system, under provincial jurisdiction, most notably in the areas of human rights legislation and education. Faced with a rising tide of antisemitism during the Depression of the 1930s, the revitalized and reorganized *Canadian Jewish Congress maintained an office in Toronto, the seat of the Ontario provincial legislature. It immediately began to lobby the Ontario legislature, at first without much success, for laws to bar discrimination on account of race, religion, or national origin, particularly in employment and housing, and also to limit and prosecute the distribution of hate propaganda. In 1932, one of the Jewish pioneers of provincial politics, the Conservative Party member of the provincial legislature E.F. Singer, did manage to introduce a bill to prevent insurance companies from charging higher premiums to certain minorities. More successful were the activities of the Joint Public Relations Committee, a joint agency of the Canadian Jewish Congress and B'nai B'rith committee during the 1940s and 1950s. Working in cooperation with liberal churches, the labor movement, progressive media, and sympathetic politicians, it played a prominent role in the passage of the 1944 Ontario Racial Discrimination Act and the Fair Employment Practices Act of 1951. They also successfully went to court to end the practice of restrictive covenants. These victories helped pave the way for the wide-ranging human rights protections that are today enjoyed by all residents of Ontario and Canada, including those rights enumerated in the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms.

For all these successes, the organized Jewish community has experienced some frustrations in the arena of education, albeit for significantly different reasons. Arguing for the separation of religion and state, the organized Jewish community protested against the 1944 introduction of prayer and mandatory religious instruction into Ontario public schools. While they were eventually successful in winning exemptions for individual Jewish children who did not wish to receive religious instruction, and later won exemptions for schools in Jewish neighborhoods, it was not until Canada adopted a Charter of Rights and Freedoms with protection of religious freedom and equal treatment that the courts declared the 1944 legislation unconstitutional.

On another educational issue Jewish groups have remained unsuccessful in changing Ontario practice. With a major proportion of Jewish children in larger communities attending Jewish day schools, the organized Jewish community has lobbied the provincial government to deepen its involvement in religious matters by extending to Jewish schools the public funding that Catholic schools have enjoyed since the time of Confederation, which to this day remains protected by the British North America Act under which the Canadian federation was formed. However, neither Jewish political pressure nor resorting to the courts has yet led the provincial government to offer financial support for Jewish schools.

Jews in Ontario today participate in all areas of economic, cultural, and public life and by every measure public attitudes towards Jews in Ontario have, on balance, become far more positive during the past several decades. These positive attitudes are reflected in the makeup of the popularly elected Ontario Legislature. The first Jewish cabinet minister appointed by any Ontario government was Allan *Grossman, who was appointed minister of correctional services in the Ontario cabinet in 1970. Since then, all major parties have not only had Jews serve in the cabinet but have also chosen Jews to lead their parties. Today, the presence of Jews in provincial politics has become so widespread as to not draw attention.

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[Richard Menkis and Harold Troper (2nd ed.)]

ONYCHA (Heb. שְׁחֵלֶת), aromatic substance. According to the ancient translations, the *sheḥelet* included among the ingredients of the incense (Ex. 30:34) is onycha. An early *baraita* dating from Temple times has צִפֹּרֶן ("fingernail") instead of *sheḥelet* (Ker. 6a). The reference to the shell of a mollusk, the *Unguis odoratus* (shaped like a fingernail and hence its name) which is found in the Indian Ocean, and, like several other mollusks found in the Red Sea, emits a pleasant smell when burned. Ben Sira 24:15 also includes onycha (in Greek ὄνυξ as one of the ingredients of the incense in the Temple, while in Ugaritic writings it is mentioned among several spices and foods.

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[Jehuda Feliks]

OPATOSHU, JOSEPH (originally **Opatovsky**; 1886–1954), Yiddish novelist and short-story writer. Born near Mlave (Poland), Opatoshu immigrated to the U.S. in 1907, where he studied engineering at Cooper Union at night, while supporting himself by working in a shoe factory, selling newspapers, and teaching in Hebrew schools. In 1914 he graduated as a civil engineer, but soon found literature a more congenial profession. From 1910 he contributed stories to periodicals and anthologies, and in 1914 edited an anthology of his own, *Di Naye Heym* ("The New Home"), which included his story of American Jewish life, "Fun Nyu Yorker Geto." When the New York daily *Der Tog* was founded (1914), he joined its staff and for 40 years contributed stories, sketches, and serials, most of which were later reprinted in book form.

Opatoshu's early work was naturalistic, depicting scenes from contemporary life. Thus his *A Roman fun a Ferd Ganev* ("A Novel about a Horse Thief," 1912), his first novel to attract wide attention, was based on his boyhood acquaintance with an unusual Jewish thief who made a living by smuggling horses across the border from Poland to Germany and who was killed while defending fellow Jews against their hostile neighbors. Opatoshu expressed his reaction to romanticism by creating thieves, smugglers, and drunkards who were a distinct contrast to the figures in the writings of Sholem *Aleichem or Y.L. *Peretz. Opatoshu was one of the first Yiddish writers to depict American Jewish experience in his works. After reading some of his American stories, Sholem Aleichem encouraged Opatoshu to continue writing about the subject. Opatoshu heeded this suggestion and gave literary expression to the conflicts created by the Americanization of the Jewish immigrant in such works as *Hibru* ("Hebrew," 1919), a naturalistic novel that deals with the problems of Jewish education in New York; *Di Tentserin* ("The Dancer," 1929) portrays declining Ḥasidism in New York; *Arum Grand Strit* ("Around Grand Street," 1929) focuses on the immigrant Jews on the Lower East Side; and *Rase* ("Race," 1923), a short-story collection that portrayed the conflict between varying ethnic and religious groups.

Fascinated by the Jewish past, he sought to revivify segments of it in historical novels, based on extensive research and guided by an insight, gained through Simon Dubnov's work in Jewish history, that the narrative of Jewish oppression and life in the ghetto that dominated Jewish history as written by Jews could mislead through its onesidedness. Opatoshu sought descriptions of a vital, interactive, and hopeful daily life among Jews. In his novel *In Poylishe Velder* (1921; *In Polish Woods*, 1938, the first volume of a trilogy), Opatoshu described the decay of the ḥasidic court of Kotzk during the post-Napoleonic generation and presented a rich panorama of Polish-Jewish interrelations up to the Revolt of 1863. Often reprinted, and translated into eight languages, it established Opatoshu's fame internationally, though its sequel, *1863*, made less of an impact; the last volume of the trilogy, *Aleyn* ("Alone") was the first to be published (1919). In his Falstaffian narrative, *A Tog in Regensburg* ("A Day in Regensburg," 1968), and *Elye Bokher* (dealing with the author of the Yiddish romance, the *Bove Buch), both published in 1933, Opatoshu portrays the vanished world of 16th-century Jewish patricians and Yiddish minstrels in a stylized language that utilizes older stages of Yiddish. In his final historical epic, *Der Letster Oyfshtand* (2 vols. 1948–52; *The Last Revolt*, 1952), Opatoshu attempted an imaginative reconstruction of daily life in 2nd-century Judea, when the last desperate revolt of the Jews against Roman rule flared up and was crushed.

His son DAVID (1919–1996) worked extensively in the Yiddish theater and starred in the classic Yiddish film *Di Klyatshe/The Light Ahead* (1939; adapted from S.Y. *Abramovitsh's *Fiske der Krumer*). Over the course of four decades he appeared in numerous Broadway productions and Hollywood films, and hundreds of television productions, winning an Emmy in 1990. He published short stories and television scripts, and directed and produced for theater, film, and television.

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[Sol Liptzin / Shifra Kuperman (2nd ed.)]

OPATOW (Pol. **Opatów**; Yid. **Apta**, **אַפּטא**), town in Kielce province, E. Poland. A Jewish settlement existed in Opatow from the 16th century. In 1634 the town was divided into two sectors, the Christian and the Jewish, the latter known as the "Street of the Jews." According to Samuel Feivish in *Tit ha-Yaven* (Venice, 1670) over 200 Jewish families perished there during the Swedish invasion of Poland in 1656. Conditions became so difficult that in 1687 the *Council of the Four Lands issued an ordinance prohibiting other Jews from settling in Opatow without obtaining express permission from the community board (*kahal*). The community in Opatow was efficiently organized at this period, and its diverse activities, including collection for the needy of Ereẓ Israel, were administered by various officers (*ne'emanim* and *gabba'im*). In the 18th century its economic position deteriorated and it became dependent on the whims of the overlords of the town and the governor. The minute book (*pinkas*) of the Opatow community was an important source of information for the history of Polish Jewry; a copy was preserved in the communal archives in Warsaw up to 1939.

The Jewish population in Opatow increased in the 19th century, numbering 2,517 in 1856 (out of a total population of 3,845), and 4,138 in 1897. Among the noted personalities who lived in Opatow the best known is the ḥasidic *ẓaddik*, Abraham Joshua *Heshel, "the rabbi of Apta."

Holocaust Period

Before World War II 5,200 Jews lived in Opatow. The town came under the Radom District of the General-Government during the Nazi occupation. Many Jews fled before the Germans entered, young Jewish men in particular escaping to Soviet-occupied territory. After the capitulation of the town, the Germans set fire to the market place where mainly Jews lived. Over the next days 200 men, Poles and Jews, were deported and never returned. A "contribution" (fine) of 60,000 marks was exacted, and Jews were evicted from the better residences, which were handed over to German officers. A ghetto was officially established in the spring of 1941. It was open and without fence or guard, but Jews were forbidden to leave it on pain of death. Food, however, was available illegally in the open ghetto for high prices, so that Jews with means did not suffer from hunger. The poor (among them deportees and refugees from other places), who had no property or could not get work or were not hardy enough to get on in these difficult conditions, suffered misery and hunger, being left only with the meager official food rations. Among the poor an epidemic of typhus broke out and a hospital was set up in the synagogue, which also served the surrounding Jewish towns. Jews engaged in hard labor in the vicinity of Opatow, on road construction and in quarries.

The number of Jews in Opatow grew continually because of the influx of refugees from surrounding townlets and villages, as well as from distant towns – *Konin, *Lodz, and *Warsaw. In September 1940 there were 5,800 Jews, 600 of them newcomers; by September 1942 there were about 7,000 Jews, 1,800 of them deportees. Shortly before the liquidation a number of Jews from Silesia settled in Opatow Ghetto, which from June 1, 1942, was one of the 17 ghettos officially left in the country.

In July 1941 the German police began abducting young men for labor camps. Raids were carried out by German police with the help of Jewish police. Jews found in hiding were often executed. Until the liquidation of the ghetto, about 1,900–2,100 Jews were sent to the labor camps. A group of youth planning armed resistance bought weapons from Poles and stored them in the garret of the synagogue. The German police, who were informed, seized the weapons and shot a group of girls who were found there. The Judenrat was composed of well-known persons, mainly Zionists. The president, Mordekhai Weissblum, is reported to have taken care of the Jewish population, organized Jewish life, and alleviated German persecution and repression by personal diplomacy and bribery. But the Judenrat was also reproached for having prepared lists of candidates for labor camps, although it also sent parcels with food and clothing to the camp inmates.

The liquidation of the ghetto took place on Oct. 20–22, 1942. German police and Ukrainians surrounded the ghetto and carried out a mass *Selektion* in the square. Six thousand Jews were driven on foot to the Jasice station near Ostrow, loaded onto wagons, and taken to *Treblinka. Another 500 to 600 Jews were taken to a labor camp in Sandomierz. During the three-day *Aktion* several hundred Jews were killed in the town. The Germans left a few score Jews in Opatow to clear the terrain and sort out Jewish property. After the work was completed the Jews were shot at the Jewish cemetery, with the exception of a few individuals, among them the president of the Judenrat, who reached labor camps in Sandomierz. The community was not reconstituted after the war.

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[Danuta Dombrowska]

OPAVA (Ger. **Troppau**), city in N. Silesia, Czech Republic. A tale about 27 Jews being executed for well-poisoning in Opava in 1163 is probably unreliable. A Jewish community is first mentioned in 1281. Although their expulsion is not documented it is recorded that in 1501 Jews were permitted to return and buy back their houses. Jews from *Osoblaha (Hotzenplotz) traded in Opava. In 1737, 20 Jewish families lived in the duchy. Several Jewish families lived in Opava at the beginning of the 19th century, and their number increased after the 1848 Revolution. At the end of the 19th century Opava became a center of the *Schoenerer brand of German nationalism, and the community suffered from antisemitic attacks. The community developed, inspired by its rabbi, Simon Friedmann, an ardent Zionist from his student days. In 1923 a progressive community statute was introduced. On the outskirts of Opava in the 1920s the training farm, Komorau, was a center of the He-Ḥalutz movement. The community numbered 134 in 1867, 1,127 in 1921, and in 1931, 971 (2.6% of the total population), 502 of whom declared their nationality as Jewish. At the time of the Sudeten crisis the community dispersed, sharing the fate of the Jews of the Protectorate. The synagogue was set on fire by the Nazis. After the war the community was revived, mainly by Jews from Subcarpathian Ruthenia. In 1959 it was affiliated with the Ostrava community and it was still active in 1970 as a synagogue congregation. Virtually no Jews lived there at the turn of the century.

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[Meir Lamed]

OPFERPFENNIG, a poll tax introduced in 1342 by Emperor Louis IV the Bavarian, who ordered all Jews above the age of 12 and possessing 20 gulden to pay one gulden annually so that he would be better able to protect them. The original name was *Guldenpfennig*, changed in later generations to *Opferpfennig*. The practice was motivated by sheer economic necessity and justified by Christian chroniclers on the grounds that the German emperor, as the legal successor of the Roman emperors, was the rightful recipient of the traditional Temple tax which Jews paid after the destruction of the Second Temple. The *Opferpfennig* (called *donatio* by the exchequer) was collected on Christmas day, giving the levy the ignominy of a degrading poll tax. By 1346 the emperor was already disposing of the *Opferpfennig* of *Frankfurt, *Friedberg, *Gelnhausen, and *Wetzlar. *Charles IV ordered the income of the 1348 tax to be delivered to the archbishop of Triers. The *Opferpfennig*, like other taxes, was a readily transferable source of income but never grew to sizable proportions. This poll tax was sometimes replaced by an overall fixed communal tax. Rich and powerful Jews often succeeded in buying or obtaining exemption from the tax, a symbol of servitude.

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OPHEL, rocky protuberance north of the city of David in Jerusalem. Its wall is mentioned in the time of Jotham (II Chron. 27:3), Manasseh (II Chron. 33:14), and Nehemiah (3:27); it formed part of the eastern fortifications of Jerusalem. In the time of Nehemiah, the Temple servants (*Nethinim*) lived there. According to Nehemiah 3:27, the Ophel was situated between the "tower that standeth out" of the royal palace and the water gate. The name Ophel in a general sense was applied to a city hill in Micah 4:8 and Isaiah 32:14, and specifically to a hill in Samaria (II Kings 5:24). In modern times, the name Ophel has been extended to the whole eastern hill of Old Jerusalem, including David's City. Excavations in this area were begun by Ch. Warren in 1867 and continued by C. Schick (1880, 1886), H. Guthe (1881), F.J. Bliss and A.C. Dickie (1894–97), M. Parker (1909), R. Weill (1913–24), F.J. Macalister (1923–25) and J.W. Crowfoot (1927–28). For their results, see *Jerusalem.

[Michael Avi-Yonah]

OPHIR (Heb. אוֹפִיר, אוֹפִר), a country in the biblical period, well known for its gold. Trade between Palestine and Ophir was possible by sea from the port of Ezion-Geber, but only in the time of Solomon was an attempt made to reach Ophir and take gold, precious stones, and sandalwood from there (I Kings 9:28; 10:11; II Chron. 8:18; 9:10). An attempt made during the reign of Jehoshaphat to reach Ophir did not succeed, as the ships prepared for this undertaking in Ezion-Geber broke on the rocks (I Kings 22:49). Sailing to Ophir apparently required much preparation, and could not be accomplished without outside help. In the days of Solomon the voyage was undertaken with the assistance of Tyrian sailors. Even in the days of Jehoshaphat, lengthy negotiations had been carried on between Jehoshaphat and Ahaziah king of Israel for the purpose of preparing the journey to Ophir, and still it did not succeed. The author of II Chronicles (20:35–37) mistakenly indicates Tarshish as the goal of Jehoshaphat's voyage. However, the evidence recorded in the book is indeed correct, namely, that the negotiations between Jehoshaphat and Ahaziah aroused bitter opposition in Judah, no doubt because of the rights Jehoshaphat granted Ahaziah – as payment for his help in preparing the trip to Ophir – in the region of Ezion-Geber, which was located within the area of Judah's sovereignty. These negotiations also testify not only that the region of Ophir was distant from Palestine and that the voyage involved much preparation and special technical, professional training in navigation, but also that the mining of gold entailed many difficulties that the Kingdom of Judah could not overcome itself. According to information preserved in the Bible, Solomon's fleet sailed to Ophir only once. The plentiful information concerning the value of the gold of Ophir which was found in Palestine corroborates the assumption that this gold reached Palestine by way of gold markets which existed throughout the world at that time. The fact that the port of Ezion-Geber served as a point of departure for ships sailing to Ophir indicates that it was also possible to reach Ophir from the coastal regions of the Red Sea; and consequently, it is reasonable to suppose that Palestine served as a channel for the transportation of gold from Ophir to Syria, Babylonia, and Asia Minor. The use of the gold of Ophir in Palestine is attested to in the inscription: [ז]הב אפר לבית חרן ("Gold of Ophir for Beth-Horon") which was found on an earthern vessel discovered in the excavations at Tell Qasile.

There are many assumptions concerning the location of Ophir. Eupolemus was of the opinion that Ophir is an island in the Red Sea (in Eusebius, *Praeparatio Evangelica*, 9:30, 7). Josephus (Ant., 1:147; 8:164; cf. Eusebius, Onom. 176:13) locates Ophir in India – in the regions between one of the tributaries of the Indus River and China. It has also been suggested that Ophir should be located along the coast of the Arabian Peninsula, since the location of Ophir the son of Joktan the son of Eber was between Sheba and Havilah (Gen. 10:28–29), which were also famous in the biblical period for their gold (Gen. 2:11; Isa. 60:6; Ezek. 27:22; Ps. 72:15). The most likely location of Ophir to have been suggested so far is the region of Somalia on the East African coast, possibly extending to the neighboring coast of South Arabia. The products of Ophir are characteristically African and are similar to those of Punt, which suggests that Ophir and Punt were located in the same region. It is certain that Punt was in the area of Somalia, and it is thus likely that Ophir was situated there as well.

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[Joshua Gutmann]

OPHRAH (Heb. עָפְרָה), name of two places mentioned in the Bible.

(1) A locality in the northern part of the territory of the tribe of Benjamin near Beth-El (Josh. 18:23). Ophrah was one of the places attacked by Philistine "spoilers" shortly before the battle of Michmas (I Sam. 13:17). Abijah of Judah captured it together with Beth-El (II Chron. 13:19 as Ephrain). It was the capital of a district ceded by Samaria to Judea in 145 B.C.E., when it was called Aphaerema (I Macc. 11:34). It appears as Ephraim in the New Testament (John 11:54) and as Ephron in Eusebius (Onom. 28:4; 90:19) and on the Madaba Map. Ophrah is identified with al-Ṭayyiba, 4 mi. (6.4 km.) northeast of Beth-El.

(2) Gideon's home town, which belonged to the Manassite clan of Abiezer (Judg. 6:11, 24; 8:27, 32; 9:5). Here God called on Gideon to fight the Midianites and here he ruled, died, and was buried. The identification of the place is uncertain. Most scholars locate it in the vicinity of Mt. Tabor (cf. Judg. 8:18) and the Jezreel Valley, the site of Gideon's encounter with the Midianites. Suggested sites in this region are either al-Ṭayyiba to the northeast of the hill of Moreh (the Crusader Effraon or Forbelet which is, however, also considered for Hapharaim of Issachar (Josh. 19:19)) or the tell of Affuleh which has traces of the Canaanite and Israelite periods.

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[Michael Avi-Yonah]

OPHUELS, MAX (1902–1957), film director. He was born in Saarbruecken, Germany, as Max Oppenheimer. He directed plays in many German theaters and, starting in 1925, worked at the Vienna Burgtheater. Antisemitic letters made the head of the Viennese theater fire him, and in 1926 he moved back to Frankfurt am Main together with his wife, the actress Hilde Wall. There he directed and wrote plays and, after 1931, also made films. Ophuels became an antifascist before the Nazi rise to power, and his engagement grew after 1933. In 1935 the business of the Oppenheimer family in Saarbruecken was "aryanized," and the family emigrated to Paris. Ophuels received French citizenship in 1938 and worked in Paris as a filmmaker and writer of radio plays. After the occupation of

France in 1940 Ophuels escaped to unoccupied France and later to the United States. In 1941 he settled in Los Angeles where he continued to direct movies in Hollywood. He returned to Germany in 1949, where he stayed for the rest of his life. Among his works are the early successes *Liebelei* (1933) and *La Signora di Tutti* (1934). Other films were *Letter from an Unknown Woman* (Hollywood, 1948), the French *La Ronde* (1950), and *The Earrings of Madame de…* (1953). His expressionist film *Lola Montez* (1955) aroused controversy among film critics in the United States after the showing of its complete version there in 1969.

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[Noam Zadoff (2nd ed.)]

OPLER, MARVIN KAUFMANN (1914–1981), U.S. anthropologist and social psychiatrist; brother of Morris Edward *Opler. Opler was born in Buffalo, New York. He received an A.B. degree in social studies from the University of Michigan in 1935 and a Ph.D. in anthropology from Columbia University in 1938. He did anthropological fieldwork among Eastern Apache tribes, such as the Mescalero Indians in New Mexico, as well as Eskimo and Northwest Coast Indians in Oregon. Between 1943 and 1946, he served as a community analyst at the Tule Lake Japanese internment camp in Newell, California. That experience and the complex issues inherent in the segregation program led him to co-author the book *Impounded People (1946).* After teaching anthropology, sociology, and social psychiatry at various American universities, Opler was appointed professor of social psychiatry at the University of Buffalo School of Medicine in 1958. He remained there for the rest of his teaching career, serving as chairman of the anthropology department from 1969 to 1972. He also served as professor of sociology and anthropology at the Graduate School of the State University of New York at Buffalo. Opler was, with Thomas A.C. Rennie, a principal investigator in the Midtown Manhattan Mental Health Research Study, 1952–60. On this topic, he wrote *Mental Health in the Metropolis: The Midtown Manhattan Study* (1962).

He was an associate editor of the *International Journal of Social Psychiatry* from 1958 and associate editor of *American Anthropologist* from 1962.

His principal interests were social theory, world areas research, psychoanalytic techniques in social analysis, and social psychiatry. Opler researched groups extending from the Ute Indians to modern social groups. He pioneered research on psychotic disorders among different ethnic groups to illuminate cross-cultural perspectives in mental disease and to establish the need for the collaboration of psychiatry and anthropology in defining contexts and differentials of mental disease. This is exemplified by his book *Culture and Social Psychiatry* (1967), originally *Culture, Psychiatry, and Human Values* (1956). He was editor of the book *Culture and Mental Health* (1959).

Opler was active in such professional organizations as the American Anthropological Association, the American Sociological Association, and the International Association of Social Psychiatry, and was the co-organizer of the First International Congress on Social Psychiatry held in London in 1964.

[Ephraim Fischoff / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

OPLER, MORRIS EDWARD (1907–1996), U.S. anthropologist and brother of Marvin Kaufmann *Opler. Born in Buffalo, New York, Opler received a bachelor's degree in sociology (1929) and a master's degree in anthropology (1930) from the University of Buffalo; he received a Ph.D. in anthropology (1933) from the University of Chicago. Opler taught at the University of Chicago (1933–35); he worked at the Bureau of Indian Affairs (1936–37); and taught at Reed College (1937–38) and Claremont College (1938–42). During World War II, he worked as a social science analyst at a Japanese-American internment camps and then with the War Office.

In 1948 he was appointed to Cornell University as professor of anthropology and Asian studies, and director of its South Asia Program, 1948–66, and the India Program 1952–66. He served as president of the American Anthropological Association (1962–63). In 1969 he joined the anthropology faculty at the University of Oklahoma, retiring in 1977 as professor emeritus.

His primary research interests were the ethnology of the Apache tribes, the cultural history of the Southwest, and the culture of India, as set out in *An Apache Way of Life* (1941). He was also author of *Social Aspects of Technical Assistance in Operation* (UNESCO, 1954). In later years he, like his brother, became interested in the relation between psychiatry and anthropology, and disturbed behavior and treatment in primitive and modern cultures.

Other books by Opler include *Myths and Tales of the Chiricahua Apache Indians* (1942), *Childhood and Youth in Jicarilla Apache Society* (1964), *Apache Odyssey* (1969), and *Myths and Tales of the Jicarilla Apache Indians* (1994).

[Ephraim Fischoff / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

OPOCZNO, town in central Poland. Opoczno was the birthplace of Esterka, according to legend the mistress of Casimir the Great (1333–70). In 1588 the Polish sovereign authorized the town to expel the Jews living there, but a Jewish community had resettled in the environs by 1646. The settlement was not permanent: a judgment of the supreme tribunal in 1714 again prohibited Jews from living in the town. According to the census of 1765, however, there were 1,349 Jews in Opoczno and the vicinity (excluding infants under one). They owned 12 plots of land outside the town and 41 houses within it. A number of crafts were exclusively pursued by Jews. Judah Leib, son of Eliezer b. Solomon *Lipschutz, author of responsa *Dammesek Eliezer*, officiated as rabbi of Opoczno at the end of the 18th century. The community numbered 1,469 in 1856, 2,425 in 1897, and 4,025 in 1909 (compared with 2,387 Christians).

The 1921 census shows a marked decrease to 3,135 Jews (46.9% of the total population).

[Nathan Michael Gelber]

Holocaust Period

In 1939 there were about 3,000 Jews in Opoczno. The German army entered the town on Sept. 6, 1939. In November 1940 a ghetto was established and the town's Jewish population was crowded into 115 small houses. In June 1942 about 1,200 Jews from nearby villages were deported to Opoczno Ghetto which grew to over 4,200. In July 1942 about 400 men were deported to the Hasag slave labor camp in Skarzysko-Kamienna and on Oct. 27, 1942 the ghetto was liquidated and all its inmates deported to *Treblinka death camp. Only 120 men were left by Jan. 3, 1943, and they were then exterminated. At the time of the mass deportation in October 1942, scores of Jews fled to the forests and organized partisan units there. The best-known unit, "Lions," under the command of Julian Ajzenman-Kaniewski, conducted a number of successful guerilla actions against Nazi forces and the Opoczno-Konskie railway line. After the war, the Jewish community of Opoczno was not reconstituted.

[Stefan Krakowski]

BIBLIOGRAPHY: BZIH, no. 15–16 (1955), 82, and no. 65–66 (1968), 55–57.

OPOLE LUBELSKIE, small town in Lublin province, S.E. Poland. A silver merchant named Manasseh is known to have resided in Opole in 1626 and carried on business there. The administration of the Opole community came under the jurisdiction of the Lublin *kahal* (see *Councils of the Lands). There were 487 Jews living in Opole in 1765. The community increased substantially during the 19th century, numbering 1,799 in 1856 (nearly twice the number of gentiles), and 3,323 in 1897 (60.1% of the total). The Jewish population numbered 3,766 in 1921 (66.7%).

[*Encyclopaedia Judaica* (Germany)]

Holocaust Period

About 4,000 Jews were living in Opole Lubelskie on the eve of World War II. The number was more than doubled when about 2,500 Jews from Pulawy and over 2,000 Jews from Vienna were deported there in December 1939 and February 1941, respectively. In May 1942 an additional few hundred Jews from nearby smaller places and Slovakia were brought to the town. Jews were deported from Opole to death camps on three occasions: on March 31, 1942, to Belzec, and in May and October 1942 to Sobibor. The community was not revived after the war.

[Stefan Krakowski]

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OPORTO, port city in northern Portugal, on the Douro River. Oporto had a vibrant Jewish community before the establishment of the Portuguese kingdom in 1143. One of its three Jewish neighborhoods was called Monte dos Judeus (Jews' Hill). The ancient synagogue structure – approved by King John in 1388 – was confiscated in 1554 for use by the Order of Santa Clara. Stairs adjoining the ruins are still known as *Escadas de Esnoga* ("the Synagogue Steps"), and an inscription unearthed in 1875 reveals that the synagogue had been dedicated by Don Judah. With the expulsion of the Jews from Spain in 1492, Oporto received an influx of Spanish Jews, including some 30 families who arrived as a group under the illustrious rabbi Isaac *Aboab. When Portugal ousted its Jews in 1497, Jewish communal life in Oporto was reduced to underground *Marrano activities. The Inquisition was active in the city and an auto-da-fé took place on Feb. 11, 1543. Local public opinion was so adverse, however, that no additional inquisitorial spectacles were permitted. In 1920 when Arturo Carlos de *Barros Basto set out to revive Judaism among the Marranos, Oporto became the center of his activities. The congregation Mekor Ḥayyim was organized there in 1927. In 1929 the imposing Kadoorie Synagogue was erected, housing both the congregation and an affiliated seminary for religious studies. In 1970 the Jewish community of Oporto numbered about 100 persons.

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[Aaron Lichtenstein]

OPPÉ, ADOLPH PAUL (1878–1957), British art historian and collector. Born in London, the son of a silk merchant, Oppé was educated at the Charterhouse school, St. Andrews University, and Oxford. A senior civil servant, he became one of the greatest British art scholars of his time, specializing in studies of Renaissance Italian artists such as *Raphael* (1909) and *Botticelli* (1991). Universally respected, he was made a fellow of the British Academy in 1952. Oppé built up one of the greatest collections of drawings and watercolors of his time, having an uncanny eye for buying unappreciated works for virtually nothing. His collection was acquired by the Tate Gallery after his death.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: ODNB online.

[William D. Rubinstein (2nd ed.)]

OPPEN, GEORGE (1908–1984), U.S. poet. Oppen's life is exemplary of Jewish American culture and poetry in the 20th century. Born in New Rochelle, N.Y., Oppen was the child of George August Oppenheimer, a diamond merchant, and Elsie Rothfeld. His mother committted suicide when George was four; his father remarried in 1917 and moved to San Francisco, changing the family name to Oppen in 1927. Raised in a highly assimilated, wealthy milieu, the young Oppen's early years were not happy, and he eventually rejected the world in which he grew up. His stepmother was abusive, and he was expelled from high school for drinking just prior to graduation when a car that Oppen was driving had an accident and one of the passengers was killed. On a whim, Oppen entered Oregon State University at Corvallis the next year. In a class on modern poetry, he met his future wife, Mary Colby. When the two stayed out one night, George was suspended and Mary expelled. The two traveled together across the country, hitchiking, sailing, and working at odd jobs. Soon after their arrival in New York City, the Oppens made the acquaintance of Louis *Zukofsky and Charles *Reznikoff. With connections to older modernists, including Ezra Pound and William Carlos Williams, the Objectivists (the term was coined by Zukofsky when he edited a special issue of *Poetry* in 1931) were active through the mid-1930s, first through Oppen's To Publishers and then through the Objectivist Press, which published Oppen's first book, *Discrete Series*, in 1934. But a year later, the Oppens joined the Communist Party, abandoning their cultural activities and immersing themselves in political organizing. When the U.S. entered World War II, Oppen enlisted; serving in the infantry, he was seriously wounded in the Battle of the Bulge. After the war, the Oppens, with their daughter Linda (born in 1939), moved to California, but upon being investigated for their earlier political activities, they moved to Mexico and did not return to the U.S. until 1958, settling in Brooklyn in 1960. Oppen had by then returned to poetry, and entered into an extraordinary period of artistic productivity. Reconnecting with some of his old Objectivist colleagues, and meeting many younger poets, he published *The Materials* (1962), *This In Which* (1965), and *Of Being Numerous* (1968), which won the Pulitzer Prize. The Oppens moved to San Francisco in 1966. Oppen's *Collected Poems* appeared in 1975 (the same year he and Mary visited Israel); his final volume, *Primitive*, in 1978, by which time Oppen was evincing symptoms of Alzheimer's disease. His mental and physical condition gradually deteriorated but he continued to write in the fragmentary style out of which nearly all his poems emerged. *New Collected Poems* was published in 2002.

Oppen has gradually come to be recognized as one of the most important American poets of his time, as a growing body of critical and biographical studies attest. His work forms a crucial bridge between modernism and more recent tendencies in American poetry, and his years of poetic silence, during which he lived, in effect, the crisis of midcentury American history, resonate with extraordinary force and gravitas in his lyrics of the 1960s, culminating in his masterpiece, the serial poem "Of Being Numerous." Yet Oppen, following the dicta of Objectivism, always wrote with great humility, insisting on his poetry as a "test of truth" or "test of sincerity" and devoting himself to intense scrutiny of "the materials" of everyday life, its social fabric and physical being. It is out of this scrutiny, supported on the one hand by Marxism and on the other by Heideggerian phenomenology, that a profoundly philosophical, formidably compressed, and beautifully constructed poetry emerges.

Given his completely secular upbringing and lifestyle, and the relative lack of Jewish references in his poetry, it is difficult to consider Oppen in the light of a specifically Jewish literature. Yet a number of Oppen's most important poems may be understood in terms of Jewish themes and identity. "Psalm," one of his most frequently anthologized poems, celebrates the natural world and the way it almost kabbalistically folded into language. "Of Hours" addresses Oppen's vexed relationship to the antisemitic Ezra Pound, one of his most important mentors. "Exodus" beautifully recalls Oppen's reading about "The children of Israel" to his young daughter, while in "Semite" the poet insists on "my distances neither Roman / / nor barbarian."

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[Norman Finkelstein (2nd ed.)]

OPPENHEIM, town in Germany. Jews are first mentioned there in the tax register of 1241, according to which they were obliged to pay the emperor an annual tax of 15 marks. The Jews of the town, legally the property of the emperor, were placed under the protection of the officers in charge of the local fortress, to whom they paid their taxes. They also paid a house tax to the archbishop of Mainz. *Rudolf of Hapsburg and other kings gave letters of credit to various noblemen which were to be defrayed from the taxes paid by the Jews of Oppenheim; at times, they also leased these taxes. The burden of their taxes appears to have caused several Jews of Oppenheim to join the group that fled from the Rhineland and, under the leadership of *Meir b. Baruch of Rothenburg, attempted to emigrate to Ereẓ Israel (1285). At the end of July 1349, during the persecutions that followed the *Black Death, most of the Jews of Oppenheim were murdered, while others chose martyrdom (**kiddush ha-Shem*) and burned themselves to death in order to escape forced conversion at the hands of the mob. Among the martyrs was the rabbi Joel ha-Kohen.

Some time later the community was reestablished. After 1400 the right of residence was made renewable at the end of every six years, and the amount of taxes to be paid was fixed. In 1422 a plot by two Christians to kill the Jews of the town was frustrated by the municipal council. Certain protection fees and "gifts" that the Jews of Oppenheim were compelled to pay weighed upon them so heavily that despite the additional support of such communities as Worms, Mainz, and Frankfurt, Oppenheim Jewry could not meet their payments and were therefore penalized (1444). In 1456, R. Seligmann Bing (or R. Seligmann Oppenheim) attempted to establish a union of the communities of the Upper Rhine, but because of community opposition and that of R. Israel Isserlein (c. 1390–1460), the project was abandoned.

The community suffered during the wars of Louis XIV, and by 1674 only three families remained in the town. By 1722 the number had grown to eight. Many Oppenheim Jews settled in Frankfurt and other south German cities, where they were known as "Oppenheim" or "Oppenheimer," and the name became widespread. The community numbered 20 families in 1807; 257 in 1872; 189 in 1880; and 56 in 1933. Of the 17 Jews who remained during World War II, 16 were deported. In 1970 no Jews lived in Oppenheim. A memorial plaque commemorates the destroyed synagogue and the Oppenheim Jews who were victims of the Holocaust. The municipality organized two meetings of "Oppenheims" and "Oppenheimers" in 2000 and 2003.

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[Paul Lazarus / Zvi Avneri / Larissa Daemmig (2nd ed.)]

OPPENHEIM, name of a German family derived from the Rhenish town of that name. In Hebrew works the members of the family are always called Oppenheim. Later some of them, especially the Vienna branch, were called Oppenheimer. Another branch of the family settled in Heidelberg and assumed the name of that town. The earliest known mention of the name is that of R. Isaac Oppenheim and R. Joel Oppenheim, both mentioned in the responsa of R. Meir of Rothenburg (d. 1293). In Worms the family early achieved distinction, providing the community with a long line of leaders and representatives, while its members were also to become founders of the Vienna Oppenheimer branch. In 1531 this family appeared in Frankfurt, where they had come from Heidelberg. After the expulsion of the Jews from Frankfurt in 1614, part of the family again settled in Heidelberg. In Frankfurt, too, it was one of the most prominent families, many of its members serving the community as *parnasim* and *shtadlanim*, and producing many rabbis, financiers, and successful merchants. More than 200 tombstones bearing this family name are to be found in the old Jewish cemetery in Frankfurt.

[Heinrich Flesch]

OPPENHEIM, family of German bankers, originally from Frankfurt, and later from Bonn, where in 1789 SOLOMON OPPENHEIM, JR. (1772–1828) established a commission and forwarding business. From 1798 Cologne was the headquarters of the banking house of Sal Oppenheim Jr. & Cie. Proximity both to West European financial centers and to the Rhine-Ruhr industry determined its rise after World War II to the position of Federal Germany's second largest private banking concern. The firm promoted railroad construction, river transportation, insurance, and corporate banks in Germany and abroad, participated in syndicates for the public sector, and supplied industrial credit. Solomon Oppenheim Jr. helped to establish the Paris bank of B.L. Fould et Fould-Oppenheim (now Heine & Co.). His daughter Helene married the banker Bénoît *Fould. Solomon Oppenheim Jr.'s sons, SIMON (1803–1880) and ABRAHAM (1804–1878) were ennobled and their descendants converted. Simon's great grandsons WALDEMAR (1894–1952) and FRIEDRICH CARL (1900–?), "quarter-Jews" by Nazi reckoning, had to change the firm's name to Pferdmenges (a non-family partner) & Co. in 1938. Friedrich Carl Oppenheim was imprisoned in 1944, following the abortive attempt on Hitler's life. After World War II, the bank resumed its original name and Oppenheim partnership interests. Two descendants of Solomon Oppenheim Jr. were active in public affairs: Simon's brother DAGOBERT (David; 1809–1899), who converted to Christianity, was a co-founder and co-director of the progressive daily *Rheinische Zeitung* (1841–43). Simon's baptized grandson MAX OPPENHEIM (1860–1946), a German career diplomat and Orientalist, founded the Deutsches Orient Institut.

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[Hanns G. Reissner]

OPPENHEIM, BEER BEN ISAAC (1760–1849), German rabbi and scholar. In his early youth Oppenheim studied at the yeshivah of Fuerth and then proceeded to Berlin where he apparently made contact with the followers of the Haskalah movement. His contributions to *Bikkurei ha-Ittim are written in an attractive Hebrew style, and he carried on correspondence with Moses Israel *Landau, Isaac Samuel *Reggio, and Solomon Judah Loeb *Rapoport. He later settled in Pressburg (Bratislava), living there in favorable financial circumstances and engaging mainly in talmudic studies. In 1829 he published *Mei-Be'er,* a collection of his responsa to Moses *Muenz, Samuel b. Ezekiel *Landau, Solomon Margolis, Baruch b. Josiah *Jeiteles, his brother Ḥayyim, and other contemporary scholars. It appeared with an appendum entitled *Palgei Mayim*, containing a number of his talmudic novellae.

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[Heinrich Flesch]

OPPENHEIM, DAVID (1816–1876), Hebrew scholar. Born in Leipnik, Moravia, he was a rabbi in his native land and in Hungary. He published articles and studies in Hebrew and other languages, which encompassed a broad range of Hebrew literature and culture. A zealot for the Hebrew language, he fought the movement to eliminate Hebrew in the synagogue. His Hebrew studies were published in the periodicals *Bet ha-*

Midrash and *Yeshurun*, and especially in *Ha-Maggid*, to which he contributed critiques of Judaica.

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[G.K.]

OPPENHEIM (Oppenheimer), DAVID BEN ABRAHAM (1664–1736), rabbi. Born in Worms, his teachers were Gershon *Ashkenazi of Metz, Jacob Ashkenazi, Benjamin Wolf Epstein of Friedberg, and *Isaac Benjamin Wolf b. Eliezer Lipman of Landsberg. While he was still a boy, he maintained a scholarly correspondence with Jair Ḥayyim *Bacharach. At the age of 17 he married Genendel, daughter of the Hanoverian Court Jew Leffman *Behrends. A nephew of Samuel *Oppenheimer, he inherited a fortune from him. At the age of 20 Oppenheim was ordained rabbi by his teachers in Metz and Landsberg, as well as by the rabbi of Worms, Aaron b. Moses *Teomim. While his noble descent, his wealth, and the influence of his family may have helped him, as a scholar of repute he was entitled to recognition in his own right. When 25 he was called to the rabbinate of the highly respected community of Nikolsburg (*Mikulov), thus becoming *Landrabbiner of Moravia. There he gathered many students around him, founding a *bet midrash* which he endowed with large funds to ensure its continued existence for many years. In 1698 he received a call from the community of Brest-Litovsk and, although he declined, from this time he called himself rabbi of Brest. He also declined the call to become *Landrabbiner* of the Palatinate (1702). The community of Jerusalem honored him with the title "rabbi of the Holy City," which explains the use of the title "rabbi of Israel and of many communities and districts of the Diaspora" in the heading of his introduction to the Pentateuch (Berlin, 1705). Appointed *nasi Ereẓ Israel* by Samson *Wertheimer, Oppenheim became responsible for the collection and transference of sums collected throughout Europe for the benefit of Jews in Jerusalem (see *Hierosolymitanische Stiftung, **Ḥalukkah*). Many communities turned to him for help in regularizing their internal affairs; he prepared the statutes of the community of *Hildesheim, which were partially accepted. After 12 years of successful activity in Nikolsburg, Oppenheim became rabbi of Prague, a community rich in talmudic scholarship. His munificence and liberality attracted many scholars. His wife Genendel died in 1712, and in her memory he donated a valuable Ark curtain to the Altneu synagogue. In 1713 he was appointed *Landrabbiner* of half of Bohemia, while the other half remained under the leadership of Benjamin Wolf Spira, whose daughter Shifrah, widow of Isaac b. Solomon Zalman Bondi of Prague, became Oppenheim's second wife. When Benjamin Wolf Spira died in 1715, he also became *Landrabbiner* of the other half of Bohemia.

Regarded as a man who was familiar with all branches of rabbinical and halakhic literature, Oppenheim also had a reputation as a mathematician, and many rabbis of the day turned to him with difficult questions of religious law. Many demands for his approbations (**Haskamot*) were made; Loewenstein has traced more than 70 of these. Oppenheim was reluctantly drawn into contemporary quarrels. Judah Leib *Prossnitz vilified his name in an unprecedented manner – with his agreement, the rabbinate of Prossnitz (*Prostejov) had excommunicated Judah Leib – but on the other hand he was accused by Ẓevi Ashkenazi of having given material and moral support to Nehemiah *Ḥayon. It would appear that he had approved one of Ḥayon's works but that Ḥayon had printed the approbation in another. Oppenheim also had serious differences with Jonathan *Eybeshuetz, who also worked in Prague. When Eybeshuetz's students slandered him in a most vulgar fashion, serious disturbances arose between the students of their respective yeshivot, prompting the authorities to intervene. In a decree of June 16, 1722, Emperor Charles VI ordered that the students responsible for the upheaval were not to remain in Prague and that "in future, Jewish studies be under the control of the said chief rabbi Oppenheim," and that no other Prague rabbi might maintain a house of study.

From his early youth a lover of books, Oppenheim undertook long journeys in order to obtain rare manuscripts or prints. He visited the fairs at Leipzig, was in close touch with printers and book dealers, and published lists of works he sought, in order to obtain books from all lands. He used his wealth (inherited and received from his wives) to establish a library. J.C. Wolf, who obtained most of the material for his Bibliotheca Hebraea from Oppenheim's library, estimated that it contained 7,000 volumes, including 1,000 manuscripts. An incomplete catalog of Oppenheim's library appeared in 1764, a second, by Israel Bresslau, was published in Hamburg in 1782, and a third, entitled *Kohelet David*, by Isaac Metz appeared in Hamburg/Altona in 1826 with a Latin translation by Lazarus Emden. A supplement to the latter was issued by J. Goldenthal in Leipzig in 1845. Because of censorship problems, the library was kept in Hanover; on Oppenheim's death it was inherited by his only son, Joseph, who married a daughter of Samson *Wertheimer. After Joseph's death it passed to his nephew Isaac Seligman Cohen. One of Oppenheim's grandchildren, the widow of R. Hirsch Oppenheim of Hildesheim, put the library up for sale. M. Mendelssohn valued it at between 50 and 60,000 thaler, and it was later taxed for 150,000 thaler, but in 1829 it was finally sold for the ridiculously low sum of 9,000 thaler to Oxford, where it forms the substantial part of the Hebrew section of the *Bodleian Library. Oppenheim was a patron of Jewish scholarship and gave many editors and publishers of talmudic and halakhic works grants toward publishing costs. He willingly put manuscripts that he had obtained at great expense at the disposal of publishers, in order to make them available to the wider public. Although Oppenheim himself wrote a great deal, the greatest part of his works lies unpublished in Oxford and other libraries. His responsa were published in the collections of responsa of Jair Ḥayyim Bacharach, Jacob b. Joseph *Reicher-Backofen, Ezekiel *Katzenellenbogen, *Eliakim Goetz b. Meir, and Eliezer Lipschuetz.

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[Heinrich Flesch]

OPPENHEIM, ḤAYYIM (1832–1891), Hebrew scholar. Born in Moravia, a brother of David *Oppenheim, he received his academic degree as well as a teaching certificate in Vienna in 1857. He also served as rabbi in various communities. His studies and articles encompassed the entire range of talmudic, religious, and philosophic literature of the Middle Ages. Most of his studies were written in Hebrew and appeared in scholarly publications during the latter half of the 19th century. He was among the first to introduce into Hebrew scholarship the early findings of Assyriology. He also contributed to German scholarly periodicals devoted to Judaic studies.

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[Getzel Kressel]

OPPENHEIM, HERMANN (1858–1919), German neurologist and researcher of the nervous system. Oppenheim, born in Warburg, published many studies on the anatomy and pathology of the brain, the spinal cord, and the peripheral nerves. He improved the methods for examining patients with nervous disorders, and introduced many important innovations in diagnostic and therapeutic procedures, especially in the diagnosis of brain tumors and their localization, as well as in meningitis aphasia. A congenital disease of the brain stem and spinal cord in infants is named after him. The fruits of his rich experiments were assembled in his work *Lehrbuch der Nervenkrankheiten fuer Aerzte und Studierende*, which was published in seven editions (first in 1894) and translated into many languages. It became the textbook for neurologists throughout the world for decades. Oppenheim was the founder and organizer of the German Neurological Association and its chairman for many years. Despite his international reputation and a unanimous recommendation by the medical faculty of Berlin University that he be appointed to the chair in neurology, the Prussian government refused to sanction this unless he be converted to Christianity, which Oppenheim resolutely refused.

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[Joseph Prager]

OPPENHEIM, JACQUES (1849–1924), Dutch jurist. Oppenheim was born in Groningen, where he became secretary of the municipality in 1873. In 1885 he was appointed professor of constitutional and administrative law at Groningen University and became professor of public and international law at Leiden University in 1893. He was an important figure in several state commissions and was a member of the Council of State from 1907 until 1924. He was a member of the Netherlands Royal Academy of Sciences (1902–24) and curator of Leiden University (1916–24). Of his many books, *Het Nederlandsche Gemeenterecht* (2 vols., 1895) is an important standard textbook on Dutch municipal law. Active in Jewish affairs, Oppenheim served as chairman of the Ashkenazi rabbinical seminary in Amsterdam and as a member of the board of the Jewish community in The Hague. During World War I he was also president of the European committee of the *American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee. Through his wife he was connected to the Van *Nierop family.

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[Henriette Boas / Bart Wallet (2nd ed.)]

OPPENHEIM, JAMES (1882–1932), poet. Oppenheim's books of poetry were *Monday Morning and Other Poems* (1909), *Songs for the New Age* (1914), and *The Sea* (1924). The stories of *Doctor Rast* (1909) dealt with Jewish immigrants and their Americanized children whom he first met as a social worker on New York's Lower East Side. As editor of *Seven Arts*, which he founded together with Waldo *Frank and Paul *Rosenfeld in 1916, he stimulated many young poets.

OPPENHEIM, JOACHIM (**Ḥayyim**; 1832–1891), Austrian rabbi. Oppenheim was born in Eibenschitz (Moravia) where his father, Dov Baer, was a rabbi. He took over his brother David's position in the rabbinate at Jamnitz and after the death of his father (1859) he became rabbi in Eibenschitz (1860). From 1868 until his death, he served as rabbi of Thron. Oppenheim was a prolific scholar.

He had a profound knowledge of biblical, talmudic, and midrashic literature. The results of his studies in these areas were published, mostly in Hebrew, in the learned periodicals of the time. His *Toledot ha-Mishnah* (1882), an introduction to the Mishnah, was originally published in *Beit Talmud*, edited by his brother-in-law, I.H. *Weiss. Two of his sermons were published under the title *Das Tal-Gebet* (1862).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: N. Sokolow, *Sefer Sokolow* (1943), 126–7; idem, in: *Ha-Asif*, 6 (1894), 143 f. (1st pagination); C.D. Lippe, *Bibliographisches Lexicon…*, 1 (1881), 354 f.

OPPENHEIM, LASSA FRANCIS LAWRENCE (1858–1919), international lawyer. Oppenheim, one of the greatest authorities in his field, was born in Windekken, Germany. In 1886 he was appointed lecturer at the University of Freiburg, but because he was Jewish was precluded from advancing in the academic field. He therefore left Germany and went to

Switzerland, where he lectured at Basle University, and then, in 1895, to England. From 1898 to 1908 Oppenheim taught at the London School of Economics, and in 1908 became Whewell professor of international law at Cambridge, a position he held until his death. He was an adviser to the British government on questions of international law and collaborated on the British Army manual *Land Warfare* (1912). He also prepared memoranda for the British delegates at the Paris Peace Conference in 1919. Oppenheim's authoritative treatise, *International Law*, 2 vols. (1905–06), subsequently edited by Hersch *Lauterpacht, was accepted as the principal textbook for English-speaking countries. He became leader of the positive school in international law and a supporter of the League of Nations concept. Oppenheim was the principal founder of the *British Yearbook of International Law*.

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[Guido (Gad) Tedeschi]

OPPENHEIM, MORITZ DANIEL (1799–1882), German painter. Oppenheim was born in Hanau and, after studying art at Frankfurt and Munich, he went to Paris and in 1821 to Rome, where he stayed four years. There he came under the influence of the Nazarenes, a group of fervently Christian artists who painted New Testament scenes. In 1825 Oppenheim returned to Frankfurt. His paintings of Old and New Testament scenes were soon widely appreciated. His most loyal patrons were the Rothschilds and he was known as "painter of the Rothschilds" and – on account of his financial success – as "the Rothschild of the painters." He earned praise from Goethe to whom he sent two drawings based on Goethe's *Hermann und Dorothea*. Goethe, whom Oppenheim visited in Weimar and whose portrait he painted, persuaded the grand duke of Weimar to bestow upon the painter the title of honorary professor. In 1833 a picture with the narrative title "Return of a Jewish Volunteer from the Wars of Liberation to his Family Still Living According to the Old Tradition" brought the artist further renown. Encouraged by its wide success, Oppenheim painted 19 other canvases on Jewish motifs. These were eventually published in an album, *Bilder aus dem altjuedischen Familienleben* (1865) which appeared in the United States as *Family Scenes from Jewish Life of Former Days* (1866). These genre scenes, realistic yet tinged with romanticism, were much appreciated. They show excellent composition, and real skill in the grouping of the *dramatis personae*. They have been frequently reproduced to illustrate books on Jewish topics. He produced a series of large pictures on confrontations between Jews and Christians, e.g., Moses Mendelssohn and Lavater, Mendelssohn and Frederick the Great. Undoubtedly, Oppenheim's best works are his numerous portraits, pencil sketches as well as oils, including portraits of Ferdinand Hiller and Gabriel Riesser. He illustrated works by Berthold Auerbach and Solomon Hermann von Mosenthal. The city of Frankfurt commissioned him to paint portraits of past emperors for the Kaisersaal (Emperor's Hall) in the Roemer, the medieval town hall. Admirers came from all parts of Europe to visit his studio in Frankfurt. He continued to paint in his skillful, charmingly naive manner until a few days before his death, unconcerned with the changes in art and taste since his student days in Rome. His autobiography was published posthumously: *Erinnerungen*, ed. by A. Oppenheim (1924).

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[Alfred Werner]

OPPENHEIM, PAUL LEO (1863–1934), German geologist and paleontologist. Oppenheim worked as a private scientist in Berlin, only occasionally cooperating with academic or governmental scientific institutions. In 1907 the Prussian Ministry of Education awarded him the title of "professor" in appreciation of his outstanding achievements.

During nearly 50 years of research, Oppenheim published several monographs and many papers in various fields of geology and paleontology. He was particularly interested in the study of tertiary fossils, especially those of Italy and other countries of southern Europe, as well as of the Levant regions of Turkey, Syria, Palestine, the former German colonies of East and West Africa, and Egypt. He was internationally known as an expert of almost all groups of fossil invertebrates, but his special interest was directed to nummulites, echinoids and mollusks, and particularly to corals. Oppenheim bequeathed his unique collection of fossils and his comprehensive library to the Geology Department of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. His numerous works advanced the stratigraphy of the Tertiary and Cretaceous formations. His longer monographs on the "Niemitzer Schichten" of Bohemia (1924) and on the "Anthozoae der Gosauschichten" of the Alps are outstanding paleontological presentations of text and illustrations.

[Moshe A. Avnimelech]

OPPENHEIM, SALLY, Baroness Oppenheim-Barnes (née **Viner**; 1928–), British politician. Born in Dublin and educated in Sheffield, where her father was a diamond cutter, Sally Oppenheim worked as a social worker in London before serving as a Conservative member of Parliament from 1970 to 1987, and was minister of state for trade and consumer affairs under Margaret Thatcher in 1979–82. She was chairman of the Conservative Party in 1973–74 and served as chairman of the National Consumer Council. She was made a life peeress in 1989.

[William D. Rubinstein (2nd ed.)]

OPPENHEIMER, CARL (1874–1941), German biochemist. Born in Berlin, Oppenheimer was the second son of a reform rabbi, and brother of the economist Franz Oppenheimer. In 1902 he joined the Berlin Agricultural Academy, and was professor there from 1908 until dismissed by the Nazis in 1936. In 1938 he went to Holland as head of the agricultural department of a company in The Hague. He died in Zeist, Holland, probably murdered by the Nazis.

As a young man Oppenheimer wrote textbooks which were translated into many languages and became the most popular chemical books for medical students all over the world: *Grundriss der organischen Chemie* (1895, 1930^{14}); *Grundriss der anorganischen Chemie* (1898; 1934^{145}). His *Die Fermente und ihre Wirkungen* (1900; 4 vols., $1925–30^{5}$, suppl. 2 vols., 1935–38) gave enzymology its form and structure, and was followed by *Toxine und Antitoxine* (1904). Oppenheimer held that the study of living matter needed a knowledge of both the medical and the exact sciences. From 1909 to 1936 he published numerous basic texts in biochemistry as well as founding and editing the journals *Zentralblatt fuer Biochemie und Biophysik* (1910–21) and *Enzymologia* (1936–41).

[Samuel Aaron Miller]

OPPENHEIMER, SIR ERNEST (1880–1957), South African financier. Born in Friedberg, Germany, he went to London at the age of 16 to work for a firm of diamond merchants, which in 1902 sent him to represent them in Kimberley. He was very successful in the diamond business and in 1917 founded the Anglo-American Corporation. He gained control of several other companies, and in 1929 became chairman of the great diamond firm of De Beers and thus the acknowledged head of the industry. During the 1930s Oppenheimer steered the diamond trade through the difficulties of the great depression, ultimately establishing control of world marketing through the Diamond Corporation. His foresight also contributed to the discoveries which extended the Rand goldfields after World War II. Mayor of Kimberley from 1912 to 1915, he helped to raise the 2nd Battalion, the Kimberley Regiment, in World War I and was knighted in 1921. He represented Kimberley in Parliament as a supporter of Smuts from 1924 to 1938. He and his first wife, Mary Lina née Pollak, were liberal supporters of Jewish charities and interested themselves in Jewish communal affairs. After her death in 1934, he married a Catholic and converted to Christianity. In the development of the Orange Free State goldfields, Ernest Oppenheimer set high standards of town-planning and did much to promote better hospital and recreation services and housing for the Africans there and on the Witwatersrand. He was a gracious patron of the arts and sciences.

His son HARRY FREDERICK OPPENHEIMER (1908–2000), widely known as "H.F.O.," was educated at Charterhouse school in England and at Oxford. He succeeded his father as head of the diamond industry and of more than 150 mining, manufacturing, and investment companies. His birth in Kimberley was recorded in the Jewish communal records, but later he became a member of the Anglican Church. He entered the Anglo-American Corporation, eventually succeeding his uncle, Leslie Pollak, as manager. During World War II, he saw service as an intelligence officer in the Western Desert. After the war he helped his father develop the new Orange Free State goldfields. "H.F.O." was chairman of the Anglo-American Corporation (1957–82) and of DeBeers Consolidated, the great diamond and minerals mining giant, from 1957 to 1984. In 1948 he entered Parliament, winning his father's former Kimberley constituency for the United Party. Oppenheim was a consistent opponent of Apartheid. At the end of 1957 he retired from politics to devote himself entirely to his business interests. Harry Oppenheimer assisted materially in the development of the diamond industry in Israel. He was one of the richest men in South Africa, reputedly worth $2.5 billion at his death.

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[Lewis Sowden]

OPPENHEIMER, FRANZ (1864–1943), German sociologist and economist, an initiator of cooperative agriculture in Ereẓ Israel. The son of a reform rabbi, Oppenheimer was born in Berlin and studied medicine in Freiburg and Berlin. He started his career as a practicing physician, but after graduating in economics at the University of Kiel (1908), he became *Privatdozent* at the University of Berlin in 1909 and professor at the University of Frankfurt in 1917, where he occupied a newly established chair of sociology from 1919 to 1929. After Hitler's advent to power in 1933, Oppenheimer lectured in Berlin at the Hochschule fuer die Wissenschaft des Judentums. In 1938 he left Germany for the U.S. He died in Los Angeles.

Oppenheimer's sociology is developmental in character, combining in an independent way elements from the theories of Marx, Spencer, Gumplowicz, and also from the instinct theory of McDougall; to these is added a melioristic intention. Oppenheimer considered accumulation of wealth and power, and hence gross inequality among men, as originating from social conflict, exemplified in earliest times chiefly by the subjugation of peaceful farmers, craftsmen, and traders by conquering nomads and pirates. The "economic means" of accumulation through one's own work is thereby replaced by "political means," i.e., force of arms, starting with payment of tribute, then leading to serfdom, feudalism, and finally to the development of antagonistic classes under capitalism. The central evil is the monopolization of land, which forces rural populations into urban areas, and creates what Marx had defined as the "industrial reserve army." Consequently, if the monopolization of land were replaced by an agrarian cooperative system of independent farmers, free competition could be restored and a "liberal socialism" established. Oppenheimer's belief that the removal of evil institutions would do away with the domination of man by man and lead to social harmony has a dogmatic ring.

Oppenheimer's interest in Zionism and Jewish affairs dated from 1902, when Oskar *Marmorek and Johann *Kremenetzky introduced him to Theodor *Herzl. Herzl asked Oppenheimer to elaborate the economic and agricultural parts of the Zionist program, which he did in 1903 at the Sixth Zionist Congress in Basle. In 1911 the Palestine Office of the Zionist Organization in Jaffa established at *Merḥavyah a cooperative settlement based on Oppenheimer's ideas. Although it did not prove successful and had to be reorganized, the Merḥavyah experiment laid the foundation for cooperative agricultural settlement in Ereẓ Israel.

As an opponent of nationalism, Oppenheimer became alienated from the Zionist movement, and in 1913 he withdrew from any official participation. Nevertheless, he maintained his interest in the development of Ereẓ Israel and in Jewish social problems. During World War I he became aware of the misery of the Jewish population in Eastern Europe. In 1934–35 he visited Palestine and explained his concepts to Jewish labor leaders, but his ideas were not enthusiastically received.

His most important works are *Der Staat* (1907; *The State*, 1914) and *System der Soziologie* (4 vols., 1922–35). Some of his articles on the Merḥavyah experiment were included in the books *Genossenschaftliche Kolonisation in Palaestina* (1915); *Merchavia* (1914); and *Wege zur Gemeinschaft* (1924). He also published an autobiography, *Erlebtes, Erstrebtes, Erreichtes* (1913, 1964). In later years his collected works were published in three volumes edited by J.H. Schoeps, A. Silbermann and H. Suessmuth: vol. 1, *Theoretische Grundlegung* (1995); vol. 2, *Politische Schriften* (1996), vol. 3, *Schriften zur Marktwirtschaft* (1998).

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[Joachim O. Ronall and Werner J. Cahnman / Noam Zadoff (2nd ed.)]

OPPENHEIMER, FRITZ E. (1898–1968), U.S. international lawyer and diplomat. Born in Berlin, Oppenheimer served in the German Army in World War I and was wounded three times. He practiced as a lawyer in Berlin until 1936, when he was forced to leave Germany and went to London. There he acted as an adviser to the attorney general and the British Treasury and was admitted to the English bar. In 1940, Oppenheimer went to the United States where for two years he worked in a private law firm. In 1942 he enlisted in the U.S. Army and rose to become a lieutenant colonel. At the headquarters of the Supreme Allied Command, he was in charge of the reform of the German law and court system after the war. He also helped to prepare the documents relating to Germany's surrender and to draft military government and control council legislation.

On his return to the United States, Oppenheimer became special assistant to the State Department for German and Austrian affairs and adviser to the secretary of state at the meetings of the Council of Foreign Ministers (1947 and 1948). He played an important part in Germany's rehabilitation in the 1950s, helping to reorganize the German coal, iron, and steel industries, and to draft the U.S.-German treaty for the validation of German dollar bonds.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *New York Times* (Feb. 6, 1968), 43.

OPPENHEIMER, HILLEL (Heinz) REINHARD (1899–1971), Israeli plant physiologist. Born in Berlin, son of the sociologist and economist Franz *Oppenheimer, Hillel Oppenheimer became assistant in plant physiology at the Geisenheim experimental station in 1923. After a year's work in Berlin he went to Palestine in 1926 as keeper of the Aaron Aaronsohn Herbarium at Zikhron Ya'akov, where he arranged and cataloged the famed botanical collection. He was head of the plant physiology section at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem in 1931–32, and in 1933 established the horticultural, physiological, and genetics station at the Jewish Agency's Agricultural Experiment Station at Reḥovot, which he directed for twenty years. From 1952 until his retirement in 1967, he was professor of horticulture and of plant physiology at the Hebrew University, and dean of its agricultural faculty, 1952–54. In 1959 he was awarded the Israel Prize in Agriculture.

Oppenheimer contributed notably to the knowledge of the theory of irrigation, plant-water relations, and the mineral and irrigation requirements of plantation crops, especially citrus, which was his special interest and on which he was a world authority. His research encompassed germination inhibitors in fruits, the osmotic and elastic properties of plant cells, and drought tolerance of plant cells; and citricultural physiology, including timing of irrigation, foliar analysis, rootstock selection, response to pruning and fruit production. He was also concerned with forestry and tree physiology, including water relations in semiarid surroundings, root structure and growth, and the action of the cambium. His work helped to bridge the gap between plant-physiology and plant-geography. Oppenheimer's books include *Giddul Aẓei Hadar* ("Citrus Growing," 1957). In 1935 he founded *The Palestine Journal of Botany*, which he edited until 1953.

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[Julian Louis Meltzer]

OPPENHEIMER, JOSEPH (1876–1966), German impressionist painter born in Wuerzburg, Bavaria. In 1891 he started his artistic training in Munich, first at the private school of Conrad Fehr and then from 1893 to 1895 at the Munich Royal Academy of Fine Arts. He traveled to Italy in 1895 and in Rome painted his first impressionist painting, *Horses and Carriage on the Monte Pincio* (Private Collection).

After his return to Munich, in 1896, he set up his studio in the domicile of the archaeologist Adolf Furtwaengler and in 1899 became a member of the German secessionist movement. From then on he earned a reputation as a modern portrait painter in an impressionist style related to Max *Liebermann, and he exhibited on a regular base. After several journeys, among them a six-month stay in New York and a trip to England, he settled in Berlin in 1902 and exhibited at the Hamburg art gallery of Paul Cassirer, who was associated with the Berliner Secession and who arranged various portrait commissions for Oppenheimer. From 1902 to 1908 Oppenheimer lived in England, where Julius Spier also helped him obtain commissions. In addition he became a member of the Chelsea Arts Club. In 1908 he married Fanny Sternfeld and in the same year they returned to Berlin. He continued to work as a portrait painter also after World War I and accepted hundreds of commissions in Germany and abroad. His models were from the upper class and from the cultural and intellectual elite, such as Aby Warburg, Max J. Friedlaender, Adolf Harnack, Albert Einstein, Paul Cassirer, and Max Liebermann among others. In addition, he designed the covers of glossy magazines in Germany, where several of his plein-air studies were reproduced.

In 1933 Oppenheimer and his family immigrated to London, where he obtained British citizenship in 1939 and could resume his work as portraitist and designer of covers for magazines after World War II. From 1934 to 1965 he was a member of the Royal Society of Portrait Painters in London, where he produced works adapted to the British impressionist style that were accepted for exhibition on a regular base. Owing to World War II many of Oppenheimer's paintings disappeared or were destroyed. Some of them, among them paintings of Wuerzburg, are exhibited, but the vast majority of his paintings are in private collections.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: M. Lauter (ed.), *Joseph Oppenheimer (1876–1966). Leben und Werk, mit Beitraegen von Beate Reese und Hélène Sicotte* (1998; with catalogue raisonné).

[Jihan Radjai-Ordoubadi (2nd ed.)]

OPPENHEIMER, JOSEPH BEN ISSACHAR SUESSKIND (also known as **Joseph Suess** or "**Jud** [**Jew**] **Suess**"; 1698 or 1699–1738), Court Jew and confidential financial adviser to the duke of *Wuerttemberg. His father was a prominent merchant in Heidelberg and collector of taxes from the Jews of the Palatinate. In his youth, Oppenheimer was sent to Frankfurt, Amsterdam, Prague, and Vienna, where he became familiar with business methods within the circle of his wealthy relatives, the family of Samuel *Oppenheimer. He later engaged in commerce in Mannheim and Frankfurt. In 1732 he became the court factor of the Prince of Wuerttemberg, Charles Alexander, and a year later he was also appointed court factor to the ruler of Hesse-Darmstadt, the elector of Cologne, as well as tax collector of the elector of the Palatinate. When Charles Alexander, who in 1733 became duke of Wuerttemberg, decided to introduce an absolute and mercantile form of government within the territory under his control, Oppenheimer was appointed state counselor and was made responsible for the direction of financial affairs. In order to free the duke from his dependence on the allocations of the states, he endeavored to establish new economic foundations for the state income. He leased enterprises and properties to Christians and Jews, at the same time authorizing Jews to settle in the country. Through his supervision of the division of private property in cases of marriage or inheritance and his control over the appointment of government officials, Oppenheimer sought to enrich the state treasury and concentrate governmental power in the hands of the duke. Exercising his authority in an autocratic fashion, he imitated the life of a contemporary nobleman, dwelling in luxury and splendor; accusations of licentiousness seem to have had some foundation. With the support of the duke, he even made two unsuccessful applications for noble status to the emperor. His efforts to establish an absolute rule based on a system of mercantile economy aroused the fierce opposition of the conservative elements in the country, an opposition that was fanned by the fact that the duke was a Catholic while the country was Protestant, and that the change in the system of government had been assisted by the Jesuits and the army.

On March 19, 1737, the duke died suddenly before his projects could be executed. On the same day, Oppenheimer was arrested and charged principally with having endangered the rights of the country and embezzled the incomes of the state. Although the charges were not adequately substantiated, his property was confiscated and he was condemned to death. After the German Jewish communities had vainly attempted to obtain his release against a ransom, Oppenheimer was hanged on April 2, 1738, and his remains were publicly exhibited in an iron cage. While he was in prison, Oppenheimer, who during the period of his greatness had treated his religion with scant respect, rejected the offers of the clergy to save his life if he would accept baptism, proclaiming his intention of dying as a martyr. He died reciting the *Shema*. In the year after his death, the German Jewish communities lit memorial candles for him.

Contemporary legal authorities considered that Oppenheimer's death was an act of murder. Historians, too, have viewed it as judicial murder, the result of the conflict between various interests during the transition period from medieval to modern forms of government, in which Oppenheimer played a significant part. Traditional hatred of the Jews also served to bring about the downfall of a man who rose to considerable power in a Christian state at a time when the very idea of civic emancipation for the Jews was far distant. Joseph Suess Oppenheimer was the subject of a story by M. *Lehmann, and a novel, *Jud Suess*, by L. *Feuchtwanger, both of which were translated into several languages, including English.

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[Zvi Avneri]

OPPENHEIMER, J. ROBERT (1904–1967), U.S. physicist. Oppenheimer was in charge of the construction of the first atomic bomb as director of the laboratories at Los Alamos, New Mexico. Born in New York City, Oppenheimer was the son of a cultured and successful businessman, who had immigrated to the U.S. from Germany. His mother, a painter and teacher, died when he was nine years old. He was a child prodigy and at the age of five was collecting geological specimens. At Harvard University, he studied physics and chemistry, Greek and Latin. He worked under the world-famous scientist Ernest Rutherford at Cambridge, England (1925–26), and went to Goettingen at the invitation of Max *Born in 1927. On his return to America he became professor simultaneously at the California Institute of Technology at Pasadena and at the University of California at Berkeley (1929–47). He was a brilliant teacher, intense and dedicated – reading no newspaper, owning no radio, and learning Sanskrit as a diversion. He became director at Los Alamos in 1943 and during World War II was hailed as a world figure for the creation of "the bomb." In October 1945 he resigned as director at Los Alamos, and in 1947 became director of the Institute of Advanced Study at Princeton (1947–66). As chairman of the General Advisory Committee of the Atomic Energy Commission he continued to influence policy. He was greatly concerned with international control of atomic weapons. He was involved in the great debate with scientist Edward *Teller and the chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission Lewis *Strauss on the construction of the thermonuclear bomb. In 1954, his security clearance was cancelled because of his early association with communists in the late 1930s and his opposition to the H-Bomb (the subject of a play *In the Matter of J. Robert Oppenheimer* based on the documents by H. Kipphardt, and translated by R. Speirs, 1954). After a hearing before a special board he was declared "a loyal citizen but not a good security risk." In 1963, as a sign of restored confidence, he was given the Fermi Award for his contribution to nuclear research by the Atomic Energy Commission.

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[J. Edwin Holmstrom]

OPPENHEIMER, KARL (1864–1926), pioneer of infant and child welfare in Germany. Born in Bruchsal in Baden, he settled in Munich in 1890 and became a leading pediatrician. During more than 30 years of practice, he personally financed an extremely successful child welfare clinic. Oppenheimer considered the main purpose of this extensive free advisory service to be an attempt to achieve a decrease in the infant mortality rate, by educating and instructing indigent mothers. Largely on his initiative, the payment of maternity benefits and the training and recruitment of welfare workers were introduced. Oppenheimer was also responsible for the realization of a school meal service and the founding of the Jewish Country Home in Wolfratshausen. Oppenheimer published numerous articles on infant feeding; his proposals and improvements in regard to the composition and preparation of artificial infant food were vigorously contested at first but met with increasing acceptance.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Wininger, Biog, s.v.

OPPENHEIMER, SAMUEL (1630–1703), Austrian *Court Jew and military contractor. He began his career in Heidelberg as purveyor to the elector, Karl Ludwig, and tax collector of *Palatinate Jewry. Subsequently he moved to *Vienna where he received the right of unlimited residence and extraordinary trade privileges. Like other Jews, he was affected by the 1670 expulsion from Vienna but from 1672 he was in the business of supplying the Austrian army. Officially allowed to settle in 1676, he was the first Jew to be granted such a privilege after the 1670 expulsion, and his entourage became the core of the reestablished Jewish community. Although his request to open a synagogue was turned down by the authorities, services were held in his home. At the time of his resettlement he was given the title of Imperial War Purveyor. During the 1673–79 war against France he organized a consortium to supply Austrian armies in the west. After the Peace of Nijmegen (1679), the treasury refused to honor a 200,000 florin debt to him, and it was only through a personal appeal to the emperor that he even received partial payment. Shortly thereafter, he and his entourage were imprisoned for allegedly defrauding the state, although a subsequent investigation proved the accusations to be groundless. The outbreak of the Austrian-Turkish War (1682), however, forced the state to release him and to come to terms with his pecuniary demands, which were surprisingly lenient, and it further decided to put to the test his boast of being able to supply the Austrian armies single-handedly. The emperor approved the contract just before he fled Vienna to escape from the advancing Turkish armies; nevertheless, he declared that it was dangerous to give so important a position to a Jew. Oppenheimer fulfilled the contract during the desperate siege of Vienna in 1683 and, thereafter, took on all the logistic problems raised by the war: the supply of uniforms, food, and salaries for the troops, livestock for the cavalry and artillery and fodder for the beasts, as well as seeing to supplies for hospitals for the wounded. Conducting business throughout the empire, his coup was building the Danube fleet of rafts for the relief of besieged Ofen (see *Budapest).

Oppenheimer's success may be attributed to his business acumen and persistence despite the many difficulties which beset his enterprises, and especially to his organizational talents. He set up a network of contractors and subcontractors throughout central Europe, many of whom were Court Jews in their own right and some of whom established themselves by their business connections with him. A good part of his success was due to his family and its far-flung business connections. His wife, Sandela Carcassone, daughter of a Sephardi Jew of Mannheim, bore him nine children. His son Wolf married a daughter of Leffmann *Behrens, a business associate. Oppenheimer also had an entourage of secretaries and agents whom he placed in all the financial and commercial centers of Europe. One of them was his nephew and future competitor, Samson *Wertheimer. Oppenheimer raised money from many sources, not only from his fellow Jews but also from Christian merchants and bankers.

The Turkish menace was barely repulsed when *Louis XIV invaded the Palatinate in 1688 and Oppenheimer was at once called upon for assistance. Although the field commanders, Eugen of Savoy and Margrave Louis of Baden, both praised his efficiency and contributions in the country's dilemma, the court in Vienna, and particularly Bishop *Kollonitsch, viewed his monopolistic position with misgivings, pointing out that not only was he Austria's sole military purveyor but that a disproportionate part of the state income was being earmarked solely for him as payment for his services. All attempts to dispose of his services failed, however, for few others were in possession of sufficient capital to assume his place, and none was prepared to extend credit to the state with its chronically empty treasury. The state's debts to Oppenheimer grew from 52,600 florins in 1685 to 700,000 in 1692, and to 3,000,000 in 1694, at which point it remained stable for a few years until it increased during the War of the Spanish Succession.

Bishop Kollonitsch, appointed head of the treasury in 1692, frustrated by his unsuccessful attempts to dispense with Oppenheimer's services, tried to undermine Oppenheimer by falsely accusing him of attempting to murder Samson Wertheimer. As a consequence, Oppenheimer was forced to buy his freedom and establish his innocence with the sum of 500,000 florins. In 1700 when his sumptuous home was stormed and plundered by a mob, order was reluctantly restored by the authorities and the two instigators hanged. It has been suggested that the cause of the attack was Oppenheimer's intervention in suppressing an anti-Jewish book of *Eisenmenger.

When Oppenheimer died, the state refused to honor its debts to his heir Emanuel and had his firm declared bankrupt. His death brought deep financial crisis to the state; it experienced great difficulty in securing the credit necessary to meet its needs. Emanuel appealed to European rulers to whom the state owed money and who intervened on his behalf. After deliberate procrastination, the state refused Emanuel's demand for 6 million florins and instead demanded 4 million florins from him. This amount was based on a sum which (with compound interest), according to the state, Oppenheimer had allegedly obtained by fraud at the beginning of his career. Emanuel died in 1721 and the Oppenheimer estate was auctioned in 1763.

Although Oppenheimer was not himself learned, he was a benefactor on a scale hitherto unknown, building many synagogues and yeshivot and supporting their scholars. He also paid ransom for the return of Jews captured during the Turkish wars and supported as well R. Judah he-Ḥasid's voyage to Ereẓ Israel in 1700. Known as "*Judenkaiser*" by his contemporaries, he was a man whose complex personality, a mixture of pride and reserve, defied historical analysis. Twenty years after his death it was estimated that more than 100 persons held residence in Vienna by virtue of their being included in Oppenheimer's privileges.

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[Henry Wasserman]

OPPENHEJM, RALPH GERSON (1924–), Danish author. During the Nazi occupation, Oppenhejm was deported to Theresienstadt but, together with his family and many other Danish Jews, was eventually sent home as a result of the *Bernadotte rescue operation. Oppenhejm's experiences are recorded in the form of a girl's diary entitled *Det skulle så være: Marianne Petits dagbok fra Theresienstadt* (1945; *The Door of Death*, 1948). In *Alt dette – og Bevin med. ABC for Englandsresende* (1948) he attacked Britain's Palestine policy. He also wrote travel books about Europe and Asia.

OPPER, FREDERICK BURR (1857–1937), U.S. political cartoonist; an originator of the comic strip. Opper left Madison, Ohio, for New York, where he worked for 18 years on the weekly *Puck*. He joined Hearst's *New York Journal* in 1899, and his work was then syndicated through the *International News*. Opper depicted suburban types which became familiar to almost every American household. He also became Hearst's leading political caricaturist, lampooning the eccentricities of public figures, particularly during election campaigns.

A volume of his political drawings, *Willie and his Papa*, was published in 1901. His cartoons on England, *John Bull*, appeared in 1903. Other collections were *Alphabet of Joyous Trusts* (1902), *Our Antediluvian Ancestors* (1903), two volumes of his character *Happy Hooligan* (1902–07) and *Maud and the Matchless* (1907). Opper also illustrated the work of some of his contemporary humorists, including Mark Twain, Peter Finley Dunne, Bill Nye, and George V. Hobart.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: DAB, 23 (1958), 504f. (incl. bibl.).

OPPERT, GUSTAV SALOMON (1836–1908), German Orientalist and Indologist. Born in Hamburg, younger brother of the assyrologist Julius (Jules) *Oppert and of Ernst Jacob Oppert, merchant and traveler, Oppert studied languages, literature, philosophy, and history in Bonn, Leipzig, and Berlin. He worked in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, and was appointed assistant librarian at Queen Victoria's Library in Windsor. In 1872 he was appointed professor of Sanskrit and comparative philology at the Presidency College in Madras, India where from 1878 to 1882 he also served as editor of the *Madras Journal of Literature and Science*. After traveling through India, the Far East, and the U.S. he accepted a teaching post at Berlin University in Dravidian languages.

He also produced a number of works in folklore, general philology, ancient Hindu culture, studies of South Indian manuscripts; travel accounts, and editions of various classics of Sanskrit culture in the areas of philosophy, poetry and philology.

Like his brother Jules, Gustav Oppert devoted himself to various Jewish causes. He was a trustee of the Hochschule fuer die Wissenschaft des Judentums and bequeathed his estate to this organization.

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[Ephraim Fischoff / Gregor Pelger (2nd ed.)]

OPPERT, JULES JULIUS (1825–1905), French philologist, Orientalist, and archaeologist. Born in Hamburg, he studied law but changed to Oriental languages. He migrated to France where he continued his research on Old Persian and Assyrian and became a recognized authority in his field. In 1851 he was invited to join a sponsored expedition to explore Mesopotamia. The results of this expedition contained Opper's definite identification of the site of ancient Babylon, and appeared in a two-volume report, *Expédition Scientifique en Mesopotamie* (1859–63), which received a prize for the most significant discovery of the year. In 1869 Oppert joined the Collège de France, first as instructor in Assyriology, and then in 1874 as professor of Assyrian philology and archaeology.

His studies in various branches of Oriental learning included Indo-Iranian, Sumerian, Elamitic, and Assyriology, in which he became a founder and preeminent authority. He discovered and deciphered numerous historical, astronomical and religious inscriptions, juridical documents, contract tablets, and collected material for his history of the Chaldean and Assyrian civilizations.

He made decisive contributions to the decipherment of cuneiform inscriptions and together with E. Hinds, H. Rawlinson, and F. Talbot was one of the pioneers in the recovery of Babylonian cuneiform. His profound knowledge of Assyriology was signified by his participation together with the scholars mentioned above in the historic experiment arranged by the Royal Asiatic Society in 1857 when a separate decipherment made by them of one identical Assyrian Royal Inscription proved the sound basis of Assyriology. Oppert continued to be most active in the field and participated in the lively dispute on the origins of the Sumerian language (see also *Mesopotamia, Assyriology). He also interpreted Assyrian, Median, and Persian history and mythology. He was one of the founders and an editor of the *Revue d'Assyriologie et d'Archéologie Orientale* (1884–) and one of the contributing editors of the *Zeitschrift fuer Assyriologie* on its establishment in 1886. Among the honors that came to him was election to the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres in 1881, and later to the presidency of this body.

Both he and his younger brother Gustav Salomon *Oppert, philologist and Indologist, had a strong interest in Jewish affairs. Jules *Oppert was a member of the administrative executive committee of the Société des Etudes Juives and contributed to its journal, the *Revue des Etudes Juives*. He was also involved in the activities of the *Alliance Israélite Universelle and the Jewish Central Consistory. He was interested in biblical scholarship and wrote studies on the Book of Esther and Judith and the chronology of Genesis (1877).

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[Ephraim Fischoff]

OPPRESSION (Heb. עֹשֶׁק), an offense against property, standing midway between *theft and robbery and *fraud and often overlapping with either of them. The injunction, rendered in English as "Thou shalt not oppress thy neighbor" (Lev. 19:13), really means (like the injunction immediately following: "nor rob him") that you must not try to enrich yourself by, or derive any material benefit from, any violation of your neighbor's rights. The exact dividing line between oppression (coercion) and robbery gave rise to a discussion among talmudic scholars: where a man failed to restore property to its lawful owner, some held that it was oppression if he admitted the other's ownership, and robbery if he denied it; others held it to be oppression if he asserted that he had already returned it, and robbery if he refused to return it; a third opinion was that it was oppression if he denied that he had ever received the property, and robbery if he asserted that he had already returned it; a fourth scholar held that oppression and robbery were essentially identical terms (BM 111a). The proximity in the Bible of the offenses of stealing, deceit, perjury, oppression, and robbery (Lev. 19:11–13) led an ancient authority to observe that he who steals will eventually commit deceit, perjury, oppression, and robbery (Sifra 3:2); and it is in reliance on the same authority that oppression per se has been held by some to be limited to the crime of withholding a laborer's wages (*ibid.* 3:2; cf. Rashi to Lev. 19:13). The particular oppression of laborers, in withholding their wages, is the subject of a special prohibition, accompanied by a mandatory injunction that the payment of such wages may not be delayed even for one night (Deut. 24:14–15; see *Labor Law). The definition of oppression, as it eventually emerged, is given by Maimonides in the following terms: "Oppression is the forceful withholding and not restoring of money which had been received with the owner's consent, as, for instance, where a man had taken a loan or hired a house and, on being asked to return the same, is so violent and hard that nothing can be got out of him" (Yad, Gezelah va-Avedah 1:4; and cf. ḤM 359:8). Although it is in the nature of a criminal offense, no punishment can be inflicted for such oppression, as the proper remedy is an order for the payment of the money due, and civil and criminal sanctions are mutually exclusive (see *Flogging). But the guilt before God subsists even after payment, hence a sacrificial penalty is imposed on the oppressor (Lev. 5:23–26). Oppressors are also regarded as criminals so as to disqualify them as witnesses before the court (Sanh. 25b; Yad, Edut 10:4). As against strangers, the prohibition of oppression is extended to cover also intimidations and importunities (Ex. 22:20; 23:9), even where no violation of monetary rights is involved (BM 59b and Rashi *ibid.*). Monetary oppression has frequently been denounced as one of the most reprehensible of offenses (Jer. 21:12; 22:17; Ezek. 22:29; Zech. 7:10; Mal. 3:5; Ps. 62:11; 72:4–5; et al.), and its elimination as one of the conditions precedent to national and religious survival (Jer. 7:6).

In the State of Israel, the offense consists of taking advantage of the distress, the physical or mental weakness, or the inexperience or lightheadedness of another person in order to obtain something not legally due, or profiteering from services rendered or commodities sold (Sect. 13, Penal Law Amendment (Deceit, Blackmail and Extortion) Law, 5723 – 1963).

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[Haim Hermann Cohn]

ORABUENA, noted family of Navarre in the 13th and 14th centuries. ISHMAEL ORABUENA and his son JOSEPH are mentioned as important personalities in the kingdom of Navarre in 1265. Members of the family were among the signatories of the *takkanot* of Tudela (1305). The Orabuena family maintained close relations with the foremost Jewish families of the Iberian peninsula. JOSEPH, grandson of the above-mentioned Joseph, leased the tax collection for Tudela in 1367. He was the physician to King Charles III of Navarre, accompanied him on several journeys to France, and advised him in political matters of importance. He was chief rabbi of Navarre Jewry and it was to him that Solomon ha-Levi (*Pablo de Santa María), rabbi of Burgos, wrote announcing his intention of converting to Christianity. Joseph was still active in 1399, granting loans to the crown and providing medical services to the king.

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[Haim Beinart]

ORACH (Heb. מַלּוּחַ, *mallu'aḥ*), the species *Atriplex halimus*. This shrub grows wild in the saline soil of the lower Jordan valley, in the Negev, and in the Arabah; it is also found in the sandy lands of the Sharon and in the beds of rivers. There is a concentration of the shrub at Abu-Tor in Jerusalem, close to the remains of a Byzantine church, where it may possibly have been cultivated formerly. Some Bedouin eat the leaves cooked or as salad, and they have a popular saying that "were it not for the orach the Bedouin would suffer from sores," and in fact it is rich in the vitamins which prevent skin disease. The Hebrew name *mallu'aḥ* is derived from its salty taste (*melaḥ*, "salt"). The shrub can grow in soil with a 20% salt concentration; some of the salt is excreted by the leaves and the granules cover them with a silvery layer. The massed plants in various parts of the Arabah give it its silvery gray landscape. Job (30:4) describes the food of the wretched people living in the wilderness "who pluck *mallu'aḥ* with wormwood," i.e., who feed on the leaves of the orach which they eat directly from the shrub without first preparing them (see *Wormwood). According to an ancient tradition the children of Israel ate the orach when traveling in the wilderness, and after Alexander *Yannai was victorious in the wilderness he ordered this tradition to be respected, "and they served orach on golden tables and ate it" (Kid. 66a). In talmudic times the cultivated species, *Atriplex hortensis*, which was named *kerosalkinon*, was grown and thought to be a hybrid of beet and amarynth (TJ, Kil. 1:4, 27a; Rome Ms.).

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[Jehuda Feliks]

ORADEA (formerly **Oradea Mare**; Hung. **Nagyvárad**, also **Várad**; Ger. **Grosswardein**; in Hebrew and Yiddish texts the German name was used), city in Transylvania, W. Romania; until 1918 and between 1940 and 1944 in Hungary. Although documents dating from 1407 and 1489 mention several Jews in connection with the city, the only reliable evidence of Jews residing there dates from the early 18th century, but there are several popular legends that speak about a Jewish presence starting with the 10th century. Officials in the four different constituent parts of the city had different policies concerning the settlement of Jews. In 1722 four Jews are listed as residents. A *ḥevra kaddisha* was formed in 1731. Ten Jewish families were registered in 1736, including one *ḥazzan*. The Jewish residents in Oradea were immigrants from Moravia, Bohemia, and Poland. As the fort of Oradea lost its strategic importance after the end of the Turkish wars (1692), the Jews were later permitted to live in the adjacent Váralja quarter. In 1787 the Jews were permitted to build a synagogue; a second synagogue was built in 1812. The whole city, including the Jewish population, expanded rapidly from the end of the 18th century. The number of Jews increased from 104 taxpayers in 1830 to 1,600 persons in 1840; 10,115 (26.2% of the total population) in 1891; 12,294 (24%) in 1900; 15,115 (23.6%) in 1910; 20,587 (21%) in

1930; and 21,337 (22.9%) in 1941. The Jews in Oradea, as elsewhere, actively participated in the economic life of the city but were seen by some of the local population as endangering their livelihoods. During mostly the second half of the 19th century some Jews succeeded in being accepted socially by a part of the local Hungarian population, who saw in the Jews potential helpers in their struggle against what was perceived to be Romanian nationalism (that is, the Romanian fight for their rights, not recognized by the Hungarian authorities). Many local Jews actively participated in the Hungarian revolution of 1848–49.

The Jews of Oradea adopted the Hungarian language and culture earlier than any other Jewish community in Hungary. The contribution of the Oradea Jews to the development of Hungarian literature and culture, as well as Hungarian journalism, was very significant even after 1919, when the new Romanian authorities tried to make the Jews change their Hungarian allegiance. The Reform congregation, organized in 1847, was disbanded in 1848. During the Hungarian revolution in that year the Jews supported the rebels and some served in their ranks. Austrian oppression during the following decade weighed heavily on the Jews.

Conflicts between Orthodox and Reform elements within the Oradea community characterized the latter half of the 19th century. After the schism following the Hungarian Jewish Congress (see *Hungary), the Oradea community divided in 1870 into *Orthodox and *Neolog congregations, each developing separate institutions which remained active until after World War II. A Neolog temple, with an organ, was built in 1878, and an Orthodox synagogue in 1891. In both congregations well-known rabbis officiated, including the Orthodox rabbis Aaron Isaac Landsberg (1853–79), and Moses Ẓevi *Fuchs and his son Benjamin (1915–36). Rabbis of the Neolog congregation included Alexander *Kohut (1880–84), Lipót *Kecskeméti (1897–1936), the most influential, and István Vajda (1939–44), the last Neolog rabbi, who perished in *Auschwitz with the rest of his community. During World War I several ḥasidic rabbis from Bukovina and Galicia of the *Vizhnitsa and *Zhidachov dynasties found refuge in Oradea and attracted Ḥasidim from the district.

Jewish institutions in Oradea included a hospital. Jewish public schools were opened early in the 19th century. An Orthodox high school with four classes, founded in 1888, remained open until the Holocaust. A Neolog high school, founded in 1920, also continued until the Holocaust.

In the cultural and economic spheres Oradea Jewry was the most active of all the communities in Hungary or Romania. Jews were prominent in Hungarian journalism. Hebrew printing houses operated in the city. The leading Jewish newspaper was the religious Zionist weekly *Népünk* ("Our People"; 1929–40). Branches of the Zionist movement were active in Oradea between the world wars. The National Jewish Party had supporters in Oradea, although some Jews supported the party of the Hungarian nationalists. Jews joined the Communist Party when it was still legal and were even elected as city councilors. In 1927 several Romanian nationalist student leaders organized anti-Jewish riots in which several Jews were killed and synagogues were despoiled. Marked antisemitic manifestations made the lives of the Jews difficult both under Romanian rule (1919–40) and, after that, under the new Horthiite regime, which had its climax in their being ghettoized after the German occupation of March 1944, and subsequently deported to Auschwitz.

After the end of the war, in 1947, the Jewish population numbered 8,000, including survivors from the camps, the Hungarian labor battalions, and Jews who had arrived there from other areas. Their number decreased through emigration to Israel and other countries, falling to 2,000 in 1971. The only Jewish institutions still functioning then were the three synagogues, which held services on the Sabbath and holidays. There was a *kosher* restaurant in the city.

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[Yehouda Marton / Paul Schveiger (2nd ed.)]

OR AKIVA (Heb. אוֹר עֲקִיבָא; "Light of R. Akiva"), immigrant development town in the northern Sharon, 1½ mi. E. of *Caesarea. Construction of the town began in 1951 with the aim of providing permanent housing for the inhabitants of the Caesarea **ma'barah* (immigrant transit camp). In 1968, Or Akiva had 6,000 inhabitants, as compared with 3,208 in 1961. In the mid-1990s the population was approximately 11,500, increasing to 15,700 in 2002 and occupying an area of 1.2 sq. mi. (3 sq. km.). In 2001 Or Akiva received city status. A new Performing Arts Center produced a cultural awakening in the town. Its economy was based mainly on medium-size industry (carpet weaving, silk weaving; fur coats, rubber mattresses, etc.). Further employment was provided by the tourist enterprises of Caesarea. Income was about half the national average.

[Shlomo Hasson / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

ORAL LAW (Heb. תּוֹרָה שֶׁבְּעַל־פֶּה), the authoritative interpretation of the Written Law (*Torah, which is the text of the *Pentateuch) which was regarded as given to Moses on Sinai, and therefore coexistent with the Written Law. This view of the Oral Law was a fundamental principle of the rabbis. The Written and Oral Laws constitute together "two that are one." "It is related that a certain man stood before Shammai and said 'Rabbi, How many Torahs have you?' The rabbi replied 'Two – one written and one oral'" (ARN^{1} 15, 61; cf. Sif. Deut. 351). There is a strong and close bond between the Written Law and the Oral Law, and neither can exist without the other – both from the dogmatic point of view and from that of historical reality. The Oral Law depends upon the Written Law, but at the same time, say the rabbis, it is clear that there can be no real existence for the Written Law without the Oral. The need for the positing of the existence of the Oral Law is inherent in the very character and nature of the Torah. The statutes of the Written Law could not have been fulfilled literally even in the generation in which they were given, since "that which is plain in the Torah is obscure, all the more that which is obscure" (Judah Halevi, *Kuzari*, 3, 35; cf. Moses of Coucy in *Semag*, introduction: "For the verses contradict and refute each other," and "the statements in the Written Law are vague"). Even those statutes of the Torah that appear to be clearly formulated and detailed contain more that is obscure and requires explanation than what is manifest and understandable. The reasons given for this are many and various. The Written Law contains contradictions (cf., e.g., Deut. 16:3–4 with 16:8), and there is a lack of clarity and definition: The law "he shall surely be put to death" (Ex. 21:12 et al.) does not state whether by stoning, burning, or some other method not mentioned in the Torah. "And ye shall afflict your souls" (Lev. 16:31) does not indicate whether it means by mortification of the body through ascetic practices, by fasting, or in some other manner. The prohibition against doing work on the Sabbath does not specify the nature of work (see below). "And if men strive together and hurt a woman with child so that her fruit depart and yet no harm follow… But if any harm follow…" (Ex. 21:22–23) does not make it clear whether the "harm" refers to the woman or her embryo. Dimensions and quantities are not given, e.g., in the precepts of leket, *shikhḥah, and *pe'ah, or *terumah (the priestly portion), etc. Individual laws are given without any indication of whether the law is confined to that particular case or whether it is to be regarded merely as an example of a category of laws, e.g., the law that a slave goes free if his master destroys his eye or his tooth (Ex. 21:26–27).

There are lacunae, and laws which are not explicitly stated but to which mere passing reference is made (thus the only reference to the laws of sale and acquisition is the prohibition against overreaching – *ona'ah); there is no reference to the laws of marriage, while the law of divorce is mentioned only incidentally in connection with the injunction that a man may not remarry his divorced wife after she has remarried and become divorced again (Deut. 24:1–4); the Torah enjoins that one sentenced to be flogged may not have more than the fixed number of lashes inflicted (Deut. 25:1–3), but nowhere does it specify which transgressions involve the punishment of a flogging. From the above it seems clear that it was impossible for life to be regulated solely in accordance with the Written Law ("and I should like someone to adjudicate between two litigants on the basis of the weekly portions, *Mishpatim* [Ex. 21–24] and *Ki Teẓe* [Deut. 21:10–25:19]" – Judah Halevi, *Kuzari*, 3:35). It may even be inferred from the Written Law itself that immediately after it was given there already was difficulty in understanding it. Thus, e.g., it is apparent that until he heard it explicity from God, Moses did not know what the penalty was for the transgression of gathering wood on the Sabbath (Num. 15:32–35; cf. Sif. Zut. 15:34: "Eliezar b. Simeon says: Moses did not know that he was liable to death, nor did he know how he should be executed, as can be inferred from the reply given: 'And the Lord said unto Moses: the man shall be put to death,' i.e., he is liable to death; how shall he put to death? He [God] replied: by stoning"; cf. also the case of the blasphemer in Lev. 24:10–23). As stated above, there is no definition in the Pentateuch of what constitutes work in connection with the Sabbath (or the Day of Atonement), only some of the things forbidden being explicitly mentioned (plowing, reaping, kindling fire). Furthermore, in connection with the desecration of the Sabbath, in one and the same verse (Ex. 31:14) two different punishments – death and *karet – are given. From the point of view of its judicial literary form, the Written Law is in fact no different from other early Oriental statutes which never exhausted or aimed at exhausting all the details of the laws given.

If, therefore, the statutes of the Torah could not be properly understood in the generation in which it was given, how much less could it be understood by later generations? In addition to this consideration, it was a fundamental doctrine of the rabbis that the Torah was given by God for all time, that it would never be exchanged for another Torah and certainly never rescinded, and that it provided for all possible circumstances which might arise at any time in the future. Nevertheless, in practice, changing conditions – social, economic, etc. – raised many new problems, as well as the question of their solution in accordance with the Torah. The new situations and spheres of human activity which arose, for which the Written Law did not provide, could not be ignored. In fact, from the beginning the Written Law was the basis of authority of the Oral Law for the future (Deut. 17:8–11 and see below). It can thus be regarded as a historical fact that the Oral Law existed not merely from the moment the Written Law was given (and in this sense it is correct to say that the Written and Oral Laws were given together to Moses at Sinai), but it may even be maintained that the Oral Law anticipated the Written Law, as the Written Law not only assumes the observance of the Oral Law in the future but is in effect based on its previous existence. Since the written law relies – by allusion or by its silence – on statutes, customs, and basic laws not explicitly mentioned in it (marriage, divorce, business; see above), these statutes are ipso facto converted into a part of the Oral Law.

The impossibility of the Written Law existing without an Oral Law can also be demonstrated from Jewish history. The development of the Oral Law can be traced throughout the books of the Bible, especially in the prophets and the hagiographa, in the Jewish literature of the time of the Second Temple (Apocrypha and pseudepigrapha, in Jewish Hellenistic *literature, and in the early Targums of the Bible), the talmudic literature and the rabbinical literature throughout the generations (see *Halakhah). Even the dissenting sects outside normative Judaism, as long as they did not abandon Judaism completely, did not maintain the Written Law without an Oral Law: the *Sadducees possessed a "Book of Decrees – who were to be stoned, who burnt, who beheaded, and who strangled" (the scholium to Megillat *Ta'anit); the

Judean desert sect developed, especially by means of biblical exegesis, a most ramified *halakhah* which has survived in its works (in particular in the Damascus Covenant, the Manual of Discipline and other works; see Dead Sea *Scrolls); and a most ramified *halakhah* also developed among the *Karaites. In the relationship of the Written to the Oral Law there exists a kind of paradox, both interesting and characteristic. From the dogmatic point of view the Oral Law has its basis in, and derives its validity from, explicit verses in the Written Law, but at the same time the Written Law itself obtains its full validity and its authority for practical *halakhah* from the Oral Law. The Written Law in fact establishes the authority of the Oral Law by laying down that "if there arise a matter too hard for thee, thou shalt turn unto the judge that shall be in those days," and "according to the tenor of the sentence which they shall declare unto thee from that place… According to the law which they shall teach thee, and according to the judgment which they shall tell thee shalt thou do; thou shalt not turn aside from the sentence which they shall declare unto thee, neither to the right hand, nor to the left" (Deut. 17:8–11). Yet it follows precisely from those very verses themselves that it is the Oral Law itself which determines what the *halakhah* of the Written Law is in practice, including the true meanings (as distinct from the theoretical philological meanings) of those very verses (Deut. 17:8–11) themselves.

Furthermore the Oral Law lays down explicitly that from the moment of the giving of the Written Law – "from Heaven," at Sinai, but in the language of men and to men – it is handed over absolutely to the judgment of the human intelligence of the scholars of the Oral Law, who accept the "yoke of the kingdom of Heaven" but give halakhic ruling according to their understanding ("henceforth no prophet can innovate anything" – Sifra, *Be-Ḥukkotai*, 13:7; cf. Shab. 104a), since "it is not in Heaven" (TJ, MK 3:1, 81d; BM 59b – based upon Deut. 30:12). Though indeed this rule was not accepted without protest, yet those who objected belonged to the fringes of Judaism, and it was not they who determined the *halakhah*. The Oral Law is able to circumvent the Written Law (see TJ, Kid. 1:2, 59d). In consequence of this provision, Maimonides, following the talmudic sages, ruled that "in an emergency any *bet din* may cancel even the words of the (written) Torah… in order to strengthen religion and to prevent people from transgressing the Torah. They may order flagellation and punish for breach of law, but such a ruling may not be effected permanently. Similarly, if they see a temporary need to set aside a positive precept, or to transgress an injunction in order to bring many back to religion, or in order to save many Israelites from grief in other matters, they may act in accordance with the needs of the time; just as the physician amputates a hand or a leg in order to preserve the life, so the *bet din* may rule at some particular time that some precept of the Torah may be transgressed temporarily in order that it may be preserved" (Yad, Mamrim 2:4). Then the sages rightly maintained that the Oral Law is the major and the main part (i.e., both in quantity and quality) of the Torah. "The Holy One made a covenant with Israel only for the sake of that transmitted orally" (Git. 60b; cf. TJ, Pe'ah 2:6, 17a: those given orally are beloved"). The Oral Law, which is well-nigh sovereign in relation to the Written Law, is the "mystery" (μνστήριον) of the Holy One (Tanḥ. Ki Tissa 34, et al.; though the sources speak of the *Mishnah, it is certain that the whole oral law is intended) because of the essential nature of its being given orally. It is this nature of the Oral Law – that it was given orally – that determines its vitality and organic development; it is not immutable and fossilized but alive and evolving. This vitality, however, could only be preserved in words not fixed in writing and in a binding and unchangeable form but in words developing continually and unceasingly. As mentioned, the Sadducees had a book of decrees in writing which was their "Oral Law" (the scholium to Meg. Ta'an.), and therefore according to their outlook the whole of the Torah too was "prepared in writing" (Kid. 66a – according to early printed versions and *Haggadot ha-Talmud*, Constantinople, 1511, 56d), i.e., the written word obligates. The Pharisees, however, claimed that the distinguishing feature and authority of the Oral Law is embedded in the fundamental rule (Deut. 31:19), "put it in their mouths" (the scholium to Meg. Ta'an.). The Oral Law was handed over to the sages, by means of whose words it is fixed and evolves from generation to generation. It is this nature and this sovereignty that are the real will of the Written Law, which was given on the basis that it be explained by means of the Oral Law. This, apparently, is the reason that although there is a disciple who expounds "more than was spoken to Moses at Sinai" (ARN2 ^{13}, 32), yet "even what a distinguished disciple will rule in the presence of his teacher was already conveyed to Moses at Sinai" (TJ, Pe'ah 2:6, 17a; cf. Meg. 19b and SEZ 2:171 "Surely both the Bible and Mishnah were communicated by the Almighty"). The meaning of all these and of similar sources is that from the point of view of its functional essence, the whole of the Oral Law was given to Moses at Sinai, since "the Torah itself gave the sages a mind to interpret and to declare" (Sif. Num. 134; cf. "matters not revealed to Moses were revealed to Akiva" – (Tanḥ. B. Num. 117; for its true meaning cf. Men. 29b – the *aggadah* of Moses entering the yeshivah of *Akiva – "and he did not know what they were saying," not even a detail of a *halakhah* given to Moses at Sinai). Even the Holy One repeats, as it were, a *halakhah* as spoken by the sages (PdRK, ed. by D. Mandelbaum (1962), 73, et al.).

[Moshe David Herr]

Attitude of Reform Judaism

In the approximate century and a half of Reform *Judaism's existence, the development of its attitude toward the Oral Law has undergone three fairly distinct phases. In the initial stage, in the early 19th century, most Reform rabbis invoked the Oral Law itself in calling for change in halakhic practice and usage. Thus Aaron *Chorin justified the changes in the liturgy of the Reform congregation of Hamburg (established 1818) by extensive citation of the Talmud and codes. Abraham *Geiger expressed the spirit of the leaders of Reform Judaism of his time in the opening article of the first issue of his publication

(*Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift fuer juedische Theologie*, 1835) when he wrote: "Salvation lies not in the violent and reckless excision of everything which has descended to us from the past, but in the careful search into its deeper meaning, and in the aim to continue to develop historically from that which has grown historically… much which is now believed and observed is not tradition… but is a product of a certain age, and therefore can be removed by time." Geiger frequently quoted rabbinic sources to justify the abolition of rituals which he deemed a hindrance to "true" religion. This qualified appeal to talmudic tradition is reflected in Michael Creizenach's statement that the unanimous decisions of the Talmud are to be regarded as binding. In a case of divided opinion, "we follow the less strict version so long as it does not contradict our own conviction." The Breslau Synod of Reform Rabbis (1846) centered on the question of modifying Sabbath observance in the light of changed social and economic conditions. The participants buttressed their views by frequent citations from the Talmud and the standard rabbinic codes. The attitude finds expression in the declaration of David *Einhorn, which reflected the position of the majority of Reform rabbis of his age (1839): "We address the Talmud in these words, 'Israel believes thee, but not in thee; thou art a medium through which the divine may be reached but thou art not the divine.'"

This trend of introducing changes in current religious practice on the basis of halakhic precedent interpreted in liberal fashion met with strong dissent within the ranks of early Reform Judaism itself in the person of Samuel *Holdheim, one of the dominant personalities of the movement. He may be said to have spiritually fathered the anti-halakhic stance that marked the second phase of the development of Reform Judaism. His views were set forth in his book *Das Ceremonialgesetz in Messiasreich* (1845). According to Holdheim, the basic purpose of the ritual law was to safeguard the holiness of the people of Israel in a pagan world. As paganism vanishes, the ritual laws are needed less and less, and with the arrival of the messianic age they will become totally superfluous. "The time has to come when one feels strong enough vis-à-vis the Talmud to oppose it, in the knowledge of having gone beyond it." Accordingly, Holdheim advocated the abolition of circumcision and changing the Sabbath to Sunday. David Einhorn, deeply influenced by Holdheim, limited the authority of the Talmud to those aspects which were attributable to the Men of the Great Assembly.

The anti-halakhic mood of Reform Judaism, a minor strain in the incipient stage of the movement, gained increasing ascendancy as the 19th century progressed and the major scene of the Reform movement's activity shifted to the United States. Bernard Felsenthal summed up the dominant mood of most of his colleagues toward the *halakhah*: "There is but one class of laws biblical or post-biblical which have eternal validity and these are the moral laws engraved by the finger of God with ineradicable letters in the spirit and nature of man" (*Kol Kore Be-Midbar*, no. 11, 1858). The official attitude of 19th-century American Reform Judaism found expression in the platform adopted in 1885 by the Conference of Reform Rabbis in Pittsburgh. The fourth paragraph of the platform reads in part: "We hold that all such Mosaic and rabbinical laws as regulate diet, priestly purity and dress originated in ages and under the influence of ideas entirely foreign to our present mental and spiritual state… their observance in our day is apt rather to obstruct than to further modern spiritual elevation." In this spirit, the annual meeting of the Central Conference of American Rabbis (CCAR) in 1892 declared that no initiatory rite (circumcision, ritual immersion) was required for admission into Judaism. In his work *Jewish Theology* (1928) Kaufman *Kohler formulated the position of this second phase of Reform Judaism in these words: "To them (the prophets) and to us the real Torah is the unwritten moral law which underlies the precepts of both the written law and its moral interpretation" (p. 45). "It [the Oral Law] fostered hair-splitting casuistry and caused the petrifaction of religion in the codified Halakhah" (p. 47).

In the past few decades, Reform Judaism has displayed a sharp veering away from the anti-halakhic spirit described above. The depreciation of the Shulḥan Arukh and other legal works characteristic of discussions on the subject as reported in the early *Annuals of the CCAR* have been replaced by regret that Reform Judaism lacks the sense of *halakhah* (Introd. to *Current Reform Responsa*, Solomon B. Freehof, 1969). Repeatedly, in the recent past, the demand for a specific code of practice has been raised. Though opposed to the formulation of a binding code for Reform religious practice, Solomon B. Freehof has been active, as chairman of the Responsa Committee of the CCAR, in responding to questions relating to Reform religious practice. While written in the style of traditional responsa, citing the recognized codes and legal authorities, the answers given are intended, with a few exceptions, to be merely advisory in nature. The turn toward traditional practice in Reform congregations is to be seen in the reintroduction of the bar mitzvah, calling to the Torah (*aufrufen*), *Havdalah*, etc. The revision of the anti-halakhic attitude of classic Reform Judaism is a process whose outcome can hardly be anticipated at this writing, but that it is one of the major concerns of contemporary Reform Judaism is evidenced by the prominent place it occupies in Reform thought and writing.

Attitude of Conservative Judaism

Zacharias *Frankel's demonstrative withdrawal from the Synod of Reform Rabbis (Frankfurt, 1845) and his enunciation of Positive-Historical Judaism are regarded as the point of departure for the subsequent founding of the distinct trend in modern Judaism commonly known as *Conservative. The doctrine of Positive-Historical Judaism received considerable elaboration by Solomon *Schechter, who regarded himself as a disciple of Frankel, Leopold Zunz, and Heinrich Graetz when he wrote: "It is neither Scripture nor primitive Judaism but general custom which forms the real rule of practice… Liberty was always given to the great teachers of every generation to make modifications and innovations in harmony with the spirit of existing institutions. The norm as well as the sanction of Judaism is the practice actually in vogue. Its consecration is the consecration of general use or, in other words, of Catholic Israel" (*Studies in Judaism*, 1 (1896), 17–19). While the ideological leaders of Reform Judaism interpreted the thesis of the Oral Law's historical conditioning as implying its dispensability, for Schechter and his disciples the thesis, originally propounded by the Wissenschaft Des *Judentums, served as one of the touchstones of the authority of the Oral Law. The divergence in viewpoint is to be attributed to the preponderant weight ascribed to tradition by the spokesmen of Conservative Judaism. In contrast to Orthodoxy, the divine origin of the Oral Law as the basis of its authority is interpreted in Conservative circles in non-literalistic fashion (see Robert Gordis, in *Tradition and Change*, ed. by Mordecai Waxman (1958), 377ff.). The frequent appeals for loyalty to the Oral Law to be found in the writings of Schechter ("It – Judaism – insists upon the observance both of the spirit and the letter… Judaism is absolutely incompatible with the abandonment of the Torah" (*Seminary Addresses and Other Papers* (1915), 21–22).) find their final validation in the fact that Jewish religious usage had won acceptance from the religious conscience of the overwhelming majority of the Jewish people (the concept of Catholic Israel).

Louis *Ginzberg viewed *halakhah* as constituting the mainstream of Judaism. Through his teaching and writings, he made the *halakhah* one of the central concerns of Conservative Judaism, always insisting, however, that the *halakhah* of the Talmud constituted an organic growth that retained its vitality by reason of its responsiveness to changing locale, and social and economic conditions. Yet, with a single exception – a responsum on the permissibility of the use of grape juice for sacramental purposes during the prohibition era in America – he proved reluctant to apply his theoretical understanding of the *halakhah* to the exigent problems of Jewish life in the 20th century. (For the responsum in English translation, see AJYB, 25 (1923–24), 401–25.)

The practical implications of this approach to the *halakhah* underlay the work of the Committee on Jewish Law of the Rabbinical Assembly. Established in 1927, it has issued a large number of halakhic decisions recorded in brief or in detail in the annual Proceedings of the Rabbinical Assembly. Prior to 1948, none of these decisions reflected any significant departure from traditional Orthodox practice. In 1948, the annual convention of the Rabbinical Assembly rejected a proposal that its Committee on Jewish Law "shall be instructed to hold itself bound by the authority of Jewish law and within the frame of Jewish law to labor toward progress and growth of the law to the end of adjusting it to present-day religious needs and orientation, whether it be on the side of severity or leniency." The defeat of the proposal was motivated by a desire on the part of the majority to reckon with non-halakhic factors, such as contemporary social realities and moral standards, in determining the point of view of Conservative Judaism on any specific question. Hence, in 1949 the concept was formally accepted that "decisions of the Law Committee shall be presented in the form of a traditional responsum indicating its relationship to relevant halakhic and other material."

To reflect this change in basic position, the name of the committee was changed to Committee on Jewish Law and Standards. It was reorganized and increased to 23 members, so as to offer representation for the diversity of viewpoint to be found among members of the Rabbinical Assembly. A rule of procedure was adopted whereby a member of the Rabbinical Assembly could accept either the majority or minority view of the committee. In instances where decisions were unanimous, such decisions were to be regarded as binding. Two responsa were published by the committee on Sabbath observance, in the course of which divergent views were expressed on the permissibility of riding to attend synagogue service on the Sabbath in instances where one lived beyond reasonable walking distance and the use of electricity on the Sabbath for purposes of illumination (for the responsa in question, see *Tradition and Change*, ed. by M. Waxman (1958), 349–409). To obviate the problem of the *agunah, a woman who though divorced civilly cannot obtain a *get* (writ of divorcement), the Joint Law Conference of the Rabbinical Assembly and the Jewish Theological Seminary adopted in 1954 a *takkahah* (enactment) to be inserted in the *ketubbah* (marriage document). Latterly, the committee has adopted, and in specific instances exercised, the long-dormant halakhic principle of *hafka'at kiddushin* (annullment) where, for one or another circumstance, the writing of the traditional *get* is impossible. Another halakhic decision of far-reaching consequence is that of rendering the observance of *Yom Tov Sheni* (the second days of the three festivals) a matter of option to be exercised by the rabbi of the local congregation (some members of the committee vigorously dissented on the decision; see *Conservative Judaism*, 24, no. 2 (1970), 21–59). Various responsa by the committee are to be found in the annual *Proceedings of the Rabbinical Assembly* and deal with such matters as the use of the organ on Sabbaths and festivals, the use of gentile wine (*yayin nesekh*), the donation after death of the cornea of the eyes for purposes of transplant, ritual circumcision by a Jewish physician, cremation, synagogue membership for a Jew who has intermarried, etc.

[Theodore Friedman]

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ORAN (Ar. **Waharan**), seaport on the Mediterranean coast, the second largest city in *Algeria and a key trading and industrial center. Oran as a city (and an administrative unit or region since the 1870s known as a *department*), is located in western Algeria and is contiguous to the border with *Morocco at a point where Algeria is closest to the Spanish coast. Oran was founded in the 10th century by Andalusian merchants and incorporated into the Kingdom of Tlemcen, serving as its main seaport since the 15th century.

Jews began settling the area mainly in 1391, when they arrived there as refugees from Spain (first wave of expulsion). This population swelled in 1492 and 1502, when Oran afforded refuge to Jewish and Muslim expellees from Spain in the wake of the fall of Granada. As was the case with other parts of the Maghreb in the Atlantic and Mediterranean coasts, where Spanish and Portuguese influences became supreme, the Spaniards conquered Oran in 1509. Initially the Spanish forces were inclined to expel the Jews from the city, but refrained from doing so in the final analysis. For the next 300 years or more Spain and its colonists remained in control of Oran. Although Jews had been forced to leave Spain (after 1492), the Spanish authorities in Oran learned to tolerate local Jewry and some of the latter engaged in influential trade activity, until the 1760s

In 1669 or 1670, however, the Spanish Queen Maria of Austria expelled the overwhelming majority of the Jews of Oran and its environs. The expellees resettled in Nice, then under the suzerainty of the Dukes of Savoy; from there they made their way to Italian Livorno and reinforced the thriving community that existed there. Jews did return to Oran at the beginning of the 18th century, when the Muslims, led by the Bey of Mascara, captured the city from the Spaniards. But the Spaniards regained control of the area in the 1730s, although this time there was no indication that Jews were barred from Oran. Spanish rule lingered into the last decade of the 18th century and abandoned it in the wake of a devastating earthquake of the early 1790s. Authority passed once again to Muslim hands. This "restoration" period proved advantageous to the Jews. The Muslim authorities now invited Jews from nearby Mostaganem, Mascara, and Nedrona to settle in Oran. The arrival from Morocco of additional Jews only strengthened the Jewish community, transforming it into the second largest Algerian community after Algiers. Many among the Jews plunged into trade activity between the port of Oran and British-controlled Gibraltar, Malaga, and Almeria, as well as Italy and France.

The Jewish community was presided over by a *mukkadem*, or **nagid*, an administrative head. His functions were diversified by local leaders (**parnassim* or *tovei ha-ir*). All disputes among Jews, including marriages and divorce, were decided by the *dayyanim* (religious judges), the noted exception being criminal matters or disputes between Muslims and Jews, which were referred to the Muslim *Shari'a* courts run by the *qadi*s. By then the Ottoman Empire was well entrenched in Algeria, in charge of parts of *Algiers and Oran.

Ottoman Turkish rule collapsed in 1830 following the French conquest of Algeria. The French administration gradually removed the Jews from the jurisdiction of both the Muslim and Jewish courts, in the latter case including matters relating to personal status. This applied to Oran. The community of Oran, like those in the regions of Algiers and *Constantine, was administered from the 1840s by a consistoire, a new communal administrative apparatus modeled on the French-Jewish community leadership bodies. The consistoire, which encouraged Jews to modernize, orient themselves to new professions such as agriculture, and send their children to French-type schools, was led by a president and a dozen lay and rabbinic leaders elected by local notables.

From the French occupation of 1830 until France achieved stability over its domination of Algeria (the 1870s), the Jewish community of Oran thrived and its synagogues mushroomed throughout the region. In addition to *talmudei torah* religious schools, French schools emerged in the community as early as the late 1840s, while in subsequent years Jewish youths frequented French public schools. This was all the more so once France granted Algerian Jewry French citizenship collectively in the spirit of the Crémieux Decree of October 24, 1870. Jews could now serve in the French army and participate in local municipal elections as well as elections to choose local representatives among the European settlers to the French parliament. The Muslims shunned French privileges of naturalization fearing it would run counter to their religious obligations and personal status matters ingrained in the *Shari'a*. It was then that the local Jewish press in the French language had its inception, though Oran's Jews still continued to disseminate publications in Hebrew and Judeo-Arabic as well.

During the latter half of the 19th century, Oran's Jewry consisted of a heterogeneous population that included indigenous Jews who originated from Mascara, Mostaganem, and Tlemcen. They were reinforced by immigrants from Algiers and Moroccan Jews – émigrés from the mountainous Rif area in northern Morocco, and other northern and western Moroccan regions such as *Tetuan, Figuig, Tafilalet, Oujda, and Debdou. Oran's Jews spoke a variety of jargons, among them Moroccan Judeo-Arabic (a mélange of Hebrew, Arabic, and Aramaic expressions), Algerian Judeo-Arabic, and Tetuani Judeo-Spanish known as Hakitia – resembling somewhat the Ladino of Sephardi Jews in *Turkey, the Balkans, and *Egypt. Increasingly, however, French became the dominant language among Oran's Jews after World War I.

Until modernization crept in after World War I, Jews engaged in the traditional occupations of crafts and worked as tailors, goldsmiths, carpenters, and shoemakers. By the 1950s numerous Jews had entered the liberal professions. Others established themselves as large-scale merchants and exporters of cereals and cattle to Spanish Malaga and Algeciras, British-controlled Gibraltar, and France.

The Dreyfus Affair and later manifestations of an antisemitic nature in metropolitan France affected the Jews of Oran and the rest of French Algeria. These led to riots and assaults on Jews and their properties. The emergence of the Vichy regime in France (1940) meant that pro-German French influences extended to that country's colonial possessions. Algerian Jews, including those of Oran, were subjected to discriminatory racial laws, stringent quotas in government employment, expulsion of their students and teachers from the public schools, and the temporary abrogation of the Crémieux Decree, leaving the Jews without citizenship status. After the liberation of Algeria by Allied Forces in November 1942, the Crémieux Decree was reestablished. Then, in November 1954, the Algerian war of Muslims against lingering French colonial rule placed the Jews of Oran, Algiers, and Constantine between the hammer and the anvil. They were placed in the awkward position of having to choose between support for the Muslims or for the French. They chose neutrality, even though it was quite evident to the Muslim rebels that deep in their hearts the Jews remained loyal to France and to its colonial policies. From spring 1956 until France granted Algeria national independence in July 1962, the situation of the Jews deteriorated and they were frequent victims of violence. In 1962, of the nearly 30,000 Jews in Oran (out of some 140,000 Algerian Jews), the great majority emigrated to France with only several thousand at the very most making *aliyah*. In 1963, a year after Algeria's independence, only 850 Jews dwelt in the region of Oran. The Great Synagogue, the most impressive symbol of the Oran community, was transformed into a mosque in the mid-1970s. By 2005, there were apparently no Jews left there.

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[Michael M. Laskier (2nd ed.)]

ORANGE, previously a principality and later a town in Vaucluse department, S.E. France. The earliest evidence of the presence of Jews in Orange dates from 1282 and in the locality of Courthézon from 1328, at the latest. In 1353 Raymond V, prince of Orange, granted the Jews of his principality a charter which in effect constituted a series of privileges which were remarkable, indeed almost exceptional, for the 14th century. Even before Raymond's time, however, some precedent had been set in this direction by other princes of Orange, who had, for example, already employed Jews as toll collectors. Because of these favorable conditions, a constant stream of Jews came from *Comtat Venaissin to Orange, among them the physician Durand de Cavaillon who arrived there in 1387. This situation lasted until the latter half of the 15th century. In 1477 the municipal council sought to remove Jews from the grain trade in which they were engaged in addition to moneylending (Jews frequently acted as brokers for the wealthy burghers of Orange or for Italian financiers). When the council demanded the expulsion of the Jews in 1484, the prince of Orange refused unless the town could indemnify him for the taxes that would be lost by such an action. Jewish houses were openly attacked in 1490 and the expulsion was carried out in 1505.

On several occasions during the first half of the 17th century the parliament of Orange renewed the expulsion decree. Despite this, by 1643 several Jewish families had "clandestinely" resettled in Orange. Their numbers slowly increased, until by 1731 there were 21 families (16 in Orange, 4 in Courthézon, 1 in Jonquières). The new expulsion orders were only partially applied, and from 1774 on there was a massive influx of Jews from Comtat Venaissin. With the onset of the French Revolution, however, the departure of the Jews was almost as rapid. Using their newly acquired liberties, they left Orange for more important towns. In 1808 only 36 Jews remained in Orange and almost all of them bore the name Mossé. The Jewish community rapidly dissolved and was never reconstituted.

Several eminent scholars, particularly *Levi b. Gershom, lived in Orange for varying lengths of time. Another such scholar was Mordecai, also named En Crescas, or Ezobi, of Orange, who settled in Carcassonne toward the close of the 13th century. The surname Ezobi, borne by a large number of other scholars, points to a more or less distant origin in Orange. An anonymous scholar and translator of the late 12th century and one Gershon b. Hezekiah, author of medical books in the first half of the 15th century, are intimately connected with the town of Orange.

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[Bernhard Blumenkranz]

ORANGE COUNTY, county in California, U.S. In 2005 there were some 3 million people living in Orange County, with the Jewish population estimated at 60,000–80,000.

Orange County Jewish communities include Orange, Anaheim, Santa Ana, Irvine, Yorba Linda, Garden Grove, Laguna Beach, Laguna Hills, Huntington Beach, Tustin, Fountain Valley, Newport Beach, Westminster, Fullerton, Mission

Viejo, and Costa Mesa. Most Jews live in Irvine, Newport Beach, Mission Viejo, and Aliso Viejo.

Southern California or California Southland Jewry is an interrelated community in Santa Barbara, Ventura, Los Angeles, Orange, Riverside, San Bernardino, Imperial, and San Diego counties. In climate, water supply, politics, agriculture and industry it differs from the rest of California. Rivalry has long existed between the northern and southern areas of California. There is a virtual seamlessness between Orange County and neighboring Los Angeles. It seems at points like one endless community.

The primary motivation for settlement in Southern California was not a search for religious freedom but economic opportunity. Many Jews who came to the Southland in the early days had first gone to San Francisco, from which place Jews quickly dispersed throughout the entire American and Canadian West. The Gold Rush brought Jews to Southern California more for trade and agriculture than for mining. The area was known in biblical language as the place of "cattle on a thousand hills."

French Jews were perhaps 10% of all the Jews who arrived during the Gold Rush decades. They came from Alsace, Marseilles, and Paris. Among them were Algerian Jews such as Hippolyte Cohen in Anaheim in 1878.

In the beginning of the 20th century Sephardi Jews from the island of Rhodes immigrated to Southern California. Other Sephardim arrived during the 1910s and 1920s. Most of the newcomers did not speak English, but the Ladino they spoke was close to the Mexican Spanish of California. Sephardi Jews generally moved first to Seattle, Washington, then later on to California.

Orange County Jewry began in the 1870s. Santa Ana was platted in 1870, and in 1872 Jews were located there as merchants. In 1876 the first Jew reached Tustin. The community of Anaheim was quiet in 1880 when Jewish stores were closed for Rosh Hashanah, the local press reported. In the early period the best known Jewish citizen of Orange County was Benjamin Dreyfus, the vintner, general agriculturalist, and mayor of Anaheim in 1881 and 1882. Three Jews held the first High Holy Day services in 1874. In that year Jews were also found in the nearby mission town of San Juan Capistrano. Santa Ana and Tustin Jewry – 25 families in all – began establishing a congregation in 1919, to meet the needs of their children for Jewish education.

From the 1930s onward there has been a massive influx of population to Southern California, and Orange County has benefited from the post-World War II development of the region as well as the movement of major corporations and hi-tech industries to Southern California. Jewish life was stimulated by a large influx of British, Canadian, Israeli, Latin American, North African, Russian, South African, and Iranian Jews, who established their own organizations as well as integrating into the older communities. A large number of Hungarian Jews reached the Southland after the Soviets crushed the movement to liberalization in that country in 1956. Iranian Jews have sent their children to all-day schools and have a higher rate of synagogue affiliation than the average. Russian and Israeli non-Orthodox immigrants tend to be High Holiday Jews.

The Merage Jewish Community Center, one of the largest in the United States, with its impressive community campus in Irvine, is an important presence in the community. The Federation sponsors all the activities of a Jewish Federation, including a Board of Jewish Education and the Jewish Family Service.

Synagogue life is local and Jews are spread throughout the county, but communal life is concentrated in the areas of greatest populations.

There are 35 synagogues in Orange County of every denomination. There are Conservative congregations in several cities: B'nai Israel in Tustin, Congregation Eilat in Mission Viejo, Surf City Synagogue of Huntington Beach, Temple Beth Emet of Anaheim, Temple Isaiah of Newport Beach, Temple Judea of Laguna Woods. Reform congregations are also found throughout the county: B'nai Tzedek in Fountain Valley, Congregation Kol HaNeshamah in Irvine, Congregation Shir Ha Ma'alot also in Irvine, Temple Bat Yahm in Newport Beach, Temple Beth David in Westminster, Temple Beth El of South Orange County in Aliso Viejo, Temple Beth Ohr in La Mirada, Temple Beth Sholom in Santa Ana, Temple Beth Tikvah/Adat Ari in Fullerton. There are Orthodox Congregations: Beth Jacob Cong. of Irvine, Beth Torah Synagogue of Laguna Hills that meets at Leisure World, which also hosts a Reform Congregation.

Chabad has established a presence in Costa Mesa, Huntington Beach, Irvine, Laguna Beach, Los Alamitos, Mission Viejo, Newport Beach, San Clemente, Tustin, and Yorba Linda. The Sephardi community maintains Ohr Yisrael Sephardic Congregation of Orange County in Irvine.

Rabbi Arnold Rachlis, a former White House Fellow and a leading voice in the Reconstructionist movement, is the rabbi of University Synagogue in Irvine, the sole Reconstructionist congregation and one of the largest synagogues in Orange County.

Secular Humanists are represented in Pacific Community of Secular Humanistic Jews and Society of Humanistic Judaism. There is also a non-denominational Congregation Kol Simcha for Gay and Lesbian Jews.

There are three day schools in the community: Tarbut V'Torah Community Day School in Irvine, the Hebrew Academy in Huntington Beach, and the Morasha Day School in Rancho Santa Margarita.

Among the national organizations that have established offices in Orange County are the American Jewish Committee (AJC) and the Anti-Defamation League (ADL), which have a large presence. The American Israel Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC) and B'nai B'rith Youth Organization are also present.

Hillel serves all the campuses in Orange County, including UC Irvine, Chapman University, Cal State Fullerton, and the surrounding colleges. Chapman University has a strong Holocaust education program that not only serves the campus but the community at large and sponsors annual activities in the schools, including a writing contest and teacher training. It recently established a Holocaust Center, sponsored by the Samueli Family, local philanthropists, in its new library, including a small display of Holocaust artifacts.

Heritage Pointe provides care for the elderly.

Although Jews are an accepted part of Orange County life, the county used to have the reputation of being the center of significant antisemitism. In the late 1970s, The Institute for Historical Review, a Holocaust denial organization, once posted a $50,000 reward for anyone who could prove that the Holocaust happened. Much to their chagrin, Auschwitz survivor and Newport Beach resident Mel Mermelstein took up the challenge and prevailed in court. Mermelstein went against the common advice of the Jewish professional community to quarantine the hate groups and not to engage in discourse. The case drew national attention and was the subject of a television movie. Several mayors have been Jewish; two in Irvine and others in Orange County.

[Michael Berenbaum and Arnold Rachlis (2nd ed.)]

ORANIT (Heb. אֹרָנִית), urban settlement in Samaria. It is located on the western slopes of the Samarian Hills, northeast of *Petaḥ Tikva, and southeast of *Kefar Sava. Oranit was established by private initiative authorized by the government. In 1985 the first settlers arrived. In 1990 it received municipal council status. In 2002 the population was 5,190, occupying 0.65 sq. mi. (1.750 sq. km.). Residents work outside the settlement. The name of the settlement derives from the pine (Heb. *oren*) forests nearby.

[Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

ORDEAL, the generic term for the various ways and means by which divine judgment would be ascertained. The most common form of ordeal, which survived long into the Middle Ages and beyond, was entirely unknown to biblical as well as to later Jewish law: namely, the exposing of an accused person to physical dangers which were supposed to be harmless to him if he were innocent but which were considered conclusive proof of divine condemnation if he suffered harm. The only remnant of this kind of ordeal may be found in the *Ordeal of Jealousy. It is an early talmudic tradition (Sot. 9:9) that these "waters of bitterness" ceased to be effective when adulterers proliferated. Traces of a similar ordeal by water may be found in the water that Moses made the Israelites drink after he had sprinkled it with powder ground from the golden calf (Ex. 32:20), the talmudic tradition being that this was the method used to detect the guilty. Another widespread method of ascertaining God's judgment was the curse. A written curse had first to be erased into the "water of bitterness" to be swallowed by the woman suspected of adultery (Num. 5:23), so that either the curse or the water or both could be instrumental in the ordeal. The curse is interchangeable with, and a forerunner of, the *oath: he who takes the oath before God (cf. Ex. 22:7–8, 10) brings God's curse on himself if he perjures himself (cf. I Kings 8:31–32; II Chron. 6:22–23). On hearing the oath sworn at His altar, God judges – condemning the wicked and justifying the righteous (see also Zech. 5:3–4; et al.). There is a statement that when atonement was made for general sinfulness (Lev. 16:21–22), God would, by changing red into white, reveal His forgiveness, or by not changing the color indicate unforgiveness (Yoma 6:8; 67a). In many instances, God's judgment was, of course, executed directly, manifesting itself in the very act of divine punishment (e.g., Num. 16:5–7, 31–35; Deut. 11:6; I Kings 18:38).

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[Haim Hermann Cohn]

ORDEAL OF JEALOUSY. According to Numbers 5:11–31, a woman suspected of adultery that cannot be legally proved is to be brought by her husband to the priest for an ordeal of jealousy. The priest takes "holy water" (according to Sot. 2:2, from the laver) and mixes into it some earth from the floor of the Tabernacle. He then assures the woman that if she is innocent she will be immune to harm from the water, but warns her that if guilty her "belly shall distend" from the potion and "her thigh sag" (the exact sense is unknown). After this adjuration, he writes down the oath, dissolves the writing in the water, and makes the woman drink of it. Accordingly, the water is called *mayim me'ararim*, "the water that induces the spell." The ordeal has to be accompanied by a meal offering of a specific type. It is composed of barley without oil and frankincense (cf. Lev. 5:11) and is called "an offering of remembrance which recalls wrongdoing" (Num. 5:15).

Critical View

The law in its present form contains repetitions (16b = 18a, 19a = 21a, 21b = 22a, 24a = 26b = 27a), which appear to be redundant, and seeming inconsistencies. Thus verse 21, inserted between the protasis and apodosis, disrupts the adjuration, while verse 24, which prescribes giving the drink before offering the meal (5:25), contradicts the express order of verse 26. These inconsistencies are reflected in the Mishnah. Whether the meal offering precedes drinking the water, as stated in verse 26, or the drinking comes before the meal offering, as in verses 24–25, is a matter of dispute (Sot. 3:2). Moreover, the interpolation in verse 21a gave rise to a disagreement over the extent of the written oath (Sot. 2:3). According to R. Judah, the priest had to write down only the oath appearing in verses 21–22; according to R. Yose, all of verses 19–22 had to be written; the prevailing opinion, however, is that the priest wrote down the adjuration of verses 19, 20, and 22 and the oath in verse 21 without the introductory directions concerning the priest (*we-hishbiaʿ ha-Kohen et ha-ʾishah*) and the woman (*we-ʾamerah ha-ʾishahʾ amen*, 22).

These textual difficulties suggest that two literary strands have been interwoven in this chapter. One strand prescribed only an oral conditional adjuration (5:19–20, 22), whereas the other prescribed the recital of a curse and its writing, and the dissolving of the written curse in the water (5:21, 23). The latter strand also prescribed the offering of the meal (5:15, 25–26). The beginning of verse 27 is an editorial resumption (*Wiederaufnahme*) of verse 24, necessitated by the interpolation of verses 25–26. There is no way of deciding which of the two strands is original or earlier. It may be that the author had both before him when he composed the law. Yet the strand prescribing the writing of the curse shows signs of more advanced religious conceptions. God is made responsible for the curse (5:21), whereas according to the other source the water itself induces it (5:22). Furthermore, the word of God is made the agency of the curse, in the form of the writing dissolved in the water.

An ancient water ordeal consisting of an oral adjuration but no written oath is attested in a Mari text (Archives Royales de Mari, x, no. 9, lines 9–15). A heavenly scene is described in which a command is given to dissolve some earth from the gate in water and give it to drink to the (minor) gods who take an oath not to harm (or betray) Mari and its commissioner. Another analogue is found in the so-called "Hittite instructions for the temple officials." Somebody suspected of having used up the firstlings before giving them to the gods has to "drink the horn of the god of life"; if he is found guilty he will perish together with his family (Sturtevant-Bechtel in bibl., 164–165, no. 18, 4:52–53). In Mesopotamia a water ordeal consisted of being thrown into the river: the guilty sank, the innocent floated (cf. Code of Hammurapi; in Pritchard, Texts, 166, law 2). A similar procedure is attested in a letter from Mari where two suspected persons are to be submitted to the ordeal by river (see Dossin in bibl.). The river ordeal is actually applied in Mesopotamia to the case of jealousy. Thus the Code of Hammurapi (Pritchard, Texts, 171, law 132) states that "if a finger has been pointed at a married woman with regard to another man and she is not caught lying with the other man she shall leap into the river for her husband." The specification of "not being caught lying with the other man" is instructive for the understanding of the Hebrew clause: *we-hiʾ loʾ nitpasah* (Num. 5:13b). The Babylonian parallel inclines the balance in favor of the rendering "she had not been caught in the act" (cf. Ibn Ezra to 5:13b) rather than "she had not been forced" (cf. Rashi to 5:13b).

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[Moshe Weinfeld]

ORDMAN, JEANNETTE, Israeli ballet dancer and teacher; director of the Bat-Dor Dance Company and school. Born in Germiston, South Africa, her family moved to Johannesburg where she studied dance with Reina Berman and later with Marjorie Sturman, founder of the Johannesburg Festival Ballet (which became the Pact Ballet). She was still in her teens when Anton Dolin who had come to advise on dance selected her to dance the title role in *Giselle*.

Moving to London, she danced with the Sadler's Wells Opera Ballet and on television. In 1965 she went to Israel as principal dancer of a touring company. When the tour ended abruptly, she opened a studio. Her dancing had already made an impression and pupils flocked to her. At that time Batsheva de Rothschild, who had settled in Israel in 1958 and founded the Batsheva Dance Company in 1964, was looking for a suitable director to open a dance school. With her friend Martha Graham, then visiting Israel, she saw Ordman's classes. The result was the opening of the Bat-Dor Dance School in 1967 and of the Bat-Dor Dance Company in 1968, with Ordman as director and principal dancer.

From then on, the studio grew in importance and the company is one of the major dance companies in Israel and has toured widely. It was the first professional Israeli company to go to Poland (1987) and to Russia (1989).

After her great success in the Polish tour, Ordman developed hip trouble. After two operations, she made a successful comeback (1989) in Rodney Griffin's *Piaf Vaudeville.* She was invited a number of times to serve on the jury of the International Ballet Competition at Jackson, Mississippi (held every fourth year).

[Dora Leah Sowden]

ORDZHONIKIDZE (until 1932 **Vladikavkaz**; 1944–54 **Dzaudzhikau**), capital of the N. Ossetian Autonomous Republic in the Russian Federation. The city is situated in the N. Caucasus. In 1784 the Russian government erected a fortress which dominated the road crossing the Caucasus; from the 1830s there were always some Jewish soldiers in the fortress and it was, in fact, demobilized soldiers who founded the community. A prayer room was erected in 1865, and about 10 years later authorization for the construction of a synagogue was obtained. A community of Subbotniki (*Judaizers) also existed in the town. During the 1890s the administration began to oppress the Jews. There were 1,214 Jews (about 2.8% of the total population) in 1897, in 1926 about 1,000 (1.3% of the population), and 1,517 (1.16% of the total) in 1939. When the Germans invaded the Soviet Union, they were brought to a halt on the outskirts of the town, so the Jewish inhabitants were saved. In 1959 about 2,000 Jews lived in the town.

[Yehuda Slutsky]

OREB AND ZEEB (Heb. עֹרֵב, עוֹרֵב, "raven"; זְאֵב, "wolf"), two Midianite princes captured by the Ephraimites during a battle led by Gideon the judge (Judg. 7:25; 8:1–3). To commemorate the event, the places where the capture occurred were called "The Rock of Oreb" (Ẓur Orev) and "The Winepress of Zeeb" (Yekev Ze'ev). Their exact location is uncertain. The narrative relates that the two princes were decapitated and their heads brought across the Jordan to Gideon, apparently as testimony to the great valor and glory of the Ephraimites (7:25; 8:2–3). The defeat and execution of Oreb and Zeeb became proverbial as a paradigm for the annihilation of the enemies of Israel (Isa. 10:26; Ps. 83:11).

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[Nili Shupak]

OREGON, Pacific N.W. state of the U.S. with some 35,000 Jews (out of a total of 3,594,586) according to 2004 figures. Jewish communal life in the Oregon Territory began with the arrival of Jacob Goldsmith and Lewis May, young German-born immigrants who opened a general store in Portland in 1849. Two years later, a thriving mining camp developed along southern Oregon's gold laden Jackson Creek. Within months, miners streamed northward from the Sacramento Valley bringing Jews, mostly from San Francisco. In 1852, seven Jewish residents were listed on the Jacksonville census, all young men involved in store keeping, supplying mining equipment, dry goods, and groceries. German Jews expanded their mercantile skills into Oregon's more remote areas by exploiting family networks, importing goods from associates in San Francisco or even New York, and then sending younger relatives to towns like Albany, Eugene, or The Dalles to open general stores.

The first Jewish arrivals emigrated from Germany to the U.S., followed by co-religionists originating from, successively, the Russian empire, the Isle of Rhodes, and Turkey. The greatest number came from the Russian empire beginning in the 1890s and made an impact on the already established German Jewish community. Most settled in Portland, where they found inexpensive housing, synagogues, and kosher groceries that helped to create a familiar community. Whereas the central European Jews integrated very quickly and expanded to smaller towns across the state, the first generation Eastern European Jews remained close-knit, residing primarily in Portland until the second generation. The Sephardim founded a synagogue in Portland in 1910, still existing today. Following the collapse of the Soviet Union in the 1980s, another wave of immigrants came to Oregon.

From the early years of settlement in Oregon, Jews despite their minute numbers distinguished themselves in prominent political, judicial, civic, business, and cultural positions: Solomon Hirsch, minister to Turkey; Joseph *Simon, Richard *Neuberger, Ron *Wyden (in 2005), U.S. senators; Julius *Meier, Neil *Goldschmidt, governors; Henry Heppner, founder of the town of Heppner; Samson Friendly, regent of the University of Oregon; Joseph Shemanski, Ben Selling, philanthropists; Gus Solomon, federal district court judge; Bernard Goldsmith, Philip Wasserman, Neil Goldschmidt and Vera Katz among at least 21 Jewish mayors; Stewart Albert, co-founder of the Yippie Movement. Russian-born artist Mark *Rothko (1903–1970) spent part of his youth in Portland; Dr. Albert Starr, inventor of the first artificial heart valve, performed the first successful valve implant in 1965; Bernard *Malamud taught at Oregon State University 1949–61; Phillip Margolin is a best-selling mystery writer. Mel *Blanc, the "Man of 1,000 Voices," was the voice of Bugs Bunny and other animated characters. In the field of music, Jacques Gershkovitch founded the Portland Junior Symphony (today the Portland Youth Philharmonic), succeeded by Jacob Avshalomov. Ernest *Bloch, who made Oregon his home, wrote his famous *Sacred Service* on the Oregon coast. Jacques Singer conducted the Oregon Symphony Orchestra and Carlos Kalmar was conductor in 2005; composer David Schiff taught at Reed College.

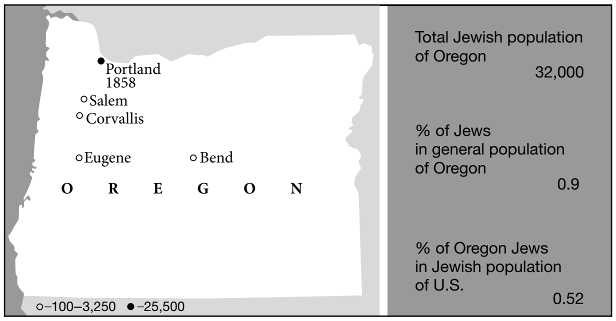
Portland
1858
Salem
Corvallis
Eugene
Bend
O R E G O N
○–100–3,250 ●–25,500
Total Jewish population of Oregon
32,000
% of Jews in general population of Oregon
0.9
% of Oregon Jews in Jewish population of U.S.
0.52

Jewish communities in Oregon with date of establishment. Population figures for 2001.

In 2005 Oregon had 36 congregations throughout the state, including Portland (17 congregations), Ashland, Bend, Corvallis Eugene, Klamath Falls, Roseburg and Salem, and the central and north coasts. Portland, Oregon's largest Jewish community, has two Jewish day schools, a Jewish Community Center, Jewish Federation, a Jewish facility for the elderly, a Jewish family counseling service, and the Oregon Jewish Museum. The Oregon Holocaust Resource Center is on the campus of Pacific University in Forest Grove. Jewish students participate in Hillel at the University of Oregon (Eugene) and Oregon State University (Corvallis), and Jewish Student Unions at Lewis and Clark College, Reed College and Portland State University. The University of Oregon, Portland State University and Reed College have Jewish Studies programs. Indeed, the president (in 2005) of the AJS taught at the University of Oregon.

[Judith Margles (2nd ed.)]

OREL, capital of a district in the Russian Federation. Orel lay outside the *Pale of Settlement. A small Jewish community was founded there during the second half of the 19th century; in 1876 it was authorized to build a synagogue. In 1897 the Jews of Orel numbered 1,750 (2.5% of the total population). Anti-Jewish riots broke out on Oct. 18, 1905, many were injured and shops looted. During World War I, many refugees from the battle areas came to the town. In 1926 there were 3,597 Jews (4.6% of the total population); and their number dropped slightly to 3,143 (2.84% of the total) in 1939. The Germans took the city on October 3, 1941. Most of the remaining Jews were killed in August–December 1942. The last were murdered during February–July 1943.

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[Yehuda Slutsky / Shmuel Spector (2nd ed.)]

OREN, RAM (1958–2005), Israeli novelist. Oren was born in Tel Aviv. He graduated from the Faculty of Law at the Hebrew University and was a member of the Lawyers Association. Oren worked for many years as a journalist and senior editor of the daily *Yedioth Aharonoth*. He was the founder and owner of Keshet Publishing House and is known as the author of thrillers, all of which were commercial bestsellers in Israel. His first novel *Pitui* ("Seduction") was published in 1994. *Ot Kain* (1996; *The Mark of Cain*, 1998) tells the story of Michael, head of the Israeli Mossad, who discovers that he and Elsa, a rabid Nazi planning terrorist attacks, are the children of a notorious commander of a concentration camp. *Esh Ḥayah* ("Live Ammunition," 1999) is the story of intrigues, blackmail, and love revolving around the hopes of Amos Gonen to become the new chief of staff. Among Oren's other works are the historical novel *Latrun* (2002) and *Nesikhah Afrikanit* ("African Princess," 2003).

[Anat Feinberg (2nd ed.)]

OREN, YIZḤAK (pen-name of **Yizḥak Nadel**; 1918–), Israeli writer. Born in Ulan-Ude, Siberia, Oren received a thorough Jewish education from his father, who was a Hebrew teacher and an active Zionist from Latvia. In 1924 the family moved to Harbin, China, where Oren graduated from a Russian high school. There he joined the *Betar movement and in 1936 went to Ereẓ Israel, later becoming a member of the *Irgun Ẓeva'i Le'ummi. He studied Hebrew literature, history, and philosophy at the Hebrew University. His first stories were published in literary supplements of the Hebrew daily press, but later he contributed frequently to such literary journals as *Molad, Moznayim*, *Keshet*, and *Ha-Ummah*. He translated Russian classics into Hebrew (e.g., Goncharov's *Oblomov*) as well as Hebrew prose and verse (e.g., Agnon and Alterman) into Russian. He was editor of the educational programs of Israel's Russian-language broadcasts. Among his published works are *Ei-Sham* ("Somewhere," 1950), *Ba-Oref* ("Behind the Lines," 1953), *Massot Binyamin ha-Ḥamishi* ("Adventures of Benjamin the Fifth," 1958), *Avot u-Boser* ("Fathers and Sour Grapes," 1964), *Penei Dor ke-Kelev* ("The Dog-like Generation," 1968), *Konei Shamayim va-Areẓ* ("Possessors of Heaven and Earth," 1970), *Etgarim* ("Challenges," 1972), *Ha-Har ve-ha-Akhbar* ("The Mountain and the Mouse," 1972), *Ḥamesh Megillot Afot* ("Five Flying Scrolls," stories, 1985) and *Yeẓarim vi-Yẓirot* ("Passions and Creations," stories and essays, 1997). Though not religious in any formal sense, in his very personal, somewhat surrealistic, narrative style and structure, Oren expresses a mystical belief in man and particularly his spiritual creativity as a central element in the cosmic design, stressing thereby the specific significance of the history and renaissance of the Jewish people. The author of "Jabotinsky and Me" (1980), Oren was awarded the Jabotinsky Prize in 1999. He also received the Newman Prize (1989) and the President's Prize (1999). The English translation *The Imaginary Number* appeared in 1986. For further information concerning translations see the ITHL website at www.ithl.org.il.

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ORENSE, city in Galicia, N.W. Spain. Jews had apparently settled there by the 11th century, and in 1044 were living in the nearby fortress. Until the 1460s, no further information is available on the community which during that period probably consisted of some 30 to 40 families. In 1474, its annual tax, together with that paid by the Jews of Rivadabia, Monforte, and Allariz, amounted to 2,000 maravedis. This decreased to 1,000 maravedis in 1482, and rose to 13,500 maravedis in 1491, apparently because of the obligation to contribute to the expenses of the war against Granada. In 1489 a writ of protection was granted to the community of Orense against the attempts of several knights to attack the Jews of the town; the governor of Galicia was ordered by the Catholic monarchs to protect them. The Jewish quarter, which until 1488 bordered upon the Rua Nova, was then transferred to another site next to the Fuente del Obizpo, and the local Jews were given a period of grace to settle there. A fine of 3,000 maravedis was to be imposed on those who refrained from obeying this order. The quarter remained on that site until the expulsion in 1492.

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[Haim Beinart]

ORENSTEIN, ALEXANDER JEREMIAH (1879–1972), South African medical scientist. Of Jewish origin, Orenstein was one of the teams of experts who, under W.C. Gorgas, cleared the Panama Canal Zone of yellow fever and malaria (1905–12). His experience of tropical and subtropical diseases led to his appointment in 1913 in the health services of German East Africa. In 1914 he was taken to South Africa by a Rand mining company to help reduce the incidence of pneumonia and tuberculosis which were taking a heavy toll among miners in the goldfields. Over the years, spectacular results were achieved in reducing the death rate, especially among African mine workers. Orenstein was director of the pneumoconiosis research unit of the South African Council for Scientific and Industrial Research when he retired in 1959. He had an international reputation and often represented South Africa at world health and labor conferences. Orenstein was director-general of medical services in the South African defense forces in both world wars, with the rank of brigadier (later major-general).

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[Louis Hotz]

ORENSTEIN, ARBIE (1937–), U.S. musicologist and pianist. Born and raised in New York City, he attended the High School of Music and Art, Queens College, and the Graduate School of Columbia University, where he received a Ph.D. in musicology. He was professor of music at the Aaron Copland School of Music at Queens College, where he also taught a course in Jewish music.

Arbie Orenstein is the author of two major books on Ravel: *Ravel: Man and Musician*, published by Columbia University Press, 1975 (reissued as a Dover paperback in 1991), and *A Ravel Reader* (Columbia University Press, 1990; reissued as a Dover paperback in 2003). The latter was originally written in French as *Ravel: Lettres, Écrits, Entretiens*, published by Flammarion in 1989. As a pianist, Orenstein accompanied many outstanding cantors and recorded the world premieres of several works by Ravel, which he discovered in France while on a United States Government Fulbright grant. Orenstein also wrote an introductory essay on the life and work of A.Z. *Idelsohn for the Dover reprint of Idelsohn's classic text, *Jewish Music in Its Historical Development*. The French knighted him, awarding him the medal of Chevalier of the Order of Arts and Letters. He was the coeditor, with Israel J. *Katz, of the scholarly annual journal *Musica Judaica*, sponsored by the *American Society for Jewish Music.

[Amnon Shiloah (2nd ed.)]

ORGAD (Bueshel), BEN ZION (1926–2006), Israeli composer. Born in Germany, Orgad was brought to Ereẓ Israel in 1933. He studied composition with Paul *Ben-Haim and Josef *Tal, and graduated from the Jerusalem Academy of Music in 1947. In 1952 he won the UNESCO *Koussevitzky Prize, which enabled him to study in the United States with *Copland and Irving Fine. He obtained a degree (M.F.A.) from Brandeis University (1961).

Orgad was supervisor (1956–74) and chief supervisor (1975–88) of music at the Israel Ministry of Education and Culture. Deeply involved in Hebrew literature, he published a book of poetry. In 1997 he won the Israel Prize.

Among Israeli composers Orgad has been the most consistent in his commitment to the ideology of creating a modern Israeli musical style ingrained in ancient Jewish culture. He regarded the Hebrew language as "a bridge to tradition and its origins" (Fleisher, p. 131). His compositions derive their inspiration from two principal sources: The first is the melos of biblical Hebrew as expressed in the *Masoretic accents (*Ta'amei ha-Mikra*), as, for example, in his cantata *Ve-Zot ha-Berakhah* ("And This Is the Blessing"). The second principle is the irregular rhythmic values emanating from the meters of medieval Sephardi Jewish poetry, such as the piano composition *Rashuyot*.

Among his other works are *Ha-Ẓevi Yisrael*, symphony for baritone and orchestra (1949; revised 1958); *Out of the Dust*, for mezzo-soprano and four instruments (1956); *Monologue for Viola* (1957), a string trio (1961); *Mizmorim* for soloists and chamber orchestra (1966–68); *Hityaḥadut* (Individuations no. 1), for clarinet and chamber orchestra (1981); *Hityaḥadut* no. 2, for violin, cello, and chamber orchestra (1990); *Continuous Presence*, for chamber orchestra (2002). He wrote "*Ha-Potenẓi'al ha-Musikali shel ha-Safah ha-Ivrit*" ("The Musical Potential of the Hebrew Language"), in: *Proceedings of the World Congress on Jewish Music*, Jerusalem, 1978, ed. Judith Cohen (Tel Aviv, 1982), 21–47.

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[Uri (Erich) Toeplitz and Yohanan Boehm /
Jehoash Hirshberg (2nd ed.)]

ORGAN.

Antiquity

In its conventional form, an organ is basically a set of pipes activated by compressed air, under the control of a keyboard. It is thought to have been invented in Hellenistic Alexandria around the beginning of the second century C.E., and was called *hydraulos* (ύδρανλός – water pipe) since the air was compressed by a water-pressure mechanism. During the first centuries C.E. this mechanism came to be replaced by bellows, but the name *hydraulos* or *hydraulis* remained. The instrument spread through the Roman and Byzantine Empires as a crude but effective accompaniment to games and ceremonies in the circus and at court. Byzantine influence brought the organ both to the Persian court and to Europe in the eighth or ninth centuries.

It was the late Roman and Byzantine organ, with its multiplicity of pipes and – for that time – astounding tone-volume, that gave rise to the late talmudic identification of the *magrefah* ("rake") as an organ supposed to have been used in the Second Temple. The development of the legend, for such it is, can easily be traced. The Mishnah (Tam. 2:1; 3:8, and 5:6) states that a *magrefah* was among the implements used for cleaning the altar in the morning before the new daily sacrifice; and that the noise of its being thrown on the floor was one of several "noise-cues" which the priests used to ensure the smooth running of the ceremony (cf. *The Letter of Aristeas* 92; 94–96) in the absence of perceptible orders during the service. A hyperbole states that all these noises were audible "unto Jericho" (Tam. 3:8). The equating of *magrefah* with *hydraulis* must have occurred in the time of the *Tosefta, since Tosefta Arakhin 1:13–14 quotes R. Simeon b. Gamaliel as saying: "There was no *hydraulis* [הדראוליס] in the Temple since it confuses the voice and spoils the tune." The Jerusalem Talmud (Suk. 5:6, 55c–d) quotes R. Simeon b. Gamaliel, and then goes on to identify the biblical *ugav* with *ardablis*, and states that the *magrefah* had ten holes (or pipes) each emitting a hundred tones, or a hundred holes (or pipes) each emitting ten tones. Finally, in *Arakhin* 10b the identification *magrefah-hydraulis* appears as a categorical statement. Henceforth the identification of *magrefah* with organ remained practically unquestioned by most commentators and musicologists, although there is Rashi's compromise-exegesis to *Arakhin* 10b: "but it seems that there were two *magrefot*, one for [raking] the altar-remnants and one for song/music."

[Bathja Bayer]

The Organ in the Synagogue Before the 19th Century

Little is known about the use of the organ in the synagogue before its introduction by Reform Judaism in the 19th century. The earliest evidence of its use is in Italy in the 17th century. Giulio *Morosini (Samuel Nahmias, Leone *Modena's pupil, who converted to Christianity) tells in his *Via della Fede* (Rome, 1683, p. 793) about the performance of the Jewish Academy of Music (*Accademia degli impediti*) in the Spanish synagogue of Venice, about 1628. On one occasion (Simḥat Torah) there was an organ among the instruments used but the Venetian rabbis disapproved of it because of its close association with Christian worship. But another Italian source of the 17th century indicates that the organ was not frowned upon by some Italian rabbis of this period. Abraham Joseph Solomon *Graziano, rabbi of Modena (d. 1683) observed in glosses on the Shulḥan Arukh (OḤ 560:3): "… Jewish musicians should not be prevented from playing on the organ [to accompany] songs and praises performed [in honor of] God…" He went on to suggest that the argument of *ḥukkot ha-goyim* ("customs of the gentiles") was not relevant: no competent rabbinic authority would forbid organ playing; only ignorant people would oppose it.

The existence of a synagogue organ in Prague in the late 17th and 18th centuries is indicated by several writers. The use of the organ seems to have been linked mainly with the musical "inauguration of the Sabbath." The earliest mention is by Shabbetai *Bass, who uses the term *ugav* in the prayer book printed as a supplement to his Hebrew bibliography, *Siftei Yeshenim* (Amsterdam, 1680, 21b:3). Two later sources are J.J. *Schudt, (1664–1722) and Abraham Levi b. Menahem Tall (early 18th century). The broadsheet *Naye Tsaytung un Yudisher Oyftsug* (1716) reveals the name of the Jewish builder of the "new organ" (Meir Mahler) employed during the celebrations of the Jewish community of Prague in honor of the birth of Prince Leopold, son of the German emperor, Charles VI.

[Israel Adler]

In the 19th and 20th Centuries

The organ was introduced by *Reform Judaism into the synagogue services as part of its stress on the aesthetic aspects of Jewish worship. The controversies surrounding the use of the organ began when Israel *Jacobson placed an organ into the temple he opened for his boys' school in Seesen, in 1810. He also employed the organ in the services which were held in private homes in Berlin from 1815 on. The Hamburg Temple, which opened in 1818, held services with organ accompaniment. From that time, this became the distinguishing feature of all Reform congregations. Of all the liturgical reforms introduced in the 19th century, none has proved to be as divisive as the introduction of the organ. The introduction of an organ into a synagogue was usually followed by an exodus of the more traditionalist members who organized services for themselves without organ accompaniment. As the shibboleth of Reform, the organ figured primarily in Germany and, in the 19th century, in America. French and Italian synagogues, not otherwise departing from traditional usage, introduced the organ without giving rise to controversy. For wedding ceremonies, the organ is played in some modern Orthodox synagogues. Many American Conservative synagogues also play it on the Sabbath. To justify their innovation, the Reformers published a collection of responsa, entitled *Nogah ha-Ẓedek* ("The Splendor of Justice," 1818). The Orthodox replied with a responsa collection of their own, *Elleh Divrei ha-Berit* ("These are the words of the Covenant," 1819). Since then, a vast literature has accumulated around the subject, consisting mainly of restatements and reformulations of the arguments used in 1818 and 1819.

Basically, three halakhic objections have been raised: (1) Playing the organ on the Sabbath, even by a non-Jew, is prohibited "work" – if not biblically forbidden, at least falling into the rabbinic category of *shevut* (occupations forbidden on Sabbaths and festivals); (2) as a sign of mourning for the destruction of the Temple, music in general is prohibited; (3) the organ is so closely associated with worship in the Christian churches that it would be a case of the prohibited "imitation of gentile customs" (*ḥukkot ha-goyim*) to play it in the synagogue.

The Reform justification has taken the following form: (1) the Shulḥan Arukh (OḤ 338:2) permits the playing of music by a non-Jew on the Sabbath for the purpose of entertaining a wedding party. What is permitted for a wedding party should be permitted all the more for the enhancement of worship. Moreover, just as the rules of *shevut* did not apply to the Temple, so they should not apply to the synagogues which have taken its place; (2) the prohibition of music as a sign of mourning for the destruction of Jerusalem includes vocal no less than instrumental music. Yet tradition has obviously accepted vocal music for religious purposes (Sh. Ar., OḤ 560:3). Reform is merely extending the compromise to instrumental music as well. Beside, instrumental music was used in some pre-modern synagogues, although not on the Sabbath; a synagogue in Prague even had an organ; (3) the organ is not universal in Christian worship. Since there can be Christian worship without an organ, it follows that the instrument is by no means "essential" to that worship. Joel *Sirkes, in his responsum (Resp. Bah Yeshanot, no. 127) made a distinction between melodies which are an integral part of Christian worship and those which are not. The Reformers extended that distinction to musical instruments as well. In addition, they claimed instrumental music in the church is itself a borrowing from the Temple, in which there was an organ-like instrument, called *magrefah* (Ar. 10b–11a). While the use of the organ, particularly when played by non-Jewish musicians, has frequently led to the introduction of melodies akin to the traditional Jewish worship, it has likewise led both to a renaissance of modern synagogue music and to a revival of old Jewish modes. Hermann Heymann *Steinthal said: “The organ has restored to us the old *ḥazzanut*. It will preserve it, and transmit it to our children” (*Ueber Juden und Judentum*, 272). But Leopold *Zunz, a friend of the organ, cautioned: “Unity is the sweetest harmony. It is, therefore, better to refrain from the use of the organ…, if that should be the sole cause for a serious split in the congregation” (Zunz-Albeck, Derashot, 219).

[Jakob J. Petuchowski]

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ORGELBRAND, SAMUEL (1810–1868), Polish publisher. A graduate of the rabbinical seminary of his native Warsaw, he taught for a few years, and in 1836 he opened a shop specializing in the sale of manuscripts and old and rare books. Exploiting the demand for Jewish books because of the restrictions on their publication in Russia, he opened a publishing house for both Hebrew and Polish books. In 1844 he acquired the publishing firm of Jozef Krasinski, which he expanded and improved, becoming the most important publisher in Warsaw. For a while he was in partnership with Henryk Natanson. In 1860 he appointed the conservative *maskil* Daniel *Neufeld to head the department for Hebrew books. In 30 active years, Orgelbrand published over 250 works in 520 volumes, of which about 100 volumes were Hebrew works, sold mostly to subscribers. Between 1860 and 1864 he published the Babylonian Talmud in 20 volumes. Despite the competition of the *Romm edition of Vilna and the Zusman Javetz edition of Berlin, 12,000 copies of this edition were sold. Orgelbrand also published fine editions of the Pentateuch with commentaries, *Ein Ya’akov*, prayer books, *Ẓe’enah u-Re’enah* (1867), and other works. Between 1842 and 1850 he financed the weekly *Kmiotek* (“Peasant”), the first Polish periodical for the masses. Between 1858 and 1868 he published the first Polish general encyclopedia (*Encyklopedja Powszechna*), in 28 volumes, which he financed from the profits of the Talmud. A large section on Judaica, edited by Daniel Neufeld and Fabian Streuch (1820–1884), was included in the encyclopedia. Orgelbrand also published a series of works by Polish authors as well as Polish translations of classical works. During the 1860s he was a member of the executive board of the Warsaw community.

His sons, HIPOLIT (1843–1920) and MIECZYSLAW (1857–1903), took over the publishing house, keeping the Polish department in operation but discontinuing the Hebrew department in 1901. Both brothers belonged to extreme assimilationist circles and converted to Christianity during the 1890s. Before closing down the Hebrew department, they invited their brother-in-law, the learned *maskil* and author Hershel Rundo, to be their partner in the publication of Hebrew works.

Samuel’s brother, MAURYCY (Moses; 1826–1904), was also a publisher, active in assimilationist circles in both Warsaw and Vilna. In Vilna he published a practical dictionary of the Polish language in two volumes, *Słownik jézyka polskiego do podrécznego użytku* (1861). Ordered to leave Vilna in 1865 by the Russian governor, Muravyov, he returned to Warsaw in 1873, establishing a publishing house in partnership with Gebethner and Wolff, and Michael Gluecksberg. From 1878 to 1885 he was the publisher and editor of the popular Polish weekly, *Tygodnik Powszechny*.

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[Arthur Cygielman]

ORGEYEV (Rom. **Orhei**), city in Bessarabia district, Moldova. Jews are first mentioned in Orgeyev in 1741. The community developed after the Russian annexation of Bessarabia in 1812 when many Jews immigrated to the region. There were 3,102 Jews registered in 1864 and 7,144 (57.9% of the total population) in 1897. They established educational and welfare institutions, and in 1865 a *talmud torah* was opened where secular studies were also taught; in 1877 a hospital and an old age home were founded. The Jews of Orgeyev were mostly businessmen and craftsmen, but some were viniculturists on the outskirts of the town. In the late 1890s an agricultural training school was founded and it was active until 1902, receiving support from the Jewish Colonization Association (ICA). Among the 1,480 members registered in the loan fund in 1925 there were 286 farmers. In 1919 a training farm was opened. Owing to the influence of the Zionist movement Hebrew was taught in many schools. In 1927 ORT started a vocational woodworking school for boys, and a vocational tailoring school for girls. In 1930 there were 6,408 Jews (41.9% of the total population).

[Eliyahu Feldman]

Holocaust Period and After

When war broke out (June 1941) the Soviet army, which had been in Orgeyev from the previous June, helped Jews to escape. Some got to Kryulyany (Criuleni) and wandered from there. One group roamed through southern Russia on foot; of these, some were killed in German air raids, while others succumbed to the cold or died from starvation and disease. The survivors eventually reached Stalingrad, where the authorities dispersed them among the kolkhozes. When the front drew near, they were sent on to the Ural Mountains, central Asia, and Uzbekistan. One large group of Orgeyev Jews was located at Tashkent and the surrounding area. Those Jews who remained in Orgeyev came to a bitter end. When the German-Romanian forces entered on July 8–10, a Jewish delegation presented itself before them to welcome them with bread and salt, but all its members were murdered on the spot. The Jewish population was enclosed in a ghetto, where it lived under extremely crowded conditions and was exposed to constant maltreatment and daily murders. On August 6, about 200 Jews were murdered by the 25th Romanian regiment and their bodies were thrown into the Dniester. In 1942 all the survivors were deported to the concentration camp at Tiraspol, Transnistria; their exit from the city was accompanied by the music of a gypsy band and the old people were forced to dance in the streets. When the transport reached a nearby forest, the young men among the deportees were taken to an open field where they underwent torture and where many were shot to death by the soldiers. Others died on the way to Tiraspol and others in the Transnistrian camps. Only a few lived to see the end of the war.

There was little Jewish life after the war. The only synagogue in Orgeyev was closed down by the authorities in 1960, after they had organized a "petition" claiming that its presence was disturbing the neighbors. The Jewish population in 1970 was estimated at about 3,000. Most left in the 1990s.

[Jean Ancel]

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OR HA-NER (Heb. אוֹר הַנֵּר), kibbutz in the southern Coastal Plain of Israel, north of Sederot, affiliated with Iḥud ha-Kevuẓot ve-ha-Kibbutzim. Or ha-Ner was founded initially as an administered farm of the "Yiẓẓur u-Fittu'aḥ" company belonging to Iḥud ha-Kevuẓot ve-ha-Kibbutzim, in 1955. It was taken over in 1957 by the kibbutz which had previously settled in Givot Zaid near *Kiryat Tivon. Pioneers from Brazil, Mexico, Chile, and Uruguay made up the majority of the 284 inhabitants in 1970. In 2002 the population was 394. Or ha-Ner engaged in intensive farming with citrus groves, poultry, cattle, and field crops in partnership with nearby Kibbutz Erez. It manufactured metal, aluminum, and steel products for the auto industry and ran a catering service specializing in South American food. The name, "Light of the Candle," referring to nearby Beror Ḥayil, is taken from Sanhedrin 32b (see *Beror Ḥayil).

[Efraim Orni / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

ORḤOT ḤAYYIM (Heb. אׇרְחוֹת חַיִּים; "Ways of Life"), or **Zavva'at Rabbi Eliezer** (Heb. צַוָּאַת רַבִּי אֱלִיעֶזֶר; "The Ethical Will of Rabbi Eliezer"), one of the most popular and best-known short treatises on ethics and moralistic behavior in medieval Hebrew literature. *Orḥot Ḥayyim* is arranged in the form of an ethical will (*Wills, Ethical), and owing to the fact that it begins with the talmudic story about the illness of Rabbi *Eliezer b. Hyrcanus, was conventionally attributed to him. However, as early as the Middle Ages, doubts arose as to whether he was in fact the author, and Menahem b. Judah de *Lonzano and other scholars after him ascribed the work to *Eliezer b. Isaac Ashkenazi of the 11th century. *Orḥot Ḥayyim* was first printed, together with other works, in Venice in 1544; and it has been reprinted many times. There are two commentaries to it – one by Abraham Mordecai Virnikowski (1888), and one by Gershon Hanoch Leiner of Radzyn (1891).

There are several bibliographical problems in connection with *Orḥot Ḥayyim* which have been studied by Israel Abrahams and Gershom Scholem. The work consists of two parts: the first is the ethical will, comprising short paragraphs of moralistic advice given by a father to his son; and the second, called "*Seder Gan Eden*," is a treatise on the structure of and the different palaces (*heikhalot*) in the garden of Eden. The two parts were printed as a single entity and are found together in early manuscripts; Scholem noted that the work as a whole usually appears in manuscript collections of kabbalistic material, often in close proximity to works written by *Moses b. Shem Tov de Leon, the reputed author of the Zohar.

There is virtually no doubt about the date of the second part of *Orḥot Ḥayyim*; its descriptions of the *heikhalot* of the garden of Eden bear a close resemblance to the descriptions found in the Zohar, and various other motifs are common to both works. Scholem has suggested that if the author of the Zohar had written his work in Hebrew, the result would have been very similar in style to the "*Seder Gan Eden*." Hence it must have been written by a member of the kabbalistic circles of the end of the 13th century, very probably by Moses de Leon himself.

The problem is whether the same can be said about the first part of *Orḥot Ḥayyim*, the ethical will attributed to Rabbi Eliezer. Scholem believes that it is impossible to make any distinction between the two parts; nonetheless, there are great differences in style between them, and it is difficult to discover any hint of mystical speculation in the first part. It is possible that the first part is in fact an Ashkenazi work dating from the 11th century or later, whereas the second part was added at a later period. However, the question must be regarded as an open one.

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[Joseph Dan]

ORḤOT ẒADDIKIM (Heb. אוֹרְחוֹת צַדִּיקִים "The Ways of the Righteous"), an anonymous work in Hebrew probably written in Germany in the 15th century. *Orḥot Ẓaddikim*, one of the most important works in Hebrew ethical literature, has always been published anonymously and though an attempt was made to identify the author with the 15th-century moralist and polemical writer, Yom Tov Lipmann Muelhausen, the hypothesis seems to be without foundation. The only historical fact cited in the work is the expulsion of the Jews from France in the 14th century. Since *Orḥot Ẓaddikim* follows the teachings of the *Ḥasidei Ashkenaz in many ways, it is possible that the author, in keeping with the admonishment of *Judah b. Samuel he-Ḥasid of Regensburg in *Sefer *Ḥasidim* (also published anonymously) for writers not to identify their work so that their descendants might not pride themselves with the accomplishments of their fathers, purposely kept the book anonymous. Despite its anonymity *Orḥot Ẓaddikim* became one of the most popular works in traditional Hebrew literature and since the 16th century nearly 80 editions, including abridged versions and translations, have been published. The first was a shortened version in Yiddish (Isny, 1542); the full Hebrew text appeared for the first time in Prague some years later (1581, latest publication 1969).

The original title is probably not *Orḥot Ẓaddikim*, apparently given to it by the copyists and publishers. The Isny edition (1542) is called *Sefer ha-Middot* ("The Book of Ethical Qualities"), a name traditionally bestowed on Hebrew ethical works. In the introduction the author refers to the book as *Sefer ha-Middot* and in the concluding paragraph of the introduction he states "this *Sefer ha-Middot* was written and sealed with the seal of wisdom." The title is also appropriate to the structure of the work since it enumerates ethical qualities and their characteristics.

Orḥot Ẓaddikim, to a large extent a compendium of earlier Hebrew ethical thought, is based on philosophical and ethical works written in Spain, and on Ashkenazi ethical writings. The author also drew on some works written in Italy which he copied verbatim. The language and style, though mainly patterned after the philosophical-ethical literature of Spain, is also fused with stylistic and structural elements of the Ashkenazi ethical school. *Ḥovot ha-Levavot* by Baḥya ibn Paquda, the classical work of Jewish ethics, is one of the main sources of *Orḥot Ẓaddikim* both in its basic ideas and the many proverbs and parables which the author culled from it. *Orḥot Ẓaddikim*, more than any other medieval Hebrew ethical treatise, used proverbs and parables for elucidation. The structure of the work seems to have been influenced by Solomon ibn *Gabirol's *Tikkun Middot ha-Nefesh* which sets up pairs of ethical qualities (usually conflicting) and by *Mivḥar ha-Peninnim*, a work also attributed to Ibn Gabirol. The last chapter of *Orḥot Ẓaddikim* draws extensively on *Saadiah b. Joseph Gaon's concept of the desired harmony between the various ethical qualities in *Emunot ve-De'ot*. The influence of the ethical works of Maimonides is also marked and the author sometimes quotes whole passages verbatim. He also copied sections from *Ma'alot ha-Middot*, an ethical work by Jehiel b. Jekuthiel *Anav of Rome.

Despite the major influence that the above works had on the ideas, style, and structure of *Orḥot Ẓaddikim*, in its ethical outlook and approach the book follows the teachings of the Ḥasidei Ashkenaz, *Sefer Ḥasidim* and *Sefer ha-Roke'aḥ* by *Eleazar b. Judah of Worms, and is mainly interested in the practical and immediate meaning of the ethical qualities. Though the author also deals in generalizations and often divides every subject into sections and subsections, following the structure of medieval philosophical works, primary significance is given to practical behavior. The last chapter describes how a full religious life may be realized. This realization is not seen in the achievement of wisdom, or the unity with God through love, as is common in philosophical-ethical literature, but in the awe of and obedience to heaven, the supreme quality posited by the Ḥasidei Ashkenaz.

In the introduction, the author gives a theoretical and anthropological basis for his theory of ethics; the book is divided into *she'arim* (portals, i.e., sections), most of which are short, each devoted to a discussion of the ethical merits and demerits of a specific moral quality. The author apparently tried to arrange the chapters into pairs of contradictory qualities, but this was not followed through. Some of the major sections are devoted to pride, modesty, love (not exclusively the love of God, but all aspects of love in human life), hatred, compassion or mercy (*raḥamim*), cruelty, joy (including a long discussion on faith in God, to which, strangely enough, a special portal was not devoted). The author discusses the negative characteristics of non-religious joy, and extols the joy found in the love of God and obedience to him. Other sections treat worry, anger, envy, zeal and laziness, truth and falsehood, flattery, gossip, and repentance. (The section on repentance is the longest and most detailed section in the work.) The last two chapters are on the Bible and the study of Torah, discussing problems of religious knowledge and wisdom, and the awe of heaven, which, to the author, is the most important quality. Awe of heaven expresses itself in man's attitude toward God in everyday life.

Orḥot Ẓaddikim greatly influenced later Hebrew ethical works. The Hebrew moralists in Safed, though kabbalists and though there is no kabbalistic element in *Orḥot Ẓaddikim*, drew on its teachings. The work also influenced ethical writers of Eastern Europe. It is even possible that the manner in which the merits and demerits of every quality are enumerated influenced Moses Ḥayyim *Luzzatto in his *Mesillat Yesharim*.

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ORIA, small town near Brindisi in Apulia, S. Italy, formerly of great importance. The Jewish settlement probably went back to classical times, and Jewish sepulchral inscriptions have been found there. During the period of Byzantine rule, from the eighth century, the community was one of the most important in southern Italy, and a great deal is known about it because of the wealth of information contained in the chronicle of *Ahimaaz. This deals largely with the family of the synagogue poet Amittai of *Oria and his son *Shephatiah, who was inducted into practical mysticism in Oria by Aaron of *Baghdad. Shephatiah went on a mission to Constantinople in 873–74 to obtain the cancellation, at least so far as Oria was concerned, of the edict of conversion issued by the emperor Basil *I. In 925 the city was attacked by Arab marauders; some Jews were killed and many were enslaved, including the young

Shabbetai *Donnolo. Other attacks followed during the same century. The Jewish community remained important until the 15th century, but thereafter it declined. The Porta degli Ebrei ("Jew's Gate") still stands at the entrance of the Jewish quarter (now Piazza Donnolo).

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[Cecil Roth]

ORIENTALISTS. Orientalism is the study of the languages, history, and civilization of the peoples of Asia and, due to the expansion of *Islam, the northern parts of Africa. As Islam, almost from its beginning, widely influenced Jewish thought, Jewish religious and philosophical literature from the 8th century C.E. onward displays a more or less intimate knowledge of Islamic theology, philosophy, and even religious law, not to speak of the subtleties of Arabic language and literature, which did not fail to leave their mark on the corresponding Hebrew and Jewish scholarly productions. The works of men such as *Saadiah, *Judah Halevi, *Maimonides, Abraham *Ibn Ezra, *Baḥya ibn Paquda, Shem Tov b. Joseph *Falaquera, and many others on the above-mentioned subjects, as well as on biblical exegesis and Hebrew grammar and lexicography, were inconceivable without their knowledge, either receptive or polemical, of Arabic and Islam. *Ibn Kammuna even wrote a kind of history of the religions – Judaism, Christianity, and Islam – in which he betrays detailed knowledge of the internal controversies of Christianity and Islam respectively. Jewish scholars occupied themselves with comparative Semitic linguistics long before Christian scholars did. The translators of Arabic works by Jews and of an immense number of books by Muslim authors on Islamic and scientific subjects still await adequate evaluation as Orientalists. Noteworthy were the achievements of the Ibn *Tibbon family and Judah *Al-Ḥarizi. Apart from their own translations, Jews served as mediators between Arabic and Latin from the time that Christian scholars began to study Islamic science. The assessment of the Jewish share in these studies has been enormously facilitated by the bibliographical studies of Moritz *Steinschneider and later scholars, not only as a consequence of many newly discovered literary texts, but especially of the investigation of the thousands of documents of all kinds found in the Cairo *Genizah*.

Along with the rise of the "Wissenschaft des Judentums" in the last two centuries, an ever increasing number of Jews studied Orientalia at the universities not only as training for the rabbinate, but also as secular historians, philosophers, and philologists. The pioneers in this field were Abraham *Geiger, Moritz *Steinschneider, Simon *Eppenstein, Samuel *Poznanski, Solomon *Munk, Adolf *Neubauer, Leopold *Dukes, and Alexander *Harkavy. Among their followers were Joseph and Hartwig *Derenbourg, Wilhelm *Bacher, David *Kaufmann, Israel *Friedlaender, Samuel *Landauer, Z. *Fraenkel, Hartwig and Leo *Hirschfeld, Ignaz *Goldziher, Herman *Reckendorf, Jakob *Barth, Gotthold *Weil, Martin *Schreiner, Friedrich Kern, A.S. *Yahuda, Jacob *Mann, Daniel *Chwolson, Eugen *Mittwoch, Saul *Horovitz, Joseph *Horovitz, S.M. *Stern, Kurt Levy, Joseph *Halévi and Eduard *Glaser were among the pioneers of the search for South Arabian inscriptions. Unparalleled in his mastery of the whole field of Oriental studies was Giorgio Levi della Vida. J. Blau, C. Rabin, and M. Goshen-Gottstein all made important contributions to the study of Semitic languages. Julian Joel *Obermann III, Max Meyerhof, Immanuel *Loew, Paul *Kraus, Franz *Rosenthal, Georges *Vajda, Richard *Walzer and H. Kroner who edited many of the medical works of *Maimonides in their original Arabic, deserve special mention as historians of Arabic literature, philosophy, and sciences. The investigation of Islamic arts owes many of its most valuable achievements to Ernst *Herzfeld, Leo Ary *Mayer, and R. Ettinghausen. Bernard *Lewis, S.D. *Goitein, and H.Z. *Hirschberg excelled in the field of Islamic history, including that of Jewish communities in Islamic lands.

During the 19th century, when the deciphering of the hieroglyphs and the cuneiform scriptures enlarged the field of "Bible Lands," Jewish scholars also turned to these philologies. Morris *Jastrow and Heinrich Zimmern were among the leading Assyriologists, and the unrivaled master of this field was Benno *Landsberger. Other important contributions were made by Herman *Pick and Julius and Hildegard *Lewy.

Among the leading Egyptologists rank Georg Ebers, Georg Steindorff, Ludwig *Borchardt, A. *Ember, and H.J. *Polotsky, who also played an important part in the interpretation of the Coptic Manichaic texts discovered in Egypt. Knowledge of the Mandaic religious literature is due almost entirely to Mark *Lidzbarski, who also was the main cultivator of Semitic epigraphics. The investigation of the Ugaritic texts was greatly furthered by H.L. *Ginsberg and Umberto *Cassuto. Aramaic studies in general were cultivated by Alexander Sperber and E.Y. *Kutscher. Noted Iranists were James *Darmesteter, Isidor *Scheftelowitz, Alexander *Kohut, and Sir Marc Aurel *Stein. Gotthold *Weil and Uriel *Heyd excelled in Turkish philology and history. Some of the leading Indologists were G.S. *Oppert and Moritz *Winternitz. Far Eastern languages were studied by B. Laufer and Arthur *Waley. Israeli scholars who received the prestigious Israel Prize in Oriental studies were Joshua *Blau, linguist in Judeo-Arabic; David *Ayalon, historian of Mamluk society in Egypt; M.J. *Kister, historian of early Islam; Gabriel *Baer, historian of Egyptian society; Havah *Lazarus-Yafeh, philologist; Moshe *Piamenta, researcher of Arabic dialects; Shmuel *Moreh, researcher of Arabic literature; Sasson *Somekh, researcher of Arabic language and literature; and Jacob M. *Landau, political scientist researching the modern Middle East and Central Asia.

[Martin Meir Plessner]

ORIENTAL LITERATURE. In the vast area between Morocco and the Pacific, Jewish writers were mainly active in areas of Islamic culture; this survey is mainly concerned with the Middle East.

Writers in the Arab World

Few Jewish writers gained a place in the history of Arabic literature from the pre-Islamic period until modern times, yet the number of Jewish authors in the Islamic world greatly exceeds that mentioned by Arab historians. Jews gained fame mainly in the pre-Islamic period (the *Jāhiliyya*); during the period of Islamic rule in *Baghdad and *Spain; and in the 19th and 20th centuries. In the pre-Islamic period Jewish poets were prominent in *Arabia, notably the warrior-poet *Samuel ibn Adiyā, "The Faithful," and members of his family, and the Jewish poetess Sārā al-Qurayẓiyya, who was famous for her elegy over the dead of her tribe, which was betrayed by its Arab allies. After the rise of *Islam, because of the animosity between *Muḥammad and the Jewish communities and tribes of his day, Jewish poets and writers – with the notable exception of *Marḥab al-Yahūdī, the Arabian warrior poet – ceased to be mentioned, although Arabic-speaking Jews are known to have been prominent in science. It was only during the period of Islamic rule in Spain that Jewish writers reappeared in the accounts of Arab historians. Outstanding among these was the Spanish poet *Ibrāhīm ibn Sahl. Jewish scientists who wrote in Arabic gained fame at this time in Spain, North Africa, and Baghdad. Jews rarely distinguished themselves in Arabic poetry of the period, since they did not usually show great interest in the study of Arabic grammar, literature, and rhetoric. Blau (*The Emergence and Linguistic Background of Judaeo-Arabic*, 1965) has shown that Jews shunned Arabic poetry because of the difficulties involved in the study of Arabic literature and language, and mostly preferred to compose Hebrew verse. Muslim historians explain the emergence of Ibn Sahl and his fellow Jewish poets by claiming that Spanish Jews began to study Arabic grammar and literature. In the 19th and 20th centuries Jews were active in Arabic culture. Many won praise from their Muslim colleagues and some were considered by Arab literary historians to be leading pioneers of modern Arabic literature. The cultural and social revival of Arabic-speaking Jewry resulted from a number of factors. These include growing commercial prosperity, the equality in civil rights granted to ethnic minorities in the Ottoman Empire, and the competition between the European powers to gain a political and economic foothold in the region. Other factors were the demand for a multilingual intelligentsia and an efficient governmental administration, the awakening of East European Jewry and its interest in the Jewish communities of the East, the opening of Jewish schools by the *Alliance Israélite Universelle, and the intensification of Zionist activity. With the termination of Ottoman rule in the Arab lands, the establishment of the French and British mandates and the institution of Arabic as the official language of the newly emergent Arab states brought about a revolutionary revival of Arabic. Active Jewish participation in the revival of Arabic literature during the second half of the 19th century was spurred by the wish to safeguard Jewish rights in the Arabic-speaking countries. In fact, the use of literary Arabic by Jews in the 19th century was confined mainly to the lands of the Fertile Crescent. Jews actually lagged behind other religious minorities in these countries, notably the Christians, who had adopted Arabic for liturgical and literary purposes in the 18th century. In North Africa, *Yemen, and *Aden, Jews preferred to use either Hebrew and their own *Judeo-Arabic dialect, or else the language of the ruling power. The prevailing attitude of Jewish writers in the Muslim countries toward Arabic was therefore utilitarian and didactic. Jews were also activated by apologetic considerations, defending the position of their people and religion against false accusations. With the rise of *Zionism, the level of Jewish-Arabic cultural life was greatly enhanced. Zionism brought new vitality to the Jewish communities of the Arab lands, developing their national pride, sense of security, and consciousness of progress. Jewish writers began to demand an improvement of existing educational facilities and the furtherance of, and an increased respect for, their national uniqueness and autonomy. These trends were supported by the British and French mandatory administrations, which favored the autonomy of national and religious minorities in the area. It is thus not surprising that most of the Arabic-Jewish press was usually pro-Zionist. Any survey of Jewish literary activity in Muslim lands during the 19th–20th centuries faces a number of serious handicaps. The most serious of these are: (1) the fact that Arab writers mainly overlooked their Jewish colleagues; (2) the lack of any systematic collection of Jewish literary works in Arabic, mainly due to the low regard in which the Jews themselves held the study of Arabic language and literature (in many Jewish schools Hebrew and foreign languages entirely replaced Arabic in the curriculum); and (3) the immense difficulty involved in obtaining the necessary source material as a result of the Middle East conflict. Jewish writers were first attracted to the theater and journalism, since the former offered virtually unlimited scope for education, and the latter scope for apologetics, despite the danger of clashes with government authorites and other pressure groups.

PLAYWRIGHTS. The theater was a most effective mass medium for the purpose of education, enlightenment, and social criticism, since its aim could easily be concealed behind the camouflage of entertainment. Among the first Jewish journalists and writers to enter the field was the versatile Yaʿqūb *Ṣanūʿ, known also as Abu Naẓẓāra ("The Bespectacled"). An outstanding pioneer actor, stage producer, playwright, and journalist, he established his first theater in one of *Cairo's large cafés. Sanuʿ was much influenced by Molière, Sheridan, and Goldoni, but his Arabic operettas were more to the taste of his public, which preferred lighter entertainment. One of the first stage producers in the Arab countries to employ actresses, he wrote 32 plays (mainly short comedies) and translated many others. Ṣanūʿ's criticism of the khedive Ismāʿīl and his ministers in the Egyptian paper *Abū Naẓẓāra Zarqā'* ("The

Man with the Blue Spectacles") led to the closing down of his paper and his self-exile to France in 1878. While the Arab national theater flourished in Egypt, enjoying government support and the visits of Syrian and Lebanese stage companies, the Jewish theater was mainly confined to amateur activity in Jewish schools. Nevertheless, premiers, ministers of education, and even the khedive Ismāʿīl and King Fayṣal I of Iraq attended its performances. Jewish amateur theater also flourished in *Lebanon. The plays of Salīm Zakī Kūhīn, the son of Rabbi Zakī Kūhīn of *Beirut, were staged in 1894–95. In *Iraq, the Jewish schools of Baghdad and the Baghdad Jewish Literary Association promoted Arabic-Jewish theater. Original works by Jewish playwrights were also staged. In Egypt Raḥamīm Kūhīn wrote and translated many plays performed on the stage during the 1930s. His *al-Malik Dāʾūd* ("King David") was published in the Cairo Arabic-Jewish weekly *al-Shams* ("The Sun") in 1944.

JEWISH RELIGIOUS LITERATURE IN ARABIC. With the rise of the Zionist movement, Arabic-speaking Jewry experienced a cultural revival. This led both to the establishment of new Hebrew periodicals and publishing houses and to the intensive translation into Arabic of Hebrew books, including many religious works. Selections of the Babylonian Talmud were translated into Arabic under an English title by Shimon Joseph Moyal (*The Talmud, Its Origins and Its Morals*, 1909) and Hillel *Farḥi published Hebrew-Arabic liturgical works, including the high holiday *maḥzor*, prayer books, and Passover *Haggadot*. Farḥi also wrote religious tales in both languages. The *Karaite scholar Murād *Faraj published an Arabic commentary on the Pentateuch and other works, including translations of Proverbs and Job. Such activity encouraged the compilation of Hebrew-Arabic lexicons, notably the Hebrew–Arabic dictionary of Murād Faraj (1925), the Hebrew–Arabic–English dictionary of Hillel Farḥi, and the pocket Hebrew–Arabic dictionary of Nissim Mallul.

NOVELISTS AND PROSE WRITERS. Very few Jewish writers in the Islamic world produced original novels, although many engaged in the translation of novels from various European languages. Outstanding in this field was Esther Azharī *Moyal, who translated nearly a dozen novels by European writers. With the exception of Najīb Ashaʿyā, who wrote in Egypt, all the Jewish writers of Arabic novels were Iraqis who immigrated to Israel during the 1950s. Ezra Menasheh ʿAbid, an editor, wrote the novel *al-ʿĀlam al-Saʿīd* ("The Happy World," c. 1952); and Ezra *Ḥaddad, who translated from English and Hebrew, wrote *Fuṣūl min al-Kitāb al-Muqaddas bi-Uslūb Qaṣasī* ("Chapters from the Holy Bible in Narrative Form," 1947). The outstanding Jewish novelist in Arabic was Ibrāhīm Mūsā Ibrāhīm, whose works include *Asmahān* (1961) and who joined the editorial staff of the Mapam Arabic paper *al-Mirṣād*. Greater distinction was gained in the field of the short story. Saʿd Litto Malkī, an Egyptian pioneer of the genre, published some of his work in *al-Shams*. His first collection of short stories, *Yarāi al-Awwal* ("My First Pen," 1936), contained one piece about Egyptian Jewish life, on antisemitism in Muslim schools. The Jewish role in this genre was more significant in Iraq, where the Arabic short story was virtually created by the Jews. Those who published fiction of this type include Meer Baṣrī; Yaʿqūb Bilbūl, who was author of *al-Jamra al-Ūlā* ("The First Ember," 1937); Shalom Darwīsh; and the versatile Anwar Shaul, whose works called for social reform. Shimon (Balāṣ) Ballas (1930–), who eventually switched to Hebrew, published the novel *Ha-Maʿbarah* ("The Transit Camp," 1964) and a collection of short stories, *Mul ha-Ḥomah* ("Opposite the Wall," 1969). Esperance Cohen (1930–) published stories in the semiofficial paper *al-Anbāʾ* and in the Histadrut daily *al-Yawm*, later joining the editorial boards of the Histadrut journals. Most of these writers immigrated to Israel in the 1950s, two exceptions being Meer Baṣrī and Anwar Shaul, both anti-Zionists and Iraqi nationalists.

Poets. Modern Arabic poetry by Jews is again an almost exclusively Iraqi preserve. However, there were two notable exceptions to this rule – the Egyptian Karaite Murād Faraj and the Palestinian ʿAbdallah Nadīm Moyal. The latter belonged to a distinguished Sephardi family which settled in Ereẓ Israel. Moyal mainly wrote love poems, his lyrical collection *Ḥanīn al-Nadīm* ("The Yearning of Nadīm," 1934) being published in Beirut. At one stage of his career Moyal wrote narrative verse, producing a poetic biography of *Maimonides. Iraqi Jews have played an important part in the development of modern Arabic poetry. In style, form, and idea they have tended to follow the Christian Lebanese poets active in the North American Lebanese diaspora. Those Iraqi Jewish poets of note include Anwar Shaul, Murād *Mīkhāʾīl, Yaʿqūb Bilbūl, Abraham *Obadya, Salīm Shaʿshūʿ, Shalom Katav, Shmuel *Moreh, Benjamin Aaron Zakkay, David Semah, and Sasson *Somekh. Bilbūl's highly introverted poems, which bear the imprint of French writing, include a sonnet collection, and Shalom Katav (1931–) wrote prose poems collected in *Mawākib al-Ḥirmān* ("The Convoys of Frustration," 1949) and *Washwashāt al-Fajr* ("Dawn's Whispering," 1958). David Semah's leftist verse appeared first in Iraqi and later in Israel periodicals. The first part of his collection *Ḥattā Yajīʾu al-Rabīʿ* ("Till Spring Comes," 1959) contained tender love poems, while the second expressed the author's support for the Algerian war of liberation against the French and the 1959 anti-royalist coup in Iraq. Sasson Somekh (1933–), another leftist poet, also began his career as poet and translator in the Iraqi press, later writing for the Israeli Communist monthly *al-Jadīd*. Like most of these Iraqi poets who had settled in Israel, Somekh eventually wrote mainly in Hebrew.

Jewish Writers in Other Oriental Cultures

Though technically part of the Islamic world, some Jewish writers actually belonged to separate cultural traditions. Thus the Tunisian author *Ryvel, who wrote sensitive tales about his life in the Tunisian *ḥara* (ghetto), chose French as his literary medium. This was also true of the Tunisian-born French novelist Albert *Memmi, the Egyptian-born novelist Élian-J. Finbert, and the Egyptian-born poet Édmond Jabès. Elsewhere in the Near East, Jews contributed to Turkish literature, notably the poetess Matilde Alçeh, the poet Jozef Ḥabib *Gerez, and the poets Ibrahim Nom and Robert Sezer. Further to the east, Jewish writers made their appearance in India, one of the earliest being Sarmad the Jew, a 17th-century poet of Hyderabad, who converted to Islam. Indian Jews of Baghdadi origin wrote in Hebrew, Arabic, or English, only Bene-Israel authors using native languages, such as Marathi. Most of the works by Bene Israel writers were liturgical, historical, or didactic; but a few produced original works of fiction. These include Bahais Joseph Talker's short novel *Gul ani Sanobar* ("Gul and Sanobar," 1867), the first of its kind in Marathi, and *Jagha che Chamatkar* ("Wonders of the World," 1869); Moses Daniel Talker's novels *Bago-Bahar* ("A Beautiful Garden," 1869) and *Premal Shushila* ("Lovely Sushila," 1872) and his Hindi play *Chhel Batao Mohana Rani* ("Stage Your Play, Mohana Rani," 1872); and S.R. Bunderker's drama *Ayushache Chitre* ("Life Picture," 1956). Other Indian authors were the prolific poet and prose writer Benjamin Samson Ashtamker, who wrote over 30 works from 1868 onward; the Baghdadi novelist Judah Aaron; and the Baghdadi poet Nissim Ezekiel, who was also a journalist. In the Far East, Chinese verse on Jewish themes was composed by three members of the *Kaifeng-Fu community during the 17th century – Ai-Shih-Tê, Chao Ying-Tou, and Shên Chu'üan.

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[Shmuel Moreh]

°**ORIGEN** (c. 184–c. 254 C.E.), Christian biblical critic, exegete, and homilist. Origen was a contemporary of Judah ha-Nasi in Roman Palestine. In his native Christian Alexandrian home, Origen learnt the Psalms in Hebrew and studied Greek and Bible. His father's martyrdom in 202 led Origen to become a teacher first in Alexandria and, after his expulsion by Bishop Demetrius in 213, in Caesarea Maritima. Having encountered personally the Jewish teachers of his time, Jewish customs, and Jewish relations with non-Jews, he interspersed his works with knowledge about Judaism, including non-rabbinic Judaism. As was customary for scholars then, he traveled to Greece, Asia, Syria, Rome, and Arabia to lecture, debate, and study. Famous and at the height of his activities, he was among other Christians imprisoned and tortured under Decius (249–51 C.E.). Set free at the emperor's death, Origen died soon after from the consequences of the ordeal.

Of this very fertile author's works only a fraction has survived. Its greater part is extant as Rufinus' and Jerome's Latin renditions often adapted to the Latin mind, its smaller part survived in Greek catena. The existing material belongs to two groups, thematic reflections and biblical studies. Of the thematic works, *On Principles* in four books belongs to Origen's early Alexandrian period. It speculates about God and the heavenly beings, man and the material world, free-will and its consequences, and Holy Scripture. The composition indicates detailed knowledge of Jewish observances, such as phylacteries and the Passover search for leaven, and also of some detailed halakhic rules. In a few cases it supplements the *halakhot* preserved in the Mishnah, as in regard to the *eruv* and to carrying on the Sabbath. Best known of the biblical studies, all composed during Origen's final 20 years, is the *Hexapla*, setting the Hebrew Bible in six columns: Hebrew, in Hebrew and Greek characters, followed by the Greek versions of Aquila, Symmachus, the Septuagint, and Theodotion. For some books there exist supplementary versions, called fifth, sixth, seventh. Comparing the Greek versions meticulously with the Hebrew, Origen marked additions and lacunae in the Greek with graphic symbols borrowed from the Alexandrian grammarians.

Of his commentaries to almost every book of the Bible, substantial remnants are extant for those on the Psalms, Song of Solomon, John, Matthew, and Romans. Some 279 homilies, mostly on the Hebrew Bible, have survived. Both these genres demonstrate Origen's close attention to the work of the Greek literary critics and of Hellenistic religious traditions. Origen occasionally rebukes Jewish literalism but also defends Jews against abuse. His distinction of three senses of scripture anticipated the Jewish distinction of four senses; in this regard, Jews borrowed from Christians rather than the reverse.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: The works of Origen have been published in the GCS collection (*Die Griechischen Christlichen Schriftsteller*) of various authors in 12 vols. (1899–1983), 4 additional vols. are in preparation. English translations include ANF (*Ante-Nicene Fathers*), vols. 4, 6, 9. STUDIES: N. de Lange, *Origen and the Jews. Studies in Jewish-Christian Relations in Third-Century Palestine* (1976); C.P. Bammel, "Adam in Origen," in: R. Williams (ed.), *The Making of Orthodoxy. Essays in Honour of Henry Chadwick* (1989); H. Crouzel, *Origen* (1989).

[Petra Heldt (2nd ed.)]

ORIHUELA, city in Valencia, E. Spain. When it was captured during the Christian Reconquest by Alfonso X of Castile, the Jew, Jacob ibn Dino, was taken captive by a Christian knight. Abraham ibn Baḥya collected the taxes in Orihuela and nearby Elche between 1381 and 1384. The Jews in Orihuela were evidently baptized during the persecutions of 1391. The movement led by Inés, "the Maiden of *Herrera," in 1500 found adherents among the *Conversos in Orihuela.

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[Haim Beinart]

ORLAH (Heb. עָרְלָה; "uncircumcised"), tenth tractate in the order *Zera'im* in the Mishnah, Tosefta, and Jerusalem Talmud. It deals with the law prohibiting the fruit of trees during the first three years after their planting (Lev. 19:23–25). The subject matter of *orlah* being scanty, the tractate includes in its discussions the laws concerning the admixture of many other forbidden products.

The tractate has three chapters. Chapter 1 deals with intention affecting the application of the law; the kind of trees subject to the law; when a tree counts as replanted; if an unidentifiable *orlah* tree grows among other trees; edible parts of a tree not counting as fruit; and the planting or grafting of *orlah* shoots. Chapter 2 discusses the effect on produce of an admixture of *orlah, terumah*, etc., both as regards eating and uncleanness. Chapter 3 deals with garments dyed with the shells of *orlah* fruit; when threads of such dyed fabric are woven into a garment; the effect on ovens and food if *orlah* shells are used for fuel; difference between Ereẓ Israel, Syria, and other lands with regard to doubtful *orlah*. Mishnah 2:4 is an early one, apparently predating Shammai since he disagrees about its interpretation (*ibid.* 5), and 2:12 contains a comment by Joezer Ish ha-Birah, who lived during the period of the Second Temple. In the Tosefta *Orlah* consists of a single chapter which corresponds to *mishnayot* 1:1–5, and 3:1, 3, 5, 9. Nevertheless, the *mishnayot* 1:7, 13–15; 2:6; and 3:8 are complemented by Tosefta *Terumot* 5:9–10; 6:5–11; and 8:3, 15ff. Despite this, 17 *mishnayot* in *Orlah* remain without corresponding Tosefta (1:6–8; 2:2–6, 8–12, 17; 3:2, 4, 6). The Jerusalem Talmud deals only with the halakhic aspect of *orlah*. It contains no aggadic material. It was translated into English by H. Danby, in his *The Mishnah* (1933).

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[David Joseph Bornstein]

ORLAND, HERSHL (1896–1946), Soviet Yiddish writer. Born near Kiev, Orland moved to the city at the age of 22, and began his literary career with the publication of his first short stories, on the life of workers, in the Kiev newspaper, *Komunistishe Fon*. He was a dedicated Communist writer, whose narrative talent was fully appreciated. He wholeheartedly immersed himself in the reconstruction of the socio-economic framework of Jewish life, the main theme of his work. Orland also co-edited Yiddish periodicals, notably the Kiev journal, *Sovetishe Literatur*. When the Jewish *Anti-Fascist Committee was founded, Orland was one of its writers. His books include the novels *Hreblies* ("Dikes," 1929), and *Aglomerat* ("Agglomerate," 1935), both dealing with Sovietization of the shtetl population. While *Dikes* portrays the melioration of Polesie, Ukraine, *Agglomerate* is set in the Crimean industrial center of Kerch.

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[Israel M. Biderman / Gennady Estraikh (2nd ed.)]

ORLAND, YAAKOV (1914–2002), Hebrew writer. Born in the Ukraine, Orland was taken to Ereẓ Israel in 1921. In 1933 he began publishing poems, critical articles, and translations from English, German, and Yiddish. Several of his plays, both original and translations, were performed in Israel's theaters, including *Hershele Ostropoler* (1966). He also wrote lyrics for songs and was an editor of the periodicals *Ashmoret* and *Sifrut Ẓe'irah*. His books of poetry include *Ilan ba-Ru'aḥ* (1939), *Shirim al Ayit ve-al Yonah* (1946), and *Shirim me-Ereẓ Uẓ* (1963). He translated works by Byron, Oscar Wilde, Edgar Allan Poe, A.A. Milne, George Bernard Shaw, John Galsworthy, Erich Maria Remarque, and I. Manger. Orland served as chairman of the Hebrew Writers Association and was awarded the Alterman Prize for poetry as well as the Israel Prize for lyrics. A volume of selected works (*Mivḥar Ketavim*) was published in 1997 with an essay by Dan Miron. Several of his poems have appeared in English translation (for a complete list see Goell, Bibliography, index).

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[Getzel Kressel]

ORLANDO (and the **Central Florida** area). Drawn by cotton and cattle in the 1850s–1860s, some Jews came to Orlando with other pioneers to this "old west" style town. Records show that after the Civil War there were about 16 Jewish families. A Jew, Jacob Raphael Cohen, bought a store in 1873, and in 1875 he helped write the city charter and was elected an alderman. Merchant A.H. Birnbaum was a member of Orlando's first fire department and was elected alderman in 1886. In the beginning the Sanford Jewish community was larger than Orlando's. Jews arrived in Sanford by 1892. Kanner Highway (Route 76) in Martin County was named for Abram Otto "A.O." Kanner, son of Charles and Pauline of Sanford, who arrived from Romania. A.O. was born in 1893 in Sanford, attended Stetson University Law School, and then had a 40-year political career in Florida.

The citrus industry played a significant role in the development of central Florida. Dr. Philip Phillips arrived in Orlando in 1897 to buy land for citrus groves; his empire grew to over 5,000 acres, and in 1954 the business was sold to Minute Maid. Pauline and Nat Berman settled in 1908. Active civically and Jewishly, Pauline had her own radio show and was the nation's first woman radio news commentator. The Benedict, Phillips, Kanner, Salomon, and Berman families comprised the Jewish community of Orlando from 1900 until the Pittsburgh migration in 1912 (Wittenstein, Shader, Meitin, Levy, and Levine families). By 1915 other families settled and religious services were held in a citrus grove. Prior to the entry of the U.S. into World War I, a parade and rally drew every organization in the city as participants. After it was publicly noted that no Jewish group was present, Pauline Berman gathered the community at the home of Harry Kanner and spoke out that Orlando Jewry needed to organize a congregation. On August 30, 1918, Congregation Ohev Shalom was chartered and a church was purchased at the corner of Terry and Central Avenues; the dues were $1.00 per month. In 1926 B'nai B'rith was chartered and a cemetery opened in 1928. Prior to this, Jews were taken to Jacksonville (1857) or Tampa (1894) for burial. Jewish families from Paterson, New Jersey, and other northeastern cities, as well as other Florida cities, came to Orlando. Jews formed their own social and recreational clubs since they were denied memberships in others.

Harry and Minerva Nirenberg moved in 1937 with children Joan and Marshall because Marshall had rheumatic fever. Harry bought a dairy, was active at Ohev Shalom, and then was a founder of Congregation of Liberal Judaism. When he was a youngster, Marshall collected bugs from the swamp and sent specimens to a museum. He graduated from Orlando High School in 1944 and the University of Florida four years later. In 1968 Dr. Marshall Warren *Nirenberg received the Nobel Prize in medicine and physiology for being the first to discover a code equivalence between a nucleic acid component and an amino acid.

Some families who settled in the 1930s and 1940s were fruit and vegetable growers and buyers. Well-known citrus labels were: Select-O-Sweet, Lady in Red, Richfruit, Emerald Fruit, Moto-Cop, MEG and Babijuice. Albertson, Heller, Jacob, Meitin, Shader, Morrell, Bornstein, Echelman, Willner, Arost, Miller, and Zimmerman were among the Jewish people who grew, packed, and shipped fruit nationwide over the second half of the 20th century. In 1940 Orlando became the air capital of the armed forces, which brought more Jewish families to the area. Many who were stationed or received training there returned to make their homes in the central Florida area. After twice escaping from Siberian concentration camps during World War I, George Terry arrived at Ellis Island in 1920 with $40. The advent of World War II brought him to Florida, where he bought 70,000 acres in southeast Orange County to raise cattle.

After World War II, Orlando experienced a population boom. The Martin Company moved there in 1956 to manufacture missiles for Cape Canaveral. Martin employed hundreds of Jews in many occupations and at every level and has been a major supplier of defense systems to Israel. Housing was needed, which brought more Jews as builders and developers. By 1960 the population had doubled. New organizations were formed to address the needs of the larger Jewish community (Hadassah in 1948; Jewish Community Council in 1949; Congregation of Liberal Judaism in 1950; Temple Israel in 1954; and Women's American ORT in 1964). Jews entertained in their homes because "everyone knew everyone else" and assumed roles in the business, civic and cultural life of the city.

Supercalifragilisticexpialidocious: When Disney World opened in October 1971, the Central Florida area was changed forever. Orlando has become a "crossroads" of the state, with industry diversification and a distribution and service hub. Tourism and the hotel industry took giant leaps, and Jewish professionals, business people and service people – young and old – have made the Jewish community diverse and dynamic. Orlando is the #1 vacation capital and many visitors stay on to become residents. This was the greatest period of growth – from 4,000 Jews in 1971 to approximately 35,000 Jews in Central Florida in 2005. Agencies created include Kinneret (senior housing) in 1968 and 1979, Jewish Community Center in 1973, Hebrew Day School in 1976, Jewish Family Services in 1978, and Holocaust Memorial Resource and Education Center in 1981. The Jewish campus grew from one room in an old house on the original JCC property in 1973 to a 53,000 square foot facility in Maitland that also houses the Jewish Federation, Hebrew Day School, and Holocaust Center. *HERITAGE Central Florida Jewish News* was started in 1976, by Gene Starn "to provide a Jewish 'ta'am' so that the community will know what is going on in Jewish life, both here at home and worldwide." In 1982 Starn sold the paper to Jeff Gaeser who continued as the editor. In 2005 there were eight constituent agencies of the Federation: Central Florida Hillel, Jewish Pavilion (providing services to Jews in nursing homes), and TOP Jewish Foundation (in addition to those already mentioned). In the Central Florida area there were three Orthodox congregations, five Conservative, seven Reform, and two Reconstructionist. There were Judaic Studies Programs at University of Central Florida and Rollins College, Chevra Kadisha, Florida Kosher Services, Hadassah, ORT, Israel Bonds, Jewish National Fund and Jewish War Veterans. The Central Florida area was thriving Jewishly, with strong expansion in the southern part of town.

[Marcia Jo Zerivitz (2nd ed.)]

ORLÉANS, town in France, S. of Paris. A Jewish community was established in Orléans before 585. During that year, the Jews of Orléans participated in the welcome which was given to King Gontran and appealed to him to be allowed to rebuild the synagogue, which had previously been destroyed. The community may well have existed earlier, for the second, third, and fourth Councils of Orléans, held in 533, 538, and 541 respectively, had already passed legislation concerning the Jews. During the tenth century, an apostate Orléans Jew, Gautier (Walterius), owned houses in the town. At the beginning of the 11th century, the Jewish community, then quite numerous, was accused of having established relations with Caliph El Ḥakim in order to instigate persecutions of Christians in Jerusalem. The ensuing general persecution of the French Jews struck first in Orléans, from which Jews were expelled for several years. The importance of the Orléans Jewish community is again attested when in 1171 it attempted to succor the *Blois Jewish community at the time of the blood libel. After the expulsion of Jews from the French kingdom in 1182, the synagogue of Orléans was transformed into the St. Sauveur Chapel. The community was reconstituted after Jews were permitted to return to France in 1198; among the Jewish notables imprisoned in the Châtelet of Paris in 1204 were two from Orléans. The Jewish cemetery of Orléans was also used by the small surrounding communities.

The large taxes paid by the Jews of Orléans point to the numerical and economic importance of the community (although the customers for their loans were essentially drawn from among the common people), as well as to the size of the Jewish quarter (Grande Juiverie during the 13th century) and its numerous institutions, especially its two synagogues. After the expulsion of 1306, a new, smaller, community was formed between 1315 and 1322 (or 1323) and again in 1359. As a result of the complaints of the Christian inhabitants, the Jews were confined to a narrow quarter. As was the case in several other cities, notably Paris, the Jews of Orléans were the victims of a popular uprising in February 1382, later crushed by King *Charles VI. It was, however, this same king who in 1394 refused to prolong the residence of Jews in France, thus ending the medieval Jewish community of Orléans. Early in its history Orléans became an important center of Jewish learning. Isaac b. Menahem, second half of the 11th century, was cited by *Rashi for his talmudic commentaries and was also known as a legal authority. The hymnologist Meir b. Isaac, late 11th century, was, most probably, his son; the latter's son was the biblical commentator Eleazar b. Meir b. Isaac. The most renowned scholar of Orléans was Joseph b. Isaac *Bekhor-Shor. After 1171 the tosafist *Jacob of Orléans emigrated to London, where he became one of the victims of the massacre of 1189. A Jewish community was again established at the beginning of the 19th century; it possessed a small synagogue and, by the close of the century, had about 40 members.

Contemporary Period

In 1971 there were about 500 Jews in Orléans with a synagogue-community center. In May 1969, the Jewish owners of fashion shops in Orléans suddenly found themselves in the midst of a turmoil of strange gossip, which claimed that Christian women who had been trying on dresses had been drugged and spirited away to exotic brothels. The police had absolutely no knowledge of the alleged kidnapping of any female citizen in Orléans, and yet the rumor spread like wildfire that they had been abducted from six shops, all of which were owned by Jews. Schoolgirls were warned by their teachers not to enter the suspect places and husbands would not allow their wives to go into such shops unaccompanied. The rumor persisted for several weeks, dying out only when a full-scale campaign was organized by the national press, and after conferences held by leading personalities both within and outside of Orléans.

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[Bernhard Blumenkranz]

ORLEV, URI (1931–), Israeli writer. Orlev was born in Warsaw and spent the first years of World War II in the Warsaw Ghetto. After his mother was killed by the Nazis, he and his younger brother were smuggled out of the ghetto. For a while, they lived in hiding and in 1943 were sent to Bergen-Belsen where they were liberated by American soldiers. When he finally came to Israel, Orlev lived for a while in a kibbutz, before he was reunited in 1954 with his father, who had been captured on the Russian front. Until 1976, Orlev wrote prose for adults. *Ḥayalei Oferet* (1956; *The Lead Soldiers*, 1979) is an autobiographical novel, telling the story of Yorik and his younger brother against the backdrop of the Holocaust in Warsaw. Orlev's worldwide reputation rests, however, on his books for young readers, and he is one of the first authors who confronted the Holocaust in books for children, avoiding sentimentality and kitsch and always maintaining high literary quality (for instance, *The Island on Bird Street*, 1981; English translation, 1984; *Run, Boy, Run*, 2001; English translation, 2003). *Aḥ Boger* ("Big Brother," 1983) is the story of ten-year-old Yossi whose father is killed in the war, while *Shirat ha-Livyatanim* (1997; "The Song of the Whales," French translation 2003) recounts the special bond between a grandfather and his grandson. Author of novels and stories for children, which have been translated into many languages, Orlev received the prestigious Hans Christian Andersen Award (1996). In 2002, he was awarded the Zeev Prize in Israel for his life's work. Information concerning translations is available at the ITHL website at www.ithl.org.il.

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[Anat Feinberg (2nd ed.)]

ORLIK, EMIL (1870–1932), German painter and graphic designer. Orlik was born in Prague, son of a highly assimilated German Jewish family, and baptized in his youth. He studied in Munich and traveled widely in three continents. From 1903 until his death he was a teacher at the Arts and Crafts Academy in Berlin. Though he made numerous paintings, he was primarily a master draftsman and an accomplished printmaker, who excelled in woodcuts, etchings, and lithographs. Orlik was particularly successful in his portraits of celebrated contemporaries. Orlik is also known as graphic artist and stage designer. Furthermore, because of his East Asia and Japan journeys in 1900/01 and in 1912, he paved the way for the modern color woodcut in Germany. A prolific and indefatigable worker, he left hundreds of prints and thousands of drawings. After his death, the *Kunstverein* in Cologne honored him with a memorial exhibition, despite the fact that the Nazi era had already begun. Orlik's estate might have been destroyed had not his brother-in-law, a banker of

Prague, managed to transfer the works to Czechoslovakia, where they were hidden in a house in the woods near Prague for many years. His better-known graphic works are collected in *95 Koepfe von Orlik* (1920), *Handzeichnungen* (1924), and *Kleine Aufsaetze* (1924).

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[Alfred Werner / Jihan Radjai-Ordoubadi (2nd ed.)]

ORLIKOW, DAVID (1918–1998), Canadian pharmacist, politician, labor activist. Orlikow was born in Winnipeg to Louis Orlikow, founder of the "firmly anti-communist, democratic socialist group" Arbeiter Ring, and Sarah Cherniack. In 1941 he graduated in pharmacy from the University of Manitoba but his passion was for progressive politics. At age 16, David was a guest speaker at a youth group meeting against war and fascism. In 1946 he was hired as Western Canada Secretary of the Jewish Labour Committee of Canada and later served as national director, working to expose racial discrimination. He was also a member and local president of the Officer Employees International Union, secretary of the Manitoba Labour Committee for Human Rights and board member of the John Howard & Elizabeth Fry Society which worked to aid those in prisons.

For 43 unbroken years Orlikow also held electoral office. He was a Winnipeg School trustee (1945–50), Winnipeg alderman (1951–58), CCF/NDP member of the Manitoba Legislature (1958–62), and, finally, for 26 years, the NDP member of the House of Commons for Winnipeg North (1962–88). When he died all parties in the House paid Orlikow tribute, but it fell to Deborah Grey of the Official Opposition (Conservative Alliance) to praise him for "faithfulness to his political roots … in the eastern European tradition."

Orlikow said that both his Jewishness and political views came from his early education at Winnipeg's Yiddish Arbeiter Ring school which rejected Orthodoxy and inspired his "lifelong bent toward the secular humanism of the left." His background was "non-Zionist," but the Holocaust compelled him "to do some rethinking." He came to support Israel as a "place of refuge" for Jews denied a home but he was more comfortable when Israel's leadership "was vested in people … grounded in European socialism." Jews in Canada, he hoped, would help build a progressive and welcoming society. He expressed great hope for Canadian multiculturalism.

[Abraham Arnold (2nd ed.)]

ORLINSKY, HARRY MEYER (1908–1992), U.S. biblical scholar and philologist. Orlinsky was born in Owen Sound, Ontario, Canada and went to the U.S. in 1931, later becoming a fellow at Dropsie College (1931–35) and Johns Hopkins University (1936–41). He was professor of Bible at the Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion in New York City from 1943, chairman of the Society for Biblical Literature (president 1969–70), and chairman of the American Friends of the Israel Exploration Society from 1954.

Orlinsky was co-translator of a five-volume English translation of Rashi's commentary on the Pentateuch, 1949–50; the only Jewish consultant of the Protestant Revised Standard Version (Old Testament, 1952); and editor of the *Library of Biblical Studies* published by Ktav Publishing House. He was editor in chief of the Jewish Publication Society's new translation of the Pentateuch (1962), to which he wrote a companion volume, *Notes on the New Translation of the Torah* (1969). His other works include *Ancient Israel* (1954; 1969^9) and *The So-called "Servant of the Lord" and "Suffering Servant" in Second Isaiah 53* (1964), in which he argues that a servant of YHWH, originally innocent of sin and who dies for the punishment of others, is unknown in Jewish thought until the first century. His textual studies of the scrolls from the Judean Desert argue that the St. Mark's Isaiah Scroll (1QIsaa) was copied from memory and is not to be given independent value.

[Zev Garber]

ORLOFF, CHANA (1888–1968), French sculptor. Born in Staro-Konstantinov, Ukraine, Orloff left her native country at the age of 16 for Palestine, but six years later moved to Paris where she remained. She studied at the Ecole des Arts Décoratifs, and her work was exhibited, for the first time, at the Salon d'Automne of 1910. *Modigliani made a portrait of her in 1912. Chana Orloff visited the United States in 1929 and 1938 and exhibited there at the Marie Sterner Gallery, New York, and at the School of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. She managed to survive in France during the Nazi occupation although her studio was raided and most of her works there were stolen or destroyed. After the war, she paid several visits to Israel where she made two public monuments: a bronze statue in Ramat Gan depicting the struggle of the Jewish underground and a stone group in Ein Gev. In 1961, the museums in Tel Aviv, Jerusalem, Haifa, and En-Harod honored her with a retrospective exhibition, covering 50 years.

She made many portraits in bronze of well-known contemporaries, such as David Ben-Gurion, Sholem Asch, Shmarya Levin, the actress Hanna Rovina, and the painter Reuven Rubin. She also carved subjects in wood. These include female nudes, mothers with children, men and women sitting or standing, and a variety of birds. Though a contemporary of the cubists, she did not eliminate realistic detail. Her work was realistic and heavily stylized. A mild swing toward abstraction was noticeable in the bronzes she did in the 1950s and 1960s. She could be tenderly lyrical, but also very ironic, especially in her portrait busts. She created for herself an entirely individual mode of expression.

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[Alfred Werner]

ORMANDY, EUGENE (1899–1985), conductor. Born in Budapest and a child prodigy, Ormandy studied the violin with Hubay and became a teacher at the Budapest Academy, later playing as first violinist with the Bluethner Orchestra in Berlin. After touring in the United States in 1921, he settled there and in 1924 began a career as conductor in New York. After conducting the New York Philharmonic and Minneapolis orchestras, among others, he became first the associate conductor of the Philadelphia Orchestra (with Leopold Stokowski; 1936–1938) and then its permanent conductor, raising it to the status of one of the major orchestras of the world. He retired in August 1980 after 44 years as its musical director, but was appointed conductor laureate. He specialized in 19th-century and modern music, and always conducted from memory.

ORMIAN, ḤAYYIM (1901–1982), educationalist. Ormian was born in Galicia, where he received both a religious and a secular education and was active in the Jewish youth movement. He studied psychology and education at Vienna University and Jewish studies at the Vienna Hebrew Paedagogium, then under the directorship of H.P. Chajes. From 1925 he taught child psychology at the Free Polish University in Lodz. In 1936 he immigrated to Ereẓ Israel, where until 1950 he taught at the Hebrew University Secondary School, at the Teachers' Training College in Beit ha-Kerem, and for some years at the Hebrew University. He was a founder of the psychological clinic at Hadassah Hospital, Jerusalem, and the Israel Psychology Association. He represented Israel at international psychological and pedagogical conferences and was a member of the committee on psychological terminology of the Academy of the Hebrew Language. From the 1950s he was editor of the *Enẓiklopedya Ḥinnukhit* (together with M. Buber). He was awarded the Israel Prize for education in 1971.

ORMÓDY, BERTALAN (1836–1869), Hungarian poet and journalist. One of the first Jewish poets in Hungary, Ormódy wrote patriotic verse and, unlike many Jewish authors of the time, described his fellow Jews in a realistic and sympathetic manner. His works include *Magyar Romanzero* ("Hungarian Romances," 1859) and *Magyar hon ébredése* ("The Awakening of the Hungarian Homeland," 1860).

ORNEST, OTA (**O. Ohrenstein**; 1913–2002), Czech theater director and translator. Ornest was born in Kutná Hora, Bohemia. During World War II, he worked in the Czech section of the BBC, London. On his return to Prague, 1945, he became director of Realistické divadlo ("Realistic Theater"), and from 1950 was simultaneously in charge of three theaters in Prague, the Komorní divadlo ("Chamber Theater"), Divadlo Komedie, and Divadlo ABC. He was also lecturer on theater production at the Academy of Arts, and translated many plays from English. After 1968 Ornest ran afoul of the Communist regime and he was even imprisoned in 1977–78. Ornest's brother, the poet, Jiří *Orten, was killed by the Germans at the beginning of World War II.

ORNITZ, SAMUEL BADISCH (1890–1957), U.S. author. Born in New York City, Ornitz was a social worker from 1908 to 1920, and was also employed by the New York Prison Association. In 1919 he wrote a one-act play, *The Sock*, under a pseudonym, but his name became familiar with the success of his novel *Haunch, Paunch, and Jowl* (1923), one of the best-known works produced by the left-wing "proletarian" literary movement in the United States. Its anti-hero, Meyer Hirsch, is an an East Sider who rises from poverty to become a shady lawyer, crooked politician, and corrupt judge. Ornitz, a professed atheist, saw no virtues in Jewish immigrant life and wished to end Jewish isolation by a policy of outright assimilation. He defied Jewish opinion with his violently hostile portrayals of Jewish types, notably the money-chasing "allrightniks" detested by contemporary leftists and antisemites. Ornitz also depicted the Jewish immigrant generation of the 1880–1914 era in other novels. His books include *Round the World with Jocko the Great* (1925), *A Yankee Passional* (1927), and *Bride of the Sabbath* (1951). In later life Ornitz went to Hollywood, where he wrote scripts for motion pictures.

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[Milton Henry Hindus]

ORNSTEIN, ABRAHAM FREDERICK (1836–1895), London-born pioneer minister in Australia and South Africa. (His surname is sometimes spelled "Ornstien.") After serving the Melbourne Hebrew congregation (1866–75) and being principal of Aria College for training Jewish ministers in Portsmouth, England, Ornstein went to Cape Town in 1882 and headed the congregation there for 13 years. He was particularly interested in education. His efforts to establish a Jewish public school in Cape Town did not meet with enough support, so in 1884 he started a private "Collegiate School" for Jewish boys, which provided both Jewish and general education. Its boarding house also accepted girls from other schools in town. Ornstein ran the school successfully. It closed down after his death. Despite his abilities and sense of dedication, his ministry was marred by a number of controversies resulting from his somewhat inflexible personality, and especially from the clash between his "English" outlook and that of the Eastern European immigrants who were arriving at the Cape in increasing numbers.

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[Lewis Sowden]

ORNSTEIN, JACOB MESHULLAM BEN MORDECAI ZE'EV (1775–1839), Galician rabbi and halakhist, son of Mordecai Ze'ev b. Moses *Ornstein. Ornstein, as a young man, married the daughter of Ẓevi Hirsch Wahl of Jaroslaw, who contributed greatly toward his material needs. After Wahl's death Ornstein was proposed as his successor, but because of the violent conflict that the suggestion aroused, he refused to accept the appointment. In 1801 he moved to Zolkiew, where he was appointed rabbi of the town and district. In 1805 he was appointed rabbi of Lemberg (Lvov) and remained there until his death. During his lifetime the Haskalah movement began to spread in Galicia. On the other hand, the ḥasidic movement also gained strength as a result of the establishment of new ḥasidic centers. Although Ornstein, who found himself at the center of these two opposing trends, did not incline to Ḥasidism and was regarded as a *Mitnagged*, he was at the same time opposed to the Haskalah movement and conducted a resolute campaign against it. He was supported in this struggle by his only son, Mordecai Ze'ev, an extremist who was regarded as the driving force in the war against the *maskilim*. Ornstein distrusted the circle of *maskilim* that was formed in Lemberg around Solomon Judah *Rapoport which included N. Krochmal, I. Erter, F. Mieses, and M. Letteris. As a result of the mounting tension between the two sides caused by Rapoport's sharp criticism of Ornstein's *Yeshu'ot Ya'akov* (see below), a ban of excommunication against Rapoport and the leaders of the *maskilim* in Lemberg was issued in 1816. It has been assumed that Ornstein's son Mordecai Ze'ev was its author but that it had his father's approval. The text of the ban refers to the "sins" of the *maskilim* in studying German and studying the Bible with Mendelssohn's commentary. The *maskilim* who ridiculed Ornstein by referring to him as "the Great Inquisitor of Galicia" translated the ban into German and complained to the government that it was illegal, since it had been forbidden to issue such bans in Austria from the time of Emperor Joseph II. As a result Ornstein was compelled publicly to rescind the ban. Rapoport and the *maskilim* reacted to Ornstein's persecution with scathing articles and satires.

Ornstein was regarded as one of the great halakhists of his era, but his main fame rests on his *Yeshu'ot Ya'akov*, novellae and talmudic disquisitions on the whole of the Shulḥan Arukh (OḤ, Zolkiew (1828); YD, *ibid.* (1809); EH, *ibid.* (1809–10)). The four parts of the work, with additions from the author's manuscript and the glosses of his grandson Ẓevi Hirsch, were published in Lemberg (1863). The work is divided into a long and a short commentary; in the latter he merely gives explanations of the Shulḥan Arukh, but in the former he summarizes the views and arguments of the *posekim* while resolving the difficulties of the different novellae by casuistic arguments. Ornstein also wrote, under the same title (which he also used for his Bible commentary), responsa on the four parts of the Shulḥan Arukh (Pietrkov, 1906). Among the questioners and respondents mentioned in it are Moses Sofer (YD, 33; EH, 2) and Aryeh Leib *Horowitz (EH, 20, 26, 29, 30). Ornstein's commentary on the Pentateuch was published in 1907.

His son MORDECAI ZE'EV refused to accept a rabbinical post for many years. He finally accepted an invitation from the Przemysl community to become its rabbi, but died in 1837, before he was able to take up his post. His responsa and novellae are to be found in his father's *Yeshu'ot Ya'akov*.

Mordecai Ze'ev's son, ẒEVI HIRSCH, was appointed *av bet din* of Brest-Litovsk, and remained there until 1874, when he had to leave by order of the Russian government on the grounds that he was a foreign national. He was then appointed *av bet din* of Rzeszow. On the death of Joseph Saul *Nathanson in Lemberg, Ẓevi Hirsch was appointed to succeed him and remained there until his death in 1888. Apart from being an outstanding talmudist he also had a wide general education. He treated the *maskilim* and progressives tolerantly and succeeded in attracting them. On the other hand, he was disliked by the Ḥasidim. At the great rabbinical convention of 1882 in Lemberg, he opposed the demands of the extremists (instigated by Simeon Sofer of Cracow) to confirm the text of a statute that would rescind the right of anyone to be elected to the committee of the community if he transgressed the laws of the Shulḥan Arukh, and as a result the proposed statute was rejected. He attempted to explain to Orthodox circles in 1884 that since the Austrian government was about to introduce compulsory general education, it was desirable to organize religious schools. Because of the extremist opposition to any change in the method of the *ḥeder* and its organization, however, the previous educational structure remained in force. Some of his novellae and responsa were published in the second edition of *Yeshu'ot Ya'akov* on the Shulḥan Arukh. After his death, his son-in-law Aryeh Leib Broda published a collection of his responsa under the title *Birkat ReẒe-H* (Lemberg, 1889; Jerusalem, 1965^{2}), together with his own additions and glosses, *Milḥamot Aryeh*, and containing his responsa from the years 1864–79.

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[Josef Horovitz]

ORNSTEIN, LEO (1892–2002), composer. Born in Kremenchug, Russia, Ornstein emigrated to the United States in 1907. He was a piano prodigy, giving recitals of modern music, including his own compositions with colorful titles, which impressed audiences and critics as extreme examples of "futuristic" music. After a period of notoriety, he withdrew from the concert stage without ever having been recorded. He taught in Philadelphia until his retirement in the 1950s but continued to compose until 1990. His stylistically eclectic compositions, characterized by wild rhythms and jarring shifts in tonality, include piano works, chamber music, songs, and orchestral works.

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[Jerold C. Frakes (2nd ed.)]

ORNSTEIN, LEONARD SALOMON (1880–1941), Dutch Zionist and physicist. Born in Nÿmegen, Ornstein became in 1915 professor of mathematical physics and in 1925 of experimental physics at Utrecht University and in 1921 director of the Utrecht Physical Laboratory. In 1929 he was made a member of the Netherlands Academy of Sciences, and in 1939 a knight in the Order of the Netherlands Lion. He was for several years a member and in 1918–1922 chairman of the Executive of the Netherlands Zionist Organization. During the same period he was also a member of the Zionist General Council. From 1925 to 1940 Ornstein was a member of the Board of Governors of the Hebrew University, and in 1933 the first chairman of *Youth Aliyah in Holland.

[Henriette Boas]

ORNSTEIN, MORDECAI ZE'EV BEN MOSES (d. 1787), Polish rabbi and kabbalist. His father, Moses b. Joske (d. 1764), known as "Rabbi Moses b. Rabbi Joskes," was a member of the community council of Zolkiew. Previously rabbi of Satinov, Kamenka, and Yampol, Podolia, Ornstein was appointed rabbi of Lvov in succession to Solomon b. Moses of Chelm, the author of *Mirkevet ha-Mishneh* (Frankfurt on the Oder, 1851), who moved to Ereẓ Israel. According to Ornstein's tombstone, he had been appointed rabbi of Fuerth just before he died (1787). Ornstein applied himself to the study of Kabbalah and was close in spirit to Ḥasidism, and so was referred to as "the kabbalist and Ḥasid." He is reputed to have studied for a while under Rabbi Dov Baer of Mezhirech. He was known in Lemberg as "The Great Rabbi Mordecai Ze'ev" to distinguish him from his grandson, Mordecai Ze'ev Ornstein. Ornstein did not publish any halakhic works, but his novellae are quoted by his descendants. He gave approbations to many of the works of his contemporaries, and he is referred to in terms of the greatest reverence. Of his sons, the best known are Jacob Meshullam *Ornstein, author of *Yeshu'ot Ya'akov* (1828), and Moses Joshua Hoeschel, rabbi of Taringrad and author of *Yam ha-Talmud* (Lemberg, 1825). Two of his sons-in-law are well known, Aaron ha-Levi Ittinga (the first) and Dov Berish Halperin of Berzan (Brezhany). For over a century, except for a brief gap, all the incumbents of the rabbinate of Lvov were his descendants.

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[Itzhak Alfassi]

OROBIO DE CASTRO, ISAAC (**Balthazar**; 1620–1687), philosopher and physician, born in Braganza, Portugal, of Marrano parentage. After studying medicine and philosophy in Alcalá de Henares, Orobio became a leading physician and professor of medicine in Seville and professor of metaphysics at Salamanca. In Alcalá he was the student of the Carmelites and the Franciscans. He was subsequently arrested by the Inquisition and charged with secretly practicing Judaism. Orobio was incarcerated for three years, tortured, and finally confessed. Upon his release, he fled to France, where he became professor of pharmacy at Toulouse. In 1662 he moved to Amsterdam where he joined the Jewish community, changed his name to Isaac, and practiced medicine. During the 17th century he was one of many Conversos who returned to Judaism in communities which were mainly established by such people. Orobio, who soon became one of the leading intellectual figures among the Spanish and Portuguese refugees, wrote poetry and philosophical treatises in defense of Judaism.

Orobio experienced a variety of religious and cultural encounters before he joined the Amsterdam Portuguese Jewish community. In Braganza he lived in fear of the Inquisition. From Portugal his family moved to Andalusia where he learned to live a double life. In Spain he moved from one place to another in search of a safe haven. In France he was able to reveal his Jewish identity and decided to move to Amsterdam.

His first important work consists of letters against the rationalistic defense of Judaism in answer to Alonso de Cepeda of Brussels. Among his best-known works is *Certamen philosophicum propugnatae veritatis divinae ac naturalis* (1684), a rationalistic and scholastic attempt to refute the philosophy of *Spinoza, and like Spinoza's *Ethics* written in a series of theorems. The work was also published in Fénelon's *Refutation des erreurs de Benoît de Spinosa* (1731). Orobio became acquainted with the Dutch Protestant liberal preacher, Philip van Limborch, in Amsterdam, who, impressed by Orobio's accounts of how the Spanish Inquisition functioned, used them as the chief case history in his Latin history of the Inquisition. Limborch, however, was disturbed by Orobio's anti-Christian arguments. They held a debate in the presence of John Locke which was published in 1687 (*Pauli a Limborch de Veritate Religionis Christianae, amica collatio cum erudito Judaeo*) along with the first issue of Uriel da *Costa's autobiography. Locke wrote a long review of the debate for the *Bibliothéque universelle* (vol. 7). Orobio's major anti-Christian work is *Prevenciones divinas contra la vana idolatria de las Gentes*; portions of this were published by Baron d'Holbach in French, as part of his anti-religious campaign, under the title *Israel vengé* (London, 1770). A greatly toned-down version, translated by Grace *Aguilar, was printed in English in 1842 as *Israel Defended*.

Most of Orobio's works were not published but circulated in manuscript among the European Jewish communities. The largest collection exists in the Biblioteek Ets Ḥayyim in Amsterdam; others are in the Rosenthaliana collection in Amsterdam, in Paris, London, Oxford, and New York. An acute metaphysician, Orobio de Castro utilized materials from the Spanish scholastics of the 16th and 17th centuries to defend Judaism against freethinkers like Juan de *Prado and Spinoza, against orthodox Christians, and against religious liberals like

Limborch. Certain of Orobio's arguments against Christian theology are very close to some of Spinoza's against the plurality of substance. He made interesting efforts to provide a philosophical justification for Judaism in 17th-century terms, and, in contrast to Spinoza, to show the compatibility of reason with the traditional faith.

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[Richard H. Popkin / Yom Tov Assis (2nd ed.)]

°**OROSIUS, PAULUS** (b. c. 385), Christian author of *Historiarum adversum paganos libri septem* ("Seven Books of Histories Against the Pagans"), a history of the world from the Creation to 417, written at the suggestion of St. Augustine as a supplement to the latter's *De civitate Dei* (book 3). It attempted to prove that the Roman Empire had suffered as many calamities before the rise of Christianity as it did afterward.

Among details concerning the Jews which he mentions are the reasons given by Pompeius Trogus and Tacitus for the expulsion of the Jews from Egypt; the establishment of a sizable Jewish community in Hyrcania near the Caspian Sea in the fourth century B.C.E.; the capture of Jerusalem by Pompey; the plundering of the Temple by Crassus Licinius; the embassy to Caligula led by Philo; the relief of a famine (of Christians, surprisingly) in Jerusalem by Helena, queen of Adiabene (who, according to Orosius, was a Christian convert); the expulsion of the Jews from Rome by Claudius; the Jewish revolt against the Romans in 66–73 (Orosius, in common with Sulpicius Severus and in opposition to Josephus, claims that Titus gave the order to set fire to the Temple); Domitian's persecution of the Jews; the Jewish revolt against Trajan (important for confirming and supplementing Eusebius' account and now verified by inscriptions and papyri); the Bar Kokhba rebellion (in connection with which it is stated that the Jews tortured the Christians because they would not join the revolt); and the suppression of a Jewish, Samaritan, and Adiabenian revolt by Septimius Severus. Orosius' aim is essentially apologetic and his work is superficial and fragmentary. It is heavily indebted to others, especially Livy, Pompeius Trogus, Josephus, Tacitus, Eusebius, and Eutropius. His history is of limited value, except for contemporaneous events or where, as in the case of a large part of Livy, his sources are lost.

The following are the English translations of his writings: I.W. Raymond, *Seven Books of History against the Pagans* (1936); R.J. Deferrari, *Seven Books of History against the Pagans* (1964).

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[Louis Harry Feldman]

OROT (Heb. אורות; "Lights"), moshav in southern Israel near Kiryat Malakhi, affiliated with Tenu'at ha-Moshavim. Founded in 1952 by members of Ha-Ikkar ha-Oved Organization from the United States, the moshav cultivated irrigated field and garden crops and dairy cattle, but many liquidated their farms and the moshav was one of the many riddled with unmanageable debts in the inflationary 1980s. In 1970 it had 240 inhabitants, growing to 420 in 2002.

[Efraim Orni / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

ORPAH (Heb. עָרְפָּה), Moabite woman. Elimelech and Naomi, driven by famine from Beth-Lehem in Judah, settled in Moab. After Elimelech's death, their two sons, Mahlon and *Chilion, married Orpah and *Ruth. After her two sons died, Naomi set out for home and tried to persuade her daughters-in-law to remain behind in Moab, their native land. Orpah obeyed, while Ruth insisted on accompanying her mother-in-law (Ruth 1:4–14).

[Nahum M. Sarna]

In the Aggadah

Orpah was a daughter of Eglon, king of Moab (Ruth R. 2:9). She was called Orpah because she turned her back (*oref,* "nape of the neck") on her mother-in-law (Ruth R. 2:9). She is identified with Harafu, the mother of four Philistinian giants of whom Goliath was one (II Sam. 21:18). They were vouchsafed to her because she shed four tears for Naomi, but all of them were slain by David (Sotah 42b). Goliath's punishment was delayed for 40 days (I Sam. 17:16), as a reward for Orpah's accompanying Naomi on the way for 40 paces (Ruth R. 2:20).

Orpah was killed by David's general, Abishai, when she attempted to prevent him from reaching her son Ishbibenob (Sanh. 95a).

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ORPAZ AVERBUCH, YITZHAK (1923–), Israeli writer. Orpaz was born in Zinkov, in the former Soviet Union. At the age of 17 he reached Ereẓ Israel and joined a group called Yas'ur in the settlement of Magdiel. In 1942 he learned about the death of his parents and sister in the Holocaust, and he then joined the British army in Europe. Upon his return to Ereẓ Israel in 1946, he worked as a diamond polisher and shortly thereafter took part as an artillery officer in the War of Independence (1948). His literary career began in 1949, when he had his first story published in the military journal *Ba-Maḥaneh*. In order to read his story on the radio he was asked, typically for that time, to change his last Diaspora-sounding name – Averbuch – to the Hebrew one, Orpaz.

Orpaz studied philosophy and Hebrew literature at Tel Aviv University, and after serving 13 years in the Israeli Army, he became a night editor in the *Al ha-Mishmar* daily newspaper. His first collection of stories, *Isbei Pere* (Wild Grass), appeared in 1959 and may be considered as the nucleus for his novel, *Or be'ad Or* (1962). During these years his writing was naïve, influenced by the Socialist Realism genre.

In 1964 he published his novella *Mot Lisanda* ("The Death of Lysanda"), a dramatic political shift from the naïve style to symbolic writing. In the article "*Impresiyya al ha-Sippur ha-Nisyoni*" (1965; "Impression on the Experimental Story"), Orpaz underlines three major features: breaking away from narrative continuity, narrative naiveté and moral message. The stories *Ẓed ha-Ẓeviyah* (1966), the *Mot Lysanda*, *Nemalim* ("Ants," 1963), *Madregah Ẓarah* (1972), and the stories of *Ir she-Ein ba Mistor* (1973) reflect these features. The novel *Masa Daniel* ("Daniel's Trials," 1969), set against the Six-Day-War, links materialistic reality and historical, social relevance. *Bayit le-Adam Eḥad* (1975) turns to the form of an autobiographical, confessional journal. Orpaz gives an intimate testimony, interweaving personal trauma – the death of his nephew in the Yom Kippur War – and the national one. "For me the Yom Kippur War was a shock and a catalyst mixed together," Orpaz maintains. The author goes back to the world of Jewish symbols and to Yiddish, his mother tongue. Consequently, in 1982 Orpaz added his former surname to the Hebrew one. By doing so he underlined his Jewish identity. At 56, Orpaz left Israel for the first time. His encounter with the Diaspora, a world lost forever, is reflected in the stories of *Reḥov ha-Tomojna* (1979), which describes a journey to a mythical childhood in a miraculous street. The novels *Bayit le-Adam Eḥad*, *Ha-Gevirah* (1983) and *Ha-Elem* (1984) constitute the Tel Aviv trilogy (*Maḥzor Ataliyah*), in which Orpaz highlights the tensions between Israeli and Jewish identity.

The novel *Ha-Kalah ha-Nitẓḥit* ("Eternal Bride," 1987) highlights mystical elements from the Jewish world. Orpaz confronts Judaism with Christianity throughout history, expressing his longing for the Jewish world. In the 1990s Orpaz went back to look at Israeli reality. The collections *Ahavot Ketanot, Terufim Ketanim* (1992), and *Laylah be-Santa Poalina* (1997) reflect this tendency.

Orpaz published a book of poems, *Liẓlo'aḥ et ha-Me'ah* ("Cruising the Century," 1983), and a philosophical essay, *Ha-Ẓalyan ha-Ḥiloni* (1982), which constitutes the spiritual, poetic infrastructure of his writing. Orpaz's heroes are religious pilgrims who go on a secular journey, yearning for existential values.

Orpaz was awarded the Bialik Prize (1986), the Prime Minister's Award (2004), and the Israel Prize (2005). Many of his stories and novels have been translated into various languages. These include *The Death of Lysanda* (1970), and translations into French of *The Eternal Bride* (1991) and *A Narrow Stair* (1993).

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[Kochava Petal Benyamin (2nd ed.)]

ORPHAN, ORPHANAGE.

Treatment of Orphans

Communal concern for orphaned children has deep roots in Jewish tradition, and numerous biblical commandments stress the importance of providing for them. Along with the widow (*almanah*), resident alien (*ger*), and Levite (*Levi*), orphans are to be protected and treated with justice and compassion (Deut. 16:11 and 14; 24:19–21; 26:12–13). Psalm 68:6 describes God as a "father of the fatherless."

Rabbinic Judaism reinforced the individual and communal obligation to meet the needs of orphans. "Whoever brings up an orphan in his home," Sanhedrin 19b states, "it is as though he had begotten him." According to Ketubbot 50a, a man who brings up an orphan boy or orphan girl in his house and enables them to marry, is performing righteousness at all times. The rabbis considered the community responsible for supporting impoverished orphans, including educating them and preparing them for marriage.

Maimonides summed up biblical and rabbinic discussions regarding the treatment of orphans in the *Mishneh Torah* (De'ot 6:10), specifying the need for sensitivity and courtesy: "Whoever irritates them, provokes them to anger, pains them, tyrannizes over them, or causes them loss of money, is guilty of a transgression …. If a teacher punishes orphan children in order to teach them Torah or a trade, or lead them in the right way – this is permissible. And yet he should not treat them like others, but make a distinction in their favor. He should guide them gently, with the utmost tenderness and courtesy…."

In Jewish Law

The meaning of the word *yatom* ("orphan"), as found in the traditional literature, varies in accordance with the context. In terms of the social treatment of the orphan, no distinction is made as to whether the child has been orphaned of father or mother (Yad, De'ot 6:10). If, however, reference is being made to the special privileges accorded the orphan by the civil code, then only the fatherless child is meant (Resp. Mahayashdam, nos. 196, 454).

The Talmud shows great concern for the claims of minor children to support from their father's estate. The rabbis recognized no legal differences between children of "privileged" or "secondary" wives, and extended protection even to a man's proven illegitimate offspring (see *Maintenance, *Parent and Child, **Yuḥasin*). They also extended the legal protection of orphan girls by seeing to it that each *ketubbah* should specifically pledge the bridegroom's estate for the support of his surviving minor daughters (*ketubbat benan nokevan*), and, in the absence of his pledge, by construing the omission as an error. Ultimately, the right of female orphans to support came to overshadow the claims of all other heirs, and, if need be, the entire estate was used for this purpose (M. Ket. 4:11; 13:3; TJ Git. 5:3–4; and commentaries; see *Succession.).

In the case of impoverished orphan children whose father left little or no property, the Talmud holds the community responsible for their support, for marrying them off, and for providing them with the means to live economically independent lives. Communal funds were to be used to rent and furnish a house for a young man, and to fit out a girl with clothing and a minimum dowry. If the communal funds were low, the orphan girl was given priority over the boy. If the community chest could afford to do so, the provisions provided for the orphan were made in accordance with his social position and the former manner of life to which he had been accustomed (M. Ket. 6:5 and TB Ket. 67b).

In the case of a man who died without appointing a guardian for his minor children, the court must do so (*Mishneh Torah*, Nahalot 10:5; *cf.* BK 37a). For more particulars see *Apotropos. Minor orphans and their property are exempt from the ordinary laws of overreaching (*ona'ah*; Sh. Ar., ḤM 109:4–5), usury (*ribbit de-Rabbanan*; YD 160:18), the seventh-year recession of debts (prosbul; ḤM 67:28), and communal taxation for the charity fund (*ẓedakah*), with specified exceptions (TB BB 8a and Sh. Ar., YD 248:3; for further particulars see *Taxation).

Whenever orphans of any age are involved in litigation regarding their father's property or transactions, judicial practice is to enter on their behalf all pleas and all arguments that their father could have entered (b. BB 23a; see *Pleas; *Practice and Procedure).

[Aaron Kirschenbaum]

Communal Care of Orphans

Orphan care was a major concern of all medieval European Jewish communities. Many Cairo *Genizah* letters express the anguish of destitute widows and their children who appealed for help to alleviate their distress. Orphaned children in this milieu were sheltered by relatives or, when this was not possible, by other families, especially those of teachers or cantors, and the community assumed responsibility for the education of such youngsters. Individuals were encouraged to marry off the orphaned daughter of a poor relative, and to provide dowries for poor brides, particularly orphans. Jewish philanthropists left large sums for this purpose. In Saragossa, Spain, the general charitable society for the poor, including orphaned girls, was known as *Hoce Hece* (probably a corruption of the Hebrew *osei ḥesed*). In Rome, during the 17th century, two societies supplied minimum dowries and trousseaus to needy brides. A wide ranging society, the *Hasi Betulot*, founded in 1613 (based in Venice, but extending to several other cities), and a similar one, based in Amsterdam and known as the *Dotar* (established in 1615), provided dowries and financial assistance to impoverished girls, including orphans.

The first Jewish orphanage is thought to have been established by members of the Spanish-Portuguese community in Amsterdam in 1648, and was administered by a society known as *Aby Yetomim* (Father of Orphans). Its founders may have been inspired by similar institutions under non-Jewish auspices. The Jewish orphans' home in Fuerth, established in 1763 with a donation from a private businessman, was the first of its kind in Germany. These institutions were part of the "extraordinary expansion of Jewish philanthropic societies in the eighteenth century," described by Salo Baron.

Jewish orphanages were founded in many European cities during the 19th century. In London, Jews' Hospital opened in 1807 to care for the aged Jewish poor and to provide education and industrial employment for youngsters, including orphans. An orphanage already served destitute children in the Sephardi community, and a society to care for orphaned Ashkenazi children, known as *Honen le-Yetonim*, existed from 1818. In 1831, the Orphan Asylum was established in response to needs arising from a severe cholera epidemic the year before. Children in the orphanage were educated, taught a trade, and apprenticed outside the institution. Eventually, Jews' Hospital and the Orphan Asylum merged to form the Jews' Hospital and Orphan Asylum, later known as the Norwood Home for Jewish Children. In Germany, the number of Jewish hospitals and orphanages increased significantly after the nation's unification in 1871. This trend was linked to the rationalization of philanthropy and development of the social work profession throughout Europe, as well as the influx of eastern European Jewish immigrants into Germany during these years. The growing number of Jewish orphanages, many with modernized buildings, joined the extensive network of German Jewish charitable organizations.

By the late 19th and early 20th centuries, many cities and towns in Poland, including Warsaw, Bialystok, Radom, Tarnow, Chelm, Lomza, and Brody, had at least one, and often several, Jewish orphanages. Children admitted to these asylums were either actual orphans or from impoverished families. The orphanages housed and fed their wards, educated them in general and Jewish subjects, and taught them trades. Following their discharge, youngsters were often apprenticed, sent to Jewish vocational schools, or continued their education in yeshivot or other schools

The number and size of East European Jewish child care institutions increased significantly during and following World War I in order to serve the large number of children orphaned during the war and in subsequent pogroms. An orphan home for boys was established in Warsaw in 1917, and another orphanage, *Ezrah ve-Haẓẓalah* (Help and Rescue), was founded in Stanislawow in 1919. These orphan homes were funded by private individuals (especially through bequests), donations, fundraising activities, grants from the municipal authorities and, in several cases, contributions from the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (JDC). Many Jewish orphanages continued to function into World War II. Probably the best known of that period was the one on Krochmalna Street in Warsaw. Dr. Janusz *Korczak, the famous Polish Jewish physician, educator, and writer, had directed that institution since 1912, while at the same time lecturing and publishing many books on child development and welfare. During the final deportation from the Warsaw Ghetto, in August 1942, he refused to abandon his children and led 200 of them on a dignified and poignant march to the train station, after which they were transported to Treblinka and murdered.

Jewish Orphanages in the United States

Societies for the care of orphaned Jewish children in the U.S. date back to the early 19th century. The Society for the Relief of Orphans and Children of Indigent Parents in Charleston, South Carolina, created in 1801, which maintained orphans in private homes (and later established an orphan asylum) was an important pioneer. In 1855, the first actual Jewish orphanages, the Jewish Foster Home of Philadelphia and the Association for the Relief of Jewish Widows and Orphans of New Orleans, were established.

Before the mid-19th century, most dependent children had been maintained through charity in their own homes, placement with other families, indenture, apprenticeship, or placement in public almshouses, along with adult poor. The decades following the Civil War witnessed campaigns in several states to remove children from the often unwholesome atmosphere of such almshouses. The number of American orphanages mushroomed in response to the needs of children orphaned by the Civil War and, later, to the hardships of impoverished, largely immigrant, families in America's crowded cities. Many Catholic and Jewish child care institutions were established in this era due to concerns that children housed in so-called non-sectarian institutions were subject to Protestant proselytizing. Jewish orphanages were founded in New York, Cleveland, San Francisco, Baltimore, Newark, New Jersey, Brooklyn, Rochester, New York, Atlanta, Boston, and Chicago, among other cities, part of a constantly expanding network of Jewish child care institutions (also including juvenile reformatories and foundling asylums). Some of the largest and most influential of these were the Hebrew Orphan Asylum of New York (1860), the Cleveland Jewish Orphan Asylum (1868), and the Hebrew Sheltering Guardian Society of New York (1879).

Jewish orphanages in the U.S. provided their wards with general and Jewish education, vocational training, and placement services ("after-care") once they left the orphanage. By 1900, according to estimates at the time, the majority of children served by these institutions were not full orphans, but rather half-orphans or the children of ill or destitute parents. While most Jewish orphanages had been founded by Central European Jews, initially to serve the poor of their own communities, they subsequently aided impoverished eastern European Jewish immigrants. However, such Jews in many cities also created their own child care institutions (such as the Hebrew National Jewish Orphan Asylum in New York, the Home for Hebrew Orphans in Brooklyn, the Orthodox Jewish Orphan Asylum in Cleveland, and the Marks Nathan Orphan Asylum in Chicago), which offered more traditional religious education and training. In the 19th century, larger Jewish institutions, like many other child care asylums of the time, tended to be highly regimented and impersonal; however, by the early years of the 20th century, many liberalized their policies due to the influence of a "new breed" of orphanage managers and in keeping with changing theories of child development.

Although foster care gradually superseded institutional care as the preferred means of providing for dependent children in the early 20th century, Jewish orphanages retained their vitality in many communities. Quite a few institutions reorganized themselves structurally so as to create more homelike environments for their wards. The so-called "cottage plan" (originating in France, Germany, and England) was first introduced in a Jewish institution in 1912 by the Hebrew Sheltering Guardian Society of New York, which became known as Pleasantville. This model, which grouped youngsters of mixed ages in small cottages on a rural property, was later adopted by Jewish orphanages in San Francisco, Los Angeles, and Cleveland as well. In the mid-1930s, according to one estimate, there were about 100 organizations serving approximately 10,000 dependent Jewish children (including, but not limited to, full and half orphans) in the U.S., either in institutions or foster homes. Some Jewish orphanages, such as the Cleveland Jewish Orphan Asylum, renamed Bellefaire in 1929, gradually focused more attention on youngsters with social, emotional, and behavioral problems, rather than orphans. By the 1940s, most American Jewish orphanages had closed their doors, and had been absorbed into city-wide Jewish Child Care Associations or similar agencies, which allocated children to various types of care, including group homes, foster care, and adoption.

Orphanages in the Yishuv and in Israel

The first Jewish orphanage in the *yishuv* was the Diskin Orphan Home in Jerusalem, founded in 1881 to assist those fleeing the pogroms in Russia. The Zion Orphanage (1900) and the General Israel Orphans' Home for Girls (1902) followed. Not all of the children in these institutions were orphans; some were placed there because their parents were temporarily unable to care for them.

During and following World War I, the need for orphan care increased dramatically due to war-time conditions, cholera and typhus outbreaks, as well as Arab riots during the 1920s. About 4,500 of the 20,000 children under 15 in the *yishuv* between 1918 and 1928 were orphaned of one or both parents, primarily as a result of the war. In 1918, there were three orphanages in Jerusalem (accommodating about 500 children), as well as the *Mikveh Israel agricultural training school near Tel Aviv (which housed Sephardi, Ashkenazi, and Yemenite orphans from abroad, and admitted 150 war orphans after the war). In 1919, The Palestine Orphan Committee was formed (at the initiative of American and British Zionists, but later including board members from the *yishuv* as well) to provide for the large numbers of children orphaned during the war. Although the committee, which functioned until 1928, initially favored home placement (through grants to mothers, relatives, and foster homes), it also established 12 small, short-lived institutions and two larger, more permanent institutions. Over 700 children were cared for in Jerusalem orphanages during the 1920s. Among these were the General Orphanage (a religious institution) and the WIZO (Women's International Zionist Organization) Baby Home for orphans and abandoned children. Another WIZO home for infants was founded in Tel Aviv in 1929, and the two housed over 250 infants during the 1930s. By 1945, there were 21 orphan homes in the country.

Emerging in the 1920s, and gaining strength in the 1930s and 1940s, was the Children's Village model, i.e., rural communities of children (many of whom were orphans and, increasingly, refugees from Europe) who lived together and learned agricultural skills. The first such village was Me'ir Shefeyah for orphan girls, founded near Zikhron Ya'akov in 1923. Another early, well known institution of this type was Ben Shemen, founded in 1925, which took in all 200 children from a model Jewish orphan home in Kovno, Lithuania. A third children's village was created in Haifa for 120 children arriving in 1934 from the Ahava Orphan Home in Berlin. During the 1930s, these youth villages served as the foundation of the remarkable *Youth Aliyah program, which rescued 16,167 youngsters from Europe by 1945, and assisted another 14,000 children in the immediate postwar period. Children who arrived in Palestine with their parents were cared for by the *yishuv*'s Social Work Department, while orphans and partial orphans were cared for by Youth Aliyah.

In the early years, many child welfare workers in the *yishuv*, particularly Henrietta *Szold, had favored home-based or foster care for orphaned children, However, by the early 1930s, institutional care emerged as the preferred method, generally for economic reasons; it was easier to raise funds for orphan homes than for family settings. Such institutions, influenced by European models and meshed with the collectivist orientation of Israeli society, appeared best suited to accommodate massive waves of immigrants, and were viewed as more stable environments for children than many home settings. In the 1980s, approximately 10,000 children under the age of 14 (including orphans as well as children with problematic family situations) lived in about 200 residential institutions in Israel.

The Role of Women

Women played a significant role in the history of Jewish orphanages, both as founders, managers, and supporters of orphanages, and as recipients of aid. Orphanage work was considered to be an appropriate sphere of activity for women, who served these institutions in both volunteer and professional capacities.

Women volunteers took active roles in fundraising for orphanages, and also provided children with food, clothing, and entertainment. In both Europe and the U.S., women founded and/or directed Jewish orphanages, although sometimes the original women directors were later replaced by men. This pattern was evident, for example, in the Jewish Foster Home of Philadelphia and the Hebrew Sheltering Guardian Society of New York. In Poland, several Jewish orphanages were administered by women's committees in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, including those in Czenstochowa, Wloclawek, and Biala-Podlaska. Orphanage work was in keeping with popular views of womanhood at the time, which legitimized women's involvement in charitable causes, particularly those assisting other women and children.

Women also worked as paid matrons, teachers, and other staff members in many Jewish orphanages. For example, Simha Peixotto, a prominent Jewish educator at the Hebrew Sunday School Society of Philadelphia, was also a beloved teacher in that city's Jewish Foster Home, where she taught Hebrew and prepared boys for bar mitzvah from 1863 to 1878. In addition, Bertha *Pappenheim, the well-known leader of the Jewish women's movement in Germany in the early 20th century, served as housemother of a Jewish orphanage for girls in Frankfurt from 1895 to 1907.

Finally, Jewish orphanages assisted large numbers of desperate mothers, and provided education and training for young girls who might not otherwise have had such opportunities. Most of the youngsters admitted to these institutions, at least in the U.S. in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, were half-orphans, especially the children of widowed or deserted mothers. In most child care institutions, boys and girls received training considered suitable for their sex, for example, woodworking and carpentry for boys, and sewing and embroidery for girls. However, by the early 20th century, orphanage directors, at least in the United States, attempted to provide all of their wards, male and female, with broader educational opportunities, based on their individual talents and abilities.

Contemporary Efforts

The greatest growth in Jewish group child care in recent years has probably been in the former Soviet Union, especially Ukraine, where orphanages funded by the JDC and religious groups (such as *Chabad, the Lubavitch organization) have been established to meet the needs of orphaned and destitute children. Concerned about the significant number of Jewish children housed in general orphanages in Ukraine (where they were subjected to terrible living conditions, abuse, and antisemitism), the JDC, for example, helped support the opening of a Jewish Children's Home in Odessa in 1996, which is currently sheltering more than 100 children.

Sources of Communal Support

In pre-modern times, the *kuppah* (Jewish community chest) supported orphans along with other impoverished people. Once institutions for the care of Jewish orphans were established, they received funding from many sources. These included: private donations (including bequests), membership dues (i.e., groups of individuals who supported particular institutions), grants or subsidies from the municipal authorities, specific fund-raising events and drives (e.g., "Purim Balls"), solicitations of funds from abroad, and pledges made in synagogues (especially during the Torah reading on specific holidays). In addition, individuals or local merchants often made donations of food, clothing, equipment and entertainment, and Jewish organizations, such as *B'nai B'rith, the *Joint Distribution Committee, or *ORT (Organization of Rehabilitation through Training) provided financial support. In some cases, these organizations played major roles in establishing the institutions; for example, the western division of the International Order of B'nai B'rith founded the Cleveland Jewish Orphan Asylum in 1868, and the *Bund (the General Union of Jewish Workers in Lithuania, Poland and Russia) founded a children's home in Chelm during World War I.

Standards of Care

Jewish child care institutions in all parts of the world were influenced by prevailing trends in child welfare in the larger society. However, there were also instances in which the Jewish institutions pioneered in certain areas and made important contributions to the child welfare field as a whole. In America, even in the 19th century, the era of the so-called "total institution," Jewish orphanages were known for progressive measures, such as the official prohibition against corporal punishment (before this became public policy in many states), quality medical care systems (including staff physicians, dental care, and accurate record-keeping), widespread advocacy of public school education for institutionalized youngsters, and sponsorship of "boarding out" and widows' pension programs.

[Reena Sigman Friedman (2nd ed.)]

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ORSHA, city in Vitebsk district, Belarus. Already in existence during the 16th century, the community of Orsha was subordinated to that of *Brest-Litovsk. In 1643 Isaiah Nahumowicz of Orsha was mentioned among the tax lessees of Lithuania. In the charter of privileges granted by King Jan II Casimir to the Jews (1649), Orsha is numbered among the large communities of the country. In 1765, 368 Jews in Orsha paid poll tax. There were 1,662 Jews in 1847 and 7,383 (56% of the total population) in 1897. Most of the town artisans were Jews. There were 4 Jewish schools, a *talmud torah*, and many *ḥadarim*. In October 1905 over 30 Jews in the town lost their lives in a pogrom. Although in 1910 there were 9,842 Jews in Orsha, the community began to decline under the Soviet regime. In 1926 there were 6,780 Jews (30% of the total population), and 7,992 (21.3% of the total population) in 1939. In the Soviet interwar period two Jewish elementary schools existed, but they were closed by the authorities in the mid-1930s. At that time 95% of Jewish artisans were organized in cooperatives. The Germans occupied Orsha on July 16, 1941. Many Jews succeeded in escaping to the East. A Judenrat was appointed, the main purpose of which was to collect tribute for the Germans. In September 1941 two ghettoes were organized, with about 2,000 people in each. On November 26, 1941, all Jews – some 5,000 (including from the environs) – were murdered in the Jewish cemetery. The Jewish population was estimated at about 1,000 in 1970, with most leaving in the 1990s.

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[Yehuda Slutsky]

ORSHANSKI, ILYA (Elijah) GRIGORYEVICH (1846–1875), journalist, jurist, and historian in Russia. Orshanski, who was born in Yekaterinoslav (now Dnepropetrovsk), received both a traditional Jewish and a general education. He completed law studies at the University of Odessa in 1868 and was subsequently offered a professorship there on condition that he embrace Christianity, a condition which he unhesitatingly rejected. Orshanski's first literary endeavors appeared in the Hebrew newspapers **Ha-Meliẓ* and **Ha-Karmel*. From 1869 to 1871 he served as assistant editor of the Russian-Jewish newspaper *Den*, which was closed down in 1871 by government decree because of an article Orshanski wrote on the pogroms in Odessa of that year. In his article he openly accused the government of responsibility for the pogroms and urged the Jews to demand legal satisfaction and compensation for injuries sustained.

Before the newspaper was closed down, Orshanski published in it a series of articles on the legal status of the Russian Jews and their economic and social condition. These essays, among others, were published in two volumes entitled *Yevrei v Rossii* ("The Jews in Russia," 1872, 1877²) and *Russkoye zakonodatelstvo o yevreyakh* ("Russian Legislation Affecting the Jews," 1877). Despite their contemporary propagandist objectives, these studies are among the most noteworthy contributions to the history of the Jews in Russia. When discussing the economic structure of the Jews in Russia, Orshanski was the first to refrain from indulging in the defense, apology, and criticism customarily leveled by authors of the Enlightenment (*Haskalah) at Russian Jewry. His impartial, scientific analysis clarified the economic foundations of Jewish life in Russia and enabled him to determine from a historical point of view the place of the Jew in the national economy, while his keen legal mind enabled him to examine the Russian legislation affecting Jews, to trace its origins and motivations, and to demonstrate its medieval character and spirit. His "Russian Legislation Affecting the Jews" not only contains a vast amount of legal information but is also a first attempt to describe systematically the historical development of Russian legislation.

Orshanski also wrote a comprehensive, if critical essay, "*Mysli o khasidizme*" ("Reflections on Ḥasidism," in his *Yevrei v Rossii* (1877^2), 311–46, and also in *Yevreyskaya Biblioteka*, vol. 1, 1871), examining the growth and development of Ḥasidism against the economic and social background of the Jews in Ukraine in the 18th century.

In the last years of his life, Orshanski devoted his time and his pen to research and writing on general Russian law. The resultant studies, published posthumously in three volumes, gained a high reputation in the field of Russian jurisprudence, and are still considered among the finest examples of Russian juridical literature of the time. Because of his failing health Orshanski went to Germany, where he spent several years before he returned to Russia in the spring of 1875.

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[Simha Katz]

ORSOVA (Rom. **Orşova**), town in Severin province, S.W. Romania; until 1918 part of Hungary. Since Orsova was a border town between Hungary and Romania, settlement of Jews was prohibited until the first half of the 19th century. After the prohibition was lifted, Jewish merchants and craftsmen, mainly from western Hungary, began to settle there. A community was founded in the old town in 1876, affiliated with the organization of Neologist communities. A synagogue was erected in 1878. The oldest tombstone in the Jewish cemetery dates from 1879. Between the world wars the community was prosperous, its members including merchants, craftsmen, physicians, and lawyers. This period saw the development of ramified Zionist activity. Activities were guided by the local rabbi, K. Löwenkopf, who held office from 1928 until 1945, when he emigrated to Palestine. In September 1942 Jewish property was confiscated by the Fascist regime, and many of the men were conscripted for forced labor, while others were expelled to *Transnistria. The Jewish population, 192 in 1930, fell to 135 in 1942 and 10 in 1947. By 1970 emigration to Israel and other places had reduced it to 20.

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[Yehouda Marton]

ORT (initials of Rus. **Obshestvo Remeslenofo zemledelcheskofo Truda**, originally meaning "The Society for Handicrafts and Agricultural Work"), organization for the promotion and development by vocational training of skilled trades and agriculture among Jews. It was initiated by a "private letter" sent out in April 1880 to the Jews of the towns of Russia. It was signed by S.S. *Poliakov, Baron Horace *Guenzberg, A.J. Zak, L.M. *Rosenthal, and M.F. Friedland, and concerned the permission granted by Czar Alexander II "to collect a fund for a philanthropic purpose…" The Jewish population in all parts of the country was called upon to contribute to the fund, which was intended "to support and develop the existing vocational schools for Jews, to help open new schools, to help the Jewish agricultural colonies, model farms, and agricultural schools." Response to the letter was widespread. A capital of 204,000 rubles was quickly collected. Over 25 years (1880–1905), ORT raised the sum of one million rubles. The interest from this sum and the dues paid by its wealthy members supported ORT in that period. The sum was lost in the 1917 Revolution. During this initial period ORT's legal status was uncertain. It was not until 1906 that it received regular legal authorization.

The 125-year history of ORT can be divided into five (principal) periods:

1880–1920

At first ORT functioned in Russia only, on a small scale. One of its aims in this period was to assist craftsmen by transferring them from the *Pale of Settlement to the Russian interior. The committee of ORT decided upon the establishment of small workshops for trades such as tailoring, shoemaking, or carpentry within a *talmud torah* or orphanage, or settled requests from needy persons. A large-scale campaign "Help Through Work" was launched between 1914 and 1916, helping needy Jews who had been driven out of their homes in wartime to find employment in the new places where they settled.

1920–1945

In 1921 ORT was established in Berlin as an international organization with the name World ORT Union. From a purely philanthropic organization it increasingly became a basic social movement in Jewish life. Subsequently ORT was active in the areas formerly within the Russian Empire – Poland, Lithuania, Latvia, and Bessarabia – as well as in Germany, France, Bulgaria, Hungary, and Romania. This work by ORT had a considerable influence not only on the masses most directly involved but also on Jewish communities of the so-called "helping countries," which had been invited to join the ORT movement, to support it financially and to help it expand and consolidate its activities. Between the two wars, ORT's global work was directed by an international committee headed by Leon *Bramson, former member of the *Duma, with the help of David *Lvovich and Aaron *Syngalowski. The latter inspired the ideology of ORT and spread the idea of manual work among Jews, stressing the need for a change in the economic structure of Jewish life. The committee established ORT organizations in the United States, South Africa, Canada, South America, and many other places.

Until 1938, the Soviet Union was also an important area of ORT activity. ORT was the first organization in the Soviet Union to assist (from 1922) in the rehabilitation of Jewish farmers in the Ukraine, who had suffered severe losses, both in lives and to their farms, during World War I and the Civil War. ORT then cooperated with Komzet (see *Russia, under the Soviet regime). It assisted in the transference of many

Jews in Belorussia to occupation in agriculture. Assistance to Jewish settlers was provided in Bessarabia, where ORT's activities in 1928 extended to 604 families in 37 agricultural settlements. By this year ORT had aided a total of 141 settlements with 4,737 families (c. 20,000 persons) cultivating agricultural land amounting to approximately 40,000 dessiatine (c. 108,000 acres), as shown by Table: ORT Aid.

A report of 1934 shows that in the Soviet Union ORT operated 67 agricultural colonies, with 3,100 families or almost 10,000 persons, 47 factories and cooperatives in cities and kolkhozes, employing more than 5,000 persons, as well as many adult courses and workshops. In Poland there were 49 schools for adolescents and adult courses with over 2,000 students in addition to 12 agricultural colonies. There was also an ORT network in Romania, Lithuania, Latvia, Hungary, Bulgaria, France, and Germany.

One of the problems which ORT tackled was to help working Jewish youth and craftsmen to integrate into the industrialization especially affecting the Eastern European countries after World War I. ORT also undertook to provide specialist training for certain professions in which, under the legislation approved by the countries of Eastern Europe (as in Poland in 1927), it was necessary to pass an examination. In the Soviet Union assistance was given to Jews who, as a result of the changed Soviet economic structure, were deprived of their occupational status (*lishentsi*) and were compelled to turn to new sources of livelihood, especially crafts.

An important sphere of ORT activity was to provide Jewish craftsmen with necessary implements. In 1920–23 ORT established a central buying agency for providing implements and machines to craftsmen who had lost them during and after World War I, as well as new materials. In 1924 a similar institution to replace the buying agency was opened in London named the ORT Tool Supply Corporation, with branches in Warsaw, Kovno (Kaunas), Riga, and Czernowitz (Chernovtsy), and in the Soviet Union.

This was a difficult period for World ORT. The deepening world economic crisis reduced its income from the West, and the organization faced increasing antisemitic discrimination in almost every country in which it operated. With the rise of Nazism in Germany, the Berlin headquarters no longer seemed safe. In October 1933 the office was transferred to Paris, which had become a refugee center for thousands of German Jews. World ORT soon organized vocational retraining programs to help refugees integrate into French society or prepare for careers in other countries.

Most of World ORT's programs continued throughout 1939 and beyond the start of World War II. This included the transfer of most of the Berlin ORT School to Leeds, England, just days before the war. As the war progressed, communication between World ORT and its European operations was frequently cut, but individual schools and programs continued to operate in isolation, often with former ORT directors and teachers working within their camps and ghettos. In Kovno, Lithuania, for example, the ORT training workshop continued to function until 1944, when the ghetto was destroyed and the surviving occupants deported. Similar activities took place in the ghettos of Warsaw and Vilna.

In occupied France, ORT was permitted to continue working until 1942–43. Courses originally set up for German refugees were now serving French Jews. ORT ran programs in 20 cities throughout the country and provided tools, materials, and training to a number of internment camps. Eventually World ORT's headquarters had to move from France to neutral Switzerland, where it established many training programs for the thousands of Jewish refugees who managed to escape there.

The movement of Jewish refugees also led to the development of ORT programs beyond Europe. Some of these new operations were temporary – such as that in Shanghai, China (1941–1950) – but many laid the foundations for continuing programs, especially in South America. During the 1930s and early 1940s many thousands of refugees from Europe arrived in South America, many of them en route to the United States. Communities were formed in Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Cuba, Mexico, Uruguay, and other countries of the region. ORT rapidly established operations throughout the subcontinent to provide vital training courses that would help the newcomers to rebuild their lives.

1945–1960

The programmatic and, in particular, the geographical changes which ORT experienced during these 15 years were a result of the constantly changing economic and political situation, and especially the migration affecting the Jewish communities in various countries. In accompanying the masses of Jewish refugees and emigrants to the countries where they found new homes, ORT entered into yet more Jewish communities in Europe, Africa, Asia, and the Americas.

World ORT's largest refugee program took place at the war's end, training tens of thousands of survivors and displaced persons (DPS) from the Jewish communities of Europe. Working with UNRRA (the UN Relief and Refugee Agency), ORT became the recognized vocational agency for the camps, working throughout Europe to support Jewish survivors. This work was completed by the mid-1950s, when most of the DP programs were closed. It is estimated that a quarter of all Jewish DPS – some 80,000 people – had passed through ORT's vocational centers, many on their way to the new State of Israel.

In addition to its work in the DP camps, ORT ran programs for survivors in Switzerland, the United Kingdom, the Netherlands, Belgium, and, especially, France. Most of these West European operations were created as temporary responses to prevailing needs, closing in the late 1940s or early 1950s. The work in France, however, continued, forming the basis of today's flourishing ORT France school system.

After World War II, ORT turned its attention to the needs of "forgotten" Jewish communities in North Africa, Iran, and India and, somewhat later, Ethiopia. Jews in these countries earned a meager living as peddlers and semi-skilled artisans, but had no way of acquiring the necessary skills to improve their situation. Many faced harsh conditions, with widespread poverty and disease. World ORT set up vocational courses and schools, teaching a range of skills that allowed young people – for the first time – to seek and obtain gainful employment. Political changes and civil unrest in North Africa (late 1950s and early 1960s) and Iran (late 1970s) made life too difficult for the local Jewish populations. Most immigrated to Israel, France, and other Western countries, marking an end to ORT's activities in these countries.

In France, ORT's main efforts in the immediate postwar years were devoted to helping Holocaust survivors from all over Europe rebuild their lives. In the late 1950s and early 1960s this program drew to a close and a new one began as thousands of Jewish families began to arrive from the newly independent and now unsafe Muslim countries of North Africa. Their children needed to be educated and prepared for their adult lives. ORT mobilized its resources and accepted many hundreds of these children into its schools. All the schools were enlarged during this period, and several added dormitory blocks to accommodate students. Between 1950 and 1970, ORT France student numbers rose from 1,700 to more than 5,000.

IN ISRAEL. Israel was the only country where the ORT idea of manual work did not need to be propagated, as it was deeply rooted there by the pioneers of the First and Second Aliyah, as well as by the *halutzim* who arrived in Erez Israel between the two wars. The establishment of ORT in Israel followed rapidly after the creation of the state, but former students of ORT had been settling in Palestine from the 1920s. A Tool and Supply Corporation, which provided machinery and tools to new immigrants, kibbutzim and kevuẓot, was set up as early as 1946. Workshop equipment from DP camps was transported to Palestine following the DPs' immigration there. In 1949, ORT opened vocational courses for new immigrants in Pardes Ḥannah, manual-training workshops in the children's village of *Ben Shemen, and the first vocational school sections in Jerusalem, Tel Aviv, Reḥovot, Ramleh, Jaffa, and the yeshivah in Kefar Avraham.

From the beginning ORT paid special attention to the needs of disadvantaged communities, bringing them high-quality education and training programs that gave them a foothold on the ladder to self-sufficiency and growth. Thus, apart from its schools in the main conurbations, ORT has always worked in deprived areas, in development towns and with successive waves of immigrants from North Africa, Ethiopia, and the former Soviet Union.

Today, ORT Israel is the country's largest vocational training organization, operating some 150 schools and technological colleges. Supported by development teams, teacher training programs, and its own publishing house, ORT offers vocational, technological, and academic training to almost 100,000 students aged between 5 and 80. In modern Israel there are over half a million ORT graduates who are making a vital contribution to their nation's industry and economy.

1960–1990

The basic idea and aims of ORT had remained unchanged in the years between the 1920s and the 1950s. Minor changes occurred in form and work methods, varying with the standard of living and technical development in the countries of operation and, to an even larger extent, with the economic condition and mentality of the Jewish communities there. In those years ORT carried out an important educational task. It spread its principles of work among the Jews of Algeria, Morocco, Tunisia and Iran, helping to convince them that learning a trade was the surest means to acquire economic independence.

In 1960, the ancient *Bene Israel community of India appealed to World ORT for help. Depleted by immigration to Israel in the 1950s, the Bombay-based community was poor and unskilled. A health and welfare program was established in 1961 and then, in 1962, a Polytechnic was created on the campus of a Jewish school. The impact of ORT's work was quickly felt, and its operations continue today.

ORT's work of enlightenment, and the ever-improving situation of the qualified tradesman, as well as the good reputation achieved by ORT schools, made vocational training for youth accepted even in the most distant Jewish communities. By the mid-1950s there were so many applications for admission to ORT vocational schools that there were not enough vacancies.

The late 1960s saw ORT Israel beginning to move away from trade training for manual labor to a more comprehensive education network, providing general academic education as well as vocational training. Increasingly, following the demands of the local economy and employment market, science and technology education was being introduced into more and more schools. Subjects such as electronics, automation, pneumatics, hydraulics, and plastics technology became very popular. The Harmatz School of Engineering, which opened in Jerusalem in 1976, typifies this shift. It was ORT's first school to provide post-secondary technical education leading to a practical engineering degree.

To enable the change in its programs ORT Israel developed its own teacher training scheme in dedicated institutions alongside its schools. One such institution was the ORT Moshinsky Center in Tel Aviv, where teaching materials and methodology were developed and teachers were trained in the application of new technologies. Textbooks and learning aids were produced for both teachers and students. These were then translated for use across the entire World ORT network.

During the 1980s ORT schools around the world continued to grow – especially so in Israel and Latin America. In 1988 ORT Israel opened its next purpose-built, flagship institution, the ORT Braude College of Engineering. Like the Harmatz School of Engineering before it, this was a direct result of a dedicated fundraising campaign. Following ORT Israel's example, schools in France and Latin America introduced advanced courses of study that would lead to university entrance and employment at the higher levels of engineering and technology. In France, new adult training programs were added and junior colleges established. The schools of ORT Argentina were acknowledged to be among the best in the country, while in Uruguay the ORT Montevideo school became a degree-conferring university in 1988.

In addition to the training programs for Jews, in 1960 World ORT was asked by the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID) to undertake technical training programs in Africa. Seeing this as an integral part of its mission, World ORT took up the challenge, and so began a new phase of humanitarian activities, outside the Jewish community.

Since that time, ORT has carried out over 350 economic and social development projects in more than 90 countries in Africa, Eastern Europe, Latin America, and Asia.

These projects bring basic life-skills to urban and rural populations in developing and emerging countries, helping these communities to achieve independence and self-sufficiency. The range of subjects that has been covered includes health and nutrition, transportation, mother and child care, rural development, agriculture, forestry, democracy development, and information technology. Literally millions of people in some of the most disadvantaged regions of the world have benefited from these projects.

In each project that it undertakes, ORT consultant teams evaluate the needs of the local community, devise specific training programs, and implement them "on the ground." All ORT's International Cooperation projects are designed to become self-sustaining, with local staff learning how to continue the operation once ORT has withdrawn. Funding for all these projects is provided by international agencies and private foundations.

From 1990

In the 1990s ORT was among the first to perceive the advantages of Information Technology. The World ORT IT department established its first Internet connection in 1992 and the ort.org domain name was registered in 1994. By 1998 all ORT schools had an Internet connection, and many had their own websites. ORT's curricula reflected the changing needs of a modern technological society, providing high-tech courses as well as general, Jewish, science and management programs. ORT began to develop projects that would link communities across continents and provide general and Jewish knowledge and resources to people everywhere. In 1996 it launched Navigating the Bible, an online Bar/Bat Mitzvah tutor. This was followed by several other projects, including: DO I.T., an online foundation course in Information Technology; English Space, an interactive and collaborative English as a second language tutor; Learning about the Holocaust through Art, a unique resource for those teaching and wanting to learn about the Holocaust through art; and Yizkor, a **yahrzeit* reminder service and memorial website. ORT continues to develop online resources that benefit large numbers of people worldwide.

The collapse of the Soviet Union and East European communism enabled the return of ORT to these areas. In 1991, after an enforced absence of 53 years, ORT was able to return to the country of its birth. The political changes ushered in a new market-driven economy for the region, and ORT's first task was to provide computer and technology courses for the local community to enable them to prepare for employment in the new conditions. To facilitate its work, ORT established relationships at the highest level with the Russian authorities – and later, with each of the new independent states – gaining their recognition and their trust. In 1993, ORT signed a collaboration agreement with the Ministry of Education of the Russian Federation. In 1995, the ORT Technology School in Moscow was inaugurated. This was quickly followed by other agreements and the opening of ORT schools and centers throughout the CIS and Baltic States.

By 2005, there were 58 ORT schools and educational institutions in the CIS and Baltic States serving more than 25,000 students each year and considered by the local authorities to include the finest educational establishments available in the region.

While many Jews remained in the CIS and Baltic States following the dismemberment of the Soviet Union, a great number chose to immigrate to Israel. At the same time Operation Solomon brought the second, larger wave of immigrants from Ethiopia to Israel. ORT Israel opened thousands of high-school places to accommodate the new arrivals. It also created courses for adults, providing the necessary knowledge and skills to obtain employment.

In 2005, More than 90,000 students – Jews, Israeli Arabs, Druze, Bedouins, and new immigrants – are educated at ORT Israel schools, colleges, and institutions. ORT graduates comprise 25 percent of Israel's high-tech workforce.

In Latin America ORT continued to expand, offering its expertise to both the Jewish and the wider community. In Brazil, two new schools, specializing in life sciences and technology were opened during the 1990s. In Mexico, a state-of-the-art technology and science resource center opened in 1998. While providing courses in computer programming, biotechnology, and business administration in its schools and centers throughout the region, ORT also addressed the needs of poorer local communities. Vocational training and Mother and Child projects were undertaken by ORT's International Cooperation department in several Latin American countries.

By 2005 ORT Argentina has become ORT's third largest operation, with over 7,300 students enrolled in its institutions. Across Latin America ORT provides Jewish communities the high standard of education they require in the 21st century.

ORT has been active in more than 100 countries past and present with current operations in Israel, the CIS and Baltic States, Latin America, Western Europe, Eastern Europe, North America, Africa, Asia, and the Pacific. It has a student body of some 270,000 each year worldwide and offers its experience on a non-sectarian basis. Since its inception in 1880, more than 3,000,000 people have graduated from ORT programs worldwide. In 2000 ORT changed its name from World ORT Union to World ORT.

The World ORT administrative office moved from Geneva to London in 1979, but the headquarters remain in Geneva. In 2005 Robert Singer was director general, Sir Maurice Hatter (U.K.) was president, Jean de Gunzburg (France) was deputy president, Mauricio Merikanskas (Mexico) was chairman of the Executive Committee, and Robert Sill (U.S.A.) was chairman of the Board of Directors.

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[Vladimir Seev Halperin / Rachel Bracha and Judah Harstein (2nd ed.)]

ORTA, GARCIA DE (c. 1500–1568), Portuguese Marrano scientist and physician. Born in Castelo de Vide, he studied medicine at Salamanca and Alcalá and taught at Lisbon University. Garcia de Orta left for India in 1534. During his long stay in Goa, he served as physician to the Portuguese viceroys and leading Christian dignitaries, as well as the Muslim ruler Burhān al-Dīn Niẓām al-Mulk. In recognition of his services, the Portuguese viceroy bestowed on him, probably in 1548, the island of *Bombay, then a small fishing village.

Garcia de Orta's great work, *Coloquios dos Simples e drogas he Cousas Medicinais da India* (Goa, 1563; "Colloquies on the Simples and Drugs of India" 1913), made him "the first European writer on tropical medicine and a pioneer in pharmacology." This work, written in Portuguese in the form of a dialogue, was approved by the Inquisition and recommended by the official physician of the viceroy, Luiz de Camões. It was hailed as one of the chief cultural achievements of the 16th century, a work which brought the greatest honor to the author's country, Portugal. Garcia de Orta was long believed to be Christian, but the *Acts of the Inquisition*, published in 1934, made it clear that he was a militant Converso who had lived a dual religious life throughout his 30 years in Goa and had possibly gone there in the hope of escaping the Inquisition. He was posthumously condemned by the Inquisition in 1580, and his remains exhumed and cast into the sea.

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[Walter Joseph Fischel and Joshua O. Leibowitz]

ORTEN, JIŘÍ (pseudonym of **Jiří Ohrenstein**; 1919–1941), Czech poet. Orten was born in Kutná Hora, Bohemia. His first poems, published in literary reviews before 1939, attracted immediate attention because of their novel existentialist approach and surprisingly mature form. After the Nazi invasion, his works were published under pseudonyms. Within two years, he managed to complete four books of poetry: *Čítanka jaro* ("Primer of Spring," 1939), *Cesta k mrazu* ("The Road to the Frost," 1940), *Ohnice* (1941), and *Jeremiášův pláč* ("Jeremiah's Lament," 1941). Orten's friends arranged their publication, ascribing their authorship to "Karel Jílek" or "Jiří Jakub." He was run over and killed by a German army vehicle on a Prague embankment. Two other volumes of Orten's poetry, *Zcestí* ("The Wrong Way") and *Elegie* ("Elegy"), appeared in the definitive edition of his verse after World War II. His prose works appeared later: *Eta, Eta, žlutí ptáci* ("Eta, Eta, Yellow Birds," 1966). Also appearing was *Deníky* (1958; "Diaries," 1958), published in full as *Modrá kniha* ("The Blue Book," 1992), *Žíhaná kniha* ("The Striped Book," 1993), and *Červená kniha* ("The Red Book," 1994). His brother was Ota *Ornest.

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[Avigdor Dagan / Milos Pojar (2nd ed.)]

ORTENBERG, ARTHUR (1926–) and **CLAIBORNE, LIZ** (1929–), U.S. apparel manufacturers, environmentalists. Ortenberg and his non-Jewish wife, fashion designer Liz Claiborne, had each been in the textile and apparel industry for more than 20 years when they decided to go into business together. By the time they retired 14 years later, Liz Claiborne Inc. was a $1.3 billion corporation and one of the fashion industry's most spectacular success stories. Ortenberg provided the management know-how, while Claiborne was the creative force. Their target customer was the working woman who wanted moderately priced, well-made, stylish sportswear that could be worn to the office. Ortenberg, a New Yorker, met Claiborne, born in Brussels to American parents, in the mid-1950s. He was running the junior dress division of a sportswear company and hired her as a designer. They each went through divorces and married in 1957. Claiborne moved to Youth Guild, a junior dress manufacturer, as chief designer and Ortenberg became president of Fashion Products Research, a textile and consulting firm. In 1976, after scraping together $50,000 in savings and raising $200,000 more from family, business associates, and friends, they launched their own business. Claiborne was president and Ortenberg was executive vice president of operations. Claiborne's designs were so popular that the company went public in 1981. Ortenberg became a vice chairman in 1985, together with Jerome Chazen, who had been executive vice president of marketing and who had been with the company since its start. The product line expanded to include men's clothing, a more extensive sportswear line, accessories, cosmetics, and fragrances. In 1986, revenues reached $800 million and Claiborne appeared on the Fortune 500 list of the biggest industrial firms in the U.S. Citing a desire to do other things with their lives, Ortenberg and Claiborne retired from active management roles in 1989, remaining directors for another year. The Liz Claiborne and Art Ortenberg Foundation, created in 1984, is devoted to "the conservation of nature and the amelioration of human distress" and pursues environmental and social interests from the U.S. to Europe, Africa, and Central and South America. "Liz and I have long had numerous environmental projects in mind and not enough time to address them," Ortenberg said. "Now we have the time and the wherewithal through the Foundation to do just that. We want to make this world a better place for our grandchildren." Claiborne was honored by the Council of Fashion Designers of America in 1986 and Ortenberg and Claiborne were inducted into the National Sales Hall of Fame in 1991.

[Mort Sheinman (2nd ed.)]

ORTHODOXY. The term "Orthodoxy" first appeared in respect to Judaism in 1795, and became widely used from the beginning of the 19th century in contradistinction to the *Reform movement in Judaism. In later times other terms, such as "Torah-true," became popular. Yet, in general, Orthodox came to designate those who accept as divinely inspired the totality of the historical religion of the Jewish people as it is recorded in the Written and Oral Laws and codified in the Shulḥan Arukh and its commentaries until recent times, and as it is observed in practice according to the teachings and unchanging principles of the *halakhah*. Orthodoxy as a well-defined and separate phenomenon within Jewry crystallized in response to the challenge of the changes which occurred in Jewish society in Western and Central Europe in the first half of the 19th century: Reform, the *Haskalah, and trends toward secularization. Those who opposed change and innovation felt it necessary to emphasize their stand as guardians of the Torah and its commandments under altered conditions and to find ways to safeguard their particular way of life.

[Nathaniel Katzburg]

Orthodox Judaism considers itself the authentic bearer of the religious Jewish tradition which, until *Emancipation, held sway over almost the entire Jewish community. The term Orthodoxy is actually a misnomer for a religious orientation which stresses not so much the profession of a strictly defined set of dogmas, as submission to the authority of *halakhah*. Orthodoxy's need for self-definition arose only when the mold into which Jewish life had been cast during the period of self-sufficient existence of Jewish society had been completely shattered. Orthodoxy looks upon attempts to adjust Judaism to the "spirit of the time" as utterly incompatible with the entire thrust of normative Judaism which holds that the revealed will of God rather than the values of any given age are the ultimate standard.

At the very dawn of Emancipation, many Orthodox leaders foresaw the perils which the breakdown of the ghetto walls incurred for Jewish survival. Some of them were so apprehensive about the newly available political, social, and economic opportunities, which they felt would make it almost impossible for the Jew to maintain his distinctive national and spiritual identity, that they went so far as to urge the Jewish communities to reject the privileges offered by Emancipation. Others, while willing to accept the benefits of political emancipation, were adamant in their insistence that there be no change in the policy of complete segregation from the social and cultural life of the non-Jewish environment. R. Ezekiel *Landau was so fearful that exposure to the culture of the modern world might ultimately result in total assimilation of the Jew that he proclaimed a ban on the reading of Moses *Mendelssohn's translation of the Pentateuch, even though Mendelssohn had advocated strict observance of the *halakhah*. Fear of assimilation was intensified by a number of developments, seen as alarming, ranging from numerous instances of outright conversion to Christianity to the efforts on the part of the Reform movement to transform radically the character of Judaism in order to facilitate the total integration of the Jew within modern society.

The Orthodox leadership believed that the aesthetic innovations which characterized the first phase of the Reform movement were motivated by the desire to model the synagogue on the pattern of the Protestant Church – a move that was regarded by its advocates as indispensable for gaining for the Jew full acceptance by his Christian neighbors. The claim that the introduction of organ music or the substitution of prayers in the vernacular for those in Hebrew did not violate talmudic law was refuted by 18 leading rabbinic authorities who joined in writing the book *Elleh Divrei ha-Berit* (Altona, 1819). The Orthodox community, intuitively realizing that liturgical reforms were only the beginning of a long-range process designed to change the tenets and practices of Judaism so as to remove all barriers against full immersion in the majority culture, reacted with an all-out effort to preserve the status quo. The slightest tampering with tradition was condemned.

Orthodoxy in this sense first developed in Germany and in Hungary (see Samson Raphael *Hirsch; *Neo-Orthodoxy). As its religious and political ideology crystallized, it emphasized both its opposition to those who advocated religious reform and the essential differences in its outlook and way of life from that of the reformers. At the same time, it refused to countenance any possibility of cooperation with those advocating different viewpoints. Herein lay Orthodoxy's main impetus toward organizational separation, a trend epitomized in Germany after 1876 when separation from the established community became legal, thus permitting the formation of the "separatist Orthodoxy" (*Trennungsorthodoxie*). This trend was opposed by R. Isaac Dov *Bamberger, one of the outstanding German Orthodox rabbis of his day. Underlying the opposition to secession was the reluctance to jeopardize the unity of the Jewish people. Historically, membership in the Jewish community was never regarded merely as a matter of voluntary identification with a religious denomination. One's status as a Jew was not acquired through the profession of a particular creed. With the exception of converts, the privileges and responsibilities devolving upon a member of the people of the Covenant derive from the fact that he was born a Jew. To this day Orthodoxy has not been able to resolve the dilemma that a considerable section of Jewry today no longer obeys the *halakhah*. There are those who lean toward a policy of withdrawal, lest they be responsible for the implicit "recognition" of the legitimacy of non-Orthodox ideologies. Others, concerned with preserving the unity of the Jewish people, advocate involvement of Orthodoxy in the non-Orthodox Jewish community even at the risk that their policies might be misconstrued as a willingness to condone non-Orthodox approaches. It was, ironically, the issue of separation that precipitated most of the internal conflict that has plagued Orthodoxy. In its early history, *Agudat Israel was torn asunder by the controversy over whether Orthodox Jews should be permitted to take a leading part in the organization if they, at the same time, also belonged to groups in which non-Orthodox Jews were allowed to play a prominent role. The influence of the Hungarian element finally swayed Agudat Israel to adopt a resolution barring its members from participation in non-Orthodox movements. Isaac *Breuer, a grandson of Samson Raphael Hirsch and one of the leading Agudat Israel ideologists, formulated in his *Der neue Kuzari* a philosophy of Judaism in which refusal to espouse the cause of separation was interpreted as being equivalent to the rejection of the absolute sovereignty of God.

*Mizrachi, on the other hand, espoused a policy of cooperation with non-Orthodox and secular elements. It is also noteworthy that in eastern Europe most Agudat Israel circles frowned upon secular learning, while Mizrachi, as a general rule, adopted a far more sympathetic attitude toward worldly culture. In central and western Europe, however, Agudat Israel circles were guided not only by Hirsch's separationist policy toward the non-Orthodox community, but also subscribed to his philosophy of *Torah im derekh ereẓ* (Torah with secular education), and espoused the synthesis of Torah with modern culture. In Israel, the split between the two approaches is especially noticeable. Mizrachi and Ha-Po'el ha-Mizrachi have favored full participation in the political life of the *yishuv* and subsequently in the sovereign State of Israel. Agudat Israel circles, however, refrained from joining the Keneset Yisrael (the recognized community of the Jews in Palestine) and refused to recognize the official rabbinate appointed by that body. After the establishment of the State of Israel, Agudat Israel participated in elections to the Knesset and for some time even participated in a coalition government. A far more extreme position was adopted by *Neturei Karta. They have categorically refused to recognize the authority of a secular Jewish state which, in their opinion, came into being only through the betrayal of the religious values of Jewish tradition.

Although the followers of the *Torah im derekh ereẓ* approach advocated openness to modern culture and discouraged the insulation of the Jew from the intellectual currents of his time, they nonetheless unequivocally rejected any doctrine which in the slightest manner would jeopardize the binding character and validity of the *halakhah*. They were unbending in their insistence that the traditional belief in *Torah min ha-Shamayim* entailed: that the Masoretic text represents an authentic record of divine communication of content; and that the Oral Torah represents in essence the application and extension of teachings and methods that are ultimately grounded in direct divine revelation (see *Oral Law). This view not only clashed with Abraham *Geiger's radical doctrine of "progressive revelation," according to which even the Bible was the product of the religious genius of the Jewish people, but also with the more moderate theory of "continuous revelation" as formulated by the positivist historical school. According to Zacharias *Frankel (considered by some to be the spiritual father of Conservative Judaism), the original Sinaitic revelation was supplemented by another kind of revelation – the ongoing revelation manifesting itself throughout history in the spirit of the Jewish people. Orthodoxy balked at Frankel's thesis that the entire structure of rabbinic Judaism was the creation of the scribes, and subsequently of the *tannaim* and the *amoraim*, who allegedly sought to adapt biblical Judaism to a new era by inventing the notion of an Oral Torah. From the Orthodox point of view, rabbinic Judaism represents not a radical break with the past, but rather the ingenious application and development of teachings which ultimately derive their sanction from the Sinaitic revelation. Whereas for the positivist historical school the religious consciousness of the Jewish people provided the supreme religious authority, the Orthodox position rested upon the belief in the supernatural origin of the Law which was addressed to a "*Chosen People."

[Walter S. Wurzburger]

German Orthodoxy exerted a significant influence upon Jews in Western lands, especially Holland (to which Reform had not yet spread) and Switzerland. Hungary became the center of a specific type of Orthodox development. The spread of Haskalah there and the reforms in education and synagogue worship led to tension within the communities, especially from the 1840s on (see Aaron *Chorin). Orthodoxy became very much aware of its distinctive character, especially under the influence of R. Moses *Sofer and his school. Later the call for independent organization became more pronounced. Preparations for a nationwide congress of Hungarian Jews at the end of the 1860s gave this trend an organizational and political expression in the formation of the Shomrei Hadass Society (*Glaubenswaechter*, "Guardians of the Faith"), founded in 1867 to protect and further the interest of Orthodoxy, thus becoming the first modern Orthodox political party. In a congress held from December 1868 to February 1869, the Orthodox and Reform camps split; afterward the Orthodox withdrew, announcing that the decisions of the congress were not binding on them. Independent Orthodox communities were set up in those areas where the established communal leadership had passed to the Reform camp, and a countrywide organization of these separate communities was set up. Orthodox autonomy was confirmed by the government in 1871. Approximately half of Hungarian Jewry joined the Orthodox communities.

Within Hungarian Orthodoxy, two strands can be discerned:

(1) traditional Orthodoxy, encompassing the ḥasidic masses in the northeastern districts; and

(2) non-ḥasidic Orthodoxy, which contained a segment that bore the marks of modern Orthodoxy – a measure of adaptation to its environment, general education (without the ideology of *Torah im derekh ereẓ*), and use of the language of the country. Non-ḥasidic Orthodoxy was shaped by the school of R. Moses Sofer.

In eastern Europe until World War I, Orthodoxy preserved without a break its traditional ways of life and the time-honored educational framework. In general, the mainstream of Jewish life was identified with Orthodoxy while Haskalah and secularization were regarded as deviations. Hence there was no ground wherein a Western type of Orthodoxy could take root. Modern political Orthodox activity first appeared in eastern Europe at the beginning of the 20th century with Agudat Israel. Orthodoxy's political activity was especially noticeable in Poland. During the period of German conquest at the time of World War I, an Orthodox political party was organized (with the aid of some German rabbis), the Shelomei Emunei Israel. In the communal and political life of the Jews in the Polish republic, Orthodoxy was most influential in the townlets, and was supported by the ḥasidic masses. The central political aim of Orthodoxy was to guarantee its autonomy in all religious matters. After World War I, a definite shift may be detected in Orthodoxy in Poland toward basic general education to a limited degree. Agudat Israel established an educational network, with Horeb schools for boys and Beth Jacob schools for girls.

European Orthodoxy, in the 19th and the beginning of the 20th centuries, was significantly influenced by the move from small settlements to urban centers (within the same country), as well as by emigration. Within the small German communities there was a kind of popular Orthodoxy, deeply attached to tradition and to local customs, and when it moved to the large cities this element brought with it a vitality and rootedness to Jewish tradition. From the end of the 19th century, countries in western Europe absorbed newcomers from the East, who either constituted an important addition to the existing Orthodox congregations or set up new communities. After World War I, scholars from eastern Europe (among them the rabbis Abraham Elijah Kaplan and Jehiel Jacob *Weinberg) went to Germany and other western countries. They exerted a perceptible influence on western Orthodoxy, providing it with a direction in scholarship and drawing it closer to the world of talmudic learning. In the interwar period, young Orthodox students from the West went to the yeshivot of Poland and Lithuania, and yeshivot of the traditional type were later established in western Orthodox centers.

In the United States, Orthodoxy constituted one of the mainstreams of life and thought within Jewry. Different varieties of Orthodoxy coexisted. In 1898 the *Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations of America was founded. Its declared aims were to accept "the authoritative interpretation of our rabbis as contained in the Talmud and codes." Among the leaders and teachers prominent in American Orthodoxy were the rabbis Bernard *Revel, Joseph D. *Soloveichik, and Joseph H. *Lookstein. One of the influential Orthodox centers in the United States, *Yeshiva University, inspired the establishment of many other schools offering instruction in both Jewish and secular subjects on the elementary and high school levels. This trend of U.S. Orthodoxy published the periodicals *Jewish Life, Jewish Forum, Tradition*, and *Intercom* (publication of the Association of Orthodox Jewish Societies). The differences within American Orthodoxy were evidenced by the establishment of different rabbinic bodies there. Rabbis from eastern Europe, representing traditional Orthodoxy, make up the *Union of Orthodox Rabbis of the United States and Canada (founded in 1902), while rabbis educated in America united to form the *Rabbinical Council of America (in 1923; reorg. 1935). Ḥasidic groups, who became influential chiefly after World War II, constitute a separate division within American Orthodoxy. Especially well known are those associated with Menahem Mendel *Schneersohn of Lubavitch and Joel *Teitelbaum of Satmar. Rabbis, scholars, and the heads of yeshivot who came after World War II and built yeshivot according to the Lithuanian tradition added their special quality to American Orthodoxy. Most prominent among them was Rabbi Aaron *Kotler.

The senior central organization of the Jews of England, the *United Synagogue, is an Orthodox body in its constitution and rabbinic leadership. However, the lay leaders and congregants are not necessarily all observant in the light of the accepted Orthodox standard. Those who were dissatisfied with the degree of observance and religious spirit prevailing in the United Synagogue founded separate congregational organizations. The Federation of Synagogues, which in composition was more suited to the spirit of those who came from eastern Europe, was founded in 1887, and its numbers multiplied with the extensive Jewish emigration to England. In 1891 the society known as Machzike Hadath ("The Upholders of the Faith"), was formed, and immigrants from western Europe founded the congregations known as Adath Yisroel in the spirit of German Orthodoxy. In 1926 R. Victor Schonfeld established the Union of Orthodox Hebrew Congregations which attempted to unite the various branches of western traditional Orthodoxy.

[Nathaniel Katzburg]

Trends within Modern Orthodoxy

In spite of the new impetus given to Orthodoxy by the success of the day school and improved methods of organization and communication, evidence of grave dangers cannot be ignored. The rapid polarization within the Orthodox camp seriously threatens to split the movement completely.

While much of the controversy seems to revolve around the question of membership in religious bodies containing non-Orthodox representation, the real issue goes far deeper. The so-called "modern Orthodox" element is under severe attack for allegedly condoning deviations from halakhic standards in order to attract non-observant Jews. On the other hand, there constantly come to the fore mounting restlessness and impatience on the part of significant elements that are dismayed over the slowness with which Orthodoxy has responded to the upheavals of Emancipation, the Enlightenment, and the establishment of the State of Israel. The charge has been made that, instead of coming to grips with these events which have confronted the Jew with entirely new historic realities, Orthodoxy has been satisfied with voicing its disapproval of those who have reacted to them.

Some of the more "radical" thinkers regard the Hirsch type of synthesis between Torah and culture as an invaluable first step, but it must be developed much further if it is to meet contemporary needs. They look askance at the feature of "timelessness" which in Hirsch's system constitutes a hallmark of Torah and which, in their opinion, ignores the dynamic character inherent in the processes of the Oral Torah. They contend that, as long as the domain of Torah remains completely insulated from the culture of a given age, the authorities or the *halakhah* cannot creatively apply teachings of Torah to ever-changing historic realities. What, therefore, is needed is not merely the coexistence but the mutual interaction of the two domains. This view, of course, runs counter to the basic tenets of "right-wing" Orthodoxy, which frowns upon the intrusion of elements derived from secular culture as a distortion of the authentic teachings of the Torah. The exponents of the more radical positions of "modern Orthodoxy" are frequently charged with cloaking under the mantle of Orthodoxy what essentially amounts to a Conservative position. This argument, however, is countered by the claim that no modifications of the *halakhah* are condoned unless they are sanctioned by the methods governing the process of halakhic development. There is no thought of "updating" the *halakhah* in order to adjust it to the spirit of the time. What is advocated is only that its meaning be explicated in the light of ever-changing historic conditions. The contention is that, as long as halakhic opinion is evolved in conformity with the proper procedures of halakhic reasoning, its legitimacy as a halakhic datum is assured.

To bolster their case, the proponents of this "left wing" frequently claim to derive the basic elements of their position from the teachings of Rabbi *Kook, as well as from the philosophy of the most influential contemporary Orthodox thinker, R. Joseph B. Soloveichik. Neither of these two seminal thinkers has in any way identified himself with the views advanced by the more "progressive" wing. But Kook's readiness to attribute religious value to modern secular movements, as well as his positive stance toward cultural and scientific developments, provide a key element to a philosophy that seeks to integrate the positive contributions of the world within the fabric of Judaism. Similarly, Soloveichik's characterization of the man of faith in terms of the dialectical tension between a commitment to an eternal "covenantal community" and the responsibilities to fulfill socio-ethical tasks in a world of change is widely hailed as an endorsement of the thesis that the Jewish religious ideal does not call for withdrawal from the world but for the confrontation between human culture and the norms and values of the Torah.

Obviously, such a conception of the nature of the commitment of the Jewish faith completely disposes of the charge of "moral isolationism" that time and again has been hurled at Orthodoxy because its alleged preoccupation with the minutiae of the Law renders it insensitive to areas which do not come within the purview of formal halakhic regulation. Actually, the covenantal relationship between man and God embraces all aspects of life and cannot be confined to a mere adherence to a set of legal rules. The observance of the *halakhah*, far from exhausting the religious task of the Jew, is designed to make him more sensitive and "open" to social and moral concerns.

THE DILEMMA OF ORTHODOXY IN THE MODERN WORLD. Although many segments of Orthodoxy have veered away from the course of "splendid isolation" which has been espoused by the "right wing," they have not as yet been able to formulate a systematic theology capable of integrating the findings of modern science and historic scholarship. For that matter, there has not yet been developed a theory of revelation which would satisfy the demands of modern categories of thought. There are some isolated voices clamoring for less "fundamentalist" or "mechanical" approaches to revelation which would utilize some of Martin *Buber's notions and assign a large role to man's subjective response to the encounter with the Divine. But it remains to be seen whether such a solution is feasible within the framework of Orthodoxy. At any rate, some of the widely recognized Orthodox authorities unequivocally reject any approach which compromises in the slightest with the doctrine that divine revelation represents direct supernatural communication of content from God to man.

Even more serious is the problem of the increasing resistance to the Orthodox emphasis on the authoritative nature of the *halakhah*. This runs counter to the prevailing cultural emphasis upon pluralism and the individual's free subjective commitment, a freedom which challenges acceptance of objective religious values or norms imposed upon the individual from without. What renders the problem even more acute is the paradox that the Orthodox community, which places so much emphasis upon the authority of the rabbis to interpret the revealed word of God, is the one that has been plagued most by conflicting claims of competing authorities. Characteristically, all efforts to establish some central authority have failed dismally. The proposal to revive the Sanhedrin, far from promoting cohesiveness, has actually precipitated considerable disharmony within the Orthodox camp. The latter, so far, has not even succeeded in evolving a loose organizational structure which would be representative of the various ideological shadings within the movement.

[Walter S. Wurzburger]

Developments in Modern Orthodoxy

Orthodox Judaism is by no means monolithic; the diversity in faith and practice is legion; it has no ultimate authority or hierarchy of authorities; and it has never been able to mobilize even one national or international organization in which all of its groups would speak as one. The diversity in halakhic rulings is typical of most legal systems. It stems principally from reliance on different sources, all of which are deemed authoritative, or from methods of reasoning, applied to the sources, which are also deemed normative by all halakhists. Philosophy or teleology plays little part in the decision-making process, except for a few among the Modern Orthodox.

The Modern Orthodox constitute neither sect nor movement. They convene no seminars and no colloquiums. They have no organized group and no publication of their own. There is no list of rabbis or laymen who call themselves "Modern Orthodox." They are at best represented by a group of rabbis who see each other from time to time and share the same commitment, namely that the Torah does not have to be afraid of modernity since there is no challenge that the Torah cannot cope with. Some prefer the word "centrist" because the word "modern" is too often associated with permissiveness. Others reject the term "centrist" because it suggests being in the center on all issues. But the Modern Orthodox are extremists on the positive side of many issues, such as the centrality of ethics in religious behavior and the need for improving the status of women in *halakhah*.

The diversity among all Orthodox Jews that evokes the most acrimony revolves around three issues: the nature and scope of Revelation; attitudes toward secular education and modern culture; and the propriety of cooperation with non-Orthodox rabbis. To systematic theology very little attention is given. The writings of the medieval Jewish philosophers are studied and expounded, but they appear to stimulate no new approaches. Orthodox Jews are still rationalists or mystics; naturalists or neo-Hegelians; and, even existentialists, most notably Joseph D. *Soloveitchik. Starting with the premise that all the Torah is God's revealed will, he holds that logically all of it must have theological significance. Therefore, he sees the totality of Torah as the realm of ideas in the Platonic sense, given by God for application to the realm of the real. Just as the mathematician creates an internally logical and coherent fabric of formulas with which he interprets and integrates the appearances of the visible world, so the Jew, the "Man of Halakhah," has the Torah as the divine idea that invests all of human life with direction and sanctity. "The *halakhah* is a multidimensional, ever-expanding continuum that cuts through all levels of human existence from the most primitive and intimate to the most complex relationships." And though the *halakhah* refers to the ideal, its creativity must be affected by the real. "Man's response to the great halakhic challenge asserts itself not only in blind acceptance of the divine imperative, but also in assimilating a transcendental content disclosed to him through an apocalyptic revelation and in fashioning it to his peculiar needs. It is rather the experiencing of life's irreconcilable antitheses – the simultaneous affirmation and abnegation of the self, the simultaneous awareness of the temporal and the eternal, the simultaneous clash of freedom and necessity, the simultaneous love and fear of God, and His simultaneous transcendence and immanence."

As for conceptions of the hereafter and resurrection of the dead, Soloveitchik holds with earlier authorities that no man can fathom or visualize precisely what they signify in fact, but the beliefs themselves can be deduced logically from the proposition that God is just and merciful. God's attribute of absolute justice and mercy require that he provide rewards and punishments and that He redeem Himself by being merciful to those most in need of mercy – the dead. Soloveitchik holds with many earlier philosophers that the immortality of the soul after death is to be distinguished from a this-worldly resurrection of the dead in a post-Messianic period; the Messianic period itself will produce only international peace and order.

Essentially the doctrines represent fulfillment of Judaism's commitment to an optimistic philosophy of human existence. In Soloveitchik's intellectual development there was a period when there was a clash, a confrontation between two ways of life and modes of thought: that of Brisk (Brest-Litovsk), where he became the great Talmudist, and that of Berlin, where he later became the great philosopher.

For many of his disciples who call themselves Modern Orthodox there was no such clash. They grew up in both cultures simultaneously, and the synthesis they sought and attained was a gradual achievement over a long period, virtually from elementary school days through graduate study. What little they achieved was not born altogether from anguish but more by the slow natural process of intellectual and emotional maturation. That is why they often part with the master in whose thought existentialism plays the major role, and they are more likely to embrace a more naturalist theology.

Theology and eschatology generally receive very little attention from Orthodox Jewish thinkers. The case is not so with Revelation, on which the range in views is enormous. There are those who hold literally that God dictated the Torah to Moses, who wrote each word as dictated, and there are those who maintain that how God communicated with Moses, the Jewish people, the Patriarchs and the Prophets will continue to be a matter of conjecture and interpretation, but the crucial point is that He did it in history. As creation is a fact for believers, though they cannot describe how, so Revelation is a fact, though its precise manner is not clear. This less fundamentalist approach would not deny a role to man's subjective response to the encounter with the divine, but all Orthodox Jews would agree that the doctrine of divine Revelation represents direct supernatural communication of content from God to man.

There are those who hold that every event reported in the Torah must be understood literally; some are less rigid in this connection and even regard the Torah as the ultimate source for a Jewish philosophy of history rather than Jewish history itself. This accounts for the fact that presently some authorities insist that Orthodox Jews must hold the age of the earth to be some five thousand years plus, while others have no difficulty in accepting astronomical figures.

The head of the Lubavitch movement, Rabbi Menachem *Schneersohn, insisted that the age of the earth was what the tradition holds it to be. The Modern Orthodox are more likely to hold with Rabbi Menaḥem Mendel *Kasher that it is not imperative that one so hold, and he thus advised scientists who sought his definitive opinion on the issue. He made no dogma of the traditional view. There are many Orthodox scientists, researchers, and academicians, who bifurcate their position. They hold to the traditional view as believers and to the scientific views in their professional pursuits – and this schizoid position does not disturb them.

With regard to the legal portions of the Torah, many Orthodox Jews still insist that they are eternal and immutable. Others maintain that the Oral Torah itself affords conclusive proof that there are laws that are neither eternal nor immutable. In the Oral Torah one also finds that some commandments were deemed by one authority or another never to have been mandatory but, rather, optional. Such were the commandments with regard to the blood-avenger and the appointment of a king. However, exponents of Orthodox Judaism generally affirm eternity and immutability, even though they engage in halakhic development without regard to the fiction they verbalize. The Modern Orthodox are more likely not to articulate the fiction as they explore ways to make the eternal law cope with the needs of the period.

With regard to parts of the Bible other than the Pentateuch, some hold that all of them were written because of the Holy Spirit; others are more critical and do not dogmatize with regard to their authorship, accuracy of texts, dates of composition, or literal interpretation. Some extend the doctrine of the inviolability of the Torah to all the sacred writings, including the Talmud and the Midrashim, and do not permit rejection even of any of the most contradictory legends or maxims. Others are "reductionists" and restrict the notion of inviolability to the Five Books of Moses.

Many of these views were expressed before the modern period. They are found in the writings of Jewish philosophers of the Middle Ages, and some are clearly expressed in the Talmud and Midrashim. The so-called Modern Orthodox are more likely to be found among those who hold the more liberal views with regard to these issues. Similarly, on the basis of tradition, the Modern Orthodox differ with their colleagues with regard to secular education and modern culture and the cooperation of Orthodox Jews with non-Orthodox Jews.

There were Orthodox rabbis who bemoaned the collapse of the ghetto walls because they fathomed what this would mean to the solidarity of the Jewish community and especially the future of its legal autonomy. *Halakhah*, which had always been applicable to the personal, social, economic, and political existence of Jews, would thereafter be relevant to very limited areas in the life of the Jew. These rabbis opposed any form of acculturation with their non-Jewish neighbors. Others advocated acculturation in social and economic matters but retained commitment to a Judaism totally unrelated to, and unaffected by, the ideas and values that dominated the non-Jewish scene. Others advocated the fullest symbiosis, outstanding among them, Rabbis Abraham Isaac Hacohen *Kook and Joseph D. *Soloveitchik. Rabbi Kook maintained a very positive attitude to all modern cultural and scientific developments; Rabbi Soloveitchik described the believing Jew as one who is forever in dialectical tension between his being a member of the covenanted community and his obligation to fulfill his socio-ethical responsibilities with and for all humanity in a rapidly changing world. Disciples of theirs even find that their secular education and exposure to modern culture deepen their understanding and appreciation of their own heritage, even as it helps them to evaluate modernity with greater insight and a measure of transcendence.

Because of differences of opinion, one finds contemporary Orthodox Jews holding many different views with respect to their own mode of living, their careers, and the education of their children. Those who want no part of modernity prefer to live in isolation and earn a livelihood by pursuing "safe" careers in business. They want the same for their offspring. Others seek to bifurcate their existence. They are modern in dress, enjoy the culture which surrounds them, but avoid intellectual challenges, and build a protective wall around their religious commitment, forbidding the environment to encroach upon their faith and ancestral practice. Usually they too want for their children what they enjoy, and they also encourage their young to pursue "safe" careers at college-courses in business, law, medicine, accounting, but rarely the social sciences or the humanities.

Then there are those who are determined to cope with all the challenges that modernity can offer. Some, like Samuel *Belkin, held to this view but spoke of the "synthesis" between modernity and traditional Judaism as a merging of the two cultures in the personality and outlook of the Orthodox Jew. His predecessor, Bernard *Revel, the first president of Yeshiva University, had a more exciting goal – a genuine synthesis of the best in both worlds. He craved the sanctification of the secular as did Rabbi Kook; the integration of the best that humanity has achieved with the eternal truths of Judaism; the greater appreciation of Judaism because of its differences from other religions and cultures; and the reformulation of the cherished concepts and practices of Judaism and their rationalization in modern terms. This goal has been achieved by only a few, but most of the intelligentsia among the Modern Orthodox share Revel's dream rather than the less difficult goal of Belkin.

The attitudes of Orthodox Jews to their non-Orthodox co-religionists also range from one end of the spectrum to the other – from hate, presumably based on revered texts, to toleration, total acceptance, and even love, similarly based on revered texts. Those indulging in hate are responsible for the physical violence occasionally practiced against any who deviate from the tradition. Theirs is a policy of non-cooperation in any form whatever with any who disagree with them, and they not only pray for the destruction of the State of Israel but even take measures to achieve that end. Others simply desire total separation from those who deviate from their customs and practices, even in the matter of dress.

A further group is reconciled to the fact of pluralism in Jewish life but has no affinity whatever for the non-Orthodox. A fourth group loves all Jews irrespective of how they behave, but does not accord even a modicum of tolerance to organizations that represent non-Orthodox rabbis and congregations. It is more tolerant of secular groups – no matter how anti-religious. A fifth group is even willing to cooperate with non-Orthodox groups in all matters pertaining to relationships between Jews and non-Jews, at least in the United States. They are even less open-minded with regard to the situation in Israel. Only a very small group goes all the way with the inescapable implications of the thought of Kook and Soloveitchik and welcomes the challenge of non-Orthodoxy, even as it views secular education and modern culture as positive factors in appreciation of the tradition.

It is also in this last group, Modern Orthodox, that one is likely to find those who will project halakhic decisions that are based on the sources but not necessarily the weight of the authorities. Especially with respect to the inviolability of the persons of all human beings, including Jewish dissenters, they are zealots. Thus they encourage dialogue with all Jews, solutions to the painful problems in Jewish family law, more prohibitions with community sanctions against the unethical behavior of Jews in business, in the exaction of usury, in the evasion of taxes, and in the exploitation of the disadvantaged. They propose the use of more theology and teleology in the process of halakhic decision. Their principal difference with so-called right-wing Conservative rabbis is that they do not wish to "update" the *halakhah* to adjust it to the spirit of the time but rather within the frame and normative procedures of the *halakhah* – its sources and its method of reasoning – to express the implications of the *halakhah* for the modern Jew and his existential situation.

The Modern Orthodox are especially attentive to historical, psychological, sociological, and teleological considerations. A few illustrations may be of interest.

They oppose any form of religious coercion by Jews against Jews and not by resort to the legal fiction that every Jew is now to be considered the equal of one who was taken captive in his early childhood and never raised as a Jew.

The tradition exempts such a person from religious coercion. The Modern Orthodox prefer the approach which says that religious coercion was only permitted when it might truly change the attitude and inner feeling of its victim. However, coercion now only angers the victim more and makes him or her more hostile to Judaism. Therefore, it defeats rather than advances its original purpose. Similarly, Jewish family law developed to give dignity and sanctity to the status of every member of the family, with every individual enjoying the right freely to serve God and fulfill his or her responsibilities as a member of the family. When Jewish law, however, no longer serves this purpose and becomes an instrument for exploitations of one by another and the literal enslavement of spouses or offspring, then there must be legislation and the sooner the better. Therefore, the Modern Orthodox especially favor antenuptial agreements anticipating certain unfortunate events and the reactivation of the annulment of marriages – all of which has ample sources in the halakhic literature. Last but not least, the Modern Orthodox are more likely than others to lend a sympathetic ear to halakhic changes in the face of developments in modern medicine – especially the right to volunteer one's organs for transplanting. This is a field in which very little creative work has been accomplished by rabbis, except to assemble ancient sources with little or no philosophical analysis. Because of the enormous diversity among Orthodox Jews in both creed and practice, there is a tendency at present to speak of the ultra-Orthodox, the Orthodox, and the Modern Orthodox. Yet in each of these groups there is substantial diversity, and the outlook in a free world and open society is for more, rather than less, of it.

[Emanuel Rackman]

(For the political and ideological expression of right-wing Orthodoxy in Israel, see *Gush Emunim.)

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ORVIETO, town in Umbria, central Italy. Jewish loan bankers appeared there as early as 1297, being given citizenship rights and permitted to carry weapons. In 1334 one of them was sent as envoy to a neighboring town. The prosperity of the Jewish community induced many families from outside to settle there, as did a group of Jews from Viterbo in 1396. The anti-Jewish sermons of the *Franciscan friars later caused the position of Jews to deteriorate. However, Jewish moneylending activities continued until a *monte di pietá* was established in 1464. After Orvieto came under the rule of the Church in the second half of the 16th century, anti-Jewish legislation was strictly enforced. When in 1569 Pius V decreed the expulsion of the Jews from the Papal States, the Jewish community effectively ceased to exist, although some families came back for a short time under Sixtus V (1585–90). The name of the church of St. Gregorio nella Sinagoga in Orvieto still commemorates the former Jewish settlement.

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[Ariel Toaff]

ORVIETO, ANGIOLO (1869–1967), Italian author and editor. A nephew of Alberto *Cantoni, Orvieto was a member of an old, traditionalist family. He was born and educated in Florence and, during the years preceding World War I, took an active part in the cultural life and literary disputes of the city, which was then the main center of Italian intellectual activity. With his brother Adolfo, he founded the literary review *Il Marzocco* (1896–1932), giving it a classical trend in keeping with the formalism of Italian style. At the same time, Orvieto sought the collaboration of famous writers such as Luigi Pirandello and his friends Giovanni Pascoli and Gabriele D'Annunzio. Orvieto and his journal became the center of an intellectual circle consisting of the major Italian writers. He also initiated many cultural associations, including the Società dei papiri greci e latini, and the Società Leonardo da Vinci, and was among the founders of the British Council; he founded the reviews *Vita Nuova* and *Nazione Letteraria*; and was for many years superintendent of the Istituto di studi superiori in Florence.

As a poet, Orvieto tried to give new life to the traditional Italian sonnet: his collections of verse include *La sposa mistica* (1893), *Il velo di Maia* (1898), *Verso l'Oriente* (1912), *Le sette leggende* (1912), *Primavera della cornamusa* (1925), and *II gonfalon selvaggio* (1934). *Il Vento di Sion* (1928) is a book written after a spiritual crisis and a return to Jewish tradition, in which he achieved a more personal tone. In this Orvieto pretends to be a 16th-century Florentine Jewish poet who tries in vain to reconcile his love for Zion with his equally sincere love for Renaissance Florence. His *Canti dell' escluso*, written during and after the Nazi persecutions and published in a single volume with *Il Vento de Sion* in 1961, is similar in tone. He also wrote impressions of his travels, a collection of translations of English poetry, and three librettos set to music by the Jewish composer G. Orefice: *Chopin* (1901), *Elena alle porte Scee* (1904), and *Mosè* (1905). After 1928 Orvieto was active in Jewish communal life and in extreme old age became deeply observant of religious tradition. His wife, Laura Cantoni Orvieto (1876–1953), was well known as a writer of storybooks and history books for children, among which were *Leo e Lia* (1908) and *Storie di bambini molto antichi* (1951). During the Nazi occupation of central Italy, the Orvieto couple was hidden in a Christian home for the elderly.

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[Giorgio Romano]

OR YEHUDAH (Heb. אוֹר יְהוּדָה), Israel urban community with municipal council status, 8 mi. (13 km.) E. of Tel Aviv. Or Yehudah comprises the site of biblical *Ono. Prior to the Israeli *War of Independence, two Arab villages existed on its area, Sākiyya (Sāqiyya) and Kafr Ānā, which were abandoned by their inhabitants before being taken by Israeli forces in June 1948. In 1949, immigrants from Libya and Turkey settled there under primitive conditions. In 1950 and 1951, two large *ma'barot* (tent and hut camps) were set up, mainly for newcomers from Iraq and Romania. Living conditions continued to be difficult until 1958, when permanent housing projects were started. The population declined from its 1958 figure of 12,500 to 10,100 in 1963, and rose to 12,300 in 1970 when more than half the total population were immigrants (over half from Iraq, and one-third from other Middle Eastern and North African countries). Or Yehudah had a large average family size and a low average age of population (52% below 20 years of age). It had 11 factories, the largest of which was a weaving factory for export. Other local enterprises engaged in metal, diamonds, and food processing. In the mid-1990s the population was approximately 23,300, and by 2002 it was 28,600. In 1988 Or Yehudah received city status, with an area of about 2 sq. mi. (5 sq. km.). The name "Light of Judah" commemorates Rabbi Judah *Alkalai.

[Efraim Orni / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

°**ORZESZKOWA (Orzeszko), ELIZA** (1841–1910), Polish novelist. Born in Grodno, Eliza Orzeszkowa was a member of the Polish landed gentry. A leading prose writer of the late 19th century, she was an advocate of social reform and endeavored to destroy the barriers separating the Poles and the Jews. Of all Polish writers, she took the greatest interest in the Jews, studying their history and even learning Hebrew and Yiddish (in spite of which there are in her writings some serious mistakes, as regards Jewish customs, etc.). An opponent of antisemitism, Orzeszkowa nevertheless attacked Jewish religious separatism and Zionism in the hope that Polish Jewry might ultimately be assimilated into the mainstream of Polish culture and diverted from any identification with the Germans or Russians. These ideas were propagated in her novels and short stories and in the pamphlet "*O żydach i kwestyi żydowskiej*" ("On the Jews and the Jewish Question," 1882), published after the Warsaw pogrom of December 1881. Her opposition to Zionism was expressed in an article "*O nacyonaliżmie żydowskim*" (1911; published posthumously in *Kuryer Warszawski*, 1911).

One of her early novels, *Pan Graba* ("Mr. Graba," 3 vols., 1872) sympathetically described a Jewish moneylender who amasses his wealth with the sole intention of building schools for the Jews in Jerusalem; while *Eli Makower* (2 vols., 1875), shows how another Jew assists a decent Polish landowner and works for mutual understanding between their two peoples. *Meir Ezofowicz* (1878; Eng. trans. 1898), Orzeszkowa's most important Jewish work, describes a young Jew's struggle for enlightenment and human brotherhood in face of Jewish narrowness and fanaticism. This novel is remarkable for its understanding of Orthodox motivation and for its censure of those Jews, who, touched by shallow assimilation, try to imitate some of the customs of the gentiles. In *Mirtala* (1886), a historical novel set in Rome two years after the destruction of Jerusalem (i.e., 72 C.E.), the novelist portrays the life of the Jewish exiles and their relations with the gentiles. Her short stories – notably "*Silny Samson*" ("The Strong Samson," 1878); "*Gedali*" (1884), and *Rotszyldówna* ("The Rothschild Girl," written before 1891, publ. 1921) – contain sympathetic descriptions of poverty-stricken Jews. In 1905 Orzeszkowa edited an anthology of 16 short stories about Jews by ten Polish writers, entitled *Z jednego strumienia* ("From One Source").

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[Yehuda Arye Klausner]

OSBORN, MAX (1870–1946), German art critic and author. He was art critic for the *Vossische Zeitung* 1914–33. From 1938 he lived in Paris, and in 1941, at the age of 72, he was forced to flee from France and emigrate to the United States. His books include *Kunst im Leben des Kindes* (1902); a study of Duerer's literary legacy, *Duerer's Schriftliches Vermaechtnis* (1905); a work on woodcarving, *Der Holzschnitt* (1905); *Berlin …* (1902, 1926^2); and *Die Kunst des Rokoko* (1929). He also wrote a work on the 16th-century literature of demonology.

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[Jihan Radjai-Ordoubadi (2nd ed.)]

OSCHINSKY, LAWRENCE (1921–1965), U.S. physical anthropologist. Born in New York, he taught physical anthropology at the University of Pennsylvania graduate school of medicine, and from 1956 at Howard University Medical School. His special interest was in the anatomy of the nervous system, the races of Africa and Asia, and human evolution and the physical anthropology of the Eskimos of Siberia and Canada. His books include *Most Ancient Eskimos* (1964) and *Racial Affinities of the Baganda and Other Bantu Tribes of British East Africa* (1954).

[Ephraim Fischoff]

OSHAIAH (Hoshaiah) RABBAH (first half of the second century C.E.), Palestinian *amora*. Oshaiah was born in southern Palestine (TJ, Nid. 3:2), where he studied under *Bar Kappara (MK 24a) and *Ḥiyya (TJ, Shab. 3:1), eventually becoming the latter's assistant. The Jerusalem Talmud (Nid. 3:2, 50c) reports that Bar Kappara and Oshaiah's father *Ḥama were found together in "the south" (= Lydda), and that Oshaiah himself disseminated Bar Kappara's Mishnah (TJ, Shev. 5:2, 35b) which he brought from Lydda. According to S. Lieberman (Sifre Zuta, 123), Oshaiah eventually established his *bet midrash* in Lydda, not far from that of Bar Kappara. The Talmud reports that his father, *Ḥama, left the family when Oshaiah was a child in order to study. When after several years Ḥama finally returned, he found that the young stranger with whom he had discussed *halakhah* on the way was his own son (Ket. 62b). When father and son disputed a particular issue, Oshaiah's grandfather, Bisa, ruled in his grandson's favor (BB 59a). Oshaiah was apparently a member of *Judah Ha-Nasi's council in Sepphoris and was entrusted with examining the witnesses of the new moon (TJ, Ned. 6:8). After Judah ha-Nasi's death, he founded his own academy at Caesarea (TJ, Ter. 10:2). He was famed for his collection of *baraitot*, called *Mishnayot Gedolot* ("Great *Mishnayot*"; TJ, Hor. 3:5) and for the ability with which he explained them. As a result he was called *Av ha-Mishnah* ("Father of the Mishnah"; TJ, BK, 4:6). The collection was respected in Babylon, too, and *Ze'eira remarked, "Every *baraita* that was not taught in the school of Ḥiyya and Oshaiah is not authentic" (Ḥul. 141a–b).

Oshaiah was particularly strict in requiring from a prospective proselyte both circumcision and immersion in the presence of three rabbis (Yev. 46b), a decision which was possibly prompted in opposition to the widespread conversion of gentiles by Christian Jews. R.T. Herford (*Christianity in Talmud and Midrash* (1903), 247ff.) suggests that Oshaiah's maxim, "The Almighty dwelt kindly with Israel in scattering them" (Pes. 87b), may also have been directed against them. Bacher (JQR. 3 (1891), 357–60) maintains that Oshaiah had certainly heard of Origen, if not read his works, and associates the latter with "the philosopher" who asked Oshaiah, "Why was not man created circumcised?" Oshaiah replied, "Man, together with all creations, needs perfecting, and circumcision brings perfection" (Gen. R. 11:6). He was also the author of the phrase, "Custom overrides law" (TJ, BM 7:1). According to one reading, Oshaiah was poor (Meg. 7a). His kindness and consideration for his fellow men is illustrated by his apology to his son's blind teacher, whom he had not invited to a particular meal for fear that he would be embarrassed by other guests (TJ, Pe'ah 8:9, 21b). His son, Merenos, was a scholar (TJ, Git. 4:6). Among his pupils were Ammi (TJ, Shab. 3:7) and *Johanan b. Nappaḥa (TJ, Ter. 10:2). The latter continued to visit Oshaiah even when he himself became a great scholar (TJ, Sanh. 11:6, 30b). He once said, "Oshaiah in his generation is like *Meir was in his" (Er. 53a).

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[Stephen G. Wald (2nd ed.)]

OSHEROFF, DOUGLAS DEAN (1945–) U.S. physicist and Nobel Laureate. Osheroff was born in Aberdeen, Washington, and graduated from the California Institute of Technology before gaining his Ph.D. in physics from Cornell University. He joined the Department of Solid State and Low Temperature Research of Bell Research Laboratories in Murray Hill, New Jersey, in 1972 and was head of this department from 1982–87. He moved to Stanford University as professor of physics and was appointed J.G. Jackson and C.J. Wood Professor of Physics in 1992 and chairman of the department of physics (1993–96). Osheroff's research concerns low temperature physics and led to the discovery of three new superfluid forms of helium-3 resulting from pair forming by the super-cooled 3He atoms. This work influenced the future course of low temperature research and has important theoretical implications for understanding superconductivity and its practical applications. He was awarded the Nobel Prize in physics (1996), shared with his collaborators David Lee and Robert Richardson. His subsequent research continues to focus on the behavior of condensed matter at very low temperature. His awards include the Sir Francis Simon Memorial Prize of the British Institute of Physics (1976) and election to the American Academy of Arts and Sciences and the U.S. National Academy of Sciences. In recognition of his teaching expertise, he received Stanford University's Walter J. Gores Award. He married Phyllis S.K. Liu in 1970.

[Michael Denman (2nd ed.)]

OSHEROWITCH, MENDL (pseudonyms: **A. Glan**, **M. Glebovitch**, **Menakhem Podolyer**, **M. Ovodovski**; 1888–1965), Yiddish journalist and author. Born in Trostyanets, Ukraine, Osherowitch immigrated to the U.S. in 1909. From 1914 on he was a staff member of the New York daily *Forverts* which printed most of his profuse production before parts of it appeared in book form. His writings include stories, plays, historical novels, numerous biographies, popular history, travel impressions, theater history, a history of *Forverts*, criticism, and autobiography. He also translated widely from Russian and English, and wrote the scenario of the popular Yiddish film *A Brivele der Mamen* ("A Letter to Mother," Poland, 1938). His book on David *Kessler and Paul *Muni, *Dovid Kesler un Muni Vayzenfraynd* (1930), his memoirs, and his studies of Ukrainian Jewish towns are of great interest.

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[Leonard Prager]

OSHMYANY (Pol. **Oszmiana**), town in Grodno district, Belarus. Oshmyany, one of the oldest settlements in Lithuania, was granted municipal status in 1537. A Jewish community developed there at the beginning of the 18th century. In 1765 there were 376 Jewish poll-tax payers in Oshmyany and the surrounding villages. In 1831, after a battle against Polish rebels, Russian soldiers set fire to Oshmyany and killed many of the town's inhabitants, including many Jews. In 1847 the community numbered 1,460, and by 1897 the number had increased to 3,808 (about 53% of the population). Jews earned their livelihood from small trade and crafts, essentially from tanning, shoemaking, tailoring, and carpentry. At the beginning of the 20th century most of the Jewish workers organized themselves into a trade union. There were seven synagogues in the town, three of them belonging to the unions of the tanners, shoemakers, and tailors. Prominent rabbis served the community during the 19th and the beginning of the 20th centuries, among them R. Meir Michael Kahana (1883), R. Mordecai b. Menahem *Rosenblatt (author of *Aleh Ḥavaẓẓelet*, 1891–1906), and R. Judah Leib Fein 1906–14).

The Great Synagogue of Oshmyana was erected in 1902. In the battles between the Red Army and the Polish Army in 1920, many Jews fell victim to the fighting. Between the two world wars (under Polish rule) the office of vice mayor was held by a Jewish delegate. During this period branches of all the Jewish parties were active in the town. The leading educational and cultural institutions were the Tarbut and Yavneh Hebrew schools, the CYSHO Yiddish school, a Hebrew library, and a drama circle. Between the years 1922 and 1925 a Jewish agricultural cooperative with 30 members functioned in the surroundings of Oshmyany.

[Arthur Cygielman]

Holocaust Period and After

The Germans occupied the town on June 26, 1941. On July 25 they ordered all male Jews to assemble in the square. The assembled, who numbered about 700, were taken to Bartel and murdered. In October 1941 a ghetto was established of 1,800 inhabitants; Jews from the neighboring towns of Olshan, Smorgon, and Krawo were brought in, and disease and hunger took many lives. On June 16, 1942, about 350 youths were transferred to a camp in Miligany. In October the Germans announced that too many Jews were still living in the ghetto and that the population must be decreased, which meant extermination for some of its occupants. Receiving the information, the *Judenrat in Vilna claimed that if it performed the *Aktion* the number of victims would be reduced. Headed by Salek Dresler, members of the Vilna Jewish police participated in the *Aktion* on Oct. 19, 1942, making their *Selektion* and kidnapping 406 Jews, who were taken in the direction of Oglyovo, about 4 mi. (7 km.) from Oshmyana, and murdered there.

This episode roused the Jews against both the Judenrat and the Vilna Jewish police. Jacob Gens, head of the Judenrat in Vilna, took full responsibility for the *Aktion*, claiming that by sacrificing part of the Jewish population there was a chance to save the rest. Early in 1943 an underground organization was established in the ghetto, and its members left for the forests to join the partisans. On April 28, 1943, the ghetto was liquidated. Some of its 2,500 inhabitants were transferred to the Vilna ghetto, some were deported to labor camps in the vicinity, and others were killed at Ponary. After World War II Jewish life in Oshmyany did not fully revive. In 1965 there were some 25 Jewish families living there, most of whom had not previously been residents of the city. A monument to Jewish martyrs murdered by the Nazis, erected outside the city, was repeatedly desecrated. In 1970 some 300 families from Oshmyany lived in Ereẓ Israel.

[Aharon Weiss]

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OSHRY, EPHRAIM (1914–2003), rabbi and halakhic authority. Oshry was born in Kupiskis, Lithuania, and studied at the Slobodka Yeshivah. During the Nazi occupation of Lithuania, he became the rabbi of the Kaunas (Kovno) ghetto, and issued responsa to halakhic questions concerning Jewish practice under unprecedented conditions. These responsa constitute one of the most interesting religious documents to emanate from the Holocaust era. He hid the written responsa, and was able to retrieve them after the war. They were eventually published in five volumes in Hebrew as *She'elot u-Teshuvot mi-Ma'amakim* (1959–74), and in English summary as *Responsa from the Holocaust* (1983)

When the Kaunas ghetto was liberated in 1944, Oshry went to Rome, where, in 1945, he founded Yeshivat Meor ha-Golah for young Holocaust survivors. He transferred the yeshivah to Montreal, Canada, in 1950, and eventually moved it to New York, where he became rabbi of the Beit Midrash Hagodol on the Lower East Side in 1952.

Beside his volumes of responsa, which won two National Jewish Book Awards, he published a number of studies on rabbinic and halakhic literature including *Divrei Efraim* (1949), *Oẓar ha-Pesaḥ* (1965), *Imrei Efraim* (1968), and *Hasidei Efraim* (1975). He wrote an account of the destruction of Lithuanian Jewry, *Khurbn Lite* (Yid. 1951; Eng. tr. 1995).

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°**OSIANDER, ANDREAS** (1498?–1552), German theologian, religious reformer, and *Hebraist. Born in Gunzenhausen (Franconia), Osiander was ordained a priest in 1520, but shortly thereafter converted to Protestantism, becoming one of the most influential reformers of the time. He was a Hebrew tutor at Nuremberg and continued his studies with a Jew, Woelfflein of Schnaittach, who was given the extraordinary privilege of visiting Nuremberg for that purpose. In the wake of the *Pezinok blood libel of 1529, Osiander published an anonymous refutation of the ritual murder charge, which led to a literary dispute with Johannes Eck. Although Osiander was himself a Lutheran theologian, in a private letter to Elijah *Levita he vehemently denounced Martin *Luther's anti-Jewish *Vom Schem Hamphoras* (1544). In 1548 Osiander left Nuremberg and was made professor of Hebrew at the then newly founded University of Koenigsberg, where he died a few years later.

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[Yehoshua Amir (Neumark) / Aya Elyada (2nd ed.)]

OSIJEK (Hung. **Eszék**, Ger. **Esseg**), town in E. Croatia; until 1918 in Austria-Hungary. Jews were first mentioned in Osijek after the Austrian conquest of Belgrade in 1688, when some 500 Jewish prisoners were taken to Osijek where they had to wait until they were ransomed by European Jewish communities (Moses Sofer, *Et Sofer,* Fuerth, 1691). Jews from the Austrian Empire began settling in Osijek under difficult conditions in the middle of the 18th century. They had no official right of residence until 1792. Religious services were held in the town from 1830, and the community was founded in 1845; it had 40 members in 1849. The congregation school and *ḥevra kaddisha* were founded in 1857; a synagogue was built in 1867. When emancipation was granted to Jews in Croatia in 1873, the community prospered and was the largest one in Croatia until 1890. In 1900 there were 1,600 Jews in Osijek. In the 20th century Osijek had two Jewish communities – one in the upper and another one in the lower town – and communal life was intensive. In 1940 there were 2,584 Jews in the two communities.

Holocaust Period

After the German conquest of Yugoslavia in April 1941, Croatia became the "Independent Croatian State" under A. *Pavelić. On April 13 Germans, *Volkdeutsche* (very numerous in this region), and Pavelić's *ustaše* (paramilitary collaborators) looted Jewish property, imposed a contribution of 20,000,000 dinars, and made all economic activity impossible for Jews; Jewish families were evicted from the center of town. On April 13 a mob of Germans, *Volkdeutsche*, and *ustaše* burned the main synagogue and destroyed the Jewish cemetery, but mass persecution did not start until June 1942. In December 1941 a camp for 2,000 Jewish women and children was established in an old mill in Djakovo, near Osijek. In February 1942 approximately 1,200 women and children from the Stara Gradiška camp were transferred to Djakovo until, because of an epidemic, the camp was liquidated and its inmates sent for extermination to Jasenovac. In June 1942 the community was ordered to build a settlement on the road to Tenje, a nearby village, where the Jews would be left unmolested. The leaders of the community were hoodwinked into building the settlement and organizing the life in it. Three thousand Jews from Osijek, and later from other places in the region, were confined there; by August 1942 they had all been sent either to Jasenovac or Auschwitz. Only Jews married to gentiles and a few who were in hiding remained in Osijek; ten managed to return from the death camps.

Contemporary Period

In 1947 there were 610 Jews in the community, including the surrounding area, and in 1949, after the immigration to Israel, 220. In 1965 a monument to Jewish fighters and victims of Nazism from Osijek and Slavonia was dedicated in a square in Osijek; it was created by Oscar Nemon of London, a former native of Osijek. At the beginning of the 21st century the Jewish population of Osijek was around 200.

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[Zvi Loker (2nd ed.)]

OSIPOVICH, NAHUM (1870–?), Russian writer. While preparing for the entrance requirements of the University of Odessa he joined the Narodnaya Volya (the "People's Will" movement) circles, was arrested by the czarist authorities, and spent 18 years in prisons and in exile. Osipovich started his literary activity in 1902. On the recommendation of the *Society for the Promotion of Culture among the Jews of Russia, he studied the educational problem of the Jews in *Bessarabia (in *Voskhod*, no. 12, 1902). His short story "*Za chto?*" ("Why?") was refused publication by the censors. Osipovich wrote many short stories devoted mainly to Jewish types and Jewish life. His works are filled with love for nature, humanity, and the Jewish people in particular. His short story "*U vody*" ("At the Water") shows his devotion to the Jewish Black Sea fishermen whom he knew so well. Soviet critics consider him representative of the Jewish petit-bourgeois intelligentsia who were unable to adapt to the new Soviet reality.

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OSIRIS, DANIEL ILLFA (1825–1908), French philanthropist and art patron, member of a Sephardi family of Bordeaux. He gave large sums for the promotion of technology (radio, telegraphy) and medicine (Institut Pasteur) and bequeathed his valuable art collection to the Louvre. He bought La Malmaison and part of the field of Waterloo and gave them to the French nation. He also built several synagogues.

OSLO, capital of Norway. When the law of 1814 prohibiting the admission of Jews to Norway was revoked in 1851, a Jewish community began to develop in Oslo; it acquired land for a cemetery in 1869 and was officially established in 1892 with 29 dues-paying members. In 1917, the community split up, and two synagogues were opened in 1920. In 1909, a "Jewish Youth Society" (*Israelitisk Ungdoms Forening*) was formed, which published a monthly journal, *Israelitin* (1909–12). A Zionist Association was formed in 1910 and from 1929 published a monthly, *Ha-Tikvah*. There were 852 Jews in Oslo in 1930, mainly engaged in commerce and industry. During World War II, more than half of the Jews in Oslo managed to escape to Sweden. The rest perished in Nazi concentration camps. The refugees who returned united into a single community. They were joined by several hundred displaced persons whom the Norwegian government had brought to Oslo, most of whom later emigrated to Israel or the United States. The Oslo Jewish community (Det Mosaiske Trosamfund, DMT) holds its services in the synagogue that was built in 1920 in Bergstien and was miraculously left untouched by the Germans during the war. A B'nai B'rith Lodge was established in 1952 and a new communal center was built in 1960. In 1968, there were 650 Jews in Oslo, a synagogue, and two cemeteries. The Jewish community of Oslo experienced a renaissance in the 1980s when the young rabbi Michael *Melchior, son of rabbi Bent Melchior of Denmark, became the community rabbi. A Jewish kindergarten was established. A children's choir was formed and many new melodies introduced in the Sabbath morning services. In 1988 a Jewish home for the aged was built next to the synagogue and community center, and later a new wing for those in need of extended care was added. In 1992 the community celebrated its 100th anniversary; this contributed to increased activities in the Jewish community. Since the 1970s Norwegian society has tended toward multiculturalism. This has also affected the way religion is taught in schools. Now all children must learn about the major religions, Judaism being one of them. Schoolchildren regularly visit the synagogue to learn more about the Norwegian Jews.

As a result of the Norwegian government's decision to make restitution in compensation for the Nazi government's liquidation of Jewish property and assets during World War II, the Jewish community of Oslo was given the means to renovate the community center. The restored and renewed community center was officially opened in September 2004. As a result of the Jewish restitution, the Center for Holocaust and Minorities Studies in Norway has been established. The Center, including a Holocaust exhibition, was opened in 2006 at Villa Grande, Vidkun *Quisling's former villa at Bygdøy in Oslo. A building in Oslo used as a synagogue before World War II is presently converted into a Jewish museum. Many of the new members of the Jewish community are Jews from various countries who have come to live in Norway or Norwegians who have converted to Judaism. Throughout the 1990s there was a gradual increase in community members, reaching around 900. However, in 2004 the number was only about 800.

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[Lynn Claire Feinberg (2nd ed.)]

OSNABRUECK, city in Lower Saxony, Germany. Jews are mentioned as living in Osnabrueck during the 13th century, and the formula of the Jewish *oath from this period is extant. From a letter of Bishop Engelbert II to the municipal council in favor of the Jews (1309), it appears that there were then ten or 13 Jewish families in Osnabrueck. As in the other towns of Germany, here too the Jews engaged in moneylending. In 1312 the bishop issued a regulation fixing the rate of interest at 36.1/9%. All offenders against this regulation had to pay a fine to the bishop and the municipal council, suggesting that at this time the Jews were dependent on the benevolence of both the bishop and the townsmen. In 1327, however, the 15 Jewish families were placed under the protection of the bishop. In 1337 Emperor Louis the Bavarian submitted the Jews to the authority of Baron Henry von Valdeck. At the time of the *Black Death (1350), the Jews of Osnabrueck were all martyred and their property confiscated. After a few years, eight Jewish families only were permitted to settle in exchange for an annual payment of 30 marks. As was customary in other localities, this privilege was valid for only six years. They were authorized to purchase a tract of land for a cemetery in 1386 (an "old" cemetery had been mentioned in 1343). By 1424, there were only two families who were able to pay the annual tax of seven to eight guilders. The remaining Jews were expelled, and Osnabrueck received the privilege of "*non tolerandis Judaeis*" which remained in force, with the exception of three families, until the French Revolution. The townsmen were, however, jealous of the income of even these few Jews, and in 1716 a law forbade them to engage in commerce without the authorization of the municipal council. The number of Jews increased under French occupation. In 1825 there were five families and a teacher, affiliated to the Emden rabbinate. The community subsequently grew from 138 in 1871 to 379 in 1880 and 450 in 1925. A large synagogue was consecrated for the community of wealthy merchants in 1906. Antisemitic movements flourished in Osnabrueck, and in 1927 the synagogue and cemetery were desecrated. Between 1933 and 1938 about 350 Jews emigrated; on May 17, 1939, only 119 remained. On **Kristallnacht* the synagogue was set on fire and shops and homes were looted. During the Holocaust, 134 former citizens of Osnabrueck lost their lives. During the war, 400 Jewish Yugoslav officers were placed in a special P.O.W. camp in Osnabrueck. In August 1945 services were renewed in a prayer room. In 1969 a synagogue and community center for the community of 69 persons were consecrated. The Jewish community numbered 61 in 1989 and 942 in 2005. The increase is explained by the immigration of Jews from the former Soviet Union. In 1998 the Felix Nussbaum Museum was inaugurated. Built by American Jewish architect Daniel *Libeskind, it houses a collection of German Jewish artist Felix *Nussbaum (1904, Osnabrueck–1944, Auschwitz).

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[Azriel Shochat / Larissa Daemmig (2nd ed)]

OSOBLAHA (Ger. **Hotzenplotz**), village in Silesia, Czech Republic. Osoblaha was the seat of an important Jewish community during the Middle Ages, under the protection of the bishopric of *Olomouc (Olmuetz), and had its own municipal administration (see *Politische Gemeinden) until 1849. In 1415 a decree of the bishop urged the town to treat the Jews fairly. In order to revive the town, which had been devastated by the *Hussites, in 1514 land lots were sold to Jews of Leobschuetz (Glubczyce). Twelve families from Prudnik (now Poland) settled in Osoblaha in 1570, and the community then numbered 132 families in 22 houses. They traded in Silesia and Poland and the community as such leased the distillery. A few years before the Thirty Years' War (1618–48), the *Council of the Lands succeeded in averting the community's threatened expulsion. In 1670 the Jewish community of Osoblaha absorbed several Jews expelled from Vienna. It suffered during the Seven Years' War (1756–63) and many left. There were 596 Jews living in 30 houses in 1788. The *Familiants Law of 1798 limited the community to 135 families, but in 1802 there were 153 families (845 persons); the number had fallen to 589 persons in 1830 when the Jewish quarter was destroyed by fire. It had a German-language elementary school (1803–70). During the Middle Ages important rabbis held office in Osoblaha, among them the future Moravian chief rabbi, Gershon Ḥayyot Manasse of Hotzenplotz (see *Mintmasters), who was the first purveyor to the Silesian mint (1622–24). The village was a Moravian enclave situated in Silesia. When in the 16–18th centuries Jews were not permitted to reside in Silesia, they took refuge in Osoblaha.The community declined quickly during the 19th century when most of its members moved to nearby Krnov (Jaegernodorf). In 1921 there were 37 Jews in

Osoblaha and only one in 1934. The dilapidated synagogue was demolished in 1933, and the records and ritual objects were transferred to Krnov. What remained of the old Jewish quarter and the Jewish cemetery were destroyed in World War II. The cemetery was renovated by a grant from the Czechoslovak government in the 1950s.

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[Meir Lamed]

OSROENE (**Osrhoene**), district within the Seleucid Empire, occupying the N.W. portion of Mesopotamia. The capital city of the district, Edessa (modern Urfa), became a Greek *polis* under Seleucus I Nicator, but during the reign of Antiochus VII Sidetes (c. 136 B.C.E.) the area was conquered by Arab tribesmen, sons of Orhai (Osroes). Thereafter the capital and the state were known as Orhai or Urhai (Orrhoene being the form given by Pliny the Elder). Situated between the Roman and Parthian Empires, the Arab kingdom tended to support the latter, and thus during the temporary Roman conquest of Mesopotamia under Trajan (116 C.E.) the reigning monarch, Abgar VII, was deposed. Although the king was eventually returned under Hadrian, total autonomy was short-lived, and in 216 the area became a Roman colony. Jews probably resided in Osroene from the late Persian and early Hellenistic periods. By the end of the Second Temple period their influence carried over to the neighboring kingdom of *Adiabene, whose royal family converted to Judaism. Christianity was also introduced into Osroene by means of the local Jewish community, and according to one legend the Jew Hananiah supposedly conveyed a letter from Jesus to King Abgar V. By the end of the second century Christianity was officially recognized in Osroene, and thereafter the office of bishop of Edessa was considered of utmost importance for Eastern Christianity.

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[Isaiah Gafni]

OSSOWETZKY, O. YEHOSHUA (1858–1929), senior official in Baron Edmond de *Rothschild's administration in Ereẓ Israel. Born in Kiev, in 1883 Ossowetzky was appointed chief administrator in *Rishon le-Zion by Baron de Rothschild. There he induced the farmers to plant vines and doubled the settlement's land area. The "free" farmers not subsidized by the Baron clashed with Ossowetzky; their leaders were forced to leave Rishon le-Zion after the "free" farmers' revolt, while Ossowetzky was replaced by an even harsher official. In 1887 he bought 7,000 dunams (1,750 acres) of land in Kastina (later *Be'er Toviyyah), and two years later he was appointed chief official of the Baron de Rothschild in Galilee and moved to *Rosh Pinnah. There he gained great influence in Turkish circles with the aid of bribes and gifts. He used to ride in a carriage, preceded by armed Jewish horsemen. Ossowetzky extended the area of Rosh Pinnah and tried to base its economy on plantations and the silk industry. He also established three settlements of *Metullah on land he had purchased. In the 1890s Ossowetzky purchased large tracts of land in the Golan and other areas east of the Jordan River and also began purchasing land in Lower Galilee (*Sejera). When the management of the settlements was handed over to the *Jewish Colonization Association (ICA) in 1900, Ossowetzky left the country and lived in Paris until his death.

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[Yehuda Slutsky]

OSSUARIES AND SARCOPHAGI. Ossuaries are small chests in which the bones of the dead were placed after the flesh had decayed. Sarcophagi are body-length coffins made of stone or marble, clay and marble, which were used for primary burials (the term is from the Greek meaning "flesh-eater"). The earliest ossuaries found in Ereẓ Israel are from the Chalcolithic period. Ceramic ossuaries have been found at Ḥaderah, Bene-Berak, Azor, and Peqi'in. Some are shaped like a four-legged receptacle with a vaulted roof, a door with a bolt in the facade, and windows in the rear, and are thought to resemble dwellings of the period. The ossuaries have painted decorations and some of their facades are given the appearance of a human face. Ceramic anthropoid coffins dating to the transitional period between the end of the Bronze Age and the beginning of the Iron Age, which imitate the shape of Egyptian mummies, have been found at Deir el-Balah (near Gaza) and at Beth-Shean. During the Iron Age neither ceramic nor stone coffins were used for burial purposes.

Sarcophagi

Known in Ereẓ Israel particularly from the Second Temple period and onwards, elongated sarcophagi decorated with plant motifs have been uncovered in "Herod's family tomb" and in the "Tombs of the King" in Jerusalem, and also in a large tomb on the Mount of Olives. Especially remarkable is the ornamentation of the vaulted lid of a sarcophagus from the "Tombs of the Kings," which is carved with plants common to the country, vine and olive branches, etc. Wooden coffins from this period have been found at Ein-Gedi, one of which was inlaid with bone. In the Roman period, many carved sarcophagi made of marble were introduced into the country from abroad. A sarcophagus discovered near Caesarea portrays a battle between Greeks and Amazons, another from Turmus Aiya is carved with representations of the seasons. Sarcophagi are also known from tombs in Samaria (in a third-century C.E. tomb), one depicts peasants taking their produce to market. A sarcophagus with mythological scenes (Achilles among the daughters of Lycomedes; Leda) was found in the Bet She'arim cemetery (possibly in secondary use). Lead coffins which were cast in Tyre, Ashkelon, and Jerusalem were common in the third-fourth centuries; molds were employed for their decorations. Early Christian sarcophagi bear reliefs depicting scenes from the Bible and the Gospels. In the Byzantine period, the use of sarcophagi died out.

Ossuaries

Small stone chests, used for the secondary interment of human bones, were extremely popular among the Jewish population during the Second Temple period, i.e., between c. 40 B.C.E. and 135 C.E.. Ossuaries found by Hachlili at Jericho are dated to a more restricted time period: 10–68 C.E. They are mainly known from tombs in the vicinity of Jerusalem, but examples are known from Galilee (e.g., Nazareth), the Shephelah (e.g., Modi'in), and the lower Jordan River region (e.g., Jericho). A typical ossuary had a length of about 2.5 ft., so that it might accommodate the long bone of an adult leg, which is the longest bone in a human body. The ossuaries taper slightly toward the bottom; some stand on four low legs; they are made of soft limestone with flat or vaulted lids. Many contain scratched inscriptions on their sides in cursive Hebrew, Aramaic, or Greek, or in two languages (a few inscriptions were made with charcoal). In most cases only the name of the deceased or his family status is given, e.g., "Mother"; some inscriptions, however, are longer, e.g., "Dostos our father – do not open," or "The bones of the sons of Nicanor, who made the doors" (i.e., those of the *Nicanor gate in the Second Temple). In some cases (mostly in the burial of small children) one ossuary served for the bones of more than one body. The chests are sometimes decorated with a red or yellow wash of paint, but the usual decorations are chip-carved and chiseled decorations, with some designs executed using a compass. The surface of the ossuary was generally divided into two fields by square frames formed by a wavy line between two straight ones. The squares were filled with a rosette motif, usually with six leaves, but there are considerable variations in its form, as well as in the decoration of the surrounding surface, by the use of dots, wreaths, etc. The double-rosette motif is a very common decoration on ossuaries, and Wilkinson has suggested they might have been symbols used to invoke cherubim – the winged creatures on the inner curtain of the Tabernacle (Ex. 26:31). Some ossuaries are decorated with representations of plants, buildings, or parts of them (columns, capitals), gates. Various cross-like scratches and other marks sometimes appear on ossuaries and their lids (erroneously regarded by early scholars as Judeo-Christian symbols), and these were probably made by the stone craftsmen who carved the chests and wished to ensure their proper closure.

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[Michael Avi-Yonah / Shimon Gibson (2nd ed.)]

OSTFELD, BARBARA JEAN (1952–), one of the first U.S. women invested as a cantor. Born in St. Louis, Missouri, one of three children of Dr. Adrian Ostfeld, an epidemiologist, and Ruth Vogel Ostfeld, Barbara was musical from very early childhood and knew from an early age that she wanted to be a cantor. Ostfeld's decision to apply to the sacred music undergraduate program at HUC-JIR was not motivated by a particular political or feminist viewpoint. Initially, she was unaware that women had not previously been admitted to the school. At HUC-JIR Ostfeld was profoundly influenced by Arthur Wolfson, cantor at Temple Emanuel in New York City, who taught her both contemporary Reform music and traditional *nusaḥ*. She graduated in 1975, receiving ordination at age 22. She also met and married her first husband, Frederick Herman, during her years of study. This marriage was not successful and Ostfeld later married Todd M. Joseph, with whom she had two daughters.

Ostfeld served congregations in Great Neck, Rochester, and Buffalo, New York, where she fulfilled the full range of cantorial responsibilities, including funerals, weddings, leading services, and directing a children's choir. Early on her talents were recognized by the Reform cantors' professional organization, the American Conference of Cantors (ACC). She served on board positions of the ACC, as Secretary (1978–80), as vice president (1980–82), as a Northeast regional representative (1994–96), and several terms on the board of directors. From 1996 to 1998, she chaired the Joint Cantorial Placement Commission. She received an honorary doctorate in sacred music in 2000. In 2002, she accepted the directorship of the Placement Commission of the ACC.

[Judith S. Pinnolis (2nd ed.)]

OSTIA, city in central Italy, near the mouth of the River Tiber; it was one of the harbors of Rome and became at the end of the Republic an important commercial center. However, Ostia flourished mainly under the Flavian and Antonine Dynasties. From the middle of the 3rd century C.E. its slow decline began.

At the end of the 19th century the site was excavated and a few epitaphs in Greek and Latin were discovered, which seemed to indicate the presence of a Jewish community (*universitas Judaeorum*). In 1961 the remains of a synagogue found near Ostia provided definite proof that a Jewish community had existed there. The excavations have shown that part of the building was constructed at the end of the first century, underwent alterations and enlargements during the second and third, and was considerably enlarged and partly rebuilt at the beginning of the fourth. As a result of the diminished population of the city, the synagogue fell into ruins at the end of the fourth or during the fifth centuries.

The building, which is of the basilica type, stands between the ancient seashore and the coastal road (*Via Severiana*), and faces east-southeast, in the direction of Jerusalem. It has three entrance doors, recalling the synagogues of Galilee. From the door in the center a step leads down to the synagogue proper, a large rectangular hall about 81.6 × 41.0 ft. (24.9 × 12.5 m.). This is divided into three aisles with four marble columns surmounted by finely worked Corinthian capitals. It has been suggested that the lateral sections, which are divided by stone balustrades, were reserved for women. The wall at the back is slightly curved. In the oldest hall the seats were of stone, set against the walls. An inscription of the second or third century, partly in Latin, partly in Hebrew, refers expressly to the ark: "For the Emperor's health Mindis Faustos (with his family) built and made (it) from his own gifts and set up the ark for the Holy Law."

In the later fourth-century building the Tabernacle for the Ark, shaped as an aedicula, rises behind the pulpit in the left aisle along its entire length, a few steps leading to it. Jewish symbols, which can be found also in other synagogues of that period, are carved on the corbel of the aedicula's architrave: a seven-branched *menorah*, a *shofar*, and a *lulav* and *etrog*.

The floor is covered with a bichrome mosaic decorated with floral motifs.

It is thought that a stove for baking *maẓẓot* can be identified in one of the surrounding rooms, as well as a *mikveh*, and a spacious hall which served for religious instruction or as a resting place for pilgrims. The building of the synagogue of Ostia is the first ancient synagogue known in Italy and Western Europe.

In the area of the synagogue were found various terracotta oil-lamps with an obvious Jewish character. Most were decorated with a *menorah* and one with a Torah ark.

The community must have numbered several hundred Jews.

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[Alfredo Mordechai Rabello / Samuel Rocca (2nd ed.)]

OSTRACA (Gr. ὄστρακον, plural ὄστρακα), ancient inscribed potsherds. Ostraca were common writing materials in antiquity which were used mainly for writing receipts, temporary records, lists of names, etc., but some letters written on potsherds have also been found. Ostraca from the Middle Bronze Age II (c. 1788–1550 B.C.E.) have been found in Ereẓ Israel; the earliest one comes from the pile of debris left by *Macalister after his excavations at Gezer. It appears to represent a transitional stage between the proto-Sinaitic script and Hebrew-Phoenician alphabetic writing and has been deciphered as *klb* ("Caleb"). A later example of this transitional stage of writing appears on an ostracon from Tell el-Ḥesi discovered in the stratum attributed to the beginning of the Late Bronze Age II (c. 1400–1200 B.C.E.) which Sayce proposed reading *bla*. Three inscribed potsherds from Lachish, probably dedicatory inscriptions, and one from Tell al-ʿAjjūl, are dated to the 13th century B.C.E. An ostracon found at Beth–Shemesh belongs to the transitional period between the Middle and Late Bronze Age but since it is written in ink, the potsherd and the inscription cannot be definitely dated to the same period. It seems to date to the beginning of the 12th century B.C.E. and apparently contains a list of names of workers, the number of their work days, and names of the employers. It is the first ostracon found in Ereẓ Israel which contains numerals. The latest ostracon from Ereẓ Israel was found at Tell ab-Ṣarim in the Beth-Shean Valley and probably dates to the beginning of the first century B.C.E.

These ostraca are most valuable for tracing the development of the alphabet. Ostraca from the Israelite period have been found in the royal storehouse of the Israelite kings at *Samaria. These sherds, written in ink, are receipts for taxes and contain the year of payment, the name and provenance of the payer, the kind of tax (wine or oil), and some also have the name of the tax collector or the official in charge of the storehouse. These ostraca seem to date from the time of the Israelite king Jehoahaz, son of Jehu (c. 3–800 B.C.E.). Near the wall outside the city several other inscribed potsherds were found which were incised, and not written in ink. The "Ophel Ostracon" found in the City of David is assigned to the end of the period of the kingdom of Judah. It apparently contains the names of persons and their provenances. From the same period is a group of potsherds written in ink from Lachish (Tell al-Duwayr); 18 were found in the city gate and three in the latest Israelite stratum inside the city near the inner wall. In the excavations at Arad, ostraca were found written in Hebrew and Aramaic and one in Egyptian. They are assigned to the end of the kingdom of Judah and early Persian period and are mostly orders to the official in charge of the fortress to provide supplies to the soldiers of the Judean kings. Several fragmentary ostraca from the Persian period were discovered in the upper stratum (sixth–fifth century B.C.E.) at Tell al-Khalayfa (cf. *Ezion-Geber, *Elath) on the coast of the Gulf of Akaba. They are written in Aramaic and are apparently receipts for wine.

Ostraca were commonly used in Egypt; those found at Elephantine are written in Aramaic in a script similiar to that appearing on the ostraca from Tell al-Khalayfa. The Egyptian ostraca, mostly tax receipts, are an important source of information on the economic history of the Ptolemaic and Roman periods in Egypt, and include records of the taxes levied on the Jews from the time of Vespasian onward.

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[*Encyclopaedia Hebraica*]

OSTRAVA (until 1929 **Moravska Ostrava**; Ger. **Maehrisch-Ostrau**), city in N. Moravia, Czech Republic; after Prague and Brno the third largest Jewish community in Czechoslovakia between the two world wars. The town was prohibited to Jews in the Middle Ages. In 1508 the local lord permitted one Jew to settle, against the wishes of the town. He was followed by others, resulting in an expulsion order of 1531, although it was only partly carried out. Jews mainly from *Osoblaha (Hotzenplotz) later did business in Ostrava. In 1786 the municipality leased its distillery to a Jew. Other Jews subsequently arrived and in 1832 a *minyan* was organized. When in 1837 the city council was in session deciding on whether to grant a Jew right of sojourn, the mob rioted and the council did not dare to decide in the affirmative. A *Kultusverein was organized in 1860 under the guidance of the *Teschen community. A cemetery was consecrated in 1872 and a community authorized in 1875; it then numbered 58 persons. The Jewish population was divided between the different parts of the city; Polnisch-Ostrau (after 1918, Slezska Ostrava), which was then under Silesian administration, and Maehrisch-Ostrau, which was under Moravian administration. After a prolonged conflict over where the community's institutions would be located, Maehrisch-Ostrau became the center.

With the rapid development of the city, caused by the development of mines and the founding of the Vitkovice steelworks by the *Gutmann brothers, the community thrived, absorbing Jews from older Moravian communities and many from Galicia. In 1879 the main synagogue was consecrated. While in 1880 there were 1,077 Jews in Ostrava, in 1900 there were already about 5,000 and in the census of 1930, 7,189 Jews. In 1937 the Jewish population was around 10,000, making Ostrava the third largest Jewish community in Czech-speaking lands. On the eve of World War II there was a wave of emigration to Ereẓ Israel. Several leaders of the Czechoslovak Zionist movement who resided in Ostrava, like Joseph *Rufeisen and Paul Maerz, also left. On the other hand, there was a steady influx of Jews to the city, from Galicia across the border and from Carpatho-Russia; consequently the religious community in the town was strengthened and successfully rivaled the liberal-minded local congregation. By 1875 a religious congregation had been established, and a rabbi was invited in 1890. Later a "Sephardi," i.e. ḥasidic, congregation was established as well. Alois Hilf was president of the community. Additional synagogues were opened in the suburbs of Privoz (1904), Vitkovice (1911), Hrusov (1914), and Zabreh, among others. In 1912 the community built a vacation home for Jewish children. After 1918 Ostrava became a main center of Jewish life, where the regional offices of the Zionist Organization and of *He-Ḥalutz were located. The *Maccabi sport club was strong there, and in 1929 a *Maccabiah was held in Ostrava with the participation of some 2,000 men and women. Other organizations like Maccabi ha-Ẓa'ir and *Blau-Weiss thrived there. A Jewish technical school was founded in 1919. The communal statute adopted in 1921, based on universal, proportional, and direct suffrage for men and women without regard to their citizenship, served as an example for many other communities. Among the new communal institutions opened in the 1920s were the Kedma, a home for Jewish apprentices (1924), and a new Orthodox synagogue (1926). In the community's elementary school, teaching was in German in the lower grades and in Czech in the upper grades. The community increased from 4,969 in 1921 to 6,865 in 1931 (5.4% of the total population). There were some very active communities on the outskirts and in the vicinity of Ostrava, e.g., Frystat (Ger. Freistadt; 322 in 1930), Karvinna (172 in 1930), Orlova (Ger. Orlau; 394 in 1930), and Frydek (Ger. Friedeck; 237 in 1930), Mistek (195 in 1930), Hrusov (Ger. Hruschau; 219 in 1930). Jewish life in Ostrava was depicted in the writings of Joseph Wechsberg, a native of the town who later emigrated to the United States.

Holocaust Period

Immediately after the German occupation, the Jewish old-age home was confiscated and most of the synagogues in the city and in the suburbs of Vitk, Privoz, Hrusov and Zabreh were set on fire. On Oct. 17, 1939, about 1,200 Jews were transferred to Zarzecze, where a forced-labor camp, Nisko nad Lanem, was erected; the Ostrava community was forced to supply the materials for the building of this camp, which was known as *Zentralstelle fuer juedische Umsiedlung* ("central office for Jewish resettlement"). The Nisko camp was part of a projected plan to create a Jewish reservation in Poland, but it was soon abandoned. In March 1940, 600 Jews were driven over the border into Poland; another 500 were returned to Ostrava. Many of those driven east survived the war while those who remained, 3,903 in 1941, were subjected to deportations. Between Sept. 17 and Sept. 29, 1942, 2,582 Jews were deported in three transports. In all, a total of 3,567 Jews were deported from Ostrava; 253 survived.

After World War II the Jewish congregation was reestablished, with numerous Jews from Carpatho-Russia who had chosen to settle in Czechoslovakia instead of their native land ruled by the Soviets. A prayer room was active in the city from 1978. A new cemetery was opened in neighboring Sliezska Ostrava and a ceremonial hall was added in 1988. Few Jews lived there in the early 21st century.

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[Meir Lamed and Henry Wasserman / Yeshayahu Jelinek (2nd ed.)]

OSTRICH, the largest of the birds. The ostrich, in its habits and bodily structure, has features similar to those of a camel (its Latin name is *Strutio camelus*). It was formerly commonly found in eastern Transjordan but by reason of being intensively hunted has disappeared almost entirely from the Middle East region; individual ostriches are only seldom found in eastern Transjordan, to which they apparently come from the Arabian deserts where the ostrich has also become rare. In the Bible the ostrich is called *ya'en* (יָעֵן) and *kenaf-renanim* (כְּנַף רְנָנִים; AV, JPS "the wing of the ostrich"). The former name occurs once, in Lamentations (4:3): "The daughter of my people is become cruel, like the ostriches in the wilderness." Its description as cruel is apparently connected with the fact that when in danger it is liable in its flight to hurt its chicks and also to the fact that the female often hatches only some of the eggs, the rest being abandoned and used as food for the newly hatched chicks. Job (39:13–18) contains an extensive description of the ostrich, there called *kenaf-renanim*, that is, "the wing that delights the eye with its beauty." There an account is given of the way it hatches its eggs on the ground (*ibid.*, 14–15); of the male who confuses the chicks of other females and is their leader (*ibid.*, 16); of the ostrich's meager understanding; "Because God hath deprived her of wisdom, neither hath He imparted to her understanding" (*ibid.*, 17; cf. the expression *Vogelstrausspolitik*); of its ability to escape from hunters mounted on horses (*ibid.*, 18). The translations have identified the *bat-ya'anah* (בַּת יַעֲנָה), included among the unclean birds and mentioned several times as inhabiting desolate places (Isa. 13:21; Micah 1:8; et al.), with the *ya'en*. The *bat-ya'anah* was originally a species of *owl but the name is used for ostrich in modern Hebrew. In the Mishnah the ostrich is called *na'amit* (נַעֲמִית; in Ar.: *na'ama*); in mishnaic and talmudic times the ostrich was well known. Vessels were made from its eggshells (Kel. 17:14), while some people bred it as an ornamental bird (Shab. 128a). Its ability to swallow anything was exploited; fed pieces of gold covered with dough, it evacuated them after the action of its gastric juice had refined the gold (TJ, Yoma 4:4, 41d).

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[Jehuda Feliks]

OSTRIKER, ALICIA (1937–), U.S. poet and literary critic. Born in Brooklyn, New York, the second daughter of Beatrice (Linnick) and David Suskin, Ostriker was raised in a secular left-wing home. While studying English literature at Brandeis University (B.A. 1958), Alicia met Jeremiah P. Ostriker, a student at Harvard and a Reconstructionist Jew, who encouraged her to read the Bible. This first encounter with biblical literature created a complicated connection to Judaism that she would pursue in her subsequent creative and scholarly writing. The couple married in 1958. While her husband earned a doctorate in astrophysics at the University of Chicago, Ostriker pursued graduate work in English at the University of Wisconsin, earning an M.A. (1961) and Ph.D. (1964). Her dissertation focused on William Blake. In 1965, she joined the faculty of Rutgers University, teaching English and creative writing. She was promoted to full professor in 1972 and named distinguished professor in 1982.

Known for her strongly feminist perspective, Ostriker published numerous essays and five volumes of literary criticism, including *Writing Like a Woman* (1983) and *Stealing the Language: The Emergence of Women's Poetry in America* (1986). Her 11 volumes of poetry draw from her personal life. Once unaffiliated with any Jewish institution, Ostriker began to study Hebrew and Bible in the 1980s and went on to offer workshops on feminist Bible reading and Midrash at the National Havurah Institute. Both her scholarly and creative work reflect feminist readings of the Bible and of Jewish liturgy and tradition. The essays in *Feminist Revision and the Bible* (1992) and *The Nakedness of the Fathers: Biblical Vision and Revision* (1994) reimagine characters and narratives of the Hebrew Bible from a contemporary, post-Holocaust, and feminist perspective. Her poems reflect similar concerns. *Green Age* (1989) addresses women's aging, spiritual development, and creativity, while offering a critique of patriarchy in Jewish tradition. *The Crack in Everything* (1996) charts her battle against breast cancer and includes several moving poems reflecting on the Holocaust. *The Volcano Sequence* (2002) probes Jewish texts, history, liturgy, and theology, revealing Ostriker's growing knowledge of classic rabbinic writing and modern Jewish philosophy, while *No Heaven* (2005) explores issues of Jewish identity as well as art.

Ostriker received many prestigious awards and grants, including a National Endowment for the Arts Fellowship (1976–77); a Rockefeller Foundation Fellowship (1982); a Guggenheim Foundation Fellowship (1984–85); the Pushcart Prize (1979 and 2000); Poetry Society of America's William Carlos Williams Prize for *The Imaginary Lover* (1986); Strousse Poetry Prize (1986); Edward Stanley Award (1994); Anna David Rosenberg Poetry Award (1994); Paterson Poetry Award (1996); San Francisco State Poetry Centre Award (1996); Readers' Choice Award (1998); and Bookman News Book of the Year (1998).

[Sara R. Horowitz (2nd ed.)]

OSTROG (Heb. אוסטרא, אוסטרהא), city in Rovno district (Volhynia), Ukraine; formerly in Poland. Evidence of the beginnings of Jewish settlement in Ostrog dates from the 15th century; inscriptions on two Jewish tombstones in the ancient cemetery date from 1445, and the archives of Lvov contain documents of 1447 relating to Ostrog Jewry. In 1495 the Jews were expelled from Ostrog, during the general expulsion of Jews from the grand duchy of Lithuania, but they were able to return after a short interval. Their trading activities were opposed by the burghers who in 1502 complained to the Polish king that the Ostrog Jews were depriving them of their profits from the transit trade through Lvov to Podolia and Russia. Sigismund I adjudicated a case relating to customs dues in which Ostrog Jews were involved in 1536. The growth of the Ostrog community was linked to the expansion of trade with Walachia, Walachian cattle being exchanged for cloth and other goods which the Ostrog Jews sold in Poland. They also exported timber, wax, potash, leather and leather goods via the Bug River to Danzig. The Ostrog community was one of the four original leading communities in Volhynia represented on the *Council of the Four Lands. The community perished during the Cossack uprising under *Chmielnicki in 1648–49 when 1,500 families (about 7,000 persons) were massacred. In 1661 there were only five Jewish families in the town. Later the community revived, to regain its former leading position in Volhynia, with jurisdiction over a number of communities in the vicinity. The Jews of Ostrog were miraculously saved during the *Haidamack raids in the middle of the 18th century, with the help of their Tatar neighbors. They also emerged unscathed when Russian troops in 1792 attacked the synagogue of Ostrog, believing it to be a fortress, in the fighting that preceded the second partition of Poland. In commemoration of their deliverance the Ostrog Jews instituted a "Purim of Ostrog," and the *Megillat Tammuz* was read in the synagogue on the 7th of Tammuz. At the end of the 18th century the Jewish population numbered under 2,000 and in 1830 2,206. By 1847 it had increased to 7,300, a similar figure to that in the period preceding the 1648 massacres, an influx evidently following the decree of *Nicholas I of 1843 ordering the expulsion of Jews from western border settlements (see *Russia). In 1897, the Jews numbered 9,208 out of a total population of 14,749; and in 1921 7,991 (out of 12,975). By 1939 nearly 10,500 Jews were living there.

Ostrog was one of the most important centers of Jewish religious learning in Poland, its name being interpreted in Hebrew as *Os Torah* ("the letter of the Law"). Some of Poland's most eminent scholars served as rabbis and principals of the Ostrog yeshivah, which was already in existence by the beginning of the 16th century. The first-known rabbi of the congregation and principal of the yeshivah was Kalonymus Kalman Haberkasten. Among his notable successors were Solomon *Luria (Maharshal), Isaiah *Horowitz, author of *Shenei Luḥot ha-Berit* (first quarter of the 17th century), Samuel *Edels (Maharsha), and *David b. Samuel ha-Levi (Taz). According to the last, the Ostrog yeshivah was probably the greatest in Poland: "Never have I seen so important a yeshivah as this." Ostrog was the "great town of scholars and writers" according to Nathan Nata *Hannover. The yeshivah was restored soon after the Cossack destruction through the efforts of Samuel Shmelke, who loaned a large sum to the Council of the Four Lands for its reestablishment and the maintenance of students. Its rabbis included many distinguished scholars and its graduates provided rabbis, principals of yeshivot, *dayyanim*, and *maggidim* for numerous communities. Ostrog also became celebrated as a center of *Ḥasidism which was disseminated there by several disciples of *Israel b. Eliezer (the Ba'al Shem Tov). A number of benevolent societies and foundations functioned in Ostrog, the most important being the burial society. During the Russian rule the Jewish population grew from 1,829 in 1787 to 7,300 (including nearby settlements) in 1847, and 9,208 in 1897 (total population – 14,749). Jews were active in the trade of lumber, cattle, and farm products. They owned sawmills, hide-processing and furniture factories, and two banks. After World War I Ostrog turned into a border town within Poland, and was cut of from the Eastern market. This led to an economic decline. The number of Jews fell to 7,991 (total population – 12,975) in 1921, and 8,171 (total population – 13,265) in 1931. The Zionist movement and the Bund flourished. There was a Hebrew elementary and junior high school, and a kindergarten.

[Azriel Shochat / Shmuel Spector (2nd ed.)]

Holocaust Period

Under Soviet rule (1939–41), the Jewish communal bodies were disbanded. A number of Zionist youth left for Vilna in the hope of reaching Palestine from there. In the summer of 1940 some Jewish families were sent into exile to the Soviet interior. When war broke out between Germany and Russia on June 22, 1941, groups of Jewish youth left the town with the retreating Soviet army. About 1,000 Jews from Ostrog reached the Soviet Union, leaving about 9,500 Jews in Ostrog itself. During the heavy fighting 500 Jews were killed. The German forces entered Ostrog on July 3, 1941, and immediately embarked upon a campaign of murder and plunder among the Jewish population. On Aug. 4 2,000 Jews were rounded up and murdered in the woods in the New City, followed on September 1 by a similar action against 2,500 more victims. The members of the first *Judenrat headed by Rabbi Ginzburg were murdered in the first murder *Aktion* in August. A second Judenrat was set up, headed by Avraham Komedant and including Chaim Dawidson, Yakov Gurewitz, and Yakov Kaplan. A ghetto was established in June 1942, where the remaining 3,000 Jews were concentrated. The third and final *Aktion* came on Oct. 15, 1942, in which 3,000 persons were taken and murdered on the outskirts of the town. About 800 Jews escaped to the forest, but few of them survived, as they were often attacked or betrayed by the Ukrainian peasants, or were murdered by gangs of the Bandera Ukrainian nationalists. Some of the escapees organized partisan units operating in the vicinity. Among the outstanding partisans were Yakov Kaplan, Mendel Treiberman, and Pesach Eisenstein. When the Soviet forces returned to Ostrog on Feb. 4, 1944, about 30 Jews emerged from the partisan ranks. Approximately another 30 came out of hiding. Later on, former Jewish inhabitants who had fled to the Soviet Union also returned, but the vast majority left Ostrog for Poland, on their way to Ereẓ Israel or other countries abroad. The community was not reconstituted after World War II.

[Aharon Weiss]

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OSTROGORSKI, MOSES (1854–1917), scholar of political law and community leader. Born in Grodno, Belorussia, Ostrogorski finished his studies at the University of St. Petersburg and worked in the Ministry of Justice. In 1882 he was appointed head of the legislation department, but when the czarist reaction increased its power he was forced to resign and leave the country. His book, *La femme au point de vue du public*, published in 1892, was awarded a prize from the law faculty in Paris and was translated into English, German, and Polish. His most important book, *La démocratie et l'organisation des partis politiques* (translated into English in 1903), severely criticized the democratic regimes of England and the United States, whose main fault was that the power of the political parties suppresses individual freedom. On the basis of this book Ostrogorski became renowned among American and Western European thinkers. In 1904 he returned to Russia, where he was elected to the first *Duma in 1906 by the Jewish voters as the representative of the Grodno district. He was one of those who determined the Duma's work procedures. He also served as a member of the committee for equal rights, and with M. *Vinaver presented the case of the Jews. He was one of a six-member delegation sent by the Duma to visit the British Parliament. Although he did not formally join any political party, he always took the side of the Constitutional Democrats. As a member of the Jewish Popular Group, founded by Vinaver and *Sliozberg, he vehemently objected to the establishment of an organized group of Jewish representatives to the Duma which was demanded by the Zionists and *Dubnow.

[Eliezer Margaliot]

OSTROLEKA (Pol. **Ostrołęka**; also **Ostrolenka**), town in Warsaw province, Poland. A permanent Jewish settlement in Ostroleka is not recorded before the 19th century, although Jews are mentioned in connection with the town in a document of 1622. An ordinance of 1826 prescribed certain areas for Jewish residence, only those with special privileges being permitted to live outside. The restriction was removed in 1862. The community, which numbered approximately 560 in 1827 (16.3% of the total population), increased to 1,129 (36.8%) in 1856; 4,832 (37.2%) in 1897; and 6,219 (53.5%) in 1909; decreasing to 3,352 (36.6%) in 1921. The 708 members of the loan society (founded in 1909) of the Ostroleka community in 1924 comprised 359 artisans, 259 small traders, 11 agriculturalists, and 79 members of other professions.

[Nathan Michael Gelber]

Holocaust Period

Ostroleka was occupied by the Germans in September 1939. Jews were physically attacked and Jewish property confiscated. On Simḥat Torah all Jews were ordered to cross into the Soviet sector within three days. During the expulsion many were killed and their property stolen. The Jews of Ostroleka were scattered throughout the Soviet sector and found temporary asylum in Bialystok, Slonim, Lomza, and other cities. Administrative restrictions were placed upon them, and in 1940 many families were deported to the Soviet interior. Those who remained in the Soviet-occupied sector of Poland fell into the hands of the Germans after the outbreak of the German-Soviet war (June 22, 1941) and suffered the same persecutions as the local Jews – forced labor, starvation, disease, and finally extermination. Jews from Ostroleka were active in the resistance movements in the Vilna and Baranovichi ghettoes. Some also joined the partisans and fought in the Puszcza Naliboki and the surrounding area.

[Aharon Weiss]

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Sefer Kehillat Ostrolenka* (Heb. and Yid., 1963).

OSTROLENK, BERNHARD (1887–1944), U.S. economist. Ostrolenk, who was born in Warsaw, received his early schooling in Berlin, and was taken to the United States in 1897. After holding several teaching posts, he became professor of economics at the School of Business and Civic Administration at the City College of New York where he taught until his death. He also wrote for many magazines including *Current History* and *Business Week*. His major publications include: *Economic Geography* (1941); *The Surplus Farmer* (1932); and *The Economics of Branch Banking* (1930). His main interests were scientific farming and the economic problems of agriculture. During World War II, he became interested in immigration problems and the Zionist movement.

[Joachim O. Ronall]

OSTROPOLER, HERSHELE (late 18th century), Yiddish jester. Although biographical facts concerning him are based on oral tradition intermingled with folklore, he was probably born in Balta, Podolia, and lived and died at Medzibezh. He derived his name from the townlet of Ostropol, Poland, where he served as *shoḥet* ("ritual slaughterer"), until his satiric wit offended the communal leaders. He then wandered through Podolia townlets becoming a familiar figure in the inns of the district. His poverty was proverbial. According to a folk legend, he was called to the ḥasidic court of Medzibezh to cure the *Ba'al Shem Tov's grandson, Reb Baruch Tulchiner, of his fits of depression by serving as his jester. His satiric barbs shocked the rich and delighted the simple folk. Booklets recording his tales, anecdotes, and witticisms appeared posthumously and were widely disseminated until the mid-20th century. He was the subject of lyrics by Ephraim *Auerbach and Itzik *Manger, a novel by I.J. *Trunk, a comedy by M. Livshitz performed by the *Vilna Troupe in 1930, a comedy by Jacob Gershenson, and a folkplay by Jacob Zonshein.

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[Sol Liptzin]

OSTROPOLER, SAMSON BEN PESAḤ (d. 1648), kabbalist. No details are known about Ostropoler's life except those few that can be deduced from his own writings. During his lifetime, in the second quarter of the 17th century, he became widely known throughout Poland as the greatest kabbalist in the country, and the tradition about his outstanding rank lived on for several generations after his death. Considered one of the principal proponents of Lurianic Kabbalah in Poland, he corresponded with many kabbalists of his day. While serving as preacher and *Maggid* in Polonnoye (Volhynia), he died a martyr's death at the head of the Jewish community (July 22, 1648) during the *Chmielnicki massacres. None of his writings was published during his lifetime and it is not until the following generation that scattered quotations in his name are found in various kabbalistic books. In 1653 Ẓevi Horowitz (or Hurwitz) ha-Levi copied in Grodno a collection of Ostropoler's kabbalistic notes (preserved in Ms. Oxford Neubauer Cat. Bod. no. 1793). His grandson incorporated this collection into his commentary on the Zohar, *Aspaklarya Me'irah* (Fuerth, 1776), dispersing it throughout many passages; only some portions were omitted. Moses Meinsters from Vienna published (Amsterdam, 1687) a small pamphlet containing *Ketavim* by Ostropoler. In 1709 the latter's nephew published in Zolkiew the book *Karnayim* with Ostropoler's commentary, *Dan Yadin*, and another batch of collectanea (*likkutim*) from his papers which also contained some of his letters on kabbalistic matters. *Karnayim*, attributed by Ostropoler to an unknown Aaron from the unknown city of Kardina, consists mainly of extremely obscure hints which are so cleverly expounded in the commentary that during the 18th century it was suggested that the book and the commentary were written by the same man. An analysis of all Ostropoler's remaining writings makes this virtually certain.

Ostropoler lived in a world of numerological mysticism and was deeply concerned with demonology, on which his writings abound in the most extraordinary statements. In the main his frequent references to Lurianic writings have no basis in Ḥayyim *Vital's texts and are only loosely connected with Israel *Sarug's brand of Lurianism. Many other quotations are equally fictitious, imitating Moses *Botarel's methods in his commentary on *Sefer Yeẓirah*. Ostropoler was apparently closely connected with two of his kabbalistic contemporaries, Nathan Shapira in Cracow and Aryeh Loew Prilik, who had similar interests but did not employ pseudepigraphy. Whereas the Lurianic writings speak of the power of evil, the *kelippot*, at great length but in a general, impersonal manner, Ostropoler liked to give each and every one special and previously unknown names, many of them obviously constructed on numerological principles. There is no doubt that he presents a psychological enigma. Anti-Christian and elaborate messianic hints appear in his writings. His main work, which is often referred to, was a commentary to the Zohar, *Maḥaneh Dan*, but no trace of this has been found. The unique character of Ostropoler's writings led to their being widely quoted in later kabbalistic literature, and they were reprinted several times. Two other commentaries on *Karnayim* were published, one by Eliezer Fischel from Stryzow (Zhitomir, 1805) denouncing those who suspected Ostropoler of being the author, and one by Samuel Samama of Tunis (Leghorn, 1825).

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[Gershom Scholem]

OSTROWER, FAYGA (1920–2001), Brazilian graphic artist, born in Lodz, Poland. Ostrower lived in Germany from 1921 until 1934 when she immigrated to Brazil. After 1944 she specialized in the graphic arts, producing book illustrations, fabric designs, and carefully composed, delicately colored prints.

OSTROWIEC (also **Ostrowiec Swietokrzyski**), town in Kielce province, Poland. In 1755, the rabbi of Ostrowiec, Ezekiel b. Avigdor, took part in an assembly of the *Council of the Four Lands. Previously Eliezer b. Solomon Zalman Lipschuetz, author of responsa *Heshiv R. Eliezer ve-Si'aḥ ha-Sadeh* (Neuwied, 1749), had served as rabbi there. The community increased from 1,064 in 1827 to 2,736 in 1856 (80% of the total population) and 6,146 in 1897 (62.8%). In 1921 it numbered 10,095 (51%). Most of the Jews in Ostrowiec lived in conditions of extreme poverty. A pogrom was instigated there by factory workers in 1904. The Jewish loan fund in Ostrowiec had a membership of 474 in 1924, of whom 344 were storekeepers, tradesmen or peddlers, 97 artisans, and 33 in miscellaneous professions.

[Nathan Michael Gelber]

Holocaust Period

At the outbreak of World War II there were about 8,000 Jews in Ostrowiec. The first *Aktion* took place on Oct. 11–12, 1942, when 11,000 Jews from Ostrowiec and the vicinity were deported to the *Treblinka death camp. In October 1942 a forced-labor camp for Jews was established in Ostrowiec. On Jan. 16, 1943, 1,000 Jews were deported to the *Sandomierz forced-labor camp. The Jewish community was liquidated on June 10, 1943, when the remaining 2,000 Jews were transferred to Ostrowiec forced-labor camp, which was itself liquidated on Aug. 3, 1944, when the inmates were deported to *Auschwitz. An underground organization, headed by the brothers Kopel and Moshe Stein, and David Kempinski, was active in Ostrowiec. They established contact with the leaders of the Jewish Fighting Organization in *Warsaw. A few groups of prisoners escaped and started guerrilla activities in the vicinity. Those who fled in July 1944 conducted guerrilla activities until the liberation of the region in July 1945. After the war the Jewish community of Ostrowiec was not reconstituted.

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OSTROW MAZOWIECKA (Pol. **Ostrów Mazowiecka**; Russ. **Ostrov Lomzinsky**), town in the province of Warszawa, N.E. Central Poland. The intolerant attitude of the authorities of Masovia prevented the settlement of Jews for several centuries, and it was only during the 18th century that Jews succeeded in establishing themselves there permanently. In 1765 there were 68 Jews (20 families) paying the poll tax and owning 15 houses in the town, and another 45 Jews in six surrounding villages. Seven heads of families earned their livelihood from crafts; the remainder engaged in retail trade or held leases. In 1789 a Polish tribunal issued a restriction against Jewish settlement in the town, which remained in force until 1862. Jews who succeeded in settling in Ostrow Mazowiecka came mostly from central Poland and Lithuania, developing a special Yiddish dialect which combined the Yiddish language features of both areas. In spite of prohibitions there were 382 Jews living in Ostrow Mazowiecka in 1808 (34% of the total population). In 1827 they numbered 809 (39%). Jews engaged essentially in retail trade, peddling, haulage, and tailoring. In 1857 the community numbered 2,412 (61% of the population). A few wealthy families traded in wood and grain, and worked flour and saw mills. From 1850 the community supported a yeshivah. During the second half of the 19th century (somewhat later than in most other places) a dispute broke out between the Ḥasidim and the *Mitnaggedim in the community. Rabbis of the two factions officiated alternately, notably David Solomon Margolioth, Judah Leib *Gordon, and the *ẓaddik* Gershon Ḥanokh of Radzyn. The majority of the local Ḥasidim belonged to the Gur (*Gora Kalwaria) and *Warka dynasties. In 1897 the Jewish community numbered 5,910 (60% of the population). Although at the beginning of the 20th century religious and secular Jewish educational institutions were established, it was not until the end of World War I that the community's institutions were organized to their fullest extent. In 1921, 6,812 Jews (51% of the total) made up the community's population. In 1934 the Jews of Komorowo were incorporated into the community of Ostrow Mazowiecka, and the yeshivah Beit Yosef was transferred to the town in 1922.

[Arthur Cygielman]

Holocaust Period

In 1939 over 7,000 Jews lived in Ostrow Mazowiecka. The German army entered on Sept. 8, 1939, and two days later initiated a pogrom, killing 30 Jews. At the end of September 1939 the German army withdrew for a few days and the Soviet army reached the town's suburbs since, according to the Soviet-German agreement, Ostrow Mazowiecka became a frontier town on the German side. Almost all the Jews crossed over to the Soviet side. On Nov. 11, 1939, the Germans assembled the remaining 560 Jews, drove them to a forest outside the town, and murdered them. Most of the Jewish refugees from the town settled in Bialystok but many did not succeed in leaving when the Germans invaded the Soviet Union (June 1941), and they shared the tragic plight of the Jews in Bialystok. After the war the Jewish community in Ostrow Mazowiecka was not rebuilt. Organizations of former residents of Ostrow Mazowiecka are active in Israel, the U.S., and France.

[Stefan Krakowski]

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OSTRYNA (in Jewish sources אוֹסְטְרִין), town in Grodno district, Belarus. Jews are first mentioned in Ostryna some time before 1569 as contractors of customs and taxes. In 1623 the Lithuanian Council (see *Councils of the Lands) placed Ostryna under the jurisdiction of the Grodno community. The number of Jewish poll tax payers in the town and surrounding communities was 436 in 1765. There were 405 Jews in Ostryna in 1847, 1,440 (59% of the total population) in 1897, and 1,067 (67.3%) in 1921. The Jews engaged mainly in trading, forestry, crafts, peddling, and agriculture; in the early 1920s there were 60 Jewish farmers in Ostryna. When the Germans evacuated Ostryna in 1919 the Jewish youth and military veterans established a Jewish police force to guard against peasant attacks. A Jewish self-defense group, which was organized in 1934, acted effectively against peasants who, incited by Polish students, were attempting to loot Jewish shops. A Jewish savings and loan fund was established in 1912 with 214 members; it was dissolved in World War I and later renewed as a cooperative bank which had 168 members in 1921.

A Hebrew school, in which the "direct method" (*Ivrit be-Ivrit*) was used to teach Hebrew, was established by the Zionist M. Gornilki. The first coeducational school was founded in 1913. In 1921 the CYSHO (Central Yiddish School Organization) established a Yiddish school which operated a club to promote cultural activities in the spirit of the *Bund. From the earliest days of the movement Zionists were active in Ostryna. In 1923 they opened a *Tarbut school. There was a Jewish public library in the town. In 1923 a branch of *He-Ḥalutz was organized and in 1928 of He-Ḥalutz ha-Ẓa'ir. An attempt was made to establish a training center (*hakhsharah*), based on forestry in the area. A training center of *Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir was established in 1927. Many ḥalutzim from Ostryna emigrated to Ereẓ Israel and some of them settled in kibbutzim. Among Ostryna's rabbis were Jacob Ẓevi Shapiro, author of *Tiferet Ya'akov* on the Mishnah; Jacob Tabszunsky, who during World War I gathered a group of students around him; and S. Gerszonowicz, the last rabbi, who was murdered along with his congregation by the Nazis. Harry Austryn *Wolfson was a native of Ostryna.

Holocaust Period

During World War II, when the Germans entered Ostryna on June 25, 1941, all the Jews were ordered to wear the yellow badge, and shortly after a Judenrat was established. The week after the invasion, the first Jews were killed. In October 1941 the Jews of Ostryna, together with those of Nowy-Dwor, numbering 1,200, were concentrated in two small ghettos. On Nov. 2, 1942, all the Jews from the Ostryna ghetto were deported to the Kelbasin forced-labor camp near Grodno, and at the end of the month were deported to *Auschwitz. A few young people succeeded in escaping from the trains going to Auschwitz and joined partisan units.

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[Dov Rabin]

OSVÁT, ERNÖ (1878–1929), literary critic and editor. From 1902, when he began editing *Magyar Géniusz*, Osvát devoted himself to widening the horizons of Hungary's literary press. He founded *Figyelő* in 1905 and three years later also joined the staff of *Nyugat*, where he promoted talented young writers, especially the poet Endre Ady. The tragic death of his only daughter led him to commit suicide.

OSWIECIM (Ger. **Auschwitz**), town in S. Poland and site of the notorious death camp. In the Middle Ages it was the capital of the duchy of that name, which in 1457 was purchased by Poland. Fairs, which attracted widespread interest, were held there in the 16th century. That Jews were living in Oswiecim as early as 1563 is attested by a charter of privileges granted by King Sigismund II Augustus which denied them residence rights near the marketplace or in the main streets and barred new Jewish settlers from the city. In 1564, when the Oswiecim regional council was undergoing reorganization, the Jews declared to the authorities concerned that the city had been inhabited by Jews since its foundation. In 1588 the community built a synagogue on grounds acquired from a burgher and established a cemetery. The transaction was confirmed by the royal chancellery. The Jews in Oswiecim suffered severely during the war between Sweden and Poland, 1656–58. Twenty houses are recorded in Jewish ownership in 1666, the number being equally small in the 18th century. According to a census of 1765 there were 133 Jewish residents. The community (*kahal*) of Oswiecim, whose jurisdiction extended over all the Jewish population in the area of the former duchy, had a membership of 862. In matters of Jewish communal administration it was subordinate to the *kahal* of Cracow. In 1773 Oswiecim came under Austrian rule. The tax levied on the community was so high that for a considerable time it was unable to meet its obligations. Two synagogues in Oswiecim, among other buildings, were destroyed by a fire in 1863. The last Austrian census in 1910 records 3,000 Jews residing in Oswiecim. The number had increased to 4,950 in 1921 (40.3% of the total population). The community was destroyed in World War II. For details of that period, see *Auschwitz.

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[Mark Wischnitzer]

OTHNIEL (Heb. עָתְנִיאֵל), son of Kenaz, the first judge of Israel. He is first mentioned as a hero of the tribe of Judah during the period of the conquest of the land. As a reward for capturing Debir, he received in marriage Achsah, the daughter of *Caleb. At his wife's request Othniel also obtained from Caleb springs of water (Josh. 15:15–19; Judg. 1:11–15). As a motif, this narrative is reminiscent of the action of *Saul in promising his daughter to the one who would defeat Goliath (I Sam. 17:25). Historically, it presents a difficulty in that the capture of Debir is earlier attributed to Joshua himself (Josh. 10:38–39). The next reference to Othniel is as a divinely sent national hero who delivered Israel from the eight-year oppression of Cushan-Rishathaim, king of Aram-Naharaim, and so enabled the land to enjoy a respite from its enemies for a whole generation (Judg. 3:8–11). He was the only judge to come from a southern tribe. Othniel is described as being "the son of Kenaz, Caleb's [younger] brother" (Josh. 15:17; Judg. 1:13; 3:9). The ambiguity in the relationship is most likely to be resolved, on the basis of the genealogy of I Chronicles 4:11–15, in favor of his being Caleb's nephew. However, the problem of Othniel's identity is complicated by the fact that Kenaz is also the name of a clan. Caleb is a Kenizzite (Num. 32:12; Josh. 14:6, 14) and Kenaz is also the name of an Edomite tribe (Gen. 36:11, 15, 42; I Chron. 1:36, 53). Many scholars believe that Caleb and Othniel were respectively the eponymous ancestors of older and younger clans of the tribe of Kenaz that became absorbed within Judah. The importance of the clan of Othniel is indicated by the fact that one of David's divisional commanders in charge of the 12 monthly relays was "Heldai the Netophathite of Othniel" (I Chron. 27:15; cf. 11:30; II Sam. 23:28–29).

[Nahum M. Sarna]

In the Aggadah

Othniel is identified with Jabez (I Chron. 2:55), and was so called because he counseled (Heb. *ya'aẓ*; יעץ) and fostered the study of Torah in Israel. He restored the knowledge of the Torah, particularly the Oral Law, which had been forgotten in the period of mourning for Moses (Tem. 16a). He assumed the leadership of the people of Israel while Joshua was still alive (Gen. R. 58:2) and judged Israel for 40 years (SOR 12). According to the Alphabet of Ben Sira (II, 29a and 36a), he was one of those who was vouchsafed to enter Paradise alive.

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OTRANTO, town in Apulia, S. Italy. Tombstone inscriptions dating from the third century onward are proof of the existence of an early Jewish settlement in Otranto. The *Josippon chronicle (10th century) states that Titus settled a number of Jewish prisoners from Ereẓ Israel in the town. In the Middle Ages Otranto became one of the most prosperous Jewish centers in southern Italy. At the time of the forced conversion under the Byzantine emperor Romanus I *Lecapenus, one communal leader committed suicide, one was strangled, and one died in prison. When Benjamin of *Tudela visited Otranto in about 1159, he found about 500 Jews there. It was considered one of the most important rabbinical centers in Europe. In the *Sefer ha-Yashar*, Jacob *Tam (12th century) quotes an old saying parodying Isaiah 2:3: "For out of Bari shall go forth the Law and the word of the Lord from Otranto." When the Turks besieged Otranto in 1481, the Jews contributed 3,000 ducats for the defense of the town. In 1510, with their expulsion from the kingdom of *Naples, the Jews had to leave Otranto. A number of them settled in Salonika, where they founded their own synagogue.

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[Ariel Toaff]

OTTA, FRANCISCO (1908–1999), Chilean artist. Born in Czechoslovakia, Otta emigrated to Chile in 1939. After a youthful period of realistic portraits in which he searched for common features in ethnological communities such as Peruvian Indians, Sicilian peasants, or Ukrainian Jews, he became an expressionist. Later he moved to semi-abstract paintings and finally to a new figuratism with some pop elements.

OTTAWA, city in the province of Ontario and capital of Canada, situated at the junction of the Ottawa and Rideau rivers. Settled in the early 1800s, Ottawa was originally called Bytown (1826) after Colonel John By, who supervised the building of the Rideau Canal. In 1855 it was incorporated as the city of Ottawa, and in 1857 Queen Victoria chose Ottawa as the capital of Canada. The current city of Ottawa, population 774,072 (2001 census), was created in 2001 out of the amalgamation of Ottawa with 11 surrounding local municipalities.

The development of a Jewish community in Ottawa began in the latter half of the 19th century. According to census records, there were no Jews in Bytown in 1851. Moses Bilsky first went to Ottawa in 1857 or 1858, though he did not permanently settle there until some years later. In 1861 the census showed six Jews residing in Ottawa; for 1871 none is shown and in 1881 there were 20 Jews, more than half of whom were members of the families of John Dover, a dry goods merchant, and Aaron Rosenthal, a jeweler and silversmith. By 1891 the number of Jews had more than doubled to 46. There has been growth in Ottawa's Jewish population in every decade since. In 1901 there were almost 400 Jews in Ottawa. The number increased more than tenfold to approximately 5,000 at the end of World War II. In 2001 Ottawa had almost 13,500 Jews, making it home to the fifth largest Jewish population in Canada. Between 1881 and 1921 Jews arriving from the pogroms and restrictions in Russia and Eastern Europe contributed to the rapid rise in the size of Ottawa's Jewish community. A second period of rapid growth occurred between the 1960s and 1980s when the rise of French-Canadian nationalism in Quebec and election of the separatist Parti Québécois government led many Jews to leave Montreal for Toronto, Ottawa, and other Canadian cities.

Organized congregational life in Ottawa began in 1892 when Moses Bilsky and John Dover helped found Adath Jeshurun. In 1895, the congregation's first synagogue was completed and within a decade it moved to a new building. Adath Jeshurun's first religious functionary was the Rev. Jacob Mirsky and local businessman A.J. *Freiman served as the congregation's president from 1904 to 1930. In 1902 a second Ottawa congregation, Agudath Achim, was founded. Its services were held in a congregant's house until a synagogue was erected in 1912. The Machzikei Hadas congregation was founded in 1906 by newly arrived immigrants who desired their own Orthodox synagogue. The congregation has changed location several times, and its rabbi at the outset of the 21st century, Reuven Bulka, has served as spiritual leader since 1967.

B'nai Jacob synagogue was founded in 1911 for Jews living in Ottawa's west end. Services were first held in a public hall or in a private home, but in 1914 the congregation bought a house which they turned into a synagogue. In 1936 the Agudath Israel Congregation, also in the city's expanding west end, was organized and two years later converted a former Anglican church into its synagogue. In 1948, Agudath Israel bought a new property on which it built a synagogue. Agudath Israel affiliated with the Conservative movement in 1951. Its current home was dedicated in 1960, and a new 400-seat sanctuary added in 1966. In 2005 Agudath Israel was the largest congregation in Ottawa, with a membership of approximately 850 families. In 1956 Ottawa's first two congregations, Adath Jeshurun and Agudath Achim, both Orthodox and both located near one another, merged to form Beth Shalom. Faced with declining membership, the B'nai Jacob amalgamated into Beth Shalom in 1971.

Since the 1960s, Ottawa's Jewish religious life has demonstrated both growth and increasing pluralism of expression. In 1966, the Young Israel Congregation was founded to serve the needs of Orthodox worshipers living in Ottawa's west end. A new sanctuary was dedicated in 1980. In 1966 Ottawa's Reform congregation, Temple Israel, was organized and, after first holding services in a public school, acquired its own home in 1971. After a destructive fire less than a year later, a new synagogue was built and dedicated in 1975. Adath Shalom, an egalitarian Conservative havurah, was established in 1978 and Beth Shalom West, a modern Orthodox congregation, was created as a west end satellite of Beth Shalom. Its new synagogue was completed in suburban Nepean in 1985.

The Ottawa Reconstructionist Havurah and the Sephardi Association both organized in 1987, and the Ottawa Torah Center Chabad was established in Barrhaven in 1997. Ottawa's newest congregation, the Orthodox Community Ohev Yisroel, held its first service in 2004 near the University of Ottawa.

The Ottawa Jewish community's first cemetery was established in 1893 but by the early 1970s a new cemetery was needed. In 1976 the New Jewish Community Cemetery of Ottawa was consecrated. Originally each synagogue had its own burial society, but in 1918 all the burial societies amalgamated to form the Ottawa Chevra Kadisha. In 1953 the Chevra Kadisha purchased a vacant synagogue building and in 1957 dedicated the building as the Jewish Community Memorial Chapel. In 1997 it relocated to newer facilities.

In 1934 the city's Orthodox synagogues formed a *kehillah*, a unified Jewish community organization called the Jewish Community Council of Ottawa / Vaad Ha'Ir. A.J. Freiman served as its president until his death on June 4, 1944. The day-to-day operations of the Vaad Ha'Ir were directed by Hy Hochberg from 1946 until his death in 1985. The Jewish Community Council continues to serve as the central planning, coordinating, community relations, and fundraising body for the Ottawa community.

Jewish education is served by several day and afternoon schools. Hillel Academy, established in 1949, is the largest of three community Hebrew day schools, offering study from junior kindergarten to grade eight. Cheder Rambam School and the Torah Academy offer a more Orthodox early childhood education. Jewish schools offering afternoon programs include the Ottawa Talmud Torah, Star of David, Temple Israel, and Ottawa Modern Jewish School. The Ottawa Torah Institute is the community yeshivah high school for boys. Founded in 1982, it was Ottawa's first full-time Jewish high school. A sister institution, Machon Sarah High School for Girls, was founded in 1990 and shares the Ottawa Torah Institute's teaching staff, albeit at a different campus. Two other Jewish high schools are Yitzhak Rabin, a day school, and Akiva Evening High School. The Kollel of Ottawa, located adjacent to the Soloway Jewish Community Centre, is a center for advanced study of Torah, talmudic law, and Judaic studies by committed adult learners.

Ottawa has contributed a number of national Jewish community leaders including A.J. Freiman, national president of the Zionist Organization of Canada from 1920 to his death in 1944; his wife, Lillian Freiman, a leader of Canadian Hadassah; their son Lawrence Freiman, president of the Zionist Organization of Canada for several terms, and Hyman Bessin, head of the Canadian Mizrachi movement and from 1970 president of the Federated Zionist Organization of Canada. Ottawa Jews have also played an active role in Ottawa municipal affairs. In 1902 Samuel Rosenthal was the first of several Jewish aldermen in Ottawa and in 1975 Lorry Greenberg was the first Jew elected mayor of Ottawa, a position he held until he retired in 1978. Jews have also served on the Ottawa Board of Control and on the Ottawa Public School Board and a Jew was elected mayor of South Hull, a Quebec municipality across the Ottawa River from Ottawa.

Ottawa's Jewish community supports a wide array of programs and services. The *Ottawa Jewish Bulletin*, founded in 1938, is the community's official newspaper. The Jewish Community Centre was established in 1951. By 1960 the JCC complex included Beth Shalom Synagogue, the Talmud Torah, and a gymnasium. Founded in 1953, the Ottawa Home for the Aged opened its Hillel Lodge in 1965. With the growth and westward shift of the Jewish community, a new Jewish community campus was developed in the city's west end. In 1983 a 7.8 acre site and high school building was purchased and is today home to the Hillel Academy, Talmud Torah Afternoon School, Ottawa Modern Jewish School, and Akiva Evening High School. In 1998, the Jewish Community Centre moved to more modern facilities and now houses a library, archives, athletic facilities, social halls and meeting rooms, a mikveh, kosher restaurant, and offices of many Jewish communal organizations, including those of the Vaad Ha'Ir. Hillel Lodge also relocated in 2000 to a new long-term care facility built across from the JCC, and the Tamir Foundation operates a nearby home for Jewish adults with developmental disabilities.

As Canada's capital, Ottawa is home to the Parliament Buildings, Supreme Court, Royal Mint, Bank of Canada, National Research Council, National Gallery, Canadian Museum of Civilization, War Museum, National Arts Centre, and many other administrative and cultural institutions. One of these, the Library and Archives of Canada, houses numerous publications, documents, and archival collections of significance to the study of Canadian Jewry, as well as the Jacob M. Lowy Collection of rare incunabula, Hebraica, and Judaica. Ottawa's Jewish community continues to grow, spurred on by Ottawa's economic development as an important center of high-tech industry and the administrative seat of the federal government.

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[Gerald Stone (2nd ed.)]

OTTENSOSSER, DAVID (1784–1858), Hebrew scholar. Born in Germany, he was a teacher at Fuerth yeshivah. Ottensosser devoted himself mainly to the study of Maimonides, upon whose works he drew in his Bible commentaries. His editions of Maimonides' works are among the best of his volumes of ancient texts, and he published Maimonides' letters with a German translation (*Iggerot ha-Moreh*, 1846) and an anthology of his teachings (*Imrei Da'at Rambam*, 1848). His explication and translation into German of Isaiah (1807) was his first effort in this field. He published a corrected edition of Mendelssohn's Bible, in which he improved upon the Pentateuch translation. He also edited Abraham Bedersi's *Olelot ha-Boḥen*, Jedaiah Bedersi's *Beḥinot Olam*, and the travelogue of Pethahiah of Regensburg, *Sibbuv ha-Olam* (with a German translation, 1854), as well as a German version (with Hebrew commentary) of the liturgy (1811).

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[Getzel Kressel]

OTTINGER, ALBERT (1878–1938), U.S. lawyer, politician, and communal leader. Ottinger, who was born in New York City, was admitted to the bar in 1900. Active in Republican politics, he became Republican leader of Manhattan's 15th Assembly District (1912), was elected to the New York State Senate (1916), and was appointed assistant U.S. attorney general by President Harding (1921). Twice elected New York State attorney general (1924, 1926), Ottinger vigorously prosecuted food profiteers, loan sharks, and stock swindlers, and earned the Republican nomination for governor in 1928. He lost that election to Franklin Delano Roosevelt by 25,000 votes. A staunch opponent of Tammany Hall, he urged the probe into the Tammany activities that became known as the Seabury investigation. Active in Jewish affairs, Ottinger was chairman of New York City's Joint Distribution Committee drive (1931) and was associated with the Hebrew Orphan Asylum and the Young Men's Hebrew Association.

°OTTO, RUDOLPH (1869–1937), German Protestant theologian and historian of religion. Otto's major contribution to the study of comparative religion was his emphasis on, and analysis of, the notion of the "holy" as the specific and characteristic feature of religious experience. The "holy" is not identical with the true, the beautiful, or the moral. It is "awesome" in its grandeur and mysterious majesty. It is "wholly other" and causes ambivalent reactions, inspiring love as well as fear and producing confidence and joy as well as trembling. To express the range of meaning of the idea of the holy, Otto coined the term "numinous" (from Lat. *Numen*, "divine power"). While Otto's analysis may not apply to all religions, it well describes the religious consciousness of biblical religion and the religions influenced by it. The various aspects of the numinous as described by Otto correspond to the complementary categories of "love of God" and "fear of God" in Jewish thought, and more especially to the feelings evoked and emphasized by the liturgy of Rosh Hashanah and the Day of Atonement (the "Days of Awe"). In fact, Otto illustrated his argument by quoting not only from the Bible but also from the *piyyutim* in the prayer book for the High Holidays. Among Otto's important works are *West-oestliche Mystik* (1926; *Mysticism, East and West*, 1932) and *Reich Gottes und Menschensohn* (1934; *The Kingdom of God and the Son of Man*, 1938), but his best-known work is *Das Heilige* (1917; *The Idea of the Holy*, 1923).

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[R.J. Zwi Werblowsky]

OTTOLENGHI (**Ottolengo**), Italian family of Piedmont, apparently originating in Germany, the name being an Italian form of Ettlingen. Its prominent members include: Joseph b. Nathan *Ottolenghi (d. 1570), rabbi of Cremona; SAMUEL DAVID B. JEHIEL *OTTOLENGO (d. 1718), scholar and kabbalist, born in Casale Monferrato. ABRAHAM AZARIAH (BONAIUTO) OTTOLENGHI (1776–1851), rabbinical scholar born in *Acqui. When the French revolutionary army entered Acqui in 1796, he gave a public address on the significance of the tree of liberty erected in Acqui, as everywhere else, as a symbol of the new era. With the defeat of the French following the battle of Novi in 1799, Abraham had to flee to Genoa. After the return of the French in 1800, he returned to Acqui, and was appointed rabbi of the community, which position he held until his death. He wrote *Shir li-Khevod ha-Torah* (Leghorn, 1808). NATHAN (DONATO) OTTOLENGHI (1820–1883), the last outstanding member of the once-famous community of Acqui. On friendly terms with noted political figures of the period, including Massimo *d'Azeglio, Vincenzo Gioberti, and Cesare Balbo, he did much to better the position of both Jews and non-Jews and to improve the condition of the poor. ELEAZAR (LAZZARO) OTTOLENGHI (1820–1890), rabbi, born in Acqui. He held rabbinical office in Turin, Moncalvo, and Acqui, settling in Rome a year before his death. Author of a number of *piyyutim*, he also wrote a comedy, *Matrimonio misto* (1870), and *Dialoghi religiosomorali* (1873). In his youth, he also wrote several tragedies, one of which, *Etelwige*, was presented in Acqui in 1852. EMILIO OTTOLENGHI (1830–1908), philanthropist, born in Acqui. In 1848 he moved to Alessandria and was elected member of the municipal council in 1882. He served as president of the community for a long period and was made a count by King Humbert I in 1883. GIUSEPPE *OTTOLENGHI (1838–1904), was an Italian general, minister of war in 1902–03, veteran of the Italian War of Liberation. MOSES JACOB *OTTOLENGHI (1840–1901) was a writer and educator. JOSHUA (SALVATORE) OTTOLENGHI (1861–1934), physician. He studied in Turin, was assistant of Cesare *Lombroso, and taught at Rome University. A pioneer in modern criminology, Ottolenghi founded (1902) the Scuola di Polizia Scientifica in Rome, the first of the kind in Italy. DONATO OTTOLENGHI (1874–?1940) was professor of general pathology and hygiene at the universities of Pisa, Cagliari, and Bologna. ADOLFO OTTOLENGHI (?1880–1943) served as rabbi in Venice from 1919 to 1943. During the Holocaust he was arrested by the Nazis and deported to Germany, where he perished. He was remembered in his community for his sincerity and his devotion to their needs. He wrote several historical essays, including *Leon da Modena e spunti di vita ebraica del ghetto nel sec. XVII* (1929) and *Abraham Lattes nei suoi rapporti colla republica di Daniele Manin* (1930). RAFFAELE OTTOLENGHI (?1887–1917), lawyer and publicist, devoted to the Jewish cause and to Zionism. He wrote *Voci d'Oriente* (2 vols.), a study of Oriental influences in literature and of Hebrew proselytism. MARIO OTTOLENGHI (1904–1978), economist and secretary of the Italian Zionist Federation (1933–39), settled in Israel in 1938. His son MICHAEL (1934–) was professor of physical chemistry at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem.

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OTTOLENGHI, GIUSEPPE (1838–1904), Italian general and minister of war. Born in Sabbioneta, Lombardy, Ottolenghi studied at the Turin military academy and fought with the Italian army in the war against Austria in 1859. In the following year he was transferred to the general staff, the first Jew to serve in that capacity in Italy. Ottolenghi was promoted to captain in 1863 and lectured on military tactics at the Modena military academy. During the Franco-Prussian War of 1870–71 he was Italian military attache in France and in 1878 was a member of the international commission to fix the boundary between Turkey and Montenegro. In 1902 he became commander of the 4th army corps with the rank of lieutenant general. In the same year he was made minister of war (the first Jew in Europe to hold this position) and a member of the senate. Ottolenghi was the recipient of many honors, including the silver medal for military valor and the Cross of Savoy. He remained a loyal Jew all his life.

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[Mordechai Kaplan]

OTTOLENGHI, JOSEPH BEN NATHAN (d. 1570), rabbi of *Cremona, Italy. As head of the yeshivah, he made Cremona famous as a center of talmudic learning. Between 1558 and 1562 Ottolenghi published about 20 Hebrew works at the celebrated Riva di Trento press. He wrote novellae on the code of Isaac *Alfasi and compiled an index to the *Mordekhai* (the code of *Mordecai b. Hillel). Some of his contemporaries (among them the historian *Joseph ha-Kohen) considered that the burning of the Talmud and Hebrew legal works in Cremona in 1559, when over 10,000 volumes were destroyed, was the consequence of a dispute between Ottolenghi and a certain Joshua de Cantori, aggravated by the interference of the apostate Vittorio Eliano.

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[Giorgio Romano]

OTTOLENGHI, MOSES JACOB (1840–1901), Italian Hebrew writer and educator and pupil of Elijah *Benamozegh. He was born in Leghorn and died in Salonika. His works include *Degel ha-Torah* (an entertainment in seven acts, to be played on commencement day in houses of learning for the sons of Israel) printed in Hebrew and Ladino (Salonika, 1885), and *Ẓemaḥ David*, a collection of poems (1887). He also translated into Hebrew an Italian Jewish religious catechism, *Mishpat le-Ya'akov* (1892–95).

[Getzel Kressel]

OTTOLENGO, SAMUEL DAVID BEN JEHIEL (d. 1718), Italian rabbi, kabbalist, and poet. Samuel was born in Casale Monferrato and studied under Moses *Zacuto and Benjamin Cohen. He served as chief rabbi of Padua and later of Venice.

His published works are *Kiryati Ne'emanah* (Venice, 1715?), a digest of *Ma'avar Yabbok* of Aaron Berechiah of Modena; and *Me'il Shemu'el* (*ibid.*, 1705), an abridgement and index to the *Shenei Luḥot ha-Berit* of Isaiah *Horowitz. He also wrote a supplement to the *Tikkun Shovavim* (the initial letters of the first six weekly portions of the Book of Exodus) of Moses Zacuto that was published (*ibid.*, 1708) with the text. He founded a "Malbish Arumim" Society to assist the needy during those six weeks. Responsa, novellae, *piyyutim*, and kabbalistic articles by Ottolengo have remained in manuscript.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Ghirondi-Neppi, 330–2, 335; Steinschneider, Cat Bod, 2473, no. 7065.

OTTOMAN EMPIRE, Balkan and Middle Eastern empire started by a Turkish tribe, led by ʿUthmān (1288–1326), at the beginning of the 14th century. This entry is arranged according to the following outline:

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- **GROWTH OF THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE UNTIL THE CONQUEST OF CONSTANTINOPLE (1453)**
- **THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE AFTER THE CONQUEST OF CONSTANTINOPLE: THE MIGRATION OF THE REFUGEES**
  - **The Settlement of the Spanish and Portuguese Refugees in the Empire**
- **THE SPREAD OF THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE**
  - **The Conquest of Syria, Ereẓ Israel, Egypt, Hungary, North Africa, Iraq, and Yemen**
    - THE CONQUEST OF IRAQ (1534–1623, 1638–1917)
      - *The Nasi in Babylon*
- **THE ERA OF STAGNATION AND DECLINE OF THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE (THE 16TH–18TH CENTURIES)**
  - **Decline of the Political and Economic Status of the Jews**
    - STATUS OF THE JEWS IN THE EMPIRE IN THE 19TH CENTURY
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    - RESTRICTIONS ON BUILDING NEW SYNAGOGUES, CLOTHES, HEADGEAR, AND SLAVES
    - BLOOD LIBELS
    - CONVERSION
  - **Economic Life**
- **THE ORGANIZATION OF JEWISH COMMUNITIES IN THE EMPIRE**
  - **Religious and Secular Administration (1453-1520)**
  - **Communal Organization during the 16th–19th Centuries**
    - DISPUTES BETWEEN CONGREGATIONS AND INSIDE THE COMMUNITIES (15TH–19TH CENTURIES)
    - THE ḤAKHAM BASHI
- **CULTURAL LIFE**
  - **The Spiritual Revival in the 16th Century**
  - **Heterodox Spiritual Trends among Ottoman Jewry**
  - **Social and Family Life**

Ladino Literature

POWERFUL JEWS, PHYSICIANS, COUNSELORS, LORDS, AND MEDIATORS IN THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE

REIGN OF ABDUL-HAMID AND THE LAST YEARS OF THE EMPIRE

OTTOMAN JEWRY AND ZIONISM

The Salonika Community

Turkish Support for Zionism

Voltre-face

Diplomatic Overtures

The Ottoman Empire spread through Asia Minor, and until 1922 the realm built by ʿUthmān and his descendants was called by his name: the Ottoman-Turkish Empire. The Ottoman Turks continued to extend the areas of their conquests, and in this way the Jewish communities in the region came under their rule (for the earlier period, see *Byzantine Empire).The rule of the Ottoman Empire in North Africa was very loose. Therefore the history of the Ottoman Empire as presented in this entry relates chiefly to Turkey, Greece, the Balkans, Egypt, Syria, and Iraq (see also the individual countries).

SOURCES

Our knowledge of Ottoman Empire Jewry is based on a wide range of sources, Ottoman, Arabic, European, and Jewish. The Ottoman documents include those of the Ottoman archives, especially the Prime Minister's Archives in Istanbul, which shed light on forms of taxation and on demographic and economic matters, as well as containing collections of orders issued by the Sublime Porte to the various provincial governors. Other Ottoman sources on Jews include travel literature, such as concern the Turkish traveler Evliya Çelebi, and some Ottoman chronicles. Other Ottoman historical material relating to the Jews exists in the Muslim courts of law in many cities throughout the empire. The majority of the Arabic historical sources on the Ottoman period are chronicles written in the Arab provinces of the empire. The European material includes diplomatic reports submitted to their governments by foreign ambassadors and consuls, archives of trade companies such as the Levant Company, and letters of merchants and European Itinerary literature. The Jewish sources contain some significant chronicles, letters written by Jews, marriage contracts, records of Jewish courts of law, and especially the vast halakhic literature including hundreds of books. The main considerable historical material is included in the responsa literature. In the last century, the publication of a large part of these sources, and especially new research since the 1950s and its conclusions, has enabled one to portray the history, demography, and social and economic life of the Jewish communities in the Ottoman Empire from the 15th to the 20th centuries.

GROWTH OF THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE UNTIL THE CONQUEST OF CONSTANTINOPLE (1453)

The first Jewish community to come under Ottoman protection was that of *Bursa (Brusa), captured in 1326 by Orhan (1326–1359), the son of ʿUthmān. In accordance with the pact made between the inhabitants of the town and the victors, the Greek inhabitants were removed; the Jews returned to the town by themselves and settled in a special district, *Yahudi mahallesi* (Jewish quarter). The conquest was a blessing for the Jews after the experience of servitude under Byzantium, which had decreed harsh laws upon them. The Jews were permitted by the sultan, who issued a firman (royal order), to build a synagogue (Eẓ Ḥayyim). They were also allowed to engage in business in the country without hindrance and to purchase houses and land in the towns and villages. On the other hand, they were obliged to pay the government the poll tax, called here **kharāj* (or **jizya*). At a later period this tax was imposed by district, and the community leaders of every district apportioned it in accordance with the members of each. The Jews of Bursa were all old inhabitants of the country and were called *Romaniots (or Gregos); during the 15th century they were joined by Jews from *France and *Germany, as well as refugees from *Spain and *Portugal. The son of the sultan Orhan, the vizier Suleiman Pasha, proceeded to Europe, capturing *Gallipoli, which from early times had a small Jewish community. With the beginning of Ottoman rule the community grew, however, through the addition of local Jews. Angora (*Ankara) and *Adrianople (Edirne) were captured by the sultan Murad I (1360–89). In Angora there was a Jewish community from early times. Adrianople, which the sultan turned into his capital in 1365 – instead of Bursa – became the largest town in the empire and contained the largest Jewish community in the Balkan Peninsula. Jews from Germany, Italy, and France lived there, as well as *Karaites. The Ottomans continued their conquests taking Philippopolis (*Plovdiv), *Sofia, and other towns. Nicopolis (*Nikopol) and Vidin were captured by the sultan Beyazid I (1389–1403). These towns contained various Jewish communities. Besides the Romanian and Bulgarian Jews, who were early inhabitants, there were also recent settlers from Hungary who had been driven out in 1376 by order of the Hungarian king Ludwig I and admitted to Walachia near Nicopolis. They continued from there, settling in Nicopolis itself and in Vidin. Beyazid conquered all *Bulgaria and fought the *Mongols near Angora. The town of *Izmir (Smyrna) was captured by Sultan Mehmed I (1413–21). Before this conquest not many Jews lived there. The community of Izmir flourished from the 17th century on.

*Salonika was captured by the Ottomans in 1387, but in 1403 the city returned to the hands of the Venetians, and was recaptured by Sultan Murad II (1421–51) in 1430. Salonika had an ancient Romaniot community which was transferred to Istanbul after 1453. *Ioannina was captured two years later, together with other places in *Albania where Jews lived. The Jews were well treated. Many were enrolled in the troop of foreigners called *gharība* (aliens) which was then established. Murad II was the first Ottoman ruler to introduce special clothes for Jews (*ghiyār*; see Covenant of *Omar). They were compelled to wear long garments like other non-Muslims (Greeks and Armenians); their headgear was yellow to distinguish them from other non-Muslims, while the Turks wore green headwear and were called "green ones" by the Jews. A large part of the Peloponnesus was captured by Murad; Jews had lived there from the earliest times (see *Greece). Murad's attitude toward them was expressed by his appointment of a Jew as personal physician.

THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE AFTER THE CONQUEST OF CONSTANTINOPLE: THE MIGRATION OF THE REFUGEES

*Constantinople was captured in 1453 by Mehmed II, the Conqueror (1451–81), who changed the name of his new capital to *Istanbul. Immediately after the conquest, in which many Jews, who did not flee in time, were killed, Mehmed II adopted the transfer policy. In order to renovate the town, populate it, and convert it rapidly into a flourishing and prosperous capital, he adopted a policy of transferring Muslim, Christian, and Jewish inhabitants, most of them merchants and craftsmen, from various regions of the empire – principally from Anatolia and the Balkans – to the new capital. All the transferred Jews were Romaniot and were called by the Ottoman authorities "*sürgün*" from the Turkish word for "those who were exiled," to distinguish them from other Jews, principally from Spain, Portugal, Ashkenaz (Germany), and other European lands who were named "*kendi gelen*," meaning "those who came of their own free will." The sürgüns also included survivors and escapees, Jews from the city who resettled in the city as sürgün. All the Jewish population of Asia Minor and many communities in Greece, Macedonia, and Bulgaria, and also a large group of Karaites from Adrianople were deported to Istanbul over a period of 20 years and established synagogues called congregations (*kehalim*). All these congregations bore the name of their original communities. The chronicler Elijah Capsali described the new Jewish settlement in Istanbul in his book *Seder Eliyahu Zuta:* "There came into being in Constantinople splendid communities; Torah, wealth, and glory increased in the congregations". The sürgün congregations paid taxes separately from the kendi gelen, and had a special status forbidding their members to leave Istanbul without a permit from the Ottoman authorities. All the Jews of Salonika were transferred as sürgün to Istanbul, so that the Ashkenazim who settled in the city in the second half of the 15th century found no Jewish community there. After a short time the Spanish expellees joined them. The Ottoman censuses and documents and many Jewish sources enable us to evaluate the demographic, social, and economic strength of every ethnic group in the Jewish communities during the Ottoman period. Mehmed II needed Jews to develop business and crafts, and also imposed taxes upon the Jews: *kharāj*, those paying it being registered in the sultan's ledger; *rab akçesi* (rabbi tax), which permitted them to appoint rabbis; and *ʿavāriḍ*, household tax. The following sultans imposed many other taxes on the Jew-

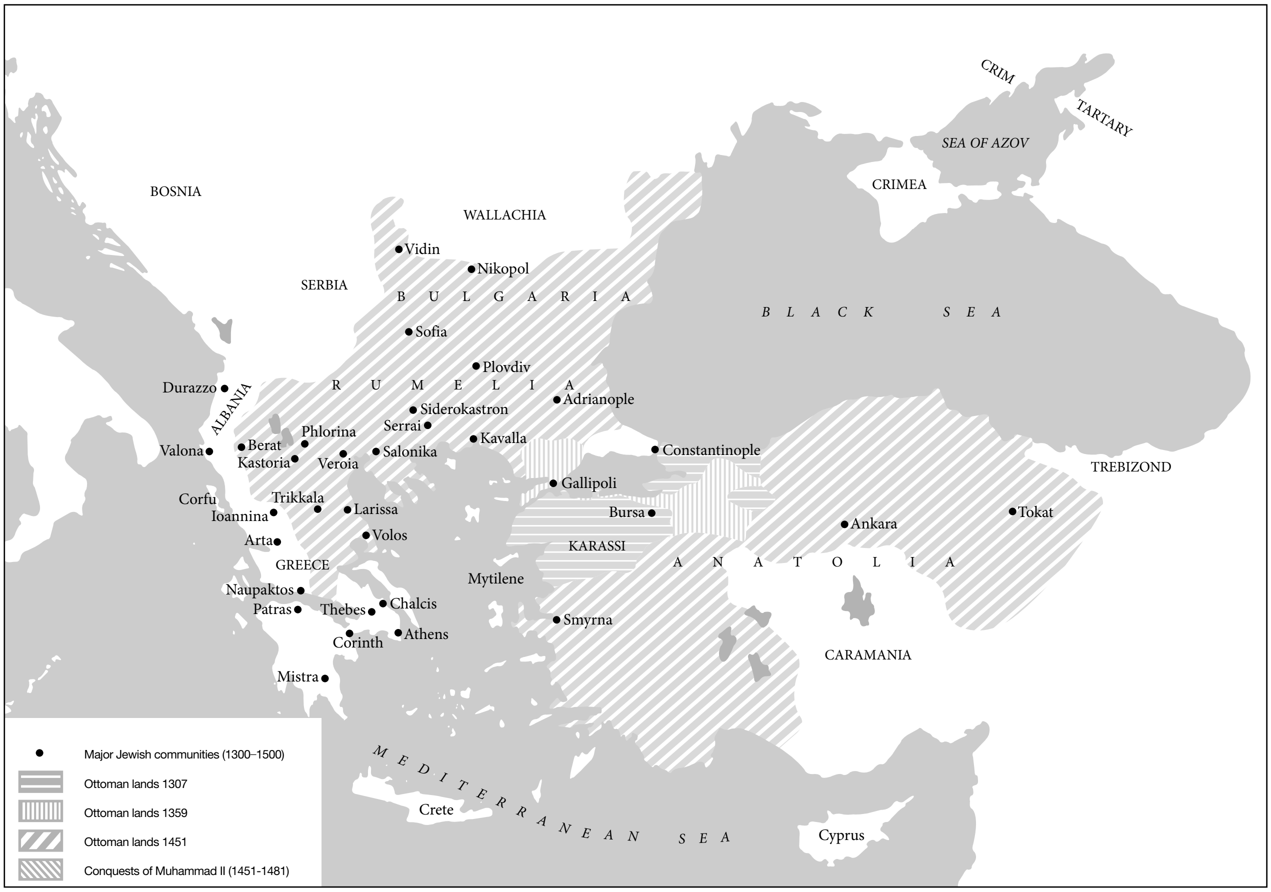
CRIM
TARTARY
SEA OF AZOV
CRIMEA
BOSNIA
WALLACHIA
Vidin
Nikopol
SERBIA
BULGARIA
BLACK SEA
Sofia
Plovdiv
Durazzo
ALBANIA
RUMELIA
Adrianople
Siderokastron
Serrai
Phlorina
Kavalla
Valona
Berat
Kastoria
Veroia
Salonika
Constantinople
TREBIZOND
Gallipoli
Corfu
Trikkala
Larissa
Ioannina
Bursa
Ankara
Tokat
Volos
Arta
KARASSI
GREECE
ANATOLIA
Mytilene
Naupaktos
Patras
Thebes
Chalcis
Smyrna
Corinth
Athens
CARAMANIA
Mistra
Major Jewish communities (1300–1500)
Ottoman lands 1307
Ottoman lands 1359
Ottoman lands 1451
Conquests of Muhammad II (1451-1481)
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
Crete
Cyprus

Map 1. Growth of the Ottoman Empire from the beginning of the 14th century until the end of the 15th century.

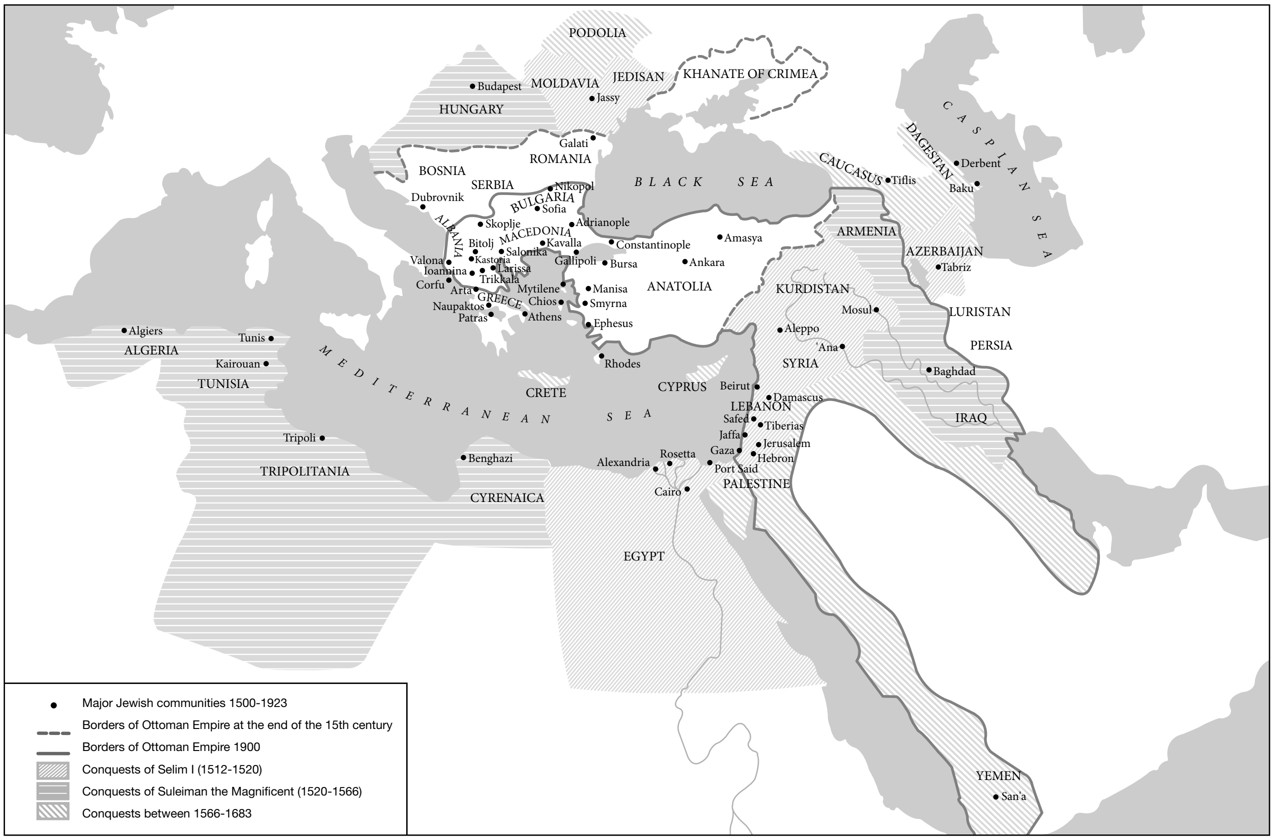
PODOLIA
Budapest
MOLDAVIA
JEDISAN
KHANATE OF CRIMEA
Jassy
HUNGARY
Galati
ROMANIA
BOSNIA
SERBIA
Nikopol
B L A C K S E A
CAUCASUS
Tiflis
DAGESTAN
Derbent
Baku
C A S P I A N S E A
Dubrovnik
BULGARIA
Sofia
ALBANIA
Skoplje
Adrianople
MACEDONIA
Bitolj
Kavalla
Constantinople
Amasya
ARMENIA
Salonika
Valona
Kastoria
Ioannina
Larissa
Gallipoli
Bursa
Ankara
AZERBAIJAN
Tabriz
Trikkala
Corfu
Arta
Mytilene
Manisa
ANATOLIA
KURDISTAN
GREECE
Chios
Smyrna
Mosul
LURISTAN
Naupaktos
Patras
Athens
Ephesus
Algiers
Aleppo
Tunis
ALGERIA
'Ana
PERSIA
SYRIA
Kairouan
M E D I T E R R A N E A N S E A
Rhodes
Baghdad
TUNISIA
CRETE
CYPRUS
Beirut
Damascus
LEBANON
Safed
Tiberias
IRAQ
Jaffa
Tripoli
Jerusalem
Rosetta
Gaza
Hebron
Benghazi
Alexandria
Port Said
TRIPOLITANIA
PALESTINE
Cairo
CYRENAICA
EGYPT
YEMEN
San'a
● Major Jewish communities 1500-1923
Borders of Ottoman Empire at the end of the 15th century
Borders of Ottoman Empire 1900
Conquests of Selim I (1512-1520)
Conquests of Suleiman the Magnificent (1520-1566)
Conquests between 1566-1683

Map 2. Decline of the Ottoman Empire from the conquests of the 16th–17th centuries until the end of the 19th century.

ish communities, which considered them difficult. There were many appeals by the Jewish communities to the Ottoman authorities to reduce the taxes. There were also many disputes within the Jewish communities about the division of the tax burden between the congregations.

In the second half of the 15th century, refugees from Germany, as well as French families, came to settle in Adrianople (Edirne). Isaac Sarfati, the rabbi of the congregation, became well known for the letter he sent to the refugees from Germany and Hungary, informing them of the advantages of the sultanate and of its liberal attitude toward Jews. Seven years after the conquest of Istanbul, the entire Peloponnesus, Serbia, Bosnia, Herzegovina, Albania, the Crimea, and the Aegean islands, including the large island of Euboea, were conquered by the sultan Mehmed II; thus all their Jews came under Ottoman rule. In 1462 he conquered Walachia.

The Settlement of the Spanish and Portuguese Refugees in the Empire

*Beyazid II (1481–1512) settled many of the Spanish and Portuguese refugees in Istanbul. The communities of Turkey assisted the refugees to settle down: "Then the communities of Turkey performed innumerable and unlimited great deeds of charity, giving money as if it were stones, to redeem captives and restore Jews to their environment" (Capsali, *ibid.*). According to Jewish sources, Beyazid wanted to enrich his Empire by giving economic rights to the refugees, but at the same time he closed new synagogues and forced Jews to convert to Islam. In 1499 the sultan captured Lepanto and Patras. The overall total of Jewish families who arrived in the Ottoman Empire soon after 1492 is estimated at 12,000, which represents approximately 60,000 persons. Some estimates suggest a figure of 50,000 for the whole Jewish population of the Empire at the end of the first quarter of the 16th century, and others put the figure at 150,000. The Ottoman statistics were used for levying taxes, and the real figures could well have been higher than the official count. Most of the refugees settled in Istanbul, Salonika, Edirne, in towns in the Peloponnesus, Egypt, etc. They founded separate synagogues, also called congregations (*kehillot*) and named after the country or town from which they had departed. In the Ottoman documents the community or congregation is called *cemaat* or *taife,* and later, *millet.* Those who wandered to smaller towns, and in smaller numbers, founded one general Spanish congregation (*Kehilah, Kahal Kadosh*). Spanish congregations were also established in *Kastoria, Bursa, *Manissa (Magnesia), Gallipoli, *Tokat, *Amasya, *Ephesus, Siderokastron (Serres), *Patras, *Naupaktos (Lepanto), *Arta, *Trikkala, *Larissa, *Valona, *Monastir, *Skoplje, Ioannina, Serres, *Corfu, *Chios, *Cairo, *Safed, and other cities. A small number of refugees settled in *Jerusalem. Among the leaders of the refugees who settled in the empire soon after 1492, were Abraham *Saba, Abraham ibn Shoshan, Baruch

*Almosnino, David ibn Vidal Benveniste, Judah Benveniste, Judah ibn *Bulat, Joseph Fasi, Meir ibn Verga, Isaac Don Don, Samuel Franco, Isaac *Levi (Bet Halevi), Moses ha-Levi ibn Alkabeẓ, Moses ben Isaac *Alashkar, Solomon Attia, Samuel ibn Sid, Samuel Ḥakīm-Ḥaqan ha-Levi, *David ibn Abi Zimra, Joseph Saragossi, and Abraham ben Eliezer ha-Levi.

The Spanish refugees were followed by immigrants from Portugal (most of whom were Spanish Jews) in several waves (1497, 1498, and 1506 until 1521). They brought with them wealth and prosperity, in contrast to those coming from Spain, most of whom came with almost nothing. Among the leaders who came from Portugal were Ephraim Caro and his young son Joseph *Caro, David b. Solomon ibn *Yaḥya and his son *Tam Ibn Yaḥya, Jacob Abraham ibn Yaish, Joseph *Taitaẓak and his brother Samuel, Jacob ibn Ḥabib and his young son *Levi ibn Ḥabib, and Solomon *Taitaẓak. These Portuguese refugees founded separate Spanish and Portuguese congregations in Istanbul, Edirne, Salonika, Safed, and other towns. Among those who came were *Conversos (Crypto-Jews) and the children of Conversos who fled to Turkey and returned to their ancestral faith. The Iberian immigrants were motivated by strong religious feelings and had to cope with many religious and economic problems, including the halakhic meaning of betrothal and the betrothal gifts, the *sivlonot,* to decide about many questions of marital status and personal problems and tragic situations resulting from the expulsion, such as the loss of their children, the problems of *yibbum, ḥaliẓah,* and *agunot.* There were many expellees who lost their families and were anxious to rebuild their lives in the communities of the Ottoman Empire.

THE SPREAD OF THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE

The Conquest of Syria, Ereẓ Israel, Egypt, Hungary, North Africa, Iraq, and Yemen

Selim I (1512–20), called "the Grim," began a new era in the great conquests of the Ottoman Empire. Instead of continuing conquests in Europe, he turned to the East, and because of this was called "the man of the eastern front." In his time the Ottoman Empire doubled its area by conquests in Asia. He built a Turkish fleet, established a cavalry corps and mercenary bands, in addition to the *sipahi*, the feudal cavalry army. His aim in doing this was to overpower the *Mamluks, whose kingdom extended over Egypt, Ereẓ Israel and Syria. The war between the Ottomans and the Mamluks commenced in 1516; the Ottomans were victorious due to their superior use of firearms, their good organization, their strict discipline and, to a certain extent, the treachery of some leading Mamluks. Before the end of 1516 Syria and Ereẓ Israel were conquered, thus beginning a new era in the empire's history, lasting 400 years.

Selim I seized control of Egypt in January 1517 and was acclaimed in Cairo as the ruler of two continents (Europe and Asia) and two seas (the Black and the Mediterranean), the destroyer of two armies (the Persian and the Mamluk) and the "servant" of two temples (Mecca and Medina). For Jews the conquest was a salvation, as their situation in the 14th and 15th centuries under Mamluk rule had deteriorated. After the Ottoman conquest of Egypt, the office of **nagid*, which had existed under *Fatimid and Mamluk rule, was abrogated. The last nagid, Isaac ha-Kohen *Sholal, was removed from office and settled in Jerusalem. It seems that in Cairo under Ottoman rule a chief dayyan served and with him a secular leader, a wealthy person who also fulfilled political functions. It seems that the first to serve in that office in the 1520s was Abraham *Castro, the master of the mint in Egypt, who is called in an Ottoman document *ra'is al-yahud* (the head of the Jews). Until 1769 the Jewish masters of the mint in Egypt functioned as **sarrāf bashis*, fulfilling de facto the office of the supreme leader of the Jews in Egypt. The Egyptian pashas also had Jewish physicians who were appointed to high positions in the government. The economic situation of Egyptian Jews, like that of the other inhabitants of Turkish lands, was good. Among the best-known wealthy persons in Egypt in the 16th century were Solomon *Alashkar, who maintained yeshivot in Egypt and Ereẓ Israel; Samuel ha-Kohen (Kahana); Abba Iscandari and his son the physician Abraham Iscandari; Joseph Bagliar, who maintained the yeshivot of Ereẓ Israel for a period of ten years; and in the 17th century Raphael b. Joseph, who was executed in 1669. After the Ottoman conquest refugees from Spain settled in Egypt (in Cairo, *Alexandria, Rosetta, etc). They found the old congregations of *Mustʿarabs (Moriscos), *Maghrebis (North Africans), Shāmīs (from Syria or *Damascus). Among the Spanish refugees who settled in Egypt, or lived there for a time, were Samuel b. Sid, Abraham b. Shoshan, Moses b. Isaac Alashkar, Samuel Ḥakīm-Ḥaqan ha-Levi, David ibn Abi Zimra, and Jacob *Berab. They founded yeshivot and the study of Torah developed. Well-known rabbis of the next generation included Bezalel Ashkenazi, Isaac *Luria (Ha-Ari), the pupils of David ibn Abi Zimra, Simeon Kastilaẓ, Jacob *Castro, Ḥayyim *Capusi, Abraham *Monzon. In *Syria, Spanish refugees settled in Damascus, Kfar *Jubār (near Damascus), and in *Aleppo. In all these localities there were Mustʿarab communities. The *Sephardim surpassed them in knowledge and culture, however, and sometimes were unable to live in peace with these veteran inhabitants. Prominent among the rabbis of Damascus were Moses *Najara, the chief rabbi, and his son Israel *Najara, the poet Jacob *Abulafia and his pupil Josiah *Pinto, Moses *Galante, Ḥayyim *Vital. Prominent among the rabbis of Aleppo were Samuel *Laniado, Moses Laniado, Abraham Laniado, Ḥayyim ha-Cohen, Mordecai ben Isaac ha-Cohen, Moses Dayyan, Mordecai Dayyan, Abraham Berabi Asher, Moses ben Solomon Ibn Alkabatz, R. Samuel ha-Cohen, Daniel Pinto, and others.

When *Suleiman the Magnificent (1520–66) ascended the throne, the rebellious governor of Syria and Ereẓ Israel was defeated by him and his head sent to Istanbul. Moreover, the Jerusalem community suffered from this rebellion. Later, the Turks learned the lesson of this rebellion and changed all the governors of these regions, replacing them with Ottomans. The local Mamluk troops were disbanded, and the land then became quiet. The civil and military administration was organized in accordance with the political system of Sultan Suleiman. He ordered the erection of the walls of *Jerusalem and he repaired the water conduits and the pools; as a result of these actions the security of the city was improved.

During his rule the Ottoman Empire attained its greatest power and extent. For more than 50 years Ereẓ Israel benefited from the peace and security which prevailed. Its population grew and its agricultural economy was expanded. This sultan introduced the *capitulations, i.e., pacts or contracts between the Ottoman sultans and the Christian states of Europe concerning the rights to be enjoyed by the subjects of each when dwelling in the country of the other. Many Jews who had immigrated from abroad benefited from these agreements, which had great influence on their legal standing. They acquired the status of protected persons and were granted extraterritorial rights and protection from attacks on property and life. *Venice was the first to come to such an arrangement in 1521 and was followed by François I, king of France, in 1535. After Suleiman's death, the capitulations were renewed during the time of his heir Selim II (1566–74), and also in the time of Murad III, Mehmed III, and Ahmed I. The era of Suleiman is considered to be the most prosperous period of Ereẓ Israel, and its Jewish communities were extended. Dona Gracia Mendes became the *multazima* (lessee) of the city of Tiberias and its environs during the years 1560–66 and was permitted to build the walls of the city. Details about this agreement are written in the orders of Suleiman to the governor of Damascus and to other Ottoman officials. The chronicler Joseph ha-Cohen writes about the important role of Joseph Nasi, the adviser of Suleiman and the son-in-law of Gracia Mendes, in developing the city of Tiberias. According to Jewish sources Joseph Nasi wanted to turn the locality into a great Jewish center, both spiritually and economically, and he sent his steward, Joseph b. Ardit, who was a representative of the sultan, there. There is no proof that Nasi had the aspiration to establish in Tiberias a Jewish state under the patronage of the sultan, or to become a Jewish king in Ereẓ Israel or later in Cyprus. Gracia Mendes and Nasi did not visit Tiberias themselves. With the support of Gracia, *Nasi founded a yeshivah of scholars in Tiberias and supported its students. The wall of Tiberias was built, people were brought from Safed, and foundations for the development of the site were laid. On Joseph Nasi's death the enthusiasm evaporated. He was followed by a new benefactor, Don Solomon ibn Yaish, who was also a counselor of the sultan Murad III (1574–95). The sultan gave Solomon a renewed concession for Tiberias, and sent his son Jacob ibn Yaish there. For want of organizational ability, however, he devoted himself to Torah study, but did not succeed in his task and the settlement in Tiberias failed to continue.

Toward the end of the 16th century, signs of decline manifested themselves in the Jewish settlement of Ereẓ Israel. Security deteriorated, especially after the period of Safed's eminence, which lasted three generations. The ruler of the town treated the Jews poorly and the sultan was unable to supervise his rulers. Sultan orders in 1576 demanded the expulsion of wealthy Jews from Safed to Cyprus, but it seems that the orders were not implemented. The Ottoman Jewish communities during this period, especially in Istanbul, began to send assistance to the Jewish population of Safed. The rabbis Yom Tov *Zahalon, Joseph of *Trani, Abraham *Shalom, Moses Alsheikh, and Bezalel Ashkenazi traveled to Istanbul, Syria, and Persia to collect financial aid for the Jews of Safed and Jerusalem, as well as to beg the viziers to ease the burden imposed on them by the local governors. Emissaries (**sheluḥei Ereẓ Israel*) also departed for North Africa, Italy, and Germany. Tiberias was evacuated, and Safed's community lost its hegemony and experienced an economic and social crisis in the last quarter of the 16th century and during the 17th century. The center of the Jews of Ereẓ Israel passed to Jerusalem. In the 17th century many Sephardi, Italian, and Ashkenazi scholars settled in Jerusalem. The most famous Ashkenazi scholar was Rabbi Isaiah ha-Levi *Horowitz, who settled in Ereẓ Israel in 1620. Another rabbi, Jacob Hagiz from Morocco, established a yeshivah in Jerusalem called the Beit Ya'akov Viga Yeshivah. In 1522 Suleiman captured Rhodes, and then defeated the Hungarians in the battle of Mohacs in 1526, conquering *Hungary and its capital Buda (Budon), but the final conquest of the city was only in 1541. In 1526 its other inhabitants had fled, but the Jews remained. The leader of the Jewish community, who handed the keys of the city to the sultan, was Joseph b. Solomon Ashkenazi of the Alaman family. The sultan dealt charitably with him and also with his children, giving them a deed exempting them and their descendants from taxes. The Jews of Buda frequently defended the city from enemies and were faithful to the Ottoman sultans. It contained both Ashkenazi and Sephardi congregations. Suleiman transferred the majority of the Buda Jews and settled them in Sofia, Kavalla, Edirne, Salonika, Istanbul, and perhaps even in Safed. They were dispatched as sürgün in the category of craftsmen and tradesmen. But it seems that in the 16th century not all the Hungarian Jews in the Ottoman Jewish communities were sürgün. A Jewish community in Buda existed during the Ottoman rule over Buda until 1686.

The struggle of the Ottoman sultans to extend their domain west of Egypt lasted almost 60 years (1518–74), but their success was incomplete. The Turks were unable to seize control of *Morocco, which preserved its independence. They forced their sovereignty upon Tripolitania (see *Libya), *Tunisia, and *Algeria, three of the *Berber countries. Each of these developed a different administration and legal system that also differed from those in the Ottoman Empire in Asia, Egypt, and Europe. The rule of the Ottomans in these countries was very loose, and during the long period until the French occupation of Algeria and Tunisia in the 19th century local rulers reigned in these lands. With the consolidation of Ottoman rule, descendants of Spanish refugees and *anusim*, who had succeeded in escaping from Spain, began to settle in three Berber countries. The condition of Jews changed from country to country and was dependent upon the goodwill or whim of the local ruler. In Algeria the establishment of a new synagogue was dependent on giving bribes. In the 17th century, a new wave of descendants of the refugees arrived in these countries, who had first settled in *Leghorn (Italy). Rabbis who were descendants of Simeon b. Ẓemaḥ *Duran lived in Algiers, and in the second half of the 16th century members of the sixth generation of the family headed the congregation. Apparently, Abraham b. Jacob ibn Tāva was also a descendant of the Duran family. The Algiers scholars in the 18th century included Raphael Jedidiah, Solomon *Seror, Judah *Ayash, and Jacob ibn Naʿim. In Libya an improvement in the situation of the Jews took place when the Sublime Porte in Istanbul reestablished direct rule over it (1835–1911). This improvement was manifested primarily in the appointment of *valis* (*pashas,* governors) charged with administration of the country and their periodic replacement, as was customary in other provinces of the empire. The Ottoman *valis*, who did not succeed in getting to know the conditions of the country and its language, were to a great extent dependent upon the help of Jewish secretaries. The influence of foreign consuls also increased and, as a result, the status of the Jews improved, especially in the city of *Tripoli.

THE CONQUEST OF IRAQ (1534–1623, 1638–1917). In 1534 Suleiman captured *Tabriz, the capital of Persia, through the efforts of the vizier Ibrahim Pasha. From there he sent the vizier to take Baghdad from the Persians. It fell on Dec. 31, 1534. The Jews of Baghdad, who had suffered under Persian rule, helped the Turks in this victory. Baghdad remained in Turkish hands for almost 90 years. In the 16th century it had a large Jewish population, including wealthy people and great scholars. There was another community in Ana, which had strong ties with the *Aleppo community and contained "Ma'raviyyim" and "Mizraḥiyyim" congregations. The economic situation of the two communities in Baghdad and in Ana was good. At the beginning of the 16th century there was a large yeshivah in *Mosul, headed by Asenat *Barazani, wife of the ḥakham Jacob b. Judah Mizraḥi. She was a daughter of Samuel Adani (Barazani). At the request of the local Jews, she sent her son Samuel to Baghdad, where he established a yeshivah. Murad IV (1623–40) captured Baghdad from the Persians. Among his 15,000 troops were 10,000 Jews – as a result of their great suffering in the period of Persian rule, the Jews helped the Turks conquer the city. After its capture, Murad rewarded the Jews accordingly. They considered the capture of the city a miracle from heaven and named the 16th of Tevet, 1638, as the day of the miracle. For a period of 280 years (until 1917), Baghdad remained in Turkish hands. The sultans appointed *valis,* and the condition of the Jews depended upon their favors. Baghdad had wealthy Jews, among them the banker Ezekiel *Gabbai, who was from a philanthropic and charitable family that supported *Talmud torahs*, yeshivot, the printing of books, etc. The sultan Mahmud II (1808–39) appointed him chief banker and money changer (*sarrāf bashi*) and a member of his government. After Gabbai's death, the pasha of Baghdad severely persecuted the Jews, and as a result of his actions, many left the city and fled to neighboring countries, including Syria and Egypt. He was followed by two more oppressive rulers.

*The *Nasi in Babylon.* It was customary for the pasha to appoint a wealthy and respected Jew as his banker and also as *nasi* of his community. This functionary acted as an intermediary between the community and the government, and his influence extended beyond Babylon to Persia and Yemen. As in Baghdad he had complete authority over the communities in the other towns of the country. In 1890 the Jewish population in Baghdad numbered 30,000 people, which means that it was one of the largest Jewish communities in the Ottoman Empire, after those of Salonika and Istanbul.

Yemen was conquered by the Turks in 1546. In the days of Suleiman I the Turks ruled over *Sanʿa and part of *Yemen: their sovereignty continued until 1628. There are only a few extant details on the situation of the Jews at the time of their rule, except for *Zechariah al-Ḍāhiri's introduction to his *Sefer ha-Musar*. The imam al-Muṭahhar drove the Turks from Sanʿa in 1569. After his victory he falsely accused the Jews of assisting the Turks in their conquest and expelled them to *Mowzaʾ. The Jews, who wished to redeem themselves from oppressive rule, longed for the Turks and assisted them in their conquests. The Turks, who nominally ruled Yemen, were however unable to dominate the country. They held part of Hodeida, but the road to Sanʿa and the district were under the influence of the local sheikhs. In 1872 the Turks conquered Yemen again. During the period of their rule – up to World War I – the Jews generally experienced a certain degree of well-being in the district towns.

THE ERA OF STAGNATION AND DECLINE OF THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE (THE 16TH-18TH CENTURIES)

After the peak military, political, and economic era of the sultans Selim I, Suleiman the Magnificent, and Selim II, the gradual eclipse of the empire began during the rule of Murad III and his son. The strict discipline introduced into the janissary army by Selim I was destroyed, and the military became a constant source of danger to the sultans because of frequent revolts and exaggerated demands for remuneration and bonuses. Breaches occurred in the feudal arrangements of the army of *sipahis*. The tax burden increased and the foundations of rule and order were undermined. In the courts of the sultans and the pashas, luxuries and extravagance spread. The cruel exploitation of the conquered regions caused revolts in many parts of the empire, which the rulers succeeded in crushing only with difficulty. Bribery was one of the most certain methods of arranging all matters at the court, as well as with its representatives in the provinces. Sheikhs and minor rulers enriched themselves on the ruin of the Ottoman Empire. When the sultan Murad III learned that Sephardi girls were wearing choice garments and ornaments with precious stones, he issued a decree to exterminate all Jews throughout all the provinces of his empire. Through the influence of the sultan's mother, the decree was revoked, but an order was issued that Jews must wear, in place of the yellow turban, a peculiar and strange tall hat, pointed above and wide below, like those of the Spaniards. Jewish women were forbidden to walk in the streets of Turkish towns wearing silk gowns and elegant clothes. As a result of this decree, the rabbis issued an ordinance which added to the royal decree: "women and girls are not to go out wearing velvet garments and ornaments of gold and precious stones." The situation of Jews in Istanbul and throughout the empire deteriorated. Murad IV (1623–40), known for his cruelty and bloodshed, ordered the execution of Judah Kovo, the chief of the Salonika delegates who came to pay "the clothes tax" (paid annually), in 1636; there was no Jew powerful enough to influence the sultan to rescind the decree.

During the rule of Ibrahim I (1640–48) the Turks attacked the island of *Crete, which belonged to Venice, and conquered part of it (1646); the war for its complete capture was a prolonged one. The sultan's court was transferred from Istanbul to Edirne, and as a result of this transfer many Jews who had business dealings with the sultan also moved their residences there. Nevertheless, the political and economic situation of the Jews deteriorated during the 17th century.

The Turkish Empire gradually lost the areas it had conquered. In July 1703 the Janissary rebellion which dethroned Sultan Mustafa II in Istanbul was followed by large-scale sacking of the Jewish quarter of Salonika by the Janissary garrison and the local Greek population. The Janissary troops had a long anti-Jewish policy from the 15th century onward, in spite of the fact that Jews had economic relations with the Janissaries. In the time of Ahmed III (1703–30) a decree was issued (1728) that all the Jews living in the capital in the street of the fish market – near the mosque of the sultan's mother – must sell their houses and possessions to Muslims in order not to contaminate the street. In 1730 the Janissaries massacred Jews in Istanbul, Salonika, Izmir, Bursa, and cities in Macedonia. During the rule of ʿUthmān III (1754–57), the Ottoman authorities oppressed the Jews and limited their rights. An ancient decree was renewed which stated that Jews could not build houses above the height of 18 feet (c. 5.4 m.), while Turks could build up to 24 feet (c. 7.2 m). In October 1757, Jews, Greeks and Muslims were the objects of exactions on the part of the military garrisons in most Ottoman cities and towns in Europe. The Janissaries invested their wealth in lands and tax farms, using Jewish agents who collected their taxes. In 1758, Mustafa III issued a decree, renewing the decree of 1702 that Jews could not wear clothes and hats like those of Muslims. The weakness of the central government in the 18th century encouraged local strongmen to establish themselves as independent or semi-independent rulers, and some of them targeted the Jews for particular oppression. For example, in Egypt the rebellious Mamluk ruler Ali Bey al-Kabir (reigned 1760–73) oppressed the Jews with particular vehemence. He executed and seized the property of the wealthiest Jews, Joseph Levi, who administered the Alexandria customs house, and Isaac al-Yahudi, who held the tax farm on the customs house in Bulaq in 1768 and 1769. He systematically purged Egypt's financial administration of Jews, replacing them with Syrian Catholics, and he imposed on the Jewish merchants heavy fines. The Jewish population in the 17th and 18th centuries suffered a lot from the decline of the Ottoman cities, a result of the political situation and of anarchy, hunger, numerous epidemics, and fires. In about 1800 the Jewish population in the Ottoman Empire numbered around 100,000 people.

Decline of the Political and Economic Status of the Jews

STATUS OF THE JEWS IN THE EMPIRE IN THE 19TH CENTURY. Sultan Mahmud II (1808–39), in his desire to inaugurate reforms in the empire, fought the Janissaries, and the vizier Bayrakdar Mustafa Pasha spoke out harshly against the wealthy Jews of the capital who conspired with the Janissaries, among them the *çelebi* Bekhor *Carmona, the brothers Adjiman, and Gabbai. These supported the Janissaries in order to defend themselves and their property; nevertheless, they were sentenced to death in 1826. The reforms continued at a quicker pace in the time of Abdul Mejid (1839–61), who was concerned with the modernization of the judiciary and removal of the restrictions on Christians. Reforms were introduced in internal government, in the collection of taxes and in the granting of some equal rights to non-Muslims. The Jews received the same rights and liberties as the other non-Muslim inhabitants (Greeks, Armenians, Bulgarians, etc.) as a result of the Ottoman proclamation – known as *haṭṭi-i sherif* of the *Gül-Khane* (The Rose Law or The Rescript of the Rose Chamber) – of Nov. 3, 1839; according to it, the sultan instituted the *Tanzimat* (reforms): He vouched for the security of the lives, property, and regularization of taxation for the subjects of the empire without distinction of religion; religious and personal freedom, as well as equality of rights and military service for non-Muslim citizens, were also guaranteed. The ceremony which took place in the above-mentioned Rose Chamber was also attended by the *ḥakham bashi* R. Moses Fresco and the delegates of the Jewish community of Istanbul. These rights were again reconfirmed in 1843 by the grand vizier Riza and in 1846 by the grand vizier Reshid. Some time in the mid-19th century, and perhaps as early as 1835, a new political term, *millit-I erbaʿa* ("The Four Communities"), entered the Ottoman political lexicon. It came to denote the officially recognized four religious communities: Muslims, Jews, Armenians, and Greeks, and to suggest that the empire was at the same time also a pluralistic society in which the minorities' special status was officially recognized. The *Gül-Khane* Edict of 1839 was renewed in 1856 by the proclamation of the *Haṭṭ-i Hümayun* (imperial rescript), which was a charter of tolerance the sultan granted to all protected subjects and whose first lines were written by the sultan himself. A solemn ceremony was attended by ministers, patriarchs, and the *ḥakham bashi* of the Jews of Turkey, R. Jacob Bekhar David. It was stipulated in this legislation that there was to be no distinction between sects, races, and religions; liberties were granted to all; non-Muslims were to be admitted to the government, civil, and military schools; the security of life and property were guaranteed; equality before the law was instituted; every citizen was eligible for public or military office; and religious freedom, equal taxation, and jurisdiction and representation in the municipal councils were guaranteed. The Jews of Turkey received the same rights as the other minorities. As formerly, they secured positions in Ottoman society and participated in the cultural and economic life. They did not, however, regain their past importance, and their positions were of a secondary nature. Jews began to hold such government functions as administrative directors, judges, physicians of ministers, military doctors, officers, consuls, etc. Every Jew was authorized to wear the national hat (fez). Rabbis were authorized to add a scarf of blue silk to their headdress, and the turban of the rabbis was of the same color as that of the Muslim imam. In 1847 the sultan Abdul Mejid visited the military medical school. When he observed that there were no Jewish students, he decided that their entry should be encouraged and ordered the director of the school to install a *kasher* kitchen under the supervision of a Jewish cook and supervisor; he exempted Jewish students from studies on the Sabbath and authorized the organization of Jewish prayers on the premises. When the sultan visited Salonika, the children of the Jewish schools, led by the *ḥakham bashi* R. Asher Kovo, welcomed him; he contributed 25,000 piasters to the Jewish schools and 26,000 piasters to the poor of the community. In spite of the sultan's proclamations, which should have increased the rights of the empire's Jews, certain internal events in the Jewish community in the capital caused a delay in confirming the regulations for the Jewish *millet. This delay was caused by the following internal struggle within the Istanbul Jewish community. The Gabbai, Adjiman, and Carmona families, the most prominent in the capital, maintained close relations with the Janissaries and they, as bankers and farmers of taxes, maintained their high position in the Jewish community. As mentioned above, the massacre of the Janissaries in 1826 was accompanied by the execution of the major figures of these families and a consequent decline in their importance. In the 1830s Abraham de *Camondo assumed the leadership, as he was from a family of noted scholars and wealthy businessmen. He was influential in court circles, and the confirmation of the first *ḥakham bashi* of Jerusalem in 1841 was in a large part due to his efforts. He also led the group which attempted to strengthen the community's economic position vis-à-vis the Armenians and the Greeks, who for many years past had held the upper hand due to their better general education, ready acceptance of European influence, and connections with the court. Aware, as a result of his business experience and travels, of the progress made in Europe, Camondo undertook the establishment and a large part of the financing of a modern school in the capital. In 1856 the *Haṭṭ-i Hümayun* further influenced these modernization trends and brought about the formation of a "committee of notables" comprised of wealthy and reform-minded persons under Camondo's leadership. The constitution of this committee in 1860, which included members of the Hamon, Adjiman, and Carmona families, was to some degree an irregular response to the appeal by the *Haṭṭ-i Hümayun* for non-Muslim communities to offer the sultan suggestions for their reorganization in accord with the times. Progressive and conservative circles in the community split over the matter, and the conflict was heightened after the modern school was established (French was taught there). An attempt was made to avoid elections to the ruling bodies by establishing a rabbinical grand court and a lay "committee of notables," which was attended by the *ḥakham bashi*, Jacob Avigdor. However, the rabbis Isaac Akrish and Solomon Kimḥi led an anti-Camondo propaganda and claimed that the modern school encouraged children to become Christians. This sort of propaganda easily inflamed the common people. Camondo was subsequently excommunicated by Akrish and some scholars. The *ḥakham bashi* had Akrish imprisoned, but he was released on the order of the sultan Abdul-Aziz (1861–76) following demonstrations by those who wanted Jacob Avigdor to be dismissed. The grand vizier then convened a special rabbinical court on which the *ḥakham bashi* of Izmir and his colleagues from Edirne and Salonika sat. The court heard the opponents of *ḥakham bashi* Avigdor who wanted him removed and the notables who supported him. The court cleared Avigdor of all charges and threatened excommunication to those who repeated such charges, but Avigdor was unable to continue in his position and resigned the next year (1863); he continued to serve as *rav ha-kolel* for the next 11 years. Carmona and Camondo were also exonerated and their attackers were compelled to apologize. Camondo moved in 1866 to Europe and died in Paris in 1873, so new forces entered politics in the Jewish community of Istanbul.

The new *ḥakham bashi* was Yakkir Gueron, who had held the same position in Edirne. He was ordered to draft regulations immediately for the community (*niẓām-name*), but they were only confirmed, after close scrutiny and some changes, in 1865. The "Organizational Regulations of the Rabbinate" (*ḥakham-khane niẓām-namesi*) were divided into five parts, as follows: (1) the status of the *ḥakham bashi* as head of Jewry in the empire; his qualifications and election (clauses 1–4); (2) his powers and replacement in the event of resignation or removal from office (clauses 5–15); (3) the "general committee" (*mejlis umūmī*), its election and powers. It consists of 80 members and is presided over by the permanent deputy of the *ḥakham bashi*. Sixty secular members are elected by the inhabitants of Istanbul according to city districts, and they in turn elect 20 rabbinical members. These 80 members elect the seven rabbis forming the spiritual committee (*majlis rūḥānī*) and the nine members of the secular committee (*majlis jismānī*). These elections require the approval of the Sublime Porte. At the election of the *ḥakham bashi* for the entire empire, the general committee is temporarily reinforced by 40 members from eight districts where they officiated as provincial *ḥakham bashis*: Edirne, Bursa, Izmir, Salonika, Baghdad, Cairo, Alexandria, and Jerusalem (clauses 16–19). It is to be noted that clause 16 fails to prescribe the committee's term of office; only in 1910 was it fixed at ten years; (4) the powers of the spiritual committee. The seven rabbis are to concern themselves with religious and other matters referred to them by the *ḥakham bashi*. The committee is not to prevent the publication of books or spread of science and art unless prejudicial to the government, the community, or religion. The committee is to supervise the activities of the city-district rabbis (*marei de-atra*), who act under its instructions. The committee is headed by a president, who is also the head of the rabbinical court; he is to have two deputies (clauses 20–38); (5) the powers of the secular committee regarding management of communal affairs and carrying into effect government orders. It has to apportion communal taxes and supervise the property of orphans and endowments (clauses 39–48).

No changes in the status of non-Muslim subjects of Muslim rulers took place until the middle of the 19th century. Restrictions and tax laws on changing the shape of existing synagogues or constructing new ones remained in effect (see Covenant of *Omar). The authorities also closely regulated the *ghiyār* – distinctive apparel and footwear. Certain individuals, physicians in particular, were granted dispensations such as tax exemptions – by imperial *firmans* – and were allowed to ride horses and dress normally. Those who were employed by European powers covered by capitulation agreements also enjoyed privileges and were exempt from special clothes. In their legal status within the empire the Jews were not essentially on a different footing from Christians, except for the fact that veteran Jewish inhabitants could not find support from the European powers which saw as their duty to protect Christianity in Muslim countries.

THE POLL TAX. The **jizya* (also **kharāj* or *jawālī*) was generally collected from small income earners, the middle class, and the wealthy at a ratio of 1:2:4. Agents, interpreters, or other employees of European powers who worked at consulates or embassies were completely, or substantially, relieved from paying the poll tax, under capitulation agreements. The Ottoman reforms abolished the poll tax and ordinances in 1855 and in 1856 replaced it with a military service exemption tax for non-Muslims (*bedel-i ʿaskeri*). It was abolished in 1909, when non-Muslims were drafted into the army. No complaints were voiced about the existence of the poll tax, but there were numerous ones over the manner of its collection. In the Jewish communities many discussions were held between rich and poor Jews about the internal assessment of this tax and also about other taxes.

RESTRICTIONS ON BUILDING NEW SYNAGOGUES, CLOTHES, HEADGEAR, AND SLAVES. In spite of the fact that non-Muslims were limited in their use of buildings for religious worship to those constructed prior to the Arab conquest, they found ways to circumvent this restriction. Indeed, many hundreds of buildings for worship were constructed in cities founded under Islam, e.g., in *Kairouan, Baghdad, Cairo, and *Fez; R. Obadiah of *Bertinoro states in the last decade of the 15th century that a Jew was prohibited "from rebuilding his house and yard [in Jerusalem] without permission, even if they were falling down, and the permit was sometimes more costly than the rebuilding itself" (A. Yaari, *Letters from Palestine*, 130). This was the state of affairs in Jerusalem, which was then ruled by the Mamluks. The Ottoman sultan Mehmed II, at about the same time, allowed the use and repair of old synagogues, even though he prohibited the construction of new ones. About a generation or two later, Jacob ibn Habib described the situation in Turkey as follows: "We are not permitted to obtain permanent quarters for a synagogue, let alone build one: we are compelled to hide underground, and our prayers must not be heard because of the danger" (quoted by Joseph Caro, *Beit Yosef*, Tur *Oraḥ Ḥayyim*, 154). These regulations were used by zealous officials and fanatical muftis and qadis to frustrate the Jews in their efforts to worship, for example in Jerusalem, but in spite of this, many synagogues were built during Ottoman rule due to both tolerance and greed on the part of the authorities. In 1554 a complaint was lodged with the sultan concerning the large number of synagogues in Safed; it reported that in the town there were only seven mosques, while Jews, who in olden times had had three synagogues (*kanīsa*), then had 32 synagogues, built very high. The sultan ordered an investigation of the matter (U. Heyd. *Ottoman Documents on Palestine*, 1552–1615 (1960), 169). As the results of the inquiry and the action taken are unknown, the matter may possibly have been taken care of by a bribe. This state of affairs continued there until the middle of the 19th century, and every major or minor repair demanded the appropriate bribe for the official who had to rule on the necessity of the action. The condition of synagogues in Jerusalem was poor, and in 1586 the old synagogue was closed by the governor; change only came during the rule of Muḥammad ʿAlī. His son *Ibrāhīm Pasha allowed two important synagogues in the Old City of Jerusalem to be both enlarged and repaired.

Since the situation of bribes continued to get worse, the Turkish authorities were unable to overlook such a cause of corruption, and in about 1841 a *berāt* of the *ḥakham bashi* was issued which stated that the reading of the Scroll of the Law (during services) in the house of the *ḥakham* and in other houses was in accord with Jewish religious practice; consequently it was allowed that veils be hung and candelabra be placed in houses where the services took place. Thus, synagogues and their property gained immunity and could not be confiscated or held in security for debts. Generally, Jews were careful in most other Muslim countries in building their places of worship so that they were not readily noticeable – and as they lived in special quarters – there were only a few mentions of trouble from the authorities. In addition, there was little likelihood that the feelings of Muslims would be hurt. Refugees in North Africa seem to have encountered little difficulty in building their synagogues. Nonetheless, D'Arvieux, who was the French consul in Algiers in 1674 and 1675, says that the Jews of that city had to pay large sums to the Ottoman authorities in order to construct additional places of worship. At times savage attacks were made upon synagogues by incited mobs of Muslims or troops. Various sources relate that Scrolls of the Law were desecrated, religious articles stolen, furniture burned and buildings destroyed. Nevertheless, these events were not connected with the regulations of the Covenant of Omar, as they were in fact violations of them.

Middle Eastern Jewish quarters are frequently mentioned in the writings of European travelers from the 16th century on, laying stress on the conditions of overcrowding and poor sanitation, dirty narrow streets, and indifferent state of health of the inhabitants. Nevertheless, it should be realized that these sources were often not sufficiently objective in their presentation. Even though the special dress of non-Muslims in the East (*ghiyār*) is described in detail by European tourists, Jewish sources were more concerned to determine deviations from the regulations and whether they existed due to tolerance on the part of the authorities or to a lax enforcement of the law. Difference in dress was the most common and at the same time striking phenomenon. In Algiers the refugees from Spain after 1391 wore the *capos* or *caperon*, as distinguished from the veteran inhabitants who wore the cap (*shāshiyya*). As there were no Christians in the region at the time and the Muslims wore no European clothes, the *capos* was also a sign of the Jewishness of the wearer. The chief rabbi of Istanbul prohibited the wearing of the *caperon*, which was the cloak of the Sephardi *ḥakhamim*, in the late 15th century. D'Arvieux gave the following description of the clothing of the Jew, in Algiers: "the residents wore a bournous over a black shirt of light-weight fabric and covered their heads with a black woolen *shāshiyya*; those from other Muslim countries wore a turban of different shape, ending in a tassel descending upon the shoulders; all wore sandals without stockings. Livornese (from Leghorn) and Alexandrian Jews wore hats and clothes like the Italians or Spaniards, whose customs they even preserved" (L. D'Arvieux, *Mémoires du… envoyé extraordinaire* (Paris, 1735), vol. 5, 288).

A number of orders (which are in the archives in Istanbul) were issued by the kadi of the capital between 1568 and 1837 to the official in charge (*muḥtasib*) of non-Muslims concerning the headgear and clothes of Jews and Christians; in one particular instance such an order, which was issued to the chief rabbi, is extant. In 1599 the sultan ordered the Jews to change the color of their headgear to red. In 1595 the sultan ordered the kadi of Istanbul not to hurt the Jews because of their dress and headwear. These particular orders stressed the headwear, that if it was replaced by the turban of the Turks, it was considered as evidence of a change of religion on the part of the wearer. Jews in the East generally had to wear dark apparel, and light or colored clothes were allowed only on the Sabbath and festivals, and then only within their own quarters. Particular stringency existed concerning the prohibition of the wearing of green (green headgear was a sign of descent from the Prophet *Muhammad) and purple. Nevertheless, there is evidence that the above-mentioned Ottoman decrees were not strictly enforced, as 18th-century sources mention that many Istanbul Jews wore green turbans and the same kind of shoes as the Muslims. There seems to have been some doubt on the part of the Jews as to the halakhic permissibility of this kind of dress, and a discussion of the problem is preserved in rabbinic literature. The *ghiyār* continued to be mentioned in official Ottoman sources until almost the middle of the 19th century. In 1702 and in the 1750s the sultans renewed the orders about clothing, and forbade Jews to put green on shoes and wear red headgear with red strings. They were ordered to wear black shoes and black clothes. In 1837 a decree stated that Jews and Christians permitted to wear the tarbush had to use special marks on it so that it could be distinguishable from that of Muslims. The *berāt* which was issued to the first *ḥakham bashi* of Jerusalem in 1841 states that his official emissaries are held to be exempt from the *ghiyār* so that they might travel without being molested. In addition, they were allowed to carry arms to defend themselves from attack. In the 17th and 18th centuries the sultans issued orders which forbade the Jews to sell wine to Muslims, and threatened those who did not obey. The upper middle class Jewish households in Ottoman cities had slaves bought in the slaves markets, and in the 16th century there were immigrants from Portugal who brought their own slaves into the Ottoman Empire. Most of the slaves in Jewish homes were Christians from Europe and pagans from Africa. The Ottoman authorities tried to limit the number of slaves held by Christians and Jews. Jews did not stop buying slaves but paid a tax for the right to own slaves. Jews kept slaves until the 19th century.

BLOOD LIBELS. Until the *Damascus Affair of 1840 accusations of ritual murder were very rare in the Ottoman Empire. The majority of blood libels broke out as a result of the hostility of the Greek and Armenian populations toward the Jews. The first blood libel is mentioned in a firman (sultanic decree) issued in the time of Mehmed II. Orders were given that henceforth such cases should be brought before the imperial *divan* in Istanbul. During the reign of Suleiman I such an accusation was again made, between December 1553 and June 1554, and the firman to hear such cases in the divan only was renewed. The order was renewed by Selim II and Murad III. It seems that Suleiman's decree was obtained by the sultan's chief physician, Moses Hamon after a blood libel in the Anatolian cities of *Amasia and *Tokat. The firman removed the prosecution of such cases from the jurisdiction of the local kadis and assigned them to the sultan's jurists. In 1592 two firmans were issued which dealt with a ritual murder accusation in Bursa. The accused Jews were tortured, and Murad III ordered them to be exiled to Rhodes. It is not clear if they remained in Rhodes or were punished and sent to serve in the Ottoman naval galleys. In the beginning of the 17th century a blood libel broke out in Thebez (Thebatai) in Greece. The Jews had to pay to end the libel and asked the Jews of Chalkis to contribute money for that purpose. The ill-famed blood libel against *Damascus Jewry (1840) was followed by another on the island of *Rhodes. In order to protect the Jews from slanderous accusations, Moses *Montefiore, A. *Crémieux, and the well-known Orientalist S. *Munk traveled to Egypt to meet Muhammad Ali, who ruled Syria at that time. The blood libel was not quashed, but the Jewish prisoners were freed so that Muslim public opinion in Syria considered the accusations true. Montefiore went to meet the Sultan Abdul Aziz in Istanbul, and on October 28, 1840, after an audience with the sultan, obtained a firman which could be regarded as a bill of rights for the Jews. It mentions the deep emotions that the blood libels had stirred in Europe and recommends the issuing of a firman that would exonerate the Jews of all ritual murder accusations, and to translate the firman into European languages. All the recommendations of this document were indeed carried out. In 1844 a blood libel occurred in Egypt when the Jews of Cairo were accused of murdering a Christian. Only the firmness of Muhammad Ali prevented the outbreak of violence. Between 1840 and 1860 there occurred 13 blood libels in Damascus and Aleppo. In February 1856, three days after the Ottoman Reform Decree was made public, a blood libel reappeared in Istanbul in the Balat quarter. A mob consisting of Greeks, Armenians, and Turks started attacking Jews. French Jewish leaders who visited the city, including Alphonse de Rothschild, immediately alerted the Ottoman authorities, who put a stop to the disturbances. In 1864 and 1872 the Jews of Izmir were accused of kidnapping Christian children before Passover. There were similar conspiracies in Istanbul in 1868, 1870, and 1874. In 1872 there were blood libels in Edirne, Marmara, Ioannina, and La Canee. All these cases required the intervention of the *ḥakham bashi* R. Yakkir Gueron and *ḥakham bashi* R. Moses ha-Levi, as well as that of the *Alliance Israélite Universelle. The Alliance in Istanbul or its headquarters in Paris called upon the Ottoman government to investigate this affair and punish the rioters. A blood libel also occurred in 1880 in the island of Mytilene. In 1884 there was a blood libel in a village located near the Dardanelles, where about 40 Jewish families lived. When a non-Jewish boy servant was sent to fetch something and failed to return, it was rumored that the Jews had murdered him. The Jews were fortunate that the boy reappeared once the riots broke out. In 1887 the municipality of Salonika accused the Jews of ritual murder. The representative of the government condemned the libel and mentioned the firman according to which the propagators of such rumors would be prosecuted. In Beirut, Jews were molested by Christian youths but the Ottoman authorities punished the assailants. Other blood libels occurred in Aleppo (1891), Damascus (1892), *Manissa (1893), Kavalla, and *Gallipoli (1894). There were also blood libels in Jimlitoh near Bursa (1899), in Monastir (Bitola) (1900), and in Izmir (1901). All these were based on the disappearance of a child who was subsequently found. In general, Ottoman government officials defended the Jews, and the Jews also received help from Jewish organizations such as the Alliance Israélite Universelle, European ambassadors and consuls, and even Protestant missionaries. Many blood libels occurred also in Egypt during the 19th century. In Cairo blood libels occurred in the years 1844, 1890, and 1901–2.

In Alexandria an elderly Jew named Sasson was arrested in 1870. He was imprisoned for a month, during which period the press emphasized his Jewish identity in an attempt to have him accused of having sought to kidnap a child to strangle and to utilize his blood for the baking of the Passover *matzoh*. The fall of a Christian child (1880) from a balcony into the courtyard of a synagogue in Alexandria served as a pretext for the Greeks to accuse the Jews of ritual murder. The Greeks, with the assistance of Arabs who had joined them, attacked the Jews in spite of the fact that the doctors who had examined the child testified that he did not bear any wounds. In 1880 the Jews were accused of having raped a local girl. In 1881, again in Alexandria, it was rumored that they had employed the blood of a ten-year-old Greek child who had disappeared from his home. The Greek mob threatened to attack the Jewish quarter and burn it down. The British consul then called on the governor of Alexandria to intervene on behalf of the Jews. During the same year a nine-year-old child of Cretan origin disappeared there. The corpse of the child was retrieved from the sea and no wounds were found on it. In Mansura a blood libel occurred in 1877 and in Damanhur in 1871, 1873, 1877, and 1892. In Port Said a girl disappeared in 1882. She was found dead in the Arab quarter but rumors were immediately circulated that the Jews had assassinated her in order to use her blood for the preparation of *matzoh*. The Jews were the victims of many attacks and the French consul was influential in calming the passions. During the same year the Jews of Cairo were accused of having killed a girl. There were antisemitic accusations in the Arabic press, and newspapers of the Syrian Christians played a prominent role in this campaign of agitation; they claimed that the Jews lent money for interest and were thus usurers. The foreign consuls assisted the Jews by intervening with the Ottoman authorities. The libels in Egypt and throughout the empire were largely due to commercial rivalry between Greeks and Jews. Everywhere Greeks were the foremost agitators. The Jews were also hated by Christian Syrians, Christian Arabs, and Armenians both for religious reasons and competition. In Egypt there were also local circumstances: there was a period of extreme tension as a result of the deposing of the ruler of the country, Ismail, by the Ottoman sultan and the accession of his son Taufik. The inhabitants of Egypt were also embittered against foreigners. Many articles imbued with hatred and defamation of foreigners appeared in the local press; Jews became the scapegoats for the hostility of the masses. With the establishment of British rule in Egypt (July 1882) the Jews lived there in greater security. In spring 1862 a blood libel occurred in Benghazi. Four Jews, including British and French subjects, were accused by Christians that on their return from "Blessing the Trees" out of town during Passover, they had mockingly raised the image of Jesus covered with blood. Following mass agitation by the Christian and Muslim population, both the British and the French local consular agents collaborated against the Jews, although some of these were their own subjects. The intervention of the British consul in Tripoli put an end to this libel. The imprisoned

Jews were released and the local consular agents were ordered to leave town. A blood libel broke out also in Ereẓ Israel during the lifetime of the *rishon le-Ẓion, ḥakham bashi* Raphael Meir *Panigel, in 1890, when two Jews of *Gaza were brought to Jerusalem and accused of ritual murder. These men had employed an Arab lad as a servant. The lad went to play with another Arab who owned a camel and as he toyed with a rifle, a bullet was fired from it and the camel owner was killed. The next-of-kin seized the lad and slaughtered him. The Jews then informed the tribunal of the details of the murder but some Muslims accused the Jews of the murder. They were arrested by the police, imprisoned in Jerusalem, and after interrogation were set free as they were foreign subjects. In 1892, Ereẓ Israel was stirred up by the publication of a work entitled "The Sounding of the Horn of Liberty by the Innocent," which was circulated in Egypt in Arabic and French and propagated anti-Jewish hatred. This book described how a Jewish rabbi was about to slaughter a Christian child to take his blood, which was to be employed for kneading the Passover *matzoh*. The pamphlet was also widely circulated in Palestine and came into the hands of many government officers and officials in Jerusalem. The *ḥakham bashi* R. Elijah M. Panigel, accompanied by a delegation, intervened with the pasha; the pasha ordered the immediate destruction of the pamphlet and prohibited reading it and spreading such rumors, as it was claimed that a child had also disappeared in Jaffa and his blood was to be employed for religious requirements. A Catholic publicly proclaimed that a famous rabbi who had converted had confirmed that Jews indeed employed Christian blood for the Passover ceremonies. The pasha immediately sent out orders to every town that this report was to be suppressed so as to prevent the outbreak of riots and disorders. The sultan then ordered his minister of education to extirpate this evil, as he was shocked that in his empire, a land of peace and tranquility, there were conspirators who incited Greek citizens against Jews who enjoyed his protection and published slanderous pamphlets whose contents were unfounded. All the pamphlets that were subsequently found were burned.

CONVERSION. Jews converted to Islam and, to a much lesser extent, to Christianity throughout the duration of the Ottoman Empire. Beyazid II compelled Jews to adopt Islam, but we do not know the precise number of these converts. His son, Selim I, gave them permission to return to Judaism, an irregular decision in a Muslim state. It seems that during the Ottoman period not more than 5% of the Jewish population converted to Islam, and only a few Jews converted to the Greek Orthodox and Catholic faiths. Some Jewish men converted to Islam for economic reasons or to enhance their professional status, while some women converted mainly to resolve social and personal problems or to marry non-Jews. In the 19th century the American Mission, the London Society for Promoting Christianity amongst Jews, and the Church of Scotland Mission were active in the larger Jewish communities of the Ottoman Empire, but only a few Jews converted. It seems that in the 19th century conversion to Islam and Christianity rose, apparently by about one percent. In that century, apart from one document that mentions fear of a mass conversion to Protestantism in the community of Izmir, around the year 1847, no other source indicates that there was any cause for concern. The converts came from all strata of society, but mainly from the lower classes. Some migrants were easy targets for conversion. Notwithstanding the increasing secularization of Jewish society in the second half of the 19th century, it would be fair to conclude that Jewish tradition and the traditional education most Jewish children received prevented the large-scale conversion of Jews. In the cases of forced conversion, the Ottoman policy was precise and further strengthened by the Tanzimat reforms. Local officials were ordered to prevent forced conversion, and forced converts were freed through government intervention.

Economic Life

The large Ottoman Empire, spread over three continents, with its maritime and land routes which connected it with many countries, provided extraordinary facilities for the activities of its Jewish inhabitants. All fields of economic activity, except the functions performed by members of the *askeri* class, were open to Jews. Jews could not be governors, military officials, and judges in the system of law and justice of the empire, but otherwise there was hardly any activity in which Jews did not participate. The sultans offered the old settlers, the refugees, and immigrants from Christian Europe all the facilities necessary to carry on commerce, foreign trade, industrial enterprises, and the development of firearms. Their knowledge of the foremost European languages – German, Italian, Spanish, and French – was an asset in commercial relations with Europe. Another important asset were the old established Jewish merchant firms in Muslim ports and capitals, like Alexandria, Cairo, Baghdad, Damascus, and Basra. This Ottoman economic policy explains the growth of Salonika, Safed, Izmir, Tunis, Algiers, and other cities as centers of Jewish trade and industry. The communities in these towns served in international commerce as new centers for the import of finished foreign goods and for the export of raw products and manufactures. Jewish merchants settled in Izmir only from the last quarter of the 16th century. The community particularly increased in the 17th century and the city became an entrepôt for international trade. Many *anusim* and Jews from Anatolia and Salonika settled in the city. The Levant trade carried on by the Jews of the Ottoman Empire by sea and land reached its height in the 16th century. Many Levantine Jews of Iberian origin settled in Italian cities, especially in Venice, and had the patronage of the Ottoman Empire. In 1534 the Pope gave those Jews trading rights in the town of Ancona, trying to attract the trade between Italy and the Ottoman Empire from Venice to his realm. At the end of the war between Venice and the Ottoman Empire in 1540, the Venetians officially recognized the presence of the Levantine merchants in Venice for the first time. The Jewish merchants also followed their trade with Ancona. In 1555 the new Pope, Paul IV, annulled the privileges of the Portuguese Jews in Ancona, and 24 of them were burnt after being tortured for months. Gracia Mendes and Joseph Nasi made efforts to put a Jewish ban on the city of Ancona, but Levantine Jews continued to trade there. Similar rights were granted to them in Florence, Ferrara, and Urbino in the middle of the 16th century. In this century the Ottoman Turks relied very heavily in commerce, diplomacy, and many fiscal matters on the Jews – the only community which possessed the necessary aptitudes and yet was not suspected of having treasonable sympathies for Christian powers. The commercial routes were under Jewish control, and ships loaded with goods belonging to Jews passed through the ports of the Mediterranean. The Jews used to insure their goods against piracy and shipwreck. A peculiarity of Jewish commerce was family partnership. Rich merchants with widespread commercial connections used to extend their business affairs by opening branches managed by their closest relatives, brothers, brothers-in-law, etc., in large ports and towns, even in foreign countries. A classic example is the firm of *Bacri and *Busnach in Algiers, who were the grain suppliers of France during the French Revolution. Also widespread were the occupation of agents (fattors); they received a fixed commission for their activities as buyers of raw materials or sellers of manufactured products. These agents used bills of exchange, "*polizza di cambio.*" Many Jews were employed in international trade as clerks, interpreters, accountants, dealers, and criers. The Jews of the Ottoman Empire developed trading techniques which enabled them to expand their activities both geographically and financially, and gave them an advantage over Muslim and Christian merchants. The existence of Jewish communities almost in every place gave the Jewish merchants possibilities to remain for long in Jewish communities afar and get help from them in difficult times.

Many Ottoman Jews bought from the embassies *berāts*, i.e., certificates, originally intended to protect locally recruited interpreters and consular agents. Such practices were extended especially in Egypt. However, the majority of Jews in the empire were not rich. In fact, the majority of the employees in the textile industry were poor home workers. The suppliers of export goods and distributors of imported products (fancy goods and the like) were small traders and peddlers who set up trade relations on a barter principle with the farmers in villages or made payments in advance and received their products at low cost. In a few communities, such as Aleppo, Cairo and Alexandria there were Jews who leased or managed agricultural property in the town's vicinity while other Jews were directly involved in farming. There existed also in some remote provinces such as eastern Anatolia, northern Iraq, Yemen and North Africa Jewish peasants and peasant communities. In the Galilee region of Ereẓ Israel in the 16th century there existed peasant Jews in 12 villages, such as Peki'in, Kefar Kanna, and Kefar Yasif. Among the trades in which the Jews in Spain had engaged, weaving took first place. The refugees found excellent opportunities in the Ottoman Empire with its backward industry – and manufactured cloth, which previously had had to be brought from abroad. This explains the rapid growth of Salonika, the largest center of the Spanish refugees, and the even more astonishing rise of Safed, the largest and most developed town in Ereẓ Israel in the 16th century, with a concentration of the second-largest Jewish population in Asia. The development of both communities was based on the manufacture of textiles and ready-made garments, although the raw material – wool – had to be imported, sometimes from abroad, and the product – the cloth and the garments – exported. The wool used in Salonika was sometimes bought in Macedonia and in other districts of the Balkans. This kind of wool was also brought to Edirne, and then forwarded to ports in the Sea of Marmara. From there it was sent once a year in a special ship to Safed by way of *Sidon or *Tripoli (Syria).

Other communities in the empire had their textile factories. The textile industry was mainly a domestic one. Spinning was done by women at home; weaving, in larger workshops. Dyeing had been a traditional Jewish occupation from the earliest times, and the art was more developed than in Europe. The wool industry of Salonika produced thousands of bolts of cloth for the Ottoman army, the palace, and export. The decline of this industry in Salonika and Safed impoverished the two communities from the last quarter of the 16th century. The Jews of Bursa played a prominent role in the city's international trade in silk and spices. A considerable number of Jews throughout the Middle East were engaged in the leather trade. They bought raw hides and exported them to Europe or finished them into leather, and Jewish tanners were famous for their products. The production of wine was a specifically Jewish occupation. As Muslims were the main consumers of alcoholic beverages, prohibited to them by the *Koran, dealing in that commodity was dangerous and was prosecuted by governmental authorities. Thus, very often in rabbinic literature there are references to ordinances promulgated by the Jewish authorities against the selling of wine to gentiles (Muslims). Another old Jewish occupation was dealing in precious stones, gold, silver, jewelry, and the making of jewels. It was a risky business, so jewelers were either very rich or very poor. The production and sale of refined gold was strictly controlled by the Ottoman authorities to prevent the flow of precious metals abroad. The farming of the money mints of Istanbul was often in Jewish hands in the 15th and 16th centuries. In some areas of the empire, e.g., the Barbary States, Yemen, and Iraq, the handicraft of making jewels was a Jewish monopoly until the 19th century and even later. Some branches of food industry that were connected with ritual precepts, e.g., the production of cheese, were in Jewish hands. In many parts of the empire money changing and the farming of government taxes, tolls, and monopolies (*iltizām*) were occupations in which Jews predominated from the 15th century. This was sometimes dangerous, as it aroused popular hostility. These occupations, sometimes connected with the functions of administrators of the treasury (**ṣarrāf bashi*) of the governor of the province and his banker, developed into important banking enterprises which controlled the growing industry in Ottoman cities. The first modern banks were opened in the 19th century. The pasha's banker during the 16th and 17th centuries in Egypt was known by the title Çelebi. He often combined the office of *ṣarrāf bashi* and several other official positions in the financial administration. Some Çelebis were executed. Jews in many cities were active as **sarrafs* (money changers). They were expert in all Ottoman and European currencies, and often were accused of clipping the edges of the coins that passed through their hands or cheating on their weight. Jews lent money to gentiles, but this profession was not as common with Jews in the Ottoman cities as it was in the cities of Christian Europe, because of the possibility of borrowing money from Muslim vakfs at low interest.

Foreign Jewish merchants and their representatives were protected against ill treatment by Ottoman government officials through the stipulations of the capitulations agreements which awarded them the same protection as their Christian compatriots. During the period of Western strength and Ottoman decline, the capitulations were transformed into a system of extraterritorial privilege and immunity.

The populations of some towns in Ereẓ Israel – Jerusalem, Safed, Hebron, and Tiberias – were so poor that they had to rely on financial assistance (**ḥalukkah*) from other towns in the empire and foreign countries. The Jewish communities and congregations throughout the empire supported the poor, but the poorest members could not take part in the public life of their communities because they did not pay taxes.

There were Jews in the Ottoman Empire, especially during the 16th century, who were compelled by the Ottoman authorities to buy flocks of sheep in Anatolia or the Balkans and bring them to Istanbul. Jews from Salonika and other cities had to undertake this activity, and there were Jews that went bankrupt from dealing with flocks. Jews in the empire worked at many crafts, such as tailors, carpenters, pharmacists, bakers, fishermen, mirror makers, glassmakers, printers, bookbinders, actors, dancers, musicians, and other crafts. Shops of Jews were situated either in Jewish neighborhoods or in markets among shops owned by Muslims and Christians. This situation existed in Istanbul, Aleppo, Izmir, Bursa, Jerusalem, and other cities. In Salonika, Jews worked also as porters and fishermen.

In Istanbul Jewish fishermen also sold wines. Many Jews, especially in Egypt and Aleppo during the 16th and 17th centuries, were active in farming port customs and custom houses, while others were *multazims*. From the last decade of the 16th century the Ottoman government changed the tax system, and tax farming was transferred to Muslims. Jews were now gradually reduced to secondary positions, as agents or managers of tax farms. This situation continued in the 17th century onward in cities such as Aleppo and Izmir. In spite of their diminished role, Jews continued in the 18th century to occupy an important position in the Ottoman economy and administration. There were Jews who served as contractors and purveyors for the military. In Egypt the rebellious Mamluk ruler Ali Bey al-Kabīr (ruled 1760–73) imposed heavy fines on the Jewish merchants, which destroyed them financially. It is obvious that many changes occurred in the economic and social structure of Ottoman Jewry in the space of 500 years or more. The rivalry of the powerful Greek and Armenian communities in the capital and the decline of the whole empire and its gradual dismemberment into national states in the Balkans and protectorates in Africa influenced the economic position of the Jews. The weakened economic structure of the empire and the empty government treasury, which was sometimes close to bankruptcy – felt all the more because of the corrupt bureaucracy – imposed heavy burdens on the weak taxpayers. From the 17th century the economic decline of the empire and the involvement of European traders in the international trade in dominions of the Ottoman Empire and their commerce with Western Europe reduced the economic opportunities of the Ottoman Jews. The competition between Jewish and Christian merchants who were supported by European ambassadors and consuls caused many Jews to be forced out of positions as principals in large-scale trade to secondary occupations as agents, brokers, and interpreters. In spite of the Jewish economic decline, in the 18th century Jewish traders living in Ottoman cities continued to trade with Livorno, Holland, England, and Leipzig. Hundreds of Jewish brokers in important commercial cities like Istanbul, Izmir, Aleppo, and Salonika received incomes from British, French, and Dutch merchants. Friction between Jews and non-Jews increased in the 19th century, and one of its results was an increase in blood libels (see above). In spite of the decrease of Jews in the trade of the 19th century, they owned large trading houses and firms in Salonika, Istanbul, Izmir, Aleppo, Egypt, and elsewhere, e.g., in Salonika the firms of the *francos* Alatini, Modiano, Fernandez, and Mizrahi, which traded not only in Macedonia but all over the empire.

Another factor which had a great influence on the economic life in the 18th and 19th centuries was the above-mentioned capitulations. The *francos* who lived particularly in the main cities of the empire became the local Jewish elite as a result of their privileges and political and economic rights. The *reʿāya*, the Ottoman nationals, were in a worse position in matters connected with daily life than the *ḥimāya*, the foreign citizens, or the local owners of *berāts*, as they were deprived of the protection of the European powers. At the end of the 18th century, the Ottomans tried to compete with the foreign consuls by selling *berāts* to the *reʿāya*, both Jews and Christians. These *berāts* conferred the privilege to trade with Europe, together with important legal, fiscal, and commercial privileges and tax exemptions. They enabled non-Muslim *reʿāya* to compete with foreign merchants. The Jews played no significant role in these transactions because of the general decline in their position. In the 19th century the positions of preeminence in international trade, with few exceptions, remained in the hands of the Greeks. These times also witnessed the general decay of Ottoman industry and its "Jewish" branches. A flood of cheap manufactured goods flowed into the Turkish market. The imported textiles competed successfully with local wool, cotton, and silk manufactures. In the beginning of the 20th century, the nationalism of the Young Turk movement, and later the rise of the Republic of *Turkey brought about socioeconomic developments which changed the entire economic structure of Ottoman-Turkish Jewry.

THE ORGANIZATION OF JEWISH COMMUNITIES IN THE EMPIRE

Religious and Secular Administration (1453–1520)

The first chief rabbi in Istanbul was Moses *Capsali (1420–50) from the Romaniot population in Byzantium, and there are some traditions about him. According to the 17th century chronicler *Sambari (but no other source) Capsali sat in the sultan's *divan* at the side of the grand mufti and the patriarch. Sambari says that the sultan loved Capsali as his own soul, and describes Capsali as a very modest person. He notes that he was also responsible for collecting taxes from the Jews and delivering them to the sultan's treasury. Sambari's description contains many details that do not confirm what we know about the status of the Jews, especially in regard to the sultanic *divan.* According to the chronicler Elijah Capsali, who wrote his book *Seder Eliyahu Zuta* in 1523, was from Crete; Moses Capsali was the leading rabbi of the Istanbul community and *dayyan* of the Jewish community even before the Ottoman conquest. Mehmed II honored Capsali with royal garments, the privilege of riding a horse, and an escort of Ottoman dignitaries at home. Capsali became a welcome personage in the sultan's court. He went around the communities in Istanbul and collected charity to help the Spanish expellees. He had a sultanic decree which enabled him to confiscate property and have people arrested. He also acted against the young Jewish men who fraternized with the Janissaries. According to the mid-17th century chronicler David Conforte, all the other rabbis in Istanbul were subordinate to Capsali owing to the formal status the sultan had granted him. It seems that Capsali was officially appointed to the office of "the leader rabbi" of the Istanbul community by the Ottoman authorities. After the arrival of the Spanish expellees in the last decade of the 15th century the government abandoned the practice of appointing one religious-judicial leader for all the Jews in Istanbul, and in the last years of his rabbinate the fiscal power was transferred from Capsali to the **kâhya* and later to other functionaries. It is clear that Capsali found it difficult to impose his authority over the Spanish congregations in the capital because he forced them to follow Istanbul rules and traditions. He was involved in a few disputes with other rabbis. In the 1490s the leaders of some Romaniot congregations sought to ban anyone who taught anything, even Greek philosophy, to the *Karaites. Only after their decision on the ban did they call for Capsali to make it official. He refused and denied the ban, but the ban was forcibly declared later in Capsali's presence. Those who were jealous of him wrote slanderous letters to Joseph *Colon in Italy and stirred up opposition to him. After Capsali's death, the rabbi Elijah *Mizraḥi, a famous Romaniot scholar and the head of the most important academy in Istanbul in that period, and also an expert in ethical and natural sciences, became the leader rabbi of the Romaniots in Istanbul. He was asked by the majority of the congregations in the capital in 1518 to ban the *kâhya* She'altiel and later to annul the ban. Rabbi Mizraḥi was also active before the Ottoman authorities when irregular taxes were demanded from the Jews of Istanbul. It appears that he received a formal confirmation of his authority from the Ottoman authorities, but there is no proof that he presided over the Spanish congregations, even though he was admired by them. He helped them and wrote decisions for them. Capsali tried to impose his authority over the Sephardim, but Mizraḥi decided that they could not be forced to act against the ruling of their rabbis. After Mizraḥi's death in 1526, the Romaniots had their own rabbis. The Sephardi congregations in the capital did not have a single rabbinical authority over all of the Sephardi rabbis. Owing to the existence of various ethnic groups, the Jews in the empire did not have a *ḥakham bashi* until 1835, in contrast to the existence of a Greek patriarch and an Armenian patriarch who were appointed by the sultans and represented the Greek and the Armenian nations in the empire during the entire Ottoman period.

It seems that the function of kâhya was not introduced until the final years of Capsali or after his death. The Ottoman rulers decided to rely on the kâhya and to deal with him in all financial and secular matters related to the Jews of Istanbul, including tax collection. This kâhya *Shealtiel (Salto) was a Spanish Jew, and in 1518, after many complaints of bribery and illegal arbitrary taxes had been lodged against him by the Jews, the community banned him and his sons from holding the position of kâhya or performing any other function involving contact with the Ottoman authorities. He was returned to office on April 29, 1520, by the leaders of the congregations and R. Elijah Mizraḥi. After the death of She'altiel no successor replaced him. During the Ottoman period there existed in Istanbul and other communities other kâhyas dealing with taxes and other matters before the authorities.

Communal Organization during the 16th–19th Centuries

The great scholar R. Joseph Ibn Lev describes the divisions and differences between the congregations of the empire after the arrival of the Spanish and Portuguese refugees as follows: "Even in Salonika, where everyone speaks the native language, when the refugees came each language group founded its own congregation and no one switches from one congregation to the other. Each congregation supports the poor speaking its language, each is inscribed separately in the king's register, and each seems to be a town unto itself" (Responsa, II n. 72). All those coming from a town or a definite region founded a special congregation (*kahal*) for themselves, spoke their own language, and paid taxes separately in accordance with their registration in the governmental registers. In the 1560s R. Moses Almosnino described the Jewish community of Salonika as a "republic." Each congregation had a secular administration run by elected *parnasim* and treasurers, whose primary responsibilities were to supervise the collection of taxes and see to all internal political, administrative, and financial matters. Sometimes the lay leaders in some communities were also granted judicial authority. This executive council was composed of six to 12 members, elected for one to three years at the most. The elite of the congregations – the wealthy and the nobility – aided the lay leaders in the running of public affairs, and it was from this class that the lay leaders were elected. Generally the poor in the communities lacked representation. Every congregation had a religious administration consisting of the *ḥakham* (rabbi) of the the *kahal* (congregation) or *kehillah* (community), who served principally as the *dayyan* of his congregation. Sometimes he also headed it, like Rabbi Joseph *Caro in Safed. Frequently he was called *marbiẓ Torah*, *dayyan*, or *rosh ve-kaẓin*; and he taught and performed various religious functions. In the Mustaʿrab communities, the head of the community was called *dayyan*. Sometimes the rabbi held all of these positions, sometimes they were divided up. Other officials were the treasurer (*gizbar*), *gabbai* of the synagogue, and tax assessors (*maʿarikhim*). Each congregation also had officials serving as readers and cattle slaughterers; they were paid salaries from the communal funds Each congregation had institutions such as a synagogue, *talmud torah*, yeshivah, and *bet din*, as well as charitable societies such as *Bikur Kholim* – visiting the sick, and extending help to the poor, a burial society (*Hevrat Kbarim, Ḥesed shel Emet*), ransom society (*pidyon shevuyim*), and others. If the members of the congregation were few, then two or three joined together to found educational institutions such as a *talmud torah*. The well-known Great Talmud Torah of Salonika was used jointly by the children of all the congregations in town.

The congregations and the communities based their economic, cultural, and religious life upon *haskamot* and *takkanot* (ordinances, regulations) instituted by their rabbis, scholars, and communal leaders, together with appointed members, e.g., regulations not to transfer membership from one congregation to another; agreements relating to many fields of private and public life, such as the appointment of lay and spiritual leaders and their duties; an agreement that no one may be married without the presence of ten adult male Jews, one of whom shall be the *ḥakham*, and that should anyone marry in any other way the marriage is to be considered void. The best known of the agreed *takkanot* is that relating to the renting of houses: If anyone rented a house or shop from a gentile, then no other Jew could enter that house or shop as long as it was rented to the other Jew, and even if the Jew vacated the rented house or shop, no other Jew was allowed to enter it until the passage of three years from the day it was vacated. These are called *Takkanot ha-Ḥazakah*. There were different regulations about the inheritance of women. Individuals opposing the regulations were placed under a ban and excommunicated. Frequently in medium-sized and large communities the religious leaders met and decided on new regulations as results of new and burdensome realities. Sometimes these regulations dealt with the division of taxes among the congregations. There were many objections to these regulations, and the rabbis dealt with the question of how to enforce them, especially when wealthy persons objected. The Jewish courts of law, *battei din*, had the authority to deal with civil and religious matters, but many Jews also turned to the *bet din* in cases concerning money matters (*dinei mamonot*). The Jewish courts of the empire had to turn to the state authorities to enforce their decisions, for on occasion an offender did not follow their ruling. In the larger communities there also existed higher Jewish courts of law. *Berurei Averot* (*Memunei Averot*) committees existed in a few communities, such as Istanbul, Salonika, Sofia, Bursa, Magnesia, and Safed during the 16th and 17th centuries. Their members dealt independently with religious and moral offenders through the agency of the local *bet din*. In Izmir there was a *berurei ha-kenasot* council which dealt with such problems. In spite of the regulations of many communities forbidding Jews to turn to Muslim courts of law, it was acceptable among the Jews to appeal to these courts. Sometimes the communal leaders and the local *dayyanim* appealed to the Muslim courts of law to enforce their decisions. In the 17th and 18th centuries, in some of the large communities, such as Salonika, Izmir, and Edirne, the congregations chose a local chief rabbi, and sometimes the office of chief rabbinate was shared between two or even three rabbis. In Izmir from the 17th century until the middle of the 19th century there functioned a *dayyan* for *dinei mamonot* and a *dayyan* for *Issur ve-Heter* problems.

DISPUTES BETWEEN CONGREGATIONS AND INSIDE THE COMMUNITIES (15TH–19TH CENTURIES). After the arrival of the expellees to the Ottoman Empire, friction and disputes arose between the congregations, especially between the Romaniots and Spanish and Portuguese refugees. The Spanish refugees regarded themselves as more learned, cultured, and of good descent and wanted to dominate the communities, while the Romaniots and their famous scholars regarded themselves as more important, since they were the permanent and earlier settlers and had admitted the former. An additional cause of friction was the differences in their customs, one of the many being the matter of *sivlonot* (presents sent by a man to his betrothed). In the Romaniot customs this is seen as indicating that *kiddushin* may have taken place; this is not so, however, according to the Sephardi custom (see *Betrothal). On the death of Rabbi Elijah Mizraḥi a conflict occurred between Sephardim and Romaniots about the Jewish custom of chanting elegies on the eve of the Hebrew new moon. The Sephardim has done this even when a new moon fell on a Saturday, and the Romaniots responded that mourning on Saturday was strictly forbidden. The Romaniots published in 1510 the Romaniot *maḥzor* and in 1557 a Pentateuch was published with translations into Spanish and Greek, in Hebrew characters. In the beginning of the 16th century the Romaniots and the Sephardim disputed the Ashkenzi and Romaniot custom of giving the rabbis ordination ("*semikhah*"). There was also a disagreement between the Romaniot and the Iberian Jews over the question of whether it was permitted to eat a ritually slaughtered animal in which there was a *sirkha* or adhesion of the lobes of the lung. During the 16th and 17th centuries many congregations fought against individuals or groups that joined other congregations, or established new ones, and regulations forbidding this act were issued by many congregations and communities. In Istanbul the policy of the congregations in the 16th century permitted the individuals to join other congregations, but not before tax payment time. In many Ottoman Jewish communities instability was a widespread phenomenon. Even the Romaniot community of Ioannina split into two in the second half of the 16th century, and each congregation established two different burial societies. There were many struggles between congregations in Greek and Turkish communities, such as Salonika, Izmir, Cairo, Arta, Ioannina, Patras, Navpaktos (Lepanto), Bursa, and Safed. There were conflicts between congregations over new, wealthy members. Many disputes resulted from the form of tax collection. In the majority of the communities in the 16th–19th centuries the Sephardim were dominant and dictated communal life. On the other hand, there were communities such as Arta and Ioannina where the Romaniots were dominant. Generally the Italian and Sicilian congregations cooperated with the Spanish ones, and in the middle of the 16th century the Spanish prayer book was accepted by a majority of the communities. The Musta'rab congregations in Ereẓ Israel, Syria, and Egypt were autonomous throughout the Ottoman period. During all the Ottoman period there was strife between the rich, middle class, and the poor in the communities and the congregations. Most of these were the result of the unwillingness of the poor and the middle-class members to pay taxes to the Ottoman authorities or to the Jewish community in the amount requested by the community leaders. Such disagreements increased during the 19th century and caused tension in communities such as Istanbul, Izmir, Salonika, Damascus, and others. These tensions often erupted into disputes and quarrels. For instance, in Izmir in 1840–42, 1847, and the 1860s the leadership of the community was in the hands of the rich, many of whom were *francos*. The poor hoped that the communal taxes would be reduced, but on the contrary, the indirect tax paid on the meat "*gabela*" was increased. The document "*Shav'at* '*Aniyim*" ("Cry of the Poor"), written by the poor in 1847, and other documents tell the story of these disagreements, and show that all efforts of spiritual leaders, including the local *ḥakham bashi,* Ḥayyim Palagi, to improve the situation of the poor failed. These struggles led to the temporary removal of Rabbi Palagi and a turning of poor people to the missionaries. It was characteristic of the Ottoman authorities and most of the religious communal hierarchy to support the rich, and the oppression of the poor in the community continued for many years. Similar controversies broke out in Salonika in 1872 and in Istanbul during 1880–84. The Ottoman reforms influenced the internal life of the communities and especially diminished the authority of the traditional spiritual leaders. From the 1860s more rabbis joined the poor, and local leadership was transferred to the hands of modern leaders, most of whom did not have personal economic interests involved in leading the community. The flourishing of the Jewish press also influenced this process.

THE ḤAKHAM BASHI. The Armenian and Greek Orthodox communities (millets) in the capital had patriarchs – acknowledged and confirmed by the Ottoman authorities – who supervised all the congregations. Only the Jewish millet had no confirmed rabbis. A total of 347 years had passed since the death of the chief rabbi of Istanbul Moses Capsali. In January 1835 the sultan Mahmud II (1808–39) confirmed R. Abraham ha-Levi as *ḥakham bashi* in Istanbul, a gesture made at the request of the Jewish subjects of the sultan in Istanbul. They had no Christian European powers behind them and were jealous of the honor of official confirmation accorded by the government to the Greek and Armenian patriarchs. This was in fact a turning point in the policy of the Ottoman authorities, which hitherto had not interfered in the internal affairs of the Jewish community and for centuries past had given no official status to its representatives. It was also an Ottoman interest to promote the principle and image of a pluralistic Ottoman society, so that it became a matter of state interest to advance the position of the Jewish community and grant it greater prominence. The new position meant that the *hakham bashi* was now regarded as the civil and religious head of the Jewish community, as well as its official representative to the authorities. The original copies or authentic texts of the *berāt hümayun* (imperial confirmation of appointments; occurring from 1835 onward), which were also granted to chief rabbis in Edirne, Salonika, Izmir, Bursa, Jerusalem, and Damascus, show that the significance and consequences of this policy went beyond mere confirmation of appointments. It contained an official recognition of the Jewish millet. As mentioned above, Abraham ha-Levi became *ḥakham bashi* of Istanbul in 1836. He appeared at the sultan's court in official garb, accompanied by ten of the community notables and thousands of other Jews, swore loyalty to the sultan and the monarchy, and paid his tax. The sultan handed him the *berāt* of his appointment. This *ḥakham bashi*, however, was not suitable for office, and after one and a half years R. Samuel Ḥayyim was appointed in his stead. The latter was an erudite rabbi who headed a yeshivah in Balat (a suburb of Istanbul). At the end of a year of service, he was relieved of office by the government because he was an Austrian national. He remained, however, as a chief *dayyan*. Moses Prisco (1839–41) was elected in his place, being called "the old rabbi" because of his advanced age. *Ḥakham bashis* were also appointed in the provinces of the empire: in Ereẓ Israel, Cairo, Alexandria, Baghdad, Yemen, Libya, Sarajevo, and elsewhere. In fact, the *rav ha-kolel* continued to be regarded by the Jews of Istanbul as their religious and spiritual leader, while the office of the *ḥakham bashi* was seen as an external imposition and as far as the community was concerned it was only ceremonial and representative. In time, this office gained great prestige and importance and came to be held by renowned scholars, such as Jacob Avigdor (1860–63) and Yakir Geron (1863–72) in Istanbul and by 1864, the office of *ḥakham bashi* appears to have completely supplanted in Istanbul the older office of *rav ha-kolel*. In other cities the office of *ḥakham bashi* was held by famous decisors, such as Ḥayyim Palagi from Izmir. Between the years 1863 and 1908/9 the title of the chief rabbi was *kaymakam ḥakham bashi*, and from 1909 the last *ḥakham bashi* in the Ottoman Empire, Ḥayyim Nahoum, again held the title *ḥakham bashi*.

CULTURAL LIFE

The Spiritual Revival in the 16th Century

With the growing influx of refugees and immigrants, the Ottoman Empire became a center of Torah study. The yeshivot of Salonika, Istanbul, Safed, and Jerusalem took the places of the splendid and well-known yeshivot of Castilia. Istanbul, called by scholars "a large city of scholars and scribes," maintained Torah institutions and magnificent yeshivot, such as the yeshivah of Elijah Mizraḥi, where both sacred and secular studies were pursued; the yeshivah of Joseph Ibn Lev, in which great talmudic scholars studied and which was supported financially by Doña Gracia Mendes; the yeshivah of Elijah ha-Levi, the pupil of Elijah Mizraḥi, who headed his teacher's yeshivah; and in the beginning of the 17th century the yeshivot headed by Rabbi Joseph Mitrani (of Trani; "Maharit"), supported by the wealthy philanthropist Abraham ibn Yaish and his sons and by the wealthy Jacob Ancawa (Elnekave). Pupils of Joseph Trani served as rabbis in towns of the empire. Yeshivot also existed in Izmir, Bursa, Angora, Nikopol, Tirya, and those in Adrianople after the expulsion from Spain included the magnificent yeshivah of Joseph Fasi. Salonika became a center of Jewish learning. The poet Samuel *Usque called it "a metropolis of Israel, city of righteousness, loyal town, mother of the Jewish nation like Jerusalem in its time." *Talmud torahs* and yeshivot flourished there whose names were famous throughout the Jewish world and brought scholars together from all parts of the empire, such as the yeshivah of Jacob ibn Ḥabib and his son Levi b. Ḥabib and those of Joseph Taitaẓak, Samuel de Medina, Joseph Ibn Lev (before he went to Istanbul), Isaac *Adarbi, and others. Similarly well known was the Great Talmud Torah of Salonika, which contained many hundreds of pupils whom it also clothed and fed. The heads of the aforementioned yeshivot and their scholars left a ramified responsa literature which served as a foundation for the studies of **posekim* and *dayyanim*, as well as an important, and sometimes the sole, source for the history of their times. With the expulsion from Spain, and even before it, Safed became a great center for immigration of Spanish refugees. The town grew and its economic development brought spiritual growth in its wake. Safed attracted scholars from many countries. It developed into a great center of Torah, Kabbalah, ethics (*musar*), and *piyyut*, becoming an important spiritual center in Ereẓ Israel, as well as for the Diaspora. Important and well-known Yeshivot were founded there, among them the Yeshivah of Jacob Berab; Berab taught a generation of outstanding pupils, among whom were four ordained pupils (see **Semikhah*) who also headed well-known yeshivot: Joseph Caro, the author of the Shulḥan Arukh, Moses Mitrani (of Trani; "Mabit"), Abraham *Shalom, and Israel di *Curiel. Other famous yeshivot were headed by Moses Galante, Elisha Galiko, Yom Tov Zahalon, Samuel de Uzeda, and Solomon Sages. Not only local students but also scholars who came from other regions of the empire studied in their yeshivot. The yeshivot obtained their economic support from the wealthy and from charities in all parts of the empire. (For further information see *Safed.) In Jerusalem there existed before the Ottoman conquest two yeshivot founded by the **nagid* Isaac ha-Cohen Sulal and, after the expulsion, in 1521 one yeshivah was headed by R. David Ibn Shushan who was helped by the kabbalist Abraham ben Eliezer ha-Levi, and the other yeshivah by R. Israel Ashkenazi. Other yeshivot in Jerusalem during the 16th century were headed by R. Levi Ibn Habib, R. Joseph Korkos, and R. Bezalel Ashkenazi. The Sephardi yeshivot taught according to the learning system of "*iyyun*" which was developed in Spain's yeshivot.

Aside from these, yeshivot and places of study in which esoteric lore, *Kabbalah, and the Zohar were the main subjects of study were established in Safed during this period. The students prostrated themselves at the graves of the pious in the fields of Safed and its vicinity. Among its outstanding scholars were Solomon ha-Levi Alkabeẓ, Moses *Cordovero, the heads of the pre-Lurianic Kabbalah and the well-known Isaac Luria Ashkenazi (Ha-Ari), the founder of the Lurianic Kabbalah and teacher of many disciples, among them Ḥayyim *Vital. There were also kabbalists and heads of yeshivot in Safed from North Africa, such as Joseph Magrabi (ha-Ma'aravi), Joseph b. Tabul, Masyud Azulai, Solomon ha-Ma'aravi (Abunaha), and others. The yeshivah of Moses ibn Machir was located at *Ein Zeitim, near Safed. Jerusalem's development after the Ottoman conquest in 1516 was slow compared to that of Safed. The economic situation was unstable, but the heads of the yeshivot and the rabbis of the town strove to prevent the town from being deserted. After the conquest, the spiritual hegemony passed from the Mustaʿrabs to the Sephardim. Doña Gracia Mendes founded a yeshivah of scholars in Tiberias, most of whom came from Safed. They were maintained by her appropriations and were thus able to devote all their time to Torah study. In addition to her contributions, there was a society in Istanbul for the benefit of the yeshivah. At the end of the 16th century, when Tiberias was abandoned, this yeshivah was also closed.

A major development in the standing of the yeshivot and the study of Torah occurred in Egypt. The Spanish refugees who settled there developed the Torah institutions which had long served the dwellers in Egypt itself, now attracting to them pupils from other places. Among the well-known yeshivot were those of David ibn Abi Zimra (Radbaz), Isaac Berab, Bezalel Ashkenazi, Jacob Castro, and Abraham Monzon.

In the 16th and 17th centuries numerous and renowned sages concentrated in the Ottoman Jewish communities. The broad intellectual class in the 16th century, as described in many sources, was an alert and lively one, and its needs dictated to the rabbis the style, form, and frequently the content of their literary work. This activity produced dozens of halakhic books, especially responsa literature, and primarily works of an exegetic and homiletic nature. Prominent sages such as the rabbis Meir Arama (d. c. 1545), Joseph Taitazak, Solomon le-Bet ha-Levi, Moses Almosnino, and many others prepared numerous anthologies and collections of commentaries. While the literature of the 16th century had a propensity for dealing with philosophical issues, by the end of the century and during the 17th a more central role was claimed by talmudic midrash and legend and their interpretation. The leading codifier of Jewish law was Rabbi Joseph Caro (1488–1575), whose magnum opus, *Beit Yosef,* a codification of all Jewish law, organized as a commentary on the *Arba'ah Turim,* was published in 1535 and the digest of this work, the *Shulḥan Arukh,* was printed for the first time in Venice in 1564–65. The scholars in the 16th century outside Ereẓ Israel devoted themselves mainly to philosophy and the sciences. Kabbalah was limited to a small group in communities such as those of Istanbul, Salonika, Edirne, Bursa, and others. This trend changed in the 17th and 18th centuries as a result of the popularization of the *Zohar* in the Jewish communities and the profound influence of the kabbalists and kabbalistic *minhagim* among the communities of the empire. Between 1750 and 1900 intellectual life existed primarily in the great communities of the empire. In a majority of the small communities only low- ranking rabbis, "*kelei kodesh*," served as ritual slaughterers and cantors, and frequently also as teachers (*melamdim*). In this period 275 scholars in Greece, Turkey, and the Balkans wrote 450 books, the majority in Izmir, Istanbul, and Salonika, and others in Edirne, Rhodes, Bursa, and other communities in Greece, Turkey, and the Balkans. Dozens of books were also written in Egypt, Ereẓ Israel, and Syria. During this period the number of the yeshivot were rapidly reduced and most were in the homes of well-to-do Jews. Most of those yeshivot were small and their students devoted themselves only to Torah learning, and did not learn philosophy and the sciences.

Heterodox Spiritual Trends among Ottoman Jewry

The study of the Lurianic Kabbalah spread during the first half of the 17th century throughout the Ottoman Empire, and among its heterodox outgrowths was the *Shabbatean movement. The persecutions and pogroms in the *Ukraine and *Poland, on the one hand, and a decline in the study of **halakhah* accompanied by the spread of the study of esoteric lore and Kabbalah, on the other, led to the rise of messianic hopes, which were given a strong stimulus with the appearance of *Shabbetai Ẓevi. At the time it was believed that the advent of the messiah and the coming of the redemption would take place in 1666. After his meeting with *Nathan of Gaza in 1665, on his way back to Jerusalem after fulfilling the office of a Jerusalem emissary, Shabbetai Ẓevi proclaimed himself the messiah who would redeem his people on 5 Sivan 5426 (June 18, 1666) and announced his intention to depose the sultan. He traveled from Jerusalem to other communities such as Aleppo and Izmir, and on December 30, 1665, sailed to Istanbul, taking special advantage of the fact that the royal court had then been transferred to Edirne. Nathan became Shabbetai Ẓevi's foremost pupil and adherent and aroused messianic expectations in Jewish communities throughout Europe and the Ottoman Empire. Many Jews made preparations to dispose of their property, rent ships, and travel to the Holy Land. Shabbetai Ẓevi himself was excommunicated in Jerusalem in 1665. In Izmir he appeared with his secretary, Samuel *Primo, and was supported by the majority of the community leaders and Jewish residents. His appearance in Istanbul and his royal behavior aroused the anger of the sultan. Shabbetai Zevi was brought before the council (*divan*) of the Grand Vizier Ahmed Köprülü, who decided to imprison him in Gallipoli, in a comfortable prison, including visitors. In September 1666, Shabbetai was transferred to Edirne, where he was brought again before the *divan* and, in order to save his life, converted to Islam with a group of his followers who imitated him. The descendants of those apostates numbered hundreds of families and formed a separate sect, called *Doenmeh (Turk. "apostate"). Members of the sect lived in Edirne, Istanbul, Salonika, and Izmir. They continued to believe in Shabbetai Ẓevi as the messiah. The appearance of Shabbetai Ẓevi and his companions humiliated the Jews of the empire, whose status had in any case declined in comparison with that of previous times. The movement gave rise to apostasy, disappointment, and despair, undermining the important economic positions held by the Jews. The remaining Shabbateans did not cease their activities. The Shabbatean emissary Abraham Miguel *Cardozo went to Istanbul in order to influence its rabbis to adhere to Shabbateanism. In Izmir, Nehemiah *Ḥayon and his friends were excommunicated. Jacob *Frank, a pseudo-messiah, a late adherent of the Shabbatean movement and founder of the Frankist movement, traveled from Poland to Volhynia and then to Turkey, where he lived in Izmir and Salonika, becoming friendly with the Doenmeh. Not finding Salonika favorable, he returned, however, to Poland. The Shabbateans and their adherents also penetrated into Egypt, Persia, Iraq, *Kurdistan, and North Africa. Various customs were introduced in these places under the influence of this movement, and they added to the prayers in Kurdistan the following words: "As instituted by our messiah, exalted be his majesty." The Shabbetai Ẓevi affair affected the status of rabbinic authority, and both rabbis and lay leaders were impelled to strengthen and consolidate the community's central institutions.

Social and Family Life

The Jewish males carried out extensive religious and social activities in the synagogues. Many well-to-do and middle-class Jews were active in the charity institutions of the community. The Jews spent most of their social life among their Jewish friends, participating in wedding, bar-mitzvah ceremonies, funerals, and memorial gatherings. It was not common to have social relationships with Muslims and Christians; such relations were generally limited to business contacts.

Family life in the communities were influenced by the realities of Ottoman urban life, especially crowded living conditions, poor public sanitation, endemic diseases, and traditional Jewish family norms. In the 16th century the breakup of the Spanish Jewish family, stemming from the expulsion, had a traumatic influence on family life. The main goal of family life among all Jewish groups was to rebuild strong families and to produce many live children and descendants. Every group like the Romaniots, Ashkenazim, Sephardim, and Musta'rabim had special family manners and customs, but the normal behavior of all groups followed the *halakhah* in all Jewish communities. The families were patriarchal at all levels of society. In spite of the fact that some women did earn a livelihood from various professions and crafts, interest-bearing loans or real estate, the majority stayed at home. Even those women who were economically active had the outlook of women in general and found their personal satisfaction in the sphere of the home. At the same time women were cognizant of their ability to protect their rights and to limit any infringement of them. The accepted woman's destiny, which was endorsed by male society, was to find total fulfillment in home and family life. In no community until the 19th century was higher education a part of a woman's life. She freed her husband to go about his business, principally to earn a livelihood. Most women invested their personal funds with close relatives, usually a husband, son, or brother. They seldom left their houses, and when they did, veiled faces and garments covering them from head to toe was the order of the day. Women from all Jewish groups were raised to expect arranged marriage at an early age, generally when 13–16 years old. Even divorcees and widows, especially young ones, hoped to remarry and invested much effort to achieve this. The men also married very young, at around 16–18. There were also cases of child marriage among girls, especially orphans. Polygamy was usual among the Musta'rabim; this phenomenon existed to a small extent in Spanish and Italian society as well. In spite of the legal agreement that the Sephardi husband not take a second wife during the life of his first, the Jewish courts frequently permitted the man to do so, particularly in cases where the couple was childless after 10 years of marriage. In the majority of these cases the Sephardi woman preferred divorce. There were also cases of polygamy among the Romaniots. The Musta'rabic woman was also less afraid of *yibbum*, whereas her Sephardi counterpart generally preferred *ḥaliẓah*. It was a common phenomenon in communities for a woman to marry her sister's widower. In neither community did divorce carry a stigma; many women demanded divorce on their own initiative.

A woman depended on her family to protect her rights at marriage, and most women knew how to guard their rights and possessions. The families took charge of the young couples, and usually the new couple lived in the first years after marriage with the husband's family. The Jewish courts of law dealt with many cases of abandoned women (*agunot*). Generally the *agunah* was lacking all basic necessities, and the Jewish courts of law made efforts to release the woman from this miserable status, in order to enable her to remarry. The ketubbah of every woman had a few special clauses depending on ethnic origin, such as forbidding polygamy in the Spanish ketubbah, inheritance regulations, such as the Toledo ones in the Spanish ketubbah, the inheritance regulations in the Romaniot ketubbah and the regulations in Ashkenazi marriage contracts. The Musta'rabim also wrote their own inheritance regulations. Jewish society coped with many problems of parenthood and child bearing, because of the prevalence of divorce, widowhood, and the phenomenon of men and women marrying a second or third time. Generally an average-sized Jewish family numbered three children. There was a high rate of miscarriages and stillborn babies. Marriages of cousins were very common. The first marriage was arranged by the family, and most men after divorce or widowhood found new mates. Women also chose to marry again. Sometimes Jews turned in family matters to the Muslim courts of law, especially in order to force divorce, or in matters of inheritance. Jewish boys and girls were usually given traditional and the more common names of heads of households that were found among the Jews of Sephardi and Portuguese origin. Other names were of Romaniot, Italian, Arabic, and Turkish origin. The process of the Europeanization among the Ottoman Jews during the second half of the 19th century had a direct effect on the secularization of Jewish society, so that many French and other European names entered the local nomenclature. Nevertheless, most of the Jewish babies were still given traditional names. Most of the men's names were Hebrew, and approximately 30 percent of the women's names were Hebrew. Jewish society insisted on high standards of personal and public morals and kept the traditional *halakhah* and *minhagim*. A majority of the communities' members behaved according to these obligations. Even so, there were cases of moral transgression, and the communal regulations point out cases of Jews who loved music, festivities, luxury, gambling, and an extravagant life. There were cases of men and women who had intimate relations with Christians and Muslims. The Jews in the cities of the empire had a tendency of their own choice to group together in Jewish quarters, but there were also Jews who dwelt with non-Jews. Generally, Jewish quarters were very crowded. The majority of houses were built of wood and brick, and every century there broke out fires in which hundreds of Jewish houses and their possessions were burned. The well-to-do Jews lived in large houses in the Jewish quarter, and sometimes built palaces among those of the Muslims and Christians, but a majority of the Jewish residents lived in densely populated residential areas. Many buildings had three floors or more. Most houses had an open courtyard in the center and a cellar for storing wine, cheese, wheat, and other foodstuffs. Very poor families lived in only one room.

Ladino Literature

Some books in Judeo-Spanish (or Ladino) written in Hebrew script were published in the cities of the empire soon after the arrival of the expellees. One of the books was the translation of the Pentateuch in Istanbul in 1547 at the press of Eliezer Gershon Soncino. Other famous Ladino works published in Istanbul were an account of the city of Istanbul by Rabbi Moses Almosnino, *Regimiento de la Vida*, which was published in 1564. In spite of the scarcity of such works during the 16th and 17th centuries, a revival of Ladino literature occurred in the 18th century, although a serious decline occurred in the cultural condition of the Jews in the empire. The situation had so deteriorated that a majority could not read the sacred literature. As a consequence books began to be published in the Spanish vernacular spoken by the Jews who came from Spain, the *Ladino. For a long period it was the only language spoken by them, because they never mastered Turkish. Religious literature was printed in Hebrew, however, and the presses in Salonika, Istanbul, and Izmir were renowned for the Hebrew books they published.

The spiritual leaders waged a fierce struggle for the preservation of Judaism. This effort was expressed in the popular anthology *Me-ʾAm Loʿez* ("From a Foreign Nation") by R. Jacob b. Meir *Culi (1689–1732), the most eminent Ladino author. Original books on ethics in Ladino, or translations of books from Hebrew to Ladino, became a favorite genre during the 18th and 19th centuries. Published works in Ladino deal with *maḥzorim*, *siddurim*, *kinot*, kabbalistic works, midrashim, ethical works, biblical commentaries written by Sephardi commentators, and a poem for Purim.

Among the published works were Abraham de Toledo's popular Judeo-Spanish poem "La Coplas de Joseph ha-Ẓaddik" (1732), which had some 400 quatrains with its own peculiar melody; "Meshivat Nefesh" (1743) – a translation and commentary by Shabbetai Vitas of the poems of Solomon ibn *Gabirol, and numerous works and translations of historical, scientific, and religious studies, including *Sulkhan Arukh*, and the compositions of the great poet Rabbi Moshe Faro (d. 1776) *Suzikar Peshrevi* and *Shadarban*. During various periods between the middle of the 18th century and the end of the 19th century, pamphlets of folk songs, poems on historical subjects connected with Jewish festivals and on secular subjects, works on Jewish and general history, as well as *Shevilei Olam* ("Paths of the World"), a compilation of wisdom and knowledge, were published. History textbooks were translated from Hebrew into Ladino, the translators preserving the original Hebrew titles. Novels and stories, such as *Ahavat Ẓiyyon* by *Mapu, and works by M. Mendelssohn and others were also translated from Hebrew.

The education of the Jewish population in the Balkan countries and in the Turkish-speaking provinces of the empire (Anatolia) was rooted in newspapers, literary periodicals, and original and translated works published in Ladino. According to the bibliography of Moses Gaon and Avner Levi, over 300 newspapers and magazines were published in that language during a period of 100 years. The publishing of literature and periodicals in Ladino was mainly concentrated in Salonika, Istanbul, and Izmir, the last of which was the cradle of Ladino literature. The first attempts to publish Ladino newspapers in Izmir were made during the middle of the 18th century, but these were short-lived. The first weekly to be published in Izmir in 1842 was called *La Buena Esperanza*, edited by Raphael Uziel, but it ceased to appear after a few issues. In 1846 a second attempt was made by the same editor; this time his publication lasted half a year. In 1874 a new weekly under the same title began to appear and its publication continued for 40 years. Its editor was Aaron Joseph Hazzan. In 1889 a newspaper named *La Nouvelliste*, which remained in existence 30 years, was founded. Another weekly, *El-Messeret*, which exhibited a Turkish nationalistic tendency, began to appear in 1897 in Ladino and Turkish. The continuation of *Me-ʾAm Loʿez* by Isaac Magriso (from the end of Exodus) and a translation of Esther appeared in Izmir (1864). In Istanbul from the 19th century most books, pamphlets, and literary magazines were published in Ladino. The most important publisher was Benjamin Raphael b. Joseph, who between 1889 and 1928 produced at least 30 books. Among the many periodicals that appeared in Istanbul the oldest were *Journal Israélite* (1841–60), by Ezekiel Gabbai; *La Luz de Israel* ("The Light of Israel"), by Leon Ḥayyim Castro, published from 1853; *El Tiempo*, whose first editor (1871) was Isaac R. *Camondo and last (from 1889), David *Fresco, the greatest of the Ladino writers. The *Al-Sharkiyah* ("The Eastern") appeared from 1869 in four languages: Ladino, Turkish, Greek, and Bulgarian (all in Rashi script). The following newspapers and weeklies should also be mentioned: *El Nacional* (1871), *El-Telegrafo* (1872), and *El Amigo de la Familia* (1881).

The pioneer of the Ladino press in Salonika was Judah Nehamah (1826–1899), who published in 1865 the first scientific monthly in Ladino, *El Lunar* ("The Month"). It contained articles on history, philosophy, astronomy, law, commerce, and art. It published biographies of Jewish personalities and a translation of a history of the universe (as a serial). *La Epoca* (from 1875) was a periodical devoted to political, commercial, and literary subjects. In 1910 it became a daily and the elite of the Jewish authors in Salonika contributed to it. The newspapers *Selanik* appeared (1869) as an official organ of the Ottoman government in four languages (but in Hebrew characters): Turkish, Greek, Bulgarian, and Ladino. It was issued by the order of Midhat Pasha, called the father of the Revolution of the Young Turks. He was appointed governor of Salonika in 1873. Among the periodicals which appeared in other towns, one that is important as a source for Jewish history is the *Yosef Daʿat* ("The Progress") edited by Abraham Danon in Edirne (1888). Many other periodicals and newsletters in Ladino, Greek, Turkish, French, and Italian, which began to appear at the end of the 19th century and later, belong to contemporary history. In 1899 Avram Leyon and Avram Ibrahim Naon edited in Istanbul a new journal, *Ceride-i Lisan*, in Turkish with the purpose of making Turkish a living language among the Jews; however it met with only limited success. In Sofia, *El Amigo del Puevlo* was published in Ladino from 1890 to 1899. Baruch Mitrani published the monthly Hebrew-Ladino *Be-Mishol ha-Keramim* in the 1890s. *La Boz de Israel* was put out in Bulgarian and Ladino by Yehoshua Kalev after 1896. *El Progreso* appeared twice weekly, starting in 1897. *La Verdad* was published by Abraham Tajir from 1898 to 1910. Ladino journals were published also in Jerusalem and Egypt.

POWERFUL JEWS, PHYSICIANS, COUNSELORS, LORDS, AND MEDIATORS IN THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE

Jewish physicians and state councilors were active in the sultan's court throughout the Ottoman period, especially in the 15th and 16th centuries. Among the important ones was Jacob Pasha (Hekim Yakub, the physician to the sultan Murad II and his son Mehmed II). He was granted tax exemptions for himself and his descendants in perpetuity. Jacob converted to Islam at an advanced age and was appointed vizier before his death in the early 1480s. At the same time (c. 1481) the Portuguese physicians Ephraim ben Nissim Ibn Sanchi and his son Abraham also served at the court. During the 16th century the most significant physicians at the court were the members of the *Hamon family, Joseph and his son Moses of Granada (who served the sultans *Beyazid II, *Selim I, and *Suleiman I, the Magnificent) and the grandson and great grandson, Joseph and Isaac Hamon. Joseph *Hamon accompanied Selim I in 1516 to Egypt and Ereẓ Israel during his conquests. Moshe* Hamon brought benefits to Jews in the empire such as his activity to prevent blood libels (see above).

There were also prominent Jewish businessmen and bankers who held focal positions in the financial centers of the empire – the treasury and lease of taxes. During the reign of Suleiman I, Don Joseph Nasi was influential at court. Nasi was a principal spokesman in foreign affairs and exerted himself on behalf of Jews. He was involved in the efforts to free the anusim imprisoned in *Ancona, the Papal state, and to organize a Jewish economic ban on the city. Selim II made him ruler of the island of Naxos and of the other Cyclade islands, and elevated him to the rank of duke. Nasi built a luxurious palace for his family at Belvedere, on the shores of the Bosporus. He helped the poor and supported the Portuguese *anusim* who settled at the time in the Ottoman Empire. He also assisted his mother-in-law, Gracia Mendes, in her philanthropic activities. Don Solomon ibn Yaish, a Crypto-Jew who reached Turkey in 1585, was also close to the sultanate and received the rank of duke of the isle of Mytilene. He helped the poor of Safed and Turkey, and assisted the *Jabez family, printers in Istanbul. R. Moses Almosnino enumerates a list of court Jews in Istanbul who helped him obtain the Writ of Freedem (*mu'afname*) from the sultan for the Jewish community of Salonika: Joseph Nasi, Judah Di Sigura, Abraham Salma, Meir Ibn Sanji, and Joseph Hamon. Other royal physicians at Suleiman's court included Don Gedaliah *Ibn Yahya, Abraham ha-Levi Migas and Moses Bataril. Generally, these court Jews were very wealthy and tried to help their brethren in Istanbul and in other Ottoman Jewish communities by using their political connections. From 1564 Solomon Ashkenazi served as the personal physician of the sultan and was sent by Sultan Selim II to arrange the peace treaty between the Ottoman Empire and Venice in 1573; thanks to his activity, the order of Venice to expel its Jewish residents was rescinded. The female physician Boula Eksati, wife of the Solomon *Ashkenazi, was an expert in pox diseases and healed Sultan Ahmed I (1603–17). Solomon Ashkenazi was the close adviser of the vizier Mehmed Sokolli during the reign of Selim II, and maintained his position during the reign of the sultan Murad III. Three known Jewish women holding the title *kiera (kira) achieved great influence at the courts of the sultans in the 16th century: Strongila (Fatima), Esther *Handal, and Esperanza *Malchi.

Another active Jewish diplomat at the court was Don Solomon Ibn Ya'ish, who had previously been called Alvaro Mendes (1520–1603). He settled in Istanbul in 1580 and served the sultans Murad III (1574–95) and Mehmed III (1595–1603). He became duke of the island of Mytelene (Midilli). With agents throughout Europe, he gained substantial wealth for himself and acquired valuable information about international developments for the Sublime Porte. One of his diplomatic achievements was establishing close diplomatic relations between the Ottoman Empire and England. Another famous person serving at the court of Murad III was the physician Moses Benveniste, who dealt also with diplomacy until he was exiled to Rhodes in 1584. At the end of the 16th century David Passi also served at the court. It seems that he converted and was appointed grand vizier under the name Halil Pasha. At the beginning of the 17th century the palace medical staff had consisted of 41 Jewish physicians, but by the mid-17th the Jewish medical staff was reduced to only four Jews. Still, Jews served at court until the second half of the 18th century and even in the beginning of the 19th. Sultan Ibrahim I (1630–48) sent his Jewish diplomat Samuell Markus to Madrid. Moses ibn Judah Bikhri and his son Judah, born in Amsterdam, were envoys of Turkey in the time of Sultan Mehmed IV (1648–87). The Italian Israel Conegliano (Conian; c. 1650–c. 1717) settled in Istanbul in 1675 and became the physician of Grand Vizier Kara Mustafa Pasha, but was also consulted by Sultan Mehmed IV (1648–87). Despite the economic and political decline of the Jews in the 18th century, the sultans continued to employ persons from the Jewish community as physicians and advisers. The physician Tobias b. Moses *Cohn was the physician of the vizier Mehmet Rami, the grand vizier of Mustafa II (1695–1703), as well as of Ahmed III (1703–30).Tobias retired in 1714; Naphtali b. Mansur was the close adviser of Baltaji Ahmed Pasha. A physician named Benveniste attended the vizier Sivas Pasha; he had great influence upon the policies of the realm. Daniel de *Fonseca, of Portuguese origin (c. 1668–c. 1740), settled in Istanbul in 1702 and served as a physician and diplomat to the French Embassy, and in 1714 became the physician of Ahmed III until 1730. Other Jewish court physicians during the reigns of Mahmud I (1730–54) and

Osman III (1754–57) were Isaac Çelebi, Joseph Rofeh, David Halevi Ashkenazi, and Judah Handali. Eliezer Iskandari was physician to Sinan Pasha, the Egyptian viceroy and one of the grand viziers in the time of the sultan Murad IV (1623–40) and of his son Mehmed IV (1648–87). He was also adviser on Jewish affairs. Judah Baruch served as sarraf bashi to Sultan Mahmud I (1730–54), using his position to dissuade Maria Theresa from her plan to deport all the Jews of Austria.

Meir *Adjiman was appointed banker of the Sublime Porte by Selim III (1789–1807) and had great influence in the government. Adjiman was murdered by the Janissaries and the office was given to his two nephews Baruch and Jacob *Adjiman who were active on behalf of their fellow-Jews. These two were killed by the sultans Selim III and Mustafa IV. The son of one of them, Isaiah *Adjiman, was appointed in their place, but he too was put to death by Mahmud II. The high-ranking *Çelebi* Siman Tov Shaki was one of those who came and went in the royal court. He and Solomon Camondo, of the well-known family, purchased the concession for the sale of gum from the government. Ezekiel Gabbai was the royal banker and manager of the sultan's affairs (*sarrāf bashi*). His grandson, Ezekiel Gabbai, also served in the highest offices during the reign of the sultans Abdul-Aziz and Abdul-Hamid. He brought great benefits to his coreligionists and was the head of the community of Istanbul. There were wealthy and influential Jews not only in the capital city but also in the offices of chancellor of the pasha's exchequer, master of the mint, and the offices of bankers in other countries of the empire. As already stated, a large number of prominent physicians, specialists in different branches of medicine, served at the courts of the sultans, the viziers, and the *valis*. This important office furnished them with a high personal status and also with the ability to exercise influence at the royal court on behalf of Jews throughout the empire. The Jewish physicians wore different clothes from other Jews, and instead of the yellow hat wore a tall pointed scarlet one. Some of them were freed from burdensome taxes. Many Jewish translators served the Ottoman authorities and European ambassadors and consuls, while others served European agencies as diplomats, such as Taragano family members who served Britain as translators and as vice consuls in Çanakkale. Some members of the Piccioto family also served during the 18th and 19th centuries as consuls of certain European states in Aleppo.

REIGN OF ABDUL-HAMID AND THE LAST YEARS OF THE EMPIRE

During the reign of the sultan Abdul-Hamid II (1876–1909) the attitude of the Sublime Porte toward the Jews was positive and there were four Jewish representatives in the first short-lived (1877–78) parliament, the *mejlis mabʿuthān*, in which minority groups also participated. However, the authoritarian regime of the sultan led him to disregard the constitution which he had proclaimed, so that it never became truly effective. Abdul-Hamid attempted to buttress his power by imposing a strongly centralized rule. Free intellectual and national impulses in his empire were hampered. The *Ḥibbat Zion movement, the *Bilu *aliyah*, and Zionist aspirations met with not only local opposition from the Arabs in Ereẓ Israel, but even more with opposition from the Ottoman government in Istanbul. The attempts of Theodor *Herzl to change the attitude of Abdul-Hamid and his viziers were of no avail. *Aliyah* to Ereẓ Israel was severely restricted and could only be maintained due to the corruption of the bureaucracy. In spite of this, many schools in the Ottoman Jewish communities were established by the Alliance Israélite Universelle, which spread secular culture among the students. The majority of the 403 teachers who were trained in Paris between 1868 and 1925 were born in the Ottoman Empire. Seventy percent of the female teachers were Ottoman residents. Many retired teachers who had served the Alliance for decades became notables, journalists, heads of communities, and politicians. Most mass education in the majority of the communities continued to take place in the Alliance schools or in Alliance-run or -influenced *talmudei torah* until the end of World War I. Many Jews adopted the French language as their medium of cultural and intellectual life. During the latter half of the 19th century some *maskilim* acted in the communities, such as Rabbi Abraham Danon from Edirne, who composed and published a number of works in Hebrew. In 1879 he founded the society for the Friends of Enlightenment (Dorshei Haskalah). The society sought to bring to Ottoman Jewry the Enlightenment movement from Western Europe. Among the new *maskilim* in the communities were Salomon Rozanes from Bulgaria, Abraham Galanté from Turkey, and Joseph Nehama from Salonika.

Some members of the Doenmeh sect took an active part in the formation of the ideology of the Ottoman Society of Union and Progress, which was the mother of the constitutional revolution against Abdul-Hamid and his government (1908). It is known that some prominent Jews were also members of the society, e.g., R. Ḥayyim *Bejerano (c. 1846–1931). However, the story that the revolution of 1908 was a "Jewish-Masonic plot" received wide circulation. Originating among various clerics and nationalists, the false tale about the Jewish origin of the revolution was taken up by some British circles and during World War I seized upon by Allied propaganda as a means of discrediting their Turkish enemies. As the Young Turks had been very successful in their propaganda among non-Ottoman Muslims, it seemed a good idea to demonstrate that they themselves were neither Turks nor Muslims. A characteristic statement is found in a book by an English author published in 1917: "… David belongs to the Jewish sect of Dunmehs. Carasso is a Sephardini Jew from Salonika…." Professor Bernard *Lewis says that no doubt Turkish-speaking Ottoman Muslims of Balkan and other origins played a part in the movement. "There seems, however, to be no evidence at all, in the voluminous Turkish literature on the Young Turks, that Jews ever played a part of any significance in their councils, either before, during or after the Revolution.… The Salonika lawyer Carasso … was a minor figure. Javid … was a doenmeh … and not a real Jew; he seems in any case to have been the only member of his community to reach front rank …" (B. Lewis, *The Emergence of Modern Turkey*, 207–8). In any case, later developments in the Republic of Turkey indicate that the attitude of the Young Turks toward the Jews as a nation was not influenced by the part supposedly played by Jews in the origins of the society.

At the end of the 19th century, Ottoman Jewry constituted the fifth largest Jewish community in the world, after those of Russia, Austria-Hungary, the United-States, and Germany. It numbered in 1895, according to the Ottoman census, 184,139 persons, and increased to 256,003 in 1906, before the loss of territories in Macedonia and Thrace in consequence of the Balkan Wars in 1912–13. The great majority of the Jewish population was poor and little educated. They were a single group, but there were controversies between traditionalists and modernists in the communities. Most of the rabbis and scholars made efforts to accept modern trends and to solve social and family problems affected by modernism and secularism. Such a trend can be seen in the responsa literature of the period and in lectures by well-known rabbis. In 1892 the Sephardim celebrated 400 years of settlement in the Ottoman Empire. The Young Turk Revolution and the Constitutional Period that followed the Hamidan absolutism in 1908 and 1909 guaranteed associative rights to Ottoman subjects despite some restrictions. This caused an awakening of the Jewish communities which reorganized their associations and created new ones. These associations included also sports and several Zionist organizations whose activities until World War I focused in particular on the revival of the Hebrew language. Within the community of Istanbul the Zionists tried to act against the *ḥakham bashi* and the Alliance Israélite Universelle. Zionist associations occupied a middle ground between tradition and modernity. During the last two decades of the empire, the handful of Jews who were involved in general state politics, usually at the side of Turkish nationalists, acted on a strictly individual basis. Most of the Jews in the empire, excluding the Jewish community in Ereẓ Israel, remained largely indifferent to any direct political involvement.

Jews served actively in the Ottoman army during the Balkan Wars and during World War I, and they also strove to demonstrate their loyalty to the government by getting young non-Ottoman Jewish volunteers to enlist in the military in order to demonstrate the community's determination to join the war effort. Jewish bankers in and out of the empire and Jewish charitable organizations provided money for wartime expenditure. Following the Ottoman entry into the war on the side of Germany and Austria on November 11, 1914, Jewish subjects of enemy countries were required to close their stores and shops and leave the empire, with some 2,000 colonists from Ereẓ Israel going overland from Jaffa and Tel Aviv to northern Ereẓ Israel and Damascus, while 11,277 went by ship to Alexandria. The Ottoman government allowed Jews to remain as long as they adopted Ottoman citizenship. The government also allowed Jewish foreign educational and charitable institutions operating to continue as long as they were managed by Ottoman Jews. In 1915–16 the Jewish population of Ereẓ Israel suffered starvation, the plague, and other diseases, such as typhus, and cholera. American Jews, via the American ambassador to the Porte, Henry *Morgenthau, and German Jewish organizations sent food and money to the Jewish residents of Ereẓ Israel during these years. Jews throughout the empire suffered, along with other elements of the population from various developments during the war, including deportation of Jewish populations from the war zones of Eastern Anatolia, Thrace, *Gallipoli, and later Ereẓ Israel, But since most Jews lived outside the war zones and were helped by food shipments from American Jews, few Jews died in comparison with other groups of the population.

[Yaacov Geller and Haïm Z'ew Hirschberg / Leah Bornstein-Makovetsky (2nd ed.)]

OTTOMAN JEWRY AND ZIONISM

For generations, Ottoman Jews nurtured deep feelings about the idea of the Return to Zion, which were manifested in Jewish tradition and religious beliefs. By contrast, their attitude toward political Zionism was conditioned by the policy of the Ottoman government. Ottoman Jewry was noted for its loyalty and was in no position to dissent. Thus throughout his negotiations with the Turkish government, Herzl could not expect the assistance of any Ottoman Jew. In fact Moses Halevi, the chief rabbi in Constantinople, warned the chief rabbi in Jerusalem, Jacob Saul Elyashar, not to become involved with a movement to which the sultan objected. Elyashar, determined not to incur the government's displeasure, avoided meeting Herzl.

It was not until after the Young Turk Revolution of July 24, 1908, that the climate of opinion became more favorable. Early in September both Ahmed Riza, a prominent Young Turk leader (later president of the Chamber) and editor of *Meḥveret*, and Tewfik Pasha, the foreign minister, made exceptionally friendly statements about Zionism and were willing to lift former restrictions on Jewish immigration to Palestine. Ḥayyim Nahoum, the chief rabbi of Turkey, confirmed to Victor Jacobson, head of the Zionist Agency in Constantinople, that the new régime viewed Jewish settlement in Palestine with favor, although they would not allow Palestine to become politically autonomous. Jacobson, on his part, took great pains to dispel the notion that Zionism entertained separatist aspirations or ran counter to Ottoman interests. His efforts, as well as those of *Jabotinsky, who assisted him, bore fruit, since there was much latent sentiment for the idea of settlement in the Holy Land; the Jewish community of Salonika in particular proved a tower of strength.

The Salonika Community

There were approximately 80,000 Jews in Salonika, out of a total population of 173,000. Jacob Meir, their chief rabbi (later Sephardi chief rabbi of Palestine), was very sympathetic to Zionism; so was Saadiah Levi, the editor of *L'Epoca*, the local Jewish paper, and Joseph Na'or, the respected mayor of Salonika. But the greatest asset was Emmanuel Carasso, a prominent figure in the Young Turk movement and a deputy for Salonika in the Ottoman parliament. He thought that the leadership of the Committee of Union and Progress (CUP) was not as hostile to Zionism as was generally assumed, although Zionist aims should be made more palatable to it. Of equal importance was the conversion to Zionism of Nissim Matzliah and Nissim Russo, both of whom were deputies to the Ottoman parliament. They were members of the small group that founded the CUP and despite their youth were very influential. Matzliah was secretary of the CUP and later also of the parliament.

Like Carasso, Russo and Matzliah saw no incompatibility between patriotism and interest in Palestine. They were eager to convince Turkish politicians that opposition to Zionism was based on a misconception. In a meeting which took place on December 31, 1908, in the presence of Jacobson and Jabotinsky, they declared that they had decided to join the Zionist Organization and found an Ottoman branch, provided it would disclaim any separatist political aims. They suggested that the CUP should first be won over and, through it, the parliament and consequently also the government. Hilmi Pasha was singled out in particular. As the most influential statesman in the parliament and minister of the interior, he was the "man of the future." Russo was his former secretary and hoped to sway him. Jointly with Matzliah he considered submitting a memorandum to the CUP and the Ministry of the Interior and, in order to keep the public in Istanbul better informed, they thought it absolutely essential that the Zionists publish a paper.

Turkish Support for Zionism

Behor Effendi, who in 1908 was elected senator (the only Jew to attain that eminence), became appreciably friendlier. This was also true of Faradji, who thought that the development of an intellectual center in Palestine was of crucial importance to world Jewry; the absence of antisemitism in Turkey made the idea realizable. This coincided with the proposal made by Carasso early in February 1909 to found an Ottoman Immigration Company for Palestine and Turkey in general.

Russo and Matzliah soon approached a number of prominent CUP leaders, such as Ahmed Riza, Enver Bey, and Talaat Bey, and found them quite sympathetic; the most explicit statement was made by Nâzim Bey, a leading member of the Unionist Central Committee. He would have liked to see six to eight million Jews in Turkey; they were the "most reliable element." He approved of Carasso's plan and was willing to join the board of the proposed Immigration Company, but with regard to Palestine he would allow no more than two to four million Jews to come; settlement in excess of this number would constitute "a danger."

Voltre-Face

Russo and Matzliah had hardly taken stock of the situation when the Young Turks staged their second coup in April 1909, which brought in its wake a radical change in direction. Promises of equality for all Ottoman subjects without distinction of religion and race became invalid and slogans like Freedom and Liberty were discarded. Ottomanism gave way to Turkism, and the dream of a free association of people in a multinational and multi-denominational empire vanished forever. Turkey became a centralized state, and for the non-Turkish nationalities this was a crippling blow.

Attitudes toward Zionism also hardened. In consequence Ottoman-Jewish leaders became reserved, and even Carasso, Matzliah, and Russo remained aloof. David Fresco, the editor of *El Tiempo*, the Judeo-Spanish periodical, with whom Jacobson had planned in 1908 to co-edit a paper, turned against the Zionists and in a series of articles – from December 1910 to February 1911 – accused them of disloyalty to Turkey.

In 1912–14, Turkish policy toward Jewish settlement in Palestine changed markedly and *pari passu* Ottoman Jewry adopted a friendlier tone. But it was not until 1918 that they were able to come out openly in favor of Zionism.

Diplomatic Overtures

Publication of the Balfour Declaration, coupled with the conquest of Jerusalem by the British, made restoration of Palestine to Turkey unlikely. To Talaat Pasha, the grand vizier, the only option that remained open was diplomacy. On January 5, 1918, he met German-Jewish leaders in Berlin and agreed to resuscitate the defunct Ottoman-Israelite Union for Immigration and Settlement in Palestine. Thereafter, he delegated to Emmanuel Carasso, his confidant, the task of negotiating with the German-Jewish leaders on the creation of the Jewish Center in Palestine under Ottoman sovereignty. Carasso considered the plan advantageous to Turkey. It also had a strong personal appeal for him; he had no difficulty in reconciling his duty as a Turkish patriot with that of a nationalist Jew.

Talaat invited the German-Jewish delegation (VJOD), which included the Zionists, to come to Constantinople in order to bring the negotiations to a successful conclusion. Once again, Carasso had to work out the details. Accordingly, the Settlement Company was to be given the right to acquire land, administer concessions, regulate Jewish immigration and settlement, and grant local autonomy to individual settlements, so that in due course, the Jews would become a majority in the country. In Carasso's opinion – and so he had told the grand vizier – the fear that the Jews would ultimately go their own way had little substance. Should Turkey remain weak she would lose Palestine to the Arabs anyhow, whereas Jewish help in making Turkey a viable state was worthy of consideration. Once Turco-Jewish cooperation was established, a relationship of trust was likely to develop, and separatist tendencies would die out.

Nahoum also acted as one of the chief intermediaries between the Turkish government and a German-Jewish delegation. The negotiations proved abortive but indicative of the new spirit that prevailed among Ottoman Jews was Nahoum's statement, made a few years after the war, though under changed conditions:

Jewish aspirations in Turkey center on the restoration of Palestine. This back-to–the-land movement was the most important factor in the awakening of the desire for the repopulation of Palestine; it was proved that the regeneration of Palestine was possible. The Balfour Declaration became the basis for the settlement of the Jewish question, and today the Jews of Turkey do not fail to cooperate with all their might with the rest of the Jews in the intellectual, economic, and commercial restoration of Palestine/Israel.

[Isaiah Friedman (2nd ed.)]

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OTWOCK, town and health resort near Warsaw, Poland. It became popular among middle-class Jews from central Poland as a fashionable resort. A ḥasidic dynasty derives its name from this town. There were 2,356 Jews living in Otwock in 1908 (20.9% of the total population), and 5,408 in 1921. The 357 members of the Jewish loan society of Otwock in 1924 comprised 162 artisans, 156 merchants, and 39 members of other professions.

[*Encyclopaedia Judaica* (Germany)]

Holocaust Period

On the outbreak of World War II there were 14,200 Jews in Otwock. In October 1939, one month after the occupation of the town, the Nazis burned all the synagogues there. In the summer of 1940 a few hundred young men were deported to the forced-labor camp at Tyszowce. A closed ghetto was established in January 1941. A year later, 150 young men were deported to the newly opened *Treblinka death camp, where they were among the first victims. In April 1942, 400 Jews were deported to the nearby forced-labor camp in Karczew. The great deportation to the Treblinka death camp began in August 1942. About 7,000 Jews were deported and exterminated in Treblinka, while 3,000 others, who offered passive resistance and hid themselves, were found, and most were killed on the spot. Another 700 Jews who succeeded in fleeing into the surrounding forests were killed by German armed groups searching the woods. The forced-labor camp in Karczew was liquidated on Dec. 1, 1942. After the war about 400 Jews settled in the town, but eventually all of them left Poland. A home for Jewish children and a Jewish sanatorium were active during the first postwar years.

[Stefan Krakowski]

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OUAKNIN, MARC-ALAIN (1957–), rabbi, scholar. Born in Paris as one of five siblings, Ouaknin came from a family of both Sephardi and Ashkenazi origin. His father, Jacques Ouaknin, born in Marrakech and himself author of several books on Judaism, was a former chief rabbi of Marseilles, and his mother, Eliane-Sophie, was born in Lille to an Alsatian-Luxembourg Ashkenazi family. A best-selling author of many books on Jewish thought, philosophy and Kabbalah, Ouaknin is an associate professor at Bar-Ilan University in Israel, where he teaches comparative literature. After public school, Ouaknin was trained at the yeshivah of Aix-les-Bains and at Gateshead in England. He started to study medicine in Strasbourg but after two years turned to philosophy at the University of Nanterres Paris X, while simultaneously beginning rabbinical studies at the *Séminaire israélite in Paris. During the 1980s, Ouaknin's encounter with Edmond *Jabes and Emmanuel *Lévinas determined the future of his work. His Ph.D. dissertation, under the direction by Pierre Kaufmann and the guidance of Lévinas and presented in 1986, was partly published in his *The Burnt Book: Reading the Talmud* (French, 1986), gained immediate recognition, and was later translated into German (1990), English (1994), Japanese (1994), Spanish (1999), and Italian (2000). A combination of poetry, mysticism, and phenomenology, his numerous books have reached a large audience. Geared to accessibility, they have introduced the basic main ideas and traditions of Judaism and Kabbalah, taking a modern approach. Among his books are *Lire aux éclats Eloge de la caresse* (1989); *Ouvertures hassidiques* (1990) *Méditations érotiques, essais sur Emmanuel Lévinas* (1992); *Tsimtsoum, Introduction à la méditation hébraïque* (1992); *Bibliothérapie, Lire c'est guérir* (1994); *The Mysteries of the Alphabet: the Origins of Writing* (1999); *The Mysteries of the Kabbalah* (French, 2000; English, 2001); *The Mystery of Numbers* (2004). In addition he published popular books written with Dory Rotnemer about Jewish humor and Jewish names, and also about Jerusalem, where he lives. Translated into many languages, his work has become a subject for academic research in places such as Belgium, Spain, and Italy.

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[Sylvie Anne Goldberg (2nd ed.)]

OUDTSHOORN, town in the Cape midlands of the Republic of South Africa. For many years Oudtshoorn was the center of the ostrich-feather industry, and Jewish immigrants played an outstanding part in its development. Arriving in the area about 1880, approximately 30 years after the town was founded, Jewish traders mainly from Lithuania mastered the methods of ostrich-farming and helped to develop world-wide markets for the feathers. Among the pioneers and recognized experts in the industry were men like the Rose brothers, and the eldest, Max, who came from Lithuania in 1890, was known as the "ostrich feather king." When the market collapsed shortly before World War I, the Roses fought hard to save the industry from ruin. At the height of the ostrich boom, Oudtshoorn had the largest Jewish population in rural South Africa, numbering 1,500 in 1913. Because of the intense communal and religious life of the Oudtshoorn community, it was sometimes called the Jerusalem of Africa. A Hebrew congregation was formed in 1883; the first synagogue was built in 1888 and another in 1896; one of these is now disused. Other communal institutions, including Zionist and philanthropic societies and a Hebrew day school, were established. The Jewish community produced many professional men and business leaders, and Jews were also prominent in the civic and cultural life of the town, in several cases serving as councilors and mayors. After the decline of the ostrich-feather industry, the Jewish population was considerably reduced. In 1968 they numbered about 300. By the turn of the century the total had fallen below 60. The Oudtshoorn Hebrew Congregation, still active despite its small numbers, celebrated its 120th anniversary in 2004, with Jewish leaders from all over the country participating in the festivities.

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[Louis Hotz]

OULIF, CHARLES NARCISSE (1794–1867), French lawyer and community leader, born in Metz. Oulif supported the revolution of July 1830 and was a tireless promoter of equality for the Jews. He secured the abolition in the court of Metz of the humiliating Jewish *oath (*more Judaico*) and of the term "Jew" in documents within its jurisdiction. Also in Metz, Oulif established a school for Jewish youths and was among the founders of a society for the encouragement of technical education for Jews. Both institutions served as models for similar ones in other cities.

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OURY, GERARD (1919–2006), dramatic artist, author, film director. Oury was born in Paris. He is one of the leading directors of comedies in the French film industry and has worked with all the great comedians of France. He began his career as an actor in Paris with the Comédie Française in 1939/40, but had to abandon it upon the Nazi conquest. He spent 1943 to 1945 in Geneva, and only returned to the Comédie Française in 1961. Some of his films have featured Jewish characters or elements. Among his many successful films, many featuring Louis de Funes, are *Le Corniaud* (1964), *La Grande Vadrouille* (1966), *Le Cerveau* (1968), *La Folies des Grandeurs* (1971), *Les Aventures de Rabbi Jacob* (1973), and *L'As des As* (1982).

[Gideon Kouts]

OUZIEL, BEN-ZION MEIR ḤAI (1880–1953), chief rabbi of Israel, *rishon le-Zion*. Ouziel was born in Jerusalem, where his father, Joseph Raphael, was the *av bet din* of the Sephardi community of Jerusalem, as well as president of the community council. At the age of 20 he became a yeshivah teacher and also founded a yeshivah called Maḥazikei Torah for Sephardi young men. In 1911, he was appointed *ḥakham bashi* of Jaffa and the district. Immediately upon his arrival in Jaffa he began to work vigorously to raise the status of the Oriental congregations there. In spirit and ideas he was close to the Ashkenazi rabbi of the Jaffa community, A.I. Kook, and their affinity helped to bring about more harmonious relations than previously existed between the two communities. During World War I he was active as leader and communal worker. His intercession with the Turkish government on behalf of persecuted Jews finally led to his exile to Damascus, but he was permitted to return to Ereẓ Israel, arriving in Jerusalem before the entry of the British army. In 1921 he was appointed chief rabbi of Salonika, accepting this office with the consent of the Jaffa-Tel Aviv community for a period of three years. He returned to become chief rabbi of Tel Aviv in 1923, and in 1939 was appointed chief rabbi of Ereẓ Israel. Ouziel was a member of the temporary committee of Jews in Ereẓ Israel, a member of the Va'ad Le'umi, and a representative at the meeting which founded the Jewish Agency. He appeared before the Mandatory government as a representative of the Jewish community and on missions in its behalf, and impressed all with his dignity and bearing. He was also founder of the yeshivah Sha'ar Zion in Jerusalem. He contributed extensively to newspapers and periodicals on religious, communal, and national topics, as well as Torah novellae and Jewish philosophy.

He was the author of *Mishpetei Ouziel*, responsa (1st ed., 3 vols., 1935–60; 2nd ed., 4 vols., 1947–64); *Sha'arei Ouziel* (1944–46), consisting of *halakhah*, general topics, and a selection of his addresses, letters, and other writings; *Mikhmannei Ouziel* (1939); *Hegyonei Ouziel* (1953–54), and still other works in manuscript. He made "Love, truth, and peace" the motto of his life. This verse (Zechariah 8:19) hung framed above his desk and was inscribed on his notepaper. Two days before his death he dictated his testament. It said, inter alia, "I have kept in the forefront of my thoughts the following aims: to disseminate Torah among students, to love the Torah and its precepts, Ereẓ Israel and its sanctity; I have emphasized love for every man and woman of Israel and for the Jewish people as a whole, love for the Lord God of Israel, the bringing of peace between every man and woman of Israel – in body, in spirit, in speech, and in deed, in thought and in meditation, in intent and in act, at home and in the street, in village and in town; to bring genuine peace into the home of the Jew, into the whole assembly of Israel in all its classes and divisions, and between Israel and its Father in Heaven."

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[Itzhak Goldshlag]

OVADIA, NISSIM J. (1890–1942), chief Sephardi rabbi of Paris. Born in Adrianople, Turkey, the descendant of rabbis, Ovadia was educated at the Alliance Israélite Universelle school and at Yeshiva Bikur Holim. A promising student, he then went to Jerusalem to complete his rabbinical training at the Beit Midrash le-Rabbanim of the Ezra School, from which he was ordained. The Sephardi *bet din* awarded him the *hattarat hora'ah* (see *Semikhah*), he then went to Vienna to be assistant rabbi to the Sephardi community. In 1918 he was elected chief rabbi. During the 1920s he attended the University of Vienna and received his Ph.D. in 1927.

An active Zionist, he used the occasion of the World Zionist Congress in Vienna to establish the World Sephardic Foundation, the presidency of which he later assumed. He published a daily and high holiday Sephardi prayerbook with Judeo-Spanish translations.

In 1929 he accepted the call of the Jewish community of Paris and became chief Sephardi rabbi. He brought together the immigrants from Salonica, Constantinople, and Smyrna into one viable community and created a magnificent synagogue in the heart of Paris. Three schools became two, he organized a youth organization, and other committees to meet the needs of the community.

When the Germans invaded in May 1940, he remained in Paris, but by June it became too dangerous for him to stay, so he sought refuge in Orléans. He found a temporary haven in the Collège Saint Croix. On August 30 he crossed the Spanish border and then immigrated to New York via Portugal in March 1941. He sought to replicate his experience in Paris in New York and established the Central Sephardic community of America and became its chief rabbi, but ill health cut short his career. He had a heart attack in May 1942 and another, fatal one, in August.

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[Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

OVCHINSKI, LEVI (d. 1941?), rabbi, scholar, and historian. Born in Daugieliszki (Vilna province), Lithuania, Ovchinski studied at the yeshivah in Lida. After living for a time in Swinciany, in 1897 he was appointed rabbi in Alt-Autz, Courland, and afterward rabbi of Mittau (Jelgava). Rabbi Ovchinski and his two sons-in-law perished during the Holocaust.

Ovchinski wrote several reference works: *Naḥalat Avot* (1894), a biographical lexicon of Jewish scholars who were omitted from or only briefly mentioned in Ḥ.J.D. *Azulai's *Shem ha-Gedolim*, and A. Walden's *Shem ha-Gedolim he-Ḥadash*. In a similar category is Ovchinski's *Hadrat Ẓevi* (1914) containing the biographies of the rabbis Naḥman Idl Margolies and Ẓevi Hirsch Nurock (father of Mordechai *Nurock). His main work was *Toledot ha-Yehudim be-Kurland* (1908, 1911^2; a Yiddish translation was published in Riga in 1928 entitled *Di Geschikhte fun di Yidn in Letland fun Yor 1561–1923*), the historical section of this book being based principally on R. *Wunderbar's volume on the same subject. The second section dealing with the history of the communities of Latvia and their rabbis is Ovchinski's most important contribution to the historiography of Latvian Jewry, based on and utilizing the minute books of the communities and burial societies, as well as other sources.

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[Joseph Gar]

OVED, MARGALIT (1937–), dancer, choreographer, singer, composer, and teacher. She was born in the British Protectorate of Aden to a pearl merchant father and a midwife mother. The Yemenite-Jewish traditions and the hundreds of multicultural Adenite songs she absorbed in her childhood played an important role in her work. Oved came to Israel in 1949 with the "Magic Carpet" airlift. She began working with Sara *Levi-Tanai in 1950 as an original member of the Inbal Dance Company, and studied with choreographers Jerome *Robbins and Sophie *Maslow. With astonishing dramatic and vocal resources, gesture mastery, drumming, and charismatic presence, she was Inbal's leading performer for 15 years, including its 1957 world tour.

In 1965, Oved married American-Jewish businessman Mel Marshall, and moved to Los Angeles where she taught Yemenite dance and choreographed at UCLA for 22 years. Oved's innovative approach to modern dance theater used folk traditions as well as other sources of inspiration. She drew from desert imagery (*Landscape*, 1968), Jewish heritage (*David and Goliath*, 1968; *In the Beginning*, 1970), and Western sources (*Cinderella*, 1972; *The Birds*, after Aristophanes, 1986), and the music of Debussy and Liszt. In her work, she often utilized live or recorded multitrack sung-spoken-drummed compositions.

Oved received a travel and teaching grant from the National Endowment for the Arts in the early 1970s. In 1982 her company toured Israel and in 1988 she performed at the Kennedy Center in Washington, D.C., for the 40th anniversary of Israel's statehood. She returned to Inbal as its director in 1994 and in 1996 she performed with her son's critically acclaimed Israeli dance company, the Barak Marshall Dance Company. Oved created over 45 choreographies and Israeli folkdances, and recorded 22 musical compositions. She starred in the first Israeli-produced film, *Hill 24 Doesn't Answer* (1955), and was the subject of the 1968 American film documentary *Gestures of Sand*. Her honors include a 1973 Hadassah Myrtle Wreath Award and the 1998 French ADAMI Award for outstanding performance at the Bagnolet Festival.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: S. Levi-Tanai, "A Personal Testimony," in: *Be-Regel Yeḥefah* (*Barefooted: Jewish-Yemenite Tradition in Israeli Dance*), ed. N. Bahat-Ratzon (Tel Aviv, 1999); A. Fuller Snyder, producer/director, *Gestures of Sand*. In association with the Department of Dance and Academic Communications Faculty, University of California, Los Angeles, 196; 15 minutes.

[Karen Goodman (2nd ed.)]

°**OVID** (43 B.C.E.–17 C.E.), Roman poet. Ovid, offering counsel to young Romans concerning the place and time of their amorous adventures, advises them not to omit the place where the Syrian Jew performs his rite each seventh day (*Ars Amatoria* 1:75). The seventh day, celebrated by the "Palestinian Syrian" (the Jew), "a day not favorable for transacting business," is commended as a suitable time for the beginning of a courtship (*ibid.*, 1:415). Ovid also warns against respect for the "foreign" Sabbath or consideration for the rainy season (*Remedium Amoris* 217 f.).

[Jacob Petroff]

OVITZ, MICHAEL (1946–), U.S. talent agent entertainment executive. Born in the Los Angeles suburb of Encino to a father who was a liquor wholesaler, Ovitz attended Birmingham High School and was elected student body president. While at the University of California, Los Angeles, he became president of Zeta Beta Tau fraternity and worked as a tour guide at Universal Studios. After graduating in 1968, he briefly considered medical school, but went to work instead for the William Morris Agency, starting in the mail room. Ovitz hatched a plan with four other agents to start a new talent agency and in January 1975, they established Creative Artists Agency. Within four years CAA earned $90.2 million per year and had grown to become the third largest firm in Hollywood. CAA continued to grow and diversify its client base over the next two decades, becoming an iconic talent agency known for a team of agents dressed in black Armani suits who worked long hours in an I.M. Pei-designed Beverly Hills headquarters decorated with modern art. In 1995, after brokering the sale of Universal Studios and then refusing a position there, Ovitz accepted the position of president of Disney Studios. However, a short 14 months later Ovitz was fired and given a severance package worth $110 million – a decision which was questioned in a series of shareholder suits and chronicled in James Stewart's book *Disney War* (2005). Since leaving Disney, Ovitz has pursued a series of unsuccessful business ventures including forming Artists Management Group (AMG), a management and film and television production company which he founded in 1998 but was forced to sell three years later.

[Adam Wills (2nd ed.)]

OVRUCH, city in Zhitomir district, Ukraine. The first information on the Jews, in a document of 1629, mentions three families in the town. Until 1750 the community was dependent on the taxation imposed on the community of *Chernobyl. A court ordered that Ovruch be separated from Lithuania and annexed to the province of Volhynia. According to the census of 1765, there were 607 Jews in Ovruch and its environs who paid the poll tax. There were 1,773 Jews in 1847 and 3,445 (46.5% of the total population) in 1897. The end of the 18th century witnessed the spread of Ḥasidism in Ovruch and its environs. Abraham Dov *Baer, a student of Mordecai of Chernobyl, served as *av bet din*. In the second half of the 19th century, two members of the *Shneersohn family served as rabbis.

During the Russian Revolution the Jews of Ovruch were attacked several times. At the end of 1918 the Ukrainian hetman, Kozyz-Zyrko entered the town and in the course of 17 days plundered all the Jewish homes, killing 80 people. With the introduction of Soviet rule the religious and communal life of the Jews was paralyzed. In 1926 there were 3,400 Jews in Ovruch (53% of the total population). In the mid 1930s 26% of the Jewish earners were factory workers; 33%, white collar workers; and 30%, artisans, most of them organized in cooperatives in which they constituted the majority of members. In 1939 the Jews numbered 3,862 (33% of the total population). The town was occupied by the Germans on August 22, 1941; presumably many Jews succeeded to escape. In September 1941 the 1st SS Infantry Regiment murdered the town's Jews as well as those from the environs, according to their report 516 persons in all. In 1957 the Jews numbered there 2,200.

In 1963, on the eve of the High Holidays, the militia broke into privately held services in Ovruch, arresting five Jews; each member attending the services was fined. In the late 1960s the Jewish population was estimated at about 2,000. Most left in the 1990s.

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[Yehuda Slutsky / Shmuel Spector (2nd ed.)]

OVSAY, JOSHUA (1883 or 1885–1957), Hebrew literary critic. Born in Russia, he lived in the U.S. from 1918 to 1955, when he immigrated to Israel.

His first publication in Hebrew appeared in *Ha-Meliẓ* and he subsequently contributed essays and articles on literature to the Hebrew (and occasionally the Yiddish) press. Some of his essays on writers and books were collected in *Ma'amarim u-Reshimot* (1947). He edited the writings of Moses Halevy (with Hillel *Bavli) and the literary anthology *Koveẓ Sippurim mi-Mendele ad Bialik* (1942). He also translated Dickens' *Old Curiosity Shop* (1924).

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[Getzel Kressel]

OWL, bird belonging to the family Strigidae. Because of the strange appearance of species of the owl, some of their conspecies were called *kippuf*, that is, resembling a *kof* ("ape"). It was also said that "their eyes are directed forward like those of human beings" and that "they have jaws like those of human beings" (Nid. 23a). They were regarded as an evil omen, so that although "all kinds of birds are a good sign in a dream," species of owls are not (Ber. 57b). Most of them utter a hooting cry like a groan, and as they inhabit ruins, they sound as though mourning over the devastation, and hence symbolize in the Bible destruction and desolation. The majority of them are included in the Pentateuch among the birds prohibited as food, and even those not mentioned there are unclean according to the principle that a bird "is unclean if (when perched on a cord stretched for it) it divides its toes evenly, two on each side" (Ḥul. 65a; cf. Ḥul. 3:6). The owl's toes, divided into two in front and two behind, assist it in seizing its prey.

The Bible contains at least 11 names of owls. Of these the *tinshemet, ka'at, kos, yanshuf, shalakh*, and *bat ya'anah* are mentioned in the lists of unclean birds in Leviticus and Deuteronomy. For the biblical names of owls the following identifications have been suggested.

(1) The *tinshemet* (Lev. 11:18; Deut. 14:16; JPS, "horned owl"; AV, "swan") is the barn screech owl (*Tyto alba*), its Hebrew name (which occurs also in Lev. 11:30 as that of an unclean creeping thing, but there refers to the *chameleon) being derived from נשם ("to breathe") on account of its heavy breathing. Because of its odd appearance it was regarded as "the strangest (or "the most repulsive") of birds" (Ḥul. 63a).

(2) The *ka'at* (Lev. 11:18; Deut. 14:17; JPS, AV, "pelican") is mentioned among the birds that inhabit ruined places (Isa. 34:11; Zech. 2:14). Referring to his sighing and emaciated body by reason of his suffering, the psalmist (Ps. 102:6–7) compares himself to "a *ka'at* of the wilderness." Its Hebrew name denotes vomiting (*meki*) in a reference apparently to the fact that, as do other owls, it regurgitates the bones of its prey. In desert regions there occurs a species of owl – the *Athene noctua saharae* owl – that fits in with the biblical descriptions of the *ka'at*.

(3) The *kos* (Lev. 11:17; Deut. 14:16; JPS, AV, "little owl"), that occurs together with *ka'at*, of which it is a conspecies, in Psalms (102:7), is probably the little owl (*Athene noctua glaux*), its Hebrew name being onomatopoeic. It has no "ears," that is, no crest of feathers. Symbolizing, as it did, wisdom to the ancient Greeks because of its large wide-open eyes, it appeared on the coins of Athens.

(4) The *yanshuf* (Lev. 11:17; Deut. 14:16; JPS, AV, "great owl"), depicted by Isaiah (34:11) as inhabiting devastated Edom together with the *ka'at*, has been identified with the long-eared owl (*Asio otus*), its Hebrew name being connected with *neshef* ("night") or with *neshifah* ("hooting"). It is found in winter in the north of Israel.

(5) The *shalakh* (Lev. 11:17; Deut. 14:17; JPS, AV, "cormorant") which, according to the Talmud, "catches fish out of the sea" (Ḥul. 63a), has been identified with the fish owl (*Ketupa zeylonensis*), the only owl in Israel that feeds on fish. It is found near Lake Kinneret.

(6) The *bat ya'anah* (Lev. 11:16; Deut. 14:15; JPS, "ostrich," AV, "owl") is, according to the ancient translations, the *ostrich, which however lives in the open desert and which rarely utters a cry, whereas the *bat ya'anah* is described as inhabiting desolate places (Isa. 34:13) and as emitting a mournful cry (Micah 1:8). For these reasons it has been identified with one of the species of owl that utters a cry when calling to one other (*ya'anah* is apparently derived from *anah* (ענה), "to answer"), this being characteristic of three strains of the species *Bubo bubo*, one of which, the dark desert eagle owl (*Bubo b. ascalaphus*), has been identified with the biblical *bat ya'anah*.

(7) The *tannim* has been identified with the second, light-colored strain of the previous species – with the *Bubo b. desertorum*. It lives in the desert and in ruins and emits a sighing cry, the name *tannim* being derived from *tanah* (תנה; "to weep"). Since it occurs together with the *bat ya'anah* among birds in the above passages, it is difficult to accept the customary modern identification of *tannim* as *jackal.

(8) The *o'aḥ* (JPS, "ferret"; AV, "doleful creature"), mentioned with the *bat ya'anah* as inhabiting ruined places (Isa. 13:21), has been identified with the third strain of the above species – the Palestinian eagle owl (*Bubo b. aharonii*), its name being onomatopoeic. The largest of the owls, it is found in the Jordan Valley, and feeds on hares and rats, reptiles and birds.

(9) The *kippod* (JPS, AV, "bittern") and the *kippoz* (JPS, "arrowsnake," AV, "great owl") are mentioned in the account of the destruction of Edom, where various birds lived and nested (Isa. 34:11, 15). Associated as its name is with the meaning of rolling oneself up into a ball, the *kippod* has been identified with the short-eared owl (*Asio flamneus*) which adopts a rotund posture and lives near swamps and in ruined places, and hence Isaiah (14:23) prophesies that Babylonia would be made into "a possession for the *kippod* and pools of water."

The hedgehog is also called *kippod* or *koppad* in the Mishnah (Shab. 5:4), because it rolls itself up into a ball.

(10) The *lilit* (JPS, "night monster," AV, "screech owl"), which also occurs in Isaiah's prophecy about Edom (34:14), refers to a species of bird (cf. Nid. 24b), the word, connected with *laylah* ("night"), denoting a nocturnal bird, perhaps the tawny owl (*Strix aluco*). In the *aggadah* it is the name of a night-demon (see *Lilith).

The *sa'ir*, mentioned alongside the *lilit*, is apparently also a species of owl. This word is now applied to the smallest of the owls, the *Otus scopus*. Another view holds that it refers to a species of demon (cf. Lev. 17; II Chron. 11:15).

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[Jehuda Feliks]

OWNERSHIP (Heb. בַּעֲלוּת, *ba'alut*). As a proprietary right, ownership is the most important of all rights in property, all other rights being inferior to it. The distinction between ownership and other proprietary rights is apparent not only in matters of civil law but is especially significant in other halakhic matters. Thus, the *etrog* ("citron") and other three species prescribed for the festival of Sukkot must be one's own property and not borrowed or stolen (Sh. Ar., OH 649:1–2). This principle of ownership applies also to the first fruits of one's own field which have to be brought to the Temple and over which the scriptural recital (Deut. 26:1–11) is to be made (Bik. 1:1–2; Git. 47b).

The Talmud indicates that a person is the owner of property if it is in his possession for an unlimited period, or if possession thereof is due to revert to him for an unlimited period after he has temporarily parted with the property in question. At first glance, the distinctive feature of ownership appears to be the fact that a person is free to deal as he pleases with the property he owns, a power not available to the holder of any other proprietary right. It will be seen, however, that this feature is not in itself sufficient to define ownership, since it does not always apply. For instance, an owner must not use his land in a manner that interferes with a neighbor's use of his land (see *Nuisance) nor may he use his property in such manner as to commit an offense. Furthermore, a person who has agreed to encumber or submit to any restraint whatsoever on the use of his land nevertheless remains the owner. A person who lets his property, for instance, even for a long-term period continues to be the owner. It is therefore apparent that the rights of ownership may adhere even to those who are not free to deal as they please with their property. Nor does the suggestion that ownership is characterized by a person's right to sell or alienate his property prove to be sufficiently distinctive. Thus the usufructuary may also transfer his right to another (Maim. Yad, Mekhirah, 23:8) and the borrower or lessee may also do so – with the owner's permission – yet these parties do not become owners of the property to which their rights extend. On the other hand, at the time when the laws of the jubilee year were operative, the owner could not sell his land forever, yet he was its owner. Moreover, sometimes a right in property other than ownership exceeds the owner's rights therein, such as the case of a tenant who holds a 100-year lease.

Possession (Reshut).

The distinctive quality of ownership is closely connected with the concept of *reshut* ("possession"); so much so that the commentators do not always discriminate between the two and sometimes use the term *reshut* to denote ownership. *Reshut* (see also *acquisition) is a person's control over property, established by the existence of three requirements: (1) his ability and (2) intention to use the property (3) at any time he may wish to do so – even if only for a period of limited duration. All three requirements must be satisfied and operate simultaneously for the possession to be effective; hence coins which are in a place that cannot be reached are not in a person's *reshut*, even if they are his own (Tosef. Ma'as. Sh. 1:6). If such place is accessible to him, however, because "the way is open" and caravans pass there, the coins are said to be in his *reshut*, but not otherwise (TJ, Ma'as. Sh. 1:2, 52d). Similarly, chattels which have been stolen are in the *reshut* of the thief, since the latter is able to use the property at his pleasure and the owner is unable to prevent him from doing so or to use the property himself. Land cannot be stolen and is therefore always in possession of its owner, and since it cannot be carried away or hidden the owner can always have it restored to his use through the mediation of the court. He therefore remains free to use the land whenever he pleases, unlike a purported robber. Similarly, an object which is deposited remains in the *reshut* of its owner, not that of the bailee, from whom the owner can demand its return at any time. If, however, the bailee should refuse to return the property and denies the existence of a bailment, he will be deemed a robber and the property will thus be in his *reshut* (BM 7a and Alfasi ad loc.). Property on hire or loan for a fixed period, which the owner may not revoke, is in the *reshut* of the hirer or borrower for the duration of the stated period. In the same way, when a person sells the usufruct of his field, the field will be in the *reshut* of the usufructuary (BB 8:7), since the latter, not the owner, may use the field at his pleasure (Maim. Yad, Mekhirah, 23:7).

For the same reason, an object which is found on premises which are kept or reserved for the owner is in the latter's possession. This is so even if the premises are kept for him because people keep away from there of their own accord and not because of his own ability and power to guard his field (BM 102a); if however he is unable to use a thing which is on his premises, for instance when it is hidden and nobody expects to find it there, it will not be in his *reshut*. Property which is on a person's premises when they are not kept for him will not be in his *reshut*, as it is deemed certain to be lost or taken by others and is therefore not freely at his disposal (see *Acquisition, Modes of).

Ownership and Possession

These are by no means identical concepts. The *amora*, R. Johanan, states that stolen property is in the *reshut* of the thief, but the person robbed remains the owner (BM 7a). The same may be said with regard to hired property. *Reshut* nevertheless appears to be an essential element in the determination of ownership, for, as indicated, a person is held to be the owner if the property is permanently in his possession for an unlimited period – even if it passes out of his *reshut* for a limited period but is due to revert to him permanently (cf. Ran, Ned. 29a). Thus the law that a swarm of bees and doves of a dovecote may be owned has rabbinic authority only – for the sake of keeping the peace (BK 114b; Ḥul. 141b) – as in strict law these cannot be owned because they cannot be permanently kept in a person's *reshut*. Similarly, geese and fowl which have escaped are ownerless because they cannot be restored to the owner's *reshut* (Tos. to Ḥul. 139a). This is also the case in respect of *lost property which the owner has despaired of finding and having restored to his *reshut* (see **Ye'ush*).

Permanent *reshut* is not the only requirement of ownership, however. Ownership may cease when a person makes up his mind that the property is to pass permanently out of his *reshut*, or that it shall not return permanently into his *reshut*, as by way of *ye'ush*, or when he renounces the property (see **Hefker*), or when he conveys it to another. Consequently a deafmute, idiot, or minor, none of whom has legal understanding, cannot lose ownership in any of these ways (BM 22b; Git. 59a). Hence it may be said that the right of ownership is characterized by two basic attributes: a positive one, that the property is in the *reshut* of the claimant for a period of unlimited duration; and a negative one, that such person shall not have resolved to remove the property permanently from his *reshut*.

Ownership of Limited Duration

Despite the general principles outlined above, it is possible for ownership to be limited in point of time. The outstanding example of this is a returnable gift, which, in the opinion of Rava, is a proper gift making the donee the owner as long as the gift is with him (Suk. 41b). The comment of the *rishonim* (Asheri *ibid.* 30; Ritba, Nov. Git. 83a; Kid. 6b) is that such a gift is a complete and full conveyance, and the return of the gift requires a fresh conveyance. Since it is a condition of the gift that it must be returned to the original donor, such a gift in fact only confers title for a limited period (cf. *Keẓot ha-Ḥoshen*, ḤM 241:4). Another example of ownership of limited duration is that cited by R. Isaac of the creditor acquiring a pledge for a debt (BM 82a). In this case it may also be said that this is a complete and full acquisition and the return of the pledge to the debtor requires an assignment thereof by the creditor. The Talmud discusses the question of such an assignment being involved even in the case of hire (Av. Zar. 15a).

The most important example of ownership for a limited period is to be found in the sale of land at the time that the jubilee year was customary, for in the jubilee year land reverted to the vendor. This is also the case when land is sold for any period of limited duration. In this case the acquisition is called *kinyan perot* (i.e., usufruct) in the Babylonian Talmud (Git. 47b) and *kinyan nekhasim* in the Jerusalem Talmud (Git. 4:9, 46b). It is stated in the latter that the purchaser may not dig any wells while the field is in his possession (*Mishneh la-Melekh*, to Maim. Shemittah, 11:1). According to the Babylonian Talmud (*ibid*), *kinyan perot* – before the occurrence of the first jubilee – was like an acquisition of the land itself, since people had not yet been accustomed to the restoration of the land and looked upon a sale as leading to a permanent and irrevocable acquisition. However, in the opinion of Simeon b. Lakish, from the second jubilee onward *kinyan perot* was not like the acquisition of the land itself and the seller remained the owner because at the end of the stipulated period the land would revert permanently to his possession. R. Johanan is of the opinion that *kinyan perot* is like a *kinyan* of the land itself and that the Pentateuch provided for the termination of such ownership in the jubilee year and the restoration thereof to the owner of the land. The dispute also extends to land which is sold for a fixed period. The *halakhah* was decided in accordance with the view of Simeon b. Lakish.

Because of the element of possession in the concept of ownership, it is possible for a person to own only part of a thing, provided that it is possible for such part to be in his separate possession. Thus, it can sometimes happen that one person may own land and another may own the trees on it (BB 37a–b), or one person may own a house and another the top story (BM 117b).

In the State of Israel, the Cooperative Houses Law 5713 – 1952, in keeping with Jewish Law and contrary to the law in force until then, makes provision for the separate ownership of each apartment in a cooperative house.

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[Shalom Albeck]

OXFORD, English university town. The presence of Jews is first recorded in 1141, when they were despoiled by both claimants to the throne during the civil war. The Jewry was in the center of the town (the present St. Aldate's Street). Oxford Jews suffered greatly from the confiscatory tallage imposed in 1210. An ecclesiastical synod of the Province of Canterbury held there (1222) renewed the anti-Jewish regulations of the Fourth *Lateran Council and condemned to death a deacon who had converted to Judaism. In the 13th century Oxford possessed an *archa. The Jewish population was, however, at all times small, probably never exceeding 150. Besides acting as moneylenders, the Jews were notorious as university landlords, which was one reason for the student riot against them in 1244, after which relations with university members were regulated. The wealthiest Oxford Jew of the period was David of Oxford (d. 1244), remarkable details of whose private

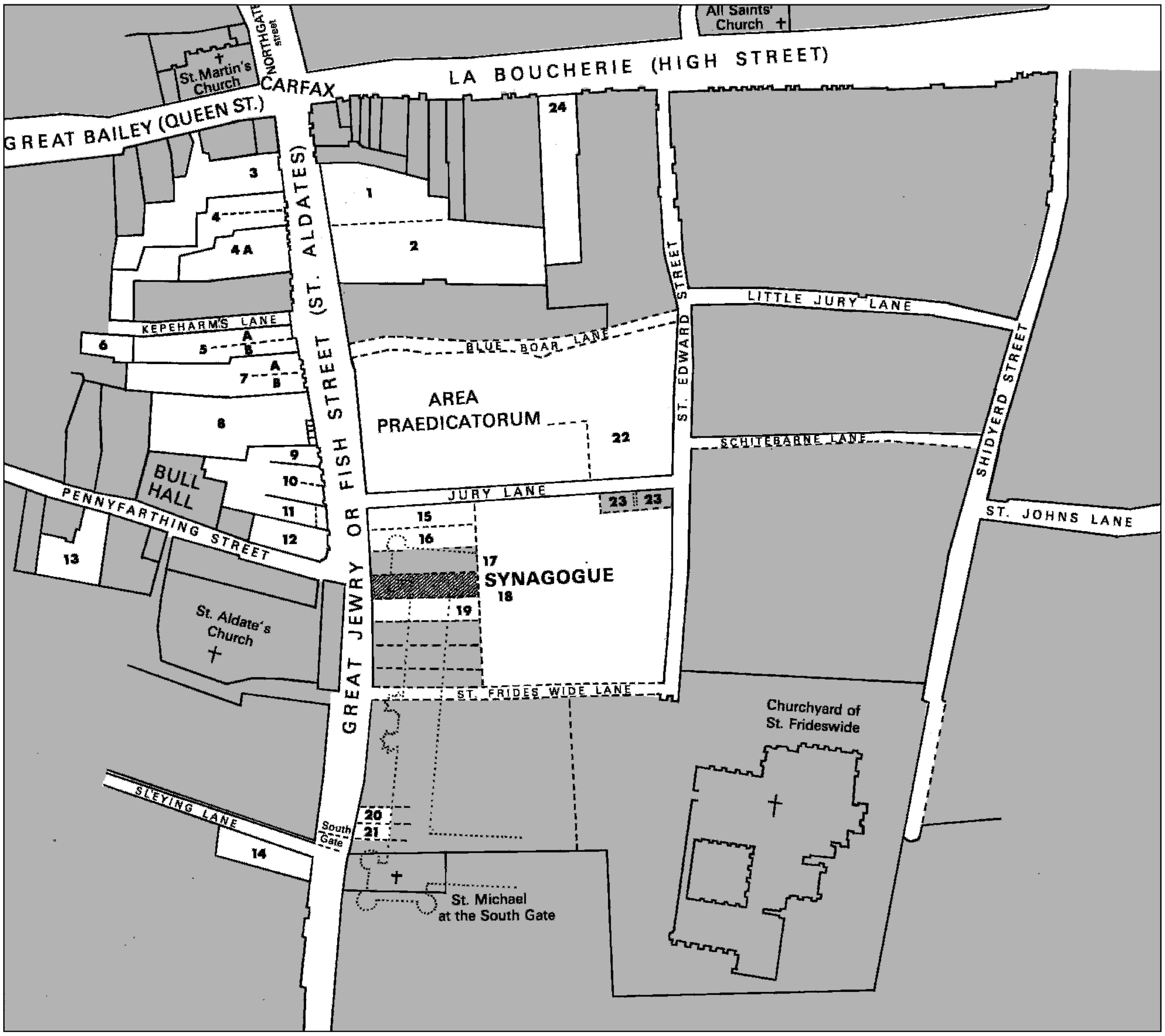
All Saints' Church
NORTHGATE street
St. Martin's Church
CARFAX
LA BOUCHERIE (HIGH STREET)
GREAT BAILEY (QUEEN ST.)
24
3
1
4
4A
2
KEPEHARM'S LANE
6
5
A
B
7
A
B
BLUE BOAR LANE
LITTLE JURY LANE
ST. EDWARD STREET
SHIDYERD STREET
AREA PRAEDICATORUM
22
SCHITEBARNE LANE
8
9
10
11
12
BULL HALL
PENNYFARTHING STREET
13
GREAT JEWRY OR FISH STREET (ST. ALDATES)
JURY LANE
23
23
ST. JOHNS LANE
15
16
17
SYNAGOGUE
18
19
St. Aldate's Church
ST. FRIDES WIDE LANE
Churchyard of St. Frideswide
SLEYING LANE
14
South Gate
20
21
St. Michael at the South Gate

1. Isaac b. Moses; Alberic Convers (Joscepin); Moses b. Isaac; Gildhall 1229.
2. Isaac b. Moses; Alberic Convers; David of Oxford; Domus Conversorum; Lower Gildhall.
3. Jacob b. Mag. Moses ('Jacob's Hall').
4. Moses b. Diaie; Bassena; Ekekin b. Bassena.
5. Moses of Wallingford (?); Bonefey b. Moses; Reyna; Floria la Vedua (a).
6. Chera.
7. (a) Milo b. Deudone (b) Chera [or Vivo].
8. Josce of Colchester; Moses of Oxford; Josce b. Moses; Jacob le Eveskel; Benedict le Eveske; Sarah widow of Benedict; Ducklington's Inn.
9. Samuel of Berkhamsted.
10. father of Pya; Benedict of Caus; Pya.
11. Benedict of Winchester; Vives b. Benedict; Avegay b. Benedict.
12. Meir; Benedict de la Cornere.
13. Lumbard of Cricklade; Moyses Hall.
14. Mildegod; Vives le Lung (Keresy's Place).
15. [Simeon b. Moses?] Aaron Canis.
16. [Mag. Moses b. Simeon?]; Bonamy b. Jacob; Vives of Gloucester; Margalicia.
17. Copin of Worcester; Moses b. Jacob and Issac le Eveske.
18. Moses of Bristol and Deudone; Copin of Worcester; The Synagogue.
19. [Benjamin?]; Copin of Oxford; Mildegod; Jacob Mildegod.
20. Copin of Worcester.
21. Copin of Worcester.
22. David of Oxford; Muriel.
23. Jacob and Cresse ff. Mag. Moses.
24. Jacob and Cresse ff. Mag. Moses.

The medieval Jewry of Oxford and house owners recorded in the town registers. After C. Roth, Jews of Medieval Oxford, 1951.

life are extant. Oxford was the place of residence of R. Yom Tov and R. Moses Yom Tov of London whose son Jacob of Oxford (d. 1276/1277) was a leading member of the community. *Berechiah Natronai ha-Nakdan, author of the *Fox Fables*, is perhaps identical with Benedict le Puncteur of Oxford (c. 1200). In 1268 Oxford Jewry was heavily fined for an alleged outrage on a crucifix and in 1278–79 several Jews were arrested and some executed on charges of clipping the coinage.

From the 17th century onward Jewish-born teachers of Hebrew, mostly converts, found their way to Oxford. Permanent settlement began after the mid-18th century but a community was organized only in 1841. Jews were first admitted to the university in 1854. By the end of the century the undergraduate element was large enough to reinforce the shrinking town community – a student society was established in 1904. Samuel *Alexander became a Fellow of Lincoln College in 1882 and James Joseph *Sylvester professor of geometry in 1883. However, such appointments became frequent only in the second quarter of the 20th century. Several distinguished German Jewish refugees arrived after 1933 and during World War II the community was enormously swollen by evacuees from London. In 1967 the Jewish population was approximately 400, in addition to approximately 200 undergraduates. However regular synagogue services were held only on the High Holidays and in termtime.

In the 16th century Hebrew studies began systematically to be pursued in the university. A regius professorship of Hebrew was established in 1546. Its incumbents included Edward *Pococke (from 1648 to 1691), E.B. Pusey (1828–1882), S.R. *Driver (1883–1914), and Herbert *Danby (1936–1953). The acquisition of the library of David *Oppenheim in 1817 made the Hebrew collection of the *Bodleian Library outstanding. H.M.J. *Loewe was lecturer in Oriental languages (1914–1931). A readership in Jewish studies was established in 1939, its first incumbent being C. *Roth.

Although Oxford was arguably slower than Cambridge in welcoming Jews, in the 20th century a major Jewish presence manifested itself at the university. Between 1910 and 1971 there were 13 Jewish presidents of the Oxford Union Society, the famous debating club, including Philip *Guedalla, Leslie *Hore-Belisha, Jeremy *Isaacs, and Leonard *Stein. Since 1951, there have been at least ten Jewish heads of Oxford colleges, among them Sir Isaiah *Berlin, Sir Zelman *Cowen, A.L. *Goodhart, Lord *Goodman, and H.L.A. *Hart. During World War II, a motion at the Oxford Union Society calling upon Britain to admit more Jewish refugees was reputedly the only one in its history to be passed unanimously. In recent years, Oxford has emerged as a major academic center of Jewish Studies, most notably with the establishment in 1972 of the Oxford Centre for Hebrew and Jewish Studies, founded chiefly by David *Patterson, which is housed in premises on St. Giles in central Oxford and in Yarnton Manor outside of town. It was given considerable funding by the *Wolfson family. The Centre has also facilitated the emergence of Oxford as a notable venue for Yiddish Studies, something almost inconceivable a century or even 50 years earlier.

In the mid-1990s the Jewish population of the town numbered approximately 700. The 2001 British census showed a declared Jewish population of about 500, with approximately another 500 students. Oxford has an Orthodox synagogue and Masorti and Progressive congregations as well as a University Jewish Society.

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[Cecil Roth / William D. Rubinstein (2nd ed.)]

OYSHER, MOISHE (1907–1958), *ḥazzan. Born in Lipkon, Bessarabia, and taken to Canada in 1921, Oysher joined a Yiddish theatrical company, appeared on the Yiddish stage in New York, and led his own company in Buenos Aires, 1932. Returning to New York in 1934, he decided to become a *ḥazzan* like his father and grandfather. He conducted services in New York, and was noted for ḥasidic interpretations of the traditional prayers. He starred in Yiddish films, *The Cantor's Son, Yankel the Blacksmith*, and *Der Vilna Balebesel*, and made numerous recordings.

OYVED, MOYSHE (**Good** (né **Gudak**), **Edward**; 1885–1958), Yiddish writer, artist, sculptor, and gem expert. Oyved was born in Skempe, Poland and came to England in 1903, settling in the East End of London. Working as a watchmaker, he began trading in antique watches and cameo brooches and founded Cameo Corner, a shop for antique jewelry patronized by the fashionable, including the royal family. His first Yiddish book, *Aroys fun Khaos* (1917; *Out of Chaos*, 1918), was followed by *Lebns Lider* ("Life's Songs," 1924); in *Visions and Jewels* (1925), a collection of 124 autobiographical stories and short tales, he wrote about Nahum *Sokolow, Max *Nordau, Sholem *Asch, Jacob *Epstein, and others; the deluxe *The Book of Affinity*, 1935, had original color lithographs by Jacob Epstein. At 60 he began to sculpt, creating works such as "Ram with Candelabra" and "Community of Israel," lamenting the six million Jews who died in the Holocaust. The London Yiddish literary circle that included Kafka's friend Dora Diamant issued *Loshn un Lebn*, 69 (1945) to celebrate his 60th birthday. His papers are at the Central Zionist Archives in Jerusalem.

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[Charles Samuel Spencer / Leonard Prager (2nd ed.)]

OZ, AMOS (1939–), Israeli writer. Oz was born in Jerusalem, the son of Yehuda Arieh and Fanya Klausner. At the age of 14, after his mother's suicide, he went to live in Kibbutz Ḥuldah, where he finished high school and stayed on as a member for two decades. From 1986 he lived with his family in the southern town of Arad, in the Negev desert. Oz studied Hebrew literature and philosophy at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem.

Oz's first collection, *Arẓot ha-Tan* (*Where the Jackals Howl and Other Stories*, 1981), appeared in 1965, followed a year later by his first novel, *Makom Aḥer* (*Elsewhere, Perhaps*, 1985). The short stories received high praise from critics, and his popularity soared with the publication of his second novel, *Mikhael Sheli* (1968; *My Michael*, 1972). Oz became one of the leading figures in the "New Wave" movement in the 1960s (other prominent writers in this group are Amalia *Kahana-Carmon, A.B. *Yehoshua, and Aharon *Appelfeld) and the most popular author of his generation. From his earliest fiction, his writing has been marked by a unique, recognizable style. The stories are constructed as concentric circles, focusing on a psychological conflict, a psychic drama. That drama, the struggle between the ego and its shadow, is typically the kernel of the story. Around this inner ring the narrative builds a family drama, which is a projection of the tensions within the psychic drama. Wider circles radiating from this dramatic center are society, landscape (the kibbutz and the jackals around it), and politics (the tensions with the Arabs). The outermost sphere is the divine one, manifesting the same contending forces found within the psychic drama. Although the religious element in Oz's work is usually camouflaged, it is one of its most important themes. Tensions between the different psychic forces are reflected in the struggle between the dull, humdrum, secure existence within society's borders and the vibrant, alluring, and destructive experiences that lie beyond those borders. These conflicts are manifest in Oz's subsequent work in the struggle between light and darkness, life and death, God and Satan, mind and body, man and woman, Jews and Arabs, culture and nature. Other collections of stories include *Ad Mavet* (1971; *Unto Death,* 1978), *Har ha-Eẓah ha-Ra'ah* (1976; *The Hill of Evil Council*, 1978). Among Oz's novels are *Menuḥah Nekhonah* (1982; *A Perfect Peace*, 1986), *Kufsah Sheḥorah* (1987; *Black Box*, 1989), *Lada'at Ishah* (1989; *To Know a Woman*, 1991). Typically, Oz's novels and novellas open with a clash between two sworn enemies (be they psychological, societal, or political), then progress toward a reconciliation of those opposites, so that previously antagonistic forces are seen as complementary, needing each other for their very existence. Thus the seemingly binary relations reveal themselves to be dialectical. The idea that the enemy is also one's brother can be found in Oz's early story "Before His Time," and throughout his oeuvre. It underlines the fact that, unlike S.Y. Agnon, A.B. Yehoshua, and many other Israeli authors who were influenced by Freud, Oz is a follower of Carl Gustav Jung. Jung's ideas are reflected in Oz's work in three principal areas. First, in the structure of the psyche: the ego is depicted as a weak and unstable element at the top of a pyramid whose main volume is the collective unconscious, the latter being the reservoir of primordial urges, creativity and supreme intelligence. Second, the major psychic processes portrayed in Oz's fiction are typically Jungian: the "self" is attained only when the protagonist is reconciled with the dark aspects of his personality; the "self" reveals the image of God in human beings; the "treasure hunt" represents the search for "self." Third, Jung's writing, and to a great extent his interpretations of the alchemists' texts, furnished Oz with a huge reservoir of symbols. Oz uses these symbols in conjunction with others taken from different mythological traditions (Christianity, Judaism, Greek mythology). Most of the mythological symbols employed by Oz are in keeping with Jung's interpretation of them. The psychic processes mentioned above, conveyed through typical Jungian symbols, form the core of most of Oz's stories and novels from his earliest writing.

Oz's texts can be read on many levels, which explains why they are popular despite their complex themes. *Black Box* is a case in point. The psychological content of the novel is camouflaged (the protagonists are implicitly characterized as "anima" and "animus" figures, and the novel as a whole is an examination of male-female relations). However, it was the overt social context (the tensions between Ashkenazi and Sephardic Jews, right wingers and leftists, etc.) that drew the attention of both readers and critics. These social aspects were underscored in the theater and film versions of the novel. Thus Oz's work is a unique example of a complex modern literary text that has also great appeal to the general public. Other novels by Oz include *Ha-Maẓav ha-Shelishi* (1991; *Fima*, 1993); *Al Tagidi Laylah* (1994; *Don't Call It Night*, 1996); *Oto ha-Yam* (1998; *The Same Sea,* 2001). Oz's first books were extolled by critics and scholars. Even though certain critics have argued that his later novels lack the creativity and originality of his earlier fiction, Oz's popularity in Israel has not diminished. His autobiographical novel *Sippur al Ahava ve-Ḥoshekh* (2002; *A Tale of Love and Darkness*, 2004) was enthusiastically received by critics and readers alike.

Since the Six-Day War in 1967, Oz has been active in the Israeli peace movement and with groups and organizations that advocate a two-state solution to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. He has been a spokesman for the *Peace Now movement since its founding in 1977. His numerous essays about Israeli politics and culture were collected in the following books: *Be-Or ha-Tekhelet ha-Azah* (1979; *Under This Blazing Light*, 1996), *Poh va-Sham be-Ereẓ Yisrael* (1982; *In the Land of Israel*, 1984), *Mimordot ha-Levanon* (1988: *The Slopes of Lebanon*, 1990), *Kol ha-Tikvot* ("All Our Hopes," 1998), and *Be'eẓem Yesh Kan Shetei Milḥamot* ("But These are Two Different Wars," 2002). Oz also published books for young readers, including *Sumkhi* (1978; *Soumchi*, 1980) as well as two collections of literary essays: the first, *Shetikat ha-Shamayim* ("The Silence of Heaven," 1993; German translation 1998), discusses the works of S.Y. Agnon; the second is entitled *Matḥilim Sippur* (1996; *Beginning a Story*, 1998).

Oz is one of Israel's most popular novelists. His books have been translated into more than 30 languages. He has won several literary prizes in Israel (among them the Brenner Prize in 1976, the Bialik Prize in 1986, and the Israel Prize in 1998) as well as worldwide. He has been named Officer of Arts and Letters in France and in 1997 was awarded the Knight's Cross of the Legion d'Honneur. In 1992 he received the Frankfurt Peace Prize, in 2004 the Literature Prize of the German daily *Die Welt*, and in summer 2005 the prestigious German Goethe Prize. For detailed information concerning translations into various languages, see the ITHL website at www.ithl.org.il. A bibliography of Amos Oz's works and translations (1965–2002) appeared in 2004.

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[Avraham Balaban (2nd ed.)]

OẒAR HATORAH, society for the religious education of Jewish youth in the Middle East and North Africa. Oẓar Hatorah was founded in 1945 as a nonprofit organization by Isaac Shalom of New York City, Joseph Shamah of Jerusalem, and Ezra Teubal (d. 1976) of Buenos Aires. Its founders were concerned about a result of the secularization of Jewish national life: Jewish spiritual decline and intellectual impoverishment. They hoped to rectify this by establishing schools, teaching both religious and secular subjects, throughout the Middle East and North Africa. The society, following the receipt of funds from private individuals, local communities, and the *American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee, began its work with an investigation of Jewish communities in Morocco, Algeria, Tripolitania, Cyrenaica, Egypt, Syria, Iraq, and Israel (then Palestine). With the aims of providing good teaching, facilities, food, and medical care, by 1970 Oẓar Hatorah was running 23 schools and a summer camp in Morocco, 41 schools and a summer camp in Iran, two elementary schools in Syria, and an elementary school in Lyons, France, and a total of 13,610 students had been enrolled in its schools.

OZE or **OSE**, a worldwide organization for child care, health, and hygiene among Jews, with headquarters in Paris. Launched in czarist Russia in 1912, its name is an acronym of three Russian words, *O*bshchestvo *Z*dravookhraneniya *Y*evreyev, which mean "Society for the Protection of the Health of the Jews." As the work of OZE, outlawed in Russia in 1919, spread to other countries and continents, the three initials were fitted with new words: *O*euvre de *S*ecour aux *E*nfants in France; Irgun Sanitari Ivri in Palestine; and *O*rganización para la *S*alud y *E*nseñanza in Latin America. Whatever the language, the general meaning of the name and its purpose remained the same. It signified the effort to cure or prevent sickness among Jewish people everywhere, restore and guard the health of children in OSE institutions, combat epidemics, and create living conditions under which neither individual sickness nor widespread diseases could gain new footholds.

The systematic work of OSE, which began in 1912, was interrupted by World War I which called for special relief measures on behalf of the war victims and hundreds of thousands of refugees and deportees from the war-stricken areas. By the end of the war, in 1917, 34 branches of OSE were already in operation in Russia. They maintained 60 dispensaries, 12 hospitals, 125 nurseries, 40 feeding centers for school children, 13 summer camps, four sanatoriums for tuberculosis patients, and other medical and child-care institutions. After the end of the war, branches of OSE spread to the new states such as Poland, Lithuania, Latvia, and Romania, as well as to central and western Europe, where they became very active and built a wide network of medical institutions. At that time, the headquarters of the organization were transferred to Berlin. In Poland, the branches united in 1921 under the Polish name TOZ (*T*owarzystwo *O*chrony *Z*drowia) which meant the same as OSE and had the same program of activities. Before the outbreak of World War II, TOZ maintained 368 medical and public health institutions in 72 localities, where 15,443 members carried on the activities of the organization.

In the interval between the two world wars, the OSE in Poland, Romania, Lithuania, and Latvia had under its supervision and guidance hundreds of institutions for all kinds of medical aid and child care. As a result, child mortality among Jews in the countries of eastern Europe was reduced considerably, the favus disease was eradicated, the spread of tuberculosis arrested, and general health and sanitary conditions among Jews improved. The yearly budget of all the institutions amounted to over two million dollars, about 75% acquired from local sources and about 25% from grants from the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee and from Jewish communities all over the world. The outbreak of World War II and the Nazi Holocaust put an end to the flourishing activities and growth of the OSE. The institutions of OSE were closed, their property confiscated and looted, and their inmates and personnel sent to concentration camps and gas chambers.

After the war, OSE shifted its activities to new countries in North Africa and Latin America and to Israel, where it adjusted its program to the new conditions of life of Jews in these countries. In the postwar years, OSE carried out its relief and rehabilitation work in ten countries of Europe, nine in the western Hemisphere, four in Africa, and in Israel, maintaining 91 medical and child-care institutions with about 85,000 children and adults under their care. The basic program of work there was the protection of mother and child, fighting epidemic diseases, school medicine and hygiene, dissemination of knowledge about preventive medicine and public health, medical research, and scholarships to physicians and nurses for professional specialization and studies. The OSE is accredited with consultative status at the United Nations Economic and Social Council, UNICEF, and the World Health Organization as a nongovernmental organization specializing in public health and child-care work among Jews.

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[Leon Wulman]

OZERY (Pol. **Jeziory**, Yid. **Ozhor**), town in Grodno oblast, Belorussian S.S.R. Formerly one of the royal estates where the Magdeburg *Law applied, the town was later the property of Polish nobles. Jews are mentioned in Ozery in 1667 in the *pinkas* of the Lithuanian Council (see Councils of the *Lands), in connection with a "revenge of murder" during an "assembly" in the town. In that century a wooden synagogue, widely known for its beauty, was built. In 1826 a *siddur* – *Tefillat Nehora ha-Shalem* – was printed at the press of Zimel Nochumowicz (of the *Romm family of printers). From 552 in 1847 the Jewish population grew to 1,892 (42.4% of the total population) in 1897, then declined to 867 (49.4%) in 1921. Ozery was known as a place for Torah study, attracting young men from the surrounding district. The main sources of Jewish livelihood were sawmills, lake fishing, tanning and other crafts, and trade. In 1937 about 89% of the 73 shops in the town were owned by Jews. Among the economic associations organized by Ozery Jews were a committee for Jewish crafts, an association of retail traders, a cooperative bank, and a free loan fund (Gemilut Ḥasadim), which had 170 members in 1924. In the mid-1920s an elementary school belonging to the CYSHO (Central Yiddish School Organization) functioned. Zionist activity started at the beginning of the century, and groups supporting the labor parties in Ereẓ Israel were active before World War II; Ozery had a center for training *ḥalutẓim*, and there was also some emigration to Ereẓ Israel. Jews from the town were among the pioneers of Jewish colonization in the Argentine.

Holocaust Period

During World War II, when the Germans occupied Ozery, the Jews were brutally treated: they were conscripted into forced labor and their property confiscated. A ghetto was soon established, enclosed by barbed wire and guarded by Jewish police and Belorussians. A Judenrat was also established. The inmates of the ghetto were taken to work in the forests and tobacco plantations, for a daily wage of one mark, half of which was deducted as "Jewish tax." Jews from nearby towns such as Eisiskes, Vasilishki, Nowy Dwor, and Porechye, were also concentrated in the ghetto of Ozery. On Nov. 11, 1942, all the Jews (1,370 according to a Nazi document) were transferred to the Kelbasin forced-labor camp near Grodno, and a few weeks later all were deported to death camps.

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[Dov Rubin]

OZICK, CYNTHIA (1928–), U.S. writer, best known for literature exploring the opposition between the Jewish and the pagan worlds and the problem of what it means to be a Jew in the U.S. diaspora. Ozick was born in New York to Yiddish-speaking Russian Jewish immigrants and was educated at New York University. She did graduate work in literature at Ohio State University (1949–50), writing her thesis on the later novels of Henry James, an important early aesthetic influence. She later taught a fiction workshop at the Chautauqua Writers' Conference.

Ozick emerged as a gifted short-story writer in the early 1960s, publishing her first full-length novel, *Trust*, in 1966. This ambitious work, praised as both Jamesian and Tolstoyan in its stylistics, has strong mythological tendencies and an allegorical frame. The novel follows an unnamed female narrator's quest for identity amid the confusion of modern American life. Judaism, with its responsibility to the past and future (represented by Enoch, her mother's current husband), provides one option; the spontaneous life of nature (represented by Nick, the mysterious father she has never met but is seeking) provides another option. In Ozick's second and more successful book, *The Pagan Rabbi, and Other Stories* (1971), the title story is a fantasy about a young rabbi's struggle between Pan and Moses, nature and Judaism. The second tale, "Envy; or, Yiddish in America," likewise explores the conflict for the traditional Jew living in a gentile world; the protagonist, Edelshtein, an immigrant Yiddish poet who cannot get translated or published in English, satirically attacks the successful but secular, pantheist Yiddish novelist, Ostrover, a figure based on Isaac Bashevis Singer. Edelshtein reveals Ozick's belief that for Jewish literature to be valuable it must remain focused on Jewish themes and reject assimilation. The central problem and paradox for Ozick is that, as an observant Jew living in the U.S. and writing in English, she cannot escape the belief that all fiction is to some degree idolatrous and all writing in English a betrayal of Judaism. The last story in the collection, "Virility," is a feminist, Jewish tale exposing the falsehood of an assimilated male Jewish writer's claim to be a spokesman of universal values. The celebrated poet Edmund Gate turns out to be a plagiarist, while the true poet is none other than his aged "Tante Rivkah" who has remained true, in poverty and loneliness, to her Jewish origins. Ironically, when Rivkah's final poems are published posthumously under her own name, they no longer receive the glowing reviews they received when published under Gate's name.

Many of Ozick's other works, including *Bloodshed and Three Novellas* (1976) and *The Messiah of Stockholm* (1987), explore the issues and moral dilemmas facing the Jewish writer who, as Harold Bloom has written about Ozick, must struggle to reconcile her need to create fiction and her "fear of making stories into so many idols." *The Messiah of Stockholm* tells the story of Lars Andemening, an orphan of World War II who becomes fixated on the idea that he is the son of Bruno *Schulz, the famous Polish Jewish writer killed by the Nazis. The devastating impact of the Holocaust is a dominant theme in many of Ozick's works, including *Levitation: Five*

Fictions (1982), the novels *The Cannibal Galaxy* (1983) and *The Shawl* (1989). *The Cannibal Galaxy* is the story of Joseph Brill, a young Orthodox Parisian Jew, who survives the war hidden in a priest's library only to unsuccessfully attempt after the war to create a Jewish school that braids the best of Jewish and western traditions. *The Shawl*, arguably Ozick's most powerful and controversial work, combines two short stories. The title story, a work of bare, brutal horror, tells of the murder of Magda, the baby daughter of the assimilationist Jewish Pole, Rosa Lublin; Magda is killed when a Nazi throws her against an electrified fence. The second story, "Rosa," follows the destructive impact of the Shoah on Rosa, who has become "a madwoman and a scavenger" in Miami, writing letters in her best Polish to her dead daughter. While continuing to explore ethical, theological, and philosophical issues, Ozick turned to a lighter tone in her comic novel, *The Puttermesser Papers* (1997), a fantastic, episodic novel reminiscent of 18th-century picaresque tales. The novel follows the magical adventures of Jewish attorney Ruth Puttermesser, from her creation of a female golem who helps her to become mayor of New York to her death and experiences in paradise. Here and elsewhere Ozick combines the realistic and the surrealistic, comedy, tragedy, and philosophy, in order to create beautifully rich texts exploring Jewish life in America. Her 2004 realistic novel *Heir to the Glimmering World* is the story of a teenage orphan working for a German immigrant family headed by a professor who obsessively studies the Karaites, an obscure Jewish sect.

Despite her brilliant use of humor, Cynthia Ozick is a philosophical writer who takes Judaism more seriously than did the first generation of post-World War II Jewish writers in America. In a series of forthright and brilliant essays published in the Jewish press, she has written of the Messiah and the need to find a place for him in the modern city, of Holiness and the Sabbath day, and of the Jewish commitment to history as an answer to present-day idolatries. But she is aware of the tensions and difficulties which such commitment implies, especially for the creative writer ("Holiness and its Discontents," 1972). Her collections of essays, including *Art and Ardor* (1983), *Metaphor and Memory* (1989), *Fame and Folly* (1996), and *Quarrel and Quandary* (2000), explore a variety of topics with insight and thoughtfulness. Ozick does not betray the nostalgia of some older writers for the pieties of the ghetto; her sense of the relevance of the Jewish "myth" is related to a keen awareness of the contemporary western world with its combination of enchantment and squalor. At the same time, she shows a more positive identification with Israel and its fate than is to be found in her older contemporaries among the New York Jewish novelists. This became marked after the Six-Day War of 1967, and even more so after the Yom Kippur War of 1973.

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[Craig Svonkin (2nd ed.)]

OZON, Obóz Zjednoczenia Narodowego (Pol. "Camp of National Unity"), a paramilitary, antisemitic organization created in Poland on Oct. 2, 1937 by Colonel Adam Koc, under the auspices of President Moscicki and the minister of defense, Rydz-Smigly. Its program called for the protection of peasant ownership, the improvement of smallholdings, and the control of population by encouraging peasants to migrate to the cities. By camouflaging its antisemitism with problems of national self-defense, OZON hoped to compete with other rightist Fascist organizations such as ONR and win over the masses. Based on nationalism, Catholicism, and antisemitism, OZON hoped to divert the attention of workers and peasants from the real issues of the day, such as unemployment and poverty. It encouraged disorder and lawlessness, advocated segregation in the universities, and made assaults on Jewish rights. No Jew – not even one who had fought for Poland's independence in *Pilsudski's Legion – was eligible to join OZON. Many arbitrary and even brutal anti-Jewish policies and acts, such as restricting the right of *_sheḥitah_, insisting that "Aryan" principles should prevail in professional organizations, establishing economic boycotts, destroying Jewish property, and encouraging pogroms in *Radom, *Czestochowa, *Brest-Litovsk, and *Vilna, were carried out under the aegis of OZON. In December 1938 Koc, whose totalitarian tendencies were becoming too apparent, was forced to give up his leadership of OZON and was replaced by General Skwarczynski. The antisemitic activities of OZON continued, however, under new leadership, and Skwarczynski asked the Polish *Sejm to take energetic measures to reduce the number of Jews in Poland, for national defense reasons. As a result the Polish government opposed the British mandatory restrictions on the admission of Jews to Palestine and sent a delegation to *Madagascar to study the possibilities of Jewish immigration there. OZON continued its activities until the defeat of Poland in September 1939.

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[Dov Rabin]

OZORKOW, town in Lodz province, Poland. Founded in 1811, the settlement expanded rapidly and was granted urban status in 1816. Its Jewish population grew in size because it was dependent on the development of the textile industry in Lodz. In 1860 there were 1,978 Jews (38% of the total population) and on the eve of the Holocaust in 1939 they numbered about 5,000 (33% of the total population). During the 19th century Jews established workshops for weaving. Jewish tailors were also employed by industrial enterprises in Lodz on a contractual basis. The first democratic elections to the community council were held in 1922 when 12 members were elected representing the Zionist parties, *Mizrachi, *Agudat Israel, *Bund, and *Po'alei Zion-Left. On the eve of World War II Solomon

Winter, the delegate of the Zionists, was president of the community. There was a ramified network of schools in Ozorkow established at the initiative of the Zionists (Yavneh) and Agudat Israel (Yesodei ha-Torah). The public libraries established by the Zionist Organization and Po'alei Zion stimulated cultural activities such as drama circles, evening schools, and the sports societies *Maccabi and Ha-Kokhav (Gwiazda). In addition to the two large synagogues, the Great Synagogue and the Bet ha-Midrash, there were *shtieblach* (ḥasidic houses of prayer). The last rabbi of the community was R. David Behr. The Jews were also represented on the municipal council and their delegates held the position of vice mayor.

[Shimshon Leib Kirshenboim]

Holocaust Period

At the outbreak of World War II there were several battles around Ozorkow, and immediately after occupying the city on Sept. 5, 1939, the Germans seized and shot 24 Jews in the street. The beautiful synagogue and the *bet ha-midrash* were burned and the Jews were forced to demolish the walls. Frequent raids took place for slave labor in addition to the regular supply of labor contingents from the *Judenrat. Toward the end of 1939 many Jewish families were evicted from their homes and the ghetto was gradually established. The liquidation of the community took place during the spring and summer of 1942 in a series of *Aktionen*, the first of which was the selection of 500 Jews who were sent in an unknown direction, probably to the *Chelmno death camp. In April the Germans carried out a public hanging of eight Jews to "punish" the community for the escape of a woman from the ghetto. The largest *Aktion* took place on May 21–23, 1942, when 2,000 Jews were sent to Chelmno and 800 of the able-bodied to the *Lodz ghetto. All children below the age of ten were seized and deported. The final deportation took place on Aug. 21, 1942, when about 1,200 craftsmen and artisans were transferred to the Lodz ghetto. A memorial book, *Ozorkov*, was published in Hebrew in 1967.

[Danuta Dombrowska]

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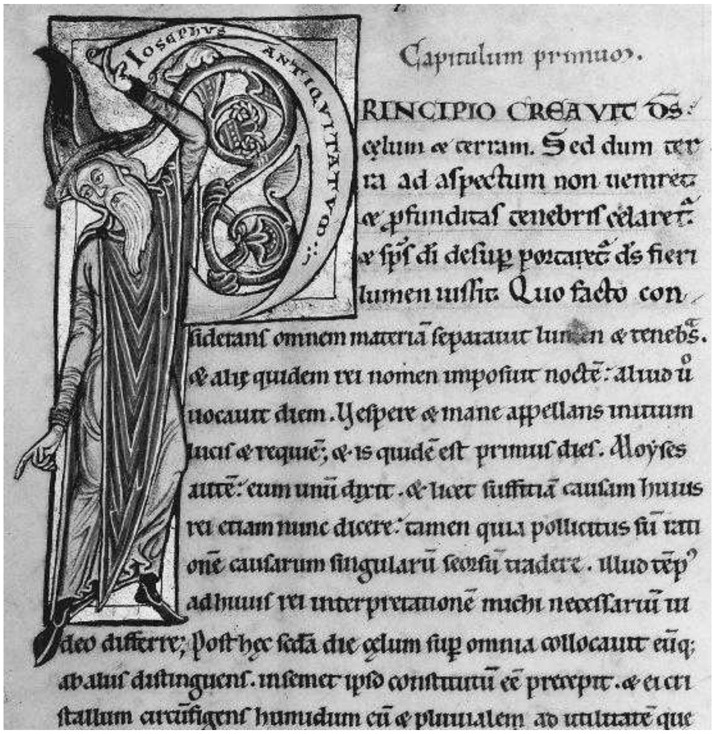

Initial letter "P" of the word Principio *in a Latin manuscript of* The Antiquities of the Jews *by Josephus Flavius, France, 12th century. The figure in the illuminated letter is wearing the medieval Jewish pointed hat. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Cod. Lat. 5047, fol. 2 column 2. Photo Bildarchiv Foto Marbug, Marburg-Lahn.*

PA-PER

PABIANICE (Rus. **Pabyanitse**; Yid. **Pabianits**,), city in Lodz province, central Poland. One of Poland's most ancient towns, Pabianice was officially granted municipal status in the 14th century. The prohibition against Jewish residents, based on a privilege *de non tolerandis Judaeis*, appears to have been abrogated when the town came under Prussian domination. Jews then began to settle in the old city of Pabianice. The growth of the Jewish population was closely tied to the development of the local textile industry, and the spinning mills which were set up under subcontract for the textile factories of Lodz. In 1850 steam-powered machines were introduced into the Jewish-owned factories and large numbers of Jewish workers were employed in them from that time on, although Jews were compelled to compete against Polish workers who sought vigorously to supplant them. In 1913 the Polish workers of one Jewish-owned factory declared a strike because the owner hired four Jewish workers. The number of Jews increased from 27 in 1808 to 5,017 in 1897 (18% of the total population). Because Pabianice was in a battle region during World War I, the activity of the spinning mills was almost entirely interrupted and many Jews left, but they returned immediately after the armistice. In 1921 the Jews numbered 7,230, about 33% of the population. Their relative number, however, decreased so that in 1938 the 8,357 Jews in the town constituted only 16% of the total population. Economic competition between the Poles and Jews led to an encroachment on Jewish enterprises and during the 1930s Jewish poverty became widespread. Many Jews actually suffered from hunger.

The Jews of Pabianice were greatly influenced by *Ḥasidism, the *ẓaddikim* of *Sochaczew, *Radoshits, and *Komarno having lived in the city. One of the rabbis of Pabianice was Mendele Alter, a brother of the Rabbi of Gur. After R. Alter left to become rabbi of Kalish, his position was filled by his son, R. Abraham. The community's synagogue was first built by Jewish workers in 1847. Restored in 1880, it was famous for its frescoes and wooden engravings and the artistic construction of its Ark. Many organizations were active in the community between the world wars. The *Mizrachi organization was founded in 1918, and Revisionists began their activities in 1927. The *Po'alei Agudat Israel and Ẓe'irei Emunei Israel of the community were affiliated with *Agudat Israel. A large school, Or Torah, which also served as a cultural center for adults, was established by Agudat Israel. In 1919 the Zionists organized a Hebrew high school.

[Shimshon Leib Kirshenboim]

Holocaust Period

German forces entered the city on Sept. 8, 1939, and immediately introduced a series of repressive acts against the Jewish population. On Rosh Ha-Shanah the synagogue was destroyed and the building converted into a stable. On the Day of Atonement an intensive campaign of kidnapping was carried out in the streets and in the clandestine places of worship. In November many Jews were brutally evicted from their homes, in order to make room for Germans. At the same time the chairman and three other members of the *Judenrat were arrested and two of them murdered. In February 1940 a ghetto was formed in the old district of the town into which 8,000–9,000 Jews were crowded. Contact with the non-Jewish population was still possible and anyone could leave or enter the ghetto at will. Jewish artisans continued to earn wages, and thus supplement the meager rations allocated by the Germans. However, as a result of internal dissension, several members of the Judenrat, including its chairman, Jehiel Rubinstein, were denounced by a group of Jews, resulting in their arrest and dispatch to concentration camps in Germany where they met their deaths.

In February 1942 the Germans carried out a medical examination of all the Jews in Pabianice of 10 years of age and older. The able-bodied were stamped "A," while the elderly and sick were marked "B." The liquidation of the ghetto took place on May 16, 1942. Some 3,500 Jews in the "A" category and a few children were sent to the *Lodz ghetto. The 150 patients in the hospital were murdered on the spot, 180 tailors were detained in Pabianice to finish the work they had started, while the rest of the Jewish population – the "B" category – were sent to their deaths in the *Chelmno camp. After the liquidation of the ghetto, some 250 Pabianice Jews were employed in the large storehouse located nearby in Dombrowa where the clothing of the murdered Jewish population of western Poland (*Warthegau*) was processed, sorted, and repaired.

A memorial book, *Sefer Pabianice* (1956) was published in Yiddish in Tel Aviv by the society of immigrants from Pabianice.

[Danuta Dombrowska]

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PABLO DE SANTA MARIA (el Burguense; c. 1350–1435), one of the most prominent apostates of Christian Spain, bishop, and theologian. He was born Solomon Halevi, a member of a distinguished Jewish family of *Burgos which had produced several tax farmers and financiers of the Castilian kingdom. In his youth he belonged to the circle of Jewish scholars whose most outstanding members were his relative Don Meir *Alguades, Joseph *Orabuena, and Don Benveniste de la *Cavallería. During the early 1380s he corresponded with R. Isaac b. *Sheshet on questions of ritual law (Responsa Ribash, ch. 187–92) and from this may be deduced his familiarity with *halakhah*. He had some knowledge of Jewish and Arabic philosophy and had read Christian theological works. From a humorous letter written in Hebrew to Meir Alguades in honor of the festival of Purim, it appears that he was in "England" in 1389. Some believe that he was detained there as a Castilian hostage but the more logical assumption is that his stay was connected with a diplomatic mission and that the reference is not to England itself but to Acquitaine, then under English rule.

The circumstances of Pablo's apostasy are obscure: according to Christian tradition he was baptized on July 21, 1390, but from a letter sent him after his conversion by his disciple Joshua *Lorki, also known as Geronimo de Sante Fe, there is reason to assume that he was converted after the outbreak of the riots of 1391 (see *Spain). It is in any case clear that he was already perplexed over questions of faith several years prior to his apostasy. His conversion to Christianity was to a certain extent a protest against the Averroistic views advanced by a considerable number of Jewish intellectuals in Spain. There is no doubt that he was vitally influenced by the apostate *Abner of Burgos, whom he frequently quotes in his own works. His four sons, his daughter, and his three brothers were baptized together with him. At first his wife refused to follow his example, but she accepted baptism a few years later. After his conversion, which left a powerful imprint on Jewish intellectuals, he sent a letter to Joseph Orabuena explaining the reasons that prompted his conversion to Christianity. This letter, which was widely circulated, also reached his disciple Joshua Lorki, who was converted some years later. In a lengthy letter, addressed to Pablo, Lorki asked him the reasons for his decision and expressed fundamental reservations on the messianic role of Jesus. Only the last part of Pablo's reply has been preserved; it includes the idea that it is incumbent upon every Jew to delve into the Bible and the Oral Law so as to discern the messianism of Jesus.

To increase his knowledge of Christian theology, Pablo traveled to Paris, where he studied until 1394 and was ordained a priest. On completing his studies, he settled in Avignon, where he became one of the favorites of Pope *Benedict XIII and one of his staunchest supporters. It was during this period that he began his anti-Jewish activity, when he attempted to induce King John I of Aragon to issue anti-Jewish laws. His ascent in the Catholic hierarchy was rapid: in 1396 he was appointed archdeacon of Trevinno, in 1403 bishop of Cartagena, and from 1415 until his death, he was bishop of Burgos. He also held the position of *canciller mayor* to the king of Castile from 1407.

Pablo left a number of works: the first, *Scrutinium Scripturarum*, was completed in 1432. The first part describes a dialog between the Jew, Saul and the Christian, Paul. The Jew argues against the tenets of Christianity and the Christian refutes all his objections. In the second part, an apostate asks his teacher to elucidate a number of points of Christian dogma which are not sufficiently clear to him. In 1429 Paulus completed the *Aditiones ad postillam Magistri Nicolai Lyra* ("Additions to the Biblical Commentary of *Nicholas de Lyra"). He also wrote a historical poem, *Las Siete edades del Mundo or Edades trovadas*, as well as a work on the history of Spain from antiquity until 1412, *Suma de las crónicas del mundo.* Toward the end of his life, he wrote a book on his origins and genealogy. His brothers held important positions in Castilian society: PEDRO JUÁREZ became governor of Burgos and ALVAR GARCÍA the notary of the royal office. This was also the case with his sons: GONZALO GARCIA DE SANTA MARÍA rose to the rank of bishop; ALONSO OF CARTAGENA succeeded his father as bishop of Burgos and wrote *Defensorium unitatis christianae* in defense of the Conversos; PEDRO DE CARTAGENA became a military commander of the kings of Castile, and ALVAR SÁNCHEZ DE CARTAGENA was a diplomat in the service of the kingdom.

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[Joseph Kaplan]

PACHECO, RODRIGO BENJAMIN MENDES (d. 1749), early U.S. merchant. Pacheco, whose place of birth is unknown, went to New York City early in his career and was made freeman of the city in 1712. Increasingly prominent as his mercantile business flourished, Pacheco petitioned the authorities in 1728 with others for the right to purchase land for a Jewish cemetery. He was instrumental in the erection of the Shearith Israel synagogue on Mill Street, in 1729–30. In 1731 Pacheco was appointed colonial agent for the province. Around 1740 he did a brisk business in shipping supplies to the new colony of Georgia, where his contact was the Nunezes family. A more extensive enterprise was carried on there by a competitor, Jacob *Franks, who, unlike Pacheco, was Ashkenazi. In the wake of a bitter legal entanglement over his business affairs, Pacheco settled permanently in London in 1731.

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[Leo Hershkowitz]

PACHT, ISAAC (1890–1987), U.S. attorney, judge, and community leader. Pacht, who was born in Millie, Austria, was taken to the U.S. while a boy. After his graduation from Brooklyn Law School in 1912, he moved to Los Angeles and in 1913 was admitted to the California bar. Pacht was a practicing attorney except for the periods when he served as judge of the Superior Court (1931–32) and judge of the California District Court of Appeal (1932–35). He was deeply involved in California prison reform and served for a number of years as president of the State Board of Prison Directors (1940–50), under appointment by Governor Culbert Olson. Governor Earl Warren appointed Pacht chairman of the California Commission on Criminal Law and Procedure (1947–49). Extremely active in Los Angeles Jewish affairs, Pacht held posts including chairman (the first) of the United Jewish Welfare Fund (1932–34); president of the Jewish Institute of Religion of Los Angeles; and president of the Los Angeles Jewish Community Council (1949–51). He also served as president or director of the Vista Del Mar Child Care Service for more than 40 years. He was the founding chairman of the Jewish Community Foundation of Los Angeles. Established in 1954, it has evolved into one of the city's largest foundations.

[Max Vorspan]

PACHTER, CHARLES (1942–), Canadian printmaker, painter, illustrator. Charles Pachter was born and raised in Toronto. He studied art history at the University of Toronto (1960–64), and printmaking at the Ontario College of Art. In 1962–63 he studied at the Sorbonne and at the Académie de la Grande Chaumière in Paris. He held his first solo exhibition at the Pollock Gallery in Toronto in 1964. Focusing on printmaking, he completed his M.F.A. at the Cranbrook Academy of Art in Michigan in 1966.

While still a graduate student, Pachter collaborated with Canadian writer Margaret Atwood to create five limited edition handmade books of her poems. Lifelong friends, he and Atwood collaborated again on their master work, *The Journals of Susanna Moodie* (1980). Pachter's early lithographs and silkscreens, which focused on family, identity, and interpersonal relationships, also include a series of powerful expressionistic self-portraits. Fascinated by the relationship of art to national identity – the Canadian flag has remained a continuing theme – Pachter's art has often centered on popular Canadian images, including the Mounties, hockey players, and the moose. In the 1970s, his work incorporated images of Queen Elizabeth II and the moose, leading viewers to question the continuing relevance of the monarchy in a post-colonial Canada. Portraits of prominent Canadians have served as subjects for his art. His mural, *Hockey Knights in Canada*, highlights a Toronto subway station and his stylized life-size sculpture of a moose stands on the University of Toronto campus. An entrepreneur by nature, Pachter played a leadership role in the development of artists' districts in Toronto in the 1970s and 1980s. Pachter's work is represented in public and private collections in Canada and internationally, including the National Library of Canada, Le musée d'art contemporain, Montreal, the Art Gallery of Ontario, Toronto, and the Centre d'Art Présence Van Gogh, Saint Rémy de Provence, France. In 2000, Pachter was made a member of the Order of Canada; in 2002, France named him a Chevalier dans l'Ordre des Arts et des Lettres.

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[Joyce Zemans (2nd ed.)]

PACIFICI, ALFONSO (1889–1983), Italian lawyer and thinker. Born in Florence, he came under the influence of Rabbi S.H. *Margulies and became the leader of the group who attempted to revitalize Jewish life in Italy through "integral" Judaism, combining religion, culture, and Zionism. A remarkable orator with a striking appearance and great personal charm, he exercised a considerable influence on a whole generation of Jews in Italy, even those who subsequently disagreed with his increasingly uncompromising orthodoxy. In

1916, he founded (with Dante *Lattes) the weekly *Israel*. He settled in 1934 in Ereẓ Israel, where he continued his activities, mainly for Orthodox educational institutions. His ideas are expressed in such works as *Discorsi sullo Shemà* (1953), *Israel Segullà* (1955), and its semi-autobiographical sequel *Interludio* (1959).

In 1984 a small book was published in Hebrew, "From Florence in Italy to Jerusalem," containing a part of his autobiography and two articles by the editors S. Auerbach and G.B. Sarfatti; in Jerusalem a street was dedicated in his memory, Segullat Israel Street, the title of one of his books; his archive has been transferred to the Central Archives for the History of Jewish People in Jerusalem and an "inventario" of it was published (ed. R. Spiegel) in 2000.

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[Cecil Roth / Alfredo-Mordechai Rabello (2nd ed.)]

PACIFICI, RICCARDO (1904–c. 1943), Italian rabbi and scholar. Born in Florence and trained there at the Collegio Rabbinico Italiano, Pacifici served as assistant rabbi in Venice in 1928–31. He was the head of the rabbinical seminary (and later rabbi) in Rhodes, and in 1936 was appointed rabbi of Genoa. His published works (1929–36) include monographs on Venetian Jewish history (including a volume on the inscriptions in the Jewish cemetery in the Lido; 1929), historical accounts of the Jews of Rhodes (1933, 1935) and of the Genoese community (1939, 1948), and a selection of sermons and addresses, *Discorsi sulla Torà* (1968). At the height of Nazi and Fascist persecution he published a Midrash anthology. After making great efforts to assist the victims of Nazi terror (DELASEM; Delegazione Assistenza Emigranti Ebrei), he was arrested and deported by the Germans in 1943, his subsequent fate being unknown.

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[Alfredo Mordechai Rabello]

PACIFICO, DAVID (invariably called "**Don Pacifico**"; 1784–1854), merchant and diplomat. Born in Gibraltar, Pacifico was a British subject. In 1812 his business activities took him to Lagos, Portugal, where he was appointed Portuguese consul to Morocco (1835–37) and to Greece (1837–42). In 1847 the Greek minister, Coletti, in deference to one of the Rothschilds who happened to be in Athens at the time, prohibited the populace of Athens from burning a wooden effigy of Judas Iscariot on the Friday before Easter as was the yearly custom. Riots broke out and Pacifico was attacked and his house destroyed. Pacifico demanded a sum of 800,000 drachmas (then equivalent to £26,618) as compensation. The Greek government refused to consider his claim and even confiscated Pacifico's real estate. In order to defend his interests as a British subject, the British Admiral Park – upon the instruction of the foreign minister, Lord Palmerston – blockaded the port of Piraeus and captured 200 Greek ships. The Greek government was compelled to pay 120,000 drachmas and £500. Pacifico retired to London, where he died. The incident was important in its time as Palmerston had to defend himself for having supported the lawsuit of a Jew. Palmerston replied that it was not right that because "a man is of Jewish persuasion" he should be outraged. In the British Parliament, Palmerston made a celebrated speech (June 25, 1850) which concluded that all British subjects ought to be able to say, as did citizens of ancient Rome, "*Civis Romanus sum*" ("I am a citizen of Rome"), and thereby receive protection from the British government. Palmerston's resolute assertion of British super-patriotism helped to make him prime minister five years later. The "Don Pacifico" affair was one of the most famous such incidents of mid-Victorian Britain.

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[Simon Marcus / William D. Rubinstein (2nd ed.)]

PACKMAN, JAMES JOSEPH (1907–1969), U.S. newspaperman and public relations executive. Born in Poland, Packman was taken to the U.S. in 1910. His long newspaper career included 20 years on the *Los Angeles Examiner* (1923–43) and the managing editorship of the *Milwaukee Sentinel* (1943–52). In 1958 he became a consultant on political and foreign affairs and newspaper operation, and in 1961 was appointed director of public relations for the Golden Gate National Bank, San Francisco.

PADDAN-ARAM (Heb. **פַּדַּן אֲרָם**), place mentioned only in Genesis and prominently associated with the lives of the Patriarchs. Paddan-Aram seems to have been either identical with, or included within, the area of Aram-Naharaim and is described by Abraham as "the land of my birth" to which he sent his servant to find a wife for Isaac (24:4, 10; 25:20). It is most frequently mentioned in connection with Jacob's flight from Esau and his residence with his uncle Laban, the brother of Rebekah his mother. All but one of the tribes of Israel originated there (28:2–7; 31:18; 33:18; 35:9, 26; 46:15; 48:7).

Paddan-Aram must have been situated in northern Mesopotamia since it included the city of Haran (28:10; 29:4). The repeated description of Laban as an Aramean (25:20; 28:5; 31:20, 24) would imply an Aramean population speaking the Aramaic language (31:47). In fact, the name is generally accepted as deriving from the Aramaic *paddânâ*, "a field, or plain," and meaning "the Plain of Aram," corresponding to the Hebrew *sedeh Aram* (Hos. 12:13).

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[Morris M. Schnitzer]

PADEH, BARUCH (1908–2001), Israeli physician. Born in Belorussia, he studied medicine in Prague and graduated in

1927. Padeh immigrated to Palestine, worked as a physician in the kibbutzim of the Jordan Valley, and settled in Degania B. In 1936 he also became regional commander of the *Haganah. In 1938, he went to New York to study hematology and, upon his return in 1940, he resumed his work as a regional physician. In 1947–48 he served as the regional physician of the Southern Front. In 1949 he moved to Tel Hashomer hospital where he became deputy director in 1955. In 1956 he was appointed chief medical officer of the IDF, and in 1971 he became director general of the Ministry of Health. In 1974, he went back to the north of Israel and was director of Poriah hospital. Later he became a family physician in Kaẓrin, in the Golan Heights. Padeh, is remembered as the physician who set the medical standards for the Medical Army Corps as well as the Civil Medical System and Services. He was particularly interested in the development of family practice and community medicine. Padeh was also the founder of the genetic studies of the Israeli population in the 1950s. He received many awards and prizes for his services, and in 1985 he was awarded the Israel Prize in medicine.

[Bracha Rager (2nd ed.)]

PADERBORN, town in N.W. Germany. The earliest documentary source reflecting the presence of Jews in the city of Paderborn dates from 1342; the existence of a stone house belonging to them at this time attests to their wealth. In a dispute between Bishop Herman von Spiegel in 1378 and the city of Paderborn, the bishop referred to "his Jews" who were under his protection. Nevertheless, an organized Jewish community came into being in the city only in 1590. A prayer room was opened in the 17th century. In 1640 seven Jewish families were permitted to live in Paderborn; by 1652 the number had increased to 14 families. The Jews of the city were mentioned among those benefiting from a general letter of protection granted in 1661. They played a leading role in the federation of Jewish communities in the bishopric. Numbers remained fairly constant until the end of the 18th century. By 1764 a synagogue is noted in the city; a cemetery plot was purchased in 1728. In 1778 there were 19 "protected" Jews in the town and in 1803 there were 26, in addition to two communal employees. In the course of the 19th century the community grew from 288 persons in 1840 to 389 in 1913. A new synagogue was built in 1881 (destroyed by the Nazis in 1938). Together with the synagogue, the community also maintained a religious school. After 1938 the prayer room of the Jewish orphanage (consecrated in 1863) was used as the cultural center for the continuously declining community. In 1932 there were still 310 Jews in Paderborn, but in 1939 only 123 remained, the greater part of whom were later deported. In July 1942 the staff and children of the orphanage (founded 1856) were also deported. From the summer of 1939 until March 1943 the town contained a so-called "Jewish Retraining Center" for some 100 people who were forcibly employed by the Nazi authorities in Paderborn. On March 1, 1943, all the inmates of the center were deported to Auschwitz; only 10 survived. After World War II a community was reestablished in Paderborn in 1950, including the districts of Bueren, Hoexter, Lippstadt, *Soest, and Warburg. In 1962 it numbered 55 members. The new synagogue was dedicated in 1959. The Jewish community numbered 35 in 1989 and 85 in 2004. About 70% of the members are immigrants from the former Soviet Union.

[Bernhard Brilling]

Province (formerly Bishopric) of Paderborn

The presence of Jews in the bishopric of Paderborn is first mentioned as early as 1258; in 1281 they were put under the protection of the bishop who intervened actively, following the murder of Jews in Bueren in 1292. Sources remain scanty until the 17th century. In the intervening years, Jewish communities were slowly built in the towns of the bishopric. Jurisdiction over the Jews had passed to the municipalities, which restricted Jewish economic activity to trading in unredeemed pawned articles, gold, and jewels, so as not to compete with local merchants. In the 16th century the Jews of Warburg were permitted to engage in *moneylending and restricted commercial activity, providing it did not interfere with the guilds. In the beginning of the 17th century jurisdiction over the Jews reverted to the bishop. By 1646 there were 67 Jewish families in the bishopric, and by 1677 there were 144. From 1619 the rabbinate for the **Landjudenschaft* of the bishopric was located in Warburg, the largest Jewish community until the emancipation. In 1661 a general letter of protection was addressed by Bishop Ferdinand von Fuerstenberg to the Jewries of Warburg, Paderborn, Beverungen, Peckelsheim, and Borgentreich (among others), granting them liberal privileges. In part as a result of the need to defend themselves against the municipalities and in part due to the need for funds to support a rabbi and maintain a cemetery, a federation of Jewish communities in the bishopric was organized in 1628, responsible directly to the bishop. At the head of the community was an *Obervorgaenger* at whose suggestion the other officials were appointed by the bishop. During 1649–50 the office was filled by Solomon Levi, and in the following year by the Court Jew Behrend *Levi, later accused of embezzlement and removed. Some of his successors in the well-paid position were likewise corrupt, and in 1677 three non-salaried officials took over the duties of the head of the community. A Diet (*Va'ad Gadol*) met once every three years in varying places. During the 18th century the Diet elected the community's elders. Among the duties of the organized community, tax assessment was perhaps the most important; the community was often divided over the inequities of the tax system and the domination of the federation by a few wealthy families. The rabbinate was given a free hand in ritual matters; dues collected through taxation of *se'udot mitzvah* went to the support of Ereẓ Israel.

The economic condition of the Jews in the bishopric steadily improved as restrictions on their economic activity were removed. In 1661 they were granted permission to engage in retail trade in dry goods; permission for peddling was granted in 1687. They became prominent in the import trade in tobacco, as well as the leasing of the salt monopoly. All restrictions were lifted in 1704 and Jews expanded their commercial activity still more, trading in agricultural produce and playing a leading role in establishing Warburg as a grain center. They were among the prominent merchants at the *Leipzig fairs. In 1802 the bishopric was secularized and in 1803 became a province of Prussia. Emancipation, introduced during the Napoleonic invasion, was eclipsed during the reaction that followed and came into its own only toward the end of the century. In the period following the Franco-Prussian War, Jews took an increasingly active part in the economic and social life of the province, as well as coming into prominence in the arts and sciences, a development that came to an end only with the liquidation of Jewish life by the Nazis.

[Bernhard Brilling]

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PADUA, capital of Padua province, N. Italy. In documents dated 1134 and 1182 two or three persons with the surname Judaeus are mentioned, although some scholarly opinion holds that they were not Jews. In 1289 the physician Jacob Bonacosa, a Jew, translated *Averroes' *Colliget*, a medical text. Several loan banks were founded by Jews who came from various parts of Italy, such as Pisa, Roma, Bologna, and Ancona in the 1360s, and in the 1380s and 1390s from Germany and Spain. In 1380 Jewish bankers were responsible for three powerful loan and trading concerns with a capital investment of 20,000 ducats. Taxation imposed by Padua's rulers, the Carraras, was not heavy, and the populace was normally tolerant of the Jews. The community grew rapidly in wealth and social position; there was a synagogue and cemetery. In 1405 Padua became part of the Venetian republic. In 1415 an attempt was made by the Venetian authorities at the request of the Paduan city council to lower the interest rate of Jewish loan bankers to between 12% and 15%. The attempt was opposed vigorously by the Jewish bankers who closed their places of business in retaliation. The strike was backed by students who were deprived of their source of credit. During the first years of Venetian rule Jewish economic progress continued at a rapid pace. Their situation deteriorated, however, in the second quarter of the century. In part due to internal difficulties within the Venetian republic increasing pressure was directed against the economic status and legal position of the Jewish community. In 1420 the authorities imposed a lower rate of interest.

The situation of the loan bankers gradually worsened and they were expelled from the city in 1456. A major role in the expulsion of the bankers was taken by John *Capistrano and his followers. The rest of the community was not expelled, however, and a Jewish loan banker returned to the city by 1468. Jewish moneylending was officially permitted again in 1483. In 1475, when rumors spread about a blood libel at *Trent, the Jews of Padua were set upon by the mob, despite appeals by the senate. Tempers rose again in 1491 when the populace was incited by Bernardino de *Feltre and other Franciscan monks. Influenced by the monks, the town council sought several times to expel the Jews. The opening of the first Monte di *Pietà in 1492 did not adversely affect the economic status of the loan bankers. in 1509, led by Maximilian I of Hapsburg, the Lansquenets descended upon Italy. Jewish property was sacked, first by Austrians and afterward by the returning Venetian soldiers. Two leading bankers, Vita Meshullam and Naphtali Herz Wertheim, were completely ruined and Jewish loans ran to a total of about 15,000 ducats. The development of the community's inner life continued during the 16th century and its legal status was strengthened despite the numerous ways in which Jews were publicly degraded. In 1547 the republic of Venice ordered Jewish banks closed so as not to compete with the local Monte di Pietà. The Jews successfully turned to commerce; there were Jewish proprietors in many of the town shops, especially those dealing in jewelry, cloth, and drapery.

Early in the 16th century the Jews were ordered to live in their own quarter, but they were not completely restricted to a ghetto and some of the wealthier families lived among Christians on the most elegant streets. The idea of establishing a ghetto similar to those in Rome or Venice was decided on between 1581 and 1584 but not actually put into effect until 1601. The district itself centered around a small square where the synagogue was situated. There were five gates to the ghetto, one of which was surmounted by a tablet with an inscription in Latin and Hebrew prohibiting both Jews and Christians from coming near the ghetto's gates at night. Until 1715 Jews were compelled to listen to malevolent anti-Jewish sermons in the churches. Giving in to various pressures, the town council allowed the burning of the Talmud and other Hebrew books in 1556. Nevertheless, Padua remained an important center for Hebrew studies by virtue of its rabbinical academies and the fact that Jews were drawn there from all over Europe to study in its university.

In 1616 the Jewish population of Padua numbered 665, chiefly engaged in the silk industry. The community suffered gravely from a plague, 421 of the 721 Jews dying in 1630–31. In 1688 the community of Padua helped ransom 600 Jews of Belgrade who had been captured and maltreated by the Imperial troops. Hostility toward the Jews grew in the 17th century during the wars waged by Venice against the Turks. Because of rumors that the Jews had given help to Buda (see *Budapest) during the siege by the Austrian and Venetian armies, on Aug. 20, 1684, the populace sacked the ghetto. Loss of life was narrowly prevented by the intervention of the army and the town authorities. As a result of the outbreak, the death penalty was established for causing riots. To commemorate the community's rescue, a day of thanksgiving (the *Purim di-Buda*) was celebrated each year. Another "Purim" was celebrated in 1795 to commemorate the putting out of a fire which might otherwise have destroyed the community. Disturbances occasionally arose because medical students sought to perform autopsies on dead Jews, despite the fact that the Jews paid up to 100 lire annually to the *studium patavinum* in order to prevent this. Incidents connected with this problem occurred in the 16th and 17th centuries until a fixed itinerary for Jewish funerals was worked out by the authorities.

When the French troops entered Padua on April 29, 1797, the Jews were temporarily emancipated; in August the central government decreed that Jews were free to reside wherever they wished. The ghetto was renamed Via Libera ("Liberty Way") and its gates taken down. From 1805 to 1814 Padua was part of Napoleon's kingdom of Italy; R. Isaac Raphael b. Elisha *Finzi took part in the Paris *Sanhedrin convened by the emperor. However, when the Austrians entered Padua in January 1814, the populace attacked the Jews, who were considered friends of the French. Having to appear satisfied with the change of regime, the Jews celebrated the entrance of the Austrians in the German synagogue. After the Treaty of Vienna (in 1815), when Padua again came under Austrian rule, the Jews were allowed to enjoy practically all rights, except that of serving in public office. In 1840 the Jewish population of Padua numbered 910. Full emancipation was obtained only in 1866, when Padua once more became part of the kingdom of Italy. By 1881, the Jewish population had risen to 1,378; thereafter, however, the cultural and social life of the community deteriorated and by 1911 the number had decreased to 881. Because of discrimination affecting all Italian Jewry, the Jews of Padua either left for other Italian centers or emigrated to other countries, among them Ereẓ Israel; by 1938 their number had further declined to 586.

There were three synagogues in Padua. One of German rite, which was opened in 1525, served also as a *bet midrash* for the whole community from 1682. In the same year the Ashkenazi synagogue, or Scuola grande, was inaugurated. In 1892 the Scuola adopted the Italian rite. In 1943 the building was severely damaged by a bomb, and in 1960 its huge ark was taken to the Yad Eliyahu Synagogue in Tel Aviv. The third synagogue, of Sephardi rite, built in 1617 on the initiative of the influential Marini family, was closed down in 1892. In 1958 its ark was taken to Hechal Shelomo in Jerusalem. The synagogue of Italian rite, built in 1548 and completed later in the 16th century, closed down in 1892. It was reopened after World War II and in 1970 was the only synagogue in the city.

Community Life

Until the close of the 18th century the administrators of the Jewish community were chosen according to their country of origin; in 1577 there was a "general assembly" (*capitolo generale*), a "directional council" (*capitolo ristretto*), and three *parnassim* or *memunim*. Internal laws for all aspects of life, social or spiritual, were based on talmudic law until the French conquest. A statute was drawn up by the community in 1815 (revised in 1826 and recognized by Venice in 1828), requiring members to pay taxes proportionate to their incomes. The statute was modified again in 1832, 1841, and 1866, and finally thoroughly revised on the initiative of S.D. Luzzatto. The new regulations took effect from Jan. 27, 1894, and remained in use until replaced by a comprehensive law for all the Jewish communities in 1930. The community maintained relations with Ereẓ Israel, especially through emissaries sent to Jerusalem, Hebron, Safed, and Tiberias. In 1713 a philanthrophic society, the fraternity of Lomedei Torah ve-Shomerei Mitzvah, was founded, whose members paid a relatively high admission fee and made a fixed annual contribution. In return, in case of illness members received medical and surgical assistance, plus a daily allowance for the duration of illness; expenses for funerals and burial were also defrayed by the fraternity. This fraternity was still in existence in 1970, side by side with the brotherhood Malbish Arumim, the "S.D. Luzzatto Cultural Circle," and branches of various Zionist movements.

Of particular importance in the Padua community was academic activity. Jews studied medicine simultaneously with Torah. From 1519 to 1619 about 80 Jews obtained degrees in medicine in Padua, and from 1619 to 1721, 149 Jews graduated as physicians. Numbers of Jews from Germany, Poland, and the Levant also came to study in Padua. Some pressure was exerted by Christian doctors and the ecclesiastical authorities, so that the senate prohibited Jewish doctors from practicing outside the ghetto, but this was not too strictly applied. Jewish medical students were allowed to wear the black beret of their colleagues, rather than the yellow one required of other Jews (see Jewish *Badge). Among those students who distinguished themselves particularly were Moses Abba Delmedigo, physician and philosopher, and Abraham b. Meir de *Balmes of Lecce.

In the field of Hebrew studies, Padua was of particular importance in the second half of the 15th century, under the guidance of Judah *Minz, one of the major rabbinical authorities of that period. Judah was followed by his son, Aaron Minz, and by his brother-in-law, Meir *Katzenellenbogen, whose responsa constitute a vital source for the history of the Jews of that time. Other prominent figures in Padua were Meir b. Ezekiel ibn *Gabbai, Menahem Delmedigo, Jonathan b. *Treves, Raphael b. Joshua Ẓarefati, Jacob b. Moses Levi, Benzion b. Raphael, and Judah b. Moses Fano (16th century); Isaac Ḥayyim *Cantarini, Samuel de *Archivolti, Aryeh and Abraham Cattalani, Judah b. Samuel Cantarini, Solomon and Shabbetai b. Luzzatto, Judah b. Samuel Cantarini, Samuel and Ḥayyim Moses *Cantarini, Solomon and Shabbetai b. Luzzatto, Judah b. Samuel Cantarini Samuel and Ḥayyim Moses *Cantarini, Solomon and Shabbetai b. Isaac Marini, Aaron Romanin, Samuel David b. Jehiel *Ottolengo (17th century); Moses Ḥayyim Luzzatto, Michael Terni, Abraham Shalom, Solomon Nizza, Jacob Raphael Ezekiel *Forti, Solomon Eliezer Ghirondi and Benzion Ghirondi (18th century); Isaac Raphael b. Elisha *Finzi, Israel Conian, Mordecai Samuel b. Benzion Aryeh *Ghirondi, Ephraim Raphael Ghirondi, Leone Osimo, Graziadio Viterbi, Giuseppe *Basevi, Eudi Lolli, Alessandro Zammatto, Filosseno Luzzatto, Giuseppe *Almanzi, Eugenia Gentilomo, Gabriele Trieste, Marco Osimo (19th century); and Gustavo Castelbolognesi, Paolo Nissim, and Dante *Lattes (20th century). Padua had one last touch of splendor in the 19th century with the inauguration of the Istituto Superiore Rabbinico, later known as the Collegio Rabbinico *Italiano, the first rabbinical seminary in Europe to combine secular and traditional Jewish study. The institute was initiated by Isacco Samuel *Reggio, and Lelip Della Torre and S.D. *Luzzatto were among the rectors. The institute itself (transferred to Rome in 1870) exerted a considerable influence on the spiritual life of Italian Jews. From 1962 to 1965 Dante Lattes edited the journal *Rassegna Mensile di Israel* in Padua. Some Hebrew works were printed in Padua.

Printing

In 1563 Meir b. Ezekiel b. Gabbai's *Derekh Emunah* was printed by Lorenzo Pasquato of Padua, with Samuel Boehm serving as proofreader. This was followed by Shem Tov b. Shem Tov's *Derashot ha-Torah* in 1567. A conference of Italian communities convened at Padua in 1585 to consider a new approach to Pope Sixtus V on the question of printing the Talmud, then available only in a censored and emasculated edition. In 1622 Hebrew printing was continued in Padua by Gaspare (later Giulio) Crivellari, who printed Jacob Heilprin's *Naḥalat Ya'akov*, followed in the same year by the printing of *Kinot Eikhah*, printed by Abraham Catalono, and Leon de Modena's Hebrew-Italian dictionary, *Galut Yehudah* (1640–42). In the 19th century Antonio Bianchi printed S.D. Luzzatto's *Isziah* (1885) and other works, between 1834 and 1879. Francesco Sacchetto printed Luzzatto's Pentateuch commentary in 1872.

Modern Period

In 1931 the community of Padua had a Jewish population of 586. In 1941 the interior of the Scuola grande was desecrated by Fascist bands. Between 1943 and 1945 more than 85 Jews, among whom was Rabbi Eugenio Cohen Sacerdoti, were sent to extermination camps. After the war (1948) there were 269 Jews in Padua and their number had declined to 220 by 1970.

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[Alfredo Mordechai Rabello]

PADWAY, JOSEPH ARTHUR (1891–1947), U.S. labor lawyer and politician. Padway, who was born in Leeds, England, went to Milwaukee in 1905. Admitted to the Wisconsin bar in 1912, he was appointed legal counsel for the Wisconsin State Federation of Labor three years later. He was elected state senator on the Socialist ticket and served in the 1925 session of the legislature. Padway was twice appointed to the Milwaukee civil court bench (1924, 1926). After 1927 he was associated with the Progressive Republicans in Wisconsin. Padway played a major role in shaping Wisconsin labor legislation between 1915 and 1935. Upon his appointment as the first general counsel of the American Federation of Labor, he moved to Washington where he served until his death. In this capacity, he successfully defended the constitutionality of the National Labor Relations (Wagner) Act before the United States Supreme Court.

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[Louis J. Swichkow]

PAGEL, JULIUS LEOPOLD (1851–1912), German physician and medical historian. Pagel was born in Pomerania, and practiced medicine in Berlin and was appointed professor of history of medicine at the University of Berlin. He wrote over 100 books and articles dealing mainly with medical history. These included many medical biographies taken from unpublished manuscripts and a full description of methods of therapy used in the 19th century. He edited *Biographisches Lexikon hervorragender Aerzte des 19. Jahrhunderts* (1901) and coedited with Max Neuburger the *Handbuch der Geschichte der Medizin* (1902–05).

His youngest son, WALTER PAGEL (1898–1983), pursued two careers – he was a pathologist and a famous historian of science. Born in Berlin he was lecturer in pathology and medical history at Heidelberg (1928–33). With the advent of Hitler he left for England where he became pathologist, first at the Central Middlesex County Hospital, London, and from the beginning of World War II, at Clare Hall Hospital, Hertfordshire.

He published books and articles in the fields of pathology, bacteriology, tuberculosis, and allergic phenomena. On medical history, his publications include *Jo. Bapt. van Helmont; Einfuehrung in die philosophische Medizin des Barock* (1930); *The Religious and Philosophical Aspects of Van Helmont's Science and Medicine* (1944); and *William Harvey, Some Neglected Aspects of Medical History* (1944).

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[Suessmann Muntner]

PAGIS, DAN (1930–1986), Hebrew poet and scholar. Born in Radautz in Romanian Bukovina, Pagis grew up in Vienna. During World War II he was interned in a concentration camp. In 1946 he arrived in Israel and lived for a while in kibbutz Merḥavyah. Later he worked as a teacher at a regional school in Kiryat Gat and at the same time enrolled at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. Pagis earned his Ph.D. there and was subsequently appointed professor of medieval Hebrew literature. He published several scholarly works, including *The Secular Poetry and Poetics of Moses Ibn Ezra and His Generation* (1970), *Change and Tradition in Secular Poetry: Spain and Italy* (1976), *Al Sod Ḥatum* ("A Secret Sealed," 1986), and *Poetry Aptly Explained – Studies and Essays on Medieval Hebrew Poetry* (1993).

Together with his academic work, Pagis published eight books of poetry and is considered one of the seminal poets of his generation. The horrors and memories of the Holocaust are a major theme in his work. Other concerns are the unbridled passage of time, scenes from daily life, and the abortive fruits of the scientific revolution. Pagis' poetry exhibits word-play, wit, and sophistication while avoiding pathos and striving for simple expression. His poetry collections include *She'on Ha-Ḥol* ("The Shadow Dial," 1959), *Shehut Meuḥeret (*"Late Leisure," 1964); *Gilgul* ("Transformations," 1970); *Mo'aḥ* ("Brain," 1975); *Milim Nirdafot* ("Double Exposure," 1982); *Shenem Asar Panim* ("Twelve Faces," 1984); *Shirim Aḥaronim* ("Last Poems," 1987). His *Collected Poems* appeared in 1991. Pagis also wrote a book for children ("The Egg that Disguised Itself," 1973) and edited a critical edition of the collected verse of David Vogel. *Selected Poems* in English translation appeared in 1972 and 1992. Various poems have been translated into other languages, and two books appeared in German translation (1990, 1993).

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[Anat Feinberg (2nd ed.)]

°**PAGNINI, SANTES** (**Xanthus Pagninus**; 1470–1536), Italian Hebraist and Bible scholar. Born in Lucca, Pagnini entered the Dominican order in 1487 and, under the direction of Savonarola, later studied Hebrew, his teacher being the Spanish convert Clement Abraham. Pagnini became one of the foremost Hebraists of the age and, at the request of Pope Leo X, taught in Rome for many years before settling in Lyons, where from 1524 until death he combated French heterodoxy. His greatest achievement was his *Utriusque instrumenti nova translatio* (Lyons, 1528), of which the Old Testament portion was the first since Jerome to be based directly on the original Hebrew. This Bible, the prefaces to which include two letters from Giovanni Pico della *Mirandola, reputedly took 25 years to prepare; and its notation of the biblical text according to chapter and verse has been retained until the present day. Pagnini's Latin translation inspired the Italian Bible of the Florentine reformer Antonio Brucioli (Venice, 1532) and the later Italian Protestant Bible of Geneva (1562).

Other works by Pagnini were *Institutionum hebraicarum abbreviatio* (Lyons, 1528; Paris, 1556); the authoritative and pioneering *Thesaurus linguae sanctae sire Lexicon hebraicum* (Lyons, 1529); and *Isagogae ad sacras literas, liber unicus. Ejusdem isagogae ad mysticos Sacrae Scripturae sensus, libri decem et octo* (Lyons, 1536). He also wrote a commentary on the Psalms. Pagnini's Bible and Hebrew grammar were widely consulted in the 16th century.

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[Godfrey Edmund Silverman]

°**PAHLAVI, MOHAMMAD REZA SHAH** (1919–1980), shah of *Iran. Mohammad Reza Shah, the eldest son of Reza Shah, was born in Teheran in 1919. He completed his primary school in Switzerland and returned to Iran in 1935. In Teheran he graduated from military school in 1938.

Mohammad Reza replaced his father on September 16, 1941, shortly before his 22nd birthday. At that time his country was occupied by Britain and the U.S.S.R., a situation which lasted until several months after the end of the World War II. He increasingly involved himself in governmental affairs, relying mostly on manipulation rather than leadership. In the context of regional turmoil and the Cold War, the shah established himself as an indispensable ally of the West. With this foreign policy, he agreed to grant the State of Israel de facto recognition in March 1950, thus making Iran the second Muslim country after Turkey which recognized Israel de jure.

In 1953 he had severe problems with his prime minister, Mossadeq, and the shah was obliged to leave Iran. After three days of riots and demonstrations in Teheran, mostly organized by the CIA, the shah returned home and began to rule with an iron hand, by creating the State Security and Intelligence Organization known as SAVAK. Gradually all political parties were banned in Iran. In 1963 he decreed a vast daring social, economic, and cultural reform known as the "White Revolution" and thus clashed with Islamic authorities, among them Ayatollah *Khomeini. In December 1971 he held an extravagant celebration of 2,500 years of the Persian monarchy. Soon afterward he invaded three islands in the Persian Gulf and annexed them to Iran. In 1975 he founded a royal, artificially made political party by the name of Rastākhiz and urged all Iranians to join it. In 1976 he replaced the Islamic calendar with an "Imperial" calendar, which began with the foundation of the Persian empire more than 25 centuries earlier. These actions were viewed as anti-Islamic and resulted in religious opposition, and unrest among young liberal and leftist groups in Iran, whose active fight against the shah actually had begun in 1963 and turned to violent armed combat from 1971 on.

The shah's regime suppressed its opponents with the help of SAVAK. Relying on oil revenues, which increased sharply in late 1973, the shah pursued his gigantic projects of developing Iran as a mighty regional power, while sidestepping democratic arrangements, refusing to allow meaningful civic and political liberties, and remaining unresponsive to public opinion. His socioeconomic changes benefited some classes at the expense of others, creating a gap between the ruling elite and the disaffected populace. Islamic leaders, especially Khomeini and his followers, took advantage of the situation by creating a sociopolitical ideology tied to Islamic principles. They openly called for the overthrow of the shah. The shah's government collapsed following widespread uprisings in 1978–79 and consequently the shah was forced to leave the country (January 16, 1979). Khomeini came back from exile to take over power in Iran (February 1, 1979). Thus an Islamic Republic succeeded the shah's regime.

After leaving Iran, the shah, who was suffering from advanced cancer, began wandering from one country to the next. Finally he was allowed treatment in New York City, which led to the Iranian takeover of the American Embassy in Teheran by "Students of Imam's Line," and the taking hostage of more than 50 Americans for 444 days. Mohammad Reza Shah died in Cairo, Egypt, on July 27, 1980.

Mohammad Reza's reign is considered the Golden Age of the Jewish community in Iran. The friendly relations between Iran and Israel contributed to the good feeling of Iranian Jewry. The amicable close relations with Israel began gradually to grow after the clash between the shah and his prime minister, Mossadeq, when the monarch needed U.S. assistance more than ever. He realized that the weight of the Jewish community in the U.S. might help him work out his socioeconomic plans and his desire to turn Iran into a regional power. Iran requested and received help from Israel in many fields: agriculture, military, intelligence, medicine, among others. The Israeli embassy in Teheran became one of the most active diplomatic institutions in Iran. These relations reached their peak in 1967 when Israel defeated Egypt, Syria, and Jordan in the *Six-Day War. However, a gradual deterioration in relations was felt after the *Yom Kippur War (October 1973) when the shah felt he could do without Israel, and, to some degree, without the U.S. if he would use his astronomic oil revenues. This political miscalculation turned out to be the beginning of the end for him.

According to unofficial statistics, there were between 100,000 to 120,000 Jews in Iran in 1948. About 10% of them were wealthy, more than 50,000 were regarded as poor, and the rest were reported as middle class. From 1948 to 1954, Israel absorbed almost all the poor in several waves of immigration. Iran's economic boom benefited the Jews enormously, especially after the mid-1960s and the gradual realization of the shah's projects related to his White Revolution.

On the eve of the "Islamic Revolution" (1978) there were about 80,000 Jews in Iran, constituting one-quarter of one percent of the general population. Of these Jews, 10% were very rich, the same percentage were poor (aided by the Joint Distribution Committee), and the rest were classified from middle class to wealthy. About 70 of the 4,000 academics teaching at Iran's universities were Jews. Jewish physicians, 600 in number, constituted 6% of all physicians. The 4,000 Jewish students studying in universities made up 4% of the total student population. Never in their history had the Jews of Iran attained such a degree of affluence, education, and professional status as they did in the last decade of the shah's regime. The emergence of the Islamic Republic of Iran completely changed the picture.

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[Amnon Netzer (2nd ed.)]

°PAHLAVI, REZA SHAH (1878–1944), shah of Iran. Reza Shah was born to a rather poor family in the village of Ālasht in the province of Māzandarān and died in exile in Johannesburg, South Africa. His father died when Reza was about six months old. Pressed by poverty, his mother took Reza to Teheran where at the age of 15 he joined the Russian-trained Cossack Brigade. His proficiency in handling machine guns elevated him to the rank equivalent to captain in 1912. He participated bravely in many military expeditions and within a few years was promoted to the rank of brigadier general (1918).

In 1921 he headed a British-orchestrated coup and occupied Teheran; soon after he became war minister (Wright, chapter 12). Three years later, he became prime minister (1924). His intrigues and fame caused the deposition of the last Qājār king, Ahmad Shah, and thus in 1925 he was proclaimed shah of Iran by the Parliament (Majles). He chose the pre-Islamic family name of Pahlavi, to show his strong nationalistic leanings towards ancient Iran as well as his intention of keeping his distance from Islam and its influence on Iran and of working to modernize the country (see Banani). These tendencies, to a large extent, also benefited the Jews of Iran.

Though Jews according to the constitution were still regarded as a religious minority with the right to send one Jewish representative to the Majles, their socio-economic situation improved beyond recognition. They were called to serve in the army in which some reached the rank of colonel. More than in previous decades, Jews were eager to leave the ghettos and live whereever they chose. They stopped paying *jizyah* (special non-Muslim poll tax); they were accepted in state schools and colleges. Another important factor concerning the Jews of Iran was their rapid acculturation: they, too, demonstrated nationalistic tendencies, participating on all Iranian national holidays, changing their Jewish names to

Iranian names, and hailing Reza Shah as the Cyrus the Great of their time (Netzer, 1979).

It appeared that Reza Shah's pro-German inclinations had nothing to do with the anti-Jewish policy of Germany. He actually was looking for a strong foreign European protector to neutralize the Iranian long-time "foes," namely Russia and England (Ramazani, pp. 171ff.). Nevertheless, those tendencies created an anti-Jewish atmosphere in many cities in Iran (Netzer, 1986). For this policy, and other geopolitical reasons, his country was occupied by Russia and England (end of August 1941) and in September he lost his throne and was exiled to South Africa. He was replaced by his 22-year-old son, Mohammad Reza Shah (see previous entry).

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[Amnon Netzer (2nd ed.)]

PA'IL (**Pilevsky**), **MEIR** (1926–), Israeli officer, radical politician, and historian, member of the Eighth and Ninth Knessets. Pa'il was born in Jerusalem and studied at the Taḥkemoni School in Jerusalem, at Beit Ḥinukh in Ḥolon, and at the Balfour Reali Gymnasium in Tel Aviv. He served in the Palmaḥ in 1943–48. In April 1948 he was witness to the massacre performed at Deir Yassin by an IẒL unit, as an observer on behalf of the Haganah. During the War of Independence he served as a deputy commander of a battalion, and as operations officer in the staff of the Negev Brigade. After the War of Independence he served in the IDF as commander of the Central School for Officers, and head of the Department for Fighting Doctrine in the General Staff. He retired from the IDF in 1971 with the rank of colonel.

Pa'il studied general history and Middle Eastern studies at Tel Aviv University, and received a doctorate in history in 1974. His thesis dealt with the growth of the Israeli military system out of the Zionist underground movements before the establishment of the state.

Pa'il joined Mapam in 1948, but left it in 1969 against the background of its decision to run in the elections to the Seventh Knesset in the Alignment list with the *Israel Labor Party. He then became active in the Movement for Peace and Security. In 1973 he was one of the founders of Tekhelet Adom that joined the radical Moked, and was elected to the Eighth Knesset on its list. In 1977 he was one of the founders of Maḥaneh ha-Semol ha-Yisraeli (known as "Sheli") and was elected to the Ninth Knesset on its list. In 1980 he resigned from the Knesset as part of a rotation agreement, and was replaced by Se'adyah Martziano. In the Knesset he served on the Education, Culture, and Sports Committee, and the Immigration and Absorption Committee. He remained in Sheli until the party disintegrated in 1983. After 1984 he became the academic director of the Center for Historical Research of the IDF at Ef'al, in cooperation with the United Kibbutz Movement. He was one of the founders and an active member of the Israeli Council for Israeli-Palestinian Peace, and one of the founders of the Israeli Association for Military History.

He was a prolific writer of books and articles about Israeli's military and political history. Among his numerous works are *Min ha-Haganah li-Ẓeva Haganah* (1979); with Menahem Brinker, *Iyyunim ba-Tarbut ha-Politit be-Yisrael* (1985); *Palmaḥ: Ha-Ko'aḥ ha-Meguyyas shel ha-Haganah* (1995); and *Ha-Mefaked: Manhigut Ẓeva'it be-Darkhei No'am* (2003).

[Susan Hattis Rolef (2nd ed.)]

PAILES, ISAAC (1895–1978), French painter. Born in Russia, Pailes went to Paris at the age of 22. After years of struggle, he achieved success. His original training as a sculptor can be discerned in his work. The subject matter is largely limited to clowns, still lifes, and vistas of France.

PAIVA, JACQUES (d. 1687), London diamond merchant originally from Holland, one of the earliest Jewish settlers in Fort St. George (*Madras). He was authorized by the East India Company in London to travel to Madras in 1684, taking with him "one man-servant, one Christian maid, and one Jewish servant to attend on his wife in his voyage to the port, he paying the charge of their transportation." During his stay in Madras, Paiva was one of the representatives of the "Hebrew" merchants. While on a trip to the diamond mines in Golconda in 1687, he fell dangerously ill and was taken back to Fort St. George, where he died. He was buried in the cemetery at the Memorial Hall in Peddenaipetam, which apparently had been acquired with Paiva's help. His will throws remarkable light on the gem trade between England and India in the 17th century. His widow subsequently lived with Elihu Yale, the governor of Madras after whom Yale University is named.

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[Walter Joseph Fischel]

PAKISTAN, Islamic republic, S. Asia, established-in 1947 after the partition of India. At the beginning of the 20th century, the largest city, Karachi, had about 2,500 Jews engaged as tradesmen, artisans, and civil servants. Their mother tongue was Marathi, indicating their *Bene Israel origin. In 1893 the Jews of Karachi built the Magen Shalom Synagogue (D.S. Sassoon, *Ohel Dawid*, 2 (1932), 576), and in 1936 one of the leaders of the Jewish community, Abraham Reuben, became the first Jewish councilor on the city corporation. The Jews lived primarily in Karachi, but there was a small community served by two synagogues in Peshawar in the northwest frontier province. The following Jewish organizations existed at that time: the Young Men's Jewish Association, founded in 1903, whose aim was to encourage sports as well as religious and social activities of the Bene Israel in Karachi; the Karachi Bene Israel Relief Fund, established to support poor Jews in Karachi; the Karachi Jewish syndicate, formed in 1918, to provide homes to poor Jews at reasonable rents.

The foundation of an Islamic state immediately prior to the establishment of the State of Israel created a rising feeling of insecurity within the Jewish community; this anxiety was later exacerbated by the disturbances and demonstrations directed against the Jews during the Arab-Israel wars in 1948, 1956, 1967, and 1973. A large number of Jews moved from Pakistan to India, which became for some the stepping stone to a further migration to Israel and the United Kingdom. The small community in Peshawar ceased to exist, and the synagogues were closed. By 1968 the total number of Jews in Pakistan had decreased to 250, almost all of whom were concentrated in Karachi, where there was one synagogue, a welfare organization, and a recreational organization. Out of Muslim solidarity with the Arab states and the Palestinians, Pakistan did not establish any ties with Israel and frequently joined in anti-Israel moves in the United Nations and the boycott initiated by the Arab states. Only in 2005 were some steps towards rapprochement made, vociferously condemned by Islamic groups in the capital, Islamabad.

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[Walter Joseph Fischel, Paul Gottlieb, and E. Elias]

PAKS, town in W. central Hungary. Jews first settled there in 1720, and in 1770 numbered 64. Initially they were mainly peddlers and small traders, who paid only a small protection tax to the estate owners. In 1844 a meeting of rabbis was held in Paks which tried unsuccessfully to effect a compromise between the Orthodox and the adherents of Reform. Finally there was a split, and although the community remained Orthodox, a separate status quo ante congregation was established. In 1788, on instructions from Emperor *Joseph II, a Jewish school with German as the language of instruction was founded, changed to Hungarian by the community in 1870. The school was closed down in 1919. The Jewish population numbered 1,129 in 1869, 1,011 in 1900, 891 in 1920, 782 in 1930, and 730 in 1941. Rabbis of the community included Solomon Beer (Solomon Lazar; appointed 1746), Jehiel Ze'ev (1780), Isaac Krishaber (1795), Ezekiel *Banet (1825), and Paul (Feiwel) Horovitz (1844).

After the German occupation (March 19, 1944), a ghetto for 1,000 Jews was set up. These were deported to *Auschwitz on July 4–6. There were 180 Jews living in Paks in 1946, dropping to 20 by 1961.

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[Baruch Yaron]

PAKULA, ALAN JAY (1928–1998), U.S. director, producer, and screenwriter. The son of a Polish immigrant, Pakula grew up in the Bronx and was a 1948 Yale graduate. Instead of taking over the family printing business, Pakula moved to Hollywood. In the early 1950s, he worked at Warner Brothers, MGM, and Paramount Pictures before collaborating with director Robert Mulligan in 1957 to produce his first film, *Fear Strikes Out*. The two formed Pakula-Mulligan Productions, which produced numerous films from 1957 to 1969. One of their greatest successes was an adaptation of Harper Lee's *To Kill a Mockingbird* (1962), which was nominated for best picture. Other Pakula-Mulligan films were *Love with a Proper Stranger* (1963), *Inside Daisy Clover* (1966), *Up the Down Staircase* (1967), and *The Stalking Moon* (1968). Pakula married actress Hope Lange in 1963, but the two divorced in 1969. Pakula made his directorial debut in 1969 with *The Sterile Cuckoo*. The thriller-suspense movie *Klute* (1971), which Pakula directed and co-produced, was the first of what is known as his "paranoia trilogy." *The Parallax View* (1974) was the second installment, followed by *All the President's Men* (1976), the movie starring Robert Redford and Dustin Hoffman as the *Washington Post* reporters who helped uncover the Watergate scandal. It was the top-grossing film of the year, won four Oscars, and earned Pakula a nomination for best director. In 1982, Pakula directed, wrote, and co-produced *Sophie's Choice*, a film about a Holocaust survivor. Pakula's screenplay was nominated for best adaptation. Pakula's first original screenplay, *See You in the Morning* (1989), about a man who marries a widow with stepchildren, was based on his life; in 1973 Pakula married widow Hannah Cohn Boorstin, who had three children. *The Pelican Brief* (1993) was Pakula's biggest box-office hit. His last film was *The Devil's Own* (1997). Pakula died in a car accident.

[Susannah Howland (2nd ed.)]

PALACHE (**Pallache**, **Palacio**, **de Palatio**, **al-Palas**, **Pallas**, **Palaggi**, **Balyash**, etc.), family whose name first occurs in Spain as Palyāj. The historian Ibn Dā'ūd relates (in his *Sefer ha-Qabbalah*, ed. by G.D. Cohen (1967), 66, no. 64 Eng. sect.), "R. Moses the Rabbi (one of the *Four Captives) allied himself by marriage with the Ibn Falija (Palyāj) family, which was the greatest of the families of the community of Córdoba, and took from them a wife for his son R. *Ḥanokh." Moses al-Palas (b. c. 1535), an outstanding rabbi and orator, was born in *Marrakesh. He later lived in *Tetuán, where his sermons attracted large audiences, including many former Marranos. When he returned to Marrakesh, he delivered a lengthy discourse on the ethics of the Jewish religion – at the request and in the presence of the Spanish ambassador. This success encouraged him to undertake a journey through the countries inhabited by the descendants of the victims of the Spanish Expulsion in order to preach to them. He visited the Balkans, Turkey, and Palestine and lived in Salonika for a time. He appears to have finally settled in Venice, where he published *Va-Yakhel Moshe* (1597) and *Ho'il Moshe* (1597), which includes homilies, eulogies, and sermons, as well as a biography of the author. R. Isaac Palache was a distinguished rabbi in *Fez in about 1560. He had two sons, Samuel Palache (d. 1616) and Joseph (see below). They and their children held an important place in the economic life of that period and from the beginning of the 17th century became active at the courts of Europe, particularly the Netherlands which maintained relations with Morocco. In Madrid, the Inquisition probably suspected them of inciting the Marranos to leave the country and return to Judaism. To escape prosecution, they took asylum in the house of the French ambassador, and offered their services to King Henry IV; they left Spain a short while later. According to some historians, Samuel was the first Jew to settle in the Netherlands as a declared Jew. He was responsible for obtaining the authorization for his coreligionists to settle. He gathered the first *minyan* in Amsterdam at his home for Day of Atonement prayers in 1596. Palache is also said to have built the first synagogue in that country. According to documents in the Netherlands archives, the right to settle in the country was refused to him, and during the same year, 1608, he was appointed ambassador to The Hague by the Moroccan sultan Mulay Zīdān. In 1610 he successfully negotiated the first treaty of alliance between a Christian state (the Netherlands), and a Muslim state (Morocco). In 1614 he personally assumed the command of a small Moroccan fleet which seized some ships belonging to the king of Spain, with whom Morocco was at war. The Spanish ambassador, who was very influential in London, had him arrested when he was in England. He accused him of piracy; reverberations of his trial were widespread. Once acquitted, he returned to the Netherlands. When he died in The Hague, Palache was given an imposing funeral attended by Prince Maurice of Nassau. Samuel Palache's two sons, Isaac and Jacob-Carlos, also engaged in diplomatic work. The former was entrusted with Dutch interests in Morocco from 1624, and the latter represented the sultan in Copenhagen. Samuel's brother, Joseph Palache (d. after 1638), succeeded him in his diplomatic position. Joseph Palache's five sons held very important offices. One of them, Isaac Palache (d. 1647) was known as "the lame." His variegated career included a mission to the Ottoman sultan (1614–1), important negotiations in Danzig (1618–19), a professorship in Hebrew at the University of Leiden, and missions to Morocco and Algiers in 1624 on behalf of the Dutch. In 1639 he was called upon to redeem the Christian captives who were held by the famous marabout of Tazerwalt. He became involved in a violent conflict with his brothers over succession rights and converted to Christianity. Another son, Moses Palache (d. after 1650), was secretary to his uncle Samuel at the French court, interpreter and secretary to the sultan of Morocco, and the de facto – but not official – foreign minister of four successive Moroccan sovereigns; his name was cited by Manasseh Ben Israel to Oliver Cromwell as an example of the loyalty of the Jews when he sought authorization for them to settle in England. Joshua Palache (d. after 1650) and his son Samuel Palache were merchants of international status and tax farmers of the leading Moroccan port, Safi. David Palache (d. 1649), another of Joseph's sons, was a diplomat. Entrusted with a mission to Louis XIII of France, various accusations were brought against him. His innocence was finally proven and he reassumed his position as Moroccan ambassador to the Netherlands. Abraham Palache (d. after 1630) was a financier in Morocco and diplomat. The descendants of the main branch of the Palache family lived in Amsterdam, where Isaac Palache was elected chief rabbi in 1900. His son Judah Lion *Palache was professor of Semitic languages at the University of Amsterdam and died in an extermination camp during the Holocaust. Another branch lived in Izmir, where Ḥayyim *Palache and his son Abraham Palache were noted rabbis in the 19th century.

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[David Corcos / Haïm Z'ew Hirschberg]

PALACHE (Palaggi), ḤAYYIM (also called by the acronym *Ḥabif*; 1788–1869), rabbi and *ḥakham bashi*. Born in Izmir (Smyrna), Palache, a member of the distinguished *Palache family, was the grandson on his mother's side of Joseph Raphael *Ḥazzan (author of *Ḥikrei Lev*) and was a disciple of Joseph Gatenio (author of *Beit Yiẓḥak*). He became *av bet din* in 1837. In 1847 he was appointed as *rav sheni* ("second rabbi") with the title *dayyan*, authorized to render judgment alone, and later was awarded the rabbinical title *marbiẓ Torah* (see Abraham Palache, *Ḥelkam ba-Ḥayyim*, 1874). His position as *marbiẓ Torah* is attested by Ḥayyim Palache himself: 'I, the *marbiẓ Torah* of this place, the town of Izmir … and its environs' (*Male Ḥayyim: Ha-Takkanot*, 42, 74), i.e., the neighboring towns of Izmir as well, such as Tiriya, Manissa, and Bergama. In 1855 he was appointed as *rav kolel* ("chief of the rabbis"; *Ḥayyim ba-Yad* (1873), nos. 63, 74, 75). In 1865, at the age of 77, he was appointed *ḥakham bashi* of *Izmir. Because of Palache's advanced age, some of his colleagues took charge of the community and administered it according to their will. At the end of November 1865 the Jews of Izmir elected an administrative committee composed of a president and nine members. At their first meeting the members of the committee invited Palache to appear alone, without his advisers and followers, and compelled him to sign a declaration stating that he would not sign any document without prior authorization by the majority of the members of the committee. Palache signed, but the administrative committee did not function for a long time. At that time the administrators of the community bought the monopoly of the *gabella* (tax) for the sale of wine, alcohol, and salt for the ridiculously low price of 10,000–12,000 francs. When the people complained, they decided to pay 44,000 francs for the monopoly, but when the community demanded an accounting of its financial situation, the officials refused to comply. In order to put an end to this situation, Palache repealed this tax. The entire group of Gabelleros, as well as those interested in leasing monopolies, swore to remove the aged rabbi. Following the argument which broke out in the community, the government ordered the *ḥakham bashi* of Istanbul (Constantinople), Yakir Gueron, to send someone to Izmir to restore order. In December 1866 R. Samuel Danon, secretary of Gueron, was sent. He convinced Gueron that the only solution to these complicated intrigues was to remove Palache and that he himself should be appointed in the former's place. Gueron responded affirmatively to his secretary's report, which was signed by only 60 of Izmir's inhabitants. He requested that the government remove Palache, and the vizier's order of removal was sent to Izmir. Most of the Jewish inhabitants of Izmir, however, so strongly opposed the order that the pasha of Izmir had to consult a higher authority. According to a new order, the pasha was supposed to delay the execution of the vizier's first order, to remove Palache only temporarily, and to appoint Danon in his place. This began a series of requests – for and against Palache – to Gueron. The supporters of Palache eventually succeeded in October 1867 in having him returned to his rabbinic post and recognized as the chief rabbi of the Izmir community. Palache did not exploit his victory for revenge, and he dealt mercifully with the Gabelleros, who asked for his pardon. One of the conditions of his reelection was that immediately on assuming the post, administrative procedures would be instituted (*Nizamnamé du Ḥakham-Hané*). However, Palache's death prevented his fulfilling his promise.

Palache was a prolific writer. Many of his manuscripts were burned and a great number were not published, but 26 works were printed, among them: *Darkhei Ḥayyim* (Izmir, 1821), on *Pirkei Avot*; *Lev Ḥayyim* (vol. 1, Salonika, 1823; vols. 2–3, Izmir, 1874–90), responsa, interpretations, and comments on the Shulḥan Arukh; *Nishmat Kol Ḥai* (2 vols., Salonika, 1832–37), responsa; *Ẓedakah Ḥayyim* (Izmir, 1838); *Ḥikekei Lev* (2 vols., Salonika, 1840–53), homilies and eulogies; *Nefesh Ḥayyim* (1842); *Torah ve-Ḥayyim* (1846); *Kaf ha-Ḥayyim* (1859); *Mo'ed le-Khol Ḥai* (1861); *Ḥayyim ve-Shalom* (2 vols., 1857–72); *Sefer Ḥayyim* (1863); and *Ginzei Ḥayyim* (1871).

ABRAHAM PALACHE (1809–1899), son of Ḥayyim, was also a distinguished rabbinical scholar. Four months after Ḥayyim Palache's death the *ḥakham bashi* of Istanbul appointed Joseph Ḥakim, chief rabbi of Manissa, as *ḥakham bashi* of Izmir. This was done in order to satisfy the demands of the older generation, but Ḥakim was elected by only a small minority. Three quarters of the Jews of Izmir opposed him, and their objections were intensified by his opposition to the teaching of languages in Jewish schools. Many people in Izmir then approached the local ruler, Ishmael Pasha, to appoint Abraham Palache to the post of *ḥakham bashi*, but their request was rejected. Several French, English, and Italian Jews who were in Izmir then turned to their local consuls, asking that a request, signed by 15,000 Izmir Jews, be sent to the sultan demanding, among other things, the appointment of Palache as *ḥakham bashi*. The Italian consul took the necessary steps with his ambassador in Istanbul, as well as with Ishmael Pasha, and succeeded in having the request fulfilled. In August 1869, according to a supreme order, Joseph Ḥakim was removed and the following year, 1870, Palache was appointed as *ḥakham bashi* of the Izmir community and served in this post for almost 30 years. Palache wrote numerous works in Hebrew and one in Ladino: *Shama Avraham* (Salonika, 1850), responsa; *Berakh et Avraham* (Salonika, 1857), homilies; *Shemo-Avraham* (2 vols., 1878–96), ethics and homilies; *Va-Yikra Avraham* (1884); *Va-Yashkem Avraham* (1885), studies in Psalms; *Va-Ya'an Avraham* (1886), responsa; *Avraham Anokhi*, studies on the Torah (1889); *Avraham Ezkor* and *Yemaher Avraham* (1889): *Ve-Avraham Zaken* (1899), homilies: and in Ladino, *Ve-Hokhi'aḥ Avraham* (2 vols., 1853–62).

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[Yaacov Geller]

PALACHE, JUDAH LION (1886–1944), Orientalist and teacher. Palache was born in Amsterdam, a son of Isaac Palache, the *ḥakham* of the Spanish-Portuguese congregation. He studied at the Ets-Ḥayyim rabbinical seminary and at Amsterdam and Leyden universities and was a student of Snouck-Hurgronje. From 1925 he was professor of Bible and Semitic languages at the University of Amsterdam. Though no longer Orthodox, he served as *parnas* of the Spanish-Portuguese congregation and was active in some of its institutions. During World War II Palache was deported to Theresienstadt and later sent to an extermination camp. A great part of a major work he was compiling on Hebrew semantics was lost during the war.

Palache's scholarly interests lay in Judaism and *Islam as well as in comparative Semitic philology. Among Palache's published works are *Het Heiligdom in de voorstelling der semietische volken* (1920); *Inleiding in de Talmoed*, an introduction to the Talmud (Dutch, 1922, 1954^2; *Introduction to the Talmud*, 1934); *De Hebreeuwsche literatuur…* (with A.S. Levisson and S. Pinkhof, 1935); The *'Ebed-Jahveh enigma in Pseudo-Isaiah* (1934); and posthumously: *Sinai en Paran*, ed., with an introduction by M. Reisel (1959), and *Semantic Notes on the Hebrew Lexicon* (translated from Dutch and ed. by R.J.Z. Werblowsky, 1959).

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PALÁGYI, LAJOS (1866–1933), Hungarian poet. Palágyi, who was born at Óbecse, was a brother of the philosopher Menyhért *Palágyi. Palágyi had a hard struggle against poverty, and in order to be able to devote himself to the writing of poetry earned his living as an instructor at teachers' seminaries and later as a journalist. He was one of the writers who engaged in the struggle which resulted in 1895 in the official recognition of the Jewish religion in Hungary. Palágyi belonged to the group of Hungarian philosophical poets influenced by the German philosopher Schopenhauer. His poems won several prizes, but never enjoyed wide popularity. Several of them deal with Jewish themes, including *Bibliai emlékek* ("Biblical Reminiscences," 1896). He also published *Magányos úton* ("On the Lonely Road," 1893); *Költemények* ("Poems," 1907); the dramatic *A rabszolgák* ("Slaves," 1899); and the epic *Az anyaföld* ("Mother Earth," 1921). He translated Goethe's *Faust* into Hungarian (1909). Palágyi was at first regarded as a socialist poet but he never actually joined the socialist movement since, in his own words, "the sufferings of humanity cannot be cured by institutions. Hearts and brains must be renewed." He turned his back on society and his opposition to socialism grew progressively stronger. Nevertheless in 1920, following the Hungarian revolution, he was expelled from the distinguished Petöfi literary society and deprived of his pension. Eleven years later he published a pamphlet in self-justification, telling the story of his persecution.

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[Baruch Yaron]

PALÁGYI, MENYHÉRT (**Melchior**; 1859–1924), philosopher; brother of the poet Lajos *Palágyi, Palágyi taught at the University of Kolozsvár (Cluj). When Kolozsvár was seized by Romania in 1919, he moved to Germany.

His *Neue Theorie des Raumes und der Zeit* (1901) anticipated Einstein and Minkowski. His works on logic (1902 and 1903) against psychologism were criticized by Husserl. His *Kant und Bolzano* (1902) revived interest in Bolzano. Palágyi also worked in epistemology, aesthetics, and natural philosophy (where he worked out a system of world mechanics). His later work appears in *Ausgewaehlte Werke*, 3 vols. (1924–25).

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[Richard H. Popkin]

PALANGA (Ger. **Polangen**), resort town on the Baltic Sea in Lithuania. Jews were granted privileges of town dwellers in Palanga by the Polish king Sigismund III (1587–1632), and were permitted to own land and to engage in crafts and commerce. These privileges were confirmed by subsequent rulers in 1639 and 1742. There were 398 Jews living in Palanga and the vicinity in 1765. At the beginning of the 1820s, Palanga was included in the Russian province of *Courland. The community numbered 729 in 1850, 925 in 1897 (43% of the total population), 455 in 1923, and approximately 700 in 1939. The production of decorative objects and jewelry made from amber found on the seashore, for which Palanga is famous, was formerly a Jewish industry. Many Jews also earned their livelihood by providing various services for summer vacationers. Between the world wars Jews were active in local government, serving on the city council as mayor or deputy mayor. The deteoriating economy resulting from antisemitism caused many to immigrate to South Africa, the United States, and Palestine. Soon after the outbreak of the German-Soviet war on June 22, 1941, Palanga was occupied by the Germans and all the Jews were concentrated at the bus station. The males aged 13 and above were taken outside the town and murdered in pits they were forced to dig. The women and children were held for a month in the synagogue, and then executed.

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[Joseph Gar / Shmuel Spector (2nd ed.)]

PALATINATE (Ger. **Pfalz**), region in W. Germany, also known as Western or Rhenish Palatinate. In the Middle Ages it was the domain of the counts and electors of the Palatinate, who were closely connected with the ruling house of the duchy of Bavaria. The first mention of Jews in the region is as residents of *Speyer in 1084. Communities existed in *Weinheim, *Kaiserslautern, *Heidelberg, and *Landau, all of which suffered during the *Black Death (1348) persecutions. To the indignation of the populace, Elector Rupert I (1329–90) permitted refugees from the massacres perpetrated in *Worms and Speyer to settle in Heidelberg and other nearby localities. Heidelberg eventually emerged as the leading Jewish community, and in 1369 authorities granted it permission to enlarge its cemetery. The nephew of Rupert I, Rupert II (1390–98), and his son Rupert III (1398–1410), king of Germany and Holy Roman Emperor (1400), expelled Jews from the Palatinate. In the course of the 14th and 15th centuries, however, Jews expelled from German cities managed to return and to settle in the villages of the Palatinate. An official inquiry of 1550 revealed the presence of 155 Jewish heads of families. These constituted a *Landjudenschaft, which convened fairly regularly to discuss the problem of tax distribution (which in 1554 was fixed at 1,000 florins annually for a period of six years). Charles Louis (1632–80) introduced taxes on circumcision, burial, and marriage. He also granted the Portuguese and Ashkenazi communities in *Mannheim extraordinary privileges (1660). Mannheim rapidly became the largest Jewish community in the Palatinate, with 63 families in 1697, while Heidelberg had only eight. The increasing Jewish population of the Palatinate, which overflowed into other German states where there were fewer Jews, resulted in the use by Jews of such names as Landau, Weinheim, Mannheim, and Oppenheim, which had their origin in Palatinate localities. The leading Austrian families of *Court Jews, the *Wertheimers and *Oppenheimers, were originally from the Palatinate, as was the *Seligmann-Eichthal family. The electors of the Palatinate employed many Court Jews, purveyors, and military *contractors. One of them, Lemle Moses Reinganum, established a 100,000 florin endowment for Talmud study, the renowned Mannheim *Klaus* (1706), which remained in existence for more than two centuries.

The number of Jews in the Palatinate continued to increase despite a temporary setback caused by the devastations of the wars of conquest (1688–89) of Louis XIV. In 1722 there were 535 registered Jewish families in the Palatinate, 160 of them in Mannheim. The first **Landrabbiner* served in 1706 and the third, David Ullmann (Ulmo), a member of an influential family, was recognized as *Landrabbiner* in 1728 despite his youth. Although the *Landjudenschaft* had opposed his nomination, ignored his authority, and demanded that he be examined by three eminent rabbis, Ullmann nevertheless served with official support until 1762. His successor, Naphtali Hirsch *Katzenellenbogen (d. 1800), was also *Oberrabbiner* (chief rabbi) of the Mannheim *Klaus*. Elector Charles Theodore (1742–99) attempted to restrict the Jewish population of the Palatinate to 300 after a 1743 inquiry revealed the presence of 488 Jewish families and protracted negotiations over the payment of the 45,000 florins tax burden were conducted with the *Landjudenschaft*. All "honorable" professions, that of butcher in particular, were declared open to Jews; and Jews were allowed to open cemeteries. The majority of Palatinate Jews were livestock merchants, peddlers, and dealers in wine, hops, tobacco, and other agricultural products. By 1775 the number of Jewish families was 823; a quarter of them lived in Mannheim.

Under French rule (1792–1814) the Jews enjoyed equality but lost it on the return to Bavaria. In 1818 *Napoleon's "Infamous Decree" (1808) was extended indefinitely in the Palatinate. The struggle for Jewish emancipation was led by Elias Gruenebaum (b. 1807), rabbi of Landau (1836–93), an energetic advocate of Reform Judaism in both liturgy and education. Emancipation was granted only in 1848 and 1851. Anti-Jewish disturbances broke out in the villages of the Palatinate in 1819 (see *Hep! Hep!), the early 1830s, and in 1849.

The Jewish population of Rheinbayern (Rhenish Bavaria), which numbered some 2,000 families in 1821, grew to 13,526 persons in 1833 and to 15,412 in 1840 (2.65% of the total population), after which it began to decline (to 10,108 in 1900 and to 6,487 in 1933). In 1840 the population was distributed among 180 localities, 40 of which had at least 100 Jews. Ingenheim, one of the largest, had 551 Jews (one-third of the total population). By October 1937 there remained 4,300 Jews in 67 localities, only nine of which contained more than 100 persons. Those communities that grew after World War I were Ludwigshafen (1,400 in 1931) and Pirmasens (800 in 1931), both of which were themselves part of developing industrial cities. After 1933 the Jews of the primarily rural communities suffered from a relentless campaign to exclude them from the trade in livestock, wine, tobacco, leather, hops, etc., all of which were traditional Jewish occupations. During the *Kristallnacht* (November 1938) many synagogues of the Palatinate were burned down and hundreds of male Jews were arrested. Jews were also evicted from the villages to the cities and subsequently deported during World War II. In 1970 there were 668 Jews living in the federal state of Rheinland-Pfalz (300 in Neustadt). The Jewish communities in Rheinland-Pfalz numbered 352 in 1989 and 3,078 in 2004. The increase is explained by the immigration of Jews from the former Soviet Union.

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[Henry Wasserman]

PALDI (Feldman), ISRAEL (1892–1979), Israeli painter. Paldi was born at Berdyansk, Russia, and immigrated to Palestine in 1909. He spent the years 1910–20 in Europe. On his return to Palestine he exhibited in David's Tower in Jerusalem (1923) and was a leader of the Modern Artists in Tel Aviv (1927).

Paldi's work is extremely individual in style. In the 1920s he was an expressionist, and his work was full of stormy color and movement. Later it became simple, restrained, and even naive under the influence of the School of *Paris. In 1942 Paldi did pioneer work in making colored abstract plaster reliefs, using unusual materials such as sand, and in the late 1950s his painting became almost monochrome. Thereafter his work was characterized by an effort to integrate color and form, often by decorative methods.

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[Yona Fischer]

PALENCIA, city in north central Spain in the province of Palencia, Castile. Palencia had an important Jewish community, which is thought to have started as early as the 11th century. However, the earliest available information on Jewish settlement in Palencia dates from 1175, when Alfonso VIII delivered 40 Jews to the bishop of the town and placed them under his jurisdiction (this agreement was reratified in 1351). In 1192 Alfonso VIII exempted all Jews and Moors in the town from the payment of royal taxes, as they were already paying their share of the town's revenues. During the 13th century the population remained at 40 families and the community continued to prosper, as did many of the communities in Castile. In 1295 the Jews participated in the revolt against the king and the destruction of the bishop's palace. At the beginning of the 14th century *Asher b. Jehiel, giving his verdict (Responsa 21, §8) concerning the *eruv* arrangements introduced by R. Jacob b. R. Moses Debalincia (Palencia), decreed that the latter was to retract his instructions because he had misled the public. R. Asher demanded that R. Jacob be considered a "rebellious scholar" and banned from the Jewish community.

The community of Palencia suffered during the civil war between Pedro of Castile and Henry of Trastamara: according to the testimony of R. Samuel Ẓarẓa in his *Mekor Ḥayyim*, Henry claimed a large sum from the community; in R. Samuel's words, "they were in great distress." The community of Palencia was not spared during the persecutions of 1391 and it also had its *Conversos. Palencia and its surrounding region, however, witnessed the appearance of a popular prophet, who at the beginning of the 15th century called for repentance and announced the forthcoming redemption.

In 1480 the Jews and Conversos were separated into distinct quarters. A new quarter was allocated to them on Maria Gutiérrez Street (now Martín Calleja). After the 1492 Expulsion the name of the street was changed to Santa Fé, and a fine was to be imposed on anyone who referred to the street as *judería* (*Jewish Quarter). In 1485 the Jews were ordered to wear a distinctive sign and Christians were forbidden to lodge in Jewish houses, although they could work for them by day. The Jews were called upon to contribute 501, 183 maravedis toward the redemption of the prisoners of Malaga. It is known that during the Expulsion period – as early as May 1492 – a decree was issued to sell the synagogue located on the present-day Street of San Marcos. The proceeds of this sale were given to poor Jews to assist their departure from Palencia. Another synagogue was converted into a hospital in November 1492. There is little information available on the Conversos of Palencia. The prophetic movement of the Maiden Inés was formed in 1500 in the region of Palencia, at *Herrera de Pisuerga. Most of the Jews of Palencia moved to Portugal in 1492.

According to a local tradition the first Jews settled near the church of San Julián, which no longer exists, but was on the right bank of the river Carrión. Until the 15th century the Jews lived in various parts of Palencia. The majority was concentrated in the area of Plaza de León, where the synagogue was located between Manflorido and Regimiento Villarrobedo streets. The *judería vieja* (the old Jewish quarter) in *La Pellejería* was in the area that is now between the streets San Marcos and Cardenal Almaraz. Nothing has remained of the medieval Jewish quarter. In 1480 the Jews had to be in an enclosed quarter, the *judería nueva*, situated in today's Martín Calleja street. It was a narrow street. In 1492 it was renamed Santa Fe street.

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[Haim Beinart / Yom Tov Assis (2nd ed.)]

PALE OF SETTLEMENT (Rus. **Cherta** [**postoyannoy yevreyskoy**] **osedlosti**), territory within the borders of czarist Russia wherein the residence of Jews was legally authorized. Limits for the area in which Jewish settlement was permissible in Russia came into being when Russia was confronted with the necessity of adjusting to a Jewish element within its borders, from which Jews had been excluded since the end of the 15th century. These limitations were consonant with the general conception of freedom of movement of persons which then applied. At the time, most of the inhabitants of Russia, not only the serfs but also townsmen and merchants, were deprived of freedom of movement and confined to their places of residence.

After the first partition of Poland in 1772, when masses of Jews living within the former country came under Russian rule, it was decided (1791) to permit the presence of the Jews not only in their former regions of residence, but also in the new areas which had then been annexed from Turkey on the Black Sea shore, in whose rapid colonization the Russian government was interested. On the other hand, Jewish merchants were prohibited from trading in the provinces of inner Russia. These decrees were intended to serve the national and economic interests of the state by preventing competition of the Jewish with Russian merchants and encouraging settlement in the desolate steppes of southern Russia; after a time these formed the provinces of *Kherson, *Dnepropetrovsk (Yekaterinoslav), and Taurida (*Crimea). The Russian government also sought thus to reduce the excess of Jews in the branches of commerce and innkeeping within the territory annexed from Poland. In 1794 the earlier decree was ratified and applied to the regions which had been annexed with the second partition of Poland (1793) also – the provinces of *Minsk, *Volhynia, and *Podolia – as well as to the region to the east of the River Dnieper (the provinces of *Chernigov and *Poltava).

With the third partition of Poland (1795), the law was also applied to the provinces of *Vilna and *Grodno. In 1799 *Courland was added to the Pale of Settlement. In the "Jewish Statute" promulgated in 1804, the province of Astrakhan and the whole of the northern Caucasus were added to the regions open to Jews. In 1812, upon its annexation, *Bessarabia was also included. The "Kingdom of Poland," incorporated into Russia in 1815, which included ten provinces that later became known as the "Vistula Region," was not officially included within the Pale of Settlement, and until 1868 the transit of Jews through it to the Lithuanian and Ukrainian provinces was prohibited by law. In practice, however, the provinces of the Vistula Region were generally included within the Pale of Settlement.

To sum up, it was the intention of the Russian legislators of the reigns of Catherine II and Alexander I to extend the Pale of Settlement beyond the regions acquired from Poland only to those areas where Jews could serve as a colonizing element. However, from the reign of Alexander II the restrictive aspects of the Pale of Settlement became accentuated, for while freedom of movement for non-Jews in Russia increased, in particular after the emancipation of the serfs, the restrictions on the movement of Jews beyond the Pale remained in force, and became explicitly underlined within

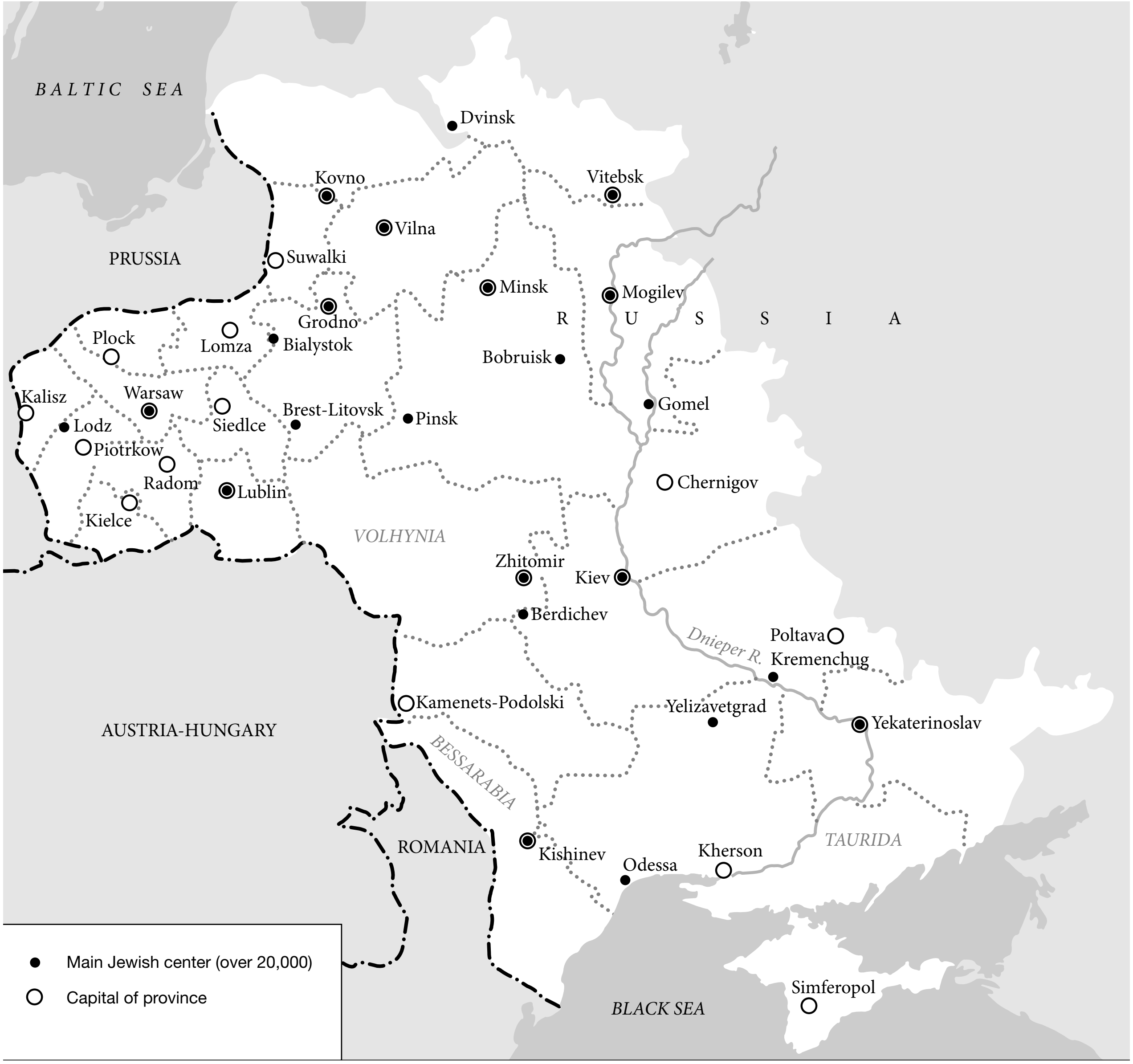
BALTIC SEA
Dvinsk
Kovno
Vitebsk
Vilna
PRUSSIA
Suwalki
Minsk
Mogilev
Grodno
R U S S I A
Plock
Lomza
Bialystok
Bobruisk
Kalisz
Warsaw
Gomel
Siedlce
Brest-Litovsk
Pinsk
Lodz
Piotrkow
Radom
Chernigov
Lublin
Kielce
VOLHYNIA
Zhitomir
Kiev
Berdichev
Dnieper R.
Poltava
Kremenchug
Kamenets-Podolski
Yelizavetgrad
Yekaterinoslav
AUSTRIA-HUNGARY
BESSARABIA
ROMANIA
Kishinev
Odessa
Kherson
TAURIDA
Main Jewish center (over 20,000)
Capital of province
Simferopol
BLACK SEA

The Pale of Settlement at the end of the 19th century.

the Pale itself. This was accomplished both by anti-Jewish enactments on the part of the government and by the growing impatience of Jewish society and liberal public opinion with these disabilities.

Czar Nicholas I (under whom the term "Pale of Settlement" was coined) removed Courland from the Pale in 1829; however, the rights of the Jews already settled and registered there were maintained. In 1835 the provinces of Astrakhan and the northern Caucasus were excluded from the Pale. In 1843 Nicholas I ordered the expulsion of the Jews from a strip of 50 versts (about 33 mi.) in width extending along the border with Prussia and Austria. Many difficulties were encountered in the application of this law, and in 1858 it was redrafted to apply only to those Jews who would wish to settle in the border zone after that year. A similar law which had applied to the provinces of Russian Poland (where the border zone closed to Jewish residence was 21 versts in width) was abrogated in 1862. In 1827 severe restrictions were imposed on the residence of Jews in Kiev, the largest town in southern Russia, that served as an important commercial center for the surrounding regions which had a dense Jewish population.

Under Alexander II, rights of residence beyond the Pale began to be granted to various classes of the Jewish population: in 1859 to merchants able to pay the registration fees of the First Guild; in 1861 to university graduates, as well as those engaged in medical professions (dentists, male and female nurses, midwives, etc., from 1879); and in 1865 to various craftsmen. The right of residence throughout Russia was also granted to *Cantonists who had remained Jews and to their offspring (the so-called "Nicholas soldiers"). The Jews hoped that these regulations would prove to be the first steps toward the complete abolition of the Pale of Settlement. However, they were disappointed when these alleviations came to a complete halt after 1881, as part of the general reaction in Russia at this period. The "Temporary (*May) Laws" of 1881 prohibited any new settlement by Jews outside towns and townlets in the Pale of Settlement (this law did not apply to the Vistula Region). Jews who had been living in villages before the publication of the decree were authorized to reside in those same villages only. The peasants were granted the right of demanding the expulsion of the Jews who lived among them. These decrees were bound up with intensified administrative pressure, brutality by local authorities, and the systematic acceptance of bribery on the part of the lower administrative ranks. Occasionally, new places were excluded from the Pale of Settlement, such as *Rostov and *Taganrog (1887) and the spa town of *Yalta (1893). During the years 1891–92, thousands of Jewish craftsmen and their families were expelled from *Moscow.

At the beginning of the 20th century political and economic pressure on the Russian government intensified, and in various places alleviations in the "Temporary Laws" occurred. From 1903 some village settlements which had assumed an urban character were given the status of townlets, and the Jews were thus granted the legal right of living in them. Up to the outbreak of World War I some 300 settlements were thus opened for Jewish residence. In 1904 instructions were issued that all the Jews authorized to reside outside the Pale of Settlement could also settle in the rural areas there.

In 1910 the Jewish members of the *Duma, N. *Friedman and L. *Nisselovich, with the support of the Constitutional-Democratic Party, proposed a bill for the abolition of the Pale of Settlement. However, the balance of power in the Duma between the liberals and reactionaries made the proposal of demonstrative value only. The extreme Right retorted with a counter-motion "to expel the Jews from Russia"; the original motion was voted upon in February 1911 and transferred to the commission for personal freedom, where it fell into oblivion and was no longer mentioned in plenary session of the Duma. In August 1915, when many thousands of expelled and refugee Jews from the battle zones streamed into the interior of Russia, the government was compelled to permit the residence of these refugees in the towns of inner Russia, with the exception of St. Petersburg and Moscow; thus the existence of the Pale of Settlement in practice was brought to an end. After the Revolution of February 1917 the provisional government abolished the Pale of Settlement among the rest of the anti-Jewish restrictions.

The Pale covered an area of about 1 million sq. km. (386,100 sq. mi.) from the Baltic Sea to the Black Sea. According to the census of 1897, 4,899,300 Jews lived there, forming 94% of the total Jewish population of Russia and c. 11.6% of the general population of this area. The largest of the other nations living within the area of the Pale were the Ukrainian, Polish, Belorussian, Russian, Lithuanian, Moldavian (mostly in Bessarabia), and German. These (with the exception of the Germans) were essentially concentrated in their own territorial regions, where they formed the majority of the population. The Jews were a minority in every province (from 17.5% in the province of Grodno to 3.8% in the province of Taurida); 82% of the Jews lived in the towns and townlets of the Pale and their concentration in these was prominent: They formed 36.9% of the urban population, and in nine provinces they formed the majority of the urban population (province of Minsk – 58.8%; Grodno – 57.7%; Mogilev – 52.4%; etc.). In the townlets and many small towns all the inhabitants or the overwhelming majority were Jews. The 10 largest communities were *Warsaw (219,149 persons); *Odessa (138,915); *Lodz (98,677); *Vilna (64,000); *Kishinev (50,237); *Minsk (47,562); *Bialystok (41,900); *Berdichev (41,617); Yekaterinoslav (*Dnepropetrovsk; 40,009); *Vitebsk (34,470), and *Kiev 31,800.

It was, however, not only the limitation of their residential area which oppressed the Jews. By force of historical circumstances they were also restricted in their occupations. They were concentrated in commerce (38.6% of the Jews gainfully occupied) and crafts (35.4%); 72.8% of the total of persons engaged in commerce within the Pale of Settlement were Jews, as well as 31.4% of those engaged in crafts. Jewish artisans concentrated in certain branches of crafts (tailoring; shoemaking). Very few had the possibility of engaging in agriculture. The competition among the merchants, shopkeepers, and craftsmen was intense and gave rise to pauperization and the development of a Jewish proletariat which could not be integrated. This situation, together with the incessant anti-Jewish decrees and the waves of pogroms, especially during the years 1881–84 and 1903–06, resulted in a constant stream of Jewish emigration from the Pale of Settlement to Western Europe and the United States. Even this great emigration was, however, insufficient to counterbalance the natural growth of the Jews in the Pale of Settlement.

The language spoken by the Jews in the Pale of Settlement was Yiddish (according to the census of 1897 by 99% of the Jews). Most Jewish children received a Jewish education in the *ḥeder* and the yeshivah. Jewish literature and newspapers in Yiddish, Hebrew, Russian, and Polish circulated in many thousands of copies. The masses of *ḥasidim* were attached to the "courts" of their spiritual leaders in *Lubavich (Chabad), *Stolin, *Talnoye (Talna), *Gora Kalwaria (Gur), *Aleksandrow, etc. More modern movements such as *Ḥibbat Zion and Zionism, the *Bund and the socialist parties were also active in the towns and townlets of the Pale, either openly or illegally underground.

World War I, the disintegration of the Russian Empire, the Revolution, and the civil war in Russia, destroyed the foundations of this Jewish world, which was finally annihilated in the Holocaust. With the perspective of time, assessment of the Pale of Settlement has changed; it is necessary to consider not only its negative aspects but also its positive, unintended results, as forming a framework for an independent Jewry, as the area of settlement of a whole Jewish nation in which generations of Jews developed their own culture, and as the source of the establishment and development of large Jewish centers in America, South Africa, and many other countries, as well as Israel.

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[Yehuda Slutsky]

PALERMO, capital of Sicily. Jews apparently lived there in Roman times. Evidence of their presence is first supplied by Pope *Gregory I. His intervention in 598 with Bishop Victor of Palermo, who had requisitioned the synagogue and hospice, indicates that the community had by then attained some prosperity. The Jews could not resume possession of the buildings since they had been consecrated as churches, but they were indemnified and the religious objects restored to them. During the Muslim period the community was augmented by Jews who had been sold as slaves in Sicily and ransomed by their coreligionists. A description by the 10th-century Muslim geographer Ibn Hawkal mentions the location of the Jewish quarter in Palermo. Documents from the *Genizah* shed light on important events regarding Jewish life under Muslim rule. A rhymed letter written in Hebrew in the 10th or 11th centuries by a Jew of Palermo addressed to a Jewish leader (perhaps the head of the Diaspora in Babylon) gives a moving account of the suffering of the population during an episode of civil war among Muslim factions that led to Byzantine intervention. According to the author, the armies desecrated synagogues. Nevertheless, Sicilian Jews prospered during the Muslim period. They donated money to the Palestine yeshivah, collected money to ransom prisoners, and conducted a lucrative trade between Sicily, North Africa, and Egypt. Like the other Jews in Sicily in this period, those of Palermo had to pay a poll tax (*jizya*) and an impost on real estate (*khârāj*), and in the second half of the 11th century they had to pay a special tax on imported goods, the tenth (– *ushr*). A letter written on the eve of the conquest by the Normans, around 1060, describes the suffering of the people of Palermo. Other letters from this period provide information on the last Muslim ruler of Palermo, Muḥammad Ibn al-Babā al-Andalusī. The latter appointed Zakkār ben Amār as *nagid* over the Jews, and he was also in charge of supplying most of the provisions of the ruler. With the fall of Palermo (1072) the Jews came under the jurisdiction of the Normans, who continued collecting the *jizya* from them, in addition to the impost they paid to the local archbishop in 1089. However, the Jews were recognized as full citizens with the right to own property, excepting Christian slaves, and free to engage in a variety of crafts. A prominent number were fishermen and artisans, and Jews had virtually a monopoly of the silk and dyeing industry. The art of silk weaving was developed in Palermo by Jews brought there as prisoners from Greece by Roger II in 1147; they later settled throughout Italy, leading in this craft for four centuries. In 1211 a tax was collected for the right to practice dyeing by the ecclesiastical curia in Palermo. According to *Benjamin of Tudela, 1,500 Jews (or Jewish families) were living in Palermo around 1172. In 1312 Frederick II of Aragon revoked a former decree that expelled the Jews from the Cassaro situated in the city center and confined them to a special quarter outside the city walls. However, despite repeated attempts to segregate the Jews and relegate them to a separate quarter, the Jews continued to live until the expulsion in the Cassaro, where many Christians also lived. Before 1393 the Jews of Palermo had been allowed to wear a distinguishing *badge much smaller than the size stipulated for the other Sicilian Jews. The Jews of Palermo had to attend missionary sermons. The incitement of fanatical preachers frequently resulted in bloodshed, as in a riot which occurred in Palermo in 1339. In 1393 the Palermo community petitioned King Martin I to prevent the inquisitors from persecuting foreign Jews who came to the city under the pretext of being Christians. It is probable that that petition attests to the arrival in Palermo of refugees from the Iberian Peninsula following the pogroms and forced conversions of 1391. Besides paying taxes levied by the royal administration, the Jews in Palermo sometimes had to contribute funds to rebut libels; in 1437 they paid 150 gold ounces to defray the expenditure of the war against the Kingdom of Naples, and in 1475 they paid 500 gold ounces to silence a false accusation. In 1450 Alfonso confirmed the appointment of Iacob Exarchi, papal commissioner, to investigate matters concerning the Jews of Sicily. He was to look into the religious practices of the Jews, investigate the practice of usury, and ensure the separation of Jews from Christians. In the same year the Jewish communities, headed by the community of Palermo, paid 10,000 florins in return for a royal writ that approved their old privileges. In 1453, following complaints that the Jews of Palermo were forced to pay an unfair portion of the tax burden, the viceroy decreed that they were to pay only one-seventh of the tax burden rather than a quarter. The investigations initiated in 1473 by the inquisitor, the Dominican Salvo de Cassetta, hit the Palermo community particularly hard, accusing it of crimes against the Christian faith, The accusations concerned blasphemy against the Virgin, probably because the Jews were found to possess an anti-Christian polemic compilation, known as *Toledot Yeshu*. Several Jews were found guilty of that crime, and after having been tortured they confessed and were burned. On August 2, 1474, the Jewish community of Palermo paid a fine of 5,000 florins in return for a royal pardon that did not include Jews outside Palermo. However, in the same month Pope Sixtus ordered the archbishop of Palermo to assist Salvo de Cassetta in implementing his commission and proceeding against the Jews of Sicily. The investigations were probably at the root of the anti-Jewish riots that broke out in the summer of 1474 throughout Sicily.

Obadiah *Bertinoro, who spent some months in Palermo in 1487–88, gives a vivid description of the community which he estimated at 850 families, mainly coppersmiths, ironworkers, laborers, and porters, much despised by the Christians because of their ragged clothing. The main synagogue, with its sweet-voiced cantors and its elaborate subsidiary buildings, was the most beautiful he had ever seen.

Twelve *proti* (from the Greek πρῶτοι) or notables assisted by councilors were in charge of the communal administration (see *Sicily). In 1393, by a decree issued by King Martin I, the Giudecca, or Jewish community body of Palermo, was given the function of acting as a court of appeal in legal disputes among the Sicilian Jews. Outstanding among those who contributed to the cultural life of the community were the physician Master Busach; *Moses of Palermo, translator of works from Arabic, who served at court; the poet Saul b. Nafusi of Palermo; the *dayyan* Anatol b. Joseph who spent about ten years in Palermo (1170–80); the poet and physician *Ahitub b. Isaac to whom Solomon b. Abraham *Adret of Barcelona addressed a polemic against the kabbalist Abraham *Abulafia; Joseph *Abenafia, born in Syracuse, physician at the court of Martin I, was the first *dienchelele of the Jewish communities of the realm. However, it is uncertain whether the story of the poet and physician Moses *Remos, who was unjustly sentenced to death and wrote a poem on the eve of his execution in Palermo, has an historical basis. It is possible that the story is connected to the trials held in Palermo in 1474. In 1491 the intervention of the Jews in Palermo prevented Jewish refugees from Provence who had arrived in Sicily from being sold as slaves.

After the decree of expulsion of 1492 was issued, the Jews of Palermo, then numbering about 5,000, were obliged to leave the island. After the expulsion, according to inquisitorial records, about 170 families of converts were living in the city, and according to 16th-century Sicilian historian Tommaso Fazello, there was a multitude of converts who attempted to return to Jewish rites. In June 1511 an auto da fé was conducted in Palermo and 10 New Christians were burned at the stake for the first time in Sicily. Palermo also served as a slave market where Jewish prisoners were sold after Spanish victories in the North African campaigns of 1510 and 1535. When the Jews were temporarily readmitted to the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies, in 1695–1702 and 1740–46, a few presumably came to Palermo. In the early 1920s a *minyan* could be obtained, at the most, composed of Jews from central or eastern Europe who had acquired Italian citizenship. Two of them, Philippsohn and Beretvas, lectured at the faculty of medicine. Most had left Sicily before 1938, when Mussolini's racial laws deprived them of Italian citizenship. On July 22 the allied forces entered Palermo, and subsequently abolished the racial laws. At that time many refugees from the concentration camp of Ferramonti came to Palermo, among them Meir Artom, son of Elia S. Artom of Florence. Meir's letters to his father describe the refugees he encountered, and the fact that the allied forces established a synagogue in Palermo. Though in the early 21st century there were Jews living in Palermo, there was no organized Jewish community in the city.

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[Sergio Joseph Sierra / Nadia Zeldes (2nd ed.)]

PALESTINE, one of the names of the territory of the southern Levant known as the Land of *Israel and much later as the Holy Land. The name "Palestine" was originally an adjective derived from Heb. פְּלֶשֶׁת, *Peleshet* (Isa 14:29, 31; see also *Prst* or *Plst* in ancient Egyptian and *Pilišti*, *Palaštu* in Assyrian sources). The name is first used geographically in the mid-fifth century B.C.E. by Herodotus in the form of Συρία ἡ Παλαιστίνη, i.e., "the Philistine Syria"; subsequently, the name was shortened and the adjective "Palaistinei" became a proper noun. Philo identifies "Palaistinei" with biblical *Canaan. In talmudic literature Palestine is used as the name of a Roman province, adjoining the provinces of *Finukyah* (Phoenicia) and *Aruvyah* (Arabia; Gen. R. 90: 6). From the fourth century, however, the three provinces into which the Land of Israel was divided were referred to as the "first," "second," and "third Palestine," respectively.

Muslims used the term "Filasṭīn" for the "first Palestine" only, differentiating between it and "Urdunn" (Jordan); but these designations soon fell into disuse, as the Muslims generally referred to provinces by the names of their capital cities. The Crusaders renewed the use of the "three Palestines," the borders of which, however, differed from those of the Roman provinces. After the fall of the Crusader kingdom, Palestine was no longer an official designation, but it was still used in non-Jewish languages as the name of the "Holy Land" on both sides of the Jordan. It was not an administrative unit under the Ottoman Empire, when it was part of the province of Syria. In the disciplines of historical geography and biblical history of the 19th century (e.g., E. Robinson), Palestine was the name commonly used in the western world for the region, with "western" Palestine used in reference to the entire country west of the Jordan River, and "eastern" Palestine to Transjordan (see the maps of the Palestine Exploration Fund published in the early 1880s).

This was the situation until 1922, when the British, who had received the Mandate over Palestine on both sides of the Jordan from the League of Nations, practically restricted the application of the name to the part west of the Jordan, while east of the Jordan and south of the Yarmuk they established the emirate of Transjordan, which in 1946 became a kingdom. In 1948 the State of Israel was established in a large part of western Palestine, its territory demarcated in the *Armistice agreements of 1949 with the neighboring Arab countries. Transjordan annexed the Arab-inhabited part of western Palestine occupied by the Jordanian army and changed its own name to the Hashemite Kingdom of *Jordan, and Egypt retained and administered the *Gaza Strip. Thus, Palestine as a political entity ceased to exist. During the *Six-Day War (1967) the Israel army occupied the whole of the country west of the Jordan (hence the term "West Bank"; referred to also as "Judea and Samaria" or the "occupied" or "administered" territories), which also included the Gaza Strip, as well as the *Sinai Peninsula and the *Golan Heights. However, the latter were never geographically part of the earlier designation of Palestine. The name Palestine is now loosely used in the west to refer to the territories of Area A that are under the autonomous rule of the *Palestinian Authority, even though by 2006 a State of Palestine had not yet been proclaimed. See also *Israel, Land of: Names.

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[Abraham J. Brawer / Shimon Gibson (2nd ed.)]

PALESTINE, INQUIRY COMMISSIONS, a series of commissions and committees that conducted inquiries into the internal developments, system of government, and political status of Palestine against the background of British and international commitments to assist in the establishment of a National Home for the Jewish people (see *Balfour Declaration). The first of these endeavors, the King-Crane Commission (1919), was appointed by the United States. Four commissions were appointed by the British government during the period of the Mandate, after the outbreaks of Arab violence in 1921, 1929, and 1936. After World War II, a joint Anglo-American Committee was appointed by the British and U.S. governments in 1945, and the UN Special Committee on Palestine (UNSCOP) was appointed by the United Nations in 1947.

King-Crane Commission (1919)

After World War I the United States, Great Britain, and France agreed, on President Wilson's suggestion, to appoint a special committee to visit the regions of the former Ottoman Empire involved in recent agreements, negotiations, and declarations "to acquaint themselves as fully as possible with the shade of opinion there … with the social, racial, and economic conditions … and to form as definite an opinion as the circumstances and the time at your disposal will permit, of the divisions of territory and assignment of mandates." As a result of obstruction by France and the lukewarm attitude of Britain, however, the only members actually appointed were two Americans, H.C. King, president of Oberlin College, Ohio, and C.R. Crane, a Chicago businessman with many connections in the Near East, particularly Turkey.

In their report, presented only to the American Peace Commission (published in a somewhat condensed form in December 1922 and officially published only in 1947), King and Crane recommended the preservation of the unity of Syria, including both Lebanon and Palestine, which should be granted a reasonable measure of local autonomy; and that a Mandate over Syria be entrusted to the United States or, if that seemed impracticable, to Great Britain. The commission further recommended "a serious modification of the extreme Zionist program for Palestine of unlimited immigration of Jews, looking finally to making Palestine distinctly a Jewish State." Policy toward Palestine should be governed by the principle laid down by President Wilson on July 4, 1918: "The settlement of every question on the basis of the free acceptance of that settlement by the people immediately concerned." Since, according to the commission's findings, the non-Jewish population of Palestine – nearly 90% of the whole – were "emphatically against the entire Zionist program," their wishes should be respected.

The commission declared that the Zionist claim "that they have a 'right' to Palestine, based on an occupation of two thousand years ago, can hardly be seriously considered." A further consideration was the fact that, since Palestine was the Holy Land for Jews, Christians, and Muslims alike, the Jews could not be proper guardians of the holy places. The complete Jewish occupation of Palestine "would intensify, with a certainty like fate, the anti-Jewish feeling both in Palestine and in all other portions of the world which look to Palestine as 'the Holy Land.'"

In view of all these considerations, the commission recommended that "Jewish immigration to Palestine should definitely be limited and that the project for making Palestine distinctly a Jewish commonwealth should be given up." The commission's report was never submitted to the Paris Peace Conference, and its recommendations were never acted upon.

Haycraft Commission of Inquiry (1921)

A commission of inquiry into the disturbance of May 1921 (see *Israel, Land of: Historical Survey) was appointed by Sir Herbert *Samuel, then high commissioner for Palestine, "to inquire into the recent disturbances in the town and neighbourhood of Jaffa and to report thereon." It was headed by Sir W. Haycraft, chief justice of Palestine, and its members were H.C. Luke, assistant governor of Jerusalem, and J.N. Stubbs of the Legal Department. The commission found that the immediate reason for the riots (in which 47 Jews and 48 Arabs were killed and 146 Jews and 73 Arabs wounded) was a clash between Jewish Communist and the general Jewish labor movement May Day demonstrations in Jaffa, which served as "a spark igniting explosive material." However, the commission stated that "the racial strife was begun by Arabs," while "the police were, with few exceptions, half-trained and inefficient, in many cases indifferent and in some cases leaders of or participators in violence." The fundamental cause of the disturbances, the commission found, was the Arab feeling of discontent with, and hostility to, the Jews due to political and economic causes and connected with Jewish immigration and with their conception of Zionist policy as derived from Jewish exponents. Much could be done, the commission suggested, to allay hostility between Arabs and Jews if responsible people on both sides would sit together to discuss the questions arising between them in a "reasonable spirit," on the basis that the Arabs should implicitly accept the government's policy on the subject of the Jewish National Home and "that the Zionist leaders should abandon and repudiate all pretensions that go beyond it."

Commission on the Palestine Disturbances of 1929 (The Shaw Commission)

This commission was appointed by the British colonial secretary, Lord Passfield, after the serious disturbances of August 1929, which broke out in connection with the question of Jewish rights at the *Western (Wailing) Wall. In the disturbances 133 Jews were killed and 339 wounded, mainly in Jerusalem and Hebron; Arab casualties, chiefly from police action, were 116 dead and 232 wounded. The commission's terms of reference were "to enquire into the immediate causes which led to the recent outbreak in Palestine and to make recommendations as to the steps necessary to avoid a recurrence." It consisted of Sir Walter Shaw, former chief justice of the Straits Settlements, as chairman, and three members of parliament Sir H. Betterton (Conservative), R.H. Morris (Liberal), and H. Snell (Labour).

Although Prime Minister Ramsay MacDonald stated that matters of major policy were definitely outside its terms of reference, the commission went into Arab political and economic grievances in considerable depth and detail. It found that the outbreak in Jerusalem was from the beginning "an attack by Arabs on Jews" and apportioned "a share in the responsibility" to Al-Hajj Amin *Husseini, the mufti of Jerusalem. In dealing with the causes of the trouble, the commission stated: "There can be no doubt that racial animosity on the part of the Arabs, consequent upon the disappointment of their political and national aspirations and fear for their economic future, was the fundamental cause of the outbreak of August last," and that the Churchill *White Paper of 1922 charged the Palestine government with the primary duty of "holding the balance between the two parties in the country." It considered the policy of the government to be of a dual nature and that it had succeeded in steering a middle course between the conflicting policies proposed by the two parties.

The commission accepted most of the Arab claims and recommended that a new statement of policy should be issued, containing "a definition in clear and positive terms" of the meaning of the passages in the Mandate providing for "the safeguarding of the rights of the non-Jewish communities." It recommended: that immigration policy be reviewed to prevent a repetition of what the commission described as the excessive immigration of 1925 and 1926; that a special inquiry should be undertaken into the prospects of introducing improved methods of cultivation and that a new land policy be introduced, having regard for the natural increase in the present rural population; and that a special commission be appointed to determine rights and claims in connection with the Western Wall.

In a long note of reservations, Harry Snell attributed a greater share in the responsibility for the disturbances to the mufti, blamed the government for not having issued an official denial that the Jews had designs on the Muslim holy places, ascribed the outbreaks mainly to fears and antipathies fostered by the Arab leaders for political needs, and declared that what was needed was not so much a change of policy, as a change of mind on the part of the Arab population.

The British government appointed Sir John Hope-Simpson to report on questions of immigration, land settlement, and development and issued a preliminary statement accepting the substance of the Shaw Commission Report. In reply to trenchant criticism of the report by the Permanent Mandates Commission of the *League of Nations, the government further defended the commission's conclusions. The Hope-Simpson report, which was issued on October 21, 1930, simultaneously with the Passfield *White Paper, stated that: If all the cultivable land in Palestine were divided up among the Arab agricultural population, there would not be enough to provide every family with a decent livelihood; until further development took place and the Arabs adopted better methods of cultivation, "there is no room for a single additional settler, if the standard of life of the fellaheen is to remain at its present level"; and that with thorough development of the country, there would be room "for no less than 20,000 families of settlers from outside."

Palestine Royal Commission (Peel Commission; 1937)

The commission was appointed by the British government on August 7, 1936, with very wide terms of reference.

(1) "To ascertain the underlying causes of the disturbances which broke out in Palestine in the middle of April.

(2) "To inquire into the manner in which the Mandate for Palestine is being implemented in relation to the obligations of the Mandatory towards the Arabs and Jews respectively.

(3) "To ascertain whether, upon a proper construction of the terms of the Mandate, either the Arabs or the Jews have any legitimate grievances upon account of the way in which the Mandate has been, or is being implemented.

(4) "If the Commission is satisfied that any such griev-

ances are well founded, to make recommendation for their removal and for the prevention of their recurrence."

The commission was headed by Earl Peel, a former secretary of state for India, and its members were Sir H.G.M. Rumbold, Sir E.L.L. Hammond, Sir W.M. Carter, Sir H. Morris, and Professor R. Coupland. The commission's report, issued on July 7, was the most thorough study of the problem conducted by any of the inquiry commissions and committees. It started with a comprehensive survey of the history of Palestine and the connection of Jews and Arabs with it, as well as a bird's-eye view of Jewish history in the Diaspora, showing a deep and sympathetic understanding of the Zionist movement and its aims. After a thorough study of British promises to Jews and Arabs during World War I and of the terms of the Mandate, it reached the conclusion that "the primary purpose of the Mandate … is to promote the establishment of the Jewish National Home." The commission found that the Jewish National Home was now a "going concern" and that its establishment had been to the economic advantage of the Arabs as a whole. At the same time, however, "with almost mathematical precision the betterment of the economic situation in Palestine meant the deterioration of the political situation." The underlying causes of the disturbances in 1936 were, therefore, found to be the desire of the Arabs for national independence and their hatred and fear of the establishment of the Jewish National Home, the same causes that had led to the disturbances in the past.

"It is impossible," the commission commented, "to see the National Home and not to wish it well. It has meant so much for the relief of unmerited suffering. It displays so much energy and enterprise and devotion to a common cause. In so far as Britain has helped towards its creation, we would claim, with Lord Balfour, that to that extent, at any rate, Christendom has shown itself not oblivious of all the wrong it has done, but at the same time the difficulties which confront the National Home should not be underestimated, and it must be admitted that the situation in Palestine has reached a deadlock." The solution of the problem of Palestine must be a drastic one. All other recommendations would be but palliatives. "We cannot – in Palestine as it now is – both concede the Arab claim to self-government and secure the establishment of the Jewish National Home," the report declared. "The disease is so deep-rooted that the only hope of a cure lies in a surgical operation." This operation was to be the partitioning of the country and the establishment of separate Jewish and Arab states, while Jerusalem and Bethlehem, with a corridor to the sea at Jaffa, and Nazareth would remain under British Mandate (see *Palestine, Partition; *Israel, State of: Historical Survey, 1880–1948).

Palestine Partition Commission (The Woodhead Commission; 1938)

This commission was appointed on January 4, 1938, to recommend boundaries for the Arab and Jewish areas and the enclaves to be retained permanently or under British Mandate as proposed by the Peel Commission. In effect it reported that Partition was impracticable (see *Palestine, Partition and Partition Plans for a more detailed account).

Anglo-American Committee of Enquiry Regarding the Problems of European Jewry and Palestine (1946)

The terms of reference of the committee, appointed by the governments of the United States and Britain in November 1945, was to examine political, economic, and social conditions in Palestine as they bore upon the problem of Jewish immigration and settlement therein and the wellbeing of the peoples now living therein; to examine the position of the Jews in those countries in Europe where they had been the victims of Nazi and Fascist persecution and to make estimates of those who wished or would be impelled by their conditions to migrate to Palestine or other countries outside Europe; and to make recommendations for *ad interim* handling of these problems, as well as for their permanent solution.

This committee differed from its predecessors in two important respects. First, it represented both Britain and the United States. Of its 12 members, six were British (J.E. Singleton, W.F. Crick, R.H.S. Crossman, F. Leggett, R.E. Manningham-Bullet, and Lord Morrison) and six were Americans (J.C. Hutcheson, F. Aydelotte, F.W. Buxton, B.C. Crum, J.G. *MacDonald, and W. Phillips), with Singleton and Hutcheson as joint chairmen. Secondly, it connected, for the first time, the problem of world Jewry with that of the Jews in Palestine, thereby tacitly admitting that the Jewish problem and the problem of the Jewish National Home must be seen as one. The committee therefore visited Germany, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Austria, Italy, and Greece even before it carried out its investigations in Palestine.

In its unanimous report and recommendations, the committee found that no country other than Palestine was ready to give substantial assistance in finding homes for Jews wishing or impelled to leave Europe, but that Palestine alone could not solve their emigration needs. It therefore recommended that the U.S. and British governments should endeavor to find new places for the *Displaced Persons, in addition to Palestine, and that 100,000 certificates for immigration to Palestine be authorized immediately for the Jewish victims of Nazi and Fascist persecution. Future immigration to Palestine should be regulated according to the Mandate, and the Land Transfers Regulation of 1940 should be annulled and replaced by new ones based on "a policy of freedom in the sale, lease, or use of land, irrespective of race, community, or creed." As for long-term policy, the committee recommended the guiding principle that Palestine should be neither a Jewish state nor an Arab state, and that Jew should not dominate Arab nor Arab dominate Jew. Until the hostility between Jews and Arabs disappeared, the government of Palestine should be continued under the Mandate. In effect, therefore, the committee proposed de facto abrogation of the 1939 *White Paper policy. The British government's rejection of the committee's recommendations (in particular the proposal for the issue of

100,000 certificates), despite President Truman's acceptance of the report, led to a further deterioration in the Palestine situation; consequently, the British government turned the whole problem over to the United Nations, which appointed the UN Special Committee on Palestine (UNSCOP).

United Nations Special Committee on Palestine (UNSCOP; 1947)

The General Assembly of the United Nations, at a special meeting convened in April 1947 at the request of the British government, appointed this committee to prepare a report on Palestine. It consisted of 11 members: representatives of Australia (J.D. Hood), Canada (I.C. Rand), Czechoslovakia (K. Lisicky), Guatemala (J.G. Granados), India (A. Rahman), Iran (N. Entezam), the Netherlands (N.S. Blom), Peru (A. Ulloa), Sweden (E. Sandstrom), Uruguay (E.R. Fabregat), and Yugoslavia (V. Simic), with the Swedish delegate Justice Emil Sandstrom as chairman, and Alberto Ulloa of Peru, vice chairman. Its terms of reference gave the committee "the widest powers to ascertain and record facts, and to investigate all questions and issues relevant to the problems of Palestine." In its report, published on August 31, 1947, it recommended unanimously that the Mandate for Palestine should be terminated at the earliest possible date and that independence should be granted in Palestine at the earliest practical date. The majority, composed of the representatives of Canada, Czechoslovakia, Guatemala, the Netherlands, Peru, Sweden, and Uruguay, proposed the partitioning of Palestine into a Jewish state, an Arab state, and a special international regime for Jerusalem and its environs (see *Palestine, Partition and Partition Plans). The minority, consisting of the representatives of India, Iran, and Yugoslavia, proposed the establishment of a binational federal state. The majority proposals were adopted by a special meeting of the General Assembly on November 29, 1947; 33 member states (including the United States and the U.S.S.R.) voted in favor, 13 against (including all the Arab states) and 10 (including Great Britain) abstained.

For bibliography see *White Papers.

[Daniel Efron]

PALESTINE, PARTITION AND PARTITION PLANS. The first partition of Palestine took place in 1922, when the British government excluded Transjordan from the area to which the provisions of the *Balfour Declaration would apply. The Zionist Executive reluctantly acquiesced in this decision. The *Revisionist movement, established in 1925, hotly opposed the separation of Transjordan; its basic slogan was "a Jewish state on both sides of the Jordan." The idea of partitioning western Palestine between Jews and Arabs was first broached officially in 1937 by the Palestine Royal Commission (see *Palestine, Inquiry Commissions, Peel Commission) as a method of enabling each nation to exercise sovereignty and achieve its principal national aims in part of the country while maintaining a British foothold centered in Jerusalem. The proposal was at first approved by the British government and accepted in principle, after a vigorous controversy, by the majority of the *yishuv* and the Zionist movement. The British withdrew their support, however, after the Palestine Partition Commission (the Woodhead Commission, see below) had failed to produce a "practicable" partition plan, and instead adopted in 1939 the *White Paper policy, which would ultimately have created an independent Palestinian state with a permanent Arab majority.

The abortive Morrison-Grady scheme of 1946 (see below), which would have left more than two-fifths of the country in British hands and given neither Arabs nor Jews more than limited autonomy, was rejected by both sides, and it was not until Britain put the problem before the United Nations that a new partition plan was evolved. This was done by the UN Special Committee on Palestine (UNSCOP, see below), which recommended the establishment of a Jewish and an Arab state joined in an economic union, with Jerusalem and its environs as a separate international enclave. This proposal was accepted by the Jews and rejected by the Arabs, while the British refused to play any part in implementing it.

The partition of western Palestine was not merely a theoretical proposal, but one of the possibilities inherent in the situation created by two generations of Zionist settlement before and during the British *Mandate. Jewish land purchases, mainly by the *Jewish National Fund, and the establishment of Jewish towns and villages had created areas of contiguous Jewish settlement, with a self-reliant and economically viable community that was prepared and able to defend itself and institutions of self-government based upon the voluntary allegiance of the Jewish population. Without such a *yishuv*, fortified by the moral, political, and financial support of Jews around the world, no decision by any external body could have been implemented. Ultimately, the partition of western Palestine was the result of two forces: the capacity of the *yishuv* to hold its own by force against the attacks of Palestinian Arabs and the surrounding Arab states on the one hand, and the inability of the *yishuv* to gain control of the whole of western Palestine, on the other. The following are the details of the partition plans presented by the various commissions and committees.

Palestine Royal Commission

(See *Palestine, Inquiry Commissions). This commission, often referred to as the Peel Commission, published its report on July 7, 1937. It came to the conclusion that partition was the best solution for both sides. Although this proposal meant neither Jews nor Arabs would get all they wanted, the commission believed that it offered many advantages to both sides. The Arabs would obtain national independence and finally be delivered from fear of ultimate subjection to Jewish rule. By converting the Jewish National Home into a Jewish state, the Jews would not only be free of the fear of Arab rule, but they "will attain the primary objective of Zionism – a Jewish nation, planted in Palestine, giving its nationals the same status in the world as other nations give theirs. They will cease at last to live a 'minority life.' A new sense of confidence and security would replace the existing feeling of fear and suspicion and both Jews and Arabs would obtain the inestimable boon of peace." (See Map: Peel Partition Plan).

The commission therefore proposed that Palestine be divided into

(1) a Jewish state, comprising the whole of Galilee and the Jezreel Valley, most of the Beth-Shean Valley, and the Coastal Plain from Ras el-Nakura (Rosh ha-Nikrah) on the Lebanese border to Be'er Tuviyyah in the south;

(2) an Arab state comprising Transjordan, the hill country of Samaria and Judea, and the Negev;

(3) a British zone under permanent Mandate, consisting of Jerusalem, Bethlehem, and their environs, a corridor to the coast at Jaffa, and Nazareth. British treaties of alliance with the Jewish and the Arab state would guarantee the protection of minorities, facilities for British forces, etc., and the Jewish state would pay a subvention to the Arab state. (For details of proposed boundaries, see *Israel, Land of: Geographical Survey.)

The 20th Zionist Congress (Zurich, Aug. 3–17, 1937) declared that the Peel Commission's scheme was "unacceptable," but empowered the Executive to negotiate with the British government on "precise terms" for the establishment of "a Jewish state," provided that any scheme that might emerge would be submitted for approval to a newly elected Congress.

Palestine Partition Commission

In 1938 the British government appointed the Palestine Partition Commission (generally known as the Woodhead Commission, after its chairman Sir John Woodhead) "to recommend boundaries for the proposed Arab and Jewish areas and the British enclaves that would (a) afford a reasonable prospect of the eventual establishment… of self-supporting Arab and Jewish states; (b) necessitate the inclusion of the fewest possible Arabs and Arab enterprises in the Jewish area and vice versa; and (c) enable the British government to carry out its 'Mandatory responsibilities.'" The commission, whose report was published in October 1938, found that the Peel Commission's scheme (Plan A) was impracticable. One member favored Plan B, which would have excluded Galilee and a small area in the south from the Jewish state as proposed in Plan A; two others preferred Plan C, which provided for small Jewish and Arab states, with Galilee, a Jerusalem enclave, and the Negev under British mandate; and a fourth rejected all three plans. The commission, therefore, was unable to recommend boundaries that would meet its terms of reference, and the British government came to the conclusion that partition was impracticable.

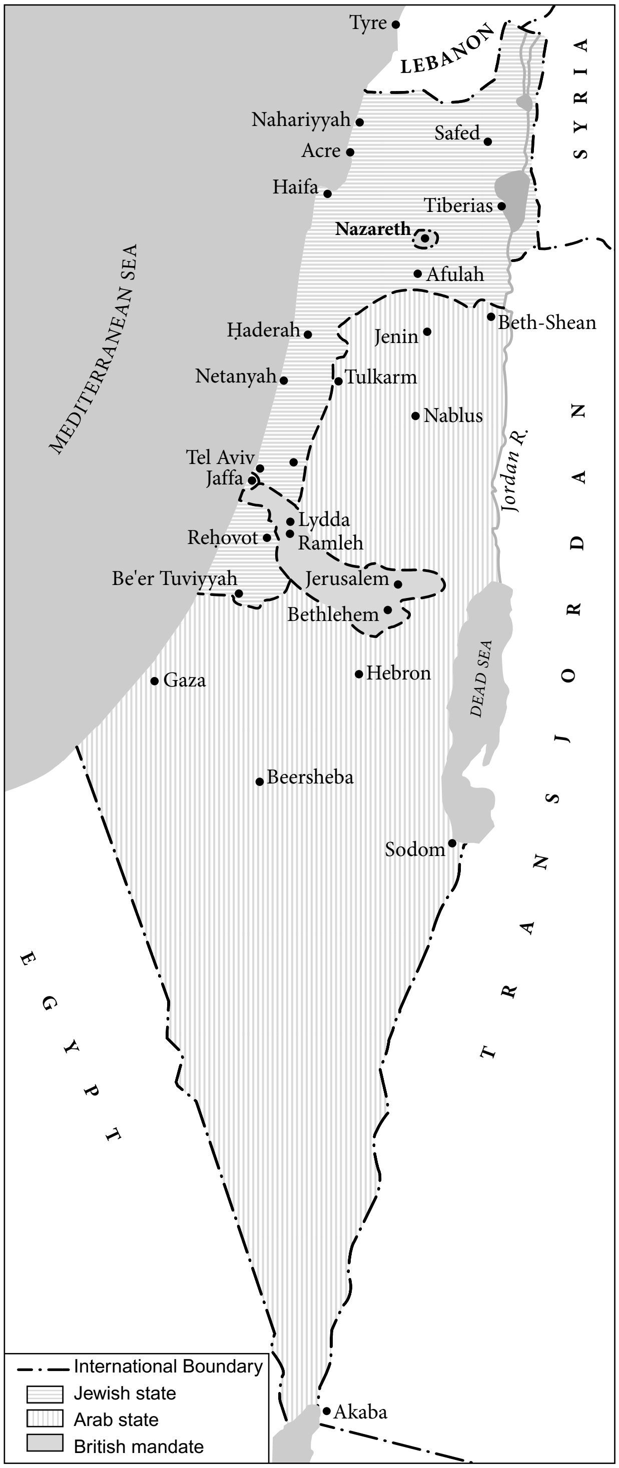

Map 1. The Peel Partition Plan, 1937. After Zev Vilnay, New Israel Atlas, *Jerusalem, 1968.*

The Morrison-Grady Scheme

This was a plan evolved in July 1946 by British and American representatives, headed by Herbert Morrison, then lord president of the council, and T. Grady of the U.S. State Department. It purported to be based on the report of the Anglo-American Committee (see *Palestine, Inquiry Commissions), but actually had little or nothing in common with it. The scheme provided for the division of Palestine into four provinces: an Arab province, consisting of about 40% of the area; a Jewish province, with 17%, and two British provinces – the Jerusalem district and the Negev – covering 43% of the area. A British high commissioner, assisted by a nominated executive council, would head the central government. The Arab and Jewish provinces would have elected legislatures, with executives appointed by the high commissioner from among their members. The powers of these executives would be very limited: defense, foreign relations, and customs and excise would be controlled by the central government, and bills passed by the provincial legislatures would require the high commissioner's assent. The Land Transfer Regulations of the 1939 White Paper would be repealed. The Arab legislature would be free to permit or refuse Jews permission to buy lands in its province, while the Jews would be permitted to buy land in their own area. Final control over immigration would rest with the high commissioner, who would act according to the recommendations of the provincial governments, provided the economic absorptive capacity was not exceeded (see *White Papers). As for the future, the plan left the way open for either partition or for federal unity. The U.S. government declined to accept

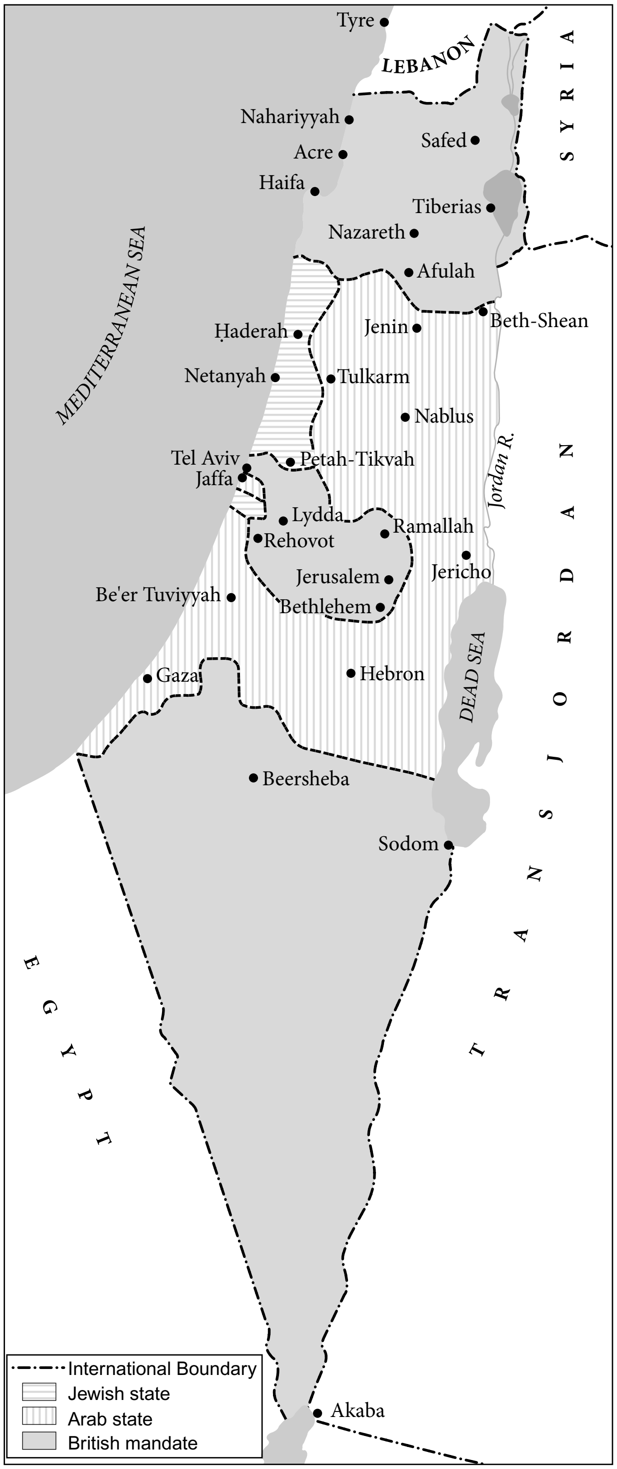
Tyre
LEBANON
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Nahariyyah
Acre
Haifa
Safed
Tiberias
Nazareth
Afulah
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
Ḥaderah
Jenin
Beth-Shean
Netanyah
Tulkarm
Nablus
Tel Aviv
Jaffa
Petah-Tikvah
Jordan R.
Lydda
Rehovot
Ramallah
Jericho
Jerusalem
Bethlehem
Be'er Tuviyyah
Gaza
Hebron
DEAD SEA
Beersheba
Sodom
TRANSJORDAN
EGYPT
Akaba
International Boundary
Jewish state
Arab state
British mandate

Map 2. "Plan C" examined by the Woodhead Palestine Partition Commission, 1938. After Zev Vilnay, New Israel Atlas, *Jerusalem, 1968.*

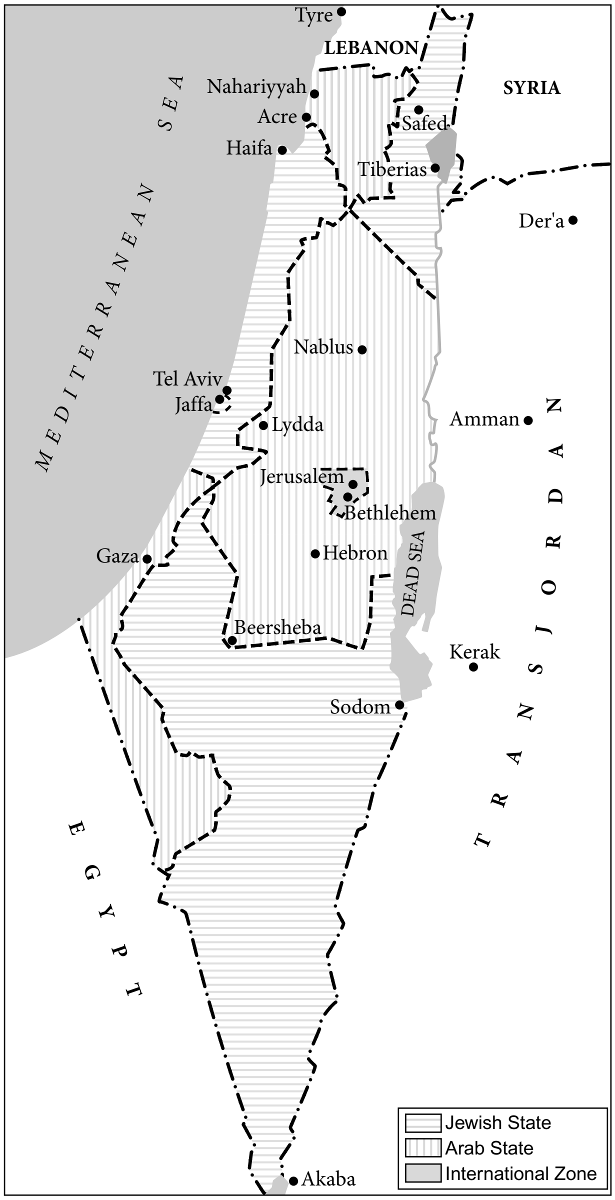
Tyre
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Nahariyyah
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Der'a
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
Nablus
Tel Aviv
Jaffa
Lydda
Amman
Jerusalem
Bethlehem
Gaza
Hebron
DEAD SEA
Beersheba
Kerak
Sodom
TRANSJORDAN
EGYPT
Akaba
Jewish State
Arab State
International Zone

Map 3. The UNSCOP Partition Plan, 1947. After Zev Vilnay, New Israel Atlas, *Jerusalem, 1968.*

the plan as a basis for consideration, and it was rejected by the Zionist Congress.

UN Special Committee on Palestine

UNSCOP was appointed by the UN General Assembly in May 1947 after Britain had submitted the Palestine problem to the UN (see *Palestine, Inquiry Commissions). The seven-member majority called for the partition of Palestine into an Arab state, a Jewish state, and a "Special International Regime" for Jerusalem, all three to be linked in an economic union. The minority proposed the establishment of a binational federal state, while the Australian representative abstained.

The majority proposals, with slight territorial modifications, were adopted by a special meeting of the General Assembly on Nov. 19, 1947. The Arab state was to comprise western Galilee, the hill country of Samaria and Judea (excluding Jerusalem), and the Coastal Plain from Isdud (Ashdod) to the Sinai frontier; the Jewish state would include eastern Galilee, the Jezreel Valley, most of the Coastal Plain, and the Negev. Each state was thus to consist of three sections linked at two crossing points. The Jerusalem enclave was to be under UN trusteeship. (See Map: UNSCOP Partition Plan). (For details of proposed boundaries, see *Israel, State of: Frontiers.)

The proposals were accepted by the Jews and rejected by the Arabs, who announced that they would do all in their power to bring about the collapse of the plan, while the British stated that they would do nothing to enforce it. In the end, the United Nations decision was implemented by the *Haganah and the Israel Defense Forces, which repelled attacks against Jewish centers and enabled the *yishuv* to establish the State of Israel, with its legislature, government, and administration in effective control of its territory. The de facto boundaries of the State of Israel, which were determined by the *Armistice agreements concluded in 1949 with Egypt, Lebanon, Jordan, and Syria, were roughly similar to those proposed in the UN resolution, with the addition of western Galilee and a broad corridor from the coast to western Jerusalem. The special international regime for Jerusalem could not be implemented and the city was divided along the cease-fire lines between Israel and Jordan.

The question of partition came to the fore again after the *Six-Day War of June 1967, as a result of which Israel found itself in control of the entire area that had constituted western Palestine. In Israel, some of those (headed by *Ḥerut leaders) who were opposed to any withdrawal from the new cease-fire lines, especially the Palestinian areas, based their attitude on the total negation of any "renewed partition of Ereẓ Israel." The majority of Israel opinion, however, supported the policy of withdrawing from a part of the newly occupied territories in exchange for effective peace treaties with the neighboring Arab states, which would put an end to the Israel-Arab conflict and grant Israel "defensible borders." This policy guided the Israel government in 1970–71 in its negotiations with Egypt and Jordan under the auspices of UN representative Gunnar Jarring, in accordance with the Security Council resolution of Nov. 22, 1967. The issue of withdrawal from territories occupied during the Six-Day War continued to be a divisive issue in Israeli politics in the following decades, though a majority of the Israeli public seemed to become reconciled to the idea despite the ups and downs of the peace process initiated in 1994 with the Oslo Accords.

For bibliography see *White Papers.

[Daniel Efron]

PALESTINE ECONOMIC CORPORATION (now known as PEC **Israel Economic Corporation**), a public company, incorporated in the United States through the merger of two agencies interested in the economic development of Palestine. According to its charter, its principal purpose was "to afford financial aid to commercial, banking, credit, industrial, and agricultural enterprises, cooperative or otherwise, in or relating to Palestine." In 1922 a group of prominent Jews headed by Robert *Szold formed a corporation called Palestine Cooperative Co., Inc. In 1926 another group of non-Zionist American Jews, headed by Bernard *Flexner, formed the Palestine Economic Corporation under the laws of the State of Maine. The purpose was to combine the assets of Palestine Cooperative Company, Inc. and the assets in Palestine of the Reconstruction Committee of the American Jewish *Joint Distribution Committee into a single corporation. Flexner and Szold both had a close personal relationship with Louis D. *Brandeis, and his urgings and inspiration were probably the most important factor leading to the foundation of the company. The initial authorized capital was $3,000,000. The object was to establish an organization to which American Jews might give material aid on a business basis for productive enterprises in Palestine. At first the corporation invested and operated through the Central Bank of Cooperative Institutions in Palestine, Palestine Mortgage and Credit Bank Ltd., Palestine Water Company Ltd., Bayside Land Corporation Ltd., and Loan Bank Ltd.

The Central Bank for Cooperatives was a major factor in financing diversified cooperative institutions and furthering the cooperative movement in Palestine. For many years, it was the only credit institution dealing solely with kibbutzim and cooperative societies introducing tested cooperative principles developed in western Europe. Apart from building low-cost housing and developing large urban areas, the Bayside Land Corporation was responsible for the preparation of a master plan by eminent British town planners for the future development of the city of Haifa, which was subsequently adopted by the Palestine government and is the plan pursuant to which the modern city of Haifa has been developed. The Mortgage and Credit Bank engaged in the construction and financing of houses for workers, both urban and rural. It was instrumental in reducing costs of construction, through competitive bidding, supervision, inspection of building materials and methods, and building houses in large groups. The Loan Bank made loans to artisans, farmers, and small businesses. The Water Company introduced modern American well-boring machinery and greatly contributed to the enlargement of new wells for domestic and agricultural use. The company also engaged in geological, hydrographical, and geophysical investigations of the country and trained early settlers. It participated in the initial capital of the Palestine Electric Company and in the formation of Palestine Potash Ltd., which received the concession for the exploitation of mineral deposits in the Dead Sea. Over the years these activities were expanded, and by 1971 the company had investments in some 50 different corporations engaged in industry, construction, transport, marketing finance, and agriculture in Israel. Its stock was purchased by investors throughout the United States. In 1931 it increased its authorized capital to $10,030,000, and this was subsequently increased to $25,030,000. As of the end of 1970, its capital and surplus was close to $25,000,000 and its stockholders numbered many thousands. The company paid regular dividends from 1933, with the exception of the years of World War II. In 1969 Albert Levinson was president of the corporation, Robert Szold honorary chairman, and Joseph Meyerhoff chairman of the board. In later years, PEC merged with the IDB Corporation, one of the largest in Israel. Its last president was Joseph Ciechanover.

In the 1990s the company was involved in a broad cross-section of Israeli companies engaged in various fields of business, including high tech and communications, manufacturing, building and construction, shipping and consumer products. Among PEC's holdings were the high-tech firms of Scitex Corporation Ltd. and Elron Electronic Industries Ltd.; the cell phone company Cellcom Israel Ltd.; the cable television company that serves the Tel Aviv metropolitan area and two other areas in Israel, Tevel Ltd.; the largest paint factory in Israel, Tambour Ltd.; the canning factory Caniel-Israel Can Company Ltd.; the Property and Building Corporation Ltd.; El-Yam Ships Ltd.; and the Super-Sol Ltd. supermarket chain. PEC is also involved in several venture capital funds and early stage development companies.

[Julius Weiss / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND, a British society for the exploration of the Holy Land, founded in 1865 under the patronage of Queen Victoria; the first president and secretary were, respectively, the Archbishop of York and G. Grove. The society was to be conducted strictly on scientific principles, not subject to any religious dogma. The quarterly statement of the society, first published in 1869, was still appearing in 1971. Between 1911 and 1970, six volumes of an annual were published. After World War I it joined forces with the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem.

The first activities of the fund included a survey of Jerusalem. It maintained C. *Warren's expedition to Jerusalem, where work was carried out mainly around the enclosure Wall of the Temple. From 1874 to 1882, the fund was engaged in its second large project: the survey of the region west of the Jordan. This work was completed by C.R. *Conder, C.W. *Wilson, and H.H.H. Kitchener and included a 26-sheet map and *Memoirs* (5 vols.). At about the same time, the society supported C.S. *Clermont-Ganneau's researches in Palestine and made a partial survey of Transjordan. In 1890 the fund resumed excavations: at Tell el-Ḥesi, directed by W.M.F. *Petrie and F.J. *Bliss; in Jerusalem, directed by Bliss and Dickie; and in the hills of the Shephelah, directed by Bliss and R.A.S. *Macalister. From 1905 to 1909, it financed Macalister's large excavations at *Gezer and afterward started work at *Beth Shemesh, under the direction of Duncan and Mackenzie. After World War I, the fund took part in the work on the hill of Ophel, directed by Mackenzie, Macalister, and J.W. *Crowfoot, and in the excavations at Samaria, under the direction of Crowfoot. After World War II, it participated in the excavations of K. *Kenyon in Jericho and Jerusalem. In addition to its field work, the Palestine Exploration Fund has published a series of English translations of Oriental sources and the accounts of ancient pilgrims. It has an excellent library and archives at the London headquarters.

[Michael Avi-Yonah]

PALESTINE LIBERATION ORGANIZATION (PLO), Palestinian organization founded in May 1964 at a Palestinian Congress held in East Jerusalem (then under Jordanian rule) following intensive efforts of Ahmad al-Shuqeiri, until then the representative of the Palestinian Arabs in the League of Arab States. The Congress was convened under strict Jordanian control and received the personal congratulations of King *Hussein, who indicated his intention to give full patronage to the newly established organization. The Congress, comprised mainly of senior Palestinian figures from Jordan and the Gaza Strip, approved the "Palestinian [Pan] National Charter" (*al-mīthāq al-qawmī al-filasṭīnī*) and the PLO's organic law, giving decisive powers to its Chairman Shuqeiri, including the appointment of the Executive Committee members.

The foundation of the PLO, which was fully supported by Egyptian President Gamal Abdel *Nasser, and reluctantly acquiesced to by King Hussein of Jordan, was the result of two separate processes: an authentic rise of self-assertion and revolutionary trends among young Palestinian refugees, and inter-Arab circumstances. Attentive to growing frustration and an urge for autonomous action for the liberation of Palestine among Palestinians in the Gaza Strip, already in 1959 Nasser suggested the establishment of a "Palestinian Entity" – a political organization that would represent the Palestinian national cause in the international arena. The Jordanian position reflected concern lest any expression of Palestinian nationalism might arouse separatist tendencies among the Palestinians in the kingdom, who constituted a majority of the population and could threaten the very existence of the Hashemite regime. In the strained relations between Nasser and his arch-rival, Abdel Karim Qassem, then the ruler of Iraq, Nasser's call was challenged by Qassem, who called for establishing a militant Palestinian organization which would operate against Israel from the West Bank and the Gaza Strip.

By the end of 1963 Nasser's prestige as champion of pan-Arabism had reached an impasse following Syria's secession in September 1961 from the union with Egypt (the United Arab Republic) and his entanglement in a costly and unsuccessful military involvement in Yemen. In addition, he came under increasing pressures from Syria's new Bath regime, which urged him to go to war with Israel over the ensuing inauguration of its National Water Carrier exploiting the Jordan River's water to irrigate new areas in the northern Negev.

Nasser perceived these as pressures detrimental to his priorities – unity first, then total war against Israel – and Egypt's security, repeating his rejection of an untimely war against Israel that could end with a disaster for the Arabs. To escape the trap set for him by the Syrian regime, Nasser called for an Arab summit conference in Cairo, which was held in January 1964. The summit, which was meant to preserve Nasser's control of collective Arab action against Israel and his all-Arab leadership, approved a plan of preventing Israel's use of the Jordan River's waters by diverting its tributaries originating in Lebanon and Syria in other directions. In view of Israel's possible military response against the diversion plan, the summit established a Joint Arab Command to supervise military preparations for the imminent war with Israel. The summit also discussed the issue of establishing a Palestinian Entity, but could not reach an agreement on this. Jordan adhered to its objection to the proposed institution on political grounds. Other states, such as Syria and Algeria, wanted a militant organization that would wage a popular armed struggle against Israel, while the Saudis feared it would be merely an Egyptian political instrument which would be used against them. The Arab summit thus refrained from officially approving the establishment of a Palestinian Entity and, instead, instructed Shuqeiri to examine the attitudes among the Palestinians regarding such an idea, without even mentioning the word "entity" in its decisions. Nonetheless, the decision enabled Shuqeiri to embark on a series of visits to Palestinian communities in the Arab states, which indicated their strong support for the idea fostered by Nasser. The enthusiasm with which Shuqeiri was received by Palestinians in Jordan apparently convinced King Hussein that his best choice was to coopt the Palestinian Entity project rather than resist it.

Although the second Arab summit conference, held in Alexandria in September 1964, approved the establishment of the PLO, the organization remained highly controversial. It was criticized by militant Palestinian organizations, such as Fatah, and Arab regimes alike. In the coming three years the PLO, headed by Shuqeiri, was the subject of much discontent and bitter attacks by almost all the states. Seen as Nasser's protégé, the PLO could not escape its image as an instrument serving Nasser's Arab policies and primarily to legitimize the latter's desire to avoid war with Israel. In addition, though the PLO was meant to be merely a political organization, Shuqeiri constantly pushed the limits initially set for PLO activities in a military direction, if not armed capability. Challenged by Fatah, which began its military operations against Israel in early January 1965, Shuqeiri managed to bring about the establishment of the Palestinian Liberation Army, which comprised three regular brigades deployed in Egypt, Syria, and Iraq (*Ein Jallout*, *Hittin*, and *Qadisiyya*, respectively, named after great historic Muslim victorious battles). However, these brigades were fully subordinated to the military establishment of these states while the PLO maintained only a nominal command. By late 1965, Shuqeiri had become anathema to the Jordanian authorities due to his inexorable efforts to propagate the establishment of Palestinian recruitment centers in Jordan on behalf of the PLO, openly challenging the Jordanian monarch's authority and leading to arrests of PLO activists there. The growing tension between King Hussein and Shuqeiri coincided with the collapse of the summit-generated detente in inter-Arab relations as of late 1965, which led to Nasser's return to his aggressive policies in the inter-Arab arena, especially against the Western-backed monarchies of Saudi Arabia and Jordan. Until the June 1967 War, the Palestinian National Council (PNC – a sort of parliament of the Palestinian people) convened twice more in Gaza. In the meantime, Fatah and other newly established Palestinian guerrilla groups supported by Syria, won some prestige for their warfare against Israel, leading to further marginalization of Shuqeiri and his PLO, who lost even Nasser's interest.

In the aftermath of the 1967 defeat, Shuqeiri became a burden for Nasser as well as to Palestinian military and political activists. At the Khartoum Summit Conference convened in September of that year, Shuqeiri found himself isolated in his effort to pressure the Arab leaders to include a fourth "no" in their resolutions, namely that there should be no compromise of Palestinian national rights, which led to his walkout from the conference. At the same time, the success scored by the Palestinian guerrilla groups in entangling the Arab states in war against Israel and the defeat of the Arab regular armies in this war boosted the prestige of guerrilla warfare, which strengthened demands by Fatah and other guerrilla factions for a substantial representation in the PLO. Shuqeiri resigned in December 1967 and was replaced by Yahya Hamuda, another veteran Palestinian politician, who did not represent the guerrilla groups. The fourth session of the PNC, held in Cairo in July 1968, which approved Shuqeiri's resignation, recognized the success of the guerrilla organizations by including them for the first time and electing their leaders to key positions in the organization, most significant of which was the election of Fatah's leader Yasser *Arafat as the PLO's spokesman. The heavy representation in the PNC and the PLO Executive obtained by the guerrilla groups led, in February 1969, at the fifth council session, to their seizure of full control of the PLO, with majority on the Executive. Yasser Arafat was elected chairman, signifying that the guerrilla groups had taken over the PLO.

Thus the PLO represented the core claim of the new Palestinian generation, which intended to play an active role in determining their people's fate rather than leaving it to the Arab states. The fourth PNC session of July 1968 already represented a watershed in PLO history. It changed from being merely a political representative of the Palestinians to a loose umbrella organization for various Palestinian groups, military and civilian alike, with the guerrilla groups as its hard core, as well as for Palestinian communities all over the world. A major result of the changing nature of the PLO was a persistent and uncompromising claim for exclusive authority to speak in the name of the Palestinian people, sometimes imposed by violence on Palestinian figures under Israeli occupation in the West Bank and Gaza strip who dared broach ideas such as the establishment of a Palestinian state in the occupied territories only, or those conducting talks with the Israeli authorities about the political future of these areas.

The new nature of the PLO now also came to be manifested in ideological terms. At the July 1968 PNC session radical modifications were introduced in the PLO Charter. Unlike the pan-Arab (*qawmī*) character of Shuqeiri's PLO, the new Charter assumed a clear Palestinian national nature, bearing the title "The Palestinian National (*watanī*) Charter." The Charter stated that "the Palestinian Arab people" (being an "inseparable part of the Arab nation") "possesses the legal right to its homeland." The Palestinians were defined as those … "Arab citizens who were living permanently in Palestine until 1947" and their descendants, as well as "Jews who are of Palestinian origin" (1964) – or "who were living permanently in Palestine until the beginning of the invasion" (1968), dated in another resolution of the Council as 1917. Only they "will be considered Palestinians" in the future Palestinian state to be established on the whole territory of Mandatory Palestine. The Charter stipulated that the *Balfour declaration, the mandate, the partition of Palestine, and the establishment of the "Zionist entity" were "null and void"; "the claim of a historical or spiritual tie between Jews and Palestine" was denied, "Judaism… is not a nationality, …the Jews are not one people." "The liberation of Palestine… is a national duty to repulse the Zionist, imperialist invasion… and to purge the Zionist presence from Palestine." "The Palestinian people… through the armed Palestinian revolution, reject any solution that would be a substitute for the complete liberation of Palestine." "Armed struggle is the only way to liberate Palestine" and is defined as "a strategy and not a tactic," and the "Fidā'iyyūn [i.e., guerrillas] and their action form the nucleus of the popular Palestinian war of Liberation." The Charter stated that it could be changed by a two-third majority of the PNC.

The new Charter served as a rallying point among the various factions coalesced in the PLO under Fatah leadership, but also subjected the PLO to much criticism in the Western world, due to its extreme language and determination to eliminate the state of Israel as well as to force most of its citizens to leave historic Palestine. It is against this backdrop that in the following years the PLO's political thinking began gradually changing albeit without actually modifying anything in the Charter until May 1996 (see below). Thus, in 1969 the PLO adopted the idea of establishing a secular democratic Palestinian state in which Muslims, Christians, and Jews would be living in harmony. However, this idea was met with objections by some factions, and failed to attract world public support. In the early 1970s, as the Palestinian national cause began penetrating the world's public consciousness – primarily due to Palestinian international terrorism – the PLO leadership also came under growing pressure in the inter-Arab arena to modify its practical political positions. Hence, following the defeat and expulsion of the Palestinian guerrilla groups from Jordan in 1970–71, President Anwar al-*Sadat of Egypt repeatedly urged the PLO leadership to accept a realistic solution based on the West Bank and Gaza Strip, but to no avail.

In the first two decades following the 1967 war the PLO, now dominated by Fatah, focused its efforts toward achieving two main goals: bringing the Palestinians at large to accept the PLO as their exclusive national movement, and pushing the issue of Palestinian national rights, primarily their right to self-determination, into the international limelight in order to finally obtain Arab and international recognition of the organization as the sole legitimate political representative of the Palestinians. Initially, these efforts focused mainly on the Arab world and did not always suit the interests and considerations guiding the Arab regimes. Nonetheless, the combination of the diminished prestige and legitimacy of leading Arab regimes following the defeat of 1967; strong popular support among leftist and nationalist groups in Arab countries for the "Palestinian resistance"; the ongoing guerrilla warfare against Israel and Israel's massive retaliations; and most of all the participation of Palestinian factions in headline-grabbing international terrorism – all turned out to be decisive elements in a process of growing international awareness of the Palestinian issue and the magnification of the PLO's stature both in the Middle East and worldwide. Hence, the relative Arab success in the 1973 war against Israel, and especially the ensuing skyrocketing oil prices and embargo by the Arab oil producers against the United States and Holland, led most of the international community, including the Western European states, to recognize the Palestinian people's right for self-determination, despite reservations about its political course and violent modes of action. By the mid-1970s the PLO had attained full recognition by the majority of the Palestinians in the Arab states and Diaspora as well as in the occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip. The success of the Palestinian organizations in combining terrorism with diplomacy was indeed unique in the worldwide community of underground and terrorist organizations.

The aftermath of the 1967 war also witnessed an increase in the efforts to build the national institutions and mechanisms of an effective Palestinian national organization. The result was that, from 1969 on, the PLO became increasingly dominated by Fatah, whose members or supporters constituted the majority of the bureaucratic personnel in the PLO institutions and organs.

One of the main lessons learned by the founding fathers of Fatah from the national struggle against Zionism during the Mandate and up to the 1948 Palestinian disaster was the need for a centralized national authority based on social and political institutions. This was necessary in order to ensure maximum capability of mobilization of the constituents of the Palestinian community and compliance with the PLO's decision making. However, in the absence of territorial sovereignty and ability to reach out to the major Palestinian communities in the Arab world, the PLO could hardly impose its full and exclusive authority on all Palestinian factions – some of which represented the interests of Arab regimes. Under these circumstances Fatah had to compromise and accept a loose confederation of independent organizations, each with its own agenda and sources of financial and military resources. The PLO under Arafat thus functioned more as an overall national framework than a practical structure of a "state in the making." The PLO consisted of the main following representing institutions:

(1) The "Palestinian National Council," which functioned as an occasional parliament and consisted of representatives from military organizations (the main constituent), civil trade unions such as workers, writers, engineers, doctors, women, and students, as well as delegates of Palestinian communities of refugees both in the Arab world and the Diaspora. In the absence of regular elections (except in the trade unions), the majority of the Council members, whose number changed from session to session according to internal political compromises, were appointed, not elected. Effectively, the composition of the Council and other Palestinian national bodies was determined by the heads of the military organizations and reflected their relative strengths, even in the case of civil bodies. Being the largest representative body of the Palestinian people, the main function of the Council was to legitimize major decisions and policies shaped by Fatah's leadership, headed by Arafat. With neither the readiness nor ability to introduce changes into the Palestinian National Charter, especially from the mid-1970s, the National Council, through successive decisions – such as the adoption of a "two states solution" and participation in the Madrid process of the 1990s effectively sanctioned the PLO's deviation from strict adherence to the Charter,.

(2) The Executive Committee, functioning as a government with representatives of the main military organizations and several independent members, usually identified with Fatah. The Executive Committee was composed of departments acting as ministries, such as Foreign Affairs, Military, Finance, Propaganda/Information, Education and Culture, and Refugees. Beside the Executive Committee there existed bodies dealing with operations, security and intelligence, research and planning, culture and humanities and publishing institutes responsible for the frequent publications. The PLO established a system of official representatives functioning as embassies and had standing and diverse contacts with international organizations such as the United Nations and its agencies and with left-wing parties and Arab lobbies worldwide. The Executive Committee offered financial aid to families of the fallen and those injured in the course of actions and protest acts. It also ran productive enterprises under Fatah responsibility established for the employment of the families of the fallen. Along the years it developed into a profit-making financial concern (*samed*).

(3) The Central Council, established in 1969 as an emergency body, consisted of 50–60 members of the major military organizations. The necessity for such a body stemmed from the occasional difficulties of convening the PNC and the need for legitimizing the Executive Committee's decisions on important political matters.

The PLO was also most active in setting up a Palestinian educational system, primarily in the refugee camps in Jordan, Lebanon, and Syria, which deepened the bond between the national organization, Palestinian society, and the military groups. The main effort of the Palestinian organizations in the military and political spheres (mobilization and institutionalization) was directed at the inhabitants of the refugee camps, which the PLO wished to turn into ex-territorial bases, or "states within a state," and in fact it succeeded in getting semi-official recognition from the host states for a time (Lebanon, 1969–82; Jordan, 1969–70). The preference for the refugee camps may be attributed to the fact that the majority of the Palestinian leaders were refugees themselves and had drawn much of their legitimization from this common background.

Despite their rhetoric in support of the Palestinian goal of liberating Palestine, however, the Arab states were ambivalent in their practical relations with the PLO due to the contradiction between their *raison d'état* and the Palestinian *raison de la nation*. This problem was acute in politically divided countries, such as Jordan and Lebanon, where large numbers of Palestinians lived. With the growing presence of armed Palestinian groups in these states and repeated Israeli military raids in retaliation for Palestinian terrorist operations across the borders and abroad, the collision between the state and the Palestinian establishment was inevitable, as demonstrated by the elimination of the Palestinian military presence in Jordan in 1970–71 and the failed attempts of the Lebanese army to impose control over Palestinian military activities in 1968–73, which was one of the main reasons for the eruption of the Lebanese civil war (1975–90). Israel's invasion of Lebanon and pressure for the expulsion of PLO headquarters and military units from this country deprived the PLO of its last semi-autonomous territorial base and practically eliminated its military options, giving rise to other strategies of international diplomacy and civil mobilization of the Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza Strip.

Following the October 1973 War, confronted with Egyptian and Syrian determination to employ diplomacy as a legitimate means to recover their territories occupied by Israel, and induced by the Soviet Union to adopt a "strategy of phases," the PLO resolved, at its 12th PNC meeting held in Cairo in June 1974, to establish a "combatant Palestinian National Authority on any liberated part of Palestine." The decision also reflected the PLO's intensifying competition with Hashemite Jordan over attaining exclusive representation of the occupied West

Bank in the internationally-supervised diplomatic process. Indeed, in November 1973, the Arab summit conference held in Algiers recognized the PLO as "the legitimate representative of the Palestinian people" at the expense of Jordan. Furthermore, in October of the following year the Arab summit conference held in Rabat resolved that the PLO was the "sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people," effectively excluding Jordan from the Middle East peace process. From an Israeli and American viewpoint, however, the PLO remained inadequate as a partner in the peace process due to its extreme ideology, terrorist attacks on Israeli civilian targets, and its objection to the very existence of Israel, or to UN resolution 242, which established the legal international basis of a peaceful settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict.

In retrospect, the decision of June 1974 came to be interpreted as the beginning of the PLO's shift toward acceptance of a Palestinian state in the West Bank and Gaza Strip only, alongside Israel. This tendency became clearer in the following years. Thus, in March 1977, the PLO adopted the resolution made by the Arab summit conference in Cairo (October 1976), affirming the inalienable right of the Palestinian people to "establish its independent state on its own national soil." In the late 1970s, PLO leaders were willing to meet non-Zionist "progressive" Israeli figures and then also leftist-Zionists – under the auspices of Communist European governments such as Romania and Hungary.

Although the PLO itself possessed neither military power nor a specific guerrilla apparatus, it was often identified with terrorist activities. This was mainly because of the direct responsibility of Fatah leaders, including Arafat, for such actions and their dominant position within the PLO. The early 1970s witnessed intensified international terrorism against foreign airliners – hijacking, attacks on passengers in terminals, and the taking of hostages – waged by some PLO member organizations, primarily the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP) and Fatah. Despite the worldwide image of the PLO as a terrorist organization, its participation in international terrorism was marginal and never rose above 5 percent. Nonetheless, the impact of Palestinian terrorism was of far-reaching international dimensions owing to the innovation and novelty displayed in the Palestinian terrorist actions both in the selection of targets and in their execution, making them a model for other terrorist organizations. Furthermore, the support of the Palestinian organizations by the Arab states enabled them to supply various underground and terrorist organizations with weapons, training, documentation, liaison agents, and escape routes. Fatah ceased its involvement in international terrorism in 1974 out of political considerations and a desire for PLO inclusion in the Middle East peace process. However, this type of guerrilla warfare was continued by the PFLP (and, from 1975, only by its dissident group headed by Wadi Haddad) and by other dissident factions such as that of Abu Nidal.

From the outset, the PLO managed to extract funds from the oil monarchies in the Gulf as well as from Palestinians working in those countries. These Arab funds enabled it to build a growing institutional system and bureaucracy and run political, economic, and financial enterprises, social, health, and educational institutions, a diverse press, research centers, and enterprises publishing books and periodicals. In addition, the PLO established diplomatic representation in many world capitals as well as a worldwide information/propaganda network. PLO chairman Arafat was constantly traveling around the Arab and developing world capitals for consultations and conferences (including a November 1974 appearance at the UN General Assembly, at the latter's invitation). In the course of the 1970s the PLO won recognition from an increasing number of states and Arafat came to be received as a head of state. From 1969, and more so from 1974, the PLO became a recipient of "steadfastness" (*ṣumūd*) funds which allowed the organization to distribute them among its followers in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. The Baghdad Arab summit conference of November 1978 allocated for this purpose an annual sum of $100 million (apart from allocations to the PLO itself) for 10 years. This aid was to be jointly distributed to the Palestinian residents of the West Bank and Gaza Strip by Jordan and the PLO. Despite their animosity, a "Jordan-PLO Joint Committee for the Occupied Territories" was established to distribute these funds, and a limited presence of PLO offices and representatives was again permitted. This enabled Fatah to deepen its penetration within the Palestinian population in the occupied territories and build an institutional political infrastructure to support the organization from within.

The Joint Jordan-PLO Committee paved the road to further rapprochement between the two contenders, which took place following the expulsion of the PLO and its military buildup from Lebanon in late August 1982 and the Reagan Plan of September 1. In 1983–85 King Hussein and PLO Chairman Arafat conducted a series of talks with the aim of reaching a formula for joint Jordanian-Palestinian political action in the context of the Middle East peace negotiations and future Jordanian-Palestinian confederation.

The problem of PLO participation in the peace process was indeed a major procedural obstacle for moving from the Israel-Egypt and Israel-Syria military disengagement agreements signed in early 1974 to a comprehensive settlement which was to be discussed within the framework of the Geneva conference. The problem was a result of the PLO's status as the "sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people," as recognized by the Rabat summit conference in October 1974. However, knowing the Israeli attitude toward the PLO, the Arab regimes had been well aware of the implications of such a decision on the peace process. Moreover, in 1975, following the signing of the Israel-Egypt Interim Agreement in Sinai, Israel received an American commitment that the U.S. government would not have contacts with the PLO as long as the organization did not renounce terrorism, accept resolution 242, and recognize Israel's right to exist. The PLO, however, adamantly objected to making such compromises before being recognized as an equal party in the Arab-

Israeli peacemaking process. It was this deadlock regarding the Palestinian participation in the Geneva conference that led Sadat to his decision to take the initiative and visit Jerusalem. This, however, did not make PLO decision-making any easier. The Israel-Egypt peace negotiations forced the PLO leaders to close ranks with the radical Arab regimes, in order to survive politically. Thus, the PLO joined the "Steadfastness and Confrontation Front" established in Tripoli, Libya, in December 1977 in response to Sadat's visit to Jerusalem. Hussein's pressure on the PLO to accept UN Resolution 242 in the course of their negotiations in 1983–86 failed, as did that of Egypt's President Husni *Mubarak. The main obstacle to a renewed peace process in the 1980s was a formal acceptance by the PLO of Israel's right to exist, renunciation of terrorism in all forms, and a clear commitment to peaceful coexistence with Israel. In the diplomatic code this was formulated as "accepting Resolution 242."

On the PLO's part, there was an additional reason for rejecting Resolution 242: The resolution spoke of the need to resolve the "refugee" problem, without mentioning the Palestinian refugees and certainly not the Palestinian people and its national rights. Suggestions by the U.S. administration to accept the principles of the resolution while registering a reservation concerning Palestinian national rights proved unacceptable to the PLO. Evasive, open-ended remarks – like accepting "all" UN resolutions – were unacceptable to the U.S. and Israel, as were the PLO's pre-condition that it be recognized by the U.S. (once it endorsed Resolution 242), or receive a priori acceptance of its demands for Palestinian statehood and self-determination. The vital issue of accepting the principles of Resolution 242 therefore remained unresolved through most of the 1980s.

Israel's invasion of Lebanon in June 1982 and the siege of Beirut ended in late August, after nine weeks of fighting, in the expulsion of the Palestinian armed forces and bureaucracy. The evacuation of 11,000–14,000 PLO personnel from Beirut was internationally supervised, and tacitly supported by most Arab states, including Saudi Arabia, Syria, and Lebanon. The PLO headquarters and military units moved to Tunisia, while others were accepted in Sudan, Yemen, and South Yemen. With its headquarters in Tunis and military forces dispersed and far from the borders of Israel, the PLO was stripped of its military option, politically weakened, and under threat of demise. In December 1983 Arafat and 4,000 of his men were evacuated from Tripoli – again with international supervision and support. In 1983–86, Arafat succeeded in reinfiltrating some of his apparatus into Lebanon and renewing the military infrastructure by smuggling weapons into the Palestinian camps, especially in the southern parts of the country.

The *Intifada in the West Bank and Gaza Strip, which erupted in late 1987, came as a surprise to the PLO, sending a threatening message viv-à-vis the PLO's authority over the Palestinian people "inside" the homeland. At the 19th PNC session, in November 1988, the PLO proclaimed the establishment of an independent Palestinian state on the basis of UN Resolution 181 (of November 1947, on the partition of Palestine). One month later Arafat publicly renounced terrorism and accepted Resolutions 242 and 338. The decision was taken under pressure from the Palestinian "inside" leadership following a year of Intifada and American pressure conditioning the opening of a political dialogue with the PLO on such steps.

However the dilemma within the PLO still existed as to whether to abandon the armed struggle and cling to the political process or to keep both on the agenda. This dilemma was manifested on several occasions, such as the terrorist action conducted on Israel's coastline in May 1990 by the Palestine Liberation Front (PLF), which Arafat refused to denounce, causing the cessation of the diplomatic dialogue between the PLO and the U.S. Another example was the support shown by Arafat for Iraq during the Gulf crisis in 1991. This position brought on Arafat and the PLO the wrath of the Gulf oil monarchies and a decision to cease all funding by these states to the PLO and the Palestinians in the occupied territories. This led to a financial crisis within the PLO's mainstream Fatah, forcing it to reduce activities such as the publication of newspapers, welfare services, and funding of its supporters in Arab states and the occupied territories. Furthermore, the growing power of *Hamas (the Islamic Resistance Movement) in the occupied territories and its refusal to join the PLO as one of its factions and on Arafat's conditions, all determined the PLO's reluctant acceptance of the American formula for the Madrid conference in late 1991. The PLO had to acquiesce to Israel's conditions for the participation of Palestinian delegates from the occupied territories within the framework of a joint Jordanian-Palestinian delegation. However, during the talks, the Palestinian delegates were constantly and overtly instructed by the PLO.

During the winter-spring of 1993, the PLO and unofficial Israeli delegates began exploring ways in Washington to overcome the deadlocked Israeli-Palestinian talks. The secret talks held in Oslo, Norway, soon amounted to full-fledged official negotiations, representing the PLO's attempt to regain control of the diplomatic process with Israel and keep the American hosts at bay. In August, Arafat informed Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin that the PLO was committed to the peace process in the Middle East, reaffirming its recognition of Resolutions 242 and 338. A few weeks later the Declaration of Principles between Israel and the PLO was signed on the White House lawn. The most conspicuous part of the document was the parties' mutual recognition. The PLO was officially recognized by Israel and the U.S. government as the legal representative of the Palestinian people in the peace process and in implementing its resolutions until elections to the *Palestinian Authority (PA) were held. The elections for the PA's council and chairperson were held in January 1996, reaffirming Arafat's unchallenged position, with Fatah members winning a dominant position in the Council. Arafat remained the PLO chairman and at the same time the chairman of the PA.

Although in principle the PLO stands above the PA and the Oslo accords were all signed between Israel and the PLO, in the late 1990s the PLO was increasingly shunted aside by the PA, with the latter occupying the center of Palestinian society and politics. The PLO retained its headquarters in Tunis, with Farouq Qaddoumi as the main figure identified with the organization and its commitment to Palestinian Diaspora communities. In spite of funds funneled by Arafat to refugee camps in Lebanon, the PLO's scope of action and responsibilities were reduced considerably after the establishment of the PA. Arafat's control of PLO-PA funds enabled him to transfer financial aid to Palestinian communities, especially in Lebanon, in violation of the conditions of the donating countries. This was also manifested in the PNC session in April 1996 in Gaza, whose aim was to express support for the peace process and alter the Palestinian National Charter in accordance with Arafat's commitment in his letter to Prime Minister Rabin of September 11, 1993. In this letter Arafat undertook to alter the Palestinian National Charter by nullifying those articles in the Charter that explicitly or implicitly denied Israel's right to exist or called for its destruction. With the changing of governments in Israel in May 1996 and the election of Netanyahu as prime minister, however, Israel demanded an unequivocal decision in this matter, reflecting the weakening of trust between the two parties. In November 1998, in the presence of U.S. President Clinton, Arafat convened the PLO's Central Council and passed the necessary resolution which won Israel's approval.

The eruption of the al-Aqsa Intifada in October 2000 and deterioration of Israeli-Palestinian relations into murderous violence against Israeli citizens and massive military retaliations by Israel against PA headquarters and installations; and the confinement of Arafat in his compound in Ramallah in late 2002, all underscored the importance of Arafat as the living symbol of the Palestinian resistance and continued struggle against Israel.

The death of Arafat in November 2004 and the election of Mahmoud Abbas as the PA's new chairman (in addition to his appointment as PLO chairman) introduced little change in the relations between these two institutions. However, with Abbas at the helm, the PLO lost much of the revolutionary, militant image symbolized by Arafat with his rhetoric and military uniforms. Instead, the new PA leader tried to introduce a clear civilian image and statesmanlike thinking in managing the PA. At the same time, he had to accept Qaddoumi, an ardent opponent of the Oslo process and a symbol of the PLO revolutionary legacy, as chair of the Central Committee of Fatah, the main decision-making body of the mainstream Palestinian movement. All these equations were thrown into confusion with the surprise victory of *Hamas in the PA's parliamentary elections of January 2006. (For Israel's subsequent clashes with Hamas, see *Israel, State of: Historical Survey.)

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[Avraham Sela (2nd ed.)]

PALESTINE OFFICE, the name of a Zionist institution whose meaning and function was entirely different before World War I and after it. (1) In 1908 a Palestine office *(Palaestinaamt)* was established in Ereẓ Israel, with its seat in Jaffa, by the executive of the World Zionist Organization. Headed by Arthur *Ruppin, it served under the Ottoman regime as the central agency for Zionist settlement activities, including land purchase and aiding immigration. (2) After World War I the name Palestine Offices was applied to Zionist "consulates" in the Diaspora countries charged with the organization, regulation, and implementation of Jewish immigration to Palestine. The first Palestine Office of this kind was set up in Vienna in 1918. Subordinated from 1921 to the Immigration Department of the Zionist Executive, which functioned under the provisions of the Mandate as the *Jewish Agency for Palestine, the Palestine offices were run in every country by a commission (*Palaestinaamtskommission*) composed of representatives of various Zionist parties, on the basis of parity or according to their strength at the last Zionist Congress, frequently with a preponderance of Labor Zionists and always with a strong representation of pioneering youth movements. The composition and functions of the Palestine offices were governed by the resolutions of Zionist Congresses, particularly the 12th, 13th, and 14th (1921–25).

In the 1920s and 1930s the Palestine Office distributed the immigration "certificates" issued by the Mandatory government to the Jewish Agency; dealt with *hakhsharah* (i.e., agricultural training of *ḥalutzim*); provided information to prospective immigrants; prepared and provided the necessary travel documents; and served as a link to the British consulates and the authorities of the country concerned. In those years Palestine offices existed in most European capitals (the largest being in Warsaw) as well as in exit ports to Palestine (like Trieste) and large provincial towns of some countries with a dense Jewish population (like Poland). After the outbreak of World War II, the Geneva Palestine Office engaged in rescuing Jews from Axis-dominated territories and transferring them to Palestine. In later stages of the war, the offices in Istanbul and Teheran – and after its end, those in Vienna, Munich, Rome, and Marseilles – acquired particular importance in these rescue operations. After World War II the Palestine offices unofficially assisted the "illegal" *immigration to Palestine of refugees and survivors of the Holocaust.

With the establishment of the State of Israel (1948), the jurisdiction and activities of these offices underwent considerable change. They were named offices of the immigration Department of the Jewish Agency and, mostly administered by emissaries from Israel, were charged with nongovernmental functions complementary to those of the consulates of the Israel government, as, e.g., the promotion and organization of Jewish immigration to Israel and particularly the transport of immigrants needing the Jewish Agency's assistance.

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[Aharon Zwergbaum]

PALESTINIAN AUTHORITY (PA, the Palestinian designation being Palestinian National Authority), semi-official, self-governing Palestinian body established in May 1994 in accordance with the Israel-PLO Declaration of Principles (DOP) signed on September 13, 1993 on behalf of the *Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO). On its establishment the PA governed most of the Gaza Strip and the town of Jericho in the Jordan Valley, representing the first step in the implementation of the interim arrangements for Israeli withdrawal ("redeployment") from territories in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. This process was to culminate in "permanent status talks" to begin in May 1996 on all major issues in dispute between the two parties (settlements, Jerusalem, Palestinian refugees, and the final status of the PA and its territory). The DOP agreement stipulated that the transfer of responsibilities to the PA would be completed within five years and would include education and culture, health, social welfare, direct taxation, and tourism. It was also agreed that a Palestinian police force would be established in order to maintain internal security and prevent hostile acts of terror against Israel by the Palestinian population under its authority. Israel would retain overall authority for security and defense regarding all external threats, and particularly the safety of the Israeli settlers.

The Israel-PLO negotiations that led to the establishment of the PA became possible following King Hussein's proclamation, on July 31, 1988, formally relinquishing Jordan's legal and administrative control over the Palestinian territories. After this act, the Palestinian National Council (PNC) unilaterally declared, at its November 1988 meeting in Algiers, the establishment of an independent Palestinian state based on the UN partition resolution of November 1947. On May 17, 1994, Israel and the PLO signed the Cairo Agreement. This elaborated the transfer of authority to the Palestinians as well as the security arrangements between the two sides. Soon after, the PLO officially established the PA. It was the nucleus of a government apparatus, which assumed control of the Gaza Strip (excluding the Israeli settlements) and Jericho. Before the end of June of that same year, Yasser *Arafat arrived in Gaza to chair the PA. The interim agreement (Oslo II), signed on September 28, 1995, between Israel and the PA, set the timetable and modalities for the later stages of the process. In accordance with this agreement, by late December 1995 the IDF had withdrawn from five major towns in the West Bank (out of the six stipulated in the agreement) in preparation for elections to both the Palestinian Council and the office of PA chairman. Withdrawal from the city of Hebron was postponed by Shimon Peres's government as a consequence of terrorist attacks and growing Israeli public resentment of the Oslo process.

The interim agreement divided the West Bank into three jurisdictional zones:

Area A (3 percent of the West Bank territory), including the urban areas, under full Palestinian authority; Area B (27 percent of the West Bank), including a large part of the rural area, under Palestinian authority for all civil matters, including public order, and Israeli authority for security matters; and Area C, the rest, and most of the West Bank, including the settlements, the IDF bases, the Jordan Valley, and the desert area – under full IDF authority, except for personal law. In February 1995 the Higher State Security Court was established in Gaza. One of its first decisions was the abolition of the Israeli legal system (military and civilian) that had existed since the occupation of these territories in 1967. Instead, the previous legal system was applied – the Jordanian law in the West Bank and the British Mandatory law in the Gaza Strip. According to the interim agreement, both legal systems were to be valid in criminal and civil matters only. The agreement, however, left in force Israeli law in all three zones of the West Bank.

The PA held its first meeting on May 26, 1994, with 20 members of the temporary nominated forum (with the absence of its chairman, Yasser Arafat). The lion's share of the PA's bureaucracy initially came from PLO headquarters in Tunis, though it was later complemented and probably outweighed by active local members of Fatah, the mainstream organization, many of whom had spent varying periods in Israeli prisons or in exile. The PA's new bureaucracy doubled the already existing apparatus of teachers and officials (about 20,000), who had been employed by the Israeli civil administration in the West Bank and Gaza. Furthermore, the PA created a huge body of various security and police forces, encompassing 25,000–30,000 men, mostly from previous Palestinian security apparatuses and military units. Within a short time the PA became the largest employer in the territory under its control. Furthermore, Palestinian dependence on external financial aid channeled through the PA gave the latter increased power, which would also be bolstered by its strategy of centralizing the economy.

Within less than two years, by building up official institutions of power, the PA managed to bring to bear policy-making capabilities and enforce order in a society that had never enjoyed self-government. This was mainly apparent in the emergence of numerous security organizations, all subordinated to Chairman Arafat but lacking coordination among them and fighting for power and financial allocations. In November 1994 the PA's security apparatus clashed with Islamist rioters at the Filastin Mosque in Gaza, killing a number of them. The riots were the result of accusations made by the Islamic Jihad that the PA had provided Israeli security apparatuses with intelligence that enabled it to eliminate one of its leaders. Similarly the PA had the upper hand in the clash with Jordan over the appointment to the prestigious position of mufti of Jerusalem. In October 1996 Arafat's security apparatus acted to enforce the appointment of Sheikh ʿIkrameh Sabri to this position and replace the Jordan-appointed Sheikh ʿAbdin.

In addition to establishing its radio and television authority, the PA also established its own print media organs. Apart from the independent daily *al-Quds*, which had been published in Jerusalem since 1968, two other daily newspapers were launched by the PA or at its behest in Ramallah in the West Bank in 1995. *Al-Hayat al-Jadida* ("The New Life") was founded by PA Cabinet member Nabil ʿAmr. The paper has been considered the PA's official organ. The other daily, *al-Ayyam* ("The Days"), was started by Akram Haniyya. In the summer of 1997 the PA also opened a stock exchange in which only companies registered in the PA areas could be listed. In the field of education the PA inherited eight universities and 15 colleges. By the late 1990s these institutes of higher education encompassed 71,000 students and 4,100 faculty members.

On January 20, 1996, the first elections to the Palestine (Legislative) Council (PLC) and PA presidency took place under international supervision. Many participated – approximately 88 percent of eligible voters in Gaza and 70 percent in the West Bank. Palestinian residents of East Jerusalem also participated in the elections, though in a much lower proportion. The Islamic Resistance Movement (*Hamas) officially boycotted the elections. In practice, however, the movement encouraged its adherents to cast their votes in favor of independent candidates – identified as Islamists – winning five seats in the PLC. As expected, the Fatah list – shaped and backed by Yasser Arafat – won 49 of the total 88 seats in the PLC (more than 55 percent). In addition, other independent Fatah candidates were elected, giving the movement 75 percent of the Council's seats.

Political opposition to the PA remained in disarray, having negligible impact, except for Hamas. The opposition, whose leaders and sources of political and financial support were based outside the Palestinian territory, had consisted of three main types and forms: (a) The Ten Front, a loose Syrian-based alignment of militant Palestinian groups, including: the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP); the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine (DFLP; in March 1999 it was expelled from the Front because of its leader's repeated statements recognizing the State of Israel); the Palestine Liberation Front (PLF); Palestine Popular Struggle Front (PPSF); Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine-General Command (PFLP-GC), Palestine Revolutionary Communist Party, Fatah al-Intifada (Fatah of the Uprising), al-Sa'iqa, Hamas; and the Islamic Jihad; (b) Individuals like Haidar Abdel Shafi (who resigned his membership in the PLC in 1996) and other Cabinet and Council members, most conspicuous of whom was Abdel Jawad Saleh, former mayor of al-Bireh and PLO Executive member; c) PLO mainstream figures in the Diaspora, such as Faruq al-Qaddoumi, head of the PLO Political Department, who voiced his objections to the Oslo Agreement and its implementation by Arafat. Despite this opposition Qaddoumi not only retained his position but maintained his working relationship with Arafat and was considered the strongest candidate to succeed him as PLO Chairman.

The PA's performance came under growing Israeli public criticism as a result of continued terrorist attacks on Israelis both in the occupied territories and within the Green Line, carried out mainly by Hamas and the Islamic Jihad. The debate in Israel about Arafat's policies turned increasingly toward the view that he had been avoiding decisive measures of repression against Islamist terrorism and its sponsors because he was not interested in putting an end to violence and in fact perceived it as a legitimate means of struggle even in the course of the Oslo process. Arafat was forced to take decisive measures against Hamas and the Islamic Jihad following the suicide bombings of February–March 1996 in Jerusalem, Tel Aviv, and Ashkelon. However, the scope of his measures then was never repeated. In fact, Arafat used the Islamic opposition as an instrument in the face of Israeli delays and procrastination in the peace process, using rapprochement and antagonism vis-à-vis his own opposition in accordance with his needs vis-à-vis Israel. In December 1995, prior to the elections to the PLC slated for January, Arafat's delegates tacitly gave the green light to Hamas's leadership in Cairo to continue its attacks against Israel as long as it did not "embarrass" the PA, namely, did not leave signs that the action had been initiated from PA-controlled areas. Arafat's policy in this respect became a major obstacle in the peace process and a primary arguing point for all the opponents of the Oslo process in Israel. Another argument against the PA was the continued incitement against Israel in the PA's official media and school textbooks, perceived by many Israelis as a clear indication that the PA was not seeking peace and coexistence with Israel. This became apparent during Netanyahu's government (1996–99), which in the Wye Memorandum insisted on reciprocity in the implementation of the provisions of the agreement, making it conditional on putting an end to terrorism and incitement.

The main criticism of the Palestinian militant opposition organizations against the PA leadership revolved around the terms and modalities of the DOP. In this view, Arafat had made excessive concessions to Israel, leaving important issues up in the air, dependent on Israel's good will, such as Jerusalem, the territory to be ceded to the PA, and most of all the right of return for the Palestinian refugees. Criticism against the PA within the Palestinian community, primarily in the West Bank, hinged on the dominant role played by the PLO people arriving from Tunisia and other Arab states after capturing key positions at the expense of local inhabitants. This criticism may have been unjustified given the large number of local Palestinians in the PA's bureaucracy and yet it was and remained a dominant perception among many Palestinians. The international community of donors, which provided the bulk of the PA's budget, expressed similar concerns about the lack of transparency and accountability and the general financial management of the PA.

By 1997 internal criticism of the PA grew vehement, revolving around Arafat's authoritarian rule, the PA's centralized decision-making process, mismanagement of financial allocations, and growing manifestations of corruption, abuse of power, and human rights violations by the security agencies and senior officials of the PA. The campaign of criticism came from within Fatah itself, particularly the younger members of the PLC. This led to the appointment of an investigative committee, whose report to the elected PA Council was submitted in the fall of 1997. The report revealed that $326 million (or 37 percent of the PA's budget) was unaccounted for due to fraud, corruption, and mismanagement. The report also recommended the dismissal of three cabinet members on grounds of corruption. Although the three resigned, Arafat refused to accept their resignations or adopt the report, even though he accepted it in principle. In August 1998, after much procrastination and pressures by the critics, Arafat announced a new cabinet, enlarged by ten new members, leaving the three ministers charged with corruption in place and shifting the three leading critics within the cabinet to posts without portfolios. Though the new cabinet won a vote of confidence in the PLC, 28 members voted against it, of whom 11 were Fatah members. The reshuffle led to the resignation from the cabinet of the minister of agriculture, Abdel Jawad al-Saleh, and the minister of higher education, Hanan Ashrawi.

The foundation of the PA, along with the elections to its Council, finally shifted the center of gravity of Palestinian politics from the Diaspora to the Gaza Strip and West Bank. This centralization came to the fore in Arafat's dual role as chairman of the PLO Executive Committee and PA chairman. This initially drew the criticism of many Palestinians, especially among the West Bank intellectual elite. However, this criticism diminished with the growing use of coercive means by the PA, along with policies of control, containment, and cooption of existing non-government organizations and institutions of higher education.

From the outset, the PA's existence was marked by dependence on external financial sources, due to the urgent need for infrastructure and economic development. To insure the implementation of the Oslo Agreement, in October 1993, the major economic powers (particularly the U.S., Canada, the European Community, and Japan) met under the auspices of the World Bank to devise plans for financial aid to the PA. Pledges made in late 1993 reached $2.4 billion over four years (by late 1997 the total amount of pledges had reached $3.68 billion), of which a total of $1.8 billion was provided in two main forms: long-term projects for infrastructure, industry, and other development purposes; and short-term, stopgap measures such as creating new jobs to curtail unemployment and cover budgetary deficits. The World Bank founded the Holst Fund (named after late Norwegian Foreign Minister Jorgen Holst) to marshal the short-term aid. (This was originally intended to operate until late 1997, but was extended to 1998.) An Ad Hoc Liaison Committee was set up to monitor the disbursement process, while the PLO established PECDAR (the Palestine Economic Council for Development and Reconstruction) as the main vehicle for economic policy. For the first three projects of the World Bank's Emergency Assistance Program (EAP), which were approved in May 1994, donors pledged an immediate $42 million. However, problems arose soon after the funds started flowing to the PA. There were discrepancies in accountability and transparency concerning the way the financial aid was being spent. A number of PA ministries contended for primacy, including the PLO political department headed by Farouq Qaddoumi. Other problems were caused by external economic circumstances such as the Israeli curfews, roadblocks, and closures of Palestinian cities, imposed because of terrorist acts perpetrated by the Islamic opposition movements. The closures had an immediate effect on the Palestinian population's ability to pay their taxes to the PA. Moreover, the PA-Israel economic agreement signed in 1994 in Paris remained mostly unimplemented. All this came against the backdrop of years of uprising (Intifada) and the large-scale expulsion of Palestinians from the Gulf states since 1990, reducing remittances from these Arab countries. Thus, much of the aid flowing to the PA was spent to make good the PLO's deficits. In response the donor nations tended to hold back further sums. In August 1994, the UN appointed Terje Larsen, who had been the initiator of the Oslo academic track negotiations, as the envoy in charge of the disbursement of funds in Gaza. Larsen's plan included a new mechanism for controlling the funds through committees composed of representatives of both the PA and the donor countries. All the committees were to be devoted to key areas, such as the creation of jobs, education, infrastructure, etc. Private Palestinian investors are another source of investment in the PA. They come mainly from Jordan, but there are also some from elsewhere in the Diaspora. In 1993, Padico (Palestinian Development and Investment Company) was founded with a capital of $200 million. This initiative helped build factories and some tourist projects with the financial aid of Palestinians, Jordanian banks, and U.S. and Egyptian companies. Following the interim agreement in September 1995, U.S. Secretary of State Warren Christopher hosted an Ad Hoc Liaison Committee (AHLC) aimed at creating a framework for increased assistance to the PA by the European countries. More specifically, it meant to support projects that addressed infrastructure needs and created employment opportunities for Palestinians. However, prospects for a larger scope of private investment by Palestinians faded because of the PA's centralized economy and the sense of insecurity caused by terrorist attacks and closures. These obstacles to sustained economic development culminated in the virtual halt of the Oslo process after the formation of a right-wing government in Israel headed by Binyamin Netanyahu (May 1996).

The Netanyahu term as prime minister led to significant erosion of PA trust in Israeli intentions regarding the future implementation of the DOP. The Hasmonean Tunnel riots of September 1996 (in which the Palestinians lost 79 people) essentially set the tone for the next two years of Netanyahu's stay in power, despite the agreements the latter signed with Arafat – the Hebron Agreement (January 1997) and the Wye Memorandum (October 1998). While the Hebron Agreement was fully implemented, the Wye Memorandum, which accounted for further Israeli redeployments in order to bring about the final status talks, was only partly implemented. In addition, other issues on the agenda remained long-delayed, such as the release of prisoners from Israeli prisons, opening the "safe passage" from the Gaza Strip to the West Bank, and building a harbor and airport in the Gaza Strip (the latter was finally opened in 1998). At the same time, the economic conditions of the Palestinian population constantly deteriorated due to repeated closures imposed by Israel following terrorist attacks on its civilians inside the "Green Line." The advent of a Labor-led government headed by Ehud *Barak in May 1999 raised Palestinian expectations for rapid progress in the peacemaking process. However, the continued delay in implementing further Israeli deployments and fear that Barak was trying to gain time and achieve a settlement with Syria first sowed increasing doubts about the prospects for a breakthrough in the Oslo process.

The combination of growing economic depression and continued diplomatic stalemate aggravated the PA's problem of legitimacy and played a significant role in shaping its political conduct. Arafat's legitimacy problem was clearly manifested by the growing opposition within his own organization, Fatah. It is in this context that from the fall of 1998 Arafat made repeated declarations regarding his intention to proclaim an independent Palestinian state by May 4, 1999 (the deadline for reaching a final status agreement). These declarations, apparently meant to pressure Israel into moving faster in implementing further redeployments in the West Bank, met with widespread international objections and forced Arafat to back down from such a unilateral measure. However, this was another setback for the PA and for Arafat personally, further eroding his standing. In November 1999, 20 academics and members of the PLC – including Fatah members – signed a declaration condemning the peace process as a conspiracy against Palestinian national aspirations and accusing PA leaders of corruption and oppression. Although Arafat was not directly blamed for the stalemate and corruption, this petition was yet another indication of the growing impatience among Palestinians with the PA's performance on both the diplomatic and economic fronts.

In December 1999–January 2000 the PA enjoyed a temporary respite due to the celebration of the new millennium. In the previous years both Israel and the PA had made efforts to prepare for expected waves of pilgrims and tourists, with not much coordination, though each side invested a great deal of financial and administrative effort in these preparations (the number of hotel rooms in Bethlehem was doubled within two years). In March, Arafat hosted Pope *John Paul in his visit to PA-controlled Bethlehem.

In view of the failure of the Camp David summit and subsequent American mediation efforts to bring about an agreed-upon Framework Agreement for Permanent Status, the growing Palestinian frustration culminated in the eruption of the al-Aqsa Intifada in late September 2000. Though the riots began in response to the visit of Ariel *Sharon to the Temple Mount, the continued violence and its encouragement by Arafat pointed to the underlying causes, namely, frustration over the stalemated Oslo process and over the PA's conduct as a governing institution. After the outbreak of the violence dozens of representatives of the multi-factional Intifada leadership met with Arafat and urged him to declare war against corruption. The demand to stop the embezzlement of funds led to the assassination of the head of the PA's broadcasting service, allegedly on grounds of transferring funds to his personal account. The perpetrators, identified with Fatah's armed branch (*tanzim*), were never prosecuted. These events had some effect on the willingness of potential donors to continue providing funds to the PA. Thus, the Arab League refused to transfer millions of dollars in aid to the PA out of fear that top officials would get their hands on the money. Western donors, however, while reducing aid transfers, also changed priorities in aid commitments. Thus, less funds were disbursed for direct budget needs and more was allocated for specific projects and emergency aid.

The continued violence and Israeli reprisals – directed at the PA's offices, security headquarters, police stations, prisons, and, finally, the symbols of authority connected with Arafat himself, brought about a steady and systematic destruction of the PA's capabilities and risked its very existence. Under Sharon's leadership, Israeli policies toward Arafat became more vehemently hostile. The growing terrorist attacks by Palestinians of all factions, with Fatah taking the lead, and unprecedented understanding of Israel's need to fight terrorism following the September 11, 2001, attacks in New York and Washington and the capture of *Karin* A, a boat manned by Palestinian security personnel loaded with arms provided and financed for by Iran, led Israel to intensify its attacks on the PA's symbols of authority. In December the government declared Arafat "irrelevant" after placing him under virtual house arrest at his headquarters in Ramallah and preventing his arrival in Bethlehem for the Christmas Mass at the Church of the Nativity. This was followed by Israeli statements, especially from right-wing politicians, expressing the wish to expel or get rid of Arafat, ostensibly in order to allow an alternative leadership to take over with whom Israel could negotiate. The deterioration of security in Israeli cities due to the increasing wave of suicide bombings culminated in Israel's invasion of PA areas and the "isolation" of Arafat in his office while it raided Palestinian cities, refugee camps, and villages throughout April 2002 in order to destroy the terrorist infrastructure.

Although the Israeli incursion ("Operation Defensive Shield") temporarily shifted international criticism from Arafat to Israel, it brought the PA to its lowest point ever, leaving in its wake tremendous destruction and disarray after four weeks of operations, a heavy Israeli military presence around the cities of the West Bank and continuous Israeli military raids to destroy the Palestinian terrorist infrastructure. Henceforth, Palestinian terrorism was reduced considerably in the West Bank.

[Avraham Sela (2nd ed.)]

From this point on, international pressure, driven mostly by President Bush, who was stunned by Arafat's complicity in the *Karin A* affair with the Iranian "axis of evil," aimed at marginalizing and ultimately removing Arafat from political life. Under the banner of reforming the PA, the United States and eventually the European Union insisted that a position of prime minister be established responsible for reform, chiefly to unify the dozen or so security forces in the PA;, that a technocrat with international experience and reputation be made finance minister; and that all revenue and expenditure, especially the payroll of PA personnel, be under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Finance. Arafat was known for personally paying security personnel and other public servants; this state of affairs made it difficult if not impossible to ensure that international aid, which accounted for over 60 percent of PA revenue, would not be diverted to terrorism. United States pressure came in the form of inaction; it henceforth hardly criticized Israeli military moves directed against Palestinian terrorism and was only slightly more assertive when Israel began building the security fence in July 2002, mostly in territory within Judea and Samaria. Along with the stick, however, came an important carrot. In a speech in June 2002, President Bush for the first time committed the United States to the establishment of a Palestinian state. According to the roadmap plan based on the speech sanctioned by Russia, the European Union, and Egypt on September 17, 2002, the PA was to begin dismantling Palestinian terrorist organizations in its midst. Israel would then withdraw its forces from areas "A" in the West Bank, paving the way for the establishment, no later than the end of 2003, of an interim internationally recognized Palestinian state. Final status negotiations would then ensue. The plan envisioned a permanent Palestinian state by 2005.

For a leader like Arafat, permanently besieged in the *muqata'a* in Ramallah by Israeli tanks, the thrust of the roadmap was hardly good news; trying to dismantle fighting organizations, most notably the Al-Aqsa Martyr Brigades and *Hamas, could mean civil war, while reform would undermine if not destroy his political base. And all this to achieve an interim state with 42 percent of the territory, when he could have had a permanent state with over 96 percent of the territories in the Camp David summit in July 2000. Already by May 2002, at a conference in Ramallah, major Palestinian civic leaders were calling for a united command of the factions, including Hamas; In Gaza, half-measures to curtail Hamas terrorist attacks had led in September 2002 to the murder of the head of the riot prevention squad, a lieutenant-colonel, by Hamas activists and though the killers were known, local security personnel were not willing to arrest them. Arafat was slowly losing his legendary grip on Palestinian politics. Gaza, where terrorism against settlers and across the Green Line increased between 2002 and 2005 in contrast to its reduction in Judea and Samaria, also became the scene of increasing internal lawlessness expressed in the rising frequency of fights between Hamas and Fatah, inter-Fatah violence and the kidnapping of foreigners and officials. Lawlessness reached its height in July 2004 when Arafat, ostensibly as part of the reform package of uniting the security forces, appointed Musa Arafat, the head of military intelligence loathed by Fatah activists, as director of security in Gaza. Fatah activists in large numbers turned against their leader for the first time with massive violence against security personnel for over two weeks. Musa Arafat faced two assassination attempts and eventually was murdered in a raid on his home in September 2005.

Though powerless to prevent the creation of the new office of prime minister given to Mahmud Abbas in April 2003 and the appointment of Salam Fayyad, a respected economist and former senior official in the World Bank, as minister of finance, Arafat succeeded in preventing both the unification of the security forces and the payment of security personnel in the official payroll, leading Mahmud Abbas to resign in September 2003. Needless to say, Arafat's death in November 2004 left his successor as head of the PLO and PA, Mahmud Abbas, with a difficult legacy.

To enhance his authority without too much loss of legitimacy and to buy time until he could rebuild the PA's security forces, Abbas decided to hold presidential elections first and postpone legislative elections until later . His strategy seemed to be successful when the young guard leader of Fatah, Marwan Barghuti, first decided from an Israeli jail to contest the presidency and then withdrew under public pressure, allowing Abbas to win nearly 80 percent of the vote in the elections of January 9, 2005. After the elections, however, Abbas, a senior bureaucratic official without any "fighting" past, seemed to lose the opportunity to assert his authority; besides forcing some aging and ineffective senior security personnel to retire, Abbas did very little to get security personnel to act. Though they abounded on the payroll (an estimated 50,000 received salaries, they were not willing to restore law and order in Gaza, which after total Israeli withdrawal in the summer of 2005 became the litmus test of the PA's capabilities to govern. To some extent, the results of four rounds of local elections conducted through 2005, in which Hamas affiliated lists did better than those affiliated to Fatah, were an indication of the PA's ability and the leader at its head to improve governance. The crushing blow came in the January 2006 legislative elections, when Hamas won a parliamentary majority that gave it effective control of the PA apparatus. Given this new reality, coupled with the considerable lawlessness in the PA and the novelty of a weak leader at the helm of a political entity in the Middle East, in 2006 the PA's fate, along with the future of Palestinian statehood, remained in question. (For Israel's subsequent clashes with Hamas, see *Israel, State of: Historical Survey.)

[Hillel Frisch (2nd ed.)]

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PALEY, GRACE (1922–), U.S. short story writer and poet as well as cultural and political figure. Born in the Bronx, N.Y., in 1922, daughter of revolutionary Russian Jewish immigrants, Paley became Poet Laureate of Vermont, where she made her home. Her first collection of short stories, *The Little Disturbances of Man: Stories of Women and Men at Love*, was published in 1959. Other publications include *Enormous Changes at the Last Minute* (1974), *Later the same Day* (1985), *Long Walks and Intimate Talks* (1991), *The Collected Stories* (1994), *Just as I Thought* (1998), and *Begin Again: Collected Poems* (2000). Most of her works have been translated into several languages.

Among her many honors, Paley was a Guggenheim Fellow, winner of a National Institute of Art and Letters award, and senior fellow of the National Endowment for the Arts for her lifetime contribution to literature.

A pacifist, feminist, ecologist, secular Jew, and member of the War Resisters' League, Paley was always politically active. Growing up on stories of discrimination, racism, and exile, in an environment of radicalism, she was sensitive to everyone's shortcomings: "Some feminists were sometimes racists, some African Americans were sometimes misogynist, some Jews did sometimes act as though they were in charge of human suffering."

Differences of race, religion, class, gender, and age coexist in her narrative world, and human rights are the crucial question. The fear and inability to acknowledge these differences and accept anyone different from us can cause an "intersection of oppressions." Through her poetics and in her life Paley suggested the best way to find one's own identity was by expressing one's subjectivity while acknowledging differences and welcoming the "other."

Paley also addressed the pain of the historical experiences of different groups – the Holocaust, slavery, dictatorships, and wars – with wit and irony. She described racism as "the most severe inherited illness of the United States." Her humor and her matter-of-factness were among her most Jewish characteristics, clearly evident in her use of a colloquial but precise language, rich in oblique biblical references.

A gender perspective is at the core of Paley's work. Most of her stories are set in a New York populated by women friends, mothers, and their children, shouldering the day-to-day problems of life from the safety of the block. Mothers have also to face the most demanding job: negotiating their personal needs, being daughters themselves, and carrying out their roles as mothers caring for children.

The complexity of her writing comes from mixing techniques, forms, and genres with a wide breadth of subjects. Paley shares with her narrators and characters a "dislike" for plot, "the absolute line between two points," "not for literary reasons," they explain, but because it limits hope: "Everyone, real or invented, deserves the open destiny of life."

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[Annalucia Accardo (2nd ed.)]

PALEY, WILLIAM SAMUEL (1901–1990), U.S. radio and television executive. Born in Chicago, Paley joined his father Samuel Paley's cigar manufacturing business, in which he served as vice president from 1922 to 1928. In the course of advertising cigars over the airwaves Paley became impressed with the potential of the radio medium and in 1928 bought a financially unsuccessful chain of 16 eastern U.S. radio stations which he renamed the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS). Under his direction CBS grew into one of the three giant coast-to-coast radio networks in the United States. After World War II Paley led CBS into the field of television, where it once again established itself as one of the three great national networks. As chairman of the board of CBS from 1946 on, he revolutionized the television industry by taking control of all programming away from the advertising agencies and investing it in the network itself. By the mid-1960s CBS television led both NBC and ABC on all national ratings, and the initial $400,000 investment with which Paley had bought the chain in 1928 was reputedly worth close to $70,000,000.

During World War II he served as deputy chief of the psychological warfare division of the Allied command (SHAEF) in Europe. Paley established the William S. Paley Foundation, Inc., and as president was responsible for the foundation's generous donations to the Weizmann Institute of Science, Reḥovot, as well as to other Israel institutions and funds. In later years Paley concentrated upon improving CBS's Nielsen ratings, the standard measure of the audience share enjoyed by shows. His attention to detail was legendary, and he invested much time and energy in watching the network's shows and suggesting how they might be improved. He was also a trustee and board member of many public institutions and amassed one of the largest known private collections of French post-impressionist art. Paley's autobiography, *As It Happened: A Memoir*, appeared in 1979.

[Rochelle G. Saidel]

PALGRAVE, English family. SIR FRANCIS (1788–1861) was an English historian. The son of a London stockbroker named Meyer Cohen, Palgrave was an infant prodigy and, at the age of eight, made a French translation of *The Battle of the Frogs and the Mice*, a Greek classic attributed to Homer, which was published by his father (1797). When he married a non-Jew in 1823 he became a Christian and adopted his mother-in-law's maiden name. In 1827 he qualified as a barrister, but displayed increasing interest in English history and his plans for the publication of the national records were officially approved. Knighted in 1832, Palgrave became first deputy keeper of the Public Records in 1838, retaining the post until his death. In this capacity he was in effect the chief organizer of the Public Record Office and distinguished himself as the first English historian to make systematic use of medieval records. His two outstanding works were *The Rise and Progress of the English Commonwealth* (1832) and *The History of Normandy and England* (4 vols., 1851–64). Francis Palgrave's four sons also gained renown in various spheres. SIR FRANCIS TURNER (1824–1897) became assistant secretary of education (1855–84). A close friend of the poet Tennyson, he is remembered for his classic anthology, *The Golden Treasury of the Best Songs and Lyrical Poems in the English Language* (1861; revised 1896), which went through dozens of editions. Between 1885 and 1895 F.T. Palgrave was professor of poetry at Oxford. WILLIAM GIFFORD (1826–1888) was born in London and educated at Charterhouse school and Oxford. After serving as an army officer in India, he converted to Catholicism and was for some time a Jesuit missionary in Syria and Arabia. He later renounced Catholicism, briefly changing his name back to "Cohen," and then became a diplomat, ending his career as British minister-resident in Montevideo. He published a *Narrative of a Year's Journey through Central and Eastern Arabia, 1862–1863* (1865). SIR ROBERT HARRY INGLIS (1827–1919), a successful banker, edited *The Economist* (1877–83) and *The Dictionary of Political Economy* (3 vols., 1894–99). He also published his father's collected historical works (1919). The youngest son, SIR REGINALD FRANCIS DOUCE (1829–1904), who was clerk of the House of Commons (1886–1900), edited the *Rules, Orders and Forths of Procedure of the House of Commons* (1886–96), and wrote *The Chairman's Handbook* (1877).

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PALLENBERG, MAX (1877–1934), Austrian actor. Seen first in his hometown, Vienna, his talent was discovered relatively late by *Max Reinhardt. Pallenberg performed after 1914 at Reinhardt's Deutsches Theater in Berlin. He excelled in roles which gave him the opportunity to develop his enormous "vis comica," nurtured by elements of improvisation in the commedia dell'arte tradition. He was also able to show the depths of tragedy behind comic characters like Molière's Miser, *Molnar's Liliom, *Offenbach's Menelaos, and the Soldier Schweik in the theatrical version of Hašek's novel. A career peak was his role of Mephisto in Goethe's *Faust I* at the Salzburg Festival 1933, directed by Reinhardt. He perished in a plane accident, survived by his actress wife Fritzi *Massary.

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[Jens Malte Fischer (2nd ed.)]

°**PALLIÈRE, AIMÉ** (1875–1949), French writer and theologian. Born into a devout Catholic family, as an adolescent Pallière intended to take holy orders but instead his spiritual odyssey led him first into the Salvation Army and eventually as the result of a chance visit to the Lyons synagogue on the Day of Atonement – toward Judaism. Although he wished to become a Jew, he was persuaded by the Liberal Italian rabbi, E. *Benamozegh, who became his spiritual mentor, to settle for the status of a Noachide, without full conversion to Judaism. Nevertheless, he lived the life of an ardent and ascetic Jew. Although he recognized only Orthodox Judaism as authentic, Pallière became a spiritual guide to the Paris Liberal (i.e., Reform) synagogue and the French *Reform movement. He was much sought after as a lecturer and was for some time president of the World Union of Jewish Youth. He edited its periodical *Chalom* and also contributed to *Foi et Réveil*. Toward the end of his life, Pallière drew closer to the religion of his birth. Among his published works the best known is the autobiographical *Le Sanctuaire Inconnu* (1926; *The Unknown Sanctuary*, 1928). He also wrote *Bergson et le Judaïsme* (1932); *L'Ame Juive et Dieu* (n.d.); *Le Voile Soulevé* (1936); and some of his sermons were published. In 1914 he edited Benamozegh's *Israël et l' Humanité*.

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[Colette Sirat]

PALM (Heb. תָּמָר, mishnaic Heb. דֶּקֶל), the *Phoenix dactylifera*. In the Bible the word *tamar* refers only to the tree; it refers to the fruit also only in rabbinic literature. According to rabbinic tradition, the "honey" enumerated among the seven species with which Israel is blessed (Deut. 8:8) is the honey of the date. The date palm is tall and straight (Song 7:8–9), and the righteous are compared to its straight trunk and evergreen foliage (Ps. 92: 13). In its shade the prophet Deborah judged the people (Judg. 4:5). Because of the arched appearance of the tree top, it is also called *kippah*, symbolizing the "head" (Isa. 9:13, 19:15). Its long leaves are called the *kappot* of the palm tree and are one of the *four species taken on the feast of Tabernacles (Lev. 23:40). According to the rabbis, the "*kappot of palm*" means the *lulav*, this being the stage when the leaves are close together (*kafut*, Suk. 32a). The tradition of using the closed leaves and not the open ones termed *ḥarut* may originate in the potential danger from the prickly leaflets of the latter, especially during festival processions (cf. Suk. 4:6). The palm needs a hot climate for its fruit to ripen and grows mainly in the valley of Jericho, the lowland of the southern coast, and the plains of the wilderness, so that Rabban Simeon b. Gamaliel asserted that "palms are an indication of valleys" (Pes. 53a). It does grow in the mountains but does not produce edible fruit there, whence the rebuke, "You are a mountain palm" (Sifra, ed. by J.H. Weiss (1862), 68a). It was therefore laid down that first fruits may not be brought from mountain palms (Bik. 1: 3), but only from those growing in Jericho (Tosef. *ibid.* 1:5, cf. Deut. 34:3). Dates were a valuable export (Dem. 2:1), and Pliny refers to the reputation of the Jericho dates and their excellent quality (*Natural History* 13:45). He describes four varieties of dates, which are also mentioned in the Mishnah (Av. Zar. 1:5). In the Bible a number of places are named after the palm: Hazazon Tamar (Gen. 14:7), Ba'al Tamar (Jud. 20:33); Tadmor (Palmyra, I Kings 9:18). Three women were named Tamar: *Judah's daughter-in-law, *David's daughter, and *Absalom's daughter. Its beautiful form was used as a model for sculpture (cf. Jer. 10:5). There were ornaments like *timmorot* ("palm trees") in the Temple (I Kings 6:29; cf. Ez. 40:16, *timmorim*). The *aggadah* compares Isaac and Rebekah (Lev. R. 30: 10), Moses and Aaron (Targ. to Song 2:12), David and the Messiah with the palm tree (PdRE 19). The Hasmoneans took the palm as an emblem of their victory (I Macc. 13:37; II Macc. 14:4), and it appears on their coins. The Romans also engraved the image of captive Judea – *Judea capta* – sitting in mourning beneath the palm. A palm branch symbolizes the victory of the Jew against his accusers (Lev. R. 30:2): "dreaming of palm trees is a sign that one's sins have come to an end"; "dreaming of a *lulav* ["palm branch"] indicates that one is serving God wholeheartedly" (Ber. 57a).

Rabbinic literature contains much information about the growing of palm trees. Among other things, it mentions that there are male and female palms, that it is necessary to pollinate the female from the male blossom in order to obtain fruit, and that this must be done during a limited number of days (cf. Pes. 4:8). It is asserted that "the palm has desire," and in that connection the story is told of a female palm in the vicinity of Tiberias which longed for a palm in Jericho, and only began to yield fruit after being pollinated by it (Gen. R. 41:1). Of its many uses the Midrash (*ibid.*) says: "As no part of the palm has any waste, the dates being eaten, the branches used for *Hallel*, the twigs for covering [booths], the bast for ropes, the leaves for besoms, and the planed boards for ceiling rooms, so are there none worthless in Israel…."

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[Jehuda Feliks]

PALMA, LA, city in Andalusia, near Córdoba, S.W. Spain. The only information available on a Jewish settlement there dates from the end of the period of Jewish residence in Spain. The town was located on the estate of Don Luis de Puertocarrero, who granted refuge to the *Conversos of Córdoba when they fled to La Palma after the riots of 1473. The small community reached the high point of its history with the arrival of another large group of Conversos who had fled from *Ciudad Real on the outbreak of further anti-Converso riots in 1474. In La Palma the Conversos once again returned to Judaism, calling upon the services of a rabbi who later himself became converted to Christianity (adopting the name Fernando de Trujillo) and who, upon entering the service of the *Inquisition in Ciudad Real in 1483, denounced the whole community by revealing the details of its return to Judaism. In 1485, upon payment of 60 castellanos, its share in the expenses of the war against Granada, the community of La Palma was incorporated into that of *Córdoba.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Baer, Spain, index; H. Beinart, in: *Zion*, 20 (1957), 13ff.; idem, *Anusim be-Din ha-Inkvizizyah* (1964), index; Suárez Fernández, Documentos, 256.

[Haim Beinart]

PALMAḤ (abbreviation for *peluggot maḥaẓ;* "assault companies"), the permanently mobilized striking force of the *Haganah and later, until its dissolution, part of the Israel Defense Forces (IDF). The Palmaḥ was established by an emergency order of the Haganah's national command on May 19, 1941, when the Axis forces were nearing the approaches to Palestine. In view of the worsening situation, nine assault companies were to be established and placed in a state of readiness: three in northern Galilee, two in central Galilee, three in southern Galilee, and one in the Jerusalem area. They were to consist of volunteers from existing Haganah units prepared to report for active service at 24 hours' notice and serve in any capacity whenever and wherever required. The Palmaḥ was to serve as a national and regional fighting reserve. For purposes of administration and training the companies would be under the orders of the area commander, but for operational purposes, they were to be directly subordinate to the Haganah's high command, which would appoint a commander for each company on a permanent basis. A staff officer was appointed to supervise training and organization through the area commanders.

Yiẓḥak *Sadeh was appointed general staff officer for Palmaḥ affairs and set about establishing the first six companies, which were to be composed entirely of volunteers, in coordination with the area commanders of the Haganah. While it was in the process of formation, the Palmaḥ was called upon to participate in special operations in advance of the Allied invasion of Syria and Lebanon, which were under the command of the Vichy French. On the day before the official establishment of the Palmaḥ, a boat carrying 23 men, with a British liaison officer, sailed in secrecy to sabotage the refineries in Tripoli (Lebanon), but all traces of the detachment were lost. Scores of Arabic-speaking members of the Palmaḥ crossed the frontier dressed as Arabs and carried out intelligence and sabotage work in these countries. The first units of A and B companies participated in the invasion of Syria and Lebanon in June 1941 as saboteurs, guides, scouts, and intelligence men.

Gradually, the number of companies grew to 12, which were combined into battalions and, together, constituted a corps. Sadeh became its commander, with a staff of the type usual in such a force. The commander of the Palmaḥ was directly subordinate to the Haganah chief of staff. The Palmaḥ assumed the character and function of a commando unit and, in addition to the infantry, prepared a special naval force to carry out tasks that would be required in connection with *"illegal" immigration: sabotage and small engagements at sea. It also established the nucleus of an air force disguised as a civilian flying club, in which pilots were trained to fly light planes which were more than once engaged as fighters against enemy forces. The Palmaḥ achieved high standards in physical fitness, field training, and guerilla fighting by day and night. It was the first of the Haganah forces to establish the battalion as a tactical and administrative unit. It developed high-level intelligence, sabotage, and scouting. Special attention was paid to educational activity and ideological guidance. On the principle of training every fighting man according to his ability, more section and platoon commanders were trained than were needed for current operations, on the assumption that in an emergency the Palmaḥ would widen its framework and absorb many recruits.

As the mobilized units of the Haganah until the *War of Independence, the Palmaḥ served, in effect, as a kind of laboratory for experiments in training methods and operational, tactical, and administrative concepts. Although stationed in different parts of the country, it made up a national army not restricted to local self-defense. It was given six main tasks:

(1) to prepare during World War II for guerilla warfare against German and Italian invasion forces if these reached Syria, Lebanon, and Palestine;

(2) to carry out, after the war, the main military operations, on land and sea, against the British Mandatory regime;

(3) to play a central role in halting a possible Arab military invasion;

(4) to punish Arab terrorist units that attacked the Jewish population;

(5) to assume the offensive at the first suitable opportunity;

(6) to establish settlements in strategically and politically important areas. The general staff of the Haganah decided in June 1941 that in the event that the front reached Palestine, the Palmaḥ would operate in strategic areas distant from Jewish centers.

At first the Allies financed part of the maintenance of the Palmaḥ units, but when the danger of foreign invasion passed, they went underground. For lack of a national budget, the fighters maintained themselves by working in settlements, mainly kibbutzim, and in the ports. In 14 days' work per month, they earned their keep for the rest of the month, which was mainly given over to training. No wages were customary in the Palmaḥ: the men received small sums for pocket-money, traveling expenses, and clothes. It fostered a comradeship in arms between officers and men, which stood the test of fire. Discipline was founded on personal conviction. According to a special decision of the staff, the men went into the reserves: privates after two years' service, squad commanders (equivalent to corporal or sergeant) after three years, and platoon commanders after four years.

In 1945, when Yiẓḥak Sadeh was appointed chief of the Haganah general staff, his deputy, Yigal *Allon, was appointed to command the Palmaḥ. In August 1948, when Allon became the commander of the southern front with the rank of *aluf* (brigadier general), his deputy, Uri Brenner, was appointed acting commander of the Palmaḥ, retaining the post until the corps was disbanded in 1948.

In 1947, when the security situation of the *yishuv* was becoming graver, units of the Palmaḥ operated in Upper Galilee, western Galilee, the Jezreel Valley, the Eẓyon Bloc, and the Negev. Others provided covering forces for convoys in hilly regions or Arab-populated areas in Upper Galilee, the road to Jerusalem, and the Negev. In the War of Independence, when the reservists were called up and the Palmaḥ received new recruits, it operated in three brigades: Yiftaḥ, under Shemu'el (Mula) Cohen; Harel, under Yosef Tabenkin; and the Negev, under Naḥum Sarig. The Palmaḥ was an integral part of the Israel Defense Forces and played a major role in all stages of the war, from the defense of isolated settlements and dangerous supply routes in strategic areas to important offensives which liberated parts of the country. Yiftaḥ led Operation Yiftaḥ to liberate Upper Galilee and Safad and repulse invading Syrian and Lebanese forces. At a later stage it fought on the southern front, the Negev, and Sinai. Harel bore the brunt of Operation Harel for the establishment and widening of the Jerusalem corridor, the liberation of the Jerusalem suburbs and Mount Zion, and the breaking through to the Jewish Quarter of the Old City. It was also active in the operations that led to the liberation of the Negev and the occupation of northern Sinai.

At the beginning of August 1948 Allon was appointed commander of the southern front. The question of whether the Palmaḥ should continue to preserve its special character under the command of its own special staff was raised by David *Ben-Gurion, prime minister and minister of defense in the provisional government, and others who argued that all units must be under the direct command of the IDF general staff in all respects. The leaders of the Palmaḥ, on the other hand, believed that the separate framework was necessary in order to enable it to continue to make its own special contribution to the war effort and character of the IDF. The provisional government accepted Ben-Gurion's view and decided on November 7, 1948, to disband the separate staff of the Palmaḥ. In May 1948 the three Palmaḥ brigades were merged with other IDF units.

Many of the leading officers of the IDF rose from service in the Palmaḥ. To mention only the generals, they included, in addition to Yiẓḥak Sadeh and Yigal Allon, three chiefs of staff – Moshe *Dayyan, Yiẓḥak *Rabin, and Haim *Bar-Lev – as well as Yoḥai Bin-Nun, Avraham Eden, David Elazar, Yeshayahu Gavish, Mordecai Hod, Yitzḥak Hofi, Amos Ḥorev, Uzzi Narkis, El'ad Peled, Mattityahu Peled, Ezer Weizman, Ẓvi Zamir, and Raḥavam Ze'evi: This is only one indication of the Palmaḥ's special contribution to the building of the IDF, in addition to its major role in the main operations during the Haganah period and the War of Independence.

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[Yigal Allon]

PALM BEACH COUNTY, carved out of Dade County in 1909, was comprised in 2005 of 37 cities and more than 45 miles of shoreline along Florida's Gold Coast. It is one of the two largest of Florida's 67 counties in land area.

The first southern Florida (except Key West) community to host Jews was probably West Palm Beach, where Jews settled by 1893 when the railway that was coming down Florida's east coast arrived there. Russian Jewish immigrants Isidor Cohen, Jake Schneidman, and Julius Frank opened retail stores on Narcissus and Clematis Streets, which were close to the ferry that brought shoppers from Palm Beach. Max Serkin was a produce broker. Of these, only Serkin remained; the others followed the railway to Miami when it was extended there in 1896. The Serkin's daughter, Jeanette, born in 1896, is the first known Jewish child born in the county. By 1912 Max Greenberg left Daytona Beach to open Pioneer Hardware in Lucerne (later Lake Worth). The Joseph Schupler family opened a hat store in West Palm Beach in 1915, joining Joseph Mendel, a cigar manufacturer, the Cohen's Riviera Citrus Packing Company, and Shrebnick clothing for a total of about six Jewish families in the area. The Dickson brothers, a carpenter and a plasterer, settled in 1919. In 1923 the Jewish Cemetery Association was established to purchase lots in Woodlawn Cemetery, and Temple Beth Israel (later named Temple Israel) was founded. Joseph Mendel, serving as mayor of West Palm Beach at the time, was instrumental in forming the congregation, and Max Serkin was the first president. The next year the Jewish Junior League was created for social activity. By 1926 there was a second congregation, Beth El. Jewish merchants continued to settle, among them Myers Luggage and Cy Argintar's Men's Shop, as well as professionals, including dentist Dr. Blicher and lawyer Joe Lesser. Meanwhile on Palm Beach, wealthy Jews Henry Morgenthau, Mortimer Schiff, the Seligmans, Springolds, and Florenz Zeigfield had homes. A major hurricane hit in 1928 and many merchants lost their merchandise. The next year, the land bubble burst. Pioneer Virginia Argintar recalled, "One day I was riding in a limousine; the next, I waited for the bus." Dr. Carl Herman, an avid anti-Zionist, served Temple Israel for 17 years. Kosher boarding houses opened in Palm Beach. Growth was slow at first; as late as 1940, the Jewish population in Palm Beach County was only 1,000.

Harry and Florence Brown from St. Louis were the first Jews to settle in Boca Raton in 1931 at a time when it was still possible to sit in the middle of Old Dixie Highway and play cards! In 1936, Harry's sister, Nettie, arrived with her husband Max Hutkin, a Polish immigrant. They opened Hutkin's Food Market. Max was the founding president of Temple Beth El (1967), the first Jewish congregation in Boca Raton. Today, with a membership of 2,000 families, it is one of the largest Reform congregations in the nation.

In 1932 Sam Schutzer established a Jewish newspaper, *Our Voice*, which he published for 43 years, finally merging with the *Jewish Floridian* in 1975. In 1936 the Persoff family moved to Delray Beach to work in a jewelry store in the "art" colony. Carl Altman formed the Lake Worth Benevolent Association in 1939 to assist Jews in difficulties. During the war years of the 1940s, *seder*s and Sabbath services were held for Jewish naval and air personnel in the area. In 1946 Lake Worth Hebrew Association was founded, which became Temple Beth Sholom in 1953. In 1960 when President John Kennedy began to come to Palm Beach, Jewish physician Dr. Rotter was on call. The first co-op was built, inviting "snowbirds" to purchase instead of rent apartments for the season. The Jewish Federation of Palm Beach County started in 1962, the List family donated land for Camp Shalom in West Palm Beach, and Temple Emanu-El was founded in a Palm Beach storefront.

Shopping malls and air-conditioning have changed the shape of local businesses. More recent entrepreneurs include Irwin Levy, Robert Rapaport, and Aaron Schecter, who began developing Century Village in 1967. Century Village attracted large numbers of retired garment workers and teachers, often from New York and other northeastern states. These "cities within cities" provide a wide range of educational, recreational, and entertainment activities. Temple Anshei Sholom was founded in 1971 on land adjacent to Century Village. In the 1970s and 1980s, Kings Point retirement community became successful in Delray Beach and its environs, and numerous golf club communities followed the trend. The "rush" of Jewish settlement accelerated. In and around these communities, more congregations were established. In 1973 the Jewish Community Day School was started by Rabbis Irving Cohen, William H. Shapiro, and Hyman Fishman, with Ann Leibovitz and Carol Roberts, who later served as mayor of West Palm Beach. The next year (1974) the Jewish Community Center of the Palm Beaches was founded. In 1975 the Federation established a branch office in Boca Raton. Four years later the South County Jewish Federation was formed; the campus today sits on 50 acres of land. Rabbi Bruce Warshal was the professional, working with Helene Eichler, and James Baer the founding president. By 1980 the Jewish population was more than 100,000. *Palm Beach Jewish World*, later purchased by Jewish Media Group of Miami, was established by Robert D. Rapaport, who also founded the Jewish Arts Foundation in 1987. That year there were 31 congregations serving 150,000 families.

Of the 1.2 million people who live in Palm Beach County (2005), about 238,000 are Jews, making this the second largest Jewish population in the state (after Broward County). Many have moved north from Miami-Dade County. The Boca Raton (south county) metropolitan area is more than 50% Jewish, with 20 congregations, a JCC on land donated by Richard Siemans and, since 1982, a Jewish day school. Ninety-eight percent of the Jews were born elsewhere in the U.S., most are seniors, and the mayor of Boca Raton since 2001, Steven L. Abrams, is Jewish. Elected to the U.S. Congress in 1996, Robert Wexler of Boca Raton was a senior member of the House International Relations Committee. Serving as chief justice of Florida's Supreme Court was Barbara Pariente of West Palm Beach, only the second woman appointed to the court in 1997. In the West Palm Beach area (north county) there are 29 congregations and 18 Jewish educational institutions, including a 7.5-acre Day School K-8. The Orthodox community is the largest segment with 12 of the congregations. The JCC of Greater

Palm Beaches has two campuses (in West Palm Beach on land donated by Robert Rapaport, and in Boynton), and the Morse Geriatric Center with 280 beds opened in 1983. As the Jewish community grew, so did incidents of antisemitism. This waned as the Jewish organizations established a more solid base. Until today Jews play prominent roles in all areas of the general community, including politics. Continuing growth for the Jewish community is a prediction for the future in Palm Beach County.

[Marcia Jo Zerivitz (2nd ed.)]

°**PALMER, EDWARD HENRY** (1840–1882), English Orientalist. Born in Cambridge and educated at Cambridge University, he took part in the 1867 Sinai Survey Expedition of the Palestine Exploration Fund. In 1869/70 he traveled with Tyrwhitt Drake in the desert of Tih, Edom, Moab, and the Lebanon, and this resulted in a two-volume work, *Desert of the Exodus* (1871), in which he described the discovery of, *inter alia*, the site of Kurnub in the Negev. He was appointed professor of Arabic in 1871. In 1881 he left Cambridge and edited the *Arabic and English Name Lists of the Survey of Western Palestine* (1881) in which his excellent knowledge of Arabic and other Oriental languages served him well. In 1882 he was dispatched on a secret mission to Sinai in connection with British operations in Egypt against Arabi Pasha; he was assassinated there by Bedouin. His works include *Jerusalem: the City of Herod and Saladin*, written jointly with W. Besant (1888).

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[Michael Avi-Yonah]

PALMER, LILLI (1914–1986), actress-writer. Born Lillie Marie Peiser to surgeon Dr. Alfred Peiser and actress Rose (née Lissmann) in Posen, East Prussia (now Poland), Palmer was educated at the Ilka Gruening School of Acting in Berlin. She made her first stage appearance in 1932 in *Die Eiserne Jungfrau*. She left Germany after Adolf Hitler rose to power in 1933 and began performing at the Moulin Rouge in Paris. In 1935, Palmer moved to England, where she made her screen debut in *Crime Unlimited* (1935) and appeared in Alfred Hitchcock's *Secret Agent* (1936); she made her London stage debut in *Road to Gadahar* (1938). Palmer met actor Rex Harrison in 1939, and performed with him in the 1940 play *No Time for Comedy*. Palmer and Harrison married in 1943, and had one son, Carey, who became a playwright. They moved to the United States together. Palmer starred in such films as *Cloak and Dagger* (1946) and *Body and Soul* (1947). The couple appeared together on Broadway and in the film *The Four Poster* (1952). Palmer and Harrison returned to England and divorced in 1957. Soon after, she married novelist Carlos Thompson. Her film and television career continued both in America and abroad, which included *The Diary of Anne Frank* (1967) and *The Boys from Brazil* (1978). Toward the end of her life, Palmer wrote her autobiography, *Change Lobsters, and Dance* (1976), which centered on her 17-year relationship with Harrison. She also wrote the novels *Red Raven* (1978), *Time to Embrace* (1980), *Night Music* (1983), and *Face Value* (1986).

[Adam Wills (2nd ed.)]

PALM SPRINGS AND DESERT AREA, California. The area is defined by the Coachella Valley, which stretches from Palm Springs proper east to the city of Coachella. The Jewish Federation which serves the entire community estimated that the Jewish community numbers some 20,000 residents in an overall population of some 350,000. Within the Jewish community some 55% of the population lives year round in the valley, with the rest spending various periods of time in the desert.

Many of the first Jews who came to the desert were somehow connected to Hollywood. Temple Isaiah was the first Jewish institution to be founded some 53 years ago. It later created the Federation. As the general community grew and expanded, so did the Jewish community. Today, the community boasts five synagogues plus two Chabad entities, including Temple Isaiah of Palm Springs, which is multi-denominational; Temple Sinai of Palm Desert, which is Reform; the Desert Synagogue of Palm Springs, which is Modern Orthodox; Congregation Beth Shalom, B. Dunes, which is Conservative, and Har-El, Palm Desert, the Reform Congregation.

There are two Jewish Day Schools, Desert Torah Academy, run by Chabad, and Jewish Community School of the Desert. The Jewish Community Center functions without walls as a committee of the Federation. The community also has a full service Jewish Family Service organization, which specializes in a whole array of services for seniors. The community is very proud of its Holocaust Memorial, located in the Palm Desert municipal park, built at the initiation of two local survivors, Earl Greif and Joseph Brandt. Many National and international Jewish organizations have strong constituent groups in the Palm Springs area, including ADL, AIPAC, JNF, American Friends of Hebrew University, and Technion.

More and more of the newcomers to the Jewish community are working people who came to the desert for professional opportunities. Many inhabitants are retirees who enjoy its wonderful climate and who avoid the heat of the desert by either leaving for the summer months or undertaking their activities in the morning. The Jewish community is growing and active.

[Alan Klugman (2nd ed.)]

PALOMBO, DAVID (1920–1966), Israeli sculptor. He was born in Jerusalem and studied sculpture, restoration, and mosaics under Ze'ev *Ben-Zvi, later teaching at the Bezalel School of Art, Jerusalem. He made his home on Mount Zion, where he founded a studio for the production of mosaics, wrought-iron work, and jewelry. In his small sculpture he moved from simplified representation to total abstraction using a diversity of materials including wood and rough or cut stone. Wrought iron attracted him and his talent was well suited to large-scale works as parts of architectural concepts. His first monumental work was the entrance gate to the *Yad Vashem Memorial in Jerusalem (1961). This embodied a rhythmic composition of welded iron bars and steel electroplatings, a technique which he subsequently repeated. The impact of these works springs from the contrast of simple but expressive elements against the starkness of concrete walls. Palombo worked on other projects, of which the most important, the gates of the Knesset building in Jerusalem (1966), was finished shortly before his death in a road accident on Mount Zion.

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[Yona Fischer]

PALTI (Heb. פַּלְטִי, a hypocoristicon of a name like פַּלְטִיאֵל, Paltiel; "God is [my] deliverance"), son of Laish from Gallim in Benjamin. Saul's daughter *Michal, who had been given in marriage to *David, was given in marriage to Palti when David incurred Saul's jealousy and had to flee the court to save his life. After Saul's death, *Abner, angered by Saul's son Ish-Bosheth, secretly offered David to win over the men of Israel for him. David, however, refused to even begin negotiations unless he brought Michal to him. It was probably under pressure of the powerful Abner that Ish-Bosheth took Michal away from Palti and returned her to David. It is related that the unhappy Palti followed Michal in tears until Abner ordered him to turn back (II Sam. 3:15–16).

PALTIEL (d. 975), astrologer, physician, and statesman at the court of the *Fatimid caliph al-Muʿizz. Paltiel is referred to in two Hebrew sources. Ahimaaz, his relative, lists him in his genealogy (*Megillat Aḥima'aẓ*, ed. B. Klar (1944), 35–45), indicating that in 962, with al-Muʿizz's conquest of the south Italian city of Oria, which was Paltiel's birthplace, the caliph was taken with Paltiel's astrological skills and appointed him as his chief aide. The *Sefer Ḥasidim* of *Judah b. Samuel of Regensburg notes that Paltiel was captured during the conquest of Oria, and that he became the physician of the Fatimid ruler. Ahimaaz describes how during the conquest of *Egypt by the caliph (969), Paltiel was charged with provisioning the army. It appears that Paltiel was *Wāsiṭa* (somewhat lower than vizier). He appears to have served as state secretary, or in some similar position, and in connection with this office he handled matters of military administration. Ahimaaz refers to him by the title **nagid* on three occasions. For this reason, J. *Mann and others presume that he was the first to bear this title in Egypt. However, it has already been shown that his public office had no connection with duties performed for his coreligionists, as was the case with a *nagid* at a later date (S.D. Goitein and M.R. Cohen). M. Ben-Sasson thinks that this story in the Ahimaaz scroll was written under the impression of the existence of the heads of the Jews (*negidim*) in North Africa. The author of the Ahimaaz scroll gives Paltiel the title *nagid*, a title that was relevant in the same period to *Kairouan. He considers Paltiel the first courtier in the Fatimid court, and a leader who worried about the Jewish population.

It seems quite clear to Robert *Bonfil that the story of Paltiel as we find it in *Sefer Ḥasidim* displays more than three consecutive stages of mythologization. But on the other hand it does not seem possible to say exactly how many stages there were, nor to determine exactly when and where they took place.

Other scholars have tried to identify Paltiel with well-known personalities of his generation. M.J. de Goeje (in: ZDMG, 52 (1898), 75–80) stated that Paltiel was none other than al-Jawhar, a well-known Fatimid military leader. Thus, he concluded that Jawhar must have been a Jew. D. Kaufmann and W.J. Fischel sought to identify him with a Jewish convert to Islam, Yaʿqūb *Ibn Killis, the first of the Fatimid viziers of Egypt. A. *Marx maintains the view of de Goeje on the basis of the *Sefer Ḥasidim* reference. It has been established, however, that neither of these identifications is correct. B. *Lewis identified him with Mūsā ibn Eleazar, who was captured during the Fatimid conquest of Oria, and of whom it is known that he became the physician of the caliph al-Muʿizz, and was with him during his conquest of Egypt. A number of Mūsā's medical writings are extant, and he was also a friend of Yaʿqūb ibn Killis. Moshe Gil suggests identifying Paltiel with Faiṣal ben Ṣāliḥ, a Fatimid statesman and military commander. R Bonfil prefers this identification, and thinks that this identification would indeed quite reasonably explain many details that remain obscure in Lewis' hypotheses, but as Gil is well aware, he does find a proper answer to numerous other details. There are opinions of some historians that the story about Paltiel is a legend invented by his family members.

According to the Ahimaaz scroll Paltiel donated large sums for the academy sages and for the mourners of the sanctuary in Jerusalem, for the academy of the *geonim* in Babylon and for the poor and needy of the various communities. He also brought the remains of his parents in caskets to Jerusalem. This scroll also tells that after Paltiel's death, the office of court physician to the Fatimid caliphate was filled for four generations by Paltiel's descendants.

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[Abraham David / Leah Bornstein-Makovetsky (2nd ed.)]

PALTOI BAR ABBAYE, *gaon* of Pumbedita from 842 to 857; father of *Ẓemaḥ Gaon. Paltoi was a powerful, energetic, and strong-minded personality. His appointment heralded a new era of prominence for the gaonate of Pumbedita. His authority was such that the exilarch had to come to his academy in order to convene a public assembly. During his gaonate the ties with the outside communities were strengthened and increased. Paltoi and Ẓemaḥ were the first *geonim* to establish contact with the community of North Africa. A community in Spain sent a request to Paltoi "to write the Talmud and its explanations for them," basing their request on the grounds that "the majority of the people have recourse to digests of the *halakhah* (*hilkhot ketu'ot*) and say 'what need have we for the difficulties of the Talmud?'" Paltoi vigorously protested against this. "They are not acting correctly, and it is forbidden to do this. They thereby cause a decline in the study of the Torah, causing it to be forgotten." His extant responsa, which are to be found in most collections of geonic responsa, as well as being quoted in the works of the *posekim, only represent a minority of those he wrote. New fragments were published by A.N.Z. Roth.

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[Meir Havazelet]

PALTROW, GWYNETH (1972–), U.S. actress. Paltrow was born in Los Angeles, the daughter of the Tony Award-winning actress Blythe Danner and the film director Bruce Paltrow, who was said to have had generations of rabbis in his family tree. In 1991, Gwyneth quit the University of California to actively pursue a career in acting. She made her film debut with a small part in *Shout* (1991) and then had featured roles in a variety of films before playing the title role of Emma Woodhouse in *Emma* (1996), which led to her being offered the role of Viola in *Shakespeare in Love* (1998). For the latter role, she won an Oscar as best actress.

[Stewart Kampel (2nd ed.)]

PAM, HUGO (1870–1930), U.S. jurist and Zionist leader. Pam, who was born in Chicago, practiced law in that city with his brother Max. In 1911 he was elected to the Cook County Superior Court, on which he served for 20 years. As a judge he developed a special interest in the psychology of criminal behavior, which led him to be chosen vice president of the Illinois Society of Mental Hygiene. He also served for three years as president of the American Institute of Criminal Law and Criminology. Pam became active in organized Jewish life in 1912, when he joined the Federation of American Zionists, of which he was later vice president. He took part in the founding of the *American Jewish Congress in 1916. After World War I, he traveled to Russia and Poland on behalf of *HIAS to survey conditions in the Jewish communities there.

[Aaron Lichtenstein]

PAMIERS, town in the department of Ariège, France. The earliest evidence of the presence of Jews in Pamiers goes back to 1256. They were then under the authority of the abbot of Saint Antonin of Pamiers who, in 1274, protested against the Jews having to pay the royal poll tax and claimed their contributions belonged to him alone. The community appears to have been relatively well established by 1279; in that year a series of internal regulations (concerning the restriction of private expenditures, religious discipline, and mutual assistance) were drawn up and immediately approved by the abbot of Saint Antonin. The text of these regulations, the oldest of their type, has been preserved. The community was administered by two or more trustees and internal taxes were levied. The subsequent abbots of Saint Antonin continued to assure the relatively favorable condition of the Jews. When Saint Antonin became a bishopric, the Jews were still protected from the excesses of the inquisitors (1298). However, the bishop was unsuccessful in his opposition to the expulsion order of 1306. A community was reconstituted between 1315 and 1322. Although Bishop Jacques Fournier ordered a relentless search for volumes of the Talmud so as to have them burnt (see *Talmud, Burning of), he nevertheless protected his Jewish subjects from the persecutions of the Pastoureaux to the extent that many Jews from the rest of the region sought refuge in the town. After the expulsion of 1322, Jews occasionally passed through Pamiers and are thus mentioned in the toll tariffs of 1327 and 1340. A third community was formed after 1359. At the close of the 19th century, a Hebrew seal of a certain Solomon Vidal b. Pourtaya was found and survives as the only material trace of the Jews of Pamiers.

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[Bernhard Blumenkranz]

PAMPHYLIA, region in the southern part of Asia Minor. According to a Roman decree quoted in I Maccabees (15:16ff.), Pamphylia was among those countries notified by the Roman consul Lucius (142 B.C.E.) of the renewed pact of friendship between the Roman Senate and the Jewish nation under the high priest Simeon. Numerous scholars have deduced from this document that a Jewish community existed in Pamphylia (cf. F.-M. Abel, *Les Livres des Maccabées* (1949), 269) as well as the other districts mentioned in the decree. There is, however, only sparse information on Jewish communities in Pamphylia. There is some information about the Jews in Pamphylia in the city of Side in I Maccabees 15:23 (cf. also a late inscription from the Byzantine period from Side (*Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 28 (1908), 195)), and also mention of Jews in Pamphylia in Philo's *Legatio ad Gaium*, 281, and in Acts 2:10. Josephus makes no mention of such a community, and refers to the area primarily in connection with Herod, who was nearly shipwrecked not far from Pamphylia on his way to Rome in 40 B.C.E. (Ant. 14:377; Wars 1:280).

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[Isaiah Gafni]

PAMPLONA (**Pomplona**, **Pampeluna**), city in northen Spain; capital of the former kingdom of Navarre. Pamplona's Jewish community appears to have been founded during the renewed Christian domination of the peninsula after the Muslim conquest. The earliest information, however, on the Jews in the city dates from the tenth century. In 958 *Ḥisdai ibn Shaprut visited Pamplona on a diplomatic mission to confer with Sancho I, king of León, who had found refuge there. At that time there was already a Jewish quarter in the section of the city known as the Navarrería. Even though there is no extant information, there is no doubt that a Jewish community continued to exist in Pamplona throughout the 11th and 12th centuries. In 1274 anti-Jewish riots occurred, the Jewish quarter was apparently destroyed, and the community's property confiscated. In 1336 the Jewish quarter was rebuilt in the same place. In 1280 the town was ordered to restitute the property and allocate space for the erection of Jewish homes. Nonetheless, only after the suppression of the French *Pastoureaux (1320) was the community able to start rebuilding the quarter. In the 14th century there were around 500 Jews in Pamplona.

Numerous accounts and receipts involving the Jews of Pamplona in the 14th century are extant in the archives of the town. A considerable part of the documents are written in Hebrew and bear the signatures of royal agents, physicians, and merchants who were involved in royal transactions. Among other occupations, the Jews of Pamplona owned vineyards and farms or traded with communities in Navarre, Aragon, and Castile. King Charles II of Navarre (1349–87) even exempted the Jews of Pamplona from the prohibition of bringing grapes into the town, as they were for private use and the taxes from Jews were based on their incomes from wine. As evidenced from the tax accounts, the community possessed considerable means but, nevertheless, was – like the other communities of Navarre – in a state of crisis and decline. Pamplona was the site of the disputation on Dec. 26, 1375, between R. Shem Tov b. Isaac Shaprut and Pedro de Luna, who later became the anti-pope *Benedict XIII. Toward the close of the 14th century R. Ḥayyim *Galipapa, the author of *Emek Refa'im*, was rabbi of Pamplona.

At the beginning of the 15th century there were over 200 Jewish families living in Pamplona; this increase in the Jewish population was probably due to refugees from the persecutions of 1391 which took place in the kingdoms of Aragon and Castile. In 1400 the king gave Isaac Alburji, who was probably a goldsmith in the employ of the court, 345 gold florins from the taxes collected in the community. Other Jews were employed as purveyors to the court. In 1407, however, Charles III ordered the sale of Jewish property, and notables of the community were imprisoned. During 1410–11 a plague ravaged Pamplona and many members of the community were among the victims; the community, however, appears to have recovered. In 1469 Leonor, the daughter of John II – in her function as regent of the kingdom – ordered that a strict watch be kept over the Jews to assure that they only lived in their quarter of town. When the Jews were expelled from Spain in 1492, some of them went to Pamplona. They suffered the same fate as the rest of the community, however, when the Jews of the kingdom of Navarre were expelled in 1498.

The Jewish quarter was in the southeast of the so-called Navarrería district. The *juderiía* was by the city walls in the south and in the east. After the expulsion in 1498 the quarter was renamed *Barrio Nuevo*, which is in today's *calle de la Merced*. The Jewish quarter occupied an area of about 20,000 square meters. In this area there were three different quarters: the first one was the smallest, where there was the *Sinagoga Mayor*. This quarter occupied the area of the square of Santa María la Real and part of Dormitalería street. The second quarter, which was larger, was in what is today *calle de la Merced*. The third quarter was in the area that is covered today by the streets Tejería, San Augustin, and Labrit.

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[Haim Beinart / Yom Tov Assis (2nd ed.)]

PANĂ, SAŞA (originally **Alexander Binder**; 1902–1981), Romanian poet and author. Born in Bucharest, Pană qualified as a physician and, while serving as an army medical officer, achieved a reputation as a writer.

Generally considered the most fanatical propagator of avant-garde literary trends, he was the guiding spirit of the literary review *Unu* (1928–32), Romania's most important avant-garde magazine. Pană's blunt manifesto begins with the words: "Reader, disinfect your brains." His poems are notable for their scorn of literary conformism. He wrote essays and, after World War II, sketches and short stories inspired by army life mainly satirizing the behavior of officers. Pană also wrote some short plays and translations from Paul Eluard and Ilarie *Voronca. Between 1926 and 1968 he published some 30 volumes. In the collection of verse entitled *Pentru libertate* ("For Freedom," 1945) there is a poem about the transportation of Romanian Jews to Transnistria and the crimes committed by the SS. Another volume on the same theme, *Poeme fără imaginaţie* ("Poems without Imagination," 1948) was dedicated "to all the victims of the Nazi brutes… to Benjamin Fordane and Ilarie Voronca…" Pană edited *Uliţa evreească* ("The Jewish Street," 1946), a volume of reproductions of wood carvings by Aurel Mărculescu, and an album by the same author (1967) depicting scenes from life in the Transnistrian camps to which the artists had been transported. In 1969 Pană published an anthology of Romania's avant-garde literature (*Anthologia literaturii românte de avangard*).

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[Dora Litani-Littman]

PANAMA, a republic in Central America. Out of the general population of 2,667,000 (1997), some 7,000 are Jews (1997). The Isthmus of Panama serves as a transit route for merchandise and passengers between South and North America as well as between the Atlantic and the Pacific. Jews and Conversos used those routes; they were present in Panama under camouflage and had a secret place of prayer in "Panama the Old" (a city destroyed by the buccaneer Henry Morgan).

In the Virgin Islands, a hurricane, a tidal wave, and a cholera epidemic during the disastrous year of 1867 sent a wave of Jewish immigrants to Panama. They were joined by Jews from Jamaica and Curaçao. From 1852 "The Hebrew Benevolent Society" had existed in Panama City, and in 1867 the Jews were numerous enough to found, under the leadership of Elias Nunez Martinez, "The Kol Shearith Israel Burial and Charitable Society," and the cornerstone of the Jewish cemetery was laid. From the earliest days the settlement of Spanish-Portuguese Jews was held in high esteem by the population and the authorities.

In 1890 a congregation was formed in the city of Colon, "Kahal Kadosh Yangakob" (The Holy Congregation of Jacob). A synagogue was inaugurated on April 13, 1913.

In Panama City, following Colon's lead, there was a Jewish "Hall of Worship" and a Spanish-Portuguese synagogue was finally inaugurated on March 15, 1935. Under the influence of the majority, consisting of Virgin Island Jews, Reform Judaism was adopted.

The community Kol Shearith Israel established a sisterhood, which was instrumental in 1954 in founding a Jewish day school, Instituto Albert Einstein, which consists of pre-primary, primary, and secondary grades and provides general and Jewish education on high academic standards to a large number of Jewish children. While opposing the formation of a Zionist organization, the community supported the State of Israel. Members of the community became quite prominent in Panamanian life: Joshua Lindo was one of the leaders for the independence of Panama from Colombia; David Henry Brandon founded the fire corps, fire being one of the main causes of disaster in Panama; Herbert de Castro founded the Panama philharmonic orchestra; Edward Maduro wrote the words of the patriotic "March of Panama"; Aida de Castro, known in Panama as the "angel of Dalo Seco," organized the leper colony and worked to eradicate leprosy; Max Shalom Delvalle was president of the republic in 1967; Eric Shalom Delvalle Maduro was president in 1984–85.

After World War I a large Jewish immigration came from Syria and Palestine, evolving into the largest community in Panama, "Shevet Ahim," which followed the strictly Orthodox rite. They also help found a religious Jewish school in 1977 – Academia Hebrea de Panamá.

Ashkenazi Jews, who began to arrive in the 1930s, established the "Beit El" community and synagogue.

Owing to intermarriages, the Kol Shearith Israel congregation diminished considerably.

A small community existed in the American Canal Zone; the city of Balboa was home to its synagogue, which ceased to exist with the closing of the Canal Zone.

With the movement of Jews to the capital city Panamá, the two synagogues in Colon – Agudat Ahim and Kahal Kadosh Yangakob – disbanded, as did the small synagogue in the city of David. A central council acts as a unifying body for the congregations in Panama. WIZO and B'nai B'rith are active.

Whereas most Ashkenazi and Oriental Jews deal mainly in commerce, the Spanish-Portuguese Jewish families continued the Caribbean tradition of plantations, agro-industry, shipping, and banking.

Jews are also active in the political, academic, industrial, and scientific life of Panama, and a significant number of Jews are government ministers, mayors, university rectors, and entrepreneurs.

In the early 21st century there were four synagogues in Panama, three of them Orthodox and one Conservative. Shevet Ahim, the largest communal organization, inaugurated its second synagogue, Ahavat Sion, in 1999, in honor of Rabbi Sion Levy, who had been serving as its spiritual leader for more than half a century. This community has a membership of 700 families, most of them of Aleppan origin, who lead a strictly Orthodox way of life that influences also other sectors. Beit El, the Ashkenazi community, has a membership of 80 families and is led by Rabbi Aaron Layne of Chabad Lubavitch. About 85 percent of the Jewish households keep kosher, and there are a large number of kosher services. Kol Shearith Israel, with about 150 families, is liberal-progressive in its religious outlook. In 2000 it opened the Jewish school Colegio Isaac Rabin.

In the UN Assembly of November 1947, Panama voted in favor of the partition of Palestine and the foundation of two states: Jewish and Arab. Relations with Israel are cordial. Israel maintained an embassy in Panama until 2003; Panama has an embassy in Israel.

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[Mordechai Arbell (2nd ed.)]

PANET, EZEKIEL BEN JOSEPH (1783–1845), Transylvanian rabbi. He was born in Bielitz (Bielsko), Silesia. Under the *Familiants Laws, as the second son of his father, he was forbidden to marry in the country and went to Linsk in Poland. He continued his studies in Linsk until 1807, when he was appointed rabbi of Ostrik in Galicia, and in 1813 became rabbi of Tarcal in Hungary. Panet held the ḥasidic rabbis in high esteem and maintained close contacts with them. While in Tarcal he became particularly intimate with the ḥasidic rabbi Isaac *Taub, the rabbi of Nagykallo. According to the inscription on his tombstone, Panet also engaged in Kabbalah.

After the death of R. Mendel, the rabbi of Alba-Iulia, in 1823, the community asked R. Moses *Sofer to recommend a successor. Panet was one of three candidates recommended by Sofer, and he was elected, serving until his death. From 1754 to 1868 the rabbi of this ancient community was regarded as the chief rabbi of Transylvania, and in fact his seal bore the Latin inscription: *Supperabi Transilvaniae-sigil-Ezechiel Panet*.

The Jewish population of the district was small at the time, and religious life was at a low ebb. Panet acted energetically in bringing about a religious revival. Since there were practically no other rabbis in the province, he supervised the religious life of the whole area, making regular journeys for this purpose to the smallest and most isolated communities. During his period of office the community of Alba-Iulia gradually transferred from the Sephardi rite, which had hitherto prevailed, to the Ashkenazi. Although according to a family tradition Panet left about 18 bound volumes in manuscript, only one of his works was published (posthumously): the responsa *Mareh Yeḥezkel u-She'arei Ẓiyyon* (1875). It is the first volume of responsa of a Transylvanian rabbi, and in addition to its halakhic value is important as a source for the contemporary history of the Jews of Transylvania. Panet also collected funds for the Hungarian *kolel in Ereẓ Israel. Panet's descendants (some of whom spelled their name Paneth) were well-known rabbis in the Orthodox communities of Transylvania and Hungary. A genealogical table of his descendants and where they served as rabbis appears in the work of his descendant Philip Paneth (see bibl.). One of his sons, MENAHEM MENDEL (d. 1884), founded the Dej ḥasidic dynasty.

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[Yehouda Marton]

PANETH, FRIEDRICH ADOLF (1887–1958), Austrian physical and radioactivity chemist. Paneth, a son of Joseph Paneth, a physiologist who discovered certain histological cells which still bear his name, was born in Vienna. Both his parents were born Jews, but they brought up their children as Protestants. Paneth worked from 1912 to 1917 at the Institute for Radium Research in Vienna, where with the Hungarian chemist George Hevesy he carried out the first use of radioactive tracers to measure physical properties. From 1918 he held professorships successively at the Prague Institute of Technology, and Hamburg, Berlin, Koenigsberg universities. When the Nazis came to power in 1933 he went to London, where he worked first at the Imperial College and then as reader in atomic chemistry in the University of London. In 1939 he was appointed professor of chemistry at Durham University, where he remained for 14 years. During this time he was chairman of the chemistry division of the British Canadian atomic energy team in Montreal (1943–45). In 1947 he was elected a fellow of the Royal Society. On his retirement from Durham in 1953 he returned to Germany as director of the Max Planck Institute for Chemistry at Mainz.

Paneth's prolific output of scientific papers dealt mainly with radioactive tracers, free radicals, and neutron radiation. He developed new methods for the analysis of helium and used them to determine the age and origin of meteorites. His books include *Radio-Elements as Indicators, and Other Selected Topics in Inorganic Chemistry* (1928) and *The Origin of Meteorites* (1940).

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[Samuel Aaron Miller]

PANEVEZYS (**Panevezhis**; Lith. **Panevežys**; Rus. **Ponevezh**), city in N. Lithuanian S.S.R. In 1766 the Jewish community numbered 254; in 1847, 1,447 Jews were registered, and in 1897, 6,627 Jews (50% of the total population) lived in Panevezys. An ancient *Karaite community is also known to have existed there. A number of noted rabbis officiated in Panevezys, among them Isaac Jacob *Rabinovich (Itzele Ponevezher), Joseph Sh. *Kahaneman, and Jeroham Leibovich. The Hebrew poet Judah Leib *Gordon served as a teacher in the city from 1853 to 1860. Naphtali *Friedman, a noted advocate, served as delegate from Panevezys to the third *Duma.

In May 1915, during World War I, the Jews of Panevezys were sent along with other Lithuanian Jews to the interior of Russia by the Russian military authorities. Most of them returned after the Russian Revolution. In 1923 there were 6,845 Jews living in Panevezys (35% of the total population), most of them occupied in small trade and crafts and some in larger business enterprises and industry.

The community had an active social and cultural life. Its educational institutions included Hebrew and Yiddish primary schools, two Hebrew secondary schools (one belonging to the Zionist-orientated *Tarbut educational system and the other, for girls, to the religious Yavneh), a Jewish pro-gymnasium, and libraries.

The Panevezys Yeshivah, which had a high reputation, was founded by Liebe Miriam Gavronsky, daughter of K.Z. Wissotszky. When the Jews were expelled during World War I, the yeshivah was first moved to *Ludza in Vitebsk province and then to Mariupol (*Zhdanov) in the Ukraine. After World War I Rabbi Kahaneman founded the great Ohel Yiẓḥak yeshivah in Panevezys with about 200 students. In 1944 the yeshivah was reestablished by Rabbi Kahaneman in *Bene Berak, Israel.

Panevezys was occupied by the Germans in 1941 a few days after the outbreak of the German-Soviet war. A ghetto was established from which Jews were transported and murdered in September 1941. They were buried in 12 mass graves. In 1968 the Jewish cemetery at Panevezys was destroyed.

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[Joseph Gar]

PANIGEL, ELIYAHU MOSHE (1850–1919), Sephardi chief rabbi of Ereẓ Israel. Orphaned in childhood, Panigel was raised by his uncle, the Sephardi chief rabbi of Ereẓ Israel (*rishon le-Zion*), Rabbi Raphael Meir *Panigel. He was sent on fund-raising missions to Algeria by the Misgav la-Dakh Hospital in Jerusalem and to North Africa, Italy, India, the Caucasus and Bokhara, by the Jerusalem community. An outstanding preacher and cantor, he eulogized Herzl in Jerusalem upon his death in 1904. In 1907 he was appointed *ḥakham bashi* (chief rabbi of the Ottoman Empire) and Sephardi chief rabbi of Ereẓ Israel but was forced to resign in 1908. When Jerusalem was captured by the British in 1917, he publicly welcomed General Allenby and the Jewish Legion.

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[Geulah Bat Yehuda (Raphael)]

PANIGEL, RAPHAEL MEIR BEN JUDAH (1804–1893), chief rabbi of Jerusalem. Panigel was born in Bulgaria, but when he was three years old his parents, who were well-to-do, emigrated to Ereẓ Israel. In 1828 and in 1863 he went as an emissary of Jerusalem to the countries of North Africa, remaining there on both occasions for several years. In 1845 he went to Italy as an emissary of Hebron. While in Rome he succeeded in making peace between two rival factions in the community. He was also received with great respect at the Vatican by Pope Gregory XVI. In 1866 he supported Ludwig August *Frankl in his endeavor to establish a modern school in Jerusalem. In 1880 he was appointed *rishon le-Zion, and in 1890 the Turkish authorities appointed him *ḥakham bashi* (head of the Jewish community of Ereẓ Israel). He was acceptable to all the communities and esteemed by the authorities. He was the author of *Lev Marpe* (the initials of his name; 1887), talmudic novellae, responsa, and homilies. Some of his novellae were published in the Jerusalem *Me'assef* and in *Torah mi-Ẓiyyon*. His other works have remained in manuscript.

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[Abraham David]

PANKEN, JACOB (1879–1968), judge and U.S. Socialist leader. Born in the Ukraine, Panken was taken to the United States as a child. He worked in leather factories in New York City and attended school in the evenings. Panken was admitted to the bar in 1905. In 1917, he was elected a judge of New York City's Municipal Court and served until 1928. In 1934 he was appointed a judge of the Domestic Relations Court, a post which he held for 20 years. Panken was attracted to the labor movement from his youth. At the age of 18 he organized a leather goods union and later helped found the Ladies Garment Workers Union (1900). In those days, gangsters had ties with employers as well as with politicians in New York City's East Side. Thus, prominent figures in the socialist movement were the objects of violence. Panken was shot at in 1904 and assaulted by thugs in 1906.

Panken represented U.S. Socialists at a number of international congresses and at the same time maintained an association with Jewish movements. When World War I broke out, he was one of the organizers of the People's Relief Committee to aid the Jews of Eastern Europe. Later, he helped to organize the American branch of *ORT and for many years was its president. He was also president of the *Jewish Daily Forward* from 1917 to 1925. His writings include *Socialism in America* (1931) and *The Child Speaks: The Prevention of Juvenile Delinquency* (1941).

[Charles Reznikoff]

PANN, ABEL (**Abba Pfefferman**; 1883–1963), Israeli painter and draftsman. Pann was born in Kreslawka in the Vitebsk region of White Russia. Although his father Nahum was a rabbi and the head of a yeshivah, he did not object to his son becoming a painter, and even encouraged it. Until he was 20 years old, Pann received an Orthodox Jewish education. His first art teacher was Judah Pan of Vitebsk, who also taught Marc Chagall and Ossip Zadkine. In 1898 Pann began his art studies in the Academy of Fine Arts in Odessa, while at the same time being involved with Zionist activities. The most significant experience in Pann's life was his traveling to Kishinev after the pogroms (1903) as part of delegations that were dispatched to document the horrors.

From 1903 until 1913 he stayed in Paris, learning sketching and painting models at the Académie Julian. In this period Pann gained fame as a caricaturist. Pann arrived in Jerusalem as a part of a world journey. At the invitation of Boris Schatz, director of the Bezalel art academy, he stayed to teach and became deputy director for one year. During World War I Pann, who had returned to Paris to settle his affairs, was forced to remain there until the end of the war. In May 1920 Pann returned to teach at Bezalel; in 1924 he resigned to dedicate himself to biblical painting. Until his last day Pann continued to paint biblical scenes. In the Israeli art world his work was identified as part of the Jewish Art movement that was rejected by the modern Israeli view of the arts in the 1940s and later. In the Jewish world his art was a success. An exhibition of his art at the Israel Museum in 2003 promoted new awareness of the power of his art, especially his biblical paintings.

Pann's artistic style ranged from the humoristic to agony paintings, and then again to beauty and colorful visions. The suffering of the Jews in pogroms again became a part of his artistic creation in the series *The Jug of Tears* (1915–16, Israel Museum, Jerusalem). This series included 50 pastel drawings on cardboard. The series' sketches created the impression of journalistic documentation of the expelled Jews, desolated towns, rapes, and murders.

Pann's attitude toward the biblical scene was influenced by his journeys in Ereẓ Israel. Pann's confrontation with eastern figures, such as the Arabs and the Bedouins, reinforced biblical myth for him and provided a picture of realistic existence relevant to the biblical heroes. The audience for Pann's art, especially the Zionists among them, would identify with those feelings.

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[Ronit Steinberg (2nd ed.)]

PANOFSKY, ERWIN (1892–1968), U.S. art historian. Born in Hanover, Germany, he studied at universities in Berlin, Munich, and Breslau, receiving his Ph.D. from the University of Freiburg in 1914. He taught at the University of Hamburg from 1926 to 1933. After the Nazis achieved power in Germany, Panofsky was dismissed from his position and fled to the U.S. in 1934. Despite this traumatic period, Panofsky never publicly addressed his Jewish identity, and instead promulgated a liberal humanism in his writing about art. His scholarship on Jan van Eyck describes a particular German contribution to art history, perhaps arising from a need for an exile to identify a period in German history unsullied by the Nazis. Beginning in 1935, he was a professor of art history at the Institute for Advanced Studies at Princeton University, at the same time that Albert Einstein taught there. He remained at Princeton for the remainder of his life. He wrote on art from the medieval, Baroque, and Renaissance periods and developed the study of iconology in art history, that is, the manner in which theme, style, and symbol intersect in an image. His differentiation of iconography, that is, the descriptive aspects of a work of art, from iconology, a deeper level of interpretation which involves situating the image in a wider social, institutional, and cultural context, still defines the purview of modern art history. Panofsky is best known for his publications *Studies in Iconology* (1939); *Albrecht Durer* (1943); *Early Netherlandish Painting* (1953), with Dora Panofsky; *Pandora's Box: The Changing Aspects of a Mythical Symbol* (1956); and *Meaning in the Visual Arts* (1957). He also wrote in 1934 a still widely read interpretation of Jan van Eyck's *Arnolfini Wedding*. Panofsky's "Style and Medium in the Moving Pictures" (1937) is regarded as a classic film commentary. He was a member of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences and the British Academy; he received the Haskins Medal of the Medieval Academy of America in 1962.

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[Nancy Buchwald (2nd ed.)]

PANOV, VALERY (**Valery Matyevich Shulman**; 1938–), Russian/Israeli dancer and choreographer. He was born in Witebsk and changed his name to Panov in 1958. He studied at the Leningrad choreographic school (1951–1957) and also at the Vilnius ballet school (1953–56) as well as at the Moscow choreographic school (1954). In his Russian career Panov was the leading dancer of the Leningrad Maly Theater Ballet (1957–1964) and soloist of the Kirov Ballet (1963–72) from which he was expelled and briefly imprisoned after his application for an exit visa to Israel. In 1974 he left the Soviet Union with his wife, dancer Galina Pavlova, for Israel, where he appeared as guest artist with the *Batsheva and Bat-Dor dance companies (1974–77). Thereafter he was guest choreographer and principal dancer at the German opera ballet and staged ballets in San Francisco, Vienna, Stockholm, Antwerp, and Santiago.

Panov, who was one of the greatest virtuoso dancers in the Soviet Union, received the Lenin Prize in 1969 and the title of Honored Artist of the Russian Federation. He also published an autobiography in 1978.

In 2000 Panov founded in the Israeli city of Ashdod the Panov Theater and ballet school. His troupe of 24 dancers regularly performs ballets staged by him.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: IDB, 2:1068–71.

[Amnon Shiloah (2nd ed.)]

PAP, ARTHUR (1921–1959), philosopher. Born and brought up in Zurich, where his father was a successful businessman, he moved to New York in 1941. He taught at the University of Chicago, where he was greatly influenced by Rudolf Carnap, one of the founders of the Vienna school of Logical Positivism. Pap assumed a teaching position at Yale University in the mid-1950s.

Considered one of the ablest philosophers of his generation, Pap developed a modified, flexible type of logical positivism. The flexible approach that characterized his work is clearly seen in his five books and numerous articles, particularly in *Semantics and Necessary Truth* (1958), which is perhaps the most careful and meticulous inquiry into the notion of necessary proof. His *Elements of Analytic Philosophy* (1949) and *An Introduction to the Philosophy of Science* (1962) reflect his desire to make science philosophically accurate in its formulations and to make philosophy scientific in its approach.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *New York Times* (Sept. 8, 1959), 35.

PAP, KÁROLY (1897–1945), Hungarian author. Born in Sopron, where his father Miksa *Pollák was the rabbi of the Neolog community, Pap was an officer in the Austro-Hungarian army during World War I and was decorated for bravery. After demobilization, he joined Béla *Kun's October Revolution and became a Hungarian Red Army commander. On the collapse of the revolution he was arrested, reduced to the ranks, and condemned to 18 months' imprisonment. After his release he left the country until 1925. Then, settling in Budapest, he began writing poetry and stories. He soon became known as a short story writer, but wishing to remain independent, he refused to take any employment.

Pap's first novel, *Megszabaditottál a haláltól* ("Thou Hast Delivered Me from Death," 1932), which dealt with a popular

Jewish Messiah in the time of Jesus, was enthusiastically received by liberal and radical writers, notably the great Hungarian author, Zsigmond Móricz, who gave him much encouragement. The character of Jesus and the period in which he lived recur constantly in Pap's writings, not because of any attraction to Christianity but because, in his opinion, this "classical" period of Judaism retained traces of the Divinity, and at the same time presented social contrasts and gave Jews the taste of suffering. His great autobiographical novel, *Azarel* (1937), which portrayed his father's house through the eyes of a child, aroused great indignation among some Jewish readers because of the cruel frankness of its descriptions. In his sensational essay, *Zsidó sebek és bűnök* ("Jewish Wounds and Sins," 1935), Pap made a thorough and candid analysis of his Jewish and non-Jewish social surroundings. He traced the history of the Jews, particularly of Hungarian Jewry, in order to expose conventional lies, especially those concerning emancipation. He found only one solution to the Jewish problem: acceptance of the fate of a national minority. He himself was fanatically attached to all aspects of Jewish life and was uncompromising in his loyalty.

During World War II the Budapest Jewish Theater performed two biblical plays by Pap: *Bathsheba* (1940) and *Moses* (1944). In May 1944 he was sent to a labor camp. From there he refused to escape and was deported to Buchenwald, and is presumed to have died in Bergen-Belsen. Three works which appeared posthumously were *A szűziesség fátylai* ("The Veils of Chastity," 1945), *A hószobor* ("The Snow Statue," 1954) and *B városában történt* ("It Happened in the City B," 2 vols., 1964).

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[Baruch Yaron]

PAPA (c. 300–375), Babylonian *amora*. Papa studied under *Rava (Er. 51a) and Abbaye (Ber. 20a). After the latter's death he founded an academy at *Naresh (near Sura), where he held the post of *resh metivta* (head of the academy) (Ta'an. 9a) for 19 years, until his death. Although some of Rava's former pupils expressed dissatisfaction with Papa's teaching (*ibid.*), his academy was famous for the number of its pupils (Ket. 106a). The extent of Papa's learning is revealed by the number of occasions in which he participated in halakhic disputes. Papa's opinions are frequently the last ones quoted in the talmudic *sugyot*, and often take the form of reconciling and accepting conflicting opinions (Meg. 21b; Ta'an. 29b; Ḥul. 46a). In these cases he prefaces his decision with the word *hilkakh* "therefore." In other cases he uses the expression *shema mina*, "from this we can deduce" (the *halakhah* in a certain matter; Yoma 28b; Yev. 103a).

Papa belonged to a wealthy family and increased his fortune by his own successful business ventures (Pes. 113a). He engaged in the sale of poppy seeds (Git. 73a) and in the expert brewing of date beer (Ber. 44b; Pes. 113a; BM 65a). Rava commented on his wealth by adapting Ecclesiastes 8:14, stating "Happy are the righteous, who prosper in this world" (Hor. 10b). On one occasion Papa had to defend himself against a charge of practicing usury (BM 65a). On another, however, his action in returning some land which he had bought from a man who needed the money was praised as going beyond the strict requirements of the law (Ket. 97a). Papa was renowned for his impartiality in judgment (BM 69a) and his piety (Shab. 118b; Nid. 12b). He also had a deep respect for his fellow scholars (MK 17a) and made a point of visiting the local rabbi of any town he visited (Nid. 33b). He once undertook a self-imposed fast in atonement for speaking unkindly of a scholar (Sanh. 100a), although fasting did not agree with him (Ta'an. 24b). On another occasion, when he heard a particularly wise decision from a student, he offered him his daughter's hand in marriage (Hor. 12b). His deepest affections were reserved for his colleague Huna ben Joshua (Shab. 89a), the friendship dating from their student days (Pes. 111b; Hor. 10b). Huna served as Papa's deputy at Naresh (Ber. 57a; *Sherira Ga'on* 3:3) and was his business partner (Git. 73a). It is related that the two refused to part even for a journey (Yev. 85a).

In the course of his many business travels, Papa collected numerous popular sayings which he often quoted in discussion. Among them are: "If you hear that your neighbor has died, believe it; if you hear that he has become rich, do not believe it" (Git. 30b); "Sow corn for your use that you should not be obliged to purchase it; and strive to acquire landed property" (Yev. 63a). He also suggested advice on family relationships: "If your wife is short bend down to hear her whisper," i.e., always consult her, even if she is less important than you are (BM 59a). Papa's second wife was the daughter of Abba of Sura (Ket. 39b).

The formula to be recited at a **hadran* on the completion of the study of a tractate includes the recitation of the names of 10 "sons of Papa." Although all are mentioned in the Talmud, some of them are definitely not the sons of this Papa (e.g., Surḥav and Daru). Among the various reasons that have been given for this recital is that it assists the memory.

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PAPA (Hung, **Pápa**), town in N.W. Hungary. A few families first settled in Papa under the protection of the Esterházy family; by 1714 the first synagogue was built. At that time the tax collector of the city was a Jew. A new synagogue was built in 1743. In 1748 Count F. Esterházy authorized Jews to settle in Papa and organize a community. A Bikkur Ḥolim society was founded in 1770. The first Jewish private school was opened in 1812, and the community school, founded in 1826, had 504 pupils in 1841. In 1899 the first junior high school was founded. The synagogue erected in 1846 was an important step toward the introduction of Reform: Space was left for an organ although none was installed; the *bimah* was set in front of the Ark and not in the center of the synagogue. After the religious schism in Hungarian Jewry in 1869 the *Neologists left the community, but returned five years later. During the *Tiszaeszlar blood libel case (1882) anti-Jewish riots broke out in Papa but they were suppressed by the authorities.

The first rabbi of the community was Bernard Isaac, followed by Selig Bettelheim. The Orthodox rabbi Paul (Feiwel) Horwitz initiated the meeting of rabbis in *Paks in 1844. Leopold *Loew (1846–50) was the first rabbi to introduce Reform. Moritz *Klein, rabbi from 1876 to 1880, translated part of *Maimonides' *Guide of the Perplexed* into Hungarian. He was followed by Solomon *Breuer (1880–83). The last rabbi was J. Haberfeld, who perished with his congregation in the Holocaust.

The anti-Jewish laws of 1938–39 caused great hardship in the community, and from 1940 the young Jewish men were sent to forced-labor battalions, at first within Hungary, but later to the Russian front (1942). The Jewish population in Papa increased from 452 in 1787 to 2,645 in 1840 (19.6% of the total population), and 3,550 in 1880 (24.2%). After the beginning of the 20th century a gradual decline began; there were 3,076 Jews in 1910 (15.3%), 2,991 in 1920, 2,613 in 1941 (11%) and 2,565 in 1944. After the German occupation on March 19, 1944, the Jews were confined in a ghetto on May 24 with another 2,800 Jews from nearby villages. All were deported to Auschwitz in the beginning of July. In 1946 there were 470 Jews in the town (2% of the population) and by 1970 the number had fallen to 40.

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[Laszlo Harsanyi]

PAPER-CUTS. Jewish paper-cuts present an interesting branch of traditional folk art which fulfilled a specific part in the life of the community. The subjects of Jewish paper-cuts were connected with customs and ceremonies, and associated with holidays and family life. They were encountered widely among the Jews of Poland and Russia in the 19th century and the early years of the 20th century; Jewish paper-cuts were also known in Germany and probably in Holland; some Italian Jewish parchment **ketubbot* (marriage contracts) of the late 17th, 18th, and 19th centuries were decorated with cut-outs as well as some elaborate *Scrolls of Esther. Paper-cuts are also to be found – with some characteristic style differences – in North Africa and the Middle East. But most information available concerns the East European cut-outs.

The cut-out is basically a pattern cut out of paper, often tinted and mounted on a layer of different color. Sheets of paper were usually folded, with half a design drawn on one side. The folded sheet was then fastened with thin nails to a wooden board and the design cut out with a sharp knife. By unfolding the paper a symmetrical design was obtained. Circular or multilateral designs were folded several times and asymmetrical compositions were cut out separately.

Paper-cuts present a rich variety of forms and motifs with texts drawn from the Holy Scriptures.

Motifs

In the center there is usually the seven-branched *menorah*, the Ten Commandments, or a Torah scroll; at the top they are decorated with a crown, Magen David, or an eagle. They are surrounded by motifs from the animal world and plant life, or geometrical forms. Among the animals the most frequent are lions, deer, eagles, and tigers, which have a symbolic connotation (Avot 5:23). Sometimes bears, camels, and a wide selection of birds are used; mythological figures such as winged gryphons, cherubs, and leviathans; or the old motif of the tree of life; the symbols of the 12 signs of the Zodiac are also frequently used.

Types

MIZRAḤ AND SHIVVITI. The *Mizraḥ* ("East") was the most impressive and intricate form of Jewish paper-cuts hung up in homes and in synagogues on the eastern wall to indicate the direction of prayer (to Jerusalem). The *Mizraḥ* in the synagogue was generally called *Shivviti* according to the saying "*Shivviti Adonai le-Negdi Tamid*" ("I have set the Lord always before me"; Ps. 16:8) which appears mostly on these paper-cuts. Usually rectangular and framed under glass, they were made of white paper, almost always tinted with water colors and inscribed with biblical sayings. These paper-cuts presented artists with vast opportunities to exercise their skill, and are often admired for their delicacy and finesse.

"*Shevuoslekh*" and "*Royselekh*" represent another widely encountered type of paper-cuts, rectangular or circular, used to decorate the windows on Shavuot: "*Shevuosl*" from the name of the holiday; "*Roysele*" from rosette or flower. It was customary on this holiday to decorate the doors with greenery, while these paper-cuts were stuck onto the glass panes of the small windows of Jewish homes. Thus they were smaller than the *Mizraḥ*, made of white paper, seldom colored, and often displayed the short text "*Ḥag ha-Shavuot ha-Zeh*" ("this holiday of Shavuot"). While most of them show the usual motifs, some depict soldiers and cavalrymen, a subject which seems to have excited the imagination of the Talmud students poring over their books. Visible from the street, they must have been familiar to non-Jews as well. "Torah Flags," carried by children at the Simḥat Torah processions, were often decorated with these cuts. At the top of the flag stick, candles were fixed inside apples or potatoes. The motifs of the flags were symbols of the 12 tribes or contained inscriptions suitable for the festival of Simḥat Torah. They were two-sided and made of colored paper.

A "*Kimpetbriv*" or "*Shir-Hamales*" was a kind of amulet put up on the four walls of the birth room to protect the mother and her newborn child against the evil power of the witch *Lilith, who, according to ancient beliefs, snatched the infants away. Texts included "Let the witch perish," "God will destroy devils," etc. The center always featured a psalm beginning with the words "*Shir ha-Ma'alot*" ("A song of degrees"; cf. Ps. 120), from which the amulet took its name. The expression *kimpet* derives from the old Yiddish-German *kindbett* ("childbed"), while *brivl* means "letter" or "note." Others were calendars, to count the days of the Omer; "*Ushpizin*" to hang up in the *sukkah*; "*Mi-she-Nikhnas Adar*," displayed on the walls of the synagogue during the month of Adar, etc. Paper lanterns whose sides were decorated with cut-outs were lit during open air weddings or on memorial days of great rabbis.

The beginning of the 20th century saw the disappearance of the Jewish paper-cuts and only old people remembered the art of their youth. Many of those preserved were destroyed during World War II and relatively few remain in public or private collections. In the late 20th century Jewish paper-cuts became a popular art form.

The paper-cuts from North Africa and the Middle East were called *Menorah*, because the *menorah*, one or more, always appeared as the central motif. They included many inscriptions, mostly on the arms of the candelabras. The underlayer of these cut-outs was made from thin, colored metal sheets. Two groups stand out. The first group is a counterpart of the *Mizraḥ* and the second includes smaller paper-cuts used as charms. The motifs are the same as in European paper-cuts but they have a specific Oriental style. Very often the *ḥamsa* ("the five-finger hand"), unknown in Europe, appears on these paper-cuts.

Origin

It would be difficult to determine when the first Jewish paper-cuts originated. Information dating from as far back as the 17th and 18th centuries points to the fact that the European Jews of this time were acquainted with this type of art. The fact, however, that Jewish paper-cuts can be traced to Syria, Iraq, and North Africa, and that there is a similarity in the cutting techniques (with a knife) between those of East European Jews, and those of the Chinese, in their ancient folk craft, may indicate that the origin goes back even further.

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[Giza Frankel]

PAPERNA, ABRAHAM BARUCH (d. 1863), Italian Hebrew writer and anthologist. Born in Leghorn where he also served as rabbi, Paperna was primarily interested in modern Hebrew poetry in Italy. His anthology of this poetry, *Kol Ugav* (1846), contains an appendix with biobibliographical data on the poets. He possessed a collection of manuscripts of authors whose works are reproduced in the anthology, as well as of other writers he mentions. He also contributed introductions to several books that were published in Leghorn. One of his pupils was Sabato *Morais. Ḥ.N. *Bialik (*Iggerot*, 3 (1938), 155) was deeply impressed by his anthology.

[Getzel Kressel]

PAPERNA, ABRAHAM JACOB (1840–1919), Hebrew writer and critic. Paperna, who was born in Kapuli, Russia, was brought up in the spirit of the moderate Haskalah which prevailed in his father's house. In 1861 he started publishing articles and poems in *Ha-Meliẓ* and *Ha-Karmel*. He studied in the government rabbinical seminaries of Zhitomir (1863–64) and Vilna (1864–67). At the same time he became acquainted with Russian literature and was particularly influenced by Russian literary criticism. In 1867 he published a collection of articles entitled *Kankan Ḥadash Male Yashan* ("A New Vessel Full of Old [Wine]"), in which he criticized the Hebrew literature of the Haskalah in the realistic manner introduced by Uri *Kovner. Paperna's aim was to give the Hebrew reader elementary concepts in literary theory and to point out the main weaknesses of the Hebrew literature of his day. The latter included dilettantism, exaggerated use of pompous and ornate language, and versification instead of poetry. At the same time he acknowledged the achievements of contemporary Hebrew literature and paid tribute to some of its leading figures. A bitter controversy arose over Paperna's second brochure *Ha-Dramah bi-Khelal ve-ha-Ivrit bi-Ferat* ("Drama in General and Hebrew Drama in Particular," 1868). The brochure opens with an explanation of the basic concepts of poetry and concentrates upon tragedy, bringing examples from Greek and English drama. It then gives an account of the history of Hebrew drama from M.Ḥ. *Luzzatto to A.D. *Lebensohn's *Emet ve-Emunah*. In *Ha-Meliẓ* (1869), Paperna published an essay *Ha-Avot ve-ha-Banim* by S.Y. * Abramovitsh (Mendele Mokher Seforim). This was to be part of a larger article on the development of the novel but the fierce controversy which this essay engendered apparently deterred him from continuing this work. Upon his graduation from the rabbinical seminary in 1867, he was appointed teacher in the government school in Zakroczym, Poland, and in 1869 he moved to Plotsk where he worked as a teacher for some 45 years. During this time he wrote a number of Hebrew-Russian text books. After a lapse of almost 20 years Paperna returned to the field of Hebrew literature, probably under the influence of the national revival among the Jews in Russia. He wrote poems and essays, as well as two booklets, *Siḥot Ḥayyot ve-Ofot* (1892), and *Mishlei ha-Zeman* (1893), which were sharp satires on modern civilization with allusions to the particular situation of the Jews in Russia. His memoirs appeared in the Russian-Jewish anthology *Perezhitaje*. His works were edited by Y. Zmora and published in Tel Aviv in 1952. Together with his contemporaries Uri Kovner and Mendele Mokher Seforim, Paperna raised

Hebrew literary criticism from the level of personal invective directed against the author to systematic analysis guided by principles of literary forms and aesthetic theory.

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[Yehdua Slutsky]

PAPI, name of two *amoraim*.

PAPI I, Babylonian *amora* of the fourth century. A disciple of Rava, the greatest *amora* of his time, he became the son-in-law of R. *Isaac Nappaḥa (Ḥul. 110a) and the head of an academy attended, among others, by Rav *Ashi (Ḥul. 77a; 82a; RH 29b) and Mar *Zutra (Suk. 46a). He was apparently a well-to-do landowner, and, after reciting the sanctification of the Sabbath for his family and students, he would repeat the ceremony for the benefit of his tenants who arrived later from the field (RH 29b). Papi was on friendly terms with the exilarch Mar Samuel, at whose home he would sometimes dine (Beẓah 14b). When the exilarch ordered the case of a certain Bar Ḥama who was charged with murder to be investigated, Papi successfully defended the accused, whereupon the latter "kissed his [Papi's] feet and undertook to pay his poll tax for him for the rest of his life" (Sanh. 27a–b).

PAPI II, Palestinian *amora* of the fourth century, somewhat later than the above. His teacher was Joshua of Sikhnin, and his few recorded sayings are for the most part aggadic traditions in the name of his teacher or in the name of R. Levi, whose traditions were chiefly transmitted by Joshua of Sikhnin. Among the statements cited by him is a prediction that the future rebuilt Jerusalem would be three times or even 30 times as large as the old city (BB 75b).

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[Moses Aberbach]

PAPIERNIKOV, JOSEPH (1897–1993), Yiddish poet. Born in Warsaw, he attended a Russian secondary school. Because of his fine voice and sensitive ear for music, he was accepted as choir boy by Cantor Gershon *Sirota in the Tlomacka Synagogue in Warsaw. At an early age he joined the Left Po'alei Zion party, which supported the development of a modern Yiddish literature, and there he found the first audience for his lyrics. In 1924 he immigrated to Palestine, where he remained except for an extended sojourn in Poland (1929–33). After his first poem was published in 1918, his melodious poetry, with its rich imagery and folklike quality, was welcomed in numerous Yiddish journals in Poland and other countries, and his lyric "*Zol Zayn az Ikh Boy in der Luft Mayne Shleser*" ("I Build my Castles in the Air"), to which he also composed the music, became a popular folk song. Eight collections of Papiernikov's poems were printed before World War II, including *In Zunikn Land* ("In the Sunny Land," 1927) and *Far Mir un far Ale* ("For Me and the Others," 1936) and a volume of his translations of S. Essenin's poetry (1933). A faithful lyric recorder of the hardships of the pioneers in the Jewish homeland, Papiernikov's post-Holocaust poetry, short stories, and memoirs, which were collected in several volumes, have a more elegiac tonality. He was honored with several literary awards, and a volume of tributes to him was published on the 40th anniversary of his settling in Israel: *40 Yor Papiernikov in Erets-Yisroel* (1965).

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[Israel Ch. Biletzky]

PAPO, IZIDOR JOSEF (1913–1996), Yugoslav surgeon. Born in Ljubusko, Papo received his M.D. from the University of Zagreb in 1937 and specialized in surgery at the state hospital in Sarajevo in 1937–41. During World War II he fought from 1941 in the partisan Yugoslav Liberation Army, advancing to the rank of lieutenant-general and heading the Supreme Command's surgical staff. He became a member of the Communist Party in June 1943. From 1947 he was a professor of surgery and in 1948 head of the surgery clinic of the Yugoslav Military Medical Academy and surgeon-in-chief of the Yugoslav army. He settled in Belgrade. After the war he turned to heart, lung, and respiratory system surgery and wrote papers in the field of general and cardiovascular surgery and was co-deviser of the method of reconstruction of the esophagus known as Yudin-Papo. He was also responsible for various innovations in cardiovascular surgery. Papo received the highest Yugoslav and foreign decorations and awards and was made honorary knight commander in the Order of the British Empire and a fellow of the American College of Cardiology as well as of the British Royal College of Surgeons.

[Eugen Werber]

PAPO, SAMUEL SHEMAIAH (1708–after 1774), Italian rabbi. Papo was apparently born in Ragusa where his father, Abraham David Papo, the teacher of David *Pardo, was rabbi. Many of his father's responsa are preserved in the *Shemesh Ẓedakah* of Samson *Morpurgo. In his early youth Papo moved to Ancona and studied in the *bet midrash* of Joseph Lehava (Fiammetta) and, after the latter's death, in that of his son-in-law, Samson Morpurgo. He also studied under Moses Ḥayyim Morpurgo, son of Samson; Jehiel ha-Kohen; and Isaac Costantini. In July 1758, on the recommendation of Costantini, he was granted the title *ḥakham* by the communal council. From 1756 to 1761 he served as *dayyan of the town and signed all the documents of the *bet din*. From 1761 to 1774 his name no longer appears in the records of the sessions of the *bet din*. He may have left Ancona for business reasons or waived his right to participate in the local *bet din* because of disagreements that broke out between him and Isaac Shabbetai Fiano, rabbi and *av bet din*. In 1753 during Ḥ.J.D. *Azulai's first mission to Italy, Papo exerted himself to extend every honor and esteem to Azulai during his stay in Ancona (from Ḥeshvan 24 to Kislev 12). In his diary, the *Ma'gal Tov* (ed. by A. Freimann (1921), 6), Azulai refers to Papo in terms of respect and admiration: "Master of the Talmud," "the luminary," etc. The close ties of friendship thus formed grew stronger with the passage of time, as is testified by a correspondence still in manuscript. Papo endured much suffering and many troubles during his life because of his unswerving integrity. Many halakhic responsa by him are preserved in manuscript, all testifying to his erudition and acumen.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Roth, in: *Sinai*, 21 (1947), 326; Wilensky, *ibid.*, 25 (1949), 80–81.

[Guiseppe Laras]

PAPP, JOSEPH (**Joseph Papirofsky**; 1921–1991), U.S. theatrical producer. Born in Brooklyn, New York, Papp served in the U.S. Navy during World War II (1942–46). He founded the non-profit Shakespeare Workshop in 1954 and had the name changed to the Shakespeare Festival in 1960 which he directed until 1991.

Papp's off-Broadway productions include *Hair* (1967), *The Basic Training of Pavlo Hummel* (1971), *Short Eyes* (1974), *A Chorus Line* (1975), *For Colored Girls Who Have Considered Suicide/When the Rainbow is Enuf* (1976), and *Streamers* (1976). Papp's on-Broadway productions include, *Two Gentlemen of Verona* (1971), *Sticks and Bones* (1972), *That Championship Season* (1972), *Much Ado About Nothing* (1972), and *The Pirates of Penzance* (1980). Papp also produced *The Haggadah* (1981) for PBS Television.

He taught (as an adjunct professor) at both Yale University and Columbia University and received numerous awards and commendations including Tony Awards in 1957, 1958, 1972, 1973, 1976 and 1981. Papp also received multiple Drama Desk and Drama Critics Circle Awards. In 1979 he received Canada's Commonwealth Award of Distinguished Service and in 1981 the American Academy and Institute of Arts and Letters Gold Medal Award for Distinguished Service to the Arts. He believed in the theater as a social force as well as entertainment.

[Jonathan Licht]

PAPPENHEIM, BERTHA (1859–1936), social worker and leader of the German Jewish feminist movement. Born in Vienna to a wealthy Orthodox family, Bertha Pappenheim was treated by Josef *Breuer, a colleague of Sigmund *Freud, who regarded her case ("Anna O.") as a major breakthrough in psychoanalysis. She subsequently moved to Frankfurt and became the headmistress of an orphanage in 1895. In 1904 she founded the *Juedischer Frauenbund (and edited its periodical), affiliated to the German women's movement. She visited Galicia, Romania, and Russia, organizing relief work and aid to refugees. Her major efforts were directed against white slavery, prostitution, and illegitimacy. In 1914 she founded an institute at Neu-Isenburg (near Frankfurt) for unwed mothers, prostitutes, and delinquent women, and later for children as well. Bertha Pappenheim directed her organization with a firm hand and led study groups on the ethics of social work at the Frankfurt Lehrhaus. As a strong advocate of modern Jewish social work, she spearheaded the founding of German Jewry's national social welfare organization, the Zentralwohlfarhtsstelle der deutschen Juden, in 1917. A religious Jew, she remained a vigorous opponent of Zionism. She died soon after she was interrogated by the Gestapo. She translated into German the memoirs of (her ancestor) *Glueckel of Hameln (1910, republished: 2005), the *Ẓe'enah u-Re'enah* (1930), and the *Maaseh Buch* (1929), and wrote under the pen name of Paul Berthold.

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PAPPENHEIM, SOLOMON (1740–1814), Hebrew linguist and poet. Born in Zuelz (Germany), Pappenheim served as a *dayyan* in Breslau until his death. He first became known as a linguist in his three-part *Yeri'ot Shelomo* (1784, 1811, and 1831), a study of synonyms. Although an ardent advocate of the Haskalah, Pappenheim opposed religious reforms and David *Friedlaender's proposal (1812) that education be entrusted to the government.

His contribution to modern Hebrew literature is his small book, *Aggadat Arba Kosot* ("Legend of Four Glasses"; Berlin, 1790 and often reprinted), a work influenced by family tragedies and by *Night Thoughts* by the English poet Edward Young. Pappenheim's book, which begins with sorrow and ends with exultation and faith, is written in poetic prose. The poet, on the one hand, writes in a classical, rationalist vein from the standpoint of the structure and spirit of the work, and he preaches and believes in reason and morality. On the other hand, he is influenced by the sentimentalism that had begun to affect contemporary literature, which cried out against fate and yearned for nature and night. *Aggadat Arba Kosot* is one of the foundations of Hebrew lyricism, and its influence may be seen in the poetry of A.D.B. (Adam ha-Kohen) *Lebensohn and his son, M.J. *Lebensohn.

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[Elieser Kagan]

PAPPUS AND JULIANUS (**Lulianus**; second century C.E.), patriot brothers, perhaps from Laodicea. According to rabbinic tradition the two brothers, "when the government ordered the Temple to be rebuilt," set up (exchange-?) tables from Acre to Antioch to provide for those who came from the Exile (Gen. R. 64). It is also related that they were captured in Laodicea and condemned to death by *Trajan, the sentence being carried out immediately (Ta'an. 18b; Sifra, Emor, 9:5) or, according to an alternative account (Mekh. SbY to 21:13; Sem. 8:15), only after their judge – either Trajan or Lusius *Quietus, governor of Judea – had himself been killed. Rashi, who identifies Pappus and Julianus with the "Martyrs of Lydda" mentioned in the Talmud, indicated that they sacrificed themselves by claiming to have killed a princess for whose murder the whole of Jewry was held responsible (*Sefer ha-Arukh*, s.v. הרג; Rashi, Ta'an. 18b). Despite attempts to make them appear to transgress the commandments, Pappus and Julianus chose death rather than comply (TJ, Sanh. 3:6, 21b; TJ. Shev, 42:2, 35a). From these various sources it would seem that Trajan gave permission to rebuild the Temple, in commemoration of which a holiday was instituted. Later, after the execution of Pappus and Julianus, which might coincide with the Trajanic persecutions of 117 C.E., the holiday was abolished.

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[Lea Roth]

PAPPUS BEN JUDAH (end of the first and beginning of the second century C.E.), *tanna* and aggadist. A contemporary of Rabban Gamaliel and R. Joshua (TJ, Ber. 2:9 according to the correct reading of the *Kaftor va-Feraḥ;* cf. L. Ginzberg, *Perushim ve-Ḥiddushim ba-Yerushalmi*, 1 (1941), 410), Pappus was imprisoned with Akiva at the time of the Hadrianic persecutions. Before their imprisonment Pappus had attempted to deter Akiva from continuing to teach his disciples, fearing the spies who were all around them. Thereupon Akiva told him the famous fable of the fox and the fish which illustrated that the Jewish people without Torah would be like fish out of water and would suffer a spiritual death. When Pappus later found himself in prison with Akiva, he said to him: "It is well with thee, Akiva, who hast been imprisoned for studying Torah, but woe to Pappus who has been imprisoned for vain, worldly things" (Ber. 61b). Pappus was distinguished for his pious character, and conducted himself with special stringency. He would lock his wife indoors when he went out so that she would not talk to other people (Git. 90a). This behavior was compared by Meir to a man who when finding a fly in his drink would throw away both fly and drink. Pappus' aggadic interpretation of Genesis 3:23 to the effect that man is equal to the angels was rejected by Akiva (Gen. R. 21:5). A long aggadic discussion between him and Akiva occurs in *Mekhilta Be-Shallaḥ*, 6.

PAPYRI. Papyri mentioning Jews and Judaism have been found in excavations at *Masada (dating to the period of the Jewish War against Rome in the first century C.E.), in caves in the Judean desert at *Qumran and Murabba'at (from the first and second centuries C.E., with the dramatic exception of one document thought to be from the eighth century B.C.E.; see *Dead Sea Scrolls; *Bar Kokhba), and in Egypt. The languages used are Greek, Latin, Aramaic, Hebrew, and Nabatean. Another important discovery was the *Nash papyrus discovered by L.W. Nash and published in 1903. The earliest Jewish papyri from Egypt are written in an Aramaic not greatly different from biblical Aramaic. Such papyri, dating from the late sixth through the fifth centuries B.C.E., have been found at various sites, including *Elephantine, Memphis, and, most recently, Hermopolis Magna. At Elephantine, a Jewish and Samaritan military colony, dating from the seventh or sixth century, provides an important source of papyri from the fifth century, when Egypt was under Persian domination. Most of these papyri are legal documents concerning marriage, divorce, manumission of slaves, loans, business contracts, litigation, and sales or gifts of property. Certain private letters are found on papyri and ostraca. The papyri attest to the existence of a Temple of YHWH, and the celebration of a Feast of Unleavened Bread, though possibly not in the form which is familiar from the Bible; evidence for the observance of the Sabbath is less certain. Geographical and racial considerations made it necessary for the Jews of Elephantine to tolerate and recognize other deities. The Temple was destroyed in 410, but certainly restored a few years later. The colony seems to have survived the change from Persian to Saitic rule, but to have disappeared finally in the course of the fourth century B.C.E. The Greco-Roman material from the Ptolemaic and the two Roman periods (323 B.C.E.–641/2 C.E.) which has been collected in Tcherikover, et al. *CPJ* (1957–60), contains over 500 documents, both papyri and ostraca, concerning Jews from many parts of Egypt, particularly the towns of the Fayum. The criteria taken by the editors for deciding whether a document is "Jewish" are, broadly: the occurrence of specifically Jewish institutions, Jewish names, and places of exclusively Jewish settlement, though the editors state the difficulty of identifying Jewish names, and have accordingly omitted many uncertain cases (ibid., I introduction). The papyri, in conjunction with ostraca and inscriptions, give a full picture of the social and economic state of the Jews in towns and villages throughout Egypt. Jews are found negotiating loans, participating in contracts, paying taxes in the same way as the other inhabitants of Egypt, fitting into the existing legal and bureaucratic structure, and even adopting Greek, Roman, and Egyptian names. The papyri provide religious information attesting to the existence of synagogues and the affirmation, at certain times, of the right of Jews to practice their religion. Evidence of the spread of Jewish religious and cultural influence can be seen in some demotic papyri and magical texts, and in the practice, among non-Jews, of adopting names connected with the Sabbath. The reliability of the papyri in points of detail provides valuable historical evidence which can be used to supplement and sometimes correct the evidence of *Philo and *Josephus, who drew their material from the richer and socially superior

Alexandrian Jews. Papyri give evidence, for instance, of the spread of the Jewish Revolt of 115–7 C.E. in Egypt, information which is given by no other source.

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[Alan Keir Bowman]

PAPYRUS. The plant *Cyperus papyrus* grows in the swamps of Israel. It was formerly very widespread in Lower Egypt and in old Egyptian drawings symbolized the region. The use of papyrus was very varied; it was employed for boats, utensils, shoes, and paper, and its soft stalks were also used as food. In the Bible it is called *gomë* (גֹּמֶא) or *eveh* (אֵבֶה), and in the Mishnah *papir* or *neyar*. *Gomë* was used for making the ark of Moses (Ex. 2:3). Boats which sailed beyond the rivers of Ethiopia were made of it (Isa. 18:2). Together with the *reed *(kaneh)* it grew near marshes and swamps, and Isaiah (35:7) prophesied that both would grow in the desert. The Book of Job (8:11–12) notes that papyrus cannot grow without swamp, that it shrivels up in the winter when the grass begins to go green, and that then it is ready for harvesting. The Tosefta speaks of papyrus vessels being more valuable than those made of plaited wicker (Kel. BM 5:15). Papyrus barrels were also made (Kel. 2:5), as well as clothes, "a shirt of papyrus" (Tosef., Kel. BB 5: 2) serving as clothes for the poor (Gen. R. 37:8). The main use of papyrus was in the manufacture of paper, especially in the era of the Mishnah and Talmud. Paper was made from the stalk, which bears the inflorescence, and which was cut into fine strips and stuck together in length and in breadth with glue – the *kolon shel soferim* ("scribes' glue"; Gr. Κὸλλα, glue) which contained leaven and was therefore forbidden on Passover (Pes. 3:1, 42b). The Jerusalem Talmud (Pes. 3:1, 29d) notes that in Alexandria this glue was prepared in large vessels. According to Josephus (Ant., 14:33) there was a place called Papyron near the Jordan. *Gemi* is frequently mentioned in the Mishnah and Talmud as material for the making of baskets, mats, and ropes. It is possible that papyrus (*gomë*) is also included in this name (cf. Rashi to Ex. 2:3), though it seems that it generally also refers to the fibers of other plants. The Bible once mentions *eveh* ships as being light and swift (Job 9:25–26). This word is connected with the Akkadian *apu*, the name of swamp plants used for weaving, including the papyrus.

Nowadays papyrus has almost disappeared from lower Egypt. In Israel it used to grow over the large expanse of the Ḥuleh swamp, where the Arab villagers earned their livelihoods by weaving mats from it. With the draining of these swamps only a few acres of papyrus remain in the local nature reserve. The papyrus is a perennial, growing to a height of up to 15 feet. The triple shaft of the inflorescence is 2½–3½ inches thick at the base and from it the papyrus strips were made. The plant dies in winter, and the stalks rot. The peat in the Ḥuleh is formed from the layers of the rotted plants.

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[Jehuda Feliks]

PARABLE, from the Greek παραβολὴ (lit. "juxtaposition"), the usual Septuagint rendering of Hebrew *mashal* ("comparison," "saying," and "derived meanings"). No distinction is made in biblical usage between parable, allegory, and fable; all are forms of the *mashal* and have the same functions of illustration and instruction. The comparison may be explicit or implied. It may take the form of declarative or interrogative sentences (e.g., Prov. 26:1; 27:4). When developed into a short story, an interpretation or application is usually appended.

The story-parable, often introduced by "like" or "as," is told in terms drawn from ordinary experiences and usually makes one principal point. Some examples are Nathan's parable (II Sam. 12:1–5), and the parables of the Surviving Son (II Sam. 14:5b–7), the Escaped Prisoner (I Kings 20:39–40), the Disappointing Vineyard (Isa. 5:1b–6) and the Farmer's Skill (Isa. 28:24–29). All but the last-named are followed by explicit interpretations. The rhetorical question with which the Book of Jonah ends may suggest that the book was intended as a parable. Ruth, too, may be a parable, with its more subtle point underlined by the appended genealogy.

The allegory-*mashal* is a more artificial narrative having individual features which are independently figurative, so that it becomes a kind of riddle. The one of the Eagles and the Vine (Ezek. 17:3–10) is described as both *ḥidah* ("riddle") and *mashal*. The oracular Laments of the Lioness (ibid. 19:2–9) and the Transplanted Vine (ibid. 19:10–14) and the stories of the Harlot Sisters (ibid. 23:2–21) and the Cooking-Pot (ibid. 24:3b–5) are allegorical. A third type of *mashal* is the fable, where animals or inanimate objects are made to speak and act like men. Judges 9:8–15 and II Kings 14: 9–10 are examples; in each case the moral is made explicit.

A riddle (*ḥidah*) is a kind of parable whose point is deliberately obscured so that greater perception is needed to interpret it; Samson's riddle (Judg. 14:14) is an example. *Mashal* and *ḥidah* are used almost synonymously in Ezekiel 17:2; Habakkuk 2:6; Psalms 49:5 and 78:2; and Proverbs 1:6. Certain proverbs are in effect parable-riddles, e.g., Proverbs 30:15a, 15b–16, 18–19, and 21–31.

Other biblical forms related to the parable type of *mashal* are: prophetic oracles where a metaphor is extended into a lively description, e.g., Isaiah 1:5–6; Hosea 2:2–15; 7:8–9, 11–12; Joel 4:13; and Jeremiah 25:15–29; prophetic oracles proclaimed through symbolic actions, e.g., I Kings 11:29; II Kings 13:15–19, and Isaiah 20:2–6; extended personifications as of Wisdom and Folly in Proverbs 1:20–33; 8:1–36; 9:1–6, 13–18; and revelatory dreams and visions having symbolism which the sequel interprets as allegorical, e.g., Genesis 37:6–11; 40:9–13, 16–19; Zechariah 1:8–11; 2:1–4; and Daniel 2:31–45.

[Robert B.Y. Scott]

IN THE TALMUD AND MIDRASH

The rabbis made extensive use of parables as a definitive method of teaching in the Talmud, and especially in the Midrash. Jesus, in his parables, was employing a well-established rabbinic form of conveying ethical and moral lessons. There are 31 parables in the New Testament, some of which are found in a slightly different version in rabbinical literature (cf. Shab. 153a with Matt. 25:1–12; and TJ, Ber. 2:8, 5c, the parable given by R. Zeira in his funeral oration on the death of R. Avin, the son of R. Ḥiyya, with Matt. 20:1–16), which contains thousands of examples, and a comparison between the parallel parables reveals the greater beauty and detail of the latter. The word *mashal* in rabbinical literature refers nearly always to the parable; only in such phrases as *ha-mashal Omer* or its Aramaic equivalent *matla amra* ("the *mashal* says"; cf. Ex. R. 21:7 and Lev. R. 19:6) and in the phrase *mashal hedyot* ("a folk *mashal*") does it bear the meaning which it does in the Bible of a proverb (see also *Proverbs, Talmudic). The standard formula, however, always introduces a full parable. That the use of parables was a distinct and recognized method of moral instruction is clear from the statements that "fox fables and fuller fables" (see below) were among the attainments of Rabban Johanan b. Zakkai (Suk. 28a; BB 134a), and that R. Meir consistently divided his discourses into three parts, *halakhah, aggadah*, and parables (Sanh. 38b). It is in this context that R. Johanan refers to the 300 animal parables of R. Meir (see *Animal Tales).

The rabbis not only used the parable extensively, they also emphasized its great value in opening a door to an understanding of the spirit of the Torah. Both of these aspects are reflected in a passage in the Midrash. Regarding the word *mashal* in Ecclesiastes 12:9 in the sense of parable, "and Koheleth… taught the people knowledge; yea he pondered and set out many *meshalim*," the Midrash ascribes the first use of parables to Solomon. On this the Midrash gives five parables, to illustrate the manner in which the parable aids the understanding of the Bible. R. Naḥman gives two, one of the "thread of Ariadne," which he applies to a palace of many doors, and the other of a man cutting a path through the jungle. R. Yose compares the parable to a handle with which an otherwise unwieldy basket can be carried; R. Shila gives the parable of a jug of boiling water carried by the same method, while R. Ḥanina of a bucket let down to a well of cold and sweet water. The passage concludes: "Let not the parable be lightly esteemed in thine eyes, since by its means one can master the whole of the words of the Torah." Realizing that the parable may not be the most profound or weighty means of instruction, the passage adds that just as one uses a candle, which is almost worthless, to find a precious stone which has been lost, "a parable should not be lightly esteemed in thine eyes, since by means of it a man arrives at the true meaning of the words of the Torah" (Songs R. 1:1, no. 8).

The parable is usually introduced by the phrase, *Mashal; le-mah ha-davar domeh le*… "A parable; to what can this matter be compared to…"), but so characteristic a picture is it of rabbinical teaching that the phrase is often omitted and the parable is introduced merely with the prefix *le* ("to").

The material is so vast that only some of the most salient features and the most striking parables can be given.

King Parables

One of the most frequent motifs is the king (i.e., God), of which there are many permutations.

THE KING AS RULER, WITH MANKIND AS HIS SUBJECTS. This, for instance, is the basis of the parable of R. Johanan b. Zakkai to illustrate the verse "at all times let thy garments be white, and let not thy head lack ointment" (Eccles. 9:8), which he interprets to mean that man should ever be prepared to meet his Maker. It is the parable of a king who announced a forthcoming banquet without stating the time. Those who were prescient dressed for the occasion and waited; those who were foolish went about their ordinary work, confident that they would be informed of the time. Suddenly the summons came. The wise entered properly dressed, while the fools had to come in their soiled garments. The king was pleased with the former, but was angry with the latter (Shab. 153a).

THE KING AS FATHER, WITH ISRAEL AS THE SOMETIMES WAYWARD BUT BELOVED SON. A king left his wife before her child was born and went overseas, remaining there many years. The queen bore a son who grew up. When the king returned she brought the son into his presence. The son looked at a duke, and then at a provincial governor and said successively of them, "This is my father." The king said, "Why do you gaze at them? From them you will have no benefit. You are my son, and I am your father." (PR 21:104). Many of these parables have the same theme as the New Testament parable of the prodigal son.

THE KING AS THE HUSBAND AND ISRAEL AS THE WIFE. To emphasize the honor due to God, the Midrash tells the parable of the king who had a number of children with a *matrona* ("a noble lady" – the term usually used in these parables for the king's consort). She was undutiful to him, and he announced his intention of divorcing her and remarrying. When she discovered the name of the woman whom he intended to marry, she called her children together and told them, hoping that they would intercede with their father because they found her objectionable. When they answered that they did not mind, she said, "I appeal to you in the name of the honor of your father" (Deut. R. 3:11). One of these "family" parables calls for special mention. R. Simeon b. Yoḥai asked R. Eleazar b. Yose ha-Gelili whether his father, a noted aggadist, had ever explained to him the verse: "(and gaze upon Solomon) even upon the crown wherewith his mother hath crowned him" (Song 3:11). Eleazar answered in the affirmative with a parable of a king who had an especially beloved daughter. At first he called her "my daughter," but as his affection for her increased he called her "sister," and finally he used to refer to her as "mother." So Israel is referred to as a daughter (Ps. 45:11), then as a sister (Song 5:2), and then as a mother (reading *le'ummi*; "my nation," in Isa. 51:4 as *le'immi*, "to my mother"). On hearing this explanation, R. Simeon b. Yoḥai arose and kissed him on his head (Ex. R. 52:5). The reason for R. Simeon's enthusiasm is probably to be found in the fact that the rabbis found themselves in a grave theological quandary. If the king of the Song of Songs is the Almighty, how can his mother be referred to, and his parable answered it by explaining that "mother" was but an endearing term for "daughter."

THE KING AND HIS SUBJECTS, OF WHOM ISRAEL IS THE FAVORITE. Thus the Midrash explains the striking difference between the 70 bullocks offered during the first seven days of Sukkot (Num. 29:12–34), which are regarded as expiations for the seventy *nations, and the single bullock offered on the eighth day (v. 36), which represents Israel with the parable of a king who made a banquet for seven days to which all the people were invited. At the conclusion of the seven days he said to his close intimate, "We have now done our duty to all the people; let us both have an intimate meal with whatever comes to hand, a piece of meat, or fish, or even vegetables" (Num. R. 21:24).

So standard is the motif of the king in parables that it is frequently used without any connotation of royalty, and it could be substituted for the word "man" without affecting the parable. Thus the above-mentioned parable of searching for a precious stone with a candle is made to refer to a king. Similarly there is the parable of R. Judah ha-Nasi in which he explained to Antoninus the responsibility shared by body and soul for transgressions – to the effect that a king had a beautiful orchard bearing choice fruit. In order to prevent pilfering of the fruit by the watchmen, he appointed one who was lame, and thus could not climb the tree, and one who was blind, who could not see it. The lame watchman, however, arranged for the blind one to carry him to the fruit. When the theft was discovered each pleaded physical inability to steal the fruit, but the king, realizing how they had acted, placed the blind man on the shoulders of the lame and punished them as one man. "So will the Holy One, blessed be He, replace the soul in the body and punish both for their sins" (Sanh. 91a/b). It is obvious that in this passage the word "king" is a mere literary device.

Animal Parables

Parables taken from the animal world, especially fox fables, are very popular (see *Animal Tales). R. Akiva explained to Pappus b. Judah why he continued to teach Torah at the risk of his life by the parable of the fox who invited the fish to leave the water to avoid being caught in the fishermen's nets. The fish replied that, while in the water it was in its natural element where it might die but might also live, whereas out of its element it would surely die (Ber. 61b). R. Joshua b. Hananiah dissuaded the Jews from breaking out in revolt against the Romans by telling them the parable of the crane which extracted a thorn from the tongue of a lion, and when it asked for its reward, was told that it had been sufficiently rewarded by the lion not closing its jaws on it after it had extracted the thorn (Gen. R. 64:10). The doctrine that later and greater troubles cause the former and lesser ones to be forgotten is illustrated by the parable of the man who, saved from a wolf, told all his friends about his escape. Subsequently avoiding a similar fate from a lion, he made this escape the subject of his story, until he was delivered from the poisonous sting of a snake, and then told the story of that deliverance (Ber. 13a). Many of the fables have their origin or parallel in the fables of other ancient peoples.

It is not certain what are the "parables of *kovesim*" which are mentioned together with fox fables among the accomplishments of Johanan ben Zakkai. It is usually rendered "fables of launderers" ("fullers") and, in fact, the launderer is a well-known figure in Roman comedy. No such parables, however, exist in rabbinic literature.

Parables from Nature

Every phenomenon of nature or of plants is made the subject of parables. The rabbis point out that there is hardly a fruit which is not regarded as a parable of Israel (Ex. R. 36:1), and the most sustained and extensive parables in the Midrash are on the vine, the palm (cf. Num R. 3:1), the cedar, etc. One of the most beautiful in this class is the blessing which R. Isaac of Palestine invoked upon his host R. Naḥman in Babylon when he took leave of him. When Naḥman asked for his blessing, R. Isaac claimed that it was difficult to think of a subject for a blessing, since Naḥman had been blessed with all the blessings of this world, wealth, health, honor, and children, and he continued: "Let me tell you a parable. A man was journeying in the wilderness. He was hungry, thirsty, and weary, and he lighted on a tree which had sweet fruits, pleasant shade, and a stream of water flowing beneath it. He ate of the fruit, drank of the water, and rested under its shade. When about to resume his journey he said, "O Tree, with what shall I bless thee? With the blessing of sweet fruit? Thou already hast it. That thy shade be pleasant? It already is. That water shall flow by thee? It does. May it be God's will that all the shoots taken from thee be like thee," and he proceeded to explain, "May all thy children be like thee" (Ta'an, 5b–6a).

Many of the parables are taken from daily life, and are a rich source for social history. R. Levi gives a parable to explain the verse, "Better the day of death than the day of one's birth" (Eccles. 7:1). It is the parable of two ships sailing in the Mediterranean. One was leaving the harbor and the other coming in. Everyone was happy at the ship which was leaving, while the ship which had completed its journey slipped in without incident. There was an intelligent man there, who said, "I see something topsy-turvy. There is no point in rejoicing at the ship which is leaving, since they know not what conditions she may meet, what seas she may encounter, and what wind she may have to face, whereas all should rejoice for this ship which has successfully completed its voyage" (Ex. R. 48:1). An essentially earthy parable is given to explain the fact that the 70 bullocks sacrificed on the seven days of Sukkot are made up of 13 the first day, decreasing in number by one each day. "It is to teach you the way of the world (*derekh ereẓ*, usually meaning "etiquette," but here obviously to be translated literally). "A man is given hospitality by a friend. On the first day he gives him poultry, on the second meat, on the third fish, on the fourth vegetables. So daily he gives him less luxurious food, until in the end he feeds him on pulse" (Num. R. 21:25). An almost daring example of this type of parable is the one in which R. Huna, in the name of R. Johanan, interprets Exodus 32:11, "thy people that thou hast brought out of the Land of Egypt," as the retort of Moses to God that He was to blame for the idolatrous tendencies of the children of Israel. The parable says: "A wise man opened a cosmetic shop for his son in the street of the harlots. The site played its part, the trade played its part, and the young man – in his prime – played his part. He got into evil ways, and his father came and caught him with a harlot. His father began to shout at him, saying 'I'll kill you!' But a friend who was with him, said to him, 'You have ruined him and yet you shout at him! You disregarded all occupations and taught him only to be a cosmetician. You abandoned all other sites and opened a shop for him only in the street of the harlots.' So said Moses, 'Lord of the Universe, thou didst disregard the whole world and enslaved thy children in Egypt, where they worship lambs, and thus thy children learned from them and made a golden calf'" (Ex. R. 43:7).

[Louis Isaac Rabinowitz]

POST-TALMUDIC PERIOD

Medieval writers also had frequent recourse to *meshalim* (parables, *fables, or *allegories) in their works. Parables and allegories could be for them an instrument for interpreting the Bible or other holy books (like the *remez*, allegorical interpretation of biblical texts), a philosophical way of explaining metaphysical realities, or a rhetorical means on the literary level. Philosophical parables can be found in the *Ḥovot ha-Levavot* of *Baḥya ibn Paquda, in the *Kuzari* of *Judah Halevi (both of whom use the standard formula of the parable of the king, and both of a "king in India," *Ḥovot ha-Levavot* 3:9; *Kuzari* 1:109; cf. also Ḥovot 2:6), or in Maimonides' *Guide of the Perplexed* (see his "Parable of the Royal Palace" in Guide III, 51). In spite of its name, Samuel ha-Nagid's *Ben Mishlei* is more a collection of ethical aphorisms or moral remarks, continuing the biblical book of Proverbs, than a book of parables. Literary parables and fables are particularly frequent in many prose writings, above all in **maqāma* or *maqāma*-like compositions from the classical and the post-classical period. Joseph *Ibn Zabara, Judah *Al-Ḥarizi, *Jacob ben Eleazar, *Kalonymus ben Kalonymus, Vidal Benvenist, *Mattathias, etc., are among the best-known medieval authors of rhymed narratives including parables. Fables are abundant in the *Mishlei Shu'alim* of *Berechiah ha-Nakdan, in the Hebrew versions of the *Calila e Dimna*, and in the *Meshal ha-Kadmoni* by Isaac *Ibn Sahula. While the function of these parables could be in many cases a purely literary one, sometimes they were used as a way of cautiously articulating certain feelings of the members of a minority that could not be freely expressed, or simply with a pedagogic purpose.

In ḥasidic literature the most striking parables are the tales in *Naḥman of Bratzlav's *Sefer Ma'asiyyot*. Parables, most of them popular, and all striking, were especially characteristic of the method of preaching of Jacob *Krantz, the *Maggid* of Dubnow.

[Louis Isaac Rabinowitz / Angel Saenz-Badillos (2nd ed.)]

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PARADISE, the English derivative of Παράδειοος, Greek for "garden" in the Eden narrative of Genesis 2:4b–3:24 (see *Garden of Eden). One of the best-known and most widely interpreted pericopes in the Bible, this narrative is at the same time one of the most problematic. While on the surface the narrative unfolds smoothly, its deeper meaning, its composition and literary affinities, and many of its allusions, assumptions, and implications raise questions that are presently insoluble.

CONTENTS OF THE NARRATIVE

The pericope divides naturally into two sections, one relating God's beneficent acts in creating man and placing him in a paradise; the other, man's disobedience and consequent banishment from paradise. The masoretic *parashah* division considers 2:4a ("This is the story of heaven and earth when they were created") the beginning of this narrative, but most scholars today take 4a as the conclusion of the first creation story (1:1–2:4a), the opening verse of which it echoes, and begin the Eden narrative with 2:4b. More ambiguous is the position of 2:25 ("The two of them were naked, the man and his wife, yet they felt no shame"): some, accepting the present chapter division, consider it the climax of the perfect state created by God before man's disobedience; others (including NJPS) see that climax in 2:23–24 and take 2:25 as the introduction, which sets the theme, to the section on the "fall" in which awareness of nakedness and the making of clothing are prominent (3:7, 10–11, 21).

After the Lord God had made earth and heaven, but before the appearance of grasses and shrubbery, God created man out of lumps of soil and breathed life into him (man thus combines both earthly and divine elements). As man's home He created a garden in Eden filled with fruit-bearing trees, including the tree of life and the tree of knowledge of good and bad, which man was prohibited to eat on pain of death. God then created, also out of earth, all the animals and the birds of the sky and brought them to Adam to be named. God then fashioned a woman out of one of Adam's ribs, and Adam found her a fitting helper. The two were naked, but were unashamed of the fact. The serpent convinced the woman that God's threat of death for eating from the tree of knowledge was idle and that in fact its fruit would make the couple like divine beings who know good and bad. The woman and then the man ate some of the forbidden fruit and became aware of their nakedness; they then sewed some fig leaves into loincloths for themselves. Each participant in this act of disobedience was punished by God. The serpent was condemned to a life of crawling on its belly, and of enmity with mankind. The woman was condemned to painful pregnancy and childbirth; further, she would be dominated by her husband. The man was condemned to a life of struggling to eke out a living from the earth. To prevent him from eating from the tree of life, too, and acquiring the attribute of immortality, the Lord banished the man and his wife from the garden and set up *cherubim and "the fiery ever-turning sword" to guard the way to the tree of life.

SPECIFIC PROBLEMS

Many details of the narrative are elusive or troublesome.

The Location of the Garden

The text states that the garden is located "in Eden, in the east" (2:8), and that "a river issues from Eden to water the garden, and it then divides and becomes four branches:… Pishon,… which winds through the whole land of Havilah … Gihon,… which winds through the whole land of Cush … the Tigris,… and … the Euphrates" (2:10–14, NJPS translation). Starting from what is clear, the Tigris and the Euphrates, scholarly opinion has divided into two schools. The first reasons that the two unknown rivers must be great world rivers on the scale of the Tigris and Euphrates; this view is supported by the Gihon's association with Cush, which usually means Nubia in the Bible, from which it is concluded that the Gihon is the Nile. Accordingly the fourth river is thought to be the Indus or the Ganges. These views, and their many variants, would locate the garden at some hypothetical common point of origin of the Tigris, Euphrates, Nile, and Indus or Ganges. The second school reasons that the two unknown rivers must be near the Tigris and the Euphrates. The Gihon's association with Cush presents no problem for this view since the ancient Near East also had another area known as Cush, the land of the Kassites (Akk. *Kaššû/Kuššu-*, Greek *Kossaîoi*) in present-day Luristan, east of the Tigris (cf. also the Mesopotamian associations of Cush in Gen. 10:8–10). This accords well with the Samaritan version's translation of Gihon as *ʾAsqop*, apparently the river Choaspes, modern Kerkha – in Luristan. If, following the apparent order of the biblical text, one then looks further east for the Pishon, the Kar-n in Elam becomes a candidate. However, this school also admits other possibilities, e.g., that the Gihon is the Diyala and Pishon the Kerkha or even the Arabian Wadi er-Rumma (for other aspects of this problem see *Havilah). According to any of these views, since the common meeting point of these rivers in antiquity was, or was believed to be, the Persian Gulf, the latter would be the undivided river mentioned in Genesis 2:10a (but could it ever be referred to as a river?). This would conform with the implication of Genesis 11:2, 9 that the garden was located east of Shinar (probably Sumer) and Babylon. Since Sumerian tradition (the Eden story has many Mesopotamian affinities) located its paradise in Dilmun, somewhere in or along the Persian Gulf, this school seems to be on the right track. Often associated with this school is the explanation of "Eden" (traditionally connected with Heb. *ʿeden* pl. *ʿadanim*, "luxury, delight") as the Sumerian *edin* ("plain"), a term which is often used as a geographic designation for the plain between the Tigris and Euphrates in southern Mesopotamia. However, this does not conform precisely to the text's suggestion that the garden is east of the Mesopotamian plain. Furthermore, the assumption of this view that Genesis 2:10 speaks of four rivers flowing into one, rather than vice versa, is debatable. It is at least equally possible that the single source river is understood to be located at the head of the Tigris and the Euphrates in the north, in which case the identification of Pishon and Gihon remains problematic. The location of Eden and its rivers clearly remains an open question.

The Trees of Life and Knowledge

As elusive as the identification of the rivers of paradise is the meaning of "the tree of knowledge of good and bad" (*ʿeẓ ha-daʿat tov wa-raʿ*; for the syntax cf. *ha-daʿat ʾoti* in Jer. 22:16). Several theories have been proposed over the centuries, but none has won general acceptance.

MORAL DISCERNMENT. This view takes "good and bad" in the moral sense of right and wrong (cf. Isa. 5:20; Amos 5:14;

Micah 3:2) and "knowledge" as the ability to distinguish (cf. II Sam. 19:36; Isa. 7:15) the one from the other. Critics of this view note that the very prohibition presumes that man knows the rightness of obedience and the wrongness of disobedience, and ask how the biblical God can be conceived as wishing to withhold moral discernment from man.

SEXUAL KNOWLEDGE. The main evidence supporting this interpretation is the frequent use of "to know" (not only in Hebrew and other ancient Near Eastern languages) in the sense of "to be intimate with"; it also finds a distinction between homosexual and heterosexual indulgence in the phrase "to know good and bad," ignoring the objective case of the nouns. Another argument for interpreting "knowledge of good and bad" in the Garden of Eden story as "sexual awareness" is the use of "to know good and bad" in contexts which may conceivably refer (actually they are far more embracing) to the sexual urge (Deut. 1:39, before it develops; Manual of Discipline 1:9–11, when it develops; II Sam. 19:36, after it has faded). Indeed, the immediate consequence of eating from the tree is awareness of nakedness, and the first action reported after the expulsion from the garden is Adam's "knowing" Eve (4:1). As regards the latter, however, *we-ha-ʾadam yadaʿ* (instead of *wa-yedaʿ ha-ʾadam*) can indicate the past perfect tense and could be interpreted as "Now the man had known," which suggests that Adam knew his wife before eating from the tree. Further, critics of the sexual awakening theory cite God's declaration to the heavenly court in 3:22 that through this knowledge "man has become like one of us." It is inconceivable that the Bible would attribute sexuality to God; and the answer that the reference here is to human procreation as the counterpart of divine creativity seems forced. Genesis 2:23–24 seems naturally to include sexuality as established already before eating from the tree. Furthermore, eating from this tree was prohibited even before the woman was created.

UNIVERSAL KNOWLEDGE. This view understands "good and bad" as a merism, expressing totality by two extremes (cf. II Sam. 14:17 and 22, where David is said in one verse to resemble an angel [cf. Gen. 3:22] in "understanding [lit. "hearing"] good and bad" and in the other to be as "wise as an angel… in knowing all that is on the earth"; cf. also "good and bad," meaning "anything at all," Gen. 24:50; 31:24, 29; II Sam. 13:22). Against this interpretation it is pointed out that man did not, in fact, gain universal knowledge.

MATURE INTELLIGENCE. This view notes passages where knowledge of good and bad is said to be absent in children (Deut. 1:39; Isa. 7:15; cf. Manual of Discipline 1:9–11), and notes that unconcern with nakedness is typical of early childhood, while shame comes with maturation. Critics argue that Adam's ability to name the animals and God's holding him responsible for disobedience assume something beyond childlike intelligence. These objections, however, may not be decisive, and there may be some significance in the fact that this interpretation was assumed by certain *tannaim* (Gen. R. 15:7; cf. Ber. 40a; Sanh. 70b).

CIVILIZING HUMAN RATIONALITY. This view identifies the knowledge acquired by eating from the tree as the mental capacity which distinguishes man from beast and is the source of civilization. Critics point out that man's assignment "to till the garden and tend it" (2:15) itself constitutes civilized behavior; that the only change reported in the text is awareness of nakedness; and that the arts and crafts of civilization for the most part originate only with Adam's descendants (4:20ff.). However, Adam himself, not only his descendants, became a farmer (3:19, 23), a typically civilized occupation. Becoming aware of nakedness is also a distinguishing mark of civilization and may be only the first of many civilized acts.

The latter point, like this interpretation as a whole, may claim some support in comparative ancient Near Eastern literature. The beginning of the Mesopotamian *Gilgamesh Epic* (Pritchard, Texts, 72–99, 503–7) describes the early life of Gilgamesh's friend Enkidu; he lived with, and in the manner of, wild animals, knowing nothing of civilized ways. His rise to civilization began when a harlot seduced him. After a week of cohabitation Enkidu "now had [wi]sdom, [br]oader understanding," and the harlot described his change as having "become like a god" (*ibid.*, p. 75c, lines 29, 34), much as Adam and Eve became "like divine beings who know good and bad" (Gen. 3:5, 22; if the beginning of the last-quoted line from the Gilgamesh Epic is really to be restored, "Thou art [wi]se," the parallel with Gen. 3:5, 22 would be even more complete; however, a restoration "Thou art [beauti]ful" is also possible; cf. Pritchard, Texts, 77a, line 11). Subsequently the harlot clothed Enkidu and introduced him to human food and drink and other aspects of civilization. Clearly the change in Enkidu was far more than sexual, as some have held. The text stresses Enkidu's resultant alienation from his erstwhile animal companions and his acquisition of human ways. The "wisdom" and "understanding" he gained constitute human intelligence. (A sort of commentary on this passage appears in Dan. 4:29–30, which describes Nebuchadnezzar's life while exiled in terms reminiscent of Enkidu's early life (some literary relationship between the two passages must be presumed), while Dan. 4:13 states explicitly that the change is from a human mind (lit. "*heart") to an animal mind, and verse 31 specifies a loss of "knowledge" (*mandaʿ*).) Some parts of the Enkidu narrative are known to be modeled on creation myths, and the narrative of his civilization may similarly reflect an as yet unknown text about the first man. Be that as it may, this narrative supports the view that the knowledge gained from the tree of knowledge was human rationality (cf. below, for knowledge in the "Myth of Adapa"). However, such comparative literary support cannot be considered an infallible guide to the biblical meaning, since literature often undergoes reinterpretation when transferred from one society to another. Far less problematic, but still not lacking in ambiguity, is the "tree of life." Clearly it confers immortality (3:22, "he might also take from the tree of life and eat, and live forever!"). It is not included in God's prohibition (2:16–17), so it may be that God originally intended Adam to live forever; only after man had disobeyed and obtained the divine prerogative of "knowing good and bad" was this boon revoked (3:19, 22–24). It is not clear whether immortality would have been conferred by eating this tree's fruit once or only by continuous eating. Since Adam had access to the tree before the expulsion, the fact that he had not already gained immortality suggests that the fruit had to be eaten continuously, but the urgency of the expulsion (3:22–24) suggests that a single eating may have sufficed.

The Serpent

The text is at pains to point out the creatureliness of the serpent, describing it as one "of all the wild beasts that the Lord God had made" (3:1, 14); it is distinguished from the other beasts only by its shrewdness (3:1). Its insignificance is underlined in 3:9–19, where God interrogates Adam and Eve, and both respond, while the serpent is not questioned and does not respond. In view of the prominent role played by serpents in ancient Near Eastern religion and mythology this treatment of the serpent amounts to desecration and demythologization, quite possibly intentional. As a result, the source of evil is denied divine or even demonic status: evil is no independent principle in the cosmos, but stems from the behavior and attitudes of God's creatures.

From early times the serpent has been seen as a symbol, whose meaning is widely debated. Some have stressed the serpent's well-known phallic symbolism and fertility associations, taking the narrative to reflect an attitude toward human sexuality, fertility cults, and the like. Others see the serpent as representing man's own shrewdness. Since in ancient Near Eastern mythology the forces of chaos which oppose the forces of creation and cosmos are widely represented as serpents, many see the serpent here, too, as a personification of the forces of chaos. According to this view, disobeying God undermines the cosmic order. Alternatively, the serpent may represent ethical evil in general, a meaning that serpentine mythological motifs are given elsewhere in the Bible (e.g., Isa. 26:21–27:1).

Mythological Features

Certain details of the narrative seem not to conform to "classical" biblical religion, but rather to reflect more primitive notions and premises. The very need to withhold immortality from man bespeaks divine jealousy: God and the divine beings are unwilling to have man acquire both of the distinctive characteristics of divinity, "knowledge of good and bad" and immortality (even if they may be willing to have man acquire immortality alone). The Eden narrative is deeply rooted in ancient Near Eastern and folkloristic traditions. In spite of some adaptation of these traditions to biblical theological tenets, it seems that some of the primitive notions of these traditions resisted adaptation.

LITERARY COMPOSITION

Critics generally hold that the Eden narrative stems from a different source than the preceding creation narrative (Gen. 1:1–2:4a or 4b). Divergent authorship is indicated, according to the documentary hypothesis, by the two narratives' contradictory orders of creation (ch. 1: trees, animals, man and woman; ch 2: man, trees, animals, woman). On the basis of vocabulary and content the first narrative is assigned to the Priestly Document (P), while the second is assigned to the Jehovist, or Yahwist, Document (J; for a contrary view see Cassuto, *Genesis I*, ad loc.).

The Eden pericope in itself appears to combine more than one narrative of the same events. Many doublets in the text point to at least two parallel recensions. The following are some of the doublets which have been suggested: 2:5 and 6 (primordial irrigation), 2:8 and 9 (planting the garden), 2:8 and 15 (placing man in it), 2:23 and 3:20 (naming the woman), 3:7 and 21 (clothing the couple), 3:18b and 19a (man's future food), 3:18a and 17c, d, 19a (man's future occupation), 3:19b and 19c (man's return to the earth), 3:23 and 24 (expulsion from paradise). Other seemingly disjunctive elements are 2:9b (the two trees clumsily seem attached to the verse) and 10–14 (the rivers). On these points there is general agreement, at least in principle. However there is no unanimity at all when it comes to regrouping the variants in order to reconstruct the hypothetical earlier recensions.

LITERARY AND FOLKLORISTIC AFFINITIES

The Eden narrative's affinities with primitive folklore and other biblical and ancient Near Eastern, especially Mesopotamian, compositions are many, yet there is no single piece of ancient literature which resembles the narrative as a whole, either in its details or theological significance.

The primordial absence of produce and standard forms of irrigation resemble the immediately postdiluvian conditions, which presumably duplicate primordial conditions in the Sumerian "Rulers of Lagās" (in: JCS, 21 (1967), 283). The notion of a divine garden, paradigm of fertility, is mentioned elsewhere in the Bible (Gen. 13:10; Isa. 51:3; Ezek. 36:35; Joel 2:3); a fragmentary passage in the Gilgamesh Epic (Pritchard, Texts, p. 89c) and a fuller passage in Ezekiel 28:11–19 speak of its jewel-bearing trees; the Ezekiel passage is a narrative and reflects a different version of the Eden story (cf., also Ezek. 31:5–9, 16–18). Yet another paradise narrative is the Sumerian tale of "Enki and Ninhursag" (Pritchard, Texts, 37–41), which describes the land (or island) of Dilmun, east of Sumer, as a pure, clean, and bright land, where there is neither sickness nor death, and where the animals live in harmony. One episode in the narrative involves the sun-god's watering Dilmun with fresh water brought up from the earth, thus making it fertile. The earth-goddess Ninhursag gives birth to eight plants, which the water-god Enki proceeds to devour. This leads Ninhursag to curse Enki; this nearly causes the latter's death, but ultimately Ninhursag is made to heal him. Aside from the Eden narrative's manifest similarities to these stories, the differences are also significant; most noticeable is the far more natural configuration of the narrative in Genesis 2–3, in contrast to the fantastic or supernatural nature of the other accounts, including Ezekiel's. Placing man in the garden "to till and tend it" faintly echoes the Mesopotamian creation stories according to which man was created to free the gods from laboring to produce their own food (Pritchard, Texts, 68; cf. W.G. Lambert, *Atrahasis* (1969), 42–67; A. Heidel, *The Babylonian Genesis* (1942), 69–71; S.N. Kramer, *The Sumerians* (1963), 149–50). In the Bible this is not seen as the purpose of man's creation – in fact, the creation of man and the placing of him in the garden are separated by several verses; and there is no suggestion at all that God or the other heavenly beings benefit from man's labor. The theme of lost immortality appears briefly near the end of the Gilgamesh Epic. From the bottom of the sea Gilgamesh brought up a plant which contained the power of rejuvenating the aged; he called it "The Man Becomes Young in Old Age," declaring, "I myself shall eat [it], and thus return to the state of my youth" (in Pritchard, Texts, 96). Later, however, Gilgamesh set the plant down while bathing, and a serpent made off with it and subsequently shed its skin (11. 285–9; in 1. 296 the serpent is referred to as "ground-lion"; some take this as simply an epithet of the serpent, but others, following the testimony of Akkadian lexical texts, take "ground-lion" as "chameleon" (which etymologically means "ground-lion")). The belief that snakes, or lizards, regain their youth when they cast their skins is common among primitive peoples (cf., the analogous belief about molting eagles in Isa. 40:31; Ps. 103:51). This is a reflex of the well-known folklore motif of how the serpent cheated man out of immortality, for the significance of which see below. The loss of immortality is treated in great detail in the Akkadian Myth of Adapa (Pritchard, Texts, 101–3). Priest and sage of the city of Eridu, Adapa had been given "wise understanding… to teach the patterns of the land" (A, 3 (this apparently means to teach mankind the patterns of civilization), had been shown "the heart of the heaven and the earth" (B, 57–58)). The god Ea "had given him wisdom, eternal life he had not given him" (A, 4). While he was fishing in the Persian Gulf to supply Ea's temple at Eridu with fish, the south wind swamped Adapa's boat, so Adapa broke its wing with a curse. As Adapa was summoned before the chief god Anu in heaven to account for this behavior, Ea warned him not to eat and drink the bread and water of death that would be presented to him there. However, Anu had been disposed favorably to Adapa by another of Ea's stratagems, so that he in fact desired to supplement Adapa's wisdom by offering him the bread and food of life. Unaware, Adapa refused it, accepting only a garment and some anointing oil Ea had approved; and so he lost (eternal) life. Adapa is to be identified with Oannes, known from other sources to have been the first of approximately seven antediluvian sages who taught humanity civilization, paralleling the culture-founding Cainite genealogy from Adam through Lamech's children (Gen. 4), with Oannes-Adapa occupying the position of Adam. To this some have added the evidence of an Akkadian synonym list which supposedly equates Adapa, written *a-da-ap/b*, with "man" (E.A. Speiser in Pritchard, Texts, 101 n. 1; see also M. Civil (ed.), *Materials for the Sumerian Lexicon*, vol. 12, p. 93 line 20); however it is doubtful that this is Adapa, whose name is not written this way, and the very significance of the equation is uncertain. Not all details of the relationship of the Myth of Adapa to the Eden narrative are clear or necessarily convincing, but some relationship does seem indicated. The contrasts, aside from obviously wide divergence in details and plot, are most profound and characteristic in the area of underlying religious outlook. Although the Myth of Adapa does not make it clear whether Ea simply erred or purposely deceived Adapa, it expresses in either case a resigned acceptance of death as a situation beyond rational human control. The biblical narrative, on the other hand, assumes that death and other forms of misfortune in this world are the earned results of human behavior whose consequences man knew in advance. The theme of man's being cheated out of immortality by the serpent or some other skin-sloughing animal appears in the folklore of several peoples. Another frequently occurring motif is that of the perverted message, wherein God sent to man a message of immortality which the messenger perverted into a message of mortality, thus dooming mankind ever since. At times these two motifs are combined: God's message instructed man to rejuvenate himself by casting off his old skin, but the faithless messenger gave this information to the serpent instead, and told man that his life would end in death. On the basis of these motifs, J.G. Frazer surmised that an earlier version of the Eden narrative related as follows: the garden contained two trees – the tree of life and the tree of death (cf. the food and drink offered Adapa). God sent a message, through the serpent, that man should eat from the tree of life, not the tree of death. The clever serpent, however, reversed the message, leading the human couple to eat from the tree of death (cf. the deception of Adapa), while he himself ate from the tree of life and thus gained immortality (cf. Pritchard, Texts, 96 referred to above).

The material surveyed above leads to the conclusion that the biblical Eden narrative has roots in ancient Near Eastern literature. Yet, as noted above, these parallels are fragmentary, dealing with only a few motifs each, and the discrepancies in detail are often great. How these gaps were bridged cannot be said with certainty, presumably because of ignorance of the process of transmission of ancient Near Eastern literature to the Bible. Quite possibly these stories became known to the biblical authors in proto-Israelite versions which they molded, with creative editorial skill, into a unique narrative with a wholly new meaning.

[Jeffery Howard Tigay]

PARADISE AND HELL IN LATER JEWISH THOUGHT

Paradise and Hell, the places of reward for the righteous and punishment for the wicked after death, are traditionally referred to as the Garden of Eden and *Gehinnom respectively. In the Bible these two names never refer to the abode of souls after death; nevertheless, the idea of a fiery torment for the wicked may have been suggested by Isaiah 66:24. The earliest possible allusion to Gehinnom in the new sense is found in the Apocrypha, in which the general phrase "accursed valley" is used to describe the place where the wicked will be judged and punished (I En. 27:1ff.). The name Gehenna (= Gehinnom) first appears in the New Testament (e.g., Matt. 5:22, 29ff.), as does "Paradise," the abode of the blessed (e.g., Luke 23:43). The word *pardes* ("park," "orchard") occurs in biblical and talmudic sources, but rarely, if ever, in the sense of "heavenly abode." The oldest Jewish source to mention Gan (= Garden of) Eden and Gehinnom is probably a statement of Johanan b. Zakkai at the end of the first century C.E.: "There are two ways before me, one leading to Paradise and the other to Gehinnom" (Ber. 28b). Jewish teaching about a future life was never systematized, and the varied statements in rabbinic literature cannot be combined into a consistent whole. "Days of the Messiah" and "World to Come" are sometimes sharply distinguished, sometimes virtually identified. Some passages indicate that the righteous and wicked will enter Gan Eden and Gehinnom only after the resurrection and last judgment; in others, the departed take their assigned places immediately after death. Other descriptions of future bliss and punishment make no mention of locale.

APOCALYPTIC LITERATURE

The apocalypses frequently mention the punishment of the wicked by fire (I En. 90:26ff.; IV Ezra 7:36; Testament of Abraham (A) 12). In II Enoch 10 the places of reward and punishment are located in the third heaven; usually Hell is underground, as in II Enoch 40:12. Hell is sometimes identified with *Sheol (I En. 22:8ff.). In the Bible, however, Sheol was the abode of all the dead, and it was not a place of retribution. Now it becomes to some extent a place of punishment. The Apocalypses of Baruch and Ezra come closer to the old notion: Sheol is the temporary abode of souls between death and the last judgment (II Bar. 23:5; IV Ezra 4:41); but reward and punishment may begin during this period (II Bar. 36:11). The punishment at the end of time is final, and there is no hope of any further change or repentance (*ibid.* 85:12). The sources also describe the rewards of the righteous; Assumption of Moses 10:10 includes among the satisfactions of the righteous that they will see the wicked suffering in Gehenna.

RABBINIC LITERATURE

Gehinnom and Gan Eden existed even before the world was created (Pes. 54a), Gehinnom at the left hand of God, Gan Eden at His right (Mid. Ps. 90:12).

Gehinnom

So vast is Hell, it may be compared to a pot of which the rest of the universe forms the lid (Pes. 94a). Gehinnom is not only for punishment, but also for purgation. According to Bet Shammai, those whose merits and sins are evenly balanced will be purified in the flames of Gehinnom, and thus rendered fit to enter Gan Eden. Bet *Hillel held that such marginal persons would, by God's mercy, escape the ordeal (Tosef., Sanh. 13:3; RH 16b–17a). A widely held view was that the wicked will be punished in Gehinnom for 12 months only, after which they will be annihilated, to suffer no more. Only a limited group, chiefly those who by word and deed have repudiated their loyalty to the Jewish people and the basic doctrines of Jewish faith, will endure endless torment (Tosef., Sanh. 12:4, 5; RH 17a). However, R. Akiva cited Isaiah 66:23 concerning the 12-month sentence, indicating that even the wicked after having atoned for their sins in purgatory will join the righteous in Gan Eden (Eduy. 10). The severity of Gehinnom was mitigated in rabbinic thought. It was widely believed that all Israel, except for a few arch sinners, would have a share in the world to come, and so could not be unconditionally doomed to Hell (Sanh. 10). Abraham was said to stand at the entrance of Gehinnom and prevent his circumcised descendants from being incarcerated there (Er. 19a; cf. the reference to "Abraham's bosom" in Luke 16:23). Moreover, all the condemned, including gentiles, would have respite from punishment on the Sabbath (Sanh. 65b). The possibility that the reprobates might repent, acknowledge the justness of their punishment, and thus open the way to their redemption is mentioned in several places (Er. loc. cit.; on the sons of Korah, see Ginzberg, Legends, 6 (1928), 103, n. 586). That the piety of a son may mitigate the punishment of a deceased parent is implied in Kiddushin 31b (cf. II Macc. 12:42ff.) and stated explicitly in a post-talmudic story (*Kallah Rabbati*, 2:9, ed. Higger, 202ff.). The special effectiveness of the recital of **Kaddish* for this purpose is mentioned in medieval writings (e.g., Baḥya ben *Asher, Deut. 21:8). Some Palestinian rabbis denied that there is, or will be, a place called Gehinnom. They held that at the final judgment sinners will be destroyed by the unshielded rays of the sun or by a fire issuing from their own bodies (Gen. R. 6:6; 26:6).

Gan Eden

A place is reserved for every Israelite in both Gan Eden and Gehinnom. Before being assigned to their proper abode, the wicked are shown the place they might have occupied in Heaven, and the righteous, the place they might have occupied in Hell (Mid. Ps. 6:6; 31:6). In contrast to passages that depict the righteous sitting at golden tables (Ta'an. 25a) or under elaborate canopies (Ruth 3:4) and participating in lavish banquets (BB 75a), Rav (third century C.E.) declared that in the world to come – Gan Eden is not specifically mentioned – there will be no sensual enjoyment and no transaction of business or competition, but the righteous will sit crowned, enjoying the radiance of the Divine Presence (Ber. 17a). Some 11 persons, mostly biblical figures, entered Paradise alive (Ginzberg, Legends, 5 (1925), 5–96) and legend tells in detail how R. Joshua b. Levi accomplished this feat (Ket. 77b).

MEDIEVAL LITERATURE

A number of post-talmudic writings give longer and more fully elaborated descriptions of Gan Eden and Gehinnom, which are in substantial agreement with the briefer accounts in the Talmud and classic Midrashim. Among these writings are tractate *Gan Eden* and tractate *Gehinnom*, the *Iggeret of R.*

Joshua b. Levi, *Midrash Konen*, and *Otiyyot de-R. Akiva*. They generally picture Heaven and Hell each divided into seven sections; souls are assigned to the several sections in accordance with the level of their merits or the heinousness of their sins. The Jewish accounts of Hell are tame compared to those in medieval Christian literature, as is apparent from Dante's *Divine Comedy*, written in the 14th century. On the other hand, Gan Eden is not pictured as a place of completely static bliss: the Messiah is there awaiting the day of the redemption (according to *Midrash Konen*, suffering for the sins of Israel), and he enlists the help of the righteous souls in urging God to speed the final deliverance (see J.D. Eisenstein, *Oẓar Midrashim*, 1 (1915), 85, 87). In the 13th–14th centuries the poet *Immanuel b. Solomon of Rome wrote the fullest account of Paradise and Hell in Hebrew literature; it is entitled *Tophet and Eden* and is the last section of his *Maḥbarot*. It was possibly suggested by Dante's *Divine Comedy*, but possesses little literary power or religious depth. Its most notable feature is the inclusion of a section in Eden for pious gentiles in accordance with the prevailing Jewish teaching. Moreover, unlike Dante, Immanuel did not mention reprobates in *Tophet* by name. Some medieval philosophers explained earlier references to Paradise and Hell as figures of speech. Heaven meant the joy of communion with God, and Hell meant to be deprived of eternal life (Maim., Yad, Teshuvah 8:1, 5). To Joseph *Albo, Hell is the state of the soul which, having sought only material gratifications in this life, has no means of obtaining satisfaction in the nonmaterial life beyond the grave (*Ikkarim* 4:33). The Kabbalists developed and adapted the relatively simple notions of Gan Eden and Gehinnom to fit into their complex systems, and especially in order to reconcile them with the doctrine of reincarnation (see **Gilgul*).

MODERN PERIOD

Moses *Mendelssohn flatly rejected the idea of Hell as incompatible with the mercy of God (*Gesammelte Schriften*, 3 (1843), 345–7). Modern Jews of all religious viewpoints, including those who vigorously uphold the belief in personal immortality, have generally discarded the idea that Paradise and Hell exist literally. Since these concepts, though once widely accepted, were never regarded as dogmatically binding, the rejection of them has not occasioned any strain, even on Orthodoxy.

[Bernard J. Bamberger]

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PARAF, PIERRE (1893–1989), French author, editor and broadcasting executive. Born in Paris, Paraf, a graduate in law, was an officer in the French army during World War I, then took up journalism, and from 1930 until 1939 was literary editor of the Paris daily *La République*. He later worked for the left-wing daily *Combat* and for the monthly *L'Europe*. In 1936 he joined the French radio service and eventually became chief editor of French Radio-Television. After the French military collapse in 1940, he fought with the underground until the liberation in 1944. Paraf showed strong Jewish loyalties in his work and writings. In one of his early books, *Quand Israël Aima* (1929), he expressed his pride in belonging to the Jewish people. With the writer Bernard *Lecache, he founded in 1927 the Ligue internationale contre le Racisme et l'Antisémitisme. He was president of the Mouvement contre le Racisme, l'Antisémitisme et pour la Paix and a member of the executive of the League for the Rights of Man. After World War II he directed the monthly review *Amitié France-Israël* and wrote books on Jewish and Zionist themes. Among them were *Israël dans le monde* (1947) and *L'Etat d'Israël dans le monde* (1960). His other books include *Les cités du bonheur* (1945), *L'Ascension des peuples noirs* (1958), *Les démocraties populaires* (1962), and *Le Racisme dans le monde* (1964).

[Godfrey Edmond Silverman]

PARAGUAY, South American republic; population (est. 2005) 4,960,000, Jewish population 900.

A few isolated Jews came to Paraguay from France, Switzerland, and Italy toward the end of the 19th century and merged with the native population without ever establishing a Jewish community. On the eve of World War I a number of Sephardi Jews immigrated from Palestine. The families Arditi, Cohenca, Levi, Mendelzon, and Varzan formed the first *ḥevra kaddisha* (Alianza Israelita) in 1917 and established the first synagogue with other Sephardim from Turkey and Greece. A second immigration wave in the early 1920s brought Jews from the Ukraine and Poland who founded the Ashkenazi community, Unión Hebraica. Until 1937 Jews immigrated to Paraguay without limitations according to the liberal constitution of 1870. In 1937 restrictions were imposed on the acceptance of refugees and the minister of foreign affairs instructed the consuls in Europe to avoid granting visas to Jews. At the end of the 1930s together with the increase of antisemitism in public opinion, some projects of agricultural colonization of Jews in the department of Concepción and the areas of the Chaco were considered. One of the requisites for this project was the deposit of $1,000 for each adult immigrant. But this project failed as a result of the opposition by the bishop of those areas, Emilio Sosa Gaona, some sections of the army, members of the Parliament, and the agitation provoked by agents of the German Nazi government. As a result, between 1933 and 1945 only some 1,000 Jews from Germany, Austria, and Czechoslovakia were permitted to immigrate to Paraguay. Nevertheless, some Paraguayan consuls in Europe – Paris, Cologne, Warsaw, Lisbon, and Prague – sold thousands of visas and passports to Jewish refugees. Many of them used those documents as stepping stones to Argentina, Brazil, and Uruguay where immigration laws were more severe. Others, who remained in Europe, tried to receive, with the aid of the passports, the status of alien citizens and some of them did succeed in saving their lives.

The Jews in Paraguay lived in the capital Asunción and established the Unión de Israelitas pro Socorro Mutuo. This group built the main synagogue, later located within the premises of the Unión Hebraica. After World War II a last group of immigrants, mostly survivors from the concentration camps, arrived.

In the beginning of the 21st century the Jewish community was estimated at some 300 families or 900 persons. The size of the community is decreasing through immigration to Argentina and Brazil, but there are also occasional immigrants from those countries, especially due to marriage. The intermarriage rate was rising; most of the intermarried couples give their children a Jewish education. There is a continuous trickle of emigrants to Israel, and since 1948 some 480 people made *aliyah*.

Most Paraguayan Jews engage in commerce or industry. There are about 25 Jewish professionals, most of whom studied in Paraguay. The community supports a Jewish school, named "Escuela Integral Estado de Israel," in which Hebrew is taught in addition to the official curriculum, which is attended by more than two thirds of the Jewish children of school age. About 50 Jewish students are enrolled at the university, in addition to others who study abroad. In Paraguay there are some 40,000 Germans or people of German descent, many of whom had openly supported the Nazis before and during World War II. A number of prominent Nazis, among them Dr. J. *Mengele of *Auschwitz, found temporary shelter in Paraguay. There were some short-lived antisemitic decrees in 1936 and some antisemitic incidents prior to the establishment of the strong-arm regime of General Alfredo Stroessner in 1954, which established a dictatorship until 1989. After that time, Jews were not disturbed. Paraguay voted in 1947 for the UN Resolution on the partition of Palestine and has been friendly to Israel ever since. An Israel Embassy was established in 1968. The Consejo Representativeo Israelita del Paraguay represents the Jewish community vis-à-vis the public and authorities. There is also a sports club, a *B'nai B'rith, *Wizo chapter, and a *Ha-No'ar ha-Ẓiyyoni movement. In 1968 another youth organization, Centro Israelita Juvenil, was established.

There were three synagogues: Ashkenazi, Sephardi, and Chabad. In Asunción there is also a Jewish museum with a Holocaust memorial.

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[Benjamin (Benno) Varon (Weiser) / Efraim Zadoff (2nd ed.)]

PARAH (Heb. פָּרָה "heifer"), name of the fourth treatise in the Mishnah and the Tosefta in the order of **Tohorot*. This tractate is based upon the pentateuchal law of the burning of the *red heifer as set forth in Numbers 19:1–22.

The tractate is divided into 12 chapters whose subject matter is the proper age for the validity of the heifer and other sacrificial animals; the type of work that invalidates the heifer (3:1, 3, 4); the degree of redness required (2:2, 5); the preparation of the priest prior to the burning of the heifer (3:1, 5, 8); the manner of bringing the spring water (3:3, 4); the procedure of the bringing and burning of the heifer (3:6, 7, 9–11; 4:2, 3); irrelevant intentions at the time of the slaughtering of the heifer (4:1, 3); defilement of those engaged in the preparation and burning of the heifer (4:4); qualifications for vessels containing the purifying waters (5); laws pertaining to work done with the spring water and the procedure of its mingling with the ashes of the heifer (6; 7; 8:1, 2; 9:4); the type and condition of spring water considered fit for the purifying waters (8:8–11; 9:1–3); status of the mixture after defilement (9:5–9); ritual uncleanness of objects coming in contact with the purifying waters or their vessels (10); cases of doubt if the purifying waters were defiled (11:1–2); laws of the hyssop used in the sprinkling of the purifying waters (11:7–9; 12:2, 6); procedure in the sprinkling on the ritually unclean (12:3–5, 11).

It is stated that until the destruction of the Temple no more than nine heifers were actually prepared (3:5), and the names of those who prepared them are given. Of significance is chapter 3 outlining extreme measures instituted by the rabbis to guarantee the ritual purity of the priest who was to burn the heifer. These were enacted as safeguards from certain opposing views of the Sadducees. The tractate includes discussion on some general principles of ritual uncleanness, not directly related to the major theme (8:4–7; 11:4–6; 12:8–10).

The Tosefta *Parah* consists of 12 chapters, which embody and supplement in detail the laws contained in the Mishnah. Noteworthy is the section on laws pertaining to the different standards of ritual purity between a **ḥaver* and an **am-ha-areẓ* (4:12–5:3). It should be noted that while J. Sussmann (1969) adduced considerable evidence for the observance of the laws of ritual purity in Ereẓ Israel throughout the amoraic period, he was unable to bring any direct evidence for the existence or use of the ashes of the red heifer during this period. Similar questions have been raised concerning the practices of the Dead Sea sect (see: J. Neusner, 1987, 146 ff.). There is no *Gemara* on the tractate in the Babylonian Talmud nor in the Jerusalem Talmud. Neusner published a translation of the Mishnah (1991) and the Tosefta (2002) of Parah.

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[Jacob Kelemer]

PARAH, PERATH (Heb. פָּרָה, פְּרָת), town (Parah) listed among the cities of Benjamin with Avvim and Ophrah (Josh. 18:23). Jeremiah was bidden by the Lord to hide his girdle by the Perath (AV translation: Euphrates); when the girdle was later removed, it was found spoiled, as a prophetic sign (Jer. 13:4, 7). It is now generally assumed that these references are to the ancient settlement at Tell Fāra and to the Wadi Fāra, a deep gorge near Jeremiah's birthplace Anathoth. In Hasmonean times, Bacchides fortified the place (I Macc. 9:50; as Pharathon). The Zealot leader Bar Giora camped at Ain near the river Pheretai in the First Jewish War (Jos., Wars, 4:512). The Wadi Fāra contains many remains of the Byzantine period. Its main source, ʿAyn Fāra (1,135 cu.m. daily), supplied Herodian Jericho with water by means of a rock-cut channel; during the British Mandate this water was pumped to Jerusalem.

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[Michael Avi-Yonah]

PARAN (Heb. פָּארָן), biblical appellation for the main desert in the eastern Sinai peninsula. Its boundaries can be reconstructed by means of a number of biblical references. In their campaign against Canaan, the kings of Shinar, Ellasar, Elam, and Golim reached El-Paran, "which is by the wilderness" (Gen. 14:6), a place generally identified with Elath on the Red Sea. Moses spoke to Israel "in the Arabah, near Suph [Red Sea?], between Paran and Tophel" (Deut. 1:1). The Red Sea, therefore, was probably the southern extremity of the Paran wilderness. On the other hand, when Ishmael was cast out with Hagar by Abraham, presumably from Beer-Sheba, he dwelt in the wilderness of Paran (Gen. 21:21). The 12 spies of Moses were sent from the wilderness of Paran to Canaan, and returned to "the wilderness of Paran, to Kadesh" (Num. 13:3, 26), which is usually described in the Bible as situated in the wilderness of Zin. Paran, therefore, extended as far north as Kadesh and even the periphery of Beer-Sheba. David went to the wilderness of Paran in his wanderings (I Sam. 25:1) and came into contact with Nabal, "a man in Maon," which is in southern Judah. Thus it also extended to the northeast. The Israelites entered it from the wilderness of Sinai (Num. 10:12), or, more specifically, from Hazeroth. If the identification of Hazeroth with ʿAyn al-Ḥaḍra near Jebel Ḥillāl is correct (rather than with ʿAyn Ḥaḍra in southeastern Sinai, as some have suggested), Paran would be limited to the Tih Desert in the northeastern part of the Sinai Peninsula, which agrees roughly with the story of Hadad, the Edomite pretender, who fled from Midian to Egypt by way of Paran (I Kings 11:18). An element of doubt is created, however, by the juxtaposition of Mt. Paran with Mt. Sinai and Mt. Seir in Deuteronomy 33:2 and Habakkuk 3:3; some interpreters regard this mountain as synonymous with Mt. Sinai, while others look for a separate Mt. Paran at a site called Jebel Fārān, a place mentioned by some travelers, but not located by others. It can perhaps best be defined as the eastern part of the Tih Desert, placed between the desert of Shur near Egypt and the desert of Zin near the Judean Mountains. It is crossed by the eastern confluents of the Brook of Egypt (Wadi al-ʿArīsh).

In later times, the name occurs as that of a tribe (Ptolemy, *Geographia*, 3:5 17), and in the Byzantine period, in the description of the area in which St. Nilus searched for his son, who had been kidnapped by the Saracens (PG, vol. 79, pp. 667 ff.).

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[Michael Avi-Yonah]

PARAPET (Heb. מַעֲקֶה). Ancient roofs were flat and in general use (cf. Josh. 2:6; Judg. 16:27; I Sam. 9:25 f; Isa. 22:1; et al.), and the Bible enjoins "when thou buildest a new house, then thou shalt make a parapet for thy roof, that thou bring not blood upon thy house, if any man fall from thence" (Deut. 22:8). The parapet must be not less than 10 handbreadths high and strong enough to keep a person who leans on it from falling (Sif. Deut. 229; Maim. Yad, Roẓe'aḥ 11:3). The law was given a far wider application, however, and made to include the need to remove any object that constitutes a public or a private hazard. Such precautions include fencing or covering a well or a pit (Maim. *ibid.*, 11:4) and not keeping a savage dog or a shaky ladder in one's house (BK 15b). The statement of R. Eleazar (BK 4:9), that "No precaution is adequate [for a vicious ox] save the slaughterer's knife," is based by Abbaye on this same law (BK 46a). For the same reason one who keeps a wild dog or cat in his house is placed under the ban (Ket. 41b). Even if only the owner is endangered and he is willing to take the risk, he is forbidden and forcibly prevented if necessary (Maim. *ibid.*, 4 f.).

[Harry Freedman]

PARCZEW, district capital in the province of Lublin, E. Poland. Since it lay on the border of the kingdom of Poland and the Duchy of Lithuania, it served as the seat of the sessions of the Sejm until 1564, a fact which greatly affected the sources of livelihood of the Jews living there. An organized Jewish community existed from the beginning of the 16th century. In 1564, 11 houses were owned by Jews. Between 1563 and 1570 a violent struggle was waged between the Jewish community and the municipal council, which sought to move Jewish merchants and craftsmen from the center of the town to its suburbs. In 1591 a compromise was reached: The Jews were to remain in their former places of residence in exchange for their consent to bear an equal share of obligations imposed on the town, an arrangement ratified by the king in 1623. In 1654 King John II

Casimir authorized the Jews to build houses, to engage in commerce within the boundaries of the town, and to manufacture alcoholic liquor for their own needs. In 1674 among the 331 townsmen who paid the poll tax, 84 were Jews. The town was severely damaged in the Northern War (1700–21), and by 1718 only four Jews remained in Parczew. In the course of time Jews made an important contribution to the development of the town and its economy. In 1762 Jews owned 47 houses. In 1765 there were 303 Jews who paid the poll tax, including nine bakers, six tailors, six hatters, and one locksmith. In the 29 villages in the vicinity 151 Jews paid the poll tax. Between 1790 and 1795 Jews established tanneries in the town. Under Russian rule there were no restrictions against the residence of Jews in Parczew. In 1827 the community numbered 1,079 (37% of the total population), and by 1857 had increased to 1,692 (about 50% of the total). During the second half of the 19th century, Jews earned their livelihood mainly from tailoring, weaving, and carpentry, as well as from the retail trade in agricultural produce. During this period the influence of *Ḥasidism intensified. In 1921 there were 4,005 Jews (51% of the population) in the town. Between the two world wars, branches of the Zionist parties and youth organizations as well as the *Agudat Israel were active in Parczew.

[Arthur Cygielman]

Holocaust Period

On the outbreak of World War II there were 5,000 Jews in Parczew. On Sept. 19, 1942, the Germans began to deport the town's Jewish population to the *Treblinka death camp. During this deportation, as well as those from a number of places in the vicinity, several thousand people fled to the Parczew forest (Lasy Parczewskie). Most of them were shot by German armed units, which searched the woods frequently, but a few hundred managed to establish themselves within the forest in a family camp called Altana. A guerrilla battalion under the command of a Jewish officer, Alexander Skotnicki, operated in the Parczew forest. Its largest detachment was a Jewish guerrilla company commanded by Jechiel Grynszpan. When the Parczew region was liberated (at the end of July 1944), about 150 Jewish partisans and about 200 survivors of the Jewish family camp, which existed thanks to the defense provided by the Jewish partisans, left the forest.

[Stefan Krakowski]

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PARDES (Heb. פַּרְדֵ"ס), in the Middle Ages the word *pardes* was used as a mnemonic for the four types of biblical exegesis, an acronym of *peshat ("the literal meaning"), *remez* ("hint," i.e., veiled allusions such as *gematria, and *notarikon), *derash ("homiletical interpretation"), and *sod* ("mystery," i.e., the esoteric interpretation), the word being made up of the initial letters of these words. For the meaning of the word in mysticism, see *Kabbalah.

PARDES ḤANNAH-KARKUR (Heb. פַּרְדֵּס חַנָּה־כַּרְכּוּר), predominantly rural community in the northern Sharon, Israel, about 4 mi. (7 km.) N.E. of Ḥaderah, created in 1969 through the amalgamation of Pardes Ḥannah and Karkur. Karkur was founded in 1913 by a group of English Jews, "Aḥuzzat London," on land acquired the year before by the Palestine Land Development Company and guarded by members of *Ha-Shomer who remained and worked on the place, together with other Jewish laborers, until the 1920s. In 1919 building began, but a part of the English group arrived only in 1925–26. In 1927 Karkur already numbered 300 inhabitants, and the initially hard conditions improved after abundant groundwater was found. The moshav, based mainly on citrus, had 900 inhabitants in 1948; its population increased to 3,000 in 1952, but has since remained the same. Most inhabitants are from Eastern Europe; others are from Yemen. It is the site of a *dew research station.

Pardes Ḥannah was established in 1929 by the Palestine Jewish Colonization Association for the settlement of veteran farm laborers. In 1939 the moshavah was enlarged to include the neighboring village of Meged founded in 1933. During the 1930s, immigrants from Central Europe joined Pardes Ḥannah, some of whom erected the Tel Shalom quarter. In 1947 a housing project was set up named Neveh Asher, after Selig *Brodetsky. During World War II, the British authorities expropriated Pardes Ḥannah lands to build large military camps which after 1948 became two large *ma'barot (immigrant transit camps), bringing the population from 2,350 inhabitants to over 10,000. When the *ma'barot* were closed down at the end of the 1950s, only some of their inhabitants remained and were transferred to local housing. The population figure then shrank to 7,500 but slowly rose again to 13,400 in 1970. The economy of Pardes Ḥannah-Karkur was based on highly intensive and fully irrigated farming as well as on industry. There were several large schools, including the agricultural high school of the Farmers' Union (*Hitaḥadut ha-Ikkarim) and No'am, the combined yeshivah high school. In the mid-1990s the population of Pardes Hannah-Karkur was approximately 19,400, rising to 28,800 in 2002. The local council's area of jurisdiction extends over 9 sq. mi. (23 sq. km.). Pardes Hannah-Karkur serves as an urban center for the region, its economy now based on services, commerce, industry (wood and building materials, agricultural machinery, and plastics), and agriculture (citrus groves, field crops and fruit orchards). "Pardes Ḥannah," meaning "Hannah's Citrus Grove," commemorates a cousin of Baron Edmond de *Rothschild.

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[Efraim Orni / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)

PARDES, ELIYAHU (1893–1972), chief rabbi of Jerusalem and leader of religious Zionism. Born in Jerusalem, descendant of a long line of Sephardi rabbis, he served as an educator and administrator from 1915 to 1952. He was among the founders of the religious-nationalist group "Al ha-Mishmar" in 1925 and played an active role in the leadership of the Mizrachi Organization. During this period, he also served on the Jerusalem rabbinic court and was sent on several trips as educational emissary to North Africa, Europe and South America. In 1953 he was elected rabbi of Ramat Gan and, from 1961 until his death, he served as chief rabbi of Jerusalem.

He was deeply committed to the Zionist cause, and worked tirelessly to inculcate in the younger generation a love of Israel and concern for settlement, both within Palestine and abroad. He was among the first educators to struggle for the revival of the Hebrew language and its use in daily life. He was a lover of peace, and constantly attempted to unite the various political, religious and ethnic groups within the *Yishuv.* As a rabbinic scholar, he wrote on *halakhah*, ethics and homiletics. A selection of his articles and responsa appeared in 1974.

PARDES, SHMUEL AARON (1887–1956), rabbi. Born in 1887 in Stashov, Poland, he studied in Kensk and then in Ostovsvski, where he was ordained. He then served as rabbi in Zarick, where he established a Torah publication called *Ha-Pardes*, which was suspended during World War I. However, it followed him to Zavyertza, where he had become rabbi after the war, and then to the United States, where he immigrated in 1924. Some of the most respected rabbis in Europe published their commentaries in *Ha-Pardes*. He served as rabbi in Bendin and then as *dayyan* in Chestokova before immigrating to the U.S. He became rabbi of the Montgomery Street Synagogue in New York and then moved to Chicago as rabbi of Bikur Cholim, where in 1927 he reestablished *Ha-Pardes*, which became a quasi-organ of the Agudat Harabbonim. He used the platform of his journal to support men like himself, East European rabbis, and to criticize his more Westernized colleagues of the Rabbinical Council of America. *Ha-Pardes* is among his most enduring contributions.

He wrote "*Pilpul be-Inyan Batla Da'ata Eẓel Kol Adam*," in *Sefer Kevod Ḥaḥamin* (1935), and was editor of Yehuda Leib Graubart's *Ḥavalim be-Ne'imim*, vol. 5 (1939).

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[Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

PARDESIYYAH (Heb. פַּרְדֵּסִיָּה), Jewish village with municipal council status, in central Israel, about 4 mi. (6 km.) southeast of Netanyah. Founded in 1940, it initially housed a few families of Jewish laborers originating from Yemen who were employed in the citrus groves in the vicinity. The village expanded greatly in the 1950s, as it was in the neighborhood of large *ma'barot* (immigrant camps), part of whose area was included in Pardesiyyah's municipal boundary. The village had 332 inhabitants in 1955, 1,587 in 1961, and 800 in 1970. In the mid-1990s the population was approximately 1,820, and at the end of 2002 it was 5,920 residents, occupying an area of half a square mile (1.3 sq. km.). Income was much higher than the national average. The Lev Hasharon Mental Health Center is located there.

[Efraim Orni / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

PARDO, family which apparently originated in Prado del Rey, Castile, and which flourished during the 16th–18th centuries in the Ottoman Empire, Italy, the Netherlands, England, and America. The more celebrated members of the family are dealt with under separate entries.

DAVID (d. 1657), the son of Joseph *Pardo, served as rabbi in Amsterdam. He was born in Salonika and moved to Amsterdam with his father. In 1618 he was appointed rabbi of the Beth Israel congregations. After the three Sephardi congregations had amalgamated into the Talmud Torah congregation (1639), he was appointed one of its four rabbis and trustee of the cemetery. He published an edition in Latin characters of Ẓaddik b. Joseph Formon's Ladino translation of *Ḥovot ha-Levavot* by Baḥya ibn Paquda (Amsterdam, 1610). His son, Josiah, was a disciple and son-in-law of Saul Levi *Morteira. After teaching in the Yesiba de los Pintos of Rotterdam, which was transferred to Amsterdam in 1669, he emigrated to Curaçao (Antilles). From 1674 he was *ḥakham* of the community there and appears to have founded the local yeshivah, Eẓ Ḥayyim ve-Ohel Ya'akov. In 1683 he left for Jamaica, where he also served as rabbi. David Pardo (d. c. 1717), the rabbi of the Portuguese community of Surinam, was probably his son.

The Pardo family was scattered throughout North America, where they became known as Brown (or Browne; although the actual meaning of Pardo is "grey"). Saul Pardo (d. 1708), known as Saul Brown, was the first *ḥazzan* of the Jewish community of New York. He held this office in the She'erit Israel synagogue until 1682.

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PARDO, DAVID SAMUEL BEN JACOB (1718–1790), rabbinical author and poet. Born in Venice, he went to Sarajevo for a time as a result of a dispute over an inheritance, and from there to Spalato, in Dalmatia. From approximately 1738 he was a teacher of children, at the same time studying under the local rabbi, Abraham David Papo. Eventually Pardo was appointed rabbi of the town. From 1760 he was rabbi of Sarajevo. From 1776 to 1782 he traveled to Ereẓ Israel, settling in Jerusalem where he served as head of the yeshivah Ḥesed le-Avraham u-Vinyan Shelomo. Pardo was regarded as one of

Jerusalem's great rabbis. Of his many works his series of commentaries and novellae on tannaitic literature are especially original. His first work was *Shoshannim le-David* (Venice, 1752), a commentary on the Mishnah. The somewhat sharp language he employed in the first part in criticizing contemporary scholars gave rise to friction between him and David Corinaldi and Mas'ud Rokeaḥ in Leghorn. But after he mitigated his language in the second part and published an apology, a reconciliation took place.

Pardo's *Ḥasdei David* (Leghorn, 1776–90; Jerusalem, 1890) on the Tosefta is considered the most important commentary on this work (the portion on *Tohorot*, the manuscript of which is in the National Library of Jerusalem, has not been published). He completed the work in Jerusalem on his 68th birthday. Portions of it were published in the Romm Vilna edition of the Talmud with the text of the Tosefta. Similarly, his *Sifrei de-Vei Rav* (Salonika, 1799), which he commenced in 1786 and was published by his son Abraham after his death, is the most important commentary on the *Sifrei*. In it he makes use of commentaries of Hillel b. Eliakim, Solomon ibn Okhana, and Eliezer ibn Nahum, all of which he had in manuscript. Other works he wrote are *Mikhtam le-David* (Salonika, 1772), halakhic decisions and responsa; *Maskil le-David* (Venice, 1761), a supercommentary on Rashi's biblical commentary; *La-Menazze'aḥ le-David* (Salonika, 1765), on those talmudic passages where alternative explanations are given; and *Mizmor le-David* (Leghorn, 1818), notes on the *Perot Ginnosar* of Hezekiah da Silva and Ḥayyim ibn Attar on Shulḥan Arukh, *Even ha-Ezer*. Pardo's liturgical poems and prayers are included in the Sephardi daily and festival prayer books. His arrangement of the *Avodah* for the Day of Atonement, which was adopted in the Sephardi rite, appeared in his *Shifat Revivim* (Leghorn, 1788).

Of his sons, Jacob Pardo became chief rabbi of Ragusa and died in Jerusalem. He was a noted talmudist and well versed in Kabbalah. His chief works were *Kohelet Ya'akov* (Venice, 1784), a commentary on the early prophets; *Appe Zutre (ibid.*, 1797), on *Hilkhot Ishut* of the Shulḥan Arukh *Even ha-Ezer*; and *Minḥat Aharon* (*ibid.*, 1809), which deals mainly with the laws of prayer. A second son, Isaac, was rabbi of Sarajevo, while a third, Abraham, who married the daughter of Ḥ.J.D. *Azulai, became head of the yeshivah Ḥesed le-Avraham u-Vinyan Shelomo after his father-in-law's death. Pardo's disciples included Shabbetai b. Abraham Ventura, who succeeded him as rabbi of Spalato, David Pinto, and Abraham Penso.

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[Shlomoh Zalman Havlin]

PARDO, JOSEPH (d. 1619), Italian rabbi and merchant. Pardo was born in Salonika, but went to Venice before 1589, and there he served as rabbi to the Levantine community and also engaged in business. He and Judah Leib *Saraval made themselves responsible for the collection of money from the Jews of Italy for the poor of Ereẓ Israel. He also financed the publication of several books: *Genesis Rabbah* (Venice, 1597–1606) with the commentary *Yefeh To'ar* of Samuel Jaffe Ashkenazi. He was unsuccessful in his plan to publish a number of intended publications, one an edition of the Talmud which was to have been published in Salonika, and another the *Ma'amar Yayin ha-Meshummar* which was later published by Nathan Shapira with his own additions (Venice, 1660). In 1601 Pardo wanted to publish a new commentary on the Pentateuch consisting of literal interpretations culled from the works of the classical commentators. The work of preparing the commentary was given to Leone de *Modena, who, as he states in his introduction to the commentary (which is still in manuscript) succeeded in preparing the sections only on the weekly portions of *Bereshit*, *Pinḥas*, *Mattot*, and *Masei*. He also relates there that Pardo became bankrupt and moved to Amsterdam (probably toward the end of 1608 or the beginning of 1609). From 1609 until his death Pardo served as rabbi of the Beit Ya'akov congregation of Amsterdam. One of the regulations he introduced was that every member was obliged to pay a fixed sum yearly for the communities of Jerusalem and Safed. Two **bakkashot* he composed were published in the *Imrei No'am* (Amsterdam, 1628, pp. 158–9).

His grandson JOSEPH PARDO (d. 1677) was the reader of the Spanish and Portuguese congregation in London; he died in Amsterdam. He was the author of *Shulḥan Tahor*, on *Oraḥ Ḥayyim* and *Yoreh De'ah*, which is written with the maximum of brevity. It was published a number of times, first by his son David Pardo in 1686 in London; in 1689 it was published with a Spanish translation. Apparently it lost its popularity with scholars in the course of time because of its excessive brevity.

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[Abraham David]

PARDO, MOSES BEN RAPHAEL (d. 1888), rabbi and rabbinical emissary. Pardo was born in Jerusalem. After serving as rabbi in Jerusalem for many years, he left the city in 1870, traveling to North Africa on a mission on behalf of Jerusalem. On his return trip in 1871 he stopped at Alexandria and accepted an offer to serve as the rabbi of the Jewish community there, a post which he retained until his death. Pardo was the author of *Hora'ah de-Veit Din* (Izmir, 1872), on divorce laws; *Shemo Moshe* (*ibid.*, 1874), responsa; and *Ẓedek u-Mishpat* (*ibid.*, 1874), novellae to *Ḥoshen Mishpat*.

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PARENT AND CHILD.

STATUS OF THE CHILD

In Jewish law, there is no discrimination against a child because of the mere fact that he is born out of lawful wedlock. While the said fact may complicate the question of establishing paternity, once the identity of the father is clearly known there is no distinction in law so far as the parent-child relationship is concerned, between such a child and one born in lawful wedlock. This is also the position with regard to a **mamzer*. On the status of a child with one non-Jewish parent, see below. For further details, see **Yuḥasin*.

PARENTAL RIGHTS

Except as detailed below, the principle in Jewish law is that parents have no legal rights in respect of their children, neither as to their person nor their property (Ket. 46b–47a; Sh. Ar., ḤM 424:7). So far as male children are concerned, the father is entitled to the finds of his son even if the latter is a *gadol* (i.e., beyond the age until which his father is obliged by law to maintain him), provided that the son is dependent on him (lit. "seated at his table"); this is "for the reason of enmity," i.e., in order to avoid the enmity which might arise between father and son if the former, who supports his son without even being obliged to by law, was not even entitled to the finds that come to the son without any effort or investment on his part (BM 12a–b; Sh. Ar., ḤM 270:2 and commentaries). For the same reason the father is entitled to the income of his dependent son (*Rema*, ḤM 270:2). Hence a father who is obliged by law to maintain his son – for example, because he has so undertaken in a divorce agreement – has no claim to the finds or income of the son, and therefore he is entitled to set them off against his liability to maintain him (*Taz*, ḤM 270:2; PDR 3:329). As regards his daughter, the father is entitled to everything mentioned above, even if she is not dependent on him, until she becomes a major (*bogeret*), since until then she remains under his authority. For the same reason, until she reaches her majority, the father will be entitled to her handiwork and to give her in *marriage (Ket. 46a–47a; Yad, Ishut 3:11; see also Avadim 4:2). The mother has none of these rights in respect of her children since in law she has no pecuniary obligations toward them (see below).

PARENTAL OBLIGATIONS

The general rule is that the legal obligations toward their children are imposed on the father alone and not on the mother (*Maggid Mishneh*, Ishut, 21:18).

Maintenance

OBLIGATIONS OF THE FATHER. The father's duty to maintain his son embraces the responsibility of providing for all the child's needs, including his daily care (Yad, Ishut 13:6; Sh. Ar., EH 73:6, 7). The rules concerning the duty of maintenance also apply with regard to the father's duty to educate his son and to teach him Torah, to see that he learns a trade or profession, and to bear all the necessary expenses connected with this (Kid. 29b, 30; Sh. Ar., YD 245:1, 4). Until the son reaches the age of six years (see below), these obligations must be borne by the father even if he has limited means and the son has independent means of his own, e.g., acquired by inheritance (Sh. Ar., EH 71:1). These obligations are imposed on the father by virtue of his paternity, whether or not he is married to the child's mother, and therefore notwithstanding termination of the marriage between the child's parents, by death or divorce, or the fact that the child was born out of wedlock (Resp. Ribash no. 41; Resp. Rosh 17:7; contrary to Ran, on Rif at end of Ket. ch. 5, who is of the opinion that the father's obligation to support his children is linked with his obligation to maintain his wife).

OBLIGATION OF THE MOTHER. The mother has no legal obligation to maintain her children, even if she is able to do so out of her own property or income (*Ba'er Heitev*, EH 71, n. 1). She may only be obliged to do so on the strength of the rules of *ẓedakah* ("charity") if, after providing in full for her own needs, she is able to satisfy the needs of her children when they have no property or income of their own, and the father, being poor, is unable to support them (*Pitḥei Teshuvah*, EH 82 n. 3; PDR 2:3). The position is different, however, if the mother has undertaken to maintain her children, for example in a divorce agreement. In this event, if the mother has the means to support her children at a time when the father is not legally obliged to do so (i.e., because they are above the specified age), she alone will have to maintain them as she is obliged to do by virtue of law (her undertaking); the father's duty in this case is based on the rules of *ẓedakah* only, and since the children have property of their own (the right to be maintained by the mother) they are no longer in need of *ẓedakah* (PDR 3:170; 4:3, 7). On the wife's duty to take care of her children as part of her marital duties toward her husband, see *Husband and Wife.

If the child's mother is not entitled to maintenance from the father – e.g., because the parties are divorced – and the child is in need of her care, so that she can no longer continue to work and support herself, there will be legal grounds for obliging the father to maintain her to a certain extent, including payment of the rental for her dwelling. Because it is in the interests of the child to be with the mother, she must dwell with him, and because the expenses necessary for taking care of the child devolve on the father, he has to bear them within the limits of the remuneration he would otherwise be called upon to pay any other woman for taking care of the child. This would include the cost of the child's dwelling (with the mother) – notwithstanding the fact that the mother is in a position to defray all the said expenses out of her own means (PDR 1:118f.; 2:3, 5f.). After being divorced, the mother may also claim from the child's father any of the said expenses she incurred before she filed her claim for them, since, unlike the case of a married woman, there is no room for considering that she has waived this claim (PDR 1:230, 234; 2:164f.; Resp. Maharsham, pt. 2, no. 236).

THE STANDARD OF MAINTENANCE. Unlike maintenance for a wife (see *Husband and Wife), the standard of maintenance to which children are entitled is determined by their actual needs and not by the financial status of their father (Yad, Ishut 13:6; Sh. Ar., EH 73:6). For this purpose the needs of a child will not be limited to an essential minimum, but they may vary according to whether the child is from a rich or a poor family. Certainly, under the laws of *ẓedakah,* a wealthy father may be made liable to maintain his children as befits them and not merely as absolutely necessary, although in a case where a child has other sources of income, and thus is not in need of *ẓedakah*, he will not be entitled to maintenance (Sh. Ar. EH 82:7; PDR 2:3, 8; 4:3, 7). On the other hand, in determining the essential, minimum attention will be paid to what the father is capable of earning and not merely to his actual income.

ADDITIONAL OBLIGATIONS TOWARD DAUGHTERS. In addition to maintaining his daughter, the father has to see to her marriage to a worthy husband, and, if the need arises, to provide her with a dowry sufficient at least – if his means permit – to cover a year's raiment (Ḥelkat Meḥokek 58, n. 1). Although the father is not legally obliged to give a dowry in accordance with his means, it is a mitzvah for him and he should do so (Ket. 68a; Sh. Ar., EH 58:1 and 71:1, Rema, ad loc. n. 4). On the father's death, and in the absence of a testamentary disposition depriving his daughter of a dowry, his heirs are bound to give the daughter a dowry based on an assessment of what her father would have given her had he been alive; in the absence of data that might form the basis for such assessment, the heirs have to give her one-tenth of the estate for the purpose of her marriage (see *Succession; Ket. 68a; Sh. Ar., EH 113:2, 10).

CHILDREN ENTITLED TO MAINTENANCE UNTIL A CERTAIN AGE. An opinion that a *takkanah* of the *Sanhedrin (i.e., the *Takkanat Usha*) laid down that the father must maintain his children as long as they are minors (sons until the age of 13 and daughters until 12) was not followed, and the *halakhah* was laid down to the effect that the father's legal obligation is only to maintain his children until they reach the age of six full years (Ket. 49b., 65b; Sh. Ar., EH 71:1); above this age the obligation flows merely from the laws of *ẓedakah*, and, insofar as they are applicable (see above), fulfillment of the obligation will be compulsory. Since it concerns a person's own children, the charitable duty is more stringent in this case than it is with ordinary *ẓedakah*, and therefore the father will be required to exert himself to the utmost in order to satisfy his children's needs (Ket. and Sh. Ar. loc. cit.; Yad, Ishut 12:14, 15:21:17, *Maggid Mishneh*; Sh. Ar., YD 251:4). In the course of time it became apparent that the legal position as described above did not adequately protect the interests of children above six years of age, as the father tried to evade his duty. Hence it was ordained in a *takkanah* of the Chief Rabbinate of Palestine (1944) that the father shall be bound to maintain his sons and daughters until they reach the age of 15 years, provided they have no independent means of support (see Freimann, bibl.).

MAINTENANCE OUT OF THE DECEASED'S ESTATE. The father's obligation to maintain his children is imposed on him as father and terminates upon his death without being transmitted to his heirs as a charge on the estate. Hence the minor heirs cannot demand from the others that they should be maintained out of the estate in addition to their normal share of the legacy; the estate will therefore be divided amongst all the heirs, each of them, regardless of age, being given his rightful share (BB 139a; Sh. Ar., ḤM 286:1). The position is different, however, with regard to the maintenance of the daughters of the deceased. Jewish law excludes daughters from succession to their father's estate when he is survived by sons or their descendants (see *Succession), and instead, in such a case, entitles daughters to be maintained out of the estate until their majority or marriage – whichever comes first – to the same extent as they were entitled during their father's lifetime (i.e., in accordance with their needs; Ket. 52b, 53b; Sh. Ar., EH 112:16). This right of the daughter flows from the conditions of her mother's *ketubbah* as her independent right, and therefore she cannot be deprived of it without her own consent, neither by her father's testamentary disposition nor by her mother's waiver of the respective condition of the *ketubbah* in an agreement with the father, and it remains in force notwithstanding the divorce of her parents (Ket. loc. cit., Yad, Ishut 12:2; 19: 10; *Rema*, EH 112:1). If the assets of the estate are not sufficient to satisfy both the daughters' right of maintenance and the heirs' rights of succession (*nekhasim mu'atim*), the daughters' right takes preference (Ket. 108b; Sh. Ar., EH 112:11); even if the assets of the estate should suffice for both (*nekhasim merubbim*) but there is established reason to fear that the sons might squander them and thus endanger the daughters' maintenance, the court will have power to take any steps it may deem fit for the preservation of the daughters' right (*Rema* loc. cit.).

Custody of Children

The law deals here with the determination of a child's abode, taking into account the responsibility of the parents for his physical and spiritual welfare, his raising, and his education. The rule is that the child's own interest is always the paramount consideration and his custody is a matter of a parental duty rather than a right, it being a right of the child vis-à-vis his parents.

DIFFERENT RULES FOR BOYS AND GIRLS. In pursuance of this rule, the halakhic scholars laid down that children below the age of six years must be in the custody of their mother, since at this tender age they are mainly in need of physical care and attention. Above the age of six, boys must be with their father, since at this age they are in need of education and religious instruction, a task imposed by law upon the father, and girls with their mother ("the daughter must always be with her mother"), since they are in need of her instruction in the ways of modesty (Ket. 102b, 103a; Yad, Ishut, 21:17; Sh. Ar., EH 82:7). As these rules are directed at serving the welfare of the child, the court may diverge from them if in a proper case it considers it necessary in the interests of the child, and even order that he be removed from both his parents and be kept in a place where, in the court's opinion, his interests are better served (*Rema*, EH 82:7; *Pitḥei Teshuvah* ad loc., n. 6, in the name of Radbaz). The custody of the child is a matter not of the rights of the parents but of the rights of the child in respect of his parents. The principle of the matter is that the rule establishing the right that the daughter be always with her mother establishes the daughter's right and not the mother's; similarly in the case of the son until the age of six, it is the son's right which is established and not the father's (Resp. Maharashdam, EH 123; see also Resp. Radbaz, no. 123). As Ereẓ Israel is looked upon as the best possible place for bringing up and educating a Jewish child, his removal abroad will generally not be approved, but the court may nevertheless permit this to the mother or father if it is satisfied that in the circumstances it is necessary in the better interests of the child (PDR 1:103–7, 173–8).

RELATION BETWEEN CUSTODY AND DUTY OF MAINTENANCE. The rules concerning the custody of children have no influence on the parental obligation to maintain them. Hence the fact that the children are with their mother in accordance with these rules does not relieve the father from his obligation to maintain them – whether this is based on law or the rules of *ẓedakah* (Sh. Ar., EH 82:7). Moreover, the mother is not obliged to accept the children inasmuch as, on principle, the duty to take care of them is imposed on the father only; should she therefore refuse to take them, she may send them to him and he will not be entitled to reject them (Yad, Ishut 21:18; Sh. Ar., EH 82:8). However, if a boy above the age of six should be with his mother contrary to law, i.e., without the consent of the father or permission of the court, the father will be entitled to refuse to pay for the boy's maintenance for any period he is not with him (ibid).

ACCESS OF THE NON-CUSTODIAN PARENT. The custodian parent has no right to deprive the other of access to their child, nor the child of access to the other parent, since the child is entitled to derive education and care from both his parents and to maintain his natural tie with both of them, so as not to grow up as if orphaned of one of them. For the purpose of realization of this right of the child, it is incumbent on the parents to come to an understanding between themselves, failing which the court will decide the question of access on the basis of the child's interest rather than those of his parents. Since for each of the parents it is a matter of a duty (not of a right) toward their child, they will not be entitled to make performance of the one's obligation dependent upon performance of the other's. Thus the fact that the mother refuses to allow her son to visit his father, or the father to have access to him, in defiance of an agreement or order of the court to this effect, will not entitle the father to withhold the son's maintenance for as long as the mother persists in her attitude; nor will the mother be entitled to refuse the father access to the child because the father withholds the latter's maintenance (PDR 1:113, 118, 158, 176).

CUSTODY IN CASE OF DEATH OF EITHER OR BOTH PARENTS. In this case too the decisive question is the welfare of the child. On the death of either parent, it is presumed to be best served by leaving the child with the surviving parent, while in principle no special right of custody exists in favor of the parents of the deceased. Only when clearly indicated in the interests of the child, having the regard for all the circumstances including the care of teaching him Torah, will the court order otherwise (PDR 1:65–77). On the death of both parents, custody of the child will generally be given to the grandparents on the side of the parent who would have been entitled to custody had both been alive (*Rema*, EH 82:7 and *Ḥelkat Meḥokek* ad loc., n. 11; Resp. Radbaz no. 123).

AGREEMENTS BETWEEN PARENTS CONCERNING THEIR CHILDREN

An agreement between parents as to maintenance or custody of their child will not avail to affect his rights unless proved to be in his best interest, nor will it preclude him, since he is represented by one parent, from claiming their enforcement against the other. The child is not party to an agreement between the parents, and the rule is that "no obligation can be imposed on a person in his absence" (BM 12a; PDR 2:3). Hence the father, in a claim against him by the child for maintenance, will not escape liability on a plea that he is free of such a liability by virtue of an agreement made with the mother in which she took this liability upon herself (PDR 2:171–7; 5:171, 173). The effect, if any, of such agreement is merely that it may possibly give the father the right to recover from the mother any amount he may have to expend on the child's maintenance, but toward the child it is of no effect (PDR 5:171). Similarly, a divorce agreement in which the mother waives the right to custody of her children below the age of six, or the father to custody of his sons above this age, will not preclude the children from claiming through the other parent that the court should disregard the terms of the agreement and decide the matter in their own best interest only, in the light of all the circumstances. For this purpose, the question of whether the change of his abode may detrimentally affect the child's mental well-being will be a weighty consideration (PDR 1:177) and, in a proper case, if the court considers it just to do so, it will also pay due regard to the child's own wishes (*Ḥelkat Meḥokek* 82, n. 10 and *Ba'er Heitev* ad loc., n. 6). The court's approval of such an agreement will not preclude a fresh approach to the court, owing to the fact that the circumstances have later changed, nor an application for the reconsideration of the case with regard to the child's best interests in the light of such a change (Resp. Radbaz no. 123; PDR 4:332–6).

CHILDREN OF PARENTS WHO ARE NOT BOTH JEWISH

Unless both parents are Jewish, the father has no legal standing in relation to the children, neither as regards maintenance nor custody. If the father is Jewish and the mother not, the child will be considered a non-Jew while, halakhically speaking, the non-Jewish father will not be considered his father (see *Yuḥasin). Since the duty of maintenance, like all other paternal duties, is only imposed on the person halakhically recognized as the father – toward his halakhically recognized child – there is therefore no room for the imposition of any recognized legal obligation incumbent on the father of a child qua father, except if he and the mother are both Jewish. A different, and so far apparently unsupported, opinion was expressed by R. Ben Zion Ouziel (*Mishpetei Uziel*, EH no. 4).

IN THE STATE OF ISRAEL

Matters of child maintenance by Jewish parents are governed by Jewish law (s. 3 of the Family Law Amendment (Maintenance) Law, 1959; see also no. 507/61 in PD 16 (1962), 925, 928; no. 426/65, PD 20, pt. 2 (1966), 21). Other matters, including custody – in the case of Jewish parents – are also governed by Jewish law, except as otherwise provided in the Capacity and Guardianship Law, 1962. For their greater part both the above-mentioned laws are based on principles of Jewish law (see Elon, bibl.), and they regulate the legal position of both parents as regards maintenance and custody of their children even where one parent is a non-Jew.

For the social and ethical relationship between parent and child, see *Family; *Parents, Honor of, on patrilineal descent, see *Reform Judaism.

[Ben-Zion (Benno) Schereschewsky]

FURTHER DEVELOPMENTS IN ISRAELI LAW

Custody and Education – Rights and Obligations of Parents

The Capacity and Guardianship Law, 5722 – 1962 (hereinafter – "the Capacity Law" or "the Law") establishes an Israeli civil arrangement which occasionally contradicts certain principles of Jewish law. While the legal principles of Section 25 of the law, dealing with child custody, do to a certain extent resemble the principles of Jewish law, the general principles underlying the arrangement are in fact different. In addition, Section 79 of the law states that a religious court, such as the rabbinical court, that has jurisdiction in matters pertaining to this law, should employ the principles of the Capacity Law. Section 15 of the Capacity Law provides, inter alia, that the biological parents, who are their child's natural guardians, have a right and duty to educate their child. The nature of this right and duty are analyzed by the Israel Supreme Court in the Nagar case (ST 1/81 *Nagar v. Nagar* 38(1) PD 365, 392–398, per Justice Menachem Elon).

Child Maintenance

According to Section 3 of the Family Law Amendment (Maintenance) Law, 5719 – 1959, (hereinafter – "Maintenance Law"), a person responsible for child maintenance is obligated to do so in accordance with the provisions of personal law applying to that individual; thus, in the case of a Jew the principles of Jewish law would apply. The interpretation given by the civil courts to the father's and mother's obligation to provide for their children under Section 3 of the Maintenance Law, in accordance with "the personal law applicable to them," created greater equality between the respective obligations of the father and the mother to provide for their children. While traditional Jewish law, until less than 300 years ago, placed no obligation on the mother to provide financial support for her children, the interpretation of Israel's Supreme Court, which is Israeli, judge-made law, wrought a change in this situation. A number of obligations included in the overall requirement to provide for the maintenance of Jewish children are governed by the laws of charity (*ẓedakah*), both in terms of their source and in terms of the criterion for obligating a parent or parents to pay them. With respect to these obligations, Justice Kister ruled that the father and mother are equally obligated to bear the cost (CA 166/66 *Goldman v. Goldman*, 20 (2) PD 533). In those instances, the mother and the father are obligated to bear the cost of their children's maintenance in light of their respective financial situations. Even if the father is wealthy, his obligation to pay for his children's maintenance does not exempt the mother from her obligation to share equally in the burden of payments for their children's maintenance, if she is wealthy. This interpretation of the principles of Jewish law reflects a modern innovation. Initially, the mother's obligation was broadened, but in a limited manner. Rabbi Meir Posner extended the mother's responsibility to bear the cost of maintenance for her children (see *Beit Meir*, EH 82.5). However, he held that the mother's responsibility to bear the cost of child maintenance if she is wealthy does not apply if the father or his relatives can bear the expense of such maintenance alone. In his opinion, the father and his relatives have a prior responsibility to bear the maintenance costs themselves. Only when the father and his relatives are unable to bear the full cost, or even part of maintenance, does the wealthy mother bear the responsibility in full or in part. Some years after Justice Kister delivered his innovative ruling that, in the aforementioned circumstances, the mother and father share an equal obligation to bear the cost of maintenance, Rabbi Yisraeli ruled in a similar vein in a decision in the Rabbinic Court of Appeals. In his view, child maintenance costs assessed according to the laws of *ẓedakah* are the responsibility of the father and the mother, to be shared equally (File 5733/39, PDR 9 251, p. 263). Another leading judgment in this context was delivered by Israel Supreme Court Justice Elisha Sheinbaum (CA 591/81 *Portugez v Portugez*, 36 (3) PD) 449). Relying inter alia on the novel formulations of Jewish law articulated by Justice Kister and Rav Yisraeli, Justice Sheinbaum ruled that the father and mother share an equal obligation for child maintenance payments determined in accordance with the laws of *ẓedakah*. With regard to the mother's obligation, he made no distinction between a case in which the father is poor and one in which the father is wealthy. In his opinion, both parents' obligations are established in light of their respective economic ability, and in accordance with the minor's needs. From that time on, that principle became the guiding principle in Supreme Court decisions regarding the obligations of Jewish parents for child maintenance costs based on the laws of *ẓedakah*. (See, e.g., CA 74/80 *Notkovich v. Notkovich*, 37(4) PD 197.)

In one area – child maintenance for small children until the age of six – the obligation to pay a certain basic component of maintenance, called "essential needs," is imposed upon the father alone. In this area, Israeli civil courts have ruled in a manner that shows a trend toward reducing the scope of those "essential needs" to the lowest possible minimum, so as to assure greater equality between father and mother in their obligation to bear the costs of child maintenance. At an earlier stage Justice Sheinbaum defined "essential needs" as the basic needs necessary for the child's actual sustenance (see *Portugez*, ibid). Years later, Family Court Judge Yehoshua Gaiffman ruled that the definition of "essential needs" should be restricted so as to engender greater equality between father and mother with respect to child maintenance obligations. According to this approach, the "essential needs" are not the child's various vital needs. Rather, they consist of those basic needs, the satisfaction of which is necessary for his very existence. (FF (Tel Aviv) 31980/96 *Anon. v. Anon.*; FF (Tel Aviv) 82010/96 *Sa'ar v. Hefer*). Nevertheless, the sources of Jewish law do not provide any such definition of "essential needs." In full awareness and intentionally, Israeli civil rulings offer their own interpretation of child maintenance rules in Jewish law. Judge Gaiffman stated, "Jewish law's rules of fairness are a normative framework that must be filled with content, and not a framework incapable of change" (Sa'ar case, ibid). As a result of the limitation of the scope of "essential needs" which are imposed exclusively on the father, the remaining needs, excluded from the category of "essential needs," are governed by the principles of charity, thus creating an equal obligation for both parents.

Israeli legislation also intervened to engender greater equality between Jewish fathers and mothers in the area of child maintenance in Israeli civil courts. In 1981, Section 3A was added to the Family Law Amendment (Maintenance) Law, 5719 – 1959. This section stated that: "(a) The father and mother of a minor are liable for his maintenance. (b) Irrespective of who has charge of the minor, his maintenance is due from his parents in proportion to their respective incomes from any source." The application of this section was supposed to be independent of the rules of the personal law of the parent obliged to pay child maintenance. Where the parent is Jewish, even in cases where the principles of Jewish law stipulate an unequal division of the obligation to pay child maintenance, Section 3A of the law mandates a deviation from these principles so as to create greater equality between the father and mother in the obligation to provide child maintenance. Opinions of both scholars and Supreme Court justices were divided regarding the application of Section 3A to Jews who have their own personal law. There are those who argue that Section 3A does not apply to Jews and other segments of the population who are subject to a specific personal status law, while others disagree. (See the reference to this question in the *Portugez* ruling, ibid).

The Best Interest of the Child

The influence of the views of professional experts in behavioral sciences regarding the concept of "the best interest of the child" is now felt in Israeli rabbinical courts. When parents divorce and fail to reach agreement on child custody, Israeli rabbinical courts were directed by the Israeli Chief Rabbinate to decide custody by requesting expert opinions from psychologists or social workers. These opinions evaluate the best interest of the child in the specific circumstances of the case, making specific and practical recommendations concerning custody that give expression to that interest. (ST 1/60 *Winter v. Be'eri*, 15 PD 1457. This decision, delivered by Dayyan E. Goldsmith, was also printed in Resp. Ezer Mishpat (1994), 28, p. 339). These experts' recommendations are based on prevalent contemporary conceptions, which are the product of analysis of research findings in the behavioral sciences. In addition, the decisions of rabbinical courts reflect the importance ascribed by the rabbinic courts to the stance of the experts in their recommendations to the court (PDR 11, 153). As mentioned, the *dayyanim* operate in accordance with the guidelines issued by Israel's Chief Rabbinate, which instructed them to request an opinion from social welfare officials where divorcing parents have not reached an agreement regarding the custody of the children (see Winter case, above). Dayyan Goldschmidt explained that the halakhic basis for the Chief Rabbinate's directive is the obligation incumbent upon *dayyanim* who decide custody cases to determine what is in the best interest of the child in question – an obligation that stems from the court's role as "the father of orphans" (BK 37a; *Winter* case, ibid).

The social worker's evaluation and recommendation is important because of the great weight assigned by Israel's rabbinic courts to the principle of the best interest of the child when deciding issues of custody. According to Dayyan Goldschmidt, this is the overriding and exclusive principle (the Winter case, ibid; File 5714/226, PDR I, 145, 157; Appeal 5719/170, PDR 3, 353, 358; Appeal 5740/182, PDR 11, 366, 368–369). A similar view is found in the rulings of other *dayyanim* who ruled that the principle of the best interest of the child is the decisive consideration in matters of child custody. Among these are Rabbi E.Y. Waldenberg (*Resp. Ẓiẓ Eliezer* 17 §50) and *dayyanim* of the Rabbinic Court of Appeals in a panel that included Chief Rabbis Herzog and Ouziel, and Dayyan Shabbetai (Collection of Rulings of the Chief Rabbinate of Eretz Israel, Rabbinical Court of Appeals, vol. 2 (5745 – 1985).

This stance also finds expression in a ruling of Supreme Court Justice Menachem Elon in the *Nir* case (LCA 458/79 *Nir v. Nir*, 35(1) PD 518, 523–524), where he wrote as follows:

> It seems to me that not only is there no substantive difference between the approaches of these two legal systems [i.e., the rabbinical courts and the civil courts], but in fact, I tend to believe that, even from the perspective of the burden of proof,

> there is no significant difference between them. In both systems, the principal and general rule is that in each and every case the court is obliged, at its own initiative, to examine the best interest of the child, and it may not rely upon any of the various assumptions, and rule on that basis alone without further examination.

Corporal Punishment

When a parent or teacher resorts to corporal punishment, and claims to have employed that method for educational purposes, a defense plea frequently raised in Israel in the past was that a parent or teacher does not bear either criminal responsibility or responsibility in torts for such an action, since parents and educators are authorized to punish children for the sake of their education and/or for imposing discipline and authority on them, including the imposition of corporal punishment, when such punishment is "reasonable" (Cr. A 7/53 *Rassi v. Attorney General of the State of Israel*, 7 PD, 790, 793–794).

The Supreme Court ruling in the *Anon.* case (CA 4596/98 *Anon. v. State of Israel*, 54(1) PD 145, per Justice Dorit Beinish) reflects a new trend toward the protection of the child from injury at the hands of parents or educators who administer corporal punishment. This ruling displays the influence of studies by experts in the behavioral sciences indicating the unfortunate results of all forms of corporal punishment, even in its "mild" form. Those studies indicate that children who were subjected to "mild" corporal punishment subsequently suffered from psychological problems, whether in childhood or in their adult years. The use of any form of corporal punishment causes damage. Justice Beinish intentionally chose the path of judicial activism. The policy she laid down proscribed all use of corporal punishment for educational purposes. According to her ruling, even "mild" corporal punishment is generally forbidden, and only in exceptional and unusual circumstances is it permitted.

The Supreme Court's ruling in this matter provoked public controversy over the extent to which, if at all, Justice Beinish's stance is at variance with the position of Jewish law on the question of corporal punishment for educational purposes. In this context, it was argued that the Supreme Court's position contradicts the general approach of Jewish law, as expressed in the verse, "He who spares the rod hates his son, but he who loves him disciplines him early" (Prov. 13:24). In fact, legislation was proposed, attempting to cancel the effect of the aforementioned ruling: ("He Who Spares the Rod Hates His Son" (Permission for Educational Punishment) Draft Bill 5760 – 2000, Knesset Proceedings 37 (5760), 10071–10072). However, there were also other views on this matter. Before Justice Beinish's ruling, when addressing the question of the punishment of an older child, Rabbi Jehiel Jakob Weinberg wrote that, under the circumstances, corporal punishment for educational purposes should be opposed, having consideration inter alia for the stance of "the modern pedagogues" (Resp. Seridei Esh, vol 3. no. 95). Furthermore, Rabbi Yitzhak Levi based his own negative view of the use of corporal punishment upon a number of considerations, among them the contemporary, negative view of corporal punishment for educational purposes taken by professional experts – an attitude that also finds expression in Israeli civil law. In view of all the relevant considerations, including his analysis of Jewish law sources, he concluded that such punishment produces results diametrically opposed to the intent of those administering it; it leads to rebellion and hatred, and is liable to cause damage to children. Thus, in his opinion, "we should totally avoid any kind of hitting" (see bibliography, Levi, p. 158). The same view also finds expression in the writings of scholars of Jewish law. Some of them stress that Jewish law's treatment of corporal punishment for educational purposes has established a ramified complex of limitations and restrictions that restrain it and even make it difficult to implement (see bibliography, Shmueli, 374). Similarly, there were those who argued that Justice Beinish's position is not far from the basic position of contemporary Jewish law regarding corporal punishment. Their claim is that the qualified permission granted for corporal punishment constituted isolated exceptions in Jewish law, which was in fact moving toward a clear preference for education by more peaceful and pleasant methods, while stressing the inherent dangers of corporal punishment. In their view, this trend has gained increasing acceptance, especially during the last few decades. Furthermore, it may be assumed that this tendency will become increasingly predominant, in view of the trend towards attributing cardinal importance to the best interest of the child in responsa literature and recent decisions of rabbinic judges. Another factor promoting and reinforcing this process is that many of the *dayyanim* and *posekim* interpret the best interest of the child in light of the opinions of social workers and psychologists who are influenced by the findings of research in the behavioral sciences. This research includes studies that demonstrate the psychological damage caused by corporal punishment for educational purposes (see bibliography, Kaplan, *Ha-Megamah*).

[Yehiel Kaplan (2nd ed.)]

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PARENTS, HONOR OF (Heb. כִּבּוּד אָב וָאֵם; lit. "the honoring of father and mother"), the fifth commandment in the *Decalogue. The importance attached by the Bible to this precept is apparent from the fact that the declared reward for its observance is the lengthening of "thy days … upon the land which the Lord thy God giveth thee" (Ex. 20:12). The rabbis also emphasized that the observer of this commandment would enjoy reward both in this world and in the next (Pe'ah 1:1). Viewing it as a reflection of the godliness in man, they declared that the Bible equated the honor due to parents with that due to God (Ex. 20:12; Prov. 3:9) since "there are three partners in man, the Holy One blessed be He, the father, and the mother." According to the rabbis, when a man honors his father and his mother, God declares, "I ascribe merit to them as though I had dwelt among them and they had honored Me" (Kid. 30b). Further, they stated that since a child intuitively honors his mother more than his father because she is usually kinder to him, the Pentateuch placed the honor of the father before that of the mother (Ex. 20:12). A child, however, fears his father more than his mother, and the Pentateuch accordingly placed the fear of the mother before that of the father (Lev. 19:3; Kid. 30b–31a).

If his parents are in need, the son fulfills the commandment by sustaining them with such items as food, drink, clothing, and blankets, and guides them in old age. Fear of parents is to be expressed in that the son must neither stand nor sit in their usual place, contradict them nor support their opponents in a scholarly dispute (Kid. 31b; Rashi ad loc.). During the first 12 months after his father's death, the son should say, "Thus said my father, my teacher, for whose resting place may I be an atonement." After the initial 12 months, the son says, "His memory be for a blessing, for the life of the world to come" (Kid. 31b). The rabbis differed concerning the monetary expenses to which the son was obliged to go in fulfillment of the fifth commandment. One viewpoint was that the father had to reimburse the son for his actual expenditure, but not for his loss of time. Another opinion was that it was always at the son's personal expense. The *halakhah* declared that the *mitzvah* must be fulfilled at the father's expense, the son, however, being obliged to utilize his own funds when his father was impoverished (Kid. 32a; Sh. Ar., YD 240:5). Receiving great emphasis is the gracious attitude which the son must display in discharging this obligation. It was stated that a son may give his father pheasants as food and yet this act, if performed begrudgingly, will cause the son to lose his portion in the world to come. Yet another may gain the world to come by requesting, in a spirit of kindness and respect, that his father undertake difficult work such as grinding flour in a mill (Kid. 32a; TJ, Kid. 1:7, 61b). A father, however, could renounce the honor due to him and thereby relieve his son of his responsibilities (Kid. 32a). The rabbis held that this commandment had been revealed to the Jews at Marah (Ex. 15:25), before the revelation at Sinai (Sanh. 56b). Individuals, whether Jew or gentile, who excelled in the performance of this precept were praised. The heathen Dama, son of Netina of Ashkelon, refused to awaken his father although he needed the key that was lying under his father's pillow to conclude a transaction which would have brought him a profit of 600,000 gold coins (Kid. 31a). When R. Tarfon's mother wished to climb into bed, he would bend down to let her ascend by stepping upon him. R. Joseph, on hearing his mother's footsteps, would say, "I will arise before the approaching *Shekhinah*" (Kid. 31a–b). Married women were exempted from fulfilling this precept if it conflicted with their husband's wishes (Kid. 30b; Sh. Ar., YD 240:17). A child was obligated to honor his stepfather, stepmother, and eldest brother (Ket. 103a; Sh. Ar., YD 240:21, 22). It is not permitted for a child to transgress a prohibition at his father's request since both father and son are obligated to observe the divine commandments (Yev. 6a).

For legal obligations see *Parent and Child.

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[Aaron Rothkoff]

PARENZO, 16th–17th-century family of Hebrew printers in Venice. JACOB (d. 1546) had come to Venice from Parenzo, on the Dalmatian coast of Italy, whence the family name, but was probably of German origin. His son MEIR (d. 1575) probably learned the printing trade at the Bomberg press, where he worked together with Cornelio *Adelkind in 1545, and his own productions compare favorably in beauty and elegance with those of his masters. Parenzo worked for some time as a typesetter and corrector at the press owned by Carlo Querini. During 1546–48 he worked on his own, publishing five works, and later an edition of the Mishnah with Bertinoro's commentary for Querini, although from about 1550 his main work was with Alvise *Bragadini. The Parenzos used various *printer's marks: Meir, a seven-branch *menorah*, and a rather daring design with Venus directing arrows at a seven-headed dragon; and his brother, ASHER, a mountain rising from the sea, with a laurel wreath above and a flying eagle at the left. Meir's *colophons abound in editions prepared by him. In 1547 the great French engraver and typecutter Guillaume *Le Bé, and later Jacob of Mantua, produced Hebrew type for him. At Meir's death (1575), his brother Asher took over working for the Venetian printer Giovanni di *Gara, as well as for Bragadini, until 1596. GERSHON BEN MOSES, probably a nephew of Meir and Asher, descendants of Jacob Parenzo, worked for the Venetian printer Giovanni di Gara during 1599–1609 as did his son Moses in 1629.

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PARḤON, SALOMON BEN ABRAHAM IBN (12th century), lexicographer. Born in Qal'a, Spain, he was a student of Judah *Halevi and Abraham *Ibn Ezra. Parḥon immigrated to

Italy, where in 1160 at Salerno he completed his *Maḥberet he-Arukh*, a biblical lexicon written in Hebrew and his only extant work. On the one hand, the title is reminiscent of Menaḥem b. Jacob ibn *Saruq's dictionary and, on the other, of Nathan b. *Jehiel's. *He-Arukh* comprises the whole of medieval Hebrew lexicography after *Ibn Janaḥ and is, as Parḥon states in his introduction, an epitome of Ibn Janaḥ's *Book of Roots* (*Sefer ha-Shorashim*, 1896). Parḥon also acknowledges the use of excerpts from Ibn Janaḥ's other books and from Judah b. David *Ḥayyuj, the Hebrew translator of Ibn Janaḥ's *Book of Roots*. Ten years after Parḥon's dictionary appeared Judah ibn *Tibbon claimed it was merely a plagiarism of Ibn Janaḥ's lexicon. However, this claim is unjust because in addition to the necessity of taking into consideration the rather liberal medieval attitude toward utilizing the works of others, *Maḥberet he-Arukh* contains original material in its own right. For example, material pertaining to the development of religious ritual, which is of considerable historical interest, and original explanations of biblical passages are found in the work. The introduction to the dictionary comprises a compendium of biblical Hebrew grammar and terminates with a short excursus on medieval Hebrew prosody. Its appendix (appearing immediately after the introduction in S.G. Stern's 1844 edition) is entitled "About biblical matters, as to which one has to dispel one's doubts," and deals with problems of style and syntax following Ibn Janaḥ's *Kitab al-luma'* (*Sefer ha-Rikmah*, 1964). The major importance of *Maḥberet he-Arukh*, however, was that, being written in Hebrew, it transferred to Christian countries the advances in Hebrew philology made under the influence of Arabic linguists in Spain. In his introduction Parḥon asserts this to be one of his aims since he found that in Italy only the *Maḥberet* of Menaḥem ibn Saruq was known. Accordingly, he followed the example of his teacher, Abraham Ibn Ezra, the most important popularizer of Spanish scholarship in Christian lands. The *Maḥberet he-Arukh* became an extremely popular work, not least because of the fluency, lucidity, and purity of Parḥon's Hebrew style, a style befitting a pupil of Abraham Ibn Ezra.

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[Yehuda Elitzur]

PARIENTE, Moroccan family of Spanish origin. JACOB (early to mid-16th century) was a leader of the community of Spanish exiles in *Fez, a signatory of its *takkanot*, and a liturgical poet. A tradition holds that he was king of that part of Morocco called the Rif. ABRAHAM (early to mid-16th century) represented the *Safi community before David *Reubeni in Portugal. The wealthy merchant and diplomat SOLOMON (mid-17th century) served as interpreter and negotiator for four English governors in Tangiers and leader of its Jewish community. In additon to extensive commercial negotiations, Pariente also negotiated a peace treaty in which he is suspected of inserting a clause favoring the Moors. In 1662 he apparently supported King Mulay Muhammad b. al-Sharīf, though not his successor Mulay al-*Rashīd. The merchant JACOB (mid-17th century) served as the interpreter for Roland Frejus on his voyages from Marseilles to Morocco in 1666 and 1671. He helped increase the commercial ties between the two countries by means of his friendship with Aaron Carsinet, the Jewish goldsmith and banker of Mulay al-Rashīd. The descendants of JUDAH BEN ABRAHAM (late 18th century) of Rabat founded the Pariente bank in Tangiers, which was important until the mid-20th century. In the early 20th century the philanthropist JOSEPH lived in Tangiers and SAMUEL was a Hebrew scholar and collector of antiquities and manuscripts in Tetuán.

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PARIS, capital of *France. In 582, the date of the first documentary evidence of the presence of Jews in Paris, there was already a community owning at least a synagogue, situated in the neighborhood of the present church of St. Julien le Pauvre. The murder of the Jew *Priscus, purveyor to King Chilperic, was avenged by a Christian mob – proof of the good relationship existing between the two religious groups. However, the sixth Council of Paris (614 or 615) decided that Jews who held public office, and their families, must convert to Christianity. When giving the council's decisions the force of law, King Clothaire II ignored the baptism clause, reiterating the ban on Jews holding public office and laying down severe penalties for any breach of this. Although these two documents are proof not only that there were Jews living in Paris but also that their social standing was high, there is no reason to believe that one Solomon, who is mentioned as a toll-collector in Paris in 633, was a Jew or even an apostate. In the tenth and 11th centuries the Jews appear to have lived in the present Rue de la Harpe, between the Rue de la Huchette and Rue Saint Sévérin, and a street later known as the Rue de la Vieille Juiverie which lies between Rue Saint Sévérin and Rue Monsieur le Prince. In the tenth century a synagogue stood at the intersection of these two streets. From 1119 at the latest there was a *Jewish quarter, the *vicus Judaeorum*, situated right in the center of Paris on the Ile de la Cité; its boundaries were the present Rue de la Cité (the central part of which was called Rue des Juifs), the Quai de la Corse, and the Rue de Lutèce. The synagogue, which was 8 meters wide and 31 meters long, was built on the site of the present Marché aux Fleurs; after the expulsion of 1182 it was converted into the St. Madeleine Church. According to Rigord, biographer of Philip Augustus and one of the sources of *Joseph ha-Kohen's *Emek ha-Bakha*, Paris Jews owned about half the land in Paris and the vicinity. They employed many Christian servants, and the objects they took in pledge included even church vessels; jealousy of their prosperity gave rise to the rumor that they used the latter as wine goblets at table.

Far more portentous was the *blood libel which arose against the Jews of *Blois in 1171, appeared simultaneously in a number of other places, and reached the region of Paris. Even though *Louis VII, in answer to the intervention of the leaders of the Paris community, promised to take care that no similar accusation arose in the future and above all that no persecution resulted from it, he was unable to prevent this slander from being deeply engrained in the public mind, even among children. Thus Philip Augustus was told by a playmate when he was only six years old that Jews killed Christian children; according to his biographer, the hatred he conceived at this time was the origin of his expulsion order of 1182. On this occasion, the crown confiscated the houses of the Jews as well as the synagogue and the king gave 24 of them to the drapers of Paris and 18 to the furriers.

Rabbinical questions were addressed to the scholars of Paris from Rome around 1125. About 20 years later the rabbis of Paris took part in a *synod convened by *Solomon b. Meir (Rashbam) and Jacob b. Meir *Tam. In the second half of the 12th century Mattathias Gaon was head of a yeshivah in Paris; his son was the *posek* Jehiel. Among the other scholars of Paris before 1182 were the tosafists Yom Tov and *Ḥayyim b. Hananel ha-Kohen, the commentator Moses, the *posek* Elijah b. Judah, and Jacob b. Simeon, known for his activities in various fields. That the secular sciences were also studied is attested by the 12th-century epitaph (discovered in the 15th century) of one Zour, physician and astrologer. This stone points to the existence of a Jewish cemetery in Rue Pierre Sarrazin, behind Rue de la Harpe.

When the Jews were permitted to return to the kingdom of France in 1198 they settled in Paris in and around the present Rue Ferdinand Duval, which, coincidentally, became the Jewish quarter once again in the modern era. Around the end of the 12th century they lived especially in the present Rue de Moussy, Rue du Renard Saint Merry, Rue de la Tacherie, and on the Petit Pont; they were probably restricted to the Petit Pont in 1294, the date when residence in Jewish quarters became obligatory. However, the number of streets in Paris where Jews actually lived in the Middle Ages, as well as places named after them (Moulin aux Juifs, Ile aux Juifs, Cour de la Juiverie, etc.), was actually much greater; an exhaustive study of the Jewish settlement in Paris with precise dates is still lacking. The first scholarly history of Paris, written by Henri Sauval (1623–1676), barrister in the *parlement* of Paris, contained an important chapter devoted to the Jews (vol. 2, book 10, 508–32). Although permission to publish the *Histoire de Paris* was granted in 1654, it was not in fact published until 1724.

In the reign of *Louis IX, after the denunciations of Nicholas *Donin and Pope Gregory IX's order that Jewish books be examined, the famous *disputation on the Talmud was held in Paris in 1240. The Jewish delegation was led by *Jehiel b. Joseph of Paris. After the condemnation of the Talmud, 24 cart-loads of Jewish books were burned in public in the Place de Grève, now the Place de l'Hôtel de Ville (see *Talmud, Burning of). A Jewish moneylender called Jonathan was accused of desecrating the *Host in 1290, his supposed crime being revealed by various miracles. A commemorative chapel was speedily erected on the site of this alleged desecration (of which not only Jonathan and his family but also the whole Jewish community were accused) and the tale was spread in stories and pictures. It is said that this was the main cause of the expulsion of 1306.

Tax rolls of the Jews of Paris in 1292 and 1296 give a good picture of their economic and social status. One striking fact is that a great many of them originated from the provinces. In spite of the prohibition on the settlement of Jews expelled from England (1290), a number of recent arrivals from that country are listed. As in many other places, the profession of physician figures most prominently among the professions noted. The majority of the rest of the Jews engaged in *moneylending and commerce. In the space of only four years, as witnessed by the amount of the tax imposed on them, the Jews became considerably impoverished. During the same period the composition of the Jewish community, which numbered at least 100 heads of families, changed to a large extent through migration and the number also declined to a marked degree. One of the most illustrious Jewish scholars of medieval France, *Judah b. Isaac, known as Sir Leon of Paris, headed the yeshivah of Paris in the early years of the 13th century. He was succeeded by Jehiel b. Joseph, the Jewish leader at the 1240 disputation. After the wholesale destruction of Jewish books on this occasion until the expulsion of 1306, the yeshivah of Paris produced no more scholars of note.

After the return in 1315 the number of Jews who settled in the city and region of Paris – to judge from their contribution to the enormous fine imposed on the Jews of France a year before the expulsion of 1322 – was little greater than those who had lived there before. However, these few were left untouched by both the *Pastoureaux persecutions and accusations of having poisoned the wells. Relative to this community, the new one formed in Paris from 1359 was quite large. Notables of this period included *Manessier de Vesoul, *procureur-général* and *commissaire* of the Jews of Langue-d'oyl; his associate *Jacob of Pont-Sainte-Maxence; Mattathias b. Joseph, chief rabbi of France and head of the yeshivah (1360–85); and his successor, his son Jonathan, whose authority was contested by one of his father's former pupils, Isaiah b. Abba Mari, also known as Astruc de Savoy. Although Hugues Aubriot, the provost of Paris, took the Jews under his protection, this was to no avail against the murderous attacks and looting in 1380 and 1382 perpetrated by a populace in revolt against the tax burden. King Charles VI relieved the Jews of responsibility for the valuable pledges which had been stolen from them on this occasion and granted them other financial concessions; but the community was unable to recover from those blows, either financially or in number. Not many years later, in 1394, it was further struck by the Denis de *Machaut affair. Machaut, a Jewish convert to Christianity, had disappeared and the Jews were accused of having murdered him or, at the very least, of having imprisoned him until he agreed to return to Judaism. Seven Jewish notables were condemned to death, but their sentence was commuted to a heavy fine allied to imprisonment until Machaut reappeared. This affair was a prelude to the "definitive" expulsion of the Jews from France in 1394.

There is no evidence of Jews in Paris, not even of lone individuals, in the 15th and 16th centuries. In 1611 the physician Elijah of Montalto was called to the court of Marie de Médicis; though he had some contact with Concini, Marshal of Ancre, and his mistress L. Galigaï, there is no reason for supposing that either of these was a Jew. Still less should the old clothes dealers of Paris be taken for secret Jews just because their guild was known as the "synagogue"; in 1652 they murdered a citizen who used this term with reference to them. From the beginning of the 18th century the Jews of *Metz applied to the authorities for permission to enter Paris on their business pursuits; gradually the periods of their stay in the capital increased and were prolonged. At the same time the city saw the arrival of Jews from *Bordeaux (the "Portuguese") and from *Avignon. From 1721 to 1772 a police inspector was given special charge over the Jews, an office which the successive holders used to extort what they could from them in money and goods. After the discontinuation of the office, the trustee of the Jews from 1777 was Jacob Rodrigues *Péreire, a Jew from Bordeaux, who had charge over a group of Spanish and Portuguese Jews, while the German Jews (from Metz, Alsace, and Lorraine) were led by Moses Eliezer Liefman *Calmer, and those from Avignon by Israel Salom. The German Jews lived in the poor quarters of Saint-Martin and Saint-Denis, and those from Bordeaux, *Bayonne, and Avignon inhabited the more luxurious quarters of Saint Germain and Saint André. Large numbers of the Jews eked out a miserable living in peddling and selling secondhand clothes and rags. The more well-to-do were moneylenders, military purveyors (especially of horses), and traded in jewels. There were also some craftsmen among them: jewelers, painters, engravers, designers, and embroiderers. Inns preparing kosher food existed from 1721; these also served as prayer rooms since otherwise services could only be held in private houses – in either case strictly forbidden by the police. From at least 1736 an innkeeper from La Villette allowed his garden to be used for burials; after 1780 the Portuguese community acquired an adjoining plot of land which could officially be used for a cemetery. Soon after the Ashkenazim also acquired a cemetery, in Montrouge. Neither continued in use for very long but both were still in existence in 1971. The first publicly acknowledged synagogue was opened in Rue de Brisemiche in 1788. The number of Jews in Paris just before the Revolution was probably no greater than 500. On Aug. 26, 1789 they presented the Constituent Assembly with a petition asking for the rights of citizens. The Paris commune came to the defense of its Jewish residents, sending a deputation to the assembly to plead for them; full citizenship rights were granted to the Spanish, Portuguese, and Avignon Jews on Jan. 28, 1790.

After the freedom of movement brought about by emancipation, a large influx of Jews arrived in Paris, numbering 2,908 in 1809. These Jews were exempt from the general Jewish disabilities imposed by *Napoleon in 1808. Most of them lived in the present third and fourth *arrondissements*. In 1819, when the Jewish population of Paris had reached between 6,000 and 7,000 persons, the *consistory began to build the first Great Synagogue, in Rue Notre Dame de Nazareth. It stood for no more than 30 years and had barely been rebuilt when, in 1852 (the year of the foundation of the Rothschild Hospital), it became apparent that it was not large enough for a Jewish population which had reached 20,000. General difficulties beset the building of new synagogues (those in Rue de la Victoire and Rue des Tournelles were completed in 1877), but local difficulties led to the transfer of the Rabbinical Seminary of Metz to Paris in 1859. The consistory had established its first primary school in 1819; a second school was added in 1846, and three others between 1864 and 1867. At the same time charitable associations increased; their buildings frequently also served as prayer rooms for immigrant Jews. The capital was the seat of the Central Consistory of France (as well as the Consistory of Paris) and from 1860 of the *Alliance Israélite Universelle. Two Jewish journals serving all France were published in Paris: *L'Univers Israélite* and the *Archives Israélites*. The 30,000 or so Jews who lived in Paris in 1869 constituted about 40% of the Jewish population of France. The great majority originated from Metz, Alsace, Lorraine, and Germany, and there were already a few hundred from Poland. Apart from a very few wealthy capitalists, the great majority of the Jews belonged to the middle economic level. Alongside the peddlers, merchants, and dealers in secondhand goods, the proportion of craftsmen – painters, hat-makers, tailors, and shoemakers – was increasing. Many organizations and societies – the first dating from 1825 – encouraged young Jewish men and women to acquire an aptitude for and pride in manual work. The liberal professions also attracted numerous Jews; the community included an increasing number of professors, lawyers, and physicians.

With the loss of Alsace and Lorraine in 1871, the Jewish population of France numbered only 60,000 persons, almost two-thirds of whom lived in Paris. After 1881 their numbers were augmented by refugees from Poland, Russia, and the Slav provinces of Austria and Romania; this influx led to a noticeable increase in the percentage of manual workers among Parisian Jews. At the same time there was a marked increase in the antisemitic movement, particularly with the foundation of the journal La *Croix in 1883 and the agitation of E.A. *Drumont. The *Dreyfus affair, from 1894, split the intellectuals of Paris into "Dreyfusards" and "anti-Dreyfusards" who frequently clashed on the streets, especially in the Latin Quarter. With the law separating church and state in 1905, the Jewish consistories lost their official status, becoming no more than private religious associations. The growing numbers of Jewish immigrants to Paris resented the heavy hand of a consistory, which was largely under the control of Jews from Alsace and Lorraine, now a minority group.

These immigrants formed the greater part of the 13,000 “foreign” Jews who enlisted in World War I. Especially after 1918, Jews began to arrive from North Africa, Turkey, and the Balkans, and in greatly increased numbers from Eastern Europe. Thus in 1939 there were around 150,000 Jews in Paris (over half the total in France), the overwhelming majority Yiddish-speaking recent immigrants. The Jews lived all over the city but there were large concentrations in the north and east. More than 150 Landsmannschaften composed of immigrants from Eastern Europe and many charitable societies united large numbers of Jews, while at this period the Paris Consistory (which retained the name with its changed function) had no more than 6,000 members. Only one of the 19th-century Jewish primary schools was still in existence in 1939, but a few years earlier the system of Jewish education – which was strictly private in nature – acquired a secondary school and a properly supervised religious education, for which the consistory was responsible, in the synagogues, prayer rooms, and also in a few state high schools. As well as the French Jewish journals, the Yiddish press became increasingly important. Many great Jewish scholars were born and lived in Paris in the modern period. They included the Nobel prizewinners René *Cassin and A. *Lwoff. In the plastic arts Jews played an especially prominent part in the School of *Paris.

[Bernhard Blumenkranz]

Hebrew Printing

The first books containing Hebrew type issued in Paris were printed by A. Gourmont from 1508; and other works were printed during the next half-century. Robert Stephanus produced particularly beautiful Bibles between 1539 and 1556. Hebrew printing was resumed in 1620 by S. Cramoisy. When Louis XIII established a printing press in 1640, it had a Hebrew department of which, however, little use was subsequently made. Under Napoleon I the printer Setier issued some liturgical items. From the middle of the 19th century until the present day the firm of E. Durlacher, the first Jewish printer in Paris, has printed mainly liturgies.

Holocaust Period

On June 14, 1940, the Wehrmacht entered Paris, which was proclaimed an open city. Most Parisians left, including the Jews. However, the population returned in the following weeks. The German-imposed census of Jewish persons and businesses in November 1940 recorded a total of 149,734 Jews (over six years of age), 7,737 Jewish businesses (private), and 3,456 companies considered Jewish. The Jewish population figure was similar to the prewar one, but large numbers of Parisian Jews had preferred to remain in the southern, unoccupied French territory and a sizable number of well-known Jews fled to England and the U.S. (André *Maurois, Georges Gombault, Pierre Lazareff), while some, e.g., René *Cassin and Gaston Palewski, joined General De Gaulle’s Free French movement in London. In August 1940 a number of Jewish shops on the Champs Elysées were stoned by French Nazis under German protection. The anti-Jewish measures which followed (see *France, Holocaust Period) first affected the Parisian Jews. Jews were active from the very first in Résistance movements. The march to the Etoile on Nov. 11, 1940, of high school and university students, the first major public manifestation of resistance, included among its organizers Francis Cohen, Suzanne Djian, and Bernard Kirschen (see also *Partisans, Jewish, in General Resistance in France).

The first major roundups of Parisian Jews of foreign nationality took place in 1941: about 5,000 “foreign” Jews were deported on May 14, about 8,000 “foreigners” in August, and about 100 “intellectuals” on December 13. On July 16, 1942, 12,884 Jews were rounded up in Paris (including about 4,000 children). The Parisian Jews represented over half the 85,000 Jews deported from France to extermination camps in the East; most of them were sent to Compiègne or *Drancy and from there to *Auschwitz, while about three convoys, in March 1943, were despatched to *Majdanek and one transport, in May 1944, to Kovno (*Kaunas). During the night of Oct. 2–3, 1941, seven Parisian synagogues were attacked. After an attempt to place the blame on the Jews themselves, it rapidly transpired that the attacks were instigated by the German SD (security police) in Paris (see *Gestapo) and carried out by French Fascists, led by Eugène Deloncle, with explosives supplied by the SD. *SS-Brigadefuehrer* Max Thomas, R.T. *Heydrich’s representative to Belgium and France, was then recalled to Berlin, but his Paris subordinate, *Standarten-fuehrer* Helmut Knochen, kept his position and was even promoted.

Several scores of Jews fell in the Paris insurrection in August 1944. Many streets in Paris and the outlying suburbs bear the names of Jewish heroes and martyrs of the Holocaust period and the Memorial to the Unknown Jewish Martyr, a part of the *Centre de Documentation Juive Contemporaire, was erected in 1956 in the heart of Paris.

[Lucien Steinberg]

Contemporary Period

In 1968 Paris and its suburbs contained about 60% of the Jewish population of France. Between 1945 and 1950 the Jewish population of the area grew from 125,000 to 150,000, and in 1968 it was estimated at between 300,000 and 350,000 (about 5% of the total population). In 1950 two-thirds of the Jews were concentrated in about a dozen of the poorer or commercial districts in the east of the city. The social and economic advancement of the second generation of East European immigrants, the influx of North Africans, and the gradual implementation of the urban renewal program caused a considerable change in the once Jewish districts and the dispersal of the Jews throughout other districts of Paris. The greatest change took place in the neighborhoods that in 1956–57 were still inhabited by artisans and small traders of East European origin. By 1968 the inhabitants of these neighborhoods had been replaced by the most impoverished of the North African immigrants. Between 1945 and 1968, the urbanization of the Paris region became accelerated. In 1941 10% of the Jews of Paris resided in the inner suburbs of the city; by 1966 about 20% were living outside the city limits. North African Jews were partly relocated in the large housing developments reserved for repatriated citizens. Between 1957 and 1966 the number of Jewish communities in the Paris region rose from 44 to 148. Like other suburban inhabitants, the Jews were employed mostly in Paris.

Paris is the center of Jewish activities in France, as all the major institutions have their headquarters there. The Paris Consistory, traditionally presided over by a member of the *Rothschild family, officially provides for all religious needs. Approximately 20 synagogues and meeting places for prayer observing Ashkenazi or Sephardi (North African) rites are affiliated with the consistory, which also provides for the religious needs of new communities in the suburbs. This responsibility is shared by traditional Orthodox elements, who, together with the Reform and other independent groups, maintain another 30 or so synagogues. The Orientation and Information Office of the Fonds Social Juif Unifié has advised or assisted over 100,000 refugees from North Africa. It works in close cooperation with government services and social welfare and educational institutions of the community. The numerous educational and cultural activities of various kinds include efforts to draw young people and intellectuals back into the Jewish community. From 1957 the *World Jewish Congress held an annual French-language colloquium of intellectuals. The Centre Universitaire d'Etudes Juives (CUEJ) exists for the purpose of introducing university students to Jewish culture. Paris was one of very few cities in the Diaspora with a full-fledged Israel-type school, conducted by Israel teachers according to the Israel curriculum. It served the relatively large colony of Israelis, as well as some French Jews who aspired to give their children a genuine Hebrew education. Numerous cultural and Zionist associations also present varied programs for the Jewish public each evening. However, only one-third of the Jewish population maintains any relations with community institutions. The *Six-Day War (1967), which drew thousands of Jews into debates and pro-Israel demonstrations, was an opportunity for many of them to reassess their personal attitude toward the Jewish people. During the "students' revolution" of 1968 in nearby Nanterre and in the Sorbonne, young Jews played an outstanding role in the leadership of left-wing activists (see *New Left) and often identified with Arab anti-Israel propaganda extolling the Palestinian organizations, particularly the terrorist Popular Front, as an example of the Third World struggle against imperialism. Eventually, however, when the "revolutionary" wave subsided, it appeared that the bulk of Jewish students in Paris, including many supporters of various New Left groups, remained loyal to Israel and strongly opposed Arab terrorism, although many of them criticized the Israel government for "ignoring the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination." The tension created by the Six-Day War also exacerbated frictions and led to several violent clashes between North African Arabs and Jews in lower middle class and proletarian quarters of Paris. Young Jews began to organize for self-defense against physical attacks, but the clashes ceased mainly through the intervention of the local police.

LATER DEVELOPMENTS. Since the 1970s Paris has undergone important urbanization which has transformed the countryside. One can no longer separate the 20 arrondissements within the confines of the capital which in 2005 contained 2.15 million inhabitants out of the 10.5 million residents of the Parisian (Ile de France) megalopolis. The Greater Paris economic and social conurbation covers 12,000 square kilometers in which, however, the numerous municipalities retain their autonomous administration.

Estimated at 300,000–350,000 persons, the Jewish community of Greater Paris ranks third (after Greater New York and Los Angeles) among the Jewish cities in the Diaspora. Paris and its environs have always attracted migrants and immigrants: it is a cosmopolitan city in which there live together people of every origin, race, color, and creed.

Within this mixture, the Jews constitute a sizable minority in Paris proper (about 6%–8% of the total population) and in several suburban towns. The great wave of immigration of Jews originating from North Africa in 1955–65 changed the ethnic composition of the Jewish community in the Paris area: Sephardi Jews are now the majority, even if, with the exception of Alsace, the Ashkenazi Jews are more numerous than in the other regions of France. Within Paris proper, the formerly typically Jewish neighborhoods have taken on a Sephardi nature. Some of them are on the way to disappearing, while others have been "Judaized." Parisian Jews, however, live in every district in the city. The Jewish population of the Paris region is very mobile, partly due to constant urban renewal. In their new places of residence, they establish new communities, most often with Sephardi majorities.

Moreover, the best known Jewish livelihoods – petty craftsman, small tradesman – have practically disappeared. The Jews are found in every type of occupation and practice in all professions. They play an important role in the Paris intelligentsia.

Community. All of the large Jewish organizations have their offices in Paris. Even if some of them intentionally focus their activities in the provinces, Paris remains the main decision making center of community life. This Jacobinism, a constant of French political life, does not strengthen community unity.

In principle, the main religious organization is the Association consistoriale israélite de Paris (ACIP) comprising the community synagogues of the Paris area. The ACIP, however, is skirted by a number of ultra-Orthodox groupings such as Lubavitch, which form highly visible groups on the Paris scene. The ACIP does not succeed in controlling its synagogues, their *kashrut*, and certain of their public manifestations. At the other end of the scale Liberal and Conservative movements are developing which are modern and open to Jews in search of identity; they play an increasingly significant role in the return to Judaism and in transmitting it among milieux recognized by neither the ultra-Orthodox nor by the Orthodox consistory. The religious sector faces serious competition from the large number of associations offering cultural activities, all types of recreational or even political events. These associations may number a few dozen, a few hundred, or even a few thousand members. Large or small, they are the place for frequent meetings among Jews of all religious, Zionist, secular, and political trends. They are the expression of the broad ideological diversity found among the Jewry of the Paris area.

Finally, one cannot forget those Jews considered "peripheral" by the organized community: they rarely, actually almost never, have any connection to any Jewish organization whatsoever. Parisian cosmopolitanism clearly favors the formation of free unions, mixed marriages, and divorces, most often without a *get*. These Jews are nevertheless Jews, perhaps not according to *halakhah*, but through their affirmation of their attachment to their Jewish identity. They probably constitute the majority of the Jewish population in the Greater Paris region.

Cultural Life. Paris remains the center of the intellectual and cultural life of French Jewry. Conferences, colloquia, exhibitions, and other focal manifestations of Judaism in all its multifacetedness proceed apace. Paris is the home of the largest Jewish library in Europe, that of the Alliance Israélite Universelle; another very important library devoted to Yiddish literature, Bibliothèque MEDEM; and significant archival collections concerning the history of Jews in France. The Centre de Documentation Juive Contemporaine and its Memorial des Martyrs Juifs is one of the leading memorial sites for the Holocaust created after World War II. A new Musée d'Art Juif is under construction. Yet, most research carried out on Judaism, its history, its culture, and Jewish languages is to a large degree integrated within institutes of higher learning. Numerous teams at the Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique deal with research which may be called the "science of Judaism and Jewishness." A dozen Paris universities have departments or courses of study devoted to Hebrew, to other Jewish languages, or more generally to teaching and research related to Judaism and Jewish studies. Paris today is one of the main centers for Jewish intellectual life in the Diaspora.

[Doris Bensimon-Donath]

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PARIS, HAILU (1933–), U.S. Orthodox rabbi, Beta Israel. Paris was born in Ethiopia and immigrated to the United States with his widowed mother in 1936. He graduated from the Erna Michael College of Hebraic Studies of Yeshiva University and obtained his master's degree in Jewish education from the Ferkauf Graduate School. In 1965 he was appointed assistant rabbi and subsequently rabbi to Mt. Horeb Congregation in the Bronx, a congregation of black Jews. He also studied at Yeshivat ha-Darom in Israel in 1957–58.

Rabbi Paris was active in the Ha-Ẓa'ad ha-Rishon, an organization set up for the integration of black Jewish youth into the Jewish community, and a member of the Pro-Beta Israel Committee of New York. He spent nearly a year with the Beta Israel community in Ethiopia in 1965–66.

PARIS SCHOOL OF ART (Jewish School of). In the history and criticism of 20th-century painting, "School of Paris" has become a widely used term, generally designating a style that is not necessarily or typically French, but which is followed by a large number of foreign-born artists living in France. It was only in the third decade of the 20th century, however, that this term began to be accepted. Because of the great number of foreign-born artists who had settled permanently in Paris, or who had lived there briefly but been profoundly influenced by French art, it became necessary to refer to most of them as artists of the School of Paris rather than of the French School.

The Jewish School

As many of these foreign artists, especially between 1910 and 1940, happened also to be of eastern European Jewish origin, the term "Jewish School of Paris" was then coined to refer more specifically to a school of painting which gravitated only peripherally around the main schools of modern art of France, such as fauvism, cubism, or surrealism, but which had developed certain features of its own. Some of these features, however, can also be detected in the work of non-Jewish and even French-born painters of the School of Paris, who associated closely with the artists of the so-called "Jewish School." The latter has therefore been more properly called by some critics and art historians the "School of Montparnasse," because it was in this Left Bank neighborhood that many of the artists concerned lived and worked, or congregated in their leisure hours. Nationalist or antisemitic French critics and publicists have often argued that the main trends of 20th-century avant-garde French art were dictated or dominated by foreigners and, more specifically, by Jews, who thus, they claimed, exerted a disruptive influence on French traditions. In fact the influence of Jewish artists, whether French or foreign-born, on the major schools of contemporary French painting has been, on the whole, very modest.

Fauvist School

Among the fauvist painters who began to attract attention in 1905, only Russian-born Sonia *Delaunay-Terk and a group of Hungarian-born painters – Béla *Czobel, Robert Berény (1887–1954), Bertalan Pór (1880–1964), Lajos Tihanyi (1885–1939), Vilmos Perlrott-Csaba (1879–1954), and István Farkas (1887–1944) – were Jews of foreign origin, and these were never leading figures in the fauvist group. Among the French-born fauvists, Léopold Levy (1882–1967) was a painter of great distinction, but he somehow failed to achieve the reputation he deserved. Nevertheless, he exerted a decisive influence on Turkish painting as a teacher for many years at the School of Fine Arts in Istanbul. Between 1910 and 1914, the French fauvist master Matisse was an influential figure in German expressionist painting, mainly through a few German-Jewish artists who had been his pupils in Paris and who subsequently achieved eminence in Germany and Israel. The two most important were Rudolf Levy (1875–1944) and Jakob *Steinhardt.

The Cubists

Among the Paris cubists, Sonia Delaunay-Terk, a convert from fauvism, was slow to gain recognition as an artist of great significance. Her later transition to an idiom of abstract art ensures her place in art history as one of the pioneers of what was subsequently known as op art. Henryk Berlewi (1894–1967), a Pole, was another pioneer of op art. Other Jewish artists who achieved some prominence among the Paris cubists, or as one-time disciples of cubism, are German-born Otto *Freundlich, Polish-born Henri Hayden (1883–1970) and Louis Marcoussis (1883–1941), French-born Henry Valensi (1883–1960) and Marcelle Cahn (1895–1981), and Russian-born Nechama Szmuszkowicz (1895–?), Serge Charchoune (1889–1975), and Jacques Pailes (1895–?). Hungarian-born Alfred Reth (1884–1965) was one of the first painters to formulate the cubist idiom in Paris, though he was never an active member of the cubist group. The French poet and painter Max *Jacob, a close friend of Picasso and the other cubist masters, played an important part as a representative of cubist poetry, but was never a cubist in his painting. Although he was also a member of the group between 1910 and 1914 and was influenced to some extent by its style, Marc *Chagall denied any allegiance to cubism. Without ever being a true cubist, except in his sculpture, Amedeo *Modigliani was closely associated with the Paris cubists. Three Russian-born artists, Chana *Orloff, Ossip *Zadkine, and Jacques *Lipchitz earned worldwide fame as masters of cubist sculpture. Jules *Pascin, a Bulgarian, was a prominent figure in the Paris art world in the heyday of cubism, although he was not a true cubist in his own drawings and paintings. The same can be said of Polish-born Moise *Kisling. Though influenced by his close friend Modigliani and by cubist theory, Kisling was never an orthodox cubist.

The Surrealists

There were no Jewish artists of real significance among the Paris dadaists of 1917 to 1922, although Marcel *Janco (1895–1984) had been a leader in the original Zurich dada group. After 1922, Romanian-born Victor Brauner (1903–1966) and Jacques Herold (1910–1987) slowly came to the fore as representatives of French surrealist paintings. By the time he died, Brauner was generally recognized as one of the major surrealists. Meret Oppenheim (1913–1985), a German, achieved historical importance as the inventor of a number of famous surrealist objects. Kurt Seligmann (1900–1962), a Swiss artist who sank into undeserved neglect, achieved prominence as a surrealist both in Paris and in New York and produced many of the finest surrealist engravings. Romanian-born Grégoire Michonze (1902–1982), a close associate and friend of Max Ernst (d. 1976) and other major surrealists, excelled in dreamworld allegories rather than in surrealism.

Closely allied at one time to the surrealist group, the Paris neoromantics who flourished around 1930 included almost more painters of Jewish origin than any other 20th-century school of French painting, but can scarcely be said to constitute a Jewish School of Paris. These neoromantic painters, widely scattered by Nazism throughout western Europe and the United States, at one time included: from Russia, Eugene Berman (1899–1972) and his brother Leonid (1896–1976), Philippe Hosiasson (1898–1978), and Léon Zack (1892–1980); from Austria, Victor Tischler (1890–1950), Joseph Floch (1896–1977), and Georg Merkel (1881–1976); from Egypt, Josiah Victor Ades (1893–?); from Poland, Jacques Zucker (1900–1981); and from the United States, Maurice Grosser (1905–1986). The Jewish School of Paris or School of Montparnasse thus appears to have developed as a somewhat marginal phenomenon that was never too closely associated with any of the major movements of contemporary French art, but was influenced by most of these movements in turn. Around 1910, large numbers of foreign-born painters began to choose the cafés of the Boulevard Montparnasse, especially the Café du Dôme, as their leisure-time headquarters. Until 1914, these foreign artists included a considerable number of Germans, among whom the sculptor Wilhelm Lehmbruck subsequently proved to be one of the most important. His many Jewish friends, who met him regularly at the Café du Dôme, included Jules Pascin, Otto Freundlich, Rudolf Levy, Georges Kars (1880–1945), and Eugen von Kahler (1882–1911), the last two from Czechoslovakia. Of the many gifted Paris painters who have not yet been granted the recognition they deserved, Kars is certainly one of the finest; under the influence of Cézanne and of cubist theory rather than cubist style, he achieved, especially in his drawings, a rare synthesis of romantic feeling and classical form. Eugen von Kahler is now remembered mainly as a promising participant in some of the early activities of the Munich Blaue Reiter (Blue Rider) School, in which he associated with Klee and Kandinski.

Montparnasse and La Ruche

During World War I and the years that immediately followed it, social and political upheavals in eastern Europe, especially in Russia, Poland, Romania, and Hungary, brought about a great increase in the numbers of refugee artists who became permanent or semipermanent residents of Paris. Many of these artists were Jews, refugees from persecution or from other limitations, such as a lack of interested collectors, in their native country. Some American Jewish artists, such as Abraham *Rattner, also went to live in Paris and began to associate, in Montparnasse, with French or other foreign-born artists. Even before 1914, many of these foreign-born Jewish artists had been living in a couple of ramshackle old studio buildings located in the tangle of narrow streets that extended behind Montparnasse railway station, especially in the studios of La Ruche, where Chagall had lived before 1914, and of the Cité Falguière, where Modigliani lived at one time. Russian-born Chaim *Soutine remains a legendary representative of this earlier period of the Jewish School of Paris and of the whole history of Montparnasse as an art colony. Montparnasse's almost slum-like little ghettos of more or less improvised studios, however, were also occupied at one time or another by a number of non-Jewish artists, such as the cubist master Fernand Léger, so that they never constituted purely Jewish enclaves in the Left Bank art world. The painter Jacques *Chapiro published a nostalgic and somewhat romanticized historical record of La Ruche and its inmates, among whom the Polish-born sculptor Léon Indenbaum (1890–1981) stands out as an artist who deserves to be more widely known.

The major representatives of the so-called Jewish School of Paris would now appear to be Pinkus Krémègne (1890–1981), Michel Kikoine (1892–1968), *Mané-Katz (1894–1962), Balgley (1891–1934), Adolphe Milich (1891–1944), Adolf Feder (1887–1943), Isaac Dobrinsky (1891–1973), Maurice Blond (1899–1974), Abraham Mintchine (1898–1931), Joseph Pressmane (1904–1967), Zygmund Landau (1898–1962), Zygmund Schreter (1896–1977), David Seifert (1896–1980), Marc Sterling (1898–1976), Charles Tcherniawsky (1900–1976), and Isaac Antscher (1899–1992). Most of them were born in Russia, Poland, or other former provinces of the czarist empire, including Lithuania and Bessarabia. To these names should be added those of a number of former Paris residents on whose subsequent work the School of Montparnasse left a lasting mark, and who later achieved distinction elsewhere, such as Max Band (1900–1974) in the U.S. and Josef Iser (1881–1963) in Romania. The Jewish School of Paris is distinguished, in general, by its expressionist insistence on communicating emotion or mood rather than formal relationships or effects of light and color. Nevertheless, many of its members, especially Mané-Katz, Kikoine, and Feder, are noted for their effects of color and texture. The more typical painters of the school tended to rely heavily on impasto effects obtained by using a heavily loaded brush or palette knife in such a way as to create the impression that they actually drew with their pigment or even modeled it, as a sculptor might, in low relief. Several Jewish painters of the School of Montparnasse, including some of those already mentioned, refrained from allowing themselves the kind of exuberance or sensuality that characterizes, above all, the still life and landscape painting of Mané-Katz, Feder, and Kikoine. Thus Leopold Gottlieb (1883–1934), a much younger brother of the famous 19th-century Polish painter Mauricy *Gottlieb, stood out as a representative of an almost classical pictorial refinement, always avoiding effects of color or texture that might appear over-rich. The Russian-born painter Joseph Lubitch (1896–1990) likewise remains, in a minor key, a belated disciple of French impressionism, often delighting in effects that recall Whistler. Another Russian, Arbit Blatas (1908–1999), tempers the neo-primitive violence of fauvism by handling its style in an elegiac, intimate, and almost neoromantic mood.

Victims of Nazism

In 1940 the Nazi occupation of Paris decimated the city's Jewish population. Among the more prominent artists who died as victims of Nazi extermination camps were Otto Freundlich, Henri (Chaim) Epstein, Adolf Feder, Tobias Haber (1906–1943), Abram Weinbaum (1890–1943), Alice Hoherman (1902–1943), Abrami Mordkin (1874–1943), Georges Ascher (1884–1943), Jacques Gotko (1900–1943), Samuel Granovsky (1889–1942), David Goychmann (1900–1942), David Michael Krever (1904–1941), Jacob Macznik (1905–1944), Ephraim Mandelbaum (1884–1942), Leon Weissberg (1893–1943), Lajos Tihanyi, and Istvan Farkas. These martyred artists were gifted with such outstanding and diverse talents that it would now be as unfair to try to force them all into a Jewish school as it was, under the Nazi regime, to deny them their human rights because they were Jews. One who deserves particular mention is the Russian-born sculptor Moyshe Kogan (1879–1942). Before migrating from Germany to Paris, he had already distinguished himself in Munich as the only sculptor of the Blue Rider Group.

After World War II

After 1945, the School of Paris soon began again to attract many foreign-born Jewish painters and sculptors, though now mainly from the U.S., Israel, French North Africa, and, of course, from among the eastern European survivors of the Holocaust. The Algerian-born abstract painter Jean *Atlan soon achieved prominence as a recognized master of postwar French painting. In the same school of non-geometrical and more lyrical abstract painting, Philippe Hosiasson and Léon Zack, both former neoromantics, also came to be recognized as masters. Romanian-born Robert Helman (1910–1990) and Turkish-born Albert Bitran (1931–) also came to the fore after 1950, each with a distinctive idiom of non-geometrical abstraction. Russian-born Alexander Garbell (1903–1970), a master of elegant brush work and of subtle color harmonies and textures, experimented for a while with an abstract idiom but soon returned to a style of revised post-impressionism better suited to his temperament. Of the small group of abstract painters hailing from Hungary, the most outstanding in the late sixties was Zsigmund Kolozsvari, known professionally as Kolos-Vari (1889–1983). Alfred Aberdam (1894–1963), who was born in Austrian Galicia, began to attract attention in Paris only after 1945. A painter of unusual refinement, he revealed in his mature work a surprising affinity with some Italian mannerist and baroque masters of the later Renaissance, though he expressed himself in a pictorial idiom that seems to have derived from the neoromantic painters of the 1930s.

As public interest in modern art grew after World War II, artists all over the world found themselves free to cater to a much wider variety of tastes than formerly, and after 1945 French painting and that of the School of Paris came to be characterized by an ever increasing diversity of styles. There is even less justification to use the term "Jewish School" for this later generation of Jewish painters than between the two world wars. Polish-born Marek Halter (1932–), for instance, might well be classed among the new realists, although his work reveals a far greater refinement of draftsmanship and painterly discretion than that of Bernard Buffet. A native Parisian, Jacques Winsberg (1929–) also attracted attention as a new realist or "misérabiliste," concerning himself, like Buffet, mainly with effects of pathos. Another Frenchman, Gabriel Zendel (1906–1980), on the other hand, brought new life to the moribund idiom of cubism by exploiting it with a more varied sense of color and of texture. Though born in Russia, Chapoval (1912–1953) was educated in France and, as an early representative of French tachisme or lyrical and nongeometrical abstraction, immediately achieved considerable prominence. Polish-born Georges Goldkorn (1907–1961), Felicia Pacanowska (1907–?), and Abram Krol (1884–?) came to the fore mainly as outstanding graphic artists, Goldkorn and Pacanowska in the field of etching, Krol in woodcuts. Krol, a gifted French poet as well as an artist, became well known among bibliophiles all over the world as a remarkable creator of beautiful books. German-born Johnny Friedlaender (1912–1992) likewise earned an international reputation as a virtuoso of rare technical brilliance, especially in his color etchings.

In addition to Jean Atlan, Algeria gave Paris three other painters of note. Smadja, after studying with the cubist master Fernand Léger, developed a lyrical, non-geometric abstract style of his own. The expressionist Corsia (1915–1985) succeeded in infusing a truly Mediterranean sensuality and sense of color into an idiom inherited from Van Gogh. A Mediterranean sense of color and light is also typical of Assus, a belated post-impressionist. Two Moroccan artists worthy of mention are André Elbaz, whose North African Jewish themes are handled in an expressionist idiom previously used mainly for eastern European Jewish subjects, and Hasdai Elmosnino, who was profoundly influenced by French painting before emigrating to a new home in Canada. Among other painters of North African origin is Tunisian-born Jules Lellouche (1903–1965), a post-impressionist who was often haunted by nostalgic memories of classical Venetian painting. Among Polish-born survivors of the Holocaust who distinguished themselves as painters in Paris after 1945, Maryan (1927–1977), who eventually moved to New York, proved to be a worthy heir to the great tradition of eastern European Jewish visionary fantasy that first obtained international recognition in the early works of Chagall, Issachar Ryback, and Yankel Adler. But Maryan's art is disturbed by macabre memories, transmuted into a peculiarly sardonic and bitter kind of clowning.

Traditionalists and Individualists

In addition to all the artists who have been named, a number of other Jewish painters, several of them French-born, distinguished themselves in Paris in the 20th century, but in the traditional schools of strictly French art rather than in any of its more experimental innovations. Several other Jewish artists, moreover, attracted attention at various times as individualists whose work fails to fit into any of the categories of contemporary criticism. Russian-born Eugéne Zak (1884–1926), for example, achieved a curious synthesis of mildly cubist stylization and almost Pre-Raphaelite idealism that is perhaps unique. Frenel (1898–1980), who was born in Ereẓ Israel as Frenkel, is a somewhat mystical or romantic painter of Jewish themes whose work expresses little of the anguish and turbulence of Mané-Katz and other eastern European Paris painters who have handled similar themes. In this respect, Frenel belongs rather with Balgley and with Polish-born J.D. Kirszenbaum (1900–1954), an artist whose work likewise escapes classification under any of the usual headings of contemporary painting. Arthur Kolnick (1890–?) is notable for his tender and poetic paintings of traditional types and scenes recalled from the ḥasidic communities of his native Galicia. Emma Stern (1878–1967), who fled to Paris from Nazi Germany, began painting late in life. With her scenes of a happy childhood in small towns in the Saarland, she was soon acclaimed as a new Grandma Moses. When Simon Segal (1898–1970) left Russia for Berlin, he was profoundly influenced by German expressionism; but in France he developed a style of his own in which a new kind of realism suggests a mysterious affinity with Permeke and the Flemish expressionists. Finally, in the late 1960s, the American-born painter and sculptor Zev, originally named Dan Harris (1914–1986), injected an element of "Alice in Wonderland" nonsense into traditional surrealist fantasy, which he thus enriched with some novel, individual, and technically refined sculpture. It would probably be correct to say that most of the Jewish painters of the School of Paris settled in the French capital in order to escape from more traditional or Orthodox Jewish backgrounds, especially in eastern Europe, as much as from the limitations imposed on them by persecution or by their status as Jews. In their work as artists, as well as in their lives as members of the Paris bohemian community, most of these artists were cultural assimilationists, though many of them were also haunted from time to time by nostalgic memories of the life from which they had chosen to escape. In the work of Soutine, for instance, there are practically no direct memories of his Russian-Jewish background. In the works of most other painters of the so-called Jewish School of Paris, such memories appear only occasionally, and generally in an idealized and almost idyllic form; they then seem to express nostalgia for the past, or even guilt feelings about having abandoned it. Following the great commercial success of Chagall's Jewish themes, some of these artists reverted to similar themes, handled with great pathos or nostalgic humor, in what can only be regarded as deliberate exploitation of a new fashion for such memories of a vanished world.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Edouard Roditi Archives, Leo Baeck Institute, New York; W. George, in: Roth, Art, 639–718.

[Edouard Roditi]

PARIUM (or **Parion**; Turk. **Kemer**), ancient city on the Asian side of the Dardanelles. It was the first settlement point for the Jews in the region of *Canakkale during the Roman era. The earliest literary evidence about the Parium Jews, from 48 B.C.E., contains a decree by Julius Gaius, Roman consul, which indicates that Jewish rights and privileges were granted to enable them to maintain their customs in the face of local hostility, including the right of assembly, feasts in accordance with their tradition, and monetary contributions for common meals and holy festivals. From the decree, it can be surmised that there was a synagogue in Parium. There is no further information about the Parium Jews. Nonetheless, the fact that Teucer of Cyzius, author of *Historia Judaica*, lived in a city close to Parium in the middle of the first century B.C.E., points to a Jewish presence in this region.

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[M. Mustafa Kulu (2nd ed.)]

PARIZ UN VIENE, 16th-century Yiddish epic. Until the recent discovery of a complete copy of the Verona 1594 edition, whose preface mentions Elia Levita (Elye Bokher/Bachur) apparently as the author's mentor, the poem was conventionally attributed to Levita. That attribution thus now seems at least complicated (for it might well be an elaborately ironic subterfuge – certainly not unthinkable for Levita) if not altogether untenable. *Pariz un Viene* nonetheless clearly derives from and participates in the same north Italian Renaissance cultural milieu in which Levita wrote his **Bove-Bukh*, and like that text, this one is also an adaptation of an Italian romance into Yiddish (717 *ottava rima* stanzas in 10 cantos). Here, however – unlike Levita's masterfully entertaining but hardly intellectually ambitious *Bove-Bukh* – the Yiddish version utterly transforms its source into a veritable masterpiece of Renaissance or quasi-Humanist poetic narrative, directly influenced, for instance, by Ariosto's *Orlando furioso*. The conventional plot of the vassal's son who must prove himself before being granted the princess as his bride is transformed from hackneyed cliché into a complexly layered and dramatically progressing, politically serious, and delightfully humorous *tour de force*.

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[Jerold C. Frakes (2nd ed.)]

PARKER, DOROTHY (1893–1967), U.S. poet and author. Daughter of a Jewish father and a Scottish mother, she began her career by writing reviews for *Vogue* and *Vanity Fair* (who found her reviews too harsh) and then for *The New Yorker*. Her first book of verse, *Enough Rope* (1926), was a best seller, and was followed by two others, all three later being collected in *Not So Deep As a Well* (1936). She also became known as a short story writer, her prizewinning tale, "Big Blonde" (1929), being generally considered her best. Collected short stories appeared in *Laments for the Living* (1930), *After Such Pleasures* (1933), and *Here Lies* (1939); in 1944 a collection of her prose and verse appeared as *The Portable Dorothy Parker*, with an introduction by W. Somerset Maugham. Dorothy Parker was witty, sardonic, elegant, and often profound. She also wrote Hollywood screenplays, and a drama in which she collaborated with Arnaud d'Usseau, *Ladies of the Corridor* (1953), was successfully staged in New York.

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[Sol Liptzin]

PARKER, JOHN (1875–1952), British author of reference works on the theater. Born Jacob Solomons in New York, Parker was the son of a Polish Jewish father who died young. His Jewish mother, who came from Cardiff, moved to London in the 1880s. After a career in journalism, he became London manager of the *New York Dramatic News* from 1903 to 1921 and in 1912 began the annual reference work for which he became well known, *Who's Who in the Theatre* (which was preceded by a similar work he edited from 1908, *The Green Room Book*). He changed his name to "John Parker" in 1917. Parker continued to edit this work through 11 editions over the next 40 years almost single-handedly. He insisted on absolute accuracy, never allowing actors to falsify their ages, as was common. He was also a successful shipping agent and a talented illustrator.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: ODNB online.

[William D. Rubinstein (2nd ed.)]

PARKER, SARAH JESSICA (1965–), U.S. actress. Born in Nelsonville, Ohio, Parker made her first television appearance at age eight in *The Little Match Girl*. Her parents divorced when she was young; her mother, Barbra, who is Jewish, married Paul Forste. Parker, her two brothers, and sister joined her stepfather's four children in one large family. At nine Parker was cast in the Broadway production of *The Innocents*, prompting the family to move to New Jersey. She was then cast in *The Sound of Music* along with four siblings and then got the lead in *Annie* on Broadway. What followed was a succession of television and movie roles. She appeared in *The Sunshine Boys, Miami Rhapsody*, and *The First Wives Club*. But her role as the sex columnist Carrie Bradshaw on the hit television series *Sex and the City* transformed her career. Parker played the central character, one of four single friends in New York. The series catalogued their romances, and Parker won numerous best actress awards. Because of her far-out clothing on the show, she also became a fashion icon whose photographs later adorned the covers of major fashion magazines. Despite the racy material, the show, which ran for six years, appeared in syndication around the world with the steamy material and dialogue toned down. Parker is married to the actor Matthew Broderick, who also had a Jewish mother and a non-Jewish father. The couple married in a civil ceremony in a historic synagogue in New York that is no longer used as a house of worship. Parker has done a number of shows of a Jewish cultural nature. She was host of the Hebrew version of *Sesame Street* called *Shalom Sesame*, read Jewish folk tales on National Public Radio, and narrated a documentary on Ḥasidim.

[Stewart Kampel (2nd ed.)]

°**PARKES, JAMES WILLIAM** (1896–1981), English theologian and historian. Educated in Guernsey and at Oxford, Parkes, a member of the Church of England, was ordained as an Anglican priest in 1926 and from 1928 to 1934 was study secretary of the International Student Service in Geneva. Actively aware of the antisemitism prevalent in the Central and Eastern European universities, he wrote his earliest book, *The Jew and His Neighbour* (1930, 1938^2). He then embarked on what was planned as a comprehensive history of antisemitism, the chief responsibility for which he saw in the policy of the Christian Church (*The Conflict of the Church and the Synagogue*, 1934; *The Jew in the Medieval Community*, 1938). He wrote a long series of other works on antisemitism, the origins of Christianity, the history of Palestine, etc., in all of which he demonstrated a strong sympathy with the Jewish people and appreciation of Judaism as a religious system. Parkes collaborated with many Jewish organizations and was president of the Jewish Historical Society of England (1949–51). His important private library on Jewish history and Jewish-Gentile relations, which he collected at his home in Barley (near Cambridge) and was incorporated in 1956 as a center for the study of relations between the Jewish and non-Jewish worlds, was given by Parkes to the University of Southampton, where the university established a research fellowship for the study of the relations of Jewish and non-Jewish communities. In 1967 Parkes published *Arabs and Jews in the Middle East – A Tragedy of Errors*. Parkes' autobiography, *Voyage of Discoveries*, appeared in 1969. James Parkes was one of the most sincere, outspoken, and influential Christian philo-semites of 20th century Britain.

ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY: ODNB online.

[Cecil Roth]

PARLAMENTSKLUB, JUEDISCHER, Jewish caucus active in the Austrian House of Deputies (*Reichsrat*) during the legislative period 1907–11, the first Austrian parliament elected by equal ballot. It consisted of the deputies of the Jewish national parties of Galicia and Bukovina, not including Jews of other parties. Three of its members, Adolf *Stand, Heinrich Gabel, and Arthur *Mahler, were elected in Galicia, where a number of Jewish deputies also were elected as Poles. The fourth member and chairman Benno Straucher came from Bukovina. The Jewish caucus issued a declaration demanding national autonomy for the Jews as well as a democratic and sound social policy in general. Straucher became a forceful speaker for the rights of Austrian Jews. Despite its small membership the Jewish caucus became a political factor in parliament, although it was frequently paralyzed by the antagonism of the Polish caucus (*Polenklub*). In 1911 only Straucher of all the initial members was reelected. A Jewish caucus existed also in the provincial diet (*Landtag*) of Bukovina.

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[Hugo Knoepfmacher]

PARMA, city in N. Italy, capital of the province and former duchy of the same name. Jews are mentioned in Parma around the middle of the 14th century when the town was ruled by the Visconti dukes of Mantua. When the *Black Death was raging in 1348, the Jews were accused of poisoning wells and fountains, and some were put to death. Under the Visconti, Jewish moneylenders were able to carry on business in Parma. In 1440 Elias, physician and lecturer at the medical school of Pavia, was appointed physician to the duke of Parma; among other physicians who practiced there were Giacobb, who may be identical with Giacobbe who treated Duke Erede I of Este in 1467, and Abraham, son of Moses of Prato (1480).

Under the rule of the Sforza, about the middle of the 15th century, the Jews enjoyed the protection of the dukes against oppression by the municipal authorities. The Franciscan Bernardino da *Feltre instigated the expulsion of some Jewish women who had given dancing lessons to aristocratic women in Parma. In 1488 Bernardino succeeded in having a Christian loan-bank (**Monte di Pietà*) established there; the Jewish loan-bankers began to leave the town, taking refuge in Piacenza and the smaller centers of the duchy. Following the bull "cum nimis absurdum" issued by Pope *Paul IV in July 1555, Jews were no longer permitted to carry on their moneylending activities or to reside in Parma. Under Paul's successor, Pius IV, the

Jews were permitted in 1562 to open loan-banks in 16 smaller centers in the duchy of Parma and Piacenza (at Colorno, Roccabianca, Soragna, Borgo San Donnino (now Fidenza), Busseto, San Secondo Parmense, and Sissa). The concession, valid for a duration of 12 years, was later renewed for eight centers only; these included the first five mentioned above. Renewals were granted every 12 years, the last dating from 1669. The loan-banks were a necessity for the predominantly agricultural population. The Jews were accorded political equality on July 12, 1803 by the French commissaire Moreau de Saint-Méry, but this was rescinded in 1816 by the archduchess Marie Louise. Jews were now beginning to resettle in Parma itself. Publication of a *Rivista Israelitica* was begun in Parma in 1845, but lasted only for three years. Emancipation followed the inclusion of Parma in the Kingdom of Sardinia. In 1866 the renewed community of Parma drew up its constitution and arranged for the building of a synagogue. Rabbis of Parma include Donato Camerini (1866–1921), editor of a prayer book according to the Italian rite (Parma, 1912). The community numbered 510 in 1840, and 684 in 1881, declining to 415 in 1911.

[Alfredo Mordechai Rabello]

In 1931 there were 232 Jews in the community of Parma. During the Holocaust at least 12 were sent to extermination camps. After the war the community had a membership of 86, which declined to 60 by 1969.

[Sergio Della Pergola]

Palatina Library

The Palatina Library in Parma contains one of the richest collections of Hebrew manuscripts and incunabula in the world, among them many valuable illuminated manuscripts. Included in the collection are early Bible codices, and it is especially rich in liturgical manuscripts. Important manuscripts of Midrashim and rabbinical works include the commentaries of Menahem b. Solomon *Meiri. In 1816 Marie-Louise, Napoleon's wife, bought the G.B. de' *Rossi collection of more than 1,500 manuscripts. In 1846 the library acquired over 100 Hebrew manuscripts from the collection of M.B. *Foa of Reggio Emilia. The codices are amply described by G.B. de' Rossi in his *Manuscripti codices Hebraici bibliothecae* (3 vols., 1803); the 55 manuscripts later acquired by de' Rossi were described by M. Steinschneider in: HB, 6–7 (1863–64); 12 (1872); 14 (1874) and by P. *Perreau (*Catologo dei Codici ebraici de… non descritti dal de' Rossi*, 1880). G. Tamani described the library's illuminated manuscripts (in: *La Bibliofilia*, 70 (1968), 39–139).

[Alfredo Mordechai Rabello]

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PARNAKH, VALENTIN YAKOVLEVICH (1891–1948?), Russian poet and choreographer. Parnakh was born in Taganrog and educated in St. Petersburg and Paris. His earliest poems, written under the influence of his friend O. *Mandelshtam, were published in the Acmeist literary journal *Giperborey* ("The Hyperborean") in 1913. On the recommendation of A. Blok, V. Meyerhold accepted Parnakh's poetry for publication in his art journal *Lyubov k trem apelsinam* ("The Love for the Three Oranges," 3, 1914), to which Parnakh later contributed also essays on the dance. In 1914, he traveled through the Middle East. His first collection of verse, *Samum* ("The Simoom," 1919), includes several pieces ("To the Palms of Palestine," "The Psalm," "Zechariah, Ch. 11," etc.) inspired by his visit to Ereẓ Israel. During World War I, Parnakh lived in France, England, and Italy, returning to Russia in 1917. His choreographic talent was acknowledged by S. *Eisenstein, who in 1921 invited him to teach modern dance in the Proletkult Drama Workshop. Between 1919 and 1932, Parnakh made several extended trips to France, where he published four collections of experimental poetry in Russian, two scholarly monographs in French (*L'Inquisition*, 1930; *Histoire de la danse*, 1932), and numerous essays and translations (in *Nouvelle Littéraires, Bifur, Europe, La Courte Paille*, and other periodicals of the French avant-garde). Parnakh's essay "In the Russian World of Letters" (*The Menorah Journal*, 3, 1926) for the first time introduced such Russian-Jewish writers as M. *Gershenzon, O. Mandelshtam, B. *Pasternak, and B. *Lapin to the American-Jewish reader. Parnakh's greatest literary achievement was his annotated anthology of the Jewish poets who were victims of the Spanish and Portuguese Inquisitions (*Ispanskiye i portugalskiya poety, zhertvy inkvizitsii*, 1934), published after almost two decades of research. The book contained numerous biographical articles as well as records of trials and autos-da-fé. Its appearance in Moscow on the eve of the Stalinist purges and the Holocaust of European Jewry became a poignant literary event which deeply influenced such poets as Akhmatova and Mandelshtam.

Nothing is known about Parnakh's subsequent life and literary activity, except that his translation of Agrippa d'Aubigné, the French Huguenot poet, was published in 1949 in Moscow. His other works include: *Le quai* (1919); *Karabkaetsya akrobat* (with the author's portrait by P. Picasso) (1922); *Slovosdvig. Mot dynamo* (poems in Russian and French) (1920); *Vstuplenie k tantsam* (1925).

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[Omri Ronen]

PARNAS (Heb. פַּרְנָס; "leader"; also called *rosh*), head of the community. The *parnas* was usually elected, sometimes for life but more customarily for a definite term of one year or three years. In larger communities in the later Middle Ages and early modern times, there were several *parnasim* who led the community in rotation, each for one month; they were then called *parnas ha-ḥodesh* ("the *parnas* of the month"; this system is described in detail in the *takkanot* of Cracow for 1595). The leaders of the territorial autonomy structure also used this title, which was later attached to partial, functional leadership, when a distinction was made between the *parnas ha-kahal* ("of the community"), *parnas ha-galil* ("of the province"), *parnas ha-shuk* ("of the market"), the *parnasim* of the guilds and the like. In modern times the title Parnas is employed for the president of a community or a congregation (in the Spanish and Portuguese congregation of London he is called Parnas – Presidente).

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[Natan Efrati]

PARNAS, ḤAYYIM NAḤMAN (d. 1854), Lithuanian scholar. Parnas was born in Dubnov. After the death of his first wife, Parnas remarried and settled in Vilna. It was his practice to study wrapped in *tallit* and *tefillin* until mid-afternoon each day in his father-in-law's *bet ha-midrash* and to continue studying for the rest of the day at home. By means of his extraordinary diligence he achieved a mastery of both *halakhah* and Kabbalah. He delivered daily discourses on Isaac *Alfasi and the commentary on him by Nissim b. Reuben *Gerondi before the leading figures of the community in the *bet ha-midrash*. In 1850 he established a yeshivah in Vilna. In his prayers he followed the ritual of the "Ari" (Isaac *Luria), and every Sabbath, before the reading of the Law, when the congregation was going over the weekly portion, he studied the Zohar on it.

Parnas took an active interest in communal affairs and was himself widely esteemed. For many years he administered the distribution of Vilna's philanthropic funds, including those for indigent Jews residing in Ereẓ Israel. His approbations appear in a number of contemporary works. The last section of the *Sha'agat Aryeh* printed in the Slavuta edition (1833) contains some novellae of Parnas which display talmudic erudition. He concerned himself with the needs of the community as a whole and of the individuals in it, and because of his grasp of worldly matters many turned to him for advice on their problems.

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[Samuel Abba Horodezky]

PARNAS, YAKUB KAROL (1884–1942?), Polish biochemist. Born in Tarnopol, Galicia, Parnas worked at the University of Strasbourg (1914–16), and then directed a physiology institute at Warsaw University. From 1921 he was professor of medical chemistry at Lvov. In 1942, although he had left the Jewish faith, he fled to Russia, where he died. His main work was on biochemistry of muscle and biological synthesis of ammonia. Among his books was *Chemja fizjologiczna z szczegolnem uwzględnieniem fizjologji zwierzęcej* ("Physiological Chemistry with Special Reference to Animal Physiology," 1922) and together with F. Czapek he edited *Monographien aus dem Gesamtgebiet der Physiologie der Pflanzen und der Tiere* (1914).

PARNIS, MOLLIE (1903?–1992), U.S. fashion designer and philanthropist. Parnis was the eldest of five children of Abraham and Sara Parnis, immigrants from Austria. Her first design was prompted by a date with her future husband, Leon Livingston, who took her to a football game and suggested that she change for dancing that evening. Parnis redesigned her only dress. They married in 1930 and opened their own dress business, Parnis-Livingston, in 1933; Parnis was the designer and Livingston handled the business details. Their enterprise flourished into a multimillion dollar business and the wives of several U.S. presidents wore their creations. Parnis continued the business following her husband's death in 1962; she was known for creating tasteful, classic designs from good fabrics. Parnis, a lover of art and literature, invited actors, politicians, writers, and journalists to her home on Park Avenue, which came to be known as Mollie Parnis' salon. A philanthropist, she created the Mollie Parnis Livingston Foundation of New York, which helped create parks in rundown areas of New York City. She sponsored a similar prize in Jerusalem. Parnis set up an award for newspaper, magazine, and television journalists under the age of 35 in memory of her only son, Robert Livingston, who died in 1979. Parnis retired from the dress business in 1984 but continued with the Mollie Parnis Livingston Foundation of New York until her death.

[Sara Alpern (2nd ed.)]

PARODY, HEBREW.

Parody in Early Hebrew Literature

Parody is the use of a recognizable literary form as a vehicle to ridicule or mock something or someone. The writer takes a well-known, serious work as his model and invests it with new and amusing contents, at times in order to deride the original or its author, at others to express his views and criticisms of contemporary political and social issues. This technique is used in order to grasp the attention of the reader who will easily recognize the parodied text. Parody, though it uses different forms, is in fact a literary genre in its own right and one of the keenest weapons of satire. In Hebrew literature, parody is an ancient genre. Although mockery for its own sake is not among the things allowed a Jew, the mockery of idolatry is permitted (Meg. 25b) and, by inference, the mocking of anything morally or legally defective. Evidence of this concealed form of derision is found already in the Bible: "Elijah mocked them [the prophets of the Baal]) and said: Cry aloud; for he is a god; either he is musing, or he is gone aside, or he is on a journey, or peradventure he sleepeth, and must be awaked" (I Kings 18:27) and, incidentally, in various places in the Talmud and the Midrash. It is not always possible to identify the source which is being imitated; however, the meter and rhythm of the work make it almost certain that it is a parody on something.

Well known among the fables of Simeon Bar-Kappara, many of which are parodies, is the riddle Bar-Kappara puts in the mouth of the son-in-law of Judah ha-Nasi, Ben-Elasah, who was rich but ignorant and did not participate in the learned conversation of the wise men gathered in Judah's house. The riddle had two objects: first, to mock the rich ignoramus, and secondly, to criticize Judah himself for leading the people with a "high hand." Judah immediately realized that Bar-Kappara was behind his son-in-law's riddle and was angry with the true author. The "riddle" was in fact a parody on the fables of Solomon or of Ben-Sira and is one of the gems of early Hebrew satire:

> The netherworld looked down from heaven
> Turbulence at the sides of her house
> Scaring all winged creatures
> The young men saw me and hid themselves
> And the aged rose up and stood;
> He who flees shall say: Alas, alas!
> And he who is trapped is trapped by his own sin (TJ, MK 3:1).

Generally it may be said that the use of such allegoric or heroic language for mundane trivia should be considered parody, even if it is difficult to identify its source. An unusual homily in the Talmud itself should also be regarded as a kind of parody in talmudic *pilpul* style: "Where is Haman [of the Book of Esther] mentioned in the Torah? It is written, Hast thou eaten of the tree, whereof I commanded thee that thou shouldest not eat?" (Gen. 3:11). It cannot be assumed that anyone would have thought that that question which Adam was asked hinted even faintly at Haman in the Book of Esther. The novelty consists not only in the fact that the Hebrew letters of "Haman" and *Ha-Min* are identical but also in the juxtaposition of the evil Haman and the "tree" on which he was hanged. This witticism is in fact an imitation of more serious homilies, sometimes hair-splitting in their attempts to make a point, which were common in the Babylonian academies, and thus displays one of the most obvious characteristics of parody.

Parody Since the 12th Century

Hebrew parody as an established literary form is post-talmudic, dating for the most part from the 12th century. It first appeared in Spain, then in Provence and Italy, from where it passed to the literary centers of the Netherlands, Germany, and eastern Europe. Among the secular poems of the Spanish and Italian poets are many excellent parodies on diverse subjects. The poem *Al ha-Zevuvim* ("On Flies") by Abraham *Ibn Ezra, who was one of the cleverest satirists of Hebrew poetry, is clearly an imitation of an epic. It begins with witty rhymes and pretentious language:

> To whom shall I flee for help from my oppression?
> Whom shall I implore against the devastation of the flies?
> Which will not give me respite
> With all their power they oppress me like enemies
> And flutter over my eyes and eyelids,
> Reciting passionate love songs in my ears;
> I venture to eat my meal alone
> And they partake of it like wolves,
> And even drink out of my glass of wine as though
> I had invited them like lovers or friends.

By using such thundering sentences when speaking merely of tiny flies, Ibn Ezra forcefully achieves the amusing effect of parody. The satiric poetry of Todros *Abulafia (Toledo, second half of the 13th century), or of Solomon *Bonafed (Kingdom of Aragon, first half of the 15th century), in particular against other poets or against personal enemies, also often has a parodic nature. Also the rhymed prose work by *Santob (Shem Tov) de Carrion, *The Debate between the Pen and the Scissors*, can be considered as a political allegory in the form of parody.

The *Ma'ariv le-Furim*, written by *Menahem b. Aaron (who lived in 14th-century Toledo), is an amusing parody on the *piyyut Leil Shimmurim Hu Zeh ha-Laylah* ("This is the Night of Vigil"), by *Meir b. Isaac, included in the *Ma'ariv* prayer for the first day of Passover. This parody was unaccountably included in a serious edition of the festival prayers and *piyyutim*. With light and boisterous rhymes the author of the parody includes all creation in the joy of Purim:

> On this night all creatures get drunk
> To remember the law established on Purim
> And damned be the man who lifts his hands
> To drink abominable water.

and so on, in similar style. Apart from its relevance to Purim, this parody is apparently also a protest against the abundance of *piyyutim* composed by the *paytanim* of that period, many of which have been included in the prayer book, and especially in the prayer books for holidays.

The poems by Joseph *Ibn Zabara (who lived in 12th-century Spain) on the subjects of doctors and women, specify in a typically medical jargon all the remedies for the fever and other illnesses. They are obviously caricatures of Hippocrates' "collections." One of the masters of Hebrew satire and parody was the Spanish poet Judah *Al-Ḥarizi. His amusing book of **maqāmāt, Taḥkemoni*, is written in the spirit of the Arab poet Abu Muhammad al-Qasem Al-Ḥarīrī (1054–1122), whose book of *maqāmāt* Al-Ḥarizi translated into Hebrew. The *Taḥkemoni* abounds in droll parodies on contemporary personalities and on customs which Al-Ḥarizi found amusing. For example, he ridicules the ceremony of **kapparot* on the eve of the Day of Atonement by relating the words of a cock, who for fear of being killed had escaped to the roof of the synagogue. The style of the cock's speech is biblical, although there is a suggestion too of the style of the contemporary preachers whom Al-Ḥarizi mocks in other places. The book also contains a parody on the commandment for phylacteries at the end of Gate 5 (Segal 453), on bloody combats in Gate 7 (Segal 466), and on a bombastic host in Gate 34 (Segal 580), etc.

Another of the early Hebrew parodists was *Judah b. Isaac ibn Shabbetai, born in Toledo or Burgos in the 13th century. He was the author of *Minḥat Yehudah Sone ha-Nashim* ("The Tribute of Judah the Misogynist"), a satire on bachelors and women-haters in the style of the Bible and of medieval stories. He also wrote *Milḥemet ha-Ḥokhmah ve-ha-Osher* ("The War of Wisdom and Wealth," 1214) and *Divrei ha-Alah ve-ha-Niddui* ("The Words of the Curse and the Ban," date unknown).

A parody of a different kind is *Iggeret Al Tehi ka-Avotekha* ("Be not as your fathers"), written by Isaac Efodi (Profiat *Duran) in the 15th century to his friend Bonat Bongiorno, who had apostatized. Written in the mild language of the pastoral epistles of Christian preachers, Duran equivocally advises his friend "to remain in the Christian faith." By pretending to prove the mistakes of the Jews, as it were, he actually mocks Christianity and its preachers and, by inference, the apostates. The name of the parody and its flattering style misled many into thinking that this really was an epistle of the Church, until they came to the end and its conclusions.

KALONYMUS B. KALONYMUS. While the poets of the Golden Age in Spain wrote in biblical Hebrew, they employed Arabic meters. The contents of their poetry, especially the secular, was also influenced by contemporary poetry in general and by Arabic poetry in particular. Their parodies, too, were mostly imitations of contemporary literature (e.g., epic poems, love songs, and medical treatises). Gradually satire ceased to be the concern only of poets, rhetoricians, and rhymists, and scholars began to take a casual interest in it. Parody in talmudic style was welcomed on those days when jesting was allowed, the days which "Jews ordained, and took upon them, and upon their seed, and upon all such as joined themselves unto them, so as it should not fail, that they would keep these two days according to the writing thereof, and according to the appointed time thereof, every year" (Esth. 9:27).

The father of parody in the style of the Talmud was Kalonymus b. Kalonymus, who was born in 1286 and lived in Italy from 1318, and who was one of the outstanding physicians of his time. Besides his profound knowledge of Torah and rabbinic literature, he mastered several languages and translated a selection of medical and philosophical books from Arabic into Latin at the request of the Italian King Robert, a lover of art and literature. His translations served as a bridge between the knowledge of East and West. His most famous work is *Massekhet Purim*, "Tractate Purim," written in the language and form of a talmudic tractate. Its four chapters contain a humorous debate regarding food, drink, and drunkenness on Purim. At the end of the tractate the author says that it was his intention

> to gladden people on Purim and the reader will not lose but [will gain] like him who reads a book of medicine and of matters that benefit the body and do not harm the soul, because I, Kalonymus, invented this essay, the mishnah and the gemara and I call to witness R. Shakran ("Liar") and his brother R. Kazvan ("Deceiver"), who are mentioned at the end of the tractate.

A literary masterpiece in style, presentation, and contents, *Massekhet Purim* serves as more than a mere jest, for much can be learned from it regarding the life, customs, and food, etc., of the 13th-century Italian Jews. Among the Purim customs which Kalonymus mentions are: horse riding in the streets of the town, waving pine branches, and dancing around a rag puppet which symbolized the figure of Haman. *Massekhet Purim* also specifies 24 Italian dishes, popular among the Jews, some of which are otherwise unknown. The 24 dishes represent the 24 "contributions to the priests" donated by the people at the time of the Temple in Jerusalem and the 24 books of the Bible.

Although other works by the same author met with no opposition, Kalonymus' *Massekhet Purim* was frowned upon by extremist rabbis who considered a parody in talmudic style to be a sacrilege. They banned reading the book and even condemned it to be burned. Samuel ben Abraham *Aboab, in his *Devar Shemu'el*, wrote:

> He who reads that book called *Massekhet Purim* will be grieved for by all God-fearing people, who saw, and straight away were amazed, how the author dared print it and felt no remorse – hopefully the book will be put away and will become like something which has been lost, so that it shall not be seen and shall not be found…"

It therefore became rare and passed from hand to hand in manuscript. In the 19th century it was printed anonymously by various publishers, sometimes supplemented by other facetious Purim parodies of a later date. Jonah Wilheimer, who published it in Vienna in 1871, relates in his preface that he copied it from an old manuscript found in a collection of books (including some formerly belonging to Jacob *Emden) which he bought from an Amsterdam bookseller. He writes:

> I hereunder publish *Megillat Setarim* and *Massekhet Purim* without inquiring into who wrote these books or whose spirit collected them, but rather hailing this delightful treasure, because the author(s) have made a jest to cheer the readers with their sweet language in the style of the authors of the Talmud, and so as not to withhold what is good from its rightful owners, I publish them.

Massekhet Purim served as a blueprint for other imitations of talmudic tractates and also of liturgical literature in all its forms; prayers, *seliḥot*, lamentations for the Ninth of Av, and especially the Passover *Haggadah*. Steinschneider lists three Purim tractates in his list of 31 parodies and hundreds of other comic works, and Davidson mentions a further 21 in his list of 500 parodies in Hebrew and other languages (see bibliography). In a list of Hebrew manuscripts in Offenbach, Germany, a *Massekhet Purim* with Latin translation is mentioned, but it was apparently never printed. One *Massekhet Purim*, together with other Purim parodies collected from the large anonymous Purim literature, appeared in 1844, published by Solomon b. Ephraim Bloch, at the "Royal Court Press" in Hanover, where Jews had lived since the 13th century. A novel feature of this edition is its illustrations – one of a drunkard in the shade of trees in the innyard, and one of four people, including a woman, in festive fancy dress.

Most of the later editions of *Massekhet Purim* are followed by *Megillat Setarim*, which consists of three chapters. It begins in the style of *Pirkei Avot*:

> Ḥavakbuk received instruction (in drinking) from Karmi, who handed it down to Noah, and Noah to Lot and Lot to Joseph's brothers (apparently by virtue of the "cup" found in Benjamin's sack, Gen. 44:12), and Joseph's brothers to Nabal the Carmelite (who was "very drunken," I Sam. 25:36), and Nabal the Carmelite to Ben Hadad (king of Aram in Ahab's time, of whom it is said, who "was drinking himself drunk," I Kings 20:16), and Ben Hadad to Belshazzar (who "drank wine before the thousand," Dan 5:1), and Belshazzar to Ahasuerus (thanks to whose feast blessed with "royal wine in abundance" the festival of Purim came about), and Ahasuerus to Rabbi Bibi (according to Shab. 80b, a certain Rabbi Bibi "got drunk," as a result of which he became a central figure in *Megillat Setarim*).

The characters of Ḥavakbuk ha-Navi and Karmi figure in *Sefer Ḥavakbuk ha-Navi*, which was appended to a number of editions of *Massekhet Purim*, beginning with the Venice edition of 1551. It is a parody in a pure and precise biblical style (of the books of the prophets) in praise of wine on Purim. The modification of the prophet's name from "Ḥavakkuk" to "Ḥavakbuk" ("he embraced the bottle") is the sort of humorous pun which recurs throughout the parody. All personal and place names are derived from the Bible, and with a change of meaning, are made to recall wine and everything connected with it:

Karmi (a biblical first name, here meaning a vineyard); Boẓrah (the town Basra; here it alludes to the vintage); Be'eri (a biblical first name, here meaning a water well); Ha-Tiroshta (appellation of Nehemiah, "because he was allowed to drink the king's wine"; here the allusion is to *tirosh*, new wine); *kos* ("glass"); *enav* ("grape"); and *bakbuk* ("bottle"). In the parody, Karmi, king of Israel from Boẓrah and Be'eri contend for the kingship. The prophet Ḥavakbuk brings the word of God to the waverers between Karmi and Be'eri. Influenced by Ḥavakbuk's powerful words, the people forsake Be'eri and "return to Karmi with all their heart," after the prophecy was fulfilled that "at midnight God directed a very strong east wind and dried up the sea, the rivers and lakes and destroyed the canals and wells." The parody ends with a sentence based on Deuteronomy 34:10; "And there hath not arisen a prophet since in the house of Karmi, like unto Ḥavakbuk in all the signs and wonders, which he wrought in the sight of Israel."

Both *Megillat Setarim* and *Sefer Ḥavakbuk ha-Navi* were erroneously attributed to Kalonymus b. Kalonymus since they were appended to most editions of his *Massekhet Purim*. Other writers, Lavi ha-Levi (known also as Leon de Blautes (de Valentibus)) and Elijah Baḥur *Levita, were also credited with their authorship. Neubauer and Davidson, however, established that the actual author of these parodies was *Levi b. Gershom.

MASSEKHET HANUKKAH. Ḥanukkah, like Purim, is a festival of celebration and games, but very little entertaining literature has been written for it. What there is consists mainly of songs, riddles, and witticisms concerning food and drink, in particular various local Ḥanukkah dishes, all of which symbolize historical events connected with Ḥanukkah. Although the Scroll of Antiochus, which relates the Jewish victory in Hasmonean times and the miracle of Ḥanukkah, is an imitation of the style of the Book of Esther, it is in no way a parody. There are, however, three special Ḥanukkah "tractates," modeled on the *Massekhet Purim* and concentrating especially on the secular aspects of the festival – the food and entertainment. The first, the author of which is unknown, was found in manuscript in the collection of David *Franco-Mendes and published, with an introduction by A.Z. Ben-Yishai in *Aresheth*, 3 (1964), 173–92. It is written as a profound talmudic discussion on the essence of the festival, its joys, and its "laws." It details the quantity of the special Ḥanukkah delicacies a Jew must eat "until he is nauseated" or until "he breathes his last." There are actual descriptions of local color, for which no other source is extant, obviously written by a person who was observant of his environment. It tells of the pastimes current among the well-to-do, cultured Jews of that day, which goes far to explain the reprimands of the great rabbis of the 18th century, Jacob Emden, Moses Ḥagiz, and Ẓevi Hirsch Kaidonover among them, who in their writings admonished their contemporaries "who spend their days going to the theaters and circuses, in dancing, card-playing, and even hunting." Another Ḥanukkah tractate, by Joshua Calinari, appeared in Venice, and later in Salonika, while the third, by Jacob Segre, remained in manuscript.

PARODIES AGAINST CATHOLICS, APOSTATES, AND FALSE MESSIAHS. The opposition to the false Messiah, Shabbetai Ẓevi, and to his movement in the 17th and 18th centuries, produced an extensive polemical literature in Hebrew, both in poetry and in prose. The Italian poets, Jacob and Emanuel Frances, published a book of satiric poems called *Ẓevi Mudaḥ*, directed at him. The parody *Haggadah le-Tishah be-Av* is also attributed to the two brothers. (The Ninth of Av was chosen for the recital of the "*Haggadah*" parody because Shabbetai Ẓevi "abolished" the fast on that day and turned it into a feast.) Two versions of this parody, preserved in manuscript, were published by A.M. Habermann, in *Kobez al Jad* 13, pt. 2 (1940), 185–206. Using the framework of the Passover *Haggadah*, including instructions for the various *seder* customs connecting the different sections, the author unleashes his sarcasm and contempt, curses and abuse upon the false messiah. For example, his version of *Dayyeinu* ("It would have been enough"):

> Had he made himself false Messiah
> And not abolished the fast of the Fourth,
> It would have been enough.
> Had he abolished the Fast of the Fourth and not abolished the fast of the Fifth,
> It would have been enough.
> Had he abolished the Fast of the Fifth and not turned it into a regular feast,
> It would have been enough.
> Had he turned it into a regular feast and not eaten and distributed forbidden fats,
> It would have been enough.
> Had he eaten and distributed forbidden fats and not desecrated

> the Sabbath,
> It would have been enough.
> Had he desecrated the Sabbath and not uttered the Ineffable Name,
> It would have been enough.
> Had he uttered the Ineffable Name and not permitted murder,
> It would have been enough.
> Had he permitted murder and not apostatized,
> It would have been enough.
> Had he apostatized and not desecrated the name of God in public, to the hazard of all the Jews of the Diaspora,
> It would have been enough.

In the defensive war against incitement or coercion of Jews to convert (mainly on the part of the Catholics), and against the false messiah Shabbetai Ẓevi, satiric parodies came to be written which were circulated in manuscript for fear of the authorities, and which were preserved in various archives. Some of these parodies were printed only hundreds of years later, in countries enjoying a free press. One of the bitterest of those directed against the Catholics is *Pilpul al Zeman, Zemannim, Zemanneihem* by Jonah ha-Kohen Rafa, which was printed in London in 1908, some 226 years after the author's death, from a manuscript in the Montefiore collection. It is a derisive imitation of Jewish ritual style, in the manner of the Passover *Haggadah*, and of the *Avodah* (the Temple service of the Day of Atonement). The descriptions of the Christian *carnival, of gluttony and drunkenness, and of other gratifications of the flesh, point at the debauchery of the Catholic priests of those days, which was far removed from the holy and ascetic life preached by the Church. The author's sharp, unrestrained pen, and his insight into contemporary church and monastery life, highlight the suffering and distress of the Jewish community confronted with religious incitement or coercion.

The Early Haskalah

One of the fathers of Hebrew parody of the Haskalah was Judah Leib *Ben Ze'ev, one of the early *maskilim* and Hebrew philologists. His *Meliẓah le-Furim*, based on the prayers of the Day of Atonement, is a paeon of praise to wine and utter abandon. The uncurbed Purim joy, permitted according to the *halakhah*, served as a cover for the freedom of drinking and gluttony. At the same time the *Meliẓah* also utilized sacred prayers to convey profane ideas, without which no work by a *maskil* of that generation was complete. Parodies of a different kind are Ben Ze'ev's erotic poems, which were never published, but passed from hand to hand like secret pamphlets. One of the poems, *Derekh Gever be-Almah* (a play on the word *almah*; the title can mean "The Way of a Certain Man" or "The Way of a Man with a Maiden"), is a precise description of sexual intercourse, in a garbled combination of fractions of biblical verses. Through this erotic parody Ben Ze'ev wanted to prove that classical Hebrew could express not only holy and exalted ideas, but even intimate, earthy matters.

Not only the Bible and the Talmud served as a framework for amusing parodies at times of festivity, but the Zohar also was used. One of the parodies of the Zohar is *Zohar Ḥadash le-Furim*, whose author was the Polish writer Tobias *Feder. *Zohar Ḥadash* was published in *Oẓar ha-Sifrut*, 3 (1887–90). Even the names of chapters are borrowed from the Zohar. In a language comprehensible only to those familiar with the original, it deals with the festivity of Purim and the purpose of drinking, utilizing biblical verses in a display of homiletics and a pseudo-mysticism. Like the amusing names of the *tannaim* in Kalonymus' *Massekhet Purim*, in the *Zohar Ḥadash* there are also names alluding to Purim dishes and to inebriating drinks.

Another Hebrew philologist, Ẓevi Hirsch Sommerhausen, who lived in Holland and Belgium, was the author of one of the best Hebrew parodies which has retained its popularity, *Haggadah le-Leil Shikkorim*, a parody of the traditional Passover *Haggadah*. It is reminiscent of the classical wine-songs in the Hebrew poetry of Spain and in the poetry of the other peoples – the Greek Anacreon and the Persian Omar Khayyam. Sommerhausen's *Haggadah* begins with these Anacreonic rhymes:

> Drink and eat, eat and drink,
> Dissipate every heart-ache
> Eat and drink, drink and eat
> Till you don't know black from white.

At the end is a German poem by the author (in Hebrew letters) in praise of wine, even specifying particular types.

Another booklet of this period "including all the intoxication rules of Purim" is *Even Shetiyyah* (1861). The name originally refers to the foundation rock in the Temple, but may also be translated "drinking stone." The rules which the anonymous author gives include those "forbidding water on Purim":

> (a) it is forbidden to touch, carry, or look at a vessel which contains water or is used for water; (b) he who finds water in his house on Purim should cover it with earth, and he who has a well in his yard should invalidate it with three partitions; (c) laundrymen and all who work with water are forbidden to join the congregation on Purim; (d) it is forbidden to walk on the river bank on Purim; (e) it is forbidden to sail a boat on the river; (f) it is forbidden to drink wine mixed with water on Purim, even if it was mixed before the feast; (g) it is forbidden to walk outside in the rain; (h) it is forbidden to lick salt on Purim, and similar prohibitions.

PARODIES DIRECTED AGAINST ḤASIDISM AND EXTREME ORTHODOXY. There was hardly a poet or author among the early *maskilim* who did not, on some occasion, attempt to write parody, principally as a weapon of derision against his "ideological" adversaries. In particular they mocked Ḥasidism, its customs, and its way of life. Joseph *Perl was a Ḥasid in his youth but, after his stay at the centers of the Haskalah, he became a fanatical adversary of Ḥasidism and a militant *maskil*. He wrote classical parodies directed against ḥasidic literature, in particular the *Shivḥei ha-Besht*, and the stories of *Naḥman of Bratslav. These allegorical stories, which are today considered gems of Hebrew literature, were, at the time of their publication, derided by the linguistically pedantic *maskilim* for their confused language and strange contents. So successful were the parodies that they deceived many innocent Ḥasidim into thinking that they had really been written by ḥasidic authors. In *Megalleh Temirin* ("Revealer of Secrets," 1819), written in the form of 151 epistles which the "obscurantist" Jews were supposed to have exchanged, Perl gives a biased caricature of Ḥasidism in Volhynia and Galicia, and of the *ẓaddikim* whom he despised, and whom he describes as swindlers and avaricious men. It is written in a corrupt Hebrew, spiced with Yiddish idioms and Slavic expressions. His second book, *Boḥen Ẓaddik* (1838), also in the form of letters, is a continuation and explanation of the first. Another satirical work aimed at the Ḥasidim of Galicia is *Ha-Ẓofeh le-Veit Yisrael* (1858) by Isaac *Erter, written in biblical language and in the spirit of Haskalah.

Some of the parodies against Ḥasidism were written in Yiddish poetry and prose. A very popular parody in its time was *Tsvey Khasidimlekh* by N. Goldberg, modeled on *Heine's *Die Grenadiere*.

It tells of two Ḥasidim traveling to the *ẓaddik* Israel of Ruzhin to celebrate the feast of Sukkot and "to listen to his talk with the Divine Guests (*ushpizin*)." On the way, they hear of the rabbi's arrest and imprisonment, together with others suspected of plotting rebellion. The dialogue between the two Ḥasidim is modeled directly on that of Heine's grenadiers, who return from Russian captivity, and while on their way hear of the defeat of Napoleon and his imprisonment. The two Ḥasidim are deeply shaken when they hear of the rabbi's arrest, and the more sentimental of them begs his friend (like Napoleon's grenadier) that if he die of chagrin, he be buried at the rabbi's town, Ruzhin, and covered with its earth. In one hand of the deceased, who is to wear a *tallit* and *tefillin*, they should place a *shofar* and in the other a bottle of brandy. When the rabbi is released and treads on the Ḥasid's tomb, the latter will arise, blow a prolonged blast, and drink to the health of the rabbi.

Another parody directed against Ḥasidism and popular in its time was *Dos Lid fun'm Kugil* (1863), on the model of *Schiller's poem *The Bell*. It was written by Abraham *Gottlober, a popular and prolific Hebrew and Yiddish author who published many such satiric works both in poetry and in prose, mainly against Ḥasidism, in the spirit of the Haskalah.

Sefer ha-Kundas (1824) is a witty parody in the style and form of the Shulḥan Arukh. The book is divided into paragraphs, and the paragraphs into sections, which determine, in a style typical of the Shulḥan Arukh, how the true prankster must behave in order to justify his title. It is a satire on the strict way of life, which robbed young children of the joy of living by prematurely imposing ritualistic duties upon them. In many cases they rebelled against the severe restrictions by complete licentiousness. The author also wanted to prove how common this type of prankster was among the youth of good families in Vilna. There are differences of opinion as to the identity of the author of *Sefer ha-Kundas*. It is often ascribed to Aaron of Berdichev, whose exact identity is unknown, but according to Zinberg and others, it was Abraham Isaac, the son of Rabbi Ḥayyim Landa, a learned young man who was familiar with the teaching of the *maskilim*. Pressed by the hostile environment, Landa was compelled to divorce his wife. In order to avenge himself on his former father-in-law and on the leaders of the Vilna community, he wrote *Sefer ha-Kundas*, relating "the prankster's deed, ruses and actions and his doings from the beginning of the year to its end." *Kundas* (perhaps related to the Polish word *kondys* – a farmer's dog, lacking manners) is a common appellation in the Yiddish of eastern European Jews for a mischievous, prankish boy, or a social outcast who uses vulgar and obscene language, affronting the dignitaries and appearing wherever there is a crowd. The dignitaries of Vilna considered *Sefer ha-Kundas* to be a dangerous pamphlet and banned it soon after its publication, burning all available copies so that it should not be circulated. Only individual copies survived, one of which was published 88 years later by the student of Jewish folklore David *Maggid in 1913, with an introduction by the publisher about the parody and its author.

In recent generations, remote from the controversies of the Haskalah, evaluation of the works written in the heat of the polemics of that time have changed, and literary critics now regard *Sefer ha-Kundas* as a "gay sunbeam peeping through the dark clouds of seriousness" of the Haskalah period (see S. Niger, *Bleter far Geshikhte fun der Yidisher Literatur*, 1954). According to this view, this was the first book in the Hebrew literature of the 19th century, which was amusing for its own sake and without any polemical or didactic aim. This seems also to have been the view of Ḥ.N. *Bialik, who, in writing a children's poem describing a merry, mischievous boy, admitted to having been influenced by the 19th-century *Sefer ha-Kundas*.

Isaac Dov *Levinsohn was one of the early Russian *maskilim*. He was the author of several parodies, including *Divrei Ẓaddikim*, similar to Joseph Perl's *Megalleh Temirin*, concerning *ẓaddikim* and Ḥasidim, and *Oto ve-et Beno*, a tractate in talmudic style, protesting against unfair trade practices, etc. Judah Leib *Gordon, the greatest Hebrew poet of the late Haskalah, who successfully tried his hand at all literary forms, also attempted parody, especially in his *Shirim le-Et Meẓo*. It includes *maqāmāt*, epigrams, and a long and witty parodic poem in Aramaic called *Be-Niggun Akdamot*. Gordon derides the conduct of the provincial Jewish tradesmen in the 1800s who came on business to St. Petersburg, where no one knew them, "with the aim of making great profits and stuffing their bellies with delicious food and other delights." With all his reservation toward Yiddish, Gordon tried his hand at writing poems in that language collected in a volume with the Hebrew title of *Siḥat Ḥullin*. The majority of the poems are humorous imitations of naive folktales, which may be considered parodies. One of them, *Eliyahu ha-Navi min ha-Nahar Ridevka* ("The Prophet Elijah of the river Ridevka"), is the story of a pretty shopkeeper, the wife of a yeshivah student, who suddenly becomes rich thanks to "the prophet Elijah" who enters through the window while her good-for-nothing husband studies Torah at the *bet ha-midrash* until late at night. The "Elijah" is a gentile lover who is a public official and who bestows many presents upon the pretty shopkeeper in return for her favors. This is a parody on those Jewish folktales which attribute any obscure success in the life of the individual to miraculous events and to the "appearance of Elijah." The Haskalah orientation of this parody and of similar poems is obvious.

The jesters (**badḥanim*), whose job it was to entertain the bride and bridegroom on their wedding day, composed many entertaining parodies in Yiddish, interspersed with Hebrew words and phrases. Most have been forgotten, while some have been preserved in Jewish folklore, though the sources which inspired the jesters are not always identifiable.

Modern Times

PARODY AS A SOCIALIST WEAPON. With the development of political movements in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, the war against religious Orthodoxy and the "obscurantists" slackened and new battles broke out in Jewish society on nationalistic and socialistic issues. The *maskilim* began to employ satirical parody as a weapon against unfair trade, widespread ignorance, and the miserable social position of religious personnel, particularly of teachers and yeshivah students. Themes from the life of Jewish society which did not receive adequate treatment in journalism or in serious literature were reflected gaily in an exaggerated and biased light in satire. These satires were modeled on the common liturgy which was well known to all Jews in those days, and were thus intelligible even to people not used to reading belles letters for their own sake. Not only "professional" authors but also adroit dabblers in writing engaged in such parody. Many of the writers are anonymous and it is almost impossible to identify them, despite the effort of literary scholars to decipher and identify some of their pen names. But even as anonymous amateurs these writers make a substantial contribution to the knowledge of Jewish social life in various periods; these descriptions cannot be ignored in the study of all classes of Jewish life, at differing times and in diverse countries. The language of this "unofficial" literature also contributed in its own way to the development and crystallization of modern Hebrew.

Massekhet Aniyyut ("A Tractate on Poverty," 1878), by Isaac Meir Dick, considered the "father of the Yiddish folktale," is one of the most successful parodies in Hebrew literature. It severely criticizes the poor social and economic conditions of Lithuanian Jews at that time. It also contains autobiographical elements: in those years the school where Dick taught was closed down, and a state school was opened in its stead to which Dick could not adjust, and he thus remained jobless. Sachs published the parody, unknown to its author, and it made a great impression, reflecting as it did the reality of Jewish society at the time.

The parody *Kiẓẓur Shulḥan Arukh li-Melammedim u-le-Morim* by Joseph *Brill of Minsk, whose pen name was Iyov, printed in *Oẓar ha-Sifrut*, 3 (1889), also belongs to the class of "socialistic" parodies. An outstanding parodist, he described in a lively, biting, and comical fashion the miserable position in Jewish society of "the educators of the generation" – the *melammedim* of the old system and the teachers of the new.

Even with the change in the contents and purpose of parodies, traditional books of worship, such as the festival prayers and in particular the Passover *Haggadah*, continued to serve as a model for topical parodies. The authors directed their satire against local affairs, such as profiteering, exploitation of the poor, cultural emptiness, excessive materialism, and similar negative phenomena. When the aim of the parody was to protest against the decrees and restrictions of unjust authorities, the disguise of stories and prayers was used in order to circumvent censorship. The *Mah Nishtanah* questions of the *Haggadah* and the recurring answer "We were the slaves of…" would be given new topical contents each year. The same was done to the chorus of the song *Ḥad Gadya*. In addition to parodies on traditional liturgical literature, parodies on popular contemporary works, Jewish and gentile, eventually came to be written.

The following parodies are of a salient socialistic orientation: *Seder Haggadah li-Melammedim* (1882), with a commentary by Levi Reuben Zimlin, a teacher in Odessa, imitates the Passover *Haggadah* "imbued with moral lessons for *melammedim* and for landlords who inspire them with awe for a loaf of bread that does not satiate." The book contains recommendations by Gottlober, Lilienblum, and others. *Seder Haggadah le-Ḥoveshei Beit ha-Midrash* ("Haggadah of Bet Midrash Students," 1899), by Elijah Ḥayyim Zayantshik, describes the miserable state of students ("he will divide the food he eats into two shares, so that one remains for the morrow, because a miracle does not occur every day, and the second share is the **afikoman*, because after that there is nothing to eat or drink but water"), and bitterly criticizes the treasurers, supervisors, and landlords who neglect the students. *Massekhet Soḥarim* ("Traders' Tractate," 1900) by Abraham Shelomo Melamed (1862–1951), a Hebrew teacher in Feodosia, in the Crimean Peninsula, is a parody in the style of the Mishnah and Gemara and a bitter satire on the various tradesmen ("wheat tradesmen, wood tradesmen, contractors and shopkeepers") who engaged in unfair trade, profiteering, international bankruptcy, and arson in order to collect the insurance money. *Massekhet Shetarot* ("Bills' Tractate," 1894) by "*La-Saifa ve-la-Safra*" (pen name of Abraham Abba Rokovsky, born in Poland, who translated many books from various languages into Hebrew, including Alroy by Disraeli), is also a parody in talmudic style "depicting the world of trade, its customs, stratagems and wicked impulses" (from the publisher's introduction to the book).

HEBREW PARODY IN THE U.S. At the time of the large-scale immigration to the U.S. from Russia and other eastern European countries during the late 19th century, the newcomers were able to give vent to their feelings through parody. They had immigrated to the new country to seek their fortune and discovered only chaos in Jewish life. Far from the old *bet ha-midrash* tradition, many of the Jews in the U.S. had largely abandoned Jewish tradition, and satire was a convenient genre for adroit writers to express their anger and bitterness at this development. Abraham Kotlier, born near Kovno, immigrated to the United States in 1880 and lived in Cleveland as a bookseller for over 50 years, before moving in his old age to Ereẓ Israel. His first parody, *Massekhet Derekh Ereẓ ha-Ḥadashah* ("Tractate on the Way of Life of the New Country"), was a devastating attack on Jewish immigrants living in the U.S., their faults and vices, and on the Jewish administrators and "Reform" leaders who corrupted Jewish life. It was first published serially in the Yiddish weekly *Folks Fraynd*, and later on its own in St. Petersburg (1893). It also appeared in Warsaw in 1898 together with *Maḥzor Katan – Hagaddah le-Fesaḥ*, a volume of *piyyutim* and a *Haggadah* "according to the American custom." A third edition was published in Tel Aviv in 1927.

Gershon *Rosenzweig, born in Russian Poland, was a teacher who went to the U.S. in 1888. He contributed to the Hebrew and Yiddish press, specializing mainly in parodies and aphorisms. He also edited and published some of the Hebrew periodicals: *Ha-Ivri* (1892–1902), *Kadimah* (1899), and *Ha-Devorah* (1912). In a series of "tractates" first published in *Ha-Ivri* and then in the collection *Talmud Yanka'i*, Rosenzweig satirizes U.S. Jewish life. According to Rosenzweig, Columbus refused to have the country he discovered called after him, and it was therefore called "America," deriving from the Aramaic *Amma-Reika* ("an empty people"). There is hardly an aspect of Jewish life in America that Rosenzweig does not touch upon. He pours out his protest against the low standards of education, the neglect of the younger generation, and the Reform rabbis. He attacks the fact that most synagogues are mortgaged, that ignorance among Jews was becoming even more widespread; he criticizes the prevalence of card games, and touches also on the inferior state of Jewish writers, and the mediocre Yiddish press which fed its readers on "cheap sensations and trash." In *Massekhet Okẓin* ("Tractate Sarcasm") Rosenzweig treats the subject of plagiarisms, which were then very common. In yet another tractate, *Massekhet Maḥaloket mi-Talmud Ẓivoni* ("Tractate Discord, from the Colored Talmud"), Rosenzweig discusses the quarrels between Portuguese Jews and German Jews in Philadelphia.

During the period of "prohibition" in the United States Gershon Kiss published *Massekhet Prohibishon* (1929), in which he depicted humorously, in talmudic style, the many and diverse maneuvers carried out in order to circumvent the laws of prohibition, as well as all the mishaps occurring due to the consumption of noxious drinks. Here is an excerpt from one of the chapters:

> Mishnah. How does one hide the drinks? One hides them in the walls and under the floor, in pits, ditches and caves, in toilets, bathrooms, and any place out of reach of the city guardians. Gemara. The rabbis have taught: The pious men of olden days used to hide the drinks in the walls and under the floor and in pits, bushes, and caves, but pious men of recent times have decided once and for all that there is no hope of storing them, so they immediately store them in their stomachs.

Ephraim *Deinard, born in Russian Latvia, was a scholar, traveler, and bookseller who lived in the U.S. for many years. He published several satires in parodic form, including one called *Sefer ha-Kundas* ("The Book of the Prankster," 1900), and *Sefer ha-Ploydferzakh* ("The Chatterbox"), a caricature of contemporary Jewish newspapers in America. The title page describes it as "a general gazette for everyone, and the attentive reader will merit life in this world, and I am positive he will not have to read any other gazette."

HEBREW PARODY IN COMMUNIST RUSSIA. During the early years in post-1917 Russia, when Judaism, the Zionist movement, and Hebrew culture generally were the subjects of persecution, many bitter satirical parodies were written attacking the oppressive regime and its supporters. In particular, the "Yevsektsia," the department of the Communist Party responsible for the liquidation of Jewish communities and institutions and the suppression of the various Jewish parties, and especially the Zionist ones, came under protest. As these parodies could not appear in print they passed from hand to hand as "underground literature." They were modeled on well-known prayers and folksongs in Hebrew, Yiddish, and Russian. One of the most successful parodies on the Bolshevik regime was *Massekhet Admonim min-Talmud Bolshevi* ("Tractate of the Reds from the Bolshevik Talmud"), signed by Avshalom Bar-Deroma, the pen name of A.S. Melamed (see above). It was brought out of Russia by the author in the early 1920s, and was published in Tel Aviv in 1923.

PARODY IN MODERN EREẒ ISRAEL. Jewish settlement in Ereẓ Israel, from the second half of the 19th century onward, gave rise to many varied social conflicts which were reflected in mostly verbal satire, such as new words sung to old and familiar tunes. During the period of Turkish rule hardly any satires had been written due to the despotism of the regime. Those which were circulated treated only of internal affairs of the Jewish *yishuv*. One of the major conflicts within the *yishuv* before World War I was the struggle for the place of Hebrew as the language of the people. When the Hilfsverein founded the Technion in Haifa, it declared its intention of having German as the language of instruction. The protagonists of Hebrew carried their struggle to the press and published, among other items, a parody in talmudic style, *Massekhet Bava Tekhnikah* (1910), by Kadish Yehudah Leib *Silman. Silman was a teacher and journalist, born in Russia, who wrote and edited textbooks, and published various humorous works. Another "internal" parody, an anonymous satire against the plague of anniversary celebrations prevalent in the *yishuv* among the communal workers and writers of the time, was called *Ha-Yabbelet* ("The Ulcer," 1914).

Under the semi-democratic rule of the British Mandate in Ereẓ Israel between 1918 and 1948, there was a greater degree of freedom of criticism, and political satire against the regime was allowed to develop. During the 29 years of the Mandate many humorous and satirical papers appeared, most of them of one issue only, usually for holidays and festivals, especially Purim. A political parody which had a great impact was *Haggadah shel ha-Bayit ha-Le'ummi* ("*Haggadah* of the National Home") by "Afarkeset," a regular columnist in the daily *Haaretz*. It appeared for Passover 1930, when a British commission was visiting the country to investigate the bloody riots of the Arabs a year earlier and the slaughter of the Jews of Hebron and other towns. It begins with *Mah Nishtannah*:

> How does the present rule [the British] differ from the former [Turkish] rule? Under the former regime we settled to the west of the Jordan as well as to its east, while this regime has completely closed the land of Gad and of Reuben to us. Under the former regime we bought lands and received *kushans* [sales certificates], while this regime hinders the buying of new lands and invalidates old *kushans*. Under the former regime there were no riots, while under this one they have occurred four times. Under the former regime we were residents enjoying the protection of consuls, while under this regime we are all citizens and we lack protection and defense.

The following chant appears in the same parody, based on the *Dayyeinu* of the Passover *Haggadah*:

> What a long line of kindnesses has John Bull bestowed on us: Had he given us the Balfour Declaration and not appended a second part that contradicts the first – it would have been enough. Had he appended a second part that contradicts the first and not given us an alien police force – it would have been enough. Had he given us an alien police force and not ignored Arab incitement – it would have been enough. Had he ignored Arab incitement and not distributed high positions to the inciters – it would have been enough. Had he distributed high positions to the inciters and not negotiated with them regarding the future of the country – it would have been enough. Had he negotiated with the inciters and not sent us a commission to investigate sabotage – it would have been enough. Had he sent us a commission to investigate sabotage and it had not interviewed various land specialists – it would have been enough. Had it interviewed various land specialists and not drawn conclusions and not closed the country to Jewish immigration – it would have been more than enough.

Under the British Mandate theatrical troupes were also established, a large part of whose program consisted in satires against the regime, only some of which have appeared in print. The unique life during the Mandate and the contrasts between the three elements in the population – Jews, Arabs, and British – is reflected to some extent in *Palestine Parodies* (Eng., 1930). Tel Aviv, the largest town in Ereẓ Israel, became the subject of a special parodic *Haggadah* on its 25th anniversary. Its author did not spare the eminent status of "the first Hebrew town," and severely criticized the leaders of the town for their many words and few actions. The citizens, too, came under fire for their lack of social etiquette, and the confusion of foreign languages rivaling Hebrew. Nor was the British regime spared.

The life of the State of Israel, its new parliament, austerity at home, and international adventures all gave rise to an improvised satirical literature, much of it concentrated in the Friday and holiday supplements of the daily press. It featured too in the entertainment programs of the radio. The Talmud, which was studied in the secondary schools as well as in the many yeshivot, continued to be a popular model on which to build parodies. In *Massekhet Yamim Tovim* ("Tractate of Holidays," 1959), M.Y. Bar-On, a journalist and translator, wittily criticized the faults of the state and of the different strata of its society, alluding to various public scandals.

PARODIES OF WRITERS ON WRITERS. Hebrew parody through the ages was mostly of the sort which used easily recognizable literary forms as a vehicle for social, religious, or political themes. Such were, of course, the works of Kalonymus b. Kalonymus, Ben Ze'ev, Sommerhausen, and the extensive Purim literature, all intended mainly for entertainment. However, there were also examples of the type of parody designed to deride the very work or literary form which it emulates. Among these were the writings of Joseph Perl against the early books of Ḥasidism, mocking not only the ḥasidic movement but also its literature, with its entangled style, faulty syntax, and confused presentation. This was the start of parodies of "writers on writers." Some of the work of Joseph Brill (see above) also belongs to this category.

Brill's "*Midrash Soferim*" ("Midrash of Writers," in: *Ha-Shaḥar*, 10; 1880–81) is a witty satire directed against various literary types. Of contemporary newspaper editors he writes: "There are three who eat and do not labor – a son-in-law supported by his father-in-law, a soldier on guard and a boorish editor." He lashes out at "the scholars and historians who peck like hens, and who prefer one grain of barley on the mound of an ancient hill, already rotten and mouldy, to all the precious stones and jewels glittering in the valley of the present."

Well-known Hebrew authors and poets of the 20th century, among them Frischmann, Bialik, Tchernichowsky, Shneour, Berkowitz, Shlonsky, and Hameiri, occasionally wrote parodies on other writers and on literary works, some of them simply for amusement and entertainment, others for genuine criticism. They appeared mostly under pen names, scattered in newspapers, appearing for festivals, especially Purim, in Russia, Poland, the U.S., and Israel. The Hebrew stage, which became firmly established towards the middle of the 20th century, and especially the smaller entertainment theaters, produced many topical satires which, however, seldom appeared in print. Some well-known Yiddish authors also wrote occasional parodies, mostly anonymously or under a pen name. Joseph *Tunkel was a prominent Yiddish humorist and parodist. A regular columnist of Yiddish papers in Poland, he published special collections of parodies, including *Mitn Kop Arop* (1931), *Di Royte Hagode* (1917), *Di Bolshevistishe Hagode* (1918), and some on writers and on literature: *Der Krumer Shpigl* (1911), and *Kataves* (1923). Small theatrical troupes in Yiddish, in countries where Yiddish was spoken and Yiddish newspapers appeared, also owed much of their popularity to topical parodies.

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[Aharon Zeev Ben-Yishai]

PAROKHET AND KAPPORET (Torah Ark curtain and valance). The Torah Ark curtain is a screen hanging over the Torah Ark which serves as a partition between the Ark and the prayer hall. The Hebrew term *parokhet* is based on its identification with the curtain, *parokhet*, which separated the holy section of the Tabernacle and the Temple from the Holy of Holies (Ex. 26:31–35; 40:21). This identification is based on the concept of the synagogue as a "lesser sanctuary" (Ezek. 11:16). According to the available literary and visual sources, the curtain became a fixture in Ashkenazi and Italian synagogues during the Middle Ages. We have no information about the existence of Torah Ark curtains in communities outside Europe until the 20th century. According to the literary and visual material from Spain, it seems that the outer curtain was not customary in Spanish communities. On the other hand, they did apparently use an inner curtain, as evidenced by the presence of an inner curtain in all Sephardi Diaspora communities. In Italy all arks have inner curtains, whereas an outer curtain is present only in some communities – perhaps out of reluctance to hide the ornate doors. Since the curtain serves as a cover for the Ark, its position within the hierarchy of ceremonial objects is that of a "secondary" ceremonial object. Only when the need arises to use it as a covering for the *bimah*, that is, as the cloth on which the Torah itself is rested, does it become a primary ceremonial object, requiring *genizah*.

Like other ceremonial objects in the synagogue, the Torah Ark curtain is usually donated by individual members of the congregation, frequently to commemorate life-cycle events. This has engendered the custom of embroidering the name of the donor and the occasion of the donation directly on the curtain or on an attached piece of cloth. In the 20th century, dedicatory plaques of beaten silver appeared in Iraq.

The traditional design of the Torah Ark curtain varies from community to community. In most, the curtain was made of a choice fabric according to the local cultural conception. In most communities a luxurious fabric, which had previously been in the family's possession, was used, and a common practice was specifically to use a costly piece of woman's clothing. The typical curtain in Iraq was made from the *izar*, the upper veil worn by a woman when she leaves her house. Torah Ark curtains in the communities of Iran and Afghanistan were principally made of *suzani* embroidered sheets, and in Iran a tradition also developed of using paisley-printed cotton material with Hebrew inscriptions.

Yemeni Torah Ark curtains were designed, as were covers for the *tevah* and for Torah scroll cases, in the form of a large sheet in the center surrounded by a broad patchwork frame with a chessboard pattern. In the Sephardi communities of the Ottoman Empire it became customary to make Torah Ark curtains from silk velvet with gold embroidery, or from women's dresses, also of silk-embroidered velvet. In such cases the different parts of the dress were disassembled and re-sewn in order to create a rectangle.

It appears that neither in the eastern communities nor in the Sephardi Diaspora did this custom arouse opposition on the part of the rabbis. European rabbis, however, differed regarding the fashioning of Torah Ark curtains from used material, especially from clothing in general and from women's clothing in particular. The circumstances under which pieces of clothing were used generally involved vows taken by women in times of stress, or used elegant clothing purchased for reuse of the cloth. Rabbinical objections to the practice abound in the responsa literature, where we find repeated questions on this subject. Those objecting to the reuse of fabrics relied on the law that the Temple utensils must be made of new material, which was not previously used (Men. 22a). The more permissive rabbis, who were willing to take popular feeling into consideration, cited midrashic commentaries on the episode of the copper mirrors donated by the women of Israel for the Tabernacle (*Midrash Tanhḥuma*, *Pekudei* 9). According to this interpretation, it is permitted to use a piece of clothing, provided its form is changed.

Alongside curtains of costly materials, European communities began to use embroidered Torah Ark curtains. In Italy, a center of the art of embroidery, many communities traditionally embroidered curtains using the Florentine stitch technique, which is particularly conducive to the execution of detailed and precise patterns. Community women used it to embroider a variety of Jewish motifs, including biblical themes, such as the Giving of the Torah, and scenes from calendar and life-cycle events.

An entirely different embroidery tradition developed in the communities of central and western Europe, where there were professional embroiderers who specialized in gold embroidery on a silk velvet background. The most outstanding motif of the 18th-century Torah ark curtain in these communities is that of a pair of columns, topped by a pair of lions flanking a Torah crown. Between the two columns is an ornate sewn or embroidered rectangular sheet. This motif dates back to the earlier architectonic motif of an actual gate, above which is the verse that identifies it as the gateway to heaven: "This is the gateway to the Lord – the righteous shall enter through it" (Ps. 118:20). Underlying the depiction of this motif on Torah Ark curtains is the identification of the Torah Ark with the "gateway to heaven." Originally found in Italy, the motif spread eastward to Turkey, northward to Bohemia and Moravia, and westward to Germany.

The Torah Ark valance (Heb. *kapporet*) is a short curtain hung on the Torah Ark, above the curtain (*parokhet*). This ceremonial object, which first appeared in eastern Europe at the end of the 17th century, evolved in connection with the identification of the Torah Ark in the synagogue with the *Ark of the Covenant, and of the upper part with the *kapporet* on the Ark of the Covenant in the Tabernacle (Ex. 25:21). Accordingly, it was customary in eastern Europe to inscribe the verse "He made a cover of pure gold" (Ex. 37:6) on the upper part of the Ark. The identification then came to be applied to the short curtain hung over the upper part of the Ark to conceal the rod on which the main curtain (the *parokhet*) was mounted. Indeed, we find the verse "Place the cover (*kapporet*) upon the Ark of the Covenant" (Ex. 26:34) embroidered on early Torah Ark valances. As part of the synagogue furnishings, the valance was probably introduced under the influence of 17th-century interior decoration in Europe, where such valances were integral parts of curtains in general. Further influence of the cultural environment is evident in the scalloped lower edge of the valance.

The identification of the valance hung on the Torah Ark with the gold cover on the Ark of the Covenant is also evident in the motifs used in its decoration. Thus, most early valances employ the motif of a pair of cherubim flanking a Torah Crown, as per the biblical description of two golden cherubs with outspread wings mounted on the ends of the cover (Ex. 37:7–9). The depiction of the cherubim as a pair of eagles, lions, or griffons is based on the traditional interpretation of the creatures figuring in Ezekiel's Vision of the Chariot (Ezek. 1:5; 10:14–15). Another characteristic motif of the valance is the Tabernacle utensils embroidered on the scalloped edges. The Ark of the Covenant is embroidered on the central scallop below the Torah crown; the showbread table and the seven-branched candelabra are generally embroidered on matching scallops on either side of the central one, as are the golden altar and sacrificial altar on another pair of matching scallops. Later an additional motif, the motif of "*three* crowns" (Pirkei Avot 4:13) appeared in the upper part of the Torah Ark valance.

The Torah Ark valance spread from eastern Europe to central and western Europe (but not to the Italian communities), and by the beginning of the 18th century it had already become common. In most instances, valances were donated separately from the Torah Ark curtain. During the 18th century, a workshop in Prague specialized in the embroidery of Torah Ark valances. A unique feature of the Prague valances is the addition of a pair of freestanding wings attached to the upper part of the Torah Ark on either side of the valance. These wings were fashioned from rigid materials and covered with an embroidered cloth. German valances are more varied than those from Prague, displaying a richer vocabulary of iconographic motifs.

In eastern Europe, where Torah Arks typically show greater iconographic variety, the motifs on the valance disappeared in the course of the 18th century, most of the valances known from this area being made of patterned fabrics without embroidered motifs or inscriptions. In contrast, in central and western Europe, velvet valances with motifs and dedicatory inscriptions in rich gold embroidery continued to be fashioned up to the 20th century. The existence of valances in distant communities at the beginning of the 20th century, and even in our time, is evidence of the influence of the European valances.

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[Bracha Yaniv (2nd ed.)]

°PARROT, ANDRÉ (1901–1980), French archaeologist. He directed the French excavations at Tello and Larsa in Iraq from 1931 to 1933 and at *Mari in Syria (1933–64). He was curator in chief of the French national museums from 1946 and professor at the Ecole du Louvre and the Protestant Theology Faculty of Paris (both institutions from 1936). His contributions in the field of Near Eastern archaeology are highlighted by his excavations of the palace of Mari. His recovery of more than 20,000 tablets of the Mari royal archives, composed mainly during the reign of Zimrilim (18th century B.C.E.), immeasurably increased the historical understanding of Western Asia, especially as regards the Patriarchal Age.

His contributions on Mari include *Une Bille Perdue* (1945); an assortment of studies appearing in *Syria*, a French quarterly on Oriental art and archaeology, and the series *Archives Royales de Mari* (vols. 1–9, 1950–60), and *Mission archéologique de Mari* (3 vols., 1956–67), all scholarly publications which he helped edit. He wrote voluminously on ancient Near Eastern history, literature, architecture, philology, and similar subjects. Many of his semipopular works, marked by clarity, humor, and enthusiasm, are concerned with the problems of the biblical past and its Oriental background.

[Zev Garber]

PARTISANS. Jewish partisans composed part of the resistance movement and the guerrilla war in Europe against Nazi Germany during World War II. The first nuclei of partisans were composed of individuals or groups that were forced to flee from the Nazis and their collaborators; soldiers who were thrown into areas that were occupied by the enemy; and prisoners of war who escaped from camps. Their natural bases were the forests and swamps of eastern *Poland, Lithuania, Belorussia, and the Ukraine, the mountainous areas of the Alps, *Yugoslavia, *Slovakia, and *Greece. While the parti-

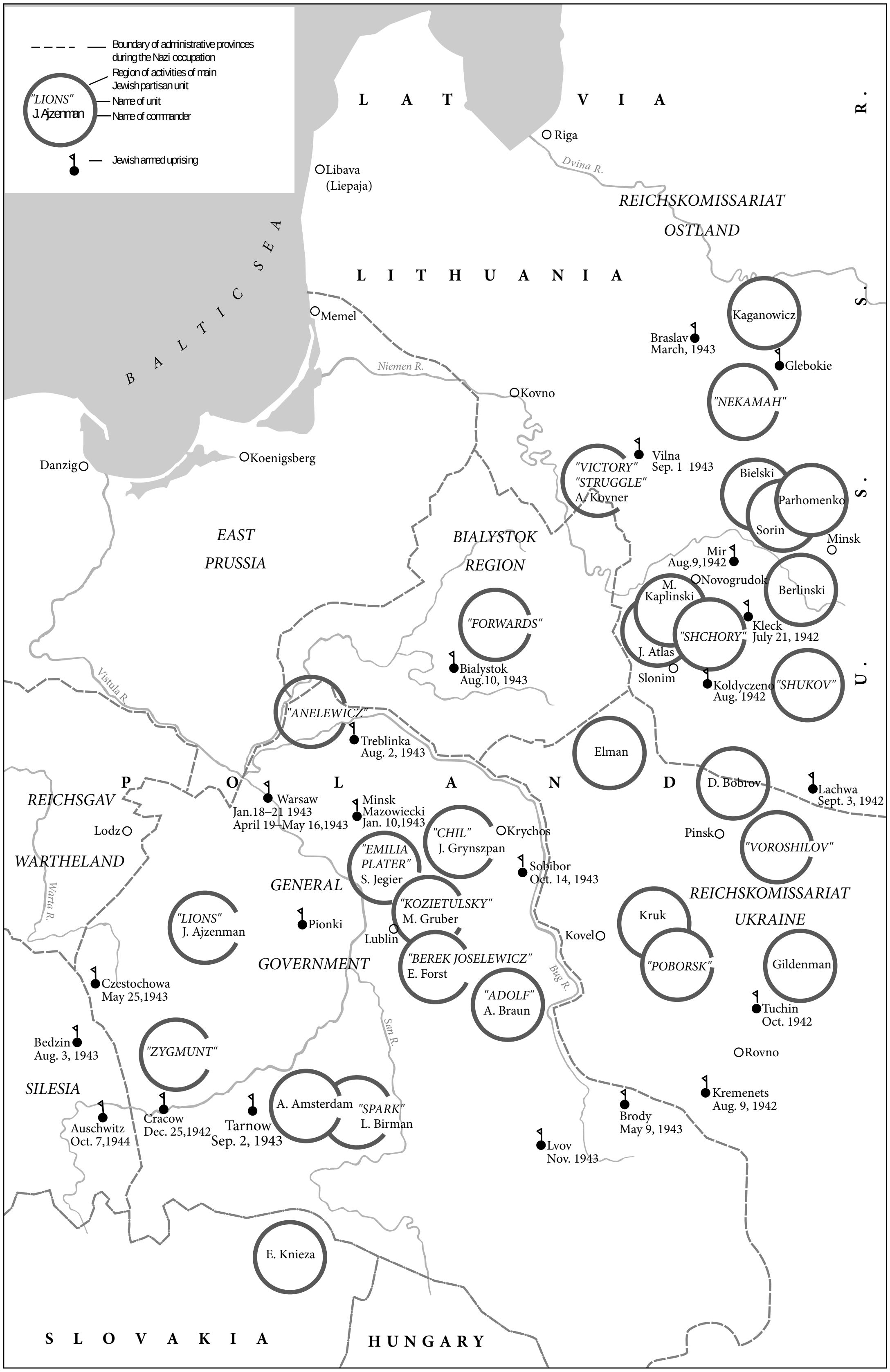
Boundary of administrative provinces during the Nazi occupation
Region of activities of main Jewish partisan unit
Name of unit
Name of commander
"LIONS"
J. Ajzenman
Jewish armed uprising
LATVIA
Riga
Dvina R.
Libava (Liepaja)
REICHSKOMISSARIAT OSTLAND
BALTIC SEA
LITHUANIA
Memel
Niemen R.
Kovno
Kaganowicz
Braslav March, 1943
Glebokie
"NEKAMAH"
Danzig
Koenigsberg
"VICTORY" "STRUGGLE" A. Kovner
Vilna Sep. 1 1943
Bielski
Parhomenko
Sorin
Minsk
EAST PRUSSIA
BIALYSTOK REGION
Mir Aug.9,1942
Novogrudok
Berlinski
M. Kaplinski
J. Atlas
"SHCHORY"
Kleck July 21, 1942
"FORWARDS"
Bialystok Aug.10, 1943
Slonim
Koldyczeno Aug. 1942
"SHUKOV"
Vistula R.
"ANELEWICZ"
Treblinka Aug. 2, 1943
Elman
POLAND
D. Bobrov
Lachwa Sept. 3, 1942
REICHSGAV WARTHELAND
Lodz
Warsaw Jan.18–21 1943 April 19–May 16,1943
Minsk Mazowiecki Jan. 10,1943
"CHIL" J. Grynszpan
Krychos
Pinsk
"VOROSHILOV"
"EMILIA PLATER" S. Jegier
Sobibor Oct. 14, 1943
GENERAL GOVERNMENT
Warta R.
REICHSKOMISSARIAT UKRAINE
"KOZIETULSKY" M. Gruber
Kruk
"LIONS" J. Ajzenman
Pionki
Lublin
Kovel
"BEREK JOSELEWICZ" E. Forst
"POBORSK"
Gildenman
Bug R.
Czestochowa May 25,1943
"ADOLF" A. Braun
Tuchin Oct. 1942
San R.
Bedzin Aug. 3, 1943
"ZYGMUNT"
Rovno
SILESIA
Kremenets Aug. 9, 1942
A. Amsterdam
"SPARK" L. Birman
Auschwitz Oct. 7,1944
Cracow Dec. 25,1942
Tarnow Sep. 2, 1943
Brody May 9, 1943
Lvov Nov. 1943
E. Knieza
SLOVAKIA
HUNGARY
U. S. S. R.

Major Jewish partisan units and armed uprisings, 1941–44.

san movement as a whole became a substantial force in the military and political battles of World War II, the motivations, organizational forms, and development of the Jewish partisan movement was basically different. Unlike the non-Jews in occupied areas, the Jews were condemned by the Nazis to total extermination. As a result of this situation, two unique aspects of the movement stand out: Jews joined the partisan struggle as a path of revenge on the murderous enemy; they also wished to combine partisan fighting with attempts to save themselves and other Jews.

Jews participated in the partisan movement throughout occupied Europe – from Briansk east of the U.S.S.R. to *France, *Italy, *Yugoslavia, and *Greece. It is impossible to arrive at exact numbers of Jews in partisan units, but it is possible to conjecture that tens of thousands of Jews fought in the partisan struggle as a whole. Some fought as Jews in Jewish units; others fought as Jews in mixed units. An indeterminate number of Jews fought while passing as non-Jews. The number of Jews who actually fought, however, was only a tiny proportion of the European Jews who wished to participate in and had access to the partisans, but were prevented from doing so for a number of reasons. One should distinguish between subjective obstacles to their participation, which resulted from the nature of the condition of Jewish life in eastern Europe, and difficulties that resulted from their objective situation and attitude of the non-Jewish environment.

The Jews were a classically urban element. Existence in dense forest, in the wilds of nature, was alien to them. In addition, the traditionally strong family ties that held them together also held them back from leaving their homes. The youth, who were the prime candidates for escape into the forests, were sometimes the only source of support of the family under conditions of a bitter struggle for physical survival and uncertainty about the future. Moreover, the consolidation of Jews or other groups in the forests was conditional upon basic factors. A central condition for the establishment of any partisan force was contacts with the inhabitants of the surrounding area. The partisans were in need of safe places of refuge in the event of emergency, loyal sources of intelligence, and the supply of food, horses, etc. All these things could be obtained from villagers who lived near the partisan camps. The villagers would provide the necessary services either out of fear or because they believed that cooperation would be to their benefit in the future. However, the Polish, Lithuanian, Belorussian, and Ukrainian countryside was hostile toward Jews. The villagers, with the exception of those few who remained loyal to Jews under the most difficult conditions, not only refused to aid the Jews in establishing themselves in the forests, but often turned Jews over to the Germans or murdered Jews who managed to reach the forests and looted their property.

The chances of being accepted into a partisan unit were conditional upon physical strength, military experience, and the possession of arms, except in a handful of Jewish units that served as family camps with the double purpose of hiding and fighting. The sources of arms were those left by retreating armies and passed into the hands of the movements through the underground, or they were private property. Such arms were not given to Jews, who were thus forced to acquire weapons from the enemy by clandestine purchase, robbery, or acquisition in battle. By these means, it was possible to acquire only the most minimal store of weapons.

The partisan movement itself was not free of antisemitism. The extreme right-wing factions of the Polish underground viewed the Jews as "bandits" prowling around the forests. They took arms away from the Jews and even murdered many of them. They did not believe that Jews were actually going to fight. The leftist groups took a less hostile stand toward the Jews. In Lithuania, Belorussia, and the Ukraine, antisemitism was somewhat restrained after permanent contact had been established between the partisan areas and the Soviet high command; but the Soviet command did not approve of the existence of separate Jewish partisan units and obligated the Jews to integrate into the multinational partisan frameworks.

The very act of leaving the ghetto for the forests was bound up with many obstacles and difficulties. The Jewish population in central Poland was far from the areas of dense forest. The attempts by the Jewish Fighting Organization in *Warsaw, *Częstochowa, and Zaglębie to establish contact with Polish underground organizations and to smuggle groups of Jewish fighters into the forests most often ended in failure; the fighters were captured or murdered before they could reach their destination, or early in their stay in the forest. In the large ghettos in *Warsaw, *Vilna, and *Bialystok, a sharp dispute took place among the members of the Jewish Fighting Organization over which path to choose: resistance inside the ghetto or escape to the forests and carrying on the struggle within the ranks of the partisan movement. In Warsaw it was finally decided to concentrate all forces for resistance within the ghetto; the division between the ZOB and the ZZL was over whether there should be an escape plan as part of the battle plan itself, or whether the uprising was indeed a last stand. In Vilna and Bialystok a two-pronged method was arrived at, i.e., after the uprising in the ghetto the surviving fighters turned to the forests.

The most important obstacle that prevented the mass escape of the Jews to the forests was a chronological factor. The expansion and strengthening of the partisan movement began only during 1943. By then most of the Jews in Europe had already been deported to and murdered in Nazi death camps. Although the Jews had in many cases been the first to pave the way in the forests, these pioneer partisans had only limited chances of absorbing large groups of people and maintaining their existence for a longer period.

In western Europe the obstacles were of a different nature, for there the Germans succeeded in deceiving the Jews by well conceived tactics. The resistance movement mostly took the form of an urban underground, which was not to the benefit of the Jews.

However, despite all the obstacles and stumbling blocks, tens of thousands of Jews reached the ranks of the partisan movement. Many Jews fought as individuals (sometimes hiding their Jewish identity) in mixed partisan units, while others belonged to separate Jewish units or groups of Jews united in larger partisan frameworks. Many Jewish partisans rose to commanding ranks and were among the parachutists sent by the Soviet High Command to organize and command partisan camps in large areas. A number received medals for their leadership, and their names and feats of heroism became legendary.

Among the Jewish groups were some that had organized earlier in the Jewish Fighters' Organizations in the ghettos (the *Fareinikte Partizaner Organizatsie* [FPO] in Vilna, the organizations in Bialystok, the remnants of the Jewish Fighting Organization after the Warsaw ghetto uprising). They were equipped and trained during their stay in the ghetto, and their later struggle in the forests was but a logical continuation of the path they had chosen. There were also groups and camps of Jews, mostly from small townlets, who had escaped in whole families or individually during the deportations or from a camp. Together with the youth who were engaged in actual fighting were Jewish family camps in the forests. These camps absorbed women and children, the aged and sick, and a small number of fighters who protected them and provided for their indispensable needs. Most of the time these family camps existed under the aegis of Jewish fighting units or large partisan battalions whose commanders demonstrated a humane attitude and sensitivity toward Jews.

Many Jewish fighters tried to combine their war against the enemy with extending aid to the surviving Jews who were still hiding in the ghettos, and with taking revenge against people who were known to have murdered Jews or betrayed them to the Germans. In many cases, Jewish units that established themselves in the forests became the focal point for uniting prisoners of war and members of other nationalities and constituted the beginning of a powerful partisan center. There were about 15,000–20,000 Jewish partisans in the area under the control of the Soviet command. A large partisan concentration existed in the forests of Rudnik around Vilna. Groups of fighters from the FPO reached this area in September 1943 and formed the fighting Jewish Brigade, which consisted of four battalions, under the command of Abba *Kovner. Earlier, a group of fighters, under the command of Josef Glazman, had left the ghetto and merged with an existing Jewish group to form the fighting group Nekamah ("Revenge") in the forests of Navocz. The commander of the unit, which was later disbanded, was B. Boyarski. Members of the *Kovno ghetto underground also reached the forests of Rudnik. These partisans crystallized into a Jewish bloc in the "Lithuanian Brigade," which consisted mostly of Jews.

During 1943 those in the forests surrounding Bialystok were practically all Jews. A group of young women active in the underground in the city helped to supply them. Women were often more fluent and unaccented in the native languages and, unlike men, they were not circumcised. It was easier for them to pass as non-Jews. Surrounding *Slonim in the forests of Lipiczansk were a number of Jewish units and Jewish family camps. The most famous of these units was that under the command of Jehezkiel *Atlas, who cooperated with the Pobeda ("Victory") unit. Atlas' company gained much experience in battle. In the forests of Lipiczansk, an area of western Belorussia, the group under the command of Hirsch Kaplinski, which numbered more than 100 people – most of them from the town of *Zhetil (*Dyatlovo) – was also active. In central Belorussia, in the forest area of Naliwki, was a large camp of Jewish fighters. In the autumn of 1943 its membership reached more than 1,000, some of whom were fighters and the rest members of the family camp. This camp functioned under the leadership of the Bielski brothers and was composed of simple people from the tiny townlets in the area. Later on, the camp was divided into a fighting company named after *Ordzhonikidze and a family camp named after Kalinin.

In the swamplands of Polesie, Jews were active in general units and separate Jewish ones. The Jewish units were formed by the escapees from the townlets. In a small townlet in the center of Polesie, *Lachva, about 600 Jews revolted and fled in the direction of the forests. Only about 120 of the youth succeeded in reaching the forests, with one rifle and one revolver among them. In Volhynia, Jews were among the first fighters in the forests. The emissary Konishtschook, who arrived from the Minsk area to organize partisan action in Volhynia, united Jewish youth from the neighboring townlet. The most daring military offensives were those of the unit commanded by M. Gildenman, which was a branch of Suborov's forces.

An important chapter in the annals of the partisan movement was contributed by the Jews of *Minsk. The Jews who organized the underground in the Minsk ghetto were among the key organizers of the partisan movement in Soviet territory. There were also a number of Jews in many Soviet brigades. Many Jews were in positions of command and in the ranks of the fighters in the Kovpak camp. Jewish survivors from the *Skalat ghetto joined this camp during its march over the Carpathians and established the 7th Jewish Brigade of the Kovpak camp.

Within the boundaries of the Polish Generalgouvernement, Jewish units were active in cooperation with the leftist People's Army. Most of these units were active in the *Lublin and *Kielce areas. Many individual Jews filtered through to the units of the military underground of the Polish government-in-exile in London, but this organization did not encourage the escape of Jews into the forests, and its extremists even pursued and murdered Jews.

About 2,000 Jews fought in the ranks of Tito's partisan movement, and a number of Jewish groups even existed independently for a period of time. Moshe Pijade was one of Tito's first and closest collaborators. In September 1943 a group containing a few hundred fighters and a substantial number of nurses formed the Jewish "Rab Battalion" within the Italian concentration camp on the Adriatic island by that name.

They joined the partisans as a well-organized unit, but later dispersed and fought in various units. According to official figures, 250 Jews fought with general partisan units in Bulgaria. In Italy as well Jews were scattered among the Italian fighters. Eugenio Caló from Pisa was the founder of a partisan unit in the Val di Piana, and among its members was Emmanuele Artom. Another Italian Jew, Giulio Bolaffi, from Turin, founded and commanded the "4th Alpine Battalion" that was active in the area of the Vale d'Suza in Piedmont.

Jews were among the founders of the partisan movement in Slovakia. The beginnings of this movement were in 1942, but the partisan struggle in Slovakia became a full-scale war in the summer of 1944 with the national Slovak rebellion. Members of many national groups fought in this uprising, including about 2,500 Jews. Two Jewish labor camps – Sered and Novaky – were in the area liberated by the partisans and organized Jewish units, and the inmates of these camps joined the rebellion. At the height of the uprising, four parachutists from Palestine reached Slovakia; two of them remained in Slovakia and the other two passed into Hungary. The two who remained in Slovakia fell into the hands of the Nazis on their way to the last center of the rebels in Banska Bystrica; both were shot in November 1944. After the rebellion was suppressed in October 1944, the partisans retreated to the mountains. There were 2,000 Jews (out of a total of 15,000) in the ranks of the Slovak partisan movement after the uprising.

The participation of Jews in the French Resistance was substantial; constituting only about 1% of the total population of France, at one stage Jews composed about 15–20% of the Resistance. It is necessary to distinguish between Jews who joined general organizations and units of the Resistance and those who formed independent Jewish units.

In contrast to the situation in several eastern European countries, Judaism was not an obstacle to acceptance of candidates into the ranks of the French Resistance. Nonetheless, most Jewish fighters preferred to suppress the fact of their origin, either for security reasons or because they felt their identity as Frenchmen more important than their identity as Jews.

The role of Jews both in the ranks of the Resistance and in positions of leadership and command was outstanding. Among the six men who founded the organization called Libération were three Jews. At the time of the liberation of France, there were at least three Jews among the 16 members of the National Committee, the highest institution of the underground. Jean-Pierre Lévy was the founder of the Franc Tireurs. The commander of the Franc Tireurs et Partisans Français (FTP) in the Paris region in 1942–43 was "Colonel Gilles" (the underground name of Joseph Epstein of Warsaw). The leader of the FTP in Toulouse, who fell during the uprising toward the end of the fight for the liberation, was "Captain Philippe" (Ze'ev Gustman). The French underground hero, Jacques Bingen, whose name was commemorated on a stamp bearing his image, left France in 1940, joined De Gaulle's forces, and was returned to France in 1943 as the head of the Free French delegation in the northern region.

Among the independent Jewish groups, a distinction should be drawn between Jewish Communists from eastern Europe and Jewish groups that united on the basis of national and religious motives. The groups of Jewish Communists, opposing the party line of alliance with Hitler (until June 22, 1941), formed a number of commando units that operated in Paris in 1942–43. These groups of the FTP, and, in the south, groups of the Jewish Organization for Resistance and Mutual Aid, engaged in daring and efficient actions, such as the execution of Nazi officers and collaborators, mining railroad tracks, and raids on enemy arms' depots.

A distinct nationalist Jewish character was the sign of a movement whose nucleus was composed of members of the Jewish Scouts, Zionist youth movements, and members of the *He-Ḥalutz from Holland who had reached France. The movement of Jewish Scouts at first engaged in welfare activities and "passive resistance." It aided in the evacuation of Jewish children from Paris to provincial towns, forging documents, and smuggling Jews over borders, but eventually it did not content itself with these activities and, together with the Armée Juive, established the Organization Juive de Combat (OJC).

Robert Gamzon established the Jewish Maquis. This unit entered into action with the landing of the Allies on French shores, attacking the retreating German forces and capturing an armed German train. Other groups of the OJC, whose headquarters were in Toulouse, were established in Paris, Lyons, Grenoble, Marseilles, Chombron, Nice, and other cities. The OJC testified to carrying out 1,925 actions, including 750 instances of sabotaging trains, destroying 32 factories that worked for the enemy, and blowing up 25 bridges. It also executed 152 militiamen, traitors, and secret agents (including General Phillipo, a German spy). In 175 actions against the Germans, it killed 1,085 of the enemy's men. In addition, as a result of the organization's activities, the German army lost seven planes (blown up on the ground), 286 trucks, and more than 2,000,000 liters of gasoline. Groups of the OJC also participated in the battles for the liberation of Marseilles and Grenoble.

At the end of the war, the Zionist partisans were among the first to plan and organize the "illegal" immigration to bring the remnants of the Holocaust out of eastern Europe and over the borders to Palestine. On their way to Palestine, the Jewish partisans organized a unique group known as "Partisans, Soldiers, Pioneers" (PḤḤ). An organization of partisans and ghetto fighters exists in Israel, and in 1970 it began to expand into a worldwide Jewish organization.

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[Israel Gutman]

PARTNERSHIP.

Formation

The earliest form of commercial partnership in Jewish law was partnership in property, or joint ownership. Craftsmen or tradesmen who wished to form a partnership were required to place money in a common bag and lift it or execute some other recognized form of *kinyan* for movables (Ket. 10:4; Yad, Sheluḥin 4:1). The need for executing a *kinyan* precluded an agreement concerning a future matter (Maim., ibid. 4:2), since there can be no *acquisition of a thing that is not yet in existence. In later times this difficulty was overcome when the *halakhot* concerning the need for acquisition formalities were interpreted as having reference only to the formation of the partnership and not to matters in continuation thereof (Maharik Resp. no. 20).

From the tenth century onward, new developments became acknowledged with regard to the manner of forming a partnership. Thus the German and French scholars recognized formation of a partnership by mere agreement between the contracting parties (*Ha-Ittur*, vol. 1, s.v. *Shittuf*; *Mordekhai* BK 176; Resp.Rosh no. 89:13). A second development was recognition of each partner as the agent of his other partners (*Haggahot Maimuniyyot*, Gezelah 17:3 n. 4), which offered the possibility of partnership formed solely by verbal agreement (see *Agency, Law of). A further development, that of recognizing each partner as the hireling of his other partners (*Hassagot Rabad*, Sheluḥin, 4:2), facilitated partnership agreement with reference also to further activities. The drawback of partnership by way of agency or hire is that each partner has the power to dissolve the partnership at any time. Another method was formation of a partnership by personal undertaking, each partner taking a solemn oath to perform certain acts on behalf of the partnership (Ribash Resp. no. 71).

Partnership formation by agreement alone was most prevalent from the 16th to the 19th centuries, particularly in the communities of the Spanish exiles, in reliance on the principle of accepted trade *customs (e.g., *kinyan sitomta*: see BM 74a and codes). It was on the basis of a trade custom that formation of a partnership through verbal agreement alone was recognized, even by the mere recital of the single word "*beinenu*" (*Rosh Mashbir*, ḤM no. 31; *Kerem Shelomo*, Ribbit, 8) or by implication (*Shemesh Ẓedakah*, ḤM 35). Texts of the standard partnership deeds developed over the years indicate that, in general, formation of the partnership agreement rested on a number of elements, mainly *kinyan sudar* (acquisition by the kerchief), personal undertaking, and hire (see, e.g., *Darkhei No'am*, ḤM, 54). In this way it was possible to form a partnership with a minimum of formalities, valid also in respect of future activities, and not retractable from prior to expiry of the specified period (see *Contract).

It may be noted that the fraternal heirs are deemed to be partners until the inheritance is divided among them (see *Succession).

Distribution of Profits and Losses

In the earliest discussions of partnership in Jewish law, the question of distribution of profits was treated in cases of an unequal capital investment by the individual partners (Ket. 10:4). In the first *halakhot* two conflicting opinions were expressed: in the Mishnah, distribution in proportion to the amount invested; in the Tosefta, equal distribution of the partnership profits. In the Talmud, application of the mishnaic *halakhah* was limited to cases of capital gain or those in which it was impossible to make a physical division (TJ, BK 4:1, and Ket. 10:4; Ket. 93). Talmudic sources reflect no hard and fast rule concerning the distribution of profit deriving from commercial activity. For a long period of time, from the geonic period until the 19th century, these *halakhot* were applied by the scholars in both fashions discussed above. In centers of Jewish life where there was a great deal of activity in commerce and the crafts, the tendency was to decide in favor of an equal distribution of profits in all cases; in centers where there were many loan transactions the tendency was to decide in favor of a distribution pro rata to investment. Thus in the 12th and 13th centuries the principle of an equal distribution was followed in Spain, whereas the German and French scholars took the view that, in general, the gain, whenever divisible, should be shared in proportion to the investment of each partner.

In general, profit earned by a partner in an unlawful manner, for example, through theft, has not been considered as belonging to the partnership (*Ha-Ittur*, vol. 1, s.v. *Shittuf*; *Siftei Kohen*, ḤM, 176 n. 27). A contrary ruling with regard to partnership gains from theft was laid down in Germany and France in the 14th century, as an outcome of the persecution of the Jews (*Haggahot Maimuniyyot*, Sheluḥin 5:9 no. 4; see also *Contract, on the attitude of Jewish law to illegal contracts). From the 17th century onward the application of this *halakhah* came to be confined to cases of necessity on account of danger (*Siftei Kohen*, loc. cit.), or those in which an act, although illegal, falls within the scope of the partnership business (*Arukh ha-Shulḥan*, ḤM 176:60).

A tax waiver in favor of one partner benefits the whole partnership, except when a waiver is granted at the taxing authority's own initiative (ḤM 178:1). A condition that all profits shall belong to the partnership has been interpreted in accordance with the *ejusdem generis* rule, so as to exclude therefrom all unusual or unforeseeable profits (Rosh, Resp. no. 89:15). A partner who salvages part of the partnership assets from a robbery does so for the benefit of the partnership in the absence of his prior stipulation to the contrary (BK 116b and codes). The partners may not deal in goods whose use is prohibited, for example, for reasons of ritual impurity (Maim. Yad, Sheluḥin 5:10).

Until the end of the 12th century, any loss attributable to a partner's personal fault had to be borne by the partner himself, on the principle that an agent is liable for the consequences of a departure from his mandate (Yad, Sheluḥin 5:2; see also *Agency). From the 13th century onward, the general trend has been toward collective partnership responsibility for a loss occasioned by one of its members. At first it was laid down that the partnership bear such a loss as if the member's liability were that of *bailee for reward; later it was ruled that a partner be regarded as a gratuitous bailee for this purpose; and later still that the partnership bear the loss occasioned by a member even if it was the result of his own negligence (Mordecai BB 538). The partner himself must bear any loss occasioned through his own acquiescence or active participation (Mabit, Resp. vol. 2, pt. 2, no. 158).

Each partner is responsible as a surety for the undertakings made by his other partners in respect of a partnership matter (Yad, Malveh 25:9). This liability is secondary, however, as is usual in simple *suretyship in Jewish law, and effective only upon default of the principal debtor (*Sefer ha-Terumot*, 44). According to another opinion, one partner is a surety for the other only when he has expressly subjected his person and assets as a surety for the undertaking, in which event he becomes the principal debtor (Rosh, Resp. no. 89:3).

Powers and Duties of the Partners

The rule is that a partner may not deviate from the regular course of activities of the partnership, and his powers, if not defined by agreement, are governed by trade custom (*Ha-Ittur*, vol. 1, s.v. *Shittuf*; Yad, Sheluḥin 5:1; Rosh. Resp. no. 89:14). When the intention of the partners cannot be ascertained, a number of activities have been recorded as constituting deviation from the partnership. In the course of time the early partnership *halakhot* came to be interpreted in favor of wider powers for the individual partner. Thus, with regard to the rule that a partner might not transact partnership business away from the place of the partnership (Yad, loc. cit.), it was decided that the restriction did not apply to a market place situated in the same area (*Netivot ha-Mishpat, Mishpat ha-Kohanim* 176 n. 35) nor to the case in which one partner provided the other partners with suitable indemnities against possible loss (*Arukh ha-Shulḥan* ḤM 176:46–47).

The question of whether a partnership member has power to execute credit transactions was already disputed in geonic times. One approach tended to recognize the power of a partner to sell on credit in all cases, because it was considered that he was bound to be careful about securing the repayment of money in which he had a personal stake (*Sha'arei Ẓedek*, 4:8, 4). A second approach denied a partner the power to sell on credit unless this accorded with a custom followed by all local traders (Rif., Resp. no. 191) and, by way of compromise, it was laid down that it sufficed if the custom was followed by a majority of local traders (Rosh. Resp. no. 89:14). It was also laid down that a partner is exempted from liability if an overall profit results from all his transactions (*Ḥokhmat Shelomo* ḤM 176:10).

A partner may not introduce outsiders into the partnership activities as partners (Yad, Sheluḥin 5:2), but may employ them on his own behalf and at his own responsibility (Rashdam, ḤM, 190). It was ruled that a member of a partnership might not engage in private transactions (ibid.), but this was later permitted when the same kind of merchandise as the partnership dealt in was involved (*Matteh Yosef* vol. 1 ḤM no. 9) or in association with an outsider (*Sma*, ḤM 176 n. 32). Partnership merchandise may not be sold before the appointed season for its sale (Git. 31b and codes).

In general, a partnership member is not entitled to remuneration for his services (Reshakh, Resp. pt. 1 no. 139), but some of the *posekim* allowed this in the case of unusually onerous services (*She'ilat Yavez* no. 6; *Simḥat Yom Tov* no. 23). Similarly, a partner is not entitled to a refund of the amount expended on his subsistence while on partnership business (ḤM 176:45), except for extraordinary expenses (*Taz*, ad loc.). A partner who is unable to participate in the partnership activities on account of illness, or for some other personal reason, is not entitled to share in the profits earned by the partnership during his absence and must also defray his medical expenses, etc., out of his own pocket, unless local custom decrees otherwise (BB 144b and codes). If partnership property is later found in the possession of one of the partners, his possession will not avail against any of the other partners (Alfasi, BB 1; see *Ḥazakah*). Each partner may compel the other to engage in the partnership activities and also to invest additional amounts therein (*Netivot ha-Mishpat, Mishpat ha-Urim*, ḤM 176:32).

The act of a partner may be validated by subsequent ratification, which may also be implied from the silence of the remaining partners (Maharik, Resp. no. 24). Far-reaching powers are afforded a partnership member through application of the principle that an act may be "for the benefit of the partnership." In the opinion of a number of scholars, a partner may deviate from the customary framework of the partnership activities when he considers this to be necessary in the interests of the partnership, provided that the terms of the partnership agreement expressly permit him to trade in all kinds of merchandise, and that there is no radical departure from the customary partnership practices (Resp. Maharashdam, ḤM 166; *Ne'eman Shemu'el* no. 100). One partner may oblige another who is suspected of an irregularity with regard to a partnership matter to deliver an oath in accordance with a rabbinical enactment (Shevu. 7:8). For this reason it was originally forbidden for a Jew to take a gentile as a partner, as the latter was likely to make an idolatrous reference in swearing his oath, but this is permissible now because of "their belief in the Maker of heaven and earth" (Ran on Rif, Git. 5).

Representation of the Partnership by One of its Members

In talmudic law the principle was established that only when all the partners are in the same town can they be represented by the partner who is plaintiff in an action, this even without their express power of attorney (Ket. 94a and codes). From the 13th century onward, the following guiding rules came to be laid down: one partner represents the others when there is an equal division of profits between them; partners who have not been joined as plaintiffs may not thereafter renew the action in their own names unless they plead new issues; one partner represents the others only when he makes a claim against the defendant and not a waiver in his favor (*Shitah Mekubbeẓet*, Ket. 94). Other scholars expressed opinions in favor of the reverse situation, i.e., that one partner represents the others only if there is no denial of liability on the defendant's part and there is no dispute between them (Maharit, Resp., vol. 2 ḤM no. 16); the plaintiff partner represents the remaining partners once the latter have knowledge of the suit, even if they are not all present in the same town (Resp. Solomon b. Isaac ha-Levi, ḤM no. 41); the partner who is on the scene may sue in all cases, but may not recover the shares of his absent partners (*Piskei ha-Rosh*, Ket. 10:12); the absent partners have the right to sue in their own names if they do so immediately after their return to the town in question, but lose this right after a certain period of delay (*Mikhtam le-David*, ḤM no. 31; *Edut bi-Yhosef* vol. 2 no. 38). The partners may each plead in turn, or empower one of them to represent all (Maharam of Rothenburg, Resp., ed. Prague, nos. 332, 333). A partner has authority to collect debts owing to the partnership in terms of a bond of indebtedness of which he is the holder (Rashba, Resp. vol. 1, no. 1137). One partner generally does not represent the remaining partners as defendant in an action unless empowered by them to do so (*Mordekhai*, Ket. 239). The defendant does, however, represent his absent partners if he is in possession of the subject matter of the claim (Tur, ḤM 176:31). See also *Agency; *Practice and Procedure.

Dissolution of Partnership

The activities of a partnership formed for an unspecified period of duration may be terminated at any time at the instance of any of its members, except if this is sought when it is not the season for the sale of its merchandise, and provided there are no outstanding partnership debts for which all partners are liable. A partnership formed for a specified period may not – according to the majority of the *posekim* – be dissolved before the stipulated date (Yad, Sheluḥin 4:4). The existence of a partnership is also terminated when its capital has been exhausted, its defined tasks completed, and on the death of any of its members. Improper conduct on the part of a member – such as theft – does not, in the opinion of the majority of the *posekim*, serve to terminate the partnership. On dissolution of a partnership, division of its monies – if in the same currency – may be made by the partner in possession thereof, and this need not necessarily be done before the court. Division of the partnership assets must be made before three persons, who need only be knowledgeable in the matter (Yad, Sheluḥin 5:9).

Iska ("In Commendam" Transactions)

Freedom to contract a partnership is limited to some extent in the case where one party provides the capital and the other the work. In order to avoid a situation in which the party furnishing the capital ultimately receives an increment on his investment which is in the nature of interest, there was evolved a form of transaction known as *iska*, i.e., "business," in which half of the furnished capital constitutes a loan to the "businessman," or active partner, and the other half is held by him in the form of a deposit (BM 104b and codes). The parties to an *iska* are free to stipulate as they please, provided that they observe the principle that the "businessman" must enjoy some greater benefit than the "capitalist," by way of remuneration for his services (BM 5:4). It would seem that the profits from the loan part of the capital belong to the businessman, and the profit from the deposit part, after deduction of the former's remuneration, belong to the capitalist. Unless otherwise agreed upon, the businessman is to receive wages as a regular worker if he devotes himself entirely to the affairs of the business, and if not, he may be paid a token amount. Another possibility, if nothing is stipulated, is that the businessman receives two-thirds of the profits, and bears one-third of the losses (Yad, Sheluḥin 6:3) or, according to another opinion, one-half of the losses (*Hassagot Rabad* thereto). The businessman's liability in respect of the loan half of the capital is absolute, whereas his liability in respect of the deposit half is that of a gratuitous bailee (Yad, Sheluḥin 6:2), or, according to another opinion, that of a bailee for reward (*Hassagot Rabad, ibid.*).

According to one school, an *iska* is constituted whenever the partnership arrangement involves an active as well as an inactive partner, and it makes no difference whether the inactive partner alone or both of them contribute the capital (Yad, Sheluḥin, 6:1); according to another school, there is no *iska* unless the distinction between an investing but inactive and an active but noninvesting partner is clearly maintained in the partnership arrangement (*Beit Yosef*, YD 177). The capital-investing partner takes no share in the profits of a prohibited *iska* (*Piskei ha-Rosh*, BM 8:7).

That an *iska* is essentially a legal device designed to avoid the prohibition against *usury may be seen from the fact that a nominal remuneration may be agreed upon for the active partner, and from the rule that the latter may not distinguish between the loan and the deposit parts but must put to work the whole amount of the capital invested (Yad, Sheluḥin 7:4). In most respects the law of *iska* follows the law of partnership, but the following basic differences may be noted: the "businessman," unlike a partner in a regular partnership, may retract from the contract at any time, as in the case of a worker (Tur ḤM 176:28), and he must receive remuneration for his services (*Mishpat Ẓedek*, vol. 2, no. 16, et al.).

Joint Ownership

As already indicated, the *halakhot* of partnership developed mainly from the law of joint ownership. Characteristic of this is the power of each part-owner to compel the others to carry out the usual and required activities with regard to the common property – such as the construction of a gate to the premises – or to refrain from any unusual use of the property, such as keeping an animal on the premises; similarly, each part-owner may bring about a dissolution of the partnership by compelling a partition of the common property, provided that thereupon each share still fits the original description of the property and, in the case of immovable property, that it is possible to erect a partition against exposure to the sight of neighbors. If the common property does not allow for proper subdivision, the interested partner may offer to sell his share to the remaining partners or to purchase their shares from them; if the matter cannot be settled in this manner, the property must be sold, or let to a third party, or an arrangement must be made for its joint use by the partners, simultaneously or successively, all in terms of detailed rules on the subject (BB 1–3, and codes).

A Legal Persona

A cooperative body in modern legal systems is an entity with rights and obligations quite apart from those of its component members (see G. Procaccia, Ha-Ta'agid Mahuto… vi-Yẓirato (1965), p. 39). According to the law of the State of Israel, a registered partnership is a legal persona, capable of suing and being sued (The Partnerships Ordinance, 1930, sec. 61 (1)). However, this approach is foreign to Jewish law, the *halakhah* recognizing man alone – whether individually or in cooperation with others – as the subject-matter of the law, so that it does not accord an association a separate personality (see Gulak, Yesodei (1922), 50). It is for this reason that the word "partners" rather than "partnership" is the more commonly employed halakhic term. Thus a suit brought by the partners against one of their number, e.g., arising out of fraud (see **Ona'ah*), is not the suit of the partnership but of its individual members (Yad, Sheluḥin, 5:6; Sh. Ar. ḤM 176:4). Nevertheless, even though the partnership as such does not have the status of an independent legal persona, the moment a person is recognized as a partnership member his rights and obligations change and no longer correspond to those attaching to the individual or to an agent. Thus one partner represents his fellow partners vis-à-vis third parties, and unlike an agent, renders them bound by the consequences of his acts in certain circumstances, even without having been appointed as their representative (Yad, Sheluḥin, 3:3). Similarly, if jointly owned property is later found in the possession of one of the co-owners, the latter's possession will not be recognized, despite the rule that the onus of proof is on the person seeking to recover from the neighbor (BB 4a and codes); subsequent ratification of a fellow partner's acts amounting to deviation from the customary partnership activities suffices to absolve the latter from liability for such deviation – according to some of the *posekim* even if they are only passed over in silence without protest (*Shenei ha-Me'orot ha-Gedolim* no. 26). Thus the special standing which the law affords a partner to some extent lends a partnership the coloring of a legal persona.

In the State of Israel

The laws of partnership are governed by the above-mentioned mandatory partnership ordinance, which is based on the British Partnership Act, 1890, but differs from it mainly in that it necessitates registration of a partnership to which it lends the character of a legal persona (sec. 61 (1)). Still unclear is the position as regards the standing of an unregistered partnership (PD 15:1246; Pesakim Meḥoziyyim, 56:362). Case law shows that the *halakhah* is sometimes quoted with regards to problems left unresolved within the framework of the Partnership Ordinance (e.g., on the questions of dissolution of partnership (PD 21:576) and the share of each of the spouses in the profits and losses deriving from their common enterprise (Pesakim Meḥoziyyim, 23:418)). In cases where the parties agree to submit their dispute to a rabbinical court, the issue will be decided in accordance with Jewish law (see PDR 2:376, 5:310).

[Shmuel Dov Revital]

Partnership of Members of a Professional Association

The laws of partnership in Jewish Law have also been used by members of a professional association. The Tosefta states that "the wool workers and the dyers are allowed to say: 'We will all be partners in any business that comes to the city'" (Tosef., BM 11, 24). In such a case, unlike the normal manner of creating partnership detailed above, the partnership is created pursuant to an internal regulation of a particular professional association. This method of forming a partnership is similar to other internal regulations mentioned in the Tosefta regarding an arrangement for mutual insurance among members of the association of donkey drivers and sailors. In Jewish Law, the laws of partnership also influence various aspects of the public law, especially in tax law; see *Taxation.

Further Developments in the State of Israel

Another case in which the civil court had recourse to the rules of partnership in Jewish law concerned the division of a partnership's assets equally among three brothers. The court considered the question of whether the parts should be distributed to the parties by way of lottery, or whether one of two partners should be given the priority in choosing a particular part of the partnership property for sentimental reasons. The court cited the Jewish Law principle, "when brothers or partners divide the field, and all of the shares are equal, and there is no good or bad location, the division is made exclusively by measurement. However, if one of the partners says: 'Give me my share on this side so that it will be close to my field and become like one big field,' his request is accepted and the others are compelled to oblige, for to refuse such a request is conduct suitable for Sodom" (Yad, Shekhenim 12, 1; Sh. Ar, ḤM 174:1; see *Law and Morality). Accordingly, the Court ruled that when one of the partners has a preference for a particular part because he cultivated and cared it for years, that preference should be taken into consideration – at least to the same extent that the financial interest of one of the partners should to be taken into consideration, such as the fact that the field under consideration is adjoining to his field (ḤM (Tel Aviv) 309/59 *Re The Partnership of the Litvinsky Brothers*, 18 PDM 65 *per* Judge Lamm).

Since 1975, matters of partnership are regulated in the Partnership Ordinance [New Version], 5735 – 1975.

Regarding partnership of spouses in spousal assets see *Matrimonial Property.

[Menachem Elon (2nd ed.)]

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PARTOS, OEDOEN (1909–1976), Israeli composer. Partos studied the violin and viola, and composition (with Zoltán Kodály) at the academy in his native Budapest. In 1924 he became first violinist of the Lucerne orchestra, then appeared as soloist in Hungary and Germany, and from 1936 to 1938 taught violin and composition at the conservatory in Baku. In 1938 he went to Palestine and joined the Palestine (later Israel Philharmonic) Orchestra as first viola player until 1950. He also became active as teacher and composer and in 1953 was appointed director of the Israel (later Rubin) Conservatory and Academy of Music in Tel Aviv. In the same year he received the Israel Prize for his symphonic fantasia *En Gev.*

Partos' interest in Near Eastern musical subjects and techniques had already been aroused during his stay in Baku. In Palestine he was confronted with the added musical traditions of the Oriental Sephardi and Yemenite Jews, toward which he was drawn by Bracha *Zefira, for whose recitals he prepared several imaginative settings of such tunes.

His works include *Shir Tehillah*, concerto for viola and orchestra (1945); *Yizkor,* for viola and string orchestra (1946), also in versions for violin or viola or cello and piano, based on an East Ashkenazi synagogal chant and commemorating the Holocaust; *En Gev,* symphonic fantasia (1951), on the motive E-G-B (Israel Prize, 1953); *String Quartet No. 2 – Tehillim* (1960); *Ḥezyonot*, for flute, piano, and string orchestra (1957), also performed as a ballet *The Mythical Hunter*; a quintet for flute and strings (1958); a violin concerto (concluded 1958); *Nebulae* for woodwind quintet (1967); *Metamorphoses*, for piano (1971); *Three Fantasies*, for two violins in 31-tone system (1972); and *Music for Chamber Orchestra* (1973), and several cantatas and choral works, some of which were published as *Shirei Makhelah* (1953), including the well-known *Ein Addir ka-Adonai*, based on a Sephardi melody. His last works include *Metamorphoses*, for piano (1971); *Three Fantasies*, for two violins in 31-tone system (1972); and *Music for Chamber Orchestra* (1973).

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[Bathja Bayer]

PARTRIDGE (Heb. חָגְלָה, *ḥoglah*), bird. Two species of the partridge are found in Israel, the see-see partridge (*Ammoperdix heyi*) and the chukar partridge (*Alectoris graeca*). The latter is called *ḥajel* in Arabic, which is the *ḥoglah* mentioned as the name of one of Zelophehad's daughters (Num. 26:33) and as the place-name Beth-Hoglah (Josh. 15:6). These two species of partridge, which are kosher birds, are extensively hunted because of their delicious meat. They belong to the family of pheasants, like the *pheasant and the *quail, which are both included in the Talmud among four species of game birds, the best of which is stated to be the שִׂכְלִי (*shikhli*), apparently the chukar partridge, and the least tasty the quail (Yoma 75b). The two species of partridge mentioned above are distinguished by the intensive cries of the male during the breeding season, so that the biblical name קוֹרֵא (*kore*, "calling") is appropriate for both of them, although it is applied nowadays only to the see-see partridge. This bird is found in large flocks in the Judean Desert and the Negev. In the breeding season the partridges separate into pairs, and the female lays between five and 14 eggs in a nest. Sometimes two females lay eggs in the same nest, in which case one gains the upper hand and drives the other away; however her small body is unable to keep such a large number of eggs warm, so that eventually the embryos die. It was to this that the proverb referred when speaking of one who robs another of his possessions without ultimately deriving any benefit: "As the partridge that broodeth over young which she hath not brought forth, so is he that getteth riches, and not by right; in the midst of his days he shall leave them" (Jer. 17:11). A similar phenomenon occurs sometimes in the chukar partridge's nest. These two species of partridge feed on seeds and on insects which they hunt, a circumstance referred to in David's question when he asked Saul why he was hunting him "as the partridge hunts" (the flea; I Sam. 26:20). In the Mishnah (Ḥul. 12:2) the *kore* is mentioned as a kosher bird, the male of which also sits on the eggs, as is indeed done by the partridge. Some (Rashi and others) identified the *kore* with the cuckoo, but this identification is incorrect and was rejected already by the *tosafot* (to Ḥul. 63a s.v. *neẓ*).

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[Jehuda Feliks]

PARVAIM (Heb. פַּרְוַיִם), the region from which Solomon is said to have obtained gold for the ornamentation of his Temple (II Chron. 3:6). The word may possibly derive from the Sanskrit *pûrva*, "eastern." Some scholars identify Parvaim with Sāq al-Farwayn near Mt. Shammar in northwest Arabia; others, with Farwa in southern Arabia.

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PARVEH (Heb. פַּרְוֶה Yid.), term applied to foods which cannot be classified as milk or meat, and which may therefore be eaten with either without infringing the *dietary laws. Fish, vegetables, and eggs are included in this category. *Parveh* utensils are kept apart from meat or milk vessels.

The origin of the word is problematic. It may be derived from the Hebrew root ערב ("mixed"). The Mishnah refers to *bet ha-parvah* (spelled Heb. פַּרְוָה), a courtyard, to which the high priest was taken for ritual immersion, distinguished by being neither holy nor profane (Yoma 3:3). In the *Gemara* the word, used in a derogatory sense to indicate a bird which it is forbidden to eat, was derived from the name of a wicked magician (Ḥul. 62b). It has also been posited that *parveh* originates from the Latin *parvus* ("small"). The Yiddish word *pare* ("steam") has also been suggested. Finally, there is a theory that the word is of Slavonic origin ("a pair"): the Czech *párové*, for instance, denotes an item that may have a dual purpose.

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PARZEN, HERBERT (1896–1985), U.S. rabbi, author, editor. Born in Ozorkow, Poland, he came to the United States in 1909, earning his B.A. at the University of Michigan in 1919 and then entering the Jewish Theological Seminary, where he was ordained in 1926. He also earned an M.H.L. from the seminary that year and an M.A. from Columbia University. The seminary awarded him an honorary doctorate in 1972.

He began his rabbinate at Temple Aaron in St. Paul (1926–28) and then at Temple Ahavai Shalom in Portland, Oregon, where he brought new leadership to a declining congregation and also was president of the Portland Chapter of the Zionist Organization of America (1939–41). During World War II he moved to the East Coast to serve as rabbi of Temple Israel in Freeport (1942–44), and then as chaplain in the House of Detention for Women in New York City (1945–79). He also served as program director of the United Synagogue of America, New York City (1952–55); executive director of the Jewish Reconstructionist Foundation, New York City (1955–58); assistant director of information for the Jewish Agency for Israel, New York City (1958–60); and then at the Herzl Institute, New York City, where he was research associate and lecturer on Jewish history and literature (1970–83).

He was a contributor on the early history of Zionism in America to the American Jewish Historical Society and Theodor Herzl Foundation (1958).

He wrote *Herzl Speaks His Mind* (1960) and was the editor of *Essays on the History of Zionism*, Volumes 3–4 (Herzl Press, 1961–71). He also wrote *A Short History of Zionism*, (1962), *Architects of Conservative Judaism* (1964), and *The Hebrew University, 1925–1935* (1974.)

He also translated from the Yiddish *A Diary of the Lodz Ghetto* by Sholom Frank and worked as the associate editor of *Conservative Judaism* (1952–55) and editor of *United Synagogue Review* (1953–55) and *Rabbinical Assembly Bulletin* (1954–56).

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[Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

°**PASCAL, BLAISE** (1623–1662), French religious philosopher, writer, and scientist. Pascal, an ardent Christian, was a member of the austere Catholic group known as the Jansenists. He is famous for his *Pensées sur la religion* (1670), fragments intended to form part of an *Apologie de la religion chrétienne*. An authoritative modern edition is that published in 1908–14 by the Jewish scholar Léon *Brunschvicg. In the *Pensées*, Pascal sought to convince the unbeliever of the existence of God and the superiority of the Christian religion by showing that only through God and Jesus could man surmount the misery of the human condition and understand the mystery of his own dual nature. His proofs and arguments include the biblical prophecies and the survival and role of the Jewish people. He studied the Bible closely and found himself drawn to talmudic and midrashic literature in order to penetrate the deeper message of the prophecies. He quoted the Midrash, the Talmud, and Maimonides, though he had only secondhand access to the sources through the medieval *Pugio Fidei* of the Spanish Dominican, Raymond *Martini.

Meditation on the Bible led Pascal to ponder the role of the Jewish people. Just as he saw the Hebrew prophets as the harbingers of Christianity, so he saw Israel as a symbolic forerunner of the Messiah, its survival bearing witness to the divine scheme of salvation. Thus Israel was both glorious and lowly: glorious as God's elect, lowly because of its rejection of Jesus. But Pascal did not content himself with this traditional Christian view of the Jewish people. He delved deeper and was impressed by the loyalty of the Jews to their religion. He admired Jewish law for its strictness, its perfection, and its durability. He also noted the unique bond of brotherhood which links Jews. He marveled even more at a phenomenon "without precedent or equal in the world": that Jews love deeply, unreservedly, to the point of martyrdom, the book in which their leader, Moses, chastised them for their ingratitude to God, predicting their downfall and dispersal among the nations. This loyalty to religion, against their own "honor," exists, in Pascal's view, only among the Jews.

While Pascal admired the faithfulness and obstinate survival of the Jews, he rejected the "excessive formalism" of Jewish law, and condemned the Jews for their lack of spirituality and for their blindness to Christian truth; but equally, he condemned "unspiritual" Christians. Ardently desiring a purified spiritual religion for Jews and Christians alike, Pascal wrote: "The Messiah, according to unspiritual Jews, must be a great temporal prince. Christ, according to unspiritual Christians, came to exempt us from loving God… Neither view represents Christianity or Judaism. True Jews and true Christians have always waited for a Messiah who would make them love God, and, through this love alone, triumph over their enemies."

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[Lionel Cohen]

PASCANI, town in Jassy province in Moldavia, N.E. Romania. The town may have been founded by Jews, since in 1859, ten years after its foundation, 86 Jews and only five Christians lived there. The ground for the synagogue, the Jewish cemetery (opened in 1870), and the ritual bath (founded in 1872) was granted by the owner of the estate on which the town was established. The locality began to develop after 1879, when the railway from Jassy to Cernauti (Chernovtsy) and Lemberg was built. Pascani was also a railway junction for Bucharest. In 1899 there were 1,862 Jews (14.7% of the total population) in Pascani, six religious schools (*ḥadarim*), and four synagogues; by the eve of World War I the latter had increased to five. In 1900 a modern primary school was opened by the community at the suggestion of a Christian pharmacist who donated money for this purpose. A second school was opened in 1911 with the aid of the *Jewish Colonization Association. During the Peasants' Revolt of 1907 a Jew was killed and many Jewish houses were plundered. Between 1880 and 1913 proposals were made for changing the status of the town to a city, but these were rejected by parliament on the ground that the situation of the Jews might thereby be improved. By 1910 the Jewish population had decreased to 1,543. Pascani was a ḥasidic center in Romania, as the *ẓaddik* M.L. Friedman, son of I. Friedman (of the *Ruzhin dynasty), the rabbi of Buhusi, lived there.

In World War II most Pascani Jews were deported to Bostosam and some to Roman. In 1947 the Jewish population numbered 870, decreasing to 500 in 1950. In 1969 only about 20 Jewish families had remained. There was one synagogue.

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[Theodor Lavi]

PASCHELES, WOLF (**Ze'ev**; 1814–1857), author, publisher, and bookseller. Born in Prague, Pascheles published – while in his teens – *Deutsche Gebete fuer Frauen* (1828) of which several editions appeared under various titles. With the money earned on the first edition, he opened the first Jewish bookstore in Prague.

He wrote a biography of Solomon *Heine together with one of the Viennese merchant Herrmann Tedesco (1845). In 1857 he edited and published E. Bondi's *Mikhtevei Sefat Kodesh*, a Hebrew chrestomathy (including biographies of famous Jews) with interlinear German translation. Pascheles' greatest successes were his collections of legends and biographies, medieval and modern, under the title *Sippurim* (1846/47) which went through many editions. Among the contributors were I.M. *Jost, Solomon Kohn, R.J. Fuerstenthal, and S.J. *Kaempf. A popular edition was published (1888, 1909^3) by his son-in-law Jacob Brandeis. Adaptations of the *Sippurim* were prepared by S. Schmitz (1921, 1926) and H. Pollitzer (*Die goldene Gasse*, 1937) as well as a selection and translation into English by C. Field (*Jewish Legends…*, n.d.). Pascheles' miniature Pentateuch, with German translation by H. *Arnheim, and his *Illustrierter israelitischer Volkskalender,* which appeared from 1860 to 1935, was also popular. He also published a popular series called *Juedische Universal-Bibliothek*, which included works on Jewish history, biographies, and contemporary events. After Pascheles' death these were edited by his son Jacob and his son-in-law, J. Brandeis, who continued the book-selling and publishing firm (catalogs appeared 1879–94).

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PASCIN, JULES (1885–1930), painter. Pascin was born in Viddin, Bulgaria, the son of a Sephardi grain merchant, Marcus Pincus. In 1891 the family settled in Bucharest. After leaving high school, Pascin traveled, taking courses at several art academies. On his return, his clever drawings earned him a contract with the Munich satirical weekly *Simplicissimus*. He changed his name to Pascin. In 1905 he went to Paris and there became a celebrated figure on the Left Bank. During World War I he left for the United States and became a U.S. citizen. In 1920 he returned to Paris and, in spite of a life of dissipation, produced about 500 oils as well as drawings, prints, colors, and a few small sculptures. Suffering from incurable cirrhosis of the liver, he committed suicide by hanging himself in his studio, leaving bizarre instructions for a Jewish funeral.

His acute draftsmanship can be seen in his *Simplicissimus* cartoons and in his humorous and often savage illustrations of books, among them an edition of Heinrich Heine's *Die Memoiren des Herrn von Schnabelewopski*. This draftsmanship was the basis of all his compositions and some critics claimed that his oils were only "drawings heightened by paint." His paintings have a quasi-surrealist quality. Pascin also made prints using a sharp needle directly on copper (similar to drawing) for preserving impressions of travel, suburban scenes, and café life. Though most of his work depicts women singly or in groups, he was also a keen observer of many milieus and he drew or painted children at play, circus artists, and nightclub scenes. He was fascinated by figures from folklore and the Bible including the Prodigal Son, Salome, and Bathsheba.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: A. Werner, *Pascin* (Eng., 1962); G. Diehl, *Pascin* (Fr., 1968).

[Alfred Werner]

PASHHUR (Heb. פַּשְׁחוּר), son of Immer, priest and chief officer in the Temple during the last years of the kingdom of Judah (Jer. 20:1–6). Pashhur was deputy to the high priest and responsible for the maintenance of order in the Temple.

In the narrative of Jeremiah 20:1–6 it is related that he beat Jeremiah and put him in the stocks as a punishment for his harsh prophecy against Judah and Jerusalem (Jer. 19:15). Jeremiah responded by declaring "The Lord does not call your name Pashhur, but Terror (Heb. *magor*) on every side." One interpretation of this play on words derives the name Pashhur from the Aramaic root *pwš* ("to rest") and the Aramaic word *seḥor* ("round about"), i.e., where formerly there was peace and quiet, there will now be terror all about. Jeremiah prophesied that Pashhur would be taken into exile and would die in a foreign land: "And you, Pashhur, and all who dwell in your house, shall go into captivity, to Babylon you shall go; and there you shall die, and there you shall be buried…" (Jer. 20:6).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: de Vaux, Anc Isr, 378–9; Waechter, in: ZAW, 74 (1962), 57–62.

[Josef Segal]

PASMANIK, DANIEL (1869–1930), Zionist writer and leader. Born in Gadyach, Ukraine, Pasmanik studied medicine in Switzerland and Bulgaria and from 1899 served as an instructor in medicine at Geneva University. He joined the Zionist Movement in 1900 and became one of its leading publicists and theoreticians. In 1905, upon his return to Russia, he joined the editorial board of the monthly *Yevreyskaya Zhizn* and later of the weekly *Razsvet*. He advocated the evolutionary concept of Zionism, practical work in Ereẓ Israel, and active Zionist participation in Diaspora life (see *Helsingfors Program). Pasmanik's articles appeared in Russian, Yiddish, German, Hebrew, Polish, and Croat periodicals; several were published in pamphlet and book form. An entire Zionist generation was educated largely on Pasmanik's writings. He also contributed articles to *Die *Welt*, to the non-Zionist *Yevreyskiy Mir*, and to the *Yevreyskaya Entsiklopediya*. In 1905 (January–October) he published pseudonymously, in *Yevreyskaya Zhizn*, a much-discussed, largely autobiographical novel, "*Istoriya odnogo yevreyskago intelligenta*" ("The Story of a Jewish Intellectual"). He was also among the first theoreticians of *Po'alei Zion, with his *Teorie un Praktike fun Poalei Zionizmus* (1906). During the civil war in Russia (1917–21), Pasmanik sided with the counterrevolutionary White armies of generals Denikin and Wrangel, who were responsible for innumerable anti-Jewish pogroms. In 1919 he emigrated to Paris, where in 1920–22 he was coeditor of the Russian émigré paper *Obshcheye Delo*. Association with these circles estranged Pasmanik from the Zionist movement.

Pasmanik's main writings include: *Kritika "teoriy" Bunda* ("A Critique of the 'Theories' of the Bund," 1906); *Sudby yevreyskago naroda: problemy yevreyskoy obshchestvennosti* ("The Destiny of the Jewish Nation…," 1917); and *Russkaya revolyutsiya i yevreystvo: bolshevizm i iudaizm* ("Jewry and the Russian Revolution…," 1923). His study *Stranstvuyushchiy Izrail: psikhologiya yevreystva v razseyanii* ("The Wandering Jew: The Psychology of Diaspora Jewry," 1910) was also published in German (1911) and Yiddish (1918). Pasmanik's last book, *Qu'est-ce que le judaïsme?* was published in 1930. Several studies on medical topics appeared in specialized German and French publications.

[Joseph B. Schechtman]

PASSAIC-CLIFTON, twin cities 12 mi. E. of New York City in N.E. New Jersey; total population of Passaic, 67,500 (2000*)*, total population of Clifton, 79,026 (2000), combined Jewish population estimated at 10,500 (2000). Passaic is bordered on three sides by Clifton and their Jewish population is normally considered as a single unit. No systematic demographic study has been taken of the area since 1949, but it seems apparent that in the period 1950–70 the Jewish population of Passaic decreased considerably, although Jewish businesses continued to be located there, and that Clifton's Jewish population has developed since 1945 at Passaic's expense.

Passaic was founded by Dutch settlers in the late 17th century, but until the 1860s was little more than a transportation hub. In 1859, however, the advent of waterpower there led to its transformation into an industrial city. Incorporated as a village in 1869, Passaic, three years later, achieved the status of city. Up until the 1860s, however, it had no Jewish residents. Significantly, the first sustained industrial enterprise at Passaic was a mill owned by a Jewish man. Jacob Basch & Co. opened in 1862, and eventually it was joined by additional woolen and worsted establishments; by 1910 Passaic's well-known worsted mills employed nearly 43% of all its industrial employees. Unfortunately, when the woolen industry abandoned the city after World War II, its earlier prosperity was severely undermined. Inasmuch as the textile industry traditionally attracted cheap labor, Passaic became a haven for European immigrants. By 1910 just over half of the city's 54,773 people were foreign born; an estimated 3,500 were Jewish, although the great preponderance was Slavic. During the first decade of the 20th century, moreover, Passaic became overcrowded, leading newcomers to make their residences beyond its borders in Acquackanonk Township, which in 1917 was incorporated as Clifton, as well as in the towns of Garfield and Wallington, which are also adjacent to the city. As a result of the textile industry's demise, the offspring of Passaic's white population began to move away, their places being filled by nonwhite minorities.

While Jacob Basch, the mill owner, was the city's original Jewish settler, a onetime itinerant peddler named Moses Simon undertook to organize its Jewish community. Although the Simon family supposedly had settled near Passaic in 1870, communal activity did not begin until 1885, by which time the pattern of immigration had shifted. Passaic's Jewish population was originally largely occupied in small retail businesses that serviced the ethnic neighborhoods. By 1900, however, members of the community were also involved in legal and financial affairs as well. A sociological survey conducted in 1937 reported that 43% of the gainfully employed Jews in Passaic were engaged in commercial trade, 22% in manufacturing, and 12% in professional services; a more recent study, made in 1949, found 40% in trade, 30% in the professions, and only 12% in manufacturing.

Almost from its inception, members of the Jewish community also participated in civic life as well, a tradition that began with Jacob Basch's son Henry, who took an active interest in municipal affairs beginning in the 1880s. As early as 1892 Jews gained minor elective offices, such as election judge; in 1904 Joseph Spitz was elected as a council representative from his ward, and in 1919 Abram Preiskel, in being elected to the board of commissioners, became the first Jew to win a city-wide political contest. Passaic's first Jewish mayor, Morris Pashman, was elected in 1951; in 1967 Bernard D. Pinck was elected mayor, and he was succeeded by Gerald Goldman in 1971. Clifton's first Jewish councilman, Fred Friend, was elected in 1931, and in 1962 Ira Schoem was elected as that city's first Jewish mayor. In both cities members of the Jewish community have long been active in the deliberations of the respective boards of education.

[Michael H. Ebner]

Passaic's first Jewish congregation, B'nai Jacob (Orthodox), was founded in 1889; by 1911 it had been joined by six others, all Orthodox. More Orthodox congregations were established after World War I, and eventually some have been rebuilt in the newer sections of the city. Passaic's Conservative synagogue, Temple Emanuel (1923), quickly became the city's leading congregation. About 1938 the Ahavas Israel was founded and grew substantially to become the second largest Conservative congregation and Hebrew school. There were about 18 congregations at that time. The Clifton Jewish Center (1943, Conservative) and Beth Sholom Reform Temple (1959) were established to serve the population which had shifted to the suburbs of Passaic from the early 1940s. The Jewish Community Council of Passaic-Clifton (organized in 1933), now the Jewish Federation of Greater Clifton-Passaic, administers the United Jewish Appeal and coordinates all community bodies, which include the Passaic-Clifton YM-YWHA, and The Daughters of Miriam, as well as a variety of other fraternal and service groups such as Jewish Family Service and Holocaust Resource Center. The Hillel Academy (1945), an Orthodox day school, offers intensive Jewish education. The Passaic-Clifton Board of Rabbis (founded in 1953) directs the Va'ad Ha-Kohol, which supervises *kashrut* in the community. A unique institution is the Passaic United Hebrew Burial Association (*ḥevra kaddisha*) which built the Jewish Memorial Chapel in 1949. It is one of two such nonprofit institutions in the United States and is owned and administered by the Jewish community.

[Edwin N. Soslow]

About 1960 the Jewish population was declining; the Orthodox were getting older and fewer and the Conservatives were moving to nearby more suburban locations. During the late 1970s a committee was formed to attract more Jews into the community (partially to "shore-up" real estate values). They put ads in the Jewish press which attracted Orthodox Jews from areas in New York City. In 1983, the construction of an *eruv* in Clifton-Passaic attracted many Orthodox Jews to the community. A significant resettlement of Russian Jews took place in the 1980s.

In the early 21st century the Conservative Jewish population was aging and diminishing and the Orthodox group was more vibrant, growing larger both from within and from outside. They were founding and building their own institutions. One ultra-Orthodox group has a school built for girls (in 1995, Yeshiva K'tana) and one for boys at a different location. The other Orthodox group erected a new Hillel school building to accommodate 800 boys and girls from preschool to the 8th grade. The *mikveh* was built in the middle 1980s. Thirteen major synagogues were operating in the early 21st century as well as many small congregations that meet in houses.

[Edward W. Schey, Robert Moskowitz, Jacqueline Klein, and Jane Mandelbaum (2nd ed.)]

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PASSAU, city in Bavaria, Germany. Jews are mentioned in an early tenth-century local customs regulation (Raffelsteten). Documentary evidence for their presence in the city of Passau, however, dates only from 1210, when Bishop Mangold compensated the Jews of the city after they had been robbed. In 1206 they were released from paying customs and taxes in return for their aid in helping the bishop collect his tithes. They earned their livelihood in moneylending. A *Judenstrasse* is first mentioned in 1328, a synagogue in 1314, and a cemetery in 1418. (Before 1418 Jews were buried in Regensburg.) The Black *Death persecutions of 1349 caused considerable loss to the community, but Jews were again resident in Passau in 1390. In March 1478 a petty thief "confessed" to having stolen and sold the Host to Jews. On being tortured, 10 Jews confessed to having stabbed the Host and caused its blood to flow. All (including the witness) were sentenced to death. Concomitantly approximately 40 Jews accepted Christianity while the rest were expelled; the synagogue and Jewish homes were demolished. A church erected on the site became the object of pilgrimages. Small numbers of Jews were permitted to reside in Passau in later centuries. The Jewish settlement reached 73 in 1910; 48 in 1932; and 40 in 1933, and was affiliated with the Straubing community. In 1968 there were 13 Jews recorded as residents of Passau.

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PASSI, DAVID (16th century), Turkish statesman. Passi was born in Portugal a Marrano, lived for a time in Venice, and then settled as a Jew in Constantinople. French, English, Venetian, and Neapolitan envoys all highly appreciated his services, which were largely toward forming an Anglo-Turkish alliance against Spain. The sultan is reported to have said that he had slaves like the grand vizier in abundance, but none like Passi. According to a report of 1585, he was invested with the Duchy of Naxos, like Joseph *Nasi before him. He worked, generally, in close cooperation with the physician Moses *Benveniste. In 1589 these two were responsible for the schemes for currency reform, and when the janissaries subsequently attacked the divan, Passi was wounded. In 1591, as a result of a defamatory letter which he wrote to the chancellor of Poland about the grand vizier Sinan Pasha, he was put in chains and exiled to Rhodes; he returned after Sinan's death shortly thereafter, but played no further part in public life.

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[Cecil Roth]

PASSOVER (Heb. פֶּסַח, Pesah), a spring festival, beginning on the 15th day of Nisan, lasting seven days in Israel and eight in the Diaspora. It commemorates the Exodus from Egypt. The first and seventh days (the first two and last two in the Diaspora) are *yom tov* (a "festival" on which work is prohibited), and the other days *ḥol ha-mo'ed* ("intermediate days" on which work is permitted).

Names and History

The biblical names for the festival are: *ḥag ha-Pesaḥ* ("the feast of the Passover," Ex. 34:25), so called because God "passed over" (or "protected") the houses of the children of Israel (Ex. 12:23), and *ḥag ha-Maẓẓot* ("the feast of Unleavened Bread"; Ex. 23:15; Lev. 23:6; Deut. 16:16). Pesaḥ is the paschal lamb, offered as a sacrifice on the eve of the feast (14th Nisan) in Temple times; it was eaten in family groups after having been roasted whole (Ex. 12:1–28, 43–49; Deut. 16:1–8). A person who was unable (because of ritual impurity or great distance from the Sanctuary) to keep the "first Passover" could keep it a month later – *Pesaḥ Sheni* ("the Second Passover," also called "Minor Passover," Num. 9:1–14).

According to tradition, the Passover rites were divinely ordained as a permanent reminder of God's deliverance of His people from Egyptian bondage. The critical view points to two distinct festivals in the Bible; the feast of unleavened bread, a pastoral feast, and the Passover, an agricultural feast (see below).

In the Book of Joshua (5:10–11), it is said that the Israelites led by Joshua kept the feast at Gilgal. The Book of Kings relates that Passover was kept with special solemnity in King Josiah's reign in the seventh century B.C.E.: "The king commanded all the people, saying: 'Keep the Passover unto the Lord your God, as it is written in this book of the covenant. For there was not kept such a Passover from the days of the judges that judged Israel, nor in all the days of the kings of Israel, nor of the kings of Judah; but in the eighteenth year of King Josiah was this Passover kept to the Lord in Jerusalem'" (II Kings 23:21–23).

As far as can be ascertained, the Passover festival was kept throughout the period of the Second Temple. Josephus records contemporary Passover celebrations in which he estimates that the participants who gathered in Jerusalem to perform the sacrifice in the year 65 C.E., were "not less than three millions" (Jos., Wars, 2:280). The Talmud (Pes. 64b) similarly records: "King Agrippa once wished to take a census of the hosts of Israel. He said to the high priest, 'Cast your eyes on the Passover offerings.' He took a kidney from each, and 600,000 pairs of kidneys were found there, twice as many as those who departed from Egypt, excluding those who were unclean and those who were on a distant journey; and there was not a single paschal lamb for which more than ten people had not registered; and they called it: 'The Passover of the dense throngs.'" Allowing for hyperbole, the account of immense crowds assembled to offer the paschal lamb cannot be too far from historical reality.

The Samaritans considered all the biblical rules regarding the sacrifice of the lamb in Egypt (Ex. 12) to be applicable for all time. The practice, as recorded in the Mishnah (Pes. 9:5), is that only *Pesaḥ Miẓrayim* ("Passover of Egypt") required the setting aside of the lamb four days before the festival, the sprinkling of the blood on lintel and doorposts, and that the lamb be eaten in "haste." The Mishnah (Pes. 10:5) explains the commands of the lamb sacrifice and the eating of **matzah* ("unleavened bread") and *maror* ("bitter herbs") as follows: the lamb is offered because God "passed over" (*pasaḥ*); the unleavened bread is eaten because God redeemed the Israelites from Egypt (Ex. 12:39); and the bitter herbs, because the Egyptians embittered their lives (Ex. 1:14).

With the destruction of the Temple, the offering of the paschal lamb came to an end, although it is possible that for a time the sacrifice was continued in modified form in some circles (Guttman, in: HUCA, 38 (1967), 137–48). The other rites and ceremonies of the Passover festival continued as before. The Samaritans, however, still sacrifice the paschal lamb in a special ceremony on Mt. Gerizim near Shechem. The Last Supper, mentioned in the New Testament (Mark 14, Matt. 26, Luke 22), may be the *seder* meal. Early Christians observed Easter on Passover and Roman Christians on the Sunday after Passover. Later the *blood libel against Jews was frequently connected with the Passover festival.

The Seder

The special home ceremony on the first night of Passover, the *seder* ("order"; pl. *sedarim*), is based on the injunction to parents to inform their children of the deliverance from Egypt: "And thou shalt tell thy son in that day, saying: It is because of that which the Lord did for me when I came forth out of Egypt" (Ex. 13:8). The Mishnah (Pes. 10:4) gives a formula of four questions (see **Mah Nishtannah* which are asked by the child and to which the father replies "according to the son's intelligence." During the Middle Ages a special order of service for the *seder* was adapted with a formal reply to the questions (culled from various rabbinic sources), and with supplementary material such as table hymns and jingles calculated to appeal to children. These are recorded in the Passover *Haggadah*. The Mishnah (Pes. 10:1) rules that even the poorest man in Israel must not eat on the first night of Passover unless he reclines. In mishnaic times, free men would normally recline at meals, and on this night all must demonstrate that they are free. In the Middle Ages, in many communities the custom of reclining at meals during the year was abandoned, but it became a duty to recline at the *seder*. During the *seder*, one must partake of four cups (**arba kosot*) of wine (Pes. 10:1). These were interpreted symbolically as corresponding to the four expressions of redemption in the Book of Exodus (6:6–7), or the four cups mentioned in the Book of Genesis (40:11–13) in connection with the dream of the chief butler (TJ, Pes. 10:1, 37c).

On the *seder* table are the following items: three (in some rites two) cakes of *maẓẓot* placed one on top of the other; a roasted egg and shankbone or other bone (as reminders of the paschal lamb and the festival offering in Temple times); a dish of salt water (for "dipping" and as a symbol of the Israelites' tears); **maror* such as lettuce (or horseradish) for "dipping"; and *ḥaroset ("clay"), a paste made from almonds, apples, and wine (Pes. 10:3) for the purpose of sweetening the bitter herbs, and as a symbol of the mortar the Israelites used when building under the lash of their taskmasters.

The *seder* follows this standard order:

(1) *kaddesh* ("sanctification"): the festival is introduced by the *Kiddush* benediction in which God is praised for giving the festivals to Israel;

(2) *reḥaẓ* ("wash"): the hands are washed in accordance with the ancient practice of ritual purification before partaking of anything dipped in liquid;

(3) *karpas* ("greens"): the parsley is dipped in salt water;

(4) *yaḥaẓ* ("division"): the middle *matzah* is broken in two and one half is hidden. This latter portion is known as the **afikoman* ("the after-meal") and is eaten at the end of the meal, as a reminder of the paschal lamb which was eaten at the end so that its taste would remain in the mouth. It is customary for children to look for the *afikoman*, a prize being given to the successful finder;

(5) *maggid* ("recitation"): the *Haggadah* is recited;

(6) *raḥzaḥ* ("washing"): the ritual washing of the hands before breaking bread;

(7) *moẓi* ("bringing forth"): Grace before Meals is recited: "Blessed art Thou… who bringest forth *[ha-moẓi]* bread…";

(8) *matzah*: pieces of the top *matzah* and the broken middle one are eaten;

(9) *maror*: the bitter herbs are dipped in the *ḥaroset* and eaten;

(10) *korekh* ("binding"): a sandwich is made of pieces of the bottom *matzah* and bitter herbs and eaten. This is a reminder of Hillel's practice in Temple times, based on the verse: "They shall eat it [the paschal lamb] with unleavened bread and bitter herbs" (Num. 9:11);

(11) *shulḥan arukh* ("prepared table"): the festive meal is eaten;

(12) *ẓafun* ("hidden"): the *afikoman* is found and eaten;

(13) *barekh* ("blessing"): Grace after Meals is recited;

(14) *Hallel* ("psalms of praise"): Psalms 115–8 are recited. It was customary in Temple times to recite these psalms at the time of the offering of the paschal lamb (Pes. 5:7);

(15) *nirẓah* ("acceptance").

It is customary to have on the *seder* table a full cup of wine known as "*Elijah's cup." Reflections on past deliverance awaken hope for the final redemption, and Elijah, being the herald of the Messiah (Mal. 3:23), is welcomed; toward the end of the *seder*, the front door of the house is opened to demonstrate that this is a "night of watching" (Ex. 12:42) on which Israel knows no fear. In the Diaspora the *seder* is repeated on the second night. On the second night of Passover the counting of the **omer* is begun. The laws of Passover in the Talmud occur in the talmudic tractate **Pesaḥim*. In the United States several additional prayers have been suggested by different groups. These include a prayer on behalf of the Holocaust victims, one for Russian Jewry, and a prayer of thanksgiving for the State of Israel, usually combined with a fifth cup of wine.

The Laws and Customs of Passover

No *ḥameẓ* ("leaven") is to be found in the house or owned during Passover (Ex. 12:15, 19). On the night before the festival, the house is thoroughly searched for *ḥameẓ* (Pes. 1:1). All leaven found in the house is gathered together in one place and burned on the following day before noon (see **Bedikat Ḥameẓ* (*Ḥ*amez*, Sale of).

According to rabbinic authorities, the obligation to eat *matzah* applies only to the first night (Pes. 120a); it is customary, therefore, to prepare special *matzot*, the wheat of which has been under observation from the time of reaping or grinding (*matzah shemurah*), for it. During the remainder of the festival, though leaven may not be eaten, there is no obligation to eat *matzah*. Some rabbinic authorities were opposed to the use of *matzot* baked by machine.

Utensils in which leaven has been cooked, baked, or boiled must be specially treated before they can be used on Passover. The method is to immerse them in a caldron of boiling water, or, if they are utensils used on a fire, to heat them in a fire until they glow. However, not all vessels can be treated so. Unlike other forbidden food which becomes neutralized and may be eaten if mixed in 60 times its bulk, on Passover, the smallest admixture of *ḥameẓ* is enough to render a dish forbidden (see *Dietary Laws).

On the first day of Passover in the synagogue, a special prayer for dew (*tal*) is recited and the phrase *morid ha-geshem* is not said. On the Sabbath of Passover, the *Song of Songs* is read in the synagogue (Ashkenazi rite). Full **Hallel* is recited on the first day (two days in the Diaspora) and half-*Hallel* the rest of the festival. On the last day **Hazkarat Neshamot* is recited. When the liturgy refers to the festival, it does so as "the period of our freedom." *Ḥerut* ("freedom"), is, in fact, the dominant note of Passover.

[Louis Jacobs]

Critical View

The feast of Passover consists of two parts: The Passover ceremony and the Feast of Unleavened Bread. Originally both parts existed separately; but at the beginning of the Exile they were combined.

Passover was originally not a pilgrimage feast, but a domestic ceremony consisting of the slaughtering and eating of the paschal animal. This animal – according to Exodus 12:21 (J) a sheep or goat; according to Deuteronomy 16:2, either a sheep or a bovine animal; according to Exodus 12:5 (P; cf. II Chron. 35:7), a year-old lamb or kid – was killed; in accordance with later texts (Ex. 12:6; Lev. 23:5; Num. 9:3–5; 28:16 (33:3); Josh. 5:10: Ezek. 45:21; Ezra 6:19; II Chron. 35:1) – on the 14th of the first month (i.e., the 14th of Nisan, March/April), "between the evenings" (Ex. 12:6b; Lev. 23:5; Num. 9:3, 5, 11; 28:4, 8), i.e., at the setting of the sun. The early texts, Exodus 23:15 and 34:18, however, place the Festival of Unleavened Bread in "the season of the *ḥodesh* of Abib, since it was at the *ḥodesh* of Abib that you went free from Egypt," and Deuteronomy 16:1ff. places the slaughtering of the Passover sacrifice in "the *ḥodesh* of Abib, seeing that it was in this *ḥodesh* of Abib that you went free from Egypt at night…, so that you may remember the day you went free from Egypt"; and it has been argued that the last cited passage in particular makes poor sense unless *ḥodesh* designates not a 30-day period ("month") but a single day, i.e., the New Moon. (Both senses of *ḥodesh* are well attested; which is intended in this case can be confirmed only from the context.) The rite of touching the lintel and the doorposts of the house (formerly the tent) with blood from the paschal animal was connected with the slaughter (Ex. 12:7, 13 [P], 22 [J]). The flesh of the animal was boiled, according to Deuteronomy 16:7; but later – by II Chronicles 35:13a – this was interpreted in light of the P (Ex. 12:8–9) to mean broiling (cf. LXX, Deut. 16:7), and this is the rabbinic *halakhah* (Pes. 5:10). The flesh was then eaten with unleavened bread and bitter herbs (Ex. 12:8b; cf. Deut. 16:3a), during the night (Ex. 12:8a), in a community meal, in which the whole family or a combination of families (Ex. 12:4), but no uncircumcised persons (Ex. 12:48b; cf. 12:44–45, 48a [P]), took part. No flesh was allowed to remain until the next day (Deut. 16:4b).

Nothing is found in the Bible about the original meaning of the Passover rite. There is no clue in the name "Passover" (Heb. *pesaḥ*) because its etymology is uncertain. The assumption that the Passover was originally a sacrifice of the firstborn (G. Beer and others) is incorrect (1) because, according to Exodus 22:28–29 and Leviticus 22:27, the firstborn of the sheep, ox, and goat was to be offered on the eighth day, (2) because according to PC (Ex. 12:5), the Passover animal had to be a year old, and (3) because the regulations about the firstborn in Exodus 34:19, 20a and 13:11–13 are connected with the eating of *matzot* (Ex. [34:18]; 13:3–10), but not with the Passover (Ex. [34:25]; 12:24–27a; Kutsch, Segal).

Originally the Passover was celebrated by transient breeders of sheep and goats, later by the Israelites, to secure protection for their flocks prior to leaving the desert winter pasture for cultivated regions (Rost). The rite of the blood (see above) as well as the regulation, which was later still in force (Ex. 12:46b; cf. Num. 9:12), whereby no bone of the Passover animal was to be broken, had an apotropaic significance. The oldest literary record in Exodus 12:21 (J) already presupposes the Passover. Hence the old nomadic custom is "historicized" by being connected with the main event in the Israelite salvation history, the Exodus. The reason for this connection was, from a traditional-historical standpoint, the situation of departure which belonged also to the Passover. Moreover, the rite of the blood made it possible to connect the Passover with the story of the killing of the Egyptian firstborn (Ex. 12:23), which was also inserted into the tradition of the Exodus as the reason why the Pharaoh let the Israelites go (Ex. 11:4aβ–8; Kutsch). This "historicization" has determined the character of the Passover: it became the feast commemorating the Exodus (cf. Ex. 12:11–14α [P]; Deut. 16:1, 3). Originally, the Passover was celebrated among the families (Ex. 12:21 [J]) in tents; after the territorial occupation, in houses. After the cultic centralization of King Josiah, the celebration of the Passover was transferred to the central Sanctuary in Jerusalem (Deut. 16:2, 7; II Kings 23:21–23). The requirement that the slaughtering, preparing, and eating of the paschal animals was to take place in the forecourts of the Temple was maintained after the Exile (II Chron. 30:1–5; 35:13–14; Jub. 49:16, 20). Later, because of the large numbers of participants, the paschal animal was killed at the Temple place, but boiled and eaten in the houses of Jerusalem (e.g., Pes. 5:10; 7:12). The transfer of the Passover feast to the Temple entailed the end of the rite of blood; the blood of the paschal animals was, like other sacrificial blood, now poured on the base of the altar (II Chron. 30:16; 35:11).

The reason for the institution of a second Passover on the 14th day of the second month (Num. 9:10–12 [P^{s}]), which is wrongly ascribed in II Chronicles 30 to King Hezekiah of Judah, is not a difference in calendar between Judah and Northern Israel (cf. S. Talmon, in: VT, 8 (1958), 48–74) but the possibility that a Jew might be prevented from taking part in the feast on the 14th day of the first month because of uncleanness or a distant journey.

Feast of the Unleavened Bread

Unlike the Passover, the seven-day Feast of Unleavened Bread, which was celebrated in the month of Abib (Ex. 13:4; 23:15; 34:18), is probably taken over from the Canaanites. The main custom of the feast is the eating of unleavened bread or *matzot* (e.g., Ex. 23: 15; 34:18). The required pilgrimage (Ex. 23:14–15, 17; 34:23; Deut. 16:16), originally to a local sanctuary, later – after the cult centralization of Josiah – to Jerusalem, is secondary to the eating of *matzot*.

Originally the feast extended over a week beginning not on the day following the Paschal night, but on a "morrow after the Sabbath." The counting of the seven weeks until the "Feast of Weeks" (Pentecost; Lev. 23:11, 15–16) was also to begin on the "morrow after the Sabbath." In Deuteronomy 16:9 it is described as the day on which the Israelites "first put the sickle to the standing grain" and the grain harvest is begun. Because of its proximity to the traditional date of the Exodus, the *matzot* feast was also connected with the Exodus and thus "historicized" (e.g., Ex. 12:29–34, 37–39 [J]; cf. 12:15–20; 23:15; 34:18 [P]; Deut. 16:3b). A yearly celebration of the march through the Jordan (according to Josh. 3–4) on the Feast of Unleavened Bread (Kraus, Soggin) cannot be derived from the late text Joshua 5:10–12; and the thesis that therefore the *matzot* feast was celebrated in older times as an "election feast" in Gilgal (Wildberger) is contradictory to the fact that the Exodus was also remembered in the celebration of the Passover. Until shortly before the Exile (Deut. 16:7b), the participants in the celebration of the Passover returned home after the celebration at the Temple (the instructions about the *matzot* feast in Deut. 16:3aβ, 3b, 4a, 8 and 16 are a secondary enlargement [Horst]; even then the Passover and *matzot* feasts (as pilgrimages) were still celebrated separately. To fix a common date for the Jews in Babylonia the *matzot* feast after 587 B.C.E. was given a fixed date, the 15th to 21st of the first month, and thus connected with the Passover (first mentioned Ezek. 45:21; Lev. 23:5,6; Num. 28:16, 17; Josh. 5:10, 11; Ezra 6:19, 22; II Chron. [30:15, 13 21–22] 35: 17a, 17b; cf. also the Passover papyrus from Elephantine).

Passover in the New Testament

The combined Passover – *matzot* Feast is also presupposed in the New Testament. The name here refers (a) to the celebration of the Passover (Matt. 26:18; Mark 14:1; Heb. 11:28); (b) to the whole feast (Matt. 26:2; Luke 2:41; 22:1; Acts 12:4; especially in John 2:13, 23, et al.; for this name "[feast of] unleavened bread" [Mark 14:1, 12; Luke 22:1, 7; Acts. 12:3; 20:6] is also used), and (c) as in the Old Testament (e.g., Ex. 12: 21), to the Passover lamb (Mark 14:12, 14, 16; Luke 22:8, 15; John 18–28; II Cor. 5:7). The connection of the death of Jesus with the Passover is important. According to the synoptic gospels, Jesus was crucified on the 15th day of Nisan, the first day of the feast; they understand the last supper of Jesus as a Passover meal, during which the salvational meaning of Jesus' death is disclosed (Mark 14:22, 24). The gospel of John, on the other hand, dates the death of Jesus to the 14th of Nisan (John 19:14; cf. 18: 28), to the hour of the Passover slaughtering (cf. John 19:14, 31; Mark 15:33–34, 37; cf. Pes. 5:1; Jos. Wars, 6:423), and the meal to the night of the 13th of Nisan. This does not have calendaric (Jaubert), but theological reasons. Unlike the synoptic gospels, John interprets Jesus as the Passover lamb (John 1:29; 19:36; cf. e.g., otherwise I Cor. 5:7; I Pet. 1:19; Rev. 5:6).

[Ernst Kutsch]

Passover Cookery

Leaven, grain (except in the form of *matzot* and *matzah* meal), and pulses are forbidden in some rites during the Passover week. Ashkenazim also refrain from eating rice. The ceremonial food placed on the *seder* table varies little from community to community, although the ingredients in the *ḥaroset* change in different localities. The basic recipe of honey, wine, nuts, fruit, and spices is however common to all.

Although *matzah*-meal dumplings (*kleys, kneydlekh*) are considered a typical Passover dish, Ashkenazi ultra-Orthodox Jews do not eat them, in case they should ferment slightly; the same applies to the *maẓẓah*-and-chocolate layer cake, popular in Israel among all communities at Passover. Lithuanian Jews, even the ultra-Orthodox, eat a fermented beet soup called *risel borsht*. Other Ashkenazim also eat borsht and *khreyn*, a condiment prepared from grated horseradish which is colored with beet juice. Sephardim and North Africans have lamb as the main course at the *seder* meal, and serve stuffed lamb intestines during the week. Among the North Africans, white truffles are considered a Passover delicacy. Sephardim generally do not cook with *matzah* meal but use *matzah* with eggs and in meat dishes. All communities adapt year-round recipes to Passover, substituting in dishes such as pancakes potato flour and or *matzah* meal for flour. Ashkenazi desserts include: cinnamon balls, *teyglekh* (honey cakes), *plava* cake (a sponge cake in which ground almonds replace the flour), coconut cakes, and candies containing carrots, cinnamon, or ginger. Sephardim eat a sponge cake called *bisquitte pané d'Espagne*, and the North Africans, cakes of honey, almonds, and cinnamon, as well as French-style doughnuts (*beignets*) made with *matzah* meal. Among Moroccan Jews a feast is held at the end of Passover called *Maimuna.

Women and Passover Observance

Over the centuries the connection between Jewish women and Passover was largely expressed through their roles in cleaning the homes to meet the stringencies of the holiday and preparing the special *seder* meals. Although women such as Yocheved, mother of Moses; Miriam, Moses's sister and guardian; Pharaoh's daughter, who saved and adopted Moses; and Shifra and Puah, the midwives who risked their lives to save Hebrew infant boys, played important roles in the biblical accounts of the Passover epic, their stories were largely glossed over in the Passover *Haggadah*, the ritual narration of the Exodus from Egypt. However, during the last quarter of the 20th century, particularly in North America, women have taken a broader role in Passover observances, reclaiming Jewish women heroes from history and, together with Jewish men, reconfiguring the *Haggadah* and *seder* experience to be more reflective of women's central contributions to Jewish history and Judaism.

The Passover *seder* provided a framework of expression for many liberation movements during the 1960s and 1970s. Just as African slaves in the United States had sung spirituals such as "Go Down Moses," identifying with the Hebrew slaves in Egypt, in the late 20th century a panoply of groups utilized the format of the *Haggadah* to tell their own stories. The *seder* structure became a vehicle for expressing the yearning for liberation, from the oppression of Egypt to racism, war, gulags, and sexism. Black-Jewish Freedom Seders, a part of the civil rights movement in the United States, gave way to Save Soviet Jewry Freedom Seders in the 1980s. Passover *sedarim* that stressed themes of women's liberation began with a small group of women in 1975. By 2005, thousands of women celebrated feminist *sedarim* annually in synagogues and Jewish community centers around the world, as events separate and apart from their personal *sedarim* with family and friends.

The first feminist *seder* was organized by novelist Esther M. Broner, Marcia Freedman, and Nomi Nimrod in Haifa in 1975. Inspired by this experience, Broner and Nimrod wrote *The Women's Haggadah*, first used in New York and Haifa in 1976. Subsequently a version of this work was published in **Lilith*, the Jewish feminist magazine, making it more widely accessible. *The Women's Haggadah* follows the order of the traditional *seder* but alters the elements to insert the lives of biblical and rabbinic women into the story, to invoke past and current oppression of women, and to enhance the spiritual journey of self-discovery. For example, the list of ten plagues includes violence against women. Subsequently, women throughout the United States organized similar *sedarim*, often composing their own text.

By the 1980s, the Conservative, Reform, and Reconstructionist movements published new *Haggadot*, which made various changes to include women, at least in the English translations. For instance, in the Conservative movement's *Haggadah, Feast of Freedom*, the passage about the four sons is rendered as the "four children," although the Hebrew is not changed. In midrashic sections of the *Haggadah*, alternate rabbinic texts describing the righteousness of Jewish women are included, and in the English translation of the narrative the genders are alternated. The commentary also cites the roles of important women in the story of the Exodus.

Another ritual innovation that began in the same era and became widespread in the United States in the 1990s was to place a cup in honor of Miriam the Prophet on the *seder* table alongside the cup of Elijah. This cup was filled with water, recalling the Midrash that the Israelites had fresh well water during their wanderings in the wilderness thanks to Miriam. Finally, in addition to their traditional activities preparing for the festival, in recent decades women more frequently conduct or co-conduct the *seder* in their own homes. As women have become cantors and rabbis, they often lead public *sedarim*, as well.

See also **Haggadot*, Passover: Feminist Haggadot.

[Rela M. Geffen (2nd ed.)]

In Art

While the Haggadah, by its presence and use, dominates the *seder* table, other manifestations of the artistic impulse are by no means lacking. The table itself is a center of attraction as an object around which to gather and feast. The most important item on the Passover table is the *seder* plate, or a basket. A special Passover plate (*ke'arah*) is mentioned in mishnaic times and throughout history, but no indication of its actual decoration is known in early times. Illuminated medieval *Haggadot* illustrate a large round plate on the table in Ashkenazi ones, and a wicker basket in some Sephardi and Italian manuscripts. A custom of placing the basket on a child's head when reciting **Ha Laḥma* was illustrated in the Barcelona Haggadah (British Museum, Add. Ms. 14761).

Extant *seder* plates from the time of the Renaissance and onward were made of practically every material: wood, copper, brass, pewter, porcelain, faience, stoneware, and plastics. Many of the old simple plates are of pewter because it shines like silver when well kept, cleaned, and polished, and also lends itself easily to engraving. The motif most usually found on these pewter plates is the paschal lamb; another favorite is a five-or six-pointed star in the center. Plates are frequently adorned with scenes from the Passover story: the *seder* meal, the rabbis at Bene-Berak, the four sons, the story of the **Ḥad Gadya*, or the order of the *seder* ceremony. Hebrew inscriptions are another typical and popular decorative scheme. The favorite, usually in the center, consists of the *Kiddush*, or an important citation from the *Haggadah* such as the *Ha Laḥma*. There is often a well-loved psalm or the grace after meals.

The earliest ceramic plates for Passover were probably made in Spain. In the ceramic group, the most important plates were made in the 16th century of majolica in Italian workshops, some by Isaac Cohen Modon. Fourteen such plates are known and were all executed in dark brown, decorated with colored pictures illustrating Passover rituals and figures. There are also blue Delft plates for Passover use inscribed "*Pesaḥdic*" or "*Yontefdic*." An interesting type of *seder* plate is the three-tiered open one, on which the three *matzot* are placed. This type was probably invented in the 18th century, in order to overcome the problem of the *matzot* covering the decorated plate, and the different items placed on top of the *matzot*. Many of these plates, executed in eastern Europe, were made of silver frame and glass tiers. They are round or square, with decorated tops, some with decorative receptacles for the five items. A traditional modern *seder* plate of the same type was made by Ludwig Wolpert of contemporary materials – a silver frame supporting three glass partitions in which the three ceremonial *mazzot* are clearly visible. The *maror, ḥaroset*, roast egg, and shankbone, in glass dishes, rest on top of the upper partition.

In addition to the *seder* plate there are wine cups for *Kiddush*, a special cup for the prophet Elijah, and others for drinking the ritual four cups of wine. The most splendid of all cups is reserved for the prophet Elijah. The favorite theme on these vessels is the return of Zion. One features the Messiah entering Jerusalem on a donkey, led by Elijah blowing a ram's horn, while David is playing his harp.

The *seder* has inspired other ceremonial objects of particular artistic quality: a cloth to cover the *mazzot*; a towel for drying of the hands after washing; a pillow for the father to lean against; and a white robe for him to wear.

[Abram Kanof]

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PASSOVER, ALEXANDER (1840–1910), Russian jurist. The son of an army surgeon, Passover was born in Uman, Ukraine, and graduated from Moscow University in 1861. He was denied a professorship because of his refusal to renounce Judaism, and became a prosecutor's secretary at the Moscow District Court. Passover was admitted to the Odessa bar in 1871 and after the Odessa pogrom of that year was one of several Jewish lawyers who represented the victims in court proceedings against the perpetrators. From 1874 he practiced in St. Petersburg, where he founded a seminary for law students and where he acquired a reputation as an outstanding jurist and an authority on Russian and foreign law. His advice on civil-law matters was sought by public bodies and his interpretations of judicial rulings in Russian legal journals were sometimes adopted by the Supreme Court. For some years, he sat on the board of the St. Petersburg Bar Association, but resigned in 1889 when the board gave the Ministry of Justice statistics on Jews in the legal profession.

Passover was an active figure in the Jewish community and initiated research projects on the economic situation of the Jews in Russia. He bequeathed his large library, containing a huge amount of anti-Jewish literature, to the St. Petersburg Academy of Sciences.

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[David Bar-Rav-Hay]

PASSOVER, SECOND (Heb. פֶּסַח שֵׁנִי, *Pesaḥ Sheni*), According to the Bible (Num. 9:6–13) every person unable to offer the *Passover sacrifice on the 14th of Nisan because of ritual defilement or because of unavoidable absence from Jerusalem was bound to observe the Passover ritual for one day, one month later, on the 14th of Iyyar. The only biblical reference to the actual observance of the Second Passover is to the time of *Hezekiah, and occurs in II Chronicles 30:1–27. Since the date of the Second Passover falls during the mourning period of the counting of the *Omer and only four days before *Lag ba-Omer, no special ritual is now observed except the omission of the *Taḥanun in the liturgy. Some people eat unleavened bread on Second Passover, as a symbolic remembrance.

PASSOW, AARON HARRY (1920–1996), U.S. educator. Passow's major efforts focused on curriculum appraisal, particularly in programs for the gifted and for the socially disadvantaged. Born in Liberty, New York, he studied at the New York State College for Teachers at Albany, and at Teachers College, Columbia University. He later taught at both universities, and became a professor at the latter. He directed the Talented Youth Project at Columbia (1954–65), which studied programs for the gifted in various parts of the United States. In 1965 he became chairman of the Teachers College Committee on Urban Education and directed a comprehensive study of the Washington, D.C., public schools (1966–67), a major analysis of problems facing public education in an urban depressed area. He served as chair of the Department of Curriculum and Teaching at Columbia's Teachers College (1968–77) and director of the college's Educational Institutes and Programs division (1975–80). He was also president of the World Council on Gifted and Talented Children.

When Passow retired from teaching in 1991, his friends and colleagues at Columbia's Teachers College established the A. Harry Passow Scholarship, which is awarded to the doctoral student with the outstanding certification exam/paper in the Department of Curriculum and Teaching. In addition, the World Council for Gifted and Talented Children grants the A. Harry Passow Leadership Award to an individual who has international stature as a leader in gifted education and has significantly influenced policy and practices in the field.

Passow published *Planning for Talented Youth* (1955); *Secondary Education for All: The English Approach* (1961); *Developing a Curriculum for Modern Living* (1957); *Education of the Gifted* (1958); *Education in Depressed Areas* (1963); together with others, *Education of the Disadvantaged* (1967); *Urban Education in the 1970s* (1971); *Secondary Education Reform* (1976); and *State Policies Regarding Education of the Gifted* (1993).

[Abraham J. Tannenbaum / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

PASTA (Negri), GUIDITTA (1798–1865), Italian soprano singer. Pasta was born in Saronno, Lombardy, and entered the Milan conservatory at the age of 15 to study under Asiolo, later studying in Paris. Her stage debut in Brescia (1815), and early performances in London (1817, in Cimarosa's *Penelope* and other parts), met with so little favor that she retired to Italy for a further period of study with Scappa. Her "second debut" in Venice (1819) revealed her as a much-matured singer, and her successes steadily mounted, until in Paris in 1821 her gifts as a vivid, gripping powerful actress-singer were the focus of sensational acclaim. From then Pasta was the *Prima donna* of Europe; and although her singing was found imperfect in technique and liable to "off-nights," the two-and-a-half octave range and peculiarly expressive timbre of her voice excited the imaginations of Bellini and Donizetti, both of whom created masterpieces for her (Donizetti's *Anna Bolena*, Milan, 1830; Bellini's *La Sonnambula*, Milan, March 1831; and *Norma*, Milan, December 1831). Pasta has been called "the Callas of her day." She sang regularly in London, Paris, and St. Petersburg until 1837, but thereafter her stage appearances became less frequent, although in 1840, on the offer of a huge fee, she sang for a season in St. Petersburg. Her last London appearances (1850) proved distressing to admirers in that her voice showed signs of exhaustion; critics nevertheless remarked that her acting powers were undiminished. She died at Blevio, near Lake Como.

[Max Loppert]

PASTERNAK, BORIS LEONIDOVICH (1890–1960), Soviet Russian poet and novelist. A son of the painter Leonid *Pasternak, the younger Pasternak ultimately became one of the very few Soviet writers whose work is essentially Christian in spirit. Born and educated in Moscow, he also studied at the University of Marburg, Germany. He is chiefly remembered as one of the truly great Russian poets of all time, his exquisitely polished verse being highly intellectual, erudite, and occasionally obscure. His prose, too, is essentially poetic in nature, emphasizing language, structure, and style. Among Pasternak's favorite subjects are the wholesomeness of nature, the artificiality of man-made ideas, and the futility of ideologies. A recurrent theme is the irrelevance of politics to human happiness, and the inability of truly sensitive and intelligent men to choose sides at times of political upheaval because unquestioning allegiance to any political grouping requires renunciation of one's intellectual and ethical independence and a willingness to condone violence perpetrated in the name of a noble cause. Pasternak's verse collections include *Poverkh baryerov* ("Over the Barriers," 1917, 1931^2), *Sestra moya – zhizn* ("My Sister – Life," 1922), *Devyatsot pyaty god* ("The Year 1905," 1927), and *Vtoroye rozhdeniye* ("Second Birth," 1932). After World War II he published a number of outstanding translations of world classics, mainly drama.

Pasternak's abhorrence of violence and consequent flight from political realities in search of individual happiness forms the leitmotif of his most famous work, the novel *Doctor Zhivago*, which was smuggled out of the U.S.S.R. and first published in Italy in 1957 (Eng. tr., 1958). The event became a major political, as well as literary, sensation. In 1958 Pasternak was awarded the Nobel Prize for Literature, but the political storm in the U.S.S.R., during which it was suggested that he be expelled from the country, forced him to decline the award. After his death, he was halfheartedly reinstated into the pantheon of Soviet poetry, and some of his verse was reprinted. *Doctor Zhivago*, however, continued to be banned. The novel reveals Pasternak's total estrangement from Judaism and his faith in the superiority of Christianity. The best Soviet appreciation of Pasternak was written by Andrei Sinyavsky (see Yuli *Daniel).

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[Maurice Friedberg]

PASTERNAK, JOSEPH (1901–1991), U.S. film producer. Pasternak, who was born in Szilagy-Somlyo, Hungary, immigrated to the United States in 1921, and two years later began working in films. By the end of the 1920s he was a producer for Universal Pictures in Central Europe. From 1936 he produced more than 100 films in the United States, always light comedy musicals. These include *Three Smart Girls* (Oscar nomination for Best Picture, 1936) with Deanna Durbin – the first of 10 films she made for Pasternak, including *100 Men and a Girl* (Oscar nomination for Best Picture, 1937) and *It Started with Eve* (1941); movies that starred Mario Lanza; *Destry Rides Again*, with Marlene Dietrich (1939); *Anchors Aweigh,* with Frank Sinatra and Gene Kelly (Oscar nomination for Best Picture, 1945); *In the Good Old Summertime*, with Judy Garland (1949); *The Merry Widow*, with Lana Turner (1952); *Love Me or Leave Me*, with Doris Day and James Cagney (1955); *Ten Thousand Bedrooms*, with Dean Martin (1957); *Ask Any Girl,* with Shirley Maclaine (1959); *Please Don't Eat the Daisies*, with Doris Day (1960); *Where the Boys Are*, with George Hamilton (1960); *The Courtship of Eddie's Father*, with Glenn Ford (1963); *Girl Happy* (1965) and *Spinout*, with Elvis Presley (1966); *Penelope*, with Natalie Wood (1966); and *The Sweet Ride,* with Jacqueline Bisset (1968).

Pasternak wrote an autobiography, *Easy the Hard Way* (1956), and a cookbook, *Cooking with Love and Paprika* (1966).

[Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

PASTERNAK, LEONID OSIPOVICH (1862–1945), Russian artist. Born in Odessa, Pasternak studied medicine in Moscow, but in 1883 went to Munich to enroll at the Academy of Art. Returning to Odessa, he did a full year's military service, then met and married the pianist Rosa Kaufmann. In 1888 his first large canvas, *Letter from Home*, was bought by the Tretyakov Gallery, Moscow. The Pasternaks moved to Moscow, where he opened a school of painting, edited a periodical, *The Artist*, and for some years taught at the Moscow School of Painting, Sculpture, and Architecture. He was a close friend of Leo Tolstoy, whom he often portrayed. His illustrations for Tolstoy's *Resurrection* were exhibited at the Paris World Exhibition, 1900. In 1921 Pasternak, with his wife, went to Paris, and in 1938 immigrated to England, spending his last years in Oxford. Pasternak was at his best not as an oil painter but as a draftsman, whose portrait studies superbly catch the sitter's character. He painted portraits of outstanding Zionists, among them *Bialik, *Sokolow, *Tchernichowsky, and *Weizmann. In 1924 he visited Palestine, where he made drawings and watercolors of the countryside. He was the father of the poet and novelist Boris *Pasternak.

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[Alfred Werner]

PASTOUREAUX ("Shepherds"), the name given to the participants in two popular Crusades in France called against the Muslims in Spain. The first movement emerged in Picardy in 1251, inspired by a leader who called himself the "ruler of Hungary." Claiming to have had a vision in which the Virgin Mary ordered him to take up the cross, he rapidly gathered 30,000 adherents, mainly young men and women, who marched toward the south. This group of Pastoureaux did not attack the Jews until they arrived in Bourges: there they broke into synagogues, destroyed books, and robbed the Jews. At Bordeaux they were turned back by the seneschal of Gascony and dispersed.

A similar movement arose in the southwest in 1320. Jewish chroniclers (Solomon *Ibn Verga, Joseph *ha-Kohen, and Samuel *Usque) telescoped these two movements by attributing to the second the beginnings of the first. This time the religious aim of waging war against the Muslims in Spain was accompanied by a social revolt against the rich and the higher clergy. Thus, the civil and religious authorities swiftly intervened against the crusaders, and *Philip v the Tall and Pope *John xxii called on them to protect the Jews. In fact, the Pastoureaux turned first against the Jews, intending to use their riches to purchase weapons; they also put to death those Jews who refused to accept baptism. The anti-Jewish persecutions first began in *Agen or Agenais, *Bordeaux or Bourdeilles, *Gascony and Bigorre, Mont-de-Marsan and Condom, Auch, Rabastens, Gaillac, *Albi, Lezat, and especially Verdun-sur-Garonne and *Castelsarrasin, where several hundreds of Jews were killed or committed suicide. The events at *Toulouse were reported by an eyewitness, the German Jew Baruch, who was employed as a teacher by the local Jewish community. The viscount of Toulouse, who had been informed of the massacre perpetrated by the Pastoureaux in Castelsarrasin and the neighboring localities between June 10 and 12, set out at the head of an armed detachment in order to check their advance. He returned with 24 cartloads of Pastoureaux, intending to imprison them in a castle of the town, but the populace came to their assistance and released them. At once they invaded the Jewish quarter, looting the houses and putting to death anyone who refused baptism. When they marched toward *Carcassone, extremely severe repressive measures were taken against them. A number succeeded in reaching Aragon, where they persecuted the Jews anew, particularly in *Montclus. King James ii of *Aragon ordered the suppression of the Pastoureaux, and on this occasion many of them were slaughtered.

According to Jewish chroniclers, 120 communities suffered at the hands of the Pastoureaux, and this appears to be an accurate estimate. Baruch also relates that although the pope called upon the authorities to protect the Jews, the Inquisition would not allow those who had been forcibly baptized to return to Judaism.

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[Bernhard Blumenkranz]

PAT, JACOB (1890–1966), Jewish labor leader, teacher, author, and journalist. Pat was born in *Bialystok into a working-class family, was an outstanding student in the *Musar yeshivot, and joined the Zionist socialist circles of his native town on the eve of the 1905 revolution. He was a member of the *Zionist-Socialist Workers' Party and from 1917 of the *United Jewish Socialist Workers' Party. In 1920 he joined the Bund and at first adhered to its left wing. He began his pedagogic career as a Hebrew teacher and was later headmaster of several schools, as well as an active proponent of Yiddish culture. After World War i he acted as secretary of the Democratic Jewish Community of Bialystok. From 1921 to 1939 he lived in Warsaw. He served as secretary of the center of the Yiddish school network (CYSHO; 1921–29). He was a recognized spokesman of the Bund and in 1929 he became a member of the editorial board of its daily organ *Folkstsaytung*. Pat was also a member of the Jewish community council of Warsaw. On the eve of World War ii he arrived in the United States as a member of the Bund delegation, and remained there. He was a member of the body representing the Polish Bund in the U.S. until its dissolution (1947), but his main activity was within the *Jewish Labor Committee, of which he was the general secretary until 1963. Though formerly an outspoken anti-Zionist, Pat headed the new trend in the Bund which called for a change in the attitude toward the Jewish state in Palestine, even before its establishment. He was an ardent orator and a versatile lecturer. He began to write Hebrew novels in 1905, later changing to Yiddish, and he was a prolific author and publicist who dealt with a wide range of subjects. In the United States Pat was coeditor of the monthly *Zukunft*. His writings include *Bundistn* 1–2 (1926–29) and *Ashes and Fire* (1947).

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[Moshe Mishkinsky]

PATAI, JÓZSEF (1882–1953), Hungarian and Hebrew poet, translator, and editor. Patai, who was born in Gyöngyöspata, taught at a Budapest municipal high school (1908–19).

He published a Hebrew verse collection, *Sha'ashu'ei Alumim* ("The Pleasures of Youth," 1902), and two anthologies of Hungarian poetry *Babilon vizein* ("By the Waters of Babylon," 1906) and *Sulamit látod a lángot?* ("Shulamit, Do You See the Flame?" 1919). A selection of his poems also appeared in English (1920). He published Hungarian versions of the Hebrew poetry of many eras, his translations eventually appearing in five volumes entitled *Héber költők* ("Hebrew Poets," 1910–12;

19212). Three of his most important works were his volume of early recollections, *A középső kapu* ("The Middle Gate," 1927); *A föltámadó Szentföld* ("The Holy Land Restored," 1926), on his first visit to Palestine; and his biography of Theodor *Herzl (1931; *Star over Jordan*, 1946).

Patai also distinguished himself as editor of the Zionist monthly *Mult és Jövő*, which he founded in 1912 and edited for 27 years. By publishing good translations of major Jewish writers from many countries, he imbued Hungarian Jewish intellectuals with an appreciation for Jewish literature, art, and thought. Patai also combated the anti-Zionists, he and some associates founding the Magyar Zsidók Pro Palestina Szövetsége ("League of Hungarian Jews for Palestine"), and organizing annual pilgrimages to Ereẓ Israel.

In 1938 Patai emigrated to Palestine. At first he lived in Jerusalem but later settled in Givatayim. His subsequent publications include the three-volume selection of his writings *Mivḥar Kitvei Yosef Patai* (1943); and a volume based on his lectures at the Hebrew University (*Mi-Sefunei ha-Shirah*, 1939). His son, Raphael *Patai translated two of his works into English: *The Middle Gate: A Hungarian Jewish Boyhood* (1994) and *Souls and Secrets: Hasidic Stories* (1995).

His wife, EDITH (Ehrenfeld) PATAI (1889–1976), author and lyric poet, wrote works of Jewish and Zionist inspiration, notably *Engem is hiv a föld* ("The Land Calls Me Too," 1927) and a novel, *Szent szomjúság* ("Sacred Thirst," 1936). His sons were the folklore authority Raphael Patai, and Shaul Patai (1918–), professor of chemistry at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem.

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[Baruch Yaron]

PATAI, RAPHAEL (1910–1996), anthropologist, biblical scholar, and editor. A son of József *Patai, he was born in Budapest, Hungary. In 1933 he settled in Palestine, where he was awarded the first Ph.D. degree of the Hebrew University in 1936. Returning to Budapest for a brief period, he was ordained at the rabbinical seminary. In 1938 Patai became an instructor in Hebrew at the Hebrew University. In 1942–43 he served as academic secretary of the Haifa Technion. In 1944 Patai founded the Palestine Institute of Folklore and Ethnology in Jerusalem and served as its director of research until 1948. In 1945 he launched and edited the journal of the institute, *Edoth* (*Communities); a Quarterly of Folklore and Ethnology*. In 1949 he began editing a series of books for the institute entitled *Studies in Folklore and Ethnology* (5 vols.) and another series *Social Studies* (2 vols.).

In 1947 he went to the U.S. and in 1948–57 was professor of anthropology at Dropsie College. From 1966 to 1976 he was professor of anthropology at Fairleigh Dickinson University, Rutherford, New Jersey. During 1956–68 Patai served as president of the American Friends of Tel Aviv University in New York. In 1956 he became director of research of the Herzl Institute, New York, and from 1957 also editor of the Herzl Press.

His main contribution to scholarship resides in two fields – the culture of the ancient Hebrews and Jews and that of the modern Middle East including Israel.

He published several hundred articles and more than two dozen books, among them: *Ha-Mayim* (A Study in Palestinology and Palestinian Folklore, 1936); *Ha-Sappanut ha-Ivrit* ("Jewish Seafaring in Ancient Times,, 1938); *Man and Earth in Hebrew Custom, Belief and Legend* (2 vols., 1942–43); *Madda ha-Adam* ("An Introduction to Anthropology," 2 vols., 1947–48); *Man and Temple in Ancient Jewish Myth and Ritual* (1947, 1967^2); *Israel Between East and West* (1953, 1970^2); *Sex and Family in the Bible and the Middle East* (1959); *Golden River to Golden Road: Society, Culture and Change in the Middle East* (1962, 1967, 1969, 1971); *Hebrew Myths* (with Robert Graves, 1964); and *The Hebrew Goddess* (1967). Subsequent works include: *The Arab Mind* (1973); *The Jewish Mind* (1977); *The Vanished Worlds of Jewry* (1980); *The Seed of Abraham: Jews and Arabs in Contact and Conflict* (1986); *Between Budapest and Jerusalem* (1992); *The Jewish Alchemists: A History and Source Book* (1994); and *The Jews of Hungary* (1995).

Patai also edited a number of important publications, such as: *The Republic of Syria* (2 vols., 1956); *The Republic of Lebanon* (2 vols., 1956); *The Kingdom of Jordan* (1956^8); *Herzl Year Book* (1958–65); *The Complete Diaries of Theodor Herzl* (5 vols., 1960); *Studies in Biblical and Jewish Folklore* (with Francis Lee Utley and Dov Noy, 1960); *Women in the Modern World* (1967); and *Encyclopedia of Zionism and Israel* (2 vols., 1971).

[Tovia Preschel/Rohan Saxena (2nd ed.)]

PATERSON, city in N.E. New Jersey. Jews first settled in Paterson in the early 1840s. In 1904 there were 1,250 Jews in the city, and the Jewish population increased to about 35,000 in the late 1940s. However, by 1960 the number declined to 15,000. By 2000, the Jewish population of Paterson declined to less than 1,000 – with approximately 30,000 Jews living in the surrounding communities of Wayne, Fair Lawn, Franklin Lakes, Wyckoff, Oakland, Pompton Lakes, Glen Rock, and Ridgewood. Jewish settlers of the 1840s came from Germany, Bohemia, and Hungary. They were primarily tailors and merchants. In 1847 a group of them organized Congregation B'nai Jeshurun, becoming the first Jewish congregation in New Jersey. In the late 1870s Congregation B'nai Jeshurun gradually changed from a traditional Orthodox synagogue to a more liberal Reform congregation. An Orthodox group was to maintain a daily minyan on a lower level through their years in Paterson. In 1894 a new large, impressive synagogue was built on the corner of Broadway and Straight Street due to the generosity of Nathan *Barnert, a Jewish philanthropist, who served as mayor of Paterson from 1883 to 1886 and was re-elected in 1889. A bronze statue at the Paterson City Hall Plaza was dedicated in his honor in 1925. Barnert, who also served two terms as alderman in the 1870s, was later to establish the Miriam Barnert Hebrew Free School, the Nathan and Miriam Barnert Hospital and the Barnert Home for Orphans and the Aged.

In 1886 the Russian and Polish Jews who had migrated to Paterson in the early 1880s did not wish to affiliate with Congregation B'nai Jeshurun because of this synagogue's trend toward Reform Judaism. They organized their own congregation, Congregation B'nai Israel. Another large and impressive synagogue was built on Godwin Street, becoming known as the Big Shul. Romanian Jews established Ahavath Joseph Congregation, known as the Little Shul, a block away on Godwin Street in the early 1900s. The Lubavitch founded the United Brotherhood Anshai Lodz or Polish Shul on Fair Street in the early 1900s. In 1907 a Conservative synagogue, Congregation Emanuel, was dedicated on Van Houten Street, moving to Broadway and East 33rd Street in 1929. Congregation Ohav Sholom, another Orthodox shul, was founded about 1915. The Water Street Shul was organized and built on the North West side of the Passaic River. Paterson also maintained a *mikveh* on Paterson Street. Even with this growth in Jewish life, there was growing antagonism towards Jews and other "new immigrants" at this time. Newspaper editorials clearly indicated that undesirable Europeans were those from southern and Eastern Europe, including the Jews then beginning to arrive from Russia and Poland. These Jewish immigrants, who had fled the Russian pogroms, especially those in the Polish textile centers of Lodz and Bialystok in 1905 and 1906, were attracted to the "Silk City" of Paterson. A sampling of Russian Jews in Paterson reported by the U.S. Immigration Commission in 1911 indicated that more than 91% had worked in textile mills prior to coming to the United States. Gradually the new Jewish immigrants moved into a troubled silk industry. New and improved machinery had made it possible for employers to replace skilled, expensive English, German, and Irish labor with less skilled and cheaper Jewish, Italian, and other "new immigrant" labor, creating antisemitic feeling in the city. The exposure of Jewish workers to radical ideas, labor organizations, and strikes in Europe helped to continue Paterson's long tradition of labor troubles. Close to 5,000 Jews worked in the silk industry in 1913. When a bitter strike erupted that year, the Jewish textile workers joined other ethnic workers to fight against the four-loom system, the fine system, and the blacklist. As labor difficulties continued even after the strike, many silk manufacturers moved their factories to Pennsylvania coal-mining towns and to the South. Many Jews acquired machinery during the 1920s and opened small shops often with only one or two employees. During the 1920s, as many as 90% of the silk-manufacturing shops in Paterson were operated by Polish Jews. Competition was intense, and few shops prospered. By the end of World War II the silk industry in Paterson had virtually disappeared, while the city's other important sources of employment and economic activity, in addition to manufacturing, retail, and wholesale establishments, began a period of stagnation.

After 1940, the city's suburbs, Clifton to the south, Fair Lawn to the east, and Wayne to the west, grew substantially, as did their Jewish populations. The number of Jewish congregations in Paterson declined after 1945. In 2005, the last remaining synagogue in Paterson – Temple Emanuel – was preparing to move to Franklin Lakes, the present home of Barnert Temple-Congregation B'nai Jeshurun. The only Jewish presence remaining in Paterson would be the yeshiva on Park Avenue and the Jewish Federation Apartments.

Distinguished Jewish residents, or former residents of Paterson, include United States Senator Frank *Lautenberg, who served in the Senate from 1982 to 2000 and was elected to a fourth term in 2002; father-and-son poets Louis and Allen *Ginsberg; former Democratic Congressman Charles S. Joelson, who served as a judge of the Superior Court of New Jersey; Jacob Fabian, theater mogul in the 1920s whose generous philanthropy made it possible to build the magnificent and historic Temple Emanuel sanctuary; and Henry and Joe Taub, founders of Automatic Data Processing (ADP). Henry Taub was the president of the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee.

Passaic County Jewish Organizational Life

Yavneh Academy was founded in 1942 as the Paterson Yavneh Yeshiva. It started with six children in its kindergarten. In 1954, it erected a school in Paterson and later moved to Paramus in 1981. A Workmen's Circle Children's school, also called the "Shula," opened in Paterson in 1921. The Gerrard Berman Day School: Solomon Schechter of North Jersey opened in Pompton Lakes in 1985 and moved to its current Oakland location in 1993. In 1906 a small group of young women who met regularly at the Barnert Hebrew Free School came together to form the YWHA. In 1914 the YMHA was incorporated and five years later it moved to Orpheus Hall on Broadway. In 1976 the YM-YWHA of North Jersey opened in Wayne to serve the cultural, social, educational, health, and physical recreation needs of the suburban Passaic County Jewish community. In the 1970s Wayne became a major hub of Jewish life for suburban Passaic. It had three synagogues – Congregation Shomrei Torah, Temple Beth Tikvah, and the Chabad Center of Passaic County. The Jewish Federation of North Jersey was evolved from the Jewish Community Council of Paterson, founded in 1933 to coordinate the work of various organizations in their local and national fund-raising campaigns. In 2004, the Federation merged with the UJA Federation of Bergen County & North Hudson to form the UJA Federation of Northern New Jersey. In 1944 the Jewish Social Service Bureau of Paterson was formed to oversee the welfare of homeless Jewish children. This agency was later to become Jewish Family and Children's Service. Daughters of Miriam Home for Orphans and the Aged first opened in 1921 in Paterson as an orphanage and elderly shelter. In 1926 it moved to its current location in Clifton and became strictly a nursing home in the 1950s.

[Alan J.Grossman (2nd ed.)]

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PATHROS (Heb. פַּתְרוֹס), region mentioned five times in the Bible (Isa. 11:11; Jer. 44:1, 15; Ezek. 29:14; 30:14), either in connection with *Miẓrayim or with a city of Lower Egypt (Nof = Memphis or *Zoan = Tanis). The name is derived, like the Greek Παθουρης, Φαθωρης (LXX, Jer. 51:1, 15; Ezek. 29:14; 30:14), from the Egyptian expression *pa to resy* ("the Southern Land"), i.e., Upper Egypt. In the Bible, Pathros is named as a region where Jewish communities existed, both before and after the fall of Jerusalem in 587. According to Ezekiel 29:14, Pathros is considered the original home of the Egyptians.

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[Alan Richard Schulman]

PATINKIN, DON (Dan) (1922–1995), Israel economist and educator. He was born in Chicago and after teaching at the University of Chicago (1947–48) and at the University of Illinois (1948–49), he settled in Israel in 1949 and began teaching at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem (full professor, 1957). In 1956 he became director of research at the Falk Institute for Economic Research in Israel. From 1982 to 1986 he was rector of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem and its president 1988–89. Patinkin's principal fields of interest were the theory of money, monetary influences on an economy, and the general economic development of the State of Israel. He wrote *Keynesian Economics and the Quantity Theory* (1954), *Money, Interest and Prices* (1956, 1965^2), *The Israel Economy: The First Decade* (1959), and *On the Nature of the Monetary Mechanism* (1967). In 1970 he was awarded the Israel Prize in economics.

PATINKIN, MANDY (1952–), U.S. actor and singer. Born in Chicago, Patinkin attended the Julliard School of Drama and then performed in regional theater before appearing in New York in Shakespeare Festival productions. He rose to prominence with his Tony Award-winning portrayal of Che Guevara in the musical *Evita* (1980) and later starred in Stephen Sondheim's musical *Sunday in the Park with George* (Tony nomination, 1984). Other Broadway roles include *The Shadow Box* (1977); *The Secret Garden* (1991); *Falsettos* (1992); *Mandy Patinkin in Concert: Mamaloshen* (1998); *The Wild Party* (Tony nomination, 2000); and *Celebrating Sondheim* (2002).

In 1995 he joined the cast of the television series *Chicago Hope* and won an Emmy Award for Best Actor in a Dramatic Role. He starred in the TV movies *Sunday in the Park with George* (1986), *Broken Glass* (1996), *The Hunchback* (1997), and *Strange Justice* (1999), and was a regular on the TV series *Dead Like Me* (2003–4).

Patinkin has appeared in films including *The Big Fix* (1978), *Night of the Juggler* (1980), *Ragtime* (1981), *Daniel* (1983), *Yentl* (1983), *Maxie* (1985), *The Princess Bride* (1987), *Alien Nation* (1988), *The House on Carroll Street* (1988), *Dick Tracy* (1990), *True Colors* (1991), *Impromptu* (1991), *The Doctor* (1991), *The Music of Chance* (1993), and *Lulu on the Bridge* (1998).

His mother wrote two cookbooks: *Grandma Doralee Patinkin's Jewish Family Cookbook* (1997) and *Grandma Doralee Patinkin's Jewish Holiday Cookbook* (1999).

[Jonathan Licht / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

PATKIN, MAX ("The Clown Prince of Baseball"; 1920–1999), U.S. baseball player and entertainer, known for his goofy antics as a rubber-necked, double-jointed comic genius in a career that spanned 50 years. Born in Philadelphia, Patkin was a minor league pitcher before an arm injury curtailed his career. Patkin then joined the Navy during World War II, and began clowning around in lopsided games while in the service. One day while stationed in Hawaii in 1944, Joe DiMaggio homered off Patkin, and in mock anger, Patkin threw his glove down and chased DiMaggio around the bases, much to the delight of the fans. Thus a career in show business was born. Patkin, successor to Al *Schacht as the second Clown Prince of Baseball, was hired as a comic coach by Bill Veeck, owner of the Cleveland Indians and later the St. Louis Browns, to boost the attendance of his teams. Patkin also began performing his celebrated slapstick and pantomime routines at minor league games across the U.S., Canada, Puerto Rico, and Mexico. With his rubbery face transformed into dozens of shapes, an oversize nose, a 6′3″ rail-thin body inside an oversized uniform – Veeck said that Patkin was put together by someone who couldn't read the instructions very well – a question mark on the back of his uniform in place of a number, and a ballcap that he wore sideways, Patkin was tailor-made for clowning. He became even more famous after he starred as himself in the movie classic *Bull Durham* (1988). Patkin estimated that he performed more than 4,000 times – never missing a game between 1946 and 1993 – and played to as many as 75,000 fans in Cleveland and as few as four in Great Falls, Montana, on the night Neil Armstrong stepped onto the moon. Patkin retired from clowning on August 19, 1995, and his trademark uniform and cap were donated to the Baseball Hall of Fame. Patkin published his autobiography, *The Clown Prince of Baseball,* in 1994.

[Elli Wohlgelernter (2nd ed.)]

PATRAS, port city in N. Peloponnesus, Greece. There were Jews living in Patras in ancient times, as can be assumed from the Hebrew inscriptions found in the local church of St. Anastasius; *Benjamin of Tudela reported the presence of 50 Jews there in the 12th century. Under Byzantine rule the Jews owned land and farms. When the Venetians conquered the town in

1532, they took Jewish prisoners whom they sold as slaves in Italy. Sailors from Naples and Sicily, who attacked Patras in 1595, plundered and murdered Jews. Already in the 16th century there were four synagogues in the city, one Ashkenazi and three Sephardi (two were Sicilian and one was of Iberian origin). Many noted scholars lived there: Moses Alashkar (d. after 1535), author of responsa; Shem Tov b. Jacob Melammed, author of *Keter Shem Tov* and *Ma'amar Mordechai;* David Vital, author of *Mikhtam le-David* and *Keter Torah*; Jacob ha-Levi (d. 1636), author of responsa; Meir Melammed, author of *Mishpetei Ẓedek*; and others. Mordecai Ẓevi, father of false messiah Shabbetai Ẓevi, is noted as originating in Patras before moving to Izmir. In the 17th century, during the Turko-Venetian War, when the Venetians captured the city in 1647, the Jews fled the town. Many fell into slavery and were redeemed by the Jewish communities of Italy and Amsterdam. However, a small number of Jews returned to Patras. In the fighting in 1684, Jews fled the city and many reached Larissa. Others fell into slavery and were redeemed by the Jewish communities of Salonika, Italy, and western Europe. Returning in 1715 when Turkish rule was re-established, Jewish merchants integrated into local trade, and with the development of the port they traded with Venice, and Holland. Jewish silk merchants from Patras traveled as far as Persia for their purchases. In the Russian-Turkish War of 1770, the Greek-Orthodox persecuted the Jews, but in the fighting the Ottoman Turkish soldiers barely distinguished between the Jews and the Greek-Orthodox, and almost destroyed the Jewish community. In 1809, the Jews were a small fraction of the population, but nonetheless had an important role in local commerce. The Jewish community ceased to exist at the time of the Greek Revolution (1821–29). The 17 families that were left in the city at the end of the Ottoman Period had fled to Larissa, Chalkis, and Corfu at the onset of the fighting and disturbances. When the Greek government was formed in 1832, Patras became a center for the Jews, attracting them from Zakynthos, Arta, Preveza, and mainly Corfu. In the Greek-Turkish War of 1881, the community temporarily disbanded and fled, but soon returned to the city. At the end of the 19th century, the Greek historian Thomopoulos accused the Jews of dishonesty in their profession as moneylenders and accused them of being responsible for plagues. In 1902, the community consisted of some 15–20 poor families of peddlers. In 1905 the Jewish community was officially recognized by the Greek government. In 1923 there were 40 to 50 Jews living in the town, most of them merchants or commission agents. In late 1943–early 1944, 242 Jews fled from the town in order to escape the Nazis; others were deported when, on March 28, 1944, the Germans apprehended 12 families who had not managed to hide. The city itself, as well as the region, was a place for hiding Jews fleeing from arrest by the Germans in Salonika and Athens. Several Jews from Patras joined the partisans. Vito Belleli was executed by the Germans after being caught as a partisan. In 1946, there were 122 Jews in the city; most were dependent on financial help from the Joint Distribution Committee. In 1948 there were 150 Jews in Patras, by 1958 their number had dwindled to 37, and 19 Jews were registered in 1967. Most of the Jews left for Athens, Israel, and the United States. By the late 1970s, only five families remained in the city. The synagogue was destroyed in 1980, and the remnants of its interior were eventually displayed in the Jewish Museum in Athens.

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[Simon Marcus / Yitzchak Kerem (2nd ed.)]

PATRIA, ship bearing "illegal" Jewish immigrants to Palestine which sank in Haifa Bay. Early in November 1940, the steamers *Milos* and *Pacific*, together carrying 1,771 Jewish refugees from Central Europe, arrived in Haifa (see: *Immigration, "Illegal"). The passengers were transferred on board the 12,000-ton French liner, *Patria*, which had been chartered by the British, to be deported to the island of *Mauritius, by order of the British Mandatory government in accordance with the Defense Regulations (Entry Prohibition; 1940). They were not to be permitted entry to Palestine at any time. On the morning of November 25, when the transshipment of the passengers of the *Atlantic* – another ship with about 1,800 "illegal" immigrants – was in progress and some 130 of them were already on the *Patria*, the ship blew up and sank within 15 minutes inside Haifa Bay with a loss of life of about 260 persons; the number of bodies finally recovered was 209. This disaster was caused by the ignition of explosives brought aboard in an attempt to sabotage the engines and thus prevent the deportation. The survivors of the *Patria* were permitted to remain in Palestine and were interned for some time at the detention camp at *Athlit. They were released by groups in the course of 1941. However, the remaining passengers of the *Atlantic*, about 1,600 persons, mostly from Austria, Czechoslovakia, and Poland, were deported to Mauritius and interned there until August 1945.

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[Aharon Zwergbaum]

PATRIARCHS, THE, the founding fathers of the people of Israel, *Abraham, *Isaac, and *Jacob.

History and Use of the Term

IV Maccabees 7:19 refers to "our patriarchs, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob," but the same work (16:25) also speaks of, "Abraham and Isaac and Jacob and all the patriarchs." (The New Testament applies the term to Abraham (Heb. 7:4), to the 12 sons of Jacob, and to David (Acts 7:8–9 and 2:29).) However, the rabbinic restriction of the designation to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob (Ber. 16b) follows the biblical Hebrew pattern which frequently features this triad and never extends it to include others.

The development of the concept may be traced through the *Genesis narratives (28:13; 32:9) to its first usage in Exodus 2:24. The Hebrew term *ha-avot* in its absolute form, meaning "the [three] fathers," par excellence, is never used in the Hebrew Bible, only the possessive suffixed form, either in conjunction with the three names (Deut. 1:8; 6:10; 9:5; 29:12; 30:20; I Chron. 29:18. Not quite analogous is the usage in Ex. 3:6, 15, 16; 4:5), or alone in unambiguous reference to the Divine promises (Deut. 1:21, 35 and passim 26 times; Ex. 13:5, 11; Num. 14:23; Josh. 1:6; 5:6; 21:41; Judg. 2:1; Jer. 11:5; 32:22; Ezek. 20:42; 47:14). In fact, mention of the patriarchs in the Bible is predominantly in this connection.

The Chronological Background

The joint lifetimes of the three patriarchs cover a period of just over 300 years (Gen. 21:5; 25:26; 47:28). However, in the absence of external synchronistic controls, their place within the framework of history was formerly sought relative to the date of the Exodus and the duration of the Egyptian slavery. But given that both of these are now thought by most scholars not to be historical events, it is more productive to examine the individual tales of the patriarchs to determine when each might have been written and for what purpose. (For current thinking on the historicity of the Patriarchal Period see *Genesis, *History, Beginning.) In general, the patriarchs and their activities are reflections of life in later Israel projected backward into ancient times.

The Mesopotamian Background

One of the peculiarities of the patriarchal narratives is the consistent association with *Mesopotamia. The family originated in Ur (Gen. 11:28; 15:7; Neh. 9:7; cf. Josh. 24:2–3), then moved to Haran in the north (Gen. 11:31). Abraham found a wife for Isaac there (24:4ff.) and Jacob fled there from Esau's wrath (28:2, 10). He spent a good part of his adult life there and all the tribes except Benjamin originated in that area. This association ends abruptly with Jacob.

The Onomasticon

The patriarchs are descended from Shem son of Noah through the line of Eber (Gen. 10:21–32; 11:10–32). Of 38 names connected with the family, 27 never recur in the Bible. A large number conform to the onomastic patterns common to the Western Semites during the first half of the second millennium B.C.E. and later. Of special interest is the identity of the personal names, Peleg (10:25; 11:16–19), Serug (11:20–23), Nahor (11:22–27; 24:10), and Terah (11:24–32), with place names in the vicinity of *Haran, mentioned as early as the *Mari and Kultepe texts. Haran shows a high degree of aramaization in the eighth to seventh centuries (Dion., CANE II, 1284), reflected in the importance of this area and its Aramean connections in Genesis.

Patriarchal Society

Given that the patriarchal narratives were composed over centuries, they vary in their depictions of the patriarchs in society. Sometimes the patriarchs are shown as ass-nomads (Gen. 12:16; 22:3, 5), constantly on the move, primarily raisers of sheep and cattle (12:16; et al.), and, as such, restricted in the scope of their wanderings (33:13). Other traditions refer to large numbers of camels (Gen. 12:16; 24:10). They are tent-dwellers (12:8, et al.), but their travels take place between great urban centers into which they rarely venture. These peregrinations are confined to sites in the sparsely populated central hill country and the Negev, viz., Shechem, Beth-El, Hebron, Beer-Sheba, Gerar, and, in the case of Jacob, also central Gilead. Some traditions picture the patriarchs in the first stages of agriculture (26:12; cf. 37:7). Grave traditions associate them with the cave of Machpelah in Hebron (49:29–30; 50:13). There are also traditions of the patriarchs as warriors. Abram the noble warrior in Genesis 14 (Muffs) commands a professional fighting force, which successfully defeats an international invading army. Jacob boasts of having taken land from the Amorites with his sword and bow (Gen. 48:22).

Sometimes the contacts of the patriarchs with their neighbors are peaceful. They make pacts with them (14:13; 21:22–32; 26:28–31) and purchase land from them (23:2–30; 33:19). In another account, though (Genesis 34), Jacob's family wipes out a city of *Hivites. The closeness of the patriarchs with the Arameans mirrors periods of Aramean-Hebrew cooperation during the monarchy (cf. Gen. 32:44–54 with II Kings 16:5). Social institutions unattested in the Torah outside of the patriarchal narratives are paralleled elsewhere in ancient Near Eastern sources. Concubinage in cases of childlessness (16:2; 30:2) is well attested (15:2–4) and transference of the birthright (25:29–34; 27:1–29, contrast Deut. 21:15ff.) is also found.

The Religion of the Patriarchs

The Bible represents the patriarchs etiologically as religious figures. Circumcision is traced back to Abraham (Gen. 17:9–27), who also founds religious sites at Shechem (Gen. 12:6), Hebron (Gen. 13:18), and Moriah (Gen. 22:14). He also recognizes the sanctity of (Jeru)salem (Gen. 14:18–20). The vision of Jacob and his vow (Genesis 28) serve as the foundation legend for Jeroboam's temple at Bethel (I Kings 13:26ff.). The tradition of Joshua 24:2 mentions the idolatry of Abraham's forebears (cf. Gen. 31:19, 30, 32; 35:2–4), which inspired the later accounts of Abraham the idol smasher wholly absent from Genesis. The appellation, "the God of my [your/his] father" has earlier and later parallels. The possessive suffix is used in reference to each and all of the patriarchs (Gen. 26:24; 28:13; 31:42; 32:10; 46:1, 3; 50:17; Ex. 3:6), but is never employed by or to Abraham in respect of Terah.

The patriarchal narratives are extraordinary in the depiction of experiences in direct variance with the moral and religious ideas and cultic norms found in the legal sections of the Torah. Abraham married his paternal half-sister (Gen. 20:12; contrast Lev. 18:9, 11); Jacob was simultaneously married to two sisters (contrast Lev. 18:18); Abraham planted a sacred tree (Gen. 21:33; contrast Deut. 16:21); Jacob set up sacred stone pillars (Gen. 28:18, 22; 31:13, 45–52; 35:14; contrast Ex. 23:24); there are no festivals; and the fathers build altars, never using existing ones, and they offer sacrifices without priest or temple (Gen. 12:7–8; 13:4, 18; 22:9, 13; 26:25; 31:54; 30:20; 35:1, 3, 7; 46:1).

The patriarchal accounts are distinguished by the employment of numerous divine names, several of them unique (see Names of *God): *El Elyon* (Gen. 14:18, 22), *El Ro'i* (16:13), *El Olam* (21:33), *El Beth-El* (31:13; 35:7), *El Elohei Yisrael* (33:19–20), and, most frequent of all, *El Shaddai* (17:1; 28:3; 35:11; 43:14; 48:3; Ex. 6:3). In addition, one finds *Paḥad Yiẓḥak* (Gen. 31–42; cf. 31:53) and *Abbir Ya'akov* (49:24). It should be pointed out that the *El* element is a widespread Semitic word for God and occurs as a component in theophoric names beyond the Canaanite sphere. In the patriarchal narratives it always appears as a generalized name which becomes personalized only in combination with an identifying element. For these reasons, it is unlikely to be identical with the proper name El, designating the head of the Canaanite pantheon. It is significant that Genesis, unlike the rest of the Bible, contains no reference either to Baal or to fertility cults.

[Nahum M. Sarna / S. David Sperling (2nd ed.)]

Patriarchs and Matriarchs in the *Aggadah*

Only Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob may be designated as the patriarchs, and *Sarah, *Rebekah, *Rachel, and *Leah, the matriarchs (Ber. 16b; Sem. 1:14). Sarah conceived on Rosh Ha-Shanah (Ber. 29a). The patriarchs were born and died in Tishri (R. Eliezer) or Nisan (R. Joshua, RH 11a) except for Isaac, who was born on Passover. They were indeed the "Fathers of the world" (Shek. 8a). Although they eventually begot children they were originally sterile (Yev. 64b). The matriarchs were also at first barren because the Almighty longed for their prayers (Song R. 2:14, no. 8). The merit and faith of the patriarchs were great. The Almighty rebuked Moses by contrasting his lack of faith with their unwavering faith (Sanh. 111a). They were the first to make the Almighty known to man (Men. 53a), and they instituted the daily services (Ber. 26b). All three patriarchs were on an equal spiritual level (Gen. R. 1:15). Yet in a sense Jacob was the choicest of the patriarchs: Abraham and Isaac both begot wicked sons – Ishmael and Esau, respectively – whereas all Jacob's sons were loyal to God ("his bed was complete"; Lev. R. 36:5; Zohar, Gen. 119b). The three patriarchs were tested in many ways, including by famine, so that their descendants would be worthy of receiving the Torah (Midrash Sam. 28:2). Neither the *yeẓer ha-ra* (the "evil inclination" – hypostasized) nor the Angel of Death had mastery over them, and in death they were not touched by worms; they were given a foretaste of the bliss of the hereafter here on earth (BB 17a). They constituted the divine chariot of Ezekiel's vision (Gen. R. 47:6). God turned their meditations into the key that opened the road to freedom for their descendants (Gen. R. 70:6), and it was for the sake of the patriarchs and matriarchs that He liberated the Israelites from Egypt (RH 11a).

The virtue of the patriarchs stood their descendants in good stead; and it was for their sake that God hastened their redemption (RH 11a; see also **Zekhut Avot*). When the Israelites sinned with the golden calf, Moses prayed for forgiveness on their behalf, but only when he recalled the patriarchs were they forgiven (Shab. 30a; Deut. R. 3:11).

There are differences of opinion whether "Merit of the Fathers" (*zekhut avot*) would always operate in favor of their descendants. One view is that it would continue forever (Lev. R. 36:6), while another held that it would come to an end, and that it had even ceased already (*ibid.*); another view boldly declared that labor was more precious than the "Merit of the Fathers" (Gen. R. 74:12). Mamre-Hebron was called Kiriath-Arba ("the City of Four"; Gen. 35:27) because four couples were buried there: Adam and Eve; Abraham and Sarah; Isaac and Rebecca; and Jacob and Leah (Eruv. 53a).

[Harry Freedman]

See also *Pentateuch: The Traditional View.

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PATRIARCHS, TESTAMENTS OF THE TWELVE, an early Jewish pseudepigraphic work, giving the last words of the 12 sons of Jacob to their descendants who assembled before their deaths. Although there are Christian passages in the book, with clear hints at salvation through Jesus and in some versions even a reference to Paul (Test. Patr., Ben. 11), which led some scholars to believe that the Testaments are a Christian work, the opinion of most scholars today is that the Testaments are Jewish and that the Christian passages are later interpolations.

The book has been preserved in Slavonic, Armenian, and Greek versions, the last being the original and not a translation from Hebrew or Aramaic. The book seems to have been written before Paul, because he apparently quotes (I Thess. 2:16) the present Testament of Levi (6:11). It is likely that all the 12 Testaments, with the probable exception of the Testament of Asher in which hatred of sinners and even their killing is preached (in contrast to the other Testaments where compassion to enemies is recommended), were written by one Jewish author, but even this difference can be explained by the different sources of this Testament. The individual Testaments contain mostly aggadic descriptions of incidents in the lives of the sons of Jacob, especially Joseph, profound ethical teachings, and eschatological prophecies as in apocalyptical literature.

It is unlikely that the Greek work is based on a single Hebrew or Aramaic pseudepigraphon no longer extant, but on the other hand it is certain that the Testaments derive from Jewish Palestinian literature and thought. The Greek book is a product of a final stage of rich literary output of pseudepigraphic testaments of the individual sons of Jacob. One source was the Aramaic Testament of *Levi and another a Hebrew Testament of *Naphtali, one fragment of which has been found among the *Dead Sea Scrolls. Another Testament of Naphtali is preserved in medieval Hebrew translation, most probably from the Greek, and shows literary affinity to the Testament of Naphtali in the actual book and the same ethical approach as the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs. It is clear, however, that this Testament of Naphtali is not one of its sources, though it is close to them in content and approach. The material about the wars of Jacob and his sons, included in the Book of Jubilees, in the actual Testament of Judah, and in Hebrew medieval narrative (see *Midrash Va-Yissa'u), points to the conclusion that there existed an ancient Hebrew (or Aramaic) Testament of Judah, which contained descriptions of these wars of the sons of Jacob, and it was used both by the author of the Book of Jubilees and the present Greek Testament of Judah. It is unknown if there were also other Hebrew or Aramaic Testaments of the sons of Jacob, which could have served as direct or indirect sources of the Testaments; the Jewish Palestinian material could have reached the author by other channels. There is also a Greek influence, both ethical and literary, in the Testaments of the Patriarchs.

It is important to note that the known sources of the Testaments have a connection with the Dead Sea Scrolls; not only have fragments of the Aramaic Testament of Levi (which is quoted in the Damascus Document) and a fragment of the Hebrew Testament of Levi and fragments of the Book of Jubilees been found in Qumran, but also the doctrines propagated in the Testaments are close to the doctrines of the Dead Sea sect and the author often refers to prophecies of *Enoch, ideas in the Book of Enoch being close to those of the Dead Sea sect. Like the literature of the Dead Sea sect, the Testaments of the Patriarchs show a strong dualistic tendency, both moral and spiritual, and the ethics both of the Dead Sea Scrolls and the Testaments are based on it (see Manual of Discipline 3, 25 and Test. Patr., Reu. 2:3). In the Scrolls and in the Testaments the demonic leader of the evil spirits is named Belial. The main difference is that while in the Dead Sea sect the dualism is sharper – humanity being divided between the Sons of Light and Sons of Darkness and their lots preordained –in the Testaments of the Patriarchs the doctrine of predestination is absent and the struggle between good and evil has to be fought by man himself. This is also the opinion of the Testament of Asher, although it is nearer to the Dead Sea sect than the other Testaments because it too preaches hatred against sinners, while the other Testaments differ from the sect in their humanistic approach. These affinities and differences between the Testaments and the Dead Sea sect can be explained by the suggestion that the author of the Testaments was a member of a movement in Judaism of which the Dead Sea sect was a part. It is very probable that his spiritual, and possible also literary, tradition originated in a fusion between that of the Dead Sea sect and similar groups and the Pharisaic outlook. Thus, for instance, the Testaments mention the belief in the resurrection of the dead, while the sectarian documents speak only about an afterlife of the soul. The extremely humanistic approach of the Testaments (with the exception of that of Asher) is a development from the precept of nonviolence toward the wicked world outside and temporary obedience to it, an idea known from the Scrolls; in the Testaments, nonviolence and the humility of spirit in the face of the wicked is unconditional and linked with compassion, and all hatred is eliminated. The love of God and fellow men, central doctrines of the Testaments, are found in rabbinic literature. The two precepts are combined and united in the Testaments of the Patriarchs, in the teachings of Jesus, and in the Jewish source of the early Christian Didache (the Jewish "Two Ways"). A similar fusion of elements from the Dead Sea sect and doctrines found in rabbinic sources and a similar ethical approach as in the Testaments (and the Jewish source of the Didache) is typical of Jesus' message. There is even an important parallel to Jesus' beatitudes and woes (Math. 5, 3–12, Luke 6, 20–26) in the Testament of Judah (ch. 25). Thus, the Testaments of the Patriarchs, though originally written in Greek, are one of the most important sources for the understanding of Jesus' message. In the context of the history of Jewish thought, they are one of the most sublime documents of Jewish ethics in antiquity.

The eschatology of the Testaments is often obscured by Christian interpolations which destroy the original context and meaning. Even so, it is clear that the messianic belief of the author was similar to that of the Dead Sea sect and of the Book of Jubilees and similar ideas must have already appeared in the sources of the Testaments: Levi and Judah are exalted and preference is given to Levi above Judah, the priesthood being more important than the monarchy; in the Testament of Naphtali, Levi is compared to the sun and Judah to the moon. Like the Dead Sea sect, the author of the Testaments looked forward to two eschatological figures: a levitic high priest and a king from Judah; these are the Messiahs from Aaron and from Israel of the Dead Sea sect.

The Testaments of the Patriarchs were translated from a Greek manuscript by Robert Grosseteste bishop of Lincoln, into Latin (c. 1175–1253; this version was translated into English by A. Gilby in 1581). The argument of the supremacy of the priesthood of Levi, the sun, over Judah, the moon, was used and developed in favor of the papacy against the power of the emperor and Dante, an adherent of monarchy, denounced this ideology in *De Monarchia* 3:4–5.

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[David Flusser]

PATRICOF, ALAN (1934–), U.S. financier. Born in New York, Patricof, son of a stockbroker, earned a bachelor's degree from Ohio State University in 1955 and a master's from Columbia Business School in 1958. From 1960 to 1968 he was assistant vice president and then vice president of Central National Corporation, a private, family investment management organization. While at Central National, he became a founder and chairman of the board of *New York* magazine, which later acquired the *Village Voice* of New York and started *New West* magazine. He also participated in the founding of the Datascope Corporation and LIN Broadcasting Corporation. He founded Patricof Company Ventures in 1969. Later he founded a separate investment banking company specializing in entrepreneurial companies. An international arm, Apax Partners, was founded in 1977 and had eight offices in Europe. His firm managed $1.5 billion invested in more than 130 companies. He had an early stake in Apple Computer and helped finance a company that became the second-largest recycler of automobile batteries. Patricof emerged as a major fundraiser for Bill Clinton's presidential elections and for later Democratic candidates. He was a member of the Council on Foreign Relations and was active in a number of philanthropic causes, from hospitals to education.

[Stewart Kampel (2nd ed.)]

PATT, GIDEON (1933–), Israeli politician, member of the Seventh to Thirteenth Knessets. Born in Jerusalem, Patt received a national religious education and did his military service in the IDF in the *Naḥal. In 1953–55 he was personal assistant to MK Joseph Sapir of the *General Zionists when he served as minister of transportation. In 1956 he traveled with his family to the United States, where he attended New York University, graduating in economics and international finance. During his stay in New York he served as director of the National Youth Department of the Zionist Organization of America and was a member of the joint ZOA-Hadassah Youth Commission.

Returning to Israel with his family right after the Six-Day War in 1967, Patt served as bureau chief of Joseph Sapir, who was now minister without portfolio in the National Unity Government headed by Levi *Eshkol. He was elected to the Seventh Knesset in December 1969 on the Gaḥal list, and served as chairman of the Liberal Party Economic Council. In the government formed by Menaḥem *Begin in June 1977 he was appointed minister of construction and housing. In January 1979, he replaced Yigael *Hurwitz as minister of commerce, industry, and tourism. In that capacity he headed a committee that examined ways of increasing tourism to Eilat. In Begin's second government, formed in August 1981, he was appointed minister of industry and trade. In the National Unity Government of 1984–88 he served as minister of science and development, and in the governments of 1988–92 as minister of tourism. Patt was one of the members of the Liberal section in the Likud who objected to Yitzhak *Modai's leadership of the Liberals, which finally led Modai to leave the Likud in March 1990. Patt was not reelected to the Fourteenth Knesset in 1996. In 1997 he was appointed president of Israel Bonds in the United States by Prime Minister Binyamin *Netanyahu and Minister of Finance Dan *Meridor. He served in this position until 2002. In 2001 he was the first to cross the one-billion-dollar line in the raising of funds for the Bonds. In 2005 Patt unsuccessfully contested the post of chairman of the Jewish Agency in the World Likud Council.

[Susan Hattis Rolef (2nd ed.)]

PATTERSON, DAVID (1922–), English scholar. Patterson, who was born in Liverpool, was appointed lecturer in post-Biblical Hebrew at the University of Oxford in 1956. He has also taught Hebrew literature at Cornell University, New York. He served as general editor of the Modern Hebrew Literature series, published by the Cornell University Press and the East and West Library. Probably his most important role was as the founder and first president (1972–94) of the Oxford Center for Postgraduate Hebrew Studies. A fellow of both the American Jewish Academy of Arts and Sciences and the Society of Humanities, Cornell University since 1983, he was awarded the National Brotherhood Award of the Conference of Christians and Jews in the U.S. in 1978. Patterson received the Stiller Prize in Jewish literature. As literary historian, Patterson applied modern critical theories and standards to the major and minor Hebrew novels, short stories, and dramas of the early phases of modern Hebrew belles lettres. His primary interest was with the intrinsic aesthetic qualities of these compositions. His translation of Moshe *Shamir's novel *Melekh Basar va-Dam*, published as *King of Flesh and Blood* (1958), and the English renditions that illustrate and substantiate his conclusions in his *Abraham Mapu, Creator of the Modern Hebrew Novel* (1964) and *Hebrew Novel in Czarist Russia* (1964), convey the subtleties and flavor of the originals. A collection of his articles on Hebrew literature, *A Phoenix in Fetters*, appeared in 1989.

[Avraham Holtz / Rohan Saxena]

°**PATTERSON, JOHN HENRY** (1867–1947), British soldier and author; commanding officer of the Zion Mule Corps and the *Jewish Legion. Born in Dublin, Ireland, into a Protestant family, Patterson's education included the study of the Bible. He was employed as an engineer in the construction of bridges in the British colonies of East Africa, and he described some of his experiences there in his books, *The Man-eaters of Tsavo* (1907) and *In the Grip of the Nyika* (1909). In the Boer War he commanded the 33rd Battalion of the Imperial Yeomanry and in 1915 he was appointed commander of the Zion Mule Corps. With the rank of lieutenant-colonel, he went through the entire Gallipoli campaign with Joseph *Trumpeldor and the Jewish volunteers from Ereẓ Israel. From that time he became an ardent supporter of the Zionist idea. When the Gallipoli campaign ended and the unit broke up, Patterson associated himself with Vladimir *Jabotinsky's efforts in London for the formation of a Jewish Legion which would fight with the British for the liberation of Palestine from Turkish rule. With this objective in mind he wrote his book, *With the Zionists in Gallipoli* (1916). When the first battalion of the Jewish Legion was created in Britain, Patterson became its commander with the rank of colonel and accompanied it to the battle front of Samaria and the Jordan Valley, remaining in command until a year after World War I. He described this experience in his book, *With the Judeans in the Palestine Campaign* (1922). From then on Patterson became attached to the Zionist Movement and maintained particularly close relations with Jabotinsky. In 1939 he violently condemned the *White Paper policy of Malcolm MacDonald in the press, defining it as a betrayal. In 1940 he participated in Jabotinsky's campaign in the United States for the formation of a Jewish army to fight the Nazis.

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[Yehuda Slutsky]

PAUKER (née **Rabinsohn), ANA** (1890–1960), Romanian Communist leader and cabinet minister. Born into a religious family in Bucharest, she received a traditional Jewish education and became a Hebrew teacher at an elementary school run by the Jewish community. Influenced by her future husband, MARCEL PAUKER (1896–1938), one of the founders of the Romanian Communist Party, she joined the party, which shortly thereafter became illegal. She was imprisoned from 1936 to 1941, and on her release – as the part of an exchange of prisoners – she went to the Soviet Union, returning in 1944 with the Russian forces. During World War II she participated in the Soviet military effort to combat Nazi Germany, organizing a Romanian military division from the Romanian POWs in the Soviet Union to fight against the Antonescu regime and its Hitlerite allies.

After World War II Pauker was the organizer of the Romanian Democratic Front and became minister of foreign affairs in 1947. She also held the posts of secretary of the party central committee and first deputy prime minister in the cabinet of Petre Groza. In 1945 she turned down the post of secretary general of the Party and recommended Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej in her place. In 1952, as a result of a move to give a more Romanian character to the party, she was expelled from it, deprived of all her posts, and put under house arrest for several years. Among the charges against her was the accusation that she favored mass emigration to Israel between 1948 and 1951, but this charge was not substantiated. She was also accused of having been both a right winger and a left winger. Long before her death Ana Pauker severed any ties she may have had with the Jewish community, although many of her own close relatives were among the first Romanian settlers in the State of Israel. Nonetheless, she was described by people who knew her well as having continued to show a certain respect for some of the fundamental Jewish traditions, which she knew from her parents' home.

Her husband, Marcel Pauker, whom she divorced, was accused of various "deviations" from the Comintern line, called to Moscow, arrested, condemned to death, and executed.

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[Isac Bercovici / Paul Schveiger (2nd ed.)]

°**PAUL I** (1754–1801), emperor of Russia, son of Catherine II and Peter III; ascended the throne in 1796. His decrees concerning the Jews testify that he acted tolerantly toward them. The dispute between Christians and Jews in *Kaunas (Kovno) which continued for decades, was settled by the decree that the Jews be allowed to remain in the city and that no obstacles be placed in their way in following their trades and handicrafts. Paul I also opposed the expulsion of the Jews from *Kamenets-Podolski and *Kiev.

During the discussion, at the end of the 18th century, between the *Courland authorities and the Senate which took an extremely negative stand toward the Jews, Paul I asked Baron Heiking to handle the problem. On Heiking's advice, the privilege of citizenship to the Jews of Courland was granted on March 14, 1799, and thus also municipal rights. The czar opposed G.R. *Derzhavin's advice to question the validity of the oath of the Jews before the courts. In addition, Paul I took a stand in the struggle between the *Ḥasidim and *Mitnaggedim* by liberating the head of the former, *Zalman Shneur of Lyady, and he rejected all *blood libel accusations leveled against the Jews.

Paul's policy toward the Jews was at first a continuation of Catherine's policy to develop craftsmanship and trade, but in the few years of his reign Paul made numerous concessions to the aristocracy which resulted in the imposition of many restrictions upon the Jews. Paul I was murdered in 1801 before he had time to examine the proposals of Senator Derzhavin's report, containing 88 slanders against the Jews, but they were taken up by his successor, Czar *Alexander I, who made them the foundation of his Jewish legislation.

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°**PAUL IV** (1476–1559), pope from 1555; born **Giovanni Pietro Caraffa**. Even before his election he was a leading spirit in the Counter-Reformation and staunch enemy of all forms of heresy. Because of this, he was extremely hostile to the Jews, as shown by his zeal as head of the *Inquisition from 1542. Scarcely had he been elected pope than he bore down upon the Jews in the Papal States with implacable ruthlessness. He was mainly responsible for the burning of the Talmud in 1553. In his Bull *Cum nimis absurdum* of July 14, 1555, he decreed that in every town the Jews were to gather together in one street or one quarter, which was to be locked at night (the ghetto), and all synagogues except one were to close. Jews were to sell all their houses and landed property, confine themselves to trading in second-hand clothing and rags, and avoid all contact with Christians. They were forbidden to employ Christian wet nurses or domestic servants, and were ordered to wear the Jewish *badge on their clothes. He directed his hatred in particular against the Marranos of *Ancona, who had been invited there by previous popes in order to develop trade between Ancona and Turkey. Paul IV had some hundred of the Marranos of Ancona thrown into prison; 50 were sentenced by the tribunal of the Inquisition and 25 of these were burned at the stake. Paul IV may he considered the instigator of one of the most wretched periods in the history of the Jews in Italy – the period of the ghettos, which dragged on for three centuries.

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[Attilio Milano]

°**PAUL VI** (1897–1978), pope from 1963. Born **Giovanni Battista Montini** in Concesio, near Brescia, he was ordained in 1920. In 1922 he joined the Vatican Secretariat of State and in 1937 was appointed surrogate to the secretary of state, Cardinal Pacelli (later Pope Pius XII). He was in daily contact with *Pius XII until 1954 and thus was a primary source of evidence for the latter's conduct during the war and his attitude toward the Jews. Montini was appointed prosecretary of state in 1952, archbishop of Milan in 1954, and became a cardinal in 1958. The second Vatican Council, convoked by his predecessor, *John XXIII, was brought to a conclusion by Paul VI (see *Church Councils). According to reliable sources, his personal intervention led to the approval of the *Nostra Aetate* declaration on the attitude of the Church to the non-Christian religions by those bishops who had been reluctant to give the declaration their approval even in its modified form. Paul VI promulgated the declaration in 1965. The pontificate of Paul VI is noted for the extensive trips undertaken by the pontiff. During his first major journey, a pilgrimage to the Holy Land (January 4 to 6, 1964), he spent 12 hours in Israel, but avoided the use of the word "Israel" in all the addresses he made on this occasion. While his attitude toward the State of Israel was reserved, it appeared to have modified after the 1967 *Six-Day War. In 1969 the pope officially received for the first time Israel's foreign minister, Abba *Eban. On the other hand, Paul's sermons were not always in line with the council's declaration, especially his reference to the part played by the Jews in the death of Jesus in his sermon on Palm Sunday in 1965, which seemed to indicate a reversal to pre-council theological attitudes.

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[Willehad Paul Eckert]

PAUL, GABRIEL HOWARD (**Gabe**; 1910–1998), U.S. baseball executive. Born in Rochester, New York, Paul began his 64-year association with baseball with the Rochester Red Wings of the AA International League as a shoeshine boy in the clubhouse at the age of ten. The next year he was promoted to bat boy, and at 16 was hired as publicity and ticket manager for the team. He also served as Rochester correspondent for *The Sporting News*. Paul became traveling secretary for the Cincinnati Reds in 1936, and was promoted to assistant general manager after returning from two-year military service during World War II. Paul was named vice president and general manager of the Reds on September 27, 1951, a post he held until 1960. He rebuilt the team by restructuring its minor leagues and scouting and signing Latin American and black players. In 1956 the Reds set a National League record for most home runs with 221, and Paul was named Executive of the Year. He served as general manager for the new franchise in Houston for six months, and then served as general manager of the Cleveland Indians from 1961 to 1973, during which time he co-owned the team from 1962 to 1966. After selling his interest in the Indians, Paul became part of the Cleveland-based syndicate of George Steinbrenner that purchased the New York Yankees from CBS on January 3, 1973. Paul was installed as Yankee president in April 1974, and was the architect of the 1977–78 championship teams. He returned to Cleveland as president of the Indians in 1978 and retired in 1984. He was responsible for changing the minor league draft system from drawing numbers out of a hat to drafting in reverse order of finish in the standings; led the fight to split each major league into two divisions; pushed through the free agent drafting of players; supported the designated hitter; and put through the rule change that required fielders to bring their gloves off the field after each half-inning.

[Elli Wohlgelernter (2nd ed.)]

PAULI, JOHANNES (c. 1455–c. 1535), German friar and humorist. Born in Pfeddersheim, Alsace, Pauli abandoned Judaism in his youth and entered the Franciscan order. From 1479 he taught in various church institutions and became a popular preacher. A chance meeting with the Christian Hebraist Conrad *Pellicanus in 1496 led "Paul Feddersheimer" (as the former called Pauli) to promise Pellicanus the gift of some Hebrew manuscripts bequeathed to him by his father. These texts (of Isaiah, Ezekiel, and the Minor Prophets) were duly dispatched from Mainz.

Pauli is remembered for one major work, *Schimpf und Ernst* (Thann, 1522), a collection of 693 jests and moral anecdotes drawn from ancient and medieval sources and from oral tradition. Some 60 editions of this work were printed before 1700. Although he mocked at human failings, Pauli invariably gave an ethical point to his graphic stories, which partly inspired the Elizabethan era's *Hundred Merry Tales*, a source much read and exploited by William *Shakespeare.

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[Godfrey Edmond Silverman]

PAULI, WOLFGANG (1900–1958), Swiss physicist and Nobel laureate born in Vienna. His father was a physician born in Prague, who changed the family name from Pascheles to Pauli, and his mother, a writer, was born in Vienna. He was educated at the Doebling Gymnasium and received his doctorate in physics from the Ludwig-Maximilian University of Munich supervised by Arnold Sommerfeld (1921). After working for a year with Max Born at the University of Goettingen and a further year with Niels Bohr in Copenhagen, he was a lecturer in physics at the University of Hamburg (1923–28). In 1928 he was appointed professor of theoretical physics at the Federal Institute of Technology, Zurich (1928–40). In 1940 he held a German passport which classified him as 75% Jewish even though it was not stamped "Jewish." The Nazi threat and his failure to obtain Swiss naturalization at the time led him to move to Princeton University (1940–46). Further difficulties concerning his status at his former university were resolved following his receipt of the Nobel Prize and he returned to Zurich for the rest of his career. He served as head of the mathematics and physics section (1950–52). Pauli was one of the most influential theoretical physicists of the 20th century. He showed a precocious command of mathematics and physics while a schoolboy, and his life-long interest in quantum mechanics began at university. Early on he recognized the importance of particle spin in exploring the structure of the atom. He formulated the exclusion principle which states that no two fermions (defined as the elementary particles other than bosons) can have identical quantum numbers. This principle has profound implications for understanding the composition of the periodic table and cosmological issues. He was awarded the 1945 Nobel Prize in physics for this contribution which he was unable to receive personally because of political difficulties over his travel documents from the U.S. Later he predicted the existence of the neutrino, the elusive particle that accounts for the loss of energy in beta decay. He also elucidated the basis of the Zeeman effect whereby the spectral line is split into two or more components when the light source is placed in a magnetic field. This finding facilitated the adaptation of this observation to nuclear physics and astronomy. His work on spinors and the Pauli master equation also had important applications for studying particle spin. His other honors included foreign membership in the Royal Society of London (1953). Pauli was less successful as a teacher because his analytical, non-didactic style was often difficult to follow, and he could be abrasive in scientific discourse and criticism.

Towards the end of his life Pauli became dissatisfied with science and his thoughts and writing incorporated much of his longstanding discourse with Carl Jung which had started for therapeutic reasons. He expressed no specific monotheistic belief but incorporated Jewish mysticism into his general mystical philosophy.

[Michael Denman (2nd ed.)]

PAUL OF TARSUS (d. c. 65 C.E.), the "Apostle to the Gentiles." The sources for Paul's life and doctrines are in the New Testament – in the Acts of the Apostles and in the seven Pauline epistles known to be genuine (which are the oldest part of the New Testament). The Epistle to the Hebrews does not even pretend to be written by Paul, the three so-called Pastoral Epistles (the two Epistles to Timothy and the Epistle to Titus) are pseudepigrapha, and there are doubts about the authorship of the Epistle to the Ephesians, the Epistle to the Colossians, and the second Epistle to the Thessalonians.

His Life

Paul was a Jew, born during the first years of the common era. His original name was Saul, and he was a native of Tarsus in Cilicia and possessed Roman citizenship, but according to Jerome (De Viris Illustribus, ch. 5), his family originated from Giscala (Gush Ḥalav) in Galilee. This may explain his adherence to the Pharisaic form of Judaism (Acts 26:5) and his studies in Jerusalem, where, according to Acts 22:3, he was a pupil of Rabban *Gamaliel the Elder; however, neither his Jewish nor his Greek learning was extensive or deep. Initially, he was a fanatical persecutor of the Christians and, according to the account in the New Testament, he was sent to Damascus on the authority of the high priest in order to arrest any Christians that he found there and bring them to Jerusalem for trial; on the way he had a vision of *Jesus, and he converted to Christianity and was baptized in Damascus.

He made three missionary journeys, converting gentiles to Christianity and founding Christian communities. He visited, among other places, Cyprus, Asia Minor, and Antioch; he went to Greece and stayed for a long time in Corinth, and later spent two years in Ephesus in Asia Minor. It was from Greece that he set out for Jerusalem, together with delegates from the churches of Asia and Greece, carrying contributions that had been collected to relieve the poverty of the mother Church of Jerusalem.

Paul was not the first to preach Christianity to gentiles, but he was the most important of these missionaries. The first followers of Jesus formed a group within Judaism, and gentile Christians became a serious problem for the mother Church. Finally, it adopted the position that the Mosaic Law was not to be imposed upon them (Acts 15) and permitted Paul's mission to the gentiles (Gal. 2:6–9). But not only did Paul refuse to restrict his activities to gentiles, he also strongly opposed the observance of all Jewish practices in his gentile Christian communities. The complexity of the situation became evident during Paul's last visit to Jerusalem. He had in his previous missionary activities already been persecuted by gentiles as well as by Jews, who were well aware of his teachings. So it began to be said in Jerusalem that he was teaching "the Jews who are among the gentiles to forsake Moses, telling them not to circumcise their children or observe the customs" (Acts 21:21). Although the leaders in Jerusalem succeeded in appeasing the local community, Jews from Asia instigated violent riots against Paul when he visited the Temple. In the end, he was rescued by Roman soldiers, who put him under protective arrest; he spent two years in detention in Caesarea and was then sent for a decision on his case to Rome, where he passed a further two years in custody. According to a well-established tradition, he was slain there during the Neronian persecution of Christians.

His Attitude toward the Jewish Law

Although Paul's assertion that "no human being will be justified by the works of the law" (Rom. 3:20) can be understood in a broader theological and philosophical sense, what he was chiefly opposing was the Law of the Jews. Paul's concept that Christ's death abolished Mosaic Law cannot be explained as a new development of the eschatological idea which sometimes occurs in later rabbinic sources, namely that in the world to come the commandments will no longer be valid; of this idea there is no trace in his teachings.

Paul's attitude toward Jewish Law is extreme and cannot be explained as stemming only from his theology of the Cross. For him the old Mosaic covenant was "a dispensation of death, carved in letters on stone… a dispensation of condemnation… [which]… fadeth away," in comparison with the new covenant, which is the "dispensation of the Spirit" (II Cor. 3:6–11). "For the law brings wrath, but where there is no law there is no transgression" (Rom. 4:15), and "all who rely on works of the law are under a curse" (Gal. 3:10–14).

Sometimes Paul's argument against the commandments of Judaism comes close to a rationalistic, liberal approach. Thus he says: "Eat whatever is sold in the meat market without raising any question on the ground of conscience, for the earth is the Lord's and everything in it" (I Cor. 10:23–26). But Paul's argumentation often goes beyond a purely liberal attitude and is not based solely on christological grounds. For him, there is no essential difference between the days of the week and the different kinds of food.

It seems clear from all his assertions that Paul's conversion meant for him liberation from the yoke of Jewish Law. The new covenant of Christianity was freedom from the law.

Paul could not say in so many words that Jewish Law had also ceased to have validity for Jews converted to Christianity, not only because he maintained that he who accepts the validity of the law and transgresses it is condemned, and because he did not want to shame the "weak brethren," but also because it was obviously unwise to provoke the wrath of the mother Church in Jerusalem. He thought, moreover, that "everyone should remain in the state in which he was called" (I Cor. 7:17–20). Although, for the purpose of winning over Jews to Christianity, he tended to "become as a Jew" (I Cor. 19–21), to the Jews themselves it seemed that he was unwilling to fulfill the commandments of the law in his private life.

Paul's numerous expressions of his attitude toward the law could not be fully accepted by later Christianity, since they imply opposition to all religious legal obligations; but, although he was not the only early Christian who, by abrogation of the Jewish *halakhah*, paved the way for the separation of Christianity from Judaism, his arguments against the Jewish way of life had a very strong impact upon the development of gentile Christianity. As the Apostle to the Gentiles and an opponent of the Jewish religious way of life, he aroused opposition from all groups of Jewish Christians, who were united in their polemics against him.

In contrast to Paul's hostile attitude toward the law, he always – with the exception of an anti-Jewish passage in his earliest letter (I Thess. 2:14–16) – showed a positive attitude toward the Jews themselves. He was certain that the election of Israel was not abrogated and that, after the gentiles had accepted the new faith, Israel would also become Christian, and so "all Israel will be saved" (Rom. 9–11).

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[David Flusser]

PAULY, ROSA (née **Rose Pollak**, 1894–1975), soprano singer. Pauly was born in Eperjes, Hungary, and studied in Vienna with Rosa Papier-Paumgartner. After she made her debut in a minor role in *Martha* at Hamburg (1918), she appeared with opera companies in Cologne (singing the title role in the German premiere of Janáček's *Káta Kabanová* in 1922); at the Krolloper, Berlin, as Leonore, Donna Anna, Senta, Carmen, and Maria in Krenek's *Der Diktator* (1927–31); and at the Staatsoper, Vienna (1931–38). A dramatic soprano of great theatrical power, she was particularly noted for her interpretation of the title role in *Elektra* in which she made her American debut at a concert performance with the New York Philharmonic Orchestra (March 1937), and in which she sang under Beecham at Covent Garden (1938). After guest appearances in the United States, Canada, and South America in 1941, Pauly moved to Israel where she taught singing. She made few recordings, among them Strauss' *Elektra*.

ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY: Grove online.

[Max Loppert / Israela Stein (2nd ed.)]

°**PAUSANIUS** (second century C.E.), author of the travel book "A Circuit of Greece" in Greek. He includes customs and historical data as well as an actual guide to sights. In his treatment of the area around Olympia he describes the Jordan's course, and in his book on Arcadia he speaks of the tomb of Queen *Helena of Adiabene in Jerusalem; elsewhere he mentions various peculiarities of Palestine.

PAVEL, OTA (**Otto Popper**; 1930–1973), Czech author, fiction writer, and journalist. Pavel was born in Prague into a mixed Czech-Jewish family. His father and two brothers were deported to the Theresienstadt concentration camp. Pavel worked as a miner and later as an editor at sports magazines, where he published many articles. His stories and novels, which move between reality and fiction, touched both sports and his own experience. These include *Dukla among the Skyscrapers* (1964); *A Box Full of Champagne* (1967); and *The Cup from the Lord* (1971). Later he published collections of autobiographical stories, such as *Death of the Beautiful Deer* (1971), which recounts in a humorous way the life of his family in the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia, and *How I Came to Know Fish* (1974) from the post-war era. A key figure in most of his stories is his assimilated Jewish father, Leo, who is portrayed – as is the whole family – with understanding and tolerance. His collected works (seven volumes), including many unknown or yet unpublished stories, appeared in the Czech Republic until 2002. Karel Kachyňa's films *Death of the Beautiful Deer* and *The Golden Eels* and the TV movie *Carps for Wehrmacht* are based on Pavel's stories. Some of his works were translated into English, German, and Hebrew.

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[Milos Pojar (2nd ed.)]

°**PAVELIĆ, ANTE** (1889–1959), Nazi-appointed ruler of Croatia during World War II. Born in Mostar (Herzegovina), Pavelić was an obscure Zagreb lawyer who came into prominence in 1929, when he founded the extreme right-wing Croatian separatists, Ustaše. In 1934, from his place of exile in Italy, he organized the assassination in Marseilles of King Alexander I of Yugoslavia (who was killed together with French Foreign Minister Louis Barthou) during the king's state visit to France (October 1934). After the German invasion of Yugoslavia in April 1941, the Germans and Italians appointed him "Poglavnik" (leader) of the Independent State of Croatia. He created a fascist-racialist regime, repressing all opposition and instituting ruthless persecution of the Serbs and other minorities living in Croatia, particularly Jews, through arbitrary arrests, deportations, killing of thousands of innocent people, the destruction of Orthodox Serb churches, forcible conversions of Serbs to Catholicism, and exile with plunder of property. Pavelić was a fierce antisemite, and together with his aides Eugen Kvaternik and his minister of the interior, Andrija Artuković (extradited from the United States to Yugoslavia in 1986 and sentenced to death), he was instrumental in murdering about 35,000 Jews and several times that number of Poles. Under his regime, these Jewish victims were not sent to Poland, but were murdered in local concentration camps. Under Pavelić's aegis, a Croatian Muslim division was formed in Bosnia and was visited by the Jerusalem Mufti, Hajj Amin al-Husseini. After the Axis' defeat, Pavelić found his way to Argentina, via Austria and Italy. He lived under assumed names and died two years after an assassination attempt in Spain.

See *Yugoslavia, Holocaust Period; *Zagreb

[Zvi Loker]

PAVIA, city in N. Italy. In 750 the Jew Lullo took part in a religious *disputation in Pavia with the Christian Peter of Pisa. In the ninth century a Jewish scholar named Moses, whose name is associated with the diffusion of mystical lore in Europe, left *Oria to settle in Pavia; his relationship to the 11th century R. Moses of *Pavia is obscure. In 1225 the Jews were expelled from Lombardy, including Pavia. In 1389 Jewish loan-bankers reappeared in the city. They were so violently attacked in the sermons of Bernardino da *Feltre between 1480 and 1494 that the inhabitants demanded their expulsion. However, Duke Giangaleazzo Sforza refused to comply. Popular agitation for the exclusion of the Jews nevertheless continued. When Pavia was besieged by the French in 1527 its inhabitants solemnly vowed that if they surmounted the catastrophe they would "cleanse" the town of Jews. However, the efforts of the numerous delegations later dispatched to the authorities in Milan to obtain their agreement came to nothing.

The physician *Elijah b. Shabbetai taught medicine at the University of Pavia at the beginning of the 15th century – the only authenticated case of a Jewish university teacher in Europe at this period. A chair of Hebrew was established at the end of the 15th century and was renewed in 1521, the first incumbent being the erudite apostate Paolo *Riccio. The duchy of Milan came under Spanish rule in 1535, and the Jews in Pavia obtained short residence permits for a time. In 1558 only seven Jewish families remained in Pavia, and they left during the series of expulsions between 1565 and 1597 which drove all Jews from the duchy of Milan.

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[Attilio Milano]

PAVLOGRAD, city in Dnepropetrovsk district, Ukraine. Jews began to settle in Pavlograd shortly after its establishment in 1780. In 1803 there were 167 Jews, 21 of them merchants. During the 19th century Pavlograd became an important center for the grain and flour industry, which helped to support a considerable increase in the Jewish population. There were 979 Jews registered in the community in 1847, increasing to 4,382 (27.8% of the total) in 1897. Pavlograd had a *talmud torah* and a few private Jewish schools. The 1926 census showed 3,921 Jews (20.9% of the total population), with the number dropping by 1939 to 2,510 (7.5% of the total population). In the Soviet period there was a Yiddish school, and a Jewish kolkhoz. The Germans occupied Pavlograd on October 10, 1941. They concentrated the local Jews and those from the environs in a labor camp within the territory of the Soviet army base. Between November 1941 and January 1942 they murdered most of the Jews in pits near the village of Mavrino. The remainder were killed in June 1942. According to Soviet reports 3,700 people, local residents and from the environs, were murdered, most of them Jews. After the war Jews returned to Pavlograd and in 1970 there were about 1,000 Jews there. Most left in 1990s.

[Yehuda Slutsky / Shmuel Spector (2nd ed.)]

PAVOLOCH, townlet in Zhitomir district, Ukraine. A Jewish community is first known to have existed in the townlet at the beginning of the 17th century. In 1736 the *Haidamacks carried out a pogrom in Pavoloch, massacring 35 Jews and engaging in plunder. In 1753 three local Jews, including the rabbi, were involved in a *blood libel, known as the Zhitomir Trial. They were executed, and all the town's Jews were obliged to pay a high fine. Records of 1765 show 1,041 Jews as paying the poll tax in Pavoloch and its vicinity. Jews numbered 2,113 in 1847, and in 1897 the number rose to 3,391 (42% of the total population). During the Civil War the townlet declined and most of its inhabitants left. Jewish residents numbered 1,837 (88.2% of the population) in 1926, dropping to 639 by 1939. The Germans entered the town in late July 1941. They found 156 Jews and murdered them. The others probably managed to escape. There is no information on Jews living in Pavoloch after World War II.

[Yehuda Slutsky / Shmuel Spector (2nd ed.)]

°PAWLIKOWSKI, JÓZEF (c. 1768–1829), Polish nobleman, Jacobin, publicist, and lawyer. During the period of the Great Sejm (1788–92) Pawlikowski discussed Jewish problems in anonymous pamphlets. The pamphlet "About the Polish subjects" (1788) sharply critcizes Jewish innkeepers for making the peasants drink heavily; his study *Myśli Polityczne o Polsce* (Political Thoughts of Poland, 1789) insists on barring Jews from leasing taverns but formulates an extremely liberal reform program of the social and political laws for the benefit of the Jews. Pawlikowski was the only representative of the Polish Enlightenment who accorded equal importance to social emancipation of the peasants, townsmen, and Jews. In contradistinction to others he did not consider the Jews to be exploiters as a whole, but saw them as an oppressed and largely poor people. He felt that it was unrealistic to direct the majority of the Jews toward agriculture. Espousing the necessity of complete tolerance and the granting of all urban rights to the Jews, he stated that the introduction of these changes was subject to the Jews gaining a secular education. He therefore proposed the transfer of the Jewish schools to the National Education Commission, adding that "one cannot demolish anything belonging to their religion"; he also warned, "let us not act like the old Spaniards." In 1826 Pawlikowski was imprisoned in Warsaw and died there.

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[Jacob Goldberg]

PAZ, DUARTE DE (d. c. 1542), representative in Rome of Portuguese Marranos. Of Marrano descent, Duarte began a career in diplomacy as the Portuguese military attaché for North Africa. He won the confidence of King John III, who knighted him in 1532 and sent him on a secret mission. Instead he went to Rome to enlist the Curia's intercession for the Marranos. He had a cool and cunning style and plied the cardinals and Pope Clement VII with money made available for this purpose by the Marranos. His initial success was the issuance on Oct. 17, 1532 of a papal decree abrogating the bull *Cum ad nihil magis* of 1531, which had introduced the Inquisition into Portugal. His second success, on April 7, 1533, was the issuance of a bull pardoning the Marranos for "lapses" into Judaism on the ground that their forced conversions were not valid (see *Inquisition, *Portugal). Continuing his activities under Pope Paul III (1534–49), Duarte achieved another success on Oct. 2, 1535, when a papal bull extended the civil rights of Marranos, resulting in the immediate release of 1,800 Marranos from Portuguese dungeons. By this time King John had taken furious notice of Duarte's insubordinate activities and ordered him stripped of commission and honor. In January 1536 Duarte was attacked by masked men, stabbed 14 times, and left for dead on the road. Because of concealed armor he was wearing and the subsequent careful nursing by the pope's doctors, he recovered and accused King John of having ordered his assassination. John denied the accusation, and in any event, since Duarte was no longer in a position to defend his constituents effectively, he proceeded to bring his affairs to a close. When the Marranos questioned Duarte accusingly about a missing 4,000 ducats, enraged, he turned completely against them and denounced both them and their new representative, Diogo Antonio, in many courts in Europe. While on a visit to *Ferrara he was taken by surprise and imprisoned. On his release, he openly espoused Judaism and migrated to Turkey, where, shortly before his death, he reportedly became a Muslim.

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PE (Heb. פֵּא; פ, ף), the 17th letter of the Hebrew alphabet; its numerical value is 80. In the Proto-Sinaitic inscriptions this letter seems to be represented by the drawing of either a mouth *(peh)* or corner *(pêʾāh)* , . In the 11th and 10th centuries B.C.E., its form was (which presumably was the prototype of Greek ( ) → and Latin (P). The later West-Semitic variants are Hebrew (Samaritan), Phoenician and Aramaic → in the medial and in final positions. The latter forms are the ancestors of the Jewish (modern Heb.) פ and ף From the Nabatean (final) → (medial) developed the Arabic ف (the single diacritic mark distinguishes it from ق which developed from the *qaf*). See *Alphabet, Hebrew.

[Joseph Naveh]

PEACE (Heb. שָׁלוֹם, *shalom*).

In the Bible

The verb *shalem* (so both the perfect, Gen. 15:16, and the participle, Gen. 33:18) in the *qal* means "to be whole, complete, or sound."

"PEACE." The range of nuances is rather wide. That the iniquity of the Amorites has not yet become *shalem* (Gen. 15:16) means that it is not yet complete. That Jacob arrived *shalem* in the city of Shechem (Gen. 33:18) means that he arrived there safe. To be *shalem* with somebody means to be loyal to him (Gen. 34:21; I Kings 8:61; 11:4; etc.), and one's *sholem* (Ps. 7:5) is one's ally. Although recent translations show a great improvement in this regard, the noun *shalom* is still interpreted to mean "peace" more often than is warranted. It, of course, very frequently means health and/or well-being: Genesis 29:6 (twice); 37:14 (twice); 43:28. In this sense, *shalom* is frequently equivalent to a sentence, "It is well," and *le* may be added to express the English "with"; *shalom* is used alone in this way in II Samuel 18:28, and with *le* in II Samuel 18:29, 32. In Genesis 43:23 and Judges 19:20, "It is well with you" is equivalent to "Don't worry about that," referring in the second case to a roof under which to spend the night (the last clause in verse 18). That the antithesis in Isaiah 45:7 is not between "peace" and "evil," but between prosperity (*shalom*) and adversity (*raʿ*), has happily long been the dominant view (cf. *shalom, ṭov, yeshuʿah*, Isa. 52:7). It needs to be noted, however, that not "peace" but safety is the meaning of *shalom* in Leviticus 26:6 (cf. verses 25bb–26: within the land, they shall dwell secure – with never a savage beast or an invader – but only because the enemy will be kept out by dint of successful warfare); Jeremiah 12:12; Zechariah 8:10; and elsewhere. In the above-cited verse Isaiah 52:7, *shalom* stands in synonymous parallelism with *ṭov* in the sense of physical good; it likewise shares with *ṭov* the sense of moral good. Thus *ṭov* has the former meaning in Psalm 34:13 and the latter one in verse 15 – where it is paralleled by *shalom*. Translate:

(13) Is there anyone among you who desires life, is eager for longevity and to experience well-being (*ṭov*)? (14) Then guard your tongue against evil and your lips against speaking deceit. (15) Shun evil and do good (*ṭov*); seek and pursue integrity/equity (*shalom*). For the interpretation of Psalm 37:37b, it makes no difference whether or not one reads in 37a *shemor ṭov u-reʿeh yosher*, "practice probity and cultivate equity" (in light of verse 3 where, conversely, *shekhon ereẓ* is to be emended to *shemor ẓedek* (*ẓedeq*), "practice righteousness," in light of the preceding "do good" and the following "cultivate honesty" as well as the *shemor* of this verse): 37b must in any case be translated "for there is a happy future for the man of integrity." Similarly, in Zechariah 8:16, in which the second *ʾemet* is obviously an erroneous repetition of the first, the sense is: "Speak the truth to each other, and judge equitably (lit. judge judgment of equity [*shalom*]) in your gates." And again in verse 19: "… The Fast of the Fourth Month, and the Fast of the Fifth Month, and the Fast of the Seventh Month, and the Fast of the Tenth Month shall become [occasions of] rejoicing and gladness and happy seasons for the House of Judah – only love truth and equity [*shalom*]." (Alluding to this verse, Esth. 9:30 characterizes Queen Esther's ordinance for the observation of the new holidays – the Purim of the provinces and the Purim of Shushan – as "an ordinance of equity and truth.") The parallelism alone would not suffice to tip the balance in favor of this meaning of *shalom* in Psalm 72:3, 7, for in Isaiah 60:17 the context precludes any interpretation of *shalom/ẓedaqah* other than "prosperity/success" (see *Righteousness). In Psalm 72:3, however, the context points once again to "equity." The prosperity of the country (in contrast to that of the king) is actually treated only in one corrupt verse near the end (verse 16). Finally, Y. Muffs has pointed out that, in light of the Akkadian idiom *šalmeš atalluku* (*maḥar x*), *be-shalom u-ve-mishor halakh itti*, Malachi 2:6, means "he served me with integrity and equity" (more idiomatically, "loyally and conscientiously" – H.L. Ginsberg). Even apart from the Akkadian evidence, the sense of Malachi 2:6 is clear from the foregoing and from the context: Levi, the ancestor of the priestly caste, saved the masses (*rabbim*), or laity by his conscientiousness in making *torah* rulings, from committing ritual offenses; his unworthy descendants, by being lax in this regard, often out of partiality, make the masses (*rabbim*), or laity, stumble by their rulings (*torah*).

PEACE AND THE LIKE. Of course *shalom* does mean "peace" too. But first it must be pointed out that it often approaches this meaning without quite reaching it. YHWH's *berit* (covenant) of *shalom* with Phinehas (Num. 25:12) and with Zion (Isa. 54:10) were, for pity's sake, neither peace treaties terminating previous wars nor nonaggression pacts to refrain from starting new ones. They were solemn – actually unilateral – promises of divine grace. So too the *priestly blessing (Num. 6:24–26), after wishing YHWH's blessing, protection, friendliness, favor, and benignity, ends not, bathetically, with "and may He grant you peace" but, appropriately, "and may He extend grace (*shalom*) to you." In Jeremiah 16:5, YHWH's grace (*shalom*) is explicated as "kindness (*ḥesed*) and mercy (*raḥamim*)"; and in light of that passage it is probable that a *vav* has been lost at the end of Num. 6:24–26 before the initial *vav* of verse 27, so that *shelomo*, is to be read "His grace." In line with this is the phrase "intentions of *shalom*" for "gracious kind, intentions" (on the part of YHWH) in Jeremiah 29:11. A step closer to mere "peace" is "friendship" (or "alliance"), which sense *shalom* has in Judges 4:17: "there was *shalom* between King Jabin of Hazor and the family of Heber the Kenite," so that Jabin's general Sisera, fleeing from the Israelites, believed that he would find safety in the tent of Heber. So, too, one's *shalom*-men are one's friends or allies; Jeremiah 20:10; 38:22; Obadiah 7. Finally, *shalom* obviously means precisely "peace" in I Kings 2:5; Psalm 120:7; Ecclesiastes 3:8; Job 15:21, in which passage it stands in antithesis to war or marauding; but the cases in which this sense can be attributed to the word in good conscience are a small proportion of the total number of its occurrences. Thus it is not true that in Deuteronomy 20:10 the Torah required Israel to invite its adversary "to settle the dispute amicably" "before the commencement of hostilities." The Israelite army has already been mobilized, verse 2a, and has already marched up to an enemy city (not necessarily the first), verse 10a, and it now invites the city not "to settle the dispute amicably" but to surrender on ignominious terms in order to avoid a worse fate (verses 10–17). *Shalom* here means not peace but submission, and the verb *hishlim* definitely means not "to make peace" but "to submit," not only in Deuteronomy 20:12 but also in Joshua 10:1, 4; 11:19; II Samuel 10:19; I Chronicles 19:19; and presumably also I Kings 22:45; Proverbs 16:7. *Isaiah's vision of an age where there would be no more war between nations, Isaiah 4:2–4 (Micah 4:1ff.), is unparalleled. It should not, however, be confused with pacifism. The reason for his opposition to alliances is explained in the Book of *Isaiah. It does not mean that he believed that self-defense was wrong. On the contrary, he predicts that in a penitent Judah those charged with defense (so long as defense, despite 2:2–4, remains necessary) will be endowed with charismatic valor (Isa. 28:6).

[Harold Louis Ginsberg]

In the Talmud

With the possible exception of *justice, peace is the most exalted ideal of the rabbis of the Talmud. No words of praise are too exaggerated to emphasize the importance of this ideal. On the statement of Rabban Simeon b. Gamaliel, "By three things the world is preserved, by truth, by judgment, and by peace" (Avot 1:18), the Talmud declares that they are in effect one, since "if judgment is executed, truth is vindicated, and peace prevails" (TJ, Ta'an. 4:2, 68a). The rabbis interpret Hosea 4:17 to teach that "even if Israel is tied to idols, leave him, as long as peace prevails within it" (Gen. R. 38:6). The role of the scholars is to increase peace in the world (Ber. 64a), and it is to bring the rule of peace that Elijah will come (Eduy. 8:7). There is not a blessing or prayer in the liturgy, the *Amidah*, the *Kaddish*, the Priestly Blessing, and the Grace after Meals, which does not conclude with the prayer for peace (Lev. R. 9:9). "*Shalom*" is the standard greeting among Jews both on meeting and on saying farewell, so that the phrase for greeting and for answering the greeting is "to enquire of the peace of" and to "answer the peace of" (Ber. 2:1, 4b). *Shalom* is one of the names of God (Shab. 10b; Lev. R. 9:9). "The Holy One, blessed be He, found no vessel more worthy of retaining a blessing within it than peace" (Uk. 3:12).

It is permitted to deviate from the strict line of truth in order to establish peace (Yev. 65b), and the Talmud declares with regard to Numbers 5:23, "if in order to establish peace between husband and wife the Name of God, which was written in holiness, may be blotted out, how much more so to bring about peace for the world as a whole" (TJ, Sot. 1:4, 16d). It will be seen that the ideal of peace encompasses the whole gamut of human relationship, between man and his fellowman, and between nation and nation, bringing about the ideal of universal peace.

*Aaron is regarded as the prototype of the ideal of peace (Avot 1:12; cf. Yoma 71b), and in the parallel passage in *Avot de-Rabbi Nathan* (12, p. 48) there is a loving and detailed account of the manner in which he used to devote himself to the bringing about of his ideal. In this Aaron stands in contrast to his brother Moses, who exemplifies the ideal of justice. Aaron's assent to the demand of the people to fashion the golden calf is contrasted with Moses' demands as the rival claims of the ideals of peace and justice when they clash, and the one can be achieved only at the price of the denial of the other, Moses maintaining, "Let justice pierce the mountain" (cf. "*Fiat Justitia, Ruat Coelum*"), whereas Aaron maintained the love and pursuit of peace at all cost. In a similar vein is the homily of Rabban Johanan b. Zakkai on the injunction that no iron tool was to be used in the building of the altar, which had to be made of "whole stones" ("*avanim shelemot*" interpreted as "stones which bring peace" Deut. 27:5–6; cf. Ex. 20:22). "Is it not an a fortiori argument? If the stones of the altar which can neither see nor hear nor speak, but because they bring peace between Israel and their Father in Heaven, the Holy One, blessed be He said, 'thou shalt lift up no iron tool upon them'; how much more so he who brings about peace between man and his fellow, between husband and wife, between city and city, between nation and nation, between government and government, and between family and family" (Mekh., Ba-Ḥodesh, 11). Abbaye's favorite maxim was "man should always strive to increase peace with his brother, his relations, with every other man, even with the heathen in the market place, in order that he be beloved on high and well-liked on earth, and acceptable to his fellowman" (Ber. 17a; SER 26), and there is a whole series of enactments and adjustments of the law made "in the interest of peace" (*mi-penei darkhei shalom*).

Nevertheless, Judaism is not uncompromisingly pacifist in its outlook. It sees universal peace as an ideal which will be achieved only in the messianic age, and Maimonides concludes his famous Code with the declaration that in that era there will be "neither famine nor war, neither jealousy nor strife." Judaism believes that war is sometimes morally justified and divides war into "the war of *mitzvah*," "the obligatory war" (*milḥemet ḥovah*; the war of the two are sometimes identified), and the optional war (cf. Maim. Yad, Melakhim 5–7; see **Mitzvah*). Nevertheless, the whole weight of the ethics of the rabbis recoiled from the glorification of war. This attitude is strikingly expressed in a Mishnah (Shab. 6:4) which lays it down that a man may not go out wearing his arms on the Sabbath, and "if he did so he is obligated to bring a sin-offering." In answer to the opposite opinion that they can be regarded as adornments, the rabbis indignantly retorted, "they are nought but a reproach, as it is written, 'and they shall beat their swords into plowshares and their spears into pruning-hooks, Nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more'" (Isa. 2:4).

[Louis Isaac Rabinowitz]

In Post-Talmudic Jewish Thought

The medieval Jewish thinkers discuss peace under the two headings of world peace and of the avoidance of internal strife and contention in the Jewish community. Jews in the Middle Ages had no voice in international affairs. World peace in the here and now was for them a purely academic question. Their discussions of it, consequently, are in a messianic context. Saadiah (*Emunot ve-Deot* 7:10) points to the continuing wars among nations, including wars of religion, to demonstrate that the prophetic vision of peace on earth can only apply to the messianic age. Maimonides (Yad, Melakhim 12:5) similarly considers the establishment of peace for all mankind to be an accomplishment of the Messiah. David Kimḥi (to Isa. 2:4) states that the nations will bring their disputes to the Messiah for arbitration. He will decide so wisely and justly that war between nations will be purposeless. It has frequently been pointed out that in medieval illustrated *Haggadot* the wicked son is depicted as a warrior, the wise son as a peace-loving sage.

Joseph Albo (*Sefer ha-Ikkarim* 4:51) defines peace as the harmony of opposites. There is no virtue in one extreme predominating over another, but only in the harmony between the irascible and the patient, the niggardly and the extravagant, and so on. Peace of mind means the attainment of harmony among the different parts of the soul. Isaac Arama (*Akedat Yiẓḥak*, 74) holds that the conventional view of peace as a mere negation of strife fails to do justice to the richness of the concept. Peace is a positive thing, the essential means by which men of differing temperaments and opinions can work together for the common good. Pearls of individual virtue would be dim in isolation if not for the string of peace that binds them together and so increases their luster. That is why peace is a name of God, for it is He who gives unity to the whole of creation.

[Louis Jacobs]

Medieval Jewish thinkers suggested three fundamental concepts regarding the way to make an end to war and to bring about a state of peace. According to the first, this can be done by reforming man qua man – that is, by changing the consciousness of the individual. Putting an end to war involves subduing those internal impulses and motives that impel people to violence. Peace will come about as a consequence of the perfection – either intellectual or psychological – of humankind. Maimonides, for instance, viewed the prophetic vision of peace as a natural and necessary outgrowth of the dominion of the intellect over man's destructive impulses. For him, violence and war, the inflicting of harm by people on one another, have their source in irrationality and ignorance. However, the apprehension of truth – "knowledge of God" – displaces man's awareness from his attachment to illusory goods and interests, and completely eliminates the irrational factors that give rise to mutual conflict between individuals, groups, and nations (Guide 3:11: Laws of Kings, 12:1). Similarly, Abraham bar Hiyya describes the peace foretold by the prophets as the consequence of a radical change in human consciousness. However, it is in the realm of interpersonal relations that this transformation is to take place. Man's destructive impulses are to be overcome not by intellect, but by the sense of intimacy and mutual identification that will grow among people once they have all chosen to adopt the same path. The projected utopian peace will be expressed and embodied in the universal effectiveness of the commandment to "love thy neighbor as thyself" (*Hegyon ha-Nefesh*, ed. G. Wigoder, p. 150).

According to a second concept, peace will come about by reconstructing the international framework – that is, by creating a new world order, either through law and justice or through domination and force. The image of world peace described by several medieval commentators and thinkers took the form of a judicial arrangement between the rival nations, a kind of an international court that would mediate their quarrels and conflicts. This vision speaks not of a human society that has risen above all striving; it speaks, rather, of a procedure for conflict resolution presided over by a supreme, utopian judge whose authority and righteousness are accepted by all. For instance, for David *Kimḥi (Commentary on Micah, 4, 3) and Isaac *Arama (*Akedat Yiẓḥak*, gate 46, 133b), the prophetic tiding "and he shall judge between the nations" (Isa. 2:4; Micah 4:3), does not refer to the kingship of God but to the sages of Jerusalem or to the messiah. They therefore granted the judicial institution universal authority. Other thinkers, however, interpreted the envisioned international structure as a kind of Pax Judaica, a single, central government in Zion to which all people would be subject. These portrayals, of a destined universal domination of the people of Israel or the king-messiah rest upon biblical or midrashic sources, but they also reflect contemporary historical reality: living out the present in submission, subject to the gentile powers, thinkers like *Saadiah Gaon (*Doctrines and Beliefs*, 8, 8) and *Albo anticipate a complete reverse.

Finally, according to a third concept, peace will be achieved by an internal reformation of society – that is, by a change in the socio-political order. Peace will come about as a result of either the annulment or the improvement of existing political structures. Isaac *Abrabanel foresaw a universal theocracy, the kingship of God on earth. Ultimate peace would involve the disappearance of national and political boundaries and the abrogation of political structures through the unification of all humanity in the light of monotheistic faith – that is to say, through the religious perfection of humanity (Commentary to Isa. 2;4, Commentary to Micah 4). Isaac Arama, however, discusses peace and war in relation to the law of the state, the present operative political and judicial order. Unlike the conceptions described above, in which peace was portrayed primarily from a utopian point of view, Arama looks at this issue in light of actual, contemporary historical reality as well. "For if the social order and law (*nimmus*) are defective and distant from the natural truth [...] quarrel and strife cannot but break out amongst them" (*Akedat Yiẓḥak*, 46). It is thus the task of the lawgiver to ordain a social order that will educe such motives, both on the part of the ruler and on the part of his subjects.

[Aviezer Ravitzky (2nd ed.)]

In Modern Jewish Thought

Modern Jewish thought, without any denominational differences, except possibly on the question of religious toleration, is unanimous on the great value of peace. Morris Joseph (*Judaism as Creed and Life* (1903), 456–7) is typical of the whole modern trend when he writes that only the peace-loving Jew is a true follower of the prophets, that the greatest sacrifices should be made to avoid war, that a Jew cannot consistently belong to a war party, and that the Jew's religion, history, and mission all pledge him to a policy of peace, as a citizen as well as an individual. A.I. Kook, commenting on the ruling that the office of the priest "anointed for war" (Deut. 20:2–4) is not a hereditary one, remarks that the idea of a hereditary position is to express permanence in human affairs. However, peace is the only state deserving of permanence. Consequently, there can be no question of a hereditary appointment for a functionary connected with warfare, but only for one who operates in times of peace (Zevin: *Le-Or ha-Halakhah* (1946), 27–28). The Reform *Union Prayer Book* contains this prayer: "Grant us peace, Thy most precious gift, O Thou eternal source of peace, and enable Israel to be its messenger unto the peoples of the earth. Bless our country that it may ever be a stronghold of peace, and its advocate in the council of nations."

[Louis Jacobs]

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PEACE MOVEMENTS, RELIGIOUS. Within Israel since the Six-Day War of 1967, Orthodox Judaism has politically largely become associated with an uncompromising stance concerning issues of territory and the Arab-Israel conflict. This has become an integral part of the ideologies and policies expressed by the *National Religious Party and *Gush Emunim. Over the years, however, a number of small, religious peace movements have been founded in an attempt to promote an alternative message based, also, on recourse to religious and theological sources.

Oz ve-Shalom ("Strength and Peace") was founded in the 1970s by religious intellectuals as a religious response to Gush Emunim. The movement called for territorial compromise and for ending control over millions of Palestinians. It had only a minor influence on the religious population, and most of its impact was on the general Israeli public.

In the wake of the Lebanon War of 1982, the Netivot Shalom ("Paths of Peace") Movement was founded as an umbrella organization consisting of members of Oz ve-Shalom and of members of *yeshivot hesder* (yeshivah studies combined with army service).

Netivot Shalom was headed by rabbis such as Aaron *Lichtenstein and Yehudah Amital, and by religious intellectuals such as Uriel Simon and Aviezer *Ravitzky. Its members called for withdrawal from the territories in exchange for peace and emphasized humanistic values in light of religious sources.

In 1988, a moderate religious political party, Meimad, was founded under the leadership of Rabbi Amital. This party failed to obtain the minimum number of votes necessary for a seat in the Knesset, and this was seen as a clear indication of the limited religious support for a moderate stance on the question of the territories. Meimad was reformed early in 1993 as an ideological and educational organization to lend support to the renewed peace process of the Rabin government, and later became an independent political party which then joined the Labor Party to form "One Israel." Following the Labor victory in the 1999 elections, Meimad's representative, Rabbi Michael *Melchior, served as a minister in Ehud Barak's government.

In 1992, the Committee of Rabbis for Human Rights was formed and obtained some prominence in its support of Palestinian human rights. Unlike the other religious peace organizations, the Rabbis for Human Rights was composed of rabbis from all the major religious streams – Orthodox, Conservative, and Reform.

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[David Newman]

PEACE NOW (*Shalom Akhshav* – Israeli peace movement). Shalom Akhshav was launched in March 1978 with a letter signed by 348 men, all of them reserve officers in the Israel Defense Force, to Prime Minister Menaḥem Begin, appealing to him to return the territories in the West Bank and Gaza conquered in the Six-Day War, in the interests of peace, and making their slogan "Better Peace (*shalom*) than the wholeness (*shlemut*) of the Land of Israel."

The movement was characterized by the fact that it was completely independent of any political party or grouping, and by the decorous manner in which it conducted its propaganda. That it responded to a widespread popular demand was evidenced by the fact that its first mass demonstration, held on April 1, 1978, in Malkhei Israel Square in Tel Aviv, was attended by numbers variously estimated at between 20,000 and 30,000. After a demonstration outside the residence of the prime minister on March 30, on his return from the United States, and also on April 21, they were received by the prime minister. Two days later, 350 professors and university lecturers issued a proclamation in support of them, to which a similar number added their names in August, and on April 26 over 3,000 lined the road from Sha'ar Hagai to Jerusalem when Begin passed it on his way to Tel Aviv. A number of similar demonstrations took place subsequently on various occasions.

Peace Now enthusiastically acclaimed the Camp David Agreement in September 1978. In subsequent months they protested vigorously against every step by the government which they felt impeded the implementation of the Peace Treaty, and autonomy on the West Bank, such as the proposal to "thicken" the existing settlements there or to establish new ones.

Peace Now was also in the forefront of the protest movement against the Lebanon War and was the major organizer of the mass rally in Tel Aviv in September 1982 after the Sabra and Shatilla massacre. Throughout the 1980s and 1990s it continued to press for withdrawal to Israel's pre-1967 borders and the establishment of a Palestinian state. The collapse of the Camp David summit in 2000 despite Prime Minister Ehud Barak's far-reaching concessions paralyzed the movement for a time, but it again became vocal in 2002. The main support of the Peace Now movement came from the middle classes and liberal and intellectual circles.

[Louis Isaac Rabinowitz]

PEACH (Heb. פַּרְסֵק or אֲפַרְסֵק, mishnaic), the tree and the fruit of the *Persica vulgaris* (*Prunus persica*). This tree was first grown in Ereẓ Israel during the Greco-Roman era, hence its name *afarsek*, i.e., "Persian apple" in the Mishnah (Gr. μῆλον περσικόν). Characteristic of the peach are the red fibers extending from a deeply grooved kernel. The Mishnah accordingly lays it down that peaches become liable for tithing "after they begin to show red veins" (Ma'as, 1:2). Under suitable conditions, peaches can grow to a substantial size, and the *aggadah* states that it happened that a single peach became large enough to provide more than a meal for a man and his ass (TJ, Pe'ah 7:4, 20a). The Mishnah states that the peach used to be grafted onto the almond (as it is today) and forbids the practice since it constitutes *kilayim* ("*mixed species"; Kil. 1:4). On the other hand, the statement (TJ, Kil. 27a according to the reading of the Mussafia in his additions to the *Arukh*) that the grafting of a walnut tree on a peach produces the fruit *karyah-persikah* ("Persian walnuts"), a sort of crossbreed between the walnut and the peach, belongs to agricultural folklore.

The name *nucipersica* ("Persian nut") occurs on an inscription discovered in a Roman villa and this name entered into the botanical literature of the Middle Ages for a species of peach with a skin as smooth as that of the outer husk of the walnut. It is certain that these two unrelated species cannot be grafted and no hybrid can be produced from them. After the ruin of Jewish agriculture in Ereẓ Israel at the end of the talmudic era, peach plantations all but disappeared. During recent years, however, they have been planted in large numbers and are found in abundance.

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[Jehuda Feliks]

PEACOCK, bird called ταως in Greek and *tavvas* in the Mishnah. The peacock (*Pavo cristatus*) is a ritually clean bird (see *Dietary Laws) belonging to the pheasant family. In mishnaic times some wealthy people in Ereẓ Israel bred the peacock as an ornamental bird and even ate it on occasion, its head in particular being regarded as a great delicacy (Shab. 130a). According to the Tosefta (Kil. 1:8), "chicken, peacock, and pheasant, although resembling one another, are each heterogeneous with the other." A poetic comment on the peacock's beauty is given in the Midrash (Tanḥ. B., Lev. 33; cf. Gen. R. 7:4): "Although the peacock comes from a drop of white matter, it has 365 different colors, as many as the days in a year." The peacock originates from India, from where, it is suggested, Alexander the Great imported it into Europe. The *tukkiyyim* conveyed to Solomon in ships of Tarshish (I Kings 10:22; II Chron. 9:21) are most probably to be identified with peacocks, called in Tamil *togai, tokai*, an identification found also in ancient translations. In modern Hebrew *tukki* is mistakenly used to denote a parrot.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Lewysohn, Zool, 189f., no. 241; F.S. Bodenheimer, *Animal and Man in Bible Lands* (1960), 121, 125; J. Feliks, *Kilei Zera'im ve-Harkavah* (1967), 118f., 129–32; idem, *Animal World of the Bible* (1962), 60.

[Jehuda Feliks]

PE'AH (Heb. פֵּאָה; "corner"), name of the second treatise of the Mishnah, in the order of *Zera'im*. Despite its name, this tractate deals with the laws of all the different dues to the poor, namely: *pe'ah, leket* ("gleaning of grapes"), *peret* ("fallen grapes"), *ma'aser ani* ("poor man's tithe") which are enjoined in Leviticus 19:9, 10, and Deuteronomy 24:19; 14:28, 29.

The tractate is divided into eight chapters whose contents are: required amount and size of field to which the law of *pe'ah* applies (1:1, 2; 3:6); the type of field and agricultural produce from which *pe'ah* may be given (1:4, 5; 3:4); modes of division in a field (2:1–4; 3:1, 2); procedure in giving *pe'ah* (4:1–5); type of gleanings which constitute *leket* (4:10, 11; 5:1, 2); type of harvest, position of leftover sheaves and amount of sheaves that require the giving of *shikhḥah* (5:7, 8; 6:2–11; 7:1, 2); laws of *peret* and *olelot* (7:3–7); laws of *ma'aser ani* (8:2, 5–7); obligation of consecrated land to the Temple in connection with dues to the poor (1:6; 4:6–9; 7:8). Thus 1–4:9 deals with the laws of *pe'ah*; 4:10–5:6 with *leket*; 5:7–7:2 with *shikhḥah*; 7:3 with *peret*; 7:4–7, 8 with *olelot*; 8, especially from Mishnah 5 onward, with *ma'aser ani* and charity. A number of topics unrelated to the immediate subject of the tractate are included: enumeration of *mitzvot* having no fixed measure (1:1); legal transactions involving small amounts of land (3:6, 7); laws of renunciation of ownership (1:6; 6:1). The first of these has been included (with variant readings) in the prayer book as part of the morning introductory prayers.

The Tosefta has four chapters, which, besides complementing and interpreting the Mishnah, include several interpretations and emendations based on the Talmud (Tosef., 1:6; 2:2; see Epstein, Tanna'im, 252). The Tosefta also contains some aggadic passages, such as "The Almighty combines a good intention with an action, but an evil intention the Almighty does not combine with an action" (1:4). In the last chapter, in which charity is highly praised, it is stated that charity and deeds of lovingkindness equal all the *mitzvot* in the Torah (4:19), that he who shuts his eyes to charity is like one who practices idolatry (4:20). There is no *Gemara* on the tractate in the Babylonian Talmud but there is in the Jerusalem Talmud, which includes much aggadic literature.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: H.L. Strack, *Introduction to the Talmud and Midrash* (1931), 29–30; P. Blackman (ed. and tr.), *Mishnayot*, 1 (1951); J.D. Herzog (ed. and tr.), *Mishnayot*, 2 (1947).

[Jacob Kelemer]

PEAR (Heb. אֲגָּס, mishnaic), *Pyrus communis*. Although it is first mentioned in rabbinic literature this does not necessarily mean that the pear was not grown in Ereẓ Israel in biblical times. A member of the same genus, the Syrian pear *Pyrus syriaca* (mishnaic Heb. *ḥizrar*), grows wild in Ereẓ Israel in Upper Galilee (Kil. 1:4). The same Mishnah mentions a variety of pear called *krostomlin* which is regarded as belonging to the same species. The reference is to the pear called by Pliny (*Natural History*, 15:53) *crustumina*. It seems that during the time of the Mishnah they began to grow this excellent species in Ereẓ Israel, hence its Roman name. In modern Israel the Arabs used to grow small local pears, but excellent large species have been introduced by the Jews, and today pears are found in abundance.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Loew, Flora, 3 (1924), 235–40; J. Feliks, *Kilei Zera'im ve-Harkavah* (1967), 93–95. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** Feliks, Ha-Tzome'aḥ, 18.

[Jehuda Feliks]

PEARL, DANIEL (1963–2002), U.S. journalist. Born in Princeton, N.J., Pearl grew up in Encino, Calif., where his father was a professor at the University of California in Los Angeles. Pearl, who had dual American-Israeli citizenship, earned a bachelor's degree in communications from Stanford University and had several newspaper jobs before joining the Atlanta bureau of *The Wall Street Journal* in 1990. He moved to the Washington bureau in 1993 and three years later to the *Journal's* London bureau as Middle East correspondent. In 2000, Pearl became the newspaper's South Asia bureau chief. While investigating the case of Richard Reid, who was convicted of carrying a bomb in his shoe on an airline, Pearl was kidnapped by a militant group in Pakistan calling itself the National Movement for the Restoration of Pakistani Sovereignty. The group said Pearl was a spy and sent the United States a range of demands, including the freeing of all Pakistani terror detainees and the release of a halted U.S. shipment of F-16 fighter jets to the Pakistani government. The press deliberately kept word of his Israeli parents out of the story to protect one of their own. Threatening to kill Pearl, the group released photographs of Pearl handcuffed with a gun at his head and holding up a newspaper. There was no response to pleas from Pearl's editor, and from his wife, who was pregnant with their first child. Six days later, Pearl was killed and the kidnappers later severed his head. Pearl's body was found five months later in a grave near Karachi. In February 2003, a videotape titled *The Slaughter of the Spy-Journalist, the Jew Daniel Pearl* was released. It shows his murder and records Pearl saying "I am a Jew and my father was a Jew." Then his throat was cut. The video made its way to the Pakistani government and the U.S. government, and eventually it leaked onto the Internet through a Jihadist site. On the video, Pearl described his Jewish upbringing and his family's involvement with the creation of the State of Israel. Four Islamic men were later convicted and sentenced to death for the kidnapping and murder. The prosecution relied on technical evidence provided by the Federal Bureau of Investigation, which traced e-mails to the defendants.

A collection of Pearl's writings, *At Home in the World: Collected Writings from the Wall Street Journal*, was published in 2002. The following year, Mariane Pearl, the widow, and Sarah Crichton, published *A Mighty Heart*, and Ruth and Judea Pearl, Daniel's parents, published *I Am Jewish: Personal Reflections Inspired by the Last Words of Daniel Pearl* in 2004. The family and friends also established the Daniel Pearl Foundation to continue his mission and to address the root causes of the tragedy in the spirit, style, and principles that shaped Pearl's work and character.

[Stewart Kampel (2nd ed.)]

PEARLMAN, MOSHE (1911–1986), author and journalist. Pearlman was born in London where he graduated from the

London School of Economics. During World War II he served in the British army in North Africa and Greece, attaining the rank of major. Concurrent with his army service and after it, he was involved in the organization of "illegal" immigration, Aliyah Bet. Pearlman was at kibbutz Ein Ḥarod for the year in 1936 and returned to the country as an immigrant in 1948. In the War of Independence he was in charge of the Israel army press liaison unit and served as the army's chief spokesman. He remained head of the Press Unit until 1952 and during the same time period was the organizer and first director of the Government Press Office. From 1952 to 1956 he was the director of the Israel Broadcasting Service, Kol Yisrael. He was sent as an ambassador on a special mission to Zaire (then the Belgian Congo) in 1960 and in 1967 served as special assistant to Defense Minister Moshe Dayan during the period of the Six-Day War. His first book, *Collective Adventure*, described his year on a kibbutz; among his other works are *In the Footsteps of Moses, In the Footsteps of the Prophets*, and *The Capture and Trial of Adolf Eichmann*. He also worked as a collaborator with public figures, for example, with David Ben-Gurion on *Ben-Gurion Looks Back*, and with Teddy Kollek on *Jerusalem: A History of 40 Centuries*.

PEARLSTEIN, PHILIP (1924–), U.S. painter, printmaker, watercolorist, and draftsman. Although the human figure stands at the center of Pearlstein's art he professes lack of interest in the psychological aspects of his models, preferring instead to focus on color, light, and composition. Working from life, Pearlstein most commonly paints nude studio models in harsh lighting with a precise, smooth brushstroke.

Born in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, Pearlstein's interest in art manifested itself when he was a child. Indeed, he was awarded first and third prize in *Scholastic Magazine*'s National High School Art Exhibition. After completing one year of study at the Carnegie Institute of Technology (now called Carnegie Mellon University), he was drafted into the army. While enlisted Pearlstein made documentary sketches and watercolors of training scenes and the life of the soldier, thinking that upon his return to the United States he would become an illustrator. Instead, following the war he renewed his studies at Carnegie Tech, graduating in 1949 with a B.F.A. With a degree in hand he moved to New York and enjoyed his first work as a professional artist as a catalog illustrator. In 1955 he earned an M.A. from New York University in art history, writing his thesis on Francis Picabia. Around this time Pearlstein showed his expressionistic, heavily impastoed landscape paintings at his first one-person show at the Tanager Gallery. In the early 1960s he began to focus on studio models, first painting figures in an expressionist manner akin to his landscapes and then, starting in 1963, painting in a more straightforward fashion on an increasingly larger scale. Typical of Pearlstein's work is *Two Female Models Sitting and Lying on a Navajo Rug* (1972, Des Moines Art Center, Iowa), which shows a pair of unidealized, unemotional females lounging on a brightly patterned rug. The sitting female's head is cropped and the reclining figure's body is contorted, allowing the artist to explore the complicated pose, which he paints from a high vantage point. In his oversized canvases, Pearlstein privileges accessories – such as rugs, mirrors, chairs, and other furniture, often with decorative upholstery – as highly as the humans he depicts.

In the 1970s Pearlstein reintroduced watercolors to his repertoire. Pearlstein's watercolors, as his paintings, are factual, dispassionately rendered, representational works that eschew symbolism and narrative. Watercolors of nude studio models preoccupied the artist from this period forward, as have sepia washes of both landscapes and nudes.

Through the years Pearlstein's teaching helped him to refine his own art, first at the Pratt Institute (1959–63) and then at Brooklyn College (1963–87). While he is best known for his monumental nudes, Pearlstein also made portraits, including a 1979 *Time* magazine cover of Henry Kissinger. Pearlstein wrote about his art technique and philosophy in several articles.

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[Samantha Baskind (2nd ed.)]

PEARLSTINE, NORMAN (1942–), U.S. journalist. Born in Philadelphia, PA., Pearlstine was educated at Haverford College, where he earned his undergraduate degree, and the University of Pennsylvania Law School. Pearlstine had a long and varied career in journalism. From 1967 to 1992, he was with Dow Jones & Company, except for a two-year period, from 1978 to 1980, when he was an executive editor at *Forbes* magazine. He was a reporter for *The Wall Street Journal* in Dallas, Detroit, and Los Angeles from 1967 to 1973, when he was named the paper's Tokyo bureau chief. He was named the first managing editor of *The Asian Wall Street Journal* in Hong Kong in March 1976. He returned to the *Journal* in the spring of 1980 as national news editor. In 1982 he was named editor and publisher of *The Wall Street Journal* in Brussels. He was appointed managing editor of *The Wall Street Journal* in September 1983 and became executive editor, one of the most influential positions in American journalism, in June 1991. He helped widen the boundaries of business journalism, from Wall Street and Main Street to Madison Avenue, Hollywood economics, the legal community, and beyond. He resigned from Dow Jones, the parent company, in June 1992. At the *Journal,* he oversaw the paper's expansion from one section to three, transformed the paper into a high-profile publication, and helped create the Asian and European editions. Just before leaving the organization, he helped create the personal finance magazine *SmartMoney* for Dow Jones and the Hearst Corporation. In April 1993 Pearlstine became general partner of Friday (his wife was Nancy Friday, an author) Holdings LP, a multimedia investment company. Pearlstine, a member of the Bar Association of the District of Columbia and the American Bar Association, in 1995 became editor in chief of Time Inc., the world's largest magazine publisher. In that post, he oversaw the editorial content of Time Inc.'s magazines, including *Time, Life, Fortune, Sports Illustrated, People, In Style,* and *Entertainment Weekly,* among others. In addition, he had overall business responsibilities for Time Inc.'s new media, international, and television activities. In 2005, Pearlstine turned over his responsibilities at Time Inc., to John Huey, who had worked together with him for 17 of his last 25 years, starting at the *Journal*. At the time, two of every three American adults read at least one of Time Inc.'s 155 magazines each month.

[Stewart Kampel (2nd ed.)]

PECAR, SAMUEL (1922–2000), writer. He was born in Colonia López, an agricultural colony of JCA in Entre Rios (Argentina). In 1930 his family moved to San Fernando, in the outskirts of Buenos Aires. Between 1951 and his *aliyah* in 1962 he participated in the literary section of *Nueva Sion*, the organ of the Zionist Socialist party Mapam in Argentina, and in 1957–58 also in the Jewish daily in Spanish, *Amanecer.* At that time he published three books that humorously criticized Jewish community life in Argentina: *Cuentos de Kleinville* ("Stories of Smallville," 1954), *La generacion olvidada* ("The Forgotten Generation," 1958); *Los rebeldes y los perplejos. Cuentos casi serios* ("The Rebels and the Perplexed. Almost Serious Stories," 1959). These works made him one of the most representative authors acknowledged by the Argentina Jewish community.

In Israel he worked in the Latin American Department of the Histadrut, where he specialized in agrarian cooperativism on which he published *Manual del Cooperativismo Agrario en Israel* (1964) and *Manual de Contabilidad de Cooperativas Agropecuarias* (1981). In 1969–87 he was a high school teacher in development areas in the Negev.

Samuel Pecar continued his literary work in Spanish, describing his experience in Israel: *La edad distinta: confesiones de un inmigrante en Israel* ("The Different Age: Confessions of a New Immigrant in Israel," 1970), *El hombre que hizo retroceder el tiempo* ("The Man Who Turned Back the Time," 1984) and *Yo soy mi alquimia* ("I Am My Alchemy," 1992), written with much irony. His mature literary texts expressed Pecar's understanding of the utopian components of Zionism in Israel, manifested in two of his novels: *El segundo génesis de Janán Saridor* (Mexico, 1994) and *La última profecía* (Buenos Aires, 2001), which appeared posthumously. Thematically and ideologically, these works transcend the limits of the experience of Latin American immigrants, narrating the human existential dimension and the general epic of a new life in Israel.

Pecar founded in 1985 the Association of Israeli Writers in Spanish (AIELC), over which he presided until his death. He affiliated AIELC to the International Association of Jewish Writers in Spanish and Portuguese and achieved the professional recognition of the Spanish-speaking *olim* by the Federation of Associations of Israeli Writers. Under the auspices of this federation he co-edited, with Itzhak Gun, the anthology *Mi-Sham Le-Kan: Soferim Yisra'elim Kotevim Sefaradit* ("From There to Here, Israeli Authors Write in Spanish," 1994), with works of 41 writers. A collection of his works, including unpublished texts, appeared in Argentina after his death: *La Ultima Profecia y Otros Textos. Del Schelem Aleijem argentino al Premio Presidente de Israel por su obra en hebreo* (Buenos Aires, 2001). Pecar received the President of Israel Literature Award.

[Leonardo Senkman (2nd ed.)]

PECHERSKY, ALEXANDER (1919–), Jewish lieutenant in the Soviet army who organized and successfully led the revolt in the Nazi death camp of *Sobibor. The uprising was a heroic chapter in the history of anti-Nazi resistance and led to the survival of some 50 inmates of Sobibor .

Born in Kremenchung, he moved as a child to Rostov-on-Don. Pechersky was trained as a musician before he was drafted into the Soviet army when German forces invaded Soviet Russia in the summer of 1941. In October 1941 he was captured by the Germans and imprisoned. He contracted typhoid but managed to conceal it from his captors, to avoid certain death. In May 1942, he managed to escape. He was caught again and sent to Borishov. An examination revealed that he was circumcised – Jewish. He was sent to the SS Sheroka Street camp in Minsk and then, in September 1943, when the Minsk ghetto was destroyed, he was sent to Sobibor. He arrived along with 79 other Soviet POWs. He alone was selected to work on construction. The remainder were gassed on arrival. There, together with six other Jews, he immediately started to prepare a detailed plan for a revolt, which was executed on October 14, 1943. Pechersky's men attacked the German officers, killing ten of them. With the weapons taken from the dead officers the prisoners killed or wounded 38 Ukrainian guards. Of the 600 camp inmates, about half escaped, but many of them were killed in the surrounding minefields or as a result of the large-scale manhunt organized by the Germans and by Polish fascists. Shortly afterward, the camp was dismantled. Pechersky and a group of his comrades succeeded in escaping and reaching the Soviet partisans. Later he rejoined the Soviet army and was seriously wounded in August 1944. He was demobilized and returned to his hometown. He was a major witness at the 1963 trial of 11 Ukrainian guards who had served at Sobibor.

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[Yosef Guri]

°PÉCHI, SIMON (c. 1567–c. 1639), Hungarian statesman, poet, and author, leader of the Judaizing "Sabbatarian" sect. Born in Transylvania, Péchi was at first employed as tutor of A. Eössy's children; Eössy, the founder of the sect, introduced him to the court of Prince Stephen Báthory. As emissary of

Báthory, Péchi set out on his political travels to Romania and Turkey and even reached Italy and Africa. There he probably acquired a knowledge of Hebrew. From 1613 he was chancellor of Transylvania under the rule of Prince Gabriel Bethlen. In 1621 he was imprisoned for reasons which are unknown but was subsequently set free. During the reign of Prince George Rákóczy, his position was so strong that he was even authorized to propagate his views in public.

In a description of the usages of the sect it is reported that in addition to the observance of the Sabbath, the wives of the members of this sect adopted the Jewish dietary laws. At the height of the sect's success about 20,000 Transylvanian Hungarians of the "Székely" tribe were among its members (1635). After a brief period and a change of political circumstances, a law was passed in Transylvania which rendered the members of the sect liable to the death penalty and confiscation of their property if they did not return to Christianity within one year. Péchi remained steadfast in his beliefs until 1638 but finally converted to Calvinism. Although death penalties were not applied, the property of the members of the sect was seized.

Péchi was a talented poet and author, and according to the opinion of S. *Kohn, historian of Hungarian Jewry and researcher on the "Sabbatarians," his works are of exceptional value. Péchi's translations from Psalms and the Jewish prayer book are of special importance, being the first in this area.

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[Baruch Yaron]

PECHINA (Arabic **Bajjana**), village located N. of *Almeria on the S. coast of Spain. Until 922, when it was incorporated into Andalusia by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III, Pechina was a separate state under Umayyad protection. During its period of independence (ninth–tenth centuries), Pechina was a prosperous, busy seaport which was settled by Arabs from the *Yemen. The Jews also shared in its prosperity, and for the most part were merchants. When *Saadiah Gaon addressed the important Jewish communities of southern Spain, Pechina was included among them in his letter (Abraham ibn Daud, *Sefer ha-Qabbalah – The Book of Tradition*, ed. by G.D. Cohen (1967), 79; see also index). Even in the late tenth century, as the town declined, a large and important Jewish community existed there. Its leader, Samuel ha-Kohen b. Josiah of Fez, Morocco, was a learned scholar who corresponded with *Sherira Gaon and supported *Ḥanokh b. Moses in his struggle against *Joseph ibn Abitur who also visited Pechina for the religious authority in Cordoba. Samuel's leadership virtually marks the final greatness of the Pechina community, most of whose members moved to developing Almeria in the tenth century. Pechina is considered by some scholars to be identical with the Spanish town of Calsena.

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PECS (Hung. **Pécs**; Ger. **Fuenfkirchen**), town in S. Hungary. The celebrated Turkish traveler Evlia Cselebi found Jews there (1663). During the conversionary activities of the Catholic Church at the end of the 17th century, following the end of the Turkish conquest, the Jews were expelled from the city; the city council then solemnly pledged (1692) that no Jews would set foot in Pecs again. It was not until 1788 that Jews were again permitted to settle there. Among the first to arrive was the Engel family who were among the leaders of the Jewish community for over a century. An organized community was formed in Pecs in 1840, but it already had a cemetery in 1827. The first synagogue was built in 1843 and the second in 1869; the latter, which was declared to be an architectural monument, still exists. Rabbis of Pecs were Israel Loew (officiated 1842–57); Alexander *Kohut, author of *Arukh ha-Shalem* (1872–80); A. Perls (1889–1914), one of the most notable Jewish preachers in Hungary; and Z. Wallenstein (1923–44). The Jewish population numbered 72 in 1840, 385 in 1850, 4,126 in 1910, 4,030 in 1930 and 3,486 in 1941. Up to World War I the Jews in Pecs were prosperous and included several industrialists as well as merchants, contractors, wage earners, and artisans. After the enactment of the anti-Jewish laws in Hungary of 1938 and 1939, many who were thus deprived of their livelihood turned to crafts. The Jews in Pecs assisted refugees from Germany both from their own resources and with the aid of the "Wanderfuersorge." A number of Jewish doctors who had served in the Polish army arrived in Pecs after the German occupation (on March 19, 1944) and were also helped by the community. In May of that year the Jews in Pecs were concentrated into ghettos and at the end of June were sent to Auschwitz under conditions of extreme cruelty.

After the war 414 Jewish survivors returned. In 1945 the community was reorganized, and in 1971 numbered approximately 500. By the turn of the century the population had dropped to around 300 mostly elderly Jews.

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[Joseph Schweitzer]

PEDDLING, the retail sale of wares or trade services and the buying up of agricultural and village produce by an itinerant seller, craftsman, or buyer who made relatively short trips, usually recurrent, to the places where his clients or employers lived. From the Middle Ages it was an important source of livelihood for Jews in many countries. In the Muslim Near East many Jews were engaged either in peddling their crafts, as shown by the evidence of the ninth-century Karaite Benjamin al-*Nahawendi, or in peddling wares, e.g., in 12th-century Egypt, as revealed in the responsa of *Maimonides. Peddling wares and crafts remained the source of income for many Jews up to the 20th century. It is difficult to determine to what extent the traders buying from and selling to feudal lords in 11th-century Western Europe could be considered as peddlers. With the predominance of *moneylending there from the 12th century onward, the Jews ceased to engage in peddling until the 15th century; a new situation then obtained, a combination of general economic trends, the tendency of Jews expelled from cities to settle in nearby villages and estates, and the movement of Jews from the west eastward. Expulsions and the development of an economy based on great landed estates created similar conditions for peddling in Bohemia. Jews were permitted to settle on these estates, the express condition of this settlement being the "*Versilbern*," i.e., their obligation to purchase at a fixed price, the total agricultural produce of the estate. The Jewish leaseholder would pass on the produce to customers through Jewish peddlers, who also sold spices, tobacco, textiles, and manufactured utensils – again supplied to them by the leaseholder – to the peasants. The leaseholder often maintained a warehouse and processing plant and concentrated on wholesale commerce. The peddler was thus dependent, economically, legally, and socially, on the wholesaler from whom he received and offered wares on credit. By means of this system *Court Jews, who were often military contractors as well, were able to tap the economy of the country at its roots to supply immense amounts of grain, fodder, and livestock for the army. The Jewish peddler was a fixture of Bohemian rural life until well into the 19th century, when his role as intermediary in the purchase of agricultural produce declined: He sold hardware, haberdashery, sewing articles, and trinkets, and bought the peasants' by-products: feathers, furs, and hides. Poorer peddlers also bought old clothes, rags, bones, and junk. The peddler lived amicably among his Christian neighbors, to whom he was identical in dialect, dress, and manners. Generally a strict observer of the dietary laws, he adopted a special diet of eggs, cheese, onions, and bread on his Sunday until Friday peddling excursions. The hard lot of the peddler was depicted by L. *Kompert in several stories, especially "*Der Dorfgeher*," the name by which the peddler was generally known. Many Bohemian and Moravian communities were founded by peddlers, a prominent example being that of *Carlsbad. There were communities in the south of Bohemia and Moravia, such as *Kolodeje, which consisted mainly of peddlers doing business in upper and lower Austria, where Jews were not permitted to settle.

In Germany, following the expulsions of the 15th and 16th centuries, many Jews settled in villages and on estates of the gentry where they gradually adapted themselves to peddling from house to house (known in German as *hausieren*), becoming to a certain degree the itinerant middlemen between estates and villages on the one hand and towns on the other. The large estate (*Gut*) looked for intermediaries to bring its increasing amount of produce to the townspeople free of the limitations imposed by town and guilds. The activity of the Jewish peddlers was viewed with suspicion and animosity by feudal circles and townsfolk, who were wary of the changes the proliferation of peddlers was making in the relationship between the town and its surroundings. Legislation was enacted against the peddlers in several German principalities. From the second half of the 17th century the situation was exacerbated by the continuous emigration of Jews from Poland to Germany, many of whom turned to peddling. The traveling peddler was sometimes identified with wandering Jewish beggars (*Betteljuden*), as well as with vagabonds in general; smuggling also came naturally to be associated with their mobility, in particular near borders. Frequently *Schutzjuden employed their unlicensed brethren as peddlers, thereby offering them legal protection and security. Thus, in Luebeck (1658) the first of a continuous series of complaints lodged against Jewish *Hausierer* accused them of buying up precious metals, probably for reminting by the *Schutzjuden* *mintmasters. When the Jews were compelled to leave Luebeck in 1699, they settled in nearby Moisling, but complaints against the activity of Jewish peddlers in the city of Luebeck continued to be made up to the mid-19th century.

In Prussia it was objected in 1672 that Jewish peddlers "are not ashamed to go around buying and selling on holy Sunday, going to villages and entering the public houses offering their wares" (S. Stern, *Der Preussische Staat und die Juden*, I Akten, p. 29). Innumerable laws prohibiting all forms of *hausieren* were passed in many German principalities and towns. Measures taken against peddling in 1819 were one cause for thousands of Jews to emigrate from Bavaria to the U.S. Similar laws against peddling were enacted in Baden, Hesse, and Wuerttemberg. In these states emancipation was made conditional on the Jews abandoning peddling. The rapid development of 19th-century Germany gradually made the peddler's role obsolete, though he persisted in agricultural or remote regions. In the main, *Alsace-Lorraine was similar to Germany, and from there peddlers penetrated into those parts of France prohibited to Jews. The rural peddler, who was found mainly in southern Germany in the middle and late 19th century, generally lived amicably among his Christian neighbors. A staunch upholder of Orthodoxy, he often had special cooking utensils, inscribed "*kasher*," reserved for his use in the local inns.

In the variegated Jewish economic life of Poland-Lithuania, various forms of peddling were common, including market hawkers and rural peddlers engaged in buying and selling; women were often found among them. In Lvov there was even a guild of Jewish street vendors. However, major cities passed laws prohibiting peddling, which was blamed for unbusinesslike practices and regarded as endangering the livelihood of Christians. Established Jewish traders, too, often opposed the competition of the mobile peddlers. In the *Pale of Settlement of Czarist Russia peddling was an important means of livelihood up to 1917, particularly in the eastern part of the region. A rapidly growing population in the townlets and expulsion from the villages led many to take up peddling. Numerous Jewish craftsmen left their homes on Sunday, worked all week in villages, and returned home on Friday; because of this they were known as *Wochers*. More important than the peddler who brought wares to sell was the one who bought up agricultural produce, in particular goods (like flax and hemp) which could be supplied to industrial centers at home or exported to Germany. In the large cities there were also many Jewish hawkers. Peddling could not, of course, survive in a Communist economy, but in Poland and the Baltic states it continued up to the Holocaust.

Jewish rural peddlers, immigrants from Alsace-Lorraine and the Rhineland, began to appear in England toward the middle of the 18th century, becoming common in most of southern England in the late 18th and early 19th century. The poet Robert Southey stated in 1807: "You meet Jew peddlers everywhere, traveling with boxes of haberdashery at their backs, cuckoo-clocks, sealing wax… miserable prints of King and Queen… even the Nativity and Crucifixion." Some Jews were also street vendors in London and other large cities. The influx of East European Jews in the 1880s caused a sudden resurgence in street vending in London and other major cities. Penniless immigrants, immediately off the boat, began hawking wares bought on credit; in 1906, 600 of *Glasgow's 6,000 Jews were engaged in peddling and the percentage in *Edinburgh was even higher. Street vending was the springboard to other commercial occupations; the father of Simon *Marks, founder of Marks and Spencer's, proudly exhibited the cart from which he conducted his first business. After World War II the life of the East End, and including that of the Jewish street vendor, was depicted in the writings of H. Pinter, A. Wesker, W. Mankowitz, and Bernard Kops. The latter portrays this vanishing world in his play *The Hamlet of Stepney Green*.

In the Netherlands peddling and street vending received a fresh impetus with the arrival of Ashkenazim in the early 20th century. In 1921 31.6% of Amsterdam's 6,500 peddlers were Jews. The situation was identical in Belgium where there were about 1,600 Jewish market vendors in 1937, primarily in Brussels.

NORTH AMERICA. The vast areas of North America made peddling important generally until about the middle of the 19th century. Sephardi peddlers appeared as early as 1655. Of licenses granted to peddlers in Pennsylvania, one out of 18 was to a Jew in 1771, five out of 49 in 1772, and four out of 27 in 1773. Trade in calico, cutlery, snuff, and similar goods was often conducted by barter in return for skins and furs. Peddlers frequently traded with Indians, who learned to respect the peaceful and peculiar Jewish peddler with his strange dietary laws: some Cherokees named one "the eggeater." The wares of the peddler, those he sold and those he purchased for sale, were generally handled by a wealthy wholesale trader with sufficient capital, like David *Franks, Joseph Simon, or the *Gratz family. Business was conducted through frontier entrepôts where furs and skins were exchanged for cash and additional negotiable goods. Occupational hazards were financial failure and murder on the highway.

In the second and third decades of the 19th century mass emigration of Jews from southern Germany and Prussian Poland brought many of them to peddling in the United States. They dealt mainly in consumer goods, haberdashery, trinkets, and jewelry. Carrying a pack sometimes weighing around 100 lb., the peddler served the farmers' stores and sold to him at his home. About one-half of all Jewish peddlers in the period 1820–80 arrived in this immigration wave, settling predominantly in the west, beyond the Appalachians in the Middle West, and after 1865 in the Far West. Many new colonists knew German, which helped the German-Jewish peddler. In order to operate properly in these newly developed areas, the peddler needed a store to replenish his supplies, but here the functions were complementary, unlike in Europe where they were fiercely competitive. An enterprising peddler, often the first in the vicinity, opened a store to supply fellow peddlers, thus moving up economically and socially. After settling, peddlers became the nucleus of a community. The Jewish population of Cincinnati grew from a handful in 1818 to 3,300 in 1850, a large percentage of whom were peddlers, future peddlers, and former peddlers. Immediately after the 1849 gold rush Jewish peddlers arrived to ply the mines, and communities were soon founded in San Francisco and Sacramento, the supply center for the mining area. One such man was Levi *Strauss, manufacturer of the original blue jeans; many others founded stores. The Jewish peddler was present throughout the far west: the *Goldwater department stores of Arizona were founded by a peddler: Meyer *Guggenheim began his meteoric career as a peddler in the west. The *Seligman family of New York were peddlers from Baiersdorf, Bavaria. Other successful peddlers were Adam *Gimbel, Moses and Caesar *Cone, and Nathan *Straus.

The Chicago Jewish community leader Abraham Kohn (d. 1871) described in his diary his way of life on becoming a peddler within a week of his arrival from Bavaria: "Leading such a life that none of us is able to observe the smallest commandment. Thousands of peddlers wander about America: young, strong men, they waste their strength by carrying heavy loads in the summer's heat; they lose their health in the icy cold of winter. And thus forget completely their Creator. They no longer put on the phylacteries; they pray neither on working day nor on the Sabbath. In truth, they have given up their religion for the pack which is on their backs" (AJA, 3 (1951) p. 99). He found consolation in the many acquaintances from Bavaria he encountered in his rise to financial success – within two years he owned a store in Chicago. The turnover in the profession was rapid; the average peddling term being between one and five years and the average age 18–25. Unlike in Europe, where peddling was a traditional continuous occupation, in the U.S. the individual Jew used peddling as a short-term step to more stable commercial ventures. After amassing some capital he tended to enter into a partnership with a compatriot, being especially inclined to enter the clothing trade and open a shop. Country peddling became obsolete with the growth of retail trade. The mail-order business, developed especially by Julius *Rosenwald's Sears-Roebuck Co., struck hard.

Jewish vendors appeared in strength on American streets with the mass emigration from Eastern Europe in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. The Lower East Side of New York witnessed the emergence of open air markets and pushcart traders and peddlers offering every conceivable type of merchandise. The situation in Chicago was similar. In 1890–93 a census conducted in New York among 23,801 Jewish families revealed that peddling was the second most common occupation (after *tailoring), with 2,440 full-time peddlers. Their ranks were swelled in times of economic crisis and unemployment. The great number of peddlers at any one given moment barely suggested the multitudes who had passed through this apprenticeship. A vivid picture of the East Side peddler was given by Harry *Golden and other Jewish authors.

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[Henry Wasserman]

°**PEDERSEN, JOHANNES** (1883–1951), Danish Semitist, religious historian, and biblical scholar. He studied Semitic philology under Frants Buhl, the reviser of Gesenius' *Lexicon*. From 1916 to 1921 Pedersen was a lecturer on the Old Testament, and from 1921 to 1950 professor of Semitic philology, at Copenhagen University. Among his works on Semitic philology are a Hebrew grammar (*Hebraeisk Grammatik*, 1926), a treatise of fundamental importance on the Keret (Kirta) text (COS I, 333–43) from Ras Shamra (*Die Krt-Legende*, 1941), and a translation and commentary on the Phoenician language Karatepe texts (in: *Acta Orientalia*, 21 (1950–53), 35–56). He also published a number of treatises on Islam in Danish. Of singular importance are Pedersen's achievements in biblical research. In 1920 he published the first volume of *Israel* (*Israel: Its Life and Culture*, Eng. tr., 1926), in which he endeavors to describe Israelite thinking and social life in terms of the mentality and behavior of a primitive civilization, thus making an attempt to extricate himself from the preconceived theological and philosophic notions that have influenced the interpretation of the old Israelite texts since Hellenistic times. In the second volume, published in 1934 (Eng. tr., 1940), Pedersen traces the development of Israelite civilization from the period of Judges until the Exile. The foundation of the religious development was the spontaneous experience of a cooperation between the divine forces and man himself; with David, purposefulness took the place of spontaneity in the relation to God, and the deity was looked upon as the strong will of personality. The preaching of the prophets emphasized the overwhelming greatness of God and the inferiority of man, thus preparing the way for Judaism's ideas of God and man. From the point of view of social development, the contact with the Canaanite way of life and urbanization resulted in a crisis in the ancient pattern of life.

In *Israel* and in his articles "Die Auffassung vom Alten Testament" (in: ZAW, 49 (1931), 161–81) and "Passahfest und Passahlegende" (*ibid.*, 52 (1934), 161–76), Pedersen condemned Higher Criticism's distinction of sources in the Pentateuch. He does not deny that there are discernible layers in the Pentateuch, yet he maintains that these cannot be distinguished and dated: "All sources are both pre-Exilic and post-Exilic." In 1931 Pedersen published *Scepticisme israélite*, a study of Ecclesiastes, and in Festschriften to Mowinckel (1955, pp. 62–72) and Rowley (1955, pp. 238–46), he shed light on the problems behind Genesis 2–3, with the help of late Jewish texts and old Oriental myths, especially the Adapa myth written in Akkadian (COS I, 449).

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[Eduard Nielson]

PEEL COMMISSION, name commonly used for the Royal Commission on Palestine under the chairmanship of Earl Peel, appointed by the British government on August 7, 1936, to study the underlying causes of the Arab riots. In July 1937 the commission presented its report recommending the partitioning of Palestine into a Jewish state, an Arab state, and a British mandatory enclave, but its recommendations were not implemented.

PEERCE, JAN (originally **Jacob Pincus Perelmuth**; 1904–1984), U.S. operatic tenor. Born in New York he first studied medicine, and began his musical career as a dance band violinist and occasional singer. In 1933 he obtained a long-term engagement as a singer at Radio City Music Hall, New York. Toscanini heard him and chose him to sing with the NBC Symphony Orchestra in 1938. After his operatic debut in Philadelphia and a recital in New York, he was cast by the Metropolitan Opera in 1941 to sing the leading tenor role in *La Traviata*. Peerce was acclaimed for his colorful quality, his sensitive interpretations, and a temperament suited both to the Italian and German lieder. Retaining his interest in Jewish life, he appeared in cantorial recitals, and made recordings of cantorial works and Jewish folksongs. He toured widely in America and Europe, London and West Germany, toured the U.S.S.R. under U.S. State Department auspices in 1956 (again in 1963), and sang in Israel many times.

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[Claude Abravanel]

°PÉGUY, CHARLES-PIERRE (1873–1914), French Catholic poet, editor, and essayist. Born in Orleans, Péguy studied at the Ecole Normale Supérieure in Paris, where he came under the influence of Henri *Bergson. Politically a radical, he puzzled men of both the left and the right with his unique fusion of socialism and Catholicism. His abiding sympathy for the Jewish people is to be seen in his activities, his writings, and his circle of friends. From 1893, he helped to rally student support for the retrial of *Dreyfus, for socialism, and for the defense of the republic. In 1900 he launched his celebrated *Cahiers de la Quinzaine*, which popularized the works of many Jewish authors, including André *Spire, Edmond *Fleg, André *Suarès, and the English novelist Israel *Zangwill. Jewish subscribers played a major part in keeping the journal alive. Péguy's bookshop near the Sorbonne became a rendezvous for liberal writers and intellectuals. A man of stern convictions, Péguy cherished four great spiritual traditions: Hebrew, Greek, Christian, and French. He believed that, while the Catholics had read for only two centuries and the Protestants since Calvin, Israel – the "eternally anguished people" – had read for 2,000 years. He adhered to the Catholic view that the Old Testament prefigured the New, but regarded the Jewish people as "the only race to have given prophets… to be of the race of prophets." Thus, Péguy considered his friend, Bernard *Lazare, though an atheist, "a prophet of Israel," because of his quest for justice. For Péguy, Israel's vocation was to remain faithful to itself and pursue its historic mission of prophecy, and he hinted that Israel's divine mission had not ended with the Christian revelation. In *Notre jeunesse* (1910), Péguy criticized the reactionary turncoat Daniel *Halévy, who had once been his friend. *Notre Patrie* (1905), *Portrait de Bernard Lazare* (1928), and *L'Argent* (1913) reflect other aspects of his philo-Semitism. Péguy's thought seems to have been influenced by Jewish messianism. This is particularly apparent in his poem, *Le Mystère de la Charité de Jeanne d'Arc* (1910 and many subsequent editions), in which Joan, fighting for both the soul and the homesteads of France, becomes the symbol of mankind's struggle for temporal salvation and his "eternal need for spiritual salvation." Péguy died in action on the Marne at the beginning of World War I.

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[Jacqueline Kahanoff]

PEIERLS, SIR RUDOLF ERNST (1907–1995), British physicist. Peierls, who was born in Berlin, held an appointment at the Federal Institute of Technology in Zurich from 1929 to 1932. In 1933 he went to England and pursued research at Manchester University for four years. He became professor of applied mathematics at Birmingham University and worked on the atomic energy project there from 1940 to 1943. In the latter year he went to the U.S. and was for three years one of the leading scientists on the Manhattan Project at the Los Alamos Laboratory. In 1946 he returned to Birmingham, where he remained until 1963, when he was appointed professor of physics at Oxford. He was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society in 1945 and was knighted in 1968.

From the outset of his academic life, Peierls was deeply involved in the development of atomic energy. At Birmingham at the outbreak of World War II, he and Otto *Frisch considered the theoretical questions involved in chain reaction and concluded that the energy liberated by a five-kilogram bomb would be equivalent to several thousand tons of dynamite. In a short paper, which also outlined a possible thermal diffusion method for the separation of uranium 235 and suggested how the bomb could be detonated, they were the first in the world to enunciate the practical possibility of the atom bomb with scientific precision. The Peierls-Frisch paper was one of the factors that influenced the British government to begin an atomic energy program prior to the Manhattan Project. Peierls' publications included: *Quantum Theory of Solids* (1955), *Laws of Nature* (1955), *Surprises in Theoretical Physics* (1979), and the autobiographical *Bird of Passage* (1985).

Sir Rudolph's son, RONALD FRANK PEIERLS (1935–), was also a physicist. Born in Manchester, he went to the United States and had posts at the Institute for Advanced Study at Princeton, NJ, and Cornell University before being appointed to the physics division at Brookhaven National Laboratory, Long Island, NY, in 1966. His main interest was the nature and properties of interactions between elementary particles.

[Julian Louis Meltzer]

PEIPER, TADEUSZ (1891–1969), Polish poet, playwright, and literary theorist. Born in Cracow, Peiper spent the years 1914–20 in Spain, returning to Poland in 1921, when he organized the Awangarda Cracow group of poets whose leading theorist he then became. During the years 1922–23 and 1926–27 Peiper edited the group's official periodical *Zwrotnica*. Believing that human progress depends on man's conquest of nature, he called for artistic glorification of the machine, technology, and invention as weapons in this struggle. Peiper also maintained that the poet's task was creative and utilitarian and that his duty was to write about organized human society in order to improve it. Although he did not succeed in founding a school, Peiper made a valuable contribution to Polish literature between the world wars. After the Nazi invasion, he fled to Moscow, where he contributed to the weekly *Wolna Polska* and to *Nowe Horyzonty*, returning to Warsaw after the defeat of Nazi Germany.

His works include verse collections such as *A* (1924), *Żywe linie* ("Living Lines," 1924), and *Poematy* (1935); *Nowe usta* ("The New Mouth," 1925), a lecture on poetry; *Tędy* ("This Way," 1930), collected articles, essays, and sketches; plays such as *Skoro go nie ma* ("Since He is Not Here," 1933); and the novel *Krzysztof Kolumb, odkrywca* ("Christopher Columbus the Discoverer," 1949).

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[Stanislaw Wygodzki]

PEIXOTTO, U.S. family of Sephardi origin. DANIEL LEVI MADURO PEIXOTTO (1800–1843), a physician, was born in Amsterdam, and was taken to New York in 1807 by his father MOSES LEVI MADURO PEIXOTTO (1767–1828), a merchant who served as *ḥazzan* of New York's Congregation Shearith Israel from 1820 until his death. Daniel Peixotto graduated from Columbia College in 1816 and became a leading physician in New York City, serving as editor of the *New York Medical and Physical Journal* and as a founder of the New York Academy of Medicine. He was an active Jacksonian Democrat and a leader and intellectual mentor of the Jewish community. From 1835 until 1841 he was a professor at the newly founded medical school of Willoughby University near Cleveland, Ohio, a forerunner of the Case-Western Reserve University Medical School.

His son, BENJAMIN FRANKLIN PEIXOTTO (1834–1890), was a lawyer, diplomat, and Jewish communal leader. Born in New York City, he was brought by his family to Cleveland, then back to New York, later resettling in Cleveland during 1847–66. There he became a clothing merchant, and also frequently wrote editorials for the daily *Cleveland Plain Dealer*. Peixotto was a founder and president of the Mercantile Library Association and Lyceum, and a follower of Democratic Senator Stephen A. Douglas of Illinois, under whose guidance he studied law. A trustee and founder of the Sunday School at Congregation Tifereth Israel (now The Temple), he served as Grand Sar (president) of *B'nai B'rith during 1863–64 and was the prime mover for its Jewish Orphan Asylum (now Bellefaire) established in Cleveland in 1869. In 1866 Peixotto moved to New York to practice law, then transferred to San Francisco in 1869.

Early in 1870, moved by the Romanian persecution of Jews, Peixotto succeeded in becoming the first U.S. consul in Bucharest, appointed by President Grant through the intervention of the *Seligmans. His financial needs in the unpaid position, as well as political support, were provided, not always reliably, by a group of wealthy U.S. Jews, along with the B'nai B'rith, the *Board of Delegates of American Israelites, and prominent French and English Jews led by Sir Francis *Goldsmid. In Bucharest Peixotto pressed vigorously for Jewish emancipation, to which Romanian Jews were legally entitled by the Treaty of Paris of 1856, and also took the initiative in founding Jewish schools, cultural societies, and Romanian B'nai B'rith, as part of his plan to modernize Jewish life in that country. Although he accomplished little toward emancipation, his well-publicized presence inhibited new antisemitic legislation and avoided or mitigated several pogroms. His unofficial inquiry in the summer of 1872 about the possibility of large-scale Romanian Jewish immigration to the U.S. was loudly endorsed by that regime, but scandalized most of Peixotto's backers and was rejected by them as a policy. Although much embarrassed, he continued to endorse emigration privately while serving in Bucharest until 1876. From 1877 to 1885 Peixotto was U.S. consul in Lyons, and then lived in New York City, engaging in law, Republican politics, and Jewish communal affairs until his death.

His son was GEORGE DA MADURO PEIXOTTO (1859–1937), a painter. Born in Cleveland, he received his art education in Dresden during his father's service in Romania. He became a notable portrait painter, executing portraits from life of Cardinal Manning, President McKinley, Chief Justice Waite, and John Hay, among others. His *Grandchildren of Mark Hopkins* won wide praise, and his *Family Group* was exhibited at the Paris Salon in 1893. Peixotto's portrait of Sir Moses *Montefiore at the latter's centenary in 1884 hung in the Corcoran Gallery, and his painting of Julius *Bien hangs in the National Museum, Washington, D.C. Murals by him decorated the New Amsterdam Theater and the Criterion Club in New York City.

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[Lloyd P. Gartner]

PEIXOTTO, JESSICA BLANCHE (1864–1941), U.S. professor of economics. Granddaughter of Dr. Daniel Levy Maduro *Peixotto and daughter of Raphael Peixotto and Myrtilla Jessica Davis Peixotto, Jessica Peixotto was born in New York City but educated in San Francisco. After graduating from Girls' High School in 1880, she studied privately at home for a decade but in 1891 decided to enroll as a special student at the University of California, Berkeley against her father's wishes. After received her B.A. in 1894, she continued graduate studies in political science and in 1900 became the second woman to receive a Ph.D. from Berkeley. Her dissertation, *The French Revolution and Modern French Socialism*, was published in 1901.

In 1904, Jessica Peixotto was invited to teach at Berkeley as a lecturer in sociology, although her field was social economics. In 1907, she became assistant professor of economics, and in 1918, she was promoted to full professor of social economics; she was the first woman to achieve that rank at the University of California and also the first woman to head a department. She established and chaired the Heller Committee for Research in Social Economics and initiated a special program within the economics department that eventually resulted in the creation of a professional school of social work at Berkeley.

In addition to her thesis, Peixotto published several books and numerous reports, articles, and course syllabi in periodicals. Among her most important works are *Getting and Spending at the Professional Standard of Living: A Study of the Costs of Living on Academic Life* (1927) and *Cost of Living Studies, II: How Workers Spend a Living Wage* (1929). A festschrift, *Essays in Social Economics in Honor of Jessica Blanche Peixotto* (1935), published at the time of her retirement from Berkeley, pays tribute to her life and work.

Jessica Peixotto was also actively involved in public service. She was a member of the Berkeley Commission of Public Charities (1910–13) and then the California State Board of Charities and Corrections (1912–24), chairing the Committee on Children and the Committee on Research. During World War I, she worked in Washington as the executive officer of the child welfare department of the Women's Committee of the Council of National Defense and then as head of the council's child conservation section. In 1928, she was elected vice president of the American Economic Association. She later served on the Consumers' Advisory Board of the National Recovery Administration (1933). Peixotto received honorary law doctorates from Mills College (1935) and the University of California (1926).

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[Harriet Pass Freidenreich (2nd ed.)]

PEIXOTTO, JUDITH SALZEDO (1823–81), U.S. teacher and principal. Granddaughter of Moses Levi Maduro *Peixotto and daughter of Dr. Daniel Levy Maduro Peixotto and Rachel Seixas Peisotto, Judith Peixotto lived all her life in New York City. After their father's death in 1843, she and her younger sisters Zipporah and Sara Naar were among the earliest Jewish women to be hired as teachers in New York City. Judith Peixotto taught at the Ward School No. 10 for Girls on James Street in the Fourth Ward from 1847 to 1850. The first Jewish principal in the New York City public schools, she directed the James Street Female Evening School for learners over 12 from 1849 to 1850 and then served for several years as one of three principals of the elementary school. After her 1852 marriage to David Solis Hays, a well known pharmacist, Judith Peixotto Hays gave up teaching and raised a large family of eight children.

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[Harriet Pass Freidenreich (2nd ed.)]

PEKAH (Heb. פֶּקַח; "He [God] has opened [His eyes]," i.e., given heed), son of Remaliah, king of Israel from 735 to 732 B.C.E. (II Kings 15:27–32). In the inscriptions of Tiglath-Pileser III, his name appears in the form *Pa-qa-ḫa*. It is stated that Pekah was the *shalish* (apparently, "army commander") of high rank of Pekahiah son of Menahem and that he conspired against his royal master in Samaria with the aid of "fifty men of the Gileadites and… slew him, and reigned in his stead" (II Kings 15:25). The statement in the Bible that Pekah reigned for 20 years (II Kings 15:27) can hardly be accepted as it stands, since he was killed by *Hoshea son of Elah (II Kings 15:30) in 732 B.C.E. at the very latest, while *Menahem son of Gadi is still mentioned in Tiglath-Pileser III's inscriptions as king of Samaria in 738 (or 743, at the earliest). For this reason, some scholars think that Pekah reigned in Gilead (cf. II Kings 15:25) for a certain period overlapping the reigns of the kings in Samaria, and seized the throne in Samaria only in 736, most probably with the aid of *Rezin, king of Aram. From both the biblical sources and the Assyrian documents it is clear that the military and political alliance of Pekah and Rezin operated against Judah, on the one hand, and against Assyria, on the other. The stronger partner in the alliance was Rezin (cf. Isa. 7:2), whose help Pekah evidently needed against rivals to his throne. According to II Kings 15:37, Pekah and Rezin first attacked Judah in the reign of Jotham and continued the war into the reign of Ahaz (II Kings 16; II Chron. 28). In the opinion of most commentators the occasion for the war was an attempt by Aram and Israel to force Ahaz to join an anti-Assyrian alliance led by Aram-Damascus and supported by Egypt. The armies of Aram and Israel invaded Judah (II Chron. 28:5–15) and laid siege to Jerusalem (II Kings 16:5; Isa. 7:2). The allies intended to contract the kingdom of Judah's territory to the advantage of the kingdom of Israel, to depose the Davidic dynasty, and to install as king in Jerusalem a certain "son of Tabeel," possibly a Transjordanian and an ancestor of the *Tobiads. But the course of events was completely changed by the appearance of Tiglath-Pileser III in southern Syria and Palestine. In 734 B.C.E. the Assyrian armies undertook an expedition against Philistia, along the Phoenician coast, and it is possible that during his campaign Tiglath-Pileser III detached the coastal region (the Dor district and the Sharon region) from the kingdom of Israel. In 733 B.C.E. the Assyrian army besieged Damascus, at the same time conquering northern Transjordan, Gilead, and Galilee and deporting the population of these areas to Assyria (II Kings 15:29). Tiglath-Pileser III himself mentions, in his Annals, the capture of (Ramoth) Gilead and cities in Galilee and the deportation of their populations. In the following year (732 B.C.E.) the Assyrian armies apparently invaded the hill country of Ephraim and threatened to capture the capital, Samaria. According to the biblical narrative, Hoshea son of Elah then conspired against Pekah and usurped the throne (II Kings 15:30). Pekah's policy, in contrast to that of Menahem and his son Pekahiah, apparently showed allegiance to Assyria, had grave consequences for the kingdom of Israel, and marked the beginning of the process which culminated in the fall of Samaria about a decade later. The most fertile areas of the kingdom were conquered by the Assyrians and turned into the Assyrian provinces of *Gilead, *Megiddo, and *Dor (cf. Isa. 8:23).

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[Bustanay Oded]

PEKAHIAH (Heb. פְּקַחְיָה; "YHWH has opened [the eyes]"), the son of *Menahem; ruled Israel in Samaria for two years (c. 737/6–735/4 B.C.E.) during the reign of Uzziah, son of Amaziah, over Judah (II Kings 15:22–24). The Bible provides no information about Pekahiah's acts or about the condition of the northern kingdom in his day, apart from the formulaic comment, "He did what was evil in the sight of the Lord…" (II Kings 15:24). It may be presumed that Pekahiah continued the policy of his father, Menahem, and displayed his loyalty to Assyria. In the second year of his reign he fell victim to a conspiracy led by his army commander *Pekah, son of Remaliah, who killed him with the support of 50 Gileadites and took his place on the throne (II Kings 15:25).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Bright, Hist, 254.

[Bustanay Oded]

PEKARSKY, MAURICE BERNARD (1905–1962), Hillel director. Born in Jedwavne, Poland, Pekarsky came to the United States with his family and settled in Grand Rapids, Michigan. He attended the University of Michigan, received his B.A. cum laude in 1930, and went on to study at the University of California and then at the University of Iowa with famed social psychologist and close friend Kurt *Lewin. He was ordained at the Jewish Institute of Religion and then joined the Hillel Foundations, where he remained for the rest of his life. He directed the Hillel Foundation at Cornell (1933–37) and Northwestern (1937–40), and then moved to the University of Chicago from 1940 onward, taking five years off in 1950 to move to Jerusalem, where he established the Hillel program at The Hebrew University. Within Hillel, he was responsible for the establishment of the National Hillel Summer Institute, which he guided, and also headed its department of leadership training. He could have been national director but felt most at home on the campus, most at ease with students. Abram Sachar, who recruited him for Hillel, said of Pekarsky, "His was no negative faith. He was serenely positive in his relationship to a living God.… [He] had an inner fire that warmed without burning, that glowed without searing, and legions of students carried that brightness away with them from his presence."

His medium of expression was the spoken word. He was a teacher, not a writer, and he was keenly aware that the printed word is frozen into finality. His written work consists largely of incomplete notes for speeches, which he continually reworked in the search for greater coherence and clarity of expression. Pekarsky's lectures and class notes were published by Hillel in tribute to his work and his mind. He tried to synthesize faith and reason; to unite the world of the East and the West. A firmly committed believer, he was more interested in psychology than theology.

Alfred *Jospe, his friend and colleague, summed up his legacy. "He gave all those he encountered an awareness of the importance of the dialectical method in the education process.… If you asked him a question, you did not get an answer, but a reformulated question," deeper, more profound, more insistent than the one that was asked. He was as eager to learn as to teach – eager to learn so he might teach.

Jospe said that "under his leadership the Hillel Foundation at the University of Chicago became a unique intellectual and cultural center for the entire campus community, a forum for the study and discussion of vital issues of moral and social significance. He attracted some of the great minds on the faculty of the University of Chicago to Hillel" not only to speak but to learn. It was a tradition that empowered his successors and served as an example to others.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Alfred Jospe (ed.), *The Legacy of Maurice Pekarsky* (1965).

[Raphael Jospe (2nd ed.)]

PEKELIS, ALEXANDER HAIM (1902–1946), jurist and communal worker. Born in Odessa, Russia, Pekelis studied at various European universities. In 1932 he was appointed lecturer in jurisprudence at the University of Florence but the local Fascist party had him removed. He became professor of jurisprudence at the University of Rome in 1935 where he founded and edited a review, *Il Massimario Della Corte Toscana*. Pekelis left Italy following the enactment of the antisemitic laws in 1938 and settled in Paris where he practiced law. Just before the Nazi occupation of France in June 1940, Pekelis went with his wife and five children to Lisbon and in 1941 emigrated to the United States. He lectured at the New School for Social research in New York City and at the same time studied at the Columbia University Law School, where he was editor in chief of the *Columbia Law Review.* In 1945, he became chief consultant to the Commission on Law and Social Action of the American Jewish Congress, a post he held until his death in an airplane accident at Shannon, Ireland, while returning from an international Zionist conference as a representative of the Labor Zionist movement.

Pekelis made an important contribution to the struggle against antisemitism with the formulation of a bold new program for the American Jewish Congress entitled "Full Equality in a Free Society – A Program for Jewish Action." He drafted the bill, enacted two years after his death, which ultimately eliminated the numerus clausus in the medical schools of New York state. Pekelis contributed many articles urging a "jurisprudence of welfare," the submission of "private governments" to constitutional requirements, the establishment of a "Human Rights Agency" by the United Nations and an annual "Supreme Court Yearbook" which would critically examine that court's decisions. Many of his proposals were subsequently adopted.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: M.R. Konvitz, ed., *Law and Social Action: Selected Essays of Alexander H. Pekelis* (1950).

[Will Maslow]

PEKERIS, CHAIM LEIB (1908–1993), mathematician. Born in Alytus, Lithuania, Pekeris immigrated to the United States in his late teens. He did research at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology from 1936 to 1940, and from 1941 to 1946 headed the mathematics-physics group in the war research division at Columbia University. After two years at the Institute for Advanced Study at Princeton, he went to Israel in 1948, to establish the department of applied mathematics at the Weizmann Institute of Science. Under his direction, an eight-year gravimetrical and seismic mapping survey of the country was undertaken, and methods of prospecting were developed which laid the basis for Israel's petroleum-boring programs.

Pekeris' own main interests were the internal constitution of the earth, including the study of the origin and nature of earthquakes, theoretical seismology, the calculation of ocean tides, and the way fluids flow through pipes and around obstacles.

[Julian Louis Meltzer]

Pekeris' work has gained for him a number of distinguished honors outside Israel. In 1971 he was elected foreign and honorary member of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences. In 1974 he was awarded the Vetlesen Prize – also known as the Nobel Prize of the earth sciences – and in 1980 was the recipient of the coveted Gold Medal of the Royal Astronomical Society, previous members of which include Einstein and Eddington. Also in 1980 he was awarded the Israel Prize for the exact sciences.

PEKERMAN, JOSÉ NESTOR (1949–), Argentinean soccer player, coach, and teacher of young players. Born in Villa Domínguez, Entre Ríos, he played for the Argentinos Juniors (1970–1974) and in the Colombian league, where he finished his career as a player. He was coach of the minor league teams of Colo-Colo in Chile and the Argentinos Juniors. He gained fame when, after having been chosen as coach of the Argentinean youth team, he won the world championships in Qatar (1995), Malaysia (1997), and Argentina (2001). In 2003 he turned down an offer to coach the Argentinean national team but did accept this post in September 2004 after the death of Marcelo Bielsa.

Pekerman is known for his professionalism, modesty, and leadership.

[Alejandro Dubesarsky (2nd ed.)]

PEKI'IN (Heb. פְּקִיעִין), village in Upper Galilee; noted for its tradition of continuous Jewish settlement throughout the ages. Peki'in can possibly be identified with Baca (Jos., Wars 3:39), the town which marked the boundary between the Upper and Lower Galilee. Fragments of reliefs with Jewish symbols are found dispersed in the village, dating from the late Roman period. According to the *Pesikta de-Rav Kahana*, Beqa' was the place where R. *Simeon b. Yoḥai and his son R. Eleazar lived in a cave for 13 years during the Hadrianic persecution of Jews which followed the Bar Kokhba War (132–35). In the *Midrash Kohelet Rabbah* (10:11), which is the main source of the story, the place is called Peki'in. During their stay in the cave they lived from the fruits of an old mulberry tree. Above the cave stood a giant carob tree and a spring was located below it. Votive gifts and oil lamps were placed in the crevice of the cave by Jews and non-Jews alike. Additional places of importance in the village included the marked grave of the talmudic scholar R. *Abba Oshayah of Tiria, which was located near the spring of Ein Tiria to the west of Peki'in and surrounded by large and hallowed trees, referred to by the Jews of the village as the "groves." Also located there was the tomb of R. Yose of Peki'in, which is mentioned in the Zohar and other sources. The antiquity, mystery, and wonder surrounding the Jews of Peki'in were added to by the presence of Jewish fellaheen in this outlying corner of Upper Galilee and their claim of being the last group of Jews who were never exiled. Their features, their clothing, their language, and their Arabic village life until the second third of the 20th century all added to the character of the village.

The Jews of Peki'in are first mentioned in the travel book of R. Moses *Basola (1522). He refers to them as "*fallaḥim*" ("workers of the land") and to the village by its Arabic name, "Bukayyʿa." Responsa of the Safed rabbis of the 16th century dealing with *mitzvot* to be fulfilled only in the Land (of Israel) – the priestly tithes, the levitical tithes, and the Sabbatical Year, all of which concern Jewish farm workers in Galilee – also testify to the existence of Jewish agriculture in Bukayyʿa. The Jews of the village were also engaged in the breeding of silkworms. Sixteenth-century Turkish tax registers from the Istanbul archives, which mention the number of taxable Jewish families in ten Galilee villages during the years 1525–73, include 33 to 45 Jewish families in Bukayyʿa. From time to time groups of Jews engaged in commerce and the leasing and tilling of lands; other groups engaged in the study of Torah and the Zohar "under the carob tree of R. Simeon b. Yoḥai." Peki'in was also a summer resort for urban Jews, especially for those from Tiberias. The Jews of the towns sought refuge there when plagues broke out. In 1602 R. Joseph *Trani of Safed visited Peki'in to instruct the local Jews, who were cultivating mulberries for silkworms.

The name Peki'in again appears during the 18th century. In 1742, the kabbalist R. Ḥayyim *Attar, who during the same year had emigrated to Ereẓ Israel with his disciples, lived there for about two months. After the severe earthquakes of 1759, many of the victims from Safed fled there. The rabbis of Safed also established a yeshivah for some time in the village. The refugees included the son of Rabbi Jacob of Vilna, who was from the group led by R. *Judah he-Ḥasid, which had emigrated to Ereẓ Israel. R. Joseph Sofer, author of *Edut bi-Yhosef*, lived and died in Peki'in. R. Reuben Satanov, author of *Ahavat Ẓiyyon*, also lived and studied the Zohar there. In 1783 some members of the ḥasidic *aliyah* from Russia and Poland established themselves there after leaving Safed and Jerusalem.

In 1820 only 20 families of Jews were left in Peki'in; their number rose to 50 (totalling 300 persons) in 1832 – mainly Sephardim. In 1856, 50 Jews remained in Peki'in and, in 1900, 11 families of farmers (93 persons). During the riots of 1929, the Jews of Peki'in were compelled to abandon their village out of fear of the Arab gangs. Upon their return to the village, they were occasionally compelled to seek work in the Jewish settlements. After the riots of 1936–39, only one family returned to the village. In 1948 Peki'in's population included 800 Druze, 242 Christians, 68 Muslims, and one Jewish family, Zeynati (from the old inhabitants). In 1948 Peki'in was incorporated into Israel; part of the Arab inhabitants left, and Jews – new immigrants – were settled there. The ancient synagogue and the cemetery were renovated with the assistance of I. *Ben-Zvi and are considered historical sites. The traditional tombs of R. Oshayah of Tiria and R. Yose of Peki'in were also repaired. In 1955, the moshav Peki'in ha-Ḥadashah ("New Peki'in") was established above Ein Tiria. The new settlers arrived from Spanish and French Morocco, from Tangier, Fez, and Marrakesh. In 1968, "Old" Peki'in had 2,070 inhabitants, about three-quarters Druze and the rest Christian Arabs, mostly of the Greek Orthodox denomination. In the mid-1990s the population of Peki'in ha-Ḥadashah stood at approximately 210, increasing to 290 in 2002. In the synagogue of Peki'in (built in 1873) and on the walls of some of the houses of the village are incorporated fragments of reliefs, showing Jewish symbols such as the seven-branched candlestick (*menorah*), the *shofar* and *lulav*, the vine, etc. These remains prove the existence of a synagogue in the village during the talmudic period.

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[Michael Avi-Yonah and Joseph Braslavi (Braslavski)]

PEKING (**Beijing**), capital of China. In the second half of the 13th century Marco Polo reported the presence of Jews in Beijing among the followers of the Mongol emperor Kublai Khan. The Scottish traveler, John Bell, who visited Beijing in 1720–21, found a few Jews, supposedly descendants of these early arrivals. This remnant disappeared and no Jews settled in Beijing until modern times. During World War II there were about 100 Jews of various nationalities (or stateless) in Beijing, mostly European refugees. All of them left the Chinese capital after the war.

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[Rudolf Loewenthal]

PEKOD (Heb. פְּקוֹד), *Aramean tribe that once inhabited the eastern bank of the Lower Tigris, and is identified with the Puqudu mentioned in Assyrian texts beginning with the time of Tiglath-Pileser III. The Pekod tribe was organized and put under the jurisdiction of the governor of Arrapha. However, the tribe participated in many revolts and was subsequently deported. Many individuals of this tribe are known from the sources. In the Bible, Pekod is mentioned in Jeremiah's prophecy against Babylon (Jer. 50:21) in a wordplay: *pqd*, "to punish." The Babylonian king is called to go up against well-known enemies (see *Chaldea), such as the tribe of Pekod, which was practically unconquerable, and thus exhaust himself and bring upon himself punishment and doom. Ezekiel 23:23 mentions Pekod as a typical representative of the Babylonian "mobile" administration. The verse speaks of peoples sent to conquered territories to fill various posts or as settler-deportees. Pekod (like similar tribes) could act as a police force or fill other posts.

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[Pinhas Artzi]

PELICAN, one of the largest of water birds. Three species of the pelican (genus *Pelecanus*) are occasionally seen in Israel in the nature preserve that was formerly part of the Ḥuleh swamps, as well as in fish ponds. The pelican may be the שַׂקְנַאי (*saknai*) mentioned in the Talmud (Ḥul. 63a) as a bird that was eaten in some places but not in others since there were doubts as to its *kashrut*. Its Hebrew name is derived from the pouch (*sak*) under its lower bill jaw used for storing the fish it catches. The Septuagint identifies the pelican with the קָאַת (*ka'at*; Lev. 11:18; Isa. 34:11; et al.), which was apparently the view, too, of an *amora* (Ḥul. loc. cit.), who identified the *ka'at* with the *kik* (Ḥul. loc. cit with the reading of the Arukh) said to be found in the neighborhood of seas and to be very fatty (Shab. 21a). But the identification of *ka'at* with the pelican, a waterfowl, is improbable, since it is mentioned in the Bible as a bird that inhabits the desert and ruins, and is a species of *owl. This identification has, however, passed into modern Hebrew.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Lewysohn, Zool, 184f., 368; F.S. Bodenheimer, *Animal and Man in Bible Lands* (1960), 64; M. Dor, *Leksikon Zo'ologi* (1965), 343.

[Jehuda Feliks]

PELLA or **PAḤAL**, ancient city situated east of the Jordan River, 8 mi. (c. 13 km.) South-east of Beth-Shean. The present name of the site is Khirbet Faḥil. The first mention of it occurs in the Egyptian Execration texts, dating to the late 19th century B.C.E. as Pi-ḥi-lim. It is mentioned as well in almost all Egyptian sources relating to Canaan, appearing in the list of Canaanite cities of Thutmosis III as *Phr*; in Anastasi Papyri (3 and 4) as a center for the manufacture of chariots; in the Beth-Shean stele of Seti I as a place which revolted against Egypt and besieged Rehob, and was subsequently subdued in one day by the first regiment of the Amon brigade; and in the list of Ramses II. From El-Amarna letter 148, it appears that Hazor and Tyre contended for possession of *Piḥili*, whose prince at that time was Motbaal. A large "migdol" type temple has recently been uncovered at the site. After 1300 B.C.E. the place is not mentioned in extant sources; however, Late Bronze and Iron Age pottery was found there. It revived in the Hellenistic period, when it was known as Pella, after the Macedonian capital. A legendary account by Stephen of Byzantium (Eth. 103–4) has the city being founded by Alexander the Great (332/331 B.C.E.). The city was captured by Antiochus III in 218 B.C.E. (Polybius 5:70, 12) and later by Alexander Yannai, who destroyed it (Jos., Ant., 13:397). Pompey restored it and incorporated it into the Decapolis league. Prior to Jerusalem's siege by Titus, its Christian community moved to Pella. Some Christians, including the author Aristion of Pella, remained there afterward. In Byzantine times it was the seat of a bishop. The hot baths located there (Ḥamta di Paḥal) are mentioned in the Jerusalem Talmud (Shev. 6:1, 36c). In 635/636 Muslim Arabs defeated the Byzantine forces near Pella and took the city, which continued to exist for some time (as Fiḥl) with a mixed Greek and Arab population.

The site was investigated in the 19th century by the travelers C. Irby and J. Mangles in 1818, and subsequently by the explorer E. Robinson in 1852. Excavations of the site were undertaken in 1958 by N. Richardson and R.W. Funk, in 1967 by R.H. Smith, and since 1979 and into the 1990s by R.H. Smith, A.W. McNicoll, and J.B. Hennessey. The earliest remains date from the Neolithic period, while its rapid decline took place in late Umayyad times. The rich finds, both in architecture and tomb deposits as well as small finds, indicate that Pella was a prosperous town from the Hellenistic to the Umayyad periods. Hellenistic and Byzantine civic buildings, a theater or odeon, and three churches have been uncovered.

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[Michael Avi-Yonah / Shimon Gibson (2nd ed.)]

PELLEG (Pollak), FRANK (1910–1968), Israeli musician. Born in Prague, Pelleg conducted at the Prague Opera before going to Palestine in 1936. There he initiated chamber music concerts at the Tel Aviv Museum. After the War of Independence Pelleg headed the Music Department of the Ministry of Education (1948–52). In 1951 he moved to Haifa, where he managed the affairs of the Haifa Philharmonic Orchestra and was its musical adviser. He also served the Haifa Theatre in the same capacity. A well-known pianist and harpsichordist, Pelleg traveled widely and was noted for his interpretation of Bach.

He lectured at the Tel Aviv Museum and at the Samuel Rubin Israel Academy of Music, Tel Aviv University, at the Technion and at the University of Haifa. He composed for the piano and for chamber orchestras, and wrote vocal music and also incidental music for the theater. Pelleg wrote a number of works on music, among them *Da et ha-Muzikah* (1946) and *Kelei ha-Neginah* (1965).

[Yemima Gottlieb]

°PELLICANUS (Pellikan), CONRAD (Kursiner, Kuers(ch)-ner, also known as **Pellicanus Rubeaquensis**; 1478–1556), German *Hebraist and Bible scholar. Born in Rouffach, Alsace, Pellicanus entered the Franciscan order in 1493. He first obtained Hebrew manuscripts of the Prophets from the convert Johannes *Pauli, an eminent Rhenish preacher, and it was the laborious study of these manuscripts which determined his subsequent scholarly career. In Tuebingen he met Johann *Reuchlin, and on his encouragement began copying Hebrew texts; later he learned Aramaic and translated books on grammar and Kabbalah. One of the pioneer Christian Hebraists of Northern Europe, Pellicanus was the first Christian to publish a Hebrew grammar, *De modo legendi et intelligendi Hebraeum* (Strasbourg, 1504), a forerunner of Reuchlin's *De rudimentis Hebraicis*. After teaching Bible in Basle (1502–07) and Rouffach (1508–11), he became a wandering scholar for some years. He visited the library of *Trithemius in Sponheim, met Jacques Lefèvre d'Etaples in Paris, and copied and acquired Hebrew books. In 1519 he became Guardian in his order's monastery in Basle, where he again met his old friend and pupil, Sebastian *Muenster. By publishing *Luther's writings in 1520, Pellicanus contributed decisively to the Reformation in Basle. This, however, led to a conflict with the order, and he was deposed from his Guardianship (1523). Pellicanus was then appointed professor of theology at Basle University, but in 1526 he accepted a call from the Swiss reformer Huldreich (Ulrich) Zwingli, an old friend and colleague, to become professor of Hebrew at Zurich. By then he had married, and formally embraced Protestantism.

Pellicanus was a prominent collaborator in the Zwinglian Bible translations into German; he published a voluminous *Commentaria Bibliorum* (Zurich, 1532–39), which reveals his wide reading in the Christian Kabbalah. He translated many rabbinic works, including *Genesis Rabbah* and commentaries on the Pentateuch by Abraham Ibn Ezra and Baḥya b. Asher, as well as part of Guillaume *Postel's version of the Zohar on Genesis. He also copied Gerard *Veltwyck's *Shevilei Tohu* and Postel's kabbalistic treatise on the Candelabrum (*Or Nerot ha-Menorah*), both of which he translated into Latin. These have been preserved in manuscript in Zurich.

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[Godfrey Edmond Silverman / Aya Elyada (2nd ed.)]

PELTIN, SAMUEL HIRSH (1831–1896), Polish author. Peltin settled in Warsaw in 1855, and established there in 1865 the Polish weekly *Izraelita*. In this journal, which he edited until his death, he wrote articles on religion, ethics, and Jewish history, and defended the Jewish cause against antisemitic attacks. He also wrote a number of tales of Jewish life, and translated the works of Leopold *Kompert and other writers. In his youth he compiled a Polish textbook, especially designed for Jewish children. He left many works in manuscript, including a book on Jewish history entitled "Historia Zydow." Peltin was active in the Reform Temple in Warsaw and attempted to give a Polish rather than a German orientation to the service and the sermon, and invest it with the character suited to an enlightened Polish Jewish intellectual.

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PELTZ, ISAC (1899–1980), Romanian novelist. Born in Bucharest, Peltz first wrote essays, prose poems, sketches, and stories, which appeared in several volumes between 1916 and 1924. His prizewinning first novel, *Viața cu haz și fără a numitului Stan* ("The Humorous and Not-So Humorous Life of Stan," 1929) heralded the career of one of the most prolific and highly praised writers in Romanian literature. For the first time, Jewish ghetto life with all its color and its drama was given artistic form in Romanian literature. Peltz's novels told the full story of the Jewish slums. Painting immense frescoes of the people of the ghetto – artisans, tradesmen, peddlers, unsuccessful poets and writers, prostitutes, tramps, and beggars – he showed partiality for the poverty-stricken.

Outstanding among the novels of this type are *Calea Văcărești* (1934) and *Foc in Hanul cu Tei* ("Fire at the Linden Inn," 1935), which were republished several times. A dramatic adaptation of the former was staged in 1942. Other pre-World War II novels include *Horoscop* (1932) and *Nopţile Domnişoarei Mili* ("The Nights of Miss Mili," 1937). Peltz described the horrors of the Nazi period and the sufferings of the Jews in the novel *Israel însîngerat* ("Bleeding Israel," 1946). His postwar novel *Maz și lumea lui* ("Max and his World," 1957), conforming to the norms of the Stalinist period, was a satire directed against the Romanian Jewish bourgeoisie. His other works include *De-a viața și de-a moartea* ("Playing Life and Death," 1942), *Inimi sbuciumat* ("Anguished Souls," 1962), short stories, and *Cum i-am cunoscut* ("How I Knew Them," 1964).

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[Abraham Feller]

PEMBER, PHOEBE YATES (1823–1913), hospital superintendent during the American Civil War and author of a highly regarded memoir. Pember was born in Charleston, South Carolina, to the well-to-do Jacob Clavius Levy and Fanny Yates, the fourth of seven children. Widowed in 1861 when her husband, Thoman Pember, died of tuberculosis, she arrived in Richmond, Virginia, where her acquaintance with the wife of Secretary of War Randolph led to an offer to serve as superintendent or chief matron of one of the five "divisions" of Chimborazo Hospital, the largest in the world at the time and fated to treat 76,000 patients during the war. Each division consisted of around 30 wards housing 40–60 patients and another 20 or so Sibley tents for convalescents. Pember took up her duties in December 1862 and remained at her post until the collapse of the Confederacy in April 1865, walking through near-empty wards as "every man who could crawl had tried to escape a Northern prison."

Pember's memoir, *A Southern Woman's Story* (1879), tells of hospital life at a time when twice as many patients were dying of disease as were being killed in battle, neither the etiology of disease nor the principles of hygiene were understood, and the only surgical procedure known to physicians was amputation. In this environment, facing chronic shortages of food, medicine, and equipment and fighting off raiders of the medicinal whiskey barrel and hordes of rats consuming the flesh of the dying, Pember acted with energy and determination, heroically bringing what little relief she could to the stricken. Sometimes humorous, often harrowing, and never sparing in its criticism of incompetence, Pember's memoir throws light on the lives and deaths of ordinary people caught in a murderous war and giving "the last full measure" of themselves. After the war Pember traveled widely in Europe and the United States. She died in Pittsburgh.

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[Fred Skolnik (2nd ed.)]

PENAL LAW.

Principles of Legality

Under talmudic law, no act is a criminal offense and punishable as such unless laid down in express terms in the Bible (the Written Law). For this purpose, it is not sufficient that there should be a provision imposing a specified penalty in respect of any given act (*onesh*) – e.g., the murderer shall be killed (Num. 35:16–21), or the adulterers shall be killed (Lev. 20:10) – so long as the commission of the act has not first distinctly been prohibited (*azharah*) – e.g., you shall not murder (Ex. 20:13; Deut. 5:17), or you shall not commit adultery (ibid.). Where such prohibition is lacking, even the availability of a penal provision will not warrant the imposition of the penalty provided (Zev. 106a–b, et al.); the penal provision is a *nuda lex*, which may be interpreted as a threat of *divine punishment, in respect of which no prior prohibition is required (Mak. 13b).

All biblical injunctions are either positive (*mitzvot aseh*) or negative (*mitzvot lo ta'aseh*), i.e., either to do or to abstain from doing a certain thing. Any negative injunction qualifies as prohibition for the purposes of penal legislation (Maim. Comm. to Mishnah, Mak. 3:1). But no prohibition may he inferred, *e contrario*, from any positive injunction (Tem. 4a). The prohibitory provision is required not only for capital offenses (Sanh. 54a–b), but also for offenses punishable by *flogging (Mak. 4b; Ket. 46a), and even for offenses punishable by *fines (Sifra, *Kedoshim*, 2, 1). A prohibition may not be inferred, either by analogy or by any other form of logical deduction; from the prohibition on intercourse, for instance, with the daughter of one's father or of one's mother (Lev. 18:9), the prohibition on intercourse with one's full sister could not be inferred, but had to be stated expressly (Lev. 18:11).

Similarly, the penal provision must be explicit as applying to an offense constituted of certain factual elements, and may not be extended to cover other offenses, whether by way of analogy or by way of other logical deductions. Thus, for instance, malicious witnesses who commit *perjury by testifying that an innocent man has committed a capital offense are to be executed only if the accused has not yet been executed himself: for it is written, "you shall do to him as he schemed to do to his fellow" (Deut. 19:19), and not as has been done already to his fellow, and the latter may not be inferred, *a fortiori*, from the former (Mak. 5b). The reason underlying this seemingly hairsplitting precaution has been said to be that, if the punishment laid down by law were the right and proper one for the lesser crime or the lesser evil, it could not be the right and proper punishment for the graver one (Maharsha to Sanh. 64b), and the Divine Legislator having seen fit to penalize the lesser offense, no human legislator should presume to improve on or rectify His action, least of all by human logic (*Korban Aharon, Middot Aharon*, 2:13). This strict legality already gave rise to practical difficulties in talmudic times. "Not in order to contravene the law, but in order to make fences around the law" (Sanh. 46a; Yev. 90b; Yad, Sanh. 24:4), were the courts empowered to impose punishments even where the principle of legality could not be observed (see *Extraordinary Remedies). Such extralegal sanctions were imposed not only at the discretion of the courts, but also by virtue of express penal legislation (see **Takkanot*).

Parties to Offenses

As a general rule, only the actual perpetrator of an offense is criminally responsible in Jewish law. Thus no responsibility attaches to procurers, counselors, inciters, and other such offenders who cause the offense to be committed by some other person (except, of course, where the incitement as such constitutes the offense, as, e.g., incitement to idolatry: Deut. 13:7–11).

PRINCIPALS AND AGENTS. Even when a person hires another to commit a crime, criminal responsibility attaches only to the agent who actually commits it, and not to the principal who made him commit it (Kid. 42b–43a; BK 51a, 79a; BM 8a, 10b; et al.). Where the commission of the offense entails some enjoyment, as the consumption of prohibited food or consummation of prohibited intercourse, it is clear that he who has the enjoyment pays the penalty (Kid. 43a); but even where the agent derives no enjoyment at all from the commission of the offense, it is he who is responsible, because as a person endowed with free will he has to obey God rather than men (Kid. 42b). There are several exceptions to this rule: first, where the agent is not capable of criminal responsibility, whether because he is a minor, or insane, or otherwise exempt from responsibility, his principal is responsible (BM 10b; *Rema*, ḤM 182:1, 348:8); or, where the actual perpetrator is an innocent agent, that is, ignorant of the fact that it is an offense he commits (Tos. to Kid. 42b s.v. *amai*; Tos. to BK 79a s.v. *natnu*; *Mordekhai*, BM 1, 237; and cf. Redak, II Sam. 12:9). Further exceptions apply to particular offenses and are derived from biblical exegesis, such as stealing trust money (Ex. 22:6), slaughtering and stealing oxen or sheep (Ex. 21:37), or trespass on sacred things (Lev. 5:15) – for all of which the principal and not the agent is criminally responsible (Kid. 42b–43a). However, the blameworthiness of the procurer did not escape the talmudic jurists: everybody agrees that he is liable to some punishment, lesser (*dina zuta*) or greater (*dina rabba*; Kid. 43a), and the view generally taken is that he will be visited with divine punishment (Kid. 43a; Yad, Roẓe'aḥ 2:2–3). The matter is very distinctly put apropos the biblical injunction that, where a woman committed bestiality, both she and the beast should be killed (Lev. 20:16): "The woman has sinned, but what sin did the beast commit? But because it caused mischief, it must be stoned – and if a beast which does not know any difference between good and evil is stoned because of the mischief it caused, a fortiori must a man who caused another to commit a capital offense be taken by God from this world" (Sifra, Kedoshim, 10:5). Maimonides goes even further, allowing not only for divine punishment but also for human capital punishment, whether by the king by virtue of his royal prerogative (see *Extraordinary Remedies), or by the court in exercise of its emergency powers, wherever circumstances of time and place so require (Yad, Roẓe'aḥ 2:4); and indeed capital punishment was actually imposed on a father who had ordered his son to commit homicide (Ribash, Resp. no. 251). But short of capital punishment, courts are at any rate admonished to administer "very hard floggings" and impose severe imprisonment for long periods, so as to deter and threaten potential criminals that they may not think they can commit with impunity their crimes by the hands of others (Yad, Roẓe'aḥ 5). See also *Agency, Law of.

JOINT OFFENDERS. As a general rule, a criminal offense is committed by a single person acting alone, and not by two or more acting together (Sifra, Va-Yikra, 7; Shab. 92b). Thus, where an offense is committed by joint offenders, all are liable only if the offense could not have been committed otherwise than by all of them together; if the offense could have been committed by any one (or more) of them, they are all entitled to the benefit of the doubt that none of them did actually complete the offense (Yad, Shab. 1:15–16). Where, therefore, a man is beaten to death by several people, none of them would be criminally liable (Sanh. 78a); but where the death was clearly caused by the last stroke, the man who struck last would be guilty of murder (Yad, Roẓe'aḥ 4:6–7). It might be otherwise where death could not have ensued unless by the combined action of all attackers together: in such a case they would all be liable (Rashba, Nov., BK 53b). Like accessories before and at the offense, so are accessories after the fact free from responsibility for the offense – except, again, in the case of incitement to idolatry, where the protection of the offender is made an offense (Deut. 13:9).

Attempts and Inchoate Offenses

From the foregoing it is already apparent that, as a rule, no offense is committed unless it is completed: he who completes the offense is guilty; he who commits only part of the offense, or does not achieve the criminal result, is not guilty (Sifra, Va-Yikra, 7, 9; Shab. 92b–93a). No criminal intent, however far-reaching, suffices to render any act punishable which is not the completed offense defined by law (Kid. 39b; Ḥċýŏ 142a). In exceptional cases, however, the attempt as such constitutes the completed offenses, e.g., malicious perjury (Deut. 19:16), where the false witnesses are liable only if the result intended by them had not yet been achieved (Mak. 1:6). But, again, the potential turpitude of the attempt to commit an offense has not escaped juridical notice: he who raises a hand against another, even without striking him, is not only wicked, but should (according at least to one great scholar) have his hand cut off, if he is prone to strike frequently (Sanh. 58b and Rashi). Extralegal punishments have indeed been inflicted time and again on attempts, especially of murder (e.g., Maharam of Rothenburg, Resp., ed. Prague, no. 383; and cf. *Darkhei Moshe*, ḤM 421, n.7).

Criminal Responsibility

No person is criminally responsible for any act unless he did that act willfully (Av. Zar. 54a; BK 28b; Yad, Yesodei ha-Torah 5:4; Sanh. 20:2). Willfulness is excluded by duress (**ones*), a concept much wider in Jewish than in other systems of law. For the purpose of penal law, it can be roughly divided into five categories:

(1) coercion;

(2) threats of death, including governmental decrees threatening criminal prosecution;

(3) torture;

(4) *force majeure*, including sickness and other happenings beyond one's control; and

(5) mistakes of fact and unconsciousness.

As distinguished from duress for the purposes of civil law, generally no duress is recognized in criminal law which flows from any monetary cause, as, e.g., the necessity to save any property from perdition (*Beit Yosef*; ḤM 388; *Rema*, ḤM 388:2).

DURESS BY COERCION. The coercion by violence of a married woman to commit *adultery (nowadays known as rape) exempts her from any criminal responsibility (Deut. 22:26). No such coercion is recognized in regard to the male adulterer, because he cannot physiologically be raped (Yev. 53b). Where the woman is in an isolated spot ("in the open country": Deut. 22:25), or otherwise incapable of summoning help, she will be presumed to have been coerced against her will (Naḥmanides ad loc.; Sif. Deut. 243), even where she could have resisted by striking back, but failed to do so in the belief she was not allowed to, she is deemed to have been raped (Naḥmanides, *ibid.*). It is irrelevant that, after having been forced to submit, she eventually acquiesced: it is the duress of human urges and human nature that then compels her to surrender (Yad, Issurei Bi'ah 1:9).

DURESS BY THREATS. There are three grave offenses of which it is said that a man must let himself be killed rather than commit any of them, namely, idolatry, adultery or *incest (*gillui arayot*), and *homicide (Sanh. 74a; Yad, Yesodei ha-Torah 5:2; Sh. Ar., YD 157:1). This rule has sometimes been wrongly interpreted as excluding the defense of duress by threats of death in the case of any of these offenses; as a matter of law, however, where the rule is disobeyed and any such offense is committed in order to escape death, the offender is not criminally responsible, however reprehensible he may be morally or religiously (Yad, *ibid.* 4). It is irrevocably presumed that where a man acts under threat of immediate death and in order to save his life, any criminal intent in respect of that act is excluded or superseded, and he cannot be criminally responsible for it.

In the Middle Ages, the threat of prosecution and death became a very effective inducement to denounce Judaism and outwardly embrace another religion. So long as a man did only what was really required to save his life, the transgression was recognized as being committed under duress; as soon as he did anything not so required, it was deemed to be done willfully, however strong the initial duress may have been (*Rema*, YD 124:9; Ribash, Resp. nos. 4, 11, 12).

DURESS BY TORTURE. Duress by torture is closely related to the two foregoing categories; on the one hand, it entails physical force, and the sheer force applied may be sufficient to deprive the victim of his free will; on the other hand, it entails threats of death, or of ever more torture to come until death may ensue, and hence any criminal intent will be replaced or superseded by the wish to have the torture terminated (cf. Ket. 33b for an instance of torture to compel to idolatry).

DURESS BY FORCE MAJEURE. Duress by force majeure as an instance of duress is well illustrated by the case of a man who fell ill, and his doctors prescribed for his cure the consumption of prohibited food: while partaking of such food is a criminal offense, the patient will not be liable to punishment, as his intent was not criminal but medical (Yad, *ibid.* 6). It is, however, made clear that this defense would not hold good for all offenses: thus, a man cannot be heard to say that, for medical reasons and in order to save his life, he had to commit adultery (Yad, *ibid.* 9) or even a lesser indecency (Sanh. 75a). Other unforeseen circumstances which may make a man act unlawfully, contrary to his real intentions, are, e.g., attacks by wild beasts (cf. BM 7:9), or accidents such as fire (BM 47b, 49b) and other like dangers: the defense of duress in these cases is closely related to that of self-defense or self-help (see below). It is noteworthy that in English and Israeli law, the commission of an offense in order to avoid grievous harm or injury which could not otherwise be avoided is excused by reason of "necessity" (Sec. 18, Criminal Code Ordinance, 1936).

DURESS BY MISTAKE OR UNCONSCIOUSNESS. A lesser form of duress is the "duress of sleep" (cf. Ber. 4b): a man who has fallen asleep is not criminally (as distinguished from civilly; BK 2:6) responsible for anything he did while asleep, for the reason that he acted without any criminal (or other) intent. The same applies to acts of automatism or anything done in a state of unconsciousness, however induced. Jewish law – again, as distinguished from other systems of law – includes within this category, as a species of duress, also the common mistake of fact: it is regarded as the "duress of the heart" (Shev. 26a) if a man acts under a misapprehension of relevant facts, and any criminal intent may be excluded by such other intent as is warranted by the facts mistakenly believed to exist. If a man acts under such factual misapprehension, it is as if he acted outside the physical world as it really exists, hence the analogy with sleep and unconsciousness. Similarly, the forgetfulness of old age may constitute duress (Ber. 8b).

THE DEAF AND DUMB, LUNATICS, INFANTS, AND THE BLIND. Apart from these forms of duress, which are applicable to all persons, there are special categories of persons who are wholly exempt from criminal responsibility for reason of the duress inherent in their infirmity or deficiency, namely, the deaf and dumb, the insane, and infants – all regarded in law as devoid of reason (Yev. 99b; Ḥag. 2b; Git. 23a; et al). Persons who are both deaf and dumb (Ter. 1:2) are equated with infants for all purposes of the law (cf. Tur, ḤM 235:19), and the law exempting infants from criminal responsibility is derived from scriptural exegesis (Mekh. Mishpatim 4; Sanh. 52b, 54a, 68b). It is not quite settled at what age infancy ends for purposes of criminal law: there are dicta to the effect that divine punishment is not imposed for sins committed before the age of 20 (TJ, Bik. 2:1, 64c: TJ, Sanh. 11:7, 30b; Shab. 89b; Tanh. Koraḥ 6), and it is said that where Heaven exempts from punishment, men ought not to punish (cf. Sanh. 82b); on the other hand, with the age of 13 for the male and 12 for the female, the age of reason is reached (Nid. 45b; Yad, Ishut 2:1, 10), and there would no longer be any rational cause for exemption from responsibility. Some scholars hold that, while human beings are criminally responsible as from the age of 13 and 12, respectively, no capital punishment would be imposed until they reached the age of 20. However that may be, we find exhortations to punish infants by flogging, even below the age of reason, not because of their responsibility, but only in order to deter them from further crime (Yad, Genevah 1:10). As far as sexual crimes are concerned, an infant girl is deemed to be so easily tempted as to deprive her of any willfulness (Yev. 33b, 61b; TJ, Sot. 1:2, 16c).

The insane is a person whose mind is permanently deranged (Yad, Edut 9:9). Monomaniacs who "go around alone at nights, stay overnight in cemeteries, tear their clothes, and lose everything they are given" (Ḥag. 3b; Tosef., Ter. 1:3), as well as idiots who are so retarded as to be unable to differentiate between contradictory matters (Yad, *ibid.* 10; ḤM 35:10), are presumed to be insane. They are not criminally responsible for any of their acts (BK 87a; cf. Git. 22b), and it is – in contradistinction to modern systems of law – irrelevant whether any causal connection can be established between the disease and the offense: once insanity is shown, criminal responsibility is excluded. Persons who suffer from transient attacks of insanity, such as epileptics, are criminally responsible only for acts committed during lucid intervals (cf. Yad, *ibid.* 9; ḤM 35:9). Apart from being devoid of reason, the insane are also devoid of will – hence any sexual offense committed by an insane woman is deemed to have been committed unwillfully (*Mishneh la-Melekh*, Ishut 11:8).

Opinions were divided among talmudic jurists in regard to the criminal responsibility of the blind (BK 86b; Tosef., Mak. 2:9), but the rule eventually evolved that blindness does not affect such responsibility any more than the obligation to obey all the laws; but a blind person who kills inadvertently is exempt from exile to a *city of refuge, because his act is near to duress (Yad, Roẓe'aḥ 6:14). The blind man differs from the deaf and dumb in that he freely expresses himself, while with the latter one never knows whether he is in possession of his mental and volitive faculties or not, and Jewish law does not recognize any presumption of sanity.

INTOXICATION. Self-induced intoxication as such is not regarded as duress sufficient to exempt from criminal responsibility for acts committed while drunk (Tosef., Ter. 3:1), except where the intoxication amounts to the "drunkenness of Lot" (Gen. 19:33–35), that is to say, to virtual unconsciousness (Er. 65a).

IGNORANCE OF LAW. Talmudic law differs from most (if not all) other systems of law also in one further respect: namely, that ignorance of law is a good defense to any criminal charge. Not only is nobody punishable for an offense committed bona fide, i.e., in the mistaken belief that his act was lawful, but it is incumbent upon the prosecution to show that the accused was, immediately before the commission of the offense, expressly warned by two competent witnesses that it would be unlawful for him to commit it, and that if he committed it he would be liable to that specific penalty provided for it by law (Sanh. 8b; et al.; and see *Evidence, *Practice and Procedure). It is this antecedent warning that enables the court to distinguish between the intentional (*mezid*) and the unintentional (*shogeg*) offender (Yad, Sanhedrin 12:2 and Issurei Bi'ah 1:3), the latter category comprising not only those acting "with a claim of right" in ignorance of the law, but also those who by accident or misadventure achieved any criminal result without intending it (Yad, Roẓe'aḥ 6:1–9), or who achieved any result (however criminal) different from the criminal result they intended to achieve (ibid. 4:1). Within the category of unintentional offenders, a distinction is made between those nearer to duress and those nearer to criminality: the former acted without negligence, and their conduct was in no way blameworthy; the latter acted recklessly and in disregard of common standards of behavior (the most striking example is the man who maintained that it was perfectly lawful to kill). While neither is, as a matter of law, criminally responsible, the one nearer to criminality may not be entitled to resort to cities of refuge (Yad, ibid. 6:10) and is liable to be flogged and imprisoned for purposes of deterrence (Yad, ibid. 2:5 and Sanh. 24:4). Previous warning of illegality was held to be unnecessary where the nature of the offense or its planning rendered the warning impracticable, such as in cases of perjury (Ket. 32a) or burglary at night (Sanh. 72b), or where it was redundant, as in the case of the *rebellious elder (Sanh. 88b) or of recidivists (Sanh. 81b; and cf. Maim. Yad, Sanhedrin 18, 5). Some scholars held the warning unnecessary also where the offender was a man learned in the law (Sanh. 8b).

SELF-DEFENSE AND RESCUE. Another important cause of exemption from criminal responsibility is the right and duty of defense against unlawful attack and of protection from danger; where any person (including an infant) pursues another with the manifest intent to kill him, everybody is under a duty to rescue the victim, even by killing the pursuer (Sanh. 8: 7; Yad, Roẓe'aḥ 1:6). This general rule has been extended to cover the killing of an embryo endangering the life of the mother (Yad, ibid. 9; and see *Abortion) and the killing of a rapist caught before completion of his offense, if he could not otherwise be induced to desist (Yad, ibid. 10). It would be as unlawful to kill the pursuer where the victim could be rescued by some other means (though even then the killer would not be guilty of murder (Yad, ibid. 13)), as it would be unlawful not to kill the pursuer if the victim could not otherwise be rescued (Yad, ibid. 14–16). Thus the nature of this defense is not just duress; here the criminal intent is superseded by the intent to fulfill a legal duty, and hence the defense is one of justification.

JUSTIFICATION. In the more technical sense of the term, justification exempts from criminal responsibility the following three categories of persons: officers of the court who kill or injure any person (or property) in the course of performing their official duties (cf. Mak. 3:14; Yad, Sanhedrin 16:12); any person lawfully engaged in the execution of convicts (Lev. 24:16; Deut. 13:10, 17:7, 21:21, 22:21, 24); and any person who acts upon the advice or instruction of the court as to what is the law (Sifra, Va-Yikra, 7, 1–2; Hor. 2b, 3b).

[Haim Hermann Cohn]

Forms of Punishment: Biblical Law; Extra-Legal Punishment; "The King's Law"

The strict laws of evidence in Jewish criminal law, which, in order to convict, inter alia require that the transgressor be admonished by two competent witnesses before committing the transgression, pose great difficulties for a system of criminal justice that is intended to prevent criminal behavior. For the purposes of maintaining public order and of dealing with criminal behavior, two additional tracks of judgment and punishment exist. The first track is "punishment not prescribed in the law" – the granting of broad discretionary authority to a court of law to prescribe punishment in accordance with the exigencies of the time (regarding the implementation of that authority in the post-Talmudic era, see entry *Capital Punishment). The second track is "the King's Law" – a legal system parallel to that of Torah Law, which complements biblical law with judgment and punishment in cases in which punishment and execution in accordance with biblical law are impossible.

These two tracks grant considerable discretionary authority to the courts, both with regard to prescribing punishment in specific instances and with regard to the enactment of general regulations in criminal law. One important distinction between these two systems and the criminal system in accordance with biblical law is that, when biblical law prescribes a specific punishment for a particular transgression, the courts are not permitted to deviate from the prescribed punishment (Yad, Sanh., 14:1–3). In the system of extra-legal punishment and in the King's law, on the other hand, the judges are not hampered by any such restriction. For a comprehensive discussion on the various systems of judgment and punishment, and on the punishment policy of Jewish law, see entry *Punishment.

Ignorance of the Law

We explained above that the purpose of admonition is to inform the transgressor of the law, hence the conclusion that ignorance of the law may serve as a defense in Jewish law. In light of the distinction cited above between biblical law and the alternative punitive systems, some scholars explained the requirement of admonition in biblical law, in which the purpose of punishment is not necessarily the betterment of society, not as a vehicle for informing the transgressor of the law, but rather as part of the requirement that the transgression, *as a religious transgression*, must constitute an act of contempt and defiance of God's commandments. On the other hand, in the framework of punishment by virtue of the King's law, which is a Jewish law system of punishment designed for the *betterment of society*, as practiced *de facto* in Jewish communities at various times, no admonition was required. Moreover, in relation to various offenses, we find that ignorance of the law does not render a criminal act unintentional for all intents and purposes. For example, a murderer who did not know that murder is forbidden does not flee to a city of refuge; rather, his offense is considered "close to intentional" (Yad, Roẓe'aḥ 6:10). A woman who commits the sin of adultery becomes forbidden to her husband, even if she did not know that her actions were against the law (Resp. Maharik, no. 137). Against this background, there were those who differentiated between ignorance of the law with regard to commandments between God and man, which are considered as unintentional for all intents and purposes, and ignorance of the law when there is also a component of transgression against other individuals, in which ignorance of the law does not transform the offense into a normal unintentional transgression.

Factual Errors – Reasonable Error and Unreasonable Error

In addition to the above distinction within the category of ignorance of the law between an offense that is "close to intentional" and one that is "close to coerced," we should note a similar distinction within the category of ignorance of the facts. Jewish law distinguishes between factual errors that are considered reasonable, in which the individual ignorant of the facts is considered to be "coerced," and factual errors containing a component of negligence. In other words, had the individual checked his facts before committing the act, he would have discovered the true situation, and the error would have been avoided. In such a case, the individual committing the error is considered an unintentional transgressor (*shogeg*) and is therefore required to bring a sin-offering (Yad, Shegagot 5:6). With regard to murder, when the fatal act was committed as the result of a reasonable error regarding the facts, i.e., in a case in which we cannot hold the killer responsible in any way for his ignorance of the facts, he is considered as one who was coerced (*anus*), and will not even be required to flee to a city of refuge (see *City of Refuge). Conversely, when the unintentional act is the result of negligence, the perpetrator is required to flee to a city of refuge (Tosef., Makkot, 2:2). Regarding murder, even in cases of ignorance of the facts, there exists an additional category termed "an unintentional act close to an intentional one" (*shogeg karov le-mezid*), in which the killer was indeed ignorant of the facts, but he committed a dangerous act that was obviously potentially lethal, in which case he may not flee to a city of refuge (Mak. 8a; TJ, Mak. 2, d; Meiri, Nov., Mak. 7b).

The Theoretical Justification for Killing a "Pursuer" (*rodef*) in Self-Defense

Amongst the authorities in Jewish law, we find a diversity of justifications for the lack of criminal responsibility of an individual who killed in self-defense, or in defense of another individual. One approach sees the fundamental justification in the very act of saving the intended victim, on the basis that the rescuer was commanded to save the victim, as all Jews are commanded to rescue others (Yad, Roẓe'aḥ 1:6). According to another approach, while the assailant's intention to do harm is indeed a necessary condition to justify killing him, the essential justification is in fact that the would-be murderer intends to commit a capital offense, and killing him before he commits the offense prevents him from actually committing it (Rashi, to Sanh. 73a). The difference between the two approaches is liable to manifest itself in a situation in which, for example, the pursuer himself is in mortal danger, e.g., if a building collapsed on him on the Sabbath. According to the first approach, the offender is no longer a threat to others, and we are therefore obligated to violate the Sabbath in order to save his life, as we would save the life of any individual. According to the second approach, on the other hand, the would-be attacker, in attempting to murder another human being, falls within the category of one whose life is not to be saved, and we may therefore not violate the Sabbath in order to save him (Rashi, *Sanhedrin* 72b). Another case in which an operative distinction between the two approaches could possibly arise is when the attacker is not punishable by law, e.g., if he is a minor or was himself coerced into attacking his fellow under threat of death. If the justification for killing the pursuer is to save the victim, the fact that the pursuer is not punishable is irrelevant; on the other hand, if the justification is that we wish to prevent the wrongdoer from committing an offense, it would not, apparently, be permissible to kill a pursuer who is not punishable by law (regarding this point, some legal authorities have differentiated between the *prohibition*, which applies equally to every human being, and the *punishment*, which apparently does not apply to every individual in every case; therefore, any pursuer, even if he is not punishable, intends to violate the prohibition, and he may therefore be killed). It seems that we must justify the permission to kill a potential pursuer by a *combination of both principles*: the need to save the victim, and the fact that the act of pursuit involves an offense punishable by death, as certain halakhic authorities have indeed maintained (Meiri, *Bet ha-Beḥirah, Sanhedrin* (Sofer edition), p. 266).

Self-Defense from Injury

Among halakhic authorities post-dating Maimonides, we find a discussion of the permission to inflict injury upon an individual who attacks and strikes another, even when there is no mortal danger. From the biblical verse, "Then thou shalt cut off her hand, thine eye shall have no pity" (Deut. 25:12), the Sages understood that a person whose life is being threatened by a pursuer must be saved, even by mortally injuring the pursuer (*Sifri*, Deut. 293, Yad, Roẓe'aḥ 7–9). Rabbenu Asher extends this principle to any case in which one individual strikes another; even if there is no mortal danger, any other individual is permitted to strike the assailant, if there is no other way to stop him (*Piske ha-Rosh* on BK, 3:13; see also Maharshal, *Yam shel Shelomo*, on BK 3:9). Rabbenu Asher's justification for this is in order to prevent the offender from committing the sin of striking another person (for the various justifications, see above).

Regarding the extent of striking that is permitted, the authorities ruled that the injury to the assailant should be minimal, and if it is possible to physically distance the assailant from his victim without striking him, that is what should be done. Physical violence beyond the extent that is necessary would be grounds for a legal suit by the assailant against the rescuer (*Mordekhai*, BK, 38; Rabbenu Asher, *ibid.*; *Terumat ha-Deshen*, *Pesakim u-Khetavim*, 208; Sh. Ar., ḤM, 421:13). A discussion of this matter can be found in the decision of the Supreme Court of the State of Israel in the *Afanjar* case (CA 89/78 *Afanjar* v. *State of Israel*, PD 33(3)141). The Court was called upon to decide the question of whether the defense of necessity could be invoked by the appellant, who had acted violently towards plainclothes police officers who broke into his apartment in the middle of the night. The appellant claimed that he did not know that the intruders were police officers, and that he thought that he was protecting himself and others in the apartment with him from bodily harm and humiliation. After an extensive discussion of the sources cited above, the Court (per Justice Menachem Elon) acquitted the appellant, stating that the principle of self-defense entitled him to act as he did, since his purpose was to prevent harm or injury to his own person and those of his friends (ibid., 157–158; for an extensive discussion of the ruling, see *Assault).

Application of Jewish Criminal Law in the Israeli Legal System

Justice Elon's reliance on Jewish law as a source for the interpretation of Israeli criminal law sparked a debate in the Supreme Court. The then President of the Court, J. Sussmann, while agreeing with Justice Elon's conclusion, wrote that "we cannot draw on Jewish law to help solve this problem. To be sure, Jewish law is a valuable cultural asset of our people, from which the legislator and the courts can both draw much inspiration. However, we are dealing with a specific directive in the realm of criminal law, which arose from a different source and has nothing in common with Jewish sources. I would be so bold as to question whether the application of Jewish criminal law would really be acceptable to the Israeli public. For example, would the majority of the Israeli public be prepared, in the year 1979, to execute an adulterous woman by stoning her, in accordance with Jewish law, or to execute the daughter of a priest by burning?" (p. 160 of the *Afanjar* decision, see above).

The answer to Justice Sussmann's question is that Jewish criminal law, as set out in the Torah, prescribes many death penalties for transgressions that no one would dream of punishing by death today. However, we must point out that even in Jewish law, *actual execution* of a capital sentence was considered a rare and extraordinary occurrence, to the point that capital punishment was almost never carried out (for an extensive discussion, see entry *Capital Punishment). As stated above, over the years the system of punishment in Jewish criminal law developed and adapted for its own use various means of dealing with the phenomena of criminal behavior, within the framework of the judicial autonomy that was granted to various Jewish communities. This development will be a subject for study and discussion in the context of applying the principles of Jewish law to the criminal system of Israeli law.

In the *Afanjar* case, the Court said as follows:

> As we have seen, the principle of protecting others involves concepts rooted in public policy and in a social and moral view of the duty to come to the aid of another person who is in danger of bodily injury … this is the view reflected in the sources of Jewish law, where the rule, "Do not stand idly by the blood of your fellow" constitutes a fundamental principle of Judaism. In my opinion, fundamental concepts founded on moral attitudes and cultural values should be interpreted in light of the moral and cultural heritage of Judaism…. In light of the Law and Administration Ordinance (Amendment) Law (no. 14), 1972, which abolished the interpretational subordination of the Criminal Code Ordinance to the laws of England, and in light of the Penal Law, 5737 – 1977, in which section 4 of the Criminal Code Ordinance, prescribing subordination, was repealed, we are certainly obliged to provide our own independent and original interpretation, in accordance with the specific circumstances of each and every case, of fundamental principles such as the one that is before us (p. 155).

On specific criminal offenses in Jewish law, see, *inter alia*, *Homicide, *Rape, *Theft and Robbery, and *Bribery. On particular punishment, see, *inter alia*, *Capital Punishment, *Divine Punishment, *Flogging, *Fines, *Imprisonment, *Ḥerem.

[Menachem Elon (2nd ed.)]

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PENINNAH (Heb. פְּנִנָּה; possibly "coral"), second wife of *Elkanah (I Sam. 1:1–2). Peninnah had sons and daughters, while *Hannah, Elkanah's first wife, was barren (1:2). In I Samuel 1, which deals with Samuel's birth, Peninnah plays a secondary role. She seems to have been her husband's less favored wife (cf. 1:5) and is portrayed as a rather unkind woman who made life difficult for Hannah, her rival (1:6–7).

In the *Aggadah*

The *aggadah* elaborates on the manner in which Peninnah taunted Hannah on account of her childlessness. Every morning she would mockingly ask whether Hannah had washed her sons' faces, and in the afternoon would sarcastically enquire when she expected them home from school (PR 43, 181b). According to one tradition, this cruelty had a righteous intent; Peninnah hoped thereby that she would encourage Hannah to pray for children (BB 18a; Mid. Ḥag. to Gen. 22:1). She was nevertheless ultimately punished. Two of her children died whenever Hannah gave birth; and she thus witnessed the death of eight of her ten children. The last two were spared solely as a result of Hannah's intercession with the Almighty on her behalf (PR, *ibid.*, 182a).

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PENN, ALEXANDER (1906–1972), Hebrew poet. Born in Nizhne-Kolymsk, Russia, he came under the influence of Mayakovski, Yesenin, and *Pasternak, and wrote poetry in Russian. In 1927 he settled in Palestine where he founded, together with Nathan Axelrod, the first film studio. In 1929, encouraged by A. *Shlonsky, he began to publish his poems which were mostly lyrical, inspired by the Israel landscape. He was also, however, a pioneer of the topical political *chanson*. His poems were published in *Ketuvim*, *Moznayim*, *Davar*, and *Turim*. According to his own testimony, 1934 was a turning point in his literary work, when he cut down on his lyrical poetry and devoted himself increasingly to poems of political and social message, which he published mainly in the Marxist press. From 1947 he served as editor of the literary and art supplement of the Communist daily, *Kol ha-Am*. A selection from his poetry was published in Russian translation in the Soviet Union (1965), the collection of translations from modern Hebrew poetry published in Russian in the Soviet Union. After the 1967 Six-Day War, Penn left Maki, the Israel Communist Party, because of its "nationalistic regression." A collection of his poems (*Beli Gag*), including an introduction by Uzi Shavit, was published in 1985. The poems and songs written by Penn were edited and published in two volumes in 2005.

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[Getzel Kressel]

PENN, ARTHUR (1922–), U.S. director, screenwriter, and producer. Born in Philadelphia, Penn spent most of his childhood in New York and New Hampshire with his mother. In high school, he returned to his hometown and began studying his father's watchmaking profession after graduating. His entertainment career began in 1943 when he enlisted in the Army and started performing in a theater troupe. Toward the end of the war, he decided to study acting at Black Mountain College in North Carolina and the Italian universities of Perugia and Florence. In 1948, he started working for the new NBC TV. At NBC, he wrote television plays and directed episodes of Goodyear Television Playhouse and Philco Playhouse, including William Gibson's *The Miracle Worker* for television (1956).

In 1958 Penn directed *The Miracle Worker* on Broadway, winning the Tony award, and also made his film debut directing *The Left-Handed Gun*. Penn returned to *The Miracle Worker* in 1962, directing the film version, which earned him a best director Oscar nomination. *Bonnie and Clyde* (1967) also earned Penn a best director nomination. Penn co-wrote *Alice's Restaurant* in 1969, based on Arlo Guthrie's recording, which earned him another best director nomination. *Little Big Man* (1970) was a commercial success. Penn later produced and directed *Penn & Teller Get Killed* (1989). In the 1990s, he directed two made-for-TV movies: *The Portrait* (1993) and *Inside* (1996). Other Penn films are *The Chase* (1965) with Robert Redford, *Night Moves* (1973), *The Missouri Breaks* (1976) with Marlon Brando, *Four Friends* (1981), *Target* (1985), and *Dead of Winter* (1987). Penn also turned to television, directing episodes and consulting on the show *100 Center Street* (2001). Penn's brother is the renowned photographer Irving *Penn.

[Susannah Howland (2nd ed.)]

PENN, IRVING (1917–), U.S. photographer. Born in Plainfield, N.J., Penn studied at the Philadelphia Museum School of Industrial Art, graduating in 1938. He is best known for his "aristocratic" fashion photography, but he is also a master of portraiture and still life. Originally a painter, Penn began working for *Vogue* magazine in 1943 and became one of America's most successful fashion photographers. His work was known for his cool, refined, and glamorously stylized images. Penn used plain backgrounds and natural light and was adept at capturing the essence of his sitter's personality. He photographed many of the world's most famous people and traveled worldwide to capture other human subjects. Many times his photographs were so ahead of their time that they came to be appreciated as important works years after their creation. A famous series of posed female nudes, from the normal to the plump, were shot in 1949–50 but were not seen until a few were exhibited in 1980. In 2002, 53 of them appeared in a solo exhibition at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York. By posing his subjects against a simple gray or white backdrop, to form a starkly acute corner, Penn was able to bring a sense of drama to his portraits, driving the viewer's focus onto the person and what the person's expression revealed. These subjects included Martha Graham, Marcel Duchamp, Georgia O'Keeffe, W.H. Auden, Igor Stravinsky, and Marlene Dietrich. Penn started his own studio in 1953. His photographs are always posed or arranged. He also photographed still-life objects, including found objects, with great detail, clarity, and unusual arrangements, and his work is part of every major museum photography collection. His favorite model, Swedish-born Lisa Fonssagrives (1911–1992), a world-famous dancer, fashion designer, photographer, and sculptor, was also his wife.

[Stewart Kampel (2nd ed.)]

PENN, JACK (1909–1996), South African plastic surgeon. Penn was born in Cape Town and studied at the University of Witwatersrand. He was appointed professor of plastic maxillo-facial surgery at the University of Witwatersrand, Johannesburg in 1944. During World War II he commanded the Brenthurst Military Hospital for Plastic Surgery in Johannesburg; as consultant to the Union Defence Force, he held the rank of brigadier.

In 1950 he resigned his professorship and opened a private clinic, which he also named Brenthurst Clinic. He was regarded as one of the world's leading plastic surgeons.

During the Israeli War of Independence and subsequently during the Sinai Campaign, the Six-Day War in 1967, and the Yom Kippur War of 1973 he brought a plastic surgery unit to Israel.

Penn was also a talented sculptor, and his sculptures include those of Ben-Gurion, Dayan, Smuts, Herzog, etc., and full-sized statues of the first white and first black registered nurses in S. Africa. After World War II he was invited by the Johannesburg government to treat the victims of the Hiroshima and Nagasaki atomic bombs, and initiated reconstructive surgery in Rhodesia, Mozambique, French Equatorial Africa, and Taiwan.

In 1980, Penn was appointed to the new President's Council by South African Prime Minister R.P.W. Botha.

His publications include *Brenthurst Papers, Letters to My Son* (1974), his autobiography *The Right to Look Human* (1974; 2nd ed., 1976), and *A Sense of Responsibility* (1978).

[Louis Isaac Rabinowitz]

PENN, SEAN (1960–), U.S. actor. Born in Burbank, California, Penn is the middle son of Catholic actress Eileen Ryan and Jewish actor/director Leo Penn, who was blacklisted during the McCarthy era for refusing to testify and later established himself as a director on shows such as *Columbo* and *Diagnosis: Murder*. A Santa Monica native, he spent his leisure time surfing, playing tennis, and watching movies. At 16, he began directing and starring in Super-8 films with his brother Chris. He graduated from Santa Monica High School in 1978 and worked as a technician and assistant to Pat Hingle at the Los Angeles Group Repertory Theater, studied acting with Peggy Feury at the Loft Studio, and had a few minor television roles. Leo Penn asked director Kenneth C. Gilbert to cast his son in a *Barnaby Jones* episode in 1979, which led to a part in the Broadway show *Heartland* (1981), another favor from a family friend. While the play only lasted three weeks, the experience convinced Penn to try out for *Taps* (1981), which in turn led to his break-out performance as Jeff Spicoli in *Fast Times at Ridgemont High* (1982). Penn married the pop star Madonna in 1985. They starred together in *Shanghai Surprise* (1986), a film that was critically panned. A drunken driving conviction while filming *Colors* (1988) led to a 60-day sentence in the Los Angeles County Jail, which he served out on weekends so as to not interfere with the production schedule. Penn divorced Madonna in 1989, the same year he earned praise for his portrayal of a conflicted and angry GI in the film *Casualties of War*. In 1991, Penn wrote and directed his first feature film, *The Indian Runner*, which was followed by *The Crossing Guard* (1995) and *11'09'01 – September 11* (2002). Highly praised performances in *Carlito's Way* (1993) and *Dead Man Walking* (1995) helped pave the way for his best actor win at the Cannes Film Festival for *She's So Lovely* (1997). Penn won both an Oscar and another Golden Globe for his role in *Mystic River* (2003). In 2005, Penn went on assignment to Iran to report for the *San Francisco Chronicle*.

[Adam Wills (2nd ed.)]

PENNSYLVANIA, one of the 13 original states of the U.S.; general population 12,283,000 (2001), Jewish population 282,000 (est.), 2.3% of the total. Pennsylvania has nearly 30 cities and towns numbering over 100 Jews each, nine of which have over 1,000. (Some of these communities include geographically larger areas than in earlier decades.) About 88% of the Jews live in either greater Philadelphia or Pittsburgh. Approximately 197 congregations existed in Pennsylvania in 2002. More than a dozen colleges offered majors in Jewish studies, and many more offered minors and courses. Jewish educational institutions included Gratz College, the Reconstructionist Rabbinical College, and the University of Pennsylvania's Center for Advanced Judaic Studies in *Philadelphia as well as Judaic Studies program at many of the major colleges.

Following the first permanent European settlement in Pennsylvania in 1643, the colony passed through Dutch (1655) and English (1664) rule until 1681, when William Penn acquired the territory. By 1656 New Amsterdam Jews traded along the Delaware River on Pennsylvania's eastern border, and by 1681 several Jews probably settled in the southeastern area. While most of these Jews were of Spanish-Portuguese origin, during the 18th century many came from Central Europe. Isaac Miranda (d. 1732) of Tuscany, a prominent Philadelphia landowner and public official, was the first Jew to settle in *Lancaster, where he died a convert to Christianity. His son George traded with the Shawnee Indians along the Allegheny River. By 1747 – when ten Jewish families lived in Lancaster – a cemetery was purchased by Isaac Nunez Ricus (Henriques) and Joseph *Simon, the leading merchant who had a trading outpost at Fort Pitt (later Pittsburgh). An early Jewish resident of Lancaster, Isaac Cohen, was Pennsylvania's first physician.

Jews settled at an early date in the port of Philadelphia, where many of them, such as the traders David *Franks and Nathan *Levy, engaged in shipping by the 1750s. Michael *Gratz arrived in 1759 from London and joined the mercantile enterprises of his brother Barnard. Franks, Levy, Andrew Levy, and Joseph Simon speculated in western land, suffering damages from Indian raids. Franks, Barnard Gratz, and Aaron *Levy were among the purchasers of land from the Illinois Indians in 1773. Levy became a landowner in nearly every county and founded Aaronsburg, which he named for himself, in 1786. Another early Jewish settlement was at Easton, north of Philadelphia on the Delaware. The merchant Myer Hart de Shira (Texeira) was among its founders, and by 1750 11 Jewish families lived there. Some lived in Reading from 1753 and in York from 1758. By the end of the American Revolution (1783), in which Jews played military and financial roles, about 800 Jews lived in the state. They enjoyed political rights, except that of membership in the General Assembly, although before the revolution David Franks (1748) and Benjamin *Cohen (1755) sat in that body. Rebecca Gratz founded the Hebrew Sunday School Society (1838) and other organizations in Philadelphia.

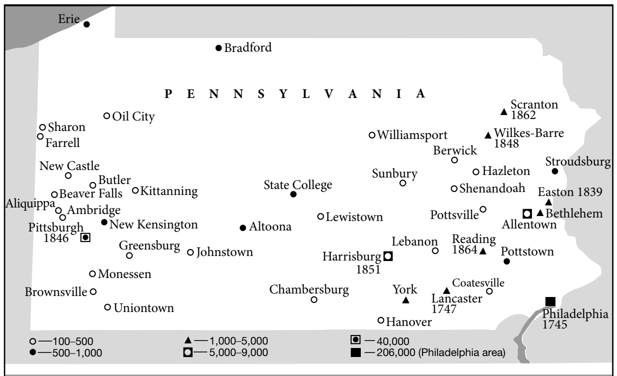

Total Jewish population of Pennsylvania	282,000
% of Jews in general population of Pennsylvania	2.3
% of Pennsylvania Jews in Jewish population of U.S.	4.58

[1] Includes Bensalem Township, Bristol, Langhorne, Levittown, New Hope, Newtown, Penndel, Warrington, and Yardley.

Jewish communities in Pennsylvania and dates of establishment. Population figures for 2001.

There were many areas of the state in which few Jews lived until numbers of German Jews arrived after 1825. Jews arrived in Pittsburgh, Reading, Pottsville, and Wilkes-Barre during the 1830s, in Harrisburg, *Scranton, Erie, and Allentown during the 1840s, in Honesdale from 1849, and in Hazelton, Altoona, and Uniontown during the 1860s. In some of these areas, real communities did not emerge for decades. In Lancaster, where Jews had lived during the colonial and early federal eras, a new community was not re-established until the latter part of the 19th century. In Harrisburg, the first congregation formed in 1853. In Hazelton, a traditional synagogue opened in 1893, and a second Reform congregation in 1906. Women played a leading role in organizing social welfare and educational organizations.

There were only nine congregations in Pennsylvania in 1856, which grew by 1877 to 26 for approximately 17,000 Jews. Daughters of Israel, the first national Jewish women's organization, was founded in Pittsburgh in 1872. Between 1889 and 1910 over 100,000 East European Jews immigrated to the state, so that by 1917 there were 320,000 Jews. New Jewish communities arose in Bethlehem, Greensburg, Johnstown, McKeesport, Mt. Carmel, New Kensington, Shamokin, Sharon, Sunbury, and Washington during the 1880s, and in Braddock and West Chester during the next decade. By 1927 there were 405,000 Jews, the number growing moderately thereafter. In 1970, the estimated Jewish population of the state was 444,000, after which it declined. Most Jews settled in large cities, but many settled in the state's numerous mining and industrial towns. Though many began as blue-collar workers, most established themselves as merchants, serving immigrant industrial workers.

Several demographic and occupational trends influenced Jewish communities. As early as the 1920s, children raised in smaller towns tended to move to cities with larger Jewish populations. Particularly after World War II, both boys and girls were encouraged to pursue higher education and often did not return to the small family businesses. The children of merchants relocated to larger cities and to other regions of the country. Thus many smaller towns included only one or two generations of a family. Braddock, an extreme example, a mill town near Pittsburgh, was estimated to have 1,350 Jews in 1942 and 250 in 1975. Hazelton, estimated to have 1,700 Jews in 1942, had 900 in 1974, and 300 in 2004. In Johnstown, where the estimated Jewish population declined from 1,350 in 1942 to 980 in 1974, had 275 in 2004, three congregations had merged into one by 1976. The Jewish populations of these towns continued to decline.

Medium-sized communities such as Allentown and Harrisburg, with more diverse economic possibilities, often grew or were stable in the decades following 1950. Although some cities, such as Scranton, declined in Jewish population, other communities expanded. Harrisburg opened a Jewish Community Center in 1958 and a home for the aged in 1977. These medium-sized communities were usually large enough to sustain a variety of congregations, a day school, and a Jewish community center.

In addition, from the mid-1950s Jews tended to move from the large cities to developing suburbs. Thus, many Jews left Philadelphia for the western, northeastern, and northwestern suburbs of the city. On the other hand, Pittsburgh, second in size and importance to Philadelphia, was suburbanized very little.

Some small towns with Jewish communities founded by Jewish workers and merchants and their families became part of growing suburban or exurban communities. Coatesville, a declining community about 40 miles (64 km) from Philadelphia (estimated Jewish population 305 in 1975), by the 1980s had a shrinking Conservative congregation, Beth Israel, founded in 1916. In 1994 they relocated to Uwchland (about 10 miles or 16 km away) in an exurban area, growing significantly as a result. The small Chester County Jewish federation and three other suburban county federations became regions of the Jewish Federation of Greater Philadelphia by the early 1990s. In a small town in Delaware County, Beth Israel of Media, a formerly Orthodox congregation founded in 1929, was in decline when it joined the Reconstructionist movement in 1972. With new leadership, the congregation grew as suburban Philadelphia expanded, opening a new building in 1997 in Media.

A final demographic trend was the movement of Jews from the northeastern states to the Sunbelt, particularly California and Florida. Pennsylvania Jewish population declined significantly after 1970, despite significant immigration from the Soviet Union and its successor states.

By the 1990s 30 colleges offered courses in Jewish studies. In 1994, 29,000 Jewish students were estimated to be studying in Pennsylvania colleges. By 2005, many colleges had active Hillels or Jewish student centers, among them the University of Pennsylvania, Pennsylvania State University, Dickinson, Lehigh, Muhlenberg, Bucknell, Temple, and the University of Pittsburgh and Carnegie-Mellon University, which shared a joint Hillel.

Jewish communal life centralized during the 20th century, and Jewish welfare federations were organized in Allentown (1948), Altoona (1920), Butler (1938), Easton (1939), Erie (1946), Harrisburg (1933), Johnstown (1938), Lancaster (1928), Levittown (1956), New Castle and Norristown (1936), Philadelphia (1901), Pittsburgh (1912), Pottsville (1935), Reading (1935), Scranton (1945), Sharon (1940), Uniontown (1939), Wilkes-Barre (1935), and York (1928). Most federations in communities with fewer than 1,000 Jews were no longer functioning in 2004. Jewish federations in the largest cities joined to create a representative office in Harrisburg, the Pennsylvania Jewish Coalition, in 1981. In 2005, Jewish newspapers were published in Philadelphia and Pittsburgh.

Pennsylvania played a major role in Jewish camping in the 20th century. Camp Emma Farm opened near Pittsburgh in 1908, eventually becoming Camp Emma Kaufman, affiliated with the local Jewish Community Center. Jewish summer camps under a wide range of religious and community sponsorship operated in northeast Pennsylvania in the Poconos. Many were established in the decade and a half after World War II, including Camp Ramah (Conservative), B'nai B'rith Perlman camp, Camp Harlam (Reform), and camps serving Jewish community centers in New Jersey and New York as well as Pennsylvania. At the Habonim (Labor Zionist) movement's Camp Galil in Bucks County, explosives were hidden in 1947 before being smuggled to the Haganah in Palestine.

A number of Jews with Pennsylvania backgrounds achieved national or international prominence. Binyamin Netanyahu (later prime minister of Israel) and his brother Yonatan (killed in the Israeli raid at Entebbe in 1976) both attended Cheltenham High School outside Philadelphia while their father was teaching in the U.S. Both Sandy Eisenberg Sasso, the first woman Reconstructionist rabbi, and Amy Eilberg, the first woman Conservative rabbi, were from the Philadelphia area.

Jews in Pennsylvania have held high federal, state, and local offices. Representatives in the U.S. Congress have included: Lewis Charles Levin (1845–51), Henry M. Phillips (1857–59), Myer Strouse (1863–67), Benjamin Golder (1925–33), Henry Ellenbogen (1933–38), Leon Sacks (1937–43), Samuel A. Weiss (1941–46), Earl Chudoff (1949–58), Herman Toll (1959–67) Marc Lincoln Marks (1977–1983), Joshua Eilberg (1967–79), Marjorie Margolies-Mezvinzky (1993–95), Jon Fox (1995–99), and Allyson Y. Schwartz (2005–). Milton *Shapp served as governor from 1971 to 1979. During this time he campaigned for the Democratic nomination for president (1976.) Edward Rendell, former mayor of Philadelphia and former national chair of the Democratic Party, became governor in 2003. Jews served in the state cabinet from the 1920s. Alice Liveright was secretary of welfare from 1931 to 1935. Michael Masch, a former Philadelphia budget director, was appointed in 2003 as secretary of budget and administration, the state's chief operating officer. Arlen Specter was U.S. Senator from 1981, eventually chairing the Judiciary committee. In 1996, Specter briefly campaigned for the Republican nomination for president. Horace Stern, a State Supreme Court justice from 1936, was chief justice from 1952 to 1956. Sandra Shultz Newman was the first woman elected to that court (1995–). Norma Levy Shapiro was the first woman appointed to the U.S. Third District Court in 1978, serving until 1998. Sophie Masloff was mayor of Pittsburgh from 1988 to 1991. Herbert Fineman, Democrat from Philadelphia, served as speaker of the state House of Representatives from 1969 to 73 and in 1975–77. Robert C. Jubelirer, a Republican from Altoona, was president pro tempore of the state senate from 1985 to 1992 and 1994– .

The estimated Jewish population (2004) of the following communities (including suburbs or surrounding areas) was Philadelphia – 206,000; Pittsburgh – 42,200; Lehigh Valley (including Allentown) – 8,500; Harrisburg – 7,000; Scranton – 3,100; Wilkes-Barre – 3,000; Lancaster – 3,000; Reading – 2,200; York – 1,800; Erie – 850; State College – 700; Pottstown – 650; Stroudsburg, 600; Altoona – 575; Wayne County (including Honesdale) – 500; Lebanon – 350; Hazleton – 300; Sharon – 300; Johnstown – 275; Butler – 250; Williamsport – 225; New Castle – 200; Sunbury (including Shamokin) – 200.

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[Edward L. Greenstein / Robert P. Tabak (2nd ed.)]

PENSO DE LA VEGA, JOSEPH (1650–1692), *Marrano writer and merchant. Joseph was born in Amsterdam. His father Isaac Penso Felix, a native of Espejo, Spain, had been imprisoned by the *Inquisition in Spain, and supposedly vowed to embrace Judaism openly within a year of his release. When freed he fled with his family to Antwerp and then to Amsterdam, and formally returned to Judaism at Middleburg. A charitable man, Isaac was said to have distributed 80,000 guldens as tithes from his profits.

Joseph Penso spent a short period in Leghorn, but lived mainly in Amsterdam, where he was a member of several literary academies and produced many and varied works. Besides funeral orations, wedding verses, and similar occasional pieces, he claimed to have written more than 200 epistles to different European statesmen. One of his earliest efforts was a Hebrew drama, *Asirei ha-Tikvah* (Amsterdam, 1673), an allegorical depiction of the victory of the will over the passions.

His Spanish books, all published in Amsterdam, include the *Triunfos del Aguila* (1683), on the relief of Vienna by John Sobieski; *Retrato de la Prudencia* (1690), which eulogized William of Orange when he became king of England; a collection of *Discursos académicos, morales, retóricos y sagrados* (1685), which he delivered at the Academia de los Floridos in Amsterdam; and *Rumbos Peligrosos* (1684), containing three short novels. These works, particularly the last named, enjoyed considerable vogue, but suffer the defects of the period: excessive display of erudition, digressions, and baroque floridness. One of his outstanding works is *Confusión de Confusiones* (1688), the first book to treat the workings of the stock exchange. It is still considered one of the best descriptions of dealings in stocks and shares. In the form of four dialogues between a "fastidious philosopher," a "prudent merchant," and an "erudite stockholder," Penso explains what stocks are, how they are bought and sold, the use of options, speculative maneuvers, and so on, and describes the operations of the Dutch trading companies. In spite of its serious subject, the work is enlivened by whimsical explanations of the origins of this kind of dealing and ironic descriptions of the bourse, of Amsterdam's coffee houses, and of the life of stock traders. Selections of it were translated into English by H. Kellenbenz and published under the same title in 1957.

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[Kenneth R. Scholberg]

PENTATEUCH.

This article is arranged according to the following outline:

INTRODUCTION
- **Definition**
- **Outline**
- **Special Place in the Hebrew Bible, Judaism, and Biblical Scholarship**

CONTENTS AND STRUCTURE
- **The Primeval History**
- **The Patriarchs**
- **The Exodus**

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INTRODUCTION

Definition

The first five books of the Hebrew Bible are known as the Torah, the Five Books of Moses, and also as the Pentateuch, from the Greek *pentateuchos*, meaning five scrolls. Traditional Judaism refers to it as the *ḥummash*, another form of the number five. The original Pentateuch is written in Hebrew, with each book bearing an ancient Hebrew title derived from its incipit: *Bereshit*, *Shemot*, *va-Yikra*, *Be-Midbar*, and *Devarim*. The Septuagint translators gave the texts the Greek names of Genesis, Exodos, Leviticon, Arithmoi, and Deuteronomion, which in turn influenced the more commonly used names of Latin derivation: Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, and Deuteronomy.

Outline

Although many older individual literary narratives are extant from Mesopotamia and Egypt, the Pentateuch is a unique literary creation in two ways. First, it combines prose, poetry, and law in developing its story-line. Second, it begins with a description of the creation of the universe and ends with the death of Moses. Thus, unlike myths of gods and heroes, or lists of kings and the lengths of their reigns, the stories of the Torah are arranged chronologically to detail the development and movement of a people over time. As such, it is the first history-writing on earth.

The book of Genesis describes creation, the destruction via the flood, and the subsequent re-population of the world. It explores the theme of relations between the God YHWH and humanity in the world that the deity has created. God makes a covenant with all humankind through its common ancestor Noah, promising the security of the cosmos. Then the focus narrows to the family of the patriarchs, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, with whom God makes a second covenant promising protection, prosperity, progeny, and property. Originally from Mesopotamia, they settle in Canaan, and then make their way to Egypt, where their descendants, the Israelites, are enslaved. In Exodus, YHWH makes himself known in the world beyond the Israelites through a series of miracles, introduced by their leader Moses, that both demonstrate this God's control of the forces of nature and succeed in pressuring the Egyptians to release the Israelites from bondage. YHWH then makes a third covenant with Israel, the text of which is the Ten Commandments, during a revelation at Mount Sinai, also known as Horeb. YHWH also gives laws by which they are instructed to live, and YHWH gives instructions for building a Tabernacle, which will be the location of future revelations and will house the ark, containing the tablets of the covenant. Leviticus then is different in that it contains few stories but provides more laws regarding the moral and ritual behavior of the people, from commandments about holidays, sacrifices, and purity to the commandment to love one's fellow human beings as oneself. Numbers details their journey in the wilderness for 40 years with the ultimate goal of moving back to Canaan and claiming it as their own land, to be known as Israel. In Deuteronomy Moses addresses the Israelites in a speech in which he reviews their history and exhorts them to keep their covenant with God. The book, and the Torah, end as Moses concludes his farewell address and dies within sight of the promised land.

Special Place in the Hebrew Bible, Judaism, and Biblical Scholarship

The Torah has a singular status in relation to the rest of the Hebrew Bible. First, the events it narrates are central to and assumed by the remaining biblical books. Second, many other biblical books refer to it or allude to passages in it. The Torah also holds a special place in Jewish tradition because of the significance of the events it describes and because of the law contained in it that became normative within Judaism. This special status has continued in modern biblical scholarship in that the questions raised concerning its history and authorship form the foundation for the historical development of the field.

CONTENTS AND STRUCTURE

The story detailed in the Torah can be divided into six major parts:

1. The primeval history (Genesis 1–11)
2. The patriarchs (Genesis 12–50)

3. The Exodus from Egypt (Exodus 1:1–15:21; interim: 15:22–16:36)

4. Sinai/Horeb covenant and laws (Exodus 17–40; Leviticus)

5. The journey (Numbers)

6. Moses' farewell (Deuteronomy)

These parts are not entirely discrete: for example, Exodus 15:22–16:36 fit neither the Egypt nor the Sinai sections, but rather describe events of the journey between the two settings. Additionally, it is possible to place Numbers 1–10 in the Sinai/Horeb section, since it describes preparations at the mountain for the upcoming journey, or to connect Exodus 16–18 to the Exodus section since it precedes the arrival at Sinai. However, such variations are minor and do not undermine the basic division of the Pentateuch into six major parts.

The Primeval History

The primeval history provides etiologies for the state of the world and how it came to be that way. It sets up literary themes and historical backgrounds that demonstrate the worldview of the Israelite authors who produced it. It also provides basic descriptions of YHWH; who God is, how and why God acts, and the power God has to create and act upon his creation. This power is always present in the background of Pentateuchal narrative, and it occasionally moves into the foreground, manifesting itself in extraordinary acts of God in human history.

The Torah begins with the creation of the universe and everything in it. Upon completion, God rests, seeing that the creation is "very good." That is: the initial state of creation is pictured as positive. The story of the Garden of Eden sets a major theme for the remainder of the Primeval History, one that endures really throughout the Hebrew Bible: the development of the relationship between God and humanity. God creates humans to tend the garden and commands obedience. The humans disobey. The basic conflict established between God's commandments and humanity's disobedience is a fundamental theme in the remainder of the biblical narrative, and it raises issues of God's justice and the divine ability and propensity for punishment, but it also demonstrates God's compassion, mercy, and forgiveness. The knowledge of good and bad acquired in the Garden of Eden comes at the price of labor, pain, a hostile environment, and mortality. Adam and Eve are exiled from the garden. The competition between their children for God's favor is followed by the murder of Abel by Cain. Over the generations, the essential goodness of creation becomes corrupted by humanity to the point that "YHWH saw that human bad was great in the earth" (Gen. 6:5) and the deity decides to wipe out all life on earth as a result. He plans to repopulate the earth from the descendants of Noah, the most righteous man in his generation. God's great flood devastates the earth, after which God covenants with Noah never again to dismantle the creation via the waters that surround the habitable earth. This is the first of three covenants that frame the Pentateuch's history, and the sign of this covenant is the rainbow in the sky.

But the corruption of humans and their fundamental disobedience continue. The conflicts between men are illustrated in the story of Noah and his son Ham, and conflicts with God result in the dispersion of humans from Babylon (also called "Babel") and their separation from one another by the birth of different languages.

The Patriarchs

The focus narrows considerably in this next section. The man who is to become the patriarch of Israel and other nations, Abraham, is introduced. Favored with a revelation from YHWH, Abraham is instructed to migrate from Mesopotamia to Canaan. There God makes a covenant that promises Abraham protection, offspring, land, and wealth. The sign of the covenant is circumcision. Implied is the demand on Abraham's part for loyalty and complete obedience to YHWH. The basic theme of divine commandment and human obedience is further explored as Abraham, willing to sacrifice his son Isaac at God's command, passes the deity's test, but other members of his extended family who are not obedient to God's word, such as Lot's wife, are punished for it.

YHWH renews the covenant with Isaac, and then with Jacob. Jacob is a complicated, fairly well-developed character. His name means "supplanter," and it is his brother Esau whom he supplants as he buys Esau's birthright and then tricks his father Isaac into bestowing the blessing of the preeminent son on him rather than on Esau. Jacob is deceived in turn by his father-in-law Laban, and then by Jacob's own sons in the disappearance of his favorite son, Joseph. He himself ceases to be the deceiver after wrestling with "a man" whom Jacob understands to have been God himself as he exclaims, "I have seen God face to face." As a result of the encounter, Jacob's name is changed to Israel, which the biblical author takes to mean "struggles with God," explaining "for you have struggled with God and with men and you have prevailed." This new moniker reflects Jacob's own struggles with God, but it also points to the future clashes of Jacob's descendants, the children of Israel, with their God.

After Jacob, all future covenant renewals will be made between God and the children of Israel, the Israelites as a whole. Also, the portrayal of Jacob in the text changes; after he is named "Israel," Jacob slowly becomes a more passive character, a stark contrast to the protagonist he had been from the time of his birth.

The narratives of the patriarchs end with the story of Joseph's rise to power in Egypt and the migration of Israel/Jacob and the family to Egypt. They are the heirs of a covenant promising them nationhood, a land, and a relationship with YHWH, and their return to Canaan is foreshadowed by Joseph's request to have his bones preserved and brought back with the Israelites for re-burial in Canaan.

The Exodus

The descendants of Jacob are slaves in Egypt, and YHWH remembers the covenant with them and acts to free them. The

Exodus is not simply a story of liberation from slavery, however. There are three interdependent themes that play out in this story and through the remainder of the Torah's narrative. First is the forging of a nation out of the descendants of Jacob, the "children of Israel." As they move from slavery to freedom, they will receive the laws that bind them together as a nation and that also bind them in a covenant with their God. The second theme is the revelation of this God beyond the Israelites to the entire world. YHWH successfully challenges the greatest nation on earth, Egypt, overwhelming it with a series of miraculous events – including ten plagues and the parting of the Red Sea – that culminate in the liberation of their Israelite slaves. In so doing, God makes Himself known to the entire world, demonstrating His mastery over all of the forces of nature and thereby over all of the Egyptian gods. The third theme focuses on the person of Moses, the man chosen to represent YHWH to Pharaoh and to the Israelites. Moses is pictured as a reluctant hero, a man who does not wholly belong to either the heavenly or the earthly realms and is tragically doomed to try to reconcile the two. He encounters YHWH at a burning bush and is given a mission he does not want, despite the enormous power YHWH has granted to him over the forces of nature. Moses returns to Egypt to free his people, a rebellious and unhappy community of slaves who complain to him and about him. Yet Moses defends them to YHWH when God loses patience with their rebelliousness. The struggles between God and humans reach a peak during the forty-year period of wandering in the desert, begun in the book of Exodus but detailed further in Numbers.

Sinai/Horeb Covenant and Laws

These three themes introduced in the Exodus story are continued and further interwoven in this, the largest unit of the Torah. After liberation from Egypt, the Israelites are brought to Sinai/Horeb, where YHWH speaks aloud to all of them from inside a fire on the mountain, detailing their responsibilities in the maintenance of the covenant relationship God has forged with them. Up to this point, YHWH has dictated only the terms of the covenant pertaining to divine commitment to humans. The covenant with the patriarchs in Genesis had been specific only with reference to YHWH's promises to the descendants of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. During the revelation at Sinai, YHWH specifies and thereby limits the human responsibilities and obligations required in return for the divine promises.

The Decalogue forms the basis of this third major covenant of the Torah, the Israelite covenant (also known as the Mosaic covenant or the Sinai covenant). YHWH roots it in the historical act of salvation of the Israelites from slavery, and details the specific ritual and ethical injunctions by which the Israelites are to live. The first four commandments are ritual ones; that is, they pertain to the relations between humans and God. The last six are ethical laws; they pertain to relations between humans and their fellow human beings. Thus the two basic themes of the book of Genesis, relations between God and humans, and relations among humans on earth, are formally engaged.

The Ten Commandments in Exodus 20 are followed by the Covenant Code, a corpus of law in Exodus 21–23. The entire book of Leviticus further elaborates the details of these and other laws pertaining to the two categories, ritual and ethical, apparent in the Ten Commandments. Ritual laws are concerned with priests, purity, sacrifice, holidays, dietary rules, and apostasy. Pervading much of the ritual law is a concept of distinction: between pure and impure, holy and secular, permitted and forbidden. Ethical laws govern behavior among humans and include economic laws, laws of sexual relations, rules of courts and justice, injuries, and general issues of how one should treat one's fellow human being.

In the Torah, the concept of covenant binds the legal and narrative texts together. *Law is always given within a context of history.* The laws are backgrounded by YHWH's historical act of salvation from slavery, the covenants that God has kept with their forefathers, and future promises of the Israelites' well-being in the land that God will give them.

In this section, the ark, the Tabernacle, the priesthood, and the Sabbath are all associated with knowledge of YHWH, and the book of Exodus culminates in the Tabernacle's consecration. All are tangible ways by which the Israelites will be aware of the presence of YHWH, and all are signs that they have been chosen to be YHWH's people, and YHWH will be their God. The keeping of the Sabbath is the sign of the Israelite covenant. The priesthood is bestowed upon Aaron, Moses' Levite brother, and upon Aaron's male descendants.

The narrative further explores Moses' role as prophet, caught between the world of God and the world of humans. Moses' role is to represent the people to YHWH, and YHWH to the people, receiving the full impact of the complaints of each about the other. This peaks in the golden calf story, in which Moses successfully pleads with God not to destroy the rebellious nation but then himself unleashes his anger and punishment on them.

The Journey

The themes of the Exodus culminate in this fifth section, the journey from Sinai/Horeb to the promised land. In a series of seemingly unrelated episodes, the themes of nationhood, the revelation of YHWH, and the character of Moses are further developed and serve to unify the individual stories contained in the book of Numbers. A major concern for the journey is the purity of the camp; the nation among whom YHWH dwells must be a holy one. And YHWH does dwell in the camp. God's closeness to the people is demonstrated on a daily basis, as they are led personally by YHWH via a pillar of cloud by day, a pillar of fire by night. When they are hungry, their God feeds them with the miraculous appearance of manna. When they complain about the manna, their God brings them quail. When they are thirsty, their God makes water come from a rock. And yet, despite this extreme closeness – or perhaps, as a result of it – the humans' rebelliousness reaches its zenith.

Moses declares himself unable to bear the burden of the entire nation alone, and YHWH extends prophetic ability to others. But Moses' singular, albeit lonely and difficult, prophetic status is confirmed by YHWH Himself in the story of Miriam's leprosy, in which Miriam and Aaron challenge Moses saying, "Hasn't God spoken through us too?!" And the people, too, convey Moses' singular status when they reject him as leader in the story of the scouts who bring back a mixed report of the promised land. Fear of the residents of the land prompt the Israelites to try to replace Moses with a new leader and return to Egypt. YHWH threatens to destroy them and start over with Moses' own descendants. Moses reminds YHWH of his own declaration of mercy and compassion, and once again the impossibility of standing between humans and God is illustrated in the figure of Moses. As a result of their fear and rebelliousness, YHWH condemns the generation of former slaves to die in the wilderness as they travel for 40 years. Their children, born in freedom, will be the ones to take possession of the land.

As a result, Korah, Dathan, and Abiram accuse Moses and Aaron of failing to bring them to the land, and they charge Moses specifically with raising himself above the people, who are all holy. YHWH eliminates the rebels with fire and earthquake, and confirms the special holiness of the Levites, and especially of Aaron, by causing Aaron's rod to blossom. The rod is to be saved in the tabernacle "as a sign to rebels." Moses, however, takes the rod and strikes it against a rock to bring water for the continually complaining and rebellious Israelites. As a result, in the greatest tragedy of the Torah, Moses unwittingly aligns himself with the rebellious human community, and is condemned to die along with them without setting foot in the promised land.

The themes of rebellious humans and Moses' special status continue in the remaining stories in the book of Numbers. The book ends with a confirmation that the older generation has died out and with accounts relating to the acquisition of land east of the Jordan River and distribution of the land that the next generation will possess on the other side of that river.

Moses' Farewell

The book of Deuteronomy presents a speech by Moses to the people as they stand on the plains of Moab, east of the Jordan River, preparing to enter the promised land. Moses summarizes the events from Exodus through Numbers, dwelling particularly on the history of his and the people's experience in the journey from slavery to freedom. He also gives them another corpus of laws (Deut. 12–26).

Moses' speech centers on the theme of covenant, warning the people of their tendency to rebellion, and reminding them that success in their new land depends on their fulfillment of the covenant forged with YHWH at Sinai. In other words, the people have a choice, and a fundamental role in how their destiny as a nation will play out. They can choose to abide by the terms of the covenant and thereby ensure their well-being and longevity in the land, or they can choose to reject their covenantal obligations, in which case they will bear the responsibility for their national destruction. Moses details the blessings that will flow from YHWH to the people for keeping the covenant, and the curses entailed in breaking it.

Moses writes "this *torah*" in a book and gives it to the Levites, who are to keep it beside the ark and read it publicly. Then he designates Joshua as his successor, and he blesses the people. He climbs a mountain overlooking the promised land, sees it, and dies.

Thus the Pentateuch ends with a summary of the preceding sections and a recapitulation of the major themes. The emphasis throughout the prose, poetry, and law of Deuteronomy is on the theme of covenant, which serves to bind and unify all of the previous themes pertaining to the relations between God and humans.

THE AUTHORS

Jews traditionally viewed the Torah as a unified document, revealed by God to Moses. The Torah itself does not say this; but Deuteronomy 31:9, 24–26 report that Moses writes "this *torah*" on a scroll, and this was taken to mean that the full Pentateuch had been recorded by Moses. The account of the first time that the Torah of Moses was read publicly also was taken to mean that, on the death of Moses, the whole of the Pentateuch was complete, having been divinely revealed (Ezra 3:2; 7:6; Neh. 1:7–9; 8:1, 14; 9:14; 10:30; 13:1). Rabbinic commentators through the centuries noted problems in the text that raised questions about Mosaic authorship, but through interpretation and elaboration they sought to reconcile the contradictions, reacting strongly against those who denied the unity of the Five Books. As a fundamental principle of Jewish faith, Maimonides stated that "the whole of the Torah found in our hands this day is the Torah that was handed down by Moses and that is all of divine origin" (commentary to Sanh. 10 (11):1).

From the 11th to the 21st centuries, however, scholars have been expressing doubts about Mosaic authorship. At present, except for Orthodox Jews and fundamentalist Christians who believe in Mosaic authorship as a matter of faith, no scholar on earth holds that Moses – or any one person – was the recorder of the Torah. This is not an issue of divine versus human composition. It has nothing to do with whether the Torah was dictated, revealed, or inspired by God. It rather concerns the persons who wrote it down: who they were, and when they lived. Scholars still debate the number of authors and when they wrote the texts, but the evidence rules out a single author. What made the evidence so compelling was the convergence of numerous independent lines of evidence, several of which remain unchallenged.

Doublets and Terminology

These began with the convergence of two lines of evidence: doublets and terminology. Doublets are two variations of a story: the Torah has two accounts of creation (Gen. 1:1–2:3 and 2:4–24), two accounts of the covenant with Abraham (Genesis 15 and 17), and two accounts of Moses getting water from a rock at Meriba (Exodus 17 and Numbers 20). It is possible for doublets to occur in a single-author work, but the number of doublets in the Torah is so large that it indicates a more complex compositional history. There are more than 15 in Genesis alone, besides creation and the Abrahamic covenant. They include:

The Genealogy from Adam. Gen. 4:1–2, 17–26; and 5:1–28, 30–32

The flood. Gen. 6:5–8; 7:1–5, 7, 10, 12, 16b–20, 22–23; 8:2b–3a, 6, 8–12, 13b, 20–22; and 6:9–22; 7:8–9, 11, 13–16a, 21, 24; 8:1–2a, 3b–5, 7, 13a, 14–19; 9:1–17

Abraham's move from Mesopotamia to Canaan. Gen. 12:1–4a; and 12:4b–5

Abraham tells a king that his wife is his sister. Gen. 12:10–20; and 20:1–18; and 26:6–14 (this is a triplet)

Abraham and Lot part. Gen. 13:5, 7–11a, 12b–14; and 13:6, 11b–12a

Hagar and Ishmael. Gen. 16:1–2, 4–14; and 16:3, 5–16; and 21:8–19 (a triplet)

The prophecy that Isaac will be born. Gen. 17:16–19; and 18:10–14

The naming of Beer Sheba. Gen. 21:22–31; and 26:15–33

Jacob and Esau, and Jacob's move to Mesopotamia. Gen. 26:34–35; 27:46; 28:1–9; and 27:1–45; 28:10

Jacob at Beth-El. Gen. 28:10, 11a, 13–16, 19; and 28:11b–12, 17–18, 20–22; and 35:9–15 (a triplet)

Jacob's children. Gen. 29:32–35; 30:1–24; 35:16–20; and Gen. 35:23–26

The change of Jacob's name to Israel. Gen. 32:25–33; and 35:9–10

Joseph is taken to Egypt. Gen. 37:2b, 3b, 5–11, 19–20, 23, 25b–27, 28b, 31–35; 39:1; and 37:3a, 4,12–18, 21–22, 24, 25a, 28a, 29–30

It is not just that the number of doublets is large. It was observed that when each pair of doublet stories is separated, one of the stories refers to the deity as God (Hebrew *El* or *Elohim*) while the other refers to the deity by the proper name YHWH. Moreover, it was observed that this distinction continues in the Torah up to the moment that God reveals this proper name to Moses (Ex. 3:13–15), and then it stops. This was evidence that there were at least two sources that had been used in the Torah, one that said that God's proper name was not known until the generation of Moses, and one that pictured the divine name as known from the early generations of humans. Works describing this phenomenon often speak of the sources as having "different names of God," but that is not correct. Any work of literature or history might use different names for the same person. The phenomenon here is much stronger. It is that different works had different ideas of when God made the divine name YHWH known to humankind.

These source texts came to be known by the symbols E (for the text that referred to God as Elohim until Moses) and J (for the text that referred to God by the name YHWH, which was spelled *Jahwe* by the German scholars who first outlined this). Additionally, a third source was identified that followed the same pattern as E, stating definitively that God's name was not known until the time of Moses (Ex. 6:3). This source came to be known as P (the Priestly source). And a fourth source was observed to underlie the book of Deuteronomy. It is written in an entirely different, easily identifiable character and vocabulary. It contains doublets of the first four books as well as contradictions of detail. This source is known as D.

In addition, it has recently been recognized that the J source never uses the word God (Elohim) in narration. Persons in J use it in speech, but the narrator never once uses the word. This reinforces the evidence concerning the divine name with notable consistency. Specifically: the words El, Elohim, and YHWH occur over 2,000 times in the Torah, and the number of exceptions (where the wrong term occurs in a source) is only three.

The convergence of the two lines of evidence – doublets and the divine name – are reinforced by other terms, phrases, and names that occur only in particular sources but not in others. For example, we can cite the following:

(a) The phrase "gathered to his people" occurs only in P (11 times) and never in the other sources. Likewise the phrase "and he [or they] fell on his face" (eight times), the phrase "be fruitful and multiply" (12 times), the term "to expire" (*gw'* – 11 times), and the word "congregation" (Hebrew *'edâ* – more than 100 times) occur exclusively in P. Conversely, there are words used throughout the other sources of the Torah that *never* occur in P, such as: *rhm* (mercy/merciful); *hnn* (grace/gracious); *swb* (repent/repentance); and *hsd* (faithfulness).

(b) Meanwhile, the term "to know" as a euphemism for having sexual intercourse occurs only in J (five times) and never in the other sources. Likewise the name Sheol (six times) and the term "to suffer" (Hebrew *'sb* – seven times) occur exclusively in J.

(c) The name of the mountain where Moses leads Israel is named Sinai in J and P (20 times), but it is Horeb or "the Mountain of God" in E and D (14 times).

There are at least 25 of these characteristic terms, occurring over 500 times in the Torah. This is far too many to be just the result of clever scholars arranging their source identifications so that the right words will always show up in the right verses. Thus the evidence of doublets and different terminology converge towards a common explanation.

Narrative Flow

The source identifications are confirmed by another body of evidence: continuity of texts. It is possible to divide the sources with all of the doublets separated, with the divine name occurring consistently within the source texts, and with the characteristic terms and phrases likewise falling consistently in their sources – and then one can read the sources as complete, continuous texts, The P text flows as a continuous narrative, regularly picking up where it left off once the intervening J and E material are removed. The combined text of J and E likewise flows with hardly a gap when intervening material is removed (see below). One can read each of these texts as a nearly complete work. For example, when the J and P flood stories are separated, each flows as a continuous story without gaps, repetitions, or contradictions. Likewise, P's story of Korah's rebellion against Moses flows as a complete story when separated from J's story, also complete, of Dathan's and Abiram's rebellion. Either can be read as a continuous story (J = Num.16:1b–2a, 12–14, 25–26, 27b–32a, 33–34. P = 1a, 2b–11, 15–24, 27a, 32b, 35), and the two clauses that merge the stories and thus break the flow (Num. 16:24, 27) are editorial additions (confirmed by the fact that they do not occur in the Septuagint). The stories of Hagar and Ishmael (J = Gen. 16:1–2, 4–14. P = 16:3, 15–16), Jacob and Esau (J = Gen. 25:21–34; 27:1–45; 28:10. P = 26:34–35; 27:46; 28:1–9), the Red Sea (J = Ex. 13:21–22; 14:5a, 6a, 9a, 10b, 13–14, 19b, 20b, 21b, 24, 25b, 27b, 30–31. P = 14:1–4, 8, 9b, 10a, 10c, 15–18, 21a, 21c, 22–23, 26–27a, 28–29), and the spies (J = Num. 13:17–20, 22–24, 27–31, 33; 14:1b, 4, 11–25, 39–45. P = 13:1–16, 21, 25–26, 32; 14:1a, 2–3, 5–10, 26–29), are all further examples of intertwined J and P texts, that when separated yield complete and continuous independent narratives. Sometimes, P narratives only make sense in light of earlier P stories. For example, the P account of the heresy at Peor (Num. 25:6–19 (English 25:6–26:1a)) appears to begin *in medias res*, with the Israelite man and Midianite woman acting in the sight of Moses and the people, who "were weeping at the entrance of the tent of meeting." The weeping is unexplained unless the intervening J and E material is removed. Then we find that, five chapters earlier, the previous P story, the death of Aaron, ends with the people weeping for Aaron in its last verse (20:29). Thus the narrative flow of the P text appears to be consistent and intact.

Relationships of the Sources to Each Other and to History

J AND E. The J and E sources both contain historical referents that lie in the period during which the country was divided into the two kingdoms of Israel and Judah. The historical referents of J disproportionately relate to Judah, and those of E relate to Israel. Thus they had to have both been written during the divided monarchy, before the destruction of Israel by Assyria: between 922 and 722 B.C.E. These distinct historical connections both (1) support the identification of the sources and (2) point to the historical setting in which each was written. Neither source demonstrates awareness of either the fall of Israel or the dispersion of the northern tribes. J's reference to Esau/Edom breaking Israel's yoke from its neck (Gen. 27:40) probably places its composition after Hadad's rebellion against Solomon, or perhaps after Edom's full independence from Judah during the reign of the Judean king Jehoram (849–842 B.C.E.). The E text offers no similar clues to narrow its dates of composition further within the period of the divided monarchy.

The elements of J indicating a Judean provenance are as follows:

In J, Abraham resides in Hebron/Mamre (Gen. 13:18; 18:1). Hebron was the capital of Judah, and the home city of Zadok, the Judean high priest of David and Solomon.

Shechem was the capital of the northern kingdom of Israel, built by Jeroboam I, the king who had rebelled against Judah. The J account of Israel's acquisition of Shechem is derogatory, involving the taking of Dinah by Shechem and the massacre of the city by Simeon and Levi (Genesis 34).

The J birth accounts of the eponymous ancestors of the tribes include only Reuben, Simeon, Levi, and Judah (Gen. 29:32–35). Among these tribes, only Judah existed with a territorial identity in the era of the monarchy. The J text includes the story of Reuben's taking Jacob's concubine, and the story of Simeon's and Levi's massacre of Shechem. As confirmed in Jacob's deathbed blessing in Genesis 49, a poetic text included in J, these acts result in the preeminence passing to the fourth son: Judah.

In the J story of Joseph, Judah is the brother who saves Joseph from the other brothers' plans to kill him (Gen. 37:26–27; 42:22), and it is Judah who promises Jacob that Benjamin will survive the journey to Egypt (Gen. 43:8–9).

The author of J is the only author to include a lengthy story from the life of Judah (Genesis 38), culminating in the birth of Peres, the eponymous ancestor of the clan from which the Judean royal family was traced.

In the J story of Num. 17–20, 22–24, Moses sends scouts ahead to the promised land, and they see only Judah; they miss all the other tribes of Israel. The favorable spy in this story is Caleb; the Calebite territory was located in Judah and included Hebron.

Judah bordered Edom, which Israel did not, and J includes a lengthy account of the birth, youthful relations, and break between Jacob and Esau, the ancestor of the Edomites. These stories reflect the kinship and historical relations with Edom on several points. J also includes the list of the kings of Edom (Genesis 36).

The religious iconography in J also corresponds to the situation in Judah. The ark, located in Judah, figures prominently in J stories but is never mentioned in E. J includes a description of the ark's movements in the wilderness (Num. 10:33–36), and J associates the presence of the ark with military success (Num. 14:41–44). The J Decalogue only prohibits the making of molten gods (Ex. 34:17), a prohibition which denounces the golden calves of northern Israel, which were molten, without denigrating the golden cherubs of the Temple in Judah, which were wooden and gold-plated. In J, cherubs are depicted as guarding the path to the tree of life, consistent with the cherub iconography of Judah. Cherubs are never mentioned in E.

The elements of E that indicate a northern, Israelite provenance are as follows:

In E, Jacob struggles with God and etiologically names the site of this event Peni-El (Gen. 32:31). The Israelite city of Peni-El was built by Jeroboam I, the founding monarch of the northern Israelite kingdom (I Kings 12:25).

E has an account of Joseph's deathbed wish to be buried in his homeland and an account of the Israelites taking his remains during the exodus. The traditional site of Joseph's grave was at the city of Shechem, which was also built by Jeroboam and served at one point as the capital of Israel (I Kings 12:25).

In contrast to the J story of Simeon's and Levi's massacre of the inhabitants of Shechem, in E the territory around the city of Shechem is acquired by peaceful purchase (Gen. 33:18–19).

The E birth accounts of the eponymous ancestors of the tribes include all of the tribes of Israel: Dan, Naphtali, Gad, Asher, Issachar, Zebulon, Ephraim, Manasseh, and Benjamin (Gen. 30:5–24a; 35:16b–19), but they do not include Judah.

In E, the birthright goes to Joseph, creating the northern tribes of Ephraim and Manasseh. Also, Ephraim is favored over Manasseh in E (Gen. 48:13–20), corresponding to the historical preeminence of Ephraim, Jeroboam's tribe (and the term "Ephraim" is frequently used in the Hebrew Bible as an alternate name for the northern kingdom of Israel). The term for the additional portion thus awarded to Joseph is the unusual *sekem* (Shechem; 48:22), a pun on the name of the Israelite capital city, which was located in the hills of Ephraim.

In the E Joseph story, Reuben rather than Judah is the brother who saves Joseph from the other brothers' plans to kill him (Gen. 37:21–22), and it is Reuben rather than Judah who promises Jacob that Benjamin will survive the journey to Egypt (Gen. 42:37).

In E's depiction of the Israelites' slavery in Egypt, the Egyptian taskmasters are identified as "officers of the corvee" (*sarê missîm*; Ex. 1:11). The northern Israelite tribes' hostility to the Solomonic policy of *missîm* was an explicit ground for their secession, which, according to the report of I Kings, was initiated by the stoning of Rehoboam's officer of the *missîm* (I Kings 12:18).

The heroic role of Joshua is developed in E but not in J. Joshua is identified as being of northern Israelite origins, of the tribe of Ephraim. Not only does E show definite signs of northern provenance, but there are elements of E that coincide particularly with the interests of the Levites of northern Israel who were of the priestly group from Shiloh. Specifically:

Only E includes the story of the golden calf heresy, led by Aaron. The Shiloh Levites' high priest Abiathar had been expelled from the Jerusalem priestly hierarchy by Solomon, his prerogatives thus passing to an Aaronid high priest (Zadok). According to I Kings, the Shiloh prophet Ahijah had initially supported the kingship of Jeroboam but later rejected it when the new king established golden calves at Bethel and Dan. The E golden calf story thus merges and denigrates the two symbols of the exclusion of the Shiloh Levites, Aaron and the golden calf, while praising the Levites who violently purge the people of the heresy.

Like the golden calf story, the E story of Aaron's and Miriam's criticism of Moses over Moses' Cushite wife (Numbers 12) also denigrates Aaron, who is reprimanded directly by God. This story explicitly declares Moses' revelation to be superior to Aaron's, and, like the golden calf story, portrays Aaron addressing Moses submissively as "my lord."

The iconography of E likewise corresponds to the situation in Israel, and especially to the concerns of the Shiloh Levites. For example, the Tabernacle is originally associated with the northern Israelite religious center at Shiloh. E includes a description of the Tabernacle's establishment in relation to the camp in the wilderness, emphasizing its importance for revelation (Num. 10:33–36), but the Tabernacle is never mentioned in J. As opposed to J's prohibition of making molten gods, which attacks only the northern golden calves, E forbids the making of any "gods of silver and gods of gold" (Exod 20:23), thus applying to both the Israelite golden calves and the Judean golden cherubs. And in the E story of the golden calf, Moses smashes the tablets of the Decalogue, and there is no E account of a second set of tablets being made. This casts aspersions on the ark in Judah, which would thus either be empty or contain inauthentic tablets.

Both J and E relate a story of the establishment of Bethel (Gen. 28:10–22); and both kingdoms, Judah and Israel, had claims and interests in Bethel.

In addition to the interests of the Shiloh Levite priests detailed above, another sign that E derives from priestly origins is the fact that it includes a lengthy law code, the Covenant Code (Exodus 21–23). All other legal texts in the Hebrew Bible are found in priestly sources (D, P, and Ezekiel). J, however, lacks the law codes that are characteristic of priestly texts, and J shows no other manifest signs of composition in priestly circles.

Thus there is strong cumulative evidence for the origins of E and J in the northern and southern kingdoms, respectively.

RJE. The J and E texts were combined in an editorial process that sought to unify the two narrative strands into one flowing narrative, and this combined JE text, when separated from P, does form a complete and nearly continuous narrative. The extent to which the Redactor of J and E, known as RJE, was successful is measured by the fact that there is still debate over where and how to separate the two texts. When E and J are separated, neither flows continuously without gaps. This indicates that the Redactor of J and E was willing to cut some material to make the two sets of stories fit together more readily. For example, while the J source begins with the Garden of Eden (Genesis 2–3), the E text has no primeval history at all. The first E narrative is found in Gen. 20:1–18, a story about Abraham and Sarah at Gerar, deceiving King Abimelech into thinking that Sarah is Abraham's sister. The very beginning of the original E source is missing, and it is impossible to know whether it ever contained a creation story or an account of the flood, or whether it began with Abraham's movement to Canaan. The Redactor of JE chose to begin the combined narrative with J's version of all of these events.

The most likely time frame for the unification of J and E would have been shortly after the destruction of the northern Israelite kingdom in 722 B.C.E. They were definitely combined prior to the composition of the Priestly source, as P's account follows the chronology and events of the combined J and E. The parallels of characters, events, and order between P and JE are so close as to indicate that J and E were edited together and then were known to and followed by the composer(s) of P.

P. The Priestly source follows the combined JE in its contents and order: creation, flood, Abraham's migration to Canaan, Abraham's parting from Lot, the Abrahamic covenant, Ishmael's birth by Hagar, divine destruction of the cities, birth of Isaac, Isaac's marriage to Rebekah, death of Abraham, Jacob's parting from Esau, Jacob's children, Jacob's being renamed Israel, Joseph in Egypt, Jacob in Egypt, enslavement in Egypt, the plagues, the exodus, the Red Sea, water from a rock in the wilderness, manna, revelation at Sinai, law code at Sinai, the scouts, rebellions in the wilderness, Peor, the death of Moses. Where P's narrative does not match JE, the differences can be explained in terms of consistent concerns of P. Certain themes and characteristics of the JE narratives are completely missing from the P source. In JE, encounters between God and humans take place regularly, including such blatant anthropomorphisms as God's walking in the garden of Eden (J), making Adam's and Eve's clothes (J), closing Noah's ark (J), smelling Noah's sacrifice (J), wrestling with Jacob (E), standing on the rock at Meribah (E), and being seen by Moses at Sinai/Horeb (J and E). Such anthropomorphisms are absent from P. There are no angels in P, no dreams conveying divine meaning; in fact, the word "prophet" appears only once in P (Exod 7:1), and there it is used figuratively. P takes great pains to emphasize that the only legitimate communication between God and humans takes place through *priests*. And it is not through just any priest. It must be an Aaronid priest, at the Tabernacle, according to the proper rituals as described in the P legal sections. For example, in P's flood story, one pair of each kind of animal is brought into the ark (Gen. 6:19; 7:8, 9, 15); but in the J version, seven pairs of clean and one pair of unclean animals are brought (Gen. 7:2, 3). J has extra clean (sacrificial) animals because at the end of J's story Noah offers a sacrifice. There is no sacrifice in any P story until Aaron is inaugurated as High Priest, hence no extra animals on the ark for sacrifices in the P version. Similarly, P leaves out the sacrificial animals in its account of the Abrahamic covenant (Genesis 17), and P leaves out the story of the near sacrifice of Isaac completely. And, above all, P leaves out the stories of the golden calf and of Moses' Cushite wife, both of which denigrate Aaron.

The Priestly text is replete with technical information missing from JE, such as ages, dates, measurements, numbers, and precise instructions. P is particularly concerned with ritual and other matters pertaining to priests. Contrary to J, E, and D, in P only descendants of Aaron are priests, while all other Levites are designated as lower-level clergy. P also adds two major autumn holidays (Lev. 16:29–34; 23:23–32; Num. 29:1–11) to the standard list of three seasonal holidays contained in the other texts. P's perspective on the history of ancient Israel is often more concerned with justifying the sacral institutions of the Jerusalemite priesthood than with representing history for its own sake. For example, the creation in Genesis 1 justifies the institution of the Sabbath; the covenant with Abraham establishes the rite of circumcision (Gen. 17); and P's description of the events at Sinai center on the building of the sanctuary (Ex. 25ff.). The Tabernacle is of central importance to P, mentioned over 200 times. It is mentioned three times in E, and never in J or D; (for more on the Tabernacle, see below).

In P, the description of the flood is dramatic, a cosmic event in which "all the fountains of the great deep were split open, and the apertures of the skies were opened." After 150 days, the ark comes to rest on the mountains of Ararat, the precise date is given, and after months of recession of the water, God commands Noah to exit. Noah sends out a raven to determine that the earth has dried, and he and his family exit the ark with the animals. The event takes one year. J's version of the flood, however, begins with YHWH's being "grieved to His heart" over the state of humans. YHWH instructs Noah to come into an ark, and YHWH closes the ark for him. It rains forty days and forty nights. At the end, Noah sends out a dove three times to determine that the earth has dried. Then he builds an altar to YHWH and makes a sacrifice, "and YHWH smelled the pleasant smell." Anthropomorphisms of the deity are characteristic of J and completely lacking in P. The dates and measurements are important to P, much less so to J. J's language is simple; P's dramatic.

As with J and E, the most compelling types of evidence for dating the P text are its historical referents, linguistic classification, and references in and to other biblical books. All of these point solidly to a pre-exilic date, likely during the reign of King Hezekiah of Judah (715–687 B.C.E.).

In addition to the Tabernacle, the ark, tablets, cherubs, Urim and Thummim, other historical referents in P demonstrate the pre-exilic interests of the author. P alone among the four source works of the Torah calls for hierarchical divisions among the clergy. This is a pervasive concern in P legal sections and in P narrative. P insists that only Levites descended from Aaron are priests, and all other Levites are second-level clergy, and specific tasks for each group are assigned. According to the report in 2 Chronicles, Hezekiah was the king who established these divisions and assigned these tasks (II Chron. 31:2). Ezekiel's prediction of the priestly divisions had led 19th century scholars to place the authorship of P after Ezekiel, but Ezekiel distinguishes not the descendants of Aaron, but only the Zadokite Aaronids from other Levites. Furthermore, there is no evidence that the author(s) of P accepted Ezekiel's visions as legally authoritative. On the contrary, the P model of the tabernacle (see below) is structurally incompatible with Ezekiel's vision of the Temple. In any case, new linguistic evidence indicates that P was composed prior to Ezekiel (see below).

P's exclusion of non-Aaronid Levites from the priesthood and concern with the house of Aaron is reflected also in the source's treatment of Aaron himself in the Exodus stories. P places Aaron alongside Moses from the beginning in Exodus, identifies Aaron as Moses' older brother (Ex. 6:20; Num. 26:59). Neither JE nor D identify Aaron (or Miriam) as Moses' sibling at all. E refers to Aaron as Moses' "Levite brother" (Ex. 4:14), which, if anything, indicates that they are not siblings in this source. (Why say "Levite" at all if they are siblings?) P provides for Aaron's consecration and for the consecration of his sons to the priesthood, depicts the Aaronid succession, including the death of his eldest two sons, his own death, his replacement by his third son Eliezer, and the eternal promise of priesthood through Eliezer's son Phinehas. J, E, and D instead understand *all* Levites to be priests. The other biblical work that clearly identifies only Aaronids as priests is the Chronicler's work; and the books of Chronicles praise Hezekiah as foremost among the kings of Israel and Judah. Only one other king compares with Hezekiah, according to Chronicles, and that is Solomon. Solomon is the first to give the Aaronid priests their exclusive hold on the Jerusalem priesthood, with the banishment of Abiathar. Thus, the biblical books that hold the same view of the priesthood as P focus on the two kings who formalized P's priestly distinctions: Solomon and Hezekiah. Since P had to have been written long after Solomon's time, the reign of Hezekiah is the provenance that appears to be reflected in the Priestly source.

P's demand for centralization of sacrifice further points to the reign of Hezekiah. According to both the books of Kings and Chronicles, Hezekiah was the king who initiated centralization. His centralization of worship at the Temple in Jerusalem placed all sacrifice under the auspices of the Aaronid priesthood. The D source also calls for centralization, but scholars almost unanimously recognize D as a product of the reign of Josiah (see below).

Later books refer to the P text, further demonstrating that P is pre-exilic. There are allusions to passages in P in the books of Jeremiah and Ezekiel. The familiarity of the book of Jeremiah, dating from the late 7th/early 6th centuries, with the P source is evident by its negative use of P material. Jeremiah reverses P's language and takes an opposite point of view in what are visibly deliberate plays upon P's characteristic language. For example, Jeremiah says: "I looked at the earth, and here it was unformed and void, and to the heavens, and their light was gone" (Jer. 4:23). This is a clear reversal of Gen. 1:1–3 (P). In addition, the character of the texts in Ezekiel that are similar to P appear to depend on P, rather than the other way around. For example, Ezekiel 5–6, a genre known as a "covenant lawsuit," depends on the covenant text in Lev 26:3, 15. Ezekiel's review of the Exodus in Ezekiel 20 also is based on the story in the P version in Exodus 6 (compare Ezek. 20:28 and Ex. 6:8; Ezek. 20:5 and Ex. 6:3; Ezek. 20:33–34 and Ex. 6:6; Ezek. 20:8 and Lev. 26:21; Ezek. 20:13,16, 24 and Lev. 26:43). The allusions to P in Ezekiel accord with the other evidence for pre-exilic composition of P.

As noted above, P's account follows the chronology and events of the combined JE so closely that it indicates that the composer of P was familiar with the RJE text. This further fits with the evidence of P having been composed during the time of Hezekiah, whose reign in Judah covered the years following the fall of Israel. The combination of J and E resulted in a narrative in Judah that was derogatory toward Aaron, identifying him as the maker of the golden calf, and unacceptable to Jerusalem's Aaronid priests on various other grounds as well. P's tie with the Aaronid priesthood explains the motivation for composing P under the reign of Hezekiah, as an alternative to JE. In virtually every P story it is possible to identify components that reflect an overall design of composition of P as an alternative to JE. P follows the order of JE, but promotes Aaron, denigrates Moses (e.g., for striking the rock at Meribah), leaves out the stories of the golden calf and Aaron's criticism of Moses' wife, eliminates anthropomorphisms of the deity, dreams, angels, and all references to prophets (except Aaron), depicting the Aaronid priesthood as the only legitimate channel to the deity. P eliminates all references to repentance and divine mercy, making sacrifice the sole method of atonement and forgiveness, and further eliminates all depictions of sacrifice prior to the consecration of Aaron and the Tabernacle; the Aaronid priesthood is the only divinely sanctioned authority to conduct sacrifices. Thus the differences between the P versions and the JE versions of stories are not only observable but, in nearly every case, explainable. P's addition of Joshua alongside Caleb in the scouts story can be similarly explained: JE establishes the merit of Joshua to be Moses' successor by his disassociation from the golden calf incident. P does not include the golden calf incident, since it denigrates Aaron, and so it establishes Joshua's merit by adding him to the scouts episode.

D. As with the other sources, D has its own character, distinctive vocabulary and phraseology, and it sometimes duplicates and sometimes contradicts stories and laws found in JE and P. Its first 30 chapters are the farewell speech of Moses. The remaining four chapters contain the last acts of Moses and include two songs that he gives the people that picture their future. At the book's center is a law code (Deuteronomy 12–26). Chapters 1–11 and 27–30 frame the law code as an introduction and powerful conclusion.

There are signs that the law code (called Dtn) is very old, with at least parts of it deriving from the period before the first kings of Israel. For example, the laws of war in Deuteronomy 20–21 reflect the pre-monarchic period of general conscription, when the Israelite tribes were summoned to battle. The rise of the monarchy led to the replacement of the tribal musters by professional armies. Laws giving authority and legal jurisdiction to the Levites indicate composition by Levites. The law code and the chapters that frame it include signs of which Levite group produced the work. The fact that Aaron is largely ignored and negatively cast in Deuteronomy excludes the Aaronid priests as possible authors of this work. Diametrically opposed to the Aaronid view of Israel's priesthood that is found in P, Deuteronomy does not distinguish between descendants of Aaron and other Levites. D is negative with regard to Aaron, mentioning him only to report his death and to identify him as the maker of the golden calf. D also refers to the Cushite wife episode, which likewise was unfavorable to Aaron. Conversely, Moses is the favored hero of the D text, sympathetically portrayed as the great leader speaking words of wisdom to the Israelites as they are about to enter the promised land. The law code in Deuteronomy also never refers to the ark, the cherubs, or any other religious implements that were housed in the Jerusalem Temple, or to the office of the High Priest. Still, D demands centralization of worship, which excludes the Levites of the various high places outside of Jerusalem as its authors. The most likely provenance of this work is therefore among the Levites of Shiloh, the pre-Jerusalem center of Israelite religion, or their successors, the same group that produced the E source.

The frame and final form of Deuteronomy have long been recognized to be connected in some essential way with the reign of King Josiah in Judah (640–609 B.C.E.). Among the last acts of Moses, Moses is said to have written the "scroll of the *torah*," which is to be placed by the ark for future reference. The book of Joshua refers to the existence of this scroll three times (1:8; 8:31, 34; 23:6). Then the scroll is not mentioned again until it is reported to have been brought out from the temple by the priest Hilkiah and read to King Josiah (II Kings 22:8). Josiah then implemented a series of religious reforms, aimed at centralizing worship at the Temple in Jerusalem, as Hezekiah had done before him. The components of the Josianic reform conform to the requirements of the Deuteronomic law code (Deuteronomy 12–26). Although P also demands centralization, in the description of Josiah's reform there is the explicit connection to Moses' scroll. Additionally, as part of his reform Josiah destroys the golden calf altar of Jeroboam at Bethel. II Kings 23 describes this act in the same terms used in Deuteronomy for Moses' destruction of the golden calf of Aaron. Josiah's treatment of the Asherah of Jerusalem and other altars also reflects specific commands of the D law code. Further, there are numerous parallels of wording and action between the characterization of Moses in Deuteronomy and of Josiah in II Kings: The words "none arose like…" are applied only to Moses and Josiah (Deut. 34:10 and II Kings 23:25); both grind a golden calf – or its altar – "thin as dust," in both cases at a wadi (Deut. 9:21 and II Kings 23:6; cf. also II Kings 23:12 and Deut. 12:3); and Moses instructs the people to "Love YHWH your God with all your heart and with all your soul and with all your might" (Deut. 6:5), and Josiah is described as "a king who returned to YHWH with all his heart and with all his soul and with all his might" (II Kings 23:25), an expression that occurs nowhere in the Hebrew Bible but these two passages. There are numerous other parallels (cf. Deut. 17:8–13 and II Kings 22:13; Deut. 17:11, 20 and II Kings 22:2; Deut. 31:11 and II Kings 23:2).

Thus the bulk of Deuteronomy was composed and compiled during the 7th century B.C.E. Still, portions of Deuteronomy show signs of having been composed after the destruction and exile of Judah in 587 B.C.E., and added to the Josianic edition in a subsequent second edition: Deut. 4:25–31; 8:19–20; 28:36–37, 63–68; 29:21–27; 30:1–10, 14–20. Each of these passages is identified as an exilic addition by a combination of several factors: terminology, theme, grammar, syntax, literary structure, and comparative data. All refer to the themes of apostasy, destruction, exile, and dispersion. Their wording and themes match with demonstrably exilic portions of the books of Kings, such as I Kings 9:6–9; and II Kings 21:8–15. Deuteronomy is thus a complex combination of texts that reflect composition and editing that fits with several historical periods.

J, E, P, and D are the largest recognized sources of the Pentateuch, though there are smaller sources. Four poems especially stand out as originally independent works which are probably the oldest sections of the Torah. They are the Blessing of Jacob (Genesis 49), the Song of the Sea (Exodus 15), the Song of Moses (Deuteronomy 32), and the Blessing of Moses (Deuteronomy 33).

R. The final editor, responsible for assembling the Torah from these sources is known as the Redactor, or R. His work had to have taken place after the Babylonian exile in order for him to have had all of the sources available to him. The separate stages of the editing of D (the law code, the Josianic edition, and the exilic edition) would have to have been completed by his time. The combination of JEP and D required little more than moving the accounts of the promotion of Joshua and the death of Moses to the end of Deuteronomy. The portions of the Torah that are traceable to him favor the Aaronid priesthood as does P; and, in his organization of the text, he favored P, indicating his connection with the same group that had produced P centuries earlier. The relationship between R and P is further confirmed by the presence of passages that are similar to P, but which are supplemental and which appear to originate in a later period, specifically the time of the Second Temple. For example, Numbers 15:1–31 and Numbers 29–30 share substantial terminology and interests with the Priestly source, but these passages also duplicate much information that is already given in P (cf. Leviticus 1–7). A striking difference between these R passages and the P texts with which they overlap, however, is that the P texts constantly emphasize the required presence of the Tabernacle (see above), but the R passages never mention the Tabernacle. This is consistent with a Second Temple period date for R. The Tabernacle is associated only with the First Temple in biblical and rabbinic passages. P, coming from the First Temple period, mentions the Tabernacle more than any other subject. R never mentions it at all. R therefore appears to derive from the days of the Second Temple, a time when priests could no longer insist on the presence of the Tabernacle for sacrifice.

The books of Ezra and Nehemiah report that Ezra read the Torah publicly in Jerusalem in this period (5th century B.C.E.). That appears to have been the complete Torah, because the accounts in the books of Ezra and Nehemiah refer to passages from all of the main sources: J, E, P, and D. Ezra himself or someone from his circle is likely to have been the Redactor (R) of the Torah. Ezra is identified as a scribe, as one who was particularly concerned with the Torah, as an Aaronid priest (which fits with the sympathy with and similarity to P), and as the first person known to possess a scroll of the complete Torah (see Ezra 7:6, 10, 14).

Observable Signs of Editing. There are observable editorial devices employed by R, such as epanalepsis, reconciling phrases, framing devices, and supplemental passages.

Epanalepsis, or resumptive repetition, is an editorial device in which a line is repeated following an insertion of one text into the body of another. For example, in Ex. 6:12 Moses says, "How will Pharaoh listen to me, when I am uncircumcised of lips?" The narrative is then interrupted by a partial genealogy that culminates in Aaron's family. Then a transitional summary of what had been said prior to the interruption leads to the repetition in v. 30 of Moses saying "I am uncircumcised of lips, and how will Pharaoh listen to me?" The epanalepsis in this case has the character of an editor's mechanism for inserting a text into a pre-existing account and then returning to the flow of the story.

Due to the nature of the different source texts with their diverse interests and often blatant contradictions of detail, it was necessary for the Redactor occasionally to insert reconciling phrases to soften the resulting inconsistencies. These phrases are superfluous to the narrative, serving only to reconcile such inconsistencies. For example, in J and E, Jacob's travels from Haran to Canaan have him first arriving in Shechem, then returning to Bethel, where God had appeared to him years earlier. The P account pictures him coming from Paddan Aram directly to Bethel. His arrival at Bethel in P begins, "And God appeared to Jacob when he was coming from Paddan Aram" (Gen. 35:9), which conflicts with the preceding J and E texts that state that Jacob had already returned and dwelled in the land. R therefore added a reconciling phrase to these J and E accounts of Jacob's prior arrival at Shechem, stating, "which was in the land of Canaan when he was coming from Paddan Aram" (33:18b). The Redactor also added the word "again" to the P verse (35:9), rendering the P report of the divine appearance at Bethel an additional theophany to that of E.

The Redactor used three literary frames to unite the originally separate source texts into a sensible chronological flow. The first of these was the Book of Generations, which begins "This is the Book of Generations of humans" (Gen. 5:1) and was cut by the Redactor and arranged through Genesis at key points to delineate the genealogies from Adam to Jacob (Gen. 5:1–28, 30–32; 7:6; 9:28–29; 11:10–26, 32). In Exodus, R used the P version of the plagues that YHWH inflicted on the Egyptians to frame the J, E, and P stories of the plagues, the Exodus, and the crossing of the Red Sea. In the P source, each of the plagues on the Egyptians is followed by "But Pharaoh's heart was strengthened, and he did not listen to them, as YHWH had spoken" (Ex. 7:13, 22; 8:15; 9:12). R inserted similar phrases following plagues in the JE stories as well (Ex. 8:11b; 9:35; 10:20, 27) to give unity to the entire section. The third framing device is derived from the "List of Stations," an originally independent text, now located in Numbers 33. This is the series of chronological-geographical notices of the stations of Israel's journey from Egypt to the border of Canaan. Rather than a summary of all of the places mentioned in the stories up to that point, this list was originally an independent document like the Book of Generations, which the Redactor used as a framework for the wilderness stories. He distributed the pieces of the list of the people's journeys through the text, setting each of his stories in its appropriate place, thus giving continuity to the books of Exodus (starting in chapter 12), Leviticus, and Numbers.

Each of the three texts from which the editorial frames are constructed has the character of P material. The plagues text is itself part of the Priestly source, and the other two resemble P in language and content, indicating that the Redactor of the final Torah favored P. For example, the Book of Generations refers to God as Elohim, not YHWH, and states that humans are created in God's image, as does P. The Priestly plagues narrative forms the governing structure for much of the book of Exodus, and the itinerary and language reflected in the List of Stations accords with the Priestly narrative as well.

Contradictions. There are contradictions within the Torah that are almost all explained when the sources are separated. For example, there is a contradiction of whether Joseph is sold by Midianites or by Ishmaelites (Gen. 37:25–36; 39:1), but the Ishmaelites are in J, and the Midianites are in E. There is a contradiction as to whether Moses' father-in-law is named Reuel or Jethro (Ex. 2:16–18; 3:1; 4:18; 18:1); or whether the mountain of God is Sinai or Horeb. And these too fall into J and E, respectively. There are numerous other contradictions of detail between P and JE. In the Priestly creation story (Genesis 1) God creates plants, then animals, then man and woman; but in the J creation account the order is man, then plants, then animals, then woman. In Gen 6:3, God limits the lifespan of humans to 120 years (J); but P reports many people living longer than this (Gen. 9:29; 11:10–23, 32). Benjamin's birthplace is Bethlehem in Gen. 35:16–19 (E), but it is Paddan Aram in 35:23–26 (P). In Numbers 11 (E) the people are tired of eating only manna, and so they are fed birds; but in Exodus 16 (P) it is reported that they had been getting birds along with the manna from the beginning. In J's version of the scouts story, Caleb alone stands against the spies who give a discouraging report of the promised land (Num. 13:30; 14:24), but in P's account, it is both Caleb and Joshua (14:6–9, 38). When the Israelites are seduced by foreign women at Peor, in J they are Moabite women (Num. 25:1), but in P they are Midianite

(25:6; 31:1–16). Traditional explanations of each of these contradictions individually have never been able to account for the fact that the reconciliation of the contradictions works within the source lines that are determined on the basis of other evidence as well.

Linguistic Evidence. Especially since the 1970s, scholars working on linguistic analyses of Hebrew have made it possible to trace the stages in the development of Hebrew prose to which the source texts each belong (Milgrom 1970; Polzin 1976; Rendsburg 1980; Zevit 1982; and Hurvitz 1967, 1972, 1974, 1995). J and E belong to the earliest stages of Biblical Hebrew. P and D represent a later stage than J and E, but still a stage closer to J and E than to the Late Biblical Hebrew of post-exilic texts. Biblical scholarship had commonly regarded Ezekiel as a basis for P, but the linguistic evidence has now established the priority of P. Hurvitz (1982) who found that P is written in an earlier stage of Hebrew than the book of Ezekiel, which is exilic. This powerful linguistic evidence is consistent with the evidence of the historical referents of each source, and it accords also with the evidence of identifiable relationships among the sources. The consistency of the linguistic evidence with the hypothesis is now one of the strongest bodies of evidence. It has rarely been mentioned by opponents of the hypothesis and has thus far received no serious challenge.

Thus the Torah was composed by a number of different authors. Their originally separate works were combined in several editorial steps into a continuous, unified work. This process, from the composition of the earliest works to the final redactions, took approximately six centuries (from the 11th to the 5th century B.C.E.). This picture of the formation of the Torah from source documents is known as the documentary hypothesis.

Some of the arguments against the hypothesis include:

(1) *No other works in the ancient world were composed in this complex way.* The hypothesis was said to picture the Torah as a "crazy patchwork" of texts, and critics of the hypothesis said that no ancient works were composed this way. This was not a strong argument in itself since it did not entertain the possibility that the Torah's formation was unique. And, in any case, the argument was incorrect, as a number of works have in fact been shown to have been composed in this way, with examples coming from the *Epic of Gilgamesh*, Qumran, the Septuagint, the Samaritan Pentateuch and Tatian's *Diatesseron*.

(2) *The literary design of the Torah has too much unity to have been composed in this way.* This argument is based on structures of biblical texts, claiming that the design of large sections of the text is such that it rules out the combined composition that the hypothesis pictures. For example, chiasms were identified in the flood story and elsewhere that the hypothesis pictured as composite texts. In every case, however, the chiasms were found to be incorrectly or even artificially constructed.

(3) *Doublets were a known feature of ancient Near Eastern literature, not a mark of multiple sources.* This assertion is false. Since there was no long prose in the ancient Near East prior to these texts, they cannot have come out of any known tradition of double stories in prose literature or history. And in ancient Near Eastern poetry, the work that shows this sort of formation is the *Epic of Gilgamesh*, and this epic has been shown to have been composed from sources in the manner of the Torah.

(4) *The hypothesis is circular.* It is argued that biblical scholars have manipulated the passages to put all of the right terminology in the right places – and then claimed that the terminology is proof of the hypothesis. For example, the scholars divide the sources according to the occurrences of the name of God and then claim that the distinction in the divine name in the texts proves that they are distinct sources. However, those who make this argument have never taken account of the fact that all of these lines of evidence converge – thousands of occurrences of the words YHWH and Elohim, hundreds more occurrences of other characteristic terms, Hebrew that corresponds to the fitting periods, contradictions that are resolved, signs of editing that come at the junctures between sources – and that no scholar is capable of manipulating so many elements to work out.

(5) *Alternative models.* There are many variations on what the sources were and how they came to be connected. For example, supplementary hypotheses are based on the idea that some texts were never independent sources but rather were composed as expansions of other texts. Although critical scholars tend to agree on the identification of the P and D texts, the last few decades have seen a great deal of debate on the identification of J and E as separate sources. In particular, some doubt the existence of E as a source independent of J. Proponents of this view tend to greatly reduce the amount of material attributed to E, and the E narratives that remain are viewed as deliberate corrective supplements to J. The evidence for separate J and E texts as originally identified in the documentary hypothesis remains more compelling. There are five main types of evidence that demonstrate the separate existence of J and E: doublets, contradictions, terminology, consistent characteristics, and narrative continuity.

In another model, P is divided into two "schools" of authors: the Priestly School and the Holiness School. The narrative and legal texts are divided between these schools. At present, this new model has been proposed but not tested. The biggest objections to be evaluated are that it starts on an unproven premise (that Numbers 28–29 is P yet differs from other texts that are identified with P) and that it breaks up the continuity of P. The narrative flow is one of the stronger arguments for the documentary hypothesis, but the H-versus-P model breaks this flow frequently without any explanation.

Those who oppose the hypothesis – both from the traditional side and from the more radical side – have never responded to the evidence of the continuity of the sources, the linguistic evidence, or the convergence of the several lines of evidence.

HISTORY OF SCHOLARSHIP

Questions about the unity of the Pentateuch and its Mosaic authorship go back at least to the third century C.E. In the 11th century Isaac Ibn Yashush said that the list of Kings of Edom (Genesis 36) must have been written long after Moses. In the 12th century, Ibn Ezra listed passages in the Torah that each seemed to go against authorship by Moses, but he just cautiously wrote in his commentary: "And if you understand, then you will recognize the truth." In the 14th century, Bonfils wrote about Ibn Ezra's passages, "This is evidence that this verse was written in the Torah later, and Moses did not write it." Christian scholars raised questions in those centuries as well. In the 17th century, Hobbes, Spinoza, and Isaac de la Peyrere all argued that the Torah could not have been written by Moses or any one person.

In the 18th century, H.B. Witter, J. Astruc, and J.G. Eichhorn each independently discovered the existence of more than one source in the Torah. They noted the convergence of the doublets with the divine name associated with each story. Eichhorn used the signs J and E for the two sources they found. Even after they divided the stories between the two sources, however, doublets continued to exist in the E texts. And these doublets contained striking differences in character, language, and content. One group of stories that referred to the deity as Elohim was particularly interested in priestly matters, so it came to be known as P. J, E, and P were found to flow through the first four books of the Pentateuch. The book of Deuteronomy, however, is written in an entirely different character and vocabulary. It contains doublets of sections from the first four books, as well as contradictions of detail. Deuteronomy came to be recognized as an independent fourth source, known as D. The date of D was the first to be established in biblical scholarship, based on the work of W.M.L. de Wette (1805). De Wette found that the laws of Deuteronomy specifically reflected details of King Josiah's reforms, as described in II Kings.

In 1943, M. Noth showed that the biblical books of Deuteronomy through II Kings were a continuous work. Pointing to such evidence as similarity of language, continuity of themes, and narrative flow, Noth showed that this was not a loose collection of writings but rather a thoughtfully arranged work drawing from a variety of sources. The Deuteronomistic History (Dtr.), as it came to be known, tells a continuous story of the history of the people of Israel in their land. The book of Deuteronomy was constructed so that its covenant would stand as the foundation of the history, characterizing the fate of the nation as dependent on how well they kept the commandments of Deuteronomy. The history of the kings of Israel in the books of Kings, as opposed to the history in the books of Chronicles, is constructed to culminate in the reign and reform of Josiah, the only king who receives a completely positive rating ("good in the eyes of YHWH") by the historian. The history is written with the same terms and phrases as the book of Deuteronomy. The construction of this history from Moses to Josiah is further made manifest by changes in major themes that occur after the Josiah narratives: the concern with centralization of sacrifice and the comparison of the Judean kings to David both cease after the Josiah pericope. It was thus first demonstrated by F. Cross and his students that the original, Josianic edition of the history (Dtr.1) was updated and expanded in an exilic edition (Dtr2).

The date of P has remained an extremely controversial issue of the documentary hypothesis. Reuss argued that the prophets do not quote or refer to P and that therefore the law was later than the prophets. Graf took this argument further, defending the thesis that the composition of extensive priestly laws and rituals could only be a late development, reflecting the hierocratic rule of the Second Temple period. Further consolidating and developing the arguments put forward by Graf, J. Wellhausen defended a post-exilic date for P along the following lines: First, he claimed that P *assumed* the centralization of sacrifice, as proper worship and ritual can occur exclusively at the Tabernacle in the Priestly text. Wellhausen reasoned that in the period prior to Josiah's reform, cultic activities were conducted everywhere, and people who were not priests served in the various temples and high places. Josiah abolished the outlying cultic places and established the Temple in Jerusalem as the only place in which worship of YHWH could take place, and where only priests descended from Aaron could officiate. The priests who served in the high places and provincial temples came to be secondary cultic officials over time, and these were the "Levites" of P. Wellhausen pointed out that Ezekiel had predicted that in the future, only descendants of Zadok (David's Aaronid priest) would be considered legitimate (Ezek. 44:15–16). In P, only Aaronids are priests. Wellhausen concluded that P was written in the days of the Second Temple, when the Aaronid priests came to power, having taken Ezekiel's prophecy as their inspiration. Wellhausen claimed that the high priest described in P is a reflection of the head of the religious community in the Second Temple period.

Second, Wellhausen argued that the numerous sacred institutions in P demonstrate the power of the priests during the Second Temple period. This is the reason for the large number of sacrifices and gifts to the priesthood which are not mentioned in earlier literature, such as the daily and festival offerings (Num. 28–29); sin and guilt offerings (Lev. 4–5); tithe for the Levites (Num. 18:21–24); etc. Similarly, the laws of purity and impurity characteristic of P (e.g., Num. 19; Lev. 11, 12, 13–15, 21–22) result from the intensification of the hierocracy of the Second Temple period. Wellhausen also noted the increasing number of religious institutions in P that do not depend on living in the land, such as the Sabbath and circumcision, which, in effect, became the distinguishing markers of the Jews in exile. Additionally, the holiday of Yom Kippur (Lev. 23:17ff.; 23:23–32; Num. 29:1–11), which has no connection with the agricultural life of the people, appears in P as an expression of the supreme spirituality of Second Temple Judaism and the sense of sin inherent in a post-exilic community.

Lastly, Graf and Wellhausen argued that the Tabernacle, described in detail in P (Ex. 25–30; 35–40; Num. 1–4; 7–8), is a fictional creation of the Jerusalem priesthood of the Second Temple period and is only a reflection of the Jerusalem Temple. According to Graf and Wellhausen, the Tabernacle never existed; it was a fiction produced by a Second Temple author who wanted to establish a law code that was in the interests of the Temple priests of that time. The Priestly Tabernacle was thus a literary and legal fiction created by the post-exilic author(s) of P to support the rebuilt Temple and the reestablished priesthood in Jerusalem of their day.

Starting with the work of Y. Kaufmann, recent scholarship is increasingly demonstrating that it is impossible to explain the development of P against the background of the Second Temple period. The main premises of Reuss, Graf, and Wellhausen were mistaken. Prophets *do* quote P (cf. Jer. 4:23 and Gen. 1:1–3; Jer. 3:16 and P's expression "Be fruitful and multiply," as well as P's emphasis on the ark; Jer 7:22 and Lev 7:37f; Ezek 5:7 and Lev 26:3, 15; Ezek. 5:10 and Lev. 26:29; Ezek. 5:17 and Lev. 26:22, 25; Ezek. 20:28 and Ex. 6:8; Ezek. 6:3b–6a and Lev. 26:30, 31a; Ezek. 22:26 and Lev. 10:10). P does not *assume* centralized religion; it *demands* it (Lev. 17:3–4), reckoning bloodguilt to anyone who offers a sacrifice at a place other than the Tabernacle, with the punishment of being cut off from the rest of one's people. And the Priestly source emphasizes the ark, the tablets, the cherubs, and the Urim and Thummim in connection with the Tabernacle—all items described as having existed in the First Temple, but missing from the Second Temple. It does not make sense that the Tabernacle and its implements would figure so prominently in a text written after their destruction. Research on the Tabernacle by F. Cross, M. Haran, R. Friedman, and M. Homan argues that the Tabernacle was real, not a Second Temple fiction, and that it was pre-exilic. The linguistic evidence developed by Hurvitz and others (see above) confirms that P is in fact composed in the Classical Biblical Hebrew of the pre-exilic period.

Critical scholarship originated among European Protestant scholars and was perceived to be threatening to Jewish traditional beliefs and even, in some cases, to be antisemitic. Wellhausen's scholarship did indeed have an antisemitic (and anti-Catholic) component. Wellhausen openly expressed his hostility to the legal (i.e., Jewish) and priestly (i.e., Catholic) portions of the Torah. In his introduction he stated that when he learned of Graf's hypothesis that the law was a late addition to the original spiritual religion of the prophets, he was ready to accept it "almost before I heard his reasons." But, despite this original opposition to the new scholarship regarding the authors of the Torah, Jewish scholars came to accept and even champion this research. This was due both to the weight of the evidence for the hypothesis and the improving relations between Jewish and Christian scholars in the late 20th and early 21st centuries. Notable in this respect were (1) the development of biblical studies in Israeli universities, starting especially with Yehezkel Kaufmann in Jerusalem, and (2) the rise of a generation of American Jewish biblical scholars who were trained by Christian scholars at Johns Hopkins, Harvard, and Yale universities. The new scholarship came to be taught at the non-orthodox rabbinical schools as well and appears in the commentaries used in Conservative, Reform, and Reconstructionist synagogues. Even a small number of Orthodox scholars have acknowledged it or come to terms with some portion of it in ways that they judge to be reconcilable with tradition.

LAWS

The Ten Commandments

According to the book of Exodus, God gives the commandments to the Israelites on Mt. Sinai/Horeb following the exodus from Egypt. Deuteronomy emphasizes that the covenant established on Sinai/Horeb is based on the revelation of the Ten Commandments (Hebrew *aseret ha-debarim*, "the ten words," or "the ten things," Exod 34:28; Deut 10:4). Unlike other sets of biblical laws that emphasize the role of Moses as a mediator (cf. Exodus 19; Ex. 20:22; 34:32; Lev. 17:1; Deut. 6:1), the Ten Commandments are attributed directly to the deity, speaking aloud from the sky (Ex. 20:1) in the first person (Ex. 2, 3, 5, 6; Deut. 5:6, 7, 9, 10). The Ten Commandments thus have a central place within the Torah; they are presented as the direct address of the deity, identified as a complete and separate covenant, and given a special name to distinguish them from other biblical laws. They continue to be of central importance to other biblical traditions as well: for example, they are reflected in the prophets (Hos 4:1; Jer 7:9) and the psalms (Psalms 50; 81).

There are three versions of the Ten Commandments that appear in the Torah: Exodus 20, which was an independent source, then later elaborated upon by the Redactor; the J version is in Exodus 34:14–28; and the D version in Deuteronomy 5. Although there are important differences among the versions in their language, content, and emphases, all of the Pentateuchal sources demonstrate the centrality of the law in the covenant between God and Israel that is forged at Sinai/Horeb.

In the 1950s, three scholars (E. Bickermann, G. Mendenhall, and K. Baltzer) independently recognized a formal similarity between the Israelite covenant and international legal documents of the ancient Near East. This contribution has aided immensely in understanding the covenant not only as religious, ethical, and ritual prescriptions for the Israelites, but as a legally binding contract between God and Israel as separate parties. The ancient Near Eastern treaty documents, with which the Sinai covenant bears striking parallels, were dictated by regional kings known as suzerains to the local city kings, their vassals, who were subject to them. The treaties formalized relations between the two parties, dictating precisely what was required of the vassal in order to sustain peaceful relations with its suzerain. They regularly included a specific group of formal elements:

1. The suzerain's introduction of himself by name.
2. An historical prologue, detailing the history of the re-

lations between the parties; specifically, something that the suzerain had done for the vassal. The intention here was to demonstrate that the vassal was somehow in the suzerain's debt.

3. The prime stipulation of the treaty, which was that the vassal was to be loyal to this suzerain and have allegiance to no other.

4. Secondary stipulations, including the amount and type of tribute owed to the suzerain by the vassal, the obligation of the vassal to appear at the suzerain's court when summoned, and the necessity of the vassal to supply troops for the suzerain's military defense.

The Sinai covenant, especially in Exodus 20, contains the same key elements:

1. Introduction: I am YHWH your God

2. Historical prologue: who brought you out from the land of Egypt, from a house of slaves

3. Prime stipulation: you shall have no other gods

4. Secondary stipulations: you shall not make a statue; you shall not bring up the name of YHWH your God for a falsehood; remember the Sabbath; honor your father and your mother; etc.

Other similarities between the ancient Near Eastern suzerainty treaties and the Ten Commandments have been noted as well. Suzerainty treaties included an oath sworn by the vassal pledging allegiance to the suzerain and to the requirements of the treaty; cf. Ex. 24:3, 7, in which the Israelites pledge their obedience. Ancient Near Eastern treaties included a provision for the treaty document, requiring that it be deposited in a sacred place; cf. Ex. 25:16, 21; 40:20, in which the covenant text is deposited in the ark in the Tabernacle. Additionally, treaties were usually sealed with a feast shared between the two parties, preceded by a sacrifice. Blood from the sacrifice was sprinkled symbolically on both parties, representing death for the one who breaks the oath thus taken. Exodus 24 describes a feast shared by God and the elders of Israel, in which the blood of the sacrifice is sprinkled on the people, and on the altar that represents the deity. Lastly, treaties ended with a list of curses and blessings cited as sanctions relative to the observance of the treaties; cf. Deuteronomy 27–28.

Despite sharing a common form, style, and language with ancient Near Eastern suzerainty treaties, key elements of the Decalogue demonstrate the uniqueness of biblical Israel against its ancient Near Eastern background. First, there is the tradition that these laws came from God rather than any human ruler; in fact, the nation's suzerain is a deity, rather than a human overlord. That the laws of interaction among the human community and between the Israelites and their deity are embedded within the context of history is also unique. All of the laws in the Pentateuch are understood only within the context of Israelite history. Further, the implications of presenting YHWH as the suzerain to whom the Israelites owe their exclusive allegiance are that other deities are categorically eliminated from worship by ancient Israel. Some scholars see the origin of monotheism here, others monolatry. In either case, the religious prohibition of other gods in Israel is effected by the appropriation of politico-legal terminology.

Aniconism is another unique feature of biblical religion presented in the Ten Commandments. Whereas all contemporary cultures employed cultic representations as a means of communicating with the deity, the second commandment forbade the Israelites from doing so. Likewise, the institution of the Sabbath as a mandatory day of rest has no equivalent in the ancient world. Scholars have attempted to determine the origins of the concept and etymology of the term. The Torah itself offers two theological explanations (Ex. 20:11 and Deut. 5:10–12) for what appears to have originally been a social and humanitarian precept; for example, Ex. 16:22–30 presupposes the practice before the laws are even given. The fourth commandment seems to recall and reinforce a traditional observance.

The Ten Commandments in Exodus 20 and Deuteronomy 5 relate to two principal types of concerns: ethical and ritual. The first four commandments refer specifically to how Israel is to relate to its deity, detailing the ritual prescriptions against the worship of other gods, idolatry, invoking the holy name of YHWH in a false oath, and violating the Sabbath (which in Ex. 20:8–11 is given an explicitly religious explication, recalling God's creation of the universe; but cf. Deut. 5:12–15). The last six commandments (honoring one's parents, prohibitions against murder, adultery, theft, giving false testimony, and coveting) are ethical prescriptions which address the issue of harmonious social relations within the Israelite community. Notably, the J Decalogue in Exodus 34 is concerned solely with ritual matters.

Other Laws

In addition to the Ten Commandments, the Torah contains hundreds of supplemental laws concerning both ethical and ritual matters. By tradition, there are 613. They can be found scattered through the sources but are especially concentrated in the Priestly text (in particular the book of Leviticus) and in Deuteronomy. In addition, scholars speak of three distinct law codes set within the Pentateuchal sources: the Covenant Code embedded in the E source (Exodus 21–23), the Law Code of Deuteronomy (Deuteronomy 12–26), and the Holiness Code within the P text (Leviticus 17–26). The latter two of the three of the Codes end with lists of blessings and curses to be enacted depending on the obedience or disobedience of the Israelites to the Code. Twice the Torah instructs: "You shall not add onto it, and you shall not subtract from it." (Deut. 4:2; 13:1)

Just as in the Decalogue, laws in the rest of the Torah deal with both ethical and ritual matters. Ethical laws, detailing proper relations among humans within the Israelite community, include both civil and criminal matters. Civil matters frequently overlap with ritual law (see below). Criminal legislation is characterized to a large extent by the principle of justice: punishment should suit the crime. The famous case of "eye for an eye" stands on its own in the Covenant Code (Ex.

21:23–25). P elaborates it in Lev 21:23–25 and applies it principally to cases of murder and bodily injury (Lev. 24:19–21) but also invokes it in the case of restitution for the property of another (Lev. 24:18). Deuteronomy connects it with civil and criminal legislation, as in the law of the false witness (Deut. 19:19–21). It appears to be meant as a principle of justice, not as a literal action to be performed, because it includes "burn for a burn" in a case where there is no burning (Ex. 21:22–25).

Ritual laws, pertaining to the proper conduct of the Israelites toward the deity, are also found among the several legal sources of the Pentateuch, with some notable differences in the laws between the sources. For example, dietary laws detail the foods that are fit for sacrifice in Deut. 14:3–21 and Leviticus 11, and sacrificial offerings and tithes to the priesthood appear in Lev. 7:28–34 and Deut. 18:3; in Num. 15:18–21 and Deut. 18:4; in Lev. 23:9–20 and Deut. 26:1–10; and one should note especially the differences between Num. 18:21–32 and Deut. 14:22–29; 26:12–15.

However, the distinction between ethical and ritual laws that seems clear in the Decalogue breaks down somewhat in the other legal texts of the Pentateuch. The Covenant Code begins by listing social/ethical laws in Exodus 21 and the first part of 22 and then intersperses ritual legislation (Ex. 22:21, 29–31; 23:13ff.). The P laws (including H) usually keep ritual law separate but also sometimes intersperse ethical and ritual laws. Notably, Leviticus 19, which is a centerpiece of the commandments concerning holiness, mixes laws about justice, sexual practices, consulting the dead, mixing plant species, mixing animal species, caring for the blind and deaf, respecting parents, and respecting the Sabbath. In a notable merger of the ethical and the ritual, it prohibits the blending of plants that are separate in nature, and it commands the Israelites to leave gleanings and corners of their fields for the poor and oppressed. It condemns idolatry, but it commands Israelites to be kind to aliens, who may be idolators. And near its midpoint it includes the ultimate expression of ethical law: "Love your neighbor as yourself."

Meanwhile, the religious laws in Deuteronomy, many of which overlap with P legislation, are formulated from a more communal/social perspective. For example, sacrifice in Deuteronomy is not performed for its "pleasing odor" to the deity or for "food of God" (cf. Lev. 1:9, 13, 17; 21:6, 8, 17, 21); the emphasis instead is on offerings consumed by the offerer in the sanctuary and shared with the poor, the Levite, the alien resident, the orphan, and the widow. D is generally more concerned with secular matters (e.g., the judiciary: Deut. 16:18–20; 17:8–13; the monarchy: 17:14ff.; the military: Deuteronomy 20; family and inheritance: 21:18–23; 22:13–29; 24:1–4; 25:5–9; loans and debts: 15:1–18; 24:10–13) than P, omitting altogether certain cultic institutions and offenses punishable by death in P (e.g., D has no warning against blasphemy, an extremely serious sin discussed in the Covenant Code (Ex. 22:27) and in P (Lev. 24:15–16; Num. 30)).

The overlap between ethical and ritual spheres of activity in both D and P is due to the primacy of the concept of holiness. The need for obedience to even the most secular of ethical laws is based ultimately in Israel's responsibility to attain and maintain a status of holiness in order for the deity to remain within the community. It should be noted that there are differences between P (including H) and D in their conception of the attainment of holiness. In P holiness is a status toward which the people are enjoined to strive (Lev. 11:44, 45; 19:2; 20:26) and is contingent upon physical proximity to the divine presence and the preservation of the divine presence within the community by means of obedience to the Priestly laws and the proper performance of ritual. In D holiness is a result of God's choice of Israel and devolves automatically upon every Israelite, who consequently must not profane it by defilement (cf. Deut. 7:6; 14:2, 21 in which the people are called "holy" in the present tense; cf. the related P passages in which only God is called holy in the present, not the people: Lev. 11:41, 45; 19:2; 20:26 (D. Wright, 1992; M. Weinfeld 1972)). However, in both cases the ethical is grounded in the ritual, and the two are often indistinguishable within the legislation.

Laws pertaining to the Sabbath provide a good example of this. In P it is a requirement to observe the Sabbath day because God created the world in six days and rested on the seventh. In effect, in resting on the seventh day the community reenacts the culmination of creation. Deuteronomy and the Covenant Code supply a different reason for the Sabbath: the Israelite must rest on the Sabbath to provide a respite for himself, his family, his community, and his servants (Deut. 5:14; Ex. 23:12). In this way, the Sabbath is given an ethical rationale. D further supplies a religious motivation for keeping the Sabbath, one derived not from creation, but rather from the Exodus (Deut. 5:15).

Both sources also contain laws concerning the Sabbatical year. However, Leviticus 25 highlights the need for the land to rest, while Deuteronomy 28 makes no mention of not working the land, emphasizing instead the release of debts. Similarly, the cities of refuge in P serve as sacred, Levitical cities. The manslayer is required to live there until the death of the high priest, which results in the ritual expiation of the manslayer's bloodguilt. In D they serve the purpose of protecting the manslayer from the blood avenger (Deut. 19:6), and no set period of time is prescribed for habitation there.

There are numerous other differences and contradictions between the laws of D and P. For example, Deut. 14:21 prohibits only Israelites from eating anything that has died a natural death, commanding them to give it to the stranger or sell it to a foreigner. On the other hand, Lev. 17:15 states that "any living being, whether a citizen or an alien, who will eat carcass or a torn animal shall wash his clothes and shall wash with water and will be impure until evening and then will be pure."

Laws pertaining to festivals differ among the sources as well. The laws of Passover are identical in P (Ex. 12:1–14) and the Covenant Code; in both sources the Passover sacrifice is of sheep, and the ceremony is performed in the house, centering on the sprinkling of the blood on the lintel and doorposts. D details instead a public sacrifice of both sheep and cattle, with no mention of any domestic ceremony (Deut. 16:1–8). In the case of the autumn festival (known in later Judaism, though not in the Torah, as Rosh Ha-Shanah) and Yom Kippur, however, P is unique. No other source contains any mention of these holidays, while P details laws and ordinances pertaining to them.

HISTORICITY

Story and History in Genesis

For the later periods of Israelite history, we often have outside information from other ancient Near Eastern texts or from archaeological material that can confirm or disconfirm the historical information we draw from the Bible. Because we do not have this for the time period in which Genesis is set (the beginning of time through most of the second millennium B.C.E.), many scholars will say that there is no history in the book of Genesis. This is simply not the case. There is much historical information that can be gleaned from the stories of Noah's family, Abraham, and the sibling rivalry of Isaac's sons, for example. They are valued literature, *and* they contain information that is useful to the historian.

There are two ways in which story and history intersect in the book of Genesis. The first is in the idea of historical memory. An example of this is the story of Abraham's migration from Mesopotamia to the promised land. Although it is doubtful that we will ever find evidence for the existence of a historical Abraham, we do know from other sources that there were great migrations of people from Mesopotamia to the area of Canaan in the Late Bronze Age (second millennium B.C.E.). It is conceivable that, generations later, the authors who wrote the stories about the southwesterly movement of Abraham's family had a historical memory of their ancestry deriving from Mesopotamia. In fact, through Genesis the Israelite authors make no secret of the cultural debt they owe to Mesopotamia; the story of the Tower of Babel, for example, names the city of Babylon (Babel) as the center from which people originally spread throughout the world.

The second way we can gain historical information from the book of Genesis is to view some of the stories as analogies of later historical situations. That is, if we understand them in terms of when they were written, we learn more about the historical context of the authors (early to mid-first millennium B.C.E.) than about the earlier period in which they are set. The authors use the stories to explain their present circumstances, to explain the world in which they lived and how it was configured.

Other stories in Genesis also reflect the authors' historical contexts, and especially the relationship between Israel and her neighbors. In the story of the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah (Genesis 19), Abraham's nephew Lot and his family are warned to escape. They are instructed not to look back, but Lot's wife disobeys and turns into a pillar of salt. Lot and his daughters hide in the hills, thinking they are the sole survivors on earth. The daughters, believing that the responsibility for re-populating the earth lies with them, devise a plan to inebriate their father and take turns sleeping with him so that they might each conceive a child. Their plan works, and the end of this bizarre story is that the daughters name their sons "Moab" and "Ben-ammi." The author explains that these are the ancestors of the Moabites and Ammonites – nations neighboring Israel in the first millennium B.C.E. Rather than a side-note for the sake of gratuitous sex and incest, this narrative is an explanation by the author of his or her own historical context: the story acknowledges the Israelites' kinship with the Moabites and Ammonites but casts aspersions on their ancestry by linking their eponymous ancestors' births to incest.

The story of Jacob and Esau is the best example of authors formulating a story to explain their contemporary historical circumstances. Rebekah's twin sons begin fighting in the womb, and when she seeks an oracular explanation she is told, "Two nations are in your womb, and two peoples will be dispersed from inside you, and one people will be mightier than the other people, and the older the younger will serve." The delphic subtlety of this oracle is easily overlooked. In biblical Hebrew, the subject may either precede or follow the verb, so the matter of who will serve whom here is left open.

Esau is born first, meriting him both the birthright (inheritance) and the preeminent blessing of his father Isaac. But he sells his birthright to Jacob for a pot of red lentil stew, earning himself the nickname "Edom" (red). When it comes time for Isaac to die, he commands Esau to hunt game and prepare a feast, after which he will bless Esau. Rebekah overhears, disguises Jacob so as to deceive her blind husband, and prepares a feast for Jacob to bring before Esau returns. Thinking that Jacob is Esau, Isaac blesses Jacob with abundance and tells Jacob that he will be his brother's superior. When Esau returns, the deception is discovered, but Isaac can neither change the blessing he has already granted nor offer Esau a blessing of similar status. The best he can offer in Esau's blessing is that Esau will one day "break his yoke from your neck."

The analogy with the author's own historical moment is transparent: Rebekah is told that her twins are "two nations," and Esau's nickname is Edom. Jacob will later have his name changed to Israel. This is the story of the struggle between the nations of Israel and Edom. Under King David in the 10th century B.C.E., Israel defeated the older kingdom of Edom and dominated it for over a century, becoming larger and more prosperous. Edom finally broke Israel's yoke from its neck in the mid-ninth century B.C.E. Some time later, this history became an integral part of the stories of Israel's forefathers Isaac and Jacob, which both foreshadow and justify the historical events of the author's world.

The Exodus

The story of the Exodus, God's physical salvation of the Israelites from slavery, is the foundational event for Israelite nationhood and for Jewish history. Yet recent scholarship casts doubt on the historicity of this central event. Because the events were recorded so long after they occurred, and because we lack direct archaeological and extra-biblical textual evidence that the Exodus happened in the way the Torah describes it, many mainstream scholars would deny that an Exodus occurred at all. The lack of Egyptian records for any of the events described in the biblical story is compounded by the absence of any archaeological evidence for a mass movement of people out of Egypt to Canaan, who spent 40 years in the Sinai wilderness along the way. There is, however, a great deal of circumstantial evidence from Egyptian textual and archaeological sources in support of parts of the biblical narrative. The Bible itself also yields historical memories and other clues to the veracity of the basic Exodus story.

In Exod. 2:10, Moses is named by the Egyptian princess: "And she called his name Moses, and she said, 'Because I drew him from the water.'" The author is here offering a Hebrew etymology for Moses' name – from the mouth of an Egyptian princess. Given the unlikelihood that the princess would know Hebrew, much less give the child a Hebrew name, this would seem to be an argument against the story's historicity. However, unlike the story's author, modern scholars are aware that the name is not Hebrew but Egyptian: from an Egyptian word meaning "is born," as in the name Rameses, meaning "Ra (the sun god) bore him." The fact that Moses has an Egyptian name, and that this is unknown to the author of the text who supplied him with a Hebrew etymology, actually argues for the ancient tradition of a leader named Moses, long before the story was written in the form we have it. Additionally, the fact that Moses and other Israelite leaders such as Phinehas and Hophni bear Egyptian names is evidence that some Israelite ancestors did live for a time in Egypt.

Historians place the exodus in the early 13th century B.C.E. Although there is no Egyptian evidence for an exodus of Israelite slaves at this time, there were Semitic slaves working there from centuries earlier, and there was in fact a Semitic dynasty originating in Canaan, that took over and ruled Egypt from the mid-16th century to the 14th. Some historians have suggested that the expulsion of these Semitic rulers, the Hyksos, forms the background for the exodus story. In 1308, Seti I took back Egypt for the Egyptians and kicked out the Hyksos. This would accord with the reference to a new pharoah who did not know Joseph (Ex. 1:8); Semitic rulers of Egypt might have been more generous to fellow Semites living there than the new Egyptian rulers would be toward Semites who still lived in Egypt after the expulsion of the Hyksos.

The Israelite slaves are described as building store-cities for Pharaoh called Pithom and Rameses (Ex. 1:11). According to Egyptian records, Rameses II (1279–1212) commissioned the building of a new capital called "Pi-Rameses" on the eastern delta, which is where Jacob's family settles and their descendants remain until the time of the Exodus (Gen. 46:28–34; 47:1–10; Ex. 8:18; 9:26).

Other Egyptian records state that there were officials who were designated to distribute grain rations to the 'Apiru who were transporting stones to the great pylon of Rameses. The term 'Apiru, known from Ugaritic, Hittite, and Mesopotamian records as well as Egyptian ones, seems to have designated outlaws or refugees who lived in bands outside of organized society and functioned as an unskilled labor force in Egypt. Scholars debate the etymology of the term as well as its proper pronunciation (it could be rendered Hapiru or Habiru). Its similarity to the term "Hebrew" (*'ibri*) is intriguing.

Other Egyptian records have similar indirect bearing on details of the Exodus story. One record indicates that Pharaoh Seti I had built a tight network of strongholds along the coast of the northern Sinai, and some scholars have suggested that this might be the "Way of the Philistines" referred to in Ex. 13:17, a route that the Israelites avoid taking (albeit for a different reason in the story). Papyri Anastasi provide reports of Egyptian frontier officials stationed in the border zone between Egypt and Sinai, revealing tight Egyptian control over the eastern frontier at the end of the 13th century. Neither Egyptians nor foreigners could enter or leave without a special permit. The papyri also record the entry of many foreigners, such as an entire tribe from Edom, seeking food during times of drought. The Elephantine Stele, a monument dating from 1180 B.C.E. found on the island of Elephantine, describes an Egyptian faction rebelling against the pharaoh. They had bribed some Asiatics (Semites) who were in Egypt to aid in their rebellion, paying them in silver, gold, and copper (cf. Ex. 3:21–22; 11:2; 12:35–6). The pharaoh foiled the plot and drove the Asiatics out of Egypt.

To this may be added elements of Israelite religion and culture that reflect some sort of acquaintance with Egypt. The dimensions of the biblical Tent of Meeting and its courtyard correspond to those of the battle tent of Rameses II. Whatever the explanation of this correspondence, it suggests minimally some kind of experience with Egyptian culture.

Beyond the evidence from Egypt is the application of historical method to the Bible itself. The historian asks about a report: What is the likelihood that someone fabricated it? Who had an interest in fabricating it? In the case of the Egyptian bondage and exodus, one asks why Israel would have made up a story of being descended from slaves. One would be more skeptical if they had told a story of being descended from gods or kings or heroes. Similarly, there is the extreme unlikelihood of Israel fabricating the report of Moses' father-in-law being a Midianite priest. Why would anyone make that up?

The element of the story that frequently generates the most skepticism is the census, claiming tremendous numbers of Israelites in the wilderness (600,000 males). The numbers are unlikely. Some try to reduce them by taking the word for thousand (Hebrew *'elep*) to mean rather "clan." But the sums of the tribes listed in the text add up if the word means thousands, and they do not if it means "clans" – rendering this understanding impossible. It is better to recognize that the census numbers are not historical, but at the same time to recognize that this has nothing to do with whether the exodus was historical.

Thus there is no *direct* evidence for the story described in the book of Exodus. It is not necessary, nonetheless, to dismiss the entire account as fictional. The task of the modern historian is to examine the cumulative value of different types of evidence to reconstruct history. Details of the biblical story should be examined against extra-biblical evidence and weighed accordingly. While it is unlikely that the Exodus occurred in the way the Torah describes, there is a substantial amount of evidence that suggests the origin of at least some Israelites in Egypt.

The Tabernacle

The Tabernacle (*miskan*; also known as the "Tent of Meeting," *'ohel mo'ed*; and the "tent of testimony" *miskan ha'edut*) is the central concern of the Priestly narrative and laws. Key events in the P story are set at the Tabernacle, and entire chapters are devoted to the record of the Tabernacle's construction and contents. In a revelation at Sinai, Moses is instructed to build the Tabernacle (Exodus 26), and once it is constructed and consecrated (Exodus 40) it becomes the place of communication between God and Moses for the remainder of Moses' life. The Priestly legal sections require the presence of the Tabernacle for the fulfillment of numerous laws and especially for sacrifice, which according to P can be performed only at the Tabernacle (Lev. 1:3, 5; 3:2, 8, 13; 4:5–7, 14–18; 6:9, 19, 23; 14:11; 16:1–34; 17:1–9; Num. 5:17; 6:10; 19:4). The P legal sections emphasize repeatedly that execution of these laws at the Tabernacle is the rule *forever* (Ex. 27:21; 28:43; 30:21; Lev. 3:17; 6:11; 10:9; 16:29, 34; 17:7; 24:3, 8; Num. 18:23; 19:10).

As mentioned above, a crucial element of the Graf-Wellhausen model for a postexilic date for P was the idea that the Tabernacle never really existed but was rather a fiction, invented by the Priestly author as a means to write laws applying to the Second Temple. However, the sheer detail of the Tabernacle's description – its construction, the fabrics, wood, and precious metals involved – suggests otherwise. There is no comparably detailed description of anything else in the Priestly work, nor is there any justification for going into such intricate detail in a work of pure fiction. Furthermore, evidence collected by scholars since the beginning of the 20th century also undermines the arguments for the Tabernacle as fictional. Parallel institutions of tent shrines in the Semitic world, from ancient Phoenician to modern Islamic examples, have been described (see Cross 1961: 217–19, and references; and 1973, p. 72). Of particular interest is the pre-Islamic *qubbah*, a small, portable red-leather tent. The biblical Tabernacle is likewise protected by a red-leather covering (Exod 26:14).

Cross (1961) argued that the Priestly description of the Tabernacle refers to the tent that David erected to house the ark in Jerusalem (II Sam. 6:17 = I Chron. 16:1). Haran (1965) argued that it is the Tabernacle of Shiloh, which the Priestly writers believed to have been carried there from Sinai. There are passages that depict the place of worship at Shiloh as a tent. The structure is also called a house (*byt*) in Judg. 18:31; I Sam. 1:24, and a temple (*hykl*) in I Sam. 1:9; 3:3. It is called the Tent of Meeting in I Sam 2:22b, but some have argued that this half verse is a gloss, since its language is so similar to the P passage in Ex. 38:8 but is embedded in a context that is not Priestly, and it does not appear in the Greek or 4QSam^{a}. However, Ps. 78:60 agrees with this identification of the Shiloh structure, referring to it as a tent, and the P source in Josh. 18:1; 19:51 also speaks of a tent at Shiloh. It is possible to reconcile these accounts by postulating a sanctuary building at Shiloh that housed the Tabernacle.

The book of Chronicles consistently locates the Tabernacle in the Temple of Solomon (I Chron. 16:33 (MT); 23:32; 2 Chron. 24:6; 29:5–7), and the book of Lamentations speaks of the destruction of the Tabernacle along with the Temple (Lam. 2:6–7). This idea of locating the Tabernacle inside the Temple has been questioned due to the lateness of Chronicles as a source, and the assumption that Chronicles simply follows the P conception of the Tabernacle. However, writing in the period of the Second Temple, which did not contain the Tabernacle, it would not have served the Chronicler to develop P's perspective that sacrifice and other ritual practices can be performed nowhere other than at the Tabernacle. Furthermore, there is evidence that references to the Tabernacle in Chronicles were based on the Chronicler's preexilic source. Halpern (1981) has demonstrated that a substantial number of terms, phrases, and concerns in the Chronicler's history are found consistently through the accounts of the kings of Judah, ceasing completely after the reign of Hezekiah. This suggests that the Chronicler used a source text that recounted the history of the Judean monarchy down to the time of Hezekiah. The Tabernacle is one more item that is treated frequently and with importance down to the time of Hezekiah and then is not mentioned thereafter.

Adding further evidence to the idea that the Tabernacle existed and was housed inside Solomon's Temple, R.E. Friedman (1980) has approached the matter of the Tabernacle's historicity from the perspective of the measurements given for its construction. If the frames overlap with each other, conforming to the description of the materials in Exodus 26, the Tabernacle was 10 cubits high, 20 cubits long, and 8 cubits wide on its exterior. These dimensions correspond to the size of the space under the wings of the cherubs in the holy of holies in Solomon's Temple (I Kings 6:20; II Chron. 3:8). Additionally, a temple discovered at Arad shares the same dimensions (Aharoni 1973).

Thus the Tabernacle may have stood under the wings of the cherubs in the Solomonic Temple, or it may have been stored elsewhere in the Temple while the corresponding space under the cherubs' wings symbolized its presence. This would accord with the report in I Kings 8:4 (= II Chron. 5:5) that the Tabernacle was brought to the Temple at the time of Solomon's dedication, and with the other reports of the Tabernacle's presence in the Temple in the books of Chronicles, Lamentations, and Psalms. Psalm 61:5, for example, states "I shall abide in your tent forever, I shall trust in the covert of your wings." A rabbinic source likewise understands the Tabernacle to be stored inside the first Jerusalem Temple.

The evidence for the existence of the Tabernacle in the First Temple in Jerusalem, coming from this variety of archaeological, biblical, and rabbinic sources, both contributes to our knowledge of history and bolsters the case for the preexilic composition of P.

CENTRAL VALUES

Despite the variety of the Torah's sources and the great number and diversity of its laws, the Torah has remarkable unity. People have read and studied it meaningfully as a whole for millennia without being aware of its having been constructed from multiple sources. Even today, those who are aware of the Torah's literary history are able to read the final product and appreciate its unity as a work. This is due to several factors, which all derive from central values of the Torah:

History

Containing the world's earliest history-writing, the Torah tells its stories in chronological sequence. Each episode fits into a logical progression of events so that it is told against the background of everything that has come before it. This gives it a natural sense and unity that it would not have if it were merely a book of collected stories. This may seem obvious to us today, but no work before the Torah's sources had ever done this.

Monotheism

The Torah's account is grounded in its monotheism, thus connecting all its stories to its single focal point: the relationship between one God and the human community. Israel's was the first enduring monotheism, and the Torah is the work that established this concept at the heart of the religion of Israel and promoted it in Christianity and Islam. Scholars differ as to the point in history at which Israel became properly monotheistic, and as to which of the Torah's sources are properly monotheistic – as opposed to monolatry, which is the worship of one God while not denying that other gods exist. There can be little doubt that P and D are fully grounded in a belief in only one God. The creation and flood stories P depict a single deity in control of all the forces of the universe. Both P and D expect there to be only one place of sacrifice and worship, which is arguably the most compatible of all laws with monotheism: one God, one sanctuary, one altar. Deuteronomy declares as explicitly as any monotheistic statement in the Bible: "*He* is God. There is no other outside of Him" (4:35, 39). And it goes on to say in one of the most famous lines in the Torah and in Judaism ever since: "YHWH is one" (6:4). Some take this to mean merely "YHWH alone," but "alone" is an exceedingly rare meaning of biblical Hebrew *'ehad*. Even in one of the oldest layers of Deuteronomy, the Song of Moses asserts: "there is no god with me" (32:39). In J and E and in some of the earliest poetry there is more room for scholarly disagreement, since J refers to the *benei elohim* (Gen. 6:1–4), and the Song of the Sea asks "Who is like you among the gods?" (Ex. 15:11). Some take the first commandment of the Decalogue to be monolatry rather than monotheism because it says "You shall not have other gods before my face [or: in my presence]" (Ex. 20:3), seemingly not denying the existence of other gods. However, one must be cautious in this judgment because the issue may be linguistic rather than theological. It is difficult to construct a commandment to be monotheistic without referring to the divine beings who are being denied. In any case, by the conclusion of the Torah, the full work is manifestly monotheistic, with that doctrine coming to dominate the passages that may or may not have originally been monotheistic themselves. And this has both the religious value of establishing that doctrine and the structural value of binding the Torah into unity.

Covenant

The three covenants provide a structure in which all the laws and stories can fit and be understood. The Noahic covenant guarantees the security of the cosmos. The Abrahamic covenant promises that Abraham's descendants will have the land, independence (their own kings), and that YHWH will be their God. The Sinai (or Israelite, or Mosaic) covenant provides for security and well-being in the land. Every law can be understood as one of the covenant's requirements. Every story can be interpreted in terms of one or more of the covenants. Israel's salvation from Egypt is understood as fulfilling the promises of the Abrahamic covenant. Israel's rebellions in the wilderness can be understood as issues of compliance with the terms of the Sinai covenant. This contributes to the coherence and connection of all the Torah's components to one another.

All the Families of the Earth

The Torah is remarkable in that it establishes its concern in its first chapters as being the wellbeing of the earth. The ancient Israelite authors chose to begin their story not with Abraham or the exodus or Sinai, but rather with the birth of the earth and the skies above it. The authors set the story of their people in the context of God's relations with all humankind. The first 11 chapters are a story of the obstacles to that relationship. Then the deity turns to a single man, Abraham, and establishes a special relationship with him, and God tells him what the end result of this is to be: blessing for all the families of the earth. These are among God's first words to Abraham, God's first words to Isaac, and God's first words to Jacob. Each Israelite is commanded to love his or her neighbors as oneself. In case there would be any misunderstanding, they are commanded repeatedly to care for the alien (*ger*) as for themselves. The first occurrence of the word *torah* in the Torah is the command: "There shall be one *torah* for the citizen and for the alien" (Ex. 12:49). Despite hostilities from Esau's descendants the Edomites, Israelites are forbidden to abhor an Edomite. Despite everything that the Egyptians have done, Israelites are forbidden to abhor an Egyptian. The Torah thus ends with the people of Israel poised at the border of the promised land, with the choice to bring blessing or curse to themselves and the opportunity to bring blessing on all the nations and families of the earth.

With these four values – and sheer literary skill – the Redactors of the Torah constructed a logical, unified, and, above all, meaningful work of prose and poetry, law and history, that became the foundation and heart of the Jewish religion and the Jewish people ever after.

CANONIZATION

The earliest concept of a "Book of the Torah" as a sacred scripture is found at Josiah's reform, and refers to the book of Deuteronomy (II Kings 22–23, and see above). The addition of the redacted works of Genesis through Numbers was accomplished by the mid-5th century B.C.E., when the Pentateuch was recognized by the postexilic community as the "Book of the Torah of Moses" (Neh. 8:1–2). The "Book of the Torah" introduced by Ezra (Ezra 7) already contained passages from Leviticus (cf. Neh. 8:14, 15, 18b with Lev. 23:39 ff) and Numbers (cf. Neh. 13:1–2 with Deut. 23:4–5). Thus, after Genesis through Numbers was added to Deuteronomy, the term "Torah" acquired a broader application, referring to the entire Pentateuch. Though the canonization of the full Tanakh took place many centuries later, the text, status, and authority of the Torah was established at this relatively early stage; that is, in the biblical world itself.

[Richard Elliott Friedman and
Shawna Dolansky Overton (2nd ed.)]

THE TRADITIONAL VIEW

The traditional view of the Pentateuch is in the most striking and most extreme contrast to the critical theories adumbrated above. Whereas the critical theory depends upon the assumption that the Pentateuch (in particular) is a composite work consisting of different documents, composed at different times and edited into a composite whole, the traditional view is fundamentally based upon the belief that the whole of the Pentateuch, the *Torah proper, is a unitary document, divinely revealed, and entirely written by Moses, with the exception of the last eight verses of Deuteronomy, which record the death of Moses and, according to one opinion, were written by Joshua (BB 15a; according to the other they were written by Moses at the dictation of God "with tears" (*dema*), but Elijah Gaon of Vilna renders the word "mixed up"). In other words, on the death of Moses the whole of the Pentateuch was complete, having been divinely revealed. Nor can any rigid doctrine be laid down as to the exact manner of communication of this revelation. Only human terms can be employed to convey the fact of revelation; that is the wider meaning of the well-known phrase, "the Torah speaks in human language" (*dibberah torah ki-leshon benei adam*) and this, the only method available, is obviously inadequate to convey the mystery of *mattan torah* ("the giving of the Torah"), of the confrontation of Moses with God. The almost radical explanation of Ibn Ezra (in Ex. 20:2) as to the differences between the two versions of the Decalogue (Ex. 20 and Deut. 5), in which he maintains that the variations in wording and spelling are unimportant, is as an acceptable doctrine as the talmudic explanation of the alternative openings of the fifth commandment by saying: *zakhor ve-shamor be-dibbur eḥad ne'emru* ("remember [the Sabbath day] and keep [the Sabbath day] were uttered simultaneously"). All that can be said with certainty is that, as explicitly stated in Numbers 12:6–8, the manner of the divine communication to Moses differed from that to any other prophet, whereas the other prophets received their messages while their normal cognitive faculties were in a state of suspense, Moses alone received that communication while in full possession of all his normal cognitive faculties, "mouth to mouth, even apparently and not in dark speeches" (Num. 12:8), or, even more explicitly: "And the Lord spoke unto Moses face to face as a man speaketh to his friend" (Ex. 33:11). "Mouth to mouth" and "face to face" illustrate the inevitable anthropomorphism involved in using human terms to convey the mystery of divine communication. The unitary belief is clearly expressed by Maimonides. His formulation of the eighth of the 13 Principles (commentary to Sanh. 10 (11): 1; for the complete text see JQR, 19 (1907), 53 f.) is: "That the Torah has been revealed from heaven: This implies our belief that the whole of the Torah found in our hands this day is the Torah that was handed down by Moses and that it is all of divine origin. By this I mean that the whole of the Torah came to him from before God in a manner which is metaphorically called 'speaking'; but the real nature of the communication is unknown to everybody except to Moses to whom it came. In handing down the Torah, Moses was like a scribe writing from dictation the whole of it, its chronicles, its narratives, and its precepts." In his code Maimonides defines the person who denies the Torah as he "who says even of one verse or of one word that it is not of divine origin, or that Moses wrote it on his authority" (Yad, Teshuvah 3:8 based on Sanh. 99a). It is stated more succinctly in the prayer book formulation of the eighth of the 13 Principles of Faith of Maimonides: "I believe with a perfect faith that the whole Torah now in our possession is the same that was given to Moses our teacher."

Traditional Judaism rejected not only the Higher Criticism, i.e., the documentary theory, but also the Lower Criticism – textual criticism. With the sole exception of insignificant plene and defective spelling, the masoretic text is regarded as the only authoritative and authorized text of the Pentateuch. Insofar as textual criticism is concerned, one is on solid ground in maintaining the accuracy of the masoretic texts. The Sif. Deut. 356 states that "three scrolls were found in the Temple… In one of them they found written… in the other two they found written… the sages discarded the reading of the one and adopted that of the two: and ultimately one approved text was deposited in the Temple archives" (MK 3:4; Kelim 15:6), and a special group of readers, who were paid from the Temple funds, checked the text from time to time (TJ, Shek. 4:3, 48a). With loving care and sacred devotion the subsequent generations of scribes jealously guarded every letter of the text. Detailed regulations were laid down in order to ensure that the copying of the scrolls should be free from human error (see *Sefer Torah). There has been nothing like it in the history of literature or religion, and in this respect the masoretic text stands indisputably in a class by itself. It could not under any circumstances be expected that those who did not accept the supreme sanctity of the revealed word of the Torah, whether they were Alexandrian Jews who had come under the influence of Greek philosophy, or the sects of the

Dead Sea who rejected the *halakhah* of the Pharisees, should have the same approach of *noli me tangere* with regard to the handing down of every letter of the Torah. To them there was no harm in adding, diminishing, or amending for the sake of greater clarity or preconceived theological doctrines. In addition, the texts found in the Dead Sea Scrolls, which are a thousand years earlier than the textus receptus of Ben *Asher of 975, substantially confirm the accuracy of the present text and can be said on the whole to have demolished the ingenious emendations of two centuries of textual critics. One is therefore justified in regarding the traditional text as the most exact and authoritative. As Lieberman comments, "the sacred text of the Bible was handled by Jews, whose general reverence and awe in religious matters need not be stressed." To the sphere of the establishment of the correct text belongs the system of *keri* and *ketiv* (words written in one way but read in another), *tikkunei soferim, dates on certain letters, and special signs (for this, see Lieberman in bibl.).

With regard to the *tikkunei soferim*, Lieberman comes to the conclusion, after a close examination of the relevant sources, that they represent a later stage than that of the *keri* and the *ketiv.* This latter system modified the reading without altering the text, whereas the *tikkunei soferim* actually changed letters but only in order to remove indelicate, gross anthropomorphic, and unworthy expressions from the text, and their number is minute. It has been suggested that the very fact of the difference between the *keri* and the *ketiv* is evidence of the authenticity of the text, which was regarded as so inviolable that instead of being altered to remove difficulties, the emendations were, so to speak, relegated to the margin. The rabbis had a profound and extensive knowledge of every word, jot, and tittle of the Bible. The statement of the Talmud (Kid. 30a) that the *soferim* were so called because they counted (*soferim*) every letter of the Torah (and the passage proceeds to give the statistical results of that counting) expresses only the mechanical aspect of their intense preoccupation with the sacred text. Every word, every expression, and every deviation from the norm was made the subject of profound study. That study, however, went far beyond linguistic research; the Pentateuch was the textbook from which the whole corpus of *halakhah* had to be derived. They were therefore perfectly and acutely aware of the contradictions, real and apparent, in the text. But they resolved those contradictions by a complicated, but largely logical system of interpretations (see *Hermeneutics). Nor were differences in style unnoticed by them. The Midrash (Deut. R. 1:1) has a beautiful passage on the "healing which comes to the tongue" of the person who occupies himself with Torah, which is directly based on the unique style of Deuteronomy.

The justification on scientific and scholarly grounds of the theory of the unitary nature of the Pentateuch maintained by traditional Judaism is not nearly as satisfactory as that of the textual criticism of the text. Generally speaking, traditional scholars have not faced up to the challenge of the Documentary Hypothesis, and instead of accepting its challenge and answering it, have taken refuge in theological dogmatism. Almost the only attempt to face up to its challenge was that of David *Hoffmann in his brilliant *Die Wichtigsten Instanzen gegen die Graf-Wellhausensche Hypothese* and his biblical commentaries. He not only attempts to demolish the critical theory, but maintains, on grounds of scholarship, the doctrine of the unity of the Pentateuch. Other and more popular attempts, for example those of J.H. Hertz (see bibl.), constitute special pleading and suffer from the fact that they tend to create the false impression that the growing number of scholars who call into question the validity of the Wellhausen theory and its followers – such as J. Robertson (*The Early Religion of Israel*), J. Orr (*The Problem of the Old Testament*), W.L. Baxter (*Sanctuary and Sacrifice*), Y. Kaufmann (*Toledot ha-Emunah ha-Yisre'elit*, 1937), and U. Cassuto (*The Documentary Hypothesis*, 1961; *Commentary on the Book of Genesis*, 1961–64; *A Commentary on the Book of Exodus*, 1967) – ipso facto maintain the traditional view of the unity of the Pentateuch, an assumption which is at variance with the facts.

On the other hand, the documentary theory, or at least the evidence that the Pentateuch is not a unitary document, has been so convincing to many Orthodox scholars that various attempts have been made to adopt a syncretistic view which combines an acceptance of this theory with that of the implications which derive from the belief in the unitary nature of the Pentateuch, upon which traditional Judaism is based. The most determined exponent is L. Jacobs, who quotes approvingly the following statement of J. Abelson: "The correct perspective of the matter seems to be as follows: the modern criticism of the Bible on the one hand, and faith in Judaism on the other hand, can be regarded as two distinct compartments. For criticism, even at its best, is speculative and tentative, something always liable to be modified or proved wrong and having to be replaced by something else. It is an intellectual exercise, subject to all the doubts and guesses which are inseparable from such exercises. But our accredited truths of Judaism have their foundations more deeply and strongly laid than all this. And our faith in them not only need be uninjured by our faith in criticism, but need not be affected by the latter at all. The two are quite consistent and can be held simultaneously." An even more striking attempt at such a syncretism which makes possible a complete acceptance of the critical theory with a somewhat mystic view of the belief in the unitary theory has been made by a strictly Orthodox modern scholar, M. Breuer (see bibl.).

[Louis Isaac Rabinowitz]

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PENTATEUCH, SAMARITAN, Hebrew text of the Pentateuch used by the *Samaritans. The first copy of the Samaritan Pentateuch to reach the hands of Western Bible scholars was that obtained in Damascus by Pietro della Valle in 1616. Subsequent travelers brought to Europe other copies of the Samaritan Pentateuch, Targum, and other Samaritan literature. The interest created among Bible scholars was considerable, and for a long time hopes were high that at last an older version or recension of the Hebrew Bible than that of the Masoretic Text had been recovered. The first edition of the Samaritan Pentateuch to be printed was that in the Paris Polyglot Bible of 1629–45 and the London Polyglot of 1657. These earliest editions and the improved one of Blayney (Oxford, 1790), based on several manuscripts, proved inadequate for the purpose of precise textual criticism. The edition of A.F. von Gall (Geissen, 1918, repr. 1966), based on a large number of manuscripts, made the task of careful textual study much easier. From the Polyglot editions until the time of W. *Gesenius (see below), there grew up a lively debate about the relative merits of the Samaritan Pentateuch and the Masoretic Text. Several attempts to draw conclusions from detailed comparative analysis of the two versions were made, but it was the monumental examination of them by Gesenius in 1815 (*De pentateuchi samaritani origine, indole et auctoritate commentatio philologico-critica*) that produced the most lasting effect. From then, and for a century thereafter, his verdict that the Masoretic Text was superior and prior held sway. Gesenius listed and analyzed the roughly 6,000 textual differences in terms of eight categories or classes:

(1) grammatical revision by the Samaritan;

(2) glosses and explanations introduced into the text;

(3) emendation of words;

(4) additional or corrected readings supplied from parallel passages;

(5) larger additions and interpolations;

(6) emendation of place names;

(7) adjustment of forms of expression to the northern (Samaritan) dialect of Hebrew; and

(8) a special category, which included emendation of the verb (sing. or plur.) occurring with the Divine Name, removal of anthropomorphisms and anthropopathisms, etc.

In addition he regarded the Samaritan orthography (especially the gutturals) as inadequate and due mainly to scribal carelessness.

[John Macdonald]

The dictum of Gesenius holds true in its main points to this day. The text of the Samaritan Pentateuch always presents the *lectio facilio* against the more archaic and difficult forms of the Masoretic Text. Even a seemingly early form like *ʾatti* is in reality a late Aramaism. The Samaritan pronunciation of their Pentateuch, which is a sacred and zealously guarded tradition of the sect, shows clear affinity to the language of the Qumran Scrolls:

(1) The above-mentioned personal pronoun *ʾatti*, which is the equivalent of *ʾat* in the Masoretic Text, is *ʾatti* also in the Scrolls;

(2) The masoretic suffixes *-kem, -tem* are *-kemmah, -temmah* in the Scrolls. In the Samaritan Pentateuch they are spelled in the masoretic way but always pronounced like the longer forms found in the Scrolls;

(3) The stress in the Samaritan pronunciations is penultimate (not ultimate like that denoted by the Tiberian tradition), which causes *sewa*-vowels of Masoretic Text to become full vowels like in the text of the Scrolls, e.g., Sedom (MT) = Shadem (Samaritan) = Sodom (Scrolls). From all this it can be concluded that the text of the Samaritan Pentateuch in its present form presents a later stage of development than the Masoretic Text. Its peculiarities do not reflect a special Ephraimitic dialect but represent the common Hebrew prevalent in Palestine between about the second century B.C.E. and the third century C.E.

[Ayala Loewenstamm]

The best-known difference of substance is the additional text regarded by the Samaritans as the tenth command of the Decalogue. After Exodus 20:14 [17] (and Deut. 5:18) the Samaritan Pentateuch has a lengthy addition which consists in the main of Deuteronomy 27:2, 3 (part), 4–7, and 11:30. This, it is generally agreed, is a deliberate Samaritan interpolation designed to provide support for their claim that Gerizim is "the chosen place." Connected with this is the Samaritan Pentateuch variant בחר (*baḥar*) against the Masoretic Text's יבחר *(yivḥar)*, which occurs in all the relevant passages in Deuteronomy 12:5 ff. – the claim being that Shechem had been chosen as the place of the Lord's sanctuary. On the other hand, R.H. Pfeiffer (in bibl., 102) represented the viewpoint of many students of Samaritanism when he cited the probability of a Judean attempt to minimize biblical support for the Samaritan claim for the priority and legitimacy of their temple on Gerizim. He also asserted that in their scrupulous regard for the sacred text the Samaritans left anti-Samaritan (pre-schism) additions untouched. "With utter disregard for geographical reality, the gloss in Deuteronomy 11:30 removes Gerizim and Ebal from the vicinity of Shechem (still attested in the reference to the terebinth of Moreh) to the Jordan Valley at Gilgal, near Jericho (cf. 27:12, 'when you have crossed over the Jordan'); similarly in Joshua 8:30–35 the altar was built on Gerizim [sic!] while the Israelites were still encamped at Gilgal." His explanation is that "The early account of the origin of the cult at Shechem (Deut. 11:29; 27:11–26) was thus first given a Deuteronomistic interpretation (in 11:26–28, 31–32; 27:7–10); then the scene was removed to Gilgal and connected with the famous stones there (27:1–4, 8), and finally, after the Samaritan schism, 'Gerizim' was changed to 'Ebal' in Deuteronomy 27:4 (where the Samaritan Pentateuch still reads 'Gerizim') and in Joshua 8:30." This assessment of a problematic Samaritan Pentateuch passage is supported by several scholars (e.g., O. Eissfeldt, in bibl.), who agree that both Judeans and Samaritans were forced to take defensive measures in order to maintain the supremacy of their rival claims. Another problem concerns the fact that the Septuagint often agrees with the Samaritan Pentateuch against the Masoretic Text. Some examples of this agreement are: Genesis 4:8, "Cain said to his brother Abel, 'Come, Let us go out into the field'"(the Masoretic Text lacks Cain's words); Genesis 47:21, "As for the people, he made slaves of them" (MT "As… he removed them to the cities"); in Exodus 12:40 the 430 years of the Israelite sojourn in Egypt include their sojourn in Canaan as well (SP-LXX add "and their fathers"). However, in most cases the Samaritan text agrees with the Masoretic against the Septuagint, as shown by B.K. Walthe. The following example of agreement between the Samaritan Pentateuch and the Septuagint introduces a type of the former's variant from the Masoretic Text that was used by Samaritan exegetes and theologians in later times as proof texts for their distinctive credal statements. Deuteronomy 32:35 contains the words "against the day [ליום] of vengeance and recompense" in contrast to the Masoretic Text's "vengeance is mine [לי] and recompense," in a difference comprising a masoretic omission or Samaritan addition of two Hebrew letters. This "proof text" is used for the Samaritan belief in the Day of Vengeance and Recompense after the Resurrection. An example of this sort of Samaritan Pentateuch variant is Genesis 3:19 (against MT); the latter reads "and to dust you shall return," while the former has "and to your dust Thou shalt return," a difference of one Hebrew letter (*kaf*). This variant is a "proof text" for the Samaritan teaching about the Resurrection. (The principal SP variants are included in BH in the *apparatus criticus*.)

Dating

Most authorities agree that the Samaritan Pentateuch, with its approximately 2,000 agreements with the Septuagint against the Masoretic Text, existed in the third century B.C.E., and it is likely that the old or proto-Palestinian text-type came to exist in three recensions, a Judean and a Samaritan soon after the time of Ezra (or a little earlier), and a Greek (LXX) in the third century. Pfeiffer (in bibl., 101) expresses a widely held view of the dating of the Samaritan Pentateuch when he writes: "We may infer… that the Samaritan community adopted the Pentateuch as its Bible soon after its canonization about 400 B.C.…" The Masoretic and Samaritan texts (in spite of their variants) were recensions of the final edition of the Pentateuch, as also the Septuagint. Evidence that the Samaritan Pentateuch existed in B.C.E. times is provided from another source. Among the Qumran discoveries from 1947 onward the text of some fragments of biblical manuscripts clearly resembles the Samaritan text-type. Here are some Samaritan-Qumran agreements occurring in the Book of Exodus: to the Divine Command in 7:16–18 the Samaritan text adds its execution by Moses and Aaron; the Qumran text has the latter statement. In 7:29 the Qumran text has the start of the Samaritan text's expansion. Similar textual traits are found in 8:19; 9:5; 9:19; and 11:2. The Samaritan and the Qumran text add "and he smote them" in 17:13. The omission of 29:21 and 30:1–10 is a feature of both texts. However, the Qumran fragment texts sometimes agree with the Samaritan, sometimes with the Septuagint against the Samaritan, and sometimes with the Masoretic against either or both the Samaritan and the Septuagint.

Manuscripts

The best-known copy of the Samaritan Pentateuch is the so-called "Abishʿa (אבישע) Scroll," for which the Samaritans, since medieval times, have claimed a very ancient origin. The oldest part of this text was edited in 1959 by Pérez Castro. According to the colophon of the scroll itself the text was written by Abisha son of Phinehas, the great-grandson of Moses, in the 13th year after the Israelite conquest of Canaan. However, it is generally agreed that the scroll cannot have been written before the 12th century C.E. A fine scroll written in 1227 C.E. is a model exemplar of the best copies known. Written in gold letters, the scroll (roll) is wound around rollers of silver and has three parallel columns setting out the Hebrew, Aramaic (Targum), and Arabic versions in the one Samaritan script. The best-known manuscripts otherwise are not in roll form, but in book form, written on vellum or paper. There are no indications of vowel signs, but the text is divided into sentences and the whole into 964 paragraphs (Kiẓẓim = קצים; in other codices they number 966).

Script

On paleographic grounds, according to J. Purvis's investigation (1968), "the ancestry of the Samaritan script is to be traced ultimately to the cursive paleo-Hebrew of the sixth century B.C.E., although the direct percentage is the paleo-Hebrew of the late Hasmonean period" (in bibl., 36). There is no general accord about this, for there is a lack of evidence for the paleo-Hebrew script used in Samaria (or, for religious purposes, by the Samaritans) before the earliest-known Samaritan epigraphic materials, so that a complete history of the Samaritan script going back before Hasmonean times is not available. The Samaritan script, which is known in both uncial and cursive form, must have been in use at the time when Ezra introduced the "square" (אשורי) script for the Judean Bible. The Samaritan alphabet is the only descendant of the early Hebrew script which is still in use.

Versions

There seems to have once existed a Greek translation of the Samaritan Pentateuch (see Glaue and Rahlfs, in bibl.). Known as the *Samareitikon*, it was written after the Septuagint, by which it was influenced, but before Origen who refers to it. Its place of origin is unknown. A copy of the Samaritan Aramaic Targum was acquired for the first time by Pietro della Valle, along with the Hebrew text, in 1616. The Samaritans believe it to have been composed by Markah, i.e., in the fourth century C.E. According to J. Nutt (in bibl.), the Samaritans of his day believed it to have been the work of Nethanel (נתנאל; first century B.C.E.), but as there was a high priest of that name in the fourth century C.E., local tradition has probably confused the identification. The text is unsatisfactory in many respects, particularly in the orthography, and there are too few complete copies available for collation. The edition of Peterman-Vollers (1872) is the only complete one which is based on a number of manuscripts. The Aramaic of the Targum is similar to that of Markah's *Memar* and of the *Defter* (fourth century C.E.) of the Liturgy, and is undoubtedly Palestinian in type. The translation is literal and therefore comparable to the Targum of *Onkelos. The Arabic translation was made probably in the 13th century by Abu Said or (if he was only the reviser, as some think) by *Abu al-Ḥasan of Tyre in the 11th century (A.E. Cowley, in bibl., xxiv). This translation exists in several manuscripts. It is a fairly literal translation of the Hebrew (not the Targum), and some scholars have seen in it possible dependence on *Saadiah, but this is uncertain. The chief evaluation of the available texts was made by P. Kahle (in bibl., and subsequent articles) and L. Goldberg (in bibl.).

See also *Samaritan Language and Literature.

[John Macdonald]

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PENUEL (or **Peniel**; Heb. פְּנִיאֵל, פְּנוּאֵל), fortified city near the ford of the river Jabbok, where Jacob fought with the angel of the Lord and received the appellation Israel (Gen. 32:31). It appears with Succoth (with which it is also connected in the story of Jacob) as a city in Transjordan which refused to give food to Gideon and his men in their pursuit of the Midianites (Judg. 8:8); returning victorious, Gideon destroyed the tower of Penuel and slew the men of the city (Judg. 8:17). According to the last biblical reference to the place, it was built by Jeroboam I, king of Israel, after he built Shechem, apparently to be used as a capital for his lands beyond the Jordan (I Kings 12:25). Shishak captured Penuel in his campaign in the fifth year of Rehoboam, together with neighboring Succoth and Mahanaim (no. 53 on his list of conquered towns). It is now usually identified with the eastern mound of Tulūl al-Dhahab on the southern side of a bend in the Jabbok; the pottery on the site extends from the Late Bronze to the Byzantine periods. Some scholars suggest that both mounds of Tulūl al-Dhahab mark the site of Penuel, while others identify the western mound, on the northern side of the Jabbok, with *Mahanaim.

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[Michael Avi-Yonah]

PENUELI (formerly **Pineles**), **SHEMUEL YESHAYAHU** (1904–1965), Hebrew critic and teacher. Born in Galicia, he taught at the Hebrew Teachers' Seminary in Vilna and settled in Ereẓ Israel in 1935. For 11 years he was the principal of the school at Nahalal, and later became the principal of the Givat ha-Sheloshah Teachers' Seminary. In 1954 he was appointed lecturer in literature at Tel Aviv University, subsequently becoming head of the department.

He published articles on literature and education. The literary critic's task, according to Penueli, is to uncover the author's subconscious as it is revealed in his works. Therefore, Penueli relied heavily on psychological theories, especially on Freud. His books on Hebrew literature include: *Demuyyot be-Sifrutenu ha-Ḥadasha* (1946); *Ḥayyim Hazaz* (1954); *Yeẓirato shel S.Y. Agnon* (1960); *Safrut ki-Feshutah* (1963); *Massah al ha-Yafeh she-be-Ommanut ha-Sifrut* (1965); *Brenner u-Gnessin ba-Sippur ha-Ivri shel Reshit ha-Me'ah ha-Esrim* (1965). He also co-edited the English anthology *Hebrew Short Stories*, 2 vols. (1965).

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[Getzel Kressel]

PENZANCE, seaport in S.W. England. Jews trading with the fleet settled here in the mid-18th century and a small community was formed. In 1807 a synagogue was built in New Street, under the auspices of the merchant and distiller Lemon Hart (1768–1845), subsequently warden of the Great Synagogue in London. The most notable person in the intellectual life of the community was Solomon Ezekiel (1781–1867), who organized the "Penzance Hebrew Society for Promoting the Diffusion of Religious Knowledge" and carried on a vigorous running polemic against local conversionists. Toward the end of the 19th century, the community decayed. The synagogue was sold in 1906. In the early 21st century, the only organized Jewish community in Cornwall was in Truro.

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[Cecil Roth]

PENZIAS, ARNO ALLAN (1933–), U.S. physicist, Nobel Prize laureate. Born in Munich, Penzias left Germany in 1939, when he and his younger brother were placed on the *Kindertransport* by his parents, who were able to obtain visas to the United States. The family reunited in England and left for America shortly thereafter. Penzias attended New York City public schools, and received his doctorate in physics from Columbia University. Most of his professional career (1961–95) was spent at the Bell Telephone Laboratories. He performed research in radio astronomy and telecommunications and became vice president of its world famous research organization. As a scientist he is best known for his 1965 discovery, with Robert W. Wilson, of "background" radiation from the far reaches of space, supporting the "Big Bang" theory of the creation of the universe, work for which he and Wilson shared the 1978 Nobel Prize in physics. The author of two books on the societal impact of information technology, Penzias made significant contributions to our understanding of the chemistry of interstellar space, especially the complex molecules thought to underlie the origin of life. Subsequently moving to California, he advised and encouraged new hi-tech companies.

[Bracher Rager (2nd ed.)]

PE'OT (Heb. פֵּאוֹת; lit. "corners"), sidelocks grown in accordance with the prohibition of the Torah that "Ye shall not round the corners of your heads" (Lev. 19:27). The Talmud has interpreted this to mean that it is forbidden to "level the growth of hair on the temple from the back of the ears to the forehead" (Mak. 20b). The hair in this area may not be completely removed even with depilatory powder, scissors, or an electric shaver which may be used in shaving the face (see *Beard and Shaving). Although a negative precept, women are exempt from leaving *pe'ot* since the parallel prohibition against "marring the corners of the beard" (Lev. 19:27; Kid. 1:7; Kid. 35b) obviously does not extend to women. According to Maimonides a minimum of 40 hairs must be left for *pe'ot* (Yad, Avodat Kokhavim, 12:6). However, the Shulḥan Arukh (YD 181:9) rules in accordance with Rashi (Mak. 20a) that hair must be allowed to grow in front of the ears until it reaches the upper cheekbones (zygomatic arch). However, the maximum length of *pe'ot* has been determined by the custom of a particular time and place rather than by *halakhah*. The kabbalistic writings of Isaac *Luria attribute great significance to *pe'ot* because the numerical value (see *Gematria) of *pe'ah*, 86, is the same as the numerical value of *Elohim* (i.e., God). It has become customary for Ḥasidim and Orthodox Yemenites to leave *pe'ot*, either short ones which are curled behind the ears or long ones hanging down at the sides of the head.

PEPPER (Heb. פִּלְפֵּל, *pilpel*), the fruit of the perennial creeping plant *Piper nigrum*, which grows in India and in the neighboring tropical regions. The Hebrew name, like its English one, is derived from the Sanskrit *pippali*. Probably it was first brought to Ereẓ Israel after the expeditions of Alexander the Great. R. Johanan notes that in former times pepper was not yet available for spicing roast meat and *roquet* was used instead (Er. 28b). Pepper was an expensive spice and sometimes the seeds of bitter vetch were used as a substitute (Eccles. R. 6:1). In the time of the Mishnah and the Talmud, people were very fond of pepper and attempts may have been made to cultivate it. The *aggadah* states that the emperor Hadrian challenged Joshua b. Hananiah to the effect that despite the Land of Israel's virtues it lacked some things, such as pepper, and in reply Joshua brought him pepper from Niẓḥana (seemingly a locality in Upper Galilee) in order to prove "that the Land of Israel lacks nothing" (Eccles. R. 2:8, no. 2; see also *Cinnamon). R. Meir uses the same phrase about pepper and adds that it is subject to the law of *orlah just like other local trees (Ber. 36b). In addition to its use as a spice, pepper was also used to dispel halitosis and a woman was permitted to go out on the Sabbath with a peppercorn in her mouth (Shab. 6:5). A proverb had it that "Better one peppercorn than a basket full of gourds" (Meg. 7a). The term *pilpul (Avot 6:6; Tem. 16a) is connected with *pilpel* and from it is derived the verb *palpel*, to show sharpwittedness in learning. In the Middle Ages, pepper was a medium of exchange and was called "black money." A species resembling pepper is *pilpela arikhta*, long pepper (Pes. 42b), extracted from the bunches of unripe fruit of the species *Piper longum*. In Israel today the name *pilpel* is applied to the decorative tree *Schinus molle* and also to paprika, both of which originate in America and were unknown to the ancients.

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[Jehuda Feliks]

PEPPER, JOSEPH (1904–?), British meteorologist. Born in London, Pepper began work at the Meteorological Office, then under the supervision of the Air Ministry, in 1932. During the 1930s and World War II, he served as a meteorologist and weather forecaster in the Royal Air Force and Royal Navy in various parts of the world, including the Atlantic Ocean, Cyprus, and Singapore. He published research on the winds of the North Atlantic Ocean and, while engaged in various other tasks, began writing a work on climatic conditions in various parts of the world, together with an analysis of information gathered during the 1940s and the early 1950s on the Antarctic region. One result of this work was his book, *The Meteorology of the Falkland Islands and Dependencies 1944–1950* (1954). Before his retirement from government service Pepper prepared a comprehensive work on the rules of forecasting. He subsequently taught at the Central London Polytechnic.

[Dov Ashbel]

PERAHIA, MURRAY (1947–), U.S. pianist and conductor. Born in New York City into a Sephardi family, Perahia began studying piano in 1952 with Jeanette Haien. In 1966, he entered Mannes College, New York, where he studied composition and conducting. He continued his piano studies with Balsam, and later with Horszowski. He had collaborated in chamber music with such outstanding musicians as Casals and members of the Budapest Quartet before his debut with the New York Philharmonic Orchestra (1972). Later that year he gained international fame as prizewinner at the Leeds International Piano Competition. His memorable London debut in a recital revealed him to be a pianist of rare sensitivity and intelligence. Perahia appeared as soloist with the leading orchestras and conductors. From 1981 until 1989, he was artistic co-director of the Aldeburgh Festival, where he previously collaborated with Benjamin Britten and Peter Pears. In 1992 a hand injury compelled him to withdraw from public performances. In 1994 he returned to the stage as a soloist. At the core of his repertoire are works by Mozart, Chopin, Schumann, Brahms, and Bach. He reestablished the Haendel suites and many of the Scarlatti sonatas as a rewarding repertory for pianists. Perahia has won numerous music awards – among them the Avery Fisher Prize (1975). He is an honorary fellow of the Royal College of Music and the Royal Academy of Music.

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[Max Loppert / Naama Ramot (2nd ed.)]

PERAḤYAH, AARON BEN ḤAYYIM ABRAHAM HA-KOHEN (1627?–1697), rabbi and halakhic authority of *Salonika. Peraḥyah was born in Salonika and studied there under Asher b. Ardut ha-Kohen, Ḥasdai ha-Kohen *Peraḥyah, and *Ḥayyim Shabbetai. In 1689 he succeeded Elijah *Covo as chief rabbi of Salonika. He was regarded as an important *posek* among Salonika rabbis.

His works are: *Paraḥ Matteh Aharon* (2 parts, Amsterdam, 1703), responsa which reflect the contemporary condition of Turkish Jewry in general and of Salonikan Jewry in particular; *Pirḥei Kehunnah (ibid.*, 1709), novellae to the tractates *Bava Kamma*, *Bava Meẓia*, *Ketubbot*, *Gittin*, *Avodah Zarah*, and *Kiddushin*; *Bigdei Kehunnah* (Saloniki, 1753), eulogies and homilies; and *Zikhron Devarim* (*ibid.*, 1758), source references for the *Arba'ah Turim* of *Jacob b. Asher. In his *Paraḥ Matteh Aharon* he mentions another work, on *Alfasi, of which nothing is known.

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[Abraham David]

PERAḤYAH, ḤASDAI BEN SAMUEL HA-KOHEN (?1605–1678), rabbi and halakhist. Peraḥyah belonged to a well-known family in Salonika. He was one of the outstanding disciples of *Ḥayyim Shabbetai. In 1647 he was appointed one of the *dayyanim* of the old Italian community of the city. In 1671, after the death of Menahem Shullam, he was appointed chief rabbi there, and served, apparently, until his death.

Peraḥyah left behind homilies, novellae, and responsa. His collected responsa, *Torat Ḥesed*, were published in Salonika in 1722, and others appear in the works of his associates and disciples. Among his pupils were Daniel Gerasi, Jacob di Boton, and his kinsman, Aaron ha-Kohen *Peraḥyah.

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[Abraham David]

PERAḤYAH BEN NISSIM (13th century), talmudist. No biographical details are known of him. In a document dated 1240 he is mentioned as being in Fostat, Egypt. In 1247 he wrote a commentary on the *halakhot* of Isaac *Alfasi and a manuscript of it in the tractate *Shabbat*, written in 1304, is preserved in the Bodleian Library.

Extracts from the work are cited in the novellae on Maimonides' *Mishneh Torah*, which are published at the beginning of the *Ma'aseh Roke'aḥ* of Mas'ud Roke'ah, and additional fragments were published by Assaf in *Kirjath Sepher.* Many of the quotations from Maimonides given by M.L. Sachs in his *Ḥiddushei ha-Rambam la-Talmud* (1963) were taken from this work. A section of the work on chapters five and six was published at the end of the *Siyya'ta di-Shemayya* (1970).

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[Shlomoh Zalman Havlin]

PEREC, GEORGES (1936–1982), French author. Grandson of Isaac Leib *Peretz's nephew David, Georges Perec lost his father in the defense of France in 1940 and his mother in the deportation from *Drancy (February 1943). For the major part of the Nazi occupation of France, Perec was hidden in a Catholic boarding school at Villard-de-Lans (Isere) and after the Liberation he was brought up in Paris by his paternal aunt and her husband, a trader in fine pearls. Perec's early orphanage marked him deeply, and lies near the root of his highly defended but engagingly unpretentious literary personality. He was educated in Paris and at Etampes, where his philosophy teacher, Jean Duvignaud, encouraged him in his early decision to become a writer. Perec dropped out of a history degree at the Sorbonne and constructed his own "university" through reading, through friendships (notably with a group of Yugoslav artists and thinkers), and through La Ligne générale (1958–60), a cultural movement aiming to renew Marxism from within. Perec did two years' military service in a parachute regiment (1958–59), then worked briefly in market research before spending a year at Sfax, in Tunisia. From 1961 until 1978 Perec was employed as a research librarian in a neurophysiological laboratory.

Many of Perec's early writings have been lost. Every one of his published works is an exercise in a different style. *Les Choses. Une histoire des années soixante* (Prix Renaudot, 1965; transl. as *Things, A Story of the Sixties*, 1990), is an ironical portrait of a generation bewildered by the arrival of prosperity, written in a deceptively simple language intentionally echoing the style of Flaubert's *Sentimental Education;* it made Perec famous as the "sociologist" of his own generation. Perec's following works were not in the same vein and were less widely read until the 1980s. *Quel Petit Vélo a guidon chromé au fond de la cour?* (1966) is a mock epic. *Un homme qui dort* (1967; transl. as *A Man Asleep*, 1990) is a second-person narrative of adolescent depression in which the technique of collage is used almost invisibly (a film version was made by Perec and Bernard Queysanne in 1974), and *La Disparition* (1968) is a murder mystery novel written under the constraint of a lipogram on e. Perec became well known in Germany for a series of radio plays: *Die Maschine* (1968, with Eugen Helmle), *L'Augmentation* (1969), *Tagstimmen* (1971, with Eugen Helmle and Philippe Drogoz), etc. He also performed remarkable "alphabetic exercises" as a member of Ou Li Po (the "Workshop for Potential Literature" founded by Raymond Queneau) including palindromes, univocalics, and heterogrammatic poetry (*Alphabets*, 1976).

Perec's incessant formal innovations accompany a lifelong concern with autobiography. *La Boutique obscure* (1973) is a record of his dreams; *Espèces d'espaces* (1974) is a personal reflection on his relationship to spatiality; *Je me souviens* (1978; stage adaptation by Sami Frey, 1988) a record of "shared" memories. *W ou le souvenir d'enfance* (1975, incorporating earlier texts, transl. as *W or The Memory of Childhood*, 1988) is Perec's most direct approach to self-description and self-analysis, conducted by unusual means. It consists of two apparently unrelated texts printed in alternating chapters, which converge on a common image, that of the concentration camp. Its deceptive design is to make the reader share some of the inextinguishable anguish and guilt of a childhood survivor of the Holocaust.

La Vie mode d'emploi (Prix Medicis, 1978; transl. as *Life, A User's Manual*, 1987) is Perec's masterpiece, "the last great event in the history of the novel" (Italo Calvino). It describes the contents of a block of flats at a frozen moment of time – June 23, 1975, towards eight in the evening – together with the life-histories of the characters and the objects (and even the cats) caught in the novelist-painter's artfully calculated frame. Its success allowed Perec to live thereafter as a full-time writer. He pursued two projects related to the understanding of his own Jewish background: a "genealogical saga" of his family (unfinished), and a television essay on Ellis Island, as a kind of "alternative autobiography" (with Robert Bober, 1979–80). He also produced a film, published a novella about a forged painting representing many other paintings, each of which refer in some way to *Life*, *A User's Manual* (*Un Cabinet d'Amateur*, 1979), and continued to provide crosswords for the weekly magazine *Le Point.* After 1978, Perec also traveled widely, to Poland, America, Italy, and Australia, where he spent one month as writer in residence at the University of Queensland. He died, leaving many works incomplete. His unfinished "literary thriller" *53 Jours* (*53 Days*) was published in 1989. Other works that have appeared in translation are *Ellis Island*, *A Void* (a novel written without the letter "e"), and *Three by Perec*.

Perec's standing in French and world literature has not ceased to grow since 1982, as the originality and underlying coherence of his extremely diverse output comes into clearer focus.

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[David Bellos]

PEREFERKOVICH, NEHEMIAH (1871–1940), Russian Orientalist and philologist. Born in Stavropol, Caucasus, son of a *Cantonist soldier, he studied Oriental languages at the University of St. Petersburg. Beginning in 1893 he published essays, critical articles, and studies in *Voskhod* and other Russian-Jewish and Russian newspapers, under his own name or under the pseudonyms Al-Gavvas or Vostochnik.

He also wrote on Jewish history and literature for Russian encyclopedias and for the *Yevreyskaya Entsiklopediya*, of which he was an editor. His principal scientific work was a translation of the Mishnah, the Tosefta, the *Mekhilta, Sifra*, and the tractate *Berakhot* of the Babylonian Talmud into Russian (8 vols., 1898–1912), a popular work which was widely used by Jews and Christians alike. He also wrote popular books in Russian on the problems of Judaism, the Talmud, and the Shulḥan Arukh, as well as a textbook on Jewish history and religion for Jewish pupils attending Russian secondary schools. After the Revolution he settled in Riga, where he taught in local secondary and high schools and contributed articles to the Jewish and Hebrew press on public issues. He dedicated himself to research on the Yiddish language, and wrote a dictionary of Hebrew words and expressions in Yiddish (*Hebraizmen in Yidish*, 1929, 1931^2).

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[Yehuda Slutsky]

PEREIRA DE PAIVA, MOSES (17th century), Sephardi communal leader in Amsterdam. In 1686 he was head of a delegation to the Jewish community of *Cochin (India), sent to collect data on its history and way of life. He was warmly received by the leaders of the "white" Jewish community and his visit led to a close contact between the Jews of Amsterdam and Cochin, which lasted until Dutch rule over Malabar ended in 1795. On his return, he published *Notisias dos Judeos de Cochim* (Amsterdam, 1687), a comprehensive report on the origin, economic situation, traditions, and communal organizations of the "white" Jews, naming all the householders and particularly mentioning David Rahabi. He also deals with the "black" Jews, whom he calls the Malabar Jews, though according to him they are Jews only by religion and not by race.

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[Walter Joseph Fischel]

PÉREIRE, ÉMILE (**Jacob**; 1800–1875) and **ISAAC** (1806–1880), French economists, bankers, and journalists. The Péreire brothers were the grandsons of Jacob Rodrigues *Péreire. Born and educated in Bordeaux, both became prominent disciples of Claude Henri de Rouvroy, Comte de St. Simon, and his socioeconomic system. After the dispersion of the St. Simonians, the Péreires turned to political and economic writing, and during the 1830s their articles in *Le Globe, Le Temps, and Le Journal des Débats* attracted much attention. Emile's emphasis on railway development led James de *Rothschild to finance the Chemin de Fer du Nord and half a dozen other railway lines. In 1848 the Péreires gave up their cooperation with the Rothschilds and joined the *Foulds. Four years later, together with the Foulds and many other leading French financiers and politicians, they formed the Credit Mobilier, France's first modern investment bank. After spectacular initial successes the bank's fortunes sank with the Second Empire, and it was liquidated in 1867. Both Péreires were members of the French parliament and active in Jewish affairs.

In 1832 Emile edited the St. Simonian *Globe* and, from 1832 to 1835, *Le National*, the organ of the republican party. A boulevard in Paris was named after him. Isaac wrote *Leçons sur l'industrie et les finances* (1832), *Le rôle de la Banque de France* (1864), *Principe de la constitution des banques* (1865), and *La question réligieuse* (1878). In the late 1870s Isaac published his own paper, *La Liberté*, in which he advanced his political and industrial views. Isaac's son EUGENE (1831–1908), a civil engineer, railway administrator, and banker, was a member of the Chamber of Deputies and active in Jewish affairs. He inherited his grandfather's interest in the education of deaf-mutes.

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[Joachim O. Ronall]

PÉREIRE (Pereira), JACOB RODRIGUES (1715–1780), French educator of deaf-mutes and communal leader. Péreire was born into a Marrano family in Berlanga, Spain. After his father's death, Péreire was taken by his mother to France, and they returned to Judaism. Péreire's studies in anatomy and physiology helped him in his work as the first French educator of congenital deaf-mutes. He taught deaf-mutes to communicate by articulating sounds and lip-reading rather than by the use of signs. He strove to educate pupils, regardless of their social class, to the maximum level of ability in relation to their probable future. His achievements brought him great distinction and a grant by King Louis XV. Other educators were inspired by Péreire's work to efforts along similar lines, the best known of them being Edouard Séguin, a pioneer in the education of deaf-mutes. Péreire also gained distinction in other fields. A mathematical invention won him an annual pension and in 1753 his proposals for increasing the speed of sailing vessels received honorable mention. Péreire was active in Jewish life. In 1749 he became the voluntary counselor of the Sephardi community in Paris, and in 1761 was appointed officially to the position. Péreire himself wrote little, but his thought, as transmitted by Séguin, has received recognition in the educational writings of the 20th century. His works comprise a study of the articulation and vocabulary of a Tahitian native (1772) and *Observations sur les Sourds et Muets*, published by the Académie Royale des Sciences in 1778. His grandsons were Emile and Isaac *Péreire.

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[William W. Brickman]

PEREK SHIRAH (Heb. פֶּרֶק שִׁירָה; "chapter of song"), a short, anonymous tract containing a collection of hymnic sayings in praise of the creator placed in the mouths of His creatures. All creation, except man, is represented – the natural and supernatural orders, inanimate nature, the heavens and all their hosts, the world of plants, and the world of animals – each according to its kind. Together the hymns comprise a kind of cosmic song of praise by the whole of creation. They are set in a prose midrashic framework imparting a firm literary structure to a collection that in itself lacks textual continuity. Most of the "hymns" are in fact biblical verses, the greater part of them citations from Psalms. At the end of *Perek Shirah* there are pseudepigraphic additions, apparently of a later date, praising the one who says *Perek Shirah*. The connection between many of these texts and the creature uttering the praise in each hymn is not clear. The anthropomorphism of creation in the composition, at first sight totally foreign to the spirit of Judaism, has, from the first references in literature until the most recent, given rise to violent opposition and accusations of forgery. Consequently there have been various attempts, some apologetic, to deny the work's apparent simplicity in favor of a philosophical-allegorical, talmudic-didactic, or kabbalistic-mystical interpretation.

The text has been preserved in several manuscripts, including *genizah* fragments, the earliest dating from about the tenth century. The versions differ considerably in content and arrangement, and classification of the manuscripts reveals the existence of three distinct traditions: Oriental, Sephardi, and Ashkenazi. The first printed edition, with a commentary by Moses b. Joseph de *Trani (printed as an appendix to his *Beit ha-Elohim*; Venice, 1576), was followed by dozens of corrupt editions, generally accompanied by commentaries.

Perek Shirah is first mentioned in a polemical work of *Salmon b. Jeroham, a Jerusalem Karaite of the first half of the tenth century. References to it can be found in European sources at the end of the 12th century, and from the 13th century onward various interpretations are known, mainly kabbalistic. It would seem that from the outset *Perek Shirah* was intended as a liturgical text, as also seems apparent from the pseudepigraphic mystical additions. In the early Ashkenazi manuscripts it was included in *maḥzorim* and collections of special prayers in close proximity to prayers issuing from circles of *Ḥasidei Ashkenaz. The spread of the later custom of reciting *Perek Shirah* as a prayer and its inclusion in printed *siddurim* was mainly due to the influence of the Safed kabbalists.

Talmudic and midrashic sources contain hymns on the creation usually based on homiletic expansions of metaphorical descriptions and personifications of the created world in the Bible. The explicitly homiletic background of some of the hymns in *Perek Shirah* indicates a possible connection between the rest and tannaitic and amoraic homiletics, and suggests a hymnal index to well-known, but mostly unpreserved, homiletics. The origin of this work, the period of its composition, and its significance may be deduced from literary parallels. A tannaitic source in the tractate *Ḥagigah* of the Jerusalem (Ḥag. 2:1, 77a–b) and Babylonian Talmud (Ḥag. 12a–14b), on hymns of nature associated with apocalyptic visions and with the teaching of *ma'aseh bereshit*, serves as a key to *Perek Shirah*'s close spiritual relationship with this literature. Parallels to it can be found in apocalyptic literature, in mystic layers in talmudic literature, in Jewish mystical prayers surviving in fourth-century Greek Christian compositions, in *Heikhalot* literature, and in *Merkabah mysticism. The affinity of *Perek Shirah* with *Heikhalot* literature, which abounds in hymns, can be noted in the explicitly mystic introduction to the seven crowings of the cock – the only non-hymnal text in the collection – and the striking resemblance between the language of the additions and that of **Shi'ur Komah* and other examples of this literature. In *Seder Rabbah de-Bereshit*, a *Heikhalot* tract, in conjunction with the description of *ma'aseh bereshit*, there is a clear parallel to *Perek Shirah's* praise of creation and to the structure of its hymns. The concept reflected in this source is based on a belief in the existence of angelic archetypes of created beings who mediate between God and His creation, and express their role through singing hymns. As the first interpretations of *Perek Shirah* also bear witness to its mystic character and angelologic significance, it would appear to be an apocalyptic chapter of *Heikhalot* literature.

Some parallels to *Perek Shirah* exist outside Hebrew literature: the Testament of Adam (preserved in Syriac, Greek, and in later translations), which contains horaries of praise by the whole of creation framed in an apocalyptic angelologic vision similar to that in *Seder Rabbah de-Bereshit*, the Greek *Physiologus* of the second century, which reveals structural and formal parallels to *Perek Shirah*; and Islamic oral traditions (*Ḥadīth*) and *Ikhwān al-Ṣafā'* ("Sincere Brethren"), writings on the praise of created beings.

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[Malachi Beit-Arie]

PERELMAN, CHAIM (1912–1984), Belgian philosopher. Perelman, who was born in Warsaw, Poland, became professor of logic and metaphysics at the Université Libre in Brussels in 1944. He was also dean of the faculty of philosophy and letters and director of the Ecoles des Sciences de l'Education. Many of his early writings dealt with mathematical logic. In later years he was especially concerned with the concept of justice and with forms of discursive reasoning other than deductive reasoning.

A full statement of his theory of argument is presented in the two-volume *Traité de l'Argumentation* (1958), published jointly with Mme. L. Olbrechts-Tyteca. Some of his other major works are *De l'Arbitraire dans la Connaissance* (1933), *De la Justice* (1945), *Justice et Raison* (1963), and *Rhétorique et Philosophie* (1952). He published numerous articles in philosophical journals. Perelman was secretary-general of the Fédération Internationale des Sociétés de Philosophie, president of the Société Belge de Philosophie and of the Société Belge de Logique et Philosophie des Sciences. He was a member of the board of governors of the Hebrew University, and the secretary-general of the Belgian Friends of the Hebrew University. *Justice, Law and Argument* (essays) and *The Realm of Rhetoric* appeared in English translation in 1980.

[Myriam M. Malinovich]

PERELMAN, RONALD OWEN (1943–), U.S. financier. To many people, Perelman symbolized the corporate-raider rogue of the 1980s, a highly visible and aggressive businessman who achieved power and immense wealth by buying and selling companies. His strategy usually involved the issuance of "junk bonds," high-yield, high-risk instruments often likely to default. His private life – his extravagant homes, multiple marriages, and a bitter child-custody case – was sometimes as high-profile and controversial as his professional deeds. At the same time, Perelman, a devout Jew, contributed millions to Jewish-related causes, including the Ronald O. Perelman Institute for Judaic Studies, endowed in 1995 at Princeton University in New Jersey.

Perelman began his career in Philadelphia, where he was raised. In 1966, after earning an undergraduate degree at the University of Pennsylvania and an M.B.A. at the University's Wharton School of Business, he went to work for his father, Raymond Perelman, the owner of a sheet-metal business. When he was 35, he moved to New York to strike out on his own. In 1979, with the aid of a $1.7 million loan from his first wife, a Philadelphia heiress, he purchased 40 per cent of Cohen Hatfield Industries, a jewelry store operator. He stripped the company of its non-performing assets and within a short time had the leverage to acquire MacAndrews & Forbes, a holding company, for $45.7 million. He sold its cyclical textile business, but kept its two biggest generators of cash, a licorice-extract business and a chocolate company, selling the latter in 1986 for $45 million. By issuing millions of dollars in junk bonds, Perelman was also able to buy a series of diverse companies, including Consolidated Cigars, Movie Labs, Technicolor, Video Corp. and Pantry Pride. In 1986, he completed one of the decade's most bitterly contested takeovers, acquiring 83% of Revlon, the venerable cosmetics and fragrance giant founded by Charles H. *Revson in 1923. Revlon, once dominant in the beauty business, had been struggling for years and Perelman saw an opportunity to get it at a price lower than its potential. Opposed by Revlon's board, he fought a long and contentious court battle and was able to win the company in a $1.8 billion leveraged buyout, becoming chairman. Reversing the decline of the fading but well-known firm proved daunting. Already beset by thinning margins, increasing competition, a loss of department store business, and an ill-fated plunge into health care products, Revlon had accumulated close to $1 billion in debt, which Perelman assumed when he took over. A publicly owned firm when Perelman acquired it, Revlon went private in 1987, remaining so until 1996, when it was again listed on the New York Stock Exchange. That did not keep it from falling even deeper into debt and Perelman was forced to use hundreds of millions of dollars of his own money to keep Revlon afloat. His personal fortune, once estimated at $6.5 billion, had fallen to half that figure by 2004, when Revlon's debt load was approaching $2 billion. At the same time, the company – which had not recorded a profit since 1997 – was embarking on a program aimed at halving its debt in two years.

[Mort Sheinman (2nd ed.)]

PERELMAN, SIDNEY JOSEPH (1904–1979), U.S. humorist. Perelman was born in Brooklyn, but grew up in Providence, Rhode Island, and studied at Brown University, where he edited a humorous magazine. He began his professional career in 1925 as a contributor to the humor magazines *Judge* and *College Humor* and began to write for the movies in 1930. From 1934 he published amusing or satirical pieces in the *New Yorker*, to which he contributed steadily for more than 30 years.

Perelman's versatility as a humorist extended to the theater. Among his better known comedies are *One Touch of Venus* (1943), written in collaboration with Ogden Nash, and *The Beauty Part* (1963). His work for the movies included scripts for the *Marx Brothers, and his screenplay for the movie *Around the World in Eighty Days* won him the New York Critics' Award as the Best Screen Writer of 1956. He also wrote three amusing travel books: *Westward Ha!* (1948), *The Swiss Family Perelman* (1950), and *Eastward Ha!* (1977). Other works include *Dawn Ginsbergh's Revenge* (1929); *Strictly from Hunger* (1937); *Look Who's Talking* (1940); *Crazy Like a Fox* (1944); *The Best of S.J. Perelman* (1947); *Listen to the Mocking Bird* (1949); *The Road to Miltown; or, Under the Spreading Atrophy* (1957); *The Rising Gorge* (1961); *Chicken Inspector No. 23* (1966); *Baby, It's Cold Inside* (1970); *Vinegar Puss* (1975); *The Last Laugh* (1981); and *That Old Gang O'Mine: The Early and Essential S.J. Perelman* (1984).

The bulk of Perelman's work was made up of the relatively brief *New Yorker* pieces. A continuous sparkle of fantastic wit animates his writing, whether it be burlesque, parody, or satire. Perelman exploited all the possibilities of the English language for comic effects, especially through the devices of pun and anticlimax. With mingled compassion and mockery, he pointed up the weakness and folly of the individual as a puppet and victim of 20th-century society and its mass media. In a 1975 interview with the *Philadelphia Inquirer*, Perelman commented on the demise of the light satiric essay as well as the tempering of his own comic tone in his later years: "It is not easy to satirize the absurd when the absurd has become official."

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[Israel J. Kapstein / Robert L. DelBane (2nd ed.)]

PERELMANN, JEROHMAN JUDAH LEIB BEN SOLOMON ZALMAN (1835–1896), Lithuanian talmudist known as Ha-Gadol mi-Minsk ("the great scholar of Minsk"). Perelmann was born in Brest-Litovsk (Brisk), and in his youth he studied in Kovno at the yeshivah of Israel *Lipkin of Salant, where he was renowned as the "Brisk prodigy." In 1865 he was appointed rabbi of Seltso, in 1875 of Pruzhany, and in 1883 of Minsk, where he served until his death. He was one of the rabbis who supported the Ḥovevei Zion movement. His responsum about this matter was published in *Sinai* (6 (1940), 210–21). His *Or Gadol* (1924), consisting of responsa and studies mostly on *Even ha-Ezer,* together with a small portion on *Oraḥ Ḥayyim* and *Yoreh De'ah*, was published by his son Isaiah together with notes, glosses, and novellae. His *Or Gadol ve-Yitron ha-Or,* notes and novellae on the Mishnah, was published in the Romm Vilna edition of the Mishnah.

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[Samuel Abba Horodezky]

PEREMYSHLYANY (Pol. **Przemyslany**), town in Lvov district, Ukraine. Peremyshlyany was part of Poland until the partition of 1772 when it was annexed by Austria. Regained by independent Poland in 1919, it belonged to the province of Tarnopol. In 1945 it was incorporated into Soviet Ukraine. The Jewish community was already active during the period of the *Council of the Four Lands and became particularly famous during the 18th and 19th centuries because of its dynasty of ḥasidic leaders. These included R. Aaron Leib of Peremyshlyany (d. in Ereẓ Israel, 1773) who was the son of R. Meir of Peremyshlyany, known as "the First" or "the Great"; both were disciples of *Israel b. Eliezer Ba'al Shem Tov. The son of R. Aaron Leib was R. Meir of *Peremyshlyany, one of the most outstanding personalities among the *ẓaddikim* of Galicia. The town expanded during the 19th century. In 1865 the combined population was about 2,200 and by 1921 there were 4,093 inhabitants, including 2,051 Jews. In the 1933 elections to the Jewish community council a Zionist delegate was elected president. The interest-free loan fund and the orphanage were among the most active welfare institutions. As a result of antisemitic agitation, a bomb was thrown into the *bet ha-midrash* in 1935.

[Shimshon Leib Kirshenboim]

Holocaust Period

The number of Jews had grown to nearly 6,000 in 1941 with the influx of refugees from the vicinity and from western Poland. The German forces arrived on July 1, 1941. Three days later they burned down the main synagogue and pushed a number of Jews into the flames. In the fall of 1941 kidnappings for labor camps in Kurowice and Jaktorow began. About 500 Jewish men were taken on Oct. 5, 1941, to Brzezina forest and murdered. In May 1942 a Gestapo official removed the inmates of the Jewish hospital and killed them. Other acts of terror continued at the end of July and in September until the end of 1942. Most of the victims were sent to *Belzec extermination camp. In August 1942 a ghetto was set up, to include Jews from *Glinyany and Swirz as well. On May 23, 1943, the ghetto was wiped out and the city declared **judenrein*.

After the war the Jewish community was not renewed in Peremyshlyany. A number of Jews who came out of the forests or from hiding, along with a number of returnees from the Soviet Union, came to their native town, but most emigrated either to Israel via Poland or to other countries abroad. In the late 1960s there were about five Jewish families in the town.

[Aharon Weiss]

PEREMYSHLYANY, MEIR BEN AARON LEIB OF (1780?–1850), ḥasidic *ẓaddik*. He was the grandson of R. Meir of Peremyshlyany, a disciple of *Israel b. Eliezer Ba'al Shem Tov (the Besht), who, according to a later ḥasidic tradition, assisted the Ba'al Shem Tov in his struggle against the *Frankists. R. Meir, who was born in Peremyshlyany, Galicia, was a disciple of Mordecai of Kremenets. In 1813, the year of his father's death, he became rabbi in Peremyshlyany and leader of the ḥasidic community there. As a result of a slander against him, he was compelled to leave for Lipkany, Bessarabia, where he held rabbinical office. This episode is mentioned by his Ḥasidim and in a document of the Austrian authorities of 1827. Meir lived in Lipkany for three years and became involved in a dispute with the Ḥasidim of Abraham Joshua *Heschel of Apta (Opatow). To this may be added the testimony of Abraham (Dov) Baer *Gottlober according to which Meir was always accustomed to live in the border towns, and that he changed his place of residence several times. From Lipkany he returned to Peremyshlyany and in 1843 he moved to Nikolayev, where he lived for the last seven years of his life.

In 1826 Joseph *Perl applied to the Austrian authorities for permission to reprint the *Sefer Vikku'aḥ* (of Israel *Loebl, 1798). At the end of this volume was a list of ḥasidic leaders, among whom was the name of Meir of Shebsh. Perl changed the name to Meir Shebseir, in accordance with the reading in a manuscript. The Austrian censorship wrongly identified Meir Shebseir with Meir of Peremyshlyany and as a result ordered an enquiry as to whether he and the other ḥasidic rabbis were in opposition to the government, encouraging their followers to disobey the law, but the results of the investigation were negative. In 1839 the police of Lvov submitted to the government an indictment against "miracle-workers," which contained, among others, the name of Meir of Peremyshlyany. The government ordered an investigation, the results of which are unknown.

Meir was on friendly terms with Israel of *Ruzhin, whom he assisted in crossing the border when the latter was persecuted by the authorities, and Solomon b. Judah Aaron *Kluger of Brody, who eulogized Meir upon his death. In *Megalleh Temirin* by Joseph Perl some of Meir's actions are described with derision, e.g., that he engaged in the healing of the sick and childless women. Meir was accustomed to spend his money freely among the poor, as related by both his Ḥasidim and a *maskil*, Dr. Solomon Rubin, opposed to Ḥasidism. He was known for his strange behavior, which his Ḥasidim interpreted as being merely external and his opponents as insanity. He gained popularity as a *ẓaddik* and had many followers. Reports of the miracles which he performed were at first circulated orally and later in print.

Meir made no original contribution to ḥasidic doctrine, nor did he write any halakhic or homiletical works. After his death, however, his followers collected his teachings which were included in various works or handed down from hearsay; among them the following three works in Yiddish: *Ma'aseh Nora me-ha-Ẓaddik… R. Meir mi-Peremyshlani, Eyn Emese Mayse fun R. Meir' mi-Peremyshlany*, and *Shivḥei R. Meir.*

They were collected and published in *Divrei Me'ir* (1909), *Or ha-Me'ir* (1926), and *Margenita de-Rabbi Meir* (ed. Margalioth, 1926). A *Seder Hakkafot* ("Order of the *Hakkafot* [for Simḥat Torah]," 1891) which he composed was also published.

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[Zeev Gries]

PERES (Persky), SHIMON (1923–), Israeli statesman, chairman of the Israel Labor Party 1977–92, 1995–97, and 2003–05, member of the Knesset since the Fourth Knesset; prime minister of Israel 1984–86 and 1995–96. Born in Vishneva, in Belorussia, Peres immigrated with his family to Palestine in 1934. He attended the Ge'ulah School in Tel Aviv and the Agricultural School at Ben-Shemen. In 1940 he was one of the founders of kibbutz Alummot, and served as secretary of Tenu'at ha-No'ar ha-Oved ve-ha-Lomed youth movement. Peres started to work with David *Ben-Gurion and Levi *Eshkol in the *Haganah command in 1947, and continued to serve them after the establishment of the state. In 1949 he was appointed head of the Ministry of Defense mission to the U.S., which was engaged in purchasing military equipment. In 1950 he was appointed temporary head of the naval services in the IDF. In 1952 he was appointed deputy director general of the Ministry of Defense and the following year director general. In 1955, after it became known that President Gamal Abdel Nasser of Egypt had signed a major arms deal with Czechoslovakia, Peres helped forge close ties with France, which also viewed Nasser as an enemy. In 1959 he was assigned the task of setting up the nuclear reactor in Dimonah. He also played a major role in rehabilitating Israel's arms industries, and advanced the development of the Israel Aircraft Industry (IAI).

Peres was first elected to the Fourth Knesset in 1959 on the Mapai list, and was appointed deputy minister of defense – a position he held until 1965. In that year he left Mapai; together with Ben-Gurion, Moshe *Dayan, and others, he was one of the founders of the *Rafi party, and was appointed its secretary general. When Prime Minister Golda *Meir established her government after the elections to the Seventh Knesset, Peres was first appointed minister without portfolio responsible for the economic development of the occupied territories, but in December 1969 was promoted to minister of immigrant absorption. The following year he was appointed minister of communications. In 1974 he served as minister of information in the short-lived government formed by Meir. After Meir's resignation he failed in his first contest against Yitzhak *Rabin for the Labor Party leadership. In the government formed by Rabin in 1974 he served as minister of defense. As minister of defense he played a major role in reorganizing the IDF in the aftermath of the Yom Kippur War. In this period he was considered more hawkish than Rabin, and actually gave in to the newly founded *Gush Emunim, permitting the permanent settlement of Elon Moreh. On February 23, 1977, Peres once again lost in a contest for the Labor Party leadership, but following Rabin's resignation, on April 7, 1977, became party chairman. Under his leadership the Labor-Mapam Alignment suffered a bitter defeat in the elections to the Ninth Knesset in 1977, and for the first time since the establishment of the state the *Ḥerut movement, within the framework of the Likud, gained power. In opposition Peres acted to strengthen the ties of the Labor Party abroad, especially within the framework of the Socialist International, and in 1978 was elected as one of this organization's vice presidents. Peres led the Alignment in opposition until 1984. As a result of the draw in the results of the elections to the Eleventh Knesset in 1984, a National Unity Government was established with the Likud, based on parity, and a rotation in the premiership. Under the coalition agreement Peres served as prime minister in the years 1984–86, while Likud leader Yitzhak *Shamir served as vice premier and minister for foreign affairs. In the years 1986–88 the two leaders switched positions. In April 1987 Peres concluded the London Agreement with King Hussein of Jordan, which dealt with the convening of a Middle East peace conference, but the agreement was not approved by the inner cabinet in which the Alignment and the Likud were equally represented, and at the end of 1987 the first Intifada broke out. In the National Unity Government formed by Shamir in 1988, after the elections to the Twelfth Knesset, Peres was appointed minister of finance. In March 1990, following the stalemate in the peace process, Peres decided to bring down the government in a vote on a motion of no confidence, but after the government fell, in what Rabin was later to term the "rotten trick," he failed to form an alternative government, and in June 1990 Shamir established a narrow government without Labor.

Following Peres' failure to establish a government, Rabin announced that he would once again contest the Labor Party leadership, and on February 19, 1992, won the leadership contest, and replaced Peres as leader of the Labor Party. In the elections to the Thirteenth Knesset held later that year, Rabin led the Labor Party to its first clear-cut victory since the 1973 elections, and in the government that he formed Peres was appointed vice premier and minister for foreign affairs. In cooperation with Rabin Peres approved the Oslo Process initiated by his deputy Yossi *Beilin, which led to Israel's recognition of the PLO and the signing of the Declaration of Principles on September 13, 1993. Together with Rabin and PLO chairman Yasser Arafat, he received the Nobel Prize for Peace on December 10, 1994. Following Rabin's assassination on November 4, 1995, Peres was appointed prime minister and minister of defense. In the first direct election of the prime minister held simultaneously with the elections to the Fourteenth Knesset in 1996, Peres was defeated by Binyamin *Netanyahu by a very small margin. In 1996, following the elections, he established the Peres Center for Peace, designed to further the implementation of the peace agreements by means of social and economic cooperation.

In June 1997, Peres was replaced by Ehud *Barak as chairman of the Labor Party. Following Barak's victory over Netanyahu in the direct election of the prime minister held simultaneously with the elections to the Fifteenth Knesset in 1999, Peres was appointed minister for regional cooperation, but was largely ignored by Barak in his political moves. In 2000, following the resignation of Ezer *Weizman from the presidency, Peres was a candidate for the position, but lost to the Likud's Moshe *Katzav. Following Barak's defeat by Ariel *Sharon in the next direct election of the prime minister, held in February 2001, Sharon invited the Labor Party to join his government, and Peres, who once again served as acting chairman of the party, was offered the post of deputy prime minister and minister for foreign affairs. However, Labor left the government in November 2002, and Amram Mitzna was elected chairman of the Labor Party. Peres continued to serve in the Sixteenth Knesset in opposition, and after Mitzna's resignation from the leadership of the party, once again became acting chairman of the party. In January 2005, after all of Sharon's coalition partners left the government, Labor once again joined the government, and Peres was appointed vice premier and minister for regional cooperation. In 2005, Amir *Peretz scored an upset victory over Peres for the Labor Party chairmanship and Peres switched allegiance to support Prime Minister Ariel Sharon, who established a new party, Kadimah.

Among his numerous writings are *From These Men: Seven Portraits* (1979); *The New Middle East* (1994); *Battling for Peace: Memoirs*, edited by David Landau (1995); and *The Imaginary Voyage: With Theodor Herzl in Israel* (1999).

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[Susan Hattis Rolef (2nd ed.)]

PERETZ, ABRAHAM (1771–1833), one of the first maskilim in Russia and a leader of the Jewish community. Son of the rabbi of Lubartow, Peretz married the daughter of wealthy Joshua *Zeitlin of Shklov. He was a fellow-student of J.L. *Nevakhovich, and at the end of the 18th century he settled in St. Petersburg, where he became the protégé of Prince Potëmkin. He made his fortune in commerce and shipbuilding and earned the title of commercial adviser from Czar Paul I. Making connections with the Russian upper classes, he was on familiar terms with Minister Speranski. Peretz maintained contact with the Berlin *maskilim* and was among the subscribers of *Ha-Me'assef.* He also took part in the work of the Committee for the Drafting of Jewish Legislation (1802), presenting various memoranda to the committee. He assisted Jewish *shtadlanim* who came to the capital and encouraged Nevakhovich to write his Russian pamphlet *Vopl dshcheri yudeyskoy*. He lost his fortune as a result of unsuccessful contracts with the army during the Napoleonic invasion of Russia (1812). In 1813 he divorced his wife, converting to Christianity along with his son Gregory (Hirsch), and married a German woman.

Peretz's son GREGORY (1788–1855) received his early education in the house of his grandfather Joshua Zeitlin. In 1803 he rejoined his father in St. Petersburg and received an important position in government administration. From 1820 to 1822 he was a member of a secret society which sought to introduce reforms into the Russian government. Among other projects he also conceived of the establishment of a "Society for the Liberation of the Jews Dispersed in Russia, and even in Europe, and their Settlement in Crimea, or even in the Orient, as a Unified Nation." After the revolt of the *Decembrists (1825) he was imprisoned and banished to northern Russia. Twenty years later (1845) he received authorization to leave for Odessa. Of Abraham's other sons, mention should be made of ALEXANDER, a mining engineer who played an important role in the industrial development of the Ural Mountains. Another son, YEGOR, was a member of the National Council; his diary (publ. 1927) contains important material on the discussions of the Jewish problem in the council during the early 1800s. A great-grandson of Gregory, VLADIMIR (1870–1936), was a historian of Russian and Ukrainian literature and theater and a member of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Together with his brother LEV, Peretz wrote a monograph entitled *Dekabrist Grigori Abramovich Peretz* (1926).

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[Yehuda Slutsky]

PERETZ, AMIR (1952–), Israeli politician, chairman of the New Histadrut and the Israel Labor Party, member of the Knesset since the Twelfth Knesset. Peretz was born in Bozar in Morocco, and immigrated with his family to Israel in 1956. The family settled in the development town of *Sederot that was established in 1955. His parents both worked for kibbutz-owned industries. He was educated at Beit Ḥinukh in Sha'ar ha-Negev, and at the high school in Sederot. Peretz had hoped for a career in the IDF, but after he crushed his leg in training, and a prolonged rehabilitation period, was forced to leave active military service with the rank of captain. After leaving the IDF Peretz joined the *Israel Labor Party, and unlike most of the young local leaders of Oriental origin (such as Moshe *Katzav of Kiryat Malakhi, David Magen of Kiryat Gat, and Meir *Sheetrit of Yavneh), was also an active member of the Israeli peace movement.

Peretz was elected head of the local council of Sederot in 1983. As head of the local council he acted to extract industries to his town, to change the nature of the relationship between Sederot and the neighboring kibbutzim, and to build a new community center. He resigned his position after being elected to the Twelfth Knesset on the Labor Alignment list, because the Labor Party advocated that Knesset members should not serve simultaneously in other public positions, except secretary general of the Histadrut. After entering the Knesset Peretz soon joined a group of young Laborites that included Haim *Ramon, Yossi *Beilin, and Avraham *Burg, who represented themselves as the future leadership of the Israel Labor Party. He was at first a member of the prestigious Knesset Foreign Affairs and Security Committee, but after the Labor Party went into opposition in March 1990, handed his seat over to a more senior member, while joining the State Control Committee and Labor and Welfare Committee. In the Thirteenth Knesset he was chairman of the Labor and Welfare Committee. In 1994 he ran in primaries in the Labor Party as candidate for secretary general of the Histadrut – a position he had always dreamed of holding – in order to introduce major reforms to save the ailing trade union federation from disintegration, but lost to Haim Haberfeld. When Ramon decided to run on an independent list against Haberfeld, Peretz joined him, and when at the end of 1995, after the assassination of Yitzhak *Rabin, Ramon returned to serve in the government under Shimon *Peres, Peretz became acting chairman of the New Histadrut, a position he continued to hold until elected chairman of the party in 2005. Prior to the elections to the Fifteenth Knesset, in March 1999, being disappointed with the leadership of Ehud *Barak, Peretz and two additional members of the Labor parliamentary group broke away to form a new party called Am Eḥad, that claimed to represent the workers and old age pensioners. Am Eḥad, headed by Peretz, gained two seats in the Fifteenth Knesset and three in the Sixteenth. Am Eḥad joined the government formed by Ariel *Sharon in March 2001, but left it in March 2002. In the beginning of 2005 Peretz and another member of Am Eḥad rejoined the Labor Party. In the meantime, as chairman of the New Histadrut Peretz declared numerous general strikes over the issues of the erosion of welfare benefits and wages and the government's policy of privatization.

Peretz defeated Shimon Peres in the 2005 elections for the Labor Party chairmanship, following which he resigned as Histadrut chairman. In the 2006 general elections the Labor Party received 19 seats and Peretz became minister of defense in the government formed by Ehud *Olmert of Kadimah.

[Susan Hattis Rolef (2nd ed.)]

PERETZ, ISAAC LEIB (**Yitskhok Leybush**; 1852–1915), Yiddish and Hebrew author. Peretz was one of the three classic Yiddish writers – with S.Y. *Abramovitsh and *Sholem Aleichem – and the founder of Yiddish modernism. In the first decade of the 20th century he was at the center of an active literary circle in Warsaw. His closest friend was Jacob (Yankev) *Dineson, and he was a mentor to many other leading authors such as Sholem *Asch, H.D. *Nomberg, S. *An-ski, A. *Reisen, and Y.Y. *Trunk. He began writing in Hebrew but is more often remembered for his Yiddish fiction.

Peretz was born in Zamość, Poland, a relatively modern town known for its opposition to the ḥasidim. According to his memoirs, however, one of his early teachers may have been secretly ḥasidic. At about the age of 13, Peretz studied for a short time at yeshivot in Zamość and the nearby town of Shevershin. He was especially enthusiastic about his readings of Maimonides, whose *Mishneh Torah* influenced his concise Hebrew style. After Peretz gained access to a large private library, he avidly read Polish, Russian, German, and French books. The writings of Heinrich *Heine and Ludwig Börne had a lasting impact on Peretz's literary tastes. For secular learning he hoped to study at a gymnasium or at the rabbinical institute in Zhitomir, but his mother opposed these plans, and he did not receive a systematic education. While the middle-class family was traditional, his father's business travels brought him into broader contact with the outside world. When Peretz was about 19 he married Sarah, the daughter of Gabriel Judah Lichtenfeld, a respected Hebrew author. Peretz seems to have had more in common with his father-in-law than with his bride, whom he divorced a few years later. The two progeny of this marriage were Lucian, born in about 1874, and a book of Hebrew poems published together with Lichtenfeld in 1877.

Peretz lived in Warsaw in 1876, where he met Hebrew authors and started publishing Hebrew poems in *Ha-Shaḥar*, before returning to Zamość. It is significant that the poem "*Nagniel*," printed in A.B. Gottlober's *Ha-Boker Or* ("The Morning Light," 1876), alludes to Y.L. Gordon's poetry and criticizes the outmoded style of Hebrew *meliẓah*. (Even 20 years later, in a long article published in *Ha-Ẓefirah* – "*Ma haya Gordon, Balshan o Meshorer?*" ("What was Gordon, a Linguist or a Poet?") – Peretz continued to attack the neobiblical style of the Hebrew *maskilim*). Lichtenfeld and Peretz jointly published *Sippurim be-Shir ve-Shirim Shonim* ("Stories in Verse and Various Poems," 1877), a poetry collection that received little notice, though Peretz *Smolenskin and Reuven Asher *Braudes praised it. In spite of their initialing most of the poems separately or together, it is not always easy to determine the nature of their collaboration; the volume was signed by "Shenei Ba'alei Assufot" ("Two Compilers (or Authors, or Wise Men))," alluding both to Ecclesiastes 12:11 with A. Ibn Ezra's commentary and to a talmudic usage. The longer poems attributed to Peretz show both Heine's influence and Peretz's narrative inclinations. Joseph *Klausner and Samuel *Niger are among the few 20th century critics who recognized the importance of

Peretz's early poems, such as "*Ḥayei Mishorer Ivri*" ("The Life of a Hebrew Poet") and "*Ḥannah – Shir Sipuri*" ("Hannah – A Narrative Poem"). The first, while followed by the initials of both Peretz and Lichtenfeld, appears to be as much based on Peretz's biography as was his later Yiddish ballad "*Monish*." The second, initialed by Peretz alone, uses lyrical six-line stanzas (with the rhyme scheme ababcc) to tell a melodramatic tale. Later in life Peretz was embarrassed by having published *Sippurim be-Shir ve-Shirim Shonim*, because he doubted its value and perhaps also because some poems – probably by Lichtenfeld – lampoon ḥasidic rebbes.

Peretz remarried in 1878, with Helena Ringelbaum, and worked as a lawyer in Zamość for the next decade. He again lived in Warsaw in 1886–87 and published Hebrew fiction and poetry in leading publications such as *Ha-Yom*, *Ha-Ẓefira*, and *Ha-'Asif.* After losing his right to practice law in 1888, Peretz became more active in Yiddish publishing and moved to Warsaw permanently. From 1891 until the end of his life, Peretz worked as a record-keeper for the Jewish Community of Warsaw.

Not until 1886 did he publish his first prose work. As Samuel Niger showed, Peretz's early Hebrew fiction is remarkable for its clear language, extensive use of monologue and dialogue, and probing of psychological states. Several of the earliest stories have enduring value and anticipate his mature work. "*Ha-Kaddish*" ("The Kaddish," 1886) and "*Heẓiẓ ve-Nifga*," ("Looked and Was Injured" (referring to the dangers of mystical practices), 1886), set in a small-town synagogue and yeshivah, evoke the traditional world of study and prayer. Peretz's language is effective because he avoids the outmoded rhetoric of maskilic *meliẓah*. One character in "*Heẓiẓ ve-Nifga*" even comments on the weakness of the neobiblical style of authors who wrote in *Bikkurei ha-Itim*. Peretz consciously moved away from the supposedly "pure" language of Haskalah Hebrew writers, who used "bits of verses mixed with complete biblical verses," instead of striving to capture "the language of human beings" ("*Heẓiẓ ve-Nifga*," section 4).

In 1888 Peretz responded to Sholem Aleichem's call for contributions to his new anthology *Di Yudishe Folksbibliotek* ("The Jewish Popular Library"), sending him the ballad "*Monish*." In a letter dated June 17, 1888, Peretz expresses his literary program: "I write for myself, for my own pleasure; and if I sometimes remember the reader, he is from the higher class in society, a person who has read and studied in a living language." (In this context, "a living language" seems to refer primarily to Polish and Russian.). Despite his claim that he writes for himself, Peretz's letters often mention his social goals. He was enraged when Sholem Aleichem (like the editors of *Ha-Ẓefirah*) made editorial revisions of "*Monish*" without consulting him. Nevertheless, he sent several stories to him for inclusion in the subsequent volume of *Di Yudishe Folksbibliotek* (1889). Among these earliest Yiddish stories, "*Der Khelmer Melamed*" ("The Teacher from Chelm") is a comic folktale about trying to eradicate the evil impulse (*der yetser hore*) but finding that this threatens population growth; "*Yankl Pesimist*" ("Jacob the Pessimist") and "*Venus un Shulamis*," based on conversations between yeshivah boys, illustrate Peretz's lively use of dialogue.

While "*Monish*" was well received and Peretz continued writing Yiddish poetry, his major original contribution was in prose. In addition to his many stories, Peretz wrote countless literary, cultural, and political essays for newspapers and journals. His first Yiddish book was *Bakante bilder* ("Familiar Scenes," 1890), edited by Jacob Dineson. It includes three stories, two of which use the avant-garde technique of internal monologue. Both "*Der Meshulekh*" ("The Messenger") and "*Der Meshugener Batlen*" ("The Mad Talmudist") are centered in the minds of the main characters. Peretz probes their psychological states *in extremis*, as the messenger freezes to death and the talmudist torments himself over his desires and unstable identity. Unlike many early Yiddish writers who wrote about Jewish types, Peretz tried to represent unique individuals with their psychological aberrations.

In 1890 Peretz joined a group making a statistical survey that was financed by the philanthropist Ivan (Jan) *Bloch. Peretz visited many small towns and villages in the province of Tomaszow, collecting not only statistical data about the Jewish population (which were never published) but also raw material for his literary works. Peretz's impressions of this expedition are reflected in sketches entitled *Bilder fun a Provints-Rayze* ("Pictures from a Provincial Journey," 1891), in which he describes the poverty and pettiness of life in Southeastern Poland. Back in Warsaw, Peretz plunged into various social and cultural activities.

His first book of Hebrew prose was a short collection of two stories: *Ha-Illemet; Manginot ha-Zeman* ("The Mute; Melodies of the Age," 1892). These Hebrew stories show Peretz's unusual ability to empathize with the experiences of women. *Ha-Illemet*, in particular, follows the tormented life of a mute woman who loves a local boy. After she is married off to an older man against her wishes, she drifts toward madness. The story anticipates one of the most haunting 20th century Yiddish/Hebrew stories, Yakov Steinberg's "*Di Blinde*" / "*Ha-Iveret*" ("The Blind Woman," 1912). Like two of the stories in his *Bakante Bilder* (1890), those of his first volume of Hebrew fiction probe deeply into individual psychology. Whereas the Yiddish stories use first-person internal monologue, the Hebrew stories use third-person narrative to enter the consciousness of women.

Following Sholem Aleichem's example, Peretz edited three volumes of Yiddish anthologies called *Di Yudishe Bibliotek* ("The Jewish Library," 1891–95). Assisted by David Pinsky, he also edited numerous issues of *Yontev Bletlekh* ("Holiday Papers," 1895–96), filling them with his own poems, stories, and essays under various pseudonyms. Peretz's *Yontev Bletlekh* were sufficiently popular and anti-traditional that they elicited hostile responses from Orthodox circles. He also edited a Hebrew collection called *Ha-Ḥeẓ* ("The Arrow, 1894), which includes the important story "*Mishnat Ḥasidim*" ("Teachings of the Ḥasidim"). His collection *Literatur un Lebn*

("Literature and Life," 1894) features two classic Yiddish stories that were widely read by workers in the socialist movement. "*Bontshe Shvayg*" ("Bontshe the Silent") uses narrative irony to question the passive acceptance of poverty and misfortune; "*Dos Shtrayml*" ("The Fur Hat") is narrated by a skeptical hatmaker who pretends to believe that the *shtrayml* he creates has vast power. Both stories implicitly criticize religious tradition and authority.

In the 1890s, Peretz published extensively in both Hebrew and Yiddish. Like his Yiddish fiction in *Bakante Bilder*, his Hebrew stories showed his interest in psychology. In addition, the stories "*Leil Zeva'ah*" ("A Night of Torment") and "*Be-Ma'on Kayiẓ*" ("In a Summer House"), published in 1893, use dialogue extensively and effectively. Peretz's attraction to folklore is suggested by "*Ha-Maḥshavah ve-ha-Kinnor*" ("The Thought and the Harp," 1894), subtitled "an Arabic legend"; but it was sometimes read as a political allegory, as does other short fiction in Yiddish and Hebrew, such as "*In Gemoyzekhts*" ("In the Muck," 1893), "*Mayselekh fun Dul-Hoyz*" ("Stories from the Madhouse," 1895) and "*Be-Agaf ha-Meshuga'im*" ("In the Insane Asylum," 1896). In 1890, 1892, and 1895–97 – after the Hebrew journal *Ha-Ẓefirah* became a daily – Peretz published dozens of stories, articles, and poems in that paper. Of particular interest is "*Eshet Ḥaver*" ("A Friendly Wife" / "The Wife of a Friend," 1890), which enters the mind of an impoverished woman. When she reproaches her talmudist husband for doing nothing to obtain provisions for the Sabbath and Passover, he angrily berates her for disturbing his study, leaving her to contemplate suicide. Peretz recycled this Hebrew text as the Yiddish story "*A Kas fun a Yidene*" ("A Woman's Anger", 1893). Another recurrent technique is Peretz's use of first-person narrators, personae who often create the impression of telling their stories orally. Among these narrators is Yoḥanan the Teacher (in a sequence of stories called "*Sippurei Yoḥanan ha-Melammed*" – or, in Yiddish, "*Yokhanan Melameds Mayselekh,*" 1897), whose tales were later incorporated into Peretz's volume of neo-ḥasidic tales.

Between 1893 and 1899 Peretz was involved in socialist circles, and some Yiddish stories such as "*Di Toyte Shtot*" ("The Dead City," 1895) present a harsh picture of poverty in the shtetl. "*Ha-Isha Marat Ḥannah* (*Ẓeror Mikhtavim*)" ("The Woman Mrs. Hannah (A Bundle of Letters)," 1896) graphically shows how – because of the inheritance laws in Czarist Russia – a helpless widow is prevented from inheriting her husband's estate by a ruthless brother-in-law. "*Veberlibe*" ("Weaver Love," 1897) uses the epistolary form to describe the sufferings of a poor weaver. In 1899, because of a lecture he gave to striking workers, Peretz was arrested and served three months in prison. While imprisoned he told the tale "*Oyb Nisht Nokh Hekher*" ("If Not Higher," 1900) to his friend and cellmate Mordecai *Spector. According to one of Peretz's letters, Spector was so impressed by the story that he threatened that, if Peretz did not write it down, he would request to be moved to a different cell (*YIVO Bleter*, 28 (1946), 198).

Some of Peretz's best stories were neo-ḥasidic. The Hebrew story "*Ha-Mekubbalim*" ("Kabbalists," 1891; Yiddish version, "*Mekubolim,*" 1894) is the earliest of the stories that were later included in the genre and volume called *Khasidish* ("Ḥasidic"). Instead of praising the rebbe in the manner of *Shiveḥei ha-BeShT*, however, "*Ha-Mekubalim*" uses irony to show his inadequacy. With "*Mishnat Ḥasidim*" ("Teachings of the Ḥasidim," 1894; Yiddish version, 1902), Peretz begins to move away from social satire and toward the recreation of traditional materials. This story is brilliantly told in the voice of a disciple of the rebbe, echoing the writings of Nathan Sternharz of Nemirov. To enhance the neo-ḥasidic effect, Peretz introduces a persona, "Ha-Yatom mi-Nemirov," ("The Orphan from Nemirov"), who signs this story, the subsequent "*Dem Rebns Tsibek*" ("The Rebbe's Pipe," 1895), and "*Der Feter Shakhne un di Mume Yakhne*" ("Uncle Shakhne and Aunt Yakhne," 1895). Two masterpieces in Peretz's neo-ḥasidic corpus are the aforementioned "*Oyb Nisht Nokh Hekher*" and "*Tsvishn Tsvey Berg*" ("Between Two Mountains"), both published in 1900. These texts revolve around the long-standing tension between the *ḥasidim* and the *mitnaggedim*, which Peretz often represents more broadly as the opposition between emotion and intellect. In "*Oyb Nisht Nokh Hekher*," a skeptical Litvak – a Jew from Lithuania, the center of talmudic study – becomes a disciple of an inspirational rebbe upon seeing his kindness and good deeds. In "*Tsvishn Tsvey Berg*," narrated by a ḥasidic disciple, the two mountains that come together are the Rebbe of Biale and the Rabbi of Brisk. Moving beyond the Enlightenment tradition of anti-ḥasidic satire, Peretz balances the narrator's adulation of his ḥasidic leader with his portrait of an adversarial rabbi. The naïve superstitions expressed by the ḥasidic narrator, moreover, suggest a layer of authorial irony that also counteracts the narrator's enthusiastic but unquestioning endorsement of the ḥasidic world.

An interesting twist is Peretz's allusion to Rabbi *Naḥman of Bratslav in his series of "*Reb Nakhmanke's Mayselekh*" ("Rabbi Nachman's Tales," 1903–4). Although Peretz wrote to Israel Zinberg that he was never a ḥasid and had only once met a ḥasidic leader, the Bialer Rebbe, he used the ḥasidic tradition effectively in his neo-ḥasidic stories. Instead of simply relying on Western literary forms, Peretz sought inspiration from within the Judaic tradition. At the Czernowitz Yiddish conference in 1908, he therefore stated that "Reb Naḥman with his seven beggars" was the first Jewish *folks-dikhter*, and that in ḥasidic tales lie the origins of Yiddish literature. Peretz's return to ḥasidic tales influenced Martin *Buber in his retellings of the stories by Naḥman of Bratslav (1905–6) and about the Ba`al Shem Tov (1907).

Peretz became increasingly interested in Jewish folklore and ethnography in 1900–1, when his commitment to a kind of cultural nationalism took the place of his former socialist ideology. As part of his neo-romantic return to the "folk," Peretz continued to add to his neo-ḥasidic stories and began work on the *Folkstimlekhe Geshikhtn* ("Folk Tales," 1904–15). Elements of irony and satire remain, as in the stunning tale

"*Dray Matones*" ("Three Gifts," 1904), but Peretz also includes straightforward recreations of Yiddish folktales. *Folkstimlekhe Geshikhtn* was a popular success and was favorably received in literary circles.

Dialogue always played an important role in Peretz's fiction, and this may have led to his secondary career as a dramatist. He wrote one-act and full-length plays and was actively involved in performances by amateur and professional troupes. He gave lectures on theater in an effort to educate the audience and raise the artistic level. A letter from Dineson reveals that Peretz even dreamed of founding a serious Yiddish theater in the United States. In 1903 Peretz published the Hebrew drama *Ḥurban Beit Ẓaddik* ("The Ruin of the Ẓaddik's House"). This was the first version of the later Yiddish play *Di Goldene Keyt* ("The Golden Chain," 1909) about the conflict of generations. The plot revolves around a ḥasidic rebbe's determination to prolong the Sabbath, and thus, by force of will, liberate the world from pettiness and anguish. Besides *Di Goldene Keyt* and several realistic one-act plays in Hebrew and in Yiddish, he published two major Yiddish dramas: *Bay Nakht afn Altn Mark* ("At Night in the Old Market," 1907) and *In Polish af der Keyt* ("Chained in the Vestibule," 1908–9). The former is a symbolic drama in verse in which the author attempts to unfurl all of Polish Jewish history. Deeply pessimistic, the play has prompted much discussion, has been variously interpreted, and has been criticized both for its absence of plot and for its ambiguity.

One of Peretz's important, though unfinished, literary works is *Mayne Zikhroynes* ("My Memoirs," 1913–14), the main source for his biography until 1870. (Another biographical source that intimately describes his later years is R. Peretz-Laks' *Arum Peretzn*.) In the last years of his life, Peretz was active in the cultural life of Polish Jews. Their sufferings in the early years of the First World War greatly depressed him. Peretz, who had always assiduously followed his literary pursuits, worked almost up to the last moment. He died of a heart attack at home, having just written the phrase, "*Shtiler, shtiler, er vil danken*…" ("Quieter, quieter, he wants to thank …"). Peretz's funeral, purportedly attended by 100,000 people in Warsaw, demonstrated his popularity.

Peretz's originality as a Hebrew stylist has received too little recognition, in part because Hebraists have tended to dismiss him as a Yiddishist. Moreover, derivative Hebrew authors like his contemporary David *Frischmann were unable to appreciate his contribution. H.N. *Bialik added to the problem by claiming that "*nusaḥ* Mendele" (the Hebrew style of S.Y. Abramovitsh) was the only true path for modern Hebrew literature. Even before "*nusaḥ* Mendele" came into being (with Abramovitsh's short fiction from 1886 to 1896), there was another axis of Hebrew writing that ran from ḥasidic and anti-ḥasidic authors (especially Naḥman of Bratslav, Nathan Sternharz, and Joseph Perl) to Peretz. Their uniqueness lay in the ability to create the illusion of a lively, vernacular Hebrew by ignoring the maskilic norms of *meliẓah*, and they achieved unusual vitality by using a style that sounds as if it has been translated from Yiddish.

Peretz laid the foundations of both Yiddish modernism and a new Hebrew style. He excelled in the genre of short fiction, and in compressed form he conveyed psychological depth. Around 1900 the center of gravity in his fiction shifted from social satire to a remaking of traditional forms in Judaic literature. He achieved the greatest artistic success where he was able to suspend his works "between two mountains": the *ḥasidim* and the *mitnaggedim*, emotion and intellect, or tradition and innovation.

In Peretz's lifetime, the best edition of his Yiddish works was *Ale verk* ("Complete Works," 10 vols., 1909–13). A more complete edition is *Ale verk fun I.L. Peretz*, 18 vols. (1925–6), followed by an additional volume, *Briv un redes* ("Letters and Speeches," ed. N. Meisel). Also useful, because it provides the original publication date of each text, is *Ale verk,* edited by S. Niger, 11 vols. (1947–8). Peretz's Hebrew work was collected in *Ketavim* ("Writings," 4 parts, 1899–1901) and, more comprehensively, in *Kitvei I.L. Peretz* ("Writings of I.L. Peretz," 10 vols., 1922–7); currently the most accessible edition is *Kol kitvei I.L. Peretz* ("The Complete Works of I.L. Peretz," ed. S. Meltzer, 1961–2). Friedlander (1974) reprinted some of the Hebrew verse that was not included in Peretz's collected works. A.R. Malachi lists many other Hebrew works that were excluded from the editions of Peretz's works, in YIVO *Bleter,* 28 (1946), 157–64. Translations of Peretz's fiction and memoirs may be found in many anthologies, including *Selected Stories*, ed. I. Howe and E. Greenberg (1974), *The I.L. Peretz Reader*, ed. R. Wisse (1990), and *Classic Yiddish Stories,* ed. K. Frieden (2004).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: N. Meisel, *Y.L. Peretz, Zayn Lebn un Shafn* (1945); idem, *Yitshok Leybush Peretz un Zayn Dor Shrayber* (1951); S. Niger, *Y.L. Peretz* (1952); idem, in: *Tekufah*, 30–31 (1946), 439–502; S. Meltzer (ed.), *Y.L. Peretz ve-Yeẓirato*, Book 2: *Al Y.L. Peretz: Divrei Soferim Ivrim* (1961). **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** Ber Borokhov, in: *Y.L. Peretz: a Zamlbukh tzu Zayn Ondenkn* (1915); S.L. Tsitron, *Dray Literarishe Doyres*, vol. 1 (1920); J. Klausner, *Yoẓerim u-Vonim*, vol. 2 (1929); R. Peretz-Laks, *Arum Peretzn* (1935); Y.Y. Trunk, *Poyln*, vol. 5: *Peretz* (1949); A.R. Malachi, in: YIVO *Bleter,* 34 (1950), 221–30, 236 (1952), 355–61; Y.D. Berkovitsh, *Ha-Rishonim ki-Venei Adam* (1953–54); Kh. Shmeruk, *Peretzs Yiesh-Vizie* (1971); Y. Friedlander, *Bein Ḥavayah le-Ḥavayah: Massot al Yeẓirato ha-Ivrit shel Y.L. Peretz* (1974); D.C. Jacobson, *Modern Midrash* (1987); R. Wisse, *I.L. Peretz and the Making of Modern Jewish Culture* (1991); K. Frieden, *Classic Yiddish Fiction* (1995).

[Yehuda Arye Klausner / Ken Frieden (2nd ed.)]

PEREYASLAV-KHMELNITSKI (formerly **Pereyaslav**), city in Kiev district, Ukraine. A Jewish community is known to have existed in the city as early as 1620. It is also known that Jews in Pereyaslav-Khmelnitski suffered greatly during the *Chmielnicki insurrection. In 1654, on the occasion of the union of the Ukraine and Russia, Czar Alexis Mikhailovich maintained the limitation of Jewish rights of 1620. From that time until 1800, no information on Jews in Pereyaslav is available. In 1897, the city listed 5,754 Jews (40% of the total population). Pereyaslav suffered heavily from the Zielony bands; a pogrom in July 1919, which lasted four days, caused the death of 20 Jews and considerable damage to the community. The number of Jews in 1926 was 3,590 (27% of the population), dropping by 1939 to 937 persons (11.3% of the total population). At the beginning of the Soviet regime there were eight *battei-midrash*, six *shoḥatim* and 26 kosher butchers in the city. The town was occupied by the Germans on September 17, 1941, and soon the Jews who remained were murdered by them. Pereyaslav was the birthplace of *Shalom Aleichem; his house was reconstructed in the local museum, and his books and theatrical posters are displayed, some of them in Hebrew.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: J. Slutsky, in: *He-Avar*, 9 (1962), 18; I.Z. Diskin, *ibid.*, 14 (1967), 220–8; E. Tcherikower, *Di Ukrainer Pogromen in 1919* (1965), index.

[Shmuel Spector (2nd ed.)]

PEREZ (Heb. פֶּרֶץ; "he who breaches," "bursts forth"), one of the twins born to *Judah by *Tamar; father of Hezron and Hamul and ancestor of King David. He is said to have received his name on account of the sudden and unexpected priority of his birth to that of his twin brother Zerah, who was the first to put out a hand from their mother's womb (Gen. 38:27–29). The story of Perez' birth may well reflect a lost chapter in the tribal history of Judah when the older clan of Zerah lost its preeminence to the more vigorous Perezites. The Perezites are listed as an important clan in the census taken by Moses in the wilderness (Num. 26:20–21). One of them served as the first monthly chief of all the captains of David's army in the annual roster of military duty (I Chron. 27:3). Descendants of the Perezites were among the lay leaders who lived in Jerusalem after the return from the Babylonian Exile (Neh. 11:4–6). They are said to have numbered 468 "men of substance." The high station of the clan in Judah may be measured by the blessing that the men of Beth-Lehem bestowed on Boaz: "May your house be like the house of Perez whom Tamar bore to Judah" (Ruth 4:12). King David was descended from Perez through Boaz (4:18–22).

In the *Aggadah*

Perez, together with his brother Zerah, inherited Judah's characteristic valor and piety (Gen. R. 85:9). An indication of his virtue is seen in the fact that David's genealogy (Ruth 4:18–22) begins with his name (Zohar II 104a). The *plene* spelling of the word *toledot* ("generations") in that name is to signify that the Messiah, too, would claim descent from him (Ex. R. 30:3).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: IN THE AGGADAH: Ginzberg, Legends, index; I. Ḥasida, *Ishei ha-Tanakh* (1964), 370.

PEREZ, JUDAH BEN JOSEPH (first half of 18th century), rabbi in Venice and Amsterdam. Perez was the author of (1) *Seder Keri'ei Mo'ed* (Venice, 1706), a kabbalistic ritual text for the festivals; (2) *Peraḥ Levanon* (Berlin, 1712), commentaries and homilies on the Torah (together with homilies by Isaac Cavallero taken from *Naḥal Eitan*); (3) *Sha'arei Raḥamim* (Venice, 1710), kabbalistic liturgies compiled from various works; (4) *Aseret ha-Devarim* (Amsterdam, 1737), containing a commentary on Exodus 19–20, poetical paraphrases in Aramaic and Arabic, and hymns in honor of *Simeon b. Yoḥai; and (5) *Fundamento Solido* (Amsterdam, 1729), a compendium of the Jewish religion in Spanish. Perez also edited *Divrei Yosef* (Venice, 1715), responsa of Joseph b. Mordecai ha-Kohen of Jerusalem.

In the Nehemiah *Ḥayon controversy he was also suspected of being a Shabbatean, since he was Ḥayon's scribe for some time and possibly also his disciple. He accompanied Ḥayon on his journey to Berlin. One of Abraham Michael *Cardoso's pamphlets *Megalleh Amukkot minni Ḥoshekh*, was erroneously attributed to Perez.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Fuerst, Bibliotheca, 3 (1863), 77–78; Steinschneider, Cat Bod, 1366; Kayserling, Bibl, 88; I. Sonne, in: *Kobez al Jad*, 2 (1937), 193.

°**PEREZ BAYER, FRANCISCO** (1711–1794), Spanish ecclesiastic and Orientalist; professor of Hebrew successively in Valencia and Salamanca. Francisco Perez Bayer was the most distinguished Spanish Hebraist of his day. He was the first person to study accurately the important historical inscriptions in the El Transito synagogue of Toledo (*De Toletano Hebraeorum Templo*, 1752 Ms.). His works on ancient Hebrew coinage (*De Numis hebraeo-samaritanis*, 1781), though later corrected in many details, laid the basis for the serious study of Jewish numismatics.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: L.J. Gascía, *Pérez Bayer y Salamanca* (1918); F. Mateu y Llopis, in: *Sefarad*, 11 (1951), 37ff.

[Cecil Roth]

PEREZ BEN ELIJAH OF CORBEIL (variously referred to as **RaF**, **MaHaRaF**, **MaRaF**, **M**orenu **h**a-**R**av **P**erez; d. c. 1295), one of the most eminent tosafists of the 13th century. Perez was known as "Head of the French yeshivot," apparently an official title. On his mother's side he was connected with the *Kimḥi family of Provence. His teachers were *Samuel of Evreux, *Jehiel of Paris, and *Isaac of Corbeil. His brother, Joseph of Tours, was also a well-known scholar. Perez lived in Corbeil, but toward the end of his life moved elsewhere (see *Teshuvot Ḥakhmei Provence* (1967), 92). He became acquainted with *Meir b. Baruch of Rothenburg during a visit to Germany and apparently the two studied together for some time. The comments (both written and oral) and glosses of Perez on the customs of Meir contributed to their spread in France and Provence. Some of these notes were collected by one of his pupils, and a small portion published as glosses to the *Tashbeẓ* (Cremona, 1556) of Samson b. Zadok, a pupil of Meir who collected the customs of his teacher. Perez did the same with the *Sefer Mitzvot Katan (SeMaK)* of his teacher, Isaac of Corbeil, and his glosses to it, which were more extensive and preserved in a much better state, were published in all editions of the *SeMaK* from the first 1510 edition of Constantinople onward. Better and more complete versions than those published are extant in various manuscripts. The divergence of the published work from the original is evident from the many differences in the manuscripts. Perez's glosses to the *SeMaK* differ from those to the *Tashbeẓ*, since they constitute an actual book written with the express purpose of improving his master's work (even though the form in which we have it has passed through other hands) and his own name is mentioned in the body of the work. The work on *Tashbeẓ* constitutes merely glosses on the text.

Perez's chief claim to fame in the history of rabbinic literature rests on the fact that he was one of the first to edit collections of *tosafot* to the Talmud, and that he was a prolific tosafist in his own right. However, it should be noted that many of the *tosafot* attributed to him are basically extracts from his lectures, noted down by the "pupils of Rabbenu Perez," whom Menahem ha-*Meiri extolled as illuminating and sustaining the Talmud in France. Perez's *tosafot* achieved considerable popularity, their study being widespread in Spain and Italy as early as the middle of the 14th century.

Notwithstanding his popularity, however, most of his *tosafot* are found either in manuscript or in the works of others, only a few having been published, those to *Bava Kamma* (Leghorn, 1819) and to single folios of other tractates (e.g., *Pesaḥim*, until page nine in the *Gemara Shelemah*, 1, 1960). There are many varying manuscripts of his commentary on *Bava Kamma*, apparently reflecting the editing of different pupils. In sum, it may be said fairly definitely that most of what has survived in the name of Perez is the work of his pupils, based to a very large extent upon his words. Of Perez's pupils, the most well known is *Mordecai b. Hillel. Most of them, however, including the compiler of the *Issur ve-Hetter,* attributed to *Jeroham b. Meshullam, are not known by name. Perez is cited hundreds of times in the Orḥot Ḥayyim of *Aaron b. Jacob ha-Kohen of Lunel, in the related work, the *Kol Bo*, and in the anonymous *Sefer ha-Neyar,* and he is often quoted by his pupil *Ḥayyim b. Samuel b. David in his *Ẓeror ha-Ḥayyim*. A list of the standard *tosafot* that were edited in the *bet midrash* of Perez is to be found in Urbach's work (see bibliography).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Landauer, in: ZHB, 22 (1919) 27–31; Urbach, Tosafot, index; Ḥayyim b. Samuel of Tudela, *Ẓeror ha-Ḥayyim*, ed. by S. Haggai-Yerushalmi (1966), 3–7 (introd.); I. Ta-Shema, in: *Sinai*, 64 (1969), 254–7.

[Israel Moses Ta-Shma]

PEREZ BEN MOSES OF BRODY (18th century), rabbi and preacher. Before moving to Brody, Perez studied with Rabbi Israel, *av bet din* in Lokachi, and with R. Baruch Kahana in Ferrara. In 1769 he published *Sefer Beit Pereẓ* (Zolkiew), a homiletic work on the holidays and other religious events of the year. In addition to the classical sources, the author relies on the Zohar, *Eleazar b. Judah of Worms' *Ma'aseh Roke'aḥ*, and on *Samuel b. Meir in ascertaining both the literal and hidden and mystical meanings of the Torah. He preached with success throughout Poland and Lithuania where many communities sought him as rabbi and preacher. His second work, *Shevaḥ u-Tehillah le-Ereẓ Yisrael* (Metz, 1772), only four pages in length, deals with the holiness of the land of Israel.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Bruell, Jahrbuecher, 4 (1879), 96.

PERGAMENT, MOSES (1893–1977), composer and music critic. Born in Helsinki, Finland, Pergament studied the violin in St. Petersburg (and served as violinist for four years in the Helsinki Philharmonic Society) and at the Stern Conservatory, Berlin. He settled in Stockholm, where he worked as music critic on the *Svenska Dagbladet* and on the *Aftontidningen*. He also worked as a part-time choral and orchestral conductor. In almost all of his compositions he used motifs traceable to Jewish biblical cantillation and to folk songs of eastern European Jewry. Notable among his works are: *Rapsodia ebraica* for orchestra (1935), written as a reaction to the massacres of the Jewish people under the Nazis; the choral symphony *Den judiska Sangen* ("The Jewish Song," 1944); the radio opera *Eli* (1959); *Dibbuk*, a fantasy for violin and orchestra (1935); *Swedish Rhapsody* for orchestra (1940); the ballet *Krelantems och Eldeling*, Intermezzo for flute and strings (1973), and more than 100 songs. Among his writings are *Svenska tonsättare* (1943); *Vandring med fru musica* (1943); *Ny vandring med fru musica* (1944); and *Jenny Lind* (1945).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Grove online; Larsson, "Moses Pergament and 'The Jewish Song,'" in: *Kungl. musikaliska akademien årsskrift* (1979), 28–40.

[Israela Stein (2nd ed.)]

PERGAMENT, OSIP YAKOVLEVICH (1868–1909), Russian lawyer, writer, and civic leader. In 1894 he qualified as a lawyer and appeared in many important political cases. He also wrote on Bessarabian civil and commercial law. Pergament played an active part in the social life of Odessa and was a member of the municipal council. He was elected to the Second and Third Dumas, in which he took part in debates of both a political and scientific nature, as well as arguing against Jewish persecution. He wrote *Yevreyskiy vopros i narodnaya svoboda* ("The Jewish Problem and National Liberty," 1906), and *Yevreyskiy vopros i obnovleniye Rossii* ("The Jewish Problem and the Renewal of Russia," 1908).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: S. Streich, in: YE, 12 (c. 1910), 372–3.

PERGAMUM, ancient city (and kingdom) near the N.W. coast of Asia Minor (now Bergama, Turkey). Independent from the early third century B.C.E., Pergamum thrived primarily during the early Roman advances eastward in the first half of the second century. Following the death of the last king of Pergamum, Attalus III Philometor (133 B.C.E.), the district came under direct Roman influence as part of the province of Asia. Josephus records a "decree of the people of Pergamum" pertaining to relations with the Jewish nation (Ant., 14:247–55). The document, probably written during the reign of John Hyrcanus I (c. 113–112), refers to a decree of the Roman senate renewing its alliance with the Jews. Of particular interest are its concluding assurances of friendship between Pergamum and Hyrcanus, "remembering that in the time of Abraham, who was the father of all Hebrews, our ancestors were their friends, as we find in the public records." A similar claim, describing the common ancestry of the Jews and

Spartans, is recorded elsewhere (cf. Jos., Ant., 12:226; I Macc. 12:21; cf. II Macc. 5:9), and these should be understood as an accepted mode of Greek diplomatic correspondence. Relations between Judea and Pergamum are further cited by Josephus during the reign of Herod the Great, who included the city among those to which generous donations and gifts were offered (Wars, 1:425). By the first century B.C.E. a Jewish community existed in Pergamum, as Cicero refers to the confiscation of funds in Pergamum intended for the Temple in Jerusalem (*Pro Flacco* 28:68).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Schuerer, Gesch, 3 (1909^4), 13, 112 n. 45; idem, Hist, 322 n. 30; M. Stern, *Ha-Te'udot le-Mered ha-Ḥashmona'im* (1965), 151–3, 162–5; A. Schalit, *Koenig Herodes* (1969), 834 (index), s.v. *Pergamon.*

[Isaiah Gafni]

PERGOLA, RAPHAEL DELLA (1876–1923), Italian rabbi. Della Pergola studied at Florence and for seven years served as rabbi of Gorizia. In 1910 he was appointed head of the Jewish community of Alexandria, Egypt, retaining this post until shortly before his death which occurred in Florence. He was also of great help to the refugees from Ereẓ Israel who went to Egypt during World War I. One of the leading Zionists in Alexandria, in 1918, when the cornerstone of the Hebrew University was laid in Jerusalem, Della Pergola was invited by Weizmann to participate in the ceremony.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Politi, in: *Israel* (Aug. 28, 1923), 1; B. Taragan, *Les communautés israélites d'Alexandrie* (1932), 58–60; idem, *Le-Korot ha-Kehillah ha-Yehudit be-Alexandriyyah* (1947), 108–10.

PERI (Pflaum), HIRAM (Heinz; 1900–1962), Romance and Renaissance scholar. Born in Berlin, Peri's doctoral dissertation, published in 1926, was devoted to the Jewish Renaissance philosopher Leone Ebreo (Judah *Abrabanel). In 1925 he immigrated to Palestine and in 1927 became assistant librarian at the Jewish National and University Library, Jerusalem. From 1928 Peri lectured on Romance languages and literature and on the history of Renaissance literature at the Hebrew University (from 1948 as professor).

Peri's scholarly interests extended to a wide range of subjects. He wrote many articles on the history of the theater, on Ladino grammar and poetry, on the relations between Church and Synagogue and religious disputations in the Middle Ages. He edited and annotated the Hebrew edition of Burkhardt's classic *Kultur der Renaissance in Italien*, with a supplement of his own (*Tarbut ha-Renaissance be-Eiropah*; 1949, 1953), and served as an editor and contributor in his field with the *Encyclopedia Hebraica*. A volume of studies was published in his memory (*Romanica et Occidentalia*, ed. by M. Lazar (1963), and contains a bibliography of works by Peri, see pp. 17–22).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: G. Scholem and M. Lazar, *Al Professor Ḥiram Peri* (1964).

PERI, YA'AKOV (1944–), former head of the Shabak (Israel's General Security Service) and afterwards chairman of Bank Hamizrachi. Peri was born in Tel Aviv and grew up in Netanyah. After his military service he studied the history of Ereẓ Israel and the Middle East at Tel Aviv University and The Hebrew University of Jerusalem. In 1966 he joined the Shabak as field worker in the Arab Department. In 1987 he was nominated deputy head of the organization and in 1988 took over as head. This was the period of the first Intifada and later of the Oslo accords, developments that forced him to make organizational changes in order to improve flexibility in dealing with the new problems. In 1994 he went on leave to study management, marketing, and economics at Harvard University. In 1995 he retired from the Shabak and joined the business sector as president and CEO of Cellcom, a new cellular phone company. In 2003, after eight years as head of the company, he left Cellcom and was named chairman of Bank Mizrachi. In addition, he was the chairman of the board of Lipman Electronic Engineering and a member of the board of Magal Security Systems. Peri was also the prime minister's coordinator for prisoners of war and missing soldiers.

[Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

PERI EẒ-ḤAYYIM (Heb. פְּרִי עֵץ־חַיִּים; "fruit of the tree of life"), Hebrew periodical devoted to halakhic responsa and published in Amsterdam from 1691 to 1807. *Peri Eẓ Ḥayyim*, a forerunner of Hebrew periodical literature, was issued by the well-known yeshivah Eẓ Ḥayyim founded in 1616. In the 18th century the yeshivah became the largest and most important Torah center not only of Sephardi Jewry but of Ashkenazi Jewry as well. Accordingly, halakhic queries addressed to the yeshivah's outstanding talmudists reflect the entire spectrum of Jewish life in the 17th and 18th centuries and all aspects of *halakhah*. Decisions or advice were requested on such matter as inheritance laws, civil claims, social conflicts, shipping merchandise, piracy, the slave trade, the value of coinage and its fluctuations, Jewish housing difficulties in Holland, *agunot*, and marriages between those of greatly differing ages. Most of the decisions are dated and signed by the rabbis who gave them. The responsa indicate that, in the main, Dutch Jewry lived completely within the religious tradition, even though some of the inquirers, particularly among the women, no longer knew Hebrew. Halakhic inquiries came predominantly from Holland and its colonies, with some coming from the Mediterranean littoral and elsewhere. There are letters that reveal their writers to have been Marranos, whose problems are also clarified in these responsa. Although almost all the responsa are on halakhic matters, occasionally information about and reactions to other things are also recorded. Thus, there are praises for the art of printing and for science, accounts of the history of the Spanish Jews in Amsterdam, and the Hebrew poet David *Franco-Mendes' history of the yeshivah Eẓ Ḥayyim and of *Peri Eẓ-Ḥayyim*. Only a few copies of each responsa were published and as a result a complete set is no longer extant. Of the 952 responsa, 948 have been preserved and these are housed in different libraries throughout the world (e.g., the Ets Ḥayyim library in Amsterdam, the Rosenthal collection of the Amsterdam University

Library, the National Library in Jerusalem, and the library of J.L. Maimon in Jerusalem). In 1936 Max Hirsch Menko published, with an introduction and indexes, a German synopsis of all the extant responsa.

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[Getzel Kressel]

PERIZZITES (Heb. פְּרִזִּי), pre-Israelite inhabitants of Palestine, who lived in the neighborhood of Shechem (Gen. 13:7; 34:30; Josh. 17:15; Judg. 1:4, 5), in particular in Bezek (Khirbat Ibzīq, northeast of Shechem). The Perizzites are listed among the traditional group of six (sometimes five or seven) pre-Israelite peoples of the Promised Land (Ex. 3:8, 17; Deut. 7:1; Josh. 3:10, et al.) but, unlike the others, are not included among the descendants of Canaan (Gen. 10:15–17).

The origin of the term Perizzite is still unknown. Some scholars have surmised a connection with the word *perazot*, "unwalled towns or suburbs"; others, on the basis of the element *brz* in their name, that is found in the (Sumerian) Akkadian *parzi*(*llu*) and the West Semitic *barzel*, meaning "iron," suggest that the Perizzites were migrating metalworkers. Others, basing themselves on the fact that *Pire/izzi* is attested as the name of an envoy sent by King Tushratta of Hurri-Mitanni to Egypt, identify the Perizzites as an Anatolian ethnic group who reached Canaan, perhaps as migrating workers or slaves, as part of the political agreement between the Hittites and Egypt during the 18th Dynasty. The sources are the *El-Amarna tablets nos. 27, 28, and 29. On no. 27 there is a hieratic Egyptian note: *Pirasi*. Other forms of the same personal name in Egyptian transliterations are *Pirisija, Pirisim*, names of slaves. There is also the Nuzi-Hurrian personal name *Pirzu*. These occurrences of the name support the tentative conclusion that the Perizzites, who, in the Bible, are indeed separated from Canaanites, are of Anatolian-Hurrian origin.

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[Pinhas Artzi and Irene Grumach]

PERJURY. Witnesses are guilty of perjury if it is proved, by the evidence of at least two other competent and consistent witnesses, that they had not been present at the time and at the place where they had testified to have been when the event in issue had happened (Mak. 1:4). Such false witnesses are known as *edim zomemim* (lit. conspiring witnesses). It is not sufficient that anything to which those witnesses had testified is contradicted by new witnesses, to the effect that what they had testified was untrue (as for "contradictions," see *Witness): such contradictions are only the starting point of the evidence required to convict those witnesses of perjury (Maim., Yad, Edut 18:4), namely, that they could not possibly have witnessed the facts to which they had testified (*ibid.* 18:2). Even though the evidence of the first set of witnesses had been accepted by the court as truthful, it is the evidence of the latter set of witnesses, testifying to the "alibi" of the first, that is to be accepted as conclusive (Mak. 5b; Yad, Edut 18:3) irrespective of the actual number of witnesses in each set. The latter set of witnesses must testify in the presence of the first set. Should this not be possible, e.g., if the first set are dead, this constitutes a "contradiction" and both testimonies will be discarded (cf. Yad, Edut 18:5). Where no evidence of perjury in the technical sense was available, but the evidence had conclusively been contradicted (e.g., where the murdered man appeared in court alive), the court would inflict disciplinary lashes (*Makkat Mardut* – see *Flogging; Yad, Edut 18:6; *Sha'arei Ẓedek* 4:7, 24 and 45; Rosh, resp., 58:4; et al.).

The punishment for perjury is laid down in the Bible: "You shall do to him as he schemed to do his fellow… Nor must you show pity: life for life, eye for eye, tooth for tooth, hand for hand, foot for foot" (Deut. 19:19–21). The Sadducees interpreted this law literally: the false witness would not forfeit his life, unless and until the man against whom he had testified had been executed; but the Pharisean interpretation, which is the source of the law as it was eventually established, was that the witness must be made to suffer what he had schemed to do, but not what he had actually caused to occur, to his fellow (Sif. Deut. 190; Mak. 1:6) – so that the biblical law was held to be applicable only where a man had been sentenced on the strength of false testimony, but before he was executed; the witnesses who had testified against him were then formally tried and convicted of perjury (Yad, Edut 20:2). This was a highly improbable contingency, as there was hardly an interval between sentence and execution (see *Practice and Procedure). The enunciation of this rule is followed in the Talmud by the objection that it could not be right to take the life of the witness when the life of the person he had schemed to kill had not in fact been taken; or, if the Bible really required that to be the law, then a fortiori must the life of the witness be taken after that person had been executed: if a man is liable to die because of having intended to kill, surely he must be liable to die if he had actually killed. The objection was dismissed in reliance on the rule (see *Penal Law) that no criminal offense can be created by analogy or logical deduction (Mak. 5b; and cf. Sanh. 74a and 76a; et al.).

Later commentators theorized that God's presence in the court (cf. Deut. 19:17) would sufficiently enlighten the minds of the judges to detect the falsehood of the testimony in time, before execution, for it is written, "do not bring death on the righteous and innocent, for I will not acquit the wrongdoer" (Ex. 23:7). It follows that the offense of perjury can have been committed only where the accused had not yet been executed, for a man who was executed must have been rightly convicted (Naḥmanides, commentary, Deut. 19:19).

The rule was, however, limited to capital cases only. Perjured witnesses were given the same non-capital punishments as had already been inflicted on those against whom they had testified (Yad, Edut 20:2), and where the defendant in a civil case had paid the judgment debt, the amount so paid was recovered from the witnesses (Tur, ḤM 38:2). Where the sanction imposed on the strength of their testimony could not be imposed on them (e.g., where an alleged manslayer had been banished to a *city of refuge, or where a priest had been suspended from office), they would be flogged (Yad, Edut 20:8–9; Tur, ḤM 38:3). To be convicted of perjury, no previous warning had to be given to false witnesses (Ket. 33a; Yad, Edut 18:4; Tur, ḤM 38:9). No single witness could be convicted of perjury: the conviction had always to be in respect of both (or all) the witnesses who had testified falsely together (Mak. 1:7); and when once one false witness had alone been convicted, it was said that innocent blood had been shed (Mak. 5b). As perjured witnesses are disqualified from being admitted as a witness in future, all convictions of perjury must be given wide publicity (Sanh. 89a; Maim., Yad, Edut 18:7), to fulfill the biblical command that "all others will hear and be afraid" (Deut. 19:20).

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[Haim Hermann Cohn]

PERL, JOSEPH (1773–1839), author of significant satirical works and leading figure in the Galician *Haskalah. Perl was born in Tarnopol, where he spent most of his life. In his youth he was attracted to Ḥasidism and acquired knowledge of the movement's way of life and literature. Under the influence of the *maskilim*, especially those of Brody in Galicia, Perl joined the Haskalah movement as early as the beginning of the 19th century. Perl was very active in Jewish education and public life. In 1813 he established in Tarnopol the first modern Jewish school in Galicia, whose curriculum, in the spirit of moderate Haskalah, included both general and Jewish studies. He supported and directed the school throughout his life. He sought to modernize the Jewish community of Tarnopol by attempting to enlist the aid first of the Russian government and then, after 1815, of the Austrian government. Perhaps most conspicuous was his vigorous fight against the ḥasidic movement, which had spread throughout Volhynia and Podolia as well as Galicia. Perl's literary activity began around 1814. In 1814–16, Perl published calendars which contain both scientific information and excerpts from talmudic literature in the vein of the *maskilim*. The entire body of his work has never been published, and some of his works are at present in the process of publication for the first time. Those of Perl's works in manuscript stored in his valuable library in Tarnopol were probably, for the most part, destroyed during the Holocaust; vestiges of this collection are preserved in the National Library in Jerusalem. During his lifetime some of Perl's works were circulated in manuscript, while others were published years after they had been presented to the censor for approval, e.g., *Boḥen Ẓaddik* ("The Test of the Righteous"), which was written in 1825 and published in 1838.

Perl signed his principal satirical works with the pseudonym Obadiah b. Pethahiah, which often prevented the reading public from identifying him as the author. Until recently Perl was known only as a Hebrew writer, but he wrote a polemic against Ḥasidism in German, and was also the author of works in Yiddish. His principal satirical work, *Megalleh Temirin* ("The Revealer of Secrets"; Vienna, 1819), was written in a parallel Yiddish version, which was first published only in 1937 by YIVO in Vilna. Periodical stories in the manner of Naḥman of Bratslav's *Sippurei Ma'asiyyot* were published in both their Hebrew and Yiddish versions in 1969 by the Israel Academy for Sciences and Humanities in Jerusalem. It is also known that he adapted a Yiddish version of a historical novel, *Antigonus*, and apparently translated Fielding's *Tom Jones* into Yiddish, probably from a German version.

Although Perl made an important contribution to the creation of Yiddish fiction during the first half of the 19th century he did not advocate the use of this language. Like other Haskalah authors his aim in employing Yiddish was practical – to propagate Haskalah ideas among the Yiddish-speaking masses. Yet none of Perl's Yiddish works, which in spite of his intention show an original and idiomatic use of language, appeared during his lifetime.

Both in his public activities and in his writings Perl fought Ḥasidism because he believed their doctrines and leaders to be obstacles to the modernization of Jewish life. By means of denunciatory and hostile notes and memoranda (recently discovered and published) sent incessantly to the officials, he encouraged the Austrian authorities in Galicia to intervene against the Ḥasidim. In the literary sphere he battled against the movement by means of propaganda, parody, and satire. Characteristic is his German manuscript, *Ueber das Wesen der Sekte Chassidim* (1816), in which he condemned the ḥasidic movement, its practices and beliefs, on the grounds that they jeopardized the welfare of the state and misled a multitude of innocent believers. Addressing both gentile and Jewish readers he denigrates Ḥasidism by creating a hostile, often distorted anthology of quotations lifted out of context from the ḥasidic sources. Perl wrote stories in the manner of Naḥman of Bratslav, in fact, pretending that they had been discovered after the rabbi's death by one of his Ḥasidim. Thus he published a supplement, as it were, to Naḥman's incompleted *Ma'aseh me-Avedat Bat Melekh*, claiming it to have been in the possession of a Ḥasid who was close to the rabbi toward the end of his life. Similarly, Perl wrote another story, *Ma'aseh me-Avedat Ben Melekh*, in Hebrew and Yiddish. These stories use the style and some themes and motifs of R. Naḥman only to further the Haskalah aim of criticizing and eventually eradicating Ḥasidism.

Perl's principal work, *Megalleh Temirin*, shows the influence of 18th-century satirical stories written in the form of letters, which achieved great popularity in France and Germany (especially Montesquieu's *Persian Letters* and Wieland's satirical writings). Perl integrated the structure of the secular European satirical letter not only with the style, language, and ideas of the ḥasidic letter, but with its typographical form as well. An imitation of the ḥasidic story, *Megalleh Temirin* is made up of 151 letters, a preface, and an epilogue.

The story's main character, Obadiah b. Pethahiah, who is possessed of magical powers, presents himself as a fervent Ḥasid who had miraculously obtained these letters. Here the denunciations of Ḥasidism contained in Perl's German manuscript reappear amplified by many annotations attached to the correspondence. The annotations interpret the views and facts mentioned in the letters, and they also serve as a medium for Obadiah's ironic commentary. The letters reveal a number of plots, the principal one being the search for the German "book" (Buch) which endangers Ḥasidism and undermines the authority of its leaders by revealing their innermost secrets. Therefore it must be obtained at any cost and destroyed, and revenge taken on its author. The hunt for the "book," which is actually Perl's own German manuscript, yields several subplots based on intrigues and schemes set within ḥasidic life. The search, resembling a comedy of errors, ends in complete failure. Other aspects of the plot reveal the machinations of the Ḥasidim in their struggle for influence and material gain. In Perl's satire, the ḥasidic leaders do not stop short of employing stratagems of bribery, deceit, blackmail, and intimidation against their rivals, whether rabbis or *maskilim*. In spite of his intention to demean Ḥasidism, its philosophy and practices, a number of descriptions escape Perl's satiric control, communicating vitality, naturalness, and humor. The Hebrew in which these letters are written contains Yiddishisms lending flexibility and expressiveness to the speech of the Ḥasidim. Like many *maskilim* Perl considered this ḥasidic Hebrew a ludicrous language, offensive to the Haskalah ideal of a "pure" Hebrew language written in biblical style and according to grammatical rules. In spite of these feelings Perl's ḥasidic Hebrew conveys great liveliness.

Boḥen Ẓaddik, (Prague, 1838), a sequel to *Megalleh Temirin*, consists of two sections, the first, a discussion of readers' reactions to *Megalleh Temirin*, and the second, a series of letters. Obadiah b. Pethahiah reappears in this work as a man who possesses a magical device – a board on which people's conversations are secretly recorded. The board, however, can be erased only by an absolutely honest man, and the search for this ideal person brings Obadiah into contact with the diverse elements composing Jewish society, each of whose weaknesses and follies is mercilessly exposed. Thus the number of subjects coming in for satirical treatment is increased to include not only Ḥasidim, but rabbis, traders, artisans, and even *maskilim*, all of whom are found defective, each in his own way. At the end of these wanderings the honest man is discovered, paradoxically, as a Jewish pious farmer in a remote village in southern Russia, which is governed in an almost utopian fashion by Jewish farmers. Taking to heart all that he learned from his travels, Obadiah turns his back on Ḥasidism and preaches in a pathetic manner to his people.

Perl also wrote letters published in Hebrew periodicals in Austria: Of special importance are his letters protesting against the collection of funds in the name of R. *Meir Ba'al ha-Nes. Ironically, there is an unpublished letter in which a Ḥasid jests at the foibles of the contributors to the periodical *Kerem Ḥemed*, who pursue honor and empty phrases and whose spiritual horizons are narrow. Perl's satire, employed to promote the aims of the Haskalah, is of interest today primarily because of its literary merit and authenticity, qualities that have outlived the author's immediate intentions. An English translation entitled *Joseph Perl's Revealer of Secrets: The First Hebrew novel*, with an introduction by Dov Taylor, was published in 1997. Avraham Rubinstein edited and wrote an introduction to Perl's *Ueber das Wesen der Sekte Chassidim* (1977).

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[Samuel Werses]

PERL, MARTIN LEWIS (1927–), U.S. physicist and Nobel laureate. Perl was born in Brooklyn, New York City, and graduated early from Madison High School (1943), his education boosted by strong parental encouragement, prodigious reading and a great interest in working with tools, wood, chemicals and Erector (construction) sets. He gained his B.S. in chemical engineering at the Polytechnic Institute of Brooklyn (now Polytechnic University) (1948), a course interrupted by World War II service in the U.S. Merchant Marine and Army. He worked for the General Electric Company before pursuing his now definitive career choice of physics at Columbia University (1950) where he completed his thesis under the supervision of I.I. Rabi (1955). He was a member of the physics department of the University of Michigan (1955–63), where he became professor, before moving to Stanford University's Linear Accelerator Center (1963) and where he has been professor of physics since 1970. His first 10 years of experimental research was in the complicated field of strong interactions of elementary particles such as the pion and proton. His basic interest in fundamental problems in physics led him to study the relation between the electron and the muon, which have many similar properties, although the muon is much heavier. Speculating that there might be heavier members of the electron-muon family, his theoretical and practical skills led to the discovery of the tau lepton, for which he received the Nobel Prize in physics (1995) and the Wolf Prize for physics (1982). His work thus extended the electron-muon to the electron-muon-tau family of which no heavier members have yet been found. His subsequent research centers on the relation between electrons, muons, and tau particles and on the search for elementary particles with a fraction of the electric charge of the electron. Perl's other research interests are in optical and electronic devices and liquid drop technology. Perl has always been a strong supporter of Israel and Jewish life in the U.S. He practices Reconstructionist Judaism.

[Michael Denman (2nd ed.)]

PERLA, JEROHAM FISCHEL BEN ARYEH ẒEVI (1846–1934), scholar and commentator. Born in Warsaw, Perla at the age of 15 went to study under Joshua Leib Diskin in Lomza, and when Diskin left Lomza he became the pupil of Ḥayyim *Soloveichik of Brest-Litovsk. Perla was invited by many communities, including those of Cracow and Lublin to accept the position of communal rabbi. Believing that the burdens of office would interrupt his study, however, he refused all the calls extended to him and devoted himself entirely to study, supported by his wife, who kept a shop in Warsaw. Perla spent 40 years on his remarkable three-volume commentary on Saadiah's *Sefer ha-Mitzvot*, which he completed in 1917. With the appearance of this extensive and brilliant work Perla's reputation spread, reaching Ereẓ Israel long before he himself arrived there, and due to it he entered into correspondence with Ḥayyim *Sonnenfeld. They became close friends after Perla's arrival in Jerusalem in 1924, but otherwise Perla shunned people in order to spend his whole time studying. It is said that in his house there was a chest containing many manuscripts, including a commentary on Eliezer b. Nathan's *Raban*, equal in length to Perla's commentary on the *Sefer ha-Mitzvot*. Perla began to publish a commentary on *Kaftor va-Feraḥ* of Estori ha-Parḥi called *Pirḥei Ẓiyyon*, but only the first five chapters appeared (1966). The manuscript of the remainder was taken back to Europe by Perla's son and was lost in the Holocaust. Perla died in Jerusalem.

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[Anthony Lincoln Lavine]

PERLBACH, MAX (1848–1921), German historian. Born in Danzig, Perlbach worked as a librarian at the following institutions of higher learning: Koenigsberg (1872–76), Greifswald (1876–83), and Halle (1883–1903), and was then appointed to direct the Royal Library at Berlin. His scientific work dealt mainly with the history of the provinces of East and West Prussia during the Middle Ages.

The works he wrote or edited include *Ueber die Ergebnisse der Lemberger Handschrift fuer die aeltere Chronik von Oliva* (1871); *Preussische Regesten bis zum Ausgang des 13. Jahrhunderts* (1876); *Simon Grunaus preussische Chronik* (1876); *Quellen-Beiträge zur Geschichte der Stadt Koenigsberg im Mittelalter* (1878); *Preussisch-polnische Studien zur Geschichte des Mittelalters* (1886); and *Prussia Scholastica: Die Ost-und Westpreussen auf den mittelalterlichen Universitaeten* (1896). Perlbach also edited some Polish medieval sources for the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* (1888, 1893).

[George Schwab]

PERLBERG, ABRAHAM NATHAN (1889–1934), Hebrew author and educator. Born in Kolno, Poland, Perlberg studied at the Lomzhe yeshivah. After moving to Warsaw, he gave private lessons to the children of wealthy *maskilim*, including Aaron *Zeitlin. After immigrating to the United States in 1913, Perlberg taught at the Bet Hasefer Haleumi (National Hebrew School for Girls) in Brooklyn and Manhattan, becoming principal of the Manhattan branch of that school in 1920. Those schools taught *Ivrit be-Ivrit* (Hebrew in Hebrew), with an emphasis on Modern Hebrew literature and conversation. They were aimed at girls because the nationalist movement made the education of Jewish women an essential part of its program.

Perlberg taught at the Mizrachi Bet Hamidrash L'morim (Hebrew Teachers' Seminary), which later became part of Yeshivat Isaac Elhanan and Yeshivah University, from 1917 until his death. Many of his students went on to become leading rabbis and scholars, including Solomon Feffer, Morris Goodblatt, Robert *Gordis, Hyman Grinstein, Isaac *Klein, Hayim Leaf, and Frank Zimmerman.

The town of Ra'ananah was founded in Palestine by a group of American Jews in 1922. According to an oral tradition, Perlberg suggested the name for the town.

Perlberg published widely in Hebrew journals for adults and children, including *Hadoar*, *Haaretz*, *Ha-Toren*, *Nir*, *Aviv*, and *Ha-Do'ar La-Noar*, and was the assistant editor of *Ha-Toren* and one of the editors of *Aviv.* He wrote poems, songs, and plays for children as well as articles about education and pedagogy. Many of his writings were collected posthumously in *Kitvei A.N. Perlberg* (1939).

[David Golinkin (2nd ed.)]

PERLE, JOSHUA (**Yehoshua**; 1888–1943), Yiddish novelist. Born in Radom, Poland, Perle spent most of his life in Warsaw. Initially influenced by Sholem *Asch's romantic literary style, Perle later, under the influence of Maxim Gorky, adopted a grittier, more naturalistic mode of writing. His outstanding achievement is the autobiographical novel *Yidn fun a Gants Yor* ("Ordinary Jews," 1935), based on his own impoverished childhood and complicated family. Well received by the critics and widely read, it garnered several prestigious prizes. Perle was prolific, writing novels, short stories, literary sketches, criticism, and articles that appeared in Warsaw Yiddish publications and literary journals. He wrote naturalistic descriptions of the petit bourgeois, big city types, office workers, officials, and the impoverished masses. He was also a friend and mentor to younger Yiddish writers, and his home on Orla Street became a literary salon. Perle continued writing and was active in literary circles into World War II. On Simḥat Torah, October 21, 1943, he was sent to Birkenau and vanished without a trace. His son also perished, his wife having committed suicide before the war. Perle's stories and articles from the Warsaw Ghetto years were found after the war in the hidden archives of Emanuel *Ringelblum and several were later published.

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[S. Kumove (2nd ed.)]

PERLE, RICHARD NORMAN (1941–), U.S. foreign policy thinker and entrepreneur. Born in New York City and raised in Los Angeles, Perle was educated at the University of Southern California (B.A., 1964), London School of Economics, and Princeton University (M.A., 1967). Perle went to Washington, D.C., in 1969 to work on a campaign in support of President Nixon's antiballistic missile program. After its success, he joined the staff of U.S. senator Henry M. Jackson from 1969 to 1980, specializing in foreign policy and arms control issues. Perle was largely responsible for Jackson's amendment watering down the SALT I arms control treaty. He also drafted the Jackson-Vanik Amendment, which tied Soviet trade status with the United States to the Soviet Union's willingness to allow Jewish emigration to Israel. While working for Jackson in the Senate, Perle was discovered by the FBI to have passed classified national security information to the Israeli embassy; he was "reprimanded" by Jackson but never prosecuted.

From 1981 to 1987 Perle was assistant secretary of defense for international security policy in the Reagan administration, where he was largely responsible for opposing arms control initiatives and weakening existing arms control treaties. Perle maintained close ties to the Likud Party in Israel and was a policy advisor to former prime minister Binyamin Netanyahu. From 1987 to 2004 he was a member of the Defense Policy Board at the Pentagon, and was chairman from 2001 to 2003. He belongs to several right-wing think tanks/lobbying groups and he was a founder of the Project for the New American Century (PNAC), and an author of its famous 2000 report calling for American world military and economic supremacy, whose recommendations have been the foundation of American foreign policy in the second Bush administration (many members of PNAC were appointed to important positions in the government in 2001). Perle was a signatory of a letter sent to President Clinton in 1998 calling for a U.S. war against Iraq, and is regarded as a chief promoter of that war. He was among the strongest supporters in Washington of Ahmad Chalabi, the exiled Iraqi who was found to be the source of much of the false information used to promote public support for the war in 2002 and 2003. Perle has also advocated military attacks on Syria, Iran, and North Korea.

Perle's private business activities frequently prompted accusations of unethical behavior. In 2003 he was criticized because of his directorship of a firm that sells eavesdropping software and his involvement in a venture capital fund formed to invest in businesses "that are of value to homeland security and defense," for which he reportedly solicited Saudi investment, at the same time that he was advocating the Iraq war as a member of the Defense Policy Board. In 2004 Perle was implicated in the looting of Hollinger International, Inc., a media company that owned several large newspapers, of $400 million by its chairman, Conrad Black, and his deputy, David *Radler. Perle was a member of Hollinger's executive committee along with Black and Radler, and has been accused of "breach[ing] his fiduciary duties" while accepting $5.4 million in compensation and bonuses, and while the company made large investments at Perle's direction, most of which were lost.

[Drew Silver (2nd ed.)]

PERLES, family of scholars and writers. JOSEPH PERLES (1835–1894), born in Baja, Hungary, studied at the Breslau Jewish Theological Seminary and at the University of Breslau. He served as preacher of the Bruedergemeinde of Posen (Poznan) during 1862–71, and then as rabbi of the Jewish community of Munich, rejecting offers to succeed A. *Geiger in Berlin and to lecture at the newly founded *Landesrabbinerschule in Budapest. Perles, a faithful and outstanding pupil of the Breslau seminary, was among its first graduates, and his interests extended over a wide area of Jewish scholarship. Ancient versions of the Bible was one of his fields; his dissertation was on the Syriac version, *Meletemata Peschitthoniana* (1859), and he edited his father-in-law's (S.B. Schefftel) *Be'urei Onkelos* (1888). His work in medieval literature and Bible exegesis was extensive. Perles' main scholarly contribution was to Hebrew and Aramaic lexicography and philology, to which he devoted such studies as *Zur rabbinischen Sprach-und Sagenkunde* (1873), which sheds light on the aggadic sources of the *Thousand and One Nights; Beitraege zur Geschichte der hebraeischen und aramaeischen Studien* (1884); and *Beitraege zur rabbinischen Sprach-und Alterthumskunde* (1893). Perles' sons were MAX (1867–1894), a noted oculist, and FELIX (1874–1933), rabbi and scholar. Felix was drawn into the Zionist movement in Vienna and in 1899 he became rabbi at Koenigsberg. Like his father, Felix Perles had wide scholarly interests: Bible criticism, Hebrew and Aramaic lexicography, apocryphal and pseudepigraphical literature, medieval Hebrew poetry, liturgy, Jewish dialects, and abbreviations. His best-known works are his critique of W. Bousset's *Religion des Judentums im neutestamentlichen Zeitalter* (1903), and the collection of essays, *Juedische Skizzen* (1912, 1920^2). Joseph Perles' wife, ROSALIE (1839–1932), was a writer and journalist for a number of German-Jewish papers and periodicals. She wrote a preface to a volume of her husband's sermons – edited by their son Felix (1896) – and published some lectures. Her *Aphorismen* appeared posthumously in 1932.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: JOSEPH PERLES: W. Bacher, in: JQR, 7 (1894/95), 1–23 (where an almost complete bibliography is given in the footnotes). FELIX PERLES: Hedwig Perles, in: MGWJ, 81 (1937), 369–92 (bibliography, reprinted).

PERLES (Perls), ISAAC MOSES (1784–1854), Hungarian rabbi. Born in Brod, Moravia, Perles studied under Meshullam Eger in Pressburg and with Joseph b. Phinehas, rabbi of Posen. He served as rabbi in several Hungarian communities: Kojetin (from 1813), Holics (1820), Eisenstadt (1822), and Bonyhad (1841). During his last years difficulties arose between him and his community. They were in the main connected with reforms in the life of the community which Perles, despite his generally liberal approach, refused to countenance. Matters reached such a stage that he was denounced to the government as "interfering with order and authority, hating light and progress," or as "robbing and wronging his congregants, making demands upon them, and taking by force… in excess of that to which he was entitled." The government, knowing that the charges were baseless, ignored them, but as a result of the dispute Perles left Bonyhad and returned to Brod, where he died after a few months. After his death his grandson Abraham Ẓevi published his work *Beit Ne'eman* (1907), including responsa of great interest and prefaced by Perles' biography. His son Meir (1811–1893) was born in Brod. Although a profound talmudic scholar, he did not join the Orthodox camp. He served as rabbi in Carei (Mare) from 1834. In *Beit Ne'eman* there is a letter to him from Moses *Sofer dated 1834.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: ZHB, 12 (1908), 68–70; P.Z. Schwartz, *Shem ha-Gedolim me-Ereẓ Hagar,* 1 (1914), 51a; 2 (1914), 2b; N. Ben-Menaḥem, *Mi-Sifrut Yisrael be-Ungaryah* (1958), 170, no. 91.

[Naphtali Ben-Menahem]

PERLES, MOSES MEIR BEN ELEAZAR (1666–1739), rabbi and author. Perles was born in Prague. About 1708 he was in Frankfurt, Amsterdam, and Rotterdam, and in his work *Megillat Sefer,* he tells of the troubles which befell him in the winter of 1708, while he was in an isolated village outside Vienna: on the Sabbath of *Zakhor* and Purim he had neither *Sefer Torah* nor Scroll of Esther, and he vowed to compile a commentary on the latter if he were delivered. He reached Vienna, where he lived in the house of Samson *Wertheimer, acting as his secretary. Wertheimer supported him after he returned to Prague. Perles kept his vow and compiled his commentary entitled *Megillat Sefer* (Prague, 1710), which is based mainly on Rashi's commentary to Esther. In his introduction he also mentions his other works, which have remained in manuscript: *Penei Ḥammah* on the *aggadot* of the Talmud; *Or Olam*, sermons for the festivals; *Kiryat Arba*, sermons on the biblical portions read on the four special *Sabbaths before Passover; and *Me'ir Netivot* (which according to one view is identical with *Or Olam*). He died in Prague.

His sons included Aaron, who published the *Seder ha-Nikkur* of the *Sefer ha-Ittur* with the commentary *Tohorat Aharon* (Offenbach, 1725) containing extracts from the works of the *posekim* and the laws of porging in German, and Moses, who compiled *Mishmeret ha-Bayit* (Prague, 1739), containing in 10 *mishmarot* ("vigils"), sermons and ethical admonitions.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Steinschneider, Cat Bod, 725, 1981; Neubauer, Cat, 792; S. Hock and D. Kaufmann, *Die Familien Prags* (1892), 280–1.

[Yehoshua Horowitz]

PERLHEFTER, ISSACHAR BEHR BEN JUDAH MOSES (d. after 1701), Bohemian rabbi. Born in Prague, a member of the *Eybeschuetz family, he married Bella, the daughter of Jacob Perlhefter of Prague, whose family name he adopted. They moved to Vienna, but after the expulsion of its Jews in 1670, he went to Altdorf where he taught Hebrew to Johann *Wagenseil who was a professor there. Perlhefter's wife, a highly cultured woman, taught Wagenseil's daughter dancing and music. Perlhefter was next appointed rabbi of Mantua where his father had previously served. After six years Perlhefter was forced to leave, as a result of a dispute over Mordecai of Eisenstadt, a follower of *Shabbetai Ẓevi whom Perlhefter at first supported, but subsequently exposed when his deceptions became known. Perlhefter later returned to his native city where he was appointed *dayyan* and scribe, a position formerly held by his grandfather. Perlhefter was the author of *Ohel Yissakhar* on the laws of *sheḥitah*, with a Judeo-German translation (Wilhermsdorf, 1670); *Ma'aseh Ḥoshen u-Ketoret* (Prague, 1686), an excerpt from Abraham b. David *Portaleone's *Shiltei ha-Gibborim* (Mantua, 1619) on archaeology: and *Ba'er Heitev* (Prague, 1699) on the *Targum Jonathan* to the Pentateuch.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: D. Kaufmann, *"Die letzte Vertreibung der Juden aus Wien und Niederoesterreich,"* in: *Jahresbericht der Landes-Rabbinerschule in Budapest 1887–88* (1889), 201f.

[Louis Isaac Rabinowitz]

PERLMAN, ALFRED EDWARD (1902–1983), U.S. railroad executive and first Jewish president of a major American railway system. Perlman was born in St. Paul, Minnesota, and spent his early career working with the engineering and administrative departments of major United States railroad corporations. From 1952 to 1954 he was president of the New York Central System and in 1965 he became president and chief administrative officer of the Pennsylvania–New York Central Transportation Company, which went bankrupt in 1970. Some of the major contributions that Perlman's management team made to the railway include creating a smaller, more productive workforce; improving services, such as tightening the freight schedules; extending strategic sidings to minimize train delays; strengthening and replacing bridges and structures; installing VHF radio communication systems; expanding intermodal facilities and services; and implementing total management and cost control systems.

Among Perlman's many public offices in the United States and abroad were those of an adviser to the Korean (1949) and Israeli (1950) railroad systems. He was chairman of the Eastern Railroads Presidents' Conference, a member of most professional organizations connected with railroading, and a contributor to professional publications.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Perlman's 16-page *Western Pacific Railroad: The Feather River Route* was published in 1975. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** J. Daughen and P. Binzen, *The Wreck of the Penn Central* (1999).

[Joachim O. Ronall / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

PERLMAN, HELEN HARRIS (1905–2004), U.S. social work educator. Perlman, who was born in St. Paul, Minnesota, received a B.A. in English literature from the University of Minnesota in 1926. She worked for family and child guidance agencies in Chicago and New York (1927 to 1940). In 1940 she became a lecturer and a student supervisor at the School of Social Work of Columbia University. During this period, she often gave lectures on the treatment of social and emotional problems in people's daily lives, speaking at the New York School of Social Work and other schools and conferences throughout the U.S. In 1943 she received her master's degree in social work from Columbia.

In 1945 she was appointed professor of social work at the University of Chicago's School of Social Administration. She was best known for her contributions to the theory of social casework and to training for social work practice.

In the 1950s she integrated her clinical experience and her studies with experts in the Freudian and Rankian schools of thought and developed the "Chicago School" of social service practice. Her work, together with later work by other colleagues, established the Chicago School's problem-solving approach, an influential approach that is still used in practice today.

For many years Perlman served on the editorial board of the *Journal of American Orthopsychiatry*. She also served on the editorial board of *Social Work*, the major publication of the National Association of Social Workers (NASW), as well as on the curriculum development committee of the Council on Social Work Education (CSWE). The council named her a Pioneer of Social Work Education.

Her widely read book *Social Casework: A Problem Solving Process* (1957; 1958^2) has been translated into more than 10 languages. Her other publications include *So You Want to Be a Social Worker* (1962), *Persona* (1968), *Relationship* (1979), *Looking Back to See Ahead* (1989), and *The Dancing Clock & Other Childhood Memories* (1989).

[Joseph Neipris / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

PERLMAN, ITZHAK (1945–), Israeli violinist. Perlman studied at the Tel Aviv Academy of Music with Rivka Goldgart. A child prodigy, he gave a solo violin recital at age 10 and appeared on American television in 1958. He later studied at Juilliard with Delay and Galamian, aided by a scholarship from the America-Israel Cultural Foundation. He made his Carnegie Hall debut in 1963. Winning the Leventritt Competition (1964) launched his international career, through which he has become known as one of the world's leading musicians. Perlman is noted for the warmth and beauty of his tone, brilliant technique, a genuine humanity and joie de vivre. In 1965, he performed eight concerts throughout Israel, which culminated in a performance of Tchaikovsky pieces in Tel Aviv for which he received a 15-minute ovation. He played as a soloist in the Israel Philharmonic concerts in Warsaw and Budapest (1987, representing its first performances in Eastern Bloc countries) and the orchestra's first visits to the Soviet Union (1990), China, and India (1994). He regularly returns to Israel. In chamber music he has often been heard with such colleagues as *Zukerman, *Ashkenazy, and Argerich. From 1997 Perlman developed a new role as director/soloist and appeared with the English Chamber Orchestra, the Chicago Symphony, and other noted orchestras. His vast repertoire encompasses all the standard violin works as well as klezmer and contemporary music. Several composers wrote works for him and his recordings regularly appear on the best-seller charts and have won 15 Grammy Awards. Among them are the Bach solo sonatas and partitas, the Paganini *Caprices*, and much of the virtuoso repertory. He performed the violin solos in Steven *Spielberg's Academy Award-winning film *Schindler's List.* Perlman made a habit of encouraging young talent and over the years held a variety of teaching posts, including close involvement, alongside wife, Toby, in the Perlman Music Program for Young People, beginning in 1998. Among his many awards are the Medal of Liberty (1986), in appreciation of his outstanding contribution to American life and achievements, the Royal Philharmonic Society's gold medal (1996), and the National Medal of Arts (2000). The Harvard, Yale, and Hebrew universities are among the many institutions to have awarded him honorary degrees. He is an honorary citizen of Tel Aviv. Stricken with polio at age four, he has also been an advocate for the rights of the disabled. His daughter, pianist Navah Perlman, has performed to critical acclaim in major concert venues throughout North America, Europe, and Asia.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Grove online; Baker's Biographical Dictionary (1997); C.H. Behrman, *Fiddler to the World: The Inspiring Life of Itzhak Perlman* (1992).

[Naama Ramot (2nd ed.)]

PERLMAN, JACOB (1898–1967), U.S. economist. Perlman was born in Bialystok, Poland, and was taken to the United States in 1912. After a brief period of teaching at the University of North Dakota he entered government service, and during the 1930s worked with the Bureau of Labor Statistics and the Social Security Administration. In 1949 he became a technical expert for the United Nations and was sent as economic adviser to the governments of Colombia, Greece, Bolivia, and the Philippines. From 1956 to 1965 he was head of the Office of Economic and Manpower Studies of the National Science Foundation. In addition to his work for governmental and international institutions, Perlman also taught at various universities in the United States and abroad. He specialized in development economics and particularly in the study of the economic effects of science and technology. Perlman died while on a visit to Israel.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *New York Times* (April 10, 1968), 43.

[Joachim O. Ronall]

PERLMAN, SAMUEL (1887–1958), editor and translator. Born in Minsk, Perlman settled in Ereẓ Israel in 1914. During World War I he was among those exiled to Alexandria; there he directed a school for refugee children. On his return he became an editor of *Haaretz. He again left for abroad, and, in Berlin, was one of the editors of *Haolam. Later, together with *Jabotinsky, he founded the Ha-Sefer publishing house; the two were also the joint editors of the first modern Hebrew atlas (1926). Between 1926 and 1932, Perlman was a teacher and the director of the Boston *Hebrew Teachers' College. Returning to Ereẓ Israel in 1932, he became active in the publishing field, joining Devir in 1944. While he wrote articles on literary subjects, he engaged primarily in translation; Perlman's major work was the translation into Hebrew of Heine's prose works. He also translated works by Herzl and Strindberg.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Kressel, Leksikon, 2 (1967), 679.

[Getzel Kressel]

PERLMAN, SELIG (1888–1959), U.S. labor economist. Born in Bialystok, Poland, Perlman immigrated to the United States in 1908. After a brief period in New York, he became interested in the work of the *Bund. While studying at the University of Wisconsin, he investigated the Lawrence strike for the United States Commission on Industrial Relations (1914–15). From 1918 he taught economics at the University of Wisconsin at Madison.

Perlman's main field was the social development of the American, British, and Russian labor movements. He modified his early Marxist socialism as being too theoretical in its approach to social and economic problems and turned his attention to the labor movement and trade unionism. These he regarded as indispensable to a stable industrial society because of their tendency to strengthen labor's bargaining position and their regard for private property. Perlman was active in secular Jewish affairs, especially in the American Jewish Labor Movement. He developed a special relationship with the garment industry unions. In his later years, he showed interest in Zionism and the State of Israel. His best-known book is *A Theory of the Labor Movement* (1928). He was a contributor to the *History of Labor in the United States* (1918–52).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Witte, in: *Industrial and Labor Relations Review*, 13 (1960), 335ff.

[Mark Perlman]

PERLMANN, MOSHE (1905–2001), U.S. scholar in Oriental studies. Born in Odessa, Russia, Perlmann studied in Odessa, Jerusalem, and London. He lived in Palestine from 1924 to 1937 and studied Arabic and Islam at the Hebrew University. He received a Ph.D. in Islamic history from the University of London. He moved to the United States in 1940 and held positions in several U.S. universities, while maintaining a steady output of articles and studies in Oriental history, literature, and thought. Perlmann taught at the New School for Social Research (1945–52) and Dropsie College (1948–55). From 1955 to 1961 he held the position of lecturer in Israeli studies at Harvard. In 1961 he became a professor of Arabic at the University of California in Los Angeles until his retirement in 1973.

One of Perlmann's earliest projects was a compilation of all the references in the Talmud to health or medicine. This collection was published in 1926 as *Midrash ha-Refu'ah*. Perlmann translated Carl Brockelman's *History of the Islamic Peoples* (1947). His own writings include studies of early Arab manuscripts, and *Chapters of Arab-Jewish Diplomacy*, 1918–22 (1944), a collection of printed materials that deal with early attempts at rapprochement. He also published letters written by Leo *Levanda to J.L. *Gordon, with an introduction in which he discusses these two literary figures and the relationship between them (in: *American Academy for Jewish Research, Proceedings* (1967), 139–85).

He also wrote *Gesammelte Schriften: islamische und juedisch-islamische Studien* (with M. Schreiner, 1983). He translated and edited *Shaykh Damanhuri on the Churches of Cairo, 1739* (1975) and edited *The History of Al-Tabari: The Ancient Kingdoms* (1987).

PERLMUTTER, ABRAHAM ẒEVI (1844?–1926), rabbi in Poland. At the age of 18 he was nominated as rabbi in a townlet, later officiating in Leczyca, Raciaz, and other communities. Although descended from *mitnaggedim*, he sought the company of Polish *ẓaddikim* and was particularly close to the *ẓaddik* of Gostynin, Jehiel Meir *Lifschits ("Ba'al ha-Tehillim") from whom he received the authorization to study languages to assist him in his public activities. In 1886 he was appointed rabbi in *Radom, where he participated in many community activities. He was awarded a silver medal after the coronation of Czar *Nicholas II in 1894. Perlmutter was active in improving the condition of Jewish soldiers stationed in the barracks in Radom and established a *kasher* kitchen there. He was also instrumental in abolishing a severe decree against Jewish peddlers. In 1909 he was appointed rabbi in Warsaw, a position he held until his death. In 1917 he was coopted to the provisional state council of Poland, which had been organized under the German occupation. In 1919 he was elected to the first Polish parliament (Sejm) as representative of *Agudat Israel for the Warsaw district. As the doyen of the Jewish representatives he was the first to present his party's declaration on the claims of Orthodox Jews in parliament. Even in his eighties Perlmutter continued to pursue his communal activities and he participated in the Polish and world conventions of Agudat Israel.

[Yitzchak Arad]

PERLMUTTER, IZSÁK (1866–1952), Hungarian painter. Born in Budapest, Perlmutter painted large pictorial studies; *Village in the Morning Sun* won the Hungarian government gold medal in 1905. Later he concentrated on interpreting the life of the peasants in Hungary. The Uffizi Gallery of Florence commissioned his self-portrait in 1926. He left a collection of his work to the Jewish Museum of Budapest.

PERLOV, YITSKHOK (**Isaac Perlow**; 1911–1980), Yiddish poet, novelist, and editor. Born in Biała Podlaska, until the end of World War I he lived in Minsk, then in Warsaw and in the Soviet Union (1940–46). In 1947 he sailed to Ereẓ Israel on the *Exodus* but was returned to Germany by the British, an experience he described in *Ekzodus 1947* ("Exodus 1947," 1948) and *Di Mentshn fun Eksodus 47* ("The People of Exodus 47," 1949). In 1949 he emigrated to Israel, and in 1961 to New York. He began his literary career in 1928 with poems in the *Literarishe Bleter* and then published widely in the Yiddish press in Poland, Germany, Israel, and the United States. His works, some of which appeared under pseudonyms such as A. Bril, Y.B. Avromarin, Itshe Matlies, and P. Itzkhakov, include the poems *Frunza Verda* (1932), *Untergang* ("Doom," 1935), *Undzer Like-Khame* ("Our Solar Eclipse," 1947), *Undzer Regnboygn* ("Our Rainbow," 1948) and the novels *Blondzhende Kayafn* ("Straying Comedians," 1936); *Der Tsurikgekumener* ("The Returnee," 1952), *In Eygenem Land* ("In One's Own Land," 1952), *Matilda Lebt* ("Matilda Is Alive," 1954), *Dzebelye* (1955); *Flora Ingber* (1959) and *Mayne Zibn Gute Yor* ("My Seven Good Years," 1959). In addition, two novels, *Di Kenign fun di Zumpn* ("The Queen of the Swamps") and *Der Elnter Dor* ("The Lonely Generation") appeared in the New York daily *Forverts*. Perlov wrote many dramatic works, of which *Goldene Zangen* ("Golden Stalks," 1938), *Abi Men Zet Zikh* ("Only to See Each Other," 1939), and *Blinde Pasazhirn* ("Stowaways," 1939) were performed in Poland prior to World War II. In 1959 he published his Yiddish translation of Boris Pasternak's *Dr. Zhivago.* His collected works, edited by R. Ariel, appeared in Tel Aviv (1954).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: LNYL, 7 (1968), 185–6.

[Yekhiel Szeintuch / Tamar Lewinsky (2nd ed.)]

PERLSTEIN, MEYER A. (1902–1969), U.S. pediatrician and educator. Perlstein, who was born in Chicago, practiced medicine there from 1929. A specialist in cerebral palsy and other children's neurological diseases, Perlstein was chief of the children's neurology clinic at Cook County Hospital, director of the Cerebral Palsy project at Michael Reese Hospital, and chairman of the medical advisory board of the Therapeutic Day Nursery and of the Illinois Children's Hospital School. Perlstein taught pediatrics at Northwestern University and at the postgraduate school of Cook County Hospital. A founder (1949) and president (1954) of the American Academy for Cerebral Palsy, Perlstein was a consultant and medical advisory board member of many organizations for the benefit of those affected by neurological diseases. He wrote many articles for professional journals and produced movies on medical subjects. In addition he was active on the American Physicians Fellowship Committee of the Israel Medical Association.

PERLZWEIG, MAURICE L. (1895–1985), Reform rabbi and official of the World Jewish Congress. Born in Poland, the son of a cantor who moved to London, Perlzweig was educated in England, where he was founder and chairman of the University Labor Federation of Great Britain and (from 1933) president of the World Union of Jewish Students and deputy member of the Executive of the Jewish Agency. He also officiated at the Liberal Synagogue in London. A founding member of the World Jewish Congress and the first chairman of its British section, in 1942 Perlzweig was nominated head of the World Jewish Congress Department of International Affairs in New York and represented it at the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations and subsidiary bodies. He attended numerous international conferences and meetings as a spokesman of Jewish interests and causes and drafted many documents submitted to the United Nations, particularly the Commission of Human Rights and Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination, on crucial problems of Jewish communities around the world. While working for the World Jewish Congress, Perlzweig had an influence in securing a commitment by the Allies to hold the *Nuremberg Trials of Nazi war criminals.

[Natan Lerner]

PERLZWEIG, WILLIAM ALEXANDRE (1891–1952), U.S. biochemist. Born in Ostrog, Russia, Perlzweig was taken to the U.S. in 1906. He worked at the Rockefeller Institute for Medical Research. In 1917 he served in the U.S. Army Sanitary Corps. From 1930 he was professor of biochemistry and nutrition at the Duke University Medical School, Durham, North Carolina. He contributed a great number of papers in the field of vitamins and clinical chemistry.

°PERNERSTORFER, ENGELBERT (1850–1918), leader of the Austrian Social Democratic Party. Pernerstorfer's attitude toward the Jewish question and antisemitism was peculiarly ambivalent: this was in part to blame for the failure of the Austrian Social Democrats to come to grips with the Jewish question in his time. Pernerstorfer was a school friend of Victor *Adler and godfather at the baptism of the then seven-year-old Friedrich *Adler. He started his public career as editor of Georg von *Schoenerer's periodical, but parted with him in 1883 because of the latter's virulent antisemitism. Although he was considered by his contemporaries to have antisemitic inclinations, Pernerstorfer vigorously opposed political antisemitism. His positive attitude toward Zionism stemmed from his general conception of nationality and his opposition to the cosmopolitanism professed by his Jewish colleagues in the Social Democratic leadership, among them Robert Danneberg; Pernerstorfer averred that the left wing of the party was all Jewish. In 1916 he published an article in Martin Buber's monthly *Der *Jude*, in which he favored national autonomy for East European Jewry, and stated that the Central Powers would profit from a Jewish national home in Palestine. National Socialist propaganda later portrayed Pernerstorfer as a full-scale antisemite.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: E. Silberner, *Sozialisten zur Judenfrage* (1962), 237–40, bibl. 344–7; idem, in: HJ, 13 (1951), 122–3, 129–33; 15 (1953), 15; A. Gerlach, *Der Einfluss der Juden in der oesterreichischen Sozialdemokratie* (1939, national-socialistic); J. Braunthal, *Victor und Friedrich Adler* (1965), index; idem, *In Search for the Millennium* (1945); *Neue Oesterreichische Biographie*, 2 (1925), 97–116.

[Meir Lamed]

PERPIGNAN, city in S. France, near the Spanish border. Formerly the capital of the counts of *Roussillon, in 1172 it passed to the kings of Aragon. The earliest mention of Jews in Perpignan dates from 1185; they are said to have owned real estate around this time. Toward the middle of the 13th century, King James I of Aragon offered the Jews of Perpignan land to settle which they would own in freehold. Endeavoring to attract Jews from France, he granted those of Perpignan a number of privileges and exempted them from the payment of various indirect taxes and tolls (1269). Autonomy in civil law was also granted. In 1271 the annual tax of the community amounted to 15,000 sólidos in Barcelona currency. Noteworthy among the scholars of Perpignan were R. Menahem b. Solomon *Meiri and R. Abraham *Bedersi, pupil of Joseph *Ezobi. In response to R. Abraham's petition (1274), the king granted the community a privilege to protect them against the threats of *informers. He renewed it in 1275, also forbidding the clergy to expel the Jews or summon them before the Church tribunal. At that time the community leadership consisted of 20 to 28 counselors who were appointed for life. Infante John authorized them to convene and issue regulations, appoint procurators and other communal officials, to enforce obedience to the regulations within the community, and to punish offenders.

Some members of the community engaged in maritime commerce (in partnership with Jewish merchants of *Barcelona, *Seville, and other places); others were local merchants; an appreciable number practiced moneylending (including several of the community's trustees). Most important of the crafts was the textile industry, but there were also several silversmiths during the 14th century.

When the Kingdom of *Majorca was created after the death of James I and the seat of the monarchy established in Perpignan, the government began to oppress the local Jewish community. From the close of the century, a series of decrees were issued which sought to restrict relations between Jews and Christians; the Jews were ordered to wear special dress (1314). Restrictive decrees issued for the Kingdom of Majorca were also applied in Perpignan. A poll tax was imposed and around 1317 the king of Majorca seized the promissory notes of the Jews. There is no doubt that living conditions in Perpignan were influenced by the presence of the royal court in the town and the Jews were particularly conscious of the severity of the crown's persecution of the Jews of the kingdom. During the *Pastoureaux persecutions (1320), copies of the Talmud found in the town were burnt. Conditions improved during the reign of Pedro IV. In 1347 he appointed his physician Maestre Crescas as a trustee of the community so as to prevent any inequalities in the financial and tax administration.

At the time of the *Black Death (1348–49) several of the community's notables converted in order to escape persecution. In 1363 Perpignan contributed toward the levy of 10,000 livres in Barcelona currency imposed to further the war against Castile. When the vessel containing the Host was stolen from a church and pledged with a Jew, the infante ordered the bailiff to conduct an inquiry in order to prevent an attack on the Jewish quarter (1367). On June 29, 1370, anti-Jewish riots broke out in Perpignan and the king appointed a procurator to investigate the damage.

During the 1360s and 1370s, Perpignan became renowned as a center of astronomers. The astronomical tables prepared by Jacob b. David Yom Tov were translated into Catalan there in 1361. In 1372 Crescas David was made physician to the king and a year later Bonet Maimon of Perpignan was appointed to the same office. The rabbis of this period included Samuel Carcossa, who was invited to Barcelona for debates with the rabbis of Aragon and Catalonia. In 1372 the king authorized the Jews of Perpignan to travel to France on business, and in 1377 protection was also granted to Jews who came to trade in Roussillon and Cerdagne from the exterior. In 1383 Pedro gave the community of Perpignan a privilege which prohibited apostates from entering the Jewish quarter in order to engage in disputes on religious questions. He also granted it permission to try informers. Anti-Jewish riots broke out on Aug. 17, 1391. During their course the Jews were given refuge in the fortress, while the inhabitants looted Jewish property. When representatives of the town demanded the conversion of the Jews, the king replied that forced conversion was prohibited. He nevertheless forbade the Jews to leave Perpignan, where refugees from other parts of Catalonia had also arrived. On September 22 John I ordered the bailiff to draw up a list of property to which there were no heirs, especially that of Jews who had been martyred. On December 19 he ordered the Jews who were in the fortress to return to their homes and decreed that they were not to be molested or forced to accept baptism. The Jews of Perpignan undertook not to leave the country and in practice continued to live in the fortress until 1394.

Although the community was declining, at the beginning of the 14th century there were still 200–250 families living there, but it had lost its importance and most of the members were poor. In 1408 King Martin ratified the administrative arrangements for the election of trustees. Christians were forbidden to interfere in the affairs of the community and extensive rights were given to the trustees. In 1412 Pope *Benedict XIII wrote to the community of Perpignan on the subject of the propagation of Christianity among the Jews, writing his instructions in Hebrew so as to leave no doubt about his intentions. The community was called upon to send two delegates to a disputation to be held in *Tortosa. At that time, Vicente *Ferrer visited the town, preaching to the Jews there. Ferdinand I prohibited the building of a new synagogue or the repair of the existing ones in 1415; he also forbade the Jews to practice medicine and pharmacy or to employ Christians in their service.

The Papal *Inquisition was active in Perpignan at the close of the 14th century. In 1346 a *Converso, Johanan David, a butcher by trade, was condemned to the stake. Many others were condemned during the 1420s and 1440s. After the Spanish Inquisition had been set up, 22 Conversos were sent to the stake in 1485. The French Army led by Louis XI and Charles VIII invaded Roussillon in 1462 and conquered Perpignan in 1475. Following the edict of expulsion from Spain (1492), a number of Jews sought refuge in Perpignan, then under Charles VIII of France; but an expulsion decree was issued against the Jews of the town in September 1493. The remnants of the large community, 39 families, sailed from Marseilles to Naples and from there to Constantinople.

At the beginning of the 20th century, there were several Jewish families living in Perpignan.

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[Haim Beinart]

°**PERREAU, PIETRO** (1827–1911), Italian philosemitic priest and Orientalist. Perreau was born in Piacenza. In 1860 he was appointed deputy librarian of the Palatina library of *Parma (in charge of the de *Rossi collection) and in 1876 he became its director. In his *Guida Storica Antica e Monumentale della Città di Parma* (1887), Perreau describes the acquisition of Hebrew manuscripts by the Palatina library, and in his *Catalogo dei codici ebraici…* (1880) he covers the manuscripts which were not described by de Rossi. *Steinschneider published Perreau's descriptions of Hebrew manuscripts (Parma in: HB, 7–8 (1864–65); 10 (1870); 12 (1872); and in Jeshurun, 6 (1868)).

Perreau published an edition of *Immanuel of Rome's commentary to the Psalms (1879–82), Esther (1880), and Lamentations (1881). He also published various studies on biblical books such as Song of Songs (*La cantica di Solomone…* 1882); on Jewish communities in Italy (in: *Vessillo israelitico*, 27 (1879); *Corriere Israelitico*, 25, 26 (1886–8); and *Educazione e Cultura degl'Israeliti in Italia nel Medio Evo*, (1885)); and on Jews in England in the 11th and 12th centuries (in: *Corriere Israelitico*, 25, 1887). Perreau wrote a lexicon of Hebrew abbreviations, *Oceano dello Abbreviature…* (1883).

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[Alfredo Mordechai Rabello]

°**PERROT, JEAN** (1920–), French prehistorian. He studied in France and later in Palestine. In 1950 when Kol Zion la-Golah (overseas broadcasts from Jerusalem) was established, he headed the French department. Perrot was research director at the Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique and from 1951 was head of the French archaeological mission to Israel. He excavated the remains of Chalcolithic culture at Tell Abu Matar in Beersheba (1952–60), Mesolithic and Natufian remains at Einan (1956–62), Neve Ur (1966), and Munḥata (1962–67), a Chalcolithic cemetery at Azor, and various sites in the western Negev. He participated in the excavations of Tell al-Fāriʿa, Hazor, and Khirbat Minim. He published a series of excavation reports and studies on the early art and history of Ereẓ Israel. His work was directed toward the study of the evolution of civilizations from the fifth millennium onward that led to the rise of the great river valley cultures. He later extended his work to Iran and Turkey.

[Michael Avi-Yonah]

PERRY, FRANK (1930–1995), U.S. director, producer, writer. A Manhattan native, Perry began his entertainment career as a teenager working as a parking lot attendant for the Westport Country Playhouse in Connecticut. Eventually, he produced plays at the Playhouse. After serving in the Korean War, Perry made his directorial debut in 1962 with *David and Lisa*. Nominated for two Academy Awards, including best director, the script was adapted from the Theodore Isaac Rubin novel by his wife, Eleanor, with whom he collaborated on many films until they separated in the 1970. *Ladybug Ladybug* (1963) marked Perry's debut as both director and producer. In 1968, Perry directed and produced *The Swimmer*, based on the John Cheever story. The following year he directed and produced *Trilogy* (1969), written by Truman Capote. One of Perry's best-known works is *Diary of a Mad Housewife* (1970), which his wife adapted from Sue *Kaufman's novel. A character study of a dysfunctional family, it was a topic Perry revisited in an adaptation of Joan Didion's *Play It as It Lays* (1972). Perry directed and co-wrote *Mommie Dearest* (1981) about Joan Crawford's dysfunctional life, starring Faye Dunaway and based on Crawford's daughter's tell-all. Perry also made a number of television films, including *The Thanksgiving Visitor* (1967), *Dummy* (1979), *Skag* (1980), and *J.F.K.: A One-Man Show* (1984). Other Perry films are *Last Summer* (1969), *Doc* (1971), *Man on a Swing* (1974), *Rancho Deluxe* (1975), *Monsignor* (1982), *Compromising Positions* (1985), and *Hello Again* (1987). Perry's final film, *On the Bridge* (1992), was a documentary about his own battle with prostrate cancer. He died from the disease in 1995.

[Susannah Howland (2nd ed.)]

PERSIA (Heb. פָּרַס, *Paras*), empire whose home coincided roughly with that of the province of Fars in modern Iran. Its inhabitants, calling themselves Persians, are first mentioned in Assyrian records of approximately 640 B.C.E. According to these records, the king of "Parsuwash" acknowledged the

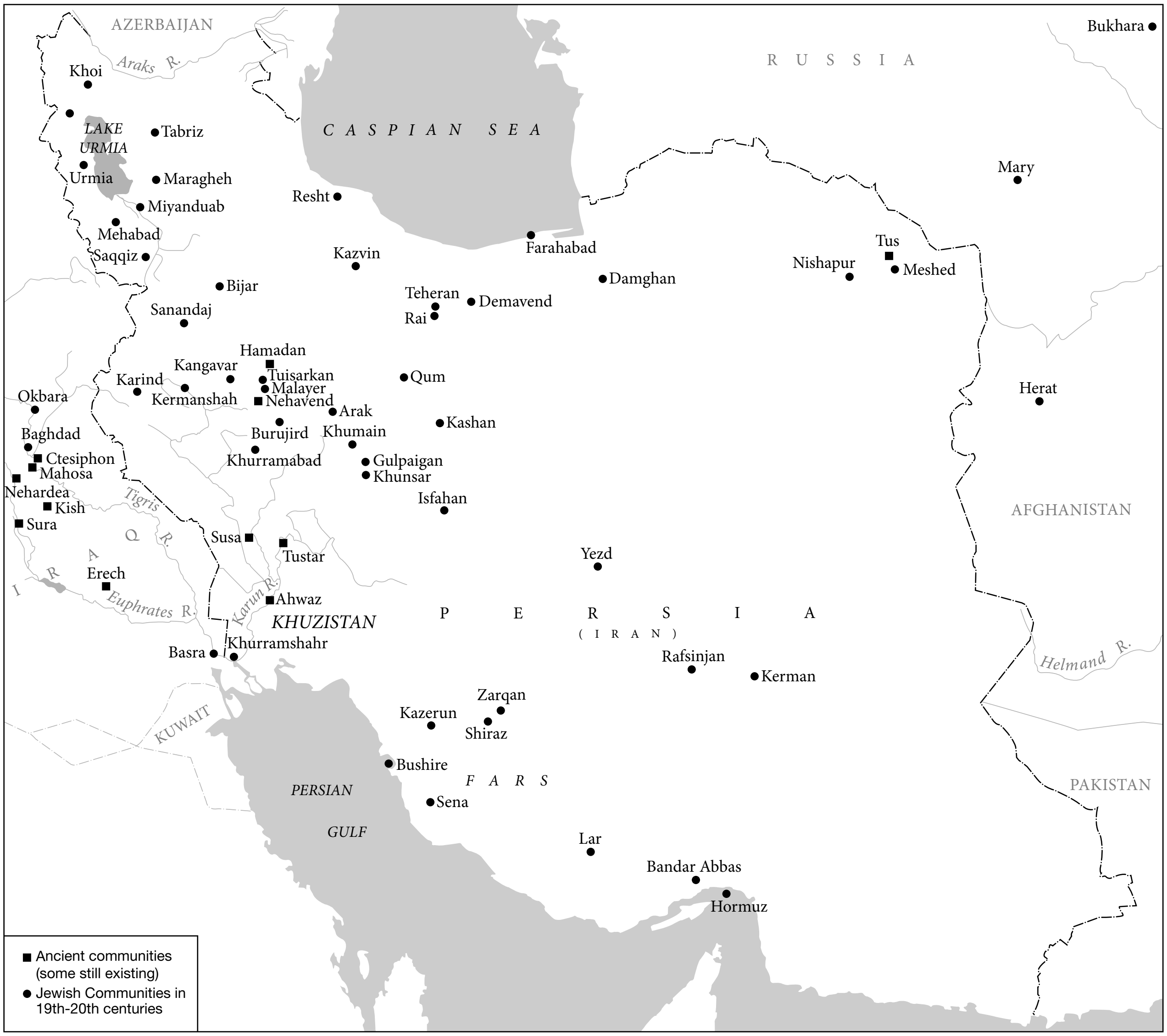
AZERBAIJAN
Araks R.
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LAKE URMIA
Tabriz
Urmia
Maragheh
Miyanduab
Mehabad
Saqqiz
Bijar
Sanandaj
CASPIAN SEA
Resht
Kazvin
Farahabad
Teheran
Rai
Demavend
Damghan
RUSSIA
Bukhara
Mary
Nishapur
Tus
Meshed
Herat
AFGHANISTAN
Hamadan
Kangavar
Karind
Kermanshah
Tuisarkan
Malayer
Nehavend
Qum
Arak
Kashan
Okbara
Baghdad
Ctesiphon
Mahosa
Nehardea
Kish
Sura
Burujird
Khumain
Khurramabad
Gulpaigan
Khunsar
Isfahan
Tigris R.
IRAQ
Susa
Tustar
Erech
Euphrates R.
Karun R.
Ahwaz
KHUZISTAN
Yezd
PERSIA (IRAN)
Basra
Khurramshahr
Rafsinjan
Kerman
Helmand R.
KUWAIT
Zarqan
Kazerun
Shiraz
Bushire
FARS
Sena
PERSIAN GULF
PAKISTAN
Lar
Bandar Abbas
Hormuz
■ Ancient communities (some still existing)
● Jewish Communities in 19th-20th centuries

Jewish communities in Persia.

suzerainty of the Assyrian king Ashurbanipal. According to the Persian tradition followed by Herodotus, the Persians had submitted to the *Medes in the second quarter of the seventh century. Several central terms of political life, such as the word for king and even the name Pārsa, appear to show Median peculiarities. On the other hand, the Persians came under the cultural influence of *Elam, and it was in the Elamite language that accounts were kept in the Persian treasury at Persepolis, in the Persian homeland, as late as 459 B.C.E. The Persians' dependence on the Medes was terminated by *Cyrus II who rebelled against the last of the Median kings, Astyages. Astyages marched against him, but the Median army revolted and handed over their king to Cyrus in 550. Plundering Ecbatana (now Hamadan), the Median capital, Cyrus became ruler of Media. According to official Persian tradition, he was a maternal grandson of Astyages and was supported by Median nobles. To the outside world, his seizure of the Median crown looked like a mere change of dynasty. Media, which in alliance with *Babylon had destroyed the Assyrian Empire in 612, was a great power, whereas the Persians had been unknown before Cyrus. Therefore, foreigners (e.g., Herodotus) continued to speak of "Medians" when meaning "Persians." In Daniel 8:3 the two-horned ram is a symbol of Media and Persia.

Cyrus went on to conquer the Lydian kingdom of Croesus in 547, and the Babylonian Empire of *Nabonidus in 539. His son *Cambyses II (525) added Egypt to the Persian dominions, which now extended from the Nile to the Syr-Darya (Jaxartes) and the Indus. The death of Cambyses (522) was followed by a civil war, won by *Darius I, a distant relation of Cambyses. Direct descendants of Darius I ruled the empire for six generations after him. *Darius III, from another branch of the same family, lost the empire to Alexander the Great. Kings from Cyrus to Darius III were:

Cyrus 559–530 B.C.E.
Cambyses 530–522
Darius I 522–486
Xerxes I 486–465
Artaxerxes I 465–424
Xerxes II 424–423
Darius II 423–404
Artaxerxes II 404–359
Artaxerxes III 359–338
Arses 338–336
Darius III 336–330

The paramount fact in the history of the Achaemenids was the failure of Darius I in 490 and Xerxes I in 480–479 to conquer Greece. The Athenians and their allies wrested the Aegean coast of Asia Minor and the Aegean Islands from the Persians during 479–469, and also supported the Egyptian revolt in 459–454. The Peloponnesian War between Athens and Sparta (432–404) allowed Persia to recoup its territorial losses, but economically and culturally the Greeks remained preeminent. Greek silver, and in the fourth century its imitation, was the money used in the Persian Empire; Greek merchandise, as illustrated by finds of Greek vases, dominated the foreign commerce of Persia; and Greek mercenaries became an essential part of Persian armies. For the first time in history, the monarchical, hierarchical, and priestly "East" faced the republican, egalitarian, and secular "West," and the Persian bowman following his king was always outdone by the Greek infantryman ready to die in obedience to the law of his city.

The king ruled "by the favor of Ahuramazda," the supreme god, and his power of life and death was unlimited. Nevertheless, once fixed in a certain prescribed form, his decisions could not be revoked by him, "according to the law of the Medes and the Persians" (Dan. 6:9). In practice, the king consulted his counselors (Ezra 7:14; cf. Esth. 1:13; Jonah 3:6), and could not afford to offend the Persian nobility. He could execute a wicked judge, and with his skin upholster the judge's seat, but it was a son or another relative of the judge who would be appointed to judge from the same bench (Herodotus 5:25). Though the high officials, the royal guard, and the standing army were recruited from among Persians and Medes, non-Iranians could occupy high posts. Of the 23 high royal officers (*ustarbar*) who are mentioned in the *Murashu documents, only eight have Iranian names. Though the Achaemenian king stressed that he was a "Persian, son of a Persian, Aryan of Aryan lineage," the Persians were not "nationalists." "Nationalism" in the ancient Near East meant belonging to a city (e.g., Babylon, Jerusalem) and its deities. The Persians were tribesmen; their grandees were not citizens, or even inhabitants of a city, but lived on their estates. Being aristocrats, they did not need to be "nationalists," and used the talents of their subjects freely and easily.

Cyrus and his heirs, following the Assyrian practice, used Aramaic as the language of administration throughout the Persian Empire. As the Persian kings and their grandees were illiterate, the written language of administration was of no concern to them. Even in the ritual, the written language was Aramaic (R.A. Bowman, *Aramaic Ritual Texts from Persepolis*, 1970). The interpreters were on hand to translate the Persian orders into Elamite or Aramaic and to read aloud in Persian, an Indo-European language, the documents written in Aramaic or Elamite. The Persian script, borrowed indirectly from the Babylonians, was also cuneiform and as such inconvenient for writing on papyrus or leather. It seems to have been used only for monumental inscriptions engraved on stone or on metal.

The empire was divided into enormous administrative units known as satrapies. The satrapy "Beyond the River" (Abar-Nahara, e.g., Ezra 5:3), to which Judah belonged, extended from the *Euphrates to the Mediterranean. The satrap was the head of the administration, commander of the troops, and supreme judge and tax collector of his satrapy. Each satrapy had to pay a fixed tribute to the king, in cash and/or kind. The provinces within the satrapies had to maintain the troops, the administration of the satrapy, and the viceroy. Nehemiah, governor of the miniscule province of Judah, had to feed over 150 men daily (Neh. 5:17). There were various taxes (Ezra 4:13; 7:24), and taxation was heavy (Neh. 5:4). In addition, there was the baksheesh (Mal. 1:8). The satrap was virtually omnipotent in his satrapy, as the story of the temple of *Elephantine shows, but he had to consult his advisers and it was prudent to submit controversial questions to the king (Ezra 5:6). However, the dimensions of the satrapy made local self-administration necessary, and Nehemiah in his quarrel with the neighbors of Jerusalem does not appeal to the satrap of Abar-Nahara ("trans-Euphrates"), but mobilizes the Jewish militia (Neh. 4:7ff.). Self-administration extended to private law, and the scribes drafting private contracts made the Aramaic common law prevalent throughout the Persian Empire.

In Ezekiel 27:10 and 38:5, the name "Persia" is probably a corruption. Deutero-Isaiah expected that Cyrus would rebuild Jerusalem (44:28; 45:1). Having conquered Babylonia, Cyrus reversed the Babylonian policy and returned captive gods and their worshipers to their homes. However, by taking care of *Marduk in Babylon and of "the God who is in Jerusalem" (Ezra 1:3), Cyrus became the legitimate successor of the kings of Babylon and of the kings of the House of David. After the restoration of the Temple and Darius I and until the revolt against Rome in 66 C.E., the priests of Jerusalem offered a sacrifice daily for the welfare of the heathen overlord of Zion. Written in the first half of the fourth century B.C.E., the work of the Chronicler (Chronicles, Ezra-Nehemiah) expresses this recognition of alien domination: the Temple was restored "by command of the God of Israel and by order of Cyrus and Darius and Artaxerxes, king of Persia" (Ezra 6:14). However, Jerusalem was an insignificant town in an enormous empire, and if the Persian kings took the trouble to humor the God of Jerusalem, they did it rather for the sake of the Babylonian and Persian Jewry. Knowledge of the latter is almost nil. The story of *Susanna in the Apocrypha reflects Jewish self-government in Babylonia. The story of *Tobit illustrates the family life, faith, and also the superstitions of Persian Jews. However, the society which produced *Zerubbabel, *Ezra, and *Nehemiah was not that of Tobit and Susanna.

Again, almost nothing is known about contacts between the Persians and the Jews. Yet Gadal-Yama (Gadal-YHWH, Gedaliah), who in 422 was called upon to serve as a cuirassier to the royal army in a campaign at Erech (Uruk) and was the beneficiary of a fief, must have had Iranian comrades. One source indicates that a Persian magus was on friendly terms with a servant of the Lord in Elephantine (E.G. Kraeling, *Brooklyn Museum Aramaic Papyri* (1953), 4:24, 175). Because so little is known about the Iranian religions in Achaemenian Persia, it is difficult to determine the nature and extent of their influence on the Jews in the Persian period. The Jews preserved a favorable memory of the Persian kings, as their rule brought them two centuries of peace. By favoring the clergy, the Persian king laid the foundation for the later role of the high priests. For the first and last time, Jerusalem and the whole Diaspora, from the Indus to the Nile, remained under the sway of the same overlords. From Babylonia, Zerubbabel, Ezra, and Nehemiah came to the aid of Jerusalem. The Jews at Elephantine could ask Jerusalem for assistance. When, after the death of *Alexander, the unity of the political world of which the Jews were a part was destroyed, the religious and spiritual link that had been forged between Jerusalem and the Diaspora under the Achaemenids remained, and it has persisted for 23 centuries.

[Elias J. Bickerman]

Pre-Islamic Persia

Traditions and legends connect the origin of the Jewish Diaspora in Persia with various events in Israel's ancient history, the starting points being regarded as the deportation of the Israelites in the time of Tiglath-Pileser III (d. 727 B.C.E.) from Samaria to the "cities of Media and Persia," the forced migration in the time of Sargon II of Assyria (d. 705) and of his son Sennacherib (681), or the destruction of the Temple by Nebuchadnezzar (d. 586). When the famous "Cyrus Declaration" (538 B.C.E.) allowed those Jews who were living as exiles on the "rivers of Babylon" to return to their homeland, Judea, and to rebuild their national life, some of them, who had established themselves economically and socially in their new surroundings, preferred to remain on Babylonian-Persian soil. These remaining exiles can be regarded as the nucleus of the permanent Jewish settlements which gradually expanded from the chief centers in Babylon to the interior provinces and cities of Persia, Ecbatana, Susa, and other places. The emergent group of Jewish colonies spread, in the words of the Book of Esther, "over all the provinces of the king… scattered among all peoples of the Persian Empire."

Favored by the tolerant attitude of the rulers toward their Jewish subjects, such dignitaries as Zerubbabel, Ezra, Nehemiah, Daniel, Mordecai, and Esther emerged from these settlements and were able to play a leading role at the royal Persian court. The gratitude of the Jews toward the Persian Achaemenid rulers found expression in subsequent generations in a mishnaic injunction that a picture of Susa, the capital of the Persian kings, should be affixed on the eastern gate of the Temple to remind the Jews of their deliverance and the tolerance of the Achaemenids (Mid. 1:3b; Men. 98a). The overthrow of the Achaemenid dynasty resulting from Alexander the Great's conquest of Persia and the rule of the Seleucids over the eastern parts of Alexander's empire does not seem to have hindered the existence and expansion of Jewish settlements in Persia.

Under the Parthian dynasty (249 B.C.E.–226 C.E.) the size and influence of well-organized Jewish communities beyond the Euphrates and Tigris was acknowledged in contemporary literature. Philo, in his *Embassy to Gaius* (245), mentions the "large number of Jews in every city" in the trans-Euphratian Diaspora. Josephus refers to Jews in Babylonia, Media, and other distant provinces, and stresses that "Jews beyond the Euphrates are an immense multitude and not estimated by numbers." Apocryphal literature, in particular the Book of the Maccabees, alludes to the existence of Jews in "the cities of Persia and Media"; and the anonymous author of the *Sibylline Oracles* refers to Jews "in every country and every sea." The New Testament makes special mention of Jewish pilgrims coming to Jerusalem from the eastern Diaspora, from Elymais, Susa, and other territories. The Book of Tobit refers to Jews in Media, in particular to the city of Rhages. The Mishnah mentions a R. Nahum of Media (Naz. 5:4; BB 5:2) and talmudic sources contain a reference to an epistle sent by Rabban Gamaliel "to our brethren in the exile of Babylon, Media, and other remote provinces" (Sanh. 11a).

Under the Sassanid dynasty (226–642) the Jewish Diaspora in Persia had grown considerably; it also increased with the voluntary movements of Jews from the Roman provinces into Persia, as well as through the forced migration of Jews from territories adjacent to Persia. According to the Armenian historian, Moses of Chorene, in 364 C.E. Shapur II (309–379) transferred a great number of Jews, some say 7,000, to the interior of Persia. The Babylonian Talmud, a product of Babylonian Jewry in the Sassanid period, though concentrating mainly on Jewish life within the boundaries of Babylon, affords glimpses into the geographical diffusion of Jewish settlements beyond the Euphrates and Tigris, and apart from the dense Jewish population in such cities as *Sura, *Pumbedita, *Nehardea, *Mahosa, *Nisibis, *Naresh, *Ctesiphon (Be-Ardashir), there were Jewish settlements remote from Babylonian centers, in the interior provinces of the Sassanid Empire, in Media, *Elam, Khuzistan, Susiana, in such cities as Hulvan, *Nehavend, *Hamadan (Ecbatana), Be Lapat (Gundashapur), *Ahwaz (Khurramshahr), *Susa, and Tustar, and up to the Persian Gulf. The spread of Jewish settlements throughout the Sassanid realm is also indicated by the express reference to them in the inscription of Karter, one of the leaders of the Mazdaan priesthood in the period following Shahpur I.

The First Six Centuries under the Caliphate (642–1258)

LEGAL STATUS. The battle at Nehavend in 642 which signaled the defeat of the Sassanid army by the invading Arab Muslims terminated the national and political independence which Persia had enjoyed for nearly 12 centuries, from the time of Cyrus the Great until Yazdegerd III. The changes resulting from the Muslim Arab conquest of Persia affected the whole structure of the Persian Empire in its political, religious, cultural, and linguistic aspects. Politically, Persia ceased to be an independent entity, being incorporated as a province into the great Arab-Islamic empire. The development of Persia was henceforth controlled and shaped to a large degree by the political authorities, the *Umayyad and *Abbasid caliphs of *Damascus and *Baghdad respectively, and the viceroys appointed by them. Increasingly Arabic words infiltrated the Persian language, written from then on in Arabic script. The Islamic conquest replaced Zoroastrianism with *Islam as the state religion. These changes had a profound impact on the many religious minorities within Persia and in particular on the Jewish settlements within the Babylonian-Persian Diaspora, affecting first their legal and political status. The attitude of Islam toward the non-Muslims living within an Islamic realm was regulated by a contract which deprived the **dhimmis* of social and political equality, making them in effect "second-class" citizens. At various periods in history this led to the enactment of discriminatory measures which were embodied in the so-called "Covenant of *Omar."

THE CRADLE OF JEWISH SECTARIANISM. The religious and social fermentation affecting the Persian population in the early centuries of Islamic rule also touched Jewish life, giving rise to Jewish sectarian movements, freethinkers, heretics, and pseudo-messianic claimants. The first recorded sectarian movement initiated by a Persian Jew was connected with the name of *Abu ʿĪsā, a tailor who lived in the time of the Umayyad caliph ʿAbd al-Malik ibn Marwān (d. 705). Greatly influenced by the heterodox tendencies manifest within the Islamic environment, he proclaimed himself a messiah, acknowledged Moses, Jesus, and Muhammad as true prophets, advocated fundamental changes in the Jewish calendar, Jewish ritual, and prayer, aimed at a reform of and a revolt against rabbinic Judaism. He seems to have gained a considerable following among the Jews of Isfahan and other places. His adherents were described as a community of simpleminded, uneducated Jews: "barbarian, ill-bred peoples, destitute of intellect and knowledge." Abu ʿĪsā's messianic claims and political ambitions brought him into open conflict with the Islamic authorities and he is said to have been killed in a battle with the troops of the caliph. After his death his movement continued under his disciple *Yudghan of Hamadan, who broke even more radically with the *halakhah*. His adherents, known as Isunians or Isfahanians, are said to have been eagerly awaiting the return of their mahdi, Abu ʿĪsā, in Isfahan until the tenth century. A certain Mushka of Qum created another movement proclaiming Muhammad as a true prophet, and calling on his adherents to wage a "holy war." In the remote region of *Khurasan in the ninth century, a Jew from the city of Balkh, known as *Ḥiwi al-Balkhi, arose among the scattered Jewish communities. Hiwi's heretical teachings are known mainly through the 200 answers which *Saadiah Gaon wrote in refutation of his beliefs.

The greatest schism in Oriental Jewry in these early centuries was the rise of the *Karaite movement founded by *Anan b. David in the eighth century; some of its most distinguished leaders hailed from Persia, such as Benjamin b. Moses *Nahāwendī, Daniel b. Moses al-Qūmisi, and others. The Karaite scholar and traveler Jacob al-*Kirkisānī (tenth century) depicts the spread and distribution of Karaite communities over many Persian provinces and cities, such as Isfahan, Tustar, Jibāl, Khurasan, Fars, etc. Due to Saadiah Gaon's intervention and the activities of subsequent *geonim* and exilarchs, rabbinic-talmudic Judaism asserted its influence on the Persian communities, though Karaite communities continued to exist in many Persian cities well into the 16th century.

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN CENTER AND PERIPHERY. The backbone of the communal organization of Babylonian Persian Jewry was the *exilarch, the *resh galuta*, appointed by the Islamic authorities, who was responsible for the collection and prompt delivery of the annual poll tax levied on every male. He and the *gaon* of the talmudic academies in Babylonia were the recognized authorities for the widely scattered Jewish Diaspora in the East. The relationship between the Babylonian authorities, the center, and Persia, the periphery, expressed itself in subsequent centuries in a twofold way, financially and culturally. The Persian communities were expected to send financial support to Babylonia for the maintenance of the talmudic academies of Sura and Pumbedita. Available sources refer to the annual contributions made by Nehavend, Fars, Hulvan, and other communities, but also indicate that some Persian communities refused or were delinquent in sending their contributions, which sometimes led to the despatch of special envoys from Babylonia to collect the revenue through the intervention of the Islamic authorities. The tenth-century chronicle of *Nathan b. Isaac ha-Kohen ha-Bavli, and a parallel version in **Seder Olam Zuta*, recount a dispute between *Kohen Zedek b. Joseph, the head of the academy in Pumbedita, and the exilarch *Ukba over the jurisdiction over the Jews of Khurasan.

The Babylonian authorities made their influence felt on the Persian communities by controlling their education and by exercising their prerogative of appointing judges, *dayyanim*, and rabbis for the Persian communities. The chief rabbi of Isfahan, in the time of *Benjamin of Tudela, was Sar Shalom and the spiritual leader of *Samarkand Obadiah ha-Nasi, both appointed by the Babylonian *gaon*. As the 12th-century "*Iggeret*" of Gaon *Samuel b. Ali indicates, vigorous efforts were made to foster talmudic education in the Persian communities culminating in the establishment of a yeshivah in Hamadan, which together with Isfahan seemed to have been the cultural center of the Persian Diaspora at this period. According to the *Iggeret*, the Babylonian *gaon* sent his own son-in-law, *Zechariah b. Barachel, and later dispatched a distinguished student of his, Jacob b. Eli, to Hamadan to deal with halakhic questions and advise the community. There is mention also that a young rabbinical student, David of Hamadan, arrived in Baghdad with a letter of recommendation from the *pakid*, the trustee of the Hamadan yeshivah. It is noteworthy that part of the correspondence preserved between Baghdad and Hamadan was written in Persian.

ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES OF THE JEWS. The position as *dhimmī* within Islamic society allowed the Jews complete freedom in the pursuit of economic opportunities. Scanty though the data are, a thorough examination of the available Muslim and Hebrew sources indicates that Persian Jews were engaged in many branches of artisanship and handicraft, as weavers, dyers, gold and silversmiths, and also as merchants and shopkeepers, jewelers, wine manufacturers, and dealers in drugs, spices, and antiquities. Due to the imposition of heavy land taxes, their share in agriculture declined to a great extent. When Baghdad became the capital of the Abbasid caliphate (762), a fundamental change occurred in the economic stratification of Babylonian-Persian Jewry. With the ever-increasing urbanization of the Islamic east and the development of trade and commerce on an international scale, a wealthy class of Jewish merchants emerged in the leading centers of the Diaspora, such as Baghdad, Ahwaz, *Isfahan, and *Shiraz.

From the tenth century on, Jewish merchants began to participate in banking and moneylending and to play a leading role as financial experts and bankers (see *Banking) in the service of the caliphs and their viziers. Known as *Jahābidha* ("court bankers"), they carried out major financial transactions such as the administration of deposits, remittance of funds from place to place through the medium of *suftaja* ("letter of credit") – widely used instrument of the prevailing credit economy – and by supplying huge loans for the caliph, his viziers, his court, and his army. Jewish court bankers were also to be found at the courts of the Buyids, the Ghaznavids, and the Seljuk sultans. In the time of Sultan Mahmud (997–1030) of the Ghaznavid dynasty, the Jew Isaac, a resident of Ghazni, was in the sultan's service and was entrusted with the administration of his lead mines in Balkh in Khurasan. Numerous Court Jews also served the Seljuk sultans. Their celebrated vizier, Niẓām al-Mulk (d. 1192), though in his Persian work, *Siyāsat Nameh*, he emphatically rejected the employment of *dhimmī* in governmental service, at the same time maintained close and friendly associations with Jewish officeholders, tax-farmers, bankers, and money experts who had been called upon to assist him. Many of the wealthy Jewish merchants were subjected to extortion, confiscation, and torture at various intervals, causing a wave of emigration to other parts of the Islamic world. Notable among those Persian Jews who emigrated in the 11th century were the two Jewish merchants from Tustar known as the Banu Sahl al-Tustari, who rose to great influence and position in the service of the Fatimid caliphs in *Egypt.

THE GEOGRAPHICAL SETTING. The status of **dhimmī* allowed the Jews complete freedom of movement and settlement within the Islamic realm. During the first six centuries of Islamic rule over Persia, the Jewish Diaspora experienced an unprecedented expansion and remarkable geographical diffusion into all the provinces of Persia and the eastern lands of the caliphate. Muslim geographers and historians, rabbinic and geonic sources, and the account of *Benjamin of Tudela and other 12th-century travelers make it possible to discern the major areas of Jewish settlement. Jewish colonies were established in all the interior provinces of Persia. These settlements seemed to have served as a springboard for further expansion into the easternmost provinces of Khurasan and *Transoxiana and even China. Jewish communities are recorded in *Nishapur, *Balkh Ghazni, Kabul, Seistan (Sistan), *Merv, Samarkand, Khiva, *Bukhara, and other regions. No clear picture emerges of the numerical strength of the Jewish Diaspora in Persia in this period. Some Persian and Arab geographers of the tenth century make comparative statements showing the relative strengths of some non-Muslim groups in various Persian provinces. Thus, the tenth-century Arab geographer, al-Muqaddasī, in comparing the various non-Muslim minorities stated, "in the province of Jibāl Jews are more numerous than Christians; in the province of Khuzistan Christians are few and Jews not numerous; while in the province of Fars the Zoroastrians are more numerous than the Jews and there are only a few Christians."

Concrete figures appear for the first time in the 12th century thanks to the travels of Benjamin of Tudela and *Pethahiah of Regensburg. According to Benjamin's account, 30,000 Jews lived in *Hamadan; 15,000 in *Isfahan; 10,000 in *Shiraz; 25,000 in *ʿAmadiya; 4,000 in Tabaristan; 7,000 in Susa; 4,000 in Hulvan; 80,000 in Ghazni; 50,000 in Samarkand; and in the region of the Persian Gulf, 500 in Kish and 5,000 in Qatif. There is no doubt that all these figures are unreliable and exaggerated, arrived at by hearsay alone. This far-flung Diaspora in Persia and Khurasan was not just an agglomeration of immigrants without guidance and leadership; it was dependent, culturally and religiously, on the official Jewish authorities in Baghdad, the exilarchs and the *gaon*, who controlled and guided them throughout this period. Benjamin of Tudela emphasizes that the Jewish leadership in Babylonia had considerable authority over all the Jewish communities under the caliph and stresses the extent of their jurisdiction "over all the Jewish communities in Mesopotamia, Shinear, Media, Elam, Khurasan, Persia, Saba, Armenia, over the mountains of Ararat, Caucasus, Georgia, unto the borders of Tibet and *India." Similarly, Pethahiah of Regensburg speaks of the power of the *gaon* "in all the lands of Assyria, Damascus, in the cities of Persia and Media, in Babylon." The extent and scope of the Jewish Diaspora in Persia must have been well known to the Persian authorities, as illustrated in the appearance of pseudo-

Messiah David *Alroy in ʿAmadiya in the time of the Seljuk sultan Sanjar (d. 1156). Realizing that the messianic movement might encroach on his authority, the sultan, according to the report of Benjamin of Tudela, threatened to eliminate "all the Jews in all the parts of the Persian Empire" unless the movement was stopped.

Under the Il-Khan Dynasty (1258–1336)

The invasion of Persia by Hulagu Khan, culminating in the conquest of Baghdad and the overthrow of the Abbasid caliphate in 1258, also brought about a fundamental change in the situation of the Jews in the Persian Diaspora. Under Hulagu and some of his successors of the newly established Il-Khan dynasty, the concept of the *dhimma* ("the protected people") and the division between "believers" and "nonbelievers" were abolished, and all the various religions put on equal footing. Thus Persian Jews were afforded a unique opportunity to participate actively in the affairs of the state and in the time of Arghun Khan (1284–91), a Jew by the name of *Saʿd al-Dawla al-Safī ibn Hibatallah achieved an unexpected and spectacular rise to power and influence. Under subsequent Il-Khan rulers another Persian Jew, Faḍl Allah ibn Abi al-Khayribn Ali al-Hamadhānī, had a similarly meteoric rise and fall. The cultural climate which had enabled these two Jews to achieve power in the economic and political sphere also led to the genesis and growth of *Judeo-Persian literature.

Under the Safawid Dynasty (1502–1736)

The fate of the Jews in Persia and Babylonia under Tamerlane (d. 1405), the greatest world conqueror Asia has produced after Genghis Khan, is shrouded in obscurity. It must be assumed that in the wake of the devastating campaigns which spread destruction and annihilation over all the lands of western Asia, the Jews did not escape the atrocities which Tamerlane and his army committed everywhere. The Jewish settlements were undoubtedly reduced and decimated through warfare, the intolerance of the authorities, and the fanaticism of the masses. But that the Jewish settlements in Persia, although weakened and reduced in numbers, survived these troubled centuries became evident with the emergence of a new dynasty, the Safawids. Under this dynasty the Jews once again appear on the scene, and according to European travelers of that period they were living in "all the cities of Persia" and were estimated at about 30,000.

The founders of the Safawid dynasty put the country on entirely new political and religious bases. They introduced Shiʿism as the state religion and established a hierarchy of clergy with almost unlimited power and influence in every sphere of life. The concept of the "ritual uncleanliness" of nonbelievers, the principal cornerstone of their interconfessional relationship, made the life of the Jews in Persia a sequence of suffering and persecution. Under no other Persian dynasty was the hatred of the Jews more intense. They experienced a temporary improvement under Shah *Abbas I (d. 1629) who introduced reforms in order to weaken the theocratic basis of the state and free Persia from the fetters of its all-too-powerful Shiʿa clergy, and to break the political, economic, and cultural isolation of the country.

Realizing that the most urgent requirement for Persia was increased population and economic ties with the outside world, Shah Abbas fundamentally changed the policy of the state toward non-Muslims and foreigners. Far from being antagonistic, as were his predecessors, toward Europeans and nonbelievers, he encouraged the immigration of foreigners – merchants, settlers, and artisans – from neighboring countries such as Armenia, Georgia, Turkey, and also from Europe. By granting freedom of religion and special privileges and facilities to all who were prepared to come to his territory, he was able to succeed. This liberal and tolerant attitude made Persia at that time the meeting place of European envoys, emissaries, diplomats, merchant-adventurers, and missionaries – all eager to obtain commercial, political, or religious concessions and privileges. Never before in the history of Persia's relationship with the outside world were the economic and political ties between Persia and Europe closer.

For the Jews of Persia, the second part of the 17th century was a time of great suffering and persecutions. The conception of the ritual uncleanliness of the Persian Jew, which led to the introduction of a special headgear enforced on all Jews in Persia and to a crusade against Hebrew books, culminated under Shah *Abbas II (1642–66) in the forced conversion of all the Jews in Persia, a catastrophe which brought them to the very brink of destruction. This persecution, a tragic parallel to the Inquisition of Spain, was regarded as more cruel than that of the time of Ahasuerus and Haman. European sources as well as the Judeo-Persian chronicles of *Babai ibn Lutf and Babai ibn Farḥad describe in great detail the sufferings of the Jews during the time of Shah Abbas II. They show how in Isfahan, the capital, and in other communities the Jews were compelled to abandon their religion, how their synagogues were closed and they were led to the mosque, where they had to proclaim a public confession of Muslim faith. After their forced conversion, they were called new Muslims; they were then, of course, freed from the payment of the poll tax and from the wearing of a special headgear or badge. Despite all the measures on the part of the Shiʿa clergy to supervise the Islamization of the Jews, most of them adhered tenaciously and heroically in secret to their religion and began to live a dual life as secret Jews, repeating the phenomenon of *Marranos in an Islamic version. The double life of these forcibly converted Jews did not escape the attention of the Persian authorities, and led finally to an edict issued in 1661 allowing the Jews to return openly to their religion.

When J. Fryer visited Persia a decade later (1672–81), he found the Jews "congregated on their Sabbaths, new moons, and feast days in synagogues without disturbance." Under the successors of Shah Abbas II, Shah Suleiman (d. 1694) and Shah Husein (d. 1722), the persecution and oppression of the Jews were, however, renewed, and it was only with the rise of a new and remarkable ruler, *Nadir Shah (1736–47), that the Jews of Persia were saved from complete annihilation.

COMMUNAL AND RELIGIOUS LIFE. The establishment of Persia as a national state under the Safawid dynasty had far-reaching repercussions on Jewish community life in Persia. During the Abbasid period, the exilarch or the *gaon*, from his central seat in Baghdad, exerted supreme authority in all religious and cultural matters over all the Jewish communities in the far-flung Diaspora of Asia, including Persia, which then formed a part of the Eastern caliphate. With the rise of the Safawids, the official bonds which the Persian Jewish communities might still have maintained formally with Jewish authorities outside the borders of the country were completely severed. The official representative of the Jews in Persia, the chief rabbi of Isfahan, was no longer appointed by the *gaon* of Baghdad as in preceding centuries, nor were Persian Jews expected or willing to support the Jewish academies in Baghdad. Persian Jews ceased to be responsible to any central Jewish leadership and their communal life was put on a purely territorial basis.

Due to their geographical proximity to the central government and their numerical strength the Jews of Isfahan, the new capital of the Safawid dynasty, assumed the religious and cultural leadership and functioned as representatives and spokesmen for all Persian Jewry. At the head of the community of Isfahan was a *nasi*, who was assisted by the rabbi, mullah, or *dayyan*. The *nasi*, who was highly respected, was responsible for the prompt payment of taxes to the local authorities. If the taxes were not paid in due time or in the due amount requested, he could be dismissed by the authorities or even imprisoned. On the other hand, if the authorities were satisfied, the *nasi* would receive a sign of distinction and honor. It seems that in the time of the Safawids there existed in Isfahan, as part of the general administration, a special divan which regulated the financial affairs of the non-Muslims and examined petitions of protest, grievances, requests, or complaints from the Jews against officials of the administration. At the head of the divans stood a high official appointed by the grand vizier, sometimes assisted by a Jewish apostate who acted as adviser or spy for the authorities.

The frequent mention of a "Jewish quarter" indicates the geographical separation of the Jews from the Christian and Muslim population. The Jewish quarter housed the residences of the Jewish population, their synagogues, and schools, the *mikveh*, and other religious institutions. In the time of the Safawids Isfahan had at least three synagogues, while *Kashan is said to have had ten; it can be assumed that at least one synagogue existed in every Jewish settlement in Persia. The religious life of the Jews in Safawid Persia was established on a rigid, rabbinical, traditional basis. There were also some Karaite communities, especially in Kazerun. A typical feature in the religious life of the Persian Jew at this, and indeed at all times, was the custom of making pilgrimages to some of the Jewish "holy places" in Persia, in particular to the mausoleum of Mordecai and Esther in Hamadan, to the tomb of the prophet Daniel in Susa, and to the burial places of other biblical heroes believed to be interred on Persian soil. At this period another "holy place" came into prominence, the alleged visiting place of Serah bat Asher in the vicinity of Isfahan at Pir Bakrān.

Despite the territorial limitation, the Jews of Persia had contacts with the outside Jewish world, particularly with Ereẓ Israel through "messengers from Zion" who toured the Jewish communities in that period, fostering the love for Zion and collecting funds for the charitable institutions in the Holy Land. Among these early *sheliḥim* were R. Moses *Alshekh (c. 1593) from Safed, Baruch Gad of *Jerusalem, and above all, R. Yahuda Amram Divan (d. 1752) who repeatedly visited the Jewish communities in Persia. The messianic movement of *Shabbetai Ẓevi made an impact on Persian Jewry. It was in this period that the Jews began to migrate to territories outside the border of Persia to neighboring regions such as *Afghanistan, Turkestan, Samarkand, and Bukhara in the east, and to Kurdistan, the Caucasus, and Egypt in the west. Persian Jews also moved to India; most famous of them was *Sarmad, the Jew of Kashan, who became a fakir and a Sufi dervish.

Under the Kajar Dynasty (1794–1925)

The political and religious foundations of the Kajar dynasty which ruled over Persia were essentially a continuation of those of the Safawid dynasty. The Shiʿite concept of the ritual uncleanliness of the nonbelievers prevailed, with the related attitude of the Persian authorities toward their non-Muslim minorities, Christians and Jews alike. The intolerant attitude toward the Jews led to innumerable legal and political restrictions which made their daily life, throughout the 19th century, an uninterrupted sequence of persecution, oppression, and discrimination. The reports of many European missionaries and travelers to Persia describe the tragic fate of the Jews in Persia during the Kajar dynasty. Whole Jewish communities, as well as many individual Jews, were forcibly converted to Islam in many provinces of the Persian Empire, a movement which reached its peak in the forced conversion of the whole Jewish community in *Meshed in 1839 under Muhammad Shah (1834–48).

Even during the reign of Nasr-ed-Din Shah (1848–96), who realized the necessity for thorough reform of the whole Persian administration and social structure, persecution of the Jews continued, coupled with legal and social discriminations of the severest nature, including the enforcement of a special Jewish badge and Jewish headgear. The entire community was held responsible for crimes and misdemeanors committed by its individual members; the oath of a Jew was not accepted in a court of justice; and a Jew who converted to Islam could claim to be the sole inheritor of family property, to the exclusion of all relatives who had not changed their religion.

The Jewish minority in Persia had been left entirely to itself and no outside organization, Jewish or other, had taken any interest in its fate. Contact with the Jewish world at large, and particularly with the Jews in Ereẓ Israel, was occasionally maintained through the *sheliḥim* sent on behalf of the communities of Hebron, Tiberias, Safed, and Jerusalem, to the remote Jewish communities in Persia, Bukhara, and Afghanistan. In the middle of the 19th century four brothers of one Jewish family were the busiest and most popular physicians in the city of *Teheran. One of them, Hak Nazar, was for some time court physician of Muhammad Shah. They had, however, just as little influence on the actual political situation of their coreligionists as did the European physicians subsequently appointed by Nasr-ed-Din and his successors, among whom figured most prominently the Austrian physician, J.E. *Polak. In the second half of the 19th century the Persian Jews acquired a powerful ally in their struggle for justice and emancipation – Western European Jewry.

THE INTERVENTION OF WESTERN JEWRY. Reports on the plight of Persian Jews moved the *Board of Deputies of British Jews and later the *Anglo-Jewish Association under Sir Moses *Montefiore and the *Alliance Israélite Universelle under Adolphe *Crémieux to action, urging intervention by the British and French ministers in Teheran. When news of a terrible persecution of Jews in Hamadan reached London in 1865, Sir Moses Montefiore decided to leave for Persia and to obtain from the shah an edict of safety for the persecuted Persian Jews. However, he was dissuaded by the British Foreign Office, who stated that "the journey would be perilous even to a younger man and could be undertaken by him at the risk of his life." In addition to their political plight, the Jews of Persia experienced new hardship through the outbreak of a famine in 1871, which the leaders of European Jewry tried to alleviate through a relief fund. The Jewish leaders in Paris and London were again on the point of considering sending a Jewish delegation to Persia when the news reached them in 1873 that Nasr-ed-Din Shah, anxious to appear as a tolerant and progressive monarch, had embarked on a visit to Europe. Seizing their opportunity, the leaders of the Alliance Israélite Universelle and the Anglo-Jewish Association organized a movement intended to impress the shah with the importance and influence of European Jewry, to stress their equality and emancipation in all European countries and their unanimous desire to see an improvement in the condition of their coreligionists in Persia.

In every European capital through which the shah planned to travel, committees of the most influential Jews were organized to present him personally with petitions calling for the improvement of the Persian Jews' situation. This was carried out in Berlin on May 4, 1873, in Amsterdam on June 10, in Brussels on June 17, in London on June 24, in Paris on July 12, in Vienna on August 6, and in Constantinople on August 20. In London the shah had a meeting with *Disraeli and also received Sir Moses Montefiore in private audience in Buckingham Palace. In all these petitions the spirit of Cyrus the Great was recalled and the grievances of the Jews in Persia were listed. The highlight of these activities was the memorable interview in Paris between the shah and Adolphe Crémieux and his associates on July 12, 1873. Apparently impressed by the strength and unity of European Jewry, the shah promised to make the protection of his Jewish subjects his own and his grand vizier's special responsibility, to establish a special court of justice for the Jews, and above all to help in the establishment of Jewish schools in Persia as suggested by the European representatives. In order to encourage and strengthen the persecuted Persian Jews, the text of the petitions submitted to the shah in the various capitals of Europe, together with the reply of the shah and his minister, were translated into Hebrew and published as a booklet called *Mishlo'aḥ Manot* (1874), which was distributed among the Jewish communities in Persia. Despite all the well-meaning promises of the shah, the central government in Persia failed to prevent new outbreaks of hostilities against the Jews. There was, therefore, enough reason to intervene again and to remind Nasr-ed-Din during his last journey to Europe of his previous promises and assurances. On July 4, 1889, a deputation of British Jewry, led by Sir Albert Sassoon, had an interview with the shah in Buckingham Palace. The members of the deputation included Lord Rothschild, Sir J. Goldsmid, and Sebag Montefiore. The demand for the establishment of Jewish schools in Persia was again the central issue.

Under Shah Muzaffar-ed-Din (1896–1907) a definite improvement in the destiny of Persian Jews took place in connection with the constitutional movement, which had far-reaching consequences for all religious groups in Persia. Persian Jews took an active part in this constitutional movement, receiving official thanks for their efforts from the first parliament of Persia in 1906, although neither the Jews, the Armenian Christians, nor the Zoroastrian minority were yet permitted to send their own deputy to parliament and had to agree to be represented by a Muslim deputy. For Persian Jews the constitutional movement meant a step forward toward their emancipation and equality. The dualism in legislation between the religious laws, the shariʿa, and the civil law, was abolished, as were the discriminatory and humiliating medieval restrictions against the Jews. Unfortunately for the country, three months after parliament convened Shah Muzaffar-ed-Din died, and under the new ruler, Shah Muhammad Ali (1907–09), the constitutional movement quickly disappointed the high hopes placed in it by the liberal elements among the Muslims and the Jews in Persia.

At this stage the Persian Jews were assisted in their struggle for survival by the intervention of the U.S. diplomatic representative in the country. Reference to Persian Jews appeared in U.S. diplomatic correspondence in 1918, in connection with the relief activities of the *American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee. The State Department, as well as U.S. diplomatic representatives abroad, helped the committee in distributing funds, food, and other necessities to the starving Jews everywhere. This intervention also continued in the period after World War I, through the U.S. representative in Persia from 1921 to 1924, namely the minister plenipotentiary, Joseph Saul *Kornfeld, a former rabbi. The dissolution of the Persian parliament; the deposition of Shah Muhammad Ali by the National Assembly; the reconvening of a second parliament in 1909 by Ahmed Shah (1909–25); the great financial crisis which brought the American experts, M. Shuster and A.C. Millspaugh, to Persia; the steady changes in the cabinet and the government; and the encroachment of Russia in the north and Great Britain in the south – all this contributed to a state of unrest and danger, so that at the outbreak of World War I, Persia stood at the very brink of disintegration.

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF JEWISH SCHOOLS IN PERSIA. For the Persian Jews the rule of Muzaffar-ed-Din was a turning point, since at this period the first Jewish schools of the Alliance Israélite Universelle were established in Persia. The idea of Jewish schools in Persia, conceived in 1866, became in 1873 the central issue in the discussions between the Jewish authorities in Europe and the Persian government; in 1889 it was still a matter of discussion alone, but finally, after ten years, it was realized. In 1898 the first school of the Alliance Israélite Universelle was opened in Teheran, followed by similar schools in Hamadan in 1900, in Isfahan in 1901, in Shiraz and Sena in 1903, and in *Kermanshah in 1904. As two main dangers threatening Jewish survival in Persia during the 19th century were Christian missionary activities and the *Bahai movement, the Jewish schools of the Alliance played an important role in the struggle for spiritual survival. The educational facilities available to Persian Jews were considerably strengthened and augmented from 1944, not only through the activities of the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee and the establishment of vocational training schools and workshops under the auspices of the *ORT, but also by a new educational movement sponsored by a group of prominent U.S. and European philanthropists and generously supported by the Joint. This movement, known as "Oẓar ha-Torah" or "Gandj Danesh," which aimed at strengthening traditional Judaism and Hebrew education among the Jewish communities in *Morocco, Persia, and elsewhere, succeeded in establishing, in close cooperation with the Alliance Israélite Universelle, new schools, teacher training seminars, summer camps, and other educational facilities. Under the leadership of its first director, Rabbi I.M. Levi, Oẓar ha-Torah instilled a new religious spirit into the younger generation.

ALIYAH TO THE HOLY LAND. The 19th century was also characterized by a mass immigration of Persian-speaking Jews from Persia and neighboring countries to Ereẓ Israel. Almost parallel with the *Ḥibbat Zion movement in Russia, but probably without any direct contact with it, a great number of Persian-speaking Jews set out for the Holy Land. They came from Teheran and Shiraz, from Hamadan, *Yezd, and Isfahan, from Kashan and Meshed, from *Herat and Kabul, from Bukhara and Samarkand. The awakening of Persian Jews in the 20th century was also expressed in a Zionist movement which spread throughout most of the Jewish communities in Persia. This renaissance found literary expression in the establishment of a Judeo-Persian and Hebrew press in Teheran, which printed the first Persian textbook of modern Hebrew. This was followed by a history of the Zionist movement, written in Persian in Hebrew characters (1920) by Aziz b. Jonah Naim, and a Hebrew translation of Herzl's *Der Judenstaat* and his biography by A. Bein. This circle also published a Jewish newspaper in Persian, *Ha-Ge'ullah*, and another called *Ha-Hayyim*, which became the mouthpiece of the Jewish renaissance movement founded by Shmuel Haim who functioned as Jewish representative in the Majles in 1923–26. Some of Bialik's poems were translated into Persian by Aziz b. Jonah Naim and published in these periodicals.

Under the Pahlavi Dynasty (1925–1979)

The political and social conditions of Persian Jews were fundamentally changed with the ascent to the throne of Riza Khān Pahlavi and the establishment of the new Pahlavi dynasty in 1925. In 1921, Riza Khān Pahlavi took Teheran; in 1923 he became prime minister; and on Oct. 31, 1925 the parliament in Teheran deposed the last Kajar ruler and entrusted Riza Khān with the provisional government. On Dec. 15, 1925, he was crowned shah of Persia and became the founder of the new Pahlavi dynasty. Bent on secularization and Westernization of his country, Riza Shah, and after him his son Muhammad Riza, carried out far-reaching reforms affecting the social, cultural, and political structure of the country. By breaking the power of the Shiʿa clergy, which for centuries had stood in the way of progress, by freeing the country from the fetters of fanatical and intolerant circles, and by eliminating the Shiʿa concept of the ritual uncleanliness of the nonbelievers – once the basic foundation of the state attitude toward non-Muslims – the shah laid the foundations for a revival which had most beneficial effects on the Jewish sector of the population. No other country except *Turkey went through so fundamental a change in so short a time as Persia (or, as it has since been called, *Iran) under the new dynasty. This change brought about the political emancipation of the Jews in Persia, for which they, assisted by Western European Jewry, had struggled in the latter half of the 19th century. When World War II broke out, with the subsequent political upheavals and the deposition of Riza Khān Pahlavi, the whole process of the Jewish regeneration in Iran was in jeopardy. Yet under Riza Shah's successor, Muhammad Riza, a very favorable climate was provided for the continuous improvement of Jewish life in Persia.

For the modern period, see *Iran.

[Walter Joseph Fischel]

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PERSITZ, ALEXANDRE (1910–1975), French architect. Born in Moscow, Persitz was taken to France as a child. After World War II, most of which he spent in Nazi concentration camps, he collaborated with Auguste Perret, in rebuilding Le Havre port. After 1947, together with his partner A.G. Héaume, he opened a practice in Paris. They designed the Sephardi community's synagogue; Don Isaac Abrabanel (1960) and Persitz collaborated with Georges Goldberg in designing the Memorial to the Unknown Jewish Martyr (1956). He was chief editor of *Architecture d'aujourd'hui* (1949–65) and wrote many articles on contemporary architecture, particularly synagogues.

PERSITZ, SHOSHANAH (1893–1969), Israeli publisher and politician. Born in Kiev, the daughter of Hillel *Zlatopolski the banker and Zionist leader, she was educated at the universities of Moscow and Paris. From 1909 she was a leading figure in the Hebrew language movement Tarbut in Russia. In 1917, together with her husband, she established the Omanut publishing house in Moscow and in 1920, in Frankfurt. When she settled in Palestine in 1925, Persitz brought her press with her and headed it until her death. For many years Omanut Press was the main publisher of Hebrew educational material and books for youth. From 1926 to 1935 Persitz was a councillor of the Tel Aviv Municipality and director of its education department. From 1949 to 1961 she was a member of the *Knesset, representing the *General Zionists, and served as chairman of the Knesset's education committee. In 1968 she was awarded the Israel Prize in education.

[Benjamin Jaffe]

°**PERSIUS** (34–62 C.E.), Roman satirist. Persius gives a vivid picture of a Jewish Sabbath or festival celebration in Rome, which he calls "Herod's day" (presumably another name for one of the Jewish holidays, though some regard it as referring to the celebration of Herod's birthday): "The lamps on the greasy windows garlanded with violets emit thick smoke, the tail of a tunny fish swims in the red dish, and the white jug overflows with wine; you silently move your lips and turn pale at the Sabbath of the circumcised" (*Satire* 5). Persius also refers to Sabbath (or Ḥanukkah?) observance in the home of a Jew or a convert to Judaism. His allusion to turning pale at the Sabbath of the circumcised probably indicates that he, like *Martial and so many other Romans, had confused the Sabbath with a fast day. Persius' satire reflects the view of the educated Romans on what they considered the superstitious cult of the Jews.

[Jacob Petroff]

PERSKI, JOEL DOV BAER (1816–1871), Hebrew author and translator. Perski, who was born in Volozhin, made major contributions to the field of translation into Hebrew. One is *Kevod Melakhim* (Koenigsberg, 1851–53), a translation of *Telemaque* by Fénelon with Perski's own notes. The work probably interested him on account of its didactic content, since Telemachus is aided in his travels by the wise comments and interpretations of Minerva, who in the form of a mentor gives him lessons on the proper conduct of life and especially on the duties of a king and the principles of sound government. Another work is *Ḥayyei Asaf* (1858) on the life of Aesop, including morally instructive incidents from his life. The work concludes with the translations of some 35 of Aesop's fables. Perski also wrote a commentary, *Heikhal Ra'anan* and *Shemen Ra'anan*, on the *Yalkut Shimoni* on Genesis (1864); and *Battei Kehunnah*, a commentary on the *Midrash Rabbah* to Genesis and Exodus (1871). He died in Vilna.

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PERSKY, DANIEL (1887–1962), Hebraist, educator, and journalist. Born in Minsk, Persky settled in the United States in 1906 and devoted all his efforts to the Hebraist movement in that country. From 1921 until his death, with the exception of six years in Europe and in Ereẓ Israel (1927–33), he taught at the Herzliah Hebrew Teachers' College in New York. For many years he published an article in each issue of the Hebrew weekly, *Hadoar*, which enjoyed great popularity. His books are largely drawn from these articles, many of them dealing with Hebrew language and syntax. They include *Ha-Medabber Ivrit* (1921; *Spoken Hebrew*, 1921): *Ivri Anokhi* (1948); *Dabberu Ivrit* (1950; *Lashon Nekiyyah* 1962); *Matamim le-Ḥag* (1939); *Zemannim Tovim* (1944); *Kol ha-Mo'ed* (1957); *Le-Elef Yedidim* (1935); and *Ẓeḥok me-Ereẓ Yisrael* (1951).

Persky edited several children's magazines, including *Eden* (1924–25) and *Hadoar la-No'ar* (1934–46). He published posthumously works of several of his colleagues, including I. Beaber and Solomon Rabinowitz, translated the constitution of the United States into Hebrew, and wrote in Yiddish. For English translations see Goell, Bibliography, 35, 74, 89.

A leading figure in Hebrew-speaking circles in the U.S., he carried on a voluminous correspondence with Hebrew writers all over the world and through friends gave many of them financial assistance. His visiting card bore the legend "I am a slave of Hebrew forever."

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[Eisig Silberschlag]

PERSOFF, NEHEMIAH (1920–), U.S. actor. Born in Jerusalem, Persoff was taken to New York in 1929. He joined the Actors Studio and in 1947 appeared on Broadway in *Galileo*. His other Broadway appearances include *Monserrat* (1949), *Richard III* (1949), *Peter Pan* (1950), *King Lear* (1951), *Peer Gynt* (1951), *Camino Real* (1953), *Reclining Figure* (1954), *Mademoiselle Colombe* (1954), *Tiger at the Gates* (1955), and *Only in America* (1959). His later stage work in California included *Two*, *I'm Not Rappaport,* and his biographical one-man show *Nehemiah Persoff's Sholem Aleichem*.

He had roles in such films as *A Double Life* (1948), *On the Waterfront* (1954), *The Harder They Fall* (1956), *The Wrong Man* (1956), *Green Mansions* (1958), *Al Capone* (1959), *Some Like It Hot* (1959), *The Big Show* (1961), *The Comancheros* (1961), *The Greatest Story Ever Told* (1964), *Panic in the City* (1968), *Yentl* (1983), *Twins* (1988); and he was the voice of Papa Mousekewitz in the animated adventure film *An American Tail* (1986) and its three sequels (1991, 1999, 2000).

In addition to his appearance in episodes of dozens of television shows, Persoff figured in the cast of such series as *The Untouchables* (1961–63), *High Hopes* (1978), and *This Is the Life* (1983). His many TV movies include *The Dangerous Days of Kiowa Jones* (1966), *Cutter's Trail* (1970), *Michael O'Hara the Fourth* (1972), *Eric* (1975), *Killing Stone* (1978), *FDR: The Last Year* (1980), *Sadat* (1983), and *The Big Knife* (1988).

Persoff turned to painting in 1985, studying sketching in Los Angeles. Specializing in watercolor, he has had many of his works exhibited in California.

[Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

PERSOV, SHMUEL (1890–1950), Soviet Yiddish writer. After having been active in the Jewish Labor *Bund during the Revolution of 1905, he emigrated from Russia to the United States at the age of 16. His literary career began in 1909 with articles in the New York radical periodical *Fraye Arbeter Shtime*. He returned to Russia after the 1917 Revolution filled with enthusiasm for the new regime. He worked in a Moscow cooperative and wrote articles on economics for Russian journals as well as literary sketches and short stories in Yiddish. He helped to found the Yiddish section of the Moscow Association of Proletarian Writers. His short story "Sherblekh" ("Derelicts," 1922) anticipated the method of socialist realism. His volume *Kornbroyt* ("Rye Bread," 1928) dealt with the conflict between adherents and saboteurs of the revolutionary regime. He revealed the psychological difficulties encountered by small Jewish tradesmen in their attempt to adjust to the new Communist reality. He wrote mainly in the genre of documentary stories, portraying various types of Soviet Jews, most notably colonists in the Crimea and Birobidzhan, builders of the Moscow metro, and heroes of World War II. In the late 1940s, during the arrests of activists of the *Jewish Anti-Fascist Committee, he was accused of writing anti-Soviet articles and was executed on November 23, 1950, almost two years before the execution (August 12, 1952) of the committee's leadership, including David Bergelson, Itsik Fefer, David Hofstein, Peretz Markish, and Leyb Kvitko.

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[Sol Liptzin / Gennady Estraikh (2nd ed.)]

PERTH, capital of Western Australia, founded in 1829. The first Jew arrived in the same year, but up to the 1880s only a few Jews lived in Perth. The Perth Hebrew Congregation was founded in 1892 and the synagogue opened in 1897, but the community of Fremantle, the port of Perth some nine miles (14 km.) distant, was established earlier. Most of the Jewish settlers came from Eastern Europe both before and after World War I, but a number also arrived from Palestine. A Liberal (Reform) congregation Temple David, was formed in 1952. In 1970 the Jewish community, which numbered about 3,300, was the third largest in Australia. In recent decades Perth's Jewish community has expanded considerably. According to the optional religious question asked in the 2001 Australian census, 4,871 declared Jews lived in Perth; the actual number was probably more than 6,000. Many were recent migrants from South Africa, for whom Perth was the nearest community in an English-speaking democracy. Perth's Orthodox synagogue, the Perth Hebrew Congregation, was led by a number of rabbis who were prominent spokesmen for the community, including David Isaac Freedman (1874–1939), Louis Rubin-Sacks (1910–1983), and Shalom Coleman (1918–). There was an Orthodox day school, Korsunski-Carmel College, established in 1959. David Mossenson's *Hebrew, Israelite, Jew: The History of the Jews of Western Australia* (Perth, 1990) gives a full account of the community's evolution.

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[Israel Porush / William D. Rubinstein (2nd ed.)]

PERU, republic in South America; general population (2005) 27,000,000, Jewish population (2004) 2,600.

Colonial Period

The discovery of Peru and its mineral potential attracted a large number of *Crypto-Jews known as "Portuguese," who disregarded the restrictions on the immigration of *New Christians and arrived in the capital *Lima which was founded by Francisco Pizarro in 1535. On February 7, 1569, Philip II, king of Spain, issued the decree that ordered the establishment of the Inquisition in Lima, which started the persecution of Crypto-Jews and descendants of Jews. Until 1595 the number of victims was very small, and the Crypto-Jews were able to prosper, especially in commerce of import and export. The first auto da fé in Lima was carried out on December 17, 1595, with ten "Judaizers," four of whom were freed, but one, Francisco Rodríguez, who was burned alive. On December 10, 1600, 14

Crypto-Jews were punished, and on March 13, 1605, another 16. After that date the frequency and numbers declined. This was due to the general declaration of pardon for "Judaizers" declared in 1601 that consequently attracted a large number of New Christians, many of them Crypto-Jews, who attained important status in the economic life of the Spanish colony. Thus the sensational trials against Crypto-Jews were generally directed against the rich and wealthy, with the Holy Office confiscating their properties after their condemnation. This was the case of Antonio Cordero – local representative of a merchant from Sevilla – who was denounced by a local trader for not being prepared to sell to him on Saturday and for refusing to eat pork. The case was investigated secretly with torture, and later led to the great auto da fé of January 23, 1639, in which 70 persons were accused as Judaizers. The most famous among them was Francisco Maldonado de Silva, who during the 12 years that he spent in prison remained loyal to the Jewish faith and also converted two Catholic prisoners to Judaism. All the rest were members of what the Spanish authorities called "The Great Conspiracy" Crypto-Jewish congregation in Lima. The last victim of this congregation was Manuel Enríquez, burnt at the stake in 1664, together with the effigy of doña Murcia de Luna who died under torture. This display of severity was accompanied by the menace of total expulsion in 1646 which was evaded through the payment of the tremendous sum of 200 thousand ducats; this was the final episode of many years of offenses against Crypto-Jews. According to unsubstantiated sources there were 6,000 Crypto-Jews in Peru.

The last victims accused as "Judaizers" were Ana de Castro, on December 23, 1736, and Juan Antonio Pereira on November 11, 1737. The final activity of the Inquisition in Lima was recorded in 1806. By that time persons recognized as Crypto-Jews had disappeared.

One of the famous Crypto-Jewish families in colonial times was the "León Pinelo" family whose name was adopted by the Jewish school in Lima in 1946.

Contemporary Period

EARLY IMMIGRATION, 19th CENTURY. There are no archival records on the early immigration of Jews to Peru in the Republican period, yet their presence can be traced through the search in directories of social clubs of foreign residents or in the advertisements of Jewish business firms that started to appear in the newspapers and in the commercial directories from the middle of the 19th century. In 1852, in the daily *El Comercio,* the photographer Jacobo Stein and Co., a Polish Jew from New York, with "a daguerreotype at the disposal of the beauties of Lima," advertised his services. Other advertisements publicized the confectionery Phailes and Blanc (1853) and the tobacco shop José Cohen and Brothers (1855). The director of the English Club was E. Bergman (1857) and several German Jews were members of the Club Germania from 1863. Other Jewish names, such as Alsop, Isaac, Villiers, and Michael appear in the 1864 directory of the Sociedad de Carreras (Professionals Association) that later became the Jockey Club of Peru. These names are the evidence of the presence of Jewish professionals and merchants in Peru, many of whom were born in Alsace Lorraine and other places in Germany and France, escaping from Europe following the failure of the 1848 revolution, as a result of the economic and political crises and of antisemitism. Other Jews arrived from England and the United States, representing construction companies, railways, and other industries that traded with Peru. In 1875 there were around 300 Jews in Lima, 55% of them were Germans, 15% French, 10% English, 10% Russians, and 20% others. They were industrialists, bankers, diamond dealers, jewelers, engineers, merchants, and professionals. Among them were representatives of the famous French firms of Rothschild (first exchange and stock agents), Dreyfus (jeweler and guano dealer), and others.

THE CEMETERY. In 1868 10 Jews fell victim to the yellow fever epidemic that caused the deaths of 6,000 Peruvians. The Jews were buried in the old Britannic Cemetery of Callao (Protestant). In total, 25 Jews were buried in the Britannic Cemetery between 1861 and 1871. The need to bury Jewish dead and to assist their widows and orphans motivated the Jewish residents in Lima to establish a beneficiary association. In April 1869 they created a provisional directory called Sociedad de Beneficencia Israelita (Jewish Beneficiary Association), presided over by Jacobo Herzberg and Miguel Badt. This association was officially founded in July 1, 1873, under the presidency of Natazzius Hurwitz, with deputies Paul Ascher and Jacobo Brillman. In March 1875 they laid the cornerstone for the Jewish cemetery of Baquíjano (Campo Santo Israelita de Baquíjano), in the same ground occupied today by the Jewish cemetery of Bellavista. The land was bought from Enrique Meiggs, and the license was obtained by two American Jewish engineers who worked with him in the railway company through their diplomatic legation.

DECLINE. The Jewish population, however, started to decrease, and by 1898 only 43 Jews remained in Peru. Jewish immigration was discontinued owing to the economic consequences of Peru's defeat in the war with Chile in 1879. In addition, almost all the Jewish immigrants were men, and the majority married non-Jewish Peruvian women, thus losing the Jewish tradition in their homes and among their descendants. Towards the end of the 19th century there was hardly any Jewish activity in Lima, and only elderly persons preserved their Jewish identity.

IQUITOS. At the same time that European Jews settled in the coast city of Lima, about 1870 a different wave of Jewish immigrants reached the Peruvian jungles. These were young Jewish men, arriving from the Brazilian cities Manaos and Belém (State of Pará), who had come originally from Tangier (Morocco) and were sailing to explore the Amazon River. They settled in the city of *Iquitos, especially during the rubber boom. Later, penetrating along the Amazon River, they opened new routes in the jungle. It is estimated that 200 Jews arrived in Iquitos during those years. In 1895 they purchased a plot of land in the General Cemetery of Iquitos in which they buried their dead. In 1909 they founded the Sociedad de Beneficencia Israelita de Iquitos (Jewish Beneficiary Association of Iquitos) with 38 members. Among the most frequent names are Benzaquén, Alexander, Cohen, Edery, Toledano, Bendayán, Abensur, etc. The 1912 crisis and the fall of rubber prices caused a large movement of emigration, and very few Jews, married to local women, remained in Iquitos. By 1949 there were only 17 of the original Jewish immigrants. Today there is a small community composed of their descendants, who convene to celebrate Friday nights and the Holy Days. Some of them made *aliyah* and settled in Israel. (For the contemporary history of this community see *Iquitos.)

SECOND MIGRATORY WAVE, 20TH CENTURY. Sephardi immigration to Peru started around the beginning of the 20th century with the arrival of Jews from Turkey (108 from Istanbul, Smyrna, and Edirne), a few from Greece (12 from Salonica), Morocco (eight from Tangier), and Egypt (six from Cairo). Among them were the Calvo, Levi, Sarfaty, Alalú, Varón and Alcabés families. They joined the Sociedad de Beneficencia Israelita that was founded by the German Jews, but in November 1920 they established their own institution. This Sephardi communal organization, the Sociedad de Beneficencia Israelita Sefaradí, was constituted officially on November 24, 1925, and on September 17, 1933, it inaugurated its synagogue and social premises at the same location it still occupies in the early 21st century.

Ashkenazi Jews started to immigrate to Peru around 1912, coming principally from Romania (55%) and Poland (25%), and the rest from Russia (10%), Hungary (5%), and other European countries. Among them were the Eidelman, Gans, Vainstein, Gleiser, and Waisman families. They settled in the neighborhood of Chirimoyo and, on June 11, 1923, founded the Unión Israelita del Perú that was officially recognized on November 16, 1929. After moving among rented places they purchased a plot in 1933, inaugurating their synagogue and social premises on July 29, 1934.

German-speaking Jewish refugees arrived in Peru between 1933 and 1939 from Germany (70%), Austria (25%), and other countries. In 1935 they revived the old Sociedad de Beneficencia Israelita that received a new legal status as the Sociedad de Beneficencia Israelita de 1870. They inaugurated their own building on September 24, 1948.

The majority of the Jews, Sephardim and Ashkenazim, dedicated themselves to peddling, traveling in the provinces to buy and sell merchandise, introducing the use of credit that was little known at the time. Many of them settled in the different provinces of Peru, particularly near the important intersections of highways and railways or near the port cities Callao, Huancayo, Trujillo, Arequipa, Piura, Lambayeque, and Ica. German Jews who were musicians, professionals, or scientists tended to settle in Lima, where they could work in their profession. Some of them, however, went to the provincial towns, where it was easier to validate their European title and exercise their profession as doctors, pharmacists, engineers, and professors. It is estimated that in 1947 there were 2,800 Jews in Lima and 1,200 in the provinces.

Towards the end of the 1950s the Jewish families left the provinces and concentrated in Lima, in order to provide Jewish education to their children in the León Pinelo School (founded in 1946) and to facilitate their studies in the universities of the capital. Moreover, in Lima they could find a Jewish social framework in which they could meet a potential mate. By the end of the 1960s practically no Jews were left in the provinces of Peru.

INSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT. The Zionist Federation was founded in 1925 by Ashkenazim and Sephardim, and its first president was Sassone Sarfaty. In 1935 the Comité de Protección al Immigrante Israelita (Comité for the Defense of the Jewish Immigrant) was founded, being affiliated to HICEM, the JDC, and later to HIAS and ICA. The committee took care of the legal and illegal immigrants, obtained visas for them, sought employment for them, helped establish their relatives, sent money and packages to Europe. It also provided services to immigrants in transit to other countries, maintained a Home for Immigrants (1939–41) and Spanish courses. After the war it took care of the remittances of war reparations from Germany.

In 1940 WIZO was created (headed by Teresa Topf), in 1944 OSE-ORT (headed by Max Heller), in 1949 the Pioneer Women Organization (headed by Charna Goldemberg). From 1941 there was a permanent Campaign for the War Victims, in which several members of WIZO, OSE, the British Red Cross, and other groups of women from the three congregations were active. In 1945 the JTA (Jewish Telegraphic Agency) was established.

The growing influence of antisemitism throughout the world, including in Peru, and the news on the atrocities committed by the Nazis against the Jews motivated the decision of the Jews of Lima to form an association for common civil objectives. On February 4, 1942, they founded the "Directory of the Jewish Community of Peru," headed by Max Heller, Jacobo Franco, and Leopoldo Weil, that on June 20, 1944, was registered as the Asociación de Sociedades Israelitas del Perú (Association of the Jewish Organizations of Peru). Also merged under this umbrella organization were all the activities of the cemetery that had been conducted since 1940 by one *ḥevra kaddisha*. Created during the same year was also the Bikur Cholim society and the Hogar de Ancianos (old age home).

The umbrella organization changed its name in 1975 to Asociación Judía del Perú, under which it still functions. During the war years, the main tasks of this representative organ were concentrated on the external front in the struggle against antisemitic manifestations that occasionally appeared in the press and in Peruvian public life. Likewise they collected products and money which they sent to Europe to assist Jewish survivors, and they took care of the few Jewish families that were able to immigrate to Peru.

During the Holocaust period, immigration to Peru was affected by the official negative policy towards the admission of non-white and non-Christian immigrants. Despite the sympathy expressed by the Peruvian representative in the Evian Conference towards the Jewish refugees, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs prohibited its consuls in Europe from issuing visas to Jews. This discriminatory policy was the main reason that between 1933 and 1943, when Peru broke relations with Germany, legal Jewish immigration numbered only around 500 persons.

In June 27, 1945 the Comité Peruano Pro Palestina Hebrea (Peruvian Committee in Favor of a Jewish Palestine) was established, headed by the president of the Senate, José Gálvez Barrenechea, with distinguished members, such as Luis Valcárcel, Gerardo Klingue, Manuel Beltroy, and César Miró. The committee's mission was to disseminate among intellectuals, journalists, and politicians the idea of the Jewish people's need to obtain its own state and to gain the sympathy of the Peruvian people in this cause. This led to Peru's vote in favor of the Partition of Palestine in the UN Assembly of November 29, 1947. The main Jewish activists who supported this task were Marcos Roitman, Marcos Perelman, Walter Neisser, and Isaac Wecselman.

In recognition of his Zionist activities, Marcos Roitman was nominated in 1951 as the honorary consul of Israel in Peru, inaugurating the consulate in 1953. In 1956 diplomatic relations between Israel and Peru were raised to the level of legations and in 1958 to that of embassies, with Tuvia Arazi as the first ambassador of Israel in Peru.

On the internal front the Jewish community was active in creating youth movements, a home for golden agers, assistance to the needy, a social club, synagogues, a cemetery, and in particular to provide Jewish education. In 1934 a Peruvian branch of Maccabi was opened, followed in 1936 by the Sephardi youth movement Hashachar and in 1942 by Hashomer of the German Jews. In 1938 Betar was founded and in 1943 all the youth movements (except Betar) were merged in the Asociación Juvenil Israelita – AJI (Association of Young Jews) that identified itself with the Zionist movement and in 1947 was affiliated to Ha-No'ar ha-Ẓiyyoni. In 1962 the German Jews established the apolitical group Kineret. A Communist youth movement, Juventud judía vanguardista-comunista (Jewish Youth of Communist Avant-Garde) was founded in 1945 but existed only for two years.

In March 1945 the Comité Pro Colegio Hebreo (Committee for a Jewish School) was founded, headed by Israel Brodsky, who inaugurated the Leon Pinelo School on April 24, 1946. (On the history of the school, see *Lima.) Since 1954 the school has been located in the same building, educating the great majority (over 90%) of the Jewish population from kindergarten to high school.

LATER DEMOGRAPHIC AND INSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT. The demographic and economic experience of the Peruvian Jews resembles the expansion and contraction of an accordion, but, arriving at the limits of their possible contraction, they risk facing extinction (see table below). Starting with a small group of very poor individual Jews who immigrated in the 1910s, they grew into a prosperous community in the 1950s and 1960s. Later, however, started a process of decrease and decline that brought them to a crossroad at which they had to choose between the reorganization of the community and its adaptation to the actual economic and demographic reality, or the continuity of the institutional inertia, that might lead to the loss of attraction of communal frameworks, especially the synagogues and the prestigious Jewish Leon Pinelo school.

Peru – Documented Jewish Population, 1875–2004

Year	No. of Jews	Places	Total in Peru
1875	300 / 50	Lima / Iquitos	350
1898	43 / 200	Lima / Iquitos	243
1917			300
1930			1,000
1933			1,500
1939			2,500
1947	2,800 / 1,200	Lima / Provinces	4,000
1968	5,300 / 150	Lima / Provinces	5,450
1988	3,200	Lima	3,200
2000	2,700	Lima	2,700
2004	2,600	Lima	2,600

The 1960s were a period of generational change in which the Jews of the second generation, most of whom were born and educated in Peru, assumed the leadership of the community. Communal prosperity continued, relations with Israel were strengthened, Keren Hayesod increased its campaigns, more people went on *aliyah* to Israel, and the Jewish school attracted more than 80% of the Jewish children in Lima with *sheliḥim* (emissaries) from Israel acting as director and teachers.

Hebraica (the social club) appointed a director of activities from abroad, and three new rabbis were nominated for the three congregations. While the communities in the provinces were disappearing, the community in Lima was growing until it reached 5,500 persons.

In the 1970s, however, the contraction of the Jewish community began, both economically and demographically, due to the military coup d'état of General Velasco (1968–80) that affected the land owners (agrarian reform), industry (industrial community), and real estate (law of renting). The national economic crisis, the politicization of the universities with strikes and decline in level of quality scared the young Jews who started to emigrate in order to study abroad, particularly in Israel and the United States. The number of mixed marriages increased, and there appeared the first manifestations of open antisemitism through an anti-Zionist attitude and support of the Palestinians. At the same time there was an increase in delinquency and insecurity that motivated the beginning of emigration of Jewish families who made *aliyah* or sought other destinations on the American continent. The Jewish population fell to 4,500 in the late 1970s.

The 1980s were a period of communal weakening, with a growing emigration that resulted from the economic crisis caused by the external debt, the delinquency, the kidnappings, the terrorism of the underground guerrillas Sendero Luminoso ("Shining Path") and the Movimiento Revolucionario Tupac Amarú – MRTA (Revolutionary Movement Tupac Amaru), all of which generated pessimistic future expectations. The birth rate of the Jews declined and, combined with the above-mentioned factors, the school population, which in 1976 comprised 1,024 pupils fell to 540 in 1990. The Jewish institutions suffered from economic impoverishment. The proliferation of children of mixed marriages started the debate on "who is a Jew." At the end of the 1980s the number of Jews was reduced to 3,200.

In the 1990s the communal decline became evident. The country's economic deterioration continued, and unemployment and Jewish poverty grew in the community. The dictatorship of Fujimori, in its second administration, created tension, fear, and confusion. *Aliyah* decreased because of the problems in Israel and the feeling of marginalization of the immigrants from Latin America with respect to the Russians. Mixed marriages increased, as did emigration to the United States. The number of pupils in the Jewish school was reduced to 430. After 18 years, towards the end of this decade the annual trip to Israel of the school children was suspended due to economic reasons, as well as to the security situation in Israel. There was a constant decline of Jewish donors. At the same time there started a religious revival in certain sectors of middle-aged Jews; a rabbi of Chabad joined the Peruvian Jewish community, being supported by part of the few disposable donations, particularly of the Ashkenazi Unión Israelita. The number of Jews fell to 2,700.

While the religious revival is a general phenomenon in the world, in the case of Peru it coincides with the repetition of a well-known historical situation, in which Jews who feel instability and uncertainty in the future come closer to religion in search of refuge and answers.

In the 2000s, in an atmosphere of a certain national optimism for the recuperation of democracy that followed the election of President Alejandro Toledo, there emerged the demand for an urgent regeneration of the community in order to reorganize its large patrimony that contains superfluous services.

Over the years the Jews who were born and educated in Peru started to occupy important places in the professions, art, business, and finances of the country, and more recently in its political life. Within the Jewish community, the highest rank was achieved by the engineer Eduardo Bigio, who was president of the Committee of Human Relations of the Jewish community, from its foundation in the 1970s until his *aliyah* in 2001. Bigio was also president of the Committee of the Third World in the World Jewish Congress, having worked for more than 40 years in the defense of Jewish causes in the public life of Peru. In the sphere of national politics, the highest level was achieved by Efraim Goldemberg, as minister of foreign affairs and later minister of economy, under the administrations of Alberto Fujimori; the second vice president David Waisman, under the administration of Alejandro Toledo; and the Member of Congress Jacques Rodrich. The fact that Eliane Karp, the wife of President Toledo, is a Jew who had lived in Israel is also significant for the Jewish community.

CURRENT PROBLEMS. The Jews of Peru, like other communities who share similar characteristics, are confronting problems and tensions both on the level of each individual family and on that of the whole community. Each family has to find the balance between the cost of communal affiliation and the benefits it expects to receive (from the school, clubs, social assistance, etc.). It is evident that discontinuity of affiliation may lead to assimilation in the present generation or in that of their children. A second problem concerns the confrontation between the expectations of a universal and international English-speaking education and an education that gives priority to the Jewish dimensions. The preference for non-Jewish schools endangers the subsistence of the community, which is incapable of maintaining a Jewish school for a small number of students. A third problem is the capacity of the Jewish community to organize itself, in view of the demographic decline and the deterioration of the average family income. The cost of maintenance of Jewish institutions, with their administration and professional leadership, is becoming very steep. Communal services are often based on the donations of a few philanthropists, so that they depend on the good will and economic situation of individual persons more than on their capacity to institutionally balance their costs. The last and most serious problem is the "elitization" that results from the division of the Jews according to their economic capacities. While the economic burden of maintaining the unity and homogeneity of the community is becoming very heavy, particularly among families who are less devoted to Jewish solidarity, the economic elite becomes more preoccupied with its economic well-being, weakening the communal spirit. This leads to a polarization of the community, a situation in which only the rich can enjoy the expensive services and the impoverished families drop out.

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[Leon Trahtemberg (2nd ed.)]

PERUGIA, city in Umbria, central Italy. The Perugian statute of 1279, decreeing the expulsion of the Jews from the town, is proof that a Jewish settlement had previously been in existence in Perugia. It seems, however, that this measure was never put into effect and in succeeding years there was an active Jewish group in Perugia, mostly engaged in moneylending. The artist Matteo di Ser Cambio, who acted as "procurator" of the Jews of Perugia in 1414, illuminated a Hebrew manuscript there about this time. The creation of the *Monti di Pietá (1462), in conjunction with violent anti-Jewish preaching by the Franciscans, had dire consequences for the Jews in Perugia, and they were banished in 1485. Though later readmitted to the town, they were banished again in 1569 by the bull *Hebraeorum Gens* of *Pius v. Under *Sixtus v (1587) they returned temporarily, but in 1593 were banished finally by *Clement viii. A few Jews graduated in medicine in the University of Perugia between 1547 and 1551, including David *de'Pomis. In the 1920s and 1930s many foreigners (including some from Ereẓ Israel) studied there, receiving moral support in the home of Bernard Dessau, the professor of physics and a father of wireless telegraphy, and his wife, the artist Emma Dessau. There is again a handful of Jews living in Perugia, affiliated to the community of Rome, and services are held irregularly.

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[Ariel Toaff]

PERUTZ, LEO (1884–1957), Austrian novelist. Perutz, the son of a Prague industrialist, lived in Vienna as a freelance writer after World War i, in which he served as an officer. After the *Anschluss* in 1938 he immigrated to Ereẓ Israel. In his vivid historical novels Perutz displays the visionary power and technical skill of the born storyteller.

His works, which have a fantastic and eerie quality, include one about Hernando Cortez, *Die dritte Kugel* (1915); *Zwischen neun und neun* (1918; *From Nine to Nine*, 1927), set in Prague; the prizewinning *Der Marques de Bolibar* (1920; *The Marquis de Bolivar*, 1926); *Der Meister des juengsten Tages* (1923; *The Master of the Day of Judgment*, 1929); *Turlupin* (1924), on Richelieu and his age; *Wohin rollst du, Aepfelchen?* (1928; *Where Will You Fall?*, 1930), set in postwar Vienna and Soviet Russia; and *Der schwedische Reiter* (1936). The last novel published during the author's lifetime, *Nachts unter der steinernen Bruecke* (1953), evokes the Prague of Rudolf ii; *Der Judas des Leonardo*, set in the Milan of Ludovico Sforza, appeared in 1959. Perutz' short stories were collected in *Der Kosak und die Nachtigall* (1927) and *Herr, erbarme dich meiner* (1930). His plays such as *Die Reise nach Pressburg* (1930) and *Morgen ist Feiertag* (1936) were less successful.

[Harry Zohn]

PERUTZ, MAX FERDINAND (1914–2002), British biochemist and Nobel laureate. Perutz was born in Vienna and went to Cambridge in 1936. In 1947 he became head of a unit of molecular biology, and in 1962 chairman of the Medical Research Council Laboratory of Molecular Biology. In 1937 he started the study of the structure of crystalline proteins by X-ray diffraction. After 30 years this enabled a complete analysis to be made of the positions of all the 2,600 atoms in the myoglobin molecule and the 10,000 atoms in the molecule of hemoglobin, the component of blood which carries oxygen to the body cells. In 1962 Perutz shared the Nobel Prize for chemistry for "research into the structure of globular proteins." Perutz contributed to scientific periodicals, mainly in the above field. He wrote *Proteins and Nucleic Acids: Structure and Function* (1962). He was elected a fellow of the Royal Society and member of several national academies of science, and was the recipient of other awards.

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[Samuel Aaron Miller]

PERVOMAISK, city in Odessa district, Ukraine. It was formed in 1920 by the amalgamation of three neighboring localities; Bogopol, the most ancient of them (Podolia), Olviopol, and the village of Golta, in the Kherson oblast. In 1799 there were 253 Jews in the first two localities. (In 1847 there were about 1,400 Jews in Bogopol.) The number of Jews in the three communities was 8,636 (40.8% of the total population) in 1897. Most of them (about 6,000, or 82% of the population) lived in Bogopol. There were pogroms on April 17–18, 1881, and on October 22, 1905; Jews were wounded and much property looted. In December 1919, when the soldiers of *Denikin retreated before the Red Army, they engaged in bloodshed and rioting. There were 9,896 Jews (31%) in Pervomaisk in 1926, dropping to 6,087 (18.5% of the total population) by 1939. There were two Jewish kolkhozes and children attended two Yiddish schools, one of them with high school classes. The Germans captured the town on August 2, 1941. The Golta part of the town was annexed to Romanian Transnistria, and the other two parts remained under German occupation. Hundreds of Jews were murdered in Bogopol, and on September 17, 1941 a ghetto was established. In October some 120 were killed, and in December 3,600 were murdered at the Fray-Leben kolkhoz. In February–March 1942, 1,600 Romanian Jews were executed. In the Olviopol part Jews were concentrated in the clubhouse and burned alive. In late 1942 Jews from the Golta ghetto (Romanian part) were sent to the Bogdanovka and Akmechetka, and most of them perished there. All together 5,469 people were murdered, most of them Jews. According to the 1959 census, Jews numbered about 2,200 (5% of the population). Most left in the 1990s.

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[Yehuda Slutsky / Shmuel Spector (2nd ed.)]

Oil lamp, provenance unknown, 5th–6th century C.E. Bronze, 10.5 x 9.5 x 17.0 cm. 89.114/1.
Schloessinger collection, Institute of Archaeology, The Hebrew University, Jerusalem, exhibited at The Israel Museum, Jerusalem. Photo © The Israel Museum, Jerusalem, by David Harris.

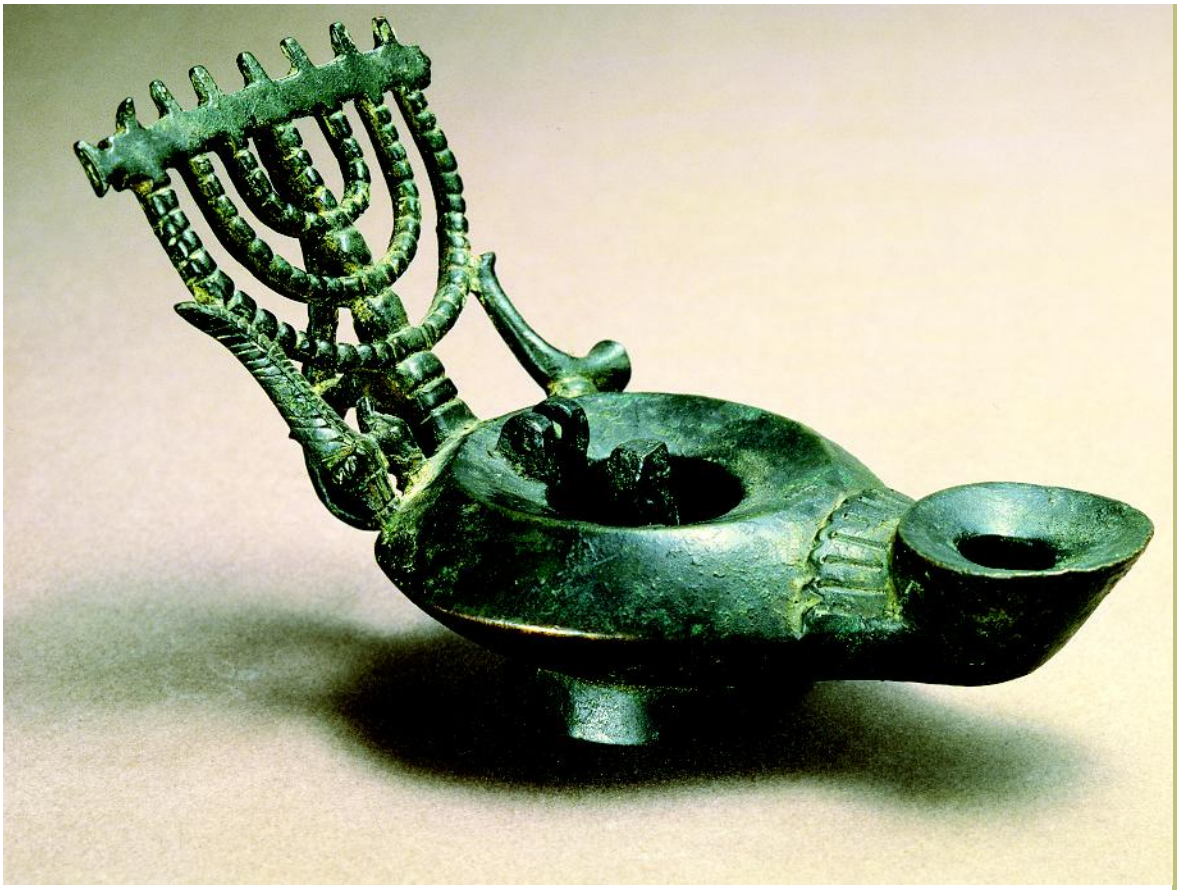

The production of ceremonial objects was a major venue through which Jews expressed their artistic abilities, despite the partial prohibition against sculpture. The focus centered on items related to the synagogue and prayers, festivals, and home rituals. Materials and styles for the same function varied among the dispersed Jewish communities, lending a rich texture to the overarching Jewish civilization.

CEREMONIAL OBJECTS

Esther scroll and case. Scroll: Baghdad, Iraq, 19th century. Pen and ink, tempera on parchment, 103 X 1240 cm.
Case: Germany, 19th century. Silver, etched, engraved, pierced and cast, partly gilt, 190 cm x 32 cm.
Collection, The Israel Museum, Jerusalem. Photo © Israel Museum, Jerusalem, by Avi Ganor.

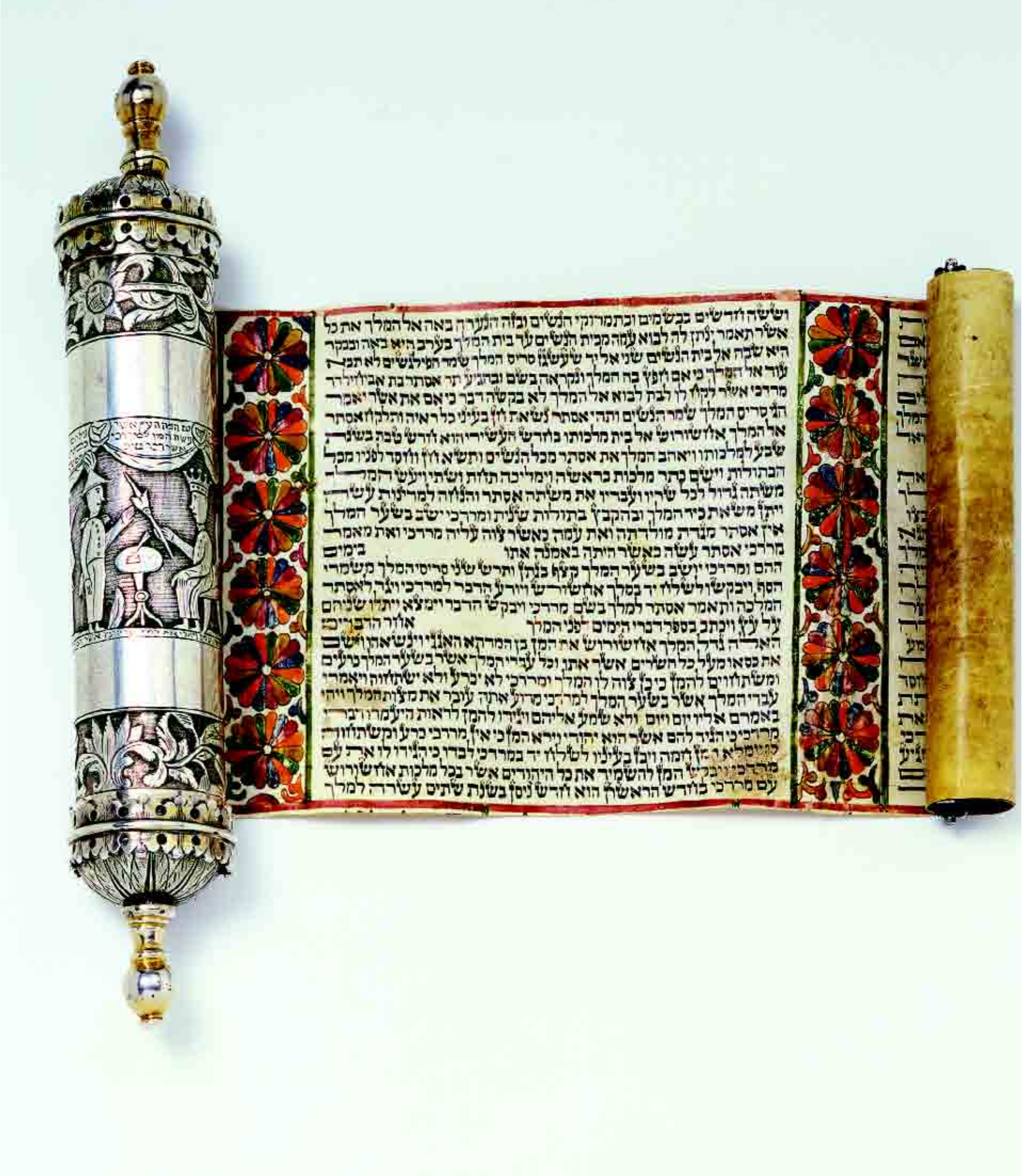

Tevah **(prayer stand) for Torah reading. A bench can be drawn out for little boys to stand on while reciting the Targum in Aramaic. San'a, Yemen, 18th century. Wood, carved, painted, and lacquered. 100 x 34 x 30 cm.**
Collection, The Israel Museum, Jerusalem. Photo© The Israel Museum, Jerusalem, by David Harris.

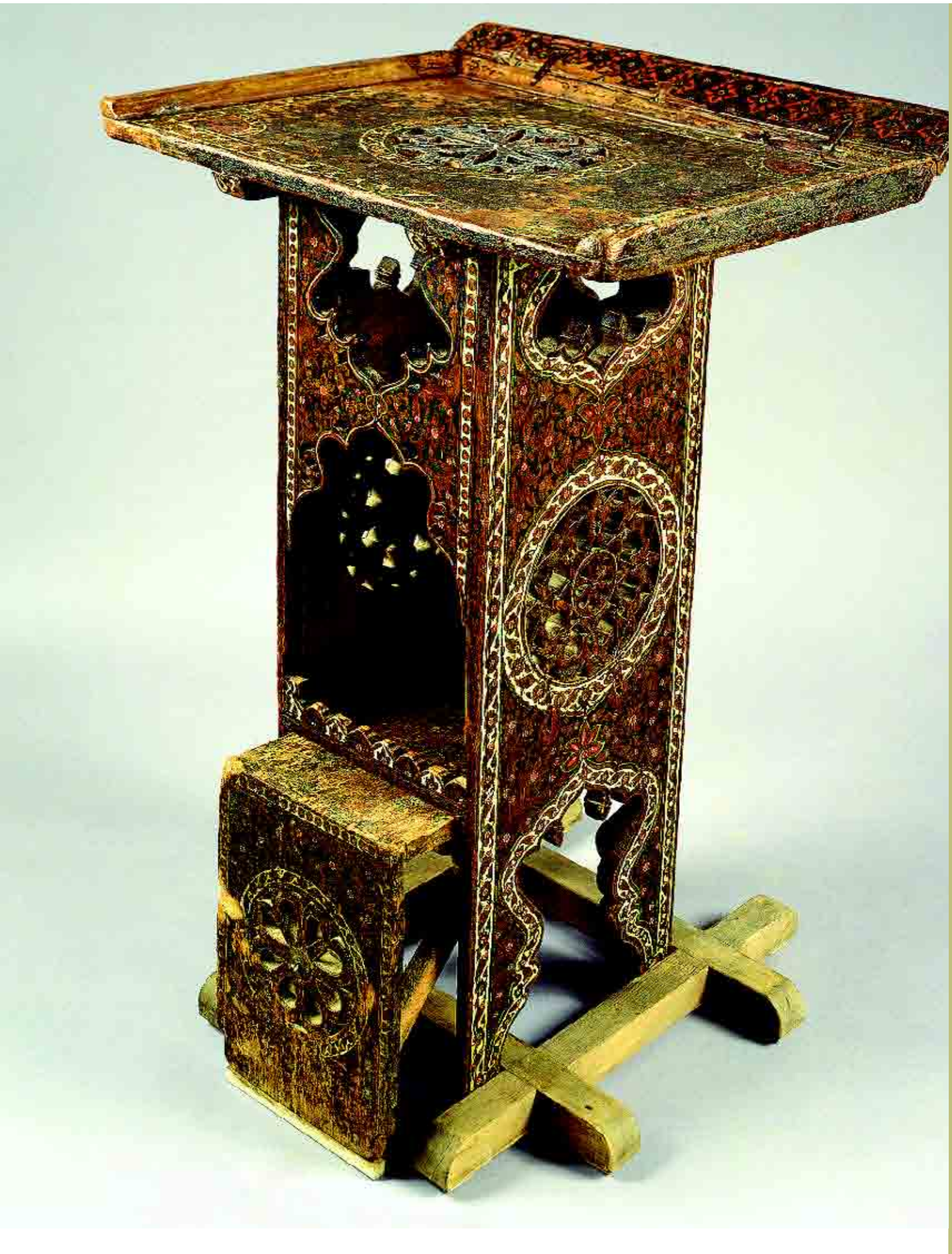

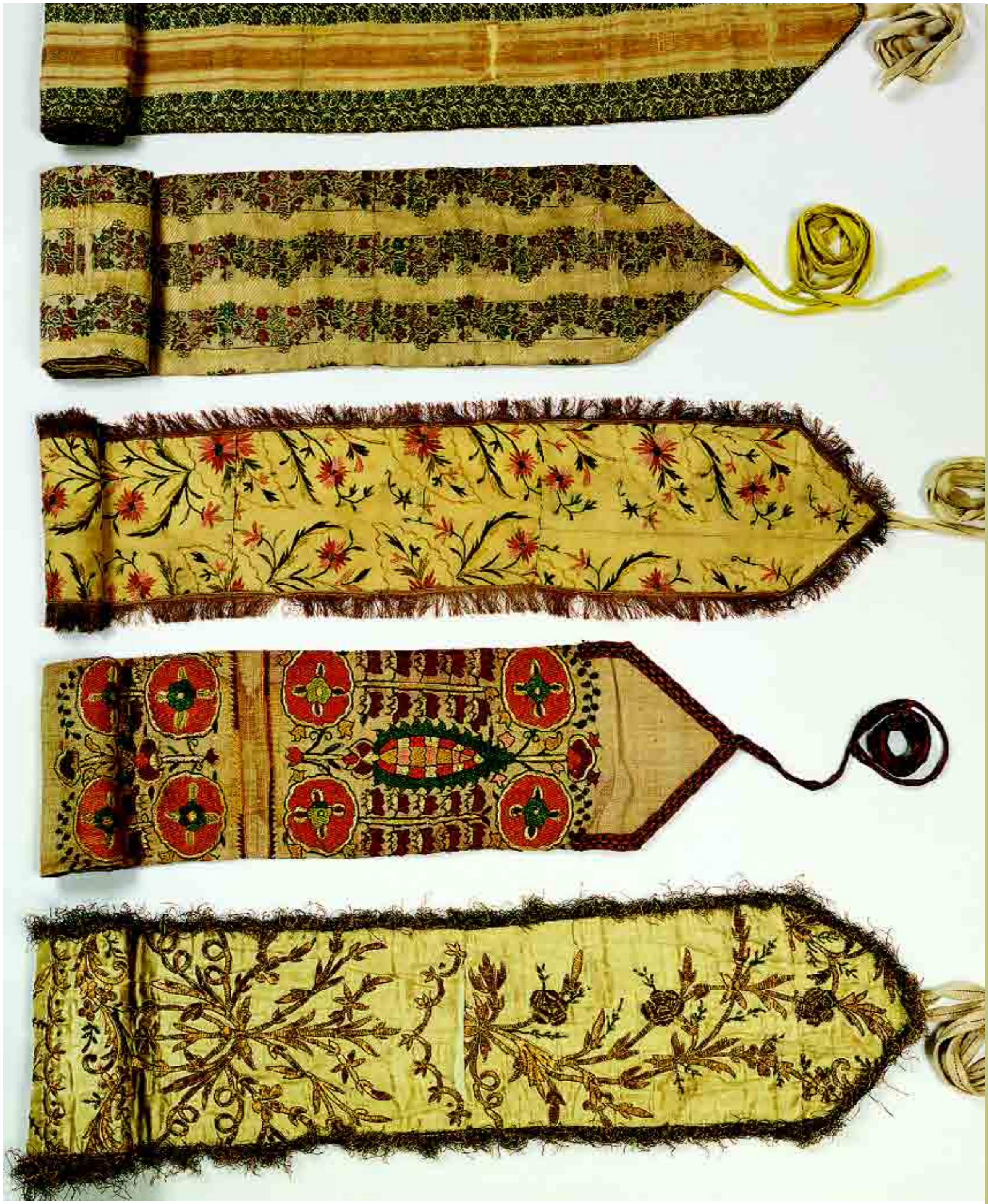

Torah binders, Turkey, 19th–20th century. Brocade, silk, linen, satin. Sephardi Torah binders often included the name of the embroiderer. *Collection, The Israel Museum, Jerusalem. Photo © The Israel Museum, Jerusalem, by Nahum Slapak.*

(opposite page): **Ornate, multi-colored *Havdalah* candles, Bohemia, 20th century.** *State Jewish Museum of Prague.*

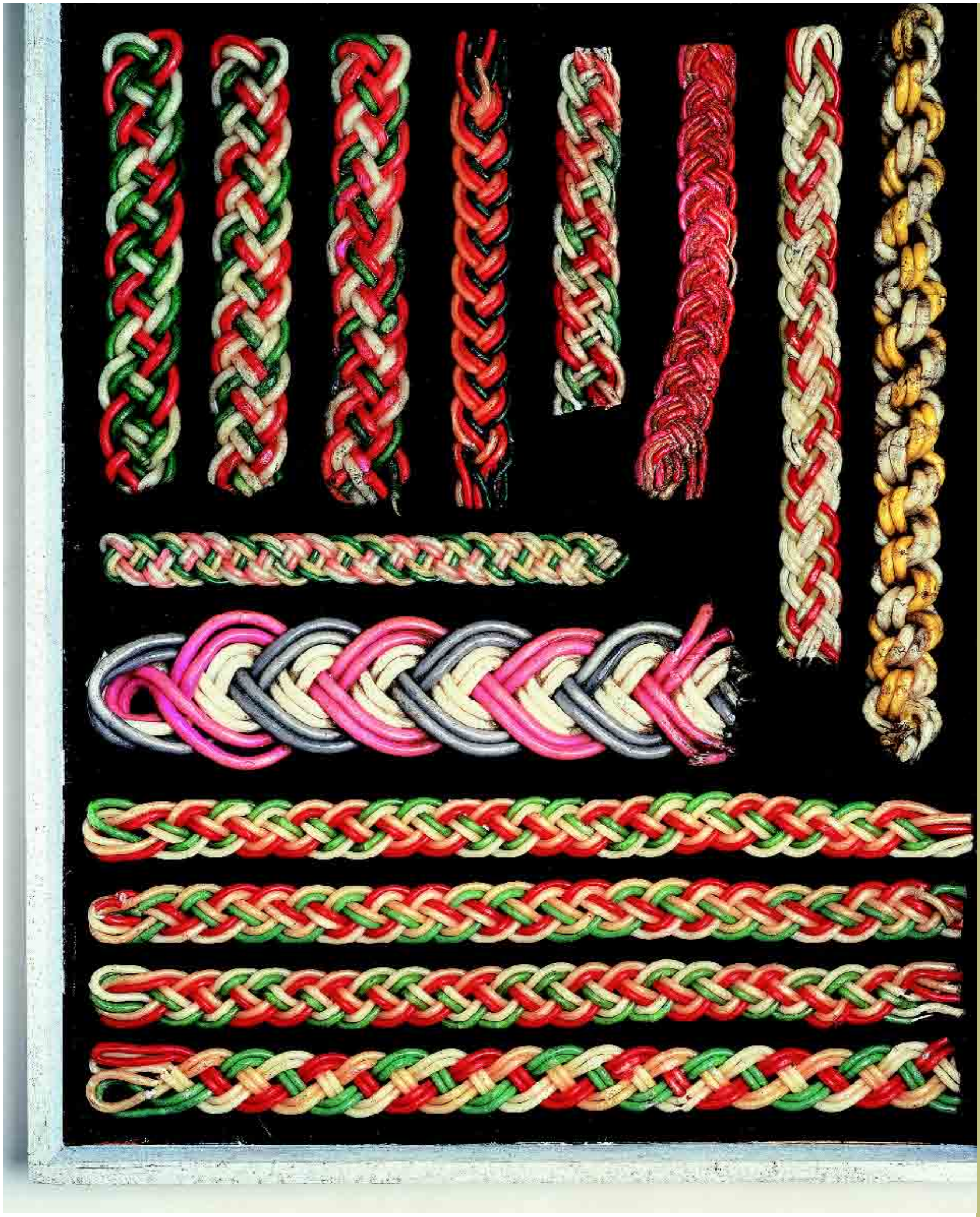

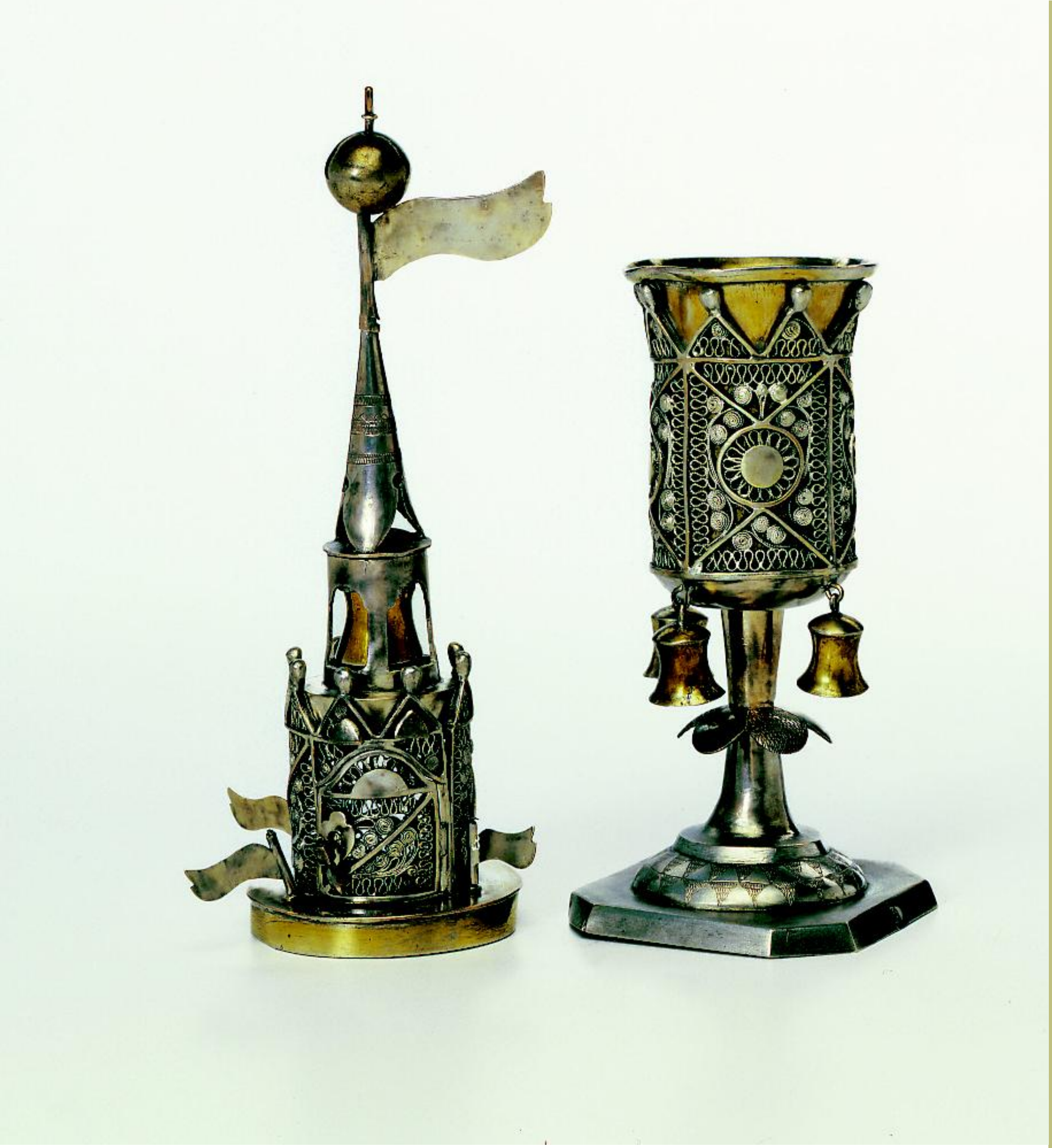

Spice box and *Havdalah* cup, Poland, early 19th century. Silver, filigree, repoussé and engraved, partly gilt. H 310cm; W 70cm. *The Stieglitz Collection was donated to the Israel Museum with the contribution of Erica and Ludwig Jesselson, New York, through the American Friends of the Israel Museum. Collection, The Israel Museum, Jerusalem. Photo © The Israel Museum, Jerusalem, by Avi Ganor.*

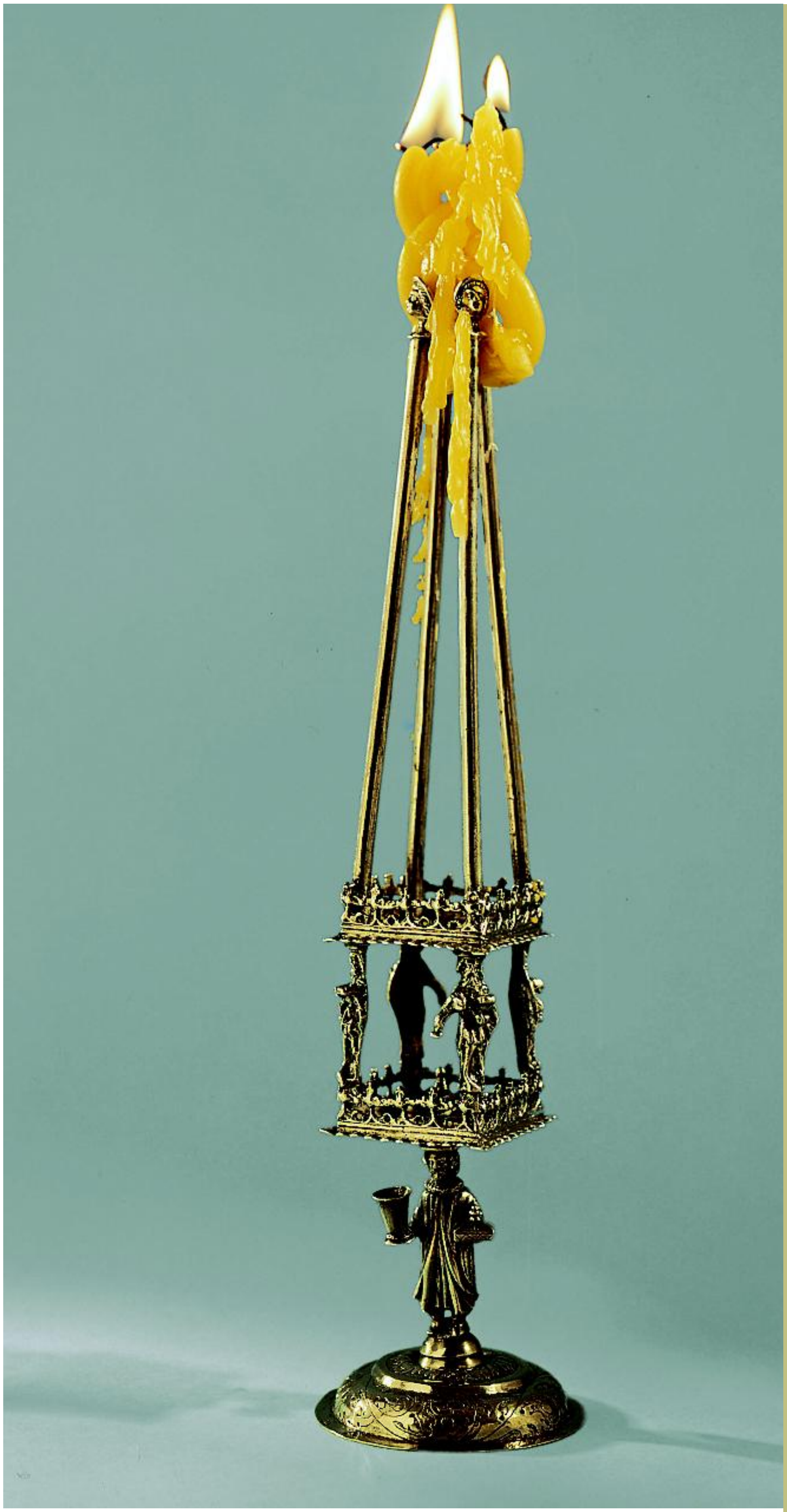

Candle Holder
for *Havdalah*,
Frankfurt, Germany,
first half 18th century.
Silver. *Collection,*
The Israel Museum,
Jerusalem. Photo ©
The Israel Museum,
Jerusalem.

Mezuzah cases (*from left to right*)**: Germany 19th century; silver, repoussé, engraved and pierced; Central Europe, 19th century, silver, engraved; Slovakia; 19th century, carved wood; Germany, early 19th century, carved wood; Bombay, India, 19th century, brass, cast; United States, 20th century, pierced (by Ludwig Wolpert).**
Collection, The Israel Museum, Jerusalem. Photo © The Israel Museum, Jerusalem, by David Harris.

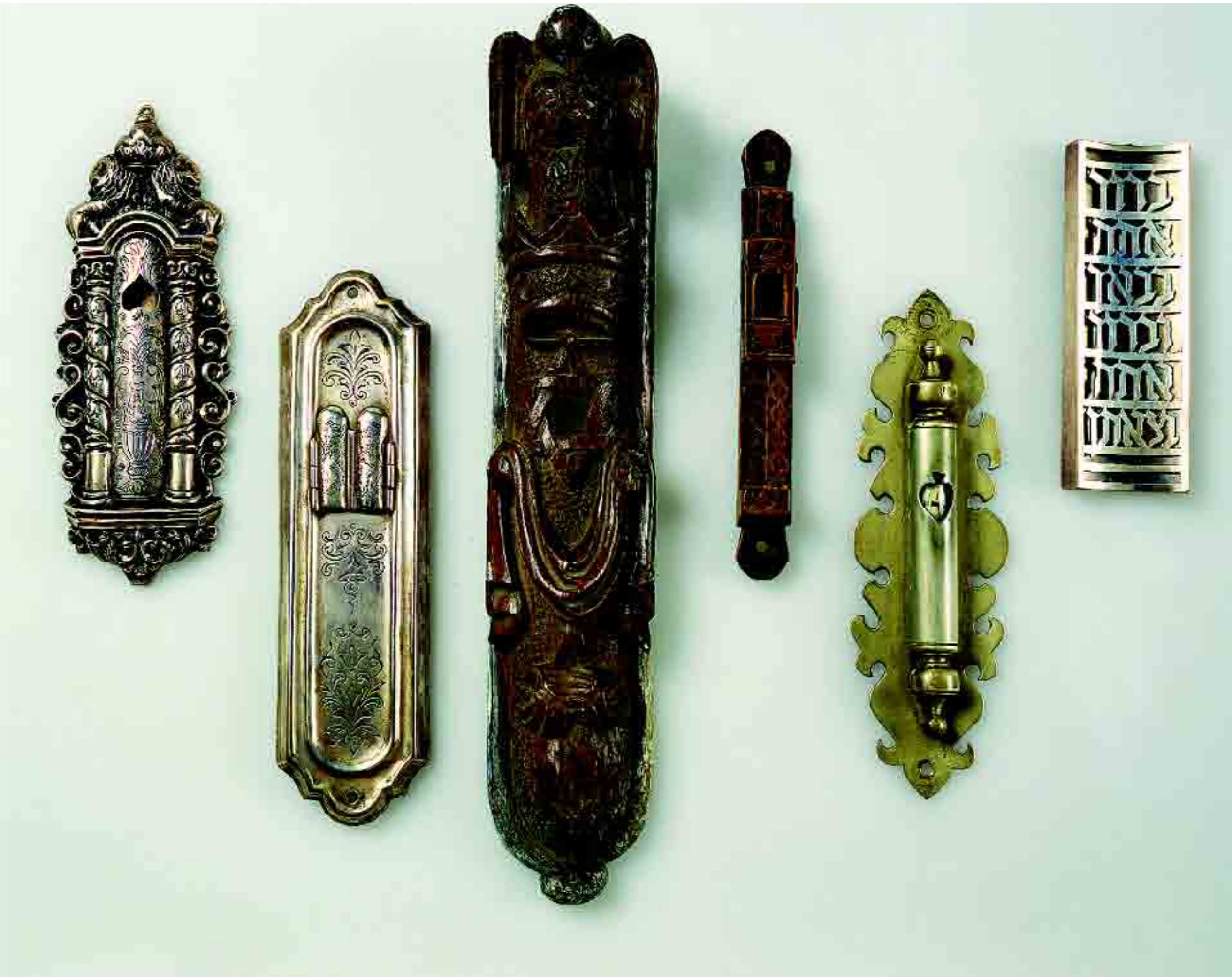

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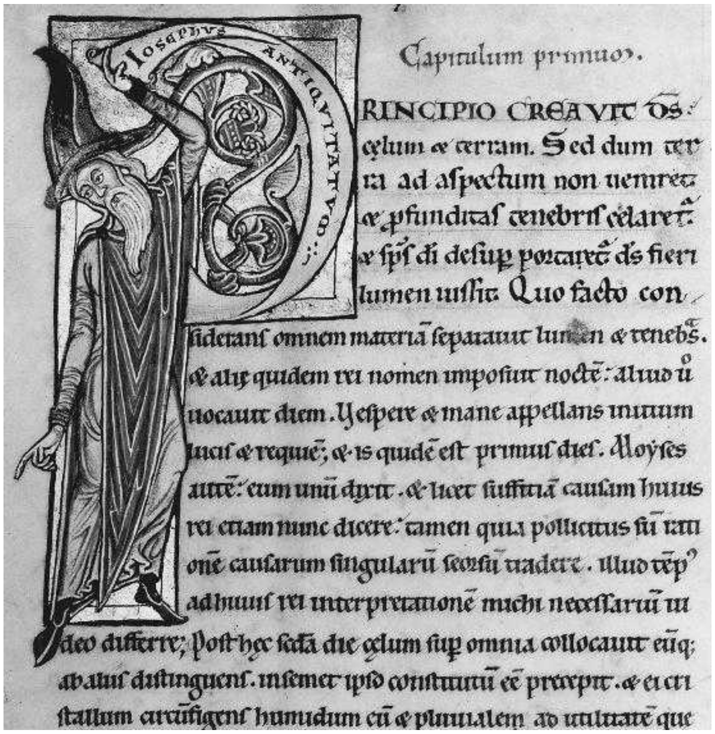

Initial letter "P" of the word Principio *in a Latin manuscript of* The Antiquities of the Jews *by Josephus Flavius, France, 12th century. The figure in the illuminated letter is wearing the medieval Jewish pointed hat. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Cod. Lat. 5047, fol. 2, column 2. Photo Bildarchiv Foto Marburg, Marburg-Lahn.*

PES-PY

PESAḤIM (Heb. פְּסָחִים; "paschal lambs"), third tractate in the Mishnah, Tosefta, and two Talmuds, of the order *Mo'ed. Pesaḥim* deals, in ten chapters, with the laws concerning the *Passover festival.

Pesaḥ refers primarily to the paschal sacrifice, but was applied also to the festival itself. This tractate deals with both subjects, the sacrificial service (chaps. 5–9), leavened and unleavened bread (chaps. 1–4), and the *seder* (chap. 10). In geonic times the tractate was still divided correspondingly into two parts called *Pesaḥ Rishon* and *Pesaḥ Sheni*. The two parts were afterwards combined and given the name *Pesaḥim* (in the plural). In the Munich manuscript, the tenth chapter appears as the fourth, so that the "practical" chapters follow one another consecutively. There is clear evidence that the two parts of this tractate were not redacted in the same school, and there are definite differences between them. They contain conflicting topics and even those which are similar differ in details and even halakhically. The redaction of the tractate *Pesaḥim* took place relatively later than that of the other tractates and its Talmud already utilized the edited Talmud of many other tractates. The *mishnayot* of the second part are very old and refer to events from the time of the Second Temple and the early authorities. The Mishnah of the first part, though it is of later redaction, contains *halakhot* which were a subject of dispute between the latest of the **zugot* and the first of the *tannaim*, as can be proved from the parallel passages.

The following are the contents of the chapters. Chapter 1 deals with the "search" for leaven (*bedikat ḥameẓ*) and its removal. Chapter 2 continues the subject and then goes on to discuss certain aspects of the making of the *matzah* and questions relating to **maror and *ḥaroset*. Chapter 3 opens with a list of various foods containing *ḥameẓ* (e.g., beer made from barley), then reverts again to problems of the search for leaven and its removal, especially in the event of the eve of Passover falling on a Sabbath. Chapter 4 opens with the ruling that abstention from work on the eve of Passover depends on local customs. It then lists various *halakhot* which depend on local customs. Chapter 5 is mainly concerned with determining the time for slaughtering the paschal lamb and other aspects of the sacrificial service. Chapter 6 deals with the sacrificial arrangement when the festival falls on a Sabbath, and with related problems. Chapter 7 deals with the roasting of the paschal lamb, and discusses problems touching on ritual impurity affecting the persons participating in the sacrifices. Chapter 8 considers the question of a person slaughtering the paschal lamb on behalf of another person, and the qualifications of the persons involved. Chapter 9 touches first on the question of Second Passover (cf. Num. 9:10–11), but then discusses a variety of other problems, such as the interchange of a paschal lamb. Chapter 10 considers the arrangement of the *seder* night.

In the Tosefta, this tractate is also divided into ten chapters. An aggadic point of particular interest is how King Agrippa took the census of the people assembled in Jerusalem on the occasion of a Passover pilgrimage (4:3; also 63b). There is *Gemara* in the Palestinian and Babylonian Talmuds. The *Gemara* of the Babylonian Talmud contains a considerable amount of *aggadah*. The following are worthy of note: the insistence on refined language (3b); expressions of extreme antagonism between scholars and ignoramuses (49a–b); arrogance and anger make a scholar lose wisdom and a prophet his prophecy (66b); there is an advantage in the existence of a Diaspora, insofar as it makes a concentrated attack on Israel's existence impossible (87b, also 118b on the causes of Diaspora); and finally mention should be made of the story of the appointment of Hillel as *nasi* (66a). The English translation in the Soncino Talmud is by H. Friedman (1938).

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[Arnost Zvi Ehrman]

PESAḤSON, ISAAC MORDECAI (1876–1943), a pioneer of the *Bund in Russia and Poland. Pesaḥson was born in Shklov but his family settled in Warsaw, where his father, a descendant of the founder of the *Ḥabad ḥasidic movement, officiated as rabbi. As a youth Pesaḥson belonged to a group of Jewish Populist and Marxist intelligentsia. In 1893 he assisted in the publication of the first Yiddish May Day manifesto. During the 1890s, in contact with I.L. *Peretz, he instructed circles of workers in socialist studies. In 1897 he was active in bringing about the merger of Polish-born Jewish members of the Polish Socialist Party (*PPS) and the Union of Jewish Workers in Warsaw led by J. *Mill, whose members came from Lithuania. After the establishment of the Bund, he worked for it in Lodz, utilizing his familiarity with Polish ḥasidic life. Subsequently, he was alternately imprisoned on various occasions or active for brief periods in Warsaw and Lodz. He escaped from Siberia and worked with the Bund "committee abroad." During the 1905 Revolution, he worked again in Lodz, and was a Bund delegate at the Fifth Convention of the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party (London, 1907). From 1909 until his death he lived in Bedzin, western Poland. From 1917 he was a member of the central committee of the Bund in Poland. He was employed as secretary of the Jewish community in his town and pursued his activities for the Bund until he was murdered during the Nazi occupation. Under the pen name, *An Alter Bakante*, he published reminiscences on the beginnings of the Jewish workers' movement in Warsaw and Lodz in *Der Yidisher Arbeter*, 10 (1900), 27–36; 25 *Yor* (1922), 35–36; and *Royter Pinkos*, 2 (1924), 159–64.

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[Moshe Mishkinsky]

PESANTE, MOSES BEN ḤAYYIM BEN SHEM TOV (d. 1573), author and self-appointed emissary of Safed who traveled in Turkey and the Balkans between 1565 and 1573. He was murdered in Greece.

Pesante was the author of *Ner Mitzvah*, a commentary on the *azharot* of Solomon ibn *Gabirol (Constantinople, 1567; second edition with additions, Salonika, 1569); *Yesha Elohim* (Constantinople, 1567), including an exposition of the *Hoshanot* and their relevant customs together with the laws of *lulav*, and the *piyyutim* for the Rejoicing of the Law; and *Ḥukkat ha-Pesaḥ*, a commentary on the Passover *Haggadah* (Salonika, 1569). Among his unpublished works are a commentary on the order of *Zera'im* of the Jerusalem Talmud and novellae to the tractate of *Kiddushin*.

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[Samuel Abba Horodezky]

PESARO, city in north-central Italy on the Adriatic Sea. A rabbinical responsum attests to the existence of a Jewish community there in 1214. We can assume that Jews had settled in the city even earlier, attracted by its commercial importance. Pesaro's Jewish residents were engaged in crafts, moneylending, and local and regional trade.

The establishment of a public loan bank (*Monte di Pietà) in 1468 caused only minimal harm to local Jewish enterprises. Moneylending to the poor was the most conspicuous but by no means the most important, of the manifold activities of Jewish bankers. In fact, Jews supplied floating capital to local artisans and merchants and provided financial support to farmers in anticipation of the crops. Jews also lent large amounts of money at low rates of interest to local municipalities, eminent personalities, and noblemen. These loans were generally granted solely on the basis of written receipts, and without a *pegno* (guarantee). In the second quarter of the 16th century, a few Levantine and Portuguese merchants settled in Pesaro and engaged in international and regional commerce in wool textiles and leather.

When the Jews were expelled from the Kingdom of Naples in 1541, a branch of the Sarfati family, related to the *Abrabanels, settled in Pesaro and engaged in local commerce and financial activities. They described themselves as Neapolitan Jews and joined the local "Italian" congregation.

In or around 1549, Leone (Yehudah), son of Samuel Abrabanel, moved to Pesaro from Ferrara, after a bitter quarrel with his mother, Benvenida, who opposed his relations with Luna, a Portuguese Jewess of exceptional beauty whom he later married. Amatus Lusitanus called her the "divina."

In 1548, Manoel Lopes Bichacho, formerly a leader of the Portuguese Nation in Antwerp, settled in Pesaro, where he obtained a *condotta* (banking license) from Guidobaldo, duke of Urbino.

According to Samuel Usque, in 1549, when the duke of Ferrara expelled from his city all the recent arrivals, Manoel Bichacho persuaded Duke Guidobaldo to allow some of them to settle in his lands.

In 1550, Manoel was allowed to include up to 35 merchants in his *condotta*. This was the rather unusual beginning of the Portuguese Nation in Pesaro.

In 1556, in the wake of the persecutions against the former *Marranos of *Ancona, several of them fled to Pesaro. This group included the famous physician Amatus Lusitanus; the poet Diogo *Pires (*alias* Isaiah Cohen); Yom Tov Atias (*alias* Alvaro de Vargas) and his son Jeronimo, editors of the famous *Biblia Española de Ferrara*, and Rabbi Yuda Ibn Faraj who later acted as ambassador of the Portuguese Nation of Pesaro to the Jewish communities in the Levant.

After the death of the 26 martyrs of Ancona, Gracia and Joseph *Nasi conceived a famous plan to engage in an open commercial war against the Church, boycott the Ancona entrepôt, and develop the city of Pesaro as a new center for maritime trade between Italy and the Levant. Unfortunately, the port of Pesaro did not have adequate facilities and was not deep enough for big merchant ships to berth in it. Furthermore, there were bitter differences among the Jewish merchants in the Levant, some of whom did not participate in the boycott of Ancona. Consequently, the daring program failed.

The duke of Urbino was embittered and disappointed by the unfulfilled attempts at developing the port of his city. In March 1558, Guidobaldo, overwhelmed by diplomatic pressure from the Church, decreed the expulsion of all the former Marranos, including those who had already been living in Pesaro before the Ancona affair. The duke took revenge against Manoel Bichacho and seized all the properties and goods belonging to him and his family. The punitive provisions were carefully enforced. Italian Jews, however, were not persecuted and enjoyed a period of prosperity. Angelo, son of Zaccaria di Volterra, obtained the license of the bank which had formerly belonged to his family and later to Emanuel Bichacho. He also received the job of ducal cashier. Duke Guidobaldo was so pleased with Angelo's performance that he praised him publicly and granted him a "perpetual" exemption from local taxes.

Sephardi Jews were later readmitted and continued to engage, as before, in trade with the Levant. They built a richly decorated synagogue officially designated as "Spanish and Levantine," but commonly called "Portuguese."

After the expulsion of Jews from the Papal States in 1569, several refugees found shelter in Pesaro. In 1631, when the Duchy of Urbino fell under papal rule, the oppressive legislation that applied in the States of the Church was extended to Pesaro. In 1634, Jews were segregated in a ghetto and compelled to wear a yellow badge. The new regulations forbade the Jews to own real estate, and drastically reduced their permitted commercial activities to the *arte strazzaria* (i.e., trade in secondhand clothes). Jews were not allowed to employ Christians. Jewish physicians were no longer licensed to practice medicine among Christians. As a consequence, many Jews left the city. Their number shrank from 630 in 1628 to barely 500 in 1656. The Jewish population continued to decrease in the following century and totaled only 406 persons in 1747. However, in the 18th century, the enforcement of the oppressive legislation was somewhat relaxed. Several bankers obtained, for a price, special licenses enabling them to establish commercial offices and their residences in the center of the city, outside the ghetto. Prominent among the new entrepreneurial class was Salvatore della Ripa, merchant, banker, and communal leader.

In 1797 when French forces occupied Pesaro, the gates of the ghetto were opened. The Jews were declared full citizens and replaced the yellow badge with the tricolor cockade. When the French army withdrew from the city, a mob attacked the Jewish quarter and ransacked the synagogues.

When the rule of Church was fully reinstated, the old restrictions were renewed, at least nominally. Nonetheless, several Jews where permitted to engage in various commercial and industrial activities. According to the 1824 National Industrial Statistics, Bonaiuto d'Ancona employed 60 women in his spinning factory with a yearly production of 1,400 pounds of extra-fine silk, most of which was exported to England. Alessandro Bolaffi and Iacob Foligno were engaged in the silk industry and grain trade. Other merchants dealt in wool garments, leather, and skins, and a variety of other goods. However, alongside a few rich families, many others were impoverished and received financial help from the Jewish community.

After his ascent to power, Pope Leone XII (1823–29) reinforced the oppressive rules with great obstinacy. All previous concessions were revoked. Jews were compelled to sell any real estate they had acquired. Many rich families left the States of the Church and moved to more hospitable places. The sons of Zaccaria della Ripa settled in Florence, where they had already established the headquarters of their banking activities. However, they kept their house and their offices in Pesaro and continued to support the local Jewish community, which faced serious economic problems as it had been deprived of most of its wealthiest members.

In 1860 Pesaro was annexed to the kingdom of Italy and the Jews were emancipated. Many families moved to the center of the city. In 1869 there were only 160 Jews in the area of the former ghetto. At the beginning of the 20th century the Jewish population of Pesaro numbered only 60. By 1940 there were only a few individuals. The building of the Italian Synagogue was severely damaged by an earthquake in 1930 and was later demolished.

During World War II no Jews were deported from the city of Pesaro. A few Jews joined the Italian partisans and fought in the war of liberation against the occupying German army. Small groups of foreign Jews lived scattered throughout the large province of Pesaro. Some of them had succeeded in reaching Italy from far-away localities in Germany and Poland. Others had handed themselves over to the Italian army in Croatia in order to find shelter from the Ustasha militias and German troops. They were arrested by the Italian military police, who did not hand them over to the SS but confined them to "internment camps" in Italy. However, such camps did not exist in the district of Pesaro. Jewish refugees lived in private homes or hotels. They were nominally obliged to appear every day before the local police but, in truth, they enjoyed almost complete liberty with the tacit consent of the Italian police headquarters in Pesaro. When the German army retreated from the region, the SS arrested a group of Jews hidden in the hospital of Urbino. These prisoners were executed at the airport of Forli.

In 1944 Pesaro was liberated by the Allied forces. The 7th British Army included an all-Jewish unit: the *Jewish ("Palestinian") Brigade, which fought the Germans under the blue and white Zionist flag. There were indescribable scenes of emotion in Pesaro, as everywhere else, when the surviving Jews met the soldiers displaying the Magen David and the word "Palestine" on their shoulder straps. The Jewish soldiers reopened the Sephardi Synagogue and celebrated religious services – the last ones to be held in a city with almost no Jewish population left. This synagogue is owned by the Jewish community of Ancona, which donated the magnificent wooden *Aron ha-Kodesh* to the Jewish community of Leghorn. Part of the *bimah* was moved to the Levantine Synagogue of Ancona. The remains of the prayer hall are considered a national monument. Complex restoration works have been executed by the local municipality, and the stucco ornaments of the vaulted ceiling were restored to their original splendor. Two ancient wall paintings depicting the city of Jerusalem and the encampment of the Jews at the foot of Mount Sinai were also restored.

The abandoned cemetery on the steep slopes of Mount S. Bartolo was cleared from rampant vegetation, its terraces rebuilt and reinforced, the sepulchral stones dug up.

[Aron Leoni (2nd ed.)]

Hebrew Printing

Pesaro occupies an important position in the history of Hebrew publishing. *Abraham b. Ḥayyim "the Dyer" worked in Pesaro before moving to Ferrara in 1477. In 1507 Gershom Soncino opened a printing house in Pesaro and worked there with some interruptions until 1520. He produced, besides books in Italian and Latin, an impressive range of classical Hebrew texts: some 20 Talmud treatises, a complete Bible (1511–17), Pentateuch or Bible commentaries by Baḥya (reprinted three times), by Moses b. Naḥman (Naḥmanides), Levi b. Gershom, David Kimḥi, Isaac Abrabanel as well as an edition of Nathan b. Jehiel's *Sefer Arukh* (1517). Some of these works appear as issued by the "Sons of Soncino."

[Ariel Toaff]

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PESARO, ABRAMO (1818–1882), Italian revolutionary and communal leader. Pesaro was born in Ferrara where as a young man he established a cultural and vocational training center. In 1846 he belonged to the local committee which organized a rising against the papal government and was a member of the National Assembly of Mazzini's short-lived Roman republic of 1849. After the failure of the 1848 Revolution he lived in Venice until the establishment of the kingdom of Italy in 1861. Afterward he returned to Ferrara where he was active in both Jewish and general public life. He published various monographs on Italian Jewish history, in particular a work which is still the only history of the Jews of Ferrara (2 pts., 1878, 1880).

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[Menachem E. Artom]

PESHAT (Heb. פְּשָׁט), word which came to mean the plain, literal meaning of a text, as opposed mainly to *derash, the homiletical interpretation, but also to any other method than the literal. According to W. Bacher (*Die exegetische Terminologie der juedischen Traditionsliteratur*, 2 (1905), 112ff.) it was *Abbaye, in the first half of the fourth century, who first made a distinction between *peshat* and *derash* as separate methods of exegesis, while Dobschuetz regards the word as the innovation of the academy of Pumbedita as a whole, including Abbaye, Joseph, and Rava. An examination of the one clear instance in which Abbaye advances two interpretations, one of *peshat* and one of *derash* (Sanh. 100b), however, does not bear out the assumption that the word indicates the literal meaning (cf. Loewe in bibliography, p. 163–4). Similarly, the frequently quoted statement, *ein mikra yoẓe middei peshuto*, "a text cannot be taken from the meaning of its *peshat*" – Shab. 63a; Yev. 11b, 24a – does not necessarily imply that *peshat* means the literal exegesis. In point of fact in parallel passages where one uses the verbal form *peshat*, the others use *darash*, or *shanah*, or *matne* (Heb. and Aramaic respectively for "studied," or "repeated"; Num. R. 18:22; Gen. R. 10:7 ed. Theodor Albeck p. 81, and notes), while in two interpretations given by R. Dimi to a biblical passage (Gen. 49:11–12) that which is called "the *peshat* of the verse" *(peshta de-kera)* is much further removed from the literal meaning than the other interpretation given (Ket. 111b; cf. also Kid. 80b; Er. 23b; Ar. 8b). Actually the rabbis had only two major methods of biblical exegesis, that of *halakhah* and that of *aggadah*, neither of which depended upon literal exegesis and in most instances deviated from it.

The basic meaning of the root of the word *peshat* in biblical Hebrew is "to flatten out," with the secondary meaning "to extend" or "to stretch out" (hence the meaning "to make a raid" – Job. 1:17), and from this was derived the talmudic meaning of "to expatiate upon," or "to propound." In context, *peshat* in talmudic literature seems to mean not the plain meaning but "the teaching recognized by the public as obviously authoritative, since familiar and traditional" (Loewe) or "the usual accepted traditional meaning as it was generally taught" (Rabinowitz). The present meaning of *peshat* is probably due to Rashi's biblical commentary, in which he was the first sharply to differentiate between the homiletical interpretation which he called *derash* and the literal meaning to which he gave the name *peshat*.

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[Louis Isaac Rabinowitz]

PESHER (Heb. פֵּשֶׁר), word meaning "interpretation." It occurs only once in the Hebrew Bible: "Who is as the wise man? and who knoweth the interpretation of a thing?" (Eccl. 8:1). However, the Aramaic word *peshar* occurs 31 times in the Aramaic portion of Daniel, where it mainly refers to dream interpretation.

In Qumran texts, it usually occurs after a biblical quotation, introducing its interpretation. As such it refers to a particular technique of interpretation which may be paralleled to midrashic exegesis.

What is distinctive of Qumran is both the systematic application of such a technique to a given prophetic work and its specific purpose. On the one hand, it had the result of creating a fixed literary structure, mostly known from the "continuous" *pesharim*. Those works quote one "prophetic" book verse by verse, each verse being followed by its interpretation, aiming at giving the plain meaning of the Prophet's words as a whole. On the other hand, their aim is to read historical and eschatological events into the biblical prophecies, understanding them as describing their own sect's situation on the verge of the *eschaton*.

Such an attitude to the biblical text (i.e., God's words) is already exemplified by the book of Daniel, where the term *peshar* is linked to the noun of Iranian origin *raz*, which appears nine times in the Aramaic portion of Daniel. Nebuchadnezzar's dream of the great image of four metals is a *raz* which cannot be understood until the *pesher* is supplied. Both the *raz* and the *peshar* are given by divine revelation; the *raz* is the first stage of the revelation, but it remains a mystery until the second stage, the *peshar*, is forthcoming.

Raz and Pesher

Both *raz* and *pesher* are common terms in the Qumran texts. Repeatedly in the *Thanksgiving Psalms God is praised because He enabled the psalmist to understand His wonderful mysteries (*razim*), by which His eschatological purposes seem especially to be meant. In the Qumran commentaries on various biblical books or parts of books this *pesher* pattern is particularly manifest. The first stage of divine revelation was imparted to the biblical writer, but it remained a mystery (*raz*) until the second stage, the interpretation (*pesher*), was imparted to the Teacher of Righteousness (and by him to his disciples). Thus, in the *Habakkuk Commentary*, it says that "God commanded Habakkuk to write the things that were coming on the last generation, but the fulfillment of the epoch He did not make known to him. And as for the words, that a man may read it swiftly; their interpretation (*pesher*) concerns the Teacher of Righteousness, to whom God made known all the mysteries (*razei*) of the words of His servant the prophets" (1QpHab. 7:1–5, on Hab. 2:1ff.). This is completely in accordance with the statement at the beginning of the Damascus document, that God raised up for the righteous remnant "a Teacher of Righteousness to lead them in the way of his heart, that he might make known to the last generations what he was going to do to the last generation" (CD 1:10–12). Not until the two parts of the revelation, the *raz* and *pesher*, are brought together is its meaning made plain. The revelation, moreover, is predominantly concerned with the time of the end, the last generation of the current epoch. Three basic principles of Qumran interpretation have already shown themselves:

(1) God revealed His purpose to the prophets, but did not reveal to them the time when His purpose would be fulfilled; this further revelation was first communicated to the Teacher of Righteousness.

(2) All the words of the prophets had reference to the time of the end.

(3) The time of the end is at hand.

Contemporary Interpretation

Much then of what the prophets had to say was believed to be in a kind of code; it could only be decoded when the Teacher of Righteousness was provided with the key. Knowledge of the context of the prophet's own day, which a modern exegete would regard as indispensable for understanding his message, was irrelevant; the historical context which made his words intelligible was the interpreter's own situation and that of the period immediately following. Isaiah might prophesy the downfall of the Assyrian, Ezekiel might foretell the rise and fall of "Gog, of the land of Magog," Habakkuk might describe the invasion of his land by the Chaldeans; but in these and other instances the reference is not to enemies of Israel in the respective prophets' days but to the great gentile power which would oppress the people of God at the end-time, regularly designated the *Kittim in the Qumran texts. For example, in a commentary on Isaiah (4QpIs^{a}), the advance and overthrow of the Assyrians in Isaiah 10:24ff., are interpreted as the eschatological "war of the Kittim." The leader of the Kittim (or so it appears, for the manuscript is badly mutilated) goes up from the plain of Acre to the approaches of Jerusalem. This is followed by the quotation of Isaiah 11:1–4 which is properly interpreted as the "shoot of David" who is to arise in the latter days to rule all the gentiles, including "Magog," but takes his directions from the priests. (This is in line with the Qumran picture of the age to come, in which the priesthood, and especially the "Messiah of Aaron," will take precedence over the Davidic Messiah, whose main function is to lead his followers to victory in battle.) In line with the interpretation of the Assyrians as the Kittim in this commentary is the quotation of Isaiah 31:8 in the *War Scroll (1QM 11:11ff.) with references to the destruction of the Kittim ("Then shall Asshur fall with the sword, not of man, and the sword, not of man, shall devour him").

The Habbakuk Commentary

The best-preserved of the Qumran commentaries is that on Habakkuk from Cave 1, and it provides the largest number of examples of this *pesher*-interpretation. The description of the Chaldeans in Habakkuk 1:6–17 is applied almost clause by clause to the Kittim. The Kittim, in their swift advance, overthrow all who stand in their way, and subdue them to their own dominion. They take possession of many lands and plunder their cities, "to possess dwelling places that are not theirs." Nor do they rely on military power alone to accomplish their ends: "With deliberate counsel all their device is to do evil, and with cunning and deceit they proceed with all the nations." "They trample the earth with their horses and their beasts; they come from afar, from the islands of the sea, to devour all the nations like vultures, and they are never satisfied… With wrath and anger, with hot passion and fury, they speak to all the nations." They impose heavy tribute on the nations, to be paid year by year, and thus they denude the lands of their wealth. In war they are completely ruthless; their sword regards neither age nor sex. Yet, as the prophet says, they are the agents of divine judgment against the ungodly; in particular, they are sent to punish the wicked priesthood of Jerusalem, who oppressed the godly and plundered the poor; they will deprive these priests of their ill-gotten gain and afflict them as they had afflicted others. Other parts of the Qumran commentary on Habakkuk apply the prophet's words to internal conflicts in Judea – especially to the conflict between the *Teacher of Righteousness and the *Wicked Priest, with some reference to other groups and leaders active at the same time as these. It rarely happens that the prophet's words lend themselves so literally to the commentator's purpose as do Habakkuk's words about the Chaldeans. Elsewhere the text is atomized to serve that purpose; one variant will be preferred to another on the same principle. Where other procedures fail, the text is allegorized: if in Habakkuk 2:17 mention is made of the Chaldeans' cutting down the cedars of Lebanon for military equipment and depriving the beasts there of their natural shelter, "Lebanon" is the council of the community and the "beasts" are "the simple ones of Judah, the doers of the law," while their devastator is the Wicked Priest.

Other Examples

Another example of allegorization appears in the commentary on Micah from Cave 1, where the words of Micah 1:5b ("What are the high places of Judah? Are they not Jerusalem?") are interpreted as "the Teacher of Righteousness, who teaches the law to his council and to all who offer themselves for enrollment among the elect of God." Several instances of *pesher*-interpretation are found in the Damascus document: once the actual term is used, where the *pesher* of Isaiah 24:17, "Terror (*paḥad*) and the pit (*paḥat*) and the trap (*paḥ*) are upon thee," is said to be "the three nets of Belial… in which he catches Israel by making them look like three kinds of righteousness – namely fornication, wealth, and pollution of the sanctuary" (CD 4:12–19). The document called 4Q *Testimonia* quotes three passages from the Torah (Ex. 20:21, Samaritan text; Num. 24:15–17 and Deut. 33:8–11) with apparent reference to the eschatological prophet, prince, and priest respectively, and then quotes Joshua's curse on the rebuilder of Jericho with reference to a son of Belial and his two sons; the text, unfortunately, is so fragmentary and allusive that the identity of the "son of Belial" remains in doubt: almost every member of the Hasmonean dynasty from Mattathias to Aristobulus II has been suggested, as have also Antipater, Herod, and even Vespasian. Alongside 4Q *Testimonia* the documents called 4Q *Florilegium* and 4Q *Patriarchal Blessings* provide examples of messianic interpretation. To those who had grasped the basic principles of the *pesher* received and taught by the Teacher of Righteousness, the sacred text was luminous; those who tried to understand it otherwise still groped in darkness.

The Historical Implication of the Pesharim

As already suggested above, the authors of the *pesharim* believed that the Prophets (including Moses and David) actually described the sect's own times as being the end of days (or at the least, the last days before the end). As a result, they aimed at ascribing every feature derived from the biblical text to figures and groups that were their contemporaries.

Thus it is of the utmost importance to succeed in identifying these groups and figures. Unfortunately, they are recalled not by names but by sobriquets. And the most secure identifications are the vaguest from the chronological point of view. Hence, the "Yaḥad" is called Judah, while Ephraim points to the Pharisees and Manassseh to the Sadducees. The Chaldeans recalled in the book of Habakkuk are said to be the "Kittim." The only exception is the "Lion of Wrath" mentioned by Nahum: from the historical event alluded to, it may be securely inferred that this figure is Alexander *Yannai having his opponents crucified, in 88 B.C.E. However, the *pesher* provides no further indication about the involvement of the "Lion of Wrath" in the history of the sect.

As a whole, the Teacher of Righteousness lived in the time of the Wicked Priest who persecuted him, and the sectaries saw the domination of the world by the Kittim as a sign of the coming of the end (cf. Nb 24:24). If we only knew who were the Kittim and who was the Wicked Priest, we would be able to reconstruct the history of the sect. Most scholars think the noun *Kittim* is a sobriquet for Romans (especially in Nahum), but they nevertheless usually assume that the sect was founded before Roman times. The Wicked Priest is variously identified with one Hasmonean ruler or another, if not with Herod, Jesus, or Paul. As a result, the Teacher of Righteousness' time variously is ascribed to the 2nd century B.C.E.–1st century C.E.

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[Frederick Fyvie Bruce / Emanuelle Main (2nd ed.)]

PESIKTA DE-RAV KAHANA (Aram. פְּסִיקְתָּא דְּרַב כָּהֲנָא), one of the oldest of the homiletic Midrashim. The word *pesikta* means "the section" or "the portion." The *Pesikta de-Rav Kahana* contains homilies on portions of the Torah and *haftarah* readings for the festivals and special *Sabbaths. There are two editions of this text which are similar in the following order of contents: Chapter 1, on Torah readings for Ḥanukkah; Chapters 2–6, on Torah readings for the special *Sabbaths and *Parashat ha-Ḥodesh*; Chapters 7–12, on Torah readings for *Passover and *Shavuot; Chapters 13–22, 24, 25, on readings for the 12 *haftarot* of the three Sabbaths of "reproof" (before the Ninth of *Av) and the seven Sabbaths of "consolation" (after the Ninth of Av); and an additional two (this section is often referred to in rabbinical literature as "The Midrash דש״ח נו״ע אר״ק שד״א," an acronym consisting of the first letters of each of the **haftarot* (see Tos. Meg. 31b)). Chapters 23 to the end consist of Torah readings for *Rosh Ha-Shanah and the *Day of Atonement; *haftarah* readings for the Sabbath of Repentance, *seliḥot*; Torah readings for *Sukkot, Shemini Aẓeret.

In 1832 L. *Zunz, in an ingenious work of scholarship, demonstrated the existence of *Pesikta de-Rav Kahana*, as distinct from the *Pesikta Rabbati and the *Pesikta Zutarta*, although there was no text or manuscript available to him. On the basis of references and readings in the medieval *Yalkut Shimoni* and especially in the *Arukh*, Zunz even went so far as to propose an order of contents of 29 chapters. Chapter 1, on Rosh Ha-Shanah, was followed by the festivals and special Sabbaths in the normal cycle of the year. It has since been demonstrated, on the basis of its language and of rabbis and place names mentioned, that the *Pesikta* is a Palestinian text, probably of the fifth century. In 1868 Solomon Buber published an edition of the *Pesikta* based on four manuscripts. The discovery of these manuscripts represented a remarkable confirmation of Zunz's basic proposition – the existence of the *Pesikta*. However, the arrangement of chapters in Buber's edition, as indicated above, begins the cycle of the year with the chapter on Ḥanukkah.

The confirmation of the original structure of the *Pesikta* was made possible by the discovery of a new Oxford manuscript of the 16th century. It is the only one of the manuscripts which has a table of contents beginning the cycle of the year with the chapter on Rosh Ha-Shanah, almost exactly as Zunz surmised in his arrangement of the order of chapters.

The name of the work is somewhat obscure. Zunz and Buber believe that the authorship was attributed to Rav Kahana because of a reading in the 12 chapters beginning with the Sabbath after the 17th of Tammuz. The first chapter in this unit opens as follows: "'The words of Jeremiah' (Jer. 1:1) R. Abba b. Kahana opened…." An alternative theory that is suggested now is based on the opening lines in the chapter of Rosh Ha-Shanah in two manuscripts which open with a reference to Rav Kahana. If the *Pesikta* begins with Rosh Ha-Shanah, it is correct to assume that the name *Pesikta de-Rav Kahana* was based on a version which made its first reference to this *amora* in its opening lines.

There are six known manuscripts of the *Pesikta* (three from Oxford, and one each in Carmoly, Casanatense, and Safed). An analysis of their contents in terms of the Palestinian tradition of the portion of Torah which is read on a particular festival, or the reading for a second day (non-Palestinian; see *Festivals), yields the conclusion that the new Oxford manuscript, which begins with Rosh Ha-Shanah, is a consistently closer reflection of the tradition of Palestine where the *Pesikta* originated.

This manuscript, reflecting an old, original source, has many excellent readings on individual words and phrases. However, its special importance derives from the order of chapters which renders it possible to establish the original structure of the *Pesikta*. It is almost exactly the same as the remarkable prediction made by Zunz, at a time when a copy of the *Pesikta* was not available. However, in the new Oxford manuscript, an excerpt of the chapter on Shavuot and the chapter on *Simḥat Torah come at the very end of the manuscript, after the chapter for the last Sabbath of the year. This would indicate that these two chapters for the second day of a holiday, observed outside of Palestine, were not part of the original *Pesikta*, which is of Palestinian origin. In all probability, a later scribe came upon these two chapters, which are similar in style (although definitely of later origin) to the *Pesikta*, and attached them as an addendum to the manuscript. Each of the six manuscripts has such addenda within a chapter or complete chapters attached which are not to be found in the other manuscripts. This practice by scribes of adding material similar to the books which they were copying was not uncommon in ancient times.

It may therefore be concluded that the original order of the *Pesikta* chapters followed the cycle of the Jewish calendar, beginning with Rosh Ha-Shanah and concluding with the Sabbath before Rosh Ha-Shanah, as found in the new Oxford manuscript and anticipated some 130 years ago by Zunz.

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[Bernard Mandelbaum]

PESIKTA RABBATI (Aram. פְּסִיקְתָּא רַבָּתִי), a medieval Midrash on the festivals of the year. It has been printed several times, and a critical edition, with introduction, commentary, and indices was published by M. Friedman (Ish-Shalom) in 1880. Further fragments were published by S.A. Wertheimer (in *Battei Midrashot*, 1 (1950), 260–4), and L. Ginzberg (in *Ginzei Schechter*, 1 (1928), 172–81; all future references are to Friedman's edition). The word *pesikta* means "section," and this Midrash consists of a series of separate sections, on the pentateuchal and prophetic lessons of festivals, unlike most other *Midreshei Aggadah* (e.g., some of the *Rabbot*) which are continuous commentaries to the Bible. It is called *Rabbati* ("the greater") probably in contrast to the earlier *Pesikta (de-Rav Kahana).

In Friedman's edition, the *Pesikta Rabbati* consists of some 47 sections, but considerably more homilies, as some sections consist of (parts of) several homilies (e.g., section 10). Seven or eight sections deal with *Ḥanukkah (2–8 or 9); sections 10–15 (or 16) with the Sabbaths preceding *Passover; 17–18 with Passover itself; 20–24 are a Midrash on the Ten Commandments (*Shavuot); 26–37 deal with the Sabbaths of mourning and comforting and the Ninth of *Av; while 38–48, bearing the superscription "*Midrash Harninu*," deal with *Rosh Ha-Shanah and the *Day of Atonement. Thus this Midrash spans the year from the Day of Atonement, omitting only *Sukkot. Probably, in its original form, the Midrash covered the full year, but now the end has been lost.

It has five entire sections in common with the earlier *Pesikta* (15–18 and 33, and also part of 14), but otherwise is totally different both in style and structure. Thus, while the *Pesikta de-Rav Kahana* has no halakhic passages, no fewer than 28 homilies of the *Pesikta Rabbati* have halakhic exordia, many (1–14, 39–45, 47) beginning with the formula *"*Yelammedenu Rabbenu*," followed by proems beginning "*Kakh pataḥ R. Tanḥuma*." This demonstrates clearly the *Pesikta Rabbati's* relationship to the *Tanḥuma-Yelammedenu* literature. Furthermore, it has been shown that the formula "*Kakh pataḥ R. Tanḥuma*" does not mean that what follows is a statement by R. Tanḥuma, but merely that this passage is taken from the *Tanḥuma* (*Yelammedenu*).

So far it has been discovered that two major sources are represented in the *Pesikta Rabbati*: (1) the *Pesikta de-Rav Kahana*, and (2) the *Tanḥuma-Yelammedenu*. Sections 20–24, which Ha-*Meiri calls *Midrash Mattan Torah* ("the Midrash on the giving of the Torah"), differ in style and structure from the rest of this work, and seem to form one unit. The proem in section 20 is strikingly individual in both its style and content. This work emerges, then, as a composite one, a compilation whose main body of source material is from the *Tanḥuma-Yelammedenu*.

In the first homily, one of the *Yelammedenu* sections, 845 is indicated as the date of the composition of the work. (The other date there – 1219 – is clearly the gloss of a later reader or copyist, perhaps *Eleazar of Worms, who made much use of this Midrash.) However, since this work is considered a composite one, possibly reflecting several periods of editing, this date is evidence only for the composition of the *Tanḥuma-Yelammedenu* stratum. The source material is all Palestinian, and though the precise date and place of compilation have not yet been fixed with certainty, modern scholarly opinion tends to view the *Pesikta Rabbati* as a Palestinian work of the sixth or seventh century.

The complete English translation of the *Pesikta Rabbati* by Braude (1968) takes into account, inter alia, the readings of Ms. Parma 1240 (completed in the year 1270) and Ms. Casanata 3324 (of the 17th century).

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[Daniel Sperber]

PESOTTA, ROSE (1896–1965), third woman vice president of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union (ILGWU), anarchist, and labor activist. The second of eight children (originally named Rachelle), she was born in Derazhnya in the Ukraine to observant parents, Masya and Isaack Peisoty. Immigrating to the United States in 1913 to avoid an impending arranged marriage, she lived with an elder sister and became a seamstress. As an activist in Local 25 of the ILGWU she quickly became a leader, attending the Bryn Mawr Summer School for Women Labor Activists, Brookwood Labor College, and the Wisconsin Summer School. In 1933 Pesotta was sent to Los Angeles to organize union shops and in 1934 she was elected the only woman vice president of the Board of the ILGWU. Her charisma, rhetorical skills, and innate love and sympathy for the workers won her many ardent followers. Her leadership style was colorful; she encouraged seamstresses to model the clothes they sewed as they marched in picket lines and had children of striking workers carry protest signs in support of their parents. She provided food, music, and parties for striking workers. In Cleveland in 1937 Pesotta was slashed and beaten by anti-union thugs; she later became deaf in one ear from an altercation in Flint, Michigan. Her activism took her to Seattle, San Francisco, Milwaukee, Buffalo, Boston, and Montreal and she also assisted other unions in organizing efforts.

Pesotta became an anarchist activist early in life, writing for the journal *Road to Freedom* and working to overturn the convictions of Sacco and Vanzetti. She believed in decentralization and self-government for workers and found it hard to reconcile these beliefs with work in a union bureaucracy, where she felt marginalized as a woman and an anarchist. Her friend Emma *Goldman provided her with support and intellectual guidance for her labor and anarchist activism. Finally in 1942, after being undermined by a fellow vice president in her work in Los Angeles, Pesotta left the General Executive Board of the ILGWU. Eventually she returned to the sewing machine, working briefly for the Anti-Defamation League and the American Trade Union Council of the Histadrut. Pesotta was romantically involved for a time with Powers Hapgood, a labor organizer for the United Mine Workers Union and other unions, and she was married briefly to Albert Martin, also known as Frank Lopez, whom she met during the Sacco and Vanzetti case. Pesotta, whose books include *Bread upon the Waters* (1944; rep. 1987) and *Days of Our Lives* (1958), died in Miami, Florida. In her eulogy Gus Tyler wrote: "She was born to lead. She was fated to rise from the machine and to guide her fellow workers in the age old struggle for human dignity."

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[Elaine Leeder (2nd ed.)]

PESTSZENTERZSEBET (Hung. **Pestszenterzsébet**), town, formerly a suburb of Budapest, Hungary. A Neologist congregation was founded there toward the end of the 19th century. In 1901 a synagogue was erected and in 1903 a *talmud torah* was founded. A school was opened in 1922 and existed until the Holocaust. B. Krishaber was rabbi of Pestszenterzsebet from 1900 to 1950. The Jewish population numbered 21,953 in 1910; 3,293 in 1920; 7,000 in 1929; 4,522 in 1936; and 3,978 in 1941. Most of the Jews in Pestszenterzsebet were laborers but some were occupied in commerce or were members of the liberal professions.

During World War II, after the German occupation (March 19, 1944), the 3,000 Jews in Pestszenterzsebet were among the last to be deported to Auschwitz, on July 8. Very few returned, and in 1969 only six Jews were living there.

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[Baruch Yaron]

PESUKEI DE-ZIMRA (Aram. פְּסוּקֵי דְזִמְרָא; lit. "verses of song/praise"; cf. Shab. 118b; Soferim 18:1, ed. Higger), in the Ashkenazi rite, the Psalms and cognate biblical passages recited in *Shaḥarit* immediately following the morning *benedictions; the Sephardi, Yemenite, and Italian designation is *Zemirot*. The liturgical pattern requires meditation prior to formal prayer (Ber. 32a, cf. Bet. 5:1) in order to achieve the required state of mind; the recitation of the *Pesukei de-Zimra* is in place of such meditation (Tosafot ad loc.). The Ashkenazi practice is to enclose the *Pesukei de-Zimra* between the two blessings, *Barukh she-Amar* and *Yishtabbaḥ*. On weekdays, they comprise I Chronicles 16:8–36, plus a lectionary of 23 verses from Psalms; Psalm 100; another lectionary, mostly from Psalms, beginning *Yehi khevod*; Psalms 145–50; a doxology formed by the final verse of Psalms 89, 135, and 72:18–19; I Chronicles 29:10–13; Nehemiah 9:6–11; and Exodus 14:30–15:18, 19, plus three divine kingship verses. On Sabbaths and festivals, Psalm 100 is omitted while Psalms 19, 34, 90, 91, 135, 136, 33, 92, and 93 are added before *Yehi khevod*. Also the prayer *Nishmat kol ḥai is recited before *Yishtabbaḥ*.

There is considerable variation in the other rites, especially for Sabbaths and festivals, reflecting the relatively late development of a custom not mandated by the Talmud. The expression *pesukei* ("verses") rather than *pirkei* ("chapters") suggests that "originally not whole Psalms but selections from them were prescribed" (J. Mann in HUCA, 2 (1925), 276). Liebreich distinguished two stages of evolution: before the inclusion of Psalms 145–50, and thereafter. The sages lauded "those who complete the *Hallel* [Psalms] daily" (Shab. 118b). Special merit was attached to reciting Psalm 145 (**Ashrei*). Psalms were publicly recited in both Temples, but *Pesukei de-Zimra* did not become integral to synagogue worship until geonic times. Only a reader and two respondents are required for their public recitation (Mid. Ps. 113:3).

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[Herman Kieval]

PETAḤ TIKVAH (Heb. פֶּתַח תִּקְוָה), city in Israel's Coastal Plain, 7 mi. (12 km.) E. of Tel Aviv. In the 1870s a number of observant Jews from Jerusalem decided to become farmers and establish a village called Petaḥ Tikvah ("Gateway of Hope"), after Hosea 2:17. They initially set out to purchase a tract of land near Jericho, but did not obtain the consent of the Turkish Crown to the transfer of ownership. Not abandoning their plan, in 1878 they chose an area of 3,400 dunams near the Yarkon River course, adjoining an Arab village called Mulabbis and owned by a Greek. The area looked attractive with its greenery, uncommon for the country in those days. Disregarding warnings of the danger of malaria there, the settlers acquired the land and thus laid the ground for the first Jewish village in the country, which later became known as "the mother of the moshavot." The founders, Joel Moses *Salomon, David *Gutmann, and Yehoshua *Stampfer, succeeded in mobilizing additional settlers, but soon malaria wrought havoc, the first harvests were disappointing, and quarrels broke out within the group. In 1882 Petaḥ Tikvah numbered 10 houses and 66 inhabitants. As health conditions became unbearable, the settlers had to transfer to the neighborhood of the Arab village Yehud further south.

In 1883 *Bilu immigrants renewed settlement on the site of Petaḥ Tikvah itself. They again had to withstand immense difficulties caused by their own lack of farming experience and financial means, frequent raids of Arab neighbors, and the hostility of the Turkish authorities. Baron Edmond de *Rothschild soon came to their aid and enabled them to embark on the drainage of the swamps. The direction of the moshavah passed from the local committee into the hands of the Rothschild administration. This step soon became a source of tension between the officials and the settlers, until Rothschild decided (in 1900) to transfer the moshavah to the *Jewish Colonization Association (ICA). The danger of Arab attacks, causing bodily harm to settlers, damage to homes and other property, and the malicious practice of pasturing Arab flocks on Jewish fields prompted the settlers to organize a first guardsmen's group, headed by Abraham *Shapira, which succeeded in securing the village and driving off the marauders. The drainage of the swamps and planting of citrus groves led to an improvement in the economic situation and attracted more settlers and Jewish laborers.

In 1891 Petaḥ Tikvah numbered 464 inhabitants, and in 1900 there were 818. The moshavah was regarded as a center by the nascent Jewish labor movement, and in 1905 the ground was laid there for the Ha-Po'el ha-Ẓa'ir and Aḥdut ha-Avodah parties. In World War I, Petaḥ Tikvah came in between armies of the Central Powers (Turkey and Germany) and Allied lines before it was taken by the British in 1917. After the war, the moshavah absorbed many immigrants and in 1920 received municipal council status. In May 1921 an Arab attack on Petaḥ Tikvah was repulsed by a defense force consisting mainly of local youth, assisted by British troops, and four young men, among them Avshalom *Gissin, were killed. In 1930, it attained a population of 8,768. Its growth was accelerated further in the

1930s, thanks to its central location within the Jewish settlement zone, resulting in a population of 20,000 in 1938 and in the attainment of city status in 1939. Petaḥ Tikvah became the marketing center of its region's farming produce and established industries, which, initially, were based mainly on agricultural raw materials. Also in the 1930s underground Jewish defense organizations had headquarters in Petaḥ Tikvah.

With the expansion of its built-up area Petaḥ Tikvah gradually absorbed adjoining workers' quarters and villages (e.g., Maḥaneh Yehudah, Ein Gannim, Kefar Gannim, Kefar Avraham, Sha'ariyyah). After 1948, the city's expansion proceeded at an even quicker pace, bringing the population to 45,000 in 1953, 54,000 in 1961, and 83,200 in 1970. In the mid-1990s the population was approximately 151,100, and by the end of 2002 it had increased to 172,600, making it the seventh largest city in Israel, ranging over an area of 15 sq. mi. (39 sq. km.). Its location on the outer ring of the Tel Aviv conurbation deeply influenced Petaḥ Tikvah's character. Although industry, with large enterprises in metals, rubber tires, textiles, food, and other branches, constituted the city's main economic foundation, farming still played a role, as the environs belonged to Israel's central citrus-growing area. Today, there is little farming in the PetaḥTikvah area. However, efforts to limit Petaḥ Tikvah's expansion over additional farmland in the vicinity, which was among Israel's most productive soil, resulted, from the 1960s, in denser and higher building in the city. Petaḥ Tikvah's industrial area has been expanded to include branches of some of the largest firms in Israel, such as Osem, ESI, Intel, IBM, etc.

Two large hospitals, Beilinson and Ha-Sharon, are within Petaḥ Tikvah's city limits. An important cultural institution has been Yad la-Banim, which is dedicated to the fallen in all stages of Israel's defense. In 1980 the institution was awarded the Israel Prize for special contribution to the state and society, with its founder, Baruch Oren, receiving special mention. According to the Israeli statistics bureau, Petah Tikvah is rated medium-high socio-economic status. The average salary in 2000 was slightly below the national average.

[Shlomo Hasson / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

PETEGORSKY, DAVID W. (1915–1956), political scientist, administrator. Born in Ottawa, Canada, to Leon and Beckie (Wolinsky) Petegorsky, he was valedictorian at his graduation from Yeshivah College, 1935, and was ordained rabbi in 1936 at the age of 21, receiving the highest level of ordination (*yore yore*; *yadin yadin*) from Dr. Bernard Revel. He earned a Ph.D. in Political Science at the London School of Economics in 1940 and was in London during the first year of the war. Petegorsky taught government at Antioch College in Ohio, 1940–1941. From 1942 to 1945, he returned to his native Canada for wartime service, first on the National Film Board and then as director of the industrial division of the Canadian Wartime Information Board. In 1945, he went to New York as executive director of the American Jewish Congress at the age of 30, supervising an experienced staff, many of whom were much more his senior in both age and experience and tested by the war years. In this capacity he refined the Jewish position on civil rights, created imaginative ways to apply modern social research to intergroup relations, and charted new directions for the fight against antisemitism at a time in the immediate postwar period when, seemingly inexplicably, antisemitism was on a sharp decline and young American Jews, who had fought as Americans for their country expected full participation in American society. He wrote books and articles on history and political science, including *Left Wing Democracy in the English Civil War* (1940), *Strategy for Democracy* (with J. Donald Kingsley, 1942), *Combatting Racism* (1947), and *The Jewish Community* (1948). Petegorsky died July 15, 1956, just months after his 40th birthday. He was considered one of the most brilliant products of the first generation of Yeshiva College alumni (which was only established seven years before he received his degree) and among the most constructive minds in American Jewish public service. An endowed chair in the Political Science department at Yeshiva University was established in his name by many of the men with whom he went to college.

[Matthew Schwartz (2nd ed.)]

°**PETER OF BLOIS** (c. 1135–after 1204), Christian theologian. Born in France, Peter lived in England from 1169, writing there his treatise *Contra perfidiam Judaeorum* (c. 1200). The work was composed at the request of a friend who complained that he was surrounded by heretics and Jews with whom he was often compelled to engage in argument without always being able to refute them. The treatise is divided into 34 chapters and quotes as authorities not only the Bible but also the Church Fathers, and the *Sibyl. The final passages quote both Jewish and pagan authors, and include the apocryphal text on Jesus attributed to *Josephus. The prestige enjoyed by Peter, whom several of his contemporaries designated as a "new Church Father," while his works came to be regarded as models of style, helped to gain his treatise a wide circulation.

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[Bernhard Blumenkranz]

°**PETER OF CLUNY** (also named **Peter the Venerable**; **Petrus Venerabilis**; c. 1090–1156), abbot of Cluny, France. Peter was a contemporary of *Bernard of Clairvaux, a prolific author, and counselor of kings and princes. On the eve of the Second Crusade, because of his advice to King *Louis VII to adopt harsh measures against the Jews, the authority of the abbot of Clairvaux had to be exerted for their protection. Peter was associated with the translation of the Koran into Latin carried out in Spain. His travels to Spain resulted in two polemical treatises against Islam, and in an anti-Jewish polemic, *Adversus Judaeorum inveteratum duritiam* (completed c. 1140). This work is set in the form of a dialogue and refers three times to oral *disputations with Jews. It is based mainly on the views of *Petrus Alfonsi, from whom Peter was the first in France to borrow criticisms alleging the "foolishness" and "insanities" of the Talmud and the midrashic texts. Peter, however, also refers to other texts not mentioned by Petrus Alfonsi. As he had no knowledge of Hebrew Peter could not have read the texts himself, but the source from which he drew them is unknown. The most important passage mentioning Jewish contemporaries is a reference to a "Jewish king" in Rouen. Thirty-four manuscripts of this work (some of them translations) have been preserved, testifying to its popularity.

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[Bernhard Blumenkranz]

PETERS, ROBERTA (1930–), U.S. opera singer, recitalist, and master teacher. Peters was born in New York City, the daughter of Ruth (Hirsch), a milliner, and Sol Peterman, a shoe salesman. She began performing at 20 at the Metropolitan Opera, where she achieved the longest tenure of any soprano in the opera house's history, giving more than 500 performances in over 20 roles. Peters, who performed to great acclaim throughout the world, was known for a broad and varied repertoire which ranged from opera to lieder, and included both art and folk songs. Her famous roles included the Queen of the Night in Mozart's *The Magic Flute*, Rosina in his *The Barber of Seville*, and Gilda in Verdi's *Rigoletto*. She was heard frequently on the *Voice of Firestone* radio broadcasts and appeared for a record 65 times on television's *The Ed Sullivan Show*. Caught in Israel during the Six-Day War, she and her colleague Richard *Tucker performed for soldiers.

Peters, who was involved in many philanthropic efforts for general and Jewish causes, established a scholarship fund at Hebrew University. After a brief marriage to fellow opera star Richard Merrill in 1952, Peters married real estate investor Bertram Fields in 1955. Peters, who published a memoir, *Debut at the Met* (1967), with Louis Biancolli, received numerous awards and honorary degrees. In 1991, she received a presidential appointment to a five-year term on the National Council of the Arts.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: M.B. Edelman, "Roberta Peters," in: P.E. Hyman and D.D. Moore (eds.), *Jewish Women in America*, vol. 2 (1997), 1046–48.

[Judith R. Baskin (2nd ed.)]

PETHAHIAH OF REGENSBURG (12th century), traveler; son of Jacob ha-Lavan and brother of *Isaac b. Jacob ha-Lavan of Prague, both tosafists. His permanent home appears to have been in Regensburg (Ratisbon), although he was also connected with Prague. About 1175 he set out on his travels, making his way through Poland and Russia to Crimea, from there to Tartary, Khazaria, Armenia, Kurdistan, Babylonia, Syria, and Ereẓ Israel. During his journey he made notes of his experiences. However, the contents of his book of travels were not written by Pethahiah but by others according to the stories they heard directly from him. The writer does not speak in the first person but relates the events in the name of the traveler. Apparently the book was written by several people, one of whom was *Judah b. Samuel he-Hasid of Regensburg. The writers did not record the whole of Pethahiah's narrative, but a summary of what he related or those parts which they considered the most important.

The book says nothing on Pethahiah's journey to Crimea and little on Crimea and Tartary. The major part of the narrative is devoted to his travels in Babylonia, Syria, and Ereẓ Israel. Some scholars consider that his destination was Babylonia, and that he was seeking a refuge there for his persecuted brethren in Europe. There is however no basis for this. The narrative indicates that Pethahiah was a wealthy man whose principal objective was to make a pilgrimage to Palestine and to pray at the tombs of the righteous. In a letter of recommendation which he requested of the *gaon* of Babylonia, the latter wrote that "in every place where he comes, they should guide him and point out the site of the tombs of the scholars and the righteous." However, besides the holy tombs in Babylonia, he found a large and alert Jewish settlement with a flourishing spiritual life, a firmly established *exilarch, and a respected *gaon* who could implement his instructions by force. This autonomous power, and the methods of study at the great yeshivah there, left a tremendous impression on the German traveler, and he related all of this in detail. When he told of the Babylonian *gaon*, he emphasized, in addition to his erudition, his political power and princely deportment.

In contrast to Babylonia, he found only a poor and oppressed community in Ereẓ Israel. The crusaders who had conquered the country in 1099 had annihilated the Jewish settlements in Jerusalem, Hebron, and other places, and the remnants had fled to Syria and Egypt. The traveler did not therefore dwell on at length or the writer did not note down the details of the Jewish population in Palestine. Of the country's settlements, principally mentioned are Tiberias, Acre, Jerusalem, and Hebron. In Jerusalem he found only one Jew, Abraham the Dyer, whose services were needed by the crusaders. Pethahiah's main descriptions of Palestine concern the holy places and the reports and traditions about them. He does not tell anything of his return journey, and it appears that he traveled by sea, passing through Greece.

The story of Pethahiah's travels was published for the first time in Prague in 1595 under the title *Sibbuv* ("Circuit") and has been published in its original form 24 times. It has also been translated into Judeo-German, Latin, French, German, English, and Russian. The best editions are the first, and that of L. Gruenhut (1905, with German translation), which is based on manuscripts and on the first edition.

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[Avraham Yaari]

PETIḤAH (Heb. פְּתִיחָה; "opening"), the ritual of opening the Ark in the synagogue during services to take out the Torah scroll(s) for the reading of the Law, and (particularly in Ashkenazi synagogues) to recite prayers of special importance or solemnity, especially on the High Holidays (e.g., the prayer *Avinu Malkenu and the entire *Ne'ilah service on the Day of Atonement). In the Reform ritual other special prayers (e.g., for the welfare of the government) are also recited before the open Ark. The custom of the *petiḥah* may be a remnant of the ritual in the talmudic period when in times of danger and need (pestilence, drought), the Ark was carried to the town square where special penitential prayers were recited (see Ta'an 2:1, 2, etc.). Mordecai Jaffe (in his *Levush Tekhelet* to Sh. Ar., OḤ 133) explains the custom of the *petiḥah*: "The high priest entered the Holy of Holies in the Temple once a year, on the Day of Atonement, in order to stress the special sanctity of that day; therefore the most significant prayers are recited before the open Ark to stress their special importance." The congregants rise for all prayers which are recited when the Ark is open.

°**PETLYURA, SIMON** (1879–1926), Ukrainian nationalist leader held responsible for not having stopped the wave of pogroms which engulfed the Jews in the Ukraine in 1919 and 1920. Petlyura, who was born in Poltava, was active in the Ukrainian Social Democratic Workers' Party. During the Russian Revolution in 1917, he was one of the leaders who organized Ukrainian soldiers into nationalist battalions. When the Ukrainian puppet state, set up by the Germans, fell in November 1918, Petlyura was among those who established the "directorium" (provisional government) to protect the independent Ukraine against its many enemies. From February 1919 he was chairman of the government and also chief *atamàn* (commander) of its army. With the retreat of his forces before the Red Army in the winter of 1919, his units turned into murderous bands and perpetrated mass killings of Jews in the Ukrainian towns and townlets (*Zhitomir, *Proskurov, and elsewhere). Petlyura did little to stop the wave of mob violence which became endemic within the Ukrainian army and the gangs of rebellious peasants, connected with his government. In October 1919 the remnants of Petlyura's forces fled to Poland. The following year he made a treaty with the Poles, set up his headquarters in *Kamenets-Podolski, and joined in the Polish war against the Soviet Union. After peace was made between the U.S.S.R. and Poland, Petlyura continued to maintain his government and the remnants of his army in exile. In the summer of 1921, Vladimir *Jabotinsky conducted negotiations with Petlyura's representative for the establishment of a Jewish militia to defend the Jewish population, should Petlyura's forces return to the Soviet Ukraine (the "Jabotinsky-Slavinsky Agreement"). From 1924 Petlyura was a political émigré in Paris, where he headed Ukrainian anti-Soviet organizations. On May 26, 1926, he was assassinated in the street by a Jew, Shalom *Schwartzbard. In 1927, after a dramatic trial, in which the Jewish tragedy in the Ukraine was amply documented, Schwartzbard was acquitted by a court in Paris. Ukrainian nationalists consider Petlyura an outstanding leader and claim that he personally could not be held responsible for the pogroms, because of the anarchical conditions of the revolutionary period.

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[Yehuda Slutsky]

PETRA (Gr. "rock," a translation of the Heb. *sela*), a ruined site in Edom, 140 mi. (224 km.) S. of Amman, 60 mi. (96 km.) N. of Elath. It is assumed that the biblical Sela was situated farther north (II Kings 14:7). In later sources (Jos., Ant., 4:161; Tosef., Shev. 4:11) it is called Rekem, a derivation of the Nabataean name *Raqmu*. Petra is situated in a broad valley, which is approached from the east by a long, narrow, and winding canyon, the Sīq, also called the Wadi Mūsā, which has several confluents in the plain of the city. The valley is surrounded by steep rocks of reddish Nubian sandstone. The place is safe from attack once the Sīq and its continuation to the west, the still narrower and more difficult Sayl al-Ṣiyāgh, are barred. The earliest settlement is indicated by Edomite pottery found at the top of a rock called Umm al-Biyāra in the southwestern part of the site. This rock served mainly as a place of refuge, the last time during the attack on the Nabateans by Antigonus. Owing to its secure position, Petra was adopted by the Nabatean kings as their capital; the caravan routes from the Syrian desert, Elath, Gaza, and the Mediterranean converged there. In 106 C.E. the city was incorporated into the Roman Empire, remaining the capital of the region – Provincia Arabia – until the time of Hadrian, who endowed it with the title of *metropolis*. Papyri discovered in the caves of the Judean Desert reveal that Petra had a senate and archives, and that it was visited by the Jewish inhabitants of the province; possibly, a number of Jews lived there. When the capital of Arabia was transferred to Bosrah, the city began to decline. In the time of Diocletian (late third century), it was included in Palestine and in the fifth century became the *metropolis* of the province of Palaestina Tertia. It disappeared from history in Arab times, apart from a brief Crusader interlude when it was known as *Li Vaux Moyse* ("the valley of Moses"). Its ruins were discovered by Burckhardt in 1812. It has since been explored by numerous scholars, in particular by R.E. Brünnow and A. von Domaszewski, G. Dalman, Th. Wiegand, S. and A. Hersfield, D. Kirkbride, and P.J. Parr. The first plan of Petra was made by W. von Bachmann in 1921, and a new accurate and measured map has been prepared in recent years by the architect C. Kanellopoulos. In the early 1980s Z. Muheissen made a study of the water-management systems of Petra and its vicinity. A major study of the architecture of Petra and its decorations was made by J. McKenzie and published in 1990. Excavations between 1988 and 1997 by B. Kolb have uncovered residential buildings close to ez-Zantur. Since 1993 major excavations have been undertaken at the Great Nabataean Temple and elsewhere by M.S.

Joukowsky. A number of Byzantine churches have been investigated in an ACOR project led by P. Bikai, with the discovery in 1993 of an amazing cache of Greek papyri from the sixth century in one of the churches (St. Mary).

In the center of the plain of Petra are the remains of the town, which is partly surrounded by a wall extending from the southern suburb of al-Katūte to the tower sanctuary on ʿArqūb al-Hīsha in the east. The remains are mainly Hellenistic (Nabatean) and Roman, with additional Byzantine remains extending towards the north ridge. After 106 C.E., al-Katūte was abandoned and the town life was concentrated in the main colonnaded street (with shops) in the bed of the Wadi Mūsā. On the northern side of this street are, from east to west, two nymphaea and pool near the issue of Wadi al-Matāha, a "royal palace," and the Temple of the Winged Lions or Temple of Al-Uzza ("gymnasium"). On the southern side the "Trajanic Arch" leads to the "upper market" (agora) surrounded by a porticoe, with another market further west (the "middle market"), the Great Temple, with a lower temenos in front of it, and with an adjacent pool and garden complex (the so-called "lower" market) and a public bath. A triumphal arch (the "Temenos Gate") crosses the street not far from the bath, with towers to the north and south. Beyond it is the "Small Temple" and further to the west the Temple of Dushares, also known as Qaṣr al-Bint Farʿun ("the castle of Pharaoh's daughter"), one of the best-preserved buildings at Petra; it is a temple *in antis* on a podium with pronaos, cella, and an adytum in three parts. Another remarkable structure is the rock-cut theater close to the Siq, which was excavated in 1963. It consists of three tiers of seats with a *scenae frons* resembling that of the theater at Beth-Shean. Of principal interest at Petra are the rock-cut facades. Some of these may belong to temples (as e.g., the famous al-Khazna in the Sīq – recently additional chambers have been found at a lower level below the steps) and dwelling houses, but above all, they belong to monumental tombs of the kings and princely merchants of the city, including that of the Roman governor, Sextus Florentinus. At least 800 tombs are known. These facades are imitations of the *scenae frons* of the Hellenistic theater with several tiers of columns usually crowned with the type of capital known as Nabatean. The lowest tier has a doorway and mock windows and often, an inscription. The second tier is divided into round or square pavilions with broken gables and a tholos crowned by an urn in the center. There are also several "high places" and numerous rock carvings of a religious nature at and near Petra.

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[Michael Avi-Yonah / Shimon Gibson (2nd ed.)]

°PETRIE, SIR WILLIAM MATTHEW FLINDERS (1853–1942). British archaeologist well-known for his work in Egypt, as well as in Palestine. In 1880 he visited Egypt for the first time and in 1882 he was engaged in establishing the exact measurements of the Giza pyramids. In Palestine he conducted excavations at Tell el-Ḥesī in 1890 on behalf of the Palestine Exploration Fund, pointing out for the first time that a mound was not a rubbish heap, as some scholars believed at that time (notably C.R. Conder), but represented the superimposed strata of ancient settlements with a sequence of identifiable cultural materials and pottery dating from different ages. Petrie did many of the drawings and plans himself, even going as far as making his own "pinhole" cameras. One of his invented cameras is shown at the Museum of Photography in Bath. Beginning in 1897, Petrie undertook excavations in Egypt on behalf of the Egypt Excavation Fund. He excavated and identified, among many others, a number of Pre-Dynastic sites (where he applied his method of sequence dating), the early royal tombs at Abydos, discovering the Sinaitic inscriptions and the Greek city of Naucratis. In the process Petrie also studied many aspects of ancient Egyptian life, such as the use of papyri in mummification. From 1893 to 1935, Petrie served as professor of Egyptology at University College in London. He excavated during the winter and published the results in the summer, eventually producing over 100 reports. In 1926 he founded the British School of Archaeology in Egypt, which supported several excavations in Palestine. Among the sites excavated by Petrie in southern Palestine are Tell el-Jemmeh (1926), Tell el-Farah (south) (1927–29) and Tell el-ʿAjjūl (1929–31), from which he achieved valuable results, despite his mistaken identifications of the sites. His works include, in addition to numerous excavation reports, *Hyksos and Israelite Cities* (1906); *Egypt and Israel* (1906); *Methods and Aims in Archaeology* (1904); *A History of Egypt* (6 vols., 1894–1905); *The Arts and Crafts of Ancient Egypt* (1909); *Social Life in Ancient Egypt* (1923); *Religious Life in Ancient Egypt* (1924); *Seventy Years in Archaeology* (1931), an autobiography. He was knighted in 1923 and spent the last years of his life in Jerusalem and at the American School of Oriental Research (now the Albright Institute). Petrie was a constant follower of the popular 19th-century eugenics movement that correlated human intelligence with measurement of skull size. He died in Jerusalem and was buried in the Protestant cemetery on Mount Zion (within the property of the present-day Jerusalem University College); his head, however, was removed, following his dying wishes, and taken to London, where it is now located in liquid preservative in a large glass jar within the collections of the Royal College of Surgeons.

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[Michael Avi-Yonah / Shimon Gibson (2nd ed.)]

PETROGRAD CONFERENCE, seventh national conference of the Russian Zionists and the first after the February 1917 Revolution. It opened on June 6, 1917. Five hundred and fifty-two delegates, representing 140,000 shekel holders from 680 cities and towns, took part in the conference. In the new Russia, the conference demonstrated the growing power of Zionism among Jewry and defined the Russian Zionists' attitude toward the problems of the World Zionist movement and the upbuilding of Ereẓ Israel. It discussed the specific problems of the Russian Jews under the democratic regime with the hope of expanding the movement, which up to that time had acted mainly illegally. Jehiel *Tschlenow and Menahem *Ussishkin were elected as presidents of the conference. In his programmatic address, Tschlenow said that the main task of the conference was to lay the foundations for Jewish national autonomy in Russia, as well as to emphasize the Jewish people's aspiration to return to Ereẓ Israel. Ussishkin spoke of the need to immediately mobilize Jewish capital for settlement work, especially for the purchase of land, and to train pioneer workers. Alexander *Goldstein proposed the holding of a referendum in order to prove to the world that Ereẓ Israel was the desired country of every Jew. The proposal was enthusiastically accepted. Isaac *Gruenbaum and Julius Brutzkus delivered speeches based on the *Helsingsfors Program for Zionist Diaspora activities in light of the new situation in Russia. There was a trenchant debate about the authority and character of the Jewish community as the nucleus of self-government. When the conference rejected Gruenbaum's proposal to exclude religious matters from the control of the communal boards, a 40-delegate group of his followers declared that none of them would enter the movement's executive bodies. According to one resolution a Zionist was allowed to be a member of another political party, as long as it was not Jewish and provided that it was approved by the local branch of the Zionist movement. Another resolution read that the Zionist Organization would participate in the elections as an independent party. The conference agreed that educational and cultural actions should be recognized as one of the main tasks of Zionist work, and the Tarbut society should be recognized as the only institution to do this work. This seven-day conference was the last free countrywide expression of the Russian Zionist movement before the October Revolution of the same year became the starting point of its persecution and liquidation.

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[Arie Rafaeli-Zenziper]

PETROLEUM AND OIL PRODUCTS. In modern times Jews took part in the development of the oil industry, some in pioneering the extraction of oil and trade in its products in their respective countries, and some in financing the industry abroad.

Eastern Galicia

Oil prospecting and the development of the oilfields of eastern Galicia from the middle of the 19th century was due to a large measure to the initiative of Jews. In *Borislav the first attempts to find petroleum were made by a Jew, Schreiner, before the middle of the 19th century. Ozocerite, which became a substitute for the expensive beeswax in the manufacture of candles, was then discovered there. Ozocerite candles were soon extensively marketed in the region. The great demand for ozocerite led many Jews in *Drogobych to acquire plots of land in Borislav to extract it. Thousands of Jews streamed from surrounding townlets and villages to work there, in primitive conditions. The work was performed in two shifts of 12 hours each; women and children also were employed on the easier tasks. Abraham Schreiner, son of the discoverer of petroleum in Galicia, attempted to separate the petroleum from the earth admixture. After many failures, he succeeded in establishing the first petroleum refinery in Borislav in 1854. Many railway companies then ordered petroleum from him for lighting their carriages and stations. Thus he became the world's first "petroleum king" until the destruction of his refinery in a fire in 1886.

In the 1880s the enterprise, capital, and modern methods of corporations drove out the Jewish entrepreneurs with their inadequate means and primitive methods. As a result, 5,000 Jewish workers in Borislav addressed themselves to the second Zionist Congress in Basle in 1898, described their plight, and requested assistance for *aliyah* to Ereẓ Israel. Some Jews were still active in the oilfields of Galicia between the two world wars.

Czarist Russia

As the oil wells in czarist Russia were situated outside the *Pale of Settlement Jews were at first unable to participate in the industry. Later on Jewish chemists succeeded in entering the petroleum trade and subsequently also the industry. By 1910, 15% of oil extraction was carried out by Jews, as well as 44% of the manufacture of kerosene, 32% of the manufacture of lubrication oils, and 49.6% of the trade in oil products on the Baku exchange.

During the second half of the 19th century Jews were engaged in the transportation of petroleum. The Jewish petroleum company Dembo & Kagan, whose owners were A. Dembo of Kovno and Kh. Kagan of Brest-Litovsk, laid the first oil pipeline in Russia in 1870. They set up a petroleum refinery in a suburb of Baku and established relations with shipping companies of the Caspian region which transported the oil by sea, whence it was expedited by rail throughout Russia. Because of the monopolistic position of the Nobel Company in the Caucasus, Dembo & Kagan could only operate for five years, after which it was compelled to confine itself to the marketing of oil.

The brothers Saveli and Mikhail Polyak and the engineer Arkadi Beylin, in partnership with the Rothschild Bank, founded the Mazut Company of Baku, later amalgamated with the Shell Company. The Rothschild house also financed the Batum Oil Association, founded after the construction of the Trans-Caucasian railroad and owned mainly by Jews. The *Pereire family of Paris invested considerable sums in the oil fields of the Caucasus. A.M. Feigel, one of the initiators of the petroleum trade in Baku, organized, with A. Beylin, a syndicate of oil companies to compete with the American Standard Oil. The Dembat brothers succeeded in publicizing mazut as a cheap fuel oil for ships and locomotives. They were the first Jews to be permitted by the Russian government, in appreciation of their activities, to acquire oil wells. With Baron Horace Guenzburg, they established the Volga-Caspian Petroleum Company.

Czechoslovakia

In Czechoslovakia Jews were active in oil refining, and in general branches of the trade and industry. The Kralupy refinery on the river Vltava was established by Jindřich Eisenschimel and Ludvik Heller. The refinery owned by David Fanto was prominent in the industry by 1924. The Vacuum Oil Company was headed by Charles Wachtel and Bedřich Stránsky, who transferred their affairs to New York in 1939.

England

Marcus *Samuel, Viscount Bearstead, played a central role, sometimes in cooperation with the house of Rothschild, in developing the trade and transportation of petroleum and oil on a large international scale from 1897. In 1907 he founded the Shell Royal Dutch Company together with Royal Dutch, which launched England as an oil power. He was one of the first to initiate the haulage of petroleum through the Suez Canal. During World War I, he played a role of prime importance in the supply of oil to the British Navy. Sir Robert Waley *Cohen was active in the Shell Company from 1901, and in 1905 was appointed director of the Asiatic Petroleum Company. From 1907 he served as director of the Anglo-Saxon Petroleum Company. During World War I he served as adviser on oil affairs to the Army Council.

France

In addition to the investments of the house of Rothschild of Paris and the Pereire family, Alexandre Deutsch founded the Société de Pétrole, and his sons Emile (1847–1924) and Henri (1846–1918) *Deutsch de la Meurthe succeeded him. Henri published a work on petroleum and its use and headed the petroleum industry exhibit at the Paris International Exhibition in 1889.

United States

The role of Jews in the petroleum industry in the U.S. was negligible. The petroleum industry in the U.S. was in the hands of a small number of Protestant families which did not as a rule hire Jews. The Arab boycott after 1948 strengthened this tendency not to employ Jews so as to avoid friction with the Arab oil states. Exceptions were the *Blaustein family, founder of the American Oil Company and Armand *Hammer with his Occidental Petroleum Corporation.

For petroleum and oil products in Israel, see *Israel, State of: Economic Affairs.

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°**PETRONIUS, PUBLIUS**, governor of *Syria, 39–42 C.E. Petronius was ordered by Emperor Caligula to place his statue in the Temple at Jerusalem and to use force if necessary to overcome the resistance of the Jews. When they learned of the order, the Jews flocked to Petronius' headquarters at Acre to plead for annulment of this decree. Realizing that the Jews were prepared to sacrifice their lives, Petronius wrote to Caligula advancing reasons for a delay in installing the statue. The response was an impatient command to carry out the imperial order immediately. Meanwhile, as a result of Agrippa I's intercession, Caligula was prevailed upon to rescind his instructions. Unaware of this, Petronius again wrote to Caligula, who, in a rage, ordered him to commit suicide: this order reached him, however, after the news of Caligula's murder in 41 C.E. Petronius's friendship toward the Jews was demonstrated again when some Greek youths of the city of Dora set up a statue of the emperor in the local synagogue. In response to Agrippa I's remonstration Petronius ordered the magistrates of the city to send him the offenders; he enjoined them to allow everyone freely to practice his ancestral faith. Petronius' conduct is indicative not only of a desire to preserve order in the Roman provinces but also of his favorable attitude toward Judaism, which is ascribed by *Philo to his search for knowledge and to his close contact with Jews in the provinces of Syria and Asia, where he had previously been as proconsul.

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[Lea Roth]

°**PETRONIUS ARBITER, GAIUS**, Roman author and a companion of Nero in some of his pleasure ventures. Petronius links Jewish circumcision with the pierced ears of the Arabs and with the chalked faces of the Gauls (*Satiricon*, 102). In a poetic fragment he says that the Jews revered a porcine deity (*Fragmentum*, 97, in *Poetae Latini Minores*, ed. by Baehrens, 4 (1882), 98; = no. 24 in Loeb edition (1913), p. 354). This may be an allusion to Jewish abstinence from pork, or Petronius could be really ascribing a pig-god to Jews either out of ignorance or malice. He writes also of circumcision whereby Jews distinguish themselves from non-Jews and of the oppressive laws of the Jewish Sabbath. Some take this to refer to Sabbath observance, though most commentators regard it as an allusion to the mistaken notion, common to many Roman writers, that the Jews fasted on the Sabbath (cf. Strabo, Augustus, Trogus Pompeius, and Martial).

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[Jacob Petroff]

PETROV, VALERI (**Mevorakh**; 1920–), Bulgarian poet, playwright, screenwriter, author of plays for children. Petrov was born in Sofia into a family of intellectuals. His father was Prof. Nissim Mevorakh, the outstanding Bulgarian jurist and diplomat. Petrov graduated from Faculty of Medicines at Sofia University and, after four years of work in Rome as a cultural attaché, finally abandoned the medical profession in favor of poetry, writing with great virtuosity in an accessible though highly poetic language.

Among his best-known poems are "Palechko," "Krai sinioto more" ("Around the Blue Sea"), "Juvenes dum sumus," "Na pat" ("On the Way"), "Tavanski spomen" ("Attic Memory"), "Na smiah" ("For Fun"), "Dajd vali – slanze gree" ("It Is Raining – The Sun Is Shining"), "V mekata esen" ("In the Soft Autumn"), "Sbogom, tate" ("Good-bye, Dad"). These were collected in *Jivot v stihove* ("Life in Poems") and *Raztvoren prozoretz* ("Opened Window").

In the theater Petrov also sought new forms, combining prose and poetry, drama and music, the sad and the joyful. His plays include *Kogato rozite tanzuvat* ("When the Roses Dance"), *Teatar, liubov moia* ("Theater, My Love"), and *Chestna musketarska* ("Honest Musketeer's"). For children he wrote *Biala prikazka* ("White Story"), *Kopche za san* ("Button for a Dream"), *Meko kazano* ("To Put It Mildly"), *V lunnata staia* ("In the Moonlit Room"), and *Puk!*, which was an international success.

Petrov's cinema scripts helped create some of Bulgaria's best films, such as *Na malkia ostrov* ("On the Little Island"), *Slanzeto I siankata* ("The Sun and the Shadow"), *Rizar bez bronia* ("A Knight without Armor"), and *Lo-Ho-Ho*. Petrov also devoted his energies to poetic translation, including the complete works of Shakespeare in eight volumes and Goethe's *Faust*. He was the recipient of numerous awards, including Bulgaria's highest state honor, *Stara planina I class*, and the French *Ordre des Arts et des Lettres*.

[Emil Kalo (2nd ed.)]

PETRUS ALFONSI (**Aldefonsi**; b. 1062), Spanish Converso, physician, polemicist, and author, possibly born in Huesca. Known as Mosé or Moisés Sefardi before his conversion at the age of 44, he assumed the new name of Petrus Alfonsi (Aldefonsi) because his conversion took place on St. Peter's Day and his baptismal patron was King Alfonso I of Aragon. He spent the second half of his life in England, where he was physician to King Henry I. Petrus introduced the Oriental apologue to Western Europe through his *Disciplina Clericalis*, a collection of some 34 stories belonging to the traditional literature of the Orient (translated into English under the title *The Scholar's Guide*). He was also the author of a polemical treatise, *Dialogi… in quibus judaeorum opiniones… confutanur* (Bibliotheca Patrum, 22 (1677), 172ff.), which he wrote to defend his conversion.

These dialogues, cast in the mold of classic apologetics, take place between a Jew and a Christian, named respectively Moses and Peter, the two figurations of the author before and after his baptism. The work, divided into 12 chapters, begins with an attempt to prove that the Jews were only partially observing the Law of Moses. The author also touches upon Islam, to demonstrate its falsehoods. From chapter 6 on, he explores the concepts of the Trinity, the Immaculate Conception, the Incarnation, and the supposed fulfillment of prophecies with the birth of Jesus. Chapters 10 to 12 treat of the crucifixion, resurrection, and ascension of Jesus of Nazareth. The final arguments are that Christianity is not contrary to Mosaic Law. Additionally, Petrus was a noted astronomer and translated scientific works from the Arabic.

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[Kenneth R. Scholberg]

PETSCHEK, Bohemian family of financiers and industrialists, for half a century owners of one of the leading coal mining companies in central Europe. MOSES BEN ISRAEL (1822–1888), its founder, moved from his native village, Pečky (hence the family's name), to nearby Kolin, where ISIDOR (1854–1919), JULIUS (1856–1932), and IGNAZ (1857–1934) were born. Moses made his fortune mainly in real estate. In 1871 he acquired stock in a lignite mining company in Most (Bruex) and in 1876 moved to Prague. The real pioneer of the Petschek family's entry into the coal industry was Ignaz, who began his career as a bank clerk. After an apprenticeship with J.E. *Weinmann in Ústí nad Labem (Aussig an der Elbe), he founded his own coal marketing agency there. In 1890 Ignaz was selling up to 7 million tons of lignite a year. In 1906 he bought his first mines. The business of Isidor and Julius, conducted from Prague, became known as "Grosser Petschek" while Ignaz's firm was known as "Kleiner Petschek"; they were competitors and acquired interests in many other branches of industry and finance throughout Europe. Both groups, but mainly Ignaz's, acquired coal mines during the post-World War I inflation years, and subsequently, with 50 other German mining firms, formed a syndicate, in which they themselves controlled 50% of all the output. After World War I the Prague group (Julius and Isidor) founded their own bank.

After Julius' death, the Prague group was owned by seven families, and in 1938 by 40, who transferred their property to a specially created British corporation, and as such in 1937 opened negotiations with their Nazi competitors. In May they succeeded in selling the property at a huge loss for $4.75 million in hard currency. Subsequently they also sold the majority of their possessions in the Sudeten area, including 24 coal mines, their sales organization, and 30% of the north Bohemian coal output. All the Prague Petschek families moved to England in July 1938, and later to the U.S. The property of the Ústí branch, managed by Ignaz's son Karl, was too large to be acquired by the Germans and the family tried to withstand them. When the Nazis occupied Ústí (1938) they immediately appointed a German executor (trustee) and in spring 1939 the property was sold by the German Reich as restitution for 3 billion Reichsmark allegedly defrauded from taxes due in Germany. The Hermann *Goering Werke organized a special firm, known as Subag, to include both groups. During the German occupation of Prague the Petschek residence was taken over by the Gestapo. The Petschek possessions became state-owned after World War II.

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[Meir Lamed]

PETTER BEN JOSEPH (12th century), tosafist. Petter came from Carinthia in Austria and was a pupil of *Samuel b. Meir and of his brother, Jacob *Tam. He participated in the editing of R. Tam's *Sefer ha-Yashar,* to which he made additions. Petter maintained a halakhic correspondence with R. Tam and with *Isaac b. Melchizedek of Siponto and it is probable that the quotations from the latter in the *Sefer ha-Yashar* were included by Petter. He was also an associate of *Isaac ha-Lavan, who quotes him in his *tosafot*. Most of the statements of Petter in the printed *tosafot* also appear in the *Sefer ha-Yashar.* He met a martyr's death at an early age during the Second Crusade, and Jacob of Bonn eulogized him in the highest terms.

With regard to the unusual name of Petter borne by a pupil of R. Tam, it is interesting to note that R. Tam accepts the medieval legend that Peter (Simon Caiaphas) was a devout Jew who sacrificed himself in order to effect the separation between Judaism and Christianity, and is the author of the prayer *Nishmat, a legend whose authenticity had been rejected by R. Tam's grandfather, Rashi (see *Maḥzor Vitry,* ed. by S. Hurwitz (1923^2), 282 n. 5, 362 n. 5).

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[Israel Moses Ta-Shma]

PETUCHOWSKI, JAKOB JOSEF (1925–1991), U.S. rabbinic scholar and theologian. Petuchowski was born in Berlin and brought to England from Germany in a "children's transport" before the outbreak of World War II. Living in London from 1939 to 1947, he studied with Isaac *Markon and Leo *Baeck and earned a B.A. from the University of London while holding a variety of jobs in the Jewish community, including education director of the Youth Association of Synagogues in Great Britain, social worker in the Windermere DP camp, chaplain to the DP Tuberculosis Sanatorium, and Hebrew and religion teacher at the West London Synagogue. In 1948, Petuchowski immigrated to the United States, where he received his B.H.L. (1949), M.H.L. and ordination (1952), and Ph.D. (1958) from *Hebrew Union College. He served as rabbi of Temple Emanuel in Welch, West Virginia, and Beth Israel Synagogue in Washington, Pennsylvania, before returning in 1956 to HUC to join the faculty as a lecturer in Jewish theology. In 1974, he was appointed professor of theology and liturgy, and in 1981 he became the Sol and Arlene Bronstein Professor of Judeo-Christian studies. He was the first director of Jewish studies at HUC-JIR in Jerusalem (1963–64) and a visiting professor of Jewish philosophy at Harvard University Divinity School, Oxford University, Antioch College, Theologische Fakultat Luzern (Switzerland), and *Tel Aviv University.

Petuchowski's writings reflected a rather traditional theological perspective and thus served as a bridge between the Reform movement and the rest of the Jewish world. In his *Ever Since Sinai*, he articulated a belief in the authority of revelation and **halakhah*, while interpreting both concepts in terms of the evolutionary process of Jewish tradition throughout the ages, of which Reform is simply another stage. Though initially severely critical of secular Zionism, particularly in his *Zion Reconsidered* (1966), Petuchowski's attitude toward Israel as a legitimate continuation of Jewish history became far more positive after the *Six-Day War. A fellow of the American Academy of Jewish Research, Petuchowski wrote more than 35 books and monographs and contributed to several encyclopedias and numerous periodicals. His thought exerted great influence within the U.S. Reform movement and in Germany, where he worked with Christian theologians to improve German-Jewish relations after the Holocaust. He encouraged the program of Judaic studies at the University of Cologne, which awarded him an honorary Ph.D. in 1979, the same year he received an honorary D.L. degree from Brown University. In 1985, 22 Catholic and Protestant theologians published a German volume in his honor, titled (in translation) *Judaism Is Alive – I Have Encountered: Experiences by Christians*.

Petuchowski's major works include *Ever Since Sinai: A Modern View of Torah* (1961, 1979); *Prayer Book Reform in Europe: The Liturgy of European Liberal and Reform Judaism* (1969); *Heirs of the Pharisees* (1970); *Understanding Jewish Prayer* (1972); *Theology and Poetry* (1978); *Studies in Memory of Joseph Heinemann* (1981); *When Jews and Christians Meet* (co-editor, 1989); *Studies in Modern Theology and Prayer* (published posthumously, edited by Elizabeth and Aaron Petuchowski, 1998).

[Bezalel Gordon (2nd ed.)]

PEVSNER, ANTON (**Antoine**; 1886–1962) and **NAUM NEHEMIA** (**Gabo**; 1890–1977), Russian sculptors. The two brothers were born in a village near Orel, south of Moscow. Anton Pevsner studied at the academies of art in Kiev and St. Petersburg, while Gabo went to Munich to work for a civil engineering degree. From 1911 to the outbreak of World War I Anton Pevsner was in Paris, where the painter *Modigliani was among his friends. In 1917, the brothers returned to Russia and were appointed professors at the Academy of Art in Moscow. They now emerged as the leaders of Constructivism, a movement related technically and aesthetically to architecture and engineering. In 1920, they published their Realist Manifesto, which set out the theoretical foundations of Constructivism. When the Soviet state began to demand that artists apply their talent to political propaganda, the Pevsner brothers refused. In 1923 they immigrated to Paris. Here they collaborated on settings and costumes for a Diaghilev ballet and repeatedly showed their work together. In 1931 Anton Pevsner was a cofounder of the Abstraction-Creation group in Paris, and from 1946 to 1952 was an active member of the Salon des Réalités Nouvelles. In 1948 Gabo, who had settled in the United States, lectured at the Graduate School of Design, Harvard University.

The work of these two sculptors is closely related. While in their early works figurative elements still appear, their mature work is entirely nonfigurative. Anton preferred to work in metal, usually bronze, to get the solidity and permanence that are lacking in the materials – plastic and nylon – often used by his brother. The creations of both are characterized by strong rhythm, and by the movement of free forms into dynamic new shapes.

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[Alfred Werner]

PEVSNER, SIR NIKOLAUS (1902–1983), British architectural historian. Born in Leipzig, he studied at various German universities. After working as assistant keeper at the Dresden Art Gallery (1924–28) and as lecturer in art history and architecture at the University of Goettingen (1929–33), he emigrated to England when Hitler came to power. He was a lecturer and later (1959–69) professor of fine art at Birkbeck College, London, as well as Slade professor of fine art at Cambridge (1949–55) and professor of fine art at Oxford (1968–69), and was also an honorary fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge. Books such as his classic *An Outline of European Architecture* (1942) helped spread a knowledge of architectural history, and his *Buildings of England* series, published in many county volumes between 1958 and 1973, which called attention to the English architectural heritage, became one of the best-known series of works on Britain's heritage ever written. These made Pevsner a household name among educated people in Britain. Pevsner gave many talks on BBC radio, including the 1955 Reith Lecture. He was knighted in 1969. Pevsner was one among a surprising number of German Jewish refugees who not merely adapted to England but, in a sense, became British icons.

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PEVZNER, SAMUEL JOSEPH (1879–1930), Russian Zionist and pioneer in Palestine. Born in Propoisk, Belorussia, Pevzner was a delegate to the First Zionist Congress (1897) and a member of the *Democratic Fraction. He contributed to *Ha-Shilo'aḥ and other Hebrew papers under the pen name Shemu'el Ben-Natan. Pevzner graduated as an engineer from the Berlin Technical College and in 1905 emigrated to Ereẓ Israel. He settled in Haifa and was one of the builders and developers of the town. Together with N. *Wilbuschewitz and S. Itzkovitz, he established the Atid factory, the first modern enterprise for the manufacture of oil and soap. He was one of the founders of Hadar ha-Carmel, the central Jewish quarter in Haifa, and head of its development committee from 1922 to 1927. Pevzner was also active in the development of the *Technion and the Reali High School in the town; a member of the community council; and a delegate to the *Asefat ha-Nivḥarim*.

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[Yehuda Slutsky]

PEWTER PLATES. Pewter vessels began to spread through Europe in the 16th century when the tin mines became more fully exploited. In the 17th century they were most commonly found in the homes of peasants, laborers, craftsmen, and middle class merchants. At that time also, pewter vessels spread to Jewish homes in Western and Eastern Europe, both among the working classes and the middle classes. Only a few of the wealthy could afford to use silver, glass, or crystal plates, and Jews in distant villages in Eastern Europe and the impoverished Jewish town dwellers continued to use pottery and wooden dishes. The smooth surface of pewter and its malleability appealed to the artist. The non-Jewish artist decorated pewter plates with subjects taken from Greek mythology, Christianity, and the Old and New Testaments; and the Jewish artist drew his inspiration from his own world, from Jewish tradition, Jewish life, and biblical stories. On the Passover *seder* plate, he depicted scenes such as members of a Jewish family reclining at the *seder* table, the Paschal sacrifice, the sages reclining at Bene Berak, and the four sons of the *Haggadah*. A tradition of Jewish wooden plates apparently preceded the pewter, as a 15th-century plate from Germany has been discovered. The origin of the Passover *seder* plate can be traced through the dress and appearance of the reclining figures. The edge of the plate was generally decorated with Passover symbols, such as the order of the *seder* ceremony – the washing of the hands, etc. – or there were designs of the zodiac and various plants and animals of symbolic significance. Most Jewish pewter plates are full of self-expression, charm, and individuality. Pewter plates were also used for the Purim gift offerings (*mishlo'aḥ manot*). These were decorated with illustrations and quotations from the Book of Esther. Mordecai was depicted riding on the king's horse which was inscribed with the Hebrew passage, "and of sending portions one to the other" (Esth. 9:22), and the plate often bore the Pisces sign of the zodiac, the sign of the month of Adar. There were pewter plates for *Havdalah*, bearing the *Havdalah* benedictions. They often showed a Jew performing the *Havdalah* ceremony with his family. These illustrations are based on those in *minhagim* books and illuminated manuscripts. There are certainly pewter plates for *Kiddush*, showing the father of the house making the blessing over the wine, with the whole family sitting around the Sabbath table, but many of these have been lost. Though these pewter plates served their various purposes, throughout the year they decorated the Jewish home, adding to the Jewish sentiment and atmosphere. There were also plates which were mainly intended to adorn the Jewish home. The most popular subjects for these were biblical stories such as, for example, the selling of Joseph, and this too was common in Persia. The Hebrew letter was also improved upon through the decorating of pewter plates as it had been neglected to a great extent after the invention of printing. In the late 18th century, pewter vessels were replaced by earthenware and glass, which began to spread through Europe. These were easier to clean, shinier, and more suited to the tastes of the Rococo and later periods.

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[Yizhak Einhorn]

PEYREHORADE (Heb. פינייא אוראדה), town in Landes department, S.W. France. A number of Marranos established themselves in Peyrehorade, at the latest by 1597. Under the name "Portuguese merchants," they formed a community around 1628, when they acquired a plot of land for a cemetery. In 1648, when a partial expulsion was decreed, there were 42 Jewish families (about 200 persons) in the town. In about 1700 only about 15 families remained there. Subsequently the number of Jews evidently increased because in 1747 the community, which from then on is openly referred to as Jewish, acquired a second site for a cemetery. The existence of a synagogue is confirmed about 1728 (at the latest, 1747). The community, by then well organized, had its own butchery and a ritual bath (*mikveh*), and supported three societies, the Sedaca, concerned with charitable activities, the Hebera, responsible for burial of the dead, and the Yesiba, dedicated to study. The Jews of Peyrehorade played an active role in the French Revolution. When the consistories were created, the community was at first attached to Bordeaux and later to Bayonne. In 1826 a third cemetery was acquired, which was also used by the Jews of the surrounding areas. (In 1970 all three cemeteries were still in existence.) From 1826 Jews began to leave the town, and the synagogue was sold in 1898, its furnishings being later removed to the synagogues of Biarritz and Bayonne. A few Jews were still living in Peyrehorade at the outbreak of World War II.

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[Bernhard Blumenkranz]

PEZINOK (Slovak **Pezinok**; Hung. **Bazín**; Ger. **Poesing**, **Boesing**), town in Slovakia (part of Czechoslovakia 1918–1991; since then the Slovak Republic). In 1450 Jews were permitted to live in Pezinok, which was inhabited by Germans and Slovaks. In 1529 Counts Wolfang and George von Pezinok and St. George, who were heavily in debt to Jews, began to imprison local Jews. When the mutilated body of a young boy was found, it was deemed an act of Jewish ritual murder. The imprisoned Jews were tortured in the main square until they confessed to the murder and other crimes. On May 21, 1529, some 30 men, women, and children were burned at the stake. Only children under 10 were pardoned and were converted to Christianity. The pardon granted to the victims by Emperor Ferdinand I reached them late. Jews were prohibited to live in Pezinok or even spend a night. In 1540 the Protestant reformer Andreas *Osiander published a booklet repudiating the Pezinok blood libels and incriminating the count who started it. The booklet was attacked by Johann Eck and repudiated by Martin *Luther.

In 1609 the counts of the Palffy family allowed Jews to settle on their land and in Cajla (Zeile). They allowed them to build a synagogue and to lead a communal life. The prohibition to live in Pezinok, except for the Palffy estates, continued until 1840; the community prospered but was forced to pay a "toleration tax." In 1843 a German-language private school was opened; in 1856 it was taken over by the Jewish community. In 1874 a new synagogue was built; it was destroyed in 1958.

In 1781 there were 88 Jews on the Palffy estate. The census of 1785/87 lists 304 Jews. In 1830, there were 220; in 1840 there were 271; in 1850 there were 280. In 1857 there were 540. In 1880 there were 321 Jews in Pezinok; in 1919, 359; in 1930, 418; and in 1940, on the eve of the deportations, the Jewish community numbered 235.

In spite of the economic prosperity and flourishing communal life (after the 1868 Hungarian Jewish Congress, the community chose the Orthodox path), the Jews were on shaky ground. In 1848–49, during the Spring of Nations, anti-Jewish disturbances swept the city. In 1918, at the end of the World War I, antisemitic demonstrations, abuse, and looting hit parts of Slovakia. Czechoslovak troops (the Legions) rescued the Jews of Pezinok and helped recover some of their property.

Between the wars, Jewish communal life flourished, although the congregation was sometimes unable to pay its employees. The congregation had a variety of social, philanthropic, and religious installations. The Zionist movement and the Jewish party were active in Pezinok.

Everything changed after March 14, 1939, with the proclamation of Slovak independence. German SS units entered Pezinok. On May 18 the Hlinka Guard (the Slovak Storm Troopers) assembled Jewish men in the synagogue, forcing them to demolish it and destroy the holy books. Jews were attacked in the streets and in their apartments. They were subjected to discriminatory legislation – their property was appropriated by gentiles and their belongings were legally looted.

In 1941 there were 175 Jews. In the summer of 1942, the Jews were deported to Auschwitz. German troops blew up the ancient cemetery, and the pulverized tombs were used as gravel in highway construction. The Germans used the empty space to train their dogs. Only a lapidarium was left to symbolize the former cemetery.

Few Pezinok Jews returned. In 1947 there were 45 Jews. Sixteen local Jews participated in the anti-Nazi struggle. After 1948–49 most of the Jews emigrated, largely to Israel.

Maurice *Loewy, the French astronomer, member of the French Academy and for a time its president, was born in Pezinok.

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[Yeshayahu Jelinek (2nd ed.)]

PFEFFER, LEO (1910–1993), U.S. professor of constitutional law and constitutional lawyer. Pfeffer, who was born in Hungary, the son of an Orthodox rabbi, was taken to the U.S. in 1912. He studied law at New York University and practiced privately from 1933 to 1945, when he accepted a position on the legal staff of the Commission of Law and Social Action, the legal and political arm of the *American Jewish Congress. In 1947 he became assistant-director of the Commission and in 1957 its director, as well as general counsel of the American Jewish Congress. In 1964 Pfeffer became special counsel of the Congress. From 1965 to 1980, he became professor of constitutional law and chairman of the political science department at Long Island University. He co-founded the Lawyers Constitutional Defense Committee (which later became part of the American Civil Liberties Union), an organization formed to provide legal services in defense of civil rights.

A noted lecturer on constitutional issues, Pfeffer was recognized as a specialist in the area of church-state relations and religious liberty. He participated as counsel in numerous cases decided by the U.S. Supreme Court and other of the nation's appellate courts involving these issues. Pfeffer's writings include: *Church, State and Freedom* (1967^2); *The Liberties of an American* (1963^2); *Creeds in Competition* (1958; with Anson Phelps Stokes); *Church and State in the U.S.* (1964); and *This Honourable Court* (1965).

[Julius J. Marcke]

PFEFFERKORN, JOHANNES (**Joseph**; 1469–after 1521), apostate and anti-Jewish agitator. Originally from Moravia, Pfefferkorn claimed to have been educated by a relative, Meir Pfefferkorn, a *dayyan* in Prague. A butcher by profession, he was convicted of burglary and theft, but released on payment of a fine. After his release, at the age of 36, he and his wife and children were converted to Christianity in Cologne (c. 1504), where he found employment. He put himself under the protection of the *Dominicans, who were quick to make use of him in their campaign against the Jews and their literature. Between 1507 and 1509 Pfefferkorn wrote a number of anti-Jewish tracts: *Judenspiegel* ("Jews' Mirror"), in which, incidentally, he spoke out against the *blood libel; *Judenbeichte* ("Jewish Confession"); *Osterbuch* ("Passover Book"); and *Judenfeind* ("Enemy of the Jews"). All were also published almost simultaneously in Latin translation. The treatises certainly betrayed a thoroughgoing ignorance of rabbinic literature. Pfefferkorn demanded the suppression of the Talmud; prohibition of usury; forced attendance at *Sermons to Jews (longstanding Dominican objectives); expulsion of the Jews from the last German cities which had sizable Jewish communities – *Frankfurt, *Worms, and *Regensburg – unless such attendance took place (they were in fact expelled from Regensburg in 1519); and their employment in the most menial tasks only.

Through the influence of Emperor Maximilian's pious sister Kunigunde, and the support of the Cologne Dominicans, Pfefferkorn gained access to the emperor and in 1509 was empowered by him to confiscate any offending Jewish books, including prayer books, with the exception of the Bible. The confiscations took place on Friday, Sept. 8, 1509, in Frankfurt and subsequently in Mainz, Bingen, and other German cities. When the archbishop of Mainz, the Frankfurt city council, and various German princes intervened on behalf of the Jews, Pfefferkorn addressed a petition to the emperor (*Zu Lob und Ere* – "In Praise and Honor," 1510, also in Latin) in defense of his cause. Though the vacillating emperor ordered the return of the confiscated books, six weeks later, on May 23, 1510, he was apparently influenced by an alleged *Host desecration and blood libel at *Brandenburg, and under pressure from his sister, he ordered the appointment of an investigating commission.

The Pfefferkorn-Reuchlin Controversy

The commission was headed by the archbishop of Mainz, who appealed to theological faculties of Cologne, Erfurt, Heidelberg, and the famous scholar and humanist Johannes *Reuchlin, whose aid Pfefferkorn had tried in vain to enlist earlier. Pfefferkorn was to communicate the results to the emperor. When Pfefferkorn learned that Reuchlin's opinion would be favorable to the Talmud he assailed him in his *Handspiegel wider und gegen die Juden* ("Hand Mirror," 1511). Reuchlin replied in his *Augenspiegel* ("Eye-glass," 1511), strongly attacking Pfefferkorn and his backers, and thereby starting one of the great literary controversies of history, in reality a battle between the reactionary and the liberal parties within the Church. It occurred at a time when the tide of humanism was rising, and most German humanists rallied to Reuchlin's side. Erasmus, the Rotterdam humanist, though not exerting himself on Reuchlin's behalf, termed Pfefferkorn "a criminal Jew who had become a most criminal Christian." In September 1511 Pfefferkorn preached against the *Augenspiegel* outside a Frankfurt church, but the main battle was now fought between Reuchlin and the Cologne theologians. When the emperor visited Cologne in 1512, Reuchlin's enemies obtained from him an interdiction against the *Augenspiegel*, and in the same year Pfefferkorn issued his *Brandspiegel* ("Burning Glass"), an even more vituperative attack on Reuchlin and the Jews. Reuchlin submitted a further defense; the emperor imposed silence on both sides in June 1513.

The conflict echoed in the papal court and Pope Leo x set up a special ecclesiastical tribunal at Speyer to deal with the matter (November 1513). The judgment of March 1514, favorable to Reuchlin, was torn down by Pfefferkorn in Cologne, and in the same year he published a further tract, *Die Sturmglocke* ("Alarm Bell"); however, he was taken to task for breaking the silence imposed by the emperor. A scandal connected with another apostate named Rapp was used by Ulrich van Hutten, Crotus Rubianus, and other supporters of Reuchlin to discredit Pfefferkorn and in 1516 they issued the *Epistolae Obscurorum Virorum* ("Letters of Obscure Men"), a virulent but effective satire on Pfefferkorn, the Dominicans, and all they stood for. In retaliation Pfefferkorn published his defense (*Beschirmung…*, 1516, also in Latin) and a further attack on Reuchlin (*Streibuechlein* – "Polemic") in the same year. In 1520 the pope finally decided against Reuchlin, though by this time the proceedings were so far removed from the original controversy against Jewish literature that the decision did not interfere with David *Bomberg's first printing of the Talmud, then in process in Venice. Pfefferkorn fired his last triumphant shot in 1521 with *Eine Mitleidige Clag* ("A Pitiful Complaint"), which Graetz describes as the most impudent and obscene of all his lampoons, and for which the printer, but not the author, was imprisoned. The outpourings from the other side were equally intemperate. Though his opponents were exaggerating somewhat when they described Pfefferkorn as a complete ignoramus, his knowledge of Jewish sources was minimal and his acquaintance with Latin nonexistent. Leading historians have come to the conclusion that Pfefferkorn received substantial help in the preparation of his treatises from his Dominican mentors. The effect of the episode was to bring about a considerable decline in the prestige of the Church. As S. Baron has pointed out, it was not merely by coincidence that Martin *Luther promulgated his thesis in 1517, at the height of the Pfefferkorn-Reuchlin controversy. The name Pfefferkorn became proverbial for unprincipled denigrators of their own origin and faith.

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°**PFEIFFER, ROBERT HENRY** (1892–1958), U.S. Protestant Bible scholar and Assyriologist. Pfeiffer taught at Harvard University from 1922, after serving in the ministry of the Methodist Church from 1916 to 1919. He directed the Harvard-Baghdad School excavations at Nuzi, Iraq (from 1928), and from 1931 served as curator of the Harvard Semitic Museum.

Pfeiffer is mainly known for his *Introduction to the Old Testament* (1941, 1952^2) and its sequel *History of New Testament Times, With an Introduction to the Apocrypha* (1949). These works and his *The Books of the Old Testament* (1957) show a marked influence of his major professors at Harvard, George Foot Moore and William R. Arnold. It was the influence of the latter and the writings of A. Klostermann that led him to isolate the earliest Hebrew historical source that includes II Samuel 9–20 and I Kings 1–2, published as *The Hebrew Iliad* with general and chapter introductions by William G. Pollard, and to claim that the priest Ahimaaz, the biographer of David, was "the father of history," history being defined as a narrative of past events dominated by great ideas. Pfeiffer's works in the field of Assyriology included *The Archives of Shilwateshub* (1932); *Excavations at Nuzi*, volumes 2 (1933) and 4 (with E.R. Lacheman, 1942); *One Hundred New Selected Nuzi Texts* (with E.A. *Speiser, 1936); and *State Letters of Assyria* (1935).

Pfeiffer wrote a number of papers on literary, philological, and historical critical problems of the Bible. His comments on New Testament subjects followed the methodology of his teaching, which was distinguished by a traditional Christian approach. He was editor of the *Journal of Biblical Literature*, 1943–47.

[Zev Garber]

PFORZHEIM, city in Baden, Germany. The first reference to the presence of Jews dates from the 13th century. In 1267 the discovery of the corpse of a drowned girl gave rise to a *blood libel against the Jewish community, and their communal leaders were killed. Their martyrdom was extolled in religious verse and the day of their death (20th Tammuz) set aside as a fast day. The community was almost annihilated during the *Black Death persecutions of 1349. In the 15th century a few **Schutzjuden* lived in Pforzheim. In the early 16th century J. *Reuchlin, the renowned humanist, intervened on behalf of the Jews of Pforzheim with Margrave Philip I (1479–1533). Expelled with all the Jews of *Baden in 1614, they returned in 1670. The handful of Jewish families in Pforzheim in the 18th century dealt mainly in cattle, leather, and cloth. Prior to 1812, worship was conducted in a private home, but in that year a synagogue was built. It remained in use until 1893, when a new synagogue was built, later renovated in 1930. A cemetery was consecrated in 1846 and a school founded in 1832. The community increased from 101 in 1801 to 287 in 1875 and continued to grow, in part due to the flourishing jewelry industry; by 1900 it had reached 535, and by 1927 around 1,000. By June 1933 the Jewish population had fallen to 770 (1.1% of the total population). In the 20th century Jews were important in the financial and industrial life of the city. With the rise of Nazism, Jewish enterprises were boycotted and the community was further depleted through emigration, largely to the U.S. and Ereẓ Israel. On Nov. 10, 1938, the synagogue was desecrated and partly demolished. One hundred and eighty-three Jews were deported to the *Gurs concentration camp on Oct. 22, 1940; 21 returned after the war. They were affiliated with the *Karlsruhe community and possessed a new cemetery. A memorial was erected in 1967 on the site of the synagogue. In 1976 there were 120 Jews in the city. In 1994 a Jewish community was founded in Pforzheim, which numbered 434 in 2004. The majority of the members are immigrants from the former Soviet Union. A new community center functioned from 2006.

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[Larissa Daemmig (2nd ed.)]

PFORZHEIMER, CARL HOWARD (1879–1957), U.S. businessman, public servant, and bibliophile. Pforzheimer, who was born in New York City, established in 1901 a brokerage business that became well known for its underwriting of oil securities at a time when the U.S. financial community generally regarded such issues as a poor risk. Active in Westchester County public affairs, he served as chairman of the Westchester County Emergency Work Bureau (1931–35); the Westchester County Commission on Government, whose work subsequently led to the promulgation of Westchester's Home Rule Charter; and the Westchester County Planning Commission. Pforzheimer was a trustee of the Jewish Publication Society of America and of Montefiore Hospital, and a supporter of the Jewish Division of the New York Public Library. He was a rare-book and manuscript collector who assembled one of the finest private collections in the U.S. (including a Gutenberg Bible). Pforzheimer compiled a three-volume catalog of his collection for scholarly use.

PHALSBOURG, little town in Moselle department, N.E. France. Between 1680 and 1691, Louis XIV's minister, Louvois, authorized two Jewish families to settle there; these increased to four in 1702, eight in 1747, and 12 in 1770; on several occasions they were threatened with expulsion. Two Jews acquired merchants' licenses in 1768 and this right was ratified by the Conseil d'Etat. The synagogue was erected in 1772 and rebuilt in 1857; the cemetery dates from 1796. From 1807 until around 1920 Phalsbourg was the seat of a rabbinate (which also served the neighboring communities of Sarrebourg, Mittelbronn, Lixheim, etc.) whose incumbents included Mayer Heyman (1827–37), the model for the Reb-Sichel of Erckmann-Chatrian, and Lazare *Isidor (1837–47), future chief rabbi of France. From the close of the 19th century the Jewish population decreased from 159 in 1880, to 89 in 1931, and 48 in 1970. During World War II, nine Jews of Phalsbourg died when they were being deported and two were shot.

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[Gilbert Cahen]

PHARAOH. The Egyptian expression *per aʿo* ("the Great House"), transcribed and vocalized *pirʿu* in Akkadian and *parʿo* in Hebrew, did not originally designate the king of Egypt, but rather his palace, and was used in this sense in Egyptian texts until the middle of the 18th dynasty (c. 1575–1308 B.C.E.). Circumlocutions were frequently used to specify the king in the texts of the 18th dynasty, and during the reign of the great conqueror and empire-builder, Thutmosis II (c. 1490–1436 B.C.E.), *per aʿo*, i.e., the palace, began to appear as another such designation, just as in more modern times "The Sublime Porte" meant the Turkish sultan. The Egyptian texts never used this designation, however, as part of the official titulary of the king, although from the 22nd dynasty on (c. 945–730 B.C.E.), it was regularly added, in popular speech, to the king's personal name. In the non-Egyptian sources, particularly in the Bible where it occurs not infrequently, Pharaoh always means the king of Egypt, although frequently the earlier usage, without the addition of the king's personal name, is followed. Attempts have been made by modern scholarship to identify the Pharaoh of the oppression and of the Exodus with various rulers of the 19th dynasty, but unanimous consensus on the identity has not yet been reached.

[Alan Richard Schulman]

PHARAOH AND THE EGYPTIANS IN THE AGGADAH

Influence of Jews' Experience in Roman Egypt

Rabbinic references to the biblical Egyptians are almost invariably hostile and they are probably strongly colored by the unfortunate experiences of the Jews in Roman Egypt. Ancient Alexandria was the birthplace of racial antisemitism and the scene of major pogroms in 38, 66, and 116–117 C.E. Egyptian Jewry outside of Alexandria was massacred toward the end of Trajan's reign. The Egyptians, even more than the Greeks, were, according to Josephus, the Jews' bitterest enemies and the originators of the worst libels against them.

The rabbis, accordingly, depicted the ancient Egyptians as uniformly evil and depraved – ugly both in appearance and character. Thus, when Abraham approached Egypt, he is said to have warned Sarah that Egypt was a center of sexual immorality (Sifra 7:11, end; Jos., Ant., 1:162). Moreover, Abraham pointed out, they were entering "a country whose inhabitants are ugly and black" (Gen. R. 40:4), evidently a reflection of the racial contempt harbored by the relatively fair-skinned Semites for the darkskinned Hamites.

When Pharaoh, "this wicked man" (Tanḥ. B., Gen. 33), took Sarah for himself, he was, according to the Midrash, duly informed by her that she was a married woman; but this did not deter him from trying to seduce her (Gen. R. 41:2). He was, however, whipped by an angel and stricken with leprosy.

Leper Motif

Leprosy figures repeatedly in the punishments inflicted or threatened on the Egyptians. The Pharaoh of the oppression became a leper and sought to cure himself by bathing in the blood of Hebrew children specially slain for this purpose (Ex. R. 1:34). Also, the Egyptian people were smitten with leprosy along with the inflammation of boils (*ibid.* 11:6). The leper motif was probably a literary vengeance for the Egyptian calumny that the Israelites of the Exodus were lepers (Jos., Apion, 1:229, 233ff., 305ff.), while the slaughter of the Hebrew children in Egypt evidently alludes to the atrocities committed in the course of the Jewish uprising and its suppression in 116–117 C.E.

Potiphar's Wife

Not surprisingly, Potiphar's wife becomes, in rabbinic literature, the seductress par excellence, a shameless, wicked woman (Ruth R. 6:1), who behaved "like an animal," was willing to murder her husband (Gen. R. 87:4–5), and went to fantastic lengths to win Joseph's love (Yoma 35b; Sot 36b).

Potiphar and Pharaoh

Even Potiphar, who according to the biblical account, bestowed many favors upon Joseph, as well as the Pharaoh who raised the Hebrew prisoner to the position of vizier and welcomed his family to Egypt, are treated by the rabbis with disdain and even outright hostility. Potiphar, "an Egyptian – a cunning man" (Gen. R. 86:3), had purchased Joseph for the purpose of sodomy, and was appropriately punished by castration (Sot. 13b). He was not even justified in having Joseph imprisoned, despite his wife's accusations, for he knew Joseph to be innocent, and, indeed, told him so (Gen. R. 87:9). When Joseph became ruler of Egypt, he sentenced his former master to lifelong imprisonment (Mid. Ps. to 105:7).

Pharaoh and Judah

Pharaoh, repeatedly consigned by the Midrash among "the wicked" (Gen. R. 89:4), was said to have been charged by Judah with making false promises and indulging in pederasty, and in his anger Judah threatened to kill both Joseph and Pharaoh and, indeed, to destroy all Egypt (*ibid.* 93:6). Judah's furious threats no doubt personify and reflect the savage fighting in Egypt and Cyrene during the Jewish rising in 116/117 C.E.

Pharaoh and Joseph

Even Joseph had scant respect for his royal benefactor. Whenever he wanted to make a false oath, he would swear in Pharaoh's name (Gen R. 91:7). When presenting some of his brothers to Pharaoh (Gen. 47:2), Joseph chose the weakest among them in order to avoid having them drafted into Egyptian military service. This Midrash seems to reflect rabbinic opposition to Jewish mercenaries who for centuries had been serving Egypt's rulers.

Oppression and Enslavement of the Hebrews

In line with the anti-Egyptian attitude of the rabbis, the Pharaoh of the oppression was depicted by some as identical with the Pharaoh of Joseph's time. He was not "new" (Ex. 1:8), only his anti-Israelite decrees were new. It was not that "he knew not Joseph" but in his ingratitude he deliberately ignored the fact that Joseph had ever existed, and he gratuitously initiated the persecution of the Hebrews (Sot. 11a). Thus, even the best of the Pharaohs who had promoted Joseph and invited the Israelites to settle in Egypt, turned out to be a wicked rogue.

According to one rabbinic view, however, the initiative to oppress and enslave the Hebrews was taken not by Pharaoh himself but by his Egyptian subjects. At first he opposed this plan on the grounds that "were it not for Joseph we would not be alive"; but the Egyptians deposed him, restoring him after three months on the express condition that he would do as they wished (Ex. R. 1:8). This interesting interpretation was probably designed to justify the severe punishment of the Egyptian people.

Having cunningly enslaved the Israelites, Pharaoh imposed on them increasingly onerous tasks, often endangering their lives, and brutally burning or immuring infants and even adults in unfinished buildings whenever the Israelites failed to complete their work quota (Sot. 11a–b; Ex. R. 1:10–11, 18:9).

Casting of Hebrew Infants into River

The decree to cast the infants into the river (Ex. 1:22) applied to the Egyptians, too, because Pharaoh was misled by his astrologers who were not sure whether the savior of Israel would be a Hebrew or an Egyptian (Sot. 12a), a legend which must have been influenced by the Egyptian stories that Moses was an Egyptian. The Hebrew girls who were to be spared were meant to be reserved to satisfy the sexual appetites of the Egyptians (Ex. R. 1:18).

Egyptian Immorality

Pharaoh is also charged with having claimed divine honors for himself (*ibid.* 8:12; Tanh. B., Ex. 16) – a normal practice among Egyptian rulers down to Roman times – and with an attempt to seduce the Hebrew midwives (Ex. R. 1:15).

Egyptian immorality is a constantly recurring theme in rabbinic literature, due presumably to actual observation of the contemporary Egyptian scene. The killing of the Egyptian taskmaster by Moses (Ex. 2:12) was justified by the rabbis on the grounds that the Egyptian had violated the wife of the Hebrew slave and, having been detected by her husband, was on the point of beating him to death (Ex. R. 1:28; Lev. R. 32:4; cf. Targ. Ps-Jon., Lev. 24:10). Even when the Egyptians were pursuing the Israelites into the Red Sea, they were like "inflamed stallions" driven on by expectations of sexual orgies.

Only Pharaoh's daughter who rescued Moses from the river is given favorable treatment, and her bathing in the river is interpreted as ritual immersion for the purpose of proselytization (Sot. 12b; Ex. R. 1:23). Although a firstborn, she was saved because of Moses' prayer (Ex. R. 18:3).

Legend of Moses' Taking Pharaoh's Crown

The legend of the infant Moses taking Pharaoh's crown and placing it on his own head (Ex. R. 1:26, et al.) apparently alludes, not as is commonly believed, to the plagues that Moses was to bring on Egypt, but to the messianic redemption when the kingdoms of the gentiles – including that of the Egyptians – would disappear. Significantly, an early Midrash predicts that all the plagues of Egypt would be repeated in Rome (Tanḥ. B., Ex. 15b, 22a–b).

Moses' Treatment of Pharaoh

Despite Pharaoh's overweening arrogance, Moses was commanded by God to treat him with the deference and respect due to a king (Ex. R. 7:3), a widely current political concept promoted by those rabbis who favored cooperation with the Roman authorities as being ultimately in the best interests of the Jews. Nevertheless, Pharaoh cut a sorry figure during the Exodus when he was thoroughly humbled, being compelled to look for Moses and Aaron at night, mocked and derided by the Hebrew children, and begging Moses to take the Israelites out of Egypt (Mekh., Bo, 13; Tanh. B., Ex. 26). This humiliation as well as the ten plagues and the drowning of the Egyptian host in the Red Sea were, however, well-deserved.

Depiction of Plague of Firstborn

The plague of the firstborn, in particular, is depicted in lurid colors. None could escape, for even the lowest classes hated the Hebrews and desired their humiliation and persecution (Mekh., Bo, 13: Tanh. B., Ex. 22). Only those Egyptians who joined the "mixed multitude" (Ex. 12:38), celebrated the Passover with the Israelites, and left Egypt with them, were saved from the plague (Ex. R. 18:10).

Jewish animosity toward the Egyptians found eloquent expression in the Passover *Haggadah*, where the plagues which befell the Egyptians – both in Egypt and at the Red Sea – were homiletically multiplied many times over (cf. Mekh., Amalek, 2; Ex. R. 23:9).

Conciliatory Spirit of Later Rabbis

In the light of such bitter Egyptian-Jewish enmity, it is all the more remarkable that within little more than a century after the bloodbath of Egyptian Jewry, R. Jonathan, a fervently patriotic rabbi, is reported to have said that when the ministering angels wished to chant a song of praise before God at the time when the Israelites were saved at the Red Sea, He rebuked them, saying, "The work of my hands [the Egyptians] is drowning in the sea, and you want to chant a song before me!" (Sanh. 39b; Meg. 10b). Although the parallel versions in the Palestinian Midrashim (Ex. R. 23:7; Tanh. B. II, 60; Mid. Ps. to 106:2) transfer God's concern from the Egyptians to Israel, it appears that R. Jonathan's statement, as preserved in the Babylonian Talmud, is the original version. Indeed one of the reasons for which, on Passover, the entire *Hallel* is recited only on the first day is that on the seventh day the Egyptians were drowned (PdRK 189). In the same conciliatory spirit, some rabbis believed that Pharaoh was not drowned in the Red Sea, but lived to become king of Nineveh and lead the people in repentance in response to Jonah's warning (PdRE 43; Mekh., Be-shallaḥ, 6; cf. Jonah 3:4ff.).

[Moses Aberbach]

IN ISLAM

Pharaoh of the *Koran is the king who oppressed the people of Israel in *Egypt; Musā (*Moses) and Hārūn (*Aaron) negotiated with him. In accordance with the counsel of his advisors, among them Hāmān, Pharaoh ordered that all male children be killed (Sura 2:46; 7:137). Āsiya, the wife of Pharaoh, adopted Moses, who had been found in an ark (28:9). Pharaoh believed that he was god and therefore ordered Hāmān to erect a tower which would reach the heavens, thereby enabling him to wage war against the god of Moses (28:38; 40:38). He severely penalized those who returned to God, including his righteous wife (7:111; 26:45). A description of the mission of Moses and Aaron is found in Humayya's. Several conversations which Moses and Aaron had with Pharaoh are given in the *Koran. There is a great degree of similarity in content between Humayya's description and the dialogue of Sura 20:49–56. Pharaoh conspired to kill Moses (Sura 26:33). One of the believers, who is not mentioned by name, attempted to save Moses (40:29). The unbelieving wives of the believers Noah and Lot are contrasted with Pharaoh's wife, who unlike her husband, was a believer (66:10–11). When Pharaoh saw his people drowning in the sea, he repented and believed in Allah (10:90–92).

Indeed, it is not explicitly stated in the Book of Exodus that Pharaoh drowned; this can be deduced from Psalms 136:15. Therefore, there is a suggestion in the *aggadah* that Pharaoh was saved. Humayya, however, knew that Allah did not take notice of Pharaoh's prayer and that he drowned (34:19). This view also appears in Muslim legend. After Pharaoh asked to repent, Gabriel closed Pharaoh's mouth with the mud of the sea, thus making him unable to repeat the verse: "I believe that there is no god but He in whom the people of Israel believe" (10:90). Muslim legends greatly influenced later Jewish *aggadah*. *Muhammad obviously was confused concerning Āsiya, since she plays the same role in the Koran as Pharaoh's daughter does in the Bible. Pharaoh was very cruel to her because she was an Israelite. Various stories are related about her death: she was cast down upon a rock; Pharaoh whipped her to death, but she did not feel the pain.

[Haïm Z'ew Hirschberg]

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PHARISEES (Heb. פְּרוּשִׁים, *Perushim*), a Jewish religious and political party or sect during the Second Temple period which emerged as a distinct group shortly after the Hasmonean revolt, about 165–160 B.C.E. They were probably successors of the Hasideans (or *Ḥasidim), an earlier Jewish sect which promoted the observance of Jewish ritual and the study of the Torah. The Pharisees considered themselves the traditional followers of Ezra, whom they cherished, after Moses, as the founder of Judaism, maintaining the validity of the Oral Law as well as of the Torah as the source of their religion. They tried to adapt old codes to new conditions, believed in a combination of free will and predestination, in the resurrection of the dead, and in recompense for this life in the next. At first relatively small in number, the Pharisees came to represent, by the first century C.E., the religious beliefs, practices, and social attitudes of the vast majority of the Jewish people. They attempted to imbue the masses with a spirit of holiness, based on a scrupulous observance of the Torah, by spreading traditional religious teaching. So greatly did the religious values prevail over the political in the Pharisaic framework that, in contrast to the *Zealots, they were willing to submit to foreign domination – so long as it did not interfere with their inner way of life – rather than support an impious government of their own.

Origin of the Name

The meaning of the word "Pharisee" is uncertain. It is generally believed that the name derives from a Hebrew stem, *parash* ("to be separated"), hence "Pharisee" would mean "the separated ones" or the "separatists" (cf. Kid. 66a, where this meaning is clearly implied). According to some scholars, "Pharisee" would mean "those who are set apart", i.e., avoiding contact with others for reasons of ritual purity, or those who "separated themselves" from the heathens (Gal. 2:12ff.) and from the heathenizing tendencies and forces in their own nations, such as the *Sadducees.

History of the Pharisees

The Pharisees' first bid for power was made in a period two centuries after the Babylonian exile during the struggle to remove the Temple and religious control from the sole leadership of the aristocratic Sadducees. The inception of the synagogue worship traced to this time is seen as an attempt by the Pharisees to undermine the privileged authority exercised by the Sadducees. Ceremonies originally part of the Temple cult were carried over to the home, and learned men of non-priestly descent began to play an important role in national religious affairs. While the priesthood exhausted itself in the round of Temple ritual, the Pharisees found their main function in teaching and preaching the law of God.

The conflict between the lay and priestly factions of the supreme council and tribunal, the Sanhedrin, regarding the interpretation of the Torah when decisions were required on questions arising in daily life, gave the Pharisees the opportunity to incorporate popular customs and traditions into the Temple cult and the religious life of the people. In general, the Pharisees admitted the validity of an evolutionary and non-literal approach toward the legal decisions and regarded the legal framework of the Oral Law as equally valid as the Written Law. A serious conflict eventually developed between the Pharisees and the Sadducees over the approach to these problems, and two distinct parties emerged, with theological differences entangled with politics. The antagonism between Pharisees and Sadducees extended to many spheres outside the religious domain and eventually became a fundamental and distinctive one. Under John Hyrcanus, the Pharisees were expelled from membership in the Sanhedrin and branded with the name *Perushim*, "the separated ones." They took the name as their own, but used its alternate Hebrew meaning, "the exponents" of the law. Pharisaic strongholds of learning were later founded by such "exponents" as Shammai and Hillel, and Ishmael and Akiva.

By the time of the Hasmonean revolt, it had become evident that the Pharasaic theological doctrines were giving utterance to the hopes of the oppressed masses and affecting the entire life of the Jews. This hope was especially seen in doctrines which included belief in the resurrection of the dead, the Day of Judgment, reward and retribution in the life after death, the coming of the Messiah, and the existence of angels, and also divine foreknowledge along with man's free choice of, and therefore responsibility for, his deeds. These beliefs touched on the theological foundations of life.

Concept of God

Based on the sayings of the prophets, the Pharisees conceived of God as an omnipotent spiritual Being, all-wise, all-knowing, all-just, and all-merciful. They taught that God loved all His creatures and asked man to walk in His ways, to act justly, and to love kindness. Though all-knowing and omnipotent, God endowed man with the power to choose between good and evil. He created in him two impulses, a good one and a bad, advised him to do good, and gave him the Torah as a guide. Since God was transcendent, He could not be comprehended in anthropomorphic terms, nor could His totality of being be designated with a name. Several terms were used merely to describe some attributes of God. The Pharisees spoke of God as "The Creator of the World" (*Bore Olam*), "the Place" (*Ha-Makom*), "the Divine Presence" (*Shekhinah*), and so forth.

Free Will and Divine Retribution

In opposition to the Sadducean belief that God took little cognizance of and little interest in human affairs, the Pharisees held that everything in the world was ordained by God, but that man had it in his power to choose between good and evil. Although "fate does not cooperate in every action," and although God could determine man's choice of conduct, He left the choice open to man himself. In talmudic reports the followers of the Pharisees declare, "Everything is in the hands of God but the fear of God" (Ber. 33b), and although "everything is foreseen, yet freedom of choice is given" (Avot 3:16). As the Talmud puts it, "If man chooses to do good, the heavenly powers help him. If he chooses to do evil, they leave the way open to him" (Shab. 104a). This belief in man's responsibility for his actions led to the Pharisaic doctrine of divine retribution. For the Pharisees, man would be rewarded or punished in the next life according to his conduct. This belief in divine retribution also rests on the more basic idea that man's existence is not limited to this life alone.

Resurrection

According to the Talmud and the New Testament, the Pharisees believed in the resurrection of the dead. This belief in another world makes possible the belief in divine justice in the face of apparent injustices on earth. Ideas of immortality and resurrection are generally attributed to Greek or Persian origins, yet to the Pharisees it was a genuine Jewish belief based on passages in the Torah.

Place of the Torah

For the Pharisees, the Torah God gave to Moses consisted of the Written and the Oral Law, and both were truth. The divine revelations in the first five books of Moses were supplemented and explained by the prophets and the unwritten tradition, and were intended to guide men in the right way of life. The Torah, they felt, was the center of their teachings and sufficient for all men and all times. Their view of the law was that its commandments were to be interpreted in conformity with the standard and interpretation of the rabbis of each generation, and to be made to harmonize with advanced ideas. Therefore, when a precept was outgrown, it was to be given a more acceptable meaning, so that it would harmonize with the truth resulting from God-given reason. The law must be understood according to the interpretation of the teachers who are endowed with God-given reason to do so. When the letter of the law seemed to oppose conscience, it was to be taken, accordingly, in its spirit. The Mosaic law of "an eye for an eye", for instance, was interpreted to refer to monetary compensation and not retaliation. The Pharisees generated a ramified system of hermeneutics and found no great difficulty in harmonizing Torah teachings with their advanced ideas, or in finding their ideas implied or hinted at in the words of the Torah. It was due to this progressive tendency, therefore, that the Pharisaic interpretation of Judaism continued to develop and remain a vital force in Jewry.

For discussion of the evolution of the Oral Law and its relation to the Torah, see *Oral Law and *Talmud.

Synagogue Worship

The Pharisees believed that, since God was everywhere, he could be worshiped both in and outside the Temple, and was not to be invoked by sacrifices alone. They thus fostered the synagogue as a place of worship, study, and prayer, and raised it to a central and important place in the life of the people, rivalling the Temple.

Relation to the New Testament

While the Pharisees, as a whole, set a high ethical standard for themselves, not all lived up to it. It is mistakenly held that New Testament references to them as "hypocrites" or "offspring of vipers" (Matt. 3:7; Luke 18:9ff., etc.) are applicable to the entire group. However, the leaders were well aware of the presence of the insincere among their numbers, described by the Pharisees themselves in the Talmud as "sore spots" or "plagues of the Pharisaic party" (Sot. 3:4 and 22b). The apostle Paul himself had been a Pharisee, was a son of a Pharisee, and was taught by one of the sect's most eminent scholars, Gamaliel of Jerusalem. Pharisaic doctrines have more in common with those of Christianity than is supposed, having prepared the ground for Christianity with such concepts as Messianism, the popularization of monotheism and apocalypticism, and with such beliefs as life after death, resurrection of the dead, immortality, and angels.

The active period of Pharisaism extended well into the second century C.E. and was most influential in the development of Orthodox Judaism. The Pharisees were deeply earnest in the religion of their forefathers, represented the most stable elements in their religion, and were most instrumental in preserving and transmitting Judaism. Unlike the Zealots, they rejected the appeal to force and violence, believing that God was in control of history and that every true Jew should live in accordance with the Torah. It is not surprising, therefore, that the Pharisees devoted much of their efforts to education. After the destruction of Jerusalem in 70 C.E., it was the synagogues and the schools of the Pharisees that continued to function and to promote Judaism.

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[Menahem Mansoor]

PHAROS (near Alexandria), an island just over half a mile from *Alexandria, on which stood the lighthouse of Pharos, regarded as one of the wonders of the ancient world. According to the "Letter of Aristeas" (par. 301), the Septuagint was translated there, and there the Jewish community of Alexandria also assembled to hear the translation and accept it (*ibid.* par. 308–11). Philo stresses the excellent qualities of Pharos which were ideal for the needs of the translators – cleanliness, peace and tranquility, solitude, and closeness to nature. Philo also relates that a festive ceremony was held annually on the island in commemoration of the translation. Both Jews and non-Jews participated in the festivity where they gave thanks and prayed to God and then spent the whole day on the shore (Philo, II Mos. 35–44).

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[Uriel Rappaport]

PHASAEL (d. 40 B.C.E.), older brother of *Herod the Great. He appears to have been more moderate than Herod. Having received from his father, *Antipater, the governorship of Jerusalem when Herod was appointed governor of Galilee, Phasael exercised firm rule coupled with discretion. Notwithstanding Josephus' generous appraisal of his character, Phasael, together with Herod, was twice accused before Mark Antony by Jewish deputations. The latter were singularly unsuccessful and on the second of these attempts Herod and Phasael were, in fact, appointed tetrarchs. Both he and Herod strove from the outset to remove the vestiges of Hasmonean domination in Judea. *Antigonus, who succeeded in gaining Parthian assistance in his efforts to reestablish his family's rule over Judea, laid siege to Phasael and Herod in Jerusalem. Phasael, accompanied by the high priest Hyrcanus II, allowed himself to be inveigled into the Parthian camp in 40 B.C.E., and both were imprisoned by the Parthians. Hyrcanus was physically disfigured to prevent his serving in the priesthood, and Phasael took his own life by dashing out his brains – this is the official Herodian account but it is more probable that he was killed in battle while trying to escape. The present-day Tower of David in Jerusalem's Old City is probably the site of the Phasael tower of Herod's palace.

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[David Solomon]

PHASAELIS, settlement and estate founded by King Herod in the Jordan Valley N. of Jericho and named after his elder brother Phasael, who died in 40 B.C.E. (Jos., Wars, 1:418). The place was renowned for its palm groves and dates (Pliny, *Natural History*, 13:4, 44). Herod bequeathed Phasaelis to his sister Salome; she in turn willed it to the empress Livia, the wife of Augustus; from Livia, the estate of Phasaelis passed to her son Tiberius and remained imperial property throughout the period of the Roman and Byzantine empires. It is shown on the Madaba Map with an accompanying date palm. In Byzantine times, hermits lived there; a church of St. Cyriacus in Phasaelis is mentioned by Moschus (*Pratum spirituale*, 92) and Cyriacus of Scythopolis (*Vita Sabae*, 29). The site is identified with Khirbat Faṣṣaʾil, which has remains of water channels, an aqueduct 1¼ mi. long, water mills, building foundations, and Roman roads.

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[Michael Avi-Yonah]

PHEASANT, the game bird *Phasianus colchicus*. The pheasant was known in Greek as Φασιανός and hence in mishnaic Hebrew as פַּסְיוֹנִי (*pasyoni*). It is not mentioned in the Bible, although pseudo-Jonathan identified it with the biblical שְׂלָו (*selav*; Ex. 16:13), which is, however, the *quail. The pheasant was originally found in Asia, from the shores of the Caspian Sea to Manchuria and Japan. It was brought to Europe and America where, acclimatized in forests, it became a notable game bird. The Romans set great store upon its flesh, and it is told that when the emperor Hadrian doubted whether there were also pheasants in Ereẓ Israel, R. Joshua b. Hananiah produced some to prove to him "that Ereẓ Israel lacks nothing" (Eccles. R. 2:8, no. 2). Whether these particular pheasants existed in a wild state in the country or were bred cannot be determined, although from other sources it is evident that they were bred together with peacocks (Tosef., Kil 1:8), this having been a sign of wealth (Eccles. R. 7:8). The pheasant is listed in the Midrash among those rare delicacies, the taste of which the manna could acquire should a person yearn for it (Num. R. 7:4). In connection with the command to honor one's father, it was said: "One may give his father pheasants as food, yet this drives him from the world, while another may make him grind in the mill, and this brings him to the world to come" (Kid. 31a). In several communities in

Europe the Jews ate the pheasant, which has the characteristics of a *kasher* bird. An attempt was made in recent years to breed it in Israel, but the rabbinate cast doubt on its *kashrut* for lack of local tradition to that effect (see *Dietary Laws).

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[Jehuda Feliks]

PHERORAS (d. c. 5 B.C.E.), son of Antipater and Cypros, younger brother of Herod the Great. During the war of Herod against Antigonus, Pheroras was put in command of the Roman soldiers and charged with fortifying Alexandrion, and was later appointed by Herod tetrarch of Transjordan. Pheroras was actively involved in the intrigues in the court of Herod. Together with his sister Salome, he did everything in his power to accentuate the differences between Herod and the sons of *Mariamne the Hasmonean. Herod hated Pheroras' wife and demanded that he divorce her. Unwilling to accede, Pheroras was compelled to return to his tetrarchy where he died by poisoning. After his death his wife testified that he had plotted to poison Herod.

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[Edna Elazary]

PHILADELPHIA, fifth largest city in the United States, in the State of *Pennsylvania. The area's Jewish population (2001), sixth largest in the nation, was estimated at 206,000.

Origins of the Jewish Community

Jews came from New Amsterdam to trade in the Delaware Valley area as early as the 1650s, long before William Penn founded the colony of Pennsylvania in 1682. Several individual Jews were transient in Philadelphia by 1706. Permanent Jewish settlement began in 1737 with the arrival of Nathan *Levy (1704–53) and his brother Isaac (1706–77), who were joined in 1740 by their young cousins David *Franks (1720–93) and Moses (1718–89). Nathan Levy and David Franks established a successful mercantile firm known for its shipping and import-export activity. Barnard *Gratz (1738–1801) arrived in 1754 and went to work for David Franks. Gratz, with his brother Michael *Gratz (1740–1811), the two best known Philadelphia colonial Jews, created a prosperous business enterprise which specialized in western trade. Jewish communal life may be dated from 1740, when Nathan Levy secured a grant of ground on Spruce Street between Eighth and Ninth Streets for Jewish burial. Informal services were undoubtedly conducted early in the 1740s, but it is probable that no organizational structure existed until about 1761, when a Torah scroll was borrowed for the High Holy Days from Shearith Israel Congregation of New York City. At first, services were conducted in a rented house on Sterling Alley; after 1771, in a building on Cherry Alley. The oldest extant document utilizing the name Mikveh Israel Congregation is dated 1773, although the name was probably adopted prior to that.

Revolutionary Period

Nine or 10 Jewish merchants, led by the Gratz brothers, signed the Non-Importation Resolutions of Oct. 25, 1765. While a majority of Philadelphia's Jews supported the Revolutionary cause, a few were Tories, among them David Franks, who served as deputy commissary of prisoners and was expelled by the Continental authorities in 1780 for his pro-British sympathies. During the war Jews were active as suppliers to the troops, as brokers for the government (e.g., Haym *Salomon), and as military figures. The highest commissioned rank achieved by Jews was that of lieutenant colonel, held by both Solomon *Bush and David S. Franks, the latter having had the misfortune of serving as aide-de-camp to Benedict Arnold at the time of his treachery, but innocent of complicity. After the evacuation of the city by the British in 1778, Philadelphia became a center for Jewish refugees from Charleston, Savannah, and New York City. Gershom Mendes *Seixas became the community's hazzan in 1780. The city's first real synagogue building, 30 × 36 feet, was erected on the north side of Cherry Street between Third and Sterling and dedicated in 1782. After the end of the war, many of the out-of-towners returned home, including Seixas, who went back to his New York City congregation, and the Philadelphians were left holding a large mortgage, resulting in public appeals for funds in 1788 and 1790. Among the contributors were Benjamin Franklin, scientist David Rittenhouse, and political leader Thomas McKean, a signatory of the Declaration of Independence.

In 1783 the leaders of Mikveh Israel Congregation unsuccessfully attempted to change the requirement in the Pennsylvania constitution of 1776 that officeholders take an oath swearing belief in both the Old and New Testaments. Another effort led by Jonas *Phillips in 1789 was successful, and the 1790 state constitution prohibited only atheists from holding state office. Phillips was also the author of a communication to the Constitutional Convention of 1787 urging the recognition of full legal equality for members of "all Religious societies," later guaranteed by the First Amendment of the U.S. Constitution. The fact that both the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution were adopted in Philadelphia gave the Jews of the community a sense of close relationship to the founding of the nation which was the first in the modern world to grant the full range of rights and prerogatives of citizenship to Jews. President George Washington, answering a letter of congratulations sent to him in 1790 by Philadelphia's Manuel *Josephson on behalf of Mikveh Israel and its sister congregations of New York City, Charleston, and Richmond, also recognized that "the liberal sentiment toward each other which marks every political and religious denomination of men in this country stands unparalleled in the history of Nations."

Early 19th Century

The growth of the Jewish community of Philadelphia, like that of other major cities, was comparatively slow until about 1830. There may have been as many as 1,000 Jewish men, women, and children in the town at the time of Cornwallis' surrender, but this swollen population swiftly scattered, and so large a number was not again reached until about 1830. It is estimated that at the time of the 1820 census there were about 500 Jews in Philadelphia, of whom a little less than half were immigrants. Some of these foreign born felt uncomfortable at the Sephardi services of Mikveh Israel and in about 1795 instituted their own Ashkenazi form of worship, under the name German Hebrew Society. In 1802 they formally organized themselves as Rodeph Shalom Congregation. Philadelphia thus became the first city in the Western Hemisphere to break the unitary pattern of one congregation in each community. In 1819 Rebecca *Gratz and women from Mikveh Israel established the Female Hebrew Benevolent Society, the first non-synagogue charity in the country, which is active today. By 1825 these two congregations had spawned a handful of independent benevolent societies. Rebecca Gratz, Simha Peixotto, Rachael Peixotto Pyke, and other women in response to Protestant missionaries founded The Hebrew Sunday School Society in 1838. In 1848 there were about 4,000 Jews in the city, a figure which probably doubled by 1860, when Mikveh Israel and Rodeph Shalom had been joined by five more congregations: Beth Israel (1840, merged into Beth Zion in 1964); Keneseth Israel (1847); Bene Israel (1852, disbanded 1879); Beth El Emeth (1857, dissolved about 1890); and Adath Jeshurun (1858).

National Influence of the Community During the 19th Century

Beginning with the election of Isaac *Leeser to the pulpit of Mikveh Israel in 1829, and continuing until about 1906 when the *American Jewish Committee was formed in New York City in partnership with Philadelphia Jews, the Philadelphia Jewish community was innovating, pioneering, and, in many ways, the most influential Jewry in the U.S. Religiously, the dominant pattern was a moderate traditionalism. In spite of New York City's numerical superiority – and perhaps because New York's Jewry was so immense and diverse as to be unmanageable, uncontrollable, and diffuse – it was in Philadelphia that new ideas for the shaping of U.S. Jewish communal life were tested. Such creative religious and lay leaders of Philadelphia as Leeser, Sabato *Morais, Abraham *Hart, Moses Aaron *Dropsie, Mayer *Sulzberger, and Joseph *Krauskopf were as concerned with the future and fate of Jewish life throughout the country as they were with developments on the local scene. Other factors which contributed to the achievements of Philadelphia's Jews were the city's tradition of intellectual and cultural excellence, which spurred its Jews to match the activity of their non-Jewish neighbors; the geographical location of the city and its commercial and financial links with the South and Midwest, which brought it into frequent and instructive contact with Jews in other parts of the country; and a less frenzied pace of life than New York City's, which perhaps granted the leisure and perspective necessary for intelligent assessment of current and future needs. At any rate, it was in this community that Leeser's *Occident*, prayer book, and Bible translations were published – sources of incalculable Jewish cultural and religious enrichment throughout the country. It was in Philadelphia that Leeser issued a call for an organized U.S. Jewish community in 1841. In 1845 he organized the American Jewish Publication Society in Philadelphia, and, upon its failure, and that of a New York-based successor organization, the present Jewish Publication Society was formed in 1888. Leeser's Hebrew Education Society high school, the first in the land, was founded in 1849. He also opened the first Jewish theological seminary in the country, Maimonides College, in Philadelphia in 1867. The first U.S. Jewish teachers' college, Gratz College, established under the provisions of the will of Hyman *Gratz (1776–1857), began in 1897. In Philadelphia, too, *Dropsie College (later University), the first postgraduate institution for Jewish learning in the world, was opened in 1907, bringing to Philadelphia as its president the learned Cyrus *Adler, who for several decades was the representative of U.S. Jewry. In New York the Jewish Theological Seminary was founded by a Philadelphia rabbi, Sabato Morais, who was its first president.

[Bertram Wallace Korn]

Mass Immigration and Communal Chaos

Philadelphia's concern for national Jewish undertakings was virtually overwhelmed by the East European immigration, which began to pour into the city toward the end of the 19th century. A fairly homogenous community of approximately 12,000 in 1880 was inundated by 15 times its number within 35 years: There were upward of 200,000 Jews in the city by 1915. A majority of Philadelphia's Jewish immigrants came from the Ukraine. East European Jews were the largest immigrant group in Philadelphia by 1920. The process of Americanization, adjustment, and integration began all over again, accompanied by a vast proliferation of lodges, landsmannschaften, synagogues, and societies, numbering more than 150 in 1904 and twice that in 1920. Most of the community energy was channeled into social welfare and personal aid. The Jewish Foster Home (1855) and the Jewish Hospital (1866), formerly fairly modest institutions, struggled to keep pace with incessant need. Jewish women formed the Jewish Maternity Hospital in 1871. Another Jewish medical institution, Mt. Sinai Hospital, was created in 1900 to serve the immense Jewish population in south Philadelphia. The Jewish Sheltering Home (1882) developed into the Home for the Jewish Aged (1899). Single middle-class women led by Fanny Binsingwanger established the Young Women's Union to assist the new immigrants, opening what eventually became the Neighborhood Centre, a settlement house at 4th and Bainbridge in 1900. In 1901, with Jacob *Gimbel of the department store family as its first president, the new Federation of Jewish Charities was formed through the merger of a number of societies, including the United Hebrew Charities (founded in 1869) which had been supported by the proceeds of an annual Hebrew Charity Ball since 1855.

Federation of philanthropic endeavor did not, however, connote communal unity. As wide a gulf as anywhere in the nation existed between German and East European Jews, between Reform and Orthodox, and between Zionists and anti-Zionists. Within the field of philanthropy itself, family and business associations of the German Jews, and anti-, or at least non-Zionist views continued to dominate the Federation of Jewish Charities (FJC) until the end of World War II. The German Jews kept aloof from the newer immigrants in the Mercantile Club (1853) and Philmont Country Club (1906), where their social gatherings were held; only in the Locust Club (1920), beginning in the 1940s, were social distinctions overlooked and, ultimately, ignored. In religious life, leaders such as Orthodox Rabbi Bernard L. *Levinthal and Reform Rabbi Joseph Krauskopf were personally friendly. However they rarely joined together except for specific causes as when they sold war bonds together during World War I, stood for election in the American Jewish Congress campaign of 1917, or supported expansion of Jewish education. Philadelphia, essentially a conservative city, preserved traditional characteristics dating back to colonial times; it also maintained social barriers that excluded Jews longer than in most other cities.

Toward a United Community: Post-World War I

After the war, Jews from the immigrant neighborhoods of Port Richmond, Northern Liberties, and South Street, relocated to heavily Jewish areas including South Philadelphia, Strawberry Mansion, and West Philadelphia. Organized Jewish education, largely community-sponsored, expanded after the war. The Associated Talmud Torahs, founded by the short-lived Kehillah (1911–early 1920s) in 1919 educated mostly boys and the Hebrew Sunday School Society enrolled mostly girls. In addition, numerous Yiddish supplementary schools, including Zionist, socialist, and communist branches opened by the 1920s.

The Reform and Orthodox movements were relatively weak. By the mid-1930s there were about more than 100 Orthodox congregations (many quite small); over 30 Conservative, and two Reform synagogues. English-speaking traditional synagogues, as well as some fairly liberal ones, identified as Conservative. With the exception of Mikveh Israel, few English-speaking Orthodox congregations existed until the late 1930s.

Overseas events provided the catalyst for cooperation. In June 1919, tens of thousands of Jews demonstrated against pogroms in the new state of Poland. In the 1930s under the impact of the depression, of overseas needs provoked by Hitlerism, and of the simultaneous rise of U.S. antisemitism, the Philadelphia Jewish community began to coalesce. In 1937, the first Allied Jewish Appeal campaign was conducted for funds to assist the *yishuv* and the victims of German oppression, supported by 9,000 donors raising $258,000. In 1938 the second AJA drive, just after *Kristallnacht, reached 37,000 donors, including many working class and lower-income Jews able to give small amounts, raising $741,000. In 1939, there were 48,000 donors to the AJA, 74% of whom contributed less than $10. A total of $902,000 was raised that year.

Overseas needs drove the expansion of Jewish fundraising during and after World War II. For the first time, a community structure with mass participation was established on an ongoing basis. A council of local defense agencies was organized, resulting in the establishment of the Jewish Community Relations Council in 1938. Zionism, long only a small part of the Jewish scene, was growing in influence. Judge Louis Levinthal became head of the national Zionist Organization of America in 1943. Rose Bender (1895–1964) became the first woman executive director of a ZOA office in 1945. In the same period, the anti-Zionist American Council for Judaism (ACJ; 1943) was founded by Philadelphia rabbis and laymen, among them leaders of the Federation.

Post-World War II: Community Change

Throughout the post-war period, Philadelphia Jewish life centered on Jewish neighborhoods and the dominant pattern of moderate traditionalism. Unlike some American cities, even at the close of the century close to half the Jews lived in the city of Philadelphia itself, with others living in contiguous inner-ring suburbs. In these neighborhoods, informal interactions reinforced synagogues and Jewish organizations.

Following World War II, many Jews relocated to newer Jewish neighborhoods in the city (West Oak Lane, Mt. Airy, Overbrook Park, and especially the Northeast) or to inner ring suburbs such as Elkins Park–Old York Road and Lower Merion. Established synagogues moved, and new Jewish institutions were founded. Older Jewish neighborhoods, including Strawberry Mansion and South Philadelphia, declined due to the attractions of newer housing and in the former case racial conflict.

The merger in 1944 of several children's agencies into the Association for Jewish Children, was the first of a number of steps in the gradual restructuring of the community. The three Jewish hospitals merged into the Albert Einstein Medical Center in 1951. At the same time, many leaders were ambivalent about religious expression. The hospital's Frank Memorial Synagogue, opened in 1901, was closed in 1957. (An increased interest in Jewish identity led to its restoration in 1984.) Old hostilities and loyalties were overcome through the final merger of the Federation of Jewish Charities and the Allied Jewish Appeal into the Federation of Jewish Agencies (FJA) in 1956.

Jewish education began to shift from communal auspices to congregational ones, still largely neighborhood-based. Akiba Hebrew Academy, a community secondary school, opened amid controversy in 1946. An Orthodox day school opened the same year and a Solomon Schechter day school (Conservative) opened in 1956. Gratz College reorganized and moved from North Philadelphia into a new building in Logan in 1962.

The Young Men's Hebrew Association and the Neighborhood Center were united in 1965, with a projected network of leisure time agencies throughout the metropolitan area. By 1970 most of the old institutional rivalries had been forgotten.

The younger leaders did not know whose grandmother had been Ukrainian, or whose great-grandfather had been German. Money for Israel was raised and bonds for Israel were sold in the very synagogues whose former rabbis had created the anti-Zionist ACJ. Although a local Synagogue Council had failed in the 1950s, a flourishing Board of Rabbis testified to increased cooperation among Conservative, Orthodox, Reform and from the 1970s, Reconstructionist rabbis. The FJA itself had moved far beyond its conceptual origins as a fund-raising agency and was functioning vigorously in broad areas of social planning.

1970s and 1980s: Transitions and New Voices

Philadelphia Jewish life continued to be neighborhood-based, even with increasing dispersion. By 1970, the Jewish population was concentrated in the Center City, Greater Northeast, Old York Road Suburban, West Oak Lane–Mt. Airy, Wynnefield, and Main Line sections, with growing centers in Levittown and Norristown.

There were over 100 congregations in the Philadelphia area of which approximately 50 were Conservative, 45 Orthodox, and 15 Reform. Some of the Orthodox congregations were quite small, and some were served by Conservative rabbis. While two of the largest Reform congregations in the country were located in Greater Philadelphia, the dominant religious thrust of the community was Conservative. Since most Reform congregations were formed after the war, they had fewer internal struggles regarding modifying the more radical reforms instituted by some older Reform congregations. Several Conservative congregations (including Adath Jeshurun, Beth Hillel-Beth El, and Germantown Jewish Centre) include participatory ḥavurah *minyanim* led by members, established in the 1970s and early 1980s. A resurgent interest in Orthodoxy was stimulated through work of branches of the Lubavitch movement and by a nationally known talmudic yeshivah established in Philadelphia by students of Rabbi Aaron *Kotler in 1952.

By the late 1960s, barriers to Jewish participation in civic and professional life were declining. Representative Jews were appointed to the boards of practically every bank in the city, as they had long served on the boards of the community's cultural and educational institutions. Many major corporations were actively soliciting applications for employment as executive trainees from young Jews, and almost every major law firm included a few Jews. In law, medicine, and other prestigious Philadelphia professions, Jewish leaders and pioneers were numerous. For example, in 1971, Martin Meyerson was named president of the University of Pennsylvania, the first Jewish head of an Ivy League college. Marvin Wachman served as president of Temple University from 1973 to 1982. Arlen *Specter served as district attorney (1966–74) and later as U.S. senator from 1981. His wife, Joan Specter, was a city council member (1980–1996.) David Cohen (1914–2005) was a formidable liberal member of city council from 1968 to 1971 and 1980–2005.

Although Jews occupied a significant place in the political and economic life of the area, Jews themselves were still rigorously and consciously excluded from most of the town and country clubs which represented the last strongholds of old Philadelphia "society."

By the 1980s, declining social boundaries meant that Jews no longer needed to affiliate with Jewish social clubs or charities. Increasingly, a challenge was to bring younger participants and potential donors into Jewish life.

[Bertram Wallace Korn / Robert P. Taback (2nd ed.)]

Philadelphia continued national leadership in several areas. Local Holocaust survivors established one of the first outdoor public monuments in the U.S. in Center City in 1964. Local Jews played leading roles in the Soviet Jewry movement, and an annual rally each year was a prominent event in the 1970s and 80s.

The Jewish Renewal movement created one of its centers from the 1970s, stimulated by Rabbi Zalman *Schachter-Shalomi as well as by Rabbi Arthur *Green and Arthur *Waskow, all of whom lived in West Mount Airy. Other new organizations, including the National Havurah Committee, the Shomrei Adamah Jewish ecology movement, and the Shalom Center were based there. The Federation of Reconstructionist Congregations and Havurot joined the rabbinical college in Philadelphia in 1987.

By the 1980s, Jewish population had shifted again. In 1986, the Federation opened Mandell Education Campus in Melrose Park, including Gratz College (about 2 miles (3 km) north of its former home), the new Auerbach Central Agency for Jewish Education, day care, a Conservative day school, and other agencies.

A 1984 study estimated that about 53 percent of area Jews lived within the Philadelphia city limits. Sixty percent of the area's Jews were concentrated in four areas: Northeast Philadelphia, Center City, the City Line area, and the northern suburbs. The dominant religious group remained Conservative. Amy *Eilberg, the first woman Conservative rabbi, was from the city and served in Philadelphia congregational and chaplaincy positions in the 1980s.

The 1990s and Beyond: Dispersion and New Initiatives

Geographic dispersion increased by the 1990s. In 1996–97, 48 percent of Jewish households were within the city, a number in decline. A few urban neighborhoods such as Mt. Airy and Center City, and some inner suburbs such as Lower Merion and Elkins Park-Old York Road, maintained significant Jewish populations, as did the Orthodox enclaves in the city's Northeast and Overbook Park. These were a declining percentage of the region's Jewish population. Outside these neighborhoods, most Jewish movement was to suburban areas marked by commuting synagogues rather than neighborhood synagogues – only a few members lived within a mile or two (1.6–3 km) of the congregation.

Philadelphia Jewish life has been neighborhood-based. Increasing population dispersal meant that fewer Jews had neighbors or classmates who were Jewish. The Jewish community struggled to define itself with less geographic concentration. The Federation structure was changed to include four quasi-autonomous suburban regions, serving Bucks, Montgomery, Chester, and Delaware counties. The Jewish Community Centers determined that building new physical structures was no longer efficient after the 1980s and established four JCCs without walls in suburban counties. The Philadelphia Geriatric Center, renamed the Abramson Center for Jewish Living, relocated from urban Logan adjacent to Albert Einstein hospital, to suburban North Wales in 2002.

In 1990 the Federation of Jewish Charities adopted the name Jewish Federation of Greater Philadelphia. The Federation and some of its agencies began to place greater emphasis on Jewish values, education, and observance. The *Jewish Exponent*, founded 1887, is the official organ of the Federation, which also publishes *Inside*, a quarterly magazine.

The community showed continued vitality. Since 1990, several new Reconstructionist and Orthodox congregations opened in the city itself and in the suburbs. Existing congregations in the suburbs from all movements expanded, although there were closures and mergers, particularly in Northeast Philadelphia. Six neighborhoods had *eruvim* (Sabbath boundaries) in 2005. Both one Reform and one Conservative congregation opened *mikva'ot* after 2000. The Conservative movement continued a major role, with 38% identifying as Conservative, 28% as Reform, 12% as no denomination, 5% traditional, and 4% each as Orthodox, Reconstructionist, and secular humanist in 1997. Philadelphia was the only major U.S. city where the Conservative Rabbinical Assembly played a major role in *kashrut* supervision. Almost all Conservative congregations were formally egalitarian by the 1990s, but only a handful of women rabbis served that movement locally, unlike the Reconstructionist and Reform movements. There was a low level of formal affiliation. In 1997 only 37% of the population was affiliated with a synagogue.

A 2002 survey found 97 synagogues (excluding 8 in Chester county): 33 Orthodox, 28 Conservative, 21 Reform, 8 Reconstructionist, and 7 "other." Many of the synagogues and Jewish community centers have day care or nursery school programs. There are six elementary Jewish day schools, a middle school, and three high schools. Most children received their education in supplemental congregational schools. The Community Hebrew Schools, descendant of the 1838 Hebrew Sunday School Society, announced plans to close in 2006.

[Lillian Youman and Robert P. Taback (2nd ed.)]

Jews were prominent in the wider community and government, particularly from the 1990s onward. Judith Rodin, president of the University of Pennsylvania from 1994 to 2004, was the first woman to head an Ivy League university. Stefan Presser (1953–2005), a forceful advocate for the poor and disabled and for church-state separation, served from 1983 to 2004 as legal director of the Pennsylvania American Civil Liberties Union. Christie Balka served from 1997 as executive director of the Bread and Roses Community Fund, an umbrella group raising funds for local social change organizations. Shelly Yanoff, an advocate for health care for children, was executive director of Philadelphia Citizens for Children and Youth from 1986.

In the 1990s, Jews held the city's three highest elected offices, as well as serving in Congress, the state legislature, and as leaders in suburban communities. Edward *Rendell served as the first Jewish mayor of Philadelphia (1992–99), and later as governor. Lynne Abraham, a former judge, was district attorney of the city from 1991 and Jonathan Saidel was elected city controller four times from 1990. Allyson Y. Schwartz was a state senator representing the city and suburbs from 1991 to 2005, when she took office as a U.S. congresswoman for a city-suburban district. Businessman Sam Katz was the unsuccessful Republican candidate for Philadelphia mayor in 1999 and 2003.

Jewish population declined from an estimated 240,400 (256,100 people living in Jewish households, including non-Jews) in 1983–84 to 206,100 in 1996–97 (241,600 in Jewish households.) The decline (including some movement to Southern New Jersey) would have been greater had not some 30,000 immigrants arrived from the former Soviet Union, especially Ukraine. In 1996–97 12% of Jewish residents (15,200 people) lived in "poor" households with incomes under $15,000. Including these, almost 23% of the population (57,000 people) lived in low-income households. There were many elderly Jews, new immigrants, and single parents among the poor and near poor.

Philadelphia remained a center for Jewish studies. In addition to Gratz College and the Reconstructionist Rabbinical College, opened in 1968, several other centers were established. Dropsie University, affected by the rise of Judaic studies in secular universities, closed in 1986, eventually becoming the University of Pennsylvania Center for Advanced Judaic Studies. Temple University established the Feinberg Center for American Jewish history in 1990. The Philadelphia Jewish Archives Center opened in 1972. The National Museum of American Jewish History, opened on Independence Mall in 1976, planned a major expansion in 2005.

[Robert P. Taback (2nd ed.)]

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delphia Group and Philadelphia Jewish History: A Guide to Archival and Bibliographic Collections (1993); H. Boonin, *The Jewish Quarter of Philadelphia: A History and Guide, 1881–1930* (1999).

PHILADELPHIA, JACOB (b. 1720 or 1735–after 1783), Colonial American physicist, mechanic, and kabbalist. Philadelphia's family name and the year when he assumed the name of his native city is unknown. He may have been educated by a Dr. Christopher Witt, a Rosicrucian mystic and anchorite survivor of the German Pietist mystic sect known as the "Women of the Wilderness." Witt was known to be a correspondent of the Duke of Cumberland, who later became Philadelphia's patron in England. After his patron's death in 1758, Philadelphia toured England, lecturing and conducting experiments to great acclaim, and later lectured throughout Europe. Considered a powerful magician by the ignorant, Philadelphia nevertheless refused to lecture at the University of Goettingen (1777) after a satirical poster campaign derided him as a miracle worker and magician. He supposedly last lectured in Switzerland in 1781. In 1783 he applied to the Prussian court for a license to form a Prussian-American trading company.

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PHILANTHROPY.

Introduction

At the close of the 18th century the communal system of fund raising for charity with authority vested in the charity overseers (*Gabba'ei Ẓedakah*) – to tax members of the community in order to ensure appropriate giving – was on the verge of collapse in many European communities. The situation in Rome was typical. "The enormous indebtedness of the Roman community was, in part, due to these expenses for public welfare, which in the early decades of the 18th century equaled or exceeded the total income from communal taxation" (S. Baron, Community, 2, 346–50). The financial condition deteriorated with the rise of absolute states which imposed ever harsher taxes on their subjects. The spread of secularism and individualism, and the appearance of Haskalah (Enlightenment) and Reform also tended to weaken the cohesiveness of the community and reduce its authority to exact adequate sums for their communal functions. Moreover, there were duplication and waste in fund raising and in social services due to absence of coordination between the community, the benevolent societies, and the individual donors who espoused their own favorite projects – a situation which had grown apace (see Finances, *Autonomous).

State Taxation for Jewish Communal Services

In the 19th century states altered the procedures for tax collections for communal purposes. In Russia, which then included Poland, with the dissolution in 1844 of the **kahal* (the autonomous Jewish community) a Russian government ukase forced the Jewish communities to turn over to the municipalities control of their tax collections and administration of their financial affairs and charitable institutions. A remnant of the authority left to them was the recommendation of tax collectors who frequently bade for these potentially profitable posts. The burden of caring for the needy, the poor, and the sick, and for the education of the children, became increasingly more difficult to bear as the number of expelled Jews and the mass emigration of breadwinners reached vast proportions in the 1880s. Revenue for charity and education became dependent primarily on the share given to the community from government taxes, of which they could never be sure, and on limited income from private donations and payment for synagogue honors. Among the taxes imposed by the government one of the most oppressive was the *kasher* meat tax (**Korobka*) and the *candle tax (see *Taxation). Revenues from these taxes were divided between the state and the community to cover expenditure for social welfare, maintenance of educational institutions, and other communal activities. Frequently the share of taxes due the community was diverted by the authorities to build a road or erect a church, and often an inordinate portion of the funds collected went into the pockets of the Jewish tax collectors.

Voluntary Associations or Benevolent Societies in Modern Times

Voluntary associations or benevolent societies continued in modern times to play the important part which they had had in the Middle Ages for raising funds for specific religious, social, and educational services. Where communal charity systems were weakened or broke down completely, voluntary associations filled their place as well as they could and frequently adapted themselves to changing conditions. In England, where plans to introduce state taxation in 1795 and 1802 were withdrawn, many of the voluntary associations in the 19th century were organized on the pattern of voting societies found in the general community. An annual subscription to the association of four or five shillings entitled a subscriber to one vote which could be used to vote for himself or for someone else when benefits were to be distributed. An alternative procedure to voting was drawing the winning ticket from a box or by using a special "wheel," made for that purpose. The Bread, Meat, and Coal Society (Mashvah Nephesh, founded in 1779 and still in existence in 1970) introduced an element of self-help for the poor by arranging that subscriptions could be paid weekly at the rate of one farthing. A total annual subscription of 4s. 4d. gave the subscriber the chance to draw 12 tickets, each of which entitled him to 1s. 9d. worth of bread, meat, and coal.

The *fraternal organizations or Friendly Societies, all mutual benefit associations, were an important form of voluntary association. Many older voluntary associations ceased to exist, as central welfare and fund-raising agencies took over their functions, and as governments assumed responsibility for direct aid to individuals. Nevertheless, many new voluntary associations rose to provide help to those afflicted by disease, supply funds for research in medicine and other vital fields, provide care for the children of a growing number of working mothers, support programs for prevention of juvenile delinquency, ensure better facilities and more scientific treatment for the care of the aged, the chronic sick, or the convalescent, and help meet every humanitarian need which a changing world made urgent.

Fund Collectors on the Local Communal Level

In the early modern period communal collectors still made their rounds, as they had done in mishnaic and medieval times, to gather the obligatory contribution for the communal charity fund, and congregational collectors visited homes to ensure payment for synagogue honors. As in the Middle Ages, voluntary benevolent societies had collectors to collect dues or donations or the coins deposited in their boxes placed in the homes of members. Collectors for authorized societies were also permitted to use their collection boxes in front of the synagogue on Purim or the Ninth of Av. Burial societies assigned collectors at cemeteries at funeral or memorial services, and this practice is continued in traditional cemeteries. Until the middle of the 19th century the majority of communal collectors appear to have served without compensation, thus fulfilling their obligation to do charity.

In the second half of the 19th century many charitable organizations employed collectors, and the practice continued to grow until community leaders in the 1920s recognized its wastefulness. Though in 1970 fund collectors were still working for some local charity organizations, the number had been reduced sharply.

France

Coordination in the administration of charity and fund raising was first achieved in 1809 in the emancipated community of Paris, when seven benevolent societies in that city were amalgamated. At the direction of the Consistoire, they created the Société d'Encouragement et de Secours (from 1855 officially named the Comité de Bienfaisance Israélite de Paris). From the beginning the Comité recognized that it could not rely solely on the resources provided by the Consistoire, for although the Napoleonic regime had permitted the Consistoire to tax members of constituent congregations, it had not obligated every Jew to join a congregation and pay taxes to support the charitable and other services of the community. The offerings for the privilege of sharing in the Torah reading, the fees for other synagogue honors, and the collections from the charity boxes in the congregation, proved no adequate supplement to the limited tax revenues. Shortly after its establishment, the Comité undertook to secure annual subscriptions over a three-year period, with a minimum requirement of 18 francs payable monthly from regular members and 30 francs from those known as honorary members. After a good effort the first year, the campaign lagged, and it was only when the community began to see the benefits of coordination, substitution of preventive social techniques for palliative measures, training of the young for productive work, and building of essential institutions such as an almshouse, a hospital, and an orphanage, that an increasingly larger number of members of the community began to subscribe more generously to the appeals of the Comité. Among the many new subscribers were those in the new voluntary associations founded after the Comité had been organized. When finally given representation in the Comité, they proved to be among the most enthusiastic contributors and workers. A lottery for raising funds from the general community was instituted in 1843, but this device became less significant as fund raising began to depend on annual subscriptions, large-scale donations, trusts, endowments, and legacies. Two significant endowments were made by the Rothschilds, one for the acquisition and maintenance of a hospital in 1841 and another for an orphanage founded by the family in 1855. Other Jewish philanthropists followed their example and made large-scale donations and endowments in succeeding years. After the liberation of France in 1944, the *American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (JDC), with the cooperation of French Jewish leaders, established the Comité Juif d'Action Sociale et de Reconstruction (COJASOR); most of the resources were supplied by JDC. In 1946 the Comité de Bienfaisance resumed its full activities, including fundraising, but was still dependent in largest measure on the JDC and other foreign Jewish agencies. In 1949 the Fonds Social Juif Unifié de France was created as the national fund-raising and distributing body. Until 1964 the Fonds received additional large financial support from the Material Claims Conference and steadily diminishing aid from the JDC. In 1966, 1,600 heads of families in France contributed $1,600,000. After the Six-Day War in 1967 the Fonds Social combined with Aide à Israël (*Keren Hayesod) to form the Appel Juif Unifié, a single national fund-raising agency to help meet the budgets of both the Fonds Social and the Jewish Agency.

England

The Sephardi community was the first to coordinate its charity work in England and established its Board of Guardians in 1837. In 1966 the name was changed to the Spanish and Portuguese Synagogue Jewish Welfare Board. This board acted independently of the Ashkenazi community and relied for its funds on a portion of the Finta (a tax levied on the class of membership known as Yehidim) and on donations, trust funds, and legacies.

In 1859 the Board of Guardians for the Relief of the Jewish Poor (renamed the Jewish Welfare Board in 1963) was established in London to coordinate charity work for the immigrant poor of the three oldest Ashkenazi congregations: the *Great Synagogue (1690), the Hambro (1706), and the New Synagogue (1761). To prevent poverty the Board immediately introduced new measures by granting loans to help poor Jews become self-supporting and by providing training for young Jews to work in handicrafts and industry. Conduct of the Board was gradually placed in the hands of professionally trained workers. The Board was subsequently called upon to supervise the work of a number of institutions, which in turn made subventions to it. Aid societies, the first of which was the East End Aid Society (1902), budgeted either all or part of their income to finance the Board's operations. In 1968 there were 15 such societies. Despite its efforts to achieve coordination on a total community level, the Board had not succeeded by the end of 1969 in securing the assent of the voluntary associations and the many institutions which conducted independent campaigns, to the establishment of a fully centralized metropolitan fund-raising and distributing agency, or a fund-raising and distributing agency on a national basis, as in France.

Germany

Founded in 1869, the *Deutsch-Israelitischer Gemeindebund (Union of German-Jewish Congregations) was Germany's first federated but not all-inclusive body devoted to advancing Jewish education and performing charitable work, combined with guidance and material support to its member congregations. While its revenues were basically derived from the taxes which the government required every Jew to pay for support of his congregation's religious, educational, and social programs, it also benefited from private donations, etc. Simultaneously, Unterstuetzungsvereine (aid societies) and institutions raised funds and individual contributions for their special projects. World War I reduced the capability of the German Jewish community to give adequate aid to its members and to refugees from eastern European lands. Inflation wiped out the fortunes of many wealthy contributors, income from congregational taxes was reduced by 50%, and the coffers of the benevolent societies and institutions were emptied. Aid by the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (JDC) was forthcoming, but limited by its commitments elsewhere. To meet the crisis, the Zentralwohlfahrtstelle (Central Welfare Office) was established in 1917 as a roof organization covering many but not all social welfare agencies, voluntary associations, and institutions. Substantial savings resulted nevertheless from elimination of duplication in services and competition in fund raising. Following coordination, there were larger grants from synagogue tax funds (e.g., in 1926, 52% of the total congregational budgets in Berlin was allocated to charity and education) and greater contributions from individuals, institutions, and associations.

Hitler's rise to power in 1933 altered the situation drastically. The Reichsvertretung der deutschen Juden ("National Committee of German Jews"), formed in 1933, founded the Zentralausschuss fuer Hilfe und Aufbau ("Central Committee for Relief and Reconstruction"), as an all-embracing welfare organization, but the sharply reduced capacity of German Jewry to support its work is indicated by its revenue for 1936, namely $1,287,500 of which $737,500 came from JDC and other welfare agencies.

In 1938 the congregations which had been a primary source of funds were deprived of their privileges as public, legal corporations with authority to tax their members for upkeep of religious requirements, education, and social welfare, and were denied the tax exemption previously enjoyed by all religious institutions. Voluntary membership dues and donations were their only source of income. Moreover, with emigration of the affluent, and increasingly vast requirements for relief and emigration, the congregations rapidly lost their capability to share significantly in bearing the communal burden. In 1938, both in Germany and occupied Austria, $12,000,000 was spent on relief and emigration; a large share came from foreign Jewish sources and the remainder from the sale of communal and institutional property. In 1939 the Reichsvertretung der deutschen Juden was compelled to change its name to Reichsvertretung der Juden in Deutschland, and the government decree of July 4, 1939, forced upon it the responsibility, among others, for expediting emigration and providing social welfare assistance, a responsibility it bore until 1941, with the greatest difficulty, despite help from JDC which was permitted to carry on its relief and emigration work during this tragic period. The relief, rehabilitation, and emigration of the remnants of German Jews in the concentration camps after World War II, and of other displaced persons, were made possible by foreign agencies.

In the late 1960s there were approximately 38,000 Jews in the Federal German Republic and West Berlin. A central welfare office in Frankfurt handled the requests for help of the very few needy ones.

Russia

In August 1914, a coordinated fund-raising body, Yekopo (Yevreiski Komitet Pomoshchi Zhertvam Voiny; "Jewish Committee for the Relief of War Sufferers") was formed in St. Petersburg (Leningrad) to bring relief to Russian Jews, mainly those forcibly evacuated from the front areas to the Russian interior. In its first three years of operation it raised 32,000,000 rubles through contributions from 300 communities which taxed their members, individual donations, government subsidies, and in later years through assistance from JDC. With these funds it aided 250,000 Jews and, before ceasing its operations in 1921, had raised and spent over 50 million rubles to provide for the needs of most of Russia's charity-supported 1.5 million Jews, such as health services, social and economic assistance, educational programs for children, homes for refugees, and support of institutions. Yekopo cooperated with *ORT and *OSE in many of their endeavors. Yekopo ceased to exist in Soviet Russia in 1921, but a branch office functioned in Vilna until 1924.

[Morton Mayer Berman]

United States

The promise made to Peter Stuyvesant by the first boatload of 23 Jews who arrived at New Amsterdam in 1654, that they would care for their own poor, meant simply that they would act as did the other religious denominations in the village. The charitable activities of the few American Jews during the 17th, 18th, and early 19th centuries were centered in the synagogues. They consisted of the maintenance of cemeteries, aid to transients and a few needy local cases, and the freeing of Jewish redemptioners and indentured servants. The few known instances of Palestinian emissaries (*meshullaḥim*) visiting the colonies and the early republic exemplify aid to Jews overseas. The first charitable institution was the Hebrew Orphan Asylum of Charleston, South Carolina, established in 1802.

During the German Jewish immigration of the mid-19th century, the scope of Jewish charity expanded and became structurally separate from the synagogue. Almost every local community had a Hebrew Relief Society, or Hebrew Benevolent Society, and a feminine counterpart. Fraternal orders such as B'nai B'rith, Brith Abraham, and Kesher shel Barzel provided scheduled assistance to ill or bereaved members and their families. Several institutions, such as B'nai B'rith's Jewish Orphan Asylum in Cleveland, reached beyond local boundaries, and there were occasional appeals for emergency aid in the U.S., and for overseas Jewry, especially from Sir Moses *Montefiore; but before 1900 Jewish philanthropy was local.

The great historic coincidence was the encounter of the European Jewish tradition with the American idea of voluntarism. Early observers of the American scene commented on a distinctive characteristic of Americans, that voluntary groups take into their hands the creation of voluntary organizations to meet their own needs. Jewish communal traditions of autonomy and mutual assistance found fertile soil for growth in American voluntarism.

The great underlying force which created the distinctive American Jewish philanthropy was large-scale immigration from eastern Europe. Beginning in the 1880s, the immigrants coming in the tens of thousands yearly, with their special needs and their problems of adjustment to American life, molded American Jewish philanthropy. Its institutional structure derives from the expansion of earlier charitable organizations and the establishment of new ones. Thus, the numerous local Hebrew Relief Societies raised and spent far more money than earlier, and one by one changed their name to Jewish Social Service Association (or Bureau), reflecting the greater refinement and professionalization of their operations.

The American impulse toward efficiency and the Jewish conviction of communal responsibility coalesced disparate and often rival institutions into combined effort. This began with the establishment of the first Jewish philanthropic federation in Boston in 1895. It was a strikingly simple concept: funds would be raised and disbursed jointly to the agencies to meet the needs. The agencies, invariably supported by federations, included services to families and children, hospitals, free loans, settlement houses, and sundry aid groups. Jewish philanthropic federations were established in most American Jewish communities; New York City's was the largest and one of the last to be established, in 1917.

The few local agencies in the first federations joined on the common platform of efficiency in fund raising and coordination of local services. But the federation idea contained seeds of future development. The early federations began rudimentary social planning for the Jewish community, designed to explore the need for new services and old ones which could be dispensed with. The founding and expansion of federations occurred during a period of professionalization of the art of helping and the emergence of social work as a new profession. Jewish social workers provided the professional skills for the expansion of services. During its existence from 1927 to 1936, the Graduate School for Jewish Social Work in New York City trained professional social workers for service in the Jewish community.

The National Conference of Jewish Social Service (later Welfare), founded in 1899, became the professional organization. Professional journals were published, beginning with *Jewish Charities* (1910) and progressing to the *Journal of Jewish Communal Service* (1956). The National Conference of Jewish Charities, established in 1900, became the Council of Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds in 1932, providing planning and statistical data and recommendations.

The "Great Depression" of the 1930s marked a watershed in American philanthropic history. The magnitude of impoverishment forced the government into granting material relief, and the voluntary agencies gave up this function. The 1920s and 1930s witnessed severe disputes between pro-Zionist advocates of higher allocations to Palestine, and non-or anti-Zionists dominating the Joint Distribution Committee and providing most of the funds, whose views prevailed that most of the money go to European relief and to projects in Soviet Russia. Yet it was during the 1930s that the scope of organized Jewish philanthropy expanded both geographically and functionally. As the world emergency grew with the rise of Nazism, disparate agencies aiding Jews were brought together in the *United Jewish Appeal and subsequently made the desperate condition of eastern European Jewry the dominant cause in local campaigns of Jewish federations. After 1941, the European Holocaust and the struggle of Israel brought about ever closer agreement on the allocation of funds overseas. At the same time most federations broadened to include within organized Jewish philanthropy the support of Jewish education, community relations activities, Jewish vocational services, and national agencies that served the entire American Jewish community. New York City remained the exception and maintained a separate Federation and United Jewish Appeal. This period's expansion of the budgeting and planning activities of local federations necessitated constant assessment of priorities, and required decisions on new programs.

At the close of World War II in 1945, when the full dimensions of the European Holocaust were revealed, American Jewish philanthropy faced its greatest challenge – to provide the vast sums required to rescue the survivors and to build up the Jewish state for the redemption of the Jewish people. It responded with funds unequaled in the history of philanthropy anywhere.

In 1946 the United Jewish Appeal raised approximately $100 million, in 1948, $150 million, in addition to approximately $31,265,000 and $43.6 million in the respective years for the needs of the larger federations. Between 1939 and 1968 the United Jewish Appeal raised $2,035 billion for Israel and overseas Jewry, largely through allocations from combined campaigns in local Jewish communities throughout the United States.

The Federation's role broadened to the point where it was widely recognized as "the organized Jewish community." Philanthropy began to serve as the organizing principle for the voluntary Jewish community, especially in cities where the federations and Jewish community councils merged during the 1950s and conducted a single campaign for local, national, and overseas needs. Debate mounted during the 1960s over the proper proportion of local funds to be divided among hospitals, social services, and recreational institutions on one hand, and Jewish educational and cultural services on the other. In 1968 the range of concerns stretched across the spectrum of local, national, and international Jewish needs, ranging from services to the individual and family to programs designed to insure the survival of Judaism. The dollar figures reflect the vastness of scope. In 1969 the annual campaigns of Jewish federations totaled $266 million (including $104 million in the Israel Emergency Fund). In addition approximately $40 million were raised in endowment and capital funds campaigns.

Not all of American Jewish philanthropic endeavor in 1969 was within the federation orbit. Substantial groups remained outside either from choice or tradition; in 1969 these groups raised approximately $100 million. They included institutions of higher learning, many national agencies, pro-Israel organizations and others, but not synagogues which collected and disbursed millions of dollars annually themselves.

The funds allocated by federations represented only a fraction of the money disbursed by the agencies which receive them. In addition, these agencies' expenditures derived from other sources of income: dues; tuition; fees; and various governmental bodies and third-party payments. Therefore, the Jewish gross national philanthropic product, inclusive of all of these funds, was substantially in excess of a billion dollars in 1969.

Contemporary philanthropic services under Jewish auspices utilized the highest professional skills of American society in medicine, social work, public relations, and other areas. The collection and disbursement of funds to support these services was elevated to a high art by the Jewish group in the U.S. Concepts of fund-raising became sophisticated, and efforts were skillfully elaborated to raise maximum sums. The result, however, was ultimately based on fundamental Jewish commitments to philanthropy and the growing affluence and homogenity of the Jewish population which made possible a broad consensus on the needs.

One of the distinctive Jewish contributions to philanthropy in America was the recognition that federated fund-raising produced greater results for all participants. The general community also recognized this and the Community Chest movement used the Jewish Federation as its model.

Fund-raising goals were raised by the continuous education of the Jewish community to the dimensions of the needs and their responsibility to meet them. The capstone of the structure resides in the development of the responsibility of leaders. Achievements in the philanthropic campaigns have been based on the willingness of leadership to elevate the levels of giving by setting the pace through their own contributions. When this "leadership by example" takes place, matching contributions follow. In this way the Jewish group has demonstrated that it can implement its high ethical imperatives with pragmatic programs.

For Federation and other activities in the last third of the 20th century, see *Foundations.

[Charles Zibbell]

Canada

The first central fund-raising campaigns in Canada were conducted in 1917–18 by *Montreal's Federation of Jewish Philanthropies (renamed the Federation of Jewish Community Services and the Allied Jewish Community Services) and by *Toronto's Federation of Jewish Philanthropies (now known as the United Jewish Welfare Fund of Toronto). Funds at that time were raised exclusively for local social welfare, health, and recreational services (Jewish centers and children's camps). In 1937–38 the United Jewish Welfare Fund of Toronto began to campaign also for local Jewish education, the national work of the Canadian Jewish Congress, and the Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society ("HIAS"), as well as for the operations of a number of overseas agencies, including those in Ereẓ Israel.

In 1951 the United Israel Appeal and UJRA of the Canadian Jewish Congress combined their fund-raising activities in the United Jewish Appeal which then joined with the welfare funds in Toronto, Montreal, and other communities for raising funds in which they were to share. For this purpose Toronto and several other communities adopted the name of the United Jewish Appeal, and Montreal called its campaign the Combined Jewish Appeal.

Argentina

The Ashkenazi Ḥebra Kadisha ("The Holy Society"), founded strictly as a burial society in 1892, had evolved by 1949 into the Buenos Aires Kehillah, the central communal body. In 1956, it was renamed the Asociasión Mutual Israelita Argentina-Communidad de Buenos Aires (briefly AMIA) which became the community's central fund-raising and distributing agency, financing nearly all its religious, social, and cultural activities. Half of its 1967 budget of $2,350,000 was devoted to support the Buenos Aires' Jewish educational system, in which 60% of the pupils were children of parents who paid low dues and were not enrolled in AMIA's membership of 42,000. Its main income, however, came from the sale of burial plots in its cemetery, over which it had exclusive control. While always generous in serving the needy, AMIA demanded of the wealthy what they could afford to pay and, in the case of individuals who had failed in their obligation to support the community, its demands were extremely high.

Israel

In the State of Israel with its state financing of religious needs (of all denominations), as well as its social services as an evolving welfare state, fund-raising of the usual Jewish Diaspora type became marginal. In 1970 there was no central local or national fund-raising body in Israel, with the result that much costly overlapping and duplication occurred in fund-raising campaigns. The Tel Aviv Council of Social Agencies, a consultative body, and the Israel Fund Raisers' Association in 1969 undertook, but without success, to coordinate the separate fund-raising efforts along the lines followed in western communities.

Fund-Raising by International Organizations

The traditional concern and sense of responsibility of Jews for the well-being of their people wherever they dwell prompted them in modern times to establish organizations which devoted themselves on an international level to one or more of the following activities:

(1) seeking emancipation of Jews or protecting their rights;

(2) helping them to overcome their economic and social plight by building schools for educating their children and training them vocationally, and giving immediate relief in grave situations;

(3) facilitating their emigration when they suffered persecution from pogroms and insurmountable poverty.

The outstanding international organizations founded in the mid-19th century were the *Alliance Israélite Universelle, the *Anglo-Jewish Association, the *Israelitische Allianz zu Wien, and the *Hilfsverein der deutschen Juden.

The Alliance Israélite Universelle organized committees in western Europe and the United States, and later in the local communities where it carried out its programs, as well as in Jewish communities in other parts of the world. With the help of these committees it raised funds through dues or annual subscriptions, special appeals for donations, trusts, legacies, and endowments. For nearly four decades the principal sources of support were Baron Maurice de *Hirsch and his wife, Baroness Clara. The Alliance received from the baron 4,595 shares (at £100 per share) of the capital stock of the *Jewish Colonization Association (ICA) which entitled it to a voice in the direction of ICA's program, but these funds were used only for the work of ICA.

The *Anglo-Jewish Association (London, 1871) adopted aims similar to those of the Alliance Israélite Universelle. Its income came from dues, donations, trust funds, legacies, endowments, and earnings from an annual ball.

Four dominant organizations established in Europe set themselves one specific goal in their service to deprived, sick, or oppressed Jews. *ORT (St. Petersburg, 1880, with headquarters subsequently in Berlin, 1921, where it became the World Ort Union; Paris, 1933; and Geneva, 1943), directed its efforts initially to rehabilitating and retraining Russia's impoverished Jewish masses.

The Russo-Jewish Committee for Relief of Jewish Refugees (London, 1882) was organized to deal with the large-scale influx of immigrants after the outbreak of pogroms in 1881 and the May Day Laws of 1882. The Committee required funds for settling a number of refugees in England and making it possible for a larger number to migrate to the United States and Canada. Other funds were raised by the Russo-Jewish Committee in cooperation with the Board of Jewish Guardians to deal with immigrants who settled in London. In 1891, with the outbreak of pogroms in Russia, funds especially raised for immigrant work were virtually exhausted. Another meeting was convened at the Guildhall and $486,000 were donated to be used primarily but not exclusively for sending Jews westward. ICA provided additional resources to assist the Russo-Jewish Relief Committee, principally for the resettlement of immigrants in countries on both the North and South American continents. From 1890 to 1905 funds were raised for immigrants fleeing from famine in Galicia in 1890, economic and social restrictions in Romania in the early 1890s, and from pogroms in Russia in 1903 and 1905; but a year later when the Alien Act of 1905 went into effect, England ceased to be a transient center for mass Jewish immigration, and activity on behalf of immigrants was limited almost exclusively to help those who had reached English shores to be absorbed into the economic and cultural life of the United Kingdom.

The Jewish Health Society *OSE (St. Petersburg, 1912) moved its central committee to Berlin in 1922, where it was connected with ORT, embracing committees established in Berlin and London (1920) and in other communities in 1921 and 1922, Paris, 1934, and Geneva, 1943, and returned to Paris after World War II. It was founded to promote the health of Russian Jews by using preventive medical measures and giving instructions in hygiene, but was forced by the Soviet government in 1919 to liquidate its work in Russia. After World War I, it extended its work to Poland (where the organization was called TOZ), Lithuania, Latvia, and Romania, and secured additional support from its branches in those countries and from supporting committees which it established in a number of countries, but the largest measure of aid came from JDC.

The *Central British Fund for German Jewry (since 1944, the Central British Fund for Jewish Rehabilitation and Relief) was organized in London in 1933 to raise funds to help German Jews meet the crisis in Nazi Germany. It engaged in operations to help them emigrate and reestablish themselves in England, Palestine, and other countries open to immigration. From 1933 to 1935 the fund campaigned under its own name; from 1936 to 1939 as the Council for German Jewry; from 1940 to 1943 as the Central Council for Jewish Refugees; and from 1939 to 1943 again under the original name of the Central British Fund for German Jewry.

In 1944, the Central British Fund became the Central British Fund for Jewish Relief and Rehabilitation, extending its help to destitute Jewish communities in Italy and Greece, and made use of radio and television as well as other publicity media to bring its appeal to the community.

Organizations which devoted themselves to one specific area of service but did not conduct independent campaigns for their work included:

(1) Emig-direkt (Berlin, 1921, the United Committee for Jewish Emigration) which was organized by the World Relief Conference (Carlsbad, 1920; this organization raised limited funds for relief and reconstruction work in central, eastern, and southeastern Europe), and HIAS. Emig-direkt drew its major financial support from JDC, ICA, and other organizations. It was succeeded by

(2) *HICEM (Paris, 1927, a name formed from the initials of the three agencies which established it, HIAS, ICA, and Emig-direkt, the last of which associated itself in 1934). HICEM gave assistance to Jews emigrating from Europe and found places for them in various countries.

(3) American Joint Reconstruction Foundation (1924), a joint operation of JDC and ICA for economic rehabilitation of Jews in central and eastern Europe through provision of loans and other constructive measures. Also treated as an American organization is AgroJoint (American Jewish Joint Agricultural Corporation, created by JDC in 1924 and liquidated in 1951) for resettlement of Jewish tradesmen and businessmen declassed by the Soviet government in agricultural colonies in Crimea and Ukraine.

Old Type Fund Collection for Ereẓ Israel

On the international level, old-type emissaries and fund collectors for Ereẓ Israel were known as *meshullaḥim* (see *Sheliḥei Ereẓ Israel).

The excessive costs in the employment of *meshullaḥim* and their uneconomic use in Palestine of the funds collected by them have been reported on exhaustively (Proceedings of the U.S. National Conference of Jewish Charities, Cleveland, 1912). The costs were not less than those which had prevailed in earlier centuries. Some communities accepted responsibility for collecting the funds themselves. After the establishment of the State of Israel in 1948 the number of old-type fund-raising emissaries fell to a vanishing point. The state's program for social welfare, health, education, and social security, and the supplementary services of such agencies as the Jewish Agency, Hadassah, WIZO, Histadrut, Moeẓet Ha-Poalot, Malben-JDC, and others drastically reduced the need for old-type fund-raising for Ereẓ Israel's philanthropic needs. The few *meshullaḥim* now turned their efforts chiefly to capital fund-raising for new buildings and expansion of their programs. Many local committees abroad continued to collect funds for maintenance of yeshivot, *talmud torahs*, orphanages, homes for the aged, hospitals, and other institutions and sent their collections directly to the institutions in Israel. Other committees abandoned their fund-raising in return for an allocation to their institutions by a community welfare fund agency. JDC, which is a partner in the *United Jewish Appeal, for some years made a sizable allocation through its Cultural Committee for Israel Institutions in Jerusalem for the support of yeshivot in Israel, refugee rabbis, scholars, and their dependents. It has also subsidized various research and publication projects on biblical and talmudic subjects. In 1969 JDC spent close to one million dollars to aid 132 yeshivot in Israel, with an enrollment of over 18,000 students. The charity box (*kuppah* of mishnaic origin) and the charity plate (*ke'arah*) were still in use in modern times. It was reported that in 1900 there were more than 250,000 *ḥalukkah* boxes bearing the name of Rabbi *Meir Baal ha-Nes in homes, synagogues, and communal gathering places. From it evolved in the Zionist era the most widely used box in the Jewish world: the Jewish National Fund blue box for land purchase in Palestine (later, in Israel) which was introduced after the founding of the JNF in 1901.

Zionist and Modern Israel Fund Raising

The *Bilu, organized in the 1880s by a group of young Russian Jewish students committed to pioneer and settle on the land in Palestine, made the first modern effort to raise funds for Zionist purposes. They succeeded in establishing 25 branches with a total of 525 members, but achieved very little success in fund raising which depended on membership dues, earnings from literary and musical evenings, and meager donations.

The Ḥovevei Zion ("Lovers of Zion"; Russia, 1882), members of the *Ḥibbat Zion movement, met relatively greater, but not startling, success in fund-raising. The Ḥovevei Zion organized societies – first in Russia and Poland and later in Germany, England, and the United States – to help existing settlements and establish new ones in Palestine. Their membership consisted of middle-class and poor Jews and was not able to provide large sums; some sold their belongings to add to the funds which would make possible their own settlement in Palestine. The Ḥovevei Zion collected dues, canvassed for donations in homes and shops, and, when permitted by the few not antagonistic rabbis, made appeals in the synagogues. Wherever possible they collected funds in the synagogue, on the eve of the Day of Atonement and the Ninth of Av. They established congregations of their own where they were free to propagate their ideas and raise funds, but fared no better than the Bilu in their efforts to persuade wealthy Jews to support their cause. The situation improved through the intercession of Rabbi Samuel *Mohilever, founder of the first Ḥibbat Zion movement in Warsaw, and after Baron Edmund de *Rothschild began to provide funds on a munificent scale to save struggling older settlements. Some of these had been founded by Ḥovevei Zion and new ones were organized. In 1890 came another favorable turn for the Ḥibbat Zion movement, when the Russian government gave its approval for the formation of a society for the support of Jewish tillers of the soil and artisans in Syria and Palestine (see *Odessa Committee), a step that made it easier to get some help from those who had been concerned about supporting the illegal movement.

It was not until the 1890s that Ḥovevei Zion was able to win the support and leadership of men of status in England like Elim *d'Avigdor, who in 1891 joined the Ḥibbat Zion movement and became its head; his kinsman, Colonel A.E.W. *Goldsmid, who succeeded him in the leadership; and others, among them Reverend Simeon *Singer, Sir Joseph *Sebag-Montefiore, and Lord Swaythling. These men, who contributed themselves, were able to persuade other well-placed people to do so.

The Jewish National Fund (Keren Kayemet le-Israel), the *World Zionist Organization's first instrumentality for fund-raising, was founded in Basle in 1901 by the Fifth World *Zionist Congress. It was created to raise funds for the purchase of land in Palestine and its development for settlement and agriculture. In its first decade the JNF introduced the blue box for coin collections in homes, synagogues, and wherever Jews met publicly; the Golden Book in Jerusalem for inscription of the names of men and women in return for specific contributions, or of individuals in whose honor contributions were given; stamps, of which there have been over 4,000 varieties, sold for use on letters, synagogue tickets, contract documents, and even used for postage in Israel immediately before the State of Israel postal system was established in 1948; and flags, tags, and flowers which contributors received as gifts on special occasions. The "sale" of trees for planting in Israel has proved to be one of the JNF's most productive fundraising methods. The *Keren Hayesod-*United Appeal was created in London in July 1920 at a Zionist conference convened by Chaim Weizmann to raise funds for the World Zionist Organization. The Zionist Executive and later the Jewish Agency Executive were responsible for the conduct of the activities generally performed by states, including security, until the founding of the State of Israel in 1948, when the operations of the Jewish Agency were limited chiefly to immigration, absorption, and settlement. The Keren Hayesod, which had first functioned directly under the aegis of the World Zionist Organization, became the financial arm of the Jewish Agency in 1929, with the formation of the enlarged Jewish Agency which included non-Zionists as members. At one time there were branches in 70 countries, and in 1970, owing to political changes in certain countries, there were 54, but this number did not include the U.S. where UJA campaigned independently of the Keren Hayesod.

In the years between 1920 and 1948 total Keren Hayesod UJA income in the United States amounted to $143,000,000, of which UJA raised 70% and Keren Hayesod 30%. From 1948 to 1970, both organizations raised $1,990,000,000 of which 65% came through UJA and 35% from other countries through Keren Hayesod.

Other fund-raising for Israel was conducted by various organizations such as WIZO and the *Histadrut (General Federation of Labor, Israel).

Fund-raising was also done in Diaspora countries by Israeli schools of higher learning, yeshivot, hospitals, general health and social welfare agencies, orchestras, museums, and many other groups. The principal schools of higher learning in Israel, namely, The Hebrew University, Technion (the Israel Institute of Technology), Tel Aviv University and Bar Ilan University, and the Weizmann Institute of Science do their fund raising through societies of friends or committees set up for this purpose.

*Magen David Adom ("Red Shield of David," Tel Aviv, 1930) is Israel's equivalent of the Red Cross. It meets its own maintenance and operating costs with income from an annual lottery and from subsidies from the government of Israel and local authorities, which together provided from 15 to 16% of its budget.

Support from societies of friends, committees, and individuals in many countries took the form of contributions in kind (ambulances, medical supplies, and equipment) and contributions in cash for Magen David Adom's building program, which envisaged completion of 17 new structures early in the 1970s.

The Modern Campaigns and Their Goals

There are various kinds of major fund-raising campaigns, all of which are conducted annually, except for the biennial campaigns of the Israel United Appeal and the United Communal Fund in South Africa, which occur in alternate years. These include:

(1) The independent campaign conducted by a communal federation or welfare fund for local social welfare agencies, other local institutions, and at times also certain national organizations. The goals for these campaigns are set by the local federation or welfare fund.

(2) The independent campaign conducted by authorized representative local committees on behalf of national or international organizations (Keren Hayesod, Jewish National Fund, WIZO, ORT, Histadrut, and others). The goals set for an independent campaign in a community are determined by agreement between the authorized committees located in a country and the national or international organizations. The time of year to be devoted to the independent campaign is decided upon after consultation between the local federation or welfare fund and the local committee representing the national or international body. In Australian communities the Board of Jewish Deputies allots appropriate periods to various national or international campaigns.

(3) The combined campaigns for local, national, Israel, and overseas needs conducted by local federations and welfare funds or through their fund-raising agencies (e.g., United Jewish Appeal in Toronto, Combined Jewish Appeal in Montreal). The principal parties to these campaigns are the local federations or welfare funds and the Keren Hayesod. Allocations to national organizations and overseas agencies are made upon application. The goal is set by the local fund-raising body in consultation with the national committee representing the Keren Hayesod acting for the Jewish Agency (in Canada the national committee is the United Israel Appeal of Canada, Inc.), after taking into account the allocations to be granted to other beneficiaries whose applications have been approved.

(4) The Joint Campaign, which is limited strictly to Israel's needs, conducted in Great Britain and Ireland (Joint Palestine Appeal-JPA) and in Israel (United Appeal in Israel-HaMagbit ha-Me'uḥedet be-Yisrael). Partners in these campaigns are the Keren Hayesod and the Jewish National Fund. In the JPA campaign, a limited number of allocations to other Zionist fund-raising agencies is made by the Keren Hayesod from its share. The campaign goal is set after consultation

between the administrative committee of JPA in London and the Keren Hayesod, the Jewish Agency, and the Jewish National Fund head offices in Jerusalem. For the Israel Joint campaign the goal is set by the two partners (the Keren Hayesod and the JNF) and neither makes any allocation to any other agency.

[Morton Mayer Berman]

Women and Philanthropy

The Hebrew Bible establishes the precedent for women's charitable work, both in its commandments to help the needy and in narratives highlighting female acts of *gemilut ḥasadim* (loving kindness). Rebekah's kindness toward Eleazar, for example, results in her marriage to Isaac (Gen. 24: 12–27). Proverbs 31:21 praises the ideal wife who "gives generously to the poor;/Her hands are stretched to the needy." According to the rabbis, women are naturally compassionate (Meg. 14b); they are also said to be more responsive to the needy than men (Ta'an. 23b).

Dedications and inscriptions in ancient synagogues provide early evidence of Jewish women's communal donations. Although these inscriptions give little insight into whether leadership and positions of power accompanied female philanthropy, they demonstrate that women, often independently, helped determine the financial life of their communities (Brooten).

The Cairo *Genizah* preserves the bequests of *Wuhsha, a 12th-century businesswoman. Her donations (10% of her estate) were designated for Cairo synagogues, Jewish charitable institutions, and needy individuals. Both in the Middle East and in Europe, medieval and early modern Jewish women of means contributed Torah scrolls and other sacred books to the synagogue, as well as funds for oil and upkeep. Although major donations may have come from prosperous women, often widows, women of more modest means regularly donated ceremonial objects and needlework in the form of Torah binders and Torah curtains.

*Dulcea of Worms (d. 1196) is described as preparing thread and gut to sew together books, Torah scrolls, and other religious objects. She is also said to have bathed the dead and to have sewn their shrouds, a quintessential act of loving kindness in Jewish tradition. At the end of the 17th century, organized groups of women assumed responsibility for preparing deceased members of the community for burial, mirroring already established male associations (see **Ḥevra Kaddisha*).

In the 19th century, middle class Jewish women in Europe formed charitable organizations, a shift from the largely individual nature of earlier women's philanthropy. These groups, which ranged from patrons of orphan asylums to free loan societies, to dowry clubs for poor brides, mirrored the social and philanthropic patterns of non-Jewish bourgeois women. The early 20th century saw the establishment of national women's organizations for philanthropic purposes, including the *Juedischer Frauenbund in Germany (1904) and the Union of Jewish Women in England (1902). Its predecessor, the Jewish Association for the Protection of Girls and Women, was established in 1885.

Jewish women in the United States followed American models in defining their charitable organizations. The first formal American Jewish women's association, the Female Hebrew Benevolent Society of Philadelphia, was founded by Rebecca *Gratz, with her mother and sister, in 1819. Later, synagogue-based "Sisterhoods of Personal Service" were founded in response to the needs of the massive influx of Jewish immigrants from eastern Europe.

In 1893, the *National Council of Jewish Women became the first body to link local chapters into a national organization. Taking on women-centered issues like immigration, settlement, education, and the battle against white slavery, the NCJW connected middle class Jewish American women, primarily of central European descent, to their eastern European coreligionists. In 1995, more than a century after its founding, NCJW absorbed a feminist organization (U.S. Israel Women to Women) in an effort to expand its work in Israel.

By the end of the 19th century, when professional social workers increasingly assumed responsibility for serving the needy, earlier, local organizations gave way to more inwardly-focused synagogue sisterhoods or auxiliaries, where tasks were domestically linked and less public. Women raised funds for synagogue furnishings and education and were charged with expanding the reach of synagogue life. Reform leaders established the *National Federation of Temple Sisterhoods in 1913. The Conservative (*Women's League) and Orthodox movements followed suit in 1918 and 1926, respectively.

*Hadassah, the Women's Zionist Organization of America, was founded in 1912. Focusing on health initiatives in Palestine, Hadassah raised more funds and engaged more members (heavily eastern European) than any other American women's organization. In 1925, the predecessors of *Amit and *Pioneer Women (now Naamat) also formed Zionist groups. *ORT (Organization for Rehabilitation through Training), established in 1927, focused women's funds and voluntarism towards international education initiatives.

During World War I, American Jewish women formally became part of local Federation work. Women's Divisions were created in Boston (1917, reestablished in 1930), Philadelphia (1918), and New York (1920), paralleling the Businessmen's Divisions. Throughout the 20th century, Women's Divisions thrived nationwide, raising a large percentage of Federation, and eventually United Jewish Appeal, budgets. Despite their successes, these divisions were commonly considered a source of "plus giving," providing funds over and above the male partner's gift. The 1970s witnessed a rejection of the parallel power structure represented by Women's Divisions; approximately ten Federations closed these fundraising vehicles, but all were reinstated in the 1980s.

Federation funds raised by Women's Divisions are ordinarily included in general allocations. During the late 1990s, concluding that issues important to women and girls were not being appropriately funded by community allocations, female philanthropists established Jewish Women's Foundations. In their first ten years, more than 20 such funds have raised over $35 million to fund services that are specifically directed to the needs of girls and women.

U.S. women's philanthropic impact also reaches beyond single gender organizations, although women remain poorly represented in the upper echelons of Jewish philanthropic leadership in the first decade of the 21st century. While a number of individual women were substantial contributors to the Jewish community, women accounted for only 25% of board memberships and 12% of presidents in North American Jewish communal organizations.

See also *Charity.

[Deborah Skolnick Einhorn (2nd ed.)]

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°**PHILIP**, name of six kings of France.

PHILIP II or PHILIP AUGUSTUS, king of France from 1180 to 1223. All Philip's biographers agree that he detested the Jews, an attitude formed by stories he had heard in his childhood about Jews murdering Christian children. Soon after his accession, he ordered the imprisonment of all the Jews in the kingdom, and it was only in exchange for a large ransom that they were set free. Early in April 1182, in order to bolster the treasury before going to war, Philip ordered the expulsion of the Jews from his kingdom; Jewish real estate was confiscated and most of it sold on behalf of the royal treasury; synagogues were converted into churches (as was the case in *Paris and *Orleans); and debtors were absolved of their obligations to Jews on condition that they paid the treasury one-fifth of the monies owed. The king persecuted the Jews even beyond the borders of his kingdom: in 1190 he attacked in *Champagne the Jewish community of *Bray-sur-Seine (or Brie-Comte-Robert), putting to death almost 100 persons. When he authorized the return of the Jews to his kingdom in 1198, it was for purely financial reasons. At the same time as he guaranteed the Jews freedom to trade with Christians by forbidding priests to excommunicate those Christians who dealt with them, he also initiated the practice of assigning an official seal to every locality which contained an important Jewish community, for the purpose of regulating loans. An ordinance of February 1219 prohibited any loan to persons whose only source of income was their own labor. This was an attempt to put a stop to loans taken for personal consumption only; previously loans of this type were granted if paid back in three annual sums. Loans offered against pledges were not subject to compulsory registration, but the list of articles which could not be accepted in pledge was extended to cover not only church appurtenances but also agricultural tools and beasts of burden.

PHILIP III THE BOLD, king from 1270 to 1285. Shortly after his accession, Philip followed the example of his father and predecessor, *Louis IX, and in 1271 ordered his officers to enforce the wearing of the Jewish *badge. His father's policy is again reflected in an ordinance, probably issued in 1272, which prohibited the Jews from engaging in all kinds of moneylending and directed them either to pursue permitted commercial activities or to work with their hands. If there were any attempts by Jews to engage in agricultural work or handicrafts, these were in any event doomed in practice from 1280 when

Christians were forbidden to enter into their service. The most disastrous of Philip's decrees from the socioeconomic point of view was that issued in 1283, forbidding the Jews to reside in smaller places.

PHILIP IV THE FAIR, king from 1285 to 1314. The various changes in Philip's policy toward the Jews were all motivated by the sole purpose of furthering the interests of the monarchy and the kingdom. Thus, asserting royal power and challenging the Church, in 1288 he reminded his officers that the number of charges for which the Jews could be tried by the ecclesiastical courts was very limited, and he called upon them not to collaborate in any unjustified prosecutions. However, in February 1291 he ordered the expulsion of all the Jewish exiles who had arrived from England and *Gascony: Since they had been stripped of all their belongings before they arrived, the kingdom could not derive any profit from them. On April 1 of the same year, seeking to strengthen the economic status of the large towns, he renewed the order prohibiting the Jews to live in the small localities. As a step toward legal standardization, on September 23 he dismissed all the special judges of the Jews. He took action against Jewish moneylenders on Jan. 31, 1292, but only in order to expropriate the debts owed to them. When Philip decided to protect the Jews from extortion and hindrances in their trade, his measure applied to the Jews owned by the king, for he wished to be the only one to profit from them. The practical reasons for the compulsory concentration of the Jews in special quarters put into force in 1294 were revealed in 1306. Philip's only decree that arose from religious scruples and carried no material advantage was that of 1299 directed against missionary efforts on the part of the Jews and "their blasphemies and evil spells."

The king's essentially mercenary interest in the Jews was finally manifested on June 21, 1306. An oral command called on John of Nogaret, John of Saint Just, and the seneschal of Toulouse to organize the arrest of all the Jews of the kingdom, the seizure of their belongings, and then their expulsion. A written order of the same day required all the prelates, barons, and officers of every degree to lend their assistance to these three persons in the execution of their mandate. The date had been fixed for July 22 and the secret was so well guarded that not one Jew escaped. The Jews had not even left the kingdom when Philip issued his regulations for public auction of their real estate. In the eventuality that treasures hidden by the Jews in these buildings might be discovered, such finds were reserved for the treasury. Claiming that there was a judicial distinction between the Jews of the king and those of the lords, some of the latter resisted the order to expel "their" Jews. The king easily overcame their objections by promising them the lion's share of the spoils. Immediately after the expulsion of 1306, a number of Jews were given safe-conducts to return to the kingdom in order to cooperate in the recovery of their debts. Subsequently they too were driven out in 1311. It has been said that by expelling the Jews, Philip committed not only an evil act but also made a bad bargain. The second part of this statement can hardly be substantiated: nine years later the Jews were once more to be found in France; they were again expelled in 1323, while the royal treasury continued, until 1325, to collect the debts due to the Jews which had been confiscated in 1306.

PHILIP V THE TALL, king from 1316 to 1322. Of this king's few ordinances concerning the Jews, the first (April 1317) was the most favorable: it protected them against abusive imprisonment, guaranteed their right to dispose of their own estates, and exempted them from wearing the Jewish badge outside their homes. In the course of Philip's brief reign, three major events affected the situation of the Jews. During the uprising of the *Pastoureaux in 1320, the king, together with the ecclesiastical authorities, exerted his power to the utmost to protect the Jews. In 1321 the Jews of several localities were accused of having poisoned the wells and fountains in collusion with the lepers. Philip appointed a commission of inquiry on July 21 and numerous trials ensued – as well as massacres without even the travesty of a trial. An enormous fine – at first established at 150,000 livres and consequently reduced to 120,000 – was imposed on French Jewry. Finally, Philip decided on a new expulsion of the Jews from France, although this measure was not enforced until 1323, during the reign of his successor.

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[Bernhard Blumenkranz]

PHILIP OF BATHYRA (first century C.E.), son of Jacimus and grandson of Zamaris, rulers of Bathyra in the district of Trachonitis. He was a friend of Agrippa II, who appointed him commander of the army in Bathyra. Josephus describes him as "excelling in combat and… possessing other virtues which could bear comparison with any other man" (Ant., 17:30). When war broke out in Jerusalem and the peace party requested help from Agrippa, Philip was dispatched at the head of 3,000 cavalry. They occupied the upper city, but with the arrival of the *Sicarii under *Menahem b. Judah, Philip's forces were driven out of the fortress of Antonia and compelled to take refuge in the palace of Herod. After a short time, they surrendered on receiving a promise that they would be permitted to leave the city in peace. Philip, fearing that he would be put to death, hid for four days in Jerusalem and by a subterfuge succeeded in escaping from the city and reaching Gamala. This saved him from the intrigues of Varus who was plotting against him. After the dismissal of Varus, he returned with his troops to Bathyra where he was charged with the task of preventing the inhabitants from joining the revolt against the Romans. When Vespasian and Agrippa II visited Tyre, its inhabitants accused him of surrendering the palace of Herod and the Roman garrison to the Jews, and Vespasian ordered him to be sent for trial before Nero. Nothing more is known of him. Two of his brother's daughters were the only inhabitants of Gamala who escaped death by hiding from the Romans.

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[Edna Elazary]

PHILIPPINES, island republic off the coast of S.E. Asia. Marranos are known to have lived in Manila among the early Spanish settlers, and they soon came under the surveillance of the Spanish Inquisition. The first public auto-da-fé was held in Manila in 1580, but it is not known whether there were Jews among the seven persons accused. In 1593 two Marrano brothers, Jorge and Domingo Rodriguez, old-established residents of Manila, appeared at an auto-da-fé held in Mexico City because the Inquisition did not have an independent tribunal in the Philippines. They were sentenced to imprisonment. At least eight Marranos from the Philippines are known to have been tried by the Inquisition by the end of the 17th century.

Significant Jewish immigration to the Philippines did not begin until the last quarter of the 19th century. The first Jews known to arrive on the islands were the three brothers Levy, natives of Alsace, who went to Manila in the early 1870s to establish a jewelry business and brought additional people for their store. They were joined by groups of Turkish, Syrian, Lebanese, and Egyptian Jews, by families from Russia and Central Europe (either directly or via Harbin and Shanghai), and by U.S. Jews in the first few decades of the 20th century. By the early 1930s the Jewish community numbered approximately 500. The Manila congregation, organized formally in 1922, purchased land for a synagogue and a burial plot, and in 1924 erected Temple Emil, named after a benefactor, Emil Bachrach. As a result of strenuous activity by the community, the friendliness of the then governor of the Philippine Commonwealth, Manuel Quezon y Molina (who donated some land for the purpose of refugee settlement), encouragement by the U.S. authorities, and the lack of better alternatives, the Philippines became a center for refugees from Nazi persecution. By the end of World War II the Jewish community had grown to more than 2,500. Among the refugees were a rabbi, Joseph Schwartz, and a cantor for the community. Late 1944 and the first two months of 1945 were calamitous for the Jewish community. The Japanese had used the synagogue and adjacent hall as an ammunition store, and both buildings were completely destroyed in the fighting. Ten percent of the Jews fell victim to atrocities perpetrated by the retreating Japanese or to the shelling of the advancing Americans. After the war the community reorganized, and its temple was rebuilt. In 1968 the community numbered approximately 250, about a quarter of whom were Sephardim. In 2005 there were still around 250 Jews there, mostly Americans and Israelis. The community had a rabbi, *mikveh*, and Sunday school.

[Walter Zanger / Ernest E. Simke]

Relations with Israel

The Republic of the Philippines was the only Asian country to vote for the partition of Palestine in 1947, and it recognized the State of Israel in 1949. Relations between the two countries have been cordial. Formal diplomatic ties developed from the exchange of honorary consuls and honorary consuls-general in the early 1950s, to nonresident ministers in the later 1950s, the establishment of an Israel legation in Manila in 1958, and finally to the appointment of resident ambassadors in Manila and Tel Aviv in 1962. An aviation agreement was signed between the two countries in 1951, a friendship treaty was contracted in 1958, several consular agreements and a technical-aid agreement were signed in 1964. Technical cooperation includes the participation of Israeli experts in the establishment of a model village.

Israel has sent experts to the Philippines in the service of various UN agencies, and Philippine trainees in community development, agriculture, and cooperation studied in Israel. Tens of thousands of Philippine nationals work in Israel, most visibly as caretakers.

[Shaul Tuval]

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PHILIPPSON, German-Jewish family of prominent rabbis, scholars, educators, journalists, doctors, bankers, and scientists. Their family tree goes back to 16th-century Poland, where *Joshua Hoeschel ben Joseph (c. 1578–1648) had been chief rabbi of Cracow. His great-grandson was the Talmud scholar Jacob Joshua *Falk (1680/81–1756), chief rabbi of Berlin, Metz, and Frankfurt/Main, who strongly opposed the Shabbatean movement. After 1750, the family settled in Arnswalde (Neumark, Prussia). Falk's grandson, the Talmud scholar Reb Phoebus (Philipp) Moses Arnswald (d. 1794), moved to Sanderslebens (Anhalt-Dessau) upon his marriage, earning his living as a peddler. His children were the first to change "Phoebus" into the German "Philipp" and called themselves Philippson.

Arnswald's son MOSES (ben Uri Phoebus) Philippson (1775–1814) received an Orthodox upbringing in Halberstadt, Brunswick, and Frankfurt/Main and, from 1790, became a tutor in Bayreuth and later Burgkunstadt. He was attracted to the works of Moses *Mendelssohn and German literature. In 1799, he was appointed teacher at the newly founded *Freischule* at Dessau. In order to supplement his meager income he began printing books and selling them at fairs; among them were various sermons and translations from the Bible, a Hebrew reader "*Kinderfreund*" (1808), the renewed **Me'assef* (1808–12), then edited by Shalom *Cohen, and other ventures. He died of typhus, aged 39, before completion of his Hebrew-German and German-Hebrew dictionary, leaving behind four small children: Phoebus (1), Johanna, Ludwig (2), and Julius (3).

[Johannes Valentin Schwarz (2nd ed.)]

(1) Moses Philippson's eldest son, PHOEBUS MORITZ (1807–1870), was educated at the Franzschule and Gymnasium in Dessau, took his doctor's degree at Halle University, and practiced medicine at Magdeburg, from 1835 as a country doctor at Kloetze (Altmark). He published the first medical study on cholera (1831) and literary works, which he partly contributed to the periodicals of his brother Ludwig from 1834. His novel *Die Marannen* (1855) and his *Biographische Skizzen* (1864/66) are particularly worth mentioning. MORITZ Philippson (1833–1877) continued the medical career of his father Phoebus as an army-doctor, settling down in Berlin. Phoebus' granddaughter PAULA (1874–1949) became one of the first woman doctors in Germany but, from 1921, applied herself to classical studies where, from 1936, she made her mark in Greek mythology. In 1933, she moved to Basel where she died at the age of 75.

[Max Gottschalk / Johannes Valentin Schwarz (2nd ed.)]

(2) LUDWIG PHILIPPSON (1811–1889), the second son of Moses, achieved renown as the founder of the **Allgemeine Zeitung des Judenthums* (AZJ, 1837–1922), which he edited until his death. Ludwig was an avid student of both Hebrew and classical literature in Dessau and Halle. After graduation from Berlin University (1829–33), aged 22, he took up the position of a preacher and teacher in the *Magdeburg Jewish community. Though following the practice of *Reform Judaism – he preached in German and introduced the organ and the rite of confirmation – he tried to steer a middle course between Reform and *Orthodoxy. He was among the initiators of the *Rabbinical Conferences of Brunswick (1844), Frankfurt/Main (1845), and Breslau (1846), but was critical of their decisions. One of his projects was the establishment of a modern institution for training scholars, rabbis, and teachers. From 1834 Philippson started editing several periodicals, first the monthly *Israelitisches Predigt- und Schulmagazin* (1834–36), followed by his famous AZJ, the most important Jewish weekly of the 19th century, which was also dedicated to the struggle for emancipation in all parts of Germany and Europe and fought discrimination and antisemitism. From 1839–53, he published a popular translation and commentary of the Bible, which went through three editions (1858^2, 1878^3), together with a revised edition illustrated by Gustav Doré (1875). Along with I.M. *Jost, A. *Jellinek, and others he founded the *Institut zur Foerderung der Israelitischen Literatur* (1854–73), whose main achievement was the publication of H. *Graetz's *Geschichte der Juden* (1853–76). In 1862, he had to resign as rabbi of Magdeburg because he had become almost blind. He moved to Bonn, where he continued his journalistic and literary work until his death. He was among the founders of the Israelitische Bibelanstalt (1862), the *Deutsch-Israelitischer Gemeindebund (1869), and the *Hochschule fuer die Wissenschaft des Judentums (1872). Ludwig Philippson had nine children. Three of his sons attained fame in their respective fields:

[Johannes Valentin Schwarz (2nd ed.)]

(2a) MARTIN EMANUEL PHILIPPSON (1846–1916) was a historian and a communal leader in Berlin. Born at Magdeburg, he studied in Bonn and Berlin, where he later worked as a teacher, volunteered in the Franco-Prussian War (1870/71), and was finally appointed assistant professor at Bonn in 1875. However, when Emperor William I would not sanction the appointment of a Jew, he took a professorship at the Free University of Brussels (1878), and eventually became rector there. In 1890, he was forced to resign this post in the face of agitation by anti-German and radical students, and returned to Berlin as a private scholar. From 1891, he devoted his energies to Jewish communal affairs and to his writing. He was chairman of the *Deutsch-Israelitischer Gemeindebund (1896–1912) which, in 1906, initiated the Gesamtarchiv der deutschen Juden; chairman of the *Gesellschaft zur Foerderung der Wissenschaft des Judentums (1902), which commissioned his three-volume *Neueste Geschichte des juedischen Volkes* (1907–11, 1930^2); and chairman of the *Verband der deutschen Juden (1904). He also headed the *Hochschule (Lehranstalt) fuer die Wissenschaft des Judentums. In all, he published some 12 studies in modern history, especially on Prussia, but their scholarship has been sharply questioned by fellow historians.

[Herbert A. Strauss / Johannes Valentin Schwarz (2nd ed.)]

(2b) FRANZ MOSES PHILIPPSON (1851–1929), the seventh child of Ludwig, was a Belgian banker, financier, and communal leader. Born in Magdeburg, he was sent to Brussels in 1865 to work as a clerk in the *Errera banking house. In 1871, he established his own bank in Belgium and directed it for over 50 years until his death. Involved from the beginning in the Belgian colonization of Africa, he was an administrator of the Belgian Congo railways in 1889, becoming its president in 1924, and was founder of the Banque du Congo Belge (1909) and its vice president from 1911 to 1919. Philippson was president of the Brussels Jewish community and a leader of Belgian Jewry, from 1918 as president of the *Consistoire Central Israélite de Belgique. He represented the Brussels community on the administrative council of the *Jewish Colonization Association (ICA) from 1896, becoming vice president in 1901 and president in 1919. He made an important contribution to Jewish colonization efforts in Argentina and Brazil. He died in 1929 in Paris. Franz's first son, MAURICE (1877–1938), was professor of zoology and physiology at Brussels University; his second son, JULES (1881–1961), became head of the firm F.M. Philippson & Co. after the death of his father. PAUL PHILIPPSON (1910–1978), son of Maurice, was also a banker and Jewish leader in Belgium. Born in Brussels, he was an officer in the Belgian Forces (1940–45); president and founding member of the Service Social Juif (from 1945); president of the Jewish community of Brussels (1945–63); chairman of the Consistoire Central Israélite de Belgique (from 1963); and chairman of the Social Service Commission of the European Council of Jewish Communities.

[Max Gottschalk / Johannes Valentin Schwarz (2nd ed.)]

(2c) ALFRED PHILIPPSON (1864–1953), the youngest son of Ludwig, born at Bonn, became a geographer and geologist. As a student of Ferdinand von Richthofen (1833–1905), the founder of modern geography, he followed his teacher from Bonn to Leipzig University, where he took his doctor's degree (*Studien ueber Wasserscheiden*) in 1886, aged 22. In the course of a distinguished career he specialized in the east Mediterranean region, particularly Greece and Asia Minor. In 1891, he was appointed university lecturer at Bonn, 1899 assistant professor. Since a full professorship was denied to him as a Jew, he accepted a chair at Basel University in 1904, finally becoming head of the department of geography. In 1906, he was called back to Halle, and in 1911 to Bonn. In 1929, upon his retirement, his pupils and admirers published a volume of geographical essays in his honor. Several of his many books have become classics of regional geography, among them: *Der Peloponnes* (1892), *Zur Morphologie des rheinischen Schiefergebirges* (1903), *Das Mittelmeergebiet* (1904, 1922^4), *Europa* (1905, 1928^3), *Grundzüge der allgemeinen Geographie* (1921/24, 1930/33), *Das fernste Italien* (1925), and *Das byzantinische Reich als geographische Erscheinung* (1939). In 1933, he was awarded the Great Gold Richthofen Medal by the German Geographical Society. He continued to play a leading role in German geographical research until he was banned from the university and all other scientific bodies by the Nazi regime. In 1942, at the age of 78, he was deported to *Theresienstadt but managed to survive. In 1945, despite terrible suffering, he returned to his scientific activities, which he continued to his death in Bonn, aged 89. In this last period he produced two of his best works: *Die Stadt Bonn. Ihre Lage und raeumliche Entwicklung* (1947, 1951^{12}), an outstanding work on urban geography, and *Die griechischen Landschaften* (1950–59).

[Mordechai Breuer / Johannes Valentin Schwarz (2nd ed.)]

(3) JULIUS PHILIPPSON (1814–1871), the younger brother of Ludwig, who was only three months old when their father Moses died, became a businessman at Magdeburg. Of his six children, HEINRICH (1849–1908) became a businessman at Magdeburg, too. EMIL (1851–1906) studied modern languages and comparative philology in Bonn, Berlin, and Leipzig, where he took his doctor's degree. Since he was barred from an academic career, he accepted an offer from the Philanthropin in Frankfurt/Main in 1874, till he became headmaster of the Jacobsonschule at Seesen in 1886. ROBERT (1858–1942) studied philosophy and classics in Bonn, Leipzig, and Berlin, where he took his degree in 1881. He followed his brother Emil to the Frankfurt Philanthropin, till he was admitted to the Wilhelmsgymnasium at Magdeburg as the first Jewish teacher in the Prussian province of Saxony. He retired in 1923. In 1942, aged 84, he was deported to Theresienstadt, where he died a week after his arrival. Robert's oldest son JULIUS (1894–1944), who was dismissed as a teacher in 1933, joined the Socialist underground movement Internationaler Sozialistischer Kampfbund (ISK), until he was caught by the Gestapo in 1937. He was later deported to Auschwitz, where he died from exhaustion. JOHANNA PHILIPPSON (1887–1977), a daughter of Heinrich, chose a career as a teacher, from 1930 holding a senior position at the Elisabethschule in Berlin until she was dismissed in 1933. Thereafter, she taught at the schools of the Jewish community. In 1939, she immigrated to London, where she engaged in adult education and contributed to various periodicals. In 1962, she published a detailed study in the *Leo Baeck Institute Year Book* on "The Philippsons, a German-Jewish Family 1775–1933." Their history, as she wrote, "seems typical of many German Jewish families: the very rapid inhaling of German civilization, the high degree of assimilation, and the abrupt ending."

[Johannes Valentin Schwarz (2nd ed.)]

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PHILIPSON, DAVID (1862–1949), U.S. Reform rabbi. Philipson was born in Wabash, Indiana, and received his early education in Columbus, Ohio. Entering Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati, in 1875, he was one of the first group of rabbis who received their ordination in 1883. After serving as rabbi of Har Sinai Congregation, Baltimore, from 1884 to 1888, Philipson returned to Cincinnati to become rabbi of the B'nai Israel Congregation in 1888, remaining there for the rest of his life. He became the leader and the embodiment of Classical Reform Judaism, believing in the Jewish mission and universalism. Philipson participated in the conference which drew up the Pittsburgh Platform (1885); he was a founder of the Central Conference of American Rabbis, serving as president in 1907–09; and he was an influential figure in – but never president of – Hebrew Union College, where he taught for many years, and in the Union of American Hebrew Congregations. He chaired the joint CCAR-HUC Commission on Jewish Education for 39 years (1903–43), which published widely used resource material and textbooks for the Reform movement. Not a profound thinker, Philipson was productive in the literary field. His most important work was *The Reform Movement in Judaism* (2nd ed. 1931; repr. 1967). He also wrote *The Jew in English Fiction* (5th ed. 1927) and edited *The Letters of Rebecca Gratz* (1929). He was a member of the board of translators of the Jewish Publication Society for the translation of the Holy

Scriptures (1916), an editor of *Selected Writings of Isaac M. Wise* (1900), and translator of *Reminiscences of Isaac M. Wise* (1901, 1945). An autobiography, *My Life as an American Jew*, appeared in 1942, and a volume of occasional writings, *Centenary Papers*, in 1919. *My Life as an American Jew* gave voice to the double-edged nature of American Judaism, Philipson was not just a Jew, but an *American* Jew. There was something uniquely American about his Judaism. Philipson verbalized and gave a universal dimension to the optimism of the prospering Midwest Jews among whom he lived and, surviving most of its exponents, came to be regarded as a representative spokesman of "classic" Reform Judaism.

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[Sefton D. Temkin]

PHILISTINES (Heb. פְּלִשְׁתִּים), a people of Aegean origin occupying the south coast of Palestine, called Philistia (פְּלֶשֶׁת, *peleshet*) in the Bible, and often at war with the Israelites. The name Philistine is first found in the Egyptian form *prst* as one of the "Sea Peoples" who invaded Egypt in the eighth year of Ramses III (c. 1190 B.C.E.). In Assyrian sources the name occurs as both *Pilišti* and *Palaštu/Palastu* (also *Palaštaya*). The Septuagint, when not translating it as "strangers" (*allopsyloi*), usually renders it as *phylistiim* (i.e., in Genesis–Joshua).

In biblical tradition, the Philistines came originally from *Caphtor (Crete: Jer. 47:4; Amos 9:7; cf. Deut. 2:23). This tradition is buttressed by the fact that part of the Philistine coast was called הַנֶּגֶב הַכְּרֵתִי, "the Negeb of the Cherethites" (I Sam. 30:14), and by the occurrence of Cretans in parallelism with Philistines (Ezek. 25:16; Zeph. 2:5), but there is no direct archaeological proof for it. The Philistines participated in the second wave of the "Sea Peoples" who, according to Egyptian reports, ravaged the Hittite lands, Arzawa, the Syrian coast, Carchemish, and Cyprus, and threatened Egypt during the reigns of Merneptah and Ramses III. The excavations at Hattusas (Boghazköy) and Ugarit have shown that these cities were destroyed at the end of the Late Bronze Age (c. 1200) and tablets discovered at Ugarit and archaeological finds on Cyprus give evidence of this troubled period. Of the "Sea Peoples" only the Philistines, who settled along the Palestinian coast, and the Tjeker, who occupied Dor according to the Wen-Amon story (c. 1050), can be positively identified. The others – Shekelesh, Denyen, Sherden, and Weshesh – have only been conjecturally identified. These peoples, displaced from their original homelands, assimilated the Minoan–Mycenean culture patterns of the Aegean world.

"Philistia" or the "Land of the Philistines" is that part of the coastal plain of Palestine which lies between Tel Qasīle and the Wadi Ghazza, about 6 mi. (c. 10 km.) south of Gaza. (See Map: Philistine Pentapolis). The Philistine pentapolis consisted of Gaza, Ashkelon, Ashdod, Gath (Tell al–Ṣāfi = Tel Ṣafit; Rainey, Schniedewind, Dothan), and Ekron (Khirbat al-Muqannaʾ/Tel Miqne). The references to Philistia and the Philistines in Genesis 21:32, 34 and Exodus 13:17; 15:14; 23:31 are anachronistic. The Greeks, familiar at first with the coastal area, gradually applied the name Palestine to the whole of the country. The Philistines depicted on the walls of the temple of Ramses III at Medinat Habu in Egypt are dressed in a kind of Aegean kilt and wear a plumed headdress with chinstraps. Similar depictions from Late Bronze Age Cyprus have been found. The Philistine ship is unusual while the wagon and chariot fit well–known forms. The clearest sign of Philistine presence is "Philistine pottery," whose chief types are buff–colored craters, beer jugs with spouted strainers, cups, and stirrup vases with a white wash or slip on which are painted reddish–purple or black geometrical designs, or metope–like panels with stylized swans preening themselves. These are found from the beginning of the 12th century to the late 11th century B.C.E. in Philistia itself, in adjacent sites of the Negev (e.g., Tell el-Fāriʿa) and the Shephelah (ʿAyn Shams), and in cities occupied by them (e.g., *Gezer, Tell Belt Mirsim, Meggido, Afulah, and Tell al-Naṣba). Similar pottery was also found at Tell Deir ʿAllā in the Jordan valley. Analysis has shown that from the beginning Philistine pottery was a local product using local techniques with strong points of contact with the Mycenean IIIC1 wares discovered at Enkomi and Sinda on Cyprus and the other sub-Mycenean wares of Cyprus and Rhodes. Anthropoid clay coffins also signal Philistine presence (e.g., Tell al-Fāriʿa and Beth-Shean). According to the Bible, the Philistines had a monopoly on metal working (I Sam. 13:19–21) in the days of Saul, and smelting furnaces have been found at Ashdod, Tell Qasīle, Tel Ḥamma, and Tell Mor. Archaeologically, however, it appears that during Iron Age I, iron was a precious metal that did not come into mass production until the tenth century, with bronze surviving as the main utilitarian metal (Rainey, 130).

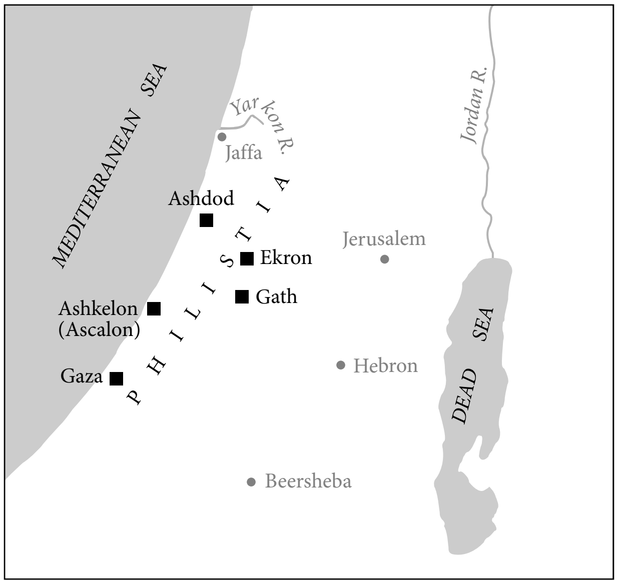

The Philistine Pentapolis.

The excavations at Ashdod have uncovered as yet undeciphered seals in the Cypro-Minoan script from the 12th–11th centuries. Tablets in a related script were also found at Deir ʿAllā. From the ninth century on, a variant of the Phoenician-Hebrew script was used in Philistia. A seventh-century temple inscription of Achish (Ikayaus; Gitin, Dothan, and Naveh; Rainey, 255) the ruler of Ekron (*šr ʿqrn*) is written in a Canaanite dialect, and dedicated to a goddess Potgaya (Demsky reads Potnia, "Mistress" in Greek). A few words that may be native Philistine have been identified. These are *seranim,* used of the five princes of the Philistine confederacy which has been equated with the Greek *turannos*, of pre-Hellenic or Asiatic origin; *kobaʿ* / *qobaʿ*, "helmet," connected with Hittite *kupakhi*; and *ʾargaz*, "chest," "ark." Two Philistine names in biblical accounts set in the period of the early monarchy have possible Asiatic connections – *Goliath with Alyattas and *Achish, king of Gath, a contemporary of David, with either the Homeric proper name Anchises (Esarhaddon and Assurbanipal refer to Ikaus[u] of Ekron), or with the sense "Achaean," i.e., "Greek." The spelling of "Achish" in the Ekron inscription is identical to the biblical spelling. The other names, from the later period, are usually Canaanite (e.g., Ahimilki, Sidqa (צדקא on a seal), Mitinti (מתת on a seal), and Hanun). Soon after coming to Palestine, the Philistines adopted a Canaanite dialect, and this in turn gave way to Aramaic. Ashdodite (Neh. 13:24) refers to such a local (Canaanite?) dialect and an ostracon from the late fifth century reading *krm zbdyh* was found at Ashdod. The recurrence of the non-Semitic name Ikayaus in the Assyrian sources and in the Ekron inscription may point to a cultural revival perhaps inspired by the presence of Greeks in Canaan, by nostalgia (cf. Hezekiah and Josiah's reforms), or both.

The Philistines were uncircumcised and were, therefore, despised by the Israelites (Judg. 14:3; 15:18; I Sam. 17:26; 18:25). Among other recognizable cultural traits are certain peculiar burial practices, with Mycenean connections; the replacement of goat meat and mutton in their diets by pork and beef; the division of their cities into zones; and the development of a central city plan (Ashdod had a drainage system and a municipal garbage dump outside the city walls).

Various ritual objects found at Ashdod and Gezer are closely related to similar objects from the Aegean, but all the Philistines' gods known from the Bible have Semitic names. According to the Bible the Philistines had temples to Dagon in Gaza and Ashdod (Judg. 16:23; I Sam. 5:1–7), to Astarte (Ashtoreth) in Ashkelon (Herodotus 1:105), and to Baal-Zebub in Ekron (II Kings 1:1–16). A Philistine temple discovered at Tell Qasile built about 1150 and rebuilt several times shows Aegean as well as Canaanite influence. Excavations at Ashdod revealed a stylized image of a female deity with small breasts, merged into a high-backed chair. Though the deity's name is unknown she is now commonly referred to as "Ashdoda." An elegant and monumental temple with a large hearth, reflective of Aegean practice, was found at Ekron. Literary sources refer to Philistine temples as late as the Hellenistic period (I Macc. 10:83; Diodorus Siculus 2:4).

The Philistines also achieved a reputation as soothsayers (Isa. 2:6). The Philistine pentapolis, until its defeat by David, was ruled by *seranim*, "leaders," who acted in council and were able to overrule the decision of any individual *seren* (I Sam. 29:1–7). The Philistines were able to muster large, well-armed troops of foot soldiers, archers, and charioteers (I Sam. 13:5; 29:2; 31:3) and also elements of the autochthonous population and mercenaries (David – I Sam. 27–29; the Rephaim – II Sam. 21:18–22). Individual combat (Goliath – I Sam. 17:4–10) and shock troops were used by the Philistines (I Sam. 13:17–18; 14:15). In the later period they were ruled by "kings" (Jer. 25:20; Zech. 9:5).

After being repulsed by Ramses II, the Philistines first settled the coast of Palestine. Ashkelon, Ashdod, Gath, and Gaza, known from older sources, were captured by the Philistines from their Canaanite inhabitants, perhaps with the tacit permission of the Egyptians. They may also have served as part of the Egyptian garrison at Beth-Shean. The tradition concerning *Shamgar son of Anath's killing 600 Philistines may stem from this time (Judg. 3:31). Ekron may have been a newly founded Philistine city, and the excavations at the Philistine-founded Tell Qasīle and at Ashdod attest their building activity during this period. There are no reports of any opposition to the Philistines on the part of the inhabitants of the coastal cities. The Philistine expansion into adjacent areas in the Shefelah and the Negev from about 1150 on is demonstrated by the abundance of their pottery found there. The ensuing pressure upon the Danites and Judahites is reflected in the *Samson saga (Judg. 13–16), and toward the middle of the 11th century, they were able to encroach upon the hill country, destroy Shiloh, and capture the ark. They devastated part of western Palestine, and occupied Gibeath-Benjamin, Megiddo, and Beth-Shean. Under Samuel (I Sam. 7:7–14) and Saul, at the beginning of the latter's reign (c. 1020), some respite from the Philistines was obtained. The Philistine return to power is highlighted by the Goliath pericope (I Sam. 17), but the freedom of David and his band as auxiliaries of Achish of Gath points up Philistine weakness (I Sam. 27). After the defeat of Saul at Gilboa, the Philistines were able to reestablish control over part of the land as far north as Beth-Shean, but David, after being anointed as king over all Israel, was able to use his knowledge of Philistine strategy to defeat them and to drive them back to Gezer (II Sam. 5:17–25). David subdued the city of Gath (I Chron. 18:1) and imposed vassalage upon it; Gath supplied him with faithful warriors like *Ittai the Gittite (II Sam. 15:18–22; 18:2). Mercenary troops from the other independent Philistine cities, such as the Cherethites and Pelethites (see below) under the command of Benaiah son of Jehoiada, joined the ranks of David's personal army.

Philistine history was now the history of individual cities, rather than that of a people acting in concert. It is quite possible that in the course of their battles with Saul and David, the ruling Philistine military class had been wiped out and that strong assimilation with the native Canaanite population had already taken place. Except for Achish of Gath, mentioned in I Kings 2:39–40, who is most probably the same person as the ruler of Gath under whom David served, and Ikausu of Ekron, a contemporary of Ashurbanipal of Assyria, all the known subsequent Philistine rulers have Semitic names. The typically Philistine pottery of the Early Iron Age disappears, and the pottery and other artifacts found in the following Early Iron Age III levels is the same as that found elsewhere in Palestine. The Philistines were, on the whole, limited now to their pentapolis and the immediate coastal area. Reduced to a secondary role, their hold over the sea coast was broken, and Phoenician maritime expansion became possible. The vassal status of Gath remained unchanged at the beginning of the reign of Solomon (c. 960), as can be seen by the ease with which Shimei son of Gera moved into and out of that city (I Kings 2:39–40). Toward the end of the United Monarchy and the early part of the divided Monarchy, Egyptian influence in Philistia may be surmised from the campaign of an unnamed Pharaoh of the 21st Dynasty at Gezer (I Kings 9:16–17) and the use made by Sheshonk I (biblical *Shishak) of Gaza as the starting point of his campaign in Palestine (c. 917), as reported in his itinerary. During the next 50 years *Gibbethon (Tell Malāt, near Gezer), which was held by the Israelites, was the site of border battles, involving troops of relatively large numbers, between them and the Philistines (I Kings 15:27; 16:15–17). During the reign of Jehoshaphat the Philistines paid tribute to Judah (II Chron. 17:11), but were able to make incursions into Judahite territory and raid the king's household, carrying off his son Jehoram (II Chron. 21:16–17). It is also clear, from these scant references, that Arabian tribes now occupied the territory to the south of Philistia.

During his raid into Judah in about 815, Hazael of Aram was able to capture the city of Gath (II Kings 12:18). The first definite reference to Philistia in Assyrian sources dates from the reign of Adad-nirâri III (810–783), who boasts of having collected tribute from Philistia (Palastu) in his fifth year. Uzziah successfully raided Philistine territory and, according to the biblical report, tore down the walls of some cities (as shown archaeologically at Ashdod) and set up garrisons of his own (II Chron. 26:6–7). Although no destruction of the city is reported, except in the enigmatic reference in Amos 5:2, Gath lost its former importance. Gath is not listed in the various prophetic condemnations of the Philistines (Jer. 25:20; Amos 1:6–8; Zeph. 2:4; Zech. 9:5–8), and had, in all likelihood, come under the rule of Ashdod. During the reign of Ahaz, the Philistines once again raided Judah and occupied cities in the Shefelah and the Negev (II Chron. 28:18; cf. Isa. 9:11; 14:28–32). However, Tiglath-Pileser III invaded Philistia in 734, sacked Gaza, and forced vassalage on Hanun, its king, and upon Mitinti of Ashkelon (text in Rainey, 229; Ehrlich, 176–89). *Sargon II stormed Gaza in 720, after Hanun had participated in the anti-Assyrian coalition, exiled Hanun, and made Gaza once again a vassal city. Tribute from various Philistine cities is recorded in Assyrian records of this period. In 713, Azuri of Ashdod was deported for treachery and was replaced by his brother, Ahimiti, but the Ashdodites placed a local usurper, Iamani, on the throne. Iamani fortified Ashdod and, by forming an alliance including Philistia, Judah, Edom, and Moab, he precipitated an attack in 712 by Sargon. This campaign is referred to in Isaiah 20:1. The capture of Ekron and Gibbethon is portrayed on wall reliefs from Dur-Sharrukin; Ashdod, Ashdod-Yam, and Gath were also captured. Excavations at Ashdod have uncovered fragments of a basalt victory stele erected by Sargon and also show that the walls of the city were destroyed at this time. Ashdod was temporarily converted into an Assyrian province. According to II Kings 18:8, Hezekiah invaded Philistia and attacked Gaza. In Ashkelon, Sidqa replaced the loyal ruler while Hezekiah was in alliance with the people of Ekron who handed over their king, Padi, to him. The Ethiopian rulers of Egypt in all likelihood planned to move into the south of Philistia. In 701, Sennacherib invaded southern Palestine and captured the cities of Beth-Dagon, Jaffa, Bene-Berak, and Azor and their capital Ashkelon; deported Sidqa and his family and imposed a new king; and punished the patricians of Ekron, restored Padi to his throne, and rewarded the faithful kings of Ashdod, Ekron, and Gaza with a strip of Judahite territory in the Shefelah. The traditional dislike of the Philistines, reflected in both the Prophets and the Psalms, was intensified by their participating in the Phoenician slave trade during this period (Joel 4:1–8). During the rest of Sennacherib's reign Philistia served as a buffer zone between Assyria and Egypt. During the reigns of Esarhaddon and Ashurbanipal, the kings of Gaza, Ashkelon, Ekron, and Ashdod are listed among the loyal vassals of Assyria who supplied corvée workers and troops to the Assyrian army. The constant passage of Assyrian troops through Philistia in the campaigns against Egypt guaranteed the tranquility of the area.

After the breakdown of Assyrian might, the Philistine cities, particularly Ashdod, were under strong Egyptian pressure (Herodotus 1:157). Archaeological discoveries have made it probable that Josiah annexed part of northern Philistia near Yavneh-Yam. There is also a tradition of an invasion of Scythians who destroyed the temple of Astarte in Ashkelon (Herodotus 1:105). Philistia was overrun by the Egyptians under Neco, who conquered Gaza in about 609–608 (Herodotus 1:159; cf. Jer. 47:1). The Philistines were allied with Egypt against Nebuchadnezzar of Babylon, as is now clear from the Aramaic letter found at Saqqarah from Adon (of Ashkelon?) to Pharaoh, but Ashkelon was laid waste and her king exiled in 604 by Nebuchadnezzar. Nebuchadnezzar put out any remaining sparks of Philistine independence. He deported both rulers and people, as has been shown by the mention of the kings of Gaza and Ashdod and the princes of Ashkelon in various lists from Babylon (cf. Jer. 25:20; 47:2–7; Zeph. 2:4–7; Zech. 9:5–6). The later history of the cities Ashdod (Azotus), Ashkelon (Ascalon), and Gaza is of Persian and then Hellenistic cities with a highly mixed population. Only the territorial name *Palestine connected them with their Philistine past.

The Cherethites and Pelethites (הֲכְּרֵתִי וְהֲפְּלֵתִי) were a section of David's personal army who joined him after he had defeated the Philistines. They were part of his retinue after he was established in Jerusalem. Their commander, *Benaiah son of Jehoiada, is listed as a member of David's administrative corps (II Sam. 8:18; 20:23). Their absolute loyalty to David was proved by their accompanying him on his flight from Jerusalem (II Sam. 20:7). Their faithfulness was again proved in their supporting the selection of Solomon as king (I Kings 1:38–44). The name Cherethite most probably meant Cretan and alluded either to the Aegean origin of part of the "Sea Peoples" who settled along the south coast of Palestine with the Philistines or to a group of Cretans settled there by the Egyptians. They probably dwelt in the area to the southeast of Philistia proper, which is once alluded to as the Cretan Negev or the Negev of the Cherethites (I Sam. 30:14). The Pelethites were, in all likelihood, recruited from the ranks of the Philistines with whom David had served during his stay in Ziklag. The form "Pelethite" (*peleti*) for "Philistine" (*pelishti*) is explicable as a formation modeled on "Cherethite" (*kereti*). In the two passages in which the Cherethites are in parallelism with the Philistines, it is not clear from the context whether the terms are synonymous or if separate peoples are meant (Ezek. 25:16; Zeph. 2:5). The Carians were a people originating in southwest Anatolia whose services as mercenaries in Egypt and elsewhere, from the early seventh century on, is well known. Their script has not yet been deciphered, nor is their history before this period known. There may very well be a connection between them and the enigmatic Carites (הַכָּרִי) of II Kings 11:4, 19 who were considered loyal to the royal house in the story of Joash. The variant reading "Carites" (כָּרִי) for Cherethites (כְּרֵתִי) in the *ketiv* of II Samuel 20:23 is in all likelihood an error.

Archaeological excavation has revealed the Philistines to have been a highly sophisticated ancient people, both materially and commercially. They developed trading networks between Canaan and the rest of the Mediterranean world. Ekron produced both utilitarian and high-quality tableware as well as wine. By the seventh century B.C.E. Ekron was the largest producer of olive oil in the ancient Near East. Nonetheless, despite their impressive historical accomplishments, the Philistines, "because of their confrontation with the hill people known as the Israelites… acquired a negative historical image that still retains its symbolic power" (Dothan, CANE II, 1279).

[Jonas C. Greenfield / S. David Sperling (2nd ed.)]

In the *Aggadah*

Most Midrashim are concerned with the alliance made of Abraham and Isaac with Abimelech, king of the Philistines (Gen. 21 and 26). Abraham is criticized for concluding an alliance with him. The Midrash tells that as a punishment for the seven sheep he sacrificed in making this covenant, the Philistines would one day slay seven righteous men – Samson, Hophni, Phinehas, and Saul with his three sons; they would destroy seven holy places; they would retain the holy Ark in their country as spoils of war for a period of seven months; and, furthermore, only the seventh generation of Abraham's descendants would be able to rejoice in the possession of the land (Gen. R. 54:4). Jacob did not stay in Philistia lest he too be compelled to make an alliance with the Philistines, thus delaying the conquest of the Holy Land (*ibid.* 68:7). David was not bound by his forefathers' covenant with Abimelech, since the Philistines' stopping of the wells which Abraham had dug constituted a breach of this agreement (Mid. Hag. to Gen. 26:28). However, they came to him with the bridle of a mule, which Isaac had given to Abimelech as a pledge of this covenant (PdRE 36). David commanded the Sanhedrin to investigate the claim carefully, but it was declared unfounded. Moreover, the Philistines of his day were not the descendants of the Philistines who had concluded the treaty; they had immigrated from Caphtor at a much later date (Mid. Ps. 60, 1).

After the capture of Samson the Philistines brought their wives to him in the Gaza prison in the hope that he might sire children who would be as strong as he (Sot. 10a). When they took the Ark, they said contemptuously: "The God of the Israelites had only ten plagues which he expended upon the Egyptians, and he no longer has it in his power to do us harm." As a result they were afflicted with a new plague consisting of mice crawling forth out of the earth and gnawing their entrails (Sif. Num. 88).

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PHILLIPS (originally **Pheibush**), early American family. The Phillips family was founded in America by JONAS PHILLIPS (1736–1803), born in Buseck in the Rhineland, who arrived in Charleston, South Carolina, in 1756 as an indentured servant of Moses *Lindo, a merchant. He became a freeman in 1759, lived in Albany, where he failed in business, and moved to New York where he was a *shoḥet*. Phillips subsequently engaged in business and was admitted as a freeman in New York City in 1769. A patriot who subscribed to the Non-Importation Resolution, Phillips left New York when it was threatened by the British and enlisted as a private in the Philadelphia militia in 1778. After the war Phillips continued as a merchant in Philadelphia and was elected president of Mikveh Israel Congregation. He took part in signing petitions addressed both to the governments of Pennsylvania and the United States asking civil rights for Jews. Phillips had 21 children, a number of whom died in infancy; a grandson was Mordecai Manuel *Noah.

MANUEL PHILLIPS (d. 1826), son of Jonas, studied medicine at the University of Pennsylvania and served as assistant surgeon in the War of 1812. He died in Vera Cruz.

NAPHTALI PHILLIPS (1773–1870), another son, was born in Philadelphia and became president of Mikveh Israel Congregation at the age of 25. He moved to New York in 1801 where he served Shearith Israel Congregation in a similar capacity for 14 terms. Naphtali Phillips was the first of a group of Jewish newspaper publishers in the United States, owner of New York City's *National Advocate*. He worked in the Customs House for 30 years. Phillips was the father of 15 children.

ZALEGMAN PHILLIPS (1779–1839), another son of Jonas, was a graduate of the University of Pennsylvania. Admitted to the bar in 1799, he was the first Jewish lawyer in Pennsylvania.

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[Abram Vossen Goodman]

PHILLIPS, LAZARUS (1895–1986), lawyer, businessman and member of the Senate of Canada. Phillips was born into an establishment Montreal Jewish family. A member of Montreal's uptown Jewish elite, he graduated from McGill University in 1918, after service in the Canadian Officers Training Corps. He served on the Headquarters Staff of the Canadian Siberian Expeditionary Force in 1918–19 before returning to Montreal to practice corporate law, first in the offices of Sam *Jacobs, Liberal member of Parliament for Montreal's Cartier riding. In 1923 Phillips became a partner in the firm and was named King's Counsel in 1930. Phillips was also active in the Liberal Party, an able fundraiser and well connected in Ottawa. His one foray into electoral politics was ill-starred. He was the Liberal candidate in the hotly contested 1943 by-election in Montreal's Cartier riding, where he and CCF candidate David *Lewis were both defeated by Fred *Rose, the Communist (Labor-Progressive) candidate.

Phillips was active in various local Jewish philanthropies and served on the boards of numerous corporations. For the better part of 30 years Phillips was also chief legal counsel to Sam *Bronfman and was often the public face of the Seagram empire. In 1968 he was appointed a Liberal Party member of the Senate of Canada, the first Jew from Quebec appointed to the upper house. This was an appointment long coveted by Sam Bronfman and the Phillips appointment was something of a personal disappointment to Bronfman.

[Gerald Tulchinsky (2nd ed.)]

PHILLIPS, SIR LIONEL (1855–1936), South African financier and mining magnate. Born in London, he emigrated to South Africa (from England). He settled in Kimberley in 1875 and started work as a diamond sorter. In 1881 he became a director of the Griqualand West Diamond Company. He joined the leading mining house of Hermann Eckstein and Company in 1889 and succeeded Eckstein as head of the firm. In 1891 he was president of the Chamber of Mines and he played an important part in the financial organization and technical development of the gold mines. Phillips was one of the four members of the Reform Committee who, after the fiasco of the Jameson Raid (1896), were sentenced to death. The sentences were commuted to a fine of £25,000 and banishment. He returned to South Africa after the Boer War, was a member of the first Union Parliament (1910–15), and was created a baronet in 1912. During the disturbances accompanying the Rand strike of 1913 he was severely wounded. Phillips' views on contemporary affairs are given in *Transvaal Problems* (1905) and *Some Reminiscences* (1924). On his retirement he settled at the Cape. Phillips and his wife Dorothea Sarah Florence Alexandra Ortlepp laid the foundations of the Johannesburg Art Gallery collection and of the Michaelis Gallery in Cape Town.

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PHILLIPS, MARION (1881–1932), British politician. Born and educated in Melbourne, Australia, the daughter of a solicitor, Marion Phillips moved to Britain in 1904, where she received a doctorate at the London School of Economics. She was employed by Sidney and Beatrice Webb as a researcher on the London poor and joined the Fabian Society as well as suffragette and pro-labor organizations. From 1912 she was actively involved in politics, serving as a Labour councillor in London. Phillips was especially concerned with Labour's policies towards women and was the author of a pioneering work, *Women and the Labour Party* (1918). In 1929 she was elected Labour Member of Parliament for Sunderland, one of the first woman Labour MPs and the first Australian woman to win a seat in any national parliament. She was also the first Jewish woman to serve in the British Parliament. Marion Phillips lost her seat at the 1931 general election and died of stomach cancer at the age of only 50.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: ODNB online; ADB.

[William D. Rubinstein (2nd ed.)]

PHILLIPS, NATHAN (1892–1976), Canadian politician. Phillips was born in Brockville, Ontario, the descendent of a pioneer Canadian Jewish family. He graduated from high school at 16 and in 1913 at age 21 graduated from Osgoode Hall Law School in Toronto. A member of the Toronto law firm of Phillips and Phillips, Phillips acted as crown counsel at various Ontario Assizes and in 1929 was appointed king's council, the youngest in Ontario. Phillips was also a member of the Conservative Party and unsuccessfully ran for federal and provincial office. He was more successful in municipal politics. He was a member of Toronto City Council for 36 years, and won two back-to-back terms as mayor of Toronto, serving from 1955 until his retirement in 1962. Phillips' election as mayor was notable in that he was not only the first Jewish mayor of Toronto or any other major Canadian city, but he was also the first politician to break the Orange Order's iron hold on the political power of Toronto. His term as mayor marked a turning point in the city, a transforming moment when Toronto shifted from being a staunchly Protestant, Anglocentric, and conservative city to become a modern cosmopolitan and thriving metropolis. Fittingly, Phillips was popularly dubbed "mayor of all the people." Determined that his city should have a new showcase City Hall, he won approval for an international design competition that was ultimately won by Finnish architect Viljo Revell with a strikingly avante-garde design. The large public square in front of the building is named for Phillips. Phillips was a member of several service groups including the Masonic Order, the Order of Eagles, and the Lions and Kiwanis Clubs. He was president of Toronto Lodge B'nai B'rith and honorary president of the Holy Blossom Temple Brotherhood and was the recipient of the Human Relations Award from the Canadian Council of Christians and Jews in 1959.

[Frank Bialystok (2nd edition)]

PHILLIPS, PHILIP (1807–1884), U.S. congressman and jurist. The son of an immigrant from Germany, Phillips, who was born in Charleston, South Carolina, began studying law there in 1825, and was admitted to the South Carolina bar in 1828. As a delegate to the South Carolina "nullification convention" of 1832, Phillips, a unionist, strongly opposed Southern secession over the slavery issue. Phillips was elected to the South Carolina state legislature in 1834 but moved the following year to Alabama, where he served in the legislature from 1844 to 1853. In 1853 he was elected as a Democrat to a two-year term in the House of Representatives in Washington, thus becoming the second U.S. Jew to sit in Congress. Phillips was admitted to the bar of the Supreme Court in 1850 and during his stay in Washington argued many cases before the Court. With the outbreak of the Civil War in 1861, he and his non-Jewish wife were placed under house arrest in Washington because of the latter's openly pro-Southern sympathies. However, later that year they were permitted to move to New Orleans. After Lee's surrender Phillips returned to Washington, where he continued to practice law. Among his published legal works was his *Statutory Jurisdiction and Practise of the Supreme Court of the United States* (1872).

Although Phillips was secretary of the Charleston Reform Society of Israelites during his residence in that city, his association with Jewish life appears to have been tenuous. He did, however, head a Jewish delegation to President Buchanan in 1857 to petition for the repeal of the anti-Jewish clauses contained in the American-Swiss treaty of 1855.

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PHILLIPS, REBECCA MACHADO (1746–1831), pioneering American communal leader. Phillips was born in Reading, Pennsylvania, the eldest of two daughters of María Caetena (Zipporah), and Rev. David Mendes Machado, refugees of the Portuguese Inquisition who had returned to open Judaism in London. Her maternal grandfather, Samuel Nunes Ribeiro, had been a prominent court physician in Lisbon and later a founding member of Governor Oglethorpe's Savannah colony established in 1733, while her father served as cantor of New York's Congregation Shearith Israel and taught in its school. The family's Crypto-Jewish legacy was largely preserved by Rebecca's mother and female relatives, who transmitted accounts of escape from the Inquisition and maintained syncretic Catholic/Jewish rituals long after their return to open Judaism.

Rebecca's father died in 1747 and her mother subsequently remarried, producing a half-sister. In 1762, at age 16, Rebecca wed Jonas Phillips (1735–1803), an Ashkenazi merchant 11 years her senior, and moved with him to New York, where the first of their 21 children was born. Along with Zipporah Levy (1760–1832), daughter of Hayman Levy and wife of Benjamin Mendes Seixas, who also bore 21 children, Rebecca holds the fertility record among early American Jewish women. Most of her children survived to adulthood.

After some years of financial hardship, the Phillips family emerged prosperous from the Revolutionary War; by the early 1780s Jonas was the second wealthiest Jew in Philadelphia, where the family had relocated after the British occupation of New York. A staff of indentured servants, slaves, and a wet nurse permitted Rebecca to devote some of her energies to the synagogue and larger communal affairs. In 1782, she raised funds to purchase ritual objects for the newly founded synagogue, Mikveh Israel. Rebecca made several personal donations over the years, including a scroll of Esther. In 1801 she became a founding member of the Female Association for the Relief of Women and Children in Reduced Circumstances, a Philadelphia organization whose Jewish and gentile members provided food and clothing to indigent women and children. In 1820 she served as first directress and one of 13 managers on the board of the Female Hebrew Benevolent Society of Philadelphia, founded in 1819 to assist the Jewish poor. Rebecca assumed a more central role in household affairs after the death of her husband in 1803. Contemporary reports allude to the high status and respect she enjoyed during her latter years.

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[Aviva Ben-Ur (2nd ed.)]

PHILLIPS, WILLIAM (1907–2002), U.S. editor and writer. Born in New York, Phillips attended City College and earned a master's degree at New York University (1930). He completed some graduate work at Columbia while an instructor in English at NYU. Phillips is best known as a co-editor of arguably the most influential of the "little" magazines, the *Partisan Review.* Phillips and co-editor Philip *Rahv founded the *Partisan Review* in 1933 as the literary modernist organ of the John Reed Club. The criticism, poetry, and fiction that appeared in the magazine was intended at first to complement the more overtly political magazine *New Masses*. After nine published issues associated with the John Reed Club, *PR* broke with the organization because of ideological differences related to the Moscow Purge Trials. Phillips and Rahv, who had refused to subordinate their literary standards to Communist Party ideology, reestablished *Partisan Review* as an independent journal in December 1937. After breaking from the John Reed Club, *PR* remained committed for a period to independent Marxist, anti-Stalinist principles. Circulation of the magazine never topped 15,000, but its profound influence on American intellectual life is undeniable. Historians have described *PR* as intensely urban, anti-Stalinist with a Trotskyist bent, New York-dominated, and overwhelmingly Jewish. The magazine brought together, in Phillips's words, "writers committed to modernism and literary innovation, and radical social and political thinkers, most of whom were either non-Communist or anti-Communist." Phillips himself wrote for *PR* and other magazines (sometimes under the penname "Wallace Phelps"), and his memoir, *A Partisan View*, appeared in 1983, but he is better known as an editor who brought to the public the works of influential writers including Hannah *Arendt, Saul *Bellow, Clement Greenberg, Irving *Howe, Delmore *Schwartz, Lionel *Trilling, and many, many others. Although *PR* had lost its central place of influence by the 1960s (Rahv left the magazine in the late 1960s and died in 1973), Phillips and his second wife, Edith Kurzweil, continued to edit the magazine until his death in 2002. The final issue of *Partisan Review,* a tribute to Phillips, was published in 2003.

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[Daniel Greene (2nd ed.)]

PHILLIPSON, IRVING JOSEPH (1882–1955), U.S. Army officer. Graduated from West Point in 1904, Phillipson saw action in the Philippines in 1906–07 and in the Meuse-Argonne battles of World War I. In World War II he was chief of staff of the Second Corps Area and in 1941 was promoted to major general. In 1942 he was sent to Washington to plan and administer the aid to be given to the wives and dependents of soldiers. Phillipson introduced many needed reforms in this field.

PHILO (**The Elder**), author of a Greek epic entitled *On Jerusalem*. He is sometimes identified with the Philo the Elder mentioned by Josephus (*Contra Apionem* 1:218) and Clemens of Alexandria (*Stromata*, 1:141, 3). If so, his presumed date can be conjectured from the fact that these list him after *Demetrius (fl. 221–204 B.C.E.) and before *Eupolemus (fl. 161–157). It is, however, by no means certain that the two are identical, since Philo was a common name. Of Philo's lengthy epic of 14 (or four) books, only three fragments consisting of a total of only 24 lines survive. About half of the lines are unintelligible, either because of faulty transmission of the text or because of the author's own obscurity. The view that the obscurity was intentional must be rejected.

Mras explains the first fragment as dealing with Abraham's circumcision and the binding of Isaac. Because the patriarch was the first to perform circumcision according to statute, God made a covenant with him. Gutmann rejects this interpretation, as based on a too heavily emended text. But Gutmann's own interpretation of the first four lines as a statement of the Torah's antedating the creation of the world has been questioned. The remaining six lines of Fragment I, however, appear clearly to deal with the binding of Isaac, the appearance of the angel, and the slaughtering of the ram, though the details are not quite clear. Fragment II depicts the remarkable fountains that watered Jerusalem. Similar accounts, contrasting the dry parched surroundings of the city with the wealth of water in the city itself are found in the Letter of *Aristeas (88–91) and in a fragment from Timochares, the author of a *Life of Antiochus* (IV?). Philo's poem can also be compared with that of Theodotus, a Samaritan epicist, describing the marvelous streams that watered the valleys of the holy city of Shechem. Philo's poem, however, does not restrict itself to Jerusalem, but ranges widely through biblical lore. Fragment III records Joseph's rule in Egypt. If the author of the poem *On Jerusalem* is identical with the historian mentioned by Clemens, it is reasonable to assume that Philo dealt with chronology in a manner similar to Eupolemus, and that perhaps again, like Eupolemus, wrote in Jerusalem.

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[Ben Zion Wacholder]

PHILO (**Pseudo-**) or **LIBER ANTIQUITATUM BIBLICARUM**, conventional ascription and title of a Latin translation of an early Jewish chronicle. With extensive omissions, modifications, and additions, the chronicle retells biblical history from Adam to Saul's death (the archetype has lost its ending and how much followed remains uncertain). The length of the work makes it impracticable to list its chief innovations; for an outline see L. Cohn and G. Kisch (see bibl.). The period until the Exodus is briefly treated; additions and omissions are so distinct from those of *Jubilees that it has been suggested that Pseudo-Philo was correcting and supplementing that book. Especially notable are the strangely sympathetic account of Balaam, Moses' apocalyptic testament, the revisions of Joshua 22:7ff. and Judges 17–21, the novel careers of the first judge (called Kenez, as in Josephus' *Antiquities*) and his successor Zebul, Phinehas' installation of Eli, his ascension (to return as Elijah), and additional prayers, speeches, and visions, etc. throughout.

The title *Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum* is probably a late assimilation of "Philo's" historical work to Josephus' *Antiquities*. The author (Jewish, not Christian) does not adopt any pseudepigraphical mask. He is probably from Palestine, not the Diaspora, and is totally devoid of classical allusions. The manuscript's ascription to Philo of Alexandria is impossible.

Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum is usually dated shortly after 70 C.E., the strongest argument being Moses' prediction (19:7) that the First Temple would be destroyed on the 17th of the 4th month; it is plausible, though not inevitable, that this presupposes the cessation of the *Tamid* ("the daily offering") on that date in 70. Such a date would suit the linguistic parallels with II *Baruch and IV *Esdras, but the *Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum* is demonstrably the source from which the other two have borrowed. Pseudo-Philo's Hebrew biblical text, furthermore, suggests an earlier date for at least much of the material. A few Septuagintal, Proto-Lucianic, and Palestinian readings have been noted by earlier scholars, but their number is far greater. That the translator, influenced by some form of Greek Bible, substituted its text for that of Pseudo-Philo is impossible, as such readings occur in passing allusions as well as in long quotations. More probably, the author himself used a notably pre-Masoretic form of Hebrew text – how late could he have done this? Further indications of date are unusable until the chronological system is explained.

Pseudo-Philo appears to be supplementing Chronicles with a history principally about Israel's cultic and national leadership from the Exodus until David. His real purpose is unclear, especially since the end is missing. The work is usually taken as a haphazard aggadic collection, with some unspecified educational or pious purpose, and the fact that many additions have parallels elsewhere suggest that not all the *aggadah* was created *de novo*. Its importance lies in the fact that it is one of the oldest substantive midrashic works extant. A. Spiro expounds it as a systematic attempt to replace the canonical history of pre-Davidic times by a version apter for anti-Tobiad and anti-Samaritan polemic. The anti-Tobiadism may be imaginary; some anti-Samaritanism is certain (there are even intriguing parallels with later Samaritan chronicles), but whether this controls the whole composition is disputable and the reason for the omissions is not yet apparent.

The affinities in Pseudo-Philo's theology and vocabulary need study; "mystical Jewish Hellenism" and "Essene Gnosis" are not too helpful characterizations. A coincidence (23:2) with Jubilees-Qumran on the date of the Feast of Weeks could be important for identifying its background and praxis; but other analogous indicators have not yet been noted.

The work survives in whole or in part only in some 20 late Latin manuscripts, but is older, having been translated (second to fourth century C.E.) via Greek from Hebrew. No clear traces of either Greek or Hebrew survive; the Hebrew form in *Chronicles of Jerahmeel* was retroverted from an important lost Latin manuscript. Strangely enough the work appears to have been unknown to the *Church Fathers. After early printings, *Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum* was almost completely neglected until 1898. Among Jewish writers until this period it was known only to Azariah de *Rossi. The work of emendation, begun by M.R. James and L. Ginzberg (*The Biblical Antiquities of Philo*, 1970), can be systematically perfected and a critical text established. Much of the work (including chronological data and proper names presumably important for Pseudo-Philo's purposes) is as yet obscure, though it is not irremediably corrupt.

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[John Strugnell]

°**PHILODEMUS** (c. 110–c. 40/35 B.C.E.), Epicurean philosopher from Gadara in Palestine. He founded a school at Herculaneum, Italy, and may have been a teacher of *Horace. He wrote Cynic diatribes. According to Hadas (see bibl.) his erotic poetry shows some parallels with the Song of Songs.

PHILO JUDAEUS (**Philo of Alexandria**; c. 20 B.C.E.–50 C.E.), Jewish exegete and philosopher of outstanding importance for Jewish Hellenism and early Christianity. Little is known about the details of his personal life. It is clear, however, that he belonged to an extremely wealthy and distinguished Alexandrian family with connections to the Herodian dynasty and the Roman court. His brother was the high official and banker Alexander, known through Josephus, and his nephew, Alexander's son, was *Tiberius Julius Alexander. In 40 C.E. Philo headed a delegation of the Jewish community of Alexandria to the Roman emperor Gaius Caligula, in order to alleviate the situation of the Jews after the outburst of violence in the city. Moreover, Philo once visited Jerusalem, offering a sacrifice in the Temple. Philo's works, which he wrote in Greek, show intimate familiarity with Hellenistic culture and education. His Jewish training seems to have derived from growing up in a traditional Jewish home, but apparently did not include knowledge of the Hebrew language.

Living at a crossroad of cultures in Alexandria, just before rabbinic Judaism emerged and Christianity became a visible phenomenon, Philo is highly significant for a variety of reasons. Initially, he made a clear statement on Jewish identity in the midst of a multicultural metropolis, indicating patterns of negotiating Judaism with general culture. Moreover, Philo's Bible exegesis was extremely rich and methodologically diverse, offering invaluable insights into the state of Jewish Bible interpretation before rabbinic exegesis became normative. His philosophy is intrinsically connected to his exegesis, having developed mostly in the context of interpreting Scripture. Philo engaged in the contemporary discussion, offering an original approach that became especially relevant for subsequent Christian thinkers. His eyewitness reports of the events under Tiberius and Caligula, as well as his descriptions of the *Essenes and the *Therapeutae, are precious and in many respects exclusive sources of information. The former two provide a particular Jewish perspective from the province of the Roman Empire, which complements Josephus Flavius' reports from the capital. Finally, Philo's statements on women are crucial for a proper understanding of the history of gender issues.

Writings

Most, but not all, of Philo's vast output has been preserved by the Christian Church in the original Greek. Some treatises have survived only in Armenian and Latin translations. Philo's works are usually divided into the following categories:

I. Philo's exegetical works, probably written for a Jewish audience.

These are again subdivided into three categories, which, however, should not be seen as absolute divisions, since each contains pieces of exegesis belonging to the other categories.

1) The Exposition of the Pentateuch, beginning with the creation story and leading through a treatment of the Patriarchs to a systematic discussion of the legal material. Philo explains that the Pentateuch, although a law code, opens with the story of creation, because this story shows that Mosaic Law is in harmony with the Law of Nature. Everyone living in accordance with the Torah thus becomes a "loyal citizen of the world."

2) The Allegorical Commentary on select biblical passages from the book of Genesis, consisting of 18 extant treatises. Disregarding the plot and context of the biblical stories, Philo progresses in a highly associative manner, transposing biblical verses into philosophical-mystical concepts.

3) *Questions and Answers on Genesis and Exodus* (preserved fragmentarily in an Armenian and Latin translation). Following the Hellenistic genre of Question and Answer Literature, which flourished in Alexandria, especially in connection with the interpretation of Homer, Philo closely follows the biblical text, raising difficulties on certain details and providing answers that confirm Scripture. These treatises are valuable also for their numerous references to other Jewish exegetes whose work has not survived in any other source.

II. General philosophical writings, probably addressed to a non-Jewish as well as a Jewish audience. In these treatises Philo hardly ever refers to Scripture, instead discussing themes of topical concern, such as *The Eternity of the World* or *Providence*. In another work he focuses on the notion of *Every Good Man Being Free*. These treatises show intimate familiarity with Hellenistic genres of philosophical discourse, such as the dialectical style, which demands that divergent views be discussed before the writer presents his own ideas. These works moreover indicate Philo's desire to participate in the general discussion, reaching out to contemporary intellectuals in Alexandria.

III. Eye-witness reports of contemporary events. Two extant treatises describe the turbulent years of unrest and violence in Alexandria (*Flaccus, On the Embassy to Gaius*). These are not historical treatises in the strict sense, because they did not aim at describing contemporary reality or discussing the reliability of the sources at hand, but rather at encouraging fellow Jews by a theologically appealing narrative. Philo also described a group of Jewish philosophers, both women and men, who had settled near Alexandria (*On the Contemplative Life*). Highly sympathetic to their life-style, he provides the only extant information about this group (*Therapeutae).

Jewish Identity

It has often been assumed that Hellenistic Jews were confronted with an existential dilemma of having to choose between two diametrically opposite cultures: Jewish monotheism, commitment to a specific people, legal code, and revealed Scriptures, on the one hand, and Greek rationalism, sense of beauty, and universal individualism, on the other. This image has increasingly been challenged. It has become clear that ancient Jews living in Alexandria may not have felt such a dichotomy. Instead, they seem to have been proud of both their heritage and their participation in the general culture. They creatively modernized their Scripture and tradition, choosing from the diversity of the Hellenistic environment whatever seemed suitable.

Philo expressed his pride in the Mosaic tradition by claiming that it is the best constitution. The particular laws of Judaism, such as Sabbath observance and kosher food regulations, reflect in his view Natural Law (Opif. 1–5). Anyone seeking to live a rational life in accordance with Nature will come to accept the Torah. The Jews are thus placed at the top of a hierarchy of cultures. Next rank the Greeks whose culture and philosophy Philo deeply appreciated. His numerous references to the sports and theater suggest that he regularly participated in these activities. He was moreover familiar with Homeric, Platonic, Aristotelian, Stoic, and Pythagorean writings. These, however, were not seen as alternatives, challenging his own tradition, but rather as expressions of ideas akin to the highest truth which Moses had recognized. Of the Stoics Philo explicitly said that they copied certain ideas from the Torah (Lib. 57). Plato's *Timaeus* was quoted in his interpretation of *Genesis* as if it naturally belonged to the Jewish hermeneutic endeavor (Opif. 21).

At the bottom of humanity, in Philo's view, are the Egyptians. Reflecting contemporary Roman prejudice, he never tired of stressing their unreliability, the beastly nature of their religious life, their materialism, and their inherent tendency to political unrest (Dec. 79–80, Fuga 19, Mos. 2:194–95). The Egyptians became Philo's ultimate Other against whom he outlined the contours of Jewish identity. The Romans also played a special role. Unlike the Egyptians, however, they appear as benefactors, who brought civilization and proper government to the world. Philo praised especially Augustus, even to the extent of describing and celebrating the temple in his honor in the harbor of Alexandria (Legat. 143–51). Philo felt that the Jews are akin to the rulers of the world, sharing their values as well as their wide physical distribution throughout all civilized countries.

Philo defined Jewish existence in the Diaspora by reference to the model of the *metropolis*. For Jews, he writes, "the holy city where stands the sacred Temple of the most High God" is the mother-city whence they have gone to settle in numerous other places, which have become their "fatherland" (Flac. 46). Jews living outside the homeland thus have a twofold commitment, namely to their place of living as well as to Jerusalem. This, however, does not imply a "Zionist" orientation, because Philo considered Diaspora Jews to be intellectually more at leisure and, therefore, better equipped to engage in the elevation of the mind commanded by Moses. He neither recommended living in Ereẓ Israel nor did he look to Jerusalem for spiritual guidance. Other exegetes mentioned by him, as far as can be established, are fellow Alexandrians rather than teachers from Ereẓ Israel. The Temple played a central symbolical role, uniting the Jews all over the world, but was also of concrete theological importance, as Philo did his best to prevent its desecration by Caligula's statue.

Philo was observant and encouraged his fellow Jews to be so as well. His treatises on the Decalogue and the Special Laws discuss the *mitzvot* under 10 headings, providing spiritual justifications for each one of them. Unlike medieval Jewish philosophers, such as *Saadiah Gaon and *Maimonides, Philo did not yet distinguish between rational and revealed commandments, but stressed self-restraint (*enkrateia*) as the value underlying all of Mosaic legislation. Philo also confronted a group of radical allegorizers among the Jews of Alexandria, who argued that the law no longer needs to be implemented once its spiritual meaning is recognized (Migr. 89–93). Philo responded to this approach by stressing the need of community life based on the *halakhah*. The latter, however, was locally colored and not necessarily identical to the *halakhah* in Ereẓ Israel. In Leg. 2:232, for example, Philo, in accordance with Roman law in Hellenistic Egypt, assumes that the death penalty for the stubborn and wicked son is to be decided by both parents rather than a law court.

Philo's construction of Jewish identity was only one of the many voices of Alexandrian Judaism. While the works of most other Jews have not survived and can only fragmentarily be reconstructed, Philo's writings are largely extant thanks to his popularity among the Christians. His statement on Jewish identity, however, was unheard for many centuries. It was during the Enlightenment and the period of *Wissenschaft des Judentums that his position became relevant again. Isaac M. *Jost, Heinrich *Graetz, and others identified him as a paradigmatic "modern" Jew who successfully combined Jewish tradition and general culture, thus foreshadowing the Golden Age of Spanish Judaism in the Middle Ages. In the eyes of some he also appeared as a welcome alternative to rabbinic Judaism, providing an early example of the dichotomy that many German Jews felt between their own "enlightened" religion and the "primitive" traditionalism of Polish Jews. The philosopher Moses *Mendelssohn could thus appear as a "German Philo."

Exegesis

Philo's exegesis must be appreciated against the background of the ongoing hermeneutic efforts among Egyptian Jews. In the third and early second century B.C.E., the main types of Philonic exegesis are already visible in the sources: *Aristobulus is the first known interpreter who suggested an allegorical approach to Scripture which, he hoped, would solve the problem of the biblical anthropomorphisms; *Demetrius for the first time recorded difficulties in the biblical text for which he provided learned answers; *Artapanus wrote free paraphrases of biblical stories, adapting them to the ideals of his own time and environment. Philo also mentions numerous other interpreters without, however, identifying them more specifically. They seem to be contemporaries living in Alexandria and can be divided into two main groups: allegorical readers whose work Philo generally appreciates, and literal readers some of whom provoked Philo's anger, apparently because they adopted text-critical methods from Homeric scholarship. Philo thus assumes a relatively conservative position, insisting on the integrity of the biblical text and the absolute value of its contents. He is in fact the first Jew known to have formulated ideas of canonicity, suggesting that the Torah in its Greek translation (*Septuagint) was a perfect emanation of the Divine Logos.

Most famous and influential are Philo's interpretations of the story of creation and the Patriarchs. In both areas he enriched Scripture with motifs from Greek literature. Philo rewrote the story of creation by inserting a distinctly Platonic perspective. Relying on Plato's *Timaeus*, he argued that such a beautiful world could only have been created as a copy of an ideal model. Distinguishing between an active cause and the passive material, which is shaped into ever new forms, Philo describes the activity of God as initially creating the ideal cosmos in His own mind and then modeling the material cosmos in its image (Opif. 1–25). The question of *creatio ex nihilo* is not yet on the horizon, and Philo naturally seems to assume preexisting matter on the basis of Gen. 1:2. Furthermore, raising the same question as the rabbis in Genesis Rabbah (chap. 8), Philo contemplates the expression "let us make man" (Gen. 1:26). He solves the problem of the plural expression "us" by suggesting that God left the creation of man with his obvious imperfections to assistants, so as not to be responsible for the origin of evil (Opif. 72–76).

The stories of the patriarchs and Moses are retold with a view to producing biographies of ideal heroes. While the biographies of Jacob and Isaac are lost, the extant examples show a definite pattern. Philo distinguishes a main feature in each character and arranges the biblical material accordingly. Joseph, for example, is treated as the perfect statesman, whereas Moses is identified as the paradigmatic legislator and prophet of the Jews. This style of biography according to types of careers anticipates Plutarch's famous series of Greek and Roman biographies a generation later. In this framework particular attention is paid to the childhood of each hero, taken to indicate the talents that will later become publicly visible. Moses is thus said to have avoided any childish play or Egyptian dainties while growing up at Pharaoh's court. Fitting his future role, he was from the beginning drawn to serious learning, recollecting in his soul rather than acquiring outside knowledge from his teachers (Mos. 1:18–24). Abraham became the prototype of the person elevating himself above the material realm, recognizing God and even experiencing His gracious presence in what must be identified as a mystical experience (Abr. 68–80).

Worthy of particular attention are also Philo's allegorical interpretations. Sarah and Hagar, for example, are interpreted respectively as sovereign philosophy and servile school studies (Congr. 1–126). Anticipating some of Moses *Mendelssohn's thoughts in the *Biur*, Philo moreover interpreted the tree of knowledge as the virtues planted by God in man's soul (All. 1:56–62). The snake in the Garden allegorically represents lust (All. 2:59). Joseph's colorful coat is allegorized as a symbol of the politician's diversity and ultimate lack of principles (Somn. 1:210–20, 2:10–14). Sarah's pregnancy prompted by God symbolizes for Philo the soul's impregnation by the Divine spirit (Abr. 99–102). These examples show that Philo's allegorical exegesis usually translates biblical motifs into narratives about the human soul, which are meant to complement their literal sense. In this area Philo often refers to other interpreters, sometimes calling them "natural philosophers" (Abr. 99). He is thus in good company, providing his own particular perspective in a well-established field of Jewish Bible exegesis in Alexandria.

Philosophy

Living in the capital of Hellenistic scholarship, Philo was familiar with the philosophical discussion of the day. He was immensely well read, reaching even such minor treatises as Ocellus' still extant *On the Nature of the Universe* (Aet. 12). While he has often been described as an eclectic writer, who gathered more or less randomly ideas floating around, he actually has a special philosophical profile. His most outstanding characteristic is his enthusiastic appreciation of Plato as distinct from Aristotle. This position must be recognized as an unusual and novel preference in an environment overwhelmingly dominated by a deep syncretism with a strong Aristotelian orientation. It was this preference for Plato that rendered Philo particularly popular among Christians. The Church historian *Eusebius relied on Philo when interpreting Christianity as a religion akin to Platonism, but diametrically opposed to Aristotle. These Platonic tendencies later also suggested to Azariah de *Rossi that Philo may be a proto-type of Medieval Jewish mysticism (Kabbalah).

Philo was familiar with the ongoing discussion of the classical philosophical works and hoped to make a lasting contribution to it. He took a particularly pronounced position on the hotly debated issue of the nature of the cosmos. Rejecting the Aristotelian notion of an eternal world and the Stoic assumption of ever recurring destructions and re-creations of the cosmos as well as Epicurean atomism, Philo emphatically called for a return to Plato's *Timaeus* (Aet. 7–16). He complained, however, that even among Plato's students this treatise was commonly read metaphorically, and thus taken as supporting Aristotle's notion of an eternal cosmos (Aet. 7–16). Philo dismissed such readings as "falsifying" Plato's original intention, which he hoped to recover. He stressed that, according to Plato, the world had really been created as an image of an ideal model, and under the "providence" of the creator god, who was therefore called "Father and Maker." This view of things, Philo insisted, closely corresponded to the Mosaic version, which, however, had been written down much earlier. Fending off Aristotelian influence was also a major concern when Philo interpreted the biblical creation account for a Jewish audience. Obviously fearing that Aristotle had already left a deep impression on the Jewish community of Alexandria, he urged his readers not to abandon the idea of a real creation. He urged that the assumption of an eternal cosmos eliminates the notion of Divine providence and thus renders true piety impossible (Opif. 9–11).

Philo's Platonic tendency is moreover visible in his distinction of a spiritual realm which is opposed to the world of the senses and material entities. Truth can only be attained on the upper, intelligible level, while the concrete world of common experience is governed by "opinion" or "probability." Given the imperfection of the material realm, Philo maintains an extreme transcendentalism regarding God whom he describes as "…transcending virtue, transcending knowledge, transcending the good itself and the beautiful itself" (Opif. 8) and as "…better than the good, more venerable than the monad, purer than the unit…" (Praem. 40). Whereas Philo sometimes speaks of God's goodness and other attributes (All. 1:5), he generally insists that God is "without quality," has no name, and is unknowable (ibid 36). This last tenet is not meant in an agnostic way. On the contrary, man has to strive to know God and God is the only object worth knowing. But whereas it is easy to know that God is, we cannot know what He is (Spec. 1:32).

Man can hope to make progress in this area when looking at God's intermediary powers and involvement in the world. God's foremost intermediary is the *Logos, His rational part as well as His speech. Philo adopted this term from Stoic philosophy, where it referred to the Divine power immanent in the world and was sometimes identified with Zeus. Philo used this term in a new way, referring to that aspect of God which is active in the creation of the world and remains involved in earthly matters. At times the Logos is identified with the place in the mind of God where the ideal cosmos is created (Opif. 24), while on another occasion it is identified with the high priest (Somn. 2:185ff.). Similarly, the doctrine of God's two "powers," mercy and justice, is built up into a system of intermediaries. Abraham's three guests, mentioned in Gen. 18:2, are thus identified as God and His two powers (Q *Gen.* 4:2). Only at a close look does Abraham discover that they are one.

Man being created in the image of God, and thus with a divine spark, he can hope to encounter Him and, on occasion, even enter into a Corybantic trance which allows for a temporary union of the human mind with God. Following the example of Abraham, man has to leave for this purpose "his land, his kinfolk and his father's home," i.e., the body, the senses, and the whole material realm, as far as humanly possible (Migr. 1ff.). Unlike the moral struggle of the Stoic sage, which leads to "apathy" and freedom from the passions, Philo's student becomes jubilant and even surging into frenzy (Plant. 38). His soul becomes ecstatic, being filled with Divine spirit (Somn. 2:254) This experience is described in intensely erotic terms, which recall the terminology of contemporary mystery cults, namely as a union between God and the soul issuing forth Divine ideas in man's mind (Cher. 43–50).

Some Pythagorean features can be identified in Philo's philosophy. Foremost among these is his interest in numbers and their metaphysical significance. Philo, for example, makes a long excursion in his interpretation of the biblical creation account, devoting approximately 40 paragraphs to the meaning of the number 7 (Opif. 89–128). Adducing evidence from diverse realms, Philo thus hopes to show that the Mosaic account discloses the deeper structure of the cosmos, which can be expressed in numerical terms. Furthermore, Philo mentions some precious pieces of Pythagorean exegesis. Their original writings all having been lost, he is the earliest extant writer to mention Philolaus and the Pythagorean interpretations of Athena and Zeus as numbers (Opif. 99–100, Leg. 1:15). It has sometimes been suggested that Philo's ascetic tendencies may be Pythagorean in origin. Yet his position significantly differs from theirs: while they recommended asceticism as an end in itself, prescribing for their students long periods of abstention from sex, food, and other instinctual needs, Philo never doubted the legitimacy of bodily needs. On the contrary, he recognized sexuality as a necessary requirement of marriage as well as reproduction, and therefore did not worry about an excess of lust within that framework (Spec. 3:32–63).

Eye-Witness Accounts of Contemporary Events

Philo witnessed important events of the Second Temple Period and, like virtually all upper-class intellectuals during the Hellenistic period, he took an active part in politics. Philosophy and involvement in real life were by no means mutually exclusive, even though Philo once complained in an often quoted sentence that politics took him away from contemplation (Spec. 3:1). The titles of Philo's extant accounts, *The Embassy to Gaius* and *Flaccus*, suggest that they contain the proceedings of the embassy, which Philo himself headed, as well as a profile of the Roman governor. The truth, however, is that both treatises are focused elsewhere. In the *Embassy* Philo is overwhelmingly concerned to explain the benefits of Roman rule, while in *Flaccus* he shows Divine retribution effecting initially the punishment of Flaccus and then his religious conversion. Both reports are often seen as apologetic texts addressing a Roman audience, perhaps even the emperor himself. But it is rather obvious that they were not intended for foreign readers, but for Jews back home. Philo was confronted with increasing criticism from Alexandrian Jews, who even sent a second embassy in order to present a more militant view in Rome. Others altogether despaired of Roman rule and took to armed street fights. Philo made efforts to counter these trends, explaining how benevolent Rome was for the whole civilized realm. God, moreover, providentially protected the Jews and liberated them from such aberrations as Gaius and Flaccus.

Philo's reports are often compared to those of the historian Flavius *Josephus. Scholars argue which one is the more authentic and original, some opting for Josephus' copying from Philo, while others suggest that Josephus' account, even though written later, is closer to the truth. One example may suffice to illustrate the difficulty. Philo tells us that Gaius was so adamant about his plan to set up his statue in the Jerusalem Temple that Agrippa's intervention only produced a feigned reversal, while in reality Gaius continued to make preparations until God caused his assassination (Legat. 333–37). Josephus, on the contrary, reports that Agrippa's intervention was truly successful (AJ 18:289–304). Philo's version may well have originated from his overall desire to stress Divine providence, reassuring his readers that patience was called for. In any case, Philo's account perfectly fits his overall story of a beneficial Roman government that was temporarily deranged by an emperor who had given in to Egyptian lures.

Gender Issues

Philo has sometimes been identified as the "father of Western misogyny," because he embedded Classical Greek prejudices in authoritative Scripture and thus transmitted them to the Church Fathers as well as the rest of European culture. Such judgment can rely on Philo's acceptance of Aristotelian biology. He assumed that the role of the female in procreation is merely passive, providing a material and nourishing environment for the active sperm donated by the male (Ebr. 73, 211). Philo applied this concept to the spiritual realm, suggesting that virtue and *enkrateia* belong to the masculine and thus active realm (Abr. 100–1). God is conceived of as masculine, while the soul of the male student is "impregnated by His sperm" (Cher. 43–45). Philo's view of Eve was anything but egalitarian: he considered her to be the addition of sense-perception and lust to a mind that had hitherto enjoyed the bliss of pure spirituality and masculinity (Opif. 151). Philo moreover had little sympathy for contemporary Jewish women, whom he was happy to confine to the culturally and inferior *gynaikon* (Flac. 89). His position in this respect is especially remarkable, since the Classical ideal of a wife never leaving her quarters had in Hellenistic Egypt been replaced by a far more open atmosphere, where women could assume public roles, such as queen, priestess, and even head of a philosophical school.

On the other hand, however, one must appreciate that, within an obviously patriarchal framework, Philo showed a relatively great interest in biblical women. Sarah, for example, was treated by him with remarkable empathy and respect. He praised her for her stoic endurance of hardships (Abr. 245–46) and suggested that she immediately grasped the Divine nature of the visiting "messengers" whom Abraham still took as regular guests (Abr. 111). Josephus, by contrast, consistently minimized all references to Sarah (as well as other biblical women), taking her, for example, altogether out of the scene with the messengers by stressing the presence of other servants who prepared the cakes for the guests (JA1:197). Moreover, we owe to Philo the earliest extant testimony to Jewish women philosophers, who were part of the Therapeutae. These women were not only versed in reading and writing, but also participated in the regular spiritual and exegetical activities of the group. Philo, on the whole, was highly sympathetic to this group. Nothing in his description suggests ambivalence concerning the women's activities.

Influence

Apart from Josephus, no ancient Jewish source mentions Philo, although there may be traces of Philonic influence in rabbinic Midrash, such as R. Oshaiah Rabbah's saying in *Genesis Rabbah* 1:1 echoing Philo, Opif. 16. The medieval Midrash Tadshe (in: A. Jellinek, *Beit ha-Midrash*, 3 (1967), 164–93) draws largely on Philonic material, while the first Jewish writer who mentions him is Azariah dei *Rossi. Philo had a much greater influence on Christianity, not on the New Testament itself but on the Church Fathers, such Clement of Alexandria, Origen, Ambrose, and many others. They eagerly drew on his exegesis and adopted many of his concepts. However, owing to their different approach, many of his distinctly Jewish notions were translated into Christian terms. H. Wolfson estimated Philo's influence to be very significant, arguing that his reconciliation of philosophy and revelation resurfaced in all monotheistic religions, whether it was with or without direct knowledge of his texts. This thesis, however, can hardly be proven, since Philo is not directly mentioned and the "Philonic" structure of thought which Wolfson identifies may well have developed out of a parallel synthesis of the Bible and Greek philosophy.

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[Yehoyada Amir and Maren Niehoff (2nd ed.)]

°PHILO OF BYBLOS (also called **Herennius Philo**, 64–161 C.E.), Greek author of a Phoenician history. Philo claimed that his history was a translation from the Phoenician of Sanchuniathon, whose sources go back to before the Trojan War. Many quotations from his history concerning religion are found in Eusebius' *Praeparatio Evangelica* (1:9, 22–10; 8). He is also said to have written, among other works, a history of the Jews in which he criticized Hecataeus of Abdera. Only fragments of his work survive.

PHILOSOPHY. In his article on the Jewish involvement in philosophy in the *Dictionnaire des sciences philosophiques*, written over a century ago, Solomon *Munk pointed out that the Jewish mission to know God and to make Him known to the world was not basically involved with philosophy. After surveying the part played by Jews in philosophy, he concluded that "the Jews, as a nation, or as a religious society, play only a secondary role in the history of philosophy." As a nation or as a religious society this may be true, but even when Munk wrote it was not the case that Jewish participation in philosophy had been insignificant. Since his day the participation of Jews in philosophical activities has become extremely important.

It used to be said that the peculiarly Jewish role in philosophy had been that of middleman, transmitting the ideas of one culture to another, as some Jewish scholars had done in Spain, translating Arabic thought into forms available to Christian Europe. This, of course, was only part of the Jewish involvement in philosophy in the Middle Ages. Since the Renaissance many thinkers of Jewish origin have made central contributions to philosophy, and have played seminal roles in the development of modern Western thought. Some have played roles as Jews; others, who are of Jewish descent, have functioned as individual intellectuals, or sometimes as Christian thinkers.

14th to 17th Centuries

It may have been because they could not function within the Jewish nation or the Jewish religious society that many intellectuals of Jewish origin from Spain and Portugal, functioning in Iberia, Italy, France, and Holland, developed crucial philosophical views. Being spiritually dispossessed, and forced into an alien Christian intellectual world, the Marrano intellectuals may have been led into a more profound philosophical examination of their situation, and through it to a new evaluation of man's place in the cosmos. The drama of the forced conversions, the expulsion of the Jews from Spain, and the terror of the Inquisition created a class of Marrano thinkers trying to find their place in the world, trying to find meaningful values, and trying to use the intellectual tools of the Christian world they found themselves in to justify their appreciation of the nature and destiny of man. In Spain and Portugal, the efforts of many Jewish Conversos now went into explorations of theology and philosophy to find a viable and significant theory. From the time of *Pablo de Santa Maria (converted in 1390), until well into the 17th century at least, Iberian intellectuals of Jewish origin were in the forefront in developing creative interpretations of the human scene, trying to define a Christian view that they could participate in. Most of the novel theories developed during Christian Spain's Golden Age were the product of this group. Spanish scholasticism, with its emphasis on universal law and natural rights, started from the views of Francisco de *Vitoria, and was developed by the humanists, Las Casas and Alonzo de la Vera Cruz. Spanish Erasmianism, with its emphasis on liberal Christianity, Christianity without theology, and a Christianity based on moral teachings rather than doctrines, was mainly a convert view. The Jesuit obedience theory was set forth by Diego Lainez, a theologian of Jewish ancestry. Christian kabbalism as a justification of the position of the New Christians was developed by Luis de *Leon, showing the role of Jewish Christians in an apocalyptic age.

Outside of Spain, exile thinkers of Jewish origin played an important role in philosophical thought. Judah *Abrabanel in Italy provided a major statement of Renaissance Platonism that was influential all over Europe. Juan Luis *Vives in the Lowlands was one of the chief exponents of humanism. It has been suggested that Montaigne's closest friend, the French humanist Etienne de la Boétie (1530–1563), was of Marrano origin. His *Discours de la servitude voluntaire* (1576; Eng., *Anti-Dictator*, 1942) is a plea for human freedom and dignity against the tyranny of rulers and is the first modern statement of nonviolence as a means of protest.

The Marranos who settled in Amsterdam in the 17th century had been trained in Christian philosophy, and debated their problems in terms of European philosophical thought. *Manasseh Ben Israel, known as the Hebrew philosopher, provided the main perspective through which philosophers like Mersenne, Grotius, and Cudworth saw Jewish ideas in philosophical terms. Within the Jewish community of Amsterdam, Marrano intellectuals like Uriel da *Costa and Juan de *Prado raised basic philosophical challenges not only to Judaism, but to the whole framework of revealed religion. Coupled with the radical biblical criticism of Isaac *La Peyrère, their criticisms led to the formulation of a new basic metaphysical ideology for a naturalistic nonreligious world in the theory of Baruch *Spinoza. Spinoza, starting from issues raised by heretical thinkers within the Jewish world in Holland, quickly developed a rationalistic, scientific metaphysics to explain the cosmos in terms of logic, psychology, and the 'new science.' Spinoza's naturalism soon became one of the fundamental presentations of the ideology of modern man, greatly affecting the materialists of the Enlightenment, the German idealists, and other movements. Spinoza has become the symbol of the pure modern philosopher, persecuted by religious orthodoxy, but preserving his philosophical ideals and mission. One of his opponents, *Orobio de Castro, tried to provide a philosophical defense of Judaism against Prado, Spinoza, Catholicism, and the liberal Christianity of Limborch and John Locke. Orobio de Castro, originally a professor of metaphysics in Spain, played a significant role in late 17th-century thought, influencing Locke, Bayle, and Fénelon.

18th to 19th Centuries

Philosophical activity in Amsterdam died out in the 18th century. The last thinker of note was Isaac de *Pinto who challenged *Voltaire's antisemitism, and Enlightenment atheism. His most influential work was in proposing the theory of modern capitalism against Hume and Mirabeau. He was one of the very first to understand the role of credit and circulation in the modern economic world.

The Enlightenment world, starting in Germany, led to another level of Jewish participation in philosophy. As Jewish intellectuals were emancipated and could participate in the full range of gentile society, they began to apply themselves to philosophical problems, especially of an ethical and general religious nature. The first to make his entry into the general philosophical scene in Germany was Moses *Mendelssohn. His writing on aesthetics, psychology, metaphysics, and philosophy of religion made him a central figure in Enlightenment thought, influencing his close friends, Theodor *Lessing and Immanuel *Kant. Mendelssohn sought to show that 18th-century Deism, the universal religion of reason, was the same as essential Judaism. In the spirit of the Enlightenment, he advocated religious toleration and equality for the Jews. Mendelssohn became a symbol in the general philosophical world of the enlightened and liberated Jew, who could contribute greatly to the mainstream of culture.

A Jewish doctor, Marcus *Herz, a friend of both Kant and Mendelssohn, played an important role in the development of Kant's philosophy. He was Kant's official "advocate," and discussed the latter's theories with him as they were being formed. Lazarus *Bendavid, at the end of the 18th century, became one of the major expositors of Kant's philosophy. One of the first, and most important, critics of Kant's views was the Lithuanian émigré, Solomon *Maimon, who came to Germany, learned philosophy, and offered a skeptical critique of Kant. Kant considered Maimon's views to be the most astute of any of his opponents, and some of his theories regarding the creative function of the mind became important in the development of German idealism.

People of Jewish origin only begin to play a role in the course of the development of 19th-century German thought around the middle of the century. Moses *Hess and Karl *Marx redirected German idealism into a materialistic socialist ideology. Julius *Frauenstadt became Schopenhauer's main follower, exponent, and editor of his writings. Adolf *Lasson was one of the very few advocates of Hegelianism. One of the founders of neo-Kantianism, Otto *Liebmann, attacked the various metaphysical theories after Kant, and urged a return to the master. As a result of his efforts the neo-Kantian movement developed, and one of its most important leaders was Hermann *Cohen, head of the Marburg school. Cohen emphasized a panlogistic transcendental version of Kant's thought, as opposed to some of the speculative metaphysical interpretations. Cohen stressed the objective side of Kant, and sought to justify a priori knowledge of nature and values. He also tried to identify Kantian ethics with liberal socialism. Cohen played a very significant role in the development of German philosophy. One of his students, Arthur *Liebert, edited the journal *Kantstudien*, in which many of the discussions of neo-Kantianism took place.

In the course of the 19th century, Jews were gradually able to attend the universities and hold positions in them (often only if they were converts). They began to participate in the full range of intellectual activities. Jacob *Freudenthal of Breslau became one of the foremost scholars of ancient thought, both Greek and Hebrew, as well as one of the most important Spinoza scholars. Adolphe *Franck in France, the first Jewish professor at the Collège de France, a follower of Victor Cousin, made important contributions in the history of thought, philosophy of religion, and philosophy of law. Xavier *Léon founded the *Revue de métaphysique et de morale* to combat positivism and encourage speculative philosophy. The reform rabbi, Felix *Adler, started the *Ethical Culture movement, and played an important role in formulating and advocating a humanistic nonreligious ethical view.

20th Century

By the end of the 19th century secularization and assimilation had proceeded to the point where large-scale participation by Jews in philosophy was possible since antisemitic barriers were gradually being removed. Jewish intellectuals could devote their energies to trying to give philosophical interpretations of man's situation and his achievements. Many of the most original theories in 20th-century philosophy are the products of thinkers of Jewish origin, who have come to play a larger and larger role in European thought.

Starting with Henri *Bergson at the end of the 19th century, some of the major speculative philosophers have been Jews. Bergson's *Creative Evolution* and Samuel *Alexander's *Space, Time and Deity* have been two of the most prominent efforts to develop metaphysical systems in terms of modern knowledge. Vladimir *Jankélévitch in Paris, starting from Bergsonism, continued to try to find metaphysical meaning in human existence. Léon *Brunschvicg devoted himself both to historical scholarship and to maintaining the idealistic tradition in France. Karl *Joel developed a system called "the new idealism" in Germany. In America Paul *Weiss has been developing an original metaphysics influenced by Whitehead, and Mortimer *Adler has been advocating neo-Thomism. Nathan *Rotenstreich, in Jerusalem, has been setting forth a theory about human nature and the bases of values. The neo-Kantian movement in its many forms was led by Jewish thinkers, the most prominent of whom were Ernst *Cassirer and Leonhard *Nelson. Cassirer set forth a developmental Kantianism. Nelson, founder of the New Fries School, emphasized the psychological side of Kantianism. Other major figures who came out of the neo-Kantian movement were Emil *Lask, Franz *Rosenzweig, Samuel Hugo *Bergman, and Fritz *Heinemann. The phenomenological movement, which has been so important in 20th-century thought, was started by Edmund *Husserl. Seeking an unshakable foundation for human knowledge, he developed his phenomenological method and transcendental phenomenology. Max *Scheler applied the phenomenological approach to Catholic doctrines and to social psychology. Edith *Stein (who became a nun), influenced by Scheler, combined Thomism with phenomenology and existentialism. Aron *Gurwitsch has emphasized the application of phenomenology to psychology, Adolf *Reinach to the philosophy of law, and Moritz *Geiger to aesthetics. Herbert *Spiegelberg wrote the history of the phenomenological movement, and was a leading exponent of it in America along with Fritz *Kaufmann. Emanuel *Levinas, one of those who introduced phenomenology into France, played an important creative philosophical role in the contemporary European scene. Jewish thinkers, and some of Jewish origin, have played important parts in the existentialist movement. Jean *Wahl in France was a leading spokesman and theoretician. Martin *Buber was one of the most important figures in religious existentialism. The writings of Simone *Weil have played a significant role in postwar Christian existentialism. Jacques *Derrida was the founder of postmodern deconstructionism. George *Simmel was one of the most important figures in the naturalistic movement, both for his biological and Darwinian interpretation of Kant, and for his theory of sociology. Wilhelm *Jerusalem followed out some of the implications of pragmatism, Darwinism, and positivism. In America, Morris Raphael *Cohen, Horace *Kallen, and Sidney *Hook have developed some of the naturalistic ideas of James and Dewey.

In radical philosophy some of the major figures have been Jewish thinkers who have developed new interpretations of Hegel and Marx. Gyorgy *Lukacs, Ernst *Bloch, and Walter

*Benjamin set forth creative versions of Marxism, extending its insights into many cultural fields. Alexandre *Kojève has played a most important role in reinterpreting Hegel's thought. Herbert *Marcuse combined *Freud's and Marx's views, including those of the early Marx, into a powerful critique of modern society that was very influential on New Left thinkers. On the other side, two thinkers of Jewish origin were leaders of Russian Orthodox thought in Russia. Semyon *Frank, originally a Marxist, developed a metaphysical defense of Christianity. Lev *Shestov was a leading anti-rationalist fideist. Among non-Marxist social philosophers and social critics, Jewish thinkers have also made significant contributions. Julien *Benda criticized the role of the intellectuals. Elie *Halévy wrote against the tyrannies of fascism and communism. Hannah *Arendt analyzed the bases and nature of totalitarianism, and the nature of political freedom. Chaim *Perelman has done important work on the nature of justice.

In the analytic philosophical movement, which has been important in the English-speaking world, philosophers of Jewish origin have been in the forefront. One of the first proponents of linguistic analysis was Fritz *Mauthner. Leaders of the logical positivist movement included Herbert *Feigl, Philipp *Frank, and Friedrich *Waismann. Ludwig *Witgenstein established himself as one of the towering figures of 20th-century philosophy. The work of the logician Alfred *Tarski was also most important in this movement. Among the important American analytic philosophers are Max *Black, Nelson *Goodman, Arthur *Pap, and Morton *White. Thinkers of Jewish origin have played basic roles in 20th-century work in the philosophy of science and logic. Emile *Meyerson developed a philosophical view of the world based on modern science. Sir Karl *Popper has been one of the most important in evaluating the nature of science and the problems involved in gaining scientific knowledge.

In the area of historical studies and interpretations of philosophy, Jewish scholars have been in the forefront throughout this century. They have developed the best of European scholarship and have provided some of the most important ways of understanding various philosophical traditions, as well as editing some of the basic texts. Raoul *Richter wrote an important history of skepticism from antiquity onward. George *Boas wrote on Greek philosophy and on French thought. Hans *Jones, through his demythologizing method, helped in the understanding of Gnosticism. Richard *Waltzer examined the transition of Greek thought into Arabic philosophy. Shlomo *Pines wrote on Arabic and Jewish medieval philosophy. Harry Austryn *Wolfson examined the religious philosophical tradition from Philo, through the Church Fathers and medieval Islamic, Jewish, and Christian thought up to Spinoza. Raymond *Klibansky was influential in medieval and Renaissance studies. Paul O. *Kristeller was a leading figure in the many areas of Renaissance studies. One of Ernst Cassirer's contributions was a monumental study of the development of the modern problem of knowledge from the Renaissance onward. He also wrote on English Platonism and the philosophy of the Enlightenment. Alexandre *Koyré was a leading figure in the study of the history of science from the Renaissance onward, as well as an important Descartes scholar. Leon *Roth wrote important interpretations of Descartes and Spinoza and showed their relationship to Maimonides' thought. R.H. Popkin wrote on the history of skepticism from the Renaissance to the Enlightenment. David *Baumgardt did important work on the philosophy of Jeremy Bentham, and Elie Halévy wrote the basic study of British philosophical radicalism.

The historical scholarship done on German thought from Kant onward is too copious to mention in detail. Neo-Kantians, especially, have studied the development of German philosophy extensively, and much of the basic work on Kant, Fichte, Hegel, and Schelling, has been done by scholars of Jewish origin.

Participation in philosophy by Jews has grown rapidly, especially in this century. Jewish concern with fundamental issues about man and the world has, no doubt, contributed to this, as has the growing toleration in academic-intellectual circles, especially in the West. The decline of Christianity as a central factor in European philosophy has also made it more possible for Jews to play a role in this area. At the present time in America, and to a lesser extent in England and France, among younger philosophers there are many important figures of Jewish origin who will probably play a most significant role in the decades to come. In Central Europe there are few Jewish intellectuals left, and in Eastern Europe they are being driven from their positions.

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[Richard H. Popkin]

PHILOSOPHY, JEWISH.

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WHAT IS JEWISH PHILOSOPHY?

Jewish philosophy is described or defined in various ways, depending on the philosopher's or historian's understanding of both Judaism and philosophy. In general, the question of "what is Jewish philosophy?" would have been alien to the medieval Jewish philosophers, who saw themselves as engaging not in something particularly "Jewish" in a cultural sense, but in philosophy as a science, indeed as the "mother of sciences." As "lovers of wisdom," they understood the truth to transcend cultural or religious boundaries, and had no problem agreeing with and borrowing from the classical Greek and medieval Arab philosophers. Moses *Maimonides thus states explicitly that he borrows from "the words of the philosophers, ancient and recent, and also from the works of various authors, as one should accept the truth from whoever says it" (Introduction to the *Eight Chapters on Ethics* (Commentary to Mishnah Avot)), an attitude reiterated by Shem Tov ibn *Falaquera (13th century): "A person should learn whatever he is capable [of learning] from those who speak the truth, even if they are non-believers, just as one takes honey from a bee" (*Epistle of the Debate*, p. 13); "It is appropriate to accept the truth from any person, even if he is on a lower level than oneself or from another nation … It is not proper to look at the speaker, but rather at what is said" (*Book of Degrees*, pp. 11–12). These positions reflect similar views expressed by Islamic thinkers, such as the early Arab philosopher al-*Kindi ("We ought not to be ashamed of appreciating the truth and of acquiring it, wherever it comes from, even if it comes from races distant and nations different from us. For the seeker of truth, nothing takes precedence over the truth" (*Al-Kindi's Metaphysics*, ed. A. Ivry, pp. 57–58)) and Maimonides' contemporary *Averroes, who regarded the study of philosophy, including that of the non-Muslim ancients, "regardless of whether this other one shares our religion or not," as a religious obligation, and that to forbid the study of philosophy because of its foreign source is like denying a thirsty person water, so he dies of thirst, just because some people have choked on water (cf. *Averroes on the Harmony of Religion and Philosophy*, ed. G. Hourani, pp. 46–49).

The customary modern assignment in universities of philosophy to the humanities, rather than to the natural sciences, would also have violated the classical and medieval self-perception of the philosophers. It is, however, precisely that categorization of philosophy as one of the humanities, and not as an empirical, natural science, which renders philosophy subject to particular cultural influences and forms of expression, such as literature, history and the arts, and makes possible the historical and cultural question, "What is Jewish philosophy?"

There is no clear consensus among Jewish philosophers and scholars of Jewish philosophy regarding the proper definition of the field. The approaches to our question are not necessarily mutually exclusive, and, therefore, we find thinkers and scholars who may support more than one approach. The responses to "what is Jewish philosophy" include a denial of "Jewish philosophy" as an oxymoron; purely biographical or linguistic criteria; religious "philosophy of Judaism"; harmonizing Judaism and philosophy; essentialist message vs. method; and contextual criteria, including Jewish sources, motives, audience, and impact. All of these approaches, in turn, raise further questions.

For some philosophers, including Leo *Strauss and Emmanuel *Levinas, and for some scholars, like Joseph *Sermoneta and Zev Levy, philosophy (at least when it deals with purely philosophical questions of logic, ethics, esthetics, epistemology and the like) is essentially a universal discipline, like physics, and therefore "Jewish philosophy" is an oxymoron. Levinas, for example, accordingly regarded his philosophical and his Jewish writings to be different and basically unrelated genres (although many of his interpreters and readers, Levy included, question that dichotomy in Levinas' self-evaluation).

When moving to biographical or linguistic criteria, presumably a non-Jew cannot produce Jewish philosophy – but is any philosophy produced by a Jew *ipso facto* Jewish philosophy? A Jew who plays football is not usually considered to be playing Jewish football, so does the accident of Jewish birth automatically mean that a Jew who philosophizes is engaging in Jewish philosophy in any meaningful sense? Or should the thinker's Jewish identity be regarded as a necessary but not sufficient criterion for determining the Jewishness of his or her philosophy? Similarly, is the fact that philosophy is written in Hebrew or another Jewish language a sufficient criterion for determining the Jewishness of the philosophy, as suggested by no less of a scholar than Jacob *Klatzkin (whose *Oẓar ha-Munaḥim ha-Filosofiyim* (*Thesaurus Philosophicus Linguae Hebraicae*, 1928–33) remains a classic reference book for students of medieval Jewish philosophy)? Does translating works of non-Jewish philosophers into Hebrew "convert" their philosophy and make it Jewish? Are the Greek works of *Philo, the Arabic works of all the medieval philosophers from *Saadiah Gaon to Maimonides, and the books written by modern Jewish philosophers in European languages, not to be considered Jewish? Returning to the biographical criteria, how are we to regard such philosophers as *Abner of Burgos, who wrote some of his works in Hebrew, but converted to Christianity; Abu al-Barakat al-Baghdadi, who converted to Islam; or freethinkers like *Hiwi al-Balkhi, who attacked all religion, including Jewish; or Baruch *Spinoza, who was excommunicated? Is their philosophy Jewish in some sense, and if so, only prior to their apostasy, critique or excommunication?

Jewish sources, audience, motivation and impact have also been suggested as criteria for defining Jewish philosophy, but raise similar difficulties. Jewish philosophers frequently and explicitly cite non-Jewish sources (as mentioned above); they may intend to be read by one group but in fact be read by another; and in some cases (among 20th-century thinkers, notably Martin *Buber and Abraham Joshua *Heschel), although their thought is overtly Jewish in content, it frequently has a significant impact upon certain trends in Christian thought.

Emil *Fackenheim is among those who have suggested that Jewish philosophy refers to the combination of an essential Jewish message with the general philosophical method; the message is the ethical teaching of the classical prophets of ancient Israel, and the method is that of Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle. While undoubtedly accurate when applied to such philosophers as Fackenheim himself, such a definition has less obvious application when the subject of the philosophizing is something other than ethics, and deals with questions such as cosmology or creation vs. eternity, which may be hinted at in various books of the Bible, but are by no means central to the concerns of the prophets.

The idea that Judaism has some identifiable and definable essence, presumed by Fackenheim, becomes much more pronounced in the essentialist approach of such scholars as Julius *Guttmann and Alexander *Altmann, for whom Jewish philosophy is the religious philosophy of Judaism, in other words, where Judaism has a religious essence and is the subject of the philosophical inquiry. Guttmann's classic book, still unrivaled in its scope as the work of a single author surveying Jewish philosophy in all its periods, is, therefore, deliberately called *Philosophies of Judaism* (although in the German original, and in the expanded Hebrew translation from which the English was prepared, the title appears in the singular, *Die Philosophie des Judentums*), and not a "history of Jewish philosophy." For Guttmann, "Since the days of antiquity, Jewish philosophy was essentially a philosophy of Judaism… This religious orientation constitutes the distinctive character of Jewish philosophy" (*Philosophies*, p. 4). "The great majority of Jewish thinkers made the philosophic justification of Judaism their main subject" (*ibid*, p. 55). As R.J.Z. Werblowsky points out in his introduction to the English translation of Guttmann's *Philosophies*, "The very title of the book contains a programme and betrays its basic orientation – that of the philosopher of religion. The philosopher of religion philosophizes about religion, just as the philosopher of law philosophizes about law … Judaism is something given, a datum, something that is there before the philosophers begin to philosophize about it" (*Philosophies*, pp. viii–ix). In Guttmann's view, the unique character of Jewish life in the Diaspora prevented the development of a "Jewish philosophy" in the way that French or German philosophy evolved. This view was explicitly shared by Alexander Altmann: "It would be futile to attempt a presentation of Judaism as a philosophic system, or to speak of Jewish philosophy in the same sense as one speaks of American, English, French or German philosophy. Judaism is a religion, and the truths it teaches are religious truths. They spring from the source of religious experience, not from pure reason" ("Judaism and World Philosophy," in: L. Finkelstein (ed.), *The Jews: Their History, Culture and Religion,* 2 (1949), 954). Guttmann's and Altmann's essentialist definition is shared by such scholars as Leon *Roth, S.B. *Urbach, and Eliezer *Berkovits. It also underlies the approach of Arthur Hyman, who served as editor of the Jewish philosophy division of the first edition of the *Encyclopaedia Judaica* (1971) and who wrote the original Jewish Philosophy entry: "Jewish philosophy may be described as the explication of Jewish beliefs and practices by means of general philosophic concepts and norms. Hence it must be seen as an outgrowth of the biblical and rabbinic traditions on which Judaism rests as well as part of the history of philosophy at large."

Hyman then recognized the need to modify this essentialist position to make it more flexible: "This description must, however, be expanded to include the general philosophic literature in Hebrew produced by Jews in the latter part of the Middle Ages and the various secular philosophies of Jewish existence formulated by modern Jewish thinkers. General philosophers who happened to be Jews or of Jewish extraction are not considered part of the tradition of Jewish philosophy. Whereas the biblical and rabbinic traditions were indigenous products of the Jewish community, Jewish philosophy arose and flourished as Jews participated in the philosophic speculations of the external culture. Significant religious and philosophical differences distinguish ancient and medieval from much of modern Jewish thought; nevertheless, the subject matter of Jewish philosophy may be divided into three parts. First, as interpretation of unique aspects of Jewish tradition, Jewish philosophy deals with such topics as the election of Israel; the revelation, content, and eternity of the Torah; the special character of the prophecy of *Moses; and Jewish conceptions of the Messiah and the afterlife. Second, as philosophy of religion, it investigates issues common to Judaism, Christianity, and Islam (as well as to certain kinds of metaphysics), such as the existence of God, divine attributes, the creation of the world, the phenomenon of prophecy, the human soul, and general principles of human conduct. Third, as philosophy proper, it studies topics of general philosophic interest, such as the logical categories, the structure of logical arguments, the division of being, and the nature and composition of the universe. Historically, Jewish philosophy may be divided into three periods: (1) its early development in the Diaspora community of the Hellenistic world, from the second century B.C.E. until the middle of the first century C.E.; (2) its flourishing in Islamic and Christian countries during the Middle Ages from the tenth until the early 16th century; and (3) its modern phase beginning in the 18th century and continuing to the present. Its prehistory, however, begins with the Bible."

The essentialist approach to defining Jewish philosophy clearly and unequivocally answers our question of what is Jewish philosophy: it is a philosophy of Judaism (i.e., a philosophy whose subject of inquiry is Judaism), and it is a philosophy which verifies, or in the very least, accords with, Judaism, which is understood to be an invariable given, prior to and transcending changing philosophies, whether its essence is presumed (as in Guttmann) or defined explicitly (as in Berkovits).

A modification of the essentialist approach is offered by Colette *Sirat, who maintains both of these essentialist conditions, and according to whom "only the combination of philosophy and Jewish tradition forms Jewish philosophy … The essence of Jewish philosophy is the harmonizing of a particular system of thought with the Jewish sources" (*Jewish Philosophical Thought in the Middle Ages* (Heb.), 1975, p. 8). Sirat further modified her definition a decade later, in the revised and expanded English edition of her book, to provide greater recognition of the manifold spectrum of Jewish opinions: "One can say that the history of Jewish philosophy in the Middle Ages is the history of the efforts of Jews to reconcile philosophy (or a system of rationalist thought) and Scripture… The harmonizing of these two systems of thought in one unique verity was the theme of almost all Jewish medieval philosophy" (*A History of Jewish Philosophy in the Middle Ages*, p. 5).

Despite its clarity, the essentialist approach, even in its modified harmonizing form, presupposes a Jewish essence, or a definitive Jewish tradition, although it generally avoids defining that essence and tradition. As with the *via negativa* to the divine attributes, it seems far easier to determine what Judaism is not (eg., it is not Christianity or Islam) than what it is, and attempts at a positive definition, like that proposed by Berkovits (the irreducible facts of the events of revelation) are far from universally accepted and tend to be more prescriptive than descriptive. Moreover, limiting philosophy to an explication or verification of given truths undermines the openness which is basic to the philosophical method and weakens, if not eliminates, the distinction between philosophy and theology – a distinction Maimonides insisted upon in his critique of the *Kalām (Islamic theology), which attempts to make reality conform to its hypotheses, rather than adapting its hypothesis to reality (*Guide of the Perplexed* 1:71). The essentialist approach also makes it difficult to account for a richness of varied and even opposing points of view in Jewish philosophy on many questions, for example on such questions as creation, free will and proofs of God, and for Jewish philosophers disagreeing with each other (Maimonides vs. Saadiah Gaon) while agreeing with much of non-Jewish thought (respectively Aristotelianism or Mu'tazilite Kalām). Furthermore, the assumption of the essentialists that there is a continuous and uniform tradition that we may call "Judaism" or "the Jewish tradition," which must then be harmonized with foreign philosophy, does not provide an adequate paradigm for dealing with the prior encounters in each generation or period of that "Judaism" or "Jewish tradition" with foreign cultures, and the ways in which foreign elements were always adopted by Judaism and adapted to its needs. The ideas or values perceived as novel, foreign, or heterodox in one period came, in later periods, to be an integral and organic part of what was perceived to be orthodox Jewish tradition, as the case of Maimonides himself demonstrates.

A third approach to defining Jewish philosophy – between the formalism of purely biographical or linguistic criteria on the one hand, and essentialism on the other hand – suggests that Jewish philosophy is to be understood as philosophy in a Jewish context. The contextual approach shares with essentialism a rejection of external formalist criteria which indicate nothing of the content of the philosophy, and shares with formalism a rejection of the essentialist reduction of Jewish philosophy to philosophy of Judaism and agreement with Jewish tradition. Zev Levy, who regards "Jewish philosophy" as an oxymoron when the philosopher is dealing with universal and purely philosophical questions, acknowledges that a philosophy can be Jewish contextually, when it relates to the destiny of the Jewish people and expresses Jewish cultural creativity. The contextual criteria for making such an assessment include sources and influences (the dimension of the past, whether the philosopher's ideas grew out of the collective experience of the Jewish people), the intended audience or the philosopher's motivation (the dimension of the present, whether the philosopher is attempting to address Jewish concerns, or whether Jewish concerns motivate the philosophizing), and impact (the dimension of the future, whether the philosopher's ideas had an impact on subsequent Jewish thought) – questions for which there may not always be a clear and unequivocal answer, especially for recent philosophers whose impact cannot yet be gauged. Such philosophy may be Jewish in a narrow sense, if it deals with overtly Jewish issues, or in a broader sense, if it deals with any questions, but does so within a Jewish context. As Aviezer *Ravitzky suggests, what is common is the question, not the answer. Jewish philosophy, he suggests, "is a philosophy which deals with a certain *problem* (or more precisely, a certain type of problem), namely the confrontation or encounter of the nonphilosophic Jewish sources and the non-Jewish philosophic sources … That is, it deals with the problem of the existence of the Jew as a Jew confronted by his universal philosophic knowledge and consciousness… The problem which motivates the rise of Jewish philosophy is the encounter of two *traditions*, the Jewish tradition and the philosophic tradition" ("On the Study of Medieval Jewish Philosophy," in *History and Faith: Studies in Jewish Philosophy* (1996), 4, 7).

RECENT HISTORIES OF JEWISH PHILOSOPHY

An essentialist approach to defining Jewish philosophy was possible so long as histories were written by one author with a consistent overview of what is Jewish philosophy. Julius Guttmann's *Philosophies of Judaism* retains its unique status as the only attempt by a single author to provide such a total and consistent survey of Jewish philosophy in all its periods. Subsequent scholars (such as Harry Wolfson, Shlomo Pines, and Alexander Altmann) focused their scholarly attention on particular thinkers and specific issues, and did not write general histories. Others (such as Jacob Agus, Raphael Jospe, Nathan Rotenstreich, Norbert Samuelson, Eliezer Schweid, Kenneth Seeskin, Colette Sirat, S.B. Urbach) generally wrote only histories or text books relating to a given period (medieval, modern, or contemporary), although Joseph Blau wrote a popular overall survey, *The Story of Jewish Philosophy* (1962) and Norbert Samuelson also wrote a general text book, *Jewish Philosophy: An Historical Introduction* (2003), presenting at least a few representatives of different periods.

With the rapid growth in recent decades of interest in, access to, and availability of Jewish philosophy, including previously unknown or unpublished manuscript material, and with increasing emphasis on specialization, the kind of total overview achieved by Guttmann is unlikely to be replicated, and recent overall histories and anthologies, not limited to one period or one topic, have been collective efforts of teams of scholars, and have appeared with accelerated frequency, as have recent encyclopedias.

Earlier 20th-century histories of Jewish philosophy, written by single authors, appeared once every generation – roughly once every 35 years. Isaac *Husik's *History of Medieval Jewish Philosophy* was published in 1916. Guttmann's *Philosophies of Judaism*, which first appeared in German in 1933, was revised and expanded in Hebrew and published posthumously in 1951 (and the Hebrew was the basis for the 1964 English translation). The expanded and revised English version of Colette Sirat's *History of Jewish Philosophy in the Middle Ages* appeared in 1985. These later works do not share Guttmann's essentialist approach, and, as collective works, have tended to a more inclusive, contextual presentation. Colette Sirat's 1975 Hebrew and 1985 English histories already broke new ground by devoting a chapter to astrology. The 1997 *History of Jewish Philosophy* (Routledge *History of Word Philosophies*, Vol. 2), edited by Daniel H. Frank and Oliver Leaman, which includes a team of 35 authors, takes this inclusivistic trend further by incorporating under Jewish philosophy discussions of its historical, social and cultural contexts (chapters 6, 13, 22, 23, 25); political philosophy (ch. 18); mysticism (ch. 19); Jewish nationalism (ch. 31), and Zionism (ch. 32); the Shoah (ch. 36); and Jewish feminist thought (ch. 38).

The loss of a consistent theoretical overview provided by a single author may, therefore, prove to be a gain for our understanding the history of Jewish philosophy. Research in recent decades has tended to blur the already unclear demarcations between strictly philosophical and other types of thought. Moreover, the historical fact is that, in some cases, the more purely philosophical and theoretical works exerted less influence on the Jewish community of their day and on subsequent Jewish history and thought than did works which, while including philosophic terminology and doctrines, are not themselves strictly philosophical.

In the paradoxical tradition of 19th-century German-Jewish *Wissenschaft des Judentums, which (in the words of Leopold *Zunz) sought to provide a scientific "account of what has already been sealed away," while rapidly disappearing Jewish books could still be found, and thereby contributed to a renaissance of Jewish literature and learning, Isaac Husik concluded his early 20th-century history with the pessimistic comment, "There are Jews now and there are philosophers, but there are no Jewish philosophers and there is no Jewish philosophy." Husik had little idea how his own book, and those which came after it, would play a role in the revitalization in the 20th century of the study and practice of Jewish philosophy.

[Raphael Jospe (2nd ed.)]

BIBLICAL AND RABBINIC ANTECEDENTS

Although the Bible and the rabbinic literature contain definite views about God, man, and the world, these views are presented unsystematically, without a technical vocabulary, and without formal arguments in their support. Hence, it is more appropriate to speak of biblical and rabbinic theology rather than philosophy. Nevertheless, Jewish philosophers of all periods held that their opinions were rooted in the Bible and the rabbinic writings, and they quote these literatures extensively in support of their views. Interestingly, quotations from the Bible far outnumber those from the rabbinic writings, so that one may speak of a certain "Bible-centeredness" of Jewish philosophy. In quoting the Bible, Jewish philosophers often imposed a philosophic rigor on its vocabulary and thought that is not immediately apparent from the literal reading of the text. However, besides quoting the Bible, certain philosophers also had a theory concerning the nature of this document. Aware that the world view of the Bible is rather simple and unphilosophical, they found it difficult to accept that the Bible lacked philosophical sophistication. If God created man with reason, the discoveries of the human mind must be related in some fashion to the content of divine revelation. Hence, they viewed the Bible as twofold: on its literal level it was addressed to philosophers and non-philosophers alike, and thus it had to speak in a manner intelligible to all; but behind its rather simple exterior it contained a more profound meaning, which philosophers could discover by proper interpretation. This esoteric content is identical, fully or in part, with the teachings of philosophy. In assuming this methodological principle, Jewish philosophers resembled Jewish mystics, who discovered secret mystical teachings behind the literal biblical text. We may now examine some representative biblical passages which Jewish philosophers cited to support their views. (For a fuller picture the reader may refer to the indexes of biblical passages appearing in Saadiah Gaon, *The Book of Beliefs and Opinions*, tr. by S. Rosenblatt (1949); Judah Halevi, *The Kuzari*, tr. by H. Hirschfeld (1964); Moses Maimonides, *The Guide for the Perplexed*, tr. by M. Friedlaender (1904^2; repr. 1956); Joseph Albo, *Sefer ha-Ikkarim*, ed. and tr. by I. Husik, 4, pt. 2, 1930).

Bible

Of verses concerning God that were cited by Jewish philosophers, perhaps the central one was "Hear, O Israel: the Lord our God, the Lord is one" (Deut. 6:4), which was held to refer to God's uniqueness as well as to His simplicity. The opening of the Decalogue – "I am the Lord thy God" (Ex. 20:2, Deut. 5:6) – was understood as a declaration of God's existence, and, by some, even as a positive commandment requiring the affirmation of the existence of God. God's omnipotence was indicated by the verse: "I know that Thou canst do all things, and that no purpose of Thine can be thwarted" (Job 42:2), and His omniscience, by the verse: "His discernment is past searching out" (Isa. 40:28). That God is incorporeal was derived from the verses: "… for ye saw no manner of form" (Deut. 4:15) and "To whom then will ye liken Me, that I should be equal?" (Isa. 40:25), and that His essence is identical with His existence, from the verse: "I am that I am" (Ex. 3:14). How God can be known was derived from a story concerning Moses. Moses had asked God to show him His ways and then he had requested that He show him His glory. God granted Moses the first of these requests, but denied him the second (Ex. 33:12 ff.). This story was interpreted to mean that God's glory, that is, His essence, cannot be known by man, but His ways, that is, His actions, can be known.

Of passages and verses concerning the universe, the creation chapters (Gen. 1–2) were interpreted as stating that the world was created out of nothing and in time. The creation of the universe was also derived from the verses: "I have made the earth, and created man upon it; I, even My hands, have stretched out the heavens, and all their hosts have I commanded" (Isa. 45:12) and "It is He that hath made us, and we are His" (Ps. 100:3). That the celestial spheres are animate and rational was deduced from the verse: "The heavens declare the glory of God" (Ps. 19:2), and the verse: "The sun also arises, and the sun goes down, and hastens to his place where he arises" (Eccles. 1:5) was seen as a description of the daily motion of the uppermost celestial sphere, which produces day and night. That the heavens and the earth are finite was derived from the verses: "… from the one end of the earth even unto the other end of the earth" (Deut. 13:8) and "… from the one end of heaven unto the other …" (Deut. 4:32). From four terms appearing in Genesis 1:2 it was deduced that the sublunar world consists of the four elements: earth (*ereẓ*), air (*ru'aḥ*), water (*mayim*), and fire (*ḥoshekh* – ordinarily darkness, but here interpreted as fire). Reference to the composition of these four elements of matter and form and to the succession of forms in matter was seen in the verses: "Then I went down to the potter's house, and, behold, he was at his work on the wheels. And whensoever the vessel that he made of clay was marred in the hand of the potter, he made it again another vessel, as seemed good to the potter to make it" (Jer. 18:3–4). Somewhat more fancifully, Abraham and Sarah, respectively, were identified with form and matter.

Other verses provided a description of human nature. The verses: "See, I have set before thee this day life and good, and death and evil … therefore choose life, that thou mayest live …" (Deut. 30:15–19) were frequently quoted in support of the notion that man possesses freedom of choice. That man's essential nature is his reason was derived from the verse: "Let us make man in our image…" (Gen. 1:26), and that wisdom distinguishes him from other creatures, from the verse: "He that teaches man knowledge" (Ps. 94:10). That man has five senses is indicated by the verses "They have mouths, but they speak not; Eyes have they, but they see not; They have ears, but they hear not; Noses have they, but they smell not; They have hands, but they handle not …" (Ps. 115:5–7). "For the life of the flesh is in the blood …" (Lev. 17:11) refers to the nutritive faculty of the human soul, and "Notwithstanding thou mayest kill and eat flesh within all thy gates, after all the desire of thy soul …" (Deut. 12:15), to the appetitive. Some interpreted that man's ultimate goal in life is to understand God from the verses: "Know this day, and lay it to thy heart, that the Lord, He is God in heaven above and upon the earth beneath …" (Deut. 4:39) and "Know ye that the Lord He is God" (Ps. 100:3); but others invoked the verse "And thou shalt love the Lord thy God …" (Deut. 6:5) to show that man's final goal is the love of God. That man should be modest in his conduct is indicated by the verse: "The righteous eateth to the satisfying of his desire …" (Prov. 13:25), and that the middle way is the best is shown by the verse: "… and thou shalt walk in His ways" (Deut. 28:9). While many other verses and passages were cited in support of these and other teachings, Jewish philosophers were also interested in whole chapters and complete biblical books. The theophany in Isaiah 6 and the account of the divine chariot in Ezekiel 1 and 10 were used as descriptions of God and the angelic realm. Of special interest were the more philosophical books of the Bible, including Proverbs, Job, Song of Songs, and Ecclesiastes, on which numerous philosophical commentaries were written, especially in the late Middle Ages.

Rabbinic Literature

Since the Greek philosophers had appeared by the time the rabbis of the Talmud formulated their teachings, it may be asked whether the rabbinic literature reveals any Greek philosophical influence. While the rabbis had some acquaintance with Greek philosophical ideas, particularly with those of the Stoics (in popular versions), it has now been shown that the rabbis were not familiar with formal philosophy (see S. Lieberman, in: *Biblical and Other Studies*, ed. by A. Altmann (1963), 123–41). The names of the major philosophers are absent from the rabbinic writings, and the only philosophers mentioned by name are Epicurus and the obscure, second century cynic Oenomaus of Gadara. In the tannaitic literature the term "Epicurean" (*apikoros*) is used, but it seems to refer to a heretic in general rather than someone who embraces Epicurus' doctrines. H.A. Wolfson, the modern historian of philosophy, stated that he was unable to discover a single Greek philosophic term in rabbinic literature (Wolfson, *Philo*, 1 (1947), 92). Talmudic scholar Saul *Lieberman replied to Wolfson: "I want to state more positively: Greek philosophic terms are absent from the entire ancient Rabbinic literature" ("How Much Greek in Jewish Palestine?," in: A. Altmann (ed.), *Biblical and Other Studies* (1963), 130). In his *Greek in Jewish Palestine* (1942) Lieberman wrote that "Certain elements on most of the Greek sciences of that time were known to the rabbis in Palestine, and the formulations and the definitions in natural sciences are very similar to those of the Greek scholars. But here again there is no evidence for rabbinic quotations from first-hand sources; all their information may have been derived from secondary sources" (pp. 1–2). In the case of the rabbis and the Gnostics, according to Lieberman, the situation is similar: "Certain basic teachings of the rabbis were not entirely foreign to the rabbis … However, even in this domain the early rabbinic literature never mentions a single Greek 'philosophic' term used by the Gnostics" (*ibid*, pp. 132, 141).

This conventional view has been challenged by Jacob *Neusner in a series of studies. While acknowledging that there are no overtly philosophical terms in rabbinic literature, that the rabbis never cite any Greek philosophical text, and that it is unlikely that they had direct personal or literary contact with philosophy, Neusner argues that "a sizeable portion of the Mishnah is philosophical in method, manner of formulating results, and … in specific philosophical program," and that when read philosophically, the Mishnah's arguments coincide with Aristotle's rules of classification, and its issues and positions are congruent with those of Greek philosophy. Neusner concludes, therefore, that the Mishnah is philosophical in method (which he sees as similar or parallel to Aristotelian classification), medium and message (which he compares to the Neoplatonic unity of being) (*Judaism as Philosophy*, 1990; reissued as *The Method and Message of the Mishnah*, 1997). In Neusner's analysis, Wolfson and Lieberman, by looking only at the trees, thus missed the forest. The Mishnah, in his view, is philosophy and not theology because it doesn't merely cite Scripture, but analyzes its truths rationally. In the Mishnah, as in Aristotle, God serves as a principle but is not involved in the system of classification of natural reality. But what follows the Mishnah is theology, not philosophy, because the later rabbinic literature appeals to citations of Scripture and of the Mishnah for authority, not to reason (*The Transformation of Judaism*, 1992). Neusner later extends the argument to the *Gemara* as well. He sees the Mishnah as philosophy (especially natural history) in form of a law code, and the *Gemara* also as philosophy, specifically dialectical analysis, in the form of a commentary on the Mishnah, but reiterates that his claim is "congruity," i.e., similarity, and not direct continuity or contact between the rabbis and Greek philosophy (*Jerusalem and Athens: The Congruity of Talmudic and Classical Philosophy*, 1997). In Neusner's view, the concrete cases of law, at least in some cases, thus reflect a "philosophical template," in which diverse subjects yield an orderly system of abstract thought (*Intellectual Templates of the Halakhah*, 2006).

Jewish philosophers cited rabbinic sayings, as they did biblical quotations, for support of their views, once again imposing a philosophic rigor that the sources, on literal reading, lacked. To indicate that attributes describing God in human terms must be interpreted allegorically, philosophers invoked the saying: "The Torah speaks in the language of the sons of man" (Yev. 71a; BM 31b). How circumspect one must be in describing God is shown in the following story:

Someone reading prayers in the presence of Rabbi Ḥanina said "God, the great, the valiant and the tremendous, the powerful, the strong, and the mighty." Rabbi Ḥanina said to him, "Have you finished all the praises of your Master? The three epithets 'the great, the valiant, and the tremendous,' we should not have applied to God, had Moses not mentioned them in the Law, and had not the men of the Great Synagogue followed and established their use in prayer; and you say all this. Let this be illustrated by a parable. There once was an earthly king who possessed millions of gold coins; but he was praised for owning millions of silver coins. Was this not really an insult to him?" (Ber. 33b).

To show that the substance of the heavens differs from that of sublunar beings the philosophers cited R. Eliezer's saying: "The things in the heavens have been created of the heavens, the things on earth of the earth" (Gen. R. 12:11). Similarly, that the heavens are animate beings was derived from a passage in *Genesis Rabbah* (2:2) which states in part "… the earth mourned and cried on account of her evil lot saying, 'I and the heavens were created together, and yet the beings above live forever, and we are mortal.'" The saying "The world follows its customary order" (Av. Zar. 54b) was taken as confirmation that a natural order exists in the world.

Other rabbinic sayings deal with human nature. The saying: "All is in the hands of heaven except the fear of heaven" (Ber. 33b; Nid. 16b) is interpreted to mean that, while certain natural dispositions are fixed in man, his actions are free. That there is a correlation between what man does and the fate he suffers is supported by the sayings: "There is no death without sin, and no sufferings without transgression" (Shab. 55a) and "A man is measured with the measure he uses himself" (Sot. 1:7). The spiritual nature of the afterlife is taught in the saying of Rav: "In the World to Come, there is no eating, no drinking, no washing, no anointing, no sexual relations, but the righteous sit, their crowns on their heads, and enjoy the radiance of the *Shekhinah*" (Ber. 17a). Many other citations could be added to this list.

Of special interest are two esoteric rabbinic doctrines known respectively as "the account of creation" (*ma'aseh bereshit*) and "the account of the divine chariot" (*ma'aseh merkavah*). While it is clear that, historically speaking, these two doctrines were forms of Jewish gnosticism (see Scholem, *Mysticism*, 40ff.; idem, *Jewish Gnosticism, Merkabah Mysticism, and Talmudic Tradition*, 1960), philosophers saw in them philosophical truths. Maimonides goes so far as to identify *ma'aseh bereshit* with physics and *ma'aseh merkavah* with metaphysics, holding that the rabbis were conversant with philosophic doctrines but presented them enigmatically.

For editions and translations of philosophic works described below, the reader is referred to the entries appearing under individual philosophers' names. The modern scholarly literature concerning individual philosophers is also listed there.

HELLENISTIC JEWISH PHILOSOPHY

Jewish philosophy began, as has been noted, in the Diaspora community of the Hellenistic world during the second century B.C.E. and continued there until the middle of the first century C.E. It arose out of the confrontation between the Jewish religion and Greek philosophy (particularly the Stoic-Platonic tradition) and had as its aim the philosophic interpretation of Judaism. It also had an apologetic purpose: to show that Judaism is a kind of philosophy, whose conception of God is spiritual and whose ethics are rational. Jewish philosophers polemicized against the polytheism of other religions and against pagan practices. In spite of their philosophic interests they maintained that Judaism is superior to philosophy (see H.A. Wolfson, *Philo*, 1 (1947), 3–27). Philo of Alexandria is the only Jewish Hellenistic philosopher from whom a body of works has survived; all the other materials are either fragmentary or only allude to philosophic or theological topics. The dating of these other materials also presents considerable difficulties. The language of Hellenistic Jewish philosophy was Greek. Jewish Hellenistic culture may be said to have begun with the Septuagint, the Greek translation of the Bible. The translation of the Pentateuch dates from the third century B.C.E. Some scholars have held that this translation already manifests philosophic influences (*ibid.*, 94, n. 39).

The first Jewish philosopher appears to have been *Aristobulus of Paneas (middle of second century B.C.E.), who wrote a commentary on the Pentateuch, fragments of which have been preserved by Christian Church Fathers. He argues that Greek philosophers and poets derived their teachings from the wisdom of Moses, and he interpreted the Bible allegorically. He held, for example, that the expression "hand of God" refers to God's power. He maintained that wisdom (the Torah) existed prior to heaven and earth and that God's power extends through all things. He gives a symbolic interpretation of the Sabbath and comments on the symbolic character of the number "seven." The letter of *Aristeas, a pseudepigraphic account of the history of the Greek translation of the Bible, which incidentally polemicizes against paganism, states that God's power is manifested throughout the world, praises the mean as the best course of action, holds that the help of God is necessary for the performance of good deeds, and advocates the control of passions. The author also presents moral interpretations of the ritual laws, holding that such laws are designed to teach man righteousness, holiness, and perfection of character. II Maccabees mentions cryptically resurrection and creation out of nothing. IV Maccabees, evidently written by someone familiar with Greek philosophy, particularly with the teachings of the first-century B.C.E. Stoic Posidonius, maintains that reason can control the passions, illustrating this theme through examples from Jewish history. The author cites the Stoic definition of wisdom and identifies wisdom with the Law. The Sibylline Oracles (in their extant form a combination of Jewish and Christian teachings) denounce paganism and mention the resurrection and the messianic age. The Wisdom of Solomon, which is patterned after Hebrew Wisdom Literature, contains occasional philosophic terms and arguments. The work polemicizes against idolatry, holding that it is a source of immoral practices. H.A. Wolfson (*Philo*, 1 (1947), 287–9) maintains that the author's conception of wisdom is the same as Philo's conception of the logos (see below), although others have argued that the two conceptions are different. According to Wolfson, wisdom first existed as an attribute of God, then as an independent being created by God prior to the creation of the world, and, finally, as immanent in the world. God created the world out of formless matter. Man can love righteousness, God, and wisdom, and the love of wisdom is manifested in the observance of the Law. The attainment of wisdom also requires the help of God. The righteous are rewarded with immortality, while the wicked shall perish.

Philo of Alexandria

*Philo (c. 20 B.C.E.–c. 50 C.E.), who was well versed in Greek philosophy and poetry, presented his views in a series of commentaries on passages of the Pentateuch, works on biblical topics, and independent philosophic treatises. He was influenced largely by Platonic and Stoic ideas, and his philosophy also has a mystical streak. Because of its unsystematic presentation, his philosophy has been interpreted in several ways. Some consider Philo merely a philosophic preacher, others a philosophic eclectic, still others a mystic. H.A. Wolfson, in his *Philo* (on which what follows is based), presents him as a systematic philosopher who is the founder of religious philosophy in Judaism, Christianity, and Islam. Wolfson describes philosophy from Philo to Spinoza as essentially Philonic (*Philo*, 1 (1947), 87–115). (For a discussion of Philo's knowledge of Hebrew and of Palestinian Jewish traditions, see *Philo*, 1 (1947), 88–93.)

BIBLICAL EXEGESIS. The Bible for Philo was the revealed word of God which had an apparent and a hidden meaning: the apparent meaning was addressed to the masses, while the hidden meaning was reserved for students of philosophy. To discover these two meanings Philo used the literal and allegorical methods of interpretation. Most biblical passages lend themselves to both kinds of interpretation, but Philo insists that anthropomorphic descriptions of God must be interpreted allegorically. While he interprets certain parts of the creation story only allegorically, and while he allegorizes biblical names, persons, and events, he also appears to accept biblical narrations in their literal sense. Philo's attitude toward the laws of the Pentateuch is complex and depends on one's evaluation of the nature of Alexandrian *halakhah*. In some passages he maintains that one must observe the totality of Mosaic law, but in others he states that such laws as that requiring the return of a pledge before sunset (Ex. 22:25–26) are trivial in their literal sense and must be understood allegorically.

GOD, LOGOS, AND THE WORLD. Philo's conception of the world is based on Platonic notions, particularly as interpreted and systematized by Posidonius. Characteristic of this approach is the opinion that there exist intermediary beings between God and the world. God, according to Philo, transcends the world. He is one (both in the sense of unique and simple), self-sufficient, eternal, incorporeal, and unlike His creatures. He is good, but He is not identical with the idea of the good of which Plato spoke. In His essence He is unknowable, indescribable, and unnamable; the terms used by Scripture to describe Him are properties referring to His actions. To explain creation and the structure of the world, Philo uses the Platonic notion of "ideas." These ideas, according to him, exist first as patterns in the mind of God, then as incorporeal beings between God and the world, and finally as immanent in the world. Since ideas must inhere in a mind, Philo posits a logos (also called wisdom) in which the ideas inhere. Like the ideas, the logos exists in three forms: as an attribute of God, as an incorporeal being existing between God and the world, and as immanent in the world. The ideas are patterns of things, but they are also causes producing these things; in the latter sense they are called powers. God created the world because He is good, and He created it freely and by design. He first created the incorporeal logos, also called intelligible world, and then the perceptible world. The perceptible world was created out of matter, but it is not clear whether Philo held that this matter was created or uncreated. Creation is not a temporal process, and when it is said that God is prior to His creation it is meant that He is its cause. To create the world God used the self-existent logos, but everything is said to have been created by God Himself except man's body and his irrational soul. The immanent logos, while inhering in the material world, is still immaterial. It produces the laws of nature; but since God created these laws, he can change them if he so desires, and this makes miracles possible.

SOULS. When God created the world, He created with it incorporeal rational souls of varying degrees of impurity. The souls which had greater purity remained incorporeal and became the angels which are God's messengers; the less pure souls were joined to bodies and became the souls of men. The human soul is active in sensation and cognition and it possesses free will. Upon death, the human soul may ascend to the upper realm, where it may come to rest among angels, in the intelligible world, or even beyond this, close to God, Immortality is the gift of God.

KNOWLEDGE AND PROPHECY. Basing himself on Plato, Philo speaks of three kinds of knowledge: sensation or opinion, rational knowledge derived from sensation, and the knowledge of ideas. However, whereas Plato describes knowledge of ideas as recollection, Philo identifies it with prophecy. Prophecy, which is said to come from God, can come in three possible ways: through the Divine Spirit, through a specially created divine voice, or through angels. Prophecy can be accompanied by frenzy and ecstasy, and it is here that Philo's mystical inclination comes to the fore. There are also three kinds of prophetic dreams which correspond to the three kinds of prophecy. Prophecy through an angel can come to a non-Jew, prophecy through the Divine Spirit can also come to a non-Jew provided he has attained moral and intellectual perfection, but prophecy through the voice of God is reserved for Jews. Prophecy has a fourfold function: prediction of the future, expiation of the sins of the people, promulgation of law, and vision of incorporeal beings.

ETHICS AND POLITICS. Philo accepts the philosophic notion that happiness comes through the acquisition of the moral and the intellectual virtues; but he holds that human laws achieve this purpose only imperfectly, whereas the Law of Moses, divine in its origin, achieves it perfectly. The good life is not so much life in accordance with virtue but life in accordance with the Law. The Law contains the philosophic virtues, but adds to them additional ones of its own, such as faith, humanity, piety, and holiness, as well as prayer, study, and repentance. Obedience or disobedience to the Law leads to reward or punishment, respectively, which are, for Philo, individual. Philo presents Jewish law in the light of Greek political theories. The Law of Moses is the constitution of a state initiated by Moses. In this state there live citizens and noncitizens of various kinds. The state is ruled by a king, a high priest, and a council of elders. However, since this state is based on God's Law, God is the real ruler, and earthly rulers only administrate and interpret the divine Law. This state was originally only a state for the Jewish people, but it also provides the pattern for an ideal society (still composed of states) which will come to be in messianic times. Philo influenced the teachings of Church Fathers such as Clement of Alexandria, Origen, and Gregory of Nysea, but his works remained unknown to Jewish philosophers of the Middle Ages. Whatever influence he may have had on them came through the indirect transmission of his ideas. It was only in the 16th century that, through Azariah dei Rossi, his works became known once again among Jews.

MEDIEVAL PERIOD

Medieval Jewish philosophy began in the early tenth century as part of a general cultural revival in the Islamic East, and continued in Muslim countries – North Africa, Spain, and Egypt – for some 300 years. The Jews of the period spoke, read, and wrote Arabic and thus were able to participate in the general culture of their day. Although Jews produced a rich literature on biblical and rabbinic subjects and much poetry, they did not produce an extensive scientific and philosophical literature of their own. The extant literature was adequate for their needs, and their major speculative efforts were devoted to investigating how Judaism and philosophy were related. Most of their philosophic works were written in Arabic. Toward the end of the 12th century the setting of Jewish philosophy began to change. The Jewish communities in the Islamic world declined, and communities hospitable to philosophic and scientific learning developed in Christian lands, particularly Christian Spain, southern France, and Italy. As a result, Arabic was gradually forgotten, and since, with some notable exceptions, Jews had little occasion to learn Latin, Hebrew became the language of Jewish works in philosophy and the sciences. Thus, whereas in Muslim countries Jews were part of the mainstream of general culture, in Christian lands they had to foster a general culture of their own. In this period, while Jews continued to write works investigating the relationship of Judaism and philosophy, they now also produced an extensive literature devoted to purely philosophic topics. As a first step they translated into Hebrew the extensive Arabic philosophical literature of the previous period. Then they commented on the newly translated works, summarized them in compendia and encyclopedias, and composed their own treatises and books. Jewish philosophy during this period was largely based on sources from the Islamic philosophic tradition, but some Jewish philosophers were also influenced by the views of Christian scholastics. The second period in medieval Jewish philosophy lasted until the early 16th century.

Sources and Translations

The philosophic literature available during the Islamic period was based on works studied in the late Hellenistic schools. As the Islamic empire expanded, these schools came under Muslim rule, and the works studied in them were soon translated into Arabic. At times these translations were made from Greek originals, but more often from intermediary Syriac translations. A number of works were translated more than once. The translators, most of whom were Nestorian and Jacobite Christians, were active from about 800 until about 1000. (For an account of these translations see R. Walzer, *Greek into Ara-*

bic, 1962.) Of Platonic works translated, the most important were the *Timeaus*, *Republic*, and *Laws*, but Arabic translations of some other dialogues are extant. Perhaps the most important influence was exercised by the works of Aristotle, all of which were known, except for the *Dialogues* and *Politics*. Together with the works of Aristotle there were translated works by his commentators *Alexander of Aphrodisias, *Themistius, Theophrastus, Simplicius, and John Philoponus. There were also translations of works by Galen, some of which are no longer extant in the original Greek. The neoplatonic tradition was represented by the *Theology of Aristotle*, a collection of excerpts from Plotinus' *Enneads*, and the *Liber de Causis*, a collection from Proclus' *Elements of Theology*, as well as by other neoplatonic writings, some of which have been discovered only recently. There were also translations of the Hermetic writings. In addition, philosophers of the period were familiar with Epicurean, Stoic, and skeptic teachings (see *Epicurus, *Stoicism, and *Skeptics), which, however, reached them through the reports of other authors rather than through translations of original works. Jewish philosophers were similarly influenced by the works of Islamic philosophers of the period, including Al-Kindī Al-Rāzī, *Al-Fārābi, *Avicenna (Ibn Sīnā), Al-*Ghazālī, *Avempace (Ibn Bājja), and *Averroes (Ibn Rushd). However, Averroes influenced medieval Jewish philosophy during its second period rather than its first. Jews were familiar, also, with the collection known as the "Epistles of the *Brethren of Sincerity," and they knew the writings of Sufi mystics.

Main Schools

Paralleling Islamic philosophers, Jewish philosophers of the Islamic period may be divided into four groups: followers of the Muʿtazilite branch of the *Kalām, Neoplatonists, Aristotelians, and philosophical critics of Aristotelian rationalism. In the work of one philosopher, at times doctrines from several schools were mixed. Before expositions of the opinions of individual philosophers are given, the characteristics of each of the four groups will be briefly described.

MUʿTAZILITE KALĀM. Muʿtazilite Kalām arose in Islamic circles toward the end of the eighth century. Its views developed out of reflections on problems posed by Scripture. The two major problems were the unity of God and God's justice, and because of their concern with these problems, Muʿtazilites were also called "Men of Unity and Justice." The first problem arose from the observation that the Koran affirms that God is one, yet describes Him by many attributes; the second, from the observation that God is omnipotent and omniscient (which seems to imply that God causes everything in the world including man's actions), yet punishes man for his wrongdoing. To solve the first problem, the Muʿtazilites set out to show that God can be described by many attributes without violating His unity; to solve the second, that, although God is omnipotent and omniscient, man's freedom and, hence, responsibility for his actions are not precluded. These two interests were broadened to include discussions of other aspects of God and human nature. Muʿtazilites also addressed themselves to more theological problems, such as the nature of different kinds of sinners and the afterlife. Since the Muʿtazilites' speculations derived from a concern with scriptural problems, they did not formulate a systematic philosophy as the neoplatonists and later the Aristotelians did. Philosophy was for them a way of solving scriptural difficulties, and they made use of any philosophical argument that might be of help. Hence, their philosophic speculations were eclectic, and a philosopher would make use of Platonic, Aristotelian, or Epicurean arguments as the need arose. Characteristic of Muʿtazilite works is their division into sections devoted to the unity of God and His justice. Also characteristic are proofs of the existence of God based on proofs of the creation of the world and the division of scriptural commandments into rational and traditional. In reaction to the Muʿtazilites, a more orthodox kind of Kalām, known as Ashʿarite (founded by Al-Ashʿarī, d. 935), arose. While Ashʿarite Kalām was known to Jewish philosophers and is cited by them, it appears that there were no Jewish Ashʿarites. The Ashʿarites were known for their insistence on the absolute omnipotence and omniscience of God, which led them to deny the existence of laws of nature and human free will. However, to safeguard God's justice and man's responsibility, they formulated the doctrine of "acquisition," according to which man, while not causing his acts, can do them willingly or unwillingly.

NEOPLATONISM. Neoplatonism was characterized by the doctrine of emanation, which states that the world and its parts emanated from a first principle, God, in a manner analogous to the emanation of rays from the sun or streams of water from a living fountain. To safeguard the absolute unity of God, Neoplatonists posited a first emanation, identified by some with wisdom (logos) and by others with will, which was between God and the world. Drawing on an analogy between man, the microcosm, and the world, the macrocosm, Neoplatonists posited a number of spiritual substances, such as intellect, soul, and nature, between the first emanation and the world. Some Neoplatonists also held that the spiritual world, no less than the visible, is composed of matter and form. Neoplatonism is marked by the insistence that God is completely above the created order and thus can be described only by negative attributes. Some Neoplatonists held that the world proceeds by necessity from God and is contemporaneous with Him, while others, making concessions to Scripture, affirmed that the world is the product of God's will and is posterior to Him. In their conception of man, Neoplatonists subscribed to the duality of body and soul. The soul originates in the upper region and in some way is forced to join the body. It is man's purpose in life to free the soul from the body, thus making it possible for it to rejoin the upper region from which it came. This "purification" is accomplished through practice of the moral virtues and through philosophic speculation. Neoplatonic ethics generally are ascetic.

ARISTOTELIANISM. *Aristotelianism was based on the premises that the world must be known through observation and that this knowledge is gained through study of the various speculative and practical sciences. The speculative sciences, which deal with the nature of reality, are divided into physics, mathematics, and metaphysics; the practical sciences, which deal with human conduct, are divided into ethics, economics, and politics. Logic is the prerequisite instrument of all the sciences. The physics of the Aristotelians is based on an analysis of the many changes taking place in the world. These changes are explained through the four causes – the material, efficient, formal, and final causes. The world is divided into the celestial and the sublunar regions. The sublunar world is one of generation and corruption, and everything in it is ultimately reducible to the four elements – earth, water, air, and fire. Sublunar beings are divided into minerals, plants, animals, and rational beings, and all of them are composed of matter and form. By contrast, the celestial region, not subject to generation and corruption, is immaterial, and the only motion occurring within it is the locomotions of the celestial spheres. The celestial region is made up of its own element – the so-called fifth element. It consists of the various celestial spheres in which are set the sun, moon, planets, and fixed stars. Each sphere consists of a body governed by an incorporeal soul and intelligence. The earth is fixed at the center of the universe and the celestial spheres revolve around it. All organic beings – plants, animals, and human beings – are governed by an internal principle of motion called a soul. In man, the most complex organic being, the soul possesses nutritive, sensory, appetitive, imaginative, and rational faculties, or powers. The highest faculty is the rational, and to develop it is the purpose of human life. The rational faculty starts as the potential intellect and through exercise becomes the actual intellect and, finally, the acquired intellect. The agent in the production of human knowledge is the active intellect, which in the Islamic and Jewish traditions is identified with the lowest of the celestial intelligences. The active intellect also produces prophecy in men who have the required preparation. While there are some variations in particulars, Islamic and Jewish philosophers subscribe to this general scheme. Metaphysics is viewed as the study of being qua being, that is, of the highest categories, and also as a study of the incorporeal beings, that is, of God and the incorporeal intelligences, which are identified with the angels of Scripture. Morality is viewed as the acquisition of the moral and intellectual virtues. The moral virtues, which, generally speaking, consist of following the mean, are acquired by habituation and thereby become second nature. They are a prerequisite for the attainment of the intellectual virtues, the final goal. While in their ethics Aristotelians followed the traditions of Aristotle, in their political philosophy they followed Plato. They accepted the notion Plato set forth in the *Republic*, that mankind may be divided into three classes – men of gold, men of silver, and men of bronze – and identified the first class with the philosophers, who can understand by means of demonstration, and the other two classes with those who can only follow arguments of persuasion. For Plato, the state is founded by a philosopher-king, who in the Islamic and Jewish traditions is identified with the legislative prophet.

Critics of Aristotelianism

The critical reaction to philosophy was marked by the attempt to show, on philosophic grounds, that philosophers had not made good their claim to have discovered physical and metaphysical truths. The fact that philosophers could not agree on these truths was taken as evidence that they had failed. However, while the critics rejected physics and metaphysics, they accepted the principles of Aristotelian logic.

Saadiah Gaon

The first Jewish philosopher of the Middle Ages was *Saadiah Gaon (882–942), head of the rabbinical academy of Sura (near Baghdad). Influenced by the Muʿtazilites and relying on Platonic, Aristotelian, and Stoic notions, he undertook to formulate a Jewish Kalām. His major philosophic work, which, in Muʿtazilite fashion, is divided into a section on divine unity and a section on divine justice, is his *Book of Opinions and Beliefs* (*Emunot Ve-De'ot; Kitāb al-Amānāt wa al-Iʿtiqādāt*), but his philosophical opinions are also found in his commentary on *Sefer Yeẓirah*, his commentary on the Bible, and in his polemics against Hiwī al-Balkhī. Saadiah wrote his *Book of Opinions and Beliefs* to rescue his contemporaries from the doubts that had befallen them and to lead them from being men whose beliefs were based on religious authority alone to becoming men whose beliefs were also confirmed by arguments of reason. Since these were his goals, he began with a methodological preface devoted to an analysis of doubt and how it may be remedied, a definition of belief (the opposite of doubt), and a description of sources of knowledge – sense perception, self-evident first principles, inference, and reliable tradition – which enable one to distinguish true from false beliefs. In typical Muʿtazilite fashion, Saadiah began the book proper (treatise 1) with four proofs for the creation of the world; from the finiteness of the world, from its composition, from accidents, and from the nature of time. Typical of these proofs is the one from finiteness. According to this argument, the finite nature of the universe requires a finite force preserving it, and everything possessing a finite force must have a beginning in time. Saadiah goes on to show that from the creation of the world it follows that it was brought into being by a creator who is distinct from it, and that this creator made it out of nothing. It was part of Saadiah's method to refute current opinions which differed from his own, and thus he adds the refutation of 12 other cosmogonic theories which he considered wrong. Saadiah next demonstrates that God is one (treatise 2). However, despite His unity, God is described by a multiplicity of attributes, such as life, power, and knowledge. According to Saadiah, these attributes only serve to explicate the divine nature and do not suggest that any multiplicity exists in God. God must be described by many attributes because human language cannot find one word describing them all. In his discussion Saadiah takes issue with dualistic and trinitarian conceptions of God. God's kindness toward His creatures requires that He provide them with a law, adherence to which will guide them to earthly happiness and to eternal bliss (treatise 3). This law, the Torah, contains commandments of two kinds: rational, such as the prohibitions against murder and theft, which reason can also discover on its own, and traditional, such as the Sabbath and dietary laws, which must be revealed through the will of God. Rational commandments are general and require particular traditional commandments for their implementation; and traditional commandments upon examination are also found to have certain reasons. The promulgation of the divine precepts requires the existence of prophets, whose mission is confirmed by the miracles they perform. However, the prophecy of Moses is confirmed not only by miracles but also by the reasonableness of the law he brought. This law is unchanging and cannot be abrogated.

Man, Saadiah held, is the goal of creation, and divine justice requires that he be free. He offers two kinds of arguments for the existence of human choice: first, man experiences himself to be free, and there is no evidence that his acts are compelled; second, holding man responsible for his acts requires that he be free. Since man is free, God justly rewards and punishes him. God's foreknowledge is compatible with human freedom, for to foreknow something is different from causing it. Invoking Muʿtazilite models again, Saadiah (treatise 5) discusses different categories of righteous and wicked men. Among them is the penitent, who accomplishes repentance in four steps: renunciation of sin, remorse, the quest for forgiveness, and the assumption of an obligation not to sin again. The sufferings of the righteous are explained as "sufferings of love" (*yissurin shel ahavah*), that is, their sufferings in this world will be compensated by the reward they will receive in the next. (Maimonides later attacked this doctrine.) Man's soul originates at the time of the formation of the body, and its place of origin is the human heart (treatise 6). The substance of the human soul is akin to that of the celestial sphere. The latter section of the *Book of Opinions and Beliefs* is devoted to eschatological issues, and Saadiah's discussion follows traditional Jewish lines. He accepts the doctrine of the resurrection of the body and offers numerous arguments in its support (treatise 7). The resurrection will occur after Israel has been redeemed. The redemption (treatise 8) may take place in two ways. If the time appointed for the Exile passes before Israel repents, God will first send the Messiah from the house of Joseph. Great calamities will befall the Jews, but in the end they will be redeemed by the Messiah from the house of David. Should Israel repent before the completion of the appointed time, the Messiah from the house of David may come right away. In the messianic era, Israel will return to its land and the Temple will be rebuilt. The Christian claims that the Messiah has already come are false. The final stage is the world to come (treatise 9), in which the righteous will be rewarded and the wicked punished. Man's body and soul will remain together in the world to come, and life in that world is eternal. Saadiah concludes his book with an appendix (treatise 10) describing how man should conduct himself in this world.

Other Rabbanite Followers of Kalām

Although Saadiah remained the major Jewish exponent of Muʿtazilite Kalām, other Jewish philosophers made use of kalamic teachings. In Rabbanite circles, kalamic influences were evident until the rise of Aristotelianism in the 13th century, while among Karaites, Kalām provided the dominant philosophy throughout the Middle Ages. David ibn Marwān *al-Mukammiṣ, probably an older contemporary of Saadiah, combined kalamic, Platonic, Aristotelian, and Neoplatonic teachings in his *ʿIshrūn Maqālāt* ("Twenty Treatises"), a work only partially preserved. His views are also cited in *Judah b. Barzillai al-Bargeloni's commentary on *Sefer Yeẓirah*. Al-Mukammiṣ cites the kalamic formula: "God is knowing, but not with knowledge; living, but not with life," interpreting it to mean that God's attributes are identical with each other and with His essence. Following the Neoplatonists, he adds that God's attributes must be understood as negations. Kalamic and Greek philosophic influences are also found in the Bible commentary (extant in fragments) of *Samuel b. Hophni (d. 1013), head of the academy of Sura. He also held that God's attributes are identical with His essence, and, again following the Muʿtazilites, he teaches that only prophets can work miracles. *Nissim b. Jacob b. Nissim ibn Shahin of Kairouan, a younger contemporary of Samuel b. Hophni, uses Muʿtazilite doctrines at the beginning of his introduction to his commentary on the Talmud. *Hai Gaon (d. 1038), last head of the academy of Pumbedita, was also acquainted with Muʿtazilite doctrines, but took issue with some of them. For example, he criticized Samuel b. Hophni for limiting miracles to prophets, holding that pious persons can also perform them.

[Arthur Hyman]

Karaites

Karaite speculative thought has generally mirrored Rabbanite speculative thought, and discussions of philosophical interest can be found both in treatises fully devoted to the subject, of which there are not many, as well as in works belonging to other genres, such as exegesis, law, and poetry. The first Karaites generally did not formulate clearly their theological views, and there is some indication that some objected to rationalism. By the 10th century, Karaites came under the influence of Muʿtazilite Kalām, and both the legalist, Yaʿqub al-Qirqisani, and the exegete, Japheth ben Eli, incorporated Kalamic ideas into their works. Only in the late 10th and early 11th century did Karaites write separate speculative treatises incorporating fully the ideas and terminology of the Basran Muʿtazilites, most notably Abd al-Jabbar. In the 11th century, the outstanding Karaite philosophers were Joseph b. Abraham al-*Baṣīr (author of *Kitab al-Muhtawi* and *Kitab al-Mansuri*) and his disciple *Jeshua b. Judah, whose views were similar. They believed that rational knowledge of God precedes belief in revelation; only after it has been established that God exists, that He is wise, and that He is omnipotent, is the truth of revelation guaranteed. A similar rationalism is manifest in their conception of ethics: they maintained that various specific moral principles are self-evident upon reflection, e.g., that good should be done and evil avoided, that one should be grateful, and that one should tell the truth. This awareness is independent of revelation, since even those who deny God and revelation adhere to these principles. The moral law is binding not only for man but also for God, a point which is central to their theodicy. They also adopted the Kalamic view that the world is composed of atoms, and the atomic theory can be used to prove the creation of the world, and, thereby, the existence of God.

Al- Baṣīr's influence among Karaites remained strong for almost 300 years, kept alive by Byzantine Hebrew translations of his works and a number of independently written Hebrew treatises, which propounded his ideas. In the late 13th century, Maimonidean Aristotelianism began making inroads into Karaite thought. The main figure to attempt an accommodation between the Karaite tradition of Kalām and Maimonides' *Guide of the Perplexed* was *Aaron ben Elijah of Nicomedia, author of *Eẓ Ḥayyim* ("Tree of Life," written in 1346). Although he ostensibly objected to Greek philosophy as undermining Judaism, he incorporated many Aristotelian ideas (form and matter, separate intellects, causality) into his work. Aaron defended the intellectual honesty of his Karaite predecessors, against Maimonides' assertion that those Jews who adopted Kalām did so for theological, not scientific, reasons, but on many issues, such as prophecy and theodicy, he followed Maimonides' lead. Like some Rabbanite post-Maimonideans, Aaron also criticized Maimonides for positions which he felt were too radical, such as negative theology and the assertion that creation of the world cannot be demonstrated. By the late 15th century, Karaite Kalām had all but disappeared from Byzantine Karaite thought, but traces of it remained in more popular Karaite presentations of theology.

Karaite thinkers also engaged in dogmatics, generally listing ten articles of faith. The first such list was written by Judah *Hadassi (fl. 1149); a similar, but eventually more authoritative, list was presented by Elijah *Bashyazi (Bashyatchi; d. 1490). Dogmatics was especially important since ritual slaughterers were obligated to hold clear conceptions of Karaite theology in order for their meat to be ritually acceptable.

[Daniel J. Lasker (2nd ed.)]

Isaac Israeli

Neoplatonism in Jewish philosophy appeared at the same time that Kalām did. The first Neoplatonist was the renowned physician Isaac b. Solomon *Israeli (c. 855–c. 955), who flourished in Kairouan. Influenced by the Islamic philosopher al-Kindī and various Neoplatonic writings, he composed *Kitāb al-Ḥudūd (Sefer ha-Gevulim*; "Book of Definitions"), *Kitāb al-Jawāhir* ("Book of Substances"), *Sefer ha-Ru'aḥ ve-ha-Nefesh* ("Book on Spirit and Soul"), *Sha'ar ha-Yesodot* ("Chapter on the Elements"), and *Kitāb al-Ustuquṣṣāt* ("Book on the Elements"). In Latin translations some of these works influenced Christian scholastic thought. According to Israeli, God, the Creator, in His goodness and love created the world in time and out of nothing. The means of creation were His power and His will, which for Israeli are attributes of God, not separate hypostases. Two simple substances, first matter and first form, or wisdom, come directly from God. It appears that these two principles combine to form the next hypostasis, intellect; but Israeli also affirms that first matter and form have no separate existence but exist only in the intellect. Intellect is followed by three distinct hypostases of soul – rational, animal, and vegetative. The next hypostasis is nature, which Israeli identifies with the sphere or heaven. This hypostasis is the last of the simple substances and holds a position intermediate between these substances and the perceptible world. The four elements of the lower world are produced from the motion of the sphere or heavens. Israeli distinguished three stages in the creation of the world: creation proper, which produces only first matter, first form, and intellect; emanation, which produces the four spiritual substances; and causality of nature, which produces the world below the heavens. Israeli's philosophy of man is based on the Neoplatonic notion of the human soul's return to the upper world from which it came. The soul's ascent proceeds in three stages: purification, which consists of turning away from appetites and passions; illumination by the intellect, which produces wisdom defined as knowledge of eternal things; and union with, or adherence to, supernal wisdom (not God), at which stage the soul becomes spiritual. Union with supernal wisdom can be accomplished even in this life. Israeli identifies union with the religious notion of paradise, and he holds that the punishment of sinners is that their souls cannot ascend to the upper region but are caught in the fire extending below the heavens. Israeli distinguishes between philosophy, which is the quest for wisdom, and wisdom, which is the final goal. Discussing the prophet, Israeli sees no sharp distinction between him and the philosopher: both are concerned with the ascent of the soul and with guiding mankind toward truth and justice. Israeli distinguishes three kinds of prophecy, which are in ascending order: voice (*kol*), spirit (*ru'aḥ*), and speech (*dibbur*). Many of Israeli's ideas are cited and developed in the commentary on *Sefer Yeẓirah* by his disciple, *Dunash ibn Tamim.

Solomon Ibn Gabirol

The most important Jewish Neoplatonist was Solomon ibn *Gabirol (c. 1020–1057, possibly 1070); beginning with him the setting of Jewish philosophy shifted to Spain. Also an important Hebrew poet, Ibn Gabirol presented his philosophy in *Mekor Ḥayyim* ("The Source of Life"; *Fons Vitae*), *Tikkun Middot ha-Nefesh* ("The Improvement of the Moral Qualities"), and his Hebrew philosophical poem, *Keter Malkhut* ("The Kingly Crown"). The Arabic original of *Mekor Ḥayyim* is no longer extant, but the work was preserved in a full Latin translation and in a Hebrew paraphrase of the 13th century by Shem Tov b. Joseph *Falaquera. The Latin translation was circulated widely in Christian scholastic circles, and, possibly because the work was a pure philosophic treatise lacking biblical and rabbinic citations, its author, known as Avicebron or Avemcebrol, was considered a Muslim or an Arab Christian. Divided into five treatises, *Mekor Ḥayyim* deals mainly with different aspects of the principles of matter and form, though it also contains incidental accounts of other aspects of Ibn Gabirol's thought. It reveals influences of Neoplatonic writings as well as of the pseudo-Empedoclean writings. Ibn Gabirol's conception of God is Neoplatonic in that it emphasizes that God is beyond the world and can be known only through negations. According to *Mekor Ḥayyim*, from God, called First Substance, emanates the divine will or wisdom (logos); but, according to *Keter Malkhut*, wisdom and will as successive emanations are distinct. Next come universal matter and form. According to some passages, universal matter emanates from God, and universal form, from the will; according to others, both principles emanate from the divine will. Three spiritual substances, intellect, soul, and nature, and then the perceptible world follow. According to some interpreters, Ibn Gabirol introduced the notion of the will to give a voluntaristic complexion to the doctrine of emanation, while according to others, he subscribed to the view that emanation proceeds by necessity from God. Another characteristic doctrine of Ibn Gabirol is the notion that all beings other than God, including the spiritual substances, are composed of matter and form. Ibn Gabirol's account of matter and form is ambiguous. There are passages in which he accepts the Aristotelian notion that matter is the substratum for change, while form determines the essence; but there are other passages in which he maintains that the essence of something is determined by its matter, while the forms produce differences between substances having the same material principle. In typical Neoplatonic fashion, Ibn Gabirol presents the goal of human life as the soul's return to the upper sphere, which is accomplished through proper conduct and philosophic speculation. In his *Tikkun Middot ha-Nefesh*, he discusses 20 moral qualities (four for each of the five senses) and tries to relate them to the four humors of the human body. Ibn Gabirol's philosophic views influenced later kabbalistic thought.

Baḥya Ibn Paquda

Toward the end of the 11th century, *Baḥya b. Joseph Ibn Paquda wrote his *Sefer Torat Ḥovot ha-Levavot* ("Guide to the Duties of the Hearts"; *Kitāb al-Hidāya ilā Farāʾiḍ al-Qulūb*), a devotional manual which achieved great popularity among Jews. The work was influenced by Neoplatonism, Kalām, the *hermetic writings, and Sufi literature, and Baḥya readily quoted stories and sayings from Islamic, as well as Jewish, sources. Baḥya's work rests on a distinction between "duties of the limbs" (*ḥovot ha-evarim*), religious commandments that require overt actions, and "duties of the hearts" (*ḥovot ha-levavot*), those commandments which require specific beliefs and inner states (intentions). He holds that the latter are commanded by the Torah no less than the former. In the ten chapters of his work he discusses the following duties of the hearts: belief in God's unity; examination of created beings, which leads to an understanding of the divine goodness and wisdom manifest in nature; service of God; trust in God; sincerity in serving God; humility; repentance; self-examination; abstinence; and, finally, love of God. Baḥya defines and describes these traits and provides practical guidance for their attainment. Using a Kalām distinction, Baḥya divides the duties of the limbs into rational and traditional commandments, while the duties of the hearts are all rational. Although Baḥya's work is largely practical, he also insists on theoretical knowledge, holding that knowledge of God is a necessary prerequisite for practicing the other duties of the hearts. Hence, he devotes the first chapter of his work to kalamic proofs (based on Saadiah) demonstrating the creation of the world and the existence and unity of God. Of the proofs for the creation of the world, Baḥya prefers the one from composition. God's unity, he holds, is different from all other unities, and His essential attributes (existence, unity, and eternity) are to be considered as descriptions of God's actions. Similar views were later expressed by Maimonides. Of special interest is Baḥya's discussion of abstinence, one of the most extensive in Jewish philosophic literature. Baḥya acknowledges that there is a general abstinence for all mankind that is practiced to improve man's physical, moral, and political conditions, but maintains that there is also a special abstinence required of the adherents of the Torah. This special abstinence requires the rejection of everything that is not necessary for the satisfaction of man's natural desires and has as its goal the control of man's desires and the subsequent development of his intellect. However, Baḥya's asceticism is moderate. Disapproving of those who separate themselves from the world or confine themselves to their homes, Baḥya recommends that one participate in the social endeavors of his fellow men and restrict asceticism to his personal life. The final goal is the love of God, which Baḥya defines as the soul's turning to God so that it may cleave to His upper light. The soul is a simple spiritual substance, which was implanted by God in the body, but which wants to free itself from bodily desires and pain in order to attain a spiritual state.

PSEUDO-BAḤYA. A work written between the middle of the 11th and 12th centuries entitled *Kitāb Maʿānī al-Nafs* ("On the Nature of the Soul") was attributed to (Pseudo-)*Baḥya, but it is not by him. Influenced by Neoplatonic and hermetic (Gnostic) teachings, the work describes the origin of the world by emanation and the nature of the soul. The soul is a spiritual substance, independent of the body, which comes from the upper world to which it wants to return. In its descent, the soul acquires influences from the various regions through which it passes, and they account for differences between the souls. It is also polluted by the body in which it inheres. Return to the upper world is accomplished by practicing moral virtues and acquiring knowledge. The book contains a description of the afterlife, including the punishments of various kinds of sinners.

Abraham bar Ḥiyya

*Abraham b. Ḥiyya (first half of the 12th century), who lived in Spain and was the author of works on mathematics and astronomy, was the first to write philosophical works in Hebrew. His philosophic ideas, influenced by Neoplatonism and Aristotelianism, are found in his *Hegyon ha-Nefesh ha-Aẓuvah* ("Meditation of the Sad Soul") and in his messianic treatise *Megillat ha-Megalleh* ("Scroll of the Revealer"). Central to the former work is a discussion of repentance; in general, his interests are more ethical and theological than philosophic. Abraham b. Ḥiyya subscribes to the doctrine of emanation, but, differing from earlier Neoplatonists, he interposes a world of light and a world of dominion between God and the three spiritual substances. His conception of matter and form is Aristotelian: he holds that these principles exist only in the corporeal world, not in that of the simple substances. In *Hegyon ha-Nefesh*, Abraham b. Ḥiyya divides the fates of souls after death into four categories: souls that have acquired intellectual and moral perfection will ascend to the upper world; souls that have acquired intellectual, but not moral, perfection will ascend only to the sphere below the sun, where they will be afflicted by the sun's fire; souls that have acquired moral, but not intellectual, perfection transmigrate to other bodies until they have acquired knowledge; and souls that have neither perfection will perish with their bodies. However, in *Megillat ha-Megalleh*, he denies the transmigration of the soul and makes the afterlife more dependent on moral perfection. In *Megillat ha-Megalleh*, Abraham b. Ḥiyya formulates a theory of history reminiscent of Judah Halevi's theory and of Christian speculation. The history of the world can be divided into six periods corresponding to the six days of creation. There is also an analogue to the Christian notion of original sin: God created Adam with three souls, rational, appetitive, and vegetative. Before Adam sinned the rational soul existed independently of the other two souls, but afterwards it became dependent on them. After the flood, God freed the rational soul from its dependence on the vegetative soul, but not from its dependence on the appetitive soul. However, in each generation the rational soul of one man achieved independence, and this was the state of affairs until the time of Jacob. In Jacob the rational soul was so pure that all of his descendants, first his 12 sons and later all of Israel, received a rational soul independent of the lower two souls. This is Abraham bar Ḥiyya's explanation of the election of Israel, though he does not deny that there may also be righteous persons among the gentiles.

Joseph Ibn Ẓaddik

*Joseph Ibn Ẓaddik of Cordova (d. 1149) was the author of *Sefer ha-Olam ha-Katan* ("Book of the Microcosm"), an eclectic Neoplatonic work with Aristotelian and kalamic influences, apparently written as a handbook for beginners. In the four parts of the work he discusses the principles of the corporeal world and its constitution, the nature of man and the human soul, the existence of God (derived from the creation of the world) and His attributes, and human conduct and reward and punishment. His thought shows similarities to that of Saadiah, Israeli, Baḥya, Pseudo-Baḥya, and Ibn Gabirol, though he does not mention them, and he attempts to refute opinions of the Karaite Al-Baṣīr. With Ibn Gabirol, he affirms that spiritual beings are composed of matter and form, but he defines the matter of spiritual beings as the genus of a species rather than as a distinct principle. However, he does not mention Ibn Gabirol's universal matter and universal form. Like Ibn Gabirol, Ibn Ẓaddik mentions the divine will, but for him, it appears to be identical with the essence of God rather than a separate hypostasis. He criticizes Al-Baṣīr's notion that the divine will is a substance that God creates from time to time. For his proof of the creation of the world he selects the Kalām proof from accidents, but he describes God in Neoplatonic fashion as an absolute unity beyond the world and as incomprehensible. Yet, he also holds that God can be described by attributes that are identical with His essence. These attributes in one respect describe God's actions, and in another, His essence; as describing His essence, they must be understood as negations. The attributes of action are important for providing models for human conduct. For example, as God is good and merciful, so man should be good and merciful. A similar orientation is found in his account of human happiness. He begins by saying that the knowledge of the supernal world and God is the goal of human life; but then he seems to consider this knowledge only as preliminary to proper conduct. Ibn Ẓaddik's account of the soul's fate after death is derived from Israeli (see above).

Moses and Abraham Ibn Ezra

Moses *Ibn Ezra (c. 1055–after 1135) was important mainly as a poet and critic, but he presented some philosophic opinions in his *al-Maqāla bi al-Ḥadīqa fī Maʿnā al-Majāz wa al-Ḥaqīqa* (partially translated into Hebrew as *Arugat ha-Bosem*). Ibn Ezra was fond of quoting sayings (often incorrectly attributed) of such authorities as Pythagoras, Empedocles, Socrates, and Aristotle, and he preserved some Arabic quotations from Ibn Gabirol's *Mekor Ḥayyim* (see S. Pines, in *Tarbiz*, 27 (1957–58), 218–35). His orientation was Neoplatonic, and he employs the notions that man is a microcosm and everything in the upper world has its counterpart in man; the soul's knowledge of itself leads to the knowledge of the Creator; God is a unity above all unities, and, unknowable as He is in Himself, He can only be known by metaphors; the rational soul is a substance which must take care of the body; and others.

Abraham *Ibn Ezra (c. 1089–1164) was important as a grammarian, as an author of works on arithmetic and astronomy (including astrology), and as a biblical commentator. He was the author of *Sefer ha-Shem* and *Yesod Mora*, on the names of God and on the commandments, but his philosophic views are scattered throughout his biblical commentaries. He often presented his opinions in enigmatic language. Ibn Ezra was profoundly influenced by Neoplatonic doctrines, which in his formulation have at times a pantheistic ring; for example "God is the One; He made all and He is all." Like Ibn Gabirol, he held that everything other than God is composed of matter and form, and he alludes as well to the divine will. Speaking of creation, Ibn Ezra affirmed that the world of the intelligences and angels, as well as that of the celestial spheres, is coeternal with God, and only the lower world was created (through emanation). The human soul comes into being from the spiritual substance known as the universal soul, and, if worthy, it can become immortal by being reunited with that soul and being absorbed by it. Destruction is the punishment of unworthy souls. Like the Islamic Aristotelians, Ibn Ezra held that God's knowledge extends only to species, not to individuals. God's providence, also general, is transmitted through the influences of the heavenly bodies, but individuals who have developed their souls and intellects can foresee evil influences caused by the celestial spheres and avoid them.

Judah Halevi

*Judah Halevi (before 1075–1141), ranking with Ibn Gabirol as one of the two most important Hebrew poets of the Middle Ages, wrote a philosophic work whose full title is *Kitāb al-Ḥujja wa al-Dalīl fi Naṣr al-Dīn al-Dhalīl* ("The Book of Argument and Proofs in Defense of the Despised Faith"); but it is popularly known as *Sefer ha-Kuzari*. Like the Islamic philosopher al-Ghazālī, with whom he seems to have shared a common source, he is critical of Aristotelian rationalism. (By Judah Halevi's time, Aristotelianism was important in Islamic philosophy, but not yet in Jewish philosophy.) For Judah Halevi, historical experience, rather than physical and metaphysical speculations, is the source of truth, and religious practices are more important than beliefs and dogmas. Composed as a narrative, Judah Halevi's book has as its subject the conversion of the king of the Khazars to Judaism in the first half of the eighth century. Judah Halevi's views emerge in a dialogue between the king and the *ḥaver*, a Jewish scholar who acts as the author's spokesman. Judah Halevi relates that the king had a dream in which an angel appeared to him telling him that his intentions were pleasing to the Creator, but not his deeds. At first the king interpreted the dream to mean that he should be more zealous in his observance of the Khazar religion; but when the angel appeared with the same message a second time, he understood that he was to look for a new way of life. He invited an Aristotelian philosopher, a Christian, and a Muslim; only after he had found their presentations unsatisfactory did he feel compelled to invite the Jew, a member of the "despised faith" (*Kuzari*, 1:10). His conversation with the *ḥaver* convinces the king to convert to Judaism (2:1). Most of the five treatises of Judah Halevi's book are devoted to the *ḥaver*'s explanation of the Jewish religion.

GOD. Judah Halevi's point of view emerges from the *ḥaver*'s opening statement that Jews believe in the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, who publicly performed many miracles for them and who gave them the Torah. When the king asks the *ḥaver* whether he should not have begun with such speculative principles as "God is the creator and governor of the world," the *ḥaver* replies that to begin with such principles bring one to a rational religion, which is subject to many doubts. Only a religion based on the experience of God's manifestation in historical events is certain and free from doubt (1:11–29).

PROPHECY. Closely related to his conception of God is Judah Halevi's account of prophecy and the nature of the Jewish people. Unlike Neoplatonists and Aristotelians, who tended to describe prophecy as a natural activity of the rational faculty or of the rational and imaginative faculties combined, Judah Halevi views prophecy as the activity of a separate faculty beyond the natural faculties of man (1:31–43). God created Adam with this faculty, and it was transmitted by heredity first to individuals such as Noah, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob; then to the 12 sons of Jacob and their descendants; and, finally, to the Jewish people as a whole (1:95). Possession of the prophetic faculty is the distinguishing feature of Israel's election, and even a convert, though equal to the born Jew in all other respects, cannot attain the prophetic gift (1:27). A sign of the inadequacy of philosophy is that no prophets were found among the philosophers (1:99). While for Judah Ḥalevi prophecy is primarily a gift of God and not the result of natural processes, he attaches two conditions to its attainment: prophecy can be attained only in Ereẓ Israel or (to account for prophets who prophesied outside Ereẓ Israel) the content of the prophecy, at least, must be about Ereẓ Israel; and only those who observe the divine commandments can be prophets (2:8–14).

PIETY. Piety is the main theme of Judah Halevi's philosophy of man. Man does not attain closeness to God, his goal in life, by pursuing philosophic speculations, but by faithfully adhering to the commandments of God. Accepting the Kalām's distinction between rational and traditional (divine) commandments, Judah Halevi holds that all men must observe the former; however, in his view they have only a preliminary function, and true guidance to human happiness is provided only by the latter (2:45–48). The servant of God is like a ruler: he apportions to each part of his body and soul its due (3:1ff.). While Judah Halevi advocates moderation in eating and drinking and control of appetites, his outlook is not ascetic. Man's joy on the Sabbath and the festivals is no less pleasing to God than his affliction on fast days (2:50). Prayer is the nourishment which sustains the soul from one prayer time to the next (3:5).

ATTITUDE TOWARD PHILOSOPHY. Judah Halevi is against philosophy as a way of life, but he is not against philosophic speculations altogether. It has already been noted that he accepts the philosophic notion of rational commandments. Philosophic distinctions appear also in his discussion of God. As YHWH, God can be known only through revelation, but as *Elohim*, the ruler and guide of the universe, He can be discovered also through philosophic speculation (4:1–3). Like the philosophers, Judah Halevi holds that anthropomorphic and anthropopathic terms applied to God must be interpreted, and he states that divine attributes must be understood as negations, relations, or attributes of action (2:2). Judah Halevi holds that philosophy was known among Jews in ancient times, as can be seen from *Sefer Yeẓirah*, which tradition attributed to Abraham; but Abraham wrote this book before he received his revelation (2:66; 4:24–25). At the request of the king, the *ḥaver* explains the principles of Aristotelian philosophy and of the Kalām (treatise 5), but he points out once again the superiority of revelation. The *ḥaver* also discusses human free will (5:20), and at the end of the book (5:22ff.) he declares his intention to go to Ereẓ Israel.

Ḥibat Allah

*Ḥibat Allah Abu al-Barakāt al-Baghdādī (second half of 11th century–first half of 12th century; flourished in Baghdad), whose philosophy has only recently been studied by S. Pines, was the author of a commentary on Ecclesiastes and of a philosophic work *Kitāb al-Muʿtabar* ("The Book of What Has Been Established By Personal Reflection"). He converted to Islam at the age of 60, but the two works mentioned seem to have been written while he was still a Jew. Subjecting the doctrines of the Aristotelian philosophers to a critical review, he presents novel notions of his own on physical, psychological, and metaphysical questions.

Nethanel al-Fayyūmī

*Nethanel al-Fayyūmī (d. about 1165; flourished in Egypt or Yemen) composed a work entitled *Bustān al-ʿUqūl* ("Garden of Intellects"), which attempts to introduce doctrines of the Islamic Ismāʿīliyya sect into Jewish thought. It is notable in particular for its unusual pluralistic views of religion (Ch. 6).

Abraham Ibn Daud

By the middle of the 12th century Jewish philosophy entered its next phase and, under the influence of the Islamic philosophers, Al-Fārābī, Avicenna, and Avempace, turned toward Aristotelianism. Abraham b. David ha-Levi *Ibn Daud (c. 1110–1180), was the first Jewish Aristotelian. He wrote his major philosophical work, *al-ʿAqīda al-Rafīʿa* ("Sublime Faith," translated into Hebrew as *Ha-Emunah ha-Ramah*, and a second time as *Ha-Emunah ha-Nissa'ah*, 1161) to explain the doctrine of free will to a friend; but, in fact, he discusses a variety of philosophical and theological topics. The work was strongly influenced by Avicenna and highly critical of Ibn Gabirol. Asserting that Judaism and philosophy are identical in their essence, Ibn Daud begins with an explanation of Aristotelian metaphysical, physical, and psychological notions (treatise 1). Having explained these notions philosophically, he cites scriptural verses that in his view allude to these notions. He proceeds to use them for an exposition of six topics: the existence of God, His unity, divine attributes, God's actions (including creation), prophecy, and the allegorical interpretation of terms comparing God to creatures (treatise 2). The work concludes with a brief discussion of ethical matters (treatise 3). To prove the existence of God, Ibn Daud uses the Aristotelian proof from motion and the Avicennian proof from necessity and contingency. According to the first proof, the analysis of motion in the world leads to a prime mover; according to the second, the contingent character of the world leads to a being necessary through itself. God, as necessary existent, is one both in the sense of being unique and of being simple. The attributes applied to God cannot have any positive meaning, but must be understood as negations or relations. Following Aristotle he holds that every change or process requires an underlying matter, but differing from Aristotle (for whom the world is eternal), he holds that God created a first matter, out of which he subsequently created the world. In a different vein, he cites aspects of the doctrine of emanation to explain the creation of the world, insisting, however, that emanation occurs not by necessity but by the free will of God. In psychology, Ibn Daud, like Avicenna, taught that the human intellect is an individual substance, not just a corporeal predisposition, as other Aristotelians believed. It is this substance as a whole that becomes immortal, not only that part known as the acquired intellect. The active intellect, the lowest of the celestial intelligences, is a cause for the actualization of the human mind, and it is also the effect of the active intellect on the mind of man that enables him to prophesy. Unlike Maimonides, who assigns to the imagination the important role in the prophetic inspiration, Ibn Daud, like Judah Halevi, restricts prophecy to the Jewish people and limits it to the land of Israel. Most difficult from the theological point of view is Ibn Daud's account of the knowledge of God: in order to safeguard man's freedom of choice, he willingly admits that God's knowledge is limited.

Maimonides

Ibn Daud was soon overshadowed by Moses *Maimonides (1135–1204), the greatest Jewish Aristotelian and the most prominent figure of medieval Jewish thought. Maimonides discusses his philosophy in popular fashion in parts of his halakhic works, his commentary on the Mishnah and *Mishneh Torah*, and in some treatises; but he reserves its technical exposition for his *Guide of the Perplexed* (*Dalālat al-Ḥāʾirīn; Moreh Nevukhim*). In formulating his views he drew on Aristotle and his Hellenistic commentators, and on the Muslims Al-Fārābi, Avicenna, and Avempace. Maimonides wrote his *Guide* for a faithful Jew, who, having studied philosophy, was perplexed by the literal meaning of biblical anthropomorphic and anthropopathic terms applied to God and by parables appearing in the Bible. Maimonides shows this person that his perplexities can be resolved by correct interpretation. Hence, the *Guide* is devoted in part to the philosophic interpretation of the Bible, but beyond that, to revealing the inner, i.e., philosophic, meaning of the Torah – as Maimonides puts it, to "the science of the Law in its true sense," or to the "secrets of the Law." Maimonides believed that the philosophic content of the Bible should be revealed only to an intellectual elite, not to the masses, and thus he wrote his work in an enigmatic style (*Guide*, 1: Introd.).

DIVINE ATTRIBUTES. In accord with his exegetical program, Maimonides begins his *Guide* (1:1–49) with an interpretation of difficult biblical terms, showing that even such terms as "to sit," "to stand," and "to eat" (applied in the Bible to God) have a spiritual sense. From exegesis he proceeds to exposition, selecting as his first topic the attributes of God (1:50–60). Medieval philosophers held that attributes applied to substances are of two kinds: essential, such as existence and life, which are closely related to the essence; and accidental, such as anger and mercifulness, which are incidental to the essence. The Avicennian tradition, which Maimonides followed, maintained, in addition, that both kinds of attributes are distinct from the substances to which they are applied, and, hence, introduce multiplicity into that which they describe. How, then, can attributes be applied to God, Who is one in the sense of being simple? After considering a number of possibilities of how attributes may be applied, Maimonides comes to the conclusion that essential attributes in the case of God must be understood as negations and accidental attributes as descriptions of His actions.

GOD. Before presenting his own views concerning the existence, unity, and incorporeality of God and the creation of the world, Maimonides offers a summary and critique of the Kalām's discussion of these four topics (1:71–76). His exposition rests on Aristotelian physical and metaphysical principles (2: Introd.), and he sets down four proofs, current in his day, for the existence of God: the proofs from motion, from the composition of elements, from necessity and contingency, and from potentiality and actuality (casuality). All of them start with some observable property of the world and conclude that a prime mover, a necessary existent, or a first cause (all of which are identified with God) must exist. These proofs for the existence of God lead in turn to proofs for His unity and incorporeality (2:1).

CREATION. Maimonides next discusses the incorporeal intelligences, which he identifies with the biblical angels, the celestial spheres (2:2–12), and then the creation of the world (2:13–26). A good part of his exposition is devoted to showing that the Aristotelian arguments for the eternity of the world are not conclusive demonstrations; they only attempt to show that eternity is more plausible than creation. Maimonides' own position is that the human mind is incapable of conclusively demonstrating the eternity of the world or its creation and can only present plausible arguments for either view. An examination of these arguments reveals that those for creation are more plausible, and on this basis Maimonides accepts the doctrine of creation *ex nihilo* as his own. He finds additional support for his opinion in the teachings of Scripture. Although the world has a beginning in time, it will not have an end (2:27–29).

PROPHECY. In the introduction to the *Guide* Maimonides incidentally discussed the nature of the prophetic experience, likening it to intellectual illumination; in the present section (2:32–48) he is interested in the psychology of prophecy and in its political function. Prophecy, for Maimonides, appears to be a natural phenomenon occurring when man's psychological faculties, particularly his intellect and imagination, have reached a certain perfection. God's role is limited to keeping someone who has met all the prerequisites from becoming a prophet. The prophet requires a well-developed imagination, because besides being a philosopher, he is also a statesman who brings a law, as in the case of Moses, or admonishes the people (who must be persuaded by arguments of the imagination) to adhere to a law, as in the case of the other prophets. Moses as a prophet is singular and so is his law, since through it one can attain intellectual as well as moral perfection. Maimonides concludes the portion of the *Guide* devoted to physical and metaphysical topics with an interpretation of the divine chariot (*merkavah*) described in Ezekiel chapters 1 and 10 (3:1–7).

EVIL AND DIVINE PROVIDENCE. The first topic of practical philosophy is the existence of evil (3:8–12), which Maimonides defines as the absence or privation of good. There is more good than evil in the world; of the three kinds of evil – natural evil, such as earthquakes, political, such as wars, and moral, such as the various vices – the majority, i.e., political and moral evils, can be remedied by man. Closely related to the question of evil is that of divine providence (3:16–21). Maimonides rejects the opinions of the Epicureans that everything is due to chance; the Aristotelians that there is no individual providence; the Ashʿarites that there is only individual providence, extending even to animals and minerals; and the Muʿtazilites that individual providence includes animals but not minerals; and he presents instead the views of the Torah. All Jews are agreed that God is just, that man is free, and that individual providence extends only to man. According to Maimonides' understanding of the Jewish view, individual providence depends on the development of the human mind, that is, the more a man develops his mind the more he is subject to the providence of God. Maimonides also holds that any suffering in this world is punishment for some prior sin, rejecting the doctrine of *yissurin shel ahavah*, according to which God may afflict man in this world in order to reward him in the next. Maimonides interprets the Book of Job in the light of his discussion of providence, showing how the characters of the book symbolize the various viewpoints about providence that he had discussed (3:22–24).

ANALYSIS OF THE TORAH. Rejecting the Muʿtazilite distinction between commandments produced by reason (*mitzvot sikhliyyot*) and those coming from the will of God (*mitzvot shimiyyot*), Maimonides maintains that all the commandments of the Torah are the result of the wisdom of God. Hence, all are intelligible, some (*mishpatim*) easily, others (*ḥukkim*) with difficulty. However, Maimonides adds that particular commandments, which by their very nature are not subject to reason, were stipulated by the will of God. The Torah has two purposes: the well-being of the soul (intellect) and the well-being of the body, by which he means man's political and moral well-being. The well-being of the soul is achieved through assent to true beliefs, such as the existence and incorporeality of God, which are true in themselves. However, there are also necessary beliefs, such as that God gets angry at those who disobey Him, whose main function is to motivate men to obey the Law. Reasons for moral laws can easily be found, but it is more difficult to explain the numerous ritual laws found in the Bible. Maimonides explains many of them, for example, the biblical prohibition against wearing garments made of wool and linen combined, as reactions to ancient pagan practices (3:25–50). He concludes his *Guide* with a supplementary section on the perfect worship of God and man's perfection (3:51–54).

THE MESSIAH. Maimonides barely refers to eschatology in the *Guide*, but he develops his views on the subject in other works. The Messiah is an earthly king descended from the House of David, who will bring the Jews back to their country, but whose main task will be to bring peace and tranquility to the world, thereby facilitating the full observance of the Law. The Messiah will die of old age; he will be succeeded by his son, and the latter, by his son, and so on. No cataclysmic events will take place in messianic times; the world will continue in its established order. In that time the dead will be resurrected with body and soul united, but later they will die again. The central notion of Maimonides' eschatology is *olam ha-ba* ("the world to come"), where the intellect will exist without the body and contemplate God.

Hebrew Translators of the 13th Century

When, after the period of Maimonides, the setting of Jewish philosophy shifted to Christian countries and its language became Hebrew (see above), the philosophic literature produced by Jews during the preceding period was translated from Arabic into Hebrew, as were many scientific and philosophic works written by Muslims (see Steinschneider, Uebersetzungen). Among the translators of this vast literature were Judah, Samuel, and Moses ibn Tibbon, Jacob Anatoli, Jacob ben Makhir, and *Kalonymus ben Kalonymus. Maimonides' *Guide* was the most influential work translated; next in importance were Averroes' commentaries on the works of Aristotle. Of the 38 commentaries that Averroes composed, 36 were translated into Hebrew (see H.A. Wolfson, in: *Speculum*, 38 (1963), 88–104). Under Averroes' influence, Jewish philosophy turned toward a more extreme rationalism (for details see below), and some Jewish philosophers attempted to harmonize the opinions of Maimonides and Averroes on topics on which these two philosophers differed.

Maimonidean Controversies

Maimonides' attempt to formulate a rationalistic account of Judaism produced controversies between his followers and their opponents that lasted throughout the 13th and into the early 14th century. The controversy reached such intensity that the two sides excommunicated each other, and they even went so far as to call in the Church authorities, who burned the *Guide* and *Sefer ha-Madda* in 1232. Another highlight was the ban of Solomon b. Abraham *Adret, issued in 1305, which prohibited the study of physics and metaphysics before the age of 25 (for an account of these controversies, see *Maimonidean Controversy). During the early 13th century, some philosophers were still active in the Islamic world. Joseph b. Judah ibn *Aknin (flourished in Morocco), Maimonides' younger contemporary, composed a number of talmudic and philosophic works, among them a commentary on the Song of Songs, a commentary on *Avot*, and a work on moral philosophy, *Ṭibb al-Nufūs al-Salīma wa Muʿālajat al-Nufūs al-Alīma* ("The Hygiene of the Healthy Souls and the Therapy of Ailing Souls"), which contains an interesting account of the content and order of religious and secular studies among Jews. Joseph b. Judah ibn Sham'un (d. 1226), the disciple for whom Maimonides wrote his *Guide*, composed a small metaphysical work on the necessary existent, how all things proceed from it, and on creation. The early portion of the work follows Avicennian Aristotelianism, and the latter portion, the teachings of Kalām. It is likely that the kalamic section predated Ibn Sham'un's acquaintance with Maimonides. *Abraham b. Moses b. Maimon (1186–1237), Maimonides' only son, followed the teachings of his father and defended them against opponents. However, in his *Kitāb Kifāyat al-ʿAbidīn* ("Comprehensive Guide for the Servants of God"), he advocates a Sufi-like Jewish pietism.

SAMUEL IBN TIBBON. In southern France, Samuel ibn *Tibbon, the translator of the *Guide* and other works, composed *Perush me-ha-Millot ha-Zarot*, a philosophical glossary for the *Guide*, philosophical commentaries on Ecclesiastes and Song of Songs, and *Ma'amar Yikkavu ha-Mayim* (on Gen. 1:9), devoted to physical and metaphysical topics. He favored the allegorical interpretation of the Bible, and is said to have held that the Bible was primarily for the masses.

JACOB ANATOLI. Jacob *Anatoli (13th century), active as a translator at the court of the emperor Frederick II, wrote *Malmad ha-Talmidim*, a philosophical commentary on the Pentateuch. In this work he quotes the Christian scholar Michael Scot (he even cites the emperor), and he shows acquaintance with Christian literature and institutions. He followed the allegorical interpretation of Scripture and preached philosophical sermons publicly. This earned him the anger of the anti-Maimonists.

SHEM TOV BEN JOSEPH IBN FALAQUERA. Shem Tov b. Joseph ibn *Falaquera (c. 1225–c. 1295), translator and author of many works devoted largely to ethics and psychology, also wrote *Moreh ha-Moreh*, a commentary on Maimonides' *Guide*. In this commentary he corrects Ibn Tibbon's translation of the *Guide* on the basis of the Arabic original, and he cites parallel passages from the works of Islamic philosophers, particularly from Averroes. In his *Iggeret ha-Vikku'aḥ*, a dialogue between a philosopher and an opponent of philosophy, he justifies the study of philosophy. In his *Sefer ha-Nefesh* he follows Avicenna, but in his encyclopedic work *De'ot ha-Pilosofim* he follows Averroes. He translated and condensed Ibn Gabirol's *Mekor Ḥayyim* from Arabic into Hebrew.

JOSEPH IBN KASPI. Joseph ibn *Kaspi (c. 1279–c. 1340), prolific author of biblical commentaries, lexicographic works, and books on philosophy, wrote a commentary on the *Guide*, consisting of an exoteric and esoteric part entitled, respectively, *Ammudei Kesef* and *Maskiyyot Kesef.* This commentary was influenced by that of Shem Tov b. Joseph ibn Falaquera and in turn influenced later commentaries on the *Guide*. He accepts doctrines associated with the teachings of Averroes, such as the identity of religion and philosophy, the eternity of the world, and the natural interpretation of miracles, but he tries to modify these doctrines in a way that distinguishes him from such extreme rationalists as Moses of Narbonne and Levi b. Gershom.

Hillel ben Samuel

*Hillel b. Samuel (c. 1220–1295), one of the first Jewish philosophers in Italy, translated from Latin to Hebrew the Neoplatonic work *Liber de causis* and composed *Tagmulei ha-Nefesh* ("The Rewards of the Soul"). Since he knew Latin, he was able to draw on the opinions of Christian scholastics, particularly those of Thomas Aquinas. In Aristotelian fashion, Hillel defined the soul as the entelechy of a natural organic body, but, following Avicenna and the Neoplatonists, he held that the soul is a substance that emanates from God through the intermediacy of the supernal soul. He also cites Averroes' opinion that there is only one universal soul for all men, from which individual souls emanate like rays from the sun. However, on the question of the material or potential intellect he criticizes Averroes, using arguments offered by Aquinas. Averroes had argued that there exists only one such intellect for all men, but Hillel argued that each person has his own material intellect. On the question of the active intellect, Hillel accepts the opinion of the Islamic and Jewish Aristotelians, for whom the active intellect was the lowest of the celestial intelligences; in this he differed from Aquinas, who held that each person has his own active intellect. According to Hillel, only the rational part of the soul is immortal, and its ultimate happiness consists in union with the active intellect. In its immortal state the soul retains its individuality. Hillel also composed a commentary on the 26 propositions appearing at the beginning of the second part of Maimonides' *Guide*.

Isaac Albalag

Isaac *Albalag (second half of 13th century, probably lived in Spain) translated Al-Ghazālī's *Maqāṣid al-Falāsifa* (a compendium of the teachings of Avicenna) into Hebrew and presented his own views in a commentary on the work entitled *Tikkun ha-De'ot*. A follower of Averroes, who accepted such doctrines as the eternity of the world, he has also been described as a proponent of the theory of the "double truth," advocated by Latin Averroists. Like the Latin Averroists he distinguished between two coexistent independent truths, philosophic truth and prophetic truth, and he held that the two can contradict one another. However, he does not cite in his work any instance of such contradiction (see G. Vajda, *Isaac Albalag* (1960), 251ff.). His outlook is not completely clear, but it seems that his own view on a given topic is always that of philosophy. He maintained that speculative truths are the province of philosophy, not of Scripture. The Torah has as its sole purpose the moral and political guidance of the masses and contains no speculative truths, even by implication. Nevertheless, Albalag offers philosophic interpretations of the Bible; for example, he explained the story of creation in accordance with the doctrine of the eternity of the world. In a somewhat different vein, he states that if philosophic and prophetic truths contradict each other, both should stand, and one should say that the prophetic truth is unintelligible.

Abner of Burgos and Isaac Pollegar

The first half of the 14th century saw a debate concerning the freedom of the will initiated by *Abner of Burgos. Abner, who converted to Christianity, presented his views in *Minḥat Kena'ot*; although the work was written after his conversion, it seems clear that he held the same views when he was still a Jew. Following Avicenna, whose opinions he knew through their summary in al-Ghazālī's *Maqāṣid al-Falāsifa*, he held that human acts no less than natural occurrences are causally determined. Although the will has the ability to choose between alternatives, any given choice is determined, in fact, by causes influencing the will. Causal determination of the will is also required by God's omniscience and omnipotence: were human actions undetermined until the moment of decision, God could not foreknow them, and, also, His power would be limited. Abner tried to justify the existence of divine commandments and reward and punishment: divine commandments can be among the causes affecting the will, and reward and punishment are necessary consequences of human actions. Abner viewed biblical and rabbinic statements affirming freedom of the will as concessions to the understanding of the masses. Isaac *Pollegar, who knew Abner personally, attacked his determinism in his *Ezer ha-Dat*. According to Pollegar's solution, which contains difficulties of its own, there is a correlation between the divine and human wills, such that at the moment man wills to do a certain act, God also wills that it be accomplished. In willing that the act be accomplished, God also knows it. Yet, although this knowledge begins in time, there is no change in God. Whatever the difficulties of this position, it is clear that Pollegar tried to defend the freedom of the will by limiting God's foreknowledge. Levi b. Gershom (see below) solved the problem in a more radical fashion. Holding that God's knowledge extends only to species and not to individuals, he excluded man's action from God's knowledge, thereby safeguarding human freedom.

Moses of Narbonne

Moses b. Joshua of Narbonne (d. after 1362) was another participant in the debate. He wrote commentaries on works by Averroes and other Muslim philosophers (including al-

Ghazālī's *Maqāṣid*) and also an important commentary on Maimonides' *Guide*. Although he held Maimonides in high esteem, he criticized a number of his doctrines, which under the influence of Al-Fārābi and Avicenna had a Neoplatonic complexion; he opposes these doctrines with the more strictly Aristotelian teachings of Averroes. His critique of Abner is found in *Ha-Ma'amar bi-Veḥirah*, and he also discusses human freedom in other works. However, his position is not completely clear. In some passages he holds in agreement with Maimonides that God's knowledge extends to particular human acts without determining these acts; in others he holds that God knows only species, not individuals. The latter opinion was probably Moses' real view.

Levi ben Gershom

*Levi b. Gershom (1288–1344), also known as Gersonides, mathematician, astronomer, and biblical commentator, wrote supercommentaries on many of Averroes' commentaries on Aristotle (still unpublished) and was the author of a philosophic work, *Sefer Milḥamot Adonai* ("The Book of the Wars of the Lord"). The most important Jewish Aristotelian after Maimonides, he was influenced by Averroes, though he is also critical of some of his views (see below). In *Milḥamot* Levi discusses in great detail and with scholastic subtlety topics that in his view Maimonides had not discussed sufficiently or had solved incorrectly. In the six parts of his work he deals with immortality of the soul; foretelling the future; God's knowledge of individual contingent beings; the celestial bodies, their movers, and God; and the creation of the world. *Milḥamot* is formally devoted to these six topics, but, together with his other works, it indicates Levi's general philosophy.

IMMORTALITY. Levi begins his discussion of immortality (treatise 1) with an extensive review and critique of various theories concerning the intellect. The Aristotelian philosophers had distinguished between the material or passive intellect, the active intellect, and the acquired intellect. Rejecting Themistius' and Averroes' opinions concerning the passive intellect, Levi accepts an opinion close to that of Alexander of Aphrodisias, namely, that the passive intellect is a predisposition inhering in the sensitive soul and comes into being with each individual man. Under the influence of the active intellect, the lowest of the incorporeal intelligences, the passive intellect is actualized and becomes the acquired intellect. While the passive intellect dies with the body, the acquired intellect is immortal. Differing from Averroes, for whom immortality was collective, Levi holds that each acquired intellect retains its individuality in its immortal state.

PROPHECY. The ability to foretell the future was accepted as an established fact by the adherents of religion and philosophers alike, and Levi set out to explain this fact (treatise 2). Maintaining that there is a continuity between the celestial and terrestrial world, Levi holds that terrestrial events, particularly those related to man, are caused by the celestial spheres. Since the events of human life are thus ordered, it is possible that there are certain individuals who can foretell them. However, Levi is not a complete determinist. Discussing the problem of celestial (astrological) influences from another perspective, he holds that man is free in choosing his actions and that those who understand the laws of the celestial spheres can avoid the evil influences they may have. Since the active intellect both actualizes the human intellect and is a cause in the production of sublunar substances and events, it also causes knowledge of the future. In men who have strongly developed intellects the active intellect produces prophecy; in men who have strongly developed imaginations it causes (indirectly) divination and true dreams.

PREDESTINATION AND DIVINE PROVIDENCE. Discussing God's knowledge of individuals in the sublunar world (treatise 3), Levi is critical of Maimonides. Maimonides held that God knows particulars and met the objection that this seems to introduce a change in God by holding that God's knowledge is completely different from ours. Levi took this objection seriously and denied that God knows particular individuals. God only knows the order of nature. Closely related to God's knowledge of individuals is the question of providence (treatise 4). Levi rejected the theories that God's providence extends only to the species or that it extends equally to all men; he maintained that it extends only to those individuals who have developed their intellect. Like Maimonides, he held that the more an individual develops his intellect, the more he is subject to providence.

DIVINE ATTRIBUTES. Levi's account of the celestial spheres, their movers, and God (treatise 5) need not detain us, except for one aspect of his account of God, namely divine attributes (5:2, 12; see also 3:5). Maimonides, following Avicenna, had denied that attributes applied to God can have any positive meaning. Levi, following Averroes, accepted the alternative that Maimonides had rejected. Holding that essential attributes are identical with the essence to which they belong, Levi maintained that to understand such attributes positively does not introduce a multiplicity into God. He also held that such attributes (life, knowledge, and so on) whether applied to God or man have the same meaning, though they are applied to God primarily and to creatures derivatively.

CREATION. In his account of creation (treatise 6), Levi agrees with Maimonides that Aristotle's proofs for the eternity of the world are not conclusive arguments, though Aristotle's arguments are the best offered so far. However, against Aristotle, Levi presents a number of arguments designed to show that the world is created, among them one from the finiteness of time and motion. (Levi also rejects the Neoplatonic theory of emanation.) However, Levi differs from Maimonides and most Jewish philosophers in denying creation *ex nihilo*, holding that the world was created out of a formless matter coexistent with God, though this matter is not a principle paralleling God. He concludes his *Milḥamot* with a discussion of miracles and prophets, which reflects his general rationalistic temper.

Ḥasdai Crescas

Judah Halevi and Ḥibat Allah Abu al-Barakāt al-Baghdādī had criticized the doctrines of the Aristotelians, but the most significant critique within the mainstream of Jewish philosophy was that of Ḥasdai Crescas (d. 1412?). Although Crescas was critical of certain Aristotelian notions, he did not oppose philosophic speculations altogether; in fact, he proposed philosophic notions of his own to replace the Aristotelian notions he rejected. Nevertheless, in his conception of Judaism he emphasized observance of commandments and love of God rather than intellectual accomplishments. His critique of Aristotle as well as his own philosophy are found in *Or Adonai* ("The Light of the Lord"); he also wrote a work in Spanish criticizing Christianity, which has been preserved in Hebrew as *Bittul Ikkarei ha-Noẓerim* ("Refutation of the Dogmas of the Christians").

BASIC PRINCIPLES OF JUDAISM. Maimonides' formulation of 13 principles of Judaism sparked a lively debate in the late Middle Ages. Taking issue with Maimonides, Crescas uses his own account of such principles as the framework of his book. According to Crescas, the basic principles of all religions are the existence, unity, and incorporeality of God (treatise 1). These are followed by six principles required for a belief in the validity of the Torah: God's knowledge of existing things, providence, divine omnipotence, prophecy, human freedom, and purpose in the Torah and the world (treatise 2). Next come eight true beliefs, which every adherent of the Torah must accept, and a denial of which constitutes heresy: creation of the world, immortality of the soul, reward and punishment, resurrection of the dead, eternity of the Torah, superiority of the prophecy of Moses, efficacy of the Urim and Thummim (worn by the high priest) in predicting the future, and the coming of the Messiah (treatise 3). The book concludes with 13 questions on topics ranging from whether there exists more than one world to the existence of demons.

SPACE AND INFINITY. Crescas' critique of Aristotle is found largely in an exposition and critical evaluation of the 26 physical and metaphysical propositions with which Maimonides had begun the second part of his *Guide* (see H.A. Wolfson, *Crescas' Critique of Aristotle*, 1929). Of special interest are Crescas' conception of space and infinity. The Aristotelians had defined place (rather than space) as the inner surface of a surrounding body; they had argued that there are no empty spaces (vacuum) in the world, and that the universe is finite and unitary. They also had held that an actual infinite cannot exist. Taking issue with them, Crescas set out to show that empty space without bodies can exist (it is identical with extension), that a vacuum can and does exist, that space beyond our world exists, and that there can be more than one world. He also differed from the Aristotelians in maintaining that an actual infinite (space, quantity, magnitude, time) can exist.

EXISTENCE OF GOD. Crescas' acceptance of the existence of an actual infinite raised questions concerning the Maimonidean (Aristotelian) proofs of the existence of God. Since the proofs rested on the proposition that an actual infinite is impossible, Crescas rejected them. However, he retains the proof from necessity and contingency, which to his mind is independent of the disputed principle. In view of difficulties, he also substitutes proofs of his own for the unity and incorporeality of God. Against Maimonides, Crescas affirms the possibility of positive attributes applied to God.

PROVIDENCE AND FREEDOM. God's knowledge, according to Crescas, extends to particulars; He knows the nonexistent and He knows future contingents without removing their contingent character. Crescas also upholds individual providence and states that man's true reward or punishment, dependent on obedience or disobedience of God's will, is given in the hereafter. A similar attitude also determines Crescas' conception of prophecy. God can inspire whomever he wishes, but the one chosen for prophecy is someone who follows the Torah and loves God. Of special interest is Crescas' conception of human freedom. While Maimonides and Levi ben Gershom in different ways safeguarded the freedom of human actions, Crescas' solution is more deterministic. He holds that everything in the world is the result of prior causes and affirms that God's omniscience requires that the object of His foreknowledge come to pass. Human actions are caused by a will determined by other causes, not by an undetermined will. Crescas tried to mitigate this position by stating that commandments, training, and other factors are among the causes influencing the will and that, despite being determined, the will in its own nature is contingent. Crescas' anti-Aristotelian stance is also apparent in his doctrine of man. In place of development of the intellect as the main purpose of human life is the observance of God's commandments; not philosophic speculation but the love and fear of God bring immortality to man. It is the soul that is immortal, not the acquired intellect.

Simeon ben Ẓemaḥ Duran

After the period of Crescas, medieval Jewish philosophy declined. It became more eclectic and most philosophers accepted a more orthodox religious position. Simeon b. Ẓemaḥ *Duran, talmudist and author of a philosophic theological work, *Magen Avot*, generally followed the moderate rationalism of Maimonides, though, like Crescas, he maintained that divine attributes can have a positive meaning, that immortality comes through observance of the commandments, and that divine providence extends to all men. In the introduction to his commentary on Job, entitled *Ohev Mishpat*, Duran also contributes to the discussion of dogmas. Emphasizing the centrality of a belief in revelation, Duran listed three dogmas, the existence of God, revelation, and reward and punishment, which became the foundations of Joseph Albo's philosophy.

Joseph Albo

Joseph *Albo (15th century), a student of Crescas, presented his views in *Sefer ha-Ikkarim* ("Book of Principles"), an eclectic, popular work, whose central task is the exposition of the principles of Judaism. Albo, following Duran, held that there are three basic principles (*ikkarim*) necessary for the existence of a divine law: the existence of God, revelation, and reward and punishment. From these principles follow eight derivative principles (*shorashim*): from the existence of God there follow God's unity, incorporeality, timelessness, and perfection; from revelation, God's omniscience and prophecy and authentication of the prophet; from reward and punishment, individual providence. The denial of these principles, no less than the denial of the first three, makes one a heretic (*kofer*). There are, furthermore, six branches (*anafim*): creation *ex nihilo*, the superiority of Moses as a prophet, immutability of the Torah, guarantee of immortality through the observance of any one commandment, resurrection of the dead, and the coming of the Messiah. Although it is proper that every Jew accept these branches, and although their denial makes him a sinner, it does not make him a heretic. Albo also criticizes the opinions of his predecessors concerning principles of Judaism. *Sefer ha-Ikkarim* is divided into four treatises. The first deals with the general principles of laws, the three *ikkarim*, and how a genuine divine law can be distinguished from a spurious one; each of the other three treatises is devoted to an exposition of a basic principle and of the principles derived from it. In his preliminary discussion (*Ikkarim*, 1:7ff.) Albo distinguishes three kinds of law: natural, conventional, and divine. Natural law is the same for all persons, times, and places; conventional law is ordered by a wise man in accord with reason; divine law is given by God through a prophet. It is only divine law that can lead man to true happiness and immortality. Albo's work contains explicit and implicit polemics against Christianity (for example 3:25), which are very likely the result of his participation in the debates at Tortosa and San Mateo (1413–14).

Shem Tov Family, Abraham Shalom, and Isaac Arama

The tension of the age is well illustrated by the Shem Tov family. Shem Tov b. Joseph *Ibn Shem Tov (c. 1380–1441), a kabbalist and opponent of Greek philosophy, attacked in his *Sefer ha-Emunot*, not only such extreme rationalists as Albalag and Levi ben Gershom, but even more fiercely Maimonides himself. His son Joseph b. Shem Tov *Ibn Shem Tov (d. c. 1480), who greatly admired Aristotle and Maimonides, tried to rehabilitate philosophy by improving its rapport with religious Orthodoxy. He attempted to show that Aristotle really believed in individual providence, and that when Aristotle stated that man's happiness comes through contemplation, he had in mind only happiness in this world, leaving room for happiness in the next dependent on the observance of the Torah. Shem Tov b. Joseph *Ibn Shem Tov, who bore the same name as his grandfather, continued his father's philosophical interest in a commentary on Maimonides' *Guide* (composed 1488), in which he defends Maimonides against the attacks of Crescas. His contemporary, Abraham *Shalom, in his work *Neveh Shalom*, also defended Maimonides against Crescas. Isaac b. Moses *Arama (1420–1494) wrote a philosophic-homiletical commentary on the Pentateuch, entitled *Akedat Yiẓḥak*.

Isaac and Judah Abrabanel

The last Jewish philosopher in Spain was the statesman Isaac *Abrabanel (1437–1508), who went into exile with his fellow Jews in 1492. He admired Maimonides greatly (he wrote a commentary on the *Guide*); nevertheless he opposed the rationalistic interpretation of Judaism. Thus he held, for example, that prophecy was caused by God Himself, not by the active intellect. His attitude also emerges in his work *Rosh Amanah*, in which he defends Maimonides' 13 principles with great subtlety against all those who had taken issue with them; but in the end he states that only the commandments of the Torah count. Abrabanel's account of history and political life was novel. In his commentary on the beginning of Genesis he held that God willed that man be satisfied with what nature provides and concentrate on cultivation of his spirit. However, men were dissatisfied and produced civilizations to gain further possessions. These civilizations distracted them from their true goal. Abrabanel had a similar attitude toward the state. Man's condition, as ordained by God, was to live in loose associations, but as man's desires increased, he organized states. States are evil in themselves, since they detract man from his true goal. After the expulsion of the Jews from Spain, Jewish philosophy continued in Italy, where it had begun in the 13th century. Abrabanel, in fact, wrote his most important works in Italy. His son Judah *Abrabanel, known as Leone Ebreo (c. 1460–after 1523), under the influence of Renaissance Platonism, wrote a general philosophic work entitled *Dialoghi di Amore* ("Dialogues of Love"). Earlier, an Italian Jew, *Judah b. Jehiel (Messer Leon; 15th century), had written a work on rhetoric in Hebrew, which drew on Aristotle, Cicero, and Quintillian. He also wrote on logic.

Elijah Delmedigo

Elijah *Delmedigo (c. 1460–1497), born in Crete, lived for a time in Italy, where he exchanged views with Christian Platonists. He had lectured at the University of Padua, and at the request of *Pico della Mirandola he translated works by Averroes from Hebrew into Latin. He also wrote independent works on philosophic topics, including *Beḥinat ha-Dat* ("The Examination of Religion"), a work based on a treatise by Averroes, in which he investigated the relation of philosophy and religion. Like Averroes, he held that the masses must accept Scripture literally, while philosophers may interpret it. However, he denied philosophers the right to interpret the basic principles of Judaism. Like the Latin Averroists, he envisaged religion and philosophy as independent disciplines that may be mutually contradictory. If this should happen, the philosopher must accept the teachings of religion. He modified this position by maintaining that it is permissible to interpret philosophically doctrines which do not affect a basic principle and by affirming that, in fact, basic principles do not conflict with reason.

Joseph Delmedigo

Joseph Solomon *Delmedigo (1591–1655), a descendant of Elijah, was influenced by the theories of Galileo; but he did not free himself completely from certain medieval notions. He accepted the heliocentric theory of the universe and also denied that there is any distinction between the celestial and terrestrial realm. He criticized the Aristotelian notion of form, holding that material substance and its qualities are adequate to explain the world. He also rejected the Aristotelian notion that incorporeal movers of the spheres exist. His conception of the soul follows the Platonic notion that the soul is a substance joined to the body, and his view of the active intellect follows Aquinas' view that it is located within the individual human soul. In addition to defending these philosophic views, Delmedigo also defended the Kabbalah, though he mocked its superstitions.

Influences on Christian Thought

Two Jewish philosophers, Gabirol and Maimonides, influenced Christian thought extensively through Latin translations of their major works. Gabirol's *Mekor Ḥayyim* was translated into Latin as *Fons Vitae* in the middle of the 12th century; Maimonides' *Guide* was translated as *Dux* (*Director*) *Neutrorum* (*Dubitantium, Perplexorum*) about a century later. Gabirol's *Fons Vitae*, together with the writings of Augustine and of Islamic philosophers, molded the Neoplatonic component of Christian scholastic thought. *William of Auvergne, while disagreeing with some of his views, described Gabirol as "one of the noblest of all philosophers," and he identified Gabirol's (divine) will with the Christian logos. Gabirol is also considered a proponent of the doctrine of the multiplicity of forms, according to which several substantial forms exist within a given substance. However, by far the best known of Gabirol's teachings was his notion that spiritual substances (the angels and the human soul), no less than corporeal substances, are composed of matter and form. This doctrine became the subject of a lively debate among scholastics. Among those who accepted Gabirol's view were *Alexander of Hales, Bonaventure, and *Duns Scotus; among those who rejected it were *Albertus Magnus and Thomas *Aquinas. In general the Franciscans accepted this doctrine, the Dominicans rejected it. Among Christian scholastics who were influenced by Maimonides were Alexander of Hales, William of Auvergne, Albertus Magnus, Thomas Aquinas, Meister *Eckhart, and Duns Scotus. Aquinas, for example, was influenced by Maimonides in his account of the relation of faith and reason, in his proofs for the existence of God, and in his opinion that the creation of the world in time cannot be demonstrated by philosophic arguments. However, he polemicized against Maimonides' opinion that all essential attributes applied to God must be understood as negations, against his description of the celestial movers, and against his identifying angels with the incorporeal intelligences.

Christian Scholastic Influences on Jewish Thought

Islamic philosophy and its Greek antecedents provided the foundations for medieval Jewish philosophy during its two phases. There were also Christian scholastic influences on Jewish philosophers who knew Latin: for example, Hillel b. Samuel was influenced by Aquinas and Albalag, by the Latin Averroists. But even those Jewish philosophers who did not know Latin had, in time, access to scholastic thought through Hebrew translations. As was to be expected, the works translated dealt with philosophical rather than theological topics. Among the scholastics from whose works translations were made were Albertus Magnus, Thomas Aquinas, Aegidius Romanus, Peter of Spain, and William of Ockham. Among the translators were Judah *Romano, Elijah *Habillo, and Abraham Shalom. S. Pines has advanced the view that, while Jewish philosophers do not cite works by late medieval scholastics, they were familiar with the problems they discussed. He has argued that physical and metaphysical notions of Duns Scotus, Buridan, Oresme, Albert of Saxony, and William of Ockham influenced Jedaiah ha-Penini Bedersi, Levi b. Gershom, Joseph ibn Kaspi and Hasdai Crescas (S. Pines, *Scholasticism after Thomas Aquinas and the Teachings of Ḥasdai Crescas and his Predecessors*, 1967).

MODERN PERIOD

Introduction

Modern Jewish philosophy shared with Hellenistic and medieval Jewish philosophy a concern for relating general philosophy to Judaism, and it discussed some of the same problems that had been discussed in earlier Jewish philosophy; but, at the same time, it differed from Hellenistic and medieval Jewish philosophy in several respects. For one thing it differed in its conception of Jewish tradition. For Hellenistic and medieval Jewish philosophers, Judaism, with its Oral and Written Law, was the revealed word of God which was binding in its totality for all times. While there were modern Jewish thinkers who accepted the traditional position, most of them considered Judaism a creation of human thought, intuition, or feeling, which had developed in history and, which, while containing a perennial core, also contained parts which could be discarded in modern times. Then again, it differed in its conception of science and philosophy. Hellenistic and medieval Jewish philosophers accepted the notion of a geocentric universe with a sharp distinction between its terrestrial and celestial parts – a universe that manifests design and purpose. Modern Jewish philosophers accepted the notion of a heliocentric universe with no distinction between its terrestrial and celestial parts, a universe governed by the necessary laws of nature. Moreover, pre-modern Jewish thinkers saw no sharp distinction between science and philosophy, had strong metaphysical interests, and emphasized that the development of the human mind was the purpose of human life and morality was only a prerequisite for the fulfillment of this goal. Modern Jewish philosophers saw science as distinct from philosophy, and while those following the idealist tradition retained metaphysical interests and emphasized the primacy of intellectual cognition, there were many who denied the possibility (or at least the importance) of metaphysics, emphasizing instead the study of ethics and the centrality of proper conduct for attaining the goal of human life. It can readily be seen that it was easier to reconcile pre-modern philosophy with Jewish teachings than modern philosophy. The Enlightenment and the Emancipation also had a significant impact on modern Jewish thought. For example, the Enlightenment notion of a religion of reason which, consisting of rational beliefs and practices, was addressed to all men, was adopted by a number of Jewish philosophers of the modern period. Some, Mendelssohn for example, accepted this notion and investigated to what extent historical Judaism was identical with the religion of reason and to what extent different. Others, such as Hermann Cohen, went so far as to maintain that Judaism was the ideal embodiment of the religion of reason. The process of secularization initiated by the Enlightenment also had its impact on Jewish thought. While modern Jewish philosophy was still largely a religious philosophy, there arose Jewish thinkers who attempted to formulate secular philosophies of Judaism, and for whom Judaism was a culture or a social philosophy rather than a religious tradition (see also *Haskalah).

The impact of the Emancipation was felt in Western rather than in Eastern Europe, for in the East the Jewish community retained its social (even its political) identity into the 20th century. The progressive political and social emancipation of the Jews posed special problems for Jewish thinkers, one of these being the nature of the Jewish group. While pre-modern Jewish thinkers had no difficulty in accepting the notion that the Jews were a people, many modern Jewish thinkers considered Judaism a religion and the Jews a religious society (*Religionsgemeinschaft*), thereby emphasizing that only their religion distinguished Jews from other citizens. The Emancipation also influenced the concept of the Messiah. Whereas in classical Jewish thought the Messiah was a king from the House of David who would bring the Jews back to their own land, most modern Jewish thinkers gave up the belief in a personal Messiah, speaking instead of messianic times when all mankind would be united in justice and righteousness.

Another factor that influenced modern Jewish philosophy was the emergence of distinct religious groups within Judaism. While in former times, too, there were different groups within Judaism, e.g., Sadducees and Pharisees, and Rabbanites and Karaites, Jewish philosophy for the most part moved within the mainstream of classical rabbinic tradition. However, in the 19th century there developed three distinct groups within Judaism, each of which had its philosophers. *Neo-Orthodoxy upheld the classical formulation of Judaism but attempted to make modern culture relevant to Jewish concerns. The positive-historical school (which was to become in the United States in the 20th century the *Conservative movement) was committed to classical Jewish tradition but at the same time studied Judaism from a historical-critical perspective, maintaining that Judaism was subject to evolutionary development. Liberal (*Reform) Judaism was committed to a program of change, holding that the core of Judaism was ethics (ethical monotheism) and that ritual was subject to abrogation and change.

One further factor was the rise of modern antisemitism. In the case of some Jewish thinkers (Hermann Cohen is a notable example) it was antisemitism that aroused their interest in Jewish thought. Antisemitism also produced in certain thinkers a despair of the promise of emancipation, which, together with the emergence of modern nationalism and classical Jewish messianic expectations, produced Zionism which advocated the reestablishment of a Jewish state, preferably in Ereẓ Israel. In its philosophic component modern Jewish thought followed the main currents of modern and contemporary Western philosophy, rationalism, Kantianism, idealism, existentialism, and pragmatism. There were also influences derived from British empiricism and positivism. Whereas medieval Jewish philosophy consisted of movements which had a certain continuity and structure, modern Jewish thought represents mainly the efforts of individual thinkers. In Western Europe the language of Jewish philosophy was the language of the country in which the philosopher lived, while in Eastern Europe its language was largely Hebrew.

Spinoza

Baruch (Benedict) *Spinoza (1632–1677) has sometimes been described as the first modern Jewish philosopher, but he cannot be considered part of the mainstream of the Jewish philosophic tradition. When in his *Theologico-Political Treatise* he set out to separate philosophy from religion (Introd., ch. 7, 14), he denied the possibility of a religious philosophy of any kind. Moreover, the pantheistic system of his *Ethics*, with its identity of God and nature, cannot be said to be in harmony with Jewish beliefs. Nevertheless, there are good reasons for including him in an account of Jewish philosophy: his ideas were influenced by medieval Jewish philosophers, particularly Maimonides and Crescas; he polemicized against the medieval understanding of such ideas as prophecy and miracles; modern Jewish philosophers discussed his ideas (pro and con); and his biblical criticism became one of the foundations of the liberal interpretation of Judaism to which many modern Jewish philosophers subscribed. From his medieval predecessors Spinoza accepted the distinction between a philosophic elite which can understand through reason and the masses which can understand only through imagination. Spinoza wrote his *Ethics* for philosophers, its object being to show that the good life and human happiness can be attained through reason without recourse to historical religion. (In the five parts of the *Ethics* he discusses God (1), mind (2), passions (3, 4), and human freedom (5).) Spinoza rejects the notion of a personal God who acts by will and design. Instead, God is an impersonal being who acts out of the necessity of His (Spinoza often retains theistic language) own nature and determines everything through His infinite power. God possesses an infinity of attributes, of which thought and extension are known to man; He also possesses modes. Everything that exists appears to be an aspect of God. The world and man lack any purpose other than to function in accordance with their necessary causes. Man also lacks free will. The greatest obstacle to the good life is enslavement to the passions, but man can free himself from this enslavement by understanding and controlling the passions. Philosophic understanding is the goal of human life, and Spinoza describes its highest form as "the intellectual love of the mind toward God." In his *Theologico-Political Treatise* Spinoza manifests a twofold interest in religion. He attempts, on the one hand, to show that philosophy is independent of religion, and, on the other, to show the ruler that he may enforce religious practices while granting the philosopher the freedom to philosophize. To show philosophy's freedom from religion, Spinoza develops a new method for interpreting the Bible. Holding that the Bible is a human document composed by different authors, at different times, and under different circumstances (a critical view he attributes to Abraham ibn Ezra), he maintains that it must be interpreted in accordance with ordinary canons of historical and literary exegesis. The new method brings him to the conclusion that the Bible is intellectually rather naïve (a product of the imagination rather than of reason), so that one should not expect to find any philosophical profundities in it. In spite of this evaluation, Spinoza does not reject the Bible altogether. While he held that the biblical religions had sunk to the level of superstition, and while he maintained that most of the biblical precepts could be discarded, he also stated that the Bible contains a viable core useful for the instruction of the masses. The Bible in its noblest core teaches "obedience to God in the singleness of heart and the practice of justice and charity." The Bible also contains seven dogmas of universal faith – God's existence, unity, omnipresence, power and will, man's obligation to worship God, salvation, and repentance – belief in which leads the masses to proper actions. While some of the dogmas reflect philosophic notions discussed in the *Ethics*, Spinoza presents them in the *Treatise* as products of the imagination. Spinoza applies his critical method primarily to the Hebrew Bible, but it can be applied to Christian Scripture as well. It appears that he considered Christianity a better embodiment than Judaism of the purified biblical religions which he favored. Jewish ceremonial law, political in its function, lost its validity with the destruction of the Jewish kingdom and hence was no longer obligatory. In passing he envisages the possibility that under the right conditions the Jews may once again establish their state.

Moses Mendelssohn

Moses *Mendelssohn (1729–1786), champion of Jewish emancipation, translator of the Pentateuch into German, and biblical commentator, is generally considered the first Jewish philosopher of the modern period. Born in Dessau, where he was trained in traditional Jewish learning, he came to Berlin in 1743 and there acquired, through private study, knowledge of classical and modern languages, mathematics, and modern philosophy. His traditional training provided him with extensive familiarity with the medieval Jewish philosophers (whom he cites in his writings), and his modern training acquainted him with the thought of Locke, Leibniz, and Christian Wolff. As philosopher, Mendelssohn followed the pre-Kantian German Enlightenment, sharing with it the conviction that metaphysical knowledge is possible. He wrote on metaphysics, psychology, aesthetics, and also literary criticism. His main philosophical works were *Phaedon* (patterned after Plato's dialogue of the same name; 1767) and *Morgenstunden* (1785). In the former work he offered arguments for the immortality of the soul, and in the latter he discussed proofs for the existence of God.

Mendelssohn might never have presented his views on Judaism had it not been for the challenge of the Swiss theologian Johann Kaspar Lavater. In 1769 Lavater published his German translation of Charles Bonnet's *La Palingénésie philosophique* under the title *Untersuchung der Beweise fuer das Christenthum*, and in his introduction he challenged Mendelssohn to refute Bonnet's arguments or accept Christianity. Mendelssohn, who was not given to polemics, reluctantly accepted the challenge and in his reply professed his unshakable belief in Judaism and pointed out that Judaism tolerantly held that salvation is possible for all men, while Christianity limited salvation to its adherents. Mendelssohn presented his views on religion and Judaism more fully in his *Jerusalem* (1783), a work influenced by Spinoza's *Theologico-Political Treatise*. Like Spinoza, Mendelssohn (in the first part of the work) advocated the separation of state and church, holding that, while both contribute to human happiness, the state governs man's relation to his fellow man and the church man's relation to God. Ideally, the state should govern by educating its citizens, but practically it must compel them to obey the laws. The church should not possess secular power or own property and should promote its teachings only through instruction and admonition. Religion is a personal matter, and both state and church must guarantee freedom of conscience. In the second part of *Jerusalem*, Mendelssohn discusses the nature of religion and Judaism. Religion, for him, is the Enlightenment religion of reason which consists of rational and moral truths discoverable by all men. It is inconceivable to Mendelssohn that a benevolent God should restrict salvation to the adherents of a particular historical religion; salvation must be available to all men. Judaism, then, is not a revealed religion but revealed legislation. Insofar as it is a religion it is the religion of reason. However, whereas Spinoza had held that Jewish law had lost its validity with the cessation of the Jewish kingdom, Mendelssohn maintained that it was still binding for Jews; what has changed since the destruction of the Temple and the ancient Jewish state is only Jewish law's political enforceability, not its inherent divine authority. If there were to be changes, only a new revelation from God could make them. It is the purpose of Jewish law to preserve pure religious concepts free from idolatry, and it still fulfills this purpose in the modern world. It also serves to keep the Jewish community together. The Law compels man to action but also stimulates him to contemplation. Judaism consists of three parts: religious truths about God, His rule, and His providence, addressed to man's reason (but these are not presented as compelled beliefs); historical truths disclosing the purposes of the Jew's existence; and laws, precepts, commandments, and rules of conduct, the observance of which will bring happiness to individual Jews as well as to the Jewish community as a whole.

Kant, Schelling, Hegel

The two most important general philosophic influences on 19th- and (to some extent) 20th-century Jewish thought were the critical philosophy of *Kant and the idealistic philosophies of *Schelling and *Hegel. Kant was important for his denial of speculative metaphysics; for his sharp distinction between theoretical and practical (moral) philosophy; for making God, freedom, and immortality postulates of practical reason; for his account of duty, the categorical imperative, and the autonomy of the will; and for closely connecting ethics and religion. The idealist philosophers were important for affirming the spiritual nature of all reality and for their notion that history presents the progressive self-realization of spirit. Jewish philosophers used these philosophies in varying ways and combinations, holding that Judaism is the best embodiment of the religion of reason (Kant) or the religion of spirit (idealists).

Solomon Formstecher

Solomon *Formstecher (1808–1889), rabbi and leader of the Reform movement, developed his philosophy in *Die Religion des Geistes* (1841), a work combining idealist philosophy with a special concern for ethics. From Schelling he accepted the notion of a world soul which is manifest in the phenomena of nature; but, whereas for Schelling the world soul was bound to nature, Formstecher emphasized its transcendence and identified it with God. However, there is another manifestation of the world soul, and that is spirit, whose main characteristics are self-consciousness and freedom. When spirit becomes conscious of nature it produces physics; when it becomes conscious of itself it produces logic. There exists an ideal for spirit in each realm: aesthetic contemplation in nature; moral action in the realm of spirit. Corresponding to the two realms there are two forms of religion: the religion of nature, which considers the world as containing divine forces or which identifies nature with God; the religion of the spirit, which considers God as transcendent. There are also two corresponding goals for human life: for religion of nature it is to become one with God; for religion of the spirit it is to become like Him through moral actions. Historically, paganism embodied the religion of nature, Judaism, the religion of spirit. There exist two kinds of revelation: prehistoric revelation which consists of the ideal that spirit can attain, and historical revelation which is the gradual attainment of this ideal. Historical revelation occurs in natural religion as well as in the religion of the spirit; but in natural religion it comes to an end with the cognition of a God bound to nature, while in spiritual religion it tends toward the cognition of the transcendent God. The religion of the spirit is identical with absolute truth. (Formstecher does not succeed very well in harmonizing the idealist notion that man's final goal is understanding, with his emphasis on ethics.) The religion of the spirit is the religion of the Jews, but it had a historical development. Since Judaism developed in a pagan world, the religion of the spirit had to be the religion of a specific people. However, as Judaism progressed from objectivity to subjectivity (which consisted in the spirit's becoming more and more conscious of itself), it gained greater universalism. This occurred at first through the destruction of Jewish national life. However, since the world was still hostile, Judaism had to maintain its identity, but now as a theocracy of law. Formstecher maintained that the process of becoming more and more universal was about to come to an end in the modern world which was marked by the emancipation of the Jews, and the absolute truth of spiritual religion was about to emerge.

But spiritual religion also had to penetrate natural religion, and this occurred through Christianity and Islam. Since Christianity addressed itself to the pagan world, it combined the religion of the spirit with the thought of paganism. The history of Christianity is the struggle between Jewish and pagan elements. As Christianity developed historically, it freed itself more and more from its pagan elements. Since Christianity, even in the modern world, has not completely freed itself from these accretions, there is still room for Judaism as a separate religion. However, both religions strive toward the realization of the religion of the spirit. Judaism can prepare itself by stripping itself of its particularistic elements and its ceremonial law.

Samuel Hirsch

Samuel *Hirsch (1815–1889), rabbi and Reform leader, presented his views in *Die Religionsphilosophie der Juden* (1842), a work influenced by Hegel. Hirsch considered it the task of philosophy to transform the content of religious consciousness into the content of spirit (mind), and for him religious and philosophic truth are identical. Central to Hirsch's thought is the notion of freedom. Man, by understanding himself as an "I" standing over against nature, becomes aware of his freedom. However, this freedom is abstract and must be given content. One such content is natural freedom, his ability to do whatever he desires. Hegel held that abstract and natural freedom were in conflict and that this conflict was ingrained in man. Not so Hirsch. He tried to preserve abstract freedom for man by holding that alternate courses of action are open to him. Man may sacrifice his freedom to nature, or he may control nature by means of his freedom. These courses of action have as their concomitants two kinds of awareness of God. According to both, God is the giver of freedom, but according to the first view nature becomes the divine principle; according to the second view God transcends nature. Understanding nature as divine produces paganism; understanding God as transcendental produces Judaism. Hirsch now analyzes the history of religion in a manner reminiscent of Formstecher. But whereas for Formstecher, paganism, being the partial recognition of spirit, has some redeeming features, for Hirsch, it does not. Whatever development paganism has, it is only to show its nothingness. Judaism also had a development, but only because it originated in a pagan world (Abraham lived in that world); but once it had become free by recognizing that the true nature of religion is moral freedom, no further development was necessary. In early times Judaism required prophecy and miracles to show that God is master of nature; but once the threat of paganism had passed these were no longer necessary. The only miracle still apparent is the continuous existence of the Jewish people. There is, however, a kind of development in Judaism, for once one has discovered the truth of ethical freedom for oneself one wants to spread it to others. This Judaism attains, not by missionizing but by bearing witness to its faith. There existed, however, a tendency to bring Jewish beliefs to the pagan world in an active fashion, and Jesus made this his task. Jesus still moved within the world of Judaism, but a break came with Paul. When Paul formulated a doctrine of original sin and redemption through Jesus, Christianity severed its ties with Judaism. Only when the work of Paul is undone will Christianity be able to fulfill its true mission. When Christianity reaches that stage it will be essentially identical with Judaism. However, even in messianic times, when Israel will become one with all mankind, it will retain a structure of its own.

Nachman Krochmal

Nachman *Krochmal (1785–1840), a representative of the East European Haskalah, presented his philosophy in his posthumously published (1851) Hebrew work *Moreh Nevukhei ha-Zeman* ("Guide of the Perplexed of the Time"). In this work Krochmal does not present his views in any great detail, and a good portion of the work is devoted to an analysis of Jewish history and literature, but his thought may be gathered from the introductory chapters (1–8) and from his discussion of the philosophy of Abraham ibn Ezra (ch. 17). Krochmal was influenced by German idealism, but scholars have debated whether the primary influence was Hegel or Schelling. He differed from Formstecher and Hirsch by emphasizing the speculative rather than the ethical content of religion, and he also differed from them in not accepting the distinction between nature and spirit, and between the religion of nature and the religion of spirit. For Krochmal all religions are concerned with the self-realization of human consciousness and all religions accept a belief in spiritual powers. Even the idolator does not worship the physical likeness but the spiritual power it represents. All religions are religions of the spirit and they differ only in degree. Yet there is a distinction between Judaism and other religions: Judaism is concerned with infinite "absolute spirit" (Krochmal's term is "the absolute spiritual"), while other religions are only concerned with finite spiritual powers. Krochmal affirms the identity of religious and philosophical truth, the only difference between them being that religion presents this truth in the form of representation, while philosophy presents it in conceptual form. There is, however, a distinction between Judaism and the other religions: Judaism had an awareness of absolute spirit from its beginnings, while the other religions were only aware of partial spiritual powers. Judaism underwent development; but this development was only a progression from a representational understanding of the absolute spirit to a conceptual understanding of it. The world for Krochmal is a world of spirit, and even inanimate nature is only a concretization of spirit. Since all existence is spirit, and since true existence can only belong to absolute spirit, i.e., God, the world is said to exist in God. This gives a decidedly pantheistic complexion to Krochmal's thought. He mitigates it somewhat by affirming that the world is descended (emanated) from God. This descent is the true meaning of the biblical account of creation. God creates the world by limiting Himself, thereby separating Himself from the world; nevertheless, His being, as has been noted, still permeates the world. The act of divine self-limitation appears to be a spontaneous act. Krochmal also interprets prophecy within the framework of his thought. Prophecy is the connecting of the human spirit with the divine and it can exist in all men; those in whom the connection exists strongly become prophets in actuality. The prophets also have the ability to predict the future, but they can only predict the future close to their own time. Thus Krochmal denies that the second part of Isaiah was written by the same prophet as the first; the author of the first was too far removed in time from the events described in the second part. He also professes a belief in miracles in the sense of direct divine intervention, but how this can be reconciled with the rest of his philosophy is not too clear.

Corresponding to his general philosophy, Krochmal also develops a philosophy of history. Each of the historical nations is subject to a spiritual power which determines its history and its culture. The gods in which each nation believes are an embodiment of this spiritual principle. Each nation undergoes a three-stage development: growth, maturity, and decline. Decline sets in when desire for luxury and power increases. Once a nation has declined, it ceases to exist and another nation comes to the fore. The accomplishments of the nation which has ceased to exist are often absorbed by the nation which takes its place (for example, the accomplishments of Greece by Rome); however, the Jewish nation manifests the triad – growth, maturity, and decline – it is the eternal people, exempt from extinction. Once a triadic period has come to an end a new one begins. Israel is exempt from the fate of other nations, because it had a belief in absolute spirit from the beginning. This belief makes Israel the teacher of all mankind and this is Israel's mission in the world. The spirit of the Jewish people flows from absolute spirit, and it is said that God dwells in Israel and that God's spirit rests on Israel. Krochmal divides Jewish history into four periods: the first extended from the period of the Patriarchs to the Babylonian Exile; the second from the Babylonian Exile to the revolt of Bar Kokhba; the third, which is not too clearly described, ended in the 17th century; and the fourth cycle was still going on in Krochmal's time.

S.D. Luzzatto

While Formstecher, Hirsch, and Krochmal attempted to harmonize idealism and Judaism, Samuel David *Luzzatto (1800–1865), translator of the Bible into Italian and biblical commentator, was an outright opponent of philosophic speculation. He agreed with Mendelssohn that Judaism possesses no dogmas, but, unlike Mendelssohn, he affirmed that moral action leading to righteousness is the purpose of all (even the ritual) commandments. While he does not hold that Judaism lacks beliefs altogether, he considers it the function of religious beliefs to induce moral actions. It is conceivable to him that some religious beliefs may be false. Ethical activity, according to Luzzatto, springs from the feelings of honor and pity. In his *Yesodei ha-Torah* ("Foundations of the Torah," published posthumously in 1880) he enumerates three principles of Judaism: the feeling of pity, reward and punishment, and the election of Israel. The first of these is the basic principle; the other two have only an auxiliary function. A belief in reward and punishment is necessary because without it man would be governed by the evil part of his nature; the election of Israel is important for motivating Jews to ever higher ethical practices. Luzzatto distinguishes between Judaism, which aspires to moral action, and "Atticism," which has understanding as its goal. He maintains that cognition of God lies beyond the capacities of man, but he also holds that the existence of God can be demonstrated philosophically.

S.L. Steinheim

Solomon Ludwig *Steinheim (1789–1866), physician, poet, and philosopher, was also an outright opponent of philosophic rationalism. In his *Offenbarung nach dem Lehrbegriff der Synagogue* (4 vols., 1835–65) he defended the thesis that religious truth is only given through revelation. This meant to him not only that reason is inferior to revelation, but that when reason examines the contradictions contained within its content, it must recognize its own insufficiency. Revelation is not the product of human consciousness but comes from without, from God. (Steinheim does not deny that religion possesses cognitive content; but this content can only come through revelation, not through rational processes.) The truth of revelation is not confirmed by external signs but by reason, which clearly recognizes the superiority of revelation, and also that revelation meets human needs better than philosophy. Philosophy differs from religion in that philosophy conceives of all reality in terms of necessity, while religion understands it in terms of freedom. Corresponding to these approaches are two kinds of religion: natural religion which conceives of God as subject to the necessity of His own nature and as dependent on the matter on which he acts; revealed religion which understands God as the Creator Who, unbounded by necessity, creates the world freely and out of nothing. Creation, according to Steinheim, is the first principle of revelation; other principles are freedom, immortality of the soul, and (very likely) the unity of God. Steinheim applies the two conceptions of religion to the historical religions: paganism is the embodiment of natural (philosophical) religion; Judaism is the embodiment of revealed religion; and Christianity is a mixture of the two. As revealed religion, Judaism emphasizes, besides the cognitive principles mentioned before, human freedom and moral activity. Hence in his conclusions concerning the content of the Jewish religion, Steinheim differs little from Formstecher and Hirsch; but whereas the latter two philosophers saw Judaism grounded in reason, Steinheim sees it grounded in revelation.

Moritz Lazarus

Moritz *Lazarus (1824–1903), writer on psychology and philosophy, devoted *Die Ethik des Judentums* (*The Ethics of Judaism*; vol. I, 1898; vol. II, published posthumously, 1911) to the philosophic interpretation of Jewish ethics. The avowed purpose of the work is to use philosophy to give a structured account of Jewish ethics; but he also uses philosophic concepts to analyze its content. He derives his main notions from Kant, but he gives these notions a psychological interpretation. From Kant, Lazarus accepts the notion of the autonomy of ethics, but to Lazarus this only meant that the sphere of ethics is independent. Whereas for Kant the autonomy of ethics further implied that ethics is independent of the emotions, Lazarus maintained that ethics is grounded in the emotions of duty and obligation. Religious ethics differs from philosophical ethics in that it recognizes God as the author of ethical imperatives. However, if ethical imperatives are given by God, ethics is no longer autonomous but heteronomous. Lazarus tries to solve this difficulty by stating that God is also subject to ethical imperatives. What God commands is right, but not because He commands it: rather He commands it because it is right. Judaism is essentially religious ethics, and even the ritual commandments have an ethical purpose. Jewish ethics are ethics for the individual, but even more for society. Lazarus also interprets the idea of holiness. God is holy, not because He is mysterious or remote but because he represents moral perfection. Man becomes holy through ever increasing moral activity.

Hermann Cohen

Hermann *Cohen (1842–1918), founder of the Marburg school of neo-Kantianism, presented his views on religion in *Der Begriff der Religion im System der Philosophie* (1915) and his views on Judaism in *Die Religion der Vernunft aus den Quellen des Judentums* (published posthumously in 1919). While, in accordance with the development of his thought, Cohen's works on religion and Judaism were written only after he had retired from the University of Marburg (where from 1873–1912 he had a distinguished career) and had moved to Berlin (1912), he had strong Jewish loyalties throughout his life. As the title of Cohen's last work shows, he considered Judaism as the religion of reason, that is, in the Kantian sense, of practical reason; but, as will be seen, he tried to introduce into this conception the more personal aspects of the religious life. During the Marburg years Cohen wrote works commenting on the philosophy of Kant and also systematic works of his own. In his views on ethics, he followed Kant in holding that ethics is only concerned with the general category of man as a moral being, not with individual man in his singularity. In Cohen's Marburg system there is no room for religion as an independent sphere; it is merely a primitive form of ethics which will disappear once ethics has developed sufficiently. While Cohen always maintained that Judaism should preserve its religious identity, during the early years at Marburg he found little difference between it and liberal Protestantism. While Cohen left no special place for religion in his early thought, he did speak of God. God, for him, is not a metaphysical substance but an idea bridging the gap between morality and nature. Man's moral reason tells him that his ethical task is unending, but he has no guarantee that nature is eternal, so that he can fulfill this task. The idea of God provides this guarantee. Cohen is well aware that this conception of God has little to do with the scriptural notion of a personal God, but he praises the Hebrew prophets for contributing to the progress of mankind through their non-mythological conception of God, through their concern for ethics, and through their belief in the coming of the Messiah, which for Cohen is the symbol for mankind's advance toward ever greater moral perfection. Cohen conceived of ethics more as social ethics than personal ethics.

Cohen's conception of religion underwent a marked change. Whereas in his previous writings he had denied the independence of religion, in his *Begriff der Religion* he assigns to religion a separate domain. Ethics only knows humanity (moral man), but it does not know individual man. Yet the individual's feeling of sin and guilt possesses a reality of its own, and this feeling must be removed, so that man may recapture his moral freedom. Religion accomplishes this task by teaching that man can free himself from sin through remorse and repentance and by fostering a belief in a merciful God who is ready to forgive. Cohen emphasizes that atonement is gained through human efforts and not, as in Christianity, through an act of grace on the part of God. He praises the latter prophets, primarily Ezekiel, for having formulated these religious truths. Cohen's conception of God underwent a change as well. Whereas in his early thought he had described God as an idea, he now identifies God as being. In fact only God is being; the finite changing world standing over against Him, is becoming. Though being and becoming, God and the world, always remain distinct, there exists between them a relation, described by Cohen as "correlation." The world cannot exist without God; but God also has no meaning without the world. Cohen considers God as the origin of the world and man, and he uses this thought to explain creation and revelation. Creation refers to the dependence of the world on God (Cohen does not conceive of creation in temporal terms); and revelation refers to the dependence of the human mind on God. (Redemption refers, as has already been seen, to mankind's progress toward the ethical ideal.) Cohen's notion of "correlation" is well illustrated by his understanding of the "holy spirit." He rejects the Christian belief that the holy spirit is a separate substance, describing it instead as a relation between man and God. God's holiness is the model for human action, and man becomes holy by imitating God. "Correlation" is also illustrated by the saying that man is God's partner in the work of creation. In his final work Cohen applies all these distinctions to an interpretation of Jewish beliefs and practices which combines a concern for ethics and the unity of God (ethical monotheism) with the more personal elements of religion which have been described.

Franz Rosenzweig

The first half of the 20th century saw the emergence of Jewish *existentialism, whose major proponents were Buber and Rosenzweig. Franz *Rosenzweig (1886–1929) studied the philosophy of Hegel as part of his university education, and his doctoral dissertation was a substantial scholarly work entitled *Hegel und der Staat* ("Hegel and the State"). However, even during his student days Rosenzweig became dissatisfied with the rationalism of Hegel and looked for the meaning of life in the existence of the concrete individual and in religious faith. He contemplated converting to Christianity, but resolved to remain a Jew (1913) and embarked upon the intensive study of Jewish sources which he continued throughout his life. (During the year that followed he came under the influence of Hermann Cohen.) During the first World War he fought in the German army, and during those years he sent his philosophic reflections home on postcards to his mother. These became the basis for his major work *Der Stern der Erloesung* (1921; *The Star of Redemption*, 1971). In 1921 he was struck by a disabling disease, but he continued a creative life until his death. Rosenzweig formulated his philosophy in opposition to Hegelian rationalism. According to Hegel thought preceded being, and humanity was more important than the individual man. By contrast Rosenzweig maintained that being (existence) was primary, and that the concrete individual was of supreme importance. He advocated a "new thinking" which, standing between theology and philosophy, began, not with abstract concepts, but with the suffering, anxiety, and the longing of the individual man. Philosophy, Rosenzweig states, had claimed to still man's fear of death; but death is still real and man is still afraid. Philosophy up to Hegel, according to Rosenzweig, had attempted to describe the world as a unitary whole, trying to show that the three elements given in human experience – God, the world, and man – share one essence. The various periods of philosophy differed in that ancient philosophy derived God and man from the world, medieval philosophy, the world and man from God, and modern philosophy, God and the world from man. All these attempts to unify the world, according to Rosenzweig, have failed, and the three elements of experience remain distinct. But while none of these elements is reducible to one of the others, reflection discloses that they stand in relation. God's relation to the world is creation, God's relation to man is revelation, and man's relation to the world is redemption. In creation, which for Rosenzweig is not a unique but an ongoing event, God shows that He is not a hidden God; in revelation He shows His love for man, which, in turn, leads man to a love of his fellowman; and man's love for his fellow leads to the redemption of the world. While Rosenzweig thought of redemption as occurring at the end of time, he also held that redemption may be experienced in the here and now. The three elements of experience, which so far have been discussed without reference to the historical religions, also provide the substance of these religions. In paganism God, man, and the world remain distinct, but in the scriptural religions they stand in relation. When speaking of the scriptural religions, Rosenzweig has in mind Judaism and Christianity, both of which are in his view valid. They differ, however, in that Judaism is conceived as the "eternal life," Christianity as the "eternal way." The Christian is born a pagan, who, through baptism, becomes a Christian. He is joined to other Christians through a common faith and he must go out to convert the world to his belief. The Jew is born a Jew, and it is his task to lead the "eternal life" of his people. Whereas the Christian is immersed in history, the Jew is beyond it. At present, Judaism and Christianity possess only partial truth, but God's full truth will be revealed at the end of time. While the relation between God and man is marked by love, for the Jew this relation is also governed by law. Rosenzweig advocates that the Jew must study the traditional body of law with seriousness and respect, but he does not demand blind obedience to it. He upholds the right of the individual to decide which laws to obey, maintaining that each Jew must appropriate of the Law whatever he can; however, his criterion should not be ease of life. (It is interesting to note that throughout his life Rosenzweig observed more and more of traditional Jewish law.)

Martin Buber

Martin *Buber (1878–1965) is perhaps best known for his philosophy of dialogue, a form of existentialism. In formulating his philosophic views he drew on his extensive knowledge of the Bible, Ḥasidism, and comparative religion, and he applies his philosophic findings to contemporary social and political issues. His dialogical philosophy is described in his *Ich und Du* (1923; *I and Thou*, 1937). Buber begins by holding that man has two attitudes toward the world, and these two attitudes are determined by two "primary words" – I-Thou and I-It, which refer to relations, not to their component parts. An I-Thou relation is one between two subjects (persons) and is marked by reciprocity and mutuality. An I-It relation is one between a subject (person) and an object (thing) and is one in which the subject dominates and uses the object. Buber also envisages that there can be I-Thou relations between men and animals and even inanimate beings; while I-Thou relations between men often deteriorate into relations of I-It. In fact, Buber considers human life dynamic: I-Thou relations deteriorate into I-It relations, and a new effort is required to make them I-Thou relations once more. Buber also evaluates critically much of modern social and economic life; for in the modern world human relations have often sunk to the level of I-It. While human I-Thou relations cannot be sustained continually, there is one I-Thou relation that suffers no deterioration: it is the relation between man and the Eternal Thou, God. Buber does not attempt to demonstrate by philosophic proof that there is an Eternal Thou, for the Eternal Thou can only be recognized by one who is sensitive to it. God, the Eternal Thou, is not hidden but is present in every dialogic situation and speaks through it; He is not encountered in supernatural occurrences but in the events of everyday life. Buber finds this view of the Eternal Thou in Ḥasidism. The dialogue between man and God is not accomplished in isolation from life, but is best attained in the life of a community. To establish a community is a central Jewish task. Judaism is to be the community within which God dwells and it is to be the bearer of the kingdom of God. Buber's dialogic stance can also be seen in his account of revelation. He rejects the traditionalist view according to which the biblical account of revelation is literally true; but he also rejects the critical view according to which it is only symbolic. Revelation contains both history and symbol; it is the record of the meaning that the historical event had to the one experiencing and reporting it. Perhaps one of the most problematic parts of Buber's thought is his attitude toward Jewish law, on which he exchanged letters with Rosenzweig. As has been seen, Rosenzweig requires the serious study of Jewish law and the appropriation of as much of it as possible. Buber sees no such necessity. Since man's existential response to any given situation is primary, he can refer to a particular commandment if it speaks to that situation; but in itself the commandment has no special claim. Buber also differs from Rosenzweig in his conception of Christianity. Whereas Rosenzweig considered Judaism and Christianity parallel, Buber cannot accept the Christian claim. That the Messiah should have come, as Christianity claims, is inconceivable to the Jew; just as the Jew's stubborn refusal to believe that the Messiah has already come is unintelligible to the Christians.

[Arthur Hyman]

Developments in the Late 20th Century

THE JEWISH PEOPLE. The focus of Jewish philosophy in the late 20th century was neither God nor the individual, but the Jewish people. A generation after the Holocaust and the proclamation of the State of Israel, Jewish thinkers – in the Diaspora and in Israel – are urgently inquiring into the meaning and purpose of Jewish peoplehood.

TWO DIASPORA THINKERS. In North America Emil *Fackenheim published a bold programmatic work, *Encounters Between Judaism and Modern Philosophy: a Preface to Future Jewish Thought* (1973). In it he charges that modern Western philosophy – in its British empiricist, Kantian, Hegelian, and existentialist traditions – has, despite its aim of universality and impartiality, been prejudiced in favor of Christianity and against Judaism. To liberate Judaism from such Christian prejudices, Fackenheim stages a series of merciless encounters between Judaism and modern philosophy. The result of these encounters is not only a critique of modern Western philosophy, but an indictment of modern Western civilization. Fackenheim vigorously turns the tables on modern Western civilization, which had assumed that it could fairly judge Judaism. "Ever since the Nazi Holocaust," he declares, "it is Western civilization that is on trial" (p. 5).

Fackenheim argues, among other things, that modern Western philosophy has generally failed to recognize that Judaism, unlike Christianity, is a religion not of individuals but of a people, and that unlike Christianity its driving eschatological hope is not the salvation of souls in the hereafter but the Messianic redemption in history. The faith of the Jewish people, he emphasizes, has its stake in history.

It is precisely on the grounds of history that Fackenheim launches his frontal attack on modern Western philosophy. He contends that modern Western philosophy, with its notions of "enlightenment" and "progress," has been unable to come to terms with modern history: it has been wholly unable to comprehend the radical evil of Nazism. Even Hegel, "the greatest modern Christian philosopher" (p. 81), left no room in his description of the modern world for the appearance of radical anti-Spirit (p. 157).

Judaism, however, with its biblical and rabbinic categories, can recognize Nazism for what it is: idolatry, the idolatry of *Volk* and *Führer*, "the most horrendous idolatry of modern time and, perhaps, of all times" (p. 175). Citing the rabbinic dictum, "one who repudiates idolatry is as though he were faithful to the whole Torah," Fackenheim describes Judaism as the "uncompromising opposition to idolatry" (pp. 173, 189). It follows for him that the radical manifestation of idolatry in Nazi Europe demands one clear Jewish response: a radical commitment to remain a Jew, which constitutes a witness against modern idolatry. According to Fackenheim, such a post-Holocaust commitment to remain a Jew, whether "secular" or "religious" demands a *secular* self-reliance in the face of God's inaction and silence, but it also demands a *religious* hope, if not in the traditionally awaited Messianic redemption, then at least in a future in which no second Holocaust will occur. The faith of the Jewish people thus continues to have its stake in history. Fackenheim further argues that the "commingling of religiosity and secularity" today characterizes not only the individual Jew, but also the State of Israel, which is "collectively what the survivor is individually" (p. 167).

In a number of passionate lectures and essays, Fackenheim elaborated on his conviction that the Jewish response commanded by the Holocaust is the *commitment of the Jewish people to life*, a commitment whose chief expression is the existence of the State of Israel, and whose theme is "I shall not die but live, and declare the works of God" (Ps. 118:17). (See "Israel and the Diaspora *or* The Shofar of Rabbi Yitzchak Finkler of Piotrkov," *The Yaacov Herzog Memorial Lecture*, McGill University, Montreal, 1974.)

In France, Emmanuel *Lévinas published a revised edition of his *Difficile Liberté* (1976). This second edition contains several new essays and omits some dated material. Lévinas' discussion of the place of Judaism in contemporary society is similarly connected with a severe judgment on modern western civilization. He speaks of "a crisis of humanism" in the West brought on by the inhuman events of our century. Post-Hitlerian man, in his desire for autonomy, has indiscriminately sought liberty everywhere, until he has finally liberated himself from responsibility to others and has fallen into a lawless, egoistic anti-humanism. Judaism, by contrast, is the "extreme humanism of a God who demands much of man." This humanism of Judaism is founded on the biblical doctrine of "the irreducibility and the supremacy" of man, and on the difficult liberty "engraved on the Tablets of the Law" (see Avot 6:2). Judaism, Lévinas insists, is intransigently ethical and social. "Jewish man [unlike Heidegger!] discovers man before he discovers landscapes…": he first encounters Being when he encounters the naked human *face* of the other (pp. 40, 45, 364–65). Understood so, Judaism represents a defiant challenge to contemporary anti-humanism.

Lévinas's focus on ethics and society leads him to emphasize the significance of Jewish peoplehood. Judaism, he explains, does not mean a spiritualized or interiorized "humanism without nation" or "idealism without danger" (p. 288); rather, it is the destiny, the responsibility, the obligation of the Jewish people. The State of Israel, built out of the passion to recommence after all had been consumed, bears witness to the will of Jews to expose themselves to danger, and to sacrifice themselves, in order to confront their responsibility and obligation. "The Zionist dream – which issued from the most faithful, the most durable, and the most improbable of nostalgias – went back to the very sources of Revelation, and was an echo to the highest expectations" (p. 286).

Judaism, concedes Lévinas (p. 42), may today refer to a "culture" or even to a faint "sensibility," but he insists that in its foundation Judaism remains a religion, whose divine – and therefore humanistic! – Law, the Torah, is making supreme ethical and social demands, here and now on the individual Jew, on the Jewish people, and on the State of Israel.

FIVE ISRAELI THINKERS. In Israel, several thinkers emerged, addressing themselves mainly to questions concerning Jewish peoplehood in general, and Zionism in particular.

The book which caused the most controversy was Yeshayahu *Leibowitz' *Yahadut, Am Yehudi, u-Medinat Yisrael* ("Judaism, Jewish People, and The State of Israel," 1975), a collection of essays and topical lectures from 1943 to 1974. Leibowitz, whose approach to Judaism is heavily influenced by Maimonides, has argued consistently throughout the years that Judaism knows only one value: the service of God out of love, as expressed in the Torah and the commandments. It therefore follows, for him, that the Jewish state is not a value in itself. He even goes so far as to contend that "seeing the state as a value is the essence of the fascist conception" (pp. 181, 243, 270). To his mind, no state should ever be considered as more than an instrument. Similarly, he argues, the Jewish people should not be considered a value in itself. He thus freely criticizes "the sacred cow of national unity" (pp. 188, 273), noting that the Jewish religion – that is, the Torah and the commandments – has always divided the Jewish people (prophets vs. kings, pietists vs. Hellenists, Rabbinites vs. Karaites, religionists vs. secularists).

Zionism, as understood by Leibowitz, is a political, not a religious phenomenon. Its aim was to liberate the Jewish nation from the rule of the Gentiles and to achieve for it independence in its Land. This political aim having been spectacularly achieved, the only meaning today of Zionism lies in the strengthening of the bonds between the independent nucleus of the Jewish people and the majority of the people who still live dispersed among the nations (pp. 245–48). Zionism, according to Leibowitz, cannot be considered a religious phenomenon, since its adherents – many of whom were heretics or atheists – were not as a whole motivated by the intention of serving God. Religious significance, he stresses, presupposes intention, and thus cannot be assigned retroactively (p. 404). Denying religious significance to Zionism, he also denies Messianic meaning to the State of Israel. Time and again he quotes Maimonides' admonition (*Hilkhot Melakhim* 12:2) that one ought not to preoccupy himself with the rabbinic homilies concerning the Messiah since "they lead neither to fear [of God] nor to love [of Him]." He ferociously polemicizes against the "modern Sabbateanism" of those who turn religion into a means to justify nationalistic interests (e.g., the claim to all of Judea and Samaria), and for whom the "nation has become God, and the homeland Torah" (p. 271).

Yet, notwithstanding his denial of religious significance to Zionism and of Messianic significance to the State of Israel, Leibowitz declares that the renewal of Jewish independence in the Land of Israel has brought about a religious revolution. The religious significance of the Jewish state lies not in the political fact of its existence, but in the task with which it confronts and challenges the Jewish nation. He explains that in the Diaspora the Jews were not responsible for the political, social, and economic factors of the world in which they lived, and so the Torah did not have the opportunity to deal with the fundamentals of actual human existence. "Now – and only now, with the attainment of the independence of the Jewish nation – will Judaism be tested, as to whether indeed it has a 'Torah of life' in its hand" (p. 96).

For Leibowitz, therefore, the religious significance of the State of Israel lies in the fact that it provides a framework for the struggle on behalf of the Torah. It is the struggle, not the state, which has intrinsic value. "Certainly there is no guarantee … that the struggle on behalf of the Torah within the framework of the state will be crowned with success, but even so we are not free to desist from it, for this struggle is itself a supreme religious value, independent of its results" (p. 208).

Detesting Messianic euphoria, Leibowitz teaches a hard-nosed political Zionism, and a heroic, infinitely demanding Judaism.

Another book which has roused wide discussion in Israel on the question of Jewish peoplehood and Zionism is *Devarim Bego* ("Explications and Implications," 1975), a potpourri of essays written over a span of more than half a century by Gershom G. *Scholem, the world-renowned expert in the history of Kabbalah and Jewish mysticism. Among these essays are not only erudite studies on various aspects of Jewish thought, but also recent original enquiries into the meaning of Judaism and Zionism. Some of the essays appeared also in an important English collection, *On Jews and Judaism in Crisis* (1976).

In "Israel and the Diaspora" (which appears in both volumes), Scholem asks whether Zionism ought to be seen as a rebellion against the previous life of the Jewish people, or as the historical continuation of that life. His answer is that though Zionism is both, its most important aspect is that of continuation. "We [Israelis] are first and foremost Jews, and we are Israelis as a manifestation of our Judaism." He calls for "a synthesis between tradition and the new values growing out of the reality of the Jewish people in Israel." As a corollary to his giving precedence to Jewish peoplehood over Israeli nationhood, he sees Israel and the Diaspora as "two partners," and he pleads for the building of bridges between them. The strongest bond today between them, he believes, is not tradition or religion, but the unfathomable trauma of the Holocaust. It follows that the "common denominator" of Israel and the Diaspora is education, which must create a living Judaism, the synthesis of tradition and reality.

In "Reflections on Jewish Theology" (also included in both books), Scholem explores what such a "synthesis" would mean. Traditional Judaism, as he sees it, unfolded in three stages: The Bible, the rabbinic tradition, and the Kabbalah. He pointedly does not include the philosophic tradition (e.g., Saadiah, Maimonides, Crescas, Mendelssohn) which he considers to be merely "apologetic." According to him, Judaism is characterized by "religious concepts" like Creation, Revelation, and Redemption, and by "moral concepts" like the love and fear of God, humility, and sanctity. These "moral concepts" underlie the commandments of the Torah and constitute religious ethics. Secularization conflicts not only with the "religious concepts" but also with the "moral concepts," the latter being based on – or at least related to – the former. For example, sanctity has no secular meaning, for it points to "a teleology of Creation."

The implication of Scholem's analysis is that the decision for or against secularism determines whether it is possible to retain the traditional "religious ethics" of Judaism. Moreover, according to him, it also determines whether the goal of Zionism should be for Jews to be "a nation like all the nations" or "a holy nation." Scholem's position is unequivocal; he decides for religion against secularism; he argues in favor of retaining the religious ethics; and he champions a Zionism whose goal is "a holy nation" (cf. *On Jews*, pp. 36, 55).

Scholem, to be sure, does not advocate any current Orthodoxy, nor does he believe that the "religious concepts" of Creation, Revelation, and Redemption – which must be given meaning if Jewish religious ethics is to be founded – can be sustained today on the basis of the Bible, the rabbinic tradition, or even the Kabbalah. However, he seems to suggest that a fourth stage of Judaism is possible. This stage would come about in Zion out of the dialectic between Judaism and the secularized world. Judging from hints in Sholem's' writings, this stage will be a new – previously unimaginable – kind of mysticism, which will be able to re-interpret audaciously the "religious concepts" for tomorrow even as the Kabbalah had audaciously reinterpreted them for yesterday.

Scholem's Zionism is revolutionary in its vision of a new kind of holy community in Zion, while it is conservative in that the religious ethics of that community will at root be those of traditional Judaism. His Zionism is, indeed, fundamentally the historical continuation of the previous life of the Jewish people, but it is still in a meaningful sense a rebellion against that life. In his works on the Kabbalah, Scholem has shown how the great Kabbalists conservatively maintained the traditional religious concepts while reinterpreting them with a radical novelty which bordered on heresy. What he has found to have happened in the Kabbalah, he hopes will happen once again in Zion.

If Leibowitz's discussion of the fateful national questions confronting Jews today is propelled and guided by a mighty religious vision derived from Maimonides, and if Scholem's is propelled and guided by one derived from the Kabbalah, Nathan *Rotenstreich's – in sharp contrast – is controlled by sobriety, cautiousness, and a determination to avoid one-sidedness or tendentiousness. An eminent Kantian scholar and for many years recognized as one of the most serious Zionist theorists, Rotenstreich – always a prolific writer – published in the 1970s three books on contemporary Jewish issues: *Al ha-Kiyyum ha-Yehudi ba-Zeman ha-Zeh* (*On Contemporary Jewish Existence*, 1972); *Iyyunim ba-Ẓiyyonut ba-Zeman ha-Zeh* (*Studies in Contemporary Zionism*, 1977); and *Iyyunim ba-Maḥashavah ha-Yehudit ba-Zeman ha-Zeh* (*Studies in Contemporary Jewish Thought*, 1978).

At the center of Rotenstreich's discussions is the desire to understand the relationship between Jewish tradition and present Jewish existence. In order to do this, he seeks in *On Contemporary Jewish Existence* to clarify just what is Jewish tradition. Defining "tradition" as the network of beliefs, ideas, and lifestyles which precede the man living in the present, Rotenstreich notes the danger that, the more man identifies with tradition, the more he denies independent meaning to his present. Modern secular Judaism, including Zionism, is according to Rotenstreich a reaction against the dominance of the religious tradition in the Jewish community: it is an attempt to free the present from the domineering religious past, and to assert the present as an active independent historical factor. However, he argues, this reaction was an overreaction, for the religious elements in the Jewish tradition cannot be wholly denied if one wishes fully to participate in Jewish culture. Indeed, according to Rotenstreich, merely speaking Hebrew and living in the Land of the Bible force the modern Israeli to confront the Jewish religious tradition. But what elements in this tradition are indispensable? What meaning can this tradition have today for would-be "secular" Jews in the Diaspora and, more especially, in Israel?

In his *Studies in Contemporary Jewish Thought*, Rotenstreich tries to throw light on these questions by examining the approaches of several modern Jewish thinkers, including such major Orthodox figures as Abraham Isaac Kook, Joseph Dov Soloveitchik, and Yeshayahu Leibowitz. Ultimately, Rotenstreich – like Scholem – speaks about a dialectic between the religious past and the secular present. However, the weight he gives to the religious past is not nearly as great as that given it by Scholem. Rotenstreich speaks about "a modest, not a total, Renaissance of Judaism" (p. 37). He calls for an examination of the traditional Jewish sources in order to determine what elements in them are "relevant" to present Jewish existence. Since the determination of relevance to present Jewish existence presupposes an understanding of that existence, Rotenstreich maintains that the task of modern Jewish philosophy cannot be only, as in the past, the interpretation of the Jewish sources, but also the interpretation of present Jewish existence.

This interpretation of present Jewish existence is the purpose of *Studies in Contemporary Zionism*. Directing his attention to the relationship between Israel and the Diaspora, Rotenstreich argues that the brute facts of contemporary Jewish existence in the 1970s render problematic the time-worn metaphor of Israel's "centrality." From the cultural point of view, he explains, it is not clear that Israel is the center of the Jewish world, and in any case it has not become the ideal "spiritual center" envisioned by Aḥad Ha-Am. More significantly, he argues, Diaspora Jews in liberal democratic societies like the United States, who enjoy freedom and material comfort, and who on the whole have no desire to leave their homes and to immigrate to Israel, have – especially since the Yom Kippur War – come more and more to see their relationship to Israel as being based on their support for their brethren in distress. These Jews, notes Rotenstreich, are identifying not with the State of Israel, but with the plight of the Jews in Israel. They are, in other words, increasingly coming to think that Israel needs the Diaspora as a support more than the Diaspora needs Israel as a cultural center. Instead of the unrealistic metaphor of centrality, Rotenstreich advocates that of the birthright; Israel's right to priority over the Diaspora is not dependent on whether or not it happens to be seen as the cultural center but on the unequivocal fact that it alone represents the great effort of Jews to reenter history as a collective. Rotenstreich contends that the metaphor of the birthright is closer to classical Herzlian Zionism than that of centrality, because it stresses the significance of national sovereignty. Immigration to Israel, he concludes, is to the advantage even of the free and prosperous Western Jews, "if they want to serve the historical existence, and to prefer the struggle for the place of the Jewish people in the world over their own everyday existence" (pp. 50–51).

No holds are barred in Rotenstreich's thought, and classical Zionism is forced to grapple both with the traditional Jewish past and the difficult Jewish present.

Leibowitz, Scholem, and Rotenstreich, born in Europe, had formed their basic ideas on Judaism and Zionism before they arrived in the Land of Israel. Eliezer Schweid, on the other hand, is a sabra, and he has given eloquent and thoughtful expression to the crisis in Jewish identity which is acutely experienced by many native-born Israelis.

Schweid, who taught Jewish philosophy for years at The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, published numerous essays and books, among them: *Le'umiut Yehudit* ("Jewish Nationalism," 1972); *Ha-Yehudi ha-Boded ve-ha-Yahadut* ("Judaism and the Solitary Jew," 1974); *Beyn Ortodoksiah le-Humanizm Dati* ("Orthodoxy and Religious Humanism," 1977); *Toledot ha-Maḥashavah ha-Yehudit ba-Et ha-Ḥadashah* ("A History of Jewish Thought in Modern Times: Nineteenth Century," 1977); and *Demokratiah ve-Halakhah* ("Democracy and Halakhah," 1978).

In *Judaism and the Solitary Jew*, Schweid describes the predicament of the modern Jew who – like most Israelis – has been given a secular education and is largely ignorant of traditional Judaism. A typical modern man, the modern Jew is at first happy to be an individual, an atom in and of himself. He seeks freedom from external limitations, from commitments to his family, to his nation, to his past, to his Jewishness. His atomism, however, is soon undermined by such existential questions such as, "How shall I educate my children?" He then realizes that his break with his Jewishness has caused him to be limited by a lack of cultural plenitude, which in turn limits his freedom, his creativity, and his self-respect. He realizes, in short, that in his striving to free himself from limitations, he has paradoxically been limiting himself!

It is, thus, the awareness of cultural deprivation which, according to Schweid, leads the modern Jew to reject individualism, and to seek out the Jewish community. He discovers, however, that there is today no one Jewish community, but many fragmented communities, none offering the cultural wealth he needs. Frustrated in his vital search for community, the modern Jew – no longer happy to be an individual – experiences dire alienation, and becomes "the solitary Jew."

In trying to recover his national identity, the modern solitary Jew, according to Schweid's analysis, finds himself in at least one respect in a better position than his modern solitary European counterpart. For his Jewish nationalism, like other ancient nationalisms, is rooted in religion, that is, it is essentially cultural and spiritual; while European nationalisms (having been deprived of their distinctive religious content by the supra-national medieval Church) are rooted in nothing but the state. However, just because it is essentially religious, Jewish nationalism poses a problem for the modern solitary Jew which European nationalism does not pose for the modern solitary European. The modern Jew seeks to embrace his Jewish national tradition, but finds it beyond reach, because it is a religious tradition, and he – as modern man – has no faith. The existential predicament of the modern solitary Jew thus turns into a problem of faith in God. Here, however, Schweid argues dramatically that the very decision of the solitary Jew to break out of his individualism and to affirm his familial, communal, and national commitments is already an expression of faith in God because it is an expression of faith in life in its totality, and the beginning and the end of all true faith is itself faith in God!

Having argued that religion is possible for the modern solitary Jew, Schweid now finds himself faced with the same question posed by Scholem and Rotenstreich: What is Judaism? His answer is: "Judaism is Scripture, Mishnah, Talmud, Midrash, medieval scriptural and rabbinic exegesis, the responsa literature, the philosophic and kabbalistic speculative literature, and even modern literature in all its genre, including the belletristic, to the extent that it is based on the previous sources and related to them"(p. 91). All these sources are, for Schweid, "Torah," and Judaism is, in one word, Torah.

It is a fact, however, contends Schweid, that the Torah and the national life have in modern times been tragically ripped asunder. To reunite them requires audacious innovation, no less audacious than the innovation of the Mishnah over against the Bible, or of the Gemara over against the Mishnah, or of the medieval speculative literature over against biblical and rabbinic literature. His call for an audacious revival of Judaism is thus similar to Scholem's (but without the kabbalistic bias), and in obvious contrast to Rotenstreich's measured call for "a modest renaissance."

But whence is this audacity to come? Orthodoxy, Schweid laments, has not been sufficiently open to the new life of the Jewish nation, and thus has been incapable of the audacity requisite for renewing the Torah. In an attempt to understand whether such audacity might be possible, Schweid has investigated the history of modern Orthodox thought. He believes that he has found an example of openness to modernity and *halakhic* audacity in Ḥayyim *Hirschensohn, whose views he analyzes in *Democracy and Halakhah*.

Schweid's thought, which begins with modern secular individualism and moves through secular nationalism toward a yet unrealized religious nationalism, poses a powerful challenge both to the Jewish secularist and to the Jewish religionist.

If Schweid raises questions of Judaism and Zionism from the point of view of a sabra, André Neher's *U-ve-khol Zot: Nevertheless* (1977) raises them from that of a recent immigrant. *Nevertheless* is the first Hebrew collection of essays published by the noted French-Jewish existentialist, who immigrated to Israel after the Six-Day War. It contains analyses of biblical and contemporary themes and reflections on his *aliyah*.

In France, he remarks, he had loved Jerusalem from afar, as one dreams of a distant fiancée, but now he has joyously consummated the marriage (p. 216). Having left the rich universal culture of France, Neher asks whether the move to Jerusalem might not cut him off from humanity as a whole and harness him to "the particularism of the solitary Jew" (p. 218). His reply, citing Judah Halevi, is that the Jewish people is the heart of universal human history, and Jerusalem the heart of the Jewish people. In Jerusalem, where God is worshipped by

Jews, Christians, and Muslims, the utopian, Messianic, universalistic vision of Isaiah is being realized every day: "My house shall be called a house of prayer for all peoples" (Isa. 56:7). The culture of France is a universal one, but that of Jerusalem is much more so!

Neher's discussions of contemporary Israel are permeated with a powerful consciousness of Jewish history and vocation. In immigrating to Israel, he chose to go up on the King's highway, "the highway of the God who acts in world history and in the history of the Jewish people" (p. 57). According to him, the Six-Day War – preceded by days of anxiety and concluded with victory – wrought a revolution in modern Jewish existence by uniting Jews and strengthening their ties to Judaism. Again, according to him, the Yom Kippur War – which began when Israel's enemies, after the old antisemitic pattern, struck on the holiest of Jewish days, and throughout which Israel stood in dreadful isolation, and which in all this recalled the horror of the Holocaust – painfully emphasized that the State of Israel must be seen in the perspective of "the metaphysics of Jewish history." However, the awareness that in Jewish history holiness has often been bound up with tragedy does not, for Neher, mean that hope should give way to fatalism. We, the builders of the Third Commonwealth, must, like our forefathers who built the Second Commonwealth, affirm "Nevertheless" (Neh. 10:1), and apply ourselves to our task in faith (p. 19).

Neher does not think that any good will come of the current attempts to find a definition of Jewishness. Judaism cannot be defined, because it points to the infinite. "I am a Jew not only in accordance with how I see myself. Nor only in accordance with how I am seen by others. I am a Jew in accordance with how I am seen by God!" (pp. 29, 45).

Common to the thought of Leibowitz, Scholem, Rotenstreich, Schweid, and Neher is the conviction that Israeli nationhood has meaning only within the framework of Jewish peoplehood. This conviction, moreover, seems to reflect popular feeling in Israel today. Israelis seem more and more to be defining themselves as "Jews first, Israelis second." The once fashionable slogan "I am an Israeli not a Jew" is rarely heard today. Israelis now generally see their future as tied not to that of their Arab neighbors but to that of Diaspora Jewry. The Aḥad Ha-Amian vision of Zionism as the evolutionary continuation of previous Jewish history and traditional Jewish values seems to have almost completely obscured the Berdyczewskian vision of Zionism as the revolutionary break with previous Jewish history, the transvaluation of Jewish values, and the creation of something radically new. Over the past half-dozen years, there hardly has been any serious effort to argue the primacy of Israeli nationhood over Jewish peoplehood. One notable exception is A.B. Yehoshua's essay, "A Return to Ideology" (*BiTefuẓot ha-Golah*, Winter 1975). Needless to add, the Canaanite movement of Yonatan Ratosh has today no appreciable following. It is not yet clear whether the growing assimilation of Israeli nationhood to Jewish peoplehood is to be understood as a negative or a positive phenomenon. It may, of course, be understood as a sign of Israeli insecurity and weakness, that is, as failure of nerve, whose etiology is in the trauma of the Holocaust, but which was aggravated by the awful days of isolation before the Six-Day War, and which was brought to a critical state by the shock of the Yom Kippur War. However, it may also be understood as a sign that the Jews in the Land of Israel, having achieved political independence, are now ready to recapture and to renew their ancient, sacred heritage.

JEWISH LAW – *HALAKHAH*. A second question which, after that of Jewish peoplehood, has occupied Jewish philosophers over the past half dozen years, is that of Jewish law, the *halakhah*. To some extent, the current interest of Jewish philosophers in the *halakhah* has itself grown out of their interest in Jewish peoplehood. Rotenstreich, for example, was led by his analysis of Jewish peoplehood to examine some problems concerning the *halakhah* in his *Studies in Contemporary Jewish Thought*, and Schweid was led by his analysis of Jewish peoplehood to write his *Democracy and Halakhah*. However, it would surely be an exaggeration to say that the current philosophic interest in the nature of the *halakhah* is entirely the product of a prior philosophic interest in the nature of Jewish peoplehood. In recent years, particularly in North America, there has been a growing interest among many Jews in the spiritual significance of the *halakhah*. This interest has manifested itself even in the Reform camp, where various attempts are now being made to create a "Reform *halakhah.*"

Recent philosophic discussion concerning the nature of the *halakhah* has been largely inspired by the work of Joseph B. Soloveitchik and Yeshayahu Leibowitz. Soloveitchik has sought to describe the *halakhah* as a conceptual system which, analogous to mathematical physics, is both related to the world and yet self-contained, and he has sought to describe the halakhist as autonomous, creative, and free (see e.g., Lawrence Kaplan, "The Religious Philosophy of Rabbi Joseph Soloveitchik," *Tradition*, vol. XIV, Fall 1973). Leibowitz has sought to distinguish the *halakhah* from other phenomena, particularly from ethics and secular civil law.

One stimulating contribution to the philosophic discussion of the *halakhah* is *Maimonides: Torah and Philosophic Quest* (1976), by David Hartman, a student of Soloveitchik, who served for 15 years as a rabbi in Montreal and then taught Jewish philosophy at The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, during which time he also founded and headed the Shalom Hartman Institute. His book, ostensibly about Maimonides, is better seen as a new Maimonidean attempt to recapture the spiritual sensitivity of the *halakhah*. According to Hartman's Maimonidean analysis, the *halakhah* is based on the universal human aspirations of the love and knowledge of God, and seeks to create a moral, historically conscious *community* in which these aspirations may be realized. The *halakhah* is thus seen as operating simultaneously on spiritual and political levels. Hartman believes that the philosophic analysis of the *halakhah* has particular significance in the light of the political renaissance of the Jewish people in the land of Israel and expresses the hope that his book "will encourage renewed discussion on the political implications of halakhic thought" (p. x). He has pursued the themes of *halakhah* and community in several essays (see, e.g., his "*Halakhah* as a Ground for Creating a Shared Spiritual Language," *Tradition*, vol. 16, Summer 1976).

However, philosophizing about *halakhah* has not been confined to its advocates. In his highly polemical *Teokratiah Yehudit* ("Jewish Theocracy," 1976), Gershon Weiler, professor of philosophy at Tel Aviv University, and a zealous secularist, argued that the *halakhah* is in irreconcilable opposition to the modern state, and that consequently the Jewish religion is subversive to the State of Israel. Not surprisingly, Weiler's book roused violent antagonism among religionists, who charged that Weiler, who has no formal training in rabbinics, should never have written a book about a subject of which he is flagrantly ignorant. Criticism of the book, unfortunately, became in the main a hunt for errors of fact, misunderstandings of texts, and other mistakes, and thus avoided confrontation with Weiler's main thesis. Yet it cannot be denied that *Jewish Theocracy* is – despite its author's intent – an invitation to renew discussion on the political implications of halakhic thought.

Recent philosophic interest in the *halakhah* has also been connected with new developments in the discipline of the philosophy of law, which in the past two decades has been given increasing attention, especially in Britain and America, but also on the continent. Several young Jewish philosophers, involved in the fruitful work going on in this discipline, have begun to apply its methodology to the study of the *halakhah*. They are raising questions concerning obligation, responsibility, rights, intention, freedom, justice, fairness, equity, and so on (see, e.g., Yehuda Melzer's essay and Yeshayahu Leibowitz's reply to it in *Iyyun*, 23 (Oct. 1975)). Mention should be made here of the excellent work being carried out in the clarification of legal concepts of the *halakhah* by Aharon Lichtenstein, an eminent disciple (and son-in-law) of Soloveitchik and head of the Har-Eẓion Yeshivah in Israel (see, e.g., his essay in Marvin Fox, ed., *Modern Jewish Ethics*, 1975). Yet the analysis of the *halakhah* in terms of the philosophy of law remains an almost virgin field. Perhaps it will have to be plowed before any progress can be made toward the audacious renaissance of Judaism called for by Scholem and Schweid, or maybe even before any progress can be made toward the "modest renaissance" called for by Rotenstreich.

MAN'S RELATIONSHIP WITH GOD. With Jewish philosophic activity focused primarily on the question of Jewish peoplehood and secondarily on that of Jewish law, the existential questions concerning man's relationship with God have during the past half-dozen years receded into the background. Yet it has been precisely these questions which until recently have most occupied 20th century Jewish philosophers, and which indeed have most enriched 20th-century Jewish philosophy. Ever since Martin Buber's early publications more than 70 years ago, modern Jewish philosophy has been in large measure under the dual influence of Ḥasidism and existentialism. One of the most popular and compelling of those Jewish philosophers to write under the influence of Ḥasidism and existentialism was Abraham Joshua *Heschel (1907–72). Himself a descendant of distinguished ḥasidic rabbis, Heschel developed an exciting philosophy of Judaism rooted in ḥasidic mysticism and Kierkegaardian existentialism. His writings ranged over Bible, rabbinics, medieval Jewish philosophy, Kabbalah, Ḥasidism, Yiddish culture, religious existentialism, and Zionism. Yet it may be that there is no more suitable introduction to his lifework than his two posthumous publications: *Kotzk: In Gerangl far Emesdikeit* ("Kotzk: The Struggle for Integrity," 1973), a two-volume study in Yiddish of the mysterious ḥasidic master, Rabbi Menahem Mendl of Kotzk, known as "the Kotzker"; and *A Passion for Truth* (1973), an English condensation of the Yiddish study. In these works, Heschel recalls the ḥasidic teachings which he had learned as a youth, and which underlie his mature thought. It seems proper to conclude this summary of the past half-dozen years of Jewish philosophy with a discussion of Heschel's portrait of the Kotzker.

Heschel speaks of a struggle which has raged within him since his youth between the Ba'al Shem Tov (c. 1690–1760), the founder of Ḥasidism, and the Kotzker (1787–1859). The Kotzker, he writes, was both the climax and the revolutionary antithesis of the ḥasidic movement (*A Passion*, p. 10). To Heschel, the Ba'al Shem Tov meant love, while the Kotzker meant truth. The Ba'al Shem Tov meant "emphasized love, joy, and compassion for this world," while the Kotzker "demanded constant tension and unmitigated militancy" and "insisted … that to get to the truth a man must go against himself and society" (pp. 10–11). The Ba'al Shem Tov "dwelled in my life like a lamp, while the Kotzker struck like lightning" (p. xv). The Kotzker reminded Heschel of the Prophets of Israel (pp. 10, 15, 307–10), or perhaps it would be more accurate to say that the example of the Kotzker taught Heschel how to appreciate the Prophets. The image of the Kotzker which arises from Heschel's study is similar to the image of the prophet which arises from his celebrated work, *The Prophets*. The Kotzker was "anti-social, shocking, an enemy to all established convention and propriety"; he sought "to jolt minds out of their complacency … to unsettle, to question accepted habits of thought"; he "held moral cowards in contempt"; he was ruthless in his demand for honesty and justice; he was disgusted by egoism and had no patience for those who sought in religion their own personal salvation; and he insisted that "man was created to exalt Heavens!" (pp. 263–67, 310–11), In *The Prophets*, Heschel had written of the phenomenon of "moral madness," and he reverts to this theme. He explains that the man of moral and religious sensitivity, who refuses to ignore the mendacity and cruelty of society, and who seeks to bring about radical social change, lives under unbearable tensions, and finds it impossible to be comfortable and happy while others are suffering and oppressed. Moral and religious sensitivity, argues Heschel, may thus cause madness, a madness which might be the only normal reaction to "the madness that has overtaken so-called normal society" (pp. 205–08, 313).

Heschel also compares the Kotzker with his contemporary, the Danish Christian existentialist Søren Kierkegaard. He observes that both took the concrete existence of individual man as the basis of their approach to reality; both gave the will predominance over the intellect; both "knew that faith constituted a demand rather than a consolation or comfort; both held that the goal and requirements of faith must not be adapted to the weakness of human nature, but that human nature must be raised to a level of greatness; and both contended that "the essence of religion is warfare … against spiritual inertia, indolence, callousness" (pp. 108, 120, 124–25, 183). Heschel also calls attention to differences between the Kotzker and Kierkegaard, and argues that these are mostly due to differences between Judaism and Christianity. For example, while both suffered intense agony, the Christian Kierkegaard's agony was rooted in a sense of guilt due to Original Sin, while the Jewish Kotzker – who, of course, did not accept the dogma of the Original Sin – was "plagued by a more radical agony, the awareness that God was ultimately responsible for the hideousness of human mendacity" (p. 256). Heschel seems here to be suggesting that the doctrine of Original Sin prevents the Christian from radically confronting existence, and thus true religious existentialism is impossible in Christianity, but possible in Judaism. Throughout all his writings, Heschel has presented a Judaism which teaches man to love life and to rejoice in the world, but which at the same time exposes him to existence in all its agony and sublimity. Judaism, for Heschel, is at one and the same time the Ba'al Shem Tov and the Kotzker.

A Passion for Truth, like Heschel's other English works, is written in an aphoristic, poetic style, whose easy readability contrasts with the difficult, sometimes frightful, thoughts it expresses. The two-volume Yiddish work is written in a beautiful Yiddish, rich in rabbinic Hebrew elements, and is an expression of Heschel's love for the language and his desire to contribute to its philosophic literature.

[Warren Zev Harvey (2nd ed.)]

WOMEN AND GENDER IN JEWISH PHILOSOPHY

Gender has not been considered relevant to Jewish philosophy, even though Jewish philosophers held strong beliefs about women and some philosophers employed "the feminine" as a central trope of their philosophy of Judaism. Under the impact of feminism, however, new attention has been paid to gendered language in Jewish philosophy, its hidden philosophical assumptions, and socio-cultural implications. The new research has documented the extent to which philosophy contributed to the negative perception of women, thereby adding to the marginalization of women in traditional Jewish society. In addition to exposing the gender inflection of Jewish philosophy, a few feminist Jewish philosophers have also proposed new approaches to *halakhah* that call for inclusion of women in the interpretative process and prescribe egalitarianism. Despite these innovative efforts, a systematic engagement of Jewish philosophy with feminist philosophy is still in its early stages, and only time will tell if feminist philosophy will enrich Jewish philosophy as an academic discipline and as a constructive endeavor.

Jewish Philosophy in Antiquity

Interestingly, gender stood at the foundation of the Jewish philosophical tradition, because in the Bible wisdom (*ḥokhmah*) was personified as a female. Feminine wisdom is the ideal which the male lover of wisdom seeks to obtain through the devotion to learning. Given the gender difference between the pursuer of wisdom and his goal, the pursuit of wisdom was couched in erotic terms and obtaining wisdom was expressed in metaphors of conjugal union. The feminization of wisdom reflected a certain social reality of patriarchy in ancient Israel as much as it prescribed certain social norms and attitudes. Because the pursuit of wisdom was perceived as masculine activity, in ancient Israel the learned elites of priests, scribes, and sages comprised men only.

The origins of the feminine portrayal of Wisdom cannot be determined with certainty. It is very possible that the Egyptian belief in Maat, the cosmic order of the universe which was identified with the goddess Isis, was the immediate source of Proverbs 8 and Ben Sira 24, because the cult of Maat/Isis was very popular in the Ptolemaic period during which the biblical canon received its final form. However, Ben Sira gave it a Jewish coloration when he equated Wisdom, who was with God at the creation of the world, with the Torah of the sacred tradition. In the Wisdom of Solomon, Lady Wisdom was depicted as a principle of order that "reaches mightily from one end of the earth to the other, and She orders all things well" (8:1). In a language that suggests familiarity with Neo-Pythagoreanism and Middle Platonism, the author turns wisdom into a hypostasis, an emanation of God's glory that acts as His agent in creation, pervading the entire cosmos while remaining intimately close to God (7:24; 8:1, 3). Wisdom is identical with the divine mind through which God acts (9:9) and contains the paradigmatic patterns of all things (9:8). In this sense, Wisdom is identical with divine providence over the created cosmos. Because Wisdom is personified as a female, the male lover of wisdom makes her his "bride" and "spouse," enjoying intimate kingship with her (8:9; 7:28; 8:16). Since Wisdom is an attribute of God, intimacy with her entails a mystical union with God. Earthly women, however, could either hamper the attainment of this lofty goal or assist it. Thus Proverbs 7:6–21 depicts the "strange woman" as a seductive female who steers the young student of wisdom away from the "straight path," while her antagonist, the "woman of virtue" (Pr. 31:10–31), represents the diligent woman with good managerial skills who frees her husband to study Torah and devote life to the pursuit of wisdom. These negative and positive stereotypes of women were perpetuated throughout the Jewish philosophical tradition in commentaries written on Proverbs during the Middle Ages.

*Philo of Alexandria (15 B.C.E.–ca. 50 C.E.) drew on Jewish Wisdom tradition while being immersed in Greek and Hellenistic philosophy. Philo was the first to offer a systematic allegorical interpretation of the Bible in light of Greek philosophy. With Philo began the allegorical reading of the creation narrative in Genesis whose inner meaning was understood in psychological categories: biblical "Adam" and "Eve" represent the powers of the human soul (*Allegorical Interpretation of Genesis*, II, 18.37; Sarah Pessin "Loss, Presence, and Gabirol's Desire: Medieval Jewish Philosophy and the Possibility of a Feminist Ground," in *Women and Gender in Jewish Philosophy* (2004), pp. 34–38). For Philo, "Adam" is a figurative expression of the rational part of the soul, whereas "Eve" represents sense perception that gives rise to the passion, hence she is referred to as "the mother of passion." The main passion, pleasure, is symbolized by the serpent (*naḥash*), who is the main obstacle for the pursuit of wisdom. For Philo both sense and passion are irrational aspects of the soul that must be subordinated to reason, whose activities are portrayed in masculine terms. As ruler, the reasoning aspect of the soul emerges as authoritarian and controlling, the "husband" and "father" who as lord of the household must keep the wife and children in line, namely Eve and her daughters, the passions.

According to Philo not only is the pursuit of wisdom the exclusive domain of men, reason itself is masculine in contrast to the feminine aspects of humanity, sensation and desire. These gender paradigms pertain not only to the powers of the human soul but also to society: reason belongs to the intellectual few, whereas the passions are associated with the vulgar masses. As much as the philosophical life necessitates the control of the (feminine) passions by (masculine) reason, so do the masses need to be controlled by the philosopher-ruler, because they are prone to fall under the sway of the passions. All hierarchical relations (in the individual, the society, and the cosmos) are expressed in gender categories where the ruler is always male and masculine traits constituted the ideal, and, conversely, the ruled is always female and feminine traits are viewed necessarily as short of the ideal. Despite these hierarchies, and almost against his will, Philo discusses an actual egalitarian community of Jewish contemplatives, the Theraputae of Lake Mareotis in which women devoted themselves to the life of wisdom alongside men (*The Contemplative Life*, VIII: 68–69).

Medieval Jewish Philosophy

While Jewish philosophers in the Middle Ages did not have direct access to Philo's works, they perpetuated many of the themes and assumptions of his gendered metaphysics and anthropology. When Jewish philosophers reflected about the human species they referred to it by the universal 'Man,' taking for granted that the male of the species is the standard of the human species as a whole. The female of the human species was deemed to be less than the male on account of her defective rationality. Whether the perception of women as intellectual inferior was caused by the exclusion of women from Torah study in rabbinic Judaism, or rather by the influence of Greek and Hellenistic philosophy (for example, Aristotle in *Generation of Animals* I, 20:727a 15; II, 4:737a 25; *Politics* I, 13:1260a 12–14) cannot be easily determined. Nevertheless, even though medieval Jewish philosophers assumed that the philosophical life is for men only, their use of gender categories, "femininity" and "masculinity," was rather flexible. A given entity could be regarded as "feminine" in one context and as "masculine" in another, determined by its function: whatever was active was considered to be "masculine," while that which was passive, or being acted upon, was considered "feminine." This gendered metaphysics was presupposed by all medieval Jewish philosophers, whether they endorsed a Neoplatonic schema or an Aristotelian one.

In the Neoplatonic strand of Jewish philosophy gender configured in psychological theories. Since the seeker of wisdom was always male, it is no coincidence that the human soul of the male philosopher was always referred to as female. This gendered language was further exacerbated by the fact that in Hebrew all nouns referring to the soul (i.e., *nefesh*, *ruaḥ*, and *neshamah*) are feminine terms. Nonetheless, even though the human soul was always taken to be female, it could function in "masculine" or "feminine" ways: toward the body, the soul acts as a masculine power, ruling it and governing it so as to ensure proper behavior. By contrast, vis-à-vis the (masculine) God of Israel, the human soul in a "feminine" way when she receives the divine efflux by virtue of which one acquires knowledge and wisdom. Not surprisingly, Neoplatonic Jewish philosophers such as Moses *Ibn Ezra, *Solomon ibn *Gabirol, and *Judah Halevi, who developed systematic philosophical anthropology, also produced powerful religious poetry that expresses the yearning of the feminine soul to unite with God. However, in regard to corporeal women, Neoplatonic Jewish philosophers saw them *as a class* to be intellectually deficient. For example, *Bahya ibn Pakuda explains the revelation of the Law as follows: the revealed Law is necessary for the "education and management [of Man] to help him overcome his desires until he grows up and his mind strengthens. The same is true of women and the weak-minded among men, both of whom cannot be easily managed by the mind because its rule is impotent over them. They need a moderate rule, one they can bear without being impossible for them to grasp." (*Duties of the Heart*, ed. Menachem (1973), p. 187) For Baḥya, and Saadiah Gaon before him, all women are intellectually deficient and require divine revelation to make known truths that are beyond their limited intellectual competence.

In medieval Jewish Aristotelian philosophy the binary relationship between the active vs. passive principles was given a general abstract formulation in the metaphysics of matter and form. All existents are comprised of matter and form, where matter signifies that a thing is, namely its corporeality, and form signifies what a thing is, namely, its essence. By identifying form with male and matter with female, the Jewish

Aristotelians made gender categories more rigid, shaping an entire range of gender stereotypes. Matter was believed to be inherently unstable and unable to exist by itself without form, and in turn, form was said to give matter its identity. When this gendered metaphysics was applied to men and women, it lent support to the claim that men must rule over women and that marriage is the ideal institution for the social relations between the sexes.

*Maimonides was the first Jewish philosopher to apply this gendered metaphysics to Scriptural interpretation, beginning with the creation narrative of Genesis. Reading Scripture allegorically, Maimonides identifies "Adam" as the form of the human species, whereas "Eve" stands for matter. Prior to the sin of disobedience Adam was engaged in contemplation of truth, but the separation between matter and form in the sin entailed an epistemic shift to moral distinction between good and bad (Guide I, 2; I, 6; I, 17). "Eve," the material dimension of the first being represents the cause of the sin and, more broadly, the life governed by passions which is characteristic of ordinary human beings. In Guide II, 30 Maimonides elaborated on his philosophical anthropology identifying the imagination with femaleness. Reading the Genesis narrative in light of Genesis Rabbah 8:1 and Midrash Pirqey Eliezer 13, Maimonides suggests that the "serpent" is the appetitive power that was controlled by the imagination (represented in the Midrash as Samael), that tempted Eve (i.e., matter) to irrationally desire and even lust after the fruit of the forbidden Tree of Knowledge Good and Evil (Sarah Klein-Braslavy, *Maimonides' Interpretation of the Adam Stories* (1986), pp. 209–26). In Maimonides' interpretation of Genesis, when Eve was separated from Adam, the power of imagination was no longer controlled by reason. As a result, Adam shifted away from contemplation of truth to moral knowledge of good and bad, which is of lower epistemic level. The goal of human life, therefore, is to regain the form of the human species, which had been lost in the sin of disobedience, by perfecting the human intellect through the study of philosophy. The resulting intellectual perfection ensures entry into the "world-to-come," a cognitive state of contemplation.

While all human beings are born with the capacity to reason, which Maimonides identified with the "image of God" (Gen. 1:26), not all humans actualize that capacity. Those who do not cannot be considered fully human. On the intellectual capacity of women, however, Maimonides' left for posterity an ambiguous legacy. On the one hand, he states categorically that women possess a "feeble mind" (*Guide* III, 37) that makes them more prone to be governed by the emotions and desires, but, on the other hand, he included the prophetess Miriam among the very few who reached intellectual perfection (*Guide* III, 51). Maimonides was equally ambiguous on the question of women's education: on the one hand, he treats women as a group whose rationality, like that of children, is defective and excludes them from the performance of certain *mitzvot* (*Mishneh Torah*, Talmud Torah 1:1; Keriat Shema 4:1; Berakhot 5:6; Sukkah 6:1; Edut 9:1). But, on the other hand, he envisions a situation in which women study Torah and even teach Torah (Talmud Torah 1:13), even though they should not be compensated for it. Mainly Maimonides was concerned with women in the context of the institution of marriage whose primary purpose was reproduction. Within the marital institution, sex should be carefully regulated according to the strictures of *halakhah*, because sexuality and sensual pleasures in general are obstacles for the attainment of the ultimate end of human life, the contemplation of God (*Guide* III, 33). While sexual intercourse between husband and wife must be free of coercion, between husband and wife there is no equality: he must rule over her and the children, and she must strive to function as the ideal "woman of virtue."

In post-Maimonidean philosophy the association of women with matter, the belief that they are rationally inferior, and their exclusion from the study of philosophy were further accentuated, resulting in full blown misogyny. A typical example was Shem Tov ibn *Falaquera whose *Sefer ha Mevakesh* (The Book of the Seeker) used the trope of the young seeker of wisdom to introduce the reader to the various sciences, as well as to promote the values of the philosophical life. The characters in the novels stand for specific professions (e.g., merchant, soldier, artisan, physician, rabbi, or poet), and all of them are men. Similarly, the persons who represent various intellectual disciplines (e.g., ethics, grammar, poetry, arithmetic, geometry, optics, astronomy, music, logic, physics and metaphysics) are all men. Falaquera's allegorical tale accurately represents the social reality of his time: these professions were not practiced by women, who were largely excluded from the public spheres and from cultural pursuits. But Falaquera further contributes to the denigration of women by portraying them as the cause of men's sins and transgressions. Under the influence of ibn Bajja, Falaquera depicted the perfect man as a solitary philosopher who is estranged from society and who attains intellectual perfection because he subdues his appetites, controls his emotions, and lowers his human interaction to the necessary minimum. In his philosophical reflections on human perfection, *Sefer ha-Ma`alot*, and *Sefer Shelemut ha-Ma`asim*, Falaquera made clear that attainment of moral perfection does not constitute the ultimate end of human life (Raphael Jospe, "Rejecting Moral Virtue as the Ultimate Human End," in: *Studies in Islamic Judaism Traditions* (1986), pp. 185–204). Even if women attain such perfection, they are categorically excluded from the final perfection of the intellect.

The negative perception of women was further developed in the semi-philosophical literature written in rhymed prose for the amusement of men. Written in rhymed prose, the literary debate on the merits and demerits of women portrayed the woman as either totally beautiful or utterly ugly; perfectly virtuous, or vicious and hateful; loyal and nurturing wife or a licentious seductress, a facilitator of the pursuit of wisdom or an obstacle to it (Talyah Fishman, "A Medieval Parody of Misogyny: Judah ibn Shabetai's Minhat Yehuda Sone ha-Nashim," in: *Prooftexts* 8 (1988), 89–111). The grotesque depiction of women highlights negative traits such as greed, possessive-ness, vanity, foolishness, fickleness, and untrustworthiness. Designed to produce comic relief, for which purpose it employed exaggerations and distortions, Hebrew rhymed prose treated the woman as the rejected Other, thereby expressing the fears, anxieties and aspiration of Jewish men in a Christian-dominated society. In Christian polemical literature of the Middle Ages, circumcised Jewish men were viewed as feminized aberrations of nature and were even said to menstruate (Joshua Trachetenberg, *The Devil and the Jews* (Philadelphia, 1941), pp. 50, 149). The feminization of a group was just one way of denigrating and invalidating it.

A similar dynamic operated during the *Maimonidean Controversy of the 13th century about the legitimacy of philosophy within traditional Jewish society. Especially during the last phase of the controversy (1303–06), when the question was no longer whether or not to study philosophy but rather how to define the appropriate relationship between traditional Jewish topics and the various branches of philosophy in the context of the Jewish curriculum (Gad Freudenthal, "Holiness and Defilement: The Ambivalent Perception of Philosophy by Its Opponents in the Early Fourteenth Century," in: *Micrologus*, 9 (2001) (= *The Jews and the Sciences*) (Florence, 2001), pp. 169–93). In a male-dominated society, where women were the ever-present "Other within," both sides of the controversy imaged philosophy as a "foreign woman," and both framed the relationship between Torah and philosophy in terms of power relations between a mistress and her female servant. Philosophy is commonly referred to as an "alien women" and the students of philosophy as the "children of alien women" (Abba Mari of Lunel, *Minhat Qenaot* (Pressburg, 1838)). It follows that a Jew who studies philosophy is like one who enters an illicit sexual union with a foreign woman. The offspring of this form of idolatry offspring must not be allowed to enter the community. The idolatrous nature of the study of philosophy is conveyed most forcefully by images taken from the prophecy of Hosea, in which Israel is likened to a disloyal licentious wife, who whores after other men and whose shame is exposed by the prophet "in front of her lovers" (Hos. 2:12). Studying philosophy is portrayed as a sexual sin as well as a sin of disobedience and betrayal of God. Less severe are the pronouncements that portray philosophy as Hagar, the boastful concubine of Sarah, who improperly challenged the lawful wife, Sarah, and was forced to flee from Sarah's justified wrath. In this imagery, there is nothing wrong with philosophy per se, but with the brazen character of the philosophers who challenge the proper hierarchy between philosophy and Torah.

The Maimonidean Controversy ended with a ban on the study of philosophy under the age of 25, but the study of philosophy continued unabated as philosophy became more technical. In the 14th century, gender categories continued to inform Jewish philosophy especially in biblical philosophical commentaries that followed the guidelines of Maimonides' hermeneutics. Commentaries on the Song of Songs (e.g., by Moses ibn *Tibbon, *Immanuel ben Solomon of Rome, and *Levi Ben Gershom) identified the female beloved not with the community of Israel but with the human soul. For Gersonides, for example, the Song of Songs was a philosophical parable about the pursuit of ultimate felicity that culminates in the knowledge of God (Menachem Kellner (ed. and trans.), *Commentary on Song of Songs: Levi ben Gershom* (*Gersonides*) (1998), pp. xv–xxxi). The biblical text is understood as two simultaneous dialogues: one between the human material intellect and the Active Intellect, and the other between the faculties of the soul and the material intellect. The two dialogues are connected: as the material intellect desires to conjoin with the Active Intellect it must enlist the aid of the other faculties of the soul in this quest. In these hierarchical relations, that which is superior ontologically or epistemologically is always masculine, and that which is inferior always feminine.

From the 13th to the 16th centuries Jewish philosophers (e.g., Zerahiah She'altiel *Gracian Hen, Judah *Romano, *Immanuel of Rome, Levi ben Gershom, *Shemariah ben Elijah of Crete, Benjamin ben Judah ben Joab of Rome, Isaac ben Moses *Arama, David *Ibn Yahya and others) perpetuated the dichotomy between the "strange woman" and the "woman of virtue" in their commentaries on Proverbs. Lady Wisdom was identified with theoretical wisdom, whose knowledge (by the male philosophers) led to the immortality of the soul; the perfect wife illustrated practical reasoning and the cultivation of moral virtues, necessary for the attainment of theoretical knowledge, and the "strange woman" symbolized the desires of the body and other material pursuits that hinder the lover of wisdom (Julia Schwartzmann, "Gender Concepts of Medieval Jewish Thinkers and the Book of Proverbs," in: *Jewish Studies Quarterly*, 7 (2000), 183–200). The philosophical commentaries on Proverbs perpetuated the view of women as intellectually imperfect and inferior to men and made normative the subordination of women to their husbands. A marked departure from this negative perception was Judah *Abrabanel's Italian best-seller, *Dialogi di amore*, in which the female protagonist, Sophia, engages in a philosophical dialogue with the male protagonist, Philo, acting as a teacher of wisdom. Abrabanel's positive portrayal of a female seeker of wisdom reflects both the conventions of Renaissance courtier literature as well as a new social reality in which patrician women had greater access to education in the liberal arts (Merry E. Wiesner, *Women and Gender in Early Modern Europe* (2000^2), 143–74).

Toward Modernity

Ironically, it was the very otherness of philosophy in traditional Jewish society that enabled a few Jewish women to study the liberal arts (in preparation for the study of philosophy) long before they were allowed to study halakhic texts. In Renaissance Italy, women of merchant-bankers families received such learning, and some of them functioned as patronesses of learning. To one such woman, Laura, the wife of Jehiel of Pisa, David ben Judah Messer *Leon composed his commentary on Proverbs, *Shevaḥ Nashim* (Praise of Women). After his forced departure from Naples in 1494 he asked her to provide for his livelihood in Constantinople. To make his plea effective, he praised her along with other illustrious women of Greek and Roman mythologies and Dante's beloved, Beatrice, and identified her with the industrious and generous Proverbial "woman of virtue" (Hava Tirosh-Rothschild, *Between Worlds: The Life and Thought of Rabbi David ben Judah Messer Leon* (1991), pp. 73–77). A more famous patroness of learning was ex-converso Doña Garcia *Nasi, who supported many educational institutions in the Ottoman Empire. In eulogizing her and other illustrious women, Moses Almosnino praised female learning and had no qualm asserting that the departed soul of these women will enter the "world-to-come" (*Me'amez Ko'aḥ*, Venice 1588). Contrary to Maimonides, for whom inclusion in the "world-to-come" was predicated solely on attainment of intellectual perfection, Almosnino posited the perfection of the will as a condition of religious perfection. Although women lacked formal philosophical training, they could experience religious perfection, because it was predicated not on the intellect but on the will and on acts of faith.

With the dawn of modernity and the Emancipation of the Jews in the 19th century, Jewish society and culture underwent profound transformation through processes of acculturation and assimilation. As Jews acquired the basic markers of the larger society such as language, dress, and values, they gradually dissolved their minority status through intermarriage or conversion (Paula E. Hyman, *Gender and Assimilation in Modern Jewish History: The Roles and Representations of Women* (1995). Modernity offered the Jewish female greater access to secular education, entry into the liberal professions and the sciences, and participation in political movements such as socialism and communism (Harriet Freidenreich, *Female, Jewish, Educated: The Lives of Central European University Women* (2002). While women in traditional Jewish society of Eastern Europe remained relatively uneducated, in western and central Europe daughters of assimilated Jewish families enrolled in the philosophy faculty of secular universities, and very few of them (e.g., Edith *Stein, Simone *Weil, and Hannah *Arendt) became professional philosophers. However, it is debatable whether these philosophically-trained Jewish women composed Jewish philosophy: Edith Stein and Simone Weil converted to Catholicism, and Hannah Arendt, who was committed to Zionism, was also deeply critical of traditional Judaism.

Arendt's case in particular illustrates the complexity of defining Jewish philosophy. On the one hand, she grew up in an assimilated Jewish home and had little knowledge of Judaism, but when she began her philosophical career she was concerned about "how to do [philosophy] if one is a Jewish woman." Defining herself as a political theorist rather than a philosopher, she regarded her Jewishness as a matter of ethnicity rather than religion. On the other hand, Arendt developed her distinctive method of doing philosophy through storytelling as a critique of western philosophy. Her biography of Rahel Levin *Varnhagen (1771–1809), a Jewish woman who converted to Christianity and held an intellectual salon in Berlin, was a deliberate attempt to philosophize in a new way (*Rahel Varnhagen: The Life of Jewess* (1957)). While Arendt did not produce a philosophy of Judaism, she was a Jewish philosopher. Yet, for most Jewish women in the first half of the 20th century, to be Jewish and educated in Jewish philosophy was a contradiction in terms. This was the case at least until Jewish Studies began to flourish as an academic discipline first in the State of Israel and later in North America. Several women (e.g., Sara Heller-Willensky, Rivkah Schatz-Uffenheimer, Rivkah Horwitz, Collette Sirat, and Edith Wyschogrod) helped establish Jewish philosophy as academic field, but, with the exception of Wyschogrod, they wrote history of Jewish philosophy rather than constructive philosophy.

Modern Jewish Philosophy

While Jewish philosophy remained the exclusive domain of men until the end of the 20th century, at least two of them – Franz Rosenzweig and Emmanuel Lévinas – made the category of "the feminine" central to their philosophical project. These philosophers were either closely associated with Martin Buber (i.e., Rosenzweig) or deeply influenced by Buber (i.e., Lévinas), and all three philosophers took for granted the bourgeois model of female domesticity which dominated Europe in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Against this cult of domesticity it is not surprising to find that early 20th century Jewish philosophers use the category of "the feminine" in their analysis of Judaism and in their reflections on the human condition. More intriguingly, the three Jewish philosophers employed the category of "the feminine" as a Jewish critique of Western philosophy, which is both Christian and masculine. Buber, Rosenzweig, and Lévinas proposed a new approach to philosophy (*Das Neue Denken*), which challenged the universalizing and totalizing tendencies of western philosophy and offered an alternative, dialogical philosophy. In this regard, their philosophy parallels that of Hannah Arendt.

Buber's alternative was philosophy as an art of living a life of dialogue through an I-Thou relationship. The philosophy of dialogue rejects all forms of objectification, abstraction, or logical constructs, characteristic of traditional philosophy. By contrast, scientific knowledge, including metaphysical knowledge, is typified as an I-It relation, but it falls short of grasping reality because the Thou escapes rational inquiry. Since Buber's philosophy rejected objectification, his dialogical philosophy could not recognize gender differences. I-Thou relationship is not limited to men, and in fact it often occurs in heterosexual love relationship, although this relationship too reverts to I-It mode. In a philosophy of dialogue there is room for women as equal partners of dialogue, as persons who must never be objectified and treated as the means to an end. Socially speaking, the ideal arrangement is the egalitarian communities of the early kibbutzim in which men and women were (in theory at least) equal. Notwithstanding his egalitarian vision, Buber's language to describe relational self was carried out in androcentric terms: the "interhuman" was "between man and man" and the "I" in the I-Thou relations was always "a *man* who needs the other in order to be *himself*." Gender differences were subsumed under the category of "the human" expressed in masculine language.

Buber's colleague and co-translator of the Bible, Franz Rosenzweig, creatively built on medieval poetry of Judah Halevi, medieval commentaries of Song of Songs, and Western philosophy to articulate a novel philosophy of Judaism. In *Star of Redemption*, Part II, Book Two, Rosenzweig applied the category of "the feminine" to the Jewish people as a whole (Leora Batniztky, "Dependency and Vulnerability: Jewish and Feminist Existentialist Constructions of the Human," in: *Women and Gender in Jewish Philosophy*, pp. 127–52, esp. 138–42). The Jewish collectivity, like real women, has a special ontological share in revelation: as an eternal people the Jews have one task only, to worship God in prayer. Unlike other nations that are still moving toward the accomplishment of this goal, the Jewish People has already achieved it, because, like the "most feminine woman," they are naturally disposed to revelation. As much as a woman is a-priori ready for eternity (a view for which Rosenzweig can offer no empirical proof), so are the Jewish people a-priori eternal. In the case of both actual women and the actual Jewish People, the "natural" provides a kind of transcendental condition for the supernatural. As a woman embodies a natural openness to the supernatural realm of love, so the Jews embody in their blood God's revelation to them. Rosenzweig constructs Judaism as the feminized rootless Other that has contributed to the creation of Christian masculine culture. Batnitzky shows that for Rosenzweig, "Judaism is not just 'feminine,' but in remaining 'homeless,' she, namely, Judaism, makes Christianity and the nations of the world more 'feminine.' By not allowing Christianity to become totalitarian, Judaism forces Christianity to remain somewhat rootless and thereby more 'feminine', Jewish and ethical" (ibid, p. 142).

The category of "the feminine" is even more central in the philosophy of Lévinas, who was deeply indebted to Buber and Rosenzweig but attempted to go beyond them. For Lévinas the relation to the Other is irreducible to comprehension; it takes place in acts of speech, in a face-to-face relation with the Other. To learn to acknowledge what one cannot know and to respect the separateness of the other person is to acknowledge the transcendent of the other person. The task of ethics is the fundamental obligation to the Other. Lévinas's ethics is genderized because he identified the feminine with radical alterity. The feminine is presented as an exemplar or ideal figure of alterity; she is the Other *par excellence*. This claim means first that the feminine is not defined in terms of its opposition to the masculine; it has its own positive essence, and second that this positive essence is alterity. Lévinas did not sufficiently distinguish between these two meanings of alterity, but he definitely presented the alterity of the feminine as irreducible and absolute; it cannot be bridged or diminished; it cannot be negated or reduced. Lévinas defines the very mode of being of the feminine as "withdrawal into mystery" as "hiding" and "modesty" (*Time and the Other,* trans. Richard Cohen (1987), p. 87) The relation to the feminine is a relation with what "slips away from the light" with what escapes comprehension and understanding. The Other escapes knowledge or understanding because the recognition that the relation to the Other (a form of transcendence) is irreducible to comprehension.

Lévinas's celebration of the feminine has generated a lot of attention among feminist (mostly non-Jewish) philosophers, while also posing a challenge to feminists. Should feminists endorse it because Lévinas privileges the feminine and gives her a certain priority, or should feminists note that his portrayal of the feminine functions in a way that ultimately re-inscribes feminine in a traditional trope that benefits men more than it does women? Or perhaps feminists should reject Lévinas's appeal to feminine alterity as too much mystification? The feminist engagements with Lévinas are not conclusive on this point. Simone de Beauvoir (*The Second Sex*, trans. H.M. Parshley (1952) and later Luce Irigaray ("Questions to Emmanuel Lévinas, in: *The Levinas Reader*, ed. Margaret Whitford (1991), pp. 178–89; "The Fecundity of the Caress: A Reading of Lévinas, *Totality and Infinity*, 'Phenomenology of Eros,'" in *Feminist Interpretations of Emmanuel Lévinas*, ed. Tina Chanter (2001), pp. 119–44) took Lévinas to task precisely because he posited the woman as the paradigm of the Other. These feminist critics argued that his analysis of the Woman and his use of the feminine as a trope in his philosophy of the Other perpetuated the negative perception of women in traditional patriarchal society, considering them always as an object rather than a subject and viewing them as that which the (male) Self is not. To construe the woman as the "absolute Other" was no bonus to women but a continuation of patriarchy; the Self is always defined by men who speak from their located perspective but universalize it as the norm of humanity.

Recently some philosophers, such as Tina Chanter, Catherine Chalier, and Clair E. Katz, have offered more positive readings of Lévinas showing how Lévinas' philosophy of the Other could be useful to feminist thinking. Contrary to many feminist readers of Lévinas who ignore his Jewishness, Claire E. Katz argues that knowledge of Lévinas' Jewish sources (biblical, rabbinic, and philosophical) is necessary if one is to correctly understand how the feminine functions in his philosophy. According to Katz, Lévinas "uses the feminine as a transcendental structure. The feminine creates the dwelling, the welcoming, and habitation, thus providing the means of enjoyment and sensuality that are interrupted by the ethical" ("Reinhabiting the House of Ruth: Exceeding the Limits of the Feminine in Levinas," in: *Feminist Interpretations of Levinas*, p. 147). Elsewhere Katz explains why Lévinas chose the trope of maternity as the epitome of ethical relations which goes beyond the eros of philosophy, uniting enjoyment and responsibility ("From Eros to Maternity: Love, Death, and 'the Feminine' in the Philosophy of Emmanuel Levinas," in: *Women and Gender in Jewish Philosophy*, pp. 153–75). Lévinas's ethics, with its focus on maternity, was a Jewish alternative to Western philosophy's conception of life as being-toward-death, exemplified by the philosophy of Heidegger. Katz concludes that Lévinas did not exclude woman (or women) from ethical relationship. In fact it was "his Hebrew roots [that] give him profound insight into the obligation and responsibility of the Other, for those who are most vulnerable. And yet it is his Judaism that precisely allows his inadequate view of women to merge and take hold." Lévinas's project, therefore, is of use to feminists but not in a straightforward and simplistic manner. He offers feminists "an opportunity to see feminist concerns in a different light and to see a wider range of what those concerns might be" (*ibid.*, p. 171).

Lévinas's philosophy of the Other has generated as well non-feminist philosophical engagements by two female Jewish philosophers, Catherine Chalier and Edith Wyschogrod. By juxtaposing Lévinas and Kant, Chalier implicitly endorses Lévinas's critique of Kant's understanding of the moral subject and moral autonomy on the basis of the Jewish sacred tradition (*What Ought I To Do?: Morality in Kant and Levinas*, trans. Jane Marie Todd (2002)). Lévinas' ethics as first philosophy arose from his personal experience of the barbarism and savagery of the 20th century manifested "through nuclear, chemical and biological warfare, through death camps, through concentration and labor camps and by means of conventional weapons," which Edith Wyschogrod appropriately labeled as the "death event" (*Saints and Postmodernism: Revisioning Moral Philosophy* (1990), p. xiv). She responded to the "new historical horizon" not only by subjecting the modern "kingdom of death" to close philosophical analysis in her *Spirit in Ashes: Hegel, Heidegger, and Man-Made Mass Death* (1985), but also by articulating a postmodern ethics that is grounded in the lives of saints. Deliberately moving away from moral theory into the specific "pathways" or "journeys" of saints' lives, Wyschogrod's narrative philosophy, which is informed by literary theory and comparative literature, offers "a three pronged critique of theory: a pragmatic criticism of moral theory; an ontological criticism of its infrastructure; and a criticism of normative reason as belonging to the philosophy of reflection" (*Saints and Postmodernism*, p. xxv). While Wyschogrod's philosophy engages mostly non-Jewish philosophical and literary texts and includes no hermeneutics of Jewish sacred texts, her philosophical project emerges from the problematics of the Shoah, making her the most important post-Holocaust female Jewish philosopher.

Feminist Jewish Philosophy

During the last two decades of the 20th century, Judaism and Jewish philosophy were transformed by the rise of feminism, including Jewish feminism. Jewish women demanded and largely received an end to centuries of discrimination and exclusion and gained access to formal religious education, communal leadership roles, and participation in public ritual. At the forefront of feminist Jewish thought stood the theologian Judith Plaskow who insisted, contrary to other Jewish feminists, that the problem of women in Judaism is primarily theological rather than sociological. She charged that Judaism is a male-centered tradition because women were deliberately excluded from the process of interpretation. The sacred texts of Judaism do not express the will of God, but rather the interpretation of the will of God by men who deliberately excluded women from the process of interpretation. In order to address the injustice done to women by the Jewish tradition itself, Plaskow re-envisioned Judaism when women take their rightful place in the community of interpreters and offer new readings of Scriptures and the rabbinic tradition (*Standing Again at Sinai* (1981)). Plaskow's feminist critique of traditional Judaism was indebted to non-Jewish feminist theologians, to Liberal Christian theologians such as Paul Tillich, and to Buber's dialogical philosophy. However, precisely because Plaskow construed the Jewish feminist critique as a theological and midrashic discourse, Jewish philosophers did not take her critique to be sufficiently philosophical and did not engage her philosophically.

In the 1980s and 1990s Jewish feminist theologians (e.g., Ellen Umansky and Laura Levitt) followed Plaskow's lead, engaging the Jewish tradition both critically and constructively. Early feminist writings reexamined biblical and rabbinic sources, highlighted the presence of women that the tradition ignored, explored the historical development of the tradition in regard to perceptions of women, and constructed their own feminist Midrashim in which women were the main actors. Although this work articulates a distinctive Jewish feminist discourse that changed the practice of Judaism (especially in North America), scholars of Jewish philosophy regarded feminism as a political ideology that has little to do with Jewish philosophy. The reluctance to engage feminist philosophy reflects a deeper debate about the meaning of philosophy as an intellectual inquiry in the postmodern age and about the discipline of Jewish philosophy within Jewish Studies (Hava Tirosh-Rothschild, "'Dare to Know': Feminism and the Discipline of Jewish Philosophy," in: Lynn Davidman and Shelly Tenenbaum (eds.), *Feminist Perspectives on Jewish Studies* (1994), 94–117). Only a handful of (male) Jewish philosophers (e.g., Kenneth Seeskin, Steven Katz, Michael Oppenheim) recognized the merits of feminist philosophy and its implication to the future of Jewish philosophy.

Two feminist thinkers, Rachel Adler and Tamar Ross, articulated a systematic theology of Judaism informed by philosophical models. Rachel Adler's *Engendering Judaism: An Inclusive Theology and Ethics* (Boston, 1998) engages Judaism from the perspective of philosophy of law. Inspired by the work of the legal theorist, Robert Culver, Adler seeks to articulate a theory of *halakhah* that includes women and honestly deals with the historical development of Judaism over time. For Adler, the task of "engendering Judaism," namely, of honoring gender differences as equal in value, will have to engage men and women cooperatively, and its primary mode is the narrative. She endorses the values of "equal respect, inclusivity, diversity and pluralism," and not only re-reads rabbinic sources in light of them but also proposes new rituals that reflect them. As a Liberal Jew who is committed to halakhic life, Adler defines the task for feminist praxis and theory as an articulation of "a world of legal meaning in which the stories, dreams, and revelations of Jewish women and men are fully and complexly integrated" (p. 35). This task includes not only new readings of revelatory stories but also new rituals to inculcate equality between men and women.

Tamar Ross shares Adler's goal but offers philosophical arguments for it within the boundaries of Orthodox Judaism. Inspired by Wittgenstein's philosophy of language, *Expanding the Palace of Torah: Orthodoxy and Feminism* (2004) presents a theory of revelation as "cumulative." For Ross, revelation is a product of an interpretative community that selectively treats the received tradition. It is the community that determines which meaning is normative and/or authoritative, and it is the entire community that determines what the will of God is. *Halakhah* is not the mechanical application of eternal pre-existing legal principles to changing conditions, but the ever-changing interplay between texts, social reality, and shifting hermeneutic and moral assumptions. Community practice and social reality are thus part of the process by which the collective negotiates its normative consensus (Yoel Finkelman, "A Critique of *Expanding the Palace of Torah: Orthodoxy and Feminism* by Tamar Ross," in: *The Edah Journal*, 4:2 (2004): 1–10). Ross calls on contemporary Orthodox feminists to gradually alter not only the place of women in Orthodoxy but the very texture of interpretation and religious life. Feminists can help forge a new religious language that is less biased, but to do so they must become learned in every area of sacred tradition. As women make their voices and concerns more central as the interpretive community, they will gradually rewrite the ground rules by which Orthodox Jewry plays the language game of Torah and *mitzvot*.

While feminist Jewish philosophy is still in its infancy, the number of women who study, teach, and construe Jewish philosophy is quite impressive, including Francesca Alberitini, Leora Batnitzky, Ruth Birenbaum, Almut Bruckstein, Jean Cahan, Catherine Chalier, Idit Dobbs-Weinstein, Amirah Eran, Barbara E. Gali, Resianne Fontaine, Yudit K. Greenberg, Ruth Glassner, Hannah Kasher, Claire Katz, Sarah Klein-Braslavy, Gitit Holtzman, Nancy K. Levene, Diana Lobel, Sandra M. Lubarsky, Sarah Pessin, Heidi Ravven, Randi Rashkover, Tamar Ross, T.M. Rudavsky, Susan Shapiro, Julia Schwartzmann, Suzanne Last Stone, Hava Tirosh-Samuelson, Edith Wyschogrod, and Laurie Zoloth. Some of these scholars (especially in Israel) define themselves strictly as historians of Jewish philosophy and attest little interest in or even hostility to feminist philosophy, while others (especially those who focus on modern Jewish philosophy in the U.S.) engage feminist philosophy in their own work as constructive Jewish philosophers. A recent anthology, *Women and Gender in Jewish Philosophy*, edited by Hava Tirosh-Samuelson (2004), includes many of the women listed above. Retaining a critical posture toward Jewish philosophy as well as toward feminist philosophy, the participants of the volume demonstrate the possibility of a fruitful dialogue between Jewish philosophy and feminist philosophy. The volume engages past Jewish philosophers (e.g., Philo, Ibn Gabirol, Maimonides, Gersonides, Baruch Spinoza, Hermann Cohen, Buber, Rosenzweig, and Lévinas) and the sub-disciplines of philosophy (e.g., epistemology, metaphysics, ethics, political theory, philosophy of law, and theology) in light of feminist philosophy. Without reaching consensus about Judaism, Jewish philosophy, and feminism, the volume demonstrates that when women are allowed to philosophize they can and do enrich Jewish philosophy.

[Hava Tirosh-Samuelson (2nd ed.)]

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°PHILOSTRATUS (b. c. 172 C.E.), a native of the island of Lemnos, he studied rhetoric in Athens and later joined the literary and philosophic circle in Rome of Empress Julia Domna, wife of Septimius Severus. She commissioned him to write a literary life of Apollonius of Tyana, whom he presented as a divinely inspired sage, prophet, and reformer along Pythagorean lines. The work has several comments on the separateness of the Jews and on their bloody revolt against the Romans under Vespasian.

PHILO VERLAG (named after *Philo of Alexandria), German-Jewish publishing house (1919–38), founded in Berlin as the publishing arm of the *Central-Verein deutscher Staatsbürger jüdischen Glaubens (C.V.). The originally intended name, "Gabriel-Riesser-Verlag," was rejected by the *Riesser family. According to the C.V.'s ideology, the Philo Verlag was to publish apologetic literature, both in a scientifically reliable and outwardly attractive form, in order to fight antisemitism and broaden the knowledge of Judaism among Jews and non-Jews, focusing on the description of Jewish history and the contribution of Jews to German life and culture. The Philo Verlag was first managed by Ludwig *Holländer (1877–1936), then syndic of the C.V. and editor of its monthly organ, *Im Deutschen Reich* (1895–1922), which was continued by the Philo Verlag as a weekly under the title **C.V. Zeitung* (1922–38). From 1923–38, Holländer and his successor Alfred Hirschberg (1901–1971) were assisted by Lucia Jacoby (1889–1944). Within 20 years, more than 100 pamphlets and books of both Jewish and non-Jewish authors appeared and, besides a press information service, several periodicals were published, including *Der Morgen* (1925–38), first edited by Julius *Goldstein (1873–1929), and the revived *Zeitschrift für die Geschichte der Juden in Deutschland* (1929–37), edited by Ismar *Elbogen (1874–1943) and others. In 1933 however, when fighting antisemitism became both hopeless and dangerous, the Philo Verlag changed its strategy, concentrating on publications which could deepen Jewish knowledge and consciousness and give both intellectual and practical orientation. The Philo "Library" (*Kleine Philo-Bücherei*) and handbooks like the *Philo-Lexikon* (1935–37, 1–4, reprinted 1982), the *Philo-Zitaten-Lexikon* (1936), and the *Philo-Atlas* (1938, reprinted 1998), a guide to Jewish emigration, served these various purposes. The Philo Verlag was closed by the Gestapo on November 10, 1938.

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[Ernst Gottfried Lowenthal /
Johannes Valentin Schwarz (2nd ed.)]

PHINEHAS (Heb. פִּנְחָס), name of three biblical figures:

(1) Son of *Eleazar, son of *Aaron the priest (Ex. 6:25; cf. genealogies in Ezra 7:1–5; I Chron. 5:28–41; 6:35–38). When the Israelites suffered a plague in punishment for indulging in the orgiastic Baal-Peor cult, Phinehas slew Zimri son of Salu and Cozbi daughter of Zur, a prince of Midian, and thereby stopped the plague. By virtue of this act, Phinehas and his descendants were granted "a pact of priesthood for all time" (Num. 25:1–18). The memory of this event is reflected even in later sources (e.g., Ps. 106:30–31; Ecclus. 45:23–24; I Macc. 2:26, 53). Phinehas is encountered next in the war against the Midianites when, equipped with sacred utensils, he was sent by Moses to act as priest in the campaign (Num. 31:1–6). At the period of the Conquest, Phinehas, together with ten of the princes of the tribes that had settled west of the Jordan, formed a delegation to Reuben, Gad, and the half-tribe of Manasseh who had erected an altar on the east bank of the Jordan. There had been some suspicion that these tribes had defected from the Lord (Josh. 22:9–34). Phinehas appears to have been selected for this task because of his battle against the cult of Baal-Peor. At any rate, the issue was settled amicably. In the story of the Israelite war against the tribe of Benjamin over the incident of the concubine in Gibeah, it is stated that Phinehas served before the ark in Beth-El, and that through him the Israelites received an affirmative answer from God to their question as to whether to continue the war (Judg. 20:27–28). Many scholars believe these verses not to be part of the body of the narrative but additions by a later editor. It is related of Phinehas that he had been superintendent of the gatekeepers (I Chron 9:20). This is probably to be understood as indicating that Phinehas was considered to have been their patron. Phinehas' death and burial place are not recorded, though Joshua 24:33 does state that "Eleazar the son of Aaron died, and they buried him in the hill of his son Phinehas… in

Mount Ephraim." This passage may have been reworked by a later editor. The formula is surprising since the usual statement about the dead is that he was buried "with his fathers." E. Auerbach believes that originally the site was known as the grave of Phinehas, and that Eleazar's name was attached to it as a result of a later tradition. Indeed, according to both Jewish and Samaritan tradition, Phinehas is also buried at this hill. Eusebius (Onom. 2:14) identified the location as being 5 mi. (8 km.) from Gophna on the way to Shechem (see *Aaron for genealogy of the house of Aaron). A family of priests named Gershom, directly related to Phinehas, existed as late as the time of Ezra, returning with him from the Exile (Ezra 8:2; cf. *Gershom). According to I Esdras (5:5), the priests Jeshua son of Jehozedek and Joiakim son of Jeshua were associated with the house of Phinehas.

(2) A priest, one of the sons of Eli, at Shiloh, brother of Hophni (e.g., I Sam. 2:34). See *Hophni and Phinehas.

(3) The father of Eleazar, who was one of the assistants of Meremoth son of Uriah the priest. This priest weighed the sacred vessels brought by those who returned with Ezra from the Exile (Ezra 8:33; cf. I Esd. 8:62).

The name Phinehas derives from the Egyptian *panḥśj*, meaning "the Nubian," which was also employed as a proper name in Egypt, especially for residents of Nubia.

[Ephraim Stern]

Phinehas (1) in the *Aggadah*

Because of the major problems arising out of occasional cases of apostasy (TJ, Ḥag. 2:1) or fornication with pagan women (Sanh. 9:6; Sanh. 82a), Phinehas is, for the most part, highly praised in rabbinical literature for the "zeal" which he displayed in slaying Zimri and the Midianite woman whom he had caught in the act (cf. Num. 25:6ff.). While Moses, who had himself married a Midianite woman (albeit before the Sinai covenant), was humiliated and unable to cope with the situation (Sanh. 82a; Gen. R. 96:3; Num. R. 20:24, et al.), Phinehas remembered the *halakhah* that "he who cohabits with a gentile woman is struck down by zealots" (Sanh. 9:6). Seeing that even the most warlike tribes refused to punish the transgressor, Phinehas resolved to take the law into his own hands (Sif. Num. 131; TJ, Sanh. 10:2, 28d). The rabbis could not agree whether Phinehas had acted with or without Moses' permission – the issue at stake being whether a disciple could, in an emergency, decide a case without reference to his master (Sanh. 82a). In view of the unequivocal biblical approval of Phinehas' deed (Num. 25:10ff.), the legitimacy of the act could not be seriously questioned. Indeed, no less than 12 miracles were said to have been wrought in aid of Phinehas – otherwise he could not have successfully accomplished his mission (Sif. Num. 131). The rabbis, moreover, interpreted Psalms 106:30 in the sense that Phinehas had argued with God concerning the injustice of inflicting a plague on Israel which carried off 24,000 people (cf. Num. 25:9). When the angels wanted to push Phinehas away, God defended him: "Let him be; he is a zealot and the descendant of a zealot" (viz. Levi; cf. Gen. 34:25ff.). The Almighty also bestowed high praise on Phinehas when the tribes of Israel, especially Simeon, tried to cast aspersions on him, taunting him with his descent from Jethro (through Putiel; cf. Ex. 6:25) who had "fattened calves for idolatry" (Sanh. 82b; Sif. *ibid.*).

There were, nevertheless, rabbis who had some legal reservations concerning the summary execution carried out by Phinehas. According to one view, Phinehas had acted "against the will of the Sages," who had therefore intended to put him under the ban but were restrained by "the holy spirit" which proclaimed "the covenant of a perpetual priesthood" (cf. Num. 25:13) for Phinehas and his descendants (TJ, Sanh. 9:9, 27b). Both Palestinian and Babylonian rabbis stated explicitly that anyone consulting them about how to act in a similar situation would not be instructed to emulate Phinehas' example (Sanh. 82a). The implied disapproval is evident in the rabbinic speculations on hypothetical events which might have had an adverse effect on Phinehas' legal position: "If Zimri had separated (from his Midianite mistress) and Phinehas slain him, Phinehas would have incurred the death penalty, and if Zimri had turned upon Phinehas and slain him, he would not have been liable to the death penalty, since Phinehas was a pursuer [seeking to take his life]" (*ibid.*).

Notwithstanding the legal irregularities of Phinehas' unauthorized zeal, the rabbis accorded Phinehas a prominent place in Jewish history. He was chosen to accompany the Israelites in their campaign against Midian to complete the good deed he had begun by slaying the Midianite woman (Num. R. 22:4), and also to avenge his maternal grandfather Joseph, who had been sold into slavery by the Midianites (Sif. Num. 157; Sot. 43a; cf. Gen. 37:28, 36). It was Phinehas who miraculously slew Balaam (Sanh. 106b; cf. Num. 31:8 and Targ. Ps.-Jon. ad loc.). He was also one of the two spies sent by Joshua to Jericho (cf. Josh. 21:1ff.), where he managed to make himself invisible like an angel; and he was in fact identical with the angel sent to the Israelites at Bochim (Num. R. 161:1; cf. Judg. 2:1ff.). This must probably be connected with the identification of Phinehas with Elijah (both having been distinguished for their "zeal and their peacemaking missions"; cf. Num. 25:11ff.; I Kings 19:10, 14; Mal. 3:23ff.), whose transformation into an angelic being is predicated in Malachi 3:1, 23 (PdRE 47; Targ. Ps.-Jon. to Ex. 6:18; Num. 25:12; Num. R. 21:3, et al.). He is, accordingly, the forerunner of the Messiah (Targ. Ps.-Jon. to Num. 25:12, et al.). The criticism leveled against Phinehas for failing to annul Jephthah's fatal vow, thereby causing the death of Jephthah's daughter (Gen. R. 60:3; Lev. R. 37:4, et al.), in all probability reflects the rabbinic attitude to certain priests in the talmudic age and has no bearing on Phinehas' personality even as viewed through rabbinic eyes.

[Moses Aberbach]

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PHINEHAS, guardian of the Second Temple treasury in the last days of the Temple. Josephus (Wars, 6:387–91) relates that with the seizure of Jerusalem and the Temple (70 C.E.) Phinehas, taken prisoner, “disclosed the tunics and girdles worn by the priests, an abundance of purple and scarlet kept for necessary repairs to the veil of the Temple, a mass of cinammon and cassia, and a multitude of other spices mixed and burnt daily as incense to God. Many other treasures were also delivered up by him, with numerous sacred ornaments.” Phinehas was not the sole Temple custodian to disclose the sacred treasures of the Sanctuary. He was joined by one of the priests, Joshua (Jesus) son of Thebuthi. Both officials were granted pardons by the Romans in reward for their services. The mishnaic list of officials in the Temple (Shek. 5:1) includes a Pinḥas al ha-Malbush (“Phinehas, the guardian of the wardrobe”), who is probably the same person.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Graetz, in: MGWJ, 34 (1885), 193–205; Schuerer, Gesch, 2 (1907), 332f.; Klausner, Bayit Sheni, 5 (1951^{2}), 272.

[Isaiah Gafni]

PHINEHAS BEN ḤAMA HA-KOHEN (mid-fourth century), Palestinian *amora*. In the Jerusalem Talmud and *Genesis Rabbah* he is known as R. Phinehas, while in the later Midrashim he appears with his full name: Phinehas (ha-Kohen) b. Ḥama. Though born and brought up in Palestine, he was familiar with the genealogy of both Babylonian and Palestinian families (Kid. 71a), and showed his preference for the former (*ibid.*). He appears to have resided in the town of Sikhnin where his brother Samuel is recorded to have died (Mid. Sam. 9:3), and he probably lived to an old age (Kid. 71a and Rashi *ibid.*).

In the *halakhah*, Phinehas was primarily a pupil of R. Jeremiah, details of whose ritual practice he records (e.g., TJ, Kil. 4:4, 29b; TJ, MK 1:2, 80b; TJ, Ket. 6:7, 31a). He was a colleague of R. Yose, with whom he often debated halakhic points (TJ, Yev. 1:2, 2d, et al.), and his main pupil in *halakhah* was Hananiah (of Sepphoris) who handed down most of his halakhic statements (see TJ, Dem. 3:1, 23b). Phinehas transmitted many aggadic aphorisms in the name of earlier *amoraim*, especially those of the previous generation – Hilkiah, Ḥanin, Reuben, and others. His own *aggadot*, both aphorisms and homiletic exegesis, are also extensive, and he often added a light anecdote to his homily to bring home the moral. In what appears to be a polemical reference to Christianity he declared, “While other laws decree that one must renounce one’s parents to pledge allegiance to the king (cf. Matt. 10:35–37), the Torah says, ‘Honor thy father and thy mother’” (Num. R. 8:4). His deduction from Job that “Poverty in a man’s house is worse than 50 plagues” (BB 116a) may well be a bitter reflection on current economic conditions, and he laments the moral decline of the nation in its contemporary promiscuity (Lam. R. 1:11, no. 39) and gambling (Mid. Ps. to 26:7). His maxim that only one who does not leave after him a son of his own caliber is truly dead (BB 116a) is indicative of his keen concern for right education; and his best-known maxim is that “the name a person gains for himself is worth more than the one endowed him from birth” (Eccles. R. 7: 1, no. 4).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Bacher, Pal Amor, 3; Hyman, Toledot, s.v.; Ḥ. Albeck, *Mavo la-Talmudim* (1969), 347–8.

[Benjamin Cohen]

PHINEHAS BEN JACOB HA-KOHEN (**Kafra**), eighth century Palestinian *paytan*. He is apparently the last in the list of the “early poets” given in *Saadiah Gaon’s *Sefer ha-Agron*. As the acrostic to one of his *piyyutim* implies, he came from Kafra, near Tiberias, and his connection with Ereẓ Israel is further indicated in his *piyyutim* by the representation of a number of customs in force only in that country. His assumed identification with R. Phinehas, head of the academy, who is mentioned among the early masoretes, is possible, but not sure. A prolific poet, Phinehas wrote his works approximately in the second half of the eighth century, at least after 748. Most of his compositions were found in the Cairo *Genizah*. The critical edition of Sh. Elitsur (2004) includes more than 140 *piyyutim* of many diverse genres. Outstanding among them are *Kiddush Yeraḥim, piyyutim* for all the months of the year, a series of *piyyutim* concerning the 24 divisions of kohanim, and two monumental *kedushta* for Shemini Aẓeret. The *Kedushta* contains an important and colorful amount of midrashic matter; the sources of some of these Midrashim are unknown. Phinehas’ style places him in the school of Eleazar *Kallir, but his expression is usually simpler and his poetry original. In only a few compositions does he use many neologisms and an obscure style, with typical strange paytanic forms.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: A. Harkavy, *Zikkaron la-Rishonim ve-gam la-Aḥaronim*, 5 (1892), 112–5; A. Marmorstein, in: HḤY, 5 (1921), 225–8; 6 (1922), 46–47; M. Zulay, in: YMḤSI, 1 (1933), 150–62; idem, in: *Yerushalayim*, 4 (1953), 51–81; H. Yalon, in: *Ginzei Kedem*, 5 (1934), 191–2; M. Margalioth, in: BJPES, 8 (1940/41), 97–104; idem, in: *Tarbiz*, 29 (1960), 339ff.; A. Scheiber, in: JQR, 42 (1951/52), 213–4; idem, in: *Goldziher Memorial Volume*, 2 (1958), 55; E. Fleischer, in: *Sinai*, 59 (1966), 215–26; 61 (1967), 30–56; 66 (1970), 224–60. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** E. Fleischer, *Hebrew Liturgical Poetry in the Middle Ages* (Hebrew; 1975), passim; idem, in: *Ha-Yoẓerot* (1984), 113ff., 129; T. Beeri, *The “Great Cantor” of Bagdad* (Hebrew; 2002), 83ff.; Sh. Elitsur, *Piyyuṭe Rabbi Pinḥas ha-Kohen* (2004).

[Ezra Fleischer / Angel Saenz-Badillos (2nd ed.)]

PHINEHAS BEN JAIR (second half of second century), *tanna* renowned both for his saintliness and his ability to work miracles. He was a son-in-law of *Simeon b. Yoḥai, with whom he studied, and achieved a reputation as a keen halakhist (Shab. 33b). Nonetheless, few of his halakhic statements are recorded, and he is better known as an aggadist. Indeed his legendary saintliness made him, like his father-in-law, a prominent aggadic personality. His place of residence was “a city in the south,” probably Lydda, from where he testified that he used to go down with his friends to Ashkelon (TJ, Yev. 7:3). In several passages, Phinehas is reported as traveling to redeem captives and being deflected from his mission neither by a river in flood (which he is said to have parted miraculously), nor by a pressing invitation to dine with Judah ha-Nasi (Ḥul. 7a; 7b). Phinehas was famed for his great independence, and it was said of him that from the day he grew up he would not eat from his father's table, let alone that of another. "Not that I have taken a vow to that effect," he protested wryly to Judah ha-Nasi, "Israel is a holy nation, and worthy for one to break bread with it. But one wants [to give] and has not, and another has but does not want to give. You both have and want, so with you I shall eat!" However, even here, when he saw that Judah had white mules on his estate, which were regarded as dangerous, he turned away and would not eat (Ḥul. 7b). The grandeur of the court was not for him.

Phinehas took a gloomy view of the moral and material state of Israel in his time. "Since the Temple was destroyed," he lamented, "learned and free men are put to shame, the mighty and the informers have vanquished, and none seeks Israel's welfare, and we have no one to rely upon but our Heavenly Father" (Sot. 49a). He was strict not only in his personal discipline but also in halakhic decisions for others, and would not join with Judah ha-Nasi in allowing work on the land in the Sabbatical Year (TJ, Ta'an 3:1). Even Phinehas' donkey was celebrated for its piety and the tale that it refused to eat untithed corn is developed by the Talmud into a general proposition, "If God does not bring a stumbling block through even a beast of the righteous, how much more will He not bring a stumbling block through the righteous themselves!" (Ḥul. 5b). A number of tales told about him, including the one about his donkey, are also told of his contemporary, *Ḥanina b. Dosa. *Midrash Tadshe*, a late Midrash dealing with symbolic interpretations of the vessels of the Tabernacle, was also attributed to Phinehas as it opens with one of his sayings. In the Zohar, Phinehas appears as a particularly revered member of Simeon b. Yoḥai's mystic circle, though here he is represented as Simeon's father-in-law and not his son-in-law (Zohar 3:240, 2 and 288).

Fittingly, Phinehas is the author of the famous ladder of saintliness: "Caution [against evil] leads to Eagerness [for good], Eagerness to Cleanliness, Cleanliness to Purity, Purity to Asceticism, Asceticism to Holiness, Holiness to Humility, Humility to Fear of God, Fear of God to Attainment of the Holy Spirit [divine inspiration], and Attainment of the Holy Spirit to Resurrection of the Dead" (Sot. 9:15). A millennium and a half later, this dictum was amplified as the path to holiness by Moses Ḥayyim *Luzzatto in his classic ethical work *Mesillat Yesharim*, and in this way it became the guiding principle of the *Musar movement.

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[Benjamin Cohen]

PHINEHAS BEN JOSEPH HA-LEVI (13th century), Hebrew poet and *paytan* in Toledo. According to some scholars Phinehas was the brother of *Aaron ha-Levi of Barcelona to whom the *Sefer ha-Ḥinnukh* is attributed. He was one of the rivals of Todros b. Judah *Abulafia in the court of Don Caq de la Maleha. To entertain Don Caq, Todros from time to time conducted a poetic controversy with Phinehas in the course of which they exchanged with one another 35 short poems, generally filled with contempt and faultfinding. While the poems themselves have little literary value, they are of great importance for knowledge of the contemporary mode of life and society. In one of his poems, published in Abulafia's *Gan ha-Meshalim ve-ha-Ḥidot*, Phinehas addresses Don Caq and attempts to persuade him to renew his benefactions toward him; he had been driven away, in his opinion, through the effort of Todros, and had fallen victim to a base charge. His **azharot* for the Sabbath preceding Rosh Ha-Shanah, *Elohim Nizzav ba-Adat El* ("God stands in the divine congregation"), together with their *reshut, Asir Tikvah le-Kez Yamim* ("Prisoner of hope for the end of days"), was published in the *maḥzor* according to the custom of Catalonia (Salonika, 1526). It is not known whether he is identical with the poet Phinehas ha-Levi, also called Don Vidal Profiat, who lived in Spain in the 13th century and who forsook poetry, devoting himself to agriculture. His friend, the poet Abraham *Bedersi, who regarded agriculture as degrading labor, derided him with great contempt in one of his poems, and even rejoiced at his misfortune when all his produce went up in flames.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Davidson, Oẓar, 4 (1933), 461; idem, in: *Tarbiz*, 2 (1931), 90–100; A. Neubauer, in: MGWJ, 20 (1871), 455–9; Schirmann, Sefarad, 2 (1960^{2}), 449–53; idem, in: *Sefer Yovel Y. Baer* (1960), 161f.

[Abraham David]

PHINEHAS BEN SAMUEL (known also as "**the man of Kefar Habta**"; first century C.E.), high priest before the destruction of the Temple, 67–70 C.E. Phinehas was appointed to his office by the casting of lots. Until then the appointment was made only from among the families of distinguished birth. However, within the framework of the democratic reforms introduced by the Zealots, the selection of the high priest was made by casting lots in order to abolish the rule of these families (in this they relied on the ancient tradition in I Chron. 24:5). The lot fell on Phinehas who belonged to the watch of Jachin. Josephus censures him and says that "he scarcely knew what the high priesthood meant," for he was a farmer who tilled the earth (Wars, 4:155). This statement is to be treated with caution, however. In talmudic sources Phinehas is mentioned as a son-in-law of the house of the *nasi* (Tosef. Yoma l:6), and the view that he was not learned in the affairs of the priesthood cannot be accepted (Klausner). This act of the Zealots gave rise to great bitterness and was the cause of civil war between them and the other parties among the people.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Klausner, Bayit Sheni, 5 (1951^{2}), 208f; Jos. Ant., 4, ch. 3.

[Edna Elazary]

PHLORINA (formerly **Florina**), city in Greek Macedonia, near the former Yugoslav border. In the 17th and 18th centuries there was a Jewish community in Phlorina, of which little is known.

In the 17th century Phlorina had a Sephardi community whose members maintained economic relations with Salonika, Kastoria, and Karditza. At the end of the 18th century, Rabbi Joseph Baruch stood at the head of the community and consulted with Rabbi Yitzhak Samuel of Salonika on halakhic matters. It is not known when the Jewish community ceased to exist. The community was reestablished in 1912. In that year many Jews from Monastir migrated to Phlorina. Additional Jews arrived in World War I, especially when Monastir was under siege in 1916/17. In sum, some 60 families from Monastir established themselves in Phlorina, and Baruch Kamhi, a butcher from Monastir, became community president.. In 1914, the Phlorina Jewish community numbered 100 families. In 1917 a Jewish school was established. At the beginning of the 1920s, the Jewish community turned to Salonikan Chief Rabbi Ben Zion Meir Ḥai *Ouziel, who, together with other influential Jews in Salonika, influenced the Ministry of National Economy to change the market day from Saturday to Wednesday, but in Phlorina the local Greek-Orthodox population ignored the ruling. In 1921–22, local Muslims and Greek-Orthodox attacked the Jews over this issue. The events were covered in the world and Jewish press. In 1923, while many Jewish merchants began working on the Sabbath; others were prompted to emigrate. In 1924–25, the Greek government banned work on Sunday and the Jews of Phlorina were further pressed to earn a living. Only some 50 families remained, with most leaving for Monastir. The Jews were merchants, dealers in old clothes, greengrocers, cobblers, etc. In the mid-1920s, the local Zionist organization, Achdut B'nai Zion, was formed and in the 1930s the Theodor Herzl Club was active. Blood libels erupted annually at Easter time from 1925 to 1927. Three local Jews fell in the Greek army in the Albanian campaign against the invading Italians in late 1940–early 1941. In 1940 there were 400 Jews in Phlorina; 372 of them were deported by the Nazis. On April 30, 1943, the Jews were arrested, sent to Salonika, and from there by train to their deaths in Birkenau, where they arrived in mid-May 1943. Some 60–70 Jews had fled previously, in early 1943, to the nearby mountains, and several Jews fought in the resistance. In 1948 the number of Jews was 64, and in 1958 it was seven. Small enclaves of Phlorina Jews concentrated in Tel Aviv and Jerusalem; Brooklyn, New York; and Sao Paulo, Brazil. An annual ceremony for the community's Holocaust victims is conducted at the Cave of the Martyrs on Mount Zion, Jerusalem.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: J. Angel, in: *Almanakh Izraelit* (Ladino, 1923), 79–80; Rosanes, Togarmah, 4 (1935), 267–8; M. Molho and J. Nehama (eds.), *In Memoriam*, 1 (1948), 106–7, and passim; idem, *Sho'at Yehudei Yavan 1941–1944* (1965), index. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** Y. Kerem, "Florina," in: *Pinkas ha-Kehillot Yavan* (1999), 319–22.

[Simon Marcus / Yitzchak Kerem (2nd ed.)]

PHOENICIA, PHOENICIANS.

Names

(a) The Greek name *Phoinike* (*Phoinix*) is first mentioned by Homer, and is subsequently well attested in the writings of Greek historians who consistently refer it to the eastern Mediterranean coast; in Homer, Phoenician is synonymous with Sidonian. Though the exact extent of the region called Phoenicia cannot be determined, the name is clearly the Greek equivalent of Canaan. One should also compare the Septuagint's at times mechanical translation of Canaan(ite) by Phoenicia(n) in Exodus 6:15; 16:35; Joshua 5:1, 12; and Job 40:30; as well as the parallel passages Mark 7:26 (Syro-Phoenician) and Matthew 15:22 (Canaanite); and the replacement of Canaan by Phoenicia in coins of the second century (see below). Some scholars derive the Greek name from *phoinix*, "crimson, purple," so that *Phoinike* is "the land of purple" (see *Canaan). Another possibility is to derive the Greek from Egyptian *fenkhu*, "loggers," "woodcutters," in keeping with the Phoenician foresting of the cedars of Lebanon. The Bible (I Kings 5:20) informs us how skilled the Sidonians were at lumberjacking (Scandon and Xella apud Krings, 632).

(b) The name Canaan(ite) is first attested in sources from *Mari in Syria in the 18th century B.C.E. (J. Sasson, BA, 47 (1984), 90) down to the early 12th century B.C.E.; after that, except in the Bible or writers under its influence, it virtually vanishes. Exceptions are a Babylonian lexical text (c. 1100 B.C.E.), a final Egyptian reference (c. 900 B.C.E.), and two coins of the second century B.C.E. (in what is probably the corresponding Greek version of these coins, Phoenicia replaces Canaan; see above). These last witnesses prove that the name was not forgotten among the natives; besides, Greek writers are familiar with *xna* both as the eponymous hero of the Phoenicians and as the latter's name for their native land, and Augustine testifies that even in his day Punic peasants still called themselves *Chanani*.

Though the interpretation of the evidence is disputed, in its earliest occurrences Canaan is a region along the Levantine coast, and its borders were probably around the Nahr el-Kebir (Eleutheros River) in the north, and the area above Carmel in the south; only in northern Galilee around Hazor does it seem to have reached inland to any extent. Biblical usage, though it occasionally reflects the original restriction to the coast (Num. 13:29; Deut. 1:7; Josh. 5:1), commonly refers the name Canaan(ite) to all of Palestine and part of Syria (e.g., Gen. 10:15 ff.; Num. 13:17 ff.); however, this represents a later development, which was probably connected with colonization of the interior. The beginnings of this broader reference can be observed in Egyptian sources of the late 14th and 13th centuries; it is doubtful, however, whether Canaan was ever the name of an Egyptian province either embracing all of the Egyptian territory in Syria and Palestine, or, in the el-Amarna period, located in the south with its center at Gaza, though both views have their proponents (see *Canaan).

The origin of the name, a problem intimately associated with its etymology, remains a non liquet ("unclear"). Certainly Canaan was associated very early with one of the land's principal industries, the manufacture of purple dye from the Murex shellfish so plentiful along the coast; already in the Nuzi documents "Canaanite" is the designation of a variety of purple-dyed wool. This association is also reflected in the Greek name Phoenicia (see above). The problem is whether this connection with purple dye is primary (so W.F. Albright, hypothetical *knʿ*, "Murex"; otherwise B. Mazar, "merchant" (*knʿ* + Hurrian suffix), whence "merchant of purple [his staple]," etc.; S. Moscati, geographical term (origin unknown), whence derived meanings). No solution is without its difficulties; the last is best supported by parallels (cf. morocco, cordovan, etc.).

The Land

Geography played a very important role in the political and cultural history of Canaan. Lying between Egypt, Asia Minor, and Mesopotamia, and opening Asia to the Mediterranean world, Canaan was a confluence of cultures and of necessity deeply involved in the political ambitions and struggles of its neighbors. Its topography, however, led to political fragmentation; Canaan was never a state, and it was destined to centuries of vassalage under one or other of the surrounding colossuses.

To the east, most of Canaan was locked in by Lebanon, and the long, thin strip of coastal lowlands (c. 125 mi. = 200 km.) was often broken by gorges or promontories. Only at the mouth of the Eleutheros was there a plain of any size. There was one river, the Litani, besides a number of perennial streams; none of them was of use agriculturally. The climate, however, was warm (present monthly lowest median 50° F), with ample rainfall from October to April (annually in modern times, c. 40–24 in. from north to south). The climate and soil were favorable for the cultivation of wheat, barley, olives, figs, grapes, and other fruits. The densely forested hills and mountains provided excellent timber – the famous cedars, junipers (*Juniperus excelsa*, Heb. *berosh*; cf. I Kings 5:22, 24), firs, cypresses, and oaks. Sand from the shore would be the basis of a glassmaking industry, while from the sea itself came the source of the precious dye.

People and Language

Though there is much evidence for human habitation of Canaan as far back as the Paleolithic period, fixed settlements were apparently founded only in the pottery-Neolithic period, and, therefore, relatively late in the Syro-Palestinian picture. The lag was probably due, in part at least, to the necessity of clearing this section of the coast of forests before cultivation of the land was possible. Relics of the earliest settlers are the non-Semitic place-names in early written sources, like Uzu/Ushu (Palaityros on the mainland), Ammia, and Ullaza. However, most Canaanite cities bear names which certainly, or very probably, are Semitic: Tyre (the island city), Sidon, Beirut, Byblos, Batron, Irqata, Yarimuta, Sumur. In view of the tenacity of place-names, which tend to survive despite ethnic shifts in population, Canaan must have first been settled on a large scale by Semites. They were probably an offshoot of the Semitic inhabitants of Palestine and southern Syria, whose occupation of these areas goes back to the fourth millennium, and the penetration into Canaan proper was probably not much later – roughly, around 3000 B.C.E. Racially, as far as can be judged from the meager evidence, these Semites were mixed and, in this respect, indistinguishable from their predecessors; later, around 1500 B.C.E., a shift from the prevalence of a dolichocephalic to a brachycephalic type is observable, thus reflecting the more complex cultural relations of the period.

Of the language of the first settlers, except that it was Semitic, nothing is known. There is a stratum in the *Ugaritic lexicon which for a West Semitic language has an unusually close affinity with Akkadian; perhaps it is a survival of the earliest speech in the Syro-Palestinian area. The first real evidence for the language spoken in Canaan comes from the Execration Texts, shards (c. 1900 B.C.E.), or figurines (c. 1825 B.C.E.) inscribed with the names of rebellious rulers and their localities in Palestine and Canaan. These newcomers, another wave from the Syro-Arabian desert, usually called *Amorites, were also Semites and constituted another level of Semitic settlement. Their language, with dialectal differences, was identical with that of the Semites, who, in a long process of infiltration and finally invasion, seized power and set up a string of local dynasties from Babylonia to the borders of Egypt. Classification of this language in terms of the later developments which produced Canaanite and Aramaic is impossible; it is best simply called West Semitic. The question as to what happened to this language, i.e., whether it became the language of the earlier inhabitants (cf. *Aramaic), or disappeared, as in Babylonia, in favor of the established local language, unfortunately remains unanswered. The answer is crucial for the history of the Canaanite language which first emerges around 1400 B.C.E. At this time, "the language of Canaan" (Isa. 19:18) began to develop those specific features which would distinguish it from Aramaic. Their center of diffusion seems to have been Canaan itself; many of them appear only later, and then sporadically, in the north (Ugarit). The process of evolution continued – somewhat in contrast to Hebrew, a related dialect, which tended to be more conservative – and produced Phoenician. This was the language which was brought by the colonists to the western Mediterranean and became Punic.

History to 1200 B.C.E.

Canaanite history falls into two periods: approximately 3000–1200 B.C.E., and approximately 1200–332 B.C.E. In the first, Canaan, by and large, was in language, religion, art, and social and political institutions indistinguishable from Palestine and a large part of Syria. With the coming of the Philistines, and Arameans, and the emergence of the Israelites, the situation was profoundly changed, and the coastal Canaanites, who carried on the Late Bronze Age city system which had mostly been swept away by the 13th century catastrophe, had an identity thrust upon them such as they had never known. They became, as this new situation may be conveniently designated, Phoenicians. They maintained this identity until they were submerged by Hellenism, an event that may be dated to Alexander the Great's conquest. The date of course is too exact; such a change is never effected in a single blow, and there are always survivals, especially in religion; besides, the erosion of the old order had begun before the appearance of the conqueror. However, Hellenism, best symbolized by Alexander, was new, pervasive, and a turning point.

Early in the third millennium, Canaan was already in close contact with Egypt, which was to dominate so much of its history; Byblos became the center of an intense trade in timber, and by the Sixth Dynasty (c. 2305–2140 B.C.E.) was virtually an Egyptian colony. Such it remained with little or no interruption, despite periods of Egyptian weakness, until approximately 1740 B.C.E. Though the point is controversial, the political control evident at Byblos probably extended, though somewhat loosely and with some oscillations, to the rest of Canaan and Palestine. It probably continued during the *Hyksos rule of Egypt (c. 1670–1570 B.C.E.), and then after a brief period of independence following the expulsion of the Hyksos, it was resumed again with Egyptian expansion under Thutmosis I (1525–c. 1512 B.C.E.) and its consolidation under Thutmosis III (c. 1504–1450 B.C.E.). Within little more than a century, most of Canaan fell to the state of Amurru, which eventually became a Hittite vassal, and thus part of the Hittite empire (see *El-Amarna). However, under Seti I (c. 1318–1301 B.C.E.) and Rameses II (c. 1301–1234 B.C.E.) it was reconquered once more, probably in its entirety. Finally, with the invasion of the Sea Peoples, in approximately 1200 B.C.E., the Egyptian yoke was broken forever.

Internal Development to 1200 B.C.E.

In this long period there were other influences on Canaan besides the Egyptian. Contacts with the Aegean world are demonstrable by 2000 B.C.E., and they became particularly close in the 14th–13th century when, after the fall of Cnossus, the Myceneans conducted a vigorous trade with the entire eastern Mediterranean littoral. Relations with Mesopotamia go back even further, probably to the early third millennium, but almost certainly to around 2400 B.C.E.; and three centuries later one hears of a messenger of the "governor" of Byblos at Drehem in Babylonia (though the title should not be taken as implying the suzerainty of the Sumerian Third Dynasty of Ur). The arrival of the Amorites, already noted, added the deep cultural tie of language and religion, which commerce only strengthened; in the *Mari texts of the 18th century, Byblos is involved (along with Aleppo, Carchemish, Qatna, and Ugarit) in the movement of timber, resinous substances, wine, olive oil, and grain from Syria and Canaan to the kingdom on the Middle Euphrates.

The Amorite invasion also marks an important stage in the formation of the system of small city-states which became so characteristic of Syro-Palestine in the second millennium, and then, after the rise of the nearby national states in the Iron Age, continued in Phoenicia. The Execration Texts show the transition from a semi-nomadic stage – which is reflected in the earlier group – when the cities were probably not yet taken, and two or three sheikhs divided the authority over the environs, to a completely settled stage – attested in the later groups – when the cities had fallen and, with a couple of exceptions, there was a single ruler. Since the shift to monarchy is so widespread and so quick, it suggests the adoption and diffusion of an already prevailing institution. Acceptance of the institution, however, was hardly effected without important concessions, mainly in the form of land grants to the sheikhs who had helped in the conquest; at first, therefore, the king may have been only *primus inter pares*, as in early Assyria. The roots, therefore, of the city-state system probably go back to the third millennium; its feudal character began with, or was strongly reinforced by, its adoption by the Amorites.

This development may have received in Canaan, as in other parts of Syria and Palestine, further impetus in the period between approximately 1700 and 1500 B.C.E., when the Indo-Iranian chariot warriors, called *maryannu*, were introduced to the area and their services secured for the crown by grants of fiefs. At least in the following period all Canaanite kings still bear Semitic names, and never is a *maryannu* associated with the coastal cities of Canaan. However, for whatever the causes, by the 14th century B.C.E. one finds strong social unrest in Canaan as attested by the el-Amarna Letters; the half-free class who worked the land are escaping, and popular revolutions with assassination of the king are not unknown.

[William L. Moran / S. David Sperling (2nd ed.)]

The Transition

With the rise of a new dynasty in Egypt (the 19th), the southern part of Phoenicia fell again under Egyptian dominion. Seti I (c. 1318–1301 B.C.E.) speaks of conquering Asia, and mentions, among others, Tyre and Uzu (Ushu = Palaityros). Although Seti advanced as far as Kadesh on the Orontes, there is no evidence that Egypt could retain its hold on that vast Asian territory, for in the time of Seti's son, Rameses II (c. 1301–1234 B.C.E.), Kadesh was firmly in Hittite hands. Yet Egypt continued to rule the southern part of Phoenicia. In a famous treaty, the Egyptian and Hittite kings divided Syria and Phoenicia into two spheres of influence. The borderline may have passed north of Byblos (cf. Papyrus Anastasi I; Pritchard, Texts, 475ff.). The following peace was of great importance for the cultural and material development of Phoenicia, and its overseas trade reached a peak.

1200–1000 B.C.E.

In the last years of Merneptah (1234–1224 B.C.E.), there is reference to the first waves of the invasions of the Sea Peoples into the countries of the Fertile Crescent. In the days of Rameses III (1182–1151 B.C.E.), these invasions brought with them the destruction of all the coastal towns of the eastern shore of the Mediterranean Sea. The archaeological evidence shows the total destruction of Ugarit, and the Egyptian sources speak about the conflagration of Arvad. According to a Tyrian source preserved by Josephus, there were 240 years from the founding (of Tyre) until the reign of Hiram (Ant., 8:62). This date is confirmed by Justin, who says that the king of Ashkelon (= Philistines) defeated the Sidonians, who fled and founded the town of Tyre, one year before the fall of Troy (Justin, *Trogi Pompei Historiarum Philippicarum Epitoma*, 18:3, 5). These independent sources agree that Tyre was refounded at the very end of the 13th century or the very beginning of the 12th century B.C.E. Certainly there was no new foundation, but the tradition teaches us that a juncture occurred in Phoenician history. It may be suggested further that from now on the name Sidonian was applied to the Phoenicians generally.

Emergence – First Contacts with Israel

At the beginning of the 11th century, Tiglath-Pileser I (1114–1076 B.C.E.) of Assyria arrived at the Phoenician coast. He mentions Lebanon and the towns of Arvad, Byblos, and Sidon. The story of Wen-Amon (in the first quarter of the 11th century B.C.E.; Pritchard, Texts, 25ff.; COS I, 89–93) shows the low political prestige of Egypt in the coastal towns at that time, a fact which is clearly expressed by the king of Byblos. Also the comparison of Byblos with Sidon shows Sidon's political and mercantile position. The first suggestion of contact between the tribes of Israel and the Phoenicians comes from about half a century earlier. In the Song of Deborah, the tribe of Dan already lives in the north (cf. the sequence of the tribes which did not participate in the struggle, Judg. 5:16–17), and the close relationship between the tribe of Dan and the Phoenicians can be seen from the verse: "And why did Dan remain in ships?" (Judg. 5:17), which Taeubler (*Biblische Studien*…(1958), 89ff.) interprets to mean that the Danites were seasonal workers in the harbors of Phoenicia. In the days of David there were already intermarriages with the Phoenicians (II Chron. 2:13). Similarly, there must have been intermingling between the tribe of Asher and the Phoenicians, for it says, "The Asherites dwelt among the Canaanites…for they did not drive them out" (Judg. 1:32), while the whole of the Valley of Acre and the southern Phoenician coast remained in Phoenician hands. It appears that at the end of the period of the Judges, Tyre rose to the position of the leading city on the Phoenician coast, and in the following 300 years it exercised a certain supremacy over the southern Phoenician coastal towns; W.F. Albright suggests that from this time Tyre became the capital of Phoenicia. Furthermore, Albright has propounded that it was Abibaal, the father of Hiram, who in a kind of alliance with David, destroyed the sea power of the Philistines, while David defeated them on the mainland. An alliance was formed between Hiram and Solomon (I Kings 5:15ff. = II Chron. 2:2[3]ff.), though given the superiority of Phoenician seamanship it is likely that the Phoenicians were the dominant partner (Cogan). Archaeological support is provided by finds of Phoenician wares in Israel in tenth–ninth-century contexts (Kuhrt, 408). This included the supply of Phoenician lumber and technology in exchange for Israelite agricultural products, and led to a joint venture by sea to Ophir (see *Trade and Commerce).

Height and Decline – 1000–750 B.C.E.

From the days of *Hiram the Great (c. 969–936 B.C.E.) Phoenician history, as known, becomes the history of Tyre. The external proof is the change of title: while Hiram is still called "king of Tyre" in the Bible, Ethbaal (c. 887–856 B.C.E.), the father-in-law of Ahab, is called "king of the Sidonians" (I Kings 16:31). The reign of Hiram also saw the beginning of the Phoenician colonial mercantile empire, which culminated in the foundation of Carthage in North Africa (c. 814–813 B.C.E.). By the marriage of Ahab with Jezebel, daughter of Ethbaal, the culture and religion of Phoenicia penetrated Samaria (I Kings 16:32ff.), and later by the marriage of Athaliah with Joram of Judah they also penetrated Jerusalem (II Kings 8:18; 11:18). Yet Phoenicia proved to be a haven to Elijah (I Kings 17:10). Among the allies who banded together with Hadadezer of Damascus, Irḥuleni of Hamath, and Ahab of Israel, against Shalmaneser III of Assyria at the battle of Karkar (853 B.C.E.), were the northern Phoenician towns, Arvad, Arka, Usanata, Shian, but not Byblos, Sidon, or Tyre. It may be assumed that the king of the Sidonians, ruling over the whole coast from Byblos to Acre, was behaving exactly like his predecessors and successors and avoiding a fight on the continent; his strength was in his fleet. The poem on the "Ship Tyre" in Ezekiel 27, though from a later period, may preserve some memories of Tyre at the zenith of her power. From the first years of Adad-nirari III (810–783 B.C.E.), Tyre and Sidon were among the tributary countries. The question is whether Tyre and Sidon formed a single unit, or were two different states. Tyre's leading position on the Phoenician coast is shown by the fact that it is always mentioned first in all the Assyrian lists from the days of Ashurnaṣirpal II (883–859 B.C.E.), even after the Assyrians definitely set up an independent kingdom of Sidon in the third year of Sennacherib, and it is also always mentioned first in all the pre-Exilic biblical sources (cf. Isa. 23; Jer. 47:4; Zech. 9:2).

750–538 B.C.E.

From the days of Tiglath-Pileser III (744–727 B.C.E.), a change in the Assyrian policy toward its neighboring states can be observed. One after another, the states were turned into Assyrian provinces (on the Phoenician coast, Sumuz became the main seat of the Assyrian governor). Only the main Phoenician city-states, such as Arvad, Byblos (the name of whose king is mentioned for the first time after a gap of 140 years), and Tyre, still remained "independent," certainly because of their commercial importance. In those days, another formidable enemy appeared – the growing colonial power of the Greek city-states in Cyprus, southern Italy, Sicily, and Sardinia. However, in the eyes of the prophets, Tyre was the "crowning city, whose merchants are princes, whose traders are the honorable of the earth" (Isa. 23:8; cf. Zech. 9:3).

While Shalmaneser V (726–722 B.C.E.) tried to break the power of Tyre by "liberating the subjugated towns (like Sidon, Acre, etc.)," Sargon II (721–705 B.C.E.) came to an understanding with "the king of the Sidonians," i.e., the king of Tyre. Sennacherib separated Sidon from Tyre and set it up as an independent kingdom (in 701 B.C.E.), but after an unsuccessful revolt in the days of Esarhaddon, Sidon became an Assyrian province (in 677/76 B.C.E. for about 45 years). Again the whole struggle against the imperialistic Assyrian forces was borne by Tyre alone. After a short interlude, when the Egyptian pharaoh Neco tried to reestablish Egyptian suzerainty in Greater Syria, including Phoenicia, he was defeated by Nebuchadnezzar at Carchemish (605 B.C.E.), and thus Babylon became the overlord of the Phoenician coast. At the beginning of the sixth century B.C.E. the west again revolted, with Egypt's support. After the fall of Jerusalem (586 B.C.E.), Nebuchadnezzar turned to the Phoenician cities and laid siege to Tyre as the main city of the coast (cf. Ezek. 26ff.). This siege lasted 13 years (Jos., Apion, 1:156), and ended in a conditional surrender (cf. Ezek. 29:18). At this time, the Phoenician colonies in Spain and Sicily, looking in vain for help from the mother-city against the growing Greek colonization, turned to Carthage, and with this move the real independent history of Carthage began. The contact with Tyre still continued, but now it took only a religious form. An annual tribute was sent from the daughter colony to the mother Tyre for Melkart (Melqart), literally, "the king of the city," i.e., the lord of Tyre (for the possibility that "city" in the god's name means "netherworld" see S. Ribichini, DDD, 563–65).

538–64 B.C.E.

According to Herodotus, the Phoenician towns opened their gates to Cyrus the Great of their own free will (*Persian Wars*, 3:91). From this time, Sidon, where the Persian king had one of his palaces, became the leading city of the Phoenician coast (cf. Ezra 3:7; I Chron. 22:4). The hegemony of Sidon is shown by the hierarchy of the command of the Persian fleet, since the king of Sidon is mentioned before the kings of Tyre and Arvad (Herod., *ibid.*, 7:96, 98). Territorial rights to parts of the coast (mostly to the south, in Palestine) were granted to the main Phoenician towns, and Sidon, Tyre, and Arvad together, founded the city of Tripolis. Here the Phoenician cities now held assemblies, and together dealt with the Persian government. The cruel suppression of the great revolt of Sidon (about 350 B.C.E.) by Artaxerxes III was not forgotten by the Sidonians, who opened their gates to Alexander the Great. Tyre, in contrast, sustained a siege of nine months before it was conquered (332 B.C.E.) by Alexander, who built a dike from the coast to the island. Since that time, Tyre has been situated on a peninsula. During the wars of the successors of Alexander, the Diadochoi, the Phoenician coast not only changed hands from the Seleucids to the Ptolemies but the main cities also exploited these quarrels to become independent and counted the years accordingly (Tyre from 274 B.C.E., and a new era from 126 B.C.E., Sidon from 111 B.C.E., Beirut from 81 B.C.E.). In 64 B.C.E. the Phoenician coast was incorporated into the Roman Empire, with certain special rights for both Sidon and Tyre. In the last years of the Second Temple in Jerusalem, the Phoenicians are called anti-Jewish by Josephus (Apion, 7:70). Still, from the time of the Maccabees until the destruction of the Temple, the Tyrian coinage (*kesep ṣōri*) because of its purity and reliability was the official standard for specific payments whose amounts were defined in the Bible (Tosef., Ket. 13:3).

Phoenician Colonization

The Phoenician colonization – which was, in fact, Tyrian colonization, for none of the other Phoenician cities established colonies – was quite different from that of the Greeks. Its main purpose was the securing of trading posts. It may be assumed that it started with the establishment of such centers in Cyprus. One of the oldest, if not the oldest, Phoenician settlement there was the town of Citium/ Kition (modern Larnaka), the *Kittim of the Bible (cf. Gen. 10:4), which may have been called Utica (cf. Jos., Ant., 8:146). It is said that its inhabitants revolted against the mother-city, Tyre, and were subdued by Hiram, the contemporary of King Solomon. From Cyprus, the Phoenicians penetrated, via Rhodes, to the Aegean Sea (according to Greek mythology Cadmus of Tyre came to Boeotia and introduced a number of arts, of which the most important was writing – Herod., *Persian Wars*, 5:57–58; cf. also the Phoenician merchantmen in the poems of Homer). According to Thucydides (*Peloponnesian War*, 6:2), the Phoenicians at one time had settlements all around the island of Sicily, although later they withdrew to the southwest. From Sicily they spread out to Sardinia in the north, and by way of the islands Malta and Gozo, southward to North Africa (Utica and Carthage), and from North Africa westward to Spain. It is possible that the Phoenician merchants reached Spain as early as the tenth century during the reign of Hiram (W.F. Albright, 1961, in bibl. against B. Mazar who thinks they date from the time of Ethbaal, about the middle of the ninth century). Josephus has preserved a notice that Ethbaal founded two colonies, one on the Phoenician coast itself and one in Lybia (Ant., 8:324). This Phoenician colonization of North Africa is not only reported in the classical literature, but also reflected in the Talmud and Midrash, and much later in the early Christian historiography as "an expulsion of the Canaanites by Joshua" (cf. H. Lewy, in: MGWJ, 77 (1933), 84ff.). The climax of Phoenician colonization was the foundation of Carthage according to tradition in 814/813 B.C.E. Thus far archaeological evidence is found no earlier than the second half of the eighth century. About the middle of the seventh century, the Carthaginians, the descendants of the Phoenicians, and the native populations took under their protection the Tyrian colonies, which were now endangered by the Greek colonization. Unlike the Greek colonial movement, Tyre's greatness rested on her mercantile colonies, which remained subjects of the mother-city. They paid their annual tithes to Melkart in Tyre, for Melkart, or the Tyrian Baal, now became also the chief deity in each colony.

EXPLORATION AND COMMERCE. The geographical conditions of Phoenicia dictated the pursuits and undertakings of its inhabitants; sea trade, fishing, and small industry. The Phoenicians claimed that they invented the building of ships and the art of fishing. The magnificent forest of Lebanon provided the wood for the ships, and the introduction of iron made it possible to build larger and more seaworthy ships, called "ships of Tarshish," which gave an impetus to more distant voyages. From the beginning of the tenth century, we can trace Phoenician colonization via Cyprus, to the western part of the Mediterranean – Sicily, Malta, North Africa, Sardinia, Corsica, and Spain – but it appears that the dates of the classical historians, who ascribe Phoenician colonization to the beginning of the 11th century, must be lowered by more than 100 years. Many Semitic names, however, have preserved the memory of Phoenician colonization, e.g., Cition (= Kittim) in Cyprus, Utica (= Watiga) and Carthage (qart-Ḥadasht) in North Africa, Cadez (= Gadar) and Tartessos (= Tarshish) in Spain. The Phoenicians actually founded only trading posts (this is the original meaning of Tarshish according to Albright) which engaged not only in trade, but also in a search for raw materials. The Phoenicians brought their own manufactures to the West, but to a far greater extent they acted as middlemen, transporting incense and spices from Arabia. These overseas expeditions were undertaken by guilds of merchantmen, with the king acting as representative both of the state and of the merchants (cf. *The Journey of Wen-Amon*; Pritchard, Texts, 25ff.; COS I, 89–93). The trips to *Ophir undertaken by Hiram and Solomon in partnership are the most famous examples of these expeditions. Ophir was apparently on the African coast, in the general region of Somaliland (Albright, Arch Rel, 133; cf. I Kings 9:28; 10:11, and for Jehoshaphat's aborted attempt, I Kings 22:49). The daring of the Phoenicians as sailors is shown by the expedition they made at the command of Pharaoh Neco, circumnavigating Africa by sailing south from the Red Sea and home through the Pillars of Hercules. Herodotus, who writes about this (*Persian Wars*, 4:42), discounts as incredible what in fact is the proof of its truth, namely, the fact that the Phoenician sailors claimed to have seen the sun on the right, i.e., to the north. Another famous voyage was made by Hanno from Carthage to Central Africa (approximately, Ivory Coast), at the beginning of the fifth century B.C.E.

INDUSTRY AND ART. The most famous industry of the Phoenicians was the manufacture of purple dye (it is possible that the name "Phoenicia" was derived from the industry; see above). Second in importance was weaving; the multicolored garments of the Phoenicians are mentioned in nearly all tribute lists of the Assyrian kings. Furthermore, the Phoenicians excelled in handicrafts: ivory objects, metalwork, metal statuettes and small stone sculptures, jewelry, and seals. Although the Phoenicians are credited with the invention of glass, it appears that they only developed the technique of its manufacture, for which they became famous in classical times. The purpose of all these handicrafts was not aesthetic but commercial. This is one of the reasons for the mixed styles, mostly borrowed from the neighboring countries and adapted to the taste of the customers. The Phoenicians were also famous as builders and architects (cf., e.g., the Temple of Solomon).

Religion

Little is known about the Phoenician religion (C. Bonnet and P. Xella apud Krings, 316–33; P. Scmitz, ABD, 5:357–63). Although over 6,000 inscriptions in Phoenician and Punic (overseas Phoenician) are known, there are no hymns, prayers, or god lists. Mostly, the inscriptions mention some specific deities, clients, and rituals. The excavations at *Ugarit in northern Syria of the late second millennium B.C.E. have brought to light many religious texts, myths, and rituals, which have enriched modern knowledge. The head of the pantheon was El, and his wife was Asherat of the Sea. In the poems about Baal and his sister Anath, their war against the gods of the underworld is recorded. These Ugaritic texts confirm to some extent the short notes of Philo of Byblos, which are quoted by Eusebius (*Praeparatio Evangelica*, 1:10, 7), about the Phoenician religion, and show a certain amount of continuity. At the same time much changed over a millennium thanks to Phoenician colonization resulting in increased contact with other cultures and the penetration of Hellenistic culture. In general each city-state had its own chief deity: El in Ugarit, Dagon in Arvad, the Lady of Byblos in Byblos, Eshmun in Sidon, Melkart in Tyre, Baal (Melkert)-Hammon in Carthage. The most important goddesses were Astarte, in the east, and Tanit/Tinnit, in the west. B. Mazar has noted that from the first half of the tenth century, a new deity appears in the pantheon, Baalshamem. Baalshamem may be identified with the Greek Zeus, whose temple is mentioned by Menander and Dius (Jos., Apion, 7:113, 118). Mazar suggests that this new deity should be connected with the colonial movement (cf. also the group of gods connected with navigation in the seventh-century treaty between Esarhaddon and Baal, king of Tyre: Baalshamem (Roellig, DDD, 149–51), Baalmadge ("Lord of Fishery"), and Baal-saphon (Niehr, DDD, 152–54)). The gods Eshmun (Ribichini, DDD, 307–9) and Melqart (Ribichinini, DDD, 563–65) are also newcomers unknown in the second millennium. There is no doubt that the Phoenician temples bore similarities to the Temple of Solomon, with two main pillars in front (cf. Jos., Apion, 1:118; Herod., *Persian Wars*, 2:44; and graphically, Harden, in bibl., *The Phoenicians*, pl. 50). The Phoenicians buried their dead in coffins as a rule, but there is also some archaeological evidence that they burned them. It is known that in Carthage the custom of infant sacrifices prevailed, which may have some connection with the cult of *Moloch (cf. II Kings 23:10). An inscription found at Incirli in Turkey may contain a reference to Moloch and human sacrifice (Kaufman and Zuckerman apud Holm).

Language and Literature – Later Period

The Phoenician language, which was spoken for more than 2,000 years, belongs to the northwest Semitic group. It is strongly related to Hebrew. As late as the fifth century C.E. there was to be found in North Africa a rustic dialect based on the Punic language, which is a descendant of Carthaginian, itself a descendant of the Phoenician language. The earliest Phoenician alphabetic text comes from the 11th century

B.C.E.; we already find here the *alphabet of 22 consonants. Greek tradition tells us that the Phoenicians invented the alphabet, since it was from the Phoenician merchants that the Greeks learned alphabetic writing. At the courts of the Phoenician kings, archives were kept, dealing with historical events (cf. Jos., Ant., 8:144ff., 324; 9:283ff.; Apion, 1:159ff.) and mercantile accounts (cf. *The Journey of Wen-Amon* (Pritchard, Texts, 25ff.); the correspondence between Hiram and Solomon (I Kings 5:15ff.). The Phoenician merchants were opposed to any descriptions of their voyages, with one exception: "The Periplus of Hanno," which has come down in its Greek translation (*Hannōnis Periplūs*). The epigraphic material from Phoenicia and from its colonies is very scarce. The most famous inscriptions are the sarcophagus of Aḥiram, king of Byblos (beginning of the tenth century B.C.E.); the Yeḥawmilk stele (about the middle of the fifth century); the sarcophagi of Tabnit and of Eshmunezer of Sidon (generally dated to the middle of the fifth century, but probably from the times of the Ptolemaic kings). Yet the longest Phoenician inscription on stone was discovered not in Phoenicia itself but in Cilica at Karatepe. It is a bilingual (Hittite and Phoenician) building inscription, of 62 lines (probably mid-eighth century B.C.E.). Another Phoenician inscription comes from Zinjirli, in northwest Syria (the building inscription of Kilamuwa, king of Y'dy), and dates from the second half of the ninth century. Other Phoenician inscriptions (some of which are bilingual) have been discovered in Cyprus, Rhodes, Sicily, Sardinia (e.g., the so-called Nora stone), Malta, Egypt, and even Attica. Examples of Phoenician writings occur on the coins of the main Phoenician towns, such as Arvad, Beirut, Byblos, Marathus, Ptolemais-Acre, Sidon, and Tyre. For a survey of Phoenician inscriptions see D. Vance, in: BA, 57 (1994), 110–20.

[H. Jacob Katzenstein / S. David Sperling (2nd ed.)]

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PHOENIX, capital and largest city of Arizona. Its Jewish population in 2002 was 83,000, the 13th largest in the United States and growing. The first known Jew in Phoenix was Dr. Herman Bendell, who arrived in 1871, a year after the town was laid out, as Superintendent of Indian Affairs for the Arizona Territory. The first Jewish settlers came in 1872: Emil Ganz, a Civil War veteran, who was elected Mayor of Phoenix in 1887; Michael and Joseph *Goldwater (Goldwasser,) who founded a family mercantile dynasty that grew from a wilderness outpost into a statewide chain; Other early arrivals were Hyman Goldberg, his sons Aaron and David, and his brother Isaac (1875); Adolph, Leo, and Charles Goldberg (1879); Wolf Sachs; Joe Melczer; Selig Michelson, postmaster from 1908 to 1912; Gus Hirschfield; Harry Friedman; Pincus Kalsman; I.J. Lipson; and Isaac Rosenzweig. Aaron Goldberg, sat in the ninth and tenth territorial legislatures (1899–1901,) authored the bill that made Phoenix the capital, and his brother, Hyman was elected to the 19th and 20th legislatures. Barnett E. Marks, a young lawyer, who also organized the first Sunday school, later became assistant U.S. attorney for Arizona (1927–28.) Both Barnett and his wife, Freeda, were elected to the state legislature (1922.) Jews have been active in the political and civic life of the city. Rabbi Abraham Krohn of Beth Israel was memorialized in the city in 1958 when it named a public housing development for him. The mayor of Phoenix in 2006, Phil Gordon, was an active member of the Jewish community.

Informal Jewish worship services began in 1906 in a room over Melczer's saloon under the leadership of Barnett Marks. Temple Beth Israel was begun in 1921 as the first synagogue in Phoenix with funds raised by local sections of B'nai B'rith and the National Council of Jewish Women, which had been organized in 1917. Temple Beth Israel relocated to a new building in 1949. The original sanctuary was used as a Baptist church until 2002 when it was acquired by the AZ Jewish Historical Society with plans for restoration. Jews began coming to Phoenix for their health around 1920. The Jewish population increased dramatically after World War II as soldiers who had been stationed in Arizona returned to the state with their families. The city became one of the fastest-growing cities in the country, a major southwest trading center, and a haven for winter residents from all parts of the U.S. It is estimated that 2,000 Jewish families move to the Phoenix area yearly. There are over 40 congregations – Orthodox, Conservative, Reform, Humanistic, and Jewish Renewal. The Jewish Federation of Greater Phoenix supports 11 constituent agencies including the Bureau of Jewish Education, Council for Jews with Special Needs, Greater Phoenix Va'ad HaKashrut, Hillel at Arizona State University, Jewish Community Foundation, Jewish Family and Children's Service, King David School, Kivel Campus of Care, Pardes Jewish Day School, and two Community Centers. The community also has two other day schools: Phoenix Hebrew Academy and Jess Schwartz Community High School. The Federation has a very strong Israel office stressing programming, travel opportunities, and economic partnerships. The Phoenix Sister City Commission accepted a partnership with Ramat Gan in Israel (2005.) Cities of Scottsdale, Tempe, Chandler, Gilbert (all east of Phoenix) and Surprise (west of Phoenix) have growing Jewish communities. Surrounding retirement communities are Sun City, Sun City West, Sun City Grand, and Sun Lakes. (Other organized congregations in Arizona are in Flagstaff, Kingman, Lake Havasu, Prescott, Sedona, and Yuma.) According to a demographic study conducted in 2002 the Jewish population in Greater Phoenix included approximately 83,000 in 44,000 Jewish households, a 138% increase since 1984.

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PHOENIX. The Greek legend of the phoenix, the fabulous bird that lives forever, is mentioned in apocalyptic literature with various addenda, as for example that "its food is the manna of heaven and the dew of the earth, and from its excrement the cinnamon tree grows" (III Bar. 6: 13). Some contend that the *ḥol* mentioned in Job 29:18 is the phoenix. It is so translated in the Septuagint, while the Midrash explains it as referring to that bird "which lives for a thousand years. At the end of a thousand years fire comes out of its nest and consumes it, and leaving behind of itself about the size of an egg, it reproduces limbs and lives again." Another view holds that after a thousand years "its body is consumed, its wings moult," and it renews itself (Gen. R. 19:5). This idea of a bird's renewing itself after a great age is applied elsewhere to the griffon *vulture (Ps. 103:5). However, it is not definite that in Job *ḥol* refers to the phoenix, since it may mean sea sand which is "eternal."

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[Jehuda Feliks]

PHOTIS, village marked on the Madaba Map between Orda and Elusa on the Gaza-Elusa road. It has been identified both with the Aphtha of Josephus (Jos., Wars 4: 155) and with the Aphta of Johannes Rufus (*Plerophoria*, 48; in *Patrologia orientalis*, vol. 8, p. 100), the more likely identification. The ancient site of Photis has been established at Khirbat Fuṭays, east of Gaza, with the remains of a settlement and a church; close by is the Monastery of Silvanus. In the Wadi Fuṭays are the remains of Byzantine silos. The moshav Pattish was founded on the site in 1950.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: M. Avi-Yonah, *Madaba Mosaic Map* (1954), 73; Avi-Yonah, Geog, 169. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** Y. Tsafrir, L. Di Segni, and J. Green, *Tabula Imperii Romani. Iudaea – Palaestina. Maps and Gazetteer.* (1994), 203.

[Michael Avi-Yonah / Shimon Gibson]

PHOTOGRAPHY. The first photographer known to be of Jewish birth was Solomon Nunes *Carvalho, an American who in 1853–54 served as artist-photographer with John C. Frémont's expedition to the Far West. However, the 19th century did not produce many photographers with Jewish backgrounds. Jews took their place as photographers on the world scene in the 20th century. Among the inventors, the names of Leopold *Mannes and Leopold *Godowsky, the musician-scientists who in 1933 produced Kodachrome, and five years later Ektachrome, rank high. Polaroid, one of the most ingenious of all photographic devices, was invented by Edwin H. *Land. The list of distinguished Jewish photojournalists, beginning with Erich *Salomon, who originated candid photography with the first of the miniature cameras invented in the early 1920s, through John Heartfield (1892–1968), who, in montage photographs of vitriolic satire, blasted the Nazi hierarchy in various German publications until he was forced to flee for his life in the early 1930s, to the ubiquitous magazine photographers, is an extensive and impressive one.

The biggest pool of talented recorders of big world stories is to be found among the staff of *Life* magazine. Alfred *Eisenstaedt, who joined *Life* in 1936 when it was founded, had, by 1969, covered more than 2,000 assignments, and more than 90 of his photographs had been used as *Life* covers. Other famous Jewish staff members included Eliot Elisofon (1911–1973), Fritz Goro (1901–1986), Dmitri Kessel, Ralph Crane, Yale Joel, Ralph Morse, David E. Scherman, and Bernard Hoffman. The equally gifted free-lance photographers whose pictures regularly appear in the pages of *Life* as well as its sister magazine, *Time*, have also included extraordinarily gifted photographers such as Cornell Capa, Bruce Davidson (1933–), Elliot Erwitt (1928–), Burt Glinn (1926–), Philippe *Halsman, Archie Lieberman, Arnold *Newman, and Arthur Siegel (1913–1978). *Look Magazine* had on its staff such brilliant photographers as Arthur Rothstein (1915–1985), while Alex Liberman became the photographer-artist-art director for *Vogue*. Freelance photojournalists work through photo agencies. Two of the leading ones in 1970 were Rapho-Guilumette, directed by one of the ablest administrators in the field, Charles Redo, and Magnum Photos by Inge Bondi. Among the great number of Jewish photo-journalists belonging to these two agencies have been Joe Rosenthal (1912–1981), of the Associated Press, who took the dramatic "Raising of the Flag on Mt. Suribachi in Iwo Jima, 1943"; Diane Arbus (1923–1971), whose photographs of transvestites were exhibited at the Museum of Modern Art, New York, in 1968; Morris Rosenfeld, photographer of yacht races; Robert Frank (1924–), known for his pictures of the seamy side of U.S. life; Ben *Shahn, whose photographs for the Farm Security Administration were later used as themes for his famous posters and paintings; and Arthur Rothstein, Edwin Rosskam (d. 2006), and Charles Rotkin (1916–2004), who all photographed the American dust bowl for FSA during the depression years of the 1930s.

Photography has dominated fashion and product photography since the 1940s. The remarkably versatile Irving Penn (1917–) had a flair for graceful, bold compositions, and like Richard Avedon (1923–2004) and Eliot Elisofon was an adventurous explorer and unique stylist in fashion photography. Through unconventional lighting, exaggerated poses, startling costumes, and exotic backgrounds, fashion photographers all over the world have created eye-catching images that have more than once changed female attire everywhere. Two emerging talents in fashion photography at the end of the 1960s were Melvin Sokolsky and William Klein (1926–). Architectural photography, which requires a highly developed sense of design, and the ability to plan a series of photographs from strategic vantage points at exact moments during the day or night, found an exceptional practitioner in Ezra Stoller. Abstract images, found in objects ordinarily ignored, became the "new reality" of Aaron *Siskind, who, as head of the photography department of the Illinois Institute of Technology and founder of the Society for Photographic Education, exercised considerable influence as teacher-photographer. A gifted student of Siskind's at IIT, Len Gittleman, became head of photography at Carpenter Center, Harvard University. Other members of the Society for Photographic Education have been Martin Dworkin of Columbia University, Bernard Freemesser of the University of Oregon; Jerome Liebling (1924–) of the University of Minnesota; Jerry Uelsmann (1934–) of the University of Florida; and Ralph Kopell of the State College of Iowa. It is not surprising that photographers of war and battle should rank as distinguished cameramen. David *Seymour (Chim; 1911–1956) was such a person – he died in the Sinai Campaign of 1956; Robert *Capa was another – he died in 1954 in the Indochina War; and among the first casualties in the Six-Day War of 1967 was Paul Schutzer (1930–1967), a staff photographer of *Life*. Combat photographers have inner discipline, and it was this same quality which caused the death in an air crash of Dan Weiner (1919–1959), who flew out in a storm to cover an assignment in the Kentucky mountains, and of Camilla Koffler (Ylla), the famous photographer of wild animals, who was killed in an accident in 1970 while photographing a wild bullock in India.

Photography, which unites art and science, was a child of the Industrial Revolution. It was the first art in history to owe its very existence to a scientific instrument. However, it would be wrong to think of science-minded Fritz Goro or Roman *Vishniac as cold and factual reporters of the modern world. They are poets who have drawn upon technology at its most advanced to reveal the poetry of an emerging world of thought and feeling. Photography was born largely as a result of the efforts of portrait painters to find some reliable means of getting an accurate likeness.

Portrait photography has been a big industry for over a century. The giants in portrait photography are few, but Arnold Newman and Philippe Halsman, two Jews, are certainly among them. So too are Eliot Elisofon, Alfred Eisenstaedt, *Izis in France, and Alfred Stieglitz. They all share the one essential quality that makes a portrait photographer, the ability to interpret a complex personality creatively, discovering something fresh and important to say. Newman is a master of symbolism that underlines and reinforces his central message. Halsman is a brilliantly inventive and witty graphic artist whose chosen medium is light.

There have been some distinguished Jewish curators, editors, journalists, and critics of photography, especially in the last three decades. Among these are Grace Mayer, curator of photography, the Edward Steichen Memorial Collection, at the Museum of Modern Art, New York, from 1962; Jacob Kainen (1909–2001), curator of prints and drawings, The National Collection of Fine Arts, Washington, DC; Eugene Ostroff, curator of photography, Smithsonian Institute, Washington, DC; Lewis Walton Sipley (1897–1968), director, American Museum of Photography, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; Margaret Weiss, photography critic for the *Saturday Review*; Jacob Deschin (1900–1983), photography critic for the *New York Times*; David B. Eisendrath, science-oriented columnist of *Popular Photography*; Helmut Gernsheim (1913–1995), photography historian of London, England; and Albert Boni, who assembled and edited the comprehensive photographic bibliography published in 1962, *Photographic Literature*.

[Peter Pollack]

While no definitive "Jewish" photography style emerged, many of the practitioners of landmark photographic images were Jewish. Among them were Nan *Goldin, Annie *Leibovitz, Garry *Winogrand, and Helen *Levitt, who continued to be active into her nineties. At least two European-born photographers, Helmut *Newton and Andre *Kertesz, did significant work as Americans.

In Israel

The early photographers in Ereẓ Israel included Yaakov Ben Dov, Alfred Bernheim, and Shemuel Josef Schweig. Among the contemporary photographers working in Israel are many doing press work and producing picture books on the Holy Land. Among them are Werner Braun, David Rubinger, Micha Bar Am, Peter Merom, and David Harris.

CAMERA JUDAICA

Introduction

The great upsurge of interest in photographing Jewish subjects and in the understanding of photography as documenting the many facets of Jewish life in the past is a phenomenon of more recent years. More exactly, one could speak of a wave of renewed interest, a reinforced presence of photographs aimed at recording Jewishness and Jewish existence, and of a more outspoken use of old photographs as an instrument to safeguard Jewish memory. One feels today a more conscious and concerted involvement of photographers, photo-editors, and curators in an effort to interpret Jewish life through photography than ever before. The age of Jewish photography has arrived.

Moreover, and complementarily, in our age of the threefold domination of the cultural and social life by the camera – through photography (and photojournalism), through film (fiction and documentary), and through television and video – Jewishness itself seems to strive to express its presence in an image-oriented, visible dimension. The emancipated appearance on the one hand, and on the other the admired "sabra with an 'Aryan' look" (cf. the Paul Newman-alias-Ari ben Canaan ideal in the film "Exodus") evolves into a more expressive "Jewish is Beautiful" ideal. The latter is sometimes characterized by an ungroomed haircut-cum-beard often adorned with a big "*Chai*" sign (or a larger-than-life *Magen David*) and sometimes crowned with a *yarmulke*. Photogenic Judaism of the 1970s and 1980s is more visually aggressive than its 1950s–1960s predecessor. The once most powerful expression of the attitude to photography of Orthodox Jews, the refusal to be photographed, is today increasingly limited to the narrowest fringe. The "we have the right to be different" expression of Judaism has become more outward-projected and less abstract. The cameras were there, among other factors, and played their role.

The beginning of the New Wave in Jewish photography could be set in 1974. Three important photographic books, all relating to contemporary Jewish history, appeared in that year, independently of each other. In the German-speaking area, photographer and photo-editor Franz Hubmann published his *Jewish Family Album*. Germanic and bourgeois in its spirit and composition, the album mainly represented the West European Jewish Family. A photographic social history, it ended (significantly, as we will see) before 1939. In New York, journalist and writer Abraham Shulman compiled and created another family album, *The Old Country*. His book focused on the poor cousin, eastern European Jewry. Also in New York in 1974, Leyzer Ran compiled and composed a two-volume documentation about pre-war Vilna, *Jerusalem of Lithuania*. Here the photographs and other documents represented mostly the organized Jewish life, including its destruction and the resistance. Hubmann, Shulman, and Ran, the three compiler-authors, created, through photographs, different views of the Jewish experience. And yet, the books share certain traits that remain discernible in photographic books and exhibitions of later years.

In 1976, Abraham Shulman, perhaps encouraged by the reception of his *Old Country*, published *The New Country*, depicting Jewish immigration and early days in America. Also in 1976, the Jewish Museum in New York exhibited *Image Before my Eyes*, a photographic history of Jewish life in Poland between 1864 and 1939 (again), prepared by the YIVO Institute of Jewish Research in New York. Lucjan Dobroszycki and Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett turned it into a book in 1977; a year later, the book was itself turned into a film. By the same time, a collective of young American Jews sponsored an amateur-photography contest that led to the publication of a book entitled *Behold a Great Image*, published by the Jewish Publication Society of America in 1978. In the same year, the Diaspora Museum in Tel Aviv opened its doors to the biggest Jewish photography exhibit/slide show/gallery ever created. This was the year in which the introduction of the image into the realm of representing Jewishness reached its culmination. To the more traditional and religious reader, this statement might sound like a heresy; in reality, there is a transformation. The process goes on, both in compilation and new photography. In 1980 and 1984, the sociologist Gerard Silvain published in Paris, in French, two large volumes based on his collection of (mostly photographic) postcards. The first, *Jewish Images and Traditions*, includes a thousand postcards illustrating Jewish life. The other, *Two Destinies in the Diaspora*, juxtaposes two fictional life stories, one Ashkenazi, the other Sephardi, also based on postcards. Also in the 1980s, the Diaspora Museum initiated three worldwide contests in photographing Jewish life. At the same time, the Museum assigned several photographers to take pictures relevant to contemporary Jewish history and sociology. In 1985 Yeshayahu Nir's book *The Bible and the Image, the History of Photography in the Holy Land 1839–1899* appeared; its popularized Hebrew version *Jerusalem and Ereẓ Israel: In the Footsteps of Early Photographers* appeared in Israel in 1986. In both editions, Jewish attitudes toward photography are discussed; the latter focuses on Jewish life in pre-Zionist and pre-Mandatory Palestine.

There is little doubt that these books and exhibitions represent less than a carefully orchestrated effort, more than a fad or a fashion. They embody a spontaneously growing cultural movement that arises from certain needs, that focuses certain energies, responds to certain realities. They demonstrate that Jewish photography is a fact, definable as the body of photographic images of Jews and of their culture taken, "encoded," by Jews integrated in it and meaningful to a Jewish audience able to "decode" it. There exists, undeniably, a photographic discourse on Jewish life. It has its themes, motifs, tendencies, and ideologies.

Motifs, Past and Present

TYPES AND FACES. *Behold a Great Image*, the photography book that has contemporary Jewishness as its theme, offers perhaps the best starting-point for an introduction to a taxonomy of Jewish motifs in photography. The book is a clearly shaped statement that presents its theme in clearly delimited, ideologically charged terms; it was edited by a team of Jewish activists and militants who used pictures taken by many photographers, most likely all Jewish. Finally, it was published by a representative and prestigious Jewish publishing house.

One opens the book and sees, first and foremost, faces: a first reaction is, "These faces are me, these are my people, they received the Law together with me on Mount Sinai, we were together through the Inquisition and the ghetto, it is for them that we have taken to guns and have built a country."

The fact that one might be as far from religion as the authors are from atheism and still identify with these images may serve as evidence as to the validity of the opening sequence. Of the 28 faces depicted, the opening double spread and 11 more pictures do not carry any unequivocal graphic sign of Judaism. Faces in this context serve as signs of identity, and identification is axiomatic to photography. The act of recognition of the Self (or its part) in photographs of the other is the most general and basic function of photography in society and in culture.

The first section, "Faces," is followed by sections on "Children" and "Elderly"; this reads of course that Judaism is a family, a tribe, first and foremost. True, the book represents the editors' specific ideas influenced by "*Ẓedakah* collectives," engaged in voluntary social work. It draws both on feelings of compassion and on sentimentality, also axiomatic to much of photography. But the book's message goes beyond its narrow and immediate aims. In "Children" and "Elderly" and the following sections – "Hasidim," "Trade," "Food," "Demonstrations," "Cemeteries," and "Holocaust" – Family and Tribe become an ethnicity with its own garment, gastronomy, alphabet, political interest, and history. Many of these are perennial motifs in Jewish photography that can be found in retrospective photography books and in modern photographic monographs, and they invite a more detailed discussion.

Whoever enters the permanent exhibition at the Diaspora Museum is first touched by the show-window "Faces" that seems to welcome the visitor. It is a never-ending audiovisual display of Jewish "types," similar in its conception and impact to the opening sequence of *Behold a Great Image*. Gerard Silvain's *Jewish Images and Traditions* also opens with "types." And, as Silvain implies, the "Jewish type" is a problematic image. At the beginning of his compilation, there are three postcard-photographs entitled "The Eternal Jew," showing poor, bearded, French ambulant merchants and vagabonds. The photographed "types" that is to say, the models, are not Jewish; yet, they may "seem Jewish," especially in antisemitic eyes. According to Silvain, it was the oral tradition that assimilated such French "types" to Jews, the eternal wanderers. But ambiguities of perception are present even in responses to authentic images. A typical postcard brought later by Silvain shows a "Jewish type." Such postcards, having Jews and other "types" as subjects, were very popular in their time and had nothing denigrating in them. And yet one of the postcards carried an inscription and signature handwritten by the sender: "The town of Leopol (?) is half populated by these dirty Jews. Germaine." Silvain brings another postcard, from Algiers, that also shows in a characteristically typical and neutral manner a young Jewish woman. The handwritten note is quite different in spirit: "Pas mal. Hein! Levy."("Not bad, isn't it! Levy.") As the signatures indicate, the images – in both cases – were created in the beholders' eyes, and so were the connotations. However, although antisemitic propaganda richly used photographs of Jewish faces, none of the portraits used in *Behold a Great Image* or the Diaspora Museum slide show would attract antisemitic editors today. Jewish photography is actively and consciously involved in the de-caricaturization of the Jewish stereotype. True, very often this tendency leads to an excessive beautification and romanticization of the distinctive traits of the Jewish face. Nevertheless, many photographers of the past and the present portrayed "Jewish types" with sensitive eyes and minds. Some did it with a touch of greatness.

CELEBRATIONS, CUSTOMS AND STUDY: RITES. Few subjects seem as obviously belonging to the field of Jewish photography as weddings (the universally most preferred subject of the trade) and bar mitzvahs. Theirs is a powerful link: they are both memorable family events and graphically expressive rites. Weddings and bar mitzvahs are perceived as prestige-conferring social events in the time they occur, and the value of their depiction rises with time, as they find their way onto walls and into family-albums. The canopy above the bride and groom, the *tallit* on the youngster's shoulder, provide the Jewish color. It was no miracle that this subject developed into a full-fledged photographic genre.

New Year greeting cards are one of the oldest "holidays" and "Jewish Year" subjects in Jewish trade photography. For the amateur's camera Ḥanukkah candles are among the most favorite subjects of the Jewish year, with their light preferably reflected on children's faces. The environment of study, the yeshivah, the *ḥeder* and the Jewish scribe belong to this order of subjects. Jewish study and scripture is a religious practice, a celebration, one rite among others. Other powerful links are at work here: *ḥeder* means children, yeshivah and scribes – most often – elderly, all "graphic" types. Unfortunately, photography of rites became the very realm of schmaltz, with children, brides, and scribes, and without them.

An interesting innovation in this field was, a few decades ago, the clash between objects of rite with objects of modern life. Photography is profane, and so are most of its subjects. Images such as truck drivers in ḥasidic garments, a *yarmulke* on the head of a laboratory specialist, a *lulav* in the hands of a man in overalls, *tefillin* on the forehead of a tank commander have at once secularized Judaism and by the same token have spiritualized its secular dimension. Today, even this relatively new genre seems overworked and outworn, one kitschy cliché among others.

Greatness, authentic belief, and real cultural values are best served with straight, "documentary" or "anthropological" photographs, or with subdued, somewhat enigmatic images. Roman Vishniac's pictures from 1938 eastern Europe mostly belong to the first category. Nahum T. Gidal's photograph entitled, "The Night in Meron" (taken in 1935), which shows in semi-darkness a traditionally dressed man half leaning, half lying on a building's arched roof, is perhaps the best example of the second. Vorobeichic's 1931 constructivist photo-montage of bookshelves in the Vilna rabbinical library also touches the realm of mystery.

TRADES AND STREETS. The shtetl – wooden houses, twisted lanes, Jewish artisans and poor storekeepers – preserves the ever present images of our past. To be sure, in a few streets and in some trades the shtetl is well and alive even in our days. Jewish photographers detect and depict it as a curious mixture of relics from the past and of present-day decay, which it, most often, is. But then, photography has this curious power to pictorialize rubbish and romanticize poverty. If rites are the realm of schmaltz, the shtetl is the realm of nostalgia. The fact that old photographs survived the vagaries of time provides them with an additional aura – as if time itself survived with them. Nothing feeds nostalgia as exquisitely as old photographs. Given the extreme hardships, misery, and martyrdom of the old days, one must admit that old pictures feed warm feelings toward a world that never existed in reality.

The beauty of nostalgia, in spite of the appearances, is not a celebration of the past, a real longing to live again, in the future within the conditions of the past. It is a self-assuring celebration of memory itself. To turn old photographs, vital evidence of bygone times, into historical documents, therefore, necessitates a demystifying reading. This means to analyze and deconstruct the idealizing photographic techniques on the one hand, and the falsifying connotations of a selective memory on the other.

It is easy to enjoy the heartwarming old images, knowing that the "golden" olden days when Jewish poverty – often, utmost poverty – was a fact of life, are over. This is not the case when poor socio-economic status and low prestige persist. In 1975 Jerusalem's Israel Museum organized a large scale representation of Jewish life in Morocco. Some of the photographs that were to be included displayed poverty and connoted, moreover, "underdevelopment" and "primitiveness." A prominent Israeli investigator of folklore born in Morocco and involved in the preparation of the exhibition threatened to demonstrate violently his opposition to the enterprise should these photographs, whose authenticity he did not deny, be exposed. One senses behind this opposition an anxiety that they may have confirmed negative stereotypes concerning the Moroccan immigration still current in the more established strata of Israeli society. That such an opposition was never recorded among descendants of eastern-European poor Jews does not imply that the shtetl was less poor than the mellah, the Moroccan Jewish quarter. It indicates that it belonged, already, to a more distant past. It also indicates that the mellah did not find its Vorobeichic, Vishniac, and Gidal.

CEMETERIES. Cemeteries exercise a powerful attraction for Jewish photographers. There is hardly an illustrated book or an exhibition about Jewish communities where a photograph of tombstones – mostly taken from middle distance – is absent. Paradoxically they signify survival and continuity of the ethnic group. Old tombstones are signs of life, albeit of life gone, but they represent people and a people. With their Hebrew inscriptions, old Jewish tombstones signify survival of a culture, both in the eyes of Jews and of their opponents. Antisemites do not analyze signs. Their instincts tell them that by destroying and desecrating Jewish cemeteries they pose a potent threat to Jewish culture and life.

Nature, always present in photographs of cemeteries, plays a double role, of both adversary and catalyst. The photogeny of tombstones, even half-broken and half-lying, consists of their victory over grass and thistle that threaten to overgrow them and to condemn them to disappearance and oblivion. They signify victory of a cultural artifact over the surrounding nature. On the other hand, adorning the stones and their Hebrew letters with wild greenery, nature embraces them, "naturalizes" them, and turns them in to part of nature. The photogeny of old cemeteries consists of the dialectics of struggle and fusion of culture with nature, of memory with eternity. It adds to the Hebrew inscriptions – a symbol in itself – an immensely powerful second symbolic dimension.

SYNAGOGUES. *Behold a Great Image*, the starting point of our analysis, has almost exclusively in its synagogue section, photographs of wrecked synagogues and of synagogues converted into churches. None of the high-class houses of prayer or of other *shuls* in popular quarters is represented. This is an exceptional representation of the subject, a wrecked synagogue, in the Jewish repertory of symbols, means destruction, pogrom, *Kristallnacht*, Holocaust. An abandoned synagogue, in opposition, could mean disappearance of a Jewish community through emigration to another or more affluent country, perhaps *aliyah* to Israel; and in American inner cities, urban exodus toward better ecologies of a wealthy suburb. The particular treatment of synagogues in this book implies ideology. The message is that the latter exodus weakens the coherence of Jewish communities. This may be a plausible point, but the almost exclusive use of images of abandon and decay in living and prospering Jewish America seems to be a textbook case in photographic rhetoric and propaganda.

History, and its more recent chapters, turned the destroyed synagogue into a clearly determined and conventionally decipherable, decodable sign. It turned all old photographs of synagogues in eastern and central Europe from a view of a building of prayer into a view of a monument. The shift can be exemplified by one of Silvain's postcards, printed in his *Jewish Images and Traditions*. It is a photograph of the Great Synagogue in Frankfurt. Sent on October 22, 1899, it carries the following handwritten inscription and signature in French: "My dear Joseph, for an Israelite this card is a pleasure to have. Your brother, Isaac." Never again will this photography generate a similar feeling of joy over Jewish presence. The meanings that it carries today are of a more complex order. It is nostalgia, but also mourning, pride, anxiety, sorrow, elements of Jewish memory.

A synagogue also remains, of course, in all its aspects, a work of architecture and of decorative art. As such, it represents Jewish art, with all the ambiguities of this concept. It also represents the search for identity and status of a community, an ethnic community in a foreign and not always friendly world. Photographers can capture and differently emphasize any of these connotations. A symbol of Jewish religion, a subject charged with Jewish history and sociology, synagogues are and will remain a permanent motif in Jewish photography.

VANISHING COMMUNITIES. Since the 1940s, thousands of Jewish communities have ceased to exist. Many of these disappeared as the result of the Holocaust; some in mass emigration to Israel; others have been gradually abandoned as the Jews have slipped away to other homes, sometimes in the metropolitan areas of the same country. Often the descendants of these communities or other photographers have been motivated to photo-document the material remains. Some of this has been initiated by Beth Hatefutsoth.

The following extracts are taken from the descriptions of Temporary Exhibitions held in the Gallery of the Beth Hatefutsoth (the Diaspora Museum in Tel Aviv). They speak for themselves and the subject.

> Radauti, a town in northeast Romania, was once a busy trade center with a community of 6,000 Jews. By the late 20th century, only about 200 remained and their numbers continued to diminish as the older generation died and the younger generation left. This is one of the last places in Europe where many of the characteristics of the shtetl life still survive. The American photographer, Laurence Salzmann, spent two years in Romania, preparing his photographs on Jewish life in contemporary Radauti. His work portrays the Jewish life cycle, from circumcision to burial, religious life and cemeteries, economic life and community functions, and he follows two families as they leave Radauti and start a new life in Israel.
>
> Several centuries ago, Jewish life in the Caribbean thrived with activity. Descendants of Marranos, from Spain and Portugal, came to the region in the 17th century and established a chain of flourishing settlements. Today only a few remnants survive; Jewish community life is limited to a few centers. Elsewhere all that remains are ruins, tombstones, and memorial tablets. Beth Hatefutsoth sent out a small expedition to locate and document the remains. They visited Surinam, Curaçao, Coro (Venezuela), Barraquila (Colombia), Panama, Jamaica, Barbados, St. Thomas and St. Eustatius.

Ethnophotography of a people that had never stopped migrating and perhaps never will.

HOLOCAUST. There is a world of difference between the vanished Jewish communities of Radauti and the Caribbean on the one hand, and the vanished Jewish community of Poland on the other. Whatever remains of Polish synagogues or of the terrible sites on which death machinery had left its traces will most likely be photographed again and again by Jews who attempt vainly to apprehend the unacceptable. In contrast, such photographs will also be taken as an outcry to be turned into an ever-accusing evidence, an expression of protest of a people revolting against its historical conditions of existence.

Photographs taken during the Holocaust by Jewish photographers (only those are considered here) are of a different and unique kind. In one sense, they simply are historical documents, reports, and records of an event of unique dimensions. In another, they constitute a personal testimony of a photographer-eyewitness. In a third and utterly exceptional sense, they depict the photographers' own path toward death, a path shared with their portrayed subjects. "Doomed Photographers Reporting about Their Doomed Community" would be the appropriate title of their exhibition. Research, disclosure of official material, and state archives of all Allied powers, and accidental discoveries may lead to the uncovering of more such pictures than those presently known and published. And it is under the above mentioned title that such photographs will have to be studied and incorporated into the pantheon of Jewish Photography.

ISRAEL. The Jewish homeland is certainly the most diverse and most problematic subject of Jewish photography. Vested ideology is perhaps nowhere as powerful and influential as in this case.

The authors of *Behold a Great Image* again provide an interesting example of a clearcut and significant choice. Most of the photographs in their concluding chapter, entitled "Israel, the Land," show Orthodox Jews in their own secluded quarters. It is not difficult to fill in the verbal equivalent of their visual statement: Even in Israel, Jewishness is first of all a religion, and it is picturesque and ultraconservative.

Israel, the land, the state, the people, is in all its facets unique in Jewish history, culture, and experience. It is an important, perhaps central, though not yet fully crystallized, part of it. A Jewish photographer who depicts Israel, and this includes any theme and motif in Israeli life, is operating inside the culture. A controversial work may best exemplify this problem. Some of Joel Kantor's photographs of Israel exhibited at the Israel Museum in Jerusalem in the late 1980s (Kantor, born in Canada, had lived in Israel for some 15 years) show Israeli security forces brutalizing young Arabs. By their subject matter, esthetics and ethics, they belong to Jewish photography at its best.

Conclusion

First, a single photograph can only exceptionally express a culture's particular point of view by its formal organization. Only exceptionally can a single photograph disclose a photographer's approach to his subjects. Even more rarely will it reveal whether the photographer has operated within his own culture and was intimately acquainted with its values and points of view. But a photographic discourse of larger dimensions, such as an exhibition, a book, or a lifetime work, reflect these characteristics. Photography is vision of things, of people, of life, of the world, and as such, culturally determined. Even the most universalistic and universe-embracing photographic show ever created, "Family of Man," represented the Family in a perceptibly American, "WASP-ish" perspective. To bring another example of the influence of the photographers' cultural background on their work, British/Protestant 19th-century traveling photographers who visited the Holy Land depicted its biblical sites in the open countryside more often, and included in their pictures of famous landmarks more of the surrounding nature than their French/Catholic counterparts, who focused more closely on monuments and architecture. It is appropriate to observe this relation from another direction. Few audiences were as sensitive to Alter Kacyzne's photographs from the 1920s of Jewish Poland, or to Roman Vishniac's images from eastern European Jewish life in the 1930s, as the Jewish audience. And no gentile photographer has produced on this subject a collection as powerful and as penetrating as Kacyzne and Vishniac. True, Vishniac's collection owes part of its impact to its date – the eve of the Holocaust. But then, precisely, the close relationship to reality is typical of and inherent in the camera's work.

Second, preliminary definitions concerning Jewish photography may now be suggested. The first definition has to be restrictive and limited and formulated in the following manner: The basic body of Jewish photography is constituted by the pictures taken by Jewish photographers who explore and record Jewish life from an insider's point of view, and which appear to Jewish viewers as meaningfully expressing their shared concerns. The second definition has to provide Jewish photography with a broader perspective. It has to leave space for "unpopular" images, which like Kantor's, while relating to present-day Jewish concerns and values, might be rejected by a Jewish audience as too critical. it has also to leave space for more universal concerns of Jewish photographers, since such concerns are part of Jewish experience and culture. Last but not least, it has to leave space for gentile photographers who feel affinity toward Judaism and Jewish culture, perhaps the space English literature had for a Joseph Conrad, and American literature for a Vladimir Nabokov.

Golden is theory, and green the tree of life. The growth of Jewish photographic work during the coming decades and centuries, and the growth of a Jewish audience perceptive to it, will confirm – or reject – the ideas here suggested.

[Yeshayahu Nir]

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PHRYGIA, district in central Asia Minor, part of the Roman province of Asia after the death of Attalus III (133 B.C.E.), the last king of *Pergamum. A Jewish community was established in Phrygia no later than the end of the third century B.C.E. According to Josephus, Antiochus III (the Great) transported 2,000 Jewish families from Mesopotamia and Babylonia to "the fortresses and most important places" of Phrygia and Lydia. These Jews were to serve as military settlers in support of the Seleucid monarchy, as the inhabitants of Phrygia had risen in revolt (cf. II Macc. 8:20: Babylonian Jews in the service of the Seleucid army against the Galatians). Favorable terms were granted the Jewish settlers. They were permitted to live in accordance with their own laws, and each was allotted land on which to build and cultivate. Generous exemptions from taxes were also granted, and Josephus thus considers the episode ample testimony to the friendship of Antiochus toward the Jews. The Jews of Phrygia undoubtedly had strong ties with Jerusalem and the Temple. On two occasions large sums of money which had been gathered in two cities of Phrygia, Apamea, and Laodicea, to be sent to the Temple were confiscated in 62–61 B.C.E. by the Roman governor Flaccus on the charge of illegal export of gold (Cicero, *Pro Flacco*, 28:68). A number of Jews from Phrygia resided in Jerusalem during the first century C.E. (Acts 2: 10). Several important Jewish inscriptions in Greek have been discovered in Phrygia, mostly from graves. One, dated 248–49 C.E. warns that if anyone should desecrate the tomb, "may the curses written in Deuteronomy [cf. ch. 27–29] be upon him." Nearly all the personal names are Greek, but the epithet "Joudaeos" is used several times and a *menorah* is carved on one stone. A tomb from Hierapolis, of the second or third century, states that the fee for any future additional internment is a donation to the Jewish community in Jerusalem.

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[Isaiah Gafni]

PHYSICS. The material presented in this entry emphasizes those contributions which were important in arriving at verified present-day scientific results, rather than those that may have appeared important at the time. Unavoidably it will overlap in parts with material presented in the separate *Astronomy entry.

Introduction

Though rich, innovative, and highly creative, the Jewish intellectual contribution to civilization was initially an essentially humanistic and non-scientific "program," staying that way for more than 25 centuries, from the Patriarchs and Moses in the second millennium B.C.E. in the eastern Mediterranean to the great Jewish astronomers in the 10th–15th centuries C.E. at the other end of that sea. There was one exception, namely a marginal interest in astronomy, the "intercalation" sub-program motivated by repeated efforts aimed at the construction of an ever-improved calendar. Technically, this was a quest for better synchronization between the agriculturally important solar year and the timekeeping advantages of the lunar month, an aim which was indeed achieved in the present Jewish calendar, finalized by the end of the first century C.E.

It was only in the 10th century C.E. that a major change appears to have occurred involving the Jewish communities in Europe along the western Mediterranean, from the Iberian Peninsula and southern France to Italy, with science gradually approaching (but not achieving) the status of Torah studies. These regions constituted the interface between the crystallizing Christian national dynastic states of the western Roman Empire, as parceled out by its Germanic conquerors, and the Ummayad and Abbasid caliphates and other Muslim states established in Northern Africa.

The Jewish interest in science was part of a general regional reawakening some four centuries after the almost complete eradication of Greek science with its remarkable achievements over the one thousand years from Pythagoras to Diophantus – e.g., the realization that the earth is round and measurement of its radius by Erathostenes with a better than 0.5% precision, the understanding by Aristarchus of Samos of the heliocentric structure of our planetary system 1,800 years before Copernicus, or Archimedes' derivation of the laws of mechanics and hydrostatics – just to mention three examples from the third century B.C.E. All this would have been lost forever upon the closure of the Academy in Athens on the orders of Justinian in 550 C.E., if not for the transplantation of nine Academy scholars with some of their documentation to Mesopotamia at the invitation of Persian emperor Khushru Anushirvan and the founding of an academy outside of Christianity's reach. The institution survived the Muslim conquest, developed under the Ummayads, and flourished under the Abbasids, who established the central school in their palace. Their Spanish Ummayad rivals responded by creating a similar academy in Cordoba. The preservation and consolidation process had thus lasted almost half a millennium, when science made its re-entry into western Europe from the Muslim bridgeheads in Sicily and Spain. Being neither Christian nor Muslim, Jewish scholars for a while enjoyed the advantage of having access to the research centers on both sides of the divide, but the religious zeal in England and France throughout the Crusades and their aftermath brought about the total expulsion of Jews from these countries, which thereby remained "*judenrein*" for several centuries.

The second millennium C.E. did witness two periods of peak Jewish creativity in the sciences, separated by a figurative "black hole," the Dark Age of European Jewry, lasting from the 16th to the mid-18th centuries.

Jewish involvement in the physical sciences can thus be summarized as follows:

(1) Creative Humanism, no physical sciences: 15th century B.C.E.–10th century C.E.

(2) First creative era in science (astronomy and physics): 11th–15th century (Spain, S. France)

(3) Jewish Dark Age (Europe): 16th–mid-18th century.

(4) Second creative era in science (physics and astronomy): 19th century to present.

This can be further divided into two phases, according to the limitations on Jewish access to scientific research facilities, namely,

(a) a *restricted phase*, either
(a1) *formal* (through the Oath of Allegiance), or
(a2) *patronizing* ("they do not know how to behave …");
(b) *the fully emancipated phase.*

The transitions occurred at different periods in each of the western democracies (e.g., 1950 for full emancipation in the United States).

This chronology is followed in the present entry, with the Second Era section including three subsections dealing with special episodes: Nazi "Jewish Science" (1933–45), Nazi Germany and the Jewish initiative in the development of nuclear weapons (1938–46); and the "Scientists' Freedom of Movement" struggle in the U.S.S.R. (1971–91). It concludes with a survey of physics in modern Israel (from 1928).

From Antiquity to Sepharad (Humanism)

In its first 25 centuries (1500 B.C.E.–1000 C.E.), the creative Jewish cultural contribution effectively centered on humanism and its ethical, social or juridical realization, e.g. the idea of a weekly day of rest, moral codes (as in the Ten Commandments), the treatment of slaves, support for the weak, etc. Very little was achieved in the sciences, where both motivation and methodology remained purely pragmatic, whatever the activity. An example is the biblical value (I Kings 7:23) of 3 = ח for the ratio between circumference and diameter in a circle, a value indicating that it must have been determined experimentally, namely averaging between results of very rough measurements of the ratio in several round objects; the Masoretic editors (8th–10th century C.E.) noted the lack of precision and inserted an improved value in a footnote. Another example is R. Nehemiah's *Sefer ha-Middah*, a book which played an important role in the preservation of Greek geometry and its revival in the East under the Abbasid caliphate, yet without a single proof, only prescriptions. Compare this with Greek culture, where Archimedes provided a mathematical *proof* that the value of π, an important geometrical constant, lies between $^{22}/_{7}$ and $^{223}/_{71}$ (or between 3.1408 and 3.1428), while using a method that could be further extended to any degree of precision.

There is no real principle making it incompatible to be creatively involved both in humanistic culture and in science. There is even evidence that the conception of science as a worldview, i.e., the idea which emerged in sixth century B.C.E. Greece, that the physical world might be describable by laws of nature, was inspired by its humanistic analog, namely by the adoption of Solon's ethical code (human law), itself an imported offspring of the Middle Eastern ethical codes (Hammurapi, Moses, etc).

Returning to pragmatic scientific activity in early Jewish tradition, there is talmudic evidence in two cases for marked astronomical erudition, namely the *tanna* R. Joshua b. Hananiah in Judea (c. 40–100 C.E.) and the *amora* Mar Samuel of

Nehardea in Babylonia. Such erudition was essential to the establishment of the Jewish calendar. On the other hand, there is no evidence for any systematic observation and recording of astronomical data. Such recording was performed by the Sumerian, Egyptian, and other priesthoods and was directly related to their cults. This is still universally reflected in the seven-day week, established for the seven deities identified with the seven astronomical "wanderers" (Sun, Moon, and five planets seen with the naked eye – Mars, Mercury, Jupiter, Venus, Saturn; notice the strange order).

The strong biblical injunction against "worship of stars and zodiac signs" notwithstanding, there was no hesitation about applying the data to evaluate the various intercalations required to fit a lunar calendar to the solar year, a pragmatic task that was indeed performed efficiently.

The First Active Scientific Age: Sepharad and Provence

The first Jewish scientific era lasted from 1000 to 1500 C.E., with major contributions in astronomy and physics (as well as *medicine), all by scholars residing in Spain and southern France. It began with R. *Abraham bar Ḥiyya ha-Nasi ("the Prince") of Barcelona (d. 1136), author of three books on astronomy (in Hebrew) and continued with his pupil R. Abraham *Ibn Ezra (1089–1164).

A formal dimension was acquired by this "dynasty of learning" between 1152 and 1156, when a team headed by R. Isaac *Ibn Sa'id and R. Judah ben Moses Cohen, working in Toledo in the service of King Alphonso X of Castille, calculated and published the Alphonsine Tables. These tables were designed to track the movement of the planets, mainly for high-seas navigation.

The two most original and effective Jewish contributions were those of R. *Levi ben Gershom in Provence in the 14th century and R. Ḥasdai *Crescas in Aragon in the 15th. The last astronomer in this sequence was "Zacut," namely R. Abraham ben Samuel *Zacuto (1452–1515), a leading scholar at Salamanca in Castille, who, at the expulsion, was welcomed for a while in Portugal and was given the responsibility for the scientific work at Sagres. Four years later, however, he was expelled with all other Jews in Portugal.

The Portuguese Marrano Jewish philosopher Baruch *Spinoza (1632–1677), working in Holland, where his family returned to the Jewish faith, can be considered as an extension of the Iberian age. Although the Amsterdam Jewish community leadership eventually excommunicated Spinoza (1656) because of his position on religious dogma, his overall views in several contexts are now not far from those of non-fundamentalist modern Jewish religious thinkers, such as R. Abraham Isaac *Kook.

R. Levi ben Gershom of Bagnols (1288–1344) lived in Avignon in the south of France, a city which at that time was the seat of the papacy. Jewish scholars and historians generally designate Levi by the acronym RaLBag – while to the gentiles he is Maestre Leo de Bagnols, Leo Hebraeus, Gersonides – but the crater on the moon named after him by the International Astronomical Union reads "Rabbi Levi." (It is situated in a "Jewish quarter" which also has craters named after Ibn Ezra, Zacuto, and Einstein. In the Jewish world, Gersonides is generally cited for his teachings in religious philosophy – sometimes with a footnote stating "he also wrote 118 chapters in astronomy" (these works were translated from the original Hebrew into Latin by Mordecai Finzi, astronomer to the duke of Mantua). Levi earned his living as "mathematicus" (astrologer) in the service of the popes, the same function filled by Johannes Kepler at the emperor's court in Prague 200 years later, or by Galileo Galilei at the duke of Tuscany's court in Florence.

Rabbi Levi was one of the greatest astronomers (and one of the greatest scientists) in the Middle Ages after the lights of science were turned off in the Greek centers along the shores of the Mediterranean. The following are but a few of his accomplishments: He invented the sextant (naming it Jacob's staff, a term used in the British Merchant Marine until the early 18th century). He improved the camera obscura – the camera's ancestor. Predominantly, and contrary to social norms during the Middle Ages, R. Levi did not blindly accept dogma but tested every assumption with his instruments. He was criticized for this both in the Jewish world and by the secular astronomy establishment. In a brilliant experiment, in the spirit of 20th century philosopher Karl *Popper's (1902–1994) invalidation ("falsification") doctrine, R. Levi measured variations in the luminosity of Mars over a period of five years. He proved that there was no correlation between the observed variations in the luminosity and the variations which would be expected if the planet Mars were following the path according to the then current version of Ptolemy's (Claudius Ptolemaeus of the second century C.E.) geocentric model with its epicycles – a theory universally accepted in the Middle Ages. He therefore disproved that model, and thereby paved the way for the adoption of the Copernican system two centuries later.

The greatest Jewish medieval non-mathematical theorist in physics and cosmology was R. Ḥasdai Crescas (d. 1412) of Barcelona. Better known for his philosophy, which argued against mixing science with religion (in itself a view, close to modern approaches), his impact on the rebirth of physics was unique. Plato had discussed vacua, but Aristotle had then stated that "nature does not tolerate a vacuum," and throughout the Middle Ages physical thinking was non-reductive, always "effective," a priori assuming the presence of friction, air resistance, etc. Without a vacuum, however, one cannot define inertia and mass. In his book *Or Adonai* Crescas refuted Aristotle's arguments against the vacuum and presented an infinite empty space as the scene on which the physical world is enacted. Like Gersonides, he also assumed continuous creation and a multiplicity of worlds.

Pico della Mirandola (1463–1494), the one-man encyclopedic "team" who prepared the philosophical and scientific transition to the Renaissance, and who taught himself Hebrew and Arabic for that purpose, included an abstract of Crescas' book in his "900 theses." It was picked up by Giordano Bruno (1548–1600), who was burned at the stake specifically for spreading Crescas' notion of an infinite empty (presumably absolute) space. Galileo, however, could now "place" a moving body in this vacuum and invent inertia, while Newton could have a force act on the body and measure velocities and accelerations with respect to that space and define the concept of mass as a measure of inertia.

The Dark Age

CAUSES. The 15th and 16th centuries are among the darkest in Jewish history. It is not that the previous 400 years in western Europe had been an idyll. On the contrary, the Jews in France suffered several expulsions and three countrywide massacres (1214, 1251, and 1320), by the Pastoureaux, sweeping peasant rebellions that struck almost only the Jews because they were the only unprotected group in the population. And yet there were a few quieter spots, in particular in the papal possessions in and around Avignon, where a Jewish presence lasted until the area was annexed to France during the Revolution. But the 15th and 16th centuries represented a regression. Two physical catastrophes followed by spiritual letdowns in the four movements they inspired, as well as the mystically oriented transformation of Judaism which they brought about, all contributed to the regression in Jewish participation in the development of science. The two major disasters were (1) the expulsion from Spain and other territories ruled by the Spanish monarchs (1492) and from Portugal (1497), and (2) the massacres in southeastern Poland (with about 600,000 dead), by the rebel Ukrainian Cossacks (1648) under the leadership of hetman Bogdan *Chmielnicki.

To these we may add the four pseudo-Messiahs (David *Reuveni, 1490–1538; Solomon *Molcho, 1591–1532; *Shabbetai Ẓevi, 1636–1676; Jacob *Frank, 1726–1791) with the despair and conversions which followed the failure of each movement. Finally, there was the boost enjoyed by the mystic interpretation of Judaism with the rise of Ḥasidism, following the teachings of R. *Israel ben Eleazar Ba'al Shem Tov (1700–1760), a trend which lasted about a 100 years and which was not inducive to scientific thinking.

HASKALAH. One development running counter to these trends occurred in Berlin, namely the rise of the *Haskalah (Enlightenment) movement, following the lead of Moses *Mendelssohn (1729–1786). This was an attempt to develop a westernized interpretation of Judaism, emphasizing modern approaches to the study of Jewish classics (also as a shield against conversion), coupled with an assimilationist approach regarding dress, language, and other everyday aspects of life to produce "Germans of the Mosaic persuasion." It was made possible in Berlin by the relative liberalism in matters of culture and science of Voltaire's friend, the scholarly King Frederick II (the Great), whose academy included the key scientists of the era.

Moreover, while the norm throughout central Europe was for Jews to be confined to the ghettos and restricted to peddling as a "profession," 18th-century Germany with its heterogeneous multitiered political structure offered a number of channels – "protected" Jews who could go anywhere because they were paying their "protection taxes" to the emperor, other taxes to the various kings, etc. In 1763, Mendelssohn won a prize offered by the Prussian Royal Academy of Sciences in a competition consisting in an essay on a question in metaphysics, with Immanuel Kant coming in second. The event had an impact on Jewish youth, attracting them to the sciences. The intellectual transformation was shaped and polished in the salons of several Jewish ladies (Rahel Levin *Varnhagen, Henriette *Herz, and others). The movement started by Mendelssohn thus played an important role in the return of Jews to science, literature, etc., but it failed badly in the prevention of conversion. It is rather tragic to note that much of the creative cultural harvest would have lost any trace of its Jewish origins had it not been for its rejection by the Nazis, together with their reclassification of the authors as Jews even at a distance of two generations.

MITNAGGEDIM. The ḥasidic movement's rapid spread seemed to replace the "religion of learning" by one of hereditary dynasties of miracle-rabbis leading a following of ignoramuses. The spiritual leadership of classical Judaism in Lithuania, under the inspiration of *Elijah Gaon of Vilna (1726–1791), a leader revered for his spiritual creativity and his learning, organized a campaign aimed at stemming the growing mystical flood. After several decades of a bitter struggle, the conflict lost its "either/or" aspect and new trends appeared on the ḥasidic side, with a reemphasis on learning.

The Gaon was interested in science, considered himself fully knowledgeable in this matter, and promoted scientific studies as useful additions to Torah. However, the Jewish isolation and loss of contact were so great that what the Gaon meant in 1780 by "science" was Euclid's geometry and Aristotle's physics, having never heard of Descartes, Galileo, or Newton.

The Second Creative Period: Restricted Approach

To understand what happened to European Jewry around 1800, the reader should bear in mind the effective status of the Jewish population in central Europe, constrained to ghettos and to marginal professions. This state of affairs ended as a combined result of two roughly simultaneous "revolutions," namely the French Revolution (with its Napoleonic sequel) on the one hand, and the Industrial Revolution on the other. Napoleon's army reached every capital in Continental Europe at some time or other, and the reforms it either imposed or indirectly induced included the cancellation of employment and residence restrictions on the Jews. The Industrial Revolution created work and new white-collar jobs for bankers, financiers, accountants, clerks, lawyers, but also engineers of various specialties, etc. The autochthonous population generally preserved family traditions – nobility serving as professional army officers, peasants receiving farms from their parents and transferring them to their own children, etc. The white-collar jobs required literacy, but intellectual types in the nobility generally joined the Church.

The situation on the Jewish side was just the opposite: to the extent that anybody had risen above peddling and had some traditional family training, it was in moneylending, jewelry, or commerce, a preparation for banking and other financial professions. Males were all literate and with some preconditioning for logical structures, somewhat facilitating the study of law and mathematics. As a result, the 19th century established an emancipated Jewish middle class throughout central Europe, and yet this did not include a serious academic or scientific component, mainly because of the customary Oath of Allegiance required upon becoming an ordinarius (full professor), a throwback to medieval times. The Oath was taken with one's hand on a New Testament and was thus considered de facto religious conversion.

One way of participating in academic activities without swearing allegiance was to have a parallel occupation outside the academic world and occupy it after resigning from the university before the oath stage, and whenever possible to return after a few years and repeat the cycle. This was somewhat easier in mathematics and mathematical physics, which did not require special equipment for the professor to continue his research and preserve his knowledge in the nonacademic phase.

Prominent examples are the mathematicians John Joseph *Sylvester (1814–1897) in England and Leopold *Kronecker (1823–1891) in Prussia. England was still in its "formally restricted" stage as far as Jewish emancipation went, and Sylvester, who studied at Cambridge, could not even get his B.A. until 1871, when he received it together with his M.A. He "meandered" between academic life and working in an insurance company, and later as a lawyer. By 1883, though, progress in emancipation had reached a level which enabled Sylvester to become a full professor at Oxford without converting. Kronecker's line was commerce and banking, with short appointments in academe, until progress in emancipation allowed him to receive a professorship in 1883. In a somewhat bizarre twist, Kronecker converted to Christianity shortly before his death.

The mathematician and theoretical physicist Karl Gustav Jacob *Jacobi (1804–1851) was the first Jewish scientist to be appointed to a special royal chair without having to take the Oath, which had just been abolished by Prussian Minister of Culture Wilhelm von Humboldt (brother of the geographer). Intellectually, the von Humboldt brothers had grown up in the intellectual salons of the ladies of the *Mendelssohn family and its periphery, a liberal milieu, and it was natural that they should regard the Oath as a medieval vestige. However, this was not the end of the story. In 1848 politically liberal Jacobi signed a petition calling on the king to put an end to his absolute rule. The king put an end to Jacobi's chair and Jacobi found himself in the street with his wife and seven children. One year later, Alexander von Humboldt intervened and the king reestablished the chair. However, Wilhelm had died and the new minister had reestablished the Oath, so that Jacobi took it and converted shortly before his demise.

By the end of the 19th century formal restrictions had been abolished almost everywhere, but they had been replaced by an unwritten numerical restriction policy. This was often represented as protection of the academic milieu against Jews in academe who "do not know how to behave," a phrase found in most appointment committee reports, such as the one dealing with Einstein's appointment in 1909 as professor at the University of Zurich, or that of the Princeton University Graduate School's admissions committee dealing with Richard Feynman's application (backed by his MIT professor): "We do not like to have many Jews in the graduate school because it is difficult afterwards to find jobs for them."

In the United States, the restrictive policy lasted till the mid-1960s when an incident involving MIT President Vannevar Bush and British mathematician G.H. Hardy (1877–1947) exposed the procedure and held it up to ridicule. Bush had fixed a ceiling of one Jew per department. In mathematics this position was occupied by Norbert *Wiener (1894–1964), but sometime in the 1950s the Department of Mathematics wanted to hire Norman Levinson, recommended by Hardy. This was vetoed by Bush in view of the restrictive policy of the institution. Some time later MIT awarded Hardy an honorary doctorate. In the ceremony, Hardy thanked "the Mass. Inst. of Theology" for the award and, when corrected, insisted, explaining, "Why else would a professor's religious appartenance matter at all?"

Further Advances

The restrictions notwithstanding, the children and grandchildren of the earliest white-collar Jewish generations gradually replaced *ḥeder* or yeshivah schooling with state education and found their way to the universities as students and then as temporary teachers, etc. The formalities constituting the obstacles in the admission threshold for Jews were sometimes more flexible in medicine and pharmacy, perhaps a vestige of the traditionally high reputation enjoyed by medieval Jewish medicine. In Austro-Hungary, this extended to chemical engineering, which is why famous theoretical physicists such as E. Wigner, E. *Teller, etc., were originally trained as chemical engineers. The combination of talent, intellectual curiosity, and the willingness to be satisfied with temporary and somewhat insecure positions resulted in the emergence of a sizable Jewish component in most European countries' research setup. Towards the end of the 19th century there were in the forefront of physics at least two future Jewish Nobel laureates, both experimentalists, Albert Abraham *Michelson (1852–1931) and Heinrich Hertz (1857–1894). Both of them, and more so, more recently, Dennis *Gabor (1900–1979) were investigating electromagnetic radiation in its overlap with optics, i.e., a field very remotely related to the traditional occupational expertise in lenses (itself probably an extension of diamond cutting and jewelry making) as exemplified by Spinoza. In France, the advance was more in the conceptual and abstract domain as represented by Henri *Bergson (1859–1941) in philosophy and Jacques *Hadamard (1865–1963) in mathematics.

The Einstein Era: Quantum Theory and Relativity

The more distinguished the Jews were, the greater their mark both within the system and outside it. Then a young German Jew, an employee of the Swiss Patent Office in Bern, published within the same year (1905) five articles in theoretical physics, each of which was a scientific high-water mark of the order of Newton's papers. This was Albert *Einstein (1879–1955), and his reputation grew accordingly after the experiments verifying his theory of gravity (1916), namely the general theory of relativity. His success attracted many a young Jew to physics.

Two conceptual revolutions occurred in physics in the first half of the 20th century, namely relativity and quantum mechanics. Einstein spearheaded both, almost single-handedly in relativity and with M. Planck and Niels *Bohr (1885–1962) in the quantum maze. Aside from Michelson's initial experimental exposure of the failure of classical mechanics for velocities close to light-velocity, Einstein was assisted at the mathematical end by the perception of his former teacher Hermann *Minkowski (1864–1909) and by his former classmate Marcel Grossmann; the first interesting application was achieved by astronomer Karl *Schwarzschild (1873–1916). All three were Jewish.

On the quantum front, aside from Niels Bohr, there was Max *Born (1882–1970), who led in the initial understanding of the mathematical results, John von *Neumann (1903–1957), who provided the mathematical consolidation of the new formalism, and Wolfgang *Pauli (1900–1958), whose "Pauli Principle," forbidding having at any one time more than one electron for any set of quantum numbers, provided a master-key to understanding atomic physics and the Periodic Table in Chemistry and applications in electronics.

The growing sophistication both in the conceptual toolkit of mathematical physics – and even more so in the rapidly evolving technological potentialities at the disposal of experimentation – forced 20th century physicists to split according to a two-dimensional repartition, namely theorists versus experimentalists in the abcissa and the ordinate going from high-energy nuclear physics (or the physics of particles and fields), to (low-energy) nuclear physics, atomic physics, molecular, nanotechnology, condensed matter, astrophysics, and cosmology (plus the environmental refocusing – geophysics, oceanography, etc.). A glance at the list of Nobel laureates in physics shows that they are evenly distributed on the above chessboard. In theory, Lev *Landau (1908–1968) and Richard *Feynman (1918–1988) have both covered several areas and produced the deepest insights. Eugene *Wigner (1902–1999) (and Giulio Racah) developed algebraic methods which played an important role in atomic, nuclear and particle physics. Feynman's impact was mostly in particle physics; other theorists who made important contributions in that area are Julian *Schwinger (1918–), Murray *Gell-Mann (1929–) (and Yuval *Ne'eman), Steven *Weinberg (1933–), Sheldon *Glashow (1932–), and David *Gross, also Maria Goeppert-Mayer in nuclear physics. The leading experimentalists in this field are Donald *Glaser (1926–), Leon *Lederman (1922–), Fred *Reines, Jack *Steinberger (1931–), Melvin *Schwartz (1932–), Martin *Perl (1927–), and Jerome *Friedman. In condensed matter physics, among the leading theorists are Vitaly *Ginsburg and Abrikosov. Isidor I. *Rabi (1898–1988) measured particle magnetic moments, while Felix *Bloch (1905–1983) turned them into a scientific and medical tool. Claude *Cohen-Tannoudji (1933–) developed methods of trapping single atoms, David *Lee (1931–) and Douglas *Osheroff advanced superfluidity.

One of the founders of modern cosmology was Alexander Friedman in the 1920s in the U.S.S.R., while Herbert Friedman was a pioneer in X-ray astronomy. Arno *Penzias discovered the cosmic background radiation. Ed Salpeter contributed to astrophysics and Jesse *Greenstein in astronomy.

Nazi Germany

The growth in size and in importance of the Jewish contribution to physics continued throughout the 20th century, yet it was also especially marked by several momentous events belonging to both Jewish and general history. As against the gradual opening of the world of science (and physics in particular) to Jewish students, teachers, and researchers, the coming to power of the Nazis in Germany in 1933 acted more like lightning. All Jewish professors in German state universities were fired immediately, with only Max Planck and David Hilbert protesting – admittedly Germany's two top gentile scientists, which may also partly explain their civic courage (Planck's son later participated in the officers' plot to kill Hitler and was executed). Two prominent experimental physicists, Philip E.A. von Lenard (1862–1947) and Johannes Stark (1874–1957), both of them Nobel laureates, and two leading mathematicians, Ludwig Bieberbach, best known for the "Bieberbach conjecture," and Oswald Teichmullern, an important topologist, identified with Nazi policy and actively joined the campaign for the eradication of "Jewish physics" and "Jewish mathematics." The exodus of Germany's Jewish scientists was complete, from Albert Einstein, who left in 1931, settling in at the Princeton, to Max Born, who went to Scotland instead of moving to Jerusalem, Einstein's entreaties notwithstanding.

Three remarkable female Jewish physicists provide a typical sample of Jewish destinies reminiscent of 1492: Emmy *Noether, mathematical physicist, worked with F. Klein at Erlangen and with Hilbert at Goettingen, and was famous for "Noether's theorem" linking conservation laws (e.g., energy, linear and angular momentum, electric charge, etc.) to invariance under symmetry transformations (for the above examples these are, respectively, time translations, spatial translations, rotations, phase modifications). Barred from getting a professorial appointment by the double barrier of her sex and religion, she immigrated to the United States in 1933.

Mariette Blau of Vienna, who developed the detection of cosmic radiation with emulsions, fled Austria with the *An-*

schluss (1938) for Sweden and later reached Mexico and the United States. Lise *Meitner (1878–1968), a physicist, collaborated with the chemist O. Hahn until 1933, then fled to Sweden. For many such cases, including that of her physicist nephew O. *Frisch, the Bohr Institute in Copenhagen served as a first stop when fleeing – until the start of World War II and the German invasion of Denmark. Between 1933 and 1938 Nazi de facto domination spread over central and southern Europe, causing the flight of most Jewish physicists, as well as non-Jews married to Jews (e.g., E. Fermi, H. Weyl) or children of one Jewish parent (e.g., H. Bethe, N. Bohr, W. Pauli). In Italy, formal racist legislation was decreed in October 1938.

Conceiving Nuclear Weapons – a Jewish Response to the Nazi Threat of Annihilation

Scattering neutrons off uranium, and having detected the presence of elements resembling barium and iodine, Enrico Fermi announced the production of new elements (93 & 94 in the Periodic Table) and was awarded the Nobel Prize in 1938. The Fermi family fled to the United States after the Nobel ceremony, except for wife Laura's father, a Jewish admiral, who returned to Italy and indeed died in a concentration camp. The other Jewish members of the Fermi group were Emilio *Segre (1905–1989), who left for the United States, and Giulio Racah, who immigrated to Israel.

Around that time (Christmas 1938), Lise Meitner was visited by her nephew O. Frisch. They discussed a letter from her former partner O. Hahn, who had redone Fermi's experiment and was certain that these new products were not new elements but indeed true barium and strontium! Meitner and Frisch then recognized nuclear fission.

The news arrived in Copenhagen upon Frisch's return and was brought to the United States by N. Bohr and Leon Rosenfeld. Here it caught the attention of Leo *Szilard (1898–1964), a Hungarian Jewish engineer turned physicist (eventually also one of the founders of molecular biology), who had earlier considered the possibility of fission in nuclei and now realized its military potential. Meanwhile, Frisch moved to England, so that early in 1939 two alarmed groups of Jewish physicists ("Central European refugee scientists" in the textbooks), now refugees in the United States and England, were going through a nightmare as they considered the possibility of German physics and an eventual nuclear weapon joined to Evil as personified by Adolf Hitler. In America, the Szilard group included Edward Teller (1908–2003), John von Neumann, and Enrico Fermi; in England, Otto Frisch, Rudolph *Peierls (1907–1995), and Joseph *Rotblat (1908–2005). Both groups tried to alert the respective governments. In the United States, Szilard used Jewish contacts, in particular financier A. Sachs, to get to President Roosevelt; at Sachs' request, they informed Einstein and got from him a signed letter explaining the danger and calling for preempting Germany in developing the new weapon, in order, at least, to achieve through deterrence some protection against its use. The entire effort resulted in the allocation of $6,000 for Fermi, for an experimental study of an eventual chain reaction. In England, however, the lobby reached and convinced Winston Churchill, who wrote to Roosevelt. Less than a week before the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, which drew America into World War II, the president, now convinced, authorized the Manhattan Project.

The Manhattan Project, an R&D and production ensemble, was directed by American Jewish physicist J. Robert *Oppenheimer (1904–1967), with Hans *Bethe (1906–2005) heading the Theoretical Division and E. Segre and R.P. Feynman, members of the original initiating group, and others participating.

A 1995 study of the project by A. Makhijani (*Bulletin of Atomic Scientists*) reports that the Pentagon decided a priori that the new weapons would not be used on the European front, for fear of Germany's capability for nuclear retaliation, but that they could be used on the Japanese front, as Japan was not considered as scientifically capable of developing nuclear weapons – but it was also decided not to inform the scientific leadership of the project "because they are Jewish and singly motivated by fear of Hitler's Germany"; eventually, Germany surrendered before the weapons were ready, and when President Truman weighed their use in Japan, several of the Jewish physicists signed a letter to the president suggesting they be used in a harmless demonstration rather than on a target, whether military or civilian. The Dutch Jewish physicist Samuel Goudsmit (1902–1978), co-discoverer of the electron spin, was put in charge of ALSOS, a military unit whose task was to find out what Germany might be doing in the nuclear weapons context.

Of course, other war needs continued in parallel, with important roles played by Isidore I. Rabi working on microwave radar, Theodore von *Karman (1881–1963) on aeronautics, etc. In all of these developments, including the Manhattan Project, Jewish physicists were doing their duty as American patriots. The frantic concern of the two refugee groups on both sides of the Atlantic and the resulting initiative should be counted as an intrinsic part of Jewish history, a response to Germany's extermination program, in the same category as the Warsaw ghetto revolt or the Jewish maquis in France.

The second nuclear confrontation was the Cold War (1950–90). Edward Teller initiated the development of the H-bomb, a nuclear fusion weapon based on an idea of Teller and S. *Ulam, a Polish Jewish mathematician.

Physics in Israel

BEGINNINGS. The first academic appointment in physics in modern Israel was that of Samuel *Sambursky in 1928 as assistant for physics in the Department of Mathematics at The Hebrew University of Jerusalem. Einstein had joined the founders' group in 1921 when he traveled with Weizmann to the U.S. to collect the basic funds, then in 1923 when he visited Palestine under the British Mandate.

The head of the Department of Mathematics was A.H. Fraenkel of Set Theory fame, and helped by Einstein and L.

Ornstein (Leyden, then Utrecht), he tried to attract quality personnel. The number of serious candidates rose considerably in 1933, when the Nazis came to power in Germany and all Jewish faculty members in all German universities were fired. For reasons of economy, however, HU President Magnes did not assign any priority to physics, and various candidates (F. London, F. Bloch, G. Placzek – who had planned to bring along his student – E. Teller) were effectively rejected. E. Wigner did stay one year, but left in order not to be in the way when a single position was made available for either him or L. *Farkas, a physical chemist (married with one child while Wigner was single). Farkas had arrived from Fritz *Haber's lab (Haber, of World War I chemical warfare repute, had been prevailed upon by Einstein to go to Jerusalem and was on his way, when he fell ill and died).

Finally, E. Alexander, an arrival from von Hevesy's Freibourg X-ray crystallography lab, with parallel theoretical experience in the study of symmetry in crystals, launched both the Physics Department at HU and a line of research which developed in all physics departments in the country, achieving important results, such as J. Zak's work, and culminating in D. *Shechtman's 1984 discovery of non-periodic ordering (pseudo crystals), both at the Technion. Alexander and Farkas created laboratories which fulfilled an important role in the defense of the eastern Mediterranean in World War II. Another physicist whose role was extremely useful in World War II and in Israel's War of Independence was E. *Goldberg, the former founder and director of Zeiss-IKON, the leading optics firm in Europe, and yet another refugee immigrant scientist fleeing Nazi rule. He founded Goldberg Instruments, the first high-tech firm in the country (renamed El Op after its merger with A. Jaffe's Rehovoth Instruments.

Condensed matter physics developed with the arrival of several key researchers: Cyril Domb, FRS, who joined Bar-Ilan University in the 1960s; Guy Deutscher from France; Alexander Voronel and Mark Azbel arrived from the U.S.S.R. after a difficult struggle, joining Tel Aviv University (TAU), which had been active in support of their struggle; M. Gitterman (Bar-Ilan) also arrived from the U.S.S.R., while Isaak Khalatnikov (TAU) and Pitaievski (Technion) arrived in the early 1990s, after Glasnost.

Racah, arriving in 1938, launched theoretical physics and, in particular, atomic physics and spectroscopy in the country. On the experimental side, research in nuclear chemistry (as the experimentation in the production of elements and isotopes came to be called) was initiated at the Weizmann (formerly Sieff) Institute by Israel Dostrowski, who had worked on these subjects in England in the early 1940s. He developed techniques for the separation of isotopes of hydrogen and oxygen. The Weizmann Institute soon became an important supplier of the latter, much in use in the study of organic processes.

Sometime after the founding of the state in 1948, the government established an Atomic Energy Board, with E.D. *Bergmann, a distinguished organic chemist and the director of the Weizmann Institute, as chairman. Bergman, Racah, and Dostrowski selected good students and placed them in high-quality research centers and under good tutors. Amos *de-Shalit and Igal *Talmi (nuclear structure), G. Yekutielli (cosmic rays), I. Pellah (reactors), and U. Habersheim (physics education) were selected and were joined by H.J. Lipkin, who had immigrated from the United States after receiving a Ph.D. in physics. They returned in 1954, but Ben-Gurion had meanwhile resigned and retired. His successors, Prime Minister Sharett and Defense Minister Lavon, did not share Ben-Gurion's enthusiasm for science and transferred the group to the Weizmann Institute against a payment of $100,000, the estimated investment in their studies (U. Habersheim returned to the United States).

De-Shalit and Talmi produced important results, and the Weizmann Institute had thus become a bridgehead for nuclear physics in Israel, soon to become the most active center for nuclear structure studies after the Bohr Institute in Copenhagen. By the end of 1957 it was "natural" to have a well-attended International Conference on Nuclear Structure in Rehovot, discussing the hottest topic of the decade, namely parity non-conservation, and with W. Pauli, T.D. Lee, Mme C.S. Wu, and Ben Mottleson of Copenhagen in attendance.

Theory needs to be close to experiment for good balance and this came next – a Tandem Van de Graaff electrostatic accelerator was started up, with Gvirol Goldring in the lead.

Ben-Gurion returned from his Sedeh Boker retreat in 1955 and the IAEC returned to its program, with two nuclear labs, and two reactors – a 1–5 MW "swimming pool" AMF enriched uranium reactor at Sorek, supplied by the United States and under its surveillance, and a 24 MW natural uranium "heavy-water" cooled one in Dimonah, purchased in France. In reactor physics, experiment (I. Pellah) preceded theory (S. Yiftah). Members of the former team now served as advisors, sometime after taking specific courses in France.

ROSEN, RELATIVITY, AND QUANTUM FOUNDATIONS. At the *Technion (Haifa, founded 1912) the Physics Faculty was established around 1955, after Nathan Rosen immigrated to the country. Rosen had worked for many years with Albert Einstein on a variety of subjects: gravitational radiation, "wormholes" (the "Einstein-Rosen bridge"), etc., in general relativity and "entanglement" in quantum mechanics (the Einstein-Podolski-Rosen ("EPR") paper). He had developed his own modification of GR (the "two fields" theory). The study in Haifa of the non-intuitive aspects of quantum mechanics, inspired by Rosen's continuing interest in EPR, strengthened with the arrival in Israel of David *Bohm, fleeing Senator McCarthy's House Un-American Activities Committee. Bohm left a year later for Bristol in the UK, but the seeds were planted. Two leading researchers in the foundations of quantum mechanics grew out of this, Yakir *Aharonov (TAU after 1967) and Asher Peres (Technion), the latter also a leading researcher in GR. Among the next generation in this "school," Lev Veidman (TAU) and Avshalom Elitzur (Bar-Ilan) have made important contributions. Michael Marainov (Technion) arrived from the USSR.

In general relativity and cosmology, the impact of Rosen's presence was felt in most physics departments, either through his students, as in Beersheva with Moshe Carmeli, or by the attraction of immigrant scientists, such as Gerald Tauber in Tel Aviv and his student Tsvi Piran or Jacob Bekenstein first in Beersheba and later in Jerusalem, a leader in the intersection of GR with thermodynamics, where his identification of a contribution to entropy generated by the gravitational field of a "black hole" opened up an entirely new chapter with profound conceptual aspects, as discussed in recent years by S. Hawking, L. Susskind (the "holographic" universe), S. Coleman ("Black Holes as Red Herrings"), and others.

Sometime in the 1970s new lines of research appeared: neural networks at HU, with David Horn at TAU. Chaos was treated by Ittamar Procaccia at Weizmann, Shmuel Sambourski (HU), and Max Jammer (Bar-Ilan).

COSMIC RAYS, PARTICLES, AND FIELDS. Cosmic ray physics developed with Y. Eisenberg, who had observed in 1958, in an emulsion that had been exposed to cosmic radiation, an "event" which was to be identified in 1962 with the omega-minus hyperon. He joined the Weizmann Institute in 1959; at the same time and in the same subdiscipline, Dan Kessler joined Sorek. At the Technion, Kurt Sitte, an experienced experimentalist, started an experimental cosmic ray group, short-lived because Sitte was arrested and tried for crimes against the nation's security. Paul Singer, joining in 1959–60, studied the theoretical issues involved, thus entering particle physics. While research in cosmic rays in Israel thus focused in the early years on the particle physics aspect, a new group was led by L. Dorman, who had immigrated from the USSR in the 1990s; their interest lay in the Earth's environment, the radiation belts, and the solar wind. The Emilio Segre Observatory collaborates with the Italian CR community.

Yuval Ne'eman (1925–2006), scion of several of the founding families of the modern Jewish resettlement (c. 1800, prior to organized Zionism, founded in 1897) and of the city of Tel Aviv (1909), after a career in the Israel Defense Forces, turned to physics at the age of 33, combining graduate studies at Imperial College with the duties of defense attaché in Israel's London embassy. Resigning from this position in May 1960 he "embarked on a highly speculative program" (in the words of A. Salam, his advisor, who advised against it), namely a search for a symmetry of the hadrons providing both a classification and dynamical couplings. The result, arrived at in October 1960, was submitted for publication early in February 1961. This was SU(3) symmetry (now renamed flavor-SU(3)) in a version based on the identification of the spin ½ baryons as an octet. It provided a hadron classification and an exact global-symmetry, also an effective local gauge-symmetry (mediated by a spin-1 massive vector-meson octet). The most elegant visualization of these octets sets them as 3 × 3 matrices. The octet's main competitor was the Sakata model, using the same SU(3) group, but with a different and a priori more popular algebraic normalization, namely assigning the best-known multiplet {p,n,/\} to the group's defining representation.

The octet global symmetry was tested in hundreds of predictions relating to the couplings and based on the Clebsch-Gordan coefficients of the group, but the final verdict was supplied by the discovery of the omega-minus hyperon, fitting the predictions exactly. The classification and symmetry were discovered simultaneously and independently by M. Gell-Mann, who called them "the Eightfold Way."

Back in Israel, as scientific director of the Sorek Laboratory, Ne'eman also organized a group combining technical service in the establishment with research in particle physics. With H. Goldberg of that group, Ne'eman constructed a mathematical model yielding precisely the observed set of representations; this model consisted in fixing as the basic "brick" the 3-dimensional defining SU(3) representation with a baryon-number B = ⅓ assignment (and fractional electric charges). We would also have to prepare the 3^* anti-brick with B = –⅓. The B = 1 baryons are then in [3 (×) 3 (×) 3] = 1 + 8 + 8 + 10. The model was again discussed two years later as to the physical nature of these "bricks" by M. Gell-Mann (who named the "bricks" quarks) and by G. Zweig (who named them "*aces*").

Soon after this consolidation of the quark model it was tested and scored nicely through algebraic treatments based either on a nonrelativistic approximation, initiated by F. Gursey and L. Radicati, or applying an asymptotic limit, a method used by E. Levin and L. Frankfurt in Leningrad (1965; both were professors at TAU by 1990).

In the first two years after his return to Israel, Ne'eman lectured on particle physics at the Technion. Hebrew University, Weizmann Institute. C. Levinson and S. Meshkov, who were guests from the United States, worked with H.J. Lipkin on the SU(3) Elliott Model in nuclei, "transferred" to particle physics, and produced many of the predictions for both the Sakata and the Ne'eman/Gell-Mann models.

The first group of graduate students who worked with Ne'eman in particle physics then spent 1–2 years in leading centers – D. Horn and Y. Dothan at Caltech, H. Harari at SLAC, J. Rosen at BU, etc. – while a flux of guests and post-docs in particle physics arrived in Israel, L. Susskind, J. Rosner, J. Yellin at the new TAU, H. Rubinstein, M. Virasoro, at Weizmann, D. Lurie at the Technion, etc.

Generally speaking, an internal symmetry, and even more so a global one, is an extension of the kinematics and has to be grafted onto a dynamical theory. In London in 1958–60 this was Relativistic Quantum Field Theory (RQFT), which had been successfully applied to quantum electrodynamics in 1946–48, producing the most precise theory in physics.

Ne'eman was a guest at Caltech in 1963–65 and was impressed by the apparent rejection of Quantum Field Theory. R.P. Feynman, one of the heroes of that theory's success in the 1940s, had tried to extend it to quantum gravity and, encountering difficulties, had decided to do it first on the Yang-Mills gauge theory as a simplified model. He had then come across violations of unitarity off mass shell. The news spread to Berkeley, and G.F. Chew, the charismatic leader of particle physics in the 1950s and 1960s on the West Coast and sometimes everywhere in the United States, proclaimed Quantum Field Theory to have been a lucky accident of the 1940s, worthless beyond some special conditions. That verdict was accepted by the rank and file.

Luckily, QFT could still be used for leptons, and the first important step in unification, the Weinberg-Salam theory, was presented in its leptonic dress (1967–68). For the hadrons Gell-Mann had then invented current algebra, a way of preserving those features onto which one could apply the symmetry. Ne'eman himself developed similar structures in the mid-1960s (e.g., "the algebra of Regge residues" in the work with N. Cabibbo and L.P. Horwitz). Hadron dynamics now moved on to "S-Matrix theory" and the Bootstrap hypothesis. Between 1966 and 1970, Israel – the local group and its guests – was in the lead internationally: D. Horn (with C. Schmid and R. Dolan) provided the bootstrap with a mathematical embodiment, the "Finite Energy Sum Rules." Gabriele Veneziano, an Italian-Jewish graduate student at Weizmann, solved these equations, L. Susskind (at that stage a prospective immigrant from the U.S.) at TAU and Y. Nambu in Chicago showed that the Veneziano representation describes a quantum string. Harari at Weizmann with P.G.O. Freund in Chicago and G. Zweig at Caltech further developed the methodology, and M. Virasoro and H. Rubinstein at Weizmann enriched the string formalism. An international conference on "Dual Models" held in 1970 in Tel Aviv embodied the centrality achieved by particle physics in Israel in one decade. It was also a milestone in this first role of String Theory, here as a candidate theory for the Strong Interactions (1968–73).

The year 1970, however, was another "refocusing" year, when G. 't Hooft in Holland completed the renormalization of the Weinberg-Salam electroweak theory. That "infamous" breakdown of the unitarity of mass shell had been cured by its discoverer around 1962, when Feynman introduced ghost fields. Further work by B. deWitt, Slavnov, Taylor, Faddeev, and Popov had completed the cure, and now not only had 't Hooft finished the Yang-Mills case, he had also cleaned up the case of a spontaneous breakdown of that local gauge theory. Quantum Field Theory was now back with a vengeance.

In Israel, research in experimental particle physics is mostly done at CERN (Israel was granted Associated Membership in 1991, together with Russia, after a weaker association starting from 1971) and at DESY (Israeli formal association since 1983), with active groups at the Technion (J. Goldberg), TAU (G. Alexander, A. Levy, Y. Oren, G. Bela, E. Etzion, S. Dagan, O. Benary), Weizmann (G. Mickenberg, U. Karshon) plus medium energy groups at HU (A. Gal) and TAU (A. Yavin, P. Alster), etc. Theory groups are active in all these institutions.

GEOMETRICAL DEVELOPMENTS. In 1971, Yu. Golfand (who later immigrated to Israel) and E. Likhtman in Russia introduced supersymmetry, which was then "sharpened" by J. Wess and B. Zumino and by A. Salam and J. Strathdee. This was a new opening both in mathematics and physics. The Harvard mathematician S. Sternberg, visiting Tel Aviv University yearly and bringing in other visitors such as B. Kostant of MIT, etc., had already collaborated with Ne'eman on topics in current algebras, etc. In 1974, L. Corwin, Ne'eman, and Sternberg published a major exploratory study of "Graded Lie Algebras" which cleared the field and was soon followed by V. Kac's classification of the Simple Lie Superalgebras (the new name for the "Graded Lie Algebras"). Superalgebras avoided some of the "no-go" theorems forbidding mergers between spacetime and "internal" symmetries. One such application was supergravity, discovered in 1976 by D.Z. Freedman, S. Ferrara, and P. von Nieuwenhuizen and by S. Deser and B. Zumino. Gell-Mann and Ne'eman showed in 1976 that the gauge supersymmetry models with N = 4h (max) (N the number of internal degrees of freedom, h(max) the highest helicity) are so severely constrained algebraically as to be possibly renormalizable or even finite. The N = 4 supersymmetric Yang-Mills (h = 1) is indeed finite and the N = 8 (built by E. Cremmer and B. Julia in 1978) is still the great hope in the "M-theory" of 1997 as the field theory limit of a string theory embedded in a Membrane.

Moreover, Ne'eman's work with T. Regge in 1977 introduced a new geometrical approach, the group manifold method. Ne'eman's French student J. Thierry-Mieg then showed (1979–81) that the "ghost fields" have a very useful geometrical interpretation (in a Yang-Mills theory) as the vertical component of the connection 1-form, while the unitarity-guaranteeing equations (BRS, etc.) just reproduce the Cartan-Maurer equations guaranteeing the horizontality of the curvature 2-forms. It also led Ne'eman (1979) to the concept of a "superconnection" – a concept independently introduced in mathematics by D. Quillen in 1985.

As a matter of fact, the geometric features present in much of algebraic physics – perhaps the most interesting aspect of Felix Klein's and Sophus Lie's (1872) Erlangen Program – first emphasized in GR, pervade gauge theories and spectrum generating algebras and have led both the string theorists and Ne'eman from the strong Interactions to gravity and back, though along different paths.

Ne'eman's collaboration with the Cologne group of F.W. Hehl, with D. Sijacki (Belgrade), R. Kerner (Paris), E. Mielke and A. Macias (Mexico), and others is the outcome of his discovery (1977) of world spinors, the infinite unitary spinorial reps of the double-covering of the SL(n, R) and of the covariance group, for long wrongly thought of as nonexistent. These have been used to describe Regge excitation sequences in strong interactions ("chromogravity"), where they are the only clear link, to date, between QCD and the features that characterized the S.I. in the S-matrix analytical continuation formalism. All of this may find applications in gravity too and has also somewhat overlapped with mathematical work by Shmuel Kaniel's group in Jerusalem and the cosmological studies of Eduardo Guendelman's group in Beersheba.

Ne'eman's 1979 superconnection introduced an internal supersymmetry SU(2/1) constraining the electroweak SU(2) × U (1); the same theory (though derived differently) was suggested independently and simultaneously by D. Fairlie. It predicts the Higgs mass to be M(H) = 2M(W), prior to radiative corrections. We note that with his various collaborators at Harvard, Cologne, Turino, Belgrade, etc., Ne'eman's TAU chair has been a source of innovative mathematical physics throughout the 1965–2005 period.

ASTRONOMY, ASTROPHYSICS, AND COSMOLOGY. There was no astronomy in Israel until 1965, although there were two young men who studied astronomy – Elia Leibowitz at Harvard and Raphael Steinitz in Holland – assuming that some day there would be such activity Israel. At TAU, Ne'eman started to develop several programs in parallel. Solar astronomy was undertaken, using a telescope on a roof at the TAU campus working in full conjunction with a Caltech telescope at Great Bear Lake in California under the guidance of H. Zirin. This was one of the first combined instruments providing 24-hour full coverage and thereby making it possible to follow eruptions, etc., throughout the entire season.

This small success (1967) was followed by a series of failed attempts in 1968–71. Still in solar astronomy, a special telescope – static and with a rotating mirror following the sun – was installed in a specially designed observatory (following advice from Kippenheuier) on another TAU campus roof, and another Israeli who had studied and now worked in France under Michard undertook to operate it, but "defected" for family reasons, and this initiative collapsed. A second attempt failed some years later, when an excellent instrument in an observatory in California became available due to the closure of that base. One of the main supporters of TAU, Raymond Sackler, undertook payment, and it was purchased at full price, but then the State of California authorities passed a law restricting the sale of scientific instrumentation belonging to the state, a restriction which included this case. In radio-astronomy, Arno Penzias, co-discoverer of the 30K "background radiation," spending a semester at TAU, developed a collaboration with a millimeter radioastronomical observatory at Bonn for N-S interferometry, but this scheme also collapsed due to the operators defecting, this time as a result of industry offering very much higher salaries.

Finally, after these three failures, a triumph was achieved late in 1971 with the inauguration of the George and Florence Wise (Optical) Observatory at Mitzpeh Ramon in the Negev at an altitude of 1000 m., with a 40″ wide angle Ritchie-Chretien reflector telescope with a Cassegrain mirror. The site was selected after a survey which covered the peaks from Mt. Sinai (where Abbott measured the solar constant around 1900) to Mt. Hermon. The Smithsonian Institute, under the leadership of F. Whipple, and with the active participation of M. Lecar, collaborated by supplying much of the auxiliary instrumentation for the project; the Israeli government paid for the building and TAU President Dr. George Wise and Mrs. Wise contributed the telescope. The outcome was beyond expectations: within the first three years there were three fairly spectacular results: John and Neta Bahcall produced the first optical identification of an X-ray pulsar (Hercules HR); Peter Wehinger and Susan Wykopf produced a spectroscopic validation of F. Whipple's conjecture that comet tails are made of water and hydroxil by direct analysis of the comet Kohoutek and an on the spot collaboration with Herzog in Canada and Herbig in California; the discovery of clouds of sulfur and phosphorus around Jupiter, announced by Wise Observatory (TAU) astronomers A. Eviathar, I. Kupo, and Y. Mekler was met with skepticism until NASA's Voyager radioed pictures of the fuming volcanoes on Jupiter's moon Io.

In the 1980s, H. Netzer and D. Maoz achieved the first precise measurements of the mass of black holes in active galactic nuclei. The Wise Observatory was then involved in several international collaborations that pursued these measurements extensively. Netzer, Maoz, and S. Caspi have since studied some of the largest black holes known to date. N. Brosh was involved in the discovery of extra-solar planetary systems by international collaborations in the 1990s. TAUVEX, a major instrumental setup for the exploration of the UV sky (quasars, etc.) built by EL-OP for TAU in 1991–95, was due to be orbited in 1996 on Soviet satellite together with 13 other experiments, but changes in the USSR first caused a postponement and finally a cancellation in 2000. The instrument is now due to be raised on an Indian satellite in 2008.

Israel Dostrovsky at Weizmann designed and built the gallium-germanium neutrino-detector for the International experiment at the Gran Sasso tunnel in Italy. This experiment brought the first solid verification of John Bahcall's claim about missing solar neutrinos.

In radio-astronomy, work on the sun is done by D. Eichler at Ben-Gurion University in the Negev and by L. Pustilnik at the Jordan Valley College.

Research in theoretical astrophysics was done by A. Finzi at the Technion, by G. Rakavy, Z. Barkat, Z. Cinnamon at HU, G. Shaviv, M. Livio (TAU, later at the Technion), M. Contini, J. Refaeli, B. Kozlovski, A. Yahil, U. Feldman, I. Goldman A. Kowacz at TAU, Y. Avny and M. Milgrom at Weizmann. M. Gelman (Technion) leads in space physics. Work in cosmology started with the discovery of the first quasars, when I. Novikov in the U.S.S.R. (1964) and Y. Ne'eman (1965) independently suggested that quasars are lagging-cores in the cosmological expansion. Ne'eman and G. Tauber further developed this model, while it became clear that it does not fit the quasars. This model was in fact a very simple precursor of the presently used Eternal and Infinite Multi-core Inflationary Cosmology suggested by A. Linde after A. Guth's inflation hypothesis. In recent years, work in cosmology is mainly conducted at HU under the leadership of Avishay Dekel.

[Yuval Ne'eman (2nd ed.)]

PIACENZA, city in northern Italy, formerly in the duchy of *Parma. Jewish moneylenders lived there in the 15th century and were attacked by the friars who condemned usury in their sermons. When **monti di pietà* were established here and in Parma in 1488–90, the Jews from both towns scattered throughout the country districts in order to carry on their business there. Thus, around Piacenza, the small communities (now extinct) of Monticelli d'Ongina, Fiorenzuola d'Arda, and Cortemaggiore came into being and were able to carry on even after 1570, at which date Jews were forbidden to live in Piacenza.

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[Attilio Milano]

PIAMENTA, MOSHE (1921–), linguist and Orientalist, professor emeritus of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem in Arabic language and literature. Piamenta distinguished himself in the research of colloquial Arabic and its dialects (chiefly of the syntax of Jerusalem Arabic) as well as of socio-anthropological aspects of Arab linguistics. Noteworthy, also, are his investigations of the Judeo-Arabic of Yemen and Baghdad, of expressions of the Islamic religion in Arabic words, terms, and ways of expression.

He received the Jerusalem Award (1994) and Israel Prize for scholarship in Oriental Studies in 1996.

Among his main works are *Shimmush ha-Zemannim, ha-Aspektim ve-ha-Derakhim ba-Lahag ha-Aravi ha-Yerushalmi* 2 (1964); *Studies in the Syntax of Palestinian Arabic* (1966); *Islam in Everyday Arabic Speech* (1979); *The Muslim Conception of God and Human Welfare as Reflected in Everyday Arabic Speech* (1983); *Dictionary of Post-Classical Yemeni Arabic* (1990–91); *Jewish Life in Arabic Language and Jerusalem Arabic in Communal Perspective: Lexico-Semantic Study* (2000).

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PIASECZNO, town in Warszawa province, Poland. During the 18th century there was a Jewish settlement in the town, but in 1740 King Augustus III prohibited the residence of Jews. In 1789 they were also forbidden to trade or be innkeepers in the town. After the abolition of this decree by the Russian government, the population of the town increased from 1,328 in 1865 to 5,604 in 1921. The latter figure included 2,256 Jews. An active Jewish life began after World War I and in 1932 a Zionist delegate was elected to head the community. Among the *ẓaddikim* of Piaseczno, R. Israel Jehiel Kalish (whose father R. Simḥah Bunem Kalish of Otwock died in Tiberias in 1907) was renowned at the beginning of the 20th century.

[Shimshon Leib Kirshenboim]

Holocaust Period

Before the outbreak of World War II, there were about 3,000 Jews in Piaseczno. The Jewish community was liquidated on Jan. 22–27, 1941, when all the Jews were deported to *Warsaw and shared the fate of that community. After the war the Jewish community was not reconstituted.

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PIATIGORSKY, GREGOR (1903–1976), cellist. Born in Yekaterinoslav, Ukraine, Piatigorsky became first cellist at the Imperial Opera. He left Russia in 1921 and from 1924 he was leading cellist of the Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra. He resigned in 1928 to tour as soloist, often appearing in recitals with Serge Rachmaninoff, Arthur *Schnabel, and Vladimir *Horovitz. He also formed a trio with Nathan *Milstein and Horovitz. In 1929 he settled in the U.S. and taught at the Curtis Institute in Philadelphia and later at Boston University.

One of the leading cellists of his generation, Piatigorsky made many arrangements for the cello and commissioned cello concertos from several composers – Paul Hindemith, Mario *Castelnuovo-Tedesco, and Serge Prokofiev. He visited Israel in 1954 for concerts with the Israel Philharmonic Orchestra and returned in 1970 for concerts together with Jasha Heifetz. His autobiography, *Cellist*, was published in 1965.

[Uri (Erich) Toeplitz]

PIATRA-NEAMT (Rom. **Piatra-Neamț**, or **Piatra**), town in Moldavia, N.E. Romania. According to a local Jewish tradition, a synagogue existed there by the middle of the 16th century, and during the war against Turkey (1541–46), the Jews of Piatra-Neamt hid the ruler of Moldavia. The oldest tombstone dates from 1627 and the first entries in the *pinkas* (minute book) of the *ḥevra kaddisha* date from 1771. The *ḥevra* maintained a *talmud torah* and directed various communal activities. The Jews' Guild (see *Romania) was in charge of communal affairs. In 1819 the head of the guild was the assistant of the chief commissioner of the local police. There were 120 Jewish taxpayers in 1802. The number of Jews had risen to 3,900 (33% of the total population) in 1859 and 8,489 (c. 50% of the total) in 1907. In 1930 there were 7,595 Jews (24% of the total).

Antisemitism was prevalent from the 19th century on, and in 1821 the community suffered from Greek rebels who appeared in the area and robbed and murdered Jews there. The arrival of the Turkish army prevented a complete massacre of the community. In 1841, 48 Jews from the surrounding villages were arrested following a *blood libel. They were released by special order of the sultan on the intervention of Sir Moses *Montefiore.

The abolition of the **ḥakham bashi* system in 1834 and of the Jews' Guild was followed by a long period of chaos in Jewish public life; attempts to form a community failed because of quarrels among different Jewish groups and institutions which attempted to assume communal responsibility and leadership. In 1868 the police closed the *talmud torah* and the private *ḥadarim*, obliging the community to establish a modern school. A primary school was founded by the local *B'nai

B'rith in 1882 and functioned until 1885 when the *talmud torah* was reopened. In 1899–1900 the *Jewish Colonization Association contributed to the building of two schools, one for boys and another for girls, which in 1910 had 810 pupils.

In addition to the "Great Synagogue" there were 16 prayer houses, some of them belonging to specific craftsmen. A *hekdesh* (hostel for travelers) was turned into an old-age home in 1898 and a Jewish hospital was established in 1905.

Most of the commerce in Piatra-Neamt was conducted by Jews: in 1891 there were 417 Jewish commercial firms. Many Jews dealt in the agricultural products of the area, such as timber, cereals, and cattle. The majority of craftsmen were also Jews and some industries were also owned by Jews.

In 1894 a branch of Ḥovevei Zion was founded in the town. After 1897 groups of supporters of Herzl's political Zionism were formed there. The Hebrew weekly *Yizre'el* was published in Piatra-Neamt from 1882, as well as a Yiddish journal *Di Hofnung* (published three times weekly). Another Hebrew magazine, *Ha-Mekiẓ*, edited by the Hebrew author and teacher M. *Braunstein-Mibashan, and A.L. *Zissu, who was born in Piatra-Neamt, was published there from 1909. Jean *Juster and the historian of Romanian Jewry, M.A. Halevy (1900–1972), were also born in Piatra-Neamt.

Antisemitism was especially virulent in Piatra-Neamt between the two world wars. In 1925 synagogues, Jewish schools, and other institutions were looted, and in 1926 and 1928 the cemetery was desecrated. Corneliu *Codreaunu, head of the *Iron Guard, was elected to Parliament as deputy for Piatra-Neamt in 1931. In 1937, 26 out of 28 Jews practicing at the bar were dismissed. Despite these problems the community itself was more firmly organized between the two world wars. The two primary schools, serving 400 boys and girls in 1936–37, were amalgamated, and the community also supported a boarders' annex for 250 children. There were Zionist organizations of all shades.

The community of Piatra-Neamt survived World War II. In 1947 Jews numbered 8,000, declining to 5,000 in 1950. In 1969 about 300 Jewish families remained. There were two synagogues. About 100 Jews remained in the early 21st century.

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[Theodor Lavi]

°**PIATTOLI, SCIPIONE** (1749–1809), Italian clergyman who later became a Polish statesman. He was born in Florence and lived in Poland from 1783. In 1789, on a tour of France, he supported the political demands of the third estate and was deeply impressed by the suggestion of *Malesherbes for an improvement in the situation of the Jews in Alsace. On his return to Poland in 1790, he made contact with the reformists in the Sejm, and took an active part in the formation of the constitution of May 3, 1791. His diplomatic qualifications led to his appointment as adviser to Stanislaus Augustus, the last king of Poland. Piattoli strove to rectify the unstable legal situation of Polish Jews, combining practical suggestions on behalf of the Jews with an effort to solve the king's personal financial debts. In September 1791 he proposed that Jews be given the right to buy land and houses, and juridical autonomy and the status of a separate urban class. For these rights the Jews were to pay the king's debts (about 20 million zlotys) in 10 annual installments. Piattoli first addressed his proposal to the leaders of the Jewish communities, then in Warsaw, asking them for their support. He also convinced certain statesmen, H. Kollątaj, A. Linowski, J. Jeziezski, and others, to discuss his plan in the Sejm. In 1792, however, Piattoli's proposal was opposed by urban representatives and those aristocrats who inclined toward Russia. The Sejm was dissolved on May 26, 1792 with the outbreak of war between Russia and Poland, and Piattoli's proposal lapsed.

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[Arthur Cygielman]

PICA (**The Palestine Jewish Colonization Association**), society for Jewish settlement in Palestine, active between 1924 and 1957. In 1923, as a result of the rapid development of his settlement projects in Palestine, Baron Edmond de *Rothschild decided to establish a separate body to achieve his ideal. The new association, headed by his son James, took over from the *Jewish Colonization Association (ICA), which had managed the villages assisted by the Baron since 1900. PICA was officially recognized by the Mandatory authorities in 1924.

PICA founded and assisted Jewish settlement in the moshavot Pardes Ḥannah and Binyaminah, in moshavim such as Naḥalat Jabotinsky, Bet Ḥananyah, Shadmot Devorah, and Sedeh Eli'ezer, and in kibbutzim such as Ashdot Ya'akov, Ma'yan Ẓevi, and Kefar Glickson. It also engaged in swamp drainage (e.g., at Kabarah in 1925), afforestation (at Ḥaderah), stabilization of sand dunes, and agricultural research and modernization. It gave financial support to cultural institutions, including the Hebrew University and the Technion, and developed the industrial enterprises started by Baron de Rothschild, though it always tried in some way to link its efforts in industry with agriculture or land. After 1948 it modernized and expanded the Grands Moulins flour mill, Haifa, and the salt works at Athlit, as well as acquiring shares in Fertilizers and Chemicals, Haifa, and other enterprises. On the death of James de Rothschild in 1957, PICA wound up its operations and transferred its considerable property to the State of Israel.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: PICA, *Memorandum and Articles of Association* (1924); idem, *Memorandum Submitted to the United Nations Special Committee on Palestine* (1947); idem, *Exchange of Letters between Mrs James A. de Rothschild… and Mr. David Ben Gurion…* (1958); PICA: *Ha-Ḥevrah le-Hityashevut ha-Yehudim be-Ereẓ-Yisrael* (1957).

[Avital Levy]

°PICARD, EDMOND (1836–1924), Belgian lawyer and antisemite. Picard became an active advocate of socialism, then of antisemitic racialism, and attempted to forge an alliance between the two ideologies. He fought for the socialist cause between 1866 and 1907, when he left the Socialist Party, although he continued to call himself a socialist. In 1888 Picard visited Morocco on a diplomatic mission and from then on turned his talents as a writer to outright racialist propaganda. Observing Arabs and Jews there, he concluded that Semites and Aryans were irreconcilable races. In the following years he wrote *La Bible et le Coran* (1888), *Synthèse de l'antisémitisme* (1892), which was reprinted during the German occupation of Belgium in World War II, and *L'Aryano-Sémitisme* (1899), a collection of 19 articles previously published in the socialist daily *Le Peuple* under the bizarre title *L'Antisémitisme scientifique et humanitaire*. Picard abhorred any intermingling of races and urged Aryans to protect themselves from the "Semitic invasion." He presented Jesus as an Aryan and the Jews as Asians. Seeing no contradiction between antisemitism and socialism, he believed that brotherhood of the oppressed did not necessarily imply equality between all races. He was influenced by *Proudhon's anti-Jewish *ouvriérisme* and by *Gobineau, as well as by his Catholic education which provided a receptive ground for animosity toward the Jews. He succeeded in infecting the minds of leading socialists like Hennebicq (1871–1940) and Destrée (1863–1936); but thanks to the efforts of E. Vandervelde, L. De Brouckère, and C. Huysmans, the Socialist movement in Belgium officially proscribed antisemitism. Yet the Socialist Party newspaper, *Le Peuple*, never refused to print Picard's articles.

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PICARD, JACOB (1883–1967), German author and poet. Picard was born in Wangen, Wuerttemberg, and practiced law in Konstanz. He published two collections of verse, *Das Ufer* (1913), and *Erschuetterung* (1920), but turned seriously to literature when his legal career ended with the advent of the Nazi regime in 1933. He fled to New York via Soviet Russia and Asia in 1940. His lyrics expressed a traditionally religious outlook.

In 1936 he published his most important work, a collection of short stories entitled *Der Gezeichnete* (1936, reissued as *Die alte Lehre*, 1963; *The Marked One and Twelve Other Stories*, 1956), which described the folklore, piety, and traditions of Jews settled for centuries in the towns and villages of southern Germany. Some of his later poems were collected in *Der Uhrenschlag* (1960). A short autobiography, entitled "Childhood in a Village," appeared in the *Yearbook of the Leo Baeck Institute* (vol. 4 (1959), 273–93) and under the title "Erinnerung eigenen Lebens," in *Allmend*, 25/25 (1989) 5–38). In 1991 there appeared his *Werke* (in 2 vols., ed. by M Bosch).

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PICARD, LEO YEHUDA (1900–1996), Israeli geologist. Born in Konstanz, Germany, he earned his Ph.D. in geology from the University of Freiburg (1923). After a period of study at the University of Florence, he immigrated to Palestine in 1924. After initial employment by the Keren Kayemet, in 1925 he joined the staff of the Natural History Department of the newly founded Hebrew University of Jerusalem as the sole geologist among the three young staff members supervised by Otto *Warburg. During the period of this appointment he carried out research in Paris (1926) and, supported by the Royal Society, at Imperial College, University of London where he obtained his D.Sc. He returned to the Hebrew University where he was appointed lecturer (1934), head of the department of geology (1936), and professor in 1939. When Picard arrived in Palestine, Jerusalem was the only area in the country that had been fully surveyed. He carried out the first geological surveys of the Jezreel valley (the "Emek") and Haifa region and contributed to the first study of the mineral deposits of the Judean Desert. He later directed the comprehensive geological survey of Israel (1950–54). In addition to his general geological skills, he had special expertise in surveys for petrochemical and water resources. He also carried out research and teaching in paleontology. He played a major part in organizing the study and teaching of geology and geography after the establishment of the state and in insisting on high academic standards. There was great national and international demand for his services, and he made geological surveys for governments and organizations throughout the world including Europe, Africa, Asia, and South America. He also served as chairman or adviser on many national and international committees including UNESCO, the UN, and geological conferences, especially those concerned with the problems of arid regions. His publications on basic and applied geology were universally recognized for their research and educational distinction. His many awards included the Israel Prize for natural sciences (1958), election to the Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities (1961), and membership in many national geological societies.

[Michael Denman (2nd ed.)]

°PICART, BERNARD (1673–1733), French artist and engraver. Picart settled in Amsterdam in 1710, partly to escape the restrictions to which, as a Protestant, he was subjected in Catholic France. He earned a place in the history of Jewish art by his realistic portrayal of Jewish religious rites. These constitute an invaluable record of Dutch Jewry in the early 18th century. Unlike Rembrandt and his circle, who were chiefly interested in the facial expressions of individuals, Picart sought out Jews in the synagogue and in their homes in order to acquaint himself with their ceremonies. In his picture of a Passover celebration the artist himself can be seen, hatless, participating in the meal. Picart used his sketches, the originals of which are in the Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam, to make etchings with which he illustrated the section devoted to Jews in the first volume of an 11-volume work, *Cérémonies et Coûtumes Réligieuses de tous les Peuples du Monde* (Amsterdam, 1723). The engravings were often reproduced in various editions, and served as the basis for a series of imitations published by F. Novelli in Venice in 1789. Picart also engraved the title pages for some Hebrew works, such as the Amsterdam Pentateuch of 1725.

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[Alfred Werner]

PICCIOTTO, family of merchants and community leaders from Leghorn, Italy. Of its members HILLEL ḤAYYIM (d. 1773) traveled to *Aleppo for the first time in 1732 and settled there in 1771. His son, ḤAI MOSES (d. 1816), author of *Va-Yeḥal Moshe* (Vienna, 1814), a collection of sermons and ethics, also died in Aleppo. He was the father of RAPHAEL (d. 1827), the Austrian consul in Aleppo for about 50 years; in 1818 he emigrated to Tiberias, where he died. In 1806 he was honored by Austria with the title of "Ritter von Picciotto." He was also the Russian consul in Aleppo. His son, Ezra (d. 1822), was the Austrian consul from 1818 until his death in the earthquake of Aleppo. He was then replaced by his brother ELIJAH, who held his position until 1840. A third brother, HILLEL, was Prussian consul in Aleppo from 1824. When Wolf Shorr visited the town in 1875, he found that this family provided "most of the envoys of Europe's kingdoms, such as Germany, Austria, Belgium, Sweden, Holland, and others." MOSES BEN EZRA (1818–1894) acted as Austrian, German, and Danish envoy in Aleppo and defended his brethren in 1875 at the time of the blood libel brought about by the Armenians.

MOSES HAIM (1806–1879) emigrated from Aleppo to London in 1843 and died there. He played an active role in the affairs of the Sephardi Bevis Marks community and was also its president. He was also a member of the Board of Deputies over a long period. During the Spanish-Moroccan War of 1859, when a great number of Jewish refugees fled to Gibraltar and the situation of the Jews in *Morocco worsened, a committee of support was formed in England and Moses Ḥaim was its emissary to report on the exact conditions of the Jews. His report was published under the title *Jews of Morocco Report* (London, 1861). His son, James (1830–1897), was a historian of English Jewry and also a hymnologist. He was for many years secretary to the Morocco Relief Fund. From 1872 onward he published in the *Jewish Chronicle* a series of discursive historical essays based to some extent on original sources. These were republished in volume form in 1875 under the title *Sketches of Anglo-Jewish History* – the earliest popular work on Anglo-Jewish history. He was among the founders of the Jewish Historical Society of England. Another member of the family, Joseph (1872–1938), was the first Jewish senator to be appointed by King Fuad of *Egypt (1924). He was also a member of the Chamber of Commerce in *Alexandria and a member of the Economic Council of the Egyptian government. As a Zionist, he was vice president of the "Pro-Palestine" Society founded in Egypt in 1918. For many years he was also the vice president of the Alexandrian Communal Board and president of the local B'nai B'rith.

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[Haim J. Cohen]

PICHO (or **Pichon**), **JOSEPH** (d. 1379), *contador mayor* ("auditor general") of Henry II of Castile, Spain. He gradually rose in rank from being an adviser to Henry, before the latter seized power, to one of the foremost officials at court. In 1366 his signature appears on official documents, and a year later he was entrusted with an important mission, probably financial, to the king of Aragon. In 1369 Picho was appointed chief tax collector and made responsible for the crown revenues, while in 1371 he appears as chief tax farmer of Castile. In consequence of his governmental position he was vested with much authority which he abused at times. In 1379 certain Jews who were jealous of Picho's position obtained a writ issued in blank authorizing them to punish *informers. On the authority of this document Picho was convicted and executed. According to the evidence of the contemporary Spanish historian, Lopez de Ayala, the only available source for this episode, these events took place in Burgos, at the time of the coronation of Pedro III, the son of Henry. This angered the young king, and as a result the Cortes, at its session in Soria in 1380, abrogated the rights of criminal jurisdiction previously held by the Jews of Castile.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Baer, Spain, 1 (1961), 366f., 376, 450; Baer, Urkunden, index, s.v. *Joseph Picho*; Neuman, Spain, index; H. Beinart, *Kevuẓot Illit u-Shekhavot Manhigot* (1966), 66.

PICK, ALOIS (1859–1945), Austrian army medical corps general, university professor, and president of the Vienna Jewish community. He was born in Karlin near Prague, studied medicine in Prague and Vienna, and graduated in 1883. After 1887 he served as army surgeon and military hospital director; in 1891 he became head of the ward for stomach and intestinal diseases in the Vienna General Hospital. He was appointed to the position of lecturer and professor at Vienna University after 1890. During World War I he was attached to the general staff, and attained the highest rank in the army medical corps. From 1920 to 1932 he headed the Vienna Jewish community, assisted by two vice presidents of the non-nationalist and Zionist groups. His respected and kind personality helped to reconcile party differences. He wrote books and numerous articles on internal medicine, among them *Vorlesungen ueber Magen und Darmkrankheiten* (1895–97) and, with Adolf Hecht, *Klinische Semiotik* (1908), both translated into English.

During his service in Herzegovina he was the first to describe a form of pappataci fever. He also wrote plays and poetry.

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[Hugo Knoepfmacher]

PICK, ERNST PETER (1872–1960), Austrian pharmacological chemist. Born in Jaromer, Bohemia, Pick worked until 1899 at the University of Strasbourg. He was head of the biochemistry department of the Serum Institute of Vienna from 1899 to 1911, and professor of pharmacology at the University of Vienna from 1911 to 1924. He was chief of the drug control department of the Austrian government from 1914 until the advent of the Nazis. In 1938 he went to the United States and was appointed professor of pharmacology at Columbia University (1939–46), as well as being attached to Mount Sinai Hospital, New York.

Pick's papers were largely concerned with serology, the breakdown of proteins, poisons, and various other fields of experimental pathology and pharmacology. He wrote *Biochemie der Antigene* (1912), *Biochemie der Antigene und Antikoerper* (1928), and co-edited *Die experimentelle Pharmakologie als Grundlage der Arzneibehandlung* (1933).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Arzneimittel-Forschung*, 7 (1957), 332; *Archives internationales de pharmacodynamie et de thérapie*, 132 (1961), 205.

[Samuel Aaron Miller]

PICK, ḤAYYIM HERMANN (1879–1952), Assyriologist and Mizrachi leader. Born in Schildberg, Poland, Pick was a pupil of F. Delitzsch at the University of Berlin. His doctoral dissertation was entitled *Talmudische Glossen zu Delitzschs assyrischen Handwoerterbuch* (1903). He was also ordained as rabbi by David Z. Hoffmann at the Rabbinerseminar fuer das Orthodoxe Judentum. Pick joined the Zionist movement in 1898 and the Mizrachi upon its foundation, serving as a delegate to several Zionist congresses. In 1904 he joined the department of Middle Eastern studies at the Prussian State Library, and in 1918 was appointed professor and *Bibliotheksrat* (library counsellor). He was the first Jew in the Prussian civil service to be permitted not to work on the Sabbath. Concurrently he acted as headmaster of the Lippmann Taus Hebrew College in Berlin.

Pick was very active in Mizrachi affairs in Germany until 1914. In World War I, he acted as chief military censor of the Jewish press in Poland. After the war he was temporarily attached to the German Foreign Office. In 1920 he was elected a member of the Mizrachi World Executive, serving for a time as its chairman. From 1921 to 1927 he was a member of the Jerusalem Zionist Executive and was appointed to its Immigration Department. At the height of the "*Grabski *aliyah*" he kept up an impassioned fight with the British high commissioner, Sir Herbert Samuel, over the politically motivated cutbacks in the allotment of immigration certificates. Pick was among the initiators of the Mizrachi Bank. Though unable to pursue his scientific work, he was able to found, together with S.H. Bergman, **Kirjath Sepher*, the bibliographical publication of the Jewish National Library.

From 1928 to 1934, upon returning to the Prussian State Library, he was again extremely active on behalf of the Mizrachi in the Berlin Jewish Community Council. The Nazis pensioned but did not dismiss him, on account of his wartime service. After returning to Jerusalem he was again elected to the Mizrachi World Executive (1935), heading its Ereẓ Israel Fund. Later he initiated and headed the Council for Refugee Rabbis that looked after hundreds of people. Pick's last years were darkened by a crippling illness, and by the confiscation by the Germans of his unique Assyriological library, including all the cuneiform texts that were to be the basis of his life's work – an Assyrian-Aramaic-Hebrew dictionary.

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[Pinhas Artzi]

PICK, JIŘÍ ROBERT (1925–1983), Czech author of satirical poetry and prose, publicist, playwright. Born in Prague, Pick spent 1943–1945 in the Theresienstadt concentration camp. He contributed to dozens of literary magazines and published many aphorisms, satirical sketches, fables, parodies, and avant-garde poetry for children. Some of his short stories, such as "Association of Animal Protection" (1969), and his plays *A Dream of Distant Lakes* (1981) and *An Unlucky Man in the Yellow Cap* (1982) are based on his time in Theresienstadt.

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[Milos Pojar (2nd ed.)]

°PICO DELLA MIRANDOLA, GIOVANNI (1463–1494), one of the most remarkable figures of the Italian Renaissance. Pico was an influential thinker, a humanist scholar of note, a pioneer of Oriental studies, and the father of Christian *Kabbalah. Contemporaries with whom Pico associated include, among others, Elijah *Delmedigo, Flavius *Mithridates, Johanan Alemanno, Marsilio Ficino, Angelo Poliziano, and Girolamo Savonarola. Delmedigo translated several Averroist treatises for Pico. Mithridates instructed him in Arabic and Aramaic ("Chaldean"), and translated for him a considerable number of kabbalistic writings; his translations survive and are the likeliest literary sources of Pico's Christian Kabbalah. The most striking and, in the long run, most influential outcome of Pico's encounter with Jewish esoterism are his kabbalistic theses "according to his own opinion" (*Conclusiones cabalisticae secundum opinionem propriam*), which set out to confirm the truth of the Christian religion from the foundations of Jewish Kabbalah. They are included among the 900 theses derived from all branches of knowledge which he offered, in 1486, for public debate in Rome. The debate never took place, but the kabbalistic theses made a lasting impression, and may truly be considered to mark the beginning of Christian Kabbalah. What they amount to is as much a kabbalistic interpretation of Christianity as a Christian interpretation of the Kabbalah.

The Kabbalah, touched upon in Pico's *Oration on the Dignity of Man*, is discussed at great length in his *Apologia* (in *Commentationes*, 1496), where he defended 13 of his theses specifically condemned by the Church, one of which was the thesis that "no science can make us more certain of Christ's divinity than magic and Kabbalah." The *Heptaplus* (1489), a sevenfold interpretation of the biblical account of Creation, also shows kabbalistic traits. Pico owned many Hebrew books, and in his writings, particularly in his refutation of astrology (*Disputationes adversus Astrologiam Divinatricem*, 1495), he mentions various Jewish authors besides the kabbalists, notably Maimonides, Ibn Ezra, and Levi b. Gershom. The precise extent of Pico's knowledge of Hebrew and of his acquaintance with the Kabbalah are still open questions.

Editions of his works are *Opera Omnia* (Basle, 1572); *Opere*, ed. by E. Garin, vol. 1, *De hominis dignitate, Heptaplus, De ente et uno*, and *Scritti vari* (1942); vol. 2–3, *Disputationes adversus Astrologiam Divinatricem* (1946–52).

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[Chaim Wirszubski]

PICON, MOLLY (née **Maragret Pyckoon**; 1898–1992), U.S. actress in Yiddish and English. Born in New York, she made her name playing Yiddish roles on 2nd Avenue. She was at Kessler's Theater for several years and in 1935 went touring in vaudeville with her husband, Jacob Kalich. From 1942 she managed the Molly Picon Theater in New York. After World War II she visited the DP camps, went touring in Australia, South Africa, and Europe. In 1960 she was back on the English stage playing the lead in *A Majority of One* in London and appeared on TV and in films. In 1961 she scored a success on Broadway in the musical *Milk and Honey*, and in 1967 appeared in *How to be a Jewish Mother*. She appeared in the film *Fiddler on the Roof* in 1970, while in 1982 she won an Emmy Award nomination for her performance in the television drama *Grandma Didn't Wave Back*. Picon also appeared in the films *Cannonball Run* (1981) and its sequel *Cannonball II* (1984). As well as being an actress, Picon was also a songwriter and lyricist with nearly 100 songs to her name. Her book *So Laugh a Little* (1962) was written as a family biography.

[Rohan Saxena (2nd ed.)]

PIEDMONT, region in N. Italy which comprised the duchy of *Savoy (a kingdom since 1713), the duchy of Montferrat (under Savoy rule since 1709), the marquisate of *Saluzzo (under Savoy rule since 1598), and the municipalities of *Asti, *Chieri, Cuneo, and *Alessandria. The Jewish communities of Piedmont were formed or expanded following the expulsion of Jews from France in 1306, 1332, and 1394. Loan bankers were among the prominent people who settled in Piedmont. In 1430 Amadeus VIII determined the judicial status of the Jews in the duchy of Savoy, stipulating that in each city they were to live in closed quarters. The Jews were frequently subjected to special taxation: in 1551 the annual toleration tax was 500 gold crowns, increased to 14,000 in 1626, but subsequently reduced. In 1708 the Jews were ordered to file a complete inventory of their property every three years. About the middle of the 16th century there were 3,000–4,000 Jews in Savoy, somewhat less in Montferrat, and about 100 in Saluzzo. For a considerable payment, Emmanuel Philibert granted them the monopoly on *moneylending, which continued under his son Charles Emmanuel I. In 1624 there were about 100 Jewish loan-banks in Piedmont. The communities and the loan-bankers were often subjected to demands for exorbitant "gifts." Against a payment of 60,000 ducats a decree was issued in 1603 granting Jews permission to bear defensive weapons when outside the city of *Turin, in addition to the freedom to practice every profession including banking, commerce, and medicine (subject to the bishop's approval). In 1723–29 new enactments were issued, renewing the statutes of 1430 in a milder form, but extending the area to which they applied as a result of the extension of the state of Savoy. The Jews then formed a General Council of Jews (università generale degli ebrei) of Piedmont with branches in Turin, Casale *Monferrato, and Alessandria. In 1723 the Jews were forbidden to own real estate (the prohibition was slightly relaxed in 1729), and were compelled to live in the ghetto, which had been in existence in Turin since 1679. In Casale, *Vercelli, Chieri, Carmagnola, and Saluzzo, the outer walls of the ghettos were completed in 1724, while in Cherasco, *Acqui, and *Moncalvo, the walls were completed in 1730, 1731, and 1732 respectively. The dwellings in the Piedmont ghettos were generally arranged around a central courtyard (*ḥaẓer*), and every ghetto had a synagogue.

The constitution issued under Charles Emmanuel III in 1770 reenacted the statutes of 1430, 1723, and 1729, and during this period the voices of non-Jews, such as the publicist Giuseppe Compagnoni, were first raised in defense of Jews. In 1798 emancipation was introduced into Piedmont by French revolutionary forces, and in 1807, 13 rabbis from Italy attended the French *Sanhedrin in Paris. But after a short interval of well-being, Victor Emmanuel I restored almost *in toto* the 1770 constitution; in 1816 the re-creation of the ghetto was decreed. By then, however, attitudes had changed and men like Vincenzo Gioberti, Roberto and Massimo *d'Azeglio, Carlo *Cattaneo, and others pressed for Jewish emancipation. With the promulgation of the Piedmontese Constitution (Statuto) of 1848 by Prince Charles Albert, the Jews obtained full emancipation and began to participate more actively in political and cultural life. The rabbi of Turin, Lelio *Cantoni, started to reorganize the Jewish communities, and the Jewish publications *L'Educatore Israelita* (Vercelli, 1853–74), followed by *II Vessillo Israelitico* (Cuneo, 1874–1922), made their appearance. In the middle of the 19th century a famous controversy arose over Rabbi Samuel Olper's project to introduce changes in Jewish religious practice. In 1840 and 1881 there were about 6,500 Jews in Piedmont; in 1911, 6,000; in 1931, 4,900; and in 1961, 6,618; and by 1970 this number dwindled to 1,820.

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[Alfredo Mordechai Rabello]

PIERLEONI, ex-Jewish family who first appeared in Rome shortly after the year 1000. The founder of the family, BARUCH, lent large sums of money to church dignitaries, thereby assuring himself of their protection. He and his son, LEO, became converts to Christianity. Leo's son, PIETRO DI LEONE (hence the name Pierleoni), continued to give financial backing to successive popes. Among his numerous sons was one, also called Pietro Pierleoni, who entered the Church. Thanks to his family influence, he became a cardinal in 1120 and pope in 1130, taking the name *Anacletus II. A turreted mansion in the vicinity of what was to become the Rome ghetto still bears the name of the Pierleoni family.

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[Attilio Milano]

PIERRE-BLOCH, JEAN (1905–1999), French Socialist politician, writer, and Resistance leader. Pierre-Bloch, who was born in Paris, contributed to the left-wing journal *Populaire* and in 1936 was elected Socialist deputy for the Aisne department. In 1937 he was vice president of a commission of enquiry into the problem of Algeria, which unsuccessfully advocated the consideration of the special demands of the Algerians, then under French tutelage. Pierre-Bloch volunteered for military service on the outbreak of World War II and was taken prisoner by the Germans in 1940. He escaped and joined the Resistance, becoming one of the leaders of the clandestine French Socialist Party. In 1941 he was condemned to death by the Vichy regime for helping to parachute arms into occupied France. Again he succeeded in escaping and in 1942 reached London, where he became chief of French counterespionage. Later in the war he went to Algiers, where he was appointed assistant commissioner for the interior. After the liberation he was a leading figure in the French Socialist Party (SFIO) and became director of the Société Nationale des Entreprises de Presse. From 1968 to 1992, he was president of the International League Against Racism and Anti-Semitism (LICA).

A prolific writer, Pierre-Bloch was the author of *L'Affaire Frankfurter* (1937), *Charles de Gaulle, premier ouvrier de France* (1945), *Liberté et servitude de la presse en France* (1952), *Carnet d'un voyageur en Israël* (1958), and *De Gaulle, ou le temps des méprises* (1969).

[Shulamith Catane]

PIESTANY (Slovak. **Piešťany**; Hung. **Pöstyén**; Ger. **Pistyan**), town in Slovakia (part of Czechoslovakia, 1918–1991; since then the Slovak Republic). Piestany's hot springs were already known to the Romans. In 1736, there were 12 Jewish families from Moldavia living on the estate of Count Forgacs. In 1774 there were 22 families, and in 1795 about 50. Religiously and administratively, they were part of the Vrbov congregation. In 1840 there were 105 Jews in Piestany; 375 in 1880; and 850 in 1910. In 1930 they numbered 1,344. In 1940, on the eve of the deportations, there were 1,559.

The mineral springs attracted many visitors. Jews were not permitted in the common bath but were relegated to the "Jewish bath house." The first congregation was founded in 1795. There were many visitors and they needed services, hence Jews discovered a source of income. They also rented estates, where they grew fruits and vegetables. Grateful to the Hungarian government, they displayed strong Magyar patriotism. During the Spring of Nations (1848–49), some volunteered for the Magyar army. After the Hungarian Jewish Congress of 1868, the congregation joined the Orthodox. Including the neighboring villages, the congregation numbered 1,800. By 1870 they had their own school, synagogue, *mikveh*, cemetery, and a *shoḥet*. In 1895 they built a new synagogue. They also established a *talmud torah* and a *ḥevra kaddisha*. After World War I the congregation expanded, adding a yeshivah; a kosher restaurant – mainly for guests of the spa; a home for the aged and a Beth Jacob school for religious girls.

During World War I, Jews were recruited into the army. At the end of the war, Piestany was hit by the wave of disturbances that beset Slovakia. A militia was able to handle the situation. When more violent disturbances erupted in 1910, the congregation appealed to President *Masaryk. In 1889 the Winter family took over management of the springs, turning it into a world-renowned spa. Alexander Winter developed the sleepy town into a first-rate health resort.

But there was no peace in the Jewish community. Rabbi Koloman Weber (1871–1931), who served as the president of the Orthodox Chancellery for Slovakia in Bratislava, encouraged extremist policies. Internal disturbances led to a split in the congregation in 1926. In addition to the Orthodox body, a Yeshurun congregation was established. They built their own synagogue, a *ḥevra kaddisha*, and other Jewish institutions. Quarrels between the two congregations continued until the deportations of 1942.

Delegates of Slovakian Jewry met in Piestany on March 13, 1919, to discuss their conditions in the new republic. The convention led to political and social reorganization of Jews in Slovakia. The Zionist movement flourished in Piestany in spite of Rabbi Weber's efforts to hinder it. The Zionist organization Ahavat Zion was founded in 1919 and, subsequently, the local branch of the Jewish party. Jews were regularly elected to the municipal board. The Jewish adult and youth movements included all major organizations active in the country. The writer Gieze *Vamos, who wrote in Slovak, gained national fame. His book, *The Broken Branch* (1934), bitterly criticized Jewish life in Slovakia.

Piestany was one of the centers of the Hlinka Guard, a Slovak form of Fascist storm troopers. When Slovakia's autonomy was proclaimed in September 1938, Jews without valid citizenship were expelled to the harsh wasteland of the Hungarian-Slovak border. Slovakia's proclamation of independence under the aegis of the Third Reich on March 14, 1939, was accompanied by violence in the streets. Anti-Jewish legislation and activities culminated in 1942 with the deportation of Jews to Poland. Some 1,500 Jews from Piestany and its environs were sent to extermination camps.

After the war, 250 returned. In June 1945, they established a single congregation. They elected a committee to conduct community life and reconstruct community buildings, such as the synagogue, *mikveh*, and kosher restaurant. During the wave of emigration from Slovakia in 1948–49, most of the Jews left Piestany. In 1959 there were 90 Jews in the city. In the late 1970s the synagogue was torn down. One of the three cemeteries was turned into a public park. In 1958 a kosher restaurant was opened for guests of the spa.

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[Yeshayahu Jelinek (2nd ed.)]

PIETY AND THE PIOUS. Because of its theocentric orientation, Judaism regards piety as the supreme virtue leading to man's highest good. Moreover, according to the Mishnah, the *ẓaddik* ("righteous person") is credited with contributing to the preservation of the world (Avot 5: 1). Although the term *ẓaddik gamur,* "the perfectly pious man" is found in talmudic literature (cf. RH 16b) and is contrasted with the *ẓaddik she-eino gamur,* "the imperfectly pious man," it is largely a theoretical designation, and on the principle that "there is none righteous upon earth who doeth only good and sinneth not" (Eccles. 7:20): no human being is regarded as the perfect paragon of piety.

In rabbinic literature a variety of terms is employed to distinguish between different types or degrees of piety. There is, however, no uniform system of ranking such terms as *yere het* ("sin-fearing"), *yere shamayim* ("God-fearing"), *ẓaddik* ("righteous"), and *ḥasid* ("pious"). For example, *Maimonides, explicating the term *ḥasid*, asserts that it carries overtones of excess or extremism not found in other terms describing piety (commentary to Avot 5:7; *Guide of the Perplexed*, 3:53), but in fact this is not always so. There are many instances when the term *ḥasid* describes what elsewhere would be called *ẓaddik* or *yere ḥet*.

Notwithstanding the wide range of definitions of piety one encounters in rabbinic literature, the emphasis on the service of God and the imitation of His ethical attributes appear to be a constant component of all the different types.

Although obedience to halakhic norms represents a necessary condition of piety, it is far from representing its perfection. It was expected that obedience to the law would inculcate such virtues as the *love and fear of God. R. Johanan, a Palestinian *amora*, attributed the destruction of Jerusalem to the failure of the Jews to observe the moral demands that extend beyond the strict requirements of the law. His contemporary, the Babylonian *amora*, Rav, indicated that even in civil litigation one must take into consideration the ethical-religious imperative of Proverbs 2:26, "to walk in the ways of the good and to keep the path of the righteous" (BM 83a). Moreover, abundant references to the special standards of piety, or the "Mishnah of the pious," are found in talmudic literature (BM 52b; Ḥul. 130b; Ter. 8:10). *Naḥmanides cites the talmudic statement "Sanctify yourself within the domain of the permissible" as evidence for his contention that even an individual who has not violated any of the specific and detailed rules set forth in the Torah may still be branded a scoundrel (commentary on Lev. 19:1).

Man's total commitment to the service of God, according to Judaism, extends over all areas of life. For example, R. Yose stated that all our actions should be performed for the sake of God (Avot 2:12). Rabbinic Judaism believed that performance of a religious act could be disciplinary, leading to higher religious sensitivity. This idea was manifested in the relatively positive attitude taken toward deeds inspired by impure motives. In contrast to Christianity's despair over the worthwhileness of human effort, resulting from the Pauline emphasis on original sin, Judaism holds an optimistic view of human nature. The individual is encouraged to perform an act even though it may originate in unworthy motives, because, ultimately, these motives may be transformed and the act performed for the sake of God (Pes. 50b).

The aim of all piety is the sanctification of life, not the withdrawal from it. There is relatively little endorsement of asceticism in rabbinic Judaism. A widely prevalent attitude is represented by the statement of the medieval philosopher, *Judah Halevi, that "contrition on a fast day does nothing to bring man nearer to God than joy on the Sabbath" (*Kuzari* 2:50). Similarly, Judaism generally recoils from tendencies designed to remove the pious from involvement with the community. Man's confrontation with God is not meant to lead to self-centeredness or a sense of isolation, but to participation in a holy community. This attitude is reflected in Hillel's maxim "Do not separate thyself from the community" (Avot 2:5). Moreover, according to a talmudic comment, the overall objective of the entire Torah was to promote peace and thus contribute to the improvement of society (Git. 59b).

Although rabbinic Judaism produced a number of extraordinary individuals endowed with special capacities for mystical union, apocalyptic visions, and saintliness, these aspects of piety were never recognized as displacing the normative component, which stressed faithful adherence to the Covenant as interpreted by the Oral Law. It was felt that the practice and, especially, the study of the Torah are not merely intrinsically valuable activities, but are also instrumental in refining man's character and lifting him to higher levels of piety. According to *Phinehas b. Jair, spiritual development reaches its climax when the individual becomes so attached to God that *Ru'ah ha-Kodesh* is conferred upon him (Av. Zar. 20b).

Maimonides held that faithful observance of the commandments is needed to inculcate the fear of God in man, while the contemplative virtues, climaxing in the intellectual apprehension of God, lead to the love of God (*Guide*, 3:52). Maimonides redefined the rabbinic notion of the *talmid ḥakham*, the scholar of the law, who, as early as the talmudic period, was regarded as the supreme religious model (see I. Twersky, in: *Jewish Medieval and Renaissance Studies* (1967), 106–18). For Maimonides, the true Torah scholar is not merely knowledgeable in *halakhah*, but is also proficient in science and philosophy. Accordingly, only he who combines obedience to the commandments with contemplative perfection can aspire to the state of true union with God.

For the medieval German ḥasid, *Judah he-Ḥasid, the love of God manifests itself in an entirely different fashion. It impels him to go beyond the legal requirements of the Torah, which makes concessions to human frailties and weaknesses. Instead, the truly pious will govern themselves by the "law of heaven," which makes far stricter demands than the "law of the Torah," addressed to the average individual.

The kabbalists' notion of piety stresses the craving for the mystical ideal of *devekut* (adherence to God), which to them represents the pinnacle of religious achievement. Unlike the complete mystical union which seeks the absorption of the self in the divine, the state of *devekut* preserves the separateness and self-identity of the individual. It is an act of communion, not a mergence, for the self is not divested of its responsibilities toward God. It is the function of the righteous individual to help bring about the *tikkun* (redemption of the world; see *Kabbalah).

In the ḥasidic movement special emphasis was placed on such personal components of piety as *kavvanah* ("intention" or "purposefulness" in prayer) and *hitlahavut* ("enthusiasm") in the attainment of the ideal of *devekut*. The charisma of the *ẓaddik*, renowned for his *devekut* rather than his knowledge of Torah, played a decisive role. It is for this reason that Gershom *Scholem observed that in the *ḥasidic* movement "personality takes the place of doctrine" (Mysticism, 344). The *ẓaddik*, by virtue of his special spiritual status, serves as the channel for the transmission of divine grace and plays a unique role in the redemption of the world. In the ḥasidic scheme, through attachment to the *ẓaddik*, the ordinary individual can participate in this task and achieve union with the "upper worlds."

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[Walter S. Wurzburger]

PIG (Heb. חֲזִיר, *ḥazir*). Included in the Pentateuch among the unclean animals prohibited as food is the pig which, although cloven-footed, is a nonruminant (Lev. 11:7; Deut. 16:8). It is the sole unclean animal mentioned as possessing these characteristics. There are archaeological evidences (figurines and relics of bones) that the pig was eaten by the inhabitants of Canaan before the Israelite conquest. It was also offered as a sacrifice in idolatrous worship, provoking a protest from Isaiah (66:3), while those "eating swine's flesh, and the detestable thing, and the mouse" (66:17) apparently did so in a cultic ceremony. The pig symbolized something repulsive, and hence "as a ring of gold in a swine's snout, so is a fair woman that turneth aside from discretion" (Prov. 11:22). Other peoples, too, such as the Egyptians and the Sidonians, refrained from eating pig, which was also later prohibited to the Muslims. Abhorrence of the pig entered so deeply into the consciousness of the Jews that the expression *davar aḥer* ("another thing," i.e., something not to be mentioned by name) was used for it, at least as early as talmudic times (Ber. 43b; Shab. 129a) and in Aramaic as "that species." As early as *Antiochus Epiphanes it was decreed that the eating of swine's flesh was to be a test of the Jews' loyalty to Judaism (II Macc. 6:18). Following the incident in the days of Hyrcanus II when, instead of an animal fit for sacrifice, a pig was sent up the walls of Jerusalem during a siege, it was decreed: "Cursed be he who breeds pigs" (Sot. 49b; TJ, Ta'an. 4:8, 68c), and this prohibition was incorporated into the Mishnah (BK 7:7). Since the pig eats everything and finds its food everywhere, there arose the saying: "None is richer than a pig" (Shab. 155b). The pig suffers from various maladies: "Ten measures of diseases descended to the world, of which the swine took nine" (Kid. 49b). During a plague that afflicted pigs, R. Judah decreed a fast in Babylonia since "their intestines are like those of human beings," the fear being entertained that the plague would spread to people (Ta'an. 21b).

The domesticated pig, *Sus scropha domestica*, is descended from the wild boar, *Sus scropha*. Its domestication was a lengthy process, going back to ancient times. The pig formerly found in Ereẓ Israel differed from the present-day one whose various breeds were developed from strains brought from China about the middle of the 18th century. The wild boar (*ḥazir ha-bar*), which is found in Israel especially in Upper and western Galilee, damages plants and vegetables, and uproots the bulbs and tubers of wild flora. It is the "boar out of the wood" in Psalms (80:9–14), where reference is made to the ravages it causes to vines. The Tosefta (Kil. 1:8) states that "although the pig and the wild boar resemble each other, they are heterogeneous."

[Jehuda Feliks]

In Halakhah and Aggadah

In a *baraita* mentioned three times in the Babylonian Talmud (Sot. 49b; BK 82b; Men. 64b), the prohibition against rearing pig is joined with the prohibition against studying "Greek wisdom," and some scholars have queried the trustworthiness of this tradition and tend to the opinion that the incident referred to there – when the besiegers of Jerusalem sent up a pig to the besieged in place of the two lambs for the daily sacrifices – occurred during the siege of Jerusalem by Titus, when the subsequent prohibition against rearing pigs was decreed (cf. TJ, Ber. 4:1, 7b, where a similar story occurs about sending up a pig at "the time of the wicked kingdom"). It seems, however, that the prohibition against rearing pigs was already known in the days of the early Hasmoneans; it is possible that its source is to be found in a reaction to the decrees of Antiochus Epiphanes, who ordered a pig to be offered as a sacrifice (I Macc. 1:47) and pig's flesh to be eaten (II Macc. 6:18–7:42) and that the incident in the time of the Hasmonean brothers caused the prohibition to be stressed with greater emphasis.

The phrase "Cursed be the man who rears" is worthy of attention. It would appear that, with the increase of the non-Jewish population, Jews in Ereẓ Israel apparently engaged in the business of pig rearing. Of interest is the combination "pig-breeders and usurers" (Ber. 55a, and Rashi, ad loc.) both of which were regarded as providing an easy means of livelihood. Although there are many references in the *aggadah* to a feeling of revulsion and disgust toward swine flesh, the rabbis refrained from connecting the prohibition with this feeling. Eleazar b. Azariah expounded, "Whence do we know that a man should not say, 'I have no desire to eat swine's flesh,' but rather should he say 'I would like to eat it, but what can I do seeing that my Father in Heaven has decreed against it'" (Sifra, *Kedoshim*, Perek 11:22). A substitute was even given in a fish called *shibuta* "which resembles the pig" in taste (Ḥul. 109b; Tanh. *Shemini*, 12).

In the Midrash the Roman kingdom is called *ḥazir* ("pig"). It is possible that the name originated in the fact that the symbol of the Roman legion in Ereẓ Israel was the boar (see ARN^1, 34:100: "'The… boar out of the wood doth ravage it' [Ps. 80:14], refers to the Roman kingdom"; and cf. Mid. Ps. to 80:6). The Midrashim explain the name with reference to the characteristics common to Rome and to the pig: "and the swine because he parteth the hoof' – why is [Rome] compared to a swine? – To teach that just as a swine when it lies down puts out its hooves as if to say, 'see, I am clean,' so too the kingdom of Edom [Rome] acts arrogantly, and plunders and robs under the guise of establishing a judicial tribunal" (Lev. R. 13:5). Another "etymological" explanation states: "Why is [Rome] called *ḥazir* ['pig']… because it will eventually restore *haḤazir* ['the kingdom'] to its rightful owner" (Eccles. R. 1:9; Lev. R. 13:5). This statement was quoted in the Middle Ages by the people with the reading, "Why is it called a pig? – Because the Holy One will restore it to Israel" (i.e., declare it clean), and in this form it became a topic in Jewish-Christian polemics.

In Israel

The raising of pigs in the Holy Land was always regarded with abhorrence not only by Jewish religious circles but also by many outside the strictly religious camp. The Jewish National Fund's leases forbade pig raising on its land. The religious parties pressed for the prohibition of pig breeding by law, but in the early years of statehood it was left to local authorities to pass their own bylaws in this matter. When the Supreme Court, in a test case, ruled that such regulations were *ultra vires*, the religious parties pressed for, and secured, the passage of a special authorization law (5717/1956) to give the local authorities the necessary authority. There was still pressure for the prohibition of pig breeding on a national basis and in 1962 a law was passed forbidding the breeding, keeping, or slaughtering of pigs, except in Nazareth and in certain other named places with a sizable Christian population. In the early 2000s Kibbutz Lahav and Kibbutz Mizra were among the few Jewish pig breeders in the country.

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PIGIT, SAMUEL BEN SHEMARIA (1849–1911), Karaite scholar from Chufut-Qaleh, who was a descendant of Simhah Isaak *Luzki. He studied in Chufut-Qaleh and afterwards in Yevpatoria. He was a *ḥazzan* and a teacher of Torah in the communities of Karasubazar (1868–78), Simferopol (1878–82), and in Yekaterinoslav from 1882 until his death. Pigit was one of the last Crimean Karaite scholars who wrote Hebrew. He had a wide knowledge of Rabbanite literature and used in his pure Hebrew a great number of words, expressions, and quotations from the Talmud and from rabbinic literature. He was also interested in the research of Jewish studies. Some of his works were published: *Iggeret Nidḥei Yisrael* (St. Petersburg, 1894), which contains sermons and liturgical poems in Hebrew and the Karaite language, his own memories, and some information on the history of Crimean Karaites; *Davar Davur* (Warsaw, 1904; reprint Ramleh, 1977) includes Oriental fables and Karaite proverbs in his Hebrew translation from the Karaite language. He also published two poems in the Karaite language (K. Zh., 5–6 (1911), 15–16). Other works by Pigit that remained in manuscript and never published were lost. He had a large collection of manuscripts.

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[Golda Akhiezer (2^{ed} ed.)]

PI-HAHIROTH (Heb. פִּי הַחִירֹת, Hahiroth), town E. of Baal-Zephon, near Migdol, in the East Delta of Egypt (Num. 33:7). At the beginning of the Exodus the Israelites encamped near Pi-Hahiroth, whose site is yet to be identified. A.H. Gardiner (see bibl.) suggests that the town's name is an alteration of Pr-

Ḥtḥr ("the house of Hathor"), mentioned in various Egyptian documents. The Septuagint translates Pi-Hahiroth either as "the mouth of Hiroth" – i.e., considering פִּי as the Hebrew word for "mouth" and not as part of the name – (cf. Num. 33:8, where the Hebrew text also omits פִּי), or as "the encampment" (cf. lxx, Ex. 14:2, 9), as though the Hebrew text did not use the name (Heb. פִּי הַחִירֹת), but rather a word meaning encampment.

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PIJADE, MOŠA (1890–1957), Yugoslav revolutionary and politician. Born in Belgrade, Pijade studied painting in Munich and Paris and returned to Belgrade as an art teacher. He joined the illegal Communist Party in 1920 and was imprisoned by the authorities the following year. On his release he continued his revolutionary activities and in 1925 was imprisoned for a further 14 years during which time he translated Marx's *Das Kapital.*

In 1940 Pijade was arrested for a third time but released shortly before the German invasion of Yugoslavia. Following the German conquest of Yugoslavia he organized the Communist partisans and set out the tasks of the People's Liberation Committee in a document known as the *Regulations of Foča*. Pijade was one of the closest associates of the Yugoslav leader Josip Broz Tito, and when the latter came to power after the liberation of Yugoslavia, Pijade was made president of the Serbian Republic, chairman of the Yugoslav National Assembly, and a member of the political bureau of the party central committee. He was helpful in allowing the departure of Jews to Israel with all their personal property and gave occasional advice to the leaders of the Federation of Jewish Communities.

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[Zvi Loker]

PIKE, LIPMAN EMANUEL (Lip; "The Iron Batter"; 1845–1893), U.S. baseball player, considered the first professional baseball player for openly receiving money to play. Pike was born in Manhattan, the second of five children to Emanuel, a haberdasher of Dutch origin, and Jane. The family moved to Brooklyn, where Pike and his siblings became engrossed in the newly invented American game of baseball. One week after his bar mitzvah in 1858, Pike appeared in a box score playing first base, while his older brother Boaz played shortstop. The Pike brothers played for various teams, including the renowned Brooklyn Atlantics. In 1866, the Philadelphia Athletics offered the 21-year-old Pike $20 per week to play third base. It exposed for the first time the widespread though hushed up system of paying supposedly amateur players to play baseball, thereby legitimizing the practice of play for pay. Pike played from 1866 to 1881, switching teams often throughout his career: he also played for Irvington, New Jersey (1867), New York Mutuals (1867–68), Brooklyn Atlantics (1869–70), Troy Haymakers (1871), Lord Baltimores (1872–73), Hartford Dark Blues (1874), St. Louis Brown Stockings (1875–76), Cincinnati Reds (1877–78), Providence Grays (1878), Worchester Ruby Legs (1881) for five games, and one last appearance with the New York Metropolitans of the American Association for one game on July 28, 1887, at the age of 42. While no statistical records exist of his career through 1870, Pike appeared in 425 National Association and National League games beginning in 1871, hitting .321 with a .465 slugging average. Standing only 5′ 8″ and weighing 158 pounds, Pike was known as both a powerful batter and the fastest base runner of his time. He led the league in home runs four times, including 1872, when his six home runs accounted for a sixth of the National Association's 35 home runs. So fast was Pike that on August 16, 1873, at Baltimore's Newington Park, he raced in a 100-yard dash against a horse named Clarence, and won. After his career was over, Pike followed his father and became a haberdasher in Brooklyn, but he remained involved in the game as a part-time umpire. One of his younger brothers, Jay (Jacob), played one game in the major leagues on August 27, 1877, and became the first Jewish umpire when he officiated in 1875 in the National Association.

[Elli Wohlgelernter (2nd ed.)]

PIKKU'AḤ NEFESH (Heb. פִּקּוּחַ נֶפֶשׁ; "regard for human life"), the rabbinical term applied to the duty to save human life in a situation in which it is imperiled. The danger to life may be due to a grave state of illness or other direct peril (*sakkanat nefashot*), or indirectly, to a condition of health which, though not serious, might deteriorate and consequently imperil life (*safek sakkanat nefashot*). *Pikku'aḥ nefesh* is a biblical injunction derived from the verse "Neither shalt thou stand idly by the blood of thy neighbor" (Lev. 19:16), and according to the Talmud it supersedes even the Sabbath laws (*pikku'aḥ nefesh doḥeh et ha-Shabbat*; Yoma 85a). One should be more particular about matters concerning danger to health and life than about ritual observances (Ḥul 10a). The strict rules of hygiene codified in the Shulḥan Arukh center around the principle of *pikku'aḥ nefesh* (yd 116). The rabbis interpreted the verse "Ye shall therefore keep my statutes and my ordinances which if a man do he shall live by them" (Lev. 18:5), that man shall "live" by these commandments, and not die as a result of observing them (Yoma 85b; Sanh. 74a).

The Talmud (bm 62a) discusses the problem of an individual faced with the choice of saving his own life or that of his companion, and mentions the example of two men in a desert with a supply of water sufficient for one only. Although *Ben Peturah advocated that neither should attempt to save his own life at the expense of the other but that both share the water, R. *Akiva, whose opinion prevailed, ruled that one should save one's own life and not share the water. Only when faced with a choice between death and committing idolatry, unlawful sexual intercourse, or murder is martyrdom to be preferred (Sanh. 74a–b). One must also sacrifice one's life rather than submit to what may be taken for a renunciation of faith through the violation of any religious law in public (Sanh. 74a–b; Sh. Ar., YD 157). In all other cases, the rule of *pikku'aḥ nefesh* takes precedence (Sanh. 74a–b; Maim., *Iggeret ha-Shemad* 3).

The rule that one may profane one Sabbath in order to save the life of a person and enable him subsequently to observe many others (Yoma 85b) is inferred by the rabbis from the verse "The children of Israel shall keep the Sabbath to observe the Sabbath" (Ex. 31:16). Thus, on the Sabbath (or a festival), every type of medical treatment must be accorded to a dangerously ill person, to the extent of even putting out the light to help him sleep (Shab. 2:5; Sh. Ar., OḤ 278). Equal efforts must be made even where there is only a possibility of danger to life (*safek sakkanat nefashot*, Yoma 8:6; ibid. 84b). Only in cases of minor illnesses or physical discomforts should violations of the Sabbath be kept to the minimum; if possible a non-Jew should perform these duties (Sh. Ar., OḤ 328:17). In all other instances, the medical treatment should be administered by a Jew, and those who are assiduous in their help, comfort, and work for the sick on the Sabbath, are deemed worthy of the highest praise (*ibid*., 328:12–13). If a dangerously ill person is in need of food on the Sabbath, one should slaughter animals and prepare them according to the dietary laws, rather than feed him ritually forbidden food (*ibid*., 328:14). If, however, it is deemed necessary for the recovery of the patient that he eat forbidden food, he is allowed to do so (*ibid.*, 328). A woman in confinement is considered dangerously ill for a period of three days after delivery. Should one of these days be a Sabbath, everything possible must be done to ease her pain and lessen her discomfort, including the kindling of a fire to warm her (Maim. Yad, Shabbat 2:13–14; Sh. Ar., OḤ 330:1, 4–6). A sick person is forbidden to fast on the *Day of Atonement if it is thought that this would seriously endanger his recovery. Moreover, even a healthy person seized by a fit of "ravenous hunger" which causes faintness (*bulmos*), must be fed on the Day of Atonement with whatever food is available (including ritually forbidden food (Sh. Ar., OḤ 618:9)) until he recovers (Yoma 8:6; Sh. Ar., OḤ 618).

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PILCH, JUDAH (1902–1986), U.S. Jewish educator. Born in the Ukraine, he received a traditional Jewish education in Europe and his ordination as a rabbi in Turkey. He went to the United States in 1928. He received his M.A. degree from Columbia University and his Ph.D. at Dropsie College. He was on the faculty of the College of Jewish Studies at Chicago from 1929 to 1939; for the following five years he was director of the Jewish Education Association in Rochester, N.Y. After serving with the Jewish Education Committee of New York City and the Jewish Education Association of Essex County, N.J., in 1949 Pilch became associated with the American Association for Jewish Education (now the Jewish Educational Services of North America), and from 1952 to 1960 was the executive director. In 1960 he became the founding head of the Association's National Curriculum Research Institute. After his retirement, Pilch moved to Los Angeles, where he was on the faculty of the Institute of Religion at HUC/JIR.

In the early 1950s Pilch organized and led the first Jewish teachers' seminar to Israel. He was president of the National Council for Jewish Education (1945–1950), vice president of the Religious Education Association of the U.S. and Canada in 1953, and president of the National Conference for Jewish Social Service (1954–55). He was vice president of the Histadrut Ivrit (1934–38). Without compromising his devotion to Hebrew, he was also interested in Yiddish literature and served as dean of the Graduate Division of Herzlia–Jewish Teachers' Seminary in New York.

Pilch was a prolific writer in Hebrew, English, and Yiddish. Among his works are *Jewish Life in Our Times* (1943), *Teaching Modern Jewish History* (1948), *Between Two Generations: Selected Essays* (1977), and *The Weak Against The Strong* (1973). He edited the Jewish education department of the *Encyclopaedia Judaica.*

Pilch was widely recognized as one of the great leaders of Jewish education in the United States, belonging in the same echelon as Alexander *Dushkin, Israel *Chipkin, and Samson *Benderly. Like them, he combined a European, traditional Jewish education with Western culture, and expertise as a teacher and administrator. He brought to his positions and work an extraordinary single-minded devotion to the furtherance of Jewish education; he sought to pioneer in methodology and stimulated the preparation of newly designed textbooks and the exploration of teaching through technological advances.

[Milton Ridvas Konvitz (2nd ed.)]

PILCHIK, ELY EMANUEL (1913–2003), U.S. Reform rabbi. Pilchik was born in Baranowicz, Poland, and immigrated to the United States in 1920. He earned a B.A. from the University of Cincinnati in 1935 and was ordained and received his M.H.L. from *Hebrew Union College in 1939. HUC-JIR awarded him an honorary D.D. degree in 1964. In 1939, Pilchik joined the faculty of the University of Maryland, where he established a *Hillel Foundation, serving as its first director. He became assistant rabbi of Har Sinai Temple in Baltimore, Maryland (1940–42), before being appointed rabbi of Temple Israel in Tulsa, Oklahoma (1942–47), where his tenure was interrupted by service overseas as a chaplain in the United States Navy during World War II (1944–46). In 1947, Pilchik assumed the pulpit of Temple B'nai Jeshurun in Newark, New Jersey, becoming emeritus in 1981. He quickly became a regional Jewish leader, serving as president of the Essex County, N.J., Synagogue Council (1949–51) and Board of Rabbis (1951–52), as well as of the New Jersey Board of Rabbis (1955–57) and of the Association of Reform Rabbis of New York (1958–59). In the general community, he was appointed by the governor to serve on the New Jersey State Council on Economic Opportunity and served as chairman of the Newark Citizen's Housing Committee. On a national level, Pilchik was president of the Jewish Book Council of America (1954–58), and in the Reform movement, a member of the Executive Board of the *Central Conference of American Rabbis (1951–53) and of the Board of Governors of HUC-JIR. In 1977, he was elected president of the CCAR (1977–79). Pilchik is the author of *Hillel* (1951), *Maimonides' Creed* (1952), and *Duties of the Heart* (1953).

[Bezalel Gordon (2nd ed.)]

PILGRIMAGE. In Hebrew the term *aliyah* (lit. "going up") has been used since ancient times for pilgrimages to Jerusalem on the three festivals known as **shalosh regalim*). The Torah prescribes that all males must go up to Jerusalem "three times a year" on the three festivals – Passover, Shavuot, and Sukkot (Ex. 23:17; 34:23; Deut. 16:16; II Chron. 8:13).

For pilgrimages in the biblical period see *Passover; *Shavuot; and *Sukkot.

Second Temple Period

Hundreds of thousands of pilgrims from within Ereẓ Israel, as well as from the Diaspora, streamed to the Temple at each of the three festivals. The pilgrimage affected the life of every Jew, who might have to prepare for the occasion, and the journey and the accompanying sacrifices involved a not inconsiderable financial outlay. The inspiration derived from "the sojourn in the Temple courts," and from attendance at the rabbinical academies in Jerusalem, remained a powerful stimulus to the pilgrim after his return: "His heart prompts him to study Torah" (TJ, Suk. 5:1, 55a). Many of the new trends in Jewish spiritual life were ventilated in Jerusalem, and the pilgrim served as the vehicle for disseminating the ideas that were in constant ferment during the period. The pilgrimage had a considerable influence upon the life of the capital in a number of spheres; in the social sphere, from the presence there of Jews from every part of the Diaspora, and in the economic, from the vast sums spent by the thousands of pilgrims both for their own needs and on charity. It also had a national-political influence. The *aliyah* from all parts of Ereẓ Israel and the Diaspora strengthened the consciousness of national and social solidarity (Jos., Ant. 4:203–4). This national consciousness reached a new peak with the presence of the throngs of pilgrims in Jerusalem and made them even more sensitive to the humiliation entailed in their subjection to a foreign yoke. As a result of this sensitivity disorders and revolts were of frequent occurrence in Jerusalem during the festivals (Jos., Wars 5:243–4; Ant. 13:337–9).

The biblical injunction on the subject states: "Three times in the year shall all thy males appear before the Lord God" (Ex. 23:17; 34:23, Deut. 16:16). These passages were apparently not construed as mandatory, requiring *aliyah* thrice yearly, but as meaning that on these occasions it was a meritorious act to make the pilgrimage and in so doing offer up sacrifices, "and none shall appear before me empty" (*ibid.*). The tannaitic sources speak of the obligation of *aliyah le-regel* but not of a commandment to go up on every festival (Ḥag. 1:1, 6a). In any event it is clear that not all the male population of Ereẓ Israel, and certainly not of the Diaspora, made the pilgrimage three times yearly. Although both from the Talmud (Pes. 8b) and from Josephus (Wars 2:515) one might infer that the whole population of a city would participate in the pilgrimage, it was not general that the cities, even those near to Jerusalem, would be entirely emptied as a consequence of their Jewish population going on pilgrimage. On the other hand, there can be no doubt that a considerable number went up, especially from Judea (Wars 2:43). There is ample evidence of *aliyah le-regel* from Galilee, and it may be assumed that the number who came from the Diaspora was not as great as those from Ereẓ Israel. Philo mentions that "countless multitudes from countless cities come to the Temple at every festival, some by land, and others by sea, from east and west and north and south" (Spec. 1:69). Sources in the Talmud, Josephus, and the New Testament yield a long list of places, including Babylonia, Persia, Media, Alexandria, Cyrenaica, Ethiopia, Syria, Pontus, Asia, Tarsus, Phrygia, Pamphylia, and Rome, whose residents were to be found in Jerusalem during the festivals (ARN^2, 27, 55; Meg. 26a; Jos., Ant. 17:26; Acts 2:9–10). Both the inscription of Theodotus found in Jerusalem and the literary sources indicate that sometimes the inhabitants of a particular city would establish synagogues in Jerusalem and hospices for the pilgrims who required such facilities (Tosef., Meg. 3:6; Acts 6:9; M. Schwabe, in *Sefer Yerushalayim*, ed. by M. Avi-Yonah, 1 (1956), 362).

The Pilgrimage

The pilgrims often traveled in caravans which mustered in the cities of Ereẓ Israel and the Diaspora. The ascent of the joyful throng of celebrants to Jerusalem is already mentioned in a number of Psalms, such as Psalms 42, 84, and 122, which are songs of the pilgrim companies, and it is reflected in many rabbinic passages (cf. Lam. R. 1:17, no. 52). The procession on the occasion of the first fruits of Shavuot was particularly impressive: "Those who lived near brought fresh figs and grapes, but those from a distance brought dried figs and raisins. An ox with horns bedecked with gold and with an olive crown on its head led the way. The flute was played before them until they were near Jerusalem" (Bik. 3:3). Josephus relates that the pilgrims from Babylonia used to assemble in *Nehardea and *Nisibis and accompany the convoys transporting the annual half-*shekel* Temple dues on the journey to Jerusalem (Ant. 18:311–2). Women also took part, the biblical passage "all thy males shall appear" being understood merely as referring only to the duty of the men who alone were obliged to bring the obligatory sacrifices (Ant. 11:109; Luke 2:41–43).

The Rituals

The pilgrims arrived in Jerusalem several days before the festival; this was especially true of those from the Diaspora who had to undergo purification for over a week from the defilement incurred in alien lands (Jos., Wars 1:229; 6:290). The essence of the pilgrimage was the entry of the individual, or the group, into the Temple to worship there on the festivals, and the offering of the obligatory sacrifices enjoined in the precept that, "None shall appear before me empty." The tannaitic tradition expounded that the celebrant was obliged to offer the pilgrim's burnt offering, the festal offering which is counted as a peace offering, and the offering of rejoicing (Ḥag. 6b). The sacrifices were offered both on the first day or during subsequent days of the festival.

The Stay in Jerusalem

According to the *halakhah*, not only did the scriptural verse, "and in the morning you shall turn and go to your tent," enjoined with regard to the Passover pilgrim, oblige him to remain overnight in Jerusalem, but "in the morning" was interpreted as the morning after the last day of the festival. The pilgrim was thus obliged to stop over for the entire Passover week, and for the eight days of Sukkot (Zev. 11:7 and 97a; Tosef. Ḥag. 1:5). The celebrants used to stay in the capital itself, or in the adjoining villages, or encamp in tents erected in the surrounding fields (Jos., Ant. 17:217; Wars 2:12). During their sojourn in Jerusalem the pilgrims engaged in study of the Torah and participated in the common festive meals at which they ate the permitted sacrificial food – the peace offering, as well as the second tithe which had to be consumed in Jerusalem (Jos., Ant. 4:205). Greater leniency was applied to the law appertaining to ritual defilement during the festival, in order that the laws of ritual purity would not prevent social intercourse. Jerusalem was regarded as the common possession of the entire Jewish people, and householders in the capital were forbidden to take rent from the pilgrims, who however left them the hides of the sacrificial animals as a token of gratitude (Tosef., Ma'as Sh. 1:12 and 13; ARN^1 35, 1 and 3). The sources indicate that a convivial atmosphere prevailed in the capital during the days of pilgrimages: "Nobody ever had occasion to say to his neighbor 'I have been unable to find a stove for cooking the paschal meals in Jerusalem,' or 'I have been unable to find a bed to sleep in Jerusalem'" (ARN *ibid.*).

[Shmuel Safrai]

Post-Temple Period

Pilgrimages to Jerusalem continued after the destruction of the Temple (cf. Ned. 23a). However, the joy that previously characterized these events was now combined with sorrow. When the pilgrims encountered the site of the ruined Sanctuary they rended their garments as a sign of mourning and recited the verse, "Our holy and our beautiful house, where our fathers praised Thee, is burned with fire and all our pleasant things are laid waste" (Isa. 64:10; MK 26a). Some even abstained from meat and wine on the day they saw Jerusalem in its destruction (Shevu. 20a). The rabbis, commenting on the verse, "These things I remember, and pour out my soul within me" (Ps. 52:5), compared the pilgrimages before and after the destruction. Previously, the Jews went up to Jerusalem along well-kept roads, the trees forming a covering over their heads, and under the protection of a government committed to God. Now they went through thorny hedges, exposed to the sun, and under the sovereignty of oppressive governments (Lam. R. 1:52). Nevertheless, the Jews continued their pilgrimages to the Temple site, and in 333 "the traveler of Bordeaux" described Jews pouring oil on a stone. In 392 Jerome related that Jews came to lament the destruction of the Temple, after paying for a permit to enter the Temple grounds (commentary on Zeph. 1:16). A fifth-century testimony reported a pilgrimage of over 100,000 Jews, made possible as a result of the sympathetic attitude of Anthenais Eudocia, wife of the emperor Theodosius II.

These pilgrimages continued throughout the Middle Ages, although on many occasions the Jewish pilgrims were subject to taxes and discriminatory regulations which were enacted against them by the Christian or Muslim overlords of the holy places. The ninth-century pilgrimages of Rabbi *Ahimaaz the Elder, of Venosa, Italy, are well known. The Persian traveler Nāṣir Khosraw (1047) stated that he saw Jews from Roman lands (Byzantium) coming to visit their houses of worship. The testimony of a pilgrim from Babylonia, Phinehas ha-Kohen (c. 1030), has also survived.

After Ereẓ Israel was conquered by the Muslims under Saladin (1187), the Jews were once again permitted to visit their holy places freely. Numerous pilgrims came from Damascus, Babylonia, and Egypt, and they remained in Jerusalem over Passover and Shavuot. Naḥmanides, in a letter to his son, wrote: "Many men and women from Damascus, Babylon, and their vicinities come to Jerusalem to see the site of the Holy Temple and to lament its destruction." The commandment of pilgrimage was also a factor in motivating the journeys of *Benjamin of Tudela and *Pethahiah of Regensburg in the 12th century, and *Jacob b. Nethanel and Judah *Al-Ḥarizi in the 13th. In his writing, Benjamin referred to the Dome of the Rock, standing "opposite the place of the holy Temple which is occupied at present by [a church called] Templum Domini… In front of it you see the Western Wall, one of the walls which formed the ancient Temple… and all Jews go there to say their prayers near the wall of the courtyard."

The number of pilgrims was greatly increased by the many exiles who settled in Turkish territory following the 1492 expulsion of the Jews from Spain. The tomb of Samuel the Prophet at Nabi Samwil (thought to be the biblical Ramah) was also a goal of their pilgrimages. Here they held annual celebrations similar to those which were instituted in Meron on *Lag Ba-Omer, a century later. In 1634, Gershom ben Eliezer Ha-Levi of Prague visited the Holy Land, and later recorded his experience in *Gelilot Ereẓ Yisrael* (Prague, 1824^4). The most famous pilgrimage made to the Holy Land by early ḥasidic leaders was that of *Naḥman of Bratslav. His visit (1798–99) left such a profound impression upon him that, when he later returned to Poland, he remarked, "Wherever I go, I am still in Ereẓ Israel."

In modern times, the pilgrimages most beneficial to the Holy Land were those of Sir Moses *Montefiore. He made his first visit in 1827, and returned in 1838, 1849, 1855, 1866, and 1875. He made his last pilgrimage when he was 91 years old, and after each visit he intensified his financial support for the new *yishuv.* With the continuing development of the Jewish resettlement in Ereẓ Israel and the improvement in the means of long-distance transportation, Jews continued in ever-increasing numbers to visit the Holy Land.

With the conclusion of the armistice agreement following the Israel War of Independence (1949), it was agreed between Jordan and Israel that talks would follow immediately to enable "free access to the holy places" in Jerusalem, and the "use of the Jewish cemetery on the Mount of Olives." However, nothing ever came of this and Jerusalem remained a divided city. This caused difficulties for pilgrims who desired to visit the shrines in both countries. While Jordan finally did make some arrangements for Christian pilgrims to enter or leave through one of the crossing points (the main one being the Mandelbaum Gate in Jerusalem), Jewish pilgrims were not allowed into Jordan at all. Most distressing to Jews was the denial of access to the Western Wall. The main goal of the pilgrims then became the traditional Tomb of David on Mount Zion, from where they viewed the Old City of Jerusalem. Following the Six-Day War and the reunification of Jerusalem, the Western Wall was again reopened to Jews and became a magnet of pilgrimage.

Christian Pilgrimages

Christian pilgrimages to Ereẓ Israel became an established institution from the fourth century on and have continued almost uninterruptedly to the present day. The reports of the pilgrims had a wide influence, stimulating religious piety and curiosity about the Holy Land. They also provide an important source of information for the history of Ereẓ Israel, the political situation in various periods, its communities, sects, settlements, and social life. Despite its occasional anti-Jewish bias, the pilgrim literature also gives a general picture of Jewish settlement in Ereẓ Israel, supplementing and augmenting the Jewish sources in many details.

HISTORY. Ereẓ Israel became the Holy Land to Christians as the cradle of Christianity and because of its associations with the life of Jesus and the apostles. Nevertheless the Church never aspired to make Jerusalem the center of Christianity, and its symbolic significance was in its mystic-heavenly sense (see Gal. 4:24–26 and Rev. 21). The primacy of the mystical, heavenly Jerusalem in Christian thought on the one hand, and the concrete association of the Holy Land with the life and death of Jesus on the other, resulted in an ambivalent attitude to pilgrimages (see *Jerusalem, In Christianity). While popular piety and devotion naturally tended toward a veneration of the *holy places, many writers warned against the danger of a "carnal" and material misunderstanding of essentially spiritual realities. In fact, many early Church Fathers at first discouraged pilgrimage. Jerome declared that the gates of heaven were open to believers equally in Britain as Jerusalem (Ep. 58 *Ad Paulinum*). He mentions that St. Hilarion, who lived in the Holy Land for 50 years, prided himself on the fact that he had visited the holy places only once. However the ardent wish of Christians to visit the Holy Land was eventually accepted by Jerome, who settled in a cave near Bethlehem. In practice pilgrimage was first stimulated under Constantine (306–337), with the announcement by his mother *Helena of the discovery of the cross in Jerusalem, and the erection by Constantine of the magnificent rotunda at the traditional sepulcher of Jesus with an adjacent basilica (the *martyrium*). Christians thereupon readily identified other places mentioned in the New Testament associated with Jesus and the apostles. The sites were immediately sanctified, and shrines or churches built near them (cf. E. Robinson, *Biblical Researches in Palestine* [1841], 371). Some of these sites contained holy relics which also attracted an increasing stream of pilgrims, interrupted only by political insecurity or pestilence, and reaching huge proportions in the Middle Ages. The *Crusades were preeminently a pilgrimage of armies, aimed at liberating the holy places from the Muslims, whatever their accompanying political motives. The duty of caring for the protection and needs of pilgrims gave rise to the influential hospitaller orders, such as the Knights Templar and the Knights of Malta. In the later Middle Ages the religious factor diminished, to be replaced increasingly by commercial motives. Even in the ninth and tenth centuries the Muslim rulers had encouraged trade there, and Jerusalem became a large entrepôt between East and West. One result of the trading contacts between Europe and the East was the extension of the maritime power of the Italian republics, especially Venice and Genoa, during the Fourth Crusade (1202–04).

CHARACTER OF THE PILGRIMAGES. Jerusalem and Bethlehem remained the main centers of Christian pilgrimage, but there were others, especially in Galilee. However places in Galilee such as Nazareth, Capernaum, Magdala, or Kefar Kanna are not mentioned by early pilgrims, such as the Bordeaux pilgrim whose *Itinerarium Burdigalense* (written before 333) is the first pilgrim guide extant. This was probably because Galilee then still had a mainly Jewish population.

The chief incentive to pilgrimage remained religious. Pilgrimages were organized to gain remission of sins, as set penances, in fulfillment of vows, for atonements for crimes, for cures, and for the acquisition of relics. However they also fulfilled other purposes: the desire to see foreign lands, people and customs, love of adventure, and commercial profit. Thus, besides the thousands of the pious, the pilgrim movement attracted a bevy of adventurers, sick persons, and paupers. The journey of the pilgrim was fraught with danger. He faced local wars, attack by pirates or brigands, epidemics, bad sanitation, or arbitrary imprisonment by the local authority. In Venice in the 15th century he was given facilities to make his will before embarking. The departure of a pilgrim also posed a problem for the Church. It meant disruption of family life and the absence of a breadwinner or worker, while the conditions of the journey frequently brought a lowering of moral standards. The Church therefore insisted that pilgrims should obtain written authorizations from the bishop or abbot for their journey. If he met the Church's requirements, the pilgrim received its blessing and assistance.

THE LITERATURE. Once home, the pilgrim reported the glories of the holy places and the wonders he had seen and heard. These accounts circulated both by word of mouth and in written records or itineraries for the guidance of future pilgrims. Although until the end of the Middle Ages the oral accounts were predominant, as the vast majority of pilgrims were uneducated, a growing number of travelers recorded their journey and impressions. Roehricht's bibliography of Palestiniana in the main European languages lists 38 authors between the years 333 and 1000, 517 up to the year 1500, and nearly 2,000 between the years 1800 and 1878. Subsequently there has been an inordinate increase of such records.

The record usually followed a set scheme, providing a description of the Holy Land and the spiritual experiences of the pilgrims for those who had never been there. From the end of the 17th century, much was written for the purposes of religious propaganda. The authors frequently catered to their audience and supplemented their descriptions with embellishments and imaginary adventures, where reality and legend intermingle. However, many present an accurate if limited record, often closely resembling one another. The records fall into several different categories. Some are on-the-spot accounts of events as they occurred. Many were written down after the pilgrim's return, often on the basis of notes taken on the journey, which contained details omitted from his book. A large number were written on the basis of previous works, including many passages merely copied from them or with deliberate variations. The German cleric Ludolf von Suchem (1336–41) states that he did not see all that he wrote with his own eyes, but drew on ancient history books. *The Travels of Sir John Mandeville* (in the Holy Land, 1336) is a collection of earlier sources. Some writers quote their sources, and some copy them without acknowledgment. A number, especially in the early period, related their accounts to a third person who recorded them in turn. The account of the French bishop Arculfus (670) was recorded by an abbot in Iona, off Scotland.

Educated pilgrims and scholars later made independent investigations, instead of accepting everything they were told. Many, who reveal wide learning, relate the old traditions, but with reservations. Fynes Moryson (16th century), although criticizing the credibility of the tales told by the monks of the Latin monastery, was still deeply impressed and moved by what he saw. The pioneer of modern researches was the U.S. theologian, philologist, and geographer Edward Robinson (1838), who voiced a much stronger and well-founded criticism of the credulity accorded by the pilgrims down the ages, who had always seen the holy places through the eyes of their monastic cicerones. He considered that many sites had no historical basis and even contradicted the evidence of the New Testament. He also cast doubt on the traditions associated with Eusebius and Jerome, from which others had originated. Robinson therefore carried out his pioneer researches independently of the Christian orders in Ereẓ Israel.

[Yvonne Glikson]

Information on the Jews

Much of the information available on Jewish life in the Holy Land in earlier periods comes from the Christian pilgrim accounts. Thus, Jacobus de Verona (1335), an Augustinian friar, speaks of Jewish guides. Ludolf von Suchem states that Jews, but not Christians, were allowed on payment to enter the cave of Machpelah in Hebron, where the Patriarchs are buried. An anonymous Englishman (1345) tells of Jews living in caves near Jerusalem. Arnold von Harff, a German nobleman from Erft, though as prejudiced against the Jews as most of the early pilgrims, showed a more intelligent interest in them. Among "the very many" Jews in Jerusalem, with some of whom he entered into learned discussion, he found several natives of Lombardy knowledgeable about Christianity, three from Germany, and also two monks who had converted to Judaism. He learned some Hebrew, and his book reproduces the *alef-bet* and also a number of words and phrases in common use, from his transliterations of which it is clear that he learned them from people of central European origin. Pierre Belon (1547), a French physician of Mans, saw in Galilee Jews engaged in fishing; and he reports on newly established villages, where, he notes, they were converting wasteland into fertile areas.

Much is reported about Safed as a flourishing Jewish center. A Franciscan from Spain (1553–55), whose name is not known, found a Jewish population of 8,000–10,000 there. William Biddulph (1600), an English priest, mentions the Hebrew that was taught there (as well as in Salonika).

John Sanderson (1601), an English merchant, traveled with a Jewish merchant who hid his money in his clothes, some 12,000 ducats, of which 3,000 was for charity and for books in the Holy Land. The Franciscan Eugenius Roger (1629–34), who estimates 15,000 Jews in the country, including 4,000 in Jerusalem, divides them into two groups: the old-established Oriental Jews and the newcomers from Europe, particularly Spain, Germany, and Italy. There was little intermarriage between the two groups, the first being particularly doubtful of the authenticity of the Jewishness of those from Spain, "for they had been baptized, had for long lived as Christians and ate foods and drank drinks forbidden by the Law of Moses." Other communal troubles are reported by the Jesuit Michael Nau, who visited the land in 1665 and again in 1674. He found the Jews divided into the Rabbanites, who accepted the Talmud, and the Karaites and the Samaritans, who accepted only the Bible. Each complained to him about the other: "They hate one another with an unparalleled hatred. But there is one thing about which they must agree in Jerusalem, that is, that they must pay heavily to the Turks for the right to remain there."

A vivid description of the unhappy condition of the Jews in Jerusalem is given by Chateaubriand (1806–07): "isolated from the other inhabitants, abandoned to every kind of shame…, he suffers every humiliation without crying out against it, without a sound turns his cheek to him who strikes him," and Chateaubriand adds sympathetically that there is nothing more remarkable in the history of the nations than the survival of the Jews – a miracle "even in the eyes of a *philosophe*."

Another sympathetic observer is Alfonse de Lamartine (1832–33) who writes: "This land, if settled by a new Jewish people… is destined once again to become the Promised Land… if He who watches from above will return the people to it and give them the political privileges of peace and security." Robert Curzon (1834) states: "It is noteworthy that the Jews who are born in Jerusalem are completely different from those we see in Europe. Here they are of a blond race, light in movement, and, especially, refined in their conduct." At the same time John Lloyd Stephens (1835) tells of the fear under which the Jews lived in Hebron and Safed.

Edward Robinson remarks about Christian missionary activity among the Jews: "So far the efforts of the English mission have had only the most meager success." He also describes the devastation wrought by the great earthquake of 1837. Another visitor was William Bartlett (1842 and 1853) who gave exact descriptions of Jerusalem.

William Holt Yates (1843), London physician and Orientalist, exemplifies an attitude toward the country radically different from the pilgrims of the earlier centuries. He thinks that Palestine (and Asia Minor and Syria) would benefit by the mingling of the "natives" with Britishers, especially Scotsmen, and with Jews: "Although the Jews as a people have never particularly distinguished themselves in literature and science, they nevertheless have excellent qualities, if only these were properly recognized…" William Francis Lynch (1848), the U.S. naval officer celebrated for his account of his voyage of discovery to the River Jordan and Dead Sea, saw the only hope for Palestine in the dissolution of the degenerate Ottoman Empire and the settlement of the Jews.

Active in assisting Jews to settle was James *Finn (1853–56), who as British consul in Jerusalem made himself their protector. His own book and his consular reports are prime sources for knowledge of conditions. Among other events he describes the blood libel raised against the Jews.

Henry Baker Tristram (1863–64), English theologian, fellow of the Royal Society, and among the founders of the Palestine Exploration Fund, finds place in his important works on the flora and fauna of Palestine for descriptions of the Jews. But the most interesting of all for that period is the diplomat and statesman Laurence *Oliphant (1883–87), who gives a first hand account of the earliest pioneers of the modern resettlement, whom he greatly assisted.

Subsequently there are accounts of historians, theologians, journalists, surveyors, and archaeologists, from all over Europe and the United States, reference to which may be found among the records of the various scientific institutions. Visitors of literary fame who wrote of their impressions include W.M. Thackeray, Mark Twain, George Moore, G.K. Chesterton, Pierre Loti, and Herman Melville.

The flood of books by pilgrims of all kinds and all intentions and pretensions in recent times is overwhelming. As with the earlier pilgrims, the accounts of many of them are colored by their preconceived opinions. Other contemporary writers convey their experiences in the form of novels, detective stories, and thrillers, experiences which are often observed more authentically than in more solemn works.

[Semah Cecil Hyman]

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PILGRIM FESTIVALS (Heb. שָׁלוֹשׁ רְגָלִים, "three pilgrim festivals"), collective term for the three festivals of *Passover, *Shavuot, and *Sukkot. The duty of pilgrimage on these three occasions stems from the biblical injunction, "Three times a year shall all thy males appear before the Lord thy God in the place which He shall choose, in the feast of unleavened bread, and in the feast of weeks, and in the feast of tabernacles" (Deut. 16:16; and Ex. 23:17 where the festivals are not specified). According to the Mishnah, "All are under obligation to appear, excepting a deaf-mute, an imbecile, a child, one of doubtful sex, one of double sex, women, slaves that have not been freed, a man that is lame or blind or sick or aged, and one that cannot go up [to Jerusalem] on his feet" (Ḥag 1:1). The importance of the duty is stressed by Joshua b. Levi who stated, "all who perform the duty of pilgrimage are considered as if they had received the *Shekhinah" (TJ, Hag, 1:1, 76a). Besides the festive offerings made on these occasions (Lev. 23), it was also enjoined that "they shall not appear before the Lord empty. Every man shall give as he is able" (Deut. 16:16–17). The Mishnah ruled that the minimum value of each individual offering was to be three pieces of silver (Ḥag. 1:2).

In the times of the judges, the pilgrimages were made to Shiloh (I Sam. 1:3) and, after the construction of the Temple, to Jerusalem (I Kings 8:65; II Chron. 7:8–9). *Jeroboam, king of the northern kingdom of Israel, considered them such a threat to his authority that he established rival shrines at Dan and Beth-El (I Kings 12:26–33). After the return from Babylonia, Nehemiah reinstituted the practice of pilgrimage to Jerusalem on the festival of Sukkot (Neh. 8:15). Both Josephus (Wars 6:422–7) and the Tosefta (Pes. 4:3; also Pes. 64b) comment upon the large number of pilgrims to the Second Temple during Passover. According to the Mishnah, the fact that there was room for them all was a miracle (Avot 5:5). It seems that even Diaspora Jewry made the pilgrimage (Ta'an. 28a), and it was ruled that the prayer for rain should not be recited until 15 days after the conclusion of Sukkot in order to allow the last of the pilgrims to return to the Euphrates (Ta'an. 1:3).

In modern times, the tradition has been continued by individuals and groups from all over the country going up to Jerusalem, especially during the intermediate days of Sukkot. The center of pilgrimage is the *Western ("Wailing") Wall, but when access to it was barred pilgrims went to Mount Zion.

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PILICHOWSKI, LEOPOLD (1869–1933), Polish painter. Pilichowski left his native village of Zadzin for nearby Lodz, where he was helped by David *Frischmann, the Hebrew writer, who made it possible for Pilichowski to study in Munich. Later, he lived in Paris for a number of years, and in 1914 he moved to London. Pilichowski became a successful portraitist. He was filled with socialist and Zionist sentiments, and struggled to give pictorial expression to both. He painted the exploited wool dyers of Lodz, and the weary shopkeepers and artisans he met in London's Whitechapel. Many of his large pictures were crowded with pious Jews in a variety of moods and postures. His huge painting of *The Opening of the Hebrew University in Jerusalem* in 1925 has been frequently reproduced. Among the Jewish personalities he portrayed were *Bialik, *Einstein, Aḥad *Ha-Am, *Nordau, and *Weizmann.

[Alfred Werner]

PILLAR (Heb. עַמּוּד; from the root ʿ*md*, "to stand"), a column that stands perpendicular to the ground and generally serves to support the beams of a roof. In this article no distinction will be made between "pillar," "column," and "post." The pillar is used in construction in three ways (see *Architecture): (1) as a functional element in construction to support a large ceiling; (2) to emphasize an ornate door at the front of a building, or to emphasize the outline of a building; and sometimes (3) to take the place of a doorpost and support a massive lintel. Another type of support performing the same functions is the pilaster which does not stand free but is attached to and stands out from the wall. There is another type of pillar that stands alone and is not connected with any other structure; this type of pillar was designed to attract attention and to serve as a place around which a crowd could gather (II Kings 11: 14).

Pillars (posts) occupied an important place in the structure of the Tabernacle (Ex. 26–27). The pillars (posts) used in the Tabernacle were constructed of wood. During the period of the monarchy, pillars were used in palaces and the Temple. Halls are mentioned which contained rows of pillars (I Kings 7:6): pillars which served to support the roof; the symbolic pillars of Jachin and Boaz (I Kings 7:21; II Chron. 3:17); and copper pillars which stood at the entrance to the Temple (II Kings 7:15, 20, 22). Pillars that were functional elements in construction are mentioned in the story of Samson, who brought down the middle pillars of the palace of Dagon and in this way destroyed the entire building (Judg. 16:29).

Pillars were introduced into the Near East with the first experiments in enlarging covered structures. In Egypt they were first used as supports for roofing in the middle of the third millennium B.C.E. As early as this, pillars served not only as supports but also as ornaments of buildings, or as ornaments in themselves. In Mesopotamia pillars began to be used in the middle of the second millennium B.C.E.

Remains of pillars uncovered in various archaeological excavations in Ereẓ Israel and the discovery of plans of various buildings have revealed much about the function of pillars in ancient architecture. In a large structure at Ai dating to the early Canaanite period a row of pillar bases was discovered in one hall, which passed through the center of a long building. The function of these pillars was to help support the beams of the roof. In general, builders saw to it that the pillars inside buildings, whether of wood or stone, should be separated from one another in order to permit free passage among them. The pillars were set up in a place where they would not hide the inside of the structure from the entrance. In most cases, only the bases of the pillars, which could have served as foundations for both stone and wooden pillars, have been found in archaeological excavations. The pillars were sometimes made from one block, but generally from several stones placed one on top of the other. The use of pillars as supports for beamed ceilings is common also in the late Canaanite period. In one of the buildings discovered at Taanach a pillar was set up in the middle of a large area that could not be beamed from wall to wall, thereby shortening the distance between walls and making it possible to place short, strong beams between the pillar and the wall in order to build a roof over this area.

The use of pillars in the construction of houses and other types of buildings was widespread in the Israelite period. Buildings from this period have been found that are divided internally into four sections: three long sections that lie side by side forming an almost perfect square, and a fourth section, of approximately the same size, running across their ends. The long rooms were sometimes divided from one another by solid walls, but generally by rows of pillars. It appears that of the long rooms, the middle one was uncovered, being a type of court lined on either side by rows of wooden or stone pillars. The roofs of the two outer rooms were supported by the outside walls and the two rows of pillars that surrounded the court. These structures are common in Tell en-Naṣbeh, Tell Qasila, and other places. Larger structures of this type were found in Hazor. Another use of pillars inside a building was discovered in the structures of the stables of Megiddo in one of the Israelite strata. In the large network of stables, stone pillars arranged in rows at equal distances from one another were discovered. In each space between the pillars a water trough was discovered, and on the pillar itself a hole for tying a horse. These pillars had a threefold function; to support the roof, to serve as a place for harnessing a horse, and to divide the building into compartments for individual horses.

Square stone columns and pillars bearing "proto-Ionian" capitals are characteristic of the elaborate structures of the Israelite period. These capitals are decorated with a bas-relief of a double coil emanating from a central triangle. Discovered in strata from the beginning of the Israelite period in Jerusalem, Megiddo, Samaria, Ramat Raḥel, and Hazor, these pillars served as posts of gates. In addition to actual physical pillars, the Bible speaks of the *pillar of cloud and the pillar of fire that accompanied the Israelites during their journey through the desert (Ex. 13:22). The pillar of cloud is also described as standing at the door of the Tabernacle (Deut. 31:15). Metaphorically, in the poetic sections of the Bible, the heavens are described as standing on pillars (Job 26:11). In a poetic manner, the pillar is used metaphorically in the descriptions of the parts of the human body: "His legs are as pillars of marble set upon sockets of fine gold" (Song 5:15).

In the fifth and fourth centuries B.C.E., under the Persian rule, with the penetration of Greek influences into the Middle East generally and Ereẓ Israel in particular, many elements of classical architecture found their way into the local styles. Among these elements, the pillar holds an important place as a functional element in the structure of building or as ornamentation. Pillars appear both in private and public buildings, and also in tombs. In Ereẓ Israel pillars and capitals of different styles were in use simultaneously; for example an ancient specimen of a Doric pillar remained on a mural inside a Hellenistic tomb in Marissa. In Ereẓ Israel remains of pillars from the beginning of the Hellenistic era are rare. From the Roman period on, Hellenistic architecture spread greatly. During this period, particularly in the reign of Herod (37–4 B.C.E.), much building on the part of the king took place in Ereẓ Israel, almost all of which included elements of Roman architecture. In order to raise the level of the Temple Mount, Herod erected rows of large square pillars, remains of which exist underground southeast of the Temple Mount at the site known today as "Solomon's Stables." Examples of smooth monolithic pillars stand in the "colonnaded street" in Samaria. These pillars stand on square bases and their capitals seem to have been Corinthian. Corinthian pillars and capitals were set up by Herod in Herodium and in Masada in the northern palace. In this palace the pillars are not monolithic but are built in sections (drums) and covered with stucco intended to give the effect of marble. With the exception of the Temple and other stately buildings in Jerusalem, large pillars were not widespread in the country, as they were in other lands of the Roman Empire, large monumental structures being uncommon in Ereẓ Israel.

The use of pillars was more common in tombs of the Second Temple period. They are found in the tombs of the Sanhedrin and the tombs of the sons of Hezir in the Valley of Kidron in Jerusalem. In these places the pillars, like the whole tomb, are hewn out of rock. This style was also widespread in many other places both in the Judean Hills and Galilee, for example, in the cemetery in Bet She'arim. A different use was made of columns and pillars in "Absalom's Tomb" and in the "Tomb of Zechariah" in the Valley of Kidron, both monumental tombs from the time of the Second Temple. These monuments are partly or wholly hewn from the living rock and are cube-shaped, and their facades are beautified by half pillars and columns cut out of the rock. The capitals of the pillars in these two monuments are Ionic.

With the erection of synagogues in Galilee and Judea in the third and fourth centuries C.E., a mixture of styles in architecture came into use. The pillars, like the carvings and other decorations of the synagogue, were ornamented in a mixture of styles – an Oriental style that was the result of Persian influence, and a late Hellenistic style. This is the case with the capitals and other decorations of the synagogues of Capernaum, Kefar Baram, Chorazin, and others. In these places there are capitals in a number of styles, chiefly Ionic and Corinthian, used together in various parts of the structure. Worthy of mention are the widespread corner pillars in these early synagogues. In cross-section the pillars are heart-shaped and their function is to emphasize the corners of the rows of pillars. The synagogue pillars had two functions – to beautify the appearance of the portico and to support the slanted roof inside. In the synagogues in Galilee there were usually two rows of pillars: those of the halls are large and stand on square bases, while those of the upper (women's) galleries on the second floors are small and narrower. These are found in Kefar Baram, Chorazin, Capernaum, and other sites. While the interiors of the synagogues were decorated with columns, the facades of the early synagogues were decorated with pillars protruding from the walls, such as those found in Capernaum, Chorazin, Kefar Baram, and other places.

This mode of decoration was a continuation of the system of building of the Herodian era and is found on the monument erected over the cave of Machpelah in Hebron. It appears that the decorations with which the cave of Machpelah was adorned are a return to the motif that decorated the Temple Mount, though that was on a much larger scale. Circular pillars, mostly with Corinthian capitals, also decorated the insides of later synagogues from the fifth and sixth centuries C.E., such as those found at Bet Alfa, Beth-Shean, on the wall of Tiberias, etc. The pillar, being a conspicous element in the architecture of magnificent buildings, also served as decoration. Thus in many places pillars are portrayed in mosaics or paintings flanking the ark of the Law in the synagogues. They were found on the murals in Dura Europos, in the mosaics of Bet Alfa, Nirim, Beth-Shean, and elsewhere. Small marble pillars with delicate ornaments usually served to support the chancel screen before the ark. Such pillars were found out of their original places in a number of synagogues in Galilee and Judea. A series of pillars symbolizing the Temple appears on the coins of Bar Kokhba. These are usually portrayed as four pillars apparently carrying the exedra in front of the facade of the Temple.

In the Jewish world it was not customary to erect a pillar as a monument in memory of a person or enterprise. Pillars were used primarily for decorating splendid houses and as functional elements in construction, chiefly in synagogue buildings. Technically, the pillars used for this purpose were either monoliths, as in Samaria or Capernaum, or were built of sections, as in the synagogues in Chorazin and Kefar Baram and in the late synagogues. Apparently the pillars built of sections were to some extent an expression of the economic situation of the Jewish population in the first centuries C.E., when materials were poorer than in previous eras. When Herod built his monuments in Caesarea, Tiberias, Jerusalem, and other places, he erected huge monolithic columns whose production and also transportation were much more costly than the production and transportation of column drums.

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[Ze'ev Yeivin]

PILLAR OF CLOUD AND PILLAR OF FIRE. The earliest traditions of the Exodus from Egypt refer to the pillar of cloud by day and of fire by night, which accompanied the Children of Israel on their way through the desert (Ex. 13:21–22). The visible symbol of the presence of God caused a panic among the Egyptians as it cut them off from the Israelites (Ex. 14:19b, 24a), and continued to guide and protect the latter uninterruptedly throughout their wanderings. Later generations remembered it as a special sign of divine favor (cf. Ps. 78:14), no less important than the parting of the Sea of Reeds itself. Another early tradition connected the cloud with the *Tent of Meeting. According to the view attributed by critics to the author of the Elohist account (E), the pillar of cloud served not as a regular escort marching at the head of the people, but as an intermittent presence, descending from time to time to the entrance of the Tent of Meeting when God conversed with Moses (Ex. 33:9–10; Num. 11:25; 12:5). The priestly authors, on the other hand, taught that "a cloud of the Lord" (not a pillar) with a fiery appearance by night, permanently covered the Tabernacle from the day of its completion, lifting only to signal the breaking of camp for a new journey (Ex. 40:34–38; Num. 9:15–23; 10:11–12, 34; 14:14). The Divine Presence in Solomon's Temple was similarly accompanied by the descent of the cloud (I Kings 8:10–11; cf. Ex. 16:10; Lev. 16:2) though the pillar of cloud and of fire did not accompany the Israelites into the Promised Land.

Various explanations have been sought for the origin of these traditions. Among them is the attested use of braziers filled with burning wood at the head of caravans or armies, sometimes placed before the tent of the chief or carried before him. Others derive the imagery from the *pillars before Solomon's Temple, which, they contend, were fiery cressets emitting clouds of smoke and flame by day and by night at the time of a festival. Still others point to the smoke that rose from the altar of the burnt offering as the origin of the representation. The most commonly accepted theory connects the pillar of cloud and fire with the theophany at Sinai, when the descent of the Lord was marked by a thick cloud (Ex. 19:9), by thunder, lightening, smoke, and fire. Attempts to provide a natural basis for this narrative have pointed to the possible existence of volcanic action in the vicinity of Sinai – which is highly unlikely – or to the sudden outbreak of a raging desert storm. In any event, there can be little doubt that the imagery is as old as the time of Moses, and that the cloud, and, in a lesser degree, the fire symbolism proved effective in communicating the presence of God to the people.

Post-biblical legend embellished the biblical account. Thus, not one but seven clouds descended at Sukkot to envelop and protect the Israelites, one on each of the four sides of the camp, one above and one below, and one which went before them to raise the valleys and lower the mountains. The Israelites were protected against the elements and wild beasts; even their garments did not wear out or become dirty. Eliezer maintained that the Festival of Sukkot commemorated the "clouds of glory" (Suk. 11b) which were considered among God's special creations in the "twilight" of the first six days (ARN^2 37, 95).

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[David L. Lieber]

PILPUL (Heb. פִּלְפּוּל), a collective term denoting various methods of talmudic study and exposition, especially by the use of subtle legal, conceptual, and casuistic differentiation. The word is derived from *pilpel* ("pepper"), indicating that these methods were employed in talmudic disputations by the more sharp-witted among the scholars (cf. *palpelan* – TJ, Hor. 3:7, 48c; *ba'al-pilpul* – BB 145b). In the talmudic period the term *pilpul* was applied to the logical distinctions through which apparent contradictions and textual difficulties were straightened out by means of reasoning (*sevarah*), leading to a more penetrating understanding and conceptual analysis. This method was distinguished from a mere cursory knowledge of the texts (*girsah*) and the oral traditions and teachings of the scholars of the past. The masters of *pilpul* would advance arguments and opinions of their own, though always based on the authority of tradition, while those strictly adhering to the texts and their traditional exegesis would reject the ways of the pilpulists, whose daring originality would sometimes lead them astray from plain reason and truth (cf. Er. 90a). Scholars hotly debated the question as to whose merits for the dissemination and advancement of Torah study were greater: *sinai*, i.e., he who faithfully preserved the established texts and traditions, or *oker harim*, i.e., he who "uproots mountains" in his intellectual struggle for clarity and logical harmony (cf. Ber. 64a). Nevertheless, it was generally agreed that *pilpul* was of vital necessity for establishing hermeneutical links between the Oral and the Written Torah, thus keeping tradition from error and oblivion (cf. Kid. 66b; BM 85b; Zev. 13a; Tem. 16a). It was also valued as a didactic method to sharpen the intellect of students (Avot 6:6; Ber. 33b; Er. 13a). Members of the high court (Sanhedrin) were required to be masters of *pilpul* (cf. Sanh. 17a). Babylonian scholars were especially noted for their subtle ways of *pilpul* and their acrimonious disputations, contrasting with the moderation of the Palestinian schools (cf. Pes. 34b; BM 85a).

The talmudic *pilpul* was thus suited to meet three principal needs. The first was to safeguard the unity of the Oral and Written Torah and to harmonize between the apparently differing opinions of the sages. This was based on the religious principle that both parts of the Torah tradition flowed from one single divine revelation and that consequently what appeared to be contradictory, repetitive, or redundant appeared so only because of the intellectual limitations of the students. The second was to keep up the vitality and relevance of the Oral and Written Torah in its traditionally fixed form in the face of changing times and circumstances. Finally, it made Torah study a permanent challenge to the intellectual powers of masters and students and kept it safe from routine and perfunctoriness. *Pilpul* enabled the gifted student to bring new elements into Torah study, and these were themselves considered part of the divine revelation (cf. Ned. 38a; Meg. 19b; TJ, Pe'ah 2:6; 17a; for examples of talmudic *pilpul* see JE, vol. 10, p.40.).

The Babylonian scholars of the geonic period continued to employ the methods of *pilpul*, though they were chiefly occupied with arranging, editing, and explaining the text of the Talmud, as did the early school of Ashkenazi commentators up to Rashi's generation. A new wave of *pilpul* rose in the tosafist schools of France and Germany, as well as in the Spanish schools of the 13th and 14th centuries. The same methods as had previously been applied in the Talmud, now served to harmonize apparently differing talmudic passages and opinions. This new vogue gave rise to adverse criticism among the Ashkenazi Ḥasidim who deplored the over-cleverness of sharp-witted scholars who substituted originality for truth and preferred the study of *tosafot* to that of the Talmud itself (cf. *Sefer Ḥasidim* ed. by J. Wistinetzki (1924^2), nos. 648, 1049, 1375, 1707, 1816, 1838).

The close of the tosafist era in the 14th century was followed by a short period during which scholars occupied themselves chiefly with the study and recording of the traditional laws and customs (*minhagim*) that had accumulated until then. However, the intrinsic dynamics of Torah study called for new intellectual challenges to be put to the restlessly searching minds of scholars and students. The traditional modes of study and disputation had become exhausted, and scholars strove to devise new modes in which they could distinguish themselves. In addition, yeshivah teachers became increasingly conscious of didactics and method in the education of rabbinical scholars. The prevailing spirit of humanism influenced scholars to seek intellectual independence while remaining faithful to the traditional sources. Thus the 15th and 16th centuries witnessed an unprecedented intensification of casuistic disputation. A clear distinction began to be made between lessons devoted to cursory study of the talmudic text and those given to intensive disputation. This was led by the head of the yeshivah and was of an essentially oral character, which accounts for the fact that very little of its content was recorded and preserved in manuscripts.

Some idea of the new modes of *pilpul*, which consisted mainly in the application of logical models and of increasingly sharper divisions and differentiations (*ḥillukim*), may be gained from treatises on talmudic methodology such as the *Darkhei ha-Talmud* by Isaac *Canpanton. Several new modes became known by the names of communities whose yeshivot specialized in them, e.g., Nuremberg and Regensburg. These methods are characterized by a penetrating inquiry into the minutest details of halakhic discussion as recorded in the Talmud. Each and every sentence is shown to convey some novel meaning of its own and no redundancy whatsoever is allowed. A problem set by one of the sages is not an indication of any doubt or ignorance but an attempt to test the knowledge and intelligence of his colleagues and students. Since all the sages are supposed to possess knowledge and intelligence of identical width and depth, the talmudic dialogue is shown to be an interplay of diverging attitudes and opinions rather than a series of questions and answers. Furthermore, the divergences are attributed to casuistic differentiations rather than to fundamental contradictions, and thus the basic unity and conformity of the spiritual world of the Talmud is preserved and safeguarded.

In the sphere of didactics diverse pilpulistic methods were innovated by which to heighten the students' powers of perception and imagination. Masters devised imaginary halakhic cases and problems and required their students to pass reasoned judgments. They also composed halakhic riddles, sometimes involving the most abstruse casuistry, which the students were required to solve. In the 16th and 17th centuries the ability to excel in pilpulistic disputation was the chief aim and mark of distinction of the yeshivah student. At a time when rabbinical learning had become widespread and rabbis as well as lay leaders were rivals for communal leadership, accomplished masters in the art of *pilpul* outshone less brilliant, if more conscientious, scholars and secured for themselves a paramount social status. In the spiritual sphere *pilpul* was reinforced by certain kabbalistic trends that glorified the contemplative, as against the pragmatic, attitude to study. The intuition of the scholars was seen as a form of divine inspiration. At the same time *pilpul* served a vital purpose in enabling rabbis to pass decisions on many new halakhic problems arising from the changing economic and political situation. Nevertheless, outstanding rabbis, such as *Judah Loew b. Bezalel (the Maharal), Isaiah *Horowitz, Ephraim *Luntschitz, and Jair Ḥayyim *Bacharach, severely criticized the universal "craze" for *pilpul* and *ḥillukim*. They had been preceded as early as the 15th century by the anonymous treatise on ethics known as *Orḥot Ẓaddikim*, which contained the first vigorous attack on the new ways of *pilpul* launched from within the circles of the Ashkenazi yeshivah. Though not opposed to *pilpul* as such, these rabbis resented the twisting of plain truth resulting out of the hairsplitting efforts of the most sharp-witted and argued that *pilpul* should serve the comprehension of the texts and not itself become an art. They also criticized the students' passion for personal honor and aggrandizement and questioned their authority to decide on halakhic matters, since their preoccupation with *pilpul* made them wholly dependent, in matters of religious practice, on the new codes such as R. Joseph Caro's Shulḥan Arukh. Thus it is not surprising that the critics of *pilpul* often expressed concern about the publication of these codes. Criticism was much more lenient regarding the application of *pilpul* to the exposition of the Bible and homiletic literature, since this was considered irrelevant to a true understanding of *halakhah*. Consequently, popular preachers used to strain their imagination by adducing the most complicated talmudic passages and controversies in order to throw new light on a story from the Bible or the Midrash. When toward the end of the 18th century the methods of *pilpul* seemed to have been exhausted, new ways of Torah study were opened by the school of the *Gaon* of Vilna, Elijah b. Solomon Zalman.

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[Mordechai Breuer]

PILSEN (Czech **Plzeň**), city in W. Bohemia, Czech Republic; its Jewish community was one of the earliest in Bohemia. The first documentary record is a decree of 1338, signed by *Charles IV, in which the city's administrators were ordered, under penalty, to protect the Jews from molestation. In 1432 the community bought a plot from the city to be used as a cemetery. It also had a synagogue. Many transactions between Jews and Christians appear on the city records of the 15th century. In 1504 Jews were expelled from Pilsen as a result of a *Host desecration charge, and the city was granted the privilege *de non tolerandis Judaeis*. From then until 1848 Jews lived in surrounding villages and did their business in the town. Jews from all of western Bohemia and Prague attended the Pilsen markets, which became very important in Jewish life. In 1821–32 Jews were living without authorization in Pilsen, and in 1854 there were 249 Jews in the town. A Jewish cemetery was consecrated in 1856 and a synagogue in 1859. Anti-Jewish riots broke out in 1866. In 1870 the community numbered 1,207. Jews were instrumental in the development of the city into an industrial center of worldwide repute.

At the beginning of the 20th century the community was among the five largest and most affluent in Bohemia; a Moorish-style synagogue was erected in 1893. The community suffered from the conflicts between German liberal assimilationists, Czech Jews (see *Čechů-Židů, Svaz) and Zionists. In 1892 the first *B'nai B'rith Lodge of Bohemia was founded there. From 1918 the community supported two rabbis, one preaching in Czech and the other in German. **Sheḥitah* was forbidden in 1920 for "humanitarian" reasons. When the supreme court declared this prohibition illegal in 1934, the attempt to reintroduce *sheḥitah* failed because of the higher price for *kasher* meat. In 1921 there were 3,117 Jews in Pilsen and in 1930 the community numbered 2,773 (2.4% of the total population). In the fall of 1938 Pilsen became a refuge for many Jews from communities in the Sudeten area, occupied then by Germany, who were supported by funds previously designated for the building of an old-age home.

After the German occupation (March 1939) there were persecutions and arrests of Jews, and the Jewish cemetery was desecrated. A plan to destroy the synagogue was given up only because it would have caused the destruction of an entire city block. In 1940 the rabbi Max Hoch and one of the community functionaries were murdered. In 1942 more than 2,000 persons from all western Bohemia were concentrated in Pilsen and deported to the Nazi extermination camps. The synagogue's ritual objects were transferred to the Central Jewish Museum in Prague.

After World War II a community was reorganized in Pilsen, numbering 293 in 1948. A memorial for the 3,200 victims of the Holocaust from Pilsen and western Bohemia was dedicated at the new cemetery in 1951. The newly established community, considerably reduced in numbers, was still active in 1970 using the old synagogue and maintaining both cemeteries, and survived into the 21st century. It also administered the *Ceske Budejovice congregation.

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[Jan Herman]

°**PILSUDSKI, JÓZEF** (1867–1935), Polish statesman, first marshal of Poland. In the early years of his political life, Pilsudski came into contact with Jews, especially Jewish workers, and the PPS (Polish Socialist Party) founded by him even published a periodical in Yiddish, *Der Arbeter,* between 1898 and 1905. However, he was sharply critical of the *Bund, accusing it of "commercial and religious Jewish separation," of favoring Russification, and of opposing the Polish independence movement. Since he was fiercely anti-Russian, he dissociated himself from the pro-Russian antisemite Roman *Dmowski. When Pilsudski, supported by the left, seized power in 1926, the Jews hoped for improved conditions, and indeed the prime minister, K. Bartel, proposed the abolition of several cultural, religious, and economic restrictions on the life of the Jews. However, these proposals came to nothing; on the contrary, by a law of Oct. 4, 1927 the government interfered in internal Jewish affairs and curtailed the autonomy of the Jewish communities. As a result of the pressure of the ND (*Endecja), in 1931 further restrictions were placed on Jewish economic and social life. Now opposed to the left, Pilsudski formed a front with the land owners and did nothing to curb the antisemitic right wing. In 1934 the Pilsudski government signed a pact with Hitler's Germany, with tragic results for the Jewish community in subsequent years.

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PINA, JACOB (Manuel) DE (1616–c. 1675), Marrano poet. Born in Lisbon, Pina arrived around 1660 in Amsterdam, where he openly proclaimed himself a Jew and took the name Jacob.

The poems of his early Lisbon years were humorous in the main, for example the collection *La mayor hazaña de Carlos VI* and *Juguetes de la ninez y traversuras del ingenio* (1656). His later verse included several elegies, one dedicated to the scholar Saul (Levi) *Morteira (d. 1660), another to the martyr Isaac de Almeyda *Bernal (d. 1655), and a third to the martyred Spanish nobleman Lope de Vera y *Alarcon (d. 1644). Pina wrote in both Spanish and Portuguese.

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PINANSKI, ABRAHAM (1887–1949), U.S. lawyer and jurist. Pinanski, who was born in Boston, Mass., worked in the legal department of the Boston Elevated Street Railway Company (1910–12), and then practiced law privately from 1912 to 1930, becoming active in the Democratic Party. Appointed to the Massachusetts Superior Court in 1930, he instituted pretrial hearings to reduce case backlog and hasten court proceedings.

Pinanski, who was active in both Jewish and public affairs, was a member of the Sinking Fund Commission of Boston for five years; a trustee of the Boston Public Library; president of both the Hebrew Free Loan Society of Boston and the Jewish Child Welfare Association; and executive committee member of both the Association of Jewish Philanthropies and Beth Israel Hospital.

PINCAS, ISRAEL (**Anton**; 1935–), Hebrew poet. Born in Sofia, Bulgaria, Pincas moved to his grandparents following the death of his father. After his arrival in Palestine in 1944, he joined the Ben Shemen youth village and later served as an army reporter. He worked for a while as an editor for United Press and translator from various languages into Hebrew, and for many years ran two art galleries in Tel Aviv, acting also as adviser on contemporary art. His first collection of poems, *Arba'a-asar Shirim,* was published in 1961, followed by further collections, including *El kav ha-Masheveh* (1975), *Betokh ha-Bayit* (1978), *Geneologiyyah* (1997), and *Ba-Yam ha-Atik Shelanu* (1999). A member of the so-called "*Dor ha-Medinah*" ("The Generation of the State"), Pincas followed an individualistic path, keeping away from the literary mainstream. While his early poetry focuses on Mediterranean culture, his later works pursue a dialogue with his European heritage. Indeed, at times it seems that Pincas, whose poetry is suffused with longings for other cultures, quoting from European literature and often deploying the patterns of classical music, is more of a European poet writing in Hebrew than an Israeli one. And yet, in his seminal article "*Harẓa'ah al ha-Zeman*" ("A Lecture on Time," 1991), he recalls early experiences, underscoring his local, Israeli identity. Pincas was awarded the Prime Minister's Prize and, in 2005, the Israel Prize. Some of his poems have been translated into various languages, for instance *Discours sur le temps: Choix de poèmes* (1997).

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[Anat Feinberg (2nd ed.)]

PINCHERLE, MARC (1888–1974), musicologist. Born in Constantine, Algeria, Pincherle edited the periodicals *Le Monde Musical* (1924–27) and *Musique* (1927–30) and was secretary of the Société Française de Musicologie (1932–35) and its president (1948–56). He made outstanding contributions to the study of baroque violin music on which he also lectured at the Ecole Normale de Musique. His writings include *Les Violinistes Compositeurs et Virtuoses* (1922); *Corelli* (1933); *Antonio Vivaldi et la musique instrumentale* (2 vols., 1948); *Corelli et son temps* (1954; *Corelli, His Life, His Work*, 1956); *Vivaldi* (1955; Eng. transl. 1957), with an important thematic index; and *Histoire illustrée de la musique* (1959). He also published editions of baroque music.

PINCHIK, PIERRE (**Pinchas Segal**; c. 1900–1971), **ḥazzan*. Born in Zhivitov, Ukraine, the young Pinchik was sent to live with his grandfather in Podolia. His singing in the local yeshivah attracted the attention of one of his teachers who arranged for Pinchik to be taught music and piano and to study voice at Rostov. He became *ḥazzan* in Leningrad and subsequently made his way to the U.S., where his ḥazzanic talent was quickly recognized. His style was best expressed in his widely acclaimed performances and recordings of *Raza de-Shabbat*, which represent his successful attempt to evoke the mystical dimension of prayer.

PINCUS, GREGORY GOODWIN (1903–1967), U.S. biologist. Born in Woodbine, New Jersey, he pursued his interest in the genetics of physiological characteristics. In post-doctoral studies at Cambridge and the Kaiser Wilhelm Institute he began investigations of steroid control of reproductive cycles. After teaching appointments at Harvard, Cambridge, and Clark University, he rounded the Worcester Foundation for Experimental Biology in 1944 with H. Hoagland. As research director he pioneered development of the widely used oral contraceptive. Having discovered earlier that the hormone progesterone, present in increased amounts during pregnancy, prevented ovulation, Pincus tested some 200 progesterone-like compounds for their effectiveness as ovulation suppressors. In 1954 he and Dr. John Rock began clinical testing of the most promising of these. Their method proved to be virtually 100% effective in preventing conception. Its widespread adoption in the ensuing decade had great medical and sociological consequences.

Pincus was a member of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences (1939) and the National Academy of Sciences (1965). He wrote *The Control of Fertility* (1965), co-authored *Steroid Dynamics* (1966), and was editor of *Recent Progress in Hormone Research*, proceedings of the 1966 Laurentian Hormone Conference (vol. 23, 1967).

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[George H. Fried]

PINCUS, LOUIS ARIEH (**Louis Abraham**; 1912–1973), Zionist leader. Born in South Africa, Pincus practiced law from 1934 to 1948. He was chairman of the South African Zionist Socialist Party and co-founder of Habonim in the country. He was also vice chairman of the Zionist Federation (1940–48). Pincus settled in Israel in 1948 and served as legal adviser and general secretary of the Ministry of Transportation until 1949. From then until 1956 he was the first managing director of *El Al. He practiced law in Israel from 1957 and was a member of the central bodies of *Mapai, the *Histadrut, and Iḥud Olami from 1956. In 1961 he was elected a member of the *Jewish Agency Executive, and its treasurer. On the death of Moshe *Sharett in 1965, Pincus became acting chairman and at the 27th Zionist Congress (1966) was elected chairman of the executive. He was chairman of the Board of Governors of Tel Aviv University.

[Benjamin Jaffe]

PINCZOW (Pol. **Pínczów**; Rus. **Pinchov**; Yid. **Pinchev**), town in Kielce province, S.E. Poland. During the 16th–18th centuries Pinczow was a busy market town in Sandomierz province. The date of the foundation of the Jewish community is unknown, but the fact that it sent representatives to the *Councils of the Lands testifies to its significance in the 17th century. During the attacks led by the Polish hetman S. *Czarniecki (1656), the Jews of Pinczow suffered comparatively little since they took refuge with the local margrave, and were defended by his troops. The Pinczow district (*galil*) was included in the province of *Lesser Poland. One of the most interesting relics possessed by the community is the hand-written prayer book which was completed (according to an inscription) by a scribe named Elijah b. Samuel Gronenn in January 1614 (published by S. Dubnow in *Voskhod*, 14, no. 4 (1894), 149–50). Other records of later years mention martyrs who died as a result of blood libel accusations and during the massacres in the 1640s and 1650s. In 1765 there were 2,862 Jews registered in the district, most of whom lived in the town itself; there were 2,877 Jews (70% of the total population) in the town in 1856 and 5,194 in 1897; in the latter years there were 13,716 Jews in the whole district.

Holocaust Period

At the outbreak of World War II there were about 3,500 Jews in Pinczow. In October 1942, 3,000 Jews were deported to *Treblinka death camp. During the deportation, hundreds of Jews fled into the surrounding forests. About 100 joined the two Jewish partisan units headed by Michal Majtek and Zalman Fajnsztat. These units merged and operated in the vicinity until February 1944, when they incurred heavy losses near Pawlowice. After the war the Jewish community of Pinczow was not reconstituted.

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PINE. One species of pine, the Aleppo pine *Pinus halepensis*, is indigenous to Israel. Other species of the same genus have been planted in the afforestation of modern Israel and as ornamental trees, among them the stone pine, *Pinus pinea*. The modern Hebrew name for the pine is *oren*, but this biblical name relates to a different species, the *bay tree. The Aleppo pine is one of the most beautiful forest trees of Israel. Only a few groves of it remain at the present day because it was felled for use as building material. Among the natural groves of this species is the Masrek ("comb") at Bet Meir in the Judean hills, so called because its high trunks, conspicuous on the horizon, look like a comb. The Aleppo pine was adopted as the most important forest tree of Israel, tens of thousands of acres being planted with it, because of its rapid growth, beauty, and abundant shade, as well as for its ability to grow on rocky ground. It is the *eẓ shemen* ("oil tree") of the Bible, as it is still called (in Aramaic) by the Jews of Kurdistan, and is so called because of its high turpentine content. Isaiah (41:19) mentions this tree among those that will fructify the wilderness on the path of the redeemed. In the time of Nehemiah its branches were used for covering the *sukkah (Neh. 8:15). Ben Sira (50:10) compares the high priest to its tall evergreen flourishing top. In the Temple the cherubim and the doors were made from its wood (1 Kings 6:23, 32). The pseudo-Jonathan Targum here renders *eẓ shemen* as olive tree, but it is impossible to make doors from the hollow trunk of the latter (see *Olive). Furthermore, the olive is mentioned in Nehemiah (8:15) together with the *eẓ shemen*; they cannot therefore be identical. Nor can the *eẓ shemen* be identified with the *Eleagnus angustifolia* (which in modern Hebrew is called *eẓ shemen*) since it does not fit the descriptions of *eẓ shemen* in the Bible and Mishnah. *Eẓ shemen* is enumerated among the four species of "cedar" (*erez*), i.e., conifers (RH 23a). In mishnaic times its boughs were used for kindling the beacons that announced the appearance of the new moon (RH 2:3). They were also used as firewood for the altar (Tam. 2:3). The needle-like leaves of the pine contain fibers from which is produced "forest wool." In the Mishnah this is called *lekhesh*, and it is mentioned among the fibers whose wick may not be used for the Sabbath lamp (Shab. 2:1, 20b; TJ, *ibid.* 4d).

The stone pine, though not indigenous to Israel, is grown as an ornamental tree and for its edible and tasty nuts. These nuts are called *iẓtrubalin* in the Mishnah, which states that they may not be sold to idolators on their festivals (Av. Zar. 1:5). They are liable to tithes (TJ, Ma'as. 1:2, 48d). In the view of *Saadiah Gaon the stone pine is the *tirzah* (JPS ilex; A.V. cypress) of Isaiah 44:14, mentioned as being used both for making idols and for firewood.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Loew, Flora, 3 (1924), 40–47; J. Feliks, *Olam ha-Ẓome'aḥ ha-Mikra'i* (1968^2), 88–92. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** Feliks, Ha-Ẓome'aḥ, 31, 113.

[Jehuda Feliks]

PINEDA, JUAN DE (d. 1486), Converso martyr, commander in the Order of Santiago, and the emissary of the head of the order, Juan Pacheco, to the papal court. Born into a poor Converso family in Córdoba, in his youth, Pineda worked as a tailor and was known as Juan de Baena. Nothing is known of how he rose in Spanish society. In 1486 he was tried by the Inquisition on charges of having practiced Judaism. Among the accusations brought against him was that he had declared in 1464, when the Turks and Pope Pius II were at war, that the redemption of Israel would come through the Turks. He was burned at the stake on Aug. 16, 1486 in Toledo.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Baer, Spain, 2 (1966), 347ff.; Baer, Urkunden, 2 (1936), 468ff.

PINELES, HIRSCH MENDEL BEN SOLOMON (known as "**Shalosh**" from the last (Hebrew) letters of his name, Hir**sch** Mende**l** Pineles; 1806–1870), Galician scholar and writer. Pineles settled in Brody and joined the circle of young *maskilim* who gathered round Nachman *Krochmal. He perfected his German, and began to educate himself in philosophy, Greek, Latin, Arabic, and astronomy, specializing in mathematics and the calculation of the Jewish calendar. In 1853 he moved to Odessa, and in 1855 to Galati in Romania, where he lived until his death. He was an active member of the *Alliance Israélite Universelle and involved in its program in Romania.

Pineles began his literary career with a letter to Krochmal in 1836 published in *Kerem Ḥemed* (2 (1936), 108–113). He wrote the first critical article on Krochmal's *Moreh Nevukhei ha-Zeman* (in: *He-Ḥalutz*, 1 (1852), 123–4); and he published critical book reviews as well as numerous articles on a variety of subjects in *Kerem Ḥemed* (2 (1936), 125–9, 168–71), in *Ha-Maggid* (8–11 (1864–67)), *Yeshurun*, and elsewhere. For about 30 years he engaged in a fierce controversy with Ḥ.S. *Slonimsky on the method of calculating the Jewish calendar (see *Kerem Ḥemed*, 8 (1854), 27–37, 85–109).

Pineles is best known for his *Darkah shel Torah* (Vienna, 1861), a critical examination in 178 sections of the Mishnah and its interpretation, followed by a treatise on the Hebrew calendar including tables. The stated aim of the work was to justify the Oral Law and substantiate the words of the scribes where they deviate from the literal text. Pineles defended the Mishnah both against the authors of the Talmud, who honored it but distorted its plain meaning, and against the detractors of the Talmud, who attempted to find defects in it and to devalue it. He also sought to explain a number of difficult passages in the Babylonian and Jerusalem Talmuds. His work is characterized by critical acumen and boldness. Believing that some explanations given by the later *amoraim* distorted the original Mishnah, he attempted to interpret a number of *mishnayot* in a new way. His deviations from the traditional explanations of the *amoraim* were attacked by traditionalists, one of them being his brother-in-law, Moses b. Joel Waldberg, a leading banker in Bucharest (*Kakh hi Darkah shel Torah*, pt. 1, Lemberg, 1864; pt. 2, Jassy, 1868). Pineles, however, maintained that he had no heretical intent and himself attacked certain scholars for their extreme views – chiefly Abraham *Geiger for his *Urschrift und Uebersetzung der Bibel in ihrer Abhaengigkeit von der innern Entwicklung des Judenthums* (1857; a review of which is published at the end of *Darkah shel Torah*) and J.H. *Schorr – stressing his own attachment to tradition (*Darkah shel Torah*, no. 14, p. 19).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Fuenn, Keneset, 286–8; Lachower, Sifrut, 2 (1929), 191, 311; B. Wachstein, *Die hebraeische Publizistik in Wien*, 1 (1930), 160–1; N.M. Gelber (ed.), *Arim ve-Immahot be-Yisrael*. 6 (1955), 211; Kressel, Leksikon, 613–4.

[Yehoshua Horowitz]

PINELES, SAMUEL (1843–1928), early member of Ḥovevei Zion and the Zionist Movement in Romania. Born in Brody, Galicia, the son of Hirsch Mendel *Pineles, he moved with his family to Galati, Romania, in 1863. Early in his youth he began his activity in the Ḥibbat Zion movement, and submitted to the central board of the Alliance Israélite Universelle in Paris periodical information and documents concerning Romanian Jewry. In 1881 he was elected to the board of the Romanian Association for the settlement of Ereẓ Israel. He took part in the conference of the settlement societies held in Focsani in January 1882 and was elected chairman of the central board, situated in Galati. Pineles did much for the Romanian immigrants and their two settlements in Palestine, Rosh Pinnah and Zamarin (later known as Zikhron Ya'akov). As chairman of the central board, he mobilized resources from Baron Edmond de *Rothschild for the purpose of purchasing lands in the Golan to be settled by Romanian Jews. He participated in all of the first ten congresses and was a member of the Zionist General Council. He was one of the founders of the *Jewish Colonial Trust. In 1909 he gave the *Jewish National Fund 30,000 francs, which he had received from Rothschild for the lands in the Golan acquired by Romanian members of Ḥibbat Zion. In 1920 he took part in the Committee for Jewish refugees who went to Galati after the pogroms in Ukraine. In 1965 his remains were reinterred in Jerusalem.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: I. Klausner, *Ḥibbat Ẓiyyon be-Rumanyah* (1958), index; L. Jaffe (ed.), *Sefer ha-Congress* (1950^2), 348–9.

[Israel Klausner]

PINES, MEYER ISSER (1881 or 1882–1942?), leader of the Territorialist movement in his youth, Yiddish writer, and journalist. Born in Mogilev, Russia, Pines grew up in Rozinay, Grodno district. He received his doctorate for his dissertation, *Histoire de la littérature judéo-allemande* (Paris, 1911), which was translated into Yiddish (Warsaw, 1911), Russian, and German. Israel *Zinberg and Ber *Borochov stamped the work as dilettantish, a judgment held also by later scholars. Pines is presumed to have died in a Russian deportation camp sometime after 1942.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: LNYL, 7 (1968), 149–51.

[Leonard Prager]

PINES, NOAH (1871–1939), Hebrew educator and writer. Born in Shklov, Russia, he studied at the yeshivah of Volozhin. At an early age, he became a teacher and established a modern *ḥeder* in Lublin at the beginning of the century. After completing his pedagogic studies in German and Swiss universities, he immigrated to Palestine (1919), taught in the Levinsky Teachers' Seminary of Tel Aviv, and served as its principal from 1923 until his death.

He published study manuals, articles, and essays on educational problems. His book *Ha-Zamir* (1903), children's poems for reading and singing, was an important innovation. A volume of his poems *Ẓilẓelei Erev* (1940) and a pedagogic work, *Ketavim Pedagogiyyim* (1941), were published posthumously.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Kressel, Leksikon, 2 (1967), 619–20.

[Getzel Kressel]

PINES, SHLOMO (**Solomon**; 1908–1990), historian of philosophy and science. Born in Paris, Pines taught at the Institut d'Histoire des Sciences et des Techniques de l'Université de Paris from 1937 to 1939. He settled in Ereẓ Israel in 1940. From 1948 to 1952 he served in the Middle East division of the Israel Ministry for Foreign Affairs. In 1952 he began teaching at the Hebrew University and in 1961 Pines became professor of general and Jewish philosophy. He was a fellow of the Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities, and in 1968 received the Israel Prize. He served as coeditor of the *Corpus Commentariorum Averrois in Aristotelem* of the Medieval Academy of America. The 20th volume of the philosophic journal *Iyyun* (1969) was dedicated to him on the occasion of his 60th birthday.

Pines wrote in the fields of Islamic philosophy and science, the Greek antecedents of Islamic philosophy and science, and Jewish philosophy. In his first book, *Beitraege zur islamischen Atomenlehre* (1936), he analyzed the atomic theories of the Muslim theologians. He wrote several detailed analyses of the thought of Abu al Barakāt ben Ali al-Baghdādī *Hibat Allah, a hitherto barely known critic of Islamic Aristotelianism. In the field of Jewish philosophy he published a new English translation of Maimonides' *Guide of the Perplexed* (1963) with an introduction tracing Maimonides' philosophic sources. In his *Scholasticism after Thomas Aquinas and the Teachings of Hasdai Crescas and his Predecessors* (1967) he proposed the thesis that late medieval Jewish philosophers, such as *Levi b. Gershom, *Jedaiah b. Abraham Bedersi (ha-Penini), and Ḥasdai *Crescas, were familiar with the philosophic and scientific doctrines of the late medieval Christian scholastics. In "Spinoza's Tractatus Theologico-Politicus, Maimonides, and Kant" (in: *Scripta Hierosolymitana*, 20 (1968), 3–54) he discusses the interrelation of Maimonides and Spinoza. He also published *A New Fragment of Xenocrates* (1961).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: For further information on his writings between 1957 and 1968 see *Reshimat ha-Pirsumim ha-Madda'iyyim shel Ḥavrei ha-Makhon le-Madda'ei ha-Yahadut* (1969), 82–84.

[Yehuda Landau / Arthur Hyman]

PINES, YEHIEL MICHAEL ("**Michal**"; 1843–1913), writer, early exponent of religious Zionism, and *yishuv* leader. Born in Ruzhany, Belorussia, into a family of prosperous merchants and Torah scholars, Pines was influenced in his youth by Mordecai Gimpel *Jaffe, an early leader of *Ḥovevei Zion, who headed a yeshivah maintained by Pines' family. He studied both traditional subjects and foreign languages and science, and the fusion of the two spheres of knowledge led to a romantic-religious outlook. Pines believed that Jewish life should be reformed, but he was opposed to deliberate, religious reforms that would undermine the foundations of tradition and increase assimilation. He thought that a reformed way of life would inevitably bring about certain changes of *halakhah* without affecting the sanctity of the Jewish religion. During the 1860s Pines developed these ideas in his controversy with M.L. *Lilienblum, *J.L. Gordon, and others, mainly through his articles in **Ha-Karmel*, **Ha-Meliẓ*, and **Ha-Levanon*. The articles were collected in his book, *Yaldei Ruḥi* ("Children of

My Spirit," 2 vols., 1872), and his ideas were later expanded by *Aḥad Ha-Am, who restyled them in his own clear, polished language.

In 1877, while he was living at his father-in-law's home in Mogilev, Pines was asked by the Moses Montefiore Testimonial Fund in London to serve as its representative in Ereẓ Israel. He accepted eagerly, reached Jaffa a year later, and settled in Jerusalem (1878) at the home of his relative, Yosef *Rivlin, the secretary of the Va'ad Kelali (General Committee of the *ḥalukkah*), thus arousing the enmity of Rivlin's many opponents in Jerusalem (Ḥasidim and *maskilim*, Sephardim, and religious extremists; the latter, supporters of Rabbi Y.L. *Diskin persecuted Pines and proclaimed him "excommunicated").

On behalf of his London sponsors, Pines conducted investigations into the spiritual, cultural, and particularly the economic problems of the *yishuv*, proposing the founding of an agricultural settlement, the building of houses and new quarters, and the establishment of artisan and industrial projects. The Montefiore Fund concentrated on granting aid for the construction of houses and Jerusalem was thus expanded through the building of several new quarters. Pines' letters to the Fund trustees appear in volumes 2 and 3 of *Mivḥar Kitvei Y.M. Pines* ("Selected Writings of Y.M. Pines") and in his *Binyan ha-Areẓ* ("Building of the Land"), volumes 1 and 2 (1934).

Pines tried to set up artisan and industrial projects with the help of Montefiore Fund loans, and with his own money as well, but they proved a failure and brought about his dismissal in 1885. (His son-in-law, David Yellin, was appointed to the same post in 1901.) In 1882 Pines became friendly with Eliezer *Ben-Yehuda who had just arrived in Ereẓ Israel, and together they established the Teḥiyyat Israel ("Israel Renaissance") Society, whose aim was, inter alia, to introduce Hebrew as a spoken language. When the first members of *Bilu arrived at the end of the same year, Pines became their patron and established the Shivat he-Ḥarash ve-ha-Masger ("Return of the Craftsmen and the Smiths") Society for them in Jerusalem. With Ḥovevei Zion funds he bought for them the lands for the settlement of *Gederah in 1884 and was the settlement's patron for several years. In 1885 K.Z. *Wissotzky appointed him a member of the executive committee of Ḥovevei Zion in Palestine. For several months in 1886 he edited *Ha-Ẓevi*, Ben-Yehuda's newspaper, while the latter was abroad, but the friendship between the two was affected by the outbreak of the violent controversy regarding the Sabbatical Year (*shemittah*), which fell in 1888/89. Although Pines' conservative attitude to this question aroused opposition in Ḥovevei Zion circles, he was elected in 1890 to the organization's executive committee in Jaffa, headed by Vladimir *Tiomkin. At about the same time Pines joined the *Benei Moshe Society, but its leader Aḥad Ha-Am, who wanted to prevent discussions of religious problems in the Society, advocated his departure from that group. In 1892, after a crisis in the activities of the executive committee of Ḥovevei Zion, Pines was dismissed and thereafter affiliated himself with the old *yishuv*, even becoming one of its main spokesmen. His views on nation and religion, which he then developed in his articles in **Ha-Ḥavaẓẓelet* and in special pamphlets, were shortly afterward adopted by the *Mizrachi Party. In 1893 he became a trustee of the Ashkenazi community's charitable institutions in Jerusalem, and the librarian and a teacher of Talmud in the Hebrew Teachers' college.

Pines was foremost a thinker, writer, and craftsman of Hebrew language and style. He displayed outstanding knowledge of biblical style and language (into which he translated various scientific books) and greatly influenced his brother-in-law and pupil, Ze'ev *Jawitz, who in turn influenced Ḥ.N. *Bialik. Pines was conversant with mishnaic style (see his *Mishnat Ereẓ Yisrael*), the medieval style rhyming prose, and the conglomerate style that he employed in his articles and his many letters to employers and to people who approached him with queries regarding settlement in Ereẓ Israel. *Yaldei Ruḥi* and some of his letters and articles appeared in the three volumes of *Kitvei Y.M. Pines* ("Writings of Y.M. Pines," 1934–39), edited by his sons-in-law, David Yellin and Yosef *Meyuḥas. His selected writings, *Mivḥar Kitvei Pines*, appeared in 1946, edited and with a preface by G. Kressel. Kefar Pines, a moshav in the Sharon Plain, is named for him.

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[Galia Yardeni-Agmon]

PINHEIRO, MOSES (17th century), Shabbatean, born in *Izmir. A contemporary of *Shabbetai Ẓevi, Pinheiro studied talmudic and kabbalistic literature with him in their youth (1640–50). There is no indication that he supported Shabbetai Ẓevi's messianic claims in 1648. About 1650 he left Izmir and settled in *Leghorn, where he became a highly respected scholar. When the news of the Shabbatean awakening reached Italy, he became at once one of its most ardent spokesmen, continuing to believe that Shabbetai Ẓevi was Messiah long after his *apostasy. As delegate of the Leghorn community, he went to see Shabbetai Ẓevi in the summer of 1666, at the height of the excitement, but arrived in Izmir after the apostasy. There he received communications from both Shabbetai Ẓevi and *Nathan of Gaza which strengthened his faith. In March 1667 he returned to Italy with a delegation from three other communities. Nathan stayed at his house on his visit to Italy in 1668. Pinheiro, who was the center of the Shabbatean group in Leghorn, maintained a correspondence with Shabbetai Ẓevi over the years and also took an interest in Abraham *Cardozo. As shown by Abraham *Rovigo's notebook on Shabbatean matters (Ben-Zvi Institute, Ms. 2265), he was still considered a "believer" about 1690. When and whether he finally gave up his belief is unknown.

His daughter was the mother of the well-known kabbalist and Rabbi Joseph *Ergas, who kept silent about his grandfather's Shabbatean connections. Rabbi *Malachi ha-Kohen of Leghorn, Ergas' pupil, though an outspoken foe of the Shabbatean movement, praised Pinheiro highly for his piety and ascetic life in his foreword to Ergas' responsa, *Divrei Yosef* (1742). Several of Pinheiro's recollections on Shabbetai Ẓevi have been preserved.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Scholem, Shabbetai Ẓevi, index; J. Sasportas, *Ẓiẓat Novel Ẓevi* (1954), index; I. Tishby, in: *Zion*, 22 (1957), 31–33; idem, in: *Sefunot*, 3–4 (1960), 93, 107; Freimann, *Inyenei Shabbetai Ẓevi* (1912), 45, 95.

[Gershom Scholem]

PINKAS (פִּנְקָס), record book of Jewish autonomous units, used mainly in the Middle Ages. The *pinkas* contained minutes of meetings, bylaws, lists of officers elected at the annual meetings, records of disciplinary actions against recalcitrant members, of tax assessments and fines, of trials, of unusual historical events, and an endless variety of other entries reflecting the life of the local community. Each community and each *ḥevrah, including artisan guilds, had its own *pinkas*, as did the *Councils of the Lands in Poland, Lithuania, and Moravia. *Pinkasim* of local communities and those of the Councils have been published.

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[Isaac Levitats]

PINKAS, DAVID ẒVI (1895–1952), Mizrachi leader and Israel politician. Pinkas was born in Sopron, Hungary, into a religious Zionist family, which settled in Vienna when he was a child. He became active in the Mizrachi movement and represented it as a delegate at the 13th Zionist Congress. In 1925 Pinkas settled in Palestine, became the manager of the Mizrachi bank, and, in 1932, was elected to the Tel Aviv municipal council, heading its Education Department from 1935. He was also a Mizrachi representative to the Asefat ha-Nivḥarim and the Va'ad Le'ummi, becoming treasurer and director of its department of Religious Communities and the Rabbinate. After the establishment of the State of Israel, he was elected to the First Knesset on behalf of the United Religious Front, and after the elections to the Second Knesset, in October 1951, he was appointed minister of transportation. In this capacity he regulated the austerity measures for fuel consumption and stipulated that all vehicles should not be driven two days a week, and that one of these days should be Saturday (the Sabbath). This regulation aroused sharp protest from extreme circles opposing "religious coercion."

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Tidhar, 2 (1947), 855–6.

PINKEL, BENJAMIN (1909–1992), U.S. aeronautical engineer. Pinkel was born in Gloversville, N.Y., and graduated in electrical engineering from the University of Pennsylvania (1930). He joined the National Advisory Council for Aeronautics where he was head of the engine analysis section (1938–42), the fuel and thermodynamic division (1945–50), and the materials and thermodynamic research division (1950–56). He was associate head of the aero-astronautics department of Rand Corporation from 1956. Pinkel was an early supporter of the superiority of jet propulsion and the gas turbine engine in aircraft design and a pioneer in rocket propulsion technology. Later in life he was interested in the philosophy of the mind in the light of scientific advances.

[Michael Denman (2nd ed.)]

PINNER, ADOLF (1842–1909), German organic chemist. Born in Wronke, then Germany, he studied for the rabbinate, but changed to chemistry. He was a professor at Berlin University from 1878 and also taught at Tieraertzliche Hochschule. He was director of the Patent Office of Ministry of Commerce (1885–1907). Pinner published extensively on organic chemistry topics, particularly alkaloids. His *Repetitorium der organischen, beziehungsweise anorganischen Chemie* (2 vols., 1872–73) was a standard textbook for many years. He also wrote *Die Imidoaether* (1892).

PINNER, EPHRAIM MOSES BEN ALEXANDER SUSSKIND (c. 1800–1880), talmudist. Born in Pinne (district of Poznan), Pinner studied Talmud under Rabbi *Jacob of Lissa. In 1831 he compiled an abbreviated form of the Talmud, *Kiẓẓur Talmud Yerushalmi ve-Talmud Bavli*. Pinner is best known for his ambitious scheme to translate into German the whole of the Talmud; he enlisted the moral support of some prominent rabbis, including Rabbi Moses *Sofer (Schreiber) of Pressburg, who eventually withdrew his name. It appears that Pinner maintained that Rabbi Nathan Marcus *Adler of Hanover (later of London) had undertaken to translate the difficult tractates *Eruvin* and *Yevamot* under this scheme, but Adler denied the existence of such an arrangement. In 1842 *Berakhot* was published in Hebrew with German translation. Czar Nicholas I lent his name to the project, together with other notables. The volume was dedicated to the czar, who had shown an unusual interest in the translation of the Talmud before Pinner's venture – and not with the best of intentions. No further volume appeared. Samuel David Luzzatto criticized the work somewhat adversely in *Kerem Ḥemed* (2 (1836), 174–82).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: S. Sofer (ed.), *Iggerot Soferim* (1928), pt. 2, 73–78; R.N.N. Rabinowitz, *Ma'amar al Hadpasat ha-Talmud*, ed. by A.M. Habermann (1952), 246–8.

[Alexander Tobias]

PINNER, FELIX (1880–1942), German economist and journalist. Born in Birnbaum (Posen), he engaged initially in economic and journalistic activities which also included a strong interest in the colonization of Palestine by German Zionists. In 1924 he became editor of the financial section of the *Berliner Tageblatt*, one of Germany's leading liberal dailies. He left Germany for the U.S. soon after Hitler's rise to power, but failed to integrate in his new surroundings. He took his own life, and that of his wife, in New York during a period of mental depression due to financial difficulties.

His principal publications are *Emil Rathenau und das elektrische Zeitalter* (1918); *Deutsche Wirtschaftsfuehrer* (1925, published under the pseudonym Frank Fassland); *Das Neue Palaestina* (1926); *Tannerhuette; der Roman einer Sozialisierung* (1928); and *Die grossen Weltkrisen…* (1937).

[Joachim O. Ronall]

PINNER, MORITZ (1828–c. 1909), U.S. antislavery activist in the Civil War period. Pinner was born in Prussia. He was one of a handful of immigrant Jews who played a significant local role in the founding of the Republican Party and in the propaganda efforts against slavery which helped to bring on the Civil War. He participated in abolitionist activities in Missouri as early as 1856, served as editor of Republican antislavery papers in St. Louis and Kansas City, and was a member of state and national Republican conventions in 1860. Said to have been offered a diplomatic post by Lincoln, Pinner preferred military service, although the reports of his commissioned service are confused.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Kohler, in: AJHSP, 5 (1897), 152–3; Markens, *ibid.*, 17, (1909), 139–41.

[Bertram Wallace Korn]

PINS, JACOB (1917–2005), Israeli printmaker, born at Hoxter, Germany. Pins immigrated to Palestine in 1936 and spent five years working on the land before he took up art and studied under the great woodcut artist Jakob Steinhardt. His stark, dramatic woodcuts often convey an atmosphere of war. In style they show the influence of the Japanese color print. Bold and simple in black and white with few or no halftones, they nevertheless express a sense of volume and a third dimension. One of his favorite subjects was the city of Jerusalem. He was also a major collector of Japanese artwork.

PINSK, capital of Pinsk district, Belarus. The Jewish community there was established before 1506 by some 12 to 15 families (about 60–75 persons) from *Brest-Litovsk who settled in Pinsk instead of returning to Lithuania after the Jews were granted permission to return. Pinsk was then a Russian-Orthodox town and capital of a semi-independent principality. In 1506 Prince Feodor Yaroslavski granted the settlers the same rights enjoyed by the Jews of Lithuania, and the status of a community. The separate existence of the principality came to an end in 1521 and Pinsk was incorporated into Lithuania.

By 1566 the community consisted of about 55 families (approximately 275 persons; c. 7% of the total population). It numbered over 1,000 (c. 20% of the total) in 1648, and about 2,000 at the beginning of the 18th century, when they constituted the large majority of the town and controlled most of its life, there having been a severe decline in the Christian population during the second half of the 17th century. Subsequently the Jewish population numbered 13,681 in 1871 (77.7%); 21,819 in 1896 (77.3%); 28,063 in 1914 (72.5%); 17,513 in 1921 (74.6%); and 20,200 in 1939. Pinsk thus remained a "Jewish town" until the Holocaust.

Until 1648 the Jews of Pinsk were guaranteed the legal status of citizens, complete protection of their persons and property, freedom to engage in commerce, moneylending, and crafts, and the right to organize their internal life according to the precepts of their religion. The favorable geographical position of the region of Pinsk on the junctions of roads and waterways, and colonizing activity there during the 16th century, encouraged its development. Jews engaged in varied activities including the ownership (later lease) of estates, the lease of taxes and customs duties, commerce, moneylending, and crafts. The community leaders, descendants of the founding nucleus, mainly dealt in business connected with estates and engaged in moneylending. Later they entered the wholesale trade also, as well as the leasing of tax collection and customs duties. In the middle of the 16th century, Pinsk Jews took up the then thriving export of grain and forest products. In the 1560s Nahum Pesahovich was outstanding for the scope and variety of his business activities. As in the rest of the region, the Pinsk Jews benefited from the support of the Catholic nobles against the Russian-Orthodox Belorussian townsmen. In these circumstances the status granted to the Pinsk municipality under the *Magdeburg Law in 1581 did not greatly hamper the Jews though it contained several restrictions on their trade.

The leasing and subleasing of estates by Jews resulted in an increasing periphery of Jewish inhabitants who settled in villages and new townlets established around Pinsk which came under its jurisdiction within the structure of the *Councils of the Lands. The community consolidated and developed. As one of the three original leading communities of the Lithuanian Council, Pinsk played a prominent role in the shaping of the council's policy and activity.

The period between 1648 and 1667 was one of wars and misfortunes. At the time of the *Chmielnicki massacres, Pinsk was taken on Oct. 26, 1648. Scores of Jews there were murdered in the town and on the roads, though most of them managed to escape in good time and were thus saved. A number of those who had remained in the town became converted to Christianity, but later returned to Judaism. Before the capture of Pinsk by the Russians during the Polish-Russian War (1654–67), all the Jews fled, in general managing to save much of their property. In 1660 the community suffered again from the depredations of the Muscovite armies and the Cossacks: some Jews were murdered, and property was lost. In this period of troubles, the Pinsk community showed the resilience and vital forces inherent in Jewish society and community leadership. When the numbers of the Christian townsmen were reduced they retreated to the suburbs and villages, where many of them turned to agriculture, whereas the Jews of Pinsk timed and organized their escape (in 1648 and 1655) with relative success and took measures to preserve at least part of their property. With peace they rapidly resumed their activities in the town, taking up new livelihoods if their former ones were no longer viable. The community leadership energetically restored community life, helped the refugees, aided in the ransoming of prisoners, and renewed the educational network and Torah study.

From 1667 until the beginning of the 18th century, the economic situation took a turn for the worse. Large-scale leasing disappeared, numerous Jews became impoverished and were compelled to seek new occupations, and many Jews of Pinsk turned to dealing in alcoholic beverages, most of them as retailers in the town and villages. Jewish trade diminished in scale and in part converted to retail trade; credit became difficult and many had to borrow from noblemen. Even the community administration itself had to borrow from them and from church officials, and gradually sank under a load of debt. However, the number of Jews in Pinsk increased, and the proliferation of small Jewish settlements around Pinsk proceeded. The same social circles which had led the community before 1648 continued to do so until the close of the century. In these difficult times there were many scholars in Pinsk, and renowned rabbis held office. These include Naphtali Gunzburg (officiated from 1664), Israel b. Samuel of Tarnopol (from 1667), Joel b. Isaac Eisik Heilperin (1691), and Isaac b. Jonah Teomim Fraenkel (1693–1703). The rabbi and *Maggid* Judah Leib *Pukhovitser, who lived in Pinsk during the last third of the 17th century, exerted considerable influence.

The tense situation in Poland-Lithuania during the first quarter of the 18th century, the continuing economic crisis, and the burden of taxation and debts, gave rise to internal tensions within the community and to a conflict of interests between the community of Pinsk and its subordinate communities, whose numbers continued to increase during the 18th century. In 1719, controversies broke out between the council of the communities of the province of *Volhynia and the community of Pinsk over the jurisdiction of several village communities of northern Volhynia. With the official abolition of the Council of the Lands in 1764, almost all the subordinate communities rejected Pinsk's authority, and after a prolonged struggle the weakened central community lost control.

*Ḥasidism spread to Pinsk and *Karlin during the 1760s. Aaron b. Jacob of Karlin made Karlin a center of Ḥasidism equal in importance to *Mezhirech. Until the early 1780s, Ḥasidism was the predominating influence in Pinsk and Karlin. The community leadership adopted a neutral position toward Ḥasidism. However, under severe pressure by the community leadership of Vilna and *Elijah b. Solomon Zalman, the Gaon of Vilna, the leadership of Pinsk associated itself with the ban against the Ḥasidim at the fair of *Zelva in 1781. *Levi Isaac b. Meir of Berdichev was dismissed from his position as rabbi of Pinsk in 1785, but he had apparently already completed his official ten-year term of office. At the same time Solomon of Karlin also left Karlin for *Vladimir-Volynski (Ludmir). In 1785 *Avigdor b. Joseph Ḥayyim, an avowed opponent of Ḥasidism, was elected rabbi of Pinsk and district. However, he did not succeed in imposing his authority on the community, and the ḥasidic villages in the vicinity, so that the Ḥasidim regained their strength.

Under Russian Rule

In 1793 Pinsk was incorporated into Russia and became a district capital in the province of Minsk. The Ḥasidim then gained control of the community administration and dismissed R. Avigdor from his position. Under Russian rule the Jews of Pinsk and Karlin were granted equal rights with the townsmen, and a small number of Jews belonged to the merchant sector. At the beginning of Russian rule the economic activity of the Jews was reduced and their situation apparently became precarious. A change for the better began in the 1820s. From then on Pinsk played an important role as a center for the *salt trade of Lithuania and in the exploitation of forest resources for timber export. Prominent in the economic life and community leadership of Pinsk-Karlin at that time was Saul b. Moses Levin of Karlin (1775–1834), an avowed opponent of the Ḥasidim. During the 19th century the wealthiest merchants settled in Karlin, which gradually became a stronghold of the *Mitnaggedim*.

The economic improvement in Pinsk continued during the 1830s, helped along by the government's economic policy which, among other measures, paved the way for the development of industry and the agricultural output of the Ukraine, and created opportunities for export of its agricultural surpluses. Pinsk became a transit center for trade between southwestern Russia and the Baltic ports. Members of the Levin and *Luria families held a prominent place in this commerce. The Jewish merchant class was broadened, its capital increased, and a stratum of white-collar workers and agents from Pinsk in the service of its wealthy merchants became active throughout the Ukraine. This prosperity in Pinsk lasted until the 1870s. Much of the capital accumulated by the merchants of Pinsk was invested in the markets of the Ukraine. During the 1850s a number of Pinsk merchants put into service steamships for the transportation of goods and passengers. In the 1860s Moses Luria established a steam-powered oil press and mill. However, after the construction in the 1860s of the Kiev-Brest-Litovsk railroad, a severe crisis struck the city.

During the 1860s there were between 750 and 950 Jewish craftsmen in Pinsk. The philanthropist Gad Asher provided training for orphans and children of the poor in crafts, and the large number of Jewish artisans at this time was a feature of the city. In 1855 a Jewish agricultural settlement was established in the village of Ivanichi near Pinsk.

At the close of the 19th century members of the Luria family established nail and plywood factories. A match factory was established in 1892. Jewish workers were employed in the factories and a Jewish proletariat formed. Of the 54 industrial enterprises in Pinsk in 1914, 49 were owned by Jews. Industrialization was accompanied by an economic recovery in both commerce and crafts, in which Jews also predominated. Stirrings of the *Haskalah movement appeared in Pinsk with the beginning of the economic prosperity of the 1830s, and its influence gradually increased. A Russian government school for the children of Jews in the first category of merchants was founded in Pinsk in 1853, and during the 1850s to 1860s, 26 to 38 pupils studied there. During the same year a Jewish school for girls was established. In 1878 a private school, in which emphasis was placed on Hebrew studies, was founded by the *Kazyonny Ravvin* Abraham Ḥayyim *Rosenberg. During the early 1860s *talmud torah* schools were founded in Pinsk and Karlin whose curricula included the study of the Hebrew and Russian languages and arithmetic in addition to religious studies. Many were still educated in the *ḥadarim*. In 1888 a vocational school was founded in Pinsk. During the 1890s modern *ḥadarim* were founded under the tutelage of the Ḥovevei Zion, whose members included the young Chaim *Weizmann. Zionist and *Bund organizations were also formed in Pinsk in this period.

In Independent Poland

During the initial period of Polish rule after World War I, on April 5, 1919, the Poles executed 35 prominent Jews following a trumped up charge against them. Between the two world wars the majority of the Jewish population in Pinsk was Zionist in orientation while a minority adhered to the Bund and other parties. Many Jews emigrated to Ereẓ Israel, among them members of *Bilu including Aharon Eliyahu *Eisenberg, the founder of Reḥovot, and Ya'akov Shertok. The kibbutz *Gevat was founded in 1926 by pioneers from Pinsk. The Jewish educational network was widely extended. New schools were founded: the Tel Ḥai School of the *Po'alei Zion (with Hebrew and Yiddish as the languages of instruction); two *Tarbut schools, one in Pinsk and one in Karlin; and the Chechick gymnasium (Polish). The Hebrew high school Tarbut, founded in 1923, existed until the beginning of Soviet rule.

[Mordekhai Nadav]

Holocaust and Postwar Periods

When Pinsk was under Soviet rule from September 1939 to June 1941, the Jewish institutions, including political parties and schools, were closed down. Some of the Zionist and Bund leaders were arrested and many Jewish businessmen and members of the free professions were expelled from the city. A large number of Jewish refugees from western Poland found shelter in Pinsk, but were deported to the Soviet interior in 1940. Pinsk served as a stopover for many refugees trying illegally to reach Vilna. Pinsk fell to the Germans on July 4, 1941. A month later 8,000 Jewish men were rounded up and marched a few miles beyond the outskirts where they were murdered and buried in mass graves. A few individuals escaped from the mass graves. A similar *Aktion* was carried out a few days later against 3,000 Jewish men, including the elderly and children. They were executed in the nearby village of Kozlakowicze. After these executions a series of repressive economic measures were enforced. On one occasion the Jews of Pinsk were asked to hand over 20 kilograms of gold.

The first head of the *Judenrat was David Alper; he resigned after a short time and was executed in August 1941. He was succeeded by Benjamin Bokczański. A crowded ghetto was established toward the end of April 1942, where 13 square feet were allotted per person. Some 30 to 40 Jews a day died there from starvation and epidemics, and some risked their lives to bring in food to the ghetto. The Judenrat established a hospital, a public kitchen, and some places of work. In July 1942 all the patients in the Jewish hospital were murdered. Soon afterward, groups of Jews secretly organized resistance. On Oct. 28, 1942, the final *Aktion* took place and all the Pinsk Jews, with the exception of 150 artisans, were killed. During this *Aktion* a desperate attempt was made by the resistance group to break through the cordon of German soldiers. Some managed to reach the forests but were caught by the local population, and a very few succeeded in joining the partisans. On Dec. 23, 1942, the remaining 150 artisans were executed at the local cemetery and the ghetto was liquidated. The swamps and forests around Pinsk sheltered many Jews. Polesie served as a base for partisan activities in which many Jews who escaped from the ghettos and from execution participated either as individuals or as Jewish units. After the war, under the Soviet regime, community life was not renewed in Pinsk, although Jewish families settled there. In 1970 the Jewish population was estimated at 1,500. There was no synagogue. The last prayerhouse had been closed down by the police in 1966. The old Karlin cemetery, desecrated by the Nazis, was converted by the Soviet authorities into a park in 1959. The Jews did not comply with the request of the authorities to remove the bones for reinternment in the Pinsk cemetery.

[Aharon Weiss]

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PINSKER, LEON (**Judah Leib**; 1821–1891), leader of the *Ḥibbat Zion movement. Born in Tomaszow, Poland, Pinsker studied at the school of his father Simḥah *Pinsker, a Hebrew writer and scholar, in Odessa. He was one of the first Jews to attend Odessa University, where he studied law. However, he discovered that being a Jew, he had no chance of becoming a lawyer and studied medicine at the University of Moscow, returning to practice in Odessa in 1849. Pinsker was one of the founders of the first Russian Jewish weekly, *Razsvet* ("Dawn"), to which he was a regular contributor. The editors attempted to acquaint the Jewish population with Russian culture and encourage them to speak Russian. These aims were more strongly expressed in the weekly Russian-language publication *Sion*, which replaced *Razsvet* and of which Pinsker was one of the editors for about half a year. He was also one of the founders of the Odessa branch of the Society for the Dissemination of Enlightenment among Jews, whose aim was similar to that of the periodical. Pinsker contributed to the Russian-language weekly *Den* ("Day"), founded by the society, which called on Jews to assimilate into Russian society. The pogroms that began in 1871 in Odessa severely shook the enlightened Jews; the weekly stopped publication, and the Odessa branch of the society closed down. Thereafter, Pinsker concentrated on medicine and published a book in German on the medicinal value of the sea and the Liman spa at Odessa (Vienna, 1881). He also became prominent in local public life. When, after an interval of six years, the Odessa Branch of the Society for the Dissemination of Enlightenment was reopened, Pinsker was elected to its committee and helped to collect documentation on the history of the Jews in Russia.

The pogroms that broke out in southern Russia in 1881 and the undisguised antisemitism of the government had a profound effect on Pinsker and caused him to undergo a complete change of heart. He ceased to regard the spreading of Enlightenment and the Haskalah movement as the solution to the future of Russian Jewry, doubted the value of the emancipation of European Jewry, and did not believe that hatred of the Jews would be overcome by humanist ideals. He followed the debates in Jewish newspapers as to which countries were suitable for Jewish emigration. They discussed the need for an emigration organization, some demanding that Jewish emigration be channeled into one country in which a national center be created, in essence a Jewish state. Moses *Lilienblum was an advocate of the Ḥibbat Zion movement's demands that Jews immigrate to the Land of Israel. He saw antisemitism rooted in the fact that Jews were foreigners, a minority of strangers; Pinsker studied the problem of the fate of the Jewish people and reached similar conclusions. In his trip to Italy, to seek a cure for his heart disease (1882), he included visits to the capitals of Western Europe – Vienna, Berlin, Paris, and London – to discuss with leading personalities the need to channel Russian Jewish emigration into one country and to establish a national Jewish center. The chief rabbi of Vienna, Adolph *Jellinek, was unimpressed with the idea. In Paris, the leaders of the *Alliance Israélite Universelle rejected his suggestions; they supported immigration to the U.S., without territorial aims. The person most impressed with Pinsker's ideas was Arthur Cohen, a member of parliament and chairman of the Board of Deputies of British Jews in London. Together they emphasized the need to regard the Jewish question as an international problem and to win governments over to the idea.

It was at Cohen's suggestion that Pinsker published his famous work "*Autoemancipation*." *Mahnruf an seine Stammesgenossen von einem russischen Juden* (1882), in which he analyzed the psychological and social roots of antisemitism and called for the establishment of a Jewish national center. The book was intended to serve as a warning to his fellow Jews (*Stammesgenossen*) and was published anonymously, the author defining himself as "a Russian Jew." The book was written in a passionate style which forcefully expressed the author's deep anxiety for the fate of his people.

Pinsker first states that the reason for the old-new Jewish problem is the existence of the Jews as a separate ethnic entity among the nations, an entity which cannot be assimilated. The radical solution is the acquisition of a Jewish homeland, a country where they can live and which will be theirs, just like other nations. At best, Jews reach technical equality, but this legal change of status is not a real, social, emancipation. There are also economic reasons for antisemitism, because in competition, preference is given to one's own ethnic group and the foreigner is discriminated against. There is a saturation point to the number of Jews in each country, and when they exceed this point, persecution begins.

Pinsker directs his attacks against Western Jewry, the "diploma chasers" who view the dispersion of Jews throughout the world as a "mission." Moreover, the religious approach that the exile must be suffered in silence until the coming of the Messiah also weakened the desire for a Jewish homeland. He indicates that national consciousness has awakened in Russian and Romanian Jewry, in the form of a movement to settle in Ereẓ Israel. Pinsker did not wish to decide whether Ereẓ Israel or a territory in America should be chosen as a Jewish homeland, since he felt that a national Jewish congress should decide the matter. He hoped that the worldwide process of national awakening would be of benefit to the Jewish people and that other nations would help them achieve national independence. He called on Western Jewry and on its "existing alliances" (meaning the Alliance Israélite Universelle, the *Anglo-Jewish Association, etc.) to lighten the suffering of their brethren by founding a homeland and advocated the convocation of a National Jewish Congress to organize the new exodus. In order to settle destitute emigrants, a national fund should also be established.

The book had strong repercussions, both in Russia and abroad. The Ḥovevei Zion received it enthusiastically, though it had many opponents. Lilienblum attempted to convince Pinsker not to wait for a decision by Western Jewry, but to work immediately toward the realization of the plan in Ereẓ Israel. Pinsker, however, refused to make a decision as to the location of the homeland. Nevertheless, Hermann *Schapira, who accompanied Lilienblum, managed to win him over in the summer of 1883. Discussions, also attended by Max *Mandelstamm from Kiev and several others, led to the decision to work for the establishment of a center for Jewish settlement, in Ereẓ Israel if possible, and to convene a congress, with the participation of the Ḥibbat Zion movement, to choose a central executive committee. Afterward Pinsker held a meeting of community leaders at his house, and they chose a committee to organize the movement; he was elected chairman, with Lilienblum as secretary. The committee made contact with existing groups of the Ḥibbat Zion movement, and encouraged the establishment of new groups. The Warsaw branch of the movement was also active in organizing a convention, which met at *Kattowitz on Nov. 6, 1884, and was attended by members of the Ḥibbat Zion from Russia and abroad. Pinsker was chosen chairman of the convention, and in his opening speech he indicated the need for Jews to return to working the land. He did not mention national revival or independence, since this new movement wished to attract Western Jews. At his suggestion, the convention decided to found the Montefiore Association for the dissemination of the idea of agriculture among Jews and to engage their support for Jewish settlers in Ereẓ Israel. Pinsker was elected chairman of the temporary executive committee, whose seat was in Odessa.

Attempts to establish a central bureau of the Ḥovevei Zion outside Russia failed, and Odessa thus remained the center of the movement. Pinsker invited Lilienblum to become secretary of the Odessa office. The limited activities of the committee and its small income, which did not permit any large-scale settlement activity but served to support only a very small number of settlers; the lack of legalization of the committee's activities and internal feuds; and Pinsker's ailing health caused him to resign. He called a convention in Druskieniki (summer, 1887), at which he intended to hand in his resignation and then travel abroad to seek a cure. At the convention, relations worsened between the Orthodox and the *maskilim*. Pinsker handed in his resignation, but a majority of delegates asked him to continue at his post, and he agreed to do so. Six advisory wardens, including three rabbis, were elected to the leadership.

While abroad, Pinsker attempted to work for the movement. In Paris he met Baron Edmond de *Rothschild, who promised to help the *Petaḥ Tikvah settlement and to acquire land. Rothschild's associates told Pinsker that they would collaborate with the Ḥovevei Zion only if he headed it. As a result, Pinsker ceased to consider resigning immediately. The rabbis who were advisory wardens caused Pinsker considerable difficulty in their demands in religious matters. The declining situation in the movement and his failing health again caused Pinsker to consider resigning. He did not attend the convention held in Vilna in the summer of 1889 for he feared he would be persuaded to continue at his post. At this convention, Samuel *Mohilewer attempted to become head of the movement, but at Pinsker's suggestion in a letter to the convention, Abraham Gruenberg, a resident of Odessa, was chosen as active warden, together with Mohilewer and Samuel Joseph Fuenn. The center of the movement thus remained in Odessa.

In 1890, the Ḥovevei Zion was legalized in Odessa under the name Society for the Support of Jewish Farmers and Artisans in Syria and Palestine (see *Odessa Committee) and Pinsker was again asked to be its head. He agreed, despite his grave doubts about whether the new committee would succeed any better than the old one. While the committee was carrying on its first activities, the Ḥovevei Zion movement revived in Russia, and Jews began to settle in Ereẓ Israel as a result of worsening conditions of Russian Jewry and the expulsion of Jews from Moscow (1891). Pinsker began to hope that his dream would come true in Ereẓ Israel. However, the Turkish authorities issued a prohibition on immigration, and the movement underwent a crisis. The Jaffa committee, which represented the Odessa center, ran into debt, many acquisitions of land in Ereẓ Israel were cancelled, and the contributions of associations for settling the land were lost. Pinsker, who was pessimistic by nature, began to doubt whether Ereẓ Israel would serve as the solution for saving masses of Jews from persecution. He began to believe that the activities of Baron Maurice de *Hirsch, who founded the Jewish Colonization *Association (ICA) for the settlement of Jews in Argentina, might solve the problem.

Toward his death, he reached the conclusion that Ereẓ Israel would remain only the spiritual center of the Jewish people. He expressed these opinions in an article that he read to Lilienblum 20 days before his death and which was intended to serve as a supplement to the English edition of *Autoemancipation*, shortly to be published. Despite Pinsker's wish to publicize his new attitude, the article was never published. His funeral was the occasion for a large Jewish demonstration. In his will he left the sum of 16,000 rubles to various institutions, but only 2,000 rubles to the Odessa committee. In 1934 his remains were transferred and buried in the Cave of Nicanor on Mount Scopus in Jerusalem.

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[Israel Klausner]

PINSKER, SIMḤAH (1801–1864), scholar. Pinsker was born in Tarnow, Galicia. Educated at home by his father, an eminent preacher (*Maggid*), he at first engaged in commerce, but lack of success induced him to move to Odessa, where he became secretary to the local rabbi. He also founded in 1826 the first successful modern Jewish school in Russia, in which he taught Hebrew language and literature. At the same time he published a series of learned papers in the periodical *Orient*, and when the famous Karaite savant Abraham *Firkovich visited Odessa, Pinsker examined and described several of the ancient Hebrew manuscripts collected by him. His work eventually earned him gold medals from the Russian government and a pension from the Jewish community of Odessa. Relieved from the daily need to earn a living, Pinsker moved to Vienna in order to devote all of his time to research, and there in 1860 he published his major work, *Likkutei Kadmoniyyot*, a history of Karaism and Karaite literature, with copious extracts from hitherto unpublished Karaite works in Hebrew and Arabic. It is these original extracts which lend his work its permanent value. His own contribution is now largely antiquated, particularly his exaggerated idea of the role of the early Karaite scholars, whom he erroneously regarded not only as the sole founders of the study of Hebrew grammar and lexicography, but also as the pioneers in medieval Hebrew poetry and the precursors of the great Rabbanite poets in Spain, such as Ibn Gabirol and Judah Halevi. Some of Pinsker's misconceptions were the result of Firkovich's tendentious advice or were based on data forged by Firkovich in his zeal to magnify the otherwise very substantial contribution of Karaism to medieval Jewish learning. Pinsker subsequently returned to Odessa.

Pinsker's philological works are *Mavo el ha-Nikkud ha-Ashuri o ha-Bavli*, on the Babylonian Hebrew punctuation, with an appendix containing an annotated edition of Abraham *Ibn Ezra's *Yesod Mispar* (Vienna, 1863); and *Mishlei ha-Gizrah ve-ha-Beniyyah*, on mood and inflection of the Hebrew verb, edited posthumously by S. Rubin (Vienna, 1887). The edition of Abraham Ibn Ezra's *Sefer ha-Eḥad*, begun by Pinsker, was completed by M. Goldhardt and published in Odessa, 1867. His emendations to David *Kimḥi's *Mikhlol* are included in I. Rittenberg's edition of this work (Lyck, 1862). A catalog of Hebrew and Arabic manuscripts in Pinsker's library was published by J. Bardach as *Mazkir li-Venei Re-SHe-F* (Vienna, 1869). Pinsker was the father of Leo *Pinsker, author of *Autoemancipation*.

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[Leon Nemoy]

PINSKI, DAVID (1872–1959). Yiddish author. Born in Mogilev, Russia, Pinski moved to Moscow with his family at 14. He received not only a traditional but also an excellent secular education. He early became interested in literature and in socialism. After living briefly in Vitebsk, he pursued university studies in Vienna and later Berlin, also living in Warsaw, where writer I.L. *Peretz became his mentor. Pinski published his first stories in Mordecai *Spector's *Der Hoyzfraynd* and Peretz's *Yontif Bletlekh* in 1894. Pinski's early writing introduced the Jewish proletariat as a subject in Yiddish literature. He wrote his first full-length play, *Ayzik Sheftl* (1907), which Martin Buber later translated into German, shortly before moving to New York to edit the Socialist Labor Party's Yiddish newspaper *Abend Blat* with labor leader Joseph*Schlossberg. He also pursued a Ph.D. in German at Columbia University.

Pinski married Hudl (Adele) Koyfman in 1897, with whom he had three children, including a son who died at age seven. Hudl helped support the family as a masseuse while Pinski pursued his careers as a Yiddish author, editor, and activist. As activist, Pinski initially sympathized with the Jewish Labor *Bund. In 1912, he joined the Labor Zionist movement, helping to found that movement's North American branch, the Farband, in 1913 and served as its president (1918–21 and 1933–49). He played a role in organizing the Czernowitz Language Conference of 1908 and long proclaimed the slogan "Yiddish but also Hebrew for the Diaspora; Hebrew but also Yiddish in Ereẓ Israel." Pinski served as an editor of *Der Arbeter* (1904–1911), *Yidishe Vokhnshrift* (1912), and later the Farband newspaper *Der Yidisher Arbeter Shtime*, Po'alei Zion's *Der Yidisher Kemfer*, *Di Tsayt*; and the literary journal *Di Tsukunft*. One of his most famous protégés was the humorist Jacob Adler. Pinski also edited the 13-volume collected works of Peretz. He cofounded CYSHO (the Central Yiddish Cultural Organization) in 1941 and the All-World Jewish Culture Congress in 1948. In 1948, he served as president of International PEN's Yiddish section.

Pinski wrote over 25 full-length plays, three novels, scores of short stories and one-act plays, two volumes of travel essays, a screenplay, and one of the first histories of the Yiddish theater. Until the 1940s, he was perhaps the world's most frequently and widely translated Yiddish author. Key plays include *Di Familye Tsvi* ("The Tsvi Family" or "The Last Jew," 1904), written following the Kishinev pogrom, published and smuggled into Russia by the Bund; *Yankl der Shmid* ("Yankl the Blacksmith," 1907), his most frequently performed work, which he adapted into a film for director Edgar G. Ulmer in 1938; and *Der Oytser* ("The Treasure," 1908; Eng. 1915), perhaps his greatest work, a dark comedy about greed in a Jewish town that critic George Pearce Baker compared in achievement to Ben Jonson's *Volpone*. *Yankl der Shmid*, depicting a married blacksmith's relationship with his neighbor's wife, is considered the Yiddish theater's first exploration of illicit sexual passion. Pinski's plays were produced by some of the world's leading theatrical companies. *Der Oytser* was first produced by Max Reinhardt at Berlin's Deutsches Theater in 1911. The Theater Guild produced it in English translation by Ludwig Lewisohn in 1920, as well as *Dos Letste Sakhakl* ("The Last Reckoning," 1926). Konstantin Stanislavski selected Pinski's one-act *Der Eybiker Yid* ("The Eternal Jew") for the Habimah Theatre's inaugural performance in 1918. Other companies to produce Pinski's plays included the Provincetown Players, the Yiddish Art Theater, the Folksbine, and the Vilna Troupe.

Pinski revisited three major themes throughout his dramatic career, often in combination: Jewish history (including dramas about such figures as Noah, King David, Mary Magdalene, and the Baal Shem Tov), the lives of humble or working-class folk (e.g., *Der Oytser*), and the psychology of sexual desire (e.g. *Yankl der Shmid*; *Profesor Brenner*, 1918). Pinski's early drama employed naturalism: the play *Ayzik Sheftl*, about a frustrated inventor trapped in a factory job drew stylistic comparison with *Die Weber* by Gerhart Hauptmann, whom Pinski knew in Berlin. Later Pinski employed techniques of symbolism as well. Though he never abandoned an ethical viewpoint in his work, his characterization and action relied on psychological exploration rather than mere moral or political preaching. His first two novels, *Arnold Levenberg* (serialized in *Der Tog* in 1926; book 1938; Eng. 1928) and *Dos Hoyz fun Noyakh Edon* (1938; *The Generations of Noah Edon*, 1931), were well received in English translation and deal with assimilation in American Jewish life prior to the Depression. The second novel depicts the erosion of Jewish knowledge and practice in three generations of immigrant Noyakh Edon's family, the tragic emptiness in his children's lives, though they become well-educated and affluent Americans, and his grandson's belated suspicion that Judaism could have filled a void in his own life.

In 1949, Pinski settled in Haifa, Israel, where a street is named for him. His 80th birthday was a major state event. He continued to write until paralyzed by a stroke in 1956 and died a few months after his wife in 1959. While some critics find the quality of much of Pinski's prolific body of work to be uneven, he remains a major figure in the history of Yiddish literature, and Chaim Zhitlovski, among others, has classified Pinski as the fourth classic writer of Yiddish literature after Sh.Y. *Abramovitsh, *Sholem Aleichem, and I.L. *Peretz.

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[Moshe Starkman / Ben Furnish (2nd ed.)]

PINSKY, ROBERT (1940–), U.S. poet and critic. Author of six collections of his own poetry and five important books of literary criticism, as well as translations of Milosz and Dante, Pinsky is the only American poet to have held the post of Poet Laureate Consultant to the Library of Congress for three consecutive years (1997–2000). The appointments to the position allowed him to bring to fruition what he called the Favorite Poem Project. Contrary to conventional notions of the philistinism of American culture, Pinsky believed that lyric poetry continued to be a vital presence in the lives of ordinary American citizens. Thus the Favorite Poem Project invited readers to send in short prose statements explaining why their favorite poem was important to them. From an abundant initial response various readers were selected for a series of video recordings that presented them reading the poems that they treasured. There followed two anthologies of those poems and a digital archive, the sum total of which bore witness to what Pinsky claimed was the hidden but vital presence of poetry far beyond the walls of the universities and research libraries.

Revealing an underground life of the spirit in the postmodern era is the central act of Pinsky's own poetry as well. His work assays and charts the life of the soul amid the swirling and always perplexing currents of the contemporary. Pinsky sometimes seems to wonder whether there is such a thing as a soul to worry about, but more often he measures the labors, passions, and effortful creations of human beings – however flawed – as visible and invaluable signs of the soul's existence. His restless intelligence, his abiding curiosity about how the soul fares – be it for good or ill – has been with him from his first book of poetry, *Sadness and Happiness* (1973), where he notes in the first poem the "terrible gaze of a unique/Soul, its need unlovable." The concern is still there in his most recent book, *Jersey Rain* (2000), in "The Haunted Ruin," where Pinsky writes that everything we touch leaves something of ourselves in it. Even in our machines, our computers and handsaws, there thus remains a residue of ourselves, a "machine soul."

Pinsky's skeptical, troubled but surprisingly firm faith that there is a soul has its analogue in his attitude toward God. All sorts of gods thickly populate his collections of poetry. They range from Yahweh to Shiva to Jesus to Hermes and beyond to various lesser spirits, prophets, heroes, and all those who traffic with the gods. Pinsky's religious themes are heterodox, ironic, and inclusive, but they are also nonetheless grounded in the intellectual inheritance of Judaism. Raised in what he has called "a nominally Orthodox" Jewish family, in a working-class neighborhood of Long Branch, N.J., Pinsky attended Rutgers for his B.A. and Stanford for his Ph.D. He taught at Wellesley College, the University of California, Berkeley, and then in the graduate creative writing program at Boston University. Thus there is also a streak of the scholarly in his work, for he seems to study Judaism (as well as any other religion or manifestation of culture) as part of the abiding human impulse toward meaning. The stance he takes in some of his poems reminds one of Job facing the whirlwind, a whirlwind that one might call God, or History, or Fate, or Civilization. The best example of this is in "The Figured Wheel," a poem that gives its name to the title of his *New and Collected Poems* (1996), where Pinsky stands stunned by an impersonal power, rolling through our lives and throughout history. It is also perhaps his sense that there are impersonal spirits moving in the world that led Pinsky also to his translation of Dante's *Inferno* (1994).

At other times, however, Pinsky seems a contemporary psalmist, praising the surprising ways in which the gods reveal themselves. In "To Television," from *Jersey Rain*, Pinsky likens the "boob-tube" to Hermes, and sings its praises for the strange comfort it sometimes brings, however bad the rest of its news may be. In this context, it is significant that Pinsky's book of prose *The Life of David* (2005) speaks of an "obdurate calculus of pain." That too is an essential part of his psalmlike poems. One hears the stern facts of human suffering woven through the very fabric of a poem like "Shirt," from *The Want Bone* (1990). Here the speaker fingers a shirt, admiring each part of its construction, and as he does he thinks of the fire at the Triangle Shirtwaist Factory in 1911, and recalls the photos of workers leaping from the windows, which then links him to thoughts of heaven and the afterlife, and the poetry of George Herbert, the English metaphysical, author of a poem called "The Collar." That thought brings him back to the shirt and a woman named Irma who has left a tag in it saying it was she who inspected this shirt. Up, down, and across the spans of human history, culture, and suffering, the poem not only praises the shirt, but all that is human and woven into that which we wear on our backs.

Yet for all the centrality of matters of soul and faith to Pinsky's work, there remains an equally firm and open-ended commitment to experience, to this world, to history, and to the turbulent vitality of lives lived. In meditations such as his book-length *An Explanation of America* (1980) or in the more recent "An Alphabet of My Dead" in *Jersey Rain,* one senses above all in this poetry an earned freedom of thought and feeling. As with William Carlos Williams, another great poet of New Jersey and urban America, one has the feeling that there is nothing in this world or the next that Pinsky conceives of as alien to poetry. Though fonder of traditional and more formal poetry than Williams was, Pinsky is nonetheless in the direct line of descent from Williams in regard to his sense of the vitality of the art. In his most important collection of essays, *The Poet and the World* (1988), Pinsky argues that "only the challenge of what may seem unpoetic, that which has not already been made poetic by the tradition, can keep the art truly pure and alive." The ongoing transformation of the apparently "anti-poetic" into poetry of the first order is one of the great revelations that the work of Robert Pinsky continues to offer.

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[Frederick J. Marchant (2nd ed.)]

PINSON, KOPPEL S. (1904–1961), U.S. historian. Born in Lithuania, Pinson was taken to the U.S. in 1907. He lectured at the New School for Social Research from 1934 to 1937, when he went to Queens College, N.Y., becoming professor of history in 1950. He was also history editor of the *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences* (1929–35), and an editor of *Jewish Social Studies* (1938–61). In 1945–46, he was director of education and culture, Jewish Displaced Persons in Germany and Austria, United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Association.

Pinson's principal scholarly interests embraced modern European history, with special emphasis on nationalism and modern Germany, and recent Jewish history. His contributions to general history were *Pietism as a Factor in the Rise of German Nationalism* (1934); *A Bibliographical Introduction to Nationalism* (1935); and *Modern Germany, Its History and Civilization* (1954). In Jewish studies, he edited a number of important books: *Essays on Anti-Semitism* (1946^2); *Yivo Annual of Jewish Social Science*, vols. 59 (1950–54); and notably *Nationalism and History* (1958), which made available in English Simon Dubnow's classic, *Essays on Old and New Judaism*. Pinson analyzed Dubnow's national theories and appraised his role as historian. Pinson was actively involved in the work of the *Yivo Institute for Jewish Research. He was also chairman of the modern Jewish history committee of the Jewish Publication Society of America.

[Oscar Isaiah Janowsky]

PINTER, HAROLD (1930–2005), English playwright, Nobel laureate. Born in Hackney, London, the son of a tailor, Pinter was on the stage from 1949 to 1957 under the name of David Baron, acting chiefly in repertory and with touring companies in Ireland. His first plays to become known were written for radio, a medium admirably suited to the rather sinister ambiguity of his early work. To this period belong *The Room, The Dumb Waiter,* and *The Birthday Party* (1958). The last play is symbolic of the universal guilt of man, with the central figure as a scapegoat. Pinter's subsequent plays include *The Caretaker,* produced in 1960, which is generally classed as a tragicomedy belonging to the genre of the "theater of the absurd." It shows a homeless tramp billeting himself upon two brothers, under the pretense of taking care of their home. He emerges, however, as a type of suffering humanity, making what may be felt to be excessive claims upon men's charity. *The Caretaker* was an outstanding success on stage, screen, and television. The plays Pinter wrote in the 1960s were dominated by the husband-wife relationship and several were acted by his wife, Vivien Merchant. *The Lover* (1963) depicts a marriage which can only function if both partners pretend that it is an illicit love affair. *The Homecoming* (1964), which won the New York Drama Critics Circle Award for best new play in 1967, is about an English intellectual who brings a new wife back from the U.S. to meet his crude, working-class family. In this phase of his writing, Pinter was concerned with the frailty of marital relationships, with the potential violence of family life, and with the impossibility of ever knowing or possessing a woman. His other plays include *A Night Out* (1960), *The Collection* (1961), *Tea Party* (1964), and *Old Times* (1971).

Pinter first became involved in writing screenplays when he adapted *The Caretaker* for the screen as *The Guest* in 1963. After that he earned two Academy Award nominations for best screenplay, for his adaptation of John Fowles' novel *The French Lieutenant's Woman* in 1981 and for his adaptation of his own play, *Betrayal*, in 1983. His adaptation of L.P. Hartley's novel *The Go-Between* won him a BAFTA award in 1971. Other screenplays include his 1968 version of *The Birthday Party* for the screen, *Reunion* (1989), *The Handmaid's Tale* (1990, based on a novel by Margaret Atwood), and *The Trial* (1993, based on Kafka's novel).

Pinter's later plays saw him shifting his focus away from the sinister underbelly of urban society and onto an upper-middle-class setting that more closely reflected his own milieu. In addition to *Betrayal* (1978), they include *No Man's Land* (1975). Pinter is also an occasional contributor of poetry to certain London journals, where he uses the pen name Harold Pinta.

In 2002 Pinter was made a Companion of Honour (CH). In later years he became well-known as a left-wing political activist over a range of international issues including Chile, Yugoslavia, and the 2003 Iraq War. After his divorce from Vivien Merchant in 1980, Pinter married the best-selling historian Lady Antonia Fraser. One of the most famous of all modern British playwrights, Pinter has attracted many biographical and critical studies, among them biographies by R. Hayman (1975), Michael Billington (1997), Martin S. Rega (1995), and Volker Strunk (1998). In 2005 he was awarded the Nobel Prize for literature.

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[Philip D. Hobsbaum / Rohan Saxena]

PINTO, name of several families who originated in the small town of Pinto, whose Jewish community was subordinate to that of Madrid. Some Pintos arrived in *Morocco from the Iberian Peninsula, particularly from Seville, in 1492 and 1496 and from the Canary Islands during the 16th century. The latter were former Marranos who settled in Agadir and Marrakesh, where they ranked among the spiritual and lay leaders of the Jewish communities of those towns. R. JACOB (d. c. 1750), a disciple of R. Abraham Azulai and a well-known kabbalist, wrote a lengthy commentary on the Zohar. His son, R. ABRAHAM (d. after 1800), was a *dayyan* in Marrakesh. The latter's commentary on the tractate *Ketubbot* is often mentioned in the work *Sefer Ḥesed ve-Emet* (Salonika, 1803). There are many manuscripts of his responsa and *haskamot*. R. ḤAYYIM (d. before 1840) was chief rabbi of Mogador, where he was revered as a saint. Pilgrimages are still made to his grave. ABRAHAM BEN REUBEN (c. 1750) was one of the leaders of the Jewish community of Agadir. A financier, he wielded considerable influence; the sultan of Morocco entrusted him with economic missions to Europe. During the 19th century the Pintos were prominent in the communities of northern Morocco, especially in Tangier and later in Casablanca, where their commercial importance was considerable down to the present day.

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[David Corcos]

PINTO, DE, family of Dutch jurists of Sephardi origin. ABRAHAM DE PINTO (1811–1878), Dutch jurist and public worker, was the elder brother of Aaron Adolf de Pinto. He graduated in law from the University of Leiden. He became editor of the law journal *Weekblad voor het recht* in 1835 and in 1840 founded the juridical review *Themis* which he edited for 36 years. De Pinto also published digests of several Dutch legal codes which served to make known the principles of Dutch law after the Codification of 1838. He was dean of the Order of Advocates in The Hague and a Hague municipal councilor from 1851 until 1878. As chairman of The Hague Sephardi congregation, De Pinto unsuccessfully favored cooperation between the Sephardi and Ashkenazi communities in contrast to many of his contemporaries. In 1850 he established the Maatschappij tot nut der Israëlieten in Nederland (Association for the Benefit of the Jews in Holland) for the promotion of educational and vocational training for poor Jews. AARON ADOLF DE PINTO (1828–1908) was a Dutch criminal lawyer. Born in The Hague, De Pinto graduated in law from the University of Leiden. As a high official at the Netherlands Ministry of Justice from 1862 to 1876, he was largely responsible for the adoption of a New Netherlands penal code which came into force in 1886, and for the Dutch East Indies Penal Code. In 1865 De Pinto initiated and drafted the law on the abolition of the death penalty. This was adopted in 1871, against the opposition of successive ministers of justice. Subsequently he drafted the law for the complete revision of the Netherlands code of civil procedure. Rejecting the offer of a professorship and the cabinet portfolio of justice, De Pinto became a member of the Supreme Court. In 1903 he was appointed vice president. From 1878 to 1901 he was an editor of the *Weekblad voor het recht*, and a founder of the Netherlands Association of Jurists. Among De Pinto's numerous publications are several on the Dreyfus trial, showing that it was being conducted in violation of French legal procedure. In 1885, at a lawyers' conference in Rotterdam, he championed the rights of the Romanian Jews. For many years he was chairman of the Maatschappij tot nut der Israëlieten in Nederland (founded by his brother), and in 1908 officially opened the Eighth Zionist Congress in The Hague.

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[Henriette Boas]

PINTO, ISAAC (1720–1791), U.S. merchant and translator of prayer books. Emigrating to the U.S. from the West Indies, where one branch of the Pinto family was established, Pinto settled in Connecticut; an Isaac Pinto is listed in *Colonial Records of Connecticut* as living in Stratford during 1748. By 1751 Pinto was a resident of New York City and a member of Congregation Shearith Israel. Ezra Stiles, president of Yale College, identified him as a "learned Jew at New York." Pinto, who signed the Non-Importation Act, was a devoted patriot. The anonymous English translation in *Evening Services for Rosh-Hashanah and Yom Kippur* (New York, 1761) is attributed to Pinto; this rendering and his acknowledged translation in *Prayers for Sabbath, Rosh-Hashanah and Yom Kippur, with the Amidah and Musaph of the Moadim* of the Sephardi rite (New York, 1766) are the earliest English translations of Hebrew prayer books published in the New World. That a translation was needed indicates, in the view of Grinstein, a low level of Hebrew learning in the colonies at that time.

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[Leo Hershkowitz]

PINTO, ISAAC DE (1717–1787), philosopher and economist of Portuguese-Jewish origin. Born perhaps in Bordeaux, Pinto lived mostly in Holland. A widely cultured man with a combative pen, he defended the Jewish people against *Voltaire's *Dictionnaire Philosophique* article "*Juifs*" in his well-known *Apologie pour la Nation Juive* (Amsterdam, 1762). He sent a copy of this work to Voltaire, who thanked him but held to his opinions. Pinto's major work on economics is the *Traité de la circulation et du crédit* (Amsterdam, 1771), one of the great documents in the history of political economy, written in refutation of the physiocrats, who advocated an economy based mainly on agriculture. Other works by Pinto are his *Essai sur le luxe* (Amsterdam, 1762), *Précis des arguments contre les matérialistes* (The Hague, 1774), and *Du jeu de cartes* (1768), a short essay on card playing which he addressed to *Diderot. For his services in arranging favorable terms for English trade in India at the Treaty of Paris, which ended the Seven Years' War (1756–63), Pinto was lavishly rewarded by the East India Company a few years later (1767).

De Pinto was, as Voltaire said, a *philosophe* and a Jew. He had a broad general 18th-century education, as evidenced by two unpublished philosophical discourses from 1742. His attack on Voltaire, whom he admired, was more a defense of the Sephardim than of Judaism. He suggested that Voltaire's antisemitic criticisms were justified against the Ashkenazim, but that the Sephardim were cultured and enlightened. In economics, De Pinto opposed the physiocrats, and advocated (against Hume) the economically productive role of the national debt, and modern credit and commerce. Opposed by Adam Smith, he was seen by Dugald Stewart and Sir Francis D'Ivernois as an important new economist. Marx called him "the Pindar of the Amsterdam stock exchange" for his advocacy of speculation. Werner *Sombart regarded him as the beginner of the modern age of economics, and the first to understand the growth of credit. Sée claimed he was the first to say that speculation was useful. Hertzberg saw De Pinto's economics as a covert defense of the role of Jews in 18th-century economic affairs. De Pinto was a conservative in philosophy and politics. A Deist, he opposed D'Holbach's materialistic atheism as a menace to the social order. He offered proofs of the existence of God and the immortality of the soul (borrowing from Mendelssohn among others), but not appealing to any biblical evidence. His criticisms of the American Revolution opposed popular democracy and defended the economic rights of the colonial powers, and the need for them to join together to maintain peace and social harmony.

De Pinto was a Jew of the Enlightenment (he knew Voltaire, Hume, Diderot, Marat, among others). He was a genuine innovator in economic theory, and a moderate, tolerant, pacifistic conservative in its politics and philosophy. Manuscript 48A19 of Ets Haim library (Amsterdam) contains many unpublished works of De Pinto, including two philosophical discourses.

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[Richard H. Popkin]

PINTO, JOSIAH BEN JOSEPH (1565–1648), talmudist and kabbalist. Born in *Damascus, Pinto was for the major part of his life rabbi in Damascus, but went to Jerusalem about 1617. In 1625 he decided to settle in Safed, but when his son died in the following year, he returned to Damascus. His teacher in subjects other than Kabbalah was Jacob *Abulafia, who ordained him. In Kabbalah he adhered closely to the system of Ḥayyim *Vital whose son, Samuel, was his pupil and subsequently married his daughter.

Pinto is best known for his *Me'or Einayim* (part 1, Amsterdam, 1643; part 2, Mantua, 1743), a commentary on *Ein Ya'akov* of Jacob *ibn Ḥabib. He also wrote *Kesef Nivḥar* (Damascus, 1605), sermons on the weekly scriptural readings; part 2, entitled *Kesef Mezukkak* (Venice, 1628), sermons and explanations of unusual rabbinic comments on scriptural passages; *Kesef Ẓaruf (ibid.*, 1629) on the Book of Proverbs; *Nivḥar mi-Kesef* (Aleppo, 1869), responsa. Some of his responsa were in a manuscript of the responsa of his son-in-law, Samuel *Vital, which was in the possession of Ḥ.J. Michael, while others were published in the responsa of Yom Tov *Ẓahalon (Venice, 1694). Some, which he wrote in 1646, were published in the *Yad Aharon*, part 1 (Smyrna, 1735), of Aaron *Alfandari. His *Kesef Nimas*, on Lamentations, and *Kevuẓot Kesef*, on the laws of marriage and the civil laws in the Shulḥan Arukh, are in manuscript. Joseph *Delmedigo mentions a biblical commentary by Pinto entitled *Kesef To'afot*.

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[Samuel Abba Horodezky]

PINTO, VIVIAN DE SOLA (1895–1969), English literary scholar and poet. The son of a tobacconist on fashionable St. James's Street, London, Pinto became professor of English at the University of Nottingham (1938–1961) and specialized first in 17th-century studies and later in modern literature. His works include two volumes of poetry, *The Invisible Sun* (1934) and *This Is My England* (1941); *Crisis in English Poetry, 1880–1940* (1951, 1967^5); and an edition of the poems of D.H. Lawrence (1964). He appeared for the defense in the famous 1960 obscenity trial in London of *Lady Chatterley's Lover,* and was a friend of many famous writers including Siegfried *Sassoon, to whom he was second-in-command on the Western Front in World War I.

PINTO DELGADO, JOÃO (**Mosseh**; d. 1653), Portuguese *Marrano poet, born at Vila Nova de Portimão. His grandfather, of the same name, was in government administration in the Algarve, as was João's father, Gonçalo Delgado. On two separate occasions, João lived in Lisbon. His parents, after going to Antwerp, settled in Rouen, c. 1609, where he later joined them. In 1633 some of the Portuguese New Christians in Rouen denounced others as Judaizers, and João and his father took refuge in Antwerp (a brother, Gonçalo, remained in Rouen). João moved to Amsterdam in 1634, followed soon after by his father. In the Dutch city he openly joined the Jewish community and was known as Mosseh Pinto (Delgado). Around 1636, 1637, and 1640, he was one of the seven *parnasim* of the *talmud torah*. João Pinto Delgado began his literary career in Lisbon, where he contributed poetry to works of a purely Catholic nature by João Baptista de Este and Luis de Tovar. In Rouen, in 1627, he published a collection of verse paraphrases of Old Testament books, *Poema de la Reyna Ester, Lamentaciones del Propheta Jeremias y Historia de Rut y varias poesías*, which he dedicated to Cardinal Richelieu. I.S. Révah has published parts of a manuscript autobiography, in prose and verse and written in Holland, in which Pinto Delgado attacked the Inquisition and Christian beliefs, and satirized those New Christians of Rouen who denounced others in 1633.

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[Kenneth R. Scholberg]

PIONEER WOMEN, international labor Zionist women's organization, known since 1981 as **Na'amat**. Founded in New York City in 1925, Pioneer Women appealed to idealistic and politically committed women who were part of the eastern European immigrant generation. The organization provided social welfare services for women, young people, and children in Palestine, helped new immigrants become productive citizens there, and encouraged U.S. Jewish women to take a more active part in Jewish community life and U.S. civic affairs. Although its business was originally largely conducted in Yiddish, the organization gradually shifted to English as it became increasingly acculturated to the U.S. scene. By 1936 it had chapters in 60 U.S. cities, with 10,000 members.

After World War II Pioneer Women broadened its field of endeavors, while at the same time moderating its original socialist and feminist ideology; nevertheless, it continued to cooperate with progressive and labor groups on behalf of liberal causes. In cooperation with its sister Israel organization, Mo'ezet ha-Po'alot, Pioneer Women maintained a large network of welfare and cultural projects in Israel. Pioneer Women also stimulated the formation of sister organizations in other countries. The World Union of Pioneer Women's Organizations, which was formed in Tel Aviv in 1964, had member sisterhoods in the United States, Canada, Mexico, Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Peru, Uruguay, Great Britain, Belgium, and Australia. The total world membership of Pioneer Women in 1970 was 150,000.

In later decades, Na'amat/Pioneer Women gradually lost many of its distinctive features, as most of its functions and goals were adopted by mainstream American Jewish groups and institutions. By 2005, U.S. membership in Na'amat had declined to approximately 25,000 from a peak of 50,000 in 1970. In the United States, Na'amat continues to conduct Jewish educational and cultural activities, publishes a quarterly journal, *Na'amat Woman*, and supports youth work through the *Habonim labor Zionist youth movement, founded in 1935. Habonim sustains a network of coeducational year-round activities and summer camps and serves as a training ground for many future leaders of American labor Zionism.

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[Gertrude Hirschler and Shoshana Hareli /
Judith R. Baskin (2nd ed.)]

PIOTRKOW (Pol. **Piotrków Trybunalski**; Rus. **Petrokov**; Ger. **Petrikau**), town in Lodz province, central Poland; known from 1578 as Piotrkow-Trybunalski. Several anti-Jewish resolutions were passed at state conventions held in Piotrkow during the 14th to 16th centuries, including a series of limitations by the Sejm (Diet) of 1562. Jews settled in Piotrkow from the first half of the 16th century. In 1569 Jews were permitted by the king to settle in the suburbs of Piotrkow and trade at the fairs there on payment of 30 ducats to the Christian guild. The Jews were expelled following a *blood libel in 1590. During the greater part of the 17th century the municipality prevented Jews from entering Piotrkow, until 1679 when King John II Sobieski permitted Jews to return, to trade there, and to build a synagogue (completed in 1689). During the 1720s, under the first rabbi of Piotrkow, Eliakim Getz, a *ḥevra kaddisha* and Bikkur Ḥolim were organized. In 1744 Jewish self-defense against an attack by the mob was successfully led by Ephraim Fishel. The Jews of the community (about 800) were then compelled to leave the city and settle in the suburbs (Nowa Wiés). A *bet midrash* was founded there in 1765, and a large synagogue was built by the merchant Moses Kazin in 1781.

After the second partition of Poland in 1793, Piotrkow passed to Prussia. In 1808 there were in Piotrkow 1,817 Jews (46% of the total population), and in 1827, 2,133 Jews (45% of the total). After the opening of the Warsaw-Vienna railway line and the development of industries in the region, Jews founded weaving mills in Piotrkow. A growing Jewish proletariat was employed in the timber and textile industries, and in services. In 1857 there were 4,166 Jews (42% of the total population). In 1861 Jews obtained electoral and elective rights on the municipal council. In 1864 a Hebrew printing press was set up in Piotrkow, which in 1900 published the Jerusalem Talmud. Moses David *Szereszewski, the Lithuanian *maskil*, introduced the Ḥibbat Zion movement into Piotrkow in 1880. There were 30 *ḥadarim*, a *talmud torah*, two *battei midrash*, and a private secular school in this period. The Jewish hospital, founded in 1836, was also extended. In 1912 a Zionist workers' party was founded in Piotrkow. The community numbered approximately 5,400 in 1865, 9,370 (33.14%) in 1897, and by 1917 had increased to 14,890.

Some of the Jews who found shelter in Piotrkow during World War I left the town during the establishment of independent Poland (1918). In 1921 there were in Piotrkow 11,630 Jews (28% of the total population). Of the 33 members of the municipal council elected in 1919, seven were Jews. In the 1928 elections their number rose to eight. Between the two world wars new educational institutions were established in Piotrkow by the *Tarbut, CYSHO, and *ORT; and sports organizations (Maccabi, Shtern, etc.) and a musical society, Zamir, were formed. From 1924 the Zionist periodical *Unzer Tsaytung* was published in Piotrkow and Zionist and other youth movements gained in strength. In the elections to the community council in 1935 six representatives of the *Bund were elected. From 1924 to 1931, Meir Shapiro, leader of the Agudat Israel, served as rabbi of Piotrkow.

Holocaust Period

After the outbreak of World War II about 2,000 Jews, the majority of them young people, escaped from Piotrkow and attempted to find refuge in the larger towns and the Soviet-occupied zone. On Oct. 28, 1939, the Germans set up at Piotrkow the first ghetto to be established in Poland. Despite famine, disease, and terrorization, the population in the ghetto continued to increase as thousands of Jewish refugees arrived there, mostly from the regions annexed by the Germans. In April 1942 there were 16,469 Jews in the Piotrkow ghetto, of whom 8,141 had come from other localities, and by Oct. 15, 1942, there were about 25,000 Jews, including a large number of refugees from the surrounding townlets of Kamiensk, Wolborz, Serock, and others. Subsequently, in the course of one week, until Oct. 22, 1942, some 22,000 Jews of the Piotrkow ghetto were deported to the death camp of *Treblinka. About 4,000 Jews remained, half being workers in labor camps assigned to factories which worked for the German army. Some 2,000 others hid in the ghetto to escape the death transports. At the beginning of 1943 the Nazis carried out searches for those in hiding and found about 2,000 Jews, whom they murdered in the surrounding forests. In May 1943 about 500 Jews were taken from Piotrkow to the camps of Starachowice, *Radom, and others. Among those some 40 women and children were murdered on the spot. The remainder, numbering about 1,100, were concentrated into camps near the Karo and Hortensia glassworks and the Fischer & Co. timber enterprises. In November 1944 the last few hundred Jews in the ghetto were deported to the camps of *Buchenwald, *Bergen-Belsen, and *Mauthausen.

Several attempts had been made in the ghetto to organize resistance. Between 1942 and 1944, about 500 Jews escaped from the ghetto. They found refuge in the forests and within the organizations which fought the Germans. From the middle of 1943 a group of Jewish partisans was active in the vicinity of Piotrkow. The group succeeded in escaping from the labor camp attached to the Karo glassworks and held out until the retreat of the Germans from the region in January 1945. Jewish settlement in Piotrkow was not renewed after the war.

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[Arthur Cygielman]

PIOVE DI SACCO, small town in Padua province, N. Italy. Piove di Sacco was the first town to admit Jews in this region. Before 1373 a moneylending bank was founded there by a Jewish consortium. In 1455, when the Jews of Padua were forbidden to lend money, they transferred their business to nearby centers, among them Piove di Sacco – where there had never been a ghetto. Piove di Sacco is of particular interest for its Hebrew press. In 1475 Meshullam Cusi Rafa ben Moses Jacob of nearby Padua and his sons set up a Hebrew printing press and were the first to issue a *Seliḥot* prayer book in nonvocalized square type (1475). In July 1475 they printed in folio form, the first volume of the first printed edition of *Jacob b. Asher's *Arba'ah Turim* – the second dated Hebrew book in Italy (now found at Padua's Biblioteca Civica Bp 6747). Meshullam died soon after, and his widow and sons Solomon and Moses continued printing the remaining volumes. After the second and third volumes were issued, the sons were imprisoned, apparently in connection with the *Trent blood libel, and their mother completed publication of the fourth volume alone (see *Incunabula). In 1905 Leone Romanin Jacur sat in the Italian parliament as the town's deputy.

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[Alfredo Mordechai Rabello]

PIPERNO BEER, SERGIO (1906–1976), Italian judge and communal leader. Born in Rome, Piperno Beer took up a juridical career, reaching the rank of a councilor at the Court of Cassation, the highest court of Italy. During the period of racial persecutions (1938ff.), though dismissed from public service, he was active in DELASEM (Delegation for Assistance to Emigrants) and in the Italian liberal-secular movement Giustizia e Libertà (1943–44). After the liberation he was elected councilor of the Rome Jewish community and chaired the Communal Commission charged to investigate the case of the chief rabbi of Rome, Israel Zoller, who had converted to Christianity.

In June 1956 he was elected president of the Board of Italian Jewish Communities and in this office he worked for the Italian state's recognition of the rights of families who had lost members during Nazi persecutions, for the strengthening of institutions of Italian Jewry and their standing vis-à-vis the State, and for the revival of Jewish culture in Italy. He was active in the contacts with the Vatican before Ecumenical Council Vatican II and the declaration *Nostra aetate*. In the aftermath of the Six-Day War (1967) he helped with the emigration of the entire Jewish community of Libya, with the consent of the Italian government. Piperno Beer was reelected as president of the Board of Italian Jewish Communities in 1961, 1966, and 1974.

[Sergio DellaPergola / Robert Bonfil (2nd ed.)]

PIPES, RICHARD EDGAR (1923–), U.S. historian. Born in Cieszyn, Poland, Pipes migrated in his youth to the United States. He taught Russian history at Harvard, and was appointed professor. He also served as director of Harvard's Russian Research Center (1968–73). From 1974 until 1996 he held the position of Frank B. Baird Jr. Professor of History at Harvard. From 1997 he was the Frank B. Baird, Jr. Professor of History Emeritus at Harvard. Politically conservative, Pipes was included in President Ronald Reagan's U.S. Department of State transition team in 1980. He was the director of the National Security Council's East European and Soviet Affairs team (1981–82) and served as an expert witness in the Russian Constitutional Court's trial against the Communist Party in 1992.

Pipes' principal historical studies concern both Imperial Russia and the Bolshevik period, with special attention to intellectual and national questions. He was a member of the editorial boards of *Strategic Review*, *Orbis*, the *International Journal of Intelligence and CounterIntelligence*, *Continuity*, *Journal of Strategic Studies*, *East European Jewish Affairs*, and *Nuova Storia Contemporanea*.

His published works include *Formation of the Soviet Union* (1954), an important contribution to the study of the national question of Soviet Russia. He edited and translated *Karamzin's Memoir on Ancient and Modern Russia* (1959) and *Social-Democracy and the St. Petersburg Labor Movement 1885–97* (1963). He edited *Russian Intelligentsia* (1961) and *Revolutionary Russia* (1968). Among his other publications are *Europe Since 1815* (1970), *Soviet Strategy in Europe* (1976), *U.S.-Soviet Relations in the Era of Detente* (1981), *Russia Observed* (1989), *The Russian Revolution* (1990), *Communism: The Vanished Specter* (1993), *Russia under the Bolshevik Regime* (1994), *Three "Whys" of the Russian Revolution* (1996), *Prosperity and Freedom* (1999), and *Communism: A Brief History* (2001).

His son Daniel Pipes is a writer and commentator on Middle Eastern affairs.

[William Korey / Rohan Saxena and Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

PIRKEI DE-RABBI ELIEZER, eighth-century aggadic work (see *Midrash), also called *Baraita de-Rabbi Eliezer* or *Haggadah de-Rabbi Eliezer* in medieval rabbinic literature because of its opening words: "It is related of *Eliezer b. Hyrcanus."

Character and Composition

The book is not a Midrash constructed on the verses of Scripture, but an aggadic narrative; the extant version is divided into 54 chapters, but this is probably not the whole book. It commences with an *aggadah* about the early days of Eliezer b. Hyrcanus, and then chronologically narrates events from the Creation until the middle of the journeys of the Children of Israel in the wilderness, concluding with *Miriam's leprosy and the *copper serpent. In the second half of the book, from Abraham onward, the narrative is related to the blessings of the **Amidah* prayer, but the last chapter terminates at the eighth blessing (for health). The book also refers to the 10 occasions when God descended to earth, but in their enumeration only reaches the eighth descent. It is therefore clear that the book as it survived is incomplete; but even in manuscript the only additional portion preserved is the second half of the last chapter.

Language and Date

The book is written in Hebrew – partially artificial – reminiscent of the geonic era, and contains a few Greek words. The author made use of the tannaitic literature, the Jerusalem Talmud, the *Midreshei Aggadah of the **amoraim*, and even of the Babylonian Talmud, as well as those Aramaic *Targums to the Scripture that originated in Ereẓ Israel. The author does not quote his sources, but tends to revise them completely – shortening, lengthening, and combining them freely. It is therefore not a collection or compilation of different sources, but a book with a unified and continuous narrative in which the personality of the author is clearly recognizable. The author was greatly influenced in both content and form by the *Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Second Temple period, particularly the books of the *Enoch cycle. His entire manner of narration and unique method of connecting *halakhah* and *aggadah* were influenced by the Book of Jubilees. *Pirkei de-Rabbi Eliezer* has thus preserved many ancient sources. It contains almost no names of *amoraim*, but falsely attributes sayings to many *tannaim. Pirkei de-Rabbi Eliezer* is therefore a pseudepigraphic work par excellence; the influence of apocalyptic works of the Second Temple period is well marked in that respect, as well as in its mystical air and in the descriptions of angels. The *halakhot* of the *calendar laid down in the Byzantine period and at the beginning of the Muslim era were already known to the author. The book is filled with the halakhic customs current in Ereẓ Israel at the beginning of the geonic period. It contains Arabic legends, and remarkable descriptions of the Muslim Omayyad dynasty, and looks forward to the downfall of this (Omayyad) caliphate as an omen of the end of the exile. All these indications prove that it was composed in Ereẓ Israel during the first half of the eighth century, just prior to the fall of the Omayyad dynasty, but before the rise of the Abbasid dynasty. Quotations from it are already found in the tractate **Soferim*, and in the work of *Pirkoi ben Baboi. The work also follows the model of the Arabic collections of biblical legends, in which narrative receives more emphasis than exegesis. *Pirkei de-Rabbi Eliezer* was first published in Constantinople (1514), and reprinted many times on the basis of the first edition. In the Warsaw edition of 1852, a valuable commentary by David *Luria was added. Many manuscripts have been preserved, and extracts from three of them were published by Higger in *Horeb*, 8–10 (1944–48), and one of them was translated into English by G. Friedlander (1916, 1965^2).

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[Moshe David Herr]

PIRKOI BEN BABOI (eighth–ninth century), talmudic scholar of the geonic era and author of a polemical halakhic work. A pupil of Abba, who was a pupil of *Yehudai, a *Gaon* of Sura, Pirkoi notes that it was only because of their teaching and tradition that he presumed to write to the scholars of Kairouan. His teacher Abba wrote the *Halakhot de-Rav Abba*, small fragments of which were published from the Cairo *Genizah by S. Schechter and J.N. Epstein. Some conjecture that Abba was one of the scholars of the Pumbedita Academy and that Pirkoi also apparently studied there. It was earlier assumed that Pirkoi b. Baboi meant "the chapters of [*Pirkei*] Ben Baboi," but Epstein showed that Pirkoi was a Persian personal name. According to Epstein, Pirkoi was born in Babylon, where he studied and wrote his *Iggeret*. According to Ginzberg, however, he was a native of Ereẓ Israel who studied in Babylon, where he settled and wrote his work. Fragments of the work were scattered in various libraries – St. Petersburg, Oxford, Cambridge – and were published from the *Genizah*, beginning in 1903, by various scholars such as Harkavy (*Ha-Goren*, 4 (1903), 71–74) and L. Ginzberg (Geonica, 2 (1909), 50–53), neither of whom identified the author. J. Mann, who added a third fragment, succeeded in indicating Pirkoi as the author; additional fragments were published by various scholars of the period including Solomon Schechter, J.N. Epstein, B.M. Lewin, Shraga Abramson, and S. Spiegel.

Pirkoi became renowned through his work *Iggeret*, which reflects his aspiration to make the Babylonian Talmud the authoritative code for world Jewry. Echoes of the long drawn-out struggle between the two Torah centers – Ereẓ Israel and Babylon – are heard in the polemical chapters of Pirkoi which constitute, in Ginzberg's view, the earliest halakhic work extant from the geonic era. Some were of the opinion that the *Iggeret* was sent to Ereẓ Israel, but more accepted the view of Lewin and Spiegel that it was sent to the countries of North Africa (around 812), where the customs of Ereẓ Israel were followed. Pirkoi's intention was to encourage them to accept the *halakhah* of Babylon and the customs of the two academies in Babylon. It is probable that Pirkoi's words in his *Iggeret*, "God established places of learning in all localities of Africa and of Spain and granted you the privilege of engaging in Torah study by day and by night," were directed especially to the people of Kairouan, which in the time of Pirkoi enjoyed tranquility and economic stability. The communal leaders and scholars of Kairouan endeavored to maintain places of learning in the town as well as in various localities in Spain. Emigrants who left Kairouan for Spain founded Torah centers there. Pirkoi complains about the pupils of the Babylonian academies who "learnt the customs of Ereẓ Israel," arrived in North Africa, and were then drawn after the ignorant customs and habits of Ereẓ Israel. In his view any custom or ruling which is not in accordance with the law and *halakhah* of the Babylonian Talmud is a consequence of the apostasy decreed by the wicked kingdom of Edom upon Ereẓ Israel. As a result Torah was forgotten by the inhabitants of Ereẓ Israel, and the Ereẓ Israel customs came to be "customs of apostasy." Pirkoi, as a "pro-Babylonian," stresses the superiority of the Babylonian academies as the only source in the world for the details of the Oral Law, and says that it is fitting that from them the Torah should go forth to Jews in all countries. In the opinion of many scholars (Lewin, Mann, Aptowitzer), this polemic of Pirkoi also had an anti-Karaite purpose: to ensure that the denial of the Oral Law by Karaites should not detach the Jews from the tradition customary in the Babylonian academies.

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[Josef Horovitz]

°PIROGOV, NIKOLAI (1810–1881), Russian physician-surgeon and civic leader. From 1856 to 1858 he was a trustee for the Odessa education district and from 1858 to 1861 he served in the same capacity for Kiev. In south and southwest Russia he came into contact with the Jewish population and became their defender. In a letter to the Ministry of Education, dated Feb. 4, 1857, he argued for compulsory general education which would, at the same time, respect the religious sensitivities of the Jews. He proposed a cadre of Jewish teachers who would have the same rights as their non-Jewish colleagues, and opposed the idea that Christian trustees should be assigned to Jewish educational institutions. In his writings Pirogov pointed out the traditional respect of Jews for education and culture, and supported O. *Rabinovich and J. *Tarnopol in their efforts to publish a Jewish periodical in Russian. He also supported A. *Zederbaum for his publication of a Hebrew periodical.

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PIRYATIN, city in Poltava district, Ukraine. A Jewish settlement in Piryatin was first mentioned in 1630. The community was destroyed in the massacres of 1648 and not revived until the close of the 18th century, when it became a center for *Chabad Ḥasidism. The community numbered 464 in 1847 and grew to 3,166 (39% of the total population) in 1897. Apart from *ḥadarim* there was a Jewish school with separate classes for boys and girls. By 1926 the Jews numbered 3,885 (31.8%), dropping by 1939 to 1,747 (12.7% of the total population). About 100 families worked in a Jewish kolkhoz founded in 1929. The Germans entered Piryatin on September 18, 1941. On April 6, 1942 they murdered 1,600 Jews, and later another 1,400 from the environs, and refugees.

[Yehuda Slutsky]

PISA, city in Tuscany, central Italy. Benjamin of *Tudela found 20 Jewish families living there around 1165. It may be presumed that Jews had settled in the city even earlier, attracted by the possibilities offered by the close commercial ties between Pisa and countries of the Levant. Some of the Jewish tombstones embedded in the town wall, near the cathedral, date back to the middle of the 13th century. At the end of the 13th century an "Alley of the Jews" (Chiasso di Giudei) is recorded. In 1322 the Jews in Pisa were instructed to wear the distinguishing *badge but the regulation was apparently not strictly enforced. By the second half of the 14th century Pisa was in a state of political and economic decline, which culminated in its subjection to Florence in 1406. Around the same time, Vitale (Jehiel) b. Matassia of Pisa, a banker of Roman origin, began his activities in Pisa. The family he founded owned banks in Pisa and Florence, as well as branches in other towns, and for about 150 years dominated Jewish moneylending in Italy, as well as distinguishing itself in the cultural sphere (see Da *Pisa family). Some of its members had close connections with the Medici of Florence. In 1492 Jewish exiles from Spain who arrived in Pisa were assisted generously by the Da Pisa family. When a Christian loan bank (*Monte di Pietà) was opened in Pisa in 1496, Isaac b. Jehiel subscribed over half the founding capital, so that Jews were permitted to continue their moneylending activities, although only for a short period. As a result of the struggle between the Florentine Republic, which was hostile to the Jews, and the Medici, who were favorably disposed toward them, and the war of 1494–1509 between Pisa and Florence, the Jewish community of Pisa was considerably reduced in size. It began to recover in 1547 when Cosimo I de'Medici, duke of Tuscany, urged Jews and *New Christian fugitives from Portugal to settle in Pisa and *Leghorn, and some accepted the invitation. Larger numbers were attracted by the generous terms of the proclamation issued in June 1593 by the grand duke Ferdinand I de'Medici, addressed particularly to Sephardim and Marranos wherever they happened to live. Another proclamation, issued in October 1595 to the German and Italian Jews, who had then been driven from the territories of Milan, aroused little response. The Medici wished to promote Pisa as the market capital of Tuscany, with the port of Leghorn dependent on Pisa. However, Leghorn developed more successfully and also attained greater importance as a Jewish center, and in 1614 became independent of Pisa.

Samuel *Foa (or Fua), a member of the famous printing family of Sabbioneta, established a Hebrew press at Pisa toward the end of the 18th century, and was succeeded by Samuel and Joseph Moliho (1816ff.).

There were 600 Jews living in Pisa at the beginning of the 17th century, and half that number a century later. The number remained thereafter approximately the same, totaling 365 in 1840. Most of the Jews in Pisa were governed by the liberal patents of 1593 which granted, among other privileges, Tuscan citizenship ipso jure to any person admitted as a member of the community, and semiautonomous internal jurisdiction. The Jews in Pisa lived in relative tranquility, mainly engaging in commerce. In the 18th and especially the 19th century, they played an active part in developing industries, particularly the cotton industries which attracted a certain number of Jews there. The Jewish population numbered 700 in 1881.

[Attilio Milano]

Holocaust and Modern Periods

In 1931 the Jewish community of Pisa numbered 535. During the Holocaust, a dozen Jews, among them Rabbi Augusto Hasdà, were sent to extermination camps. Eight more Jews were deported elsewhere. On Aug. 1, 1944, the Nazis broke into the house of the president of the community, the well-known philanthropist Pardo-Roques, and massacred him together with six Jews who had taken refuge there. After the war, the community, including the towns of Viareggio and Lucca, had a membership of 312 Jews, which declined to 210 by 1969 and 100–200 at the beginning of the 21st century.

[Sergio Della Pergola]

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PISA, DA, family of bankers, financers, and international merchants ranked among the best-known Italian Jewish families.

In 1393 MATASSIA DI SABATO, a member of the well-known Bet-El or Min-ha-Keneset Roman family, settled in San Miniato, a small town in Tuscany, under the Florentine government, where he opened a local bank. In 1406 his son VITALE JEHIEL of Matassia established his activities in Pisa, the city from which he derived his new family name. He opened other lending banks in San Gimignano, Prato, Colle di Val d'Elsa, and Arezzo. A scholar and lover of letters, he became known even outside Italy: Profiat *Duran recommended him to his disciple Judah Zark, who found hospitality at the da Pisa home.

After Vitale's death the banking activities were continued by his daughter GIUSTA (d. 1478) who married ISAAC DI

MANUELE DA RIMINI, who later assumed his wife's surname. Giusta managed the family company together with her husband and later with her son JEHIEL VITALE (d. 1490), who brought their activities to their greatest heights by obtaining, with other associates, an exclusive banking license for Florence. He opened loan banks in several other towns.

Jehiel Vitale was also known as one of the most noteworthy Hebrew personalities of his time and gained the favor of Lorenzo de' Medici. When the Franciscan friar *Bernardino da Feltre preached in Florence against the Jewish loan bankers, Vitale led a deputation of the Jews of the city before Lorenzo de' Medici and succeeded in averting an edict of expulsion (1488). Vitale had family connections with other important families (such as da S. Miniato, da Tivoli, da Fano and da Volterra) and was friendly with notables abroad, including Abraham Ḥayyun of Lisbon, Don Isaac *Abrabanel, and Joseph Yaḥia (d. 1497), whom the da Pisa house helped transfer goods from Lisbon to Ferrara. Vitale's house became known as a meeting place of scholars: among those who stayed there was Johanan *Alemanno, who tutored Vitale's sons.

The distinctive characteristics of the family were maintained also by Jehiel Vitale's sons ISAAC (d. 1511) and SIMONE SAMUEL (d. 1510). The da Pisa fortunes suffered only limited damage when the family was compelled to leave Tuscany after the downfall of the Medici (1494). When they returned to Florence, with Pope Leo X, the da Pisa were able to recover their properties and resume their banking activities in Tuscany.

Another outstanding member of the family was DANIEL (d. 1532), son of Isaac. He was active in Pisa, Florence, and Rome, where he was appointed gentleman and *familiare* of Pope Clemete VII, who entrusted him with the task of drawing up the new *takkanot of* the composite Roman Jewish Community. This code was approved in 1524.

Daniel welcomed David *Reuveni on his visit to Rome. Daniel had two brothers, SALOMON and ABRAM. The first developed wide-ranging banking activities from Tuscany to the Republic of Venice. Abram established his activities in Bologna.

VITALE JEHIEL NISSIM (d. 1574), son of Simone Samuel, was an eminent scholar, with profound knowledge of Scriptures, philosophy, Kabbalah, and astronomy. He wrote *Minḥat Kena'ot* (publ. by D. Kaufmann, 1898) aimed at demonstrating the superiority of religion over philosophy, and *Ma'amar Ḥayyei Olam*, a halakhic treatise on matters of finance (publ. in 1962 by G. RosenthaI under the title *Banking and Finance among Jews in Renaissance Italy*, with notes and biographical sketch). He lived in Pisa and on the vast farming estate that had belonged to the family for more than a century, in the hills surrounding the city. His house was open to the needy.

In 1554 SIMONE SAMUEL, son of Vitale Jehiel Nissim, graduated in medicine from the University of Pisa. Seven years later EMANUELE, son of Salomon di Isaac, obtained a university degree in Ferrara, by special privilege. Furthermore he was a member of the rabbinical academy in that city.

In the 17th century a branch of the family became established in Ferrara, under the rule of the Church. In the course of several generations their surname was simplified to Pisa.

In 1831 ZACCARIA OF ELIA PISA (1788–1833) founded a banking house in Ferrara under his name. In 1852 his sons LUIGI ISRAEL (1813–1895), LEONE LEOPOLDO (1812–1872), and GIUSEPPE (1827–1904) moved the family enterprise to Milan and developed it into one of the most important private banks in Italy. Between 1863 and 1914 the Bank Pisa was engaged in raising public-capital subscriptions and placed bonds issued by the state as well as by the railway companies. It was on the board of directors of such companies as the Strade Ferrate Meridionali (Southern Railways), the Navigazione Generale, and Edison.

UGO PISA, son of Luigi Israel (1845–1910), volunteered in the 1866 war. He entered a diplomatic career, led an economic mission to China and Japan, and was eventually appointed ambassador. He later became president of the Chamber of Commerce of Milan and senator of the Kingdom of Italy. The banking house of the family continued its operations well into the 1930s under the guidance of LUIGI DELLA TORRE (a grandson of Luigi Pisa), who was senator of the Kingdom (1913) and president of the ABI (Italian Banking Association).

From MOSES-ARON PISA, a brother of Zaccaria, descended the Roman line of the family, headed in the early 21st century by FRANCO PISA, an economist and international merchant. He engaged in the study of Jewish economic history and published several studies on the structure of local banks and their influence on regional economies. He also sponsored several cultural activities.

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[Menachem E. Artom / Aron Leoni (2nd ed.)]

PISCO, SERAPHINE EPPSTEIN (1861–1942), secretary and chief administrator of the National Jewish Hospital for Consumptives in Denver from 1911 through 1938. She should also be understood as a product of the late 19th century Jewish club women's movement, which transmuted traditional ideas about women's nurturing role into professional social work. Pisco was born in St Joseph, Missouri, to Max and Bertha Eppstein, who moved her and five siblings to Denver in 1875. In 1878, like so many women of her generation, she married a businessman many years older than herself, Edward Pisko, who was prominent in local politics, and had been president of the local B'nai B'rith lodge. Also like so many women of her generation she became active in Jewish women's charitable work, serving as president of the Jewish Relief Society and in 1896 helping Carrie Shevelson Benjamin found a section of the National Council of Jewish Women. She served on many Council committees, and when president she helped found a settlement house in the Colfax district, where she developed close relations with East European Jews and Italian immigrants. An excellent public speaker, in 1899 she represented the Women's Club of Denver at the National Conference of Charities and Corrections in Cincinnati, and also accepted a paid position as fundraiser for the newly opened National Jewish Hospital. Since most hospital officers did not live in Denver, when the secretary died suddenly in 1911, she was appointed his successor. She could assume this position with no medical training because sanitariums, treating a disease with no known surgical cure, lagged behind general hospitals as research-oriented teaching facilities whose medical staffs demanded control of budgets. When an audit revealed that her predecessor had embezzled funds, Mrs. Pisco used her reputation as leader of Jewish women's clubs to restore public confidence in the institution. She brought professional efficiency to the business office by removing it from her predecessor's law office to the hospital grounds, hiring women to replace men on her small staff, and using her network of female social work professionals at other Denver institutions to sustain her autonomy against the male medical staff. When nationally sponsored investigations of the hospital in 1912 and 1916 recommended that its administrative autonomy be subordinated to a city-wide Jewish federation of charities, she persuaded Judge Julian Mack of Chicago that the hospital could best treat its patients by retaining its fundraising network and administration. Her correspondence with the president and treasurer of the hospital reveal extraordinary command of fiscal details, rhetorical irony when rebuffing the criticisms of male officers, and charm when persuading city officials to meet the hospital's needs. The hospital remained her life's work, and in 1925 the Women's Pavilion was renamed in her honor. When infirmities slowed her down she retired in 1938.

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[William Toll (2nd ed.)]

PISGAH (Heb. פִּסְגָּה), mountain in Transjordan in the territory of the tribe of Reuben (Josh. 13:20). It lay on the border between the land of Sihon the Amorite and the territory of Reuben, northeast of the Dead Sea (Deut. 3:17; 4:49; Josh. 12:3). In the above passages, the reference is apparently to the slopes of Mt. Pisgah near the Dead Sea (Num. 21:20; 23:14; Deut. 3:27; 34:1). More precisely, they probably refer to the western slope of the mountain. The slopes of Mt. Pisgah served as an important junction for the roads in the area of the mountain ridge of Nebo. It is probably due to the area's geographic location that biblical sources emphasized its location within the borders of Israelite settlement. The "top of Pisgah" (Deut. 34:1) is identified with Ra's al-Siyāgha, west of Mt. Nebo (supposedly the Siyaran mentioned in one version of Targum Onkelos, Num. 32: 3: cf. "*Netinah la-Ger*," *ibid.*). This is the place from which Moses viewed the Promised Land before his death.

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[Michael Avi-Yonah]

PISK, PAUL AMADEUS (1893–1990), musicologist, composer, and pedagogue. Born in Vienna, Pisk studied under Arnold *Schoenberg, Schreker, and Guido *Adler and received a doctorate in musicology from the University of Vienna (1916). He attained prominence as a musical journalist and as a spokesman for progressive German and Austrian composers. Pisk served as secretary of Schoenberg's Society (1918–21) and worked as editor for the *Musikblätter des Anbruch* (1920–28) and the *Wiener Arbeiter-Zeitung* (1921–34). He was a co-founder of the International Society for Contemporary Music (ISCM), and served as director of the music department of the Volkshochschule, Vienna (1922–34). In 1936 he had to immigrate to the United States, becoming a citizen in 1941. He held senior academic posts at various universities, and renewed contact with Schoenberg, *Milhaud, and Hindemith. Pisk composed about 100 works for orchestra, chamber groups and keyboard, dramatic pieces, and choral works. Pisk's compositions tend toward atonality, but do not employ 12-note techniques. Many of them employ folk melodies. Among his publications are a study of the masses of the 16th-century composer Jacobus Gallus (1918) and articles on Schoenberg, Berg, Webern, and modern music. He wrote (with H. Ulrich) *History of Music and Musical Style* (1963). Through a bequest of his the American Musicological Society established the Paul A. Pisk Prize.

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[Naama Ramot (2nd ed.)]

PISSARRO, CAMILLE (1830–1903), French painter. Born into a Sephardi family which had migrated from Bordeaux to the Virgin Islands, he was sent to a boarding school in Paris at the age of 12. At 17 he returned to St. Thomas to become a clerk in his father's general store, but he wanted to be an artist, and ran away to Caracas, Venezuela. After a while he obtained his father's permission to study in France, and from 1855 until his death, he remained in, or near, Paris.

With his socialist-anarchist convictions, he regarded himself a citizen of the world, with no particular religious, racial, or national ties. His wife was of Catholic peasant stock. He was shocked and hurt by the *Dreyfus case, but more as a man of progressive political ideals than as a Jew. Pissarro became a staunch member of a loosely organized group that came into being in 1874 under the name of "Société anonyme des artistes, peintres, sculpteurs, et graveurs" which soon became better known as the "Impressionists." He participated in all of the Impressionists' eight group shows, received his share of abuse from public and press, and held the group together until 1886, after Cézanne, Renoir, and even the prime mover, Monet, had lost interest.

He took his guidance from Corot and Courbet, blending Corot's subtlety of atmospheric effect with the strength and solidity of Courbet. In 1865 he came under the spell of Manet. By that time he had already eliminated black and the siennas and ochers from his palette. In his mid-fifties, he was greatly influenced by Georges Seurat's pointillist technique, and for several years he experimented with the "divisionist" method of painting with little dots of primary color. Yet, he is chiefly known for his Impressionist landscapes and cityscapes. Pissarro thought he saw nature objectively but actually he rendered it just as much from feeling and knowledge as from dispassionate sight – rendered it in solidly constructed, architectural forms. Most of his canvases show a definite desire for order and organization, and a feeling for design. His work is uneven – perhaps more uneven than that of other artists, since he was forced to overproduce in his efforts to keep his family of eight from starvation.

All of Pissarro's sons – Lucien (1863–1944), Georges (1871–1961), Félix (1874–1897), Ludovic-Rudolpe (1878–1952), and Paul-Emile (1884–1972) – were gifted artists, but only one, LUCIEN PISSARRO, achieved a modicum of fame for his Impressionist landscapes and his woodcuts. Lucien played a major part in the introduction of Impressionist painting to England. Educated in France, he was trained by his father and in 1890 went to England, where he met William Morris, Charles Ricketts, and Charles Shannon who interested him in the art of book design. He later set up his own publishing firm, the Eragny Press, and collaborated with his wife in the production of beautifully illustrated books. Among his book productions was *The Book of Ruth and Esther*. Lucien's daughter Orovida (1893–1968) inherited his talent. She signed her work with her first name, and became known for her studies of animals.

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[Alfred Werner]

PISTACHIO (Heb. בָּטְנָה; *botnah*), the tree and fruit of the *Pistacia vera*, a dioecious tree. The female tree produces reddish clusters of nuts with a white shell and a greenish kernel of delicate flavor. The word occurs only once in the Bible, in the plural, (Heb. בָּטְנִים (*botnim*)), among the "choice fruits of the land" sent by Jacob to the ruler of Egypt (Gen. 43:11). The Samaritan translation of the word is *biẓtekin*, i.e., pistachio. The Mishnah calls the tree *botnah* (Shev. 7:5) and its fruit *pistakin*. They were grown in Israel, and subject to tithes (TJ, Ma'as, 1:2, 48d). Two members of its genus, *Pistacia palaestina* and *Pistacia atlantica*, are indigenous to Ereẓ Israel but the fruit is hardly edible. It was customary, however, to graft the pistachio onto the branches of these species whose trees and fruit are called *botmin* (Ar. *but'm*) in the Talmud. The pistachio tree is similar to the latter, but its nuts taste like the almond, and in consequence the ancients thought it to be a hybrid of these two species (TJ, Kil. 1:4, 27a). In modern Hebrew *botnim* is used to designate peanuts. The identification is erroneous, for not only was the peanut brought from the Americas, but it is not a tree, as *botnim* definitely are, according to the Mishnah.

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[Jehuda Feliks]

°**PISTORIUS (DE NIDA), JOHANNES** (1546–1608), German scholar. Pistorius was physician and adviser to the margrave of Baden-Durlach, whom he induced to support the Protestants; he himself later reverted to Catholicism, however, and entered the priesthood in 1591. He is mainly remembered for his *Artis Cabbalisticae, hoc est reconditae theologiae et philosophiae Scriptorum Tomus I* (Basle, 1587), a compendium of Christian mystical literature (including Johannes *Reuchlin's *De Arte Cabalistica* and Archangelus de Burgonuovo's commentaries on the "Conclusions" of Giovanni *Pico della Mirandola) which also contained a translation of Judah *Abrabanel's *Dialoghi di Amore*. A second volume, planned to contain major Jewish kabbalistic works, never appeared, probably as a result of Catholic objections to some of the material in the published compendium. The *Artis Cabbalisticae* was consulted by many later authors and is the most likely source of *Milton's knowledge of the Kabbalah.

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[Godfrey Edmond Silverman]

PITHOM (Egyptian **Per Atum**, "House of the god Atum"), a city mentioned once in the Bible (Ex. 1:11) as one of the two treasury cities (see also *Ramses) which the Israelites were forced to build for Pharaoh. The identification of Pithom with the site of Tell el-Maskhutah near the eastern end of the Wadi Tumilat has been accepted for many years by a large number of scholars despite the lack of any definite evidence that the town located there, Tjeku (= biblical Succoth?), was called Pithom (Per Atum) earlier than the Egyptian 22nd Dynasty (c. 945–730 B.C.E.) or that Ramses II, the supposed pharaoh of the bondage, had built a completely new city there (as implied in Ex. 1:11). The 19th-Dynasty Egyptian text mentioning the "pools of Per-Atum of Merneptah which are in Tjeku" (Papyrus Anastasi IV, 4:56) may or may not refer to this city. An alternative identification of the site as Tell er-Ratabeh, about 22 miles west of Ismailia, has also been proposed and has been accepted by some. The most recent and most convincing identification depends on the Egyptians' use of *Per* (literally "house") in a wider, administrative context as the large region, under the control of the temple of a particular god. *Per* could then refer to a city sacred to that god, as did Per Amun to Thebes and Per Bastet to Bubastis. Since Atum was a manifestation of the sun god, Per Atum could very well have meant *Heliopolis (called On in the Bible). It is quite probable that the Beth-Shemesh of Jeremiah 43:13 is a Hebrew translation of Per Atum. Such an identification is well supported by the size, importance, and fame of Heliopolis.

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[Alan Richard Schulman]

PITIGRILLI (pen name of **Dino Segre**; 1893–1954), Italian author and journalist. After working on the staff of *L'Epoca* in Rome, Segre was a foreign correspondent in Istanbul and later founded two popular reviews, *Le Grandi Firme* and *Il Dramma*, in his native Turin. As Pitigrilli, he wrote novels and short stories which gained considerable notoriety in France as well as Italy for their erotic, often pornographic, themes and qualities, and their analysis, superficial though it was, of moral behavior. They include *La cintura di castita* (1921), *La vergine a 18 carati* (1924), *I vegetariani dell'amore* (1932), and *Dolicocefala bionda* (1936). During the Fascist era Pitigrilli became a police informer and, between 1934 and 1938, collaborated with the OVRA, Mussolini's secret police. As a result of these activities, he later had to seek refuge in Argentina. On his return to Italy after World War II, he ostentatiously embraced Catholicism and wrote anti-Jewish books such as *Mosé e il cavalier Levi* (1948).

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PITTSBURGH, a leading industrial city in western Pennsylvania; in a metropolitan region of 2,500,000, the estimated Jewish population of Greater Pittsburgh (in 2002) was 54,000.

Early History

When the Quaker William Penn received the colonial charter for the area from Charles II in 1680 he incorporated a guarantee of religious freedom. Accordingly, many varied sects settled in Pennsylvania, including Jews. Among the early settlers were Joseph *Simon and Levy Andrew Levy.

After the Revolutionary War, the prosperous Philadelphia merchant David *Franks sent agents, among them Michael Gratz, with pack trains to Pittsburgh so often that their route was labeled Frankstown Road. They and several other Jews bought plots of land, apparently for speculation, and the map indicates a cluster of lots to the east marked "Jewstown," with another area near Sewickley marked "Gratztown." Most of the Jews, like other traders, came and went as itinerant peddlers, but a few remained, striking roots. The first known permanent resident of Pittsburgh to have Jewish ancestry was Samuel Pettigrew, son of Judith Hart, who settled in the town in 1814 and later served as mayor.

On the whole, however, economic difficulties caused by the diversion of river traffic by the Erie Canal kept Jewish immigration down. It was not until 1842 that Jews first met in a *minyan* for worship in a home near the Point. There is a dearth of records of this period, most having been destroyed in the great fire that swept the wooden town in 1845. In that year the Beth Almon Society was formed; land for a cemetery on Troy Hill was bought in 1846. With the building of a railroad in 1849, Jewish settlement began to increase. In 1852 there were 30 Jewish families in Pittsburgh, and six years later the number doubled. By 1854 a group meeting in a room over Vigilant Fire Department organized itself as Rodef Shalom, and in 1861 a building was dedicated on Hancock Street (later Eighth Street), where a Mr. Armhold served as reader, *mohel*, and *shoḥet*. German was the language of sermons and records, but the congregants showed willingness to modify practice regarding covered heads and mixed seating, among others. This caused dissension, and a new group was created in 1864, calling itself Etz Hayim, more conservative in practice. In 1861 Rodef Shalom brought a young English Jew, Josiah Cohen, to head its religious school an preach in English. He later became a distinguished judge.

With the outbreak of the Civil War, Pittsburgh grew in importance and population. From a handful, the number of Jews in 1864 became 750, nearly all of German origin. Ten of their men were in uniform. Women served on the Sanitary Commission, forerunner of the Red Cross. The United Hebrew Relief Society assisted returning soldiers and their families. Expanding heavy industry that was to make Pittsburgh the "Workshop of the World" drew great streams of immigration from Europe. The population had outgrown the Triangle and pushed upward, with stores on Fifth Avenue and small red-brick houses on adjacent streets on the "Hill." Some moved across the river to the town of Allegheny. More affluent Jews followed them there. By 1877 there were 2,000 Jews in Pittsburgh, many of them recent immigrants from Lithuania, sharing in the ferment of the industrial growth of the city and its environs. Many peddlers moved out to the surrounding towns, but all returned to the city for the Sabbath and holidays and for *kasher* food.

In 1885 a national group of leading Reform rabbis, led by Rabbi Isaac Mayer *Wise, met in Pittsburgh and articulated a series of points that were to be known as the *Pittsburgh Platform.

Eastern European Immigration

The Russian pogroms of 1881 set in motion the mass exodus which brought Russian Jews to America. Many thousands came to Pittsburgh, raising its Jewish population to 15,000 by 1905. The earlier residents received the penniless immigrants as their own, despite barriers of language and provincial manners. They doled out silver dollars for Sabbath meals, and helped to find lodgings and jobs. The Council of Jewish Women provided English teachers, gave guidance to homeless girls, and conducted classes in religion for children. The Gusky Orphanage was established, and various family and health services were founded. The Hebrew Free Loan Association assisted the newcomers with small sums to start them in business.

The rush of immigration brought an influx of well-educated Hebraic scholars from the yeshivot of Lithuania and Poland. In 1877 Rabbi Markowitz led the first of many Orthodox congregations. Rabbi Simon Sivitz founded the Shaare Torah Congregation and *talmud torah* in 1888. In 1901 Rabbi Aaron *Ashinsky led Beth Jacob and Beth Hamedrash Hagodol, and was a driving force in creating new agencies conducted in the Orthodox tradition, including the House of Shelter, Home for Aged, and Hebrew Institute. A variety of synagogues served Russian, Polish, Galician, and Hungarian groups. The demand for *kasher* food in a hospital and the need for professional openings for Jewish doctors inspired a group of women, led by Mrs. Barnett David, to inaugurate fund raising that led to the creation of Montefiore Hospital. The Irene Kaufmann Settlement was the recreation center for large numbers of immigrants. By 1912 a full complement of social agencies united in the Federation of Jewish Philanthropies, with headquarters on Fernando Street, easily accessible to the Yiddish-speaking community from the Hill. In that year there were 35,000 Jews in Pittsburgh. By the close of free immigration in 1925, there were 60,000 Jews in the area, many of whom had begun spilling over the margins of the Hill to Oakland, East End, and Squirrel Hill.

A complex community was growing. The Workmen's Circle fostered socialist ideas in an agnostic framework. Largely inspired by Rabbi Ashinsky, a vibrant Zionist movement flourished. A branch of the American Jewish Committee came into being; the B'nai B'rith lodges multiplied, and the American Jewish Congress added a note of militancy. Jewish War Veterans organized a Post.

Post-World War I

A new generation of young people, native American Jews, moved with enthusiasm and talent through the public schools, heading on to colleges and eastern universities. English was spoken everywhere, and prevailing American social amenities were the norm. Attendance at worship services dropped off and religious education reached a low ebb. But the Jews were playing an appreciable role in the growth of Pittsburgh. Parallel with the vast development of the steel industry, Jewish storekeeping had blossomed into great department stores – Kaufmann's, Kaufmann and Baer's, Rosenbaum's, Frank and Seder's. These and other Jewish names appeared among those who sponsored symphony concerts, art exhibitions, and other cultural events. Although the leading social clubs still practiced exclusion, Jews had created pleasant facilities for themselves and began to emerge on the political and social scene, a number serving with distinction in the judiciary, city-council, board of education, and state legislature.

With the Depression of the 1930s, the Jews were able to "take care of their own" through numerous agencies which were united in the Federation of Jewish Philanthropies. As the decade advanced and the urgency to provide help for German Jewry became evident, new service and fund-raising agencies were called into being. In 1936 the United Jewish Fund was established. Reacting to the Nazi tragedy, Pittsburgh received its share of refugees from Germany, responded with fervor to the effort to create a Jewish homeland, and raised unprecedented sums for overseas relief.

A total transfer of Jewish population had taken place from the Hill to Squirrel Hill and the suburbs. New structures housed the synagogues, old and new. Awakened by the Holocaust, a renewed zeal for Jewish education resulted in highly developed programs of the Hebrew Institute, Hillel, and the Advanced Jewish Study Program of the United Jewish Federation. Synagogues responded with emphasis on education and youth, as well as keen interest in the State of Israel.

In 1970 Pittsburgh Jewry numbered 45,000, a decrease attributable to a growing tendency to relocate in the suburbs. Leadership passed into the hands of a new generation, largely of eastern European origin. Rodef Shalom remained the largest and most prestigious congregation, although no longer dominated solely by the "German" families. Montefiore Hospital, with 500 beds, was a teaching arm of the University of Pittsburgh. The Symphony Orchestra included many Jews, players as well as the conductor, and many generous patrons. There were several hundred Jewish teachers and principals in the public schools, and many distinguished members of university faculties. Jewish names were outstanding in the city's history – Otto *Stern, Nobel prize winner; Alexander Silverman, glass chemist; Joseph Slepian, electrical engineer; George S. *Kaufman, dramatist; Jonas *Salk, discoverer of polio vaccine; Solomon B. *Freehof, rabbi; Samuel Rosenberg, artist; William Steinberg, conductor; and Immanuel Estermann, physicist.

[Lillian A. Friedberg]

A study by the United Jewish Federation of Pittsburgh in 2002 revealed the following information:

In 2002, there were 54,000 people living in 20,900 Greater Pittsburgh Jewish households. In 1984, there were 47,700 people living in 19,000 Jewish households. This represents an increase of 14% in the number of people living in Jewish households and 10% in the number of households. The number of Jewish people in Greater Pittsburgh has declined by approximately 6% since 1984, but, in context, the Allegheny County population decreased by 11.6% during a similar time period (1980–2000).

Contrary to the graying of American Jews, 48% of the Jewish community of Pittsburgh is under the age of 40, and of those age 22 to 39, 40% have moved to the city in the past 10 years. Thus Pittsburgh is attracting young Jews.

The study reveals that Squirrel Hill remains a very vibrant, stable, and desirable neighborhood for the community. The Squirrel Hill section of Pittsburgh accounts for 47% of the entire Jewish population in greater Pittsburgh. Unique in North America, this is a tightly knit and closely connected third generation community. Often grandchildren live in their grandparents' homes as the generational transition keeps homes in the family. The infrastructure built up before World War II – and enhanced since then – continues to serve the community. Notable is the stability of Squirrel Hill, a geographic hub of the Jewish community located within the city limits. Other Jews are dispersed throughout the community and less linked to it. The Jewish population of the South Hills comprises 14% of the total; the Eastern Suburbs, 13%; the Fox Chapel/O'Hara Township and sections of the North Hills, 9%; East End, defined as East Liberty, Highland Park, and Stanton Heights, 5%; and the Western Suburbs, 5%.

The Pittsburgh Jewish community still has a significant elderly population, with 18% over the age of 65; unlike most North American Jewish communities, this percentage is comparable to the population in the country as a whole and not disproportionate to it. Perhaps this can be accounted for by the large percentage of elderly Jews who have moved to warmer climates. One in four Jews over 65 lives alone and almost one half have no adult children in the area.

The study showed significant needs in the Greater Pittsburgh Jewish community among the Jewish poor and near poor; 59% of households with incomes under $25,000 report "fair" or "poor" health.

Regarding Jewish denomination, 41% of all Jewish respondents self-identified as Reform, 32% as Conservative, 7% as Orthodox, 2% as Reconstructionist, and 14% as "no denomination, just Jewish."

The quantitative study was based on telephone interviews with 1,313 Jewish households conducted between November 8, 2001, and February 1, 2002. A Jewish household was defined as a residence where at least one adult considered himself/herself to be Jewish.

Pittsburgh has 28 congregations, among them Orthodox, Conservative, Reform, and Reconstructionist, as well as Gay. There is a Jewish women's center as well. There are Hillel Foundations at the University of Pittsburgh, Duquesne, and Carnegie Mellon as well as smaller schools in the area. The community has two Jewish Community Centers, one in Squirrel Hill and one in South Hill. Its local newspaper is the *Jewish Chronicle*, which serves western Pennsylvania and West Virginia as well. There is a community day school as well as the Hillel Academy. Yeshiva Schools and Mesivta of Allegheny County serve the Orthodox community. The United Jewish Federation of Pittsburgh was one of the first to sponsor a Holocaust Resource Center, and Jewish Studies programs are found at Pittsburgh and Carnegie Mellon University.

[Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

BIBLIOGRAPHY: M. Taylor, *Jewish Community of Pittsburgh, December, 1938* (1941); A.J. Karp (ed.), *Jewish Experience in America*, 1 and 4 (1968), indexes.

PITTSBURGH PLATFORM. The Pittsburgh Platform was a formulation of principles agreed upon by the Reform movement in 1885 at the Pittsburgh Conference. The conference was called together by Kaufmann *Kohler of New York and was chaired by Isaac M. *Wise of Cincinnati, the foremost figure in *Reform Judaism. The Pittsburgh Platform symbolized the merger of the Eastern U.S. and Germanic-oriented wings of Reform Judaism. The Eastern wing had previously been led by David *Einhorn, Kohler's father-in-law; Wise led the Germanic-oriented wing, which was stronger in the western U.S.

The following points were agreed upon and became known as the Pittsburgh Platform:

> First – We recognize in every religion an attempt to grasp the Infinite, and in every mode, source, or book or revelation held sacred in any religious system, the consciousness of the indwelling of God in man. We hold that Judaism presents the highest conception of the God idea as taught in our holy Scriptures and developed and spiritualized by the Jewish teachers, in accordance with the moral and philosophical progress of their respective ages. We maintain that Judaism preserved and defended, midst continual struggles and trials and under enforced isolation, this God idea as the central religious truth for the human race.
>
> Second – We recognize in the Bible the record of the consecration of the Jewish people to its mission as priest of the one God, and value it as the most potent instrument of religious and moral instruction. We hold that the modern discoveries of scientific researches in the domains of nature and history are not antagonistic to the doctrines of Judaism, the Bible reflecting the primitive ideas of its own age, and at times clothing its conception of Divine Providence and justice, dealing with man in miraculous narratives.
>
> Third – We recognize in the Mosaic legislation a system of training the Jewish people for its mission during its national life in Palestine, and today we accept as binding only the moral laws, and maintain only such ceremonies as elevate and sanctify our lives, but reject all such as are not adapted to the views and habits of modern civilization.
>
> Fourth – We hold that all such Mosaic and rabbinical laws as regulate diet, priestly purity, and dress, originated in ages and under the influence of ideas altogether foreign to our present mental and spiritual state. They fail to impress the modern Jew with a spirit of priestly holiness; their observance in our days is apt rather to obstruct than to further modern spiritual elevation.
>
> Fifth – We recognize, in the modern era of universal culture of heart and intellect, the approaching of the realization of Israel's great messianic hope for the establishment of the kingdom of truth, justice, and peace among all men. We consider ourselves no longer a nation, but a religious community, and therefore expect neither a return to Palestine, nor a sacrificial worship under the sons of Aaron, nor the restoration of any of the laws concerning the Jewish state.
>
> Sixth – We recognize in Judaism a progressive religion, ever striving to be in accord with the postulates of reason. We are convinced of the utmost necessity of preserving the historical identity with our great past. Christianity and Islam being daughter religions of Judaism, we appreciate their providential mission to aid in the spreading of monotheistic and moral truth. We acknowledge that the spirit of broad humanity of

> our age is our ally in the fulfillment of our mission, and therefore, we extend the hand of fellowship to all who operate with us in the establishment of the reign of truth and righteousness among men.
>
> Seventh – We reassert the doctrine of Judaism, that the soul of man is immortal, grounding this belief on the divine nature of the human spirit, which forever finds bliss in righteousness and misery in wickedness. We reject as ideas not rooted in Judaism the beliefs both in bodily resurrection and in Gehenna and Eden (Hell and Paradise) as abodes for everlasting punishment or reward.
>
> Eighth – In full accordance with the spirit of Mosaic legislation, which strives to regulate the relation between rich and poor, we deem it our duty to participate in the great task of modern times, to solve on the basis of justice and righteousness, the problems presented by the contrasts and evils of the present organization of society.

At its founding in 1889, the *Central Conference of American Rabbis (CCAR), the Reform rabbinical organization, adopted the platform in toto, and it remained the major statement of the basic tenets of Reform Judaism until its extensive revision by the CCAR in Columbus, Ohio, in 1937.

An examination of the platform indicates its religious optimism. It is prepared to accept the legitimacy of other religious perspectives; all religions have some truth, but Judaism has the highest truth. It places its emphasis on the Bible – in contrast to the Talmud – but the Bible is described not as divine revelation but as the consecration of the Jewish people to its mission. The third element of the platform affirms the moral codes of Jewish tradition but discards the obligations of non-moral, ritual dimensions of the tradition. It treats laws as utilitarian; modernity becomes the key to the acceptance of laws. The fourth principle rejects halakhic restrictions on diet, priestly purity, and dress. Again, modern sensibility becomes the standard. The fifth principle embraces modernity as the realization of Israel's dream of a messianic age, rejecting the return to Zion and the restoration of sacrifice. "We consider ourselves no longer a nation, but a religious community." These words reject Jewish peoplehood, the essence of the Zionist vision. Principle six regards Judaism as being in accord with reason and rejects the non-rational in religious life. The seventh principle rejects bodily resurrection and a belief in heaven and hell as alien imports into Judaism. And the final element of the platform asserts the agenda of religious liberalism, working for justice and righteousness.

These principles defined Reform Judaism for almost half a century and distinguished it from Orthodox Judaism and Conservative Judaism as well as from Zionism. The Pittsburgh Platform is often referred to as Classical Reform Judaism. Reform rabbis, even leaders of the movement, did not necessarily adhere to these principles. Many were more Zionist in their orientation. Some were more observant, but it gave an ethos to the movement, one that was significantly rejected in 1937 with the Columbus Platform and by generations thereafter.

[Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

PITTUM HA-KETORET (Heb. פִּטּוּם הַקְּטֹרֶת; "ingredients of the incense"), the initial words of a *baraita* (Ker. 6a and TJ, Yoma 4:5, 41d) which enumerates the various species of incense offerings in the Temple service every evening and morning (see: Ex. 30: 34–38). In the Ashkenazi liturgy, this talmudic passage is recited on Sabbaths and festivals at the end of the Musaf prayer immediately after the *Ein ke-Elohenu hymn; in the Sephardi ritual it is recited every morning and afternoon. The custom of reciting *Pittum ha-Ketoret* is based on a quotation in the Zohar (to Num. 224a), where it is stated that a person who recites the section of incenses will be spared death (see also: Num. 17:12 and Yoma 44a). In Provence (southern France), it was customary to recite *Pittum ha-Ketoret* at the departure of the Sabbath, after the *Havdalah* service, as a good omen for wealth and prosperity (Abraham ha-Yarḥi, *Sefer ha-Manhig*, ed. Berlin (1855), Hilkhot Shabbat, 75, 35a).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: G. Munk, *The World of Prayer* 1 (1961), 193; 2 (1963), 58–59; Eisenstein, Dinim, s.v.

°**PIUS X** (1835–1914), pope from 1903. Friendly to individual Jews and ready to acknowledge their philanthropic activities, he was, however, disdainful of Judaism and the Jewish people. On one occasion, while serving as bishop of Mantua, he prohibited the celebration of a solemn mass in honor of the king's birthday because the mayor had attended a prayer service in the synagogue on that day. The pope reacted bitterly to a festive address by Ernesto *Nathan, mayor of Rome, on Sept. 20, 1910, delivered on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the occupation of Rome by Italian troops, and asked Catholics to pray for the Church "which was being attacked with impunity by its enemies." On Jan. 25, 1904, he received Theodor *Herzl in private audience, only to inform him that he could not support the aspirations of Zionism despite Herzl's expressed statement that Jerusalem, because of its holy places, would be extraterritorial. The pope declared: "The Jews have not recognized our Lord, therefore we cannot recognize the Jewish people," and settlement of Ereẓ Israel by the Jews, he felt, would only make it incumbent upon him to intensify missionary activities among them: "If you come to Palestine and settle your people there, we shall have churches and priests ready to baptize all of you."

BIBLIOGRAPHY: K. Burton, *The Great Mantle. The Life of Giuseppe Melchiore Sarto, Pope Pius X* (1950); T. Herzl, *Complete Diaries*, ed. by R. Patai, 5 (1960), index.

[Willehad Paul Eckert]

°**PIUS XI** (1857–1939), pope from 1922. Concerned about the safety of the holy places, Pius XI had misgivings regarding the Palestine mandate. A decree of the Holy Office (March 21, 1928) proscribed the Amici Israel Association (founded two years earlier) which, though missionary in its ideology, tried to promote better understanding of Judaism. The Holy Office declared the organization contrary to the spirit of the Church, finding fault specifically with its publication *Pax* *super Israel*, which called upon its members to promote rapprochement with the Jews, while avoiding all offensive references and stressing the fact that the Jews continue to be the Chosen People. At the same time, however, the decree also proscribed antisemitism on the basis that it is contradictory to Christian doctrine.

Although Pius XI did not respond to a plea submitted to him in 1933 by a Catholic convert from Judaism, Edith *Stein, to issue an encyclical on the so-called Jewish problem, he condemned racism repeatedly. To a group of Belgian pilgrims, whom he received on Sept. 8, 1938, Pius XI declared: "It is not possible for Christians to take part in antisemitism. Spiritually we are Semites." His efforts to protect the Jews in Fascist Italy against antisemitic actions met with some success. He also helped immigrants and on Jan. 14, 1939, called upon the envoys accredited to the Holy See to provide as many immigration visas as possible "for the victims of racial persecution in Germany and Italy." It was during his pontificate that La *Civilta Cattolica, a Jesuit organ which had previously been anti-Jewish, protested that the periodical had been misused by the Fascists.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: G. Lewy, *The Catholic Church and Nazi Germany* (1964); G. Schwaiger, *Geschichte der Paepste im 20. Jahrhundert* (1968); S. Friedlaender, *Pius XII and the Third Reich* (1966), index.

[Willehad Paul Eckert]

°**PIUS XII** (1876–1958), pope from 1939. Born Eugenio Maria Giuseppe Giovanni Pacelli, in Rome, he entered the Secretariat of State in 1901, was professor of ecclesiastical diplomacy at the Pontifical Ecclesiastical Academy from 1909 to 1914, undersecretary of state in 1911, archbishop of Sardes and apostolic nuncio to the Bavarian court in Munich in 1917, and nuncio to Germany in 1920 but moving to Berlin only in 1925. In 1929 Pacelli concluded a concordat with the State of Prussia. He became cardinal in 1929 and secretary of state in 1930. Cardinal Pacelli was instrumental in negotiating the concordat between the Holy See and the Third Reich, which was signed on July 20, 1933, by him and Vice Chancellor von Papen. His ambivalent stance during the Nazi period subsequently gave rise to considerable controversy (much of it engendered by Rolf *Hochhuth's play *The Deputy*; for a full analysis see *Holocaust and the Christian Churches). On April 10, 1945, he received Moshe *Sharett, director of the Political Department of the Jewish Agency, to discuss with him the "situation of the Jews in Europe and the future of the Jews in Palestine." His views on the situation in Ereẓ Israel found expression in the encyclicals *Auspicia quaedam* (May 1, 1948), *In multiplicibus curis* (Oct. 24, 1948), and *In redemptoris nostri* (April 15, 1949), in which he recommended that Jerusalem should be internationalized. His attitude toward the State of Israel was reserved. On June 10, 1948, the Congregation of Rites ruled that the term *perfidi Judaei* in the Good Friday liturgy be translated into the vernacular as "unbelieving" and not as "faithless" as it had been hitherto.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: D. Fisher, *Pope Pius XII and the Jews* (1963); E.R. Bentley (ed.), *The Storm over the Deputy* (1964); G. Lewy, *The Catholic Church and Nazi Germany* (1964); S. Friedlaender, *Pius XII and the Third Reich* (1966); L. Rothkirchen, in: *Yad Vashem Studies*, 6 (1967), 27–53; P.E. Lapide, *Three Popes and the Jews* (1967), 117–305; C. Falconi, *The Silence of Pius XII* (1970).

[Willehad Paul Eckert]

PIYYUT (Heb. פִּיּוּט; plural: *piyyutim*; from the Greek ποιητής), a lyrical composition intended to embellish an obligatory prayer or any other religious ceremony, communal or private. In a wider sense, *piyyut* is the totality of compositions composed in various genres of Hebrew liturgical poetry from the first centuries of the Common Era until the beginning of the Haskalah. In ancient times, the *piyyutim* were intended to replace most of the set versions of prayer and to serve as substitutes. They ensured variety of the obligatory prayers, mainly on Sabbaths and festivals. In a later period, when the prayers became fixed, sections of *piyyut* were interspersed in certain places within the set pattern of the prayers. Naturally, most of the very extensive *piyyut* literature is devoted to the adornment of the major holy days. However, during the early Oriental (eastern) period of the history of the *piyyut*, liturgical compositions were also produced in great abundance for regular Sabbaths, for simple fast days, and even for weekdays. Obligatory prayers were also embellished with special sets of *piyyutim* for private occasions, such as weddings, circumcisions, and mourning. (See Table: *Piyyut*.)

The History of the *Piyyut*

Piyyut literature began in Ereẓ Israel while the various versions of the obligatory prayers were crystallizing. Though the evidence from this period is limited, texts of ancient *piyyutim* are to be found scattered in talmudic sources, and *piyyutim* which apparently were composed during this period were absorbed into the established versions of the various rites of prayer. These ancient segments are recognizable by their lofty style and characteristic rhythm; they do not as yet use rhyme. The ancient compositions, known in part from the Cairo *Genizah* and in part from other sources, and similarly characterized by their style and rhythm, were also apparently composed during this period, which may be called "the period of the anonymous *piyyut*."

The earliest *paytan* known to us by name is *Yose b. Yose, who lived and worked in Ereẓ Israel in approximately the sixth century or even earlier. His works still retain the above-mentioned characteristics of the form; they do not employ rhyme, even though something similar to rhyme can be seen in his *teki'ot*, where similar words are employed as line endings. With Yose b. Yose begins the period of the *paytanim* whose names are known; the period is represented by a group of important poets from Ereẓ Israel, who all seem to have been functioning before Ereẓ Israel was conquered by the Arabs (636 C.E.). The most important of these *paytanim* are *Yannai, *Simeon b. Megas, Eleazar b. *Kallir, *Ḥaduta b. Abraham, Joshua ha-

Kohen, and Joseph b. Nisan from Shaveh Kiryatayim. During their period, the structural framework of most of the classical *piyyut* types was finally crystallized. Even after Ereẓ Israel was conquered by the Arabs, all the great *paytanim* worked in the East; from then until the beginning of the 11th century this literature flourished; a great quantity of *piyyutim* was produced. For the first time *paytanim* from abroad, such as Solomon Suleiman b. ʾAmr al-Sanjari, Nissi al-Nahrawani, *Saadiah Gaon, Joseph al-Bardani, and others, begin to appear. Outstanding among the *paytanim* of Ereẓ Israel are *Phinehas b. Jacob ha-Kohen from Kafra at the beginning of the period, and *Samuel ha-Shelishi b. Hoshana at its close. Toward the end of the period, creative activity spread to North Africa, which in the tenth and eleventh centuries became a fruitful extension of Oriental *piyyut*.

On European soil, the first blossoms of *piyyut* literature appeared in Byzantine southern Italy in the second half of the ninth century. Only a few *piyyutim* from among the creations of the early Italian *paytanim*, *Silano, *Shephatiah, and his son *Amittai, are now extant, but even these testify to an extensive and consolidated literary activity, which, despite a number of interesting points of originality, reveals blatant signs of the influence of Ereẓ Israel. The creative work of the *paytanim* of southern Italy became, in the tenth century, a basis for the development of *piyyut* in central and northern Italy. The *paytanim* working there, headed by *Solomon b. Judah ha-Bavli, created a precedent for Central European *piyyut*, whose major representatives henceforth worked in Italy, Ashkenaz (Germany), France, and Byzantine Greece. The most important region of Central European sacred poetry was Germany, where the *piyyut* developed impressively because of the activity of a number of great *paytanim* in the 10th–11th centuries, such as *Moses b. Kalonymus, *Meshullam b. Kalonymus (both of Italian extraction), *Simeon b. Isaac, and Meir b. Isaac. In the succeeding centuries, Ashkenazi *piyyut* continued to develop, and a number of important composers made major contributions to the literature.

The direct continuation of Oriental *piyyut* was in Spain, where, beginning in the middle of the tenth century, several generations of great composers functioned. Outstanding among these are Joseph *Ibn Abitur, Solomon ibn *Gabirol, Isaac *Ibn Ghayyat, Moses *Ibn Ezra, *Judah Halevi, and Abraham *Ibn Ezra. These Spanish *paytanim* attained impressive peaks of perfection. Even though creativity in the realm of *piyyut* did not cease in Central Europe, Northern Africa, or the East until the beginning of the Haskalah, the 13th century marks the beginning of the decline; later *paytanim*, despite their often impressive productivity, failed to create major works. Although some of their poetry was included in local prayer rites, most of it has been excluded from accepted prayer books.

Types of *Piyyut*

Piyyutim can be divided according to their liturgical purpose into a number of categories, differing in their histories and development, their structures, and their distribution. In different periods, certain types of *piyyutim* were more prevalent than others. The earliest and most important types of *piyyut* are the *kerovah* and the *yoẓer*. The *kerovah* is designed for inclusion in the *Amidah* prayer, while the *yoẓer* belongs to the benedictions before and after the **Shema* in the **Shaḥarit* service. The *kerovot* divide into a number of secondary categories, according to the types of *Amidah* to which they are attached: the *kerovah* of the daily *Amidah* is called *kerovat Shemoneh Esreh* because of the 18 blessings in that *Amidah*; that of *Musaf* or *Ma'ariv Amidah* for Sabbaths and the holy days is called *shivata* because of the seven blessings in these *Amidot*; while that of the *Shaḥarit Amidah* of the Sabbath and holy days, which include a *kedushah*, is called *kedushata* (in ancient Ereẓ Israel, *kedushah* was said on Sabbaths and festivals only in the *Shaḥarit* service). Each of the types of *kerovah* has its own structural characteristics. The *kerovah*, mainly the *kedushata*, is thought of as the dominant type of ancient *piyyut*. The *yoẓer* is combined from several types of *piyyut*, according to the structure of the permanent prayers replaced or embellished by *piyyut*. The *yoẓer* enjoyed great circulation mainly in the second period of Oriental *piyyut*, between the seventh and eleventh centuries. Parallel to the *yoẓerot*, which were intended for *Shaḥarit*, there are also, during this period, *piyyutim* of *Ma'ariv*, intended to adorn the blessings before and after the *Shema* in the evening service. This type of *piyyut*, however, was never widely employed.

Among the *kerovot* of the major holidays, a number of special types of *piyyut* for different occasions are found. These include *teki'ata*, which adorns the **malkhuyyot*, **zikhronot*, and **shofarot* blessings in the *Musaf Amidot* for New Year; *Seder ha-*Avodah* (which describes the sacrificial service on the Day of Atonement during the time the Temple was in existence), in the *Musaf kerovah* of the Day of Atonement; or the **azharot*, which discuss the list of 613 *mitzvot* in the Torah, in the *shivatot* of *Musaf* for Shavuot. The *kerovot* for fast days include **seliḥot* (penitential), while the *kerovot* for the Ninth of Av include *kinot* (dirges). In some communities these *seliḥot* and *kinot* were removed in later periods from the *kerovot* and placed after them. *Seliḥot* were also composed for the Days of Penitence during the month of Elul and between New Year and the Day of Atonement. The special processions for the days of Tabernacles (Sukkot) were embellished with *hoshana piyyutim* (see **Hoshanot*). In the early period of *piyyut*, works were not composed to adorn religious ceremonies outside of the obligatory prayers, except for the Grace after Meals, and even in that case, they were probably intended, from the start, for use at communal festive meals or at meals for religious ceremonies. Similarly, *ashkavah piyyutim* were composed in this period (*aftarot*, or *ẓidduk ha-din*, "funeral services").

All the classical types of *piyyut* were cultivated to some extent by the later European *paytanim*. However, the scope of the *piyyut* literature was greatly enlarged, mainly in Spain, by the creation of a number of new types of *piyyut*. The Spanish *paytanim* preceded the accepted patterns of the *yoẓer* with a number of *piyyut* passages which they interlaced in the prayer said on Sabbaths and festivals before the *yoẓer* prayers. These types are known as the *nishmat*, the *muḥarakh*, the *illufinu*, and the *kol aẓmotai*. The Spanish *paytanim* also cultivated the type known as *reshut* (pl. *reshuyyot*, "introductory *piyyutim*"), and they joined these works to the *Barukh she-Amar* prayer, to *nishmat*, to **Kaddish* after *nishmat*, to **Barekhu*, and so on. In addition to their extensive work with these types, the Spanish *paytanim* developed new types of special *piyyutim* for private religious ceremonies, such as Sabbath songs and **Havdalot*, as well as types of religious poetry intended to satisfy the spiritual needs of the individual. To a certain extent, the Ashkenazi *paytanim* followed them in these areas.

A considerable part of the creative efforts of the European *paytanim* was dedicated to the type known as *seliḥot* for fast days and days of penitence. Because of the great creative activity in this area, a number of secondary types within the category have been distinguished, some partly because of thematic distinctions and some because of formal distinctions. The early Oriental *seliḥah* recognized only the category *ḥatanu* (*seliḥot* of confession), and the *tokhaḥah* ("rebuke") as a secondary type. In a later period, the **Akedah* type was added to them, in which God's mercy is requested for Israel because of the merit of the binding of Isaac. According to structural distinctions, a number of secondary types of *seliḥot* are distinguishable, of which the important ones are the *pizmon* (a *seliḥah* with an opening refrain and a strophe), and the *mustagib* (a *seliḥah* in which a biblical passage appears as a refrain at the end of every verse). In specific sources, especially Ashkenazi, the *seliḥot* are distinguished by special names according to their place in the calendar, their composers, the way they are said, or the number of lines in their poetic phrases.

Language and Style

The style and the vocabulary of the *paytanim* vary in the different periods and different poetic schools. In the anonymous period of *piyyut*, the style followed the stylistic and lexical paths of the permanent prayers; the vocabulary is mostly biblical, even though some later linguistic bases – midrashic and talmudic – may be found in it. The style of the *piyyutim* is lucid and clear and contains little wordplay or rhetorical embellishment. With the work of Yannai, Hebrew sacral poetry becomes more and more expansive in its vocabulary and increasingly vague and flowery in its style. During the whole Oriental period of the *piyyut*, the composers used not only the whole Hebrew lexicon, with all its various layers and strata (to a certain extent, in the early *piyyut* creations, ancient Hebrew words with no mention in the sources are preserved) but they also adorned the *piyyut* with idioms and words of their own creation. The poetic novelties of language and form, which do not always fit the classical rules of Hebrew grammar, gave a singular stylistic character to the poetic creations, and frequently aroused harsh criticism. These *paytanim* (who are included among those of the Kallir school, so called after its major representative, the *paytan* Eleazar b. Kallir), often used a complicated set of terms, flavoring their works with an abundance of talmudic and midrashic material, or with (sometimes vague) allusions to this material. Thus, some of their works became enigmatic, constituting difficult exegetical problems. From a linguistic point of view, *piyyut* reached its peak in the works of Saadiah Gaon and his pupils, during the tenth and eleventh centuries. The *paytanim* of the "Saadiah school" were the most radical in establishing novel uses of language in their *piyyutim*.

As a reaction to the Saadianic style of exaggerated innovations, and probably under the influence of the new ways and principles of Andalusian arabized secular poetry and of philological studies, Hebrew sacred poetry in Spain crystallized within clearly biblical frameworks of language and style. The first of the Spanish *paytanim* composed their works according to the example of the later Oriental *paytanim*. In addition to the works written in this style, there exists a parallel group of works, written in the Spanish model in a language which strives to recognize only a biblical vocabulary and in a style which strives to free itself of talmudic and midrashic material and allusions to the teachings of the rabbis. The style of the Spanish *piyyutim* is impressively lucid and flexible, approaching the style of secular poetry; in this period, sacred poetry was notably influenced by secular poetry both in form and in lyrical means of expression. Solomon ibn Gabirol was instrumental in the process by which the *piyyut* was increasingly purified of the linguistic-stylistic exaggerations of eastern *piyyut*; the earliest of the Spanish *paytanim* whose work appears to be entirely within the new stylistic framework is Isaac Ibn Ghayyat. During this period, the style of writing of the Spanish *paytanim* greatly influenced the *paytanim* of other lands, such as North Africa, Yemen, Ereẓ Israel, Babylonia, and Provence. Certain traces of Spanish influence are found also in later Ashkenazi *piyyut*. In general, Central European *piyyut* remained faithful to the Kallir model in language and style. Even so, Italian and Ashkenazi poets were more restrained and moderate in their use of language and style. In the creations of the greatest of them, the poetic language reaches impressive heights of beauty and flexibility.

Rhyme and Meter

The ancient anonymous *piyyut* did not employ rhyme. The *piyyutim* composed during this period with the characteristic method of dividing each poetic line into four feet, each one having two or three stresses, are limited. With the beginning of the use of rhyme, or more specifically, with the period of the literary activity of Yannai, the *paytanim* concentrate much more on rhyme than on rhythm. Those of the Kallir school attained great virtuosity in their methods of rhyming and playing with rhyme, and this lowered the level and content of the creations, especially in the works of mediocre *paytanim*. A number of eastern *paytanim* wrote their works in a peculiar rhythmic system (known as *mishkal ha-tevot*), by establishing an identical number of words or stresses in every poetic line, but this method is found in only a few works, and was used more widely in the works of the first Central European *paytanim*, who also continued and developed the traditions of rhyme of the early Kallir school. It was the Spanish *paytanim* who introduced a precise method of rhythm in their *piyyutim*. Many of their works, mainly in the specific types of *piyyut* which originated in Spain, are subject to the quantitative method of meter – Arabic in its source – of secular poetry, but the major part of their work is in a unique meter created in Spain for sacred poetry. This is mainly syllabic, meting out to each line of poetry a specific fixed number of grammatical syllables. In Spain, however, the *paytanim* also continued to compose *piyyutim* without meter, particularly in the classical types of *piyyut*. Rhyme also developed impressively in Spain, particularly in the short types of *piyyut*, under the influence of the *ezor* (Muwassaha) type of secular poems. Many *piyyutim*, some metered precisely according to the example of the *ezor* type, some metered according to the special method of Spanish *piyyut*, have a variegated and rich rhyme, which competes successfully with the best achievements of Hebrew secular poetry in Spain.

Signatures

The first *paytanim* signed their *piyyutim* only with their own names. Later, they added patronymics and the places where they wrote; and, after a while, they added blessings and the like. At times, the *paytanim* also added the names of relatives.

Collections of *Piyyutim*

The extent to which *piyyutim* were incorporated into the prayer service differs in time and locality. In ancient times, there was fierce opposition to the *piyyut* literature, mainly from the great academy in Babylonia. Nevertheless, it appears that there was a wide use of *piyyutim* in most of the early eastern communities. During this period there were still no fixed collections of *piyyutim* for the use of various communities. Rather, each cantor recited *piyyutim* according to his taste and choice. Only in later periods, when the congregations took greater part in prayer services, was the set recitation of certain *piyyutim* for various liturgical occasions practiced. These fixed prayers, which multiplied, led to the collections of *piyyutim* (*maḥzorim*, books of *seliḥot*, and *kinot*) which established for every occasion passages of *piyyut*, whose recitation was repeated year after year. At first, each community established its own collection, usually by choosing *piyyut* passages and adding the works of local composers. In a later period, the distinctions between the collections of *piyyutim* of the various communities became increasingly blurred and, with the invention of printing, unified collections of *piyyutim* crystallized for different rites of prayer. (See table on following page.)

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[Ezra Fleischer]

The following list contains:

1. Those *paytanim* and pre-modern poets who have individual entries in the Encyclopedia – included are those who are either primarily *paytanim* or famous as such;
2. Paytanim and pre-modern poets who do not have individual entries and who are not included in (1) Davidson's *Oẓar ha-Shirah ve-ha-Piyyut* (vol. 4, pp. 347) which was completed in 1933 (Davidson's additions were published in HUCA 12–13, 1937–38);
3. Paytanim and pre-modern poets who are in Davidson but on whom new material has been made available in the intervening years.

The list is alphabetical according to the first names.

The abbreviations used (other than standard) are the following:

Bernstein, Italyah – S. Bernstein, *Mi-Shirei Yisrael be-Italyah* (1939).

Bernstein, Piyyutim – S. Bernstein, *Piyyutim u-Faytanim meha-Tekufah ha-Bizantinit* (1941).

Habermann, Ateret – A.M. Habermann, *Ateret Renanim* (1967).

Schirmann, Italyah – J. Schirmann, *Mivḥar ha-Shirah ha-Ivrit be-Italyah* (1934).

Schirmann, Sefarad – J. Schirmann, *Ha-Shirah ha-Ivrit bi-Sefarad u-vi-Provence*, 2 vols. (1959–60^2).

Schirmann, Shirim Hadashim – J. Schirmann, *Shirim Ḥadashim min ha-Genizah* (1965).

Simonsohn, Mantovah – S. Simonsohn, *Toledot ha-Yehudim be-Dukkasut Mantovah*, 2 vols. (1962–64).

YMḤSI – *Yedi'ot ha-Makhon le-Ḥeker ha-Shirah ha-Ivrit*, 7 vols. (1933–58).

Name	**Place**	**Dates**
Aaron b. Abraham of Offenbach Habermann, Ateret, 126–7, 225.	Germany	18th century
Aaron b. Isaac *Hamon		
Aaron b. Joshua ibn Alamani J. Schirmann, in: YMḤSI, 6 (1945), 265–85; S.D. Goitein, in: *Tarbiz*, 28 (1959), 343ff.; A. Scheiber in: *Sefarad*, 27 (1967), 269–81.	Alexandria	12th century
Aaron b. Mariyyon ha-Kohen M. Zulay, in: YMḤSI, 5 (1939), 178–80; idem, in: *Sinai*, 23 (1948), 214–28.	Acre	11/12th century
Aaron b. Moses Malti M. Benayahu, in: *Sefunot*, 3–4 (1969), 17.	Babylonia	16/17th century
Aaron b. Samuel ha-Levi A.M. Habermann, Amarai Kaḥ (1964).	Spain	14/15th century
*Aaron Hakiman		
Abner A.M. Habermann, in: *Sefer ha-Yovel… S. Federbush* (1961), 173–99.	Spain	14th century
*Abraham b. Daniel		
Abraham b. Daniel Buttrio M. Benayahu, in: *Rabbi Yosef Caro*, ed. by Y. Raphael (1969), 309–12, 323–5.	Italy	b. 1510
Abraham b. Gabriel Zafrana J.L. Weinberger, in: HUCA, 39 (1968), 19–22 (Heb. part).	Corfu	16th century
Abraham b. Isaac M. Zulay, in: *Sinai*, 25 (1949), 46–47.	Babylonia?	10/11th century
Abraham b. Isaac H. Schirmann, in: *Leshonenu*, 21 (1957), 212–9; S. Abramson, *ibid.*, 25 (1961), 31–34.	Italy	11th century
Abraham b. Isaac *Bedersi		
Abraham b. Isaac Da Pisa Bernstein, Italyah, passim.	Italy	16th century
Abraham b. Isaac he-Ḥasid Tawil S. Bernstein, in: *Tarbiz*, 15 (1944), 97, 101–7; idem, in: *Ha-Tekufah*, 32–33 (1948), 780; D. Yarden, in: *Sefunot*, 8 (1964), 259, 266–72.	Lybia	
Abraham b. Jacob H. Merhaviah, in: *Tarbiz*, 39 (1970), 277–84.	Germany	11/12th century
Abraham b. Jacob Habermann, Ateret, 18–19, 225.	Germany or France	12th century
Abraham b. Jacob Gavison R.S. Sirat, in: *Fourth World Congress of Jewish Studies Papers*, 2 (1968), 66–67.	Algiers	1520–1578
Abraham b. Joseph ha-Kohen M. Zulay in: *Sinai*, 28 (1951), 162.	Ereẓ Israel	11th century

Name	**Place**	**Dates**
Abraham b. Mattathias Schirmann, Italyah, 78–79.	Rome	12th century
Abraham b. Mereno ha-Kohen Bernstein, Piyyutim, 27–28.	Corfu	13th century
Abraham b. Moses Doresh A.M. Habermann, in: Maḥanayim, 30 (1956), 149, 151–2.		14th century
Abraham b. Samuel Schirmann, Sefarad, 2 (1960^{2}), 457–58; S. Abramson, in: *Leshonenu la-Am*, 18 (1967), 67ff.	Spain	13th century
Abraham b. Samuel ha-Levi *Ibn Ḥasdai		
*Abraham b. Samuel he-Ḥasid (of Speyer)		
Abraham b. Shabbetai Kohen Schirmann, Italyah, 358.	Greece, Padua	1670–1729
Abraham b. Solomon ha-Levi Buqarat H.H. Ben-Sasson in: *Tarbiz*, 31 (1961), 59–71; A.M. Habermann, *ibid.*, 301.	Spain, Tunis	15/16th century
Abraham Di Medina M. Benayahu, in: KS, 35 (1960), 530.	Egypt	17th century
Abraham ha-Kohen A. Scheiber, in: *Zion*, 30 (1965), 123–7.	Babylonia	10th century
Abraham Ḥazzan Gerondi Schirmann, Sefarad, 2 (1960^{2}), 291–4.	Spain	13th century
Abraham *Ibn Al-Rabib		
Abraham *Ibn Ezra		
Abraham Kohen N. Ben-Menahem, in: *Sinai*, 13 (1943), 363–5.	Crete	16th century
Abraham *Kurtabi (Kortabi)		
Abraham Maimin A.M. Habermann, *Toledot ha-Piyyut ve-ha-Shirah* (1970), 141; M. Benayahu, in: KS, 35 (1960), 528.	Safed	d. 1570?
Abu Ibrahim Isaac ibn Maskaran J. Schirmann, in: YMḤSI, 4 (1938), 277.	Spain	12th century
Abu Isaac Abraham *Harizi		
Abu Ishaq Ibrahim *Ibn Sahl		
Adonim b. Nissim ha-Levi N. Allony in: *Sinai*, 43 (1958), 393–4; Schirmann, Shirim Ḥadashim, 58–62.	Fez	10/11th century
*Ahimaaz b. Paltiel		
Ahitub b. Isaac J. Schirmann, in: YMḤSI, 1 (1933), 132–47.	Palermo	13th century
Akiva b. Jacob J.L. Bialer, *Min ha-Genazim* (1967), 69–77.	Frankfurt	1520?–1597
*Ali (b. David) M. Zulay, in: *Sinai*, 23 (1948), 214–28.	Orient	12/13th century
Ali b. Ezekiel ha-Kohen A.M. Habermann, in: *Sinai*, 53 (1963), 183–4, 191–2.	Egypt	11th century
*Alvan b. Abraham		
*Amittai		
*Amnon of Mainz		
Amram b. Moses Ḥazzan S. Assaf and L.A. Mayer (eds.), *Sefer ha-Yishuv*, 2 (1944), 54; Habermann, Ateret, 149, 212, 230.	Ereẓ Israel	10th century?
*Anan b. Marinus ha-Kohen		
Anatoli J. Schirmann, in: YMḤSI, 1 (1933), 106–7, 121–4.	Italy	12th century
Anatoli (Zerahiah) b. David Cazani J. Schirmann, in: YMḤSI, 1 (1933), 107; J.L. Weinberger, in: HUCA, 39 (1968), 27–29 (Heb. part).	Greece	12th century
*Aryeh Judah Harari		
Asher b. Isaac ha-Levi S.H. Kook, *Iyyunim u-Meḥkarim*, 2 (1963), 197–201; E.E. Urbach (ed.), *Arugat ha-Bosem*, of Azriel b. Abraham, 4 (1963), 15–16.	Worms	11/12th century
Avigdor *Kara		

Name	Place	Dates
Avtalyon b. Mordecai	Turkey	17th century
Azriel b. Joseph	Orient	13th century
Schirmann, Shirim Ḥadashim, 392–6.		
*Baḥya (Baḥye) b. Joseph ibn Paquda		
Barhun (Abraham; maybe *Abraham b. Sahalan)		
M. Zulay, *Ha-Askolah ha-Paytanit shel Rav Sa'adyah Ga'on* (1964), 35.		
*Baruch b. Samuel of Mainz		
Ben ha-Melekh ve-ha-Nazir		
Benjamin b. Abraham *Anav		
*Benjamin b. Azriel		
*Benjamin b. Ḥiyya		
*Benjamin b. Samuel ha-Levi		
*Benjamin b. Zerah	Germany	11th century
Habermann, Ateret, 176–7, 226.		
Benjamin Peraḥyah	Greece?	14th century?
Bernstein, Piyyutim, 36–39.		
Benveniste b. Ḥiyya al-Dayyan	Spain	12/13th century
J.L. Weinberger, in: HUCA, 39 (1968), 23–26 (Heb. part).		
Ben Zion Aryeh Gerondi	Padua	1763–1820?
Habermann, Ateret, 128–9, 226.		
*Berechiah b. Natronai ha-Nakdan		
Caleb b. Said	Babylonia	10th century
M. Zulay, in: *Sinai*, 25 (1949), 36–37.		
Daniel b. Samuel *Rossena		
*David b. Aaron ibn Ḥassin		
David b. Gedaliah	France or Italy	12th century
Habermann, Ateret, 173–4, 226.		
David b. Huna	Italy	10th century
S. Bernstein, in: *Sefer ha-Yovel, Meir Waxman* (1966), 45–58.		
David b. Nasi	Orient	11th century
J. Ratzaby, in: *Tarbiz*, 14 (1943), 204–13.		
David b. Saadiah ha-Kohen	Yemen	17th century
J. Tubi, in: *Ba-Ma'arakhah*, 11 (1971), no. 121, 18–19.		
David b. Samson	France	13th century?
H. Schirmann, in: *Kobez al-Jad*, 13 (1939), 43–44.		
David b. Yom Tov *Ibn Bilia		
David ha-Kohen	Spain or Provence	13th century
Schirmann, Sefarad, 2 (1956), 463–5; Habermann, Ateret, 175, 226.		
David *Ibn Paquda		
David Onkinerah	Salonika	16th century
J. Patai, in: *Kobez al-Jad*, 12 (1937), 75–119.		
Dosa b. Joshua ha-Ḥazzan		
S. Abrason, in: *Tarbiz*, 15 (1944), 55–59.		
Dunash b. Judah	Kairouan	11th century
N. Allony, in: *Sinai*, 43 (1958), 90, 387, 396–400; Habermann, Ateret, 94–95.		
*Eleazar		
Eleazar b. Abun	Ereẓ Israel	
S. Spiegel, in: YMḤSI, 5 (1939), 267–91.		
*Eleazar b. Ḥalfon ha-Kohen		
Eleazar b. Phinehas	Ereẓ Israel	
M. Zulay, in: YMḤSI, 5 (1939), 147–8.		
Eleazar ha-Ḥazzan	Ereẓ Israel	
M. Zulay, in: YMḤSI, 1 (1933), 155–6.		
Eleazar Hodaya	Ereẓ Israel	
E. Fleisher, in: *Tarbiz*, 36 (1967), 342 ff.		
Eleazar *Kallir		
Eleazar Kohen	Spain	
A. Scheiber, in: *Sinai*, 35 (1954), 183–6.		

Name	**Place**	**Dates**
Eliakim S. Bernstein, in: *Sefer Yovel li-Khevod S.K. Mirsky* (1958), 465–6, 478–9.	Crimea	14/15th century
Eliakim b. Abraham D. Pagis, in: *Sefer Ḥayyim Schirmann* (1970), 247–8.	Europe	14/15th century
Eliashib Joshua Provencale M. Benayahu, in: *Rabbi Yosef Caro*, ed by Y. Raphael (1969), 313, 340.	Italy	16th century
Eliezer b. Ephraim Urbach, Tosafot, 414–6.	Germany or France	13th century
*Eliezer b. Samson		
Eliezer de Mordo Bernstein, Piyyutim, 16–18; S. Simonsohn, in: PAAJR, 34 (1966), 106–8.	Corfu	17/18th century
Eliezer Gentili (Ḥefeẓ) Schirmann, Italyah, 398.	Italy	18th century
Eliezer Leizer b. Judah Loeb A.M. Habermann, in: *Maḥanayim*, 89 (1964), 20–23.	Germany	17th century
Elijah b. Abraham Bernstein, Piyyutim, 63–65.	Greece	15th century?
Elijah b. David Mazzal Tov Bernstein, Piyyutim, 65–67.	Corfu	1575–1625
Elijah b. Eliezer Delmedigo J.L. Weinberger, in: HUCA, 39 (1968), 34–37 (Heb. part).	Crete	16th century
*Elijah b. Eliezer Philosoph		
Elijah b. Menahem ha-Zaken A.M. Habermann (ed.), *Shirei ha-Yiḥud ve-ha-Kavod* (1948), 87–97.	Le Mans	11th century
Elijah b. Mordecai A. Mirsky, in: *Sinai*, (1969), 179–87.	Italy	10th century
Elijah b. Moses *Kapuzato		
Elijah b. Samuel A.M. Habermann, *Sefer ha-Yovel…* Ḥ. Albeck (1963), 160–76.	Macedonia	15th century
Elijah b. Shemaiah Schirmann, Italyah, 41–47; Habermann, Ateret, 22–24, 225.	Bari	11th century
Elijah b. Shalom, or, Samuel A.M. Habermann, in: *Haaretz* (Sept. 21, 1960).	Germany	13th century?
*Elijah Chelebi-ha-Kohen Anatolia		
Elijah of Buttrio M. Benayahu, in: *Rabbi Yosef Caro*, ed. by Y. Raphael (1969), 312–3, 326–39. ("En") Maimon *Galipapa	Italy	16th century
*Ephraim b. Isaac of Regensburg		
Ephraim b. Joab Schirmann, Italyah, 200–2.	Modena (Italy)	14th century
Ezekiel b. Ali ha-Kohen Albasir M. Zulay, in: YMḤSI, 3 (1936), 57–58; A. Mirsky, *Yalkut ha-Piyyutim* (1958), 60–63.	Persia, Iraq, or Egypt	11th century
Ezekiel (Hezekiah) David b. Mordecai *Abulafia (Bolaffi)		
Gamaliel b. Moses Schirmann, Shirim Ḥadashim, 126–9.	Egypt	12th century
Gershom b. Solomon b. Isaac J. Schirmann, in: *Kobez al-Jad*, 3 (1939), 41–43.	France or Germany	12th century
*Haduta b. Abraham ha-Efrati		
Hananel b. Amnon S.H. Kook, *Iyyunim u-Meḥkarim*, 2 (1963), 201–2.	Italy	10th century
Hananiah S. Bernstein, in: *Sinai*, 19 (1946), 213.	Orient	12th century
Hananiah Eliakim b. Asael Raphael Rieti Simonsohn, Mantovah, 2 (1964), 544.	Bologna and Mantua	1561–1623
Ḥarizi Habermann, Ateret 113, 226	Spain	
Ḥayyim b. Machir J. Schirmann, in: *Kobez al-Jad*, 13 (1939), 58–62; A.M. Habermann, *Gezerot Ashkenaz ve-Ẓarefat* (1946), 198–202.	Regensburg	13th century

Name	**Place**	**Dates**
Ḥiyya b. Al-Daudi	Spain	d. 1153/54
S. Bernstein, in: *Sinai*, 19 (1946), 99–104, 208–17, 313–37.		
Immanuel b. David *Frances		
Immanuel Benevento	Italy	16th century
I. Sonne, *Mi-Paulus ha-Revi'I ad Pius ha-Hamishi* (1954), 110–7.		
Immanuel b. Joseph	Spain	14th century
S. Bernstein, *Al Naharot Sefarad* (1956), 191–3, 269–70.		
*Immanuel b. Solomon of Rome		
Isaac, poet of *Ezrat Nashim*	Castile	13th century
Schirmann, Sefarad, 2 (1956), 87–96.		
*Isaac (Isḥak)		
Isaac *Al-Avani		
Isaac Amigo	Turkey	17th century
M. Benayahu in: KS, 35 (1960), 528–9.		
Isaac b. Abraham	Provence	13th century
G. Sed-Rajna, in: REJ, 126 (1967), 265–7.		
*Isaac b. Abraham ha-Gorni	Greece	15th century?
Isaac b. Abraham ha-Parnas		
Bernstein, Piyyutim, 67–71.		
Isaac b. Fayun	Egypt?	early poet
Habermann, Ateret, 120, 228.		
*Isaac b. Ḥayyim b. Abraham		
*Isaac b. Joseph ibn *Pollegar		
*Isaac b. Judah		
*Isaac b. Judah *Gerondi		
*Isaac b. Judah ha-Seniri		
Isaac b. Kalo [nymus?]	Romania?	14/15th century?
Habermann, Ateret, 148, 228		
Isaac b. Levi *ibn Mar Saul		
Isaac b. Moses Hezekiah ha-Levi	Italy	16th century
M. Benayahu, in: *Rabbi Yosef Caro*, ed. by Y. Raphael (1969), 317, 349–51.		
Isaac b. Solomon *Alḥadib	Spain, Syracuse, Palermo	14th century
I. Davidson in: *Tarbiz*, 11 (1940), 111; C. Roth, in: JQR, 47 (1956–57), 324.		
Isaac b. Solomon he-Haver	Ereẓ Israel	10/11th century
M. Zulay, in: *Sefer Assaf* (1953), 303–6.		
*Isaac b. Yakar	Germany	12th century
A.M. Habermann, in: *Haaretz* (Sept. 25, 1955).		
Isaac b. Zerahiah ha-Levi Gerondi	Spain	13th century
Schirmann, Sefarad, 2 (1956), 285–90; A.M. Habermann, in: *Haaretz* (May 28, 1963).		
Isaac de Leon	Egypt	17th century
M. Wallenstein, in: *Sefer ha-Yovel, Tiferet Yisrael to I. Brody* (1966), 171–78 (Heb. part).		
Isaac ha-Ḥazzan b. Joseph	Ereẓ Israel?	10/11th century?
M. Zulay, in: *Sinai*, 16 (1945), 39–48.		
Isaac ha-Levi	Orient	13th century?
A.M. Habermann, in: *Eked*, 3 (1960), 91–98.		
Isaac Ḥandali	Crimea	15th century
S. Bernstein, in *Sefer Hadoar* (1957), 83–85; idem, in: *Sefer Yovel li-Khevod S.K. Mirsky* (1958), 466, 486–8.		
Isaac ibn Al-Shami	Spain	12th century
J. Schirmann, in: YMḤSI, 6 (1945), 259–60.		
Isaac *ibn Ezra		
Isaac *ibn Ghayyat		
Isaac ibn *Gikatilla	Spain	10/11th century
M. Zulay, in: *Tarbiz*, 20 (1950), 161–76.		
Isaac (Abu Ibrahim) *ibn Khalfun		
Isaac *ibn Kaprun		
Isaac *ibn Shuwayk		

Name	**Place**	**Dates**
Isaac Salmah J. Schirmann, in: KS, 12 (1935–36), 393.	Turkey	16th century
Isaac Samuel J.M. Matza, *Aiannistika hebraika tragoudia* (1953), 55–56.	Greece	18th century
Isaiah Hai b. Joseph *Carmi		
Ishmael Ḥanina b. Mordecai of Volmontono M. Benayahu, in: *Rabbi Yosef Caro* ed. by Y. Raphael (1969), 320–21, 357–58.	Bologna, Ferrara	16th century
*Israel b. Joel (Susslin)		
Israel b. Moses *Najara		
Israel Berechiah Fontanella R. Patai, *Shirei R. Yisrael Berekhyah Fontanella* (1933).	Rovigo, Reggio	d. 1763
Jacob M. Zulay, in: YMḤSI, 1 (1933), 157; Habermann, Ateret, 119–20, 228.	Ereẓ Israel	early poet
Jacob Al'ayin Habermann, Ateret, 182–228.	Babylonia?	10/11th century
Jacob Amron M. Benayahu, in: KS, 35 (1960), 529.	Turkey	
Jacob b. Abraham (Angelo d'Ascoli) Schirmann, Italyah, 193–94.	Italy	15th century
*Jacob b. Dunash b. Akiva		
*Jacob b. Eleazar		
Jacob b. Eliezer Guenzburg-Ulma J.L. Bialer, *Min ha-Genazim* (1967), 63–69.	Ulm (Germany)	16th century
Jacob b. Isaac Segre M. Benayahu, in: *Rabbi Yosef Caro*, ed. by Y. Raphael (1969), 316, 348–9.	Italy	16/17th century
Jacob b. Joab Elijah *Fano		
Jacob b. Judah H. Peri, in: *Tarbiz*, 24 (1955), 426 ff.	Germany	13th century
Jacob b. Judah ibn Ala'mani S. Abramson, in: YMḤSI, 7 (1958), 163–81.	Alexandria	12th century
*Jacob b. Naphtali		
Jacob Hai (Vita) Israel Schirmann, Italyah, 408–9.	Italy, Amsterdam	18th century
Jacob ibn Albene C. Roth, in JQR, 39 (1948–49), 123–50.	Toledo	14th century
Jacob Israel Bilgradi Bernstein, Italyah, 86–90, 165–6.	Ferrara	18th century
Jacob Kunat S. Bernstein, in: *Sinai*, 19 (1946), 214.	Morocco	12/13th century
(Jacob?) Manish b. Meir J.L. Bialer, *Min ha-Genazim* (1967), 77–78.	Austria	17th century
Jacob of Castilia S. Bernstein, in: *Aresheth*, 1 (1958), 15–16, 20.	Spain, Fez	
Jacob Tarfon H. Brody, in: *Minḥah le-David* dedicated to D. Yellin (1935), 205–220.	Salonika	16th century
Jeduthun ha-Levi S. Assaf, in: *Minḥah li-Yhudah* to J.L. Zlotnik (1950), 162–9.		12th century
Jehiel b. Abraham Schirmann, Italyah, 48–54; idem, in: *Scritti in memoria di E. Sereni* (1970), 92–107 (Heb. part).	Rome	d. before 1070
Jehiel b. Asher Habermann, in: *Maḥanayim*, 82 (1963), 38–41; idem, Ateret, 191–3, 200–1, 228.	Spain	14th century
Jehiel b. Israel Luria M. Benayahu, in: *Babbi Yosef Caro*, ed. by Y. Raphael (1969), 315–6, 345–8.	Padua	16th century
Jehiel b. Joab min ha-Anavim (Anav) N. Pavoncello, in: *Miscellanea di Studi in memoria di D. Disegni* (1969), 190–2, 195–7.	Rome	13th century
Jehiel b. Joseph Urbach, Tosafot, 317.	Germany	14th century

Name	Place	Dates
Jehoseph b. Hanan b. Nathan *Ezobi		
Jekuthiel J. Schirmann, YMḤSI, 6 (1945), 262.	Spain	12th century
Jekuthiel b. Isaac *ibn Hasan		
Jekuthiel of Vilna I. Tishbi, in: *Sefer Yovel le-Y. Baer* (1960), 385ff.	Italy	18th century
*Jerahmeel b. Solomon		
Joab S. Bernstein: *Sinai*, 19 (1946), 213–4; idem, in: *Ha-Tekufah*, 32–33 (1948), 774–5.	Syria	13th century
Joab Almagia C. Roth and C. Rabin, in: *Metsudah*, 5–6 (1948), 262–83.	Italy	18th century
Joab b. Benjamin Schirmann, Italyah, 135–6.	Rome	13/14th century
Joab b. Daniel Schirmann, Italyah, 133–4.	Rome	13th century
Joab b. Jehiel de Synagoga Bet-El Schirmann, Italyah, 170–1.	Rome	14th century
Joab b. Nathan b. Daniel de Sinagoga J.N. Pavoncello, in: *Scritti in memoria di E. Sereni* (1970), 119–32 (Heb. part).	Rome	13/14th century
*Joab the Greek		
*Johanan b. Joshua ha-Kohen		
Johanan-Judah (Angelo) Alatrino Schirmann, Italyah, 256–60.	Italy	16/17th century
Jonah ha-Kohan Rappa Schirmann, Italyah, 327–31.	Italy	17th century
Joseph (Abu `Amar) ibn Hasdai Schirmann, *Sefarad*, 1 (1959^{2}), 171–5.	Saragossa	11th century
Joseph *Albaradani		
Joseph *Almanzi		
Joseph Baruch b. Jedidiah Zechariah of Urbino Schirmann, Italyah, 274–5.	Mantua, Modena and Busseto	17th century
Joseph b. Abraham Almosnino D. Yarden, in: *Sefunot*, 8 (1964), 258–60; 264–5.	Salonika?	15/16th century
*Joseph b. Asher (of Chartres)		
Joseph b. David ibn Suli S. Bernstein in: *Al Naharot Sefarad* (1956), 138–42, 144–5, 251–4; Schirmann, *Sefarad*, 2 (1960^{2}), 485–8.	Toledo	d. after 1306
Joseph b. Isaac S. Bernstein, in: *Tarbiz*, 26 (1957), 465–8.	Orléans	12th century
Joseph b. Israel J. Ratzaby, in: *Yeda Am*, 12 (1967), 56–60.	Yemen	16th century
*Joseph b. Jacob		
Joseph b. Jacob (Abu Amr) *ibn Sahl		
Joseph b. Jacob ha-Levi N. Ben-Menahem, in: *Aresheth*, 2 (1960), 404–5.	Morocco	15/16th century
Joseph b. Jacob Kalai S. Bernstein, in: *Sinai*, 19 (1946), 214; J.L. Weinberger, in: HUCA, 39 (1968), 11–14 (Heb. part).	Crimea	13th century?
Joseph b. Joshua ibn Vives Lorki J.L. Weinberger, in: HUCA, 39 (1968), 15–18 (Heb. part).	Spain	14/15th century
*Joseph b. Kalonymus ha-Nakdan		
Joseph b. Mattathias S. Bernstein, in: *Tarbiz*, 7 (1936), 181–5.	Italy	13th century
Joseph b. Meir b. Ezra Bernstein, *Piyyutim*, 57–62.	Greece?	14th century?
Joseph b. Meir ibn Al-Muhadjir Schirmann, Shirim Ḥadashim, 215–6.	Andalusia	11/12th century
Joseph b. Moses *Alashkar		

Name	Place	Dates
Joseph b. Nathan Ḥazzan	Germany	12th century
A.L. Katch, in: JQR, 58 (1967), 89–94, 60 (1968–9), 1–5; J. Schirmann, in: KS, 44 (1969), 427–8.		
Joseph Ben-Ram	Egypt	17th century
M. Wallenstein, in: *Sefer Ḥayyim Schirmann* (1970) 116ff.		
Joseph b. Samuel Z!arefati (Giuseppe Gallo)	Florence	15/16th century
M.D. Cassuto, in: *Meḥkarim le-Zikhron R.A. Kohut* (1935), 121–28 (Heb.part).		
*Joseph b. Sheshet ibn Latimi		
*Joseph b. Solomon of Carcassonne		
*Joseph b. Solomon *Yahya		
*Joseph b. Tanhum ha-Yerushalmi		
Joseph Cibzio	Italy	17th century
S. Olivetti, *Rassegna Mensile di Israel*, 25 (1959), 22–25.		
Joseph Fiametta (Lehavah)	Italy	d. 1721
J. Schirmann, in: *Zion*, 29 (1964), 101.		
Joseph *Ganso		
Joseph ibn al-Shami	Spain	12th century
H. Schirmann, YMḤSI, 6 (1945), 253–8.		
Joseph *ibn Barzel		
Joseph *ibn Zabara		
Joseph *Kaspi		
Joseph *Kimh$i		
*Joseph Saul Abdallah		
Joseph Shalim Gallego		
Joseph Sofer	Spain	11th century
S.M. Stern, in: *Zion*, 11 (1950), 141–3.		
*Joshua	Ereẓ Israel	early poet
Habermann, Ateret 158f., 227.		
*Joshua b. Elijah ha-Levi		
Joshua b. Joseph ha-Kohen	Egypt	11th century
M. Zulay, in: *Haaretz* (Jan. 10, 1949); ibid. (Dec. 12, 1952)		
Joshua Ben-Zion Segre	Italy	1718–1798
J. Schirmann, in: *Zion*, 29 (1964), 100.		
Joshua ha-Kohen	Ereẓ Israel	early poet
M. Zulay, in: *Alei Ayin* (1952), 89–90; E. Fleischer, in: *Tarbiz*, 36 (1967), 146ff., 342ff.		
Joshua he-Haver b. Nathan	Ereẓ Israel	11th century
E. Fleischer, in: *Tarbiz*, 38 (1969), 280–2.		
*Josiphiah (Jehosiphiah) the Proselyte		
Judah	Egypt or Ereẓ Israel	9th or 10th century
M. Zulay, *Zur Liturgie der Babylonischen Juden* (1933); Habermann, Ateret, 121ff., 226		
Judah *Abrabanel (Leone Ebreo)		
Judah *al-Ḥarizi		
Judah b. Aaron *Kilti		
Judah b. Hillel ha-Levi	Ereẓ Israel	10/11th century
M. Zulay, in: *Eretz Israel*, 4 (1956), 138–44; Habermann, Ateret, 123–4, 227.		
Judah b. Isaac *ibn Ghayyat		
*Judah b. Isaac ibn Shabbetai		
Judah (Leone) b. Isaac *Sommo		
Judah b. Israel Berechiah Fontanella	Italy	b. 1719
M. Zulay, *Zur Liturgie der Babylonischen Juden* (1933); 23–24, 67–68.		
Judah b. Jo[seph]		early poet
E. Fleischer, in: *Tarbiz*, 38 (1969), 280–1.		
Judah b. Joseph Segelmesi	North Africa	14/15th century
S. Bernstein, in: *Horeb*, 12 (1956), 217–33.		
Judah b. Kalonymus b. Moses	Mainz	12th century
J. Schirmann, in: *Kobez al-Jad*, 13 (1939), 38–41.		
Judah b. Menahem	Rome	12th century
Schirmann, Italyah, 76–77.		

Name	Place	Dates
*Judah b. Menahem of Rome		
Judah b. Moses		16th century
Bernstein, Piyyutim, 62.		
Judah b. Moses Alfaqui	Turkey	16th century
J. Schirmann, in: KS, 12 (1935–36), 293, 521–3.		
Judah b. Moses *Leonte		
Judah b. Moses of Saltars	Italy	b. 1550?
M. Benayahu, in: *Rabbi Yosef Caro*, ed. by Y. Raphael (1969), 313–5, 341–5.		
Judah b. Samuel *Abbas		
*Judah Halevi		
Judah Levi Toabah	Salonika?	17th century
M. Attias, in: *Sefunot*, 1 (1958), 128–40.		
Judah Maẓli'aḥ Padova	Modena	d. 1728
J. Schirmann, in: *Zion*, 29 (1964), 102; G. Laras, in: *Scritti in memoria di A. Milano* (1970), 193–203.		
Judah *Zarco		
**Kalila and Dimna*		
Kalon ha-Romi	Byzantium	9th century
Schirmann, Shirim Ḥadashim, 424–6.		
*Kalonymus b. Judah the Younger		
Kalonymus b. Kalonymus (see *Kalonymus family)		
Kalonymus b. Shabbetai	Rome, Worms	1030–1096
Schirmann, Italyah, 62–67.		
Kalonymus ha-Nasi (see *Kalonymus family)	Italy	13th century
Kalonymus ha-Zaken	Italy	10th century
Leon b. Michael ha-Parnas	Greece	14th century
J.L. Weinberger, in: HUCA, 39 (1968), 30–33 (Heb. part).		
Leonte b. Abraham	Rome	12th century
Schirmann, Italyah, 70–73, 543.		
Leonte b. Moses	Rome	12th century
Schirmann, Italyah, 80–81.		
Levi b. Jacob *ibn Altabban		
Malkiel b. Meir	Greece or Italy	11th century
J.L. Weinberger, in: HUCA, 39 (1968), 45–51 (Heb. part).		
*Mattathias	Italy	13th century
Schirmann, Italyah, 179–81.		
Mazzal Tov b. David	Constantinople	15/16th century
I.D. Markon, in: *Sefer ha-Yovel …A. Marx* (1950), 322.		
Meir *Abulafia		
Meir b. Abraham	Bulgaria, Safed	16th century
A. Marmorstein, in: *Alim*, 3 (1937), 15–16.		
*Meir b. Baruch of Rothenburg		
*Meir b. Isaac Sheli'aḥ Ẓibbur		
Meir b. Moses	Rome	13th century
J. Schirmann, in: KS, 37 (1962), 405, no. 1140.		
Menahem b. Aaron	Germany	12th century?
S.H. Kook, *Iyyunim u-Meḥkarim*, 2 (1963), 209–10.		
*Menahem b. Jacob		
*Menahem b. Jacob ibn Saruq		
Menahem b. Mordecai ha-Parnas Corizzi	Italy	
J. Schirmann, in: YMḤSI, 1 (1933), 101–5, 109–20.		
*Meshullam b. Moses	Mainz	d. 1094/5
A.N.Z. Roth, in: *Zion*, 28 (1963), 233–5; E.E. Urbach (ed.), *Arugat ha-Bosem* of Azriel b. Abraham, 4 (1963), 17, 52–54.		
Meshullam ha-Sofer	Italy	14th century
Schirmann, Italyah, 182–3.		
Mevorakh b. David	Ereẓ Israel	early poet
A. Scheiber, in: *Tarbiz*, 22 (1951), 167–73; 36 (1966), 92–93.		

Name	Place	Dates
Mevorakh b. Nathan Schirmann, Shirim Ḥadashim, 29–30.	Ereẓ Israel	10th century
Mevorakh ha-Bavli A.M. Habermann, in: *Maḥanayim*, 44 (1960), 59ff.; idem, Ateret 143–4, 729.	Ereẓ Israel	11th century
Meyuhas J. Schirmann, YMḤSI, 1 (1933), 107, 125–27.	Italy	16th century
Michael b. Caleb J.L. Weinberger, in: HUCA, 39 (1968), 52–53 (Heb. part).	Greece	11/12th century
Mordecai b. Berechiah Jare Simonsohn, Mantovah, 2 (1964), 522.	Mantua	16/17th century
*Mordecai b. Hillel ha-Kohen		
Mordecai b. Joseph Schirmann, in: *Kobez al-Jad*, 13 (1939), 52–57.	Worms	d. 1294
Moses M. Zulay, in: YMḤSI, 5 (1939), 149–54; Habermann, Ateret, 140, 229.	Ereẓ Israel	early poet
Moses *Abbas (ibn Abez)		
Moses b. Abraham *Dar’I		
Moses b. Abraham ha-Levi N. Allony, in: *Sinai*, 43 (1958), 394.	Dara’ (North Africa)	9th century
Moses b. Benjamin Sofer Schirmann, Italyah, 74–75.	Rome	12th century
Moses b. Ḥiyya J.L. Weinberger, in: HUCA, 39 (1968), 41–44 (Heb. part).	Greece	12th century
Moses b. Isaac H. Brody, in: *Keneset*, memorial volume to Ḥ.N. Bialik, 1 (1936), 410–5.	Spain	11th century
Moses b. Isaac M. Zulay in: YMḤSI, 5 (1939), 171–4.	Tyre	early poet
Moses b. Isaac b. Jacob H. Schirmann, in: *Zion*, 19 (1954), 66.	Grenoble	13th century?
Moses b. Isaac Da *Rieti Schirmann, Italyah, 195–9.		
Moses b. Isaac *Remos		
Moses b. Israel Finzi M. Benayahu, in: *Rabbi Yosef Caro*, ed. by Y. Raphael (1969), 317–8, 351–3.	Italy	16th century
*Moses b. Jacob		
Moses b. Jacob (Abu Harūn) *ibn Ezra		
Moses b. Joseph Schirmann, Italyah, 110–5.	Rome	13th century
*Moses b. Kalonymus		
*Moses b. Levi		
Moses b. Maẓli’aḥ A. Mirsky, in: KS, 34 (1959), 363–7.		
*Moses b. Mevorakh		
Moses b. Naḥman (*Naḥmanides)		
*Moses (b. Nethanel) Nathan		
Moses b. Samuel b. Absalom S. Bernstein, in: *Tarbiz*, 10 (1939), 15–19.	France?	12th century
Moses b. Samuel ha-Kohen *Gikatilla		
Moses b. Shabbetai Schirmann, Italyah, 60–61; Bernstein, Piyyutim, 41–44, 77–78.	Rome	11th century
*Moses b. Shem Tov de Leon		
Moses b. Shem Tov *Gabbai		
Moses b. Shem Tov Ḥazzan A.M. Habermann, in *Tarbiz*, 14 (1943), 54, 67–69.	Spain, North Africa	14/15th century
Moses b. Shem Tov *ibn Habib		
Moses b. Solomon d’Escola *Gerondi		
Moses b. Zur N. Ben-Menahem, in: *Aresheth*, 2 (1960), 383–6.	Morocco	17/18th century

Name	Place	Dates
Moses ha-Kohen ibn Gikatilla	Spain	11th century
A. Scheiber, in: *Alexander Marx Jubilee Volume* (1950), 537–8 (Heb. part).		
Moses Ḥayyim b. Abraham Catalano	Padua, Montagnana	d. 1661
B. (C.) Roth in: *Kobez al-Jad*, 4 (1946), 99–101.		
Moses *ibn Al-Taqana		
Moses *Kilki		
Moses Mevorakh	Crimea	15/16th century
S. Bernstein, in: *Sefer Yovel li-Khevod S.K. Mirsky* (1958), 406, 479–86.		
Moses *Zacuto (Zacut)		
Mubbashshir b. Ephraim he-Haver	Orient	11th century
A.M. Habermann, Ateret, 160–1.		
Nahum	Spain?	13th century
Schirmann, Sefarad, 2 (1960^2), 459–62.		
Nahum b. Joseph al-Bardani	Babylonia	11th century
A. Scheiber, in: *Zion*, 30 (1965), 123.		
Nathan b. Isaac	Mainz	12/13th century
A.M. Habermann, in: *Haaretz* (Sept. 20. 1968).		
Nathan b. Samuel he-Ḥaver	Egypt	12th century
J. Schirmann, in: YMḤSI, 6 (1945), 291–7.		
Nehemiah	Orient	12/13th century
S. Bernstein, in: *Sinai*, 19 (1946), 215.		
Nehemiah b. Menahem Calomiti	Crete	15th century
M.D. Cassuto, in: *Sefer ha-Hovel. .. S. Krauss* (1936), 211–6.		
Nehemiah b. Solomon b. Heiman ha-Nasi	Babylonia?	10/11th century
M. Zulay, YMḤSI, 4 (1938), 197–246.		
Nethanel b. Naaman	Corfu	16th century
S. Bernstein, Piyyutim, 81–83.		
Nethanel b. Nehemiah Caspi	Provence	15th century
S. Bernstein, in: *Tarbiz*, 10 (1939), 26–29.		
*Nissi (Nissim) b. Berechiah al-Nahrawani		
*Ohev b. Meir ha-Nasi		
Perfet Zark	Spain	14th century
Schirmann, Sefarad, 2 (1960^2), 544–6.		
Pesaḥ b. Abraham ha-Kohen	Germany	13th century
E.E. Urbach (ed.), *Arugat ha-Bosem* of Abraham b. Azriel, 1 (1939), 281; 4 (1963), 122.		
*Phinehas b. Jacob ha-Kohen (Kafra)		
*Phinehas b. Joseph ha-Levi		
Raḥamim Kalai	Egypt	17th century
M. Wallenstein, in: *Sefer Ḥayyim Schirmann* (1970), 111–34.		
Raphael b. Isaac de-Faenza	Florence	15th century
Schirmann, Italyah, 203–5, 573.		
Raphael Joseph b. Johanan Treves	Italy	16th century
M. Benayahu, in: *Rabbi Yosef Caro*, ed. by Y. Raphael (1969), 318–9, 353–6.		
Rehabiah b. Judah	France	11/12th century
H. Brody, in: *Emet le-Ya'akov, Sefer Yovel. ..J. Freimann* (1937), 22–26.		
Rephaiah b. Judah Kohen	Orient	12th century?
S. Bernstein, in: HUCA, 16 (1941), 150–3.		
Reuben ha-Kohen Ḥazzan		
S. Abramson, in: *Tarbiz*, 15 (1944), 51–54.		
*Saadiah b. Joseph Gaon		
*Saadiah b. Joseph ha-Levi		
Saadiah b. Maimun *ibn Danan		
Saadiah *Longo		
Sahalul	Yemen	15th century
J. Ratzaby, in: *Afikim ba-Negev*, 2 (1966), nos. 15–16		
Sa'id b. Babshad ha-Kohen		10/11th century
Schirmann, Shirim Ḥadashim, 431–3, 482.		

Name	Place	Dates
Saj'id Darin (or Drin), Dinar	Yemen	17th century
J. Ratzaby, in: *Zion*, 20 (1955), 32–46.		
Salem (Salam) Abraham b. Isaac	Mantua, Venice	17th century
Simonsohn, Mantjovah, 2 (1964), 529–31.		
Samson b. Samuel	Germany, Jerusalem	14th century
Habermann, Ateret 202–3, 231.		
Samson Kohen Modon	Mantua	1679–1727
Samuel	Egypt	13th century
Schirmann, Shirim Ḥadashim, 134–5.		
Samuel	Germany or France	13th century?
Habermann, Ateret, 199, 230.		
Samuel	Spain	13/14th century
Habermann, Ateret, 87–88. 109–12, 166, 194, 230.		
Samuel *Archivolti		
Samuel b. Eliasaph	Rome	16th century?
Samuel b. Hananiah	Spain	11th century
S. Abramson, in: *Sinai*, 36 (1955), 538–42.		
Samuel b. Ḥayyim	Greece	13/14th century
Bernstein, Piyyutim, 94–101.		
Samuel b. Isaac Segan Leviyyah	Germany	11th century
S.H. Kook, *Iyyunim u-Meḥkarim*, 2 (1963), 244–6.		
Samuel b. Joseph *ibn Sasson		
Samuel b. Joshua Minz Biritaro	Mantua	16th century
M. Benayahu, in: *Rabbi Yosef Caro*, ed. by Y. Raphael (1969), 319–20, 356–57.		
Samuel b. Kalonymus ha-Ḥazzan	Germany	d. 1241
E.E. Urbach (ed.), *Arugat ha-Bosem* of Abraham b. Azriel, 4 (1963), 60.		
Samuel b. Moses Anav	Bologna	16th century
Bernstein, Italyah, passim.		
Samuel b. Moses ha-Dayyan	Syria	15/16th century
A.M. Habermann, in: *Haaretz* (Sept. 27, 1964); J.L. Weinberger, in: *Tarbitz*, 38 (1969), 286–9.		
Samuel b. Moses ha-Levi	Orient	12/13th century
S. Bernstein, in: *Sinai*, 19 (1946), 216.		
Samuel b. Moses min ha-Ne'arim (Dei Fanciulli)	Italy	14th century
N. Pavoncello, in: *Miscellanea di Studi in Memoria di D. Disegni* (1969), 188–90, 192–5.		
Samuel b. Shalom	Ereẓ Israel	8th century
M. Zulay, in: YMḤSI, 3 (1936), 153–62; A.M. Habermann, *Toledot ha-Piyyut ve-ha-Shirah* (1970), 56.		
Samuel b. Simeon	Poland	17th century
A. Yaari, in KS, 16 (1939/40), 377–9.		
Samuel b. Zadok ibn Alamani	Egypt	12/13th century
A. Scheiber, in: *Sefer Ḥayyim Schirmann* (1970), 394–6.		
Samuel David *Luzzatto		
*Samuel ha-Nagid		
*Samuel ha-Shelishi b. Hoshana		
Saul *Caspi		
Shabbetai	Italy	16th century
S. Bernstein, in: *Horeb*, 5 (1939), 55.		
Shabbetai b. Abishai Ḥabib	Corfu?	15th century
Bernstein, Piyyutim, 88–89.		
Shabbetai b. Moses	Rome	11th century
Schirmann, Italyah, 39–40; Bernstein, Piyyutim, 74–77.		
Shabbetai Ḥayyim (Vita) *Marini		
Shalem *Shabazi		
Shape b. Said (URU?)	Yemen	15th century?
Y. Ratzaby, in: *Be-Ma'arakhah* (1969), no. 14–15.		
Shealtiel b. Levi	Germany?	13/14th century
A.M. Habermann, in: *Haaretz* (April 18, 1968).		
*She'erit ha-Ḥazzan		

Name	Place	Dates
Shemariah b. Aaron ha-Kohen N. Alloni in: *Sinai*, 58 (1966), 136–7; D. Yarden, *Sefunei Shirah* (1967), 144–8; J. Tubi, in: *Ba-Ma'arakhah*, 10 (1971), no. 119, 18–19.	Babylonia	12/13th century
Shemariah of Rabyuano J.L. Weinberger, in: HUCA, 39 (1968), 55–59 (Heb. part)	Greece	12th century
Shem Tov *Falaquera		
*Shephatiah b. Amittai		
Sheshet Habermann, Ateret, 96, 231.	Provence	12th century
*Silano		
*Simeon b. Isaac		
*Simeon b. Megas ha-Kohen		
Simeon b. Ẓemaḥ *Duran		
Simeon Labi A.M. Habermann, in: *Maḥanayim*, 56 (1961), 42–45.	Spain, North Africa	d. 1545
Simḥah b. Samuel A.M. Habermann, in: *Haaretz* (Aug. 19, 1963).	Germany	12/13th century
Simḥah *Issachar Schirmann, Italyah, 350–3.		
*Sindabar		
Solomon Abu Ayyuv ibn Al Muallim Schirmann, Sefarad, 1 (1959²), 541–3.	Seville, Morocco	11/12th century
Solomon al-Kufi Ḥazzan A.M. Habermann, *Be-Ron Yaḥad* (1945), 35.		10/11th century
Solomon b. David ha-Rifi N. Alloni, in: *Sinai*, 64 (1969), 22–23.	Egypt	11/12th century?
Solomon b. Elijah Sharvit ha-Zahav ha-Levi A. Ovadiah, in: *Sinai*, 6 (1940), 78–79; S.H. Kook, *Iyyunim u-Meḥkarim*, 2 (1963), 216–9; I.M. Molho, in: *Oẓar Yehudei Sefarad*, 3 (1960), 80–82.	Salonika	15th century
Solomon b. Immanuel Da Piera or De Pierrelatte M. Catane, in: KS, 42 (1966–67), 399–402; 43 (1967–68), 160.	S. France	14th century
Solomon b. Isaac Schirmann, Italyah, 186.	Italy	14th century
Solomon b. Isaac (*Rashi)		
Solomon b. Isaac b. Meir Gaon M. Zulay, in: YMḤSI, 5 (1939), 175–7.	Syria	11th century
Solomon b. Isaac *Gerondi S. Bernstein, *Al-Naharot Sefarad* (1956), 146–51, 254–6.	Spain	13th century
Solomon b. Judah ha-Bavli		
Solomon b. Judah ibn *Gabirol		
Solomon (b. Judah?) ibn Ghiyyat J. Schirmann, in: YMḤSI, 6 (1945), 261.	Spain	12th century
Solomon b. Mazzal Tov I.D. Markon, in: *Sefer ha-Yovel… A. Marx* (1950), 321–49; idem, in: *Melilah*, 3/4 (1950), 260–75.	Constantinople	16th century
Solomon b. Menahem D. Goldschmidt, in: *Maḥanayim*, 60 (1961), 62–63.	Germany	13th century
Solomon b. Moses Dei Rossi Schirmann, Italyah, 105–6.	Rome	13th century
Solomon b. Reuben *Bonafed		
Solomon b. Said J. Ratzaby, in: *Oẓar Yehudei Sefarad*, 2 (1959), 85, 88.	Yemen	16th century
Solomon b. Samson A.R. Malachi, *Bitzaron*, 50 (1964), 178–80.	Germany	11th century
Solomon b. Sar Shalom J. Ratzaby, in: *Maḥanayim*, 40 (1959), 170–92.	Yemen	16th century
Solomon Ḥazzan Bernstein, Italyah, 44–45, 146; A. Yaari, *Meḥkerei Sefer* (1958), 220, 225–6.	Italy	16th century

Name	Place	Dates
Solomon ibn *Labi		
Solomon *ibn Zadbel		
Solomon Kohen	Orient	
Jabermann, Ateret, 216–7.		
Solomon Mevorakh	Turkey	16th century
S. Bernstein, in: *Horeb*, 5 (1939), 61–62; J.L. Weinberger, in: HUCA, 39 (1968), 60–62 (Heb. part)		
*Solomon Suleiman b. Amar		
*Tamar b. Menahem		
Todros b. Judah ha-Levi *Abulafia		
Yaḥya b. Abraham Harazi	Yemen	16/17th century
Y. Ratzaby, in: *Tagim*, 1 (1969), 54–59.		
Yakar b. Samuel ha-Levi	Cologne and Mainz	13th century
Urbach, Tosafot, 452–3; C. Sirat, in: REJ, 118 (1959–60), 131–3.		
*Yannai		
Yanon b. Ẓemaḥ	Syria	11th century
M. Zulay, in: *Sinai*, 28 (1951), 167–9; J.L. Weinberger, in: HUCA, 39 (1968), 3–10 (Heb. part).		
Yo'eẓ b. Malkiel	Germany	13th century
A.M. Habermann, *Gezerot Ashkenaz ve-Ẓarefat* (1946), 194, 264.		
Yom Tov (Bondi), Valvason	Venice	1616–1660
J. Schirmann, in: *Zion*, 29 (1964), 104.		
Yom Tov b. Isaac	France	12th century
J. Schirmann, in: *Kobez al-Jad*, 13 (1939), 35–37.		
Yom Tov Soriano	Spain	15th century
A.M. Habermann, in: YMḤSI, 3 (1936), 133–50.		
*Yose b. Yose		
Yudan b. Misatya ha-Kohen	Greece or Italy	10th century
Sefer ha-Mekorot (1970^2), 128.		
Zadok b. Aaron ibn Alamani	Alexandria	12th century
S. Bernstein, in: *Sinai*, 19 (1946), 215; idem, in: *Ha-Tekufah*, 32–33 (1948), 77.		
*Zebidah family		
*Zechariah al-Dahiri		
Ẓedakah	Egypt	Medieval
N. Allony, in: *Oẓar Yehudei Sefarad*, 1 (1959), 54–61.		
Zedekiah b. Benjamin min ha-Anavim (Anav)	Rome	13th century
B. Dinur, in: *Sefer Zikkaron Aryeh Leon Carpi* (1967), 52–63.		
Ẓemaḥ b. Yanon he-Ḥazzan	Syria	11th century
M. Zulay, in: YMḤSI, 5 (1939), 132.		
Zevadiah	S. Italy	9th century
Schirmann, Shirim Ḥadashim, 422–4.		

[Abraham David]

PIZARNIK, ALEJANDRA (1936–1972), Argentinean poet. Born in Buenos Aires to a family of Jewish Russian immigrants, she published her first book of poetry in 1955. In 1960–64 she lived in Paris. Her fourth volume of poetry, *Arbol de Diana* ("Diane's Tree," 1962), established a distinctive style of short texts (verse and poetic prose) built in an intense language and surrounded by an expressive blank page. Among her books are *Los trabajos y las noches* ("Works and Nights," 1965); *Extracción de la piedra de locura* ("Extraction of the Stone of Folly," 1968); *El infierno musical* ("The Musical Hell," 1971); and the posthumous *Textos de Sombra y últimos poemas* ("Texts of Shadow and Last Poems," 1982), which includes unpublished texts. Also renowned is her prose book *La condesa sangrienta* (1971; *The Bloody Countess,* 1986), on the fascination/rejection of evil. Loneliness, existential anguish, intense but hopeless love, and the seduction and dangers of silence are her main themes, together with poetic creation as a longed-for means of salvation. Though she experienced her Jewish background as an important part of her complex identity, Jewish themes are not central in her texts and appear mostly in connection with the figure of her father. Pizarnik was a gifted translator of French poetry and wrote insightful articles on poetry and fiction. She suffered periods of mental instability; it is possible that her untimely death was voluntary. Pizarnik is one of the major Argentinean and Latin American poets of the century, and her wide influence has continued to grow. Her works have been translated into English, French, and Hebrew.

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[Florinda F. Goldberg (2nd ed.)]

PIZMON (Heb. פִּזְמוֹן, pl. פִּזְמוֹנִים, pl. *pizmonim*), a term transferred to Hebrew from Greek by way of Aramaic, meaning "adoration and praise," i.e., a poem praising God. It was first applied to the refrain in *piyyutim* in which either the first or the last line of the first stanza was repeated at the end of each stanza. Subsequently, the *piyyutim* themselves in which these refrains occur were called *pizmonim*. *Pizmonim* can be inserted almost anywhere in the liturgy; the Sephardi *paytanim* inserted them in the *kerovot* (the groups of *piyyutim* in the *Amidah*). In Spain the one who sang or read the *pizmon* before the congregation was called *pizmanana*. In a later period editors used the word *pizmonim* for poems and songs in general. The name often appears on the title page of collections of poems, particularly those printed in Oriental countries. In modern Israel the word is used to mean a popular song.

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[Abraham Meir Habermann]

PLACHY, SYLVIA (1943–), U.S. photographer. Born in Budapest, Hungary, Plachy immigrated to the United States with her parents in 1958 after waiting more than a year in Vienna for visas. Her father was a Catholic, the offspring of her aristocratic but impoverished grandmother's affair with a guard in the Hapsburg court. Her mother was Jewish and many relatives were murdered during the Holocaust. In the United States, the Plachy family settled in Queens, N.Y. Plachy started photographing in 1964 and over the next 40 years recorded the visual character of New York City along with its diverse occupants. She was a photographer for the New York weekly *The Village Voice* for 30 years, and for eight years she had a black and white photograph published there, near the contents page, usually without a caption. The longest-running series was called *Sylvia Plachy's Unguided Tour*, which later became a book (Aperture, 1990). Her words and images, along with pictures from her family album, combine for poignant effect in *Self Portrait with Cows Going Home* (Aperture, 2004), an autobiography of sorts, and an ode to both the exile's life and the land of her birth. Another book, *Red Light*, was a collaboration with the writer James Ridgeway about the sex industry. Her monthly column of writing and photographs in *Metropolis Magazine* was published as a book, *Signs & Relics* (1999). On successive trips back to Hungary and while traveling through other countries in the Eastern Bloc, sometimes on assignment, Plachy's camera captured traces of her real and imagined childhood with tenderness and yearning. She was also there in later decades to record the monuments as they fell; the empty frames in bureaucrats' offices that formerly held pictures of dictators and two Berlin teenagers pretending to be executed against a remnant of the Berlin wall. Plachy's mother had kept her own Jewishness a secret during the postwar years in Hungary. But Sylvia Plachy's Jewishness comes back to haunt her in images of her son, the actor Adrien Brody, who won an Oscar for his starring role in Roman *Polanski's Holocaust drama *The Pianist* (2002), based on the life of Wladyslaw Szpilman, a Polish Jewish musician who survived the war by hiding in Warsaw. Plachy's work is in most major museum collections and she has had one-woman shows around the world.

[Stewart Kampel (2nd ed.)]

PLACZEK, ABRAHAM (1799–1884), **Landesrabbiner* of Moravia. In 1827 he became rabbi in his birthplace, Přerov (Prerau, Moravia), and in 1832 in *Hranice (Maehrisch Weisskirchen). From 1840 until his death he was rabbi in *Boskovice. When Samson Raphael *Hirsch left the *Landesrabbinat* of Moravia in 1851, the provincial authorities appointed Placzek acting *Landesrabbiner,* declaring the election regulations of 1754 obsolete. He held the post until his death. By this act the *Landesrabbinat* was removed from *Mikulov after more than 200 years. Placzek was considered an outstanding talmudic scholar and was strictly Orthodox, supporting Solomon *Spitzer in his struggle against liturgical reform in Vienna (1872). Nevertheless he attempted to avoid open conflicts between the factions, both in Boskovice and in Moravia.

His son, BARUCH JACOB (1835–1922), succeeded him and became the last *Landesrabbiner* of Moravia. He taught at Jewish secondary schools in Germany for some years and was called as rabbi to *Brno (Bruenn) in 1860. He established a teachers' seminary offering a course in *ḥazzanut*, a project favored by his father, and was an adherent of moderate religious reform. Baruch published, partly under the pseudonym Benno Planek, various works on Jewish themes: *Im Eruw* (1867), poems, and *Der Takkif* (1895), a short novel documenting a Moravian Jewish quarter before 1848. He also published articles on natural science, mainly zoology.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: H. Gold (ed.), *Die Juden und Judengemeinden Maehrens…* (1929), 52 (a list of Baruch's works), and index; D. Feuchtwang, in: *Gedenkbuch… D. Kaufmann* (1900), 384; A. Frankl-Gruen, *Geschichte der Juden in Kremsier,* 2 (1898), 138–43, 174–6; *Dr. Blochs Oesterreichische Wochenschrift*, 28 (1911), 11–12.

[Meir Lamed]

PLAGUES OF EGYPT. The Bible has three accounts of the plagues (*maggefot*, Ex. 9:14; *negaʿim*, cf. Ex. 11:1; *makkot*, cf. I Sam. 4:8; cf. LXX, Targ.) that struck Egypt prior to the Exodus: a full, prose account is given in Exodus 7:14–11:10; 12:29–33, and brief, poetic ones in Psalms 78:43–51 and 105:27–36. The variations are set out in the Table: Plagues of Egypt listing the plagues and their effects. While the ten items of the Exodus narrative are distinctly separate, some of the items in Psalms

The Plagues Of Egypt

Exodus	Psalm 78:44–51	Psalm 105:28–36
1. Blood Nile; all water; fish died	1. Blood Nile; liquids	1. Darkness
2. Frogs nuisance to[3] men	2. Swarms[1] "consumed them"	2. Blood water; fish died
3. Lice nuisance to men and beasts	Frogs "ruined them"	3. Frogs nuisance
4. Swarms[1] nuisance to men; ruined land	3. *Ḥasil*[2] ate produce	4. Swarms[1] Lice } Nuisance
5. Pestilence killed livestock	Locusts ate "toil"	5. Hail Fire } destroyed vines, figs, trees
6. Boils pained men and beasts	4. Hail destroyed vines	6. Locusts *Yeleq*[2] } destroyed all vegetation
7. Hail and fire destroyed plants, men, and beasts	*Ḥanamel*[3] destroyed sycamores	7. Firstborn death
8. Locusts destroyed plants	5. Hail[4] destroyed beasts	
9. Darkness immobilized men	*Reshafim*[5] destroyed livestock	
10. Firstborn death	6. Death Pestilence } Killed men[6]	
	7. Firstborn death[7]	

[1] Heb. *'arov*; LXX: "dogflies"; R. Nehemiah (Ex. R.) "gnats and mosquitoes"; NJPS "swarms of insects." But Josephus (Ant., 2:303), R. Judah (Ex. R.), and Targ. "mixture of birds and beasts."

[2] A kind (or stage of development) of locusts.

[3] Meaning obscure; LXX: "frost"; medieval conjectures: "locust," "stones."

[4] Symmachus: "pestilence" (*dever* for MT *barad*).

[5] Traditionally "fiery bolts," but *Reshef* is a Canaanite plague-god, and *reshef* in Deuteronomy 32:24 (|| *qetev*) and Habakkuk 3:5 (|| dever) means "pestilence" (cf. note 4).

[6] *Ḥayyatam* = nafsham, "their life" (Ibn Ezra; cf. Rashi); LXX, Targ. misconstrue as "their beasts".

[7] Ibn Ezra joins to the preceding.

are but synonyms or components of plagues. Thus Psalm 105 lists ten items, but refers to seven plagues only. Psalm 78 lists 11 items, but only seven (or six) plagues. The climactic order in Psalm 78 is most satisfactory: nuisances, destruction of plant life, of animals, and of human beings. The order of Psalm 105 is similar, while in the Exodus account the ascending line is not consistently realized. The Psalms' divergence from Exodus has been ascribed to poetic license; the likelihood is, however, that it attests to independent, variant traditions (see further below).

Their Function

The leading motif of the plague series in the Exodus account is introduced in 7:5: "The Egyptians shall know that I am YHWH when I stretch my hand over Egypt…" Repeated variously (7:17; 8:6, 18; 9:14, 16, 29), it shows the plagues to be the answer to Pharaoh's challenge in 5:2: "Who is YHWH…? I do not know YHWH, nor will I release Israel." Intended, thus, as revelations of the nature and power of Israel's God, the plagues are distinguished from both magic and natural calamities. The magicians' failure to produce lice elicits from them the confession that "it is the finger of God" (8:15). The plagues' onset after an announcement or at a signal, and their removal by order, links them to YHWH, whose agents, Moses and Aaron, announced, signaled, and removed them in His name. The accumulation of disasters, their discriminating between Israel and the Egyptians (starting from 8:18), and the unprecedentedness of the last four plagues succeed in eliciting from Pharaoh's court increasingly frequent acknowledgments of God's authority (8:4, 21, 24; 9:20, 27–28; 10:7–8, 16–17, 24), ending with the release of Israel to worship Him (12:31–32). As 9:14–16 and 10:1–2 make clear, the reason for prolonging the series is not to secure Israel's release (which might have been achieved by one crushing blow), but to establish for all time the fame of YHWH and the folly of defying Him.

The Structure of the Narrative

The narrative evidences a deliberate, if imperfectly realized design:

(1) The plagues gradually intensify, beginning with nuisances, passing through destruction of livestock and crops, and ending with the death of human beings. The intensifica-

tion sometimes falters (e.g., boils after pestilence), and sometimes the effects of a plague transgress its proper limits (e.g., the death of men and beasts in the hail). These appear to result, on the one hand, from the combination of variant traditions, and, on the other, from a desire to aggrandize God (see further below). A comparison with the strategy of reducing a rebellious population is found in the Midrash: God used the tactics of kings against the Egyptians. First He cut off their water supply (blood), then He raised a clamor around them (frogs), then shot arrows at them (lice), then arrayed legions against them (swarms), then caused a pestilence, then threw burning naphtha at them (fever boils), then sent hosts against them (locusts), then incarcerated them in dungeons (darkness), then put to death their chiefs (firstborn; Tanḥ. *Bo* 4). Levi b. Gershom perceives cycles of increasing severity: God began with a harmless wonder (Ex. 7:8–13); when that failed, He spoiled their water – but not totally; next He sent the frogs, which caused discomfort; but that was less than the distress caused by the lice. A second round began with the swarms that attacked livestock and food; then pestilence that killed off the livestock; then boils that afflicted the body. A third round followed, starting with hail and locusts, wiping out the food supply, followed by darkness – a bodily affliction just short of death. The death of the firstborn climaxed the series.

(2) These rounds correspond to the formal division of the story into three sets of three plagues, capped by a tenth, in a pattern determined by an invariably recurring order of introductory clauses. Plagues one, four, and seven begin with God commanding Moses to stand before Pharaoh in the morning (at the Nile) to warn him; two, five, and eight begin with a command to enter Pharaoh's residence to warn him there; three, six, and nine begin with a command to bring on the plague without warning. Early perception of this pattern is reflected in R. Judah's mnemonic, cited in the *Haggadah*, דצ״ך עד״ש באח״ב (cf. also Rashbam to 7:26; Baḥya to 10:1).

(3) A certain design can also be discerned in the various agents who induce the plagues. In the first triplet Moses warns, but Aaron signals the coming of the plague; in each case the Egyptian magicians respond. The triplet continues, on an intensified level, the contest begun with the accreditation episode (7:10–12) between the very same characters. It is decided only in the third plague, when the magicians, unable to produce lice, confess it is the work of a higher power. In this contest, the principles – Moses and Pharaoh – are each represented by their seconds; when the magicians retire from the fray, Aaron does too (and when Aaron reappears in a subsidiary role in the sixth plague, the magicians momentarily reappear with him). In the last triplet Moses both announces and induces the plagues, thus enhancing his prestige as God's plenipotentiary in the negotiations that mark this climactic triplet (cf. 11:3). God directly brings on two plagues of the middle triplet – the third (boils), induced by Moses and Aaron, is asymmetrical – and the final firstborn plague. The reason emerges from an examination of the distinctive motif of each triplet.

(4) A purpose clause in the first member of each triplet adumbrates its distinctive motif. As the aim of the first triplet is to dispel the courtiers' notion that the power of the Hebrew envoys is magical, God fittingly admonishes Pharaoh before the blood plague: "By this you shall know that I am YHWH" (7:17). Two plagues of the second triplet explicitly (and the third implicitly) discriminate the Israelites from the Egyptians (8:18–19; 9:4, 6, 11). Such discrimination realizes the purpose stated in 8:18, "That you may know that I, YHWH, am in the midst of the land," for the presence of God – His overseeing providence (cf. Ex. 17:7; 33:5; Num. 14:42; Deut. 6:15; 31:17) – is typically manifest in the separation between the fates of the innocent and the guilty. The opening speech of the third triplet asserts that its aim is to let Pharaoh know "that there is none like Me in all the earth" (Ex. 9:14). The words are echoed four times in phrases expressing the unparalleled intensity of the first two plagues of the triplet (the last member (darkness) again is asymmetrical). There is a notable accumulation of motifs in the last plagues. Thus the last triplet twice refers to discrimination (in different words; 9:26; 10:23) besides its own motif, while the warning of the last plague mentions the last two motifs (11:6–7) and alludes to an intensified form of the first (11:8; the court will bow to Moses). That God directly brings on plagues of the second triplet suits its stated purpose of demonstrating God's presence in the land. The presence-discrimination motif is linked again to God's direct action in the last plague (11:4, 7; 12:12, 29). Where God's presence is to be felt, mediators are out of place.

(5) Design (without strict systematization) is also evident in the characterization of Pharaoh and Moses. Pharaoh's reactions oscillate erratically during the first two triplets between impassivity (7:23; 8:15; 9:7, 12) and insincere concessions (8:4, 21, 24). In the first plague of the third triplet he confesses guilt (9:27), and in the last two he negotiates seriously over Israel's release, as is indicated by his measured concessions at each stage (10:8, 11, 24). Moses' manner changes from a certain sportiveness (8:5) to pained rebuke (8:25), to disbelief (9:30), and finally, in negotiation, to provocative baiting that enrages Pharaoh (10:25–26).

Hardening Pharaoh's Heart

This drama is embedded in (and manages to overcome the stultifying potential of) a deterministic framework. God's policy of hardening Pharaoh's heart is announced in advance (7:3), and notice of its operation is repeatedly given (9:12; 10:1, 20, 27; 11:10). Some mitigation of it is probably to be seen in the fact that during the first five plagues Pharaoh's stubbornness is consistently represented as self-motivated (7:22; 8:11, 15, 28; 9:7; cf. Ex. R. 13:3: God hardened Pharaoh's heart from the sixth plague in order to punish him for his voluntary defiance during the first five; cf. further Maimonides, introduction to Avot, ch. 8; Yad, Teshuvah 6). But this still makes the last, worst plagues – an infliction of suffering on an involuntary sinner – paradoxical, since precisely in the last plagues Pharaoh's reactions are adequately motivated, perhaps even justifiable in view of Moses' provocations. There is here the parade example of the "two-level" view of history characteristic of biblical narrative. Human events are shaped by the will of God, yet they unfold in accord with the motives of actors who do God's will without realizing it (Gen. 45:5, 8; Judg. 14:4; I Kings 12:15). Thus God determined for His own purposes that Pharaoh should resist the plagues; indeed He saw to it. But Pharaoh conducted himself throughout conformably with his own motives and his own godless arrogance. God made it so, but Pharaoh had only to be himself to do God's will.

Interpretations of the Plagues

Attempts have been made to interpret the plagues in terms of ancient Egyptian beliefs or the natural conditions of Egypt. A Middle Kingdom description of anarchy speaks of the Nile's turning into blood (The Admonitions of Ipuwer; Pritchard, Texts, 441); a New Kingdom prophecy of the darkening of the sun (Nefer-rohu; Pritchard, Texts, 445). Philo and the Midrash understand the blood plague as an attack on the deified Nile (I Mos. 98; Ex. R. 9:9), and this clue has been followed by some moderns who look for the humiliation of Egyptian deities in the course of the plagues (e.g., Hapi, the Nile god; Ḥekt, a frog-headed goddess; Re, the sun god), though no hint of this is to be found in the biblical plague narrative. On the other hand, most of the plagues can be linked with local or seasonal phenomena. During its annual rise, in the summer, the Nile is reddened by organisms carried in it; swarms of frogs and insects follow the inundation (insects normally abound in Egypt); Egyptian boils were proverbial (Deut. 28:27); hail, though uncommon, has been known to fall in January – the time indicated by the agricultural data of Exodus 9:31–32; locusts may be blown across the country in winter or spring; three-day, palpable darkness conforms with the heavy sandstorms raised by the *ḥamsin* winds that blow in the early spring. Thus the plagues have been viewed as a miraculous intensification and concentration of local phenomena, crowded into a single year (Moses was 80 years old when they began (7:7), lived 40 years more, and died at the age of 120 (Deut. 34:7); cf. also Eduy. 2:10).

The Variant Versions

The narrative appears to combine two major versions of the plague series. Hence arose such inconsistencies as are found in the depiction of the agent, the signal, and the extent of the blood plague in Exodus 7:17–21 (cf. the dispute between R. Judah and R. Nehemiah in Ex. R. 9:11); such inconsequence as the skipping of the boils in the backward glance of 9:15, or the unmotivated reappearance of Aaron and the boils-afflicted magicians after the lapse of two plagues; and such asymmetry and stylistic differences as set lice, boils, and darkness apart from the rest of the plagues.

(1) One version began with the accreditation sign given by God to Aaron and Moses: Moses orders Aaron to turn his staff into a serpent; the magicians imitate the sign (7:8–13). The plagues proper follow;

(2) Moses orders Aaron to turn all the waters of Egypt to blood; this is imitated by the magicians (7:19–20a*a*, 21b–22);

(3) Moses orders Aaron to induce frogs; this is again imitated by the magicians (8:1–3, 11b (fragmentary));

(4) Moses orders Aaron to produce lice; the magicians fail and confess God's power (8:12–15);

(5) Moses, aided by Aaron, induces boils; the magicians are themselves afflicted and retire routed (9:8–12);

(6) Moses alone induces darkness, immobilizing everyone for three days (10:21–23, 27a (fragmentary));

(7) God strikes the firstborn (cf. 12:12, belonging to this version). In this conjecturally restored version (which, with the exception of item 6, agrees with conventional criticism's P) the agents of the plagues ascend climactically, the effects intensify steadily, and all before the last are designed to outdo and overwhelm rather than destroy. They are tokens of God's might rather than punishments.

The second version ran thus:

(1) After a morning warning, Moses turned the Nile into blood, which killed its fish; Pharaoh was unmoved (7:14–17, 20a*b*–21a, 23–25);

(2) After a warning in the palace… (there follows the other version of frogs); negotiation with Pharaoh (7:26–29 (gap), 8:4–11a (fragmentary));

(3) After a morning warning by Moses, God sends swarms of insects, separating the Israelites; negotiations (8:16–28);

(4) After a warning in the palace by Moses, God strikes Egypt's livestock with a pestilence, separating the Israelites (9:1–7);

(5) After a morning warning, heeded by some courtiers, Moses signals the onslaught of an unprecedented hail mixed with fire; negotiations (9:13–35);

(6) After a warning in the palace, followed by fruitless negotiation, Moses signals the coming of an unprecedentedly severe locust plague; Pharaoh asks relief just this once; further negotiations end in Moses' expulsion (10:1–19, 24–29);

(7) Moses announces the death of the firstborn (11:4–8), which comes that night (12:29–33).

This conjectured version (roughly consisting of the conventional JE) represents the plagues as increasingly severe injuries to Egyptian property and life, as blows designed to afflict the land. The story seems to have been expanded at times by reflective comment (9:15–16; 10:1b–2), or to broaden the scope of a plague (e.g., 9:19–21 includes men and beasts among the victims of the hail). The redactorial interweaving of the two accounts was relatively smooth once the first triplet was constituted on the basis of the overlapping of the two versions and the lice plague's deciding the issue posed in the accreditation sign. The formal pattern of that triplet determined the rest of the interweaving, the genial device of three triplets plus one (an expansion of the 3.3.1 pattern of Gen. 1:1–2:3) nicely accommodating the total of ten separate plagues. Since both versions were climactic, their fusion was on the whole reasonable, although it impaired thematic symmetry, stylistic unity, and strict progress of the narrative. The variant Psalms passages may attest to independent traditions of the plagues. The affinity of the listing in Psalm 78 to the reconstructed second version is particularly striking: both lack the three distinctive plagues of the first – lice, boils, darkness. The present Exodus narrative presumably represents an effort to create a standard account of the plagues, embodying maximally the data of the various traditions known to the author-redactor.

Midrashic Embellishment

The local color of a number of the plagues makes it plausible to assume that the traditions concerning them rose out of events that happened in Egypt. In time, the events were added to, embellished, and reflected upon, most likely in connection with the religious celebrations of the Exodus. The Passover laws of Exodus 12:26–27; 13:8 and the firstborn redemption rite in 13:11–16 suggest occasions for use of a liturgical formulation of the pre-Exodus events. Various statements of the plague series may have originated in and for such occasions, just as, in post-biblical times, the standard Exodus listing was taken up into the *Haggadah*. The tendency to enlarge the scope of the plagues – formally legitimized in the Midrash cited in the *Haggadah* ("How can you prove from Scripture that each plague was really four [or five] plagues…?") – shows itself already in the components of the Exodus narrative, e.g., while in one version the blood plague affects the Nile only, in the other it spreads to all the waters of Egypt. Similarly, just as the Exodus version of hail has already made it deadly to man and beast, so does Philo raise blood (1 Mos. 98) and Josephus raise lice, swarms (of beasts), ulcers, and darkness to the level of death-dealing scourges (Ant., 2:293ff.). The Midrash gives free rein to the imagination in this direction: the Egyptians' spittle and fruit juice turned to blood; their wood and stone household objects oozed blood (Ex. R. 9:11; Mid. Hag. to 7:19); the frogs castrated them (Ex. R. 10:4); deadly pestilence accompanied all the plagues (Ex. R. 10:2); the darkness lasted six days, and at its worst was so thick that no one could move a muscle (Ex. R. 14:3). The Midrash also enlarges upon the brief biblical reflections on the rationale of the plagues. The "measure for measure" interpretation is typical: blood – because they kept Israel's women from their post-menstrual immersion, to stop their childbearing (another view – because they cast the male infants into the Nile); frogs – because they made Israel clean and repair streets; lice – because they made them sweep homes and markets; mixture of beasts – because they made them catch wild beasts; pestilence – because they made them tend flocks; fever boils – because they made them tend baths; hail – because they made them tend fields; locusts – because they made them plant trees; darkness – so that they could not witness the burial of wicked Israelites; firstborn – because they enslaved Israel, whom God called "my firstborn son" (Ex. 4:22; Mid. Hag. to 10:2). Thus the plagues grew ever more marvelous "to spread the fame of God's great power… that Israel might realize that He is the Lord, and teach it to their descendants, so that this true belief might live on in Israel forever" (Ralbag, Comment., end of *Va-Era* and *Bo*).

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[Moshe Greenberg]

PLAIN, BELVA (1919–), U.S. novelist. Born in New York and a graduate of Barnard College, Plain published her first book, *Evergreen,* in 1978 when she was almost 60. The book topped the *New York Times* bestseller list for 41 weeks and was adapted into a six-part television series. *Evergreen* spans three generations of an immigrant family. It was born, she said, when her children began asking questions about their forebears. Every one of Plain's books became national bestsellers. More than 25 million copies of her books were in print in the early part of the 21st century, and they appeared in 22 foreign translations. Before she became a novelist, Plain wrote short stories for major magazines. A history major in college, Plain used her background in her work. The Werner family saga, first unveiled in *Evergreen,* continued in *The Golden Cup* (1986), *Tapestry* (1988), and *Harvest* (1990). *The Sight of the Stars* was published in 2003.

[Stewart Kampel (2nd ed.)]

PLAMENAC, DRAGAN (1895–1983), U.S. musicologist of Yugoslav origin. He was born in Zagreb where he first studied law and took a degree. Thereafter, he turned to his early interest in music and studied composition in Vienna (1912) and Prague (1919), musicology with Pirro at the Sorbonne and with Hugo *Adler, one of the founders of modern musicology, in Vienna. He took his doctorate in 1925 with his dissertation on Ockegem's motets and chanson; in 1928 he began teaching musicology at the University of Zagreb. He went in 1939 to the U.S. as the Yugoslav representative to the International Musicological Society Congress in New York and decided to remain there during World War II. He became an American citizen in 1946. Plamenac was thereafter professor of music at different universities, mainly the University of Illinois (1954–63), where he received an honorary doctorate in 1976. Plamenac held several offices at the American Musicological Society and received a number of awards.

In his numerous writings Plamenac distinguished himself as a prominent researcher and editor of early music, namely that of the 14th and 16th centuries as well as the music of Adriatic coastal areas in the Renaissance and early Baroque period. His studies and editions of manuscripts provide important insights into the practice of those periods.

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[Amnon Shiloah (2nd ed.)]

PLANE TREE (Heb. עַרְמוֹן; *armon*). The Oriental plane, *Platanus orientalis*, is indigenous to Israel and grows on the banks of rivers, especially in the north. It is one of the most beautiful of Israel's trees and is recognizable by its lofty trunk, spreading crest, and large leaves. Its Hebrew name is connected with the fact that its bark peels so that the trunk is left bare (*arom*). It grows also in Syria and Babylon; while sojourning with Laban in Mesopotamia, Jacob peeled "white streaks" off rods from the tree (Gen. 30:37). Ezekiel, who prophesied in Babylon, mentions it among the beautiful trees in "the garden of God" (Ezek. 31:8). The Targum (Gen. 31:37) rightly renders the word *doleva* ("the plane") and the Septuagint similarly has *platanos*. Rashi, however, identifies the *armon* with the chestnut, an identification which was accepted by European rabbis and by the biblical commentators, and it has been adopted in modern Hebrew. However, this identification is erroneous since the chestnut does not grow in Israel or in Mesopotamia. Beautiful plane trees are found especially on the banks of the River Dan and the River Senir, the sources of the Jordan. Particularly well known is the great plane tree at the Banias Falls which divides the falls in two.

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[Jehuda Feliks]

PLANNING AND CONSTRUCTION. The laws of planning and construction occupy an important place in contemporary public law. This group of laws regulates the status of the various planning authorities, determines norms for the planning of communities, allocates areas for residence, industry and agriculture, establishes various norms regarding the construction of buildings and other facilities within the bounds of a community (such as for residential areas, agricultural regions, nature reserves, and waterside areas), and enumerates various conditions for the maintenance and preservation of buildings and other entities (such as trees, railways, roads, etc.) – especially in cases in which they are liable to cause harm to individuals or to the public.

Although the modern city is notably different from the city of ancient times, the sources of Jewish law over the generations set forth basic principles regarding the regulation of various aspects of planning and construction which are also appropriate – with certain appropriate changes – in contemporary times. In many cases, these principles of Jewish law have been incorporated within other laws, such as *Torts, *Acquisition, public and administrative law (see *Public Authority) and constitutional law (see *Rights, Human: Right to Title), *Unjust Enrichment, etc. Some of the laws of planning and construction were intended to prevent safety hazards, but many were intended to ensure the external appearance of the community, which should be attractive and pleasant for residential purposes. Initially, many of these obligations were specified in the framework of torts regarding private law and created rights and obligations of individuals, but they eventually became public obligations, binding all members of the community.

Thus, for example, it was ruled that commercial installations liable to cause damage to the public should be removed, or built at a safe distance from residential areas (see *Hazard). In many cases, such laws enable individuals to submit claims against others for damage caused to them, or to compel their removal (see *Nuisance).

In other cases, the *public* aspect of planning law is emphasized. Thus, for example, already in the Mishnah we find the requirement that a cemetery be located at a distance from urban centers (M. BB 2:8), the commentators differed however regarding the reason for that requirement: Some think that in this case, similar to other laws of nuisance, the reason is because of the offensive smell that is prevalent there, but others explain that it was meant to prevent distress to the city residents who might see the place (Rabbi Mordechai Yaffe, *Sefer ha-Levush*, YD 365). A similar directive was made in Israeli law, which specifies certain areas in which burials may be performed and prohibiting burial elsewhere (Public Health Ordinance; Planning and Construction Law, 5725 – 1965).

Owing to the wish to preserve "the city's beauty" – its external esthetics – a requirement was made to keep certain types of trees far from its borders (M. BB 2:7), for which the Talmud gives the following rationale: because these trees have many branches, and "it is the beauty of the city when there is open space around it" (BB 24b and Rashi, ad loc.). In the Jerusalem Talmud, there were those who explained that the reason for distancing such trees far from the city is that they have many branches, which create excessive shade for the city's residents (TJ, BK 2:7). Among the early Sages there were those who limit this rule to inhabited regions in the Land of Israel, where it is obligatory to preserve its beauty, while others extend it to include cities abroad as well (Ramban, Rashba and Ritba, on Bava Batra, ad loc.). Rashba, in his novellae (to BB 24b), set an important rule, according to which "Anything that has to do with aesthetics cannot be waived by the residents"; in other words, this is a mandatory rule having the character of *jus cogens*, being intended to maintain "the city's beauty," and therefore cannot be made a matter of their discretion.

The rules concerning the "city's beauty" were especially enforced in those cities given to the Levites, and this dictated their explanation of the biblical rule (Num 35:5), compelling one to leave an empty "plot" around the Levite cities. Rashi (Sotah 27b) interprets the rationale for this by saying that they wished to leave open space on the edges of the city, to leave "an expanse empty of sowing and houses and trees for the sake of the city's beauty, and to provide air for it." From other sources, it emerges that this empty space surrounded the town from all sides, and measured 1000 cubits (approximately 500 meters) in each direction. See Targum Onkelos to Num. 35:4–5; and Rashi to Eruvin 56b, s.v. *ẓe'i mehen*).

Another law stated with respect to the levitical cities prohibits changing the land's designation. Already in the Tosefta

(Arakhin 5:18) we read that "A plot should not be made into a field, and a field should not be turned into a plot." Rashi explains this (Arakhin 32b) with the rationale: "A plot should not be made into a field – because of [the imperative] of settling the Land of Israel, and this would be devastating, for it reduces sowing [the areas available for sowing]; and a field should not be turned into a plot – *because it ruins the town's aesthetic appearance*." In other words, the desire to maintain certain agricultural areas, as well as concern for the town's aesthetic appearance, requires the avoidance of changing the land's designation. Similar norms were set in Israel's Planning and Construction Laws.

Special rules were fixed for the *City of Refuge, which served as the place of residence for persons who had accidentally committed manslaughter. Although Jewish law does not generally establish criteria regarding urban density and the location of cities, this indeed was inter alia the rationale of the rule that the various cities of refuge should not be too close to one other but rather scattered at equal distances (Tosefta Makkot 3:3). The Tosefta (*ibid.*, 8) further states that: "These three towns [= Cities of Refuge] should not be built either as large cities or as small villages, but rather as medium-sized towns. They should not be built in places where there is no water. If there is no water there – water should be brought there. And they should not be built in places that are uninhabited. If the population has dwindled – other inhabitants should be brought and settled there instead of those who left. If their residents have dwindled – then priests (Kohanim), Levites and [ordinary] Israelites should be added to them." The Jerusalem Talmud (Mak. 2:6) adds that "If there is no market there, then one should be set up" – all in order that the person who accidentally committed manslaughter and finds refuge there should be able to live a normal life. Nevertheless, in order to prevent blood avengers from getting into the habit of coming to these towns, the practice of certain crafts – such as operating an oil press and producing oil, manufacturing glassware, rolling cords, and similar crafts – was forbidden in those towns (Tosef. and TJ, ad loc., and see *Human Rights: Freedom of Occupation).

Laws of this nature were also applied to the building of the Temple, such as the prohibition on building it during the night hours and the obligation to build it only from materials that were originally designated for this purpose (Yad., Beit ha-Beḥirah). Various limitations on construction works were imposed on special occasions. In addition to Shabbat and holidays, in the ancient sources construction was also prohibited on fast days, such as public fasts, and from the beginning of the month of Av until the 9th of the month, which is a period of mourning (Ta'anit 14b). In the later sources this prohibition was qualified and limited only to "building for the sake of joy." Rambam explained (*Commentary on the Mishnah*, Ta'anit 1:7: "planting for joy" (such as drawings and ornaments) refers to special buildings the wealthy make, or aromatic trees and so on planted by kings, but building for residence, and planting for the sake of fruits and for making a living, is not forbidden and is not prevented at all. The Jerusalem Talmud explains that if a building was about to collapse, it is permitted to rebuild it even in such times (TJ, Ta'anit 1:8). During the Intermediate Days of Festivals construction work was prohibited as well. The Tosefta cites an exception to this rule (Tosef. Mo'ed Katan 1:7) regarding a house that is liable to endanger its residents: "Should its wall be tottering on the brink of collapse into the public domain, then it should be toppled and rebuilt because of the risk to life." The same rule applies in those places where there are other dangers: "If the city walls have been breached – then it should be fenced off. If it has been fenced off and breached – then it should not be fenced off further. If it was close to the frontier [= border] – then it should be demolished and rebuilt in the usual way."

The sources of Jewish law indicate that certain institutions were originally built in certain locations. Thus, for instance, from many biblical sources we learn that the Court used to sit at the city gates, to enable convenient access. In the Midrash (*Pesikta Zutrata, Lekaḥ Tov, Ki Teẓe*) it was even taught that it is mandatory, and not merely a directive to be exercised voluntarily, that the Court sit at an the highest spot in the city.

A special norm was fixed regarding the construction of synagogues as well. As early as the Tosefta (Megillah 3:22–23) it was already stated that "The doorways of Synagogues are to be opened only towards the East, because in the Sanctuary the doors opened towards the East," and that "Synagogues are only to be built in the highest place in the city." However, as early a source as Rabbenu Tam (12th century) already qualified this law, stating that it had been applicable specifically in ancient times, "when people were accustomed to residing on and using the roofs, but in our times this prohibition should be qualified." At any rate, he too prohibited the construction of an apartment on a floor that was higher than the synagogue (Shabbat 11a, and Nov. Ritba *ibid.*). Testimony from medieval Jewish communities shows that, in certain cases, it was decreed that synagogues should be elevated or houses that were built at higher levels should be lowered (*Hagahot Maimoniyot*, to *Hilkhot Tefillah* 11:2; Sh. Ar., OḤ, 150, and Rema *ad loc.*, 3, and *Arukh ha-Shulḥan*, OḤ 150). During the period of the *aḥaronim* and certainly in modern times, when synagogues are frequently built in multi-storey buildings, various dispensations were made for this issue as well. For example Rabbi Joseph Caro cites Rabbi Jacob Ibn Habib – "In our times, when we are under Turkish rule, that we are not permitted to establish a permanent house for a synagogue; all the more we are not permitted to build one, and we are obliged to hide ourselves in low buildings, where the sounds [of prayer] are not to be heard because of the danger involved. Accordingly, even if there is a residential house above the house in which we customarily pray, this is not to be protested, on condition that they maintain cleanliness in the houses that are above the house of prayer." (*Beit Yosef*, OḤ 154; and see the Rambam's responsum in Resp. Pe'er ha-Dor 74; *Magen Avraham*, OḤ 150:2; and compare Rabbi Ben-Zion Ouziel, Resp. Mishpatei Ouziel, vol. 3, OḤ 19, and R. Ovadiah Yosef, Resp. Yabi'a Omer, vol. 6, OḤ, 26).

As a remembrance of the destruction of the Temple, it was enacted that when a person plasters his home, he should leave a certain area unpainted in remembrance of the destruction of the Temple (Tosef. Sotah 15:12; Tur, OḤ 560).

Other *halakhot* determine the need to distance one residential building from another for the sake of maintaining privacy (see * Rights, Human: the Right to Privacy). This *halakhah* is rooted in ancient sources. Commenting on the biblical verse (Num 24:2), "And Balaam lifted up his eyes, and he saw Israel dwelling tribe by tribe; and the spirit of God came upon him," the Sages remarked: "He saw that the openings [of their tents] were not facing each other, to prevent one person from looking into his neighbor's tent (Rashi, *ibid.*; BB 60a). Accordingly, the sages stated in the Mishnah (BB 3:7) that "In a courtyard which he shares with others, a man should not open a door facing another person's door, nor a window facing another person's window. If it is small, he should not enlarge it, and he should not turn one into two. On the side of the street, however, he may do so," because there, there is no risk that someone's privacy may be infringed

In all these rules, important status was granted to "the prevailing practice in that place" (see *Minhag), on condition that it isn't a "foolish practice" or a "mistaken practice." And thus, the Rashba (Rabbi Solomon Adret, Spain, 13th century), in his important responsum on the status of custom in Jewish law (Resp. Rashba, vol. 2, no. 268) wrote: "And we also learn from the custom of the land, even though it has not been [formally] agreed. As we have learned (M. BB 1:1): "In those districts where it is usual to build using unhewn stone, hewn stones, beams, or bricks, they must use such materials, all according to the custom of the district." And they explained: "Everything – including a light partition, made of thatch and straw," but he adds: "At any rate, if the custom was not to be particular at all with respect to the injury of visual trespass [into] homes and yards [= which damages the neighbor's privacy, see entry: *Damages], then this is a mistaken practice, and is not a [correct] custom. Because a person cannot waive his rights, except with respect to finances, of which a person is entitled to give of his own, or to sustain damage to his property. But he is not entitled to breach the fences [= prohibitions] of the Jewish people, and behave immodestly."

Special provisions of the Israeli planning and construction laws prevent a person from making changes in his house (such as closing a balcony or building an annex) without receiving a permit from the local committee for planning and construction. Similar principles exist in various provisions of Jewish law, as well as in local regulations for public welfare (see **Takkanot ha-Kahal*). The main principle was based upon the words of the prophet Jeremiah: "Woe unto him that builds his house by unrighteousness, and his chambers by injustice" (Jer 22:13). In other words: even a person building his own house must do so in accordance with principles of justice and law. In later generations, the Sages used this verse as a basis for various rulings with respect to planning and construction. Thus, for instance, the Italian sages stated that a person is not entitled to make changes to a house in his possession if his neighbors' rights to light and air would thereby be compromised (see, for instance, Resp. Haramaz of Rabbi Moses Zacuto, no. 37).

Other provisions of modern planning and construction laws require a person to demolish unstable buildings, which endanger their surroundings. A similar provision may be found in Jewish civil torts law. Already in the Mishnah it states that in such cases, "the Court determines a period of 30 days during which the owner of the property must demolish the unstable building, and if he does not do so, he will be charged with any damage that may be incurred as a result" (M. BM 10:4; Yad., *Nizkei Mamon* 13.19; and see Resp. Rashba, vol. 4., no. 114).

Various laws were legislated in the Mishnah and the Talmud, with respect to construction below the surface of the ground, intended to prevent hazards from the public. Thus, it is stated in the Mishnah (BB 3:8) that "It is not acceptable to make a hollow space under the public domain, such as pits, a trench or a cave," while Rabbi Eliezer allows making a cavity under the public domain, provided that it is provided with a sufficiently strong covering to bear the weight of a wagon laden with stones passing over it." And it is further stated in the Mishnah (*ibid.*) that "one must not make beams and balconies that protrude into the public domain unless one chooses to do so by withdrawing into his own area, and then the protrusions can be contained within his own area." The Talmud cites an opinion that qualifies this law, adding that if the protruding beams are higher than "a camel and its rider" – that is, in a sufficiently high place so as not to cause a disturbance to passers-by, then it is allowed. Indeed, Ritba, who was asked about this matter, rules that in places where "it was not customary" to have protruding beams, even if they are much higher than "a camel and its rider," they should not be extended (Resp. Ritba 125). However, in places where a custom existed to allow this, one cannot protest against a person who does so, and in certain cases he even acquires possessory rights (*Ḥazakah) and cannot be compelled to demolish what he has built (Resp. Rosh, 99:6).

Due to its unique character and status, special laws were made for *Jerusalem. Thus, for example, it was determined that in this city, even within private property, a person is barred from building with beams that protrude from the walls, or balconies or pipes that project into the public domain, because they are liable to contaminate or cause other harm to the pilgrims who come to the city (BK 82b; Tosef., Nega'im; *Avot de-Rabbi Nathan*, 35; Yad., *Beit ha-Beḥirah* 7:14; Resp. Rashba, 125). It was similarly prohibited to plant "gardens and orchards" within the city of Jerusalem, and trees should not be planted there, apart from "a rose garden that had been there since the days of the former prophets" (BK and Rambam, ibid.). This was decreed in order to prevent the fertilizing of the fields with manure, which creates an offensive odor, which would be liable to lead to the city's becoming "repulsive to the pilgrims and to all those who come to it from all over the land" (Responsa Radbaz, vol. 2, 633). Likewise, "kilns are not to be made in Jerusalem" – i.e., lime kilns for pottery – because the smoke blackens the city walls, which would be a disgrace, as it has been said of Jerusalem that it was the "paragon of beauty." Others interpret the reason for this rule so as to prevent the smoke from blackening the walls of the Temple (BK 82b; *Rashi* and *Shitah Mekubbeẓet*, ad loc.; Ḥaggigah 26a; Zevaḥim 96a; Yad., *Beit ha-Beḥirah* 7:14). It was further stated that "cemeteries should not be built within the boundaries of Jerusalem, apart from the tombs of the House of David and that of the prophetess Huldah, which have been there since the time of the earliest prophets" (Tosefta, *Avot de-Rabbi Nathan*, *ibid.* and Rambam, *ibid.*). Indeed, Radbaz (Rabbi David Ben Zimra – a rabbi in Egypt and the Land of Israel during the 16th century) wrote that during these times, when the Temple was not standing, and the laws of uncleanliness and purity no longer prevailed there, this prohibition was no longer in effect (Resp. Radbaz, vol. 2. 635).

A special chapter on the laws of planning and construction relates to compensation of a landowner who has suffered damage due to the change of designation or expropriation of his property (see, for example, Sections 188–197 of the Planning and Construction Law, 5725 – 1965, and the Lands Ordinance (Acquisition for Public Purposes), 1943). This principle complies with the values of a Jewish State, which require that landowners be given compensation even when the damage to his rights in the land is justified due to an opposing public interest, such as in cases of expropriation of the land for public purposes. The compensation can be monetary, in the manner ruled by Rambam (Melakhim 4:6) with respect to the king's right to expropriate land: "and he takes the fields and the olive trees and the vineyards for his slaves when they go to war … and gives their value [in money]" (see Hacohen; and *Rights, Human: Right of Acquisition), or by way of providing alternative land, in the manner that Ahab proposed to Naboth the Jezreelite (I Kings 21:2).

In the State of Israel

In Israeli law, the laws of planning and construction were regulated by a system of laws, the most important of which is the Planning and Construction Law, 5725 – 1965. Other laws establish various qualifications regarding the location of commercial and industrial facilities in residential areas, such as the Business Licensing Law, the Abatement of Nuisances (Noise and Pollution) Law, and municipal by-laws.

In several cases, the Israeli courts have found support and remedies from the sources of Jewish law for matters concerning planning and construction laws that they adjudicated. For example, one case dealt with the municipality's obligation to demolish an unstable structure (CA 2904/92 *Tel Aviv Municipality v. the Estate of the Deceased Leterhaus*, PD 50(1)754). Justice Tal cited the position of Jewish law, according to which one must distinguish between an unstable building that does not present an immediate danger, in which case the court is obliged to caution the owners and give them time to demolish it, and one that poses immediate danger. Thus, it is stated in the Shulḥan Arukh: "The wall and the tree … if they are unsound, the court gives him time to chop the tree and to demolish the wall. And how much time? Thirty days" (Sh. Ar., ḤM 416: 1). The Rema, in his gloss on this passage, adds that "A time is set for him – only when the court has forewarned him. But without there having been a court [warning], even though his friends have cautioned him, it is considered as nothing … and if it is necessary and there are grounds to assume that it might harm others, then he should not be given time, and he is forced to remove the impending menace immediately."

In another case, the Supreme Court deliberated over the rights of demonstrators to demonstrate in a public area, while causing a nuisance to neighbors [CA 3829/04 *Israel Tuito, Chairman of Mikol Halev, Kikar Halehem, The Association for Reducing Social Disparities in Israel, et al. v. Municipality of Jerusalem*; (unpublished). Justice E. Rubinstein ruled that even the right to freedom of demonstration (see *Rights, Human: Freedom of Expression) is not unlimited, and should be prevented when its damage to the public is greater than its benefit. He found support for this ruling, inter alia, in the above-cited talmudic ruling, according to which the prohibition against of beams and balconies that protrude into the public domain does not apply when they are "higher than [the height of] a camel and its rider."

The Supreme Court likewise referred to the sources of Jewish law when it determined the obligation of the Local Planning and Construction Committee to avoid expropriating land areas from their owners unnecessarily and to compensate the owner in cases in which he incurs harm as a result of its actions (HC 2390/96 *Karasik et al. v. the State of Israel*, 55 (2) PD 625). In order to establish the landowner's proprietary rights, Justice Heshin referred, inter alia, to the biblical story of Ahab and Naboth the Jezreelite, which is discussed extensively in the sources of Jewish law. In another case (CA 8989/04, *Petach Tikva Local Planning and Construction Committee and others v. M. Zitman and Sons Ltd.*; unpublished), Justice. Rubinstein refers to the words of Chief Rabbi Ben Zion Meir Hai Ouziel, who wrote in connection with a similar matter on the eve of the establishment of the State of Israel:

> "Proposals for the Constitution of the State of Israel," in which it was stated, among other things, that "The State of Israel recognizes its obligation to protect all private and public property owners by their own acquisition or by inheritance, and denies the right to expropriate private or public lands in favor of the government if it is not located in a place where it is necessitated by public needs. And even in such cases, no land shall be expropriated save at its full price or in exchange for other similar land" (quoted in Rabbi Isaac Halevi Herzog, *Constitution and Law in the Jewish State*, vol. I: *Administration of Rule and Justice in a Jewish State* [Hebrew], ed. I. Warhaftig, 251).

A special section of the Planning and Construction Law determines limits to injury and prohibits the destruction of buildings that have been designated for preservation due to their historic value (Section 76 and the Fourth Supplement to the Planning and Construction Law, 5725 – 1965). Similar provisions also exist in Jewish law with respect to the prohibition on damaging holy sites. Thus, for example, a prohibition was imposed on breaking one stone of the Temple, and it was prohibited to unnecessarily demolish a synagogue. This issue was deliberated in the Supreme Court, in the context of demolishing synagogues in *Gush Katif in wake of the disengagement plan of 2005, and Justice E. Rubinstein referred extensively to the sources of Jewish law when deliberating the matter.

The rabbinical courts, too, are occasionally required to address the laws of planning and construction, such as the question of whether a neighbor can force his neighbors to consent to additional construction in his apartment.

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[Aviad Hacohen (2nd ed.)]

°**PLANTAVIT DE LA PAUSE, JEAN** (**Plantavitius**; 1576–1651), French Hebraist. Born into an aristocratic Protestant family, Plantavit was brought up in Nîmes and became pastor of Béziers. In 1604 he converted to Catholicism and later became bishop of Lodève. He left a detailed account of his Hebrew teachers, who included the erudite and prolific convert Philippe d'Aquin (born Mordecai Cresque de Carpentras, c. 1575–1650), Leone *Modena, Abraham Jedidiah Shalit of Ferrara, Elisha Mazzal-Tov of Modena, Jacob b. Moses Senior of Pisa, and Solomon b. Judah Ezobi of Carpentras. One of the outstanding Christian Hebraists of the age, Plantavit spent 30 years preparing his monumental *Thesaurus synonymicus Hebraico-Chaldaico-Rabbinicus* (Lodève, 1644–45), which gave the Latin equivalent of Hebrew and Aramaic terms, appropriate biblical references, and a wealth of synonyms. He also published *Florilegium Biblicum* and *Florilegium Rabbinicum* (both Lodève, 1645), in the latter of which he records his gift of a copy of the Zohar to his master, Philippe d'Aquin.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: F. Secret, *Les kabbalistes chrétiens de la Renaissance* (1964), 336–7.

[Godfrey Edmond Silverman]

°**PLANTIN, CHRISTOPHE** (c. 1520–1589), French humanist printer and publisher. Plantin, who was born near Tours, learned the book trade in Normandy and Paris. His Protestant sympathies led him in 1549 to the more congenial atmosphere of Antwerp in the Spanish Netherlands, where he devoted himself to fine printing from about 1555 onward. Plantin was, after Daniel *Bomberg, the outstanding 16th-century Christian printer of Hebrew books. By 1576 he operated 22 presses and was the leading printer-publisher of northern Europe. Following the "Spanish Fury" of 1576, he spent some years in France and Holland, eventually returning to Antwerp, where he died.

Plantin's greatest publishing achievement was the eight volume "Antwerp Polyglot," *Biblia Sacra hebraice, chaldaice, graece et latine…* (1568–72), an improved and expanded version of the first Complutensian Bible (Alcalà de Henares, 1514–17). The undertaking received the Vatican's approval in 1568 owing to fears of a rival project by Immanuel *Tremellius, a Jewish convert to Protestantism. The four volumes devoted to the Old Testament included revised texts of the Targums, and a Latin translation; the fifth covered the New Testament; and the last three volumes constituted the *Apparatus Sacer,* which included pioneering lexicons of Syriac and Aramaic. The introduction to the first volume, inspired by the prefaces to Daniel Bomberg's second Rabbinic Bible (1525), contains interesting Hebrew panegyrics by Benito *Arias Montano, Guy *Le Fèvre de la Boderie, and Gilbert Génébrard (one of the Polyglot's obliging censors). From every aspect, the work was a masterpiece of Bible scholarship, typography, and illustration. Hebrew punches were either especially cut by Guillaume *Le Bé or provided by the Bombergs. Of the 1,200 copies printed, 12 sets on vellum were prepared for Philip II of Spain, who made Plantin his Architypographer Royal, but never furnished the sum promised for naming the Bible in his honor. The "Antwerp Polyglot" was speedily denounced by Spanish obscurantists, who objected to its philological, rabbinic, and kabbalistic preoccupations, but it was cleared of suspicion in 1580. Plantin also printed Hebrew Bibles for export to Jewish communities in North Africa (1567) and may have issued the anonymous Hebrew prayer book which appeared in Antwerp c. 1577. His descendants maintained the press until 1875, when the Antwerp municipality transformed it into the present-day Plantin-Moretus Museum – a unique monument to Renaissance printing and publishing.

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[Godfrey Edmond Silverman]

PLANTS. Research into the flora mentioned in the ancient Hebrew literature is grounded on the basic assumption that within historical times no fundamental changes have taken place in the country's climate (see *Agriculture). This assumption, which allows conclusions to be drawn from present-day plants about the floral landscape of bygone days, is particularly important for identifying the flora of the Bible and of talmudic literature. The overwhelming majority of them can be identified with those of today, but, as with all the terms of biblical and talmudic realia, many and varied identifications and interpretations have been suggested for them. Modern botanical and philological studies have, however, helped greatly in arriving at a correct identification.

In the Bible

The Bible mentions about 100 names of plants, the bulk of them of Ereẓ Israel, the others being trees of Lebanon and tropical plants that yield an aromatic substance or were used in incense. (See Table: Plants in the Bible and Mishnah.) These names refer to specific plants, but some are generic names, such as *koẓ ve-dardar* ("thorns and thistles") and *shamir va-shayit* ("briars and thorns"). Although the biblical plants are chiefly those which were economically important, they are to a large extent mentioned fortuitously. The carob, for example, although undoubtedly grown at that time, is not mentioned in the Bible, while specific vegetables are mentioned in one verse only of the Bible; and these are the vegetables of Egypt for which the children of Israel longed during their wandering in the wilderness (Num. 11:5).

In Talmudic Literature

The Mishnah, the Talmuds, and the Midrashim add hundreds of names of plants to those mentioned in the Bible. They are particularly numerous in the Mishnah of *Zera'im* which treats of laws connected with agriculture. In the aggadic Midrashim, too, many plants are mentioned in simile and parable. In all, the ancient literature on Ereẓ Israel mentions close to 500 names of flora. The Babylonian Talmud refers to scores of plants of Babylonia and its neighborhood. In the Table: Plants in Bible and Mishnah, only one identification is given. Alternative suggestions of identification will be found in the individual articles.

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[Jehuda Feliks]

Plants and Products of Plants Mentioned in the Bible and Mishnah

English Name	Scientific Name	Hebrew name	Description of Plant	Reference
Acacia	Acacia albida	שִׁטָּה, שִׁטִּים	thorn tree	Ex. 26:15; Isa. 41:19, et al.
Alga	Chlorophyta	יְרוֹקָה	seaweed	Shab. 2:1
Almond	Prunus amygdalus (Amygdalus communis)	לוּז שָׁקֵד	fruit tree	Gen. 30:37 Num. 17:23; Jer. 1:11, et al.
Aloe	Aquilaria agallocha	אֲהָלִים אֲהָלוֹת אַלְמֻגִּים אַלְגֻּמִּים	fragrant tropical tree	Num. 24:6; Prov. 7:17 Ps. 45:9; Song 4:14; I Kings 10:11–12 II Chron. 2:7; 9:10–11
Amaranth	Amaranthus retroflexus	יַרְבּוּז	vegetable (herb)	Shev. 9:1
Amomum	Amomum cardamomum	חָמָם	tropical spice plant	Uk. 3:5
Apple	Pyrus malus	תַּפּוּחַ	fruit tree	Joel 1:12; Song 2:3, et al.
Artichoke	Cynara scolymus	קִנְרֵס	garden vegetable	Kil. 5:8; Uk. 1:6
Asafetida, Fennel	Ferula assafoetida	חִלְתִּית	herb whose gum fennel is used in spices and medicine	Shab. 20:3; Av. Zar. 2:7, et al.
Balm, Balsam	Commiphora opobalsamum	בֹּשֶׂם נָטָף צְרִי, צֳרִי קָטָף	the balsam shrub whose resin yields an aromatic substance	Song 5:1 Ex. 30:34 Gen. 37:25; 43:11, et al. Shev. 7:6
Barley	Hordeum sativum	שְׂעוֹרָה	cereal grass	Ex. 9:31; Deut. 8:8, et al.
Barley, two-rowed	Hordeum distichum	שִׁבּוֹלֶת שׁוּעָל שׂוֹרָה	cereal grass	Isa. 28:25 Kil. 1:1; Pes. 2:5, et al.
Bdellium	Commiphora africana	בְּדוֹלַח	tropical tree whose resin yields an aromatic substance	Gen. 2:12; Num. 11:7
Bean, broad	Vicia faba	פּוֹל	legume	II Sam. 17:28; Ezek. 4:9, et al.
Bean, hyacinth	Dolichos lablab	פּוֹל הַלָּבָן	legume	Kil. 1:1; Ma'as. 4:7, et al.
Bean, yard-long (asparagus bean)	Vigna sesquipedalis	פּוֹל הֶחָרוּב	legume	Kil. 1:2
Beet spinach	Beta vulgaris var. cicla	תְּרֶד	garden vegetable	Kil. 1:3; Ter. 10:11, et al.
Bermuda grass	Cynodon dactylon	יַבְּלִית	weed	Kelim 3:6
Box	Buxus sempervirens	אֶשְׁכְּרוֹעַ	hardwood shrub	Yoma 3:9; Kelim 12:8; Neg. 2:1

Plants and Products of Plants Mentioned in the Bible and Mishnah (continued)

English Name	Scientific Name	Hebrew name	Description of Plant	Reference
Boxthorn	Lycium europaeum	אָטָד	thorny shrub	Gen. 50:10–11; Judg. 9:14–15, et al.
Broom plant	Retama roetam	רֹתֶם	desert shrub	I Kings 19:4–5; Job 30:4, et al.
Cabbage, garden	Brassica oleracea var. capitata	תְּרוֹבְתוֹר	garden vegetable	Kil. 1:3
Cabbage, kale	Brassica oleracea var. acephala	כְּרוּב	hardy cabbage	Kil. 1:3; Ter. 10:11, et al.
Calamus, Indian sweet	Cymbopogon martini	קָנֶה הַטּוֹב קְנֵה־בֹשֶׂם קָנֶה	tropical aromatic plant	Jer. 6:20 Ex. 30:23 Isa. 43:24; Song. 4:14, et al.
Cane, biflorate	Saccharum biflorum	אַגְמוֹן	reed that grows near water	Isa. 9:13, 58:5, et al.
Caper	Capparis spinosa	צָלָף, קַפְּרֵס אֲבִיּוֹנָה	thorny plant whose buds and fruit are used as spices Caperberry	Ma'as. 4:6 Eccles. 12:5, Ma'as 4:6
Caraway	Carum carvi	קַרְבּוֹס (קַנְבּוֹס)	vegetable used as a spice	Kil. 2:5
Carob	Ceratonia siliqua	חָרוּב	fruit tree	Pe'ah 1:5; Dem. 2:1, et al.
Castor-oil plant	Ricinus communis	קִיקָיוֹן	shrub whose seed yields oil	Jonah 4:6, 7, 9, 10
Cattail	Typha angustata	סוּף	marsh and water plant	Ex. 2:3; Isa. 19:6, et al.
Cedar	Cedrus libani	אֶרֶז	forest tree of Lebanon	Isa. 2:13; Amos 2:9, et al.
Celery	Apium graveolens	כַּרְפַּס	garden vegetable	Shev. 9:1
Chick-pea	Cicer arietinum	חָמִיץ אֲפוּנִים	legume	Isa. 30:24 Pe'ah 3:3; Kil. 3:2
Chicory	Cichorium intybus	עוֹלְשִׁין	garden vegetable	Shev. 7:1; Pes. 2:6
Chicory, wild	Cichorium pumilum	עוֹלְשֵׁי־שָׂדֶה	wild vegetable	Kil. 1:2
Cinnamon, Ceylonese	Cinnamonum zeylanicum	קִנָּמוֹן	aromatic tropical spice tree	Ex. 30:23; Prov. 7:17, et al.
Cinnamon, Chinese	Cinnamonum cassia	קִדָּה	aromatic tropical spice tree	Ex. 30:24; Ezek. 27:19
Cinnamon, Indo-Chinese	Cinnamonum laurei	קְצִיעָה	aromatic tropical spice tree	Ps. 45:9
Citron	Citrus medica	עֵץ הָדָר אֶתְרוֹג	fruit tree	Lev. 23:40 Ma'as. 1:4; Bik. 2:6, et al.
Colocasia	Colocasia antiquorum	קַרְקָס	vegetable with edible bulb	Ma'as. 5:8
Coriander	Coriandrum sativum	גַּד כֻּסְבָּר	herb whose seed is used as a spice	Ex. 16:31; Num. 11:7 Kil. 1:2; Ma'as. 3:9, et al.
Cotton	Gossypium herbraceum	כַּרְפַּס	plant with fibrous fruit	Esth. 1:6
	Gossypium arboreum	צֶמֶר־גֶּפֶן		Kil. 7:2
Cowpea	Vigna sinensis	פּוֹל הַמִּצְרִי	legume	Kil. 1:2; Shev. 2:9, et al.
Cowpea, Nile	Vigna nilotica	שְׁעוּעִית	legume	Kil. 1:1
Cress	Lepidium latifolium	עֲדָל	garden vegetable	Uk. 3:4
Cress, garden	Lepidium sativum	שַׁחֲלַיִם	garden vegetable	Ma'as. 4:5
Crocus, saffron	Crocus sativus	כַּרְכּוֹם	plant used as a spice and for coloring	Song 4:14; Nid. 2:6
Cucumber, bitter	Citrullus colocynthis	פַּקּוּעוֹת	wild desert plant	II Kings 4:39; Shab. 2:2
Cucumber, squirting	Ecballium elaterium	יְרוֹקַת הַחֲמוֹר	wild herb	Oho. 8:1
Cumin	Cuminum cyminum	כַּמּוֹן	herb whose seeds are used as a spice	Isa. 2:25, 27; Dem. 2:1
Cypress	Cupressus sempervirens	גֹּפֶר תְּאַשּׁוּר	forest evergreen tree	Gen. 6:14 Isa. 41:19; 60:13, et al.
Daffodil, sea	Pancratium maritimum	חֲבַצֶּלֶת	fragrant wild flower	Isa. 35:1; Song 2:1
Darnel	Lolium temulentum	זוּן	weed grass	Kil. 1:1; Ter. 2:6
Dill	Anethum graveolens	שֶׁבֶת	plant used as a spice	Pe'ah 3:2; Ma'as. 4:5; Uk. 3:4
Durra	Sorghum cernuum	דֹּחַן	summer cereal	Ezek. 4:9; Shev. 2:7

Plants and Products of Plants Mentioned in the Bible and Mishnah (continued)

English Name	Scientific Name	Hebrew name	Description of Plant	Reference
Ebony	Diospyros ebenum	הָבְנִים	tropical hard wood	Ezek. 27:15
Emmer	Triticum dicoccum	כֻּסֶּמֶת	winter cereal	Ex. 9:32; Isa. 28:25, et al.
Eryngo	Eryngium creticum	חַרְחֲבִינָא	edible wild herb	Pes. 2:6
Fennel	Foeniculum vulgare	גֻּפְנִין	herb used as a spice	Dem. 1:1
Fennel flower	Nigella sativa	קֶצַח	herb whose seeds are used as a spice	Isa. 28:25, 27; Eduy. 5:3
Fenugreek	Trigonella foenum- Graecum	תִּלְתָּן	cultivated legume used as forage or medicine	Kil. 2:5; Ter. 10:5
Fern, ceterach	Ceterach officinarum	דַּנְדַּנָּה	medicinal fern	Shev. 7:1–2
Fern, maiden hair	Adiantum capillus veneris	יוֹעֶזֶר	medicinal fern	Shab. 14:3
Fig	Ficus carica	תְּאֵנָה	fruit tree	Num. 20:5; Deut. 8:8, et al.
Fig, sycamore	Ficus sycomorus	שִׁקְמָה	fruit tree	I Kings 10:27; Isa. 9:9, et al.
Flax	Linum usitatissimum	פִּשְׁתָּן פִּשְׁתָּה	herb whose stem yields fiber and from whose seed oil is extracted	Josh. 2:6; Hos. 2:7; et al. Pe'ah 6:5
Frankincense	Boswellia carteri	לְבוֹנָה	tree yielding aromatic resin used in incense	Ex. 30:34; Isa. 60:6, et al.
Galbanum	Ferula galbaniflua	חֶלְבְּנָה	herb whose resin was used in incense	Ex. 30:34
Garlic	Allium sativum	שׁוּם	vegetable used as spice	Num. 11:5
Ginger, wild	Arum dioscoridis	לוּף שׁוֹטֶה	wild vegetable	Shev. 7:1, 2, et al.
Gourd, Calabash	Lagenaria vulgaris	דְּלַעַת	vegetable with edible fruit	Kil. 1:2; Ma'as. 1:5, et al.
Grape vine	Vitis vinifera	גֶּפֶן עֲנָבִים	fruit shrub	Gen. 40:9; Num. 20:5, et al.
Graspea	Lathyrus sativus	טֹפַח	legume	Pe'ah 5:3; Kil. 1:1, et al.
Hawthorn	Crataegus azarolus	עֻזְרָר	wild fruit tree	Dem. 1:1; Kil. 1:4, et al.
Heliotrope	Heliotropium europaeum	עַקְרַבָּנִין	medicinal wild herb	Shev. 7:2; Er. 2:7
Hemlock, poison	Conium maculatum	רוֹשׁ,רֹאשׁ	poisonous herb	Deut. 29:17; Hos. 10:4, et al.
Hemp	Cannabis sativa	קַנְבּוֹס	herb whose stem yields fiber	Kil. 5:8; 9:1, 7
Henna	Lawsonia alba	כֹּפֶר	shrub which yields a dye	Song. 1:14; 4:13, et al.
Hyssop (v. marjoram)	Hyssopus officinalis	אֵזוֹב כּוֹחֲל	aromatic herb	Neg. 14:6; Par. 11:7
Iris	Iris germanica Iris pallida	אִירוּס	plant whose bulb yields an aromatic substance	Kil. 5:8; Oho. 8:1
Ivy	Hedera helix	קִיסוֹס	climbing evergreen vine	Kil. 5:8; Suk. 1:4, et al.
Jujube	Zizyphus vulgaris	שֵׁיזָפִין	fruit tree	Kil. 1:4
Jujube, wild	Zizyphus spina christi	צֶאֱלִים רִימִין	wild tree with edible fruit	Job 40:21–22 Dem. 1:1; Kil. 1:6
Juniper (savin high)	Juniperus exelsa	בְּרוֹשׁ בְּרוֹת	coniferous tree of Lebanon	Isa. 14:8; 37:24, et al. Song. 1:17
Knotweed	Polygonum aviculare	אַבּוּב־רוֹעֶה	medicinal wild herb	Shab. 14:3
Laudanum	Cistus ladanum	לֹט	shrub yielding aromatic resin	Gen. 37:25; 43:11
Laurel	Laurus nobilis	אֹרֶן	forest tree with aromatic leaves	Isa. 44:14
Lavender, Lavandula	Lavandula officinalis	אֵזוֹבְיוֹן	aromatic shrub	Shab. 14:3; Neg. 14:6, et al.
Leek	Allium porrum	חָצִיר כְּרֵישָׁה כַּרְתִּי	garden herb	Num. 11:5 Kil. 1:2; Shev. 7:1 Ber. 1:2; Suk. 3:6
Leek, wild	Allium ampeloprasum	כְּרֵישֵׁי שָׂדֶה	wild herb	Kil. 1:2; Uk. 3:2
Lentil	Lens esculenta	עֲדָשִׁים	legume	Gen. 25:34; II Sam. 17:28, et al.
Lettuce	Lactuca sativa	חֲזֶרֶת	garden vegetable	Kil. 1:2; Pes. 2:6, et al.
Lettuce, wild	Lactuca scariola	חֲזֶרֶת גַּלִּים	wild vegetable	Kil. 1:2

Plants and Products of Plants Mentioned in the Bible and Mishnah (continued)

English Name	Scientific Name	Hebrew name	Description of Plant	Reference
Lily, madonna	Lilium candidum	שׁוֹשָׁן, שׁוֹשַׁנָּה	aromatic flower	Hos. 14:6; Song. 6:2–3, et al.
Lily, Solomon's (black calla)	Arum palaestinum	לוּף	wild vegetable with edible bulb	Pe'ah, 6:10; Kil. 2:5
Love grass	Eragrostis bipinnata	חִילָף	weed used for making baskets	Kelim 17:17
Lupine	Lupinus termis	תֻּרְמוֹס	legume	Kil. 1:3; Shab. 18:1, et al.
Lupine, yellow	Lupinus luteus	פַּלְסְלוּס	legume	Kil. 1:3
Madder	Rubia tinctorim	פּוּאָה	climbing plant whose roots are used for dyeing	Shev. 5:4; 7:2, et al.
Mandrake	Mandragora officinarum	דּוּדָאִים	wild herb with aromatic fruit	Gen. 30:14–16; Song. 7:14
Marjoram, Syrian	Majorana syriaca	אֵזוֹב	aromatic wild plant	Ex. 12:22; Lev. 14:4, et al.
Mastic	Pistacia lentiscus	בָּכָא, בְּכָאִים	wild shrub	II Sam. 5:23–24; Ps. 84:7
Melon	Cucumis melo	מְלָפְפוֹן	garden vegetable	Kil. 1:2; Ter. 2:6, et al.
Melon, chate	Cucumis melo var. chate	קִשּׁוּת, קִשֻּׁאִים	garden vegetable	Num. 11:5; Kil. 1:2, et al.
Millet	Panicum miliaceum	פְּרָגִים	summer cereal	Ḥal. 1:4; Shev. 2:7
Mint	Mentha piperita	מִינְתָּא	herb used as spice	Uk. 1:2
Mudar	Calotropis procera	פְּתִילַת הַמִּדְבָּר	wild shrub with fibrous fruit	Shab. 2:1
Mulberry	Morus nigra	תּוּת	fruit tree	Ma'as. 1:2
Mushroom	Boletus, etc.	פִּטְרִיָּה	generic name for the mushroom species	Uk. 3:2
Mustard, black	Brassica nigra	חַרְדָּל	wild herb whose seeds are used as a condiment	Kil. 1:2
Mustard, field	Sinapis arvensis	לְפְסָן	wild herb	Kil. 1:5
Mustard, white	Sinapis alba	חַרְדָּל מִצְרִי	wild herb whose seeds are used as a condiment	Kil. 1:2
Myrrh	Commiphora schimperi Commiphora abyssinica	מוֹר	tropical aromatic tree	Ex. 30:23; Song 1:13, et al.
Myrtle	Myrtus communis	הֲדַס עֵץ עָבֹת	aromatic shrub	Isa. 41:19; 55:13, et al. Lev. 23:40; Neh. 8:15, et al.
Narcissus	Narcissus tazetta	שׁוֹשַׁנַּת הָעֲמָקִים(?)	wild flower	Song 2:1
Nard (Spikenard)	Nardostachys jatamansi	נֵרְדְּ, נְרָדִים	aromatic plant	Song 1:12; 4:13–14, et al.
Nettle	Urtica sp.	סִרְפָּד	stinging wild weed	Isa. 55:13
Oak	Quercus ithaburensis Quercus calliprinos	אַלּוֹן	forest tree	Gen. 35:8; Isa. 2:13, et al.
Oak, gall	Quercus infectoria (Boissieri)	מֵילָה	forest tree	Mid. 3:7
Oleander	Nerium oleander	הַרְדוּפְנֵי	river bank evergreen shrub	Ḥul. 3:5
Olive	Olea europaea	זַיִת	fruit tree	Deut. 6:11; 8:8, et al.
Onion	Allium cepa	בָּצָל	garden vegetable	Num. 11:5
Orange, trifoliate	Poncirus trifoliata	קִדָּה לְבָנָה	tropical fruit tree	Kil. 1:8
Orchid	Orchis sp.	חַלְבְּצִין נֵץ־הֶחָלָב	flower with edible bulb	Shev. 7:2 Shev. 7:1
Palm, date	Phoenix dactylifera	תָּמָר דֶּקֶל	fruit tree	Ex. 15:27; Num. 33:9, et al. Pe'ah 4:1; Shab. 14:3, et al.
Papyrus	Cyperus papyrus	גֹּמֶא	aquatic plant	Ex. 2:3; Isa. 18:2, et al.
Peach	Persica vulgaris	אֲפַרְסֵק	fruit tree	Kil. 1:4; Ma'as. 1:2
Pear	Pyrus communis	אַגָּס קְרִיסְטוֹמֶלִין	fruit tree	Kil. 1:4; Uk. 1:6, et al.
Pear, Syrian	Pyrus syriaca	חִזְרָר	forest tree with edible fruit	Kil. 1:4
Pepper	Piper nigrum	פִּלְפֵּל	tropical aromatic plant used as a condiment	Shab. 6:5; Beẓah 2:8

Plants and Products of Plants Mentioned in the Bible and Mishnah (continued)

English Name	Scientific Name	Hebrew name	Description of Plant	Reference
Pine	Pinus sp.	תִּדְהָר(?)	coniferous tree	Isa. 41:19; 60:13
Pine, aleppo	Pinus halepensis	עֵץ שֶׁמֶן	coniferous forest tree	I Kings 6:23; Isa. 41:19, et al.
Pine, stone	Pinus pinea	תִּרְזָה	coniferous tree with edible kernels	Isa. 44:14
Pistachio	Pistacia vera	בָּטְנָה, בָּטְנִים	fruit tree	Gen. 43:11; Shev. 7:5
Plane	Platanus orientalis	עַרְמוֹן	river bank tree	Gen. 30:37; Ezek. 31:8
Pomegranate	Punica granatum	רִמּוֹן	fruit tree	Num. 20:5; Deut. 8:8, et al.
Poplar	Populus euphratica	צַפְצָפָה	river bank tree	Ezek. 17:5
Purslane	Portulaca oleracea	חֲלַגְלוֹגָה רְגֵלָה	wild herb used as a vegetable	Shev. 9:1 Shev. 7:1, 9:5, et al.
Quince	Cydonia oblonga	פָּרִישׁ	fruit tree	Kil. 1:4; Ma'as. 1:3, et al.
Radish	Raphanus sativus	צְנוֹן	garden vegetable	Kil. 1:5; Ma'as. 5:2, et al.
Rape	Brassica napus	נָפוּץ, נָפוּס	garden vegetable used as forage	Kil. 1:3; 1:5, et al.
Raspberry, wild	Rubus sanctus	סְנֶה	thorny climbing shrub	Ex. 3:2–4; Deut. 33:16
Reed, ditch	Phragmites communis	קָנֶה	river bank weed	Isa. 19:6, 35:7, et al.
Rice	Oryza sativa	אֹרֶז	annual summer cereal grass	Dem. 2:1; Shev. 2:7, et al.
Rocket, dyer's	Reseda luteola	רִכְפָּה	herb whose leaves and stem yield a dye	Ma'as. 5:8; Shev. 7:2
Rocket, garden	Eruca sativa	אֹרֹת	medicinal herb	II Kings 4:39
Rose	Rosa, sp.	וֶרֶד	shrub with fragrant flowers	Shev. 7:6; Ma'as. 2:5, et al.
Rue	Ruta graveolens	פֵּיגָם	shrub used as a spice	Kil. 1:8; Shev. 9:1
Safflower	Carthamus tinctorius	חָרִיעַ קוֹצָה	herb used as a spice and for dyeing	Kil. 2:8; Uk. 3:5; Shev. 7:1
Saltbush	Atriplex halimus	מַלּוּחַ	desert shrub	Job 30:4
Savory	Satureja thymbra	סִיאָה	aromatic wild plant	Shev. 8:1; Ma'as. 3:9
Sesame	Sesamum orientalis	שֻׁמְשֹׁם	plant used as a spice and yielding oil	Shev. 2:7; Ḥal. 1:4, et al.
Shallot	Allium ascalonicum	בְּצַלְצוּל	garden vegetable used for seasoning	Kil. 1:3
Sorrel, garden	Rumex acetosa	לְעוּנִים	garden vegetable	Kil. 1:3
Spanish cherry	Mimusops balata	פַּרְסָאָה	tropical fruit tree	Shev. 5:1
Spelt	Triticum spelta	שִׁפּוֹן	cereal	Kil. 1:1; Ḥal. 1:1, et al.
Squill	Urginea maritima	חֲצוּב	wild toxic onion	Kil. 1:8
Storax	Styrax officinalis	לִבְנֶה	forest tree	Gen. 30:37; Hos. 4:13
Sumac	Rhus coriaria	אוֹג	forest tree with edible fruit	Pe'ah 1:5; Dem. 1:1, et al.
Tamarisk	Tamarix, sp.	אֵשֶׁל עַרְעָר	desert and saline tree	Gen. 21:33; I Sam. 22:6, et al. Jer. 17:6; Ps. 102:18
Terebinth	Pistacia palaestina Pistacia atlantica	אֵלָה	forest tree	Gen. 35:4; Hos. 4:13, et al.
Thistle	Centaurea, sp.	דַּרְדַּר	prickly herb	Gen. 3:18; Hos. 10:8
Thistle, golden	Scolymus maculatus	חוֹחַ	prickly herb	Hos. 9:6; Prov. 26:9, et al.
Thistle, silybum	Silybum marianum	קִמּוֹשׁ	prickly herb	Isa. 34:13; Hos. 9:6, et al.
Thistle, sow	Sonchus oleraceus	מָרוֹר	bitter herb	Ex. 12:8; Lam. 3:15, et al.
Thorn	Calycotome villosa	חָרוּל	prickly shrub	Zeph. 2:9; Job 30:7, et al.
Thorn, camel	Alhagi maurorum	נַעֲצוּץ	prickly dwarf shrub	Isa. 7:19; 55:13
Thorn, gundelia	Gundelia tournefortii	גַּלְגַּל	prickly herb	Isa. 17:13; Ps. 83:14
Thorn, poterium	Poterium spinosum	סִירִים סִירָה	prickly dwarf shrub	Isa. 34:13; Hos. 2:8, et al. Ps. 58:10
Thorn, prosopis	Prosopis farcata	נַהֲלֹל	prickly dwarf shrub	Isa. 7:19

Plants and Products of Plants Mentioned in the Bible and Mishnah (continued)

English Name	Scientific Name	Hebrew name	Description of Plant	Reference
Thyme	Thymus capitatus	קוֹרָנִית	aromatic dwarf shrub	Shev. 8:1; Ma'as. 3:9
Tragacanth	Astragalus gummifer Astragalus tragacantha	נְכאֹת	dwarf shrub yielding a fragrant resin	Gen. 37:25; 43:11
Truffle	Ascomycetes- Tuberaceae	שְׁמַרְקָעִים	edible subterranean fungus	Uk. 3:2
Turnip	Brassica rapa	לֶפֶת	garden vegetable	Kil. 1:3, 9, et al.
Vetch, bitter	Vicia ervilia	כַּרְשִׁינָה	legume	Ter. 11:9; Shab. 1:5, et al.
Vetch, French	Vicia narbonensis	סַפִּיר	legume	Kil. 1:1
Walnut	Juglans regia	אֱגוֹז	fruit tree	Song 6:11
Watermelon	Citrullus vulgaris	אֲבַטִּיחַ	garden vegetable	Num. 11:5
Weed, ridolfia	Ridololfia segetum	בָּאְשָׁה	weed	Job 31:40
Wheat	Triticum durum Triticum vulgare Triticum turgidum	חִטָּה	cereal	Ex. 9:32; Deut. 8:8; et al.
Willow	Salix, sp.	עֲרָבָה	riverbank tree	Lev. 23:40; Ps. 137:2, et al.
Woad, isatis	Isatis tinctoria	אִסָּטִיס	herb which yields a dye	Kil. 2:5; Shev. 7:1, et al.
Wormwood	Artemisia, sp.	לַעֲנָה	desert dwarf shrub	Deut. 29:17; Jer. 9:14, et al.

PLASENCIA, city in the Estremadura region of Spain, near the Portuguese border. The Jewish quarter was in the suburb of Jaraíz, and in the 13th century the Jewish community ranked with the flourishing communities in Castile. The Jews settled in Plasencia quite soon after its foundation at the end of the 12th century. From the beginning of the 14th century, restrictions issued against the Jews in Castile by the various *cortes*, or legislative assemblies, were also applied in Plasencia; for instance, those of the *cortes* of Medina del *Campo (1305), stipulating that no Jew was to farm taxes or acquire real estate from Christians. In 1313 Queen Dona María and the infante Pedro ratified the decisions of the *cortes* of Plasencia which prohibited the Jews from holding public office; furthermore, suits in which one of the parties was not Jewish were to be tried according to local and not Jewish law, and Hebrew documents would not be accepted as proof. Toward the end of the 14th century, there were 50 Jewish heads of families in Plasencia who paid the annual tax. The decline which overtook the Castile communities after the persecutions of 1391 was also felt in Plasencia.

In the mid-15th century several Jewish names appear among the tax farmers of Plasencia and the kingdom. Various documents give further details on the life of the community during the final period of Jewish residence in Spain. In 1490 a sum of 501,183 maravedis was levied on the community for the redemption of the Jewish captives of *Málaga. The monarchs were dissatisfied with the incomplete residential segregation of the Jews in Plasencia, and in 1491 they ordered that the decisions of the *cortes* of 1480 be stringently fulfilled. Even after the edict of expulsion of March 1492, the crown continued to collect money in payment of the debts which the Jews had left in the hands of various Christians. One of the collectors was Gernando Perez Coronel (formerly Meir *Melamed). The exiles from Plasencia, about 50 heads of families, left for Portugal; the synagogue was converted into the Santa Isabel church in honor of the queen; and the cemetery was sold to the local church. There was also a *Converso community in Plasencia, but little is known of it. An *auto-da-fé was held in the town in 1489 and Conversos from nearby *Trujillo were then burnt at the stake.

There were two synagogues in Plasencia. One was in the Mota, next to the alcázar, where San Vicente church stands now. This synagogue was confiscated in 1477 so that a Dominican monastery could be erected on the site in honor of Vicente Ferrer. After the confiscation of their synagogue the Jews built a new synagogue which was on Vargas Street.

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[Haim Beinart / Yom Tov Assis (2nd ed.)]

PLASZOW, forced labor camp (*Zwangsarbeitslager Plaszow des SS – und Polizeifuehrers im Distrikt Krakau*) and, later, a *Konzentrationslager* (concentration camp). It was opened in late 1942 and built partially on the site of Cracow's two main Jewish cemeteries. Plaszow had only about 2,000 prisoners when it initially opened, though at its peak in the summer of 1944, it had about 25,000–30,000 prisoners, most of them Jews. But Plaszow was also an important transfer camp for Jews being sent to other camps, particularly nearby Auschwitz. Estimates are that 150,000 Jews passed through Plaszow, particularly during the summer of 1944 when Adolf *Eichmann was sending hundreds of thousands of Hungarian Jews to their death in Auschwitz. Estimates are that between 8,000 and 12,000 Jews died in Plaszow during the Holocaust.

Like most forced labor and concentration camps, Plaszow was laid out as a small city by the SS, meaning that it was a self-sustaining entity fully able to support its inmates and SS staff with the products it produced in its slave labor factories. During most of its history, Plaszow was commanded by Amon Goeth, a figure made famous by Steven Spielberg's film, *Schindler's List*. Goeth was a true monster who brutalized his Jewish work force. Goeth was also extremely corrupt and was removed as commandant in the fall of 1944 in the midst of an SS investigation into corruption in Plaszow and other concentration camps. Goeth was arrested at the end of the war and tried in Poland for war crimes. He was found guilty and hanged in Cracow in 1946.

Oskar *Schindler, a Sudeten-German businessman, operated a factory for Goeth, but not in the Plaszow camp. Schindler, who arrived in Cracow in the fall of 1939, ran, among other things, an enamelware factory, Emalia (*Deutsche Emailwarenfabrik Oskar Schindler*), about two miles from Plaszow. After Goeth brutally closed the Cracow ghetto in the spring of 1943, Schindler convinced Goeth to allow him to transform Emalia into a Plaszow subcamp, the *Schindler Nebenlager.* Schindler, who had begun using Jewish workers at Emalia in the fall of 1939, and relied heavily on a Jewish manager, Abraham Bankier, to run his enamelware factory, increased the number of Jewish workers substantially over the next four years. When Goeth ordered Schindler to shut down that portion of Emalia that employed Jewish workers in the summer of 1944, Schindler got permission to transfer a thousand Jews to a new factory in Bruennlitz in what is now the Czech Republic.

Unfortunately, most of the Jews who had worked for Schindler in Emaila never made it to Bruennlitz. After Schindler closed the Jewish portion of his Emalia factory, his Jewish workers were sent back to Plaszow and on to other camps. It was in Plaszow that the famed "Schindler's List" was written in the fall of 1944, though not by Schindler. Its architect was a Jewish orderly, Marcel Goldberg, who compiled two lists with the names of 700 men and 300 women. Those chosen from the remaining Jewish inmate population in Plaszow were then sent on separate transports to Bruennlitz via Auschwitz or Gross Rosen in October and early November 1944. Plaszow was finally shut down two months later after Soviet forces occupied Cracow.

Today, little remains of the former camp. Its grounds have been turned into a nature preserve, though a Soviet-style monument, the Polish Martyrs' Monument, rests at one corner of the former camp site. Nearby is a smaller monument to Plaszow's Jewish victims. The Jewish cemeteries are still part of the nature preserve, with open, desecrated graves. Poles live in the only buildings remaining from the camp, Amon Goeth's villa, and the "Grey House," the former camp prison. A McDonald's stands at the site of the camp's storehouse for property stolen from the camp's Jewish inmates.

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[David Crowe (2nd ed.)]

°PLATO AND PLATONISM. The influence exercised by the Greek philosopher Plato on posterity both directly and through his interpreters was enormous and has been detailed in a vast literature. The direct influence of Plato on Jewish circles is much less pervasive. It seems quite clear that Greek philosophical writings in general had little or no influence on biblical and rabbinic literature, though current popular philosophic notions evidently became known also in the Jewish world. In Alexandria, one of the great centers of *Hellenistic civilization, Philo in the first century C.E. was faced with the necessity of effecting a reconciliation between Greek philosophy and scripture. This he did by reading the principles of the Platonism of his day into the Pentateuch by interpreting the latter in an allegorical manner. Philo did not leave any direct impression on later Jewish literature until reintroduced by Azariah de' *Rossi in the 16th century. After the Hellenistic period Plato did not have a great influence on Jewish thought until the period of the Arabic translations from the Greek, at which time Jews shared in general humanistic culture.

Among the dialogues reported to have been translated into Arabic were the *Republic*, the *Timaeus*, and the *Crito.* Quotations in Arabic from the *Republic, Timaeus, Laws*, and *Symposium*, among others, have been identified. Another source was the synopses of certain of the Platonic dialogues by *Galen. *Maimonides quotes from Galen's "commentary" on the *Laws* (*Galeni Compendium Timaei Platonis*, ed. by P. Kraus and R. Walzer (1951), 101), and his contemporary and friend Joseph ibn *Aknin quotes from Galen's *Summary of the Republic (ibid.*, 100; and A. Halkin "Classical and Arabic Material in Aknin's 'Hygiene of the Soul'" in: PAAJR, 14 (1944), 135). However, it was mainly through the works of his later interpreters and followers that the doctrines of Plato had an effect on Jewish intellectuals in the Islamic cultural sphere, first of all through quotations and interpretation of Platonic doctrine occurring in the body of Aristotle's writings, and secondly through neoplatonic interpreters of Plato, mainly Plotinus and Proclus. The doctrines of Plotinus became known through the medium of the pseudepigraphical *Theology of Aristotle*, which consists of excerpts from the fourth, fifth, and sixth *Enneads* of Plotinus, as well as other works. The longer version of the *Theology of Aristotle* includes extracts from an as yet unknown neoplatonic work cited in the works of Isaac

*Israeli and translated partially into Hebrew by Abraham *Ibn Ḥasdai in *Ben ha-Melekh ve-ha-Nazir ("The Prince and the Ascetic"), which itself is a translation of an Arabic work which goes back to the legend of Buddha. Also interpolated in the longer version are texts relating to the doctrine of the Divine Will, which are not Plotinian and had an influence, along with the whole *Theology*, on Ibn *Gabirol in his *Fons Vitae*. The longer version is extant in Leningrad in three fragmentary manuscripts, all Arabic in Hebrew script, which testify to its influence on Jewish circles. In the early 16th century, Moses Arovas made a Hebrew as well as an Italian translation of the longer version. The Italian version was then translated into Latin and published in Rome in 1519.

*Avicenna utilized neoplatonic sources in the construction of his philosophic system and had a vast influence on philosophic circles, Jewish as well as non-Jewish. The influence of neoplatonism on Jewish mystical (kabbalistic) thought is also very great. A third major source of Platonic doctrine was through the works of al-*Fārābī, who seems to have been dependent on a tradition of Platonic interpretation which emphasized the political aspect of his thought. The influence of the *Republic* and the *Laws* as well as the *Statesman* are apparent in his political works. In his *Philosophy of Plato and Aristotle*, he summarizes briefly all of the dialogues and considers them from a political point of view. Extensive excerpts from this work were translated into Hebrew by the polymath 13th-century historian of philosophy, Shem Tov ibn *Falaquera. Maimonides in his *Guide* leans heavily on al-Fārābī in his attempt to explain the relationship which should obtain between philosophy and religion. Plato indirectly thus influenced the whole course of later Jewish medieval philosophy, which was mainly a reaction to the position taken by Maimonides in his *Guide*. Maimonides' esotericism in the *Guide* may also have been influenced by the tradition of Platonic esotericism common in Arabic philosophic literature.

The *Politics* of Aristotle was not known in the Arabic west, where Plato was the major classic of political philosophy. *Averroes composed an *Epitome of the Republic* in which he expresses interesting personal views more openly than he would in works addressed to a more religious audience, on the relationship between philosophy and politics. This work, along with Averroes' *Middle Commentary on the Nichomachean Ethics*, was translated by Samuel b. Judah of Marseilles into Hebrew in the 14th century, and marks the first time that a classical work of political philosophy was translated into Hebrew. The work was soon summarized by Joseph ibn *Kaspi, Samuel's contemporary, and exercised some influence on the course of later Jewish philosophy. In the 16th century the Jewish physician Jacob *Mantino translated it from Hebrew into Latin and it appears in the standard Latin editions of Averroes' works.

Another source of Platonic sentiments were the collections of the sayings of the philosophers, notably that of Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq, which was translated into Hebrew by Judah *Al-Ḥarizi in the 13th century. Joseph ibn Aknin includes a number of Platonic dicta in his "Hygiene of the Soul" (see Halkin, as above in: PAAJR, 14 (1944), 69 ff.).

Finally, Judah *Abrabanel or Leone Ebreo, the son of Isaac Abrabanel, utilizes the basic ideas of Platonic philosophy in his *Dialoghi di amore*. Moses *Mendelssohn wrote on the immortality of the soul in his *Phaedon* (1767) and follows the Platonic dialogue of the same name.

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[Lawrence V. Berman]

PLAUT (Flaut), HEZEKIAH FEIVEL (1818–1895), Hungarian rabbi. Born in Kolin, Plaut studied under Moses *Sofer of Pressburg, whom he venerated exceedingly, paying particular attention to every detail of his way of life so that he could emulate him. A profound talmudic scholar, Plaut was renowned for his piety. He engaged in halakhic correspondence with Hillel Lichtenstein, rabbi of Kolommya, Galicia, with whom he had studied. In 1849 he was appointed rabbi of Nagysurany and remained there until his death. Students from every part of Hungary came to study at the large yeshivah he established there. As rabbi of Nagysurany he was also rabbi for the whole region, which included the community of Nove Zamky (Ersekujvar). He spent a number of Sabbaths there every year and preached there despite the fact that the leaders of the synagogue had, against accepted custom, moved the reading desk from the center of the synagogue to the front of the ark. When a ban was eventually issued by the Orthodox Hungarian rabbis against even entering such a synagogue, he established a separate synagogue in the old style. Plaut had no children but brought up orphans as his own children.

He was the author of *Likkutei Ḥaver Ben Ḥayyim*, in 11 parts (1878–93), containing talmudic novellae, glosses on the four parts of the Shulḥan Arukh, a number of his responsa, eulogies, the glosses of the Ḥatam Sofer (Moses Sofer) on the Shulḥan Arukh, *Yoreh De'ah*, and the customs of Ḥatam Sofer and the latter's biography, as well as Plaut's correspondence with Hillel Lichtenstein.

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[Samuel Weingarten-Hakohen]

PLAUT, HUGO CARL (1858–1928), German bacteriologist. Born in Leipzig, Plaut settled in Hamburg in 1913 and became director of the Institute for Fungus Research. In 1918 he was appointed titular professor. He made his greatest contribution to medicine in 1896, when he described the etiology of trench mouth. Two years later H. Vincent of the Pasteur Institute described the same condition and it became known as the Plaut-Vincent disease or angina ulcero membranosa caused by fusiform spirochaeta. Of significance also were Plaut's works on streptococcus mocosus, streptothrix, and actinomyces. His publications include *Die Hyphenpilze oder Eumyceten* (1903, 1913^2), *Dermatomykosen* (1909), and *Mykosen* (1919). He also carried out fundamental work in veterinary medicine.

[Suessmann Muntner]

PLAUT, W. GUNTHER (1912–), U.S. Reform rabbi and author. Plaut was born in Munster, Germany, and earned his law degree at the University of Berlin in 1934. When Nazi decrees made a law career impossible, he switched to Jewish studies. He was tutored by Abraham Joshua *Heschel and attended the Hochschule (later, Lehranstalt) fur die Wissenschaft des Judentums. In 1935, Plaut and four other students accepted a lifeline – an invitation to study at *Hebrew Union College in Cincinnati, where he was ordained in 1939. HUC-JIR awarded him an honorary D.D. in 1964, followed by an honorary L.L.D. from the University of Toronto in 1977.

Plaut became rabbi of Congregation B'nai Abraham Zion (Washington Boulevard Temple) in Chicago (1937–48), taking a leave of absence in 1943 to enlist in the U.S. Army and serve as a chaplain in the infantry at the European front. He was present at the opening of the Dora-Nordhausen concentration camp in April 1945 and was awarded a Bronze Star.

Plaut's next pulpit (1948–61) was at Mt. Zion Temple in St. Paul, Minnesota, where he served as president of the Minnesota Rabbinical Association, was appointed to the Minnesota Human Relations Committee, and headed the Governor's Commission on Ethics in Government. In 1961, he was named senior rabbi of Holy Blossom Temple in Toronto, Canada, becoming senior scholar in 1977. He was also a founder and co-chairman of the Canada–Israel Committee (1975–76) and president of the Canadian Jewish Congress (1977–80). In the wider community, he served as president of the World Federalists of Canada (1966–68); as vice chairman of the Ontario Human Rights Commission (1979–85); and as a judicial officer in cases of human rights violations (1987). In the Reform movement, he chaired the Reform Jewish Practice Committee of the Central Conference of American Rabbis (1973–79), served as its vice president (1981–82), and as president (1983–85). He also served as vice president of the *World Union for Progressive Judaism and chaired the CCAR's Response Committee (1989–94).

Plaut was a prolific writer. A 1982 bibliography of his writings, compiled as a *Festschrift* titled *Through the Sound of Many Voices*, contained approximately 1,000 entries. In addition to chronicling the evolution of the Reform movement in *The Rise of Reform Judaism* (1963) and *The Growth of Reform Judaism* (1965), Plaut grappled with theological issues in *Judaism and the Scientific Spirit* (1962) and *The Case for the Chosen People* (1965). Other major books include *The Man Who Would Be Messiah* (1990); *The Magen David: How the Six-Pointed Star Became an Emblem for the Jewish People* (1991); *The Price and Privilege of Growing Old* (1999); and *The Reform Judaism Reader* (with Michael A. Meyer, 2001).

His masterpiece remains *The Torah – A Modern Commentary* (1981), which was praised by Robert *Alter as "the finest commentary [on the Torah] in English or, for that matter, in any language." He complemented it with *The Haftarah Commentary* (1996), which is used in Reform synagogues throughout the English-speaking world.

[Bezalel Gordon (2nd ed.)]

PLEAS.

Nature of Pleas

Talmudic law developed certain well-defined forms of pleading in civil cases (not unlike the *actio, formula*, and *exceptio* in Roman law). These forms of pleading constitute a catalog of causes of actions and defenses which could be applied in, and adapted to, all kinds of civil litigations. Unlike Roman law, pleas were not reduced to abstract terms, but expressed in direct language: for instance, the action of debt is rendered as the plea of "I have money in your hands"; the defense of payment is rendered as the plea of "I have paid." The law of pleas thus comprises the catalog of the various pleas and the provisions governing the applicability and effect of each particular one. However, in the sources there is no systematic differentiation between the two, and they will be considered together below. It often happens that not only the burden of proof (see *Evidence) or of taking the *oath will depend on the pleas chosen by the party but also the immediate outcome of the action, where in the circumstances a given plea is considered conclusive.

Pleas of the Plaintiff

Plaintiff's pleas, or causes of action, can be roughly divided into three classes: debt – "I have money in your hands"; or "I have a loan in your hands": or "I have wages with you"; chattels – "I have a deposit in your hands"; or "I have deposited this or that chattel with you"; or "you have stolen this chattel from me"; and oath – where the cause of action depends on accounts to be rendered and the defendant (e.g., an agent, executor, or guardian) is sued to verify his accounts on oath.

In order to be valid and to require a plea (or an oath) in reply, the plaintiff's plea must be such as to disclose a legally valid cause of action. Where a plaintiff would not be entitled to judgment, even though his plea be proved or admitted, no defense is called for. Thus, the plea "you promised to lend me money" – which is a promise unenforceable in law – or the plea "you insulted me" – which, if proved or admitted, could not bear weight in a case of damages – would be rejected as irrelevant from the outset.

Pleas of the Defendant

Whenever a cause of action has been pleaded by the plaintiff, "it is not a proper reply for the defendant to say, I owe you nothing, or you have nothing in my hands, or you are lying; but the court will tell the defendant to reply specifically to the plaintiff's plea and be as explicit in his defense as the plaintiff was in his claim: have you or have you not taken a loan from him?; has he or has he not made this deposit with you?; have you or have you not stolen his chattel?; have you or have you not hired him?; and in the same way with all other pleas. The reason is that a defendant may err [in law]… and believe that he is not liable to the plaintiff; therefore he is told: how can you say 'I owe him nothing'? maybe the law renders you liable to him and you do not know; you must submit to the judges explicit statements of fact, and they will advise you whether you are or are not liable. Even a great scholar is told: you do not lose anything by replying to his plea and explaining to us how it is that you are not liable to him; is it because 'the thing has never happened' or although 'it happened, it is because you already made restitution to him'" (Yad, To'en 6:1).

Defendant's pleas may roughly be divided into admissions and denials.

*Admissions are of three kinds:

(1) full and express admission of the whole claim – such an admission establishes the claim "like a hundred witnesses";

(2) partial admission and partial denial, with the result that the oath will be administered to the defendant;

(3) implied admission – plea of "I have not borrowed" is, on proof of the loan, taken as an admission that the defendant has not repaid the loan; or, a plea of "I have repaid" is, on proof of non-repayment, taken as an admission that a loan had been made (BB 6a; Shevu. 41b; Yad, To'en 6:3). For pleas of "feigning" or "satiation" to revoke out-of-court admissions, and for the effect of admissions in general, see *Admission.

Denials are also of three kinds: "no such thing has ever happened" – i.e., a total denial of the fact (the loan, the contract, the tort) underlying the cause of action; "I have paid" – i.e., an assertion that any liability which may have existed has already been fully satisfied; and "you have renounced the debt," or "the money you gave me was in repayment of a debt which you owed me, or was a gift" (Yad, To'en 6:2) – i.e., in the nature of a plea of confession and avoidance.

The general rules that the burden of proving his case rests upon the plaintiff (see *Evidence) and that, in the absence of such proof, the defendant has to take the oath to verify his denial, apply to all these pleas of denial. The presumption that a debtor will not lie in the face of his creditor was in the course of time superseded by the presumption that the plaintiff will not lodge a claim unless he has a cause of action. While by virtue of the former presumption the defendant would be believed on his oath, by virtue of the latter he was required to take the oath to disprove the plaintiff's claim (Shevu. 40b).

Plea of Repayment

In the case of the plea of repayment, the following special provisions should be noted:

Where the defendant pleaded repayment, it was not sufficient for the plaintiff to prove that he had given the defendant a loan, because a loan given before witnesses need not necessarily be repaid before witnesses (Shevu. 41b), and the claim would be dismissed on the defendant's oath verifying his plea. The same rule applied to claims on bills: where the signature of the defendant on the bill was proved or admitted, his defense of repayment would be accepted on his taking the oath (BB 176a; Yad, Malveh 11:3; Sh. Ar., ḤM 69:2); but some later jurists held that the plea of repayment was not available against a bill which was in the hands of the plaintiff, as it would normally have been returned or destroyed on payment (*Rema*, ḤM 69:2 and the references given there). The matter appears to be left to the discretion of the court in each particular case (Resp. Ribash, no. 454; *Siftei Kohen*, ḤM 69, n.14). Where the plea of repayment is inadmissible in law, e.g., where the loan or bill was made with formal *kinyan* (see *Acquisition, Modes of; ḤM 39, 3), the plaintiff will recover on the bill on taking the oath that it is still unpaid (Shevu. 41a; Yad, Malveh 14:2). Where a debt is repayable at a certain date, the defendant will not be heard to plead that he repaid it before that date because of the presumption that no debtor pays a debt before it matures (see *Evidence). The plaintiff will be entitled to recover without oath, on proof of the debt and of the time stipulated for repayment (BB 5a–b; ḤM 78:1).

In order to forestall pleas of repayment and their all too easy verification by oath, it became customary to stipulate beforehand either that repayment must be made in the presence of witnesses – in which case the plaintiff could recover without oath unless the defendant produced witnesses of repayment (Shevu. 6:2; Yad, Malveh 15:1; ḤM 70:3) – or that the plea of repayment should not be available to the defendant, and that the plaintiff should be entitled to recover on his assertion that he had not been paid (Yad, Malveh 15:3; ḤM 71:1).

Plea of Insolvency

Originally the law was that a debtor who pleaded that he was unable to pay was not required to take the oath, but the burden was on the creditor to discover property of the debtor on which execution could be levied (Yad, Malveh 2:1). However, when "defrauders increased and borrowers found lenders' doors closed," it was laid down that the debtor should take the oath that he possessed nothing and concealed nothing and that he would disclose any property coming into his hands (Yad, Malveh 2:2; ḤM 99:1). There are two noteworthy exceptions to this rule: a man reputed to be poor and honest will not be required to take the oath if the court suspects the creditor of desiring to annoy or embarrass him; and a man reputed to be a cheat and swindler will not be allowed to verify his plea on oath even though he volunteers to do so (Yad, Malveh 2:4; ḤM 99:4–5; see also *Execution, Civil).

Plea of Counterclaim

Where a plaintiff sues on a bill, it is no defense for the defendant to plead that the plaintiff is indebted to him on another bill: each sues and recovers on his own bill separately (Ket. 13:9; Yad, Malveh 24:10; Sh. Ar., ḤM 85:3). But where the defendant denies the bill sued upon by the plaintiff, his plea prevails that the plaintiff would not have made a later bill in favor of the defendant had he really been indebted to him (Sh. Ar. loc. cit.; but see Yad, loc. cit. and *Siftei Kohen* to Sh. Ar., ḤM 85, n. 7). Where the defendant pleads that the plaintiff already "has mine in his hands," the plaintiff is entitled to have his claim judged first, and the defendant's claim for restitution or to have one claim offset by the other will be adjudicated separately (BK 46b; Rashi and Tosef. thereto; Tur, ḤM 24:1; *Rema*, ḤM 24:1).

Identical Pleas

Where, in respect of a certain sum of money or of a chattel, both parties plead "this is mine," and both are in possession of it (i.e., each holds it with his hand), and none can prove previous or present title, both will have to take the oath that they are entitled to at least one-half of it, and then one-half will be judged to belong to each (BM 1:1; Yad, To'en 9:7; ḤM 138:1). Where the mutual "this is mine" is pleaded in respect of land, or in respect of a chattel not in the possession of either, the party who first succeeds in taking possession, even by force, cannot be ousted unless the other can prove that he has a better title to it (BB 34b–35a; Yad, To'en 15:4; ḤM 139:4). For this rule, which in effect legitimizes seizing by force, the Solomonic reason was given that it would only be the true owner who would go to the length of using force and facing the ensuing lawsuit (Resp. Rosh 77:1; *Beit Yosef*, ḤM 139, n.1; see also *Extraordinary Remedies).

Pleas of Law

As a general rule, pleas are assertions or denials of fact only; but there are some exceptions to the rule, two of which are noteworthy:

(1) the plea of "I do not want this legal privilege." Wherever the law confers a benefit on the class of persons to which the pleader belongs, he will be heard if he waives that benefit (Ket. 83a). Thus, the rule that a husband must maintain his wife in consideration of her handiwork for him was established in favor of his wife, and she may plead, "I will not claim *maintenance and I will not work" (Ket. 58b). Or, where a plaintiff is allowed by law to recover on taking the oath, he may plead, "I do not want the privilege of taking the oath," and have the oath shifted to the defendant (Yad, To'en 1:4; ḤM 87:12); and

(2) the plea of "I rely on the other view." Where the authorities are divided on a given question of law, the defendant is entitled to plead that the opinion most favorable to him should be adopted (*Keneset ha-Gedolah*, ḤM 25, *Beit Yosef*). This post-talmudic rule is based on the premise that the benefit of any possible doubt on what the law is must accrue to the defendant, the burden of establishing his case always being on the plaintiff (see also *Codification of the Law).

Weight of Pleas

Even where no evidence is available or forthcoming to substantiate a plea and even before such evidence is called for, the court will accept a plea as valid and conclusive in the following cases:

(1) Where the plea is fortified by a legal presumption (see *Evidence) or by generally recognized standards or patterns of conduct. For instance, the plea, "I have not been paid" is accepted as conclusive if fortified by the presumption that no debtor pays a debt before maturity (BB 5b).

(2) Where the plea is eminently reasonable (*sevarah*). The reasonableness cannot generally be determined from the particular circumstances of the case at issue, but rather from legal rules evolved for this purpose. Thus, a man's plea is not believed if by that plea he accuses himself of wrongdoing (Ket. 22a, 23b), unless he can adduce a good reason (*amtala*) for so doing. Where, by his own mouth, a man has taken upon himself a certain status or obligation which could not otherwise be proved against him, he is believed on his plea that that status has come to an end or that obligation has been performed, for "the mouth that obligated is the mouth that discharged" (Ket. 2:5). For instance, a woman who cannot otherwise be proved to have been married is believed on her plea that her marriage has been dissolved (Ket. 2:5; Yad, Gerushin 12:1; Sh. Ar., EH 152:6).

Witnesses whose attestation to a deed cannot be proved other than by their own testimony are believed on their plea that they were incompetent or coerced to attest (Ket. 2:3; Ket. 18b; Yad, Edut 3:6; ḤM 46:37), provided they did not plead that their incompetence was due to criminal conduct (Yad, Edut 3:7; ḤM 46:37). Opinions are divided on whether a defendant who admitted that a bill, which could not otherwise be proved, had been authorized by him, would be believed on his plea that he had paid the bill (BM 7a; Ket. 19a; BB 154b); the better opinion seems to be that, as long as the bill is in the hands of the plaintiff, it is presumed to be unpaid (Tur, ḤM 82:3), and the defendant's unsworn plea of repayment is not sufficient to discharge him (see above; and Rashi, Ket. 19a, s.v. *Ein ha-Malveh*). Similarly, a plea is believed if it was "in the hands" of the pleader to execute it by his own act (Sanh. 30a; ḤM 255:8).

(3) A particular brand of reasonableness is known as *miggo*, meaning something like "inasmuch": inasmuch as you could have succeeded by some other more far-reaching plea, the lesser plea, by which you likewise succeed, can be accepted as credible. "If A makes a certain statement which does not appear probable on the face of it, this fact will not tend to weaken his case, if he could have made another statement which would have appeared probable. If that other statement would have been acceptable to the court, the one that he actually makes must also be accepted, for had he wished to tell an untruth he would have rather made that other statement" (Herzog, Instit, 1 (1936), 250ff.). In the much shorter and clearer words of *Shabbetai b. Meir ha-Kohen (Shakh) in his "Rules of *Miggo*" (appended to his commentary *Siftei Kohen* to ḤM 82, hereinafter referred to as Rules), "he is known to speak the truth, for if he had wanted to lie, a better plea would have been open to him" (Rule 26). *Miggo* is the amoraic version and elaboration of the mishnaic "the mouth that obligated is the mouth that discharged" (cf. Ket. 2:2, 16a; the dif-

ferent problems of *miggo* are dealt with in the Shakh at the end of ḤM 82).

Miggo is, generally speaking, available in respect of pleas of defendants only (Rules 1, 14, 15); *miggo* is of no use against witnesses (Rules 5, 12); *miggo* is of use against a written deed (Rule 11); where the taking of an oath is prescribed (other than the post-mishnaic oath), *miggo* is not available in lieu of it, nor will it be allowed where the more far-reaching plea could have resulted in a Pentateuchal or mishnaic oath being imposed, for the actual plea may have been put forward only for the purpose of evading the oath (Rules 25, 28); *miggo* does not apply where it would contradict local custom in matters of commerce (Rule 2); both the more far-reaching and the actual plea must relate to the same subject matter (Rule 13); *miggo* does not operate retroactively (Rule 8); where the more far-reaching plea would obviously have been a lie, it cannot operate as *miggo* on the actual plea; nor will *miggo* be of any avail to strengthen a plea which is manifestly false (Rule 9); whether the *miggo* is of avail against presumptions of fact is discussed (Rules 10, 16); *miggo* is of no avail against any possessory title (*ibid.*); *miggo* is not allowed where the more far-reaching plea would have been "I do not know" (Rule 3); *miggo* is allowed only in respect of pleas which are outspoken and unambiguous (Rule 7); there are differences of opinion on whether *miggo* would be allowed where the pleader could have remained silent instead of pleading, and by remaining silent would have attained the same or a better result (Rules 19, 21); whether *miggo* is available where the more far-reaching plea would have been unreasonable or unusual, or would have been an affront or an impertinence to the creditor, is discussed (Rules 6, 22); *miggo* is not available where the more far-reaching plea would have incriminated the pleader (Rule 24); *miggo* is applied only to the plea of a single pleader: where the same plea is put forward by more than one, none can avail himself of *miggo* (Rule 4); *miggo* is allowed in respect of pleas of fact only, and not in respect of pleas of law (Rule 31); and where there recommends itself to the court a reasoning (*sevarah*) which appears (however slightly) better than *miggo* in the particular case before it, *miggo* may be discarded at the discretion of the court (Rule 32).

Rejection of Pleas

UNTRUSTWORTHINESS. Once a defendant has denied having taken a loan and the fact that he has is proved by witnesses, he will not be allowed to plead that he has repaid the loan (BM 17a; Yad, To'en 6:1; ḤM 79:5), provided the denial has been made in court (Yad, To'en 6:2; ḤM 79:9). The denial which proved untrue renders the pleader, insofar as the same subject matter is concerned, a "potential denier," *huḥzak*, whose pleas will no longer be accepted as trustworthy. The same rule applies where a debtor had admitted the debt and, when sued in court, denied it (ḤM 79, 10), provided the previous admission could not be explained away as unintentional (Sanh. 29b; Yad, To'en 6:6).

INCONSISTENCY. No alternative or inconsistent pleas are allowed (BB 31a; ḤM 80:1). While pleading in court, however, the pleader may rectify his plea and explain it or even substitute another plea for it, as long as his original plea has not been proved or disproved by evidence (Yad, To'en 7:7–8; Tur, ḤM 80:4). Statements made out of court are not regarded as "pleas" and may freely be contradicted by pleas in court (ḤM 79:9, 80:1).

PUBLIC POLICY. Pleas which may otherwise be perfectly legitimate may sometimes be rejected because their acceptance might lead to undesirable results from a moral, humanitarian, or economic point of view. Examples of purposes for which pleas might be rejected are: that a wrongdoer should not reap a reward (Ket. 11a, 39b; et al.); that the lenders' doors not be closed in the face of borrowers (Ket. 88a; Git. 49b–50a; BK 7b–8a; et al.); for the protection of open markets (BK 115a); that it be not too easy for a husband to divorce his wife (Ket. 39b); and that equity and generosity may prevail over strict law (BM 51b–52a; 83a; 108a; Ket. 97a; et al.).

Suggestion of Pleas

Where the defendant (or, in exceptional cases such as widows and orphans, the plaintiff) appears unable or unfit to formulate the plea which is open to him in the circumstances, the court will "open the mouth of the dumb for him" (Prov. 31:8) and enter the plea for the defendant of its own accord (Ket. 36a; Git. 37b; BB 41a; *Piskei ha-Rosh*; BK 1:3). The court will not, however, of its own accord enter for the defendant a plea to the effect that any admission made by him out of court was false or unintended (Yad, To'en 6:8; ḤM 81:21; but see *Rema*, ḤM 81:14).

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[Haim Hermann Cohn]

PLEDGE.

The Concept

In Jewish law, in addition to the personal right of action against the debtor, the creditor also has a right of *lien on the latter's property. This lien automatically comes into being when the debt is created and is termed *aḥarayut* or *shi'bud nekhasim*. Sometimes the operation of the lien may be limited by the parties to a specified asset or part of the debtor's property, in one of two possible ways: either this distinct asset remains in the debtor's possession, in which case the lien is termed *apoteke*, or possession of the asset is surrendered to the creditor, which is termed *mashkon* ("pledge"). In both cases limitation of the lien to a distinct asset may be effected either so that it operates over and above the general lien on all the debtor's property, or so as to free all but the distinct asset from its operation; in the case of pledge, these two forms are referred to respectively as *mashkon stam* ("unconditional") and *mashkon meforash* ("express pledge"; Tur, ḤM 117:1).

Jewish law distinguishes between three types of pledge: a pledge taken when the debt is due for repayment, not in payment of it but as a security for its repayment; a pledge taken when the debt is established with the consent of both debtor and creditor, as security for repayment of the debt on the due date; and a pledge given by the debtor to the creditor for the latter's use and enjoyment of its fruits.

Taking a Pledge After Establishment of the Debt

There are various biblical enjoinders concerning taking a pledge from the debtor: "If thou lend money to any of My people, even to the poor with thee, thou shalt not be to him as a creditor; neither shall ye lay upon him interest. If thou at all take thy neighbor's garment to pledge, thou shalt restore it unto him by that the sun goeth down; for that is his only covering, it is his garment for his skin; wherein shall he sleep?" (Ex. 22:24–26); similarly, "When thou dost lend thy neighbor any manner of loan, thou shalt not go into his house to fetch his pledge. Thou shalt stand without, and the man to whom thou dost lend shall bring forth the pledge without unto thee. And if he be a poor man, thou shalt not sleep with his pledge; thou shalt surely restore to him the pledge when the sun goeth down, that he may sleep in his garment, and bless thee; and it shall be righteousness unto thee before the Lord thy God" (Deut. 24:10–13); and, "No man shall take the mill or the upper millstone to pledge, for he taketh a man's life to pledge" (Deut. 24:6). In their plain meaning, these passages refer to a debtor from whom a pledge is taken as such. These passages (which also lay down general principles concerning the creditor-debtor relationship; see *Execution, Civil) are the source of a threefold direction in matters of pledge and relate to articles which may never be taken in pledge; which may be taken in pledge but must be returned to a poor debtor when he needs them; and the prohibition against taking a pledge from a widow.

From the biblical prohibition on taking "the mill or upper millstone to pledge," the scholars deduced that it is forbidden to take in pledge "aught wherewith is prepared necessary food" (BM 9:13). They generally agree that the prohibition applies to utensils which are used in the actual preparation of "necessary food," such as a grain mill, certain cooking pots, an oven, and a sieve (Tur, ḤM 97:17), as well as water, wine, or oil jugs, "since this involves taking from a man a utensil which was fashioned for the actual preparation of necessary food for himself and his family, and this the Torah has forbidden, to save him hurt" (ḤM 97:11). In the case of things which do not meet this exact requirement but are used by a man to earn his livelihood, such as oxen for plowing and the like, some scholars hold that these may be taken in pledge, except for the essentials of his sustenance which must be left with the debtor, in terms of the rule of making an "arrangement" or assessment for the debtor (*Rema*, ḤM 98:8); other scholars hold that these things too fall into the category of "necessary food" and, therefore, may not be taken in pledge (Tur, ḤM 97:17; BM 113b; this opinion also conforms with the ordinary meaning of the statements in Tosef., BM 10:11 and those surrounding the discussion about a yoke of oxen and a pair of barber's shears, in BM 116a). With regard to articles which may be taken in pledge but must be returned to a needy debtor, Maimonides states "when a person takes a pledge from his neighbor [when the debt is due for payment] – whether through a court, or forcibly of his own accord, or with the debtor's consent – then if the debtor is poor it is a *mitzvah* to return the pledge to him if and when he be in need thereof; he must return to him the pillow at night to sleep thereon, and the plow by day to work therewith" (Yad, Malveh 3:15). Anyone who does not return a poor man's pledge when he needs it transgresses two prohibitions of the Torah and one positive precept.

It is in the interest of the creditor to take a pledge – notwithstanding his obligation to return it to the debtor when the latter is in need of it – in order that the debt shall not be wiped out in the Jubilee Year, just as a debt established against a pledge is not wiped out in order to recover payment of it on the death of the debtor, so that it should not be like movable property in the hands of orphans, which is not charged in the creditor's favor (Tosef., BM 10:9; BM 115a; Yad and Sh. Ar., loc. cit.). "Why then does he continue each day to take the pledge after he has returned it to the debtor whenever necessary? So that the debtor shall hurry to repay the debt because he is ashamed of having his pledge returned by the creditor day after day" (Tos. to BM 115a). In a dispute with R. Simeon b. Gamaliel, the scholars held that the creditor must return the debtor's pledge in this way as long as the debtor is alive; Gamaliel's opinion was that the creditor need only return the pledge during a period not exceeding 30 days; thereafter it must be sold through the court. All the scholars agree that if the creditor takes in pledge articles which are not essential to the debtor and therefore need not be returned to him from time to time, the creditor will be entitled to have the pledge sold through court, in similar manner to a pledge taken at the time of the establishment of the debt.

In the case of a widow, R. Judah held that the prohibition applies to all widows, rich or poor, giving to the word "widow" its ordinary meaning, since "he did not seek the reason for the scriptural law." R. Simeon, because "he sought the reason for the scriptural law," was of the opinion that the prohibition only applied to a poor widow, since the creditor would have to return her pledge if she needed it, and by entering and leaving her house from time to time would bring her into disrepute. The *halakhah* was decided according to R. Judah's opinion. Maimonides' opinion that the prohibition extends also to a pledge taken from a widow at the time the debt is established (Yad Malveh 3:1) is disputed in most of the codes on the grounds that the Torah deals solely with the question of a pledge taken when the debt is due for payment and that this is also to be deduced from the statements in the Talmud, even when the debtor is a widow (*Hassagot Rabad* and *Maggid Mishneh*, ad loc.).

The laws concerning a pledge of the debtor's property which the creditor takes after the debt is due as security for but not in payment of a debt are set out in detail in Scripture; although these laws were also dealt with in the Talmud and in the codes, by then they had become of less practical importance in daily life. The result was that the relevant laws came to be interpreted as applying also to the matter of actually satisfying a debt out of the debtor's property. (Maimonides, for instance, incorporates a number of matters pertaining to the *siddur le-va'al-ḥov* in his treatment of the above laws (Yad, Malveh 3:6) and this is done by other commentators also.) This process is particularly noticeable in the treatment of the prohibition against entering the debtor's home; the prohibition was interpreted in talmudic discussions and until the 12th century as applying also to the case of the creditor seeking to recover his debt, and only R. Tam interpreted the prohibition as applying solely to the case of entry for the purpose of taking a pledge.

In talmudic times, when the creditor came to take any of the debtor's assets after the debt was due, he generally did not do so in order to take a pledge, but rather as a means of recovering his debt. For this purpose too the scholars specified a number of articles which a debtor needed for the sustenance of himself and his family which might not be taken from him. From talmudic times onward it became most common for the pledge to be delivered by the debtor to the creditor at the time the debt was established.

Pledge Taken When the Debt is Established

The distinction drawn in Hebrew legal parlance in the State of Israel between the terms *mashkon* and *mashkanta*, pertaining to movables and to immovable property respectively, does not appear in the sources, where the term *mashkanta* is simply the Aramaic form of *mashkon* (although the distinction is already hinted at in earlier periods – see, e.g., Elon, Mafte'aḥ, note on p. 152).

Modes of Establishing a Pledge

The ancient form of pledge was apparently executed in the following manner: the debtor would sell one of his assets – land or movable property – to the creditor on the condition: "whenever I so desire I shall return the money and take it back." On receipt of the property the creditor would hand over the money; if, in the course of time, the money was returned by the debtor, the transaction constituted a loan and the property a pledge, otherwise the property would be forfeited to the creditor, presumably upon determination and expiry of a maximum period allowed the debtor for redemption of the property. This form of pledge also existed in other legal systems (Tosef., BM 4:4; Gulak, *Toledot ha-Mishpat be-Yisrael bi-Tekufot ha-Talmud*, 1 (*Ha-Ḥiyyuv ve-Shi'budav*), 62–65). A variation of this form of pledge was one in which the sale only came into effect upon the debtor's failure to make repayment on the date due (BM 63a). In the first case the creditor was entitled to sell the property after it had been delivered to him, although the debtor retained the right to redeem the property from a third party – i.e., within the period determined for this purpose; since the property had already been sold to the creditor, his usufruct thereof was not in conflict with the prohibition against *interest (see below). In the second case, however, it was forbidden for the creditor to sell the property before the agreed date of repayment and, therefore, according to some scholars, the fruits of the property were forbidden to the creditor, as amounting to interest, since the property had not yet been effectively sold to the latter. Common to both the above forms of sale was forfeiture of the property to the creditor upon the debtor's failure to return the money within the determined period (Gulak, 65–66). Forfeiture of this kind, although likely to have resulted in the creditor gaining property whose value exceeded the amount of the debt, was not regarded by the scholars as prejudicial to the debtor since the latter retained the option of selling the pledged property to a third party before the due date for repayment of the debt and then paying the creditor the exact amount only (Tos. to BM 65b).

In the later form of the pledge that was customary in talmudic times, the creditor was only entitled to recover out of the pledge – when the debt matured – the exact amount owing to him, and the remainder belonged to the debtor; conversely, if the value of the pledge was less than the amount of the debt, the creditor was entitled to recover the shortfall from the debtor. (Nevertheless, from a number of *halakhot* it is discernible that later, as early as amoraic times, forfeiture of the whole of the pledge continued to be practiced; see Gulak, 69–71.) It was customary for the parties to stipulate that the whole of the pledge be forfeited to the creditor upon the debtor's failure to repay the debt within a prescribed period, even if the value of the pledge exceeded the amount of the debt. Some scholars upheld the validity of such express conditions, but R. Judah held a contrary opinion: "In what manner shall this party become entitled to that which is not his!" (Tosef., BM 1:17). For part of the amoraic period some scholars maintained that the above condition was valid, but later the *halakhah* was decided to the effect that this condition was invalid because of the defect of **asmakhta* (BM 66a–b). A similar decision was made in the codes; namely, that this condition was invalid unless imposed in a special manner so as to obviate the defect of *asmakhta* (Yad, Malveh 6:4; Sh. Ar., ḤM 73:17).

Ownership and Responsibility for the Pledge

Property pledged by the debtor remains in his ownership, but cannot be alienated by him to another since it is not in his possession (Rashi, Pes. 30b). The debtor may, however, alienate the pledge to another in such manner that the *kinyan*, i.e., transfer of ownership, shall take effect after he has redeemed the pledge from the creditor, and then retroactively to the time of alienation; in addition, the debtor may immediately alienate that portion of the pledge which is in excess of the amount of the debt (Ket. 59a–b; Tos. to BM 73b, S.V. *hashata*; S.V. *hakhi ka-amar; Rema*, YD 258:7).

The creditor acquires a limited proprietary interest in the pledge (Pes. 31b; et al.), hence a marriage contracted by him through the means of a pledge he holds is valid (according to Maimonides, the creditor has *mikẓat kinyan*, "a measure of *kinyan*," in the pledge: Yad, Ishut 5:23). The creditor may assign to another the charge which he has on pledged property. According to the *posekim*, the creditor only has *mikẓat kinyan* in a pledge that is taken after the debt is established, and no *kinyan* whatever in a pledge taken at the time of establishment of the debt, so that a marriage contracted by the debtor through the means of pledged property of the latter kind will be invalid (Tos. to BM 82b, S.V. *emor*; *Rema; Siftei Kohen,* ḤM 72, n. 9; R. Isaac's above statement is also based on a passage dealing with a pledge taken after establishment of the debt).

Opinions were divided on the question of the creditor's responsibility for the pledge in his possession, some holding him liable as a bailee for reward and others regarding him as an unpaid bailee (BM 6:7). The majority of the *posekim* decided according to the first view: "hence if the pledge was lost or stolen, he will be liable for its value; if the value of the pledge equaled the amount of the debt, the one party will have no claim against the other; if the debt exceeded the value of the pledge, the debtor must pay the difference; but if the value of the pledge exceeded the debt, the creditor must refund the difference to the debtor; if the loss of the pledge was due to **ones*, the creditor must swear that this was the case, whereupon the pledger must repay the debt to the last penny" (Yad, Sekhirut 10:1; *Hassagot Rabad*, ad loc.; *Rema*, ḤM 72:2).

Use of the Pledge

The use of the pledge is forbidden to the creditor, since this is tantamount to taking interest on the loan. In the case of a poor debtor, if the nature of the pledge is such that it suffers only slight deterioration upon use and the return for its hire is great – for instance a plowshare or spade – the creditor will be entitled to hire the pledge to others and to apply the proceeds in reduction of the debt, since this is assumed to be convenient for the debtor. It is precisely to others and not to himself that the creditor may hire the pledge in this manner, lest he be suspected of using the pledge without reducing the debt accordingly. If originally, however, the parties stipulate with each other that the creditor might use the pledge and apply the hire in reduction of the debt, then he will be entitled to use the pledge himself, since anyone who knows that he holds a pledge will also know what he stipulated with the debtor. When the pledge consists of books, the use of the pledge is permitted by some scholars because it is a *mitzvah* to lend books for study, but other scholars include books in the general prohibition against the use of the pledged property (*Rema*, ḤM 72:1; and YD 172:1).

Recovering Payment out of the Pledge

When the debt matures the creditor must notify the debtor, before two witnesses, that the debt must be repaid and the pledge redeemed or else he will seek leave from the court to sell the pledge in satisfaction of the amount owing to him. The debtor, according to some of the *posekim*, has 30 days in which to make payment, failing which the value of the pledge is assessed by three knowledgeable assessors and "he [the creditor] shall sell it at the assessment price allowed by the above three and he is given the advice to sell it before witnesses, lest the debtor say that it was sold for more than the assessment price" (Yad, Malveh 13:3; Sh. Ar., ḤM 73:12–15). The creditor himself may not purchase the pledge, but some scholars aver that he may do so if the pledge is sold through a court of experts.

Pledge (Mortgage) with a Right of Usufruct in the Creditor's Favor

USUFRUCT AND THE PROHIBITION AGAINST INTEREST. In the case of a long-term debt in a large amount, land was generally given in pledge, to remain in possession of the creditor until the debt matured; this practice is illustrated in Nehemiah 5:3–5. According to the Jewish laws of interest, any benefit derived by the lender over and above repayment of the original amount of the loan is regarded as interest and prohibited (BM 5:9). Strict observance of the minutiae of the prohibition posed no particular economic hardship in the case of small short-term loans, but when large credits were involved it was difficult to deny the creditor the right to derive any benefit from the mortgaged land in his possession. In other legal systems it was customary for the creditor to enjoy the fruits of the mortgaged property by way of interest and the existence of this phenomenon in Greco-Roman laws was mentioned in the Talmud (TJ, BM 6:5). In order to ensure the availability of credit, the halakhic scholars sought to evolve special ways for the creation of a mortgage in a manner enabling the creditor to derive some usufructuary benefit from it without transgressing the prohibition against interest.

As already noted, the use and enjoyment of the pledge was permitted the creditor in case of a sale for return and – in the opinion of R. Judah – even in the case where the sale only came into effect upon the debtor's failure to make payment on the due date. This was because the property was regarded as sold to the creditor whereas the question of interest could only arise in the case of loan. The Babylonian *amoraim* regarded even the above cases as involving prohibited interest, since upon repayment of the debt the land would return to the debtor and the sale become voided retroactively (see BM 67a and Rif, *Halakhot*; Sh. Ar., ḤM 182:12; and *Ha-Gra*). A way of permitting the creditor a usufruct of the pledged property was found by the latter scholars on the principle of a reduction of the debt, at times until full liquidation thereof, by virtue of and in return for the usufruct. Even if such reduction bore no proportion to the actual value of the usufruct enjoyed by the creditor, yet this method – unlike the case of a sale of the body of the land – involved some real and not fictitious consideration for the usufruct. An important consideration for the Babylonian *amoraim* in treating the permissibility of such usufruct was the distinction between a mortgage "in a place where it is customary to make the creditor give up possession" and a mortgage "in a place where it is not the custom…" In the former case the debtor could repay the debt at any time and recover possession of his land from the creditor and therewith regain the usufruct of his land; in the latter case the creditor could not be made to give up possession within a fixed period and thus the mortgage was akin to a sale for a specified period, whereby the suspicion of prohibited interest was reduced. In certain places it was laid down that, unless expressly stipulated between the parties, the debtor might not recover possession of the land from the creditor during the first year at least (BM 67a–b).

Three forms of usufruct of the mortgaged land were customarily recognized by the Babylonian *amoraim*.

Mortgage with a Fixed Deduction

With a mortgage of this kind the practice was to make a deduction from the amount of the debt against the creditor's enjoyment of the usufruct, as if the fruits were sold for the amount deducted. The rate of the deduction was fixed and amounted to far less than the value of the usufruct enjoyed, hence a *talmid ḥakham* was forbidden from enjoying the usufruct of the mortgaged property, even with the deduction (BM 67b).

Mortgage with a Stipulated Time Limit

The practice in this case was for the creditor to enjoy the usufruct of the mortgaged land against a deduction for the first five years – i.e., with a minimal reduction of the debt (and none at all according to another opinion) – and thereafter enjoyment of the usufruct would be assessed at its full value for purposes of repayment of the debt. Some of the scholars held this form of mortgage to be permissible also to a *talmid ḥakham* (BM 67b). During the first five years the creditor apparently could not be made to surrender possession of the land, the mortgage being akin to a sale and the suspicion of prohibited interest therefore reduced.

Mortgage "as Arranged in Sura"

In this form of mortgage the parties would insert into the bond the condition: "on the expiry of so-and-so-many years, this estate reverts [to the debtor] without any payment." Here the creditor would enjoy the usufruct for a period stipulated in advance, at the end of which the land reverted to the debtor and the debt was considered as fully repaid. In this case too the value of the usufruct may have exceeded the amount of the debt, but this method was preferable to the "time limit" mortgage as regards the interest prohibition. In the "Sura" mortgage the creditor, as against his profits, also had to face a possible loss, since the land would revert to the debtor at the end of the stipulated period even though the creditor may not have enjoyed any profits during one or more years; on the other hand, in the "time limit" mortgage, repayment of the debt, after the first five years, would take place according to the measure of the profits enjoyed, and during the first five years the profits could be enjoyed without any risk of loss. With the "Sura" mortgage the suspicion of prohibited interest was entirely eliminated, since it in no way resembled a loan transaction, but rather one of "purchasing the fruits of these particular years against this particular payment" (Rashi, BM 67b). Hence all the scholars agreed that a "Sura" mortgage was permissible even to a *talmid ḥakham* (BM, loc. cit.).

In permitting a usufruct of the mortgaged property, both with reference to the ancient forms of mortgage and those sanctioned by the Babylonian *amoraim*, the scholars relied on the law of the redemption of dwellings in walled cities and fields of possession (Lev. 25:16, 27, 29; Tosef., BM 4:2; TJ, BM 5:3, 108; BM 67b).

Disputing Opinions in the Codes

The problem of the creditor's enjoyment of a usufruct of the mortgaged property continued to engage halakhic scholars in post-talmudic times and became a subject of much controversial discussion in the codes (*Ha-Gra*, YD 172, n.1, enumerates six different methods entertained by the *posekim*). The main points of dispute may be briefly summarized as follows:

It was generally agreed that a "Sura" mortgage was permissible. As regards a mortgage "with deduction," Alfasi's opinion (to BM 67b) was that although enjoyment of the fruits is initially prohibited to the creditor, nevertheless the *post facto* value of this cannot be reclaimed from him, since no fixed or direct interest is involved, but only *avak ribbit* or indirect interest. The distinction between the two forms of interest, even as regards mortgage, was already discussed in the Talmud (BM 67b). In this case Maimonides permitted enjoyment of the usufruct from the start, but only with reference to a field, "since in the case of a field, the profits are not yet in existence at the time of the loan, and it is possible that the creditor may either derive fruits and profits therefrom or suffer loss in the sowing and cultivation of the field." In the case of a courtyard or a dwelling, Maimonides held the profits to be available at the time of loan and enjoyment of them, although prohibited initially, became permissible, *ex post facto* – because this entailed no more than *avak ribbit* ("dust of interest"; see *Usury) by virtue of the reduction (Yad, Malveh 6:7). Rabad held that a mortgage "with deduction" is only permissible from the start where the local custom is not to make the creditor give up possession of the mortgaged property (against repayment of the debt) and that for this purpose no distinction should be made between a dwelling and a field (*Hassagot Rabad* to Malveh 6:7). Rashba, on the other hand, held all mortgages "with deduction" to be permissible from the start, whether relating to a field or dwelling and regardless of local custom on the question of the debtor regaining possession of the mortgaged property.

A great deal of difference of opinion is also expressed in the codes concerning a mortgage with no deduction at all in return for the usufruct. Alfasi (to BM 67b) regarded this as amounting to fixed interest which could be reclaimed by action. Maimonides (Yad, Malveh 6:7) regarded this form of mortgage as entailing direct interest when relating to a courtyard or dwelling, and "dust of interest" when relating to a field or vineyard, and Rabad's view *(ibid.)* was that such a mortgage entailed direct interest or "dust of interest" depending respectively on whether it was local custom to make the creditor give up possession of the mortgaged property (against repayment of the debt) or not. Rashi (on BM 62a, 67a) was of the opinion that in the case of a field a mortgage, even without deduction, was permissible from the start wherever it was the custom not to make the creditor give up possession of the property, since by virtue of the latter fact, "all agree that all these years he holds the field as if purchased by him" (see also Tur, YD 172). However, in the case of a dwelling, such a mortgage (i.e., a usufruct without further deduction of the debt) entailed direct interest (see *Leḥem Mishneh* to Malveh 6:7). Although extremely liberal as regards the permissibility of a mortgage with deduction, Ibn Adret nevertheless held that where it was customary to make the creditor give up possession of the property, a mortgage without deduction entailed direct interest, and where it was customary not to make the creditor give up possession, it was "dust of interest" (*Nimmukei Yosef*, BM 67b; *Leḥem Mishneh*, loc. cit.).

The diversity of opinions made it difficult to decide the law in practice: "how shall we enter into the scholarly discussions… we have no power to decide the issue, but the court must act in accordance with its own understanding" (Resp. Abraham b. Isaac of Narbonne, no. 173). In one of his responsa Naḥmanides similarly expressed regret at the diversity of opinion, which left the *halakhah* on the subject uncertain and lacking in binding force. Therefore it had to be left for every community to act in this matter according to local custom. The opinions of the *posekim* were summarized by Isserles in a similar fashion: "Local custom is to be followed in this matter and in these countries the custom is to permit [enjoyment of usufruct] in the case of a mortgage with deduction, even when the debtor may reclaim possession [of the property from the creditor] and in this regard no distinction is drawn between a field and a dwelling or the different kinds of movables, since in all cases a mortgage with deduction is permissible" (*Rema*, YD 172:1).

In the State of Israel

The laws of pledge are ordered in two laws of the Knesset: the Pledge Law, 1967, and the Land Law, 1969. Sections 85–91 of the second law deal with a pledge of land, termed *mashkanta*, i.e., mortgage (sec. 4), to which all the provisions of the Pledge Law are applicable save as otherwise provided in the Land Law itself (sec. 91). The provisions of the Pledge Law are partially in accord with the attitude of Jewish law on the subject. The bill originally submitted to the Knesset (in 1964) included a provision entitling the creditor to enjoy the income of the pledge, with the debtor's consent and in return for an appropriate consideration to the latter, his waiver thereof to be of no validity (sec. 23). In the final version passed by the Knesset, the law provides that the creditor shall pay the debtor appropriate remuneration "unless otherwise agreed." This in effect means that upon the debtor's waiver of consideration the creditor becomes entitled to use and enjoy the income of the pledged property without making any reduction of the debt, which is contrary to Jewish law, where this amounts to prohibited interest.

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[Menachem Elon]

°PLEHVE, VYACHESLAV KONSTANTINOVICH VON (1846–1904), Russian statesman, a leader of Russian reactionary circles during the reigns of Alexander III and Nicholas II. In 1881 he was appointed director of the police department of the Ministry of the Interior and from 1884 to 1894 he was deputy minister. He adopted a systematic anti-Jewish policy in interpreting the restrictive laws against Jews. In 1902 Plehve was appointed minister of the interior, in which capacity he took strong measures to subdue the revolutionary movement. When riots broke out in *Kishinev on Passover 1903, liberal and Jewish circles declared that Plehve was responsible for them and the London *Times* published an order which he had sent to the provincial governor of Bessarabia not to open fire on the rioters, although the authenticity of this order was not definitely proved. In June 1903 Plehve called for strict measures to be taken against the Zionist movement which, according to information available to the secret police, had become a powerful political movement encouraging youth to organize self-defense and take up a struggle against the anti-Jewish regime. These measures impelled Herzl to request a meeting with the rulers of Russia. In August 1903 Herzl met with Plehve, Finance Minister *Witte, and other high officials, asking for the support of the Russian government in establishing a Jewish state to absorb the persecuted Jews of Russia. The reply was that as long as the Zionists encouraged emigration of Jews from Russia the authorities would not disturb them; any political activity in Russia, however, would be crushed. On July 15, 1904, Plehve was assassinated by a member of the Socialist Revolutionaries, E.S. Sazonov. His successor, Svyatopolk-Mirski, adopted a more liberal policy.

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[Yehuda Slutsky]

PLESSNER, MARTIN (**Meir**; 1900–1973), Orientalist. Plessner, born in Breslau, was the great-grandson of Solomon Plessner (1797–1883), a prominent German Orthodox preacher and scholar. The classical heritage in *Islam and its influence on medieval Judaism was Martin Plessner's main scholarly interest. An assistant to H. Ritter in Hamburg, he edited a comprehensive work on magic which was wrongly attributed to Maslama al-Majrīṭī (Spain, d. 1004) but written about 50 years later (1933; Ger. tr. 1962). Plessner worked as assistant to J. Ruska at the Berlin Forschungsinstitut fuer Geschichte der Naturwissenschaften (1927–29), and in 1933 became lecturer in Semitics at Frankfurt University, leaving Germany for Palestine in 1933 to teach at the Reali secondary school in Haifa. There he wrote an Arabic grammar, the first in modern Hebrew. From 1945 he taught at the Ma'aleh school in Jerusalem, also working (from 1949) at the Jewish National and University Library, and later as librarian of the School of Oriental Studies of the Hebrew University, where he became an external teacher in 1952 and professor in 1955.

Among Plessner's other published work was his Hebrew edition (with J.J. Rivlin) of I. *Goldziher's lectures on Islam (*Harẓa'ot al ha-Islam*, 1951). One of his main achievements was the discovery that the alchemical "parliament," *Turba Philosophorum*, is based on the doxographical tradition about the pre-Socratic philosophers, thus establishing a new chronology and evaluation of early Arabic alchemy.

PLETTEN (Yid. פלעטען; "meal tickets"), an arrangement begun at the end of the 15th century which ensured meals for the itinerant needy. In many communities in Germany, Poland, and other countries, the itinerant poor person – usually either a yeshivah student or a beggar – received a slip of paper bearing the name of the house owner who would provide food, drink, and lodging for him for at least three days. It was obligatory to provide for someone who had one of these *pletten* and householders who refused were fined; in many communal registers the rates of such fines were recorded. Eventually those who refused were publicly denounced in the synagogue, and in some synagogues the names of such offenders were recorded on a special board.

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[Natan Efrati]

PLEVEN (**Plevna**), city in N. Bulgaria. During Byzantine rule, there was a Jewish community in Pleven. This community later included Hungarian Jewish refugees, who had been expelled in 1376, Walachian refugees who fled during the revolt of Vlad V in 1461 against Sultan Mehmed II, Jews of Bavaria who were expelled in 1470, Spanish refugees, and again Hungarian refugees, who came after the conquest of Hungary by *Suleiman the Magnificent in 1526. During the 16th century, there were Ashkenazi, Hungarian, and Sephardi communities in Pleven which united into one general community. After the great fire of 1582, a single synagogue was built, but apart from the Sephardi ritual the different communities partly kept their customs. In 1593 Michael of Wallachia rebelled against Sultan Murad III and burned the town, taking many Jews prisoner. The Jews of Pleven traded in hides and copper and also wove cloths. During the invasion of the city by the adventurer Ottoman Pazvanoğlu in 1799, the Jews took up arms in self-defense. In 1877, they fled to Sofia before the Russian invasion, but after a time, the community was reorganized. In 1910 there were 623 Jews in Pleven and in 1928, 550. After the establishment of the State of Israel, most of the Jews of Pleven, like almost all Bulgarian Jewry, immigrated there. In 2004 there was a community of around 90 Jews affiliated to the local branch of the nationwide Shalom organization.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Rosanes, Togarmah, 7 (1930^2), 62, 115, 221, 252–3. and passim; idem, in: *Yevreyska Tribuna* (1928), 120–33, 172–80.

[Simon Marcus / Emil Kalo (2nd ed.)]

°PLINY THE ELDER (23–79 C.E.), Roman historian, naturalist, and administrator. Pliny's voluminous *Naturalis Historia*, the only work of his extant, contains a number of references to Jews and Judaism. Some of these references relate to the physical characteristics of Judea and its natural resources, in particular the Dead Sea and the bitumen found there. Pliny notes the excellence of balsam (a monopoly of Judea), describes the tree, and praises the date palms of Jericho. The sections on Judea (*Naturalis Historia*, 5:66–73) in the geographical volumes include a survey of the administrative division of Judea into toparchies, which differs slightly from that given by *Josephus. Pliny describes the *Essenes, discussing their settlement by the Dead Sea, their separation from women, and their renunciation of money. Jerusalem, he observes, is the most illustrious city in the East ("*longe clarissima urbium Orientis non Iudaeae modo*"). The sources which Pliny used in his description of Judea cannot be ascertained, but he evidently relied on material dating from the period of Herod, which he adjusted to the situation of his time. Thus, he mentions the destruction of Jerusalem and the establishment of new Roman colonies in Palestine by *Vespasian. However, in addition, he must have used earlier sources. The theory that

Pliny was present at the siege of Jerusalem as an officer in the army of Titus is hardly tenable.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Reinach, Textes, 267–83; H.G. Pflaum, *Les carrières procuratoriennes équestres sous le Haut-Empire romain*, 1 (1960), 106 ff.

[Menahem Stern]

PLISETSKAYA, MAYA (1925–), Russian ballerina born in Moscow to a Jewish family. Her father, an engineer, was declared an enemy of the people during Stalin's era of political purges and was executed in 1937. Her mother, Rachel, belonged to the famous ballet family of *Messerer. Her mother, a film actress, was also arrested and sent to a work camp for several years. Maya, who at that time was a student in the choreographic college, went to live with the Rachel's family. In 1941 her mother returned to Moscow and in the same year Maya Plisetskaya had her first stage appearance in "Impromptu" to the music of Tchaikovsky. In 1943, after graduation, she joined the Bolshoi theater.

Her career can be divided into three phases. The first was dedicated to dancing. Her relative, Asaf *Messerer, put her into the corps de ballet, but Plisetskaya soon became a principal dancer in *Cinderella*, where she showed herself as a wonderful dancer and dramatic actress. This two-fold talent made her the unique dancer she is. Her style is very graphic and delicate, perfect in its movement and flawless in technique. Plisetskaya was noted for her fast spins and soaring leaps, staying suspended in the air for a long time, and her wondrous, breathtaking, expressive and fluid hand movements. Odette-Odile in *Swan Lake* is certainly one of her most prominent roles; she performed it around the world for over 30 years. The only major ballet role she did not perform is that of Gisele. She explained that something in her opposed this role. A role with which she fully identified is Carmen. The Cuban choreographer, Alberto Alonso, created a Carmen Suite for her in 1967, based essentially on Bizet's opera. Here came into effect her full dramatic power and her striving for novel experimentation.

In the 1960s, after a successful tour with the Bolshoi and thanks to the encouragement of Ingmar Bergman, Plisetskaya started her second career phase as a choreographer. Her first work in that capacity was a ballet based on Tolstoy's *Anna Karenina* to the music composed by her husband, the conductor Rodion Shedrin, and then came the *Seagull* (1980) and *Lady with a Lapdog* (1985) by Chekhov, also using the music by Shedrin. She performed as a prima ballerina in all her creations. Her thirst for creativity and her endless energy and temperament made Maya Plisetskaya a world famous ballet artist. Even in her sixties she was still assigned top female roles such as the *Mad Woman of Chaillot*, performed in 1992.

In the third phase of her career, she appeared in films as a dramatic actress. Most of her choreographic works were filmed and televised.

In addition to her long career with the Bolshoi Theater, Plisetskaya also danced with other companies, such as Roland Petit's company and Maurice Bejart's ballet of the 20th century. In 1983–84 she was an artistic director of the ballet in the opera of Rome and in 1989–90 she headed the ballet dance group of Teatro Lirico National Madrid.

Maya Plisetskaya held the title of National Artist and was the winner of two national prizes. She organized three dance competitions.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: IDE, vol. 5:202b–207a.

[Yossi Tavor (2nd ed.)]

PLOCK (Pol. **Płock**; Rus. **Plotsk**), city in Warszawa province, central Poland. As Jews settled there before 1237, when the city was the capital of Masovia, the Plock Jewish community is one of the oldest in Poland. In the first 200 years of their residence there, the Jews usually engaged in moneylending, sometimes accepting landed estates and other immovable property as security. Before the 16th century, however, they began to earn their living from trade and crafts. At the beginning of that century legal and municipal documents record the names of 28 Plock Jews who traded in wool, leather, spices, horses, and grain. About the middle of the century the burghers made a stubborn attempt to limit Jewish trade, but in 1555 King Sigismund II Augustus granted the Jews economic rights equal to those of the other citizens, and in 1576 King Stephen Báthory forbade the city authorities to hinder the Jews in their business pursuits. However, at the beginning of the 17th century the burghers succeeded in limiting the activities of the Jewish traders and artisans for some time. From the middle of the 17th century many Plock Jews engaged in weaving, glasswork, arms manufacture, and tailoring and some were accepted in the local Christian guilds, but the struggle of the Christian bakers, butchers, and harness makers against Jewish artisans continued. In the 16th century there were six Jewish physicians in Plock.

The Jewish quarter was first mentioned in 1532; in 1616 there were 25 houses in the town owned by Jews in which probably around 400 members of the Jewish community lived. The synagogue was opened in 1534, and a cemetery was consecrated in a suburb in 1570. In 1577 the *parnasim* of Plock – the physician Lewek and "Black Jacob" – appeared as prosecutors in the trial of the men who had hastily passed sentence in the *Sochaczew blood libel. In riots against the Jews in 1534, 1570, 1579, 1590, and 1656, the men of the Plock Jewish community took up arms in self-defense. After the depredations of the Great Northern War in 1705, the community suffered further economic loss through the hostile attitude of the nobility and the Church. In 1754 their situation deteriorated even further when a *blood libel caused an uproar in the city. About the middle of the 18th century the Jewish tailors organized their own guild in order to protect their livelihood (see E. Ringelblum, in: *Miesiecznik żydowski*, 2 no. 2 (1932), 46–47). The spiritual leaders of Plock Jewry in the 17th century included R. Ẓevi Hirsch Munk (in the 1680s), R. Menahem Nahum b. Israel (d. 1691), and Zelig Isaac Margolioth, author of *Kesef Nivḥar* (Amsterdam, 1712). Rabbis in the 18th century included Samuel b. Israel, Ḥayyim Ginzburg, and Judah Loeb *Margolioth (1747–1811) one of the supporters of moderate *Haskalah.

In the first years of the 19th century, under Prussian rule, the Jewish population of Plock grew from 731 in 1800 to 1,932 in 1808 (49% of the total population). As a result of the great fire in 1810, the synagogue and a considerable part of the Jewish quarter were destroyed. A year later the government of the grand duchy of Warsaw confined the Jews to a separate quarter which contained only eight streets, a restriction which remained in force until 1862.

In the middle of the 19th century the Jews of Plock earned their living from trade and transportation and Jewish entrepreneurs established textile factories in the city. In 1827 there were 3,412 Jews in Plock (35% of the population). In 1841–44, on the initiative of the industrialist Solomon Zalman *Posner, farming villages (Kuchary, Ickowiec) were founded near Plock in which 170 Jewish families had settled by 1850. In 1897 the Jewish population of the city numbered 1,480 (33% of the total). At the beginning of the 20th century about 5% of the Jews of Plock were engaged in commerce, 31% in crafts and industry (clothing, food, metals, printing), and about 12% earned their living as hired laborers. From 1865 to 1871 the town contained a government school where Jewish children were taught in Hebrew and Russian, and in 1888, on the initiative of the writer Abraham Jacob *Paperna, a Jewish school sponsored by the government was founded. In the *talmud torah*, founded in 1868, secular studies were introduced at the end of the 1880s on the initiative of the noted educator Aharon *Kahnstam. In 1872 the first Jewish hospital was built.

At the beginning of the 20th century, branches of the *Bund, the Zionist Socialists, and *Po'alei Zion began to operate in Plock. A yeshivah was opened in 1912 under the direction of Michael Rubinstein and Mendel Mendelson; in 1916 a Jewish high school was founded. In 1921, 7,352 Jews (29% of the total population) lived in Plock. In the period between the two world wars there were three Jewish cooperative banks and Jewish trade unions for the garment industry, transport workers, clerks, and salesmen. In the 1930s a *Tarbut school was founded and in 1938 an *ORT school. During this period the monthly *Dos Plotsker Vort* was published. The authors Jakir *Warszawski and Sholem *Asch, the painters Nathan Korzeń, Fishl Zilberberg (1909–1942), and Jehiel Meir (Max) Eljowicz, and the miniaturist David Tysziński lived in the city, as did the Zionist leaders Nahum Sokolow and Yiẓḥak Gruenbaum.

[Arthur Cygielman]

Holocaust Period

At the outbreak of World War II, Plock had nearly 10,000 Jews, around one-third of the total population. When the Germans entered on Sept. 9, 1939, the majority of Jews had fled to nearby Gabin, but they gradually returned. Immediately, men were hunted down for forced labor. In December 1939 a *Judenrat was established. It created an *Arbeitsamt* ("labor bureau") to supply the Germans with manpower. It also maintained a clinic, an old-age home, and a soup kitchen subsidized by the *American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee and by 10% of the wages Jews received from the Germans. In November 1939 a ghetto was created. Jews could not leave the ghetto without permission, but Poles entered without difficulty and supplied food at high prices. Although private workshops and stores were liquidated, some of the cooperatives, such as those of cobblers and tailors, continued.

The German police carried out night raids involving searches and plundering, accompanied by beating and sometimes killing. Before the establishment of the ghetto the authorities requested that the Judenrat supply a list of the elderly invalids and chronically ill. Some days later all the inmates of the old-age home and all the others on this list were rounded up and deported. After one of the night raids some Jews lodged a complaint before the German authorities. In retaliation, the Germans arrested and executed 180 Jews. The Plock community was liquidated in two deportations on Feb. 20 and 28, 1941. During the first deportation, the main street was surrounded; all the Jews were driven outdoors. More than half were sent to the concentration camp in Dzialdowo. During the next deportation the remaining Jews were sent to the same camp, where they were tortured and sent on to Radom District. During February and March 1941 six transports of Jews from Plock arrived in Radom District (5,000–7,000 Jews). They were dispersed in small localities – barefoot, in rags, and exhausted. Most of the deportees died in camps.

About 100 survivors (most of whom returned from the U.S.S.R. and a few of whom were saved on the "Aryan" side of the city) reconstituted the community and reestablished public and mutual welfare institutions. In October 1949 the community erected a monument in memory of the victims of the Holocaust. Organizations of the former residents of Plock exist in many countries.

[Danuta Dombrowska]

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PLOEȘTI (Rom. **Ploeşti**), city in Walachia, S. central Romania. The first Jews settled in Ploesti in the second half of the 17th century. There were so few, however, that they continued to bury their dead at the cemetery at *Buzau. At the end of the same century they purchased ground for a cemetery, far from the city, where tombstones have been found dating back to 1719–40. A second cemetery was confiscated by a landowner to enlarge his estate. A third, established on ground acquired in 1818 by the "Jews' Guild" (see *Romania), was also closed, being too near the city. Consequently, a fourth cemetery was established outside the city. In the early 18th century the synagogue was demolished by order of the ruler, and the Jews had to move two kilometers out of the city. However, their commercial importance was so valued that the cattle market and general market of the city were established in their neighborhood. The road linking the Jewish quarter with the city became known as the "Jews' street" till 1882. At the beginning of the 19th century, Sephardi Jews migrated to Ploesti from the Balkan states; their neighborhood was called "the Spanish street." In 1830 the Sephardim requested the **ḥakham bashi* to approve the establishment of their own community, but the request was refused. Thus Ploesti became the only Romanian locality whose *kahal* combined Ashkenazim and Sephardim in communal activities (although distinctions persisted in regard to separate synagogues and *ḥevra kaddisha*).

From 280 Jews listed as taxpayers in 1831, the number reached 2,478 in 1899 (5.5% of the total population) and 3,843 (3.3%) in 1930. Five synagogues were eventually established, including one for artisans and another for Sephardim. The boys' school, built in 1875, was named after Luca Moise who granted funds for its building and maintenance. A girls' school was built in 1896. Among noted rabbis who served Ploesti were those of the Brezis family, Judah Aryeh Brezis (1869–1908) and Dr. Joseph Ḥayyim Brezis (1911–22). Menahem Safran officiated as rabbi from 1939 to 1956. Rabbi David Friedman, a ḥasidic *ẓaddik* of the *Ruzhin dynasty, lived in Ploesti until his murder by the *Iron Guard in 1940.

The Jews did much to develop the city by organizing the export of agricultural produce, leather, and other goods to Hungary and on to Vienna. From the middle of the 19th century many dealt in oil, developing Ploesti into a center for that commodity. After the emancipation of the Jews in Romania, Jews officiated as representatives on the city council and for a time a Jew served as vice mayor.

Holocaust Period

Immediately after the outbreak of World War II, Ploesti became a center of German interest because of its oil resources. Units of the German army appeared in the city as early as the autumn of 1940. After Antonescu assumed power (September 1940), Cojocaru, a member of the Iron Guard, was appointed commander of the local police. Immediately upon taking over the post he introduced serious measures against the Jews, i.e., confiscation of their businesses and wide-scale arrests of merchants and community leaders. On the night of Nov. 27/28, 1940, 11 of the Jewish prisoners were executed in a nearby forest. Among those killed was Rabbi David Friedman. During the same period members of the Iron Guard destroyed three synagogues and the Luca Moise school; they burned the Scrolls of the Law taken from the synagogues and transferred the furniture to churches, while the school equipment was taken to Romanian educational institutions.

A number of Jews were sent to the Tirgu-jiu concentration camp. After the outbreak of war with the U.S.S.R. (June 1941), all the Jewish men from ages 18 to 60 were arrested and sent to the Teiş concentration camp. Youth from the ages of 13 to 18 remained in Ploesti and were mobilized into different forms of forced labor. In January 1942 men over the age of 50 were released from Teiş and returned to the city. The rest were scattered throughout various cities in Romania but were forbidden to leave their new locations. Later on they were sent to do forced labor in various places in Bessarabia and Moldavia. After the war, practically all of Ploesti's Jews returned to the city.

In 1947 the Jewish population numbered about 3,000, decreasing to 2,000 in 1950. By 1969 about 120 Jewish families remained. They had one synagogue.

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[Theodor Lavi]

PLONSK, town in Warszawa province, E. central Poland. A Jewish settlement existed in Plonsk from 1446. The princes of Masovia encouraged the settlement of Jews to help develop the economy of the town, although this aroused the jealousy of the Polish merchants, and consequently, Jewish activity was later restricted by various decrees. In 1677 King John III Sobieski prohibited all Jewish commerce on market days, with the exception of the sale of kosher meat. In spite of the restrictions, the number of Jews increased, as did their importance in the town. In 1887 Jews owned most of the houses and the shops; they dealt in the wholesale trade of cereals and owned brandy distilleries, beer breweries, underwear factories, etc. They were also engaged in tailoring and the fur trade, exporting goods to the interior of Russia. Jews numbered 2,801 in 1808; in 1910 they numbered 7,665 (64% of the population), and in 1939 there were 8,200 Jews in the town of Plonsk. World War I and the advent of an independent Poland restricted Jews to business transactions in the local Polish market where they engaged primarily in the trade of inexpensive ready-made clothing. The economic crisis of the late 1920s and the economic boycott brought on by Polish antisemitism in the 1930s struck a severe blow at Jewish economic life.

During the 15th century the Jewish community was under the guardianship of Plock, the leading community of Masovia. With the organization of the Council of the Four Lands it was subordinated to the community of Ciechanow, but due to its expansion it eventually became an independent community. During the 19th century the community administration was under the influence of the *mitnaggedim*, even though the courts of the *ẓaddikim* (especially that of Gur) exerted considerable influence on the Jews of the town. In the 20th century the influence of the *maskilim* and the Zionists rose. The community supervised the activities of the relief and educational institutions. The rabbinical positions of the community were held by R. Abraham Jekuthiel *Lichtenstein during the second half of the 18th century and by R. Ẓevi Ezekiel *Michaelsohn at the close of the century. On the eve of the Holocaust, the rabbinical post of the town was held by R. Abraham Ḥayyim Horowitz. A synagogue was erected at the beginning of the 17th century and its Ark was a work of art. The Jews of Plonsk participated in the Polish Revolt of 1863. Solomon Posner, one of the commanders of the Plonsk company, was killed in battle.

Jews were elected to both the provincial and the municipal councils. At the municipal council elections of 1927, out of the 23 delegates 13 were Jews. In addition to the religious, educational, and cultural institutions of the town, there were also societies for the propagation of Jewish and general education. In 1865 a society named Doreshei ha-Torah ve-ha-Ḥokhmah was founded by the *maskilim*, offering lectures on Jewish subjects. In 1910 the Ha-Or society was established, having been authorized by the Russian authorities to propagate Jewish and general education. Zionist societies were also active in promoting Hebrew language and culture. The Zionist Organization wielded considerable influence. It was quite evident in daily life, and especially apparent at the time of the elections to the Zionist Congresses. The author Shelomo *Ẓemaḥ and David *Ben-Gurion originally came from Plonsk.

[Shimshon Leib Kirshenboim]

Holocaust Period

At the outbreak of World War II there were about 6,000 Jews in Plonsk. The German army occupied the town on Sept. 5, 1939. Some Jewish men were sent to the forced-labor camp in Nosarzewo and Jewish women to the forced-labor camp in *Sierpc. Few of them survived. A closed ghetto was established in May 1941. The Jewish community was liquidated when 12,000 Jews from Plonsk and the vicinity were sent to *Auschwitz in four transports between Nov. 1 and Dec. 5, 1942. After the war, the Jewish community of Plonsk was not reconstituted. Organizations of former residents of Plonsk are active in Israel, the United States, and Argentina.

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PLOTNICKA, FRUMKA (1914–1943), underground leader in Poland. Born in Plotnicka, she belonged to the Zionist Youth movement, Dror, and became a member of its leadership in 1938. Along with most of the others in Dror's main office, she left at the outbreak of World War II, fleeing to Kovel. It was hoped that from Kovel, which was under Soviet rule, a path to Palestine could be found. In 1940 the Dror leadership decided that some of its members should return to German-occupied Poland and Plotnicka was among them. From Warsaw she visited many Jewish communities, trying to fortify local Zionist youth cells.

In September 1942, Plotnicka was sent to Bedzin by the *Zydowska Organizacja Bojowa* (Jewish Fighting Organization; ZOB) with the task of bolstering the underground there, and helping it to prepare for armed resistance. Its agricultural training center ("farma") became the center of Zionist youth activity in Bedzin. Plotnicka herself was one of the leaders of the underground. From Bedzin she and others helped the escape of a handful of young Jews to Hungary, by way of Slovakia, while rejecting offers for her own escape. The clandestine youth organization members, and Frumka among them, maintained contact with representatives of the Zionist youth movement in Geneva and Istanbul. Attempts to establish contact with the Polish underground were unsuccessful.

On August 1, 1943, the final liquidation of the Bedzin Jewish community was launched. From several bunkers the youth offered armed resistance. Plotnicka was killed along with the last group of fighters in a battle on August 3.

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[Robert Rozette]

PLOTZKI, MEIR DAN OF OSTROVA (1867–1928), Polish rabbi. Plotzki studied under R. Israel Joshua of Kutno, R. Ḥayyim Eleazar Wax of Piotrkow, and R. Abraham of Sochaczew. In 1891, he was elected rabbi of Warta. The publication of the first part of his *Ḥemdat Yisrael* in 1903 made him famous throughout Poland, and in 1908 he was appointed rabbi of the large town of Ostrow. In 1926 he resigned from the rabbinate and was appointed *rosh yeshivah* of the "Metivta" in Warsaw. This institution, founded by the Ḥasidim of *Gur, of whom he was a fervent adherent, was the most important yeshivah in Poland. In 1912 Plotzki visited Ereẓ Israel and instituted many improvements in the administration of the Polish *kolel*. One of the leaders of *Agudat Israel, he spent a year as its emissary in Belgium, England, and the United States. He was chairman of the executive committee of the Agudat ha-Rabbanim in Poland.

In addition to his *Ḥemdat Yisrael* (1903–24), partly on Maimonides' *Sefer ha-Mitzvot*, he wrote *Keli Ḥemdah*, a commentary on the Pentateuch, in six parts (1906–38); *Sha'alu Shelom Yerushalayim* (1910), to expose the forgery of the purported Jerusalem Talmud on the order of *Kodashim* published by Solomon *Friedlander (1907–09); and *Niẓoẓei Or,* novellae on the *Or ha-Ḥayyim* by R. Ḥayyim b. *Attar, printed together with the *Toledot Rabbenu Ḥayyim ibn Atar* (1925) by Reuben Margolioth. Many of his other works have remained in manuscript.

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[Itzhak Alfassi]

PLOVDIV (ancient **Philippopolis**), city in the S. central part of Bulgaria. During the Byzantine rule, the Jews lived in a special quarter. Under the Turks, their quarter was known as *Orta Mezar.* During the 16th century, there were some Sephardi Jews in the town; they engaged in commerce. During the 18th century, the rabbi was Judah Sid (d. 1815), the author of *Ot Emet* (Salonika, 1799) and *Ner Mitzvah* (*ibid.*, 1810–11). He was succeeded by R. Abraham ibn Aroiio (1750–1819), the author of the responsa *Mayim ha-Ḥayyim* (*ibid.*, 1846–64). Plovdiv was the seat of the regional assembly of Eastern Rumelia, an entity established in 1878 by the Congress of Berlin; some Jews played a role in the assembly's proceedings. In 1912, there were 3,000 Jews in Plovdiv and in 1938, 6,000. In 1895 a Yishuv Ereẓ Yisrael society was founded. At that time Joseph Marco (Marcou) *Baruch published there, in French, *Carmel*, which was the foremost Jewish-national newspaper of Bulgaria. From 1901 *Ha-Shofar,* the bulletin of the Zionist Organization, was published in Plovdiv, and from 1924 the Zionist headquarters was situated there. The Jews of Plovdiv were engaged in commerce and crafts. Later they opened some factories. During World War II, in 1943, an expulsion decree ordering all the Plovdiv Jews to leave Bulgaria was issued, but it was not carried out. In 1967 there were 1,000 Jews, dropping to 500 in 2004, affiliated to the local branch of the nationwide Shalom organization.

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[Simon Marcus / Emil Kalo (2nd ed.)]

PLUM, the *Prunus domestica*, of which there are many different varieties. In modern Hebrew, the name *shezif* is applied to the plum, but erroneously, since the ancient name *shezaf* is the *jujube. A species of plum, *Prunus ursina*, grows wild in the groves of Upper Galilee and in Lebanon. It is a shrub or tree, somewhat prickly, producing small yellow tasty fruits. In Syriac it is called *ḥuha* and in Arabic *ḥoḥ*. Some identify it with the "*ḥo'aḥ* in Lebanon," which in the parable of Jehoash is contrasted with the cedar of Lebanon, but the parable concludes that the wild beasts of Lebanon trod it down (II Kings 14:9). It would therefore seem that a prickly weed is intended and not a tree, which is, in fact, the meaning of *ḥo'aḥ* in other passages in the Bible (see *Thistles and Thorns). In Greek and Roman literature a choice plum is referred to as *damascena* (δαμασκηνά which is also its name in modern Greek and in modern Arabic) because it originated from Damascus. In rabbinic literature it is found under the names *dormaskin, dormaskenin, dormaskeniyyot*, and is mentioned as a fruit which was mainly imported (Tosef., Dem. 1:9). It was regarded as good for sick people (BK 116b) and was served to important visitors (Ber. 39a). The parallel passage in the Jerusalem Talmud (Ber. 6:2, 10b end) has *aḥvanita* which is the Arabic for the plum.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Loew, Flora, 3 (1924), 163–9; Krauss, Tal Arch, 1 (1910), 488.

[Jehuda Feliks]

PLUNGE (Lith. **Plungė**; Rus. **Plungyany**), city in W. Lithuania. The 15th-century tombstones in the Jewish cemetery indicate that there was a Jewish settlement in Plunge at that time. In 1847 there were 2,197 Jews living there; 2,502 (55% of the population) are recorded in 1897. Most Jews engaged in commerce with eastern Prussia and the surrounding villages as well as in crafts and agriculture. During the period of Lithuanian independence, Jewish commercial enterprises were repressed and a period of intensified emigration followed. The number of Jewish residents in Plunge decreased to 1,815 (44% of the population) in 1933 and 1,700 in 1939. There were six synagogues and a yeshivah with 50 pupils in the town, as well as a *Tarbut and Yiddish school, a Hebrew secondary school, two libraries, and a Jewish bank. Political and communal organizations of every kind and relief institutions were also active. For a time, the office of mayor was held by a member of the Jewish community. When the Germans entered Plunge on June 25, 1941, they murdered a number of Jewish youths who had participated in its defense. A few weeks later they massacred all the remaining Jews.

[Dov Levin]

PLUNGIAN (**Plungiansky**), **MORDECAI** (1814–1883), Hebrew writer. Born in Plunge, Lithuania, he became learned in talmudic and rabbinical literature; later, he was attracted to the Haskalah and studied foreign languages. In his biography of R. *Manasseh b. Joseph of Ilya, *Ben Porat* (1858), Plungian dissociated himself from extremist Haskalah ideology as well as from unenlightened Orthodoxy. This work angered the religious elements, and Plungian backed down and destroyed the manuscript of the second part.

He wrote for the journals *Kerem *Ḥemed, *Ha-Maggid, Ha-Karmel*, and **Ha-Shaḥar* and also wrote poetry. His writings include *Kerem Shelomo*, a commentary in two parts on Ecclesiastes (1857) and the Song of Songs (1877); *Tel-Piyyot* (on the Mishnah, 1849); *Shevet Eloha* (on blood libels, 1862); and *Or Boker* (part of a large work on the reading of the Torah, 1868).

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[Yehuda Slutsky]

°PLUTARCH (c. 46–120 C.E.), Greek biographer and antiquarian. He discusses whether the Jews abstain from the use of swine's flesh out of reverence for the animal or because of aversion to it (*Quaestiones Conviviales*, 4). In a symposium (*ibid.*) "Who is the God of the Jews," Bacchus is identified with the God of the Jews and the Bacchanalian celebrations with the Festival of Tabernacles. "They set up tables laden with all kinds of fruit and live in tents and in huts made of vine branches and ivy intertwined. The first day of this Festival is called the Festival of Tabernacles" (Gr. *skēnē*, "tent"). This identification is refuted by his contemporary *Tacitus (*Historiae*, 5:5). Plutarch also mentions the widespread anti-Jewish slander (cf. *Apion and Tacitus) that the Jews worshiped the head of an ass because that animal helped them discover wells of water in the wilderness. In his essay on superstition, Plutarch states that the Jews did not defend their city on Sabbath, but remained "clothed in their superstition, as if in a great net." Plutarch's treatment of Judaism is prompted by neither hatred nor respect. The Jewish religion was considered by cultured pagans a pious superstition, in common with other Oriental cults.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Reinach, Textes, 136–50.

[Samuel Rosenblatt]

PLYMOUTH, port and naval base in Devon, S.W. England. One of the earliest provincial Jewish communities after the Resettlement was established there and the beautiful synagogue, dating from 1761, is the oldest in England outside London. In the 18th century, Plymouth's Jewish inhabitants, mainly Ashkenazim from Poland and Germany, included silversmiths, merchants, petty traders, old-clothes men, opticians, and pen cutters. Jews were also active as suppliers of stores and clothing for the navy and a subsidiary congregation was formed at Plymouth Dock (Devonport). By the end of the Napoleonic Wars there were about 30 Jewish licensed navy agents. The community was one of the four most prominent in Britain until 1815, when its importance declined. In the early 20th century the Jewish population numbered 300 and in 1969 it was 225 (out of a total population of 212,000). The 2002 British census found the declared Jewish population to be 181. There was an Orthodox synagogue.

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[Vivian David Lipman]

PNUELI, AMIR (1941–), Israeli computer scientist. Born in Nahalal, Israel, he gained his B.Sc. in mathematics from the Haifa Technion and Ph.D. in applied mathematics from the Weizmann Institute for his thesis on calculating ocean tides. His interest in computer science developed during postdoctoral fellowships at Stanford University, Palo Alto, California and IBM's Watson Research Center, Yorktown Heights, New York. He returned to Israel as a senior research associate in the department of applied mathematics at the Weizmann Institute before moving to Tel Aviv University as professor and founder and chairman of the department of computer science (1973–81). From 1981 he was professor of computer science at the Weizmann Institute. Pnueli's main research achievements concern the application to computing of temporal logic, defined as the inclusion of temporal information within a logical framework. He developed what are termed "reactive systems" which extend this logic into real-time methods of formal analysis. With David Harel, he devised "Statecharts," a visual language for modeling reactive systems. His research has influenced the theory, design and validation of computing systems and especially methods for verifying the reliability of complex software such as that used in civil aviation. Pnueli has a long-term and continuing interest in the commercial applications of his research to program design, teaching, message switching, operating systems, data compilation, and military purposes. In 1971 he cofounded the software company Mini-Systems which was, until 1982, Israel's sole provider of computer-aided graphic printing systems. In 1989 he cofounded AdCad, which evolved into I-Logic and produces Statemate, a program dealing with complex computing such as control and communication systems. He is coauthor (with Zohar Manna) of the standard text on temporal logic. Pnueli's achievements have been universally recognized with the Association of Computing Machinery's Turing Award (1996) and many distinguished lectureships.

[Michael Denman (2nd ed.)]

PO'ALEI AGUDAT ISRAEL (PAI), *ḥaredi* workers party, affiliated to the World Union of Po'alei Agudat Israel. PAI was founded in Lodz, Poland, in 1922, as an outgrowth of *Agudat Israel. Its central ideal was the application of the social principles contained in the Torah in daily Jewish life. In its struggle for social progress, PAI clashed with the Jewish industrialists in Poland, from whom it demanded better treatment of the workers, and eventually with Agudat Israel over the same issue.

PAI started to operate in Ereẓ Israel in 1925, after the arrival of young Orthodox settlers, but broke up after a short period. It was reestablished in Tel Aviv in 1933, under the leadership of Benjamin *Minz, who had arrived from Poland, and who after the establishment of the state became a member of the Knesset, and Jacob *Landau, who arrived from Germany. Histadrut ha-Po'alim ha-Ḥaredit (Federation of Ḥaredi Workers), which had been formed in Petaḥ Tikvah, joined the new party. PAI continued to operate in Ereẓ Israel in close cooperation with Agudat Israel, and was close to it in its religious approach and the aspiration to establish in the country a society run on the basis of the *halakhah*. However, unlike Agudat Israel it also advocated cooperation with the secular Jewish population in Ereẓ Israel on national issues. At the third Kenesiyah ha-Gedolah (Great Synod), held by Agudat Israel at Marienbad in Czechoslovakia in 1937, PAI advocated support for the establishment of a Jewish state on the basis of the Peel Commission Report, and the setting up of kibbutzim with the assistance of Zionist funds. The Great Synod rejected PAI's proposals. A breach with Agudat Israel occurred when PAI established a youth movement called Ezra, to which Agudat Israel strongly objected. Members of PAI settled on Jewish National Fund land in May 1944 and established kibbutz Hafeẓ Ḥayyim. It later established kibbutz *Sha'albim and several moshavim. In 1945 Minz was elected political leader of PAI, and the following year the World Union of Po'alei Agudat Israel was founded in Antwerp. This step was regarded as PAI's final secession from World Agudat Israel, following which members of PAI joined the *Haganah, while Minz became a member of the *yishuv*'s security committee.

Shortly after the establishment of the state, PAI joined the trade union section of the *Histadrut. Despite all of this, it continued to accept the authority of Agudat Israel's Mo'eẓet Gedolei ha-Torah (Council of Torah Sages).

PAI ran in the elections to the First Knesset on a joint list with Agudat Israel, Ha-Mizrachi and Ha-Po'el ha-Mizrachi, receiving three of the list's 16 seats. In the elections to the Second, Fifth, Sixth, Seventh and Ninth Knessets it ran independently, in the elections to the Third, Fourth, and Eighth Knessets, it ran in a joint list with Agudat Israel, in the elections to the Eleventh Knesset within the framework of Morashah, and in the elections to the Twelfth and Thirteenth Knessets it ran as part of Agudat Israel, even though to all effects and purposes it ceased to exist as a separate party. The largest number of Knesset seats it ever received was three. PAI joined the coalition after the elections to the Second Knesset in 1951 without assuming any ministerial post, but then left in September 1952 over the issue of the drafting of girls to national service. In July 1960, in contravention of a decision by Mo'eẓet Gedolei ha-Torah it joined the government, and Minz served as minister of postal services until May 1961.

After the death of Benjamin Minz in 1961, Rabbi Kalman *Kahana became the party's leader. After the Ninth Knesset PAI's last remaining representative in the Knesset was Rabbi Avraham Verdiger.

In the United States

Po'alei Agudat Israel of America was a *ḥaredi* organization founded in the U.S. in 1948 for the purpose of educating and preparing young people for *aliyah* to Israel, and supporting the institutions of the parent movement in Israel. PAI remained a relatively small organization, with only five branches located in Brooklyn, New York. Its lack of popularity was due to lack of approval by the heads of yeshivot in the U.S., which rendered PAI incapable of providing an effective alternative to the anti-Zionist Agudat Israel in the U.S. PAI's women's division, Neshei Po'alei Agudat Israel, supported six children's homes and villages in Israel, with a population of more than 2,000 children. PAI published the periodicals *Aḥdut, PAI-Views*, and *Yedi'ot PAI*. On issues affecting Israel, it generally followed the Israel parent party line. Domestically, PAI was one of the few Jewish organizations to support the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965, which authorized the provision of federal funds to aid students in private schools. The organization, though small, was headed by Rabbi Fabian Schonfeld, past president of the Rabbinical Council of America. The organization is a member of the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations.

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[Susan Hattis Rolef (2nd ed.)]

PO'ALEI ZION, movement that tried to base itself upon the Jewish proletariat whose ideology consisted of a combination of Zionism and socialism. Attempts to combine Jewish nationalism and Zionism with socialism were made by *Zhitlovsky and *Syrkin in the 1890s, but a movement came into existence in Russia toward the end of the 19th century and at first consisted of local groups and regional associations. Later, countrywide Po'alei Zion parties were established in Russia, the Austrian Empire, the United States, England, Argentina, Romania, and Ereẓ Israel. In 1907 a World Union of Po'alei Zion was founded. In 1920 the movement split over the attitude toward the Socialist and Communist Internationals, the Zionist Organization, and the place to be accorded to the movement's activities in Ereẓ Israel. One faction (the Left Po'alei Zion) sought unconditional affiliation with the Third International (the Comintern); by 1924 it had abandoned this attempt and reorganized itself on an independent basis. The other faction, the Right Po'alei Zion, merged in 1925 with the Zionist Socialists (ZS) and in 1932 joined with Hitaḥadut in founding the Iḥud Olami (see *World Labor Zionist Movement).

In Russia

At the turn of the century, societies bearing the name Po'alei Zion were founded in various places in the *Pale of Settlement, largely independent of one another. Some of these societies were made up of Jewish workers affiliated with the general Zionist movement, while others were composed of Zionists who seceded from the Russian Social Democratic Party or from the *Bund, particularly when the latter adopted (1901) a resolution declaring membership in the Zionist Organization incompatible with membership in the Bund. The Zionist workers and wage earners who were thus compelled to leave the Bund also had to renounce membership in the trade unions sponsored by it and, as a result, had to establish their own trade unions.

In the years 1901–03, many Po'alei Zion societies were founded in the northwestern part of the Pale of Settlement (e.g., in Vilna, Dvinsk, and Vitebsk) and in southern Russia (Yekaterinoslav, Odessa, Poltava) and one was founded in Warsaw. All these societies shared the view that the economic problem of the Jews in general and the Jewish workers in particular was of a special nature and could be solved only by means of their territorial concentration in Ereẓ Israel. Only there could a Jewish socialist society be established. They differed, however, on the immediate program for action on the local scene. Thus, the leading Po'alei Zion group of that time, the Minsk group, advocated the restriction of local activities to the economic interests of the workers and confined its political and ideological struggle to the World Zionist Organization, where it posed special demands on behalf of the Jewish workers. Other societies called for active participation in the revolutionary struggle in Russia and cooperation with the non-Jewish revolutionary parties. The latter trend was strengthened by the 1903 Kishinev pogrom, in the wake of which Po'alei Zion societies also organized for Jewish self-defense. Another difference among the various societies emerged in the period 1903–05 over the question of *Territorialism. By the end of 1904 the Territorialists had achieved a measure of consolidation (they were later joined by the Minsk group), and at the Seventh Zionist Congress in 1905 they appeared as an independent faction, separate from the "Palestine-oriented" Po'alei Zion. Assuming the name of Zionist-Socialist Workers' Party (for short SS, according to their Russian name, "Sionisty-Sotsialisty"), they wielded considerable influence on the Jewish population during the 1905 Russian revolution.

Another split occurred in the remaining Palestine-oriented faction of Po'alei Zion at the Seventh Congress, when a new party arose in its midst, advocating emphasis on the development of Jewish life in the Diaspora within an autonomous framework. The faction had its origin in an ideological group founded in 1903 called Vozrozdheniye (Renascence); as a party, it took on the name Jewish Socialist Workers' Party. In 1906, under the leadership of Ber *Borochov, the Jewish Social Democratic Workers' Party Po'alei Zion came into being; it continued to adhere to the idea of the territorial concentration of the Jewish people in Ereẓ Israel. Borochov's approach was based upon an analysis of objective processes in the economic condition of Jewish life that pressed for mass emigration and territorial concentration; it was also founded upon the principle of the class struggle, for which a sound basis could be established only in Ereẓ Israel. Two trends existed within this group of Po'alei Zion: one regarding settlement in Ereẓ Israel only as the outcome of an objective historical process (the "Prognosticists"), the other supporting concentrated mass settlement in Ereẓ Israel and nowhere else as a matter of principle (the "Principlers"). Within the latter group a small movement of *ḥalutzim* for Ereẓ Israel developed.

Po'alei Zion in Russia advocated boycotting the elections to the First Duma. Later it changed its attitude and actively participated in the elections to the Second Duma. The laws regulating the election to the Second Duma were less favorable, however, than those for the first, and Po'alei Zion nominees reached only the stage of electors. The political reaction in Russia after 1906 resulted in the almost complete dissolution of Po'alei Zion. Like other movements, it was outlawed, and its leaders were either arrested and exiled or emigrated from the country. Out of a membership of about 25,000 in 1905, only 300 were left, who were organized in clandestine groups. The movement took a turn to the left and in 1909 decided to secede from the Zionist Organization and the Zionist Congress. In the last prewar years, its activities were confined to modest efforts in trade unionism and propaganda.

In the Austro-Hungarian Empire

At the end of the 19th century, various groups made up of Jewish workers and employees who were members of the Zionist movement came into being. They resulted from the efforts of the Zionist Organization to recruit Jewish workers to its cause, as well as the feeling among Jewish workers that the Austrian Social Democratic Party showed no understanding for their special needs. The spokesman for this group was S.R. *Landau. At the Second Zionist Congress he demanded that Jewish workers be allowed the right to organize into groups of their own and of separate representation in the Zionist bodies; he also became the editor of *Der juedische Arbeiter.* This scheme of independent organization met with fierce opposition on the part of the Austrian and German Social Democratic parties. In June 1903 the Galician groups established a Federation of Zionist Employees' and Workers' Groups in Galicia. The federation was influenced by the Zionist Socialist groups led by Nachman *Syrkin and by the Zionist Workers' Groups of Vienna and their publication, *Der juedische Arbeiter.*

Led by Shlomo *Kaplansky and Nathan *Gross, the Vienna groups initiated the establishment of a Po'alei Zion Federation in Austria. As its name indicated, the federation was to be composed of workers who were Zionists, without, however, committing itself to any detailed ideology. The first conference took place in May 1904 and was attended by 37 delegates, representing 2,000 members. It decided to form an organization that was to function as both a political party and a trade union. At its second conference (June 1905) the new party decided to accept the discipline of the Zionist Organization in all Zionist matters, while retaining its independence in labor matters. Zionism and the class struggle were to be regarded as being of equal importance; membership in the party was to be incompatible with membership in any other party or trade union. The conference also adopted the party's own program for activities within the Zionist Organization; it called for cooperative settlement in Ereẓ Israel (along the lines proposed by Franz *Oppenheimer) as a means of expressing the special interests of the workers in the Zionist movement.

It was not until the third conference (October 1906) that the Austrian Po'alei Zion adopted a clearly defined socialist program and assumed the name of Jewish Socialist Workers' Party Po'alei Zion. The conference also decided to secede from the Austrian Zionist Organization and demand that Po'alei Zion be accorded the status of an autonomous federation in the World Zionist Organization. This move resulted in several groups of Zionist intellectuals leaving the party. The Austrian Po'alei Zion did not, however, emulate the Russian party of that name when the latter decided to secede from the World Zionist Organization in 1909. In 1910 the party ran into difficulties in maintaining its function as a trade union, when the Congress of the International in Copenhagen decided that there was to be a single trade union for each country. When the Jewish National Party was founded in Austria in 1907 as a pro-Zionist list for the elections to parliament, Po'alei Zion did not join; in the parliamentary elections, however, it recommended that its members give preference to candidates of the Jewish National Party over Social Democratic candidates. In the 1910 census, Po'alei Zion urged Jews to list Yiddish as their national language (although it was not included in the census questionnaire). It also developed a program for the Jewish community councils from 1908 onward and presented its own lists for the council elections.

In the United States

Po'alei Zion came into being in the United States in 1903 as an offshoot of the Russian groups. It differed from the existing Jewish socialist organizations by emphasizing the need for

Jewish national activities and by supporting the Zionist *Basle Program. There were two influences at work among the U.S. Po'alei Zion: the ideas imported by the continued immigration from Russia and the ideologically more relaxed atmosphere prevailing in the United States, much less doctrinaire in its approach than that in Europe. The first conference of Po'alei Zion groups in the U.S. took place in 1905. It brought about no concrete results, in view of a split between the Territorialists (who were in the majority) and the supporters of Ereẓ Israel. At the end of 1905, however, a Jewish Socialist Party Po'alei Zion came into being in the U.S. and Canada, and the following year the party founded its own newspaper, *Der Yidisher Kemfer*. The failure of the efforts to find a territory other than Ereẓ Israel, as well as the revolution of the Young Turks in Constantinople, persuaded the Territorialists to join the party, led by Syrkin and Baruch *Zuckerman (1909). This move was preceded by a slight change in the party's platform to include "neighboring countries," in addition to Ereẓ Israel itself, as possible areas of settlement.

The U.S. Po'alei Zion, like its Austrian counterpart, stood for cooperation with non-labor Zionists. They founded Aḥavah, a society for the creation of cooperative settlements and garden towns in Ereẓ Israel; contributed to the Zionist funds; and supported labor enterprises in Ereẓ Israel, including the periodicals. On the local scene, Po'alei Zion engaged in a variety of activities, founding the Yidisher Natsionaler Arbeter Farband (a mutual aid society) and a network of "national-radical" schools. During World War I, the U.S. Po'alei Zion became the center of activities for the entire movement. Upon the initiative of Syrkin and Borochov, it sponsored the movement for the establishment of a Jewish Congress and the creation of the *He-Ḥalutz movement and supported the drive for volunteers to the *Jewish Legion battalions, led by Yiẓḥak *Ben-Zvi and David *Ben-Gurion.

In Ereẓ Israel

The Po'alei Zion Party in Ereẓ Israel came into being from various Po'alei Zion groups composed of immigrants who had come from Russia starting with the Second *Aliyah. There were differences among them in the wording of their ideological approach to Ereẓ Israel and the Hebrew language. The party was founded in 1906 and consolidated in 1907 under the leadership of Ben-Zvi. It advocated the class struggle and organized trade unions and strikes (one at the Rishon le-Zion wine cellars in 1907 and another in the Jerusalem printing trade in 1909). Its first newspaper, *Onfang*, was published in Yiddish. After the Young Turks came to power in 1908, the party became interested in political activities in the Ottoman Empire and among its Jewish communities and supported the nonpartisan organization of Jewish agricultural workers and the cooperative enterprises sponsored by the Zionist Organization. In 1910 it founded a Hebrew newspaper, *Aḥdut*, and at its sixth conference made a significant change in its platform by renouncing the postulate that the class struggle is the sole means of creating the national center of the Jewish people in Ereẓ Israel. Po'alei Zion in Ereẓ Israel grew away from the mother party in Russia and from the Bolshevist ideology. It no longer relied on the spontaneous uprising of the proletariat and the spontaneous creation of a cooperative economy which would provide the proletariat with work. It began to support the constructive activities of the Zionist Organization and to demand practical activity on the part of the World Union. A sharp debate was caused by the decision of the World Union of Po'alei Zion to establish an Ereẓ Israel Workers' Fund and an Ereẓ Israel Labor Office, centering on the question of who should have the authority over the two institutions. Po'alei Zion in Ereẓ Israel also encouraged the arming of the Jewish settlers and took the *Ha-Shomer organization under its wing. The party in Ereẓ Israel did not want the institutions to be directed by the World Union, and the Association of Agricultural Workers and Ha-Po'el ha-Ẓa'ir Party rejected the idea of intervention by a party factor. Po'alei Zion was forced to take into consideration the position of a large portion of the workers and to reduce the scope of the fund and the labor bureau's activities.

The World Union

The World Socialist Union of Jewish Workers-Po'alei Zion was founded in 1907 in The Hague, where its first conference was held, following the Eighth Zionist Congress. It was recognized by the Zionist Organization as a "special federation," a step which ensured the status of the Po'alei Zion parties in various countries that were not affiliated with the local Zionist bodies. The World Union wished to conduct its own work in Ereẓ Israel, and at its second conference, held in Cracow in 1909, it decided to establish an Ereẓ Israel Workers' Fund (Kuppat Po'alei Ereẓ Israel – for short Kappai) "to further the emigration of Jewish workers and their settlement in Ereẓ Israel." At its third conference (Vienna, July 1911), the World Union decided to establish its own information office in Ereẓ Israel to be financed by the Workers' Fund. The World Union also defined the party's political attitude toward the Ottoman Empire and the direction of its activities among the Ottoman proletariat. It dealt with problems of Jewish workers in the Diaspora, especially in connection with emigration and finding employment (productivization) and supported the public protest against the methods employed by the *Jewish Colonization Association (ICA) in the Jewish agricultural settlements in Argentina.

The World Union also took up the struggle of the Russian, Austrian, and American Po'alei Zion parties, begun in 1907, toward achieving independent representation in the Socialist International. It called for national Jewish representation on a worldwide basis, independent of the national socialist parties. In 1910 it was joined in this demand by the Russian Zionist Socialists (SS) and the Sejmists (see *Jewish Socialist Workers' Party) and together they addressed a memorandum on this subject to the International (1911), which did not elicit a favorable reply. The Po'alei Zion World Union abstained from participating in the work of the Zionist Executive, and at the

Zionist congresses stressed the need for practical work in Ereẓ Israel, with special emphasis on cooperative enterprises. It supported the idea of creating national farming estates, opposed the use of the means of the* Jewish National Fund (JNF) for private noncooperative settlement, and criticized the proposals for the establishment of a university in Ereẓ Israel.

The fourth conference (1913) was marked by ideological differences between a leftist group, led by Borochov, and the Austrian and U.S. parties (with which the Ereẓ Israel party also associated itself). The former called for organization on a class basis and a determined class struggle, as well as dissociation from the Zionist Organization, while the latter supported active partnership with the Zionist Organization in the creation of cooperative enterprises in Ereẓ Israel.

During World War I

The World Union of Po'alei Zion maintained its headquarters in The Hague (1915–16) and Stockholm (1917–19) during World War I. By that time it was accorded representation on the Socialist International, although technically it represented the Ereẓ Israel party. Its main activity was explaining the special situation of the Jews in the war and formulating Jewish demands for the postwar peace conference. Thus, as a result of the World Union's efforts, the Netherlands-Scandinavian socialist peace committee included in 1917 in its proposals a demand for international responsibility for the Jewish problem, the personal autonomy of Jews in the areas where they were settled in large numbers (Russia, Austria, Romania, and Poland), and protection of Jewish settlement in Ereẓ Israel. After the war the World Union became a full-fledged member of the Socialist Conferences (Berne, 1919). The steering committee of the Socialist International at Amsterdam adopted in April 1919 a Po'alei Zion-sponsored resolution affirming the right of the Jewish people to a national life of its own in Ereẓ Israel under League of Nations auspices and with the safeguarding of the interests of the non-Jewish population. It also demanded the protection of civil rights and national minority rights for the Jews in the Diaspora, the freedom to emigrate, and Jewish representation at the League of Nations.

Po'alei Zion also stood in the forefront of the Jewish Congress movement in the U.S. during World War I to formulate Jewish demands for autonomous rights in the Diaspora, and organized assemblies of Jewish workers to draft the demands concerning Ereẓ Israel. Following the war, the membership of the parties in the World Union began to grow. Before the war there were approximately 600 members in Russia, 1,000 in Austria, 1,200 in the United States, 100 in England, and 200 in Ereẓ Israel. After the war it was estimated that there were 15,000 members in Poland, 1,000 in Lithuania, 800 in German Austria, 2,000 in Czechoslovakia, 4,000 in east Galicia, 4,500 in the United States, 1,200 in Argentina, 500 in Germany, 1,000 in England, and 2,200 in Aḥdut ha-Avodah in Ereẓ Israel. In addition there were a number of small parties in Estonia, Belgium, South Africa, Egypt, and Siberia. In total, there were 30,000 members outside Russia, and the number inside Russia was estimated between 10,000 and 20,000. The splits around 1920, however, weakened the movement and reduced the number of its members. The momentous events that took place during the war sharpened the differences in outlook that had existed before it inside the movement. The Po'alei Zion party in each country was confronted by questions of principle and had to find its own answers. Thus the Ereẓ Israel party had to deal with the question of political orientation – between loyalty to the Ottoman regime and support for the Allies – and enlistment in the Jewish Legion; its vast majority abandoned internationalism and advocated enlistment in the Legion. For the Russian party, at first, it was the attitude toward the war that was at stake, and, later on, the attitude toward the two revolutions of 1917. The October Revolution caused a split in the Russian Po'alei Zion; on local questions it was close to Bolshevik ideology, whereas on the issue of Ereẓ Israel it supported the idea of "class Zionism." At the end of 1917, a faction calling itself Radical Po'alei Zion, centered in Odessa, split from the party and advocated cooperation with the Zionist Organization and the fostering of Hebrew. Another faction emerged in 1919, demanding total identification with the Bolsheviks and advocating postponement of the Zionist program until after the socialist revolution had been accomplished; it called itself the Jewish Communist Party-Po'alei Zion (JCP). The majority of the party in Russia (Po'alei Zion-Social Democrats) regarded the revolution as a long drawn-out process and rejected the postponement of Zionism.

Postwar Developments

In Ereẓ Israel, the Po'alei Zion party merged after the war with the nonparty Independents, which included most of the membership of the Federation of Agricultural Workers, and formed the Zionist-Socialist Union of Ereẓ Israel Workers – *Aḥdut ha-Avodah. This was both a political and economic organization. It regarded the creation of a national economy in Ereẓ Israel, based on labor economy, as its main task and did not put the emphasis on the class struggle. A small faction, which opposed the merger and did not agree to the abandonment of the class struggle and of Yiddish, established its own party, the Socialist Workers' Party (Mifleget Po'alim Soẓyalistim – MPS), which became the first nucleus of the Palestine Communist Party. In the course of time, the radicalization of this party along Communist lines and its abandonment of the ideals of Zionism proved to be intolerable for a group of its members. This group was headed by Abraham *Revusky, who proceeded to establish a preparatory committee for the reestablishment of a Po'alei Zion Party in Ereẓ Israel.

The World Union of Po'alei Zion resumed its activities in the Zionist Organization in 1919. A council meeting held in Stockholm in August 1919 elected a commission to visit Ereẓ Israel and draw up a plan to develop the country along socialist lines. The commission, which spent some time in Ereẓ Israel at the beginning of 1920, was unable to arrive at an agreed report; its differences reflected the range of opinions among the various parties in the World Union. The fifth conference of the World Union, which met in Vienna in July 1920, was to consider the differences among the various member parties. It split over the issue of joining the Third (Communist) International, 178 delegates voting in favor and 179 abstaining. All efforts of the abstaining delegates to heal the breach were unsuccessful. They claimed that the Third International was liable to prevent the independent development of Ereẓ Israel and ties with the Zionist organization and the Jewish people. Some of them objected to the exclusive nature of the Russian approach to Communism and demanded the unification of all the revolutionary parties (an attitude near to that of the "Two-and-a-Half International"); they held that only the speedy initiation of the Jewish people in Ereẓ Israel would ensure the survival of Zionism after the expected world revolution was achieved. The left World Union was composed of leftist parties only, which opposed any connection with the Zionist Organization and held that only by cooperation with the world revolution would Zionism stand a chance of realization. The parties which supported this stand were those of Russia, Czechoslovakia, Austria, and Poland (the last being the largest). The right wing held the majority in the U.S., Argentine, British, and Ereẓ Israel parties. It decided to engage in practical work in the upbuilding of Ereẓ Israel on a cooperative basis, which would ensure the growth and development of the Jewish working class. It became the mainstream of the Zionist labor movement, whereas the World Union gradually dwindled due to Communist secession. The right-wing leaders abroad were Shelomo *Kaplansky, Marc Yarblum, Zalman *Rubashov, and Berl *Locker; in Ereẓ Israel they were Ben-Gurion, Ben-Zvi, and Yiẓḥak *Tabenkin. The left-wing leaders in Ereẓ Israel were Nahum *Nir (Rafalkes) and Jacob *Zerubavel.

The right wing, which opposed joining the Third International, also left the Second International. It joined the Viennese "Two-and-a-half" International and in 1923 returned to the Socialist International, together with the latter. It also participated actively in the Zionist Organization, despite the reservations of a number of its member parties. It engaged in political activities in the International and within the British Labour Party, to which Po'alei Zion in Britain belonged from 1920. In its activities on behalf of Ereẓ Israel, the right wing succeeded in obtaining the cooperation of other Zionist labor parties, and in August 1923 it convened a conference for Ereẓ Israel labor and established a league for practical activities. The common sphere of Zionist activities led to a convergence between the World Union of Po'alei Zion and the Zionist-Socialist Union, and after difficult negotiations, especially over the question of the status of the Yiddish language, the two unions merged in August 1925, adopting the name the Socialist World Jewish Workers' Party Po'alei Zion (united with the Zionist Socialist Union). Following the merger between Ha-Po'el ha-Ẓa'ir and Aḥdut ha-Avodah in Ereẓ Israel in 1930, a united world movement, called Ha-Iḥud ha-Olami, was founded in Danzig in 1932; it was composed of the Union of Socialist Jewish Workers-Po'alei Zion (united with ZS) and the World Zionist Labor Party-Hitaḥdut.

The second congress of the Third International, which was attended by a representative of the Ereẓ Israel leftist Po'alei Zion (appearing on behalf of MPS), adopted not only the famous 21 rules which had to be accepted by any party seeking admission to the Comintern but also an anti-Zionist resolution. The bureau of the left-wing World Union of Po'alei Zion decided to accept the 21 rules, adopted the name of Jewish Communist Union Po'alei Zion, and applied for admission to the Third International. The Comintern, however, rejected the application out of opposition to the principle of a world union and of territorial concentration in Ereẓ Israel, and demanded that members of the Jewish Communist Union join individually the respective Communist parties in various countries. Nevertheless, it sought to make use of the union in order to gain influence among Jewish workers and prolonged the negotiations with it.

The sixth conference of the World Union, held in Danzig in June 1922, rejected the Comintern demands and insisted upon its right to independent organization and to maintain its Ereẓ Israel program, but declared itself an integral part of the World Communist Movement. As a result, the Social Democratic Po'alei Zion in Russia and the Revusky group in Ereẓ Israel left the World Union and in 1923 formed the Organizing Committee of the Left Po'alei Zion in Berlin. In the following two years most of the remaining parties in the World Union disintegrated, joining local Communist parties. The Russian "Jewish Communist Party Po'alei Zion" was liquidated, whereas the Social Democratic faction of Po'alei Zion there changed its name to the Jewish Communist Workers' Party Po'alei Zion and had a technically legal existence until 1928. In Austria and Czechoslovakia the left Po'alei Zion joined the local Communist parties. Thus only the Polish party was left as a major party in the World Union. A renewal of the left World Union took place in Paris in 1926 (the seventh conference), and it included the Revusky group. It adopted the name World Communist Union of Jewish Workers Po'alei Zion, continued to oppose association with the Zionist Organization and the He-Ḥalutz movement, and maintained the belief that in the course of time it would be able to join the Comintern.

The left Po'alei Zion Party in Ereẓ Israel had been renewed in 1923 and was based on the Revusky group and former members of the Social Democratic Po'alei Zion in Russia. Within the *Histadrut they opposed the exclusion of Arab workers from the general framework and demanded separation of trade-union from cooperative activities. In 1923 the Polish party also began to establish a Po'alei Zion Party in Ereẓ Israel. Israel Washer was sent to organize it. The two groups merged in 1924. Four years later another split occurred in the Ereẓ Israel left Po'alei Zion when a group led by Yiẓḥak and Ze'ev Abramovitz seceded from the majority group led by Nir (Rafalkes) and Moshe Erem over the issue of Hebrew versus Yiddish (opposing the Yiddishist attitude prevailing in the

World Union). They were reunited in 1931, only to split again in 1934 over the question of *aliyah*, pioneering youth movements, and He-Ḥalutz. In the same year, however, the ninth world conference adopted a more positive stand on He-Ḥalutz; but only the tenth conference, held in 1937, decided to rejoin the Zionist Congress. Further differences in the party arose over the attitude toward World War II, and they were settled only when the Soviet Union entered the war in 1941. In 1944 the left Po'alei Zion in Ereẓ Israel joined with *Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir in the Left Front in the elections to the *yishuv* institutions (Asefat ha-Nivḥarim and Va'ad Le'ummi). Then, in 1946, it united with the opposition group of *Mapai, Si'ah Bet, which seceded from Mapai in 1944 and formed an independent party, Ha-Tenu'ah le-Aḥadut ha-Avodah. The united party was called Ha-Tenu'ah le-Aḥadut ha-Avodah-Po'alei Zion. This party joined *Mapam in 1948 and remerged in 1954 with the split in Mapam. In 1968 it joined Mapai and Rafi to form the Israel Labor Party. Its Diaspora groups joined the World Zionist Labor movement, which was largely based on the Iḥud Olami previously centered on Mapai.

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[Israel Kolatt]

°**POBEDONOSTSEV, KONSTANTIN PETROVICH** (1827–1907), Russian statesman and jurist. From 1860 until 1865 he was professor of civil law at the University of Moscow. During the years 1880 to 1905, Pobedonostsev acted as Supreme Prosecutor of the Holy Synod, a function which resembled that of minister of religious affairs, except that his behind-the-scenes influence on the czar and the government greatly surpassed his official responsibilities. Pobedonostsev fostered the idea of maintaining a regime of absolute power, with the support of the police and the Church, and strove for the Russification of all the peoples of Russia. Under his influence the Synod intensified its persecutions of the sects that had broken away from the official Church as well as other religions. In 1905, with the partial victories of the revolutionary movement and the limitations on the czar's absolute power, Pobedonostsev resigned from his duties. His hatred of the Jews stemmed from the belief that, because the Jews were a more talented people than the Russians, it was likely that in time they would dominate the latter both materially and intellectually.

Pobedonostsev supported the anti-Jewish legislation ("*May Laws") of 1882, and the law of 1887 limiting the percentage of Jews in schools, and he rejected decisions of the Pahlen Commission of 1887 which might be considered favorable to Jews. In 1891 he supported the program of Baron *Hirsch for the emigration of 3 million Jews from Russia within 25 years. He objected to the idea that the *Jewish Colonization Association (ICA) be granted authorization to settle Jews on land within the Russian Empire. The famous remark concerning the fate of the Jews of Russia – "One-third will die, one third will leave the country, and the last third will be completely assimilated within the Russian people" – has been attributed to Pobedonostsev. Collections of his letters and other writings which reveal much of his thought have been published (e.g., *K.P. Pobedonostsev i yego korrespondenty*, 1923), along with a memoir, *Reflections of a Russian Statesman* (1898).

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[Yehuda Slutsky]

POBEZOVICE NA SUMAVE (Czech **Pobežovice na Šumavě**; Ger. **Ronsperg**), village in W. Bohemia. The Jewish community there apparently existed in the 16th century, although the first documentary mention is not until 1664. Until the beginning of the 19th century it was the seat of the district rabbi for *Pilsen and *Klatovy, an office held by Falk Kohner, Samuel Kohn-Kostelhore, and Eleasar *Loew (1810–12). In 1724 there were 17 Jewish families in Pobezovice. The synagogue – the third in Pobezovice – was built in 1816 on the initiative of R. Joel, father of R. Bezalel *Ranshburg. Great interest was aroused in 1927 by the discovery, in the *mikveh*, of a stone bearing a Hebrew inscription reporting that *Israel b. Eliezer Ba'al Shem Tov had bathed there and pronounced the waters salutary. Consequently, Ḥasidim went there to seek cures. An extract from the confiscated *pinkas* (1773) records a tradition about the community's destruction in 1096, describes *Shabbatean and *Frankist activities, and mentions the visit of the Ba'al Shem Tov in 1744. Pobezovice was the birthplace of R. Moses Loeb Bloch and the pharmacologist Emil *Starkenstein, and the residence of Heinrich *Coudenhove-Kalergi, whose library of Judaica was deposited in the synagogue. The Jewish population declined from 212 persons in 1848 to 193 in 1893, 63 in 1921, and 41 (2% of the total population) in 1930. With the annexation of the Sudeten area by Germany in 1938, almost the entire community fled, the remaining few being expelled to no-man's-land. The synagogue was burnt down on *Kristallnacht*, Nov. 10, 1938, and the cemetery was destroyed. Most of the Jews managed to emigrate, mainly to England and Palestine.

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[Meir Lamed]

POCHEP, city in Oriol district, Russian Federation. Jews are mentioned in the 17th century, and were massacred in the *Chmielnicki uprising. In 1882 in a big fire destroyed 100 houses and 120 shops. There were 3,172 Jews (about 33% of the total population) living in Pochep in 1897. The *Chabad yeshivah in the town was headed by the local rabbi Joshua Nathan Gnessin. Among the yeshivah students were his son Uri Nissan *Gnessin and J.H. *Brenner. Jews numbered 3,616 (27.1% of the population) in 1926, with the number dropping by 1939 to 2,314 (15% of the total population). The Germans arrived in Pochep on August 22, 1941. Some of the Jews managed to escape. There were hundreds of Jews among the 2,200 people killed there. After the liberation a monument with an inscription in Hebrew was erected on the mass grave of the murdered Jews.

[Yehuda Slutsky / Shmuel Spector (2nd ed.)]

°**POCOCKE, EDWARD** (1604–1691), English Orientalist and Hebraist. In 1630–36, as Anglican chaplain to the English merchants in Aleppo, Syria, Pococke was able to perfect his knowledge of Arabic, Syriac, and Ethiopic, to translate Arab historical works, and to collect the Greek and Oriental manuscripts (bought with funds provided by Archbishop William Laud) which now constitute the Pococke collection in the Bodleian Library at Oxford. On his return to England in 1636 Pococke was appointed to a chair of Arabic at Oxford especially created for him by Laud. In 1640 Pococke found himself almost dispossessed because of his royalist sympathies and friendship with the unpopular archbishop. However, the eminent Puritan Hebraist John *Selden befriended Pococke, who was reappointed to the chair of Arabic at Oxford in 1647; in the following year he was also made regius professor of Hebrew and canon of Christ Church.

Pococke was an outstanding English Hebraist and one of the leading Orientalists of the age. His share in the preparation of Bryan *Walton's London Polyglot Bible (1657) was unmatched by any other editor: He prepared the Arabic text of the Pentateuch; provided manuscript texts of the Syriac Old Testament, the Ethiopic version of Psalms, and two Syriac manuscripts of Psalms; and also prepared parts of the Syriac New Testament with annotations and a Latin translation. Pococke's biblical scholarship may also be gauged from other works, such as his English commentaries on some of the Minor Prophets (Micah and Malachi, 1677; Hosea, 1685; Joel, 1691), which display familiarity with rabbinic exegesis and wide knowledge of Christian commentators (*Calvin, *Muenster, *Pellicanus). Among his other notable works are two translations of *Maimonides: *Porta Mosis* (Oxford, 1655), an annotated edition of six sections of the Mishnah commentary with the Arabic text in Hebrew characters and a Latin translation (this was the first Hebrew book printed in Oxford and at the university's expense); and a Latin version of Maimonides' preface to the Mishnah (Oxford, 1690). Pococke also cultivated friendly relations with Jews in the East (he studied with Judah Romano in Constantinople).

Of his two sons, the elder, EDWARD POCOCKE (1648–1726), was also an Orientalist; the younger, THOMAS POCOCKE, issued an English translation of *Manasseh Ben Israel's treatise *De termino vitae* on free will and predestination, entitled *Of the Term of Life… with the Sense of the Jewish Doctors* (London, 1699).

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[Godfrey Edmond Silverman]

°**POCOCKE, RICHARD** (1704–1765), British ecclesiastic and traveler. From 1735 to 1742 he traveled extensively in the Near East, visiting Ereẓ Israel in 1738. He spent some time in Jerusalem, visited the Dead Sea in order to check Pliny's account of it, and journeyed along the Mediterranean coast to Galilee, from there going to the Lebanon, Baalbek, and Cyprus. These travels resulted in the *Description of the East and some other Countries* (2 vols., London, 1743–45), with numerous copperplate engravings. He was a good observer and the plans he made of the various sites are numerous, although not very reliable. He had a preference for less-traveled routes, which enhances the value of his journeys. He was appointed archdeacon of Dublin in 1745 and bishop of Ossory in 1756.

ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY: ODNB online.

[Michael Avi-Yonah]

PODGAITSY (Pol. **Podhajce**; in Jewish tradition, **Pedaayets**), city, W. Tarnopol district, Ukraine. A Jewish community existed in Podgaitsy during the 16th century. At the beginning of the 17th century the rabbinical seat was held by Benjamin Aaron b. Abraham Solnik, who died in 1610. He published a collection of 112 responsa and legal novellae in his work *Masat Binyamin*. After the invasion of the town by the Tatars in 1667 and the massacre which they perpetrated among the Jews, R. Ze'ev b. Judah Leib wrote an elegy in memory of the victims. According to the census of 1764 there were 1,079 Jews. There were some adherents of Jacob *Frank, but the greatest influence came from the ḥasidic dynasties of Belz and Ruzhany. During the 19th century, under Austrian rule, the Jewish population increased, and by 1910 numbered about 6,000. However, Podgaitsy's importance subsequently declined and according to the census of 1931 only 2,872 Jews were left.

[Shimshon Leib Kirshenboim]

Holocaust Period

When war broke out between Germany and the U.S.S.R. (June 22, 1941), Podgaitsy was occupied by the Germans, and the Jews immediately became victims of attacks by the Ukrainian population. They were forced to pay fines, their movement was restricted outside the city, and they were subjected to forced labor. L. Lilenfeld headed the *Judenrat. In the winter of 1941–42 many died from hunger and disease. On Sept. 21, 1942, over 1,000 Jews were sent to the *Belzec death camp, and on October 30, 1,500 people were sent there. Survivors of the community tried to find shelter in neighboring forests; due to informers, however, many fell into German hands and were executed. On June 6, 1943, the community was completely liquidated and the ghetto and the city were declared *judenrein*. After the war the community was not reconstituted.

[Aharon Weiss]

PODHORETZ, NORMAN (1930–), U.S. editor and author. In 1960, following a brief interim after the death of Eliot E. *Cohen, *Commentary*'s first editor, Norman Podhoretz, a young literary critic, was named editor of the magazine. A protégé of the critic Lionel *Trilling during his undergraduate years at Columbia, Podhoretz was the son of a milkman in Brooklyn. He studied also at the Jewish Theological Seminary. His brilliance in his studies won him a scholarship to Cambridge, England, where he found a second mentor in the famous literary critic F.R. Leavis.

Returning home, Podhoretz gained wide attention with a series of essays including "The Adventures of Saul Bellow," "The Know-Nothing Bohemians," and, later, "My Negro Problem – and Ours" which prefigured both the controversial positions he would later take and his literary style. In taking over at *Commentary*, where he had worked briefly earlier, however, he initially moved the magazine to the Left, publishing such radical writers as Paul *Goodman, Edgar Z. Friedenberg, and Staughton Lynd. His position on the Left was short-lived, however.

Under Cohen, *Commentary* had been one of the few influential magazines on the Left that had fought Communism and the imperial designs of the Soviet Union following World War II. As the Cold War with the Soviet Union heated up, Podhoretz moved the magazine into an even more aggressive posture in countering the threat of the Soviet Union. His book *The Present Danger* (1980) provided much of the rationale for the incoming Reagan Administration, helping to move it away from the policy of détente which characterized previous administrations, both Republican and Democratic, to one of seeking to bring down the Communist state. Following the appearance of pieces in *Commentary*, Daniel Patrick Moynihan and Jeane Kirkpatrick, who reflected these views, were appointed, respectively, by Presidents Ford and Reagan U.S. ambassadors to the United Nations.

Podhoretz's most critical role, however, took shape during the Vietnam War and its aftermath. He was an early critic of the war as peripheral to bringing down the Soviet Union, but felt it was an honest error, not a sign of the country's moral decay, as some of its critics argued. Moreover, he felt it took away from the real battle that needed to be fought: loosening the Soviet grip on eastern Europe and challenging the extension of its power in undeveloped parts of the world, especially in the Middle East. "During the bleakest days of anti-Communism," historian Richard Gid Powers has written, "…One man summoned the will, the strength, and the imagination to commence the giant task of rebuilding the anti-Communist coalition. This was Norman Podhoretz."

During the Six-Day (1967) and Yom Kippur (1973) wars, Podhoretz came to feel that Jews in Israel and the United States, particularly with the rise of black nationalism, had come to be threatened. The pages of *Commentary* reflected increasingly his sense that one measure of public policy for Jews was whether positions taken were good for Jews. In this respect, he argued that, however useful New Deal and Fair Deal reforms had been earlier, they had grown stale and even dysfunctional. He was troubled, also, by the use of racial quotas or preferences as appropriate remedies for racial inequality, the growth of an adversarial youth culture, and what he described as the capitulation of elite campuses to its excesses. At the heart of the positions Podhoretz took was a deep sense of gratitude to the country that made it possible for a boy from humble origins to rise in American life, expressed in a fervent, almost old-fashioned patriotism. Operating from this position, Podhoretz, along with social critic Irving *Kristol, emerged in the last third of the 20th century primarily as architects of what came to be called neo-conservatism, a socio-political posture which sought (and seeks) a halfway house between an older liberalism and traditional conservatism both at home and abroad.

Podhoretz's ideas are most fully expressed in a series of memoirs he wrote beginning with, *Making It* (1967), an account of how he gained success in intellectual circles; *Breaking Ranks* (1979), the way he freed himself from his Left-wing roots; *Ex-Friends* (1999), the price he paid for this shift; *My Love Affair with America*; *The Cautionary Tale of a Cheerful Conservative* (2001); and *The Prophets: Who They Were, What They Are* (2002). In 1995, Podhoretz stepped down as editor of *Commentary*. His long-time associate and collaborator, Neal Kozodoy, assumed the post. Podhoretz continued, however, to remain as editor-at-large, writing lengthy articles in support of the Bush Doctrine calling for the use of preemptory strikes when the country or its friends are faced with terrorist attacks and the war in Iraq.

Podhoretz is married to Midge Decter, a writer who focuses, also, on neo-conservative themes. His son, John, and son-in-law, Elliott *Abrams, also share his political views and are influential members of the second generation of neo-conservative thinkers.

[Murray Friedman (2nd ed.)]

PODKAMEN, town in Tarnopol district, Ukraine. A Jewish community existed in Podkamen in the 17th century at the time of the Council of the Four Lands, when the town was within the "province of Russia." During the 18th century its rabbinical seat was held by Ḥayyim Segal Landa, who also played a role in the Council of the Four Lands. The town economy was greatly helped by the yearly trade fairs. In 1765 there were 922 Jews living in the town. During the 19th century its Jewish population increased. By 1910 it numbered 2,000 persons. As a result of World War I, it decreased to 822 (or about 27.4 percent of the population) in 1921. In spite of this decline, the Jewish community maintained an active public life. In the elections to the communal organization in 1932, the delegate of the Zionists was elected to the presidency. There was a Hebrew school in the town and a home for Jewish orphans.

[Shimshon Leib Kirshenboim]

Holocaust Period

At the outbreak of World War II there were about 1,000 Jews in Podkamen. The Germans occupied the town on July 2, 1942. The first *Aktion* took place in August 1942, and the second at the end of September, when most of the Jews were deported to the death camp Belzec. The remaining Jews were deported on December 3, 1942 to *Brody, and shared the fate of that community. After the war the Jewish community of Podkamen was not reconstituted.

PODOLIA, region in S.W. Ukraine; formerly a region of S.E. Poland, passing to Russia in 1793. The history of the Jews in the region was largely dominated by its position as a border territory between Poland-Lithuania and the Ottoman Empire. *Medzibozh, the most ancient community in Podolia, is first mentioned in 1518. On the eve of the Union of Lublin between Lithuania and Poland (1569), there were at least 750 Jews living in nine communities of Podolia, about half of them in Medzibozh. Under Polish rule Jews took part in the settlement of Podolia, though not at the same pace and extent as in neighboring regions. In many places the settlement of Jews met with opposition on the ground that their presence as a foreign element was undesirable in the vicinity of the Ottoman Empire (see *Kamenets-Podolski). In 1639 Jews of Podolia were granted the right to have lawsuits with Christians tried before the provincial governor (*wojewoda*). There were then 18 communities in the region, of which the most important were *Nemirov, *Tulchin, *Bar, and Medzibozh. Yom Tov Lippmann *Heller was rabbi in Nemirov.

On the eve of the *Chmielnicki uprising of 1648 there were 4,000 Jews in Podolia. During this period numbers of Jews were massacred in Nemirov, Tulchin, Bar, and other communities. Thousands of Jews from Podolia and other regions of Ukraine took refuge in the fortified city of Kamenets-Podolski, where in ordinary times Jewish residence was forbidden.

Under Ottoman rule in Podolia (1672–99) the Jews enjoyed the same rights and protection as the rest of the Jews in the empire. With the return of Polish rule in Podolia, their situation again deteriorated, and it was only in 1713 that they regained the right to bring lawsuits before the provincial governor. In 1765 the Jews of Podolia numbered 38,365. Some communities of northern and eastern Podolia suffered severely at the hands of the *Haidamacks.

With the first partition of Poland in 1772, the region of "Red Russia," where about one-third of Podolian Jewry lived, was annexed by Austria and became an integral part of *Galicia. In 1787 there were 25,438 Jews in the rest of Podolia living in about 60 towns and 853 villages. The Jews there at the time earned their livelihood by trading as innkeepers, and especially by **arenda*, which was almost entirely in Jewish hands. The proximity of Podolia to the territories dominated by Turkey, and the commercial relations between the Jews and their coreligionists in the Balkans and Turkey, resulted in the spread of kabbalistic teachings in Podolia during the 16th century, and subsequently in the success of the movement of *Shabbetai Ẓevi and its aftermath. The *Frankist movement originated in Podolia. The disputation with the Frankists forced on the rabbis of Podolia by the Frankist leaders in 1757 resulted in the burning of the books of the Talmud (see *Talmud, Burning of), seized from the communities throughout Podolia, in Kamenets-Podolski. Podolia was also the cradle of Ḥasidism. *Israel Ba'al Shem Tov lived and died in Medzibozh. Many ḥasidic leaders, including *Naḥman of Bratslav, set up their "courts" in its towns.

When Podolia passed to Russia in 1793 the administrative province of Podolia was established, which at first had a Jewish population of 16,687. The Jews formed the majority of merchants and townsmen in the province throughout the 19th century. There were 165,000 Jews in Podolia in 1847 and an estimated 418,458 in 1881. During Passover of 1882, *pogroms broke out in *Balta and the surrounding villages, accompanied by murder and rape. Subsequently the number of Jews in Podolia declined, mainly due to the *May Laws 1882 which restricted Jewish economic activity in the villages, and to the retardation of industry and commerce in Podolia. Thousands of Jews emigrated to the provinces of New Russia and Bessarabia, as well as overseas. In 1897 Podolia was the only province whose Jewish population had decreased in comparison with the figures for 1881. The Jews then numbered 370,612 (12.3% of the total population), with a proportion of 100 men to 106 women (compared with 101 women in the neighboring province of *Kherson and 102.8 in Bessarabia). There were 88 communities with over 1,000 Jews in Podolia, including Kamenets-Podolski, Balta, *Mogilev, *Vinnitsa, *Proskurov, Tulchin, *Bershad, Medzibozh, *Chmielnik, Bar, Bogopol, *Krivoye Ozero, and Nemirov. About 55,000 Jews lived in villages. Approximately 47% of Podolia Jewry was engaged in commerce (compared with 38.6% of the Jews in the whole of Russia) and 30% in crafts and industry (35.4% in the whole of Russia). About 7,000 Jews (2%) were engaged in agriculture in Podolia, almost half of them in 16 Jewish settlements.

During the civil war in Russia (1918–21) Podolia was among the regions which suffered most severely. Pogroms began with the retreat of the Ukrainian army through Podolia before the advancing Red Army, fomented by Ukrainian army units, bands of peasants who rebelled against the Soviet regime, and units of the White Army commanded by A.I. *Denikin. Massacres took place in Proskurov and Felshtin (Gvardeyskoye) in February 1919. Up to the end of 1921, 162 pogroms occurred in 52 localities of Podolia, 125 by the Ukrainians, 28 by the White Army, and nine by the Poles. The total number of victims has been estimated at about 3,700. The most sinister pogroms (after Proskurov and Felshtin) took place in Trostyanets (with 342 dead), *Bratslav (where pogroms occurred 11 times), and *Litin. The small Jewish settlements in the villages were destroyed and completely abandoned. Refugees from the villages and the townlets streamed into the larger towns of the region and *Odessa. Many crossed the borders into Bessarabia and Poland. Typhus and famine also devastated the Jewish population. In many settlements (Orinin, Chmielnik, Kamenets-Podolski, etc.), Jewish *self-defense units were organized against the pogroms. They withstood the rioters but could not resist the regular army units. Many Jewish youths joined the ranks of the Red Army, within whose framework Jewish units were occasionally formed. These were specially sent on punitive expeditions against rebellious villages.

Under Communist rule Jewish communal life ceased and the position of the Jews of Podolia was the same as that of the rest of Russian Jewry. In the 1920s Jews in Podolia organized cells of *He-Ḥalutz and other secret Zionist youth movements. In 1925 a petition for the right to study Hebrew, signed by thousands of Jewish children in Podolian towns and townlets, was presented to the authorities. The Jewish population in 1926 numbered 347,481 in the seven regions which comprised the former province of Podolia (and some smaller areas outside it).

Holocaust and Contemporary Periods

During World War II, after the Germans invaded the Soviet Union, they ceded the greater part of Podolia to the Romanians. The whole of the area between the Dniester and Bug rivers extending to the Black Sea (including Odessa) became known as *Transnistria. The northwestern part of Podolia (including Kamenets-Podolski) was included in the General-Kommissariat Volhynien-Podolien. The Germans systematically murdered the Jews who did not succeed in escaping eastward, in a series of massacres which continued until the end of 1942. The region of Transnistria became a center for the concentration of the 120,000 Jews expelled from *Bessarabia, *Bukovina, and other parts of Romania, who were segregated in the ghettos set up in Mogilev, *Shargorod, Bershad, Tulchin, Balta, and other towns.

At the time of the liberation of Transnistria by the Red Army in the spring of 1944, there were some 60,000 Jews in the region, of whom 15,000 had lived there before the German occupation, while the remainder were from Romania. In 1970 there were still many thousands of Jews living in Podolia but their exact number is unknown. There was apparently no Jewish communal life except for small groups of worshipers connected with local synagogues. In the 1990s many Jews immigrated to Israel and the West.

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[Yehuda Slutsky]

PODOLOFF, MAURICE (1890–1985), U.S. basketball executive; engineered the merger of the Basketball Association of America and the National Basketball League into the National Basketball Association in 1949; NBA commissioner from 1949 to 1963; member of the Basketball Hall of Fame. Born in Elizabethgrad, Russia, Podoloff came to the United States at the age of six. He graduated Hillhouse High School in New Haven, Connecticut, in 1909, and then graduated Yale University in 1913 and Yale Law School in 1915. Podoloff built the New Haven Arena in 1926 together with his father and two brothers Nathan and Jacob, and created the New Haven Eagles for the newly formed Canadian-American Hockey League (CAHL). Podoloff was a charter member of the board of governors, while Nathan was team president of the Eagles. Podoloff was named secretary-treasurer of the league in 1935, and the next year the CAHL merged with the International Hockey League to form the International-American Hockey League, which became the American Hockey League in 1940. Podoloff was named president of the IAHL, a post he held until 1952. Podoloff was appointed president of the newly formed Basketball Association of America on June 6, 1946, becoming the first person to simultaneously lead two professional leagues. As he had done 13 years before, Podoloff again negotiated the merger of two leagues: the Basketball Association of America (BAA) and the National Basketball League (NBL), forming the National Basketball Association in the summer of 1948. During his 17-year tenure, Podoloff brought stability to professional basketball and helped financially unstable franchises to stay on their feet; introduced the collegiate draft in 1947; instituted the 24-second clock in 1954, perhaps the most important rules change in pro basketball history; and significantly increased national recognition of the game by securing its first television contract in 1954. Podoloff helped create an NBA that eventually grew from a small, regional association to a worldwide presence, and the standard by which all other professional sports leagues are measured. Podoloff was enshrined in the Basketball Hall of Fame as a contributor on April 25, 1974. The Podoloff Cup is given annually to the NBA's MVP.

[Elli Wohlgelernter (2nd ed.)]

PODVOLOCHISK (Pol. **Podwoloczyska**), town in Tornopol district, Ukraine. Jews were among the founders of Podvolochisk in 1860s. Before World War II Podvolochisk was within the Tarnopol district in Poland, and was a grain and milling center. Between the two world wars the town included a customs station between Poland and the Soviet Union. In 1865 there were 2,200 Jewish inhabitants in the town, who constituted 70% of the total population. In 1921 the Jews numbered 2,275 (62% of the total population). After World War I, in independent Poland, the economic situation of the Jews became precarious because the town was isolated from its previous markets; trade was reduced and the Jews could not earn their livelihood. The organization of Jewish merchants attempted to alleviate the situation but could not find a solution because of the hostile attitude of the Polish authorities who sought to strengthen the Polish element of this border town. The situation became so bad that, by 1925, the tradesmen required communal assistance. Jewish life was vibrant in Podvolochisk and community elections were held in 1924 and 1928. Jews also participated in the municipal elections in 1933. Among the rabbis of the community were members of the *Babad family, including Joshua Heshel and his son Judah Leibush who was rabbi on the eve of the Holocaust.

[Shimshon Leib Kirshenboim]

Holocaust Period

The city was captured by the Germans on July 7, 1941, and about 70 Jews were immediately killed. Economic restrictions were decreed, and seizure of Jews for forced-labor camps began. The Ukrainian population also attacked the Jews. An extension of the Kamionki labor camp was established in the city, a number of streets were marked off by barbed wire, and young Jews were put there. Many died of overwork, disease, and torture. In September 1942 a part of the camp population was transferred to Zbaraz and Kamionki. The labor camp in the city was liquidated on June 29, 1943. Those who worked in the Kamionki camp perished later. After the war, the Jewish community was not reconstituted in the city.

[Aharon Weiss]

POETRY.

This article is arranged according to the following outline (for modern poetry, see *Hebrew Literature, Modern; see also *Prosody):

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BIBLICAL POETRY

Introduction

The Bible preserves several versions of the first plague upon the Egyptians. The account in the book of Exodus is commonly classified as prose, while the retellings in the Psalms are categorized as poetry:

> Moses and Aaron did just as YHWH commanded: he raised the rod and struck the water that was in the Nile in the eyes of Pharaoh and in the eyes of his servants, and all the water that was in the Nile turned to blood, and the fish that were in the Nile died, and the Nile stank, and the Egyptians could not drink water from the Nile, and the blood was all over the land of Egypt (Ex. 7:20–21).
> He turned their rivers into blood;
> and their streams they could not drink (Ps. 78:44).
> He turned their waters into blood
> and killed their fish (Ps. 105:29).

What qualifies the Exodus passages as "prose" and the Psalms passages as "poetry"? What are the distinguishing features of biblical poetry?

These questions are not easily answered, in part because of a lack of scholarly consensus about many aspects of biblical poetry and in part because there are not always sharp distinctions between poetry and prose. Nevertheless, in spite of uncertainties in our understanding of this ancient, sacred literature, it is possible to delineate those sections of the Bible widely considered poetry and to outline the key stylistic features of biblical poetry.

The Search for Identifiable Indicators of Biblical Poetry

In theory, there are a number of potential ways to identify poetry in a given body of literature. We might expect to identify the poetic sections of the Bible by turning to discussions of biblical poetics, by terminology used to label a passage as poetry, or by the distinctive layout of a page. In practice, however, none of these avenues leads to a clear, consistent determination of what constitutes biblical poetry.

In the classical period, thinkers like Aristotle and Horace penned theories about the nature, mechanics, and effects of poetry. In contrast, in the Bible we do not find definitions of poetry or discussions of how biblical poetry operates. In fact, biblical Hebrew does not have a general term for "poetry," though various terms do seem to signal the presence of a poetic passage. For instance, the passage known as the "Song of Moses" is introduced with the statement: "Then Moses and the children of Israel sang this song (שירה)" (Ex. 15:1). David's eulogy for Saul and Jonathan is labeled as a "dirge" (קינה) (II Sam. 1:17). Many compositions in the book of Psalms begin with the word מזמור which is translated as a "psalm" and likely indicates a song accompanied by a stringed instrument. Such terms suggest that a number of labels were used to classify certain types of compositions; yet these titles are not used consistently throughout the Bible, nor are they affixed to every text that a contemporary scholar would consider a poetic passage.

Since these internal indicators do not point conclusively or consistently to the presence of biblical poetry, we might look to visual means in order to identify biblical poetry. When opening selected Hebrew editions or translations of the Bible, one can determine the poetic sections by the distinctive layout of the verses. For example, in *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia* and the Jewish Publication Society *Tanakh*, in Genesis 4:23–24 the prose format gives way to poetic verse, signaling a shift in discourse. However, in *Biblia Hebraica Leningradensia* or the Koren *Holy Scriptures*, no graphic distinction is made between poetry and prose. A comparison of Bibles that use stichography shows that the delineation into cola is not universally agreed upon, but instead is an interpretative act determined by the scholars preparing a given edition or translation (compare, for instance, the different colon boundaries in the presentation of Jeremiah 6:14 *BHS* and *JPS*).

The convention of visually distinguishing poetic passages through stichography evolved over time. In Qumran texts versification is found sporadically (e.g., 4QPs^b and 4QPs^a). In talmudic times, spacing was used widely in certain books, but it was not required. The Talmud established special writing for only four sections: Ex. 15:1–18; Josh. 12:9–24; Judg. 5; Est. 9:7–9 (TB, Meg. 16b; TJ Meg. 3:7); the late tractate *Soferim* added Deuteronomy 32 to the list (Sof. 12:8–12). Three of these are poetic passages (Ex. 15; Judg. 5; Deut. 32); others are prose. The Talmud describes two stichographic patterns. In the first pattern, "small brick over small brick, large over large," each line contains two columns of writing separated by a blank space in between; in the second, "small brick over large brick, large over small," the lines alternate between one line consisting of two columns with a space in the middle, and then the next line with one column with blank spaces on both sides.

Throughout the Middle Ages, Jewish scribes commonly incorporated some type of special spacing, not only for the sections mentioned in talmudic sources, but also for other parts of the Bible, such as Psalms, Proverbs, Job, Lamentations, the Song of Asaph (I Chr. 16:8–35), and selected lists. After the advent of the printing press, most printed masoretic Bibles abandoned stichographic arrangement of all but those passages mandated by the Talmud. Most modern scholarly editions reversed this trend, employing stichography for everything considered poetry, including many of the prophetic books.

The Presence of Poetry in the Tanakh: An Overview

Lacking conclusive indicators of the presence of biblical poetry, one must rely on stylistic features to identify biblical poetry. Though some scholars caution against drawing sharp distinctions between poetry and prose (e.g., Kugel 1981, 83), a general consensus exists about which parts of the Bible contain poetry. Although prose dominates, poetry permeates every part of the Bible, totaling approximately one-third of the corpus.

Ketuvim or Writings contains the most poetic material, including Psalms, Proverbs, Job 3:3–42:6, Song of Songs, and Lamentations, along with scattered poetic selections in Ecclesiastes (e.g., 1:2–9; 3:1–8) and other books (e.g., I Chron. 16:8–35). Poetry overshadows prose in the Latter Prophets, for most of the prophetic books contain poetic verse exclusively or predominately; Jonah and Ezekiel stand out as exceptions. In the Former Prophets, poems punctuate the narrative account of Israel's history in Judges 5 (Song of Deborah), I Sam. 2:1–10 (Hannah's Prayer), II Sam. 1:19–27 (David's eulogy for Saul and Jonathan), II Sam. 22 (David's Song), and II Sam. 23:1–7 (David's last words). Some of the smaller poetic passages include Jotham's fable (Josh. 10:12–13) and Solomon's declaration to God (I Kings 8:12–13).

The Torah preserves several lengthy poems, including the Testament of Jacob (Gen. 49:2–27), the Song of the Sea (Ex. 15:1–18), the Song of Moses (Deut. 32), and Moses' Blessing (Deut. 33). We also find a number of shorter poetic compositions or fragments, such as the Song of Lamech (Gen. 4:23–24), Miriam's Song at the Sea (Ex. 15:21), the Song of the Ark (Num. 10:35–36); the Song at the Well (Num. 21:17–18), the Victory Song over Moab (Num. 21:27–30), and the Oracles of Balaam (Num. 23:7–10, 18–24; 24:3–9, 15–24). In some instances, often in the course of a dialogue, a few poetic verses interrupt the surrounding prose narrative, as when the man names the woman (Gen. 2:23), God speaks to Cain (Gen. 4:6–7), or Rebekah's family bids her farewell (Gen. 24:60).

In each part of the Bible, the poetic material displays a notable degree of diversity in content. Note the range of poetic expression in *Ketuvim*, with aphorisms in Proverbs, passionate diatribes on human suffering in Job, sensual love songs in the Song of Songs, and mournful laments for the destruction of Jerusalem in Lamentations. Within the book of Psalms itself, in certain texts the speaker joyfully sings God's praises, while in others, the psalmist cries out in pain and calls upon God's help. Likewise, the poetry of the prophets contains many passages in which the prophets rail against the people for their moral and religious failings, and others in which they exhort their listeners to repent or entice them with visions of a glorious future. The Torah contains a similar poetic panoply, with songs of victory, deathbed blessings, oracles, and other assorted passages. Nevertheless, for all this variety in genre and subject matter, the poetic sections of the Bible exhibit considerable stylistic similarities. Understanding biblical poetry requires a familiarity with the literary devices adeptly wielded by the writers of biblical poetry, namely parallelism, rhythm, terseness, imagery, metaphor, repetition, patterning, and other tropes.

Parallelism

The identification of parallelism as a central defining feature of biblical poetry traces back to the *Lectures on the Sacred Poetry of The Hebrews* delivered by Bishop Robert Lowth in 1753. In the context of a lecture entitled "The Prophetic Poetry is Sententious," he endeavors to illustrate that the literature of the Prophets deserves to be classified as poetry, just like Psalms and other poetic parts of the Bible. In order to prove that "the Prophetic Muse is no less elegant and correct" (Lowth, 210), Lowth marshals a host of citations intended to demonstrate that parallelism operates the same in the Prophets as in the Psalms. Explaining what he means by the term "parallelism," Lowth states: "The poetical conformation of the sentences, which has been so often alluded to as characteristic of the Hebrew poetry, consists chiefly in a certain equality, resemblance, or parallelism, between the members of each period" (Lowth, 210). While he acknowledges that parallelism exhibits significant variety, nonetheless he groups his examples into three "species": synonymous, antithetic, and synthetic parallelism.

Lowth explains that in the most frequent variety, synonymous parallelism, "the same sentiment is repeated in different, but equivalent terms" (Lowth, 210). He cites a number of examples:

> When Israel went forth from Egypt,
> The house of Jacob from a people of strange speech (Ps. 114:1).
> And nations shall walk by your light,
> and kings by your shining radiance (Isa. 60:3).

In antithetic parallelism, which is most prevalent in Proverbs, "a thing is illustrated by its contrary being opposed to it" (Lowth, 215), as seen in Proverbs 27:6 (Lowth's translation):

> The blows of a friend are faithful;
> But the kisses of an enemy are treacherous.

Lowth's third category, called 'synthetic' or 'constructive' parallelism, consists of "all such as do not come within the two former classes" (Lowth, 216–17). Lowth provides a number of examples to illustrate this rather amorphous category, including the following:

> I will be like the dew to Israel;
> He shall blossom like the lily,
> and he shall strike root like a Lebanon tree (Hos. 14:6).
> Nations rage, kingdoms totter,
> He raises his voice, the earth melts (Ps. 46:7).

Lowth recognizes that the degrees of resemblance in this third category are nearly infinite and that the workings of the parallelism can sometimes be subtle and obscure. He concludes his lecture with the caveat that lest the topic "appear light and trifling to some persons, and utterly undeserving any labour or attention," he promises that the study of parallelism will yield copious rewards (Lowth, 220).

For over 200 years, Lowth's tripartite understanding of parallelism dominated the discussion of biblical poetry. As subsequent scholars sought to refine Lowth's work, they added additional categories like "incomplete parallelism," "staircase parallelism," and "janus parallelism." Then, starting the in late 1970s and 1980s, a number of studies were published that challenged Lowth's perception of parallelism and expanded our understanding of the nuances and complexities of biblical verse.

In the 1981 book, *The Idea of Biblical Poetry: Parallelism and Its History*, James Kugel contends that the ways of parallelism are numerous and varied, far exceeding Lowth's limited three categories. He observes that the degree of connection between two parallel clauses may range anywhere from no perceivable correspondence to just short of a word-for-word repetition. He insists that the second, "B" clause does not simply restate the first, "A" clause. Instead, the B-line expands upon the A-line in a multitude of ways: reasserting, supporting, particularizing, defining, completing, or going beyond the first line. He illustrates his approach as he interprets Psalm 145:10 (Kugel's translation):

> All your works praise you, Lord
> and your faithful ones bless you.

Instead of focusing on the similarities between these two clauses, Kugel draws attention to the differences. He points out that "faithful ones" is more specific than "all your works," just as "bless" differs from the more general term "praise." Kugel captures the various ways in which the second line differs from and develops the first with the phrase, "A is so, and *what's more*, B is so" (Kugel 1981, 8).

In the 1985 work, *The Art of Biblical Poetry*, Robert *Alter highlights what he terms the "impulse to intensification" in biblical poetry. He argues that even in lines that appear at first glance to be nearly synonymous, a closer reading often reveals a "dynamic progression" from one half of the line to the next. He points out that many parallel lines move from a common word in the first line to a more poetic term in the second, a pattern that can be seen in Psalms 114:1 above, where the unique phrase "a people of strange speech" follows the common term "Egypt." According to Alter, the treatment of numbers in poetic parallelism exemplifies this pattern of intensification, for a number in the first clause usually is increased in the second clause by one, a decimal, or a decimal added to the number. For example, in Genesis 4:24, "sevenfold" is paired with "seventy and seven," and in Amos 1–2, "three" parallels "four." He asserts that in biblical poetry "the characteristic movement of meaning is one of heightening or intensification…of focusing, specification, concretization, even what can be called dramatization" (Alter 1985, 19).

During this same time period, a number of scholars turned away from Lowth's three-fold model of poetic parallelism by shifting the focus of the discussion from semantics to grammar (see Collins 1979; Geller 1979; O'Connor 1980; Greenstein 1982). In the 1985 study, *The Dynamics of Biblical Parallelism*, Adele Berlin applies the study of linguistics to the topic of parallelism, but she does so in a more expansive manner, one that helps the reader to uncover and appreciate the intricacies of biblical parallelism. She sees parallelism as a multifaceted phenomenon, one that involves grammatical, lexical-semantic, and phonological aspects on the level of individual words, as well as clauses and larger expanses of a text. Instead of drawing a stark contrast between synonymous and antithetical elements, she asserts that parallelism achieves its effectiveness from the interplay of equivalence and contrast along these various aspects and levels.

Isaiah 1:10 provides a good example of the dynamic nature of poetic parallelism:

> Hear the word of YHWH, leaders of Sodom,
> Give ear to the instruction of our God, people of Gomorrah.

The two cola in this verse certainly meet Lowth's definition of synonymous parallelism, for the same sentiment appears to be repeated in "different, but equivalent terms." However, further investigation reveals varying degrees of equivalence and contrast. Looking first at the lexical aspect of this bi-colon, the correspondence between the words in the two cola may range from exact equivalence to complete contrast. In this case, we find a number of word pairs that exhibit a high degree of semantic similarity. The divine names "YHWH" and "God" belong at the far end of the scale, for the two names point to the same referent. The verbs "hear" and "give ear" are frequently paired terms that both call upon the audience to listen, though the first verb is more standard and the second more poetic. Similarly, the nouns "word" and "instruction" are both used to designate God's teaching, though the first term is more general and the second more specific. With the last two words in each colon, we move more toward the contrast side of the scale. The nouns "leaders" and "people" cannot be considered synonymous, for the first word refers specifically to the ruling class, whereas the second denotes the population as a whole. The place names "Sodom" and "Gomorrah" identify two different cities, though often the nouns appear as a consecutive, fixed phrase ("Sodom and Gomorrah"); the two cities symbolize a place of debauchery and sin.

Expanding the scope of the examination from the relationships between the individual words to the connections between the two cola as a whole, on a semantic level, the two lines appear fairly synonymous: the second colon echoes the basic sentiment of the first. In both sentences, the prophet calls the intended audience to listen to God's message. By invoking the place names Sodom and Gomorrah, Isaiah metaphorically maligns his listeners, a fitting prelude to the divine diatribe that follows.

Applying the same approach to the grammatical aspects of the verse reveals a similar amalgam of relationships of equivalence and contrast. Syntactically, the two sentences are identical:

Verb + Direct Object (noun + divine name) + Subject (noun + place name)

However, when we unpack each colon grammatically, we discover a number of contrasting elements. While the verbs are both second person plural imperatives, they differ in conjugation: *qal* and *hif 'il*. The masculine noun דבר ("word") contrasts with the feminine תורה ("instruction"). This difference in gender is supplemented by the place names, for while names of cities are usually regarded as feminine, the masculine looking סדם ("Sodom") contrasts with the feminine looking עמרה ("Gomorrah"). Likewise, the plural noun קצינים ("leaders") and the singular עם ("people") introduce a contrast in number. The two divine names also differ in several respects: unlike the unmarked, singular YHWH, the word אלהינו ("our God") is grammatically plural and marked with the addition of the first person plural suffix.

These various types of grammatical variation stand in opposition to the more pervasive sense of semantic and syntax similarity. What sort of exegetical insights can this sort of analysis yield? In this case, the interplay of equivalence and contrast on these different levels animates the verse. In addition, the grammar reinforces the prophet's message. By addressing both the leaders and the people as a whole, Isaiah implies that all strata of society are guilty and thus fitting recipients of his words. In a more subtle manner, the grammatical contrast supplements this inclusive message: masculine and feminine, singular and plural, all need to heed God's charge to "cease to do evil and learn to do good" (Isa. 1:16–17).

Berlin also contributes to the study of biblical parallelism by introducing the linguistic concepts of paradigmatic and syntagmatic relations to describe the connections between isolated words and entire cola. Compare the relationship between the two cola in Isaiah 1:10 to the two cola in Hosea 14:2:

> Return, O Israel, to YHWH your God,
> for you have stumbled because of your sins.

In this case, the two halves of the verse do not mirror each other syntactically or echo each other semantically. Instead, the second colon continues the topic introduced in the first colon, providing a justification for the prophet's call to return. The relationship between the two cola in Hosea 14:2 can be termed "syntagmatic," whereas the connection between the two parts of Isaiah 1:10 can be labeled "paradigmatic," concepts introduced by the influential linguist, Ferdinand de Saussure. "Syntagmatic" refers to the linear relationships between the signs in a sentence, the way the words and sentences connect to one another and form a sequence. "Paradigmatic" refers to the way words and phrases can substitute for one another. Applying these concepts to the level of words helps us to differentiate the paradigmatic connection between a word pair like "hear" and "give ear" in Isaiah

1:10, where one word substitutes grammatically and semantically for the other, and the syntagmatic link between Sodom and Gomorrah, where the parallel terms constitute the break up of a continuous or fixed phrase. A good example of a syntagmatic word pair is found in Judges 5:12, where "Barak" parallels "son of Abinoam."

Often, the nature of the relationship is not as clear as in Isaiah 1:10 and Hosea 14:2, or a passage may combine paradigmatic and syntagmatic elements. In some cases, how one views the relationships between isolated words and the cola as a whole can influence how one interprets a given passage. For example, Hosea 14:3 reads:

> Take with you words
> And return to YHWH.

If we consider "taking words" and returning to God as paradigmatic phrases, meaning that the two cola can be substituted for or equated with one another, that implies that repentance involves a verbal confession or declaration of the sort provided by Hosea in the subsequent verses. In contrast, if we understand the two phrases as syntagmatic, or as two parts of a consecutive sequence, that suggests that one must speak words of contrition *before* one can reconcile with God.

Scholars like Berlin, Alter, Kugel, and others have helped to refine our reading of biblical poetry. Their work encourages us to look at poetic parallelism not simply as a mirror, whereby one poetic line tends to reflect the other in a fairly synonymous manner. Instead, like a kaleidoscope, parallelism creates multifaceted, shifting patterns of equivalence and contrast, substitution, and continuity. By analyzing the various aspects and levels of a poetic passage, we gain a keener appreciation of the artistry and interpretative possibilities of this aspect of biblical poetry.

Meter and Rhythm

Interestingly, although Lowth's discussion of parallelism stands out as the most influential aspect of his writings on biblical poetry, he did not dedicate a lecture specifically to this topic; instead, he introduced the subject in lecture 19, as part of a series of talks on the Prophets. In contrast, Lowth devoted his third lecture entirely to the topic of meter. The title of this speech summarizes his stance on the subject: "The Hebrew Poetry is Metrical."

The question of whether or not biblical poetry displays some sort metrical system has vexed scholars from antiquity to the present day. The word 'meter' derives from the Greek term 'measure' and refers to the counting and organization of various aspects of spoken discourse. Some metrical systems measure syllables, accents, or both, as seen in the following poem by Jonathan Swift, which contains four accents and eight syllables per line (the following two selections are taken from Fussel, 11):

> Creatures of ev'ry Kind but ours
> Well comprehend their nat'ral Powers;
> While We, whom *Reason* ought to sway,
> Mistake our Talents ev'ry Day.

The system called quantitative meter counts durational units, meaning that each unit consists of 'long' and 'short' rather than 'accented' and 'unaccented' syllables. In the poem 'Iambicum Trimetrum,' Edmund Spenser imitates this type of meter, which was used in most Greek and Roman poetry:

> Unhappy verse, the witness of my unhappy state,
> Make thyself flutt'ring wings of thy fast flying
> Thought, and fly forth unto my love, wheresoever she be.

Over the centuries, scholars have scoured the poetic sections of the Bible, looking for signs of these various forms of meter. One factor that complicates the matter is that, unlike the case regarding other ancient languages like Akkadian or Greek, we are not certain as to precisely how biblical Hebrew was pronounced. Largely influenced by contemporary poetic aesthetics – be that Greek, Arabic, Renaissance, or other types of poetry – some ancient, medieval, and modern scholars have insisted on the existence, biblical meter while others have rejected such a conclusion. Among the more recent studies of biblical poetry, the consensus has shifted toward the latter perspective. Kugel insists: "There is indeed an answer to this age-old riddle: no meter has been found because none exists" (Kugel, 301). Given the deficits in all metrical theories of biblical poetry, Berlin concludes: "It seems best, therefore, to abandon the quest for meter in the poetry of the Bible" (Berlin, 1996, 308).

While biblical poetry may not contain conclusive evidence of meter, it does display a certain degree of symmetry and sound patterning. As a result, a number of scholars suggest that we shift the focus of the discussion from meter to the broader notion of rhythm, which refers to various forms of sound repetition and regularity (Berlin 1996, 308; Kuntz, 326; Miller, 102–3; Peterson and Richards, 37–47). The observation has been made that segments of biblical verse tend to be of similar length, often with the same number of stresses in the parallel lines. For instance, when David eulogizes Saul and Jonathan, he ends his dirge with the statement:

> איך נפלו גבורים
> ויאבדו כלי מלחמה
> How have the mighty fallen;
> and the weapons of war are lost (II Sam. 1:27).

Here, the cola each contain three stresses, though the number of syllables differs. As occurs frequently in biblical poetry, an element in the first line is absent, but assumed, in the second. The second colon compensates for the "gapped" interjection "how" by introducing a two word subject, the construct phrase "weapons of war." This type of compensation produces a sense of balance between the two lines, adding to the appearance of rhythmic balance in biblical poetry.

Terseness

According to Berlin, the rhythm of biblical poetry results in part from the terseness of parallel lines, the fact that the lines of biblical poetry tend to be short and comprised of about the same number of words and stresses. She identifies terseness as one of the defining features of biblical poetry, explaining that since “poetry has a tendency to be more terse, more concise, than non-poetic discourse,” this creates “the impression that in poetry each word or phrase is more loaded with meaning, since fewer words must bear the burden of the message” (Berlin 1996, 303). Paul Fussel refers to this quality of poetry as ‘density’: “Density of texture is attained by an interweaving of poetic elements…so firmly and tightly that, once interwoven, the separate strands resist unraveling” (Fussel, 90).

Several trends contribute to the terseness of biblical poetry. First, poetic verses frequently omit the definite article (ה), the accusative marker (את), and the relative pronoun (אשר). Compare, for instance, prose and poetic accounts of the first plague quoted earlier:

> He raised the rod and struck the water (ויך את המים) that was in the Nile (אשר ביאר) and all the water that was in the Nile (כל המים אשר ביאר) turned to blood, and the fish that were in the Nile (והדגה אשר ביאר) died, and the Nile stank, and the Egyptians could not drink water from the Nile, and the blood was all over the land of Egypt (Ex. 7:20–21).
>
> ויהך יאריהם לדם
> ונזליהם בל ישתיון
> He turned their rivers into blood;
> and their streams they could not drink (Ps 78:44).

The juxtaposition of the two passages highlights the terseness of the psalm in contrast to the wordier prose version. The Exodus quotation repeats “the Nile” five times, whereas the psalmist varies the language, invoking the more general terms “rivers” and “streams” as a synonymous, paradigmatic word pair. In the six-word, syntagmatic bi-colon, the Psalm summarizes the narrative told with 24 words in the Exodus account.

Secondly, biblical poetry abounds with parataxis, meaning that cola often are joined together without conjunctions. In prose, hypotaxis dominates, for dependent clauses are usually linked with conjunctions that specify how one clause relates to the other. Frequently, as in the preceding examples from Psalm 78, two cola appear one after another, merely connected by the conjunction *vav* (ו), which carries a range of meanings. As seen in the discussion of Hosea 14:3, the vague nature of the conjunction *vav* can produce ambiguity, thus requiring the interpreter to determine the nature of the connection. Does the *vav* indicate that the second line repeats the basic idea of the first: Take with you words and *thus* return to YHWH? Or does it imply a sequence of actions: Take with you words and *then* return to YHWH? In many other cases, two poetic lines are juxtaposed with no grammatical marker specifying the relationship between the statements, as seen in the following citations:

> You turned my mourning into dancing for me,
> You undid my sackcloth and girded me with joy (Ps. 30:12).
> A garden locked is my sister, bride,
> a fountain locked, a spring sealed-up (Song 4:12).

Imagery, Metaphor, and Simile

The quotes from Psalm 30 and Song of Songs highlight another defining feature of biblical poetry: the abundant use of imagery. The term ’imagery’ is a complicated term that often is used to speak about figurative language in general or the more specific trope of metaphor. In fact, the terms ’imagery’ and ‘metaphor’ designate two distinct, though frequently overlapping literary devices. In Psalms 30:12, the speaker paints a visual picture of a person in mourning who breaks out in dancing. In Song of Songs 4:12, the speaker also evokes a mental image, but in this case, the images of the garden, fountain, and spring function as part of a comparison, the key component of a metaphor.

Imagery involves the creation of a mental image, which can be visual (sight), auditory (hearing), olfactory (smell), gustatory (taste), tactile (touch), as well as organic or kinesthetic (awareness of bodily organs and muscles) (Friedman, 560). For instance, the prophet Joel depicts of a future time of judgment, the day of YHWH, when “the beasts groan” and “the waterways are dried up” (Joel 1:18, 20). The first comment involves an auditory element, while the second is primarily visual. Amos also speaks about the day of YHWH, warning that “it shall be darkness, and not light” (Amos 5:18). When Isaiah speaks about a very different type of time, he likewise relies upon imagery, creating a vision of a wolf dwelling with a lamb and a leopard stretching out alongside a young goat (Isa. 11:6).

In these examples, the speaker uses language to take a snapshot: a picture of predators reclining alongside their former prey, a vision of total darkness, a scene of parched streams and groaning bears. In each case, as the saying goes, one picture is worth a thousand words. Amos does not specify what will happen on the day of YHWH; instead, the image of darkness communicates the general impression that this will be a dreadful time. Similarly, Isaiah paints a series of mental pictures from which his audience can extrapolate the larger point that a glorious future will bring peace and harmony among all creatures. In doing so, he taps into a larger motif that signals a return to Eden. With imagery, the poet goes beyond the straightforward language on the page, delivering a more vivid, but less explicit message. Utilizing the listener’s various senses, the writer employs a concrete image to convey a more abstract idea.

While a metaphor also evokes an image, what makes it distinct is the presence of an analogy, a comparison between a hypothetical situation and an actual situation. For example, in the extended metaphor in Isaiah 5:1–7 (the “Song of the Vineyard”), the prophet likens the actual situation, God’s displeasure about Israel’s immoral behavior, to a hypothetical situation, a gardener’s disappointment about the way the vineyard he lovingly tended yielded wild grapes. At the end of the passage, Isaiah explicates the metaphor: “For the vineyard of YHWH of Hosts is the House of Israel” (Isa 5:7). Applying the frequently used terminology coined by I.A. Richards, the subject under discussion (here, the Israelites) would be considered the 'tenor' and that to which the subject is being compared (here, the vineyard) would be called the 'vehicle.'

In a metaphor, the analogy is implicit, whereas it is explicit in a simile, a closely related trope. Examples of similes abound in biblical poetry, as seen in the following passages from the book of Hosea. At several points, Hosea favorably compares God to dew or rain in order to send the message that God nourishes Israel and will bring about her revival and success:

And He will come like rain for us,
like latter rain that waters the earth (Hos. 6:3).
I will be like dew for Israel;
he will blossom like the lily (Hos. 14:6).

In both cases, the preposition כ ("like" or "as") signals the presence of an analogy. Other grammatical markers such as כמו, כאשר, or כן are also used in biblical similes, though with less frequency.

Elsewhere, Hosea applies a similar simile to speak about Israel instead of God. In the process, he transforms this comparison from a compliment to a criticism, from a promise of Israel's prosperity to a depiction of her demise. In Hosea 6:4, directly after the positive comparison between God and rain quoted above, the hypothetical situation (the source of precipitation) is cast in a negative light when used to describe the actual situation (the fleeting nature of Israel's covenantal faithfulness):

What shall I do for you, Ephraim,
and what shall I do for you, Judah,
and your loyalty is like a morning cloud,
and like dew that early goes away?

Further on, Hosea incorporates nearly identical language as part of a string of similes compiled to convey a somewhat different message: a warning that Israel is destined for ruin as a result of her sins:

Therefore, they will be like a morning cloud,
and like dew that early goes away,
like chaff driven away from the threshing floor,
and like smoke from a window (Hos. 13:3).

This litany of similes, each of which is introduced with the marker כ, provides the prophet with a vivid, effective means of chastising his audience.

With a metaphor, the speaker crafts the comparison in a variety of ways. The most obvious type of metaphor takes the form of a predicative statement, as in "YHWH is my shepherd" (Ps. 23:1), "All flesh is grass" (Isa. 40:6), or "Israel is a ravaged vine" (Hos. 10:1). Each of these nominal sentences equates one object with another object, thus creating an anomaly. In other instances, the metaphor is introduced by weaving together words connected with the actual situation and vocabulary associated with the hypothetical situation. For example, in the previous citation from Isaiah 1:10, the prophet compares his audience to the archetypal sinners of Sodom and Gomorrah by linking the second person plural imperative verbs and the nouns "leaders" and "people" with the place names "Sodom" and "Gomorrah." The Israelites addressed are not, in fact, residents of Sodom and Gomorrah, but only metaphorically equated with them. In Amos 1:2, the metaphor is more subtle, created by pairing a divine subject with a verb primarily associated with the sound produced by lions:

YHWH roared from Zion,
and from Jerusalem he raised his voice.

The combination of "YHWH" and "roared" creates an incongruity that, in part, marks this statement as a metaphor.

In the following example, it is the larger context that exposes the anomalous nature of the analogy. In the beginning of the book of Isaiah, God states:

Children I reared and raised,
and they rebelled against Me (Isa. 1:2).

If a parent had spoken these words about his or her children, there would be nothing incongruous about the sentence; thus, it would not constitute a metaphor. Here, however, the larger context establishes that the speaker is God, the subject is Israel, and the comparison provides a means of expressing God's sense of anger and disappointment about the Israelites' actions. The pairing of a divine, first person subject with verbs typically associated with the actions of human parents generates a semantic incongruity that identifies this statement as a metaphor. As these examples demonstrate, a metaphor contains both an analogy and an anomaly. In contrast, a simile lacks any sort of anomalous element, for it explicitly compares two entities, without equating them.

Interpreting metaphors and similes involves unpacking the common features that motivate the analogy, what Max Black labels the 'associated commonplaces' (Black, 74). Imagine a Venn diagram, with "God" in one circle and "dew" in another. What qualities do the two have in common? What characteristics would fit in the overlapping section of the two circles? In the abstract, we might compile a list of various attributes shared by God and dew. However, when interpreting the simile as it appears in Hosea 14:6, the relevant question is: What specific qualities are focused upon in this particular verse? In Hosea 14, the larger context allows the interpreter to decipher the associated commonplaces, for the subsequent verses describe how Israel will flourish like a verdant plant. One can infer from the larger passage that just as dew nourishes trees and flowers, so God will sustain and support Israel so the nation can thrive. In a separate context, when the prophet applies the same analogy to Israel, different associated commonplaces drive the comparison. In Hosea 6:4, the clause "that early goes away" modifies the simile "like dew," thereby specifying what Israel has in common with dew: just as dew evaporates rather quickly, so Israel's loyalty to God is fleeting. When the same simile appears in Hos 13:3, the surrounding context confirms the accuracy of this reading. Morning clouds, dew, chaff, and smoke are all ephemeral, a characteristic that the prophet warns will be true for Israel as well. As these examples demonstrate, in many cases, the associated commonplaces are made clear by modifying phrases or the broader context; sometimes, however, analyzing the analogy requires a greater degree of conjecture and interpretative effort.

Note that many of these examples involve metaphors or similes for God. Speaking about the divine naturally demands the use of metaphor or simile, for human beings can only attempt to articulate ideas about God by applying the known and the familiar. For instance, in order to impress upon Israel God's commitment to comfort the exiles, God is pictured as a loving mother:

> a person whose mother comforts him,
> so I will comfort you (Isa. 66:13).

The wording of the simile makes it clear that comfort is the associated commonplace generating the comparison. The prophetic books in particular contain an array of analogies for God. In addition to those cited so far (dew, shepherd, lion, parent), we find an abundance of metaphors, some drawn from the sphere of human relationships and others from the natural world and from other semantic domains relevant to the ancient Israelites, such as husband (e.g., Hos. 2), warrior and woman in labor (Isa. 42:13–14), spring of living water (Jer. 2:13), light (Isa. 60:19), and traveler (Jer. 14:8), to name only a few.

Repetition and Patterning

David's tribute to Saul and Jonathan concludes with two phrases invoked to describe the deceased men:

> How have the mighty fallen,
> and the weapons of war are lost (II Sam. 1:27).

In the first colon, literal language is used to characterize Saul and Jonathan. In the second, David communicates through figurative language, employing the image of abandoned armor to speak of the loss of Israel's military leaders. The phrase "how have the mighty fallen" is repeated two other times in this passage: once at the end of the first verse (v. 19) and again toward the end of the unit (v. 25). When a word or phrase recurs at the beginning and end of a composition, it is called an inclusio or envelope structure. When a word or phrase repeats a number of times, particularly at marked intervals, it is called a refrain.

Repetition stands out as an important way to convey meaning in the Bible. In poetry as well as prose, repetition of key words allows the author to highlight and emphasize central themes. For instance, in Hosea 14:2–9, the root ש.ו.ב. ("to turn") appears five times. First, the prophet charges his listeners to return to God (vv. 2, 3); then he promises that God will "heal their turning back," for God's anger "has turned away" from them (v. 5; also see v. 8). Likewise, in Isaiah 60:1–3 the roots א.ו.ר. ("light") and ז.ר.ח. ("shine") each repeat three times in this short unit, amplifying the message that the light of Zion will illuminate the darkness:

> Arise, give *light*, for your *light* has come
> and the glory of YHWH has *shone* upon you.
> For behold, darkness shall cover the earth
> and thick clouds the peoples;
> but upon you YHWH will *shine*
> and His glory will be seen over you.
> And nations shall walk by your *light*,
> and kings by the brightness of your *shining*.

Additional types of repetition can be found in poetic compositions throughout the Bible. In Isaiah 40–66, reduplication, or the side-by-side repetition of the same word, punctuates numerous passages, including: "Comfort, comfort my people" (Isa. 40:1); "I, I am YHWH" (Isa. 43:11); "Pass through, pass through the gates" (Isa. 62:10). In certain psalms, the same phrase repeats at the beginning of several consecutive lines, such as "how long" in Psalm 13:2–3 or "bless" in Psalm 115:12–13. Even more prominently, in Psalms 148 and 150, "Hallelujah" (הללו יה) ("Praise Yah") frames each psalm, functioning as an inclusio; in between, the verb הללו ("praise") starts each of the subsequent lines, seven times in Psalm 148 and ten times in Psalm 150. In other cases, the repetition appears at the end of the line, as seen in Psalm 136, where the phrase "for His steadfast love is eternal" (כי לעולם חסדו) concludes each of the 26 verses. As these examples demonstrate, repetition not only conveys meaning, but also serves as a structuring device and enhances the aesthetic quality of the composition.

In biblical poetry, patterns are created though repetition as well as through other means. In various psalms and in the book of Lamentations, the verses are arranged alphabetically, in what is called an acrostic (Lam. 1–4; Ps. 111; 112; 119; 145). A prominent pattern in the Bible is a chiasm, where elements in a verse or over the larger expanse of a text are arranged in reverse order. Genesis 9:6 provides a good example: "The one who sheds [A] the blood [B] of a human [C], by a human [C'] shall his blood [B'] be shed [A']." Isaiah 1:18 contain a number of overlapping patterns. Note the chiastic arrangement of the similes in relation to the verbs in each bi-colon:

> If your sins are [A] like scarlet [B],
> like snow [B'], they will turn white [A'].
> If they have turned red [C] like crimson [D],
> like wool [D'] they will be [C'].

Looking at the two bi-cola together, a chiastic pattern emerges in the order of the verbs, with the verb "to be" alternating with causative, color-related verbs: "are [A]…will turn white [B]…have turned red [B']…will be [A']." Focusing just on the similes, the references to red and white appear in ABAB order: "like scarlet [A], like snow [B]…like crimson [A], like wool [B]. With its rich use of imagery and its precisely arranged elements, Isaiah 1:18 demonstrates the potential complexity and artistry of biblical verse.

Another form of repetition and patterning involves the use of sound. Alliteration entails the repetition of the same or similar sound; in the Bible, we find ample examples of consonance, the more specific category of the repetition of consonants. For instance, listen to the way Amos 5:5 incorporates several recurring sound patterns, which Shalom Paul attempts to capture in his English translation:

> ואל תדרשו בית אל
> והגלגל לא תבאו
> ובאר שבע לא תעברו
> כי הגלגל גלה יגלה
> ובית אל יהיה לאון
>
> But do not seek Beth-el!
> Nor go to Gilgal!
> Nor cross over to Beer-sheba!
> For Gilgal shall go into galling exile,
> And Beth-el shall become a nullity.

Isaiah 5:7 provides a good example of paranomasia, a play on words using similar sounding words with different meanings (*JPS* translation):

> ויקו למשפט
> והנה משפח
> לצדקה
> והנה צעקה
>
> And He hoped for justice,
> But behold, injustice;
> For equity,
> But behold, iniquity!

Other Poetic Devices

Paranomasia is one of a host of literary devices found in biblical poetry. Classical Greek rhetoricians coined much of the terminology that is still used today to label the manifold ways language can be manipulated to produce various rhetorical effects. The few mentioned below reflect some of the more prominent tropes in biblical poetry.

In II Samuel 1:27, David speaks of Jonathan and Saul as "weapons of war." He does not compare them to armor, which would constitute a metaphor. Instead, he metonymically speaks of them using the name of an object with which they are associated. Metonymy involves a connection between two entities related in some sort of a part/whole manner; synecdoche is considered either a subset of metonymy or a distinct trope. Amos creates a metonym when he refers to ruler of Ashkelon as "the one who grasps the scepter" (Amos 1:8), thus linking the king with an action and object associated with him.

The book of Amos contains examples of a number of other tropes. Amos employs hyperbole, or emphatic exaggeration, when he expresses the message that God rejects religious rituals if people do not act with justice and morality. The juxtaposition of two verbs in the first colon amplifies the tone of the passage:

> I hate, I despise your festivals;
> and I take no delight in your solemn assemblies (Amos 5:21).

Earlier in the book, Amos effectively uses rhetorical questions, constructing a prophecy comprised of nine rhetorical questions. He begins by asking: "Can two walk together without having met?" (Amos 3:3). Then, question after question, he draws his audience in so that they eventually recognize his main point: "My Lord God has spoken, who can but prophesy?" (Amos 3:8). Deutero-Isaiah cleverly crafts a rhetorical question in order to respond to the Israelites' feeling of having been abandoned by God:

> Can a woman forget her nursing baby,
> have no compassion on the child of her womb?
> Though these might forget, I will not forget you (Isa. 49:15).

This rhetorical question forms a metaphor that compares God to a mother in order to reassure the Israelites of God's enduring love and commitment. The expected answer to the rhetorical question is 'no'; but the prophet surprisingly suggests that, in certain cases, a mother might forget her child. This verse shows the limitations of a metaphor: God may be similar to a mother, but God's powers far exceed that of any human being. As Deutero-Isaiah repeatedly reminds his listeners: "To whom can you liken God?" (Isa. 40:18); ultimately, God is beyond compare.

This example demonstrates the way poetic devices often operate in conjunction with one another. In many cases, we can identify the specific type of trope found in a poetic passage. In other cases, a writer's creativity defies easy categorization. None of the stylistic features discussed in this article are restricted to biblical poetry. They all appear in biblical prose, though not with such frequency and intensity. As Berlin points out, it is not the mere presence of elements such as parallelism or terseness, but their predominance "which marks the poetic expression of the Bible" (Berlin 1985, 5). Appreciating the artistry of biblical poetry and the depth of its meaning requires being a skillful reader, one who can unpack the language, structure, and imagery of a poetic passage and then piece everything back together in a way that gives voice to the ideas conveyed in the elevated discourse of poetry.

[Andrea L. Weiss (2nd ed.)]

MEDIEVAL HEBREW SECULAR POETRY

Al-Andalus and Provence

Hebrew secular poetry flourished in Muslim Spain (Al-Andalus) from the middle of the 10th century to the middle of the 12th and in the Christian kingdoms of the North of the Iberian Peninsula and Provence from the middle of the 12th century to the end of the 15th (shortly before the expulsion). During these two eras, particularly the former, Spanish Jewry developed a versatile poetry of far-ranging scope which was rooted in the revival of the biblical tradition. At the same time it also evolved in the light of Muslim, and later of Christian, culture and poetry and in the spirit of contemporary rationalistic trends.

SECULAR POETRY IN AL-ANDALUS (C. 950–1150). A "golden era" was reached by the Hebrew poetry of Al-Andalus whose principal exponents were *Samuel ha-Nagid, Solomon ibn *Gabirol, Moses *Ibn Ezra, and *Judah Halevi; these three last poets attained artistic excellence both in secular and in devotional poetry, i.e., liturgical poetry incorporated in the prayer service (see *Piyyut*). The most remarkable innovation of this period, however, was the creation of secular poetry which became a vehicle through which the poet could express his personal thoughts and feelings and his relation to man and society. The style and motifs of secular poetry came to influence devotional poetry, which, however, developed separately and was considered a distinct genre.

Prior to the rise of secular poetry in Spain, Hebrew poetry in the various centers (Ereẓ Israel, Babylon, Byzantine Italy, etc.) had been liturgical only, except for a few early texts. The earliest non-liturgical poems (works by *Saadiah Gaon (tenth century) and his contemporaries), dealing with public matters, stem from Babylonia; however, the firm religious tradition of the Babylonian Jewish community precluded any far-reaching innovations. Congenial conditions for secular poetry evolved in the new Jewish community in Muslim Spain, a community not bound by tradition and prospering in an environment of religious tolerance and great cultural and ethnic diversity. It absorbed the culture of its environment and developed rapidly under the Cordoba caliphate and the petty kingdoms that were formed after the caliphate disintegrated in the 11th century.

The patronage of the Jewish courtier, who was either a government official, a financier, or a landowner, created favorable conditions for the development of secular Hebrew poetry. The most eminent Jewish courtiers attracted scholars, artists, and poets to their courts, as did their Muslim counterparts. *Menahem b. Jacob ibn Saruq and *Dunash b. *Labrat, the earliest Hebrew poets in Spain, were the court poets of *Ḥisdai ibn Shaprut, who was himself a courtier of Abd-al-Raḥman III, caliph of Cordoba. Most of the later poets of the Andalusian period were also court poets; a few poets, however, made their living as physicians and *dayyanim*, etc. The institution of patronage in Muslim Spain began to decline in the middle of the 12th century but continued in the Christian North of the Iberian Peninsula for a long time, though not as prominently.

The court poet depended on his patron's favor and was closely connected with the latter's fate at the royal court. (Some patrons, such as Ibn Gabirol's Jekuthiel, were executed as a result of court intrigues.) From the literary point of view the main drawback of court poetry was the conventionality in creativity that necessarily prevailed in the most commonly used poetic genres. One of the poet's main social functions was to compose panegyrics for his patron and dirges on the death of the latter's relatives. Thus the same motifs, images, and conventional formulations constantly recurred.

On the other hand the status of the court poet had many advantages. Poetry was part of the cultural life at the court and added to the prestige of the patron since it was the far-reaching dissemination of the poetry written at his court and the popularity it gained which spread his fame. Poetry was also a weapon in the hand of the poet, mainly in the guise of satiric poems. The poet enjoyed economic security, respectability, and sometimes even friendship, since many patrons were erudite, and true lovers of poetry. Cultural life at the court also afforded the means for the extensive development of different poetic genres: wine and love songs for feasts, as well as other genres which did not have an immediate social function, e.g., universal wisdom poems and personal poetic complaints. The evolvement of a cultured and refined reading public at the numerous courts developed a keen critical sense both in the public and in the poet and stimulated the development of poetry into a highly refined art. The dependence of the court poet on his patron was considered natural, and the decline of the institution of patronage at the end of the Andalusian period was seen by poets as a direct cause of the decline of poetry.

Poetry was a very popular art. The works of Samuel ha-Nagid, for example, were already known during his lifetime, as testified to by Moses ibn Ezra in his poetics, "In all the regions of East and West… Babylon… Ereẓ Israel… Egypt… Ifriqiya (Tunis, etc.)… and Spain." Evidence from the Cairo *Genizah* shows that manuscripts of Spanish poems were brought from Spain to Egypt and thence to Yemen. The fact that after the decline of the Spanish center its poetry was preserved and copied in remote countries testifies to its wide distribution. In Spain itself there were many centers of poetry: Lucena, Seville, and other towns were called "cities of poetry," such as Cordoba, Granada, etc.

Language. The language of the Bible had a glorious renascence in secular poetry and superseded other linguistic layers which had developed since the end of the biblical period, i.e., talmudic and especially paytanic Hebrew, which in Spain were considered arbitrary and chaotic. The opposition to these latter developments was at times extreme, as Abraham ibn Ezra's criticism (in his commentary on Eccles. 5:1) of the style and language of Eleazar *Kallir, the greatest of the early poets, who lived in Ereẓ Israel.

This return to the ancient source of the language was a great innovation. Biblical Hebrew, considered the only accurate form of Hebrew, was seen as a clear, precise, beautiful, and divine tongue, which was superior to all other languages. The view reflected the spiritual contest with the Arabs who set up the style of the Koran as a theological and aesthetic model and developed linguistic and poetic tools for its interpretation. An answer to this challenge could only be in the adoption of a biblical style which, because of its antiquity, diversity, poetry, and accuracy preserved by the masorah, was a formidable opponent. In his work on poetics, *Kitāb al-Muḥāḍara wa al-Mudhākara* (c. 1135), Moses Ibn Ezra illustrates each rhetorical figure by using both contemporary Arabic and Hebrew poetry, but he primarily refers to the Bible 'so that the Arabs will not discredit it and think… that the Hebrew tongue (i.e., biblical Hebrew) lacks aesthetic rules.' He also mentions the work *Kitāb la-Badʿi* (around 900) which discusses rhetorical figures in the Koran, but insists that, though contemporary poetry applies the Arabic poetic form and style, it is mainly rooted in the language of the Bible.

Philology and Poetry. The new approach not only developed out of internal apologetics and external rivalry, but was fostered by the spirit of rationalism expressed in the flourishing of sciences, including philology and philological exegesis – a prerequisite to a biblical renascence and to the development of a new poetic style. Already the earliest poets, Menahem ibn Saruq, Dunash b. Labrat, and Samuel ha-Nagid were also philologists, while all poets had a distinct inclination for philology.

An important innovation in form was the introduction into Hebrew of an exact quantitative poetic meter, as found in Arabic poetry. The metric system (establishing a new symmetry of sound which aroused admiration) was based on a grammatical (morphological) principle: the distinction between short and long metrical units according to the exact biblical vocalization of the words.

Since quantitative meter had from its inception in Hebrew poetry been accepted as an immutable law, a preoccupation with biblical grammar and a mastery of biblical style in general was a natural outcome. Hebrew poetry used not only biblical vocabulary but also biblical idioms or verses which were interwoven into the fabric of the poem among other ornaments of style. This style, called *mussiv*, was not a mechanical mosaic of quotations, but a peculiar and original combination in a new context, which often led to a surprising change in meaning whose effect sometimes was humorous. Readers brought up on the Bible studied these new effects, examined the poems in the light of the new linguistic and poetic norms, criticized them, and even corrected them.

In time, though poetry tended toward extreme biblical purism, both in vocabulary and in form (for later changes see below), semantic and syntactical changes were nevertheless introduced into biblical Hebrew. Syntax was at times determined by meter and biblical words consequently acquired a new meaning, either through the influence of similar Arabic words or through motifs drawn from Arabic poetry. The fusion of the biblical background with the new elements of stylized poetry followed clear aesthetic principles.

The poetics of the time, though formulated for Hebrew poetry by Moses ibn Ezra at the end of the Andalusian period (c. 1135), is found already in the early poetry of the period and reflects Arabic critical works and poetry. Normative and neoclassic in character, it considers secular poetry (it does not deal with devotional poetry) as an art which demands education and training even for the naturally talented. It calls for clear, formal, rhetorical, and thematic requirements.

Forms. Spanish Hebrew poetics thus demands that each poem be carefully rhymed and its meter be meticulous. Most of secular Hebrew poetry was written in the Arabic *qaṣīda* form (or in its abbreviated form, *qit'a*), i.e., it had to have one unchangeable rhyme throughout the poem and one quantitative meter dividing each verse (*bayit*) into two hemistichs. Poems in which homonyms replace the rhymes are a variation of this type of poem. The other type of secular poem was the 'girdle poem' (the *muwashshaḥ*) whose strophic pattern was a creation of Andalusian Arabs. While the monotony of the classical form was relieved in the "girdle poem," allowing for virtuosity in metrical schemes and rhyme patterns, it was based on a unique principle of form. The "girdle poem" combines fixed and variable rhyme elements. Each stanza has a different rhyme and is followed by a section of a varying number of verses which have the same rhyme. This rhyme recurs only in each of these sections.

In their imitation of complex and intricate forms of Arabic "girdle poems" (or of Hebrew ones by their predecessors), the Hebrew poets showed great skill in techniques of poetry. Some concluded their poems with an Arabic or Hispano-Roman *jarya*, which was frequently taken from a popular folk song. The *muwashshaḥ* form was mainly a vehicle for entertaining and encomiastic poetry; but in Hebrew it was also assimilated into devotional poetry.

Rhetorics and General Poetics. Poetry was mainly regarded as "ornamented speech" and the creative process as a conscious art. The poet chooses the subject and themes which he then "embellishes" with figures and tropes. This view which separates form and content is foreign to the modern conception of poetry. The approach, basic to the rationalistic exegesis of metaphorical language in the Koran and the Bible (in order to refute an anthropomorphic interpretation of descriptions of God), was adopted by the theory of poetry and was also used by poets.

The poet's art is revealed in the rhetorical weave of the poem and in the details of poetic diction. It, too, is bound by tradition: conventional phrases and images recur in new combinations, as in a colorful kaleidoscope of style which changes the patterns of its permanent elements. Originality is praised but its scope is limited and is usually expressed by subtle, though sometimes surprising, variations on conventional elements rather than by daring individualistic vent and outburst, or by a new sensibility.

The choice of themes is circumscribed and conventionally fixed. Many subjects were considered unsuitable for poetry, others were only conventionally treated. Some poetic genres employ the neo-classical style which is beyond the individual and the specific. In wine songs, for example, the scenery is conventional, reinforced by traditional images: the feast par excellence or the ideal qualities of wine. Similarly, love poetry usually centers on a beautiful but harsh mistress of the type of *la belle dame sans merci*. The unhappy rejected lover humiliates himself before the beloved (in front of others who watch him, or in front of a moralizer); but he draws supreme pleasure from his torment.

In general, this poetry posits an ideal world of opposites (absolute beauty or absolute ugliness, heights of joy and delight or abysses of grief, etc.). The imagery is also often based on real or fictitious antitheses (pearls of wisdom as against the mire of folly; flames of anguish as against rivers of weeping, etc.).

As many compositions are polythematic, it is also possible to overcome the limits of convention and to express more personal or realistic views, according to the wish of the poet. Even in the most classical period Hebrew poetry is not purely formal and conventional, but allows a distinctive and personal means of expression of high literary value.

Genres. Secular poetry includes panegyrics, dirges, poems of self-praise, satire, wine songs, love poems, wisdom poems, complaints, songs of friendship and separation, etc. Genres were considered to be defined mostly by theme and to some extent by tone. This type of division, however, is not exhaustive, since each genre also has in addition to theme a specific pattern reflected in many ways, e.g., in the attitude of the speaker (personal or universal), the specific use of motifs, imagery, and even recurring formula.

The autonomy of the genres is most striking in the long poems similar to the Arabic *qasida*, which are not one unit. Traditionally, these have an "introduction" (on any subject, e.g., a feast), the "body" of the poem (treating the actual theme, e.g., panegyrics), and between these a "transition verse." Many times, the author plays with contrasting descriptions of feelings in both parts of the poem, creating a very dynamic ambience. In these poems the division is also not exhaustive. There is often a further subdivision into many diverse secondary sections, each belonging to a different genre. Many of the long poems therefore resemble a series of short poems of different genres. Though the elements of stylization in secular poetry were highly conventionalized, poetry was not stifled; it is richer in themes than is usually thought; variations in rhetorical and descriptive usages or in combination of genres, etc., are exceedingly numerous; some important poems do not even belong to any of the set genres. The basic principles of theoretical and practical poetics, however, differed from the modern and appealed to a different type of sensibility.

Trends in Secular Poetry in Al-Andalus. The development of secular poetry testifies to a conscious and directed aim toward a continuous improvement of vehicles of expression and the increase of genres and themes within a normative framework. The character of secular poetry became defined in a relatively short period of time. Its inception was around 950 in Cordoba, under the patronage of Isaac ibn Shaprut, and particularly at the court of his son *Ḥisdai ibn Shaprut. The earliest secular poet was apparently Menahem ibn Saruq; the novelty of his poems (of which only fragments are extant or merely the names) lay in their purpose and theme, but not as yet in the synthetic Hebrew-Arabic style which was to mark the school. That style was introduced as a deliberate novelty by Dunash b. Labrat, Menahem's rival at Ḥisdai's court. Dunash adapted the principle of the Arabic quantitative meter to Hebrew poetry and changed its whole outlook through the integration of images, figures of speech, motifs, and genres taken from Arabic poetry. His innovation in meter aroused a sharp controversy between his and Menahem's disciples, who claimed that he corrupted the Hebrew language (see Isaac *Ibn Kapron, Isaac ibn *Gikatilla). While Dunash's views prevailed and greatly influenced Spanish Hebrew poetry, he did not develop all these possibilities in his own poetry – encomiastic and polemical poems and a quasi wine song which remain poor in style. His innovations were developed and extended in the following generation by Isaac b. Levi *ibn Mar Saul, and particularly by Isaac *ibn Khalfun, who was the first professional poet to write secular poetry.

Secular poetry expanded with the appearance of Samuel ha-Nagid, who introduced (or fully developed for the first time) universal wisdom poems, encomiastic and derogatory poems, official and personal dirges, wine and love poems, ornamental epigrams, and most of the other genres of secular poetry, including a genre which was not taken up by his followers, i.e., war poems. Samuel ha-Nagid's achievement is spectacular not only in the diversity of genres and themes he used, but in the flexibility of his style, his glittering descriptiveness, and in some aspects of his poetic diction. His high status as Jewish leader, minister serving as one of the commanders of the army, halakhist, and philologist undoubtedly also contributed toward establishing secular poetry (which greatly developed in his generation) as a branch of literature. As stated by Abraham *Ibn Daud, "In the days of Ḥisdai they started chirping and in the days of Samuel ha-Nagid they gave voice" (see Moses b. Samuel ha-Kohen *Gikatilla, and Judah b. Samuel *Ibn Balam).

His younger contemporary, Solomon ibn Gabirol, famous as a philosopher and poet, added to secular poetry a dimension of introspective depth and complexity, particularly in his personal poems which express the poet's struggle against fate and his yearning for love. The paradox, which had served his predecessors as a rhetorical device, became in Gabirol's poems a means through which the poet expresses his divided soul. The change of mood from despair to joy, to boasting, in his secular poetry contrasts sharply with the tone of his excellent devotional poetry, which was written in a different style (see **Piyyut*). Gabirol not only wrote personal secular poems which depart from conventions but modified existing genres by refining the diverse aspects of their conventions.

At the end of the 11th century the Spanish style had already become defined, and even minor poets, whose range was limited, produced commendable works and enriched the extensive background from which the great talents emerged. Literary activity in secular and devotional poetry increased greatly; "these groups of poets are as water, at first it flows slowly and then it gushes forth" (Moses ibn Ezra; see **Piyyut* in Spain, Isaac ibn Ghayyat, Levi b. Jacob *Ibn Altabban, *Baḥya b. Joseph ibn Paquda, *Joseph b. Sheshet ibn Latimi, and Joseph b. Jacob *Ibn Sahl). The characteristics were defined and expressed in theory and in practice in the works of Moses ibn Ezra (c. 1055 to 1135) who, to some extent, represents the school. In *Kitāb al-Muḥāḍara wa al-Mudhākara*, his work on poetics, he states the school's views on poetry: its essence, function, sources, and its practical theory of ornamentation.

In another essay *Maqāla bi al-Hadīqa fi ma'anī al-majāz wa al-haqīqa*, he introduces a theory of metaphor as related to biblical exegesis and to contemporary poetry. Among his diverse secular poems some are written in a very ornamental style, showing a preference for the metaphor over the simile and combining it with various figures of speech. He was the first to develop homonymic poems in Hebrew which he collected in his *Sefer ha-Anak*.

Secular poetry attained its classical peak with the works of the greatest Hebrew poet of the period, Judah Halevi. He gained fame not just through his personality and nationalistic sentiments, expressed in his poems and in his book *Sefer ha-Kuzari*, but for the quality of his poetry which aroused the admiration of his contemporaries. His talent found scope both in his extensive and excellent devotional poetry and in his secular poetry, expressed in its range, versatility, and perhaps most of all in its pleasing style, which the poet achieved by a very flexible use of rhetorical devices, surprising twists, and a personal tone accompanying well-known themes. Judah Halevi infused new life into the literary tradition of his time, even to the extent of deviating from convention, which he did with the freedom of the master. Through new combinations he modified and changed most of the poetic genres of his time. In dirges, for example, he not only used the classic form but innovated the genre with the strophic form, to which he gave a ballad-like quality by introducing a dialogue with the deceased. His poems are also marked by a change of tone, and his love poems range from lightness and humoristic brilliance to sensuality. Judah Halevi also created new genres: poems about Zion and sea poems. He developed the new possibilities that secular poetry afforded, yet none of the later poets reached his poetic excellence or versatility.

The Andalusian period of Hebrew poetry came to an end in Judah Halevi's generation (see Solomon ibn al-Mu'alem, *Joseph b. Ẓaddik, and Judah b. Isaac *Ibn Ghayyat) – a very short time after his death in Egypt or Palestine (1141) and that of Moses Ibn Ezra in northern Spain (1138?). The Almohads invaded Andalusia (1145) and wrought havoc among the Jewish communities, which were completely destroyed.

SECULAR POETRY IN CHRISTIAN SPAIN. From the mid-12th century (during the Reconquista), as Jews emigrated to the north and the Christians advanced southward, secular Hebrew poetry (and Hebrew poetry in general) passed into the Christian North of the Peninsula. Although the cultural environment was no longer Muslim and the Arabic language and poetry were superseded by the Romance languages and literatures, and to some extent by troubadour poetry, secular poetry deliberately and consciously carried on the tradition of the Andalusian period. The Hebrew poets of Christian Spain at times declared themselves to be the guardians of the Andalusian tradition or merely its epigones (e.g., Judah *al-Ḥarizi in *Taḥkemoni*). Sometimes they might evince an affinity for a particular Andalusian poet and his fate (e.g., Solomon b. Reuben *Bonafed for Solomon ibn Gabirol, who had lived about 400 years earlier). In reality, however, important changes occurred in secular Hebrew poetry in Christian Spain due both to external influence and to internal development, one of which was in the sphere of language. In theory the ideal of biblical Hebrew still prevailed. Many poets who wrote and translated *maqāmāt* stressed their intention to glorify biblical Hebrew and to prove its vigor. Al-Ḥarizi (in his introduction to *Taḥkemoni*) even presented an allegorical personification of biblical Hebrew as his muse. In practice, however, some poets by the middle of the 13th century no longer adhered to biblical purism and used more and more rabbinic (talmudic and midrashic) language, and even the contemporary scientific and philosophical language which had evolved in the late 12th century. At the same time translated literature developed to bring scientific and philosophic writings to the Jews of the Northern Christian kingdoms who could not understand the original Arabic. Speculative literature written in Hebrew also began to flourish during this period.

Though the vocabulary was expanded, poetic diction tended to a prose-like sparseness or, conversely, to a baroque-like elaborateness and to manneristic forms, i.e., the use of certain letters only, poems composed in a geometrical form, poems which could be read backward, vertically, mirror-poems, poems with echo, etc. Such devices appeared in some poetry only, but rarely allowed for genuine poetic expression. Humor and satire as poetic vehicles were already comparatively prominent in the 12th century. Parody was a popular device (e.g., parody of the marriage contract, the Mishnah, the prayer for the dead, etc.), especially in *maqāmāt* (*Judah b. Isaac ibn Shabbetai, Vidal Benveniste; see **Maqāma* and *Parody), for entertainment and, even more, for pungent social satire.

In the sphere of genres, the most prominent innovation in the Christian period was the development of the *maqāma*, which was primarily an amusing story, written in rhymed prose with special emphasis on stylistic brilliance (sometimes at the expense of the plot), interlaced with poems that had both rhyme and meter. The plot at times was only a pretext for their introduction. The *maqāma* therefore may be classified as poetry, but it also contains prose narrative elements. Al-Ḥarizi's *maqāmāt* were patterned on the Arabic works of Al-Hamdani and Al-Ḥariri, in which the hero, a likable scoundrel, appears in many independent stories, and the narrator relates his adventures. Most of the other rhymed stories – some by authors earlier than Al-Ḥarizi, e.g., *Judah ibn Shabbetai and Joseph b. Meir *Ibn Zabara, while others were later, e.g., *Jacob b. Eleazar and Isaac b. Solomon ibn *Sahula – adopted a different technique to unravel the plot and to present the characters and their function. They thus deviated from the classic *maqāma* genre. Some also show Christian influence, both in subject and in motif. In the 13th century, and perhaps somewhat earlier, the *maqāma* acquired a didactic-moralistic and satiric character and was strongly influenced by philosophy (e.g., Shem Tov *Falaquera) and by the *Kabbalah (e.g., Isaac ibn Sahula).

Beside the *maqāma*, literary correspondence also developed in a very particular way. Many Jewish intellectuals of the time maintained correspondences with co-religionists as a way of showing their ability in writing and their knowledge of Jewish culture. This correspondence included long sections of rhymed, highly rhetorical prose, and some verses. It acquired its own structure, with a prose introduction, a few initial verses indicating the number of verses of the main body of the composition, and the body itself; usually a section in prose followed, and, on the back of the paper, a few lines about the addressee.

Non-narrative metrical secular poetry also had a much wider range of subjects than in the Andalusian period. It broached topical matters, the most important of which was the major 13th-century controversy on the character and teaching of Maimonides (see Meshullam b. Solomon *de Piera, Meir *Abulafia, and the *Maimonidean Controversy). In the 14th and 15th centuries forced conversion and resistance to it was a foremost topic, beside other more classic genres (panegyrics, dirges, satiric poems, love songs, etc.). While the polemical poems were not always of great artistic value, they were typical of the adherence to reality found in secular poetry and the avoidance of ideal classicist generalizations of the Andalusian period. This trend also found expression in other poetic genres, seen in the explicit mention of places, dates, etc., in the ready acceptance of new specific concrete themes, and in the realistic description of objects (e.g., a prison cell, a chess game, or a poor man's torn coat). Other themes testify to Christian influence, particularly troubadour poetry (through Provençal and related dialects, such as Catalan) and, to a much lesser extent, Spanish poetry which was then in its beginning (though some Hebrew poets also wrote in Spanish, e.g., *Santob de Carrion Shem Tov Ardutiel). Such themes were spiritual love (for a woman; e.g., Todros *Abulafia), a debate between abstract ideas (Abraham *Ibn Ezra and others), the wanderings of a Hebrew troubadour (*Isaac b. Abraham ha-Gorni), mutual invectives between poets written in the form of a troubadour tenson (Todros Abulafia and *Phinehas b. Joseph ha-Levi), nature described pastorally (Meshullam de Piera), and other subjects (as well as some manneristic effects).

Secular poetry in the Christian period through its expansion of themes and forms was more variegated than the secular poetry of the Andalusian period. At the same time, however, it usually was inferior in literary merit. There were some talented poets and some groups of poets, but there was no pleiad centering around great poets as in the Andalusian period.

Trends in Secular Poetry in Christian Northern Iberia. The beginning of the period of secular poetry in the Christian Northern kingdoms of the Peninsula (during and shortly after the destruction of the Jewish communities of al-Andalus) is represented by the versatile Abraham ibn Ezra, poet, commentator, philologist, and scientist, who disseminated the Hebrew-Spanish style and culture in Christian Spain. His extensive poetry already reveals the particular blend of Andalusian tradition and the beginning of the new trends in its humor, satire, realistic approach and description – mentioning places, etc., the use of new genres (e.g., poems of debate in which the proponents are abstract ideas), and in some manneristic effects. From the 12th to the 15th centuries, the fusion of Andalusian tradition with the various new elements (humor in parody, satire, concreteness, etc.) was differently effected in *maqāmāt*, rhymed stories (similar to the *maqāma* in form), and the poems interlaced in these stories which sometimes appear in a special section, e.g., at the end of *Taḥkemoni* by Al-Ḥarizi (see Joseph ibn Zabara; Isaac, author of *Mishlei Arav*; Judah ibn Shabbetai; Isaac, author of *Ezrat Nashim*; Judah al-Ḥarizi; Jacob b. Eleazar; Abraham b. Samuel ha-Levi *Ibn Ḥasdai; Shem Tov Falaquera; Isaac ibn Sahula; *Kalonymus b. Kalonymus; Isaac b. Joseph ibn *Pollegar; Shem Tov Ardutiel; Maimon *Galipapa; *Mattathias; and Vidal Benveniste for the development of this literature; see also **Maqāma*).

The principal innovations are first fully developed in the highly original poetry of Meshullam de Piera (early 13th century). He extensively resorts to rabbinic language and even to the language of the translators using unusual syntactic links between verses, but also sudden conceptual transitions and at times an obscure style which bears affinity to the troubadour *trobar clus*. He reduces the laudations in the panegyrics to a closing dedication (a type of troubadour *envoi*), etc.

The poet Todros Abulafia (late 13th century), whose patron was Don Isaac de la Maleha (courtier of Alfonso x, "the Wise"), also introduced novel themes into secular poetry, such as spiritual love and love poems about Arab and Christian women, description of the court and of the prison in which the poet was incarcerated, and comments in his poems on hackneyed poetic conventions. He created new genres – a panegyric for the king patterned on a troubadour poem, panegyrics in which he used bold erotic imagery, and poems of controversy with other poets. To some extent he was also an innovator in clever manneristic forms (letter combination, echo rhymes, etc.). His poetry, however, shows him to be also an epigone of the Andalusian school (particularly of Moses ibn Ezra). Todros Abulafia was still bound to the Arabic language and poetry 150 years after his city Toledo had been conquered by the Christians.

During the 13th century secular poetry also developed in countries which had not been under Muslim rule, particularly Provence, which was for more than one century a part of the Kingdom of Aragon, and as such received a strong Andalusian tradition, although through Hebrew only. Abraham b. Isaac *Bedersi (Habadrashi; of Beziers, Perpignan) tends to verbosity and flowery playfulness, employing strange images and even conspicuous mannerism in form. He seems to have been particularly fond of literary controversy with the poets of his time. His view on tradition and innovation is found in a fragment of a long and tedious poem in which he reviews early Hebrew poets, contemporary poets, and even Christian troubadours. His contemporary, *Isaac ha-Gorni, with whom he disputed, was a kind of Jewish troubadour who made the round of the communities with his musical instruments, as he himself states in some of his poems.

The poems by *Jedaiah (ha-Penini), son of Abraham Bedersi, are manneristic like his father's, but show more talent and poetic restraint. Jedaiah is perhaps the best-known Provençal Hebrew poet by virtue of his philosophical satiric work, *Beḥinat Olam*, which imitates the biblical style (division into verses, etc.). *Even Boḥan* (1322), by Kalonymus b. Kalonymus (the greatest translator of Provence), a similar work but of greater literary merit, is rich in talmudic expressions. It is characterized by despair about the Jewish condition, by biting satire, and by humor.

During the last 200 years (the 14th and 15th centuries) in which secular poetry flourished, Spanish Jewry lay under the shadow of persecutions and had to contend with forced conversion. The theme, however, is expressed in Spanish Hebrew literature as early as the 13th century. Among these is the controversy on religion between Isaac Pulgar and the apostate *Abner of Burgos, carried on in polemical poetry and in *maqāmāt*.

The tendency in secular poetry toward formal mannerism and the use of linguistic and stylistic trick devices for their own sake is partly found in the poems of Ibn Soli, Joseph b. Sheshet ibn Latimi, and Samuel b. Joseph *Ibn Sasson, Isaac *Pulgar's friend. While there was also a number of good single poems, there was an increase of uninspired versification of the books of the Bible and of philosophy. Some secular poems attained a high degree of excellence, e.g., the amusing *maqāmāt* of Shem Tov Ardutiel, of Maimon Galipapa, and to some extent the works of the last group of poets, Adat Nogenim, "the circle of Saragossa," which toward the end of the 14th and the beginning of the 15th century centered around the Lavi family – Solomon de Piera (a relative of the poet Meshullam de Piera), Vidal (Joseph) b. Lavi, Vidal Benvenist, Astruc *Rimoch, Solomon *Bonafed, and others. While some of them converted to Christianity after the *Tortosa Disputation in 1414, others continued to write in Hebrew.

The last prominent Hebrew poet in Christian Spain, Solomon *Bonafed, one of the younger members of the Adat Nogenim group (which had disintegrated), did not convert to Christianity. He attended to problems of immediate import; at the same time he also wrote personal poetry, e.g., love poems to various women. He launched a biting satirical attack against his enemies. (For other poets of the time, see Solomon ha-Levi, Profiat *Duran (ha-Efodi), Moses b. Isaac *Remos, Simeon b. Ẓemaḥ *Duran (the Rashbaẓ), and *Mattathias). Saadiah b. Maimun *Ibn Danan, one of the last Hebrew poets of Spain, lived in Granada, the last Muslim stronghold, which had been a center of Hebrew poetry hundreds of years earlier. After the conquest of Granada and the expulsion of all Jews from Spain in 1492, Ibn Danan moved to North Africa. Among the Jews expelled from Spain were a number of poets who continued writing in other countries, e.g., Judah b. Isaac *Abrabanel, who gained some fame for his book on love written in Italian.

The Jews expelled from Spain and their descendants continued to foster the Spanish style in their countries of refuge. The influence of the Hebrew-Spanish style had, however, extended beyond the Spanish borders long before – at the time secular poetry flourished in Spain. From the 12th century onward it was taken up by Jewish communities throughout the Muslim world (Egypt, Babylonia, Yemen, etc.), but it also influenced Jews in the Christian world (Italy, to some extent Germany, northern France, and especially Provence). The expulsion from Spain led to a new flourishing of the Hebrew-Spanish style in such widely dispersed Jewish communities as Turkey, Greece, North Africa, Ereẓ Israel, and Holland. The period extended from the 16th to the 18th centuries.

Echoes of secular and devotional poetry, particularly of the great Andalusian poets, are found in modern Hebrew poetry at the end of the 19th century and in the 20th century. This harking back, however, is only sporadic.

[Dan Pagis]

Italy

Italy was the first European country, other than Spain, in which Hebrew poetry, both sacred and secular, was developed. Although the Jewish population there was never large, the Hebrew poets in Italy made a notable contribution to Hebrew poetry. In prayer the Jews in Italy originally used the *piyyutim* of Ereẓ Israel, but, beginning in the ninth century, Italian *paytanim* arose who, for all their dependence upon the Ereẓ Israel *piyyut*, made their poems express something of their own time and place. Secular Hebrew poems written in Italy during the earliest period have not survived, and only one *paytan*, *Silano, who lived in the ninth century in Venosa, is known to have composed humorous verse. The best-known early *paytanim* in Italy were members of the Ahimaaz family: *Shephatiah b. Amittai and *Amittai b. Shephatiah, and later, members of the *Kalonymus family, and *Elijah b. Shemaiah. Ahimaaz b. Paltiel's family chronicle, *Megillat Yuḥasin* (*Megillat Aḥima aẓ*), written in rhymed prose, dates from the middle of the 11th century. Undoubtedly there was communication between the Jews of Spain and Provence and those of Italy, and Hebrew poetry written in Spain was known in Italy. From the beginning of the 12th century metrical poems were already being composed by Italian poets, e.g., *Jerahmeel b. Solomon (in southern Italy) and *Isaiah b. Mali di Trani. In the 13th century Benjamin delli Mansi composed a satire on his contemporaries in rhymed prose entitled *Massa Gei-Ḥizzayon*. The greatest secular Hebrew poet of Italy, *Immanuel b. Solomon of Rome (Manoello Giudeo), lived during the 13th and 14th centuries. His *Maḥberot Immanu'el* (Brescia, 1492; critical ed., Jerusalem, 1957), containing all his prose and poems, was influenced by the poetry of Italy and Provence and the writings of Judah al-Ḥarizi, an influence Immanuel himself admitted. Immanuel was one of the first to compose sonnets in Italian and the first to compose Hebrew sonnets. His works comprise 28 compositions (*maḥberot*), the last being *Maḥberet ha-Tofet ve-ha-Eden* ("Hell and Paradise") in which the influence of Dante's *Divine Comedy* is recognizable. It has been suggested that, since Dante's work is called *The Divine Comedy*, Immanuel's be called "The Human Comedy."

Immanuel's work inspired a diversification in secular poetry. Similarly, sacred poetry also began to acquire a new character; the poets of Italy, after the manner of the poets of Spain, composed metrical *piyyutim*. In the 15th century Italian Hebrew poets began to emancipate themselves from their servitude to Spanish meter, utilizing instead a new (syllabic) meter which did not differentiate between the long and the short syllable.

Translating works from Arabic into Hebrew became a major literary activity in 13th- and 14th-century Italy, as it had been earlier in Provence. One of the great Hebrew translators, Kalonymus b. Kalonymus b. Meir (Maestro Calo), who lived several years in Italy, became the friend of Immanuel of Rome and others of the 'group of the poets' in Rome.

The first Hebrew play, *Zaḥut Bediḥuta de-Kiddushin*, by Judah Leone b. Isaac *Sommo of Mantua (c. 1527–1592), was written in Italy and may have been performed during the author's lifetime. Sommo stated that he wrote the comedy to demonstrate that the Hebrew language was not dead and that it was capable of expressing contemporary concerns. Apart from this play, and apparently others, Sommo also wrote poetry and was known for his 'Dialogues on Stagecraft,' a discussion in Italian of the history and nature of the theater. However, Sommo's original work was preceded by the Hebrew translation made by Joseph b. Samuel Zarfati (b. in Rome, Giuseppe Gallo; d. 1527) of the Marrano Fernando de *Rojas' important Spanish play, *Tragicomedia de Calisto y Malibea* (*La Celestina*). The play, which first appeared in Burgos in 1499, had considerable influence on the development of drama. Although the translation itself has been lost, the translator's prologue is extant (see *Drama).

Leone *Modena, a man of great learning, composed poetry and prose in Hebrew and Italian and also a play in Italian. Moses b. Mordecai *Zacuto, the 17th-century kabbalist and poet, composed two Hebrew plays: *Yesod Olam* (Berlin, 1875), on the patriarch Abraham, and *Tofteh Arukh* (Venice, 1715), on punishment after death. *Tofteh Arukh* ('Prepared Hell'), a play which reflects the influence of Immanuel of Rome, was at one time read as a *musar* book. Scholars who had read the play at communal gatherings requested the poet Jacob Daniel b. Abraham *Olmo (Ferrara, 1690–1757) to compose a play about the Garden of Eden. Complying with this request, Olmo wrote *Eden Arukh* ('Eden Prepared'), which was published together with *Tofteh Arukh* in Venice in 1744. In the 17th century the brothers Jacob and Immanuel *Frances wrote poetry, satire, and polemic. Although subsequently a great deal of Hebrew poetry was composed in Italy, few innovations were introduced until the appearance in the 18th century of Moses Ḥayyim *Luzzatto, who began a new chapter in Hebrew poetry.

France and Germany

In the Middle Ages the Jewish inhabitants of France and Germany constituted a single cultural entity. Although it is probable that secular poetry in the vernacular was composed by Jews living in this area, none of it is extant. The Hebrew poetry of the Jews of France and Germany was initially liturgical (for a further treatment see **Piyyut*). In their synagogues the Jews of these countries initially used the *piyyutim* of Italian Jewry, and those Ereẓ Israel *piyyutim* which had been adopted in Italy. The first *paytanim* in France and Germany, who appeared at the beginning of the tenth century, were members of the Kalonymus family (Moses and Meshullam) originating from Italy. In the mid-tenth century *Simeon b. Isaac and *Gershom b. Judah ("the light of the exile") lived there. With the increase in the number of French and German *paytanim*, two of the greatest medieval *paytanim*, *Ephraim b. Isaac of Regensburg and *Ephraim b. Jacob of Bonn, made their appearance in the 12th century. Ephraim b. Isaac was the first to use Spanish meter in his *piyyutim*, and Ephraim b. Jacob integrated short *piyyutim* into his *Sefer Zekhirah*, a chronicle of the persecutions suffered by Jews of his time. Although in his *Tefillah Tikkaḥ Teḥinna Tivḥar* (Oẓar, 473) the 11th-century *paytan*, *Meir b. Isaac, anticipated Ephraim b. Isaac in the use of the Spanish meter in *piyyut*, this innovation was not followed up until much later. In the 12th and 13th centuries, *Judah b. Kalonymus and his son, *Eleazar b. Judah of Worms, author of the *Sefer Roke'ah*, reflected in their *piyyutim* the sufferings endured by the Jews of their era. In medieval times every rabbi composed *piyyutim*, since the people wished to hear not only the traditional *piyyutim* but also new ones expressive of their time and place, and composed by a *paytan* whom they knew. Although these *piyyutim* are important from an historical point of view, poetically they contain little originality.

A parody, *Leil Shikkorim Hu Zeh ha-Laylah* (Oẓar, 721), attributed to *Menahem b. Aaron ibn Zeraḥ, was inserted into the *Maḥzor Vitry* apparently as a joke. Also extant are the satirical poems *Golim Holekhei Derekh* (Oẓar 119) of Gomplin, the song, *Yom mi-Ẓarefat Yaẓati* ("The Day I Left France"), by Isaac, and the jocose poems in Hebrew and Yiddish of Menahem Oldendorf (15th–16th centuries). From the 16th to 18th centuries *paytanim* and rhymesters, whose poetry is of little value, appeared in France and Germany and in countries to which French and German Jews immigrated, e.g., Bohemia, Russia, and Poland.

England

Before the expulsion in 1290, *paytanim* in England, such as *Joseph b. Asher of Chartres, who lamented the pogrom in York (1191), and *Meir b. Elijah of Norwich (13th century) were influenced by the French *paytanim*. Meir of Norwich, in addition to *piyyutim*, composed metrical rhymes of four lines in which the first two and last two letters of the line are identical. Secular poetry, some of which was inspired by Spanish poetry, was also written. Indebted to the French fabulist, Marie de France, is the secular poetry found in *Mishlei Shualim* ("Fox Fables," latest edition, Jerusalem, 1946) by *Berechiah b. Natronai ha-Nakdan, who lived in the 13th century in Normandy and also in England. The work is written in rhymed prose and the fables end with metrical poems.

For the modern period see *Hebrew Literature, Modern. See also *Piyyut* (includes a list of *paytanim* and poets); For a general review, see *Literature, Jewish, Hebrew poetry.

[Abraham Meir Habermann]

Research on Hebrew Poetry in the 1970s

SPAIN AND PROVENCE. The scholarly research devoted to Medieval Hebrew poetry in the mid-1970s was most notable for the publication of critical editions of the poems of the great poets of Spain. H. Brody and H. *Schirmann published an edition of the secular poems of Solomon Ibn Gabirol (1974), which included 276 original poems and 26 most probably attributable to him, garnered from 97 manuscripts and 93 printed texts. Following their work, Dov Yarden also published an edition of Ibn Gabirol's secular poems, adding in a second volume those edited by Brody and Schirmann, but adding his own interpretation. He cites the manuscripts without giving actual textual variants.

In 1976 Israel Levin published the first book in a series sponsored by the Israel Academy of Sciences, which is to include all the religious poems of Abraham *Ibn Ezra. This volume contains 262 poems out of a total of 478 by him. A commentary distinguished by great clarity accompanies all the poems and complements the description of the poet's work already published by Levin in the monograph, *Abraham Ibn Ezra, Ḥayyav ve-Shirav* (1970).

Yonah David published in 1974 a critical edition of the poems of the renowned Spanish poet and translator, Nahum ha-Ma'aravi, whose date has been established as circa 1300. Although only 13 religious and two secular poems by him are known, the publication revealed him in all his glory and splendor. He translated the *Sefer Yeẓirah* of Yizhar Ha-Yisraeli and the *Iggeret Teman* of Maimonides. Each translation is preceded by a poem in Hebrew by Nahum and his poetry, written in one of the most tempestuous periods of Medieval Jewish history, gives faithful and artistic expression to the period.

A.S. Halkin has published (Mekiẓe Nirdamim, 1975) the translation of the philosophical work of Moses *Ibn Ezra *Sefer ha-Iyyunim ve-ha-Diyyunim*. The translation, an outstanding scholarly and precise work, replaces the outdated translation by Ben-Zion Halper (1924; 1966). The volume gives the Arabic original and the translation on opposite pages and includes a detailed introduction, in addition to the commentary. Keter has put out two valuable books in the field of the history of Hebrew poetry. The first, *Shirat ha-Kodesh ha-Ivrit Bimei ha-Beinayim* (1976) by Ezra Fleischer, describes the development of Hebrew religious poetry from its original center, Ereẓ Israel, to its emergence in Spain, Italy, and Germany. He succeeds admirably in defining the special characteristics of the religious works in relation to their connection with rabbinic literature. Many of the poems are published here for the first time, and it includes an extensive, up-to-date bibliography of research in Hebrew religious poetry. The second book, *Ḥiddush u-Masoret be-Shirat ha-Kodesh ha-Ivrit* by Dan Pagis, complements Fleischer's volume. Mention should be made also of the monumental work by N. Golb, *History and Culture of the Jews of Rouen in the Middle Ages* (1976), in which he describes the community with its leaders, supporters, and rabbis, but also deals with the history and language of its poets.

ITALY. The most significant contribution in the study of the Hebrew poetry of Italy has been the publication of critical editions of the early Italian poets, undertaken by Yonah David. He has thus far published *The Poems of Zebadiah* (1974), who lived and wrote in southern Italy in the 9th century; *The Poems of Amittai* (*Amittai ben Shefatiah, 1975), who also wrote in southern Italy (Oriah) at the end of the 9th century; one single *kerovah* for the fast of the 17th of Tammuz by Yudah ha-Kohen bi-Ribbi Mastiya, one of the first *paytanim* of Rome, who lived not later than the 10th century (1973); Abraham, known as Ezra bar Mattityah, a *paytan* of Rome, who lived in the middle of the 12th century and wrote only one work, *Yoẓer Le-Pesaḥ* (1977); and the *piyyutim* of Elya bar Shemaiah, who lived in Bari during the second half of the 11th century (American Academy for Jewish Research, 1977). It gives 38 poems collected for the first time.

Dramatic works have not been overlooked. *Noam*, an oratorio on the Revelation, by Mattitiah Nissim Tireni (Ancona, 1745; died after 1810), has been published in a limited edition of 100 copies.

After the publication of critical editions of two of the plays of Moses Ḥayyim Luzzato (*Ma'aseh Shimshon*, 1967; *Migdal Oz*, 1972), David published a comparative study of Luzzato, *Ha-Maḥazot shel Moshe Ḥayyim Luzzato* (1973) and also analyzed the contribution made by him to Hebrew rhetoric and poetics in *Moses Ḥayyim Luzzato's Rhetoric and Poetics* (*A Comparative Study*), Jerusalem 1978.

Ezra Fleischer made an important contribution to the study of Hebrew Poetry in Italy with his publication of the *piyyutim* of Solomon ha-Bavli, who lived and worked in the 11th century and by whom 24 *piyyutim* are extant (Israel Academy for Sciences, 1973).

Hitherto unknown poetic works of Moses Ḥayyim Luzzato have been discovered and published. They supplement those published by Klar and Ginzburg and provide additional evidence of Luzzato's poetic ability.

Mention should also be made of the new corrected edition of the Ahima'az Scroll, first published in 1944 by B. Klar, to which has been added a *seliḥah* by the author *Ahimaaz ben Paltiel, *Ish Yemini mi-Yoshevei ha-Lishkah* (pp. 107–108).

Two additional volumes have been published in the field of *piyyut*. Fleischer's *Pizmonei Ha'anonimus* (Israel Academy of Science, 1974) is a critical edition of 580 poems found in a *Genizah* manuscript in the Cambridge University Library (Ms. add 3363). According to Fleischer, they were by an anonymous *paytan* who lived in Ereẓ Israel about the end of the 9th century. In his introduction he shows that the *pizmonim* of the 'Anonymous' have preserved a distant echo of some important developments in the history of Hebrew liturgical poetry in Oriental Jewish communities in the 9th century, which helped bring to a close the period of classical liturgical poetry and led to the emergence of the post-classical period.

In 1977 A. Mirsky published *Piyyutei Yose ben Yose*, containing 11 *piyyutim*, which are certainly by him, and four which are also attributed to him. The volume includes a comprehensive introduction dealing with the period and works of Yose.

Developments in the 1980s

During the 1980s, a number of noted scholars in the field of Medieval Hebrew Poetry died, namely: A. *Scheiber, J. *Schirmann, N. Allony, A.M. *Habermann, G. *Vajda, H. Schwarzbaum, D. Jarden, D. Goldschmidt, D. Pagis, Y. *Heinemann, and A.L. Wilsker. Anthologies of articles from their estates, as well as memorial volumes, have begun to appear.

During the 1980s, the decade under review, editions of poetic texts from all the countries of the Diaspora as well as from Ereẓ Israel were published.

EDITIONS – POETRY. *Ereẓ Israel.* All the *piyyutim* of Yannai (Z.M. Rabinowitz); *piyyutim* of Eleazar Berabbi Kiler (S. Elizur). *Babylonia.* Rabbi Hai Gaon (Y. Hasida); Eleazar ben Jacob ha-Bavli (D. Jarden); Rabbi Judah Berabbi Benjamin (S. Elizur). *Byzantium.* Simeon bar Megas (Y. Yahalom). *Spain.* Joseph Bensuli (Y. David); A. Ibn Ezra (I. Levin); Y. Ibn Ezra (M. Schmelzer); Joseph Ibn Zaddik (Y. David); Samuel ha-Nagid (Ben Mishlei; D. Jarden); Isaac ibn Ghiyyat (Y. David); Judah Halevi (religious poems; D. Jarden); Jehiel ben-Harosh (Y. David); Isaac b. Solomon al-Ahdab (O. Raanan). *Provence.* Rabbi Zerahiah ha-Levi Gerondi (I. Meiseles). *North Africa.* Fradji Shawat (E. Hazan).

EDITIONS – TEXTS. *Prose and Rhymed Prose. "Isaac Polgarzer ha-Dat"* (J.S. Levinger); Shem Tov ben Isaac Ardutiel, *"Ma'aseh ha-Rav"* ("The debate between the pen and the scissors"; Y. Nini and M. Fruchtman); Berechiah ha-Nakdan, *Mishle Shu'alim* ("Fox Fables"; H. Schwarzbaum); *Sippurei ben Sira* (E. Yassif).

Monographs and Studies. Topics chosen focused on trends and aims in poetry and prose. (1) Poetry. The following poets and topics were studied and annotated: Judah Halevi (A. Doron; E. Hazan); Samuel ha-Nagid (T. Rosen-Moked; A. Zemach); M. Ibn Ezra (J. Dana); Erez Israel piyyut (Y. Yahalom); Saadiah Gaon (N. Allony); Eliezer Berabbi Kiler (S. Elizur). (2) Types of Hebrew secular poetry (I. Levin; T. Rosen-Moked; R. Tsur; R. Scheindlin; M. Itzhaki, Y. Feldman). (3) Types of Hebrew religious poetry and the *piyyut* of Erez Israel (E. Fleischer; D. Goldschmidt; J.J. Petuchowski). (4) Hebrew emblem-riddles in Italy (D. Pagis). (5) The history of Hebrew poetry in Spain, Provence, Italy (J. Schirmann) and Morocco (H. Zafrani).

Edited Texts. (1) V.E. Reichert, *The Tahkemoni of Judah al-Harizi*, an English translation, vol. I, Introduction and Gates 1–15 (Jer., 1965), 234 pp.; vol. II, Gates 16–50 (Jer., 1973), 443 pp.

(2) E. Hazan, *Shirei Fradji Shawat* (Jer., 1976), a critical edition of 91 poems by the most famous Hebrew poet in Tunisia, who apparently lived in the 17th century. He came to Tunisia from Fez, Morocco, and composed a total of 900 poems which were largely religious in nature. The real name of the poet was Raphael Malah, who adopted the equivalent Arabic name Fradji Shawat.

(3) Y. Hasida, *Rav Hai Gaon, Reshuyyot le-farshiyyot ha-Torah* (Jer., 1977), 63 pp.; the book contains 29 poems for sections of the Torah.

(4) R. Bonfils and A.M. Habermann (eds.), *Kalonymus ben Kalonymus, Megillat Setarim al Massekhet Purim* (Jer., 1977), a facsimile of the first edition published in Pesaro in 1513. Along with 24 pages of text there are 34 facsimile pages. The book contains an article by the translator M.D. Cassuto about Kalonymus in Rome and an introduction by Habermann on *Massekhet Purim*, its editions and printings.

(5) E. Romero (tr. and ed.), *Selomo ibn Gabirol, Poesia secular* (Madrid, 1978), 532 pp., with an introduction by Dan Pagis. This is a bilingual edition with selected texts, translations, and notes.

(6) S. Hopkins, *A Miscellany of literary pieces from the Cambridge Genizah Collection…Old Series, Box A 45* (Cambridge, 1978), 110 pp.; this work has facsimiles and copies, along with short introductions, and includes *piyyutim* by Kallir and a fragment from *Esa Meshali* by Saadiah Gaon.

(7) Y. David, *Piyyutei Yosef Bensuli* ("The Poems of Joseph Bensuli"), critical edition with introduction and commentary (Jer., 1979), 55 pp. Joseph Bensuli was an important Hebrew poet in Toledo, Spain, at the beginning of the 14th century. Fifteen liturgical collections found in Spain and elsewhere.

(8) H. Schwarzbaum, *The Mishle Shualim*, 658 p., bibliography, table of narrative types and table of narrative motifs plus a general index. In this comprehensive work the author presents not only competent translations of all the fables, but examines the various sources which influenced them and offers a comparative folkloristic analysis.

(9) Rabbi Shem Tov ben Isaac Ardutiel (or Don Santo de-Carrion), *Ma'ase -Harav* (*The Debate between the Pen and the Scissors*; Tel Aviv, 1980), 86 pp., edited with introduction, commentary, and notes by Y. Nini and M. Fruchtman.

(10) I. Levin, *Shirei ha-Kodesh shel Avraham Ibn Ezra* ("Religious Poems of Abraham Ibn Ezra," 1 (Jer., 1975), 522 pp.; 2 (Jer., 1980), 708 pp. Volume one contains 262 poems and volume two has 247 poems.

(11) M.H. Schmelzer, *Yizhak ben Avraham Ibn Ezra, Shirim* ("Isaac ben Abraham Ibn Ezra, Poems"; New York, 1980), 171 pp., edited on the basis of manuscripts, with an introduction and notes; the book contains a letter and 44 annotated poems.

(12) L.J. Weinberger, *Sefer ha-Selihot ke-Minhag Kehillot ha-Romaniyyotim* ("Romaniote Penitential Poetry"; New York, 1980), 248 pp.

(13) A. Saenz-Badillos, *Tešubot de Dunaš ben Labrat*, critical edition and Spanish translation (Granada, 1980), 124 + 164 pp.

(14) A. Scheiber, *Geniza Studies* (New York, 1981), 570 pp.

(15) *Amadis de Gaula* (*Alilot ha-Abir*), Hebrew translation by the physician Jacob di Algaba, first published Constantinople, c. 1541. Critical edition with introduction by Z. Malachi (Tel Aviv, 1981), 240 pp.

(16) Varela Moreno Ma Encarnacion, *Tešubot de Yehudi ben Šešet*, edited and translated with commentary (Granada, 1981), 117 pp.

(17) Y. David, *The Poems of Joseph Ibn Zaddik* (Jerusalem, 1982). Joseph Ibn Zaddik (1075–1149) was well known as a Hebrew poet in Cordoba, Spain, at the beginning of the 12th century. This critical edition of his extant poetry, in which 36 poems are collected for the first time, includes liturgical poems, eulogies, love songs, and four lamentation.

(18) D. Jarden, *Divan Shemuel Hanagid*; vol. 2, *Ben Mishlei* ("The Son of Proverbs"; Jerusalem, 1982), 478 pp.

(19) L.J. Weinberger (ed.), *Bulgaria's Synagogue Poets: The Kastoreans*, critical edition with introduction and commentary (Cincinnati, 1983), 175 pp.

(20) I. Levin, *Iggeret Hay Ben Mekitz by Abraham lbn Ezra*, a critical edition supplemented with a Hebrew translation of the Arabic original *Hay Ibn Yaqiẓan* by Abu Ali Alḥusain Ibn Abdalla Ibn Sina (Tel Aviv, 1983), 99 pp.

(21) J. Yahalom, *Piyyutei Shimon bar Megas* (Jerusalem, 1984). The poet Simeon bar Megas lived in Byzantine Palestine in the sixth or seventh century. He is the author of a cycle of over 150 *kedushot* based on the triennial cycle then current in Palestine. His writings constitute one of the few resources for information on Palestinian Jewry, its practices and customs, during the crucial period of transition from the Byzantine to the Arabic period. Simeon Bar Megas's 218 poems manifest a special ingenuity in vocabulary and inventiveness, in the use of neologisms, poetic form, and structures. They contribute also to knowledge of Palestinian Hebrew, which, according to the editor, was still spoken in Simeon Bar Megas's time, at least in the villages.

(22) J.S. Levinger, *Isaac Polgar, Ezer ha-Dat* ("A defense of Judaism"), a critical and annotated edition (Tel Aviv, 1984), 197 pp.

(23) D. Jarden, *Shirim Ḥadashim le-Rabbi Elazar ben Ya'akov ha-Bavli* ("New Poems of Rabbi Eleazar ha-Bavli"), based on manuscripts and printed editions (Jerusalem, 1984), 60 pp.

(24) I. Meiseles, *Shirat ha-Maor. The Poems of Rabbi Zerahia ha-Levy* (Jer., 1984), 186 pp. critical edition with commentary. The complete collection of the liturgical poems of Rabbi Zeraḥiah ha-Levi Gerondi is presented in this volume, which contains 51 poems collected from 145 manuscripts located in 32 libraries.

(25) L.J. Weinberger, *Jewish Poets in Crete* (Cincinnati, 1985), 211 pp., a critical edition with introduction and commentary.

(26) Y. Ratzaby, *A Dictionary of Judeo-Arabic in R. Saadya's Tafsir* (Ramat Gan, 1985), 151 pp.

(27) E. Yassif, *Sippurei Ben-Sira bi-Ymei ha-Beinayim* (Jer., 1985), 324 pp.

(28) *Ma'aseh Zofar*, an ancient story first printed in Salonika, c. 1600, republished by Z. Malachi (Lod, 1985), 72 pp., a limited edition of 100 copies.

(29) Y. David, *The Poems of Yehiel ben-Harosh* (1986), a critical edition with introduction and commentary (Jer., 1986), 65 pp. Rabbi Jehiel ben-Harosh was a theologian, a judge (*dayyan*), and also a poet of Toledo, Spain, during the 14th century. The poems of Ben-Harosh are offered here in a critical edition of extant works, 15 liturgical poems collected for the first time. The poet was, moreover, a witness of the 1391 massacre in Toledo, and his lamentations give a historical perspective of Jewry in the Middle Ages in Spain.

(30) D. Jarden, *Shirei ha-Kodesh le-Rabbi Yehuda Halevi* ("The Liturgical Poetry of Judah Halevi," vol. 1: The Winter Festivals (Jer., 1978); vol. 2, The Summer Festivals (Jer., 1980); vol. 3: Other Poems (Jer., 1982); vol. 4, Poems (Jer., 1986)). The four volumes of this edition include 550 poems. In addition to an introduction, a commentary, source references and parallels, and indices are provided.

(31) T. Alsina Trias, Olmo Lete, del. G., *El Diwan de Yosef ibn Saddiq*, according to the critical edition by Yonah David. Introduction, text, and notes (Barcelona, 1987), 116 pp.

(32) Z.M. Rabinovitz, *The Liturgical Poems of Rabbi Yannai according to the Triennial Cycle of the Pentateuch and the Holidays*, critical edition with introductions and commentary, vol. I: Introduction, Liturgical Poems to Genesis, Exodus, and Leviticus (Jer., 1985), 508 pp.; vol. II: Liturgical Poems to Numbers, Deuteronomy and Holidays and indexes (Jer., 1987); 444 pp.

(33) Y. David, *The Poems of Rabbi Isaac Ibn Ghiyyat (Lucena 1038–Cordoba 1089)* (Jer., 1987); the first anthology of 370 poems by this poet.

(34) Sh. Elizur, *Rabbi Jehuda Berabbi Binjaminis, Carmina Cuncta.* Ex codicibus edidit, prolegominis et notis instruxit (Jer., 1988), 319 pp.

(35) Sh. Elizur, *Kedushah ve-Sir Kedushta'ot le-Shabbatot ha-Neḥamah le-Rabbi Eleazar Berabi Kiler*, critical edition with commentary and epilogue (Jerusalem 1988), 109 pp.

(36) O. Raanan, *The Poems of Ishak ben Shlomo Al-Ahdab based on manuscripts and prints.* Critical edition with commentary (Lod, 1988), 152 pp. The 90 poems in this book represent a great variety of a didactic ethical nature and humorous and satiric elements. The poet was born towards the middle of the 14th century in Castile, Spain, and died after 1429, approximately at the age of 80.

(37) *The Piyyutim of Rabbi Musa Bujnah of Tripoli* (1989), 251 pp., were edited by Ephraim Ḥazan, who also wrote the introduction and notes. The book has two parts: the first describes North African Hebrew poetry and discusses the poet and his period, the genre of his poems and their language, while the second offers 109 *piyyutim* by this poet. Appendices provide a table of poetic meters, a list of sources, and an index to the *piyyutim.*

(38) *Pirkei Shirah*, from the treasure-houses of poetry and *piyyut* of Jewish communities, were produced by Yehudit Dishon and Ephraim Ḥazan (1990), 166 pp. The book includes, in addition to the introduction of the editors, chapters by Ya'akov Adler on the explication of a poem by Yosé ben Yosé; Yiẓḥak Meizlish on a heretofore unknown personal *bakkashah* by Zerahiah ha-Levi; Benjamin bar-Tikvah, on a *kerovah* by Rabbi Berachiah; Judah Razaby, on songs of praise by Joseph ha-Yerushalmi; Hadassah Shai, on a selection from a *maqāma* by Joseph ben Tanḥum ha-Yerushalmi: Aaron Mirsky, on poems of Israel Najara from his *She'erit Yisrael;* Ephraim Ḥazan on eight *piyyutim* by Mandil Avi-Zimra; Meir Wallenstein, on the character of Samuel Vitale according to a poetic letter by Moses Judah Abbas.

(39) Ezra Fleischer's *The Proverbs of Sa'id ben Babshad* appeared in 1990 (320 pp.). In this book the author publishes fragments of a major collection of proverbs, written by an unknown medieval Hebrew poet, Said ben Babshad, who flourished in Iraq or in Persia at the end of the 10th and beginning of the 11th century. The eleven chapters of the book, in addition to the texts themselves, summarize the progress of this research, the linguistic issues, ideology, and poetics as well as sources of influence upon which the poet drew. The proverbs were culled from 25 manuscripts located in 10 different collections, most prominently from the Cairo *Genizah*.

(40) *Ḥibbat ha-Piyyut* was edited by Eliyahu Gabbai. It is a selection of *piyyutim* representing different Jewish communities. The commentary was provided by Herzl and Balfour Hakkak. This is a second edition, and it appeared in 1990 (258 pp.). The book has 18 chapters.

(41) Federico Pe'rez Castro published *Poesia secular Hispano-Hebrea* (1989; 399 pp.), which contains translations of 92 Hebrew poems by nine of the most outstanding medieval Hebrew poets, from Menahem ibn Saruq to Judah Halevi. Included are notes and introductions to each poem, edited by H. Schirmann in his *Ha-Shirah ha-Ivrit bi-Sefarad u-ve-Provence.* There are also a general introduction and bibliography.

(42) Carlos del Valle Rodriguez wrote *El Divan Poetico de-Dunash ben Labrat. La introudución de la metrica arabe* (1988), 543 pp. The book has, in addition to an introduction, six chapters: (1) Dunash ben Labrat the man; (2) the poetry of Dunash; (3) language of Dunash; (4) quantitative metrics; (5) a diachronic survey of Hebrew metrics; (6) the terminology of Hebrew poetry. Moreover, all of Dunash's poems (including those of doubted attribution) are printed according to N. Allony's edition. The author added two appendices which cite the most significant works treating Hebrew metrics [text opposite translation], and finally the volume ends with a bibliography, list of terms, and list of names.

Interpretive Works. (1) C.A. Colaḥan, "Santob's Debate between the Pen and the Scissors," Dissertation, University of New Mexico (1977), 360 pp.

(2) A. Doron, "*Kivvunim u-Megamot be-Ḥeker Shirato shel Yehudah ha-Levi*," Dissertation, Tel Aviv University (1977), 240 pp.

(3) N. Ben-Menahem, *Inyanei Ibn-Ezra* (Jerusalem, 1978), 373 pp., an anthology of the author's articles on Abraham Ibn Ezra.

(4) E.D. Goldschmidt, *On Jewish Liturgy: Essays on Prayer and Religious Poetry* (Jerusalem, 1978), 494 pp.

(5) *Mishnato ha-Hagutit shel Rabbi Yehudah ha-Levi*, published by the Ministry of Education and Culture, the Department of Tarbut Toranit (Jerusalem, 1978), 242 pp. The book is divided into four sections: (a) the thought of Judah Halevi, a general discussion, (b) society and state, (c) historical thought, and (d) thought and experience. Eighteen contributors participated in the volume, which was dedicated to the 900th anniversary of the birth of Judah Halevi.

(6) J.J. Petuchowski, *Theology and Poetry: Studies in Medieval Piyyut* (London, 1978), 153 pp. The book contains ten *piyyutim* in the original language, as well as in English translation, accompanied by commentary.

(7) J. Schirmann, *Le-toledot ha-shirah ve-ha-dramah ha-ivrit* ("Studies in the History of Hebrew Poetry and Drama;" Jerusalem, vol. 1, 1979, 438 pp., vol. 2, 1980), 376 pp. A year before his death, Schirmann was able to collect the studies and essays which he had published from 1931 through 1978, and arrange them chronologically according to subject matter. Vol. 1 is devoted to early Palestinian *piyyut* and medieval Spanish and southern French poets. Vol. 2 deals with Hebrew poetry in Italy from its beginnings until approximately 1800, as well as with Hebrew drama during the 16th–18th centuries. The material has been revised and the biography of Judah Halevi rewritten on the basis of the *Genizah* finds of Shlomo Dov Goitein. This is a monumental work distinguished for its erudition, expertise, and meticulous care in dealing with the literary creativity of more than a thousand years.

(8) I. Levin, *Me'il Tashbez, The Embroidered Coat: The Genres of Hebrew Secular Poetry in Spain* (Tel Aviv, 1980). The six chapters of the book are divided as follows: (a) the *qasida*; (b) the war poems of Samuel ha-Nagid; (c) songs of praise; (d) poems of glory; (e) poems of complaint; (f) poems of retribution, apology, and abuse.

(9) Z. Malachi, *Be-No'am Si'aḥ, Pleasant Words: Chapters from the History of Hebrew Literature* (Lod, 1983). This volume contains articles dealing with five types of subject matter: (a) studies in *piyyut*; (b) Hebrew poetry in Spain; (c) Medieval Hebrew fiction; (d) the Balbo family of Candia (Crete) in the 15th century; and (e) authors and books of Amsterdam.

(10) A. Ẓemach and T. Rosen-Moked, *Yeẓirah Meḥukhamah: Iyyun be-Shirei Shemuel ha-Nagid* ("Sophisticated Writing: a Study of Samuel ha-Nagid's Poems"; Jer., 1983), 158 pp. The authors analyze and explain 17 poems by Samuel ha-Nagid. The book includes three short introductions which treat various biographical, thematic, and methodological aspects of the poet's work.

(11) J. Dana, *Ha-Po'etika shel-ha-Shirah ha-Ivrit bi Sefarad bi-Ymei ha-Beinayim al-pi Rabbi Moshe ibn Ezra u-Mekoroteha* ("Of Medieval Hebrew Literature, According to Moshe Ibn Ezra"; Tel Aviv, 1983), 337 pp. The book contains, in addition to an introduction, chapters devoted to: (a) content and form, (b) the best poem is that which contains the greatest falsehood, (c) the ornaments in poetry, (d) the qualification and image of the poetic outline, (e) M. Ibn Ezra as poetical theorist and as poet, and (f) influence and originality in the poetics of M. Ibn Ezra. There are also a bibliography and indices.

(12) E. Fleischer, *Ha-Yoẓerot be-Hithavvutam u-ve-Hitpatteḥutam* ("The Yotzer, Its Emergence and Development"; Jerusalem, 1984), 795 pp. This is an illuminating and comprehensive scholarly treatment of a thousand years of the development of the *yoẓer* form, from its beginnings in Byzantine Palestine (c. the 6th century) to its decline in the European Jewish centers. Over two hundred unpublished selections from the Cairo *Genizah* are employed by the author, the first work of its kind in Hebrew.

(13) H. Zafrani, *Poesie juive au Maroc*, (ed. Yosef Tobi; Jer., 1984), 210 pp.

(14) A. Doron, *Yehuda Ha-Levi: Repercusion de su obra*, with a biographical sketch of Judah Halevi by Fernando Diaz Estaban (Barcelona, 1985).

(15) J. Dishon, *Sefer Sha'ashuim le-Yosef ben Meir ibn Zabara* ("The Book of Delight Composed by Joseph ben Meir Zabara"; Jerusalem, 1985), 292 pp.

(16) *Studies in the Work of Shlomo Ibn-Gabirol* (Zvi Malachi (ed.), Hanna David (co-ed.); Tel Aviv, 1985). The book contains two collections of articles. The first is dedicated to the philosophical elements in the poetry of Ibn Gabirol, while the second deals with the types of poems by him and the characteristics of his poetry. There were 12 contributors in addition to the editor.

(17) J. Yahalom, *Sefer ha-Shir shel ha-Piyyut ha-Ereẓ-Yisraeli ha-Kadum* ("Poetic Language in the Early Piyyut"; Jer., 1985), 218 pp. This study deals with the language of the early Ereẓ Israel *piyyutim* which struggled to maintain its independence between the natural needs of expression, rooted in the spoken language, and the archaic literary tradition characteristic of the *piyyutim.* During this confrontation there developed a new independent literary language which bridges the ancient times and the Middle Ages; its distinctive signs are developed and expanded in this work.

(18) Y. Silman, *Bein Filosof le-Navi: Hitpatteḥut Haguto shel R. Yehuda ha-Levi be-Sefer ha-Kuzari* ("Thinker and Seer: The Development of the Thought of R. Yehuda Halevi in the Kuzari"; Ramat Gan, 1985), 325 pp.

(19) T. Rosen-Moked, *Le-Ezor Shir* ("The Hebrew Girdle Poem (*Muwashshah*) in the Middle Ages"; Haifa, 1985), 245 pp.

(20) N. Allony, *Meḥkarei Lashon ve-Sifrut: Pirkei Sa'adiah Gaon* (Jer., 1986), 400 pp.

(21) E. Ḥazan, *Torat ha-Shir be-Fiyyut ha-Sefardi le-Or Shirat ha-Kodesh shel R. Yehuda ha-Levi* ("The Poetics of the Sephardi *Piyyut* According to the Liturgical Poetry of Yehuda Halevi"; Jer., 1986), 340 pp.; this work, with introduction, appendices and indices, discusses meter, rhyme, and euphonic word-texture: language, methods of formulation and imagery, and structural methods.

(22) Dan Pagis, *Al Sod Ḥatum* ("A Secret Sealed," Hebrew Baroque Emblem-Riddles from Italy and Holland; Jerusalem, 1986). This work deals with Hebrew riddles which developed in Italy and Holland in a 200-year period, 1650–1850. The ten chapters of the book cover: the field and its study; the origin of the emblem-riddle and foreign languages; the literary riddle as a social genre; the social role of the emblem-riddle; the "emblem-riddle" and related subjects; tricks of language; Aramaic, Hebrew, and the random interpolation of the key word; the body of the emblem-riddle; the unit of the false "solution," three emblem-riddles by Rabbi Moses Zacuto. There are also indices, bibliography, and an English summary.

(23) R.P. Scheindlin, *Wine, Women, and Death: Medieval Hebrew Poems on the Good-Life* (Philadelphia, New York, Jerusalem, 1986), 204 pp. The author presents the original Hebrew poem along with his own English translation, followed by commentary which explains its cultural context. Included are 31 poems, grouped into three categories: (a) Wine, description of or meditations on the wine party, a conventional Arabic social gathering; (b) Women, Golden Age poems of love and desire; (c) Death, mellow reflections on the brevity of life. Among the poets whose work is represented in this collection are: Samuel ha-Nagid, Solomon Ibn Gabirol, Moses Ibn Ezra, and Judah Halevi.

(24) M. Itzḥaki, *"Ani Hashar": Studies in Secular Poetry in Spain* (Tel Aviv, 1986), 133 pp. This work discusses a number of poems by Samuel ha-Nagid, Solomon Ibn Gabirol, Moses ibn Ezra, and Judah Halevi in the light of normative poetics of the period.

(25) I. Levin, *Ha-Sod ve-ha-Yesod* ("Mystical Trends in the Poetry of Solomon Ibn Gabirol"; Lod, 1986), 174 pp.

(26) Y. Feldman, *Bein ha-Kotavim le-Kav ha-Mashveh* ("Semantic Patterns in the Medieval Hebrew Qasida": Tel Aviv, 1987), 130 pages. The author analyzes through semantic deductions six *qasidot* by Moses Ibn Ezra and thereby demonstrates significant principles of structure which are based on two patterns of organization: opposition or polarization and comparison.

(27) M. Itzḥaki, *Ha-Ḥai Ge en ve-ha-Mawet Boẓer* ("Man-the Vine; Death-the Reaper: The *Tocheha* Hebrew Admonishment Poetry of Spain"; Tel Aviv, 1987), 82 pp.

(28) R. Tsur, *Ha-Shirah ha-Ivrit bi-Ymei ha-Beinayim be-Perspektivah Kefulah: Ha-Kore ha-Versatili ve-Shirat Sefarad* ("Medieval Hebrew Poetry in a Double Perspective: The Versatile Reader and Hebrew Poetry in Spain." Papers in Cognitive Poetics; Tel Aviv, 1987), 221 pp. The book deals with medieval literature from three perspectives: (a) the analysis and evaluation of the poems as the result of interaction between the ideational generic figurative, and prosodic dimensions as objects of perceived meaning; (b) the skills necessary for a

versatile reader to be able to respond to a wide range of literary styles; (c) the contemporary reader's confrontations with the styles of a far-distant literary period.

(29) S. Elitzur. *Piyyutei Eleazer berabbi Kiler* (Jer., 1988), 430 pp.

Additional Bibliography on Individual Subjects. (1) *Todros ha-Levi Abulafia* (1989), 234 pp., was published by Aviva Doron. Todros ha-Levi Abulafia was born in Toledo some hundred years after the transfer of the Jewish cultural centers from Muslim Andalusia to Christian Spain. This book describes the poetry of the Hebrew-Castilian poet against the background of the cultural crossroads in which he lived and worked. The book comprises, in addition to an introduction, a selected bibliography, and three indices (poems treated in the book, subject, and name) eight chapters: (a) the author and his times; (b) Todros ha-Levi, a Hebrew author at the crossroads of literary streams; (c) national and religious expressions in the language of Todros's personal poetry; (d) time in his poetry; (e) the attitude of the poet towards his poetry; (f) love poems; (g) methods of structural and rhetorical design in his poems; (h) comments on a selection of poems from *Gan ha-Meshalim ve-ha-Ḥidot.*

(2) Rina Drory's *The Emergence of Jewish Arabic Literary Contacts at the Beginning of the Tenth Century* appeared in 1988. In addition to an introduction and summary, the book has six chapters: (a) the structure of the Jewish literary system at the beginning of the 10th century; (b) the consolidation of Hebrew and Arabic as the written languages for the Jewish literary system; (c) unequivocal literary patterns: Karaite patterns; (d) ambivalent literary patterns: wisdom proverbs; (e) biblical treatment; (f) the role of Saadiah Gaon in contacts with Arabic literature. Indices of names and of works conclude this important contribution to the field.

(3) *Yehuda Halevi*, a selection of critical essays on his poetry, selected with an introduction by Aviva Doron, was published in 1988, 285 pp. It has (a) studies into the biography of the poet by H. Schirmann, S.D. Goitein, and Yosef Yahalom; (b) articles on his poems – a total of 16 items by Ḥayyim Naḥman Bialik, Franz Rosenzweig, Ben-Zion Dinur, Michael Ish-Shalom, Yitzḥak Heinemann, Aryeh Ludwig Strauss, Yisrael Levin, Moshe Schwartz, Adi Zemaḥ, Aharon Mirsky, Reuven Zur, Dov Sadan, Ezra Fleischer, Ẓevi Malachi, Ephraim Ḥazan, and Aviva Doron; (c) five appendices – Samuel David Luzzatto's *Betulat Bat-Yehudah* (1840); a diwan by Judah Halevi; from Michael Sachs' *Religious Poetry of the Jews* (1845); Heinrich Ḥayyim Brody's *Rosh Davar'* to a *diwan* by the poet; and from Fritz Yitzḥak Baer's *The History of Jews in Christian Spain* (1945).

(4) *Abraham Ibn Ezra y su tiempo*, the acts of an international symposium held in Madrid, Tudela, and Toledo on February 1–8, 1989, 396 pp., appeared in 1990. This book contains the 45 lectures given by international scholars at the symposium held in honor of the 900th anniversary of the birth of Abraham Ibn Ezra.

Jubilee and Memorial Volumes. (1) *Shai le-Heiman* (*A.M. Habermann Jubilee Volume*), edited by Z. Malachi with the assistance of Y. David (Jer., 1977), 385 pp. This volume contains 21 articles, a bibliography of Habermann's works and an index to *piyyutim* he published, prepared by Y. David.

(2) J. Blau, S. Pines, M.J. Kister, S. Shaked (eds.), *Ḥakkirei Mizraḥ* (*Studia Orientalia, Memoriae D.H. Baneth Dedicata*) (Jer., 1979), 407 pp.

(3) G. Nahon and Ch. Touati, *Hommage a G. Vajda. Etudes d'histoire et de pensé juive édités par…* (Louvain, 1980), 604 pp. The 40 contributions dealt with Judaica studies.

(4) Z. Malachi (ed.), *Yad le-Heiman* (*The A.M. Habermann Memorial Volume*; Lod, 1983), 434 pp. The five sections of the book deal with Medieval Hebrew literature, the heritage of Eastern Jewry after the Expulsion from Spain, bibliography and study of the Hebrew book, the history of liturgy and customs, and the memory of Prof. Habermann.

(5) *Le-Zikhro shel Ḥayyim Schirmann,* published by the Israel National Academy of Science (Jer., 1984). The essays included are "The Position of Prof. Schirmann in the Study of Hebrew Poetry," by S. Abramson; "On Retribution and Redemption in the Religious Poems of Abraham Ibn Ezra," by I. Levin, and "Ups and Downs in Ancient Hebrew Poetry," by A. Mirsky.

(6) Z. Malachi (ed), *Be-Oraḥ Mada* (*Aharon Mirsky Jubilee Volume*, essays on Jewish Culture; Lod, 1986), 619 pp. In addition to a selected bibliography of the works of A. Mirsky, the book contains essays on Jewish studies, on Hebrew poetry in Spain and North Africa, on poetry and *piyyut* and culture.

(7) G.J. Blidstein, Y. Salmon, E. Yassif (eds.), *Eshel Beer-Sheva* ("Essays in Jewish Studies in Memory of Professor Nehemia Allony"; Beersheba, 1986), 371 pp. A bibliography of the works of Nehemiah Allony prepared by R. Attal is included.

Anthologies and Collections. (1) J. Rothenberg, H. Lenowitz, and Ch. Doria, *A Big Jewish Book; Poems and Other Visions of the Jews from Tribal Times to the Present* (New York, 1978), 633 pp.

(2) K. Bosley, *The Elek Book of Oriental Verse* (London, 1979).

(3) D. Pagis (ed.), *Ke-Ḥut ha-Shani* ("The Scarlet Thread; Hebrew love poems from Spain, Italy, Turkey and the Yemen"; Tel Aviv, 1979), 120 pp. an anthology of 99 poems by 23 poets, dating from the 10th to the 19th centuries. The poems are arranged in 12 sections by subject and motif rather than according to chronological order.

(4) *Abraham ibn Ezra Reader*, annotated texts with introduction and commentary, by I. Levin, edited by M. Arfa (Tel Aviv, 1985), 438 pp.

(5) Angel Saenz-Badillos and Judit Targarona Borras published an anthology, *Poetas Hebreos de-al-Andalus* (*Siglos x–xii*), in 1988, 232 pp. This is the first anthology of its type to appear in Spain: it offers selections from 12 of the greatest Hebrew poets of Spain, beginning with Menahem ibn Saruq

and ending with Abraham Ibn Ezra. The text, in an excellent translation, is accompanied by a selected bibliography.

(6) Aharon Mirsky's 731-page *Ha-Piyyut, The Development of Post-Biblical Poetry in Eretz-Israel and the Diaspora*, appeared in 1990. This large, excellent anthology contains 45 articles representing 40 years of research in the field. There are three sections to the book: (1) 16 articles on the sources of the prayers and the initial steps toward *piyyut* in the Bible; post-biblical poetry; poetry in the talmudic period; delineation of the characteristics of ancient poetry; the schools within ancient Hebrew poetry; the *piyyut* tradition in the Land of Israel; and other items.

(2) 15 articles on innovations introduced by early post-biblical poetry, including language and the poetic form; the significance of rhyme in Hebrew poetry; clarification and explication of the language of poetry, and so on;

(3) 14 articles on Hebrew poetry in Spain and Germany and the nature of the poetry which began anew in the eastern countries in the 17th and 18th centuries; evaluations of four important poets – Dunash ben Labrat, Rabbenu Gershom Meor ha-Golah, Judah al-Ḥarizi, and Israel Najara. The book ends with indices on subjects, *piyyutim* and *paytanim.*

Liturgy. (1) J. Heinemann and A. Shinan, *Tefillot ha-Keva ve-ha-Ḥovah shel Shabbat ve-Yom Ḥol* (Tel Aviv, 1977), 131 pp., deals with the weekday and Sabbath liturgy and includes explication, history, and discussion of their structure.

(2) J. Heinemann, *Prayer in the Talmud* (Berlin, 1977), a revised English edition of the 1964 Hebrew-language version.

(3) H.G. Cohen (ed.), *Ha-Tefillah ha-Yehudit* ("Prayer in Judaism: Continuity and Change"; Jerusalem, 1978), 292 pp.

(4) J. Heinemann, *Iyyunei Tefillah* ("Studies in Jewish Liturgy"; Jerusalem, 1981), edited by A. Shinan, 205 pp.

(5) A. Mirsky, *Yesodei Ẓurot ha-Piyyut* ("The Original Forms of Early Hebrew Poetry"; Jer., 1985), 134 pp., deals with ancient Ereẓ Israel poetry.

(6) A.M. Habermann, *Al ha-Tefillah* ("Essays on Prayers"), edited by Z. Malachi (Lod, 1987), 148 pp. This collection is made up of various essays on prayers published during the author's lifetime.

(7) The monumental (posthumous) work by D. Goldschmidt, *Meḥkare Tefillah u-Fiyyut.*

FACSIMILES AND BIBLIOGRAPHY. (1) D.S. Loewinger (ed.), *Osef Piyyutei Sepharad* ("Collection of Spanish Piyyutim"; Jerusalem, 1977), 264 pp. Facsimile edition based on Ms. 197 in the David Guenzberg Collection. Lenin Public Library, Moscow.

(2) J. Yahalom (ed.), *Kit'ei ha-genizah shel piyyutei Yannai* ("A Collection of Genizah Fragments of Yannai's Liturgical Poems"; Jerusalem, 1978), 214 pp.

(3) E. Koren, *The Alphabetical Index to Israel Najara's Poems* (Tel Aviv, 1978), 44 pp.

(4) D. Carpi (ed.), *Bibliotheca Italo-Ebraica: Bibliografia per la storia degli Ebrei in Italia 1964–1973*, collected by A. Luzzato and M. Moldavi (Rome, 1982).

(5) D. Pagis, E. Fleischer (eds.), Y. David (co-editor), *A Bibliography of the Writings of Prof Jefim (Haim) Schirmann (1904–1981)* (Jer., 1983), 48 pp.

(6) "Bibliography of the Writings of G. Vajda", in: *Da'at*, 10 (1983), 53–66,125–126.

(7) R. Attal, *Kitvei Professor Nehemya Allony* ("A bibliography of the writings of Prof. N. Allony"; Beersheba, 1984), 33 pp.

(8) Y. Ganuz, *Bibliografiyyah shel Kitvei Ḥayyim Schwarzbaum be-Ḥeker ha-Folklore ha-Yehudi ve-ha-Aravi*, in: *Yeda-Am*, 22 (1984; no. 51–52), 10–19.

(9) M. Beit-Arie, *The Only Dated Medieval Manuscript Written in England (1189 C.E.) and the Problem of Pre-Expulsion Anglo-Hebrew Manuscripts* (Appendix 1 by M. Banitt; appendix 2 by Z.E. Rokeaḥ), London 1985, 56 pp.

(10) Y. David, "A Decade of Research on Medieval Hebrew Literature," in: *Jewish Book Annual*, 43 (1985–1986), 107–117;

(11) J. Yahalom, *Maḥzor Ereẓ Yisrael, Kodex ha-Genizah* with a paleographic introduction by E. Engel, facsimile edition (1988), 148 pp.

(12) *Ḥeqer ha-Shirah ve-ha-Piyyut* ("Research in Poetry and Piyyut") 1948–1978, a cumulative index-bibliography was published by Ben-Gurion University in 1989. There are 451 pages in Hebrew and 31 in other languages. The editors were Gisella Davidson, Elhanan Adler, Pinḥas Ziv, and Amira Kehat.

(13) *The Catalogue of the Jack Mosseri Collection* appeared, edited by the Institute of Microfilmed Hebrew Manuscripts, with the collaborations of numerous specialists (1990), 407 pages, with a foreword by Claude Mosseri and a preface by Israel Adler. The catalogue contains, in addition to a concordance of call-numbers and indices of titles, subjects, authors, places, dates, languages, copyists and persons mentioned, and melody indications, a listing on *piyyut* and poetry-genres, subjects, and forms and incipits of the *piyyutim* and the poems.

[Yonah David]

Developments from 1990 to 2005

EDITIONS, HEBREW TEXTS. E. Fleischer, *Mishle Sa'id ben Babshad* (1990); A. Sáenz-Badillos & J. Targarona, *Šĕmu'el ha-Nagid. Poemas. I, Desde el campo de batalla* (*Granada 1038–1056)* (1990); A. Sáenz-Badillos, J. Targarona & A. Doron, *Judah ha-Levi, Poemas. Shirim* (1994); A. Sáenz-Badillos & J. Targarona, *Šemu'el ha-Nagid. Poemas. II, En la corte de Granada* (1998); N. Allony, *Shirim Genuzim: Shirim Ḥadashim mi-Genizat Kahir*, ed. J. Tobi (2001).

STUDIES, HISTORY, CRITICISM. R. Brann, *The Compunctious Poet* (1991); D. Pagis, *Hebrew Poetry of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance* (1991); F. Corriente & A. Sáenz-Badillos, *Poesía estrófica* (1991); A. Sáenz-Badillos, *El alma lastimada: Ibn Gabirol* (1992); D. Pagis & E. Fleischer, *Ha-Shir Davur 'al*

Ofanav: Meḥkarim u-Masot ba-Shirah ha-Ivrit shel Yeme ha-Beinayim (1993); A. Schippers, *Spanish Hebrew Poetry and the Arab Literary Tradition: Arabic Themes in Hebrew Andalusian Poetry* (1994); D. Bregman, *Shevil ha-Zahav: ha-Sonet ha-'Ivri bi-Tekufat ha-Renesans ve-ha-Barok* (1995); E. Hazan, *Ha-Shirah ha-'Ivrit bi-Ẓefon Afrikah* (1995); I. Levin, *Me'il Tashbeẓ: ha-Sugim ha-Shonim shel Shirat ha-Ḥol ha-'Ivrit bi-Sefarad* (1995); J. Schirmann, & E. Fleischer, *The History of Hebrew Poetry in Muslim Spain* (Heb., 1995).

T. Vardi, *"Adat ha-Nognim be-Saragosah, Shirat ha-Ḥol"* (diss. 1996); D. Bregman, *Ẓeror Zehuvim: Sonetim Ivriyyim mi-Tekufat ha-Renesans ve-ha-Barok* (1997); P. Fenton, *Philosophie et exégèse dans Le Jardin de la méthaphore de Moïse Ibn 'Ezra, philosophe et poète andalou du XIIe siècle* (1997); S. Kats, *Benot-ha-Shir ha-Na'vot: Hebetim Po'etiyim, Ḥevratiyyim ve-Historiyyim bi-Yeẓiratam shel Meshorere-Sefarad* (1997); T. Rosen, *Shirat ha-Ḥol ha-Ivrit bi-Ymei-ha-Beinayim* (1997); J. Schirmann, & E. Fleischer, *The History of Hebrew Poetry in Christian Spain and Southern France* (Heb., 1997); I. Levin, *Tanim ve-Khinor: Ḥurban, Galut, Nakam u-Ge'ulah ba-Shirah ha-Ivrit ha-Le'ummit* (1998); J. Chetrit, *Piyiut ve-Shirah be-Yahadut Maroko: Asupat Meḥkarim al Shirim ve-al Meshorerim* (1999); R.P. Scheindlin, *Wine, Women, & Death: Medieval Hebrew Poems on the Good Life.* (1999); D. Bregman, *Sharsheret ha-Zahav: ha-Sonet ha-Ivri le-Dorotav* (2000); R. Drory, *Models and Contacts. Arabic Literature and Its Impact on Medieval Jewish Culture* (2000).

R. Brann, *Power in the Portrayal: Representations of Jews and Muslims in Eleventh- and Twelfth-Century Islamic Spain* (2002); S. Einbinder, *Beautiful Death: Jewish Poetry and Martyrdom in Medieval France* (2002); A. Tanenbaum, *The Contemplative Soul: Hebrew Poetry and Philosophical Theory in Medieval Spain* (2002); T. Rosen, *Unveiling Eve: Reading Gender in Medieval Hebrew Literature* (2003); A. Brenner, *Isaac ibn Khalfun: a Wandering Hebrew Poet of the Eleventh Century* (2003); J. Targarona & A. Sáenz-Badillos (eds.), *Poesía hebrea en al-Andalus* (2003); S. Elizur, *Shirat ha-Ḥol ha-Ivrit bi-Sefarad ha-Muslemit* (2004); M.M. Hamilton, S.J. Portnoy, et al. *Wine, Women and Song: Hebrew and Arabic Literature of Medieval Iberia* (2004); J. Tobi & M. Rosovsky, *Proximity and Distance: Medieval Hebrew and Arabic Poetry* (2004); Joseph ben Tanhum, *Arugot ha-Besamim*, ed. J. Dishon (2005).

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[Angel Sáenz-Badillos (2nd ed.)]

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POGREBIN, LETTY COTTIN (1939–), U.S. feminist activist, prolific writer, and cofounder with Gloria *Steinem of the National Women's Political Caucus. Born in Queens, New York City, to Cyral (Halpern) and Jacob Cottin, Pogrebin was among the first girls to celebrate a bat mitzvah in Conservative Judaism (1952). A 1959 graduate of Brandeis University, she married Bertrand Pogrebin, a New York City lawyer, in 1963. Following her marriage, Pogrebin worked for Bernard Geis Associates, a publishing company, becoming director of publicity and vice president. Her experiences inspired her first book, *How to Make It in a Man's World* (1970). In 1971, Pogrebin helped found *Ms. Magazine* with Steinem. *Getting Yours: How to Make the System Work for the Working Woman* (1975), continued her concern for women's status in the workplace.

Pogrebin's writings reconciled feminist convictions with marriage and family life. A mother of twin daughters and a son (and later grandmother of six), Pogrebin discussed sex-role socialization and principles of nonsexist child-rearing in *Growing Up Free: Raising Your Child in the 80s* (1980) and *Stories for Free Children* (1982). She worked with Marlo Thomas to create *Free to Be You and Me*, a record, book, and television special of nonsexist songs and stories, for which she received an Emmy Award. In *Family Politics: Love and Power on an Intimate Frontier* (1983), Pogrebin argued against "family fetishists," who insisted on "the old-fashioned, confining, authoritarian family, or no family at all." Pogrebin elaborated on the meaning and politics of relationships in *Among Friends: Who We Like, Why We Like Them and What We Do with Them* (1987).

For the first two decades of her career, Pogrebin was not overt about her Jewish identity. Her disenchantment with Judaism began when she was barred from reciting **kaddish* following her mother's death when she was 15. In her memoir, *Deborah, Golda and Me: Being Female and Jewish in America* (1991), she chronicled her 1980s reconnection with Jewish life: "I decided it was worth the effort to incorporate the nice Jewish girl I was raised to be into the uppity woman I had become." Pogrebin's high-profile status in the secular feminist movement made the book a powerful example of a Jewish commitment that embraced feminist/liberal social activism. She also wrote a second memoir, *Getting Over Getting Older* (1997), as well as a critically acclaimed first novel, *Three Daughters* (2002).

Pogrebin's essays and articles have appeared in diverse publications, including the *New York Times*, *Tikkun*, the *Nation*, and *Good Housekeeping*. She was a leader in the National

Women's Political Caucus, the Ms. Foundation for Women, the International Center for Peace in the Middle East, Americans for Peace Now, Mazon: A Jewish Response to Hunger, and the New Israel Fund. She spoke out against antisemitism in the women's movement (*Ms. Magazine*, June 1982) and decried the United Nations declaration that equated Zionism and racism.

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[Wendy Zierler (2nd ed.)]

POGREBISHCHENSKI (known as **Pogrebishche** up to 1945, referred to by the Jews as **Pohorbishch** and in Polish documents as **Bohybryszcze**), town in Vinnitsa district, Ukraine. Jews settled in Pogrebishchenski at the beginning of the 17th century, and it is listed among the communities destroyed during the *Chmielnicki massacres of 1648. The community, restored at the end of the 17th century, suffered severely from the uprisings of the *Haidamacks in 1736 and 1768. There were 664 Jews in Pogrebishchenski in 1765 and 1,726 in 1847; the census of 1897 showed 2,494 Jews (39.5 percent of the total population). The 17th-century wooden synagogue, whose construction and appurtenances were renowned for their original artistic execution, attracted the attention of researchers of Jewish art. During the years of the civil war (1918–21), a Jewish *self-defense group was maintained, which prevented bands of peasants of the region from attacking Jews. In the summer of 1919 troops of *Petlyura conquered the locality and ordered the self-defense group to be disarmed. A few days later (on Aug. 22, 1919) an armed band of peasants commanded by Zeleny entered and gained control of the town, carrying out a massacre of the Jews which lasted several hours. About 400 people were murdered, many were wounded, and property was looted. There were 2,881 Jews (30 percent of the total) in the town in 1926, dropping by 1939 to 1,445 (15% of the total population). Between the world wars there was a Yiddish school and a Jewish council. Most of the artisans in the two cooperatives were Jews and did not work on Saturdays. The Germans occupied the town on July 21, 1941. At the end of July 40 Jewish refugees were killed, and a ghetto was established. On October 18, 1941 more than 1,750 were murdered. The remaining artisans were killed later.

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[Yehuda Slutsky]

POGROMS. Pogrom is a Russian word designating an attack, accompanied by destruction, looting of property, murder, and rape, perpetrated by one section of the population against another. In modern Russian history pogroms have been perpetrated against other nations (Armenians, Tatars) or groups of inhabitants (intelligentsia). However, as an international term, the word "pogrom" is employed in many languages to describe specifically the attacks accompanied by looting and bloodshed against the Jews in Russia. The word designates more particularly the attacks carried out by the Christian population against the Jews between 1881 and 1921 while the civil and military authorities remained neutral and occasionally provided their secret or open support. The pogroms occurred during periods of severe political crisis in the country and were linked to social upheavals and nationalist incitement in Eastern Europe. (Similar events also occurred during that period, though on a more limited scale, in the context of the antisemitic movements in Germany, Austria, Romania, and the Balkan countries, and of nationalist and religious fanaticism in *Morocco, *Algeria, and *Persia.)

The Jews of Russia were the victims of three large-scale waves of pogroms, each of which surpassed the preceding in scope and savagery. These occurred between the years 1881 and 1884, 1903 and 1906, and 1917 and 1921. There were outbreaks in Poland after it regained independence in 1918, and in Romania from 1921.

In the 1880s

The pogroms of the 1880s took place during the period of confusion which prevailed in Russia after the assassination of Czar Alexander II by members of the revolutionary organization Narodnaya Volya on March 13, 1881. Anti-Jewish circles spread a rumor that the czar had been assassinated by Jews and that the government had authorized attacks on them. The pogroms at first also received the support of some revolutionary circles, who regarded this action as a preliminary awakening of the masses which would lead to the elimination of the existing regime. The first pogrom occurred in the town of Yelizavetgrad (*Kirovograd), in Ukraine, at the end of April 1881. From there, the pogrom wave spread to the surrounding villages and townlets – about 30 in number. At the beginning of May, the pogroms spread to the provinces of *Kherson, Taurida, Yekaterinoslav (*Dnepropetrovsk), *Kiev, *Poltava, and *Chernigov. The most severe attack was perpetrated in Kiev over three days before the eyes of the governor general and his staff of officials and police force while no attempt was made to restrain the rioters. The pogroms in *Odessa were of more limited scope. During the months of July and August there was again a series of pogroms in the provinces of Chernigov and Poltava. During this period, the pogroms were mainly restricted to the destruction and looting of property and beatings. The number of dead was small. The attackers came from among the rabble of the towns, the peasants, and the workers in industrial enterprises and the railroads. At the end of this period, the government forces reacted against the rioters and in several places even opened fire on them, leaving a number of dead and injured. The pogroms occurred in a restricted geographical region – southern and eastern Ukraine. Here there was a combination of aggravating circumstances: the traditional rebelliousness among the masses; a tradition of anti-Jewish hatred and persecutions from the 17th and 18th centuries (the massacres perpetrated by *Chmielnicki and the

*Haidamacks), together with the presence there of homeless seasonal workers in the factories, railways, and ports; the rise of a rural bourgeoisie and local intelligentsia, who regarded the Jews as most dangerous rivals; and an extremist revolutionary movement which was unscrupulous in the methods it adopted.

After the pogroms in the spring and summer of 1881, there was a remission, although occasional pogroms broke out in various parts of the country. Among these was a severe pogrom in *Warsaw on the Catholic Christmas Day and an Easter pogrom in *Balta, in which two Jews were killed and 120 injured, and many cases of rape occurred. In *Belorussia and *Lithuania, where the local authorities adopted a firm attitude against the rioters, large fires broke out in many towns and townlets; a considerable number of these were started by the enemies of the Jews. The murder of individual Jews and even whole families also became a common occurrence during this period. On June 21, 1882, the new minister of the interior, Count D. Tolstoy, published an order which placed the blame for the pogroms on the governors of the provinces and declared that "every attitude of negligence on the part of the administration and the police would entail the dismissal from their position of those who were guilty." Isolated pogroms nevertheless occurred during the following two years or so. In the spring of 1883, a sudden wave of pogroms broke out in the towns of *Rostov and Yekaterinoslav and their surroundings. On this occasion, the authorities reacted with vigor against the rioters and there were several casualties among them. The last great outburst occurred in June 1884 in Nizhni Novgorod (see *Gorki), where the mob attacked the Jews of the Kanavino quarter, killing nine of them and looting much property. The authorities tried over 70 of the rioters and severe penalties of imprisonment were imposed on them. This marked the end of the first wave of pogroms in Russia.

The pogroms of the 1880s greatly influenced the history of Russian Jewry. In their wake, the Russian government adopted a systematic policy of discrimination with the object of removing the Jews from their economic and public positions. This was achieved either by restrictive laws (the *May Laws of 1882, the percentage norm of admission (*numerus clausus) to secondary schools, higher institutions of learning, etc.) or by administrative pressure, which reached its climax with the expulsion of the Jews from *Moscow in 1891–92. A mass Jewish emigration began from Russia to the United States and other countries. One reaction to the pogroms was the birth of a nationalist and Zionist movement among the Jews of Russia, while many of the Jewish youth joined the revolutionary movement. The year 1881, the first year of the pogroms, was a turning point not only for Russian Jewry but also for the whole of the Jewish people.

1903 to 1906

The second wave of pogroms was connected with the revolutionary agitation in Russia and the first Russian revolution of 1905. In its struggle against the revolutionary movement, the Russian government gave the reactionary press a free hand to engage in unbridled anti-Jewish incitement in an attempt to divert the anger of the masses against it toward the Jews and to represent the revolutionary movement as the result of "Jewish machinations." Monarchist societies, such as the *Union of Russian People, the Double-Headed Eagle Society, and others, which were referred to by the general name of the Black Hundreds, played a prominent role in the organization of the pogroms. The first results of this incitement were pogroms which occurred in Kishinev during Passover 1903, in the wake of the wild agitation propagated by the antisemitic local newspaper *Bessarabets*, edited by P. *Krushevan. This pogrom was accompanied by savage murders (45 dead and hundreds of wounded) and mutilations of the wounded and dead. About 1,500 Jewish houses and shops were looted. The pogrom angered public opinion throughout the world. Subsequently, a *self-defense movement was organized among the Jewish youth. Its organizers were mainly drawn from the Zionist socialist parties and the *Bund. In a pogrom which broke out in *Gomel in September 1903, the self-defense group played a prominent part in saving Jewish lives and property. In the fall of 1904, a series of pogroms was perpetrated in *Smela, *Rovno, *Aleksandriya and other places by army recruits about to be sent to the war against Japan and by the local rabble. In 1905, when the revolutionary movement gained strength, reactionary circles, with the support of the government, intensified the anti-Jewish propaganda, and an atmosphere of terror reigned in many towns of the *Pale of Settlement and beyond it. Occasionally pogroms occurred in reaction to revolutionary demonstrations, which the opponents of the revolution condemned as Jewish demonstrations. In February 1905 a pogrom took place in *Feodosiya, and in April of the same year in *Melitopol. A pogrom which took place in the provincial capital of *Zhitomir surpassed all these in scope (May 1905). However, the severest pogroms of this period took place during the first week of November 1905, immediately after the publication of the manifesto of the czar (October 1905), which promised the inhabitants of Russia civic liberties and the establishment of a state *Duma (parliament). On publication of the manifesto, spontaneous manifestations of joy broke out throughout Russia. The celebrants came from the liberal and radical elements of Russian society, while the Jews, who hoped to obtain rapid *emancipation, prominently participated in this rejoicing. In response to these manifestations, the reactionary circles organized popular processions of elements loyal to the regime; these were headed by the local civil and ecclesiastical leaders. In many places these processions developed into pogroms against the Jews (on some occasions, the non-Jewish intelligentsia was also attacked).

The most serious pogrom occurred in Odessa (with over 300 dead and thousands of wounded); another severe pogrom took place in Yekaterinoslav, where 120 Jews lost their lives. Altogether, pogroms were perpetrated in 64 towns (including, in addition to Odessa and Yekaterinoslav, Kiev, Kishinev, *Simferopol, *Romny, *Kremenchug, *Nikolayev, Chernigov, *Kamenets-Podolski, and Yelizavetgrad), and 626 townlets and villages. About 660 of the pogroms took place in the Ukraine and Bessarabia, 24 outside the Pale of Settlement, and only seven in Belorussia. There were no pogroms in Poland and Lithuania. The total number of dead in these pogroms was estimated at over 800. The pogroms lasted only a few days. The most prominent participants were railway workers, small shopkeepers and craftsmen, and industrial workers. The peasants mainly joined in to loot property.

From the outset, these pogroms were inspired by government circles. The local authorities received instructions to give the pogromists a free hand and to protect them from the Jewish self-defense. Commissions of inquiry were appointed after the pogroms which explicitly pointed out the criminal inactivity of the police and military forces. After a while, it became known that pamphlets calling for the pogroms had been printed on the press of the government secret police.

Two further pogroms occurred in 1906. The first took place in *Bialystok in June. About 80 Jews lost their lives and the mob looted and murdered under the protection of the military and police forces, who systematically opened fire on the Jews. This pogrom occurred during the session of the first Duma, which sent a commission of inquiry to Bialystok. It also held a debate, in which direct responsibility for the pogrom was placed on the authorities. The second took place in *Siedlce in August and was directly perpetrated by the police and military forces. About 30 Jews were killed and 180 wounded. With the suppression of the first Russian revolution, the pogroms were brought to a halt until the downfall of the old regime in 1917.

The pogroms of 1903–06 stimulated a great nationalist awakening among the Jews of Europe, encouraged the development of organized self-defense movements among Jews, and accelerated Jewish emigration for the Second *Aliyah and the formation of the *Hashomer society in Ereẓ Israel.

1917 to 1921

The third wave of pogroms occurred during the years 1917–21, in scope and gravity far surpassing the two previous outbreaks. These attacks on the Jews were connected with the revolutions and the civil war which took place in Eastern Europe during this period. At the end of 1917, pogroms had already occurred in the townlets and towns within proximity of the war front. The riot was headed by groups of soldiers from the disintegrating czarist army, and consisted of unruly acts against Jews by drunkards and of looting. Many pogroms of this type occurred in the Ukraine after the declaration of its independence in 1918. The first pogroms to be accompanied by slaughter of Jews were, however, perpetrated by units of the Red Army which retreated from the Ukraine in the spring of 1918 before the German army. These pogroms took place under the slogan "Strike at the bourgeoisie and the Jews." The communities of *Novgorod-Severski and Glukhov in northern Ukraine were the most severely affected. After a short period of confusion, the Soviets adopted stringent measures against pogromists found in the ranks of the Red Army. In addition to a fundamental and comprehensive information campaign, severe penalities were imposed not only on guilty individuals, who were executed, but also on complete army units, which were disbanded after their men had attacked Jews. Even though pogroms were still perpetrated after this, mainly by Ukrainian units of the Red Army at the time of its retreat from Poland (1920), in general, the Jews regarded the units of the Red Army as the only force which was able and willing to defend them.

In the spring of 1919, at the time of the retreat of the Ukrainian Army before the Red Army which occupied Kiev, units of the Ukrainian Army carried out organized military pogroms in *Berdichev, Zhitomir, and other towns. These pogroms reached their climax in the massacre at *Proskurov on Feb. 15, 1919, when 1,700 Jews were done to death within a few hours. On the following day, a further 600 victims fell in the neighboring townlet of Felshtin (Gvardeiskoye). Those responsible for these pogroms went unpunished, and henceforward the Ukrainian soldiers considered themselves free to spill Jewish blood. The Jews regarded Simon *Petlyura, the prime minister of the Ukraine and commander of its forces, as responsible for these pogroms (in 1926 he was assassinated while in exile in Paris by Shalom *Schwarzbard). The general chaos which reigned in the Ukraine in 1919 resulted in the formation of large and small bands of peasants who fought against the Red Army. The commanders (atamans) of these bands occasionally gained control of whole regions. The Jews in the villages, townlets, and towns there were constantly terrorized by the peasants, who extorted money ("contributions") and supplies from them or robbed and murdered them. These atamans included Angell, Kazakov, Kozyr-Zyrko, Struk, Volynets, Zeleny, Tutunik, and Shepel. The ataman Grigoryev, who in May 1919 seceded from the Red Army with his men, was responsible for pogroms in 40 communities and the deaths of about 6,000 Jews in the summer of 1919. He was killed by Ataman Makhno, who led a peasant rebellion in eastern Ukraine and endeavored to restrain his men from attacking the Jews. One of the most notorious pogroms carried out by the peasant bands was that in Trostyanets in May 1919, when over 400 people lost their lives.

In the fall of 1919, there was a wave of pogroms committed by the counterrevolutionary White Army, under the command of General A.I. *Denikin, in its advance from northern Caucasus into the heart of Russia. This army, which sought to restore the old regime, proclaimed the slogan: "Strike at the Jews and save Russia." Its officers and soldiers made savage attacks on the Jews in every place which they occupied. The most sinister of these pogroms was in Fastov at the beginning of September 1919, in which about 1,500 Jewish men, women, and children were massacred. The soldiers of the White Army also perpetrated similar pogroms in other regions of Russia: in Siberia, where they were led by Admiral Kolchak and where the Cossack battalions of Baron R. Ungern-Sternberg gained notoriety for the systematic destruction of many communities in eastern Siberia and Mongolia; and in Belorussia, where Bulak-Balachowicz was in command in 1920. During 1920–21, when the Red Army gained control of Ukraine, the armed anti-Soviet bands still retained their full strength and the pogroms and brutalities against the Jews assumed a character of revenge, such as the massacre in Tetiev, in which about 4,000 Jews were put to death and the whole townlet was set on fire. The anti-Jewish movement set the total annihilation of the Jews as its objective and destroyed whole townlets. Only the military weakness of the attackers prevented a holocaust of Ukrainian Jewry.

During this period of pogroms, Jewish self-defense organizations were formed in many places throughout the Ukraine. The "Jewish Militia for War against Pogroms" of Odessa was renowned; it prevented pogroms in the largest community of Ukraine. Such groups were created in many towns and townlets but they were not always capable of withstanding military units or large armed bands. It was only after the consolidation of the Soviet regime that they received its support and played an important role in the suppression of the armed counter-revolutionary movement.

It is difficult to assess the scope of the pogroms during the civil war years and the number of victims they claimed. Partial data are available for 530 communities in which 887 major pogroms and 349 minor pogroms occurred; there were 60,000 dead and several times that number of wounded (according to S. Dubnow). The pogroms of 1917–21 shocked East European Jewry, as well as world Jewry. On the one hand, they rallied many Jews to the Red Army and the Soviet regime; on the other, they strengthened the desire for the creation of a homeland for the Jewish people and a powerful and independent Jewish force. This aspiration found its expression in the Zionist movement, the *He-Ḥalutz movement, and the *Haganah in Ereẓ Israel.

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[Yehuda Slutsky]

°**POHL, OSWALD** (1896–1951), *SS officer, formerly a naval paymaster head of the Wirtschafts-Verwaltungshauptamt (Economic-Administrative Main Office, WVHA). He joined the Nazi Party in 1926 and the SS in 1934. In 1934 he became head of the administrative office of the SS which dealt with all its financial and administrative matters. In 1939 he was appointed head of the construction office of the SS, including the concentration camps. His task was to develop the economic enterprises of the SS, which were essential to their operation. On Feb. 1, 1942, the officers under his charge were brought into the WVHA. In the spring of 1942 the Inspection Authority of the concentration camps was added to his responsibilities. Pohl aimed at financing all SS activities, including the Waffen SS, from the profits of SS-owned enterprises for which he utilized the slave labor of concentration camp prisoners and expropriated Jewish property. He had more than half a million slave laborers at his disposal which he could rent to industry as workers. Another source of income was gained from the belongings of murdered Jews, including their gold teeth. Pohl always urged longer working hours, less rest, and stricter supervision over the camp inmates. He enslaved prisoners of war contrary to international conventions. Since his concern was labor and since he was pressed for manpower, he even opposed the *RSHA policy for the total destruction of the Jews and advocated sparing able-bodied Jews from immediate death, so that they could be worked to death. This bought them a little time and enabled some to survive. Pohl was sentenced to death by the U.S. Military Tribunal in 1947 and hanged in Landsberg in 1951.

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[Yehuda Reshef / Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

POHORELICE (Czech **Pohořelice**; Ger. **Pohrlitz**), village in S. Moravia, Czech Republic. It had one of the most ancient Jewish communities in Moravia, and according to legend, the oldest. Although the earliest known documentary evidence for the existence of a Jewish settlement in Pohorelice dates from 1490, a Jewish community apparently already existed there at the beginning of the tenth century. At the close of the 18th century about 500 Jews lived in Pohorelice. From 1849 (officially from 1862) until the dissolution of the Austrian Empire in 1918, a local Jewish political authority also existed. From 1847 to 1918 the community supported a Jewish elementary school whose language of instruction was German. In 1930 the community numbered 277. The majority perished in the Holocaust. A transit camp for Jewish prisoners from Hungary existed in the town in 1944–45 from where they were sent to Theresienstadt and Bergen-Belsen. A synagogue built in 1854–55 was demolished by the Nazis. The cemetery was likewise destroyed; however, after the war it was restored. The Jewish community was not renewed. Berthold *Feiwel was born in Pohorelice.

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[Chaim Yahil / Yeshayahu Jelinek (2nd ed.)]

POISON (Heb. חֵמָה, לַעֲנָה, מְרֵרָה, רֹאשׁ [רוֹשׁ], רַעַל, תַּרְעֵלָה; Akk. *imtu, martu*; Ug. *ḥmt*). The biblical terms for poison are derived mainly from two sources: types of poisonous plants and the poisonous venom of snakes and other reptiles. Many attempts have been made to identify the specific plants involved based on the translations of these terms in the Septuagint and the other ancient versions, but any conclusions based on this evidence must be considered extremely uncertain. The Bible itself offers no evidence whatsoever, since its usage of these terms is generally metaphorical, offering no identifying characteristics. Therefore, when discussing these various terms, this article will deal with the biblical usage and its ancient Near Eastern parallels rather than attempting to arrive at specific identifications.

Laʿanah, Rosh

The terms *rosh* ("gall") and *laʿanah* ("wormwood") are often found in synonymous parallelism (Jer. 9: 14; 23:15; Amos 6:12) or in hendiadys (Deut. 29:17; Lam. 3:19). They are most often used metaphorically to represent the concepts of poison and bitterness. As her punishment for disobeying the Lord, Israel is forced to consume bitter food and drink (Jer. 8:14; 9:14; 23:15; Lam. 3:15), while a psalmist contends that his enemies are giving him such a hard time that he feels that he is being given bitter food (Ps. 69:22). Another common theme for which these terms are employed is the turning of justice into bitterness (Hon. 10:4; Amos 5:7; 6:12). The especially general nature of the term *rosh*, "gall," in the bible may be demonstrated by its usage in contexts referring to snake venom (Deut. 32:33; Job 20:16) and grapes (Deut. 32:32).

Ḥemah

The biblical term most commonly employed for the venom of snakes and other reptiles is *ḥemah*. In the Song of Moses, the calamity which befalls Israel as a result of God's judgment takes the metaphorical form of *ḥamat zoḥalei ʿafar*, "the venom of snakes" (Deut. 32:24; for the meaning of *zoḥalei ʿafar* cf. Micah 7:17), while later in the same chapter, *rosh* and *ḥemah*, which are parallels, are again used metaphorically: "the venom (*ḥamat*) of serpents is their wine, and the poison (*rosh*) of vipers …" (Deut. 32:33). Elsewhere *ḥemah* is used for snake poison in Psalm 58:5 and for the venom of an unknown reptile (*ʿakhshuv*) in Psalm 140:4.

Both Akkadian (*imtu*) and Ugaritic (*ḥmt*) utilize an etymological and semantic equivalent of חמה as one of their regular words for "poison." The usage of Akkadian *imtu* is very close to the usage of biblical *ḥemah*. The following two passages illustrate the usage of *imtu* as "snake venom":

> 1. *azzūzâ izarri imta ana sursurru*
> *izarri imta*
> *imat ṣēri imassu*
> *imat zuqaqīpi imassu*
>
> She [Lamaštu] spits venom now and then,
> she spits venom suddenly,
> her venom is snake venom,
> her venom is scorpion venom (A. Falkenstein, *Literarische Keilschrifttexte aus Uruk* (1931), 33:21ff.).
>
> 2. *patûni šapti šinnašunu našâ imta*
> [Their] lips are open, their fangs carry venom (*Enūma eliš*, 4:53; Ps. 140:4).

Two Ugaritic texts (*Ugaritica*, 5 (1969), nos. 7, 8), which appear to be "serpent charms" contain, for the first time in Ugaritic, the substantive *ḥmt*, "poison, snake venom." This substantive is found more than 25 times in these two texts whose provenance has already been compared to such biblical passages as Jeremiah 8:17; Psalms 58:5; and Ecclesiastes 10:11. In the first of these two texts, an incantation formula consisting of six lines is repeated 11 times, each time invoking a different deity. While the translation of all the lines of this incantation is far from certain, the lines containing the noun *ḥmt*, while not without their difficulties, are relatively clear:

> *lnh mlhs/aʾbd*
> *lnh ydy hmt*
>
> From him [the serpent], the conjurer shall destroy,
> from him, he shall remove the venom (*Ugaritica*, 5 (1969), 7: 5–6, 10–11, 16–17, 21–22, 27–28, 32–33, 37–38, 42–43, 47–48, 53–54, 59–60).

There are many biblical passages (e.g., Isa. 51:17, 22; Jer. 25:15; Job 21:20) where the substantive *ḥemah* is employed to evoke a double entendre based on its most regular meaning of "wrath" (e.g., Gen. 27:44–45; Deut. 29:22, 27; Isa. 63:3, 6; Jer. 21:5; *aʾf*, "anger") and its less common denotation of "poison, venom" (see above). This usage is further demonstrated by the occurrence of such idioms as the "pouring out of God's wrath/poison" (e.g., Isa. 42:25; Jer. 10:25; Ezek. 7:8; Ps. 79:6) and "full of God's poison/wrath" (e.g., Isa. 51:20; Jer. 6:11). While there are no Akkadian passages where *imtu* could be translated "wrath," *The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago* (7 (1960), 139) defines *imtu* in one of its meanings as "poisonous foam, slaver produced from the mouth of angry gods, demons, humans, and animals." (For a full discussion of the semantic range of words for "anger, wrath" in Semitic languages, see H. Cohen, in bibl.)

Mererah

The substantive *mererah* ("poison, venom, gall") is obviously connected with the root *mrr*, "to be bitter," and is generally used in the same way as *ḥemah* (see above). This is demonstrated by the Akkadian lexical equation *imtum* = *martum* (*malku* = *šarru*, 8:124; where *martum* is the Akkadian etymological and semantic equivalent of Hebrew *mererah*) as well as by the following biblical passages:

> Their grapes are grapes of poison (*rosh*); Their clusters are venomous (*merorot*) (Deut. 32:32; cf. Deut. 32:33 quoted above); The venom serpents (*merorat petanim*) is within him (Job 20:40; cf. all examples for *ḥemah*, "snake venom" quoted above); He pours out my gall (*mererati*) upon the ground (Job 16:13; cf. the idiom לשפך חמת יהוה quoted above); He has filled me with poison (*merorim*), sated me with wormwood (*laʿanah*) (Lam.

> 3:15; cf. the idiom "the pouring out of God's wrath/poison" quoted above).

The Akkadian substantive *martu*, "gall," is used in the same way as *imtu*, *ḥemah*, and *mererah*, as may be seen from the following proverb which is somewhat parallel to Deuteronomy 32:32 (see above):

> *ina nāri tabbaššîma mūka daddaru*
> *appūnāma ina kirî tabšîma suluppaka martum*
>
> When you are in \a canal, the water around you is foul-smelling;
> Furthermore, when you are in a palm grove, your dates are gall (W.G. Lambert, *Babylonian Wisdom Literature* (1959), p. 244, lines 19–24).

Thus, the biblical *ḥemah* (in its meaning of "poison, venom") and *mererah* must be considered poetic synonyms like the Akkadian *imtu* and *martu*.

Raʿal, Tarʿelah

The exact meaning of *raʿal* and *tarʿelah* is unknown. That it must refer to some kind of poison is clear from Isaiah 51:17, 22, where *tarʿelah* parallels *ḥemah*. The occurrence with *yayin* ("wine") in Psalm 60:5 *(yayin tarʿelah)* also fits in well with the usage of *ḥemah* and *mererah* as stated above. The other few passages (Isa. 3:19; Nah. 2:4; Hab. 2:16 [read והרעל, as in 1QpHab]; Zech. 12:2) in which this substantive or its denominative verb occurs are far from clear, however, and offer nothing in the way of identification. What is clear from the little evidence is that the biblical *raʿal* cannot be derived from Aramaic *rʿl* ("to reel, tremble") because its usage is identical with that of two known biblical words for poison, *ḥemah* and *mererah*. While the etymology of the Modern Hebrew *raʿal* ("poison") is unclear (*raʿal* "poison" is almost nonexistent in the Talmud and Midrash), because its usage in modern Hebrew appears consistent with biblical usage, it is more likely that it is derived from the biblical term than from the Aramaic *rʿl*.

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[Chayim Cohen]

POITIERS, capital of Vienne department, W. France. The history of the Jewish community of Poitiers is almost entirely interwoven with that of *Poitou. During the 13th century, Nathan b. Joseph *Official was involved in a religious disputation with the bishop of Poitiers. An expulsion order against the Jews of Poitiers had already been issued in 1291 but it was canceled in exchange for a large sum of money. The community ceased to exist in 1306. The Rue de la Juiverie, the modern Rue Arsène-Orillard, was closed off by ogival gates which still existed during the 19th century. The cemetery was situated in the present suburb of Montbernage. According to local tradition, treasures buried by the Jews lay hidden there. On the eve of World War II, there were a few hundred Jews in Poitiers. Their numbers increased with the arrival of Jewish refugees from Alsace and Lorraine and later with the internees detained in several camps within the vicinity of the town. In 1970 the community consisted of about 100 persons.

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[Bernhard Blumenkranz]

POITOU, region and former province of W. France, now included in the departments of Vendée, Deux-Sèvres, and Vienne. In the Middle Ages Jews lived in at least 20 localities in Poitou, the most important of which were *Poitiers, Niort, Vitré, Moncontour, Loudun, Bressuire, Lusignan, Montmorillon, and Thouars. Their presence is also recalled by a large number of sites named La Juderie, La Judrie, Les Judes, etc. The earliest evidence of Jewish settlement in Poitou dates from 1134 to 1143, with arrivals from Narbonne. After 1160 Jewish scholars from Poitou took part in the synod of Troyes convened by *Samuel b. Meir and Jacob b. Meir *Tam. One *takkanah* with which the scholars of Poitou were also associated referred to the custom of Narbonne Jewry connected with the dowry. When Poitou passed to English rule, the kings of England provided both individuals and groups of Jews (Niort, 1221) with letters of protection. Under French rule (1224) the Jews of Poitou (like those of Anjou, etc.) were attacked by the *Crusaders in 1236. Soon after he received Poitou in appanage, *Alphonse of Poitiers threatened the Jews with expulsion, but this was not carried out. In 1268, in order to finance his joining a Crusade, Alphonse had all the Jews of Poitou, as well as all those in his other territories, imprisoned and their belongings seized, extorting a ransom of 8,000 livres for their release. In 1269, following the example of *Louis IX, he imposed the wearing of the distinctive Jewish *badge. Although Poitou was incorporated into the kingdom of France in 1270, the Jews there were subjected to special decrees and were finally expelled in 1291, 15 years before their coreligionists in other parts of France. A few of them who returned in 1315 were among the first to be accused (1321) of collusion with the lepers (see *France). An even smaller number of Jews returned after 1359 (or more exactly after 1372 when Poitou was liberated by the English). Some Jews from Comtat Venaissin traded in Poitou during the 18th century.

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[Bernhard Blumenkranz]

POKI, JUDAH BEN ELIEZER CHELEBI (16th century), *Karaite scholar of Constantinople, a nephew of Elijah *Bashyazi. He traveled widely in order to study Karaite writings. In 1571 he was living at the house of the Karaite *nasi* in Cairo. In his *Sha'ar Yehudah*, on forbidden marriages (published by his son Isaac in Constantinople, 1581), he opposed the modifications introduced in this subject by Joseph ha-Ro'eh and Jeshua b. Judah. Poki is the only Karaite scholar of the period to uphold the *rikkuv* ("catenary") theory of forbidden marriages. He mentions also a second work, *Ve-Zot li-Yhudah*, on the determination of the new moon. Jedidiah Solomon of Troki refers in his *Appiryon* to a prayer book compiled by Poki, as well as works on poetry and grammar.

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[Isaak Dov Ber Markon]

POLACCO, VITTORIO (1859–1926), Italian jurist. Born in Padua, Polacco was professor of civil law at the University of Padua from 1885 to 1918 and at the University of Rome from 1918 until his death. He was renowned as a jurist and was invited to teach law and the history of religions to Prince Umberto of Savoy. Polacco was a member of the Italian Senate from 1910 and played an important part in the drafting of the Senate's legislation. He kept aloof from politics and aroused great interest when, in 1925, he delivered the only political speech he ever made in parliament, his subject being freedom of conscience and the protection of religious minorities. He wrote a number of legal works, including *Le Obbligazioni nel Diritto Civile Italiano* (1898); and *Delle Successioni* (2 vols., 1902), both of which ran into many editions, and *Contro il divorzio* (2 vols., 1892) in which he set out his opposition to divorce. Rome's Jewish elementary school was named after him.

[Giorgio Romano]

POLÁČEK, KAREL (1892–1945), Czech writer and journalist, a participant in the "Friday Visitors" literary gatherings of Karel Čapek and probably the outstanding Czech humorist after Hašek. Born in Rychnov nad Kněžnou, Bohemia, he began his career as a reporter in the law courts, where he gained insight into the ordinary people about whom he wrote in his short stories and novels. In these Poláček introduced many Jewish characters, mainly traders, salesmen, and commercial travelers, recording their way of life and mode of speech with accuracy and understanding. A number of these novels and stories became screen and TV successes. Poláček's first novel was *Dům na předměstí* ("The House on the Outskirts," 1928). One of his major works was the quintet *Okresní město* ("District Town," 1936), *Hrdinové táhnou do boje* ("Heroes Go into Battle," 1936), *Podzemní město* ("Underground Town," 1937), and *Vyprodáno* ("Sold Out," 1939); the fifth volume was completed but is known only in fragments. The work presents the panorama of a small Czech township. His volumes of short stories include *Povídky pana Kočkodana* ("Mr. Kočkodan's Tales," 1922), *Mariáš a jiné živnosti* ("Cardplaying and Other Professions," 1924), *Povídky izraelského vyznání* ("Stories of the Mosaic Persuasion," 1926), and *Život ve filmu* ("Life in the Movies," 1927). Two humorous novels are *Muži v offsidu* ("Men at Offside," 1931) and *Michelup a motocykl* ("Michelup and the Motorbike," 1935). His last novel had to be published under the name of a painter, Vlastimil Rada: *Hostinec u kamenného stolu* ("The Restaurant at the Stone Table," 1941). Other books were published after 1945, like the novel *Bylo nás pět* ("We Were Five," 1964). Poláček wrote two comedies, one of which, *Pásky na vousy* ("The Beard-binders," 1926), was produced by the Prague National Theater. During the Nazi occupation, Poláček was deported, first to Theresienstadt, later to Auschwitz. He probably died on his way to the Dora concentration camp in the winter of 1945. Poláček's *Sebrané spisy* ("Collected Works") were published in 1994–2002 in Prague in 22 volumes.

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[Avigdor Dagan / Milos Pojar (2nd ed.)]

POLACHEK, SENDER (also known as **Sender Minsker**; 1786–1869), Polish cantor. Born in Gombin, Polachek received instruction from Cantor Nahum Leib Weintraub, brother of Solomon *Weintraub. For over 30 years Polachek was cantor in Minsk (hence his additional name) and became famous for his melodic gifts. Having no knowledge of musical notation, he committed none of his works to writing, but he achieved an original style which deeply affected his hearers and which became known as the "Sender Steiger."

POLACHEK, SOLOMON (1877–1928), talmudic scholar and teacher. Polachek was early recognized as a precocious youngster and became widely known as the *illui* ("prodigy") of Meitshet where he studied. He entered the Volozhin yeshivah at the unusually early age of 12 and his bar-mitzvah was celebrated at the home of the head of the yeshivah, Naphtali Ẓevi Judah *Berlin. After the yeshivah was closed by the czarist government in 1892, Polachek studied with Ḥayyim *Soloveitchik in Brest-Litovsk and became "R. Ḥayyim's" most beloved pupil. Polachek also studied in the Slobodka yeshivah and at the "kibbutz" of Ḥayyim Ozer *Grodzenski in Vilna. Polachek mastered secular studies and modern Hebrew on his own and acquainted himself with the literature and problems of his time. In 1905, I.J. *Reines appointed him head of the Talmud department in the newly organized Lida yeshivah where the curriculum also included secular studies. After Reines' death in 1915 the entire burden of the yeshivah fell on Polachek. Shortly afterward, as a result of World War I, Polachek and the yeshivah were compelled to move to central Russia, where the school continued for five more years. During the war Polachek lost the notes he had amassed on over 1,500 different talmudic topics. After the war and the Bolshevik revolution, Polachek succeeded in escaping to Poland, where he became head of the Talmud department of the Taḥkemoni Rabbinical Seminary in Bialystok. In 1922 Polachek emigrated to America and accepted the position of senior *rosh yeshivah* in the Rabbi Isaac Elchanan Theological Seminary (the forerunner of *Yeshiva University). He was enthusiastically received by American Orthodoxy since he was the first renowned European talmudist who agreed to remain in the U.S. for the purpose of teaching Talmud in an advanced yeshivah. While in the U.S., he was a member of the *Union of Orthodox Rabbis and was active in the *Mizrachi movement. Polachek's *Ḥiddushei ha-Illui me-Meitshet* was published posthumouly in 1947.

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[Aaron Rothkoff]

POLACHEK, VICTOR HENRY (1876–1940), U.S. editor and publisher. An executive with the Hearst newspaper chain for 40 years, Polachek began as a reporter in his native Chicago in 1893. He was appointed telegraph editor of the *Chicago Inter-Ocean* in 1897 and went to the *New York World* in 1898. He joined the Hearst organization in 1899, served on various papers of the chain in Chicago and New York, and in 1928 became manager of the Hearst Sunday newspapers. In 1931 he was given charge of circulation for all Hearst papers.

POLACK, JOEL SAMUEL (1807–1882), adventurer and author. Born in London, he was the son of the artist Solomon Polack (1757–1839). Before his arrival at Hokianga, New Zealand, in 1831, he had been an artist, Californian gold miner, South African ordinance officer, and Australian ship's chandler. His dominant personality enabled him to survive among the rough whalers and semi-cannibalistic Maoris of Hokianga and Kororareka, where he opened a store in 1833. He learned to speak Maori fluently, and won the confidence of the Maoris. In 1838 his Kororareka store containing military and naval explosives blew up and he returned temporarily to London. There he urged the colonization of New Zealand in evidence before a select committee of the House of Lords. *The Times* attacked Polack's New Zealand dealings, describing him as "a worthy and wandering offshoot of the seed of Abraham." Suing *The Times* for libel, he was awarded £100 damages. In 1838 Polack wrote *New Zealand*, being a narrative of travels and adventures in that country between 1831 and 1937, and *Manners and Customs of New Zealanders* in 1840. Both books, especially the second which is profusely illustrated by Polack himself, are valuable documentaries of New Zealand's precolonization history. Polack returned to New Zealand after the proclamation of British sovereignty in 1840, but soon left for the Californian goldfields. He died in San Francisco.

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[Maurice S. Pitt]

POLAK, GABRIEL ISAAC (1803–1869), Dutch scholar, Hebrew author, and bibliographer. Born in Amsterdam, Polak served as head of a school there. He provided Dutch Jewry with accurate liturgical texts translated into Dutch.

Among these were a Pentateuch with *haftarot* and Rashi (1828; his *le'azim* translated into German), Sabbath prayers (1828), and *piyyutim* (*Torat Emet-Tikkun Soferim*, 1827, repr. 1937); *Amarot Tehorot* (biblical books with Dutch translation, 1862/63; also Job, with M.S. Polak, 1844); a *maḥzor* (1857^{2}), with commentary in Hebrew and Judeo-German and another edition with Dutch translation (with M.L. van Ameringen, 1850^{2}); *Areshet Sefatayim* (1960^{23}), a *siddur*; a Passover *Haggadah* (1930^{9}); *Ezrat ha-Sofer* (1866), a *tikkun*; and *Sefer Ḥayyim la-Nefesh* (1867). He also edited orders of service for Purim (1857), circumcision (1878), and the seventh of Adar (death of Moses; 1851), *Kinot* (1868), and *Seliḥot* (1869). Polak published a small Hebrew-Dutch dictionary, *Divrei Kodesh*, with S.E. Heigmans, in 1857^{2}. Among his other works were *Ḥukkei Ha-Elohim* (1841, 1883), on the 613 commandments; a translation with commentary of *Josippon (1868, with van Ameringen); an edition of a manuscript he discovered of Judah ibn Balam's *Sha'ar Ta'amei Sefarim Emet* on the accents of Psalms, Proverbs, and Job (1858); and an enlarged edition of Abraham Bedersi's (Bedarshi's) dictionary of Hebrew synonyms (1865). Polak completed H.A. Wagenaar's biography of Jacob Emden (1868), and annotated Menahem Mann b. Solomon's *She'erit Yisrael* (with L. Goudsmit, 1855), with notes on the history of Dutch Jewry. He also wrote Hebrew poetry and translated Dutch works into Hebrew (*Ha-Poret*, 1836; *Halikhot Kedem*, 1847; *Ben Gorni*, 1851). In addition, he wrote a biography of the Dutch Hebrew poet D. Franco-Mendes and published letters and essays by S. *Dubno, J.S. Reggio, S.L. Rapoport, and S.D. Luzzatto, maintaining contact with some of them. Among his bibliographical work is *Me'ir Einayim* (1864), a catalog of the M.L. Jacobson and M.B. Rubens collections in Amsterdam *Ḥok Shelomo* (1857), and catalogs of S.B. Rubens' collections in Amsterdam (1864).

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[Jacob H. Copenhagen]

POLAK, HENRI (1868–1943), Dutch trade unionist and socialist politician. Born in Amsterdam, he was the eldest of Mozes Polak and Marianna Smit's ten children. His father started out as a diamond polisher and became a rather prosperous jewelry manufacturer; his mother, daughter of a much respected antiquarian bookseller, developed a keen interest in Western literature. After a stay of three years in London, where he worked as a diamond cutter, Henri Polak settled in Amsterdam in 1890 with his London-born wife, Emily Nijkerk. As one of the first Jewish members of the small revolutionary socialist party, and as a diamond cutter, he tried for four years, with some success, to propagate socialism and trade unionism among the then 8,000 Amsterdam diamond workers (about 60% of whom were Jewish). In 1894, he was one of the 12 founders of the Dutch Social Democratic Party (SDAP) and after a general diamond workers strike became founder and president of the General Dutch Diamond workers Union (ANDB). Under his clever and enthusiastic guidance, the ANDB grew within a few years into the best-organized and most successful modern trade union of the Netherlands. Polak's prestige as a union leader resulted in the SDAP's electing him president during 1900–05. In 1905, Polak became founder and president of the World Alliance of Diamond workers. He retained both this presidency and that of the ANDB until the German occupation of Holland in 1940.

For a man like Henri Polak, socialist trade unionism meant not only striving for better tangible living conditions for the workers, but also improving the quality of life of the working classes by teaching them to take part in all kinds of social and cultural activities. In this respect he was a student of the English socialist artist William Morris, for whom he had great admiration. In the 1920s and 1930s Polak became, partly under Morris' influence, one of Holland's staunchest defenders of historical and natural monuments. Most Jewish workers viewed Polak as a cherished member of the family, as well as a leader of great ability and moral standing.

Although he never believed in the possibility of a Jewish state, after the World War I Polak became a member of the board of the Dutch chapter of the *Keren Hayesod. He considered the founding of a Jewish National Home (not a state) only a partial solution to the problem of the persecution of the Jews. From 1933 until the war Polak launched, both in his weekly column in the socialist daily *Het Volk* ("The People") and as a member of the Dutch Senate, unabatingly fierce attacks on the Nazis in Germany and Holland. As one of the few anti-fascist leaders, he took Julius *Streicher's threat to kill all the Jews seriously.

After half a year of imprisonment in 1940, Polak was put under house arrest until July 1942 in the home of a Dutch Nazi, who made his life as miserable as possible. At the start of the deportations of the Jews from Holland, Polak was unexpectedly set free. Although mentally unbroken, his physical health had deteriorated considerably. He died of pneumonia in the hospital at Laren in February 1943, just in time not to be deported. Emily died about two months later in Westerbork. Both were buried in the Jewish cemetery of Muiderberg.

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[Salvador Bloemgarten and Ruben Bloemgarten (2nd ed.)]

POLAK, JACOB EDUARD (1820–1891), physician and writer. Born in Bohemia, he studied medicine and science in Prague and Vienna and in 1851 was invited to Teheran by the Persian government to serve as professor of anatomy and surgery at the military college. In 1856 he was appointed court physician to Shah Nasr-el-Din. Polak returned to Vienna in 1860 and was associated with the general hospital there while acting as lecturer in Persian at the University of Vienna. When Nasr-el-Din toured Europe in 1872 he visited Polak, who is mentioned in the shah's "Diary" as his "good old friend." Polak wrote a number of important treatises in Persian on anatomy, surgery, ophthalmology, and military medicine, some of which became standard works. He also compiled a medical dictionary in Persian, Arabic, and Latin in order to provide the Persian language with a system of medical terminology, and composed a much-used dictionary, *Deutsch-persiches Konversationswoerterbuch* (1914).

A faithful and devoted Jew, Polak used his prestige and influence at the court of the shah in favor of his coreligionists. He drew the attention of European Jewry to the plight of the Jews in Persia at the time and proposed that the Alliance Israélite Universelle should send a Jewish representative to Teheran or establish a Jewish school there, as was ultimately done. Polak wrote extensively on various aspects of Jewish life in Persia; *Persien, das Land und seine Bewohner* (1865) and other publications contain important information about the Jews.

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[Walter Joseph Fischel]

POLAK, LEONARD (1880–1941), Dutch philosopher. Born in Steenwijk, Polak graduated in law, in 1925 became assistant professor at the University of Leiden, and in 1929 was appointed to the chair in philosophy at the University of Groningen. A rationalist and agnostic, Polak played an important part in the free-thought movement in the Netherlands. He followed the Marburg neo-Kantian school of philosophy holding that mechanical causality reigns in nature while freedom reigns in the realm of the spirit.

Polak wrote on important social questions such as the philosophy of war, the philosophy of punishment, sexual ethics, and religious divisions. His principal works include *Kennisleer contra materie-realisme* (1912); *De zin der vergelding* (1921); *Hegel's leer der straf* (1925); and *Noodlot en vrije wil* (1937). After World War II, Polak's works were collected in *Verzamelde werken* (4 vols, 1947).

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[Richard H. Popkin]

POLAND, republic in E. Central Europe; the kingdom of Poland and the grand duchy of Lithuania united formally (Poland-Lithuania) in 1569. This article is arranged according to the following outline:

- **THE EARLY SETTLEMENTS**
- **JEWISH LEGAL STATUS**
- **ECONOMIC ACTIVITY**
- **CULTURAL AND SOCIAL LIFE**
- **1569–1648: COLONIZATION OF THE UKRAINE**
- **INTERNAL JEWISH LIFE**
- **FROM CHMIELNICKI TO THE FIRST PARTITION**
- **AFTER PARTITION**
- **INDEPENDENT POLAND**
- **HOLOCAUST PERIOD**
  - **Reichsgau Wartheland**
    - GHETTOIZATION
    - PHYSICAL ANNIHILATION
  - **Reichsgau Danzig-Westpreussen**
  - **Regierungsbezirk Zichenau (Ciechanow)**
  - **Regierungsbezirk Kattowitz (East Upper Silesia)**
  - **General Government**
    - WARSAW DISTRICT
    - LUBLIN DISTRICT
    - CRACOW DISTRICT
    - RADOM DISTRICT
    - GALICIA DISTRICT
  - **Bezirk Bialystok**
  - **Generalbezirk Litauen and Weissrussland**
  - **Generalbezirk Wolhynien-Podolien**
  - **Demographic Total**
  - **Jewish Resistance**
    - PARTISANS
  - **Jewish-Polish Relations during the War**
- **AFTER WORLD WAR II**
  - **Rescue of Jewish Children**
  - **Renewal of Jewish Life**
  - **Cultural, Religious, and Economic Life**
  - **The Flight from Poland**
  - **Anti-Jewish Excesses**
  - **The Soviet Example**
  - **1956–1967**
  - **Final Liquidation**
  - **Later Developments**
- **RELATIONS WITH ISRAEL**
  - **The Change of 1950**
  - **Improved Relations in 1956**
  - **The Six-Day War**
  - **Emigration to Israel**
  - **Trade Relations**

THE EARLY SETTLEMENTS

While Jews had visited the kingdom of Poland and been economically active there at an early stage of the country's consolidation, from the tenth century approximately, they had no contact with the grand duchy of Lithuania until King Gedimin conquered the regions of Volhynia and Galicia (as it was later called) in 1321.

Jews came to Poland mainly from the west and southwest and from the very beginning were of *Ashkenazi culture. Those in the regions conquered by Gedimin had come there from the south and the southeast, chiefly from *Kiev, and were thus influenced to a large degree by Byzantine Jewish culture patterns; some think that they could have had traces of *Khazar ethnic descent and culture patterns. Jews in the region of *Lvov and its environs were of the same provenance to a large extent. In the end the western Ashkenazi culture became dominant.

Polish-Jewish legendary tradition tells about a Jewish merchant, Abraham Prochownik (unlikely to mean "the gunpowder man," which would be completely anachronistic, but probably, "the dust-covered," an epithet found in the early Middle Ages in relation to merchants), who was offered the Polish crown around the middle of the ninth century, before Piast, the first, legendary, Polish king, ascended to the throne. According to another legend, at the end of the ninth century a Jewish delegation in Germany appealed to Prince Leszek to admit them to Poland. The request was granted after prolonged questioning, and later on privileges were granted to the immigrants. Although almost certainly formulated in their present version in the 16th–17th centuries – at a time of fierce struggle between Jewish and Christian townsmen (see below) – the legends do transmit meaningful historic elements. Jews did first come to Poland as transient, dust-covered merchants, and they did come there to escape the suffering and pressure brought to bear on them in the lands of the German Empire. The theories of some historians, that place-names like Żydowo, Żydatycze, Żydowska Wola, and Kozarzów indicate the presence of Jewish villages and peasants and even the presence of Khazar settlements in the regions where they are found, have been thoroughly disproved. The first Jews that the Poles encountered must certainly have been traders, probably slave traders, of the type called in 12th-century Jewish sources *Holekhei Rusyah* (travelers to Russia). Some of them may have stayed for years in Poland, giving rise to the legends and fixing their dates. The chronicler Cosmas of Prague relates that the persecutions of the First Crusade caused Jews to move from *Bohemia to Poland in 1098. From this point undisputed and datable information on Jews in Poland begins to appear. According to the chronicler Vincent Kadlubek, under Boleslav III heavy penalties were laid on those who harmed Jews bodily.

The first sizable groups and fixed communities of Jews settled and established themselves in the region of Silesia, then part of Polish society and culture but later Germanized. A large part of Jewish settlement in what was later consolidated as the kingdom of Poland came from Silesia, and a great proportion of the immigration from further west and from the southwest passed through it. As late as the 15th century Silesian Jewry kept its ties with Poland. Jewish settlement grew steadily, though at first slowly, in Polish principalities to the east of Silesia. Excavations in *Great Poland and near *Wloclawek have unearthed coins with Hebrew inscriptions issued under the princes Mieczyslaw III (1173–1209), Casimir II the Just (1177–94), Boleslav the Curly (1201), and Leszek the White (1205). Some inscriptions directly concern the ruler, like the

Hebrew legend "Mieszko King of Poland" (משקא קרל פולסקי) or "Mieszko Duke" (משקא דוכוס); others include the names and titles of the Jewish *mintmasters, one of them even with its honorific title of *nagid*; "of the [coining] house of Abraham the son of Isaac Nagid" (דבי אברהם בר יצחק נגיד); another showing that the Jewish mintmaster was settled in Poland: "Joseph [of] Kalisz" (יוסף קאליש). Minting money was an important social and economic function, and as some of the inscriptions indicate, these finds are evidence of a circle of rich and enterprising Jewish merchants in the principalities of great Poland and Mazovia in the 12th century, some of them in close contact with the princely courts, some priding themselves on their descent from old Jewish families or on their own role in Jewish leadership. Rulers were quick to realize what they could gain from such immigrants; in 1262 Prince Boleslav the Shy forbade a monastery in *Lesser Poland to take Jews under its sovereignty.

By that time, however, a new era had already begun in the history of the colonization of Poland in general and of the settlement of Jews in it in particular. From 1241 onward the Mongol invasions caused heavy losses in life and destruction to property in Poland. Subsequently, the princes of Poland eagerly sought immigrants from the west, mainly from Germany, and gave them energetic assistance to settle in the villages and towns. Various organized groups settled in the cities that were granted the privilege of living according to German Magdeburg *Law; thus Polish towns became prevailingly German in origin and way of life. Though the children of the immigrants became gradually Polonized, the traditions and social attitudes of the German town remained an active force and basic framework of town life in Poland of the 15th to 17th centuries. From the Jewish point of view the most important, and harmful, result of this basic attitude of the Polish towns was the tradition of the *guilds against competition and against new initiative in individual commercial enterprise and the activities of craftsmen. The townsmen also inherited a direct and bitter legacy of hatred of the Jews and the baleful and deeply rooted German image of the Jew.

Jews did not only come to Poland in the wake of the German *Drang nach Osten*, tracts of which are found in the 13th-century *Sefer Ḥasidim*, for instance, in the description of the creation of a new settlement in a primeval forest by Jews (*Sefer Ḥasidim*, ed. J. Wistinetzki (1924), 113, no. 371). For them the move was a continuation of and linking with earlier Jewish settlement in Poland. They also had compelling reasons stemming from the circumstances of their life in Western and Central Europe to leave their homes there and go to Poland-Lithuania. Their insecure position in this region was a compound of the atmosphere of fear and danger generated by the *Crusades, the insecurity of settlement caused by the *expulsions, the wave of massacres in Germany in particular between 1298 and 1348 (see *Rindfleisch; *Armleder; *Blood Libel; *Black Death; *Host, Desecration of), the insecurity and popular hatred in Germany and German-Bohemian-Moravian towns in the second half of the 14th century and the first half of the 15th, the tensions and dangers created by the *Hussite revolution and wars in Bohemia-Moravia and southern Germany in the early 15th century, and the worsening situation of Jews in the kingdoms of Christian Spain after the massacres of 1391. All these factors, combined with the success of the settlers in Poland-Lithuania, induced large and variegated groups of Jewish immigrants from various countries – Bohemia-Moravia, Germany, Italy, Spain, from colonies in the Crimea – to go to Poland-Lithuania long after the original German drive had died out. As Moses b. Israel *Isserles put it in the 16th century, "it is preferable to live on dry bread and in peace in Poland" than to remain in better conditions in lands more dangerous for Jews" (Responsa, no. 73). He even coined a pun on the Hebrew form of Poland (Polin), explaining it as deriving from two Hebrew words, *poh lin* ("here he shall rest").

The results of this immigration were evident almost immediately. In 1237 Jews are mentioned in Plock. The Jewish community of *Kalisz bought a cemetery in 1283, so it must have been organized some time before, as the fact that the first writ of privileges for Jews was issued in 1264 by the prince of Kalisz also tends to show (see below). A *Judengasse* (*Jewish Quarter) is mentioned in *Cracow in 1304, lying between the town market and the town walls, but there must have been a community in Cracow long before then for about 1234 "Rabbi Jacob Savra of Cracow that sits in Poland, a great scholar and fluent in the entire Talmud" put forward his own opinion against that of the greatest contemporary scholars of Germany and Bohemia. In 1356 there is a record of the Jewish community at *Lvov; in 1367 at *Sandomierz; in 1379 at *Poznan; in 1387 at Pyzdry; and about 1382 at *Lyuboml. In the grand duchy of Lithuania Jewish communities are found in the 14th century at *Brest-Litovsk (1388), *Grodno (1389), and *Troki (1398). The volume of immigration grew continuously. By the end of the 15th century more than 60 Jewish communities are known of in united Poland-Lithuania. They were dispersed from Wroclaw (*Breslau) and *Gdansk in the west to *Kiev and *Kamenets Podolski in the east. The number of Jews living in Poland by that date is greatly disputed: At the end of the 15th century there were between 20,000 and 30,000.

JEWISH LEGAL STATUS

The foundations of the legal position of the Jews in Poland were laid down in the 13th to 15th centuries. The basic "general charters" of Jews in Poland have their origin in the writ issued by Prince *Boleslav V the Pious of Kalisz in 1264. This "statute of Kalisz" (Pol. *Statut kaliski*) – as it is called in literature – was also an "immigrant" from the countries which Jews left to come to Poland, being based on the statute of Duke Frederick II of Austria and on derivative statutes issued in Bohemia and Hungary. The Jews are seen, accepted, and defended as a group whose main business is *moneylending against pledges. With the unification of Poland into a kingdom, King *Casimir III the Great strongly favored the Jewish element in the cities of Poland, the German element having proved untrustworthy under his father, the unifier of Poland, Ladislaus I Lokietek.

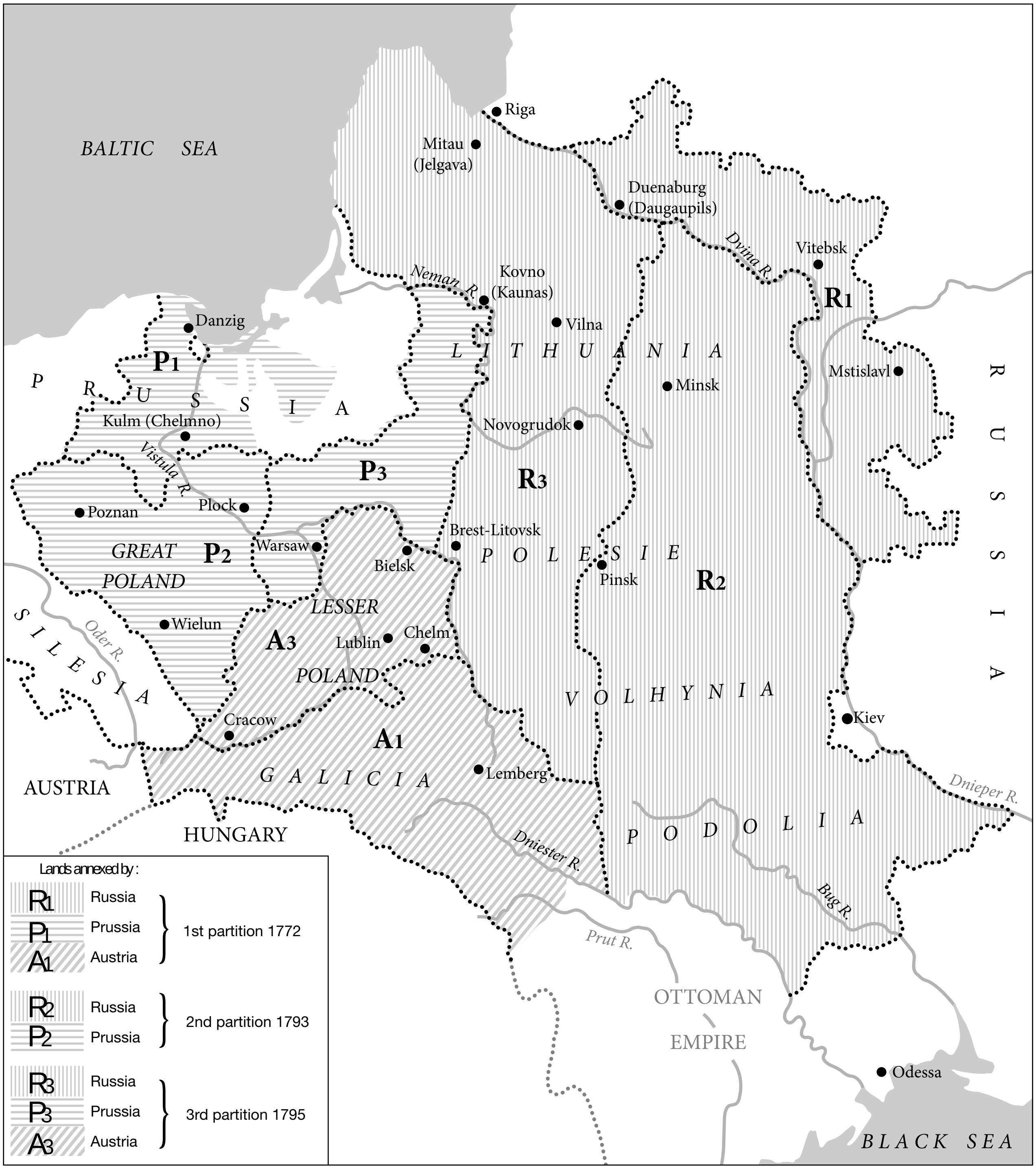
BALTIC SEA
Riga
Mitau (Jelgava)
Duenaburg (Daugaupils)
Dvina R.
Vitebsk
R1
Neman R.
Kovno (Kaunas)
Vilna
Danzig
P1
L I T H U A N I A
Minsk
Mstislavl
P R U S S I A
Kulm (Chelmno)
Novogrudok
Vistula R.
P3
R3
Poznan
Plock
Brest-Litovsk
GREAT POLAND
P2
Warsaw
Bielsk
P O L E S I E
Pinsk
R2
LESSER POLAND
Wielun
A3
Lublin
Chelm
S I L E S I A
Oder R.
V O L H Y N I A
Kiev
Cracow
A1
G A L I C I A
Lemberg
AUSTRIA
HUNGARY
Dniester R.
P O D O L I A
Dnieper R.
Bug R.
Prut R.
R U S S I A
OTTOMAN EMPIRE
Odessa
BLACK SEA
Lands annexed by :
R1 Russia
P1 Prussia
A1 Austria
1st partition 1772
R2 Russia
P2 Prussia
2nd partition 1793
R3 Russia
P3 Prussia
A3 Austria
3rd partition 1795

Map 1. The Partitions of Poland.

Casimir broadened the statute of Kalisz while ratifying it for the Jews of his kingdom (in 1334, 1364, and 1367). Yet basically the same conception of the Jews as **servi camerae regis* and as protected moneylenders remains throughout. The legal status of the Jews changed considerably in Poland, but not through any central reinterpretation of their rights and standing, which remained in theory based on and conceived of in terms of the Boleslavian-Casimirian statutes, codified and ratified by King Casimir IV Jagello in 1453. Throughout the 14th century, there was opposition to Jews accepting landed property as security for loans; while throughout the 15th century town and church tried to insist that Jews should wear the distinctive *badge.

On several occasions these undercurrents broke out in sharp and violent decisions and action. During the Black Death "All Jews … almost throughout Poland were massacred" (*omnes judaei … fere in tota Polonia deleti sunt*; Stanislas of Olivia in his *Chronica Olivska*, for the year 1349). The martyrs were defined by German Jews as "the communities and kingdom of Cracow, its scholars and population" (S. Salfeld, *Das Martyrologium des Nuernberger Memorbuches* (1898), 82). By that time hatred of the Jews was also widespread among the nobility. In the statute of Lesser Poland of 1347, paragraph 26 claims that "the aim of the perfidious Jews is not so much to take their faith away from the Christians as to take away their wealth and property." In 1407 the Cracow populace was diverted by the spectacle of a Jewish moneylender being led through the streets adorned with a crown set with forged coins – he was accused of forging currency – to be horribly tortured and burned in public. The citizens of Cracow claimed as early as 1369 that the Jews were "dominating" the town and complained of their cruelty and perfidy. In the main King Ladislaus II Jagello was hostile to Jews, though some of them were numbered among his financial and business agents, like Volchko, whom the king hoped in vain to bring over to Christianity.

Church circles were very active in their opposition to the Jews. Many priests and directors of monasteries, who had originally come from Germany, brought to Poland the hostile traditions concerning the city-dwelling accursed Jew. As early as 1267 the Polish Church Council of Wroclaw (Breslau) outlined its anti-Jewish policy; its main aim was to isolate the Jews as far as possible from the Christians, not only from the communion of friendship and table but also to separate them in quarters surrounded by a wall or a ditch: "for as up to now the land of Poland is newly grafted on to the Christian body, it is to be feared that the Christian people will more easily be misled by the superstitions and evil habits of the Jews that live among them" (*quum adhuc Terra Polonica sit in corpore christianitatis nova plantatio, ne forte eo facilius populus christianus a cohabitantium Iudeorum superstitionibus et pravis moribus inficiatur*; Aronius, Regesten, 302 no. 724). With various modifications, this was restated in subsequent Church councils. In the 15th century this ecclesiastical attitude found new and influential expression. Cardinal Zbigniew *Oleśnicki and the chronicler Jan *Długosz were the main leaders of the anti-Jewish faction. When Jewish representatives came to King Casimir IV Jagello to obtain the ratification of their charters, Oleśnicki opposed it vehemently. He invited to Poland "the scourge of the Jews," John of *Capistrano, fresh from his "success" in engineering a *Host desecration libel which resulted in the burning of many Jews and expulsion of the community of Wroclaw. In vain Capistrano tried to influence the king not to ratify the Jewish charters. Oleśnicki himself wrote to the king in support of his effort: "Do not imagine that in matters touching the Christian religion you are at liberty to pass any law you please. No one is great and strong enough to put down all opposition to himself when the interests of the faith are at stake. I therefore beseech and implore your royal majesty to revoke the aforementioned privileges and liberties. Prove that you are a Catholic sovereign, and remove all occasion for disgracing your name and for worse offenses that are likely to follow" (*Monumenta Mediaevi*, ed. Szugski, Codex Epistolaris s. XV, T. II past posterior p. 147). As a result of this pressure, the Nieszawa statute of 1454 decreed the repeal of all Jewish charters, but the repeal was short-lived. Perhaps central to the definition of the status of the Jews was the decision of King Sigismund I in 1534 that the Jews need not carry any distinguishing mark on their clothing. Despite the contrary resolution of the Sejm (Diet) of *Piotrkow in 1538, the king's decision remained.

Major changes in the status of the Jews occurred throughout the 16th and 17th centuries, but they came about either through the issuance of particular writs of rights by kings for towns and communities – both in favor of Jews as well as to their detriment (e.g., the *privilegia de non tolerandis judaeis* given to many towns in Poland) – or through the action of various magnates, whose power was continuously growing in Poland in these centuries. Some of the latter, nicknamed *Krolewięta* ("kinglets"), granted Jews many and costly rights in the new municipal settlements they were erecting on their expansive estates – the "private townships" of Poland, so-called in distinction to the old "royal townships." To a slight degree, change resulted from the new economic activity of the Jews, mainly in the east and southeast of Poland-Lithuania, and their move toward colonization there.

The foundations of the legal status of the Jews in the grand duchy of Lithuania were laid by Grand Duke Vitold in writs of law granted to the Jews of Brest-Litovsk in 1388 and to the Jews of Grodno in 1389. Though formally based on the rights of the Jews of Lvov in Poland, in letter and spirit these charters reveal an entirely different conception of the place of Jews in society. The writ for the Grodno community states that "from the above-mentioned cemetery – in its present location as well as on ground that might be bought later – and also from the ground of their Jewish synagogue, no taxes whatsoever will have to be given to our treasury." Not only are the Jewish place of worship and cemetery tax free – a concession that indicates interest in having Jewish settlers in the town – but also "what is more, we permit them to hold whatever views they please in their homes and to prepare at their homes any kind of drink and to serve drinks brought from elsewhere on the condition that they pay to our treasury a yearly tax. They may trade and buy at the market, in shops and on the streets in full equality with the citizens; they may engage in any kind of craft." Thus, in granting the Jews complete freedom to trade and engage in any craft, the grand duke gave them economic equality with the Christian citizens. He also envisaged their having agricultural or partially agricultural occupations: "As to the arable lands as well as grazing lands, those that they have now, as well as those that they will buy later, they may use in full equality with the townspeople, paying like them to our treasury." The Jews are here considered as merchants, craftsmen, and desirable settlers in the developing city. As the grand duchy merged with Poland to an ever-increasing degree, in particular in the formal, legal, and social spheres, the basic concepts of the *servi camerae* also influenced the status of Lithuanian Jews (as was already hinted at in the formal reference to the rights and status of the Jews of Lvov). In spite of this, the general trend in Lithuanian towns and townships remained the same as that expressed in the late 16th-century charters. In 1495 the Jews were expelled from Lithuania. They were brought back in 1503: all their property was returned and opportunities for economic activity were restored.

Thus, on the threshold of the 16th century, the gradually merging grand duchy of Lithuania and kingdom of Poland had both a fully worked out legal concept of the status of the Jews. In Poland, the whole conception was medieval to the core: Legally and formally the attitude to the Jews remained unchanged from their first arrival from the west and southwest. In Lithuania, on the other hand, from the start the formal expressions reveal a conception of a Jewish "third estate,"

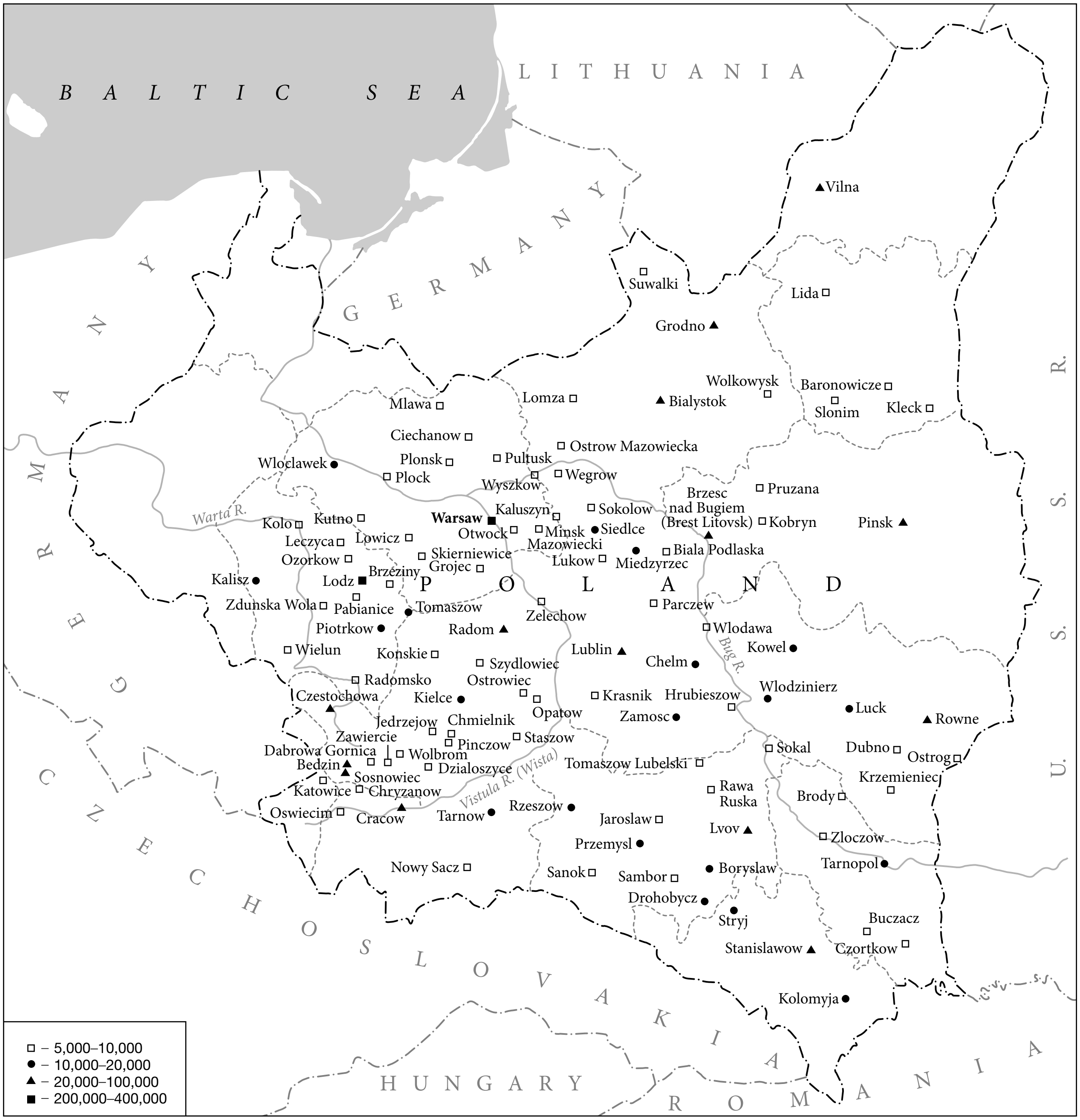
BALTIC SEA
LITHUANIA
GERMANY
GERMANY
U.S.S.R.
POLAND
CZECHOSLOVAKIA
HUNGARY
ROMANIA
Vilna
Suwalki
Lida
Grodno
Wolkowysk
Baronowicze
Slonim
Kleck
Lomza
Bialystok
Mlawa
Ciechanow
Ostrow Mazowiecka
Plonsk
Pultusk
Wloclawek
Plock
Wyszkow
Wegrow
Pruzana
Brzesc nad Bugiem (Brest Litovsk)
Kobryn
Pinsk
Kaluszyn
Sokolow
Warta R.
Kolo
Kutno
Warsaw
Otwock
Minsk Mazowiecki
Siedlce
Leczyca
Lowicz
Skierniewice
Biala Podlaska
Ozorkow
Grojec
Lukow
Miedzyrzec
Kalisz
Brzeziny
Lodz
Zdunska Wola
Pabianice
Tomaszow
Zelechow
Parczew
Piotrkow
Radom
Wlodawa
Bug R.
Kowel
Wielun
Konskie
Lublin
Chelm
Szydlowiec
Radomsko
Ostrowiec
Czestochowa
Kielce
Krasnik
Hrubieszow
Włodzinierz
Luck
Rowne
Opatow
Zamosc
Jedrzejow
Chmielnik
Zawiercie
Staszow
Pinczow
Dabrowa Gornica
Wolbrom
Sokal
Dubno
Ostrog
Bedzin
Dzialoszyce
Tomaszow Lubelski
Sosnowiec
Vistula R. (Wista)
Krzemieniec
Katowice
Chryzanow
Rawa Ruska
Brody
Oswiecim
Cracow
Tarnow
Rzeszow
Jaroslaw
Lvov
Zloczow
Przemysl
Tarnopol
Nowy Sacz
Sanok
Sambor
Boryslaw
Drohobycz
Stryj
Buczacz
Stanislawow
Czortkow
Kolomyja
□ – 5,000–10,000
● – 10,000–20,000
▲ – 20,000–100,000
■ – 200,000–400,000

Map 2. Major Jewish communities in Poland in 1931.

equal in economic opportunity to the Christian townspeople. Particular legal enactments in Poland took cognizance of the change in the economic role of the Jews in Polish society. In Lithuania the formal enactments were always suited to their economic role, and to a large extent the dynamics of 16th- and 17th-century development could be accommodated in the old legal framework.

ECONOMIC ACTIVITY

From the very first the Jews of Poland developed their economic activities through moneylending toward a greater variety of occupations and economic structures. Thus, by the very dynamics of its economic and social development, Polish Jewry constitutes a flat existential denial and factual contradiction of the antisemitic myth of "the Jewish spirit of usury." On the extreme west of their settlement in Poland, in Silesia, although they were mainly engaged in moneylending, Jews were also employed in agriculture. When the Kalisz community in 1287 bought a cemetery it undertook to pay for it in pepper and other Oriental wares, indicating an old connection with the trade in spices. As noted above, the Jewish mintmasters of the 12th century must undoubtedly have been large-scale traders. In 1327 Jews were an important element among the participants at the *Nowy Sacz fair. Throughout the 14th and 15th centuries Jews were occupied to a growing degree in almost every branch of trade pursued at that time. Jews from both the grand duchy of Lithuania and Poland traded in cloth, dyes, horses, and cattle (and on a fairly large scale). At the end of the 15th century they engaged in trade with Venice, Italy, with Kaffa (Feodosiya), and with other Genoese colonies in the Crimea, and with Constantinople. Lvov Jews played a central role in this trade, which in the late 15th and early 16th centuries developed into a large-scale land-transit trade between the Ottoman Empire and Christian Europe. Through their participation in this trade and their contacts with their brethren in the Ottoman Empire, many Jewish communities became vital links in a trade chain that was important to both the various Christian kingdoms and the Ottoman Empire. Lithuanian Jews participated to the full and on a considerable scale in all these activities, basing themselves both on their above-mentioned recognized role in Lithuanian civic society and on their particular opportunities for trade with the grand principality of *Moscow and their evident specialization in dyes and dyeing. Obviously, in all these activities, all links with Jewish communities in Central and Western Europe were beneficial.

During all this period Jews were engaged in moneylending, some of them (e.g., Jordanis *Lewko, his son Canaan, and Volchko) on a large scale. They made loans not only to private citizens but also to magnates, kings, and cities, on several occasions beyond the borders of Poland. The scope of their monetary operations at their peak may be judged by the fact that in 1428 King Ladislaus II Jagello accused one of the Cracow city counselors of appropriating the fabulous sum of 500,000 zlotys which the Jews had supplied to the royal treasury.

To an increasing extent many of the Jewish moneylenders became involved in trade. They were considered by their lords as specialists in economic administration. In 1425 King Ladislaus II Jagello charged Volchko – who by this time already held the Lvov customs lease – with the colonization of a large tract of land: "As we have great confidence in the wisdom, carefulness, and foresight of our Lvov customs-holder, the Jew Volchko … after the above-mentioned Jew Volchko has turned the above-mentioned wilderness into a human settlement in the village, it shall remain in his hands till his death." King Casimir Jagello entrusted to the Jew Natko both the salt mines of Drohobycz (*Drogobych) and the customs station of Grejdek, stating in 1452 that he granted it to him on account of his "industry and wisdom so that thanks to his ability and industry we shall bring in more income to our treasury." The same phenomenon is found in Lithuania. By the end of the 15th century, at both ends of the economic scale Jews in Poland were becoming increasingly what they had been from the beginning in Lithuania: a "third estate" in the cities. The German-Polish citizenry quickly became aware of this. By the end of the 15th century, accusations against the Jews centered on unfair competition in trade and crafts more than on harsh usury. Not only merchants but also Jewish craftsmen are mentioned in Polish cities from 1460 onward. In 1485 tension in Cracow was so high that the Jewish community was compelled to renounce formally its rights to most trades and crafts. Though this was done "voluntarily," Jews continued to pursue their living in every decent way possible. This was one of the reasons for their expulsion from Cracow to Kazimierz in 1495. However, the end of Jewish settlement in Cracow was far from the end of Jewish trade there; it continued to flourish and aggravate the Christian townspeople, as was the case with many cities (like *Lublin and *Warsaw) which had exercised their right *de non tolerandis Judaeis* and yet had to see Jewish economic activity flourishing at their fairs and in their streets.

CULTURAL AND SOCIAL LIFE

In Poland and Lithuania from the 13th century onward Jewish culture and society were much richer and more variegated than has been commonly accepted. Even before that, the inscriptions on the bracteate coins of the 12th century indicate talmudic culture and leadership traditions by the expressions used (*rabbi*, רַבִּי, *nagid*, נָגִיד). About 1234, as mentioned, Jacob Savra of Cracow was able to contradict the greatest talmudic authorities of his day in Germany and Bohemia. In defense of his case he "sent responsa to the far ends of the west and the south" (E.E. Urbach (ed.), in *Sefer Arugat ha-Bosem*, 4 (1963), 120–1). The author of *Sefer Arugat ha-Bosem* also quotes an interpretation and emendation that "I have heard in the name of Rabbi Jacob from Poland" (*ibid.*, 3 (1962), 126). Moses Zaltman, the son of *Judah b. Samuel he-Ḥasid, states: "Thus I have been told by R. Isaac from Poland in the name of my father.… thus I have been told by R. Isaac from Russia.… R. Mordecai from Poland told me that my father said" (Ms. Cambridge 669. 2, fol. 69 and 74). This manuscript evidence

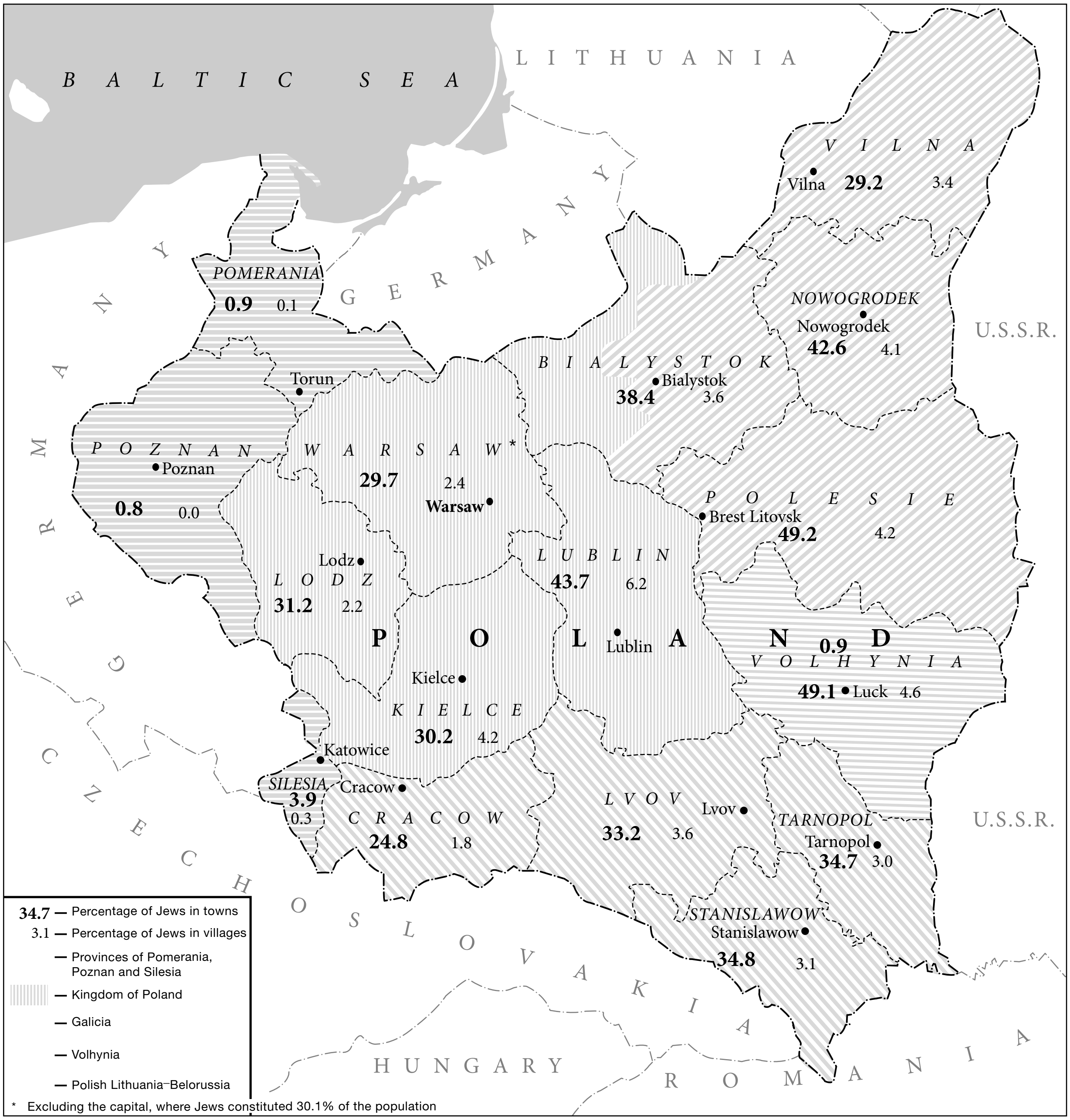
BALTIC SEA
LITHUANIA
GERMANY
U.S.S.R.
U.S.S.R.
CZECHOSLOVAKIA
HUNGARY
ROMANIA
POLAND
VILNA
Vilna 29.2 3.4
NOWOGRODEK
Nowogrodek 42.6 4.1
BIALYSTOK
Bialystok 38.4 3.6
POMERANIA
0.9 0.1
Torun
POZNAN
Poznan 0.8 0.0
WARSAW*
29.7 2.4
Warsaw
POLESIE
Brest Litovsk 49.2 4.2
LODZ
Lodz 31.2 2.2
LUBLIN
43.7 6.2
Lublin
0.9
VOLHYNIA
49.1 Luck 4.6
Kielce
KIELCE
30.2 4.2
Katowice
SILESIA
3.9 0.3
Cracow
CRACOW
24.8 1.8
LVOV
Lvov
33.2 3.6
TARNOPOL
Tarnopol 34.7 3.0
STANISLAWOW
Stanislawow 34.8 3.1
34.7 — Percentage of Jews in towns
3.1 — Percentage of Jews in villages
— Provinces of Pomerania, Poznan and Silesia
— Kingdom of Poland
— Galicia
— Volhynia
— Polish Lithuania–Belorussia
* Excluding the capital, where Jews constituted 30.1% of the population

Map 3. Provincial distribution of Polish Jewry in towns and villages (1931). Basd on data from R. Mahler, Yehudei Polin bein Shetei Milḥamot Olam*, 1968.*

proves conclusively that men from Poland and from southern Russia (which in the 13th century was part of the grand duchy of Lithuania) were close disciples of the leader of the *Ḥasidei Ashkenaz. The names of Polish Jews in the 14th century show curious traces of cultural influence; besides ordinary Hebrew names and names taken from the German and French – brought by the immigrants from the countries of their origin – there are clearly Slavonic names like Lewko, Jeleń, and Pychacz and women's names like Czarnula, Krasa, and even Witoslawa. Even more remarkable are the names of Lewko's father, Jordan, and Lewko's son, Canaan or Chanaan, which indicate a special devotion to Ereẓ Israel.

By the 15th century, relatively numerous traces of social and cultural life in the Polish communities can be found. In a document from April 4, 1435, that perhaps, preserves the early *Yiddish of the Polish Jews, the writer, a Jew of Breslau, addresses "the Lord King of Poland my Lord." The closing phrases of the letter indicate his Jewish culture: "To certify this, have I, the above mentioned Jekuthiel, appended my Jewish seal to this letter with full knowledge. Given in Breslau, on the first Monday of the month Nisan, in Jewish reckoning five thousand years and a hundred years and to that hundred the ninety-fifth year after the beginning and creation of all creatures except God Himself" (M. Brann, *Geschichte der Juden in Schlesien*, 3 (1901), Anhang 4, p. lviii).

(דש צו בקינטניש האבע איך אֵי גננטר יקותיאל מיין יודיש זיגל אן דיזן בריבֿא מיט רעכטר ווישן גהאנגן. גגעבן צו בריסלא אנדעמא אירשטן מאנטאג דש מאנדש ניסֿן איין יידישר צאל בֿונץ טאוזנט יאר אינ הונדרט יאר אונ דר צו אין צעמא בֿינווא אונ׳ נויינציקשטן יאר נאך אנבגינן אונ׳ שיפֿפונגא אללר קריאטייר זונצו גוטא אליין)

Though Israel b. Ḥayyim *Bruna said of the Jews of Cracow, "they are not well versed in Torah" (Responsa, no. 55, fol. 23b), giving this as his reason for not adducing lengthy talmudic arguments in his correspondence with them, he was writing to one of his pupils who claimed sole rabbinical authority and income in the community of Poznan (*ibid.*, no. 254, fol. 103b). Israel b. Pethahiah *Isserlein of Austria writes, "my beloved, the holy community of Poznan." Two parties in this community – the leadership, whom Isserlein calls "you, the holy community," and an individual – were quarreling about taxation and Isserlein records that both sides submitted legal arguments in support of their cases (*Terumat ha-Deshen, Pesakim u-Khetavim*, no. 144). Great scholars like Yom Tov Lipmann *Muelhausen, who came to Cracow at the end of the 14th century, and Moses b. Isaac Segal *Mintz, who lived at Poznan in 1475, must certainly have left traces of their cultural influence there. Some of the responsa literature contains graphic descriptions of social life. "A rich man from Russia" – either the environs of Lvov in Poland or of Kiev in Lithuania – asked Israel Bruna, "If it is permissible to have a prayer shawl of silk in red or green color for Sabbath and the holidays" (Responsa, no. 73, fol. 32b), a desire fitting a personality of the type of Volchko. Something of the way of life of "the holy company of Lvov" can be seen from the fact that their problem was the murder of one Jew by another in the Ukrainian city of *Pereyaslav-Khmelnitski. As the victim lay wounded on the ground, a third Jew, Naḥman, called out to the murderer, Simḥah: "Hit Nisan till death" and so he was killed by being beaten on his head as he lay there wounded. The victim was a totally ignorant man, "he couldn't recognize a single [Hebrew] letter and has never in his life put on *tefillin*." The murderer was drunk at the time and the victim had started the quarrel; they were all in a large company of Jews (*ibid.*, no. 265, fol. 110a–b). The rough social and cultural climate of Jewish traders in the Ukraine in the middle of the 15th century is here in evidence. Moses Mintz describes from his own experience divorce customs in the region of Poznan (Responsa (Salonika, 1802), no. 113, fol. 129b). He also describes interesting wedding customs in Poland which differed in many details from those of Germany: "when they accompany the bride and bridegroom to the *ḥuppah* they sing on the way … they give the bridegroom the cup and he throws it down, puts his foot on it and breaks it, but they pour out the wine from the cup before they give it to the bridegroom. They have also the custom of throwing a cock and also a hen over the head of the bride and bridegroom above the canopy after the pronouncing of the wedding blessings" (*ibid.*, no. 109, fol. 127a). Thus, in the western and central parts of Poland there is evidence of an established and well developed culture and some learning, contrasting sharply with the rough and haphazard existence of Jews living southwards from Lvov to Pereyaslav-Khmelnitski.

Jewish culture in Poland and in Lithuania seems to have had a certain rationalist, "Sephardi" tinge, as evidenced both by outside reports and by certain tensions appearing in the second half of the 16th century. At the beginning of the 16th century the Polish chronicler Maciej Miechowicz relates that in Lithuania, "the Jews use Hebrew books and study sciences and arts, astronomy and medicine" (*Tractatus de duabus Sarmatiis* (1517), II: 1, 3). The cardinal legate Lemendone also notes that Lithuanian Jews of the 16th century devote time to the study of "literature and science, in particular astronomy and medicine." At the end of the 15th century, Lithuanian Jews took part in the movement of the *Judaizers in Muscovite Russia, whose literature shows a marked influence of rationalistic Jewish works and anti-Christian arguments. The Jewish community of Kiev – in the 15th and early 16th centuries within the grand duchy of Lithuania – was praised by a Crimean Karaite in 1481 for its culture and learning. In about 1484 another Karaite, Joseph b. Mordecai of Troki, wrote a letter to Elijah b. Moses *Bashyazi (Mann, Texts, 2 (1935), 1149–59) telling about a disputation on calendar problems between him and "the Rabbanites who live here in Troki, Jacob Suchy of Kaffa (Feodosiya) and Ozer the physician of Cracow" (*ibid.*, 1150). He closes his letter with ideas showing a decided rationalist tendency, "The quality of the sermon will be through the quality of the subject, therefore as we have none such more important than the Torah, for in it there is this teaching that brings man straight to his scientific and social success and the chief of its considerations is that man should achieve his utmost perfection, which is spiritual success; and this will happen when he attains such rational concepts as the soul, the active reason, can attain, for the relation between a phenomenon and its causes is a necessary relation, i.e., the relation of the separate reason to the material reason is like the relation of light to sight" (*ibid.*, 1159).

In Poland a dispute between two great scholars of the 16th century – Solomon *Luria and Moses *Isserles – brings to the surface elements of an earlier rationalist culture. Luria accuses yeshivah students of using "the prayer of Aristotle" and accuses Isserles of "mixing him with words of the living God … [considering] that the words of this unclean one are precious and perfume to Jewish sages" (Isserles, Responsa, no. 6). Isserles replies: "All this is still a poisonous root in existence, the legacy from their parents from those that tended to follow the philosophers and tread in their steps. But I myself have never seen nor heard up till now such a thing, and, but for your evidence, I could not have believed that there was still a trace of these conceptions among us" (*ibid.*, no. 7). Writing around the middle of the 16th century, Isserles tells unwittingly of a philosophizing trend prevalent in Poland many years before. A remarkable case of how extreme rationalist conceptions gave way to more mystic ones can be seen in Isserles' pupil, Abraham b. Shabbetai *Horowitz. Around 1539 he sharply rebuked the rabbi of Poznan, who believed in demons and opposed *Maimonides: "As to what this ass said, that it is permissible to study Torah only, this is truly against what the Torah says, 'Ye shall keep and do for it is your wisdom and understanding in the eyes of the gentiles.' For even if we shall be well versed in all the arcana of the Talmud, the gentiles will still not consider us scholars; on the contrary, all the ideas of the Talmud, its methods and sermons, are funny and derisible in the eyes of the gentiles. If we know no more than the Talmud we shall not be able to explain the ideas and exegetical methods of the Talmud in a way that the gentiles will like – this stands to reason" (see MGWJ, 47 (1903), 263). Yet this same man rewrote his rationalistic commentary on a work by Maimonides to make it more amenable to traditionalistic and mystic thought, declaring in the second version, "The first uproots, the last roots." Later trends and struggles in Jewish culture in Poland and Lithuania are partly traceable to this early and obliterated rationalistic layer (see below).

Polish victories over the Teutonic Order in the west and against Muscovite and Ottoman armies in the east and southeast led to a great expansion of Poland-Lithuania from the second half of the 16th century. In this way Poland-Lithuania gained a vast steppeland in the southeast, in the Ukraine, fertile but unpacified and unreclaimed, and great stretches of arable land and virgin forest in the east, in Belorussia. The agricultural resources in the east were linked to the center through the river and canal systems and to the sea outlet in the west through land routes. These successes forged a stronger link between the various strata of the nobility (Pol. *szlachta*) as well as between the Polish and Lithuanian nobility. In 1569 the Union of Lublin cemented and formalized the unity of Poland-Lithuania, although the crown of Poland and the grand duchy of Lithuania kept a certain distinctness of character and law, which was also apparent in the *Councils of the Lands and in the culture of the Jews (see below). With the union, Volhynia and the Ukraine passed from the grand duchy to the crown. The combined might of Poland-Lithuania brought about a growing pacification of these southeastern districts, offering a possibility of their colonization which was eagerly seized upon by both nobility and peasants.

1569–1648: COLONIZATION OF THE UKRAINE

The Polish nobility, which became the dominant element in the state, was at that time a civilized and civilizing factor. Fermenting with religious thought and unrest which embraced even the most extreme anti-trinitarians; warlike and at the same time giving rise to small groups of extreme anarchists and pacifists; more and more attracted by luxury, yet for most of the period developing rational – even if often harsh – methods of land and peasant exploitation; despising merchandise yet very knowledgeable about money and gain – this was the nobility that, taking over the helm of state and society, developed its own estates in the old lands of Poland-Lithuania and the vast new lands in the east and southeast. Jews soon became the active and valued partners of this nobility in many enterprises. In the old "royal cities" – even in central places like Cracow, which expelled the Jews in 1495, and *Warsaw, which had possessed a *privilegium de non tolerandis Judaeis* since 1527 – Jews were among the great merchants of clothing, dyes, and luxury products, in short, everything the nobility desired. Complaints from Christian merchants as early as the beginning of the 16th century, attacks by urban antisemites like Sebastian *Miczyński and Przecław *Mojecki in the 17th century, and above all internal Jewish evidence all point to the success of the Jewish merchant. The Jew prospered in trade even in places where he could not settle, thanks to his initiative, unfettered by guilds, conventions, and preconceived notions. The *kesherim*, the council of former office holders in the Poznan community, complain about the excessive activity of Jewish intermediaries, "who cannot stay quiet; they wait at every corner, in every place, at every shop where silk and cloth is sold, and they cause competition through influencing the buyers by their speech and leading them to other shops and other merchants." The same council complains about "those unemployed" people who sit all day long from morning till evening before the shops of gentiles – of spice merchants, clothes merchants, and various other shops – "and the Christian merchants complain and threaten." There was even a technical term for such men, *tsuvayzer,* those who point the way to a prospective seller (*Pinkas Hekhsherim shel Kehillat Pozna*, ed. D. Avron (1966), 187–8 no. 1105, 250 no. 1473, 51 no. 1476). Miczyński gives a bitter description of the same phenomenon in Cracow in 1618. Large-scale Jewish trade benefited greatly from the trader's connections with their brethren both in the Ottoman Empire and in Germany and Western Europe. It was also linked to a considerable extent with the *arenda system and its resulting great trade in the export of agricultural products.

Table 1. Growth of Jewish Settlement by Places and Numbers in the Colonization Period (Poland)

Województwo (district)	Before 1569 Places	Before 1569 Numbers	c. 1648 Places	c. 1648 Numbers
Volhynia	13	3,000	46	15,000
Podolia	9	750	18	4,000
Kiev	–	–	33	13,500
Bratslav	2	?–	18	18,825
Total	24	c. 4,000	115	51,325

Through the arenda system Jewish settlements spread over the country, especially in the southeast. Between 1503 and 1648 there were 114 Jewish communities in the Ukraine, some on the eastern side of the River Dnieper and list by S. Ettinger, in *Zion*, 21 (1956), 114–8); many of these were tiny. The table Growth of Jewish Settlement shows the main outlines of the dynamics of Jewish settlement in these regions of colonization (*ibid.*, p. 124).

The further the move east and southward, the greater the relative growth in numbers and population. The Jewish arenda holders, traders, and peddlers traveled and settled wherever space and opportunity offered.

Life in these districts was strenuous and often harsh. The manner of Jewish life in the Ukraine, which as we have already seen was uncouth, was both influenced and channeled through Jewish participation in the defense of newly pacified land. Meir b. Gedaliah of Lublin relates "what happened to a luckless man, ill, and tortured by pain and suffering from epilepsy.… When there was an alarm in Volhynia because of the Tatars – as is usual in the towns of that district – when each one is obliged to be prepared, with weapon in hand, to go to war and battle against them at the command of the duke and the lords; and it came to pass that when the present man shot with his weapon, called in German *Buechse*, from his house through the window to a point marked for him on a rope in his courtyard to try the weapon as sharpshooters are wont to do, then a man came from the market to the above mentioned courtyard … and he was killed [by mistake]." The rabbi goes on to tell that a Christian, the instructor and commander of this Jew, was standing in front of the courtyard to warn people not to enter. The Jew was "living among the gentiles in a village" with many children (Meir b. Gedaliah of Lublin, Responsa, no. 43). There is reference to an enterprising group of Jews who went to Moscow with the armies of the Polish king during war, selling liquor (one of them had two cartloads) and other merchandise to the soldiers (*ibid.*, no. 128). Among the Cossack units there was a Jew about whom his Cossack colleagues "complained to God … suddenly there jumped out from amongst our ranks a Jew who was called Berakhah, the son of the martyr Aaron of Cieszewiec." This Jew was not the only one in the ranks of the Cossacks, for – to allow his wife to marry – one of the witnesses says that "he knew well that in this unit there was not another Jewish fighter who was called Berakhah" (*ibid.*, no. 137). Life in general was apt to be much more violent than is usually supposed: Even at Brest-Litovsk, when the *rebbe* of the community saw a litigant nearing his door, he seized a heavy box and barricaded himself in for fear of harm (*ibid.*, no. 44).

Arenda did more than give a new basis to the existence of many Jewish families; it brought the Jews into contact with village life and often combined with aspects of their internal organizational structure. Thus, the Jew Nahum b. Moses, as well as renting the mills, the tavern, and the right of preparing beer and brandy, also rented for one year all milk produce of the livestock on the manors and villages. Elaborate and complicated arrangements were made for payment and collection of these milk products (S. Inglot, in: *Studja z historji społecznej i gospodarczej poświęcone prof. Franciszkowi Bujakowi* (1931), 179–82; cf. 205, 208–9). In contact with village life, the Jew sometimes formed a sentimental attachment to his neighbors and his surroundings. In 1602 a council of leaders of Jewish communities in Volhynia tried to convince Jewish arendars to let the peasants rest on Saturday though the Polish nobleman would certainly have given them the right to compel them to work: "If the villagers are obliged to work all the week through, he should let them rest on Sabbath and the Holy Days throughout. See, while living in exile and under the Egyptian yoke, our parents chose this Saturday for a day of rest while they were not yet commanded about it, and heaven helped them to make it a day of rest for ever. Therefore, where gentiles are under their authority they are obliged to fulfill the commandment of the Torah and the order of the sages not to come, God forbid, to be ungrateful [*livot* לבְעֹט] to the One who has given them plenty of good by means of the very plenty he has given them. Let God's name be sanctified by them and not defiled" (H.H. Ben-Sasson, in *Zion*, 21 (1956), 205).

The interests of the Jews and Polish magnates coincided and complemented each other in one most important aspect of the economic and social activity of the Polish-Lithuanian nobility. On their huge estates the nobles began to establish and encourage the development of new townships, creating a network of "private towns." Because of the nature of their relationship with their own peasant population they were keen to attract settlers from afar, and Jews well suited their plans. The tempo and scale of expansion were great; in the grand duchy of Lithuania alone in the first half of the 17th century between 770 and 900 such townships (*miasteczki*) existed (S. Aleksandrowicz, in: *Roczniki dziejów społecznych i gospodarczych*, 27 (1965), 35–65). For their part, the Jews, who were hard pressed by the enmity of the populace in the old royal cities, gladly moved to places where they sometimes became the majority, in some cases even the whole, of the population. Since these were situated near the hinterland of agricultural produce and potential customers, Jewish initiative and innovation found a new outlet. Through charters granted by kings and magnates to communities and settlers in these new towns, the real legal status of the Jews gradually changed very much for the better. By the second half of the 17th century everywhere in Poland Jews had become part of "the third estate" and in some places and in some respects the only one.

Jews continued to hold customs stations openly in Lithuania, in defiance of the wishes of their leaders in Poland (see Councils of the Lands). Many custom station ledgers were written in Hebrew script and contained Hebrew terms (see R. Mahler, in YIVO *Historishe Shriftn*, 2 (1937), 180–205). Sometimes a Jew is found with a "sleeping partner," a Pole or Armenian in whose name the customs lease has been taken out. That some customs stations were in Jewish hands was also of assistance to Jewish trade.

This complex structure of large-scale export and import trade, the active and sometimes adventurous participation in the colonization of the Ukraine and in the shaping of the "private cities," in the fulfilling of what today we would call state economic functions, created for the first time in the history of Ashkenazi Jewry a broad base of population, settlement distribution, and means of livelihood, which provided changed conditions for the cultural and religious life of Jews. Even after the destruction wrought by the *Chmielnicki massacres enough remained to form the nucleus of later Ashkenazi Jewry. The later style of life in the Jewish *shtetl was based on achievements and progress made at this time.

INTERNAL JEWISH LIFE

The Councils of the Lands, the great superstructure of Jewish *autonomy, were an outgrowth of such dynamics of economy and settlement. Beginning with attempts at centralized leaderships imposed from above, appointed by the king, they ended with a central elected Jewish leadership. The aims, methods, and institutions of this leadership were intertwined with the new economic structure. Great fairs – notably those of Lublin and Jaroslaw – since they attracted the richest and most active element of the Jewish population, also served as the meeting place of the councils. Throughout its existence the Council of the Province of Lithuania cooperated with its three (later five) leading communities through a continuous correspondence with them and between each of them and the smaller communities under its authority. Here the council was adapting the organizational methods of large-scale trade to the leadership structure. The concern of the councils with the new economic phenomena, like arenda, is well known. They also concerned themselves with matters of security and morals which arose from the thin spread of Jewish families in Christian townships and villages. On the whole, up to 1648 a sense of achievement and creativity pervades their enterprises and thought. A preacher of that time, Jedidiah b. Israel *Gottlieb, inveighed against a man's gathering up riches for his children, using the argument of the self-made man: "The land is wide open, let them be mighty in it, settle and trade in it, then they will not be sluggards, lazy workers, children relying on their father's inheritance, but they themselves will try … to bring income to their homes, in particular because every kind of riches coming through inheritance does not stay in their hands … easy come, easy go.… through their laziness … they have to be admonished … to be mighty in the land through their trading: their strength and might shall bring them riches" (*Shir Yedidut* (Cracow, 1644), *Ẓeidah la-Derekh*, fol. 24a).

This buoyancy was based on a continuous growth of population throughout the 16th and the first half of the 17th centuries, due both to a steady natural increase thanks to improving conditions of life and to immigration from abroad resulting from persecution and expulsions (e.g., that from Bohemia-Moravia for a short period in 1542). As noted, the growth was most intensive in the eastern and southeastern areas of Poland-Lithuania, and it was distributed through the growing dispersion of Jews in the "private cities" and in the villages. At the end of the 16th century, Great Poland and Masovia (Mazowsze) contained 52 communities, Lesser Poland 41, and the Ukraine, Volhynia, and Podolia about 80; around 1648, the latter region had 115 communities. From about 100,000 persons in 1578 the Jewish population had grown to approximately 300,000 around 1648. It is estimated that the Jews formed about 2.5–3% of the entire population of Poland, but they constituted between 10% and 15% of the urban population in Poland and 20% of the same in Lithuania.

The dynamics of Jewish economic life are evident not only in the variety and success of their activities, but also in certain specific institutions and problems that reveal the tension behind their strain for economic goals which tended to entail risks. By the end of the 16th century, Jews were borrowers rather than lenders. Seventeenth-century antisemites – Miczyński and Mojecki – accused Jews of borrowing beyond their means and deceiving Christian lenders. From their accusations it is clear that much of this credit was not in ready cash but in goods given to Jewish merchants on credit. Borrowing was a real problem with which the Jewish leadership was much concerned. Many ordinances of the Councils of the Lands, of the provincial councils, and of single communities are preoccupied with preventing and punishing bankruptcy. Great efforts were devoted to prevent non-payment of debts to Christians in particular. Young men who were building up a family were especially suspected of reaching beyond their means. These ordinances tell in their own way the story of a burgeoning economy which is strained to dangerous limits, inciting in particular the young and the daring. A good name for credit was then a matter of life and death for the Jewish merchant. The great halakhist Solomon Luria was prepared to waive an ancient talmudic law in favor of the lender because "now most of the living of the Jews is based on credit; whereas most of those called merchants have little of their own and what they have in their hands is really taken from gentiles on credit for a fixed period – for they take merchandise [on credit] till a certain date – it is not seemly for a judge to sequester the property of a merchant, for news of this may spread and he will lose the source of his living and all his gentile creditors will come on him together and he will be lost, God forbid, and merchants will never trust him again. I myself have seen and heard about many merchants – circumcised and uncircumcised – to whom, because people said about them that they are a risk, much harm was caused and they never again could stand at their posts" (*Yam shel Shelomo, Bava Kamma*, ch. 1, para. 20). Because of the importance of credit the practice of a Jew lending on interest to another Jew became widespread in Poland-Lithuania despite the fact that it was contrary to Jewish law (see *usury). This necessitated the creation there of the legal fiction of *hetter iskah*, formulated by a synod of rabbis and leaders under the chairmanship of Joshua b. Alexander ha-Kohen *Falk in 1607. Widespread credit also led to the use of letters of credit specific to the Jews of Poland, the so-called **mamram* (Pol. *membrana, membran*; Heb. ממרמ"א, ממרים, ממרנ"י, in initials: מ"מ, ממ"א): the Jew would sign on one side of the paper and write on the other side "this letter of credit obliges the signed overleaf for amount x to be paid on date *y*."

Jewish cultural and social life flourished hand in hand with the economic and demographic growth. In the 16th and early 17th centuries Poland-Lithuania became the main center of Ashkenazi culture. Its *yeshivot were already famous at the beginning of the 16th century; scholars like *Ḥayyim b. Bezalel of Germany and David b. Solomon *Gans of Prague were the pupils of *Shalom Shakhna of Lublin and Moses Isserles of Cracow, respectively. Mordecai b. Abraham *Jaffe; Abraham, Isaiah, and Jacob b. Abraham *Horowitz; Eliezer b. Elijah *Ashkenazi; *Ephraim Solomon b. Aaron Luntshits; and Solomon Luria were only a few of the great luminaries of talmudic scholarship and moralistic preaching in Poland-Lithuania of that time. Councils of the Lands and community ordinances show in great detail if not the reality at least the ideal of widespread Torah study supported by the people in general. This culture was fraught with great social and moral tensions. Old Ashkenazi ascetic ideas did not sit too well on the affluent and economically activist Polish-Lithuanian Jewish society. Meetings with representatives of the Polish *Reformation movement, in particular with groups and representatives of the anti-trinitarian wing like Marcin Czechowic or Szymon *Budny, led to disputations and reciprocal influence. Outstanding in these contacts on the Jewish side was the Karaite Isaac b. Abraham *Troki, whose *Ḥizzuk Emunah* sums up the tensions in Jewish thought in the divided Christian religious world of Poland-Lithuania. It was Moses Isserles who formulated the Ashkenazi modifications and additions to the code of the Sephardi Joseph Caro. Isaiah b. Abraham ha-Levi *Horowitz summed up in his *Shenei Luhot ha-Berit* the moral and mystic teaching of the upper circles of Ashkenazi Jewry. Yet his writings, and even more so the writings of Isserles, give expression to the tensions and compromises between rationalism and mysticism, between rich and poor, between leadership and individual rights. To all these tensions, Ephraim Solomon Luntshits gave sharp voice in his eloquent sermons, standing always on the side of the poor against the rich and warning consistently against the danger of hypocrisy and self-righteousness. Fortified and wooden synagogues expressed the needs and the aesthetic sense of Jewish society of that time. In the old "royal cities" magnificent synagogue buildings were erected as early as the 16th century (e.g., the Rema synagogue at Cracow and the Great Synagogue of Lvov). Hebrew manuscripts were brought from abroad and some of them illuminated in Poland. Jewish printing developed early and many beautiful works were published. Various sources describe carnival-like Purim celebrations, and the fun, irony, and joy of life expressed in now lost folk songs and popular games and dramas.

FROM CHMIELNICKI TO THE FIRST PARTITION

The *Chmielnicki revolt and massacres of 1648–49, the Tatar incursions from Crimea, and the subsequent war with Moscow combined with the Swedish War to bring on the Jews of Poland-Lithuania approximately 30 years of bloodshed, destruction, and suffering. Thousands were killed, thousands forced to adopt Christianity. At the end of these convulsions, Poland-Lithuania had lost much territory in the east which of course was also lost for Jewish life and settlement. Thousands of refugees thronged westward, bringing heavy pressure to bear on charity and the very structure of Jewish society. The arrangements of the Councils of the Lands to prevent competition for arenda had to stand the severe test of diminished opportunities and increasing demand. Contemporary figures like Nathan Nata *Hannover saw in this catastrophe a fissure in Jewish life and institutions, as indicated by the tenor of his chronicle, *Yeven Metsulah*. In reality, Jewish cultural and social life in the second half of the 17th century and in the 18th continued to a considerable extent along the lines developed in the great era of the 16th and first half of the 17th centuries. Recent research has shown that *Pinsk, a community in the east of Lithuania, recovered from its troubles more completely and at greater speed than had been known before. But the dynamism had gone out of institutions and activities; inertia set in. Much that had been full of imminent promise of development and change before the disasters tended now to be petrified. Tensions that had been submerged in the buoyant pre-Chmielnicki times became more open, causing dissension and revolt. The councils and communities were burdened with the growing debts incurred mostly to meet unexpected demands for defense against multiplying libels and massacres, but at the same time the oligarchic structure within the community and the councils and the dominating attitude adopted by the larger communities toward the smaller ones – in Lithuania in particular – caused the lower strata of the population and the members of the smaller communities to suspect their in-

Table 2. Distribution of Jews in Poland According to Size of Communities in the 18th century

Region	Percentage of communities of less than 500	Percentage of communities of more than 500
Great Poland	91.7	8.3
Masovia	93.5	6.5
Lesser Poland	76.5	23.5
Lvov	61.7	38.3
Ukraine	85.0	15.0

Table 3. Economic Structure of Jewish Population in Poland-Lithuania in the 18th century

Region	Arenda and Alcoholic Beverages	Trade	Transportation	Crafts	Professions	Unspec.
Great Poland	1.8	6.1	–	41.7	12.4	38.0
Masovia	15.2	0.7	–	19.0	13.0	52.1
Lesser Poland	3.1	4.8	1.0	24.0	11.0	56.1
Lvov	2.8	3.0	3.2	20.5	12.5	58.0
Ukraine	28.9	3.6	2.0	27.0	14.5	24.0

tentions and greatly resent the increasingly heavy tax burden. Jewish economic activity continued to develop, though Jews in the "private towns" and on arenda in the villages came to feel more and more the heavy and capricious hand of the Polish nobles, who by that period had lost the vigor of earlier times and become tyrannical, petty lords.

Despite the loss of territory and the worsening of conditions, the Jewish population in Poland-Lithuania continued to grow both absolutely and, from many aspects, in its relative strength in the country. With the abolition of the Councils of the Lands in 1764, a census of the Jewish population was taken. Jews tried to evade being counted by any means available for they were certain that the purpose of the census was to impose heavier taxation on them, as they had every reason to suspect the intentions of the authorities. For this reason at least 20% should be added to the official figures. Accordingly in 1764 there were 749,968 Jews over a year old in Poland-Lithuania: 548,777 of them in Poland and 201,191 in Lithuania; 16.5% of the Jewish population of Poland lived in western Poland, 23.5% in Lesser Poland, and 60% in the Ukraine and neighboring districts; in Lithuania 77% lived in the western part and only 23% in the eastern, Belorussian districts. Taking into account the overall population of Poland, it can be seen that the concentration of Jewish population had shifted eastward in the 18th century to an even greater extent than in the early and successful 17th century. The census also shows that Jews lived mostly in small communities. (See Table 2: Distribution of Jews in Poland.)

As the entire Christian urban population of Poland-Lithuania was estimated at that time to be about half a million, and as the Jews were concentrated mainly in the townships and "private towns," there emerges a clear picture of a predominantly Jewish population in the smaller Polish-Lithuanian urban centers, at least 70% to 90% in many of these places.

The economic structure of the Jewish population at this time is shown in Table 3.

Although the predominance of unspecified professions does indicate the impoverishment of the Jews, it is largely an aspect of the evasive attitude toward the census. As this table does not include the village Jews, among whom the occupations of arenda and the production and sale of alcoholic beverages certainly predominated, only the following economic conclusions can be drawn with certainty: A considerable proportion of the Jews were engaged in crafts, and arenda and alcoholic beverages became more important as sources of livelihood as the Jews moved eastward and into villages (according to R. Mahler, *Yidn in Amolikn Poyln in Likht fun Tsifern*, 1958).

The Jewish population of Poland-Lithuania was still seething with creativity and movement in the 18th century. The messianic claims of *Shabbetai Ẓevi not only stirred the masses of Jews in 1665–66 but also left a deep impression on later generations. This is evident in the suspicion expressed about itinerant **maggidim* (it was also demanded that they be supervised), who were suspected of disseminating heretical and critical ideas. The personality and movement of Jacob *Frank made the greatest impact on the distressed population of Podolia, in the extreme southeast. From the same region too arose *Israel b. Eliezer Ba'al Shem Tov and the movement of *Ḥasidism he originated. Talmudic scholarship and traditional ways of life, which continued to flourish throughout the period, found a supreme exemplar in the vigorous personality and influence of *Elijah b. Solomon Zalman, the Gaon of Vilna, and in the way of life and culture originated by him and his circle in the Mitnaggedic Lithuanian yeshivot. At that time too the first influences of *Haskalah and *assimilation began to appear in Poland-Lithuania.

With the partitions of Poland (beginning in 1772), the history of ancient Jewish Poland-Lithuania comes to an end. During the agony of the Polish state, several of its more enlightened leaders – e.g., H. Kołłątaj and T. *Czacki – tried to "improve the Jews," i.e., improve their legal and social status in the spirit of western and European enlightened absolutism. With the dismemberment of Poland-Lithuania, their belated efforts remained suspended. Even when broken up and dispersed, Polish-Lithuanian Jewry was not only the majority and the cultural source of Jewish society in czarist Russia, but those elements of it which came under Prussia and Austria also served later as the reservoir of Jewish spirit and manpower which resisted the ravages of assimilation and apostasy in the German and Austrian communities in the late 18th and 19th centuries.

[Haim Hillel Ben-Sasson]

AFTER PARTITION

The geographic entity "Poland" in this part of the article refers to that area of the Polish commonwealth which, by 1795, had been divided between Austria and Prussia and which subsequently constituted the basis of the grand duchy of Warsaw, created in 1807. Following the Congress of *Vienna in 1815 much of this area was annexed to the Russian Empire as the semi-autonomous Kingdom of Poland, also known as Congress Poland. The kingdom constituted the core of ethnic Poland, the center of Polish politics and culture, and an economic area of great importance. It is to be distinguished from Austrian Poland (Galicia), Prussian Poland (Poznan, Silesia, and Pomerania), and the Russian northwestern region also known as Lithuania-Belorussia.

During and after the partitions the special legal status enjoyed by the Jews in Poland-Lithuania came under attack – while disabilities remained, efforts were made to break down the Jews' separateness and transform them into "useful" citizens. This new notion, brought to Poland from the west and championed by Polish progressives with the support of the tiny number of progressive Jews, advocates of the Haskalah, was clearly expressed during the debates on the Jewish question at the Four-Year Sejm (1788–92). The writings of H. Kołłątaj and M. *Butrymowicz demanded the reform of Jewish life, meaning an end to special institutions and customs (from the *kahal* to the Jewish beard), sentiments to be expressed later on

Table 4. Growth of Warsaw Jewry

Year	Number of Jews	Percentage
1781	3,532	4.5
1810	14,061	18.1
1856	44,149	24.3
1882	127,917	33.4
1897	219,141	33.9

Table 5. Lodz Jewry, Population

Year	Number of Jews	Percentage
1793	11	5.7
1856	2,775	12.2
1897	98,677	31.8
1910	166,628	40.7

by S. Staszic and A.J. *Czartoryski. The attack on "*l'état dans l'état*" as Czartoryski put it in 1815, was accompanied by an attack against Jewish economic practices in the village, which, it was claimed, oppressed and corrupted the peasantry. From Butrymowicz, writing in 1789, to the writings of Polish liberals and Jewish assimilationists in the inter-war period, there runs a common assumption: the Jews suffer because they persist in their separateness – let them become like Poles and both they and Poland will prosper. This assumption was also shared by many antisemites of the non-racist variety.

Some effort was made during the 19th century to implement this belief. For example, the *kahal*, symbol of Jewish self-government, was abolished in 1822, and a special tax on Jewish liquor dealers forced many to abandon their once lucrative profession. On the other hand Jews were encouraged to become agriculturalists and were granted, in 1826, a modern rabbinical seminary which was supposed to produce enlightened spiritual leaders. Moreover, in 1862 the Jews of Poland were "emancipated," meaning that special Jewish taxes were abolished and, above all, that restrictions on residence (Jewish ghettos and *privilegium de non tolerandis Judaeis*) were removed. Nonetheless, the legal antisemitism of Russia's last czars was also introduced into Poland: in 1891 aspects of N. *Ignatiev's *May Laws were extended to Congress Poland, resulting in the expulsion of many Jews from the villages, and in 1908 school quotas (**numerus clausus*) were officially implemented. In sum, during the 19th and early 20th centuries the policy of the carrot and the stick was employed. By the end of the pre-World War I era the stick had prevailed, making the legal status of Polish Jewry nearly identical to that of Russian Jewry. The efforts to assimilate Polish Jewry by legislation aimed at making it more productive and less separatist had virtually no impact on the Jewish masses.

The "Jewish question" in Poland and the legal efforts to deal with it were to a certain extent the result of the Jews' special demographic and economic structure. From the demographic point of view two striking tendencies may be observed. First, the natural increase of Polish Jews was greater than that of non-Jews, at least during most of the 19th century, leading to an increasing proportion of Jews within the population as a whole. In 1816 Jews constituted 8.7% of the population of the kingdom; in 1865, 13.5%. In 1897, despite the effects of large-scale Jewish emigration, 14 out of every 100 Polish citizens were Jews. This increase, attributable in part to the low Jewish death rate, was accompanied by the rapid urbanization of Polish Jewry. A few examples may suffice to illustrate this important process. Table 4 demonstrates the growth of Warsaw Jewry, where restrictions on residence were not entirely lifted until 1862.

A similar trend is found in Lodz, the kingdom's second city (see Table 5).

This remarkable urbanization – the result of government pressure, a crisis in the traditional Jewish village professions, and the economic attractions of the growing commercial and industrial centers – had the following impact on the Jewish population: In 1827, according to the research of A. Eisenbach, 80.4% of the Jews lived in cities and the rest in villages, while in 1865 fully 91.5% of Polish Jewry lived in cities. In the same year 83.6% of the non-Jewish population lived in the countryside. As early as 1855 Jews constituted approximately 43% of the entire urban population of the kingdom, and in those cities where there were no restrictions on Jewish settlement the figure reached 57.2%. The Jews, traditionally scattered, could claim with some justification that, by the end of the century, the cities were their "territory."

This demographic tendency meant that the traditional Jewish economic structure also underwent certain changes. Jews, of course, had always predominated in trade; in 1815, for example, 1,657 Polish Jews participated at the Leipzig fair compared with 143 Polish gentiles. During the course of the century, as the Jews became more and more dominant in the cities, their role in urban commercial ventures became more pronounced. Thus, in Warsaw, at the end of the century, 18 out of 26 major private banks were owned by Jews or Jewish converts to Christianity. A wealthy Jewish merchant and financial class emerged, led by such great capitalists as Ivan *Bliokh and Leopold *Kronenberg, who played a role in the urbanization and industrialization of Poland. On the other hand, the vast majority of Jews engaged in commerce very clearly belonged to the petty bourgeoisie of shopkeepers (of whom, in Warsaw in 1862, nearly 90% were Jews) and the like. In the same year, according to the calculations of the economic historian I. *Schiper, more than two-thirds of all Jewish merchants were without substantial capital.

Two tendencies must be emphasized with regard to the Jewish economic situation in the kingdom. First, it became apparent by the end of the century that the Jews were gradually losing ground to non-Jews in trade. Thus, for every 100 Jews in Warsaw in 1862, 72 lived from commerce, while in 1897 the figure had dropped to 62. For non-Jews, on the other hand, the percentage rose from 27.9 in 1862 to 37.9 in 1897. The rise of a non-Jewish middle class, with the resulting increase in competition between Jew and gentile, marks the beginning of a process which, as we shall see, gained impetus during the interwar years. Second, there was a marked tendency toward the "productivization" of Polish Jewry, that is, a rise of Jews engaged in crafts and industry. The following figures, which relate to the whole of Congress Poland, are most revealing: in 1857 44.7% of all Jews lived from commerce and 25.1% from crafts and industry, while in 1897 42.6% were engaged in commerce and 34.3% in crafts and industry. In this area, as in trade, the typical Jew was far from wealthy. For every wealthy Jew like Israel Poznański, the textile tycoon from Lodz, there were thousands of Jewish artisans (some 119,000, according to the survey of the *Jewish Colonization Association (ICA) in 1898) who worked in tiny shops with rarely more than one hired hand. It is noteworthy that for various reasons – the problems of Sabbath work, the antisemitism of non-Jewish factory owners, fear of the Jewish workers' revolutionary potential – a Jewish factory proletariat failed to develop. Even in Lodz and Bialystok the typical Jewish weaver worked in a small shop or at home, not in a large factory. One further development should be mentioned. By the end of the century a numerically small but highly influential Jewish professional class had made its appearance, particularly in Warsaw. This class was to provide the various political and cultural movements of the day, Jewish and non-Jewish, with many recruits, as well as to provide new leadership for the Jewish community.

The Jews, therefore, constituted an urban, middle class and proletarian element within the great mass of the Polish peasantry. There existed in Poland a long tradition of what might be called a "Polish orientation" among Jews, dating back to the Jewish legion which fought with T. *Kościuszko in 1794 and continuing up to the enthusiastic participation of a number of Jews in J. *Piłsudski's legions. The Polish-Jewish fraternization and cooperation during the Polish uprising of 1863 is perhaps the best example of this orientation, which held that Polish independence would also lead to the disappearance of antisemitism. The idea of Jewish-Polish cultural assimilation took root among the Jews of the kingdom far earlier than in Galicia, not to mention multi-national Lithuania-Belorussia. **Izraelita*, the Polish-Jewish periodical advocating assimilation, began publication in 1866, and a number of Jewish intellectuals like Alexander Kraushar hoped for the eventual merging of the Jews into the Polish nation. Such men took comfort from the views of a few Polish intellectuals, notably the poet Adam *Mickiewicz, who hoped and worked for the same event. The slogan "for our and your freedom" had considerable influence within the Polish-Jewish intelligentsia by the century's end.

The Jewish masses, however, had nothing to do with such views, knew nothing of Mickiewicz, knew little if any Polish, and remained (as the assimilationists put it) enclosed within their own special world. Here, too, as was the case regarding the economic stratification of Polish Jewry, a thin stratum separated itself from the mass. It was usually the offspring of the wealthy (Kraushar's father, for example, was a banker) who championed the Polish orientation, while the typical Jewish shopkeeper or artisan remained Yiddish-speaking and Orthodox. On the Polish side, too, Mickiewicz was a voice crying in the wilderness. It is true that the great wave of *pogroms in the Russian Empire was concentrated in the Ukraine and Bessarabia (although Russian Poland was not wholly spared); nor was there anything in Poland resembling the expulsion of the Jews from Moscow in 1891. Indeed, Russian antisemitism led to the influx of so-called Litvaks into the kingdom. But the rise of Polish national fervor, accompanied by the development of a Polish middle class, naturally exacerbated Polish-Jewish relations. The founding of the National Democratic Party (*Endecja) in 1897 was symptomatic of the growing antisemitism of the period. The economic and political roots of this antisemitism (not to mention the traditional religious factor) were clearly expressed in 1912, when the Jews' active support of a Socialist candidate in elections to the *Duma resulted in an announced boycott of Jewish businesses by the National Democrats. On the eve of World War I relations between Poles and Jews were strained to the utmost, a state of affairs which led to a decline in the influence of the assimilationists and a rise in that of Jewish national doctrines.

In comparison with Russia, specifically Jewish political movements had a late start in the kingdom. The Haskalah, progenitor of modern Jewish political movements, was far less influential in Poland than in Galicia or Russia. Warsaw, unlike *Vilna, Lvov, and other great Jewish cities, did not become a center of the Enlightenment; its Jewish elite, like the elite in Germany, tended toward assimilation. True, the city of *Zamosc was, for a time, a thriving Haskalah center, but Zamosc was part of Galicia from 1772 to 1815 and followed the Galician rather than the Polish pattern. Later on, the pioneers of Jewish nationalism and Jewish Socialism came from the northwest region (Belorussia-Lithuania) or the Ukraine. While in Lithuania the Jewish intelligentsia, though Russianized, remained close to the masses, in Poland the intelligentsia was thoroughly Polonized. Its members tended, therefore, to enter Polish movements, such as the Polish Socialist Party (*PPS). Thus the *Bund, although it succeeded in spreading into Poland in the early 20th century, remained very much a Lithuanian movement. It is striking that the so-called Litvaks played a major role in spreading the ideas of Jewish nationalism to Poland; it was they, for example, who led the Warsaw Ḥovevei Zion (*Ḥibbat Zion) movement, the precursor of modern Zionism. On the eve of World War I, however, Jewish political life in Poland was well developed. The Bund had developed roots in such worker centers as Warsaw and Lodz, while the Zionists felt strong enough to challenge, albeit unsuccessfully, the entrenched assimilationist leadership of the Warsaw Jewish community.

INDEPENDENT POLAND

As a result of World War I and the unexpected collapse of the three partitioning powers, Poland was reconstituted as a sovereign state. The final boundaries, not determined until 1921, represented something of a compromise between the feder-

Table 6. Decrease in the Percentage of the Jews in the Total Population in the Cities of Poland in the Interwar Period

City	Percentage of Jews in 1921	Percentage of Jews in 1931
Warsaw	33.1	30.1
Lvov	35.0	31.9
Vilna	36.1	28.2
Bialystok	51.6	43.0
Grodno	53.9	42.6
Brest-Litovsk	53.1	44.3
Pinsk	74.7	63.4

Table 7. The Natural Increase of Four Major Religious Groups in Poland in the Interwar Period

Religion	Natural Increase
Roman Catholic	13.1
Greek Catholic	12.5
Greek Orthodox	16.7
Jewish	9.5

alist dreams of Pilsudski and the more ethnic Polish conception of R. *Dmowski. To Congress Poland, purely Polish save for its large Jewish minority, were added Galicia, Poznania, Pomerania, parts of Silesia, areas formerly part of the Russian northwestern region, and the Ukrainian province of Volhynia. The new state was approximately one-third non-Polish, the important minorities being the Ukrainians, Jews, Belorussians, and Germans.

The heritage of the war years was a particularly tragic one for Polish Jewry. The rebirth of Poland, which many Jews had hoped for, was accompanied by a campaign of terror directed by the Poles (as by the invading Russian army in the early years of the war) against them. The Jews too often found themselves caught between opposing armies – between the Poles and the Lithuanians in Vilna, between the Poles and the Ukrainians in Lvov, and between the Poles and the Bolsheviks during the war of 1920. And it is probably no accident that the two major pogroms of this period, in Lvov in 1918 and in Vilna in 1919, occurred in multi-national areas where national feelings reached their greatest heights. The triumph of Polish nationalism, far from leading to a rapprochement between Jews and Poles, created a legacy of bitterness which cast its shadow over the entire interwar period. For the Poles the war years proved that the Jews were "anti-Polish," "pro-Ukrainian," "pro-Bolshevik," etc. For the Jews the independence of Poland was associated with pogroms. The legal situation of the Jews in independent Poland was, on the surface, excellent. The Treaty of Versailles, concluded between the victorious powers and the new states, included provisions protecting the national rights of minorities; in the Polish treaty Jews were specifically promised their own schools and the Polish state promised to respect the Jewish Sabbath. The Polish constitution, too, declared that non-Poles would be allowed to foster their national traditions, and formally abolished all discrimination due to religious, racial, or national differences. The Jews were recognized by the state as a nationality, something the Zionists and other Jewish nationalists had long fought for. There were great hopes that the Jews would be allowed to develop their own national institutions on the basis of national autonomy.

These hopes were not fulfilled. The two cornerstones of Jewish autonomy – the school and the **kehillah* – were not allowed to develop freely. The state steadfastly refused to support Jewish schools, save for a relatively small number of elementary schools closed on Saturday which possessed little Jewish content. The Hebrew-language *Tarbut schools, along with the Yiddish-language CYSHO (see *Education) network, were entirely dependent on Jewish support, and the diplomas issued by the Jewish high schools were not recognized by the Ministry of Education. The Jewish schools were successful as pedagogical institutions, but the absence of state support made it impossible for them to lay the foundation for a thriving Jewish national cultural life in Poland. As for the *kehillah*, projected by Jewish nationalists as the organ of Jewish national autonomy on the local level, it was kept in tight check by the government. While elections to the *kehillah* were made democratic, enabling all Jewish parties to participate on a basis of equality, the government constantly intervened to support its own candidates, usually those of the Orthodox *Agudat Israel. By the same token the government controlled the budgets of the *kehillot*. These institutions remained essentially what they had been in the preceding century, concerned above all with the religious life of the community.

Far from barring discrimination against non-Poles, the policy of the interwar Polish state was to promote the ethnic Polish element at the expense of the national minorities, and above all at the expense of the Jews, who were more vulnerable than the essentially peasant Slav groups. The tradition of *numerus clausus* was continued at the secondary school and university level, efforts were made to deprive the "Litvaks" of Polish citizenship, local authorities attempted to curb the use of Yiddish and Hebrew at public meetings, and the Polish electoral system clearly discriminated against all the minorities. All Jewish activities leading toward the advancement of Jewish national life in Poland were combatted; the government favored Zionism only insofar as it preached emigration to Ereẓ Israel, and in domestic politics tended to support the traditional Orthodoxy of Agudat Israel. Worst of all was the economic policy of the state.

According to official statistics, most likely too low, Jews made up 10.5% of the Polish population in 1921. The density of their urban settlement was related to the general development of the area. In less developed regions, such as East Galicia, Lithuania, and Volhynia, the Jewish percentage in the cities was very high, while in more developed areas, such as Central Poland (the old Congress Poland), the existence of a strong native bourgeoisie caused the Jewish percentage to be lower. As for the Jewish village population, it too was higher in backward areas, since the number of cities was naturally less. There were, therefore, substantial Jewish village populations in Galicia and Lithuania but not in the old Congress Poland (with the exception of Lublin province, economically backward in comparison with the other provinces of the region). The most striking development in the demography of Polish Jewry between the wars is the marked loss of ground in the cities. Table 6 illustrates this point. (See Map: Poland, 1931 and Map: Jews in Poland.)

Among the factors contributing to this decline was the Polish government's "colonization" policy in non-Polish areas, its changing of city lines to diminish the Jewish proportion, and Jewish emigration (though with America's gates shut this last factor was not very significant). Another major cause would appear to be the low Jewish natural increase, caused by a low birth rate. (Table 7 presents the natural increase of four major religious groups in interwar Poland.) Thus the process of Jewish population expansion in Poland ended, itself the victim of urbanization (which led, in turn, to a low birth rate). If the cities were Judaized during the 19th century, they were Polonized in the 1920s and 1930s.

The demographic decline of Polish Jewry was paralleled by a more serious economic decline. On the whole, Polish Jews between the wars continued to work at the same trades as their 19th-century predecessors and the tendency toward "productivization" also continued. The vast majority of those engaged in industry were artisans, among whom tailors predominated; those working in commerce were, above all, shopkeepers. What distinguished the interwar years from the prewar era was the antisemitic policy of the Polish state, which Jewish leaders accused of leading to the economic "extermination" of Polish Jewry. Jews were not employed in the civil service, there were very few Jewish teachers in the public schools, practically no Jewish railroad workers, no Jews employed in state-controlled banks, and no Jewish workers in state-run monopolies (such as the tobacco industry). In a period characterized by economic *étatisme*, when the state took a commanding role in economic life, such official discrimination became disastrous. There was no branch of the economy where the state did not reach; it licensed artisans, controlled the banking system, and controlled foreign trade, all to the detriment of the Jewish element. Its tax system discriminated against the urban population, and its support of peasant cooperatives struck at the Jewish middleman. Such specific legislation as the law compelling all citizens to rest on Sunday helped to ruin Jewish commerce by forcing the shopkeeper to rest for two days and to lose the traditionally lucrative Sunday trade.

More natural forces were also at work in the decline of the Jews' economic condition, e.g., the continued development of a native middle class, sponsored by the government but not created by it. According to research carried out by the *YIVO in 113 Polish cities between 1937 and 1938, the number of Jewish-owned stores declined by one, while the number of stores owned by Christians increased by 591. In the western Bialystok province, to cite another example, the number of the Jewish-owned stores declined between 1932 and 1937 from 663 to 563, while the number of Christian-owned stores rose from 58 to 310. These figures reflect both the impact of antisemitism (in the late 1930s the anti-Jewish boycott became effective) and the impact of the developing Polish (and Ukrainian) middle class.

The Jews' economic collapse in the interwar period bears witness to the disaster, from the Jewish point of view, inherent in the rise of exclusive nation-states on the ruins of the old multinational empires. Jews were employed in the old Austrian public schools of Galicia, but not in the Polish state-operated schools. They worked as clerks in the railroad offices of Austrian Galicia, but not in Poland. Thousands of Jewish cigarette factory workers in the old Russian Empire were dismissed when the Polish state took over the tobacco monopoly. It also demonstrates the extremely vulnerable position of the Jews vis-à-vis the other Polish minorities, largely peasant nations which did not compete with the Polish element. The urban Jewish population found itself in a situation in which the traditional small businessman was being squeezed out, while the policy of the state also ruined the wealthy Jewish merchant and industrialist. This was then the end of a process already discernible in the late 19th century, immeasurably speeded up by a state which wanted to see all key economic positions in the hands of "loyal" elements, i.e., Poles.

What was the Jews' political response to this situation? In the beginning of the interwar period the *General Zionists emerged as the strongest force within the Jewish community, thus reflecting the general trend in Eastern Europe toward nationalism and, in the Jewish context, reflecting the impact of the terrible war years. In the 1919 Sejm elections the list of the Temporary Jewish National Council, dominated by General Zionists, received more than 50% of those votes cast for Jewish parties. In 1922, when Jewish representation in the Sejm reached its peak, the percentage of General Zionists (together with the *Mizrachi) among the Jewish deputies was again over 50% (28 out of 46). The Jewish Club (Koło) in the Sejm, which claimed to speak for all Polish Jewry, was naturally dominated by General Zionists, who with considerable justice regarded themselves as the legitimate spokesmen of the community. General Zionism in Poland was divided into two schools, that of "Warsaw-St. Petersburg" and that of "Lvov-Cracow-Vienna." The former came of age in the revolutionary atmosphere of the czarist regime and consequently tended to be more extreme in its demands than the Galicians, who had learned their politics in the Austrian Reichsrat. The clash between Yiẓḥak *Gruenbaum, leader of the Warsaw faction, and Leon *Reich of Lvov was well expressed in the negotiations carried on between the Jewish Sejm Club and the Polish government in 1925. Gruenbaum, rejecting negotiations with antisemites and offering instead the idea of a national minorities bloc, found himself outnumbered in the club by adherents of Reich's position, namely that negotiations should be carried on in order to halt the deterioration of the Jewish position. In the end neither Gruenbaum's minorities bloc nor Reich's negotiations caused any improvements; the tragedy of

Jewish politics in Poland was that the government would not make concessions to the Jews so long as it was not forced to do so, and the Jews, representing only 10% of the population, could find no allies.

All General Zionists agreed on the importance of "work in the Diaspora," though Gruenbaum, the central figure in this work, was castigated by Palestinian pioneers as the apostle of "Sejm-Zionismus." They did not agree, however, on various aspects of Zionist policy; the efforts to broaden the *Jewish Agency and the nature of the Fourth *Aliyah caused a split within the Warsaw Zionists, Gruenbaum leading the attack on Chaim *Weizmann and upholding the young pioneering emigration while his opponents defended the "bourgeois" *aliyah* and Weizmann's conciliatory tactics toward non-Zionist Jewry. Gruenbaum's faction, Al ha-Mishmar ("On Guard"), remained in the minority throughout the 1920s, but the so-called radical Zionists returned to power in the 1930s following the failure of the Agency reform, the crisis in the Fourth Aliyah, and the stiffening of the British line in Palestine. The General Zionists, of course, did not monopolize Jewish political life in interwar Poland. On the right, non-Zionist Orthodoxy was represented by the Agudat Israel, which succeeded in dominating the Jewish *kehillot*, but its generally good relations with the government did not stem the antisemitic tide. On the left the dominant Jewish party was the Bund, which had disappeared in Russia but survived to play its last historic role as the most important representative of the Jewish proletariat in Poland. The Bund, like Gruenbaum's Zionist faction, also recognized the need for allies in the struggle for a just society in which, its leaders hoped, Jews would be able to promote their Yiddish-based culture. Such allies were sought on the Polish left rather than among the disaffected minorities, but the Polish Socialist Party (PPS), for reasons of its own, had no desire to be branded pro-Jewish. Unable to create a bloc with the Polish proletariat, the Bund devoted itself to promoting the interests of the Jewish working class and took a great interest in the development of Yiddish culture. Despite the fact that this party, too, was split into factions (the split turned chiefly on different attitudes toward the international Socialist movement), it was to grow in influence. Sharing the left with the Bund, though overshadowed by it in terms of worker allegiance, were the various Socialist Zionist parties, ranging from the non-Marxist *Hitaḥadut to the leftist *Po'alei Zion (the Po'alei Zion movement had split into right and left factions in 1920; in Poland the left was dominant, at least in the 1920s). The moderate Socialist Zionists were concerned mainly with the pioneering emigration to Ereẓ Israel, while the Left Po'alei Zion steered a perilous course of non-affiliation either with the Zionist organization or with the Socialist International. Its ideological difficulties with the competition of the anti-Zionist Bund (which went so far as to brand Zionism as an ally of Polish antisemitism) sentenced the Left Po'alei Zion to a relatively minor role among the Jewish proletariat, though its influence among the intelligentsia was by no means negligible.

Two other Jewish parties deserve mention. The Polish Mizrachi, representing the Zionist Orthodox population, enjoyed a very large following (eight of its representatives sat in the Sejm in 1922). The Mizrachi usually cooperated with the General Zionists, though its particular mission was to safeguard the religious interests of its followers in Ereẓ Israel and in the Diaspora. The *Folkspartei, on the other hand, never managed to make an impression on political life in Poland, though its intellectual leadership was extremely influential on the cultural scene. Both anti-Zionist and anti-Socialist, it could never attain a mass following.

The economic collapse of Polish Jewry, together with the rise of virulent antisemitism, led to the radicalization of Jewish politics in Poland. Extreme solutions to the Jewish question gained more adherents as the parliamentary approach clearly failed to lead anywhere; hence the growth of the pioneering Zionist movements – *He-Ḥaluẓ, HeḤaluẓ ha-Ẓa'ir, *Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir, and others – resulting in the large-scale emigration to Ereẓ Israel in the mid-1930s, and also the inroads of Communism among the Jewish youth. Another symptom of this radicalization was the great success of the Bund in the 1930s; by the late 1930s the Bund had "conquered" a number of major *kehillot* and was probably justified in considering itself the strongest of all Jewish parties. This spectacular success did not occur as a result of any apparent party success, since the efforts to improve the lot of the Jewish proletariat and to forge a bloc with the Polish left had failed. Rather, the Bund's success may be attributed to the rising protest vote against attempts to mollify the regime and in favor of an honorable defense, no matter how unavailing, of Jewish interests. Within the Zionist movement the process of radicalization was very clearly illustrated by the decline of the General Zionists and the rise of the Socialists and the Revisionists. In the elections to the 18th *Zionist Congress, held in 1933, the labor Zionists of Central Poland received 38 mandates and the General Zionists only 12. The same congress seated 20 Polish Revisionists, whose growing strength faithfully reflected the mood of Polish Jewry. In short, a transformation may be discerned of what might be called the politics of hope into the politics of despair. The slogans of *ḥaluẓiyyut* ("pioneering"), evacuation, and Communist ideology became more and more palatable as the old hopes for Jewish autonomy and the peaceful advancement of Jewish life in a democratic Poland disappeared.

By the late 1930s the handwriting was clearly on the wall for Polish Jewry, though no one could foresee the horrors to come. The rise of Hitler in Germany was paralleled by the appearance of Fascist and semi-Fascist regimes in Eastern Europe, not excepting Poland. A new wave of pogroms erupted along with a renewed anti-Jewish boycott, condoned by the authorities. The Jewish parties were helpless in the face of this onslaught, especially as the disturbances in Ereẓ Israel resulted in a drastic decline in *aliyah*. The political dilemma of Polish Jewry remained unresolved; finding no allies, Jewish parties could do little to influence the course of events. It should be recalled, however, that the role of these parties was greater than the narrow word "political" implies. Their work in raising the educational standards of Polish Jewry was remarkable, and the Jewish youth movements were able to supply to the new generation of Polish Jews a sense of purpose and a certain vision of a brighter future.

Polish Jewish history, from 1772 to 1939, reveals an obvious continuity. The Jews remained a basically urban element in a largely peasant country, a distinct economic group, a minority whose faith, language, and customs differed sharply from those of the majority. All attempts to break down this distinctiveness failed, and the Jews naturally suffered for their obvious strangeness. A thin layer of assimilated, or quasi-assimilated, Jews subsisted throughout the entire period, but the masses were relatively unaffected by the Polish orientation. In the end all suffered equally from Polish antisemitism. There were also several basic discontinuities. The rise of an exclusively national Polish state in 1918 was a turning point in the deterioration of the Jews' position, though the signs of this deterioration were already visible in the late 19th century. The rise of a native middle class, encouraged by state policy, put an end to the Jews' domination of trade and forced them into crafts and industry, resulting in the emergence of a large Jewish proletariat. Politically speaking perhaps the greatest change was the triumph within the community of Jewish nationalism, whether Zionist, Bundist, or Folkist, at the expense of the traditional assimilationist or Orthodox leadership. In this sense Polish Jewry followed the same course of development as the other peoples of Eastern Europe. It was a tragic paradox that these nationalist parties, which extolled the principle of activism and denounced the passivity of the Jewish past, also depended for their effectiveness on outside forces. Neither the Polish government nor the Polish left proved to be possible allies in the struggle for survival.

[Ezra Mendelsohn]

HOLOCAUST PERIOD

The outbreak of the war (Sept. 1, 1939) and the invasion of Poland by German troops were marked by immediate heavy loss of civilian (especially Jewish) life and material damage. Military operations caused the death of 20,000 Jews, while bombing destroyed some 50,000 Jewish-owned houses, factories, workshops, and stores in about 120 Jewish communities, in some of which 90–95% of the houses went up in flames. In Warsaw alone, in the first month of the war, 30% of the Jewish buildings were destroyed when entire Jewish neighborhoods burned down. A tremendous stream of refugees sought shelter in the large cities, particularly in Warsaw. Subsequently, tens of thousands of Jewish enterprises not destroyed in the bombing were now lost in liquidation measures, bringing the total amount of Jewish property and business concerns lost or destroyed to an estimated 100,000. Jewish losses on the battlefield totaled 32,216 dead (officers and enlisted men) and another 61,000 taken prisoner, the majority of whom died in captivity.

Military operations were still going on when the German army and SD Einsatzkommandos undertook a campaign of bloody repression (see *Holocaust, General Survey). They usually arrested a group of Jews or Poles, who were kept as hostages and eventually shot. Sometimes mock executions were staged, in which the victims stood for hours in suspense anticipating execution. Pious Jews had their beards removed by blunt instruments, which tore their skin, or had their beards burned off. Swastikas were branded on the scalps of some victims; others were subjected to "gymnastics," such as "riding" on other victims' backs, crawling on all fours, singing and dancing, or staging fights with one another. The Nazis took a special sadistic pleasure in violating religious feelings, deliberately choosing Jewish religious holidays on which to carry out their assaults.

They instituted a special campaign of burning down synagogues, or, after destroying their interiors, turned them into stables, warehouses, bathhouses, or even public latrines (see *Synagogues, Desecration and Destruction of). At *Bedzin the synagogue at the old market place was set on fire on Sept. 9, 1939. The flames spread to the neighboring Jewish houses, and as the area was cordoned off by soldiers and SS-men who did not permit anyone to escape or to fight the fire, 56 houses were burned down, and several hundred persons were burned to death. In some places, e.g., *Wloclawek and *Brzeziny, the president or rabbi of the community was forced to sign a "confession" that the Jews themselves started the fire and to pay heavy fines as punishment for the "arson." The tenants of the houses burned down were brought before a military court. Any Jew who tried to enter a burning synagogue in order to save the Torah scrolls was either shot or thrown into the flames. In many places the military staged *autos-da-fé* of Torah scrolls, Hebrew books, and other religious articles, and forced the Jews to sing and dance around the flames and shout that the Jews were to blame for the war. The Jewish communities were also compelled to bear the cost of tearing down the remaining walls of the houses and clearing the rubble. It is estimated that several hundred synagogues were destroyed in the first two months of the occupation.

At the same time, mass arrests of Jews were carried out in which thousands of men, women, and children were interned in "civilian prison camps" set up in synagogues, churches, movie houses, and the like, or put behind barbed-wire fences on open lots and exposed to the soldiers' cruelty and torture. Afterward the prisoners were sent on foot to larger centers (such as *Wegrow, *Lomza, *Sieradz, *Tomaszow Mazowiecki), where some were set free and others put on forced labor or deported to Germany. In the latter instance their transport to Germany was used for propaganda purposes, as in the case of groups of Jews from Kalisz and Wieruszow who were borne around German towns in trucks bearing the inscription: "These are the Jewish swine who shot at German soldiers."

Precise instructions issued by the High Command of the Wehrmacht on July 24, 1939, for the internment of civilian prisoners provided for the arrest of Jews and Poles of military age at the outset of the invasion. In practice, however, a wild huntdown of Jews was made, without regard to age. In the campaign of terror that followed, hundreds of civilians, Poles, and Jews (in *Czestochowa, *Przemysl, *Bydgoszcz, and Dynow) were slaughtered outright or imprisoned in buildings which were sealed and then set on fire or blown up, the imprisoned dying a horrible death (in Dynow, Lipsk-Kielecki, Mszczonow). No precise figures are available on the number of victims in this period of terror. In the rampage of persecution throughout Poland, people were taken off the streets or dragged from their homes and put on forced labor. They were tortured and beaten, and deprived of their human dignity when forced to perform such acts as cleaning latrines with their bare hands or, in the case of women, washing the floor with their own underwear. Normal life was paralyzed by the arbitrary arrests for forced labor even at a later stage, when forced labor was "regulated" and the still-existing communities or the Judenraete (see *Judenrat) had to provide labor contingents on the basis of an understanding reached with the various German offices or commands.

The systematic robbery of Jewish property involved the closing of all the Jewish shops in many towns, or enforced sale of the wares at nominal prices or against worthless receipts. To facilitate the identification of Jewish property, the chief of the civilian administration attached to the army, Hans *Frank, issued an order (Sept, 8, 1939) for all Jewish stores to display a Star of David or other appropriate inscriptions on their stores by the following day. Practically all Jewish communities were also forced to make large "contributions" of money, gold, silver, and jewelry. In many towns compulsory contributions were paid several times over. Large sums were extorted from wealthy individuals under threat of imprisonment. Whenever a Nazi "visit" to the offices of the communities took place, all the money in their safes was confiscated, e.g., in Warsaw on Oct. 5, 1939, when 100,000 zlotys ($20,000) were taken in this manner. "Legal" forms of robbery were also instituted. The civilian administrators attached to the occupation forces issued orders restricting the sums Jews could hold in their bank accounts, while the accounts themselves were blocked. Restrictions were also placed on the amount of cash a Jew could keep in his home. Jewish-owned property was frozen, Jews were prohibited from engaging in the textile and leather business, and their inventories were registered with the Nazi authorities. Any infringement entailed heavy punishment, including death.

Two decrees by Hitler (Oct. 8 and 12, 1939) provided for the division of the occupied areas of Poland into the following administrative units: (a) Reichsgau Wartheland, which included the entire Poznan province, most of the Lodz province, five Pomeranian districts, and one county of the Warsaw province; (b) the remaining area of Pomerania, which was incorporated into the Rechsgau Danzig-Westpreussen; (c) Regierungsbezirk Zichenau (Ciechanow) consisting of the five northern counties of Warsaw province (*Plock, *Plonsk, Sterpe, *Ciechanow, *Mlawa), which became a part of East Prussia; (d) Regierungsbezirk Kattowitz – or unofficially Ost-Oberschlesien (East Upper Silesia) – which included *Sosnowiec, Bedzin, *Chryzanow, and *Zawiercie counties and parts of *Olkusz and Zywiec counties; (e) the General Government of Poland, which included the central Polish provinces and was subdivided into four districts, Warsaw, Lublin, *Radom, and Cracow.

The areas listed under (a)–(d) were incorporated into the Reich. After the outbreak of the Soviet-German War, the Polish territories previously occupied by the Russians were organized as follows: (f) Bezirk Bialystok, which included the Bialystok, *Bielsk Podlaski, *Grajewo, Lomza, *Sokolka, *Volkovysk, and Grodno counties and was "attached" (not incorporated) to East Prussia; (g) Bezirke Litauen und Weissrussland – the Polish part of White Russia (today western Belorussia), including the Vilna province, which was incorporated into the Reichskommissariat Ostland; (h) Bezirk Wolhynien-Podolien – the Polish province of Volhynia, which was incorporated into the Reichskommissariat Ukraine; and (i) East Galicia, which was incorporated into the General-Government and became its fifth district.

The Jewish population of this entire area was 3,351,000, of whom 2,042,000 came under Nazi rule and 1,309,000 under Soviet occupation in September 1939. The ultimate fate of the Jewish population under Nazi rule was the same in all the areas, though the various administrative areas differed in the degree and pace of persecution, depending on local leadership (a Nazi principle of administration).

Reichsgau Wartheland

The area was subdivided into three *Regierungsbezirke* ("administrative districts") – Poznan, *Inowroclaw, and Lodz. On Sept. 1, 1939, it had 390,000 Jews (including 4,500 in Poznan, 54,090 in Inowroclaw, and 326,000 in the Lodz district – 233,000 in the city of Lodz). Like all Polish areas incorporated into the Reich, Wartheland was from the beginning designated to become "*judenrein*" (*Heydrich's "*Schnellbrief*" of Sept. 21, 1939). In a secret order to the *RSHA (Reichssicherheitshauptamt – Reich Security Main Office) and the high *SS and police officials, issued on Oct. 30, 1939, *Himmler fixed the period of November 1939–February 1940 for clearing the incorporated areas of their entire Jewish population and the majority of their Polish population as well. A similar decree was issued on Nov. 4, 1939, by Wartheland's Gauleiter Arthur Greiser.

Arrangements were made for the transfer of 100,000 Jews from its territory during this period. In fact, more than 50 Jewish communities were deported wholly or in part to the Lublin district between the fall of 1939 and May 1940; the larger communities among those deported were Poznan, Kalisz, Ciechocinek, *Gniezno, Inowroclaw, Nieszawa, and *Konin. In some towns the deportation was carried out in stages, with a small number of Jews remaining, engaged in work for the Nazi authorities. In some instances, the regime of terror drove the Jews to desperation, so that they chose "voluntary" exile. This happened in *Lipno and in Kalisz, where many Jews, unable to withstand the persecution, fled from the city in October and November 1939. In Lodz, over 10,000 Jews, including most of the Jewish intelligentsia, were deported in December 1939. For weeks the deportees were kept at assembly points, and had to supply their own means of subsistence, though they had been deprived of all their valuables. Large assembly points were located at Kalisz, Sieradz, and Lodz. There, the *Selektion* ("selection") took place in which able-bodied men, aged 14 and over, were sent to labor camps which had been established in the meantime, while women, children, and old men were deported in sealed freight cars to the Lublin and *Kielce areas. This occurred in the severe winter of 1939–1940, and upon arrival at their destination, some of the deportees were dead, others nearly frozen, or otherwise seriously ill. The survivors were bereft of clothing, food, and money. A few found refuge with relatives or friends, but most of them had to find places in the crowded synagogues and poorhouses. For the Jewish communities of the Lublin and Radom districts, the influx of deportees was a very heavy burden. Most of the deportees perished before mass deportation began.

GHETTOIZATION. At this time, a second campaign was launched to concentrate the Jewish population in ghettos. The first ghetto in Wartheland was established at Lodz, on orders given by *Polizeipraesident* (Chief of Police) Johannes Schaefer (Feb. 8, 1940). By the latter half of 1940, all the Jewish communities that had survived the mass deportations were sealed off in ghettos. Lodz ghetto had a population of 162,000 on the day of its establishment (May 1, 1940). The large ghettos in Wartheland included *Pabianice (with about 8,500 persons), *Kutno (7,000), *Belchatow (5,500), *Ozorkow (4,700), *Zelow (4,500), *Zdunska Wola (10,000), Wloclawek (where 4,000 were left after the deportations), and *Wielun (4,000). Lodz became a central ghetto (*Gaughetto*) for the entire province, absorbing Jews sent from ghettos that were liquidated or reduced in size, as well as from the Reich, *Vienna, and *Prague. Between Sept. 26 and Oct. 9, 1941, 3,082 Jews from Wloclawek and the vicinity arrived at Lodz Ghetto, and between Oct. 17 and Nov. 4, 1941, approximately 20,000 arrived from Vienna, Prague, Berlin, Frankfurt, Hamburg, Cologne, Emden, Duesseldorf, and Luxembourg. From May to August 1942, 14,440 "selected" Jews from liquidated ghettos arrived at Lodz.

From the end of 1942 until its liquidation in August 1944, Lodz was the only remaining ghetto in Wartheland. Its comparatively long existence was due to the fact that it became one of the largest industrial plants working for the Wehrmacht or private contractors. In August 1943, some 76,000 workers (about 85% of the entire ghetto population) were employed in 117 warehouses. According to the Nazi *Ghettoverwaltung* ("ghetto administration"), the total wages and production in 1942 reached a value of 27,862,200 RM ($5,572,440). Large tailor shops also existed at Pabianice, Belchatow, Ozorkow, and other ghettos in the Lodz district. Lodz Ghetto bore the imprint of its *Judenaeltester* ("Jewish elder") Mordecai *Rumkowski, who at an early stage imposed his rule over the ghetto. The ghetto was administered by division of the population into various socio-economic groups, each with a different status, in accordance with their status in the ghetto hierarchy or their usefulness for the war industry. In those areas of ghetto life in which the Nazis allowed the Jews autonomy, Rumkowski held absolute power.

PHYSICAL ANNIHILATION. Partial liquidation actions affecting certain categories of Jews, such as the sick and the old, began in Wartheland as early as the fall of 1940 (in Kalisz). In September or October 1941, experiments in the murder of Jews were carried out in Konin county, where Jews were forced into ditches and covered over with wet quicklime. On Dec. 8, 1941, the murder camp at *Chelmno began operation. On Jan. 2, 1942, Greiser's *Erlass, die Entjudung des Warthelands betreffend* ("Decree on Clearing all Jews from the Wartheland") was issued. In December 1941, the remaining Jews from *Kolo and Dabie were deported to Chelmno, followed in January 1942 by the inmates of the ghettos of Izbica Kujawska and other places. From Jan. 16 until mid-May 1942, numerous transports of Jews were dispatched from Lodz Ghetto to Chelmno. By May some 55,000 were murdered there. Between March and September 1942, all the remaining ghettos, with the exception of Lodz, were evacuated. Lodz ghetto was the scene of a bloody "action" against children under 10 years of age, the old, and the sick, resulting in the murder of 16,500 persons.

In mid-1943, Himmler and Albert Speer (Reich Minister for Armament and War Production) entered a long-drawn-out contest over the disposition of Lodz Ghetto. Himmler sought to incorporate the ghetto industries into the SS camp combine in the Lublin district, while Speer tried to retain a monopoly over this important industrial center. Their rivalry prolonged the existence of Lodz Ghetto until the summer of 1944, by which time Germany's strategic situation had deteriorated to such an extent that the evacuation of Poland was imminent. In August 1944, Lodz, the only ghetto still left in Europe, was liquidated and all its inmates, some 68,500 Jews, were deported to *Auschwitz.

Reichsgau Danzig-Westpreussen

This area, with a total Jewish population of 23,000, had few and small Jewish communities; e.g., *Danzig, *Torun, and *Bydgoszcz. The province became "*judenrein*" at a comparatively early stage. The Jews and Poles were exposed to a campaign of terror from the very beginning, which resulted in the massacre of part of the Jewish inhabitants. Others fled from the area, and the rest were deported to the General Government. The last transport of Jews (some 2,000 persons) from Danzig and Bydogszcz, including the surviving Jews of *Koenigsberg, arrived at the Warsaw Ghetto on March 10, 1941.

Regierungsbezirk Zichenau (Ciechanow)

According to the 1931 census, there was a Jewish population of 80,000 in the area of this newly created administrative district. In the first weeks of the occupation, a large number of

Jews from the towns near the German-Soviet demarcation line, e.g., *Ostrow Mazowiecka, Przasnysz, *Ostroleka, and *Pultusk, were forced to cross over to the Soviet zone. Their expulsion was accompanied by acts of terror, such as forcing the Jews to cross the Bug or the Narew rivers and opening fire on them, so that some people drowned or were shot to death. This group shared the fate of all the other Polish refugees in the Soviet Union. At the end of February 1941, about 10,000 Jews from Plock and Plock county were driven out, first passing through the Dzialdowo transit camp, where they were tortured and robbed, and from there to various towns in the Radom district, where within a year most of them died of starvation and disease. In Ciechanow, Mlawa, Plonsk, Strzegowo, and Sierpc, the Jews were segregated into ghettos, along with the few Jews left in towns whose Jewish populations had largely been expelled to the Soviet Union in the fall of 1939. These ghettos situated in the administrative area of East Prussia, ruled by the notorious Erich Koch, endured particularly harsh and bloodthirsty treatment, and the murder of members of the Judenrat and ghetto police was a frequent occurrence. In the fall of 1942 the ghettos were liquidated and the Jews dispatched to *Treblinka.

Regierungsbezirk Kattowitz (East Upper Silesia)

According to statistics published by the "Central Office of the Councils of Elders of the Jewish Communities in East Upper Silesia," comprising 32 communities, a Jewish population of 93,628 existed in these communities in March 1941. The largest among these were Bedzin (25,171), Sosnowiec (24,149), Chrzanow (8,229), Zawiercie (5,472), *Dabrowa Gornicza (5,564), and *Oswiecim (6,454). Jews played an important role in the life of this highly industrialized region (in mining, metallurgy, and textiles), and were heavily hit by the early-instituted "Aryanization" process.

A special office, the Dienststelle des Sonderbeauftragten der RRSS und Chefs der deutschen Polizei fuer fremdvoelkischen Einsatz in Oberschlesien, headed by Gen. Albrecht Schmelt (and commonly referred to as the Schmelt Organization), was in charge of sending the comparatively large number of skilled Jewish workers to German firms in Silesia and the Reich. No German firm was permitted to employ Jewish workers without the consent of the Schmelt Organization, and the latter maintained complete control over the Jewish "work effort." The German firms paid the Jewish workers at the normal rate (in this the Katowice (Kattowitz) area differed from the other occupied areas), but the workers received only a part of their wages and the firms had to submit the remainder to the Dienststelle. In 1942 the Schmelt Organization controlled 50,570 Jewish workers. When the evacuation of Jews from East Upper Silesia took place (starting May–June 1942), the Jewish workers were deported to Auschwitz, which was the major concentration camp as well as the largest industrial combine in Silesia.

The chairman of the Central Office of the Councils of Elders in Sosnowiec, Moshe Merin, exercised a decisive influence on the internal affairs of the Jewish communities and had considerable authority over the Judenraete (the Jewish councils). The formal ghettoization of East Upper Silesia did not take place until a comparatively late date. In Bedzin and Sosnowiec, for example, a closed ghetto was not established until May 1943, but it was liquidated by August 1943. These ghettos also absorbed the Jews left over from previous *Aussiedlungen* ("evacuation actions"). Merin was a consistent protagonist of the strategy of "rescuing" Jews by voluntarily providing the Nazi Moloch with contingents of victims to give others the chance of survival. He carried out this policy to its extreme, lending his own active cooperation, as well as that of the ghetto police, to the *Aussiedlungsaktionen*.

General Government

Originally, the General Government consisted of four districts, Warsaw, Lublin, Radom, and Cracow. When the district of Galicia was added, the Jewish population reached 2,110,000. The transfer of the administration from military to civilian authorities, which took place at the end of October 1939, did not alleviate the harsh conditions, for the uncontrolled terror of the first period was then replaced by "legally" imposed restrictions and persecution. The first proclamation, issued by General Governor Hans *Frank on Oct. 26, 1939, stated that "there will be no room in the General Government for Jewish exploiters," and from the very first day of his rule, Frank inundated the Jewish population with a flood of anti-Jewish measures. The personal rights of Jews were severely curtailed in all spheres of private and social life. Jews were deprived of freedom of movement, the right to dispose of their property, exercise their professions, and benefit from their labor. They were denied social and medical insurance benefits (which the antisemitic regime in Poland had granted them), religious observance (ritual slaughter and public worship), and a normal school education for their children. Finally, they lost the right to dispose of their own persons. Jews could no longer associate freely and Jewish societies, institutions, and organizations were disbanded and their property confiscated. The Judenrat, a quasi-representative body of the Jews, was established in their place by the Nazi authorities.

WARSAW DISTRICT. This district was divided into 10 counties, Warsaw, Garwolin, *Grojec, *Lowicz, *Skierniewice, *Sochaczew, Blonie, Ostrow Mazowiecki, *Minsk Mazowiecki, *Siedlce, and *Sokolow Podlaski. In the first half of 1940 the total Jewish population of this district was 600,000, of whom 400,000 lived in Warsaw. Its Jews were concentrated into ghettos in the western counties in 1940, and in the eastern counties in the fall of 1941. The Warsaw Ghetto was established on Nov. 15, 1940. The ghettos in the western part were of short duration. From the end of January to the beginning of April 1942, 72,000 Jews from this area were brought into the Warsaw Ghetto, where they lacked even the most rudimentary means for existence. With their arrival, the total number of refugees in the ghetto rose to 150,000, but the population was being constantly decimated by starvation and disease.

In the fall of 1941, the Jews in each of the eastern counties were concentrated into between five and seven ghettos. This step was in fact in preparation for *Aussiedlungsaktionen* which began with the Warsaw Ghetto on July 22, 1942, and continued until Oct. 4–6, 1942. In the General Government these actions, under the code name of "Einsatz Reinhard," were always carried out by special commando units (see Reinhard *Heydrich and *Holocaust, General Survey), headed by the SS and police chief of the Lublin district, Odilo *Globocnik. A decree issued by Frank on June 3, 1942, transferred the civilian authority's jurisdiction over the Jewish population in the General Government to Wilhelm Krueger, its chief of SS and police.

On the eve of its destruction, the Warsaw Ghetto contained 450,000 Jews, of whom approximately 300,000 were deported to Treblinka by Sept. 21, 1942. Officially, 35,639 Jews remained in Warsaw as workers in German factories, employees of the Judenrat, or policemen. In fact, some 60,000 were left, including those in hiding. It is to be noted that Himmler's order to Krueger of July 19, 1942, formally fixed the date of Dec. 31, 1942, as the final date for "cleansing" the General Government of the Jews. Between July 19 and 24, 1942, the Jews of *Otwock, Minsk Mazowiecki, and Siedlce were deported. Between September 22 and 27, most of the ghettos in the Sokolow Podlaski, Wegrow, and Minsk Mazowiecki counties were liquidated, followed, in the last days of October, by the remaining ghettos in the Warsaw district. Small groups of Jews tried to hide out on the "Aryan" side or in the countryside. In order to lull the intended victims into a false sense of security, Krueger issued a decree (Oct. 28, 1942) when the annihilation of the Jewish population in the district had been almost completed, providing for "residential quarters" in Warsaw and Siedlce. His aim was to influence the Jews in hiding to believe that these "newly established ghettos" which had already passed through a partial liquidation would now be a safe haven for the survivors. In this he was largely successful. The intolerable conditions in which the Jews found themselves, hiding out in the forests amid a hostile population, induced them to seek out and settle in the new "residential quarters." Only a short while later they were deported. The "new" Siedlce Ghetto, for example, did not last a month, and by November 25, Siedlce was *judenrein*. In November, too, the liquidation of most of the Jewish labor camps was begun and after "selections" the workers were deported to the Warsaw Ghetto. In the course of the *Aktion* on Jan. 18–19, 1943, the SS men met with armed resistance from the Jewish Fighting Organization and were forced to cease action for the time being. The Warsaw Ghetto, according to Himmler's decree (Feb. 16, 1943), was to be liquidated at the earliest possible date, and the workers and machinery were to be transferred to the Lublin SS camps.

LUBLIN DISTRICT. The 10 counties in the Lublin district – Lublin, *Biala Podlaska, *Bilgoraj, *Chelm, *Hrubieszow, *Janow Lubelski, *Krasnystaw, *Pulawy, *Radzyn, and *Zamosc – had a Jewish population of 250,000 in March–April 1941, including 55,000 refugees and deportees. In the beginning, the eastern part of the Lublin district was regarded as a "Jewish reservation" and Jews from parts of Poland that had been incorporated into the Reich, as well as from the Reich itself, from the Czech Protectorate of Bohemia-Moravia, and from *Austria were deported there on a systematic basis. Jozefow, Izbica Lubelska, Krasnystaw, and Zamosc were some of the towns which served as concentration points for these deportees. The local population was also displaced, generally in order to make room for the new arrivals. Even after this plan for the "Jewish reservation" had been given up, tens of thousands of Jews deported from Germany, Czechoslovakia, and Austria continued to stream into the district, to be "evacuated" to the *Belzec death camp, whose murder installations began functioning in March 1942.

The Nazi ideologists also regarded Lublin as a reservoir of "World Jewry," which presumably maintained secret links with Jewish communities everywhere (see *Hitler). As a result, the Lublin district was turned into an experimental station for various Nazi schemes for the annihilation of Polish Jewry. It was the headquarters of "Einsatz Reinhard" from where its "action groups" began their destructive march through the General Government. The first ghetto in the district was set up in the city of Lublin in April 1941. Since the area designated for the ghetto was too small to hold the approximately 45,000 Jews who were in Lublin at the time, the Nazi authorities forced over 10,000 to leave the city "voluntarily" and move to other towns in the district. The restricted area of the ghetto and its dense population caused epidemics and a high rate of mortality. In November and December 1941 there were 1,227 cases of typhus and the mortality rate that year was three times that of a year before the war (40.8 per 1,000).

In the second half of 1940, about 50 forced labor camps for Jews were established in the Lublin district for local Jews and Jews from other districts. In the winter of 1940–41, there were over 12,000 Jews in these camps. Many succumbed to the intolerable living and working conditions – starvation; wretched accommodations (usually in decrepit old barracks, stables, and barns); lack of hygiene; strenuous work (regulating rivers, draining swamps, and digging canals); and inhuman treatment by the camp commanders. In Osowa camp, 47 inmates were shot in July 1941 after two or three of them had contracted typhus. The Judenraete in ghettos from which the workers had come organized aid for them. The Warsaw Judenrat, for example, spent 520,000 zlotys ($104,000) in aid to the camps in 1940, and the Lublin Judenrat, 150,000 zlotys ($30,000). The "evacuation" campaign in this district preceded those in other parts of the General Government. In the period from March 17 to April 20, 1942, 30,000 Jews from Lublin Ghetto were deported to Belzec and murdered there, while 4,000 others were deported to the Majdan Tatarski Ghetto close to Lublin, which existed until Nov. 9, 1942. In the same period, 3,400 Jews from Piaski and 2,200 from

Izbica were dispatched to Belzec, preceded by about 17,000 Jews from Pulawy county (May 6–12). The ghettos which had thus been made *judenrein* became temporary collection points for Jews deported from the Reich, the Protectorate, and Vienna, and after a short stay there they were sent on to Belzec to be murdered.

Krueger's decree of Oct. 28, 1942, set up eight ghettos in the Lublin district, and like the ghettos in the Warsaw district, their existence was of short duration. By Dec. 1, 1942, five ghettos were left (Piaski, Wlodawa, Izbica, *Lukow Lubelski, and Miedzyrzec Podlaski) and the last of these was liquidated in July 1943. The Jewish workers remained in the concentration and labor camps until November 1943. On Nov. 3–7, 1943, 18,000 Jews were murdered in *Majdanek concentration camp, over 13,000 in the Poniatowa camp, and approximately 10,000 in the Trawniki camp, to which several thousands of Jews had been deported from Warsaw after the ghetto revolt in April 1943.

CRACOW DISTRICT. The Cracow district, consisting of 12 counties (Cracow, Debica, *Jaroslaw, *Jaslo, *Krosno, Miechow, *Nowy Sacz, Nowy Targ, *Przemysl, *Sanok, and *Tarnow), had a prewar Jewish population of over 250,000. By May 1941 this number dwindled to 200,000, in spite of the additional influx of 20,000 refugees and deportees from the incorporated areas, including Silesia, Lodz, and Kalisz, in the fall of 1939 and spring of 1940. The expulsion of Jews from the Cracow district, where the General Government capital was situated, was accelerated. In the first few months, Jews living in the border towns along the San River were expelled to the Soviet zone. From the spring of 1940 to November 1941, Jews living in the spas and summer resorts in Nowy Sacz and Nowy Targ counties were expelled, and from May 1940 to April 1941, 55,000 Jews left Cracow voluntarily or were driven out. The Jewish population thus became concentrated in an ever-decreasing number of places – in Cracow county, in seven townships and 10 villages, in Nowy Sacz in five places, and in the Nowy Targ county in seven.

The first ghetto was established in March 1941 in the Podgorze quarter of Cracow. A wall sealed it off from the rest of the city and the gates of the wall had the form of tombstones. The first "evacuations" took place in Cracow Ghetto, which underwent three such actions, on May 30–31, October 28, 1942, and March 13–14, 1943. In the final evacuation, 2,000 Jews were murdered on the spot, about 2,000 were deported to Auschwitz, and approximately 6,000 were sent to the nearby camp in *Plaszow, located on the site of two Jewish cemeteries. The first *Aktion* in Tarnow took place on June 11–13, 1942, involving 11,000 Jews. The Jews of Przemysl county were murdered on July 27–August 3 (after 10,000 Jews from the county had been concentrated in the city). At the beginning of August, the Jews from Jaroslaw were deported to Belzec, followed at the end of that month by deportation of the Jews from Cracow county, where at an earlier date the Jews from the ghettos in *Bochnia, *Wieliczka, and Skawina had been concentrated. In September 1942 approximately 11,000 Jews from Sanok county (earlier concentrated at a camp at *Izyaslav (Zaslav) were deported to Belzec or shot in the surrounding forests. That month the ghettos in Tarnow county were finally liquidated.

Krueger's decree of Oct. 28, 1942, setting up six ghettos in the Cracow district (Cracow, Bochnia, Tarnow, Rzeszow, Debica, and Przemysl), was immediately followed by murder "actions" there. From June to November 1942, a total of over 100,000 Jews were murdered, and by Jan. 1, 1943, according to official figures, 37,000 destitute Jews were left in "residual ghettos" and a number of camps. There were over 20 labor camps in the Cracow district, the largest at *Mielec (with 3,000 Jewish inmates on the day of its liquidation, Aug. 24, 1944) – and others in Pustkow (1,500), Rozwadow (1,200), Szebnie (2,000–2,500), and in Plaszow with two branches in Prokocim and Biezanow. Plaszow, a collection point for the Jews who survived the liquidation of ghettos and camps in the entire district, had 20,000 imprisoned there in the fall of 1943. In March 1944, large transports were sent from Plaszow to Auschwitz, Stutthof, Flossenburg, and *Mauthausen, while the 567 Jews left were liquidated in January 1945 together with the rest of the Jewish survivors from the Cracow district.

RADOM DISTRICT. The newly created Radom district, comprising the larger part of the Kielce province and parts of the Lodz and Warsaw provinces, had a Jewish population of about 360,000 on Sept. 1, 1939. In this district too the evacuation of the Jews proceeded at a rapid pace. First of all, the district had been heavily bombarded, and there were cities and towns in which up to 80% of the Jewish population had lost their homes and sought refuge elsewhere. Secondly, the deportations from the incorporated areas, the Protectorate (an undetermined number from Prague), and Vienna brought into the district large numbers of homeless Jews – 4,000 from Wartheland, about 10,000 from the Plock county, and 4,000 from Vienna. In 1941, the total number of refugees and deportees reached 70–75,000 (over 20% of the local Jewish population). In 1940–41, a kind of internal expulsion process went on in the district, e.g., in December 1940, when 2,000 Jews were expelled from Radom, and in October 1941, when several thousand were driven out from Tomaszow Mazowiecki.

The ghettos in this district were created at an earlier stage than in other parts of the General Government – in *Piotrkow at the end of October 1939, and in *Radomsko at the end of December that year. Ghettos were set up in March–April 1941 in the three large cities of the Radom district – in Radom (which in January 1941 had 28,000 Jews), Czestochowa (36,000), and Kielce (20,000). At the end of 1940 the ghetto of Tomaszow Mazowiecki was established (this town had 16,500 Jews in June 1940), divided into three different sections (the Radom Ghetto also consisted of two sections in two different quarters of the city). Many places were in ruins, causing severe overcrowding in the ghettos, and in some of the smaller ghettos there were as many as 12–30 persons to a room. In order to prepare for the *Aussiedlungen*, the Nazis concentrated the Jews in a few ghettos. In the first stage, the Jews who were still living in villages were expelled to the neighboring towns. In the second stage, the Jewish population from the smaller towns was concentrated in the large ghettos, and each of the 10 counties had several concentration points assigned to it. At the end of this stage, over 20,000 Jews were living in a few large, heavily guarded ghettos.

The first deportation, to Treblinka, took place on Aug. 5, 1942, in Radom. The Kielce Ghetto inhabitants were deported on August 20–24, and the Czestochowa Ghetto inhabitants, between Sept. 2 and Oct. 5, 1942. By Nov. 7, 1942, most of the Jews had been deported to Treblinka. On Jan. 1, 1943, according to a German source, there were only 29,400 Jews left in the four ghettos ("residential districts") in Radomsko, Sandomierz, *Szydlowiec, and Ujazd, provided for in Krueger's second decree (Nov. 10, 1942). These ghettos came to an end in January 1943. Only the Jewish slave laborers in the labor camps were left, mainly near the industrial concerns of Radom, Kielce, Czestochowa, Ostrowiec-Swietokrzyski, Skarzysko-Kamienna, Blizyn, Piotrkow, Tomaszow Mazowiecki, and other towns. These were in fact concentration camps run by the district SS and police chiefs, to whom the German factory owners directly paid the fees for exploitation of Jewish manpower (as was the case in the other districts also). Some of these camps went through a series of transfers and "selections" but continued to exist until the second half of 1944. The German *Hasag* factories in Czestochowa were still functioning as late as January 1945.

GALICIA DISTRICT. The district of Galicia, established in August 1941, comprised the *Stanislav and *Tarnopol provinces and the eastern part of the Lvov province, and consisted of 16 counties. The 1931 census report indicated a Jewish population in this area of 500,000. As a result of the great influx of refugees from Nazi-occupied Poland in the fall of 1939, the number of Jews had considerably increased, and it is estimated that at the outbreak of German-Soviet hostilities, there were 600,000–650,000 Jews in the area, taking into account the natural increase from 1931 to 1941. The German invasion was accompanied from the very beginning by the mass murder of Jews, initiated and perpetrated by local Ukrainians with the support and participation of the Einsatzkommandos and the German army. Pogroms took place in Lvov (on the "Petlyura Days," July 25 and 27), in Tarnopol, *Zolochev, and *Borislav. Many of the Jews living in the countryside, about 25% of the total Jewish population, were murdered in this period.

In the part of Galicia temporarily occupied by the Hungarian army (Kolomyya, Borshchev, and *Gorodenka), the situation was quite different, the Hungarian commanders taking the Jews under their protection and preventing murders from taking place. During the short period of German military occupation, until Aug. 1, 1941, when its civilian administration took over, several tens of thousands of Jews were killed. The civilian administration immediately introduced the anti-Jewish legislation applying to the General Government. In fact, some of the provisions of this legislation were applied even before a "legal" framework was created. The first ghettos were set up in the beginning of October at Stanislav (for about 30,000 Jews) and Tarnopol (18,000). These were followed in the spring of 1942 by ghettos in Kolomyya and Kolomyya county, and at *Chortkov. By the second half of 1942, ghettos existed in all the cities and towns, and a large part of their population had already been deported to Belzec. The last ghetto to be established was the one at Lvov, in August–September 1942, after several postponements. This came after the great *Aussiedlung* action, 36,000 surviving out of a population of about 150,000. Krueger's decree of Nov. 10, 1942, provided for 32 ghettos in the Galicia district, in Lvov, Stanislav, Tarnopol, Chortkov, *Stry, *Drogobych, *Sambor, Borshchev, *Zholkva, *Brody, Rava-Russkaya, *Rogatin, and *Skalat.

Large-scale physical extermination campaigns began in the second half of 1941 and were initially directed mainly against Jews in the professions and intellectuals. During the High Holiday period, on Oct. 12, 1941, about 10,000 Jews were shot to death at the Jewish cemetery of Stanislav. In November numerous executions took place in Lvov, when the first attempt was made to organize a ghetto there, and mass shootings occurred in Kolomyya county in December of that year. This is only a partial listing and it is estimated that some 100,000 Jews were murdered in July 1941–March 1942. In the latter month, the extermination camp at Belzec went into operation and from then until the end of 1942, about 300,000 Jews – 50% of the Jewish population of the district – were deported to Belzec or shot on the spot, or taken away for execution in the forests. The others remained for a short while in the ghettos and labor camps, and by June 1943 they were all liquidated. According to *SS-Gruppenfuehrer* Fritz *Katzmann's report on the "Final Solution" in Galicia, only 21,000 Jews were left in Galicia, distributed in over 21 camps, the largest of which was the Janowska Street camp in Lvov. Selected workers from liquidated ghettos were transferred to this camp in Lvov, while those who were no longer fit for work were executed in the vicinity. In the second half of 1943, nearly all the Jewish labor camps were liquidated and their inmates murdered. In this period, several thousand Jews who had been engaged in agricultural work were also murdered.

Bezirk Bialystok

This district, created in July 1941, was attached to but not incorporated in East Prussia. The chief of the East-Prussian provincial government was also appointed head of the civilian administration of the Bialystok district and the central provincial organs at Koenigsberg were responsible for all district affairs. The area of the district, practically identical with Bialystok province, was divided into seven counties: Bialystok, Grodno, Bielsk Podlaski, Grajewo, Lomza, Sokolka, and Volkovysk. The Bialystok district suffered two eruptions of war, on Sept. 1, 1939, and June 22, 1941. The first German occupation was restricted to the western part of the district and lasted only a fortnight, after which the area was turned over to the Soviets. The Soviet occupying forces imposed far-reaching changes in the economic, social, and political life of the Jews. The Jewish population of the district in September 1939 was estimated at 240,000–250,000. Later on, the district was flooded by a stream of refugees from the western and central part of Poland. Among the officials and specialists brought in from the Soviet Union, there were also a considerable number of Jews, and the total increase in population is estimated at 100,000. It may therefore be assumed that in June 1941 the district had a Jewish population of about 350,000.

The second German invasion was accompanied by mass murders, carried out by the *Einsatzkommandos* comprising Tilsit police battalions. These operated in the rear of the army and caused the destruction of entire communities (Jedwabne, *Kolo, Stawiski, *Tykocin, and others). In Bialystok, over 6,000 Jews were murdered between June 27 and July 13, 1941. The great synagogue was burnt down and at least 1,000 Jews who had been forced into it perished in the flames. Special murder campaigns were instituted against Jewish intellectuals. Antisemitic elements within the local Polish and Belorussian population, as well as among the Polish police which continued to serve under the occupying power, took an active part in the mass murder of Jews. (Even before the war, the influence of the Polish antisemitic parties had been especially strong in this area.) Most of the ghettos were established in August 1941. The larger among these were Bialystok (over 50,000), Grodno (25,000), *Pruzhany (12,000), Lomza (10,000), *Sokolka (8,000), and Bielsk Podlaski (7,000). Grodno Ghetto consisted of two parts, one inhabited by artisans and skilled workers and their families, and the other by the rest of the Jewish population. Each had its own Judenrat and ghetto police, but the chairman of the Judenrat of the artisans' ghetto had the title of *Generalobmann* ("chief chairman") and represented both parts vis-à-vis the authorities.

While the ghettos were in the process of formation, "selections" and mass slaughter of Jews often took place. In Szczuczyn, for example, the ghetto was inhabited almost entirely by women and children, most of the men having been killed. The overcrowding in the ghettos was phenomenal. In Czyzow, for example, 200 persons were squeezed into seven tiny houses. Systematic mass annihilation began on Nov. 2, 1942. In a single day, most of the ghettos were wiped out (except for Bialystok, Pruzhany, the first part of the Grodno Ghetto, *Krynki, and Sokolka). Before reaching their final destination at the extermination camp of Treblinka, the deportees were kept in assembly camps for a period of three to 10 weeks, during which many of them succumbed to the inhuman conditions. In November, 120,000–130,000 Jews were killed in the murder campaign. The *Aktionen* were renewed in February 1943, after the liquidation of the Pruzhany, Sokolka, and Krynki ghettos. In Bialystok Ghetto, the first "action" took place on Feb. 5–12, 1943, resulting in the deaths of 13,000 Jews, of whom 1,000 were killed on the spot. Over 40,000 persons were killed in the third phase of the extermination campaign. Bialystok Ghetto was the last in the district to be liquidated (Aug. 16, 1943). Armed resistance, organized by the Jewish Fighting Organization (see Mordekhai *Tenenbaum), was suppressed by German military forces, including tanks. Over 30,000 Jews were deported to Treblinka, Majdanek, and Auschwitz.

Generalbezirk Litauen und Weissrussland (Lithuania and Belorussia)

The Polish parts of these districts, which belonged to Reichkommissariat Ostland, consisted of almost the entire Vilna and Novogrudok provinces and of the northern portion of Polesie province. In 1931 this area was inhabited by over 230,000 Jews. From September to December 1939, a large number of refugees arrived in the area, especially in Vilna. For nearly 11 months (from Oct. 10, 1939, until the end of August 1940), Vilna and its environs formed a part of Lithuania. In August, the entire country was absorbed by the Soviet Union. Under Soviet occupation, thousands of Jews were arrested and deported to distant parts of the Soviet Union, but several thousand escaped to the United States, Palestine (see *Beriḥah), and *Shanghai. It is therefore impossible to determine the size of the Jewish population in June 1941. The larger communities in the Lithuania district were Vilna, Vileika, *Oshmyany, Svienciany, and Trakai (*Troki); in the Belorussian district they were *Novogrudok, *Baranovichi, *Lida, *Slonim, *Molodechno, and *Stolbtsy. Like everywhere else in "Ostland," the military invasion brought in its wake large-scale murder by the *Einsatzkommandos*, in this case Einsatzgruppe A. In many places they had the assistance of locally recruited "Hiwis" (*Hilfswillige* – local volunteer units). On July 11–Dec. 24, 1941, 45,000 Jews were killed in Vilna (which in 1931 had a total Jewish population of 55,000). At approximately the same time, 9,000 Jews were slaughtered in Slonim; 5,000 in Vileika; 4,000 in Molodechno; 2,500 in Novogrudok; 1,800 in *Volozhin, and other places. During the murder campaign, or a short while later, ghettos were established where further mass executions took place (Vilna Ghetto was set up on Sept. 6, 1941). Many small communities were completely wiped out.

Ghettos continued to exist in Vilna, Vileika, Oshmyany, Novogrudok, Lida, *Glubokoye, Slonim, and Baranovichi, and in a few smaller communities from which Jews were dispatched to larger ghettos in the summer of 1942, in preparation for the second phase of the annihilation program. Vilna Ghetto was also used for this purpose. Jacob Gens, chief of the Vilna Ghetto and of the ghetto police, had some measure of jurisdiction over the smaller ghettos in "Wilnaland," and the Vilna ghetto police participated in the *Aktion* that took place in Oshmyany at the end of October 1942. In Belorussia the same procedure was initiated of concentrating the Jewish population of a certain area in one of the larger ghettos in preparation for murder "actions." Here there was an almost continuous murder campaign, with breathing spells only between one *Aktion* and the next. The longest such period of respite was granted to Vilna Ghetto, lasting from early 1942 until September 1943.

The final phase extended from August 1942, when the ghetto in Slonim was destroyed, until September 1943, when the Jews of Vilna, Novogrudok, and Lida were sent to their deaths. In the course of August and September 1943, about 10,000 Jews were deported from Vilna Ghetto to concentration camps in Estonia. Six thousand were murdered on September 23, and the ghetto was liquidated. Several thousand Jewish workers employed outside the ghetto were exterminated later (July 1944). Specialists and skilled workers were sometimes concentrated in certain houses in the liquidated ghetto or sent to labor camps. Such camps, containing the pitiful remnants of the liquidated ghettos of Belorussia, were located at *Koldychevo (near Baranovichi) and Kelbasin. They too ceased to exist at the end of 1943.

Generalbezirk Wolhynien-Podolien

Of the Polish territories, this district, which formed part of the "Reichskommissariat Ukraine," contained the larger part of the Polesie province and the entire Wolyn (Volhynia) province belonging to prewar Poland. The 1931 census of the population in this area indicated about 300,000 Jews. The larger communities were Pinsk, Brest, *Kobrin, *Kovel, *Dubno, *Rovno, *Lutsk, *Ostrog, *Kremenets, and *Vladimir-Volynski. Here too, a large influx of refugees came from Poland shortly after the outbreak of the war, while a certain number of Jews were moved by the Soviets to other parts of the U.S.S.R., so that it was impossible to determine the size of the population in June 1941. A mass slaughter in this district was carried out mainly by Einsatzgruppe C, commencing with the German invasion. The murder action at *Rovno was carried out on Nov. 5–6, 1941, when 15,000 Jews were shot. In general the local Ukrainian population cooperated in the annihilation campaign against the Jews.

Only a few communities escaped in the initial phase (one of these was Kovel). As was the case elsewhere, the surviving Jews were herded into temporary ghettos. Dubno Ghetto was among the first to be liquidated (May 27, 1942), and 5,000–7,000 Jews were killed. The first *Aktion* took place on May 10, 1942, and the handful of Jewish workers who survived it were shot on May 23, 1942. In Kovel the "city" ghetto was destroyed on June 2, 1942, with 8,000–9,000 victims, while the "workers'" ghetto in the city was liquidated on Sept. 18, 1942. Lutsk Ghetto came to an end on Aug. 20, 1942 (17,000 people murdered). In Kremenets, the ghetto's agony lasted for two weeks, starting on Aug. 10, 1942, in the course of which 19,000 Jews went to their deaths. In September, it was Vladimir-Volynski's turn (18,000 victims) and from October 28 to 31, the Jews of Pinsk Ghetto were murdered. As in "Ostland," the mass executions took place in the vicinity of the ghettos, in front of prepared mass graves, and were marked by extraordinary manifestations of sadism. The Ukrainian police displayed a murderous zeal in their cooperation with the Nazis. In the course of December 1942, the Jewish workers who had survived the mass executions were also liquidated. In a report on a trip in the Ukraine in June 1943, Hans Joachim Kausch of the Propaganda Ministry stated that the Jews of that area had been "completely" liquidated and throughout his entire stay there he had found only four Jews, working as tailors in an SD camp.

Demographic Total

Up to September 1939 Poland had a Jewish population of 3,351,000. Exact figures on the number killed between September 1939 and 1944 are not available, but the following account is a relatively well-founded estimate. Shortly after the end of the war, the Central Committee of Polish Jews began registering all surviving Polish Jews and by June 15, 1945, 55,509 had registered. Since some people registered several times with different local committees a round figure of 55,000 is assumed, which included a certain number of Jews who succeeded in returning to Poland from the Soviet Union. To this must be added 13,000 Jews in the Polish army formed in the U.S.S.R. in 1941, and approximately 1,000 Jews (out of 2,000) who had saved themselves by posing as "Aryans" and had not registered with the Jewish committees, bringing the total to 69,000. The number of Polish Jews who were saved by fleeing in September 1939 to the Soviet Union, to certain European countries, to Palestine, or to North and South America, or who survived the camps in Germany, is estimated at a maximum of 300,000 (250,000 of whom had fled to the U.S.S.R.). The sum total of surviving Polish Jews is therefore about 369,000, i.e., 11% of the prewar population, while 2,982,000 Jews were killed.

Jewish Resistance

Nazi plans called for a campaign of repression utilizing legal and economic restrictions and hard labor to bring about a rapid reduction of the Jewish population by pauperization, starvation, and epidemics. The Jews developed a system of self-defense to thwart the rapid achievement of the plans for their destruction, or at least succeeded in slowing down the realization of the Nazi program. Jewish resistance applied to all spheres of life – economic and spiritual; on an individual as well as on a collective basis; and in the final stage, when the Nazis resorted to the "Final Solution" (physical annihilation) of the Jews, it took the form of armed insurrections. In the economic sphere, the Jews succeeded in circumventing the regulations designed to isolate them from the gentile society, due to the fact that large numbers of Jews were put to work outside the ghetto. They established secret industries in the ghetto itself, by which they staved off rapid starvation and carried on business with the "Aryan" market. Foodstuffs were also smuggled into the ghetto by various means, often displaying astounding inventiveness. Jewish industrialists and artisans managed to obtain substitutes for all kinds of raw materials. In Warsaw Ghetto, for example, the export of wares produced in the ghetto workshops under orders of the German "Transferstelle" was in no proportion to that of articles produced in secret and exported without the knowledge of the official German office. The considerable gap between legal and illegal economic activities became characteristic of the economic situation in all the occupied areas. Officially the Jews were given the opportunity of working for the German economy only, military as well as civilian, for as long as this served the German war effort. In practice, many of the Jews, inured by a long tradition of existence under harsh conditions of persecution, and fortified by a powerful will to live, were able to break out of the economic straitjacket into which the Nazis had forced them and to surmount the dangers of the ghetto walls.

The Nazis were disappointed by the ability of the ghettoized Jews to adapt themselves to the abnormal conditions of their existence, and surprised that "so few" Jews were dying from "natural" causes and that there were no mass suicides. At a meeting of Nazi officials, held in Cracow on Aug. 24, 1942, General Governor Frank openly admitted: "By the way, I wish to state that we have sentenced 1,200,000 Jews to death by starvation; the fact that the Jews are not dying from hunger will only serve to speed up enactment of further anti-Jewish decrees." Thus, the Jews' vitality served to frustrate partially the biological war that the Nazis waged against them and was one of the causes for the Nazis' decision to resort to the "Final Solution."

Jewish aid organizations which existed before the war, such as the *American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (JDC), *TOZ, and *CENTOS, the Yidishe Sotsiale Alaynhilf (YISA) founded in May 1940, and, after liquidation of the last in Oct. 1942, the Juedische Unterstuetzungsstelle (JUS), established formally in March 1943, were permitted by the General Government to carry on their activities in its area. The YISA set up a highly diversified system of social and medical assistance. Almost every ghetto provided some form of public assistance, such as soup kitchens and accommodation for deportees and refugees. As early as May 1940, according to an incomplete list, some 200 welfare committees were sponsored by the Judenraete, and their budgets were provided mainly by the JDC. These committees also collected funds, clothing, and other articles among local Jews. By the end of 1941 the YISA organization was active in over 400 localities in the General Government, maintaining 1,500 social and medical institutions and serving 300,000 adults and 30,000 children. This, of course, was not enough to cope with the demands posed by the constantly growing pauperization of the Jewish population and the continual influx of new arrivals (in some ghettos, 60% of the population was dependent on public assistance). The constant lack of nourishment and hygiene in the ghettos, which the Nazis set up in the most dilapidated parts of the towns, resulted in diseases and epidemics to which the entire Jewish population might have easily succumbed. However, health and sanitary departments were set up and maintained by the Judenraete and TOZ which in turn subsidized 117 hospitals and 123 out-patient clinics and sanitary posts. To prevent the spread of the epidemics to the "Aryan" city quarters, the Nazi authorities used police measures, the results of which were even worse than the epidemics. In fact the ghetto population was so weakened that a large loss of life could not be avoided. In Warsaw, Lodz, Lublin, and Kutno, 15–20% of the Jewish population died in the two or three years of the ghettos' existence.

The Jews also displayed moral resistance to the starvation and debilitating forced labor, whereby the Nazis hoped to divest the Jews of all interest in spiritual life and dehumanize them. Moral resistance took varied forms. Pious Jews convened in secret for prayers, disregarding the dangers thus incurred; yeshivah students continued their studies and held clandestine *minyanim* to which they took the orphans to recite *kaddish* for their deceased parents. They also abstained from using the public soup kitchens which under ghetto conditions were not kept *kasher,* despite the greater suffering this entailed for them. Nonobservant Jews had their own means of moral resistance. Teachers established clandestine student groups and conducted classes in private homes. Persons who had been active before the war in cultural societies established secret libraries, choirs, orchestras, and dramatic groups, and held lectures and celebrations of important historical anniversaries. The Judenraete also established schools, wherever the Nazi authorities did not put obstacles in their way. (According to a decree issued by Frank on Aug. 31, 1940, the Judenraete were to be permitted to run elementary and vocational schools, but with few exceptions were prevented from actually doing so by the local Nazi authorities.)

Intensive cultural and educational activities were carried on in the Warsaw ghetto by the Yidishe Kultur-Organizatsye and the CENTOS, and in Vilna Ghetto by the cultural department of the Judenrat. Lodz Ghetto also maintained a large network of schools until the summer of 1941 (45 schools with 500 teachers and an average monthly attendance of 10,300 children). In most ghetto schools the emphasis was placed on Jewish studies. The teaching of history and geography was prohibited. Cultural activities fulfilled the dual purpose of protecting the inhabitants of the ghetto, especially the youth, against the demoralizing atmosphere of the ghetto created by the Nazis, and of strengthening their resistance to Nazi attempts to deprive them of their human dignity.

Organized physical and armed resistance was closely linked to political activities in a number of ghettos, and took various forms. Illegal publications, including pamphlets, were issued periodically or singly, and were either handwritten or duplicated. (In Warsaw Ghetto, for example, incomplete reports indicate that from mid-1940 to April 1943, 40 illegal periodicals were issued by various illegal movements representing every shade of political opinion.) Organized secret listening-in to foreign broadcasts, to reduce the Jews' isolation from the outer world, provided information on the political and military situation, and served as a source of hope and encouragement. In some ghettos, political parties – particularly workers' parties, e.g., the Bund, Po'alei Zion, and the communists – actively opposed the Jewish ghetto administration, i.e., the Judenraete and the ghetto police. (In Lodz Ghetto, opposition to Rumkowski's regime took the form of street demonstrations and strikes in the ghetto workshops.) Opposition to the Judenraete was also voiced in the underground press. The parties' youth movements conducted a cultural education campaign among their secret membership.

At a later stage, when the mass deportations began, the movements made preparations for armed resistance to the deportation "action." It was on the basis of organizing armed resistance that the political parties began to cooperate. Thus, in Warsaw Ghetto, a Jewish Coordinating Committee was set up in October 1942, composed of representatives of all the Zionist parties (with the exception of the Revisionists) – who were united in the Jewish National Committee – and of representatives of the Bund. On Oct. 27, 1942, the Jewish Fighting Organization (ZOB) was established which united the above-mentioned Jewish parties and the communists under one command. The heroic revolt of Warsaw Ghetto (which lasted from April 19 until the end of May 1943) was the result of the collective, self-sacrificing efforts of the youth of almost all political parties. The Revisionist Jewish Military Organization took an active part in the fighting. Similarly, in Bialystok Ghetto, a united fighting organization was set up on the eve of the revolt that broke out on Aug. 16, 1943.

In Czestochowa, the planned revolt was frustrated when an unexpected deportation "action" (on Sept. 21, 1942) barred access to the bunkers where the arms were hidden. During the liquidation of Bedzin Ghetto, underground fighters of the Zionist youth movements fought against vastly superior Nazi armed forces from fortified bunkers until they all fell. In Cracow Ghetto, the fighting organization, consisting of Zionist and Communist youth, carried out acts of sabotage and direct attacks on the Germans (such as the armed attack against German officers in the Cyganeria Café on Dec. 23, 1942). In Vilna Ghetto, a United Partisans Organization was founded in January 1942, comprising in later stages members of all the political movements. Following the Gestapo demand for the surrender of the Vilna underground commander, Yiẓḥak *Wittenberg, in July 1943, the leadership of the organization was forced to give up the struggle inside the ghetto, and smuggled its members into the forests, where they set up a partisans' group under the name of *Nekamah* ("Revenge").

Revolts broke out in the extermination camps of Treblinka (on Aug. 2, 1943) and Sobibor (Oct. 14, 1943) in which large numbers of prisoners managed to escape (most of whom were later killed). These insurrections later brought the murder installations in those camps to a halt. An armed revolt of the Jews in the "Sonderkommando" in Auschwitz took place on Oct. 7, 1944.

[Isaiah Trunk]

PARTISANS. The guerilla warfare in Poland (i.e., within the area designated by post-World War II boundaries) was confined to the territories of the so-called General-Government and the province of Bialystok. The first Jewish attempts to organize partisan units were undertaken by the resistance movement of the *Warsaw Ghetto in spring 1942, but these, as well as some other early attempts, failed due to lack of experience and the lack of support from the local population. In July 1942, the Germans began to implement the so-called Operation Reinhard. At that time, mainly in the provinces of Lublin and Kielce, there began a spontaneous movement of thousands of Jews fleeing the townlets to the forests to escape deportation. Many of them formed groups that offered active resistance to the Nazis. Although numerically strong, they had very few arms and no supply bases at all. Those who managed to hold out through the winter of 1942/43 came in contact with the Polish underground, as in the course of spring and summer 1943 a number of Polish partisan units began to operate from the forests.

The attitude of the Polish partisans toward the Jews depended upon the political framework to which they belonged and the goodwill of local commanders. The closest relations were between the Jewish partisans and the Communist-dominated People's Guard (Gwardia Ludowa). About a dozen Jewish partisan units were subordinated to the command of that organization and later acted as its units. Among them were: partisan detachment "Chil" (known also as the Second Company of the "Holod" battalion), under the command of Yehiel Grynszpan, which operated in the eastern part of the Lublin province; detachment "Emilia Plater," under the command of Samuel Jegier, and detachment "Kozietulski," under the command of Mietek Gruber, in the northern parts of the Lublin province; detachment "Berek Joselewicz," under the command of Forst, in the southern part of the Lublin province; detachment "Lwy" ("Lions"), under the command of Julian Ajzenman (Kaniewski), in the northern part of the Kielce province; detachment "Zygmunt," under the command of Zalman Fajnsztat, in the southwestern part of the Kielce province; detachment "Iskra" ("Spark"), under the command of Lejb Birman, in Rzeszow province; and detachment "Mordecai Anielewicz" commanded by Adam Szwarcfus, Mordecai Growas, and Ingac Podolski, in the forests near Wyszkow (northeast of Warsaw) which was organized after the Warsaw Ghetto uprising by remnants of the Jewish Fighting Organization. Jews also constituted a significant percentage in a number of other units of the People's Guard.

Remnants of the fighters in the *Bialystok Ghetto uprising formed the partisan unit "Forwards" ("Foroys"), which was later part of a Soviet partisan brigade under the command of General Kapusta. The attitude of the Armia Krajowa (Home Army), sponsored by the Polish government-in-exile residing in London, and of the Peasants' Battalions ("Bataliony Chłopskie") were different. These organizations did not accept Jewish units, but some of them accepted individual Jewish fighters, while others often took part in the murder of Jews. The extreme right-wing National Armed Forces ("Narodowe Siły Zbrojne") were strongly hostile toward Jews, organized attacks against Jewish partisans, and murdered all Jews they found hiding in the forests. Some Jewish units managed to operate independently of any Polish underground organization. The greatest of them was the unit in the Doleza forests under the command of Abraham Amsterdam.

A number of Jews won great fame in various Polish partisan units, mainly in those belonging to the People's Guard. Among the best known are: Colonel Ignacy Robb-Rosenfarb (Narbutt), commander of the People's Guard in the Kielce region; Colonel Robert Satanowski, commander of a partisan brigade; Colonel Niebrzydowski, commander of the Peasants' Battalions in the Miechow region; Major Menashe Matywiecki, member of the general staff of the People's Guard; Alexander Skotnicki, commander of the "Holod" battalion; Yehiel Brewerman, commander of the detachment "Bartosz Glowacki," and Captain Lucyna Herz, the only Polish woman officer parachuted into the woods for partisan activity. Jews also played a significant role in the Special Attack Battalion, which organized parachute units for guerilla warfare in the rear of the German army. The commander of that unit was the Jewish officer Lieutenant Colonel Henryk Toruńczyk. Four of the 12 units parachuted into the forests during the summer and autumn of 1944 were commanded by Jewish officers: Robert Satanowski, Julian Komar, Joseph Krakowski, and Zygmunt Gutman (later known as one of the best partisan commanders in the Kielce province). The significant feature of the Jewish partisan movement in Poland was that almost all Jewish partisans started their guerilla activity at a very early period (second half of 1942), when the Polish partisan movement hardly existed; thus Jews constituted in the early period a high proportion of the partisans and guerilla fighters. Among the first nine partisan detachments organized at the beginning of 1943 in the Kielce province, four were Jewish units, with a number of Jews present in all other units. Later in spring 1944, when the partisan movement in Poland grew rapidly, thanks to the great flow of arms from England (for the Armia Krajowa) and from the Soviet Union (for the left-wing guerillas), the Jewish communities were already destroyed and there were no more Jewish youth who could fill the partisan ranks. (See also: *Partisans.)

[Stefan Krakowski]

Jewish-Polish Relations during the War

Relations between Jews and Poles in occupied Poland were complicated in nature, especially in the Polish underground movements. The entire Polish population was vehemently anti-German, but the vast majority of people were also violently antisemitic. In the first month of the war, antisemitism seemed to have completely disappeared out of hatred for the Nazis, but it reemerged soon afterwards.

The Polish political parties' attitude to the Jews before the war generally remained much the same during the entire period of occupation. The right-wing parties, led by the Narodowa Demokracja (Endecja) officially denounced Hitler's barbaric methods, but in fact remained antisemitic and regarded the Nazi "solution of the Jewish problem" in Poland with quiet satisfaction. The extreme right-wing radicals, the Obóz Narodowo-Radykalny (ONR) and the Falanga, rejoiced over Hitlerism and approved of the Nazi murders. They contended that the victims were no better than murderers, and deserved their fate. The Polish Socialist Party (PPS), on the other hand, and especially its left wing (RPPS) and the reorganized Communist Party (PPR) condemned the murder of the Jews in their illegal publications, took part in campaigns to aid Jews, and appealed to the Polish people to assist. A similar stand was taken by the Democratic Party and the People's Party, although the latter, formerly an important party, did not have a uniform approach. In general it identified itself with the stand taken by the Polish government-in-exile represented inside Poland by the Delegatura. The Delegatura also maintained contact with the Jewish National Committee and the Jewish Coordinating Commission. Through the Delegatura these Jewish bodies were able to keep in touch with Jewish political movements and organizations abroad.

Relations between the Jews and the Delegatura, initially quite friendly, deteriorated in the course of time. This was due to the Delegatura's negative attitude in regard to supplying the Jewish Fighting Organization with sufficient quantities of arms. It was not until the resistance of the Jewish Fighting Organization in Warsaw in January 1943 that the fighters at last received a small quantity of arms from the Delegatura. The strained relations with the Delegatura were partly the result of the reactionary and antisemitic groups' influence within the Polish underground, which grew in strength as the German front moved back toward Poland and a general anti-Soviet attitude came to the fore. (Anti-Soviet feelings among the Poles were also heightened by the story of the Katyn massacre, and the resulting break in Soviet-Polish diplomatic relations in the summer of 1943.) Anti-Jewish agitation among the Polish population was also fed by the reports of the situation of the Jews in Eastern Poland under the Soviet occupation, when Jews were appointed to official positions. The Delegatura also adopted a negative attitude to the Jewish partisan movement, refusing to support it or even to recognize its existence.

As the Soviet army drew near the Polish frontier, a rapprochement took place between the Sanacja (the ruling party of Pilsudski's successors) and the Endecja and between the Sanacja and such outright Fascist organizations as the ONR, whose military arm, the National Armed Forces (NSZ), was recognized in March 1944 as a component of the Delegatura's underground army, the Armia Krajowa. The NSZ went so far as to murder Jewish partisans and Jews who had succeeded in escaping from the slaughter taking place in the ghettos. More and more, an anti-Jewish tendency made itself felt in the official underground publications issued by the Delegatura.

The Nazi propaganda machine cleverly exploited the antisemitism existing among the Polish population. Reviving the old Polish slogan of "Żydo-Komuna," they identified Jews with Communism and succeeded in further poisoning the prevailing anti-Jewish feelings among the Poles. As a result, Jews who had been in hiding on the "Aryan" side were denounced to the Nazis. In many places Poles not only assisted in the search for Jews, but joined the Nazis in torturing and killing them as well. The Polish police, with hardly any exception, took part in the "actions" and on several occasions were themselves in charge of rounding up the Jews and dispatching them to the death camps.

There were, however, some social groups and individuals, from all segments of the population, who helped Jews at the risk of their own lives. The activities of the "Council for Aid to Jews," which provided "Aryan" documents and shelter in Polish houses, rescued children, and extended financial aid, helped some 50,000 Jews. There were more than a few individual Poles who had the moral strength to overcome the fear of death (the punishment for giving refuge to Jews) and the pressure exerted on them by the prevailing anti-Jewish climate of opinion, to stretch out a helping hand to the persecuted Jews. Some of these Poles, along with their families, had to pay with their lives for the courage they displayed in aiding Jews.

It may be concluded that the attitude of the Poles to the Jews was marked by both active participation in the murder of Jews and rescue efforts at great risk. The motives for these attitudes also varied from religious, humanitarian, or simply materialistic considerations, to a "biological" hatred of Jews. Of all the occupied countries, the percentage of Jews saved in Poland was the smallest, since the predominant attitude was hostile, while rescue was an exception to the rule.

[Isaiah Trunk]

AFTER WORLD WAR II

Rescue of Jewish Children

When Poland was liberated in 1945, thousands of orphaned and abandoned Jewish children were wandering through villages and in the streets of the towns. Many were found in Polish homes and in convents. Some had been baptized, and some had been exploited by the peasants as a source of cheap labor. The official Jewish committees (*komitety*) established institutions for homeless children. Jewish parents applied to the Jewish organizations for help in finding children, who had been entrusted to non-Jewish families in order to save their lives but later disappeared without trace. Some Poles refused to return Jewish children, either because they had become attached to them or because they demanded financial remuneration for maintaining the child and for the risk they had incurred in hiding Jews from the Germans. There were a few cases of Jewish children living under conditions of starvation and terror. With the mass repatriations from the Soviet Union, 31,700 children under 14 years of age returned to Poland, including many hundreds of orphans, who also needed immediate care. Three separate bodies worked to save Jewish children. The first of these, the official Jewish committees, acting under the auspices of the authorities, maintained 11 boarding schools with a total of 1,135 orphans, and day schools and nurseries which cared for about 20,000 children. The youth department of the committees cared for about 7,700 boys and girls. Material conditions were good, but education was oriented toward Polish assimilation. The second, the Jewish Religious Council (Kongregacja), sent people to redeem children from Polish homes, particularly at the request of religious relatives. These children were delivered to their relatives abroad, or sent to be adopted by Jewish families in the United States, Great Britain, and other countries. The third organization was established by the Zionist movement, and given the abbreviated name of the "Coordination" (Koordynacja). Its emissaries wandered through Poland to rescue children, very often risking their lives in doing so. The Koordynacja established four children's homes, which housed hundreds of children aged between two and 12. The older children were sent to "children's kibbutzim" of the youth movements. Funds were supplied mainly by the *American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (JDC). The special psychological problems of the Holocaust period, such as fear and hatred of Jews, necessitated the establishment of a special seminary for educators at Lodz. The Koordynacja systematically sent children abroad, with the intention of finally enabling them to reach Palestine. By the end of 1947, more than 500 children had been taken out of Poland. Together with their teachers and educators they entered *Youth Aliyah institutions in Germany, Austria, and France, most of them settling later in the State of Israel. Scores of Jewish children are believed to have remained in Poland, mainly in Catholic institutions and convents.

[Sara Neshamith]

Renewal of Jewish Life

The first attempts to renew Jewish life took place in Lublin, the seat of the Polish Committee of National Liberation. In a manifesto issued on July 20, 1944, this committee published a solemn declaration assuring equal rights and full rehabilitation to the survivors of Polish Jewry. The Jewish Committee was formed to extend emergency aid to Jews converging on Lublin from the liberated parts of Poland. This group included adults who returned from the forests and other hiding places or who miraculously survived the concentration camps, and children who found refuge in convents or with individual Polish families. In October 1944 the Jewish Committee was renamed the Central Committee of the Jews in Poland and moved to Warsaw when the Polish capital was liberated. The committee was composed of representatives of the various Jewish parties and was presided over by the Zionist Emil *Sommerstein. At first it was primarily concerned with providing material assistance to the Jewish survivors and facilitating their return to a productive life. Before long, however, the committee extended the range of its activities to social and cultural spheres.

By 1945 it comprised 10 districts (*województwa*), two subdistricts, and about 200 local committees. Several dozen Jewish cooperatives, in a variety of trades, and 34 Jewish farms run by several hundreds of Jewish agricultural laborers were founded. A considerable number of Jewish weeklies and biweeklies, representing every shade of Jewish political opinion, made their appearance. Among them was the organ of the Central Committee, *Dos Naye Lebn*. An elementary school having Yiddish as the language of instruction with Hebrew as a compulsory subject was established in Lodz. There was also a society of Jewish writers, journalists, and actors in that city, while in Lower Silesia the Jewish Society for Art and Culture was formed. After the Zionist pioneering youth movements were reorganized, they established hundreds of training farms, children's homes, etc., and prepared their members for *aliyah*. In July 1945 the JDC entered the Jewish scene in Poland. Through the Central Committee, it subsidized a variety of social welfare agencies, emphasizing the care of children, the aged, and the sick. In addition the JDC provided food, clothing, and medicine to educational and cultural institutions, and supported a variety of plans to help able-bodied men and women become productive again. The following year, *ORT began its work in Poland, creating a network of vocational schools. In the medical field TOZ provided the assistance. At the beginning of 1946, this organization was running eight mobile clinics, seven hospitals, and medical aid stations in all major cities.

In addition to the 80,000 Jews already in Poland, over 154,000 Polish Jews were repatriated from the U.S.S.R. in the summer of 1946, bringing the total Jewish population of Poland close to 250,000. The Polish government and the Communist-dominated ruling party (the Polish Workers' Party – PPR) encouraged the Central Committee in its social and cultural activities and lent support to the Jewish efforts to establish new economic foundations and restore communal life. At the same time, the government placed no obstacles in the path of Jews who wished to emigrate. It permitted the Zionist movement to exist and displayed a friendly attitude to the aspirations of the *yishuv* in Palestine and later to the State of Israel. Polish government support (or at least tolerance), aid from world Jewry, and, especially, the growth of the community by mass repatriation from U.S.S.R., led many Polish Jews in the immediate postwar period to believe that the conditions being created in the "new" Poland would enable them to live a free and full Jewish life.

Cultural, Religious, and Economic Life

At first these hopes had some basis in fact. In 1946–47 two Yiddish theaters were founded – in Lodz and Wroclaw – and employed some 80 actors. In 1950 they joined forces as the Jewish State Theater with a government subsidy under the direction of Ida *Kaminska. The theater discontinued its activities after 1968, when most of the Jews emigrated from Poland. A publishing house and a literary monthly came into being. The Society for Art and Culture founded Jewish libraries, promoted amateur societies in various cultural fields, and arranged public lectures. The *Jewish Historical Institute embarked upon a program of collecting and publishing historical material on the Holocaust. According to figures published in the anniversary edition of *Dos Naye Lebn* (1945–47), the Central Committee's Board of Education served 34 Jewish schools staffed by 179 teachers and attended by 2,874 children. Jewish religious life was renewed in every town where Jews resettled. In prewar Poland there had been 2,000 rabbis, 8,000 ritual slaughterers and religious teachers, and 10,000 yeshivah students. Of these, only a few dozen rabbis, slaughterers, and about 100 yeshivah students survived the war, mainly in the U.S.S.R., but only a few of them refrained from emigrating and remained in postwar Poland. Nevertheless, the Union of Religious Communities was established, comprising some 30 communities. The Union attended to Jewish religious needs by refurbishing and using two synagogues which had not been destroyed – one in Warsaw and the other in Wroclaw – establishing prayer-houses in all the communities, providing *maẓẓot* for Passover, arranging for the supply of *kasher* meat, and founding *kasher* public kitchens. In cooperation with the Central Committee, the Union rededicated Jewish cemeteries and reburied according to Jewish rite the victims of Nazism buried in mass graves.

In mid-1948, the Union of Religious Communities formally joined the Central Committee of Jews in Poland. The cooperation between the two bodies, however, lasted only into the early 1950s, when the Stalinization taking place in the country also affected Jewish life and made the cooperation of secular and religious bodies impossible. By the end of 1960, there were 23 member communities in the Union, and by 1966 the number was reduced to 18. The number of individual members varied greatly from one community to another; thus, in Warsaw, there were only 20 registered members, while in Katowice there were 1,200 and in Wroclaw 2,000. The Union of Religious Communities was still in existence in 1969, but the mass emigration of 1968–69 reduced its membership severely. At the end of 1947, there were 200 Jewish cooperative societies, with a membership of 6,000. About 15,000 Jews were employed in communal institutions, coal mines, heavy industry, textile factories, and a variety of government and private factories; 124 Jewish families were employed on farms. By the end of 1946, ORT was conducting 49 different vocational courses staffed by 81 instructors and attended by over 1,100 pupils. Contact with Jewish communities outside of Poland was maintained by both the Central Committee and by the various Zionist groups which were active in the early postwar years. In the beginning of 1948, the Central Committee joined the *World Jewish Congress and participated in its meetings and conferences.

The Flight from Poland

The revival of a sound Jewish community life in Poland was the declared aim of those Jews who had been Communists before the war. They believed that the conditions were now ideal for the renewal of Jewish life and argued that a revived Jewish community would both demonstrate the vitality of the Jewish people and the failure of Nazism and other forms of antisemitism. The majority of Polish Jews, however, including those who were being repatriated from the Soviet Union, did not want to reestablish their lives in Poland, where the Nazis had found thousands of collaborators among the local population eager to cooperate in the extermination of the Jews. Moreover, pogroms continued even after the Nazi occupation ended. To most Polish Jews it was unthinkable to renew their life on the Polish soil soaked with the blood of millions of Jews. Thus tens of thousands of Polish Jews who fled from the U.S.S.R.

and Poland made their way to Romania and Germany in the hope of reaching Palestine. After the *Kielce pogrom this exodus took on an organized and semi-legal character. A coordinating committee for *aliyah* was formed from representatives of all Zionist groups to make arrangements for up to a thousand persons a day to cross the Polish border at three points in Lower Silesia near Kudowa. The operation lasted about six months, until the end of 1946 (see *Beriḥah). Thereafter, Jews encountered difficulties in leaving Poland, but emigration did not come to a stop. In 1949, when the Zionist parties were disbanded, all former Zionists were permitted to leave for Israel, and some 30,000 people took advantage of this opportunity. Thus, mass emigration continually depleted Polish Jewry from 1944 to 1950. The Central Committee, which did all in its power to combat this movement, was forced to accept the reality of a drastic decrease in the Jewish population.

Anti-Jewish Excesses

Jewish emigration from Poland was motivated not only by the recent tragic past and by prewar Zionist education, but also by the continuation of a clear and present danger to the Jews. There were murderous attacks upon Jews on Polish roads, railroads, buses, and in the towns and cities. The murders were committed by members of Polish reactionary organizations, such as the NSZ (Narodowe Sily Zbrojne). In cruelty and inhumanity, their crimes often equaled those committed by the Nazis. Beginning in 1945 the assaults upon Jews swiftly assumed mass proportions. In two pogroms – one in Cracow on Aug. 11, 1945, and the other in Kielce on July 4, 1946 – thousands of Polish men, women, and children ran amok in the Jewish quarters, killing in Kielce 42 Jews and wounding 50 others. The attacks spread throughout the country, and in 1945 alone 353 Jews were reported murdered. The wave of anti-Jewish excesses continued well into 1946 and reached its climax in the Kielce pogrom. The government and the ruling party issued declarations designed to placate the Jews and there were public protests against antisemitism by intellectuals and large parts of the working class. Above all, the Jewish Communists and the Central Committee of Jews in Poland tried to reassure the Jews that the government would stamp out the antisemitic underground. The Jews, however, did not heed the exhortations and raced for the borders. By the end of 1947, only 100,000 Jews remained in Poland.

The Soviet Example

A second factor discouraging any hope for a viable Jewish community in Poland was the rising tide of antisemitism in the U.S.S.R. Soviet antisemitism was at first disguised as a campaign against "rootless cosmopolitans." This was followed by the judicial murder of leading Jewish writers and artists and the total liquidation of Jewish cultural life in the Soviet Union. The campaign culminated in the so-called *Doctors' Plot (see *Antisemitism, in the Soviet Bloc). These Soviet developments had an immediate effect on the Polish scene. In 1948 the central committee of the ruling party, the PPR, on Moscow's initiative, accused its first secretary, Wladyslaw Gomulka, and his associates of rightist-nationalist deviation, and Poland became, more than ever, a Soviet satellite. The entire country was overrun by the Soviet secret police. Under these circumstances Poland's attitude toward its Jews could not be substantially different from the Soviet model.

Nevertheless, Stalinist antisemitism was effected in Poland without bloodshed and mass arrests. It was the cultural activities of Polish Jewry that were immediately affected, reduced in their scope, and adapted in their content to the new spirit. The Stalinization of Poland was carried out by a variety of measures. The existing workers' parties were merged into a single party, and all other parties were liquidated. The Soviet Union was glorified and its policies in internal and foreign affairs were slavishly copied. In all creative activities "socialist realism" became the rule. In the Jewish sphere, "unifications" and liquidations were carried out. The first to be liquidated were the Zionist parties and the Bund in November 1949. This was followed by a ban on the operation of the JDC and ORT, in spite of the assurance given by the Polish Committee of National Liberation in its manifesto of July 20, 1944, and the appeal in December 1945 by the Polish provisional government for foreign aid to be extended to Polish Jews. Similarly, the recognition of the JDC's work expressed in November 1946, when JDC director, Joseph *Schwartz, was awarded a high decoration by the government, no longer had any meaning.

An act of liquidation by "unification" affected the Union of Jewish Cooperative Societies, representing 200 societies, 15,000 workers, and substantial assets (originally financed by the JDC) which was forced to merge with the general Polish Union of Cooperatives. On May 16, 1949, a "recommendation" was made to the Central Committee of the Jews in Poland to secede from the World Jewish Congress. Finally, the Central Committee itself, whose continued existence as a seemingly independent representative body was not in harmony with the new trend, was ordered to merge with the Jewish Society for Art and Culture. The new organization bore the name Cultural-Social Association of the Jews in Poland (Kultur-Gezelshaftlekher Farband fun di Yidn in Poyln). All Jewish schools were nationalized in the 1948–49 school year, resulting in the further reduction of Jewish studies. Yiddish as the language of instruction and the teaching of Hebrew had already been eliminated. Such organizations as the Jewish Agency came to be regarded as "agents of imperialism," and any contact with them was highly suspect. The spiritual life of Polish Jews was now restricted to preoccupation with the "progressive" tradition. The mass emigration had resulted in a radical reduction in the number of district and local Jewish committees. Their total number dropped to 30. The largest concentrations of Jews were in Warsaw (about 8,000), Wroclaw (about 6,000), Lodz (about 5,000) and Szczeczin, Katowice, Cracow, Legnica, and Walbrzych.

In spite of these far-reaching quantitative and qualitative changes, the leaders of the Cultural-Social Association and the other Jewish establishments (such as the Historical Institute, the theater, the publishing house, the literary journal, and the newspaper *Folksshtime*), both in Warsaw and the provinces, did all in their power to maintain at least a modest level of Jewish activity. In fact, in the period 1950 to 1957, Jewish life in Poland was relatively stable. Even so, there were those in the association who, encouraged by the ruling party, sought to promote assimilation and achieve results.

1956–1967. Stalin's death in 1953 resulted in an easing of tension, but Gomulka's assumption of power, in 1956, completely transformed the Jewish scene in Poland. Revelation of the innumerable crimes committed in the U.S.S.R. during the period of Stalin's rule enabled the Jewish newspaper *Folksshtime* to publish a passionate protest against Soviet antisemitism and its destruction of Yiddish literature and culture. In Poland it was once more possible to foster Jewish literature and to reestablish contact with Jewish organizations abroad. The JDC and ORT returned to devote themselves primarily to the approximately 25,000 Polish Jews who were being repatriated from the U.S.S.R. under an agreement between Gomulka's government and the Soviet Union (along with hundreds of thousands of people who had been Polish citizens in 1939 but for some reason had not been repatriated after the war). Once again the JDC extended aid to the sick, the aged, and children. It also assisted various cultural institutions, including schools. ORT, for its part, reestablished its network of vocational training schools.

The great majority of Jews repatriated from the U.S.S.R. did not, however, have any intention of staying in Poland. Even before their departure from the Soviet Union, most of them resolved to move on from Poland, primarily to Israel. Similarly, thousands of long-established Jews now decided to leave Poland for good. Their decision was influenced by the antisemitic incidents that occurred soon after Gomulka's rise to power. Poland again allowed Jews to emigrate, and some 50,000 people left the country in 1958–59. In some cases, whole towns were emptied of their Jewish population, and the Jewish community in Poland was now reduced to about 30,000 people. Of those who remained some 3,000 were too old or too sick to earn their livelihood and were supported by the JDC, as were various children's homes, camps, and clubs. In addition, the JDC financed the Historical Institute, the Cracow Jewish Museum, cultural enterprises, the reestablishment of Jewish cooperatives, and the construction of a Jewish home for the aged.

The Jewish cooperative movement, revived after 1957 with help from the government and the JDC, was soon able to stand on its own feet and to transfer 20% of its yearly profits – ranging from one to two million zlotys – to the Jewish Cultural-Social Association. This situation prevailed until 1967.

Final Liquidation

In 1968–69, a fourth mass emigration of Jews from Poland took place, resulting in the virtual dissolution of the Jewish community as an identifiable and creative group. It also spelled the final disillusionment of those Jews who hoped the Gomulka regime would differ from the Soviet Union in its approach to the Jews. The Six-Day War (1967) and the March 1968 student riots in Polish university towns were seized by the Polish government as the opportunity to utilize popular antisemitism for its own political purposes. When the party faction called the Partisan Group, led by Minister of Interior Mieczyslaw Moczar, initiated antisemitic action in an attempt to oust Gomulka from power, the Polish Communist leader adopted a clearly defined anti-Jewish policy. In March 1968 Gomulka publicly declared those Jews whose loyalty wavered between Poland and Israel to be "rootless cosmopolitans" unworthy of holding public office. He reiterated, however, the principle that Israel-oriented Jews should be allowed to immigrate to the Jewish state. In the course of 1968, Jewish youth camps, schools, and clubs were disbanded. Jews were dismissed from whatever public positions they still held, and the Cultural-Social Association was reduced to a mere paper existence. Restrictions were placed even on the status of Yiddish, a language which had been used in Poland almost as long as Polish itself. Yiddish was declared a foreign language, with the result that any publication in Yiddish had first to be translated into Polish before it could be released for distribution. In practice this signified the end of the Yiddish publishing house "Yidish Bukh" and of *Yidishe Shriften*, the literary journal. The Yiddish newspaper *Folksshtime*, which formerly appeared four times a week, was now restricted to a weekly appearance. The JDC and ORT were again forbidden to operate in Poland, and the Jewish cooperatives were again handed over to the general Cooperative Union. The Jewish home for the aged, financed by the JDC, was turned into a general institution.

The liquidation of all organized forms of Jewish life was accompanied by a relentless antisemitic campaign carried through the press, radio, and television. The majority of Polish Jews, the tragic remnant of a community that had once numbered over 3,250,000 people, reacted to these events by choosing to emigrate. Since the Polish authorities allowed Jewish emigration only to Israel, and then only upon renunciation of Polish citizenship, many Jews who intended to immigrate to other countries (Canada, Australia, Scandinavia) ostensibly applied for papers and visas to Israel. Efforts to assure the continued existence of Jewish life in Poland were in vain. Young Jews, most of whom left the country, were especially shocked by the antisemitism displayed by leading Polish Communists. The few Jewish institutions still in existence in 1971 were devoid of all creative content and had been stripped of all authority. (See also *Cooperatives; *American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee; *ORT; *OZE; *Beriḥah.)

[David Sfard]

Later Developments

In the following two decades the Jewish population of Poland stabilized at around 6,000. There remained only a single synagogue in Warsaw and in the whole country there was no rabbi. The Jewish cemetery in Bialystok was transformed into a public garden and the famous Jewish cemetery in Warsaw was repeatedly desecrated by gangs who stole the marble from the graves.

The Social and Cultural Society of Jews in Poland came under the full control of the Ministry of Interior and almost all of its social functions were terminated. After the Jewish cooperatives were liquidated, the Polish government began to defray the rather modest budget of the society.

In 1976–77 the Jewish issue again became a motif in the official propaganda campaign which came on the heels of the Polish workers' protest movement against rises in food prices and the activities of the "Committee for the Defense of the Workers" and dissidents.

The prolonged instability of the situation resulted in intensified exploitation of the Jewish issue, and the press directly attacked and ridiculed Jewish religion, tradition, and customs with the result that Jewish life was compressed into a lifeless framework which, nevertheless, still continued to function. The Jewish Cultural-Social Committee remained in existence, as did the Jewish Historical Institute and the Jewish Theater. The newspaper *Folksshtime* also continued to appear. The institute received permission to resume publication of the academic journal *Yidishe Bletter*, whose publication had ceased several years earlier.

In the latter part of 1977 the Poles took several tactical steps to improve their image with regard to Jewish matters. In October and December 1977 the chairman of the Organization of Former Jewish Partisans and Fighters in Poland (Stefan-Shalom Greik, an Israeli), the chairman of Yad Vashem (Dr. Yitẓḥak Arad), and a representative of Kibbutz Loḥamei ha-Getta'ot (Ẓevi Schneir) were invited to Poland in connection with the implementation of a plan to establish a Jewish exhibit hall in the former extermination camp at Auschwitz. It was the first time that the authorities in Poland displayed a readiness to permit Israeli institutions to participate in the implementation of the plan, and even to be assisted by the advice of Israeli experts. The Warsaw Institute of Jewish History was also invited to assist in drawing up the plan. The pavilion was opened at a ceremony held on April 17, 1978, in the presence of Polish authorities and Jewish delegations from Israel and the Diaspora. Its official name was "The Destruction and the Struggle of the Jews in Occupied Europe." In June, however, it was closed to the public, although it was claimed that the closure was only temporary to improve the amenities there, and that it would be opened to individuals on request.

A definite anti-Zionist, anti-Jewish tone was expressed in government propaganda used in its fight against the increased strength and demands of Solidarity in 1980 and 1981, although the current demographic distribution of Jews in Poland certainly did not warrant any such attacks. Individual Jews did participate in the Solidarity movement.

Poland's transition to a democratic system of government and a market economy which began in 1989 after nearly five decades of Communist rule took place against the background of economic crisis and industrial unrest. At the same time, the new freedom experienced by Polish society had an invigorating effect on the small, mostly elderly Jewish community that remained in the country. A significant renewal of Jewish cultural and religious life took place, and people previously estranged from Jewish tradition, especially among the young, began to acknowledge their Jewish identity. Communal and cultural activities were strengthened and encouraged by the renewal of ties with Israel and increasing contacts with world Jewry. Two important events exemplify this positive trend: The community acquired its first resident rabbi in over 20 years, and a Coordinating Commission of Jewish Organizations, which represented and acted on behalf of the whole community, was established. The new body brought together the Jewish Social and Cultural Association, the Mosaic Religious Association, the Jewish Historical Institute, the Jewish Theater, and the bi-weekly paper *Dos Yiddishe Wort* (formerly *Folkssztyme*).

A range of educational and cultural activities was provided by the Social and Cultural Association (TSKZ), which had branches in 15 cities. Courses in Jewish history and Yiddish as well as song and dance classes were held. The Jewish Historical Institute conducted research and published scholarly papers and books on the history of Jews in Poland. Welfare activities were carried out with the financial support of the JDC.

On the positive side of Polish-Jewish relations was the continuing interest in the history and culture of Polish Jews among the Polish intelligentsia. The awareness of the need to preserve the Jewish heritage and recognize the Jewish contribution to Polish culture originated in liberal Catholic, Protestant, and opposition circles in the 1980s.

Among the initiatives taken were annual weeks of Jewish culture, seminars on Jewish subjects, festivals of Jewish films, exhibitions as well as efforts to restore and maintain Jewish cemeteries and monuments. From the mid-1980s, in an attempt to improve their image abroad the Communist authorities encouraged Jewish studies. The Institute for the Study of the History and Culture of the Jews in Poland was created at Cracow's Jagellonian University in 1986. A number of conferences and symposia were held with the support of the state and the participation of Western, including Israeli, scholars. A large number of books on Jewish subjects were published to meet the growing demand. In post-Communist Poland, state authorities continued to support a range of cultural activities. A foundation called Eternal Memory was set up by the treasury for the restoration and preservation of Jewish cultural monuments.

The community, however, experienced a rising tide of antisemitism. The change to a pluralist democracy opened up opportunities for extremist nationalist groups using antisemitism as a tool in the political struggle. Their propaganda identified Jews with the Communist regime and blamed them for all the shortcomings of Polish life. The removal of restraints on freedom of expression meant that antisemitism was now openly voiced in public and everyday life with grass-roots antisemitism well attested in public polls.

Government and Solidarity personalities became targets of anti-Jewish campaigns, which drew attention to their real or alleged Jewish origins. At the time of the 1990 presidential and 1991 parliamentary elections these tactics were freely used even by the mainstream political groups. Antisemitic publications, including reprints of the notorious *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, were distributed widely. Acts of vandalism at Jewish institutions, synagogues, and cemeteries multiplied as Polish skinheads sought to emulate their Western counterparts. The need to obtain economic assistance from the West, which acted as a brake on political antisemitism during 1980s, prompted President Walesa's initiative in 1991 to create a Council on Polish-Jewish Relations. An advisory body attached to the president, its function was to promote better understanding between Poles and Jews by drawing-up educational programs for Polish youth, organizing events and exhibitions, and providing a reaction to antisemitic incidents.

The continuing dispute over the Carmelite convent at Auschwitz had been at the center of the crisis in Catholic-Jewish relations from 1984 (see *Auschwitz Convent). The controversy was widely debated in the Polish press: a range of views from openly antisemitic to liberal was expressed revealing a disquieting level of prejudice and a lack of understanding between Poles and Jews. The crisis was finally resolved in 1993 with the relocation of the nuns at the convent.

While some elements within the Catholic Church supported right-wing Christian parties with known antisemitic tendencies, the Polish bishops, in an effort to improve relations, issued an unprecedented statement taking a clear stand against all manifestations of antisemitism. The episcopal letter, read in churches on January 21, 1991, presented Vatican II teachings on the relations between the two faiths and dealt with a number of controversial issues such as Polish responsibility for the Holocaust, alleged Jewish responsibility for Communism, and antisemitism past and present. At the same time the Catholic Seminary in Warsaw published a book on Judaism and the Jews for school teachers written in a similar spirit.

[Lena Stanley-Clamp]

By the mid-1990s most of the Jewish communities in Poland – Warsaw, Cracow (Krakow), Lodz, Stettin (Szczecin), Danzig (Gdansk), Kattowitz (Katowice), and Breslau (Wroclaw) – had synagogues. The eastern part of the country, once teeming with Jewish life and with great centers such as Lublin and Bialystok, probably had no more than 50 Jews. The Coordinating Committee of Jewish Organizations in the Polish Republic (KKOZRP) coordinated activities of the various Jewish bodies. Under the auspices of the Lauder Foundation, a club was established which organized many events for young people including Jewish summer camps and athletics. The Jewish groups included persons orphaned in the Holocaust and brought up by non-Jews and a veterans' organization. An important item on the agenda was the preservation of synagogues and cemeteries throughout the country. Many of these were in a state of disrepair or being used for secular purposes. Poland had a chief rabbi whose seat was in Warsaw and another rabbi for youth. A primary school and kindergarten were opened in Warsaw. Jewish courses were offered at the universities in Warsaw and Cracow. Warsaw's Jewish Historical Institute was an important archive and venue for cultural events while Cracow had a Center for Jewish Culture. The Warsaw Yiddish Theater was the only regularly functioning Yiddish theater in the world. Most of the actors were non-Jews. Poland was the scene of considerable Jewish tourism including pilgrimages to Holocaust sites, which bring many Jewish youth groups, such as the March of the Living.

In the early years of the 21st century, around 8,000 Jews were registered with the community, but it was estimated that as many as 30,000–40,000 had some Jewish ancestry.

RELATIONS WITH ISRAEL

Poland was among the first countries to recognize Israel (May 18, 1948). During the period preceding the establishment of Israel, Poland was unstinting in its support for the *yishuv*. At a convention of Soviet-bloc foreign ministers, the Polish foreign minister introduced a resolution congratulating Israel and condemning Arab aggression. Polish public opinion also strongly supported Israel and its struggle, as evidenced by resolutions passed by various public institutions, including the National Conference of Polish writers. Israel also received practical aid. In 1948, before the declaration of independence, a Haganah camp was set up in Poland, where 1,500 young Jews underwent preparatory military training before leaving for Israel. During the actual fighting, shipments of wheat were brought to Israel by a Polish boat. In August 1948 an Israel legation was established in Poland, one of Israel's first diplomatic missions.

The Change of 1950

The cooling of U.S.S.R.-Israel relations from 1950 affected relations between Poland and Israel. A certain ambivalence characterized Poland's attitude toward Israel, for, together with criticism of Israel on the international scene, particularly at the UN, there was also understanding and sympathy for Israel's problems and a courteous attitude in official relations, in contrast to the attitude of other member states of the Eastern bloc, even in 1950–55, which were particularly difficult years for Israel relations with East Europe. The change, which started to make itself felt at the beginning of 1950, was reflected in a decrease in the number of exit permits issued, although emigration from Poland never ceased altogether. Polish authorities began to display animosity toward the Israel legation, with a view to minimizing its contacts with Polish Jewry. During this period there were mass arrests and staged trials in a number of Eastern European countries, and, while the situation did not reach such proportions in Poland, police measures were intensified there and the Israel legation was put under police surveillance. A sharp turn of events occurred in 1953, when the Israel minister in Warsaw, A.L. Kubovy, who was stationed in Prague, was declared persona non grata as a result of a similar action taken against him by the Czechoslovak government after the *Slánský trial. Thereafter two other Israel diplomats were expelled.

Improved Relations in 1956

Wladyslaw Gomulka's ascension to power as secretary of the Communist Party in the fall of 1956 ushered in a liberalization in Poland's internal regime and a more independent foreign policy. Relations toward Israel improved primarily through an open emigration policy. Israel's problems were given more objective treatment in the press. In 1956 Israel again appointed a resident minister in Warsaw after a three-year period during which a chargé d'affaires headed the Israel legation. In 1963 the mission was elevated to the level of an embassy. After 1956 there was also a broadening of cultural and scientific relations in the form of reciprocal visits by individuals and delegations. Nevertheless, the Polish government maintained a constant reserve and did not respond to all of Israel's initiatives, sometimes even failing to implement plans they themselves had suggested. Thus, for example, cultural and scientific relations were not established on a formal basis, although such a step would have been justified by the extent of these activities. Nor was a Polish-Israel Friendship League set up in Poland, although an Israel-Polish Friendship League functioned in Israel.

Nevertheless, Poland was undoubtedly foremost among the East European countries in fostering relations with Israel, especially in the areas of culture, science, and information. Israel artists participated regularly in international music festivals in Poland, and many Polish performers appeared in Israel. Radio musical programs were exchanged. Exhibitions of Hebrew books were held in Poland, and Polish books were distributed in Israel. Regular exchanges of scientific publications took place, and individuals and figures in public life paid reciprocal visits. Exhibitions of graphic art were organized in Poland and in Israel. Of special note during the period between 1956 and 1967 were the tour of a Polish medical delegation in Israel; the visit to Israel of the chairman of the Polish Academy of Sciences; and the visit of the Israel ministers of health and welfare to Poland. After 1956 Israel participated regularly in the International Fair in Poznan. An information bulletin distributed by the Israel embassy influenced public opinion, and the Polish press often drew upon it.

In the political arena (e.g., in voting at the UN), Poland continued to identify with the U.S.S.R. but nevertheless was willing to support the election of Israelis for various functions in international agencies. Its spokesmen would point out that Poland's guiding principle was to foster relations both with Israel and with the Arab states, but neither at the expense of the other. An event in May 1966 seemed to herald a marked improvement in Polish-Israel relations and a development in Israel's relations with the entire Communist bloc: A convention of Israel diplomatic representatives in Eastern Europe was held in Warsaw with the participation of Foreign Minister Abba Eban. It was the first time that such a convention was held in a capital of the Eastern bloc, and Warsaw was willing to serve as its venue; it was also the first visit in an East European capital by an Israel foreign minister. Eban held discussions with the Polish foreign minister, Adam Rapacki, who displayed the attitude usually accorded an official foreign visitor.

The Six-Day War

Fairly normal relations were maintained between the two countries when the U.S.S.R. began escalating the Middle East crisis, which resulted in the Six-Day War. Significantly, a visit to Poland at the end of April by the Israel minister of welfare, heading a delegation for the establishment of the Auschwitz memorial, was handled in a way that reflected a change for the worse in Poland's attitude. The fact that the visit was not mentioned in the press was interpreted as one expression of the attempt to minimize the Jewish character of the Holocaust. In the first half of May, Polish newspapers and communications media were still presenting a balanced view of the Middle East crisis. A sharp change occurred, however, during the second half of the month. The press began to give unilateral coverage to the Arab-Soviet position. Grotesque accusations with antisemitic overtones were leveled against Israel and its leaders. On May 28 the president of Poland sent a message to Nasser expressing "full support for the struggle of the Arab nations." After that time, Poland's statements were characterized by an animosity toward Israel even more venomous than in other East European countries.

According to all indications, Polish public opinion generally supported Israel in its struggle for survival, but in the hands of groups competing for power in the party and in the Polish government, the Middle East crisis became a weapon for infighting, with the declared intent of displacing Jews from public positions. On June 12, 1967, following the Soviet Union's example, Poland notified Israel that diplomatic relations between the two countries were being severed, and inimical demonstrations against the Israel diplomats initiated by the authorities took place in sight of the diplomatic staff that came to take leave of the Israelis at the Warsaw airport. The Dutch embassy, which represented Israel's interests in Poland from that time, strongly protested against this behavior.

Immigration to Israel

In 1948 there were approximately 70,000–80,000 Jews in Poland. This number was swollen by thousands of Jews who returned from the U.S.S.R. in 1956–57 under the Polish-Soviet repatriation agreement. One of the major tasks of the Israel legation in Poland was the struggle on behalf of the majority of Jews who wished to migrate to Israel. Despite accusations leveled periodically by Polish authorities at the Israel legation and its staff for propagandizing and organizing the Jews for migration to Israel, there was continuous emigration. Between 1948 and 1949 the Polish authorities were issuing several hundred passports a month to Jews wishing to emigrate, especially to the aged, handicapped, and women left alone. Between 1949 and 1956 the number of passports issued decreased to a few dozen per month. The major years of Polish Jewish immigration to Israel were 1956–60 with their numbers reaching around 52,000. The peak year was 1957, during which some 31,000 Jews migrated to Israel. Despite the breakdown in diplomatic relations in June 1967, the Polish government continued to issue exit permits for emigration to Israel, but the motivation for this policy became more and more an antisemitic intent to "purge" Poland of its Jewish population.

Trade Relations

A trade agreement signed between Poland and Israel in 1954 was renewed annually until 1968. The numerous industrial and agricultural products traded were valued at approximately $4 million in both directions. Major Israel exports were citrus fruit and tires, with Poland exporting frozen meat, sugar, iron and steel products, and chemicals. Two Israel exports added in the later years were potash and cotton, which then exceeded the citrus export. During 14 years the scope of the agreement had doubled, in effect, and in certain years it had tripled. A shift in the trade balance in Israel's favor occurred in the first months of 1966 and continued thereafter due to a steep increase in the export of potash. Upon the severance of diplomatic relations, Poland was in debt to Israel for over $5 million, but despite its hostile attitude toward Israel it did not revoke the trade agreement of 1954, and it was automatically renewed in 1968. By then, however, the agreement was meaningless, with Israel having discontinued its exports to Poland to avoid increasing the Polish debt, which was, in effect, a credit extended to Poland without interest. In June 1968 the Israel government informed the Polish government of the revocation of the trade agreement. Poland's debt to Israel, then $2.7 million was repaid thereafter.

[Moshe Avidan]

Following the severing of commercial ties between Israel and Poland in 1968, the first exchange of goods between the two countries was renewed in 1976. Israel exported citrus to Poland ($834,000) and imported books ($5,000). In 1977 goods in the value of $1.5 million were exported to Poland and $600,000 worth of merchandise was exported from Poland to Israel.

In 1986 Poland was the first of the Communist bloc countries to re-open low-level diplomatic relations with Israel which had been severed since the Six-Day War. Interest sections dealing with visa regulations and cultural and economic ties were established in Warsaw and Tel Aviv. Full diplomatic relations were restored in 1990. A framework for the promotion of good relations was provided by the establishment of the Polish-Israeli Friendship Society. There was a steady growth in cultural exchanges and trade expansion. Poland has shown a strong interest in acquiring Israeli technology in the fields of agriculture, telecommunications, health, and hotel industry. There was an unparalleled growth in tourism, facilitated by direct air links, with Israelis visiting Poland in great numbers. President Walesa visited Israel in 1991 and President Herzog visited Poland in 1992. By 2003 Israel's exports to Poland had grown to around $95 million, with imports at $60 million.

[Lena Stanley-Clamp]

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POLANSKI, ROMAN (**Liebling**; 1933–), film director, writer, and actor. Born in Paris, Polanski went to Poland with his parents at the age of three. During World War II, he managed to escape the ghetto, while his parents were sent to a concentration camp, where his mother died. As a young boy he survived in the Polish countryside, living with various Catholic families. In 1945 he was reunited with his father.

In the 1950s, still in Poland, he took up acting and also became a well-known filmmaker. He moved to Paris and made two films in England – *Repulsion* (1965) and *Cul-de-sac* (1966) – which won him international acclaim. Polanski also won several international awards for his film *Two Men and a Wardrobe* (1958). Among his other films are *Mammals* (1961); *Knife in the Water* (Oscar nomination for Best Foreign Language Film, 1962); and *Rosemary's Baby* (Oscar nomination for Best Adapted Screenplay, 1968), which showed his mastery of suspense and the macabre, as well as *The Fearless Vampire Killers* (1967), starring his wife, Sharon Tate.

In 1968 Polanski had gone to Hollywood – until 1969, when the circumstances of his life took on the nightmarish quality of his films. While Polanski was out of town his wife, who was eight months pregnant with their first child, as well as four of their friends, were brutally murdered at a party at their home by the Charles Manson gang. Polanski returned to Europe and continued to make films there, such as *Macbeth* (1971) and *What?* (1973). In 1974 he returned to the U.S. and made *Chinatown* (Oscar nomination for Best Picture and Best Director, 1974) and *The Tenant* (1976).

However, in 1977 he fled the country again, this time to avoid being incarcerated on a charge of statutory rape after having been involved in a sex scandal with a 13-year-old model. Living in Paris, Polanski continued to make films, such as *Tess* (Oscar nomination for Best Director, 1979), *Pirates* (1986), *Frantic* (1988), *Bitter Moon* (1992), *Death and the Maiden* (1994), *The Ninth Gate* (1999), and *The Pianist* (Oscar for Best Director, 2002).

He also acted, most notably in *The Fearless Vampire Killers*; *What?*; *Chinatown*; *The Tenant*; the French film *A Pure Formality* (1994); and the Polish film *The Revenge* (2002).

His autobiographical *Roman by Polanski* was published in 1984.

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[Jonathan Licht / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

POLANYI, JOHN C. (1929–), Canadian chemist and Nobel laureate. Born in Berlin, he moved to England in 1933 with his Hungarian parents, Michael and Magda. He graduated B.Sc. (1949) and obtained his Ph.D. (1952) in chemistry from Manchester University. After a post-doctoral research fellowship at the Canadian National Research Council Laboratories in Ottawa (1952–54) and Princeton University (1954–56) he joined the chemistry faculty at the University of Toronto where he was appointed professor in 1962 and continued to work there with his research group. Polanyi's research interests develop themes explored by his father, Michael *Polanyi, namely the atomic interactions that form the basis of chemical reactions. The theoretical basis for his earlier contributions was the computer integration of the classical equations of motion allied to the methodology of infrared chemiluminescence. In principle, this approach, termed "surface aligned photochemistry," analyzes the visible emission from a variety of molecules adsorbed to crystals in an ultra-high vacuum. He shared the 1986 Nobel Prize in chemistry with Dudley Herschbach and Yuan Lee. Subsequently Polanyi and his colleagues in their Toronto laboratory adapted laser techniques and reactive rather than inert adsorbing surfaces to analyze chemical reactions in even more detail occurring virtually instantaneously. Polanyi's many honors include the Centenary Medal of the British Chemical Society (1965), the Wolf Prize in Chemistry (1982), and the Royal Medal of the Royal Society of London (1989). He was appointed Officer of the Order of Canada (1974) and Companion of the Order of Canada (1979). He was elected to the Royal Society of Canada (1966), the Royal Society of London (1971), the American Academy of Arts and Sciences (1976), the U.S. National Academy of Sciences (1978), and the Pontifical Academy of Rome (1986). He received an honorary doctorate from the Weizmann Institute (1989). He has played a prominent part in many national and international organizations concerned with scientific research and education.

[Michael Denman (2nd ed.)]

POLÁNYI, KARL (1886–1964), economist and anthropologist. His scientific work was based on the place of economics in society, and the relation between production and distribution of goods. He also made a study of kinship and religion. Born in Vienna and educated in Budapest, Polányi was the foreign editor of the *Der Oesterreichische Volkswirt*, Austria's leading economic journal. Later he moved to England and in 1940 to America where he taught at Bennington College (Vermont) and New York. He was a socialist and in his later years the maintenance of peace became his major concern.

Polányi's writings include *The Great Transformation* (1945); jointly with A. Rothstein, *Dahomey and the Slave Trade* (1966); and *The Plough and the Pen-Writings from Hungary 1930–1956* (1963, jointly edited with Ilona Duczynszka).

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[Joachim O. Ronall]

POLANYI, MICHAEL (1891–1976) British physical chemist and philosopher. Born in Budapest, Polyani was educated at the extraordinarily successful Minta Gymnasium. He entered the University of Budapest to study medicine (1908) but his interest in physical chemistry largely dominated his student career and he spent the summer of 1912 at the Technische Hochschule in Karlsruhe, Germany, where he wrote his first papers on physical chemistry with Einstein's approval. He received his M.D. (1913) and returned to the Karlsruhe institute for the 1913–14 academic year, but joined the Austro-Hungarian Army as a medical officer on the outbreak of war in 1914. Diphtheria and other illness curtailed his military obligations, allowing him to complete his Ph.D. (awarded in 1919). Political upheaval linked to virulent antisemitism obliged Polanyi to leave Hungary to work in Karslruhe again (1919–20), and in Berlin at the Kaiser Wilhelm Institute for Fiber Chemistry (1920–23) and for Physical Chemistry and Electrochemistry (1923–33), eventually with a tenured position as "scientific member." After initial reservations, with the Nazi rise to power he moved to the University of Manchester, England (1933), as professor of physical chemistry with a brief to revitalize the chemistry department. A shift in his professional interests from the sciences to the humanities prompted a change in title to professor of social studies (1948) before his retirement in 1958. He was elected a senior research fellow at Merton College, Oxford (1959–61) and he continued to write, lecture, and travel as visiting professor in Europe and North America. He lived in Oxford until shortly before his death in Northampton. Polanyi's first scientific work concerned the interaction of molecules with a liquid surface, a process termed adsorption. His subsequent interests centered on the fundamental basis of molecular structure and the factors governing molecular association and dissociation. His theoretical insight was matched by technical innovations in crystallography and methods for studying gases at low concentration. His work had an important practical application in the British development of synthetic rubber during World War II. His work also explained the remarkable fibrous strength of cellulose. He was elected to the Royal Society of London (1944). Polanyi's interest in other fields dates from his student days. His philosophical studies explored the links between the physical universe and religious belief and were also largely concerned with the central role of personal morality in the face of eternal human imperfection. These beliefs were closely related to his conviction that scientists should have social concerns but intellectual freedom without constraints imposed by central planning. His early defense of what are now termed civil rights complemented his vigorous political opposition to communism and his support for Keynesian economics. Polanyi identified with Christianity mainly on moral grounds and he converted to the Roman Catholic Church (1919), although possibly for political reasons. He was not a practicing Catholic and was skeptical about biblical authority. Although he did not join any Jewish communal organizations and was opposed to Zionism, he gave talks to Jewish societies. He married Magda, a chemistry student, in a civil ceremony (1921) and they had two sons. Polanyi's extensive writings in all fields are listed in Scott and Moleski's enlightening biography *Michael Polanyi: Scientist and Philosopher* (2005).

[Michael Denman (2nd ed.)]

POLEMICS AND POLEMICAL LITERATURE. There were internal polemics with Jewish sectarians in the talmudic and post-talmudic periods, and a rich Jewish polemical literature in the Middle Ages. It does not include the continuous and sustained controversies which characterize rabbinical literature throughout the ages on the interpretation of the Oral Law. For this see *Conflict of Opinion. Polemics with non-Jews in the Bible, Talmud, and Middle Ages is discussed under *Disputation and Polemics and *Islam.

Talmudic Period

The talmudic literature is replete with details of polemics between the upholders of normative Judaism, the Pharisees and their successors, and the numerous sects which flourished at the time. Insofar as they are referred to by name, these are the *Samaritans, the *Sadducees, and those who are referred to under the generic name of **minim* (sectarians). Confusion exists as to the exact nomenclature and identification of the last two. As a result of *censorship, the original word in the Talmud had to be changed. Reference to the manuscripts as well as internal evidence provided by the context, show that the word *Ẓeduki*, Sadducee, which appears in the printed text refers to other sects. In addition, the word *min* applied to a wide range of sectarians, Judeo-Christians, Gnostics, Manicheans, Magi, etc. Thus whereas in the *Sifra* (Lev. 2) in the phrase "from here is provided an opening to the *minim*" the word refers to Gnostics who believed in dualism, the identical phrase in *Exodus Rabbah* 13:4 refers to those sectarians who denied the doctrine of free will. Jacob of Kefar Sakhnayya "of the disciples of Jesus of Nazareth" (these words, which are in the Mss., have been omitted from the printed text; Av. Zar. 17a) is referred to as a *min* in 27b. The Talmud states in the name of R. Naḥman "there are no *minim* among the gentiles" (Hul.

13b). The *minim* were all Jewish sectarians, and the Christian *minim*, Judeo-Christians.

There are a few polemics which can be definitely ascribed to Sadducees and Samaritans. With regard to the former, the Mishnah records a number of polemics between the Sadducees and the Pharisees in one of which Rabban Johanan b. Zakkai was the spokesman of the Pharisees. "The Sadducees said 'We cry out against you, O ye Pharisees' for they say 'the Scriptures render the hands unclean' [a typical rabbinic enactment]. Yet the writings of Hamiram [Homer?] do not render the hands unclean." In typical polemic vein Rabban Johanan carried the war into the enemy camp: "They say that the bones of the ass are clean, and the bones of Johanan the High Priest are clean" and the argument continues with the victory of the Pharisees (Yad. 4:6–8).

R. Eleazar b. Yose polemicized against the Samaritans by pointing out to them that the identification of Mt. Gerizim, the holy mountain, overlooking Shechem depends entirely upon the application of the *gezerah shavah*, an inference from analogy which was one of the 13 *hermeneutical rules evolved by the rabbis which the Samaritans rejected (Sot. 33b). Whereas this, like so many of the polemics in the Talmud, was a literary and academic controversy, the Midrash gives one with a Samaritan which belongs to a less refined sphere. R. Ishmael b. Yose, on a pilgrimage from Galilee to Jerusalem, came to Mt. Gerizim. There he met a Samaritan who asked him where he was bound. When he answered "Jerusalem," the Samaritan said "Is it not better for you to pray on this blessed mountain than that accursed one?" To which Ishmael retorted, "You are like a dog which digs up a buried carcass. It is because you know that there are idols buried here, which Jacob hid away [Gen. 35:4] that you are so full of fervor for this mountain" (Gen. R. 81:3; TJ, AZ 5:4, 44c). The polemics with the *minim* are legion in the rabbinical literature. They cover every biblical and theological topic including monotheism, dualism (Sanh. 38a), that "he who created the wind did not create the mountains" (Ḥul. 87a), freedom of will, and predetermination (see above); the validity of the principles of rabbinic exegesis (Ber. 10a); that the destruction of the Temple was a sign that God had rejected the Jewish people (obviously a Judeo-Christian, though the printed text has a Sadducee; Yoma 57a); and other topics.

One fact seems to emerge clearly from a consideration of the many polemics in the Talmud, namely that they were rarely if ever sought out by the rabbis. Almost invariably the challenge came from the sectarians. The sectarian who "used to annoy Joshua b. Levi greatly with his biblical texts" (Ber. 7a) represents the general attitude of challenge by them and only response by the rabbis.

In the Geonic Period

As was the case in the talmudic period, the rise of the various sects was the cause of various polemics. To a special category belongs *Saadiah Gaon's *Kitab al-Amanat* in which he answers the heretical opinions expressed by Hiwi al-Balkhi who lived in Persia in the last quarter of the ninth century. The fact that Saadiah found teachers in Babylonia teaching children from books based on Hiwi's biblical criticism makes it a contemporary polemic. The greatest polemic, however, in which Saadiah took a leading part, but which extended over at least three centuries, was against the *Karaite schism.

Polemical Literature of the Middle Ages

The literature of the period reflects this preoccupation with disputation, polemical works being composed in almost every literary form then used by Jews: e.g., poetry, homiletics, ethical literature, fiction, and halakhic writing. In addition, the polemic – a genre whose main purpose was to express the views of the conflicting parties – was developed.

Purely halakhic and rabbinic disputes were usually dealt with in the literature of *she'elot u-teshuvot* (rabbinic responsa) and other halakhic literary forms. Medieval halakhists followed the literary style and legal precedents found in the vast body of talmudic literature, in which almost every point of law was contested, clarified, and usually determined. Even in controversies touching basic beliefs and carried on with intense emotion, medieval Jewry accepted opposing views as at least worthy of consideration. For example in his *Hassagot*, *Abraham b. David, the leading rabbi of Provence, contested many of the legal decisions in Maimonides' *Mishneh Torah*. Yet when the celebrated code of laws was printed, the *Hassagot* were included, as if they were a commentary on Maimonides' text. Opposing views, therefore, were regarded as important and worthy of being studied by all rabbinical scholars. Sometimes halakhic controversies originated from political differences rather than legal ones; thus the contentions between the leading rabbis in Palestine and Babylonia in the time of Saadiah Gaon, carried on in the traditional halakhic literary forms, were in fact struggles for recognition as the supreme religious authority in the Jewish world.

Halakhic literary forms, however, were both inadequate and inappropriate for the resolution of basic ideological problems and new literary forms were used. One of the earliest literary documents recording a fierce ideological controversy is *Milḥamot ha-Shem* ("The Lord's Fight," 1830), a small tenth-century book by the Karaite writer, Solomon b. Jeroham. Part of the polemical literature of the Rabbanite-Karaite dispute, the work is a Hebrew reply to Saadiah Gaon's attack against the Karaites, though Arabic was usually the language in which this controversy was sustained. *Milḥamot ha-Shem*, like most medieval polemical works, is written in the literary form of a letter (see *Letters and Letter Writing). But whereas only the opening and concluding portions of such a letter were usually written in rhymed prose, this work is written entirely in that manner. The most striking characteristic of Solomon's book is its satirical nature; he quotes (and rhymes) passages from the Talmud and from the literature attributed to talmudic sages, including the **Shi'ur Komah*, to show how far these rabbinic sayings had strayed from the biblical text and from the accepted theological ideas of the times – even those accepted in

Saadiah's philosophical works. The three elements – the epistolary form, the rhymed prose, and the satirical statement of the main thesis – became the common feature in medieval Hebrew polemical literature.

Polemical literature in the form of a literary epistle served as the main vehicle of expression in one of the greatest controversies in medieval Jewry – the controversy over the writings of Maimonides, which began in the last year of Maimonides' life and continued throughout the 13th and the beginning of the 14th century, and especially during the years 1232–35 and 1304–05. The subjects of the controversy – the meaning of the anthropomorphic passages in the Bible and the talmudic literature, the reasons behind the commandments (*ta'amei ha-mitzvot*), the question of the resurrection and the nature of the afterlife, the existence of angels and demons, the problem of the creation *ex nihilo*, the allegorical interpretation of the biblical stories – were discussed in letters exchanged between the leading disputants. Most of the letters are written partly in rhymed prose, with some written completely so.

The use of the literary epistle resulted from the fact that the disputants usually did not intend to clarify the ideological, theological, or even exegetical problems over which the controversy arose. Their main aim was to disqualify the opponent as a competent judge in the issue, to prove that he does not have the requisite knowledge or awareness of the problems which would entitle him to be heard in the controversy. Thus, early in the 13th century, when *Aaron b. Meshullam of Lunel answered Meir b. Todros Abulafia ha-Levi's letters concerning Maimonides' alleged disbelief in the resurrection, he dedicated the bulk of his letter to a discussion of Abulafia's character, knowledge, and understanding, and a review of his own feelings about Maimonides and his critics. The small portion of the letter that actually deals with the problem of the resurrection says nothing more than that Maimonides' views do not differ from those of the Talmud and the *geonim*, especially Saadiah Gaon. The letter is entirely written in rhymed prose and makes extensive use of biblical and talmudic phrases, leaving no doubt that the writer intended to win the public over to his views mainly by the beauty with which he expressed his feelings. This form of polemic, therefore, encouraged not so much the clarification of the issues as the demonstration of the writer's personal qualities and literary ability, and the enumeration of his opponent's faults. Another example of the evasive character of the polemical epistle is *Naḥmanides' reply to the rabbis of northern France in the same controversy over Maimonides' *Guide of the Perplexed*. Naḥmanides did not address himself to the issues raised by the French rabbis, rather he concentrated on proving that the rabbis, being far removed from the culture of the Jews in Spain and the Provence, were not qualified to judge Maimonides. In addition, he said that the *Guide* was not written for them, but for the perplexed Jewish scholars in Spain who could not avoid contact with Greek and Arabic philosophy. In this letter, Naḥmanides did not reveal his own kabbalistic ideas nor make known his stand on the problems themselves. Neither his duties as a responsible rabbi, nor the conventions of the polemical letter required Naḥmanides to express his own opinions about the issues involved. Although other letters exchanged in this controversy deal more closely with the ideological problems, they never do so fully or exhaustively. Abraham Maimon, for example, in his letters collected as *Milḥamot ha-Shem* ("The Wars of the Lord," a very common name for a polemical work), treated some problems, especially the allegorical interpretation of biblical and talmudic passages, as did Abraham b. Samuel in his defense of Maimonides against the criticism of the French rabbis. But even in these cases the personal allusions and the flow of rhymed phraseology make up a great part of the letters. These conventions persist in the letters exchanged during the controversy in 1305, when Abba Mari *Astruc again raised the issue of the dangers stemming from allegorical interpretation and the study of philosophy. Astruc tried to organize a movement, to be headed by Solomon b. Abraham *Adret, to oppose these practices.

Ashkenazi Ḥasidism, which flourished during the Middle Ages among the Jews in Germany and northern France, also gave rise to controversy. An extant fragment of Moses b. Ḥisdai *Taku's detailed polemical work, *Ketav Tamim* ("Book of Righteousness," published by R. Kirchheim, in: *Oẓar Neḥmad*, 3 (1960), 54–99), indicates that the work pays almost no attention to literary form, the issues themselves being the writer's major concern, although inflamed accusatory language is sometimes used. Moses did not hesitate to declare that his opponents, who included *Judah he-Ḥasid, Saadiah Gaon, Maimonides, and Abraham *Ibn Ezra, were followers of the Karaites and the Christians who were destroying Judaism from within.

*Kabbalah, probably the most innovating Jewish ideology during the Middle Ages, aroused surprisingly little controversy when it began to flourish in Provence in the 12th century and in Christian Spain during the 13th century. From this period only one letter in clear opposition to the Kabbalah is extant. It is known that there was some disagreement among the kabbalists themselves over whether the Kabbalah should be discussed openly and brought to the attention of the Jewish community, or kept a secret known only to the selected few, the mystically inspired elect. Like most medieval disputes, these discussions were carried on in the form of letters.

During the 16th and 17th centuries both Jewish philosophy and Kabbalah again became objects of controversies, but with a larger part of the discussions now carried on in the form of special polemical books. Thus Joseph *Jabez, who wrote in Italy after the expulsion of Jews from Spain, termed the teachings of the Jewish philosophers as the cause of the conversion of thousands of Jews to Christianity during the 15th century in Spain. Isaac b. Judah *Abrabanel held somewhat similar views. Accusations and polemics against the philosophers are found in the works of many scholars up to and including Jacob *Emden and *Naḥman of Bratslav. Many polemical letters were written concerning the 16th-century controversy over whether the Zohar, the major work of the Kabbalah, should be printed. The opponents of publication comprised two groups:

the devout kabbalists, who thought that a work of kabbalistic mysticism should be kept secret in order to prevent the uninitiated from reading it; and the opponents of the Kabbalah in general, who opposed its printing in order to reduce the influence of the Kabbalah which they regarded as false. A few anti-kabbalistic works were written in Italy, the most notable being *Ari Nohem* by Leone *Modena who systematically sought to prove that kabbalistic beliefs were invalid and that the kabbalists' claim that their theory and literature are ancient, transmitted from the time of the *tannaim*, is historically untrue. Modena was one of the first to use methods of literary and historical criticism in polemics against the Kabbalah. Two other 16th-century controversies deserve mention. The first was initiated by Azariah de' *Rossi's *Me'or Einayim*, a critical study of Jewish history and tradition which claims that the accepted system of chronology, i.e., counting from the creation, has neither a historically nor a traditionally sound basis. For this view he was criticized both by Renaissance scholars and by traditional Jewish scholars like *Judah Loew b. Bezalel of Prague. Azariah answered his more learned critics in a special book, *Maẓref la-Kesef.*

During the 1530s dozens of polemical letters were written by supporters and opponents of the *semikhah*, the ordination of rabbis, after the rabbis of Safed tried to reinstate the tradition that had been broken early in the Middle Ages. The rabbis of Jerusalem, however, opposed this; participation in the controversy increased, engaging the attention of many rabbis from various countries. The participants tried to treat the controversy as a purely halakhic one and the language of the polemical letters exchanged on this problem is clearly halakhic. But there is no doubt that beyond the halakhic references lay the true question: Should the rabbis take upon themselves activities concerned with messianic times (the reestablishment of the *semikhah* was regarded as one of the events connected with the redemption) or should they wait patiently until the coming of the Messiah who will reinstitute the *semikhah* himself? A similar consideration probably lay behind the dispute over the printing of the Zohar, for it was believed that wide acceptance of the Zohar and its teachings was one of the signs indicating the approach of messianic times.

The fiercest controversies in Jewish history were those arising over Shabbateanism and *Ḥasidism. Although there was some 17th-century criticism of *Shabbetai Ẓevi and his prophet, Nathan of Gaza, even before the former was converted to Islam, it was neither intense nor widespread. After the conversion, however, the critics knew no bounds in their accusations against the Shabbateans, and for 150 years thereafter the persecution of believers in Shabbetai Ẓevi and those influenced by his teachings was carried out relentlessly by some of the greatest rabbis. Jacob b. Aaron *Sasportas, among the first to oppose Shabbateanism, published his collection of anti-Shabbatean epistles under the title *Ẓiẓat Novel Ẓevi* (though it was proven recently that he re-edited some of his early letters to make them more anti-Shabbatean than they originally were). Later, anti-Shabbateans concentrated their efforts on discovering scholars with Shabbatean sympathies and bringing about their excommunication (*ḥerem*). Thus, Moses *Ḥagiz accused Moses Ḥayyim *Luzzatto of Shabbateanism, the same charge Jacob Emden leveled against Jonathan *Eybeschuetz. Both Luzzatto and Eybeschuetz were defended against the accusation by a number of supporters, and the controversies raged for decades.

In the second half of the 18th century, the newly founded ḥasidic movement was also suspected of heretical and Shabbatean tendencies. This suspicion, one of the causes for the unflaggingly intense opposition to the movement, led to the *ḥerem* brought against the Ḥasidim in 1772, a ban which was renewed many times in the next 40 years. The Ḥasidim were mainly accused of disregarding the importance of traditional Talmud study and of abusing the traditional scholars. Rarely did Ḥasidism's opponents clearly express their real suspicion – that the ḥasidic movement was a new version of the Shabbatean and Frankist movements – a suspicion which was the underlying reason for the vehemence of the various *ḥerem* declarations, in the anti-ḥasidic epistles, and in the collections of letters and special polemical works written by the *Mitnaggedim*. It is to be noted that very little material in the vast anti-ḥasidic literature is concerned with the basic ideas of Ḥasidism. The *Mitnaggedim* attacked the Ḥasidim because of the way they behaved, or the way they believed they behaved, almost totally disregarding the ideology of the new movement. In this omission the *Mitnaggedim* followed the tradition of epistolary polemical literature since the early Middle Ages.

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[Joseph Dan]

POLEMON II (d. 74 C.E.), king of Cilicia. The Judean princess, *Berenice, widow of Herod of Chalcis, induced Polemon to undergo circumcision and marry her in an attempt to suppress rumors detrimental to her reputation. Polemon, with an eye to her wealth, accepted the proposal, but the marriage did not last long. Berenice deserted her husband, and the king, according to Josephus, "was relieved simultaneously of his marriage and of further adherence to the Jewish way of life" (Ant., 20:145–6). Polemon of Cilicia has been confused with Julius Polemon, king of Pontus from 37–63 C.E., who vistited *Agrippa I at Tiberias.

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[Isaiah Gafni]

°**POLEMON OF ILIUM** (c. 202–181 B.C.E.), Greek author of a lost history in which the Exodus was used to date the mythological Greek king Apis, according to Eusebius, *Praeparatio Evangelica*, 10:10, 15.

POLGAR, ALFRED (1873–1955), Austrian essayist and critic. One of Austria's foremost prose stylists and drama critics, Polgar, who was born as Alfred Polak, was the son of a Viennese musician. He worked as a reporter and as drama critic for the *Wiener Allgemeinen Zeitung*. From 1918 he voiced his pacifistic views, which were influenced by his impressions of World War I, in the journal *Der Friede* and in monographs such as *Kleine Zeit* (1919) and *Schwarz auf Weiss* (1929). In 1925 he moved to Berlin, where he contributed to such eminent periodicals as *Die Weltbuehne* and the *Berliner Tageblatt*. He returned to Vienna upon the Nazis' accession to power in Germany, where he worked as a reporter for German-language foreign papers. In 1938 he fled to Paris and in 1940 he settled in the U.S. After 1949 he spent much of his time in Europe. In his years of exile and after the war Polgar was active as a translator, adapter, and cultural mediator. He died in a hotel while on a visit to Zurich.

A prolific and subtle writer, Polgar produced many brilliant *feuilletons*, impressionistic sketches, reviews, parodies, satires, and elegant short essays and vignettes in the style of Peter *Altenberg. Polgar collaborated with Egon *Friedell on the witty satirical plays *Goethe im Examen* (1908) and *Soldatenleben im Frieden* (1910). One of several collections of his short stories appeared in 1912 under the title *Hiob*. Polgar's collected critical writings appeared as *Ja und Nein* (4 vols., 1926–27, 1956), followed by *Handbuch des Kritikers* (1938, 1997). Collections of Polgar's work were compiled and published in six volumes under the title *Kleine Schriften* (1982–86), edited by M. Reich-Ranicki and U. Weinzierl, and *Das Grosse Lesebuch* (2003), edited by H. Rowohlt.

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[Harry Zohn / Noam Zadoff (2nd ed.)]

POLIAKOV, LÉON (1910–1997), historian. Born in Saint Petersburg, Russia, Poliakov went to France in 1920. He was on the staff of the *Pariser Tageblatt* until 1939. During World War II he served with the French army. Participating in the establishment of the Centre de Documentation Juive Contemporaine, he became head of its research department after the war. In 1952 he was appointed research fellow at the Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique and in 1954 joined the Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes. Poliakov, one the first historians of the Holocaust, wrote extensively about it and paved the way for the scientific study of antisemitism from the 1950s. He was departmental editor of the first edition of the *Encyclopaedia Judaica* for the subject of antisemitism. Some of his books have been translated into English – *Harvest of Hate* (1954), *The Aryan Myth: A History of Racist and Nationalist Ideas in Europe* (1974), and his major four-volume *The History of Anti-Semitism* (2003). His other works include *Auschwitz* (1964), *Les banchieri Juifs et le Saint-Siège du xiii au xvii siècle* (1965) and *De l'antisionisme à l'Anti-semitisme* (1969). Poliakov also edited a number of works, including *La condition des Juifs en France sous l'occupation italienne* (1946) and, with Josef Wulf, *Das Dritte Reich und seine Diener; Dokumente* (1956) and *Das Dritte Reich und die Juden; Dokumente und Aufsaetze* (1955). He published his memoirs in 1981 (*L'auberge des musiciens*), and amongst his other books published later are *La Causalité diabolique: essai sur l'origine des persécutions* (1980) and *L'impossible choix: histoire des crises d'identité juive* (1995).

[Sylvie-Anne Goldberg (2nd ed.)]

POLICE OFFENSES, offenses arising in connection with the prevention of public mischief and for the maintenance of public security, as laid down in the Bible, that have formed the basis for elaborate regulations in later periods of Jewish law. Thus, the biblical injunction against false weights and measures (Deut. 25:13–15) led to the appointment of special inspectors who were authorized not only to enter shops and ascertain the accuracy of weights and measures in use, but also to impose penalties, e.g., *floggings or *fines. Similarly, the biblical injunction against *fraud (Lev. 25:14, 17) and *oppression (Lev. 19:13) led to the prohibition of profiteering and to the appointment of special officers charged with the supervision of prices (cf. Yoma 9a); and profiteers too were liable to be flogged. *Gambling and betting were prohibited as if they were species of larceny, and so were such potentially injurious acts as hunting in populated areas or taking animals already captured in the trap of another (Yad, Gezelah 6:8–12). The biblical injunctions for the protection of animals (Deut. 22:4, 6–7; Ex. 23:5) gave rise to the prohibition against hurting any living creature (BM 32a, b), and led to the elaboration of rules for the prevention of collisions between loaded animals in the street, and hence also between ships and vehicles (Yad, Roẓe'aḥ 13:11–12).

The injunction that "you shall not bring bloodguilt on your house" (Deut. 22:8) was interpreted as not limited to the traditional requirement of providing a *parapet for the roof lest anyone should fall from it, but as extending to any act or omission likely to endanger human life (Yad. loc. cit.). It is no excuse for a man to say that his conduct endangers himself too; even if he chooses to disregard his own safety, he cannot disregard that of others – and he is liable to be flogged if he does. Thus the supply or consumption of unclean or noxious food or water is prohibited (*ibid.*, 11:7–16), and so is the creation of any danger to the public (BK 27a–30a). There are also express provisions for the annual inspection of streets and thoroughfares by officers of the court to make sure they are not damaged by rain and are safe for traffic (Tosef. Shek 1:1). Where particular roads or journeys were dangerous, the court would appoint officers to accompany travelers and guard their safety; if they failed in watchfulness, the officers were regarded as if they had shed innocent blood (Yad. Evel 14:3). Where there were dangers of overcrowding or public licentiousness, court officers would mingle among the crowds to maintain law and order (Yad, Yom Tov 6:21).

The biblical prohibition against a woman putting on a man's clothing, and vice versa (Deut. 22:5), may have served as the authority and pattern for later regulations governing dress and appearance. As dressing in the clothing of the opposite sex was regarded as conduct conducive to sexual perversion, so was dressing in the gentile fashion regarded as a first step toward assimilation. Sumptuary laws against extravagance and luxury became increasingly frequent, not only to prevent the following of the practices of gentiles (cf. Lev. 20:23), but also to ensure humility in walking before God (cf. Micah 6:8). Penalties were imposed mostly as fines, but we find also public denunciations (see *Ḥerem). In some places, regulations were also laid down to make certain dresses or robes obligatory, e.g., for judges and notables (*Takkanot Mehrin*, 530). Generally, the biblical injunction to appoint executive officers in addition to judges (Deut. 16:18) was interpreted as imposing a duty to attach to each court "men with sticks and rods, standing at the service of the judges, to patrol markets and streets, inspect shops, rectify prices and measures, and redress all injury: they act only on the orders of the court, and when they detect a breach of law, they bring it before the court for adjudication" (Yad, Sanhedrin 1:1). It appears that until the destruction of the Temple, petty offenses were not, in Jerusalem, brought before the ordinary criminal courts, but before two or three police courts (*dayyanei gezerot*, Ket. 13:1), who were sitting full time and therefore (in contradistinction to judges) entitled to remuneration (Ket. 105a).

[Haim Hermann Cohn]

Offenses that Harm the Entire Public

Particular severity attaches to offenses that harm the entire public, or any undefined group of people. Their severity stems from the fact that when a person causes an injustice to the public at large or an unidentified person or persons, he cannot directly rectify the injustice, neither to a specific person, nor to the society at large. An example of such an offense is stealing from the public, regarding which the Sages said, "Theft from the public is more severe than theft from an individual, because one who steals from an individual can compensate him by returning what he has stolen, while a person who steals from the public cannot compensate them by returning what he has stolen" (Tos. to BK (ed. Zuckermandel) 10:14). Another example of theft which cannot be compensated is an act of fraud in weights and measures (see *Weights and Measures): Rabbi Levi said, "The punishments for offenses relating to weights and measures are more severe than for sexual offenses" (BB 88b). The reason is explained by the *posekim*: "The punishment for [offenses concerning] weights and measures is very severe, because it is impossible for one who weighs and measures to repent properly" (Sh. Ar., ḤM, 231: 19) – "Because it is impossible to restore [the amount improperly taken to its owners, since he cannot know to whom and how often he gave a [false] measure" (*Sema* to Sh. Ar., ḤM, 231:34). The offender's act can be redressed to a certain extent by his working in community service for the benefit of the public, but this is not considered full redress, which necessitates returning the full return of what he has stolen to the victim (*Rashbam*, BB 88b).

Based on these principles, the Israeli Supreme Court decided on a severe sentencing policy against public officials who embezzled public funds (Cr. A 291/81, *Ploni* v. *The State of Israel*, 35 (4) 438; per Justice Menachem Elon).

Different Aspects of Police Activities

MAINTAINING PUBLIC ORDER. The obligation to maintain public order has implications for the saving of life (*pikku'aḥ nefesh*), which, as is well known, overrides almost all biblical and rabbinical prohibitions. When a large public is concerned, the fear of jeopardizing lives is even greater. Thus, to prevent public damage and risk, even when the life threatening risk is not obvious, some authorities permit certain otherwise forbidden actions on Shabbat, precisely because the public is involved (Shab. 42b; *Ḥidushei Haran*, ad loc.; Yad, Shabbat 10: 25 and in *Maggid Mishneh,* ad loc.). Following the establishment of the State of Israel, these principles were relied upon to justify various aspects of police activity intended to maintain public order and peace, including various police activities on the Sabbath or operations entailing risk to the life of an individual in order to maintain the peace and security of the entire public.

THE PROHIBITION ON THE HUMILIATING OR INTERFERING IN THE WORK OF THE POLICE. The humiliation of policemen, who are officers of the court, is considered as contempt of court (see*Contempt of Court). A punishment of excommunication (see *Ḥerem) may be imposed on anyone found to have humiliated or interfered with the police in their work, even if based on the sole testimony of the policeman concerned. Policemen are exempt from liability if causing financial damage to a person who interfered in their work, and are even entitled to strike such individuals (Sh. Ar, ḤM 8.5., Rema, ad loc.).

[Menachem Elon (2nd ed.)]

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POLIER, SHAD (1906–1976), U.S. Jewish leader and civil rights advocate. Polier was born in Aiken, South Carolina. After graduating from the University of South Carolina with distinction, he continued his studies at the Harvard Law School, graduating in 1929, and got his master's degree in 1931. As a college student he was disturbed by cases of lynching which had taken place in his hometown, and devoted himself from then on to the cause of civil rights. He gained international fame in the famous Scottsboro case, in which eight black youths were sentenced to death on an allegation of rape of two white girls, preparing briefs on behalf of the defendants twice before the High Court. As a result he became active in the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), serving on the Executive Committee of its legal and educational defense fund. In 1948 he brought a personal suit against the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, alleging that its Stuyvesant Town Development in New York was guilty of discriminatory practice in not admitting blacks. The case resulted in fair housing laws in New York. He led the fight that resulted in the first state Fair Education Law that was directed to ending discrimination in the admission of blacks on the basis of race or religion.

In 1945 Polier founded and became chairman of the commission on Law and Social Action of the American Jewish Congress, which conducted legal battles against antisemitism, segregation, racism and other discriminatory laws. In this capacity he fought and won a six-year battle against antisemitic job practices by Aramco, the Arabian-American Oil Company.

Polier occupied prominent positions in the World Jewish Congress, as a member of its Executive and Governing Council and Chairman of its Budget and Finance Commission, and finally as Honorary Chairman of its National Governing Council. He was also a member of the board of the Conference on Jewish Material Claims against Germany and of the Memorial Foundation for Jewish Culture. Polier's wife Justine, daughter of the late Rabbi Stephen *Wise, was for 35 years a judge of the New York Family Court, retiring in 1973.

POLIKER, YEHUDAH (1950–), Israeli rock-ethnic guitarist-singer. Poliker is one of the best-known artists in Israel, but it took him a long time, a lot of hard work, and a musical reincarnation to get to the top. He was born in the northern town of Kiryat Ḥayyim and began playing melodica and accordion as a young child. For a while he divided his leisure time between his musical explorations and goaltending for the local youth soccer team. When he received a guitar for his bar mitzvah the former won out and he soon began spending most of his time out of school honing his guitar skills.

When he was in high school he set up a band called FBI, which included a bass player called Banjo Kimḥi. This was followed by a band called The Phantoms, which broke up in 1968, when Kimḥi joined the army. Poliker enlisted a short while after but failed to win a place in the navy band, despite his advanced instrumental skills, because he could not read music. Poliker's stint in the army was short-lived, and he soon resumed his musical career, forming the Tigers in 1970. This group was a far more professional outfit. It lasted a full five years and, for a while, relocated to Tel Aviv before Poliker returned north to set up Bareket, with Kimḥi back on bass. Bareket mostly played covers but also began to perform some original material, and even released a couple of poorly received singles.

It was in 1980 that Poliker got his first big break when supergroup Brosh recruited him for a show with megastar pop singer Zvika Pik that ran for six months. That spot brought him to the notice of several leading figures of the Israeli music industry, including a producer by the name of Ya'akov Gilad. Gilad soon took a trip up north to see Poliker and his Bareket group for himself and was impressed. Shortly afterwards, Poliker and the band members moved to Tel Aviv, began working on a new album, and changed their name to Benzine. Benzine's debut recording, "24 Hours a Day," was a hit and the group was one of the leading rock bands on the Israeli scene until it disbanded in 1985.

With the passing of Benzine, Poliker took the biggest step in his career when he returned to the ethnic sounds his Greek-born parents had brought with them to Israel. In 1985 he released his first solo album, *Enayim Sheli* ("My Eyes"), which incorporated a mix of Greek songs and rock material. The record was an instant hit and Poliker had found his way to the hearts and ears of a much wider audience. In 1988, Poliker's career took another successful turn when he released *Efer ve-Avak* ("Ashes and Dust"). This was a very emotive album which included several songs with lyrics based on Poliker's parents' Holocaust experiences and Poliker's own feelings as the child of Holocaust survivors and on the hardships of growing up in Israel of the 1950s and 1960s.

Poliker was now a superstar and remained at the top, releasing more big sellers, like *Paḥot Aval Ko'ev* ("Less, But Painful") in 1990 and 1995's *Ha-Yeled Shebekha* ("The Child in You"), which included electronic and computer music.

[Barry Davis (2nd ed.)]

POLISH, DAVID (1910–1995), U.S. Reform rabbi, Zionist leader. Polish (pronounced like the household product, not the country) was born in Cleveland and received a B.A. from the University of Cincinnati in 1931. In 1934, he was ordained at Hebrew Union College, where he earned a D.H.L. in 1942 and was awarded an honorary D.D. in 1959. Already an outspoken Zionist at the time of his ordination, Polish was told by a Reform movement then indifferent (if not hostile) to Zionism that he would not be employed. Nevertheless, he became the rabbi of Congregation of Judah in Cedar Rapids, Iowa (1934–39), where he formed a statewide Zionist organization. After serving as director of the B'nai B'rith Hillel Foundation at Cornell University (1939–42) and rabbi of Temple Israel in Waterbury, Connecticut (1942–47), he assumed the pulpit of Temple Mizpah in Chicago, Illinois, where he introduced *seliḥot services to the congregation, sparking interest in a traditional practice that was soon adopted by other Reform congregations. Polish became influential in the so-called neo-traditional movement, in which Reform Jews recovered many traditions and customs that the movement had earlier discarded; his 1957 book *Guide for Reform Jews* emphasized the importance of *mitzvot* in Reform Jewish observance.

In 1950, the still controversial Polish left Temple Mizpah to form Beth Emet – The Free Synagogue in the Chicago suburb of Evanston, named and modeled after the original Free Synagogue in New York City and conceived in the principle that the pulpit was free, i.e., the rabbi could sermonize about whatever he wanted to without fear of being dictated to by the lay leaders. Polish went on to reorganize the Chicago Rabbinical Association into the Chicago Board of Rabbis, serving as its first president (1958–60) and doing the same for the Chicago Board of Reform Rabbis. He was the first rabbi in Chicago – indeed, one of the first rabbis in the country – to invite Martin Luther King, Jr., to address his congregation: in early 1958, King, then 29, dined at the rabbi's home, spoke on the "Desirability of Being Maladjusted" and then slept at the temple, because he could not find a suitable hotel. In 1965, Polish joined King in his march for peace from Selma to Montgomery, Alabama.

Polish enjoyed the support of his congregants not only for his civil rights activism but also for his energetic advocacy of Zionism. At the urging of Stephen S. *Wise, he served as national chairman of the Committee on Unity for Palestine (1947), as well as president of the Chicago Zionist Federation (1975–76). He furthered the cause of Zionism in the *Central Conference of American Rabbis as a member of the executive board (1945–47; 1967–69; 1973–75), as well as chairman of the CCAR Committee on Projects for Palestine (1948). He also chaired the Committees on Liturgy (1959–61), Rabbinic Training (1967–69), the Future of the Rabbinate and the Synagogue (1969–72), Jewish Organizations (1973–75) and the Rabbi's Manual Committee (1986). He represented the CCAR at the Prime Minister's Conference in Jerusalem in 1968, where he delivered an address in Hebrew, and planned the first CCAR conference in Jerusalem in 1970. Symbolic of the triumph of his many years of lobbying the organization on behalf of Zionism and embracing tradition, he was elected vice president (1969) and then president of the CCAR (1971–73). During his tenure in office, the CCAR became a member of the World Jewish Congress (1972) and embarked on a series of dialogues with the *kibbutz movement in Israel, resulting in the establishment in the *Aravah of kibbutz Yahel (1977) and kibbutz Lotan (1983), both comprising young American *olim* and sabras and affiliated with Reform Judaism. As president, he testified before the U.S. Congress in favor of home rule for the District of Columbia (1972); he was later cited in the Salt II Treaty of 1979. In 1977, Polish was a founder of the Association of Reform Zionists of America and author of ARZA's Statement of Principles.

In 1980, Polish retired from Beth Emet, retaining the title founding rabbi, which he preferred to emeritus. He taught that year at the Los Angeles campus of HUC-JIR and subsequently at Northwestern University, where he was instrumental in establishing the Philip and Ethel *Klutznick Chair of Jewish Civilization in 1986. The senior editorial writer for the Chicago Jewish Sentinel, Polish was the author of nine books, including *Higher Freedom*, which won the Frank and Ethel S. Cohen Award from the Jewish Book Council of America in 1966 as an outstanding work in the field of Jewish thought. His major works are *A Guide for Reform Jews* (with Doppelt, 1957), *The Eternal Dissent* (1961), *The Higher Freedom: A New Turning Point in Jewish History* (1965), *Israel – Nation and People* (1975), *Renew Our Days: The Zionist Issue in Reform Judaism* (1976, based on his 1973 monograph *"Are Reform and Zionism Compatible?"*), (1989), and *Abraham's Gamble: Selected Sermons for Our Times* (1988). He also edited *The Reform Rabbi's Manual* (1988) for the CCAR.

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[Bezalel Gordon (2nd ed.)]

POLISH LITERATURE.

Biblical and Hebraic Influences

Translations of the Bible played an important part in the development of Polish as a literary language. From the early 14th century onward, the Old Testament – particularly the Psalms – provided a major source of poetical inspiration in Polish literature and culture. Some of the best-known of these Polish versions of the Scriptures were the 15th-century Queen Sophia Bible; the 14th-century Floriański Psalter; the Calvinist Brześć (Radziwill) Bible (1562); Szymon Budny's Nieświez Bible (1572); and Fr. Jakub Wujek's classic Catholic Bible (1593–99), which injected the greatest concentration of biblical imagery and expression into the Polish language. Polish Bibles from the 16th century onward were mainly the work of Protestants, who also produced many paraphrases of biblical books such as the Psalms. New translations have been produced in the 20th century, and there have also been a few Polish Jewish versions of Old Testament texts, notably Song of Songs (1922) by Juliusz Feldhorn (1901–1943), who was murdered by the Nazis; and complete Old Testaments by F. Aszkenazy (1927–30) and S. Spitzer (1937). In Polish literature proper, the influence of the Bible may be detected during and after the Renaissance era in works such as *Żywot Józefa z pokolenia żydowskiego* ("The Life of Joseph," 1545), a biblical interlude by Mikolaj Rej, the Calvinist "father of Polish literature" who also published a verse translation of Psalms (1546); and the *Kazania sejmowe* ("Parliamentary Sermons," 1597) of the Jesuit Piotr Skarga. The impact of the Old Testament was most evident in the outstanding Polish poet of the Renaissance, Jan Kochanowski, whose works include *Pieśń o potopie* ("The Song of the Flood," 1558), *Zuzanna* (1562), and *Treny* ("Lamentations," 1580; English selections, 1920). Kochanowski's sensitive and beautiful version of Psalms, *Psałterz Dawidów* (1578), was the finest poetical work of its time and served as a literary model until the 19th-century romantic period. Some later Psalters by his followers and imitators were Maciej Rybiński's *Psalmy monarchy i pro-*

roka św. Dawida ("The Psalms of David, King and Prophet," 1598) and the paraphrase by Mikolaj Sęp-Szarzyński in *Rytmy* (1601). Some Polish writers were also interested in other books of the Bible, which they either translated or used as stylistic models. The staunchly Catholic poet and historian Wespazjan Kochowski celebrated the tenth anniversary of the battle of Vienna (in which King Jan III Sobieski defeated the Turks) with his *Psalmodia polska* ("Polish Psalmody," 1693), written in the form of biblical prose. There were also scores of dramatic works and interludes on biblical subjects belonging to the theatrical repertory of the Polish court from the 16th and 17th centuries onward.

LATER BIBLICAL WRITING. Scriptural phraseology, syntax, and imagery constantly recur in the works of Poland's greatest writers, particularly in the romantic era. Some notable examples are Adam *Mickiewicz's *Księgi narodu polskiego i pielgrzymstwa polskiego* ("The Books of the Polish Nation and Pilgrimage," 1832), Juliusz Slowacki's *Anhelli* (1838), and Zygmunt Krasinski's *Psalmy przyszłości* ("Psalms of the Future," 1845). Cyprian Kamil Norwid ranks next with his *Żydowie Polscy* ("Polish Jews"), which summarizes the history of the Jews from the time of Moses until the era of the struggle of the Poles and Jews ("Maccabees") against their common oppressors. Biblical books such as Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Job; figures such as Cain and Abel, Moses, Samson, Saul, David, Judith, and Daniel; historic sites such as Mount Ararat and Babylon; and even objects such as Samson's pillar or the prophet's staff were, for centuries, the poetical stock-in-trade of many Polish writers. These include Kazimierz Brodziński, Stefan Witwicki, Kornel Ujejski, Maria Konopnicka, Wladislaw Belza, Kazimierz Przerwa-Tetmajer, Stanislaw Wyspiański, Jan Kasprowicz, Leopold Staff, and Jan Dobraczyński. After Poland lost her independence, writers used biblical themes to discuss the present in the guise of an ancient historical setting, this being the only means of presenting the slavery into which the Poles had been forced, without exposing the authors to the wrath of foreign oppressors. Polish poets found in the Bible the moral values required by a people condemned to slavery, contempt, and humiliation. Biblical and other Jewish figures had the same function as those drawn from Greek and Roman mythology in the dramas of Stanislaw Wyspiański (*Daniel*, 1907) and Karol Hubert Rostworowski; *Opowiesci biblijne* ("Biblical Tales," 1963) of Kosidowski had a vast sale even in post-World War II Communist Poland.

The Image of the Jew

Evidence of an unfriendly attitude toward the Jews may be found in Polish literature of the 16th and 17th centuries, as well as in Catholic polemical literature of the Reformation period. This was also the case with epigrams and satires of the so-called bourgeois literature, in the satirical *Worek Judaszów* ("Judas' Sack," 1600) by Sebastian Fabjan Klonowicz, who was mayor of Lublin, and in *Wyprawa żydowska na wojne* ("The Jewish War Expedition," 1606), a comedy by an anonymous author. In writings of this type there are sometimes echoes of anti-Jewish riots, as in *Taniec Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej* ("The Dance of the Polish Republic," 1647), a rhymed chronicle by Gabriel Krasiński which describes part of the student riots at Kazimierz, the Jewish district of Cracow.

FAVORABLE PORTRAYALS. A markedly different attitude governs works about Jews during the period of the so-called Four-Year Sejm (1788–92) and at the beginning of the 19th century, which appealed for tolerance toward the Jews (see *Poland). This also characterized the first Polish social novel about Jews, *Lejbe i Sióra* ("Leib and Sarah," 1821), by Julian Ursyn Niemcewicz. Polish folk poetry also mentions Jewish participation in the Kościuszko revolt, one instance being the song about Berek *Joselewicz, the commander of a squadron of Polish lancers, who died a hero's death near Kock in 1809. The figure of the Jew and the Jewish problem both appear in the works of the great Polish romantic poets (Mickiewicz, Słowacki, and Z. Krasiński) and their imitators. Juliusz Słowacki portrayed the fate of the Jew as a human being – hated, alien, and condemned to shame, contempt, and death – in Judith, a character in his drama *Ksiądz Marek* ("Father Marek," 1843). Proud and conscious of her fate, she seeks revenge on her antisemitic persecutors. The third of the great romantics, Zygmunt Krasiński, symbolized the role of Jewish converts in the revolutionary movements of Europe in his historical drama *Nieboska Komedia* ("The Ungodly Comedy," 1835). The events preceding the outbreak of the November insurrection (1830) and its collapse inspired a rich political and polemical literature dealing with the problem of the Jews. Works of this type were *Au Peuple d'Israël* (1832), a French appeal by the historian Joachim Lelewel, who also wrote the booklet *Sprawa żydowska w roku 1859* ("The Jewish Question in 1859," 1860), defending the Jews against antisemitic attack; and papers by the Jew Ludwik Ozeas Lubliner, author of *Des Juifs en Pologne* (1839), *Obrona Żydów* ("The Defense of the Jews," 1858), and *Do Polaków Izraelitów, w Polsce* ("To Polish Israelites in Poland," 1862). Pro-Jewish works were also written by other romantics, such as Cyprian Norwid, Wladislaw Syrokomla, Mieczyslaw Romanowski, Aleksander Teofil Lenartowicz, and Wlodzimierz Wolski. Their sympathetic references to the Jews were often interwoven with others about Polish suffering under the foreign oppressor. In 1883 the poet Wladislaw Belza published poems of this kind about the Jews in his anthology *Żydzi w poezyi polskiej – głosy poetów o Żydach* ("Jews in Polish Poetry – Voices of the Poets on the Jews," 1906^{2}), a work inspired by the Jewish assimilationist Agudas Achim society. The short-lived rapprochement between Poles and Jews before and after the outbreak of the January Revolution (1861–63) was reflected in poems by some Poles, such as Ludwik Mieroslawski, a nationalist politician and general, and in the verse of Jews like Henryk Merzbach and M. Epstein, who also participated in the uprising; but these were phenomena of minor literary importance.

THE JEWS AS A SOCIAL PHENOMENON. The deep changes in political outlook after the defeat of 1863 and the attitude adopted by literature of the so-called Positivist period toward everyday contemporary themes made Polish poets increasingly aware of the Jews and the Jewish problem, not only from the Polish point of view, but also as a specific, characteristic feature of contemporary society. The role of Jews in science, industry, commerce, and banking was reflected in Polish literature of the period. The radical development of Polish socialism on the one hand, and of Polish nationalism on the other, made the Jew a stock character – artisan, merchant, scholar, politician, journalist, or yeshivah student – and writers portrayed him according to their specific outlook. Polish poets, far from despising the Jews, pitied and defended them in their works. This was especially true of the Warsaw urban poet Wiktor Gomulicki, although such writers tended to overlook the Jewish world discovered by playwrights and prose writers. However, sympathetic insight was evident in the works of Poland's greatest poetess, Maria Konopnicka, who condemned antisemitic outrages in one of her novellas, and in *Żydzi* (1843), a play by Józef Korzeniowski. Much space was also devoted to the Jewish problem by prose writers such as Eliza *Orzeskowa, Klemens *Junosza, Józef Rogosz, and Ignacy Maciejowski (Sewer). Another leading writer, Boleslaw Prus, introduced two Jewish figures in *Lalka* (3 vols., 1887–89), the first important Polish realistic novel. Szlangbaum, a Jewish stereotype, is avaricious, ruthless, self-abasing before the rich, and self-confident with the poor, sacrificing everything for the sake of business; but the second Jew, Dr. Szuman, partly resembles the romantic hero of the novel. In his great historical novel *Faraon* ("The Pharaoh," 3 vols., 1895–96), set in ancient Egypt, Prus also alludes to the Jewish situation in contemporary Poland. In his weekly column in a Warsaw newspaper, Prus displayed a contradictory attitude, either attacking the Jews for their financial skill and resourcefulness or praising them for the same abilities, through which the Jews, unlike Polish Christians, served the interests of society in general. The Jew as a revolutionary social innovator was a figure created by the great radical prose writer Stefan Żeromski. In his novel *Ludzie bezdomni* ("The Homeless," 2 vols., 1900) he depicted the role of a Jewish physician in initiating the fight for reforms in stagnant Polish society. Żeromski's last novel, *Przedwiośnie* ("Early Spring," 1925), aimed against the right-wing Pilsudski regime, assigned a much more important task to the Jews as the co-authors of the Polish Communist movement. In Communism Żeromski saw a force capable of redeeming Poland's disinherited youth.

NEGATIVE PORTRAYALS. A different tendency also made its appearance from the late 19th century, some writers setting out to prove the destructive role of the Jews in the social, political, economic, and cultural life of Poland. Wladislaw Stanislaw Reymont (1867–1925) drew an unfavorable picture of the Jews in his novel *Ziemia obiecana* ("The Promised Land," 1899), where he showed the different cross sections of industrial life in Lodz during the period of czarist occupation. Both Jewish and German capitalists exploit the Polish working classes, which are thus denied the benefits of a native capitalism. Other hostile assessments were presented by Teodor Jeske-Choiński, a mediocre novelist and critic who expressed reactionary, clericalist opinions, and Roman Dmowski, the ideologist of Polish nationalism and a leader of the National Democratic movement, who played a major role in the propagation of antisemitism. Aleksander Świętochowski, once broadminded and progressive, joined the conservative, antisemitic groups of writers, as did the poet Andrzej Niemojewski, who edited *Myśl niepodległa*. In his youth Niemojewski had been a revolutionary democrat, but in his later years he joined the extreme reactionary, nationalist circles frequented by Adolf Nowaczyński (Neuwert), a playwright and pamphleteer of Jewish birth. Many antisemites were active as essayists and literary critics, although scarcely anyone of major importance campaigned against the Jews.

LATER TENDENCIES. After Poland attained independence and national sovereignty in 1918, new forms of social and artistic life came into being. At the same time the whole basis of political thought underwent a change under the impact of the new conflicts in a society liberated from foreign oppression. Polish poetry, which was revitalized during the years 1918–39, also echoed the voice of Polish Jewry. Some poets dedicated works to the Jews, whom they considered to be fellow citizens sharing common ideals determined by the same political program. In two pre-World War II poems, "*Księżyc ulicy Pawiej*" ("The Moon of Pawia Street") and "*Na śmierć rewolucjonisty*" ("On the Death of a Revolutionary"), Wladislaw Broniewski, a communist, sympathetically portrayed the life of the Jewish poor and the struggle of the Jewish revolutionaries who died in the cause of the Polish working classes. In his moving *Ballady i romanse*, written after a pogrom organized by the Nazis, Broniewski expressed his admiration for the Jews, while his "*Pamięci Szmula Zygielbojma*" commemorated Samuel *Zygelbojm who committed suicide in London in order to draw world attention to the destruction of the Jewish people by the Nazis. Artur Oppman (Or-Ot), a Warsaw poet, eulogized a certain Rabbi Jawor who chose to remain within the walls of the embattled Polish capital. Among its citizens he enjoyed "the credit of the ancient sons of Judah, the servants of Jehovah, and of the bards and knights." On the other hand, another outstanding poet, Konstanty Ildefons Galczynski, sometimes described the Jews in a satirical manner in poems such as his "*Sonata księżycowa rodziny Kon*" ("The Moonlight Sonata of the Kon Family"), "*Ballada o Aronku*" ("The Ballad of Little Aaron"), and "*Wilno, ulica Niemecka*" ("Vilna, the German Street"). Wanda Melcer's *Czarny ląd* ("The Black Land," 1896), a series of reportages written after a visit to the Jewish section of Warsaw, stressed the exoticism of Jewish customs, clothing, speech, behavior, and way of life. This account was not written for the sake of cheap sensation, but indicated the many aspects of a social problem.

PROTESTS AGAINST FASCISM. The upsurge of Polish antisemitism immediately before the outbreak of World War II found reflection in the satirical poetry of Antoni *Slonimski, whose *Dwa końce świata* ("Two Ends of the Earth," 1937) attacked racism and Fascism. Many leading Polish writers dealt with issues involving the Jews and fought antisemitic manifestations. They included members of the *Przedmieście* group founded in 1933: Jerzy Kornacki, Helena Boguszewska, Pola Gojawiczyńska, and Halina Górska. Allied with them were other writers and journalists who worked for weeklies such as *Oblicze Dnia, Epoka, Czarno na białym, Sygnały, Poprostu, Lewar*, and *Dziennik Popularny*. Weeklies ranging on the opposing side included *Prosto z mostu* and *Merkurjusz Ordynaryny*. In the battle against Fascism and antisemitism during the years preceding World War II many satirical poets took an active part. Among them were Jewish writers such as Antoni Slonimski, Juljan *Tuwim, Leon Pasternak (1910–1969), Stanislaw Jerzy *Lec, Jan *Brzechwa, Wlodzimierz Slobodnik (1900–1991), Lucian *Szenwald, Jerzy Jurandot, and Jerzy Kamil Weintraub (1916–1943); and non-Jewish writers such as Artur Marya Swinarski, and Eduard Szymański. After the defeat of the Nazi invaders, many Polish writers – Jews and non-Jews – devoted books to the "Final Solution" of the Jewish problem, as put into effect during the German occupation. Events in Poland two decades later, after the Israel-Arab Six-Day War of 1967, were reflected in "Israel" (1968), an outstanding poem by the émigré Polish writer Kazimierz Wierzyński, a member of the old *Skamander* literary group, and Czeslaw Milosz, émigré Polish writer.

The Jewish Contribution

Since Polish Jewry was almost entirely Yiddish-speaking until the early part of the 20th century, Jews who wrote in Polish were at first comparatively few. The pioneer of Jewish literary activity in Polish was the converted essayist Juljan *Klaczko. Two writers who followed his lead later in the 19th century were Wladislaw Ordon (Wladislaw Szancer, 1848–1914), a tragic figure of humble origin whose poems were once highly regarded, and the poet and historian Alkar (Aleksander Kraushar, 1843–1931), who translated works by *Heine. By the beginning of the 20th century, Jews had become more active in Polish literature, their participation being reflected in the symbolic figure of the Jewess Rachel in Stanislaw Wyspiański's drama *Wesele* ("The Wedding" 1901). The Jewish share in Poland's cultural life gained momentum during the first two decades of the 20th century, and particularly after the achievement of national independence following World War I. Those representing this trend include the poets Franciszka Arnsteinowa (1865–1942), Henryk Balk (1901–1941), Mieczysaw Braun, Julia Dickstein-Wielczynska (1880?–1943), Juliusz Feldheim (1901–1943), Zuzanna Ginczanka (1917–1944), Bruno *Jasieński, Cezary Jellenta (Napoleon Hirszband, 1861–1935), Boleslaw *Leśmian, Stefan Napierski (Stefan Marek Eiger, 1899–1949), Artur Prędski (Artur Pfeffer, 1900–1941), S.R. Stande, Jan Stur (Hersz Feingold, 1895–1923), L. Szenwald, and J.K. Weintraub. Among the novelists were Leo Belmont (Leopold Blumenfeld, 1865–1940), Henryk Drzewiecki, Halina Górska, Gustawa Jarecka (1908–1942), Alfred Aleksander Konar (Aleksander Kinderfreund, 1862–1940?), Bruno *Schulz, and Bruno Winawer. The last also wrote plays, as did Jasieński. Three early Jewish literary critics and historians were Samuel *Adalberg, Henryk *Biegeleisen, and Wilhelm *Feldman. Many of these writers died during the Nazi occupation of Poland, and among them also the famous children's writer and educator Janusz *Korczak. Both between the world wars and after 1945, Jews, or men and women of Jewish origin, continued to make an important contribution as poets, playwrights, novelists, short story writers, and literary historians and critics. Some who were active before World War II resumed their careers in Poland after the German defeat. Leading poets in this category were Jan Brzechwa, Mieczyslaw *Jastrun, Stanislaw Jerzy Lec, Tadeusz *Peiper, Tadeusz Różewicz, Antoni *Slonimski, Arnold Slucki, Juljan Tuwim, Aleksander *Wat, Adam Ważyk, Józef *Wittlin, Wiktor Woroszylski, and Stanislaw *Wygodzki. Of these, Slonimski maintained his independence of the Communist Party line on Zionism, while Wygodzki left Poland for Israel after the Six-Day War of 1967. Other poets included Stefania Grodzieńska (1914–), Leon Pasternak, Józef Prutkowski (Józef Nacht, 1915–1981), Wlodimierz Slobodnik, and Irena Tuwim (1900–1987), Juljan Tuwim's sister. Two major playwrights were the émigré satirist Marian *Hemar and the ex-Zionist convert Roman *Brandstaetter; others included Benedykt Hertz and Jerzy Lutowski (1923–1984). Kazimierz *Brandys, Adolf *Rudnicki, and Julian *Stryjkowski were leading novelists, the last specializing in stories of pre-World War I Jewish life; and others included Michal Maksymilian Borwicz (Maksymilian Boruchowicz, 1911–), whose anthology, *Pieśń ujdzie cało* ("The Song Will Prevail," 1947), contained Jewish songs of the occupation era, as well as Irena Krzywicka (1904–1994) and Stanislaw Lem (1921–). Hanna Mortkowicz-Olczakowa (1905–1967), who in 1936 published *W Palestynie: obrazy i zagadnienia* ("In Palestine: Pictures and Problems") on the situation of Palestinian Jewry, later wrote the biographical *Janusz Korczak* (1949; *Mister Doctor*, 1965). Some Jewish authors in other genres were the screenwriter Józef Hen (1923–), the émigré author and actor Henryk Grynberg, the satirist Karol Szpalski (1908–1963), and Krystyna Żywulska (1918–), author of *Przeżyłam Oświęcim* ("I Survived Auschwitz," 1946).

Polish Jews were also prominent as literary historians and critics, and as editors and publishers of important literary reviews which influenced cultural life, notably *Wiadomości Literackie* (edited by M. Grydzewski). Juljusz Kleiner (1866–1957), who wrote many literary monographs and standard textbooks on Polish literature, trained a whole generation of literary critics, including scholars such as Henryk Balk and Henryk Szyper (1900–1949). Some later writers of eminence in this field were Jan Kott (1914–2001), whose works on Shakespeare were translated into many languages; Henryk Markiewicz (1922–), a leading Marxist literary theorist; Maria Renata Mayenowa (1910–1988); Henryk Wolpe (1899–1967); and Wiktor Weintraub (1908–1988), who became professor of

Polish literature at Harvard University, U.S. Other authorities on Polish literary history and criticism included Rafal Marcel Blueth (1891–1939), Emil Breiter (1886–1943), Wilhelm Fallek (1888–1941), Ludwik Fryde (1912–1942), Dawid Jakub Hopensztand (1904–1943), Roman Karst (1911–), Jerzy Pomianowski (1921–), Artur Sandauer (1913–1989), and Henryk Vogler (1911–2005). A number of major writers and critics were also distinguished translators.

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POLITICS.

Introduction

Jewish involvement in national politics in the various countries in which they settled dates from the period of Jewish emancipation at the end of the 18th and the first half of the 19th century. In fact, personalities such as Joseph *Nasi, duke of Naxos, and Solomon *Ashkenazi held powerful positions in Ottoman politics in the late Middle Ages; Jewish ministers held office in medieval Spain; and Jews served as court advisers to various rulers in Holland, Germany, and Sweden. Nevertheless, professing Jews entered representative institutions of modern states only at a much later date. Until the Emancipation, Jews who were eager to hold political office were generally obliged to content themselves with participation in local government (as in Russia) or to convert to Christianity. The political emancipation of the Jews came in the U.S. from the late 18th century and in parts of Western Europe it was effected soon after the outbreak of the French Revolution. Thus, in Holland, Moses *Asser and Jonas Daniel *Meyer were appointed in 1797 to the legislative council and state council and, in Venice, following the overthrow of the oligarchy, the elected municipal council contained three Jewish members. In France and Germany, Jews were still generally excluded from political office but, even after the onset of reaction at the end of the Napoleonic Wars, it was clear that Jewish emancipation could not be long delayed. Soon after the 1848 revolutions in Europe, Jews were permitted to become members of representative institutions in nearly all major European states, outside the Russian Empire.

In English-speaking countries other than Britain and Canada, Jewish entry into political life developed more rapidly than elsewhere. The small Jewish community in the United States enthusiastically supported the revolutionary cause, and in 1775 Francis *Salvador was elected to the South Carolina Provincial Congress, probably the first Jew to be elected to a representative assembly in modern times. The Declaration of Independence, issued the following year, affirmed the principle of equality and Jews were freely admitted into all American legislative bodies from that time onward. No restrictions ever existed on Jewish political activities in Australia and South Africa, and Jewish pioneers in these territories were prominent in public affairs, as mayors of cities, legislators, and, in the case of Sir Julius *Vogel and Vabian *Solomon, as prime ministers. On the other hand, in Canada and Great Britain, where Jews received the right to serve as representatives in parliament in 1832 and 1851, respectively, they had previously been refused this right because they could not swear "on the true faith of a Christian," as the oath required.

Once admitted to parliament, Jews rapidly achieved top government posts in the democracies outside America and rose to ministerial rank in France in the 1850s (Achille *Fould), Holland in the 1860s (Michael *Godefroy), Australia in the 1870s (Sir Julius Vogel), Britain in the 1880s (Henry de *Worms), and Italy at the turn of the 20th century (Luigi *Luzzatti). On the other hand, professing Jews were generally deprived of ministerial status in Germany and Austria, but there was no discrimination against converts, and Franz Klein, Austrian minister of justice, was the only unconverted Jew to become a minister in a Central European national government before 1918. In America, on the other hand, Jews were not victims of discrimination, but neither were they as a rule sufficiently integrated into American society to participate in national politics.

One important reason why Jews did not hold ministerial posts in many states, especially before World War I, was that Jewish politicians were generally numbered among the opposition radical parties of the center and left. This was particularly true of Germany and Austria where, following the upheavals after World War I, a number of Jews who had been prominent in the Socialist parties assumed senior government positions. The same situation proved true of France and Britain, where Socialist administrations brought Jews into cabinets, but conservative governments rarely included any Jewish members. Thus, in France all three Jewish prime ministers professed varying shades of socialism, and in England, of ten professing Jews to become members of British cabinets (up to 1970), only Sir Keith *Joseph was a Conservative. A similar trend was noticeable elsewhere.

A number of reasons have been advanced for the Jewish tendency toward radical parties. One of the most obvious is that liberal and left-wing political groups have generally been far less hostile to underprivileged newcomers (as Jews generally were) than conservative parties. The Right associated itself with the Church, the establishment, and social tradition – three concepts with which Jews had no connection – and was frequently antisemitic, while the radical groups, committed to challenge the establishment and alter tradition, were obviously more attractive to Jewish voters and prospective politicians alike. This reason also explains why Jews found advancement in left-wing parties much easier than in rightist ones (e.g., Ferdinand *Lassalle, Eduard *Bernstein, Leon *Blum, and others). Even in 1970 it was as true as at the beginning of the 20th century, that Jews in Western Europe were found mainly in the Socialist and Liberal parties and in the United States in the Democratic Party.

In pre-revolutionary Russia Jews were officially discriminated against and deprived of the opportunity to air their grievances democratically. Many of them, particularly young intellectuals who did not choose to emigrate overseas or join the Zionist movement, were impelled toward revolution. The Socialist revolutionaries and both Menshevik and Bolshevik factions of the Social Democrats seemed to be the only real alternative to the autocracy of the czars, which openly professed antisemitism. Many middle-class Jews in Russia did vote for the liberal Constitutional Democratic (Kadet) Party, but many more supported political groups that sought not to reform, but to destroy the existing regime. As a result, a significant proportion of the Social Democratic party consisted of the Jewish *Bund, and among the leaders of the general revolutionary parties the number of Jews was also disproportionately high.

Undoubtedly, Socialist doctrine, with its emphasis on equality and the destruction of the ruling classes, had a considerable appeal to Jewish intellectuals fighting against discrimination. This proved true not only in Russia, but in other European countries amid the convulsions at the end of World War I. Jews practically dominated the short-lived Communist regimes in Hungary (Béla Kun) and Bavaria (Kurt *Eisner), and it is reasonable to assume that this fact contributed to their quick downfall, since they lacked support in the general population. They were murdered or forced into exile when the counterrevolutionaries took control. After World War II Jews were again prominent at the head of East European Communist regimes (*Rakosi became the party leader in Hungary, *Minc and *Berman leading members of the Polish Communist regime under Bierut, and a number of Jews held key ministries in Czechoslovakia). This was largely a result of the fact that during the Stalin period Moscow could rely more on Soviet-trained old Communists of the satellite countries, among whom Jews played a prominent part. These Jews, however, did not reflect the general political attitude of the Jewish population in those countries and ultimately, when the Stalinist regimes crumbled there, they mostly disappeared or were openly attacked, frequently with antisemitic allusions (particularly in Poland and Czechoslovakia). In the Soviet Union the number of Jews in the top leadership sharply declined from the great Stalinist purges of the 1930s onward. In contrast to the prominent position of individual Jews in the Communist movement, Jews were never active in other totalitarian regimes and hardly any right-wing dictatorships included Jewish ministers. Clearly, Jews could not be expected to support regimes whose policy was specifically antisemitic, and in other dictatorships not characterized by antisemitism, the authorities were nonetheless reluctant to number Jews in their party in order not to cause offense to antisemitic elements.

An important issue connected with the involvement of Jews in politics is the degree to which Jewish and national interests have clashed. In Germany most leading Jews generally accepted the principle that German national interests were of paramount importance (e.g., Levin *Goldschmidt), and were anxious to prove their loyalty to the state in the face of attacks by antisemites. Furthermore, Jewish politicians, with very few exceptions – mostly Zionists – were assimilationists and had no interest in Jewish affairs. Most Jewish Socialist politicians in Germany as well as Austria rejected Judaism and, either by converting to Christianity or professing atheism, demonstrated their detachment from any Jewish interests. On the other hand, in English-speaking countries, where Jews were less subject to antisemitic pressures and were not required to prove their social integration by assimilation, Jewish politicians were frequently prepared to oppose government policies even in face of accusations of "dual loyalty." In the United States and Great Britain Jewish political leaders repeatedly pressed their governments to take steps to stop antisemitic excesses in Central and Eastern Europe and help Jewish immigration and settlement in Palestine. Later, in the United States, Jews were also in the forefront of demands upon the government to increase its assistance to Israel in the face of Arab threats. In supporting Israel, Jewish politicians in English-speaking countries often clashed openly not only with the government of their country but also with their parties as, e.g., Labor MPs in Britain during the Sinai Campaign (1956) or Jewish supporters of De Gaulle in France after the Six-Day War of 1967. Jewish politicians in South Africa generally accepted Israel's clear stand at the UN against their government's apartheid policy. However, the degree to which Jewish politicians canvassed Jewish issues often tended to reflect the political advantage to be gained by it. Jewish politicians in New York City have an interest in the large Jewish vote; those in most parts of Europe are more conscious of the antisemites. Nevertheless, though Jewish interests have been pressed hard on occasion, Jews rarely organized themselves for solely political purposes and have in most instances denied the existence of a Jewish political interest. In some East European countries, before World War II, many Jews were elected to parliament as Jews, i.e., as representatives of the Jewish community or of Jewish parties, and in such cases there was no question of conflicting loyalties. In Hapsburg Austria-Hungary Jews had the choice of voting for the assimilationist Socialists, many of whose leaders were Jewish, or the Jewish, i.e., Zionist Party, while before and after World War I Jews from different political parties united to defend the Jews from state persecution. Although these groups never had substantial influence in general politics, they played an important part in maintaining the unity of the Jewish communities and providing a forum for airing Jewish grievances.

Australia

No discrimination existed against Jews in Australia and they played an important part in the early development of the Australian colonies. As a result, Jews were identified with Australian political life from the first years of self-government. The first Jew to be elected to an Australian legislative body was Sir Saul *Samuel, who became a member of the New South Wales legislative council in 1854. He was joined by Jacob Montefiore, who was elected in 1856 while the first Jewish members of the Victoria legislative assembly were Nathaniel Levi who was elected in 1860, Charles Dyte who represented Ballarat East from 1864 to 1871 and championed miners rights on the Ballarat goldfields, and J.F. Levien, who was a member of the Victoria parliament for over 30 years. Other prominent figures included Judah Moss *Solomon who represented Adelaide in the South Australian parliament from 1858 to 1874, Edward Cohen (1822–1877) who represented East Melbourne from 1864 until his death, and Ephraim Zox (1837–1897) who succeeded him as member for East Melbourne. Jewish representation in the 19th-century Australian parliament was out of proportion to their total number and in Adelaide where the Jewish population was only 500 there were four Jewish members of the legislative assembly (Judah Moss Solomon, Emanuel Solomon, Vabian Solomon, and Lewis Cohen). Four Jews also held ministerial posts in Australian colonial governments: Sir Saul Samuel was minister of finance and trade, Edward Cohen served as commissioner of customs, Sir Julian *Salomons became vice president of the New South Wales executive council, while Vabian Solomon was premier of South Australia for a short time in 1899.

When the first Australian federal parliament met in Melbourne in 1901 there were three Jewish members, Vabian and Elias Solomon, and Pharez Phillips. However, few Jews were subsequently elected to the Australian federal parliament, prominent exceptions being Senator Sam *Cohen, who was deputy leader of the Australian Labor Party, and Max Falstein. Many Jews played an important part in the various state parliaments, however, particularly in Victoria where several rose to the rank of minister, among them Theodore *Fink, minister without portfolio, Henry Isaac Cohen who held several ministerial appointments, Harold Edward Cohen who was minister of public instruction and solicitor general, and in New South Wales Abram *Landa who was successively minister of labor, housing, and cooperative societies. In addition, Matthew Moss was a minister in the government of Western Australia and Sir Asher Joel was a member of the New South Wales Legislative Council. Two Jews also acquired distinction as speakers of parliaments, Sir Daniel Levy being speaker of the New South Wales parliament and Sir Archie Michaelis (d. 1975) was speaker of the Victorian parliament. Most distinguished of all was Sir Isaac *Isaacs, chief justice of Australia, who was governor-general of Australia from 1931 to 1936, the first Australian-born governor-general and the first Jewish governor-general of any British Dominion territory. In subsequent years, fewer Jews have served in Australia's federal parliament, although four – Peter *Baume, Joe *Berinson, Barry *Cohen, and Sam *Cohen – have served in Australian cabinets since the 1970s. Sir Zelman *Cowen was governor-general of Australia in 1977–82.

[Isidor Solomon]

Austria

Although a few Jews were prominent in Austrian political society in the 17th and 18th centuries as court advisors to Hapsburg monarchs, Jews were not generally allowed to hold political posts until after the reforms which followed the outbreak of the 1848 Revolution. Five Jews were elected to the first revolutionary parliament of that year: Adolph *Fischhof, Joseph Goldmark, Abraham Halpern, Isaac Noah *Mannheimer, and Rabbi Dov Ber *Meisels. The suppression of the revolutionary movement, however, led to the renewal of restrictions on Jews and they were denied the right to hold government or municipal offices. These rights were restored in 1860 when liberal legislation allowed the Jews various civil liberties and two Jews, Ignaz *Kuranda and Simon Winterstein, were elected to the Reichsrat. In the same year Baron Anselm von *Rothschild was made a member of the Austrian upper house. The constitution of 1867 abolished all discrimination on the basis of religion, and for over half a century Jews suffered no legal restrictions on their entry into public life though anti-Jewish prejudice frequently acted as an equally effective bar. Except for Franz Klein who was twice minister of justice, no professing Jews held ministerial posts in the Hapsburg Empire until October 1918. In the half century between the promulgation of the constitution of 1867 and the collapse of the Hapsburg Empire, a number of Jews became prominent figures in Austrian politics. They included successful industrialists and bankers such as Simon Winterstein, Baron Anselm von Rothschild, Moritz von *Koenigswarter, and Rudolph *Auspitz. Most Jews were members of the German Liberal Party but toward the end of the century many turned to the new Social Democratic Party under Victor *Adler which acquired wide support among the Jews of Austria and rapidly became the target of antisemitic attacks. Among the leaders of the party were Wilhelm *Ellenbogen, Friedrich Austerlitz, and Otto *Bauer, all of whom pledged their sole allegiance to the Socialist cause, supported Jewish assimilation, and opposed all forms of Jewish nationalism, believing that this was an effective way of combating growing antisemitism. By contrast, Rabbi Joseph Samuel *Bloch formed the Union Oesterreichischer Juden to defend Austrian Jewry against the antisemites and on the two occasions he was elected to the Reichsrat fought strenuously against anti-Jewish discrimination. Following the granting of universal suffrage at the end of 1906 four Jews were elected to parliament as members of the newly formed Jewish National Party (*Volkspartei, Juedische) which advocated an independent Jewish policy and was pro-Zionist. Its members were Heinrich Gabel, Arthur Mahler, and Adolf Stand, all from Galicia, and Benno Straucher from Bukovina. During World War I many Jewish Socialists opposed the war and for most of the war were an ineffective minority, but the pro-Western liberal politician Joseph *Redlich became increasingly more important and was briefly minister of finance at the end of the war. With the creation of the Austrian Republic in November 1918, a Socialist government took office with the Socialist leader Otto Bauer as foreign minister. Bauer and Friedrich *Adler were among the party leaders to combat the threat of a Communist revolution which became a serious possibility as long as the short-lived Bolshevik regime of Béla Kun held power in Hungary. But though the Socialists retained their respectability as an anti-Communist party, the fact that a large number of their leaders were of Jewish origin, among whom were Julius *Braunthal, Robert Danneberg, and Hugo *Breitner, was a continual source of embarrassment to the party. Many Vienna Jews voted for the Socialist Party but many also supported the Zionist candidates of whom Robert *Stricker was elected to the Austrian National Assembly and three others were elected to the Vienna city council. The Zionist candidates were not subsequently successful, however, largely because the Jewish refugees from the eastern part of the old Hapsburg Empire, who were the least assimilated and the most pro-Zionist, were denied the right to vote at all. However, toward the end of the 1920s the Zionist parties gained strength in the Jewish communal elections while the Jewish Socialists declined in importance in both communal and national politics following the resurgence of the nationalist and later fascist parties. When Chancellor *Dollfuss assumed rule by executive decree, Jewish Socialist leaders like Braunthal and Breitner were among those temporarily imprisoned as part of the policy of destruction of the Social Democratic Party, but for a time Jews were allowed to become members of the Vaterlaendische Front. However, following the *Anschluss* with Germany in March 1938 Austrian Jews were deprived of all their political and civil rights and many fled the country to avoid arrest, among them Otto Bauer, Friedrich Adler, and Hugo Breitner. After World War II few Jews were active in politics in Austria, a notable exception being Bruno *Kreisky who became successively foreign minister, chairman of the Social Democratic Party, and in 1970, chancellor of the Austrian Republic, remaining in office until 1983.

Canada

Prior to the British conquest in 1759, Canada was a French colony. Only Roman Catholics were legally allowed to settle in the colony. Protestants and Jews were excluded. But when France ceded Canada to Great Britain at the Treaty of Paris in 1763, the common law of England became the law of the new British colony. Nevertheless, as a Jew Ezekiel Hart, first elected to the Legislative Assembly of Canada in 1808, was prevented from taking his seat and again in 1809. The Jews of Montreal petitioned the Legislature of Lower Canada for the recognition of a Jewish religious corporation. A "Jewish Magna Carta" of 1831–32 was passed in which it was declared that Jews were to be "entitled to the full rights and privileges of other subjects of His Majesty … and capable of taking, having, or enjoying any office or place of trust within this Province." Nevertheless, long before the passage of the 1832 Bill of Rights, a tradition of public service among the early Jews of Canada had already existed – as early as Aaron Hart, who was postmaster in Three Rivers in 1763, and in 1790 John Frank, chief of the fire brigade of Quebec.

The theoretical question of whether Jews possessed equal rights had long before been resolved by parliament in England where almost a full century earlier rights had been accorded Jews in 1740. In 1832 Jews in the British colonies of North America were granted naturalization although in Canada the problem was at first complicated by the absence of an oath-taking procedure appropriate to Jews. And even later, after the Law of 1832, it took Royal intervention to smooth the way. Thereafter, however, Jews could stand for and hold political office without any of the former impediments.

As early as 1871, Henry Nathan from Victoria, British Columbia, was elected a member of parliament in Ottawa. Almost a half-century would pass before another Jew, Samuel Jacobs from Montreal in 1917, was sent to Ottawa as an elected member of parliament. After World War I, Peter Bercovitch, Maurice Hartt and A.A. Heaps were elected in the House of Commons. During and after World War II, the numbers of Jewish members of parliament increased significantly, especially during the 1960s. Jews were elected for most parties, including Fred *Rose, the only Communist ever elected to the House. David *Lewis of the New Democratic Party was the only Jew chosen to lead a federal party. In 1969, Pierre Elliott Trudeau appointed the first Jew to a federal cabinet minister, Herbert *Gray, as minister without portfolio. Since that day, a government without a Jew in a cabinet post has become the exception rather than the rule. In 2005 two Jews were members of the federal cabinet, Justice Minister and Attorney General Irwin *Cotler, and Jacques Saada, who was the minister of the Economic Development Agency of Canada for the Regions of Quebec and minister responsible for the Francaphonie.

Jews have also been prominent in provincial politics. They have led major political parties in Ontario, Manitoba, and British Columbia. Dave *Barrett, leader of the New Democratic Party in British Columbia, went on to become the first Jewish provincial premier, serving between 1972 and 1975. There have also been many Jewish elected mayors of towns and cities across Canada, particularly in the smaller towns of Ontario, and in the West. The first Jewish mayor elected in the Province of Quebec was William Hyman of Gaspé in 1858. Vancouver elected a Jewish mayor, David Oppenheimer, in December 1887. He was a crucial figure in the creation of the services necessary for the city. In Toronto Nathan *Phillips, elected in 1952, was the first non-Protestant ever elected mayor of Toronto. His election was a major step in the transformation of Toronto from a solid and stolid outpost of British and conservative values to a modern pluralist metropolis. Philips served for eight years. Since then, Philip *Givens and Mel *Lastman have also served as mayors of Toronto. In 1955 Leonard Kitz was elected mayor of Halifax. In 2004, Stephen Mandel was elected mayor of Edmonton and Sam Katz mayor of Winnipeg.

The widening acceptance of Jews in civil society in the first decades after World War II encouraged politicians to appoint Jews to ranking public service positions. Prime among them was Louis *Rasminsky who, after some disappointments, was named the governor of the Bank of Canada in 1961; little more than a decade later, with Bora *Laskin pointed chief justice of the Supreme Court of Canada in 1973, the fact of Jews being appointed in the upper reaches of the public service was becoming so accepted that it hardly merited comment. This included the appointment of Jews to major diplomatic posts. Canadian Jews have, for example, served as ambassadors to the United States, Germany, Turkey, the United Nations, and to Israel and the Palestinian Authority.

As in other arenas of Canadian public life, such as the judiciary and the press, Jews have achieved a presence in Canadian politics and what was exceptional before World War II became increasingly commonplace by the late 1960s. In the early 21st century Jews were politically active in the Canadian public square from one ocean to the other and at all levels of government.

[Stuart E. Rosenberg / Richard Menkis and Harold Troper (2nd ed.)]

England

After the resettlement of the Jews in England in 1656, they enjoyed social freedom, but did not achieve full political emancipation until 1858. For a century and a half their exclusion from national and local government was shared by nonconformists and Roman Catholics, although these minorities were emancipated in 1818 and 1819, respectively. The insistence of the House of Lords on retaining the words "on the true faith of a Christian" in the parliamentary oath prevented Jews from sitting in parliament for almost 30 more years. Thus, before 1858 only converts or the descendants of converts were able to enter parliament or hold any state or municipal post. Nevertheless, the very fact that such men were permitted to sit in parliament testified to the fact that the bar was purely religious and not racial. Benjamin *Disraeli, for example, who was an active supporter of Jewish emancipation, was regarded as a Jew by many of his contemporaries and was the victim of social discrimination but not of any legal bars. In 1845 the Jewish Disabilities Removal Act allowed Jews to hold office in municipal government and two years later David *Salomons became an alderman of the City of London. In the same year Lionel de *Rothschild became the first Jew to be elected to parliament but was not allowed to take his seat. In 1851 Sir David Salomons was elected to parliament but was forcibly removed from the Commons Chamber after he had voted three times and even made a speech to explain his position. Eventually, a bill was passed in 1858 allowing each House to fix its own oath to be administered to a Jew; Lionel de Rothschild became the first Jewish member (but, incidentally, never made a speech). Lionel de Rothschild was one of eight Jewish MPs in the Liberal Party during the 19th century; the others were Sir David Salomons, Sir Francis Goldsmid, Sir Frederick Goldsmid, Sir Julian *Goldsmid (who sat for 30 years and became speaker of the House of Commons), Sir John *Simon, Sir George *Jessel, who, as solicitor general in 1871, became the first Jewish minister in a British government, and Arthur *Cohen. The first Jewish Conservative member was Saul Isaac, elected in 1874, who was followed by Lionel Louis *Cohen and Henry de *Worms, who as Lord Pirbright was made parliamentary secretary to the board of trade and undersecretary of state for the colonies. Jews at first found the road to political advancement easier in the more progressive Liberal Party, but after Disraeli became prime minister, the Conservatives became the party of reform. Nevertheless, most Jewish politicians were to be found in the ranks of the Liberal Party, among them Herbert *Samuel who became Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, postmaster general, home secretary, and the first Jewish cabinet minister in Britain. Others included Rufus Isaacs, Lord *Reading, who was Lord Chief Justice of England and later viceroy of India, and Edwin *Montagu who was Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, minister of munitions, and secretary of state for India. The decline of the Liberal Party in the 1920s led many Jews to switch their allegiance to the growing Labor Party and a number of Jews sat in parliament, first in the Liberal cause and later as Labor members. Among them were Harry *Nathan, who was minister of civil aviation in the Labor government after World War II, George Spero, and Barnett *Janner. Few Jews held important positions in the national governments of the 1930s, though a prominent exception was Leslie *Hore-Belisha, who was minister of war from 1937 to 1940. In the general election immediately after World War II the number of Jewish Labor members of parliament rose from 4 to 26. Considerable influence was also wielded by Harold *Laski who was chairman of the Labor Party. Jewish MPs from other parties were virtually eliminated, a notable exception being Phil Piratin (1907–1995), the only Jewish Communist in parliament in Britain. Jewish liberals were gradually eliminated by the failure of the party at elections while Jewish Conservative candidates tended to be passed over by the constituency associations, though Henry d'Avigdor *Goldsmid sat for many years in the Conservative interest and Sir Keith *Joseph became the first Jewish Conservative cabinet minister. Lord Reading had served in 1931 as foreign secretary in a national government and Leslie Hore-Belisha as a National Liberal in Conservative-dominated conditions. Several Jews became cabinet ministers in the Labor governments of 1945–51 and 1964–70. In the former Labor government under Clement *Attlee, Lewis *Silkin was minister of town and country planning; Emanuel *Shinwell was minister of fuel and power and secretary of state for war; Harry Nathan was minister of civil aviation; and George *Strauss was minister of supply. In the Labor government of 1964–70 there were more than 30 Jewish Labor MPs and Jewish ministers included John *Diamond and Harold *Lever, who held senior posts at the Treasury, and John *Silkin), who was minister of public building and works. In addition, several Jewish members who never held ministerial posts had considerable influence on Labor policy, in particular Sydney *Silverman and Ian Mikardo (1908–1993). Nevertheless, Jews played little part as Jews in the formation of government policy and there was never a "Jewish vote" even on the Palestine question during the last days of the British Mandate. A few Jewish women played a part in Jewish parliamentary life. Marion Phillips (1881–1932) was the first Jewish woman member, while Barbara Ayrton Gould (c. 1890–1950) was chairman of the Labor Party (1939–40). Two Jewish women were returned to parliament in 1970, Renée Short (1919–) for the Labor Party and Sally Oppenheim (1930–) for the Conservatives. Four women were among the first ten Jews to be made life peers: Dora Gaitskell (1909–1989), Beatrice Serota (1919–2002), Alma Birk (1917–1996), and Beatrice Plummer (1903–1972). The government of Margaret *Thatcher brought about a reversal of the traditional affiliation of most active Anglo-Jewish politicians with the Left. From her accession in 1979 there were now many more Jewish Conservative MPs than Laborites, with five Jews being members of her cabinet in the 1980s, among them the chancellor of the exchequer and the home secretary. Under her successor John Major, Sir Malcolm Rifkind served as foreign secretary. The Jewish presence in the Labor government of Tony Blair, which took office in 1997, has been much less marked. Michael *Howard became leader of the Conservative Party in 2003, stepping down at the end of 2005 after the Conservative election defeat.

Ireland

Robert *Briscoe, who represented the Fianna Fail Party, was the only Jewish member of the Irish parliament from 1927. On his retirement in 1965 he was succeeded by his son, Benjamin.

[Vivian David Lipman]

France

Before the French Revolution of 1789 Jews had neither civil nor political rights and very few took part in French public affairs. They were granted civil rights in 1791 and from then onward no formal bars remained before their advancement in politics, though for many years they were not active in public affairs largely because of the exclusiveness of French society. One of the first Jews in politics in France was Benjamin David (1796–1879), who was elected deputy for the department of Deux-Sèvres in 1834 and became mayor of his native city of Niort in 1846. The first Jewish minister was the banker Michel *Goudchaux who led the opposition to King Louis Phillipe's economic policy and himself became minister of finance in 1848, shortly before the revolution of that year. The famous advocate, Isaac *Crémieux, was another prominent opponent of the regime who participated in the revolution and was briefly minister of justice. After the revolution Achille *Fould served as minister of finance until 1852 when he became a senator and then minister of state, the first Jew in France to hold these positions. His three sons, Ernest Adolphe, Edouard Mathurin, and Gustave Eugène, and his grandson Achille Charles (see *Fould family) were subsequently elected to the chamber of deputies. During the Franco-Prussian War of 1870 two Jews came to the fore. Camille *Sée became secretary general of the Ministry of Interior in the government of National Defense and Leo *Frankel, a Hungarian émigré, was minister of labor in the Paris Commune. Subsequently, Jewish politicians tended to support socialist or radical parties largely because the royalist and clerical groups tended to be antisemitic. Thus Camille Sée was a member of the Republican Party as was David *Raynal, who was minister of public works in Gambetta's ministry in 1881 and later minister of the interior. Nevertheless, Jews were not particularly prominent in French politics at the end of the 19th century and the antisemitic attacks during the *Dreyfus case were directed more against Jews in the professions generally than against Jews in public affairs. Following the turn of the century, however, an increasing number of Jews served in Clemenceau's war cabinet from 1917 to 1919: Georges *Mandel, who was *chef de cabinet*, Edouard Ignace (1864–1924), and Louis *Klotz, the latter serving as minister of finance. After the war Klotz was raised to the senate, Abraham *Schrameck, formerly governor of Madagascar, became minister of the interior and minister of justice, and Maurice Bokanowsky was minister of commerce and industry from 1926 to 1927. Thereafter, however, most Jewish politicians tended to represent socialist parties, a notable exception being Mandel who served in several non-socialist cabinets before the outbreak of World War II and was minister of the interior until the fall of France. Salomon *Grumbach was a member of the Socialist Party central committee, Leon *Meyer was a Socialist minister of mercantile marine, and in 1936 Léon Blum became prime minister of France, the first Jew and the first Socialist to hold this post. Blum's cabinet included Jules *Moch as minister of public works and Jean Zay as minister of education. Blum was briefly prime minister of France after World War II as were the Radical Socialist René *Mayer and the Radical leader Pierre *Mendès France. France was thereby the only European state in which three Jews held the post of prime minister, each representing a different shade of socialist policy. In addition, Moch, René Mayer, and the Socialist Party leader Daniel Mayer all held posts in postwar French coalition cabinets until the end of the Fourth Republic in 1958 and the return to power of General de Gaulle. Few Jews held positions of influence during De Gaulle's term of presidency from 1958 to 1969 but following the election of Georges Pompidou as president in June 1969 two Jews were appointed to ministerial posts, Maurice *Schumann, as minister of foreign affairs, and Leo *Hamon as secretary of state to the prime minister. In subsequent years Simone *Veil became the most prominent Jew in French politics, serving in numerous cabinets and becoming president of the European Parliament in 1979.

The main Jewish organizations continued to follow the old tradition of not giving any directions on how to vote. Constituting about 1 percent of the French electorate, they could only play an important role in specific localities such as Paris and Marseilles. On the basis of analyses of voting behavior, it is known that the Jewish vote is spread among all parties, while Jews are active within the machinery of every party.

Germany

Although individual Jews acted as *Hoffaktoren* and *Hofjuden* (*Court Jews) to monarchs in a number of German states during the 17th and 18th centuries, acting both as advisers and financial agents, Jews played no part in German national politics until the middle of the 19th century, and almost no part in government until the 20th. Jews who converted to Christianity, however, enjoyed full political rights and rose to high office. Thus, Friedrich Julius *Stahl became leader of the reactionary Conservative Party and a firm opponent of political emancipation for his former coreligionists. Other converted Jews who rose to high office included Martin Eduard von *Simson, president of the Reichstag, Heinrich von Friedberg (1813–1895), Prussian minister of justice, and Karl Rudolf Friedenthal (1827–1890), Prussian minister of agriculture under the Empire. The first professing Jew to hold a public position in Germany was David *Friedlaender who was elected to the Berlin municipal council in 1809. Not until the 1840s, however, did the Jews gain electoral rights, including the right to vote for the German National Assembly and to be elected to the Assembly or to state parliaments. Jews participated in the liberal revolution in 1848, and among the Jewish representatives to the National Assembly held in Frankfurt after the revolution were Moritz *Veit and Gabriel *Riesser, who was vice president of the Assembly. Both were staunch champions of Jewish emancipation as were Fischel *Arnheim, the only Jewish member of the Bavarian Diet and Johann *Jacoby, an early leader of the liberal movement. The German states finally removed all political restrictions from the Jews during the 1860s and after the unification of Germany (1871) they were granted legal equality in most spheres. Nevertheless, they were still effectively excluded from holding government office and with the exception of Moritz *Ellstaetter, minister of finance in Baden from 1888 to 1893, no unbaptized Jew held ministerial office. On the other hand, Jews were very active in political life, being among the leaders of the progressive political parties. They were particularly well represented among the liberals, whom the Jews tended to favor. Thus Eduard *Lasker was one of the founders of the National Liberal Party and was influential in framing the social legislation of his regime while his colleague Ludwig *Bamberger helped organize the state finances. Other Jewish politicians included Max Hirsch, the trade unionist and advocate of popular education, Leopold *Sonnemann, a leader of the Democratic Party, Ludwig *Loewe, a founder of the Progressive Party in North Germany, and Wolf *Frankenburger, leader of the Liberal Party in Bavaria.

Toward the end of the 19th century Jewish politicians became increasingly prominent in left-wing parties. At the same time the political allegiance of German Jewry was itself undergoing a process of radicalization, moving from moderate to progressive liberalism, and eventually to Socialism, with the upper strata of Jewish society retaining a traditional allegiance to liberalism. Thus Jews were very prominent in the leadership of the Socialist Party though they formed but a fraction of the electorate. The party itself was founded by Ferdinand *Lassalle who adopted the ideology of Karl *Marx and formed the General German Workers Association (ADAV) which was the forerunner of the German Social Democratic Party. The Social Democratic Party was later much influenced by Eduard *Bernstein, who called for a fundamental revision of Marxist doctrine arguing that the party should work for social reform rather than revolution, and by Rosa *Luxemburg, who advocated workers' control by revolution and led the abortive Communist rising at the end of 1918. After the outbreak of World War I the German Social Democratic Party split into two factions, the majority supporting the war while the minority opposing the war included a number of Jews, among them, Hugo *Haase, president of the German Social Democratic Party in the Reichstag, Bernstein, and Luxemburg.

The prominence of Jewish left-wing intellectuals in German political life was successfully exploited by the antisemites and right-wing parties and revolutionary socialism became identified with Jewry especially since the Soviet and Hungarian revolutions after World War I were led by Jews. In Germany, too, Jews rose to high office in the revolutionary ferment that followed the collapse of the German Empire at the end of 1918. Paul Hirsch (1868–1938) was briefly prime minister of Prussia, Kurt *Eisner headed the revolutionary government of Bavaria and Hugo Haase and Otto *Landsberg were two of the six people's commissars in the first postwar government. In addition Paul *Levi succeeded Rosa Luxemburg as head of the Communist Party and the Communists included many Jewish members, among them Ruth *Fischer and Gerhart *Eisler. During this period of the Weimar Republic there were no restrictions on Jews holding political posts and four Jews held high ministerial office. Hugo *Preuss, one of the drafters of the Weimar Constitution, became minister of the interior, Otto Landsberg was minister of justice, Walther *Rathenau was foreign minister, and Rudolf *Hilferding minister of finance. The Nazis deliberately overstated the importance of Jews in German politics, however, and condemned the Weimar Republic as being the hated *Judenrepublik* dominated by Jews.

Soon after the Nazis came to power in 1933 all political parties were banned except the Nazi Party from which Jews were excluded. Jewish politicians were either arrested or forced to leave the country. After World War II a small number of Jews took part in German political life, among them Herbert *Weichmann who was president of the Bundesrat and Joseph Neuberger (1902–1977) who was minister of justice in North-Rhine-Westphalia. In East Germany the only figure of importance was Gerhart Eisler, who was for a time minister of information. Though for many years not a single professing Jew has been a member of the Bundestag, at the beginning of the 21st century there were a few well-known younger Jews active in political life, such as Michel Friedman for the Christian Democrats and Prof. Micha Brumlik for the Greens. Together with the late Ignatz *Bubis, a leading member of the Free Democrats, these most visible Jewish politicians all came from Frankfurt.

Holland

The first Jewish politicians in Holland represented William III of Orange in international diplomatic negotiations. Thus Samuel Palecke was made representative of the king of Morocco in Holland, Isaac *Belmonte was agent-general of the king of Spain to the Netherlands, and several Jews were involved in his negotiations to secure the British crown. Jews were not active in Dutch internal Politics, however, until after their emancipation in 1795, following the conquest by France and the formation of the Batavian republic. In 1798 Jews were given the right to vote and be elected to state offices and two Jews, H.L. Bromet and H. de H. Lemon, were elected to the national assembly, being the first Jewish parliamentarians ever. Subsequently, two Jewish lawyers held high government posts, Moses Salomon *Asser who became a member of the legislative council and Jonas Daniel *Meyer who was appointed to the state council during the reign of Louis Napoleon. In the first half of the 19th century Jews were represented in the city councils of Amsterdam, The Hague, and Rotterdam, but they did not enter provincial and national politics again. These local Jewish politicians were seen as the representatives of their communities. After 1848, when the Netherlands became a constitutional monarchy, Jews entered the provincial and national political scenes as well. One of them, Michael *Godefroi, became minister of justice and Samuel *Sarphati became a leading campaigner for social reform. In the 19th century Jewish politicians were foremost active within the liberal parties and from the end of the century on in the socialist parties as well. Jews elected to the second chamber of parliament included Abraham Hartogh (1844–1901), Samuel van den *Bergh, Abraham *Wertheim and Joseph *Limburg (1866–1940), all of whom were members of the Liberal Party. In the 20th century two Jewish women were prominent in Dutch politics: Aletta *Jacobs (1854–1929) and Betsy *Bakker-Nort (1874–1946), both of whom championed the rights of women. Several Jewish socialists sat in Parliament, among them A.B. *Kleerekoper, Henri *Polak, Ben Sajet, and the Communist Party chairman, David *Wijnkoop. However, only two Jews were appointed to ministerial posts before World War II besides Godefroi: Eduard van *Raalte, minister of justice at the beginning of the 20th century and Salomon Rodrigues de *Miranda who was socialist minister of housing in the 1930s. After World War II two more Jewish ministers of justice held office, Ivo *Samkalden being appointed in 1956 and 1965 and Carel *Polak taking office in 1967. Other prominent Jewish politicians included the ministers Sidney van den *Bergh (1959), Aaron Pais (1977–981), Ed van Thijn (1981–82, 1994), and Hedy d'Ancona (1989–94). Within the Second Chamber the leader of the Socialist Party, Jacques Wallage, was prominent as well as the liberal chairman of the Second Chamber, Frans Weisglas. In the post-World War II period Amsterdam had no fewer than four Jewish mayors: Ivo Samkalden (1967–77), Wim Polak (1977–83), Ed van Thijn (1983–94), and Job Cohen (from 2001).

[Bart Wallet (2nd ed.)]

Italy

In 1778 Jews were given the right to become members of municipal councils in Tuscany and this right was extended to other parts of Italy at the end of the century following the French invasion of Italy under Napoleon. Thus in 1796 the venerable oligarchic government of Venice was overthrown and a new municipality was elected that included three Jews: Moses *Luzzatto, Vita Vivante, and Isaac Grego. After the defeat of Napoleon at the hands of the Holy Alliance, Jews were deprived of their newly acquired civic equality and as a result actively supported the secret revolutionary forces, such as the *Carbonari* and Young Italy movements. In this respect Italy was the only 19th-century European state in which substantial elements of the Jewish population took up a political cause.

Following the outbreak of the 1848 Revolution, Jewish rights were restored in most parts of Italy and two Jews became ministers in the Venetian Republic, headed by the half-Jew Daniel Mantin: Leone Pincherle, minister of agriculture and commerce, and Isaac Maurogonato (1817–1892), minister of finance. In 1855 Isaac *Artom became private secretary to the Piedmontese prime minister Count Cavour and in the following year Sansone d'*Ancona became director of finance and public works in the government of Tuscany. When the reunification of Italy was completed in 1870, a number of Jews were members of the Italian parliament and by 1894 their numbers had increased to 15, representing a wide variety of political views. The number of Jewish deputies and senators never became large in proportion to the size of the Italian parliament but a number of Jews held important posts at the turn of the century. Luigi *Luzzatti served as minister of finance on several occasions and later became prime minister, the first Jew in modern times to achieve this distinction; Leone *Wollemborg was minister of finance for a short period in 1901, Guiseppe *Ottolenghi was minister of war from 1902 to 1903, and Ernesto *Nathan became mayor of Rome. The rise of Fascism after World War I virtually brought to an end Jewish involvement in Italian politics. Many Jews did support Mussolini at first but with the exceptions of Guido Jung, minister of finance (1932–35), and Aldo Finzi, who was assistant minister of the interior, none held important posts in his party or government and Jewish politicians of the left such as the socialist leaders Guiseppe Modigliani and Claudio *Treves (1869–1944) and the Communist Umberto *Terracini were systematically persecuted or forced into exile. When the Fascists became antisemitic in the late 1930s Jews were expelled from the Fascist Party, by then the only legal political party in Italy, and effectively excluded from all political activity. Political rights were restored to the Jews after World War II but only Terracini, who became a leading Communist figure in the Italian senate, played a significant part in Italian politics in the early postwar period. In later years, two Italian Jews were elected to parliament: Bruno Zevi on the Radical ticket in 1987 and Enrico Modigliani, a Republican, in 1992. In 1992, Oscar Luigi Scalfaro was elected president of the Italian Republic only two months after having been named the first president of the newly formed Italy-Israel Parliamentary Friendship Association.

Muslim States

TURKEY. Jews played an important part in Turkish politics in the 16th century, a few Jews acting as ministers and financial advisers, among them Joseph *Nasi, Duke of Naxos, Solomon *Ashkenazi, and Esther *Kiera. The decline in the status of Turkish Jewry from the beginning of the 17th century led to the exclusion of Jews from public affairs, and civil rights were not granted to Turkish Jews until the middle of the 19th century. Exceptional were the *Picciotto family of merchants, five of whom, Hillel, Raphael, Ezra, Elijah, and Moses ben Ezra, were consuls for European powers in Aleppo. In 1876, Daniel *Carmona became the first Jew to serve in the Turkish Parliament and in 1899 Behor *Ashkenazi became the representative of Turkish Jewry in the Ottoman Parliament, later becoming vice prefect of Istanbul and a member of the senate. A few Jews joined the Young Turk movement at the beginning of the century, among them Haim *Nahoum who was appointed chief rabbi of Egypt when the Young Turks came to power. After World War II Solomon Adato was the sole representative of Turkish Jewry in Parliament and after his death in 1953 he was succeeded by Henry Soviano.

EGYPT. Jews took little part in Egyptian affairs during the centuries that Egypt was under Turkish rule. One of the first Jews active in Egyptian politics in modern times was Joseph Aslan *Cattaui who worked with Sir Ernest *Cassel on engineering projects and was made pasha in 1912 and a member of the legislative assembly. He was appointed minister of finance and transport and later became a member of the senate. Other prominent Jews in Egyptian politics who were elected to the senate were Joseph *Picciotto, a leader of the Egyptian Zionist movement, and Cattaui's elder son, Cattaui Bey. Following full Egyptian independence after World War II, Jews were made to suffer for the government's anti-Zionist policy and no Jews held positions in the government or parliament.

IRAQ. Few Jews were prominent in politics in Iraq either during Turkish rule or after independence but a few were elected to the Iraqi parliament where at one time seats were specifically reserved for candidates elected by the Jewish community. The first Jewish representative from Iraq in the Turkish parliament was Menahem ben Salaḥ *Daniel who was appointed in 1876. Sir Ezekiel *Sassoon was the first Iraqi delegate to the Turkish Parliament after the Young Turk revolution and from 1920 to 1925 was Iraqi minister of finance during the British protectorate.

Following Iraqi independence in 1924, three Jews were elected to the Iraqi lower house and Menahem ben Salaḥ Daniel, at the age of nearly 80, was appointed to the senate. On his retirement in 1935 he was succeeded by his son Ezra. The number of Jews representing Iraqi Jewry was raised to six and many prominent Jewish businessmen were active in politics. The anti-Zionist campaign after World War II led to a change in government policy toward Iraqi Jewry. The right of separate Jewish representation in parliament was abolished and Jews were deprived of civil rights. Following the death of Ezra Daniel in 1952 no Jews sat in the Iraqi parliament.

MOROCCO. Jews were prominent in Moroccan state affairs during the reign of the Marinids (1269–1465). Two members of the Roggasa (or Waqqasa) family were influential ministers and toward the end of the dynasty *Aaron ben Batash was prime minister. In the 17th century Abraham Maimaran and Moses *Atar were ministers and advisors to King Mulay Ishmael. In the 18th century Samuel *Sumbal was advisor to the sultan on foreign affairs and his son Joseph Ḥayyim was Moroccan ambassador to London. Several members of the *Corcos family were advisors on financial and foreign affairs to five successive sultans during the 19th century, and Meir Macnin was ambassador to London. However, wealthy Jews no longer held a prominent place in state affairs during the period of the French Protectorate (1912–56). Following Moroccan independence in March 1956, Leon *Benzaquen was made minister of posts and David Benazeraf became a member of the advisory council. Growing Muslim nationalism acted as a brake on Jewish political activity from July 1957 to 1961 but after the accession of King Hassan II Jews once again held representative posts, David Amar as a senator and Meyer Obadia and Jacob Banon as members of the National Assembly.

TUNISIA. Although Jews held powerful economic and political positions in Tunisia in the Middle Ages, Jews were deprived of all their rights in the 16th century. Nevertheless, members of the Cohen-Tanudji family were advisors on foreign affairs to the bey and in the 19th century Abraham Belaish and Nessim *Samama were finance ministers. Several members of the *Valensi family were statesmen and one was Tunisian minister of war. In the 20th century Jews tended to support the French administration and many fought in the French army in World War I. Later many Jews joined the Zionist movement and some were active in the nationalist Destour Party, among them Albert *Bessis who was made minister of public works in the Tunisian cabinet upon independence and André Barrouch who was appointed to the cabinet on Bessis' resignation. The anti-Zionist campaign at the end of the 1950s led to Barrouch's resignation and a sudden decline in Jewish involvement in politics. Following the mass emigration from Tunisia in the 1960s, Jews ceased to take any part in Tunisian politics.

Poland

Until the end of the 18th century Jews played no part in public life in Poland. Their interests were bound up with those of the Polish Jewish community as a whole and in any case they were granted no civil rights in Polish society. The decline in the cohesion of the Jewish community, however, led to increasing involvement of the Jews in the large cities in Polish affairs and after the partition of Poland and the outbreak of the French Revolution a number of Jews joined the insurrection against the Russians in 1794, among them Berek *Joselewicz who commanded a force of 500 Jews in the defense of Warsaw. Nevertheless, though Jews fought in the army of Napoleon, they were not granted political rights in the Grand Duchy of Warsaw, nor, after 1815, when the Russians regained control over most of Poland. During the Polish insurrections of 1830 and 1831 Jews were again prominent as supporters of the revolutionary cause and following the suppression of the insurrection, Stanislaus Hernisz Ludwig Lubliner and Leon Hollandaerski were leaders of the group of émigré Polish leaders agitating abroad for Polish independence. In the 1860s Rabbi Dov Ber *Meisels, chief rabbi of Warsaw, organized the Jewish community's support for the Polish nationalist movement. He was arrested by the czarist authorities for closing the Warsaw synagogues as an act of solidarity with the Catholic leaders who closed the churches in defiance of the authorities. Meisel's funeral in 1870 was the occasion for a mass demonstration of Polish national feeling. Other Jewish revolutionary leaders were Henry K *Wohl who became head of a department in the insurgent government of 1863 and was later arrested and imprisoned and Bernhard *Goldman. Toward the end of the century a number of Jewish intellectuals joined the Social-Democratic Party of Poland and Lithuania, one of whose founders was Rosa *Luxemburg. The party's leaders included Herman *Diamand, Feliks *Kon, Herman *Lieberman, Adolf *Warski-Warszawski, and Boleslaw *Drobner, the last being among the many Jews to take part in the anti-czarist uprisings between 1905 and 1907. Following the granting of universal suffrage in the Austro-Hungarian Empire and the establishment of the Duma in Russia, Polish Jews were allowed to vote for and to be elected to the Austro-Hungarian Reichsrat and the Russian Duma. Herman Lieberman and Herman Diamond were elected to the Reichsrat in 1917 as representatives from Galicia and several Jews stood as candidates for the Duma. None was successful, however, largely because they attracted the Jewish vote only and also because they were officially opposed by the authorities. Furthermore in the elections to the fourth Duma, the Jews supported the Polish Socialist Party candidate en masse and this led to an organized boycott of Jewish traders in protest. After the outbreak of World War I, Jews ceased to play any part in politics in Russian Poland even after the Central Powers occupied the territory. Nevertheless Jewish representatives from Galicia sat in the Austro-Hungarian Reichsrat.

Following the declaration of Polish independence at the end of World War I the Polish government concluded a minorities treaty granting full equality to the Jews and other minorities and the provisions of the treaty were incorporated in the Polish constitution. In the first Sejm of 1922, 45 Jews were elected, six of them being elected to the senate. Jews represented Zionist parties, the non-Zionist Agudat Israel and the Polish Socialist Party, the last being the only non-Jewish political party which was not antisemitic. Most of the Jewish members of the chamber of deputies joined together to form a Jewish parliamentary club ("Kolo") headed initially by the Zionist leader Yitzḥak *Gruenbaum and were mainly concerned with attempting to improve the social and political condition of the Jews in the face of government-inspired antisemitism. Jewish Socialists, of whom Herman Lieberman and Boleslaw Drobner were among the leaders of the party, were more concerned with general Polish politics. In 1925 the Jewish club agreed to support the government on condition that the government acted to improve the condition of the Jews. However, when it became clear that the government had no intention of fulfilling its side of the bargain, most of the Jewish members rejoined the Socialists in opposition. Government policy became increasingly antisemitic and during the 1930s the number of Jews in the Sejm dwindled to seven and many of the Jewish Socialist leaders were imprisoned or exiled, among them Herman Lieberman who led the opposition to the government, Isaac *Schwarzbart and the Polish communist leaders Roman *Zambrowski and Adolf Warski-Warszawski.

The destruction of Poland on the outbreak of World War II and the Nazi Holocaust did not result in the end of political activity among Polish Jews. Adolf *Berman cooperated with left-wing political groups in Warsaw and fought in the Warsaw uprising of 1944. Herman Lieberman was briefly a member of the Polish government in exile in London and a number of Polish Jews who fled to the Soviet Union in 1939 held important position in the Soviet-sponsored Union of Polish Patriots and the Polish army in the U.S.S.R., among them Eugeniusz *Szyr, Stefan Wierblowski, Roman Zambrowski, Hilary *Minc, Jacob *Berman, and Drobner. On the formation of the Polish Committee of National Liberation in 1944, Drobner was made minister of labor and social care, the first Jew to hold a portfolio in a Polish government.

The liberation of Poland at the end of World War II led to the formation of a Provisional Government of National Unity in which the Communist Party with its prominent Jewish members played a key part. All discrimination against Jewish politicians ceased and when the pro-Communist Socialists merged with the Communists into the Polish United Workers Party, Boleslav Bierut became head of the party with two Jews, Jacob Berman and Hilary Minc, as close colleagues, the latter serving as minister of commerce and later as vice premier. Berman and Minc were, like Bierut, loyal supporters of Stalin and included several other Jewish Stalinists in the government and party, among them Szyr, Starewicz, and Wierblowski, and Julius *Katz-Suchy. Following the death of Bierut, however, and the rise to power of Wladyslaw Gomulka, Berman and later Minc were forced to resign. In the 1960s Zambrowski and Szyr held important party posts but the former was dismissed during the government-inspired antisemitic campaign of 1968 in which a number of Jews holding lesser positions were also forced to resign. By 1971, two Jews were left in the government – Szyr as deputy prime minister and Edward Sznajder, minister for home trade.

Russia

As early as 1783 Jews were given the right to hold municipal office in Belorussia. The right was extended to all parts of Russia in 1835 but was later limited to western Russia, where most Jews lived, so that Jews could not be elected as mayors or municipal chairmen, nor could they constitute more than a third of the number of municipal councilors even in areas where Jews constituted a majority of the inhabitants. Jews were thus prevented from playing an influential part in municipal affairs while they were completely excluded from national politics by the very nature of the autocratic and antisemitic czarist rule. As a result, many Jews, particularly among the secularly educated, joined or supported the illegal revolutionary organizations that sprung up in the 1870s. Their number included Pavel *Axelrod, Aaron Zundelevich, and O. Aptekman (see *Socialism). The abolition in 1882 of the right to vote for local councils or to be elected to them added impetus to the Jewish opposition to the regime. Several Jews were founders of the Narodniki (Populists) and of the Social Democratic Party (among them Axelrod and Lev Deutsch), both of which groups received wide support in Jewish assimilationist or semi-assimilationist circles. Most Jews, however, remained in purely Jewish frameworks; they were Orthodox, Zionists, or joined the *Bund. The failure of Nicholas II to make any substantial reforms brought about a resumption of revolutionary activity at the turn of the century. Jews held leading positions in the Social Democratic Workers Party but when the party split in 1903, most of the Jewish members, among them members of the Bund, joined the Menshevik group under Julius *Martov, among them Fyodor *Dan, Raphael *Abramowitz, and Grinevich, who from 1905 to 1917 was chairman of the All-Russian Council of Trade Unions. Jews were also prominent in two other political parties, the Socialist Revolutionary Party, which continued the heritage of the Populists, and the liberal Union of Liberation. The Socialist Revolutionary Party, formed in 1902, appealed mainly to the peasants as the Social Democrats appealed to the industrial workers. Its leaders included Chaim *Zhitlovsky, Grigori *Gershuni, and Mikhail Gots. The Union of Liberation was a radical liberal group who drew their support from the urban professional classes and attracted Jewish professionals such as the lawyers Maxim *Vinaver and Henry *Sliosberg. When the abortive 1905 revolution led to the setting up of the first *Duma, the Union of Liberation, called Kadet (short name for the Constitutional Democratic Party), formed the largest single political group, their 179 members including nine Jews. However, owing to changes in electoral law during the period of reaction, the party's strength in the later Dumas declined, and there was also a decline in representation of the small Jewish parties (Zionists, Folkspartei, Jewish People's Group, and Jewish Democratic Group), whereas Jewish socialists were not elected at all. The outbreak of revolution in February 1917 brought the immediate abolition of all restrictions against Jews, and four Jews from the Kadet and Menshevik groups were offered posts in Kerensky's provisional government, M. *Vinaver, L.M. Bramson, Fyodor Dan, and M.I. Liber. All refused on the grounds that the time was not yet ripe for Jews to enter a Russian government. On the other hand, A. Galperin was secretary of the provisional government and later Mark Vishniak became secretary of the Constituent Assembly, which was dispersed by force by the Bolshevik Soviet government

U.S.S.R.

In Lenin's first Soviet government Jews were prominently represented, not only among the Bolsheviks (e.g., *Trotsky, *Zinoviev, *Kamenev, *Sverdlov) but also among their left Socialist-Revolutionary partners in the short-lived coalition (e.g., the people's commissar for justice, Isaac *Steinberg). Jews were also strongly represented in republican and local soviets and in all echelons of the ruling party hierarchy. Some Jewish politicians in areas densely populated by Jews, and during the first stages of the *Birobidzhan experiment particularly those engaged in *Yevsektsiya work, could be regarded Jewish representatives, since they communicated mainly with the Jewish population or represented its interests. This situation changed quickly in the 1930s. The Yevsektsiya itself was closed down in 1930 and with the purges of the later 1930s most leading Jewish Bolsheviks were imprisoned and liquidated, together with other members of the Old Guard. Simultaneously, the last shreds of Jewish regional and cultural autonomy disappeared and the Birobidzhan experiment, as a "nascent Jewish republic," was practically abandoned. Prominent exceptions were Lazar *Kaganovich, a close associate of Stalin, and Maxim *Litvinoff, people's commissar for foreign affairs. During and after World War II, very few Jews remained in the Soviet top leadership. Under Stalin only Kaganovich was a member of the ruling circle and when Khrushchev assumed personal leadership in 1957 Kaganovich was declared a member of a subversive "anti-party group" and disappeared. No other Jew ever became a member of the policy-making bodies of the party, particularly the Politburo, which is the real government of the country. In 1962 the Jewish economist Venyamin *Dymshyts was appointed one of the six deputies of Soviet prime minister Khrushchev and put at the head of the central planning body *Gosplan*, but the post was without much political significance. Jews also practically disappeared from the middle and lower party hierarchy and the number of Jews in the representative organs of central and local government (both houses of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. as well as the republican, regional, and local soviets) declined rapidly. By 1970 it was much below the percentage of the Jews in the total population, not only of the cities (where 95% of the Jews live) but even of the population at large. In the new Russia, after the fall of Communism, the so-called Jewish oligarchs achieved political influence in a cozy relationship with President Boris Yeltsin, but fell out of favor with his successor, Vladimir Putin.

[Binyamin Eliav]

South Africa

Although Jews first settled in South Africa in the beginning of the 19th century, for many years they played little part in South African politics. An exception was Benjamin *Norden, one of five brothers who emigrated from England in 1820 and became a municipal commissioner (city councilor) in Cape Town in 1840. Norden was narrowly defeated in the elections to the Cape parliament. Saul *Solomon was elected to the Cape parliament in 1854, 20 years after he and his brother Henry had converted to Christianity. He and Simeon *Jacobs, who was elected in 1866, campaigned for the separation of Church and State in Cape Colony. Four other Jews were elected to the parliament of Cape Colony, Julius and Joseph Mosenthal, Ludwig Henry Goldenschmidt, and Ludwig Wiener. Jews were also among the pioneers of some of the other South African colonies. One of the first settlers in Natal was Nathaniel *Isaacs who unsuccessfully canvassed a treaty between the Zulu monarch and the British crown as the basis for the European settlement of Natal. Another was Jonas Bergtheil, who emigrated to South Africa in 1834 and became the first Jewish member of the Natal legislative council. In the Orange Free State, Isaac Baumann, who arrived in South Africa from Germany in 1840, became chairman of the municipal board of Bloemfontein, and Adolphe Coqui, an immigrant from Belgium, negotiated the establishment of republican government for the Orange Free State after Britain announced that she was terminating her sovereignty over the territory. A third Jewish personality in the early days of the Orange Free State was Moritz Leviseur, who was elected to the provincial parliament in 1905 and became mayor of Bloemfontein in 1906. Leviseur was elected to the Union of South Africa parliament in 1921. The first Jewish parliamentarian in the Transvaal (Zuid-Afrikaansche Republiek) was M de Vries, a Dutch immigrant who was chairman of the Transvaal Volksraad (Parliament), 1872–73.

The discovery of diamonds and gold brought a number of Jews to prominence in South African politics. Barney *Barnato became a member of the Transvaal parliament and a personal friend of President Paul Kruger. Barnato did not commit himself in the Anglo-Boer dispute but his nephew Solly *Joel became a member of the reform committee which organized the Jameson raid. Barnato's cousin, Sir David *Harris, took Barnato's seat in the Cape parliament after the latter's death. He was one of six Jews elected to the first Union parliament in 1910, the others being Morris *Alexander, who was a member for over 30 years, Emile Nathan, Sir Lionel Phillips, C.P. Robinson, and Sammy *Marks, a member of the senate. Subsequent Jewish members of the Union parliament included Morris *Kentridge, the first Jewish Labor member of parliament, who sat continuously from 1924 to 1958, Leopold *Lovell, Hyman Davidoff, Sam Kahn – the first Jewish communist MP, who was unseated in 1952 following the Suppression of Communism Act, Bertha *Solomon, who advocated the cause of women's rights in parliament and initiated the Matrimonial Affairs Act of 1953, Abe Bloomberg and Charles Barnett. Jewish senators included: Franz Ginsberg, Fritz Baumann Adler, Alfred Friedlander, Hyman Basner, and Leslie Rubin. The 36-year parliamentary career of Helen *Suzman commenced in the Union Parliament in 1953 and continued after South Africa became a Republic in 1961. In 1959 she was a co-founder of the Progressive Party, which opposed the government's apartheid policy, and was the sole Progressive elected in the elections of 1961, 1966, and 1970. Other prominent Jewish parliamentarians after 1961 included Harry *Schwarz (1974–89), Ruth Rabinowitz (representing the opposition Inkatha Freedom Party from 1994), Ben Turok, and Tony *Leon (from 1989), who became Leader of the Opposition Democratic Party (later Democratic Alliance) after the 1999 elections. Four Jews have served as cabinet ministers. They are Henry *Gluckman, who served as minister of health in the *Smuts cabinet from 1945 to 1948, Louis *Shill (minister for national housing and of public works, 1993–94), Joe *Slovo (minister of housing, 1994–95), and Ronnie *Kasrils (minister of water affairs and forestry, 1999–2004, and from 2004 minister of intelligence). Two Jews have served as deputy cabinet ministers, Ronnie *Kasrils (deputy minister of defense, 1994–99) and Gill Marcus (deputy minister of finance, 1996–99).

South America

Before World War II Jews were not generally active in politics in South America, although in most South American states there were no legal bars to their entering parliament. They were handicapped by the fact that most were immigrants from Central and Eastern Europe and by deep-rooted antisemitism in many of the Catholic states. Nevertheless, a few Jews did achieve considerable prominence in political life. One of the first was Horacio *Lafer who was appointed Brazilian delegate to the League of Nations in 1928. He was a member of the Federal Chamber of Deputies from 1934 to 1964 and served as minister of finance and foreign minister in postwar Brazilian governments. Another important figure was Angel Faivovich *Hitzcovich who was elected to the Santiago municipal council in 1935. During a 30-year political career he was president of the Chilean Radical Party and vice president of the senate. The number of Jews in politics gradually increased after World War II, particularly in Argentina where the Jewish population was at one time over half a million. Several Jews represented the Argentine Radical Party (Union Civica Radical Intransigente) in the Chamber of Deputies, among them Santiago Nudelman, David *Blejer, who was undersecretary to the ministers of the interior and of labor, Isaac Breyter, David *Schapira, and Naum Jaroslavsky. Enrique Dickman and Adolfo Dickman were prominent socialist deputies. Few Jews were prominent in Argentine politics during the rule of the dictator Domingo Peron but an exception was Jose Alexenicer who was head of Peron's "Justice" Party in Cordoba and a member of the provincial parliament. In Chile, Miguel *Schweitzer, was minister of labor, and several other Jews were elected to the Chamber of Deputies. Among them were Jacobo Schaulson *Numhauser who was president of the Chamber of Deputies, and Daniel *Schweitzer, both of whom served as Chilean delegates to the United Nations. There were also two Jewish communist deputies in Chile, Adolfo Berman and Volodia Teitelbaum. Jews were also elected to parliament in Brazil where Marcos Melzer and Aarao Steinbruch sat in the Chamber of Deputies, while in Uruguay Jacobo *Guelman was a member of the senate as was Benazar *Serfaty in Venezuela. In Panama Max *Delvalle became first vice president of Panama and was president for two months in 1968 following a controversial decision of the National Assembly to remove the constitutional president. He thus became the only Jew ever to become president of a state (outside of Israel).

In South America in general, both the Foreign Office and the army remained almost closed to Jews, and the few Jewish ambassadors who served owed their appointment to personal friendships with the president in office.

In Argentina, after the establishment of a democratic regime in 1983, Raúl Alfonsín, a progressive and charismatic president, opened the doors to Jews: Bernardo Grinspun became minister of the economy and Mario Brodersohn district secretary; Adolfo Gass obtained a seat in the Senate, Marcelo Stubrin and César Jaroslavsky (the latter, head of the district bank) entered the Chamber of Deputies, and Jacobo Fiterman, ex-president of the Argentinean Zionist Organization, became secretary of public works in the Buenos Aires municipality. In the field of education and culture, traditionally a Catholic enclave, Marcos Aguinis became minister of national culture. Manuel Sadosky was minister of science. Under Menem additional Jews served in government: Moisés Ikonicoff (minister of planning), Enrique Kaplan (director of protocol), Néstor Perl (governor of Chubut), and Carlos Corach (presidential adviser).

In Brazil, before the Parliament was dissolved in 1968, six Jews representing various parties were elected to the federal legislature in the 1966 parliamentary elections. There were also Jewish politicians in the state legislatures and city councils. Horacio *Lafer was a leading Jewish political figure and served as finance minister and foreign minister of Brazil. A former federal deputy, Aarão *Steinbruch, was elected senator, the first Jew to be elected to that prestigious post. Under the government of Fernando Collor de Melo (1990–92, when the president was politically impeached), Celso Lafer was minister of foreign affairs. In the two terms of President Fernando Henrique Cardoso (1994 to 1998 and 1998 to 2002) numerous members of the Jewish community took an active part in the government.

[Paul Link / Efraim Zadoff and Roney Cytrynowicz (2nd ed.)]

United States

At the turn of the 21st century American Jews play an outsized role in American politics, representing a dramatic change from earlier eras. For example, when the first edition of the *Encyclopaedia Judaica* was published in the early 1970s, the section on United States politics cited three "facts in connection with Jews in American politics":

1) "Jews have not been prominent as political office holders, political appointees or party leaders";

2) "Jews have never expressly organized themselves for solely political purposes…. They were at pains to deny the existence of Jewish political interests";

3) "…[S]upport for liberal and left of center parties and candidates is proportionally higher among Jews…."

By 2006 two of the three "facts" were no longer facts. First, the American Jewish community in the last third of the 20th century became the most highly politicized ethnic/religious groups in America. As a result, during the first decade of the 21st century the Jewish community is highly over-represented among political opinion leaders – including such groups as major donors to the political parties, elected federal officials, political journalists, political consultants, and high-level political appointees. Second, Jewish organizations have become quite adept at trying to organize the community for political purposes, and most are not reluctant to speak about Jewish political interests.

The third fact of 1972 – the community's allegiance to liberal and left of center parties and candidates – remains true today. The Jewish community continues to strongly back the Democratic Party and its candidates. This remains true despite dramatic demographic changes in the community in 80 years; despite dramatic changes in Jewish public opinion between the early 1920s and the first decade of the 21st century; and despite the fact that the Democratic and Republican parties of the 1920s were entirely different from what they are today.

It is exceedingly difficult to reconstruct the political behavior of American Jews in the earliest days of the Republic – the Jewish community was tiny (2,000 people or .038% of the U.S. population in 1800), and historical Jewish voting data for this period is nonexistent. However, one can assume that most American Jews during the period were Jeffersonian or Jacksonian Democrats. In the first few decades after the adoption of the Constitution there were a handful of Jewish officeholders, all of whom were Democratic-Republicans (the earliest name for the Democratic Party). Jews were among the earliest leaders of the pro-Jeffersonian Tammany Hall, and an early 19th century speaker of the Pennsylvania House was a Jewish Jeffersonian. Probably the best-known Jewish politician of the age, Mordecai *Noah, started his career as a Democratic-Republican (he was appointed U.S. consul to Tunis by President Madison) and was an early supporter of President Jackson as well. Moreover, there is evidence that the Federalist Party used overtly antisemitic rhetoric in the hard-fought 1800 presidential elections as a means of attacking Thomas Jefferson's candidacy.

Between 1840 and 1860, the Jewish population grew from 15,000 (.09% of the population) to 150,000 (less than .5% of the population) largely because of immigration from German-speaking parts of Europe. In this era, Whigs (and by the late 1850s, Republicans) battled Democrats for political supremacy. There is anecdotal material that points to some Jewish support for the Whig party of Henry Clay – especially by the older Sephardi community. However, most of what is known about the period indicates that a majority Jews of this era were Democrats. Of the five Jews who served in the U.S. House of Representatives in the 1840s and 1850s, four were Democrats and one (the first Jewish Congressman, Lewis *Levin) was a member of the anti-Catholic American Party. Of the two Jewish U.S. senators who served in the same period, one – David *Yulee – was a Democrat. The other Jewish senator of the period, Judah *Benjamin (who went on to serve in the Confederate Cabinet), was elected in 1853 as a

Whig and re-elected in 1859 as a Democrat. The Rothschilds' agent in America, Augustus *Belmont, was appointed chairman of the Democratic National Committee in 1860 by Stephen Douglas and continued to serve as the chairman until 1872. As late as 1860, an Illinois state Jewish legislator who was helping Abraham Lincoln in his presidential campaign wrote about the Jews of New York as a constituency that had been voting 2–1 Democratic.

The roughly three-decade period from 1860 until 1896 was an intensely partisan era, which is usually characterized as the third American party system. In that era the country was evenly divided geographically – the south overwhelmingly Democratic and New England and the upper Midwest overwhelmingly Republican. At least one prominent political scientist has concluded that starting with Lincoln in 1860, American Jews swung their support over to the new Republican Party. Again, Jewish voting data is scarce for this period, and it appears as if the truth is a bit more complicated.

The Jewish population continued to grow, especially in New York City. By 1890 there were 475,000 Jews in America, representing 0.67% of the total population. There is evidence that in Midwestern cities like Chicago, the Jewish community began voting Republican by the 1860s. Many German Jews were attracted to the GOP but the newer Yiddish-speaking Jews probably did not have strong party loyalties. Meanwhile, the Jews of the South remained Democratic and the city with the largest Jewish population – New York – remained a largely Democratic stronghold in the latter half of the 19th century.

There were a few prominent Jewish political leaders in the period – men like Abe Reuf, the powerful Republican Party boss in San Francisco, and Oscar *Straus, who served as President Cleveland's minister to Turkey. Fourteen Jews served in Congress during this period. They included nine Democrats and five Republicans. A review of a larger database of 60 known Jewish officeholders during this period reveals a close partisan split between Democrats and Republicans.

In the first decade of the 21st century, Americans are used to an ideologically congruent party system – a reliably liberal Democratic Party and a reliably conservative Republican one. But this was not the case in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. In the first 60 years after the Constitution was ratified, it can be argued that the Jeffersonian and Jacksonian Democrats with their more egalitarian views on white manhood suffrage were more liberal than their Federalist and Whig opponents. By the time of the Civil War, however, the Democrats were largely the party of states rights and support for slavery. And in the years after the Civil War both parties supported economic policies that were pro-business. Thus Jewish support for one party or the other prior to the 1920s cannot be attributed to liberal or conservative proclivities of the community.

The election of 1896 ushered in a 35-year period of national dominance of the Republican Party. The minority Democratic Party in this era was made up of rural populists in the west and south and a few urban machines, like New York's Tammany Hall. This was also a period in which the Jewish community grew exponentially as poor Yiddish-speaking Jews from the Austro-Hungarian and Russian empires streamed into Ellis Island. By 1920 there were 3.15 million Jews in America – three percent of the total population – and in New York State the Jewish population became the key swing vote in city- and statewide elections. It is also during this period that one can start tracking the voting behavior of heavily Jewish voting districts.

Former Jewish Democratic businessmen like Oscar Straus (who was appointed the first Jewish cabinet official by Teddy Roosevelt) became Republicans in reaction to the populism of William Jennings Bryan. The newer and more numerous immigrant voters did not have strong partisan attachments. Sometimes they voted for Eugene Debs' new Socialist Party, and two Jewish Socialists were elected to Congress – Meyer London in New York and Victor *Berger in Wisconsin. Sometimes these immigrants voted for reform politicians (often these reformers were WASP-Republican politicians) in reaction to the graft of urban political machines. Sometimes these Jewish newcomers turned against WASP reformers who advocated Sunday blue laws and voted the machine politicians back into office. It is clear that in presidential elections, American Jews strongly backed Republicans Teddy Roosevelt in 1904 and Warren Harding in 1920, and more narrowly backed Democrat Woodrow Wilson in 1912 and 1916.

From 1896 through 1930, 15 Jewish Republicans, 15 Jewish Democrats, and two Jewish Socialists served in Congress. Two Jewish Democrats were elected governor in the west – Simon *Bamberger in Utah and Moses *Alexander in Idaho – and President Wilson appointed the "people's attorney," Louis D. *Brandeis, as the first Jewish Supreme Court justice in 1916.

Most people attribute the modern Jewish community's attachment to the liberal policies of the Democratic Party to the presidency of Franklin D. Roosevelt. However, the beginnings of this Democratic trend began a decade earlier in 1922. In 1920, Jews (as well as the rest of the country) voted overwhelmingly Republican in reaction to disillusionment with Wilson's Treaty of Versailles and a series of economic recessions. In the Congress that convened in 1921 there were 11 Jewish congressmen – 10 Republicans and one Socialist (in New York five Republican Jews and one Socialist were elected).

In 1922 former New York Governor Al Smith ran to avenge his defeat of 1920, and in winning he carried the Jewish vote overwhelmingly. Though Smith was a supporter of Tammany Hall, unlike many Tammany politicians he supported progressive labor legislation like the eight-hour day, and he opposed many of New York's blue laws. This was the perfect combination for New York State Jews, which at the time accounted for one-half of American Jewry. In the Congress, which convened in 1923 there were 10 Jewish congressman – four Republicans, five Democrats, and one Socialist. In New York State only one Jewish Republican survived, and four new Democrats were elected. From 1922 onward New York Democratic candidates were usually in the mold of Al Smith and Senator Robert Wagner – progressive reformers who ran with Tammany support – and the Jewish vote increasingly solidified as a Democratic bloc.

In 1928 the national Jewish vote split 72–28 in favor of Al Smith, the first non-Protestant (he was Roman Catholic) to run for president. In 1932 FDR carried the Jewish vote with 82%. In his first re-election he carried 85%, in his second re-election he carried 90%, and in 1944 he won 90% of the Jewish vote. Between 1948 and 1968 Democrats captured between 60% and 90% of the Jewish vote in each presidential election.

Jewish voting for Democrats at the state and national levels was perfectly understandable in the 1920s and 1930s. The New York Democrats and increasingly the national Democratic party was the party of liberalism, economic populism, and the "little guy." The Jewish population of the 1920s and 1930s was overwhelmingly poor and working class. However, after World War II the Jewish population was increasingly middle class and highly educated. Yet at the state and national levels, Republican candidates could not secure a respectable Jewish vote. Only at the municipal level could Republican candidates like Mayor Fiorello LaGuardia win a majority of Jewish voters.

Another development in this period was the rising importance of "reform" political clubs in cities like New York and Los Angeles. Though there were few Jewish professional politicians (Chicago's political boss Jake Avery was one of the exceptions) in this era, the amateur reformers became increasingly important in Democratic politics, and a disproportionate share of these reform leaders were Jewish. The other arena where Jews came to prominence was in the labor union movement. Sidney *Hillman was the most prominent of these labor leaders. In 1944, Hillman – as the head of the CIO's Political Action Committee – acted as one of FDR's most trusted political allies.

Between 1932 and 1970, a number of Jewish Americans became prominent at the highest levels of American politics. In the Senate five Jews served during this era – the most prominent being former Governor *Lehman of New York and Jacob *Javits of New York. Jews also became increasingly common as presidential cabinet officers – Henry *Morgenthau, Jr. in FDR's cabinet; Lewis *Strauss in Eisenhower's cabinet; Arthur *Goldberg and Abraham *Ribicoff, the sons of Jewish immigrants, not German-Jews, in the cabinet of Irish American John F. Kennedy, the first Catholic elected president; and Wilbur *Cohen, who served under President Johnson. Moreover, during this period presidents appointed Felix *Frankfurter, Benjamin *Cardozo, Arthur Goldberg, and Abe *Fortas to the highest court in the land. There was a tradition of a Jewish seat on the Court.

Though there were well-known Jewish personalities in the public arena in mid-20th century America, in 1950 politics was not considered a Jewish profession. Fifty years later American politics was a decidedly Jewish occupation.

In the last third of the 20th century, very significant changes took place in the role that Jewish Americans played in the political process. In 2005 Jews represented something less than 2% of the U.S. population. Yet in the same year they represented 11% of the U.S. Senate. In 1970 14 Jews were elected to the U.S. Congress; in 2004, 37 were elected. By the first decade of the 21st century Jewish Americans were significantly represented among the top political appointees and senior civil servants in the elite agencies of the U.S. government. At the same time a substantial proportion of top political journalists and nationally prominent political consultants (a new profession which largely replaced the political boss in American politics) were Jewish. Perhaps equally important, both major political parties (but particularly the Democrats) and their candidates for office were heavily reliant on contributions from Jewish Americans to help fund their election year expenditures.

This increase in the political roles played by Jewish Americans was complemented by a change in how Jewish Americans were "accepted" in American society. In the 1930s, Jewish Americans were subjected to some of the worst antisemitism in American history. In that decade Ivy League colleges and medical schools had strict quotas on Jewish enrollment, and at the same time many law firms and corporate management slots were strictly off-limits to American Jews. In 1937 the Gallup Poll found that only 46% of Americans were willing to vote for a Jewish candidate for president. By the 1970s most of these barriers to Jews in American life were gone, and by 1999 – according to Gallup – fully 92% of Americans were willing to vote for a Jewish candidate for president.

The list of Jewish Americans who rose to prominence on the American political scene in the last 40 years is so large that it is only possible to highlight the most famous in an article of this size. In the early 1970s Robert *Strauss was chair of the DNC, and between 1997 and 2005 three Jews (two Democrats and one Republican) were national party chairs. Richard Nixon appointed perhaps the most prominent secretary of state of the 20th century, Henry *Kissinger, in his second term. President Gerald Ford had two Jewish Americans in his cabinet. President Jimmy Carter, despite his periodic disputes with the organized Jewish community, appointed three Jews to his cabinet. President Clinton appointed five Jews to his cabinet, and there were at least as many Jewish appointees who held cabinet-rank positions. Moreover, both of Clinton's Supreme Court appointments – Ruth Bader *Ginsburg and Stephen *Breyer – were Jewish. As of 2005 President Bush had one Jewish American in his cabinet, but the director of his Office of Management and Budget and numerous senior White House and subcabinet appointees were Jews.

Some observers describe the chairman of the Federal Reserve Board as the second most powerful person in the world. From 1987 to 2006, that position was held by Alan *Greenspan. His successor, chosen by President Bush in 2005, was another Jewish American, Ben S. (Shalom) Bernanke. But perhaps the most widely-known Jewish political figure at the turn of the 21st century was Senator Joseph *Lieberman. In

August of 2000, Vice President Al Gore picked Lieberman as his vice presidential running mate. This was the first time in history that a Jewish American had been on the presidential ticket of a major American political party. Despite the concern of some that America was not ready for a Jewish president or vice president, Lieberman was widely credited with running a good campaign and was seen as an overall asset to the Democratic ticket that year. He began his acceptance speech as nominee with the proto-typical American Jewish phrase "only in America."

Not only did the doors of opportunity open for Jewish Americans in the last third of the 20th century, but Jews also became increasingly comfortable in publicly acknowledging their ethnic and religious background. The Six-Day War in 1967 engendered a great deal of ethnic pride and in the following decades the *American Israel Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC) became a major Washington lobbying institution that represented the Jewish community's very public commitment to fostering strong U.S.-Israel relations. In the late 1980s two partisan Jewish organizations – the *National Jewish Democratic Council (NJDC) and the *Republican Jewish Coalition (RJC) – emerged as an acknowledgement that Jewish Americans were now comfortable in asserting a particular Jewish agenda in the public arena. Moreover, a review of nearly any Jewish weekly at the turn of the 20th century would turn up a headline or two that asked the very public question, "What is good for the Jews?"

In the 1960s Milton Himmelfarb observed that "Jews live like Episcopalians and vote like Puerto Ricans." In the latter third of the 20th century, many commentators examined an American Jewish community that was one of the richest and most highly educated groups in America and predicted that such a minority was bound to become Republican. However, the GOP realignment among Jews never happened.

In 1968 Republican Richard Nixon captured about 17% of the Jewish vote in his run for president. Four years later against George McGovern the Nixon percentages doubled to 35%. Elsewhere Nixon was elected in a landslide. In the next four presidential elections the Jewish Republican vote bounced between 30% and 39% – the trend seemed to be away from the community's New Deal loyalties. Jimmy Carter received a plurality of Jewish votes and Jews voted in significant numbers of John Anderson, the third party candidate.

However, in 1992 George H.W. Bush only received approximately 12% of the Jewish vote, and in the next two elections, the Clinton-Dole-Perot election, the GOP garnered 16% and then 19% of the Jewish vote in the Gore-Lieberman-Bush-Cheney election. Between 2001 and 2004, the administration of President George W. Bush adopted a pro-Israel stance toward the ongoing violence in the Middle East. Republican political operatives openly targeted the Jewish vote as they prepared for the 2004 election. During the same time frame there were numerous predictions by Republican spokesmen and Jewish organizational leaders that the Jewish vote was about to shift to the Republican party. On election day 2004, John Kerry defeated George W. Bush in the Jewish community by a margin of 77% to 22%.

Why did the Jewish vote continue to be a reliable Democratic bloc at the presidential level in the 1990s and the first four years of the 21st century? The most important reason has to do with the nature of the two American political party coalitions. The modern Republican coalition's most dominant element has been evangelical Christians. Though this group is widely viewed as pro-Israel, the other issues it champions – opposition to abortion rights, gay rights, and the separation of church and state – clash with the issue agenda of the vast majority of American Jews. Republicans have tried to paint the Democratic Party as anti-Israel, but this has been unsuccessful as both parties in America are broadly seen as pro-Israel.

The progressive world-view that the vast majority of American Jews adhere to does not mean that Republican candidates can never win majorities in the Jewish community. Party-identification in 2004 was less strong than it had been in previous eras. Jews split along religious lines with Orthodox Jews voting far more often for George Bush than did their non-Orthodox counterparts. In municipal elections Republican candidates are often successful with Jewish voters. Moreover in the northeast states, where GOP candidates are often much less conservative than their brethren in the rest of the country, individual moderate Republicans have run fairly strongly in Jewish constituencies. But as long as the national GOP strongly identifies with conservative Christian constituencies, it will be hard for most state and national Republican candidates to compete effectively in the Jewish community.

By the first decade of the century, the American Jewish community played an unprecedented role in the politics of the United States. Jewish actors were placed in significant roles throughout the process. Unlike in Europe, antisemitism has not surged in recent years and American Jews are comfortable in running for office and even in asserting a Jewish agenda in the political process. Jewish public opinion remained much more liberal than most other segments of the American electorate and Jewish voting remained largely, if not universally, Democratic.

Antisemitic appeals by candidates have been fairly rare and largely ineffectual over the last few decades. When they are used they are usually the work of fringe candidates, or they are of the "whispering campaign" variety, or they have engendered an immediate backlash. Candidates, whose records on Jewish-related issues have been problematic, have tended to go out of their way to move toward a more pro-Israel, pro-Jewish point of view as they move into the mainstream. Of course, there have been exceptions such as Patrick Buchanan.

It is difficult to predict the future political landscape for the American Jewish community, but demographic trends provide a few hints. By 2001 Orthodox Jews comprised less than 10% of the Jewish electorate. However, given fertility rates it is expected that Orthodoxy will represent a larger percentage of the Jewish electorate in future decades. It is also the least progressive segment of the Jewish community. Moreover, if current overall rates of assimilation and lower birthrates persist, it will be very difficult for the Jewish community to be as influential in the political process by the latter half of the 21st century.

[Ira Forman (2nd ed.)]

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POLITISCHE GEMEINDE ("political community"), political group right conferred on Jewish communities in *Moravia. In Moravia Jews had for centuries been permitted to reside in a restricted number of locations only (52 according to the patent issued by Francis II on Feb. 15, 1798). These, and other restrictions, were abolished on March 4, 1849. On March 17, however, the *provisorisches Gemeindegesetz* ("provisional communities law") created 25 "political communities" (out of the 52 Jewish communities); the remainder were either placed under the jurisdiction of the local city or town authorities or merged with them (two additional political communities, Boskowitz (*Boskovice), and Holleschau (*Holešov), were created later, raising the total number to 27). The political communities were constituted as autonomous territorial units within the towns, having their own mayor and functionaries, municipal services, and right of taxation. Membership of the political community was hereditary. However as Jews tended to move out of the area of their former quarters while Czechs moved there instead, an anomalous situation was created, as for instance in Trebitsch (*Třebič), where of 1,342 persons living in 194 houses in 1921, only 178 were Jews. All the same, electoral rights for the political community were retained by Jews living elsewhere, either in the same town or in other localities.

The existence of the political communities was a factor in helping the Germans maintain an electoral majority in the country, since the political communities were represented in the municipal *curia* out of proportion to their numerical importance, and Jews, who tended to adopt German culture, generally supported Austro-German policies against the rising Czech national movement. The Czech parties tried to exclude the Jews from the assembly of municipal *curia* and to diminish their influence in the representation of the country (Landgemeindenkurie). It was indicated that in many cases there was no basis for the existence of a political community and that their existence was illegal because they were not territorial units. The political Jewish communities increasingly concentrated on political functions and ceased to be suitable for dealing with religious needs.

In 1880 the Austrian Ministry of the Interior ordered the amalgamation of the political communities with the local authorities, but this was not implemented because of the opposition of both Jews and Germans, which was given support by the courts. Ten years later a type of purely religious community, the *Kultusgemeinde*, was established by law. About 50 *Kultusgemeinden* were established in Moravia and they took over the religious functions of the political communities there. The political community, however, continued to exist until the dissolution of the Hapsburg Empire after World War I; 25 were liquidated by the Czechoslovak authorities in 1919–20, and the last two, Trebitsch and Misslitz (*Miroslav), in 1921. The institution of the political community was unique in retaining the features of the old Jewish communal autonomy within the modern political framework.

For map see *Moravia.

[Aron Moshe K. Rabinowicz]

POLITZER, ADAM (1835–1920), founder of modern otology. Politzer, who was born in Alberti, Hungary, studied at Vienna University where from 1870 to 1907 he was professor of otology. During his tenure Vienna became the center for study in otology for students from all over the world. His *Lehrbuch der Ohrenheilkunde*, published in 1878 was translated into many languages and his *Geschichte der Ohrenheilkunde* (2 vols., 1907–13) was the authoritative book in that field.

Politzer devised many new methods for diagnosing and treating ear diseases. He invented a method of opening a blocked eustachian tube (a method which bears his name all over the world), a method for illuminating the eardrum, an ear speculum, and a bag for inflating the middle ear. He also showed how to test for deafness in one ear. Politzer founded the Otologic Clinic at Vienna University and the Austrian Otologic Society as well as the journal *Archiv fuer Ohrenheilkunde*.

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[Suessmann Muntner]

POLITZER, H. DAVID (1949–), U.S. physicist and Nobel laureate. He was born in New York City and educated at the Bronx High School of Science. He gained his B.S. from the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor (1969), and his Ph.D. in physics from Harvard University (1974) under the direction of Sidney Coleman. He joined the physics department of the California Institute of Technology, Pasadena, in 1975 where he became professor (1979) and head of department (1986–88). His research in theoretical particle physics was essential to the discovery of asymptotic freedom, the phenomenon in which the strong force binding quarks together increases when quarks move apart and decreases when they move closer together. This finding was influential in establishing the field of quantum chromodynamics that explains the interactions between quarks and gluons on the basis on their color charge, consisting of a color and an anti-color. These theories, largely validated experimentally, have the eventual aim of producing a standard model for the structure of matter throughout the universe. Politzer shared the 2004 Nobel Prize in physics with his collaborators David J. *Gross and Frank Wilczek.

Politzer played the role of the physicist Robert Serber in the 1989 movie *Fat Man and Little Boy* about the Manhattan Project. His Nobel lecture admirably describes the uncertainties in particle physics and the difficulties in attributing discoveries to individual scientists.

[Michael Denman (2nd ed.)]

POLLACK, EGON (1879–1933), conductor. Born in Prague, Pollack was chorus master at the German Theater there and later held posts at Bremen, Leipzig, and Frankfurt. From 1917 to 1932 he was principal conductor of the Hamburg Opera, which developed considerably under his direction. He conducted in Chicago (1931–32) and appeared as guest conductor in Cairo. He died in Prague of a heart attack while conducting *Fidelio*. Pollack was especially known as an interpreter of Richard Strauss. He also conducted Wagnerian opera and promoted the work of contemporaries.

POLLACK, ISRAEL (1910–1993), industrialist. Pollack was born in Transylvania and raised in Bukovina where he received a traditional education and studied in a textile school. He opened his first textile factory in 1935. In 1947 he moved to Chile, where in addition to his textile business, he was active in Jewish affairs and education. While in Chile he was the head of the Jewish Federation. In the early 1960s he established the Polgat textile works in Kiryat Gat, and in 1966 he arrived in Israel to serve as Polgat's CEO. Pollack was active in many public institutions. He was one of the founders of Klal Corporation, serving as its chairman. He was the chairman of the United Fund and a member of the university boards. In 1990 he received the Israel Prize for special contribution in national and social fields.

[Fern Lee Seckbach / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

POLLACK, JACOB BEN JOSEPH (1460/70–after 1522), rabbi and first Polish halakhic authority. His name has given rise to the conjecture that he was born in Poland, but it appears that he was born in Bavaria. Pollack studied under Jacob Margolis in Regensburg, and was already known in his youth as a profound talmudist. He married Esther, the daughter of Moses and Rachel Fischel of Cracow, who acted as government tax farmers and were on intimate terms with the Polish royal court, upon whom they were able to exercise some influence. Pollack was appointed rabbi in Prague and was a member of the *bet din* together with Isaac Margolis, the son of his teacher. In 1492 an incident took place which roused a violent controversy. His wife's sister, Sara had been married while a minor to David Zehner of Buda, Hungary. Before she reached her majority she exercised her right of *me'un* (see *Child Marriage) to free herself from her husband and Pollack permitted her to remarry, in accordance with talmudic law, despite the fact that *Menahem of Merseburg had 50 years earlier enacted a *takkanah* abolishing *me'un*. This permission roused against him all the great contemporary scholars and he was laid under a ban. The only one to support him was Meir Pfefferkorn because Jacob Pollack's mother-in-law had used her influence to obtain the release from prison of his wife and children.

Pollack left Prague and went to Cracow where he opened the first yeshivah in Poland and transferred there the method of *ḥillukim* ("fine distinctions") that he had learnt from his teachers. At that time knowledge of the Talmud in Poland was generally at a low ebb, and the talmudists were not conversant with this method of study. He was given the sobriquet of *avi ha-ḥillukim*. In Cracow he was highly admired and immediately became one of the communal leaders. When in 1494 the king of Poland imprisoned the dignitaries of Cracow, Pollack and his father- and mother-in-law were among them. After his release he moved together with the whole of the Cracow community to Kazimierz, a suburb of the town. In 1503 he was appointed by King Alexander as rabbi of the whole of Poland, or Lesser Poland – the letter of appointment is not clear. But Pollack was to find no tranquility in this position either. The friction and quarrels between the two local communities of Polish and Bohemian Jews embittered his life. Under pressure from the king, separate rabbis were finally chosen for the two communities, R. Perez for the Bohemians and Asher Lemel, Pollack's brother-in-law, for the Polish. Pollack retained only the conduct of his yeshivah. In 1520 a dispute which broke out in Italy on a financial matter between Emanuel of Ferrara and Abraham Raphael of Bologna was brought before Abraham Mintz of Padua. One of the parties turned to Pollack and as a result Pollack excommunicated Mintz. Some two years later, Pollack became involved in a libel against Samuel, the court physician of Cracow, as a result of which he was compelled to flee. From this time all traces of him disappeared. However in the *Birkat Avraham* of Abraham b. Solomon Trebitsch-Ẓarefati of Constantinople, written in 1524, there is a commendation, without a date, which concludes with the words "I have signed here, says the 'quiet' and 'smooth' [the words are applied to Jacob in the Bible (Gen. 25:27) and are applied here to mean "innocent" and "free of sin"] Jacob b. Joseph Ashkenazi Pollack of Jerusalem." If the signature is indeed that of Jacob Pollack and was written in the same year as the commendation of Israel Dayana to the same work in 1532, then Pollack must have been in Constantinople that year on his way to Jerusalem. It is even possible that he settled in Ereẓ Israel before 1532, since he signs "of Jerusalem." The year of his death and his place of burial are not known. (Some think a tombstone found in Lublin with the inscription: "The *Gaon* Koppelman named Jacob ha-Levi…, the *gaon* Jacob b. Joseph died 23rd of Sivan 301" (1541) is his, however, it is doubtful whether Pollack was called Koppelman and nowhere is there mention of his being a levite.) No works by Pollack are known.

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[Shlomo Tal]

POLLACK, MILTON (1906–2004), U.S. judge. Born in Brooklyn, Pollack earned undergraduate and law degrees at Columbia University. He joined the Wall Street firm of Gilman & Unger and was made a partner in 1938. In 1942 he brought a stockholder suit against General Motors, charging that senior executives had been given improper bonuses in cash and stock of more than $4.3 million. Eight named executives were forced to return the bonuses, plus $2 million in interest. Flushed with success, Pollack opened his own firm in 1945 and continued to practice, specializing in cases related to finance, until appointed a federal district court judge by President Lyndon B. Johnson in 1967. In a prominent case for New York City, Pollack issued a decision in 1977 that forced the Port Authority to allow the Concorde supersonic jet to land at Kennedy International Airport. Later, past the age of 80, he began hearing the massive civil litigation involving the bankruptcy of Drexel Burnham Lambert and the prosecutions on securities charges of Ivan *Boesky and Michael *Milken. In 1992, Pollack oversaw a settlement and then the distribution of $1.3 billion in settlement funds to creditors who purchased junk bonds through Drexel. Pollack continued hearing cases until two days before his death at the age of 97.

[Stewart Kampel (2nd ed.)]

POLLACK, SYDNEY (1934–), U.S. film director and producer. Born in Lafayette, Indiana, Pollack first learned his craft by directing many TV episodes of such programs as *Ben Casey*, *The Defenders*, *Dr. Kildare*, *The Fugitive*, and *The Naked City*. Pollack then initiated his career as a feature film director with *The Slender Thread* (1965), and over the past decades has directed varied cinematic fare, including *This Property Is Condemned* (1966), *The Scalp-hunters* (1968), *Castle Keep* (1969), *They Shoot Horses, Don't They?* (Oscar nomination for Best Director, 1969), *Jeremiah Johnson* (1972), *The Way We Were* (1973), *The Yakuza* (1975), *Three Days of the Condor* (1975), *Bobby Deerfield* (1977), *The Electric Horseman* (1979), *Absence of Malice* (1981), *Tootsie* (Oscar nomination for Best Picture and Best Director, 1982), *Out of Africa* (Academy Award for Best Picture and Best Director, 1985), *Havana* (1990), *The Firm* (1993), *Sabrina* (1995), *Random Hearts* (1999), *Sketches of Frank Gehry* (2005), and *The Interpreter* (2005).

Pollack produced more than 40 films, which include many of the above, as well as other successes such as *Songwriter* (1984), *The Fabulous Baker Boys* (1989), *Dead Again* (1991), *King Ralph* (1991), *Leaving Normal* (1992), *Sense and Sensibility* (1995), *Sliding Doors* (1998), *The Talented Mr. Ripley* (1999), *Iris* (2001), *Heaven* (2002), *The Quiet American* (2002), and *Cold Mountain* (2003).

He also acted in several films, such as *Tootsie*, Robert Altman's *The Player* (1992), Woody Allen's *Husbands and Wives* (1992), Stanley Kubrick's *Eyes Wide Shut* (1999), *Random Hearts*, and Roger Michell's *Changing Lanes* (2002).

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[Jonathan Licht and Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

POLLAK, MIKSA (1868–1944), Hungarian rabbi and historian; born in Beled, Hungary. He was a rabbi in Sopron from 1894 until he was killed in Auschwitz.

His main works are *Die Juden in Wiener-Neustadt* (1927, earlier in Hung., 1892) and *Die Geschichte der Juden in Oedenburg* (1929, in Hung., 1896). Despite new sources, Pollak's works are still considered valid in their major conclusions. His other scholarly activities were centered on exploring biblical influences on great Hungarian poets – Arany János (1904), Tompa Mihály (1912), and Madách Imre (in IMIT, 1935–39). He also published a Hungarian translation of the prayer book. Pollak was an outstanding preacher; a volume of his collected sermons was published in 1938.

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[Alexander Scheiber]

POLLAK, MOSES HA-LEVI (1845–1888), Hungarian rabbi. Born in Szerdahely, Pollak studied under Judah Aszod and Abraham Samuel Sofer. In 1872 he was appointed rabbi of Bonyhad, where he established a yeshivah which attracted pupils from all parts of Hungary. He was one of the founders of the Orthodox community of Bonyhad, which he developed to a considerable extent.

Pollak was the author of *Va-Yedabber Moshe* (1894–95; photoprint New York, 1943), in five parts, on the Pentateuch and various talmudic themes; *Tikkun Moshe* (1894–99), in five parts, sermons and discussions on talmudic topics; and *Birkat Moshe* (1911) on tractate *Ḥullin*.

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[Naphtali Ben-Menahem]

POLLAK, WALTER HEILPRIN (1887–1940), U.S. attorney. Born in New Jersey, Pollak was admitted to the New York bar in 1911 and entered private practice in New York City. During World War I he worked on the legal staff of the War Industries Board. He was a special assistant attorney general for the Arnstein bond theft case (1923–1924) and was counsel, consultant, and chairman of a number of important federal and state commissions. One of the most prominent lawyers at the U.S. bar, Pollak rendered services for the defense of those who were persecuted for unpopular views and causes, and inspired his younger associates to follow this same path. He helped in the drafting of the brief of Arthur Garfield Hays in the Scopes evolution case. He argued the Whitney and Gitlow free speech cases in the U.S. Supreme Court and in 1932 and 1935 was counsel before the Supreme Court in the Scottsboro case involving the issue of a fair trial for blacks in the South.

[Michael Hart Cardozo]

POLLAK, ZALMAN (1901–1985), cantor, composer, and instructor of cantorial music. Born into a rabbinic family in Patrovosla, then Hungary and later part of Yugoslavia, he studied in a *ḥeder,* and then in *yeshivot*, including the Pressburg yeshivah. He began singing with the choir of the Great Synagogue of Pressburg. Upon the conclusion of World War I he emigrated to Palestine and settled in Jerusalem. He led services in the Great Synagogue of the Ḥurvah of Rabbi Judah Ḥasid in Jerusalem and then served as cantor in Rishon le-Zion. From 1922 he was in Europe and was cantor in Yugoslavia (Sobotizia and Sarajevo) and in Vienna, Austria, where he was the chief cantor at the Kehillat Montefiore synagogue for almost five years. He advanced his cantorial education under Judah Leib Miller. After returning to Palestine in 1935 he was cantor at various synagogues in Jerusalem and Tel Aviv. His main efforts were directed at instructing the younger cantors. He wrote many works for passages from the services and his wife, Margalit, initiated the publication of his works, the first volume of which, *Nusaḥ le-Shabbat*, appeared in 1989, edited by Benjamin Glickman.

[Akiva Zimmerman]

POLLARD, SIDNEY (1925–1998), British economic historian. Born Siegfried Pollak in Vienna, the son of a salesman, Pollard came to England in 1938 on a *Kindertransport*; his parents perished in the Holocaust. Through the help of charities and British relatives, Pollard was able to study at the London School of Economics and then became one of Britain's most respected economic historians, holding the post of professor of economic history at Sheffield University from 1963 to 1981. Among his many works are *The Development of the British Economy, 1914–50* (1962), *The Genesis of Modern Management* (1962), *Peaceful Conquest* (1981), and *Britain's Prime and Britain's Decline* (1989). In 1971 Pollard was offered a chair at the University of California at Berkeley, but was barred from entering the United States because he had briefly been a member of the Communist Party in the 1940s, despite the fact that his books were emphatically pro-capitalist. From 1981 until 1990 he was professor of economic history at the University of Bielefeld in West Germany.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: ODNB online.

[William D. Rubinstein (2nd ed.)]

POLLARD AFFAIR. Jonathan Jay Pollard, an American Jew, born in 1954 in Galveston, Texas, the son of a distinguished scientist, was educated at Stanford and became an intelligence analyst with the U.S. Naval Intelligence Service in Suitland, Maryland, in late 1979. He rose in the ranks and had access to sensitive information. In May 1984 he was recruited by Israeli agents and for the next 18 months was "run" by a senior Israeli air force officer Colonel Aviem Sella, then on study leave in New York. Pollard provided Israel with a vast amount of information pertaining to Israel, the Middle East, and other countries, thus compromising the United States. This information was channeled through an independent intelligence unit called the Scientific Liaison Unit, which functioned in the Israeli Defense Ministry from the 1960s and was headed by a veteran Mossad operative, Rafael Eitan. During those 18 months Pollard was paid for his services, traveled to Israel and Europe, and was promised asylum in case of discovery. The Israelis argued that his recruitment and "running" were never authorized by any Israeli defense minister or the cabinet, though their denial was not widely regarded as credible in the United States.

When FBI agents began to follow Pollard and his wife, they fled to the Israeli embassy in Washington seeking asylum, but were ejected from the embassy's grounds and arrested on November 21, 1985. Their arrest and revelations were leaked to the U.S. media, and the extent of their operation and the Israeli involvement generated an extreme and furious reaction by the American leadership – including American Jewish leadership – and public opinion. There emerged a serious danger of an open confrontation between Israel and the Reagan administration and the U.S. Congress. The row that erupted required an immediate Israeli effort to stem the tide. By then the Israeli people were appalled over the details of this operation carried out by civil servants. The details of the affair could have created a major crisis with Israel's only major ally, and placed American Jews in a highly delicate situation.

The U.S. demanded cooperation from Israel in the investigation, and on December 1, 1985, Prime Minister Peres agreed to allow questioning of the Israelis involved by U.S. officials, to return all the documents taken by Pollard, to disband the Scientific Liaison Unit, and to punish the Israelis responsible. Pollard was never brought to trial. As part of a plea bargain, which provided for the limited – five-year – imprisonment of his then wife Anne, Pollard pleaded guilty to espionage charges in June 1986. But in spite of this he was sentenced in March 1987 to life imprisonment. The severity of his sentence remains a matter of considerable controversy even in the early 21st century.

The government charged Pollard with violating 18 USC 794 (c), the federal law that makes it a crime to deliver defense information to a foreign government "with intent or reason to believe" that the information is to be used "to the injury of the United States" or "to the advantage of a foreign nation." The indictment did not charge Pollard with injury of the United States but with the "intent and reason to believe that the [information] would be used to the advantage of Israel." Israel is clearly a foreign nation but an ally, not an enemy, of the United States, which is of moral significance though not necessarily of legal significance. Those involved in the Pollard case assumed that this distinction would result in a more lenient sentence than life imprisonment.

Between the time of the plea bargain and the actual sentencing the government submitted two Victim Impact Statements, one that was made public and one that was delivered in camera because of issues of national security.

The government argued in the Victim Impact Statement that the scope of what was revealed was great, that it threatened U.S. relations with its Arab allies, and that it diminished U.S. leverage with Israel. In short, the government argued that Pollard had done significant damage to the United States. In

January 1987 the government submitted a 46-page classified declaration from Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger that described in detail the harm Pollard's activities had allegedly caused national security. The contents of this submission have never been made public; a heavily redacted document was released, which alleges that Pollard "jeopardized … the sources of that information, by placing it outside a U.S.-controlled security environment." In addition, "U.S. combat forces, wherever they are deployed in this world, could be unacceptably endangered through successful exploitation of this data."

Then, on March 3, 1987 – the day before Pollard was to be sentenced – Secretary Weinberger submitted a supplementary declaration to the court, which included the following:

> It is difficult for me, even in the so-called "year of the spy," to conceive of a greater harm to national security than that caused by the defendant in view of the breadth, the critical importance to the U.S., and the high sensitivity of the information he sold to Israel… I respectfully submit that any U.S. citizen, and in particular a trusted government official, who sells U.S. secrets to any foreign nation should not be punished merely as a common criminal. Rather the punishment imposed should reflect the perfidy of the individual's actions, the magnitude of the treason committed, and the needs of national security.

The word treason – which was not part of the government's initial charge – was introduced by Weinberger for the first time, just prior to sentencing.

In a breathtaking display of poor timing, a few weeks before sentencing U.S. public opinion was again inflamed by the news that Rafael Eitan had been appointed chairman of the board of Israel Chemical Industries, a government corporation, while Aviem Sella was appointed to command a major air base, which meant promotion in rank, moves that seemed to belie Israel's formal claim that this was a rogue operation, unauthorized and wild. Following public outcry in the U.S., Sella resigned his post. Meanwhile public opinion in Israel demanded the appointment of an inquiry committee to investigate the evolution of the affair and to determine responsibility for this operation. The harshness of the Pollard sentence led the government to appoint a two-man committee (the Tsur-Rotenstreich Committee) on March 12, 1987, while a subcommittee of the Knesset Foreign Affairs and Defense Committee headed by Abba *Eban carried out its own separate and independent investigation. Both committees submitted their reports on May 26, 1987.

The Tsur-Rotenstreich committee felt that the entire cabinet should bear responsibility for the affair. In a secret annex it affixed blame on Prime Ministers Peres and Shamir and Defense Ministers Arens and Rabin for failure to exercise control and supervision over the Scientific Liaison Unit and recommended new procedures in intelligence operations. This body and the Knesset subcommittee felt that the involved civil servants, Eitan and Sella, acted injudiciously and far exceeded their authority, but also blamed the senior political echelon for lack of involvement in such operations and their failure to check the details pertaining to the source of the vast intelligence information flowing to Israel. Both committees severely criticized Israel's leadership for hasty actions and serious errors of judgment, although they justified their cooperation with the United States government.

American Jews were furious, most especially Israel's strongest supporters in Congress and in the Executive Branch and the bevy of Israel's supporters who worked in Washington to advance the U.S.-Israeli alliance. The avowed justification of Pollard that he was a Zionist and the exploitation of that commitment by Israeli agents – and perhaps even higher authorities – threatened the easy communications, the close friendships, and cooperative working relationships throughout Washington. The affair placed the American Jewish community in an embarrassing situation, their confidence in Israel's leadership seriously shaken, fearing that the affair could be used in the future by anti-Israel and anti-Jewish elements in America. Public opinion both in Israel and the U.S. felt however that the Israeli committees' reports basically amounted to a whitewash. Accusations by such eminent Israeli intellectuals as Shlomo Avineri that the Pollard case was the Dreyfus case redux only inflamed the tension. The differences were basic: Pollard was guilty, Dreyfus was framed, and American Jewry was not reticent about going public in defense of Jewish interests and confronting the administration, whether Democratic or Republican.

To some, Pollard was a hero. A fundraising effort on Israeli city streets brought more than $150,000 for the Pollard defense fund. Significant sums were raised to pay for ongoing litigation that reached not only the Court of Appeals but the Supreme Court. Those Israelis who sought to defend their country's actions argued that Israel was still under siege, fighting a battle against terror, and living in a fragile and turbulent Middle East. Israel's strategy rested on early warning with intelligence the key to that strategy. Denying Israel vital information was seen as hurting its vital security interests. In spite of the existing Israel-U.S. Strategic Understanding, some Israelis felt they were not being supplied with all relevant information.

These arguments did not convince many Israelis who felt that a monumental error had been committed and that Israeli leaders were not being required to pay the political price for their lack of judgment and involvement. It was feared that the affair would have long-term negative effects on Israel-American relations and the degree of trust and confidence once prevailing in these ties had been seriously compromised.

Over time, the anger generated by the Pollard Affair within American Jewry has faded; many who condemned him and the Israeli government now support clemency, and Pollard is a hero to some within the American Jewish community though not within the political establishment. Still, few relish the image of Pollard going to Israel and receiving a hero's welcome.

By the early 21st century all avenues of appeals had been denied at every level of the U.S. judicial system. The case had been litigated again and again. Pollard divorced his first wife and remarried. Pollard remained in prison, often in solitary confinement, angry at American Jewry for abandoning him, angry at Israel for leaving an agent in the field. His only hope was clemency, and it seemed that every time Israel made a major concession in the peace process such as in the Wye Agreement, the request for presidential clemency was made and then the American intelligence establishment used all of its considerable resources to pressure the president – as George Tenet and others did with President Clinton – not to acquiesce to the Israeli request. The case also has ongoing consequences, as in 2005 two AIPAC officials were indicted for passing on to the Israeli government secret information given to them by a Pentagon official. Painstaking efforts were made to distinguish their case from the Pollard Affair. No documents were passed, no funds were offered or received, and these men were not American officials but lobbyists who routinely trade in information.

In 2006 yet another appeal on behalf of Jonathan Pollard was presented to the U.S. Supreme Court.

[Meron Medzini / Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

POLLEGAR (**Pulgar**, **Policar**), **ISAAC BEN JOSEPH IBN** (first half of 14th century), Spanish scholar and philosopher. Pollegar's chief literary work was the *Ezer ha-Dat* ("Support of Faith"), consisting of five sections, which was published with an English summary by G. Belasco in 1906, while a variant text of the second section was published by E. Ashkenazi in *Ta'am Zekenim* (1854), 12–19. The purpose of the work was to answer the criticisms of certain schools of thought against Judaism. In the first and main section, the author sets forth the chief principles of Judaism, such as the superiority of Moses and the Torah, the world to come, and the Messiah, and rejects despair over the sufferings of Israel. Combating the apostate *Abner of Burgos, whom he had befriended in his youth, he refutes the latter's Christological interpretation of the *aggadah* by claiming that the *aggadot* are not binding and need not be taken literally. The second section consists in large part of a dialogue between an opponent of philosophical studies and someone who believes that philosophical studies should be pursued, and concludes with the author's reconciliation of Judaism and philosophy along Averroistic lines. In the third section, Pollegar opposes the view, usual in medieval Judaism, that human affairs are guided by the influence of the heavenly bodies, and attacks determinist views such as those expounded by Abner of Burgos. Pollegar attempts to solve the problem posed by Abner of the alleged contradiction between human freedom and divine foreknowledge by his theory of the mutual cooperation of the divine and human wills. The source of all action is the divine will. All of man's actions are founded upon the imitation of the divine will by the human. At the moment when human actions are realized, their completion is ordained by the divine will, and at the very same moment they become objects of the human will, which thus imitates the divine will. Since God's foreknowledge and the decision of His will exist within His essence at the same moment, neither precedes man's actions. God's knowledge, however, does not change, since knowledge of particulars originates in His all-embracing knowledge identical with his essence. The fourth section consists of an attack on various kinds of pseudosciences which conflict with true philosophy. This section includes a four-part critique of

(a) the philosophizers who do not really know philosophy yet mock religion,

(b) the kabbalists, criticized for their language, their belief in their tradition and its authority, and their alleged nonmonotheism,

(c) those who see nature as an independent force, and

(d) believers in sorcery. In the fifth section Pollegar praises pure intellectual activity which, he states, can only be fully developed in the next world.

Pollegar also composed at least one treatise against astrology, a translation of the third book of Al-Ghazālī's *Maqāṣid al-Falāsifa*, and a reply to Abner of Burgos known as the *Iggeret ha-Ḥarifot* ("Epistle of Blasphemies"). He refers to commentaries on Genesis, Psalms, and Ecclesiastes, and also to a work called *Musar Banim* ("Discipline of Sons"); none of these is extant.

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[Frank Talmage]

POLLIN, ABE (1923–), U.S. sports owner, philanthropist. Pollin's parents were immigrants from Russia who came to America as teenagers with no money and no knowledge of the English language. His father taught himself to read and write, and worked his way up as a plumbing and heating contractor, to the point where he became the largest contractor in Washington with 250 employees. He was the first chairman of Israel Bonds in Washington, and was present at the meeting on November 8, 1946, when money was collected to purchase the *Exodus* the next day. Pollin was born in Philadelphia, and moved to Washington, D.C., when he was eight, growing up seven blocks from Griffith Stadium. He graduated from George Washington University in 1945, and went to work for his family's construction company for 12 years. He then started his own construction company in 1957. In 1964 Pollin purchased the NBA's Baltimore Bullets for $1.1 million, the most anyone had ever paid for a team at that time, and then moved the team in 1973 to Landover, Maryland, near Washington, D.C. The Washington Bullets won the NBA championship in 1978. He later changed the name of the basketball team from Bullets to Wizards, three months after Yitzhak *Rabin was gunned down, saying "the name Bullets is no longer appropriate." In 1972, Pollin received an N.H.L. franchise that later became the Washington Capitals.

Pollin, chairman and CEO of Washington Sports & Entertainment, twice built a multi-million dollar sports and entertainment arena. On December 2, 1973, he opened the Capital Centre in Landover, Maryland, and 24 years later, on December 2, 1997, he opened the MCI Center in the middle of downtown Washington, D.C., which was a cornerstone in helping to revitalize the downtown area. Both arenas were considered state of the art facilities, the standard for new arenas throughout the world. By 2006, Pollin was in his 42nd season of ownership, making him the longest-tenured owner in the National Basketball Association.

Together with his wife, Irene, Pollin's philanthropic and humanitarian work was widespread: he served as chairman of the Advisory Council for UNICEF and was on the international board of the Red Cross; he was president of the Advisory Board of the American Foundation for Autistic Children, honorable chairman of the Salvation Army's Leadership Committee for Centers of Hope, a founding partner of the National Health Museum, and co-sponsor of the "I Have a Dream Foundation" through which he has personally guaranteed college education for some 60 students in Maryland. Pollin also works with business and government leaders in Washington to help the city's homeless population, and helps administer a host of D.C. programs including Abe's Tables, Food For Kids, Serving Seniors Thanksgiving Dinner, Pollin Award, Read To Achieve, Our House Rules, Annual Turkey Basket Giveaway, and The Wizards Kids 'n Kops program. Pollin and his wife established the Pollin Prize for Pediatric Research, administered by New York Presbyterian Hospital, and Irene Pollin, president and founder of the Linda and Kenneth Pollin Foundation, was founder and chairperson of the Sister to Sister – Everyone Has a Heart Foundation.

Pollin was awarded the Duke Ziebert Capital Achievement Award for helping to revitalize downtown Washington, and was the recipient of the Distinguished Civilian Service Award, presented by the U.S. Army; the 1996 Robert F. Kennedy-Martin Luther King, Jr. Award, presented by Coalition to Stop Gun Violence; the 1996 United Cerebral Palsy Achievement Award; and the 1997 Jewish Leadership Award.

[Elli Wohlgelernter (2nd ed.)]

POLLINI, BERNHARD (**Baruch Pohl**; 1838–1897), opera manager. Pollini began his career as a tenor (later baritone) in his native Cologne and while on tour with an Italian opera troupe, he became its manager. Subsequently he managed the Lemberg Theater and the Italian Opera in St. Petersburg and Moscow. Pollini directed the Hamburg City Theater from 1874 until his death. Under his leadership, it gained an international reputation both for its performances and for the many outstanding musicians, such as Gustav *Mahler, whom it first brought to public attention.

POLNA (Czech **Polná**), town in S.E. Bohemia, Czech Republic. Jews are mentioned in the vicinity in 1415 and two Jewish families in Polna itself in 1570. The town's law-manual of 1582 also contains a Jewish *oath formula. A cemetery was established in 1619. In 1681 Jewish and town representatives signed an agreement to build a Jewish quarter of 16 houses (one of its gates was still extant in 1970). The synagogue was built in 1684 and renovated for the first time in the 18th century. The register of synagogue seats was kept in the town archives. In a conflagration in 1863 the synagogue and 32 houses were destroyed. There were 27 Jewish families in Polna in 1724, and 541 Jews lived in the town in 1847. The synagogue was renovated for a second time in 1861. In 1869 there were 430 Jews in Polna, and 238 in 1890. Polna acquired a dubious notoriety through the *Hilsner blood libel case in 1899. In 1930 the community numbered 51 (1.2% of the total population). In 1942 the Jews remaining in Polna were deported to Nazi death camps. The synagogue equipment was sent to the Central Jewish Museum in Prague. Although no congregation was reorganized after the Holocaust, the synagogue and the Jewish cemetery remained extant. Restoration of the synagogue commenced in 1990s.

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[Jan Herman and Meir Lamed]

POLONNOYE, town in the Khmelnitski (Proskurov) district, Ukraine. Jews are mentioned in 1601, and by the middle of the century it was an important community in *Volhynia. In 1648, the time of the *Chmielnicki massacres, when the Cossack armies approached the town about 12,000 Jews found refuge in its fortress, defending themselves, together with Poles, against the enemy. When the Cossacks overran the town about 300 Jews gathered in the *bet ha-midrash* and, led by the kabbalist R. Samson *Ostropoler, they wrapped themselves in their *tallitot* and met death with a prayer on their lips. The number of dead in the town was estimated at 10,000. In 1684 the owner of the town, Countess Lyubomirskaya, granted Jews letters-patent which authorized them to build houses in one of the town's quarters. They were also exempted from military service in exchange for a special payment in favor of the Christian inhabitants, "…with the exception of a general mobilization in the event of an attack by the enemy." In the 18th century the Jews suffered from attacks by the Haidamacks and from Polish and Swedish soldiers.

Polonnoye rapidly became an important commercial and spiritual center. During the second half of the 18th century, two of the pillars of Ḥasidism (and disciples of the Ba'al Shem Tov), Aryeh Judah *Leib ("The 'Mokhiaḥ' of Polonnoye," d. 1770) and after him, Jacob Joseph *ha-Kohen (d. 1782), held the rabbinical positions of the town.

Hebrew printers were active in Polonnoye between 1782 and 1820. Among them was Samuel b. Issachar Ber, who also printed in *Korets and *Shklov, and who transferred the press to *Ostrog in 1794. Another was Joseph b. Ẓevi ha-Kohen, active from 1800 to 1820, who founded another press in *Medzibezh, in 1815. Altogether some 90 works, mostly kabbalistic, ḥasidic, and ethical, were issued, some of the latter in Yiddish.

In 1847 there were 2,647 Jews in Polonnoye and, according to the census, there were 7,910 Jews (48.5% of the population) in 1897. In 1919 the town was at the center of the battle area between the Red and Ukrainian armies, and consequently, during Passover of that year, most of the inhabitants fled to nearby towns. In September calvary units of Budenny rioted, robbing and killing about 40 Jews. In 1926 there were 5,337 Jews (32.5% of the population) in Polonnoye, and their number dropped further by 1939 to 4,171 (30% of the total population. The Germans occupied the town on July 6, 1941, and after a month they executed 19 Jews as Communist agents. On August 23, 1941 they murdered 113, and in June 1942 they killed 1,200. In all the Germans murdered about 2,000 Jews. There was no information available on the presence of Jews in Polonnoye after World War II.

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[Yehuda Slutsky]

POLOTSK, city in Vitebsk district, Belarus, one of the oldest Jewish communities in Lithuania. There is evidence that Jews settled in Polotsk toward the end of the 15th century. In 1551 the Jews of the city were exempted from paying a special tax known as the *srebrzczyzna*. When Ivan the Terrible captured Polotsk in 1563, he ordered that all the Jews who refused to be baptized (around 300), should be drowned in the Dvina River. (Memorial prayers for these martyrs were recited in Polotsk each year on the 25th of Kislev.) The Jewish community was revived soon after, but in 1580, when the town adopted the *Magdeburg law, it forbade Jewish commerce and purchase of real estate within the city. Jews lived on six landholdings outside municipal jurisdiction. The Jewish community was destroyed in 1654 by Cossack rebels, but was rebuilt shortly after. When local residents complained in 1681 that the Jews were purchasing land within the city without paying municipal taxes, King John III Sobieski ordered them to pay. In 1765 there were 1,003 poll-tax paying Jews in Polotsk. The city was one of the earliest centers of Ḥasidism in Belorussia and *Israel ben Pereẓ of *Polotsk (a disciple of Dov Baer the Maggid of Mezhirich) was a leader of ḥasidic immigration to Ereẓ Israel in 1777. Polotsk had 2,600 Jews in 1815 (56.3% of the total population). The figure rose to 7,275 by 1847 and to 12,481 in 1897 (61% of the total). In the late 19th century the city became a center of anti-Jewish agitation, largely because several Russian Orthodox monasteries and an officers' training school were located there. When pogroms broke out in October 1905, the authorities prohibited Jewish self-defense activities in the city. There were 19,252 Jews living in Polotsk in 1910. The community maintained 23 synagogues, a *talmud torah*, and a Jewish high school. The *kehillah* (Jewish community organization) was abolished under Soviet rule in 1918, along with many other Jewish public institutions. In 1926 the number of Jews had fallen to 8,186 (32% of the total) and dropped further by 1939 to 6,464 (22% of the total population). The two Yiddish schools had 340 pupils, and a Jewish orphanage and kindergarten existed there. The Germans occupied the town on July 16, 1941. A ghetto was organized in August, but in September all Jews were moved to a closed camp near the village of Lozovka, where many died from hunger and disease. In December 1941 7,000 Jews of Polotsk and its environs were murdered. In 1970 the Jewish population of Polotsk was estimated at about 500. There was no synagogue.

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[Yehuda Slutsky]

POLOTSKY, HANS JACOB (1905–1991), Orientalist and linguist. Born in Zurich to Russian parents, Polotsky attended the universities of Berlin and Goettingen, studying Egyptology and Semitics. While at Goettingen he was employed at the "Septuaginta Unternehmen," in connection with Greek, Coptic, Syriac, and Arabic material. In Berlin he edited Manichaean texts in Coptic. These texts brought him into contact with Turkish (and Iranian) dialects. His interest in Ethiopic languages (Ge'ez, Amharic, Gouragé, Tigrina, etc.) widened when he began teaching at the Hebrew University in 1934, as professor from 1948. He received the Israel Prize in humanities (1965). In Jerusalem he discovered native speakers of Eastern Neo-Aramaic (modern Syriac) dialects, and thus became acquainted with this long-neglected subject. Being familiar with Russian besides many other European languages, he was able to use important Russian contributions in this field. The discovery of Greek Papyri in Israel (Naḥal Ḥever) provided him with the opportunity to return to Hellenistic Greek. Polotsky is the rare, if not the last, of a type of linguist whose achievements are outstanding in several language families. This enabled him to obtain remarkable results in such studies as his *Etudes de syntaxe Copte* where he solved problems that had been vexing generations of Coptologists, such as the use of the so-called "second tenses," which he approached through the comparison of Coptic texts with their Greek "Vorlage" and by adducing Arabic on French and English constructions of the type "it is who…" (cleft sentence). This type of work, using parallels from different language families, relied less upon dictionaries and grammars of the languages concerned than upon his own material which he collected himself. As an Egyptologist he made his mark with several important studies, e.g., *Egyptian Tenses* (the Israel Academy of Science and Humanities, Proceedings no. 5; 1965). Polotsky proceeds along the lines of synchronic description, following the Saussure school. Only after achieving his aim does he take recourse to comparative material, sometimes nailing down his results by employing diachrocical proofs. Since he never published an article on general linguistics, his approach to languages can be pieced together only by studying carefully all his articles, dealing with different languages. In his *Études de grammaire Gouragé*, he reconstructed a form that (he thought) had disappeared from Ethiopian dialects and had the satisfaction to learn that the "reconstructed" form does indeed exist in one of them. In his studies in modern Syriac he showed his first-hand knowledge of the different Neo-Aramaic dialects spoken near the sea of Urmia (in Iran and Iraq), and proved that synchronic problems of certain dialects can be solved by comparative dialectology plus the diachronic approach. In his article *Syntaxe Amharique et syntaxe Turque* (1960), a study of two languages which belong to two entirely different language families (Semitic and Uralo-Altaic), he showed how close they are in the field of syntax, without having had any contact with each other. While conversant with recent linguistic trends, including that of N. Chomsky, Polotsky tended toward the school of de Saussure. His *Collected Papers* were published by the Magnes Press of the Hebrew University (1971).

A bibliography of his writings appeared in H.B. Rosén (ed.), *Studies in Egyptology and Linguistics in Honour of H.J. Polotsky* (1964), ix–xi. Quite a few languages never dealt with by Polotsky in his articles are even more familiar to him than those mentioned, e.g., Latin (Classical and Middle) and, of course, Hebrew, biblical, mishnaic, that of the prayer book and of Israeli Hebrew. Polotsky is the linguists' linguist.

[Eduard Yecheskel Kutscher]

POLSHEK, JAMES (1930–), U.S. architect. Polshek received his bachelor's degree from Case Western Reserve University and masters in architecture from Yale University (1955). He established Polshek Partnership Architects in Greenwich, Conn., in 1963 and is now based in New York. Polshek also served for 15 years as dean of the School of Architecture, Planning and Preservation at Columbia University in New York.

Central to Polshek's view of architecture is the necessity of it being connected to community and tradition. Polshek has suggested that the "increasing homogenization" of architecture in the United States "brings despondence and is unhealthy. It indicates a loss of place." As a result, Polshek became an important critic of what he called the "bad quality of building today" that is due to a variety of problems, especially lack of vision by public leaders. Polshek's approach is to create architecture that "implements resolutions rather than creating oppositions," and must fulfill the aspirations of the institutions they house.

Polshek's most well-known projects are the William Jefferson Clinton Presidential Center in Little Rock, Ark., the Carnegie Hall renovation, and Zankel Hall expansion in New York, the Rose Center for Earth and Space at the American Museum of Natural History, the New York Times Printing Plant, the Santa Fe Opera Theater in New Mexico, the WGBH public television headquarters near Boston, the Newseum/Freedom Forum headquarters in Washington, D.C., the Omaha Performing Arts Center, and National Inventors Hall of Fame in Akron, Ohio.

The Clinton Library drew particular praise because of the choice of site in a downtown industrial zone, linked to downtown Little Rock by a 27-acre public park. On the other hand, a more modest, yet important renovation by Polshek Partnership was that of Symphony Space and the Thalia Theater on Manhattan's Upper West Side, which has a tradition of catering to avant-garde film and theater.

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[Stephen C. Feinstein (2nd ed.)]

POLTAVA, capital of Poltava district, Ukraine. Jews began to settle there at the close of the 18th century. In 1801 there were 18 Jewish merchants in Poltava and 292 Jews classed as townsmen (about one fifth of the total number of inhabitants). The community in Poltava and its environs numbered 2,073 in 1847. The number of Jews in the town doubled by the 1870s, and in 1897 reached 11,046 (20.5% of the total population), of whom a considerable number were from Lithuania and Belorussia. The Poltava community was one of the best organized and most progressive in Russia. It had 10 synagogues. Jews owned four large flour mills, most of the distilleries, some lumber warehouses, and two printing presses. At the close of the 19th century the *talmud torah* was converted into a modern elementary school, which was attended by 300 children who studied both religious and general subjects; its teaching staff included Alexander Siskind *Rabinovitz and M. Haezraḥi. There were also a girls' vocational school supported by the *Jewish Colonization Association, a yeshivah, and 20 *ḥadarim*. The community's hospital and clinic provided free services, and there were an old age home and a loan bank. The Jewish library contained 8,000 volumes. The influence of the Russian intelligentsia, led by the author V. Korolenko, prevented the outbreak of pogroms in Poltava during both periods of revolution in Russia in 1905 and 1917. There was a strong Zionist movement in Poltava, which was one of the foremost centers of the *Po'alei Zion movement in Russia; several founders of this party were born in Poltava and began their activities there: B. *Borochov, I. *Ben-Zvi, and Y. *Zerubavel (the last two were natives of Poltava). The ideological organ of the party, *Yevreyskaya Rabochaya Khronika* (founded in 1906), was published in Poltava, and the founding conference of Po'alei Zion was held there. Rabbi of Poltava from 1893 to 1917 was E.A. Rabinowich, a leader of the extreme Orthodox and a strong opponent of the Zionists. He published the religious monthly *Ha-Peles* (1903–06) and the weekly *Ha-Modi'a* (1910–15) in Poltava. The historian Elias *Tcherikower was born in Poltava.

Under the Soviet regime the fate of the community was the same as that of the rest of Russian Jewry. Until 1927 Poltava remained a center for printing of Jewish religious books (particularly *siddurim* and calendars). In 1926 among the 9,000 Jewish breadwinners, 2,415 were white collar workers, 1,862 craftsmen, and 1,676 simple laborers. Some 80% of the artisan union were Jews. Many were occupied in the large sock factory that supplied the entire Soviet Union. There were 2 Yiddish schools and a Yiddish section in the railroad school. The Jewish population numbered 18,476 (20.1% of the total) in 1926. It dropped by 1939 to 12,860 (10% of the total population).

The Germans entered the city September 18, 1941. Many Jews were successfully evacuated or escaped. A Judenrat was established, and the Jews were called to register. On September 25, 5,000 were murdered, and on November 23, after a new registration was ordered, 3,000 Jews were executed. In the following days Jews who evaded registration or hid were caught and executed. In the late 1960s the Jewish population was estimated at 5,000. There was no synagogue, the remaining one having been closed down in 1959 by the militia, which broke in, confiscated all religious articles, dispersed the congregation, and prohibited the holding of further gatherings. Subsequently Jews have prayed in private. There is a Jewish cemetery in Poltava. There are also two mass graves of Jewish martyrs murdered by the Nazis; one in which 13,000 bodies are buried, and in the other 7,000. The monuments there do not specify that all the victims were Jews.

Region of "Poltavshchina"

Jews began to settle in the region during the early 17th century in the process of Jewish participation in the colonization of Ukraine. By 1610 there was a Jewish community in Berezan (to the north of Pereyaslav), and within a few decades about a dozen Jewish communities were established in the districts of *Pereyaslav and Mirgorod, of which the largest were in Pereyaslav and *Lubny. Jews engaged in commerce and the leasing of estates, flour mills, liquor distilleries, breweries, and inns. There was strong competition from Christian townsmen, and during the *Chmielnicki massacres of 1648 these communities were among the first to be destroyed. After the region came under Russian rule Jews were not permitted to live there until the first partition of Poland in 1772. Individual Jewish families, however, settled in various estates under the protection of their owners despite frequent expulsions by the authorities.

After the first partition of Poland in 1772, Jewish settlement on the eastern bank of the river Dnieper was renewed, and by 1792 there were over 700 Jews in the region, most of whom lived on estates or in villages. In 1794 this region, which then formed part of the province of Yekaterinoslav, was incorporated within the *Pale of Settlement. In 1803 there were 82 Jewish merchants and 2,030 Jews classed as townsmen living in the province of Poltava, which was formed in 1802. The community of *Kremenchug was the largest in the district, and developed in particular owing to its position on the Dnieper, the main waterway from Lithuania to the south. It accounted in 1897 for 30% of the Jews in the province. In 1847, 15,572 Jews were counted in the 18 communities of the province (which also included the Jews in the small settlements and their environs). Their numbers increased as a result of a large emigration from Lithuania and Belorussia, and were estimated at 84,000 in 1881. The census of 1897 recorded 111,417 Jews (4% of the total population) in Poltava province (the lowest percentage of Jews in all the provinces of the Pale). The Russian-Ukrainian majority had a strong assimilationist influence on the Jews in the province, who were a minority in all the towns; it was only in Kremenchug that their numbers approached half the population. On the other hand, *Chabad Ḥasidism, which penetrated from the north, was an important spiritual influence (the tomb of *Shneur Zalman of Lyady, the founder of Chabad Ḥasidism, is in *Gadyach in Poltava province).

About one half of the Jews of the province of Poltava earned their livelihood from commerce (in contrast to 38.5% in the whole of Russia), and about 30 percent were engaged in crafts and industry. Commerce was principally conducted in grain and other agricultural produce. Although some Jews owned saw mills, brick-kilns, flour mills, alcohol distilleries, and other enterprises, the overwhelming majority of the workers in them were non-Jews. During the spring of 1881 pogroms occurred in the north of the province of Poltava. In 1905 a wave of pogroms swept across 52 settlements of the province. The most severely affected were Gadyach, Kremenchug, *Romny, and *Zolotonosha.

During World War I thousands of refugees and Jews expelled from the battle zone arrived in the province of Poltava and found refuge in the Jewish communities. During the Civil War, the communities of the western section of the province suffered especially from pogroms by bands of Ukrainians and the "volunteer army" of A.I. *Denikin. In 1926 there were approximately 93,000 Jews in the five districts (Kremenchug, Lubny, Poltava, *Priluki, Romny) of the former territory of the province of Poltava.

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[Yehuda Slutsky]

POLYAKOV, family of railroad builders and bankers in Russia, headed by the brothers Jacob, Samuel, and Eliezer. They originated in Dubrovno, Belorussia. JACOB (1832–1909) began his economic career as a liquor excise farmer and later went on to railroad construction. He participated in the founding of the Don-Azov and other Russian banks and also acted as the vice chairman of the *Jewish Colonization Association in Russia. He received a Russian title of nobility. SAMUEL (1837–1888) was one of the most important railroad builders in Russia. He was responsible for laying over 1,600 mi. (2,500 kms.) of railroads, including the Kozlov (Michurinsk)-Rostov and the Kursk-Kharkov-Azov lines, and strategic railroads in Romania during the Russo-Turkish War of 1877–78. He also founded the South Russian Coal Mining Society and several important banks (Moscow Estate Bank, Don Estate Bank, etc.). He contributed generously to Russian educational and cultural institutions and showed a special concern for technical education (he founded the first technical school for railroad construction in Yelets in 1867 and the first school for mining in Korsun). He was unpopular among Jews because of his refusal to employ Jewish workers in his enterprises, but toward the end of his life played a role in Jewish public life. He initiated the foundation of the *ORT organization, participated in negotiations with the minister of the interior P.N. *Ignatyev in 1881–82 and contributed to the construction of the synagogue of St. Petersburg. He received a Russian title of nobility. ELIEZER (1842–1914) constructed railroads in partnership with his brother Samuel and was one of the leading bankers in Moscow. He was president of the Moscow Estate Bank and in 1873 founded the Polyakov Bank. He invested large sums in the development of industries in Russia and Persia. Eliezer was president of the Jewish community of Moscow and received a Russian title of nobility. In 1908, after a crisis befell his enterprises, he was removed from the majority of them by the government.

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[Yehuda Slutsky]

°**POLYBIUS OF MEGALOPOLIS** (c. 210–128 B.C.E.), the most notable of the Hellenistic historians. Polybius did not devote much space to the Jews or Judaism in his universal history. His detailed description of the fourth Syrian war (book 5) makes no mention of Jerusalem or Judea, although it gives a comparatively lengthy account of the conquest of Palestine. He does, however, discuss the Jews in the context of the fifth Syrian war, as attested in the fragment from book 16 of his history, preserved in Josephus (Ant., 12:3, 135–6). Here Polybius records among other achievements of Antiochus III that those Jews who lived near the Temple of Jerusalem allied themselves with him. From another passage (Jos., Apion, 2:53–54) it can be seen that a section of Polybius' work, now lost, also gave *Antiochus Epiphanes' impecunious state as his motive for plundering the Temple.

POLYKOFF, SHIRLEY (1908–1998), innovative advertising executive. Born the middle daughter of Russian Jewish immigrants, Polykoff began selling coats in a department store at the age of 11 and wrote her first advertising copy as a teenager while working at *Harper's Bazaar.* By 1929 she was earning money as a copywriter for a women's specialty shop and soon began writing catchy ads for other products, including "Chock Full O'Nuts, the heavenly coffee." Her most famous ad was written in 1955 for Clairol hair products. "Does she … or doesn't she? Hair color so natural only her hairdresser knows for sure," was tremendously successful and enriched both Clairol and Foote, Cone & Belding, the agency where Polykoff was employed. The Clairol ad budget grew from $400,000 to $33 million in one year. Polykoff, who colored her hair, credited her mother-in-law with the phrase. Polykoff continued with catchy ads such as "Is it true blondes have more fun?" and "If I've only one life, let me live it as a blonde!" During her marriage she had the agency hold her salary at $25,000, so as not to make more money than her lawyer husband, George Halperin. After his death in 1961, the agency increased her salary tremendously, in part as a result of her promotions within the agency. In 1968 she became the chairman of the creative board of Foote, Cone & Belding and a vice president. She went on to head her own advertising firm, Shirley Polykoff Advertising, Inc., one of the few women to do so. Polykoff was named Advertising Woman of the Year in 1967 by the American Advertising Federation, an award she considered her greatest honor; she received some 16 other awards, including a Matrix award for professional achievement in the media. Polykoff, who had two daughters and three grandchildren, wrote about her career in her book, *Does She … or Doesn't She? And How She Did It* (1975).

[Sara Alpern (2nd ed.)]

POMEGRANATE (Heb. רִמּוֹן, *rimmon*), the tree, *Punica granatum*, and its fruit. It is one of the seven choice fruits of Ereẓ Israel (Deut. 8:8), and among the fruits brought by the spies sent by Moses, as proof of the land's fertility (Num. 13:23). After the devastation of the land "the vine, the fig tree, and the pomegranate and olive tree" ceased producing their fruit (Ḥag. 2:19). The pomegranate, with its beautiful red flowers, decorative fruit, and its delicate flavor, was especially beloved by the poet of the Song of Songs, who mentions it six times. The loved one is compared to "a park of pomegranates" (4:13); her cheek (*rakkah*) to a "pomegranate split open" (4:3, 6:7), the reference being to a divided pomegranate, as the cheeks are called "the *rimmon* of the face" in the Talmud (Av. Zar. 30b). In the spring its large flowers are conspicuous in their beauty (Songs 6:11). The juice of pomegranates is a delicious drink (8:2). Adornments in the shape of the fruit embellished the hem of the robe of the high priest Aaron (Ex. 28:33–34) and the capitals of the pillars of the Temple (I Kings 7:18, 42). Three joined pomegranates also appear on the Hasmonean coins, and it also appeared upon the one *lirah* coin of modern Israel. A number of localities in Israel have its name: Ein Rimmon, Gat Rimmon, Sela ha-Rimmon, etc.

In the time of the Mishnah and Talmud, the pomegranate was one of the important plants, and details about it abound. It grew in nearly every region of the country, but the best were the pomegranates of the valleys (Tosef., Bik. 1:5). Those from Badan, apparently in the Wadi Badan near Shechem, won particular praise (Or. 3:7). Various species of it were grown (Tosef., Ter. 2:4) and there were both sweet and sour varieties (*ibid.* 5:10). Pomegranates were of different sizes (Kel. 17:5), but the average size was less than that of the average *etrog* (TJ, Naz. 1:4, 51c). It is noted that the pomegranate's "fruit is beautiful but not its tree" (TJ, Suk. 3:5, 53d). Unlike the seeds, the peel is very bitter, hence the pomegranate was used metaphorically for a pupil who selected only the good: "He found a pomegranate, ate the fruit and discarded the peel" (Ḥag. 15b). Schoolchildren sitting in their rows and learning Torah were compared to the compact kernels of the pomegranate (Song R. 6:11), and the Talmud interprets the Song of Songs 4:3 homiletically to the effect that "even the most empty of Jews is as full of good deeds as the pomegranate [is of kernels]" (Ber. 57a). The delicate beauty of pomegranate kernels found poetic expression in the description of the beauty of Johanan of whom it was said that anyone wishing to see it: "Let him bring a silver cup from the smelter, fill it with the kernels of a red pomegranate, surround it with a crown of red roses, and put it between the sun and the shade, he will then sense in its brilliance the beauty of Johanan" (BM 84a). The kernels were eaten fresh, or pressed into juice or they were dried and a sort of raisin made from them (Tosef. Shev. 6:29).

The peel of the pomegranate contains a dark brown dye that was used for dyeing (Shev. 7:3) and also as a test for invisible ink (Git. 19b; *narah* there being the Persian for pomegranate). Pomegranate trees are cultivated in Israel and are frequently to be seen near the houses of Arabs. In the valley of Beth-Shean extensive pomegranate orchards were planted but with doubtful success, since the pomegranate was attacked by pests.

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[Jehuda Feliks]

POMERANIA, former duchy, subsequently Prussian territory; divided between Poland and Germany since 1945. The earliest references to Jewish settlement in Pomerania date from the 13th century, when (in 1261) Duke Barnim I decreed that the clauses of the Magdeburg *Law concerning the Jews would apply to Stettin (*Szczecin) and the rest of Pomerania. It is recorded that in 1320 the Jews of Templin, Prenzlau, and Pasewalk enjoyed civic equality; indeed, until the *Black Death persecutions (1350) the position of Pomeranian Jewry was relatively favorable. Originally the Jews made their living as traders, later turning to moneylending. Nevertheless, in spite of the privileges of 1481 and a grant of residence to 22 Jewish families, Boguslaw X expelled them in 1492/3. On the other hand, Frederick William, the "Great Elector" (1640–88), extended an invitation to Jewish merchants who had been expelled from Vienna in 1670 to settle in his domains, and by 1682 at least four Jewish families were living in the part of Pomerania that was under Prussian rule. However, numerous complaints against Jewish business practices caused him to threaten Jewish expulsion in 1687/8. By then 15 families had been licensed to reside in Pomerania, the gentry frequently interceding on their behalf. Polish Jewry continued to immigrate to Pomerania in spite of obstructive regulations. In 1706 a rabbi was elected by an assembly of Pomeranian Jewry (46 licensed families), but the king appointed his own nominee to the position.

In the western half of Pomerania, intermittently under Swedish rule, harsher regulations against Jews were in force. From 1728, however, all laws of Prussia applied to the Jews of Pomerania, who at that time totaled about 325 persons. During that period the Jews were mainly engaged in the wool, wheat, and amber trades, and in peddling.

The communities grew after 1812 (c. 1,700 Jews) until 1880 (13,886), after which date they began to decline. In 1932 there were 7,760 Jews (0.4% of the total population) in 50 communities, 28% of whom lived in the modern industrial city of Stettin. During World War II the majority of Pomeranian Jews were deported and annihilated. After the war a community was renewed in Stettin.

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[Henry Wasserman]

POMERANTZ, BERL (1900–1942), Hebrew poet. Pomerantz was born in the Polish village of Udrzyn. He studied in Vilna and later settled in Warsaw, where he unsuccessfully applied to the British authorities for an entrance visa to Ereẓ Israel. In December 1942, while hiding with a group of fellow Jewish escapees in the forest near the townlet of Janow, he was killed by German soldiers.

His work constitutes one of the most significant achievements in Hebrew poetry written in Poland between the two world wars. As distinct from the poetry of Bialik and his followers, Pomerantz's poems are in the modern manner. Composed in rhymeless *vers libre*, they are daringly figurative and evince a close affinity with the Yiddish poetry of the day which had been affected by German expressionism. His themes and preoccupations – nostalgic reminiscences of his native village with contrasting urban tableaux suggested by Warsaw (seen as the epitome of the city) – are in keeping with the spirit of his age. He is at his best when rendering visual impressions that are figuratively elaborated until they acquire the status of symbols of an uprooted, humiliated, poverty-ridden humanity. Although emotionally intense and figuratively hyperbolic, Pomerantz's language is also characterized by the concrete detail in its natural contours. His facility in perceiving metaphoric relationships never interfered with his ability to delineate what was actually observed and genuinely felt.

Pomerantz's poetry is closest to that of Ḥayyim *Lensky and Abraham *Shlonsky, but Pomerantz's work is more concrete than the latter's, as well as more intimate in tone. His longest poem, *Me-al ha-Hadom* ("From Above the Footstool"), is dedicated to the memory of his father, "whose grace lasted longer than his meal," as the poet puts it. This is an impressive work, moving in its simple sincerity, which has been compared with Bialik's *Yatmut* ("Orphanhood") cycle. *Bi-Sefatayim el ha-Sela* ("With Lips to the Rock"), his first book of poems, appeared in Warsaw in 1935. His second book, *Ḥallon ba-Ya'ar* ("A Window in the Forest"), the last to come out during his lifetime, was published in 1939 by the Stybel Publishing House in Warsaw. In Ereẓ Israel, his poems were regularly printed in the literary journal, *Gilyonot*. However, to make a living Pomerantz engaged in teaching, translation from Yiddish and Polish, and various forms of literary hackwork. Despite his trials, his poetry is never devoid of gentle and compassionate humanity nor does it ever become embittered or aggressive. His last poems, written in occupied Poland, were never recovered and were probably buried with him in the forest. Other works were published in 1966 under the title, *Shirim* ("Poems").

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[Natan Zach]

POMERANTZ, FRED P. (1901–1986), U.S. garment manufacturer. Although his formal education never went beyond the sixth grade, Pomerantz was one of the apparel business's most prominent executives. His company, Leslie Fay Inc., was an industry giant, one of the first dress manufacturers to be listed on the New York Stock Exchange, and his products were sold in stores all over the U.S. Pomerantz, a native New Yorker, was a larger-than-life character who looked more like a boxer than a businessman. Rough-hewn in manner, he would arrive at his office in a chauffeur-driven, maroon Rolls-Royce with his initials on the license plates. The car was a gift to him from the workers at his factory in Wilkes-Barre, PA., where Leslie Fay was a major employer, at one time supporting almost 2,000 people. Pomerantz started working at the age of 11, doing odd jobs and learning how to cut fabrics. With his older brother, Michael, he operated a succession of coat, dress, and uniform companies and during World War II he produced uniforms for the U.S. military. In 1947 he launched his own business, using the government's sizing guidelines to make women's dresses, a category he felt was about to increase in importance as the country moved further away from a wartime environment. He called his company Leslie Fay, naming it after his daughter, and began turning out dresses, sportswear and coats in different price ranges with a variety of labels, including Leslie Fay, Kaspar for ASL, LF Petite, Leslie Pomer, and Breckenridge. The company prospered and in 1962, a public offering was issued. In the 1980s, Leslie Fay went through two leveraged buyouts and a second public offering. The first buyout was in 1982, when Pomerantz took Leslie Fay private for $54.5 million, selling it to his son, John, and other investors. It allowed Pomerantz to cash out his 30% stock interest in the company and he retired. His son succeeded him as chairman. Two years later a second buyout was completed, for $178.4 million. Following Pomerantz's death in 1986, Leslie Fay went public again. Its volume peaked at almost $900 million in 1991, but early in 1993, it was discovered that two company officials had fraudulently reported quarterly earnings. Corrected figures revealed huge losses. The stock price, around $12 a share when the scandal broke, eventually plummeted to less than 50 cents. Leslie Fay filed for bankruptcy in 1993 and remained there for five years before emerging with new owners. It changed its name to LF Brands in April 2003, then closed at the end of the year. Despite Pomerantz's limited education, his name became attached to two prominent schools. In the 1960s, a dormitory at Brandeis University in Waltham, Mass., was named for him and his wife, Gerta. In 1986, just a few months after Pomerantz died, his family contributed $1 million to the endowment fund of the Fashion Institute of Technology in New York and the school's Art and Design Center was named for him.

[Mort Sheinman (2nd ed.)]

POMERANTZ, SIDNEY IRVING (1909–1975), U.S. historian. Pomerantz was born in New York and taught at City College, rising to the rank of professor of history in 1960. He was a pioneer in the study of American urban history, with particular emphasis on the role of the press and business enterprise as determinants of metropolitan growth. His best-known work is *New York, an American City, 1783–1803* (1965^2).

The history department of the City University of New York has established the Sidney I. Pomerantz Prize for the best essay on the history of New York City written in an elective course.

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POMI(S), DE' (Heb. מִן הַתַּפּוּחִים, *Min ha-Tappuḥim*), one of the four distinguished Roman families which, according to an ancient tradition, were brought by Titus from Ereẓ Israel to Italy (see title page of David de' Pomis, *Ẓemaḥ David*).

ELIJAH DE' POMI(S) (d. 1298), rabbi and possibly also head of the community in Rome, martyred on the 20th Tammuz 5058. The Inquisition sought to strike at the richer Jews since it considered them supporters of the Patrician Colonna family, who opposed Pope Boniface VIII (1294–1303). While denying that there was any basis for the allegation, Elijah allowed all suspicion to fall on him alone. He was burned at the stake and his family sought refuge in Spoleto. Two anonymous elegies on his death have been preserved.

DAVID DE' POMIS (1525–1593) was linguist, physician, and philosopher. Son of the learned R. Isaac, he was born in Spoleto. He received his early education from his father and later, at Todi, from his uncles Rabbi Jehiel (Vitale) and Moses *Alatino, both physicians who were well versed in philosophy. For six years David studied medicine and philosophy in Perugia, where he received his doctorate in medicine in 1551. He was rabbi and physician at Magliano near Rome, but on account of the edict of Pope *Paul IV forbidding Jewish physicians to attend Christians (1555), he moved from town to town in Italy before he settled in 1569 in Venice, where he published the greater part of his works. Pius IV (1559–65) gave him permission to attend Christians, a concession revoked by Pius V (1565–72) and later restored by Pope Sixtus V (1585–90). In his booklet *De Medico Hebraeo Enarratio Apologica* (Venice, 1588) David de' Pomis refutes the charges brought against Jews and Jewish physicians in particular by a bull of 1581 by Gregory XIII (1572–85). He stresses that according to the Bible and Talmud a Jewish physician must give help to every sufferer, and cites numerous instances of Jewish doctors who had distinguished themselves by their work and their loyalty. The volume ends with a selection of talmudic rules translated into Latin in order to prove that the Talmud should not be despised.

David de' Pomis is famous above all for the *Ẓemaḥ David*, a trilingual Hebrew, Latin, and Italian dictionary (Venice, 1587). The work, which is dedicated to Pope Sixtus V, contains numerous discourses of a scientific and historical nature; the preface embodies the author's genealogy and autobiography. Among his other works are a translation into Italian of Ecclesiastes with explanatory notes (Venice, 1571) dedicated to Cardinal G. Grimani; *Discorso intorno a l'humana miseria e sopra il modo di fuggirla* ("A Discourse on Human Suffering and How to Escape It"; Venice 1572), dedicated to Margaret of Savoy, was published as an appendix to this work. His medical works include a treatise on the plague (Venice, 1577) and another on maladies of old age (Venice, 1588) dedicated to the doge and senate of Venice; in the latter, he mentions a work on the divine origin of the Venetian Republic which has not been preserved; also lost were *Sukkat David* and *Migdal David* (mentioned in the preface to *Ẓemaḥ David*) and a treatise on the battering ram (mentioned under the name of תותק). His translations of Daniel and Job have never been published.

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[Alfredo Mordechai Rabello]

POMMER, ERICH (1889–1966), German producer. After serving in the German army in World War I, by 1919 Pommer was directing the Deutsches Eclair (Decla) film company and had gathered a staff that included the director Fritz Lang and the set and costume designers who had been associated with the avant-garde Der Sturm group, Pommer's expressionist succés de scandale. *Cabinet of Dr. Caligari* (1919) was followed by *Dr. Mabuse* (1922); *Niebelungen* (1924), produced after Decla had merged with the German colossus of the industry, UFA; *Variety* (1925); *Metropolis* (1925/26); *Blue Angel* (1930); and *Last Laugh*. The day Hitler became chancellor of Germany, Pommer left the country for Paris, where he produced *Liliom* (1934) with Lang. In the 1930s he worked in England as an independent and in the United States for Fox, producing *Jamaica Inn* (1939) with Alfred Hitchcock and adapting the Sidney Howard play *They Knew What They Wanted* (1940). He worked again in Germany as an independent producer after the war.

POMPEII, city in Campania, Southern Italy. There is enough epigraphic evidence, mostly graffiti, to show that Jews lived in Pompeii as well as in the neighboring cities of Herculanum and Stabia, before its destruction in the eruption of Vesuvius in 79 C.E. It seems that most Jews arrived in Pompeii after 70 C.E. This assumption is corroborated by their humble status as freedmen, slaves, servants, or prostitutes. They bear traditional Jewish names such as Iesus, Ionas, Maria, and Martha. However there were also more affluent Jews like a certain Fabius Eupor, who bears the title *princes libertinorum,* or a certain Youdaikos, a wine merchant. It seems, according to epigraphic evidence, that the Jews took an active part in the municipal life of the city.

One of the houses excavated, called by the excavators "Casa degli ebrei" (N. 6, Reg. VIII, Ins. 6), exhibits wall paintings, which depicts the Judgment of Solomon. However it is possible that this painting in fact depicts a tale from Ancient Egypt, mediated by Hellenistic Alexandrine Art, and not a biblical episode. As the painting clearly caricatures the subjects, depicting them as pygmies, the owner was not Jew.

An interesting graffito (Reg. IX, Ins. I, n. 26) read "Sodom Gomor." It is possible that it was written during the eruption of Vesuvius. Another graffito bears the word Cherem in Latin, which may correspond either to *ḥerem* (ban) or *kerem* (vineyard).

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[Alfredo Mordechai Rabello / Samuele Rocca (2nd ed.)]

°**POMPEIUS TROGUS** (c. first century B.C.E.), Roman historian of the Augustan age. His comprehensive *Historiae Philippicae* (perhaps completed in 9 C.E.), concentrating on the Macedonian-Hellenistic empires, is not extant. However, an abstract made by Justin in the third or fourth century C.E., and the prefaces to all 44 books, remain. The Jews are first discussed in Book 36 in the context of events in the reign of *Antiochus Sidetes. The account falls into three sections: antiquities (archaeology); a geographical description of Judea; and the history of the Jewish nation from the Persian period. The first section is a combination of the biblical account, a Damascene account, and the hostile Greek-Egyptian tradition. Pompeius Trogus emphasizes the close connection existing between the priesthood and the monarchy in Jewish affairs, and his work reflects the conditions prevailing under the Hasmonean monarchy. He undoubtedly had access to

Greek sources, evidently among them Timagenes. The preface to Book 39 shows that he also extended his history to later developments in Hasmonean Judea.

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[Menahem Stern]

°**POMPEY** (**Gnaeus Pompeius Magnus**; 106–48 B.C.E.), Roman general and one-time triumvir with *Julius Caesar and *Crassus. In 64–63 B.C.E. Pompey effectively established Roman rule throughout Syria and Palestine. He ostensibly attempted to arbitrate between the Hasmonean factions, represented by the brothers *Hyrcanus II and *Aristobulus II, contending for supremacy in Judea. A third party, according to Diodorus (4:2; cf. Jos., Ant., 14:41), expressed preference for Roman domination which would allow for Jewish religious autonomy. Pompey, though receiving costly gifts from both the brothers, was only biding his time, and when the moment was opportune made his way to Jerusalem. The pro-Hyrcanus party opened the city gates to him. Aristobulus' faction (though he himself was now a prisoner of Pompey) resisted a siege of several months' duration. Both Jewish (Jos., *ibid.*, 64ff.) and pagan sources (Dio Cassius, 37:16) confirm that Pompey took advantage of the Sabbath day, on which Jews refrained from taking the offensive, to accelerate siege operations. The Temple appears to have been stormed in midsummer 63 B.C.E. According to Josephus Pompey entered the Holy of Holies on a "fast-day" but left it intact. There is evidence by Dio Cassius, however, that the Temple treasury was robbed by Pompey. Wholesale slaughter of the defenders took place and the country became tributary to Rome. With this, Jewish independence came to an end, save for the few fitful years of the Jewish War (66–70) and the Bar Kokhba War (132–135). A telling blow was the severance from Judean control of the vital coastal towns of Gaza, Jaffa, Straton's Tower (later Caesarea), among others, as well as Samaria (Ḥag. 25a) and large areas of Transjordan. This act was the prelude to *Gabinius' later subdivision of the country. Aristobulus was carried off to Rome in chains together with the members of his family, including his two sons, Alexander and Antigonus, the former escaping en route. Hyrcanus was rewarded by being granted the high priesthood and leadership of the nation.

The noncanonical Psalms of Solomon are generally attributed to the period of Pompey's capture of the city where this event is described. Pompey is regarded as the "alien to our race" and rod of God's wrath against Hasmonean usurpation of the Davidic throne (Ps. of Sol. 7–9). According to some scholars his era may also be the background of the first century C.E. *Pesher Habakkuk* of the Dead Sea Scrolls.

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[David Solomon]

°**POMPONIUS MELA** (first century C.E.), Roman geographer. Referring to Near-Eastern countries (he calls the area Syria), he mentions Judea and singles out three ancient cities of its southern coastal plain (which he calls Palaestina): Gaza (Aza), Ascalon (Ashkelon), and Jope (Jaffa; *De Situ Orbi* 1:11).

[Jacob Petroff]

POMUS, DOC (**Jerome Solon Felder**; 1925–1991), U.S. blues singer and songwriter who helped define rock & roll and rhythm & blues music, lyricist and co-lyricist of some of the greatest songs in rock and roll history, including "This Magic Moment," "Suspicion," "Sweets for My Sweet," "Teenager in Love," and "Save the Last Dance for Me," one of the 25 most-performed songs in history; member of the Rock and Roll Hall of Fame. Born in the Williamsburg section of Brooklyn, New York, Pomus contracted polio at age nine and walked with crutches, but it did not hinder his career: he began performing as a teenager, and became one of the finest white blues singers of his time. At the age of 15, already playing saxophone and singing at jazz and blues clubs throughout the New York metropolitan area, he changed his name to hide his profession from his parents. Pomus recorded a number of blues-influenced singles for independent companies beginning in his late teens, none of which were hits. In 1956 he began to focus on writing songs, and soon formed a partnership with Mort Shuman, a pianist, to become one of the greatest songwriting teams in the history of American popular music. They wrote 12 songs a week, and a range of artists including B.B. King, the Drifters, the Mystics, Fabian, Bobby Darin, Dion and the Belmonts, Andy Williams, and Ray Charles cut Pomus' songs. Elvis Presley recorded at least 20 Pomus originals, including "Little Sister," "Viva Las Vegas," "Kiss Me Quick," and "A Mess of Blues."

The Pomus-Shuman partnership dissolved in 1965, and Pomus went into semi-retirement after a fall that left him confined to a wheelchair the rest of his life. He re-emerged in the mid-1970s, and worked with John Belushi to put together the band that supported the Blues Brothers. Pomus teamed with Dr. John (Mac Rebennack), and wrote the songs for his albums *City Lights* and *Tango Palace*. Pomus also co-wrote most of the material for B.B. King's album *There Must Be a Better World Somewhere*, which won a 1981 Grammy Award. Some of Pomus' songs were also used on the soundtracks of the films *Dick Tracy* and *Cry Baby*. Pomus estimated that during his career he wrote more than 1,000 songs, of which 100 were domestic and foreign Top Ten songs and more than 350 top-100 songs, that sold more than 250 million recordings. Pomus was given a Pioneer Award from the Rhythm & Blues Foundation, an organization he co-founded, the first white musician to be so honored. In 1995, a tribute album featuring recordings of 14 of his songs, *Till the Night Is Gone: A Tribute to Doc Pomus*, was recorded by artists including B.B. King, Bob *Dylan, Lou *Reed, Los Lobos, Roseanne Cash, and Dr. John. He was inducted into the Rock and Roll Hall of Fame in January 1992.

[Elli Wohlgelernter (2nd ed.)]

PONARY (Lithuanian: **Paneriai**), a resort area about 5 mi. (8 km.) from Vilna, where from July 1941 to July 1944, about 100,000 people were executed by the Nazis, with the aid of special Lithuanian units. The decisive majority of the victims were Jewish men, women, and children from Vilna and the surrounding area, as well as from other countries. In addition, a few thousand non-Jewish Soviet prisoners of war and civilians were killed there. In spite of the deceit that the Nazis staged to mislead the victims brought to Ponary, the nature of the place was known in the Vilna ghetto, as early as the fall of 1941, from reports of the few people who managed to escape during the executions. A frequently sung lullaby in the Vilna ghetto, "*Shtiler, Shtiler*" ("Quieter, Quieter"), by Shmerle *Kaczerginsky, included the line: "Many roads lead to Ponary, but no road leads back." On January 1, 1942, Abba *Kovner proclaimed in his call for resistance: "Of those taken through the gates of the [Vilna] ghetto not a single one has returned. All the Gestapo roads lead to Ponar [the forest seven miles outside the city], and Ponar means death…. Ponar is not a concentration camp. They have all been shot there. Hitler plans to destroy all the Jews of Europe, and the Jews of Lithuania have been chosen as the first line." His perception of the "Final Solution" came three full weeks before the *Wannsee Conference. It took 18 more months for the Vilna ghetto inhabitants to share his perceptions.

It is known from German documents and other sources that there were instances of resistance on the part of the Jewish victims at Ponary when they were taken out to be executed. In August 1943, the Germans returned to the site, in order to cover up the traces of their crime and began to dig up and burn the corpses. The work was carried out by a group of 70 Jews and ten Soviet prisoners of war, bound in chains. A secret group was organized among them and, during a period of about three months, its members dug a tunnel about 30 meters long with spoons and with their bare hands. On the night of April 15, 1944, this group carried out its escape. Only 13 managed to get away alive, and of these 11 reached the Rudniki forests, where they joined partisan units.

After the war a monument was erected to the memory of the victims and a museum was opened containing remains discovered at the place. An information bulletin entitled *Der Muzey in Ponar* was published for Jewish visitors (1966), who come in large numbers from throughout the world. In 1969 the singer Neḥamah *Lifshitz brought remains of Ponary victims to Israel, and they were placed in the Memorial Hall of Yad Vashem in Jerusalem.

[Dov Levin / Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

PONTECORVO, BRUNO (1913–1993), Italian nuclear physicist. Born in Italy, Pontecorvo studied at Pisa University and at Rome University, where he taught from 1933 to 1936. He then served with scientific institutions in France and in 1940 moved to the U.S., where he worked as an expert in radiographic prospecting for oil. In 1943 he became a member of the Anglo-Canadian atomic energy team in Montreal and worked under the Nobel prizewinner Enrico Fermi in the Chalk River atomic project, participating in research leading to the development of neutron physics. From 1948 he was in England as an associate in the Harwell Atomic Research Laboratory. In 1950 Pontecorvo defected to the Soviet Union, where he was put in charge of a team at the Joint Nuclear Research Institute. He became a member of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences and won the Lenin Prize and Order of Lenin (both in 1963).

His main fields of research were neutron physics (1943–48), the production of pi-mesons from neutrons (1950–55), and the interaction of pi-mesons with nucleons. Among his publications are "Artificial Radioactivity Produced by Neutron Bombardment" (in *Proceeding of the Royal Society of London*, 1935); "Isomérie nucléaire produite par les rayons × du spectre continu" (with A. Lazard, in *Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des Sciences, Paris*, 1939); *O protsessakh obrazovaniya tyazholykh mezonov i chastits* ("Production Processes of Heavy Mesons and Particles," 1955); and *Slabye vzaimodeystviya elementarnykh chastits i neytrinov* ("Weak Interactions of Elementary Particles and Neutrinos," 1963).

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°PONTIUS PILATE, Roman governor of Judea from 26 to 36 C.E. Pilate held office at the time of Jesus' crucifixion. At the outset of his rule, he incurred the resentment of the Jews when his army, in Jerusalem for its winter encampment, brought into the city its standards bearing the imperial image (Philo, *De Legatione ad Gaium*, 38). This act utterly disregarded the religious sensibilities of the Jews, who staged a mass protest before Pilate in Caesarea. Pilate, who realized that his threats of force would not deter the Jews, yielded to their demands and had the standards removed from Jerusalem to Caesarea. He caused even greater bitterness by his appropriation of Temple funds in order to build an aqueduct. When angry crowds demanded the abandonment of the project, Pilate planted Roman soldiers among them. At a signal from him, the soldiers fell upon the demonstrators, killed and injured many of them, and crushed the resistance (Jos., Wars 2:177; Antiq. 18:60–62). The situation worsened when Pilate ordered his soldiers to attack the Samaritans who had gathered on Mount Gerizim for a religious ceremony. Many, including several of their leaders, were killed. The Samaritans sent a delegation to protest to L. Vitellius, governor of Syria. Vitellius ordered Pilate to Rome to account for his conduct to Emperor Tiberius and appointed Marcellus in Pilate's place, as well as alleviating taxation in Jerusalem. Before Pilate reached Rome, however, the emperor died and Pilate never returned to Judea.

Bloody riots in the time of Pilate are also hinted at in the New Testament, though there is no clear statement of the circumstances. Pilate is best known with regard to the crucifixion of *Jesus. According to Tacitus "Christus, the founder of the name, had undergone the death penalty in the reign of

Tiberius, by sentence of the procurator Pontius Pilate, and the pernicious superstition was checked for a moment…" (Annales XV, 44:2–5). According to the Evangelists, Pilate considered Jesus innocent of any crime. Jewish pressure alone is supposed to have caused Pilate to have him tried and executed. Christian sources, presumably motivated by a desire to place complete responsibility for the *crucifixion on the Jews, are generally sympathetic to Pilate. Josephus, however, is extremely matter of fact about Pilate's actions: "Pilate, upon hearing him [Jesus] accused by men of the highest standing amongst us, condemned him to be crucified." (Antiq. 18.64, though some scholars believe this passage to be a later interpolation into the text). This is in contrast to the account given in the epistle of Agrippa I (Philo, *ibid.*) which depicts Pilate as corrupt, cruel, and bloodthirsty. In Christian tradition, Pilate's death is attributed either to suicide or to execution by the emperor. A Latin inscription mentioning the emperor Tiberius and Pilate was discovered at Caesarea in 1961 ("…this Tiberium, Pontius Pilate, prefect of Judaea, did [or erected]…"); it clearly indicates that the title of the governors of Judea was also *praefectus* (see *Procurator). Coins minted by Pilate belong to the years 29–31 C.E.; it is unclear why he did not strike coins in the early years of his governorship (26–28 C.E.), or in his later years (32–36 C.E.). A lead weight from the time of Pilate and dated "Year 15 of Tiberius" is also known.

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[Lea Roth / Shimon Gibson (2nd ed.)]

PONTOISE, town in the department of Seine-et-Oise, France. Toward the close of the 12th century, the Jews of Pontoise were accused of having murdered a Christian child named Richard. In 1204 there was already an established Jewish community supervised by a Christian provost. Proof of the considerable financial activities transacted by the Jews of Pontoise was the introduction of a special royal seal which was to be affixed to all documents. Notable among the scholars of Pontoise was *Moses b. Abraham of Pontoise, the *paytan*, tosafist, and commentator on the Pentateuch and Talmud. Until World War II, there were about 30 Jewish families in Pontoise, but no community was established after the war.

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[Bernhard Blumenkranz]

PONTRÉMOLI, EMMANUEL (1865–1956), French architect. Born in Nice, Pontrémoli was appointed inspector of public buildings and state palaces in 1926 and from 1932 to 1937 was director of the École Nationale des Beaux-Arts, Paris. Among his works are the Museum of Natural History and the Institute of Human Paleontology, Paris, the synagogue at Boulogne-sur-Mer, and the Maison Grecque at Beaulieu-sur-Mer built for Theodore *Reinach.

POOL, DAVID DE SOLA (1885–1970), U.S. rabbi, civic and communal leader, and historian. Pool, who was born in London, pursued his rabbinic studies, first at Jews' College, London, and then at the Hildesheimer Rabbinical Seminary in Berlin. Pool went to the U.S. in 1907 to become minister of the Sephardi Congregation Shearith Israel in New York City, the oldest synagogue in the U.S. He served there until his retirement in 1956.

Pool's other posts and activities included: president of the New York Board of Rabbis (1916–17); member of Herbert Hoover's food conservation staff (1917); field organizer and director of army camp work of the Jewish Welfare Board during World War I (1917–18); U.S. representative of the Zionist Commission in Jerusalem to help implement the Balfour Declaration (1919–21); regional director for Palestine and Syria of the Joint Distribution Committee (1920–21); founder and director (1922) of the Jewish Education Committee of New York; president of the Union of Sephardic Congregations from 1928; president of the Synagogue Council of America (1938–40); chairman of the Committee of Army and Navy Religious Activities of the National Jewish Welfare Board (1940–47); vice president (1951–55) and president (1955–56) of the American Jewish Historical Society; and U.S. delegate to the NATO Atlantic Congress in London (1959).

Pool wrote several significant works and monographs in the fields of American Jewish history, religion, education, and Zionism, and edited and translated Sephardi and Ashkenazi Hebrew liturgical works. His works include: *The Kaddish* (1909; 1964^3); *Hebrew Learning Among the Puritans of New England Prior to 1700* (1911); *Capital Punishment Among the Jews* (1916); *Portraits Etched in Stone: Early Jewish Settlers, 1682–1831* (1952); *An Old Faith in the New World: Portrait of Shearith Israel, 1654–1954* (1955); *Why I Am a Jew* (1957); and *Is There an Answer?: An Inquiry in Some Human Dilemmas* (1966), the last three with his wife, TAMAR DE SOLA POOL (1893–1981). Mrs. Pool was national president of Hadassah from 1939 to 1943 and held executive positions with several other national and world Jewish organizations, among them the American Jewish Committee, the World Zionist Organization, and Youth Aliyah.

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POONA, city 75 mi. S.E. of Bombay, India, formerly seasonal headquarters of the British government of Bombay. Poona's Jewish community, which was established in the middle of the 19th century, consisted of Arabic-speaking Jews who made Poona their summer residence and of *Bene Israel from Bombay. David *Sassoon built the synagogue Ohel David, and the Sassoon family endowed a hospital, infirmary, and leper asylum. The Bene Israel synagogue, known as Sukkath Shlomoh, was founded later. From 1870 Poona had a Hebrew printing press, publishing many works in Hebrew with Arabic translations for the Baghdadi Jews, and the Bene Israel published several liturgical works there. Once prosperous and numerous, the Jewish population has declined in recent years as a result of immigration to Israel.

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[Walter Joseph Fischel]

POOR, PROVISION FOR THE. The Bible makes frequent references to the obligation to help the poor, to render them material assistance, and to give them gifts. This obligation is mentioned in the Prophets (Isa. 58:7, 10; Ezek. 18:7, 16) and especially in the Wisdom Literature (Prov. 31:20; Job 22:5–9; 29:12–13; 31:16–20; cf. Ps. 112:9). The Wisdom Literature also urges consideration of the destitute, i.e., by making loans to them (Prov. 14:21, 31; 19:17; 28:8; cf. Ps. 37:21, 26; 112:5). Concern for the poor and hungry is one of the qualities of God Himself (Ps. 132:15; 146:7, etc.); Deuteronomy says that "He loves the sojourner, in giving him food and raiment" (10:18 – sojourners (Heb. *gerim*) were among the poor).

In post-Exilic times it was customary to give gifts to the poor on holidays (Esth. 9:22; Neh. 8:10). This obligation gained in importance in post-biblical times, and in the language of the rabbis, *ẓedakah* (originally "righteousness") came to mean giving to the poor. This meaning of *ẓedakah* appears already in Ben Sira (3:30; 7:10; 29:12; Tob. 4:7–11; 12:8–9), as well as in Syriac, *ẓedketa*, and in Arabic, *ṣadaqa*. In biblical usage, however, this meaning is not yet attached to *ẓedakah*.

Several gifts are mentioned in the Pentateuchal laws; some are to be given to the poor along with other people, while others are intended solely for the poor. Exodus 23:11 says of the produce of the seventh year: "… let the needy among your people eat of it, and what they leave let the wild beasts eat." According to Leviticus 25:6, these crops are eaten by masters and their slaves, and also by hired servants, sojourners, and strangers, i.e., the poor of the people. In Deuteronomy, the seventh year is a year for the release of debts (Deut. 15:1–2); a warning is given against withholding loans from the poor because of the proximity of the year of release (15:7–11; see *Sabbatical and Jubilee Year). Deuteronomy also commands that the poor be included in the celebration of the pilgrimage feasts (16:11, 14), which means that they must be allowed to partake of the eating of the sacrifices. Similarly, the poor are the recipients of the tithe of the third year, which, according to Deuteronomy, is not brought to the chosen city but is eaten in the local settlements hence the name of the year "the year of the tithe" (14:28–29; 26:12–15) and the rabbinic name of the *tithe "the tithe of the poor." The gifts which are specifically intended for the poor are mentioned in Leviticus (19:9–10; again briefly, 23:22 in conjunction with Shavuot, the festival of wheat harvesting) and in the laws of Deuteronomy (24:19–22). The rabbis derived from these passages four gifts from the vineyard – *pereṭ* ("individual grapes [fallen off during cutting]"), *shikhḥah* ("what is forgotten"), *pe'ah* ("[unharvested] edge"), and *ʿolelot* ("small single bunch [of grapes]"); three gifts from grain fields – *leqet* ("gleanings [of what is dropped by harvesters]"), *shikhḥah*, and *pe'ah*; and two from orchards – *shikhḥah*, and *pe'ah* (Tosef., Pe'ah 2:13).

According to the plain sense, Leviticus 19:9–10 designated two types of gift, both given from field and vineyard. The first gift consists of part of the produce which is to be left for the poor. The farmer is enjoined not to reap his entire crop, but to leave part of it unharvested for the poor: "And when you reap the harvest of your land, you shall not reap all the way to the edges of your field"; and the owner of a vineyard is commanded: "you shall not strip your vineyard bare" (Lev. 19:9–10). The *pe'ah* which is left in the field parallels the *ʿolelot* of the vineyard. The second gift consists of what falls to the ground during the harvesting: it is to be left there for the poor, as is written: "neither shall you gather the gleanings [*leqet*] of your harvest … neither shall you gather the fallen grapes [*pereṭ*] of your vineyard" (*pereṭ* in the vineyard is the same as *leqet* of the harvest, as the rabbis have explained).

Deuteronomy 24:19–22 refers to the second type of gift, exemplified, in the rhetorical manner peculiar to Deuteronomy, by produce of the field, olive grove, and vineyard. The prohibition against returning to gather the sheaf forgotten in the field is another version of the prohibition of total harvest in Leviticus. Similarly, the prohibition of beating the boughs of olive trees again and picking the vineyard again is the equivalent of Leviticus' ban on gathering up grapes fallen during the harvest.

Ruth's gleaning the *leqet* after the harvesters (Ruth 2), and the common reference to gleanings after the grape harvest (Judg. 8:2; Isa. 24:13; Micah 7:1, etc.) indicate that these laws were grounded in current practices. Various customs of other peoples have been compared: leaving the last sheaf in the field after the harvest in the superstitious fear that it contained the grain-demon and should therefore be left for strangers; or burial of a "corn baby," shaped out of a sheaf, in the field in order to assure the renewal of the crop the next year. Such conceptions, however, are alien to the Bible; its injunctions on behalf of the poor are given explicitly moral grounds. Permitting the widow to glean unhindered and giving gifts of oil to the poor are commended in Egyptian wisdom literature as approved by the gods ("The Instruction of Amen-em-opet," 28; in Pritchard, Texts, 424).

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[Menahem Haran]

POPES. The earliest, semi-legendary popes, Peter and his immediate successors, were of Jewish birth, yet nothing specific is known of their relations with the Jews. The first pope reported historically to have entered into direct relations with Jews was SYLVESTER I (314–335), who is said to have discussed religious matters with a Jew named Noah and to have conducted a triumphant disputation with a number of Jews, headed by Zambri the magician, in the presence of Emperor Constantine. LEO I (the Great; 440–461) composed some polemical sermons nominally (though not really) directed against Jews. Nothing further is known of papal-Jewish relations until the time of *Gelasius I (492–496), who had in his service, perhaps as physician, a Jew named Telesinus, whom he called *vir clarissimus*, recommending one of his relatives, Antonius, in a letter to Bishop Quingesius. He also ordered an inquiry (496) into the complaint of a Christian slave who claimed he had been circumcised by his Jewish master.

By far the most important medieval pope as regards relations with Jews, as in other respects, was *Gregory I (the Great; 590–604), whose letters are replete with information on the subject. He may be regarded as the founder of the accepted papal Jewish policy in both its positive and its negative aspects. On the one hand Pope Gregory ordered that the Jews should not be molested, that they should be protected from violence and permitted the free exercise of their religion, and on the other hand he said the Jews should be restrained from exercising any semblance of authority over Christians, or from enjoying equal status with Christians, or any privileges beyond those guaranteed them by existing law (i.e., the laws of the Roman Empire after the triumph of Christianity). A letter he wrote to the bishop of Palermo opened, "In the same way as the Jews should not have license to practice in their synagogues anything more than is allowed them by the law, so they should not suffer any disability in that which is conceded to them." This position summed up papal policy and set the example for all later papal legislation on the matter. The statement was reproduced as a fixed rubric, *Sicut Judaeis*, in bulls of protection issued by popes of the later Middle Ages on at least 22 occasions. It is with Gregory I, moreover, that the papacy came to be recognized as the supreme authority of the Western Church and accordingly Jews outside *Rome, and even outside Italy, began to address appeals for protection to the various popes, primarily through the mediation of the Jews of Rome.

Succeeding popes carried out the policy laid down by Gregory I without, however, extending it. At times of danger to the Church and consequent internal reformation, the tendency was to emphasize the negative rather than the positive side of that policy. Thus STEPHEN III (768–772), protested against the privileged position of the Jews of *Narbonne, their possession of landed property, and their mingling with their Christian neighbors on equal terms. NICHOLAS I (858–867) prohibited the wearing of "Jewish vestments" (i.e., those based on Old Testament prescriptions) by Christian priests. *Leo VII (936–939), departing from the tolerant policy of his immediate predecessors, authorized the archbishop of *Mainz to offer the Jews of his diocese the alternatives of expulsion or apostasy. So far as is known, in the persecutions which took place throughout most of Europe early in the 11th century (in the wake of a report that the Jews had persuaded the Muslims to destroy the Church of the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem) the popes took no part. Although a spurious document connected with the event is ascribed to SERGIUS IV (1009–12) a very old Hebrew account tells how on the occasion of a persecution at Rouen the Jews appealed to the pope for protection. If the extant report is reliable, Pope *Benedict VIII (1012–24) must have condoned the persecution of the Jews of Rome (1020–21) on a charge of blasphemy which was supposed to have brought about an earthquake. On the other hand, *Alexander II (1061–73) admonished the Christian warriors setting out to fight the Muslims in Spain (1063) not to molest Jews, and in 1065 he reproved the ruler of *Benevento, in Italy, for forcibly converting the Jews of that city to Christianity. The reformist popes who succeeded Alexander, and who reverted to strict Church discipline, inevitably emphasized the repressive aspect of papal policy. In 1078 GREGORY VII (1073–85) renewed the canon laws against placing Jews in positions of trust, with a particular view to their employment as taxfarmers or mintmasters; he renewed the prohibition in a brief to *Alfonso VI of Castile in 1081. (The suggestion that this pope and his kinsman Gregory VI (1045–46) were of Jewish extraction is based on error: see G.B. Picotti, in *Archivio Storico Italiano*, 1942.)

The popes were not implicated in the persecutions in Europe at the time of the early Crusades, although URBAN II (1088–99) berated Emperor *Henry IV for permitting those Jews who had been baptized by force to return to their faith. Urban's position was based on the doctrine that although compulsion could not properly be used in the baptismal act, once performed the sacrament of baptism was irrevocable, however it had been carried out. In 1120 *Calixtus II (1119–24) issued the protective bull, or *Constitutio pro Judaeis*, beginning with Gregory the Great's words *Sicut Judaeis*, in which any sort of persecution of the Jews was condemned in unqualified terms.

Henceforth, for generations, this bull was often renewed by popes shortly after their accession, on the petition of the Jewish communities and presumably accompanied by gifts. In the next three centuries, the bull was reissued 21 times. Although his authority was not recognized elsewhere, ANACLETUS II, who was of immediate Jewish extraction and who for this reason was inveighed against by his opponents, maintained himself as pope in Rome between 1130 and 1138. It is possible that his career was the source of the medieval Jewish legend of the Jewish pope, Elhanan. Although his enemies lost no opportunity of calling attention to his Jewish origin, this had no lasting ill effects upon the Jews.

On his visit to Rome (c. 1165) Benjamin of Tudela found the Jews enjoying a favorable status. R. Jehiel, grandson of the author of the *Arukh* Nathan b. Jehiel, was then in the service of the reigning pope, *Alexander III (1159–81), who on his state entry into Rome (1165) had been greeted by the Jews, headed by their rabbis and bearing embroidered banners. However, this same pope presided over the Third *Lateran Council of 1179, which renewed the conventional canonical restrictions against Jews, forbidding them to exercise any authority over Christians or to live in close associations with them. The council marked the beginning of reform forced on the Church by the danger inherent in the development of the *Albigenses movement of southern France, in which Jewish influences were wrongly suspected

The reform reached its climax with the Fourth Lateran Council of 1215–16, convened under the auspices of Pope *Innocent III (1198–1216), who may be recognized as at least the systematizer, if not the founder, of medieval clerical antisemitism. He is also the most important figure in the history of relations between the papacy and the Jews after Gregory I. The anti-Jewish canons of the Fourth Lateran Council, while not necessarily enforced or obeyed forthwith, set a standard of policy which afterwards was kept constantly before the eyes of Christian rulers, especially by the *Dominicans, who established their order at about this time to combat heterodoxy and heresy. Even Innocent, however, did not overlook the other aspect of the traditional papal policy and confirmed the *Constitutio pro Judaeis* in 1199, which protected Jews against violence from the French crusaders. At the same time he contested the claims of the Holy Roman emperor, as the successor to their conqueror, Vespasian, to suzerainty over the Jews throughout Europe.

Although all, or almost all, Innocent's successors confirmed the *Constitutio pro Judaeis*, they usually attempted to secure the enforcement of the anti-Jewish canons of the Lateran Council. Honorius III (1216–27) was, however, forced by circumstances to permit the king of Castile to suspend the obligation of wearing the Jewish *badge as prescribed by this council, so as to prevent the Jews from migrating to Muslim realms. Under *Gregory IX (1227–41), who attempted to enforce the wearing of the badge in Navarre (1234), the papal offensive against the Jews was extended to Jewish literature, for it was with his authorization that the attack upon Jewish books and the Talmud was launched. Copies of the latter were sequestered pending an inquiry into its contents (1239; see Nicholas *Donin; *Jehiel b. Joseph of Paris). This was followed by its condemnation and sentence to burning, which apparently took place not only in France but also (under the pope's specific authority) in Rome (see *Talmud, Burning of). *Innocent IV (1243–54) repeated the condemnation of the Talmud in his bull *Impia judaeorum perfidia* of 1244. In 1253 he approved the archbishop's expulsion of the Jews from *Vienne in France for not obeying the Lateran decrees, and in 1250 he intervened to prevent the erection of a new synagogue in *Córdoba. On the other hand, in two bulls of 1246 he condemned in unqualified terms *blood libels which had begun to arise, and embodied his condemnation in the *Constitutio pro Judaeis*, which he issued for the second time that year. This condemnation remained an integral part of the text of the *Constitutio* whenever it was subsequently reissued by his successors. Although *Alexander IV (1254–61) attempted to enforce the Jewish badge and incited further attacks on the Talmud, he recognized also the value of the Jewish merchants for his treasury, and in 1255 relieved a number of them of all tolls throughout the papal possessions.

In the course of his brief papacy (1265–68) *Clement IV professed anxiety over the conversion of Christians to Judaism and authorized the *Inquisition to take measures against it, thus bringing Jews and the Inquisition into official contact for the first time (1267). A further extension of the Dominican offensive against Jews was approved by *Nicholas III (1277–80); in his bull *Vineam Soreth* (1279) he ordered that the Jews be compelled to listen to conversionist sermons. (There is, however, no evidence that this was enforced in Rome until much later.) This was the pope from whom the mystic Abraham b. Samuel *Abulafia sought to demand in person the release of the Jews from captivity, and was saved from the stake, according to his own account, only by the death of the pope at his summer residence at Soriano on the very night before Abraham entered the city to interview him. Boniface VIII (1294–1303) was the first pope recorded to have treated disdainfully the Jewish deputation who regularly came to congratulate the pope on his accession; he returned over his left shoulder the Torah Scroll presented to him with the scornful remark that they could not comprehend it. Under his pontificate, moreover, R. Elijah de *Pomis was put to death by the Holy Office in Rome, apparently for allegedly having helped the Colonna family in their rebellion. This instance opened up serious possibilities of blackmail, and in 1299 a bull was procured which excluded the Jews, regardless of their material means, from the category of "powerful persons" who could be denounced anonymously to the inquisitors. On the other hand, it was at this time, notwithstanding the canonical prohibition, that popes are first recorded as having Jews regularly in their employment as personal physicians. The first known case is that of the philosopher and translator, Isaac b. Mordecai ("Master Gaio"), who was in the service either of Boniface or his predecessor, Nicholas IV.

On the death of Boniface, there began the "Babylonian Exile" of the papacy at *Avignon (1309–77) which, along with the adjacent *Comtat Venaissin, had at that time finally become a papal possession by purchase. From this time onward, these papal territories in France were treated in much the same way as those in Italy, and Jews were consequently permitted to remain there when they were expelled from the rest of Provence. Not much is recorded about the policy toward the Jews of the first Avignonese pope, CLEMENT V (1305–14). His successor, *John XXII (1316–34), however, adopted a singularly antagonistic attitude toward Jews, although he did attempt to protect them at the time of the *Pastoureaux disturbances in 1320. John expelled Jews from certain places in the French papal dominions and temporarily (1321) from Rome itself. He converted former synagogues into churches, enforced the wearing of the Jewish badge (1317), encouraged conversion by permitting apostates to retain their property (1320), instituted special surveillance over converts to prevent backsliding (1317), and once more stirred up the French bishops against the Talmud (1320). John's successors proved themselves more favorably disposed toward the Jews. With them, there are records of Jews acting as tailors and parchment makers to the papal court in Avignon. *Benedict XII (1334–42) actively protected the Jews of Germany from a wave of massacres which broke out after a charge of the desecration of the *Host, by refusing to give credence to the charge without proper inquiry. *Clement VI (1342–52) was among the most benevolent of all medieval popes. Besides reconfirming the *Constitutio pro Judaeis* (as almost all other popes of the period had done), he condemned forcible baptism, and in 1348 he issued a benevolent edict protecting Jews in the widest terms from the fantastic accusations and brutal massacres which followed the *Black Death.

During the period of the great schism (1378–1417) the papacy was so absorbed in its own problems that it had little opportunity to occupy itself with the Jews. Hoping to score an impressive victory by having the Jews acknowledge the truth of Christianity, thereby to reinforce his personal status, the Spanish antipope *Benedict XIII established an almost frenetic anti-Jewish policy. It was he who was responsible for and presided over the disputation of *Tortosa (1413–14) and who instigated the persecutory movement, including condemning the Talmud and imposing wide-sweeping restrictions upon the Jews, which followed also in the Spanish Peninsula.

The Italian popes, however, influenced by the spirit of the Renaissance, reverted (with some exceptions) to a more tolerant policy. *Boniface IX (1389–1403), for example, had a succession of Jews in his employ as physicians and was responsible for a number of protective edicts, including one in 1402 which recognized the citizen rights of the Roman Jews. *Martin V (1417–31), with whose election the great schism ended, followed the example of Boniface, owing in part possibly to the influence of his Jewish physician, Elijah b. Shabbetai *Be'er. Martin greatly favored the Jews of Rome, prohibited forcible baptism, and even abolished the clerical prohibition on employing Jewish physicians. There is extant a drawing showing him greeting a deputation of Jews from Constance who came to welcome him to that city. This, however, was the period of intensified agitation against the Jews by the friars, led by John of *Capistrano, which could not fail to influence the papacy. In 1422 the alarmed Jews obtained a further edict of protection from the pope, and the friars were warned not to continue to incite the populace against them. (The edict was actually withdrawn a year later on the grounds that it had been obtained by fraud.) In 1427, as a result of reports that the Franciscan chapel on Mount Zion had been seized, the pope forbade Italian vessels to convey Jews to Palestine. A number of other unfavorable edicts led the Jews of Italy to organize countermeasures, backed by appropriately bestowed monetary gifts. This resulted in a very sweeping edict from the pope in 1429 protecting the Jews from the propaganda of the friars. The two conflicting currents, favorable and unfavorable, appear also in the policy of *Eugenius IV (1431–47) who, though at first renewing the privileges and safeguards of the Jews, was later forced to issue a bull putting into effect the severe decisions of the Council of Basle against Jews, forbidding them to practice handicrafts and moneylending, to engage in intercourse with Christians in any capacity, and even to study the Talmud. Once again there was a conference of Italian Jews and countermeasures (no doubt including bribery) were taken until the pope, persuaded that his policy was economically ruinous, withdrew the prohibitions. Restrictions were, however, renewed though apparently not enforced under the successors to Eugenius, *Nicholas V (1447–55) and & Calixtus III (1455–58), under whose rule the influence of Capistrano and the Observantine *Franciscans reached its climax. The humanist PIUS II (1458–64), who maintained the poet Moses da *Rieti in his service as his physician, was bent on a crusade against the Turks and therefore heavily increased taxation on the Jews.

With *Sixtus IV (1471–84) the Renaissance spirit triumphed in Rome, and for the next three quarters of a century relations between the popes and Jews were particularly close and cordial. Formally, of course, the popes had to conform to the external demands of unbending Christian orthodoxy. Thus Sixtus was nominally responsible for the introduction of the *Inquisition into Spain by his bull of 1478. On the other hand he had close personal relationships with Jews, as did his immediate successors down through the middle of the 16th century. Sixtus was interested to some extent in Hebrew literature and employed Hebrew copyists at the Vatican library. He also employed Jewish physicians, one of whom is said to have attempted a blood transfusion to save him in his last illness. In 1475 Sixtus initially refused to countenance a blood libel associated with the name of Simon of *Trent. The notorious *Alexander VI (1492–1503) permitted refugees from Spain to settle in Rome and had as his body physician Bonet de *Lattes, who dedicated his *Annuli… super Astrologiae utilitate* to him in 1493. JULIUS II (1503–13) extended his favor in the same manner to Samuel Sarfatti.

The climax in the favorable relations between the Jews and the Holy See was, however, reached with the popes of the house of Medici. *Leo x (1513–21) was so well disposed in fact that it was said that the Roman Jews considered his pontificate a presage of messianic times. Leo issued a notably benevolent edict in favor of the Jews in 1519, in which he repealed the obligation of wearing the Jewish badge in the papal dominions in France and allowed it to fall into disuse in Italy. He employed the converted Jewish musician, *Giovanni Maria, took a lively interest in Jewish literature, and permitted the printing of the Talmud. It is significant at this time that when Johann *Reuchlin made his appeal to the pope from the sentence of the Dominicans of Cologne, he requested the papal physician Bonet de Lattes, a Jew, to support him, such was the influence and esteem the latter enjoyed at the papal court. A kinsman and successor to Leo, *Clement vii (1523–34), showed even greater benevolence toward the Jews, so much so in fact that he was called "the favorer of Israel." He was especially noted for his close and friendly relations with David *Reuveni and Solomon *Molcho. His outstandingly favorable attitude was continued by his successor, PAUL III (1534–49), who invited refugee Marranos from Portugal to settle in Ancona and who employed Jacob *Mantino as his physician. The reluctance of the Medici popes to authorize the Inquisition in Portugal or to permit it to go into effect, although ultimately defeated, typifies the general tolerance of their approach to the Jews.

By now the spirit of the Counter-Reformation was beginning to make itself felt. *Julius iii (1550–55) was personally friendly enough; he employed *Amatus Lusitanus as his physician, confirmed the rights of the Marranos of Ancona, condemned the blood libel, and prohibited the baptism of Jewish children without the consent of their parents. But the reactionary party led by Cardinal Caraffa, the embodiment of the Counter-Reformation, ultimately gained the upper hand. Before long this resulted in the establishment in 1553 of the House of *Catechumens (*Casa dei Neofiti*) in Rome at the expense of the local Jewish communities, the confiscation and burning of the Talmud (1553), the institution of the Congregation of the Holy Office with the surveillance of the Jews as one of its functions (1553), and the institution of a regular censorship of Hebrew books (1554). After the brief papacy (April 1555) of MARCELLUS II, Cardinal Caraffa himself became pope as Paul iv (1555–59), and the spirit of the Counter-Reformation triumphed with him and through his personal influence. The reaction against the Jews (especially in Rome and the Papal States, where he was able to carry his policy into effect) began immediately after his accession with the fanatical bull *Cum nimis absurdum* of 1555, which in effect drove the Jews out of civilized life and began the age of the *ghetto in Italy with all its horrors. Pope Paul iv was, moreover, personally responsible for the treacherous and faithless onslaught on the Marranos of Ancona, as a result of which some 25 were burned at the stake in the spring and summer of 1556. When he died on Aug. 18, 1559, there was a general reaction against his severity and a story is told that his overthrown statue was surmounted by a yellow hat such as he had imposed on the Jews of his dominions.

PIUS IV (1559–65), Paul's successor, brought a brief respite, and in 1562 he modified the severity of the enactments of his predecessor, even permitting the printing of the Talmud with certain omissions or, without them, under a different name (1564). He also induced the Holy Roman emperor to withdraw an edict of expulsion against the Jews of Bohemia, and eased living conditions in the newly established Roman ghetto by prohibiting the increase of rentals there. He was succeeded by Pius v (1566–72), who, as Cardinal Ghislieri, had formerly been at the head of the Roman Inquisition, in which capacity he led the assault on Jewish literature during the preceding decade. With him the policy of repression triumphed again; the regulations of 1555 were renewed and the concessions made by his predecessor revoked. In 1567/68 he forbade Jews of the Papal States to lend money at interest, and his bull *Hebraeorum gens* of 1569 expelled Jews from the smaller places in the papal dominions, with the exception of Rome and Ancona in Italy, and Avignon, Carpentras, and two other places in France. His personal zeal, moreover, was responsible for the introduction of the ghetto system into the duchies of Urbino and Tuscany (1570–71).

There were some slight ameliorations under *Gregory xiii (1572–85), but he was responsible for the renewal of the institution of the conversionist sermons which Jews were compelled to attend, and for the stringent prohibition of the practice of medicine by the Jews among Christians. The latter marked the end of the tradition of Jewish medical practitioners in the service of the Vatican, which had been commonplace since the 13th century.

There was again a brief favorable interlude under Sixtus v (1585–90), who made a determined attempt to restore the economic prosperity of the papal states and for that reason reversed the anti-Jewish policy of former popes, although before his election he had shown great severity against the Marranos when he was inquisitor in Venice. He had in his service as his majordomo Joao Lopes, a Marrano who had reverted to Judaism. He also granted Meir *Magino a monopoly for an improved method of silk manufacture, accepted the dedication to himself in David de' Pomis' dictionary, *Zemaḥ David*, and protected the Jews of the Papal States physically on more than one occasion. His bull *Christiana pietas* of 1586 revoked the persecutory edicts of his predecessors and permitted the Jews to return to the Papal States, to employ Christian servants as before, and to practice medicine. Moreover, he reversed the policy of former popes in regard to the practice of usury, permitting the opening of loan banks in the Papal States and issuing licenses or "absolutions" for Jewish moneylenders in various parts of Italy, which for the next 100 years provided a considerable income to the papal treasury. This favorable interlude was short-lived, ending soon after the death of Sixtus v. *Clement viii (1592–1605) must at one time have been on friendly terms with Jews, for a Ḥannukkah lamp bearing his coat of arms as cardinal is preserved in the Victoria and

Albert Museum, London. Nevertheless, in the year after his accession he issued the bull *Caeca et obdurata* (1593), which reinforced once more the persecutory policy of Paul IV and Pius V, except for the prohibition on moneylending, which remained permissible for some time longer.

From this period on, for between 200 and 300 years, there was no intermission or change in the policy of the popes who, absorbed with fears for the position of Roman Catholicism in Europe, considered that the repression of the Jewish communities under their control was an essential part of Catholic orthodoxy. Still, they preserved something of traditional balance in protecting the Jews of their dominions from the physical violence and the more fantastic antisemitic allegations common elsewhere. Occasionally, they were successfully appealed to by the Jewish communities of other countries for protection against such violence and allegations. With the extension of the area of Italy politically subject to the pope, the Roman policy was extended to the Jewish communities of the duchy of Ferrara (in 1625) and to Urbino (in 1634) by Urban VIII (1623–44), who was responsible also for prohibiting tombstones in Jewish cemeteries. He also legalized forced baptisms in certain circumstances, declaring that the baptism of the head of a family could include, if he so desire, everyone in his household who were under age or dependent on him. Popes Innocent X (1644–55), Alexander VII (1655–67), and Clement IX (1667–69) enforced the policy somewhat less severely, the last named in his brief pontificate abolishing (in 1668) the humiliating race run by the Jews at carnival time. In 1674 *Clement X (1670–76) suspended the activities of the Portuguese Inquisition which were, however, renewed in 1681 by Innocent XI (1676–89). Innocent again (and this time finally) prohibited the practice of moneylending by the Jews of the papal possessions and suppressed their loan banks, a measure so harsh that its execution had to be twice postponed, eventually bringing the Jewish communities to the edge of ruin. At the same time this pope discouraged forced baptisms (which decreased somewhat under his rule) and in 1685 secured the release by the republic of Venice of the Jewish prisoners captured in the Morea.

With the 18th century conditions deteriorated still further. Renewed severity began under *Benedict XIII (1724–30) and *Clement XII (1730–40). The latter commissioned Cardinal Petra in 1733 to draw up a new anti-Jewish code, which introduced various new degradations, e.g., that the Jewish badge was to be worn even while traveling and that rabbis were not to be permitted to have any distinguishing costume. In 1766 this code was renewed and rigorously enforced by *Benedict XIV (1740–58) and the condition of the Jews of the papal dominions reached its nadir. The pope reinstituted rigorous measures against Hebrew literature, and in 1747 he ruled that a Jewish child once baptized, even against Church law, had to be brought up as a Christian. This ruling gave impetus to the scandal of forced baptisms, which from then on assumed tragic prominence in the history of Roman Jewry. Yet even this pontiff did not forget the nobler papal traditions. When in 1758 the Jewish communities of Poland appealed to him, through Jacob Selek, for protection against the wave of blood libels which were becoming a perpetual menace to their lives, he sympathetically referred the matter to the Holy Office of the Inquisition, an act which resulted in the famous report of Cardinal Ganganelli condemning the libel. In 1759 this report was presented to and approved by the next pope, *Clement XIII (1758–69), who communicated the findings to the papal nuncio in Warsaw and instructed him to protect the Jews from violence in this matter. Ten years later, Ganganelli himself became pope, as Clement XIV (1769–74). Profoundly moved by the misery into which the Jewish communities of the Papal States had fallen, he wanted to improve their economic condition. Among other reforms, he accorded Jews some freedom of occupation and released them from the immediate jurisdiction of the Inquisition. He showed marked favor to the Roman Jewish leader, Ezekiel Ambron. This proved to be only a brief interlude, however, for with his successor, Pius VI (1775–98), a complete reaction set in. The *Editto sopra gli ebrei* (1775) of Pius codified, reinforced, and intensified the whole of former, degrading anti-Jewish legislation, however barbarous it was, and went so far even as to forbid Jews from passing the night outside the ghetto, under pain of death. These were the conditions under which the Jews of the Papal States continued until the armies of the French Revolution overthrew the temporal power of the popes in 1797–98 and as a matter of course abolished all discriminatory legislation. After the overthrow of Napoleon, Pius VII (1800–23) led the way in the reaction which followed throughout Italy. (The papal possessions in the south of France, with control over the Jewish communities of that region, were by now lost.) To an antiquated religious obscurantism was now added the more cogent consideration that Jews were correctly suspected of sympathy with the liberal movement in Italian politics. From this time down to the overthrow of the temporal power of the papacy, the old policy of repression was renewed, from this point of view the Papal States now being the most reactionary area in Europe. Pope Pius VII returned from his long exile determined to reestablish the pre-revolutionary ecclesiastical regime down to the last detail, including the ghetto, conversionist sermons, and so on. Only the wearing of the Jewish badge, though nominally prescribed, was not actually enforced. Pius VII was, however, almost moderate as compared with his successor, Leo XII (1823–29), who revived the most fierce anti-Jewish prejudices, even to the point of having the gates of the ghettos restored and reenacting the *Editto sopra gli ebrei* of 1775. Pope Pius VIII (1829–30) found time in the course of his brief pontificate to forbid the Jews to enter into personal relations with Christians for any purpose except in the course of business. His successor, Gregory XVI (1831–46), even reimposed the carnival tax, which had replaced the old abuse of the Jewish carnival race, with all its degrading associations. In 1836 he expelled the few Jews who had settled "illegally" in Bologna. Pius IX (1846–78) began his pontificate as the hope of the liberal movement, introducing several measures for the amelioration of the position of the Jews of the Papal States. Later, however, he too turned to reaction, and though his personal attitude remained not unfriendly he kept to all of his predecessors' restrictions with an unabated vigor. Under him even the abusive forced baptism of children prevailed, the most notorious (but not the only or the last) instance being the infamous *Mortara case of 1858, in which the pope maintained an absolutely unyielding attitude.

After the fall of Rome and the end of the Church's temporal power in 1870, up to which time the policy of repression had continued in force almost unmodified, the relationship of the papacy with the Jews inevitably changed. It was no longer a question of political treatment in an area subject to direct papal rule, but of a general attitude toward them on the intellectual and theological plane, political influence being therefore indirect. The papal attitude was inevitably influenced to some extent by the natural sympathy of the Jews in Catholic countries with the secular and anti-clerical party and their natural antagonism to Church influence in education. Although Leo XIII (1878–1903) was guilty in 1895 of the blunder of sending his blessing to the clerical-antisemitic coalition in Austria, he did, on the other hand, try to some extent to moderate passions in France. In 1892 he called on all right-thinking persons in that country, including Protestants and Jews, to unite against the "enemies of religion and society," i.e., the Freemasons and secularists. *Pius X (1903–14), though no less opposed to modernism, was not as interested in political matters as his predecessor. Early in 1904 he received Theodor *Herzl in audience, his secretary of state subsequently expressing mild sympathy with the humanitarian, though not the political objectives of Zionism. Benedict XV (1914–22), on the other hand, though he vaguely endorsed the *Balfour Declaration in an interview with Nahum *Sokolow, afterward expressed grave concern over the control of the holy places in Palestine. *Pius XI (1922–39) was confronted with the problems which arose with the triumph of the Nazi movement in Germany and antisemitism in Italy, and expressed his disapproval of racism in the most outspoken fashion, declaring that "spiritually we are all Semites." In 1935, at the time of the revival of the blood libel in Germany, he formally accepted from Cecil Roth a copy of his new edition of Pope Clement XIV's report condemning the libel, thereby confirming in effect the declaration of his predecessor. His successor, *Pius XII (1939–58), though less outspoken at a period of greater danger and failing even to condemn publicly the deportations and annihilation of European Jewry, nevertheless, on the occupation of Rome by Germans in 1943, received many refugees in the Vatican, and thus set the example for, even if he did not inspire, the protection of the Jews of Italy by the Catholic population. His reaction to the establishment of a Jewish state was unfavorable, since this falsified the Catholic interpretation of prophecy. The personal relations of *John XXIII (1958–63) with individual Jews were cordial both before and after his elevation to the papacy, and as cardinal he showed active sympathy with the victims of Nazi persecution. Jews moreover shared in the atmosphere of tolerance toward non-Catholics which became manifest during his pontificate. Under his successor Paul VI (1963–1978), the Second Vatican Council adopted a schema deploring antisemitism and stating that the blame for Jesus' death must be attributed to some of his contemporaries and not to the Jewish people as a whole. The declaration was less forthright than had been advocated by John XXIII but its spirit led to important modifications in Catholic textbooks. In 1964 Paul visited Christian holy places in Israel for a day.

Paul VI was followed by John Paul I (1978) whose sudden death, a month after his election, cut short his papacy.

*John Paul II (1978–2005) succeeded John Paul I, his pontificate of 27 years becoming the third longest in Church history. The first Polish pope, the former Karol Wojtyla was a political activist who fought for justice and human rights and who vigorously opposed totalitarianism. Known as a defender of the Jewish people, his ideological focus, personal integrity, and lengthy tenure provided a stable platform for growth in Jewish-Catholic relations, as he sought to broaden the ecumenical and interreligious relations of the Church.

As a youth in Wadowice, he had extensive contacts with the Jewish community, a legacy which deeply informed his pontificate. As pope, he worked consistently to improve Jewish-Catholic relations, as well as Vatican-Israel relations. He was the first pope since Peter to visit a synagogue (the Great Synagogue of Rome in1986), a move seen as bridge-building by Jews and Catholics alike. During this visit, he acknowledged the filial ties of Christianity to Judaism, stating, "I am Joseph, your brother!" In June 1994, he established formal diplomatic relations between the Holy See and the State of Israel, a move that publicly acknowledged Israel's centrality for the Jewish people. In March 2000, he convened a Day of Pardon for the sins committed by Church members over the centuries, including all antisemitic actions, which he declared were "a sin against God and humanity."

John Paul II, the most widely traveled pope in history, made a historic visit to Israel in 2000. He visited Yad Vashem, where he paid homage to the victims of the Holocaust. At the Western Wall, he inserted a written apology to the Jewish people for antisemitic sins by Catholics into a crack in the wall.

John Paul II authored or commissioned several very important documents on the Churches' relations with the Jews including "We Remember: A Reflection on the Shoah" (1998; Commission for Religious Relations with the Jews). His focus was to affirm the special relationship between Christianity and the Jewish people and the permanent validity of God's on-going covenant with the Jews, as articulated in the groundbreaking work of the Second Vatican Council "Nostra Aetate." He challenged the Catholic Church throughout the world to repent of its past history of antisemitic actions and to strive for a fresh, deeper understanding of the Jews and Judaism within God's plan for salvation history, emphasizing the filial ties between Judaism and Christianity and denouncing supersecessionism. He was unafraid to ask if the Church's own attitudes allowed or encouraged the cataclysm of the Holocaust, and he diligently sought to battle against latent antisemitism in the Church. While affirming the right of the State of Israel to exist, the pope also established official contacts with the Palestine Liberation Organization, beginning in 1994, and culminating with the signing of a formal Basic Agreement in 2000. He opposed the invasion of Iraq in 2003, but welcomed its new government in 2004. Pope John Paul II also canonized more saints than any other pope in history. Two among them proved disconcerting in some Jewish circles: Edith Stein (d. 1942, canonized 1998), a Jewish convert to Catholicism who died in the Holocaust, and Pius XII (beatified though not yet canonized), who many felt should have done more to protect the Jewish people during the Holocaust.

BENEDICT XVI (2005–). The former Joseph Cardinal Ratzinger, an eminent theologian who served alongside John Paul II for many years as prefect for the Congregation of the Doctrine of the Faith, began his pontificate with a visit to the Roonstrasse Synagogue in Cologne, the oldest synagogue in northern Europe. During this visit, Benedict XVI, a German by birth, spoke out against "new signs of antisemitism" that are emerging in his home country, Europe, and throughout the world. This action is seen as an affirmation of the course of action and theological outlook begun during the Second Vatican Council, and continued in the ground-breaking work of Benedict's predecessor, John Paul II. In 2006 he visited Auschwitz, delivering a speech criticized by many for the failure to characterize the Holocaust explicitly as a crime of the German people against the Jews.

See entries on individual popes.

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[Cecil Roth / Claire Pfann (2nd ed.)]

POPLAR (Heb. צַפְצָפָה), tree. The *Populus euphratica* grows wild on the banks of the Jordan. Its leaves are usually broad though some are long and narrow, resembling those of the willow. In Israel the white poplar, *Populus alba*, is grown as an ornamental tree. It is a tall tree with a white bark, and the underside of its leaves are silvery white. This species, which flourishes on the banks of rivers, is one of the two that Ezekiel refers to as a tree growing by the side of water (Ezek. 17:5). It is possible that the white poplar was the *livneh* peeled by Jacob to place in front of the sheep (Gen. 30:37; but see *Storax). When stating that it was not permitted to use the poplar for the *willow branch, one of the *Four Species, the Talmud indicates its characteristics: "The poplar has a white stem, a round leaf, and an edge serrated like a sickle" (Suk. 34a), and notes that whereas the serrations of the leaf edges of the willow are small and dense, those of the poplar are like the teeth of a saw (Maim. Yad, Lulav 7:3–4). The warning against confusing the poplar with the willow was due to the fact that their names were interchanged.

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[Jehuda Feliks]

°POPPAEA, SABINA, second wife of Nero (62–65 C.E.). Josephus describes her as being sympathetic toward Judaism, even terming her a "god-fearing" woman (Ant., 20, 189–96). She twice interceded successfully on behalf of the Jews. When Josephus went to Rome in 64 C.E. to plead for the priests imprisoned by Felix, he was introduced to Poppaea by the Jewish actor *Aliturus. With her assistance the priests were freed and she bestowed many gifts on Josephus himself (Life, 16). On the second occasion she interceded on behalf of a delegation headed by the high priest *Ishmael b. Phabi, sent by the priests to Rome to appeal against a decision of the procurator *Festus, who had, at the request of *Agrippa II, ordered the demolition of a wall erected by the priests to prevent the king from viewing the proceedings in the Temple. Poppaea influenced Nero to uphold the appeal and the wall was allowed to stand. Tacitus, who makes no mention of her attitude toward the Jews, pictures Poppaea as a corrupt and cruel woman.

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[Lea Roth]

POPPER, family of entrepreneurs and communal leaders in Bohemia. Members of the Popper family from Breznice, Bohemia, attended the Leipzig fairs from the late 17th century. WOLF POPPER, the "Primate of Bohemian Jewry," was in charge of the collection of taxes for 18 years (1749–67). His son ḤAYYIM (Joachim; 1720–1795) moved to Prague and was a successful merchant (woolens, potash, whalebone), banker, manufacturer, and co-lessee of the profitable tobacco monopoly. In 1775 he is mentioned as holding his father's position in perpetuity. Joachim Popper was a patron of literature and also donated large sums to philanthropy, maintaining a balance between Christian and Jewish causes. In 1790 he was ennobled as Edler von Popper in recognition of his contributions to the welfare of the state. On the day he received his patent of nobility he presented a petition to Leopold II requesting the introduction in Bohemia of the more liberal *Judenpatent* of Galicia, which included obligatory military service for Jews. However, a group of Prague Jews presented a counterproposal arguing against conscription. He suggested reform of the system of taxation in 1792, the same year he resigned from office. On his death he bequeathed large sums to charity, and provided for the creation of a synagogue in his home in which prayer and study were to be subsidized perpetually. He also stipulated that his firm continue to bear his name.

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vakei, 4 (1934), 40–44, 69–84; R. Kestenberg-Gladstein, *Neuere Geschichte der Juden in den boehmischen Laendern* (1969), index.

POPPER, DAVID (1843–1913), cellist and composer. Popper, son of a cantor, studied the violin at the Prague Conservatory but because of a shortage of cello students, he changed to cello and became a pupil of Julius Goltermann. At the age of 18 he was appointed assistant principal cellist of the Löwenberg Court Orchestra and at the age of 20 became famous as a concert artist after his first tour of Germany in 1863. From 1868 to 1873 he was first cellist at the Vienna Opera and the Vienna PO (the youngest player to hold such a post) and became a member of the Hubay Quartet. After 1896 he was professor at the Budapest Conservatory. He composed more than 75 works, including many solos for cello, which won favor among cellists. Among his compositions are four concertos for cello and orchestra (op. 8, 1871; op. 24, 1880; op. 59, 1880; op. 72, 1900); Requiem, op. 66 (1892); String Quartet, op. 74 (1905); and his manual *Hohe Schule des Violoncellspiels*, c. 1901 (a set of 40 studies that examine the positions of the left hand within a highly chromatic, Wagner-influenced setting) which remains in use until today.

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[Israela Stein (2nd ed.)]

POPPER, JOSEF (pseudonym, **Lynkeus**; 1838–1921), Austrian social philosopher, engineer, and inventor. Born in Kolin, Bohemia, Popper studied at Prague University. As a Jew, he was refused a teaching post at the university and worked for a while with the national railroads in Hungary. He then went to Vienna where, after a series of fairly humble jobs, he invented, at the age of 30, a device to prevent fur from accumulating on engine boilers. The meager profits from this and other inventions enabled him to devote his later years to writing on social reform. His pseudonym, Lynkeus, is the name of the keen-sighted, mythological, Argonaut helmsman.

As a scientist Popper was far ahead of his time. In 1862 he proposed a system for the electrical transmission of energy, but sent the monograph to the Vienna Academy of Sciences in a sealed letter to be opened 20 years later. He discussed the possible existence of quanta of energy before Max Planck enunciated the quantum theory; in 1884 he tried to relate matter and energy, 20 years before *Einstein's theory of relativity; and in 1888 discussed the possibility of lightweight steam engines for flying machines in a treatise, *Flugtechnik* (1889). In *Phantasien eines Realisten* (2 vols., 1899), suppressed by the Austrian government as "immoral," he anticipated, as Freud himself acknowledged, the fundamental basis from which the latter elaborated his theory of dreams.

Popper was best known, however, for his writings on social reform.

In his first work of this nature, *Das Recht zu Leben und die Pflicht zu Sterben…* (1878), he contrasted man's natural right to live with the alleged obligation to sacrifice himself when required to do so by the state. He denied that man has a duty to let himself be killed when ordered and, in *Die allgemeine Naehrpflicht als Loesung der sozialen Frage* (1912), advocated the right of the individual to live in freedom and dignity within the framework of a social system created for the benefit of its members. Popper's solution to social problems was the formation of a labor force (*Naehrarmee*) whose purpose was "producing or procuring all that physiology and hygiene show to be absolutely indispensable." This was to be regarded as a minimum contribution by every member of society. Popper's philosophy differed from Marxism, in that it was based on simple humanitarianism and common sense and endeavored to eliminate class hatred by a synthesis of socialism and realism. In trying to revive Voltaire's philosophy, he advocated a policy which in fact became crystallized in the modern welfare state.

Popper regarded metaphysics, theology, and traditional religion as harmful, and to be eliminated from an economically and socially reformed state. He saw religion, especially Christianity, as opposed to genuine individual human values, and believed that education, especially about the history of religions, could lead to a superstition-free culture.

Although he suffered considerable humiliation as a Jew, Popper refused to convert, and accused the German chancellor, Bismarck, of antisemitism in *Fuerst Bismarck und der Antisemitismus* (1886). He believed that only a Jewish state would eliminate antisemitism, and although he never took an active part in the Zionist movement he bequeathed his substantial collection of books to the National Library in Jerusalem.

Popper was a close friend of Albert Einstein, who described him as a "prophetic and saintly person" who had forecast that "the continued existence of mankind without organized planning is inconceivable." He was widely regarded as a genius, and a bust of him was erected in the Rathauspark in Vienna. It was destroyed by the Nazis in 1938. Popper's writings include *Die technischen Fortschritte nach ihrer aesthetischen und kulturellen Bedeutung* (1886), *Friedensvorschlaege, Schiedsgerichte, Voelkerbund* (1910), and *Krieg, Wehrpflicht und Staatsverfassung* (1921).

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[Josef J. Lador-Lederer.]

POPPER, JULIUS (1857–1893), Romanian explorer. Popper's father was the principal of the first Jewish school in Bucharest. After studying engineering in Paris, he went on a world trip during which he heard about gold deposits on Tierra del Fuego. His exploration of the island proved the stories to be true, and he accordingly designed a machine for extracting the gold. Establishing himself as ruler over the island, Popper gave it a code of laws and defended it against other adventurers.

POPPER, SIR KARL (**Raimund**; 1902–1994), philosopher. Popper was born in Vienna of Jewish parents who had converted to Christianity. In the early 1920s he worked with juvenile delinquents in Alfred *Adler's clinic in Vienna. In 1930 he became a secondary school teacher of mathematics and science. The rise of Fascism led to his leaving Austria in 1937, and until 1945 he taught philosophy at Canterbury University College, New Zealand, where he wrote *The Open Society and Its Enemies*. He then moved to the University of London, and in 1949 became professor of logic and scientific method at the London School of Economics. He was knighted in 1965, and in 1982 was made a Companion of Honour (CH). Popper's philosophical views were profoundly influenced by the Einsteinian revolution in physics.

As early as 1919 Popper began to draw the philosophical consequences of this revolution. He saw that the "inductive method," hitherto supposed to be the distinguishing mark of science, was a myth. Empirical evidence was used in science, not to establish cautious hypotheses, which is impossible, but to refute bold ones. The mark of a scientific theory was its refutability, and the scientific pretensions of those other contemporary revolutions in thought, the theories of *Marx, *Freud, and Adler, were suspect on this count. Popper's revolutionary philosophy of science was eventually published in *Die Logik der Forschung* (1934; *The Logic of Scientific Discovery,* 1959). He had close contact in these early years with the logical positivist movement. He criticized the postivists' inductivism, and their attempt to dismiss all metaphysics as meaningless. This, he argued, ignored the suggestive value of many metaphysical ideas for science. Popper wrote *The Open Society and Its Enemies* (2 vols., 1945, 1965), which criticized the authoritarian political philosophies then in vogue. He attacked their belief in the inexorable laws of history, and the idea that the task of the social sciences was to discern these laws and to prophesy the future development of society. His elaboration of these criticisms, and his positive views on the method of the social sciences, later appeared in his book *The Poverty of Historicism* (1957). From the time Popper began working in England a stream of articles issued forth, witnessing to his new, more metaphysical interests in such things as indeterminism and emergent evolutionism. A collection of these, entitled *Conjectures and Refutations: The Growth of Scientific Knowledge*, appeared in 1963. Popper also wrote an interesting autobiography, *Unended Quest* (1976). Popper's influence, through his fertile and original contributions to a wide variety of problems, has been great: his concept of *critical fallibilism* is an important trend in contemporary philosophy. His view that to be scientific a theory must be falsifiable, and his insistence that the so-called "scientific socialism" of Marxism is not scientific, have had profound effects upon postwar Western thought. Popper is often grouped with such influential writers in Britain as George Orwell and Frederick von Hayek whose key works, which also appeared in the mid-late 1940s, undermined the intellectual attractiveness of Marxism in the West and, eventually, everywhere.

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[Alan E. Musgrave]

POPPER, SIEGFRIED (1848–1933), Austro-Hungarian rear admiral and naval engineer. From 1871 to 1904 he served as an engineer on battleships and was then appointed head of naval construction with the rank of rear admiral. Popper developed new methods of naval warfare and almost all the Austrian battleships of his time, as well as torpedo boats and fast destroyers, were constructed under his direction. After his retirement he served in the Technische Hochschule in Vienna but was dismissed through Nazi pressure in 1933.

POPPER, WILLIAM (1874–1963), U.S. Orientalist and biblical scholar. Born in St. Louis, Missouri, Popper served from 1902 to 1905 as an associate editor of the *Jewish Encyclopedia* and acting head of the Oriental Department of the New York Public Library. During this period and again in 1919/20, he also lectured on Semitic languages at Columbia University. From 1905 onward he taught at the University of California, Berkeley, becoming a full professor and head of the Semitic department in 1922. He retired in 1945.

Popper's biblical research centered on the literary and stylistic aspects of Isaiah (*Parallelism in Isaiah*, 1923), whose text he tried to reconstruct, publishing with an English translation of his own (*The Prophetic Poetry of Isaiah*, 1931). In the field of Arabic studies his critical editions and translations of Arabic historical texts of the 15th century have made this period accessible to non-Arabist historians. Among his works are: parts of the critical edition of Yūsuf ibn Taghrī-Birdī's *Al-Nujūm Al-Zâhira fi Mulûk Miṣr waal-Kâhira* (History of Egypt; 1909) and part of his *Hawādith al-Duhūr* (4 vols., 1930–42). *History of Egypt* (8 vols., 1954–63) is the English translation to Taghrī-Birdī's Arabic Annals. *The Cairo Nilometer* (1951) presents studies in Ibn Taghrī-Birdī's "Chronicles of Egypt." *Egypt and Syria under the Circassian Sultans 1382–1468* (2 vols., 1955–57) offers systematic notes to Ibn Taghrī-Birdī's chronicles. In the field of Jewish scholarship he wrote *The Censorship of Hebrew Books* (1899, reprinted with introduction by M. Carmilly-Weinberger, 1969). On the occasion of his 75th birthday, Popper was presented with a Jubilee Volume (*Semitic and Oriental Studies*, ed. by W.J. Fischel, 1951).

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[Walter Joseph Fischel]

POPPER BOZIAN, WOLF (d. 1625), merchant and banker in Cracow. His father, Israel Gershon ha-Kohen, was from *Checiny; and his wife, Cyrl, was the daughter of Judah Lewek *Landau, one of the heads of the Jewish community in Kazimierz. Popper Bozian engaged in import, especially of cloth from *Cologne, and in financial transactions in a number of fairs which took place in several towns in Poland and Schleswig, from which businesses he became very rich. His will revealed that his financial transactions, which amounted to many thousands of zlotys, were often carried out with use of special promissory notes (*mamram). His success in business was used as an excuse for blaming the Jews for a period of commercial strife in Cracow in the second decade of the 17th century. In a pamphlet entitled *Zwierciadło korony polskiej* ("The Mirror of the Polish Kingdom," Cracow, 1618), the antisemite Sebastian *Miczyński describes Popper Bozian as a businessman who owned seven stores in Cracow and whose transactions extended to many towns and amounted to more than 300,000 zlotys. In order to incite mob hatred, Miczynski also implicated him in a blood libel. In 1620 Popper Bozian financed the construction of a synagogue (Popper Shul, destroyed by the Nazis) and a *bet midrash*.

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[Arthur Cygielman]

POPPERS (Popers), JACOB BEN BENJAMIN HAKOHEN (d. 1740), German rabbi. Born in Prague, Poppers studied under his father and in various yeshivot. He was subsequently appointed rabbi of Coblenz and of Trier, in the Rhineland. He declined an invitation to Halberstadt in 1718 but accepted the rabbinate of Frankfurt where he headed a large yeshivah. His disciples included Jacob Berlin, Joseph *Steinhardt, and Joseph Wassertrilling. Poppers corresponded with the great scholars of his time on halakhic and contemporary problems. He was among those who imposed a ban on Moses Hayyim *Luzzatto in 1725 for teaching Kabbalah and on suspicion that he adhered to the Shabbatean doctrine. Compelled to leave Italy, Luzzatto arrived in Frankfurt, where he was summoned before the *bet din* of Poppers and, after much discussion, was obliged again to promise not to teach Kabbalah nor to engage in its study until he was 40 years old. Poppers was the author of *Shav Ya'akov* (Frankfurt, 1741–42), responsa in two parts. Some of his novellae are included in *Minḥat Kohen* (Fuerth, 1741) by Shabbetai b. Moses. Poppers died in Frankfurt.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: M. Horovitz, *Frankfurter Rabbinen* (1969^2), 117–24.

[Jacob Rothschild]

POPPERS, MEIR BEN JUDAH LOEB HA-KOHEN (d. 1662), kabbalist of Ashkenazi descent who was active in Jerusalem after 1640. A pupil of Jacob Ẓemaḥ, he became the last editor of the Lurianic writings. He divided the mass of Vital's different versions of Luria's teachings into three parts, *Derekh Eẓ Ḥayyim, Peri Eẓ Ḥayyim*, and *Nof Eẓ Ḥayyim*. Poppers' version became the one in most widespread use in Poland and Germany. After 1640 he composed a large number of his own kabbalistical writings in the vein of Lurianic Kabbalah. They are said to have comprised 39 books, each of which contained the word *or* ("light") in its title, the entire corpus being called *Kokhevei Or*.

Several parts have been preserved (Ms. Jerusalem no. 101, Ms. R. Alter of Gur no. 170). They included commentaries on *Sefer Bahir*, on Naḥmanides' Torah commentary, on the Zohar, and on Luria's writings according to his own edition (Ms. Jerusalem no. 102). In the latter manuscript Poppers reports that he had studied Luria's writings for 17 years. Only two of these books have been published: *Or Ẓaddikim* (Hamburg, 1690), written in Jerusalem in 1643, and later incorporated in Moses *Katz's compilation, *Or ha-Yashar* (Amsterdam, 1709); and *Me'orei Or*, a dictionary of kabbalistic symbolism, published with copious notes by Jacob Vilna and Nathan Neta Mannheim under the title *Me'orot Natan* (Frankfurt, 1709). In addition, *Mesillot Ḥokhmah*, a booklet summarizing Lurianic metaphysics in 32 paragraphs, later published under Poppers' name (Shklov, 1785), was first printed anonymously (Wandsbeck, c. 1700). Poppers is credited with the authorship of a graphic description and summary of the Lurianic system, in the form of a scroll, published under the title *Ilan ha-Gadol* (1864). This tree, however, shows the distinct influence of Israel *Sarug's version of Lurianism, which is not to be found in Poppers' other writings. Part of his homilies on the Torah were published as *Tal Orot* (1911).

He mentions as his teachers one R. Israel Ashkenazi and his father-in-law, Azariah Ze'evi (probably from Hebron). During the 1650s Poppers spent about two years in Constantinople. He died in Jerusalem.

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[Gershom Scholem]

POPULATION.

Methodological Uncertainties

Because of the great difficulties in ascertaining human population data in general, and Jewish data in particular, especially in ancient and medieval times, a word of caution is even more necessary here than in most other areas of historical and sociological research. Even the size of the world Jewish population is questionable because the two largest countries of Jewish settlement, the United States and the Soviet Union, were supplying only inadequate estimates, rather than scientifically verifiable facts (see below). The same holds true for many other countries embracing substantial numbers of Jews.

In their report to the International Congress of Historical Sciences in 1950 Carlo Cippola and his associates reported on behalf of their Committee that "in the eyes of demographers bent on scientific precision and certainty all demographic research undertaken for any period before the 18th century runs the risk of appearing as a mere fantasy." Nevertheless, the Committee felt impelled to present some results of their investigations, as have many other scholars dealing with population statistics of past ages. They have felt that the rise or fall of populations, and the concomitant facts relating to natality and mortality rates, sex and age distribution, marriages and divorces, and so forth, are too vital for the understanding of all other socioeconomic, political, and even intellectual developments for scholarship to be satisfied with a resigned *ignoramus et ignorabimus*. Many demographers and historians are, indeed, convinced, to cite the Spanish sociologist Javier Ruiz Almanza's pithy epigram, that "history without demography is an enigma, just as is demography without history."

Population *censuses were not completely absent in the ancient and medieval worlds. As a matter of fact, an Egyptian record of about 3000 B.C.E., preserved on the so-called Palermo Stone, gives us a fair idea of how the population was counted at that early age. Egyptian censuses were rather frequently conducted during the Middle Kingdom; they went into such details as naming all members of the respective families. In ancient Israel, too, the censuses attributed to Moses and David have a high degree of probability as to fact, if not with respect to the actual results. However, these counts were much too sporadic to serve as reliable guides. Even modern censuses become truly dependable only when they are periodically repeated and employ the same basic methods. If their final results are not absolutely accurate, they at least reveal some fundamental trends in growth or decline and other variations during the intervening periods. Ancient and medieval censuses, even when recorded, were taken too far apart, and used unknown or, at least, variable statistical methods. Hence they furnish almost no guidance for the prevailing trends. The resultant figures, moreover, are frequently available to us only in texts reproduced by successive copyists over many generations, or even centuries. It is a well-known fact that copyists are more likely to err with respect to numbers than in regard to almost any other words, because such changes, as a rule, do not make the meaning of the entire phrase or sentence incomprehensible. It is enough, for example, for a Hebrew copyist to omit a *lamed* in *shalosh* to produce the word *shesh* which immediately doubles the figure. In its abbreviated form a change from a *dalet* (representing four) to a *resh* (two hundred), or vice versa, can play havoc with any number intended by the author. Nor does any proofreader or ordinary reader, unless well-informed about the particular situation, notice such changes which, by constant repetition, sometimes assume the appearance of dependability.

Even informed students, moreover, often approach the recorded figures with set presuppositions. Until the 18th century Jewish, as well as general, European opinion believed that ancient times were in all aspects more glorious than the Middle Ages or the modern period. They assumed that ancient populations were far larger than those familiar to them from observation or readings of more recent events. Even so critical a thinker as Montesquieu was convinced that the world population of his day did not total more than one-tenth of what it had been in antiquity. The first scholar to question these assumptions was David Hume. Subsequently, the pendulum swung to the other extreme. As in other areas of life, most scholars were convinced of mankind's gradual progress, despite occasional relapses, and believed that the size of human populations, too, as a rule showed an upward curve. In time, however, more careful studies revealed that there were constant ups and downs, with periods of growth followed by those of decline, and the other way around. Another drawback of the recorded censuses and other population records consisted in their underlying purposes. Ancient and medieval governments rarely, if ever, undertook counting population out of general scientific curiosity. They did it principally in order to secure lists of prospective taxpayers, soldiers, or both. Understandably, since they often served as instruments of greater fiscal oppression and more effective military levies, censuses were heartily disliked by the masses of the population. Thus readily grew the widespread superstition that censuses caused divine wrath and retribution. Even King David's census provoked the biblical writer to observe: "And again the anger of the Lord was kindled against Israel, and He moved David against them, saying: 'Go, number Israel and Judah'" (II Sam. 24:1). In fact, it is related, the king later repented his irreligious act. As a result of this popular resentment many persons undoubtedly succeeded in evading the count, thus greatly reducing its value. A remarkable talmudic anecdote states that when Persian tax collectors arrived in a city to number the Jews subject to the capitation tax, the latter were forewarned by their leaders to go into hiding until the collectors departed. The community at large had a self-interest in reducing the figures thus obtained because it afterwards had to negotiate with the government for some lump-sum payment to cover the total tax due.

Bearing all these deficiencies in mind, scholarship must nevertheless make concerted efforts to come to grips with the demographic facts of life in both the past and the present. Wherever possible a number of convergent hypotheses, even if by themselves none too reliable, may offer at least some more or less acceptable approximations. Yet in the summary here presented its often extremely tentative nature must never be lost sight of.

Ancient Israel

There are only a few direct pieces of information about the population of ancient Israel. Some of it is quite dubious. The well-known figure of 600,000 adult male Israelites (601,730 men aged 20 or over in addition to 23,000 male levites, including minors, according to Num. 26:51 and 62), who are said to have been counted by Moses after the Exodus from Egypt, has long been discounted by critical scholars. Including the women and minors, this number would have represented a population of about 2,500,000, much too large for the small province of Goshen in northeastern Egypt where the majority of Israelites had lived before their departure. The addition of some non-Israelites of the "mixed multitude" (Ex. 12:37–38) who joined the Exodus was undoubtedly more or less balanced by those Israelites who refused to leave the "fleshpots" of Egypt and remained behind. It is to them and their descendants that some Egyptian papyri of the 12th century B.C.E. refer when they speak of some "Hebrew" (*apiru*) still living in Egypt at the time. Moreover, a mass of 2,500,000 persons crossing the "Red Sea" and migrating through the desert for 40 years staggers the imagination. Even if we accept the extreme emendation by some scholars which reduces the figure to 6,000 adult males, it would still leave a considerable number of 25,000 or more persons finally entering Canaan, where they may have joined some descendants of the ancient Ḫabiru ("Hebrews") who had never left Palestine for Egypt but had slowly been occupying Canaanite territory from the days of the El-Amarna Letters in the 15th and 14th centuries B.C.E.

Much more informative are the figures yielded by the census conducted by Joab at the behest of King David. Here there is a major difficulty in having two apparently contradictory records. The figures given in II Samuel 24:9, namely that "there were in Israel eight hundred thousand valiant men that drew the sword; and the men of Judah were five hundred thousand men," seem to be controverted by the report in I Chronicles (21:5) that "all they of Israel were a thousand thousand and a hundred thousand men that drew sword; and Judah was four hundred three-score and ten thousand men that drew sword." Whichever figure is taken – and with some difficulty they can be harmonized – it indicates a population of well over 5,000,000, which is possible, if at all, only if Joab counted the population, including the subject peoples, of the entire Davidic empire from parts of Syria to the border of Egypt. In that case, the Israelite population doubtless formed but a minority of those counted. If, in the following generations, Israel rapidly assimilated some of the subject tribes in its midst, the area under its control had shrunk considerably under Solomon and his successors. Another figure of great interest is given in the Assyrian king Sennacherib's boast that at the time of his siege of Jerusalem in 701 B.C.E. he had deported 200,150 men, women, and children from the Judean kingdom, all of which except the capital had been occupied by the Assyrian troops. This number too, has been subjected to much carping by modern critics. One of them, Karl Ungnad, suggested that it be reduced to 2,150 persons – a number which would have rendered the royal boast entirely meaningless. While Sennacherib's grandiloquent inscription may indeed have exaggerated considerably the number of prisoners taken back to Assyria, it must to some extent have approximated reality.

Some of the figures here quoted are partially supported by the existence in the country of a large number of "cities." As early as the 15th century B.C.E. the famous Egyptian inscription by Thutmoses III named more than 100 Palestinian cities conquered in an area covering only about one-fourth of what was later to become the land of Israel and Judah, which bears out the development of some 400 "municipalities" under the Israelitic regime indicated by both the ancient *Onomastica* and modern geographic research. These cities were for the most part very small. Even in Israel's heyday their vast majority embraced only 1,000 inhabitants or less, but from Canaanite times on they had served the purpose of protecting the farming population against raids from hostile outsiders. Most farmers seem indeed to have lived within walled cities while cultivating their soil by "going out" to their fields or vineyards in the morning and returning in the evening. (This is, therefore, the sequence of the well-known biblical phrase.) Incidentally, this situation explains why ancient Palestine did not have any such major cleavage between the urban and rural populations as has characterized the medieval and modern West.

Finally, there is also some interesting data concerning the kingdom of Judah during the Babylonian conquests and its aftermath in the years 597–582 B.C.E. One source reports that 3,023 Judeans had been deported in the seventh year of Nebuchadnezzar, 832 Jerusalemites in the 18th year, 745 Judeans in the 23rd year, together "all the persons were four thousand and six hundred" (Jer. 52:28–30). In contrast, II Kings (24:14–16) states that the Babylonians "carried away all Jerusalem, and all the princes, and all the mighty men of valor, even ten thousand captives, and all the craftsmen and the smiths." Somewhat differently, the figure of 7,000 is mentioned in the same context. These contradictory data have been subjected to a variety of interpretations, but with some effort and ingenuity they can be harmonized. In any case, both sets of figures evidently refer only to a small elite of landowners, priests, and craftsmen whose absence would deprive the subject population of leadership and the supply of arms, but the Babylonians must have simultaneously deported a great mass of captives from the lower classes. Archaeological discoveries have confirmed the fact that after 586 B.C.E. the Judean countryside was quite deserted, although the conquerors may have brought in some replacements in addition to maintaining their own garrisons on the spot. This exchange of populations had long been practiced by the Assyrians in order to stem irredentist movements and, a century and a quarter before the fall of Jerusalem, they had deported a great many Northern Israelites before and after the fall of Samaria in 733–719 B.C.E.

In short, on the basis of these and numerous other scattered data, supported by a number of demographic considerations, the present writer ventured to propose the highly tentative Table 1, Ancient Population for the approximate population of ancient Israel and Judah between 1000 and 586 B.C.E.: The decline in the population, here assumed, may well be explained by the general deterioration in the political and economic strength of the two kingdoms in the intervening four centuries. It did not seriously affect, however, the number of "cities" (about 300–400 in the whole country and about 60–70 in Judah alone), the population of which may have been greatly reduced, but which continued to function as more or less autonomous municipalities. These avowedly extremely tentative "guesstimates," made more than 40 years ago, still seen to offer the most acceptable approximations. The enormous amount of additional archaeological and other source material and interpretation which have since been brought forth by biblical scholars has, if anything, helped to support them.

Table 1. Ancient Israel: Approximate Population of Ancient Israel and Judah between 1000 and 586 B.C.E.

	1000	733/701	586
Judah	450,000	300,000–350,000	150,000
Israel	1,350,000	800,000–1,000,000	–
Total Israelite and Judean population	1,800,000	1,100,000–1,350,000	150,000
Per square mile	40	28–32	24

Second Commonwealth

During the restoration period the recovery of Palestine's Jewish population was very slow. At first the Second Commonwealth embraced only an area of some 1,200 square miles in and around Jerusalem. According to Ezra (2:64–65), "the whole congregation [of returning exiles] together was forty and two thousand three hundred and threescore, besides their manservants and their maidservants, of whom there were seven thousand three hundred thirty and seven; and they had two hundred singing men and singing women." Even adding to these figures a number of survivors from the pre-Exilic period, the population of the Commonwealth could not have amounted to much more than 60,000–70,000. In time, this population must have increased considerably so that, writing in the third century B.C.E., Pseudo-Hecataeus could estimate the number of Jerusalem's inhabitants alone at 120,000 (Jos., Apion, 1:197). There also were growing Jewish settlements outside the boundaries of the autonomous Jewish province, particularly in Galilee (still called the Gelil Ha-Goyim; "the district of gentiles"), along the coast, and in Transjordan. Yet at the outbreak of the Hasmonean Revolt in 165 B.C.E. the total Jewish population in the country still was very small. It grew by leaps and bounds, however, after the establishment of the sovereign Judean state by Simeon Maccabee in 140 B.C.E. and particularly after the annexation of large territories conquered by his successors, John *Hyrcanus and Alexander *Yannai. It now included a considerable number of Idumeans and others forcibly converted to Judaism by these conquerors, whose amalgamation with the older Jewish inhabitants proceeded apace with great speed. In the days of Jesus and the *tannaim* Galilee was as Jewish as the environs of Jerusalem. This growth was not stemmed by the occupation of the country by the Romans under Pompey in 63 B.C.E. and the conversion of Judea into a sub-province of the Roman Empire. Only some cities, organized along the lines of a Hellenistic polis along the coast and in Transjordan, were now under the control of their "Greek" city councils, with the Jews often constituting but a tolerated minority.

During the two centuries of Hasmonean and Herodian rule over Palestine the Jewish people expanded numerically to an unprecedented degree not only in Palestine but also in other lands, in part by active proselytization. Curiously, the Phoenician-Carthaginian Diaspora, long a major factor throughout the Mediterranean world, suddenly vanished at the beginning of the Common Era. It has been suggested that, with their ancient kinship to the Canaanite-Hebrew civilization, these offshoots of enterprising Tyre and Sidon were now submerged within the Jewish Dispersion. Be this as it may, unquestionably, many new communities now sprang up as far west as Italy and Tunisia and possibly even Spain and Morocco. Few reliable figures, however, are available for either the total Jewish population of any Roman province or that of individual communities. Not even Palestine has left behind records from which one could derive dependable statistics. Babylonian Jewry fell almost totally silent from the days of Ezra and Nehemiah to the second century C.E., although the presence there of great masses of Jews is not subject to doubt. Josephus' attempt to justify his behavior during the great Roman-Jewish War of 66–70 by first writing his history of that war in Aramaic is definite proof of the importance of those communities outside the Roman Empire. But numerically there are only such vague assertions as Josephus' statement that "myriads upon myriads" of Jews lived in the Euphrates Valley, while admitting that their "number could not be ascertained" (Ant., 11:133). Egypt, next to Palestine harboring the most culturally creative Jewish community of the time, embraced about a million Jews in the first century C.E., according to a casual remark by the well-informed Philo Judaeus. Other sources show that Jews probably predominated in two of the five quarters of Alexandria, that great emporium of trade and cultural activity, the population of which is variously estimated at 500,000 to 1,000,000. They may, indeed, have formed almost 40% of the population, in which case the Alexandrine community may well have exceeded in size that of Jerusalem in its heyday. There are also glimpses of such lesser Egyptian communities as the *Elephantine Jewish colony under the Achaemenids and Apollinopolis Magna or Edfu under the Ptolemies and Romans.

To be sure, certain data reported by the rabbis seem vastly exaggerated. For instance, the figures given for the attendance at the Passover sacrifices at the Temple of Jerusalem shortly before its destruction (Tosef., Pes. 4:3; Pes. 64b) cannot be taken at their face value. The Temple could not possibly have accommodated at any time a bare fraction of that number even if the Jews offered their sacrifices in frequent relays. A little more informative are the reports of the casualties in deaths and prisoners sustained by Jerusalem during the Roman siege. The figures transmitted by such distinguished historians as Josephus and Tacitus ranging between 600,000 fatalities and 1,197,000 dead and captured (Jos., Wars, 6:420; Tacitus, *Historiae*, 5:13) are not quite so out of line as they appear at first glance. Jerusalem's population before the siege had been swelled by countless numbers of pilgrims from all over the Dispersion and refugees from the provinces previously occupied by the Roman legions.

A new factor was injected into the discussion by the report of Gregory bar Hebraeus, a 12th-century Syrian chronicler of Jewish descent, about a census of the Jewish population taken by Emperor Claudius in 48 C.E. (*Historia compendiosa dynastiarum*, ed. by E. Pococke, 75, 116; ed. by A. Salhani, 115). According to this report, first brought to the attention of students of ancient Jewish history by Jean Juster, Claudius found no less than 6,944,000 Jews within the confines of the empire. To be sure, some scholars denied the authenticity of this report, or attributed the census to one of Roman citizens, rather than of Jews. However, the weight of evidence still favors the acceptance of that figure as the most likely approximation of the number of Jews living within the empire. To them must be added the numerous Jews of Babylonia, the Iranian Plateau, the Yemen, and Ethiopia. It stands to reason, therefore, that shortly before the fall of Jerusalem the world Jewish population exceeded 8,000,000, of whom probably not more than 2,350,000–2,500,000 lived in Palestine. Other major countries of Jewish settlement included Egypt, Syria, Asia Minor, and Babylonia, each probably embracing more than 1,000,000 Jews. Even Rome, the capital of the empire, seems to have included a Jewish community of about 40,000 in a total population of some 800,000, if we accept the figure of 8,000 Roman Jews accompanying a Palestinian delegation in the year 4 B.C.E., and 4,000 Jewish youths reputedly deported by Tiberius to the salt mines of Sardinia, as reported by Josephus (Ant., 17:300; 18:84) and Tacitus (*Annales*, 2, 85). This numerical strength of the Jewish population was important not only for the subsequent destinies of the Jewish people but also for the rise and expansion of Christianity. No less an authority than Adolf Harnack developed the theory that only where Jewish communities existed in the first century were there substantial Christian congregations before Constantine the Great in the early fourth century.

Unfortunately, after the fall of Jerusalem the demographic sources relating to Jews almost completely dried up. Unquestionably, the total number of Jews rapidly declined. As a result of the war ravages in 66–70, during the uprisings against Trajan in 115–117 and the *Bar Kokhba War in 132–35 the population of Palestine, Egypt, Cyprus, and other areas diminished sharply. Jerusalem for a while ceased to be a Jewish city altogether. After Trajan, Egyptian Jewry, though not completely suppressed, became almost totally silent for nearly a century; it never recovered from that mortal blow until centuries after the Muslim conquest. The conversion of some Jews to the new Christian religion was further aggravated by the more or less continuous Roman oppression culminating in the anti-Jewish legislation of the Christian Roman emperors from the fourth to the sixth centuries. Nor could the Jews entirely escape the impact of the biological decline of the empire as a whole from the third century on. Ultimately, in 632 Emperor Heraclius outlawed Judaism altogether. At the same time, through both immigration and natural growth, the Jewish population in Babylonia and elsewhere throughout the resurgent Persian Empire under the Sassanid dynasty (after 226) grew rapidly and, by the fourth century, may have equaled in size that of Rome and Byzantium. But no estimates of any kind, nor even informed guesses, can be made for the actual numbers of Jews inhabiting either empire.

Characteristically, however, the Jewish dispersion continued to expand in all directions. During those centuries some Jews seem to have penetrated India, as well as parts of Africa outside of Rome's control, while, if tradition is to be believed, some individuals even reached China. In the West there is some documentary and epigraphic evidence about Jewish settlements in Gaul, Germany, Hungary (Pannonia), Romania (Dacia), and perhaps even Britain. But these outlying Jewries were, for the most part, very small, and influenced the size of the world Jewish population to but a minor extent.

Medieval Islam and Byzantium

Curiously, for the long medieval period (from 313 or 476 C.E. to 1492) there is no global figure for the Jewish population of any year even comparable to the reconstruction, however uncertain, of the Claudian census in the mid-first century. There are only stray records pertaining to individual communities in different areas and periods which rarely lend themselves to any overall "guesstimates." The following medieval data are, therefore, even more tentative than those for the Ancient period. Palestine Jewry, though greatly decimated by the wars and Roman persecutions, seems nevertheless to have recovered sufficiently to be able to stage several revolts against their oppressive masters. According to one Christian chronicler even 4,000 Jews living in neighboring Tyre were able to start a revolt in 610, with the aid of 20,000 Jewish soldiers assembled from Palestine, Damascus, and Cyprus (Eutychius ibn Baṭrīq, *Annales*, in J.P. Migne's *Patrologia graeca*, 111:1084f.; and in Arabic text, ed. by L. Cheikho et al., 1:216). Another large-scale uprising, supported by an invading Persian army, was so successful that for three years the Jews seem to have exercised control over large parts of the country including Jerusalem and Tiberias (614–617). The repression in 629–632, however, was sharp and swift. Yet the total outlawry of Judaism in 632 hardly began to be implemented when five years later the Arab armies overran the country.

Jerusalem, which since the days of Bar Kokhba's defeat had only a sporadic and largely surreptitious Jewish settlement, was gradually reopened to Jewish residents under the Muslim domination. At first, Caliph Omar I admitted only 70 Jewish families. But this number increased considerably in the following generations owing to both Rabbanite and Karaite immigration. Similarly Caesarea, which in the Byzantine period had served as the administrative capital of the province, continued to harbor a substantial Jewish population, although the figures given by Balādhurī (200,000 Jews, 30,000 Samaritans, 700,000 Byzantine soldiers) and Yāqūt (100,000 Jews, 80,000 Samaritans, 100,000 soldiers) are fantastically exaggerated. This evolution was cut short by the bloodbath perpetrated by the conquering Crusaders in 1099 from which the Jewish community but slowly recovered. Some 70 years later the traveler Benjamin of Tudela found in Jerusalem a small community of perhaps 1,000 persons (the extant manuscripts differ between 4 and 200 families), while in 1218 Judah Al-Ḥarizi noted the presence there of three Jewish congregations.

A similar divergence may be observed between Benjamin's estimate of 3,000 Jews in Damascus and the 10,000 Jews quoted, a decade later, by another visitor, Pethahiah of Regensburg.

The other great center of Jewish life, Babylonia, seems more successfully to have conserved its biological strength. Despite the numerous sufferings inflicted upon the Jews by the Mazdakite movement during the chaotic fifth century, the figure of 90,000 Jews welcoming the arrival of the Arab general Ali (*Iggeret Sherira Ga'on*, ed. by B.M. Lewin (1921), 101) is not out of the range of historical probability. Under the Muslim administration the Jews of Babylonia and the neighboring Iranian Plateau continued to expand. The city of Sura, for example, the seat of a famous rabbinic academy, was found by a tenth-century Muslim investigating committee to have a large Jewish majority (Ibn abī Uṣaybiʿa, *Ṭabaqāt al-aṭibbāʾ*, ed. by A. Mueller, 1:221). The original Aramaic name of Mosul, Ḥesna Ebraya ("Hebrew Castle": the Jews themselves called it Ashshur) was undoubtedly deserved before the city grew into a major administrative and economic center. These old communities were speedily overshadowed by Baghdad after 762 when it became the capital of the vast Caliphate. In spite of the empire's dissolution and the chaotic conditions which prevailed there in the tenth century, Benjamin still found in the Baghdad of the 1160s a flourishing Jewish community of perhaps 40,000 persons. According to the Arab writer, Ibn al-Naqqāsh, the Mongolian invaders of Baghdad in 1258 counted there no less than 36,000 Jewish taxpayers – doubtless an exaggeration. In any case Jews constituted but a small segment of a population which at times may have ranged from 1,000,000 to 2,000,000 in size.

Egyptian Jewry, too, seems to have gradually recovered from its sharp decline of the second century. Although the glorious community of Alexandria had never recovered its former size and intellectual eminence and, in 414, had suffered from a serious, if unauthorized, expulsion, the conquering Arabs exaggeratingly claimed to have found there in 640 no less than "400,000 poll-tax paying Jews" (Eutychius, *Annales*, in: PG 111: 1107; in the Arabic text, ed. by Cheikho, 2:26). Here, too, the recovery proceeded apace under the Muslim rule, particularly the friendly Fatimid and Seljuk regimes of the 11th and 12th centuries. In the newly developed capital of Fostat (Old Cairo) Benjamin found 7,000, and in Alexandria, 3,000 Jewish families. He also saw or heard of numerous other Jewish communities throughout the land. Taking these figures as representing persons, rather than families, some careful historians calculated that all of Egypt had a Jewish population of no more than 20,000–40,000, which is probably too conservative a ratio in the country's general population of perhaps 7,000,000–8,000,000. While Benjamin's estimates do not quite tally with the evidence of local sources, particularly those preserved in the Cairo **Genizah*, they all give the impression of populous and often flourishing Jewish settlements.

To the west of Egypt there were growing Jewish communities in Kairouan (Tunisia), Morocco, and particularly Muslim Spain. However, no precise data are available on the demographic situation in most of these communities. Only here and there are there some figures, as a rule none too reliable, in the writings of Arab chroniclers and geographers or in rabbinic sources. The famous Moroccan community of Fez, for example, is said to have sustained 6,000 Jewish fatalities during the massacre of 1032–33. In Spain, al-Idrīsī calls the frontier town of Tarragona a "city of Jews" (*Description de l'Afrique*, ed. and trans. by R. Dozy and M.J. de Goeje, 191 (Ar.) and 231 (Fr.)). In addressing the Jewish leaders of Lucena the ninth-century Babylonian *Gaon*, Natronai b. Hilai, casually mentions that "there are no gentiles living among you at all" (Responsum, reproduced in B.M. Lewin's *Ozar ha-Ge'onim*, vol. 3, 1, 24f. no. 64). Even the celebrated city of Granada is, doubtless for good reason, called by al-Ḥimyarī *Ighranāṭat-al-Yahūd* ("Jewish Granada"; in *La Peninsule Ibérique*, ed. by E. Lévi-Provençal, 23, 42f. (Ar.), 29ff., 53ff. (Fr.)). Córdoba, the metropolis of Muslim Spain, also included a very sizable Jewish community. Although these stray data do not allow for any comprehensive estimate of the Jewish population of the whole country, it appears that here, too, Ely Ashtor's estimate of but 50,000–55,000 Jews in the whole Iberian Peninsula around 1050 (in a general population of some 7,000,000–9,000,000) is the result of excessive caution. Even under the intolerant Almohad domination of the 12th century many, perhaps most, Jews continued secretly to profess Judaism. They "rolled with the waves" until the 13th-century reconquest by the Christian Spaniards, when they could once again overtly profess Judaism and resume their demographic as well as socioeconomic and cultural expansion.

Similar uncertainties beset the demographic historian trying to ascertain the size of the Jewish population in the Byzantine Empire. It is a remarkable testimony to the enormous vitality of the Jewish people that, despite four successive total outlawries of Judaism in 632, 722–3, 873–4, and 930, it survived and resumed its historic evolution, without noticeable breaks in its continuity. At any rate, when around 1160 Benjamin of Tudela visited Constantinople, he found there no less than 2,000 Rabbanite and 500 Karaite families. For that time this was an impressive estimate of 12,000–15,000 Jews, although they evidently constituted but a small minority of the capital's population which, ranging between 50,000 and 100,000 persons, by far exceeded that of any Christian city of the period. Some ten to fifteen years later, Pethahiah of Regensburg, on arriving in Byzantium, was so overawed by the number and size of its Jewish communities, which sharply contrasted with the underpopulated cities and Jewish settlements of his German homeland, that he exclaimed: "There are there [in the Byzantine Empire] so many congregations that the land of Israel could not contain them, were they to be settled therein." Nonetheless, there is no way of closely estimating the total Jewish population of the empire, both before or after the Arab expansion of the 630s.

Here, too, much of the demographic information depends on data supplied by Benjamin of Tudela. Regrettably, different manuscript of his travelogue quote figures with considerable variants. The question whether he had in mind persons, taxpayers, or families still is largely unresolved. It is quite possible that some of his figures represented different entities and that he merely reported numbers as they were given to him by local informants in the towns he happened to visit. Though displaying unusual interest in Jewish demography and probably quite accurately transmitting the information he received, he was, needless to say, unable to check it. With all these weaknesses, Benjamin is relatively the most reliable guide. It has been shown that the sum total of his figures was 512,532. Since he did not visit all communities and did not record figures even in many of those he had seen, these numbers must at least be doubled. In short, at the end of the 12th century the world Jewish population may well have embraced 1,000,000, perhaps even close to 2,000,000 persons, the large majority of whom still resided in countries under the domination of Islam. This situation began changing rapidly in the 13th century, when the center of gravity of the Jewish people shifted to the Western lands. With the rest of the population, the Eastern Jewries declined sharply, to be revitalized only under the Ottoman Empire of the late 15th and the 16th centuries.

Medieval West

Despite the availability of much more ample and better-investigated source materials, population studies of medieval Western Jewry are likewise affected by great uncertainties. Apart from the general decline of population during the Barbarian invasions, many Jewish settlements were totally destroyed during the wave of intolerance which, in the seventh century, swept through Visigothic Spain, Merovingian France, and Langobard Italy. Thereafter the total number of Jews in Western Europe, including Germany, must have been very small indeed. The only continuous major settlements carried over from Antiquity were in the Papal States, southern Italy, parts of Spain, and southern France. However, here, too, the general population decline is well illustrated by the city of Rome which, from a metropolis embracing some 1,000,000 inhabitants at the end of the second century, was reduced to but 35,000 eight centuries later. Nonetheless, in the 1160s Benjamin could find substantial Jewish communities in Rome, Naples, Messina, and particularly in Palermo, whose 1,500 Jewish families undoubtedly formed the largest Jewish community under Roman Catholic Christianity. Rome itself may also have embraced at that time about 1,000 Jews.

Relatively, the best information deals with the conditions in medieval England. Owing to the comparatively small number of Jews, the availability of large and well-preserved source material, and untiring research by scholars, Christian and Jewish, over several decades, the evolution of the medieval Anglo-Jewish community has been fairly well elucidated. Its demographic aspects, however, have left many questions open. It appears that, beginning with the Norman Conquest of 1066, the number of Jewish settlers gradually reached about 2,500 persons before the massacres of 1190–91 and the ensuing flight of numerous Jews to the Continent. Within a few years English Jewry recovered its strength, however, and resumed its growth in the first half of the 13th century. Yet the endless fiscal exactions of Henry III and the general hostility of the population, which found expression in a number of cities securing privileges *de non tolerandis Judaeis*, before long began taking their toll. Even at the expulsion of 1290 there were probably no more than about 10,000 Jews in a total population of about 3,500,000 in the country. This is avowedly a compromise figure between the decided underestimate by George Caro of no more than 3,000 Jewish residents and the records of contemporary chroniclers, whose reports about the Jews effected by the decree of expulsion of 1290 ranged from 15,000 to 17,500. Even that relatively small number was scattered over 91 cities, of which 21 (at their heyday, 27) were sufficiently important to contain royal *archae* where records of all Jewish loans were officially kept. In addition, there were more than 100 other localities in which individual Jews were mentioned in the sources. A few individuals seem also to have penetrated Wales, Scotland, and Ireland, though no organized community existed in any of these areas in the Middle Ages.

On the Continent Jewish demography depends for the most part on sporadically preserved tax records. In the case of capitation taxes it is relatively easy to multiply the number of taxpayers by whatever quotient is derived from our knowledge, otherwise obtained, of their ratio to minors, indigents, and other non-paying groups. Of course, here, too, it was in the best interest of the Jewish communities to underestimate the number of taxpayers whereas the government authorities sought to exaggerate them. In addition, there were sporadic censuses of population, including Jews, such as was instituted in Aix-en-Provence in 1341 on orders of King Robert of Anjou. It revealed that, at that time, 1,205 Jews occupied 203 houses and constituted some 10% of the city's population. A Jewish taxpaying "hearth" averaged 5.9 members, while individual households included a membership of up to 30 persons. In contrast, a similar census in Carpentras in 1471 revealed a Jewish average of only 4.3 per "hearth," as against 5.2 persons per Christian "hearth." The latter discrepancy is explainable only by the intervening trials and tribulations of Carpentras Jewry which was always treated more harshly by both the populace and the city council than that of its larger neighbor, Avignon. Here no less than 210 Jewish heads of households were called upon in 1358 to take an oath of allegiance to the pope, which indicates the presence of a Jewish community of well over 1,000 persons. In general, the Jewish population of Provence and the papal possessions in France exceeded the general ratio of Jews in the rest of France and for that matter anywhere in Europe north of the Alps and Pyrenees. Already in the days of Benjamin the community of Arles, with its 200 families, seems to have formed some 20% of the city's population. The smaller town of Tarascon embraced 125 Jewish families in 1442, 183 families in 1487. On the other hand, Narbonne, once the leading southern French community and, in Carolingian times, the seat of a "Jewish king," steadily declined and, shortly before the 1306 expulsion, numbered no more than 1,000 Jews among the city's 15,000 inhabitants. Similarly, Toulouse in 1391 had only 15 Jewish families in a population of 25,000–30,000. All of Gascony under English domination apparently never exceeded that total of 1,000 Jews before their banishment in 1288. More remarkably, the "great city" of Paris (Benjamin), where, before the expulsion of 1182, some chroniclers spoke exaggeratingly of Jews forming half the city's population and owning half its real estate, in fact embraced at no time before the final expulsion of 1394 many more than the 124 taxpayers (in 86 households) among the 15,200 taxpayers recorded in 1292 in a total population of 80,000 or more counted in 1328.

No house-to-house canvasses are recorded in the Holy Roman Empire. There we depend principally on tax records which, however, are almost invariably incomplete. Even the very significant list of taxpaying Jewish communities in 1241 omits such large Jewish settlements as that of Nuremberg. On the other hand, Germany has preserved a number of examples of the *memorbuch* which, by recording victims of persecutions by name, are the most dependable, if partial, sources of demographic information. In Nuremberg, for example, 628 such fatalities are recorded as a result of the *Rindfleisch massacres of 1298; despite the community's subsequent recovery, 570 more Jews lost their lives in the massacre of 1349. Wuerzburg sustained in 1298 no less than 900 casualties, of whom 100 are specifically mentioned as nonresidents. Even smaller communities like Weissensee or Ueberlingen could lose 125 and over 300 Jews respectively, in massacres resulting from local *blood libels in 1303 and 1332. However, such incidental records give us but a remote approximation of the total Jewish population in the respective periods. The only conclusion one may draw from these stray references is that, especially after 1350, most German Jewish communities were very small.

In Jewish, as in general West and Central European life, the 14th century was a period of great crisis, both economically and biologically. The recurrent famines (1315–17, etc.) and pestilences – the greatest of the epidemics, the *Black Death of 1348–49, was but one of a series of destructive diseases – resulted in a long-lasting decline in population. During many decades an annual birthrate of 39 per 1,000 population was exceeded by a mortality rate of 41 per 1,000. Hence life expectancy of newly born children in many areas sank as low as 17–20 years. Jews not only fell victim to these widely spreading contaminations, but were often massacred in advance of the plague by their panic-stricken Christian neighbors, as alleged "poisoners of the wells" responsible for the contagion. Not surprisingly, their numbers declined frightfully even in a city like Vienna, which was restrained by its rulers from attacking Jews, despite its daily losses of 500 (occasionally up to 1,200) dead to the plague. Its Jewry, considered by some informed contemporaries the largest Jewish community in the empire, 70 years later had only 92 male and 122 female martyrs during the persecution (the so-called *Gezerah*) of 1421. The celebrated Jewish community of Augsburg listed only 17 and 21 Jewish taxpayers in 1401 and 1437, and in the following year banished the whole community of 300 persons. Erfurt, which a short time before possessed four or five synagogues and four slaughterhouses for the supply of ritually permissible meat, dwindled to a total of only 50–86 taxpayers in 1357–89. Similarly Frankfurt, which was destined to play so great a role in German Jewish history in the following centuries, embraced only a few Jewish families in the 1360s, and as late as 1462, when its new ghetto was formally established, it counted no more than about 200 inhabitants. If during that period many German Jews found shelter in the neighboring lands of Poland, Lithuania, and Hungary (each destined to occupy an imposing place in the modern history of the Jewish people), before 1500 C.E. their total numbers, even when augmented by the earlier settlers in part stemming from territories further east, still were quite small before the end of the Middle Ages.

The largest agglomerations of Jews under medieval Christendom were to be found on the Iberian and Apennine peninsulas together with the adjacent Balearic Islands and Sicily. Spain, the largest and most influential focus of medieval Judaism, has preserved a great many demographically relevant records, some of which are yet to be explored. However, their evaluation by modern scholars has diverged very greatly. While the first careful investigator of the subject, Isidore Loeb, estimated the Jewish population of Castile at 160,000 around 1300 C.E., Yitzḥak Baer, the outstanding student of Spanish Jewish history, attributes to that kingdom only some 3,600 Jewish families at that time. Together with Navarre and Aragon, he believes, the combined Jewish population did not exceed 40,000. Once again the truth seems to be somewhere in between, and a total of 150,000 would seem to offer a much closer approximation. Remarkably, neither the Jewish nor the general population suffered permanently irretrievable losses as a result of the Black Death of 1348–49, or the subsequent major plagues of 1394–96 and 1490. Despite various setbacks, especially after 1391, the Iberian Jewish population continued to grow, particularly in Castile, and there is somewhat more agreement about the number of Jews affected by the expulsion of 1492. The best approximation was given by Meir Melammed, son-in-law of "Chief Rabbi" Abraham Senior, and another Jew (both of whom preferred conversion to exile) who estimated the number of Jewish families affected by the decree of expulsion at 35,000 in Castile and 6,000 in Aragon (Andrés Bernaldez, *Historia de los Reyes Catolicos*, cxff.). Not very much higher is the figure of 300,000 Jewish inhabitants of Spain, cited by Isaac Abrabanel, the leader of the departing exiles (*Ma'yenei ha-yeshu'ah*, introd.). If it be true that some 120,000 of these expatriates proceeded to neighboring Portugal (Abraham Zacuto, *Sefer Yuḥasin*, 277a), the total Jewish population of the smaller country may have reached 200,000 to be affected by the forced conversion of 1496–97. These large figures lent themselves to easy exaggeration and even such a well-informed and careful 16th-century historian and political theorist as Juan Mariana glibly speaks of 800,000 Spanish Jews affected by the expulsion (*Historia general de España*, ed.

by J.M. Gutiérrez, vol. 5, 440). In the Iberian case, moreover, there is a major problem of estimating the number of Conversos (including numerous secret Judaizers) who lived under the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella and whose number was greatly increased by those Jews who in 1492 preferred baptism to exile. These Conversos were to furnish a considerable number of members to the growing Marrano dispersion in the West, while others found ways of speedily returning to Judaism by settling in Muslim lands.

Somewhat less controversial is the size of the large Jewish population of Sicily and the kingdom of Naples. Sicily alone doubtless had a Jewish population of more than 50,000 in the 15th century, many of whom departed in 1492 for Naples, Rome, and other localities. Combined with refugees from Spain, the Sicilian exiles may well have temporarily doubled the Jewish population of the kingdom of Naples before the expulsion of Jews in 1511 and 1541. At the same time, the resettlement of Jewish communities in Italy north of the Papal States was proceeding rather slowly and the glorious Renaissance republics of Florence, Ferrara, Venice, and others became really important areas of Jewish settlement only in the early modern period.

In short, after considering these and many other complicated factors and in full realization of the perilous nature of any computation, S. Baron has submitted Table 2, Jewish Population in European Countries before 1500 C.E. covering the Jewish population in Western and Central Europe during the last centuries of the Middle Ages.

1500–1800

The three centuries of the early modern period were at first marked by a simultaneous expansion and contraction of Jewish settlement, which of course had an important bearing on Jewish demography as well. On the one hand, the wave of expulsions from England, France, the Iberian Peninsula, and many Italian and German territories of the period from 1290 to 1500 now continued unabated. Jews were ousted permanently from the kingdom of Naples in 1511 and 1541; from the duchy of Milan in 1597; and from the Papal States (except Rome and Ancona) on a more temporary basis, in 1569 and 1593. The banishment of the Jews from Regensburg in 1519 and Rothenburg in 1520 was followed during the early Reformation period by expulsion from Saxony in 1536, Brandenburg (after their readmission in 1540) in 1571, and many other German principalities, bishoprics, and free cities. The result was a greater diffusion of Jews into smaller localities, even villages, in both Italy and Germany – a trend which was reversed only during the Thirty Years' War. At the same time there was not only a great expansion of the Jewish people into Poland-Lithuania, the Ottoman Empire, and other Muslim countries, but through the Marrano dispersion there was the incipient resettlement of Jews, first secret and later overt, in Western Europe. There was also the beginning of Jewish participation in the colonization of the New World, as well as of the Far East and some African territories by the great colonial powers.

If, on balance, the Jewish settlement in the middle of the 17th century extended over a much larger area than that of 1500 C.E., the growth of Jewish population did not keep pace with that geographic expansion. Certainly those New Christians, who by 1660 had formally returned to Judaism, were but a small fraction of the descendants of the original Conversos on the Iberian Peninsula. The small size of the Jewish or Marrano settlements did not prevent, however, unfriendly observers from magnifying the Jewish presence beyond measure. Even a great scholar like Erasmus of Rotterdam, who had had hardly any contacts with living Jews, could exclaim with abandon: "Jews are very numerous in Italy; in Spain there are hardly any Christians. I am afraid that when the occasion arises that pest, formerly suppressed, will raise its head again" (*Opus epistolarum*, 3:253; 4:114). More recklessly, temperamental Martin Luther once contended that Italy was so full of Jews that, for instance, Cremona had no more than 28 Christians among its inhabitants (*Tischreden*, 3:369 f.; 4:619 f.). These comments were made at a time when Italy's most populous areas of Naples and Sicily no longer had any professing Jews. After 1569, moreover, the Papal States, too, but grudgingly admitted Jews outside Rome and Ancona but never in sufficient numbers to justify the maintenance of some 115 synagogues such as had existed before the 1569 expulsion. Similarly, the Jews readmitted to Brandenburg in 1540 formed but tiny commu-

Table 2. The Jewish Population in European Countries before 1500 C.E.

Country	1300 C.E.		1490 C.E.	
	Jews	General population	Jews	General population
France (including Avignon)	100,000	14,000,000	20,000	20,000,000
Holy Roman Empire (including Switzerland and the Low Countries)	100,000	12,000,000	80,000	12,000,000
Italy	50,000	11,000,000	120,000	12,000,000
Spain (Castile, Aragon, and Navarre)	150,000	5,500,000	250,000	7,000,000
Portugal	40,000	600,000	80,000	1,000,000
Poland–Lithuania	5,000	500,000	30,000	1,000,000
Hungary	5,000	400,000	20,000	800,000
Total	450,000	44,000,000	600,000	53,800,000

nities of eight to ten families in Berlin, Stendal, and Frankfurt on the Oder when they were once again banished 31 years later. It was only in the 17th and particularly the 18th century that the German-speaking Jewry of the Holy Roman Empire, aided by immigration from Eastern Europe and later by the inclusion in Prussia and Austria of formerly Polish territories through the partitions of Poland in 1772–95, started rising significantly throughout the country.

At the same time, the "Golden Age" of both Polish Jewry and Poland as a whole in the 16th and early 17th centuries was largely terminated in the era of the Chmielnicki uprising (1648–49) and the Swedish-Muscovite wars of 1648–56. Not only did Polish Jewry sustain very severe losses in human lives but, combined with the general economic decline of the country, these disturbances set in motion a Jewish mass emigration which kept the growth of the population at a relatively low rate. Nevertheless the Jewish numerical strength continued gaining and the area of what was Poland-Lithuania in 1648 may well have embraced a Jewish population twice as large in 1800. The majority was now included in the Russian Empire which, after many centuries of refusing to admit Jews – as late as 1740 the whole Jewish population of 292 men and 281 women, scattered through 130 manorial estates in the Ukraine and Belorussia, was expelled – thus suddenly became the largest country of Jewish settlement.

Unfortunately, dependable demographic data on Jews are available only in very few areas. Italy, to be sure, often conducted population censuses, and information concerning Jews in various Italian communities of the early modern period is quite illuminating. The emergent Jewish communities in France, England, and particularly Holland can also be estimated with close approximation to the truth. On the other hand, the Holy Roman Empire, until its dissolution in 1806, offers only sporadic insights into the number of its Jewish inhabitants. In Poland-Lithuania the Jewish population in certain cities can be estimated with a fair degree of accuracy, while vast areas in the country are subject to more or less questionable estimates based on the yield of the capitation tax which in 1560 amounted to only 6,186 florins (on an assessment of 1.50 florins per family), but rose to 80,000 florins in 1634 and to 220,000 florins in 1714 (both representing collections of 3 florins per person). There were also a number of regional censuses (so-called *lustracje*), but only those of 1764–65 shortly before the partitions of Poland have left behind more comprehensive and reliable records; they have also been subjected to closer scrutiny by modern scholars.

In contrast, the enormously important Jewish settlement of the Ottoman Empire, with its western Asiatic and North African provinces, offers an almost hopeless problem to the demographic historian. It stands to reason that, since the empire had seen its glory progressively dimmed from 1600 on and its Jewish subjects suffered serious setbacks several decades later in the era of the Shabbatean movement, the forward motion of both the Jewish and the general populations also greatly slowed down. Yet it appears that, as in Poland, such retardation did not completely halt the numerical expansion of the Jewish masses. However, this assumption cannot be supported by precise statistical data despite the fact that the Ottoman archives have preserved many records of detailed censuses, some of which go back to the 15th century. These records are in many ways far superior to what is preserved in most Western countries of that period. Yet even with the aid of so-called *defters*, or brief summaries kept in the archival registries, these sources have thus far been scrutinized only to a very slight extent. The few Jewish studies heretofore published relate almost exclusively to Palestine's population under the early Ottoman regime. They have opened up new vistas and whetted the appetite for more information but they have supplied only disjointed fragments which do not add up to a total picture. Equally unsatisfactory is knowledge of Jewish demography in the North-African countries. Only here and there do the sources, often derived from casual observation by foreign visitors, mention figures pertaining to the size of Jewish communities. Yet with some effort and ingenuity Maurice Eisenbeth succeeded in compiling, on the basis of such reports, approximate statistics of Jewish inhabitants in the city of Algiers. His estimates for the 16th century range from 1,000 to 5,000 Jews. About 1600 their number rises to 8,000 or 9,000 persons, while about 1700 it reaches a peak of 10,000–12,000. In the course of the 18th century the Jewish population declines to some 7,000 and is further reduced to but 5,000 by 1818 (M. Eisenbeth, *Les Juifs en Algerie et en Tunisie à l'epoque turque (1576–1830)*, 147 ff.).

In the following we can refer, therefore, only to a number of illustrations of Jewish communities which have undergone extraordinary expansion, while others have lagged behind. In Italy the papal capital under the Renaissance popes allowed its Jewry to grow, so that it may have reached the number of 2,500–3,000 Jews before the expulsion from the rest of the Papal States in 1569. Although locked in a formal ghetto since 1555, the Rome community continued to grow because after 1569 it had to absorb a great many refugees from the provinces. It is estimated that in 1592 it embraced 3,500 persons in a total population of 97,000. A century later the Jewish population is said to have reached a peak of 10,000–12,000 persons which was never exceeded thereafter even in the 20th century. In the 18th century the Jewish population dropped back to a median of 3,076 persons, according to the official records of 1775–1800. Venice, after the expulsion of Jews in the Middle Ages, did not tolerate them at all until 1509 and in 1516 shut them off in a ghetto, the first to bear that name. But subsequently it allowed the Jewish community to grow rather speedily so that by the middle of the 17th century it may have reached a total of 5,000 persons. Even more remarkably, Leghorn, which had few Jews before 1593, embraced 114 in 1601, 711 in 1622, and 1,175 in 1642. It continued to grow in the following decades; the official censuses refer to a Jewish population of 3,476 in 1738, 4,327 in 1784, and 4,697 in 1806. Leghorn thus competed with Rome and Venice for the designation of the largest Jewish community in Italy. Even a medium-sized community, such as that of

Verona, grew to 400 persons in 1600 and over 1,000 in 1751. In contrast, many cities, including Genoa, never admitted more than a handful of Jews. The constant ups and downs in the size of respective communities are well illustrated by the following estimates for the three neighboring Jewish centers in the duchy of Urbino. In 1628 Pesaro had 610 Jewish inhabitants, Urbino 370, Senigallia 200. By 1700 the respective figures were about 600, 200, 600, Senigallia assuming the cultural, as well as numerical, leadership. Historically, the relatively small Jewish communities of Piedmont (its capital Turin first reached a Jewish population of 500 in 1563) were to play an important role in the 19th century when their country marched in the vanguard of Italian unification. All of Italy embraced some 25,000 Jews in 1638, according to the well-informed apologist Simone Luzzatto (*Discorso circa il stato degl' hebrei*, 91). At this level Italian Jewry remained more or less stabilized during the following two centuries while the general Italian population grew from about 11,000,000 in the 17th century to 18,125,000 in 1800, and 23,000,000 in 1850.

In Germany, too, some startling increases contrasted with declines or, at best, demographic stagnation. In Frankfurt, which had only 110 Jews at the time when the community moved into its assigned quarter in 1462, the number grew to 250 in 1520, 900 in 1569, 2,200 in 1600. By 1613 the assailants of Jews led by Vincent Fettmilch complained that the 454 Jewish families in the city engaged in too sharp a competition with the Christian artisans and traders. The concentration of about 3,000 Jews within the original quarter throughout the 17th and 18th centuries caused that tremendous overcrowding which made the Frankfurt ghetto a byword in Jewish literature. Hamburg admitted a few New Christians in the 16th century but did not legally recognize the presence of a Jewish community until 1612. Its Jewry, both Sephardi and Ashkenazi, grew rapidly (together with the sister communities of Altona and Wandsbeck which jointly formed the single tri-community of Altona-Hamburg-Wandsbeck, abbreviated into AHU according to its Hebrew initials) during the following two centuries, reaching in 1810 the number of 6,299 Jews, according to the official census. It thus was second only to the community of Prague among the Jewish settlements in the empire. The Bohemian capital, a much older community, which had maintained its historic continuity despite several decrees of expulsion in the 16th century and again in 1744 (often not seriously implemented), was throughout the early modern period a major center of Central European Jewish life and learning. By 1729 it embraced, according to an official census, 10,507 persons.

At the same time a great many German Jews of the 16th and early 17th centuries lived scattered through countless hamlets and villages. An investigation conducted in 1541 in the Memmingen district revealed the presence of but 40 Jewish families living in 11 localities. Throughout Germany there were such small Jewish settlements with but one to ten families trying to eke out a meager livelihood and yet instilling in their children a pride in, and knowledge of their Jewish heritage. This great dispersal was largely the result of the preceding wave of expulsions of Jews from the major cities, including their famous medieval settlements of Mainz, Speyer, Cologne, and Regensburg, and their finding shelter, however precariously, under the domination of the petty lords. This trend was reversed, however, during the Thirty Years' War (1618–48) when Jews fleeing before the marching armies and pillaging marauders often had to be admitted to the larger cities, which in turn found that they often benefited greatly from Jewish trade and taxation. Thus was ushered in the era of progressive urbanization of German Jewry, which was to make tremendous strides in the 19th and early 20th centuries. An example of such growing concentration in German metropolitan areas is offered by Prussia of the days of Frederick the Great. While no reliable data for Jews in that rapidly expanding state are available, a well-informed student, Friedrich Wilhelm August Bratring, estimated that in 1750 Berlin had 2,188 Jews (in a population of 133,520), while the rest of the Kurmark accommodated only 1,685 of their coreligionists. Twenty years later the Berlin Jewish community embraced 3,842 persons (an increase of nearly 80%), whereas the provincial communities together totaled only 1,996 persons (an increase of but 20%). In the subsequent three decades, to be sure, Berlin's Jewish inhabitants numerically declined in contrast to both the city's general population and the provincial Jewries, but this was a mere temporary interruption in the process of rapid growth which brought the size of Berlin Jewry up to 172,672 in 1925.

The Netherlands, emerging from the War of Liberation as a forward-looking and relatively liberal state, embraced but a few New Christians in the late 16th century. But, beginning in 1593, the country witnessed a tremendous expansion in the number and size of Jewish settlements which, two centuries later, embraced a population of well over 50,000. Amsterdam alone accommodated in 1795 no less than 21,000 Ashkenazi and 2,400 Sephardi Jews. Its community, often styled the "New Jerusalem," exceeded in size any contemporary or earlier European Jewish community, except perhaps those of ancient Rome and early modern Constantinople.

France's total Jewish population at the outbreak of the Revolution in 1789 amounted to less than 40,000. Their majority was concentrated in Alsace – which at the time of its annexation by France after 1648 included a number of older Jewish communities. Lorraine's Metz speedily developed into a major center of some 3,000 Jews, whereas Strasbourg, the metropolis of the area, saw its privilege *de non tolerandis Judaeis* breached only in the 1780s. A governmental census of 1784, probably incomplete, enumerated 182 Alsatian localities embracing a Jewish population of 3,913 families and 19,707 persons (9,945 males and 9,762 females). The actual figures were a bit higher; Z. Szajkowski estimates the total at between 22,570 and 23,800 persons. It may also be noted that, in contrast to the German areas, Alsace under French domination witnessed a continued dispersal of Jewish settlements from 95 in 1689, to 129 in 1716, and 182 in 1784. Simultaneously, southern France, particularly Bordeaux and Saint Esprit, a suburb of Bayonne, in the 18th century accommodated a total of some 4,500 Jews. Characteristically, Paris, the very heart of French life and culture, barely tolerated 500–800 Jews at the outbreak of the French Revolution.

England's Jewish population, too, still was very small, as was that of the New World. It is estimated that English Jewry embraced some 6,000 persons in 1730, and 12,000 in 1791. Other contemporary estimates raise this figure to 20,000 and more at the end of the 18th century. The large majority was concentrated in London (R.D. Barnett, in: V.D. Lipman (ed.), *Three Centuries of Anglo-Jewish History* (1961), 60f.). In contrast, the six known communities in the United States during the American Revolution counted among them only little more than 2,000 Jews. Possibly the same number was scattered through the Caribbean Islands and Surinam; the largest community among them, that of Kingston, Jamaica, numbered some 500 Jews, and thus rivaled New York in continental North America. On the other hand, the community of French Martinique, which was allegedly reinforced by 400 Jewish refugees from Brazil in 1654, was wiped out by the French decree of expulsion of 1683. In Latin America, under its intolerant Spanish and Portuguese regimes, only New Christians were sometimes grudgingly allowed to settle. In some areas they were quite numerous. Out of them subsequently emerged groups of professing Jews who helped populate the Western Hemisphere. The largest of these groups lived in Recife, Brazil; more than 1,000 of them publicly professed Judaism during the short-lived Dutch domination (1630–54). Upon the return of the Portuguese, the majority found refuge in Surinam, the Caribbean Islands, New Amsterdam (later New York, where 23 of them in 1654 laid the foundations for the largest Jewish community in history), as well as Holland.

1800–1939

A new phase of Jewish demography began with the 19th century. More and more countries now conducted regular censuses; many included a column relating to religious faith. The vast majority of Jews unhesitatingly indicated their Jewish allegiance to the census takers. In the early 1800s, to be sure, when censuses were still taken primarily for fiscal and military purposes, numerous Jews hesitated to appear before the enumerators. Their fears of discriminatory treatment were enhanced by the old folkloristic apprehensions, nurtured by the biblical references to the effects of David's census. According to Gustav Adolf Schimmer, one of the early pioneers in Jewish population studies (1873), there were many localities in Eastern Europe, where upon the advent of the census takers the entire Jewish youth vanished from the scene, to reappear only after the enumerators' departure. In time, however, as the censuses became more purely administrative and scholarly undertakings and were periodically repeated, their accuracy usually improved by the use of more refined techniques. Apart from supplying definite figures of the Jewish population and such other relevant information as that of the Jewish birth and mortality rates, sex and age distribution, marriages and divorces, they offered periodic data revealing the prevailing trends.

Regrettably, this practice was not universal. Czarist Russia, where before 1914 almost half of the world Jewry resided, had no such dependable investigations until 1897 when the government and the Alliance Israélite Universelle from its Paris headquarters collaborated in the attempt to obtain more detailed statistical information about the Russian Jews who, because of recurrent pogroms and discriminatory legislation, had attracted world-wide attention. This endeavor was not repeated, however, except for a valiant but incomplete effort by the ORT in 1921, until 1926 when the Soviet Union took a comprehensive census of its own. Here the Jews were listed as a national, rather than religious group; however, removing some elements of comparison with the earlier accounts. Even worse was the situation in the Ottoman Empire and the other Muslim lands, where before World War I all population statistics were in a deplorable state.

Not much better was the situation in the United States, the burgeoning world center of the Jewish people, which after World War I became the largest country of Jewish settlement. Because of the constitutional separation of state and church, the governmental censuses conducted every ten years since 1790 did not include a question on the person's religious allegiance. For a time the government collected data on the number of congregations affiliated with each denomination, their membership, and other pertinent factors. After 1890, however, the combination of these inquiries with the official decennial censuses was abandoned and a special "census of religious bodies" was instituted in the middle of each decade following the general census of 1900. The first such specific survey was made in 1906; it was followed by others in 1916, 1926, and 1936. However, the preparation of replies was left to the respective denominations themselves, many of which used different criteria for counting their members. In the case of Jews the religious censuses of 1906 and 1916 by definition counted only Jews who were members of congregations. In 1926 and 1936 a new definition was employed. The instructions given to the agent in charge read: "The Jews… now consider as members all persons of the Jewish faith living in communities in which local congregations are situated" (U.S. Census Bureau, *Religious Bodies Summary*, 1 (1926), 16). This definition greatly increased the totals from 357,135 in 1906 to 4,081,242 in 1916 and thereby removed the most important element for comparing the new results with the earlier accounts. The census itself admitted it by deleting any reference to Jews in the column recording the membership growth over the preceding two decades. Since the Jewish communities were unable to undertake a house-to-house enumeration, they had to rely upon information supplied by more or less informed local leaders whose estimates, frequently mere "guesstimates," often widely differed. The result was that the compilers of the census had to reach median numbers of such diverse estimates. The general result was that many figures, including the total membership of 4,641,184 in 1936, tended toward exaggeration. When almost simultaneously with the census of 1936 a more detailed canvass of ten important communities was conducted by local leaders under the sponsorship of the Conference on Jewish Relations, it turned out that the resulting more accurate figures ran between 8% and 20% below those suggested in the census. Of course, no one could be sure that the experience of these ten cities was typical of the whole country, particularly of the New York metropolitan area which apparently embraced some 40% of American Jewry.

Even in those Western European countries, such as France, Belgium, the Netherlands, Switzerland, or Italy, where the governmental censuses included a query concerning the inhabitants' religious preference, the returns are not completely reassuring. In the first place, all census bureaus (including that of the United States which uses highly refined statistical techniques) count with a margin of error of at least 1–1.5%. In the case of Jewish respondents the difficulty is aggravated by the uncertainty of "who is a Jew." Many persons who considered themselves Jews refused to give the enumerator straight answers about their religious preference, either because they felt that religion should be treated as a "private" concern which no government had any right to probe, or because, for a variety of reasons, they personally tried to hide their Jewishness. There is also the problem of children of mixed marriages who, according to rabbinic law, are automatically considered Jews if their mother is Jewish – a distinction which in practice is often disregarded, positively as well as negatively. Baron has suggested, therefore, that for practical reasons everyone be regarded as a Jew "who (1) is born of Jewish parents and has never been converted to another faith; (2) is born of mixed parentage but declares himself a Jew and is so considered by the majority of his neighbors; and (3) one who by conscious will has adopted Judaism." In view of these largely subjective criteria it has been found doubly imperative to supplement the official census data, wherever such exist, by more searching sample studies.

Another complication has arisen in various countries as a result of the new Jewish national movement. Some Jews, professing no religion, nevertheless counted themselves as belonging to the Jewish "nationality," while others, even if staunchly Orthodox, regarded themselves as members of a different "nationality." Still other Jews who neither professed Judaism nor regarded themselves as nationally Jewish nonetheless thought of themselves as Jews and were thus regarded by their neighbors, Jewish and non-Jewish. The confusion arising from these varying definitions was well illustrated in 1921 in the first Czechoslovakian census. "The official figures showed that there were 336,520 Czechoslovak nationals [in addition to 17,822 foreigners] professing the 'Israelite' religion. Their majority, 180,616, declared themselves to be members of the Jewish nationality (this majority was larger in Slovakia and Carpathian Ruthenia but it turned into a minority in the main provinces of Moravia, Bohemia, and Silesia). Of the rest, 73,371 signed up as members of the Czech nationality, 49,123 as Germans, 29,473 as Magyars, 3,751 as Russians, 74 as Poles, and 112 as belonging to other nationalities. In addition, there were 100 persons who professed no religion but were members of the Jewish nationality. More astonishingly, there also were some members of the Jewish nationality who professed the Roman Catholic faith (74), Greek Catholicism (23), Greek Orthodoxy (12), Protestantism (19), and one woman, who was an adherent of the new Czechoslovak national faith. Thus the 180,616 members of the Jewish nationality who also professed the Jewish faith were joined by 229 co-nationals who professed other religions or none. There probably were many more thousands of Jews who never signed up as Jews by either nationality or religion and thus did not appear as such in the census" (S.W. Baron, "Who Is a Jew?" in *History and Jewish Historians*, 16f.).

The matter was far more serious in the Soviet Union. With its anti-religious bias the government eliminated all references to religious preference from the census, leaving only the Jewish nationality as a criterion. While most Jews declared themselves Jews by nationality, in each case the decision depended on the nationality entered in the passports of the respective heads of households. For one example, Leon Trotsky always signed up as a Russian by nationality, whereas Maxim Litvinov, even while serving as Soviet ambassador to the United States or as a Soviet foreign minister, always carried with him a passport marking his membership in the Jewish nationality. There is no way of telling how many Jews thus escaped being counted in the censuses of 1926, 1939, and again, in 1959. If the first Soviet census, even with respect to the territories which had formerly been part of Czarist Russia, was not quite comparable to the 1897 enumeration, the one of 1939 came on the eve of World War II and the German invasion of Russia. It has been subjected, therefore, to little detailed scrutiny and its Jewish aspects in particular have been inadequately explored.

Nonetheless, the situation was not hopeless. Many countries such as Austria-Hungary and its successor states, Germany, interwar Poland, the Baltic states, Romania, the emergent settlement in Palestine under the Mandate, and others had regular censuses which yielded relatively reliable information also on all aspects of Jewish demography. From these data one may deduce much also concerning the conditions in countries lacking satisfactory official census records. At any rate, quite apart from the accuracy of specific figures, certain major trends in the rise or decline of the Jewish population clearly manifested themselves throughout the Jewish world in the course of the 19th and the first third of the 20th centuries. This period was characterized by a "population explosion" of the Western world. In the relatively peaceful period of 1815–1914 Europe's population more than doubled (from some 190,000,000 to over 400,000,000), while European émigrés helped populate the Western Hemisphere and other continents. The United States alone increased its population from 7,240,000 in 1810 to 91,972,000 in 1910. Growth of this rapidity was owing less to increase in natality than to a sharp decrease in the death rate – a result of the great progress of medical science and the spread of more hygienic ways of life among the European and American masses.

In the Jewish case these factors operated with redoubled intensity. Like their neighbors in Eastern Europe, Jews still married quite early, definitely earlier than the average couples in Central and Western Europe. Marriages of boys aged between 15 and 18 with 14–16-year-old girls were quite common. An 18th-century Polish census mentions a Jewish wife aged eight. (Even in the West the burgomaster of Amsterdam had to prohibit in 1712 a marriage of a Jewish couple under the age of 12.) These conditions prevailed through most of the 19th century. As late as 1891, Arnold White, an English visitor to the Jewish agricultural colonies in the Ukrainian province of Kherson, was told by some Russian landowners who employed Jews that "they have no vice, unless early, improvident, and fruitful marriages can be deemed a vice" (*New Review*, 5, 98). Moreover, more than their neighbors, East European Jews (and many West Europeans as well) took the rabbinic interpretation of the blessing in Genesis (1:28) "Be fruitful, and multiply, and replenish the earth" as the first commandment in the Bible, rather than a blessing. A great many did not even consider the "moral restraint," propagated by Thomas Robert Malthus, as truly moral and hence shunned any form of birth control. More importantly, while their natality may more or less have equaled that of their equally fruitful East European neighbors, mortality, particularly the most decisive one of infants under one year of age and of children between two and five, was decidedly lower. In Czarist Russia's European provinces, for example, where general mortality per 1,000 inhabitants had declined from 37.1 to 31.2 between 1861–70 and 1895–1904, respectively, of 1,000 newly born children no less than 268 died before reaching their first birthday – a figure practically unchanged for several decades. Suffice it to mention that by 1967 the United States reduced its infant mortality to 22.1 per 1,000 and the U.S.S.R. to 26.3. Nor can these two superpowers boast of leading the world in this respect; they lag far behind Sweden, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Australia, and Japan. The Jewish population of Israel had in 1966 an infant mortality of only 21.6 per 1,000. Among the reasons for the long-term Jewish record of keeping newly born children alive was the extreme rarity of illegitimate births among Jews. As late as 1929 and 1930 among 100 Jewish children born in Vilna only 0.5 and 0.9 were illegitimate, whereas the ratio among the Catholics was 14%. More generally, even in the crowded East European ghettos medical help was much more readily available, while better hygienic conditions prevailed owing to the numerous requirements for religious ablutions and ritual food controls. There also was relatively greater family cohesiveness and devotion of Jewish parents to their children. Moreover, because of the strong sense of responsibility for each member by the community at large and the presence of numerous charitable societies specifically devoted to help the indigent sick, even the destitute groups were rarely deprived of basic nourishment and medical care. The result was that even in New York City, where the gap between Jews and non-Jews was constantly narrowing, Jewish infant mortality in 1915 was only 78 for each 1,000 births, whereas that for the rest of the population amounted to 105.

Similarly favorable, at least between 1800 and 1914, was the Jewish ratio in deaths occasioned by violence, particularly wars. It so happened that even most of the great Napoleonic battles took place outside territories densely inhabited by Jews. The same held true for the rest of the century until World War I. Jewish fatalities among combatants were relatively small because the two large centers of Jewish population, Czarist Russia and the Ottoman Empire, did not begin drafting Jews into the army until 1827 (in Congress Poland, 1845) and 1908, respectively. While in previous centuries Jews had suffered numerous casualties as a result of uprisings and massacres, the period of 1800 to 1914 was relatively quiescent in this respect. The Russian pogroms of 1881, 1891, 1903, and 1905, though highly significant in their psychological impact upon Jews and non-Jews, did not cause enough fatalities significantly to retard the growth of the Russian Jewish population. The situation changed abruptly during World War I when Poland, Galicia, Lithuania, Romania, as well as Salonika, Palestine, and other areas with large Jewish concentrations, were turned into theaters of war. Jewish combatants in the various armies also were quite numerous, probably exceeding 500,000 in the Russian, Austrian, German, and the Western Allied armies. Their high ratio of fatalities was exemplified by the death in battle of about 12,000 German Jewish soldiers. The aftermath of the war, particularly during the Communist Revolution and the civil war in Russia, and the following massacres of Ukrainian Jews, likewise caused much destruction of Jewish lives. However, the biological vitality of the people was still so great that losses thus sustained were quickly made up by the continuous natural increase in the world's Jewish population.

Incipient signs of retardation became noticeable in the Western countries toward the end of the 19th century, however. As is well known, the French population during the first decades of the 20th century had become practically stationary. Germany, England, and the United States also had declining birthrates which progressively narrowed down the surplus of births over deaths. Because of their increased concentration in urban, even metropolitan areas, which revealed these tendencies most pronouncedly, Jews were ahead of their neighbors in reducing their birthrate. At the same time their death rate, which had long declined, began to be stabilized owing to the relatively larger segment of old persons in the Jewish population, the result of the previous decline in Jewish mortality. Even in Polish Lodz, in 1919–29, where Jewish infant mortality of 134–54 contrasted favorably with the corresponding non-Jewish mortality of 171–203 per 1,000 births, the ratios were reversed in the case of persons over 70. At the beginning of the 20th century these trends had become so manifest that in 1908 Felix A. Theilhaber (in *Der Untergang der deutschen Juden*) warned his German coreligionists that, if these demographic weaknesses were to continue unabated, German Jewry, without the aid of immigration from the outside, would decline rapidly and ultimately die out.

These tendencies became more pronounced during and after World War I. In the years 1911–24 the general Prussian population still had an excess of births over deaths of 3,019,100 persons, but the Jewish population, on the contrary, had an excess mortality of 18,252. In 1925–28 Prussia's general population gained 1,182,056 persons, while the Prussian Jews lost 5,090 through natural causes (H. Silbergleit, *Bevoelkerungs…*, p. 39). These losses were made up only by the continued influx of Jews from Eastern Europe, as well as from the province of Posen (Poznan), which was allotted by the peace treaties to Poland. These adverse factors gradually unfolded also among the Jews of Western Europe and the United States. For example, a Jewish census taken in Buffalo in 1938 testified to a marked decline of the Jewish birthrate, much larger than that of non-Jews. While in the total population the age group under 15 amounted to 26.4% (1930), in the Jewish population it amounted to only 23.2%. The ratios of children under five were more unfavorable: 8.3 versus 6.3% (U.Z. Engelman, in: S. Robinson's *Jewish Population Studies*, 40). Most remarkably, these trends began affecting also the main reservoir of Jewish manpower in East-Central Europe. In 1926 the Soviet Jews had a birthrate of only 24.6 per 1,000 (as against 35.9 30 years before, and 43.3 of the 1926 Soviet population as a whole), the lowest of all major nationalities in the Union. Such large cities as Vienna and Budapest actually had an excess of Jewish mortality over natality (2,709 deaths vs. 1,343 births in Vienna in 1929 and a still larger surplus of 1,588 deaths in Budapest in 1932). Even in Warsaw in 1925–29 the Jewish ratio of 15.5 births vs. 11.1 deaths per 1,000 contrasted with that of 22.4:15.4 among the city's Christians. On a world scale these retarding tendencies still were partially made up by an increasing growth of the Jewish population in North Africa and some other Oriental communities. There the introduction of improved sanitary conditions and health services by the colonial powers before and after World War I created conditions similar to those of the European nations in the preceding century. With the speedily declining death rate, particularly among infants and children, and continued high birthrate, the surplus of births over deaths constantly increased. Nonetheless, the disquieting demographic trends in the much larger Ashkenazi communities were so great that in the 1930s sociologists began to warn the Jewish people that, before very long, their world population would become stationary and begin declining at an accelerated pace thereafter.

Other socioreligious factors, especially conversions and mixed marriages, further aggravated the decline in the rate of increase in Jewish population. In the history of the Jewish dispersion both in the East and the West there always existed converts out of Judaism to Christianity and Islam. For the most part this was a one-way street, since conversions from the dominant faiths to Judaism were outlawed, often under the sanction of capital punishment. Such prohibitions continued throughout the 19th century in Czarist Russia and the Ottoman Empire. Elsewhere, too, social and economic pressures led many more Jews to adopt Christianity than vice versa. Even in Russia, with its staunchly Orthodox Jewish majority, strong conversionist impulses were generated by the Re*krutchina* (forcible draft for long-term military service, often involving young children) over the three decades of 1827–56 (see *Cantonists). Under these and other pressures the number of baptized Jews increased substantially during the 19th century. According to the Berlin missionary, Johannes de la Roi, a biased but informed student of the missionary movements, no less than 84,500 Russian Jews found their way to the baptismal front in the 1800s ("*Judentaufen im neunzehnten Jahrhundert, ein statistischer Versuch*," in *Nathanael*, vol. 15, 65–118). The ratio was understandably higher in such a Western country as Prussia, where the number of Jewish converts to Christianity seems to have reached a peak of 3,771 in the years 1812–14, according to A. Menes' computation.

Elsewhere the statistics are not very good but the number of Jews who left their community often increased threateningly. In Austria-Hungary, before World War I the second-largest center of the Jewish population, most of those who took that step were not necessarily converts. Many of them simply declared themselves persons without religion (*konfessionslos*). In Vienna alone the number of such losses to the community often amounted to 1,000 annually in the period after World War I. In Prussia, on the other hand, as a result of the Jewish Community Law of 1876 many Jews severed their ties with the existing communities because of real or alleged "religious scruples." While some of these Jews merely wished to separate themselves from the middle-of-the-road communities and to join special Orthodox groupings (the so-called *Trennungsorthodoxie*), most others did it for financial or other secularist reasons. In other countries, too, conversions to Judaism were relatively rare; they were far outweighed by conversions of Jews to other faiths, or their simple disappearance within the majority without formal action. Many of the *konfessionslos* persons, particularly in Austria, adopted this status in order to marry out of the faith, since until the interwar period the marriage of a Catholic to a Jew was legally invalid. In Germany, France, and Italy, too, mixed marriages were quite frequent. In one year (1927) 52% of marriages entered into by the Jews of Trieste had a non-Jewish partner. Demographically, intermarriage interfered with the growth of Jewish population in two ways. Unlike in the United States in recent years, European couples, when denominationally divided, as a rule raised their children as Christians rather than as Jews. Secondly, perhaps to avoid further complications, many intermarried couples refrained from having children altogether or were satisfied with but a single child. The end result was a further diminution of the Jewish numbers.

Under these circumstances only tentative estimates can be given for many figures in Table 3, Jewish Population 1820–1939. They relate to the three periods of 1820–25 (rather than 1800, because after the rapid changes during the Napoleonic Wars the frontiers of the countries of Jewish settlement essentially stable until (World War I), 1900 (before World War I), and 1939 (on the eve of World II).

Table 3. Jewish population 1820–1939

	1820–25		1900		1939	
	Jewish population	Total population	Jewish population	Total population	Jewish population	Total population
			(in thousands)			
Europe						
Russia (including Congress Poland)	1,600.0	46,000	5,190.0 (1897)	126,368		
U.S.S.R. (including Asiatic parts)	–	–	–	–	2,825.0	132,519
Poland (including Galicia, Posen, etc.)	–	–	–	–	3,250.0	32,183
Lithuania (1923)	–	–	–	–	155.0	2,029
Latvia (1935)	–	–	–	–	95.0	1,951
Estonia (1934)	–	–	–	–	4.56	1,126
Romania (enlarged after 1918)	80.0	3,335	267.0	5,956	850.0	18,053
Austria–Hungary (before 1918)	568.0	26,000	2,069.0	44,400	–	–
Austria (1934)	–	–	–	–	191.0	6,760
Czechoslovakia (1930)	–	–	–	–	357.0	14,730
Hungary (1930)	–	–	–	–	445.0	8,688
Yugoslavia (1931)	–	–	5.1	2,494	68.0	13,934
Greece	–	–	5.8	2,434 (1896)	73.0 (1928)	6,205
Turkey (European, 1935)	–	–	–	–	50.0	1,266
Germany	223.0	26,624	520.0	56,367	504.0 (1933)	65,988
Switzerland (1837)	2.0	2,190	12.5	3,315	18.0 (1930)	4,066
Italy	25.0	19,000	35.0	32,449	48.0 (1936)	42,528
Great Britain and Northern Ireland	20.0	21,130	200.0	41,457	300.0 (1931)	46,190
France (including Alsace–Lorraine)	50.0	30,000	115.0 (A.L.) 35.0	38,961	260.0 (1936)	41,906
Netherlands	45.0	2,460	104.0	5,179	112.0 (1930)	7,936
Belgium	2.0	3,500	20.0	6,693	60.0 (1930)	8,092
Europe (as a whole)	2,730.0	190,000	8,690.0	423,000	9,480.0	512,849
The Americas						
United States	8.0	5,308	1,000.0	75,995	4,975.0 (1940)	131,669
Canada	–	–	16.0	4,833	155.7.0 (1931)	10,377
Mexico	–	–	1.0	13,600	9.0 (1930)	16,523
Argentina	–	–	30.0	4,900	275.0 (1935)	12,958
Brazil	–	–	2.0	17,300	35.0 (1930)	40,273
Uruguay	–	–	0.9	840	12.0 (1931)	1,903
The Americas (as a whole)	10.0	–	1,175.0	144,000	5,537.0	261,985
Asia						
Palestine	45.0	–	78.0	650	475.0	1,467
Asiatic Turkey	–	–	300.0	16,134	30.0	14,935
Iraq	–	–	–	–	91.0	3,560
Syria and Lebanon	–	–	–	–	26.0 (1935)	3,630
Yemen and Arabia	–	–	30.0	7,000	50.0 (1935)	1,000
Iran	–	–	35.0	9,000	50.0 (1935)	15,000
India	–	–	18.2	232,000	24.0 (1931)	352,838
China	–	–	2.0	402,680	10.0 (1936)	457,835
Japan	–	–	–	43,760	2.0	72,876
Asia (as a whole)	300.0	–	420.0	857,000	1,047.0	1,094,524

Table 3. Jewish population 1820–1939 (cont,)

	1820–25		1900		1939	
	Jewish population	Total population	Jewish population	Total population	Jewish population	Total population
			(in thousands)			
Africa						
Egypt	–	–	30.7	9,734	70.0 (1937)	15,905
Morocco	–	–	103.7 (1904)	5,000	162.0 (1936)	7,096
Algeria	20,000.0 (1851)	–	51.0	4,729	110.0 (1931)	7,235
Tunisia	–	–	62.5	1,500	59.5 (1936)	2,608
Ethiopia	–	–	50.0	5,000	51.0 (1935)	10,000
Union of South Africa	–	–	40.0	1,100	90.7 (1936)	9,590
Africa (as a whole)	240.0	–	300.0	120,000	627.5	157,650
Oceania						
Australia	–	–	15.0	3,036	23.6 (1933)	6,630
New Zealand	–	–	1.6	773	2.7 (1936)	1,574
Oceania (as a whole)	1.0	–	17.0	4,730	33.0	–
World total	3,281.0	1,171,000	10,602.5	1,608,000	16,724.0	2,296,000

From the table's figures, however unreliable in detail, one may obtain an approximation of both the growth and the shifts of the Jewish population over the 120 years from 1820 to 1939. They are largely cited here from the works of Jacob Lestschinsky, notwithstanding serious reservations as to the accuracy of all such computations. The most startling evolution was, of course, that of the Jewish population in the Western Hemisphere which was owing more to Jewish migrations than to natural increase. The United States, in particular, in the half-century preceding World War I became the great magnet for immigrants from Eastern Europe, as well as from almost all other European and Middle Eastern countries. Suffice it to say that in the course of merely 24 years, from 1890 to 1914, some 30% of all East European Jews changed their residence to some overseas country, particularly the United States. In addition, there were major migratory movements of Jews within their countries of settlement. Many Russian Jews moved into the newly annexed neo-Russian territories in the south, including a number of agricultural colonies established for them on the initiative of the Czarist regime. They also spoke in the 1830s of the Jewish "discovery of Volhynia" which brought many new Jewish settlers from the western provinces into that area which had made noteworthy contributions to Jewish culture already in pre-partition Poland. On the other hand, a great many Russian Jews, often simply called Litvaks, settled in Congress Poland in the years before World War I. After the removal of the *Pale of Settlement as a result of that war and the Communist Revolution, there was a great exodus of Jews from the original Pale into the interior of Russia, particularly the two metropolises of Moscow and Leningrad, as well as such newly founded industrial centers as Magnitogorsk in the Urals. There also was a small Jewish movement to Far Eastern *Birobidzhan, more significant ideologically than numerically. Similarly, there was a constant transplantation of Jews from Galicia to other parts of Austria-Hungary, particularly to neighboring Bukovina and Slovakia and the two capitals of Vienna and Budapest. The same holds true for the formerly Polish possessions incorporated into Prussia in the years 1772–95 but subsequently lost to resurrected Poland in 1919. The majority of Jewish residents of that area had been leaving it for other parts of Germany, England, and the United States throughout the 19th century, but their departure was accelerated after 1918.

These migratory movements gave additional stimuli to the process of Jewish urbanization which had long been under way. The settlement of Jews in many major cities and metropolitan areas far exceeded their ratio in the respective populations. The climactic urban and metropolitan concentration of Jews continued in the course of the 20th century.

1940–1971

These three decades belong to the most portentous periods of human history, general and demographic. They also were of decisive historic importance in the destinies of the Jewish people. Begun with the great Holocaust, which destroyed thousands of European Jewish communities and ended eight centuries of European Jewish hegemony, the decade of the 1940s ended with the rise of the State of Israel. This ushered in an entirely new period of Jewish history which has already had demographic effects of enormous importance.

Despite the ever-growing literature on the Holocaust, certain aspects have not yet been sufficiently explored. Among the questions still incompletely resolved is the precise number of victims of the Nazi extermination squads. The accepted figure of 6,000,000 Jews, along with many more millions of non-Jews slain by the Nazis, has often been challenged, especially by some German writers. One of the major difficulties in obtaining definitive and precise figures consists in the fact that, in pursuing their "final solution" of the Jewish question, the Nazi authorities were quite careful in simultaneously destroying human lives and the records pertaining to them. In his oft-quoted Posen speech of Oct. 4, 1943, Heinrich Himmler alluded to the "very grave matter" of exterminating Jews and declared: "Among ourselves it should be mentioned quite frankly, and yet we shall never speak about it publicly… I mean… the extirpation of the Jewish race. This is a page of glory in our history which has never been written and is never to be written."

Yet not only does the partial evidence from various localities confirm the 6,000,000 estimate, but it also emerges as the most likely figure from the demographic changes in European and world Jewish population during the war and postwar periods (see *Holocaust). If on the eve of World War II the Jewish people numbered some 16,750,000, by 1945 this number was reduced to about 11,000,000. True, in addition to their victimization at the hands of Nazi extermination squads, Jews suffered considerable losses in manpower as combatants in the Soviet, U.S., and other armies, as well as from the numerous other adverse by-products of the great war. But these losses should easily have been made up by the natural growth of the Jewish population during the six war years, especially in the Western Hemisphere and other continents where the war touched only the periphery of Jewish life. Moreover, even the defeated nations of Germany, Italy, and Japan quickly recovered their biological strength and in the two decades of 1940–60 increased their populations by 25–33%. But the Jewish people which, if allowed to continue its population growth of the preceding two decades, by 1960 should have reached a total of 19,000,000–20,000,000 persons, counted instead no more than 12,800,000 persons. Even today, another decade later, it still is very far from returning to its populousness of 1939. As a result of the Holocaust and World War II there was a complete shift of the center of gravity of the Jewish people from the Old to the New World. With Russian Jewry not only weakened, but subject to a severe antisemitic onslaught especially during the declining years of Stalin's regime in 1948–52, its isolation from the rest of Jewry became even tighter than before. Its influence on the historic progress of the entire people, particularly in the cultural sphere, declined rapidly. The demographic picture, too, of the entire European Continent was affected adversely, although Western Europe, particularly France, has staged a steady recovery in the postwar era: in the French case because of the growing immigration of North African Jews. During the prolonged Algerian uprising the Jewish communities of that country reaching back to antiquity and glorying in a great historic tradition were nearly emptied; their majority found shelter in either France or Israel. So did many refugees from other Arab countries.

In reaction to the rise of the State of Israel in 1948 anti-Jewish pressures on the declining Jewries in all Arab countries became unbearable. With the exception of Morocco and Tunisia where substantial remnants of the Jewish inhabitants have carried on against tremendous odds, the other Arab countries almost totally lost their long-established Jewish populations. On the other hand, the very rise of Israel opened untold new possibilities for the concentration of Jews in that country. By absorbing the majority of Jewish émigrés from the Arab lands, as well as most of the surviving remnants of victims of Nazi persecution in continental Europe located in the displaced persons camps, together with migrants from many other countries, Israel's unparalleled population growth more than redressed the balance as far as the continent of Asia was concerned. But Africa continued to be in the losing column also in many of the newly arisen black republics, where the small Jewish communities were further reduced in size by emigration.

Regrettably, during the 1940–70 period the demographic facts relating to Jews became less rather than more thoroughly investigated. To begin with, such leading European countries as Poland, Czechoslovakia, Austria, Germany, and Holland, which before World War II offered, through their governmental censuses, excellent source material for Jewish demography, became so depopulated of Jews that between them they accommodated but little more than 1% of world Jewry. Their place was taken only by Israel, whose excellent censuses and annual statistical estimates have in many ways become a mainstay of Jewish demographic research. Israel scholarship has even helped to stimulate such investigation in other lands. In the largest country of Jewish settlement, the United States, the situation likewise improved somewhat. Although the governmental censuses still fail to supply adequate information, the awareness of U.S. Jewry of the need to be acquainted with the demographic facts of life had been sufficiently aroused to call forth a number of local surveys in the 1950s and the 1960s. While these were consistently enough pursued so as to furnish successive data from decade to decade, nor conducted with the same methods so as to make them fully comparable with one another, they managed to assemble a substantial body of material from which statistical conclusions of a sort could be derived with somewhat greater assurance. All this was merely a beginning, but it appeared, at least, to be a step in the right direction. Similar hesitant steps were made in Western Europe, Argentina, and most successfully, in Canada, where the governmental censuses help supply many vital statistics relating to Jews.

At the same time figures for the second-largest Jewish community, that of the Soviet Union, were still almost exclusively dependent on foreign Jews analyzing the results of the official censuses. That of 1959 was published by the government in 16 volumes, together with some additional data periodically supplied by the official census bureau in regular bulletins. One of the most puzzling problems concerning that census was the question of the extent to which the figures given for Jewish "nationality" really covered Soviet Jewry. Though every Soviet citizen had to carry a "passport" indicating his "nationality" many Jews could escape registering as members of that nationality in the presence of enumerators, since the census takers were instructed to register only the indications made orally by the inhabitants without checking their documents. A good case was made, therefore, for raising the results of the 1959 census which gave the total number of Jews as 2,267,814 and to postulate that their total really came close to 3,000,000.

On April 17, 1971, the Soviet press published the first summaries of the population census taken on Jan. 15, 1970. According to the figures quoted, the Jewish population fell from 11th to 12th in size among 100 nationalities in the Soviet Union, and the overall number of Jews declined from 2,267,814 (January 1959) to 2,151,000.

Despite all the obscurities and uncertainties, one may perhaps venture to propose the Table: World Population, Jewish, largely based (with all due reservations) upon the estimates annually published in the *American Jewish Year Book* and the United Nations' *Statistical Yearbook*.

Regrettably, some of the above data refer to censuses or estimates of populations in the cities proper, while others cover metropolitan districts of a wider area. In the same 1969 edition of *The World Almanac* (pp. 578f., 604ff., and 651), for example, the number of inhabitants in New York City, according to the census of 1960, was given as 7,781,984, and in Greater New York (embracing an additional 8 New Jersey and 5 New York counties) as 14,114,927. In Los Angeles the respective 1960 figures were 2,479,015 and 6,488,791; in Chicago: 3,550,404 and 6,488,791; in Buenos Aires: 2,966,816 and 6,762,629; in Paris: 2,811,171 and 7,369,387 (1962 census) or 9,811,171 (1968 estimate), and so forth. (Incidentally, the same issue of the *Almanac*, p. 602, offers somewhat different estimates of the Jewish population by counties and cities, as prepared by Dr. S.H. Linfield.) Jews had fully participated in that postwar movement, some call it flight, from the core cities to the suburbs, making estimates between official censuses or several years after the completion of communal surveys quite hazardous. It is quite evident that in 1970 about one-half of world Jewry lived in the Western Hemisphere, the United States embracing far more Jews than any other country. In 1970, the second- and third-largest concentrations were found in the U.S.S.R. and Israel. Together, the United States, the U.S.S.R., and Israel between them embraced more than 80% of world Jewry.

The progress of Jewish settlement in major cities during the period of 1900–69 proceeded apace at a tempo even more rapid than that of the general population. Already before 1939 about one quarter of the entire Jewish people lived in metropolitan areas of over 1,000,000 each. Another quarter lived in cities with populations of between 100,000 and 1,000,000 inhabitants. Thirty years later the latter ratio still was approximately correct. But the percentage of "metropolitan" Jews had risen to about 40% of the whole people, leaving barely a third for localities, urban and rural, with less than 100,000 inhabitants. In many countries, moreover, the metropolitan ratios were considerably exceeded; for instance, in England, France, and Argentina, the majority of Jews have long lived in the capitals, while in the United States such a majority may be found in a radius of 100 miles from Times Square in New York. This evolution would not have been surprising even under more normal circumstances, since this is indeed a world-wide trend. Even the Soviet Union, which in the 1920s started as an overwhelmingly rural country, had an urban majority. The Holocaust, however, greatly accelerated that trend, inasmuch as it put an end to most of the agricultural colonies and other rural Jewish settlements in Russia, Carpathian Ruthenia (where originally more than one quarter of the Jewish population engaged in agriculture), and elsewhere. It also eliminated most of the hamlets which still accommodated a large segment of the East European Jewish population. Even in the United States postwar developments were not favorable to Jewish agricultural colonization. The same held true for Israel, where the mass immigration of the first 20 years of statehood strengthened the trend toward urban concentration.

The increase in Jewish population from 1948 to 1968 lagged far behind that of the world population as well as that of most environmental peoples. Mankind as a whole increased by around 36% between 1948 and 1968, but world Jewry added less than 20% to its numbers. This is clearly not the result of increased mortality, but rather of a relatively lower birthrate. The phenomenon of the declining Jewish birthrate so manifest in the Western countries in the interwar period gave way to a growing natality in the 1940s and the 1950s. However, this trend seems not to have lasted to the same extent into the 1960s. While conversions to other religions greatly diminished, the relative demographic ravages caused by intermarriage increased, particularly in the U.S.S.R. and Western Europe, where the offspring of mixed marriages were more likely permanently to sever its ties with the Jewish community. Under these circumstances, it was clear that it would take many more years before the Jewish people recovered its population strength of 1939.

For developments in the last third of the 20th century, see *Demography; *Vital Statistics.

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[Salo W. Baron]

PORAT, ORNA (1924–), Israeli actress. Born in Germany of non-Jewish parents, Orna Porat was an established actress when she decided to settle in Israel. After learning Hebrew, she joined the *Cameri Theater and became a leading player. Among her important parts were Shaw's Saint Joan, Schiller's Mary Stuart, and the leading role in *The Good Soul of Sechuan* by Brecht. She also participated in the management of the Cameri, and was head of the company's children's theater. She was awarded the Israel Prize in the arts (theater) in 1979.

PORATH, ISRAEL (1886–1974), rabbi. Israel Porath (son of Aryeh Lieb and Sara Sharashevsky) was born in Jerusalem, the second of seven children. His grandfather Yosef and his grandmother Malka came to Palestine from Lithuania in 1837. Malka came from 15 generations of rabbis. His grandfather and father were among the best-known painters and decorators in Jerusalem, who, according to family tradition, had decorated both the Cave of Machpelah in Hebron and Jerusalem's Hurvah Synagogue. Moses Montefiore had presented a citation to them for being self-employed, rather than living off of the *ḥalukkah*, the funds of the community. As a young boy he studied at the Eẓ Ḥayyim Yeshivah and at Yeshivat Ohel Moshe. When Rabbi Abraham Isaac *Kook arrived in Jaffa in 1904, he traveled to meet him and became one of his preferred students. Rabbi Kook said of him that from all of his students he received the most pleasure from Rabbi Porath and Rabbi Jacob Ḥarlap. In 1905 he married Peshe Miriam Tiktin, the sister of Rabbi David Tiktin, who was the *mashgi'aḥ* (spiritual advisor) at Eẓ Ḥayyim Yeshivah. He received ordination from Rabbi Kook as well as from Rabbi Chaim Berlin and Rabbi Jacob David Willowsky (the Slutzker Rav).

In 1906 he founded a spiritual center for young Torah scholars called Beit Va'ad le-Ḥakhamim and served as the principal and director of Doresh Ẓiyyon, a school system for Sephardi students. He became increasingly involved in religious and political issues of the *yishuv* and in 1911 was the Ashkenazi candidate for the position of *ḥakham bashi* (chief rabbi); however, time-honored tradition won out and only Sephardi chief rabbis were selected (Rabbi Ouziel was chosen). At the behest of the leadership of the *yishuv* he was encouraged to learn foreign languages and was sent to Constantinople to secure draft deferments for yeshivah students from the Turkish army.

During World War I he was responsible for emergency welfare, food, and clothing in Jerusalem, in conjunction with the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee. He participated in founding many new neighborhoods on the western side of Jerusalem, including Bayit ve-Gan.

In light of post-war economic difficulties as well as internal political strife between the pro- and anti-Zionist factions in the *yishuv*, he left Palestine in 1922, first for Liverpool, England and then for the United States, to head an office for the Eẓ Ḥayyim Yeshivah, where he was joined by his family (in September 1923). He served as a rabbi at Congregation B'nai Israel in Plainfield, New Jersey, and in 1925 moved to Cleveland to become the rabbi of Congregation Oheb Zedek, where he served for 14 years. He then moved to Congregation Neve Zedek, and in 1945 went to New York to head the Rabbi Israel Salanter Yeshivah. He returned to Cleveland within the year where he was rabbi at the Cleveland Heights Jewish Center until his death in 1974.

He was regarded as one of the outstanding leaders of Orthodox Jewish life in Cleveland. In addition to his serving as one of the founders and chairman of the Orthodox Rabbinical Council of Cleveland (Merkaz Harabanim) he was active in the general Jewish community, including the Board of the Jewish Welfare Federation, the Board of Jewish Education, and B'nai B'rith. He was instrumental in the establishment of the Telz Yeshiva in Cleveland. He was an ardent Zionist and a member of the Mizrachi (Religious Zionists of America); he was honored by numerous Zionist organizations for his work on behalf of the State of Israel, including Bar-Ilan University and the Jewish National Fund. He served as the dean of the Cleveland rabbinate for more than 50 years.

He wrote numerous scholarly articles on rabbinic literature. His major contribution was the *Mavo ha-Talmud* (seven volumes), which he composed at the inspiration of his great teacher and mentor, Rabbi Kook, who had encouraged him many years previously (already in 1913) to dedicate himself to writing a new introduction to the Talmud, based on careful research and presentation of the classical sources.

Rabbi Israel Porath died in Cleveland and was buried in Jerusalem. His beloved wife of 68 years, Peshe Miriam, had passed away four months previously. They had six sons and a daughter (Samuel, Josef, Tzvi Haim, Benjamin, Benzion, David, and Shoshana Haas). Many of his descendants returned to Israel including three of his children, nine of his grandchildren, and dozens of great grandchildren. A street is named for him in Jerusalem's Ramot neighborhood (Rehov Harav Yisrael Porath). Three of his sons became rabbis: Samuel Porath, who became a rabbi in Niagara Falls; Benjamin Porath;

and Tzvi Porath, who was rabbi for nearly half a century in Chevy Chase, Maryland. Two of his grandsons also became rabbis, Gerald Porath and Jonathan Porath, who directs the JDC programs in West Russia.

[Jonathan D. Porath (2nd ed.)]

°**PORCHETUS SALVAGUS** (**Victor Porchetto de Salvatici**; d. c. 1315), Italian Carthusian of Genoa. Porchetus wrote an anti-Jewish work entitled *Victoria adversus impios Hebraeos, in qua tum ex sacris litteris tum ex dictis Talmud ac cabbilistarum et aliorum omnium authorum quos hebraei recipiunt monstratur veritas catholicae fidei*.

The first part (24 chapters) enumerates proofs to demonstrate the truth of Christianity from the Holy Scriptures, and the second part (16 chapters) similarly instances proofs from the Kabbalah and rabbinic sources. Porchetus' material was not original, being copied mostly from the *Pugio fidei* of Raymond *Martini. His book in turn was copied by later writers such as Pietro *Galatinus Columna and others. The book by Porchetus appeared in Paris in 1520. Its introduction (*prologus*) was reprinted by J.C. Wolf in his *Bibliotheca Hebraea* (vol. 2, 1124–27).

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[Judah M. Rosenthal]

PORGES, HEINRICH (1837–1900), writer and conductor. Born in Prague, Porges became coeditor with K.F. Brendel of the *Neue Zeitschrift fuer Musik*, Leipzig (1863) and in 1867 he was responsible, with the editor Julius Froebel, for the arts pages of the *Sueddeutsche Presse*. From 1863, he was drawn into Richard Wagner's circle and became a staunch champion of the composer, and at Wagner's request, he documented in detail in *Die Bühnenproben zu den Bayreuther Festspielen des Jahres 1876* (Leipzig, 1881–96). After living for a while in Vienna he was called to Munich by Wagner's patron, Ludwig II of Bavaria, for whom he had written a study of Wagner's *Tristan und Isolde* (publ. 1906). In 1886 he founded the Porges Choral Society, which promoted the works of Berlioz and Bruckner.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Grove Music Online.

[Israela Stein (2nd ed.)]

PORGES, MOSES BEN ISRAEL NAPHTALI (17th century), rabbi and emissary of the Ashkenazi community of Jerusalem. Born in Prague, he was a relative of Isaiah ha-Levi *Horowitz, whom he followed to Ereẓ Israel, settling in Jerusalem, where he became a scribe. When, after the *Chmielnicki massacres of 1648–49, the contributions from Poland to Jerusalem ceased, and the Ashkenazi community in Jerusalem was overwhelmed with debt, Porges was sent as their emissary to Germany. During this mission he published, in Prague or in Frankfurt, his small work *Darkhei Ẓiyyon* designed to arouse sympathy and obtain support for the Jewish community in Ereẓ Israel.

This work, one of the best examples of this type of literature, is divided into four sections: the virtue of living in Ereẓ Israel, prayer, study, memorial prayers. The first section is a kind of guidebook for new immigrants to Israel, in which Moses draws upon his personal experiences and advises them on what to take for the journey, the easiest routes, how to conduct themselves on the way and the like. In this section he also gives practical details on prices and currency, describes the foods available in Ereẓ Israel, recounts in detail how much is needed for living, rent, and taxes, and lists customs of dress and conduct in everyday life. In the second section he describes in detail the liturgical customs of Jerusalem, in the third section, the methods of study there, including various details about the holy places, and in the fourth, customs then practiced in Jerusalem, among them those of reciting memorial prayers for the departed and of obtaining contributions from generous individuals outside of Ereẓ Israel, in whose honor lights were kindled in the synagogues on Sabbaths and festivals and for whom blessings were invoked. The book was directed to the masses, and therefore was written in the language they knew best – Yiddish. It succeeded admirably in its aim of presenting an attractive picture of Israel. *Darkhei Ẓiyyon* has only been published once and is very rare.

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[Avraham Yaari]

PORGES, NATHAN (1848–1924), rabbi, scholar, and bibliographer. Born in Prossnitz, Moravia, Porges received his rabbinical diploma at the Breslau seminary, in 1874. He served as rabbi in Nakel, Mannheim, Pilsen, and Karlsbad (Karlovy Vary), and from 1888 to 1917 in Leipzig, where he was awarded the title of professor in 1913. His important library contained many incunabula and rare books, which were dispersed and sold through book dealers (cf. Shunami, Bibl, index s.v.).

He wrote articles on Hebrew bibliography which appeared in the *Revue des Etudes Juives*, the *Zeitschrift fuer hebraeische Bibliographie*, and other periodicals. Porges was an expert in medieval Hebrew philology and literature, publishing essays on *Dunash ibn Labrat, Judah *Hayyuj, and Joseph *Bekhor Shor, as well as *Bibelkunde und Babelfunde* (1903) and some sermons.

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PORIYYAH (Heb. פּוֹרִיָּה), two urban quarters and a village in northern Israel, on the Poriyyah Ridge, just S. of *Tiberias. Poriyyah was founded in 1912 as a fruit farm, mainly based on almond plantations, by a group of American Zionists. A few of these Zionists went to settle on the site which was worked by Jewish laborers. The place was abandoned in World War I. In 1940 kibbutz *Alummot temporarily settled on the site. In 1949 a work village (*kefar avodah*) was established there by immigrants from Yemen. In 1952 it became an affiliate of Tenu'at ha-Moshavim but later left the association and remained unaffiliated. A government regional hospital was built further north in 1949, as well as housing projects of Upper Tiberias. A youth hostel, named after the veteran Tiberias inhabitant, Y. Taiber, was opened at Poriyyah. In 1968 the village had 180 inhabitants, the Poriyyah Illit quarter had 790, and the Neveh Oved quarter, 750. In 2002 the village population was 288, the Poriyyah Illit population 529, and Neveh Oved had 888 inhabitants.

[Efraim Orni]

°**PORPHYRY** (233–305 C.E.), Greek philosopher, disciple of Plotinus, and one of the most versatile thinkers of his day. Porphyry displayed considerable interest in Judaism, both as one of the ancient religions of the Orient and as the source of Christianity, to which he was hostile. His attitude to Judaism is sympathetic. In his *De Abstinentia* he cites Josephus (the only pagan writer to do so), drawing upon his description of the Essenes, and he describes with commiseration the misfortunes suffered by the Jews during the reign of *Antiochus Epiphanes and under Roman rule. In his life of Pythagoras, he features him as a disciple of the Hebrews. In his lost polemic against Christianity, Porphyry did not confine himself to criticism of the books of the Bible and of the New Testament, but conducted an empirical investigation which revealed a knowledge of biblical sources even greater than that of *Celsus, his predecessor in this field. Porphyry devoted an entire book to discussion of the Book of Daniel (referred to in Jerome's commentary), concluding that it was written by a Jewish contemporary of Antiochus Epiphanes, and that it can, therefore, only be regarded as "prophecy after the event."

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[Menahem Stern]

PORTAL. The design of a single or double doorway, with flanking columns, appeared early in Jewish funerary art, synagogue mosaics, and paintings, and on glass, lamps, and later in textiles and manuscripts. At first it signified a physical symbol of the concept of the heavenly abode and, later, came to represent the Torah Shrine and the destroyed Temple of Jerusalem. Together with the **menorah*, snuff shovel, **etrog*, **lulav*, and **shofar*, the portal is one of the most common Jewish symbols found from the first centuries of the Common Era. The meaning of the design goes back to the ancient Oriental symbol for the residence of the gods on high. The doorway represented and signified the entrance to the heavenly precincts. Gods were portrayed standing or sitting in the doorway while the sun god Shamash from second-millennium-B.C.E. Akkadian art was frequently shown rising in the eastern mountains from between open double doors. These were the "portals of the sky" from which Shamash called out to the world. In Egypt, too, gods made their appearance standing between pillars that symbolized the heavenly sky. Later, in pagan art the portal was formed into a cult niche (*aedicula* or *naos*) holding the god and indicating his divinity. The early Jews conceived of a portal of heaven opening onto the house of God (Gen. 28:17). The Temple of Solomon is spoken of as the earthly residence of the Divine; the "glory of the Lord" enters, as did the image of Shamash in the Mesopotamian world, through its East Gate (Ezek. 43:4–7). The twin pillars that flanked the Temple, called *Jachin and Boaz, are also found in pagan temples of the Palestinian period. Probably the visual device of the portal was adopted into Jewish art from the neighboring Canaanites and Phoenicians, among whom the portal enclosed and sanctified the cult image. The Jews, having no cult idol, substituted Jewish symbols between the columns of the doorway. This is seen in the Jewish catacombs in Rome on the Via Torlonia where the portal was made in the form of a miniature Roman temple. It is shown with open doors, exposing the ends of scrolls, thus indicating the holy nature of the Torah. Painted directly above the Torah niche on the wall of the third-century-C.E. synagogue at *Dura Europos is a classicized portal probably symbolizing Solomon's Temple. Two columns supporting an arched lintel on a lead coffin from the first- and second-century necropolis at *Bet She'arim in Israel enclosed the *menorah*, thereby signifying the sacred aspect of the candelabrum. Other sepulchers are ornamented with elaborate portals and stone doors that probably retain some of the symbolic value of the heavenly portal. The sixth-century-C.E. synagogues at Bet Alfa and Tiberias have mosaic representations of the pedimented portals surrounded by other Jewish symbols. When the portal was used in Jewish funerary art it probably represented not only the holiness of the tomb, but also the gates of heaven through which the deceased had passed.

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[Bernard Goldman]

PORTALEONE, family in N. Italy which originated in the Portaleone quarter of Rome; the *Sommo (or Sommi) family also belonged to it. From the last half of the 14th century the family produced rabbis, physicians, authors, and poets. Among the first important members was ELHANAN BEN MENAHEM (14th and 15th centuries), rabbi of Fano. He is mentioned in 1399 in connection with a bill of divorce (Responsa of Isaac b. Sheshet, no. 127, New Responsa no. 27; Responsa of Simeon b. Zemaḥ Duran, no. 1). In 1416 he represented the town of Ferrara at a synod held in *Bologna, and he is last mentioned in Fano in 1428. His son BENJAMIN PORTALEONE and his grandson JUDAH PORTALEONE were both physicians. Elhanan's brother, MORDECAI (Angelo), is mentioned in Ferrara in 1420. The latter's son, BENJAMIN (Guglielmo Mizolo; d. before 1432), lived in Ferrara, and his grandson, MORDECAI (Angelo) was mentioned there in 1432. BENJAMIN (Guglielmo Mizolo; c. 1420 – c. 1500), Mordecai's son, was born in Mantua and was a renowned physician, well thought of by his Christian colleagues. He completed his studies in Sienna and served as physician to a number of princes; in Naples he served Ferdinand I who knighted him (thereafter he was often referred to as the Jewish knight), and in Milan, Galleazzo Maria Sforza. By 1446 Benjamin returned to his native town, where he served as the physician of the dukes of Mantua: Ludovico Gonzaga, Federico, and Francesco.

Benjamin's son, ABRAHAM, was the physician of the duke of Urbino, Guida Baedo, later returning to Mantua, where he served as the physician of the noble Federico and other nobles. He was regarded as one of the best physicians of his generation and also won the esteem of Pope Clement VII. His other son, ELEAZAR, also engaged in medicine in Mantua. In 1499 he received a permit to practice from Pope Alexander VI, and he, too, became physician to a number of noblemen, among them Prince Carlo Giovanni Sassatelli, commander of the army of the Venetian Republic. In 1530, when David *Reuveni visited Italy, he met Eleazar in Sabbioneta and some time later was entertained by Abraham in Mantua. Eleazar had two sons, DAVID and ABRAHAM. In 1518 both were authorized to practice medicine by Pope Leo X, the former in Mantua and the latter in Sermide. The sons of Abraham were JUDAH, MEIR, and SOLOMON. The first two practiced as physicians in Sermide and served the princes of the house of Gonzaga. Despite an injunction forbidding Jewish physicians to attend Christians, they received special permits from the pope and the rulers to do so. (Meir received such permits in 1593 and 1598.) David's son was the well-known physician, Abraham *Portaleone, author of *Shiltei ha-Gibborim*. Abraham had three sons, ELIEZER, JUDAH, and DAVID; the last was also a physician authorized by popes Clement VIII and Gregory XV to attend Christians. In 1596 David was in Padua but later he returned to Mantua. David's son, BENJAMIN (D.C. 1683), studied medicine at the University of Sienna, receiving his diploma in 1639, with the special authorization of Pope Urban VIII. His brother's son-in-law, SOLOMON, was a well-known surgeon (though without a degree in medicine) serving until 1727. The author of the first Hebrew play, Judah Leone *Sommo, also belonged to this family.

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[Abraham David]

PORTALEONE, ABRAHAM BEN DAVID II (1542–1612), Italian physician and author. After graduating in philosophy and medicine at the University of Pavia in 1563, he was admitted to the College of Physicians in Mantua in 1566, and was authorized to practice in his father's place; in 1573 he was appointed body physician to the ducal house. Three years later he escaped from an assassination attempt. In 1591, he received papal authorization to attend Christian patients notwithstanding the current restrictions. He built up a considerable practice both among Jews and non-Jews and enjoyed a great reputation. At the duke's request he composed a Latin work containing medical guidance (*consilia medica*) as well as *Dialoghi tres de duro* (Venice, 1584) on the application of gold in medicine. He also mentions his volume of selected remedies. When in 1605 he had a stroke and was half-paralyzed, he composed for the use of his children his great work *Shiltei ha-Gibborim* ("Shields of the Mighty"; Mantua, 1612), the first Hebrew book using European punctuation. In this, he attempted to elucidate the details of the Temple, its service, and everything pertaining to it, in order to make the prescribed daily recitals of the relevant passages more intelligible. His treatment is so discursive as to make the work a compendium of all branches of science known in his day, in which all of the 10 languages which he knew were amply used.

He begins by describing the architecture of the Temple, this serving as the basis for discussing the architectural measurements and scales and the relationships of parts of a building and their proportions. In discussing the songs of the Levites in the Temple service and the musical instruments they used, he deals with music in general and instrumental music in particular, as well as poetic meter. The division into priests, Levites, and Israelites offers him the opportunity to discuss the social order and general structure of an ordered society or "political unit." Returning to a discussion of Temple sacrifices, he touches upon the cubic measurements of solids and liquids, their weights and the relationship between the two, and attempts to clarify it through his own experiments. For example, he determines the specific gravities of liquids such as wine, oil, and honey, and solids such as wheat, sifted wheat flour, and barley flour (e.g., the *Omer*). The salting of the sacrificial meat gives him an opportunity to give a lengthy description of salts in general, which, together with precious stones and medicinal herbs, were his favorite topics. Salts interested him also as ingredients of explosives, and he therefore describes in detail how saltpeter was produced, and also how to prepare gold salts and silver salts and their use in medicine, and the use of other salts in medicine. The chapter on salts thus becomes a kind of pharmacopeia.

Having completed his scientific excurses, Portaleone returns to his main topic… urging his children to be sure to recite the account of the sacrificial service and the incense burning included in the daily prayers, and he gives in three of the "shields" the order of sacrifices for each day, the passages for evening study of the Torah for each day in the year, arranged according to the days of the week and according to the weekly Scriptural portions, as well as a complete list of the chapters from Pentateuch, Prophets, Hagiographa, Mishnah, Talmud, Midrash, and Zohar. Finally, as a kind of introduction to the list of errata, Portaleone discusses reading, writing, and all aspects of the art of printing, and alphabets, Hebrew as well as others. His method of linking different subjects resulted in confusing the important with the trivial in the light of the goal he set himself, but this very confusion increases the importance of his book as a cultural-historical document, both

Jewish and general, in addition to its value as a biographical document. He combines the faith of his forefathers and the traditional Jewish intellectual preoccupations with the theories and accomplishments of the technology and science of the Renaissance and the Italian humanism of his time.

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[Meir Hillel Ben-Shammai]

PORT ELIZABETH, port city in Eastern Cape Province, Republic of South Africa. Jewish families were among the founding British settlers of 1820. A congregation was formed in 1861 (or 1862) and the first synagogue building (a converted Lutheran church) was acquired in 1862. Port Elizabeth became an important center of the wool trade, in the development of which Jewish merchants, notably the *Mosenthal brothers, played a leading part. Hyman Henry Salomon was mayor in 1873–75 and Max Gumpert in 1900. Ministers of Port Elizabeth were: Samuel Rapoport 1873–94, Jacob Philips 1897–1912, and Abraham Levy 1912–54 (with a short break). In 1923 Adolph Schauder, merchant and industrialist, was elected to the city council and remained a member for more than 40 years. He served as mayor in 1940–42; a township for colored people was named after him in recognition of his work for nonwhites. He was also president of the Orthodox Hebrew Congregation for some years. Solly Rubin served as mayor in 1972–3. The United Hebrew Institutions include a *ḥevra kaddisha* and a benevolent society. There are two Orthodox synagogues, the Port Elizabeth Hebrew Congregation and the Summerstrand Hebrew Congregation was founded in 1947, and one Progressive Congregation (Temple Israel), founded in 1949. There is a Jewish day school (Theodor Herzl), although today over 80% of its pupils are non-Jewish. The headquarters of both the Eastern Cape Committee of the Jewish Board of Deputies and the Eastern Province Zionist Council are in Port Elizabeth. In 1969 the Jewish population of Port Elizabeth numbered 2,811 (1.1% of the general population). This had declined to approximately 450 by 2004.

[Lewis Sowden]

PORTELLA, DE, a family of courtiers in the kingdom of Aragon, Spain, who flourished at the close of the 13th century, at the time the Jews were removed from the royal administration. Its most distinguished members were the brothers Muça and Ishmael. MUÇA (d. 1286) was the royal *baiulus* ("baliff") and *merino* in *Tarazona. He first held these functions during the last years of James I (1213–76), who granted him and his family the privilege of not having to pay more than a fifth of the tax which was imposed on the Jewish community of Tarazona (1267). Even though he was considered the private official of the king, he was recognized as the chief administrator of the state's incomes during the reign of Pedro III (1276–85), who also entrusted him with the repair and maintenance of the fortifications of the border regions. In November 1286 he was assassinated in unknown circumstances. His property was at first confiscated by Alfonso III (1285–91) but after negotiations his family succeeded in redeeming both property and status and settled in Albatar, near Borja.

His brother ISHMAEL (d. c. 1312) also participated in the administration of the state incomes, especially after the death of MUÇA. Until 1289 he acted as dispensator (administrator of the household) of the infante Pedro. In appreciation of his numerous services James II (1291–1327), who entrusted him with various diplomatic missions, granted him many privileges and favors, such as exemption from the payment of taxes. He appointed him rabbi of all the Jewish communities of Aragon. After Ishmael's death, his family settled in Navarre. Its decline marked the end of the presence of Jews in the royal administration of Aragon during the period of the Christian reconquest.

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PORTER, SIR LESLIE (1920–), British businessman. Porter joined his family's textile business (J. Porter and Company), of which he became managing director in 1955. In 1959 he joined as director the supermarket chain, Tesco, which had been founded by Sir John Edward *Cohen, and after being appointed assistant managing director in 1964 and deputy chairman in 1970, served as chairman from 1973 to 1985. He was president of the Institution of Grocery Distribution from 1977 to 1980. A noted philanthropist, Porter also served as the Chancellor of Tel Aviv University. In 1949 he married (DAME) SHIRLEY (1930–), daughter of Sir John Edward *Cohen. In addition to company directorships, including that of Capital Radio, an independent broadcasting company in London, Lady Porter was active in Conservative local politics, serving as a Westminster city councilor from 1974 and as leader of the council from 1983 to 1991. She was especially concerned about the promotion of the campaign for a cleaner London. She was awarded a knighthood in 1991. From the late 1990s she received much publicity resulting from her conviction in a so-called "homes for votes" scandal, arising out of the sale of council houses in Westminster during her time as leader of the local council, which resulted in the controversial fine of £37 million being levied on her.

[Vivian David Lipman / William D. Rubinstein (2nd ed.)]

PORTLAND, Oregon's largest city with a population of approximately 1.5 million, situated at the confluence of the Willamette and Columbia rivers on the west coast of the United States; Jewish population (2005) approximately 25,000. The earliest Jewish settlers arrived from Central Europe in the early 1850s. The first Jewish woman, Mrs. Weinshank, opened a boarding house in 1854. Early occupations included peddling and storekeeping. Pioneer Jews, mostly concerned with making a living, recognized that the community would grow only if religious needs could be met. On May 2, 1858, eight men gathered in Portland's National Hotel to establish Beth Israel. The congregation officially organized with 21 male members. Reverend Samuel M. Laski conducted services above a livery stable and blacksmith shop. Congregation Emanu-El in San Francisco loaned the *torah* and *shofar,* which were eventually purchased. In a town that sported five churches, one school and 55 saloons, Portland's first synagogue emerged. Portland quickly became Oregon's major Jewish community. Prussian and Polish Jews founded Ahavai Shalom in 1869. In 1883 a group of Russian Jews, formerly of North Dakota, established what is now the Conservative congregation Talmud Torah. Neveh Zedek, Portland's Orthodox congregation, was established in 1900, merging with Talmud Torah two years later. Ahavai Shalom and Neveh Zedek Talmud Torah merged in 1962 to form Congregation Neveh Shalom, Portland's major Conservative synagogue. Russian Jews established the Orthodox Congregation Shaarie Torah in 1905. In 1911 a group of Sephardi Jews from the island of Rhodes founded Congregation Ahavat Achim, and in 1912 Eastern European immigrants founded Kesser Israel, the only Portland synagogue still in its original location. Reconstructionist Havurah Shalom was founded in 1979. P'nai Or, founded in 1992, is an egalitarian, Jewish Renewal congregation.

Eastern European immigrants had begun arriving around 1900 and became the core of the Portland Jewish community. Settling at the southern end of the center of Portland's downtown, they formed a nearly self- sufficient community lasting more than 50 years. Everything – a kosher shopping district, five synagogues and a community center – contributed to a lively Jewish culture that intermixed with other immigrant groups who also lived in South Portland. The neighborhood changed radically in the late 1950s with an urban renewal project designed to replace residences with a business and commercial district. By this time, many of the second and third generation had moved to the suburbs. Most remaining residents were forced to move. Shops closed or relocated, buildings were razed and a unique part of Portland's history ended.

By the time the immigration from Eastern Europe halted in 1924, Portland Jews worked mostly as merchants and storekeepers or in family networks. Although Portland Jews faced discriminatory practices in country clubs and certain residential areas, for the most part acceptance came easily. Following World War II, as shifts in economic mobility provided more occupational choices, Jews gained access to the middle class and positions in the non-Jewish world in professions such as doctors, lawyers, and upper level managers.

In the early 21st century Portland's vibrant Jewish community supported numerous communal institutions including a Jewish community center, established in 1914 by the local B'nai B'rith Lodge (founded 1879), the Jewish Federation of Greater Portland, two elementary day schools, Cedar Sinai Park (a Jewish facility for the elderly), the Oregon Jewish Community Foundation, Jewish Family and Child Service, Northwest Campus of Jewish Life/Chabad Lubavitch of Oregon, the Institute for Judaic Studies and the Oregon Jewish Museum. Reed College and Portland State University both have Jewish Studies faculty positions. Portland has had many distinguished rabbis, including Stephen S. *Wise and Jonah B. *Wise (Beth Israel) and in recent years, Emanuel Rose (Beth Israel), Joshua Stampfer (Neveh Shalom), and Yonah Geller (Shaarei Torah) each of whom served their communities for more than 40 years. In 2005, Portland sustained 17 congregations. Prominent Jewish civic, business, and cultural leaders have made Portland their home (see *Oregon). The city has seen five Jewish mayors – the first was Bernard Goldsmith (1869–1871) and the most recent was Vera Katz (1992–2004).

[Judith Margles (2nd ed.)]

PORTNOY, JEKUTHIEL (**Noah**; **Yuzef**; 1872–1941), one of the pioneers of the *Bund. Portnoy joined a revolutionary circle at the Jewish teachers seminary in Vilna (1888–92). As a teacher in Kovno (Kaunas), he was active among the Jewish workers and in contact with Polish and Lithuanian socialists. Sent to Siberia for revolutionary activities, he managed to escape in 1899 and shortly thereafter joined the central committee of the Bund. He edited its paper, *Arbeter Shtime*, and directed its organizational matters, settling internal differences of the Bund and lending direction to its program. After 1908 he lived permanently in Warsaw. During World War I he worked for cooperation of the Bund with the Polish socialist parties, but was imprisoned by the Germans. After World War I, in independent Poland, he headed the central committee of the Bund, and in 1925 and 1930 was sent as an emissary to the United States. When the Nazis occupied Poland, he succeeded in escaping to the United States and served as head of the U.S. delegation of the Bund of Poland.

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[Moshe Mishkinsky]

PORTO, Italian family prominent during the 16th and 17th centuries. Its members were scattered in various Italian towns, notably Mantua, Venice, Verona, and Rome. The family originated in Germany, from the Rafa (Rabe, "raven") family, which settled in the town of Porto in the province of Verona, and from which the noted *Rapoport family was descended. Its members include Abraham Menahem ben Jacob ha-Kohen *Porto, one of the heads of the family. ABRAHAM (d. 1593) was a rabbi of Mantua, and author of *Ammudei ha-Golah* (in manuscript). His sons were JEHIEL (1532–1577), a pupil of Meir *Katzenellenbogen of Padua, and GERSHON (1538–after 1593), also a scholar of Mantua. Gershon's son, SIMḤAH, was a pupil of Samuel Judah Katzenellenbogen in Venice, where he worked as a proofreader until 1589. In 1602 he left for the Moravian town of Prossnitz (Prostejov), where he published *Kol Simḥah* (1603), a rhymed work on the Sabbath laws. From there he went on to Vienna.

Other members of the family include MENAHEM ZION (EMANUEL) PORTO (d. c. 1600), rabbi and mathematician.

Born in Trieste, he held rabbinical office in Padua, and wrote a number of works on mathematics and astronomy in Italian, and one in Hebrew entitled *Over la-Soḥer* on various mathematical subjects (Venice, 1627). ZECHARIAH BEN EPHRAIM MAHALALEL (d. 1672) lived in Urbino, Rome, and Florence. He was a wealthy philanthropist and many Italian communities benefited from his generosity. He wrote *Asaf ha-Mazkir*, a reference book of sayings and legends of the Talmud (Venice, 1675). ISAAC BEN DAVID (d. c. 1577) was rabbi in Mantua. Toward the end of his life he was imprisoned, having been slandered by his opponent R. Abraham Jagel Gallico. ẒEMAḤ BEN ISAAC (d. c. 1666) was appointed rabbi in Mantua in 1637. (See also *Rapoport family.)

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[Abraham David]

PORTO (Rafa-Rapaport), ABRAHAM MENAHEM BEN JACOB HA-KOHEN (1520–after 1594), one of the important rabbis of Verona. In his youth he studied in Venice where he became acquainted with Elijah *Levita and where he was a proofreader for the printing press of *Bragadini. Porto witnessed the burning of the Talmud in Venice on the 13th and 14th of Marḥeshvan 1553, and appointed these days annually as days of mourning and fasting. In 1555 he published his *Ẓafenat Pane'aḥ*, containing a cypher-code of his own invention. He left Venice not later than 1574 and may have gone to Cremona where he is known to have been in 1574 and where he stayed until at least 1582. From 1584 to 1592 he was rabbi of Verona. The period of his rabbinate in Verona was that of its crowning glory, and the yeshivah which he conducted there became famous. In 1593 he was in Cologne (Germany).

He was the author of *Minḥah Belulah* (Verona, 1594), a commentary on the Pentateuch based upon the Midrashim. It was reprinted together with the text of the Pentateuch (Hamburg, 1795). He compiled similar commentaries on several other books of the Bible and on *Avot* which have never been published, although they have been preserved in manuscript with some of his writings (the ms. is in Hekhal Shelomo, Jerusalem). Some of his responsa and rulings are scattered in the works of contemporary scholars; additional responsa are extant in manuscript (H. Hirschfeld, *Descriptive Catalogue of the Hebrew Mss. of the Montefiore Library* (1904) nos. 480–481).

Abraham Menahem Porto was among those who forbade the reading of Azariah de *Rossi's work, *Me'or Einayim*, which had been published in Mantua in 1573 (his letter to Menahem Azariah *Fano). However, after the rabbis of Mantua, David b. Abraham *Provencal and Judah b. Joseph *Moscato, allowed it to be read, he retracted and joined them in permitting this (his letter to Azariah de Rossi). His signature appears on *takkanot* forbidding gambling (1573) and the infringement of moneylending franchises held by fellow Jews.

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[Tovia Preschel / Abraham David]

PORTO ALEGRE, capital of the State of Rio Grande do Sul, Brazil; population: 1,416.363 (2004); estimated Jewish population: 9,000 (2004). After São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro, Porto Alegre has the third most important Jewish community in Brazil, with a solid institutional network and an active social and cultural life.

The Jewish community was established in Porto Alegre in the 1910s, when immigrants from Eastern Europe founded the local association União Israelita. In 1915, the first Jewish newspaper to appear in Brazil, *Di Mentshhayt*, written in Yiddish, was published in Porto Alegre. The Centro Israelita Porto-Alegrense (Jewish Center of Porto Alegre) was founded in 1917, while the Centro Hebraico Rio-Grandense (Jewish Center of Rio Grande do Sul, 1922) and Sociedade Beneficente das Damas Israelitas Sefaradis (Beneficent Society of Jewish Sephardic Women, 1931) were founded by Sephardi immigrants.

The pattern of Porto Alegre's Jewish community follows the general pattern established in the most important urban centers in Brazil: a well-organized institutional life; successful economic, social, and cultural integration; and a Jewish-Brazilian identity. The local community has created a school and several cultural, sport, and social welfare entities. Among them are Associação Israelita Damas de Caridade (1922), Cooperativa de Crédito Popular (1922, providing its 2,000 members with credit and banking services), Colégio Israelita Brasileiro (1922), Grêmio Esportivo Israelita (1929), Círculo Social Israelita (1930), Sociedade Beneficente de Socorros Mútuos Linath Hatzedek (1932), Sociedade Israelita Brasileira de Cultura e Beneficência – Sibra (1936), founded by German Jews who arrived during the 1930s, and the youth movements Yavne, Ha-Bonim Dror, Betar, Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir and Chazit Ha-Noar.

Located in a region with considerable economic development and large ethnic minorities (Germans, Italians, Poles), the Jewish community of Porto Alegre flourished and developed its institutions. In 1941, the Jews had a radio program. A second one came into existence in 1968. After World War II, new institutions were created: Organização Sionista (1945), WIZO (1947), Naamat Pioneiras (1948), Clube Campestre (1958), Federação Israelita do Rio Grande do Sul (1961), and a Jewish sport club (inaugurated in 1966). After 1956, scores of refugees from Egypt and Hungary, as well as immigrants from Israel, joined the community.

In 1992, there were around 3,300 Jewish families living in Porto Alegre and 310 in other small towns located in the State of Rio Grande do Sul. In the 1920s most of the colonists from ICA colonies moved to Porto Alegre and also created small communities in the hinterland of Rio Grande do Sul: Santa Maria (1915), Pelotas (União Israelita Pelotense, 1920), Rio Grande (Sociedade Israelita Brasileira, 1920, many from Philipson), Passo Fundo (União Israelita Passo-Fundense, 1922), Erechim (Sociedade Cultural e Beneficente Israelita, 1934, with many colonists from Quatro Irmãos), and also Erebango, Cruz Alta, and Uruguaiana.

Moacyr *Scliar (1937–) the most important Jewish-Brazilian writer, was born and lived Porto Alegre. He was the main literary voice of the Brazilian Jewish experience in the 20th century. Physician and member of the Academia Brasileira de Letras (Brazilian Academy of Literature), some of his books take place in the Jewish neighborhood of Bom Fim, where the author creates an atmosphere of fantastic realism. Some of his most famous books are *A Guerra no Bom Fim* ("The War in Bom Fim," 1972), *Balada do Falso Messias* ("Ballad of the False Messiah," 1976) and *A Estranha Nação de Rafael Mendes* ("The Strange Nation of Rafael Mendes," 1983).

Cintia Moscovich (1958–), from Porto Alegre, is an important Jewish-Brazilian writer from the new generation and has published titles like *O reino das cebolas* ("The Kingdom of the Onions," 1996) and *Duas Iguais – Manual de amores e equívocos assemelhados* ("The Identical Two – Manual of Loves and Similar Mistakes," 1998). Carlos Scliar (1920–2001) was a distinguished artist, being one of the most important Brazilian engravers. The local community had also a soccer player idol in the 1950s: David Russowsky, the "Russinho" (1917–1958), who played for "Internacional" and was also a lawyer.

Instituto Cultural Judaico Marc Chagall (1985) is a very active Jewish-Brazilian cultural institution, promoting different kinds of activities. Marc Chagall has a Memoirs Department with a well-organized historical archive about Jewish immigrants in Rio Grande do Sul.

Antisemitism

Antisemitism was a significant question in Porto Alegre during the 1990s due to the activity of local Editora Revisão, a publishing house that translated and edited some antisemitic titles such as *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion*; antisemitic works by Gustavo Barroso (a fascist leader in the 1930s), such as *Brasil, colônia de banqueiros* ("Brazil, a Colony of Bankers," first published in the 1930s), and Holocaust-denial books such as *Holocausto judeu ou alemão? Nos bastidores da mentira do século* ("Jewish or German Holocaust? The Framers of the Century's Lie," written by S.E. Castan, pseudonym of the editor Siegfried Ellwanger); and *Quem escreveu o diário de Anne Frank?* ("Who Wrote the Diary of Anne Frank?"). In 1989, when the books achieved commercial distribution and political repercussions, a group of Jews and other activists, including Afro-Brazilians, launched Movimento Popular Anti-Racismo – Mopar to respond to the diffusion of antisemitism. Editora Revisão participated in several book events in Brazil, and this provoked discussions between those who were in favor of "absolute" freedom of expression and those who denounced the racism and the antisemitism. After a legal battle of many years, the publisher S.E. Castan, owner of Revisão, was condemned for the crime of racism and antisemitism in 2004. It was the first Brazilian court conviction for antisemitism, establishing an important precedent in the matter.

In 2005, three young Jews were attacked in a bar in Porto Alegre by a skinhead group, in a rare episode of violent and open antisemitism in the country.

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[Roney Cytrynowicz (2nd ed.)]

PORTO-RAFA (Rapaport), MOSES BEN JEHIEL HAKOHEN (d. 1624), Italian scholar. Moses was a member of the German family Rafa that settled in the town of Porto in the vicinity of Verona and became the progenitors of the renowned *Rapaport family. In 1602 Moses served as rabbi of Badia Polesine in Piedmont. Subsequently he became rabbi of Rovigo. While he was there a great controversy broke out about the validity of its **mikveh*. He was among those, headed by his relative Avtalyon b. Solomon of *Consiglio, who prohibited its use. Moses collected, edited, and published all the rulings of those who took a stringent view in the dispute in a work entitled *Palgei Mayim* (Venice, 1608), appending to it a criticism of the *Mashbit Milḥamot*, which gave all the rulings of those who permitted the use of the *mikveh*. Moses was on friendly terms with Leone *Modena. He died in Venice.

His brother, ABRAHAM MENAHEM PORTO (b. 1569), studied in his youth under members of his family in Cremona and Mantua. He appears to have been one of the rabbis of Verona.

He was the author of *Ḥavvot Ya'ir* (Venice, 1628), giving epigrams and other witty deductions of rabbinic sayings in alphabetic order. He corrected and published the *Minḥah Belulah* (Verona, 1594), a commentary on the Pentateuch by his relative Abraham Menahem b. Jacob Ha-Kohen *Porto (Rafa-Rapaport). The following works by him have remained in manuscript: *Gat Rimmon*, a collection of poems; *Shimmush Avraham*, a commentary on the Pentateuch; and *Ḥasdei David*, a commentary on the Psalms. A few of his responsa have been published in the works of his contemporaries.

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[Abraham David]

PORTO-RICHE, GEORGES DE (1849–1930), French playwright. Born in Bordeaux into an assimilated family of Italian origin, Porto-Riche began his literary career with some collections of poetry: *Prima Verba* (1872), *Pommes d'Eve* (1874), and *Tout n'est pas rose* (1877). After writing two plays in verse – *Le Vertige* (1873) and *Un Drame sous Philippe II* (1875) – he turned his dramatic talent to plays dealing with the psychology of love. The most successful of these witty and well-constructed dramas were *La chance de Françoise* (1888), *Amoureuse* (1891), *Le passé* (1898), *Le vieil homme* (1911), and *Le marchand d'estampes* (1918). Collected as *Théátre d'amour* (1928), his plays fill four volumes.

Porto-Riche's view of love was the 17th-century classical concept of a tyrannical and destructive passion. His success was due largely to what was, at the time, a daring novelty: the presentation on the stage of the most intimate problems of people in love. This won him great popularity with many critics as well as with the public, but it also earned biting criticism from some of the more conservative. This, in the case of the extreme reactionaries of the "Action française," often took an antisemitic turn.

In 1906 Porto-Riche was appointed director of the Bibliothèque Mazarine. He was elected to the Académie francaise.

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[Moshe Catane]

PORTRAITS OF JEWS. Portraits were known among the Jews in the classical period: Josephus (Ant., 17:6) records that *Alexandra sent portraits of her sons to Mark Antony in order to rouse his sympathy. The Jewish "zoographos" Eudoxios who lived in Rome was presumably a portrait painter. No such portraits have survived, though an extant statue of the classical period has been said to represent *Josephus. In the Middle Ages there are numerous representations of Jews in biblical (especially New Testament) scenes, but none that can be identified with any specific living person. What has been described as the earliest Jewish portrait is the Scharfzandt window of the Church of Our Lady in Munich but it is no more than a vivid representation of a Jewish type. The earliest actual representations of identifiable Jews are presumably the medieval Anglo-Jewish caricatures of Isaac of Norwich (1233) and of Aaron 'fiz Diaboli' of Colchester (1277). In a late 14th-century Spanish prayer book in the Vatican library (Ms. Vat. ebr. 324) there are a number of crude sketches of various members of the community, similarly caricatures rather than portraits.

The earliest identifiable portraits of Jews in the full sense are those of Daniel da Norsa and his family at the foot of the painting of the Madonna made for the Basilica di Sant' Andrea in Mantua in 1495, built on land confiscated from him. Somewhat later is the portrait of *Joseph of Rosheim in a contemporary German document. It is somewhat curious that the earliest known specially commissioned portraits of Jews are three medals of the Renaissance period, for the religious prohibition was considered to apply more strictly to plastic art than to a plane surface. Leone *Modena stated that in his day Jews had portraits in their homes, but his own portrait, prefixed to his *Riti Ebraici*, was made as an exercise by a gentile acquaintance.

From about this time portraits of prominent Jews, including rabbis, became commonplace in the northern European Sephardi communities, where presumably the former traditions to which they had become accustomed as *Marranos had become deeply engrained. On occasion the Jews went to the most eminent artists of their time for the purpose: while *Rembrandt's portraits of *Manasseh Ben Israel may have been executed as an act of friendship, there is every reason to believe that his *Dr. Ephraim Bueno* was commissioned. In 18th-century England, artists of the caliber of Reynolds and Gainsborough carried out portrait commissions for wealthy Anglo-Jewish families. Sculptured portraits begin to emerge in the Jewish communities only in the late 18th century. To this day some of the extreme Orthodox object to having their portraits taken even by photography, because of their stern interpretation of the biblical prohibition. On the other hand, portraits of the dead persons in high relief are to be found in the Jewish cemetery of Curaçao, and in some parts of the U.S. photographs are incorporated into tombstones. In recent times, eminent Jewish portraitists include P. de *Laszlo and S.J. *Solomon, and the sculptor Jacob *Epstein.

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[Cecil Roth]

PORT SAID, city N.E. of *Cairo on the Mediterranean, at the entrance to the Suez Canal. With the construction of the Port Said harbor in 1856 Jews began to settle there. The Anglo-Jewish traveler S. Samuel found about 20 families (70 souls) in the town in 1879, earning their livelihood as tailors, retail traders, and money lenders. The community in Port Said prospered after the building of the Suez Canal. In 1882 there was a blood libel against the Jews of Port Said, but the local governor protected them. In April 1892 there again was a blood libel which resulted in the death of a Jewish merchant and an attack on the synagogue. Some Jews then left the city. Nevertheless, the census of 1897 showed that the Jewish population had increased to 400 (out of a total of 42,972 inhabitants). In 1901, 1903, and 1930, there were further blood libels. The community was organized at the end of the 19th century and obtained the patronage of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. In 1890 the members of the local Jewish court of law were R. Joseph Buskila, Rabbi Bechor Abraham Bitran and the *shoḥet* Jacob Aaron Luria. At the beginning of the 20th century an Ashkenazi woman had a pub in the city. In 1901 the rabbis of Cairo traveled to Port Said and published there their new regulation on *kiddushin*. In the same year seven children from Port Said studied at the Alliance Israélite Universelle school in Jerusalem. The community was subordinate to the Jewish court of law in *Alexandria. The census of 1907 found 378 Jews in Port Said; the majority were of *Aden and Yemenite origin and a minority of Egyptian origin, Ashkenazi and Sephardi Jews. In 1917 594 Jews lived in the city. During World War I, the Jewish population temporarily increased. At that time, there were also some Zionist activities in the town. During the 1920s, the community had two synagogues and a school built by the Binyan family of Aden. It closed down in the 1930s. In 1927 there were 1,009 Jews in Port Said; in 1937 they numbered 767 and in 1947, 864. The rabbi of the community in 1918–35 was Nissim Benjamin Ohana, who was born in Algeria (died in Haifa in 1966). He published a responsa collection called *Na'eh Eshiv* (published in Jerusalem; 1958) and a halakhic book about *sheḥitah*, *Ze Torat Ha-Zevaḥ* (published in Jerusalem in 1959). In 1956 the number of Jews in the town was estimated at 300, most of whom were compelled to leave as a result of the Suez campaign in 1956. In 1960 only six Jews lived in Port Said. In 2005 there were no Jews in Port Said.

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[Haim J. Cohen / Leah Bornstein-Makovetsky (2nd ed.)]

PORTSMOUTH, seaport and naval base in Hampshire, S. England. The Jewish community, perhaps the oldest in continuous existence in England outside London, was founded in 1746 and a cemetery was acquired in 1749. Among early settlers were a family of engravers, a jeweler, navy agents, and small tradesmen. In a boat disaster in 1758 11 Jews were drowned, the only survivor being Samuel Emanuel, ancestor of a family later prominent in civic life. A communal split occurred in 1766 over the recognition of the rabbi of the Great Synagogue or the rabbi of the Hambro' Synagogue as spiritual leader. A reconciliation in 1771 led to reunion of the two groups in 1789. In 1780, the original synagogue was reconstructed and was still in use until 1936, when it was replaced by a new building in Southsea, the residential suburb. Portsmouth's prosperity as a naval and garrison town during the Napoleonic Wars attracted large numbers of Jews, but with the decline of the town after 1815 the community also decreased. A Jewish day school, Aria College, existed in Portsmouth for many years. In 1969 the Jewish population was estimated at 600 (out of a total of 215,000). The only communal institutions apart from the synagogue were the benevolent institution and a Board of Guardians for the poor. In the mid-1990s the Jewish population was estimated at approximately 385. The 2001 British census found 235 declared Jews in Portsmouth.

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[Vivian David Lipman]

PORTUGAL, southwesternmost country of continental Europe, in the Iberian Peninsula. Jewish settlement in the area began prior to Portugal's emergence as a nation. The existence of a significant Jewish settlement on the peninsula by 300 C.E. is apparent from the edicts of *Elvira which proscribe "taking food with the Jews" and single out the Jewish group in a number of dicta. A tradition among the Sephardi Jews ascribes their arrival in Iberia to Roman times, in the wake of the destruction of the Temple in 70 C.E. and subsequent dispersion toward Europe. James *Finn endeavored to make a case for dating the initial Jewish involvement in the area as early as 900 B.C.E., based on reports of two ancient Hebrew inscriptions, one mentioning *Amaziah, king of Judah, and a second marking the grave of King Solomon's treasurer, *Adoniram.

When Portugal emerged as a distinct national entity under Affonso (Henriques) I (1139–85), a number of wholly Jewish districts existed, including communities in *Lisbon, *Oporto, *Santarém, and *Beja. Affonso employed as his treasurer Yaḥya ibn Ya'ish, thereby initiating the pattern of Portuguese rulers enlisting Jewish talent in the management of affairs of state. Under King Affonso III (1248–79) Portugal attained total independence and fixed its historic geographic boundaries, and during his reign the classic Portuguese model of Jewish communal life emerged. The crown recognized the Jewish community as a distinct legal entity, headed by the royally appointed *arraby mor. The *arraby mor*, in turn, named seven **dayyanim*, one for each of seven regional centers; Santarém, Oporto, *Moncorvo, *Viseu, *Faro, *Evora, and *Covilhã, each with his own administrative staff to adjudicate both civil and criminal cases. Their decisions were subject to appeal before the *arraby mor*, who visited the district courts annually for this purpose, accompanied by an **av bet din* ("chief justice") and an executive staff. The vast power of the *arraby mor* was balanced by the right of the people to select the local rabbis – who, however, were paid by the crown and required its confirmation – and to elect the *tovei ha-ir* (see *Community, *Elders) who directed the daily functions of the community. In the larger towns Jews generally lived together in a *juderia* (see *Jewish Quarter) such as Oporto's Jews' Hill or Loulé's Jews' Vale.

Portuguese Jewry prospered under these separatist conditions, continuing the attentiveness to learning that marked the peninsula's formative years. The community's autonomy amid officialness was the crucible in which the proud, enduring Portuguese Sephardi heritage was shaped. By the 15th century the Jews were playing a major role in the country's monarchical capitalism, as that economic system has been characterized. The concentration of Jews in Lisbon and other

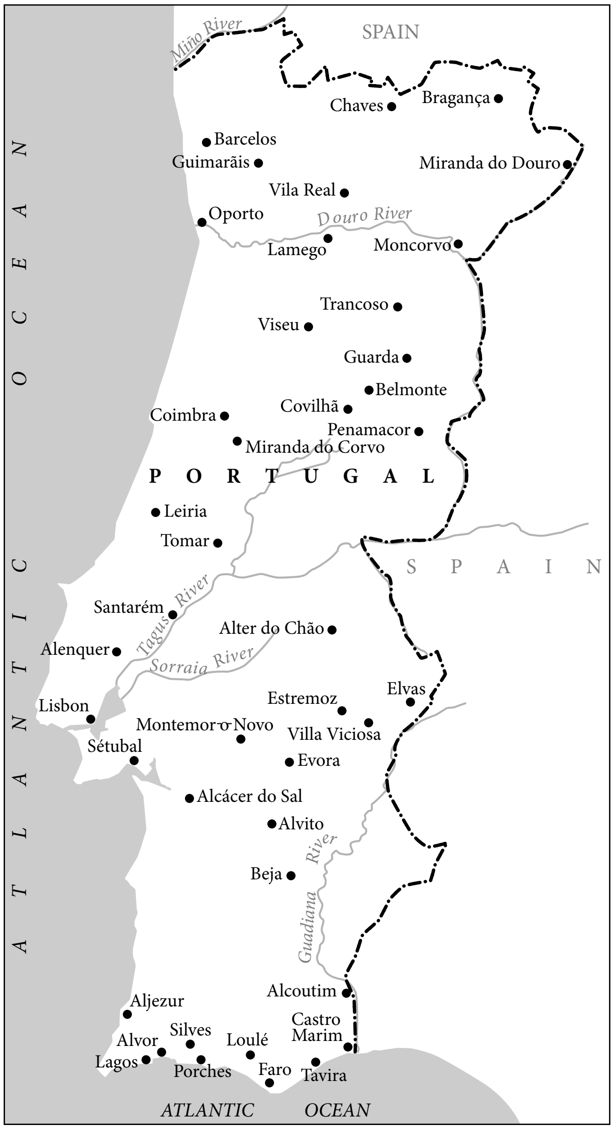
Miño River
SPAIN
Chaves
Bragança
Barcelos
Guimarãis
Miranda do Douro
Vila Real
Oporto
Douro River
Lamego
Moncorvo
Trancoso
Viseu
Guarda
Belmonte
Coimbra
Covilhã
Penamacor
Miranda do Corvo
PORTUGAL
Leiria
Tomar
SPAIN
Santarém
Tagus River
Alter do Chão
Alenquer
Sorraia River
Estremoz
Elvas
Lisbon
Montemor-o-Novo
Villa Viciosa
Sétubal
Evora
Alcácer do Sal
Alvito
Beja
Guadiana River
ATLANTIC OCEAN
Alcoutim
Aljezur
Castro Marim
Silves
Loulé
Alvor
Lagos
Porches
Faro
Tavira
ATLANTIC OCEAN

Places of Jewish settlement in Portugal, 1200–1497.

population centers rendered obvious the group's business success and – as a result of their access to royalty – their disproportionate prominence in society. At the same time, Portuguese Jews were fastidious in loyalty to their faith and reciprocated the distant posture assumed by their devout Catholic neighbors, making way for the suspicions that feed on envy. Furthermore, the independence enjoyed by the Jewish community, in the otherwise Christian state, aroused the ire of the clergy. Their efforts to erode Jewish civil rights were resisted by the cultured King Diniz (1279–1325), who retained the *arraby mor* Don Judah as his treasurer and reasserted that the Jews need not pay tithes to the church. In any event the Jews were heavily taxed as the price of remaining unmolested, including a special Jews' tax intended to redeem the "accursed state of the race," and a tax based on the number of cattle and fowl slaughtered by the *shoḥatim*. The unsympathetic Affonso IV (1325–57) increased the direct tax load to bring him an annual state income of about 50,000 livres. He also reinstituted the dormant requirement that Jews wear an identifying yellow *badge, and restricted their freedom to emigrate. The emboldened clergy accused the Jews of spreading the *Black Death in 1350, inciting the populace to action. During the short rule of Pedro I (1357–67) – who employed as his physician the famed Moses *Navarro – the deterioration of the Jewish position was halted. The situation then fluctuated from ruler to ruler until the reign of Affonso V (1438–81), who gave the Jews his conscientious protection, affording them a last peaceful span of existence in Portugal. The general populace was seething with envy and religious hate. In 1449 there occurred a riot against the Jews of Lisbon; many homes were sacked and a number of persons were murdered. Local assemblies in 1451, 1455, 1473, and 1481 demanded that steps be taken to reduce the national prominence of the Jew.

Somehow the Jews of Portugal never considered their predicament as hopeless, and when *Spain expelled its Jews in 1492, some 150,000 fled to nearby Portugal, where both the general and Jewish culture approximated their own (see *Spanish and Portuguese Literature). King John II (1481–95), eager to augment his treasury, approved their admission. Wealthy families were charged 100 cruzados for the right of permanent residence; craftsmen were admitted with an eye to their potential in military production. R. Isaac *Aboab was permitted to settle with a group of 30 important families at Oporto. The vast majority, however, paid eight cruzados per head for the right to remain in Portugal for up to eight months. When this unhappy group found that a dearth of sailings made their scheduled exit impossible, John II proclaimed them automatically his slaves. Children were torn from their parents, 700 youths being shipped to the African island of Saõ Tomé (Saint Thomas) in an unsuccessful scheme to populate this wild territory.

With the accession of Emanuel I the Fortunate (1495–1521), the harsh distinctions between the displaced Spanish and the native Portuguese Jews began to be erased, and hopes for a tranquil period were raised. Instead, Emanuel's reign signaled the end of normative Jewish life in Portugal, for within a year of his accession he contracted a marriage with the Spanish princess Isabella – hoping thereby to bring the entire peninsula under a single monarch – and Spanish royalty made its consent dependent on his ridding Portugal of all Jews. Consenting reluctantly, on Dec. 4, 1496, Emanuel ordered that by November of the following year no Jew or Moor should remain in the country. Forthright action was not taken against the Moors, if only because Christians in Moorish lands would then be subject to reprisals. As the departures proceeded Emanuel reconsidered the loss of the Jewish citizenry and the attendant economic losses. He resolved to keep them in the country by turning the Jews into legal Christians. He tried persuasion and torture, but with little success, and the chief rabbi, Simon *Maimi, died resisting conversion. Accordingly on March 19, 1497, all Jewish minors were forcibly baptized and detained, a move that tended to prevent their parents from attempting to flee. The order then went out for all who were still intent on embarkation to assemble at Lisbon. Some 20,000 gathered there, but instead of being evacuated they were ceremonially baptized and declared equal citizens of the realm. Bewildered, these *Conversos cautiously began to emigrate, prompting Emanuel to respond on April 21, 1499, by withholding the right of emigration from the *New Christians, as this new class was officially designated, but technicalities aside, the Portuguese majority continued to regard them as Jews. In the spring of 1506, over 2,000 New Christians were massacred during a Lisbon riot. If the Conversos had had any thoughts of finding solace in the religion thrust upon them, such riots dissuaded them. Consequently even those who were otherwise weak of spirit tended to cling to their God, with the resultant emergence of *Crypto-Judaism, or Marranoism. While attending church and conducting themselves outwardly as Catholics, in secret they maintained Jewish observances, to whatever extent was possible.

As early as 1516 King Emanuel, suspecting that such a situation existed, proposed to Pope *Leo x that an *Inquisition – on the Spanish model – be authorized to ferret out backsliding New Christians. John III (1521–57) enlisted Enrique *Nuñez, an apostate from the Canary Islands, to mingle with the Marranos and report on their practices. In 1527 Nuñez presented King John with an exposé of Marrano life, appending a list of Crypto-Jews. Popular support for a Portuguese Inquisition surfaced in 1531, when the populace attributed the earthquake of that year to divine retribution for New Christian duplicity. Unable to resist these pressures, Pope Clement VII authorized the Inquisition, with King John's confessor Diogo da Silva as the first inquisitor general. Attempting to counter this, the Marranos dispatched Duarte de *Paz to Rome. Armed with unlimited funds, Paz was to attempt, at the very least, to deny the Inquisition the right to confiscate the property of those condemned, recognizing that this would be an incitement to prosecution. The ensuing diplomatic fray lasted half a century. On April 5, 1533 the Marranos won a suspension of the Inquisition, but on May 23, 1536 it was reauthorized, to be effective three years hence. A first *auto-da-fé took place in Lisbon on Sept. 20, 1540, but in 1544 the Inquisition was again suspended. Finally Emperor *Charles v brought his influence to bear and King John offered the bribe of Viseu's total tax revenue; irrevocable papal consent was given on July 16, 1547. Permanent tribunals were established at Lisbon, Evora, *Coimbra, and in Portugal's Far East outpost *Goa. Ultimately, in 1579, the right to confiscate the culprit's property also accrued to the inquisitors, so that every wealthy Portuguese not certified as pure-blooded (*limpieza de sangre) lived in terror. The Portuguese Inquisition became inspired more by greed than by piety, as Padre Antonio *Vieira charged. Soon the tribunal authorities were able to construct lavish palaces, to proffer large sums to receive condemnatory testimony, and to produce spectacular autos-da-fé, which competed with the bullfights in drawing crowds of tens of thousands. Accused Marranos could escape death by repentantly admitting to Judaizing, but in such an event they would be forced into implicating family and friends, thus providing a spiraling supply of victims. Occasionally even a genuine Christian was martyred for Judaizing, young Don Lope de *Vera y Alarcon (1620–1644) being the most notable example. Crypto-Jews sought precarious safety among the ruling classes and clergy; in time this tendency resulted in a significant percentage of Marrano blood being found within Portugal's ruling circles – as bitterly documented by Mario Saa.

The surest method of evading the Inquisition was to abandon the peninsula, and a constant flow of Conversos escaped – some with daring (see Samuel *Nunez), some with luck – to the communities of the *Marrano Diaspora, where many of them quickly reverted to normative Judaism. Some ex-Marranos, however, such as Spinoza's teacher Juan de *Prado, were not found acceptable by congregational leaders, giving rise to a responsa literature debating the status of the New Christians and ex-Marranos in Jewish law. The leading city of the Portuguese Diaspora was *Amsterdam, with *Salonika ranking first in the Ottoman East, but the former Marranos became ubiquitous in all the Old and New World centers of trade, to the extent that "Portuguese" became synonymous with "Jewish" – much to the consternation of gentile Portuguese travelers. The stream of refugees continued until the end of the inquisitional period. As late as 1795, immigrants to London cited flight from the Inquisition on their aliens' certificates. In 1791 Isaac Lopes Simões fled Lisbon to enter the covenant of Abraham at Bordeaux, France.

The Inquisition was brought to an end during the reign of Joseph Emanuel I (1750–77) through the initiative of Sebastião José de Carvalho ê Mello, Marques de Pombal (1699–1782), who was the power behind the titular monarch. In a series of acts from 1751 to 1774 Pombal deprived the Holy Office of real power, placing it under secular control, and restored the civil rights of the New Christian class, even bullying certified Old Christian families into contracting marriages with New Christians. A last auto-da-fé took place in 1791; on March 31, 1821, the Inquisition was abolished in Portugal. During the nightmare centuries of Portugal's Inquisition, over 40,000 persons were implicated, of whom 30,000 were sentenced at autos-da-fé. A total of 750 of these were staged, at which 29,000 persons were reconciled to the Church, 600 persons burned in effigy, and 1,200 persons burned at the stake. The majority of the victims were accused of Judaizing. The terror that weighed on the Marranos who managed to avoid detection cannot be measured.

Historians writing at the beginning of the 20th century supposed that the last Marranos had by then disappeared. In 1917, however, a mining engineer named Samuel *Schwarz discovered a community of Marranos in the remote northern region near *Belmonte. Apparently they had succeeded in maintaining their identity in the remote mountain areas, marrying among themselves, harboring memories of Jewish observances, being called Jews by their neighbors, and holding to the belief in a single, personal Deity who would redeem His people at the end of days. While Schwarz was publicizing his discovery, a Portuguese hero of Marrano descent, Captain Arturo Carlos de *Barros Basto, openly espoused Judaism and undertook to revitalize the spiritual life of the Marranos. World Jewry took a warm interest in the Barros Basto enterprise, with British Jews taking the lead in a plan to forge a link between the Marranos and the Jewish community that had sprung up in Portugal since the end of the Inquisition.

[Aaron Lichtenstein]

Resettlement

Jewish settlement in Portugal was renewed around 1800: a corner of the British cemetery in Lisbon contains Hebrew tombstones dating from 1804. The first settlers, who held British nationality, had been buried in a separate plot allotted to them in the English cemetery. Later, in March of 1833, a Portuguese nobleman by the name of António de Castro let to Abraham de José Pariente, at an annual rent of 4,000 reis, a plot of land to serve "as a cemetery for the tenant, Abraham de José Pariente, his descendants, and relatives." It was used as a general Jewish cemetery. By a decree published in 1868, the Jews of Lisbon were permitted to "construct a cemetery for the burial of their coreligionists." Official recognition was not accorded to the Jewish community until 1892, when a decree was published entitling it "to hold religious services, maintain a cemetery for the burial of Jews resident in or in transit through Portugal, to establish funds for the assistance of the poor, and to keep registers of births, deaths, and marriages." After the establishment of the republic by the revolution of Oct. 5, 1910, the government of Portugal approved the community's statute presented to it in 1912. In accordance with the approved statute, the community was authorized to maintain places of worship, a cemetery, and a *ḥevra kaddisha*, to slaughter in accordance with the Jewish law, to keep registers of births, deaths, and marriages, and to establish charity funds. Beginning in the 1920s, cases of conversion to Catholicism were not infrequent and several families were split into Jewish and Catholic branches. However, after 1950, this tendency declined to a great extent.

[Reuven Nall]

Holocaust Period

At the outbreak of World War II, Portugal had an organized Jewish community of about 380 Portuguese nationals, in addition to another 650 Jews, many of whom were refugees from Central Europe, who were granted "resident" status. The Jewish community was headed by Moses *Amzalak, a personal friend and associate of President Salazar. After the fall of France, Portugal adopted a most liberal visa policy under which thousands of refugees, including a large proportion of Jews, were allowed to enter the country as immigrants. This policy, however, excluded those of Russian origin or birth. Starting late in 1940, and particularly from the Spring of 1941, Portuguese immigration policy became increasingly stringent as a result of the limited sailings from Portuguese ports. During the second half of the war, Portugal agreed to grant entry visas as part of various rescue operations, on the condition that its territory be used only for transit purposes. For reasons outside Portugal's control, these plans were never realized. During this period, however, Portugal saved all of its 245 Jewish citizens and those Jews in occupied countries to whom it granted consular protection, forcing the Germans to return part of their confiscated property. Portugal joined the other neutral countries in saving Hungarian Jews (see *Hungary, Holocaust) in late 1944, by granting them her protection. Throughout the war Lisbon served as a base for the operations of Jewish organizations in and beyond the Iberian Peninsula.

[Haim Avni]

Contemporary Period

In 1971 the Jewish community of Portugal consisted of 650 persons, about half of them Sephardim and the others Ashkenazim. Of these, 630 lived in Lisbon, 15 in Oporto, and five in Algarve. Most of the Ashkenazim (mainly of German and Polish origin) took up residence in Portugal after World War II, with such notable exceptions as Kurt Jacobsohn, the vice rector and the interim rector of Lisbon University, who settled in Portugal in the late 1920s. The majority of the Jews were in the liberal professions, or engaged in business, real estate, construction, and private employment. Several occupied high positions in the academic and medical fields. There were four synagogues in Portugal, one in Lisbon opened in 1902, one in Oporto, built with the assistance of the Portuguese communities in London and Holland and the generous donation of the Kadoorie family, and two private synagogues in Faro, one belonging to Semtob Sequerra and the other to the Amram family. Apart from the Lisbon synagogue, these were seldom frequented. The former community center in Lisbon was used as a prayerhouse by the Ashkenazim.

At the outset of the 21st century about half of Portugal's 600 Jews lived in Lisbon, maintaining two synagogues, a cultural center, and a home for the aged. Most Portuguese Jews came from North Africa. There was also a small number of Ashkenazi Jews, some of whom arrived in the country during World War II. Their most serious problems were common to other communities, especially the small ones: assimilation and mixed marriages. In certain mountainous regions far to the north, the remaining *Crypto-Jews maintain old customs, ways of praying, and special festivities. They were able to survive thanks to the preservation of their tradition and a high rate of endogamic marriages. In 1917, the community of *Belmonte in the Estrella Mountains was discovered. In 1983, a film was produced about those "judeos" of Belmonte, portraying their fidelity to Jewish customs. Around 100 were living there at the beginning of the 21st century, some of them returning to Orthodox Judaism.

[Reuven Nall]

Relations with Israel through the 1960s

Diplomatic relations were not established between Portugal and Israel. In 1958, after diplomatic contacts had been made in other European capitals, Israel established a consulate general in Lisbon on the understanding that this step would be followed by the establishment of full diplomatic relations. The expectation did not materialize, however, probably due to Portugal's fear of Arab reactions. In 1959 an agreement was signed between the Bank of Israel and the Bank of Portugal, and trade relations developed in the 1960s. In 1969 Israel's exports to Portugal amounted to $1,542,000, mainly in cotton and diamonds, and imported commodities reached $297,000, mainly copra and wood. In the United Nations, Portugal usually abstained on issues related to Israel or supported the Arab viewpoint. Israel voted against Portugal several times on questions of colonialism.

[Shimeon Amir]

After the 1974 Revolution

The troubled period between the outburst of the revolutionary disturbances of April 1974 (the "Carnation Revolution"), and the establishment of a regular constitutional government in 1976 was characterized by a flare-up of extremist and anarchist movements directed against parliamentarian democracy, freedom of speech and free enterprise. As a result, about half of the 600 Jews of Portugal left, migrating to Israel, Brazil, Canada, and the United States, in that order; the 300 who remain reside mostly in Lisbon, with a handful in Oporto.

During the political struggle for power in 1974–76, accusations of "collusion" with Israel with its (then) governing Labor Party were hurled at the leadership of the Portuguese Socialist Party (PS) led by Dr. Mario Soares by its Communist and leftist opponents. The MRPP, a Maoist militant party, gave its agitation a "Jewish" slant; its organization in the Beira Baixa province, where several thousand Marranos lived, waged its political campaign under the slogan "Hitler killed your brethren, do not back Fascism and reaction." But they gained no support whatsoever in the region.

With the end of Portuguese rule in Angola and Mozambique, the few Jews resident there emigrated to Brazil and South Africa. All the institutions of the Lisbon community still function, including two synagogues, a Jewish cultural center, a kosher butcher, a special slaughter-house, and a home for the aged.

The Soares government established diplomatic relations on ambassadorial level with Israel at the beginning of 1977, after a successful exploratory mission to Jerusalem headed by Jaime Gama, future minister of the interior of Portugal. The chairman of the Portuguese parliament, Salgado Zenha, who visited Israel as an official guest of the Israeli Labor Party, was also warmly received by the representatives of all the political parties in Israel. As a result, an Israeli embassy was established in Lisbon, the first ambassador being Ephraim Eldar. But anti-Israeli tendencies, embodied mainly in circles having commercial relations with Arab countries, and in the Supreme Revolutionary Council, where the former Foreign Minister, Major Melo Antunes, exercised a dominant influence, prevented the opening of a Portuguese embassy in Israel.

The cultural and economic links between Portugal and Israel were noticeably strengthened. Israeli specialists in agriculture and fisheries (mainly experts in the raising of fresh-water carp in artificial ponds) worked in Portuguese villages; the Gulbenkian Foundation, the main scientific and cultural institution of Portugal, granted scholarships to Israeli scientists.

In 1978 Israel's exports to Portugal amounted to $21.6 million (mainly machinery, chemicals, medicaments, textiles), a nearly twenty-fold increase over the 1969 figures. The value of imports from Portugal reached $9.4 million (raw materials, especially wood), a 31-fold increase over 1969. In 1980 the sums were $61 million and $16.1 million, respectively, and in 2004, $76.1 million and $70.1 million.

[Michael Harsgor]

During the early 1980s there was a considerable increase in cultural exchange between Portugal and Israel. The Institutos de Relacioes Culturais Portugal-Israel (Institutes for Portuguese-Israel Cultural Relations) was active in Porto and Guarda. In 1983, the Mayor of Lisbon, Nuno Kruz Abecassi, visited Israel to participate in the Fourth Jerusalem Conference of Mayors. Dr. Jorge Sampaio, who visited Israel twice as mayor of Lisbon, has served as president of Portugal since 1996. His maternal grandmother was from a Moroccan Jewish family. His cousin is president of the Lisbon Jewish community.

[Jose Luis Nachenson and Noemi Hervits de Najenson]

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PORTUGALOV, BENJAMIN OSIPOVICH (1835–1896), Russian physician and publicist. He was imprisoned for his activities in the *Narodnaya Volya* movement in 1860 in the fortress of St. Peter and Paul. After his release he qualified as a physician but was arrested again in 1874 and exiled to the Urals. Later he settled in Samara (Kuibyshev). Portugalov devoted a great deal of his time to philanthropic work and to combating drunkenness. He was the first physician in Russia to advocate social medicine. A fanatic assimilationist, Portugalov was opposed to the rituals of *sheḥitah and *circumcision and even asked the authorities to forbid them. He took an active part in the Jewish-Christian movement initiated by Jews in southern Russia in the 1880s. He considered the pogroms in the 1880s as a social movement against the injustice perpetrated by leading classes. Portugalov was also opposed to Zionism, seeing the solution of the Jewish problem in social religious reform, based on a general humanistic religion free of ritual ceremonies.

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PORUMBACU (Schwefelberg), VERONICA (1921–1977), Romanian poet and novelist. Born in Bucharest, Veronica Porumbacu grew up in an intellectual circle, and studied psychology and sociology. A member of the anti-Fascist underground during World War II, she began her literary career under the postwar Communist regime, first publishing children's books in 1946.

Like many of her subsequent publications, her first collection of verse *Visele Babei Dochia* ("The Dreams of Baba Dochia," 1947) dealt with contemporary political questions. She also wrote lyrical works, notably *Intoarcerea din Cythera* ("Return from Cythera," 1966). Her volumes of poetry include *Generația mea* ("My Generation," 1955), *Lirice* ("Lyrics," 1957), *Diminețele simple* ("Simple Mornings," 1961), *Memoria cuvintelor* ("Recollections of Worlds," 1963), and *Histriana* (1968). Many of her poems have been translated into other languages. In 1968 she published a much-praised autobiographical novel, *Porțile* ("Gates"). Set in the period of the pre-Nazi Antonescu regime, the book tells of her reaction to antisemitism and of the exclusion of Jewish children from the Romanian educational system. Despite her assimilated upbringing, Veronica Porumbacu became aware of her Jewish heritage and was impressed by the traditional loyalties of her ancestors, whom she describes sympathetically. She also published translations from Hebrew poetry (N. Alterman, A. Shlonsky, and Y. Amichai) and from English the 19th-century U.S. author E. Dickinson.

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[Dora Litani-Littman]

PORUSH, ISRAEL (1907–1991), Australian rabbi. Porush was born in Jerusalem and, after receiving a traditional religious education in the talmud torah and yeshivah Eẓ Ḥayyim of the old *yishuv*, he proceeded to Berlin to study at the Hildesheimer Rabbinical Seminary, where he received his rabbinical diploma in 1932, and at the universities of Berlin and Marburg, where he received his doctorate in mathematics. On Hitler's rise to power in 1933, Porush moved to London and was appointed rabbi of the Finchley Synagogue (1934–1940). In the latter year, he was appointed to the Great Synagogue of Sydney, the mother congregation of Australian Jewry, and became *Av bet din*, retaining that position after his retirement at the end of 1972. Porush was regarded as the Orthodox spiritual head of Australian Jewry and rabbinic representative of the community in state and civic affairs. In 1952, he founded the Association of Jewish Ministers of Australia and New Zealand, of which he was president. He was also president of the Jewish Historical Society of Australia from 1948. He retired in 1975 when he also resigned as president of the association and was appointed honorary life president. Porush wrote *Today's Challenge to Judaism* (1972) and *The House of Israel, A History of the Sydney Great Synagogue* (1977), published on the occasion of its centenary (1878–1978). His manuscript autobiography, *Memoirs of an Australian Rabbi*, was published posthumously by the Australian Jewish Historical Society in 1993.

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PORUSH, MENACHEM (1916–), *ḥaredi* politician and public figure, member of the Fourth to Thirteenth Knessets. Porush was born in Jerusalem. He studied at the Eẓ ha-Ḥayyim yeshivah in Jerusalem. In the years 1932–38 he was a reporter for *ḥaredi* papers. In 1949–63 he was appointed editor of *Kol Yisrael*, and in the years 1950–51 was editor of *Ha-Mevasser.* In 1951 Porush founded a network of nurseries for *ḥaredi* children. In 1953 he was one of the founders of the independent education system of Agudat Israel, and served as one of its directors. In 1954 he became a member of the Agudat Israel Center in Israel, and a member of the Executive of the World Agudat Israel. In 1955 he was appointed chairman of the Agudat Israel Center in Israel. Porush was first elected to the Fourth Knesset in 1959 on the Agudat Israel list. He was a member of the Knesset Education and Culture Committee from the Fourth to Ninth Knessets, and of the Constitution, Law, and Justice Committee from the Fifth to Eighth Knessets. In the Ninth and Tenth Knessets he served as chairman of the Labor and Welfare Committee, and in the Twelfth Knesset as a member of the Foreign Affairs and Security Committee and the Interior and Environment Committee. In the years 1984–85 he served as deputy minister of labor and welfare, and again in 1990–92, after the Labor Party left the National Unity Government.

Simultaneously with his membership in the Knesset Porush was elected to the Jerusalem municipality in 1969, and served as deputy mayor of Jerusalem under mayor Teddy *Kollek until 1974. In 1973 he established Kiryat ha-Yeled – a center for *ḥaredi* children.

The son of Menachem Porush, MEIR, was a member of the Jerusalem City Council in the years 1983–96, and deputy mayor under both Teddy Kollek and Ehud *Olmert in the years 1989–96. He has been a member of the Knesset on behalf of Agudat Israel within Yahadut ha-Torah since the Fourteenth Knesset, and served as deputy minister of construction and housing in the years 1996–2003.

[Susan Hattis Rolef (2nd ed.)]

PORZECANSKI, TERESA (1945–), Uruguayan anthropologist, poet, and writer of Ashkenazi and Syrian descent. Her professional works includes nine books on anthropology and social sciences, among them *Historias de vida de inmigrantes judíos al Uruguay* ("Life Stories of Jewish Immigrants to Uruguay," 1986), based on oral history. Porzecanski is lecturer and researcher in social sciences at the Universidad de la República, Montevideo. Her novels and short stories frequently deal with small, unimportant people in their desperate struggle for happiness and sense in life, which is frequently related to mythic motifs and impulses deeply rooted in the human soul. Her Jewish characters (Ashkenazi and Sephardi, following her own roots) show the transformations of traditions and beliefs in a modern and often alien environment, and the forging of a new, Latin American Jewish identity. Her main books are *Construcciones* ("Constructions," 1979); *La invención de los soles* (1982; *Sun Inventions and Perfumes of Carthage, Two Novellas*, 2000); *La respiración es una fragua* ("Breath Is a Forge," 1989); *Mesías en Montevideo* ("Messiah in Montevideo," 1989); *Perfumes de Cartago* (1994); *Una novela erótica* ("An Erotic Novel," 1986); *La piel del alma* ("The Soul's Skin," 1996); *Nupcias en familia y otros cuentos* ("Marriage in the Family and Other Stories," 1998); and *Felicidades Fugaces* ("Shooting Happiness," 2002). She has received many national and international awards, including the Fulbright and Guggenheim scholarships. Her works have been translated into English, Portuguese, German, and Dutch, and included in anthologies of Uruguayan, Jewish, and women's writing.

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[Florinda F. Goldberg (2nd ed.)]

POSEKIM, a Hebrew term for scholars whose intellectual efforts were concentrated on determining the *halakhah* in practice (for whom the word "decisors" is sometimes used) in contrast to those commentators who applied themselves to study for its own sake, and in order to facilitate the understanding of the subject under discussion and who are called *mefarshim* (expositors or commentators). This distinction was already recognized by early authorities who stressed, for instance, that *halakhah* should not be derived from *Rashi's commentary on the Talmud – since Rashi did not introduce into his commentary various ancillary considerations without which no practical decision can be arrived at, except perhaps for those few instances where Rashi explicitly states that the *halakhah* is in accordance with his exposition.

In the early period, especially in Germany, the term *posekim* was identical with the teachers and leaders of the generation in every locality. It included the heads of the yeshivot, *avot battei din*, rabbis and talmudic scholars generally, on condition that their statements were made "by way of *pesak*," on actual cases which arose. The ruling of the *posek* was binding only upon those subject to his authority, since he laid down the *halakhah* in accordance with local tradition and for the people who accepted his authority. A ruling was never successfully imposed upon communities outside the area of the jurisdiction of the *posek*. The authority of the *posek* during this period depended on his being a competent talmudic scholar, possessing a comprehensive knowledge in every field on his subject, and on the fact that he continued the tradition of his locality and of his teachers transmitted to him while he studied under them. In the course of time this situation gradually changed, as a result of the dissemination of the codes, which afforded easy access to sources necessary for deciding the *halakhah*. From the second half of the 16th century with the beginning of the spread of the Shulhan Arukh, the character of the works by the *posekim* changed fundamentally. Henceforth the outstanding *posekim* hardly engaged at all in theoretical exposition, and to the extent that they did do so their commentaries were generally forgotten and ignored. The *posek* during this period won general recognition by virtue of the extensive practical experience he accumulated and by gaining the approbation of contemporary scholars, by devoting the whole of his intellectual and physical energy to this goal, and by virtue of "divine aid," the charisma with which he was endowed. For a survey of the *posekim* and their development see *Codification of Law.

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164, 76; I.Z. Kahana, in: *Sinai*, 34 (1954), 311–24; idem in: *Bar-Ilan Sefer ha-Shanah*, 1 (1963), 270–81; A. Goldrat, in: *Tagim*, 1 (1969), 22–31; Friedberg, Eked, 4 (1956²), nos. 1212–14, 1222–26; Shunami, Bibl. 181–3.

POSENER, GEORGES HENRI (1906–1988), French Egyptologist. Born and educated in Paris, Posener was a member of the Institut Française d'Archéologie Orientale in Cairo from 1931 to 1935. In 1945 he was named directeur d'études of the Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes (4th section). From 1961, he held the chair of Egyptian philology and archaeology of the Collège de France. He was elected president of the Société Française d'Egyptologie in 1963.

Posener's work concentrated on ancient texts. He published for the French Institute in Cairo the *Catalogue des ostraca hiératiques littéraires de Deir el Medineh* (2 vols., 1934–52). His *La première domination Perse en Egypte* (1936) collected the hieroglyphic inscriptions relating to the Persians in Egypt. In *Princes et pays d'Asie et de Nubie* (1940) he studied the hieratic texts written on figurines, believed to have magic properties. *Littérature et politique dans l'Egypte de la XIIe dynastie* (1956) continued his interest in the use of literature in historical studies. He also wrote *De la divinité du pharaon* (1960), but is probably best known for the *Dictionnaire de la civilisation egyptienne* (1959; A Dictionary of Egyptian Civilization, 1962).

[Irwin L. Merker]

POSENER (Pozner), SOLOMON (1876–1946), social historian and writer. Born in Minsk, Posener began to write for the Russian-Jewish press under the name of Stellin.

He contributed to the report prepared by *ICA on the economic position of Russian Jewry (1904). He also wrote a study on Jews in government schools in Russia for *Novy Voskhod* (printed separately in 1913). In Paris from 1903, he contributed to the French press on conditions in Russia and on Russian Jewry, as well as editing *La Correspondence Russe* and *La Tribune Juive*. He published articles in French on the history of Jews in France in various journals. His most important work is a biography of Adolphe *Cremieux (French, 1933–34, 1939; English, 1940).

[Yehuda Slutsky]

°**POSIDONIUS** (c. 135–c. 51/50 B.C.E.), Greek philosopher, ethnologist, scientist, and historian from Apamea in Syria, one of *Cicero's teachers. He lived on the island of Rhodes. No book of his survives, though his influence was great. His voluminous writings included a history and ethnology of the Jews, who were treated also in his book on Pompey. The antisemitic accusations he retailed in his writing (on Jewish asocial behavior, misanthropy, impiety, inhumane religion and rites) reflected common Hellenistic opinions and attitudes, and later found wide echoes, e.g., in Apion (according to Jos., *Apion*, 2:79). His antisemitic remarks can be reconstructed from the more or less close paraphrase of Posidonius by Diodorus Siculus (as quoted in Photius, *Bibliotheca*, 244; 379), including the story that Antiochus Epiphanes found a statue of a bearded man seated on an ass in the Holy of Holies. However, if, as is likely, the respectful appraisal of Moses and his beliefs found in Strabo 16:2, 35ff. also derives from Posidonius, it is probable that the latter did not concur fully in the slanders he related.

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[Daniel E. Gershenson]

POSNANSKI (Poznański), family of scholars. ADOLF POSNANSKI (1854–1920) was a rabbi and a scholar. Born in Lubraniec, Poland, Posnanski served as rabbi at Reichenberg (Liperec) and Pilsen, Bohemia, and from before World War I as teacher of religion in high schools in Vienna.

Posnanski's scholarly work was mainly concerned with the messianic idea in Judaism and Christianity; his major contribution in this field was *Schilo, ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Messiaslehre* (1904). He also published an edition of Profiat *Duran's anti-Christian work, *Kelimat ha-Goyim* (in HḤY, vols. 3–4, 1914–15), and prepared *Abraham b. Ḥiyya's *Megillat ha-Megalleh*, for publication (1924). Posnanski's study of the *Tortosa Disputation also appeared posthumously (in REJ, vols. 74–76, 1922–23); other editions of polemical literature which Posnanski was working on at the time of his death remained unpublished.

SAMUEL ABRAHAM POZNANSKI (1864–1921), rabbi, scholar, and bibliographer, the younger brother of Adolf Posnanski. Born in Lubraniec, Poland, he studied at Berlin University and at the *Lehranstalt (Hochschule) fuer die Wissenschaft des Judentums, where he came under the influence of M. *Steinschneider. In Poland he served as spiritual leader of the Tlomacka "choir" synagogue in Warsaw. There he took great interest in Hebrew education and culture, founding a government-supported training college for Jewish teachers. He was an early and ardent Zionist, and was a delegate to the First Zionist Congress.

Poznański's scholarly interests and achievements were catholic and were greatly helped by his linguistic propensities. His interests covered the history of Hebrew grammar and philology in the Middle Ages, the cognate field of Bible exegesis in the geonic, Spanish, and French periods, the Palestinian and Babylonian *geonim*, the North African communities, Jewish-Arabic literature, and others.

As a Karaitologist

Poznański's interest in early geonic literature led him as a young man to the study of Karaite history and literature, first of the geonic period, and subsequently as a whole, from the earliest times to the modern period. The result of this lifelong attention was a vast amount of published material, mostly in the form of papers contributed to learned journals (for the most part the *Jewish Quarterly Review*, the *Revue des Études Juives*, and the *Zeitschrift fuer Hebraeische Bibliographie*), jubilee and memorial volumes, and similar publications. Some of these were also issued separately, as reprints. As a Karaitologist Poznański ranks with Abraham *Harkavy, and indeed surpasses him in the overall range of his interest. His erudition in rabbinic literature, his command of Arabic philology, his extensive use of original manuscript sources, and his accuracy and industry have endowed his works in this field with a value which has not succumbed to the passage of time. They include, among others, studies of *Anan and his immediate successors, of the various writers of the golden age of Karaite learning (10–12th cent.), and of *Saadiah's Karaite opponents (from Saadiah's time to the 19th cent.); a pioneering survey of Karaite printing and book production; a genealogy of the eminent Karaite family *Firūz; an annotated list of copyists and owners of Karaite manuscripts; and an edition of the *Zekher Ẓaddikim* by the 19th-century Karaite historian Mordecai *Sultansky. As a frequent reviewer of Karaitological publications by other scholars, Poznański often enriched his reviews with extensive and valuable corrections and annotations. His long article on Karaism in Hasting's *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics* (1915) is still the best available general sketch of Karaite history and literature. For many years Poznański assembled material for his major work in this field, a comprehensive bio-bibliographical dictionary of Karaite writers, of which a file of some 8,000 cards had been prepared by the time of his death.

[Leon Nemoy]

The extensive bibliography of his works, prepared by his son Edward Poznański (see below) and A. Marx (see bibl.), runs into many hundreds of items. His countless book reviews are an indispensable commentary on modern Jewish scholarship. In 1908 Poznański, together with D.J. Simonsen and A. Freimann, reorganized the *mekiẓei Nirdamim society and continuously stimulated its activities. His excellent relations with scholars and directors of libraries the world over made his vast knowledge and generous advice and assistance in all scholarly matters invaluable assets for all concerned. A memorial volume in his honor was published in 1927 (repr. 1970). EDWARD (ISAAC JACOB) POZNAẐSKI (1901–1974), the son of Samuel Abraham Poznański, was a bibliographer and lecturer in philosophy at the Hebrew University, of which he was academic secretary from 1946 to 1964.

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POSNER, AKIVA BARUKH (Arthur; 1890–1962), rabbi, scholar, librarian, and bibliographer. Born in Samter (Szamotuly), Poznan, Posner taught at Mainz, Halle, and Vienna, and he served as rabbi at Kiel, Schleswig-Holstein, from 1924 to 1934. He was an outspoken and courageous critic of Nazism. After being forced to leave Germany, he settled in Jerusalem where he worked as a librarian, first at the E.L. Prinz Library of the Mizrachi Teachers' Seminary (until 1954), and then at the central rabbinical library at Heikhal Shelomo in Jerusalem.

While still in Germany, Posner published *Das Buch das Propheten Micha* (1924); *Die Psalmen, des Religionsbuch der Menschheit* (1925); *Prophetisches und Rabbinisches Judentum* (1925); and *Die Freitag-Abendgebete* ("Friday Night Prayers," 1929), with translation and commentary. He later prepared similar editions in Hebrew of the Sanctification of the Moon and Sanctification of the New Moon liturgies (1945, 1948), as well as a *siddur* of domestic prayers (*Le-Veit Yisrael*, 1957). Posner wrote communal histories on Czarnkow (Heb. and Eng., 1957), Gniezno (Heb. and Eng., 1958), and Rawicz (with Eng. abstract, 1962) – all towns in his native Poznan. His literary legacy included 35 such histories in manuscript. Among his bibliographical studies were a biography of the book collector E.L. Prinz (*E.L. Prinz, Ḥayyav ve-Avodato ha-Sifrutit*, 1939); a bibliography of E.M. *Lipschuetz (*E.M. Lipschitz, Reshimah Bibliografit*, 1941); a monograph on the Hebrew printer Monasch of Krotoszyn (in *Aresheth*, 1 (1958), 260–78); and a supplement to the index of the first 75 volumes of the MGWJ, which is extant in manuscript. A memorial brochure, *Zikkaron ba-Sefer la-Rav A.B. Posner*, published by Heikhal Shelomo and edited by A. Piczenik (1964), contains a biography of Posner by A.Z. Givon and a bibliography by Rachel Posner.

POSNER, DAVID BEN NAPHTALI (mid–17th cent.), talmudist. David lived in Posen and then in Krotoschin. He was the author of *Yalkut David* (Dyhernfurth, 1691), a collection of Midrashim serving as a kind of supplement to the *Yalkut Shimoni*. The material, edited by his father, Naphtali Hirsch Shpitz, is arranged in the order of the weekly Torah portions. Fuenn holds that David Posner is to be identified with David Tevele Posner, author of the *Sha'arei Ẓiyyon* (Hamburg, 1615).

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POSNER, RICHARD ALLEN (1939–), U.S. jurist, law professor, and author. Posner graduated from Yale College *summa cum laude* in 1959 and Harvard Law School (where he was president of the *Harvard Law Review*) *magna cum laude* in 1962. He was a law clerk to Supreme Court Justice William J. Brennan, Jr. (1962–63) and to Federal Trade Commissioner Philip Elman (1963–65), and an assistant to Solicitor General Thurgood Marshall (1965–67). In 1967 he became general counsel to the President's Task Force on Communications Policy. He began teaching law at Stanford Law School in 1968 and moved to the University of Chicago Law School in 1969, where he continued full-time teaching until his appointment by President Reagan to the Court of Appeals for the Seventh Circuit in December 1981. He was chief judge of that court from 1993 to 2000, while he continued teaching part-time at the University of Chicago.

Posner is a prolific writer on the law, economics, and social sciences. By 2005, he had written over 2,200 judicial opinions, 38 books, and more than 300 articles and book reviews. His original ideas regarding the interplay of economics and law were presented in volumes titled *Antitrust Law: An Economic Perspective* (1976), *Economic Analysis of Law* (1977), and *The Economics of Justice* (1981). These books, as well as his articles in the *Journal of Legal Studies,* which he founded, encourage economic analysis of law and had a major influence on American judicial thought in the final decades of the 20th century. Between 1977 and 1981 he was the president of Lexecon, Inc., a firm of lawyers and economists that he created to provide economic and legal litigation research. In 1991, a national legal periodical reviewing potential candidates for the Supreme Court called Posner "the most influential legal scholar and the most brilliant judge in the country."

The most notorious of his unconventional proposals was to eliminate the black market in adoptions by abolishing adoption agencies, buying and selling babies on the open market, and paying pregnant unwed mothers not to have abortions. Following the 9/11 terrorist attacks on the United States, he turned his attention to national security and intelligence reform, publishing books on those subjects in 2004 and 2005.

A case that demonstrated Posner's innovative approach to Jewish religious rights concerned a public high school basketball association's prohibition against the wearing of headgear by basketball players. An Orthodox Jewish team that wore yarmulkes fastened with bobby pins challenged the rule as a violation of freedom of religion. While upholding the general applicability of the rule when yarmulkes are "insecurely" fastened with bobby pins during a game, Posner directed that the team be permitted alternative means of securing the yarmulkes during play with chin straps or by sewing them onto headbands.

[Nathan Lewin (2nd ed.)]

POSNER, SOLOMON ZALMAN BEN JOSEPH (c. 1778–1863), rabbi and author. Posner studied under his father, the rabbi of Poznan (Posen), and under Akiva *Eger, Solomon Zalman of Warsaw, and his own uncle, Zeeb Wolf Kalafri. He occupied himself mainly with commerce in the city of Lubraniec and amassed great wealth, but nevertheless found time for extensive study. He wrote many works, some of which have remained in manuscript.

Among his unpublished workers are *Zemir Ariẓim*, against those who regarded the study of Talmud as unnecessary; *Gal-Ed*, 33 (the numerical equivalent of "*Gal*") letters on educational topics addressed to his children when they left home to study in yeshivot; *Tal Yaldut*, a letter to his young children; *Nir Rash*, on the Torah, containing in particular explanations of obscure allusions in Rashi's commentary; and *Dodo Yigalenu*, on the Book of Esther. His *To'ar Penei Shelomo* (1870) is a valuable and unique book describing his own life and the lives of his forebears as far back as the 17th century, and contains many interesting details of the civilization of the period. This book also includes educational directives to his children. His testament is appended to it. It has been claimed that this book is not his own, but that of his son, Moses, who was also rabbi of Poznan and that Solomon gave his name to it. Of his other sons, Aryeh Leib became rabbi of Pniewy, and Elijah, rabbi of Wodzislaw.

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[Itzhak Alfassi]

POSQUIÈRES, ancient name of the present town of Vauvert, S. France. The earliest record of the presence of Jews in Posquières is from 1121: the dowry that Ermensinde, daughter of the viscount of Béziers and Nîmes, brought to her husband, the lord of Posquières, included a Jew of Béziers, Benjamin. According to *Benjamin of Tudela, there were 40 Jews (or 40 heads of families) in the town in about 1165. It appears that the lords of the town employed the Jews in public office: After an admonition of Pope *Innocent III in 1209, the lord of Posquières solemnly swore not to entrust such offices to Jews. The Jews lived in a quarter known as *Carrière des Juifs*. Wealthy Jews who possessed more than 100 sols paid an annual tenure of one gold florin to the lord. After the expulsion of 1306 the Jews of Posquières migrated to *Provence, *Comtat Venaissin, and *Perpignan. Of the scholars of the town named by Benjamin of Tudela, the only one known from other sources was the renowned *Abraham b. David, head of the yeshivah of Posquières.

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[Bernhard Blumenkranz]

POSTAN, MICHAEL MOISSEY (1899–1981), British economic historian. Postan, who was born in Tighina, Bessarabia, began his teaching career in 1927 at University College, London. He was a lecturer on economic history at the London School of Economics from 1931 to 1935, when he became a lecturer at Cambridge University. From 1938 to 1965 he held the professorship of economic history at Cambridge and from 1934 to 1960 served as editor of the *Economic History Review* at a time when this discipline grew strongly in size. Postan's lucid style, searching inquiries and comprehensive analyses of economic problems of the past made him one of the world's leading historians in his field. His major contribution, in addition to many publications, was the coeditorship of the *Cambridge Economic History of Europe* from 1952 onward. Postan received a knighthood in 1980.

ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY: ODNB Online.

[Joachim O. Ronall]

°POSTEL, GUILLAUME (1510–1581), French Orientalist and philosopher, and an outstanding exponent of the Christian *Kabbalah. A self-taught prodigy, Postel was appointed in 1538 professor of mathematics and philology at the College of the Three Languages in Paris and thereafter produced an enormous output of books, tracts, and pamphlets. Four years later he abandoned his post following the first of several mystical visions. His first major work, *De orbis terrae concordia* (1544), made room for Islam in its universal scheme and Postel thereafter exploited rabbinic and kabbalistic literature in support of his pretensions, notably his "immutation" as Elijah and Balaam and as the "Angel-Pope." Postel traveled constantly in search of rare manuscripts and prophetic writings. In Venice he met Elijah *Levita and Daniel *Bomberg, the Christian pioneer of Hebrew printing, whose Jewish publications he was engaged to censor during his second visit to Venice in 1546–49. Here he began his first translation of the *Zohar and published an extraordinary mystical treatise on the significance of the **menorah* ("candelabrum"), first in a Hebrew broadsheet entitled *Or Nerot ha-Menorah* (undated; 1547?) and then in a modified Latin version, *Candelabri typici in Mosis Tabernaculo… interpretatio* (1548). A Latin-Hebrew copy made by Conrad *Pellicanus has been preserved in Zurich, and unpublished versions in French and Italian are also extant. During the next few years, Postel's millenarianism reached frenzied heights. He visited Ereẓ Israel (1549–50), accepted the emperor's invitation to teach in Vienna (1554–55), and multiplied his publications in anticipation of the messianic year 1556. In his Hebrew *Candelabrum*, Postel had styled himself *Ish Kefar Sekhanya u-Shemo Eliyyahu Kol-Maskalyah she-Nitgayyer le-Ḥibbato shel Yisrael…* ("A man of Kefar Sekania, named Elijah Kol-Maskalyah, who converted [to Judaism] out of love for Israel…"), which suggests that he had then become some kind of Judeo-Christian (cf. Av. Zar. 27b; and see *Jacob of Kefar Sakhnayya). During his imprisonment by the Inquisition at Ripetta (1555–59), he was said by a Jewish fellow-captive to have prayed in Hebrew. Postel returned to Paris in 1562 and spent the rest of his life in protective custody. However, he continued his voluminous writing and correspondence, and also influenced such younger scholars as G. *Génébrard, A. *Maes, and the French poet Guy *Le Fèvre de la Boderie, through whose agency Postel's approach even penetrated the "Catholic" Antwerp Polyglot Bible printed by Christophe *Plantin (*Biblia Regia*, 1568–72). His published works include many of Jewish interest – grammatical and philological compendia, a guide to the Holy Land (1562), and a Latin version of the Sefer *Yeẓirah (1552), with his own mystical comments. Postel's unpublished Latin translations of the Zohar on Genesis and of other Jewish classics have in recent years been discovered and discussed by François Secret. Long derided as a heretic or madman, Postel has emerged as one of the impressive and influential personalities of the Renaissance.

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[Godfrey Edmond Silverman]

POSTOLSKY, SHALOM (1893–1949), composer. Born in Siedlce, Poland, he went to Ereẓ Israel in 1920 and was among the founders of kibbutz En-Harod in 1921. Some years later he began composing songs for the needs of the kibbutz and also arranged the *omer and *seder ceremonies of En-Harod. Later he settled in Bet Yiẓḥak. His songs include *Kumah Eḥa, Elef Laylah ve-Od Laylah, Ba-Ḥashai Sefinah Gosheshet* (*Olim), Bikkurim Peri Hillulim* (all to texts by Y. *Shenhar), *Ha-Shibbolim Penimah, Im Garin Zarata* (*Levi Ben-Amitai), and *Ein Zeh Pele* (N. *Alterman), generally corrupted to *Eizeh Pele*.

POTIPHAR (Heb. פּוֹטִיפַר), Egyptian royal official who purchased *Joseph (Gen. 37:36; 39:1). His wife attempted unsuccessfully to seduce Joseph and then brought false charges against him, as a result of which Potiphar had him incarcerated. The name reflects an underlying Egyptian prototype *Pa-diu-pa-Re*, "The one whom the sun god Re has given." The Egyptian name occurs on a stele from the Late period (c. 1087–664 B.C.E.), during which time the near variant *pa-di* followed by the name of a god is most commonly found. Potiphar's titles, "servant of Pharaoh" and "chief [or "master"] of the cooks," while not Egyptian in themselves, may well be Hebrew translations of two Egyptian titles. The former could have been a general term for almost any servant, official, or courtier, and the latter appears to be a translation of the Egyptian *wpdw nsw* or *wb ꜣ nsw* ("butler/cook of the king"). In any event, the title did not imply that its bearer was a lowly servant, but rather a very high official. It first comes to prominence very late in the Twentieth Dynasty, and its bearers are attested as leading military expeditions, heading royal commissions, and exercising high administrative functions. Both Potiphar's name and his title strongly suggest that the writing down of the Joseph story should be dated no earlier than the later Twentieth Dynasty (and possibly even to the Twenty-First to Twenty-Second dynasties), a suggestion substantially supported by other Egyptian elements occurring in it, particularly the Egyptian names. Further support for this dating is given by the parallel between the attempted seduction of Joseph by Potiphar's wife and the opening portion of an Egyptian literary text, "The Tale of the Two Brothers," which is dated, on paleographic grounds, to about 1225 B.C.E.

[Alan Richard Schulman]

In the *Aggadah*

Potiphar is regarded as identical with *Poti-Phera (Gen. 41:45), indicating different aspects of his idolatrous behavior. "Potiphar" refers to his practice of rearing bullocks, *mefattem parim*, for idolatrous sacrifices; and "Poti-Phera" to his habit of indecently exposing himself (*pore'a*) in honor of his gods. He purchased Joseph in order to perform sodomy with him, but was castrated by God (or by the angel Gabriel; Sot. 13b.), in order to prevent him fulfilling his desire and for this reason is called the "eunuch of Pharaoh" (Gen. 37:36). From the fact that the light-skinned Joseph was offered for sale by the negroid Midianites, he realized that Joseph had been kidnapped. The conflicting scriptural account of the purchase indicates that Potiphar insisted that the Midianites prove prior purchase, in order that he should not be party to a theft (Gen. R. 86:3). Two of Potiphar's actions are favorably commented on. He saw that "the Lord was with [Joseph]" (Gen. 39:3), although he personally was a sun worshiper. Secondly, he was extremely skeptical of his wife's account of Joseph's attempted seduction; had he believed it he would have put Joseph to death instead of imprisoning him. He apologized to Joseph for his action, explaining that his purpose was to prevent a stigma upon his children (Gen. R. 87:9).

In Islam

Qiṭfīr (also Quṭayfar) of Muslim legend is the biblical Potiphar, who bought Joseph from the Midianites or the Ishmaelites (Gen. 37:36; 39:1). Although his name is not mentioned in the tale of Joseph in the *Koran, there is no doubt as to his identity, in spite of the error in the first letter of the source, which is due to the Arabic script. Ṭabarī calls him Aṭfīr. Thaʿlabī counts Qiṭfīr among the three valiant ("afras"): al-ʿAzīz, i.e., Qiṭfīr, for his defense of Joseph; the woman who brought Moses to her father; and the caliph Abū-Bakr, when he appointed ʿOmar.

[Haïm Z'ew Hirschberg]

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POTI-PHERA (Heb. פּוֹטִי פֶּרַע), father-in-law of *Joseph. According to Genesis 41:45, 50, and 46:20, Joseph was married to *Asenath the daughter of Poti-Phera, "the priest of On." Since On, the city of *Heliopolis, was the center of the Egyptian solar cult, the "priest of On" could hardly have been any other than the high priest of the sun god Re. The name Poti-Phera contains the same underlying elements as that of Joseph's former master, *Potiphar, but in a transcription more fully and more accurately reflecting the original Egyptian form.

[Alan Richard Schulman]

POTOCKI, VALENTINE (**Abraham ben Abraham**; d. 1749), Polish count martyred as a proselyte. According to legend, Potocki, a gifted scion of the celebrated Potocki family, while studying in Paris became friendly with Zaremba, another young Polish aristocrat. Once, while in a tavern, they noticed the owner, an old Jew, immersed in the study of the Talmud, and expressed a desire to be instructed in the principles of Judaism. The two vowed that they would become Jews if convinced of the error of Christianity. Zaremba married and forgot both his vow and his friend. Potocki, however, after spending some time at the papal academy in Rome, went to Amsterdam and became a Jew. When Zaremba heard the report, which had spread throughout Lithuania, of Potocki's disappearance from Rome, he recalled his vow, and, taking his family with him to Amsterdam, also became a Jew there, and subsequently settled in Ereẓ Israel. Potocki went to Lithuania and settled as a Jew in *Ilya, near Vilna.

Once Potocki scolded a boy for disturbing the prayers in synagogue. The boy's father, a coarse tailor, took umbrage and reported the existence of the proselyte to the authorities, thus leading to his arrest. Potocki was put on trial, and despite the pleas of fellow aristocrats refused to recant. On the second day of Shavuot, 5509 (1749), he was burned at the stake at the foot of the fortress of Vilna, on his lips the prayer, "Blessed art Thou, O Lord,… who sanctifiest Thy name before multitudes." A local Jew, Eliezer Ziskes, pretending to be a Christian, succeeded through bribery in collecting some of the ashes and a finger from the corpse, and these were eventually buried in the Jewish cemetery. From the soil over the grave of Potocki, who was called by them the *Ger Ẓedek* ("the righteous proselyte"), there grew a big tree which drew vast pilgrimages of Jews. The grave was demolished by Polish vandals. The first to publish the story of the *Ger Ẓedek* was the Polish writer J. Kraszewski in 1841. He claimed to have found it in a Hebrew manuscript. Later it was published by I.M. *Dick in Hebrew (1862) and in Yiddish (n.d.) under the title *Gerei ha-Ẓedek* (see *YIVO Bleter,* 1 (1931), 331–3). So far no historical evidence for the story has been discovered, although it is generally believed to have been true. The story served as a theme for a drama in Yiddish, called *Dukus* ("Prince"), by Alter *Kacyzne and for some novels. The Jews of Vilna celebrated the anniversary of Potocki's death by reciting the *Kaddish* and by making pilgrimages to his purported grave on the Ninth of Av and on the High Holy Days.

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[Arthur Cygielman]

POTOFSKY, JACOB SAMUEL (1894–1979), U.S. labor leader. Potofsky, who was born in the Ukraine, went to Chicago in 1908. His trade union career began almost immediately. From 1916 to 1946 he held a succession of important posts in the Amalgamated Clothing Workers Union and during these years worked closely with union leader Sidney *Hillman. Upon Hillman's death in 1946, Potofsky was elected as the president of the union and continued the major programs developed under Hillman's leadership. Thus, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers continued the policy of avoiding strikes and substituting arbitration wherever possible, a policy over which it clashed with such militant labor unions as John L. Lewis' United Mine Workers. It expanded its insurance programs, increased the number of its group health centers, maintained two banks, and led in sponsoring cooperative housing. Potofsky headed the United Housing Foundation, a combine of his and other trade unions and organizations, which erected large cooperative housing developments.

Under Potofsky's leadership, the Amalgamated continued to play an active political role in national, state, and municipal elections, normally in support of the candidates of the Democratic Party. As a member of the CIO Political Action Committee after 1947 and a vice president of the AFL-CIO after 1955, as well as a leading figure in New York State's Liberal Party, he was one of the prominent, most influential U.S. labor leaders. Potofsky was a supporter of the State of Israel, and the Amalgamated has established a close relationship with the Histadrut. He was also a delegate to many international labor conferences. A vigorous opponent of all forms of prejudice, Potofsky was closely associated with the efforts of the American Jewish Committee and the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith. He served on a number of public bodies, including the New York Temporary State Commission on Economic Expansion (1959–1960) and the New York City Temporary Commission on City Finances (1965). In both cases, he dissented freely from recommendations that seemed to compromise the interests of wage earners.

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[Irwin Yellowitz]

POTOK, CHAIM, (1929–2002) novelist and editor. Born and raised in New York City, Chaim Potok graduated from Yeshiva University in 1950 with a B.A. *Summa Cum Laude* in English literature. In 1954 he was ordained as a Conservative rabbi at the Jewish Theological Seminary.

Potok was a member of the faculty of the University of Judaism in Los Angeles; in 1964 he became managing editor of *Conservative Judaism*. He received his doctorate from the University of Pennsylvania in 1965, and in 1966 he became editor for the Jewish Publication Society of America. Among his works are *The Chosen* (1967), *The Promise* (1969), *My Name is Asher Lev* (1972), *In the Beginning* (1975), *Wanderings* (1978), *The Book of Lights* (1981), *Davita's Harp* (1985), *The Gift of Asher Lev* (1990), and *I Am the Clay* (1992).

The recurrent theme in Chaim Potok's work is the moment of radical change in traditional Jewish existence – a change personified by a son and not usually entailing an actual break with the basic Judaism of the father. Such rebellions have been depicted before in various degrees of severity. Potok's scene differs in that it takes place within an elitist society of learning, the yeshivah, in which all members, fathers and sons, have a deep-rooted respect for each other, and hierarchies of study and knowledge take precedence over familial hierarchies. This mutual respect between fathers and sons, as scholars, many of them *musarniks* in a sphere where, in Potok's words, "the fusion of the sacred and the secular seems almost effortless," therefore creates an impasse when a son chooses a totally different vocation: painting in *Asher Lev*, psychiatry in *The Chosen*, scientific examination of the Oral Law in *The Promise*. In the final reckoning the father is usually reconciled to the son's role in the world, thereby affirming the fluidity of Judaism and its basic tenet of "*ele ve'ele divre Elokim ḥayyim*" (both these and those are the words of the one Living God).

It has been argued that Potok's rebel sons do not venture very far; they shave off beards and sidelocks and work in a secular world, but their basic Orthodoxy does not suffer from any serious modern doubt. Yet Potok's yeshivah may well be seen as a parable for any community with a consequent way of living, the total destruction of which would be equivalent to the destruction of sanity. Chaim Potok proposes a sociological change without a change of values. In Freudian terms, Chaim Potok's sons rebel against the father without actually killing him, thereby assuring cultural continuity.

Potok works within the framework of Jewish value concepts, including the *ḥakham*, the *ẓaddik*, and the overall supremacy of study. His fictional style is uncluttered, his dialogue credible, and he loves his protagonists. Absorbed in father-son, teacher-student relationships, Potok is far less vivid in depicting women who seem in his work to have fewer spiritual doubts, and their existence is delineated mainly by their men.

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[Shulamith Hareven]

POTTERY. Pottery appears for the first time in the Neolithic period, around the middle of the sixth millennium B.C.E. For two reasons, it serves as a major tool for the archaeological study of the material culture of ancient man: first because of its extensive use in everyday life and second because of its durability; for although the vessels break easily, the material survives as potsherds. Pottery is of great value for acquiring the knowledge of the technological progress of various periods, the trends in the development of early plastic art, and international cultural and commercial relations which form the basis of the comparative chronology of different cultures in the ancient Near East. On the basis of stratigraphic finds at archaeological excavations, pottery is seen to have undergone changes in different periods as well as in different phases of the same period – changes in form, decoration, techniques of working the clay, and firing. As a result, pottery serves as a major index of the relative chronological framework of a given culture. For protohistoric cultures and periods containing no written remains or coins, which are the primary sources of absolute chronology, the relative chronology constructed on pottery sequence serves as a substitute. Once the absolute date of a potsherd is established, the stratum in which it was found can be dated, and thus it also becomes an aid in fixing the absolute chronology (see *Archaeology).

POTTERY MANUFACTURE

The clay from which pottery is produced is an aluminum silicate mixed with various additions such as iron oxides, alkalies, quartz, and lime. Two kinds of clay have been differentiated: clean clay, of pure aluminum silicate, which is not found in Ereẓ Israel, and a rich clay, consisting of aluminum silicate mixed with iron ozides, carbon compounds, etc. The material was prepared for use by sifting and removing foreign matter, mixing it with water and levigating it. If the clay was too rich and not sufficiently plastic, it was tempered by the addition of substances such as sand and quartz grit. The wet sifted clay was then wedged by hand or treaded; after it was well mixed it was ready for shaping. The earliest pottery was handmade. In the Neolithic period, pottery was made by joining together coils of clay, smoothing the junction line by hand. The pottery was shaped on a base or stand of wood, stone, or matting. A technical innovation was shaping pottery from a ball of clay. In the Chalcolithic and Early Bronze periods primitive potter's wheels consisting of a turning board (tournette) were used. Examples of the next stage in the development of the potter's wheel have been found in excavations in Palestine. It consists of two horizontal stone disks placed one on top of the other, the lower one with a conical depression and the upper with a conical projection which could be turned by hand. Several types of pottery were thrown on the wheel in the Early Bronze Age but it was used extensively only in the Middle Bronze Age. After the pot was shaped it was removed from its stand and set aside to dry until its water content was not more than 15%. The pot was then of a leather hard consistency and handles, base, spout, projecting decorations, etc. were applied and various types of ornamentation were added: slips and burnishing, paint, incisions, relief and impressed markings. When the pot was completely fashioned it was dried a second time until it retained only about 3% of its water content. Afterwards it was fired in an open or closed kiln at a temperature of 450°–950° C. The best wares were produced at the highest temperatures. The earliest pottery was fired in open pits, in which combustible material was laid over the pottery, leaving blistering or patches on the sides of vessels. At a later stage the pottery was separated from the fuel by a perforated clay partition built above the fuel compartment. With the invention of the closed kiln it was possible to use an oxidizing fire, which produced pottery of a red color, or a reducing fire, without oxygen, which turned the pottery black.

NEOLITHIC PERIOD

The invention of pottery is believed to have taken place first in the northern Levant, together with the plaster-based White Ware ("vaisselles blanches"), and slowly it began appearing in Palestine as well. Crude attempts at making pottery (sun-dried or low-fired) were found at Pre-Pottery Neolithic C levels at Ain Ghazal and Basta (c. 5800–5500 B.C.E.). At Yiftahel (Stratum III) the White Ware and the early pottery was visually indistinguishable, and some distinctions could only be made by petrographic analysis.

The pottery of the Late Neolithic period (5500 to 4000 B.C.E.) is handmade, coarse, and badly fired. The pottery types include jars, cooking pots, bowls and storage jars decorated with a red-burnished slip or painted triangular and zigzag lines, and with incised and painted geometric designs (such as chevron and herring-bone patterns). The main finds of this period come from the Jordan Valley, Sha'ar ha-Golan, Jericho, etc. The Wadi Rabbah pottery is a more accomplished type of pottery, known particularly in the coastal region.

CHALCOLITHIC PERIOD

In the Chalcolithic period (4000–3300 B.C.E.). several new forms are added to the pottery repertoire of the previous period. The pottery is handmade, sometimes made on a tournette (particularly bowls), and decorated with a rope ornament and occasionally painted with bands of red paint. Tiny lug handles are characteristic of the period, and the shapes include cornets, V-shaped bowls, goblets, jugs, and kraters. Mat impressions are found on the bases of the storage jars. A bird-shaped pot with a lug handle at each end has been named "churn" since it apparently served for making butter, though it may have been a water container. The largest assortment of Chalcolithic pottery was found in the Ghassulian and Beer-Sheba cultures. Additional pottery types are known from the Golan. There also appears to be an earlier phase of Chalcolithic ("Middle Chalcolithic") pottery from the Jordan Valley and from the central highland regions.

EARLY BRONZE AGE

The Early Bronze Age 3300 B.C.E. to 1200 B.C.E. may be subdivided into three or four secondary phases:

(1) Early Bronze I – the typical pottery of the period is gray burnished ware, band-slip (grain-wash) ware, and burnished red-slip ware. Gray burnished ware has a more northerly distribution. Imports of Egyptian vessels are also known, with local imitations, particularly at southern sites (e.g., En Besor).

(2) Early Bronze II – the most distinctive pottery type is the so-called "Abydos (Egyptian) ware," a group of pitchers and storage jars with burnished red-slips on the lower half and triangles and dots painted brown-black on the upper half. This pottery is named after the site where it was first found – the royal tombs of the First Dynasty at Abydos in Upper Egypt. It is of great value for correlating the chronology of Egypt and Palestine. Another important pottery group consists of storage jars with two loop handles and surfaces decorated with pattern combing.

(3) Early Bronze III – the characteristic pottery of this phase is called Khirbat Karak ware (named after Bet Yeraḥ (Khirbat Karak) where it was first found). The pottery types include kraters, bowls, pitchers, and stands. The ware is made of a poor-quality clay and is covered throughout with a highly burnished slip. Occasionally it has a red slip all over but often the rim and interior are red and the exterior is black. The decoration consists of incised lines or groups of lines in relief.

Intermediate Bronze Age

The Intermediate Bronze Age (also known as the Early Bronze IV, 2300–2000 B.C.E.) constitutes a transitional stage between the Early Bronze Age and the Middle Bronze II period. Its material remains are known from villages, campsites, and tombs. The pottery of the period is globular or cylindrical in shape, with wide flat bases, and lacks shoulders and handles. The handles which do occur – enveloped ledge handles and lug handles between the neck and the body – are apparently a continuation of the Early Bronze ceramic tradition. The body of this type of vessel is handmade while the neck, which flares outward, is formed on the wheel; the line where the two are joined together is decorated with combing or with single incised grooves. A group by itself is an assortment from the Megiddo tombs, which consists of "teapots" and goblets made on the wheel of black clay decorated with yellow bands and also jugs with red slips. There are no distinctive cooking pots; hole-mouth jars were apparently used for cooking. The typical lamp of the period is a small bowl with four pinched corners.

MIDDLE BRONZE AGE

With the renewed urbanism of the Middle Bronze Age (2000–1550 B.C.E.) the pottery assemblage flourished with common wares matched by luxury vessels, and greater regionalism in ware types now becomes apparent. All the pottery is now produced on the wheel, which allowed for great artistic development. The period is subdivided generally into the Middle Bronze IIA and Middle Bronze IIB.

Middle Bronze II A

In the Middle Bronze IIA period a glossy red slip decoration – produced by burnishing with a shell or pebble – appears on many vessels, such as small and closed carinated bowls with disk bases (perhaps imitations of metal prototypes); open bowls with flat or disk bases; jugs and juglets with double or triple handles, often set on the shoulder, and dipper juglets. The storage jars are elliptical with a flattened base and often have two loop handles in the center of the body. The cooking pot has straight sides with a thumb-indented projecting band surrounding the body and some are perforated above the band. An interesting group are the storage jars, jugs, and juglets decorated on the upper part of the body with black and red bands, triangles, or circles on a white slip. This ware was thought to be similar in ornamentation to that found in the Khabur region and at Byblos.

Middle Bronze IIB

The red burnished slip ceases to be dominant in the Middle Bronze IIB period and many vessels are undecorated. The technique of manufacture is highly developed and many vessels are produced with thin walls and complicated shapes, such as open carinated bowls with disk or trumpet bags, made of a well-fired, levigated clay. The storage jars have elongated elliptical bodies with two to four loop handles. A special group consists of pear-shaped (pyriform) juglets with a button base and red, brown, or black burnished slips. In the final phase of the period, the characteristic juglet is cylindrical with a flat base. The lamps are small pinched bowls with one wick hole. The cooking pots are shallow with rounded bases and rounded flaring rims. An unusual group of pyriform juglets are known as Tell al-Yahūdiyya ware – named after the site where they were first found in the Nile Delta (many types are now known from Tell ed-Daba'). These juglets have black, gray, or red burnished slips and a white puncture-filled decoration on the surface made with a pointed tool.

LATE BRONZE AGE

The Late Bronze Age (1550–1200 B.C.E.) extends from the conquest of Palestine by the first pharaohs of the 18th Dynasty to the appearance of the Israelites. Palestine in this period was under Egyptian rule, and its culture was influenced both by Egypt as well as by extensive trade connections with the Aegean and East Mediterranean civilizations. It is possible to subdivide the period into three phases (according to Egyptian chronology): Late Bronze I (c. 1550–1400 B.C.E.), the beginning of the 18th Dynasty; Late Bronze IIA (c. 1400–1300 B.C.E.), mainly the Tell el-Amarna period; Late Bronze IIB (c. 1300–1200 B.C.E.), 19th Dynasty.

Late Bronze I

The pottery types and technique of manufacture of the Middle Bronze IIB period persist partly in the Late Bronze I period. The pottery repertoire includes carinated bowls with ring bases or high ring bases; kraters with two loop handles and a ring base, often with a rope decoration as in the previous period; storage jars with elongated bodies, rounded bases, and flaring rims. The ceramic tradition of the Middle Bronze IIB period is also seen in the jugs, juglets, cooking pots, and lamps. Two new groups of ware appear in this period: pilgrim flasks and the so-called "biconical" vessels. The latter have one loop handle. The upper part is decorated with metopes painted red, black, or brown. A new class of vessels first appearing in the transition period between the Middle and Late Bronze Age and continuing into the Late Bronze I is the Bichrome Ware. Made of finely levigated and well-fired clay it is slipped and burnished. The group includes jugs, kraters, and bowls decorated with metopes formed by bands painted red and black. The metopes contain animal decoration – birds, fishes, oxen – and geometric patterns. The character of the ware, which contains a number of unique forms, the decoration, and the uniform method of production indicate that this pottery may have been created by a group of artists in a single center, possibly Tell al-ʿAjūl, south of Gaza.

Late Bronze II

In the Late Bronze II period the previous pottery tradition continues on the whole but shows a certain degeneration in form and quality. The workmanship of the carinated bowls is cruder. The bowls are mainly simple flat vessels with flat or disk bases. The storage jar now shows a sharp shoulder and thickened button base (this type of storage jar was exported from Ereẓ Israel and has been found, together with imitations, in countries in the Aegean Sea and Egypt). The typical jug has a prominent neck with the handle from the rim to the shoulder, and the most common juglet is a dipper juglet generally with trefoil mouth. A new style of painted pottery develops in this period. The ornamented ware – biconical vessels, jugs, kraters – are painted in a single color, red, black, or brown, and a typical decoration has two gazelles facing each other with a palm tree between them. This style degenerates in the second half of the period, Late Bronze IIB, and becomes more schematic and cruder. The pilgrim flasks are flattened and generally decorated with painted concentric circles. In the Late Bronze IIA the neck is attached to the handles of the flask like a flower among leaves while in the second half of the period the flasks are lentoid shaped and the attachment of the neck to the handles is effaced. The lamps have an elongated sharply pinched rim; the cooking pots are shallow with a rounded base and have an ax rim and no handles

There is an abundance of imported pottery in this period, mostly of Mycenean and Cypriot origin. All the Cypriot pottery occurs in Palestine parallel with its appearance in Cyprus. The most distinctive feature of this pottery is the technique of manufacture – it is all handmade and the handles are inserted inside the body of the vessels. This pottery falls into two main groups – White Slip Ware, which includes the "milk bowls," half-globular bowls with wishbone handles and a white-slip and ladder decoration painted brown or black. The second type is called Base Ring Ware and is characterized by a high ring base. This ware is made of well-fired clay and has a metallic ring when struck; it is covered with a reddish brown slip. Its most common types are bowls with wishbone handles and jugs with high tilted necks called *bilbil*. Groups of Monochrome Ware are also found in Palestine as well as the knife-pared type – usually dipper juglets – and other groups. The bulk of the Mycenean pottery appears in Late Bronze II. It is wheel-made of a light-colored, finely levigated clay, and well fired. The vessels are covered with a light slip and painted with bands of geometric patterns and floral and animal motifs. Aside from a number of shards and a cup decorated with an ivy-leaf design which are attributed to the Late Bronze I (Mycenaean II), the entire assortment belongs to the Mycenaean IIIA–B period. The vessels include cups, pear-shaped amphoriskoi, stirrup-jars, pilgrim flasks, juglets, bowls, pyxides, etc. A small amount of pottery imported from Syria and Egypt is also found in this period.

IRON AGE

The Iron Age is divided into two main parts: the Early Iron Age (or Iron Age I, 1200–1000 B.C.E.) and the Late Iron Age (Iron Age II A–C, 1000–586 B.C.E.). The history of this period encompasses the appearance of the Philistines, Israelites, and other peoples in the region, and subsequently, the period of the United Monarchy, the Kingdoms of Israel and Judah, and the destruction of Jerusalem in 587/586 B.C.E. The collective term for pottery in the Bible is *kelei ḥeres* (כְּלֵי חֶרֶשׂ, Lev. 6:21; Num. 5:17; Jer. 32:14), while pottery sherds are called *ḥeres* (חֶרֶשׂ, Job. 2:8). Pottery vessels were used for cooking (Lev. 6:21), as containers for liquids (Num. 5:17), and containers for scrolls (Jer. 32:14). There are references in the Bible to some of the methods that the potter used in his work – "the potter treads clay" (Isa. 41:25) and "I went down to the potter's house, and there he was working at his wheel. And the vessel he was making of clay was spoiled in the potter's hand, and he reworked it into another vessel, as it seemed good to the potter to do" (Jer. 18:3–4). Only two types of vessels in the Bible are designated as pottery. They are: "earthen pots" (*nivlei ḥeres*; Lam. 4:2) and "earthen flasks" (*bakbuk yoẓer ḥeres*; Jer. 19:1). Other vessels that presumably were made of clay are, e.g., *aggan, agganot*, "bowl, cup" (Song 7:3 (2); Isa. 22:24); *asukh*, "jar" (II Kings 4:2); *gav'ia*, "pitcher" (Jer. 35:5); *kad*, "jar" for water (Gen. 24:14) or flour (I Kings 17:14); *kos*, "cup" (Jer. 35:5); *sir*, "pot" (Ex. 16:3); *sefel*, "bowl" (Judg. 6:38); *pakh*, "vial" (of oil; Jer. 25:28; I Sam. 10:1); *ẓappaḥat*, "cruse" (I Kings 17:14); *kubba'at*, "cup" (Isa. 51:17, 22); *ke'arah*, "bowl" (Num. 7:85).

Early Iron

In the areas not settled by the Israelites, the Late Bronze pottery tradition seems to continue in the first phase of the period. At the same time new types of pottery appear in the highlands and inland regions of the country. This pottery is associated in the central highlands with the appearance of the Israelites, but in Galilee there are pottery types that indicate Phoenician influence as well. The pottery types which continue the Late Bronze tradition include kraters with two loop handles and painted metope decoration, cooking pots which continue the ax-shaped rim and are without handles, lentoid flasks which are decorated with painted concentric circles, and lamps. The pottery attributed to the area of the appearance of the Israelites, mostly coarse in shape and carelessly made, includes simple, crude bowls, storage jars mostly with a collar rim, many-handled kraters (up to eight) with a rope or incised decoration. The cooking pot shows numerous variations of the ax-shaped rim. During this period there also appear carinated bowls, especially in the south of the country, often with a pair of degenerated horizontal handles. Toward the end of the period new pottery features develop-two loop handles are added to the cooking pot which also has a ridge beneath the rim on the outside; tiny juglets appear with a black or red burnished slip; red-slipped vessels are also common with irregular hand burnishing which is the hallmark of the period. A very distinctive pottery assortment occurs in the 12th–11th centuries B.C.E., called Philistine Ware; it is found mainly in the area inhabited by the Philistines. The shapes and decorative motifs of the pottery are derived from the Aegean pottery tradition, mainly Mycenean IIIC 1. The typical Philistine shapes include kraters with two horizontal loop handles; stirrup jars; jugs with long narrow necks, loop handles, and strainer spouts, which are known as "beer jugs"; long-necked jugs influenced by Egyptian pottery; elongated pyxides; and horn-shaped vessels. Some vessels are covered with a whitewash on which metopes are painted in red and black and ornamented with geometric designs, or even with animals and birds. With the consolidation of the Philistines into the material culture of Palestine in the late 11th century B.C.E., the typical animal motifs disappear and their pottery is no longer differentiated from other pottery types of the period.

Late Iron

Although many differences are found in the pottery of the north and south of the country in various periods, a sharper differentiation occurs with the division of the Monarchy and recent research has been able to highlight various aspects of regionalism. The excavation of Lachish was instrumental in establishing the character and date of pottery assemblages from Level III (destroyed in 701 B.C.E.) and Level II (destroyed in 587/586 B.C.E.). In Judah red-slip and wheel-burnished vessels are more common; the bowls are carinated with enveloped rims toward the end of the period; the kraters have from two to four handles, are covered with a red slip, and are wheel-burnished on the inside, and on the rim of the outside; the rims of the cooking pots are ridged on the outside, and toward the end of the period a special type of cooking pot with a high ridged rim appears; the typical storage jar (in Lachish III) has four ridged loop handles, often stamped with *la-melekh* ("of the king") seal impressions, an elliptical body, and a rounded base; the hole-mouth jars have a round bottom and a wide enveloped or ridged rim; the jugs have bulging bodies and thick necks; at the end of the period the lamps have high bases. In Israel not only the red-slip burnished ware is dominant but red- and black-slip pottery is also very common. The typical storage jar has an elongated globular body, prominent shoulder, and pointed base; bowls and kraters are often decorated with bar handles under the rim. A distinctive northern group is known as Samaria Ware, appearing in two groups – thick-walled and thin-walled ware. This pottery is characterized by a very high standard of workmanship. The walls of the thin ware are of eggshell thinness; it is slipped and burnished throughout in red or in alternating concentric circles of red and yellow. The thick ware, made of a creamy clay, has thick walls and either ring, high ring, or stepped bases, The bowls are covered with a red, yellow, or black burnished slip. The pottery common to both Israel and Judah includes water decanters, spouted jugs, carinated bowls, dipper juglets, etc. Several types of imported pottery also occur in this period – the most prominent is known as Cypro-Phoenician Ware which first appears in Palestine toward the end of the Iron I period and continues until the eighth century B.C.E. This pottery includes bowls with two degenerated horizontal handles and juglets with a flat base and one or two handles. The vessels are decorated with black stripes and concentric circles on a lustrous red slip ("Black on Red"). Some imports from Assyria are also found.

PERSIAN PERIOD

This period (586–330 B.C.E.) is identical with the post-Exilic period, and covers the half century of Babylonian rule after the destruction of the Temple, as well as the subsequent two centuries of Persian rule. Some scholars have suggested that the material culture of the Iron Age II did not cease with the destruction of Jerusalem in 586 B.C.E., but that it continued during the time of Babylonian rule, at least until 530/520 B.C.E., with others suggesting lowering the terminal date well into the fifth century B.C.E.

The pottery of the Persian phase includes coarse bowls with a high ring base and ribbed sides; storage jars with an elongated stump base and two loop handles rising above the shoulders; carrot-shaped juglets; storage jars with two deformed loop handles, elongated pointed base, straight shoulders, and slightly projecting rim. Towards the end of this period kraters and holemouth jars appear with a decoration of bands of reed incisions on their shoulders. The lamps have flat bases with one elongated wick hole and a wide rim around the bowl. A number of pottery types imported from Greece are found in Palestine.

HELLENISTIC PERIOD

Palestine in the Hellenistic period (330–63 B.C.E.) was for most of the time part of an empire and under its cultural influence. The local pottery made for ordinary domestic use was on the whole coarse and clumsy, with regional production centers, but two groups of imported ware are found: fine luxury ware and amphorae for storing imported goods, especially wine. The most characteristic of the local ware are bowls with inverted or outward flaring rims and ring or flat bases; spindle-shaped juglets; cooking pots with two handles and a low erect neck which are reminiscent of the Iron Age pots. There is also a group of open pinched lamps with one wick hole. Both classes of imported ware are widely distributed in this period, the most widespread being the Rhodian wine amphora with stamped handles. The luxury ware included Megarian bowls which were cast in molds; various types of black-glazed bowls ("fish plates") with impressed or roulette decoration. At the end of the period appears the terra sigillata ware – fine red-glazed pottery with impressed and roulette decoration.

ROMAN PERIOD

The pottery of the Roman period (63 B.C.E.–325 C.E.), is divided into the Early Roman period (63 B.C.E.–135 C.E.), with some types disappearing with the fall of Jerusalem in 70 C.E., and the Middle Roman and/or Late Roman (135–325 C.E.). The typical local pottery of the Herodian period (first century C.E.) includes pilgrim flasks with twisted handles; bottles with high necks and thick bodies; juglets with flaring rims; closed lamps cast in molds with pared horned nozzles. The cooking pots follow the tradition of the previous period. Changes occur in the storage jars which divide into elongated bag-shaped jars and bell-shaped jars. Of the imported ware the most common type is the terra sigillata ware, mainly platters and flat bowls with ring bases; they are covered with a red glaze and have a roulette and impressed decoration. Both eastern and western sigillata appear in Palestine. The western, Arretine style (30 B.C.E–30 C.E.) is outstanding in workmanship and finish. Nabatean Ware also appears in this period – eggshell-thin bowls decorated with red floral patterns on an orange background. A local painted variety of bowl – resembling slightly Nabatean examples – appears in Jerusalem. In the Late Roman period these shapes continue to develop – the discus lamps are round and closed, cast in a mould, with a handle or a knob. Numerous Mediterranean types of amphorae appear in the region.

THE BYZANTINE PERIOD

Pottery types of the previous period continue into the Byzantine period (325–640 C.E.). From the beginning of the period, red gloss bowls ("Late Roman Wares") make their appearance. Hayes (1972) produced a dated series of these LRW types (but changes in this dating system is now being assumed by scholars). Local examples, such as bowls with rouletted decorations on their rims, also make their appearance. Various kinds of storage jars are typical of the period, particularly the so-called "Gaza" jar which was made at kilns sites along the lower coast region, from Ashkelon towards north Sinai. Numerous imported jars are also known for this period. Closed cooking pots with two ear-like handles give way to shallow cooking pots with two horizontal handles and a lid. There are also clay pans with only one horizontal handle. The lamps are closed, cast in molds, and elongated in form. Most of them are decorated. The pottery of the Byzantine period did not change with the invasion of the Hejaz Arabs in the early seventh century C.E., but continued with very small changes until the Abbasid period, i.e., in the mid-eighth century. It is at this point that major changes in the pottery assemblages of the Islamic period first become apparent.

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[Isaak Dov Ber Markon / Shimon Gibson (2nd ed.)]

°POUND, EZRA LOOMIS (1885–1972), U.S. poet and critic. Born in Idaho, Pound left the United States in 1907 and lived in London and in Paris before settling in Rapallo, Italy, in 1925. By then he had already won international acclaim as a modern poet. A prolific writer, he published over 40 volumes of poetry, verse translations, and literary criticism whose influence on 20th-century poetic style has been enormous. In Italy, Pound became an admirer of Mussolini and came to adopt an increasingly pro-Fascist, anti-British, and antisemitic tone. He developed an ardent, if amateur, interest in economics and became an advocate of the Canadian C.H. Douglas' social credit doctrine, which vocalized agrarian discontent and blamed human misery on the financial manipulations of a small capitalistic class, largely Jewish in composition and inspiration. Pound's *Money Pamphlets* (6 vols., 1950–52), published in Italy in the 1930s, spoke repeatedly of the "Jewish poison," and in 1939 he wrote an article for the Italian press entitled "The Jew, Disease Incarnate." Many of his poems are also violently anti-Jewish. During World War II Pound broadcast pro-Axis propaganda over the Italian radio.

He was arrested by the American army in 1945 and returned to the United States to face an indictment of treason, but was judged mentally unfit to stand trial and was committed to a mental hospital in Washington, D.C., in 1946. In 1958, following the intervention of many noted poets, he was released, and returned to Italy.

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[Charles Reznikoff]

POUPKO, BERNARD (1918–), U.S. Orthodox rabbi. Poupko, who was born in Russia, was ordained by the Rabbi Isaac Elchanan Theological Seminary in 1941 and was appointed rabbi of Pittsburgh's Sha'are Torah Congregation in 1942. He served there for more than 60 years until 2004. He completed his Ph.D. at the University of Pittsburgh on alternatives in adult Jewish education. He was a founder of the Hillel Academy in Pittsburgh. Poupko visited the U.S.S.R. several times after 1964. He was one of the first rabbis to visit the Soviet Union and wrote extensively on Soviet Jewry. He edited or co-edited a 38-volume series for the Rabbinical Council of America including volumes in memory and in honor of Bernard Revel and Norman Lamm, Chief Rabbi Herzog of Israel and The Rav, Rabbi Joseph B. Soloveitchik. A collection of his articles based on his Russian visits was published as *In the Shadow of the Kremlin* (1969). In 1970 he became president of Mizrachi in the U.S. He was a national vice president of the Rabbinical Council of America and for 50 years was president of the Rabbinical Council of Pittsburgh, where he was a most influential Orthodox leader.

[Louis Bernstein / Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

POVERTY. Distinctions between rich and poor predate recorded history. In Israel, however, these differences do not seem to have become pronounced until the eighth century B.C.E., following the social revolution produced by the monarchy and the dissolution of the earlier tribal solidarity. The expansion of trade and foreign conquest brought an influx of wealth into the land, while urbanization and the rise of favored classes resulted in the amassing of fortunes (Isa. 2:7; Hos. 12:9; Amos 3:15) and the cruel impoverishment of many families (Amos 8:5; Micah 2:2).

The gross social injustice drew stinging rebukes from the prophets (e.g., Isa. 1:23; 3:14; Amos 4:1; 5:11), who called for obedience to the divine command for righteous living (Isa. 1:16–17; Amos 5:14–15) and loyalty to His covenant (Hos. 12:7ff.). Unlike the authors of the wisdom literature, the prophets did not condemn the poor for having brought poverty on themselves through sloth (Prov. 6:6–7; 10:4) and irresponsibility (13:18; 23:21). At the same time, they did not idealize the poor, recognizing that they, too, were often guilty of ignoring God's commands (Isa. 9:12–16; Jer. 5:3–5; 6:13).

Those who were in a better economic position were expected to treat the poor with compassion in order to avoid the further aggravation of their wretchedness (Ex. 22:24–26). Indeed, God Himself was their protector and His blessing to Israel was contingent upon the generous treatment they received (Deut. 15:7–11). Accordingly, Israel's laws – for example, those concerning the prompt payment of wages (Deut. 24:14–15), the prohibition of usury (Ex. 22:24; Lev. 25:36; Deut. 23:20), allotments from vintage and harvests (Lev. 19:9–10), the right to enjoy the Sabbatical fruits (Ex. 23:11) and third-year tithes (Deut. 14:28–29; 26:12–13), and the privilege of eating one's fill from a neighboring vineyard or field (Deut. 23:25–26) – provided for the amelioration of their conditions. It was the duty of the judge to protect the rights of the lowly (Ex. 23:6ff.; Lev. 19:15), as it was that of the more fortunate citizen to enable them to participate in the festivals (Deut. 16:11, 14). The king could assure the stability of his rule by concerning himself with the just treatment of the humble (Prov. 29:14).

The Torah recognized that poverty as such could not be eliminated (Deut. 15:11). At the same time, it sought to avoid the evils of pauperism by providing for periodic remission of debts during the Sabbatical Year (Deut. 15:1ff.), and the return of ancestral landed properties in the Jubilee Year as well as the manumission of Israelite slaves (Lev. 25:8ff.). In this way, it was hoped, the ancient covenant fellowship of Israel could retain its original force, as the tribal solidarity was reaffirmed and restored to the social conditions of pre-monarchical times.

Social oppression, however, did persist, and a "spiritual transposition of vocabulary" is apparent in the later literature, with *ʿani* (עני) and *ʿanaw* (ענו) becoming functionally equivalent to "God-fearing" and "pious" (Zeph. 2:3; 3:12–13), the opposite of *rashaʿ*. By this time, though, the term had lost its sociological significance. In any event, neither before nor after the Exile did the poor constitute a religious party or social class.

[David L. Lieber]

In the Talmud

The Talmud reveals a distinctly ambivalent attitude toward poverty. It would appear that poverty was so widespread and was regarded as so irremediable that it was raised to the level of a virtue which had its positive value. Poverty appears to have been particularly endemic in Babylonia. "Of ten measures of poverty which descended to the world, Babylonia took nine" (Kid. 49b) and it was stated that the poverty of the Jews there was the reason that the festivals were celebrated with special joy (Shab. 145b). Both the negative and positive aspects are equally stressed. The former finds its expression in such statements as that "grinding poverty deprives a man of his mental balance" (Er. 41b) and it is the worst of all sufferings in the world (Ex. R. 31:12). "Poverty in a man's house is worse than 50 plagues" (BB 116a). The statement in the Talmud (Ned. 64b) that the "poor man" is one of the four who are regarded as dead has to be amended, as the context shows, to "he who has lost his property," i.e., the man who was once wealthy and is reduced to poverty. Rav's daily prayer, which included "a life of wealth and honor" (Ber. 16b), is only one of a host of statements which extol the contrary desirable ideal of wealth, or at least the absence of poverty.

On the other hand poverty is extolled as having a positive value, from the point of view of its salutary effect both upon the character of the poor and upon the sense of generosity which it engenders in those who relieve it. All the various statements in the Talmud which emphasize both aspects are collated in one statement in a late Midrash, "the Holy One Blessed be He considered all the boons which He could confer upon Israel, and selected poverty, since as a result of poverty they fear the Lord. Righteousness derives only from poverty; *gemilut ḥasadim* derives only from poverty; a man becomes godfearing only through poverty; a man studies Torah only through poverty" (EHZ 24). For the last, compare "take special care of the children of the poor; from them comes Torah" (Ned. 81a). Indeed "Poverty is as becoming to Israel as red trappings on a white horse" (Ḥag. 9b). The parallel passage (Lev. R. 35:6) which has "the daughters of Israel" is ascribed to R. Akiva and it is he who answers the other aspect of the positive value of charity. "If your God loves the poor why does he not support them?" asked *Tinneius Rufus, and Akiva answered, "so that through them [i.e., by relieving their wants] we may be delivered from Gehinnom" (BB 10a). A particular aspect of the virtue of poverty is found in the statement "the men of the Great Synagogue fasted 24 fasts that scribes of Torah scrolls, *tefillin*, and *mezuzah* should not become prosperous" (Pes. 50b). The Midrash enumerates eight names for the poor man in the Bible. The comprehensive one is *ani*; the *evyon*, as the root of the word conveys, is the needy man in the literal sense ("he who is in need of something"); while the *misken* is "the most despised of all" (Lev. R. 34:6). The poor man who was entitled to receive food from the public soup kitchen (*tamḥui*) was one who did not have sufficient for two meals a day (Shab. 118a).

Poverty was almost predetermined and was regarded as independent of man's efforts. "R. Meir said: One should always pray to Him to whom all wealth and property belong, for there is not a craft in which are not [the potentialities] of poverty and of wealth, for neither poverty nor wealth is due to the craft, but all depends upon one's [spiritual] merit" (Kid. 4:14).

The relief of the poor had to be effected with the utmost delicacy and consideration. "God stands together with the poor man at the door, and one should therefore consider whom one is confronting" (Lev. R. 34:9). One of the earliest talmudic authorities, Yose b. Johanan of Jerusalem, made as his maxim: "Let the poor be members of thy household" (Avot 1:5); "he who is openhanded to the poor will be vouchsafed male children" (BB 10b). The previous circumstances of the poor man were taken into consideration, and the story is told of Hillel who, when a poor man who had once been in prosperous circumstances came to him for help, provided him with a horse and a "servant to run before him" since that was the minimum to which he was accustomed, and when he could not find (or afford) a servant he acted himself in that capacity (Ket. 67b). Applicants for food were examined as to the genuineness of their needs, but not applicants for clothes, but the contrary view also has its advocates (BB 9a). In the dispensation of charity the local poor took precedence over those from other towns (BM 71a). A peripatetic mendicant was provided with a minimum of a loaf of bread of a certain value, and lodging for the night (BB 9a). It was stated that most poor are descendants of the tribe of Simeon; this being the effect of Jacob's curse "I will scatter them in Israel" (Gen. 4, 9:7; Gen. R. 98:5).

[Louis Isaac Rabinowitz]

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POVICH, SHIRLEY LEWIS (1905–1998), sports reporter, editor, and columnist for the *Washington Post* for 76 years. Born in Bar Harbor, Maine, the eighth of ten children to Lithuanian immigrants Rosa (Orlovich) and Nathan, Povich was named after his grandmother Sarah, or "Sorella" in Yiddish, thus "Shirley," which accounted for his listing in *Who's Who of American Women* in 1962. Povich's father, who arrived in the U.S. in 1878 at age 20 with his grandfather, owned a furniture store frequented by the wealthy families who maintained summer homes in the area, including Edward McLean, owner of the *Washington Post*, for whom Povich caddied at the Kebo Valley Country Club. After graduating from Morse High School in Bath, Maine, in 1922, 17-year-old Povich was persuaded by McLean to move to D.C. to serve as his caddy and to work at the *Washington Post*. Povich's first day in Washington found him caddying for President Warren Harding, and on his second day he started working in the *Post*'s city room – first as a copyboy and then a police reporter and a rewrite man, before moving to the sports department in 1924. Povich attended Georgetown University – paid for by McLean – from 1922 to 1924, when he left without a degree. His first byline appeared on August 5, 1924, above a report on the Washington Senators.

In 1926, at age 20, Povich was named *Post* sports editor, the youngest sports editor of a metropolitan daily in the nation. His column, "This Morning With Shirley Povich," ran from August 1926 until 1974, interrupted only by a stint as a war correspondent in the South Pacific during World War II. In 1933, Povich gave up his position as sports editor to concentrate on his column, logging more than 15,000 columns during his career, including some 50 a year after his "retirement" in 1973. Povich, who covered 60 World Series and 20 Super Bowls, was an eyewitness to most of the significant sporting events of the 20th century: the 1927 Dempsey-Tunney "Long

Count" fight; Ruth's "called shot" in the 1932 World Series; and Cal Ripken breaking Lou Gehrig's consecutive-game streak. Povich wrote with clarity, style, grace, and wit, and some of his writings are considered sports journalism classics. At Lou Gehrig's retirement speech at Yankee Stadium in 1939 he wrote: "I saw strong men weep this afternoon, expressionless umpires swallow hard, and emotion pump the hearts and glaze the eyes of 61,000 baseball fans in Yankee Stadium. Yes, and hard-boiled news photographers clicked their shutters with fingers that trembled a bit."

Povich was an early voice for the integration of sports, writing a column advocating the integration of Major League Baseball in 1939, eight years before Jackie Robinson broke the color barrier. When he finally signed, Povich wrote: "Four hundred and fifty-five years after Columbus eagerly discovered America, major league baseball reluctantly discovered the American Negro…" He regularly criticized then-Washington Redskins owner George Preston Marshall for refusing to hire any black players. On one occasion, Povich wrote: "Jim Brown, born ineligible to play for the Redskins, integrated their end zone three times yesterday."

Povich wrote until, literally, the day before he died, and his last column appeared the following day. He was the recipient of the Baseball Writers Association of America's J.G. Taylor Spink Award, the Baseball Hall of Fame honor for sportswriters, in 1975, and he is the only sportswriter to receive the National Press Club's prestigious Fourth Estate Award (1997). The University of Maryland created the Shirley Povich Chair in Sports Journalism in his memory. He was elected to the National Sportswriters Hall of Fame in 1984.

Povich, the father of American television personality Maury Povich, is the author of *The Washington Senators* (1954) and *All These Mornings* (1969). A collection of his columns, *All Those Mornings … At the Post*, was published in 2005.

[Elli Wohlgelernter (2nd ed.)]

POWDERMAKER, HORTENSE (1896–1970), pioneering scholar in American anthropology. Powdermaker was born in Philadelphia, one of four children of Minnie (Jacoby) and Louis Powdermaker, a German-Jewish middle class family. She attended Goucher College, where she became interested in the labor movement; after graduation she worked for the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America and organized workers in Cleveland and Rochester. In 1925 Powdermaker enrolled in a graduate course in social anthropology with Bronislaw Malinowski at the London School of Economics. Strongly influenced by Malinowski, she went on to receive a Ph.D. in 1928, writing a thesis on leadership in "primitive society." Powdermaker's first book, *Life in Lesu* (1933), was based on fieldwork in Melanesia; her second study, *After Freedom* (1939), reflecting her research in Indianola, Mississippi, was among the first anthropological studies of a modern American community. Her psychological analysis of black-white relations in the context of the larger communal dynamics in a racially divided city made this book a landmark achievement.

In 1938 Powdermaker founded the Department of Anthropology and Sociology at Queens College in New York City and during World War II she also taught at Yale in an army training program focusing on the Pacific. During this time, her writing was focused on racial problems and included *Probing Our Prejudices* (1944), for high school students. In 1946–47, Powdermaker served as a part-time visiting professor at the University of California at Los Angeles, while conducting research on the Hollywood movie industry. The resulting book, *Hollywood, The Dream Factory* (1950) remains the only serious anthropological study of American filmmaking. In the 1950s, Powdermaker did research in a mining town in Northern Rhodesia and published her analyses in *Coppertown* (1962). Her 1966 volume, *Stranger and Friend*, compared and evaluated her four very different fieldwork experiences. Following her retirement from Queens College, Powdermaker moved to Berkeley, California. Among other honors, Powdermaker served as president of the American Ethnological Society and received an honorary doctorate from Goucher College. She also was awarded the Distinguished Teacher Award from the Alumni Association of Queens College.

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[Judith R. Baskin (2nd ed.)]

POZNAN (Ger. **Posen**), city in historical *Great Poland; in Prussia 1793–1807 and 1815–1919; now in Poznan province, W. Poland. One of the most ancient and leading Jewish communities of Poland-Lithuania, it was probably one of those for whom the charter of rights granted by Prince Boleslav the Pious (1264) was intended. Jews are known to have lived in Poznan in 1379; a *blood libel is mentioned in 1399. The development of the community was interrupted in 1447 when a fire ravaged the town, impoverishing the Jews. The first signs of economic recovery appeared during the second decade of the 16th century, inaugurating a period of progress and spiritual efflorescence which lasted until approximately the close of the century. Then one of the largest communities in Poland-Lithuania, with 3,000 persons (about 10% of the city's population) and 137 wooden and stone houses, Poznan became the Jewish center of Great Poland. Its rabbis, among the most prominent authorities of the generation, were recognized throughout the country and the "sages of Poznan" were renowned. Nevertheless this period of prosperity was marked by a severe struggle with the local townspeople and the monks. The townsmen repeatedly (1521, 1523, 1554, 1556) endeavored to hinder the retail trade of the Jews, to restrict the number of houses in the Jewish quarter and beyond it (1532, 1537, 1545), and to expel new Jewish settlers (1549). Students of the Jesuit seminary organized bloody attacks (*Schuelergelaeuf*, 1575) on the Jewish quarter. During riots in 1577, 20 Jews lost their lives and after a fire in 1590 the Jewish quarter was abandoned for two years.

Through further misfortunes the community began to decline. Jesuit persecutions were renewed in 1607, and in the wake of another fire (1613) the Jews temporarily settled on the outskirts of the town, from where they were expelled in 1620. The plague known as St. Anthony's Fire claimed a number of victims and those who fled at this time did not return. Signs of decline became apparent in the middle of the 17th century with a one-third decrease in the population, although the proportion of Jews within the general population rose to 15%. The burden of taxation became severe and attempts to raise funds by new lease methods did not alleviate the financial plight. There was constant recourse to loans but these were insufficient for the growing needs and settlement of former debts (not finally settled until the middle of the 19th century). As German merchants from Silesia penetrated the region, trade rivalry grew. Jewish traders at the fairs (*Brandenburg, *Gniezno, Frankfurt on the *Oder) met with difficulties that reduced their sources of livelihood. In riots in 1639 some lost their lives and property was destroyed. Famine and plagues following the Swedish War (1655–60) and renewed riots (1687) brought economic ruin and accelerated the depletion of the community. A call for assistance to the communities of Germany and Bohemia (1674) failed to raise sufficient funds for charity or for redemption of the *Sifrei Torah*, mortgaged in payment of debts (which amounted to 60,000 zlotys to the nobility alone). Economic distress was accompanied by social and cultural decline: Tension prevailed and quarrels became endemic; even education was neglected.

Deterioration continued during the 18th century. In 1709 there was a renewed outbreak of St. Anthony's Fire, and an attack by the army of the so-called Tarnogrod Confederation (1716–17) further depleted the community. A severe fire (1717), the flooding of the Warta River, and a blood libel (1736) had disastrous consequences, and rehabilitation of the community became beyond its means. Growing numbers of Jews left the city, some for Swarzęc, a subsidiary community of Poznan. Those who remained could not halt the process of disintegration in all aspects of Jewish communal, social, and economic life. In 1759 the conquering Prussian army imposed an enormous fine of 2,676 guilders. Another fire in 1764 destroyed 76 houses and claimed many victims. The debts of the community increased to unprecedented figures (686,081 guilders, with 27,800 guilders annual interest). A royal commission failed to solve the problem of the debts. The majority of the members of the community, which numbered 3,000 persons (about 40% of the population) at the end of the 18th century, were poor recent arrivals, unable to bear the burden of taxation and payment of debts.

When Poznan was under Prussian rule (1793–1807), *Prussia's legislation relating to the Jews and its general legislation affected Jewish life in Poznan in many new spheres, e.g., it restricted communal jurisdiction in favor of the local Prussian tribunal. General elementary and secondary schools were opened to Jews. Haskalah and Germanization received considerable impetus. The municipality attempted to induce the new rulers to restrict the numbers and activities of Jews in the city, and seized the opportunity after the fire of 1803, in which the Jewish quarter was severely damaged, to submit proposals for the confinement of the Jews to their original quarter. For hygienic reasons, however, the Prussian government decided not to rebuild the Jewish quarter and to allow the Jews to settle in any part of the town, with the sole reservation that they should have no more houses than they had previously owned. The purchase of houses from Christians was permitted. This decision could not take effect because of the outbreak of the Napoleonic War, and so the Jews of Poznan returned to their quarter and rebuilt a number of houses. A minority, presumably *maskilim*, settled outside the Jewish quarter.

The situation of Poznan's Jews was certainly not improved during the period of the Grand Duchy of Warsaw (1807–13); the *maskilim* were disillusioned by the abrogation of emancipation (1808), while the general Jewish population was burdened by new taxes (the recruits' tax and the kosher meat tax). The community viewed with suspicion the activities of David *Caro. A member of the Berlin Haskalah and contributor to *Ha-Me'assef*, he called for reforms in education and Divine Worship and disseminated Haskalah literature. When Prussian rule was reestablished (1815), a conflict broke out within the community over the election of the rabbi. The *maskilim* were opposed to the candidacy of Jacob Moses Eger, whose scholarly authority and social influence worked against their plans for the closure of the *ḥadarim* in favor of public schools and the opening of a teachers' seminary. Toward the end of his life (1833), these questions were again raised by the Prussian government in the form of "temporary directives," aimed at achieving a Germanic assimilation to counter the Polish element in the city. The resistance of the community prevented their implementation and the *ḥadarim* were not replaced until 40 years later. Another article of the "temporary directives" granted equality to that tiny section of the community whose education (knowledge of the German language), length of residence (from 1815), or act of Prussian patriotism entitled them to state citizenship. The overwhelming majority of the Jewish population (85%) was merely "tolerated," a status which was not changed until 20 years later. Germanization of the Jewish community was partially achieved during the 1850s, under the pressure of the Prussian authorities, who forced the German settlers to consent, and in the face of growing hostility of the Poles. When delegates of the Jews were elected to municipal institutions in 1853, Poles for the first time were in the minority. Relations between Germans and Jews improved and, as a result, Germanization was intensified. The ties between the community of Poznan and those of Prussia and central Germany were strengthened while those with communities to the east weakened. The Jewish population increased (about 6,000 in the 1860s) and its economic situation improved. Communal authority confined itself to religious and philanthropic spheres: A magnificent synagogue was built and rabbinical conventions were held there in 1876, 1877, 1897, and 1914.

The defeat of Germany in World War I and the annexation of Poznan by Poland came as a severe blow to the Jews, who had supported Germany in the struggle (1918–19). The renewal of Polish rule was marked by riots and clashes and the community rapidly declined. By the late 1930s, about 2,000 Jews remained in the city.

The Organization of the Community (16th–18th Centuries)

The records of the Poznan community (the memorial volumes and the lists of *kesherim* ("eligibles")) provide a detailed picture of its organization and of the activities of its institutions (1611–1833). Communal officials were chosen by means of eligible arbitrators or by the community council (there were about 100 delegates every year). The eligible arbitrators were elected by the outgoing community council from among the members of the community and they in turn elected the higher officials by secret ballot and majority vote: the *parnasim*, the elders, the council, the *dayyanim*, and the treasurers (about 35 people). The new community council selected the lower officials: the city representatives, the initiators of regulations, various functionaries, the superintendents of the guilds, assessors, the council of the *bardan* (a specific tax levied partly on food consumption and partly on trade turnover), accountants, and those responsible for relief work (about 65 people). Election procedures followed very elaborate rules designed to fulfill certain halakhic requirements while embodying various methods designed to ensure a moderate oligarchical regime in the community. The salaried community officials – rabbis, preachers, *shtadlanim, ḥazzanim*, and beadles – were selected by 32 men (13 from the council and 19 from the three classes: the wealthy, the middle class, and the poor) and their term of office was from one to three years, fixed by letter of appointment. As the rabbi of Poznan also acted as rabbi of the province of Great Poland, the arbiters of the province assisted at his election; an inhabitant of Poznan was disqualified from holding this office. Later, after obstruction by the province, the election of the rabbi was entrusted to 32 men. The *kesherim* also had legislative power, formally in pursuance of their electoral power. Their ordinances were intended as guidance for the higher and lower officials. The overt legislation (the regulations) and the hidden legislation ("secret letters") were decreed by the *kesherim* themselves at their meetings (these constituted about 85% of the whole legislation), sometimes on the initiative of the "initiators of the regulations." The *kesherim* advised and passed regulations in the spheres of economy, jurisdiction, relief, and education. Sumptuary regulations were also included. The *kesherim* also undertook the supervision of the community's institutions. It was considered their task to ensure that the regulations were executed to the full, in letter and spirit. Thus the *kesherim* became one of the most distinctive and firmest institutions of the Poznan community, but because they were selected annually and about 50% were newcomers every year, they did not become a closed ruling group. Through them the members of the community felt that their leadership was under permanent control and that their selection was a responsible public act.

The community determined the number of permanent and temporary residents, as well as the number of dwelling houses in the community. In general they acted according to principles accepted in Jewish society (see *Ḥerem ha-Yishuv*) but there were special considerations prevailing in the Poznan community. Acceptance of new settlers was dependent on the agreement of the 32-member committee or a commission acting in its name. Their decision was based on two considerations: the quota of Jewish inhabitants permitted by the municipal council and the number of poor members, which could not be increased. Community membership was granted to a new settler after three years' residence and after payment of special fees. Those living "outside the community" as a result of wars, floods, plagues, and fires became once more full-fledged members when they had equipped themselves with a letter of residence granting its bearer the right to trade in Poznan in exchange for his sharing the burden of taxation. The optimum number of houses in the Jewish quarter was fixed. In 1641 there were 80 wooden houses (40 housing one family, 39 two families, and one three families) and another 57 stone houses (48 housing two families and nine three families). In 1710 the number of houses decreased to 98, but in 1714 it increased to 109. The ownership of many dwellings by the wealthy during the community's period of prosperity and their refusal to rebuild after various calamities resulted in a shortage of houses, a rise in rents, and the demand that rents be paid in advance. Because of the opposition of the municipal authorities it was difficult to find temporary lodging – especially after wars, plagues, and fires – beyond the Jewish quarter. Specialized community institutions dealt with fiscal problems, with the collection and assessment of taxes. The collection of "gifts for the authorities" (to the *wojewoda*, the ministers, the municipal council, and the monks) was borne by the communal institutions. To achieve greater efficiency in the collection of charity donations and payments for *mitzvot*, a list of the needy was drawn up and collection methods and procedures for the distribution of allocations were established.

The community intervened in the regulation of trade competition. The *kesherim* supported the merchants against the craftsmen (butchers, tailors, hatters, furriers, buttonhole makers), the brokers, and the moneylenders. The attitude of the *kesherim* toward the middleman, i.e., the itinerant broker in the town or at the fair, was based on the extent of his usefulness or the damage caused by his economic activities to commerce and moneylending. The merchant class waged a fierce struggle against the permanent brokers to non-Jews, against the middleman between one non-Jew and another, and against the brokers who acted as messengers or attracted customers from one trader to another. Loans for consumption were not encouraged, but a loan for trading purposes was viewed favorably. A loan which surpassed the means of the borrower was condemned and invalidated. Guarantees for loans were defined (*pledge, agreement by handing over an object (*kinyan sudar*), mortgage, and *mamram*) and a rate of interest was fixed (in towns 22%; at fairs 33%; for squires 15%; for monks 8%). In the legal and judicial field, special and detailed attention was given to procedures, such as summons to court, the actual trial, and the execution of the sentence. The community tried to impose sumptuary laws based on the principles of: "everyone according to his wealth and prevailing conditions"; "a man is only authorized to spend according to his status"; and "the Torah took pity on the money of Israel." These restrictions were applied to clothes and religious celebrations in accordance with financial means (middle class, lower class, and religious officials). The poor were supported by various funds, most important being the charity fund for the poor, and assistance funds for poor brides, the needy aged, guests, youth, the sick, and paupers. The youth of Poznan attended two educational institutions: the *bet midrash* (or the synagogue) and the yeshivah. In the *bet midrash* they studied in three classes and the teachers were supervised by the community. In the yeshivah the number of students was predetermined and limited. Adults also studied in these institutions under the guidance of the *av bet din*, the preacher, the *dayyan*, and learned laymen. Public religious life was centered around the numerous synagogues. The larger synagogues enjoyed more extensive rights with regard to the status of their treasurers, the selection of *ḥazzanim*, the distribution of *etrogim*, and the determination of the seat of the *Gaon* or preacher.

[Dov Avron]

Holocaust Period

At the outbreak of World War II there were about 1,500 Jews in Poznan. Many of them escaped before the entry of the Germans or in the first weeks of the occupation. Poznan became the capital of the Reichsgau Wartheland under the Nazi occupation. The Jewish community in occupied Poznan existed for only three months. In that time the synagogue was transformed into a stable, Jewish property was systematically plundered, and the Jews were driven out of the better residences. On Nov. 12, 1939, the S.S. and police chief of Warthegau, Wilhelm Cappy, ordered that Poznan be made "*judenrein*" within three months. On Dec. 11–12, 1939, the Jews were deported to Ostrow Lubelski and other towns of the General Government. Some of the refugees reached Wloszczowa; others went to Grodzisk Mazowiecki, Zyrardow, Wiskitki, and Blǐnie. On April 15, 1940, the Nazi paper *Ostdeutscher Beobachter* reported the solemn, symbolic, ceremonial removal of the Star of David from the last synagogue in Poznan. From November 1939 until August 1943 Jewish forced labor camps existed in the town and vicinity. The inmates, who came from various towns in Warthegau, worked on road building, land estates, and other work sites.

[Danuta Dombrowska]

Postwar Period

A report issued in 1947 by the Central Committee of the Jews of Poland (set up immediately after the liberation of the country) showed that 224 Jews were living in Poznan in January 1946 (148 men, and 76 women), and 343 in June of the same year (208 men, and 135 women).

No significant Jewish community developed in subsequent years.

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POZNAŃSKI, EDWARD (1901–1974), philosopher. Poznański, the son of Samuel Abraham Poznański (*Posnanski), was born in Warsaw, and studied philosophy and mathematics at the local university. While in Poland he was the secretary and moving spirit of the Friends of the Hebrew University in Poland. His principal concern was the building of the Jewish National and University *Library, and many thousands of books arrived at the library through his good offices, bound and catalogued – since among his fields of expertise and hobbies were bibliography and librarianship.

He immigrated to Palestine in 1939, and was appointed academic secretary of the Hebrew University in 1946, holding the position until his retirement in 1964. One of his major concerns was the advancement of junior staff through administering funds for fellowships and scholarships. He was instrumental in defining the university's policy for enabling younger scholars to visit great universities abroad and return with enhanced experience and deepened scholarship to join the ranks of the Hebrew University faculties.

During his tenure of office as academic secretary, Poznański taught logic, philosophy of science, and philosophy of mathematics at the Department of Philosophy. After his retirement he devoted all his time to this department as teacher, administrator, student counselor, and as principal editor of the Hebrew philosophical quarterly *Iyyun*. He wrote extensively in the field of his specialization.

Poznański established a wide-spread network of contacts with philosophers all over the world. During and after the Yom Kippur War of 1973 he disseminated information and analyses of the situation in many of his letters, some of which also reached the Soviet Union.

Poznański was rooted in Jewish culture, was widely read in the literatures of several languages, and was interested in poetry, music, children's books, and photography. His friendship with the renowned Jewish educator Janusz *Korczak was an important part of his life and a source of inspiration to him as a man and educator.

[Nathan Rotenstreich (2nd ed.)]

POZNANSKI, GUSTAVUS (1804–1879), Jewish religious leader and reformer. Born in Storchnest, Poland, and educated in Hamburg, he immigrated to the United States in 1831 and served for a time as the *shoḥet* of Shearith Israel in New York, blowing the *shofar* and serving as assistant *ḥazzan* as well. In 1837 he went to Congregation Beth Elohim of Charleston, SC, then the wealthiest and most cultured Jewish community in America as *ḥazzan*. He came to a divided community between Reformers and an Orthodox group well recommended by Isaac Leeser, then the leading Orthodox figure in the United States. He came as an Orthodox Rabbi on probation but soon earned the admiration of his congregation and was given life tenure. Leeser was soon to regret his recommendation when Poznanski's views changed radically. In 1838, his synagogue burned and when the new building was constructed an organ was introduced, the first organ ever used in a U.S. synagogue. It divided the synagogue and the case was taken to court by 40 members who had left the congregation because of their objection to the organ. When he recommended the abolition of the second day of Jewish Festivals more members withdrew. Poznanski offered to step aside to bring peace but returned to the pulpit for four additional years until 1847. His successor could not be chosen until 1850 because the community remained divided. Among those who applied for the position was Isaac Mayer Wise. After retirement, Poznanski remained in the community for some 15 years and later divided his time between New York and Charleston. In New York, he was a member of Shearith Israel, which was an Orthodox Congregation still retaining his Reform membership in Charleston.

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[Barnett A. Elzas (2nd ed.)]

POZNANSKY, MENAḤEM (1887–1956), Hebrew writer. Born in Kamenets-Podolski (Russia), Poznansky emigrated to Palestine as a result of his close friendship with J.H. *Brenner, who was one of the main influences in his life. Besides teaching, Poznansky wrote stories, which were posthumously collected together with his sketches in *Demuyyot Melavvot* (1958). After Brenner was killed, Poznansky devoted himself to Brenner's literary estate, and published the first complete edition of his works (8 vols. in 9 books, 1924–30). This was followed by an abridged edition (3 vols., 1946–51), and a revised complete edition (1961), of which Poznansky succeeded in preparing only the first volume. All these editions included introductions and notes by Poznansky. He also published an annotated collection of Brenner's letters (vols. 1–2, 1941). Poznansky translated into Hebrew works by Turgenev, Goncharov, and Gogol. One of his stories appears in English translation (Goell, Bibliography, 74, no. 2349).

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[Getzel Kressel]

PPS (**Polska Partia Socjalistyczna**), Polish Socialist Party. Founded in Paris in 1892, the PPS began activities in Poland despite Russian political restrictions. While in Galicia, then under Austrian control, the movement formed a legally recognized popular party, the PPSD (Polish Socialist Democrat Party). In Congress Poland, as a result of czarist oppression, the PPS became an underground movement. The PPS also was in conflict with the general Social Democratic movement in Poland and Lithuania, which on cosmopolitan principles opposed the nationalist tendency among the leaders of the PPS. During World War I the right wing of the PPS organized its own military units (the "legions") to act for the liberation of Poland. With the attainment of Polish independence, the PPS organized a national convention in April 1919 which brought about the establishment of the party throughout the country.

From the outset many Jews were active in the PPS. However, in the wake of ideological conflicts during and after the war a considerable number of Jewish activists left the party to join the extreme left. Three Jews became prominent in the party in the interwar years: (1) Feliks Perl (1871–1927), a native of Warsaw, who influenced the program of the united movement by his adherence to the party's socialist views as opposed to its rightist nationalist tendencies; (2) Herman *Diamand (1860–1931) of Lvov, lawyer and economist, who was a PPS member in the Austrian parliament between 1907 and 1914, and the party's economic expert in the Polish *Sejm (parliament); and (3) Herman *Lieberman (1870–1941), lawyer, journalist and outstanding speaker, member of the Austrian parliament and the Polish Sejm, and later (1940) minister of justice in the Polish government-in-exile in London. All three considered that the solution to the Jewish problem lay in Polish patriotism and eventual assimilation; they were opposed to the principles of Zionism and the efforts of Jewish leaders to preserve Jewish cultural identity.

The PPS made efforts to approach the mass of Jewish workers through Yiddish publications. It tended to regard the Jewish socialist parties, such as the *Bund and the leftist Po'alei *Zion, as potential competitors for voters, accusing them of separatism and nationalism. In its attitude to actual discrimination against Jews, the PPS showed a willingness to assist them in principle. However it was cautious in the extent of its support so as not to be suspected of "serving Jewish interests." In the trade unions the PPS showed a tendency to make difficulties in the admission of Jewish workers to industrial enterprises, even where the owners themselves were Jews.

It was only in the late 1930s that the PPS showed more courage in the struggle against antisemitism, then being overtly exploited by the reactionary successors of *Pilsudski, as a means of hitting at the opposition.

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[Moshe Landau]

PRAAG, SIEGFRIED EMANUEL VAN (1899–2002), Dutch novelist and writer. He studied French language and literature at the Municipal University of Amsterdam, became a schoolteacher, married Hilda Sanders, and started a career as a writer. After 1933 they initiated a German department in the Allert de Lange publishing house in Amsterdam. They moved to Brussels in 1936. In 1940 they succeeded in reaching England, where Van Praag worked for the Belgian radio. After the war they returned to Brussels and Van Praag again taught school but mainly spent his time in writing. When he passed away in Brussels he could look back on a long life in letters – having written more than 60 books.

Van Praag wrote on literature: *De West-Joden en hun letterkunde sinds 1860* (1926), *In eigen en vreemden spiegel. Uit de letterkunde van en over Joden* (1928).

He excelled in writing (historical) novels on women, *Maria Nunes* (1928), *La Judith. Een groot actrice* (1930; Ger., *Judith, der Roman einer Schauspielerin*, 1931), *Julie de Lespinasse. Een groote minnares* (1934), *Madame de Pompadour. Roman van eerzucht en liefde* (1936), *Een vrouw van tact* (1947), *De Hebreeuwse lichtekooi* (1954), and his last novel *De lieve glorie van Truitje Bonnettemaker* (1988). Moreover he was fascinated by people and by the animals of the Amsterdam Zoo ("Artis"), so he wrote articles on "Artis in de kunst" (1926) and on the topic of the animal in literature, *Wij en de dieren* (1932).

Along with the published recollections of Jaap Meijer, Meyer J. Perath, Mozes H. Gans, Meyer Sluyser, and Eddy van Amerongen, Van Praag's descriptions of pre-war Jewish Amsterdam have been decisive for younger generations. On this topic he wrote among others *Jeruzalem van het Westen* (1961; seventh pr., 1985), *De oude darsjan. Over Jodenbuurten en joodse buurten* (1971), and *Een lange jeugd in Joods Amsterdam* (1985), a companion volume (with about 100 photographs) to a film by Willy Lindwer made the previous year. The book covers his years 1899–1935 in Amsterdam. Van Praag wrote more extensively on his life in *De arend en de mol. Autobiografische schetsen* (1973). The memoirs of his wife, Hilda van Praag-Sanders, followed: *Meedoen. Persoonlijk en nietpersoonlijke ervaringen van een journaliste* (1975).

In 1995 he entrusted his library, manuscripts, correspondence and photographs to the Bibliotheca Rosenthaliana, Amsterdam University Library.

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[F.J. Hoogewoud (2nd ed.)]

PRACTICE AND PROCEDURE.

CIVIL

Court Sessions

The courts of three (judges) exercising jurisdiction in civil matters (see bet *din) held their sessions during the day, but – following Jethro's advice to Moses that judges should be available "at all times" (Ex. 18:22) – they would continue sitting at night to complete any proceedings commenced during the day (Sanh. 4:1). The session started early in the morning, with the judges robing themselves – they had special robes "wrapped around them," so that they would not look around too much (*Sma*, ḤM 5 n. 16) – and usually continued for six hours until mealtime (Shab. 10a). While originally the session was not interrupted even for prayers, the law was later revised so that in this case it may be interrupted (ḤM 5:4). No court was held on the Sabbath or holidays, lest any writing was done. On the eves of the Sabbath or holidays the courts would sit only in exceptionally urgent cases (*Rema*, ḤM 5:2), but a party summoned was not punished for failing to appear on such a day (ḤM 5:2). The court may sit on the intermediate days of a festival (*Ḥol ha-Mo'ed*, MK 14b).

Parties

Any person, male or female (Sif. Deut. 190), may sue and be sued, except minors, deaf-mutes, and lunatics (see Legal capacity). Actions brought by or against guardians on behalf of such incapacitated persons may be heard by the court, but any judgment rendered is binding only if in their favor (Git. 52a). Non-Jews who sue or are sued in a Jewish court may demand that their own non-Jewish law be applied to them (Yad, Melakhim 10:12); a Jew litigating with a non-Jew was originally entitled to claim any benefit of non-Jewish law, but this discrimination was later abolished (cf. *Beit ha-Beḥirah* thereto).

The rule is that parties must litigate in person and may not be represented; and even when and where representation is allowed, the parties are required to attend in person so as to enable the court to form a direct opinion of them (*Sma*, ḤM 13 n. 12, 17 n. 14). An exception was made in favor of women defendants: if such women were accustomed to stay at home and not to be seen in public they were allowed to make their statements to a scribe of the court in their own homes (Tos. to Shevu. 30a). When suing for his own usufruct in his wife's property, a husband may also sue for the principal without special authorization, but not otherwise (Git. 48b; ḤM 122:8).

Joint claimants may sue jointly or separately (Ket. 94a; ḤM 77:9, 122:9), but in an action by one of them, the others will normally be included by order of the court. In cases of joint liabilities each defendant can be sued only for his share of the debt, unless he expressly or by implication guaranteed the whole debt (ḤM 77:1); such a guarantee is implied in the debts of partners, joint contractors, and joint tort-feasors (*ibid.*).

Venue

The plaintiff "follows the defendant," i.e., the claim has to be lodged in the court of the place where the defendant resides (*Rema*, ḤM 14:1); but if the plaintiff finds the defendant at a place where there is a court in session, he may sue him there and then (Resp. Maharik no. 14). The ancient rule that a party had the right to insist on trial by the Great Court at Jerusalem (Yad, Sanh. 6:7), though obsolete (*ibid.* 9), has been interpreted in many countries as enabling the plaintiff to compel the defendant to stand trial outside his place of residence in a court of higher repute or authority (Sanh. 31b; Tur ḤM 14; ḤM 14:1 and *Rema* thereto). The debtor's property may be attached by order of the court sitting at the place where the property is situated (*Rema*, ḤM 73:10).

Summonses

On the plaintiff's application a summons is issued to the defendant to appear in court on a day named in the summons (MK 16a; ḤM 11:1). A plaintiff need not disclose particulars of his claim before the defendant stands in court to answer the summons (BB 31a), and, if he does, he is not bound by any such summons unless he repeats them in court (ḤM 80:1). This rule was devised in order that the defendant should not have time, before coming into court, to fabricate a defense (*Rashbam*, BB 31a); but later jurists held this purpose to be outweighed by the more desirable opportunity of an out-of-court settlement if the claim was disclosed in advance (*Siftei Kohen*, ḤM 11, n.1).

The issue of a summons requires an order of the full court (Sanh. 8a), but one judge may make the order if the others are present in court. The summons is delivered by the officer of the court, either orally or by a written notice endorsed by the court (ḤM 11:6). It must specify not only the exact time the defendant is required to appear in court, but also the name of the plaintiff suing him (Nov. Ritba thereto). It may specify alternative dates of hearing (MK 16a), so that if the defendant fails to appear at one date, he must appear at the next specified date (*Rashi* thereto). Originally, such alternative summonses were issued for the next following Monday, Thursday, and Monday (Yad. Sanh. 25:8), these being the fixed court days in talmudic times (Ket. 3a). If not drawn up as alternative summonses, they could be issued subsequently one after the other in case of nonappearance (*Rashi*, BK 113a).

The court has discretion on whether or not to issue a summons; it may refuse to summon scholars of great eminence (Kid. 70a), practicing rabbis, and women who live in seclusion (ḤM 124). Each summons contained a warning that, failing his appearance in court on the date (or one of the dates) specified, the defendant was liable to be declared under a ban (see *Rashba*, BK 113a). A defendant who had to go on a journey or was otherwise prevented from attending court had to send an apology and request an adjournment (ḤM 11:1 and *Rema* thereto). Failing both appearance and apology, the court would issue a bill of attainder (*petiḥah*) to be served on the defaulter, and a ban would be imposed on him, unless he appeared in court within one week, paid the expenses of the *petiḥah*, and produced it to be torn up (BK 112b–113a). A less rigorous mode of enforcing court summonses was the attachment of the defaulter's property (Resp. Rosh 73:1, 97:4).

Default Procedure

It is forbidden to adjudicate the plaintiff's case in the absence of the defendant (though duly summoned) except where the plaintiff's claim is prima facie valid, e.g., where it is based on a bill signed by the defendant and confirmed by witnesses (BK 112b; Tur ḤM 106 and *Beit Yosef* thereto), or where the defendant is abroad more than 30 days' journey away (Yad, Malveh 13:1; ḤM 106). The reason for this deviation from the general rule that there shall be no adjudication unless both parties stand before the court (cf. Deut. 19:17), is said by Maimonides to be "that not everybody should take the money of other people and then go and settle abroad, with the result that borrowers will find all doors closed to them" (Yad, Malveh 13:1). Judgments in civil cases may always be given in the absence of the parties (ḤM 18:6).

Cause List

Hearing out "high and low alike," and fearing no man (Deut. 1:17) was interpreted as prohibiting any preference of major over minor cases (Sash. 8a; Yad, Sanh. 20:10): the case that came in first must be heard first, whatever its relative importance (Rashi, Sanh. 8a; ḤM 15:1). There are several exceptions to this rule: the case of a scholar is given preference, so that he should not be kept too long from his studies (Ned. 62a); orphans and widows are given preference even over scholars, for it is by judging them that justice is done (Isa. 1:17); and cases in which one of the parties is a woman are advanced so as not to keep her waiting in court (Yev. 100a).

Subject Matter

The court will not entertain a claim for anything of less than minimal value (BM 55a; Yad, Sanh. 20:11). Opinions were divided on whether the court, once seized of a claim for *shaveh perutah*, could proceed to deal with other (ideal and non-valuable) matters between the same parties; the leading view is that it could (BM 55b; Yad, loc. cit.; ḤM 6:1).

Settlement

When the parties stand before the court, they must first be advised to settle their dispute by a friendly *compromise (Sanh. 6b), which is the "judgment of peace" alluded to by the prophet (Zech. 8:16). Failing such compromise, the court will ask them whether they insist on adjudication according to law, or whether they would not rather empower the court to adjudicate between them by way of fair compromise (Yad, Sanh. 22:4; ḤM 12:2); and courts were admonished to do everything in their power to dissuade parties from insisting on adjudication according to law (ḤM 12:20). However, so long as a compromise had not actually been implemented by *kinyan or by performance, the parties might go back on their agreement and resort to law (ḤM 12:7, 19).

Court Decorum

The parties are required to stand up before the court (cf. Deut. 19:17), and so are the witnesses (Shev. 30a), and they may not sit down except with the court's permission (Yad, Sanhedrin 21:3; ḤM 17:1). Maimonides comments sadly upon the fact that the post-talmudic courts always allow parties and witnesses to be seated – there being no longer sufficient strength in us to conduct ourselves according to the law (loc. cit. 21:5; ḤM 17:3). Permission to be seated may not be given to one party unless it is also given to the other (Tosef., Sanh. 6:2; TJ, Sanh. 3:10, 21c). Even where a scholar is permitted to be seated out of respect for him, his opponent must be given the same permission, and it is up to him whether he avails himself of it or not (Shev. 30b; Yad, Sanh. 21:4; ḤM 17:2).

There is no rule requiring parties (or attorneys) to be dressed in any particular manner; but where one party is more richly dressed than the other, he will be ordered to dress in the same manner as the other before being allowed to address the court (Shev. 31a). This rule has been said to be now obsolete, because differences in dress are no longer so ostentatious (*Siftei Kohen*, ḤM 17 n. 2); others have held that instead of ordering the party to change his dress, the court should rather assure the other party that his adversary's showy appearance makes no impression on it (Maharshal, quoted in *Baḥ.*, ḤM 17:1 and in *Be'er ha-Golah*, ḤM 17, n. 4).

Equality of Parties

The injunction: "Judge your neighbor fairly" (Lev. 19:15) was interpreted as prescribing equal treatment by the court for all parties before it (Shev. 30a; Yad, Sanh. 21:1; ḤM 17:1). In particular, the parties must all be given the same opportunity and the same time of audience (*ibid.*); no party may be heard in the absence of the other (Shevu. 31a; Sanh. 7b; Yad, loc. cit. 21:7; ḤM 17:5). Where one party desires to be represented or to be accompanied by friends, relatives, or partners, the other party may be so represented or accompanied too, and will be heard to oppose such representation or escort through lack of equal facilities (ḤM 17:4 and *Pitḥei Teshuvah*, ḤM 17 n. 7). Where there are several plaintiffs and one defendant (or vice versa), they will be asked to choose one of them to argue for all, so as to keep the proportions even (*Sma*, ḤM 17 n. 8).

The injunction not to favor the poor or to show deference to the rich (Lev. 19:15; cf. Ex. 23:3) was elaborated as follows:

No judge should have compassion for the poor and say, this man is destitute and his adversary is rich – why should he not support him? I will give judgment for the poor man and thus cause him to be honorably provided for; nor should a judge favor the rich: when there are before him a wealthy notable and a poor ignorant man, he should not greet the notable and show him any respect, lest the other may be embarrassed; nor should he say to himself, how can I decide against him and cause him disgrace? I will rather send him away now and tell him in private later that he ought to satisfy the other party – but he must give true judgment forthwith. And when there are before him two men, one good and one evil, he may not say, the one is a criminal and probably lies, and the other is virtuous and will stick to the truth – but he must regard both as if they were potential evildoers who might lie in order to strengthen their own case, and he must judge them according to his best conscience; and, having so judged them, he should then regard them both as perfectly in order (ḤM 17:10).

Pleadings

The rule is that the parties must plead for themselves (see *Attorney), orally, but if both so agree, they may be allowed to put their arguments into writing, either by dictating them to the scribe of the court or by filing written briefs (*Rema*, ḤM 13:3); in the latter case, they cannot be allowed to go back on anything they have written (*ibid.*), and it appears that the courts have resorted to written pleading so as to prevent parties from changing their positions every now and then (cf. *Rema*, ḤM 80, n. 2). The costs of all such written records are borne equally by both parties (BB 10:4; 168a).

The court may not put any argument in a party's mouth or teach him how to argue his case (Avot 1:8; Yad, Sanh. 21:10; ḤM 17:8), nor may the court express an opinion presupposing a hypothetical argument ("if A would plead this way, judgment might be given for him"; *Rema*, ḤM 17:5). On the other hand, the court is admonished to open the mouth of the dumb for him (Prov. 31:8), i.e., to help a litigant who is intellectually or emotionally unable to express himself to formulate his argument (Yad, Sanh. 21:11; ḤM 17:9). This rule applies especially to orphans and imbeciles (cf. *Baḥ*, ḤM 17, n. 12).

The plaintiff pleads his case first (BK 46b; ḤM 24), but he may be allowed by the court to postpone his pleading in whole or in part if he so desires (*Rema*, ḤM 24). There is a curious exception to the rule: if by hearing the plaintiff first, the property of the defendant may depreciate (e.g., by rumors in the market that the title is disputed), the defendant is heard first (ḤM 24 and *Siftei Kohen* thereto, n. 1). When the plaintiff has stated his case, the defendant is bound to reply forthwith, but the court may, in a suitable case, give him time to think and prepare his defense (*Rema*, ḤM 16:2). For the various pleadings open to litigants and their respective effects, see *Pleas.

Evidence

Where a case cannot be disposed of on the pleadings and has to be proved by *evidence, the parties must be ready with their witnesses and documents on the day of the pleading, but the court may allow them up to 30 days' grace to produce their witnesses or documents (Sanh. 3:8; BK 112b; ḤM 16:1). Opinions were divided on what should happen if they failed to do so within this time limit (Sanh. 3:8), and the law was eventually settled to the effect that while the court would not extend the time limit (except where the witnesses are known to reside at a distance of more than 30 days' journey; ḤM 16:1), any judgment given on the pleadings was subject to review, and could be annulled, if and when warranted by any further evidence being adduced (ḤM 20:1). Where a party had declared in court that there were no witnesses or documents available to prove his case, he would not afterward be allowed to adduce such evidence, the suspicion being that it would be fabricated (Yad, Sanh. 7:7–8; ḤM 20:1); but where a party declared that there were witnesses or documents in existence but he could not trace them, the court would make a public announcement threatening a *ḥerem* on any person who withheld evidence (ḤM 16:3); such an announcement would even be initiated by the court where evidence was lacking to prove claims or defenses by representatives of estates (ḤM 71:8). Before testifying, witnesses were warned by the court of the consequences of perjury and the moral turpitude this involved (Yad, Edut 17:2; ḤM 28:7).

For the burden of adducing evidence, and presumptions in lieu of evidence, see *Evidence.

Deliberations

Having heard the parties and their witnesses, the judges confer with each other. According to ancient Jerusalem custom, the conference is conducted in private (Yad, Sanhedrin 22:9; ḤM 18:1); but while the parties always had to be excluded, primarily because they ought not to know how each judge voted (Maim. *Comm. to Mishnah*, Sanh. 3:7), it appears that some courts allowed the general public to be present while they conferred (*Baḥ*., ḤM 18:1); and there is a talmudic tradition that the judges' students were allowed not only to be present but also to participate in the discussions (Sanh. 33b, and *Rashi* thereto). Witnesses who testified in the case could express their opinion on the merits of the case while giving testimony, but could not be heard during the judges' conference, because "no witness is made a judge" (Yad, Edut 5:8).

The conference starts with the oldest (or presiding) judge stating his opinion (Sanh. 4:2, Yad, Sanhedrin 11:6); but the view was expressed that, as in criminal cases, it should rather be the youngest member of the court who states his opinion first, the same reasons applying in civil cases as well (*Rema*, ḤM 18:1; see also below). Any judge may, in the course of deliberations, change any opinion he previously expressed (Sanh. 4:1). If a judge cannot make up his mind, he must say so, and need not apologize or give reasons for saying so (Yad, Sanhedrin 8:3). Two more judges will then be added to the court (Sanh. 3:6), as the judge unable to form an opinion is regarded as being absent and the remaining two judges, even if of one mind, are not regarded as a court (*Rashi*, Sanh. 29a). The augmented court (of five) will start deliberations anew, but need not hear the case once more (ḤM 18:1).

Judgment

At the close of the deliberations, the parties are called back into court and asked to stand up (Shevu. 30b; Yad, Sanh. 21:3; ḤM 17:1); the presiding judge announces the decision, without disclosing whether or not the judgment is unanimous, or how each judge voted. If the judgment is unanimous, so much the better; if not, the majority prevails (Sanh. 3:6, Sanh. 3b; et al.). If (owing to the judges being unable to form an opinion) the court has been increased time and again up to the maximum of 71 members and is still almost equally divided, judgment will be given for the defendant as the plaintiff has not established his case to the satisfaction of a clear majority (Yad, loc. cit. 8:2; ḤM 18:2).

Any party may ask the court for a record of the judgment in writing (Sanh. 30a; Yad, loc. cit. 22:8, ḤM 19:2) and for a written statement of the reasons behind it (BM 69b and Tos. thereto; Sanh. 31b; Tur ḤM 14 and *Beit Yosef* thereto), if only for the purposes of appeal to the Great Court (Yad, Sanhedrin 6:6). The written judgment (and the reasons for it) must be signed by all the judges, including the dissenter (R. Johanan in TJ, Sanh. 3:1, 21 ḤM d). While judgment is given on the day the case was heard (Sanh. 4:1; Maim. *Comm. to Mishnah*, Avot. 5:8; ḤM 17:11), and any delay of justice is regarded as a violation of "Ye shall do no unrighteousness in judgment" (Lev. 19:15), the written record of the judgment and the reasons for it may be given whenever a party applies for it, without any time limit (*Rema*, ḤM 14:4). Where the judgment has not been put into writing, the fitness of the judges to say what judgment they gave ceases when the parties no longer stand before them (Kid. 74a; ḤM 23:1), i.e., when they are no longer associated with the case (Tosef., BM 1:12). This rule apparently caused great hardship and was later restricted, first to discretionary judgments given without pleadings and without evidence, and then to judgments given by a single judge (ḤM 23:1; Resp. *Rosh* 6:15, 56:4; *Mordekhai* Kid. 541), and was thus virtually abolished.

The judgment may not exceed the amount of the claim (*Rema* ḤM 17:12); but where the court is satisfied that the plaintiff was genuinely ignorant of the real extent of his rights, it may impose fines and other sanctions on the defendant to compel him to satisfy the plaintiff even beyond his claim (*Sma*, ḤM 17:26; *Baḥ* ḤM 17).

For the effect of judgments *inter partes* and *inter alios*, see *Ma'aseh.

Revision

A judgment is always subject to revision, normally by the court that made it in the first place, if new evidence has come to light disproving the facts which the judgment was based on, provided the party seeking to adduce such new evidence is not debarred from so doing (see above; Sanh. 3:8; Yad, Sanhedrin 7:6; ḤM 20, 1). Every judgment is also subject to revision for errors of law. Originally the rule appears to have been general and to have applied in all civil cases, whatever the quality of the error (Sanh. 4:1); later it was confined to erroneous judgments of nonprofessional and non-expert judges (Bek. 4:4); finally, the rule was confined to errors of mishnaic (i.e., clear and undisputed) law, as distinguished from "errors of discretion" (Sanh. 6a, 33a; Ket. 84b, 100a). While "discretion" was originally understood in its wide literal sense (cf. Sanh. 29b; TJ, Sanh. 1:1, 18a), it was eventually confined to matters on which there were different views in the Talmud and the *halakhah* had not been decided; whatever view the judge followed, his judgment would not (for that reason alone) be subject to revision. It might otherwise be where the court followed one opinion in ignorance or disregard of the fact that another opinion had been accepted and put into practice "throughout the world" (Yad, Sanh. 6:2; ḤM 25:2). The revisable error could (in certain well-defined circumstances) be of great moment to the judge personally, as he might find himself saddled with the obligation to pay out of his own pocket any irrecoverable damage caused by his error (Yad, loc. cit. 6:3; ḤM 25:3).

Apart from revisable error, unwarranted assumption of judicial authority (whether it resulted in error or not) is a cause for having the judgment set aside, but it stands until set aside (Yad, loc. cit. 6:4; ḤM 25:4). The finding of unwarranted assumption of judicial authority is tantamount to a finding of a trespass, and counts in damages (*ibid.*). In many countries, the revision of judgments of errors of law was reserved to courts of appeal, i.e., mostly courts presided over by the leading scholars of the community.

Modern Law

While the procedure in Israel civil courts is mainly based on English law, the procedure in the rabbinical courts is governed by the *Takkanot ha-Diyyun* which were enacted by the chief rabbinate of Israel in 1960 (revising earlier *takkanot* of 1943). They purport to reflect talmudic and post-talmudic law, but actually deviate from it and follow modern procedural concepts in many important particulars; for example, the requirement of written statements of claim, representation by attorneys, cross-examination of parties (in addition to witnesses), reduction of judgments into writing before delivery, and discretion in the matter of costs.

PENAL

For the composition of courts competent to adjudicate in criminal cases, see Bet *din. The composition of the court and certain matters of procedure differ in capital and non-capital cases. While the following account deals with capital cases (unless otherwise indicated), practice and procedure were modeled on them as far as possible (cf. Maim., Yad, Sanh. 16:1–4).

Court Sessions

In criminal cases, the court sits only during the day and adjourns at sunset (Sanh. 4:1; Yad, Sanh. 11:1). If the proceedings have been concluded during the day, a judgment of acquittal will be announced forthwith, but a judgment of conviction and sentence may not be announced until the following day (Sanh., loc. cit.; Yad, loc. cit.), since there is a chance that the judges may change their minds during the night (*Rashi*, Sanh. 32a). No criminal sessions may therefore be held on the eves of the Sabbath and holidays (Sanh. 4:1; Yad, Sanhedrin 11:2); and either because a trial is regarded as potentially a first step in an execution, which may not take place on a Sabbath (TJ, Sanh. 4:7, 22b), or because the trial involves writing prohibited on the Sabbath (Tos. to Beẓeh 36b and Sanh. 35a), no criminal trials may be held on the Sabbath or holidays.

In the Temple precincts (see Bet *din), criminal sessions started after the morning sacrifices and ended with the late afternoon sacrifice (Sanh. 88b); otherwise the time of court sessions is the same in criminal as in civil cases. The following is a mishnaic account of the manner in which courts of 23 held criminal trials:

The court sat in the form of a half-circle, so that the judges could all see one another. The two court scribes stood before them, one at the right and one at the left, and recorded the words of the judges – one the words of those in favor of conviction, and the other the words of those in favor of acquittal. Three rows of learned disciples sat before them, each knowing his place; when the seat of a judge became vacant, his place would be filled with the first sitting in the first row (Sanh. 4:3–4 – According to Maim., Yad, Sanhedrin 1:9; but Rashi (to Mishnah, Sanh. 36b) states that the two scribes write the words both of those in favor and those against, so that if one scribe errs the other can correct him).

The public and the disciples would be already in court when the judges entered – the presiding judge last – and everyone present would rise and remain standing until the presiding judge gave them leave to sit down (Tosef., Sanh. 7:8).

Duplicity of Trials

Only one capital case may be tried on any one day in any one court (Sanh. 6:4; Tosef., Sanh. 7:2). An exception was made where there were several participants in one crime, provided they were all liable to the same penalty (Sanh. 46a). However, where participants in one crime were liable to execution by different methods, as, e.g., in *adultery where the male adulterer was liable to strangulation and the female adulteress, if a priest's daughter, to burning, they had to be tried separately on different days (Yad, Sanh. 14:10).

Arrest

The arrest and detention of persons awaiting trial is reported in the Bible (Lev. 24:12; Num. 15:34), and the appointment of judges presupposed the concomitant appointment of police officers (*shoterim*: Deut. 16:18). Maimonides describes *shoterim* as officers equipped with sticks and whips who would patrol streets and marketplaces, and bring any criminals they caught before the court; these officers would also be dispatched by the court to arrest any person against whom a complaint had been brought ("they act upon the judges' orders in every matter": Yad, Sanhedrin 1:1). In capital cases the accused would be detained pending trial (Sif. Num. 114; Yad, Sanhedrin 11:2), if he was caught *in flagranti delicto* or there was at least some *prima* *facie* evidence against him (TJ, Sanh. 7:8). However, the fact that the available evidence was as yet insufficient to put a man on trial was no reason not to detain him until sufficient evidence was available (Sanh. 81b). Or, where death had not yet ensued but the victim was dangerously wounded, the assailant would be detained until the degree of his offense could be determined (Sanh. 78b; Ket. 33b). The accused would always be held in custody (Yad, Sanh. 12:3). Opinions were divided on whether an arrest could be made on the Sabbath.

Bail

The release of an accused person on bail pending trial is already mentioned in early sources (Mekh. Nezikin 6). The rule evolved that in capital cases no bail should be allowed (*ibid.*; and Resp. Ribash no. 236, quoted in *Beit Yosef*, ḤM 388, n. 5), from which it may be inferred that in non-capital cases bail would be granted as a matter of course.

Default Proceedings

No criminal proceeding may be conducted in the absence of the accused (Sanh. 79b; Yad, Roẓe'ah 4:7, Sanh. 14:7).

Prosecution

There is good authority for the proposition that in cases of *homicide the *blood-avenger acted as prosecutor (Nov. Ran; Sanh. 45a). Where no blood-avenger was forthcoming, the court would appoint one for this purpose (Sanh. 45b). By analogy, it may be assumed that in cases other than homicide the victim of the offense acted as complainant and prosecutor. In offenses of a public nature, the court initiated the proceedings and dispensed with prosecutors. Such proceedings were normally prompted by witnesses who came forward and notified the court that an offense had been committed; if they could identify and name the accused and satisfy the court that a *prima facie* case could be made out against him, the court would take action (Yad, Sanh. 12:1).

Defense

In criminal matters, any person who wished to plead in favor of the accused was allowed and even encouraged to do so (Sanh. 4:1). If a disciple of the judges wished to plead for the accused, he was raised to the bench and allowed to stay there until the end of the day (Sanh. 5:4), clearly a potent encouragement. There are records in post-talmudic times of defense attorneys having been appointed by the court (e.g., Ribash Resp. no. 235).

Evidence

Unlike civil trials, criminal trials started with the interrogation of the witnesses. Before this, each witness had to be warned separately by the court in the following terms:

> If you are going to tell us anything which you only believe or opine, or anything you may have heard from any other person, however trustworthy he may seem to you, or anything you know from rumors – or if you are not aware that this court is going to examine you by a probing cross-examination – you had better know that a criminal trial is not like a civil trial; in a civil case, a false witness pays money to the man he has wronged and will then be discharged; but in a criminal case, his blood and the blood of his children will be on him until the end of the world. Man was created single in this world, to show you that whoever causes one single soul to perish from this world is regarded as if he had caused the whole world to perish; and he who keeps one single soul alive in this world is regarded as having kept the whole world alive. Are not all men created in the form of Adam, the first man, and still the form of each man is different from that of anybody else? Therefore can each and everybody say, it is for me that the world was created. And do not say, why should we bring this calamity upon ourselves? for it is written, whoever is able to testify from what he has seen or known, and does not do so, will be punished [Lev. 5:1]; nor may you say, it is more convenient for us to incur punishment for our silence, than to bring upon ourselves the blood of that criminal; for it is written, there is rejoicing when the wicked perish (Sanh. 4:5; Yad, Sanh. 12:3).

The evidence of at least two witnesses (Deut. 17:6) is required to prove not only that the accused was seen to have committed the act constituting the offense (Ket. 26b; Sanh. 30a; Git. 33b), but also that, immediately before committing it, he had been warned of its unlawfulness and of the exact penalty he would incur (Sanh. 12:2). No circumstantial evidence is ever sufficient to support a conviction (Sanh. 37b; Tosef., Sanh. 8:3; see *Evidence; Penal *law). The accused must be present during the examination of the witnesses, but opinions are divided on whether he must stand up or may be seated. The judges, are of course, seated when hearing evidence (ḤM 28:6), while the witnesses stand (Shevu. 30a; ḤM 28:5).

For the methods of examination of witness, see *Witness.

Deliberations

It is only if and when the evidence of all the witnesses heard is first found consistent, i.e., if it is established to the satisfaction of the court that the witnesses do not contradict themselves or each other in any material particular, that the deliberations (in the technical sense) start (Sanh. 5:4; Yad, Sanh. 12:3). If the evidence is found to be inconsistent, the accused is acquitted and discharged there and then. The rule is that the youngest member of the court has the first say in the deliberations (Sanh. 4:2; Yad, Sanh. 11:6), in case the junior members be unduly impressed and influenced by what their elders have to say (Yad, Sanh. 10:6; Rashi to Ex. 23:2 and to Sanh. 36a); but this rule yields to another that the deliberations must always start with a view propounded in favor of the accused (Sanh. 4:1, 5:4; Yad, Sanh. 11:1, 12:3). Talmudic scholars wondered how anything could be said in favor of the accused once the evidence against him had been found to be consistent, and they solved the problem by suggesting that "opening in favor of the accused" really meant asking the accused whether he could adduce any evidence in rebuttal (Sanh. 32b; TJ, Sanh. 4:1), or reassuring the accused that if he was innocent he had nothing to fear from the evidence adduced against him (*ibid.*;

Yad, Sanh. 10:7). Deliberations were thus held in the presence of the accused, and it would appear that at this stage he was given the opportunity of saying anything he wished in his defense: "If he says, I wish to plead in favor of myself, he is heard, provided there is some substance in his words" (Sanh. 5:4). According to Maimonides, he is even raised to the bench for this purpose (Yad, Sanh. 10:8). However, he is not allowed to say anything to his detriment, and as soon as he opens his mouth to admit his guilt or otherwise prejudice himself, he is silenced and reprimanded by the court (Tosef., Sanh. 9:4). Where the accused is not capable of speaking for himself, the court or a judge will do so for him (Sanh. 29a).

It appears that the credibility and weight of the evidence, even though it was found consistent (and hence admissible), was an open issue for the deliberation of the judges, as was the legal question whether the act committed by the accused constituted a punishable offense (Yad, Sanh. 10:9). Having once expressed his view in favor of an acquittal, a judge is not allowed to change his view during the deliberations (Sanh. 4:1, 5:5, 34a; Yad, Sanh. 10:2); but having expressed his opinion condemning the accused, a judge may change his mind even during the deliberations (*ibid.*; Yad, Sanh. 11:1). Judges ought not to follow the opinion of other, greater judges, especially in criminal cases, but must decide solely according to their own knowledge and personal conviction (Tosef., Sanh. 3:8; Yad, Sanh. 10:1).

If, at the end of the day, a majority for an acquittal has been reached, the accused is acquitted forthwith; if no such majority has emerged, the case is adjourned to the next day (see above), the judges conferring, in groups of two, throughout the night, abstaining from too much food and from all alcohol. The next morning, back in court, the scribes checked the judges' views with those they had expressed the day before, so that the number of those arguing in favor of an acquittal could meanwhile only have increased (Sanh. 5:5, Yad, Sanh. 12:3). If a clear majority for conviction has eventually been reached, judgment will be pronounced accordingly; but a "clear majority" presupposes some minority and accordingly, where the whole court is unanimous that the accused be convicted, proceedings are adjourned and deliberations continued until at least one judge changes his view and votes for an acquittal (Sanh. 17a; Yad, Sanh. 9:1). It is believed that this rule applied only to the Great Sanhedrin of 71 (Maim., Yad, *ibid.*, speaks of the "Sanhedrin" as distinguished from the "Small Sanhedrin" in the immediately following paragraph), while in courts of 23 and of three unanimity was as good as, or even better than, a majority.

Judgment

The sentence pronounces the accused guilty and specifies the punishment to be inflicted on him; it is not reasoned. Unlike in civil cases (see above), the accused knows which of the judges were in the majority and which in the minority, and what were the reasons which prompted each judge in his voting, since he had been present at their deliberations.

Once a capital sentence is pronounced, the accused is in law deemed to be dead (Sanh. 71b), and a person killing him would not be guilty of homicide (Yad, Mamrim 7, 9), nor would a person wounding him be guilty of any offense or liable for damages (Tosef., BK 9:15). The theory was propounded that it is this legal fiction which enables the court and the executioners to execute capital sentences without incurring liability as murderers.

On the other hand, as long as the sentence has not been carried out, the judgment is subject to revision: on the way from the court to the place of execution, a herald announces that *A* son of *B* is going to be executed for having committed the offense *C*, and witness *D* and *E* have testified against him; whoever has anything to say in his defense should come forward to say it (Sanh. 6:1). The case is returned to court for a retrial not only if any such person is forthcoming but even if the accused himself wishes to plead again in his own defense – provided there is some substance in what he says (*ibid.*). In order to find out whether or not there is some substance in what the accused wishes to say, two men learned in the law are seconded to accompany him on his way to the place of execution (Yad, Sanh. 13:1), and if they are satisfied that there is some such substance, they will have him brought back into court even two and three times (*ibid.*). If, on retrial or redeliberation, the accused is acquitted, the sentence is deemed to be annulled *ex tunc*, as if it had never been passed.

Where the accused escapes after sentence and before execution and then is caught and brought before the court which had sentenced him, his trial is not reopened, but the sentence stands (Mak. 1:10). It might be different if he were brought before a court in Ereẓ Israel, and the court which had sentenced him had sat outside Ereẓ Israel (Yad, Sanh. 13:8). For the purpose of establishing that sentence had duly been pronounced against him, two witnesses must testify that in their presence sentence had been passed on this particular accused and they had also heard the evidence given against him by two named witnesses (Mak. 1:10; Yad, Sanh. 13:7). Before the sentence is finally executed, the accused is asked to confess in order that he may have a share in the world to come (Sanh. 6:2). If he does not know how to make confession, he is asked to repeat the words, "may my death expiate all my sins" (*ibid.*).

For the various modes of execution, see Capital *Punishment.

[Haim Hermann Cohn]

RULES OF PROCEDURE OF THE RABBINICAL COURTS OF THE STATE OF ISRAEL

The promulgation of the Rules of Procedure for the Rabbinical Courts in Ereẓ Yisrael marked the first attempt in the history of halakhic literature to provide a modern compilation of the rules of procedure. The Council of the Chief Rabbinate published the Rules of Procedure, based largely on the Shulḥan Arukh and responsa literature, in 1943. The Rules have been revised several times over the years. As of 2006 the last revision was made in 1993, and all references in this article are to those Rules.

The Court's Intervention in Litigation

In this article, we present the primary findings of a comprehensive study of the rabbinical court's intervention in litigation in general, and in pleadings and the examination of witnesses in particular (Y. Sinai, *Me'uravut Bet ha-Din be-Halikh ha-Diyyuni be-Mishpat ha-Ivri* (Ramat-Gan, 2003)).

Sources of Jewish Law dealing with the intervention of judges in pleadings paint a complex picture, drawing upon several procedural systems that developed at different times and in different places. In this context, we find tension between the adversarial principle, "Do not play the part of an advocate" (M. Avot 1.8), and the inquisitorial principle – "Open thy mouth for the mute" (TJ Sanh. 3:6).

In general, one may distinguish between two primary procedural approaches, which developed against different legal and historical backgrounds. While these approaches were clearly enunciated by medieval scholars in Spain and Ashkenaz, they were already hinted at in talmudic literature. One approach, emphasized primarily in the classical Spanish tradition, took an adversarial view, and tended to shy away from the court providing any assistance to a litigant's pleadings, whether factual or legal, in the course of the proceedings (see, e.g., Yad, Sanh. 21:10–11). This approach sees in the live, spontaneous conflict between the parties a means for uncovering the factual truth. The proceedings are conducted primarily by the parties themselves, who present their arguments before the court. Any uncontrolled intervention in that spontaneous dispute by third parties (whether the court or lawyers) may seriously impede the process of uncovering the truth. Nevertheless, this approach does permit the court to intervene in the proceedings in exceptional circumstances. We thus find the rule that the court may raise arguments for the benefit of an heir or a buyer (Git. 58b).

The second approach, emphasized in the Ashkenazi tradition, prefers an inquisitorial view. This approach recognizes numerous situations in which the court is required to assist in raising factual and legal arguments (see, e.g., *Teshuvot u-Fesakim me'et Ḥakhmei Ashkenaz*, sec. 99). However, even the supporters of this system did not adopt an extreme inquisitorial approach, and limited court intervention to some degree. Similar to the supporters of the first approach, their aim was that the truth be uncovered with the assistance of the court. The Ashkenazi scholars developed and perfected a comprehensive theory to distinguish between common and uncommon arguments, so that the court was allowed to take the initiative to raise only the more common arguments that might reasonably reflect the truth.

Talmudic and post-talmudic sources reveal a clear, fundamental distinction between factual and legal arguments. In general, the Sages were in favor of judges raising legal argumentation and safeguarding the rights of defendants in criminal cases, and of litigants in civil monetary cases (in the framework of arbitration). Raising arguments is part of a judge's role, in accordance with the duty to apply the law in the case before him. In light of Maimonides' statement at the beginning of Chapter 6 of *Hilkhot To'en ve-Nit'an*, we must distinguish between two stages of the proceedings. During the first stage, the parties raise their factual claims. The legal arguments are only addressed at the second stage, that of rendering judgment, and the court decides in accordance with the legal principles. The court's role is to draw the legal conclusions that flow from the litigants' factual pleadings. At the stage of rendering judgment, the court is required to raise legal arguments deriving from *halakhah*, even if a litigant was mistaken in this regard or failed to raise the arguments.

Under the rules of procedure of Jewish Law, witnesses are examined by the court and, in principle, litigants and their attorneys may not question the witnesses. On the subject of examining witnesses, see *Witness.

ADHERENCE TO THE RULES OF PROCEDURE. Many scholars have noted that, although the courts operate in accordance with established rules of procedure, the approach of the Sages and of judges is fundamentally informal. While the rules of procedure are intended to establish appropriate order in the normal course of the court's work, they are not sacrosanct, and breach of a rule will not result in any unnecessary loss of rights or any harm to a litigant that does not serve the interests of justice (N. Kirsch, "*Le-Mahut ha-Proẓess ha-Ivri*," in: *Yavneh*: 3 (1949), 128–36; A.H. Shaki, "*Kavvei Yiḥud be-Sidrei ha-Din ha-Rabbanyyim u-ve-Gishat ha-Dayyanim le-Tti'un Formalisti: le-Or Pesikat Batei ha-Din ha-Rabbaniyyim be-Yisrael*," in: *Sefer Sanhedrai* (Tel Aviv, 1972), 248; S. Darnes, "*Ḥoser Formalizim be-Sidrei ha-Din be-Vatei ha-Din ha-Rabbaniyyim be-Yisrael*," in: *Dinei Yisrael*, 10–11 (1981–83), 27).

In this regard, the Israeli Supreme Court stated (CA 561/77 *Ḥevrat Ram Ltd. v. Bank Leumi Ltd.*, 32 (2) PD 639, 643, *per* Justice Elon):

> The importance of the rules of procedure requires no emphasis, as they are the guarantor of legal stability and of the search for truth. Nevertheless, the commandment to do true justice may require that the court show leniency when one of the litigants errs in a matter of procedure, when it will not harm the opposing litigant…We may learn from the words of the Rabad of Posquières … one of the great halakhists of the 12th century, who stated in a certain matter in which a litigant erred in one of his pleadings: "We must not decide in accordance with his pleading but pronounce true judgment…and therefore it is up to the court, if it sees that he pleaded mistakenly or foolishly…not to follow it to its conclusion but to correct it" (*Tamim De'im*, 56).

In the following we will examine other subjects in the order that they appear in first part of this entry.

COURT SESSIONS. The Talmud states: "The day is for the beginning of the trial, the night is for the conclusion of the trial" (Sanh. 34b), and that is the rule established in the Shulḥan Arukh (ḤM 5.2). This is taken to mean that the parties are not to be summoned to court at night. However, if the proceedings – i.e., the pleadings and taking of testimony – are concluded while it is still day, the trial may be concluded – i.e., the judgment may be read – at night. Various opinions have been expressed as to whether the judges must conclude their deliberations during the day, or whether they may continue them at night (*Pitḥei Teshuvah* on Sh. Ar., ḤM 5.7). Opinions differ as to the validity of the decision of a court that breaches this rule (*Hagahot ha-Rema, ad loc.*). Nevertheless, the litigants may give their consent to conducting proceedings at night (*Responsa of Rabbi Meir b. Baruch of Rottenburg* (Cremona, 1557) 29).

Ending the court's session at noon is dictated by the prohibition of sitting in judgment without eating, because the judges cannot devote their undivided attention to the proceedings if they are hungry (*Arukh ha-Shulḥan*, ḤM 5.11). If the judges choose to reconvene after the noon meal, the litigants must comply (*Be'er Eliyahu al Bi'ur ha-Gra*, Sh. Ar., ḤM 5.7). When a judge is a public appointee, his work hours are set by agreement or by the customary rules (Resp. R. Joseph ibn Migash, 127).

In the State of Israel, the rabbinical courts are in recess for one month of the year (from the ninth of Av until the tenth of Elul), during which period only emergency cases are heard.

PARTIES. There is a fundamental tendency in Jewish Law opposing representation by lawyers. The court must hear the pleadings from the litigants themselves in order to obtain an impression from their appearance and their behavior as an aid in determining who is telling the truth. Despite the fundamental tendency to reject representation by counsel, the institution nevertheless found its way into Jewish Law by virtue of practical realities that overcame the theoretical objections (see in detail, Rackover, *ha-Sheliḥut ve-ha-Harsha'ah ba-Mishpat ha-Ivri*, Chap. 8). Granting a defendant the possibility of appointing an attorney to argue on his behalf derives from a custom that was roundly criticized by several *poskim*, but that garnered the support of others (*Sema* on Sh. Ar., ḤM 17.14). In the modern period, the said custom ultimately crystallized into a rule included in the Rules of Procedure of the Rabbinical Courts of Israel permitting litigants to appoint representatives to appear before the court on their behalf. Nevertheless, the regulations do not entirely ignore the negative view of the majority of *posekim* in regard to representation. Thus, under rule 57, the appointment of a legal representative does not exempt the appointing party from personally appearing in court. Rule 60 (1) further establishes that, in general, the litigant shall initially plead on his own behalf, and only thereafter are his representatives permitted "to explain and reason their pleadings."

The court's authority to order a joinder of parties can be based upon the basic procedural principle of judicial economy: "it would not be proper to trouble the Court of Law so much for nothing" (BK 89b), namely, that the court should not be troubled without reason, and should be saved from unnecessary annoyance. It would therefore appear that, where there is a question before the court that is common to several parties, the joinder of those parties in a single action is within the competence of the court, and is even desirable under the procedural rules of Jewish Law, even if the parties do not all share an interest in every element of the case (Shochetman, *Seder ha-Din*, 58).

VENUE. The basic rule is that the appropriate venue for litigation between parties residing in the same city is the court of that city (Sanh. 31b). Even if both parties are present in another city, one cannot compel the other to submit to the court of that city, but must file suit before the court of their permanent place of residence (Naḥmanides' *Torah Commentary* to Deut. 16:18). The ancient rule that a lender could demand that his case be heard before the Great Court in Jerusalem (Yad., Sanh. 6:6) was interpreted by the Shulḥan Arukh to mean that, in the case of a debt for which the plaintiff is the defendant's creditor, the rule that the case be heard in their own city applies only if it is acceptable to the plaintiff, who is at liberty to choose that the matter be brought before a higher court in another place (ḤM 14:1). However, the plaintiff can demand that the defendant go to the Great Court only if he first brings evidence or testimony before the local court showing that there is substance to his suit. This is the law, and Rema adds in his gloss to the Shulḥan Arukh that the prevailing custom is that no litigant may demand that his case be heard by a court in another city, even if it be a greater court. This custom is based on the fear of abuse by dishonest plaintiffs who might file baseless suits against wealthy victims, in the expectation that the defendants would prefer to offer a settlement rather than travel to a distant city in order to present a defense (Resp. Maharik, no.21). Another reason given for the custom is to prevent disputes as to which court is greater (Resp. Maharshdam, ḤM 7). If the litigants do not reside in the same city, the applicable rule is that "the plaintiff follows the defendant" (Rema, ḤM 14:1).

Rule 7 of the Rules of Procedure of the Rabbinical Courts of Israel establishes that "the place of the defendant shall be deemed to refer to his permanent place of residence, permanent place of work, or primary place of business." Where there is no court in the defendant's city, the plaintiff must file suit in the court closest to the defendant's place of residence (*Piskei Mordekhai le-Sanhedrin*, Chap. 3, end of §709).

Although the general rule is that the plaintiff follows the defendant, if the defendant comes to the plaintiff's place of residence, the plaintiff may require the defendant to submit to the jurisdiction of the local court, as this will not cause the defendant to incur added expense. If both litigants are present in another city, the plaintiff can require the defendant to submit to the jurisdiction of the local court in order to frustrate a suspicion of evasion by the defendant (Rema, ibid; *Pitḥei Teshuvah,* ibid., §2). Other exceptions to the rule are that a son sued by his father must appear in the court of his father's place of residence (*Rema* on Sh. Ar., YD 240:8), and that a student must appear in the court of his teacher's residence (*Knesset ha-Gedolah le-Ḥoshen Mishpat* 14; *Hagahot ha-Tur*, §8).

DEFAULT PROCEDURE. Some scholars are of the opinion that the demand that a litigant be present at the proceedings is the preferred rule, but that a case may be tried in absentia (*Keẓot ha-Ḥoshen*, ḤM 13:1). On this basis, Rule 101 of the Rules of Procedure of the Rabbinical Courts of Israel establishes that if a litigant does not appear in court, "the court may decide to hear the suit, including hearing testimony and evidence, in the defendant's absence, and render judgment or adjourn the proceedings to a later date." Examples of various rules that granted courts in the Diaspora the authority to hear cases in the defendant's absence may be found in Assaf, *Batei ha-Din ve-Sidreihem le-Aḥar Ḥatimat ha-Talmud*, 36–37.

The halakhic sources do not refer to situations in which the two parties failed to appear at the trial, or in which the plaintiff did not appear, but these situations are contemplated in the Rules of Procedure of the Rabbinical Courts of Israel. Where both parties fail to appear, Rule 100 grants the court the power to adjourn to a later date, or to dismiss the case without prejudice. The court is not empowered to dismiss the case with prejudice and prevent reinstituting the suit, inasmuch as such a dismissal is possible only after hearing the pleadings and the witnesses (Resp. Maharam Schick, ḤM no. 1). If the plaintiff fails to appear, Rule 102 states: "If the defendant appears and the plaintiff does not appear after having been duly summoned, the court will dismiss the case at the defendant's request, unless the court finds that, under the circumstances, the case should not be dismissed, in which case it shall adjourn the proceedings." Here, too, the court is not authorized to dismiss with prejudice and rule in favor of the defendant.

CAUSE LIST. Some scholars are of the opinion that the laws presented in this regard were intended to address a reality that required the personal appearance of the various parties before the court in order to submit complaints. Thus, the rules established that certain persons be granted priority. However, in modern practice the court sets the dates for hearings only after the submission of written complaints, so that it would appear that there would be no affront to the dignity of scholars or women if their cases were not granted precedence (Shochetman, *Seder ha-Din*, 38).

SETTLEMENT. The preference for compromise over judicial decision is rooted in the fact that the parties agree to a compromise, whereas in the latter the winning side welcomes the judicial decision and the loser is always left dissatisfied. In addition, there is a fear that if the judge is left to decide in accordance with Torah law, he may err as to the true intent of the Torah. As Rabbi Jacob ben Asher wrote: "The judges must do all in their power to distance themselves from having to decide in accordance with Torah law, as the minds have greatly diminished" (Tur ḤM 12:6). Handing down judgment in accordance with a compromise removes this fear, as the judge is not required to seek the truth under the law of the Torah. Nevertheless, a judge is not at liberty to suggest an arbitrary compromise. Even the suggested compromise must reflect the law, and a mechanical compromise of fifty-fifty division is invalid (BB 132b and Rashi there). The *halakhah* informs us that, as long as the proceedings have not ended, the court may – and even must – suggest that the parties agree to a compromise (*Sema* on Sh. Ar., ḤM, ad loc., §§6, 9).

The court's authority to settle the issue before it in accordance with a compromise was given statutory expression in Israeli law in 1992, in Sec. 79A of the Courts Law [Consolidated Version], 5744 – 1984. The court's obligation to suggest a compromise was emphasized by Judge Kister in a decision of the Tel Aviv District Court (MA (TA) 288/57 *Blin v. Officers of Execution Office*, 20 PM 60, 63, 79).

PLEADING. The reasons underlying the *halakhah*'s opposition to written pleadings, and its preference for oral arguments, are that requiring written pleadings presents a burden for the parties, and that hearing oral arguments from the parties themselves may aid the court in ascertaining who is telling the truth, while written pleadings are usually prepared by lawyers who are professionally proficient (Resp. Ribash no. 98).

The need for a written complaint as a general requirement is an innovation of the Rules of Procedure of the Rabbinical Courts of Israel (chapter 3). Like the accepted rules of procedure in civil courts, the Rules establish a general requirement of a written complaint, even if the defendant does not request it.

We find a broad, original approach to the principle "open thy mouth for the mute," even where a party is represented by counsel, in an Israeli Supreme Court decision (CA 634/76 *Estate of Gerltz v. Aharon*, 33 (1) PD 253, 255–256, *per* Justice H. Cohn):

> There are judges who are unwilling to make themselves "play the part of an advocate" but, consistent with my own approach that we not punish clients for the sins of their attorneys, and in order to do justice with the party standing before it, the court will uphold the maxim "open thy mouth for the mute," even in regard to a lawyer who does not know how to plead.

There is no express source in *halakhah* for the right of litigants to question one another, inasmuch as the examination of witnesses is carried out primarily by the court. Nevertheless, the Rules of Procedure of the Rabbinical Courts of Israel (rule 63 (1)) provide that, after the parties present their arguments, each side may examine the other in regard to its claims. These examinations must be aimed at aiding the court in uncovering the truth.

EVIDENCE. On developments in contemporary Israeli law in regard to warning witnesses and the abolition of oaths, see *Witness.

Testimony cannot be taken in the absence of the concerned party (Sh. Ar., ḤM 28:15) because, when a witness speaks in the presence of the person about whom he is testifying, he is careful not to testify about things of which he is not certain (*Sema* on Sh. Ar, ḤM, ibid., §48).

The court may call witnesses upon its own motion, even if they have not been summoned by the parties (Rule 93 of the Rules of the Rabbinical Courts of Israel).

On the examination of witnesses in civil law, see *Witness.

FRAUDULENT CLAIMS. Halakhic literature presents a variety of approaches, not necessarily contradictory, with regard to the manner in which a court should proceed when it believes that it is faced with a fraudulent claim. The early Palestinian view assumed that a judge must refrain from attempting to contend in the usual manner with a case that he feels will lead to an untrue result, and that he must either refuse to adjudicate or adopt the alternative means of compromise (TJ Sanh. 94.1; Y. Sinai, "*Me'uravut Bet ha-Din be-Halikh ha-Diyyuni be-Mishpat ha-Ivri*," pp. 286–93). This approach is consonant with the desire to distance the judge from fraudulent claims, as expressed in the *baraita* in Shevu'ot 30b. Some see this approach as consistent with the dominance of the concept of *yir'at ha-hora'ah* (reluctance to render decisions for fear of making a mistake in *halakhah*) in Palestine during the period of the Sages (Sinai, *ibid*., 293–98).

A later period saw the development of the activist Babylonian approach, expressed by R. Papa, which held that, if a judge senses that he is confronted with a fraudulent claim, then he should – and, it would seem, must – continue with the legal proceedings as usual, and contend with the fraud by means of a careful examination of the witnesses that will help him uncover the truth and correctly decide the law (TB Sanh. 32b). Here, too, one scholar has demonstrated that the conceptual roots of R. Papa's approach to fraudulent claims are grounded in the activist conduct of his predecessors (Sinai, *ibid*., 304–7).

These approaches became more sharply distinguished in the post-Talmudic period (Yuval Sinai, "Judicial Treatment of Fraudulent Claims (*Din Merummeh*): An Examination of Legal Traditions," in: *Jewish Law Annual* (see bibliography)). On the theoretical level, there is not necessarily any clear, fundamental dispute among medieval scholars. Most would appear to agree, that in cases of fraudulent claims, there are instances in which the judge carefully examines the witnesses, and there are other instances in which he refuses to adjudicate. However, in practice, the scholars differ as to the emphasis they give to each of the said approaches as well as to the tendency toward judicial activism or restraint.

The *geonim* and the Spanish *rishonim* developed the Babylonian activist approach, supporting an aggressive judicial approach toward fraud (Responsa Rambam, ed. Blau, 58; Responsa Rashba, vol. 2 no. 148). This may reflect the aggressive authoritarianism characteristic of these authorities, who enjoyed a broad measure of judicial autonomy enabling them to contend even with problematic cases of fraud without fear (Sinai, ibid.). As opposed to this, the traditional approach in medieval Ashkenaz and France tended toward judicial restraint, and saw refusal to adjudicate a fraudulent case as a practical, legitimate course of action (see Resp. Maharam mi-Rothenburg (ed. Prague), no. 319; *Resp. Mahari Bruna* no. 213). This approach may be related to *yir'at ha-hora'ah* as a dominant factor in these countries, as is also expressed in the desire of the scholars of Ashkenaz and France to avoid adjudicating monetary claims. The matter is also linked to the limited judicial autonomy in Ashkenaz, and to the fact that the appointing of arbitration tribunals was common, and took the place of a permanent court. It is only natural that an arbitrator who is not a professional judge, and who has been selected to decide a particular case, will refrain from addressing fraudulent claims (Sinai, *ibid.*). Rabbenu Asher disagreed with the idea of leaving the case in dispute, and of not deciding in cases of fraud. He deviated from the traditional Ashkenazi approach, and adopted an activist position much closer to, although not identical with, the Spanish approach (Resp. Rosh, rule 107.6).

The judge's duty to decide *din emet le-amito* ("the true law truthfully"; Shab. 10a) was interpreted by the Tosafot as follows: "'true' – this excludes a deceitful judgment… 'truthfully' – one may not distort the law" (Tosafot, BB 8b, s.v. *din emet le-amito*). On the basis of this interpretation, Justice Elon wrote in one of his decisions that "'True' (*emet*) – is the factual truth; 'truthfully (*le-amito*) – is the legal truth. The judge must adjudicate in accordance with both truths, and put them into effect one upon the other" (Cr. A. 115/82 *Moadi v. State of Israel*, 38 (i) PD 197, 259). On fraudulent claims, also see *Witness.

JUDGMENT. The prevailing custom in the rabbinical courts in Israel is to publish judgments in the name of the judge who wrote the opinion (Shochetman, *Seder ha-Din*, 373). In an Israeli Supreme Court decision (HC 228/64 *Plonit v. Beit ha-Din ha-Rabbani ha-Eizori*, 18 (4) PD 141, 156), Justice Haim Cohn brought support for the importance of publishing the minority opinion from R. Judah's statement that the minority view is preserved along with that of the majority so that it may be relied upon should the need arise (Tosefta Eduyyot 1.4).

Although *halakhah* does not strictly require that a decision be delivered in writing, special *takkanot* requiring written decisions were instituted in various places (*Takkanot Medinat Mehrin* (Jerusalem, 1952) §379, p. 125; *Takkanot Nikolsberg* (Jerusalem, 1962) §126, p. 135). The Rules of Procedure of the Rabbinical Courts of Israel also establish that both the decision and the judgment must be rendered in writing (Rule 112).

The overwhelming majority of judgments issued by rabbinical courts over the generations did not state the reasoning (E. Shochetman, "The Obligation to State Reasons for Legal Decisions in Jewish Law," in: *Shenaton ha-Mishpat ha-Ivri*, 6–7 (1979–80), 335–38). The establishment of courts of appeal by the Chief Rabbinate of Israel institutionalized the right of appeal, and thus made it necessary that courts reason their decisions. The Rules of Procedure of the Rabbinical Courts of Israel establish a general rule requiring them to record the reasoning for their decisions (rule 114), as is the accepted practice in civil courts.

REVISION. Many legal systems recognize the doctrine of *res judicata*, according to which a matter will not be reopened once all avenues have been exhausted and a final decision has been rendered. Jewish law adopts an entirely different approach and does not recognize such a doctrine. An expression of the preference of this approach to that of English law may be found in an opinion by Justice Berenson (CA 395/60 *Amrani v. Attorney General*, 15 PD 594, 602), in which he states that "it would be preferable to make recourse to this rule [Sh. Ar., ḤM 20] that is better suited to the conditions of Israel than to be loyal to the severe, rigid English rule."

In order to challenge a decision, the petitioner must show that the new evidence was not in his possession and that he was unaware of it (Resp. Rosh, 13.20). Relying upon sources in Jewish law, Justice Kister held that new evidence cannot be introduced after the rendering of a decision if it could have been brought earlier (CA 211/65 *Attorney General v. Mazan*, 19 PD 32, 42–44).

There is a difference of opinion as to whether a party may challenge a decision on the basis of new arguments that were not raised at trial. One view is that a decision can only be challenged on the basis of new evidence (*Sho'el ve-Nish'al le-Rabbi Khalfon Moshe ha-Kohen*, Pt. 5, ḤM § 8, s.v. *ve-khen yesh le-hokhi'aḥ*). However, the prevailing view would appear to be that a decision can be challenged on the basis of new arguments (*Sefer Me'irat Einayim* on Sh. Ar., ḤM 20:1; *Arukh ha-Shulḥan*, ḤM 20:3).

Where there is a suspicion that the court may have erred in rendering judgment, the challenge need not originate with one of the parties. The court itself may – and even must – take the initiative to reverse the judgment (Sh. Ar., ḤM 17:8).

APPEAL. Halakhic sources make no mention of appellate courts as a permanent institution, nor is there any recognition of a doctrine of *stare decisis* (= binding precedent). Nevertheless, appeals courts were established at various times and places, through communal edict (*takkanah*; see Assaf, *Batei ha-Din ve-Sidreihem le-aḥar Ḥatimat ha-Talmud* (Jerusalem, 1924) 74ff.). This is also the basis for the establishment of a permanent court of appeals in the rabbinical court system, and is one of the important innovations of the Rules of Procedure of the Rabbinical Courts of Israel. Although some rabbinical court judges reject the authority of the Supreme Rabbinical Court of Appeals to order them to act contrary to their own opinions, the position of the Supreme Rabbinical Court of Appeals is that it is empowered to reverse the decisions of the district rabbinical courts, and that the district rabbinical courts are subject to the orders of the Supreme Rabbinical Court of Appeals (Shochetman, *Seder ha-Din*, 447–450). See also *Appeal.

Criminal Procedure

DEVIATION FROM PROCEDURE. Just as, in an emergency, it is possible to inflict punishment upon those whom the *halakhah* exempts from punishment, it is similarly possible to deviate from established procedure in an emergency. Strict adherence to the established rules of procedure may impede bringing criminals to justice and punishing them. It is therefore permissible to deviate from the rules and to impose punishment that is not grounded in the Torah. Thus, we are told that Simeon ben Shetaḥ hanged 80 women in one day (Mish. Sanh. 6:4), contrary to the rule that one may judge only one person a day. Rashi explains that this was carried out in an emergency situation, so that "the relatives not conspire to save them" (Rashi, at Sanh. 45b).

ARREST. Imprisonment is not always carried out by force of a court order. This was the case, for example, in regard to a tax debtor who is "imprisoned in jail and is not brought before the court, but the city dignitaries judge him according to their custom" (Resp. Rosh 7:11). Nevertheless, the rules of Valladolid of 1432, governing the congregations of the Kingdom of Castile, included the following rule with regard to arrests: "We establish that a judge may not order the arrest of a Jew or Jewess except by an arrest order issued in writing, signed by the judge and two witnesses. In every order – other that an arrest order for informing or for capital crimes – the judge must state the specific reasons for issuing the order" (see M. Elon, *Ha-Mishpat Ha-Ivri*, 1:647).

Israel Supreme Court Deputy President M. Elon relied upon the principles of Jewish Law in rendering important decisions on the subject of the arrest of suspects (see, e.g., MA 335/89 *State of Israel v. Lavan*, 43 (2i) PD 410; MA 71/78 *State of Israel v. Abukasis*, 32 (2) PD 240). In greater detail, see *Detention.

DEFAULT PROCEEDINGS. Nevertheless, one of the great decisors ruled with regard to an informer that, although a person cannot be tried in absentia, if "the court is of the belief that this involves a danger, then, in an emergency, the court may deviate from the law for the purpose of creating a fence around the Torah" and hear the case in the absence of the defendant (Resp. Rivash, no. 237).

PROSECUTION. The role of prosecutor was generally fulfilled by the witnesses who observed the criminal conduct (Num. 15:32–33). Where the death penalty was imposed, the witnesses executed the judgment, inasmuch as they had actually seen the commission of the offense with their own eyes (Rambam's *Mishnah Commentary*, at Sanh. 7:3).

DEFENSE. From certain verses in the Torah (Num. 35:22–25), the Sages concluded that a court serves two functions – judging and defending the accused (M. Sanh. 1.6; Yad, Sanh. 5:3). The Sages were of the opinion that defending the accused was one of the court's primary roles. Thus, a significant part of criminal procedure is devoted to the defense of the accused against conviction for an offense, and the court serves as the defendant's guardian and advocate.

The principle that we "begin in favor" of the defendant was put into effect by the Israeli Supreme Court in an interesting way (HC 3412/91, *Sufian v. IDF Commander*, 47 (2) PD 843, 851) by Deputy President Menachem Elon, who wrote "that today the principle 'begin in favor' in criminal law includes, first and foremost, both the right of an arrested suspect to know that he has a right to meet with counsel, and the duty of the authorities to inform him of that right."

The principle that a person who has been acquitted cannot be convicted upon appeal was expressed by the Israeli Supreme Court (Cr. A. 348/78 *State of Israel v. Mishali*, 32 (3) PD 245, 250) when Justice Menachem Elon wrote: "This far-reaching principle [of Jewish Law] does not exist in our criminal law, by which we must rule, but the concept it embodies was given some expression in the accepted principle that an appellate court must not act to the full extent of the law in the framework of an appeal by the state against the leniency of punishment."

EVIDENCE. Testimony is not to be heard through a translator (Mish. Makkot 1:9), for fear that the judges and the translators may not adequately understand the witness's intent. For details on the examination of witnesses in criminal law, see Witness.

JUDGMENT. Supreme Court Justice Tirkel grounded the principles of open court in the verse "and be guiltless before the Lord, and before Israel" (Num. 32:22). From this verse, the Sages learned "that a person must fulfill his obligations to his fellow beings in the manner that he fulfills his obligations before the Divine" (Yoma 38a). This rule applies, in particular, to those fulfilling judicial and public functions, in order to keep them above suspicion. Infringement of the open court principle might lead to suspicion that the judge is not objective. Nevertheless, Justice Turkel added that "even the sources of Jewish Law recognized the principle of open court to be a relative principle that may, at times, retreat before defined rights and interests," among these security interests (HC 4841/04 *Ra'id Salaḥ v. State of Israel*, Takdin Elyon 2004 (2), 3304, para. 6).

Nevertheless, it would appear as if the parties were not present at the critical juncture of the judges' deliberations (in this regard, see N. Rakover's article on criminal procedure [*Ha-Praklit* 18, p. 322], in which he cites sources indicating that the involved parties and others were not present during the judges' deliberations, and as if the parties were not aware of who voted for conviction and who voted for acquittal (325)).

The possibility of appealing a sentence was established in Lithuania in the 17th century. The defendant was granted 24 hours to give notice of his intention to file an appeal. If notice was given, execution of the sentence was stayed for eight weeks, which would appear to have been the time estimated for completing the appeal (Assaf, *Batei ha-Din*, 83–84).

[Yuval Sinai (2nd ed.)]

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PRADO, JUAN (Daniel) DE (c. 1615–c. 1670), *Marrano physician. Born in Spain, probably at Alcalá de Henares, Prado studied at the university there and then at the University of Toledo, where he received a medical diploma in 1638. Outspoken by nature, Prado felt impelled to leave inquisitorial Spain and made his way to Picardy, in northern France. By 1655 he had moved to Holland, where he proclaimed himself a Jew and took the name of Daniel. A dozen contemporaneous documents reveal how upon settling in Amsterdam, Prado formed a circle of young intellectuals and led them in the development of unorthodox philosophical ideas. One of the group was Baruch *Spinoza, then 22. As early as 1656, Prado was charged with being publicly critical of the Bible, derogating the distinctiveness of Jewish people, denying the authority of rabbinic tradition, and preaching the supremacy of Natural Law. To avoid being condemned, Prado read the required statement of regret for heresy. Nevertheless, he was excommunicated in 1657. Unlike Spinoza, however, he strove to have the ban (*ḥerem*) lifted. A full review of Prado's expulsion in 1657 resulted in a reaffirmation of the ban. Inquisition arrest warrants for the "tall, black-bearded" Prado and for Spinoza were circulated twice during 1659. The Inquisition had been an indirect factor in their excommunications, for the congregation had feared that their liberal pronouncements would offend the Church and would serve as pretexts to force the Dutch authorities into restricting the freedom of Amsterdam Jewry. After 1659 there was no apparent contact between Prado and Spinoza. Spinoza, content in the *ḥerem*, went on to develop his pantheistic philosophy, in which Prado had no share; Prado continued to grapple with the problems of universalism versus Jewish identity, still seeking reentry into the Jewish fold.

Three letters attacking Prado were written around 1665 by Isaac *Orobio de Castro. Legalistically thorough and longest is the *Epistola Invectiva Contra Prado, un Philosopho Medico, que Dubitava, o no Creya la Verdad de la Divina Escritura, y Pretendió Encubrir su Malicia con la Affecta Confaesion de Dios y Ley de Natureza* ("Epistle against Prado, philosopher/physician who doubted or disbelieved the truth of Divine Writ, maliciously hiding behind affectations of faith in God and natural law"). Another Spanish Marrano, the poet Daniel Levi de *Barrios, took Prado as his subject, condemning him in three poems composed during 1665–72. The most ironic was occasioned by Prado's death, with Barrios bidding good riddance "to that master of false dogmas."

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PRAEFECTUS JUDAEORUM (Hebraeorum supremus, Obrister der Judischkait, prince des juifs, etc.), office of the leader of Jews in Hungary during the Middle Ages. It may be assumed that the position of *Praefectus Judaeorum* was established by the Hungarian king, Matthias Corvinus, at the suggestion of János Ernuszt, a treasurer of Jewish origin, at the time of the financial reforms (1467–76). The principal function of the *Praefectus* was the collection of taxes for the royal treasury. In exchange for this he enjoyed royal privileges and could effectively defend the rights of the Jews against any attack. On festive occasions, he was authorized to accompany the king with much splendor at the head of a battalion. The *Praefectus* governed the Jews of the country and was exempted from wearing distinctive signs. Until its abolition in 1539, this position was held by members of the *Mendel family.

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[Andreas Kubinyi]

PRAGER, DENNIS (1948–), U.S. author, radio commentator. Prager was born in Brooklyn, N.Y., and received his B.A. from Brooklyn College in 1970. He did his graduate work as a Fellow at the Russian and Middle East Institutes of the Columbia University School of International Affairs and was awarded an honorary doctorate of laws from Pepperdine University in 1996. He taught Russian and Jewish history at Brooklyn College (1972–73); and following a trip to the Soviet Union to meet with Soviet Jews, during which he brought out names of those wishing to emigrate, and brought in Jewish religious and cultural materials, he was sent out to speak on the plight of Soviet Jewry by the Student Struggle for Soviet Jewry, who named him their national spokesman. In 1976, Dr. Shlomo *Bardin appointed Prager to succeed him as director of what became known as the Brandeis-Bardin Institute in Simi Valley, California. During his tenure (1976–83), BBI programs enjoyed unprecedented success, attracting up to 1,000 people on the Sabbath and some 90 college students to attend the Brandeis Collegiate Institute. He also launched a singles group, leading to several marriages, and a group for interfaith couples to bring them closer to Judaism.

In 1982 Prager became a radio talk show host on KABC Radio in Los Angeles. For 10 years, he conducted a weekly interfaith dialogue on radio with representatives of virtually every religion in the world. Beginning in 1985, he began writing a quarterly journal, *Ultimate Issues*, which in 1995 became the bi-weekly *The Prager Perspective*. As his popularity increased, his radio show was nationally syndicated by the Salem Radio Network in 1999. The following year he discounted the newsletter and began writing a weekly column, syndicated nationally by Creators Syndicate and appearing in newspapers throughout North America. His radio show, now broadcasting from KRLA in Los Angeles, is heard on approximately 100 radio stations in the United States as well as over the Internet.

Prager's reputation in the Jewish community was built largely on the success of his first book, *Eight Questions People Ask about Judaism* (1975), which he authored with Rabbi Joseph *Telushkin. Their self-published effort was so well received that prominent publisher Simon & Schuster picked up its revised version, with one added question. *Nine Questions*

People Ask about Judaism remains in print, has been translated into nearly a dozen languages, and is one of the most widely used introductions to Judaism in the world. Their second collaboration, *Why the Jews? The Reason for Antisemitism* (1983) was revised in 2003 to reflect more recent global developments.

Prager's first solo book, *Think a Second Time* (1996), is a collection of 44 essays on as many topics. He then wrote *Happiness Is a Serious Problem: A Human Nature Repair Manual* (1998), which became a number one bestseller on the *Los Angeles Times* bestseller list. His *The Case for Judeo-Christian Values* appeared in 2006.

Prager's writings have appeared in major national and international publications and won significant awards, including the Amy Foundation First Prize and the American Jewish Press Association's Excellence in Commentary Award for his columns in *Moment* magazine (2005). An eloquent speaker, Prager lectures to Jewish communities in North America and abroad about 50 times a year. He also often speaks to Christian groups – especially those identified with fundamentalism and evangelism – with whom he shares a common worldview.

From 1992, Prager taught the Bible verse-by-verse at the *University of Judaism. He also led a weekly Sabbath service for a small congregation he defined as "Hassidic Reform." In 1986, he was appointed by President Ronald Reagan to the U.S. Delegation to the Vienna Review Conference on the Helsinki Accords.

In 2002, Prager produced a documentary, *Israel in a Time of Terror,* telling the story of the Intifada from the standpoint of Israelis under the daily threat of terrorist attacks. He also wrote and produced three comedy videos on values: *For Goodness Sake* (directed by Hollywood director David Zucker); *For Goodness Sake II*, and *Character: What It Is and How to Get It*.

Although Prager describes himself as a "passionate centrist" and a "JFK liberal," he is a critic of contemporary liberalism (and of the Democratic Party) and has become identified with the conservative wing of the Republican Party. His outspoken support of many of the Bush administration's policies – he considered running for the U.S. Senate as a Republican with White House backing in 2004 – as well as his ties to conservative Christian ideologues have caused him to become a more controversial figure in the Jewish community. He was the first to break with the Christian right in regard to Mel Gibson's *The Passion of the Christ,* indicating that he wished the film was never made. His break may have given some cover for those Jews on the right who oppose the film. Moreover, unlike most of the Jewish mainstream, he defends references to God, the Ten Commandments, and the Christian cross in public facilities such as schools, parks, and courthouses and has criticized the stance of the *Anti-Defamation League on the issue of church (religion) and state.

[Bezalel Gordon (2nd ed.)]

PRAGER, RICHARD (1883–1945), German astronomer. Prager was born in Hanover. In 1908 he joined the Berlin Academy of Sciences; and in 1909 was appointed head of a department in the National Observatory in Santiago, Chile. From 1913 onward he worked as scientific collaborator, and from 1924 as observer at the Berlin University Observatory at Babelsberg. He made an important contribution to photoelectric stellar photometry, and also extended, by several volumes, the large enterprise of a complete history and bibliography of the light variations of variable stars. He was imprisoned in Potsdam by the Nazis in 1938, an experience from which he never recovered. His friends in Britain and the United States were able to free him and brought him to England and America, where he applied his talents to pure astronomy and war work for the U.S. Navy.

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[Arthur Beer]

PRAGUE (Czech **Praha**), capital of the *Czech Republic; it has the oldest Jewish community in *Bohemia and one of the oldest communities in Europe, for some time the largest and most revered. Jews may have arrived in Prague in late Roman times, but the first document mentioning them is a report by *Ibrahim ibn Yaʿqūb from about 970. This may be interpreted as showing that Jews had either settled in Prague or carried on business there without necessarily settling permanently. The first definite evidence of the existence of a Jewish community in Prague dates to 1091. From an analysis of medieval commerce in Prague, it is reasonable to assume that its beginnings date from about the middle of the tenth century. Jews arrived in Prague from both the East and West around the same time. It is probably for this reason that two Jewish districts came into being there right at the beginning, one in the suburb of the Prague castle (*Suburbium Pragense*) and the other close to the second castle, Wissegrad (*Vicus Wissegradensis*).

The relatively favorable conditions in which the Jews at first lived in Prague were disrupted at the time of the First Crusade in 1096. The Crusaders murdered many of the Jews of Prague, looted Jewish property, and forced many to accept baptism. During the siege of the Prague castle in 1142, the oldest synagogue in Prague and the Jewish quarter below the castle were burned down and the Jews moved to the right bank of the river Moldau (Vltava), which was to become the future Jewish quarter, and founded the Altschul ("Old Synagogue") there.

The importance of Jewish culture in Prague is evidenced by the works of the halakhists there in the 11th to 13th centuries. The most celebrated was *Isaac b. Moses of Vienna (d. c. 1250), author of *Or Zaruʿa*, a native of Bohemia who spent part of his life in Prague. Since the Czech language was spoken by the Jews of Prague in the early Middle Ages, the halakhic writings of that period also contain annotations in Czech. From the 13th to 16th centuries, the Jews of Prague increasingly spoke Ger-

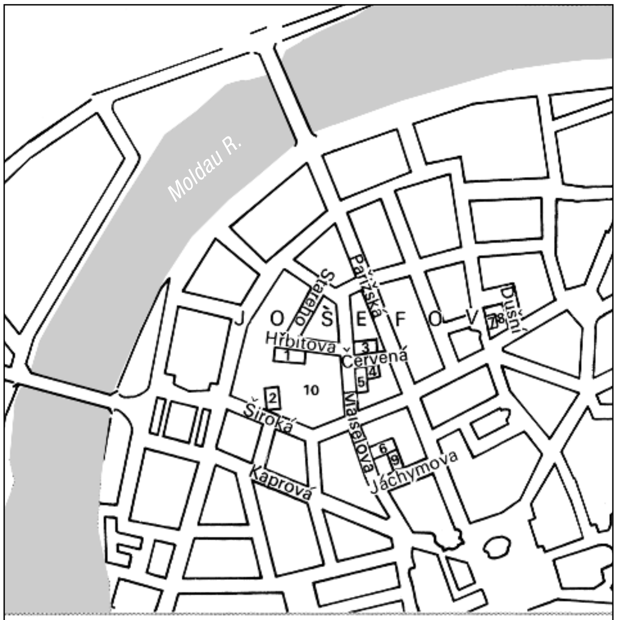

1. Klaus Synagogue, built 1680.
2. Pinkas Synagogue, built 1535.
3. Altneuschul Synagogue, built 1270, still in use today.
4. High (Town Hall) Synagogue, built second half of 16th century.
5. Jewish Town Hall, residence of the Prague Jewish community today, last reconstruction 1765.
6. Maisel Synagogue, reconstructed 1885–1913.
7. Dušní Synagogue, formerly Altschul Synagogue; built 1605 and reconstructed 1866.
8. State Jewish Museum, formerly the Sephardi Synagogue.
9. State Jewish Museum, formerly Bet Sefer ha-Torah.
10. Jewish Cemetery.

The Jewish quarter in Prague.

man. At the time of persecutions, which began at the end of the 11th century, the Jews of Prague, together with all the other Jews in Europe, lost their status as free people. From the 13th century on, the Jews of Bohemia were considered servants of the Royal Chamber (**servi camerae regis*). Their life in Prague was subject to the most humiliating conditions (the wearing of special dress, segregation in the ghetto, etc.). The only occupation that Jews were allowed to adopt was moneylending, since this was forbidden to Christians and considered dishonest. Socially the Jews were in an inferior position, but economically many of them were relatively well off. Against payment of high taxes they were protected by the king by means of special privileges (e.g., the privilege issued by *Přemysl Ottokar II in 1254).

Protection by the kings made it possible for larger numbers of Jews to settle there, particularly from Germany. In the 13th century a new Jewish settlement was founded in Prague, in the vicinity of the Altneuschul (the "Old-New Synagogue"), construction of which was completed in 1270. The synagogue, which still exists, is the oldest remaining in Europe. By the 13th century the Jewish community of Prague owned a cemetery, which was then situated outside the city walls (on the present Vladislav street), and also served other Jewish communities in Bohemia. It was sold, under pressure, to the citizens of Prague as a building plot in the 15th century.

The community suffered from persecutions accompanied by bloodshed in the 13th and 14th centuries, particularly in 1298 and 1338. Charles IV (1346–78) protected the Jews, but after his death the worst attack occurred in 1389, when nearly all the Jews of Prague fell victims. The rabbi of Prague and noted kabbalist Avigdor *Kara, who witnessed and survived the outbreak, described it in a *seliḥah: Et Kol ha-Tela'ah*. It was also described in a Christian work *Passio Judaeorum Pragensium secundum Joannem rusticum quadratum*. Under *Wenceslaus IV the Jews of Prague suffered heavy material losses following an order by the king in 1411 canceling all debts owed to Jews.

At the beginning of the 15th century the Jews of Prague found themselves at the center of the Hussite wars (1419–36; see *Hussites). An analysis of Hussite biblical interpretation shows possible Jewish influence. The attitude of German Jews toward the Hussites reveals a certain sympathy on the part of the Jewish communities for this movement (as expressed, e.g., by Jacob b. Moses *Moellin, the "Maharil" of Cologne). The attitude of the Hussites to the Jews was not entirely friendly. Some Hussite ideologists (e.g., Jacobellus of Stříbro (Mies) in the treatise *De usura*) demanded that Jewish moneylending be prohibited. However, no such prohibition was ever issued in Prague during the time of the Hussites. The Jews of Prague also suffered from mob violence (1422) in this period. The unstable conditions in Prague compelled many Jews to emigrate. Nevertheless, the Jewish community continued to exist there throughout the Hussite period, and this in itself may be considered proof of the relatively tolerant attitude of the Hussites toward the Jews.

The position of the Jews in Prague in the second half of the 15th century remained insecure. There were also attacks in that period (as in 1448 and 1483). Following the legalization, at the end of the 15th century, of moneylending by non-Jews in Prague, the Jews of Prague lost the economic significance which they had held in the medieval city and had to look for other occupations in commerce and crafts. Thus the Jews began to compete economically with the citizens, at a time when the traditional crafts were in a state of crisis.

The tension between the Jews and the citizens brought about a considerable change in the position of the Jews in Prague. From the beginning of the 16th century the citizens repeatedly attempted to obtain the expulsion of the Jews from the city. Their demands to this effect, in 1501, 1507, 1517, etc., were unsuccessful, however. Despite the growing tension between the Jews and the citizens of Prague, the position of the Jews began to improve at the beginning of the 16th century, mainly owing to the assistance of the king and the nobility. The Jews found greater opportunities in trading commodities and monetary transactions with the nobility. As a consequence, their economic position improved. The number of Jews in Prague increased from the beginning of the 16th century. In 1522 there were about 600 Jews in Prague, but by

1541 they numbered about 1,200. At the same time the Jewish quarters were extended. At the end of the 15th century the Jews of Prague founded new communities in the New Town and on the *Kleinseite.* At the beginning of the 16th century they left these districts and concentrated on extending the Jewish quarter in the Old Town. At the turn of the 15th and early in the 16th centuries they rebuilt the devastated Altschul and built the Pinkas Synagogue (the construction of which was completed in 1535).

Under pressure of the citizens, King *Ferdinand I was compelled in 1541 to approve the expulsion of the Jews. The elegy *Anna Elohei Avraham*, composed by *Abraham b. Avigdor, is related to that expulsion. The Jews had to leave Prague by 1543 but were allowed to return in 1545. Following the defeat of the first anti-Hapsburg rebellion in Bohemia in 1547, in which the towns played an important part, the latter lost a great deal of their political importance in the country and were no longer able to threaten the Jews of Prague seriously. However, in 1557 Ferdinand I once again, this time upon his own initiative, ordered the expulsion of the Jews from Prague. They had to leave the city by 1559. Only after the retirement of Ferdinand I from the government of Bohemia were they allowed to return in 1562.

The progress of the Jewish community of Prague had been noticeable also in the cultural sphere even before their expulsion when the Gersonides (successors of Gershom Kohen) founded a Hebrew printing establishment before 1512 (see Hebrew printing in Prague, below). During the reign of Rudolf II (1576–1611), who transferred his court to Prague, and of his successor Matthias (1611–19), the position of the Jews was particularly favorable. L. *Zunz called that period the golden age of Prague Jewry. Some Jews attained fabulous wealth and became the patrons of the Jewish community, notable among them Marcus Mordecai *Meisel (1528–1601), the Gersonide Mordecai Ẓemaḥ Kohen (d. 1592), and Jacob *Bassevi von Treuenberg (d. 1634).

The favorable position of the Jewish community of Prague during the reign of Rudolf II is reflected also in the flourishing Jewish culture. Among illustrious rabbis who taught in Prague at that time were *Judah Loew b. Bezalel (the "Maharal"); *Ephraim Solomon b. Aaron of Luntschitz; Isaiah b. Abraham ha-Levi *Horowitz, who taught in Prague from 1614 to 1621; and Yom Tov Lipmann *Heller, who became chief rabbi in 1627 but was forced to leave in 1631. The chronicler and astronomer David *Gans also lived there in this period. At the beginning of the 17th century about 6,000 Jews were living in Prague. To extend the Jewish quarter, the community acquired in 1627 the so-called Lichtenstein houses, thus almost doubling the area.

In 1648 the Jews of Prague distinguished themselves in the defense of the city against the invading Swedes. In recognition of their acts of heroism the emperor presented them with a special flag, which is still preserved in the Altneuschul. Its design, with a Swedish cap in the center of the Star of David, became the official emblem of the Prague Jewish community.

After the Thirty Years' War, government policy was influenced by the Church Counter-Reformation, and measures were taken to separate the Jews from the Christian population, to reduce the number of Jews and segregate them in ghettos, to limit their means of earning a livelihood, and to extort larger contributions and higher taxes from them. The ultimate aim of this "antisemitism of the authorities" was to reduce the importance of the Jews in Prague. A number of resolutions and decrees were promulgated; among them, the resolution of the provincial diet of Bohemia passed in 1650, and the *Familiants Law of 1727 were particularly oppressive. According to the latter, only the eldest son of every family was allowed to marry and raise a family, the others having to remain single or leave Bohemia.

In 1680, more than 3,000 Jews in Prague died of the plague. Shortly afterward, in 1689, the Jewish quarter burned down, and more than 300 Jewish houses and 11 synagogues were destroyed. The authorities initiated and partially implemented a project to transfer all the surviving Jews to the village of Lieben (Libén) north of Prague, later a suburb of the capital. The clergy fanned anti-Jewish feelings. Great excitement was aroused in 1694 by the murder trial of the father of Simon Abeles, a 12-year-old boy who, it was alleged, had desired to be baptized and had been killed by his father. Simon was buried in the Tyn (Thein) church, the greatest and most celebrated cathedral of the Old Town of Prague. Concurrent with the religious incitement against the Jews, an economic struggle was waged against them.

The anti-Jewish official policy reached its climax after the accession to the throne of *Maria Theresa (1740–80), who in 1744 issued an order expelling the Jews from Bohemia and Moravia. This was actually carried out against the Jews of Prague, who were banished (1745–48) but were subsequently allowed to return as a result of influential intervention on their behalf and after they promised to pay high taxes. In 1754 a great part of the Jewish quarter burned down. Despite all these persecutions, Jewish culture continued to flourish in Prague. In the Baroque period, noted rabbis were Simon Spira; Elias Spira; David *Oppenheim; and Ezekiel *Landau, chief rabbi and *rosh yeshivah* (1755–93).

The position of the Jews greatly improved under *Joseph II (1780–90), who issued the **Toleranzpatent* of 1782 and other decrees connected with it. The new policy in regard to the Jews aimed at gradual abolition of the limitations imposed upon them so that they could become more useful to the state in a modernized economic system. At the same time, the new regulations were part of the systematic policy of Germanization pursued by Joseph II. Jews were compelled to adopt family names and to establish schools for secular studies; they became subject to military service and were required to cease using Hebrew and Yiddish in business transactions. Wealthy and enterprising Jews made good use of the advantages of Joseph's reforms. Jews who established manufacturing enterprises were allowed to settle outside the Jewish quarter. Among the first Jewish industrialists of Prague, who were engaged particularly in the textile industry, were the Porges (later Porges of Portheim), Dormitze, and Epstein families.

Subsequently the limitations imposed upon Jews were gradually removed. In 1841 the prohibition on Jews owning land was rescinded. In 1846 the Jewish tax was abolished. In 1848 Jews were granted equal rights, and by 1867 the process of legal *emancipation had been completed. In 1852 the ghetto of Prague was abolished and united with four other "cities" as the fifth district of Prague, called Josefov (Ger., Josefstadt). Because of the unhygienic conditions in the former Jewish quarter, the Prague municipality decided in 1896 to pull down the old quarter, with the exception of important historical sites. Thus the Altneuschul, the Pinkas and Klaus, Meisel and Hoch synagogues, the famous Radnice, or Rathaus (Jewish town hall), erected by Mordecai Meisel, the larger part of the old cemetery, and some other places of historical and artistic interest remained intact. Many Jews moved out of the old quarter and dispersed throughout the city. Whereas in 1870 more than half of Prague Jewry lived in the old quarter, in 1900 less than one-quarter remained.

In 1848 the community of Prague, numbering over 10,000, was still one of the largest Jewish communities in Europe (Vienna then numbered only 4,000 Jews). In the following period of the emancipation and the post-emancipation era, the Prague community increased considerably in numbers but did not keep pace with the rapidly expanding new Jewish metropolitan centers in Western, Central, and Eastern Europe. While an increasing proportion of Bohemian Jewry concentrated in Prague, the importance and size of Bohemian Jewry within world Jewry began to dwindle. In the period 1880 to 1900, Jewish natural increase reached its peak in the world, whereas the number of Jews in Bohemia reached its maximum in 1880 and subsequently decreased. The table "Number of Jews in the Jewish Community in Prague" shows the numerical development of the Jewish population of Prague (including the suburbs incorporated in the city, some only after World War I).

During the revolutionary period of 1848 there were violent anti-Jewish outbreaks in Prague. In consequence, the emigration of Bohemian Jews to America and Western Europe that had begun in the 1840s increased and gained momentum.

After emancipation had been achieved in 1867, emigration from Prague abroad ceased as a mass phenomenon; movement to Vienna, Germany, and Western Europe continued, but in Prague the loss had been offset by the influx of Jews from the smaller provincial communities. Jews contributed to the economic progress of the city. They were now represented in industry, especially the textile, clothing, leather, shoe, and food industries, in wholesale and retail trade, and in increasing numbers in the professions and as white-collar employees. Some Jewish bankers, industrialists, and merchants achieved considerable wealth. The majority of Jews in Prague belonged to the middle class, but there also remained a substantial number of poor Jews.

Emancipation brought in its wake a quiet process of secularization and assimilation. In the first decades of the 19th century Prague Jewry, which then still led its traditionalist Orthodox way of life, had been disturbed by the activities of the followers of Jacob *Frank. The situation changed in the second half of the century. The chief rabbinate was still occupied by outstanding scholars, such as Solomon Judah *Rapaport (Shir; officiated from 1840 to his death in 1867), the leader of the Haskalah movement; Markus *Hirsch (officiated 1880–89); Nathan *Ehrenfeld (1890–1912); and Heinrich (Ḥayyim) *Brody (1912–30), but the mainstream of Jewish life was no longer dominated by the rabbinate. Many synagogues introduced modernized services, a shortened liturgy, the organ, and a mixed choir, but did not necessarily embrace the principles of the *Reform movement.

Jews availed themselves eagerly of the opportunities to give their children a secular higher education. The table "Number of Jews of Prague among the University Students" shows the participation of Jewish university students at Prague (the famous Charles University, founded in 1348, was split in 1882 into a German and a Czech university).

Emancipation was accompanied by a strong tendency to adopt the German language, and by assimilation to German

Number of Jews in the Jewish Community in Prague

Year	No. of Jews	% of Jewish population of Bohemia	% of total population of Prague
1880	20,508	21.7	6.52
1890	23,473	24.8	5.91
1900	27,289	29.4	5.31
1910	29,107	33.9	4.72
1921	31,751	39.8	4.69
1930	35,463	46.4	4.17

Percent of Jews of Prague who Declared their Nationality

	% of the Jews of Prague who declared themselves to be:		
Year	Czech	German	Jewish
1900	55.3	44.4	
1921	53.5	25.3	20.1
1930	54.8	18.1	27.0

Percent of Jews of Prague among the University Students

Year	% of Jews among university students	
1852	7.2	
1862	11.2	
	German University	Czech University
1860	44.6	0.67
1900	46.5	1.60
1925	29.8	9.70

culture and national consciousness. Jews formed a considerable part of the German minority in Prague, and the majority adhered to liberal movements. David *Kuh founded the German Liberal Party of Bohemia and represented it in the Bohemian Diet (1862–73). Despite strong Germanizing factors, many Jews adhered to the Czech language, and in the last two decades of the 19th century a Czech assimilationist movement (see Čechů-židů, Svaz) developed which gained support from the continuing influx of Jews from the rural areas. Through the influence of German nationalists from the Sudeten districts antisemitism developed within the German population and opposed Jewish assimilation. At the end of the 19th century Zionism struck roots among the Jews of Bohemia, especially in Prague. The table "Number of Jews of Prague who Declared their Nationality other than Jewish," showing the national affiliation of the Jews of Prague, indicates the extent of assimilation there (Jews were entitled to declare their nationality as Jewish from 1920).

Growing secularization and assimilation led to an increase of *mixed marriages and abandonment of Judaism. Whereas under Austrian rule cases of baptism were not very frequent, at the time of the Czechoslovak Republic, established in 1918, many more people registered their dissociation of affiliation to the Jewish faith without adopting another. The proportion of mixed marriages in Bohemia was one of the highest in Europe, amounting to 24.3% in 1927 and 30.73% in 1933 of the marriages of all Jewish males and 22.1% and 25.25% respectively of Jewish females. The proportion in some small communities may have been higher than in Prague, but the difference could not change the overall picture substantially, since almost half of Bohemian Jewry resided in Prague. The consequences of this development are clearly demonstrated in the census of 1939, conducted under the German occupation. Of those classified as Jews in Prague according to the Nazi racial laws, 12.1% did not profess the Jewish faith.

After the establishment of the Czechoslovak Republic, when the suburbs were incorporated in the municipality of Prague, the Jewish communities did not similarly affiliate. The paradoxical situation therefore developed that there were seven Jewish communities in Prague, one covering the inner city (districts I–VII) with approximately one-half of the Jewish population of Prague, and the other six in the various suburbs. These seven communities were federated in the Union of Jewish Religious Communities of Greater Prague, cooperated on many issues, and also established joint institutions; among these the most important was the Institute for Social Welfare, established in 1935. There were many Jewish associations, organizations, and institutions in Prague. Among associations of a religious character the most important was the *ḥevra kaddisha* existing from the early 16th century. The *Afike Jehuda Society for the Advancement of Jewish Studies was founded in 1869. There were also the Jewish Museum and the Jewish Historical Society of Czechoslovakia. A five-grade elementary school was established with Czech as language of instruction. The many philanthropic institutions and associations included the Jewish Care for the Sick, the Center for Social Welfare, the Aid Committee for Refugees, the Aid Committee for Jews from Carpatho-Russia, orphanages, hostels for apprentices, old-age homes, a home for abandoned children, free-meal associations, associations for children's vacation centers, and funds to aid students. Zionist organizations were well represented. There were three *B'nai B'rith lodges, several other fraternities, women's organizations, youth movements, student clubs, sports organizations, and a community center. Four Jewish weeklies were published in Prague (three Zionist; one Czecho-assimilationist), and several monthlies and quarterlies. Most Jewish organizations in Czechoslovakia had their national headquarters in Prague.

Jews first became politically active, and some of them prominent, within the German orbit. David Kuh and the president of the Jewish community, Arnold Rosenbacher, were among the leaders of the German Liberal Party in the 19th century. Bruno *Kafka and Ludwig *Spiegel represented its successor in the Czechoslovak Republic – the German Democratic Party – in the chamber of deputies and the senate respectively. Many Jews also joined the German Social Democratic Party and some rose to leadership; Emil Strauss represented that party in the 1930s on the Prague municipal council and in the Bohemian Diet. From the end of the 19th century an increasing number of Jews joined Czech parties, especially T.G. *Masaryk's Realists and the Social Democratic Party. In the latter party Alfred Meissner, Lev Winter, and Robert Klein rose to prominence, the first two as ministers of justice and social welfare respectively. Klein, leader of the white-collar employees, participated in the founding of the World Jewish Congress; he was tortured to death in a concentration camp. Meissner (d. 1952) was a member of the last Council of Elders in *Theresienstadt, and survived the Holocaust.

The Zionists, though a minority, soon became the most active element among the Jews of Prague. Before World War I the students' organization *Bar Kochba, under the leadership of Samuel Hugo *Bergman, became one of the centers of cultural Zionism. At the same time Zionism also spurred Jewish political activity. The Prague Zionist Arthur *Mahler was elected to the Austrian Parliament in 1907, though as representative of an electoral district in Galicia. Under the leadership of Ludvik *Singer the Jewish National Council was formed in 1918. Singer was elected in 1929 to the Czechoslovak Parliament, and was succeeded after his death in 1931 by Angelo *Goldstein. Singer, Goldstein, František Friedmann, and Jacob Reiss represented the Zionists on the Prague municipal council also. Some important Zionist conferences took place in Prague, among them the founding conference of *Hitaḥadut in 1920, and the 18th Zionist Congress in 1933.

Jews were prominent in the cultural life of Prague. Their contribution to German literature was most significant. Of the older generation Salomon *Kohn dealt mainly with Bohemian Jewish topics; Friedrich *Adler, Auguste Hauschner, and Hugo *Salus were among the most prominent authors; Heinrich Teweles was important as an author, editor, and director of the theater. The group of Prague German-Jewish authors which emerged in the 1880s, known as the "Prague circle" (*Der Prager Kreis*), achieved international recognition and included Franz *Kafka, Max *Brod, Franz *Werfel, Oskar *Baum, Ludwig Winder, Leo *Perutz, Egon Erwin *Kisch, Otto Klepetar, and Willy *Haas. Among Jews who contributed to Czech literature a pioneer was the poet Siegfried *Kapper; he was later considered the herald of Czech-Jewish assimilation. To this group also belonged at a later time Eduard Lederer *(Leda), Vojtēch *Rakous, celebrated for his novels about Jewish life in the Czech countryside, and Jindřich *Kohn, the philosopher and ideologist of assimilation. Other important authors were Otakar *Fischer, Richard *Weiner, František *Langer, his brother Mordecai Jiří *Langer, Jiří *Weil, František *Gottlieb, and Egon *Hostovský. Important scientists teaching at Prague universities included Arnold Piek, Max Saenger, and Edmund Weil (medicine), Samuel *Steinherz (history), Ludwig *Spiegel (constitutional law), Moritz *Winternitz (Sanskrit), Otakar Fischer (German literature), Oskar Engländer (economics), and Guido *Adler (musicology). Albert *Einstein taught in Prague in 1911–12, and Hans *Kelsen, a native of Prague, taught there in 1936–38. The composer Jaromir *Weinberger was born in Prague and lived there until his emigration in 1937; Gustav *Mahler, a native of Bohemia, spent several years in Prague as a conductor. Among many other noted Jewish conductors and musicians from Prague were Walter Suesskind, Frank *Pelleg, George Singer, and Karel Ančerl. The German theater in Prague knew its most glorious period under the directorships of Angelo Neumann, Heinrich Teweles, and Leopold Kramer. Ernst *Deutsch and Franz Lederer were among the most celebrated actors on the German stage, and Hugo Haas and Jiří Voskovec on the Czech stage. Emil *Orlik and Hugo Steiner-Prag were outstanding artists.

Jewish topics, and particularly the history and legends of Prague Jewry, were a frequent theme in the work of non-Jewish authors and artists, more so in the Czech cultural sphere than in the German. Retrospectively, the Jewish ghetto has been considered part and parcel of Prague's history. The statue of Judah Loew b. Bezalel at the entrance to the new City Hall, and a statue of Moses near the Altneuschul, both works of Czech sculptors commissioned by the Prague municipality, are monuments to this attitude. The Jews of Prague responded with gratitude and pride in their history; but latterly only a minority was still capable of living a meaningful Jewish life, much less of forging a creative Jewish future.

[Jan Herman / Chaim Yahil]

Holocaust Period

From 1935, two years after Hitler's seizure of power in Germany, a constant influx of refugees arrived in Prague from Germany, followed in 1938 by refugees from Austria and the German-speaking occupied parts of Czechoslovakia. As a result the number of Jews in Prague on March 15, 1939, the day of the Nazi occupation, amounted to about 56,000. On July 22, 1939, *Reichsprotektor* Constantin von Neurath ordered the establishment of a Zentralstelle fuer juedische Auswanderung in Boehmen und Maehren ("Central Office for Jewish Emigration in Bohemia and Moravia"). Its director in fact was Adolf *Eichmann. Initially the office dealt only with Prague's Jews but as of Feb. 16, 1940, it affected all the Jews in the protectorate.

At the outbreak of the war (Sept. 1, 1939), prominent Prague Jews were arrested and deported as hostages to *Buchenwald concentration camp. Various anti-Jewish measures, e.g., deprivation of property rights, prohibition against religious, cultural, or any other form of public activity, expulsion from the professions and from schools, a ban on the use of public transportation and the telephone, affected Prague Jews much more than those still living in the provinces. Jewish organizations provided social welfare and clandestinely continued the education of the youth and the training in languages and new vocations – in preparation for emigration. The *Palestine Office in Prague, directed by Jacob *Edelstein, enabled about 19,000 Jews to emigrate legally or otherwise until the end of 1939. In March 1940, the Prague Zentralstelle extended the area of its jurisdiction to include all of Bohemia and Moravia. In an attempt to avert the deportation of the Jews to "the east," Jewish leaders, headed by Jacob Edelstein, proposed to the Zentralstelle the establishment of a self-administered concentrated Jewish communal body; the Nazis eventually exploited this proposal in the establishment of the ghetto at *Theresienstadt (Terezin). The Prague Jewish community was forced to provide the Nazis with lists of candidates for deportation and to ensure that they showed up at the assembly point and boarded deportation trains. In the period from Oct. 6, 1941, to March 16, 1945, 46,067 Jews were deported from Prague to the east or to Theresienstadt. Two leading officials of the Jewish community, H. Bonn and Emil Kafka (a former president of the community), were dispatched to *Mauthausen concentration camp and put to death after trying to slow down the pace of the deportations. The Nazis set up a Treuhandstelle ("Trustee Office") over evacuated Jewish apartments, furnishings, and possessions. This office sold these goods and forwarded the proceeds to the German *Winterhilfe* ("Winter Aid"). The Treuhandstelle ran as many as 54 warehouses, including 11 synagogues (as a result, none of the synagogues was destroyed). The Zentralstelle brought Jewish religious articles from 153 Jewish communities to Prague on a proposal by Jewish scholars. This collection, including 5,400 religious objects, 24,500 prayer books, and 6,070 items of historical value, the Nazis intended to utilize for a "Central Museum of the Defunct Jewish Race." Jewish historians engaged in the creation of the museum were deported to extermination camps just before the end of the war. Thus the Jewish Museum had acquired at the end of the war one of the richest collections of Judaica in the world. The Pinkas Synagogue, which is included in the museum complex, contains inscriptions of the names of 77,297 Jewish victims of the Nazi extermination campaign in Bohemia and Moravia.

In April 1945 the Prague representative of the International Red Cross (IRC), Paul Dunant, negotiated with *Reichsprotektor* Karl Hermann Frank for the transfer of the Theresienstadt ghetto to IRC auspices. When the Czechoslovak government-in-exile in London returned to Prague, a Jewish member of the State Council, Arnošt Frischer, also came back; under his leadership, the Prague Jewish community was reconstituted and a council of Jewish communities in Czechoslovakia established. According to the monthly *Věstník*, the official Jewish community publication, Prague had a Jewish population of 10,338 in 1946, of whom 1,396 Jews had not been deported (mostly of mixed Jewish-Christian parentage); 227 Jews had gone underground; 4,980 returned from prisons, concentration camps, or Theresienstadt; 883 returned from Czechoslovak army units abroad; 613 were Czechoslovak Jewish émigrés who returned; and 2,233 were Jews from Ruthenia (Carpatho-Ukraine), which had been ceded to the U.S.S.R., who decided to move to Czechoslovakia.

Contemporary Period

In the three years following the end of the war, the Jewish population of Prague rose to 11,000, after the return of Prague Jews and the settlement of other survivors of the Holocaust. Thus a basis for Jewish life again existed in the city, and Chief Rabbi Gustav Sicher, who had returned from Palestine, sought to establish firm foundations for the further development of Jewish activities. The Communist takeover of 1948, however, put an end to these endeavors and marked the beginning of a period of stagnation. By 1950 about half of the Jewish population had gone to Israel or immigrated to other countries. The Slańský Trials and the officially promoted antisemitism had a destructive effect upon Jewish life. Nazi racism of the previous era was replaced by political and social discrimination. Most of the Jews of Prague were branded as "class enemies of the working people" and suffered from various forms of persecution, including imprisonment, exile, forced labor, and, in some cases, execution. During this period (1951–64) there was also no possibility of Jewish emigration from the country. The assets belonging to the Jewish community – estimated at 100 million Czech crowns – had to be relinquished to the state, the charitable organizations were disbanded, and the budget of the community, provided by the state, was drastically reduced. The general anti-religious policy of the regime resulted in the cessation, for all practical purposes, of such Jewish religious activities as bar mitzvah religious instruction, and wedding ceremonies. Two Prague rabbis – E. Davidovi and E. Farkas – left the country, and in 1964 the office of the chief rabbi also became vacant; only two cantors and two ritual slaughterers were left. Services were held in only two of Prague's nine synagogues, while the other seven were used as exhibition halls and warehouses for the State Jewish Museum. The Hebrew inscription on the wall of the Talmud Torah Synagogue was removed by the museum director. The museum's collection of Jewish art and religious articles were used by the Czechoslovak Travel Bureau as a tourist attraction. Officials of the Jewish communal organizations achieved their positions by manipulated elections.

The social, cultural and, above all, political activity of Jewish communal officials was strictly supervised, and the officials themselves were agents of the authorities – in charge of supervising the members of the congregation, the people who attended prayers and festivities, and clients of the kosher restaurant. The officials participated in propaganda projects such as the World Peace Movement. They abstained, however, as much as they could from attacking the State of Israel and Zionism. The Rada zidovskych nabozenskych obci (Council of Jewish Religious Congregations) cooperated with the central federation of Jewish religious congregations in Slovakia, but the cooperation did not always go smoothly. While Bratislava complained that Prague was monopolizing the representation of Czechoslovak Jewry, Prague charged that Bratislava was getting a disproportionate amount of assistance from abroad. The bulletin *Věstník* ("The Informer") represented both Czech and Slovak Jewry, both sides supplied material for the publication, and both covered the expenses.

The liberalization of the regime during 1965–68 held out new hope for a renewal of Jewish life in Prague. At the end of March 1967 the president of the *World Jewish Congress, Nahum *Goldmann, was able to visit Prague and give a lecture in the Jewish Town Hall. Among the Jewish youth, many tended to identify with Judaism. In August 1968, however, the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia put an end to this trend. The festivities that were to mark the millennium of Jewish life in Prague were canceled four times. A new wave of emigration began, and the Jewish population of Prague was further reduced to about 2,000.

The period of "normalization" after the invasion of the Warsaw Pact forces in August 1968 heralded renewed discrimination and oppression of the Jewish minority. The liberals who led the Prague Spring of 1967 granted the Jewish community freedom. Jewish institutions were free to act as they pleased. These liberals approved the Israeli and Jewish polices of President Novotny and his people. After the occupation on August 21, 1968, Jewish policies and Jewish institutions once again became targets of suspicion and attack. President Husak and the conservatives who surrounded him earmarked the Jews for special treatment. Prague's Jewry and foreign Jewish institutions were under surveillance. After the wave of hasty emigration in 1968–70, the authorities would not permit Jews to leave, particularly to the State of Israel. The close governmental ties with Arab countries had a strong impact on Czechoslovak foreign and domestic policies.

Czech dissent was by and large inclined to understand local Jewry and objected to governmental policies. The anti-Zionist campaign, which increased after 1970 and sometimes turned into overt antisemitism, affected the life of Prague's Jewish community. The conditions improved somewhat when Mikhail Gorbachev assumed the reins of power in Moscow. When the student demonstrations occurred in Prague in the fall of 1989 and the police displayed unusual brutality, numerous Prague organizations protested and the Council published a special communiqué. During the Samet Revolution, Prague Jewry identified with the protesters. After the change of the regime, the council was reorganized, personnel changes took place, and a young rabbi took over the vacant seat of the chief rabbi. Rabbi Karol Sidon, who had studied in Heidelberg and in Jerusalem and was trained there for the rabbinate, was installed in the position. He had cooperated with the dissent in the past and proved to be a prolific and respected writer.

The authorities handed back to the Prague congregation its jurisdiction over the Altneuschul synagogue and the adjacent ancient cemetery, as well as other synagogues and properties. These became a source of considerable income from visitors and tourists. The congregation renewed the regular services in the Altneuschul. There was a certain unrest in the early years when Jews, and youth in particular, wanted to return to Judaism. The veteran Orthodox synagogue goers – some immigrants from Carpatho-Rus – would not recognize the newcomers as Jews. Those not recognized as Jewish according to *halakhah* had to fight for their rights. In Prague, the younger generation identified with Judaism and the State of Israel and was forced to face the apprehension of the Conservatives.

The social function of the congregation and the desire to enjoy reparation, and indemnity monies from Germany and elsewhere led the elderly in particular to join the congregation. Also, cultural activities sponsored by the congregation and by the Jewish Museum gave the impetus for more extensive Jewish life; and many who had hitherto hidden their Jewish ancestry began to avail themselves of the services provided by the congregation. These included the activities of the Center for Educational and Cultural Activities, organized by the Jewish Museum. Consequently, Jewish life saw a revival. The center organized conferences, hosted exhibitions, and published books and other material. The bulletin *Rosh Chodesh* serves the Jewish communities in the Czech lands and in Slovakia, as does the annual magazine *Zidovsk rocenka.* The Czech Jewish communal institutions do not enjoy inner consolidation. Frequent quarrels, resignations, election campaigns, and confrontations disturb the congregation's peace and the communal life. Rabbi Sidon has been unable to remedy the situation. In 2005 around 1,300 Jews were affiliated with the community.

[Erich Kulka / Yeshayahu Jelinek (2nd ed.)]

Hebrew Printing in Prague

Prague was the first city north of the Alps where Hebrew books were printed. The earliest, printed in 1512, was a book of miscellaneous prayers. Of the early printers Gershom *Kohen emerged as the leading figure; from 1526 he and his sons carried on the printing business which for several generations remained one of the outstanding Hebrew presses in Europe. Gershom Kohen, with his brother Gronim (Jerome), produced independently in 1526 the famous illustrated Passover *Haggadah* (facsimile edition, 1926). In the following year (under the name of Herman) he obtained from King Ferdinand of Bohemia a printing privilege, which at his death in 1545 was reissued to his son Moses and in 1598 to his great-grandson Gershom b. Bezalel. He and his brother Moses after him were active until the middle of the 17th century. The Gersonides printed mainly liturgical items in this period, but also such important works as Jacob b. Asher's *Turim* (1540) and Moses Isserles' *Torat ha-Olah* (1569). Another printing press was founded by Jacob Bak who was printing in Prague by 1605. Jacob died in 1618, and after him eight generations of Baks printed Hebrew books in Prague up to the threshold of the 19th century. Their productions were mostly liturgical and for local use, and they, like other Hebrew printers, suffered much under the Jesuit censorship (from 1528) and occasional book burnings (1715, 1731). Jonathan *Eybeschuetz obtained permission to print the Talmud at Bak's (1728–41).

Besides Kohen and Bak, other Hebrew printers of note in Prague included Abraham Heide-Lemberger and his sons (1610–41). From 1828 Moses Landau printed independently, in particular a Talmud edition (8°, 1830–35).

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PRATO, DAVID (1882–1951), rabbi and Zionist leader. Born in Leghorn, Prato was chief cantor in Florence, rabbi of Alexandria (Egypt) from 1927 to 1936, and chief rabbi of Rome from 1936 to 1938. Conditions became impossible for him when the Fascist regime began its antisemitic policy, and Prato moved to Ereẓ Israel. He resumed his post in Rome in 1945. An ardent Zionist, Prato played a prominent part in the administration of the *Jewish National Fund and *Keren Hayesod in Italy. In 1929 he founded in Alexandria the French-Hebrew review *L'Illustration Juive*, which was followed by *Cahiers Juifs* in 1933. He published two collections of sermons, *Cinque anni di Rabbinato* (1933), and *Dal pergamo della Comunità di Roma* (1950), covering his activities in Rome.

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[Giorgio Romano]

PRATT, RICHARD (1934–), Australian businessman. One of the most successful contemporary Australian businessmen, Pratt was born in Danzig, migrating to Australia in 1939 from London, where his father, a retailer, had moved. In 1948 Pratt's father, Leon, opened a cardboard factory in Melbourne, which was developed by Richard Pratt after his father's death in 1969. Known as Visy Board (now Visy Industries), it grew into one of the largest producers of packaging and waste recyclers in the world. By the 1990s it employed 8,000 staff in a hundred plants around the world. Pratt, a powerful, athletic man, was also a notable Victorian Rules football player in his youth and was then an actor, starring in the noted Australian play *The Summer of the Seventeenth Doll.* By 2004 Pratt was regarded as the second wealthiest man in Australia (jointly with Frank *Lowy), worth an estimated A$4.2 billion (US$3.5 billion). With his wife, Jeanne, he was the founder of the Pratt Foundation, one of the major Australian philanthropies. Pratt received numerous awards. He became a Companion of the Order of Australia (AO) and, in 2004, was named Australian Humanitarian of the Year.

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[William D. Rubinstein (2nd ed.)]

PRAWER, JOSHUA (1917–1990), Israel historian. Born in Bedzin, Poland, Prawer settled in Palestine in 1936. He began teaching at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem in 1947 and was promoted to the chair of medieval history in 1958. From 1962 to 1966 he was dean of the faculty of humanities. Prawer also served the Israel Ministry of Education as chairman of the pedagogical council for the planning of national education (1957–59) and headed the committee that recommended reforms in secondary education, which constituted the basis of the reform law adopted by the Knesset in 1968. He was also a co-founder and first dean of the Haifa University College, whose academic chairman he was from 1966 to 1968. Prawer's scholarly interests centered mainly on the Crusades. He wrote *Mamlekhet Yerushalayim ha-Ẓalbanit* ("The Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem," 1946–47), *Toledot Mamlekhet ha-Ẓalbanim be-Ereẓ-Israel* ("A History of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem," 2 vols., 1963), and *The History of the Jews in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem* (1988). He was a member of the Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities and from 1967 chief editor of the *Encyclopaedia Hebraica*. In 1969 he was awarded the Israel Prize for humanities.

[George Schwab]

PRAWER, SIEGBERT (1925–), British professor of literature. Born in Cologne, Prawer came to Britain in the late 1930s and attended King Henry VIII School in Coventry and Oxford and Cambridge Universities. A distinguished scholar of German and other literatures, he was professor of German at London University and then at Oxford Universities. He wrote noted works on Heine, Marx, Thackeray, and others and received many awards, including the Goethe Medal (1973), the Isaac Deutscher Prize (1977), and the Gold Medal of the Goethe Gesellschaft (1977). He was a fellow of the British Academy.

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[William D. Rubinstein (2nd ed.)]

PRAYER, the offering of petition, confession, adoration or thanksgiving to God.

In the Bible

The concept of prayer is based on the conviction that God exists, hears, and answers (Ps. 65:3; cf. 115:3–7) – that He is a personal deity. In a sense it is a corollary of the biblical concept that man was created "in the image of God" (Gen. 1:26–27), which implies, inter alia, fellowship with God (see *Man, Nature of). Although prayer has an intellectual base, it is essentially emotional in character. It is an expression of man's quest for the Divine and his longing to unburden his soul before God (Ps. 42:2–3 [1–2]; 62:9[8]). Hence prayer takes many forms: petition, expostulation, confession, meditation, recollection (anamnesis), thanksgiving, praise, adoration, and intercession. For the purpose of classification, "praise" is distinguished from "prayer" in the narrower, supplicatory sense, and "ejaculatory" from formal, "liturgical" prayer. But the source is the same; in its irresistible outpouring, the human heart merges all categories in an indivisible "I-Thou" relationship. Thus prayer and praise may intermingle (I Sam. 2:1–10) and supplication and thanksgiving follow in close succession (Ps. 13:1–5, 6). Indeed many scriptural passages might be called "para-prayers" – they seem to hover between discourse and entreaty (Ex. 3:1–12), meditation and petition (Jer. 20:7ff.), or expostulation and entreaty (Job, passim). It has been estimated (Koehler-Baumgartner) that there are 85 prayers in the Bible, apart from 60 complete psalms and 14 parts of psalms that can be so termed; five psalms are specifically called prayers (Ps. 17, 86, 90, 102, 142). But such liturgical statistics depend on the definition given to prayer.

TERMINOLOGY. The variegated character of biblical prayer has given rise to a rich nomenclature for praying. The rabbis already noted that "prayer is called by ten different expressions" (Sif. Deut. 26), but on closer examination even more can be found. The most common word for prayer is *tefillah* (Isa. 1:15); the corresponding verb is *hitpallel* (I Kings 8:42). The stem, *pll*, has been explained to mean "to cut oneself" and to refer to the primitive pagan custom of slashing oneself in a frenzy during worship. This etymology is not only hypothetical, but is wholly irrelevant to the biblical situation. It was the idol-worshipers who cut themselves (I Kings 18:28) and the verb used is *wa-yitgodedu*; the Torah forbids such practices (Deut. 14:1). In Scripture the stem *pll* signifies "to interpose, judge, hope." These meanings are eminently suited to the biblical conception of prayer as intercession and self-scrutiny leading to hope. Other terms are: *qara*ʾ ("to call" on the name of the Deity, i.e., worship – Gen. 4:26); *zaʿaq* ("to cry out" for redress of wrongs – Judg. 3:9); *shiwwʿa* ("to cry aloud" for help – Ps. 72:12); *rinnah* ("ringing cry" of joy or sorrow – Ps. 17:1); *darash* ("to seek" God – Amos 5:4); *biqqesh penei* ("to seek the face of" God – Hos. 5:15); *shaʾal* ("to inquire" – Ps. 105:40); *nasa*ʾ ("to lift up" – Jer. 7:16); *pagʿa* ("to encounter," i.e., to appease, gain favor – Jer. 7:16); *hitḥannen* ("to seek favor," i.e., beseech – Deut. 3:23); *shafakh lev* ("to pour out heart" – Ps. 62:9[8]); and *siʾaḥ* ("complaint" – Ps. 142:3[2]).

THE CHARACTER OF PRAYER. Despite its multifaceted character, biblical prayer is essentially a simple human reaction. The rabbis called it "the service in the heart" (Taʾan. 2a); the expression has its roots in biblical thought (Hos. 7:14; Ps. 108:2; 111:1). But the needs of man are so numerous and complex that prayer inevitably came to reflect the vast range of human moods, fears, hopes, feelings, desires, and aspirations. In early times – in the patriarchal age – a simple invocation, a calling upon the name of the Lord (Gen. 12:8; 21:33), would suffice. The approach to God at this stage was marked by spontaneity, directness, and familiarity – God was near. Yet the future was veiled by mystery; man was often undecided how to act. Hence the request for a sign or oracle addressed directly to God (Gen. 24:12–14), or indirectly through a priest (I Sam. 14:36–37) or prophet (II Kings 19:2ff.). From this stratum grew the magnificent prayers for understanding and guidance (Num. 6:24–26; I Kings 3:6ff.; Ps. 119:33ff.).

But in emergency man does not merely want to know the future; he seeks to determine it by entreating God's help. Thus Jacob (in a votive supplication) prayed for essential material needs (Gen. 28:20ff.); Eliezer for the success of his mission (Gen. 24:12–14); Abraham for the salvation of Sodom (Gen. 18:23–33); Moses for erring Israel (Ex. 32:31–32); Joshua for divine help in the hour of defeat (Josh. 7:6–9); Hezekiah for deliverance from Sennacherib (II Kings 19:15–19); the prophets on behalf of their people (Jer. 14:1ff.; 15:1ff.; Amos 7:2ff.); Daniel for Israel's restoration (Dan. 9:3–19); Ezra for the sins of his people (Ezra 9:6–15); and Nehemiah for the distress of his people (Neh. 1:4–11). Solomon's noble dedication prayer at the consecration of the Temple (I Kings 8:12–53) includes almost every type of prayer – adoration, thanksgiving, petition, and confession. It also strikes a universal note (8:41ff.) so often echoed by the prophets. The spectrum of biblical prayer thus ranges from the simplest material needs to the highest spiritual yearnings (Ps. 51:1ff.; 119:1ff.), transcending, like prophecy, the horizon of history and reaching to the realm of eschatology (Isa. 66:22–23).

There was an early relationship between *sacrifice and prayer (Gen. 13:4; 26:25), which persisted until the destruction of the Second Temple. The sacrifice suggested man's submission to the will of God; the prayer often provided a commentary on the offering. But the two are not necessarily linked. It is noteworthy that the sacrificial regulations make no liturgical provisions (except for the Day of Atonement, Lev. 16:21); but actually the offerings were themselves a dramatic form of prayer. Contrariwise, prayer could replace sacrifice (Ps. 141:2). In the synagogue, prayer, accompanied by Scripture reading and exposition, entirely took the place of altar offerings.

Examples of prayers of intercession have already been cited. The intercessor, whether prophet, priest, king, or national leader, does not point to the need for an intermediary in worship: "The Lord is near to all who call upon Him in truth" (Ps. 145:18). The intercessor is one who, by his innate spiritual attributes, lends weight to the entreaty. The ultimate criterion still remains not the worthiness of the pleader but of those for whom he is pleading (Ezek. 14:14, 20).

THE ACCESSORIES OF PRAYER. Prayer, unlike sacrifice, could be offered up anywhere (Gen. 24:26; Dan. 6:11 in the upper chamber; Ezra 9:5ff.), but there was a natural tendency to prefer a sacred site (e.g., Shiloh or Gibeon). Eventually the Temple at Jerusalem became the major place of prayer (Isa. 56:7); those who could not be there physically at least turned toward it when worshiping (Dan. 6:11; cf. Ps. 5:8 [7]). In time to come the Temple would be a house of prayer for all nations (Isa. 56:7). The synagogue had its origin during the Babylonian exile; originally a place of assembly, it became in due course a house of prayer and study. The emphasis on congregational prayer began to grow but private prayer was never abolished. The heart and not the hour dictated the occasion for prayer. Day and night the Heavenly Father could be entreated (e.g., I Sam. 15:11; Ps. 86:3; 88:2[1]). But the need for regularity brought about a synchronization of the times of prayer and of sacrifice: morning worship corresponded to the morning oblation (Ps. 5:4[3]), afternoon orisons to the late afternoon sacrifice (I Kings 18:36; Ezra 9:5). Nightfall provided yet another occasion for worship, so that prayers came to be offered thrice daily (Ps. 55:18; Dan. 6:11; though twice in I Chron. 23:30). The seven times mentioned in Psalms 119:164 mean "often" or "constantly."

In the Bible no particular gestures are prescribed in connection with prayer. But certain postures developed naturally to lend emphasis to the content of the prayer: standing, which is normal (I Sam. 1:26; I Kings 8:22); kneeling (Dan. 6:11; Ezra 9:5); prostration (Josh. 7:6); head bowed (Gen. 24:26; Neh. 8:6); hands stretched out or uplifted (I Kings 8:22; Ps. 28:2); face between knees (I Kings 18:42); and even sitting (II Sam. 7:18). More important accompaniments of prayer were fasting, mourning, and weeping (Isa. 58:2–5; Joel 2:12); but the ultimate criterion remained earnestness of heart (Joel 2:13).

Originally prayer was undoubtedly spontaneous and personal; but the need to organize religion gave rise to liturgical patterns and musical renderings (Ezra 2:65; I Chron. 16). Prayer formulas are found already in the Pentateuch (Deut. 21:7ff.; 26:5–15). The Psalms provide examples of fuller liturgical development, including choral and instrumental features (see *Psalms). The response "Amen" occurs in Numbers 5:22, Psalms 41:14, etc.; a prayer before the reading of the Torah in Nehemiah 8:6; a doxology in Nehemiah 9:5, 32; a typical review of God's dealings with Israel leading to a confession and a pledge in Nehemiah 9:6–10:1 (9:38).

ANSWER TO PRAYER. That prayer is answered is an accepted biblical verity (e.g., Gen. 19:17–23; Num. 12:9ff.); but Scripture is no less emphatic that not all prayers are answered (Gen. 18:17ff.; Isa. 29:13ff.). Ritual is not enough, while hypocritical worship is an abomination (Isa. 1:15; Amos 4:4ff.); and there are occasions when intercession is forbidden (Jer. 7:16; 11:14). It is at this point that the biblical concept of prayer is seen in its true inwardness. Paganism regarded worship as a form of magic, whereby the deity could be compelled to fulfill the worshiper's wishes; the moral element was wholly absent. In biblical faith the divine response is essentially linked to ethical and spiritual values. Man, as it were, answers his own prayer (Gen. 4:7), and fundamentally the answer is a significant change of spirit and outlook. Abraham learned the lesson of faith (Gen. 15:1–6); Moses became his people's deliverer (Ex. 3:2–4:18); Isaiah was transformed into a prophet (Isa. 6:5–8). Prayer and prophecy were probably closely correlated, the former providing spiritual soil in which the revelatory seed took root (Jer. 1:6ff.; Hab. 1:13–2:3). In many instances prayer assumes a tempestuous character (Jer. 12; Ps. 22; Job, passim [cf. 16:17]), but the storm always ends in newfound faith and peace. At times, moreover, God answers before He is appealed to (Isa. 65:24; cf. Dan. 9:20ff.), for man not only beseeches God, but God also seeks man (Isa. 50:2; 65:12). The "I-Thou" relationship is reciprocal.

In sum, the Bible conceives prayer as a spiritual bridge between man and God. It is a great instrument of human regeneration and salvation, worthy even of martyrdom (Dan. 6:11). Rooted in faith (Ps. 121) and moral integrity (Ps. 15), it banishes fear (Ps. 23) and asks, in its noblest formulations, only the blessing of divine favor (Num. 6:24–26). Clothed in language of simple but matchless beauty, it is imbued with religious love and a sense of sweet fellowship with God. Both the Christian and Muslim liturgies have been profoundly influenced by the spirit, thought, and forms of biblical prayer.

[Israel Abrahams]

In the Apocryphal Literature

There are a number of references to prayer in the apocryphal books, including the idea of the living offering up prayers on behalf of the dead (II Mac. 12:44–45). The apocryphal work, The Prayer of Manasseh, is a penitential prayer. The biblical concept that God is near to those who suffer is also developed (Ecclus. 35:13–17). Prayer is associated with the giving of alms (Ecclus. 7:10), and there is a national prayer for deliverance from an enemy (Ecclus. 36:1–17).

In Rabbinic Thought

On the biblical verse "And serve Him with all your heart" (Deut. 11:13), the rabbis commented "What is service of the heart? This is prayer" (Ta'an. 2a). "Service" (*avodah*) in this context is connected with the Temple and its worship, for which prayer is seen as a substitute. On the other hand, the saying of R. Eleazar that prayer is dearer to God than good works and sacrifices (Ber. 32b), though hyperbolic, may nonetheless be intended to express the real superiority of prayer. Possibly, the tension in this matter is to be perceived in the two reasons given for the statutory prayers of the day. According to one opinion, these were ordained by the patriarchs, while another view has it that they correspond to the perpetual offerings in Temple times (Ber. 26b).

The obligation of offering up prayer, though supported by a scriptural verse, is considered to be rabbinic, not biblical (Ber. 21a). Prayers are to be recited three times a day: morning, afternoon, and night (Ber. 4:1). In addition to the statutory prayers and private prayers of various kinds, public prayers were offered in times of distress; prayers for rain, for instance, in times of drought (Ta'an. 2:1–5).

THE VALUE OF PRAYER AND CONCENTRATION IN PRAYER. Prayer stands high in the world of values (Ber. 6b). God Himself prays, His prayer being that His mercy might overcome His judgment (Ber. 7a). Nevertheless, the study of the Torah occupies a higher rung than prayer, and some scholars, whose main occupation was study, only prayed periodically (Shab. 11a; RH 35a). A rabbi who spent too much time on his prayers was rebuked by his colleague for neglecting eternal life to engage in temporal existence (Shab. 10a). Communal prayer is of greater significance than private prayer (Ber. 8a; Deut. R. 2:12). Too much reflection on one's prayers in the expectation that these will be answered was discouraged (Ber. 32b). Prayer should be offered with proper concentration (*kavvanah*) on the words uttered in God's presence (Ber. 31a). R. Eliezer said: "He that makes his prayer a fixed task, his prayer is not supplication" (Ber. 4:4). R. Simeon b. Nethanel said: "…and when thou prayest make not thy prayer a fixed form, but [a plea for] mercies and supplications before God" (Avot 2:13). One way of avoiding the deadening familiarity of a "fixed form" was to recite a new prayer each day (TJ, Ber. 4:3, 8a). When R. Eliezer was asked by his disciples to teach them the ways of life that they might learn them and by following attain the life of the world to come, part of his reply was: "When you pray, know before Whom you stand" (Ber. 28b). A person who has just returned from a journey and is consequently unable to concentrate properly, should not pray until three days have elapsed (Er. 65a).

PROPER FORMS OF PRAYER. Not every prayer is valid. A prayer for God to change the past, for instance, is a "vain prayer" (Ber. 9:3). The impossibility of God answering every prayer addressed to Him is acknowledged in the account of the prayer of the high priest on the Day of Atonement who used to pray before the rainy season that the prayers of the travelers who required fair weather should not be allowed to enter God's presence (Yoma 53b). A man should not only pray for himself but should also think of others, using the plural form "grant us" rather than the singular "grant me" (Ber. 29b–30a). If a man needs something for himself but prays to God to grant that very thing to his neighbor who needs it, such an unselfish prayer causes God to grant him his wish first (BK 92a). Man should never despair of offering supplication to God "even if a sharp sword rests upon his neck" (Ber. 10a). In praising God, man should be circumspect, using only the standard forms of praise found in Scripture and established for use in prayer (Ber. 33b). Prayers of thanksgiving, particularly in the form of the benediction (*berakhah*), are repeatedly enjoined by the rabbis (Ber. 6:1–3), as well as praise of God for His wondrous works and the marvelous beings He has created (Ber. 9:1–2; Ber. 58b).

THE ADDRESSING OF PRAYERS DIRECTLY TO GOD. R. Judah said that if a human being is in trouble and wishes to invoke the aid of his patron he must first stand at the door and call out to a servant or a member of the patron's family and he may or may not be allowed to enter. But it is otherwise with God. God says, "When a man is in trouble, do not cry out to the angel Michael or to the angel Gabriel but to Me and I will answer immediately" (TJ, Ber. 9:1, 13a). On the other hand, R. Johanan said: "When one petitions for his needs in Aramaic, the ministering angels do not heed him, for they do not understand Aramaic" (Shab. 12b). Possibly a distinction is to be made between the angels bringing man's prayers to God and direct intercession, with the angels as intermediaries between man and God (cf. Tob., 12:12, 15). Some men were renowned for their capacity to pray and to have their prayers answered, so that great scholars, less gifted in this direction, would ask these saints to pray on their behalf (Ber. 34b). A number of miracle tales are told to illustrate the immediacy of God's response to the prayers of such men (Ta'an. 3:8; Ta'an. 23a–b).

In Medieval Thought

Although medieval Jewish thinkers profoundly considered major theological problems, there is surprisingly little discussion in their writings of the intellectual difficulties involved in prayer. One of the few discussions as to why prayer should be necessary, since God knows man's needs, is that of Joseph *Albo (Ikkarim 4:18). Albo replies that the act of turning to God in prayer is itself one of the conditions upon which God's help depends, just as it depends on other forms of human effort.

MAIMONIDES. True to his doctrine of theological negation, *Maimonides in the standard liturgy only permits the use of those divine attributes in prayer which have been ordained by the "prophets," and he is opposed to the indiscriminate writing of hymns (Guide, 1:59; cf. Ibn Ezra to Eccles. 5:1). In spite of the talmudic statement that the obligation to pray is of rabbinic origin (*mi-de-rabbanan*), Maimonides observes that this only applies to the number, form, and times of prayer, and that it is a biblical duty for the Jew to pray daily (Yad, Tefillah, 1:1). The need for adequate concentration in prayer (*kavvanah*) is particularly stressed in the Middle Ages and formed part of the general tendency prevalent among medieval Jewish thinkers who stressed greater inwardness in religious life. *Baḥya ibn Paquda (*Ḥovot ha-Levavot*, 8:3, 9) remarks that prayer without concentration is like a body without a soul or a husk without a kernel. Maimonides' definition of *kavvanah* reads: "*Kavvanah* means that a man should empty his mind of all other thoughts and regard himself as if he were standing before the Divine Presence" (Yad, Tefillah, 4:16; cf. H.G. Enelow, in: *Studies in Jewish Literature Issued in Honor of Prof. Kaufmann Kohler* (1913), 82–107).

THE KABBALISTS. The kabbalists stress the difficulty of petitionary prayer to a God who is unchanging. They advance the view that prayer cannot, in fact, be offered to God as He is in Himself (*Ein Sof*), but only to God as He is manifested in the ten divine potencies (the *Sefirot*). God Himself is, therefore, not entreated directly to show mercy, for example, but prayer is directed to God as He is manifested in the *Sefirah* of loving-kindness. As a result of the power of man's prayer, this potency might function on earth. The magical nature of kabbalistic prayer and the dangers of setting up the *Sefirot* as divine intermediaries were the topic of much subsequent debate (Ribash, Resp. no. 157). The kabbalists, in fact, substituted for the older doctrine of *kavvanah* the concept of special intentions (*kavvanot*) i.e., meditations on the realm of *Sefirot*. Instead of concentrating on the plain meaning of the prayers, the kabbalist dwells on the realm of divine potencies and directs his mind, when reciting the words, to the supernal mysteries which govern and are controlled by them (see I. Tishby, *Mishnat ha-Zohar*, 2 (1961), 247–306).

The Ḥasidim

In Ḥasidism, the kabbalistic type of *kavvanot* yields to a far more emotional involvement and attachment (*devekut*) to God. "The metamorphosis which took place in the meaning of *kavvanot* at the advent of Ḥasidism, and more explicitly after the Great Maggid [*Dov Baer of Mezhirech], consists in this – that an originally intellectual effort of meditation and contemplation had become an intensely emotional and highly enthusiastic act" (Weiss, in: JJS, 9 (1958), 163–92). In Ḥasidism, prayer is a mystical encounter with the Divine, the heart leaping in ecstasy to its Source. Violent movements in prayer were not unusual; some of the ḥasidic groups even encouraged their followers to turn somersaults during their prayers (Dubnow, *Ḥasidut*, 112–5).

Prayer is frequently seen in Ḥasidism as man's most important religious activity. R. Shneur Zalman of Lyady, the founder of the intellectual *Ḥabad sect in Ḥasidism, writes: "For although the forms of the prayers and the duty of praying three times a day are rabbinic, the idea of prayer is the foundation of the whole Torah. This means that man knows God, recognizing His greatness and His splendor with a serene and whole mind, and an understanding heart. Man should reflect on these ideas until his rational soul is awakened to love God, to cleave to Him and to His Torah, and to desire His commandments" (M. Teitelbaum, *Ha-Rav mi-Ladi u-Mifleget Ḥabad*, 2 (1914), 219).

In Ḥabad Ḥasidism, the true meaning of prayer is contemplation on the kabbalistic scheme whereby God's infinite light proceeds through the whole chain of being, from the highest to the lowest. Man should reflect on this until his heart is moved in rapture, but he should not engage in prayer for the sake of the pleasure such rapture will bring him; he must take care not to confuse authentic ecstasy with artificial spiritual titivation (Dov Baer of Lubavitch, *Kunteres ha-Hitpa'alut*). Many ḥasidic groups, otherwise strictly conformist, disregarded the laws governing prayer at fixed times on the grounds that these interfere with the need for adequate preparation and with the spontaneity which is part of the prayer's essence.

THE PRACTICE OF SWAYING IN PRAYER. During the Middle Ages, the practice of swaying during prayer is mentioned. The Zohar (3:218b–219a) refers to the difference between Israel and the nations. It states that the soul of the Jew is attached to the Torah as a candle is attached to a great flame, and hence Jews sway to and fro while studying the Torah. *Judah Halevi (*Kuzari* 2:79–80) also refers to the custom as practiced during the study of the Torah, but makes no mention of prayer. Isserles, however, quoting earlier authorities, also mentions the custom for prayer, while other authorities disagree (see Sh. Ar., OḤ, 48:1 and *Magen Avraham*, ad loc.). The explanation given by Simeon Brainin (quoted by Judah David Eisenstein in JE 11 (1907), 607), that swaying during study and prayer was intended to afford the body with exercise, is incredibly banal. Bodily movements during prayer are, of course, not unusual among the adherents of most religions.

In Modern Thought

The early reformers were much concerned about such questions as prayers for the restoration of sacrifices or the return to Zion, and whether prayer might be recited in the vernacular. Very few challenges, however, were presented to the idea of prayer as such in its traditional understanding. In the 20th century, Jewish thinkers began to consider the basic philosophical problems surrounding prayer. Petitionary prayer was felt to be especially difficult in the light of scientific views regarding cause and effect. A definite move away from the idea of prayer as a means of influencing God and toward its function as a way to affect man's attitudes can be observed. "Self-expression before God in prayer has thus a double effect; it strengthens faith in God's love and kindness, as well as in His all-wise and all-bountiful prescience. But it also chastens the desires and feelings of man, teaching him to banish from his heart all thoughts of self-seeking and sin, and to raise himself toward the purity and the freedom of the divine will and demand" (K. Kohler, *Jewish Theology* (1918), 275).

The tendency in some circles to reinterpret the God-idea itself in impersonal terms has cast prayer into a different light. It is seen as an attempt by man to attune himself to those powers in the universe which make for human self-fulfillment and as a reaching out to the highest within his own soul. Defenders of the traditional view of God and of prayer to Him have, however, not been lacking. (See *Proceedings of the Rabbinical Assembly of America*, 17 (1953), 151–238, for these two opinions).

[Louis Jacobs]

Women and Prayer

Biblical examples of female prayer include the songs of Miriam (Ex. 15:20–21) and Deborah (Judg. 5:1–31). Hannah's entreaty at Shiloh (I Sam. 2) became the rabbinic exemplar of supplicatory prayer for women and men (Ber. 31a–b).

Although Berakhot 20a–b is clear that women are obligated to pray (since prayer is a supplication "for mercy," necessary for all), rabbinic Judaism exempted women from communal prayers which were to be recited at specific times. Women's prayer was to follow the spontaneous model of Hannah's worship from the heart and could be uttered at any time and in any language (Sot. 32a–33a). However, rabbinic literature has little to say about the content of women's personal worship. Some authorities have claimed that women were not obligated in rabbinic time-bound commandments, including prayer, because regular synagogue attendance would interfere with their primary domestic roles. However, women not responsible for home and family were also exempt from communal prayer. Others have suggested that women were not obligated in time-bound public rituals because, like slaves and minors, they are of subordinate status: In the system of rabbinic Judaism, male heads of households perform religious acts on behalf of women, children, and other dependents under their aegis.

An exception to Judaism's normative exemption of women from participation in communal prayer occurred in medieval Ashkenaz, between the 11th and 13th centuries, when Jewish women's central roles in economic and social life, coupled with a concurrent religious revival in Christian Europe, empowered women to demand more significant participation in Jewish worship (Grossman, *Pious and Rebellious* …). This included fulfilling time-bound positive commandments such as shaking the *lulav* and sitting in a *sukkah* as well as regular participation in synagogue worship on the Sabbath and holidays. Medieval rabbis, among them R. Jacob *Tam, permitted these innovations. A century later, some Ashkenazi sages agreed to include women in the quorum of three or ten needed for the invitation to recite grace after meals. *Dulcea of Worms (d. 1196), wife of R. *Eleazar of Worms (the Roke'aḥ), was one of a number of Ashkenazi women, including Richenza and Urania, described by contemporaries as serving as "prayer leaders of the women." These women stood in the women's section of the synagogue near a small window which was connected to the main sanctuary and repeated the cantor's prayers aloud so that the women could follow the service.

In East European synagogues of the early modern era, women called *firzogerin* (Yiddish for "foresayers") led prayers among women in the synagogue. Some may have composed **tkhines*, vernacular petitionary prayers written for and sometimes by women.

In the modern era, particularly in North America, gender issues in prayer have defined the differences among Jewish denominations. Nineteenth-century American Reform Judaism introduced a number of changes, including family pews, mixed choirs, and the confirmation ceremony (initially intended to replace the bar mitzvah), directed at reducing women's inequality in prayer. Penina *Moise of Charleston, South Carolina, was the author of America's first Jewish hymnal, published in 1842; many of her contributions were used in Reform worship well into the 20th century.

Women's roles in prayer in Conservative Judaism were circumscribed until the 1950s, when the Committee on Jewish Law and Standards first raised the possibility of women being called to the Torah. By the 1980s and 1990s, after Jewish feminists agitated for change, women were counted in the *minyan* and called to the Torah in a majority of Conservative synagogues. Havurot (prayer and study groups without professional clergy, which arose in the 1960s) promoted egalitarian worship and opportunities for women's religious leadership. The Reconstructionist movement established gender equality as a founding principle. By the late 20th century, Orthodox women also expanded traditional roles by forming women's prayer groups where women led services, read the Torah, and celebrated life cycle passages. However, such groups did not say those prayers for which a *minyan* is required. By the first decade of the 21st century, new prayer communities in Israel and North America included women as much as possible in traditional worship. In these prayer groups, a *meḥizah* separates men and women but divides the room evenly between them. With a traditional *minyan* of ten men (or, in some cases, ten men and ten women), women lead certain parts of the service (the introductory morning blessings and the prayers welcoming the Sabbath) and fully participate in the Torah service, including reading from the Torah.

In the last quarter of the 20th century, feminism had a significant impact on Reform, Conservative, and Reconstructionist liturgies. Changes included eliminating references to the community of worshipers as male and adding the names of the matriarchs to those contexts in which the patriarchs were traditionally invoked. Other innovations focused on gender neutral ways to address God, using both English translations and new Hebrew epithets such as *Mekor ha-Ḥayyim* ("Source of Life").

In the last decades of the 20th century, women also constructed new prayers and rituals for events in their lives not previously sanctified in Judaism, such as onset of menstruation, pregnancy, childbirth, weaning children, and menopause. Others created liturgical roles for women and girls in traditional lifecycle passages, such as egalitarian wedding ceremonies, lesbian commitment ceremonies, and rituals acknowledging separation and divorce. Healing ceremonies addressed women's pain and losses from violence and abuse, illness, miscarriage, infertility, abortion. Other life cycle innovations, such as bat mitzvah and *simḥat bat* (baby naming/covenant ceremonies), were female complements to existing rituals centered on males.

[Susan Sapiro (2nd ed.)]

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PRAYER BOOKS. Books containing the texts of the customary daily prayers did not exist in ancient times. Sources of tannaitic and amoraic times take it as understood that prayer is by heart (e.g., Ber. 5:3–5; RH 4:5–6; Ta'an. 2:2). In public prayer the reader prayed aloud before the congregation, which responded "*amen*" to the blessings. The writing down of the text of blessings and prayers was considered forbidden ("writers of blessings are [like] those who burn the Torah," Tosef. to Shab. 13:4; Shab. 115b; TJ, Shab. 16:1, 15c). After the completion of the Talmud, however, this prohibition was disregarded, and in the geonic era written prayer books undoubtedly existed already (L. Ginzberg, *Geonica*, 1 (1909), 119 ff.). In Babylon it was permitted, at first, to use them only on the Day of Atonement, and on other fast days, but later they were permitted generally. This development was complete at the beginning of the eighth century. The Cairo *Genizah* has preserved fragments of prayer books both from Ereẓ Israel and the countries bordering it from this period (see *Liturgy).

Siddur and Maḥzor

The book that included the regular prayers for the whole year was called *seder* (*siddur*) *tefillah* – a name fixed by the *geonim* themselves – or, according to the cycle of the year, *maḥzor* (i.e., the cycle of prayers). At first there was no difference between the two names, and in the early period (in certain communities, until the present time) they were used indiscriminately. In the course of time the additions for special days (i.e., the *piyyutim*) were also included. However, the present Ashkenazi custom (and, through their influence, that of certain Sephardi communities as well) to differentiate between the *siddur* (pl. *siddurim*) – containing only the regular prayers – and the *maḥzor* (pl. *maḥzorim*) – containing also the *piyyutim*, in most cases only those of the festivals – came into being at a very late period, and is without foundation. The (Arabic-speaking) Jews of Yemen call the comprehensive *siddur, Tikhlal*. All the *siddurim* that have been preserved are designed for a particular rite. In the manuscripts there are a greater number of rites than those of the countries or the cities which finally came to be established or which later reached publication.

Early Siddurim

The beginnings of the order of prayer are found in the second part of tractate *Soferim*, which is a compilation from the period of the first *geonim*.

SEDER RAV AMRAM GAON. The first true prayer book, however, is the *Seder Rav Amram Gaon* from the ninth century. This prayer book (compiled at the request of the Jews of Spain) contains the regular prayers, according to the order of the whole year – weekdays, Sabbath, New Moon, fast days, Ḥanukkah, Purim, and all the festivals – together with the relevant *halakhot* preceding each section. At the end are the *benedictions and special prayers for occasions such as marriage, circumcision, redemption of the firstborn, and the burial service. Unfortunately this text of the prayers cannot serve as an authentic source for the custom of the *geonim* since all the extant manuscripts of this *seder* differ greatly from one another, in accordance with the rite of the copyist (ed. by N.N. Coronel, 1865, A.L. Frumkin in 1912, partially by D. Hedegård, 1951).

SIDDUR SAADIAH GAON. The *Siddur Saadiah Gaon*, which was written 100 years later, and which also contains the relevant *halakhot* along with the text of the prayers – the former written in Arabic for the benefit of the Jews of Egypt – is apparently, in the sole extant manuscript (ed. by I. Davidson, S. Assaf, and B.I. Joel, 1941), the rite of the Babylonian *geonim* (with some influence of the rite of Egypt). In contrast the *Genizah* fragments of the *siddur* contain the text of the prayers in a different and adapted version. The logical, methodical order of this prayer book, however, which differs from the ordinary calendar order, was not generally accepted (except by Maimonides); its order possibly explains as well the limited circulation of this *siddur*. Another prayer book compiled in the 11th century by *Hai b. Sherira Gaon, has been lost except for some quotations from it in halakhic literature.

The work entitled *Siddur Rashi*, which emerged in the 11th/12th centuries from the school of *Rashi (ed. by S. Buber, 1911), does not contain the text of the prayers at all, but only the halakhic material, with full talmudic treatment. Also the *Seder ha-Tefillot* that *Maimonides (12th century) attached to his *Mishneh Torah* is not a true prayer book but a collection of versions of prayers from which it is possible to compile a *siddur*; his rite is apparently that current in Egypt in his time, very different from that of the Spanish Jews; it was also adopted in Yemen.

MAḤZOR VITRY. In contrast to these works, the *Maḥzor Vitry, compiled in the 11th century by *Simḥah b. Samuel of Vitry, a pupil of Rashi, is a prayer book in the full sense of the word. It contains the text of all the regular prayers, in accordance with the rite of northern France, which is close to that of Germany. The laws of prayer precede each section in great detail. In the halakhic part, which is mainly consistent with the *Siddur Rashi*, large sections have been copied from the *Seder Rav Amram Gaon*, but later *geonim* are also cited. The edition of S. Hurwitz, published in 1889–93, is based on a London manuscript, amplified by additions of the 13th and 14th centuries. Besides the regular prayers, the *Maḥzor Vitry* includes only a limited number of *piyyutim*, namely *ma'arivim* and *hoshanot*; added to it are the Passover *Haggadah* and the prayers for Simḥat Torah; it lacks all the *kerovot* (which were, however, already in use at that time), and thus cannot be regarded as a complete *maḥzor*. It seems, however, that this format came about through a certain logic; beginning with the Middle Ages, prayer books were copied mostly in a small format for individual use, and it was usual among Germans and French to include in them *ma'arivim* and *hoshanot*, while the *maḥzorim* including the *kerovot*, mainly in large format (folio), were designed for the cantors. The prayer books themselves, apart from a few differences in text, do not differ from one another in their scope. The sole difference is in the laws of the prayers, which are sometimes brought at length and sometimes briefly. In place of the full talmudic explanation of the themes and the discussion of the various opinions found in the *Seder Rav Amram Gaon* and the *Maḥzor Vitry*, the final ruling alone came to be given.

MANUSCRIPTS FROM OTHER RITES. From this period prayer books of other rites have also been preserved (see *Liturgy) in manuscript: those of the Jews of Italy (*Roman Maḥzor*) mainly in small folio format, and also of the Jews of the Balkans, and of the Jews of Spain, mostly in quarto. Among the Jews of Yemen (where there was no printing press at all) the writing of prayer books continued (mostly *Tikhlalim* in small folio) until the beginning of the 20th century. This wealth of manuscripts, most of which are in the large libraries, has not yet been fully exploited for scientific editions and for research into the history of the text. There is still no critical text of any of the well-known rites constructed out of the actual texts in the manuscripts.

Commentaries on the text of the prayers began simultaneously with the composition of the ancient prayer books. In the prayer books of the *geonim* there is as yet no explanation of the texts of the prayers but the *Maḥzor Vitry* contains explanations of a number of prayers, such as *Kaddish, *Nishmat Kol Ḥai, hoshanot*, and the Passover *Haggadah*. The greatest rabbinic authorities, such as Rashi, Joseph *Caro, *Eliezer b. Nathan of Mainz (Raban), *Ephraim b. Jacob of Bonn, Baruch the father of *Meir of Rothenburg, Judah he-Ḥasid of Regensburg, *Eleazar b. Judah of Worms, author of *Ha-Roke'aḥ* (see Abraham b. Azriel, *Arugat ha-Bosem*, ed. by E.E. Urbach, 4 (1963), introd., passim), participated in the exposition of the prayer books. Their comments were transmitted anonymously from place to place and passed into the customary manuscript expositions, and then into print in the margins of the *siddurim* and *maḥzorim*.

Printed Prayer Books

With the advent of printing, prayer books for different customs, both *maḥzorim* for the whole year as well as *siddurim* in small format for use of the individual, were printed. Among the *incunabula there are already many prayer books (see A. Freimann, *Thesaurus Typographiae Hebraicae Saecue*; XV, Suppl. to pt. 1, 1967–69; list of incunabula). Prayer books of the Roman rite were published first (*Maḥzor Roma*, Soncino-Casalimaggiore 1485/86; *Siddur Katan* called "Sidorello," 1486), then those of the Spanish rite (*Seder Tefillot*, 1490). Printed Spanish and Portuguese books have come down only in fragments. In the 16th century, German and Polish prayer books were published (*maḥzorim*, beginning with 1521, 1522, and *siddurim*, about 1508), and those of the Romaniot custom (*maḥzorim*, from 1510, *siddurim*, later still). Prayer books for the communities of southern France were not printed until the 18th century (*Maḥzor* Avignon 1765–66, Carpentras 1739–62), while the *Tikhlal* of the Yemenite Jews was published only at the end of the 19th century (Jerusalem, 1894–98). Certain categories of prayers such as *seliḥot* and *kinot* for the Ninth of *Av were printed long ago in special editions (e.g., *seliḥot* according to the German custom, Soncino 1496; *kinot* for the Ninth of Av according to the Polish custom, Cracow 1584), although in the main they were also incorporated in the *maḥzorim*.

Types of Prayer Books

In the course of time the following types of prayer book became established among Ashkenazi Jews:

(1) *Ha-Maḥzor ha-Gadol* in folio (also called *Kol Bo*), containing, according to the ancient custom, all the prayers of the year – weekday, Sabbath, festivals, and special days;

(2) the so-called *Maḥzor*, which included only the festival prayers, usually a separate volume for each festival;

(3) the small *siddur*, containing only the regular prayers;

(4) *Ha-Siddur ha-Shalem*, completed by the addition of the *yoẓerot* for the special Sabbaths, the *hoshanot, seliḥot* for fast days, *ma'arivim* for the nights of the festivals, and supplemented at times by the Book of Psalms and *ma'amarot*.

The Sephardi Jews, on the other hand, arrived at the following subdivision:

(1) *Tefillat ha-Ḥodesh*, comprising the prayers for weekdays, Sabbath, the New Moon, Ḥanukkah, and Purim;

(2) *Mo'adim*, consisting of the prayers for the three pilgrim festivals;

(3) *Rosh Ha-Shanah*, for the New Year;

(4) *Kippur* for the Day of Atonement;

(5) *Ta'aniyyot*, which also included the Ninth of Av and its *kinot*.

Only the Jews of Italy and Yemen maintained the original form of the *Maḥzor ha-Shanah*, which contained all the prayers in cyclical order; small *siddurim* were, however, also published by them.

Textual Editions

As to the text of the regular prayers, the *siddur* of the Sephardi Jews was edited in the 16th century in accordance with the "intentions" (**kavvanah*) of Isaac *Luria; as a result hardly any pre-Lurianic prayer books are extant. In many editions they made the divine names conform with the Lurianic "intentions" by a different pointing or by interlacing the ineffable name with various forms of the word *Adonai*. The text of the Ashkenazi *siddur* occupied several scholars, particularly in the 17th to 19th centuries, who published the prayer book in new editions or wrote books in which they justified substantiation or amendment of the text: Naḥman Lieballer (Dyhrenfurth, 1690); Azriel and his son, Elijah of Vilna (*Derekh Si'aḥ ha-Sadeḥ*, Frankfurt on the Main, 1704); Solomon Zalman Katz Hanau (*Kunteres Sha'arei Tefillah* and the ed. *Beit Tefillah*, Jesnitz, 1725); Jacob Emden (Yaveẓ; *Lu'aḥ Eresh*, an appendix to his prayer book, Altona, 1769); Mordecai Duesseldorf (*Kunteres Hassagot al Siddur Sha'arei Tefillah*, published after his death, at Prague in 1784); Isaac Satanow (*Va-Ye'etar Yiẓḥak*, Berlin 1785, who polemicizes with all his predecessors); Judah Leib Ben Ze'ev (*Tikkunei ha-Tefillah*, published after his death with the edition *Tefillah Zakkah*, Vienna, 1816); Wolf Heidenheim (*Siddur Safah Berurah* with notes at several points, Roedelheim, 1806). In the course of time Heidenheim's text was accepted as a sort of standard text. All disputes about the text, however, turn on such grammatical niceties as the insertion of a *dagesh* or *meteg* and matters of pointing, and only very rarely on establishing the text. In the case of Heidenheim, particularly, and those following him, it should be pointed out that they preferred, to too great an extent, the language of the Bible to Mishnaic Hebrew.

Critical Editions

Critical treatment of the prayer book begins with the activity of E.L. Landshuth who contributed to the *Siddur Hegyon Lev* (published by Z.H. Edelmann, 1845) the commentary *Mekor Berakhah*, in which he consistently gathered the sources of the prayers and tried to establish the date of their compilation and composition. This method was continued by W. Jawitz (*Mekor ha-Berakhot*, 1910), A. Berliner (*Randbemerkungen zum taeglichen Gebetbuch*, 2 vols., 1909–12), and S. Elbogen (*Der juedische Gottesdienst*, 1913, 1931^3).

Commentaries

Commentaries to the prayer book appeared in fairly large numbers, and it is impossible to mention here even an appropriate part of them. The old commentaries, based upon manuscript commentaries, were printed in the folio editions of *maḥzorim* (e.g., *Hadrat Kodesh*, Venice, 1554, et al.; *Ma'gelei Ẓedek*, Venice 1588, et al.; to the *maḥzor* of Rome, *Kimḥa de-Avshuna*, Bologna 1540). There are commentaries with a kabbalistic approach (like that of Lipmann *Muehlhausen, in *Siddur Dikduk Tefillah*, Thiengen 1560; the *Sha'ar ha-Shamayim* of Isaiah *Horowitz, Amsterdam 1717; *Beit Tefillah*, with the commentary of Isaac Luria and Moses *Zacuto to the Sephardi *siddur*, Amsterdam 1712, et al.; and the *siddur Ha-Gra* of *Elijah b. Solomon, the Gaon of Vilna, Jerusalem 1895). Other commentaries deal more with explanations of the words and themes, such as *Beit-El Sha'ar ha-Shamayim* (Altona, 1745/47) of Jacob Emden, though here too comments of an esoteric nature are intermingled; *Iyyun Tefillah* (1857) of Jacob Ẓevi Meklenburg: *Avodat Yisrael* (1868) of Isaac Seligman *Baer, containing sources of the prayers, many notes on grammatical topics, and comparisons of the texts of different rites, as well as a short exposition of the *seliḥot* and *yoẓerot; Ishei Yisrael* (c. 1900) following the rite of Elijah b. Solomon, with two commentaries – *Avnei Eliyahu* of Elijah Landau, and *Si'aḥ Yiẓḥak* of Isaac Malzan; *Oẓar ha-Tefillot* (1915, et al.) with the commentaries of A.L. Gordon and Enoch Zondel b. Joseph, to the sections of *piyyut*, too, and with a special section, "*Tikkun Tefillah,*" on the textual variations – apparently the most complete prayer book; *Siddur Tefillah* (1912) with the commentaries "*Magen ha-Elef*" and "*Mekor ha-Berakhot*" of A.L. Frumkin (in his edition of the *Seder Rav Amram Gaon*); *Avodat ha-Levavot* (1922) with the commentary of Wolf Jawitz, dealing mainly with the dependence of the language of the prayer book upon that of the Bible; *Olat Re'iyyah* (1939–49), with the commentary of Abraham Isaac Kook; *Ẓelota de-Avraham* (1957–62), in accordance with the usage of Abraham Landau, rabbi of Czechanow (d. 1875), with the commentary of his grandson M.M.H. Landau, and with additional exposition by Jacob Werdiger, the latter's grandson, containing important studies of the sources of the prayers and of the various rites. To these should be added the commentary "*Eẓ Ḥayyim*" of Yaḥya b. Joseph Ẓelaḥ to the Yemenite *Tikhlal* (1894–98). The ancient connection between the text of the prayers and their laws was renewed in the 19th century when the *Derekh ha-Ḥayyim* (1828) of Jacob *Lorberbaum of Lissa and the *Nehora ha-Shalem* (1827) of Jehiel Michael of Michailishki (Vilna region), author of the *Korban Aharon* on the *maḥzor*, were accepted into the prayer books; both have been published innumerable times. The Sephardi Jews created similar editions for the use of their congregations, when they added to their prayer books the *Kesher Godel* (Leghorn, 1802) of Ḥ.J.D. Azulai, dealing with the laws of the prayers, and the *Shelemut ha-Lev* of an anonymous author.

Ḥasidic Siddurim

In the 18th century the Sephardi tradition with certain modifications was adopted by the ḥasidic communities of Poland and Russia. From that time on ḥasidic prayer books were published, i.e., Ashkenazi prayer books with the regular prayers adapted to the needs of the Ḥasidim. A careful editing of this version was executed by the founder of the Chabad ḥasidic sect, *Shneur Zalman of Lyady – he called this version specifically the Lurianic version (*Nosaḥ ha-Ari*). It was published and disseminated in many editions, in part enlarged by commentaries in the form of lectures to the Ḥasidim (Kapust, 1816, reprinted New York, 1965, with full printing history).

[Ernst Daniel Goldschmidt]

Modern Prayer Books (English Editions)

Mention should be made of some of the better known translations of the prayer books in English. The *Authorized Daily Prayer Book* (1890) by S. *Singer has been a standard for the English speaking world for many years. It went through many editions and by 1970 had sold nearly 500,000 copies (a revised edition was published in 1962). A companion to this prayer book was published by (1914) and an annotated edition by J.H. Hertz (1941) with the addition of occasional prayers. In the U.S. another version with notes was edited by P. *Birnbaum (*Daily Prayer Book* (1949, and many editions)), and the *High Holyday Prayerbook* (1951, and many editions). A prayer book that grew considerably in popularity in the 1990s was the ArtScroll Siddur. The best-known modern Sephardi prayer book and *maḥzor* were the ones edited by David de Sola *Pool.

Reform Prayer Books

Liturgical reform began in the practical sphere, with most of the attention being given to the external aspects of worship. During the initial stages the aesthetics of the synagogue service occupied the minds of the early Reformers more than the doctrinal content of the prayer book. The major emphasis as exemplified by the efforts of Israel *Jacobson, I.S. *Fraenkel, and M.I. *Bresselau, was placed on the form of worship rather than on serious grappling with theological issues. In 1810 Jacobson, a financier and philanthropist, provided a simplified, decorous service for boarding-school children in Seesen, and in 1815, opened a synagogue in Berlin in which he installed an organ and instituted the confirmation ceremony (see *Bar Mitzvah), while the editorial labors of Fraenkel and Bresselau created the Hamburg *Gebetbuch (Sefer ha-Avodah, Ordnung der oeffentilichen Andacht*, first ed. 1819). However, the more scholarly contributions of Wolf *Heidenheim's "*Mendelssohn des Gebetbuches*" (Elbogen) were not ignored by the early Reformers. The closing pages of the Hamburg volume contain learned notes citing dissenting views in older sources that might lend support to Reform. Yet the emphases of the first Reformers were practical, and it was not until later that the burgeoning *Wissenschaft des Judentums*, as well as recent developments in Jewish theology, left their influence on the reformulated *siddur*. While the German Reform Rabbinical Conferences (1844–46) were in session, lending shape and direction to the amorphous variety of liturgical changes then in the making, the founders of the Berlin Reform community broke company and began to devise its own radical, predominantly German rite which limited the Hebrew to a few selected biblical verses. When the congregation secured Samuel *Holdheim as its spiritual leader, he was authorized to revamp its liturgical manuals. While keeping much of their dissentient character, Holdheim brought classical and traditional forms and recent liturgical research into greater play, thus moderating the excesses of the Reform community's ritual. D.W. Marks, a remarkably well-versed layman, edited *Seder ha-Tefillot – Forms of Prayer*, published in 1841–43. A spiritual offspring of the Hamburg *Gebetbuch*, the prayer book was used in the West London Synagogue of British Jews of which Marks was the spiritual leader. Although in the introduction the editor admits his debt to the scholarship of *Zunz, *Rapoport, and others, in actuality, he relied very little upon the content of their works. Rather Marks derived from these learned men the encouragement and inspiration for his own original endeavors. Unlike its continental counterparts, *Forms of Prayer* evinces an almost Karaitic scriptural fundamentalism. Marks imitates his Hamburg predecessors, however, in some choices of Hebrew prayers to be read in the vernacular, in shunning repetitions, in the offhand treatment of the *haftarah*, in slight abbreviations of the standard text, and in the partiality toward Sephardi *piyyutim*. Apart from occasional pseudo-Karaizing, *Forms of Prayers* may be said to stand in the Orthodox tradition. Only infrequently did Marks contribute original Hebrew compositions. These works were often written in a felicitous classical style, as in his unique *Birkat ha-Mo'adim* which replaces the festival additional service. The prayer books of the aforementioned Reform community were probably the first to pay particular attention to the theological principles underlying the prayer text and to make emendations accordingly. In line with his evolutionary view of Judaism, Abraham *Geiger was the first consistently to introduce Reform principles into the body of the traditional Hebrew text. Historical consciousness and theological integrity are the hallmarks of Geiger's liturgical works (the first edition of his prayer book was published in 1854) that became the major characteristics of the moderate Reform (Liberal) liturgy in Germany for nearly a century.

During the middle of the 19th century, German Jewish immigrants to the U.S. brought with them the liturgical reforms that were then emerging in Central Europe. The single formative influence to dominate all others was the Hamburg *Gebetbuch*. The principal U.S. prayer books of the day, Leo *Merzbacher's *Seder Tefillah – The Order of Prayer for Divine Service* (1855), David *Einhorn's *Olat Tamid – Book of Prayers for Israelitish Congregations* (1856), and Isaac M. *Wise's *Minhag Amerikah – The Daily Prayers for American Israelites* (1857), which varied in degree of reform, revealed the tastes and talents of their authors, and reflected the demands of their respective congregations, nevertheless, bore the stamp of the Hamburg *Gebetbuch*, the parent Reform prayer book. *Seder Tefillah, Olat Tamid*, and *Minhag Amerikah* contain similar treatments of *Ausheben* (*Hoẓa'at ha-Torah*) and have either the expanded Hamburg Mourner's Kaddish and/or an elaborate *Todtenfeier* (*Hazkarat Neshamot*) for the Day of Atonement, rendered almost entirely in the vernacular. (For sentiment's sake, Wise kept his German version even in his English translation). All of the prayer books have recourse to hymns from the Hamburg *Gesangbuch*. Each carries the Sephardi *hashkavah*, usually replacing *El Male Raḥamim* of Ashkenazi tradition, and all delete *Kol Nidrei* in favor of Leopold Stein's *O Tag des Herrn* ("O Day of God") or some other appropriate substitute. *Piyyutim* of Spanish-Portuguese origin take precedence over the more recondite and allusive Ashkenazi *piyyutim*. Influenced by a process already begun in the Hamburg rite, Einhorn progressed further than his German-American counterparts by making his ritual bilingual, although German predominated, especially in the new, protracted pieces recited by the rabbi in oratorical style. Merzbacher pared his Hebrew service to mishnaic simplicity and occasionally recast phrases or whole sections in unexceptionable Hebrew, saving the vernacular for extra-liturgical, non-statutory prayers and hymns. Both Merzbacher and Einhorn dropped the **Musaf*, the former, however, reserving it for the day-long worship on the *Day of Atonement. Wise, however, kept the order intact, concentrating chiefly on revising the text in accordance with Reform doctrine. (On rare occasions he permits himself such liberties as replacing the **Pesukei de-Zimra* on the festivals with the *Hallel* psalms and creating an unusual private service for *yahrzeit*.) All of these rites were incorporated in the most important Reform work of the following century, *The Union Prayer Book for Jewish Worship – Seder Tefilot Yisrael* (first ed. 1894–95). Of particular importance in the compilation of *The Union Prayer Book* were the transitional works of Adolph *Huebsch (e.g., his prayer book for Congregation Ahawath Chesed (1889) in New York, translated by A. Kohut) and Isaac S. *Moses. Huebsch combined Holdheim's work with Wise's *Minhag Amerikah*; while Moses combined *Seder Tefillah, Olat Tamid*, and later, Huebsch's synthesis as well. The end of the 19th century witnessed the writing of many new vernacular compositions. Some from predominantly English formularies, beginning with Joseph *Krauskopf's *The Service Ritual* (1888) and *The Service Manual* (1892), Gustav *Gottheil's *Morning Prayer* (1889), and Kaufmann *Kohler's *Sabbath Eve Service* (1891), found their way into the *Union Prayer Book*. After much weighing and harmonizing of texts, the result was an abbreviated and simplified liturgy with both languages kept in balance, interspersed with prayers and responses in the language of the country. The *Union Prayer Book* represents the cumulative efforts of the American Reform movement to achieve a uniform rite that would meet the needs of diverse congregations throughout the nation. The remarkable durability of the prayer book in its various editions testifies to the success of those efforts. Each edition mirrors changes in theological views and reflects the vicissitudes of the Jewish community both in the U.S. and abroad. The second edition (1922), for example, shows an increased interest in ceremonial life which hitherto had been substantially eliminated. Neither Merzbacher's volume nor Einhorn's contains the ritual *berakhot* for the blowing of the *shofar* or the kindling of the Ḥanukkah candles, whereas the second edition of the *Union Prayer Book* readmits them. The greater quality of the Hebrew in the revised 1940 edition attests to a heightened ethnic consciousness. Jewish group solidarity is expressed by the inclusion of Hebrew prayers from all eras and places, which enhance the diminished rabbinic *stammgebete* (regular prayers). The 1975 edition, *Shaarei Tefillah: The Gate of Prayer – The New Union Prayer Book* affirms Jewish tradition, culture, and nationhood in its choice of prayers and supplements. In the 1990s a gender-sensitive edition appeared as well.

OUTSIDE U.S. IN 20TH CENTURY. Reform in the U.S. was generally dependent upon Central European prototypes for doctrinal reformulations until the early 20th century, when American Reformers took the lead in liturgical renewal. Two cases in point, Caesar *Seligmann's *Israelitisches Gebetbuch* (1910) and the French Union Libérale Israélite's *Tefillot Kol ha-Shanah – Rituel des Prières Journalières* (1925), which take considerable liberties with the historical text and the directions for the performance of the ritual, were inspired by American models. While there is no slavish imitation – distinctively European requirements having been given attention – the desire to forestall monotony during the service by introducing variety and meaningful alternation of languages was substantially derived from the U.S. *The Liberal Jewish Prayer Book* (1923–26) by Israel I. *Mattuck, former U.S. Reform rabbi and a founder of English Liberal Judaism, displays unique and wide-ranging literariness. (The same disposition toward variety is maintained in *Avodat ha-Lev – Service of the Heart* (1967).) Largely influenced by the *Union Prayer Book*, the emended West London Synagogue's *Seder ha-Tefillot – Forms of Prayer* (1931) exhibits renewed appreciation for both traditional rabbinic arrangement and religious liberalism in being shorn of its eccentric and ostensibly fundamentalist character. This is seen in the selection of benedictions for the weekday *Amidah*, in the choice of the *Aleinu* text, and in the reinstitution of *berakhot* for rabbinic ordinances. The *Einheitsgebetbuch* (edited by C. Seligmann, I. Elbogen, and H. Vogelstein, 1929) deserves special mention not only because it appropriated a variety of texts from the *Union Prayer Book*, but, more significantly, because it succeeded in achieving unity among the Liberal congregations of Germany before World War II. This major accomplishment serves as a becoming *Memorbuch* to a decimated German Jewry.

Conservative and Reconstructionist Prayer Books

The Conservative and Reconstructionist manuals adhere to the classical outlines, although also constituting a departure from traditional Judaism, representing what J.J. *Petuchowski calls "Reform from within." *Maḥzor le-Shalosh Regalim – The Festival Prayer Book* (United Synagogue of America, 1927), a Conservative publication, is closer to the enlightened Orthodoxy of Hermann *Adler and Joseph H. *Hertz, former chief rabbis of Great Britain, than to any publication of the moderate Reform or proto-Conservative movement such as Benjamin *Szold's and Marcus *Jastrow's *Avodat Yisrael – Israelitish Prayer Book* (first ed. 1865), or Aaron Wise's *Shalhevet Yah – The Temple Service* (1891). A reason for this may lie in the Conservative movement's loyalty to Solomon *Schechter's motto "catholic Israel." Dependence upon the official British books can be seen in the use of the festival *piyyutim* and of the introductory memorial prayer at *Hazkarat Neshamot*. This anglophile penchant gave way approximately 20 years later to a more independent *Seder Tefillot Yisrael le-Shabbat u-le-Shalosh Regalim – Sabbath and Festival Prayer Book* (Rabbinical Assembly of America and United Synagogue of America, 1946), wherein a minimum of textual reforms are permitted as in some of the preliminary benedictions of the morning service and in the middle benediction of the additional service where *sham na'aseh ve-nakriv* is altered to *sham asu ve-hikrivu*. With unity of Conservative congregations their overriding aim, the editors were determined not to add unnecessarily to the plethora of variations on controverted texts. Among the more innovative features of the *Sabbath and Festival Prayer Book* are the supplementary readings and explanatory notes at the end of the volume. The most far-reaching of the Conservative liturgical publications in hard-cover is the *Siddur li-Ymot ha-Ḥol – Weekday Prayer Book* (1961). The editors introduce significant changes in wording to bring the prayers into closer harmony with the consensus of Conservative belief. Apart from obvious Zionist sentiment, the rewritten *Musaf* for the festivals and for Rosh Ḥodesh reads materially as a 19th-century German Liberal reconstruction. The 1985 Siddur *Sim Shalom* preserves much of the traditional liturgy while again addressing itself to contemporary concerns. It too came out with a gender-sensitive edition in the 1990s. The Reconstructionist *siddurim* (*Seder Tefillot le-Shabbat – Sabbath Prayer Book*, 1945; *Maḥzor le-Yamim Nora'im – High Holy Day Prayer Book*, 1948; *Festival Prayer Book*, 1958; and *Seder Tefillot li-Ymot ha-Ḥol – Daily Prayer Book*, 1963) also make extensive use of supplementary readings. Reconstructionist tenets, such as the denial of the idea of the Chosen People, and the diminution or deletion of supernatural and anthropomorphic references, set them apart from the Conservative prayer books.

Prayers for Contemporary Events

It has taken time for the events of World War II, the Holocaust, and the rebirth of the State of Israel to be fully comprehended and treated in adequate liturgical form, but none of the official prayer books of American Jewry alludes to any of these momentous happenings except the Reconstructionist *Daily Prayer Book*, and the Conservative *Siddur li-Ymot ha-Ḥol – Weekday Prayer Book* (1961), which includes a newly composed *Al ha-Nissim* for Israel Independence Day. That these events have not been forgotten is proven by the fact that individual congregations and communities mark these occasions by circulating mimeographed prayers, privately or locally printed. Because Europe was the battleground, the remnant of Progressive Jewish communities in Europe have already responded to this chain of circumstances. Virtually all of the latest European Liberal and Reform prayer books include at least an entreaty on behalf of the State of Israel. Within the last two decades, as the shock of the Holocaust has been absorbed and its implications assimilated, a number of new prayer books have been compiled both in Europe and in Israel that give proper weight to the twin experiences touching world Jewry. The majority of these prayer books show an awareness of the scope of tradition and clearly enunciate principles of 20th-century Reform (e.g., Zionism is obviously no longer the taboo it once was). A modern and uniform liturgy is beginning to emerge in which the mishnaic nucleus of the *Stammgebete* is preserved and the *Musaf* dismissed. Differences consist mainly in wording, in selections from the opening sections of the prayer book, i.e., *Birkhot ha-Shaḥar* and *Pesukei de-Zimra*, and in the length of individual prayers. Variety is emphasized even within this simplified and relatively fixed framework. Novel and unexpected developments have been taking place in the U.S., including experimentation with jazz, rock, and multi-media in the performance of the liturgy.

[Eric Lewis Friedland]

There have been many innovations by the Rabbinate in Israel with regard to certain events. The most extensive of these new prayers concerns Israel Independence Day (see Prayers for *Independence Day). In addition the Israel rabbinate has composed special prayers for Holocaust Remembrance day (Nisan 27) and for the day of general *yahrzeit* for victims of the Holocaust (Tevet 10). They have also produced special *El Male Raḥamim* prayers for victims of the Holocaust and for those who fell in the defense of the State of Israel, and special prayers on behalf of Soviet and Arab Jewry. The Israel Army Rabbinate composed a special *Tefillat ha-Derekh* for paratroopers (written by the Chief Chaplain Rabbi Shelomo *Goren). After the Six-Day War the religious kibbutz movement Ha-Kibbutz ha-Dati issued a new version of the *naḥem* prayer (which mourns the destruction of Jerusalem) recited on the Ninth of Av, emphasizing the opportunity to rebuild Jerusalem.

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PREACHING.

In the Talmudic Period

NATURE AND PURPOSE OF THE SERMON. The sermon, delivered in the synagogue or in the house of study, mainly on Sabbaths and festivals, is a very ancient institution. Nothing is known of its beginnings. It may have originated in the *Targum, i.e., the translation of the lections from Scripture into the Aramaic vernacular for the benefit of those who could not follow the Hebrew reading. The Targum in days of old was paraphrastic and the biblical texts were embellished with much aggadic material. Eventually, the Targum was curtailed and additions to the text were no longer allowed (Tosef., Meg. 4:41). Its former function of instruction and edification was then taken over by the sermon. By the end of the Second Temple period, sermons were a well-established custom both in Palestine and in the Diaspora.

The importance of the sermon can hardly be overestimated. Not only did it serve as the chief means of instructing all the people – peasants, women, and children – and imparting to all and sundry at least an elementary knowledge of the Torah and its teachings, but it also provided the sages with a means of guiding the people, strengthening their faith, and refuting heretical views.

By using at times daring methods of interpretation, the preachers succeeded in making the Bible an unceasing source of ever-new meaning and inspiration in which answers to the problems of every generation could be found. Thus when the unquestionable biblical faith in the rewards of the righteous in this life could no longer satisfy the people in times of disasters and persecutions, the rabbis would unhesitatingly substitute for it the belief of reward in the world to come: "He has given food unto them that fear Him, He will ever be mindful of His covenant" (Ps. 111:5) became – by means of a play on the words *teref*, "food," and *teruf*, "confusion" – "He has given confusion to those who fear Him in this world; but in the future to come He will ever be mindful of His covenant" (Gen. R. 40:2). To the outcry of those who witnessed the destruction of the Temple, and who, on reading such a verse as "Who is like unto Thee, O Lord, among the mighty?" (Ex. 15:11) would ask: "Where then is His might, if he looks on while His Temple is destroyed and keeps silent?" The rabbis answered: "Who is like unto Thee among the mute ones" (a play on the words אֵילִים, *elim*, "the mighty ones," and אִלֵּם, *illem*, "mute"). The explanation was: "His very restraint and silence is the proof of His strength and power: for who is mighty? He who conquers his passions!" (TJ, Ber. 7:4, 11c; Mekh., Shira, 8; Yoma 69b; Avot 4:1).

THE SERMON AND AUDIENCE. Through their reinterpretations of the Bible, their bold use of the biblical material to give expression to the burning issues of their own times, and the application of ancient traditions to new circumstances, the rabbis succeeded in keeping the Bible alive and meaningful for their own generations.

Entertaining Devices Used in Sermons. In addition to the use of exegesis, the preachers would amplify and recreate stories, would enliven their preaching by ample use of folktales and parables, and employ dramatization and various rhetorical means to make their sermons attractive and challenging. They would modulate their voices in presenting dialogues and imitate the different characters represented. The "entertainment value" of the sermon was often no less important than its educational and edifying aspects. Some critics indeed compared the Jewish preachers to actors whose "performances" were too "theatrical" for their liking. Small wonder then that the people would come in masses to hear sermons, especially of well-known preachers (TJ, Hor. 3:7, 48b). They would come even from outlying villages, and would make special arrangements beforehand to permit them to exceed the "Sabbath-limit" of 2,000 cubits (Er. 3:5).

The rabbis contrasted the synagogues and the houses of study and their sermons with the attractions of the circus and of the theater of the Roman-Hellenistic world. Remarkably enough, they succeeded in making the bulk of the people prefer the former: "They that sit in the gate talk of me" (Ps. 69:13) was given two different interpretations: "those are the gentiles who sit in their theaters and circuses … scoffing me"; and "those are Israel who sit in the synagogues and houses of study … reading dirges and lamentations and *Eikhah*" (Lam. R., Proem 17). However, the well-to-do would, at times, stay away from such "vulgar" gatherings (Git. 38b). The audience expressed their approval and enjoyment; at times, they reacted with laughter, or, when the preacher did not succeed in arousing them, with indifference. The preachers would adapt their interpretations and examples to the level of the audience, and when addressing simple people they would not refrain from using very telling, even ribald, phrases or illustrations (Lev. R. 18:1; S. Lieberman, *Greek in Jewish Palestine* (1942), 161–2). The popularity of the aggadic sermon emerges clearly from the following statement: "In times of old when the *perutah* [a small coin] was easy to come by, a man would desire to hear words of Mishnah and of Talmud; but now when the *perutah* is no longer easily found, and moreover we are suffering from the kingdom [i.e., Roman rule], a man desires to hear words of Scripture and words of *aggadah*" (PdRK 101b).

Time of Delivery of Sermon. Sermons were delivered, whenever possible, on every Sabbath and on other special occasions, including fast days, especially on the Ninth of *Av. They would be based mostly on the Torah sections read on the days when they were delivered, i.e., the *sidra* of the so-called *triennial cycle on ordinary Sabbaths and the special lections on festivals. On special Sabbaths (e.g., before and after the Ninth of Av), the prophetic readings might provide the texts for the homilies. The exact time of the sermon varied. It is known that there were sermons delivered on Friday nights (TJ, Sot. 1:4, 16d), on Sabbath mornings after the readings from Scripture (Luke 4:16ff.), or on Sabbath afternoons (Yal. Prov. 964). It appears that many sermons were given before the scriptural readings, serving as introductions to, and preparations for, the latter (see below). Probably, such sermons were rather brief.

The Preacher. If one of the great sages delivered the sermon, he would make his appearance only after the whole audience had assembled; in the meantime, younger rabbis, acting as auxiliary preachers, would keep the people occupied (TJ, Suk. 5:1, 55a; Gen. R. 98:11; but also Deut. R. 7:8). The preacher made use of a *turgeman* ("translator"), or of several, whose task it was to broadcast the words of the preacher in a loud voice which could be heard by all sections of the audience. This served not so much a practical purpose, for some of the preachers at least must have had voices powerful enough to make themselves heard, but was a token of respect (I.M. Kosowsky, in *Sinai*, 45 (1959), 233 – 43). The preacher would take care to prepare his sermon properly; but in some places, at least, it was customary for members of the audience to address questions to him which he was expected to answer on the spot. Some inexperienced preachers found this custom disconcerting and were unable to reply (Gen. R. 81:2).

The Openings of Sermons. The sections opening with a halakhic question, preceded by the formula *yelammedenu rabbenu* ("may our master teach us") or the like, which appear at the beginning of homilies, especially in the **Tanḥuma* Midrashim, reflect the custom of introducing a sermon by a question posed by a member of the audience. The challenge to the preacher was not so much in finding the answer – for mostly the questions referred to well-known *halakhot* – but to improvise a way of linking up both the question and the answer with the real subject matter of his sermon, concerned usually with an aggadic interpretation of the Bible reading for the day. It is, however, quite possible that often the question posed to the preacher had been prompted and was known to him beforehand.

FORMS OF THE SERMON. Though the "classical" Midrashim undoubtedly drew the bulk of their material from the tens of thousands of sermons which had actually been preached in the synagogues of Palestine during the first four or five centuries C.E., they have hardly ever preserved these sermons in their original form. In many cases, they present mere outlines of actual sermons or of parts of them, while, on the other hand, they take sections from many separate sermons and weld them into new and larger units.

The Proem Type. One of the rhetorical forms, found frequently in practically all of the old Midrashim, the proem (*petiḥta*), undoubtedly had its origin in the live sermon. It opened with a quotation from Scripture, not taken from the text read on that day, but mostly from the Hagiographa. Through a series of aggadic interpretations and stories, the quotation was gradually linked up with the first verse of the pericope (or the prophetic lesson) of the day. Often, the preacher intentionally chose a verse which seemed completely unconnected with the weekly portion so as to arouse the curiosity of the audience and increase its interest. Sometimes the connection would be established by means of a play on words or similar rhetorical device. Nearly always, the opening verse chosen expressed a general idea which was subsequently illustrated by the specific example provided by the contents of the pericope. Such proems served originally either as opening sections of complete sermons (according to Maybaum, Bacher) or, more likely, were sermons complete in themselves (according to Bloch, Baeck) and were preached, presumably, immediately before the readings from Scripture, serving as introductions to the latter (Heinemann).

Other Types. But the proem type was by no means the only kind of sermon in vogue. Apart from the *yelammedenu* form, already mentioned, there were sermons opening with a form of benediction, praising God for giving Torah to Israel, and proceeding from this to the specific theme to be developed (J. Heinemann, *Ha-Tefillah bi-Tekufat ha-Tanna'im ve-ha-Amora'im* (1964), 160 – 2). Undoubtedly, other sermons took for their point of departure the first verse of the weekly portion itself; the section in *Mekhilta*, beginning with "And Moses took the bones of Joseph with him" (Ex. 13:19), may serve as an example of this type. Another type of opening of the sermon has been preserved in passages in which the first verse of the pericope is immediately followed by a reference to a verse elsewhere, in the light of which the former is interpreted, e.g., "'Then came Amalek'… This verse is to be … explained in connection with the passage in Job where it is said 'Can the rush shoot up without mire …'"(Mekh., Amalek, 1 beginning).

Conclusions of Sermons. The concluding sections of homilies in the Midrashim mostly sound the messianic theme, contrasting the suffering and the troubles of "this world" with the joys of "the world to come." It stands to reason that these sections also represent perorations of actual sermons. Other sermons appear to have ended in prayers which expressed either thanks to God for the giving of the Torah or a request for the speedy coming of redemption or both (Heinemann, loc. cit.). One example of such a concluding prayer is the **Kaddish.*

Example of a Complete Sermon. One of the few sermons whose entire structure appears to have been preserved (though probably only in outline) is the one by R. Tanḥum of Nevay (Shab. 30a–b): It starts with the halakhic question of whether one may extinguish a light on the Sabbath for the sake of a person dangerously ill. It then proceeds to discuss the relation of life and death on the basis of scriptural quotations, illustrating its argument with poignant stories from the lives of David and Solomon and making the point, among others, that even one day in the lives of the righteous is of supreme value in the eyes of God. It concludes by answering the question posed at the beginning that man's soul "is the lamp of the Lord" (Prov. 20:27) and it is better that a lamp made by man be extinguished on the Sabbath rather than the soul (life), the lamp made by God. In form this sermon is unique, for in spite of its affinities with the *yelammedenu* type, it differs from it by placing the answer to the halakhic question at the conclusion of the entire sermon.

HOMILIES IN THE MIDRASHIM. It follows that in different times and places sermons exhibited a variety of structures and patterns. Against this, in the so-called homiletic Midrashim all homilies are constructed more or less in a uniform pattern: after a series of proems there follows the "body" of the sermon (whose structure is not clearly defined), and finally the messianic peroration (Lev. R.; PdRK). In Midrashim of the *Tanḥuma-yelammedenu* type, the parts mentioned are preceded by the section opening with a halakhic question. Such homilies do not represent single, actual sermons as preached in public. Even if the proems are considered to be mere opening sections, no preacher would have used a whole series of such introductions, independent of one another, consecutively, in order to arrive again and again at the same point which he had already reached with the first one, i.e., the first verse of the pericope. Hence these homilies must be taken as creations of the editors of the Midrashim who made use of a number of sections, especially proems, taken from different sermons, and combined them into a new form, the "literary homily," which must not be confused with the actual live sermon as preached in the synagogue (in a variety of forms).

J. Mann developed a highly ingenious theory that both the halakhic question (in the *yelammedenu* type of homily) and the Bible verses with which the proems open were chosen for the sake of verbal tallies to the prophetic reading (*haftarah*) for the day. Thus a system of associations with the *haftarah* provides the hidden links between the various sections of the sermon (even though the *haftarah* itself is not quoted, as a rule). Pertinent objections to this theory have been raised by S. Lieberman (*Koveẓ Madda'i le-Zekher M. Schorr* (1944), 186) and by Ḥ. Albeck (Zunz-Albeck, Derashot, 473–4, n. 180). Among the weaknesses of Mann's hypothesis is the fact that associations consisting of a mere verbal link – provided often by very common words – could presumably be discovered in practically all cases, even if they had not been intended. What is more, where the required tally with the known *haftarah* cannot be found, Mann unhesitatingly stipulates a different one. Even the actual *yelammedenu* sermons, to the analysis of which Mann's book (see bibliography) is devoted, are frequently not the ones found in fact in the Midrashim, but sermons reconstructed by Mann himself by combining parts taken from different sources. Moreover, Mann assumes that such homilies were invariably composed of a good many parts: the halakhic openings, series of proems, the bodies of the sermons, and the perorations. Although he occasionally states that some of these parts (e.g., the proems) may be more ancient than others, he remains ambiguous as regards the all-important question of whether such complex structures represent live sermons actually preached, or are mere literary creations of the editors of the Midrashim.

[Joseph Heinemann]

Medieval Period

Through the *derashah*, or homily, the medieval synagogue pulpit could respond to and influence communal life on the pressing issues of the day and reinforce the traditions and ethics of the Torah. It served, too, as a vehicle for social criticism and reform, arousing concern and giving encouragement in times of trial and gloom. The sermon also provided scholars with the opportunity to show their worth, erudition, and acuteness. The *derashah*, while always based on biblical verses and rabbinic sayings, and utilizing the approach of the traditional commentary, aims, nevertheless, to interpret its subject matter according to contemporary needs and concepts. For the most part, the preacher also attempts to attune his homilies to the level and tastes of his listeners.

THE PREACHER. Over the generations, especially at times of crisis, scholars arose who regarded the sermon as their chief interest and duty. Many of them served as peripatetic preachers among the various communities and lands. Preachers appointed by particular communities received fixed salaries, while itinerant preachers usually had to rely on irregular contributions and, on occasion, congregational allotments for their support. The majority of homilies have survived in the forms in which they were composed and written down by the preachers themselves, which are undoubtedly different from the forms in which they were originally delivered. The *darshan* ("preacher") organized the written text and made it more scholarly than the original oral version. The language, also, was different, since the homily was preached in the tongue spoken by the Jews of the locale, while it was written down in Hebrew.

CONTENTS. Because the sermon was directed at the congregation as a whole, the *darshan* was frequently faced with the problem of reconciling the different levels of education within his audience, being caught between the use of a simple, clear approach on the one hand, and his desire for an original, innovative, and profound manner of preaching on the other. At times the focus on nuances of interpretation would far outweigh the ethically instructive and socially beneficial aspects of the homily, which while pleasing the learned members of the community worked to the detriment of the simple folk, as well as impairing the effectiveness of the sermon itself. Midrashim from the early Middle Ages indicate that ethical teachings and commentaries touching on matters of communal interest were also at this time closely related to Torah reading in the synagogue. During that period anthologies of such material were prepared specifically for preachers. Their purpose was "to broaden the scope of Scripture and interpret it in terms of the world scene, thereby showing that God has from the very beginning of time foretold the end of days, and that we may learn many things about the commandments from the conversations of the Patriarchs" (*Midrash Lekaḥ Tov, Va-Yeẓe*). The chronicle of *Ahimaaz relates that a certain learned preacher from Ereẓ Israel had a number of prepared sermons written in rhymed Hebrew. The exegetical method as well as the socioreligious function of the *darshan* was already well established and defined for the Mediterranean Jewish communities from the time of Isaac *Alfasi and *Maimonides (11th and 12th centuries). The latter even ruled that "each Jewish congregation must arrange to have a respected and wise elder who has been known for his piety from his youth and is beloved by the people, who will publicly admonish the community and cause them to repent" (Yad, Teshuvah 4:2; cf. also Tefillah 11:3; Maim. Responsa, ed. by J. Blau, 1 (1957), no. 67). Judah *Hadassi in his *Eshkol ha-Kofer* records that by the 12th century the *Karaites had recognized the importance of the homily and accepted it as a standard practice: "The learned preacher would expound and comment upon the current Scriptural reading and Psalm before the people, who piously sought his presence and interpretation on Sabbaths, festivals, fast days, in the house of mourning, at weddings, and at circumcisions … and turns many away from transgression" (para. 18).

The homily likewise had become an accepted part of Jewish life in Germany by the first half of the 12th century. Accounts of Jews martyred in 1096 include an actual *derashah* publicly delivered to "the first to be slain" and urging them to accept martyrdom. A substantial number of the stories and ethical teachings in *Sefer Ḥasidim* appear to have been passages from sermons, parables, and the like. R. *Eleazar b. Judah b. Kalonymus of Worms ruled that "one must preach in words more precious than gold on the Sabbath … one must assemble the people at that time and preach to them" (Comment. to Prayers, Mss. Bodleian, Opp. 110; see also A.M. Habermann, *Gezerot Ashkenaz ve-Ẓarefat* (1945), 166). After the carnage during the *Black Death, the homily in Germany in the late 14th and early 15th centuries became mainly a means to exhort the people to remain observant, as well as to teach laws and commandments as they should be practiced. In the second half of the 13th century, *Moses b. Jacob of Coucy, France, personally described a journey which he made throughout Spain giving sermons of admonition. His purpose was to strengthen the ritual practices of *tefillin*, *mezuzot*, and *ẓiẓit*; to persuade the men to give up their non-Jewish wives and to prevent them from profaning the name of God through abusing the gentile (*Sefer Mitzvot ha-Gadol*, 1, 2, 112; 11, introd.). He also records a complete sermon in a style very similar to the manner in which it was delivered, obviously directed to a group particularly in need of spiritual awakening. For this he used the system of explaining biblical verses, raising the threat of divine punishment as well as the promise of a heavenly reward. This wandering halakhist and *darshan* is the first known preacher in the Middle Ages to appear as a moral and ethical preceptor of the masses. Most of the ethical works of *Jonah Gerondi appear to be the literary residue of fiery preaching. The homilies of *Naḥmanides which have been preserved (as, e.g., for Rosh Ha-Shanah and in the debate with the king of Aragon in the synagogue on the Sabbath) are in reality profound, comprehensive essays on ethical theory, an indication of the high level of his Spanish audience. The rationalist followers of Maimonides in 14th-century Provence also publicly delivered philosophical-allegorical homilies (compare Jacob *Anatoli in his *Malmad ha-Talmidim*).

In Spain, by the 14th century, the *derashah* had attained a well-developed methodology and compact structure. To the halakhic and philosophical content of the *derashah* were now added mystic elements (e.g., cf. the *Kad ha-Kemaḥ* of R. *Baḥya b. Asher). One of the most renowned preachers of this period was *Nissim b. Reuben Gerondi. The 15th-century sermon reflects the struggle with Christianity and points up the social crises that arose at a time of persecution. The homilies of the most illustrious *darshan* of the generation of the Expulsion, R. Isaac *Arama, show that periods of vigorous anti-Jewish Christian preaching have called forth an equally strong reaction from contemporary Jewish preaching (introd. to *Akedat Yiẓḥak*). Arama's sermons in *Akedat Yiẓḥak* combine a more difficult speculative analysis with popular appeal in order to strengthen the faith, be alert against Christian slanders, and safeguard the character of his hearers during the calamities threatening them.

STRUCTURE AND STYLE. Joel *Ibn Shuaib, a *darshan* who taught the transposition of laws from theory to practice, summed up the architectural and aesthetic tradition of the *derashah* in Spain around the time of the Expulsion. The preacher, he counseled, should concern himself with two essentials in his sermons: (1) the integrity of the subject matter, and (2) the perfecting of his manner of expression…. Regarding the first, he must be careful … that, whatever he will say, his listeners will derive benefit. Though his sermons be very profound, he must make them clear enough for the masses of the people to gain something from them on their level. Yet no less must he have regard for the special interests of the more intellectually inclined who may be present when his subject is mostly directed to the simple folk. On the second principal concern, the form of the sermon, three considerations are paramount:

(1) the length – it should not be the least bit longer than is absolutely necessary to convey the intended *derashah*;

(2) the structure – the sermon should be well organized, not lacking in proper order, now in the streets, now in the broad places (Prov. 7:12);

(3) his phrases and words should possess grace and dignity, and they ought to be delivered in a pleasing and proper way according to the following conditions: Along with an attractive style and an inherent order within the sermon, the preacher must also make proper use of his voice in addressing the people so that they should understand even from his external manner of speaking that his words have value for them (Introd. to *Olat Shabbat*, Venice, 1577).

An interesting illustration of the actual style of the *derashah* as it was preached has been preserved in the homily delivered by Isaac *Aboab, the last principal of the yeshivah of Lisbon, in 1492–93, to the exiles from Spain:

> How can I endure so much suffering? A man can exist in this world for one of two reasons: either because he is in his own land, or because the Lord is watching over him. About the first reason, Cain said: "Behold, Thou hast driven me out this day from the face of the land" (Gen. 4:14). Regarding the second, he added, "whosoever findeth me will slay me" (*ibid.*), meaning, whatever may befall me, whether through the air or from some other part of the world, may be a reason for Him to kill me. The Holy One will have mercy on us…. There is a parable of a father and son walking together. Tired and feeling weak, the son asks the father if they are far from the city… and the father explains to him how he may know: once you see a cemetery, then you will be near the city…. When we see many misfortunes at hand, it signals the coming of the Messiah (*Nahar Pishon*, Constantinople, 1538, 11a).

This homily is an immediate, live reaction to the expulsion from Spain.

The *derashah* developed further in the 16th and 17th centuries among the exiles, and Jews in Italy influenced by them, who were all nourished to some extent by Renaissance culture. The sermons of the most prominent 16th-century preacher in Italy, Judah *Moscato, intersperse references to music and astronomy and Italian phrases with rabbinic aphorisms. Within this milieu, Leone *Modena compared the preacher to "a stone engraver carving out a fine statue" (*Midbar Yehudah*, Venice, 1602, 5a). To the Venetian Jewish community the homily was a work of art valued for the perfection of its form.

Homiletics underwent a more turbulent development in Poland and Lithuania, reflecting communal dissension and social problems. A number of Polish-Jewish preachers openly declared that they had the right to interpret Scripture freely in order to admonish and instruct their congregants. Yet some scholars complained about the preachers who would take liberties with biblical verses not in order to reprove their communities but to prove their own dialectical subtlety and to satisfy the eagerness of their listeners for novel and clever interpretations. This tendency led to confusion and awkwardness in the *derashah*. From the same period there are many *midreshei-peli'ah* ("wonder tales") invented by preachers who attributed them to early Midrashim. *David b. Manasseh, an itinerant often-persecuted preacher, wrote *Ketav Hitnaẓẓelut la-Darshanim* ("Writ of Apology for Preachers") in 1574, in which he argues for homiletic license to interpret and use various rhetorical devices to influence listeners. The *darshan* *Berechiah (Berakh) b. Isaac Eisik of Cracow testifies (in his *Zera Berakh*) that the homily provided the learned with a means of persuading the leaders of the community to their point of view.

SOCIAL IMPACT. Some preachers battled openly and vigorously in communal affairs. Outstanding among these was Ephraim Solomon of *Luntshits, whose sermonic works (*Ir Gibborim, Olelot Efrayim, Ammudei Shesh*, and *Oraḥ le-Ḥayyim*) influenced his own as well as later periods. R. Ephraim forcefully attacked egotism, the avaricious pursuit of wealth, the haughtiness of the rich, and their self-righteous hyprocrisy. Formerly a wandering *darshan*, frequently derided and little known, by his dynamic preaching Luntschitz achieved such recognition that he was invited to deliver a homily before the *Council of Four Lands in session at Lublin. He later served as rabbi of Prague, succeeding *Judah Loew b. Bezalel, who was himself an eminent preacher.

The pervasive influence of the *derashah* is apparent, too, from regulations and communal actions in Poland-Lithuania. In 1638 and 1648 the salary of the preacher appointed by the Poznan community was set as second only to that of the *av bet din*, and the difference between the two was negligible. In 1717, the Jews of Cracow defined the ideal preacher as one who "in his pleasant utterances gives joy to both God and man, and quenches the spiritual thirst of every class of people according to the depth and breadth of their understanding. Sometimes he teaches the Law in depth, explaining the words of our rabbis, distilling the strong waters of *Gemara*, codes, and *tosafot*. Yet he can still clarify, instill into his hearers a sense of reverence, sweeten the bitterness of life through his pleasant manner of speaking with straightforwardness…, in sermons open and understood by all, including those whose minds cannot fathom the depth of his words" (D. Weinryb, *Te'udot le-Toledot ha-Kehillot ha-Yehudiyyot be-Polin* (1950), 185).

The regulations issued by the Council of Lithuania indicate that the communal leadership was apprehensive of the potential force of the *derashah*, which they could not control. In 1628, they instituted supervision over all sermons in reaction to the freedom which the itinerant preachers had assumed. In 1667, during the agitation which followed the appearance of *Shabbetai Ẓevi, they again protested that "a number of men go around in this region, preaching publicly in synagogues and other places, pompously delivering open reproofs. However, their preaching appears in some part for their own self-glorification." The Council placed supervision of the sermons under "the local rabbi and seven city elders. If a man attempts to preach without their express permission, they may say to him: 'Step down from the pulpit,' aside from imposing additional penalties" (S. Dubnow (ed.), *Pinkas ha-Medinah* (1925), no. 596). In Moravia, too, the governing body issued regulations regarding "the acceptability of preachers who station themselves at houses of learning," and in 1701 they felt it necessary to warn the local leaders not to allow such *maggidim* ("wandering preachers") to deliver sermons without the approval of the local *av bet din* (I. Halpern, *Takkanot Medinat Mehrin* (1951), 100, 168).

18th to Early 19th Century

The changes which occurred in Jewish life as a result of the partitions of Poland, the rise of *Ḥasidism, the development of *Haskalah, and *Emancipation brought a modification of the character and status of the homily. Significantly, even in the 18th century, preaching in the medieval style still retained its importance. Just as the Jewish leaders in Poland had epitomized their concept of the ideal preacher of the past in 1717, *Elijah b. Solomon ha-Kohen of Izmir in his homiletic work *Shevet Musar* (Constantinople, 1712) summed up the method of admonition which invokes the fear of Gehinnom and sufferings in the afterlife. His work was widely read, and translated into Yiddish. Jonathan *Eybeschuetz achieved fame in his lifetime as well as posthumously for his homilies (*Ya'arot Devash*). In the 18th century, Jacob *Kranz, the Dubno *Maggid*, exerted a profound effect upon his listeners through the effective use of parables. Some scholars believe that in 18th-century Poland these itinerant *maggidim* made up an intelligensia opposed to the existing intellectual establishment, who indirectly aided the rise of Ḥasidism. Yet the ḥasidic movement gradually substituted "the saying of Torah" by the ḥasidic rabbis for the standard *derashah*, thereby eventually replacing the wandering preachers.

Within the cultural sphere of the *Mitnaggedim the homily continued to play a role. Itinerant *darshanim* like *Moses b. Isaac ha-Darshan of Kelmy, and Ḥayyim Zadok, the *Maggid* of Rumschischki, were influential in Jewish society. Their chief concern focused on the struggle against Ḥasidism and Haskalah, as well as the founding of charitable institutions in the small towns of Lithuania and White Russia. They often intoned their sermons using a special plaintive melodic mode, and the parable was one of their most essential homiletic tools. For the *derashah* given by the boy who had become bar mitzvah, see *Bar Mitzvah. Also there was a custom that the bridegroom or the scholar give a *derashah* under the wedding canopy or at the festivities following.

[*Encyclopaedia Hebraica*]

In Modern Times (From the Beginning of the 19th Century)

THE MODERN SERMON. Part of the aim of Zunz's most famous work, *Gottesdienstliche Vortraege der Juden* (1832), was to demonstrate, when this was challenged by the Prussian government (under the influence of Orthodox groups who saw the sermon in the vernacular as the beginnings of Reform), that preaching is not an innovation but an ancient Jewish institution. While this is true, the traditional *derashah* was, in fact, replaced in the 19th century by a new type of Jewish sermon, the *Predigt*, as it was called in Germany. There were a number of important changes in language, style, and content which, first in Germany and then in other European countries, gave a completely new cast to the sermon. This new type of sermon was delivered in the vernacular and unlike the occasional *derashah*, it was a regular feature of the service. It sought to express Jewish values in a contemporary idiom and in the thought patterns of the day. Woven around one central theme, the modern sermon developed in orderly fashion, without academic digressions on the texts quoted, emphasizing edification rather than pure instruction. Although the early 19th-century preachers in Germany were not rabbis, preaching, instead of being delegated to a special functionary, eventually became the preserve of the rabbi and one of his most important duties in Western countries. Among the well-known preachers in 19th-century Germany were: Eduard *Kley, Gotthold *Salomon, Abraham *Geiger, Samuel *Holdheim, Jehiel Michael *Sachs, Samson Raphael *Hirsch, and David *Einhorn; and in the 20th century: Siegmund *Maybaum, Nehemia Anton *Nobel, and Leo *Baeck.

A. Altmann (see bibl.) has demonstrated the influence of the Protestant pulpit on the development of the modern Jewish sermon. The early German preachers consciously modeled their sermons on the patterns of Christian homiletics and used Christian guides to the art of preaching. Even Isaac Noah *Mannheimer, the most outstanding 19th-century preacher, who pleaded for a closer link with the Jewish homiletical tradition, admitted "that we as pupils and disciples, as novices in the art of preaching which we have been practicing only a little while, can learn a great deal from the masters of the art, and we have gratefully to accept every guidance and instruction offered to us in their schools." Zunz, in his brief career as a preacher at the New Synagogue in Berlin (1820–22), was influenced by *Schleiermacher. It is even on record that the most popular Christian preachers of the time, such as Ritschl and Schleiermacher, used to hear the young preachers at Israel *Jacobson's temple in Berlin and give them, after the sevice, "manifold hints and directives."

A reaction soon set in. There was a persistent demand for a truly Jewish homiletic, arguing, in Mannheimer's words, that "it is always better to feed on one's own resources than to live from alms." But, generally speaking, the reaction in the 19th century only amounted to a greater use of rabbinic, especially midrashic, material, as exemplified in the sermons of the illustrious preacher Adolf *Jellinek in Vienna. Jellinek's preaching attracted many of the intellectuals of his day who, in their quest for Jewish identity, needed his reassurance that Judaism was supremely worthwhile and still capable of making important contributions. Jellinek was fond of preaching that too many were saying: "Now Israel's eyes were dim with age; he could not see" (Gen. 48:10), whereas the truth was that Moses still spoke and God still answered him in thunder (Ex. 19:19). Jellinek's methods and strong Jewish emphasis influenced Jewish preaching everywhere. A later occupant of Jellinek's pulpit, Hirsch (Ẓevi) Perez *Chajes, for example, preached to a bar mitzvah the story of the woman whose vessels were miraculously replenished by the oil (II Kings 4:1 – 7). The never-ending power of Judaism is always available if only Jews will provide the vessels with which to contain it. No matter how great the Jew's spiritual demands, Judaism is capable of satisfying them (*Ne'umim ve-Harẓa'ot* (1953), 400).

Tobias *Goodman is credited with being the first Jew to preach in the English language. Two of his printed sermons are: *A Sermon on the Universally Regretted Death of the Most Illustrious Princess Charlotte*, preached on Wednesday, Nov. 19, 1817, at the synagogue, Denmark Court, London (the first sermon to be both delivered and printed in English), and *A Sermon Occasioned by the Demise of Our Late Venerable Sovereign, King George the Third*, preached on Wednesday, Feb. 16, 1820, at the same synagogue (A. Barnett, *The Western Synagogue Through Two Centuries* (1961), 48 – 51). In December 1828 a Committee of Elders was appointed at the Bevis Marks Sephardi Synagogue in London to inquire into the best means of elevating the tone of public services. Among their recommendations was that an English sermon based on a text taken from Scripture should be delivered every Saturday afternoon. Before delivery every sermon should be examined by a committee of three elders for statements contrary to Jewish doctrines or hostile to the institutions of the country (J. Picciotto, *Sketches of Anglo-Jewish History* (1956^2), 318–20). In the U.S., preaching in the English language was introduced much later. Some preachers, like the Reform Rabbi David Einhorn, preferred to give sermons in their native German. Einhorn declared that "Where the German sermon is banned, there the reform of Judaism is nothing more than a brilliant gloss, a decorated doll, without heart, without soul, which the proudest temples and the most splendid theories cannot succeed in infusing with life." The Jewish sermon in English was developed to a fine art by such preachers as Simeon *Singer, Morris *Joseph, Joseph Herman *Hertz, Israel *Mattuck, A.A. Green, Abraham *Cohen, and Ephraim Levine in England; Stephen S. *Wise, Israel Herbert *Levinthal, Abba Hillel *Silver, Solomon *Goldman, and Solomon Bennett *Freehof in the U.S. Two annual collections of sermons in English are those published by the Rabbinical Council of America (Orthodox) since 1943; and since 1954, the collection by rabbis from all three groups in *Best Jewish Sermons*, edited by Saul I. Teplitz.

In Eastern Europe the older type of *derashah* delivered in Yiddish by the *maggid* still predominated, but certain new features manifested themselves even here. The winds of change in the Jewish world moved the *maggidim* to find a rather more sophisticated approach. Preaching in Yiddish became directed to the needs of the individual as well as the community. The Haskalah movement was frequently fought by the *maggidim* with the weapons of pulpit oratory. With the rise of Zionism, many of its opponents used the same weapons to combat it, while others sympathetic to Zionism preached the love of the Holy Land and the legitimacy of Jewish nationalistic aspirations with new fervor. In fact, a new type of nationalistic preacher emerged and was given the name *mattif* ("speaker";

Micah 2:11), to distinguish him from the old-type *maggid*. Under the influence of the Lithuanian Musar movement, with its strong moralistic concern, the *derashah* began to place greater emphasis on ethical matters. The hellfire preaching of Moses *Isaac, the Kelmer *Maggid* (1828–1900), the most popular of the folk preachers, was directed largely against dishonesty in business and general unethical conduct (D. Katz, *Tenu'at ha-Musar*, 2 (c. 1958), 395–407). Many of the *maggidim* went to the U.S., England, and South Africa where their preaching was directed against the widespread desecration of the Sabbath and neglect of the dietary laws, abuses unknown in their native countries. *Maggidim* still flourish in the State of Israel, but there has been little development of the sermon in Hebrew and the rabbi-preacher is virtually unknown there as a regular and respected synagogue functionary. Among the Yiddish preachers of renown were: Ḥayyim Zundel, H.Z. *Maccoby (the Kamenitzer *Maggid*), J.L. Lazarov, Ẓ.H. *Masliansky, Isaac *Nissenbaum, M.A. *Amiel, Zalman *Sorotzkin, and Ze'ev *Gold.

PREACHING TECHNIQUES. Simeon Singer in "Where the Clergy Fail," an address delivered to young preachers on Jan. 17, 1904 (*Lectures and Addresses* (1908), 203 – 25), describes the aim of the Jewish preacher thus: "to teach the word of God to their brethren, young and old; to help them to the perception of the highest truths of religion; to uplift their souls out of the rut of the common, the sordid, the selfish, in life; to speak a message of comfort to the sorrowing, of hope to the despondent, of counsel to the perplexed, of courage to the struggling and aspiring." In the belief that the art of preaching can be taught, the major rabbinical seminaries have departments of homiletics. Sigmund Maybaum taught homiletics at the Hochschule in Berlin, Israel *Bettan at Hebrew Union College, Mordecai Menahem *Kaplan at the Jewish Theological Seminary, and Abraham Cohen at Jews' College.

The modern Jewish sermon is usually based on a text chosen from the portion (the *sidra* or *haftarah*) read in the synagogue on the day the sermon is delivered. Books of the Bible which are not read in public, like Job, rarely furnish texts for sermons, though they may be quoted in support of a position the preacher adopts. Normally the sermon is delivered toward the end of the service. While the note of exhortation is never entirely absent from the sermon, many preachers nowadays prefer to use the sermon chiefly as a means of instruction, imparting information about Jewish faith, history, and teachings. The length of the sermon varies from preacher to preacher but on the average is about 20 minutes. Preaching from a prepared manuscript is the rule for some preachers while others prefer to speak extemporaneously. Adequate preparation is counseled by the best preachers. In the preface to his *Faith of a Jewish Preacher* (1935), Ephraim Levine compares the preacher who waits for Providence to put words into his mouth to Balaam who said the very opposite of what he intended to say. Oratory has now generally yielded to an easier conversational tone. Few preachers would today follow the example of Leo Baeck of whom it was said that he never used the personal pronoun "I" in the pulpit.

Sermon illustrations are taken from the personal experience of the preacher, Jewish history, the Midrash, natural science and psychology, and, latterly, ḥasidic lore. L.I. Newman's *Hasidic Anthology* (1934) and M. Buber's *Tales of the Hasidim* (1947–48) have come to serve as sources for sermon illustrations. Quotations from secular literature are used to develop themes. In a typical sermon outline on *Kol Nidrei* by Milton *Steinberg (*Sermons*, B. Mandelbaum, ed. (1954), 58–63) there are references to the *geonim*, Walter Pater, Tennyson, Leibnitz, Omar Khayyam, and W.L. Phelps. Louis I. *Rabinowitz (*Out of the Depths* (1951), 332–5) builds a *Kol Nidrei* sermon around a poem by the modern Hebrew writer Zalman *Shneur. In a Day of Atonement sermon by Israel H. Levinthal (*Steering or Drifting – Which?* (1928), 128–35), there are quotations from *Judah Halevi, the Talmud, the prayer book, a Christian legend, folk language, the Bible, and the Midrash. Preachers in the U.S. frequently take for their sermon theme a book, movie, or play that has received much attention for its treatment of some moral or religious question. Some sermons conclude with a prayer. This and other pulpit pretensions, however, were severely criticized by Franz *Rosenzweig in his scathing attack on preaching in *Sermonic Judaism* (N.N. Glatzer, *Franz Rosenzweig* (1953), 247–50). The chosen text and the way it is treated depend on the individual bent of the preacher but, judging by published sermons, certain themes are constant. Each of the festivals, for example, has its particular message so far as the preacher is concerned. The theme of Passover is freedom; of Shavuot Jewish education (in Orthodox pulpits the immutability of the Torah); of Sukkot trust in God and thankfulness for His bounty; of Ḥanukkah spiritual light; of Purim Jewish peoplehood; of Rosh Ha-Shanah the need for renewal; and on the Day of Atonement sin and atonement. In addition to the weekly Sabbath sermon the rabbi preaches on the special occasions in the life of his congregation: anniversaries, weddings, funerals, installation of officers, bar mitzvahs, and his own induction. A number of rabbinic manuals contain sermonic material in capsule form for the rabbi's use on special occasions (e.g., H.E. Goldin, *Ha-Madrikh*, 1939).

ISSUES OF THE DAY IN PREACHING. The modern Jewish sermon frequently addresses itself to particular problems which agitate the Jewish community as well as to wider issues of universal import. There is much discussion on the extent to which politics should be introduced, but few Jewish preachers accept a total ban on political questions. There are numerous instances of preachers seeking to influence their congregants either when a topic is a source of controversy in the community or when they feel that widely held views are contrary to Jewish teaching. Themes treated in the contemporary pulpit are the controversy between religion and science, the role of the State of Israel, the permissive society, intermarriage, Jewish education, war and peace, social injustice, racial discrimination, the use and abuse of wealth, and Judaism and its relation to other faiths. The 1968 edition of *Best Jewish Sermons* contains sermons against the taking of drugs; on the "death of God" movement, fair housing, the estrangement of the Jewish intellectual from Judaism, recreation, and the need to care for the hungry of the world. Rabbis have fought to free the pulpit from control by the lay leaders of the congregation. When Stephen Wise was being considered for the influential post of rabbi of Temple Emanu-El in New York, Louis *Marshall, the president, held that in controversial matters the pulpit must remain under the control of the trustees. Wise refused to consider the post under such conditions and eventually founded the Free Synagogue to uphold the principle of pulpit liberty.

In 19th-century America the slavery issue was echoed from the Jewish pulpit. Morris J. *Raphall preached that slavery was a divinely ordained institution since it is sanctioned in the Bible. David Einhorn, however, attacked slavery from the pulpit as "the greatest crime against God." As a result, his life was placed in jeopardy and on April 22, 1861, Einhorn and his family were secretly escorted out of Baltimore.

With the rise of the *Reform movement the issue of Reform was hotly debated from the pulpit. A favorite text for the Reform sermon, used by Geiger and others, was: "One generation passeth away, and another generation cometh; but the earth abideth for ever" (Eccles. 1:4). The "earth" represents the essential, unchanging spirit of Judaism, which must be interpreted by each generation in the light of its own needs and insights. Often the same set of texts would be used by both Orthodox and Reform preachers in support of their positions. The "wicked son" of the Passover *Haggadah* was, for the Orthodox preacher, the Reform Jew who asks "What is this service to you?" For the Reform Jew the son who represented their point of view was the "wise son" who was ready to ask the intelligent questions demanded by the new age. Chief Rabbi N.M. *Adler preached in London, on the second day of Passover in 1868, a sermon against the abolition of the second day of festivals in the Diaspora, a matter which at that time had begun to be an issue in the struggle between Orthodoxy and Reform. His son and successor, Hermann *Adler, at the beginning of the 20th century, refused to permit a synagogue under his jurisdiction to appoint Morris *Joseph as preacher because the latter had published views "at variance with traditional Judaism." Solomon *Schechter, living at that time in Cambridge, pointed out that if doctrines were to become the test of a minister, then the greatest names in Jewish learning – Zunz, Graetz, Herzfeld, Joel, Gotthold Salomon, Rapoport and others – would never have been permitted to preach in a United Synagogue (R. Apple, *The Hampstead Synagogue* (1967), 23–27). Chief Rabbi J.H. *Hertz preached a series of sermons, *Affirmations of Judaism* (1927), attacking the new Liberal movement founded by Claude Goldsmid *Montefiore and others.

[Louis Jacobs]

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PRECIOUS STONES AND JEWELRY.

In the Bible

Precious stones are mentioned in various contexts in the Bible, the most comprehensive list appearing in the description of the breastpiece worn by the high priest. The breastpiece was set with 12 precious stones arranged in four rows with three stones in each row to represent the 12 tribes: "set in it mounted stones, in four rows of stones. The first row shall be a row of *ʾodem, piṭdah*, and *bareqet*; the second, of *nofekh, sappir*, and *yahalom*; the third of *leshem, shevo*, and *ʾaḥlamah*; and the fourth, of *tarshish, shoham*, and *yashfeh*…" (Ex. 28:17–20). Most of these stones are mentioned again as present in the Garden of Eden where the king of Tyre originally abode (Ezek. 28:13).

(See Table: Gems in High Priest Breastplate.)

From the talmudic period onward, biblical translators and commentators have attempted to determine the mineralogical nature of these stones and to identify them in terms of the names of modern minerals. However, the identity of the stones of the breastpiece cannot be established by a mineralogical study, since there is no statement even about their colors except in the late Midrash (in *Midrash Rabbah*). Philological research is of assistance only in a few cases. Archaeological excavations can help somewhat by establishing which minerals were utilized as precious or semiprecious stones in pre-Exilic times. The chart presented here summarizes a few of the different identifications of the stones of the breastpiece found in ancient and modern Bible translations, and advanced by the modern scholars N. Shalem and R. Sverdlov. There is also disagreement between the Palestine Targum (followed

Precious Stones in the High Priest's Breastplate in the Hebrew Bible and its Versions

Hebrew Bible	Targum Onkelos	Targum Jonathan	Palestine Targum	Ex. Rabbah 38, 10	LXX	J.P.S.A.	New English Bible
אֹדֶם	סַמְקָן	סִימוּקְתָא	סַמְקָתָא	שרדנגין (שׂדרנגין)	σάρδιόν	carnelian	sardin
פִּטְדָה	יַרְקָן	יַרְקְתָא	יַרְקָתָא	טומפזין (שומפזין)	τόπάζίον	chrysolite (topaz)	chrysolite
בָּרֶקֶת	בַּרְקָן	בַּרְקְתָא	בַּרְקָתָא	דיקינתון	σμάραγδος	emerald (smaragd)	green felspar
נֹפֶךְ	אִזְמַרְגְּדִין	אִיזְמֹרַד	כַּדְכְּדָנָא	ברדינין	άνθραξ	turquoise (carbuncle)	purple garnet
סַפִּיר	שַׁבְזִיז	סַפִּירִינוֹן	סִמְפּוֹרְיָנָא	סאפירינון	σάρΦείρος	sapphire	lapis lazuli
יַהֲלֹם	סִבְהֲלוֹם	כַּדְכּוֹדִי	עֵין עִיגְלָא	אזמרגדין	ίαστις	amethyst (emerald)	jade
לֶשֶׁם	קַנְכֵּרִי	קַנְכִּרִינוֹן	זוֹזִין	כוכלין (בוחלין)	λιγύριον	jacinth	turquoise
שְׁבוֹ	טַרְקְיָא	טַרְקִין (ערקין)	בִּירְזְלִין	אכאטיס	άχάτης	agate	agate
אַחְלָמָה	עֵין עֶגְלָא	עֵין עֵיגֶל	זְמַרְגַּדִּין	(המטוסיון) הימוסיון	άμέθυστος	crystal (amethyst)	jasper
תַּרְשִׁישׁ	כרום יַמָּא	כְּרוּם יַמָּא רַבָּא	כְּרוּם יַמָּא	קרומטסין	χρυσόλιθός	beryl	topaz
שֹׁהַם	בּוּרְלָא	בֵּירְלֵיוַת חַלָּא	בְּדוֹלְחָא	פראלוקין	βήρύλλιον	lapis lazuli (onyx)	cornelian
יָשְׁפֵה	פַּנְטֵירֵי	אַפַּנְטוֹרִין מַרְגְּנַיִית	מַרְגָּלִיתָא	מרגליטים	όνύχιον	jasper	green jasper

by Maimonides and Baḥya) and the Targum Jonathan (followed by Rashi) as to the order of the names of the tribes on the stones. According to the Palestine Targum, the six sons of Leah appear first, then the sons of the maidservants, and lastly the sons of Rachel. Targum Jonathan, on the other hand, claims that they followed the order of their birth, i.e., the sons of the maidservants preceded Issachar and Zebulun. The only source specifying a mineralogical property is the description found in *Midrash Rabbah* (Num. R. 2:7):

"There were distinguishing signs for each prince; each had a flag and a different color for every flag, corresponding to the precious stones on the breast of Aaron … Reuben's stone was *ʾodem* and the color of his flag was red; and embroidered thereon were mandrakes. Simeon's was *piṭdah* and his flag was of a yellow (or green) color … Levi's was *bareqet* and the color of his flag was a third white, a third black, and a third red … Judah's was *nofekh* and the color of his flag was like that of the sky … Issachar's was *sappir* and the color of his flag was black like stibium … Zebulun's was *yahalom* and the color of his flag was white … Dan's was *leshem* and the color of his flag was similar to *sappir* … Gad's *ʾaḥlamah* and the color of his flag was neither white nor black but a blend of black and white … Asher's was *tarshish* and the color of his flag was like the precious stone with which women adorn themselves … Joseph's was *shoham* and the color of his flag was jet black … Benjamin's was *yashfeh* and the color of his flag was a combination of all the 12 colors …"

If this ancient Midrash is accepted, it appears that the color of the stones was the most accurate mark of identification that popular Jewish tradition could preserve. Ibn Ezra (Ex. 28:9), on the other hand, sharply criticizes the translations of Saadiah Gaon: "and we have no way of clearly knowing the 'stones for setting' because the Gaon rendered them as he wished, and he has no tradition which he can rely on…"

Through a comparison of the various translations and commentaries, reasonable identification may be advanced for some of the stones; with others, an identification is impossible. Some of the stones may be identified mineralogically, but because they are different in color they were called by different names.

ʾODEM. (אֹדֶם; Ex. 28:17; 39:10; Ezek. 28:13), a red stone. *ʾOdem* is rendered as *samqan* (סַמְקָן), i.e., "red," in Aramaic translations; as *sardion* in the Greek versions; and *aḥmar* in Arabic. This stone is probably carnelian sard, one of the red cryptocrystalline varieties of quartz (SiO_2). It is found in excavations. Some regard it as the opaque red jasper found in Egypt and in the vicinity of Eilat.

PIṬDAH. (פִּטְדָה; Ex. 28:17; 39:10; Ezek. 28:13), according to the commentators, a green stone, and generally identified in the versions as the green-yellow topaz. According to Pliny, however, what was known as the topaz in antiquity was not identical with the modern stone called topaz $Al_2F_2SiO_4$, but with the modern chrysolite or peridot belonging to the olivine group. This mineral is usually green in color and is used as a gem. The identification of topaz or chrysolite with *piṭdah* is rejected by N. Shalem who proposed plasma, a green variety of cryptocrystalline quartz. *Piṭdah* is also mentioned in Job 28:19 as *piṭdah* of Ethiopia, which is used as a symbol of the value of wisdom. This is apparently a reference to *piṭdah* imported from Ethiopia.

BAREQET. (בָּרֶקֶת; Ex. 28:17; 39:10; Ezek. 28:13), a similar term in Akkadian, *barraqtu*, also means a precious stone. Both words may share a common etymology in the Semitic root *brq* or may be borrowed from the Sanskrit *marakata* which means smaragd. Most Greek versions explain *bareqet* as smaragd, which is a variety of beryl $Al_2Be_3Si_6O_{18}$ with small additions of other elements, i.e., the emerald. Emerald-smaragd mines were located in ancient times in Kosseir in Egypt. Smaragd was considered the most valuable green stone, and it has been found in the form of gems in the tombs of the pharaohs. U. Cassuto and others identify *bareqet* with malachite, which is similar in color to smaragd and was easier to work in ancient times. According to these explanations, *bareqet* is green and thus does not fit the description in the Midrash which states that *bareqet* is found in three colors. N. Shalem therefore proposed to identify *bareqet* with jasper (SiO_2).

NOFEKH. (נֹפֶךְ; Ex. 28:18; 39:11; Ezek. 27:16; 28:13). *Nofekh* is mentioned as one of the stones on the breastpiece, in the description of the precious stones belonging to the king of Tyre in the Garden of Eden, and also among the valuable goods brought to Tyre by the Arameans. *Nofekh* has been identified by some scholars as the red mineral pyrope $Mg_3Al_2(SiO_4)_3$ of the garnet group. According to the Midrash, it was sky blue in color and N. Shalem, therefore, proposed to identify it with turquoise ($Cu_3Al_2O_3{\cdot}2P_2O_5{\cdot}9H_2O$) which was well known in Sinai as early as the time of the first pharaohs.

SAPPIR. (סַפִּיר). This stone appears in the Bible as the second stone in the second row of the breastpiece (Ex. 28:18; 39:11) and also in other passages as a very costly gem. It is included among the precious stones brought to Tyre by the Arameans (Ezek. 28:13); the firmament is said to have the appearance of the *sappir* stone (Ezek. 1:26); it is used as a symbol of beauty (Song 5:14; Lam. 4:7) and of value – "It cannot be valued in the gold of Ophir, in precious onyx, or *sappir*" (Job 28:16). The Midrash describes the *sappir* as "black, like stibium." Most translations identify the *sappir* with the present-day blue sapphire (Al_2O_3); this stone, however, was apparently unknown in antiquity. In contrast to the Midrash, which regards the *sappir* as blue, Saadiah Gaon calls it white, on the basis of the verse "the likeness of *livnat ha-sappir*" (Ex. 24:10), where he interprets *livnat* as "whiteness." Ibn Ezra disagreed with Saadiah, explaining that the *sappir* is red on the basis of the verse "their bodies were more ruddy than coral, the beauty of their form was like *sappir*" (Lam. 4:7). Despite these sources, most scholars identify *sappir* with lapis lazuli, a translucent blue mineral of the lazulite group, which was used as a decorative stone in antiquity. Lapis lazuli was known in Cyprus as a natural stone and in ancient Egypt also as an artificial gem.

YAHALOM. (יַהֲלֹם), the third stone in the second row of the breastpiece (Ex. 28:18; 39:11), also mentioned in Ezekiel 28:13 as one of the precious stones found in the Garden of Eden. The *yahalom* was a white stone according to the Midrash, and Ibn Ezra rendered it as diamond "which breaks all stones and precious *bedolaḥ*" (on Ex. 28:9). Although in modern Hebrew *yahalom* means diamond, the hardest mineral found in nature, it is not likely that the Bible refers to this stone, which was apparently unknown in biblical times. N. Shalem has proposed chalcedony, a variety of quartz (SiO_2), which is a relatively hard white mineral which fits the midrashic description.

LESHEM. (לֶשֶׁם), the first stone in the third row of the breastpiece (Ex. 28:19; 39:12). Scholars disagree as to the identity of this stone: Sverdlov attributed it to the zircon family, whereas Shalem identifies it with aventurine; others regard it as amber. The name Leshem and the tribe of Dan are connected by means of the *leshem* stone on the breastpiece as well as by means of the city Leshem, also called Laish, which was settled by the tribe of Dan in the north of Israel (Josh. 19:47).

SHEVO. (שְׁבוֹ), the second stone in the third row of the breastpiece (Ex. 28:19; 39:12). According to the Midrash, it is neither white nor black but of a mixed color. *Midrash Rabbah* renders it as *achatis*, as does the Septuagint. This corresponds to the agate, a variety of chalcedony (SiO_2) which has variegated colors as a result of impurities – sometimes in the form of stripes and sometimes in other forms. Agate, a very common mineral, was known in Near Eastern countries in biblical times.

ʾAḤLAMAH. (אַחְלָמָה), the third stone in the third row of the breastpiece (Ex. 28:19; 39:12). Most translators and commentators identify it with amethyst, a transparent purple stone of the SiO_2 group. The Septuagint, Vulgate, and most other versions render it as amethyst. It was believed in antiquity that wine drunk from an amethyst cup would not intoxicate, since the word amethyst in Greek apparently means "not drunken." Ibn Ezra connects the word *ʾaḥlamah* with *ḥalom*, "dream": "whoever wears this stone on his finger never fears dreams," and goes on to say that the *ʾaḥlamah* possesses a magic power which influences dreams, just as there is "a stone which attracts iron" (magnet) and "a stone which flees from vinegar" (the influence of acid on certain minerals). The identification of *ʾaḥlamah* with amethyst, which was well known in antiquity, is generally accepted by most scholars.

TARSHISH. (תַּרְשִׁישׁ), the first stone in the fourth row of the breastpiece (Ex. 28:20; 39:13). The *tarshish* apparently had an unusual luster and brilliance and is thus mentioned several times in the Bible: "the appearance of the wheels… was like the gleaming of a *tarshish*" (Ezek. 1:16; 10:9); "his arms are rounded gold set with *tarshish*" (Song 5:14); "his body was like *tarshish*, his face like the appearance of lightning" (Dan. 10:6). The Targums Onkelos and Jonathan translate *tarshish* as "color of the sea." In all probability, the reference is to the mineral known today as aquamarine, a transparent, bluish green variety of beryl which was considered a very beautiful and costly stone. The aquamarine stone was apparently known in southern Egypt and Spain. This explanation also seems to agree with the Midrash which states that its color resembles a precious stone, since aquamarine was known from earliest times as a precious stone. N. Shalem, in 1931, identified *tarshish* with opal, but later suggested it was mother-of-pearl, perhaps because of the connection between the "color of the sea" and the "sea stone" of Targum Onkelos, which can refer only to pearls. No connection should apparently be sought between the *tarshish* stone and the country or island of the same name to which boats were sent to bring back metals (I Kings 10:22) and to which Jonah fled. It seems that aquamarine is the most correct suggestion.

SHOHAM. (שֹׁהַם), the second stone in the fourth row of the breastpiece (Ex. 28:20; 39:13). *Shoham* is mentioned as one of the stones of the land of Havilah in the Garden of Eden (Gen. 2:12). The translations are not agreed on any one definition: the Septuagint renders it as beryl, as apparently does Onkelos ("burla"); the Palestine Targum translates it as *bedolaḥ* and Josephus, in *The Jewish Wars*, as onyx. According to the Midrash, it was very black in color, whereas Ibn Ezra calls it white (on Ex. 28:9). Onyx is also a variety of silica and usually has different shades and colors. There is no evidence to substantiate the ancient translation of beryl. There is no doubt that *shoham* was considered one of the precious stones of the Garden of Eden (Ezek. 28:13), and it also appears in Job as a symbol of wealth and importance: "wisdom… cannot be valued… in precious *shoham*" (Job 28:16). It was apparently a very costly, hard, and rare stone, but as yet no well-founded identification has been proposed.

YASHFEH. (יָשְׁפֵה), the third stone in the fourth row of the breastpiece (Ex. 28:20; 39:13) and one of the precious stones of the Garden of Eden (Ezek. 28:13). This stone appears with the same name in many ancient documents, including the Tell el-Amarna letters, and is apparently identical with the mineral jasper. This is the only case where one of the stones of the breastpiece is identified with a modern mineral through a similarity of names (that is, if we accept the above theory that the biblical *sappir* is not the modern sapphire). *Yashfeh* was translated as jaspir or jasper from very early times, although the Targums Onkelos and Jonathan do not mention them. Jasper is also a variety of silica.

ʾELGAVISH. (אֶלְגָּבִישׁ) appears in the Bible in connection with heavy rains: "there will be a deluge of rain, great *ʾelgavish* stones will fall" (Ezek. 13:11; 38:22). The Septuagint translates *ʾelgavish* stones both as hail and as slingstones. It is very likely that hail was seen as the slingstones of God, and for this reason the term was used in both senses. Some scholars read it as *ʾel gavish, gavish*, as in Job 28:18, probably meaning crystal as in modern Hebrew. The common crystal is quartz, also known as rock crystal. Hail was called *ʾelgavish* since it was similar in form to real crystal, but as it was only water it could not be called *gavish* but only *ʾelgavish*.

ʾEQDAḤ. (אֶקְדָּח), mentioned only once in the Bible: "I will make your pinnacles of *kadkod*, your gates of *ʾeqdaḥ*" (Isa. 54:12). It has not been identified. Some commentators associate the word *ʾeqdaḥ* with a sparkling, lustrous stone, on the basis of the verse: "you are all kindlers of fire (*qodḥe ʾesh*), who set brands alight" (Isa. 50:11). According to Rashi, *ʾeqdaḥ* is not a mineral but a gate constructed from a large stone in which an opening was made by drilling (*qidduʾaḥ*).

KADKOD. (כַּדְכֹּד), a term that appears twice in the Bible: "I will make your pinnacles of *kadkod*" (Isa. 54:12) and in the list of precious goods brought to Tyre by the Arameans (Ezek. 27:16). *Kadkod* apparently denotes a shiny, sparkling stone, and it is possible that it does not refer to one specific mineral but is a name based on the expression *kiddode ʾesh*, "sparks of fire" (Job 41:11). The Septuagint substituted the letter *resh* for *dalet* which makes the word closer to *karkond*, the Arabic name for spinel, a red precious stone. Some identify *kadkod* with the hyacinth, a transparent orange, red, or brown precious stone which is a variety of zircon.

BAHAṬ, SHESH, DAR, SOḤARET. (בַּהַט, שֵׁשׁ, דַּר, סֹחָרֶת), four terms appearing in the description of the floor of Ahasuerus' palace (Esth. 1:6). This floor was apparently a mosaic pavement containing these four stones. *Bahaṭ* is possibly a type of marble. Alabaster, which was very common in all Near Eastern countries, is sometimes called *bahaṭ* in modern Hebrew. *Shesh* is marble. *Dar*, which means "pearl" in Arabic, may designate stones with a pearl-like luster. The identity of the last term, *soḥaret*, is unknown. These four terms denote decorative building stones which could be polished, but apparently not precious stones.

RAʾMOT. (רָאמוֹת), mentioned in the Bible in various contexts. It is listed among the precious goods brought by the Arameans to Tyre (Ezek. 27:16); as a precious stone which is compared to wisdom in the eyes of a fool: "Wisdom is for a fool as *raʾmot*" (Prov. 24:7); and again as a very costly stone whose value is nevertheless surpassed by wisdom (Job 28:18). *Raʾmot* is clearly a precious stone; its identity, however, is unknown.

[Uri Shraga Wurzburger]

In Rabbinical Literature

Talmud, Midrash, Aramaic and other versions as well as the medieval commentators give translations or interpretations of the two *shoham* (onyx?) stones on the high priest's Ephod and of the 12 precious stones that make up the "Breastplate of Judgment" (Ex. 28:6–12; 15–30). Rav Assi (Meg. 12a) endeavored to explain "stones of a crown, glittering over His land" (Zech. 9:16) and the *bahaṭ* of Esther 1:6 by אבנים שמחוטטות על בעליהן ("stones that flash back at their owner," but see Rashi and He-Arukh, s.v. חט). Another explanation given (*ibid.*) reads המחיטטות לעיניים במקומן ("which dazzle the eyes in the place where they are found" (see Jastrow, Dict, s.v. חטט). The precious stones mentioned in Job 28:18 are translated in the Targum by סנדלכון (corrupted from Greek σαρδόνυχ) and בירולין or בירוצין (beryl), the former also being used in the Talmud as a generic term for precious stones (Sanh. 59b; ARN1^{1}, 5 and 38, 114). The onyx stone (אנך) is mentioned (Av. Zar. 8b, 11b and Tosef. Kel. BM 1:3).

Under the influence of beliefs prevalent among other peoples and cultures, Talmud and Midrash attach magical, in particular medical but also psychological, influences to precious stones, ideas which continued to prevail among medieval Jewish Bible commentators like Abraham Ibn Ezra, David Kimḥi, Baḥya b. Asher and also in the Zohar (see *Astrology). Simeon b. Ẓemaḥ Duran (14th–15th centuries) in his *Magen*

Avot 2, 1 refers to the more than 400 precious stones and their qualities mentioned by Aristotle, and Abraham b. David Portaleone (16th century) devoted a special chapter to this subject in his *Shiltei ha-Gibborim* (1612). Abraham wore a precious stone, hanging from his neck, which healed all those who looked at it (BB 16b); cf. the pearl-bag worn by animals (Sanh. 68a and Rashi ad loc.). Josephus mentions that the Essenes used precious stones for healing purposes (Wars, 2:136). Many legends have been woven round the *Shamir* stone (or worm?) which was said to have been used to cut stones for Solomon's Temple and to engrave the Ephod and breastpiece stones (Avot 5:6; Sot. 48a–b; Git. 68a). Similar qualities were ascribed to the sapphire (PdRK 135b) which was believed to be indestructible and out of which the Two Tablets of the Law (the Ten Commandments) were said to have been made (Tanḥ. Ki Tissa 26; Song. R. 5:14, 3). Precious stones almost invariably occur together with gold and silver as signs of wealth throughout rabbinic literature, and are the subjects of numerous legends (see Ginzberg, Legends, index, s.v. Stone (Stones), Precious). Precious stones were also used for *seals and signet rings.

The expression תכשיט (esp. תכשיטי נשים) = finery, covers not only jewelry but also *cosmetics. Women's finery as a means of seduction was said to have been the invention of the daughters of Cain (see Krauss, TA I. 198), yet women were entitled to possess and wear it (Ket. 65a). Jewelry formed part of the marriage settlement (Song R. 4:12; TJ, Ket. 6:3, 30d), and was sometimes given in lieu of betrothal money (Kid. 48a); cf. certain restrictions on Sabbath wear and some purity regulations (Shab. 6:1; Tanh. Gen. 34, 1; Kel. 11:8, 9; cf. Shab. 62b; Tosef., Kid. 1:11). A bride in particular, was to adorn herself lavishly (Song R. 4:10, 1; Tanḥ. Ex. 31, 18). Jewelry was of gold, silver, precious stones, pearls, and sometimes coral. There are full details of the treatment of pearls, their size, color, and shape and the manner in which they were pierced. They were strung together into necklaces sometimes consisting of several rows. Pearls were also set in diadems, together with precious stones; they were also inset in them or vice versa. In general pearls rated above jewels as the most precious objects, and served as presents between royalty (Artaban of Persia to Judah ha-Nasi, TJ, Pe'ah 1:1, 15d). Not only men wore these but even animals were sometimes adorned with precious stones as amulets as can be seen from the story of the ass bought by Simeon b. Shetaḥ (TJ, BM 2:5, 8c).

The main types of jewelry mentioned are signets (see *seals) usually worn as finger rings; women generally wore no signet rings, only ordinary rings (Shab. 6:1, 3; 62a; Kel. 11:8). Metal rings with a seal made of sandalwood or vice versa are mentioned. Rings, probably as other jewelry, were acceptable as loan-pledges (TJ, Shev. 10:9, 39d). They could also contain poison (Deut. R. 2:24). Women, brides in particular, wore as diadems a "City of Gold" (representing Jerusalem, Shab. 6:1; Kel. 11:8; Sot. 49b) such as Akiva once gave to his wife (Shab. *ibid.*; TJ, Shab. 6:1, 7d; ARN^2 12:30). Above all, women wore necklaces (*catella*), some of the "choker" type which were made of precious metal or stones, pearls, glass beads, or sandalwood. Ear- and nose rings were very common among women and also children of both sexes. An amulet-text was inserted in a capsule worn round the neck; children wore also small tablets or scrolls containing a Bible verse. Officials and tradesmen wore the insignia of their office or trade as adornments. Other ornaments included anklets, bracelets, and also strings of coins, worn, by children in particular, on the forehead, as a necklace, or on the upper part of the dress. Women also wore bells around the neck or attached to their dress.

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PREGER, JACOB (1887–1942), Yiddish playwright, poet, and short story writer. Preger was born in Kobrin, Belorussia, and raised in Drogichin and Warsaw. His reputation is based largely on two highly successful plays, *Der Nisoyen* ("The Temptation," 1925) and *Simkhe Plakhte* ("Simkhe the Rag," 1935), a comedy produced by Maurice Schwartz in the U.S. under the title *Der Vasertreger* ("The Watercarrier"). His published verse includes *Oyf di Vegn* ("On the Roads," 1914), *Oyfn Veg* ("On the Road," 1919), and *Shloyme Hameylekh* ("King Solomon," 1932), a "dramatic poem in three acts." Preger's art is rooted in folklore and the popular imagination. He is reported to have been killed by the Germans in Otwock.

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[Leonard Prager]

PREIL, ELAZAR MEIR (1881–1933), rabbi. Born in Birz, Lithuania, he studied with his bother Rabbi Joshua Joseph before going to Slabodka. After ordination he joined the faculty of the yeshivah in Sadove and then moved with Rabbi Bloch to Telshe. In 1907 he became the rabbi of Beit Midrash Hagadol in Manchester, England, and then immigrated to the United States in 1911 where he became a rabbi in Trenton. A fellow graduate of Telshe, Rabbi Bernard Revel invited Preil to teach at the Rabbi Isaac Elchanan Theological Seminary where he taught from 1912 onward, first while serving in Trenton and then as rabbi in Elizabeth, New Jersey. During World War I he worked with the Central Relief Committee and became secretary of Agudath ha-Rabbonim and chairman of its *Vaad Kashrut*. He was widely published in Torah journals and published a book on family purity law in Yiddish. He was succeeded by his son-in-law Rabbi Pinchas Teitz, who strengthened the Elizabeth Jewish community.

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PREIL, GABRIEL JOSHUA (1911–1993), U.S. Hebrew poet. Born in Dorpat, Estonia, Preil was taken to the United States in 1922. Though he published essays from time to time, wrote in Yiddish and English, and translated from Hebrew into English and from English into Hebrew, he was mainly a modernist Hebrew poet who introduced new themes and cadences into Hebrew literature in America. His lyrical pieces, which form the bulk of his collected poems, usually move in subtle, unrhymed rhythms on the boundary of prose and poetry. He is a poet of things and facts: a map, a mailbox, Lincoln Center in New York City, a Chinese sketch, a picture of Vincent van Gogh serve as foci for poetical aperçus and reflective moods. Though influenced by Whitman, Frost, and Sandburg, whose "Prairie" he translated into Hebrew, he was mainly an introspective lyricist. The New Hampshire and Vermont landscapes fascinated him: The cool sobriety of the north corresponded to his temperament which never ventured into flights of pathos.

Preil's poetry appeared in the following volumes: *Nof Shemesh u-Kefor* (1944); *Ner Mul Kokhavim* (1954); *Mappat Erev* (1961); and *Ha-Esh ve-ha-Demamah* (1968). A volume of his Yiddish poems, *Lider*, including his translations of his Hebrew poems, appeared in 1966. Other books of his poems are *Mi-tokh Zeman ve-Nof* (1973), *Shirim mi-Shenei ha-Keẓavot* (1976) and *Yalkut Shirim* (1978), *Adiv le-Aẓmi* (1981), *Ḥamishim Shir ba-Midbar* (1987). Dan Miron collected the later poems and wrote an essay on Preil's poetry in *Asfan Setavim* (1993). Preil also published a monograph in English on *Israeli Poetry in Peace and War*, in 1959.

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[Eisig Silberschlag]

PREMINGER, OTTO LUDWIG (1905–1986), U.S. film and stage director and producer. Born in Vienna, Preminger worked at Max *Reinhardt's Josefstadt Theater in Vienna in 1923, and in 1928 was engaged by Reinhardt as director. He went to the U.S. in 1935 and gained prominence in the theater with productions that included the anti-Nazi play *Margin for Error* (1943). Taking up film work, he became one of the most controversial and important directors.

His successes include *Laura* (1944); *Daisy Kenyon* (1947); *Angel Face* (1952);*The Moon Is Blue* (1953), which led to a Supreme Court decision that prohibited local censors from stopping distribution; *Carmen Jones* (1954), an African American version of Bizet's opera *Carmen*, starring Harry Belafonte and Dorothy Dandridge, whose performance earned her an Oscar nomination for Best Actress – the first for an African American actress in a leading role; *The Man with the Golden Arm* (1956); *Saint Joan* (1957); *Bonjour tristesse* (1958); *Anatomy of a Murder* (1959); *Exodus* (1960), based on Leon *Uris' novel that dealt with the pre-1948 migration of European refugees to Israel; *Advise and Consent* (1962); *In Harm's Way* (1965); *Bunny Lake Is Missing* (1965); *Hurry Sundown* (1967); *Skidoo* (1968); *Tell Me That You Love Me, Junie Moon* (1970); *Such Good Friends* (1971); *Rosebud* (1975); and *The Human Factor* (1979), all of which he produced and directed. Preminger also directed such films as *Forever Amber* (1947); *River of No Return* (1954); and *Porgy and Bess* (1959).

Despite condemnation of several of his films by the Roman Catholic Legion of Decency, Preminger was later decorated by the Vatican for his film *The Cardinal* (1963). Both *Laura* and *The Cardinal* earned him Academy Award nominations for Best Director, and *Anatomy of a Murder* was nominated for a Best Picture Oscar.

Preminger's autobiography, *Preminger*, appeared in 1977.

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[Harvey A. Cooper / Rohan Saxena and Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

°PŘEMYSL OTTOKAR II (c. 1230–1278), margrave of Moravia in 1247, duke of Austria in 1251, and king of Bohemia in 1253. Following his general policy of developing the cities, Přemysl protected the Jews in his dominions. The city privilege of *Jihlava (Iglau), which he signed in 1249, contained clauses concerning Jews. In 1254 he issued a charter, based on the 1244 declaration of *Frederick II of Babenberg and even more liberal than the earlier proclamation. It was valid for all his dominions. Among other provisions, it added sacred vestments to the articles forbidden as pledges, but it left the adjustment of the rate of interest to the contracting parties. Though omitting the provisions about capital punishment for desecration of cemeteries, it laid down that the Jews were not to be disturbed on their holidays with the return of pledges. Another provision was that an oath taken by a Jew was itself sufficient to absolve him of responsibility in the case of a pawn that was accidentally destroyed. Moreover, Přemysl included the bulls of *Innocent IV against the blood libel. He employed two Jewish *comes camerae*, and Jewish tax collectors and mintmasters. His favorable treatment of the Jews was opposed by the clergy. In 1268, apparently as a reaction to the Vienna Church Council of 1267, he renewed the Jewish rights "of his youth"; since the

Jews belonged to his chamber, he indicated, they came under his protection. Between 1273 and 1278 he exempted the *Brno (Bruenn) community from all taxes for one year.

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[Meir Lamed]

PRESBYTER JUDAEORUM (arch-presbyter, or *le prestre* in Norman French), secular head of the exchequer of the Jews in 13th century England who supervised the collection of taxes and fees for the crown. He has been variously identified by historians as chief rabbi, high priest, bishop, or judge. As one of the most prominent Jews in England, he was often called upon by the king to advise on a variety of matters affecting his people, and was sworn "to look after the administration of justice on behalf of the king and to explain the king's laws," largely, presumably, on administrative matters. Six such arch-presbyters are known, all of them wealthy. Jacob of London, appointed in 1199, was followed in 1207 by Josce fil' Isaac, who was succeeded by *Aaron of York in 1236. *Elias le Eveske assumed the position in 1243. After protesting against the onerous taxes and fines, he was deposed in 1257 and eventually became an apostate. The king then offering the Jews the right to select a successor, they chose Hagin (Ḥayyim), son of Master Moses of Lincoln, in 1258. The last arch-presbyter, who held office from 1281 until the expulsion of the Jews from England a decade later, was Cok Hagin, son of Deulecresse of London.

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[Isaac Levitats]

PRESENCE, DIVINE. The notion of the Divine Presence is expressed in the Bible in two different senses: (1) in the corporeal sense, i.e., the actual dwelling (*shakhan*, שָׁכַן) of God in His abode; (2) in the abstract sense, i.e., symbolic representation by means of calling or establishing His name (*shikken shem*, שִׁכֵּן שֵׁם) upon the Sanctuary or the people.

The Corporeal Notion

God's presence, according to the ancient view, is confined to the Tabernacle/Sanctuary and to other visible phenomena serving as the vehicles of God, such as the Ark and the *cherubim or the cloud enveloping the Godhead in its movements. That the Tabernacle was considered an indicator for God's presence in ancient Israel may be learned from the words of Nathan the prophet to David: "… I have been moving about [*mithalekh*] in a Tabernacle and tent [*be-ohel u-ve-mishkan*] … All the time I was moving about among the Israelites…" (II Sam. 7:6–7). The same concept is given expression in the Priestly source of the Pentateuch: "I will establish My abode [*mishkani*] in your midst… and I will be moving about[i.e, be present]in your midst: I will be your God and you shall be my people" (Lev. 26:11–12). Similar statements are found in other parts of the Priestly literature, where *shakhan*, "dwelling," is used instead of *hithalekh*, "moving about," as in Exodus 25:8: "Let them make me a Sanctuary that I may dwell [*we-shakhanti*] among them," and at the end of the inauguration of the Tabernacle in Exodus 29:45–46: "And I will dwell among the Israelites and I will be their God." The rabbinic term *Shekhinah is actually an abstraction of this concept of "dwelling," which in the sources just quoted is understood literally. Indeed the Tabernacle, as depicted in the Priestly tradition, represents a royal house with all its necessary facilities.

Within the inner recesses of the Tabernacle, removed and veiled from the human eye sits the Deity ensconced between the two cherubim and the entire conception of the service is anthropomorphic (see below). It is performed "before the Lord" (לפני ה׳) that is, in His presence.

The presence of the Deity in the Sanctuary demands a rigorous observance of all rules concerning holiness and purity; any laxity might incur the wrath of the Deity and thus invite disaster. The divine seclusion must be respected. Thus in an adjoining chamber, the high priest, the most intimate of God's ministrants, attends to His essential needs. Only the priest who ministers to the Lord may approach the divine sanctum; the "stranger" who draws near must die (Num. 17:28 etc.). Drawing near to the Deity here signifies entrance into the actual sphere of the Divine Presence and for this reason is fraught with great physical danger (cf. Lev. 10:1–2; Num. 16:35).

This anthropomorphic theology derives from early sacral conceptions. The Ark was conceived as the footstool of the Deity and God as sitting enthroned upon the cherubim (I Sam. 4:4; Ps. 80:2; 99:5, etc.) The shewbread (לחם הפנים) laid out before the Lord by the high priest, the lamp kindled before Him to furnish light, the sweet incense burned mornings and evenings for His pleasure, the offerings consumed by the Divine fire, and the danger that accrues from approaching the Divinity are all alluded to in the early historiographic narratives.

In the ancient Israelite traditions God's presence is manifested mainly by the Ark and the pillar of cloud (see below). The Ark guided the people in the desert (Num. 10:33–34) and preceded the Israelites in the crossing of the Jordan before entering the Holy Land (Josh. 3:3ff.). The Ark also accompanied the people in their battles with their enemies (Num. 10:35–36), a fact which is well exemplified in the story of the critical encounter between the Israelites and the Philistines in Aphek (I Sam. 4). When the Ark was brought into the camp, the Israelites shouted with a great shout so that the whole earth stirred (4:5), and the Philistines, hearing the shout, became terrified, saying that "God has come into the camp" (4:7). The most common expression for the manifestation of God's presence is *Kevod* YHWH.

THE KAVOD OF THE LORD. The Godhead and its appearance are associated with the term *kavod*, a term underlying the imagery of the Divine Presence in the Bible and paralleling the term *Shekhinah* in rabbinic literature. The Tabernacle is said to be sanctified by the "*Kavod* of the Lord" (Ex. 29:43) and indeed when God enters the Tabernacle after its inauguration the Tabernacle is said to be filled with the *kavod* (Ex. 40:34–35). The dedication of the Jerusalem Temple is described in similar terms in I Kings 8:11. In both cases the *kavod* enters the holy abode, accompanied by the cloud, up to the Holy of Holies during which time Moses, on the one hand, and the Jerusalem priests, on the other, could not come in to minister. Only after the cloud departed and the *kavod* arrived at its place between the cherubim could Moses or the Jerusalem priests reenter the holy House.

The cloud serves as an envelope which screens the Deity from mortal view. Only Moses, who converses with God face to face, may enter into the cloud (Ex. 24:18). To the Israelites, however, God manifests Himself only when covered by a cloud. Unlike Moses they see only flames flashing forth from the cloud (Ex. 24:17). Only once does God manifest Himself to Israel without His screen of cloud – on the day of the inauguration of the Tabernacle (Lev. 9:23), an event whose importance parallels the Sinaitic revelation. The cloud departs from the Deity only when He assumes another mode of concealment, namely the Tent of Meeting or the Sanctuary. When the *kavod* enters the Tabernacle, the cloud remains outside and covers the tent. When the Tabernacle is dismantled, the *kavod* leaves the tent which is enveloped once again by the cloud which awaits Him and rises upward (Num. 9:15ff.).

THE NATURE OF THE KAVOD. Knowledge of the underlying imagery of the concept of *kavod*, which is embedded in Priestly tradition, is provided by Ezekiel whose ideology and divine imagery is grounded on Priestly doctrine. In Ezekiel 1, the *kavod* is described as an envelope of fire and brightness conveyed on a chariot. From afar, the apparition is like a blazing fire upon a great cloud swept by a storm wind (1:4). It is this radiance and brightness of the *kavod* which made Moses' face radiant after he spoke with God (Ex. 34:29–35).

This characteristic feature of God, i.e., His being surrounded by an aureole or nimbus, is salient in the description of gods in Mesopotamia. The terms denoting the halo of the gods in Mesopotamia, *pulḫu-melammu*, actually correspond to the Hebrew *kavod-yirʾah* and indeed refer to the flame and fire enveloping the Godhead. Like the Tabernacle and Temple in Israel, the Mesopotamian shrines and chapels were clad with the *melammu*, i.e., the divine splendor. The *kavod* is said to cover (cf. Hab. 3:3, *ksh*) and fill (Num. 14:21; Isa. 6:3, *mlʾ*) heaven and earth. The same idea occurs in connection with the *pulḫu-melammu* in Akkadian expressed by the verbs *katāmu* and *malû* which are identical with the Hebrew *ksh* and *mlʾ*. The Akkadian *pulḫu-melammu* is often employed in connection with overwhelming the enemy and terrifying him. This is in fact expressed in Isaiah 2 where on the "day of the Lord" God appears in "terror" and "majestic glory" (*paḥad* YHWH *ve-hadar geʾono*) a pair of concepts which can now be better understood on the basis of the Mesopotamian parallels.

The correspondence of *pulḫu-melammu* to *kavod-yirʾah* may be discerned in some other biblical descriptions. The Mesopotamian god imparts his *melammu* to the king who is the god's representative and thus endows him with divine power. When the god rejects the king and deprives him of the *melammu*, the king no longer continues to reign by divine grace. Reflections of these beliefs may also be discerned in biblical literature. Though the Priestly document describes only Moses as being endowed with the divine radiance, biblical wisdom and psalmodic literature describe man in general, in contexts in which he is likened to a king, as being endowed with the divine *kavod* and splendor: "Thou hast made him little less than God, and dost crown him with *kavod* and splendor" (Ps. 8:6). If man becomes unworthy then God deprives him of the divine *kavod*: "He has stripped me of my *kavod* and taken the crown from my head" (Job 19:9).

Ezekiel in his divine chariot vision describes the divine animals as endowed with terror (*yirʾah*; 1:18). The passage appears to employ the term in the sense of a dazzling and awe-inspiring covering or dress of heavenly and divine beings as does its Akkadian counterpart in Babylonian and Assyrian literature (see Oppenheim, in bibl.). The obscure expression in the Song of the Sea *noraʾ tehillot* (Ex. 15:11a) is also best rendered in this sense. The word *tehillot* in this verse does not mean "praises" but "radiance" (cf. Job 29:3; 31:26, 41:10) as it does in Habakkuk 3:3: "His splendor covered the heavens and the earth was full of his *tehillah*." The *tehillah* of God fills the universe as does His *kavod* (cf. Num. 14:21; Isa. 6:3). The terms *yirʾah* and *kavod*, then, are used synonymously in biblical literature as are their Akkadian counterparts *pulḫu* and *melammu* in Babylonian literature.

The Abstract Notion

In contradiction to this corporeal representation of the *kavod*, Deuteronomy promulgates the doctrine of the "Name." The Deity cannot be likened to any form whatever, and He cannot therefore be conceived as dwelling in a Temple. God has caused the Temple to be called by His name or has caused His name to dwell therein, but He Himself does not dwell in it. The Deuteronomic school used the word *shem*, "name," to indicate the incorporeal aspect of God in a very consistent manner and never made the slightest digression from it. There is not one example in the Deuteronomic literature of God's dwelling in the Temple or the building of a house for God. The Temple is always the dwelling of His "name." This consistency is seen most clearly when a Deuteronomic text is interwoven with an earlier text which does not know the "name theology." Thus the account of the building of the Temple and the ancient story of its dedication speak plainly about building a house for God (I Kings 6:1, 2; 8:13), while the Deuteronomist whenever he mentions the building, describes it as being for the "name" of God (I Kings 3:2; 5:17, 19; 8:17, 18, 19, 20, 44, 48).

The most definitive expression of this theology is to be found in the prayer of Solomon in I Kings 8. The Temple is not God's place of habitation but serves only as a house of worship in which Israelites and foreigners alike may deliver their prayers to the Lord Who dwells in heaven. The idea that God's habitation is in heaven is here articulated most emphatically to eradicate the belief that the Deity sat enthroned between the cherubim in the Temple. Whenever the expression "Thy dwelling place" (*mekhon shivtekha*) is employed it is invariably accompanied by the word "in heaven" (8:39, 43, 49). The Deuteronomic editor is here disputing the older view implied by the ancient song that opens the prayer (8:12–13) and that designates the Temple as God's "exalted house and dwelling place [or pedestal] forever." The word *ba-shamayim*, "in heaven," is consistently appended to the expression *mekhon shivtekha* to show that it is heaven which is meant and not the Temple as the ancient song implies.

In actual fact, however, the term "thy dwelling place" in the early sources as well as in Solomon's song (8:12–13) denotes the Sanctuary; it is the editor who is here attempting to alter this meaning and thereby wrest the song from its natural sense. This may be apprehended from the Song of the Sea (Ex. 15) in which the poet declares: "Thou wilt bring them in, and plant them on Thy own mountain, the foundation, O Lord, which Thou hast made for Thy abode [*makhon le-shivtekha*] the Sanctuary, O Lord, which Thy hands have established" (15:17). The Israelites can only be planted in YHWH's own mountain. The latter denotes not the Temple mount alone but the entire Holy Land (cf. Isa. 11:9; 14:25; 25:6, 7, 10; see *Isaiah), but "the place for You to dwell in" and "the Sanctuary" means naturally the Temple, and one suspects an adaptation of Solomon's dedication with "you made" substituted for an original "I made" and "Your hands" for an original "my [i.e., Solomon's] hands" (cf. *Eretz-Israel*, 9 (1969), 45 n. 4). Indeed, Isaiah who visualizes God as seated upon a throne in the Temple (chapter 6), designates the Temple as the "foundation [*mekhon*] of Mount Zion" (4:5) and elsewhere explicitly describes the Lord as dwelling on Mount Zion (*ha-shokhen be-har Ẓiyyon*; 8:18; cf. 31:9). The expression "a place to dwell in," or rather the concept of a permanent abode for the Deity, goes back to the period of the United Monarchy when the House of the Lord was first erected, and constitutes an innovation in the Israelite conception of the Divinity. The psalms which extol Zion and Jerusalem, most of which are rooted in the court theology of the United Monarchy, consistently stress the idea that Jerusalem and its house of worship are the place of God's domicile (Ps. 46:5; 48:9; 50:2; 76:3, etc.). Thus, Psalms 132, which describes the transfer of the Ark to Jerusalem, expressly declares that "the Lord has chosen Zion, for He has desired it for His habitation [*moshav*]" (132:13). It is in the Temple of Jerusalem that God found, in a sense, His true place of rest, hence the Psalmist declares in the name of the Lord: "This is My resting place for ever, here will I dwell, for I have desired it" (132:14).

This conception appears to have been first contested during the period of the Hezekian-Josianic reforms, in all probability by the circle which was then engaged in the final crystallization of Deuteronomy. It is interesting that the very book which elevates the chosen place to the highest rank of importance in the Israelite cult should at the same time divest it of all sacral content and import. With remarkable consistency it resorts again and again to the phrase "the place where He shall choose to cause His name to dwell" (*le-shakken/la-sum shemo*) so as to emphasize that it is God's name and not God Himself who dwells within the Sanctuary, as against the Priestly tradition which speaks of God's dwelling in the midst of the children of Israel (Ex. 25:8; 29:45; Num. 16:3).

It appears then that it was the Deuteronomic school that first initiated the polemic against the anthropomorphic and corporeal conceptions of the Deity and that it was afterward taken up by the prophets Jeremiah and Deutero-Isaiah. It is by no means coincidental that the only passages which reflect a quasi-abstract conception of the Deity and negation of His corporeality are to be found in Deuteronomy and Deutero-Isaiah: Deuteronomy 4:12: "You heard the sound of words, but saw no form [*temunah*]" (cf. 4:15) and Isaiah 40:18: "To whom will you liken God or what likeness compare Him," and similarly in Isaiah 40:19 and 46:5.

These later conceptions, then, are diametrically opposed to the earlier views articulated in the JE and P documents and in the prophetic books antedating Deuteronomy. Thus Exodus 24:9–11 refers to the leaders, elders, and so on seeing God; in Exodus 33:23 Moses is said to have beheld God's back, and Numbers 12:8 speaks even more strikingly of Moses as gazing upon "the form [*temunah*] of the Lord." Amos similarly sees the Lord "standing beside the altar" (9:1), and Isaiah beholds God sitting upon a throne with His train filling the Temple (6:1; cf. I Kings 22:19–20).

REVELATION AND THE ARK IN DEUTERONOMIC LITERATURE. In contrast to the account in Exodus 19 of God's descent upon Mt. Sinai (19:11, 20), Deuteronomy 4:36 says: "Out of heaven He let you hear His voice, that He might discipline you; and on earth He let you see His great fire and you heard His words out of the midst of the fire." In other words, the commandments were heard from out of the midst of the fire that was upon the mount, but they were uttered by the Deity from heaven. Deuteronomy has, furthermore, taken care to shift the center of gravity of the theophany from the visual to the aural plane. In Exodus 19, the principal danger confronting the people was the likelihood that they might "break through to the Lord to gaze" (19:21); it was to prevent this that there was need to "set bounds for the people round about" (19:12) and to caution them not to ascend the mountain. Indeed, the pre-Deuteronomic texts always invariably speak of the danger of seeing the Deity: "For man shall not see Me and live" (Ex. 33:20), and similarly in Genesis 32:30: "For I have seen God face to face, and yet my life is preserved" (cf. Judg. 13:22; Isa. 6:5). Deuteronomy, on the other hand, cannot conceive of the possibility of seeing the Divinity. The Israelites saw only "His great fire" which symbolizes His essence and qualities (Deut. 4:24: "For the Lord your God is a devouring fire, a jealous God"; cf. 9:3), whereas God Himself remains in His heavenly abode. In Deuteronomy the danger threatening the people and the greatness of the miracle is that of hearing the voice of the Deity: "Did any people ever hear the voice of a god speaking out of the midst of the fire as you have heard, and survived" (4:33; cf. 5:23).

This attempt to eliminate the inherent corporeality of the traditional imagery also finds expression in Deuteronomy's conception of the Ark. The specific and exclusive function of the Ark, according to Deuteronomy, is to house the tables of the covenant (10:1–5); no mention is made of the Ark cover, *kapporet*, and the cherubim which endows the Ark with the semblance of a divine chariot or throne (cf. Ex. 25:10–22 [P]). The holiest vessel of the Israelite cult performs, in the Deuteronomic view, nothing more than an educational function: it houses the tablets upon which the words of God are engraved, and at its side the Book of the Torah is laid from which one reads to the people so that they may learn to fear the Lord (Deut. 31:26; cf. 31:12, 13). The Ark does not serve as God's seat upon which He journeys forth to disperse His enemies (Num. 10:33–36), but only as the vessel in which the tables of the covenant are deposited. This becomes quite clear when Deuteronomy 1:42–43 is compared with Numbers 14:42–44, a tradition on which the Deuteronomic account is based. Numbers 14:44 states that after the incident of the spies "the Ark of the Covenant of the Lord departed not out of the camp" and that this was the reason for the Israelites' defeat in their subsequent battle with the Amalekites and Canaanites. The Deuteronomic account, on the other hand, completely omits the detail of the Ark and ascribes the Israelite defeat to the fact that God was not in their midst, without referring to the whereabouts of the Ark.

The author of Deuteronomy similarly relates that it was God who went before the people to seek out new resting places (1:33), whereas the earlier source, upon which Deuteronomy was dependent, relates that it was the Ark which journeyed forth before the people to seek out new resting places for them (Num. 10:33). The absence of the Ark is especially striking in the Deuteronomic law of warfare (23:15). One would expect a passage which speaks of the presence of the Divinity within the military encampment to make some mention of the Ark which accompanied the warriors on their expeditions, as in I Samuel 4:6–7 (see above). The Deuteronomic law, however, speaks of the Lord as moving about the camp but does not make any allusion to the Ark or the holy vessels.

A similar conception is encountered in Jeremiah, for example, in 3:16–17: "They shall say no more, 'The Ark of the Covenant of the Lord.' It shall not come to mind… At that time Jerusalem shall be called the throne of the Lord." In other words, the Ark of the Covenant shall no longer serve as God's seat, as the people were previously accustomed to believe, but all of Jerusalem shall be "the seat of YHWH," that is in a symbolic sense. In another passage the prophet declares: "Do I not fill heaven and earth, says the Lord" (23:24), recalling the words of Deutero-(or Trito-) Isaiah when he expressly repudiates the notion of the Sanctuary as the place of God's habitation: "Heaven is My throne and the earth is My footstool, what is the house which you build for Me, and what is the place of My rest" (66:1). This view is also encountered in the Deuteronomic prayer of Solomon: "Behold, heaven and the highest heaven cannot contain Thee; how much less this house which I have built" (I Kings 8:27). The Sanctuary is here conceived as a house of prayer and not as a cultic center.

Although the abstract notion of the Divine Presence associated with the so-called "Name" theology found its full expression in Deuteronomy and in the Deuteronomic school, it should be pointed out that traces of it are already found in some of the earlier sources, especially in E (see *Pentateuch). The latter source does not contain theophanies in which God appears visibly in human form but revelations through various media, such as the dream or the angel. In one particular case, the angel, representing God, is said to contain God's "name" in himself (Ex. 23:21), which is at least an anticipation of the Deuteronomic "Name" theology.

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[Moshe Weinfeld]

PRESIDENT OF ISRAEL, the official head of the State of Israel, resembling a constitutional monarch in function and powers, bears the ancient Hebrew title of "**nasi*." According to the Basic Law: President of the State, passed by the Knesset on June 16, 1964, any citizen of Israel resident in the country is eligible for the office and may hold it for no more than two consecutive terms. The seat of the president is Jerusalem. With the exception of these two provisions, the Basic Law does not differ substantially from the Presidency of the State Law, 1951, which provides that the president must be elected by a majority of all members of the Knesset (i.e., by at least 61 votes) for a five-year term beginning on the day when he makes and signs the declaration of allegiance before the Knesset. He cannot be called to account before any court but he may be deposed by the Knesset for unbecoming behavior or in the case of ill-health, which makes it impossible for him to carry out his duties.

The president signs all laws (other than those concerned with his own powers) and treaties ratified by the Knesset. He appoints (upon the recommendation of the foreign minister) the diplomatic representatives of the state, and accepts the credentials of diplomatic representatives of foreign states accredited to Israel. Upon the recommendation of the appropriate governmental authorities, he appoints the state comptroller, the governor of the Bank of Israel, the members of the civil judiciary, and the judges of the religious courts. The president receives the resignation of the government and sets in motion the process of forming a new government by consulting representatives of all the political parties in the Knesset and then entrusting a member of the Knesset with the task of setting up a government. He is also given reports of government meetings. The president is empowered to pardon offenders and to mitigate sentences.

The first president of the state, Chaim *Weizmann, was elected on Feb. 16, 1949, at the opening session of the First Knesset – held with symbolic significance in Jerusalem, though the seat of the Knesset and government was still in Tel Aviv. He brought to the presidency his extraordinary experience in Zionist leadership and diplomatic negotiation, but illness restricted his activities to the formal duties of the office. Weizmann died on Nov. 9, 1952, and was succeeded by Izhak *Ben-Zvi. Under President Ben-Zvi, the official residence and office of the president were established in Jerusalem. There for two full terms and part of a third, until his death on April 23, 1963, Ben-Zvi filled the office with rich human, spiritual, and scholarly content. He and his wife Raḥel made the residence a meeting place for the diverse "tribes of Israel," aiding notably in the process of national amalgamation during those years of mass immigration from Europe and the Islamic countries. The monthly "New Moon" meetings of groups from particular countries and the "Open House" held annually during Sukkot week were typical of the direct contact established with the masses of Israel's citizens, including the Muslim, Druze, Christian, Bahai, and Samaritan communities. President Ben-Zvi paid state visits to Belgium and Holland, to Burma, and to Congo Brazzaville, the Central African Republic, and Liberia.

When Zalman *Shazar was elected president on May 21, 1963, he brought with him the qualities of a historian, Israel and Zionist leader, and orator, who had devoted himself to the world Jewish community, its educational problems, and its literature in Hebrew, Yiddish, and other languages. All these interests were expressed in the activities of the president's residence. The Bible Study Circle, originally led by the Prime Minister, David *Ben-Gurion, met there regularly, as did the Circle for the Study of the Diaspora under the aegis of the Hebrew University's Institute of Contemporary Jewry. The president instituted a special fund for the encouragement of literature and scholarship and invited outstanding writers, artists, and thinkers from abroad to visit Israel as his guests. He and his wife Raḥel, a writer and women's leader, paid state visits to Nepal, Uruguay, Chile, and Brazil in 1966, and Canada in 1967.

[Shulamit Nardi]

Shazar was succeeded by Ephraim *Katzir in 1973, Yitzhak *Navon (1978), Chaim *Herzog (1983), Ezer *Weizman (1993), and Moshe *Katzav (2000). Katzir, a renowned scientist, promoted science and higher education as president as well as encouraging the spirit of volunteerism. Navon, a member of the Knesset from 1965 to 1978, was the first Israeli president to take a public stand on a controversial political issue, calling for a commission of inquiry to investigate the events surrounding the Sabra and Shatilla massacre in the Lebanon War. He also made state visits to Egypt under Sadat and the U.S. at President Reagan's invitation. Herzog too spoke out on the issues and played a key role in the formation of the 1984 and 1988 coalition governments. He visited over 30 countries, including first-time presidential visits to Germany and China. Weizman brought a brash, down-to-earth style to the presidency, more than once putting his foot in his mouth. He frequently visited the wounded in hospitals and bereaved families in their homes. He resigned the office midway through his second term because of failing health and public criticism concerning his personal finances. His successor, Moshe Katzav, took a more low-key conciliatory approach.

PRESOV (Slovak. **Prešov**; Hung. **Eperjes**; Germ. **Preschau**; Ukr. **Prjasev**), town in E. Slovakia. From the late Middle Ages, foreigners attended the fairs of Presov, but the Jews had to leave in the evenings. The official rationale was that Jews were a different creed, but documents indicate that the burgers and guilds feared business competition. In the decree of Hungarian King Mathias II Corvinus, the guilds prohibited members from doing business with Jews. Austrian Empress Maria Theresa (1740–48) permitted Jews to stay in the city for the fair, but local law specified that a burger who provided a Jew accommodation would be fined. The Jew would be beaten, deprived of his wares, and expelled. So Jews settled in nearby villages. Things improved during the reign of Emperor Joseph II (1780–90) but declined again after his death.

In 1780 a Jewish businessman from Tarnopol, Poland, settled in Presov. Prosperous and well connected with the imperial court in Vienna, Markus Holaender (1760–1849) could not be expelled by the burgers, who were determined to oust him. In 1789 he received permission to live in Presov. Soon other Moravian Jews arrived. In 1830 a prayer room was established in Holaender's house, and in 1847 the first synagogue was erected. In 1855 the *ḥevra kaddisha* was established; in 1857 a primary school was opened; and in 1870 the *mikveh* opened. In 1887 the old cemetery, dating back to 1827, was replaced.

During the Magyar Revolution of 1848–49, many Presov Jews enlisted in the army. In 1868 Holaender's son, Leo, presided over the Hungarian Jewish Congress in Budapest, and led the Neolog (Reform) faction there. The Presov congregation joined the congress (Neolog organization of Hungarian Jewry). In 1871 the Orthodox split and established a new congregation. The influx of Orthodox Jews from Galicia and neighboring villages soon overshadowed the Neologs. In 1892 the Orthodox erected their own synagogue. The Neologs constructed a new synagogue in 1888 after theirs had been burnt in a townwide fire.

In 1836 there were 89 Jews in Presov; in 1844 there were 120; in 1851 there were 170. The community increased fast and in 1880 there were 1,221; in 1900 there were 1,211; in 1910 the number reached 2,673. In 1930 there were 4,858. In 1940, on the eve of the deportations, the official number of Jews was 4,308.

In 1860 the Neologs elected Dr. Mayer Austerlitz to serve as rabbi. Officiating until his death in 1913, he had a lasting impact on his congregation and the Jewish community. In 1912 a *nusaḥ* "*sefarad*" Ḥasidic group left the Orthodox congregation and organized one of their own. They hired a rabbi, created their own yeshivah, and built a synagogue, a *talmud torah*, and other Jewish installations. Each congregation had its own school system. In 1931 the Orthodox established a Beth Jacob girls' elementary school. Presov also had a vocational school for metal work.

During World War I many young men enlisted in the army. After the war, a wave of antisemitism swept upper Hungary. In Presov, all Jewish stores on the main street were looted and demolished. As a result, Zionist political parties and youth movements were formed. The Czechoslovak Communist Party was also engaged in political activity among the Jewish public and Jewish youth.

On the eve of the deportations, there were 6,000 Jews in Presov. In addition to the local population, the city hosted Jewish refugees from Germany, Austria, and Poland.

In October 1938, Hlinka's Slovak People's Party, a clerical nationalistic and Fascist party, proclaimed Slovakia's independence under Nazi supervision. One of their first orders of business was to persecute the Jews. In November 1938 Slovakia lost a part of its mainland, which was annexed to Hungary. The party blamed the Jews for the loss. On March 14, 1939, Slovakia proclaimed independence under the name the Slovak State. Again, the Jews were persecuted as violent demonstrations accompanied the proclamation. Jews were assaulted in the streets and their property vandalized. Soon all Jewish institutions and organizations were shut down. Jews were expelled from schools, and the Presov community was charged with the responsibility of teaching the children. The next year, appropriation of Jewish property under the pretext of "Aryanization" began. Jews were losing their property and sources of income. In the spring of 1941, the Hlinka Party ordered Jews to wear a yellow armband. Six months later, all Slovakian Jews had to wear a yellow Star of David. In January 1941 a mob burned down the Orthodox synagogue. During the winter of 1941–42 Jews who lived on main streets were forced to leave their apartments. Consequently, Jews expelled from Bratislava sought accommodation in Presov.

In March 1942, deportation to the camps in Poland began. In Presov, the deportations started on May 12. Some 6,000 of Presov's Jews perished in the Holocaust. While still crowded around Lublin, the home communities did their best to provide the deportees with money, medicine, and food. The remaining community organized a network of smugglers to transfer goods, money, and letters to the exiles. Jews who manage to escape from the camps and reach Slovak borders were transferred to safety in Hungary. In the spring of 1944, with the approaching front, the Jews of eastern Slovakia were ordered to resettle in central and western Slovakia.

At the end of August 1944, an anti-Fascist uprising took place in Slovakia; 26 Presov Jews participated. Among the six Presov Jews killed in the attempt was Egon Roth, leader of the Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir movement and head of the effort to help the Jews who had escaped from Poland.

In 1947 there were 548 Jews in Presov. There was only one congregation. The Orthodox synagogue was restored, as was the *mikveh*. A memorial was erected for the Holocaust victims. A kosher kitchen and restaurant supplied meals for those who returned but had no place to stay, as well as those on their way home. In the spring and summer of 1945, mobs attacked and vandalized Jewish installations, shouting antisemitic slogans. This prompted the remaining Jews to immigrate abroad.

In 1957 the synagogue underwent restoration and the cemetery was cleaned. During the Velvet Revolution, there were 60 Jews in Presov, who faced an unexpected problem: an American Jewish company wanted to purchase the Orthodox synagogue and transfer it to the United States. The Jews deterred their government from selling out. The Jewish Museum was reconstructed and opened in November 1993. The Orthodox synagogue is occasionally used for services. All other synagogues are used mainly as warehouses.

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[Yeshayahu Jelinek (2nd ed.)]

PRESS.

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Introduction

The first Jewish newspaper is generally considered to be the *Gazeta de Amsterdam*, which appeared in 1675. Holland had by then become an important Jewish center, having attracted many Spanish-Portuguese and Polish Jews seeking a refuge from persecution, and some years earlier *Manasseh Ben Israel had set up the first Hebrew *printing press there. The appearance of the *Gazeta* was no accident. It was issued by a Sephardi printer, was written in Judeo-Spanish or Ladino, the language of the exiles, and carried dispatches from other countries. The next notable publication, *Dinstagishe un Fraytagishe Kurant* in Yiddish, appeared twice a week and then once a week as the *Dinstagishe Kurant* in 1686 and 1687. The first Jewish periodical was *Peri Eẓ Ḥayyim*, also of Amsterdam, a monthly bulletin containing rabbinical decisions of the Sephardi community. It appeared from 1728 to 1761.

As Emancipation and Haskalah gained ground among European Jewry in the middle of the 18th century, Jewish journals appeared in Germany and other countries. Their numbers increased with the revival of Hebrew, the growth of Yiddish literature, and the continued flight of Jews from Eastern Europe. The rise of modern Zionism and the emergence of political parties among the Jews stimulated printing and publishing, and by 1882 Isidore Singer of Vienna, in the brochure *Presse und Judenthum*, was able to list 103 extant Jewish newspapers and journals. Thirty of them were in German, 19 in Hebrew (three of them appearing in Jerusalem), 15 in English, 14 in Yiddish, six in Ladino, five in French, and the rest in eight other languages.

The first successful Jewish newspaper in the modern sense was the **Allgemeine Zeitung des Judentums*, launched in Leipzig in 1837 and surviving until 1922. The *Jewish Chronicle*, founded in London in 1841, was to prove even more successful and in 2006 has flourished as the oldest Jewish newspaper in the world. On Jan. 17, 1896, it published the first Zionist article by Theodor *Herzl. Herzl himself launched **Die Welt* in 1897. These two weeklies published the latest Jewish and Zionist news and served as sources for other newspapers before the Zionist Organization established its own press bureau to supply the Jewish press with the latest news from Ereẓ Israel and the Diaspora. The first Jewish news agency was the Neue Juedische Korrespondenz, which was founded in Berlin in 1907 and served the Jewish press until shortly after the outbreak of World War I. In order to keep in touch under war conditions with communities in other parts of the world, some Jewish organizations established offices in neutral countries. The World Zionist Organization, with headquarters in Berlin, opened offices in Copenhagen where an information bulletin appeared under its auspices in English, French, and German, and reached (sometimes in reprint) the countries of both the Allied and Central powers. Another well-organized agency was the Juedische Presse Zentrale in Zurich. The main function of these agencies was to scan the world press for information of Jewish interest and pass it on to the newspapers. They were mostly short-lived; but the *Jewish Telegraphic Agency, established in The Hague in 1914 by Jacob *Landau and re-established in London in 1919 by Landau and Meir *Grossman, proved more permanent. In 1922 its headquarters were transferred to New York. It had correspondents and bureaus in many countries, and it issued a *Jewish Daily Bulletin* in English and other languages; in 1962 it began a weekly bulletin, *Community News*.

Until World War II, Europe had the largest number of Jewish periodicals. There were Yiddish dailies in Warsaw, Lvov, Cracow, Lodz, Bialystok, Vilna, Riga, Kovno, and other large East European towns, including Soviet Yiddish newspapers in Moscow, Kharkov, and Minsk. There were also Jewish Polish dailies, more than two dozen weeklies in Yiddish, Hebrew, and Polish, and nearly 100 monthlies. There were more than 100 Jewish German-language weeklies, fortnightlies, and monthlies in Germany and Austria. A Jewish German-language daily appeared in Vienna, 1919–27. The rise of Nazi power brought most of these papers to an end. When the Nazi forces overran any country, one of their first acts was to close down the Jewish publications. "Underground" newspapers also appeared in the ghettos, among the partisans in the forests, and even, if rarely, in the concentration camps.

In 1967 there were 580 Jewish newspapers and periodicals in the world, outside Israel: 178 in Europe, 245 in the U.S., 82 in Central and South America, 29 in Africa, 21 in Canada, 19 in Australia and New Zealand, several in Asia, and two in the Soviet Union. English was the language of the largest number (300), with Yiddish coming second (112). The position of the Yiddish language presented a paradox. Though Yiddish was regarded as generally losing ground, all the Jewish daily papers outside Israel, ten in number, were in Yiddish. Efforts to establish a Spanish Jewish daily in Argentina were without success, and an English Jewish daily in London proved unsuccessful. In 2006 there were around 50 weekly newspapers and a large number of bi-weekly and monthly publications in the U.S. There were 15 weekly Jewish newspapers in Europe, seven in Canada, three in Latin America, and two elsewhere in the world. In addition, there were many which appeared bi-weekly or monthly in different centers of Jewish population. The former Soviet Union saw a rebirth of the Jewish press with over 40 publications among the republics associated with the Federation of Jewish Communities.

[Lewis Sowden and Josef Fraenkel / Yoel Cohen (2nd ed.)]

In Australia and New Zealand

The Voice of Jacob, founded in Sydney in 1842, was the first Jewish newspaper in Australia, and before the end of the century several others, all in English, had run their brief careers and ceased publication. A few, however, became firmly established, notably the *Australian Jewish Herald* (1879), the *Australian Jewish Times* (1893), and *Hebrew Standard* (1894). There was no significant growth in the Jewish press until the middle decades of the 20th century, when the Jewish population rose from about 27,000 in 1938 to 67,000 in 1960. The *Australian Jewish News*, founded in Melbourne in 1933 as a bilingual English and Yiddish weekly, published a Sydney edition under the name of *The Sydney Jewish News*. In 1967 the two editions had a combined circulation of 20,000.

The Jewish press attained a high standard under the guidance of Newman Rosenthal, O. Rubinstein, and Reuben Havin, its leading editors during the 1930s and 1940s. They made it an important factor in molding opinion both in the Jewish community and among prominent non-Jews. Leading political figures gained their knowledge of Zionism, the Holocaust, and Israel from pages of the *Australian Jewish Herald* and the *Australian Jewish News*. This bore fruit in the pro-Jewish stand taken by Dr. C. Evatt of Australia, as chairman of the UN Advisory Committee on Palestine in 1947. Within the community, the press exercised a strong influence on the development of representative bodies, particularly the state Boards of Deputies and the Executive Council of Australian Jewry. It also influenced the decision in favor of establishing the Melbourne day school, Mount Scopus College, and later the Jewish day-school movement generally.

The strong support which the Jewish press gave to Zionism influenced the outlook of the Jewish community, eventually winning over old-established families who had opposed political Zionism in the pre-State era. The pro-Israel opinion thus formed eventually led to the downfall of the *Australian Jewish Herald* and its Yiddish subsidiary, the *Australian Jewish Post*. In 1968 the *Australian Jewish Herald*, the oldest existing Jewish paper in Australia, published an article with an anti-Israel bias. During the controversy that followed, David Lederman, publisher of the *Herald* and the *Post*, also attacked the Victoria Jewish Board of Deputies. Pressure by the board and the immediate loss of popularity compelled both papers, with a total circulation of 12,500 weekly, to cease publication. Among the other publications which appeared in Australia were *The Bridge*, a literary quarterly, and Yiddish periodicals, *Der Landsmann* and *Unzer Gedank*.

In New Zealand, the *Jewish Times*, a monthly, appeared in Wellington in 1931, and was succeeded by the *New Zealand Jewish Chronicle*, a bimonthly, in 1944. A monthly, *Hashofar*, was founded in 1959.

[Lewis Sowden]

In Belgium

The small size of the Jewish community of Belgium for long limited the publication of Jewish periodicals. The first, *Revue Orientale*, edited from 1841 to 1846 by Eliakim *Carmoly, did not have enough local interest to last. No others were published until shortly before World War I, when several publications were sponsored by Jews of East European origin.

By 1959, however, no fewer than 225 Jewish periodicals had appeared in Belgium, reflecting the vitality of the community in the 20th century. Of these, 46 were in a mimeographed or lithographed form; 97 were in Yiddish, four in Hebrew, 80 in French, two in German, one in Russian, one in English, and 27 in more than one language. Four were published between 1900 and 1918, 137 from 1919 until the German occupation of Belgium in 1940, seven illegally during the German occupation of 1940–44, and 70 after the liberation of Belgium. Most of these were intended for the membership of an organization, rather than for the public at large.

In 1970 there were five Jewish journals in Belgium: the weekly *Belgisch Israelietisch Weekblad*, founded in 1954; the bimonthly *Tribune Sioniste*, founded in 1951 and having a circulation of 5,500; three monthlies, *Centrale* (circulation 8,000), *Regards* (*Cahiers du Centre Communautaire Laic Juif*), and *Kehilatenou*; and a quarterly, *Central* in Flemish and Yiddish.

In Canada

The earliest Jewish newspaper to appear in Canada was the *Jewish Times*, a weekly first, published in 1897. In 1909 its name was changed to *Canadian Jewish Times*, and in 1915 it merged with the weekly *Canadian Jewish Chronicle* of Montreal, which had been founded in 1914. The *Chronicle* amalgamated with the *Canadian Jewish Review* and appeared as the *Canadian Jewish Chronicle Review* from 1966 in both Toronto and Montreal, becoming a monthly in 1970. There was no Yiddish press until 1907, when *Der Kanader Adler* (The Canadian [Jewish] Eagle) began daily publication in Montreal. Other Yiddish newspapers, such as the Toronto-based daily *Yiddisher Zhurnal* (Hebrew Journal) established in 1911, emerged in the wake of increased immigration from Eastern Europe. After several false starts, a weekly Yiddish paper *Dos Yiddishe Vort* (The Jewish Word) started up in Winnipeg,

Driven by a strong political agenda, Canadian Jewish communists began publishing a Yiddish newspaper starting from the 1920s that went through several name changes emerging as the Vokhenblat after World War II. A monthly *Congress Bulletin*, by the Canadian Jewish Congress from 1943 and the *Canadian Zionist*, in English and Hebrew, was published by the Zionist Organization beginning in 1931; the English/Yiddish *The View-Dos Vort* by the Canadian Labour Zionist movement beginning in 1940 and *Orah* of the Canadian Hadassah Organization. In addition a French monthly, *Bulletin du Cercle Juif*, was published by the Canadian Jewish Congress from 1954, and a quarterly in English and Spanish, *Newsletter*, founded by the International Council of Jewish Women, were both widely distributed.

[Lewis Sowden]

The Yiddish language press no longer existed in Canada in the 21st century, but the Anglo-Jewish press was alive and well. The *Canadian Jewish News* was by far the largest weekly Jewish newspaper in Canada with separate Toronto editions and Montreal editions. The Montreal edition offered readers some French articles. With a combined weekly subscriber count of about 41,000 households, the paper is read from coast to coast across Canada. It is privately-owned but effectively functions as the national community-based newspaper featuring diverse points of view on topics of Jewish interest, national and foreign. The weekly *Jewish Independent*, published between 1930 and 2005 as the *Jewish Western Bulletin*, serves the Jewish communities of British Columbia, especially Vancouver, and is largely circulated by mail. Serving Winnipeg and surrounding communities since 1925 is the weekly *Jewish Post and News*. Similarly *The Jewish Free Press* is an independent newspaper published in Calgary which addresses the interests of Jew in southern Alberta. *The Jewish Tribune* is published twice a month by B'nai B'rith Canada, and deals with local, national and international concerns. A left-leaning monthly magazine, *Canadian Jewish Outlook*, is currently published out of Vancouver, with the assistance of "collectives" in other communities. Increasingly, all these publications have online editions. Across Canada, many Jewish organizations, synagogue, Jewish campus groups and smaller communities also have their own newspapers or regular bulletins and there are several Jewish-community–focused radio and television programs broadcast in centers of heavier Canadian Jewish population.

[Richard Menkis and Harold Troper (2nd ed.)]

In Czechoslovakia

Jewish journalists worked in papers of all political parties in Czechoslovakia. There were Conservatives like Josef Penížek, Liberals like Josef Kodícek, Karel Poláček, and Richard Weiner; Social Democrats like Gustav Winter; and Communists like Rudolf Slánský. There were also baptized Jewish editors on the Catholic press, among them Alfred Fuchs and Pavel Tigrid. Adolf Stránský founded the daily *Lidové Noviny*. The *Prager Tagblatt* had many Jews on its staff (Max *Brod among them) and a large Jewish readership.

The Jewish press itself was characterized by vehement public discussion between the Zionists and the organized assimilationist movement, which created its first paper, *česko-židovské Listy*, in 1894. In 1907 it amalgamated with a similar periodical published by Viktor Vohryzek and appeared then as a weekly under the name *Rozvoj* until 1939. The first Zionist organ was the German weekly for youth, *Jung Juda*, which was established in 1899 by Filip Lebenhart and survived until late in the 1930s. Another weekly, *Selbstwehr*, edited from 1918 by Felix *Weltsch, assisted later by Hans Lichtwitz (Uri Naor; d. 1988), became one of the outstanding Zionist periodicals in Europe, and from the 1920s issued a woman's supplement edited by Hanna Steiner. Another Zionist weekly, *Juedische Volksstimme*, edited by its founder Max Hickl and later by Hugo *Gold, appeared in Brno. The paper was established in 1901 and appeared until 1939.

The first Zionist organ in Czech, *Židovské Listy pro čechy, Moravu a Slezsko*, appeared in 1913, but was suspended during World War I and replaced in 1918 by the weekly *Židovské zpravy*, edited by Emil Waldstein, František Friedman, Gustav Fleischmann, Zdeněk Landes, and Viktor Fischl (Avigdor *Dagan). In Slovakia and Carpathorussia the Jewish press included Orthodox organs and papers in Hungarian and Yiddish. In Slovakia were the Zionist weekly *Juedische Volkszeitung* (with a Slovak supplement), edited by Oskar Neumann, and the Mizrachi organ *Juedisches Familienblatt*; in Carpathorussia the Zionist weekly *Juedische Stimme*, the Revisionist *Zsidó Néplap*, and the journal of the rabbi of Munkacz, *Yidishe Tsaytung*, had the largest circulation. Of the many other Jewish periodicals the following were notable: the historical review *Zeitschrift fuer die Geschichte der Juden in Boehmen und Maehren* (editor Hugo Gold); *B'nai B'rith Blaetter* (editor Friedrich Thieberger); the Revisionist *Medina Iwrit-Judenstaat*, edited by Oskar K. *Rabinowicz (1934–39); the *Po'alei Zion paper *Der Neue Weg* (editor Karl Baum); and the sports monthly *Hagibor-Hamakabi*. The Jewish youth and student movements also published periodicals of varying duration in the different languages of the country. The *Juedische Revue* was issued by emigrants from Germany in the late 1930s. Between 1945 and the Communist take-over in 1948, attempts were made to revive some Jewish periodicals, but eventually all that remained of the extensive Jewish press in Czechoslovakia was the organ of the Prague congregation; *Věstník židovské náboženské obce v Praze*, edited by R. Iltis (d. 1977), who also edited the almanac *Zidovská ročenka*.

[Avigdor Dagan]

In England

The Anglo-Jewish press had its beginnings in the first half of the 19th century. During the next 100 years and more, numerous publications appeared both in London and the provinces. Many of them were short-lived, but some had long and influential careers, and in 1968 the Jewish press in Britain comprised about 60 publications.

The first periodical was *The Hebrew Intelligencer*, printed and published by J. Wertheimer in London. Intended as a monthly, it first saw light in January 1823, but published only three issues. More successful was *The Hebrew Review and Magazine of Rabbinical Literature*, also a monthly, which lasted from 1834 to 1837, under the editorship of Morris Jacob *Raphall. Persecution of Jews abroad demonstrated the need for a channel of expression in England and brought about the first effective enterprise in Anglo-Jewish journalism. *The Voice of Jacob*, edited by Jacob *Franklin, was initiated in September 1841 as a fortnightly, and was followed two months later by the *Jewish Chronicle*. The two papers were in competition until 1848, when the *Jewish Chronicle* gained the field for itself and was destined to become the most long-lived of Jewish newspapers. Among other papers that appeared in the ensuing years were *Sabbath Leaves* (1845) sponsored by Haim *Guedalla; *The Cup of Salvation* (Liverpool, 1846–47); *The Hebrew Observer* (1853), which merged with the *Jewish Chronicle* in the following year; *The Jewish Sabbath Journal* (1855); and the *Hebrew National* (1867).

The first Jewish penny paper, *The Jewish Record*, was a weekly that ran for four years (from 1868). *The Jewish World*, established in 1873, was edited by the novelist S.L. *Bensusan in 1897, when its circulation rose to 2,000. In 1931 it was acquired by the *Jewish Chronicle* and was amalgamated with it in 1934. Other papers were *The Jewish Times*, a penny weekly of 1876; *The Jewish Standard*, also a penny (1888–91); and *Jewish Society* (1888–91), under the nominal editorship of Frank Danby (the novelist Julia *Frankau). Provincial Jewry had periodicals such as *Jewish Topics* (Cardiff, 1886), *The Jewish Record* (Manchester, 1887), and *The South Wales Review* (1904). A Hebrew weekly *Ha-Yehudi* appeared in London 1897–1913 issued by Isaac *Suwalski.

The period after World War I produced *The Jewish Woman* (1925–26); *The Jewish Family* (1927); *The Jewish Graphic* (1926–28); *The Jewish Echo* (Glasgow, 1928–); *The Jewish Gazette* (Manchester, 1928–); *The Jewish Weekly* (1932–36); *World Jewry* (1934–36); and *The Jewish Guardian* (1920–36), which was founded under the editorship of Laurie *Magnus by a group of anti-Zionists. In 1968 the Jewish press of Great Britain included a branch of the Jewish Telegraphic Agency; the *Press Survey* of the World Jewish Congress, founded in 1945; the Jewish World News Agency (Yiddish), founded in 1940; and the *Jewish Chronicle* Feature and News Service, founded in 1948. There were weeklies in Glasgow, Manchester, Leeds, and Newcastle. In London, another weekly, *The Jewish Observer and Middle East Review*, was founded in 1952, as a successor to the *Zionist Review*. The fortnightlies included the Mizrachi *Jewish Review*, the Po'alei Zion's *Jewish Vanguard*, and *The Jewish Tribune* in English and Yiddish. The others varied widely from monthly trade journals to learned quarterlies and annuals.

YIDDISH PRESS. Attempts to establish Yiddish newspapers in England preceded the mass immigration from Eastern Europe in the 1880s. The *Londoner Yiddish-Deitche Zeitung* was started in 1867 and the socialist *Londoner Israelit* in 1878, but both were short-lived. Later enterprises were more successful. The weekly *Peilisher Yidel* (later *Die Zukunft*) was founded in 1884 and lasted for two years. As the immigrant communities increased in numbers in London, Leeds, and Manchester, they were served by dailies and weeklies, mostly socialist in outlooks – *Der Arbeter, Arbeter Fraynd* (1886–91), *Germinal* (anarchist fortnightly), *Der Veker* (anti-anarchist), *Di Naye Velt* (1900–01), and humorous periodicals such as *Pipifax, Der Bluffer*, and *Der Ligner*. It was not until the 20th century that Yiddish newspapers like the *Advertiser* and the *Yidisher Telefon* began to flourish. The *Advertiser* was absorbed by the *Yidisher Zhurnal*, founded in 1907, which was itself absorbed in 1914 by the *Yiddisher Ekspres*. The *Ekspres* began publication in Leeds in 1895 and became a London daily in 1899. The *Yidisher Tageblat* appeared from 1901 to 1910, and **Di Zeit*, a daily founded in 1913, survived until 1950. A Yiddish fortnightly, *Yidishe Shtime*, founded in 1951, was edited in 1970 by I.A. Lisky. There was also a Yiddish literary journal *Loshn un Lebn*.

[Lewis Sowden]

In France

There was no Jewish press in France before the French Revolution. The first Jewish publication was the *Caitung*, a weekly in Alsatian Yiddish issued by a Metz printer for five months from November 1789. Several later journals were also short-lived, and it was not until the early 1840s that a monthly, *Les Archives Israélites de France*, showed any capacity for survival. It was founded by S. Cahen and advocated reform. This stimulated J. *Bloch to launch a rival conservative monthly, *L'Univers Israélite*, in 1844. For nearly 100 years both periodicals exercised considerable influence on Jewish life, *Les Archives* surviving until 1935 and *L'Univers* continuing as a weekly until 1940. This 100-year period, however, saw the birth and demise of more than 300 other publications. A total of 374 appeared from 1789 to 1940. Only 38 of these saw the light before 1881; the largest number, 203, came into being after 1923. Of the total, 134 were in French, 180 in Yiddish, and nine in Hebrew; 56 of them (21 in Yiddish) were Zionist, and 28 (all in Yiddish) were communist. Many of them were stable and influential. Two of them were Yiddish dailies. During World War II a few underground papers were published in Yiddish and French. After the war, the Jewish press recovered its prewar character. In 1957 the illustrated *L'Arche*, edited by Joseph Samuel and published by the Fonds Social Juif Unifié, the leading Jewish welfare and fund-raising organization in France, began to appear. *L'Arhe* was intended to express the revival of French Jewry after World War II by reflecting its religious, intellectual, and artistic life. In 1967 there were three Yiddish dailies, among them *Unzer Vort* (Po'alei Zion) and *Unzer Shtime* (*Bund), and a large number of weeklies and monthlies in French and Yiddish.

In Germany and Austria

Jewish periodicals appeared in Germany from the middle of the 18th century, when they became an expression of the era and its movements – Enlightenment, Reform, and Emancipation. One of them, the *Dyhernfurther Privilegierte Zeitung*, published in 1771–72 in the Lower Silesian town famous for its Hebrew printing presses, was a German-language journal written in Hebrew script. A few years later **Ha-Me'assef* (Berlin, 1784–1811), was founded by Moses *Mendelssohn and used Hebrew as its medium. The first periodical intended for Jews published in the German language and script was *Sulamith*, which appeared in Dessau from 1806 to 1833. Apart from this, the only periodical before 1850 that lasted for any significant length of time was the *Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift fuer Juedische Theologie*, which Abraham *Geiger edited in Frankfurt from 1835 to 1847. The longest-lived journal in German Jewish press history – 85 years – was the religiously liberal weekly *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judentums*, founded in 1837 by R. Ludwig Philippson of Magdeburg, and edited by him for 50 years.

Of the 75 Jewish newspapers and periodicals that came into existence during the 60 years before World War I, only 16 of those appearing at least once a month held out for more than 12 years. They were the following:

(1) the **Monatsschrift fuer Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums* (1851–1939);

(2) **Jeschurun* (Frankfurt, 1854–70), founded by Samson Raphael *Hirsch;

(3) the Hebrew **Ha-Maggid* (Lyck, 1857–92);

(4) the Orthodox **Israelit* (Mainz and Frankfurt, 1860–1938);

(5) the *Juedische Zeitschrift fuer Wissenschaft und Leben* (Breslau, 1862–75);

(6) the **Juedische Presse* (Berlin, 1869–1923), edited by Hirsch *Hildesheimer;

(7) the Conservative *Israelitische Wochenschrift fuer die religioesen und sozialen Interessen des Judenthums* (Breslau and Magdeburg, 1870–94);

(8) the *Monatsblaetter zur Belehrung ueber das Judentum* (Frankfurt, 1881–1908);

(9) the liberal *Allgemeine Israelitische Wochenschrift* (Berlin, 1891–1906);

(10) *Im deutschen Reich* (Berlin, 1895–1921), the organ of the Central Union of German Citizens of Jewish Faith;

(11) the independent *Juedisches Volksblatt* (Breslau, 1896–1923);

(12) the Zionist **Juedische Rundschau* (Berlin, 1896–1938, see below);

(13) the Mizrachi *Israelitisches Familienblatt* (Frankfurt, from 1900) called after 1920 *Neue Juedische Presse*;

(14) the arts periodical *Ost und West* (Berlin, 1901–22);

(15) the *Zeitschrift fuer Demographie und Statistik der Juden* (Berlin, 1904–22);

(16) the *Israelitisches Familienblatt* (Hamburg, 1898–1938).

BETWEEN THE TWO WORLD WARS. The Jewish political press was at its most flourishing after World War I, when German Jewry enjoyed a cultural revival. This political press consisted mainly of weeklies, such as (1) the Zionist *Juedische Rundschau*; (2) the **C.V. Zeitung* (Berlin, 1922–38) edited by Ludwig Hollaender, Alfred Weiner, Alfred Hirschberg, and others, founded in Berlin in 1922 as an outgrowth of the Central Union's monthly *Im Deutschen Reich*; (3) the *Israelitisches Familienblatt*, established in Hamburg in 1898 by Max and Leo Lessmann; (4) the **Israelit*; and (5) *Der Schild*, founded in 1921 by the Jewish ex-servicemen's association.

Of more than three dozen community papers that appeared at various periods, most of them neutral in their handling of Jewish politics, the most prominent ones were those appearing in Berlin from 1911, Frankfurt from 1922, and Munich (serving the Bavarian region) from 1924. A considerable number of papers served the special interests of youth, women, teachers, cantors, social workers, and other groups. In addition to these, a large number of periodicals – published, practically without exception, in German – dealt with religious, scientific, and politico-cultural affairs. Among these was *Der Morgen* (Darmstadt, later Berlin, 1925–38), which had a "German-Jewish" or assimilationist policy. **Der Jude* was the name given to a periodical published by Gabriel *Riesser during his campaign for Jewish Emancipation (Altona, 1832–35). The same name was used some 75 years later for another periodical, directed by Martin *Buber in Berlin from 1916 to 1924 and supporting Jewish nationalism. The title *Zion* was given first to a religious fortnightly (Berlin, 1833–35), then to a Reformist monthly (Frankfurt, 1840–43), later still to a Zionist monthly (Berlin, 1895–99), and finally to a Mizrachi periodical (Berlin, 1929). In this connection J. *Ettlinger's monthly *Der Zionswaechter* (Altona, 1845–55) should be mentioned.

Until *Kristallnacht* (Nov. 10, 1938), as a direct result of which the entire Jewish daily and periodical press of the Reich was wiped out, there were about 12 regular publications in Berlin and nearly three dozen more outside the capital. The *Juedisches Nachrichtenblatt,* established on the orders of the Nazi authorities shortly after the general ban on Jewish publications, first appeared on Nov. 23, 1938. It was restricted to announcements of official decrees, bulletins of the Nazi-enforced organization of the Jews in Germany (Reichsvereinigung der Juden in Deutschland), and of the larger Jewish communities, and the issue of important notices about emigration and welfare matters. This paper, which had none of the characteristics of a Jewish publication, appeared until 1943.

AFTER WORLD WAR II. The Jewish press revived in West Germany after World War II was little more than a shadow of what had existed in pre-Nazi days. The first journal to appear, in 1946, was the Duesseldorf *Mitteilungsblatt fuer die juedischen Gemeinden der Nordrheinprovinz*. In the following year the *Juedisches Gemeindeblatt fuer die britische Zone* was published in the same city. The German journalist Karl Marx founded the popular *Allgemeine Unabhaengige Juedische Wochenzeitung* in 1946. In 1951 two pro-Israel weeklies were founded: the *Muenchner Juedische Nachrichten* and the Yiddish *Naye Yidishe Tsaytung*. By 1970 these three were the only three Jewish newspapers in the whole of the German Federal Republic, including West Berlin. Apart from occasional publications, a monthly bulletin published by the *Juedischer Pressedienst* of Duesseldorf (the JPD) has appeared from 1965. In the German Democratic Republic one newspaper, the *Nachrichtenblatt*, has been issued since 1961 by an editorial board divided between East Berlin, Dresden, Erfurt, and Schwerin, its full title being *Nachrichtenblatt der juedischen Gemeinde von Gross-Berlin und des Verbandes der juedischen Gemeinden in der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik*.

IN VIENNA. The German language was also predominant in the Jewish papers of Austria, all of which were published in Vienna. The first weekly came into existence in the second half of the 19th century. It was the politically liberal *Neuzeit* (1861–1904), a paper well disposed to religious reform, founded by Leopold *Kompert and Simon Szánto and vigorously promoted by Adolf *Jellinek. The *Oesterreichische Wochenschrift*, founded in 1884 by R. Joseph Samuel *Bloch, several times a member of the Austrian parliament, lasted for 37 years. This was for a time the organ of the Vienna Jewish community, and as such it actively opposed both the antisemitic Christian Social movement and early Zionism. *Die Wahrheit*, the weekly organ of the Union of Austrian Jews, which first appeared in 1885, was emphatically assimilationist and anti-Zionist; its last editor was Oscar Hirschfeld. *Die Welt* (1897–1914), founded by Theodor Herzl, which appeared in Cologne and Berlin as well as in Vienna, was the weekly organ of the Austrian Zionist movement; in 1918–19 Robert *Weltsch edited the Zionist *Juedische Zeitung* (1907–21). He was also associated with the only Jewish daily ever to appear in Vienna, the *Wiener Morgenzeitung* (1919–27). The weekly *Die Neue Welt* (1928–38) was directed by Robert *Stricker, the founder of the Jewish People's Party. The weekly *Juedische Presse* (1915–34) represented the interests of the Agudat Israel; and the *Juedische Welt*, founded in 1929, was close to the Austrian Mizrachi movement. *Die juedische Front* (1931–38) was the organ of the Jewish ex-servicemen.

On Nov. 10, 1938, all Jewish newspapers and periodicals in Austria were forced to close down. A Vienna edition of the official Nazi *Juedisches Nachrichtenblatt* appeared from the end of 1938. After World War II the Austrian Jewish press was confined to monthlies. By the end of the 1960s there were a half dozen in existence, the two leading ones being *Neue Welt*, founded in 1948 and directed by Georg Kuenstlinger (1892–1969), and *Die Gemeinde*, founded by the Vienna Jewish community in 1958 and edited by Wilhelm Krell.

[Ernst Gottfried Lowenthal]

In Holland

The *Gazeta de Amsterdam*, which was issued in 1675, is generally regarded as the first Jewish newspaper. It was printed by David de Castro Tartas, a Sephardi Jew, and though its contents were not specifically Jewish, its language, Judeo-Spanish, shows that it was intended for the Spanish-Portuguese or Marrano community. The first Yiddish paper was the *Dinstagishe un Fraytagishe Kurant*, which appeared first as a semiweekly from Dec. 5, 1680, and then as a weekly, *Dinstagishe Kurant*, in 1686–87. It was issued by the Amsterdam Jewish printer Uri Phoebus Halevi. In 1797–98 the secession of a number of Amsterdam Jews from the *alte kehile* ("the old congregation") and their formation of the new congregation called Adath Yeshurun led to the publication of a polemical Yiddish weekly *Diskursen fun di Naye Kehile*, which appeared for 24 issues (November 1797–March 1798). Its rival, *Diskursen fun di Alte Kehile*, appeared for 13 issues.

During the next 50 years, several yearbooks or almanacs appeared for short periods, but there was no regular Jewish press until about 1850, when a number of Jewish weeklies made their appearance under various titles. The first was the *Nederlands Israëlitisch Nieuws-en Advertentieblad* (1849–50), started by A.M. Chumaceiro (1813–1883), who became chief rabbi of Curaçao in the Dutch West Indies in 1855. It then continued as *Israëlitisch Weekblad*, under a new editorial committee. The original editors established the *Weekblad voor Israëlieten* (1855–84), which was continued as *Nieuwsblad voor Israëlieten* (1884–94). As the *Weekblad voor Israëlieten* it defended Reform Judaism, while a rival Orthodox weekly, the *Nieuw Israëlitisch Weekblad* (NIW) was started in 1865 "to advocate the real love of truth." Its founder and first editor was the bibliographer M.M. *Roest. During the last quarter of the 19th century, it was one of several Jewish weeklies in Holland and had a circulation of 3,000. By 1914 its circulation had risen to 13,000 and in 1935 to 15,000 among a Jewish population of about 120,000. Publication was interrupted by the Nazi occupation of Holland but was resumed in 1945, when its policy, formerly anti-Zionist, became pro-Israel, while its approach remained Orthodox. By 1970 it was the only Jewish weekly in Holland and had a circulation of about 4,500 among a Jewish population of about 20,000.

Contemporary with the NIW until 1940 were the *Weekblad voor Israëlietische Huisgezinnen* (1870–1940), edited by the firm of Haagens in Rotterdam, and the *Centraal Blad voor Israëlieten in Nederland* (1885–1940), published by Van Creveld in Amsterdam. These three publications carried detailed reports of local Jewish events, and readers' letters, with foreign Jewish news usually in a subordinate place. Different was the approach of the weekly, later a bimonthly, *De Joodse Wachter*, established in 1905, which became the official publication of the Netherlands Zionist Federation. Its editors, always unpaid honorary officers of the federation, included Fritz (later Peretz) *Bernstein in the 1920s. From 1967 until 1969 it existed only as a one-page supplement to the NIW, appearing once every two or three weeks, but has since become independent again as a monthly. Other Zionist periodicals were *Tikvath Israel* (1917–40), the official monthly of the Zionist Youth Federation; the Zionist youth leaders' *Baderech* (1925–38) which continued as *Ḥerutenu* (1938–40); the woman's monthly *Ha Ischa* (1929–40), and *Het beloofde Land* (1922–40), later called *Palestine*, and issued by the Keren Hayesod. An important cultural journal, opening horizons far beyond the confines of Holland, was *De Vrijdagavond* (1924–32), established by Izak M. Prins, J.S. da Silva Rosa, librarian of Eẓ Ḥayyim, and Justus Tal, then chief rabbi of Utrecht.

By order of the Germans, most Jewish journals had to cease publication in October 1940. Only one Jewish weekly was allowed, *Het Joodse Weekblad*, which first appeared in August 1940 and which, from April 1941 until September 1943, was issued under the auspices of the Joodse Raad ("Jewish Council"). It published official announcements.

After the liberation of the southern part of the Netherlands in the autumn of 1944, Jews started publishing *Le-Ezrath ha-Am*. This periodical merged with NIW in 1946. Postwar publications of a more than ephemeral nature include *Habinjan* (1947–1999), the monthly of the Portugees-Israëlitische Gemeente Amsterdam (the Sephardi Congregation of Amsterdam); *Hakehilla* (1955–1998), the monthly of the Joodse Gemeente Amsterdam (the Ashkenazi Jewish Community of Amsterdam); and *Levend Joods Geloof* (1955–), the monthly of the Verbond van Liberaal-Religieuze Joden in Nederland (Union of Liberal Synagogues in the Netherlands). In 1998 *Hakehilla* merged with *Hakehillot*, the new monthly of the Nederlands-Israëlitisch Kerkgenootschap (Organization of Jewish Communities in the Netherlands). In 1999 *Habinjan*, too, merged with *Hakehillot*.

Studia Rosenthaliana (1966–) is a scholarly journal, devoted to Dutch Jewish history and related subjects, published by the Bibliotheca Rosenthaliana of the Amsterdam University Library. Until 2002 it was published biannually, from 2002 onward annually.

Around 2000 several new publications came into being: the glossy quarterly *Joods Journal* (1997–); *Grine medine* (2000–), a literary quarterly about and partly in Yiddish; *Orange Juice* (2004), a bimonthly for young Jews. In 2000 the website Joods.nl started, which mainly publishes Jewish news from Dutch and foreign newspapers.

[Henriette Boas / Hilde Pach (2nd ed.)]

In Hungary

The beginning of a Jewish press in Hungary dates back to the 1840s. A few issues of a Hungarian-language quarterly, *Magyar Zsinagóga*, appeared in Papa in 1846–47, and a German-language weekly, *Der Ungarische Israelit*, appeared in 1848. The first journal of any importance was Ben *Chananja, a German-language quarterly which had originated in Leipzig but from 1858 was published in Szeged, Hungary, by R. Leopold Loew, who used it in the struggle for Jewish Emancipation; in 1861 it became a weekly in reduced format. There had hitherto been little demand for Jewish newspapers in Hungary, where capable Jewish journalists usually found employment in the general press. But now the position underwent a change. Several short-lived papers appeared in the 1860s, and in 1869 a Yiddish paper, *Pester Juedische Zeitung*, was founded in Budapest. It appeared five times weekly and continued publication until 1887, when it was converted into a German-language weekly, *Allgemeine Juedische Zeitung* (in Hebrew characters), which lasted until 1919. More significant was the Hungarian-language weekly **Egyenlőség* (1881–1938), which, during the *Tiszaeszlár blood libel case of 1882–83, appeared daily with reports of the proceedings. An important contemporary was the monthly **Magyar Zsidó Szemle* ("Hungarian Jewish Review"), which was founded in 1884 and appeared until 1948. It was produced by members of the Budapest rabbinical seminary and also joined in the struggle for Jewish Emancipation and religious equality. The same personnel simultaneously published a review in Hebrew, which was at first entitled *Ha-Ẓofeh le-Ḥokhmat Yisrael* ("Judaic Studies Observer"), later *Ha-Ẓofeh me-Ereẓ Hagar* ("Hungarian Observer"), and finally *Ha-Soker* ("The Observer"). This review provided a forum for Hebrew writers at a time when almost all Jewish publications in Central Europe were in German.

Between 1846 and World War I, many periodicals appeared for short periods, most of them weeklies and most of them in German or Hungarian. During the early years of Zionism, the authorities refused permission for the publication of a Zionist paper. This was largely the result of the attitude of Jewish organizations which were opposed to the development of Hungarian Zionism. The first Zionist weekly was the German-language *Ungarlaendische Juedische Zeitung* which appeared from 1908 to 1914. A Zionist periodical in Hungarian, *Zsidó Néplap*, appeared from 1903 to 1905 and reappeared in 1908 as *Zsidó Élet* ("Jewish Life"). In 1909 the Hungarian Zionist Federation founded its own organ, *Zsidó Szemle* ("Jewish Review"), which was banned in 1938. The poet J. *Patai published a literary monthly **Mult és Jövő* from 1912 to 1939 and opened its columns to Zionist discussion.

Between the two world wars, there were only about 12 effective weeklies and monthlies in Hungary. The Jewish press practically came to an end in 1938, after which time the Hungarian totalitarian regime (whether Nazi or Communist) authorized only one Jewish periodical. The periodical *Új Élet* ("New Life") was founded in November 1945 by the Central Board of Hungarian Jews, and from 1948 reflected the policies of the Communist rulers, giving no space to the subject of Israel. Its circulation in 1967 was 10,000.

[Baruch Yaron]

In India

The first Jewish periodicals of India were in Judeo-Arabic. *Doresh Tov le-Ammo*, edited by David ben-Ḥayyim had a short life around 1870 and was followed by the Calcutta weeklies, *Mevasser; the Jewish Gazette* (1873–77), edited by Ezekiel Solomon; and *Maggid Meisharim* (1889–1900) edited by Solomon Abed Twena. Bene Israel publications in Marathi begun appearing in the late 1870s. There was an almost continuous succession of periodicals, sometimes more than one at a time, in Marathi and English. These contributed substantially to the education of the community. *The Bene Israelite* appeared in English and Marathi (the mother tongue of the *Bene Israel) from 1896, and reported the rejection by the Bene Israel leaders in Bombay of Theodor Herzl's invitation to send two delegates to the First Zionist Congress in 1897. It gave as the main reason the community's support for the "**Protestrabbiner*" of Germany and the extremely Orthodox section of Anglo-Jewry.

The first national periodical to appear in India was *The Jewish Advocate*, an independent monthly published by the Bombay Zionist Association from 1923 to 1951. Another Zionist paper, *The Jewish Tribune*, appeared in Bombay from 1933 to 1939. *India and Israel* was owned and edited from 1949 to 1953 by F.W. Pollack, who in 1952 became Israel trade commissioner and consul in Bombay. In 1968 there were three regular Jewish periodicals. The fortnightly *News from Israel,* founded in 1954 and published in Bombay by the Israel consulate, had a circulation of 2,000. The *Maccabi* monthly, founded in 1947, was published in both English and Marathi. Other organizations published house journals from time to time.

[Percy S. Gourgey]

In Italy

The Italian Jewish press dates from the middle of the 19th century. The first newspaper, *La Rivista israelitica*, edited by Cesare Rovighi, appeared in Parma in 1845 and continued until 1848. Jewish journalism in the 19th century gave rise to such short-lived publications as Leghorn's *L'Israelita* in 1866, and Pitigliano's *Il romanziere israelitico* in 1895. It also produced two important reviews, *L'educatore israelita* and *Il Corriere israelitico*. The first, founded in Vercelli in 1853 by the rabbis Giuseppe Levi (1814–1874) and Esdra Pontremoli (1818–1888), published articles on religious affairs and news from the Jewish communities abroad. Among its contributors were Elijah *Benamozegh, S.D. *Luzzatto, and Lelio della *Torre. In 1874 *L'educatore israelita* became *Il Vessillo israelitico*, which appeared at Casale Monferrato under the editorship of Flaminio *Servi and lasted until 1922. *U Corriere israelitico*, founded in Trieste by A.V. *Morpurgo in 1862 and later edited by A. Curiel and then by Dante *Lattes, was a publication sensitive to the pressing problems of Jewish life. This newspaper staunchly supported the Zionist movement when it came into being.

In 1901 the rabbinical college at Leghorn launched the short-lived review, *L'Antologia ebraica. L'Idea sionista* appeared in Modena from 1901 to 1910. In 1904 the journal *Lux*, edited by Arrigo Lattes and Alfredo *Toaff, appeared in Leghorn, but ceased publication after ten numbers. *La Rivista israelitica*, published in Florence from 1904 to 1915, was edited by the chief rabbi S.H. *Margulies and became a source of great interest for Italian studies. Umberto *Cassuto, P.H. *Chajes, Ismar *Elbogen, S. *Colombo, and E.S. *Artom were among the contributors. In 1910 Rabbi Margulies also founded *La Settimana israelitica*, a weekly in the style of the Florentine cultural weeklies, which appeared until 1915, edited by Alfonso *Pacifici, Carlo A. *Viterbo, Q. Sinigaglia, and G. *Ottolenghi. In 1916 the *Corriere israelitico* and *La Settimana israelitica* were amalgamated in Florence under the title *Israel* and was edited by Carlo A. Viterbo. Offshoots of *Israel* were *Israel dei ragazzi* (1919–39) and **La Rassegna mensile di Israel* (from 1925).

Other publications with considerable circulation in 1970 were *Bollettino della Comunità israelitica di Milano*, founded in 1945 and edited by Raoul Elia; *Shalom*, a monthly of Roman Jewry since 1952; *Ha-Tikvah*, the monthly organ of the Federation of Jewish Youth (1953); *Karnenu*, the semimonthly publication of the Jewish National Fund (1948); and *Hed ha-Ḥinnukh*, an educational monthly.

[Yoseph Colombo]

Ladino Press

One of the reasons for the growth of a Ladino press was the reluctance or inability of the exiles from Spain to learn the languages of the countries in which they found themselves. Before World War II – during which the Sephardi communities of the Balkan countries were either entirely or partly destroyed – a considerable number of Sephardi Jews, mainly of the older generation and especially women, spoke Ladino. They had only an elementary knowledge of the local language – enough for local business and social intercourse with the surrounding population. There was, therefore, a growing need for some kind of Ladino reading material.

As mentioned above, the first Jewish newspaper appeared in 1675 in Amsterdam and it was *Gazeta de Amsterdam*, printed in Ladino. It lasted less than a year and had no Ladino successors until the beginning of the 19th century. The main reason for this delayed development of the Ladino press, in spite of its early start, is to be found in the social environment of the Ladino-speaking Jews, the bulk of whom lived in the countries of the Balkans and the Middle East. During the 18th century these countries were socially and culturally retarded, and their newspapers were neither many nor widespread. Like the population around them, the Jews, even the educated exiles from Spain among them, felt little need for the stimulus or enlightenment that newspapers could give. All this changed gradually in the 19th century and when in 1882 Isidore Singer of Vienna listed 103 extant Jewish newspapers, six of them were in Ladino.

Newspapers in Judeo-Spanish, transcribed in *Rashi type, had appeared in Jerusalem, Smyrna, Constantinople, Salonika, Belgrade, Paris, Cairo, and Vienna. One of them was the Smyrna journal, *La Puerta del Oriente* ("Gateway of the Orient"), which first appeared in 1846 under the Hebrew name *Sha'arei Mizraḥ*. Edited by Rafael Uziel, it contained material of general interest, commercial notices, and literary articles. It lasted just one year. *El Luzero de la Paciencia* ("The Light of Patience"), the first Judeo-Spanish newspaper to appear in Latin characters, was started in 1885 by Elia M. Crespin, in the Romanian city of Turnu Severin. It was a bimonthly and continued publication until 1889. The reason for publishing in Latin characters, according to the editor, was that the writing of Spanish had become greatly corrupted because Rashi often spelled words of different meaning in the same way. The corruption of Ladino by the violation of the rules of Spanish, from which it derived, was a subject often discussed in the Ladino press. Thus *El Tiempo* ("The Times") of June 28, 1907, ridiculed the Ladino used by a Bulgarian Ladino paper. *El Tiempo*, a literary, political, and financial paper, was first published in Constantinople in 1871 under the editorship of Isaac Carmona, and continued to appear until 1930. Its last editor was David *Fresco, one of the best-known Ladino writers of his time. Fresco was also the editor of *El Sol* ("The Sun") of Constantinople (1879), a scientific and literary bimonthly. It seems to have lasted for about two years. He also edited *El Amigo de la Familia* ("The Friend of the Family"), an illustrated periodical, which was published in Constantinople in 1889.

There were journals which were published partly in Ladino and partly in other languages. *Salonik* ("Salonika"), which appeared from 1869 to 1870, was published in Ladino, Turkish, Greek, and Bulgarian, the Bulgarian part being edited in Sofia. It seems to have been the official newspaper of the Turkish authorities in Salonika under the editorship of Rabbi Jacob Uziel. *Djeridie y Lesan* ("The Journal of the Language") appeared in Constantinople in 1899 in Ladino and Turkish. Its purpose was to make Turkish a living language among the Jews.

Ladino found considerable support among the Jewish socialists of the Balkans, who claimed that it was the language of the Sephardi masses and should be preserved and encouraged. They insisted, therefore, that it should be the medium of instruction in Jewish schools. A number of Ladino newspapers were exponents of the socialist idea. Among them the best known was *Avante* ("Forward"), which began publication in 1911 in Salonika under the name *La Solidaridad Ouvradera* ("Workers' Solidarity"). It may be said that the history of this journal, which began as a biweekly and during the Balkan Wars (1912–13) became a daily, is the history of socialism among the Jewish workers of Salonika. Its first editor was Abraham ben Aroya, who was succeeded by Alberto Arditi. In 1923 the paper became the mouthpiece of the Jewish Communists with its editor Jack Ventura, for some time one of the Communist representatives in the Greek Parliament. *Avante* ceased publication in 1935. *El Azno* ("The Donkey"), a satirical journal which appeared as a weekly for three months in 1923, was apparently designed to counter *Avante* when the latter became communistic. Another important Ladino journal published in Salonika was *La Epoca*, edited by Bezalel Sadi Halevi. It appeared from November 1875, first as a weekly, then twice a week, and finally as a daily, until 1912.

In Bulgaria, where a number of Ladino newspapers and periodicals appeared under the auspices of the community and the rabbinate (*El Eco Judaico, La Luz*) the best-known Zionist journal was *El Judio* ("The Jew"), whose editor was David Elnecave, one of the most prominent Zionist leaders in the Balkans. It first appeared in 1909 in Galata, and was later published in Varna and Sofia. It ceased publication in 1931, when Elnecave immigrated to Buenos Aires where he launched *La Luz*. On his death, the editorship was taken over by his son, Nissim.

ZIONISM. With the rise of Zionism, Hebrew was revived as a spoken language among the Jews of the Balkans, and newspapers made their appearance in both Hebrew and Ladino. *Yosef ha-Da'at* or *El Progresso*, a bimonthly, was published in Adrianople in 1888 in Hebrew and Ladino under the editorship of Abraham *Danon. Devoted mainly to historical research among the Jews of Turkey, it was published for about a year. Another Adrianople periodical was *Karmi Shelli* ("My Vineyard"), a literary and national monthly (1881), published under the editorship of David Mitrani. Among the better-known Zionist Ladino journals was *El Avenir* ("The Future"), started in 1897. It existed for 20 years under the editorship of David Florentin. The organ of the Zionist Federation of Greece, the weekly *La Esperansa* ("The Hope"), appeared in Salonika from 1916 to 1920. A Zionist weekly which was predominantly French but also contained articles in Ladino was *Lema'an Yisrael – Pro Israel*, founded in Salonika in 1917 and edited from 1923 to 1929 by Abraham Recanati, who eventually settled in Israel.

A number of satirical Ladino journals also appeared. At the beginning of the 20th century, *El Kirbatj* – the Turkish word for "whip" that found its way into Ladino – appeared in Salonika as a "liberal, humorous, independent weekly journal" under the editorship of Moise Levy. It was followed in 1918 by *El Nuevo Kirbatj* ("The New Whip") under the editorship of Josef Karaso, which ceased publication in 1923.

Altogether, about 43 satirical and humorous journals were published among the Balkan communities at various times. Among them were *El Burlon* ("The Joker"), of Constantinople, edited by Nisim Behar; and *La Gata* ("The Cat"), a satirical journal established in Salonika in 1923 with M. Matarasco as editor.

At no time were the incentives for the creation or maintenance of Ladino newspapers in any sense great or compelling. The Sephardi Jews found themselves mostly in countries of little cultural development and they long retained the desire for knowledge inherited from Jewish life in Spain. This enabled them to resist for some time the primitive influences of their surroundings, to which in time, however, they succumbed. The intellectual classes of Sephardi Jews, educated in the cities of Central Europe, spoke the vernacular and other languages such as French and German. They, therefore, did not feel the need for Ladino newspapers. Finally, to most of the Sephardim in the Balkans the study of the Holy Scriptures, the Talmud and the Codes, and above all the daily recitals of prayers, were not merely religious duties: they also provided almost all their educational and cultural needs. The Bible, the prayer books, and certain rabbinical works were available in Spanish or Ladino. Textbooks were also available for the learning of Hebrew. Aspirations for a wider world outlook did not exist among the Sephardim, largely because the countries in which they lived were on the whole cut off from the mainstream of European intellectual life. There was, therefore, little scope for newspaper activity. According to Moshe David Gaon in his *Ha-Ittonut be-Ladino* (1965) there were 296 publications in Ladino between 1845 and World War II, most of them in the Balkans and the Middle East, with Salonika as the greatest center. In 1968 there was hardly any regular Ladino press, except for two weeklies in Israel and one, partly in Ladino, in Turkey.

IN THE U.S. Although Sephardim were the first Jews to settle in the New World and founded the first Jewish congregation there in 1654, Ladino newspapers did not appear in the United States until the beginning of the 20th century, when the second wave of Sephardi immigrants began to arrive, mainly from the Balkan countries. The daily *La Aguila* ("The Eagle") and the weekly *La America* appeared under the editorship of Moshe Gadol between 1911 and 1925. Moshe Gadol, a native of Bulgaria, and his partners Jacob Farhi, Asher Benveniste, Eliyahu Hananya, and Josef Abulafia, acquired their own printing press in New York. In 1926 *El Luzero* ("The Dawn"), an illustrated monthly, was launched by the Sephardic Publishing Company, its editors being Albert Levy and Moise Sulam. Only 12 issues appeared. The weekly *La Vara* ("The Stock") existed from 1928 until 1948, advertised as "the only Spanish Jewish newspaper in America"; the editors were the same as those of *El Luzero*. A weekly journal edited by Nisim and Alfred Mizraḥi appeared from 1915 under the name *El Progresso* and later took the name *La Boz del Pueblo* ("The Voice of the People"). In 1919 it became *La Epoca de New York* but survived for only one more year.

For all practical purposes the Ladino press in the United States had come to an end by 1948. A new English-speaking generation was taking the place of the older people, and even when the young Sephardim knew Ladino, their use of it approximated to modern Spanish.

ISRAEL. Before World War II there was a constant *aliyah* of Sephardim from the Balkan countries and the Middle East. Many of these immigrants had acquired a good knowledge of Hebrew in their native countries and when they settled in the Holy Land it required no special effort for them to use Hebrew in their daily life, while preserving Ladino in their family circles and among friends. For this reason there was a real need for Ladino papers, which were usually concerned with the preservation of Sephardi culture, customs, and literature. *Ḥavaẓẓelet-Mevasseret Yerushalayim* was published in 1870, its editor being Ezra Benveniste. During the year of its existence 25 issues appeared.

After the establishment of the State of Israel, a number of Ladino journals appeared, mostly sponsored by political parties. In 1968 there were two weeklies, *El Tiempo* (affiliated to Mapai) and *La Verdad*.

[Salomon Gaon]

In Latin America

The Jewish press plays an important part in the life of Latin American Jewry. Though it started almost exclusively in Yiddish, it had been going over to Spanish, although as late as 1970 Yiddish still held a predominant position. The first Jewish papers appeared in Argentina in 1898; one of them, *Folks Shtime*, lasted for 16 years. There were many other short-lived publications, but in 1914 the first daily, *Di Yidishe Tsaytung*, came into being, and was followed in 1918 by *Di Prese*. They continued to appear into the 1970s. Until the 1920s *Di Prese* was inclined toward the left, but both papers supported Zionism, and after the establishment of the State of Israel the ideological differences between them diminished. Although exercising political and social importance, neither paper ever achieved a circulation of more than 10,000. The only Jewish daily in Spanish, *Amanecer*, appeared in 1957. It was supported by most Jewish writers in the Spanish language, but lasted only until the following year.

Besides the Yiddish dailies, Argentine Jewry produced also a variety of weeklies and other publications. Their contents ranged from popular medicine to humor, literary criticism, and philosophical essays in quarterly reviews. Some of them, like *Ilustrirte Literaishe Bleter*, a monthly which started in 1953, and *Davke*, a philosophical quarterly founded in 1949, were in publication in 1970. Jewish weeklies and monthlies in Spanish, *Juventud* and *Vida Nuestra*, made their first appearance before or during World War I. The monthly *Israel* was established in 1917, serving especially Jews of Sephardi or Near Eastern origin, among whom it found lasting support. Other enduring weeklies were *Mundo Israelita* ("Israel World"), founded in 1923; *La Luz*, which started as a fortnightly in 1930; *Davar*, issued from 1945 by Sociedad Hebraica; and the literary quarterly *Comentario*, founded in 1953. Although closely identifying itself with Zionism and Israel, Argentine Jewry has produced few periodicals in Hebrew. *Ha-Bimah ha-Ivrit* ("Hebrew Forum"; 1921–30), *Atidenu* ("Our Future"; 1926), and *Darom* ("South"), founded 1938 and amalgamated with *Ẓohar* ("Window") in 1964, were the most important. Only the last mentioned survives. By 1970 the circulation of the popular press had declined considerably, but two dailies, about seven weeklies, 20 monthlies, and a dozen other periodicals, most of them representing political parties, were still flourishing in *Argentina.

In Brazil, Jewish newspapers date from the period of World War I. Subsequently there were Yiddish and Portuguese weeklies and biweeklies of varying duration. Attempts at establishing a Yiddish daily were only partly successful, but the others were more enduring. In 1970 *Der Nayer Moment* (Yiddish) appeared three times a week, the *Yidishe Prese* appeared as a weekly, and a paper in Portuguese appeared biweekly. São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro were the main centers of publication (see also *Brazil). There was practically no Jewish press in Mexico until the *Meksikaner Yidish Lebn* appeared in 1927. In 1970 *Der Veg* appeared weekly and *Di Shtime* (1939–) biweekly, both in Yiddish. There was also a Zionist Spanish-language weekly, *Prensa Israelita* (1948), and several fortnightlies (see also *Mexico). A daily, *Yidishe Tsaytung*, appeared in Uruguay shortly after World War I, but was short-lived. The weekly *Unzer Lebn* was initiated in 1926, but a Jewish press was not firmly established in Uruguay until the daily *Unzer Fraynd* was launched in 1935. *Haynt*, a daily with Zionist affiliations, began publication in 1957. Several weeklies were also flourishing in 1970 (see also *Uruguay). Since the 1970s, however, Yiddish has almost disappeared from the print media in favor of Spanish.

In the years of Argentine dictatorship the weekly *Nueva Presencia* (1977) was founded, which started as a Spanish offshoot of the Yiddish daily *Di Prese*. Under the editorship of Herman Schiller, it adopted an opposition stance against the repression in Argentina. This journal became one of the referents of the Argentinean Human Rights Movement, and Schiller, who participated in the organization of the Jewish Movement for Human Rights, was recognized as one of its leaders. Other new Jewish publications in Argentina were *Comunidades* (1980s), and *La Voz Judía* (1990s). In recent years there were also daily news publications on the Internet such as Iton Gadol and ShalomOnLine. In Brazil the Jewish written press lost much of its circulation and turned inward to the community. Most of the main organizations had their own newsletters. In Mexico, too, communities had their own bulletins, though here were some independent organs such as the *Foro* magazine available by subscription and *Kesher* with free distribution in all the communities.

In the Middle East and North Africa

Oriental Jewish newspapers emerged only during the first half of the 19th century, but they soon acquired importance among the communities they served. Some of them were published in two or more languages; Hebrew, which was rarely used, was sometimes employed not because there were many Hebrew readers, but with the aim of reviving the language. The Hebrew press in the Middle East was in fact preceded by Jewish papers in Ladino, from 1841, and papers in the colloquial Arabic of the Baghdadi Jewish dialect, such as *Doresh Tov le-Ammo*, from 1855. The first Hebrew paper to appear in Baghdad was *Ha-Dover* (1863), which was published by Moses Baruch Mizraḥi. At a rough estimate, the circulation of Jewish papers in the Middle East, even though these served communities beyond the city or land in which they appeared, never exceeded 5,000. Many papers were shortlived, surviving for no more than a year or two, with only a few appearing regularly for more than five years. Jewish papers appeared in Turkey, Tunisia, Algeria, Ereẓ Israel, Egypt, Syria, Lebanon, Iraq, and Persia. The languages used were literary Arabic, colloquial Arabic, Jewish dialects (i.e., local languages written in Hebrew characters), Hebrew, French, English, Ladino, Spanish, Turkish, and Persian.

In Turkey, only a few papers appeared in languages other than Ladino, such as Hebrew or French, and these had a Zionist orientation, first making their appearance after 1910. In North Africa, Egypt, and Lebanon many Jewish papers appeared in French, some examples being *La Renaissance Juive* (Cairo, 1912), the fortnightly *L'Israélite algérien* (Oran, 1900), and the religious *Gazette de Jérusalem* (Jerusalem, 1882). Another Jewish newspaper which had a long career was the Zionist weekly *L'Aurore*, founded by Lucien Sciuto in 1908. It appeared in Istanbul until 1919, but from 1924 to 1931 was published in Cairo. It then came under the control of Jacob Elmaleh, who, with the support of the B'nai B'rith, transformed it after the rise of Hitler into the organ of the League for War on antisemitism, based in Egypt.

Among the longer-lived Oriental Jewish newspapers was the weekly *Israel*, which first appeared in French, Hebrew, and Arabic (Cairo, 1920). Although the Hebrew section was soon dropped, the Arabic section survived with some interruption for 14 years. In 1939 the paper was amalgamated with *La Tribune Juive*, which had been established at Alexandria in 1936. In Tunisia most Jewish papers appeared in French (e.g., *La Justice*, 1917–), and in Turkey a B'nai B'rith monthly, *Ha-Menorah*, appeared in Turkish and French. The English-language press was mainly confined to India (see above), but in Baghdad there was also the *Iraq Times*.

After the papers appearing in Hebrew, the largest number of Jewish newspapers appearing in Arab countries were published in Arabic. The origins of this press may be traced to Yaʿqūb *Ṣanūʿ, who issued an Egyptian Jewish paper in Arabic in the 1870s. These papers were both religious and secular and were irregular and short-lived. Most of them were ardent supporters of the Zionist cause and defended Zionism and the idea of a Jewish national home against the attacks of the general Arabic press. Papers that survived for some years included the monthly (later weekly) *al-ʿĀʾila* ("The Family"), founded by Esther *Moyal in 1898; the weekly, *al-Miṣbāḥ* (Baghdad, 1924–29); the literary and cultural weekly *al-Ḥāṣid* (Baghdad, 1924–39); the Lebanese *ʾĀlam al-Isrāʾilī (L'Univers Israélite*, Beirut, 1921–46); the Egyptian Karaite paper *al-Ittiḥād al-Isrāʾīlī* (Cairo, 1924–30); and *al-Shams* ("The Sun," Cairo, 1934–48), published in literary Arabic.

Christiane Souriau's research on the Tunisian and Algerian press brought to light a large number of Jewish papers that had appeared in colloquial Arabic and in Arabic characters from the year 1878, when the dual-language (Judeo-Arabic and French) *al-ʿAmāla al-Tūnisiyya* first appeared. From then until 1900, as many as 22 papers were established, most of them lasting no more than a year or two. The Zionist *al-Bustān* ("The Garden," 1888–97) was exceptional. During the years 1901–19, a further 37 Jewish newspapers and periodicals in colloquial Arabic were published in Tunisia, only two of which lasted for more than four years: *al-Ṣabāḥ* ("The Morning," 1904–29) and *al-Sion* ("The Voice of Zion," 1913–20). The number of papers declined from 1920, although the life-span of those that remained became longer, e.g., *al-Najma* ("The Star," 1920?–38). Souriau mentions 37 Jewish papers in colloquial Arabic appearing in Tunisia. After the establishment of the State of Israel, the Arabic Jewish press in the Arab lands ceased to exist. Instead, the number of papers appearing in Arabic in Israel increased as a result of the immigration of Jews from the Arab countries.

[Shmuel Moreh]

In Poland

For the period up to World War I, see below: In Russia. The great development of the Jewish press in Poland that took place in the years immediately after the war reflected the vigorous life of the Jewish population. More than 200 newspapers and periodicals appeared in the 1920s, and many of them were still flourishing when the Nazi armies overran Poland in September 1939. The papers represented all shades of opinion; most of them were in Yiddish, but a few were in Hebrew and some in Polish. During this period, about 20 daily papers appeared, three in Vilna – *Letste Nayes* (1915), which became *Der Tog* (in 1920), *Avend-Kurier* (from 1924, and *Tsayt* (1924); two in Bialystok – *Dos Naye Lebn* (1919), and *Bialystoker Telegraf*; three in Lodz – *Lodzer Tageblat* (1908, under J. Unger, having a circulation of 20,000); *Dos Morgenblat* from 1912, and *Naye Folksblat* (1923); in Lublin the *Lubliner Tageblat* (1918); and in Grodno, the *Grodne Moment* (1924). Lvov had two, one in Polish, *Chwila* (1919), and one in Yiddish, *Der Morgen* (1926);

and Cracow had two, one in Polish, *Nowy Dziennik* (1918), first under Wilhelm Berkelhammer and from 1921 to 1924 under Isaac *Schwarzbart.

The others were published in Warsaw, where **Haynt* and *Der Moment* had the largest circulations and were in close competition. Other Warsaw dailies were *Der Yid* (later, *Dos Yidishe Vort*, from 1917), *Varshever Ekspres* (1926), *Naye Folkstzaytung* (1926), and *Unzer Ekspres* (1927). The daily *Nowy Czas* (1929) was in Polish, as was the Zionist daily *Nasz Pzeglad* (1923). Besides these publications there were literary weeklies like *Literarishe Bleter* (Warsaw, from 1924), *Kino-Teater-Radio* (1926), *Veltshpigl* ("World Mirror," 1927), and the Yiddish *PEN Klub Nayes of Vilna* (1928). The scientific *Land un Lebn* (1927) appeared monthly; a popular science fortnightly, *Der Doktor*, appeared in Warsaw from 1929; and another, *Folksgesunt*, in Vilna from 1923. A humorous weekly, *Der Blufer*, was prominent in Warsaw journalism from 1926. This body of newspapers and periodicals, employing thousands of people, was closed by the Germans in 1939, and its editors, contributors, and printers fled or perished as the Nazi terror fastened on the country.

[Artur Fiszer]

AFTER WORLD WAR II. The first Jewish newspaper in postwar Poland, *Dos Naye Lebn*, appeared in Lodz on April 10, 1945. At first it was published weekly, then semiweekly and on March 1, 1947, at the conference of the Jewish regional committees, it was decided to make *Dos Naye Lebn* a daily paper and the official organ of the Central Committee of Polish Jews, which comprised all existing Jewish parties. Between 1945 and 1949 there were also weekly and semiweekly publications of various Jewish parties, e.g., the *Arbeter Tsaytung* of the Po'alei Zion, the *Iḥud* of the Liberal Zionists, *Di Folkshtime* connected with the Communist Polish Labor Party (PPR), the "*Głas Młodzieży*," of the Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir, and *Yidishe Shriftn*, a publication of the Jewish Writers' Association. After the liquidation of the Jewish political parties in November 1949, most of the Jewish press was gradually closed down by the authorities (see *Poland). The literary monthly *Di Yidishe Shriftn* continued to be published by the Jewish Cultural Society as an organ of the Jewish writers, who elected its editorial board. *Di Folkshtime* alone remained as a newspaper appearing four times a week and serving officially as the Yiddish organ of the ruling party, controlled to a large degree by the Jewish Cultural Society. By 1968 *Di Folkshtime* became a weekly, publishing a Polish section once in two weeks, and *Di Yidishe Shriftn* ceased its publication after its 25th issue.

[David Sfard]

In Romania

The Jewish press in Romania developed with the social and intellectual life of the Romanian Jews. Two short-lived publications made their appearance in the middle of the 19th century and were followed in 1857 by the weekly *Israelitul Român* ("Romanian Israelite") of Bucharest and in 1874 by the review *Revista Israelită* of Jassy. In 1890 Moses *Schwarzfeld, publicist and historian, founded the weekly *Egalitatea* ("Equality"), which lasted until the rise of the Fascist regime. Other publications of that period were the weekly *Ha-Yo'eẓ* ("The Adviser"), which leaned toward the Ḥovevei Zion, appearing from 1876 to 1920, and the review *Likht* ("Light," 1914), both in Yiddish. In 1906, Horia *Carp founded the weekly *Curierul Israelit* ("Israelite Messenger"), which became the official organ of the group Uniunea Evreilor Pământeni (Union of Native Jews; after 1918, Uniunea Evreilor Romani – Union of Romanian Jews) and continued until 1941.

After World War I most of the Jewish newspapers in Romania had Zionist leanings. Major influences in forming a Zionist outlook among the Jewish population were two weeklies: *Mȃhtuirea* ("The Deliverance"), founded by A.L. *Zissu in 1922 and republished, after a long break, from 1945 to 1949; and *Renașterea Noastră* ("Our Revival"), founded by S. Stern, publicist and Zionist, in 1928. The weekly *Viata Evrească* ("Jewish Life," 1944–49) had a Zionist Socialist tendency. In addition to these weekly publications, there were literary and political reviews. The monthly *Hasmonaea*, founded in 1915, was the official organ of the association of Zionist students. The review *Adam* (1929–39) founded by I.O. Ludo, attracted to its pages Jewish writers in the Romanian language.

Except for a brief period in 1877, there was never a daily Jewish press in Romania because there was no autonomous national Jewish life. The information published by the Jewish weekly and monthly papers in Yiddish, German, and Romanian, was limited to Jewish international and local life. Political outlook was centered on events of specific Jewish interest, and the Jewish press had a rather polemic character. The weekly Zionist paper *Renașterea Noastră* resumed publication in 1944. Five more papers that appeared in 1945 were similarly oriented. In the years that followed, various attempts were made to maintain other Jewish papers, several in Yiddish and one in Hebrew, but by the end of 1953 all had ceased publication. From 1956 the Jewish population in Romania was served by a review published by the Jewish community in Bucharest, **Revista Cultului Mozaic* ("The Mosaic Cult's Review"), edited by Moses *Rosen, the chief rabbi.

[Isac Bercovici]

In Russia

The history of the Jewish press in Russia before the Bolshevik Revolution falls into two periods: the mid-19th century to the 1905 Revolution – years during which severe restrictions and censorship were in force; and 1906 to 1917 – a period during which restrictions were partially relaxed. Jewish newspapers in czarist Russia appeared in four languages: Hebrew, Yiddish, Russian, and (in Warsaw) Polish. During the first period, the publication of Jewish periodicals was beset with obstacles. A license to publish was obtained only with great difficulty, and when granted, the official censor controlled the paper's contents. This situation accounted for the strange practice of publishing journals intended primarily for Russian Jews in places outside the country, mainly in Prussia and Austria. Even these newspapers had to pass the Warsaw censor, who deleted any item he did not approve. In spite of its distance from the centers of Jewish population, many newspapers were published in St. Petersburg because the censor there held more liberal attitudes.

Efforts at establishing a Jewish press in the early decades of the 19th century resulted in such short-lived publications as **Beobachter an der Weichsel*, a Yiddish weekly issued in Warsaw in 1823, and *Pirḥei Ẓafon*, an annual that published two volumes in Vilna in the 1840s. The first enduring Hebrew periodical intended for Russian Jewry was *Ha-Maggid*, published from 1856 to 1891 in Lyck (later Elk), a Prussian border town. It contained news and essays, whose prominent tone was a moderate approach to the Haskalah. In 1860, Alexander *Zederbaum, who became a leading figure in the Jewish press, founded a Hebrew weekly, *Ha-Meliẓ*, which was published until 1871 in Odessa and then for another three years in St. Petersburg. Its stated purpose was to be "the mediator (*ha-meliẓ*) between the Jews and government and between faith and Haskalah." Zederbaum also published the first weekly in Yiddish, *Kol Mevasser* (1862–71), which grew to become very popular. In Vilna S.J. *Fuenn issued *Ha-Karmel*, intended mainly for local consumption, which ran as a weekly from 1860 to 1870 and as a monthly until 1880. In Warsaw, **Ha-Ẓefirah*, edited by Ḥ.S. *Slonimski, began as a weekly in 1862 but was published for only six months. In Odessa, Russian-speaking members of the Jewish intelligentsia published Russian-language weeklies, such as *Razsvet*, renamed *Sion* (1860–61), and later *Den* (1869–71). These papers had the dual purpose of serving as a forum for the discussion of Jewish themes and for presenting Jewish problems to the general Russian public in order to combat antisemitism. In 1871 Zederbaum launched a Russian-language weekly in St. Petersburg, *Vestnik russkikh yevreyev* ("Russian Jewish Herald") which, however, was boycotted by the Jewish intelligentsia and ceased publication in 1873. The first Jewish weekly in Polish, *Jutrzeńka*, was published in Warsaw in 1861–63; it had a pronounced assimilationist tendency and was eventually replaced by *Izraelita*, which appeared from 1866 to 1906. A Hebrew monthly, *Ha-Boker Or*, was published by Abraham *Gottlober in Lemberg and later in Warsaw (1876–86). Eight volumes of a Russian annual, containing a variety of literary works and named *Yevreyskaya Biblioteka*, edited by Adolph *Landau, appeared in the period 1871–80.

Ha-Ẓefirah resumed publication in 1874, first in Berlin and from 1875 in Warsaw. In addition, *Ha-Meliẓ* was revived in 1878. The Balkan Wars of 1877–78, the pogroms of the early 1880s, and the anti-Jewish restrictions that followed aroused greater interest in newspapers among the Jewish public. In 1879 two Russian-language weeklies made their appearance in St. Petersburg: **Razsvet* (1883), which pioneered in awaking the national consciousness of Russian Jewish youth, and *Russkiy yevrey* (1884). Another weekly, **Voskhod* (1881–1906), edited by Adolph Landau until 1899, served as the major forum for Russian Jewish intellectuals. Because of the oppressive restrictions placed on them, Yiddish publications were constantly in difficulties, and only the indefatigable Zederbaum succeeded in issuing a Yiddish weekly in St. Petersburg, *Yidishes Folksblat* (1881–90). A revolutionary development in Hebrew journalism took place in 1886, when the first Hebrew daily, *Ha-Yom*, edited by Judah Leib *Kantor, made its appearance in St. Petersburg. Although its career was short (two years), *Ha-Yom* exerted a profound influence on the style employed by the Hebrew press, hastening the transition from florid phraseology to practical prose. The two competing weeklies, *Ha-Meliẓ* and *Ha-Ẓefirah*, were forced to become dailies. The spread of the *Ḥibbat Zion movement in the 1880s resulted in the publication of a considerable number of annuals which served as a forum for the movement's ideology. Among the annuals were *Ha-Asif*, edited by Nahum *Sokolow (1884–88, 1893); *Keneset Yisrael*, edited by Saul Phinehas *Rabbinowitz (Warsaw, 1886–88); and *Ha-Pardes* in Odessa (1892–96, three vols.). They were followed by *Ha-Shilo'aḥ* (1896–1905 in Berlin and Cracow, 1902–19 in Odessa, and until 1926 in Jerusalem). Under the editorship of *Aḥad Ha-Am, and later J. Klausner, *Ha-Shilo'aḥ* became the leading Hebrew monthly, printing articles of a literary and general nature. Attempts which were made by D. Frischmann to publish the intellectual literary weekly *Ha-Dor* (1901, 1904) were unsuccessful as the readership required for this kind of publication was as yet too small.

The need for Yiddish reading matter was met by such annuals as *Hoysfraynd*, edited by Mordecai *Spector (Warsaw, 1888–96); *Yidishe Folks-Bibliothek*, edited by *Shalom Aleichem (Kiev, 1888–89); and *Yidishe Bibliotek*, edited by I.L. *Peretz (3 vols., Warsaw, 1891–95). A. Zionist weekly, *Der Yid*, directed at the educated reader, was published in Cracow from 1899 to 1902, and a popular weekly (vocalized for easy reading), *Yidishe Folkstsaytung*, also in Cracow (1902–03), had a women's supplement, *Di Yidishe Froyen Velt*. These weeklies paved the way for the first Yiddish daily to appear in Russia – *Der Fraynd* (1903–08 in St. Petersburg, 1909–13 in Warsaw), which gained immediate acceptance by the Jewish masses and had a circulation of tens of thousands.

In the beginning of the 20th century, the older Hebrew dailies ceased publication (*Ha-Meliẓ* in 1904 and *Ha-Ẓefirah* in 1906) and were replaced by more modern newspapers, *Ha-Ẓofeh* (Warsaw, 1903–05) and *Ha-Zeman*, the latter founded by Benzion *Katz (St. Petersburg, 1903–04; Vilna, 1905–15), which tried to keep pace with the general Russian press in reporting the latest news and commenting upon it. At the end of the 19th century, the Bund undertook the publication of underground newspapers such as *Arbeter Shtime, Der Yidishe Arbeter*, and *Posledniye Izvestia*, which were printed in the West and smuggled into Russia.

At the end of 1905 censorship was abolished and the press enjoyed a short period of freedom. It soon turned out, however, that the authorities still retained means of controlling the press by administrative measures, ranging from economic reprisals (such as prohibiting advertising, stopping the sale of single copies, closing down the printing press) to temporary or permanent suspension of publication. The immediate result of the short interval of freedom was the appearance of party newspapers. The Bund published *Der Veker*, and, when this was closed down, *Folks Tsaytung* and other newspapers. The Zionist Socialists issued *Der Yidisher Proletarier, Der Nayer Veg*, and *Dos Vort*. Another workers' party, the *Sejmists, sponsored the *Folks Shtime*. *Po'alei Zion had a Yiddish weekly, *Der Proletarisher Gedank*, and a Russian periodical, *Yevreyskaya Rabochaya Khronika*. All these party publications disappeared in 1907, when the revolutionary movement was suppressed. The Zionist press, nevertheless, continued to flourish. There were Zionist newspapers in Yiddish (*Dos Yidishe Folk*, Vilna, 1906–08); in Hebrew (*Ha-Olam*, Cologne, 1907; Vilna, 1908; Odessa, 1912–14), and in Russian. The first Zionist Russian-language monthly was *Yevreyskaya Zhizn* (1904–06), followed by *Razsvet*, which became the most popular Russian Jewish weekly with a circulation of tens of thousands. Attempts were made to revive the Hebrew press in Warsaw with the dailies *Ha-Yom* (1906–07) and *Ha-Boker* (1909). In 1910, *Ha-Ẓefirah* also reappeared as a daily, and, with the support of the Zionist Organization, attained a circulation of 15,000.

The most significant development of this period, however, was the growth of a popular Yiddish press centered in Warsaw. At the end of 1905, a Yiddish daily, *Der Veg*, edited by Ẓevi *Prylucki, was founded in the Polish capital and became the forerunner of the popular Yiddish press in Poland. It was succeeded by *Haynt* (1908–39) and *Der Moment* (1910–39), two Yiddish dailies which catered to popular taste and reduced the price of the papers. Along with the news and literary articles they printed sensational items and fostered the cheap novel. The papers enjoyed a circulation of many thousands and acquired great influence. Politically they supported Jewish nationalism and Zionism. Yiddish periodicals also appeared in the large provincial cities (Odessa, Lodz, Vilna, Kiev) but were of local character. An extreme Orthodox weekly, *Ha-Modi'a*, made its appearance in Poltava from 1909.

The non-Zionist Russian Jewish intelligentsia issued its own weeklies, such as *Yevreyskiy Mir* (1910–12) and *Novy Voshkod* (1910–17), both published in St. Petersburg. There were also magazines devoted to special subjects, such as the educational magazines *Yevreyskaya Shkola* (1904–05) and *Vestnik*, the latter founded in 1910 by the Society for the Spread of Enlightenment; *Yevreyskiy Meditsinskiy Golos*, a medical quarterly founded in Odessa in 1908; *Perezhitoye*, a history annual; *Yevreyskaya Starina*, a scientific quarterly (1909–30); and *Vestnik Yevreyskoy Obshchini* (1913–14), which dealt with community administration. There were children's magazines in Hebrew, Russian, and Yiddish (see *Children's Literature). In 1913 a literary magazine *Di Yidishe Velt*, edited by S. *Niger and maintaining high standards, was founded in Vilna.

The outbreak of World War I caused a crisis in the Jewish press: the price of paper and printing rose sharply, and military censorship restricted freedom of expression. The advance of the Central Powers into Poland and Lithuania also separated the masses of readers from the sources of their newspapers. In July 1915 a government decree ordered all Hebrew and Yiddish journals to cease publication. Jewish papers in the Russian language, especially the Zionist-oriented *Razsvet*, did their best to fill the void. The ban was lifted with the outbreak of the February 1917 Revolution.

IN THE U.S.S.R. (1917–1970). The February 1917 Revolution ushered in a short period of freedom of the press which lasted until the Bolshevik Revolution in October. Newspapers independent of the Communist Party continued to appear until September–October 1918 and in some regions (such as Ukraine and Belorussia) until Soviet rule was established there in 1920. This brief period proved to be the golden era of the Jewish press in the U.S.S.R. The leading newspapers were the Zionist Hebrew daily *Ha-Am* in Moscow (July 1917–June 1918), which had a circulation of 15,000 at its height, and the Zionist Yiddish daily *Tagblat* in Petrograd (May 1917–August 1918). Kiev had no less than four papers: the Bundist *Folks Tsaytung* (August 1917–May 1919), the United Socialists' *Naye Tsayt* (September 1917–May 1919), the Po'alei Zion's *Dos Naye Lebn* (December 1917–March 1919), and the Zionist *Der Telegraf* (November 1917–January 1918). Minsk had *Der Yid* (December 1917–July 1918) and *Far'n Folk* (September 1919–January 1920), which were both Zionist in outlook, and the Bundist *Der Veker* (first published in May 1917, and becoming a Communist paper in April 1921).

Hebrew periodicals were also revived after a two-year lapse. In Odessa, *Ha-Shilo'aḥ* resumed publication in June 1917 and continued until banned by the Soviet authorities in April 1919. In the same city, *Barkai*, the last of the Hebrew weeklies, appeared until the beginning of 1920. There were educational magazines such as *Ha-Ginnah* in Odessa, *Ha-Moreh* in Kiev, and *Ha-Makkabbi*, dealing with physical education. A children's magazine in Hebrew, *Shetilim*, was published in Petrograd. A number of annuals served as the forum literary and scientific work, such as *Keneset, Massu'ot*, and *Ereẓ* in Odessa and *Olamenu* in Petrograd. Outstanding for size and quality was the quarterly *Ha-Tekufah*, the first three issues of which appeared in Moscow in 1918. Collections were devoted to history and ethnography: *He-Avar* (2 vols., Petrograd), *Reshumot* (1 vol., Odessa), and *Sefatenu* (Odessa). Publication of Hebrew periodicals ended with the ban on the use of Hebrew in the Soviet Union.

Before long, the Jewish press in the Russian language also ceased to exist. *Raszvet* was closed down in September 1918 and *Khronika Yevreyskoy Zhizni* in July 1919. In the period 1924–26, when *He-Ḥalutz was a legal organization, it published the central organ of the movement, *He-Ḥalutz*, in Moscow. The left Po'alei Zion was permitted to publish its central organ, *Yevreyskaya Proletarskaya Mysl*, until 1926 (with a Yiddish edition appearing until 1927). A group of writers and scholars, members of the long-established *Society for the Promotion of Culture and the Historical Ethnographical Society, published several collections of literary and historical pieces in the 1920s, including *Yevreyskaya Starina* (vols. 9–13, 1924–30), *Yevreyskaya Letopis* (4 vols., 1923–26), and *Yevreyskaya Mysl* (2 vols., 1922–26). One official publication in Russian, *Tribuna* (Moscow, 1927–37), the central organ of OZET (see *Yevsektsiya), was directed at the Jews.

When Yiddish was recognized as the national language of the Jews in the 1920s, the Yiddish press (like Yiddish literature and the Yiddish theater) became part of the official apparatus for mass propaganda and indoctrination. It was controlled by the authorities, but its writers and correspondents enjoyed the substantial material advantages accorded to all writers who were loyal supporters of the regime. A widespread network of newspapers, entirely dependent upon the regime for its existence and policy, was created. In the 1920s and 1930s, these newspapers had considerable achievements to their credit. There were three central dailies: in Moscow, *Der Emes* was first published in 1918 as *Di Varhayt* and ceased publication in 1938; in Kharkov, *Der Shtern* (1925–41); and in Minsk, *Oktyaber* (1925–41). In addition, there were numerous local papers, such as *Der Odeser Arbeter* (1927–37) and *Proletarisher Fon* (Kiev, 1928–35).

A newspaper, *Biro-Bidzhaner Shtern*, began to appear in *Birobidzhan in 1930; it continued into the 1970s, appearing three or four times weekly. Important literary periodicals included *Prolet* (1928–32), *Farmest* (1932–37), and *Sovietish Literatur* (1938–41), all published in Ukraine; *Shtern* (1925–41), in Belorussia; and a literary annual, *Sovietish* (12 vols., 1934–41). Specialized publications, such as *Oyf dem Veg tsu der Nayer Shul* (Moscow, 1924–28) and *Ratebildung* (Kharkov, 1928–37) dealt with educational problems. Children found reading matter in *Oktyaber* (Kiev, 1930–39), *Zey Greyt* (Kharkov-Kiev, Kiev, 1928–41), and *Yunger Leninetz* (Minsk, 1929–37). The Jewish scientific institutes in Minsk and Kiev published periodicals on scientific and literary subject and on the Yiddish language: *Tsaytshrift* (5 vols., Minsk, 1926–31); *Oyf 'n Visnshaftlikn Front* (Minsk, 1932–35); *Lingvistisher Zamlbukh* (3 vols., Minsk, 1933–36); *Die Yidishe Shprakh* (Kiev, 1927–30), and *Oyf 'n Shprakh Front* (Kiev, 1931–39).

In 1939–40, when eastern Poland and Lithuania were incorporated into the Soviet Union, local Yiddish newspapers were established to serve the Yiddish-speaking population in Vilna, Bialystok, Kovno, and Riga. With the Nazi occupation of large parts of the U.S.S.R. in the summer of 1941, the Yiddish press ceased publication. In 1942, to rally the Jews to the war against the Nazis, the Jewish *Anti-Fascist Committee established **Eynikeyt* in Kuibyshev. After the war, the paper moved to Moscow and continued to appear there. In the immediate postwar period, several literary journals also made their appearance: *Heymland* (7 vols., Moscow, 1947–48), *Der Shtern* (7 vols., Kiev, 1947–48), and *Biro-Bidzhan* (3 vols., 1946–48).

In November 1948, all Yiddish literary publications and the entire Yiddish press in the Soviet Union were liquidated. The "thaw" that set in after Stalin's death brought no revival. In the summer of 1961, in response to pressure exerted by Jewish public opinion in the West, a bimonthly, **Sovetish Heymland*, was founded, and subsequently published the works of the remaining Yiddish writers in the U.S.S.R. In 1965 *Sovetish Heymland* became a monthly publication, claiming a circulation of 25,000 in 1967.

[Yehuda Slutsky]

At the beginning of the 1980s the total legal Jewish press in the U.S.S.R. amounted to two publications in Yiddish: the Moscow Jewish monthly journal *Sovetish Heymland* and the Birobidzhan newspaper *Birobidzhaner Shtern*, plus an annual in the Judeo-Tat language, *Vata Sovetimu*. Furthermore, attempts in refusenik circles to establish illegal publications were strictly repressed and led to the gradual curtailment of all Jewish *samizdat* publishing. With the revival of Jewish community life in the former Soviet Union a flourishing Jewish press with over 40 periodical publications developed. The most influential and widely circulating Jewish newspaper in Russia was *Mezhdunarodnaia evreiskaia gazeta* ("The International Jewish Newspaper"), the successor of VESK (see above), which made efforts to mirror not only Russian-Jewish life, but also Jewish life in the entire area of the former Soviet Union. The paper was published in Moscow, twice a month, by Tankred Golenpolskii and Eliezer Feldman. The most popular Jewish newspaper in St. Petersburg was *Narod moi – Ami*, published by the Jewish Association of St. Petersburg, also twice a month. In the North Caucasian region, the most conspicuous newspaper was *Vatan-Rodina* ("The Homeland"), published twice a week by Mikhail Gavrielov in Derbent, Daghestan, in Judeo-Tat (the language of the Mountain Jews) and Russian. Among other relatively widely circulating newspapers were *Tarbut* ("Culture") (in Samara, former Kuibyshev), *Stern-Zvezda* ("The Star") (in Ekaterinburg, former Sverdlovsk), and from July 1993 on – *Gazeta evreev Severnovo Kavkaza* ("The Newspaper of the Jews in the North Caucasus") (Nalchik, Karbardino-Balkaria). The *Birobidzhaner Shtern* ("The Birobidzhan Star") continued to be published in Yiddish and Russian in the Jewish Autonomous Region. The magazine *Sovietish Heimland* from 1993 changed its title to *Di Yiddishe Gass* ("The Jewish Street") and continued to appear in Russian and Yiddish. Papers were published by Jewish organizations abroad, e.g., *Rodnik* ("The Spring," or "Source") (by the World Union of Progressive Judaism), *Lekhaim* ("To Life") (by the International Jewish Organization Ḥabad-Lubavitch), and several papers – by the Jewish Agency. Jewish newspapers were also issued in Briansk, Novosibirsk, and Perm. Two academic Jewish journals, both supported by the JDC, were published: *Vestnik Evreiskovo Universiteta v Moskve* ("Herald of the Moscow Jewish University"), from 1992 on, and *Vreiskaia Shkola* ("Jewish School"), issued by the St. Petersburg University.

[Michael Beizer /Daniel Romanowski (2nd ed.)]

In Scandinavia

Jewish newspapers in Sweden before World War II included: the Yiddish fortnightly *Volkshilf* (1916–1923); and the monthly *Israeliten*, founded in 1914, as well as two monthlies, *Judisk Tidskrift* (1928–) and *Juediska Kroenika* (1932–). The Jewish community of Stockholm issued its own quarterly, *Försammlingsblad*, from 1941 under the editorship of David Kőpnivski. A later arrival was the *Center Bladet*, which was founded as a family journal in Stockholm in 1966. It appears about five times a year in Swedish, deals with Jewish communal life, youth clubs, and the problems of Israel, and reaches about 1,400 Jewish homes. Two Jewish publications existed in Norway before World War II: the Zionist monthly *Ha-Tikvah*, founded in 1929, which did not survive the war, and the quarterly *SJUF-Bladet* of the Scandinavian Jewish Youth Organization. Founded in 1917, the organization revived its periodical after World War II and issued it in Norwegian, Swedish, and Danish. The magazine also circulates among the Jewish communities of Finland, where a knowledge of Swedish is widespread. This magazine also supports the maintenance of Jewish tradition. In Finland, *Den Finski Juden* (1918) of Viborg was short-lived, but the *Judisk Krönika*, a monthly founded in Helsinki in 1923, had a longer career. The first attempt at publishing a Jewish journal in Denmark was made at the beginning of the 19th century. It was called *Nordlyset* and was an answer to current antisemitic literature. When the Jewish community achieved full civil rights in 1814, the publication was no longer considered necessary. In 1857 and 1865 new publishing attempts were made, but the *Israelitisk Ugeblad for Norden* and *Israelitisk Tidende* appeared only for a few issues. In 1907 two periodicals were started. The Zionist leader Louis Fraenkel was the editor of *Jødisk Tidsskrift*, a fortnightly of literary standard which survived for only a year and a half. The other was *Mosaisk Samfund*, which survived until the German occupation of Denmark in 1940. With the influx of immigrants from Eastern Europe, the need arose for a Yiddish press and in 1911 *Dos Yidishe Vokhenblat* appeared, edited by Joseph Litischevsky. The paper flourished until 1921. Other Yiddish papers were *Di Yugendshtime* and *Yidishe Folkstsaytung*, the latter as a daily from 1917 to 1925. From 1920 to 1923 the Scandinavian Jewish youth organization produced the Copenhagen *Israeliten* edited by Max Goldschmidt. In 1929 Goldschmidt founded *Jødisk Familieblad* which, after two changes of name (Jødisk Samfund and Jødisk Orientering), is now in its fifth decade. Among its editors was Chief Rabbi Marcus Melchior, and from 1947 it was edited by Torben Meyer. In 1947 the Zionist Federation issued *Palestine Telegram Service* as a weekly, which in 1950 turned into a periodical called *Israel*.

[Lewis Sowden]

In South Africa

The bulk of Jewish journalism in South Africa has been in English in the form of weeklies, which have enjoyed wide readership and considerable advertising support. The earliest attempts at establishing a Jewish press, however, were in Yiddish. They date from 1890 when N.D. Hoffman imported Hebrew type and started *Der Afrikaner Israelit* in Johannesburg; it lasted for six months. Since then there has been an almost continuous, if tenuous, line of Yiddish publications, including *Der Kriegstaphet*, a daily run by David Goldblatt in Cape Town from 1899. Hoffman also started a fortnightly Hebrew journal, *Kinneret*, which ran for 12 issues in 1905. The first Jewish newspaper in English was *The South African Jewish Chronicle*, started as a fortnightly in Cape Town by Lionel L. Goldsmid (1867–1952). The most prominent journals over the next century were the following: in English, *The Zionist Record* (1908–93), *The South African Jewish Chronicle* (1908–59, after which it was subsumed under the *Zionist Record*'s name), *The South African Jewish Times* (1936–87), and *Jewish Herald* (1937–87) – the latter combined in 1987 to form the *Herald Times* (1987–94) and the *South African Jewish Report* (1998–), all weeklies; *Jewish Voice* (1990–93), a monthly, and *South African Jewish Times* (1994–97), bi-monthly; *Jewish Affairs* (1941–) and the *Federation Chronicle*, which was renamed *Jewish Tradition* in 1986 (1954–), initially monthlies, but from 1988 quarterlies; in Afrikaans: *Buurman* (1970–85), monthly; in Yiddish, *Afrikaner Yidishe Tsaytung* (1930–83), a weekly; *Dorem Afrike* (1948–86), literary journal; and in Hebrew, *Barkai* (1932–78 bimonthly). All were published in Johannesburg.

[Lewis Sowden / David Saks (2nd ed.)]

In Switzerland

Apart from a monthly periodical of the 1830s, the first attempt to establish a regular medium of Jewish news was made by Alexander *Kisch, who in 1878–80 issued in Zurich a German-language fortnightly *Neue Israelitische Zeitung*. The first journalistic effort to meet with any success was the *Juedische Volkszeitung*, later the *Israelitisches Wochenblatt Zentralorgan fuer die Israeliten in der Schweiz, Baden und Elsass-Lothringen*, which appeared from 1895 to 1898 under the editorship of H. Berliner.

The first newspaper to prove of enduring influence was the German-French *Israelitisches Wochenblatt fuer die Schweiz/Revue Juive*, which was founded in Zurich in 1901 by Martin Littman (d. 1925) and David Strauss (d. 1921). Ownership and editorship passed in 1916 to David Weinbaum and in 1921 to Erich-Marx Weinbaum, whose son, Manfred Marx, took over in 1966. Hans Klee directed the weekly from 1953 to his death in 1959, with Leon Wohlmann as main contributor for more than 20 years. Kurt Roschewski became editor in 1958. In its earlier years, the *Israelitisches Wochenblatt* was a journal on communal life that contained religious and other reading matter. Later it widened its field of interest and published reports on Zionism, Palestine, and world Jewry. After the creation of the State of Israel, the paper added comprehensive reports on events in Israel and acquired a wide readership in Switzerland, Alsace, and other German-speaking Jewish districts of Europe. A Zionist weekly, *Juedische Pressezentrale*, appeared from 1917 to 1940 in Zurich under the editorship of Oscar Gruen, and numbering Hermann Witzhum and Benjamin Segalowitz (d. 1970) among its contributors. The Zionist fortnightly *Das Juedische Heim* had a short career from 1927. In Basle the *Juedische Rundschau-Maccabi*, a Zionist weekly, appears from 1940 as an independent organ in German with Adrien Blum as editor. The establishment of the State of Israel in 1948 stimulated further enterprises. *Das Neue*

Israel was founded in June of that year as the monthly organ of the Swiss Zionist Organization, with the additional aim of furthering relations between Switzerland and Israel. Containing both German and French contributions, it has appeared under the editorship of Veit Wyler since its inception. Another monthly, *Liaison*, with Daniel Halperin, Emanuel Haymann and Michael Wyler as editors, was initiated in Geneva in 1967 as a magazine of news, politics, and the arts.

[Veit Wyler]

In the United States

The first English-language Jewish newspapers in America were published to counteract proselytizing by missionaries attempting to convert poor Jewish immigrants to Christianity. In 1820 Abraham Collins published *Israel Vindicated*, and three years later New York printer Solomon Henry Jackson started *The Jew* to discredit the propaganda in the newspaper *Israel's Advocate*. Jackson's masthead enunciated its purpose – "Being a Defender of Judaism against all the adversaries, and particularly against the insidious attacks of *Israel's Advocate*." When the offensive newspaper died in 1825, Jackson ceased publishing *The Jew*.

Jackson's endeavor was a precursor to the efforts of the Jewish press throughout the years – to protect and defend the Jewish community from outside attacks, to aid in the acculturation of immigrants, to inform its readers, and to enunciate the community's goals.

From 1843 until his death in 1868, Rabbi Isaac Leeser of Philadelphia covered news in the Jewish world in his monthly English-language newspaper *The Occident* and the *American Jewish Advocate*. Leeser helped lay the foundation for the Jewish Publication Society in 1845.

During the middle of the 19th century when thousands of Jews emigrated from Germany, Isidor Busch founded the short-lived, German-language weekly *Israel's Herold* in 1849. That year, Robert Lyon put out the *Asmonean*, the first English-language Jewish weekly that covered local, national and news from abroad.

Most Jews lived in eastern seaboard cities, and when the population migrated westward, newspapers were started in fledgling Jewish communities. In 1854, Rabbi Isaac Meyer *Wise sought to reach isolated Jews living west of the Allegheny River, and began the English-language weekly *The Israelite* in Cincinnati, Ohio, which became *The *American Israelite* after 1874 – a newspaper still published weekly in 2006. Wise's newspaper fought "against errors, superstition, prejudice, arrogance, hypocrisy and bigotry." To reach Jews unable to read English, Wise published the eight-page weekly in German **Die Deborah* from 1885 until the end of the 19th century.

German and German–English-language Jewish newspapers were also launched in Milwaukee, St. Louis, and Memphis. When the Gold Rush lured Jews to California, San Francisco became the home of a German and English language weekly *The Hebrew Observer* (1855–88), *The Gleaner* (1856), *The Jewish Times and Observer* (1858) and *The Pacific Messenger* (1860).

In 1870, J.K. Buchner introduced his sporadically published *Yiddishe Zeitung* ("Jewish Times"), America's first Yiddish newspaper that covered politics, history, science, and the arts. In 1872, pioneer Yiddish journalist. Kasriel Hersch Sarasohn founded the New Yorker *Yiddische Zeitung*, offered the weekly *Judische Gazetten* ("Jewish Gazette") from 1874 to 1885, and attempted two Yiddish dailies that failed to survive. The rise of the Yiddish press paralleled the influx of Eastern European Jews to America from the 1870s into the 20th century who feared pogroms and sought a better life – and most were Yiddish speakers. Some of the first Yiddish papers were a combination of Hebrew and Yiddish, but by 1874 they settled on Yiddish. The Yiddish press, written in the immigrants' language, exerted influence and helped them to acculturate to a new and far different world. They found news from abroad, editorials and essays – and sought stimulation and escape after a hard day's work reading the serials, novels, featured stories and verse by Yiddish writers. Rabbi Wise maintained a great disdain for the Yiddish-language press.

Between 1871 and 1931, about 125 Hebrew periodicals were published in America, and were mainly weeklies and monthlies with small circulations, operated by one person. The first American Hebrew weekly *Ha-Zofeh* ("The Observer in a New Land") appeared in New York from 1871 to 1876, and Sarasohn's weekly *Ha-Ivri* ("The Hebrew") lasted from 1891 to 1898. Few Hebrew periodicals survived beyond a few issues since American Jews could neither understand Hebrew nor had any real interest in it.

In 1885 Sarasohn published the politically and religiously conservative *Judisches Tageblatt* ("Jewish Daily News"), the first Yiddish daily to survive. *The Tageblatt* introduced an English page in 1897, and by 1900, its circulation stood at 100,000. In 1905 a new daily emerged, *Warheit* ("The Truth") that was absorbed by the *Tageblatt* in 1919.

Some Jewish immigrants sought more liberal newspapers that reinforced their beliefs and turned to the socialist weekly New York Yiddish *Folk Zeitung* (1885–89), the *Arbeiter Zeitung* ("Worker's Press," 1890), and the Yiddish Socialist Labor daily *Abendblatt* ("Evening Paper") which lasted from 1894 to 1902.

In 1886, Abraham *Cahan edited *Naye Tsayt* (New Times), the first radical weekly, and in 1897 became the inaugurating editor of the Yiddish-language *Forverts* (*The Jewish Daily Forward*). He departed within a few months after a dispute with radical socialists at the newspaper, and when he returned five years later, he received full editorial control and ran the *Forward* until his death in 1951. Circulation grew from 6,000 in 1903 to a peak of 250,000 in 1929 when it was the most widely read Yiddish newspaper in America. In 1906, Cahan introduced *Bintel Brief* – "a little bundle of letters" – which encouraged immigrant readers to write in, tell of their problems, and seek help. The *Forward* encouraged humanism and morality, translated European classics, published articles on American Jewish history, and helped immigrants to assimilate. Cahan brought in distinguished authors including Sholem *Asch and I.J. *Singer. His brother Isaac Bashevis *Singer was on staff from the 1930s into the 1960s, as was Elie *Wiesel in the 1950s, and both won Nobel Prizes.

Jacob Saphirstein published the afternoon *Abendpost* (1899–1903), and in 1901 started *Der Morgen Zhurnal* (*The Jewish Morning Journal*), which was Orthodox, pro-Zionist, and Republican. Foreign correspondents cabled news in from Russia, Poland and the Balkans. The Yiddish press offered readers a mix of ideological, political, business, trade and women's publications. After immigrants settled in other cities, attempts made to establish Yiddish dailies there failed when they were unable to compete with the New York City newspapers trucked in every day.

Some Americanized Jews strongly opposed the use of Yiddish among newcomers, and believed that writers should use either correct German or good English. Many readers deserted the Yiddish press and gravitated toward English-language newspapers, as did their children.

To reach readers seeking local news, Jewish city newspapers began around 1900 including the *Jewish Exponent* in Philadelphia (1887), the Jewish news weekly of Northern California and New York's *Jewish Week*, and *Boston's Jewish Advocate* (1902). Each of these were still being published in the 21st century and offered an online version for their readers.

A limited number of Zionist periodicals appeared including the English-language cultural and literary magazine *Maccabean*, started in 1901. In 1900, the Labor Zionists introduced an irregularly published weekly *Der Yiddisher Kemfer* ("Jewish Warrior"), which was still being printed in the 21st century, as was the Woman's Labor Zionist magazine *Na'amat Woman* which began in 1925. In 1908, the weekly *Dos Yidushe Folk* ("The Jewish People") came into being, and eventually the Yiddish press realized that they could not avoid coverage of the Zionist movement. *Der Morgen Zhurnal* and the more liberal *Der Tog* supported Zionism while the *Forverts* railed against compromising socialism. After Hitler and the Holocaust, its editor Abraham Cahan became a fervent supporter of Israel.

English-language Jewish magazines opened a new venue in 1886 with B'nai B'rith's *Menorah* which became the *International Jewish Monthly*. In 1896 *The Jewish Veteran* was introduced, and in 1914, *Hadassah* was produced by the Women's Zionist Organization of America. All three ushered in the millennium, with the latter's circulation at 272,000.

By the early 1900s, there were periodicals for every taste, ideology, trade, and purpose. In 1906, newspaper baron William Randolph Hearst published a Yiddish daily expressly aimed at New York City's 600,000 Jews when he campaigned for governor. After his defeat, Hearst immediately closed the paper.

In 1909, editor Moses Ha-Kohen *Goldman introduced the first Hebrew daily *Ha-Yom* (*The Day*) in New York, but the paper soon failed financially. *Ha-Doar* (*The Post*) was started by Histraduth Ivrith and directed by Hebraist Max Lipson. It lasted as a Hebrew daily for eight months in 1921 and 1922, continued as weekly through 1992, became a monthly, and was a quarterly when it succumbed in 2004. (See also *Newspapers, Hebrew.)

The Yiddish press was more radical and outspoken than the conservative and traditional Hebrew press, which was unable to survive. Publishing was a business and Hebrew periodical editors were not business people. In 1914, *Der Tog* (*The Day*) was founded by a group led by Rabbi Judah L. *Magnes. It was a non-partisan, liberal publication of high literary and journalistic standards whose masthead read "The newspaper for the Yiddish intelligentsia." That year, there were ten Yiddish dailies with a combined circulation of over 750,000. *Der Tog's* peak circulation was 81,000 in 1916 and it merged with *Der Morgen Zhurnal* in 1953 and ceased publishing in 1973.

By 1921 there were five Yiddish daily newspapers in New York, three in Chicago, and one each in Philadelphia, Cleveland, Milwaukee, and Los Angeles. Their heyday ended when the Immigration Act of 1924 severely restricted immigration from Europe, and Yiddish press circulation began its decline.

Concurrently, from the 1920s into the 1940s there was the rise of English-language magazines and Jewish city newspapers. In 1943, Phillip *Slomovitz, the first editor of the *Detroit Jewish News* (1942) founded the American Association of English-Jewish Newspapers – now known as the American Jewish Press Association. Slomovitz, a well-respected leader, called the Jewish press "the guardian over the public welfare of our people… the historian of Israel and the watchman of our freedoms."

At the outset of the 21st century, there were 104 English-language–Jewish newspapers being published in 36 states and the District of Columbia. Most appeared either weekly (49), twice monthly (23), or monthly (22), with 49 connected to a Jewish Federation. Independent newspapers also covered local activities and some provided in-depth reporting of issues of concern to American Jews.

The Jewish Telegraphic Agency (JTA) provided national and international news concerning Israel to more than 100 newspapers in North America and around the world. The JTA, founded in 1917, and headquartered in New York, had bureaus in Washington and Israel and correspondents in North and South America, Europe, Africa, and Australia.

More than 50 Jewish magazines were aimed at the gamut of religious, organizational, ideological, and scholarly audiences. Three religious magazines were quarterlies; *Humanistic Judaism, Reform Judaism* with a circulation of more than 300,000, and *Jewish Action* published by the Orthodox Union. *United Synagogue Review* went to 250,000 Conservative readers twice a year. *Tradition* is published by the Rabbinical Council of America and *Conservative Judaism* by the Rabbinical Assembly. *Commentary* founded in 1945 was sponsored by the American Jewish Committee, while *Congress Monthly* (1933) and *Judaism* (1952) came from the American Jewish Congress. The independent magazine *Tikkun* (1986) presented a radically progressive perspective.

The Simon Wiesenthal Center's *Response* (1979) attacked antisemitism and went to its 250,000 members. In 1980, The National Yiddish Book Center, began publishing *Pakn Treger* (Book Peddler) which looked at contemporary Jewish life and its Yiddish roots. Three years later, the Yiddish-language *Forward* became a weekly, and in 1990, an English-language weekly version began and circulation grew to 25,000. A Russian-language edition was inaugurated in 1995 to reach new immigrants, but after losing money it was sold in 2004.

The *Forward* went online in 1998 followed by the *Forverts*, which tried to reach a younger, worldwide audience of Yiddish speakers. An online Jewish audience was also sought by Jewish city newspapers and organizational, political and religious periodicals. There was a host of Jewish bloggers (Web Loggers) who expressed their personal views on a variety of subjects that included dating, converting to Judaism, politics, and religion, with one site devoted to Orthodox Jewish female bloggers.

During the early years of the 21st century, new niche publications tried to capture younger Jewish audiences – *Heeb* was a generation X magazine and *New Voices* was aimed at college students.

They joined a plethora of publications that offered readers a choice of venues printed in English, Russian, German, and Yiddish, with 11 Yiddish periodicals in New York alone. The Jewish press had reached back to its 19th century roots to satisfy the needs of an eclectic and diverse Jewish readership.

[Harvey Leonard Gotliffe (2nd ed.)]

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PRESS, FRANK (1924–) U.S. geophysicist. Born in Brooklyn, New York City, he graduated from City College, New York (1944), and received his M.A. (1946) and Ph.D. (1949) from Columbia University under the direction of Maurice Ewing. He was a faculty member of the Columbia department of geophysics (1946–55) and professor of geophysics and head of the seismology laboratory at the California Institute of Technology at Pasadena (1955–65) before moving to the Massachusetts Institute of Technology as head of the department of geology and geophysics. Press made fundamentally important contributions to seismology, geophysics, oceanography, the lunar and planetary sciences, and resources exploration. His best known research explored earthquake seismology by introducing methods of digital data collection and analysis, and investigated seismic wave propagation, free oscillations of the earth, and the composition of the part of the earth's crust called the asthenosphere. His seismographic expertise was invaluable for establishing the worldwide network of seismographs for detecting nuclear weapons testing. He also contributed to the studies that established the precise dimensions of the Antarctic continent. His books on his fields of expertise have become standard texts. Press made many vital contributions to institutional and national organizations. These include president of the U.S. National Academy of Sciences (1981–93), board member of the Woods Hole Oceanographic Institution, membership of the U.S. delegation at four nuclear test ban treaty conferences (1959–63), chairman of the Earthquake Prediction Panel of the President's Office of Science and Technology, membership of the President's Scientific Advisory Committee (1961–64), and science adviser to President Carter and director of the Office of Science and Technology Policy (1977–80). His many honors include Honorary Membership of the Society of Exploration Geophysicists (1961) and the Society's Maurice Ewing Medal (1982), the Royal Astronomical Society of Great Britain's Gold Medal (1962), the Arthur Day Medal of the Geological Society of America (1962), the U.S. National Medal of Sciences, Columbia's Pupin Medal (1993), the Japan Prize (1993), and the Lomonosov Gold Medal (1997). In 1961 Mount Press in Antarctica was named in his honor for his contributions to Antarctic exploration. He held strong views on science policy and education, emphasizing the need to provide support for young investigators. His wife, Billie, was an education specialist.

[Michael Denman (2nd ed.)]

PRESS, YESHAYAHU (1874–1955), Israel historian and topographer of Ereẓ Israel. Press was born in the Old City of Jerusalem. He was a teacher and headmaster of the Laemel School until his retirement and was active in the civic life of Jerusalem for almost 50 years. His scholarly work was devoted to the history of Ereẓ Israel, and especially of its Jewish communities. His main work is *Ereẓ Yisrael Enẓiklopedyah Topografit-Historit – A Topographical-Historical Encyclopedia of Palestine* (4 vols., 1946–55). His memoirs *Me'ah Shanah bi-Yrushalayim*, published posthumously (1964), are a vivid description of life in the Old City.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: M. Ish-Shalom et al.(eds.), *Yerushalayim*, 4 (1953), 7–11.

[Michael Avi-Yonah]

PRESSER, JACOB (Jacques) (1899–1970), Dutch historian and writer. Presser was born in Amsterdam into a secular and well-assimilated family. He studied history at the University of Amsterdam, earning his doctorate in 1926 with a thesis on *Das Buch "De Tribus Impostoribus,"* and became a teacher.

After the German invasion in May 1940, he and his wife tried to flee the Netherlands; when their attempt failed, they tried to commit suicide. In March 1943, Presser's wife was arrested and deported to Sobibor death camp. Presser went into hiding.

Soon after the war, he was taken on by the University of Amsterdam, where he eventually became a full professor. In 1950 the Netherlands State Institute for War Documentation commissioned him to write a study of the persecution of the Jews in the Netherlands. *Ondergang. De vervolging en verdelging van het Nederlandse jodendom 1940–1945* ("Destruction: the Persecution and Extermination of Dutch Jewry 1940–1945") was published in 1965 and had an enormous impact on Dutch society.

Presser also wrote poems and detective stories. The short story "De nacht der girondijnen" ("Breaking Point," 1958) was a poignant account of the Dutch Jewish transport camp of Westerbork.

The mass murder of the Jews greatly increased Presser's Jewish consciousness, but he never became a Zionist. After 1967, however, he did express growing concern about Israel's security.

Among his writings, in addition to *Ondergang*, are *De Tachtigjarige Oorlog* (1941); *Napoleon* (1946); and *Amerika. Van kolonie tot wereldmacht* (1949).

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[Conny Kristel (2nd ed.)]

PRESSLER, MENAHEM (1928–), pianist. Originating in Magdeburg, the family immigrated to Eretz Israel in 1939. Pressler received most of his musical training in Israel – he studied with Eliyahu Rudiakow and Prof. Leo Kestenberg. A brilliant soloist, he first achieved international prominence at the age of 17, when he won the Claude Debussy Prize. He made his North American concerto debut shortly thereafter with the Philadelphia Orchestra under the baton of Ormandy (1948). Pressler appeared and recorded regularly with leading orchestras around the world. From 1955 he was professor and later distinguished professor of piano at the University of Indiana, Bloomington, and pianist/founder of the famous Beaux Arts Trio, which became one of the world's most enduring and widely acclaimed chamber music ensembles. The trio recorded almost the entire piano trio literature and received many prestigious awards. Pressler also appeared with the Juilliard, Emerson, Guarneri, and Fine Arts Quartets. He received a Lifetime Achievement Award from *Gramaphone* magazine in London and the German Critics Ehrenurkunde award in recognition of 40 years as the standard by which chamber music is measured.

ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Baker's Biographical Dictionary* (1997); N. Delbanco. *The Beaux Arts Trio* (1985).

[Uri (Erich) Toeplitz and Yohanan Boehm / Naama Ramot (2nd ed.)]

PRESSMAN, DAVID (1916–), U.S. immunochemist. Pressman was born in Detroit. He was head of immunochemistry at Sloan-Kettering Institute (1947–54) and professor at Cornell University (1952–54), director of cancer research at Roswell Park Memorial Institute, Buffalo, from 1954, and research professor at State University of New York, Buffalo and Niagara University from 1968. Pressman's research helped to clarify the structure and thereby the function of antibody molecules and tissue antigens of the HLA system important in transplantation medicine and determining disease susceptibility. He was also a pioneer in research on utilizing anti-tumor immunity as therapy.

[Michael Denman (2nd ed.)]

PRESSMAN, JACOB (1919–), U.S. rabbi. Pressman was born in Philadelphia and received his B.A. from the University of Pennsylvania in 1940 and began rabbinical studies at New York's Jewish Theological Seminary. In 1944, while still a

Seminary student, Pressman assumed spiritual leadership of the Forest Hills Jewish Center, whose rabbi, Ben Zion Bokser, was serving in the war-time chaplaincy. Jacob was ordained in 1945, and in 1946 he relocated to Los Angeles, where he would emerge as one of the key pioneering rabbis in what was to become the second largest Jewish community in the United States.

After serving as assistant rabbi at Sinai Temple after the war, in 1950 Pressman accepted an invitation to become rabbi of a small congregation near Beverly Hills which eventually became Temple Beth Am. With Pressman at the helm, by the mid-1960s the synagogue had grown to become the largest synagogue on the West Side of Los Angeles, with a membership in excess of 1,300 households. He served the synagogue until the 1980s.

As he was establishing himself as one of the leading congregational rabbis in America, Pressman was also playing a significant role in the founding and development of a number of key institutions that served the growing Conservative movement in Southern California, such as the University of Judaism; Camp Ramah in California; the Los Angeles Hebrew High School; the Herzl School, a non-Orthodox junior/senior high school; Akiba Academy, the first Conservative day school in Los Angeles; and a day school at Temple Beth Am, later renamed The Rabbi Jacob Pressman Academy, following his retirement.

All the while Pressman remained active in a leadership capacity on a variety of boards and commissions of the Los Angeles Jewish Federation Council and served as president of the Board of Rabbis of Southern California and of the Western States Region of the Rabbinical Assembly. Maintaining his commitment to the State of Israel, he moved Temple Beth Am into the forefront of the national Israel Bonds synagogue campaign and eventually became chair of the Southern California Israel Bonds campaign.

On a national level, in the 1960s Pressman helped to create the Save Soviet Jewry movement that brought the plight of Soviet Jewry to the attention of the American public and helped create the program that eventually enabled tens of thousands of Soviet Jews to immigrate to Israel. And, as a supporter of the civil rights movement, in 1965 he joined a group of 293 Southern Californians who walked with Martin Luther King, Jr., to the state capitol building in Montgomery.

In July of 1985, Pressman assumed the title of rabbi emeritus, as he relinquished the reins of spiritual leadership of Temple Beth Am to Rabbi Joel Rembaum. Thus began two decades of continuing community service, including two years as executive director of the local Israel Bonds office in the late 1980s. He remained involved in the affairs of the Los Angeles Jewish Federation, serving as chair of its board of governors, among other activities.

Known for his brilliant oratory and penetrating wit, Pressman welcomed the 21st century by embarking on a number of writing projects. In 2002 he published a collection of his sermons on the seminal historical moments of the 20th century, titled *Dear Friends*. He became a regular columnist for the *Beverly Hills Courier*.

[Joel Rembaum (2nd ed.)]

PRESSMAN, LEE (1906–1969), U.S. lawyer. He left his law practice to accept a position in Roosevelt's New Deal administration. In 1934, while assistant general counsel in the Agricultural Adjustment Administration, Pressman gravitated within the Communist Party orbit. Although he severed formal affiliation with the party after leaving government service a year later, he did not break ideologically with Stalinism until 1950. In 1937 Pressman became counsel for the Steel Workers Organizing Committee, and soon thereafter general counsel for the CIO. Brilliant and quick-witted, Pressman won the confidence of John L. Lewis, and later, CIO president, Philip Murray. He came to be considered "indispensable" in CIO administrative matters. While holding his position in the CIO, Pressman continued to consult with Communist Party leaders. However, he was actually forced to act more as a check on, rather than agent of, the Stalinist interests in the CIO. Pressman resigned from the CIO in 1948 to back the Progressive Party standard-bearer Henry Wallace's unsuccessful attempt for the presidency. He retired to the practice of law during the Korean War.

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[Kenneth Waltzer]

PRESSMANE, JOSEPH (1904–1967), French painter, born at Berestechko, Ukraine, a member of the *Paris School. He settled in Paris in 1926 after three years in Palestine. Pressmane became known after World War II. His paintings on Jewish themes, his landscapes, and his studies of Paris industrial suburbs are poetic but often melancholy.

PRETORIA, administrative capital of the Republic of South Africa. The earliest Jewish settlers after the foundation of Pretoria in 1855 were among the officials whom the Boer government brought from Holland. One such was M. de Vries, and although the laws of the Transvaal Republic placed civil disabilities upon non-Protestants, he became state prosecutor in 1868 and a member of the Volksraad (Legislative Assembly) in 1871. Jewish communal life dates from 1876, when *minyanim* were held in the home of Daniel M. Kisch, a photographer, and a Jewish wedding was celebrated in 1878. The first meeting of the congregation was held there in 1890, and the first synagogue building was consecrated in 1898. The first minister, the Rev. E. Jaffe, was appointed the following year. Jewish institutions today include the Pretoria Hebrew Congregation (Orthodox), Bet Menorah (Progressive), a *Chevra Kaddisha* and other philanthropic bodies, a branch of the Union of Jewish Women, and a women's Zionist organization. The Pretoria Council of the S.A. Jewish Board of Deputies acts as a coordinating body. The Jewish population numbered 3,553 in 1969 (1.2% of the total population). This had declined to 1,500 by 2004.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: G. Saron and L. Hotz (eds.), *The Jews in South Africa* (1955).

PREUSS, HUGO (1860–1925), German jurist and politician, creator of the Weimar constitution. Born in Berlin, Preuss was elected to the Berlin city council where he advocated a new system of decentralized government based on strong, independent municipal councils. Preuss was an authority on German constitutional law and lectured at the University of Berlin but was refused a professorship because of his Jewish origins and liberal view. In 1906 he became professor of public law at the Berlin Handelshochschule and later rector. At the end of World War I Preuss became minister of the interior of the new German republic and headed the committee drafting the so-called Weimar constitution. It was hailed as the epitome of democracy in liberal circles but was attacked by right-wing circles as being "Un-German." Preuss opposed the signing of the Versailles Peace Treaty and resigned from the government. Though not active in Jewish affairs and an opponent of Zionism, Preuss was highly regarded in Jewish circles.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: E. Feder, *Hugo Preuss* (Ger., 1926); W. Simons, *Hugo Preuss* (Ger., 1930); S. Grossmann, *Hugo Preuss* (Ger., 1965); H. Preuss, *Staat, Recht und Freiheit* (1926), preface by T. Heuss, incl. bibl. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** E. Hamburger, in: LBIYB, 20 (1975), 179–206; D. Schefold, in: "*Meinetwegen ist die Welt erschaffen...*" (1997), 293–309; D. Lehner, *Verfassungsdemokratie als Bürgergenossenschaft…* (1998), incl. bibl.; A. Faatz, "Hugo Preuss" (diss., Trier, 1999); G. Gillessen, *Hugo Preuss* (2000).

PREUSS, JULIUS (1861–1913), German physician and medical historian. Born in Gross-Schoenebeck (Saxonia), Preuss settled in Berlin as a practitioner and became an important writer on medicine in Jewish sources. He also took an active part in Orthodox community life. Preuss scientifically researched the problems of biblical and talmudic medicine, and his writings on the subject have remained a reliable guide.

His series on Hebrew medicine and Jewish medical men began with his *Der Arzt in Bibel und Talmud* (separate publication of *Virchow's Archiv*, 138 (1894), 261ff.). It was followed by a large number of essays on various aspects of biblical and talmudic medicine in scientific and literary journals. These were later collected in *Biblisch-talmudische Medizin* (1911, repr. 1921, 1923, 1969). The book is a model of scholarly research and presentation and has become a classic reference work.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Korot*, 2 (1961), nos. 9–10 (incl. bibl. and Eng. summaries); S.R. Kagan, *Jewish Medicine* (1952), 562; J. Carlebach, *Zur Erinnerungen an Sanitaetsrat Dr. Julius Preuss…* (1913).

[Suessmann Muntner]

PREVIN, ANDRÉ (**George**; 1929–), conductor, composer, and pianist. Born in Berlin, Previn studied piano at the Berlin Conservatory as a child; subsequently his family moved to Paris, where he continued his studies at the Paris Conservatoire and then, in 1939, to California. At the age of 16, he joined the music department of Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer studios in Hollywood, where he was to gain four Academy Awards for original film scores and orchestrated more than 60 other film scores. He studied conducting with Pierre *Monteux and composition with Joseph *Achron and Mario *Castelnuovo-Tedesco. Well known as a jazz pianist, he also made appearances as concerto soloist with various American orchestras and worked with musicians such as Benny *Goodman, Herb Ellis, Shorty Rogers, Pete Rugolo, Jackie Cain and Roy Kral, and Ella Fitzgerald. In 1945 he made his first recording, for the Sunset label, and his early recordings for RCA in 1947 brought him considerable success. In 1961 he received a Grammy Award for the album *André Previn Plays Harold Arlen*. In 1964, an engagement as conductor with the Houston Symphony Orchestra led to his appointment as its chief conductor (1967–68); from that time he conducted most of the major American and European orchestras. His association with the London Symphony Orchestra, which began with a recording of Shostakovich's *Fifth Symphony* in 1965, resulted in his appointment as its principal conductor in 1968. He made many recordings with the orchestra and led it on numerous world tours. Previn often appeared as a chamber pianist, especially during London's South Bank Summer Music Festival, of which he was artistic director in 1972 and 1973. As a conductor, he was noted for his advocacy of British and Russian music, particularly works by Vaughan Williams, Walton, and Rachmaninov. As a composer, his works other than film scores include a piano suite (1967), a cello concerto (1968), and a guitar concerto (first performance, London, 1971). He also collaborated with Alan Jay *Lerner on a Broadway musical based on the life of "Coco" Chanel (1969). In the late 1980s he revived his jazz career with the album *After Hours* (1989), as part of a trio consisting of Joe Pass and Ray Brown. He made further jazz recordings in the 1990s (such as *Old Friends* (1991) and *Jazz at the Musikverein* (1995)) and published an autobiography, *No Minor Chords: My Days in Hollywood* (1991).

ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY: Grove Music Online; M. Bookspan and R. Yockey, *André Previn: a Biography* (Garden City, N.Y., 1981); M. Freedland: *André Previn* (1991).

[Max Loppert / Israela Stein (2nd ed.)]

°**PREZIOSI, GIOVANNI** (1881–1945), Fascist journalist and leading theorist of racial antisemitism in Italy. Even before World War I, Preziosi, a former priest, began a crusade to preserve "Italianness" from "foreign intrigue," chiefly through the review he founded in 1913, *La Vita Italiana all' Estero* (later renamed *La Vita Italiana*). In 1917 Preziosi formed one of the first *Fasci*. In August 1920, with an article in *La Vita Italiana* entitled "The Jewish International," he initiated a campaign of hatred and slander against Jews and Judaism, with the avowed purpose of "inoculating antisemitism into the blood of the Italians." Preziosi was an anomaly on the Italian scene, even among Fascist hotheads, and more than anyone else he was responsible for preparing the Italian people for the psychological acceptance of racism. The antisemitism of *Farinacci and even *Mussolini was chiefly political and opportunistic, while Preziosi, inspired by his own phobias, saw the Jews, both foreign and Italian, as objective enemies who had "infiltrated" Italy at all levels. In 1921 he was the first to publish the Italian version of the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, which he reissued in 1937. Preziosi's ideas were the main inspiration for the July 1938 *Manifesto della Razza*, which served as a basis for the subsequent racial legislation and discrimination. In 1941 he became minister of state, ever in quest of "integral racism" and complete friendship with Germany. Under German pressure Mussolini appointed Preziosi head of the Inspectorate for Racial Affairs (Ufficio della Razza) in March 1944, during the last and most brutal phase of Italian Fascism. In April 1945 he committed suicide.

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[Emmanuel Beeri]

PRIBRAM, ALFRED FRANCIS (1859–1942), historian and political publicist. Pribram, who was born and died in London, was professor of history at the University of Vienna from 1894 to 1930.

He wrote copiously on 17th-century Austrian history and published scholarly editions of documents on international relations, including the dispatches of Venetian ambassadors to the Court of Vienna. He edited the final volume of Heinrich Friedjung's *Das Zeitalter des Imperialismus* (3 vols., 1919–22) and, after 1918, contributed to the study of the "war guilt" problem, notably the role of Austria-Hungary, with his *Austrian Foreign Policy 1908–1918* (1923). His lectures at Oxford University were published in 1931 as *England and the International Policy of the European Great Powers, 1871–1914*. His work on the relations between Austria and Britain before World War I appeared in an English translation in 1951 as *Austria-Hungary and Great Britain 1908–1914*. In 1938 he published *Materialien zur Geschichte der Preise und Loehne in Oesterreich*. Pribram's contribution to Jewish history was *Urkunden und Akten zur Geschichte der Juden in Wien* (2 vols., 1918).

[Herbert A. Strauss]

PRIBRAM, KARL (b. 1877), economist. Born in Prague, he obtained his professional training in Prague, Berlin, and Vienna. From 1907 to 1914 he taught at the University of Vienna, and in 1911 he entered the Austrian civil service. During 1921–28 he served as head of the statistical office of the International Labor Office in Geneva, and in 1928 he became professor of economics at the University of Frankfurt. After moving to the United States in 1934, he was successively connected with the Brookings Institution, in Washington, D.C., the Social Security Administration, and the United States Tariff Commission. After his retirement in 1951, he taught at the American University in Washington and in Frankfurt.

Pribram was an authority in the field of the history of economic thought and of international commercial policy. His main publications include *Cartel Problems* (1935); *Conflicting Patterns of Thought* (1949); and *Prolegomena to a History of Economic Reasoning* (in *Journal of Economics*, 65, 1951).

[Joachim O. Ronall]

PRICE, ABRAHAM A. (1900–1994), rabbi and author. Born in Stopnica (Stopnitz), Poland, Price studied with Abraham Borenstein and Rabbi Silman of Chmielnick, from whom he received *semikhah*. In 1923 Price moved to Berlin, where he became a banker, but with Hitler's rise to power he moved to Paris. Price found his way to Toronto in the late 1930s and became both spiritual leader of Congregation Chevra Shas and *rosh yeshivah* at Yeshivat Torat Chayim. During World War II Price was one of only a few who managed to break down the resolve of Canada's restrictionist and bigoted director of Immigration, F.C. Blair. Price secured the release of a number of young German- and Austrian-born Jewish men who were then being interned in Canada as enemy aliens. Price brought them to his yeshivah.

Price maintained an extensive library and had command of a wide range of Jewish texts, both halakhic and non-halakhic. A gifted teacher, he also commanded the respect of the students, and taught Talmud daily to his most advanced students. They marveled at his *pilpulim*, and when the fiercely independent Price crossed swords with various figures, including rabbis in Toronto, as in the matter of Toronto's *eruv*, his students rallied to his side. Price eventually ordained many of Canada's leading rabbis, both Orthodox rabbis such as the halakhic authority Gedaliah *Felder and a number of rabbis who eventually were drawn to the Conservative movement, including Erwin *Schild and Albert Pappenheim. Some of Prices' students, embracing ḥasidic fervor, found their way to the then larger ḥasidic community in Montreal.

Price was the author of a number of published works. In his two-volume *Mishnat Avraham* (1943/4; 1949/50) he used the method of *pilpul* to explore various halakhic problems. He also published a two-volume collection of sermons (1945/6; 1974). Not one to mince words, he ended the first of the two volumes on Jewish preaching by charging that North American rabbis were increasingly becoming entertainers, summoning up laughter or tears, but at the cost of less and less Torah content. Price also published a three-volume edition of *Sefer Ḥasidim* using a manuscript that had not been used in the previous edition. He also included a commentary. During the war, he briefly published a journal dedicated to issues of Torah which included a number of articles written by students of his yeshivah.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Canadian Jewish News* (April 7, 1994), 4; E. Schild, *The Very Narrow Bridge* (2001).

[Richard Menkis (2nd ed.)]

PRIESAND, SALLY JANE (1946–), the first U.S. woman to receive rabbinic *ordination from a theological seminary. Born to Irving Theodore and Rose Elizabeth (Welch) Priesand in Cleveland, Ohio, Priesand determined in her teens to pursue a rabbinic career. She received her B.A. in English from the University of Cincinnati in 1968, together with a Bachelor of Hebrew Letters from neighboring *Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion, the rabbinical school of American Reform Judaism. She continued as a rabbinic student at HUC-JIR and was ordained as a Reform rabbi in 1972. As a pacesetter, Priesand endured what she described as "the unbelievable and almost unbearable pressures of being the first woman Rabbi" (Nadell, p. 169). Her early rabbinic positions included serving as assistant and associate rabbi at the Stephen Wise Free Synagogue in New York City (1972–79) and working as a chaplain at Lenox Hill Hospital in Manhattan. Since 1981, she has served as rabbi of Monmouth Reform Temple in Tinton Falls, N.J.

Priesand is the author of *Judaism and the New Woman* (1975) and "Postscript," in *Women Rabbis: Exploration and Celebration*, ed. G. Zola (1996), a volume honoring 20 years of women in the rabbinate. She has received several honorary degrees, has served as president of the Rabbinic Alumni Association, and is a member of the HUC-JIR Board of Governors. In 1997, the Women's Rabbinic Network initiated efforts to establish the Rabbi Sally J. Priesand Visiting Professorship of Jewish Women's Studies at HUC-JIR.

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[Judith R. Baskin (2nd ed.)]

PRIESTLY BLESSING (Heb. בִּרְכַּת כֹּהֲנִים), the formula in Numbers 6:24–26 ordained by God and transmitted to the priests by Moses for the blessing of Israel. Verse 27, "They shall invoke My name on behalf of the Israelites and I will bless them," makes explicit the intent of the ordained formula: to invoke the power of the Lord, who alone dispenses blessing. The threefold arrangement of the benediction may reflect an older incantation form; the three verses probably represent synonymous rather than climactic parallelism.

The blessing has been customarily translated "The Lord bless you and keep you; the Lord make His face to shine upon you and be gracious to you; the Lord lift up His countenance upon you and grant you peace." The literalness of this translation obscures the force of the Hebrew and fails to convey the court imagery of the biblical idiom. In biblical idiom the king shows favor (the verb *ḥanan*) to his subjects by giving them audience, access to "the light of his face," whereas his disfavor is expressed by "hiding" his face from them. The third verse of the benediction presents a problem, for the king never "lifts up his face upon" his subjects as a token of favor: "to lift one's own face" means "to look up" (II Kings 9:32), and it is rather the recipient of favor whose "face is lifted up" (who is *nesu panim* by the one who shows favor, see II Kings 3:14; Job 42:8, 9). In the blessing, however, the idea seems to be that of raising the features in a smile, the opposite of dropping them in a frown (cf. *lo appil panai ba-khem*; lit. "I will not drop my face against you," Jer. 3:12; cf. Gen. 4:5–6; Job 29:24). Finally, favor is a good deal more than the mere absence of hostility; consequently not just "peace" but friendship is what *shalom* means here, as in Judges 4:17 and in *beriti shalom* (Num. 25:12), and *berit shelomi* (Isa. 54:10), both of which mean "my covenant/promise of friendship." If one further assumes that a ו (*vav*) has been omitted at the end of שָׁלוֹם before the ו (*vav*) at the beginning of וְיָשֵׂם לְךָ שְׁלוֹמוֹ, וְשָׁמוֹ will mean the exact opposite of אָסַפְתִּי אֶת שְׁלוֹמִי מֵאֵת הָעָם הַזֶּה ("I have withdrawn my friendship from that people"; Jer. 16:5). With this small change, the rendering of Numbers 6:24–26 in the Jewish Publication Society's translation of the Pentateuch (1962) is reproduced below in order to bring out the synonymity of the verses:

> The Lord bless you and keep you!
> The Lord deal kindly and graciously with you!
> The Lord bestow His favor upon you and grant you His friendship!

The structure of this threefold blessing is interesting to note: the first sentence contains three words, the second five words, and the third seven words. The name of the Deity (*Tetragrammaton) is found in the second word of each sentence.

[Herbert Chanan Brichto]

In the Halakhah

This priestly blessing was part of the Temple cult. Every morning and evening at the *Tamid offering, the priests ascended a special platform called *dukhan (the Yiddish expression *dukhenen*, i.e., "to deliver the priestly blessing," is derived from this), and pronounced the blessing with their hands uplifted (Mid. 2:6; Tam. 5:1; 7:2; Sot. 7:6; Meg. 18a, etc.). In rabbinic literature the Priestly Blessing is also known as *nesi'at kappayim* ("raising of the hands"). On Sabbaths and festivals the Priestly Blessing was pronounced also at the *Musaf* service and on certain public fast days during the *Minḥah* service, too (Maim. Yad, Tefillah, 14:1–2). In the Temple the priests uttered the *Tetragrammaton whereas in the synagogues *Adonai* was substituted (Sot. 38a). The congregation then responded "Blessed be the Lord God, the God of Israel, to all eternity" (Sot. 40b).

During the time of the Second Temple the Priestly Blessing was pronounced outside the Temple in the synagogues; after the destruction of the Temple and the cessation of the sacrificial cult it became the main remnant of priestly ritual. It was also inserted into the last benediction of the *Amidah*. Every adult kohen is enjoined to perform this function unless disqualified by certain physical and other defects. Thus a kohen may not participate in the ritual if he has killed a person, committed idolatry, married a woman forbidden to him, or is intoxicated. He is also disqualified if he suffers from certain physical deformities or is unable to articulate the words properly (Ber. 32b; Meg. 24b; Ta'an. 26b; Maim. Yad, Tefillah, 15:1–6; Sh. Ar., OḤ 128:30–41). It was argued, in explanations of these rules, that physical defects might distract the attention of the congregants, or that bodily perfection was a symbol for a perfect soul (Philo, *De Monarchia*, 2:5).

The Priestly Blessing is pronounced only at a public synagogue service with the required quorum of 10 male adults (Sh. Ar., OḤ 128:1). If all worshipers are priests, some of them ascend to say the blessing while the rest listen to it as "congregants" (Sot. 38b). Priests in mourning are exempted from participating in the ritual, but should leave the synagogue before the *ḥazzan* invites the priests to ascend the platform. Originally the Priestly Blessing was part of the morning service each weekday, but as the daily business of the people did not allow them to concentrate with proper devotion, it was reserved, in the Diaspora, for Sabbaths and holidays. Local customs differ as to the place (*Shaharit or *Musaf) and time of the recital of the Priestly Blessing. The general *Ashkenazi Custom is to recite it only on the High Holidays and three *pilgrim festivals. In Ereẓ Israel, it is customary to recite it every Sabbath both at *Shaḥarit* and *Musaf* and in Jerusalem, every day. If the Priestly Blessing is not performed for some reason, its text is recited by the *ḥazzan* at the end of his repetition of the *Amidah* before the last benediction.

The general procedure of the Priestly Blessing is: After *Kedushah the priests prepare themselves, removing their shoes and washing their hands with the assistance of the levites, whereafter they ascend the platform before the Ark. The *ḥazzan* then recites the prayer: "Our God and God of our fathers, bless us with the threefold blessing of the Law, written by the hand of Moses Thy servant, which was spoken by Aaron and his sons the priests…" At this last word, the priests turn toward the congregation and pronounce the benediction for the *mitzvah* of the Priestly Blessing. In Israel, however, it is customary for a member of the congregation to call out "*kohanim*" immediately after the 17th blessing of the *Amidah* at which the priests begin their benediction. The *ḥazzan* says each word of the Priestly Blessing which is then repeated aloud by the priests.

The kohanim recite the blessing with their prayer shawls drawn forward to cover their heads and their hands stretched out at shoulder height with the palms facing forward. The hands are held touching at the thumbs with the first two fingers of each hand separated from the other two, thus forming a sort of fan. This figure became the device of the kohanim and is often inscribed on their tombstones. It has become the custom not to look at the kohanim while they are performing the Priestly Blessing. In many communities the father draws his children to himself and covers them with his *tallit*. Originally the congregants listened silently to the Priestly Blessing, but in the course of time they began to accompany it with the silent recital of appropriate biblical quotations (Sot. 40a). There is a widespread custom to respond "Amen" after each of the three sections of the Priestly Blessing, when said by kohanim but "so may it be Thy will" when the *ḥazzan* recites it. In the course of time considerable magical power came to be ascribed to the Priestly Blessing, especially the power to neutralize bad dreams, which were considered to be evil omens for the future. Thus, a special prayer to God to turn bad dreams into blessings was inserted in some rites, and said by the congregants at the end of both the first and the second verse (Bet. 55b). Later, other prayers of kabbalistic origin were added to those recited by the congregation. They necessitated the prolonging of the Priestly Blessing, and this was accomplished by the insertion of a chant by the priests before the final word of each section. This custom impinged on the solemn character of the Priestly Blessing, but although opposed by some rabbis (e.g., Moses of Przemysl, *Matteh Moshe*, 1 (1591), 193) it became widely accepted.

In Conservative Judaism the recital of the Priestly Blessing by the priests is optional. *Reform Judaism discarded the notion of special priestly privileges in modern times; the Priestly Blessing is read by the rabbi as a closing benediction at the end of the service. The Priestly Blessing is also used as a formula of blessing at other ceremonies such as circumcisions or weddings (*ḥuppah) where it is recited by the officiating rabbi.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: S. Abramson, in: *Turei Yeshurun*, 16 (1970), 15–17; Maim., Yad, Tefillah; Sh. Ar., OḤ 128f.; Elbogen, Gottesdienst, 67ff.; Eisenstein, Yisrael, s.v. *Nesi'at Kappayim*, Eisenstein, Dinim, 58, 276f.; JE, 3 (1902), 244–7; H.D. Halevy, in: *"Shevilin,"* 18–19 (1967), 114–28.

PRIESTLY VESTMENTS, the special garments that were worn by the priests during divine worship, as was customary in cultic services in the Ancient Near East and elsewhere (see e.g., II Kings 10:22). The priests are commanded to leave their priestly garments in the holy chambers after the service (Ezek. 42:14; 44:19), and to refrain from carrying them into the outer court (Lev. 6:4). It is likewise stated: "He shall then take off his garments and put on other garments," the latter apparently referring to garments worn by the people, as in Ezekiel 42:14. (The talmudic sages (Yoma 23b) disputed whether these were priestly garments inferior to the former ones or profane garments.) In the Bible, the priestly garments are described only in the Priestly Code. Several of them are briefly referred to in Ezekiel 44:17–18; the ephod, the sole exception, is also mentioned in non-Priestly sources. Many scholars maintain that with respect to the garments, the Priestly Code reflects post-Exilic times, for, according to the prevalent view, this source was not committed to writing until this period. The ephod mentioned in sources other than the Priestly Code is held by these scholars to be either an image, not a garment, a garment of divine images, or the earliest priestly garment. However, it actually appears that all the garments described in the Priestly Code are from the pre-Exilic period, and it is only this source which had need to describe them, since it is a priestly work whose contents called for such a description.

Several features characterize the priestly vestments. Some of them are made "for splendor and for beauty" (Ex. 28:40); others, as is usual with cultic apparel, undoubtedly preserve vestiges of an old style, while some reflect acts of cultic significance. The breeches were for modesty (see below). Bearing as they do the hallmark of holiness, the priestly garments as a whole are frequently referred to as holy garments (see below). A total of eight garments, the number also prescribed by the sages (Yoma 7:5), are enumerated in the Priestly Code, but only Aaron attired himself in all eight. Of these, the four undergarments are to be worn by the common priests too, but those of Aaron are somewhat more embellished. Mentioned as a special group in connection with Aaron as well as with the common priests are four other garments of simple linen, which were worn when acts of extraordinary holiness were performed.

The four undergarments are to be made of fine twined linen (*shesh moshzar*), that is, a superior quality of linen; an exception within this group is Aaron's girdle made of a mixture (*kilayim*) of fine linen and wool. The four undergarments consist of:

(1) A coat. Of Aaron's coat it is said: "And you shall weave the coat in checkerwork of fine linen" (Ex. 28:39), and hence it is called "a coat of checkerwork" (28:4; cf. the ornamented coat mentioned in connection with Joseph in Gen. 37:3ff., and Tamar in II Sam. 13:18–19). No mention is made of checkerwork with respect to the coats of the common priests (Ex. 28:39–40; cf. Ibn Ezra's comment). In Second Temple times, the priests' coats descended apparently to the ankles and had sleeves reaching to the palms (Jos., Ant., 3:153; cf. Yoma 72b; Maim., Yad, Kelei ha-Mikdash, 8:17).

(2) A girdle. The girdle, bound around the coat, is also regarded as a vestment of distinction (cf. Isa. 22:21). Whereas the girdles of the common priests were made exclusively of fine twined linen (Ex. 28:39), Aaron's was of fine linen and dyed wools and was of embroidered work, *ma'aseh rokem* (Ex. 28:39;39:29).

(3) A headdress. For the common priests turbans or "decorated turbans," *paa'are migba'ot*, are prescribed, while for Aaron there is a miter, *miẓnefet* (Ex. 28:39–40; 39:28; cf. Ezek. 44:18). The "decorated turban" is considered an attire of beauty and distinction (cf. *pe'er* in Isa. 3:20; 61:3, 10; Ezek. 24:17), but more imposing is the miter, which is mentioned as synonym for crown (Ezek. 21:31; cf. Isa. 62:3).

(4) Breeches. The breeches are worn "to cover the flesh of their nakedness; from the hips to the thighs" (Ex. 28:42; 39:28; Ezek. 44:18).

The four outer garments, which pertain specifically to the high priest, are of greater richness and splendor than the undergarments. They consist of a mixture of dyed wool and fine linen, and display "skillful workmanship," *ma'aseh ḥoshev*. Some also contain threads of pure gold, while others are woven of gold filaments and yarn of a mixture of wool and linen. In conformity with the system of the Priestly Code, these costly substances allude to a high degree of holiness, as is also attested by the mixture of wool and linen. Such a mixture was generally prohibited in profane garments as it was conducive to holiness (Lev. 19:19; Deut. 22:9–11). Precisely for this reason, however, it was preserved among the priests. In this respect, the priestly garments correspond to the curtains and the veil of the Tabernacle, which are also said to have been made of a mixture of wool and linen, and have displayed "skillful workmanship" (Ex. 26:1, 31, et al.).

The very wearing of the four outer garments is regarded as an act of worship and is connected with the other acts performed by the high priest inside the Temple. True, nowhere is it specifically stated that the high priest has to wear the four outer garments when he enters to officiate inside the Temple, that is, to perform the daily cultic act in the morning and in the afternoon. Furthermore, from Second Temple times there are evidences that the high priest actually appeared in court dressed in garments of gold and a mixture of wool and linen (Ecclus. 45:7ff.; Jos., Wars, 5:239). However, this custom seems to have come into being in Second Temple times, whereas in the pre-Exilic period the high priest wore the outer garments only when he officiated inside the Temple. Proof of this is the fact that in composition as well as mode of workmanship these garments resemble the curtains and the inner vessels of gold, while the undergarments resemble the hangings and screens in the court. Moreover, the outer garments are too heavy, cumbersome, and splendid for the tasks performed at the outer altar.

The four outer garments have several features characteristic of royalty (the gold, the blue, and the purple, as well as the crown) and when combined with the miter and with the anointing oil poured on the high priest (Ex. 29:7, et al.) they give him a regal appearance. In Ezekiel's constitution there is no mention of these garments; of the priestly vestments, Ezekiel knows only those of ordinary linen (Ezek. 44:17–8), just as there is no hint in Ezekiel of the existence of the high priesthood itself.

The four outer garments are the following:

(5) The ephod, made of gold and a mixture of wool and linen, displaying "skillful workmanship" (Ex. 28:6–12; 39:2–7). This is the most distinguished of the priestly garments; hence it alone is mentioned in the Former and the Latter Prophets (Judg. 8:27; 17:5; Hos. 3:4, et al.). A garment by this name is mentioned in Ugaritic writings (*ipd*; CH Gordon, *Ugaritic Textbook* (1965), 67, 1:5) and in the Assyrian documents from Cappadocia (*epattu*).

(6) The breastplate, measuring a span by a span, attached to the ephod. It is either a square tablet or a pouch. In it are set 12 precious stones on which are engraved the names of the tribes of Israel, and on the breastplate are placed the *Urim and the Thummim. The breastplate is made in the same manner as the ephod – that is, of gold and a mixture of wool and linen, and displayed "skillful workmanship" (Ex. 28:15–30; 29:8–21).

(7) The robe of the ephod, that is worn under the ephod. The robe is probably longer than the ephod, and extends below it. It is made of woolen threads only, all of blue. On its hem hang bells of gold and pomegranates of a mixture of dyed wool and fine linen (Ex. 28:31–35; 39:22–26). The number of bells and pomegranates, not specified in the text, was a subject of controversy among the sages, who disputed over whether there were 72 or 36 (Zev. 88b), while still other numbers were

given by Church Fathers. In Second Temple times the robe, like the tunic, apparently reached the high priest's heels (Jos. Ant., 3:159; Jos. Wars, 5:231: cf. Philo, II Mos. 118–21).

(8) The plate, also called a crown, *nezer*, hangs on a blue thread in front of the miter. Made of pure gold, the plate has two words engraved on it: *qodesh le-YHWH*, "Holy to the Lord" (Ex. 28:36–38; 39:30–31), as stated by the sages (Shab. 63b, et al.). However, in Second Temple times, apparently only the Tetragrammaton was inscribed on it (Jos., Ant., 3:178; cf. Jos., Wars, 5:235; Philo, II Mos. 115, 132; Arist. 98).

Shoes are not included among the priestly vestments and the priests evidently ministered barefoot, as was obligatory in a holy place (cf. Ex. 3:5; Josh. 5:15; cf. also the remark in Ex. R. 2:6 end).

In four passages (Ex. 31:10; 35:19; 39:1, 41) all the priestly garments of Aaron and of his sons, are referred to by the special designation "the garments of *serad*," the etymology of which has not as yet been adequately explained. The talmudic sages assumed that this designation applies to the high priest's eight garments (Yoma 72 a–b). According to the literal meaning of the text, however, it seems that Aaron's eight garments, i.e., his four undergarments and the four outer ones that were specifically for him, are referred to not as "the garments of *serad*" but as "the holy garments for Aaron the priest" (see the references above, and also Ex. 28:4; 29:29; 40:13), while the four garments of the common priests are called "the garments of his sons, for their service as priests."

A third group of priestly garments consists of those made of ordinary, not fine, linen, which are used for officiating in the holiest of places. On the Day of Atonement, Aaron enters the inner sanctum clothed in four garments of ordinary linen: a coat, breeches, a girdle, and a miter (Lev. 16:4), which, as the sages correctly stated, were of white linen (Yoma 3:6, et al.). However, garments, including breeches, of ordinary linen are also worn by the common priest when he ascends the outer altar to remove the ashes (Lev. 6:3), and these are assumed to be similar to the former four garments. The simple garments of ordinary linen bear a holiness still greater than that of the vestments of gold and a mixture of wool and linen, and the text finds it necessary to emphasize that "they are the holy garments" (Lev. 16:4). In the Egyptian priesthood, too, garments of simple linen were regarded as holy. In the Bible, angels of the heavenly entourage are represented as clothed in simple linen (Ezek. 9:2–3, 11; 10:2; Dan. 10:5; 12:6–7). Because of their extraordinary holiness, the custom was instituted that the inner sanctum should be entered and the altar ascended in these garments only.

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[Menahem Haran]

PRIESTS AND PRIESTHOOD.

Definition of Priesthood

The priests are the principal functionaries in divine services, their special task being to engage in cultic ceremonies which they conducted mainly in the Temple. In general the priests' post is authorized by hereditary right and they constitute a distinct class separate from the rest of the people. In extrabiblical sources the title *Kohen* ("priest") is found in Phoenician inscriptions, in Aramaic documents including Nabataean, and Ugaritic documents. The Ethiopian *kahen* is found in the sense of seer or soothsayer, and on the basis of this term various scholars attempted to explain the primal nature of the priesthood in Israel (see below). It seems, however, that the Arabic term was borrowed from the Canaanite, and that by way of the Aramaic. The etymology of the title is not sufficiently clear.

The institution of priesthood in its typical crystallization as a social class is encountered in many different religions, both primitive and advanced, in the Ancient Near East and elsewhere – but not in all religions. Thus, priesthood, at least in its cultic manifestations, did not exist among the early Arabs or among other nomadic-tribal religions. At the same time, any given priesthood with its procedures and customs tends to be shaped by the specific style and religious attitudes characterizing the particular culture. Even the Canaanite priesthood differed from that of the Israelites, although the Canaanite term for priest is identical with the biblical one. For example, among the Canaanites one finds a priestess and even a female "high priestess" (*rb khnt*) paralleling the male "high priest" (*rb khnm*). In Israel, in contrast, the priesthood is restricted to males; there are no priestesses in their own right (i.e., other than the female members of a priest's family, such as his wife or daughter).

The priests' involvement in the cult was conceived of essentially as service of the deity. This concept is rooted in the primary nature of the temple, which was regarded literally as a "house of the god," i.e., the special abode of the deity-king, his dwelling place. In this abode there are servants who attend on him and fulfill his wants, the whole cult being designed essentially to provide for the needs of the deity. This conception of the nature of the priesthood was accepted throughout the ancient world and found its expression in images and even in technical terms connected with the priesthood. For example, the Egyptian name designating priest, *hom-neter*, literally means "servant of the god." In Israel this conception, though opposed by some, never completely lost its actual, concrete meaning. The priests are called ministrants of God (Isa. 61:6; Jer. 33:21–22; Joel 1:9, 13; 2:17, et al.) and their function in the temple is called service – holy service (Ex. 28:43; 29:30, et al.); they stand before God to minister to Him (Deut. 10:8; cf. 17:12; 18:5, 7, et al.), they approach Him to minister to Him (Ezek. 40:46; 43:19; 44:15), draw near to His table to serve Him (Ezek. 44:16), and the like.

Right to Serve in the Priesthood

The question of who is entitled to serve in the priesthood – whether the whole levite tribe, only part of it, or every male

Israelite – is one of the basic questions necessary for a comprehension of the character of the Israelite priesthood. On this point the biblical laws appear contradictory, and this too seems to be the case with testimony provided by the historical books.

THE CONCEPTIONS OF P AND D. According to P, the right to priesthood is maintained exclusively for one family of the levite tribe, the family of Aaron. Aaron and his sons are dressed in special garments (Ex. 28:1ff.) and are also anointed with the anointing oil, in exactly the same manner as are the holy vessels (Ex. 30:26–30; 40:9–15). The ceremony of their consecration for the priesthood follows the construction of the Tabernacle (Ex. 29: Lev. 8). The other members of the levitical tribe have other functions connected with the service in the Tabernacle (Num. 3–4; cf. below), but they play no role in the cultic ceremonies themselves. Moreover, they are forbidden to approach the altar and the other holy vessels.

According to the point of view of Deuteronomy (10:8–9), also formulated in the blessing of Moses (Deut. 33:8–10), the entire levitical tribe is appointed to serve in the priesthood. To put it more precisely, those levites serve in the priesthood who reside in the chosen city, which is the only place where cultic service is permitted. Hence the characteristic terminology of this book – "priests, sons of Levi," and levitical priests" (17:18; 18:1; 21:5; 31:9, et al.). Levites who reside in provincial towns do not participate in the cult. However, it maintains that every levite has the right to come to the chosen city and to serve before God there (18:6–7). This means that at least de jure each member of the levitical tribe may join the priesthood if he so desires.

THE ALLEGED CONCEPTION OF JE. The conception of JE is a little more obscure. At first glance it appears that these sources permit every man in Israel to offer sacrifices on the altar himself (see Ex. 20:24 [21]), and indeed they relate that the Patriarchs not only used to build altars but also used to offer sacrifices on them (e.g., Gen. 22:9; 31:54; 46:1). In the same way, Moses erects altars in Rephidim and at the foot of Mt. Sinai and offers sacrifices with the aid of the "young men of the Israelites" and together with Jethro and the elders (Ex. 17:15; 18:12; 24:4). This same attitude is characteristic of the authors of the narratives in the Former Prophets. Moreover, it appears that this was indeed the historical reality. *Gideon, for example, offers sacrifices himself on the altar at Ophrah (Judg. 6:20–28), as does Manoah at Mahaneh-Dan (13:15–23), the people of Beth-Shemesh on the large stone in the field (I Sam. 6:14–15), *Adonijah on the stone of Zoheleth near Jerusalem (I Kings 1:9), and many other biblical personalities who have no connection with the priesthood. Thus Elijah the prophet rebuilds the ruined altar on the Carmel and makes an offering on it (I Kings 18:30–38).

These facts served as the decisive starting point for the description advanced by many scholars of the evolution of the priesthood in Israel. According to this description – which was formulated in a crystallized form by J. Wellhausen and W. Robertson-Smith – in the early stages of Israelite history there was no difference between priests and laymen. Every citizen was entitled to participate in cultic ceremonies, and there was no special priestly class in existence. Eli at the temple of Shiloh or Ahimelech at the temple of Nob are viewed merely as gatekeepers, like similar functionaries among the ancient Arabs, called *ḥājib* or *sādin*, whose function, which was hereditary, was limited to guarding the temple. The temple guards in the early period of Israel also used to engage in soothsaying, as did the ancient Arab *kāhin*, but they did not as yet constitute a true priesthood since they had no special cultic functions. Only after the establishment of the monarchy, with the growth of ceremony in public life, were special people appointed to serve in the priesthood. These people were assigned to serve in the royal temples and were regarded as officials of the monarchy, which had granted them their positions. Their tribal origin was not necessarily levitical. Thus the Bible attests that the sons of David were priests (II Sam. 8:18) and that Ira the Jairite was a priest of David (20:26). Zadok, whose descendants continued to officiate in the Temple of Jerusalem, also did not belong to the levite tribe, according to this theory. A member of Solomon's entourage who served as priest was Zabud son of Nathan, the king's friend (I Kings 4:5), while Jeroboam also appointed priests from among all the people (12:31; 13:33). In the course of time the appointed royal priests and their descendants became a consolidated and closed class. This theory generally regards the ancient levite tribe as an ordinary secular tribe. The conception of Deuteronomy and particularly of P according to which Levi is a sacred tribe having a special connection with the priesthood, in fact, refers, according to this theory, only to a late class of rejected priests, a class which was created as a result of the cultic innovations of Josiah and was fictitiously attached to the levitical tribe which by that time had already disappeared.

Various scholars, both before and after Wellhausen, tended to acknowledge the antiquity of the Israelite priesthood and its actual existence as early as the time of the Judges (thus H. Ewald, F. Delitzsch, A. Dillmann, and esp. W.W. Baudissin; more recently, Y. Kaufmann). However, in relation to the right to perform cultic ceremonies and to offer sacrifices on the altar, most of these scholars too adhered to the theory that originally this right was not reserved necessarily for the priests. As for the tribal descent, most of these scholars were inclined to admit at times that the first priests were not necessarily from the levite tribe, though several dynasties of priests did descend from this tribe. This is, then, the reality underlying the narratives of the Former Prophets and reflected in JE, which explicitly mention the offering of sacrifices by laymen, without considering this objectionable. Among those who rejected the antiquity of the Israelite priesthood there were some who went so far as to say that in J, or in the early strata of JE, there is no mention of priests. To the extent that Aaron is mentioned there by name, he is not regarded as a priest but as one of the elders of Israel.

CRITICISM. Both the above-mentioned conceptions, that which denies the antiquity of the Israelite priesthood and that which acknowledges it, overlook the difference between altar and temple, and, therefore, are incapable of explaining with adequate precision the early history of the Israelite priesthood and even the conceptions of JE themselves. Altars consisted of any type of structure, even merely large stones, and were placed outside. In contrast, temples were primarily closed structures, i.e., "houses of God." Every temple had an altar in an adjoining courtyard, but not every altar was necessarily joined to a temple. Many altars stood by themselves in inhabited places or far from them. The difference between these two institutions is also reflected in the scope and nature of cultic activity. Furthermore, the altars were extremely numerous and were found in every corner of the land, which was not the case with the temples whose number was fairly limited. It should be emphasized that the high place (*bamah*) was of the category of an altar; it seems to have been a specific type of large altar (not a "house of God"). Now, the place of the priests, whether in Israel or elsewhere, was only in the temples. While every man of Israel was entitled to offer sacrifices on individual altars without the intermediation of authorized personnel, the cultic service associated with the altars attached to the temples, like the service in the temples themselves (in Israel and everywhere in the Ancient Near East), was always reserved for regular priestly families.

Moreover, it can be seen that the families which officiated regularly in the priesthood of the Israelite temples, as far as is known, were related to the levitical tribe. The family of Eli which served in the temples of Shiloh and Nob (I Sam. 14:3; 21:1–10; 22:9, 12) is presented as being of ancient lineage going back to the period of bondage in Egypt and as being chosen from among all the tribes of Israel (2:27–28). There should be no doubt that these statements are based on the assumption that the family belonged to a chosen tribe and it may be even deduced that this family was considered to be what is called in P Aaronide. The priestly dynasty which served in the temple of Dan (Judg. 18:30) originated with the young levite. Zadok, who was the founder of the dynasty of Jerusalem's priests, was apparently also of the levite stock. When the ark is being carried from the city of David, he appears within a group of levites (II Sam. 15:24; there is no justification for assuming the words "and all the levites with him" to be a later addition). In any case, Ezekiel refers to the Zadokites (following the style of Deuteronomy) as "priests, sons of Levi," or "levitical priests" (Ezek. 40:46; 43:19; 44:15). It may be assumed that the priests of the Beth-El temple, too, were related to a fixed dynasty, of which Amaziah, a contemporary of Amos (Amos 7:10–17), was a member. In a small and provincial temple such as that of Micah, the son of the owner could serve in the capacity of priest, but even here it was preferred that a levite fulfill that function (Judg. 17:13). There is no information extant regarding the priests of other Israelite temples in the biblical period, but there is no justification for assuming that those who officiated in those temples undertook their functions only by chance and that their origin was precisely from the other tribes of Israel.

It thus cannot be proven that in the houses of God (as distinguished from the high places) the priesthood was likely to be granted to people from any family in Israel. The bearers of the ark for David were Abiathar and Zadok, the legitimate priests, while David's sons (II Sam. 8:18) and Ira the Jairite (20:26) apparently served as priests only in connection with the sacrifices of the king which took place in the high places and at private altars, not in the temples of God. It should not be forgotten that David did not yet have his own temple. Similarly, Zabud son of Nathan (I Kings 4:5) was probably engaged by Solomon in high-place sacrifices, and he is included in a list of officials of the time preceding the building of the Temple in Jerusalem. Jeroboam appointed priests from among all the people, but the text explicitly states that these were priests of high places (I Kings 12:31–32; 13:33), i.e., their cultic function was outside the framework of the temples. The altars at Beth-El were numerous (cf. Amos 3:14; Hos. 10:8), and not all were attached to the temple of that town, in which Jeroboam even built a special "house of high places" (I Kings 12:31). The Deuteronomistic editor naturally regards even these actions as sinful.

Thus, the historical reality was that at individual altars every man of Israel was entitled to perform cultic activities, whereas in the temples the right to officiate as priests was reserved for specific families which generally traced their lineage to the tribe of Levi. Now, this same reality is reflected in JE. The narrative content of these sources often concerns altars of the popular type, i.e., altars which are not attached to any temple and which can be found even outside settled areas. However, houses of God are also mentioned in these sources both in the legal sections (Ex. 23:19; 34:26) and as projections of the future (Gen. 28:22; see also Ex. 22:7–8; Josh. 6:19, 24; 9:23). The dearth of references to the temples in these sources stems not only from their specifically popular nature but also from their assumption that temples emerged in Israel only after the settlement of the land (in contrast, according to P a temple was built immediately after the theophany at Sinai, which is the *Tabernacle described in it). Anachronistically, priests are mentioned incidentally in JE's accounts (Ex. 19:6 (paralleling a "holy people"), 22–24 (it is difficult to consider this an addition); see also Josh. 6:4–16, et al.). It is clear that their natural place is only in a house of God. Aaron is mentioned in these sources and there should be no doubt that he is considered a priest, in fact, the head of the priests, although this facet of his figure cannot be actualized in Egypt or against the wanderings in the wilderness, when the Israelites do not yet have temples. In Exodus 4:14, Aaron is called "the levite," on the assumption that Levi is the tribe that usually serves as priests, so that membership in it turns into a synonym of priesthood. Moreover, it is explicitly stated in a JE account that after the levites had proven their loyalty to the God of Israel when the people sinned with the golden calf, Moses said to them: "Fill your hands today for God" (Ex. 32:29). This is the usual phraseology designating an ordination for the priesthood.

CONCLUSION. To summarize, all parts of the Pentateuch indicate that in the temple cult only families of priests officiated. According to P, this was only one family from the levite tribe, the family of Aaron. According to D, every levite family is entitled to serve in the priesthood in the temple. According to ancient historical reality (which conforms to the conceptions of JE), various families from the tribe of Levi regularly officiated as priests in various temples (e.g., the various branches of the family of Eli in the temples of Shiloh and Nob, the family of Jonathan son of Gershom in the temple of Dan, the family of Zadok in the Temple of Jerusalem). There are thus no great divergences among the conceptions, since all the sources indicate at least that the priesthood was not granted to common Israelites but only to the tribe of Levi, and, in fact, was limited to special families within this tribe. If it is assumed that in historical reality several levitical families were descended from Aaron (according to Josh. 21:8–19, the descendants of Aaron received 13 towns), the actual divergence between the conceptions is still further reduced.

To put it differently, the disagreements among the sources concern only the altars which were distant from the temples. JE permits every Israelite to sacrifice at such altars at will (this indeed corresponds to the ancient historical reality, hence the impression that common Israelites served in the priesthood). D demands the demolition of such altars, while P assumes a priori that they did not exist. (For this question, which is connected with the centralization of the cult, see *Deuteronomy and *Pentateuch.)

Levels Within the Priesthood

Cultic service in the temple, being generally multifaceted and complex, tended to be crystallized in a complex and graded organizational framework. Thus the priesthood was not composed of a single group but rather several groups can be discerned within it which were of various levels, according to the various functions devolving upon them and their degree of importance. This was the case with all the priesthoods of the Ancient Near East as well as with the biblical priesthood.

THE GRADATION OF PRIESTHOOD ACCORDING TO P. In the P sections the classification of the priests is a fairly simple one into just two levels: the high priest and the ordinary priests. The epithet "high priest" (*ha-Kohen ha-gadol*) occurs only once in the Pentateuch (Num. 35:25, 28, hence also in Josh. 20:6; cf. Lev. 21:10 "the priest who is exalted above his fellows"). In several places he is called the anointed priest (Lev. 4:3, 5, 16; 6:15). To be sure, all the priests were anointed with the holy oil (Ex. 28:41; 30:30; 40:13–15; Lev. 7:36) and even the ordinary priests were called anointed priests (Num. 3:3), but there are differences in the method of anointing at the consecration ceremony: all the priests, including Aaron, are anointed with oil sprinkled on their vestments (Ex. 29:21; Lev. 8:30), whereas in Aaron's case it is also poured on his head before the bringing of sacrifices for that ceremony (Ex. 29:7; Lev. 8:12; 21:10). Thus the anointing with holy oil refers primarily to him (Ex. 29:29; Lev. 6:13; 16:32; Num. 35:25).

According to P, the high priest was granted several special privileges, especially in the area of the cult, insofar as his degree of holiness also exceeded that of the ordinary priests. He alone is allowed to go behind the veil on the Day of Atonement (Lev. 16:2ff.) and he deals with the sin offerings whose blood is brought into the sanctuary (4:3–21). In general, all the cultic activities which take place inside the Temple are performed solely by him (see below). The cultic activity of the ordinary priests is actually limited to offering regular sacrifices on the outer altar. The high priest must take more care than the ordinary priests with the restrictions concerning impurity and marriage (see below). His eldest son serves as the head chieftain of the levites (Num. 3:32). The high priest's death terminates the sojourn of manslayers in *cities of refuge (Num. 35:25–28; Josh. 20:6). Moreover, the high priest bears certain signs of royalty. In addition to his anointment, which is performed in the manner of that of a king, i.e., with the pouring of oil on his head (cf. I Sam. 10:1; II Kings 9:6), his garments contain gold and purple. He wears a miter (*miẓnefet*) on which is placed the plate (*ẓiẓ*, Ex. 28:36–39), which is also called *nezer* (Ex. 29:6; 39:30; Lev. 8:9). The miter is considered a sign of distinction being a form of headdress worn by kings, and in poetic parallelism is synonymous with *aṭarah* (Ezek. 21:31; cf. Isa. 62:3). The plate (*ẓiẓ*, perhaps "rosette") is also mentioned in relation to the *aṭarah* (Isa. 28:1, 3–4), while the *neẓer* is considered the distinguishing mark of kings (II Sam. 1:10; II Kings 11:12; Ps. 89:40; 132:18). According to P, only the line of eldest sons of the descendants of Aaron can serve as high priests (cf. Lev. 21:10). An ordinary priest cannot become a high priest, in the same way that a levite cannot be made a priest. A man's position in the hierarchy of holiness and cult is determined from the time of his birth, and he is not free to liberate himself from his position. In Numbers 25:10–13 the descendants of Phinehas are promised a "covenant of eternal priesthood," and apparently this refers particularly to the right to the high priesthood.

Most scholars who hold that P was committed to writing at the beginning of the Second Temple period assume that this type of high priesthood existed in Israel only during that period. The high priests of the First Temple, according to this view, were only the first among equals, and their degree of cultic holiness was no greater than that of ordinary priests. Other scholars, especially those who recognize the antiquity of Israelite priesthood in general (see above), also acknowledge the existence of this type of high priesthood in Israel as early as the time of the Judges. According to this view, Eli in the temple of Shiloh might already have been a type of high priest, as that described in P.W.F. Albright, in particular, points to the fact that among all the peoples of the Ancient Near East there was a head of the priestly hierarchy. In Ugarit too (and in Phoenician inscriptions) such a person is mentioned and is called *rb khnm*. However, it turns out that the antiquity of the Israelite priesthood can be proven not necessarily by analogy with the nations of the Ancient Near East, but especially by an analysis of its cultic and mantic functions (for this matter see below). In the code of Ezekiel 40–48 there is no mention of the high priest. It is possible that the reason for this is not that the high priest did not yet exist, as is maintained by those who reject the antiquity of the high priesthood but, on the contrary, because by this time this type of high priesthood had already vanished; and during the Second Temple attempts were made to reinstate it following the canonization of the Torah (which now included the Priestly Code). A high priest is not mentioned in Deuteronomy either, but this may be because it does not deal with priestly matters and has no need to describe them. Deuteronomy 20:2 mentions a priest who encourages the people before the battle, and it is possible that the high priest is intended here. But the rabbis interpreted this as a priest anointed for war who was appointed specifically for that purpose (Sot. 42a).

PRIESTLY GRADATION IN THE FIRST TEMPLE. During the First Temple period there was actually a slightly more complex group of priests than that described in the Pentateuch. High priests are mentioned, some of them even by name, and possibly they are all descendants of Zadok. Some of these high priests of First Temple times are explicitly called high priest, (*Kohen gadol*), while others are called the head priest (*kohen ha-rosh*), and sometimes one of them might be called simply priest. The following are specified by name: *Jehoiada, a contemporary of Joash (II Kings 11:4–12:11; cf. Jer. 29:26); Urijah (Uriah), a contemporary of Ahaz (II Kings 16:10–16; Isa. 8:2); *Hilkiah, a contemporary of Josiah (II Kings 22:4–14; 23:4, 24); Seraiah, a contemporary of Zedekiah (25:18). Chronicles also mentions Amariah, a contemporary of Jehoshaphat (II Chron. 19:11); Azariah, a contemporary of Uzziah (26:17–20); and another Azariah, a contemporary of Hezekiah (31:10). It is difficult to determine to what extent these conform to the image of the high priest as it is described in P, since there is no real information regarding their character and functions. Several other functionaries should be added to these. The nature of the secondary priests (*kohen mishneh*) is unclear, and apparently there could be several secondary priests simultaneously (II Kings 23:4). At the time of the Destruction, however, there was only one, named Zephaniah (II Kings 25:18). Perhaps the deputy (*segan*) priest of the Second Temple was merely a continuation of the secondary priest of the First. In the First Temple there were also several priests who served as gatekeepers (II Kings 12:10; 22:4; 23:4), and there were three of these during the Destruction (25:18). From the time of Jehoiakim, one is known by name, Maaseiah son of Shallum, who had a special chamber in the Temple court (Jer. 35:4). Jehoiada the priest commanded watchmen in the Temple (II Kings 11:18), i.e., small groups of priests whose function it was to supervise the decorum at the gates and in the courts of the Temple (cf. Ezek. 44:11). The members of these groups were called *pekidim* (officers) and they were authorized to apprehend those who appeared to them to be riotous and to put them in prison and in stocks (Jer. 29:26). One of these *pekidim* was Pashhur son of Immer the priest who was a "chief officer" in the sanctuary, i.e., one of the overseers of the officers, and it was he who struck Jeremiah and put him in prison (Jer. 20:1–3). It is possible that Irijah son of Shelemiah, an officer who while on guard at one of the gates apprehended Jeremiah and brought him to the ministers, also belonged to these groups (37:13–14). The senior priests (lit. "elders of the priests") are also mentioned (II Kings 19:2; Isa. 37:2; Jer. 19:1), and it is not known whether they had some kind of definite function. Perhaps the function of keeper of the wardrobe (II Kings 22:14) was also given to one of the priests.

THE PRIESTS' SERVANTS. Together with the priests there is mention of another group which, while its place is outside the cult, is nevertheless related to it; this is the group of priests' servants. They are mentioned in the Temple of Shiloh (I Sam. 2:13–17), and Samuel was one of them (2:11, 18; 3:1). Possibly some of those included among the priests of Nob (22:11) were in fact nothing more than "priests' servants." Their function was to help the priests in their work, but they had no contact with the cultic ceremonies proper. The priest himself would burn the fats on the altar, sprinkle the blood, light the candles, and so on, and the servant would only help him by bringing the portion of meat belonging to the priest, lying down within the house of God (I Sam. 3:3), opening the doors of the house (3:15), and engaging in other similar activities. Thus, these were mere servants, like the servants that every citizen of Israel used to have. Some of them, being close to the sphere of holiness, were permitted to put on a linen ephod (I Sam. 2:18; 22:18). They were members of all the tribes of Israel, like Samuel who was brought from the tribe of Ephraim.

Functions of the Priests

The functions of the priests, although mainly concerned with the cult, were not solely limited to it. In general four types can be distinguished among them: specifically cultic functions; mantic functions, i.e., functions concerned with the solution of mysteries of the future or the past and the making of decisions in uncertain cases through the revelation of divine will; treatment of impurities and diseases, with the special ceremonies involved; and judging and teaching the people.

CULTIC FUNCTIONS. The primary and outstanding cultic function of the priests was the offering of the sacrifices on the altar which stood in the Temple court. The priests' activities in this ceremony are described in detail at the beginning of Leviticus, and they can be classified into two major roles: sprinkling the blood and burning portions of *sacrifices. This function was generally performed by the ordinary priests. Aaron did not engage in this function except when the sacrifice was brought by all the priests (such as the sacrifices of the eighth day, Lev. 9; the daily offering sacrificed from the day of consecration on, 6:12–15). However, public sacrifices are not necessarily performed by the high priest. Aaron is not mentioned in connection with the daily offerings and the additional offerings of Sabbaths and festivals (Num. 28–29). Similarly, in the description of the Temple of Shiloh, it was the sons of Eli who dealt with sacrifices (I Sam. 1:3; 2:12–17). However, those sacrifices (sin offerings) whose blood is brought into the inner temple are offered by Aaron himself (Lev. 4:3–21; 16:3–25; the burnt offering that accompanies the sin offerings of the Day of Atonement is also made by Aaron).

The priests blessed the people in the name of God (Deut. 10:8; 21:5). Numbers 6:22–26 includes a version of the *priestly blessing that comprises three verses in each of which the name of God is mentioned. Later it is stated (6:27) "Thus they shall link My name with the people of Israel, and I will bless them." The blessing priest would raise his hands and would sometimes proclaim his blessing to the people from above the altar (Lev. 9:22); Melchizedek king of Salem, who was a priest, blessed Abraham (Gen. 14:18–20); the priests also proclaimed blessings and curses to the people in a special ceremony held between Mt. Gerizim and Mt. Ebal (Deut. 27:12–26; Josh. 8:33–34).

On various occasions the ordinary priests sounded trumpets, e,g., on festivals and New Moons, when the offerings and sacrifices for these days were brought, and this served as a reminder of the sacrifices of Israel before God (Num. 10:10). On the Day of Atonement in a *Jubilee year it was obligatory to blow a *shofar* (ram's horn) throughout the land (Lev. 25:9) and on the first day of the seventh month it was obligatory to carry out a "memorial blowing" (Lev. 23:24; Num. 29:1) probably of the *shofar*, but it cannot be known if this was a function of the priests.

A distinct function of the priests was to carry the ark. Deuteronomy mentions this as one of the distinguishing features of priesthood (10:8; 31:9, 25), and in all the transportations of the ark during the period of the Conquest it is told that the "priests, sons of Levi," were its bearers (Josh. 3:3–17; 4:3, 9–10, 16–18; 8:33). This is also the view of the sources marked by the characteristics of JE (Josh. 6:6, 12), and this was actually the case in historical reality whenever the ark was carried out to the battlefield. When it was brought to the camp near Eben-Ezer, *Hophni and Phinehas sons of Eli accompanied it (I Sam. 4:4, 11). When it was returned from the field of the Philistines to Beth-Shemesh it was carried by the levites (who according to the point of view of these sources are the ones who serve in the priesthood; cf. Ex. 33:29; and see above) from the cart to the large stone (I Sam. 6:15). When the ark was in the war camp of Saul, *Ahijah the priest is mentioned near it (14:18; according to MT). When an attempt was made to remove it from the City of David, during Absalom's rebellion, it was carried by Zadok and all the levites (i.e., insofar as they are considered priests, as above; II Sam. 15:24). Solomon testified regarding Abiathar the priest that he was among the bearers of the ark (I Kings 2:26; there is no reason to emend the text here). Again, when it was brought to the temple which Solomon had built and into the Holy of Holies, this was done by the priests (8:3, 6, 10). Where it is not explicitly stated who the bearers of the ark were (such as when it was brought up from the house of *Obed-Edom to the City of David, II Sam. 6:13; as distinct from the way from the house of *Abinadab to the house of Obed-Edom, where it was transported on a cart; 6:3–7), there is no need to assume that they were not priests.

P contains a complete description of several cultic activities inside the Temple, all performed daily at fixed times, in the morning and at sunset, and according to the plain sense of the text these are all done by the high priests alone (but the talmudic sages permitted them to be done by an ordinary priest). These activities included the burning of frankincense on the inner altar (Ex. 30:7–9), the care of the lamps (Ex. 27:20–21 = Lev. 24:1–4; Num. 8:1–3), and setting out the shewbread on the table (Lev. 24:5–9). Some trace has been preserved of a libation which was put in some of the vessels on the table (Ex. 25:29; 37:16; Num. 4:7), but possibly in biblical times this special libation had already been abolished. In addition to these four activities there are three others which stem from the cultic functions of the high priests' vestments: the stones of the ephod and breastplate serve as reminders of the names of the Israelite tribes before God (Ex. 28:12, 29): the bells at the hem of the ephod coat resound at the times of the daily offerings, i.e., in the morning and at sunset, when Aaron enters and leaves the sanctuary (28:35); and the plate on Aaron's head bears "any guilt incurred in the holy offerings" of Israel so that they will be accepted favorably by God (28:38). These activities, simultaneously performed by the high priest inside the temple, complement one another and constitute a uniform and comprehensive system. They provide, as it were, food (bread), drink (the libation on the table), aroma (frankincense), light (candles), sound (bells), and arouse the memory (the stones of the ephod and breastplate), and the will (plate). Thus they encompass all the human senses and should be discussed as a single and self-contained cultic phenomenon. This inner system of ceremonies is rooted in the primal conception of the Temple as God's dwelling place, in which He, as it were, "lives" His life, and in which all His needs are to be satisfied (cf. above). The Israelite religion inherited the system of ceremonies as a fixed and crystallized pattern of divine worship.

MANTIC FUNCTIONS. According to the viewpoint of P, the high priest consults the *Urim and Thummim (Num. 27:21), which are located on the breastpiece attached to the ephod (Ex. 28:30; Lev. 8:8). In order to obtain a reply, the high priest must enter with the Urim and Thummim "before God," i.e., into the sanctum. The use of Urim and Thummim was common in the ancient Israelite priesthood. However, it may be deduced from Ezra 2:63 (= Neh. 7:65) that by the Second Temple the Urim and Thummim had been entirely forgotten and the returnees to Zion did not know how to reinstate them despite the fact that they had found them mentioned in the Torah (see *Urim and Thummim). The Urim and Thummim were consulted when it was necessary to decide between two contradictory possibilities, and a yes or no answer was received. Solution by lots was needed in more complex situations, such as the division of allocated areas. The Bible mentions two kinds of lots. The one was a popular lot used by the masses in daily life, to which the Prophets (Isa. 34:17; Ezek. 24:6; Micah 2:5, et al.) and the Hagiographia (Ps. 22:19; Prov. 1:14; 16:33) frequently refer and which was also common among foreign peoples (Joel 4:3; Obad. 11; Jonah 1:7; Neh. 3:10, et al.). The other was a formal priestly lot which took place in the temple court, "before God," and was used for decisions of public, national significance, such as the following cases related by biblical tradition: the division of the land west of the Jordan (Num. 26:55–56; Josh. 14:21; Judg. 1:3), the separation from the rest of the people of a man who has taken from the *ḥerem* (Josh. 7:13–18), choosing the fighters with Benjamin (Judg. 20:9–10), Saul's election as king (I Sam. 10:17–21), and others. In all these cases it is written that the lot was cast "before God," i.e., in the temple court. The lots for the scapegoats of the Day of Atonement are cast by Aaron (Lev. 16:7–10). In connection with the division of the land it is stated that next to *Joshua stood Eleazer the priest (Num. 34:17; Josh. 14:1–2; although later (Josh. 18:6–10) it is stated that it is as if Joshua alone casts the lot before God). It is possible, therefore, that while this action was attributed to the national leader it was actually performed by the high priest.

Priests would conduct ordeals to resolve doubtful cases. Such a ceremony, held by the priest in the court of the sanctuary, was conducted in the case of a suspected adulteress (Num. 5:11–31) and it appears that this was not the only ceremony of its kind.

TREATMENT OF IMPURITY; PURIFICATION AND APOTROPAIC RITES. Disease and plague were not viewed in the Ancient Near East simply as an organic-physiological phenomenon, but as an external-tangible embodiment of an impure spirit which came to rest within the body of the afflicted person or object. Healing was thus performed by waiting until the impurity left the body or by purification activities aimed at hastening its exit. These attitudes prevalent in the Ancient Near East also found expression in the actions of the Israelite priesthood, although they were stamped with the special mark of biblical religion.

It is generally agreed in the Bible that it is the function of the priests to deal with impurities or diseases. True, the prophet too could heal leprosy, but this was performed by the prophet as a miraculous action (Num. 12:13; II Kings 5:1–15; cf. Ex. 4:6–8), while the regular and systematic care was in the hands of the priests. Deuteronomy admonishes the people to follow carefully the instructions of the priests pertaining to these matters (Deut. 24:8; cf. 21:5). According to the code of Ezekiel, too, the priests must guide the people in matters of impurity and purity (Ezek. 44:23).

This aspect of priestly activity is described especially in P in the sections dealing with impurities of animals and carcasses (Lev. 11), leprosy (Lev. 13–14), emissions (Lev. 15), and laws concerning impurity of the dead (Num. 19). The ceremonies described in these sections are aimed at expelling impurity from the body undergoing purification. A special role is played in these ceremonies by, among other things, blood – blood of the slaughtered bird (Lev. 14:5–6), or the blood of the red heifer (Num. 19:4). In other circumstances the priests could use the blood of sacrifices for purification, especially for the purification of the altar or temple. The essence of the sin offering is the purifying action of the victim's blood, some of the blood being applied to the corners of the altar (Lev. 4:25, et al.). The great sin offerings whose blood was brought into the sanctuary would purify not only the altar but the temple as well (Lev. 4:3–21). The decisive ceremony of temple purification was conducted on the *Day of Atonement. The temple purification ceremony described in the code of Ezekiel is already much more general and diluted, and contains no mention of the scapegoat (Ezek. 45:18–20). Another ceremony of purification, performed by Aaron on the levites during their consecration rites, was accompanied by the sprinkling of "sin waters," the shaving of all the hair, and the washing of clothes (Num. 8:7). Purification by means of sprinkling "pure waters" is also mentioned in Ezekiel 36:25 (cf. Zech. 13:1).

The process of purification is not completely ended until the priests offer the sacrifices for the person who is being purified, usually sin and burnt offerings. However, a leper who is being purified also brings a guilt offering and a *log* of oil. Some of the blood of the guilt offering and the oil is used by the priest, in this case, for various ceremonial activities (Lev. 14:11–18), which apparently had an apotropaic significance, i.e., were intended to place a barrier before the forces of impurity so that they could not return to the purified body. A similar ceremony was also held during the consecration of priests (Ex. 29:20–21; Lev. 8:23–24, 30). Frankincense could also serve as a defense against impurity (Num. 17:11–13), and parallels to this are found in the customs of the Ancient Near East.

JUDGING AND INSTRUCTING THE PEOPLE. The priests also participated in judging. Although this was generally a function of the elders and heads of families, in temple towns where there were priests, they would participate in judging together with the elders. This is made sufficiently clear in Deuteronomy. In a difficult case requiring fuller investigation Deuteronomy enjoins the litigants to go up to the chosen city and be judged there (17:8–13), although the assumption is that judging there is not only in the hands of the priests since they are mentioned in the Bible together with judges (Deut. 17:9; cf. 19:17). Deuteronomy requires that "every law suit" be decided by the priests (21:5), but this seems to be a somewhat generalized mode of speech, referring as it does to "every" lawsuit. Apparently the description contained in Deuteronomy, if the point of the centralization of the cult is removed from it, essentially reflects actual historical reality according to which the priests participated in judicial authority. In P there is no mention of this priestly function; and indeed this source which views the priests as detached from the people and endowed with supreme holiness – would not be likely to attribute the function of judging to the priests, since this would generally have necessitated direct contact with the public in judging. However, in historical reality Eli the priest could have achieved the status of a great judge of Israel (I Sam. 4:18). Ezekiel as well says of the priests that "in controversy they shall act as judges" (Ezek. 44:24).

The priests also served as teachers of "*torah*" to the people. This function is mentioned as early as the blessing of Moses (Deut. 33:10). The priests' instruction of the people did not exist as a special institution but was generally a by-product of their other activities. Thus *torah* followed from the legal discussions held before the priests (Deut. 17:11; 33:10). *Torah* was also taught by way of guidance given by the priests to the people in matters of impurities and diseases (Deut. 24:8; Haggai 2:11 ff.). Indeed, the various types of laws of impurity were called *torah* (Lev. 11:46; 13:59, et al.) and were to be learned by the public (Lev. 10:10–1). The various cultic customs were also called *torah* (Lev. 6:2, 7, et al.), and many of the sections dealing with laws and rebukes interspersed throughout the Pentateuch actually constitute scrolls of *torah*. Books of law were preserved mainly by the priests (see *Pentateuch).

Holiness of the Priesthood

The priests, being essentially servants of God, enjoy greater holiness than the rest of the people. This is a basic notion common to every culture of the Ancient Near East, although there were differences in its actual formulation from place to place. The priests did not function as emissaries of the public, since the right to priesthood itself is not in the hands of the public. This right is seen in the Bible basically as divine grace extended to a chosen tribe, or part of it. The holiness of the priests is agreed upon in all biblical sources, and is expressed in various ways. The servants of Saul, for example, refuse to harm the priests of God, despite the king's explicit command (I Sam. 22:17). Solomon refrains from killing Abiathar since he has the merit of being a priest and bearer of God's ark, though as a traitor to the monarchy he is subject to death (I Kings 2:26). In Exodus 19:6 a kingdom of priests and a holy nation are mentioned as synonymous terms. However, the holiness of the priesthood is most explicitly pronounced in P, as well as in its extension, that is, the code of Ezekiel 40–48.

According to the conceptions of P (and the code of Ezekiel 40–48), the holiness of the priests equals the holiness of the house of God itself. Both are on the same level of holiness which is the level also of the sacrifices of the highest rank of sanctity. This is the most extreme holiness, the most palpable, which can be transferred by contact from one body to another. In the Former Prophets this type of holiness is attributed to the ark alone, while P and the code of Ezekiel 40–48 extend it to include the temple with all its appurtenances. Several external signs affirm the identification of the priests with the holiness of the house of God.

In order to maintain this holiness, especially during their cultic service, the priests are subject to special obligations and restrictions. A blemished priest cannot approach the altar or enter the temple in order to serve there (Lev. 21:17–23), in the same way that a sacrifice has to be "whole," i.e., without taint (Lev. 22:18–25; cf. 1:3; 3:1; 4:3, et al.). Before the priests approach the altar or enter the temple in order to serve, they must wash their hands and feet in the laver in the court (Ex. 30:18–21). Though not required to abstain from wine at all times, they are forbidden to drink wine and other intoxicants during the performance of their cultic or didactic duties (Lev. 10:9; Ezek. 44:21).

They were even forbidden to defile themselves for the dead, except in cases of the closest family blood ties (Lev. 21:1–14; Ezek. 44:25). The priest's wife is not included in the list of such relatives (Lev. 21:2b–3; Ezek. 25b), and Leviticus 21:4 apparently specifically excludes her. In the latter verse, however, *baʿal* is to be omitted as a mutilated dittography (or an abbreviation?) of *be-ʿamaw le-heḥallo.* The rabbis permitted the priest to defile himself for his legal wife (Yev. 22b and parallels). In no case were priests permitted to perform certain mourning rites such as shaving the head smooth, shaving the corners of the beard, and making gashes in the flesh (Lev. 21:5). These mourning rites were introduced into Israel from foreign sources, and in the pentateuchal law were also forbidden to the people (Lev. 19:27–28; Deut. 14:1–2), but in the case of priests the text found it necessary to add a special admonition for them. Mourning rites which would normally be practiced both by the priest Ezekiel and by Israelite laymen are mentioned in Ezekiel 24:15–23, and it may be inferred from these verses that priests in general normally observed them no less than Ezekiel.

The rigors of priestly purity become even more severe during the seven days of consecration. The high priest is admonished that while he is being consecrated and the anointing oil is poured on his head, he is forbidden to bare his head, rend his clothes, be defiled even for the limited circle of his relatives, or even go out of the temple (Lev. 21:10–12; according to the plain sense the text is speaking here only of the days of consecration; cf. Ibn Ezra). Actually the ordinary priests were subject to the same restrictions. During the entire seven days of consecration Moses forbade Aaron and his sons to go out of the entrance of the Tent of Meeting (8:33–35), and when Nadab and Abihu, Aaron's sons, died before the days of consecration were over, Moses forbade the others to bare their heads, rend their clothes, or go out of the entrance of the Tent of Meeting (10:6–7). Those defiled for Nadab and Abihu were levites, relatives of Aaron (10:4–5). Thus the admonitions in Leviticus 21:10–12 are merely an added warning to the high priest and not intended to separate him in this matter from the ordinary priests. On the other hand, the restrictions mentioned in Ezekiel 44:20 refer not to the days of consecration or to mourning rites but to the priests' custom throughout the year. Ezekiel enjoins the priests to cut their hair elegantly (Heb. *kasom yikhsemu*, on the basis of the Akkadian *kasāmu*; the Heb. root *gzm* is close to it). That is, in their daily lives the priests were commanded to care for their hair – neither to shave it entirely nor to neglect it entirely, but to comb it decoratively, The rabbis for their part said that a high priest cuts his hair once a week and an ordinary priest once every 30 days (Sanh. 22b).

The holiness of the priesthood is also expressed in restrictions concerning marriage. The priests were forbidden to marry a woman degraded by harlotry or a divorced woman (Lev. 21:7). The high priest is also forbidden a widow, and the text admonishes him to marry only a virgin "from among his people," i.e., of Israel (21:13–15). Aaron married Elisheba daughter of Amminadab from the tribe of Judah (Ex. 6:23). Ezekiel warns the priests to marry virgins of Israelite origin, but permits them a priest's widow (Ezek. 44:22). At the same time, it is difficult to attribute legal precision to these distinctions. They are aimed primarily at removing any suspicion of prostitution from the priestly families, for otherwise the holiness of the priestly seed is profaned (Lev. 21:1–9). Divorcees and widows are subject to a certain suspicion of prostitution, since they are removed from any familial framework and are independent. In contrast, a priest's daughter who was widowed or divorced returns to her father's house and eats of the holy meat (22:13), and it does not stand to reason that she could be forbidden to marry a priest a second time. Indeed, care was exercised in priestly families to allow no deviation from modesty. Every Israelite citizen was admonished not to profane his daughter through prostitution (19:29), but such a sin perpetrated by a priest's daughter was extremely grave and she was sentenced to be put to the fire (21:9).

Outlines of the History of the Israelite Priesthood

FROM THE PATRIARCHAL PERIOD UNTIL AFTER THE SETTLEMENT. During the patriarchal period, the Hebrew tribes had no temples, as was commonly the case in nomadic communities, and thus there was also no priestly class. The locus of cultic service was the open altar and the priestly functions could be performed by every head of a household. A trace of this situation has been preserved in the expression "a father and a priest," which was fossilized in linguistic usage (Judg. 17:10; 18:19). The period of temples in Israel began after the conquest of Canaan. Thus the main crystallization of the Israelite priesthood began with the settlement, although to a certain extent it already had existed in the period which preceded the settlement. Its real activity began with the message of Moses, which brought Yahwism to the world and laid the foundations for the history of Israel. From that time the priesthood became one of the faithful bearers of this religion and the preserver of its cultic rites. The rites themselves were generally taken over from the pagan culture which preceded Moses, but the Israelite priesthood used them as raw material to actualize by their means the new message and to give it an expression by way of symbolic concretization.

From earliest times the priesthood was exclusively in the hands of the levite tribe. In the period which preceded the religious innovation it was a secular tribe, and something of its secular character probably remained for a long time afterward, but in the context of Yahwistic religion it appears in all the sources as a sanctified tribe, all, or at least part, of which was destined to serve in the priesthood. This tribe, from which Moses himself originated, was the first to be attracted by his religious announcement and when necessary even made conquests by force for the new faith. In the episode of the golden calf it is related that the levites supported the prophet and gained control of the unruly camp by means of the sword, as a reward for which they were authorized for the priesthood (Ex. 32:26–29; cf. Deut. 10:8–9). Such upheavals apparently occurred more than once. The blessing of Moses, in which Levi is described as a tribe of priests, mentions the tribe's "foes and enemies" and prays for their discomfiture (Deut. 33:11). The distribution of the levites among the other Israelite tribes is already mentioned in the blessing of Jacob, where it is stated as a curse (Gen. 49:7). Possibly this distribution preceded their sanctification and stemmed from other motives. However, in any case, the fact that they remained without allotted land increased their connections with cultic activities and made them dependent on the holy gifts.

At the same time, the sources contain vague echoes of tension between the house of Aaron and the tribe of Levi. In the sin of the golden calf, Aaron is mentioned as the head of rioters whose behavior compelled Moses and the levites to take warlike steps. According to P, on the other hand, the levites are not permitted to serve in the priesthood, although the source admits that they have a certain measure of holiness and that they were given to God in place of the firstborn (Num. 3:40–45). In the polemic of *Korah it is related that some of the levites rebelled against Moses and Aaron seeking the priesthood for themselves, but they paid with their lives (Num. 16). Likewise, there are several allusions here to opposition to the priesthood of Aaron on the part of all the tribes. Korah's rebellious group also contained Israelites, or at least gained the support of the public (Num. 16:2–3, 19). After Korah and his group were burned in the ordeal of the frankincense, all the people gathered to complain that Moses and Aaron had killed "the people of God," as a result of which a great plague broke out (17:6–15). Later another ordeal was conducted, this time involving the staffs of the tribal heads, in order to confirm that it was indeed Aaron who had been chosen for the priesthood of all the people (17:16–26).

It appears that the family of Aaron was the first to join the new religion, preceding the whole of the levite tribe. It is told of Aaron that he was the first to meet Moses when the latter returned from Mt. Horeb and believed in him (Ex. 4:14–16, 27–30). He serves as a "mouth" for Moses (4:16), or a kind of "prophet" for him to others (7:1–2), and Moses and Aaron participated together in most of the signs and miracles in Pharaoh's court. Of the family of Eli, which was probably considered to be descended from Aaron, it is also said that even in Egypt and in the house of Pharaoh it had been chosen "from all the tribes of Israel" to serve in the priesthood (I Sam. 2:27–28). Many scholars have assumed that originally Aaron's family was not even included in the tribe of Levi. The names bearing an Egyptian coloring that appear in it (Phinehas, Putiel father-in-law of Eleazar (Ex. 6:25), Hophni, Hananiel, a relative of Jeremiah (Jer. 32:7ff.); some say Aaron's own name as well) indicate its alien origin and genealogical distinctness. However, it is clear that in the course of time it became assimilated into the levite tribe. In all the biblical sources Aaron is already considered a member of the tribe and a brother of Moses, despite the fact that his name bears Egyptian characteristics.

The history of the Israelite priesthood from the Conquest on is connected with the history of the temples. These were erected in the course of time throughout the area of settlement, from Dan to Beer-Sheba, and various families from the levite tribe served as priests in them. At the beginning, the family of Aaron apparently officiated near the ark (see also Judg. 20:27–28), and when the ark was established at Shiloh this family held the priesthood of that temple. According to the tradition of P, Shiloh was the last location of the Tabernacle (Josh. 18:1). There is no doubt that in the period preceding the monarchy, the Temple of Shiloh was elevated above most of the other temples and became a kind of national-religious center for the Israelite tribes. Eli, the high priest at Shiloh, reached the status of one of the judges of Israel, and the figure of Samuel also evolved within the walls of this temple.

DURING THE PERIOD OF THE MONARCHY. The connection between the monarchy and the priesthood in the Ancient Near East was expressed in two ways: in several places the kings themselves are considered high priests, and this identification appears also in the case of Melchizedek, king of the town of Salem and priest of *ʾEl ʿElyon*, who blesses Abraham and takes a tithe from him (Gen. 14:18–20). In other places the priesthood was separate from the monarchy and entrusted to special dynasties. This arrangement was the custom in Israel; however, even when this was the case the monarch could still perform several typical priestly functions. The monarchs were permitted to ascend the altar in the court of the house of God, to sprinkle blood upon it, and to offer sacrifices (I Sam. 13:9; I Kings 12:33; 13:4; II Kings 16:12–13). David allowed himself to wear a linen ephod (II Sam. 6:14; yet this is not a regular priest's ephod). David also blesses the people, apparently from the altar (6:18), and Solomon does likewise (I Kings 8:14–21, 54–61).

On the other hand, during the period of the monarchy several families of priests who served in the royal temples attained economic and social advancement. These priests were henceforth considered as royal ministers and were included in the lists of bearers of high positions.

A notable change in the important priestly houses occurred at the beginning of the monarchical period. The family of Eli lost its importance and its place was taken by the family of Zadok, which from then on served in the priesthood of the central Temple in Jerusalem. This family, too, like that of Eli, originated from the levites who were scattered in the towns of Judah and Benjamin; according to Joshua 21:9–19, they lived in 13 towns and all were descended from Aaron. (For the division of functions among the priests of the temple in Jerusalem, see above.) The great influence of the Jerusalem priesthood was revealed in the time of Jehoiada, who rebelled against Athaliah and in her place crowned Joash in the house of God, and served as the young king's teacher throughout his life (II Kings 11:3–12:3). He himself was related by marriage to the royal household (II Chron. 22:11).

A notable change in the situation of the priesthood took place in the time of Josiah, following the cultic reforms introduced by this king. His reforms, too, were made doubtless under the influence of the Jerusalem priesthood and the final impetus for their implementation was the book found in the Temple. In addition to purging idolatry, these reforms included the destroying of the high places and the altars outside the temple, even those that were in Jerusalem itself. All the priests in the towns of Judah were brought to Jerusalem (II Kings 23:8). Most biblical scholars (since W.M.L. de Wette) assert that these reforms were made in accordance with the conceptions of Deuteronomy, which was the book found at the time in the Temple. Several scholars, however, maintain that there are a number of contradictions between the requirements of Deuteronomy and the reforms instituted in the time of Josiah. One of their main arguments (held by K. Budde, G. Hoelscher, and others) is that the priests of the high places who were gathered together in Jerusalem were not permitted to ascend the altar (II Kings 23:9), while Deuteronomy permits every levite to come and serve as a priest in the chosen place (Deut. 18:6–8). This, however, is a seeming contradiction since the text speaks of "priests of high places," i.e., priests who served in the altars distant from the houses of God, and these priests were never considered as belonging to the levite tribe (cf. above). It is not surprising, therefore, that after they had been transferred to Jerusalem they were not permitted to serve in the priesthood. The reforms of Josiah necessarily involved also the abolishment of the temples outside Jerusalem (as distinct from the high places), and possibly their priests were added to the Jerusalem priesthood. However, the temples in Judah outside Jerusalem were few, and the one to which there are allusions, the temple at Hebron, may already have declined by the beginning of the monarchy. The temples of Israel probably stood desolate after the destruction of Samaria. Thus, the number of priests eligible to serve in the priesthood who were brought to Jerusalem was not significant.

AFTER THE BABYLONIAN EXILE. In the Babylonian Exile the prophet-priest Ezekiel rose, and in his visions of redemption demanded that basic changes in the organization and order of service of the priesthood be introduced. His visionary code (Ezek. 40–48) is merely a later and diluted extension of that earlier school that finds expression in P. They share basic conceptions of cultic holiness and nature of priesthood as well as a common technical style. And yet, they differ in concrete details. Many priestly customs described in P are restricted in *Ezekiel to simple and schematic activities, like vague shadows of distant models, or are entirely absent. There is no proof that the demands of this prophet were implemented in his time or wrought any change in the priesthood.

The decisive change took place with *Ezra, who brought with him from Babylon those old scrolls which constitute the Priestly source, and these were integrated into the Book of the Torah, which then became a determining force in the life of all Israel. Henceforth, the ancient priestly concepts and customs of P were revived and attempts were made to realize them in life. It was a kind of rebirth of the semi-utopian world of the Israelite priesthood, but even now it was not fully realized. True, during the Second Temple only those who were considered descendants of Aaron served in priesthood, and levites served beside them as a lower clergy. However, several basic elements from the priestly contents of P were not realized even now. The ark as well as the cherubs of the holy of holies were missing. Also missing were the anointing oil (and with it the concept of tangible holiness, transferrable by contact from one body to another), the Urim and Thummim, various customs connected with matters of impurity, and other things. Several of the demands and principles of P were not actualized in reality because of objective obstacles. On the other hand, much of the content of this source was given a secondary significance through the interpretation of the Torah and by comparison and coordination with the other parts of the Torah.

The economic and social position of the priests in this period also changed. Their number reached several thousand, about a tenth of the total population of Judah. Most of them lived in the towns outside Jerusalem, like all the inhabitants of the country (Ezra 2:70 [= Neh. 7:72]; 11:3, 20), and they made their living from the soil. The priestly gifts were not sufficient for their livelihood, and besides the people were not punctilious about bringing them. While the obligation to bring the gifts was included in the covenant (*a'manah*), and was accepted by all the signatories (Neh. 10:33–40), apparently the declaration itself did not have sufficient coercive power and Nehemiah had to prod the people periodically to fulfill their obligation (Neh. 12:4447; 13:10–13; and see 13:31). It is told of the levites and singers that when they did not receive their portions they fled "every man to his field" and the house of God was deserted (Neh. 13:10–11), and there is no doubt that this alternative was also sometimes available to the priests. Many of them became economically independent of the temple service, and in Nehemiah's time many of them volunteered to build the wall, together with other well-to-do citizens, and some of them participated in bringing the wood sacrifice to the Temple (10:35).

These new conditions of total cultic centralization, the increased number of priests, and their decreased dependence on the priestly gifts led to a regulation of the temple service among all the priests (and the levites), which took on the form of a system of divisions, or courses, *mishmarot*. Every *mishmar* would work during its assigned week until the round was completed and was then begun anew. The sources mention 24 divisions, and every priestly division was allotted a period of only two weeks per year. The service for these limited periods of time was regarded partly as a privilege, with the enjoyment of the material benefit entailed, partly as a duty, that the house of God should not be emptied of its servants. The divisions are mentioned in sources from the Second Temple on, but apparently this system is rooted in the reality of the end of the First Temple period, after the cultic reforms of Josiah. The Chronicler dates the establishment of the divisions earlier, to the time of David (I Chron. 24:3–19), but in this he is merely adhering to his method of attributing all the arrangements of the temple to King David. Josephus states that the 24 divisions persisted in his time (Ant. 7:366; Life 1–2; cf. Luke 1:5). The rabbis stated that every priestly division was composed of several households each of which had a fixed day of the week for its work (Tosef., Ta'an. 2:2, et al.). According to one tradition, the rabbis ruled that each division should be divided into six households, one for each weekday, and the entire division would officiate on the Sabbath (cf. Men. 107b). During the pilgrim festivals all the divisions served together (Suk. 55b–56a). The splitting of the divisions into daily households apparently reflects the reality of the end of the Second Temple period, when the number of priests became still larger.

For the income of the priests see *Tithe.

[Menahem Haran]

From the Beginning of the Hellenistic Era Until the Destruction of the Temple

During the whole of the Hellenistic era the priesthood was the class with the highest status among the people. From it came the administrators of Judea. In practice the high priest was head of independent Judea, and most of the other responsible people in politics and in administration were also priests. It appears that until the time of the Hasmoneans the outstanding spiritual leaders, such as *Yose b. Joezer and others, were also from their midst. The temple overshadowed all other institutions and even foreign writers like *Hecataeus regarded the Jews as a nation of priests, and at all events designated them as a nation dominated by priests. When Antiochus III granted rights to Jerusalem he freed the priests from a series of taxes. Hecataeus estimated their number in his time at 1,500 but it is possible that he was only referring to Jerusalem, since many of them were settled in the country towns and villages of Judea and southern Samaria and only went up to Jerusalem in accordance with their duty in the system of priestly watches.

The high priests belonged to the family of Zadok and to the watch of Jedaiah, and were descendants of Joshua b. Jehozadak. The office passed from father to son, and if this was not possible, a member of the family was appointed. The high priest served until his death, but Antiochus Epiphanes brought about the cessation of this custom. The high priest, together with the elders, represented the nation to the monarchy. He supervised the temple service, cared for the security of the capital and the water supply, and was responsible for the collection of taxes. Spiritual cultural activities were also placed upon him. A high priest with personality, such as Simeon son of Onias II – who was apparently Simeon the *Just – exercised great influence upon the religious and spiritual development of the nation. The high priests had close connections with institutions outside of the country; the sister of *Onias II was married to the *Tobiad family in Transjordan. Foreigners, too, regarded the high priest as the head of the Jewish people and the Spartans turned to him in negotiations they conducted with Judea (I Macc. 12). The high priestly house was not uniform and unequivocal in its national religious view. Simeon II and *Onias III continued in practice the activity of Ezra and Nehemiah, while *Jason was one of the leaders of the Hellenists and it was he who turned Jerusalem into a polis. Besides the dynasty of the high priest the dynasties of other priests were conspicuous like those of the sons of Hakkoz who already played an important role in financial administration in the Persian era. One of them, Johanan, obtained its privileges for Jerusalem from Antiochus III. His son Eupolemus headed on behalf of Judah the Maccabee the delegation which made the first pact with Rome. Although this family was influenced by Hellenism, its members placed themselves at the service of the Hasmonean dynasty who were themselves priests of the watches of Jehoiarib. The members of another priestly house, of the watch of Bilgah, were converted – in partnership with the sons of Tobiah – into the mainstay of the Hellenistic movement; Simeon fought against Onias II and *Menelaus was appointed high priest by Antiochus IV after he had removed Jason. A Hellenistic high priest from another house was *Alcimus. The connections of some of the priests with the policy of Antiochus brought about a diminution in the prestige of the class, but when the government passed to the Hasmoneans the priesthood seemed to reach its highest peak among the Jewish people. For the Hasmonean high priest became also the leader, and the king, of an independent nation. At that time, however, began the rise of the *Pharisee scholars, the students of the Torah, and these began to supplant the priests as spiritual leaders. This fact is particularly important in view of the fact that the priests stood out in general as the leaders of the *Sadducee sect whose central sector was composed of the upper grades among the priests, and these were an important element in the Sanhedrin. Among the separatist sects (the Essenes, the sect of the Damascus covenant, the Judean desert sect), too, the priests retained an honorable status as is evident in their writings. With the ascent of Herod to the monarchy, the political leadership of Judah passed – for the first time in the Second Temple era – to a non-priestly element. After the extermination of the Hasmonean dynasty, Herod appointed the high priest at his will from among the priests. He loosened the linking of the high priesthood with a particular family and also abolished finally the custom for the high priest to serve the whole of his life. His status remained exalted and hallowed but his role was chiefly limited to the service of the Day of Atonement, which could be performed by him alone. After the death of Herod and the removal of Archelaus, the appointment of the high priest passed to the Roman governors. In the final generation of the temple this authority was restored to the dynasty of Herod (*Agrippa I, Herod of Chalcis, and *Agrippa II). During that period a group of wellborn wealthy priestly families became established from among whom most of the high priests were appointed; such were the Boethus family, the Phiabi family, and the family of Anan. According to the Talmud (Yoma 18a; Yev. 61a), these high priests bought the office from the government, and they were changed each year. Since an ex-high priest kept his additional rights as to dignity and status, there came into being a kind of oligarchy of high priests and of their families, some of whom were related by family ties; some of these were inordinately wealthy. This aristocracy of distinguished and wealthy noble families tyrannized the people, though at times there were struggles between the high priests and fisticuffs between their followers, from which the dwellers of Jerusalem and the villages suffered. The attitude of most of the people of the Pharisee leadership to this Sadducean oligarchy was given pungent expression (Pes. 57a; Tosef. Men. 13:21): "Woe is me because of the house of Boethus! Woe is me because of their staves! Woe is me because of the house of Hanim! Woe is me because of their whispering! Woe is me because of the house of Kathros! Woe is me because of their pens! Woe is me because of the house of Ishmael son of Phiabi! Woe is me because of their fists!; for they are high priests, their sons treasurers, their sons-in-law trustees, and their slaves beat the people with staves." These aristocrats were also regarded as loyalists and protected persons of the Roman government. However, there were individual priests whom the sages mention with praise because of their piety and good deeds, among them being *Joshua b. Gamala to whom is attributed the important regulation to erect a school for children in every town. There was a great contrast, ideological and material, between the upper class high priesthood and the mass of ordinary priests, many of whom did not live in Jerusalem but in the towns and villages of Judea, and also in Galilee, in Transjordan and in the lands of the dispersion. Many of them could not exist on the priestly perquisites, and some of them engaged in work and in commerce. The whole of the priestly class did not belong to the Sadducees. Among the Pharisees, too, were many priests and also among the leaders of the Jerusalem zealots (*Eleazar b. Hananiah, *Eleazar b. Simeon, *Zechariah b. Avkilus). In the defense of the Temple Mount in the time of Pompey, and at the time of the destruction of the Temple, the priests of the Temple displayed wonderful self-sacrifice.

The hatred of the people for the aristocratic high priesthood found expression at the time of the great revolt. When the zealots dominated Jerusalem they expelled all of them, slew a number of them, and chose a high priest from the ordinary priests, viz. *Phinehas b. Samuel a stonemason by profession, a relative by marriage of the family of Hillel. He was the last Jewish high priest.

[Menahem Stern]

In the Halakhah

The main function of the priests during the Second Temple period was the offering of sacrifices in the Temple, while the levites served as choristers, musicians, and gatekeepers. Their biblical role as teachers and judges was preserved in the expectation that the Sanhedrin contain priests and levites (Sif. Deut.

153), but the destruction of the Temple completed the process by which they were replaced by the sages and their students. The sacrificial service, from the receiving of the victim's blood on, must be performed by a priest (Zev. 2:1, 3:1). He must wear four sacred vestments (tunic, drawers, turban, and girdle; the high priest wore eight sacred vestments) and be free of physical blemish or defect. The rabbis further declared that a priest who contracts an improper marriage (see below) is declared unfit to perform the Temple service until he severs all connection with his wife (Bek. 7:7). A priest must himself be of proven pedigree to serve in the Temple (Mid. 5:4; Kid. 4:5). Those currently designated "priests" are "presumed priests," inasmuch as there is no legally sufficient proof testifying to their descent from ancient priestly families (see Maim., Yad, Issurei Bi'ah 20:1–2; *Magen Avraham* to OḤ 457:2).

Priests received "twenty-four priestly donations" (BK 10b). Twelve of these referred to parts of the animal- and meal-offerings in the Temple. The others were: firstlings of animals; firstfruits; a share of the agricultural produce (*terumah*), often given at the rate of 2%; a share of the tithe given to the levites; a share of baked products (*ḥallah*); the redemption price – five shekels – for firstborn male children; the sheep given as redemption for the firstlings of asses; the first fleece sheared; the shoulder, two cheeks, and maw of slaughtered animals; fields donated to the Temple and sold revert to the priests at the Jubilee year; fields declared *ḥerem* by their owners; and property stolen from a proselyte who dies leaving no issue. With the destruction of the Temple, the tendering of some of those "gifts" became impossible, while the bestowal of others fell into a gradual decline. Currently, the redemption of the firstborn (*pidyon bekhor*) is widely practiced, though the law continues to require that – in Ereẓ Israel at least – firstlings be given to a priest as well as the first fleece and the shoulder, cheeks, and maw of slaughtered animals (Sh. Ar., YD 61:21, 333:1, 305, 360:1).

The priest may not marry a divorced woman or a harlot (Lev. 21:7) – the latter being defined as a woman who has had sexual relations with a man forbidden to her in marriage, or with a profaned priest (see below), or with a convert to Judaism (Sh. Ar., EH 6:8) – and the rabbis added the woman who had been rejected by her levir (Yev. 2:4). In addition to these, the high priest may not marry a widow. The child born of most of these unions is "profaned" (*ḥalal*) and, if female, may not be married to a priest. Finally, the priest ought not to marry a woman both of whose parents were proselytes, but he need not divorce her if he does so (Sh. Ar., EH 7:21). The motive for these restrictions is that the holiness of the priest demands that he marry an unblemished wife.

The priest is forbidden any direct contact with the dead; he may not enter into or step above an enclosure in which a dead body, or its constituents, is lying, nor may he touch anyone or anything that is impure through contact with the dead. He must, however, defile himself for his mother, father, son, daughter, brother, and unmarried sister (Lev. 21:2–3), and for his wife (Yev. 22b; see Sifra to Lev. 21:2). He must also bury the abandoned dead (*met mitzvah*). The priest is assigned priority as an expression of his sanctity: he speaks first, makes the first benediction, and receives first choice; he is also called to the Torah first (Git. 59b). Furthermore, one is not to be served by a priest unless he has waived his prerogatives (Isserles to Sh. Ar., OḤ 128:45).

The tithe (one-tenth of agricultural produce) was assigned by the Torah to the levite. His main distinction in modern times is to be called up to the Torah immediately after the priest, whose hands he washes for the priestly *blessing.

[Gerald Y. Blidstein]

In Modern Times

Although, as stated above, the prevailing halakhic opinion is that the claim to be an Aaronide, of priestly descent, is mainly a presumptive one, which, in the absence of pedigree registers, cannot be proved, all the rights and privileges of the kohen, as well as the prohibitions, apply among Orthodox Jews today in full force where they are applicable. These privileges are, the right to be called up first to the reading of the Law (see "Reading of the *Torah"), invoking the Priestly Blessing in the Synagogue, and the redemption of the first born, both of humans and of animals. The only reservation is that in view of the fact that Aaronide descent is mainly presumptive, some authorities suggest that the redemption money should be returned after the ceremony to the father of the child or the owner of the animal (Sh. Ar., YD, 305:8 and 306).

The provision that the kohen has the privilege of reading the Grace after Meals (Sh. Ar., OḤ 201:2) is largely disregarded at the present time, though in some places the custom exists, where a kohen is present, for the person leading the grace to say *bi-reshut Kohen* ("with the permission of the kohen").

The laws prohibiting contact with the dead are in full force. As a result, it is the custom to bury kohanim at the end of a row and arrange for the paths to be at least eight cubits wide, so that his priestly relations may visit the grave and be able to stand four cubits from the grave. The fact that a kohen is forbidden to be under the same roof with a corpse, unless there is a permanent partition between the place in which he is standing and the location of the corpse would render it impossible for a kohen to visit a hospital if the mortuary is under the same roof as the hospital proper. Special arrangements have been made in the Hadassah hospital in Jerusalem: double doors, one of which is always closed, or swinging doors which always "seal" the entrance are used to enable kohanim to visit the sick.

Similarly, the fact that the main highway from Jerusalem to Jericho was built by the Jordanians over a portion of the Mt. of Olives cemetery has resulted in a halakhic prohibition against kohanim using that road, and signposts have been erected in Jerusalem and its outskirts indicating an alternative possible route for kohanim.

Similarly the question whether a kohen may practice medicine, since he must come into contact with the dead, is discussed in the *halakhah*.

The laws of the marriages prohibited to the kohen, an unchaste woman, a proselyte, a divorcee, a widow who has received *ḥaliẓah are still operative. In view of the fact that, unlike other prohibited marriages, such a marriage, if it is celebrated is valid, and the children are legitimate except that they are *ḥalalim* (non-kohanim) considerable pressure is being exercised in Israel today to permit such a marriage, though the rabbinical authorities remain adamant in their refusal. Some Conservative rabbis agree to marry a kohen and a divorcee.

There is a difference of opinion as to whether a kohen may marry the daughter of proselytes (Sh. Ar., EH 7:21). It is referred to as a "blemish" and not a prohibition and though the tendency is toward stringency, it is permitted by some.

Since a kohen is forbidden to remarry even his own divorced wife, it is the custom to delay the execution of his *get* as long as possible.

Reform Judaism disregards all the laws applying to a kohen.

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PRIGOGINE, ILYA (1917–2003), mathematician and Nobel laureate in chemistry. Born in Moscow, Prigogine moved with his family to Belgium at the age of four. His father was a chemist and Prigonine, who had a lifelong interest in music and history, obtained his doctorate in chemistry in 1947 at the Free University of Brussels, whose staff he then joined. However, his broad intellectual interests profoundly influenced the direction of his scientific research. From 1959 to 2003, he was director of the International Solvay Institutes in Brussels and in 1967 he founded Ilya Prigogine Center for Studies in Mathematics and Complex Systems at the University of Texas at Austin, Texas. When he started his life's work, conventional attitudes were based on the Second Law of Thermodynamics, which states that heat can never pass spontaneously from a colder to a hotter body, with the inference that energy transfer is unidirectional and all natural processes are irreversible. Prigigone and his associates used physical chemical experiments and mathematical modeling to understand the basis of stability in chemical reactions and biological systems. He refined the earlier concept of entropy, a measure of disorder in a system, with the theory of dissipation, that is, the regulated fluctuations which promote stability in the face of irreversible change. His theoretical and mathematical formulation of "dissipative structures" created by irreversible processes led to the award of the Nobel Prize in 1977. In his later years Prigogine became increasingly concerned with applying novel thermodynamic principles to the complexities of human biology and even human behavior. A natural extension of his interests was his concern for the potentially disastrous impact of human activities on the environment.

[Michael Denman (2nd ed.)]

PRIJS, JOSEPH (1889–1956), bibliographer and historian. Born in Wuerzburg, Bavaria, Prijs served as rabbi and teacher at Breslau (1918–21), became rabbi and head of the *talmud* *torah* at Munich, and in 1927 lecturer in Jewish subjects at Munich University. When the Nazis came to power (1933), he went to live in Switzerland, where he devoted himself to research in Swiss university libraries and cataloged the Jewish holdings in several Swiss university libraries.

Prijs wrote on the Hebrew book collections in Bavaria (1927) and on Hebrew printing in *Sulzbach (JTLG, 21, 1930, 319) *Mitteilungen der Soncinogesellschaft*, no. 7 (1931), 26–33) and in Fuerth (*Nachtraege zu L. Loewensteins Bibliographie…* etc., 1938). His great achievement is the monumental work *Die basler hebraeischen Drucke* (1964), published posthumously by his son Bernard. Since Basle was a great center of learning in the 16th century, Prijs' book is an important contribution not only to the history of Jewish printing but also to history of the culture of the early Reformation. Prijs also published some genealogical studies: *Familie Hirsch auf Gereuth* (1931); *Stamboom der Familie Goldsmidt-Cassel te Amsterdam* (1936).

Prijs' son, LEO (1920–) was research fellow at Yeshiva University, New York, and at the Institutum Judaicum, Muenster (Westphalia), Germany. From 1957 to 1960 he was lecturer in Bible at Bar-Ilan University and from 1968 professor at Munich University.

Among his published works are *Juedische Tradition in der Septuaginta* (1948), *Die grammatische Terminologie des Abraham ibn Esra* (1950), and *Die Jeremia Homilie, Pesikta Rabbati 26* (1966), a critical edition with German translation and commentary.

[Walter Baumgartner]

PRILUKI, town in Chernigov district, Ukraine. A Jewish settlement in Priluki existed in the 16th century, and was destroyed in 1648 in connection with the *Chmielnicki massacres. The community was restored at the beginning of the 19th century. There were 2,007 Jews in Priluki in 1847, 5,722 (31% of the total population) in 1897. They then owned two tobacco factories, two flour mills, and small oil refineries. Many Jewish tailors sewed ready-made garments, which were sold in fairs in faraway towns. Apart from *ḥadarim* there were schools for boys and girls, and from the beginning of the 20th century, there was a Hebrew-language school. The Zionists remained active for a couple of years after the October Revolution. In 1921 a pioneer group went to Palestine, where they were among the founders of the kibbutz Kiryat Anavim. During the civil war there were pogroms on October 23, 1917, June 4–14, 1919, and in September 1919. In the 1920s Yiddish was used officially in the court of law and in the local council. Some 65% of Priluki Jews worked as factory laborers and artisans, and about 165 were members of a Jewish kolkhoz. Jews numbered 9,001 (31.4% of the total population) in 1926, decreasing to 6,140 in 1939 (16.65%). The Germans captured the town on September 18, 1941. Many Jews managed to escape. On January 15, 1942 a few hundred Jews were killed. On May 20, 1942 1,290 were murdered, and on July 10 and September 10, 1942 hundreds more were executed. About 3,000 Jews were killed during German occupation. There were about 2,000 Jews in Priluki in 1959. The last remaining synagogue was closed down by the authorities in 1961. In the 1990s most Jews emigrated to Israel and the West.

[Yehuda Slutsky]

PRIMO, SAMUEL (c. 1635–1708), talmudist and Shabbatean leader. Probably born in Cairo, where he studied under Judah Sharaf, Primo later settled in Jerusalem and in 1662 represented the Jewish community there in its quarrel with the heirs of the late David *Habillo, the kabbalist. Primo was considered an outstanding talmudist and kabbalist. Meeting *Shabbetai Ẓevi during his stay in Jerusalem, he joined the first group of fervent "believers" at the outbreak of the messianic movement (1665), and was present at the height of the messianic excitement in Gaza during May and June 1665. Later he left, joining Shabbetai Ẓevi in Constantinople, becoming a member of his most intimate circle. While Shabbetai was imprisoned in the fortress of Gallipoli, Primo served as his "scribe" and secretary and held court for the masses of his followers. It was he who composed the circular letters and pronouncements of the "Messiah," written in a high-flown and majestic style, and received the delegations visiting Shabbetai Ẓevi. In the absence of *Nathan of Gaza, he and Abraham *Yakhini were the outstanding spokesmen for the movement at that time. In a famous letter (summer, 1666) he encouraged messianic terrorism against those who spoke disparagingly of Shabbetai Ẓevi. When catastrophe befell the movement with Shabbetai's apostasy, Primo remained faithful, but refrained from any public display of his belief and participation in Shabbatean activities. He stayed for many years in Sofia, making frequent visits to Shabbetai Ẓevi in Adrianople and later in Dulcigno, and maintaining close contact with Nathan of Gaza and other Shabbatean leaders. Shabbetai Ẓevi initiated him into his later kabbalistic teaching concerning the "mystery of the Godhead." In later years Primo divulged this teaching, under the greatest secrecy, only to those whom he deemed trustworthy. He embraced Shabbetai Ẓevi's theory of divine apotheosis and other teachings of the radical wing, while outwardly returning to his occupation of orthodox talmudic scholar and acquiring a great reputation as such. Sometime after 1680 he moved to Adrianople where, after several years of study on behalf of the community, he became rabbi of the Apulian synagogue and later its *av bet din*, enjoying the highest esteem until his death. For a long time he suffered from severe rheumatism in his legs, and after a serious illness he added Judah to his name, signing all documents Judah Samuel Primo. He did not join the *Doenmeh sect, strongly opposing every public demonstration of Shabbatean faith, but he is known to have said to confidants that the *amoraim* did not really understand the secrets of the faith and that in some respects their wisdom was obsolete. When Abraham *Cardozo publicly preached his brand of Shabbatean theology and tried to settle in Adrianople, in 1693 and in 1697, Primo repudiated his teachings and caused him to be expelled. In his last years Cardozo wrote several papers against Primo's secret teachings without, however, suggesting that Primo had abandoned his belief in Shabbetai Ẓevi. Primo's equivocal stand on Shabbateanism resembles that of many of the scholars of his day.

In addition to being an outstanding preacher, Primo wrote many responsa and halakhic decisions, but almost all his writings were destroyed by the great fire in Adrianople in 1704. His son-in-law, R. Moses Kohen, included his remaining responsa in his own collection, *Kehunnat Olam* (Constantinople, 1740), and Primo's pupil, David ibn Shanji, added his edition of his extant sermons under the title *Imrei Shefer* to the end of this volume. Summaries of his secret teachings are preserved in several Shabbatean manuscripts (for instance, Ben Zvi Institute 2262). Among his chief pupils and followers were Ḥayyim *Malakh, who stayed with him for two or three years (1694–96), and Ḥayyim *Alfandari originally of Brusa and later one of the leading rabbis of Constantinople, whom, according to Cardozo, Primo believed for some time (between 1696 and 1700 if not earlier) to be the man destined to take Shabbetai Ẓevi's place after his apotheosis. It is not clear how he reconciled the appointment of a possible successor to Shabbetai Ẓevi with his consistent aloofness from Shabbatean activities on other than strictly esoteric levels. Primo died in Adrianople.

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[Gershom Scholem]

PRINCE, HAROLD (1928–), U.S. theatrical producer and director. Born in New York, Prince was awarded the first of 20 Antoinette Perry Awards at age 26 for coproducing Broadway's *The Pajama Game* (1954). His other 19 Tony Awards came for *Damn Yankees* (1955); *Fiorello* (1959, for which he also won the Pulitzer Prize); two for *A Funny Thing Happened on the Way to the Forum* (1962); two for *Fiddler on the Roof* (1964); two for *Cabaret* (1966); two for *Company* (1970); *Follies* (1971); A Special Tony Award (1972); *A Little Night Music* (1973); two for *Candide* (1973); *Sweeney Todd* (1978); *Evita* (1979); *The Phantom of the Opera* (1987); and *Showboat* (1994).

Prince produced other Broadway plays such as *New Girl in Town* (1957), *West Side Story* (1957), *Tenderloin* (1960), *Take Her, She's Mine* (1961), *Poor Bitos* (1964), *Flora* (1965), and *Side by Side by Sondheim* (1977).

Prince added directing to his professional activities in 1963, producing and directing *She Loves Me.* He produced and directed such plays as *Superman* (1966), *Zorba* (1969), *The Visit* (1973), *Love for Love* (1974), *Pacific Overtures* (1976), *Merrily We Roll Along* (1981), *Grind* (1985), and *Hollywood Arms* (2002).

Among the plays that Prince directed are *A Family Affair* (1962), *Baker Street* (1965), *Some of My Best Friends* (1977), *Play Memory* (1984), *End of the World* (1984), *Roza* (1987), *Kiss of the Spider Woman* (1993), and *Parade* (1999). From 1976 Prince occasionally directed operas.

In the film industry, he produced *The Pajama Game* (1957), *Damn Yankees* (1958), and the TV movie *She Loves Me* (1978). He directed *Something for Everyone* (1970), *A Little Night Music* (1977), and the TV movie *Sweeney Todd* (1982).

Prince wrote *Contradictions: Notes on Twenty-Six Years in the Theater* (1974).

ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY: C. Ilson, *Harold Prince: A Director's Journey* (2000); idem, *Harold Prince: From Pajama Game to Phantom of the Opera* (1989); F. Hirsch, *Harold Prince and the American Musical Theater* (1989).

[Jonathan Licht / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

PRINGLE, MIA (1920–1983), British psychologist. Born in Vienna, the daughter of a wholesale merchant, Samuel Kellmer, Pringle arrived in London with her mother as a refugee in 1938. Gaining a degree in psychology at London University, she became an academic at Birmingham University, specializing in remedial education and children in care. In 1963 she became the first director of the National Children's Bureau, where she remained until her retirement in 1981. Pringle is probably best known for heading the National Child Development Study, a longitudinal study of 17,000 children born in 1958 whose development has been reported on at seven-year intervals ever since. This survey was imitated in Britain and other countries. She also made important contributions to child care in such works as *Adoption: Facts and Fallacies* (1967) and *The Needs of Children* (1974). She received honorary degrees from three universities. A chronic depressive who spoke little of her personal feelings, she committed suicide at the age of 62.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: ODNB online.

[William D. Rubinstein (2nd ed.)]

PRINGSHEIM, HANS (1876–1940), German biochemist. Pringsheim was born in Oppeln, Upper Silesia and was a professor at the University of Berlin from 1921. He left Germany for Paris after the Nazi accession to power in 1933 and worked in a private laboratory in Geneva from 1936 until his death. He wrote *Die Polysaccharide* (1919, 1931^3), *Die Variabilitaet niederer Organismen* (1910), and *Zuckerchemie* (1925).

PRINS, LIEPMAN PHILIP (**Eliezer Liepman**; 1835–1915), merchant and scholar of Arnhem, the Netherlands. Until 1876 Prins was privately tutored, after which time he continued his studies in Amsterdam and moved to Frankfurt in 1887.

He was the publisher of the previously unedited part of the work by David Abudarham, *Tashlum-Abudraham*, for *Mekizei Nirdamim (1900). He also wrote an introduction to a second edition of *Seder Berakhot* by Michael Moravsky. His own writings include annotations on the tractate *Ḥullin* (204b) and on the *siddur* (in *Oẓar ha-Tefillot*, 1915) as well as numerous articles in Jewish weeklies and journals.

In recent years more details became known about him as one of his grandchildren, Els Bendheim, initiated the publication of his correspondence, the marginal notes he made in his books, and an anthology of his work in Dutch.

His library consisting of 6,000 books was moved to Jerusalem (and opened to the public in 1930); it is still kept as such at Lipschuetz Teachers' College (Jerusalem).

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[Frederik Jacob Hirsch / F.J. Hoogewoud (2nd ed.)]

PRINTERS' MARKS, the devices or badges used by early printers to distinguish their productions. The first known printers' mark in Hebrew printing is the lion rampant within a red shield, which was used by Eliezer Alantansi at Híjar in and after 1485. The *Soncino family of printers, both in Italy and in other countries, used a tower, probably the badge of the city of Soncino in Lombardy; this was subsequently adopted by the Soncino Gesellschaft in Germany and by the 20th-century Soncino Press in London. Later, various printers of the Kohen family, especially the Proops of Amsterdam, used a printers' mark of the hands spread in priestly benediction. The Giustiniani Press in Venice employed a conventional representation of the Temple in Jerusalem – subsequently much copied – and the Bragadini used three crowns symbolizing the diadem of royalty, priesthood, and Torah (cf. Avot 4:13). At a later time Italian printers often employed their family badges as printers' marks. Thus, the productions of the Foa family, from the middle of the 16th century down to the 18th, were distinguished by a badge showing two lions rampant against a palm tree supporting the shield of David, with various permutations. Abraham Usque of Ferrara adopted the Portuguese royal badge of a sphere, losing the significance of the punning motto *spera in dominum* by translating it back into the Hebrew original *kavveh el Adonai* (Ps. 27:14). The Basevi brothers of Verona used their family badge, subsequently incorporated into their coat of arms, of a white lion back to back with a black eagle, both crowned. The badge of Manasseh Ben Israel was memorable, with the words *emet me-ereẓ tiẓmaḥ* ("Truth springeth out of the earth," Ps. 85:12) shown as a rebus, or in his non-Hebrew productions, a pilgrim with the motto *Apercebido como hu romeiro*. The Benveniste family of Amsterdam used a lion rampant against a tower, surmounted by a star, which presumably was their coat of arms. The symbols of fertility, fish, were common throughout the 17th and 18th centuries in various countries. Monograms in Latin characters were sometimes used. The Eastern European printers' marks were for the most part unoriginal and often poorly printed and designed. Among the Christian printers of Hebrew books, Froben used intertwined serpents, and *Fagius a leafy tree. From the 18th century, the use of printers' marks became less common and their designs less distinctive.

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[Cecil Roth]

PRINTING, HEBREW.

PRE-MODERN PERIOD

The first mention of Jews in connection with printing is found in Avignon c. 1444 (before Gutenberg) when a Jew, Davin de Caderousse, studied the new craft. The first Hebrew books were printed at least within 35 years after the invention of printing – the first dated ones being Rashi's commentary on the Pentateuch and Jacob b. Asher's *Arba'ah Turim* of 1475 (see *Incunabula). This new and wonderful invention was called the "crown of all science," and its practice, like that of writing of sacred books, *melekhet shamayim* ("a divine craft," see Er. 13a) or *melekhet ha-kodesh* ("a sacred craft," Ex. 36:4). It was regarded as a means to realize Isaiah's prediction (11:9) that "the earth shall be full of the knowledge of the Lord." There were, on the other hand, interested parties such as the copyists, who feared for their livelihood and who opposed the innovation, as did those monk-copyists who described it as the "work of the devil." Printing raised halakhic problems as shown by contemporary responsa: the question arose whether the *halakhah* concerning the writing of sacred books and the care and respect due to them was applicable to printed books as well and whether, in particular, *Sifrei Torah, tefillin, mezuzot*, bills of divorce, etc., could be printed. Despite difficulties, the production of Hebrew books grew: David Kimḥi's *Sefer ha-Shorashim* saw three editions within a decade.

Printing had a revolutionary influence on the religious and cultural life of Jewish communities everywhere: on books and their distribution, on learning and education, on synagogal rites, etc. The order and division of the books of the *Bible, which today differ from both the talmudic and masoretic traditions, and the division into chapters in particular, are the result of printing. The printing of the Bible popularized it, while dictionaries and grammars, now easily obtainable, contributed greatly to the understanding of the Bible. The same is true for the Talmud, with its standard pagination originating in the first complete Bomberg edition (1520–23). The study of the Talmud became easier and far more widespread, and the printing alongside of the text, in addition to Rashi's commentary, of the *Tosafot of Touques gave talmudic learning a new direction which led to the development of the novellae literature and of *pilpul*. The widespread use of printed prayer books reduced the importance and relative freedom of the reader; minor rites were eliminated in favor of the major ones, which in turn became fixed and standardized by the printed text. Purely local variations of rite have survived in manuscripts only. Earlier (1477) the word *defus* (talmudic: frame, mold) was used as a noun for printing, alliterating to the Latin *typus*. To describe the activity, the same word as for writing (*katav*) or engraving (*ḥakak*) was chosen, from which was derived *meḥokek* for the printer; but also

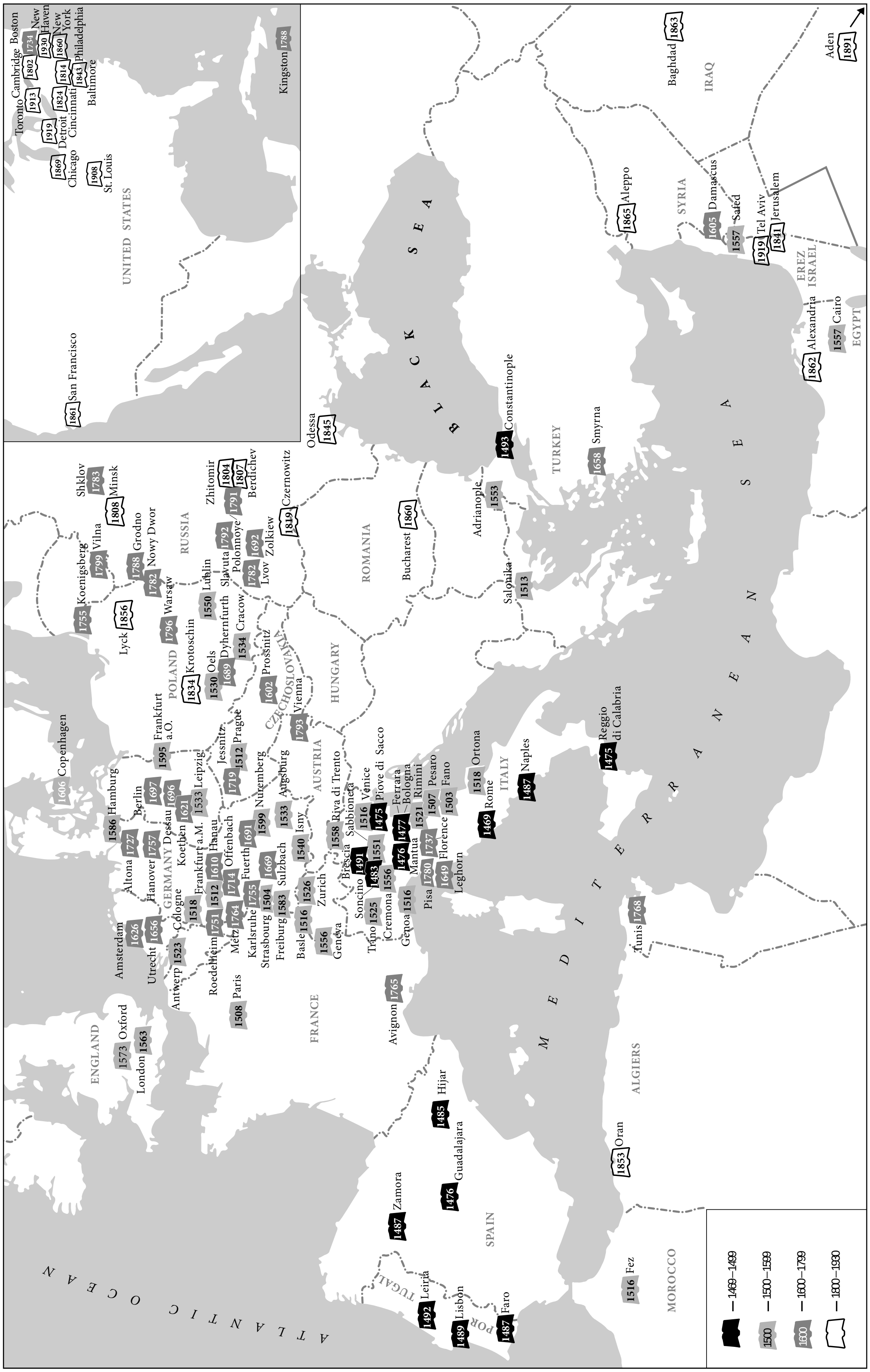

Toronto 1913
Cambridge 1802
Boston 1734
New Haven 1930
New York 1860
Philadelphia 1814
Baltimore 1843
Cincinnati 1824
Detroit 1919
Chicago 1869
St. Louis 1908
San Francisco 1861
Kingston 1788
UNITED STATES
ATLANTIC OCEAN
ENGLAND
Oxford 1573
London 1563
Copenhagen 1606
Hamburg 1586
Altona 1727
Amsterdam 1626
Utrecht 1656
Hanover 1757
Berlin 1697
Dessau 1696
Koethen 1621
Leipzig 1533
Frankfurt a.O. 1595
GERMANY
Cologne 1518
Frankfurt a.M. 1512
Hanau 1610
Offenbach 1714
Jessnitz 1719
Prague 1512
Antwerp 1523
Roedelheim 1751
Metz 1764
Karlsruhe 1755
Fuerth 1691
Nuremberg 1599
Strasbourg 1504
Sulzbach 1669
Freiburg 1583
Augsburg 1533
Isny 1540
Basle 1516
Zurich 1526
Geneva 1556
Paris 1508
FRANCE
Avignon 1765
Riva di Trento 1558
AUSTRIA
Trino 1525
Soncino 1483
Cremona 1556
Brescia 1491
Sabbioneta 1551
Venice 1516
Piove di Sacco 1475
Mantua 1476
Ferrara
Bologna 1477
Rimini 1521
Pesaro 1507
Fano 1503
Genoa 1516
Pisa 1780
Florence 1737
Leghorn 1649
Rome 1469
Ortona 1518
ITALY
Naples 1487
Reggio di Calabria 1475
Tunis 1768
SPAIN
Hijar 1485
Guadalajara 1476
Zamora 1487
PORTUGAL
Leiria 1492
Lisbon 1489
Faro 1487
MOROCCO
Fez 1516
ALGIERS
Oran 1853
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
Koenigsberg 1755
Lyck 1856
Vilna 1799
Shklov 1783
Minsk 1808
Grodno 1788
Nowy Dwor 1782
Warsaw 1796
RUSSIA
POLAND
Krotoschin 1834
Oels 1530
Dyhernfurth 1689
Cracow 1534
Lublin 1550
Slavuta 1792
Polonnoye 1791
Zolkiew 1692
Lvov 1782
Zhitomir 1804
Berdichev 1807
Czernowitz 1819
Prossnitz 1602
CZECHOSLOVAKIA
Vienna 1793
HUNGARY
ROMANIA
Bucharest 1860
Odessa 1845
BLACK SEA
Adrianople 1553
Salonika 1513
Constantinople 1493
TURKEY
Smyrna 1658
Aleppo 1865
SYRIA
Damascus 1605
Safed 1557
Tel Aviv 1919
Jerusalem 1841
EREZ ISRAEL
Alexandria 1862
Cairo 1557
EGYPT
IRAQ
Baghdad 1863
Aden 1891
— 1469–1499
1500 — 1500–1599
1600 — 1600–1799
— 1800–1930

Main locations and start of Hebrew printing, 15th–20th centuries.

haʿatek (to copy) which led to the noun *heʿetek* for the copy of a printed book. Occasionally one finds such strange circumscriptions as "writing with many pens" (cf. Yoma 38b) or "writing without a pen." By the 16th century the derivatives from *defus* in the verb-forms of *hidpis* and *nidpas* – and *madpis* for the printer – were in common use, though some of the early terminology such as *meḥokek* survived in Germany and Eastern Europe for a considerable time. (For Hebrew printing in the 15th century, see *Incunabula.)

SIGNATURE AND PAGINATION

The early book productions had no signature, a device which was introduced by Joshua *Soncino in 1483. Usually, the signature is found on the left side of the bottom of the page in Hebrew alphabetical numbers, but some Augsburg, Constantinople, and Salonika issues of the early 16th century have them on the top left or bottom right corner. Up to about 1515 only Hebrew letters were used, but Daniel *Bomberg introduced Arabic figures as well. In rare cases the alphabet took the place of numbers (*Kol Bo*, Rimini, 1525, Rome, 1545). Pagination was introduced later than the signature. No incunabulum appears to have had it. The first to have had numbered folios, though not very consistently so, is Maimonides' *Mishneh Torah*, printed in Constantinople in 1509. Soncino did not number his pages to the end. Of Bomberg's productions those prepared by Adelkind – with the exception of Bibles and prayer books – have numbered folios; from 1525 this is the case with all Bomberg's work, and most other Italian printers followed his example. The Hebrew number appears on the upper left of the first page in Bomberg's works; other printers added Arabic figures. One work printed in Sabbioneta and one in Cremona repeat the number on the upper right of the second page of the leaf. Pagination of pages is rather rare at first, exceptions being the works of Stephanus at Paris, Plantin at Antwerp, and Zanetti at Rome in the 16th century. The Cremona Zohar of 1559 has two columns to each page and numbers opposite every tenth line.

TITLE PAGES AND DECORATION

Title pages, too, make their first appearance in the 16th century. In the incunabula the text begins at first on the first page, but from 1483 the first page or folio is empty. The early title pages were very simple, with only a title, *colophon, place, and year. Whatever ornaments would appear on the first page of the text were then transferred to the title page. Such decorations – woodcuts of initials and border ornaments – were introduced by the Soncinos. Printers in Naples (Joseph b. Jacob *Gunzenhauser), as well as in Spain and Portugal, also used framed initials. Bomberg, following the general trend in book production, discarded the border ornaments and introduced the title page portal.

1500–1550

The first half of the 16th century was in many ways the golden age of Hebrew printing, with Italy and the house of *Soncino (until 1526) in a leading position. (See Map: Hebrew Printing Locations). Gershon Soncino published mainly the Bible and its commentators, prayer books, and single Talmud tractates. His great competitor was Daniel Bomberg, the Christian printer from Antwerp, who from 1516 (or perhaps a few years earlier) to 1549 systematically issued the basic texts of Judaism in hitherto unequaled typographical perfection. With Bomberg Venice became the capital of Hebrew printing until well into the 18th century: in the above period the names of *Giustiniani and *Bragadini were outstanding. Elsewhere in Italy Samuel Latif printed in Mantua (1513–15). In 1518 the sons of Avigdor of Padua were active in Rome, where Samuel Ẓarefati printed in 1540–45 and Antonio Blado in 1545–46; another son of Avigdor used German square type in a *siddur* issued in Trino in 1525. More important were the productions of the Jewish silk-makers in Bologna (1537–40), mainly beautifully finished prayer books of the Italian rite of which many copies printed on parchment have survived.

Constantinople, Salonika, and Fez

Next to Italy in importance were Constantinople (1493) and Salonika (1513) where Hebrew printing was introduced by exiles from Spain and Portugal; the Soncinos began their activity in Salonika in 1527/28 and in Constantinople in 1530. Iberian refugees also brought printing to North Africa. Hebrew books were printed in Fez with Lisbon type, 1516–22.

Northern Europe

Hebrew printing in northern Europe began in Prague in 1512 with a group of printers who were later joined by Gershom b. Solomon Kohen, founder of a long and famous line of printers (the "Gersonides"; see *Kohen family). He used German square and a new cursive rabbinic type and many ornaments: angels, birds, lions, municipal coats of arms, and outspread hands, the priestly symbol of the family. To this group also belonged Ḥayyim *Shaḥor, who left Prague in 1526 to print at Oels (1530), Augsburg (1533–44), Ichenhausen, and Heddernheim (1546). Apart from continuing in the Prague style of type and decoration, Shaḥor also used the smaller Italian type. In Poland, Cracow and Lublin became important centers of Hebrew printing.

Hebrew Printing by and for Non-Jews

This was a special feature of the first half of the 16th century though it continued long afterward. The age was that of the Reformation and humanism, when enlightened Christian scholars became interested in the Hebrew Bible, its language, and grammar. This demand was filled by such men as Stephanus in Paris (1508–?), who used his own rabbinic and square types which bore a resemblance to the Spanish ones. Only after 1542 did he go over to the Italian type. In Basle Hebrew printing began in 1516 – and continued through the century; here the German square type, but somewhat slanting, was used. Psalms, Hebrew grammars, and some Christian liturgical pieces in Hebrew, Latin, and Greek were printed in Lyons from 1520 by Gryphius, who utilized the same type. German cities in which Hebrew printing took place were Tuebingen (1511), Augsburg (1514), Cologne (1518), Wittenberg (1521), Leipzig (1533), Solingen (1538), and Mainz (1542). A special position was occupied by the Hebrew press, set up in 1540 by the Christian Hebraist Paulus *Fagius in conjunction with Elijah *Levita at Isny, Wuerttemberg, and later at Konstanz on the German-Swiss border, where some books were printed in separate editions for Jews and Christians (e.g., Levita's *Tishbi* of 1541–42). They used the German type for their meticulous productions.

1550–1627

The single most influential event in the history of Hebrew printing in this period was the papal prohibition and subsequent burning of the Talmud in 1553. The virtual monopoly of Venice on Talmud printing came to an end, resulting in complete or partial Talmud editions in Lublin (1559), Salonika (1563), and Basle (1578). In Cracow and Constantinople, too, single tractates were printed at this time. In Italy itself two different periods are distinguishable:

(1) the decentralization of Hebrew printing over many small presses in different places during 1550–68;

(2) the reemergence of Venice as the center of Hebrew printing and the predominance of certain presses in the town from 1569 onward.

Ferrara, Sabbioneta, Mantua, Cremona, and Riva di Trento

In 1551 Samuel Ẓarefati, who had worked as a Hebrew printer in Rome, set up a press at Ferrara, which was taken over two years later by the Marrano Abraham *Usque. Simultaneously, Tobias *Foa established a Hebrew press at Sabbioneta, near Mantua, with Joseph Shalit of Padua, Jacob b. Naphtali, and later Cornelio *Adelkind (1553–55) as printers. The last-mentioned printed the last Talmud tractate (*Kiddushin*) before the prohibition, as well as an exemplary edition of Alfasi, the study of which was now substituted for that of the Talmud. In Sabbioneta, too, Salonika's influence was paramount, and the two types were so similar as to lead to confusion. The very small type used found its way to Mantua and later to Venice (De Gara, 1572; Bragadini, 1616). Sabbioneta productions are more lavishly decorated than those of Ferrara. Joseph Shalit and Jacob b. Naphtali continued printing at Mantua from 1556 at Rufinelli's, 1557–63. After a rather quiescent period (1563–90), of which only Azariah dei Rossi's *Me'or Einayim* of 1574 was noteworthy, more active printing was resumed at the press of Tomaso Ruffinelli. A new one was set up in 1612 by Eliezer d'Italia where besides smaller liturgical items such larger works as Abraham Portaleone's *Shiltei ha-Gibborim* appeared. In 1622 the Perugia family took over this press which remained active for another 50 years. Mantua productions show little originality, in their decorations. Jacob ha-Kohen first introduced a title page with a decorative border and the outspread hands of the priesthood. When he entered into partnership with Meir Sofer, the typical Mantua title portal with winding pillars made its appearance. They also used the various vignettes of Bragadini and De Farri and those of Sabbioneta. The Mantua illustrated *Haggadot* with the big German type have become famous. In Cremona Vincenzo Conti printed, between 1556 and 1566, some 40 books, of which the most important was the Zohar of 1559. His assistants were Samuel Boehm, Zanvil Pescarol and Vittorio Eliano. From 1558 works display the *cum licencia* of the Inquisition. Conti extended his activities to Sabbioneta, where Israel Zifroni printed several books for him in 1567. The last book printed in Cremona was *Yosef Lekaḥ* by Eliezer Ashkenazi, issued by Solomon Bueno at Draconi's in 1576. Riva di Trento received its Hebrew press in 1558 when the physician Jacob Marcaria obtained a license from Cardinal Madruzzi. With the help of R. Joseph *Ottolenghi he first issued a reasonably priced edition of Alfasi for Ottolenghi's yeshivah students. This was followed by some philosophical and rabbinic works. The last of these, *Me'ir Iyyov* by Meir Arama, of 1562, had to be completed by Cavalli in Venice in 1566. Marcaria used mainly square types, among them a small one. His decorations are similar to those of Mantua in their title portals and decorated initials. Books of 1562 have their own vignette, later copied in Cracow.

Venice

When in 1563 the printing of Hebrew books in Venice was once more permitted, most of the printers mentioned before moved or moved back there and found employment with the houses of Gryphio (1564–67), Cavalli (1565–67), and Zanetti (1565–67), each using his own printer's mark. At that time mostly *Turim* with Caro's commentary and his Shulḥan Arukh came off the presses, taking the place of the prohibited Talmud. Eventually Di Gara and Bragadini emerged as the leading presses. Di Gara, whom some of the best printers had joined, aspired to continue the Bomberg tradition. He succeeded as far as externals were concerned until 1585, when new title pages, borders, and decorated letters gave the productions a different character. In the choice of books Di Gara followed in the footsteps of Bomberg. Di Gara also printed many homiletical works, mostly by Oriental authors, such as Alshekh, Alkabeẓ, and Almosnino. He was assisted in this by Isaac Gershon of Safed, as corrector. Bragadini resumed printing immediately after the repeal of the prohibition, with Meir Parenzo and, after the latter's death, his brother Asher as his managing printers. They published the first (1565) and two further editions of Caro's Shulḥan Arukh and a new edition of Maimonides' *Mishneh Torah* with Caro's commentary *Kesef Mishneh* (1574–75). From 1579 to 1600 Bragadini and Di Gara worked together. After a period of recession, there was a revival under Giovanni Cajon's management (c. 1615) which produced a new Bible (1617/18) under Leone *Modena's supervision. From 1625, under Caleoni, several *maḥzor* editions and other liturgical items were printed, but with the rise of the Amsterdam and German presses, Bragadini's lost its impetus. A short-lived revival took place in 1710–15 as shown by the two-volume folio German *maḥzor*, printed with new, large types. Another press active at Venice at the time was that of Zanetti, with Isaac *Gershon as supervisor (1593–1608). Outside Venice, apart from Mantua, there was Padua, where Samuel Boehm printed at Lorenzo Pasquato in 1562–67, and Crivellari's press with two works, 1622–23. Some Hebrew and Judeo-German books were issued at Verona by Francesco della Donne (1594–95).

Cracow and Lublin

Italian influence made itself felt in Cracow when Isaac b. Aaron *Prostitz with the aid of Samuel Boehm set up his press in 1569. They had brought type and decorations with them from Italy and imitated the ornaments of most Italian presses. They printed, largely for local needs, the works of German and Polish authors as well as ethical and liturgical items in Hebrew and Yiddish. From 1595 onward larger works were published. With Isaac b. Aaron's return to Prossnitz (*Prostejov) some Hebrew printing, such as an *Ein Ya'akov*, took place there (1603–05). In Lublin, where Kalonymus Jaffe was active from 1562, the influence of both Prague and Venice were at work. Jaffe printed, besides local authors, the Talmud and Zohar as well as some philosophical (or anti-philosophical) works. In Bistrowicz he prepared in 1592 a *Haggadah* with Abrabanel's commentary. His printer's mark was the Temple, which was also used in Prague and by Giustiniani.

Prague, Basle, and Hanau

The Kohen family in Prague continued to be active from 1562; in 1605 another printing family, the *Baks, established themselves. They both continued the Prague tradition, Italian influence making itself felt only occasionally. The Prague productions were mainly in the liturgical and ethical field, both in Hebrew and Judeo-German. Israel Zifroni guided the Hebrew press of Frobenius in Basle, which hitherto had worked mainly for the Christian market, in a different direction by printing several rabbinic works, including an edition – censored – of the Talmud (1578–88) and without the "objectionable" tractate *Avodah Zarah*, which was, however, supplemented in Cracow (1580). Zifroni-Froben printed a couple of works in Freiburg-im-Breisgau as well (1583–84). The original Basle type had to give way to the Italian one. Another Basle Hebrew press at the time was that of Konrad Waldkirch who, with the assistance of printers from Poland, issued among others a Bible (1618–19) and Joseph Solomon Delmedigo's *Ta'alumot Ḥokhmah* (1629–31). About this time Hebrew printing took place in Hanau (Hesse), where from 1610 to 1630 several important kabbalistic and Judeo-German works were issued. Both sides of their title pages showed the figures of Moses and Aaron – which set a fashion among later printers – and above was a representation of the *Akedah*.

Turkey, Egypt, and Palestine

In Constantinople and Salonika in the second half of the 16th century, the *Jabez brothers took the place of the older printers. After a short stay in Adrianople, they arrived in the two cities in 1559 and produced up to 1586 a series of rabbinic, philosophical, anti-Christian, and Karaite works, among them two Talmud editions based on Bomberg's edition with elements from Giustiniani (Salonika, 1563–65; Constantinople, 1580–82). The printers used the Italian type but not the decorations, their only ornament being the trefoil. Between 1578 and 1600 Joseph Nasi's widow Doña Reyna had Hebrew presses at her palace of Belvedere and in other places near Constantinople. Her husband had been a patron of Hebrew printing. About 1590 members of the Italian Bat-Sheva family settled in Salonika and set up a press, using Italian type and decorations. In Cairo a fourth-generation Soncino printed two Hebrew books in 1557 and 1562. The aforementioned Eliezer b. Isaac printed several works in Safed during 1577–87, and the same type was used a generation later to print Josiah Pinto's *Kesef Nivḥar* in Damascus (1605).

THE 17TH AND 18TH CENTURIES

Amsterdam

Hebrew printing followed the wanderings of the Jews. (See Map: Hebrew Printing Locations). Fugitives from the Inquisition established the new Portuguese community in Amsterdam at the turn of the 16th century. Ignorant of Hebrew, they recited their prayers in Spanish, and prayer books in that language were printed in Amsterdam by 1604. When Hebrew became more familiar, Venice supplied prayer books in Hebrew, with or without translation. In 1626 *Manasseh Ben Israel set up the first Hebrew press in Amsterdam – a turning point in the history of Hebrew printing. He discarded Italian type, making himself independent of Venice, and had his own type cast which was destined to become dominant all over Europe, including Venice. Amsterdam productions were much sought after as those of Venice had been earlier and they found imitators among Hebrew printers elsewhere. Amsterdam was at the time a great center of general printing, and in format, composition, and decoration Manasseh followed the Dutch style; thus he added the author's portrait to some works. Manasseh's press changed owners several times, though he remained connected with it. Simultaneous with this press another was set up by Daniel de *Fonseca but only two works were issued: Meir Aldabi's *Shevilei Emunah* and Abraham de Fonseca's *Einei Avraham* (1627). Manasseh found successors among his fellow Sephardim, among them Joseph *Athias (1658–98) and his son (d. 1709). In externals such as vignettes and diagrams they adopted in some way the style of the famous Dutch printer Elsevier. Athias first used Manasseh's title pages, but later had one designed for himself depicting Joseph (his namesake) meeting his father Jacob. This was later adopted by Jablonski in Berlin. He also added a neatly executed copperplate engraving to some of his productions, which found a number of imitators; one of them (*Shenei Luḥot ha-Berit*, 1698) was by the proselyte Abraham b. Jacob, who illustrated the famous *Amsterdam Haggadah* of 1695, produced by the German-Jewish printer Kosmann Emmerich. Another member of the Athias family, Abraham b. Raphael Hezekiah, printed some handsomely produced books during 1728–40. To the same Sephardi group belongs David de *Castro Tartas, who learned the craft at Manasseh's press and often used Manasseh's borders. His frontispieces show scenes from the life of David. Of particular interest are his small-format liturgical items of 1666, dated year one of the new Shabbatean era and with an engraving of Shabbetai Ẓevi as king-messiah. Smaller entrepreneurs were Moses b. Abraham Mendes *Coutinho, for whom Solomon *Proops worked for some time; Isaac de Cordova (1668–1710), later in Hamburg; Moses b. Isaac Dias (1706–13); Isaac Templo (1714–34), who printed Nehemiah Ḥayon's *Ha-Ẓad Ẓevi* (1744) but otherwise mainly liturgical items of the Sephardi rite; and Nethanel Foà (1700–15) who displayed as printer's mark the coat of arms of this well-known family. In addition to these printers, who produced mainly for their own community, there were those who endeavored to meet the needs of the German community established in Amsterdam in the course of the 17th century. There was Manuel (Immanuel) Benveniste, whose productions lack the finish of those of Manasseh, though his title page with the initials CVS has been imitated by German, Italian, and even Salonika printers. Benveniste was succeeded by his former employee *Uri Phoebus b. Aaron ha-Levi (1658–89), who worked even more for the German and also for the newly established Polish communities. From Manasseh he borrowed the title border and the vignettes. The frontispieces in his Bibles and prayer books have engravings with motifs borrowed from Prague, Augsburg, and Hanau, showing Moses and Aaron on each side. This engraving has been much copied by German presses. In 1612 he founded a Hebrew press at Zolkiew, thus bringing the Amsterdam type to Poland. Less important Ashkenazi printers in Amsterdam were Samuel b. Moses ha-Levi, who was active from 1650 to 1655, having for assistants Reuben b. Eliakim and Judah b. Mordecai; and Asher Anshel Shoḥet, who had worked with Uri Phoebus from 1663 to 1665 and printed some liturgical and popular items. The two Ashkenazi *dayyanim* Joseph Dayyan and Moses Frankfurter printed some Talmud tractates the latter in particular a large, four-volume Bible, *Kehillat Moshe* (1724–27). Of greater importance was the physician Naphtali Herz of Emden (1721–42, to 1768 with his son-in-law) who printed some fine books. Some Christians too engaged in the Hebrew printing in Amsterdam – employing Polish refugees – such as Kaspar Steen. Albertus Magnus brought out a handsome *Seder Berakhot* with Spanish translation in 1687; G. Surenhuys printed a famous and impressive edition of the Mishnah with Latin translation and notes (1698–1703). In the 18th century the dominant figure in Amsterdam Hebrew printing became Samuel Proops (1702–34). He printed mainly *siddurim* and *maḥzorim* of the various rites. From 1715 a list of his publications is advertised at the end of every copy. He was also the first to bring out a sales catalog of Hebrew books (*Appiryon Shelomo*, 1730). The press remained in the family until 1849 and was as important to Amsterdam as Bragadini was to Venice.

Germany

The unsettled conditions in Central and Eastern Europe – wars, frequent expulsions, sack, and fire, and, above all, the Chmielnicki pogroms in Poland with thousands of refugees fleeing westward and leaving behind everything including their books and libraries – had a profound influence on Hebrew book production. There was in particular an urgent need for Talmud copies and rabbinic literature in a period of unabated, passionate interest in these disciplines. This need was met by Amsterdam and the many Hebrew presses springing up in Germany. During the 18th century the Talmud was printed ten times, each edition in several thousand copies. Catastrophic events produced a desire among the less learned and the womenfolk for works of solace and edification, which accounts for the great increase in the publication of Yiddish literature. Printing became a profitable business besides being a pious enterprise, and large sums were being invested, loaned, or donated for these diverse reasons. In Central and Eastern Europe, Jews found it difficult to obtain the necessary printing licenses from feudal lords, and therefore had to associate with Christians as their nominal printers. On the other hand, economic considerations such as the needs of local papermills and fiscal expectations led many small princes or authorities to grant licenses, at the same time protecting the new industry and their country's balance of payments by prohibiting the importation of Hebrew books. Large sums were involved: in about 1780 it was calculated that the Jews of Vienna spent 290,000 florins annually on books. Typographically the new Hebrew printers in Germany were at first dependent on Prague whence most of the personnel came. Gradually the influence of Amsterdam made itself felt, even in Prague itself. The German square type was increasingly discarded. The Hebrew presses of Germany consisted of two groups: those with the Prague connection, such as Sulzbach, Wilhermsdorf, and Fuerth; and those originating with the Ashkenazi printers of Amsterdam, such as Dyhernfurth, Dessau, Halle. Apart from Christian presses which issued Hebrew books sporadically only, and small, ephemeral Jewish printers, Germany produced a considerable number of important Hebrew presses. One of the most prominent Jewish agglomerations was the triple community of Altona, Hamburg, and Wandsbeck (AHW), which was reflected in printing as well. S. Poppert was active in Hamburg and Altona (1715–36); Ephraim Heckscher and his partner Aaron b. Elijah Kohen (1732–75); Abraham b. Israel of Halle, son of the printer at Offenbach, Homburg and Neuwied (1743–47). In 1745 Jacob *Emden, the great rabbinic scholar and polemicist, set up his own press which printed mainly his own works, such as the three-volume *siddur Ammudei Shamayim* (1745–48) and his polemics against Jonathan *Eybeschuetz.

THE TWO FRANKFURTS, BERLIN, ETC. In the ancient and influential community of Frankfurt on the Main no Jew could obtain a printing license from the guild-dominated city authorities, but Christians owned Hebrew presses: Johannes West (1677–1707), Blasius Ilsner (1682–?), the Andreas (1707–?), Nikolas Weinmann, and Anton Heinscheit. Of special importance was Johann Koelner (1708–28) from whose printing office came a five-volume *Arba'ah Turim* with J. Sirkes' commentary (1712–16) and an excellent edition of the Talmud (1720–23) which became the basis for later editions. Aryeh Loeb, son of the Frankfurt rabbi Joseph Samuel of Cracow, and later rabbi in Mattersdorf, was responsible for this enterprise. Aryeh Loeb had also prepared the second Amsterdam Talmud of 1714–17, the unacknowledged master copy for the later Berlin-Frankfurt on the Oder edition. The Frankfurt on the Oder Christian presses had issued Hebrew books before the end of the 16th century, but widespread printing began in 1695 with J.C. Beckmann and Michael Gottschalk, whose successors, F. Grillo, his widow, his daughter, and J.T. Elsner continued Hebrew printing until 1818. Gottschalk prepared the first Talmud edition in Germany (1697–99) which Behrend *Lehmann of Halberstadt financed, with 50,000 taler. A second edition, which Lehmann first wanted to divert to the other Frankfurt, was eventually printed (1715–22) in both Frankfurt on the Oder and Berlin. Midrashim (*Rabba, Tanḥuma Yalkut*) were also issued there. Gottschalk employed setters from Prague and Venice; his type and vignettes were of Amsterdam origin. In Berlin, the court preacher D.E. Jablonski established a Hebrew press with Judah Loeb Neumark as manager. From 1708 to 1717 Baruch Buchbinder of Radow printed, among others, the *Ein Ya'akov* (1709) and several works of the Shabbatean writer Nehemiah Ḥayon Neumark's son Nathan had his own press from 1719 to 1727 on which he printed some Talmud tractates from 1723. His brother-in-law Aaron b. Moses Rofe was active for three decades from 1733. He printed the Talmud (1734–39) with the backing of Jablonski, whose type was used, and Grillo of Frankfurt on the Oder; it was thus an undertaking of both cities. Aaron's press continued under his grandson Moses and his great-grandson Mordecai Landsberg. There was also Hebrew printing in Dessau (1694–), Jessnitz (1718–), and Koethen (1717–) in the duchy of Anhalt. In Halle, the proselyte Moses b. Abraham of Nikolsburg (Mikulov) and Prague was active from 1709 to 1714, after having worked with Hebrew printers in Amsterdam, Dessau, Berlin, and Frankfurt on the Oder. In Dyhernfurth (Silesia), Shabbetai Bass of Prague, who had learned the trade with Uri Phoebus at Amsterdam, founded a press in 1689; his son Joseph took over in 1712 (till 1739). While his newly cast type and decorations were mostly of Amsterdam origin, Bass's employees came from Poland, among them Ẓevi Hirsch b. Ḥayyim. Neuwied (Rhineland) had Hebrew presses (Grat and J.B. Haupt), run by Israel b. Moses. Another printer there was Benjamin Solomon Kroneburg.

SOUTHERN GERMANY. In southern Germany and the environs of Frankfurt in particular, Hebrew printing had already taken place early in the 17th century in Hanau and was resumed from 1709, partly by Christian printers such as H.J. Bashuysen and J.C. Beausang. Among Jewish printers there was Seligman Reis (1710–30), who also had been active in Frankfurt on the Main, Offenbach, and Homburg v.d.H. (1711–12). Aaron Dessau and partners set up a press in Homburg in 1736 (to 1757). In Offenbach, Seligmann Reis and his son Herz printed from 1714 to 1721. Bonaventura de Nannoy worked with the Jewish printer Israel b. Moses, who was also active in Neuwied and Homburg. In 1724 Israel acquired the press and worked it until 1733 and on his return from Neuwied in 1737 finished a Mishnah edition begun there in 1736.

SULZBACH, WILHERMSDORF, AND FUERTH. In Sulzbach (Bavaria) an interesting and successful experiment in Christian and Jewish cooperation in the production of Hebrew books began in 1667, when Abraham Lichtenthaler, a Lutheran, set up a Hebrew press. He was assisted by Isaac b. Judah Loeb Yuedels, a Prague-trained printer, who had a license but no capital, and who was soon after in Wilhermsdorf. The patron of the project was Duke Christian August, an enthusiast of theosophy. Most early Sulzbach title pages have no decorations; only later did there appear simple border lines or illustrations engraved or on woodblocks. Some show a serpent winding round a tree (the Tree of Knowledge); others show crabs and fishes, or Moses and David on the right and Aaron and Solomon on the left. Some of these title pages were used in Fuerth and Dyhernfurth as well. The type was at first that of Prague, but for certain works the type of Amsterdam was used. Moses Bloch was succeeded by his widow and sons (1694–99) who printed some tractates as part of a plan to print the entire Talmud. Then Bloch's son-in-law Aaron Frankl took over, his first production being a two-volume folio *maḥzor*, attractively printed with decorated initials and a convenient arrangement of the prayers. Aaron was followed by his son Meshullam Zalman (1721–64), who printed a Talmud edition, 1755–63. His competitor, Proops of Amsterdam, obtained from the rabbinical assembly at the Four Council meeting at Staro-Konstantinov (1755) an injunction, which was countermanded by the decision of a ten-member rabbinical court presided over by the rabbi of Fuerth, David Stanss. A similar controversy arose in the next century over the Talmud editions of Vilna and Slavuta. Meshullam Zalman's sons and grandsons continued the business into the middle of the 19th century, when it was carried on under the name of S. Arnstein and Sons (1818–51); their publisher's catalogs appeared from 1830. The firm founded by Moses Bloch had been active for 160 years, issuing about 600 works, among them many cheaply printed but popular liturgical items. Another center of Hebrew printing in Bavaria was Wilhermsdorf, where Isaac b. Judah Loeb Yuedels (see before under Sulzbach) set up a press in 1669 with staff recruited from Prague, among them his daughters as setters and a son-in-law as proofreader. Another Prague printer, Israel Meir, set up a press in 1712 but sold it the same year to Hirsch b. Ḥayyim of Fuerth, whose son worked later in Fuerth, printing until 1739. Hirsch cultivated book decorations: his printer's mark was the tree with the serpent and a crab and a lion on each side; the title page showed Moses and Aaron and angels hovering above them and the last page a flower basket as vignette. Nearby Fuerth, a center of talmudic learning, had its first Hebrew presses by 1691. One was established by Solomon Shne'ur and his son Joseph with the help of the Cracow printer Moses Menahem Katz, and later continued under another son (Abraham) and a son-in-law Isaac Bing, and their sons or successors to 1730. This press printed some important rabbinic and Yiddish works. The other enterprise was that of Hirsch Frankfurter (till 1701), who had the backing of his brother-in-law, the Court Jew Mordecai Model of Ansbach; the latter had a license to print the Talmud. Another press was founded in Fuerth in 1737 by Ḥayyim b. Ẓevi Hirsch, son of the Dyhernfurth printer (see above), and it continued under him and his widow until 1774.

Italy, Prague, and Poland

In Venice, bereft of its former glory, Bragadini was still dominant at this period with Vendramini (de Zara) as his main competitor (from 1631) until they joined forces. Their activities were soon limited to *siddurim* and similar items. In Mantua, too, Hebrew printing continued, first under J.S. Perugia and his descendants, and from 1724 under the physician Raphael Ḥayyim d'Italia and his successor Eliezer Solomon d'Italia. From 1718 to 1723 Isaac Jare b. David and Jacob Ḥaver-Tov also printed in Mantua. A new center was to arise in Leghorn, where Abraham Ḥaver-Tov, one of Bragadini's best proofreaders, printed some important works in partnership with Jedidiah Gabbai. They used as printer's mark the three crowns – borrowed from Bragadini – with the addition of the coat of arms of the Medicis. Some Hebrew printing took place at Rossi's press in Verona during 1645–52, with the Amsterdam influence predominating. Such was the case in Venice from 1700 and, in particular, in Leghorn, where Israel da Paz, who had worked with Isaac Templo at Amsterdam, was active from 1740. In Prague Hebrew printing resumed, after an interval of two decades, at Jacob Bak's press. During the 17th century Prague preserved its own style, but in the 18th century the old German square type disappeared from the superscriptions and much was borrowed from Amsterdam. In 1746 the archbishop's press issued the Gospels in Hebrew, Yiddish, German, and Latin for missionary purposes. In Cracow Menahem N. Meisels established his press in 1631 and returned to the Prague style which replaced the Italian introduced by Isaac b. Aaron of Prossnitz. Meisel's manager was Judah Kohen of Prague, and there is a great similarity between their productions and those of Prague. Lublin too, where Hebrew printing took place with interruptions until 1683, remained under the Prague influence. Only when Uri Phoebus went to Zolkiew in 1692 did the Amsterdam style find a home in Poland.

Turkey

Constantinople too experienced an almost complete break in Hebrew printing from 1585 to 1638. In the latter year Solomon Franco set up his press, which his son Abraham continued until 1683 and where several refugees from the Chmielnicki massacres were employed. Jonah b. Jacob of Zalocze in Galicia set up a press in 1710 and printed mostly in the Amsterdam style, but Italian influence was also present. When his press burned down in 1741, the Constantinople rabbi Abraham Rosanes helped him to reestablish himself, and his sons continued to print from 1743. Both Franco and Jonah modified the old decorations in the Oriental style, as can be seen by comparing the Temple as printer's mark used in Venice, Prague, and Lublin with that of Constantinople, e.g., Joshua Benveniste's *Sedeh Yehoshu'a* of 1749. In Salonika too, after a long interval, Hebrew printing was resumed in 1650 on a modest scale. A revival began in 1709 under Abraham b. David and Yomtov Canpillas, the latter printing alone from 1729 and with partners from 1732. They printed mainly rabbinic novellae, responsa, and homiletics. Salonika preserved in type, decorations, and even paper its own easily recognizable style. Jedidiah Gabbai's Leghorn press was transferred to Smyrna by his son Abraham in 1657. Jonah b. Jacob (see above) also printed there in 1729–41. In Chufut-Kale, Afda and Shabbetai Jeraka with other partners set up the first Karaite press in 1734 (until 1741), working with types similar to that of Constantinople.

MODERN PERIOD

Central and Eastern Europe: 1760–1900

From the middle of the 18th century the center of Hebrew printing shifted more and more to Central and Eastern Europe. (See Map: Hebrew Printing Locations). States, large and small, in these regions wanted to prevent the importation of Hebrew books and the resulting drain on their capital resources. In addition, the increasing severity of the church-state censorship – severer than it ever was in other parts of Europe, in a region that had not known such censorship before – made it desirable to them to have Hebrew presses under their immediate supervision. For both these reasons the setting up of local Hebrew presses was encouraged. A more positive cause of the rise of these presses was the efflorescence of Talmud study in the growing number of yeshivot in Lithuania and Poland as well as of Ḥasidism and its literature, creating an ever larger demand for Hebrew books. The beginnings of Haskalah should also be mentioned in this context. This shift to Eastern Europe admittedly meant a lowering of the standards of printing and book production.

Austria

The Hapsburg Empire occupied a middle position between East and West, and its capital, Vienna, a leading position in Hebrew printing in this period. Presses established in the last decade of the 18th century by the court printers Joseph Hrazchansky and Anton Schmidt succeeded the great Hebrew printing houses of Venice and Amsterdam. By 1850 they had issued five editions of the Talmud. Schmidt, who acquired a great part of the Bomberg and Proops presses, printed most of the classical texts, including Bibles and prayer books of all the rites. Later in the century and well into the 20th century Joseph Schlesinger was the leading publisher-printer of such liturgical items with translations into the main European languages. In what became Czechoslovakia and what were, up to 1914, provinces of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy, the old center in Prague, the capital of Bohemia, never regained its former prominence. An attempt at revival by the Bak press from 1762 was stifled by the severity of the censorship. A certain revival took place under Moses *Landau (1820–50), who produced two Talmud editions and a good deal of Enlightenment literature emanating from the Mendelssohn school. In Bruenn (Brno), capital of Moravia, a Hebrew press had been founded in 1754 on the initiative of the Moravian chamber by Joseph Neumann which until 1802 produced mainly liturgical items, works of edification in Yiddish for the local market and those of local authors. Another Bruenn Hebrew printer at the time was Bezalel (Gottlieb) *Jeiteles. In Pressburg (Bratislava), capital of Slovakia, where some Hebrew printing had taken place in 1789–90, Schmidt of Vienna set up a press in 1838 from which important items were issued. Joseph Schlesinger, too, printed there in the 1860s. In the Austrian-dominated parts of Poland (Galicia), Cracow retained its importance, with Naphtali Herz Shapiro and his sons active in 1802–22; Karl Budweiser (1863–74), who is found later in Lemberg (Lvov); and, in particular Joseph Fischer (1878–1914). The several small presses of Zolkiew were forced to transfer to Lvov in 1782, which led to the rise of that city as a center of Hebrew printing in the next century, with the presses of Mann (Grossmann-) Rosanes, Letteris, and, above all, Madfes, and some as yet unsurpassed editions of the Shulḥan Arukh were produced there. In Zolkiew itself a new press was founded in 1791 by a certain Meyerhofer, where works of the local rabbi Z.H. Chajes appeared in 1840–50. In Czernowitz Hebrew printing took place from 1819; in 1835 a Talmud edition was issued. In the Romanian capital of Bucharest the *Sifra* with the commentary by M.L. Malbim, then rabbi at Bucharest, came out in a fine edition.

Poland and Russia

In Russia proper the first Hebrew book is said to have been printed in 1760 in Oleksinets (Y.L. Heller's *Berit Melaḥ*), where printing continued until 1770. The press of Slavuta (Ukraine), founded in 1792, issued three Talmud editions between 1800 and 1820; and one each (1816–28) in Kopys (Belorussia, founded 1807) and Grodno-Vilna (1835–54). The Shapira family of Slavuta continued in Zhitomir, printing fine editions of both Talmuds and the Zohar. Toward the middle of the 19th century Vilna became a great printing center – the Talmud editions of *Romm, who also issued other standard rabbinic texts, being recognized universally as the best editions. They continued to be reproduced to modern times. Romm's competitors in this field were printers like Samuel *Orgelbrand and Rosenkranz-Schriftsetzer in Warsaw, where the first Hebrew book was issued in 1796, and which eventually became an important center of Hebrew printing. See following table for a list of places in Poland and Russia where Hebrew printing took place in this period:

Berdichev	Ukr.	1807	Nowy Dwor	Pol.	1782
Boguslav	Ukr.	1819	Odessa	Ukr.	1845
Bratslav	Ukr.	1821	Oleksinets	Ukr.	1760
Dubno	Ukr.	1794	Ostrog	Ukr.	1793
Dubrovo	Bel.	1802	Piotrkow	Pol.	1876
Grodno	Bel.	1788	Polonnoye	Ukr.	1791
Hrubieszow	Pol.	1817	Poritsk	Ukr.	1786
Jozefow	Pol.	1825	Radziwillow	Ukr.	1814
Kopys	Bel.	1807	Shklov	Bel.	1783
Korets (Korzec)	Ukr.	1778	Slavuta	Ukr.	1792
Lutsk	Ukr.	1787?	Sudikov	Ukr.	1817
Medzhibozh	Ukr.	1817	Ternopol	Ukr.	1813
Mezkorov	Ukr.	1789	Vilna	Lith.	1799
Minkovtsy	Ukr.	1796	Warsaw	Pol.	1796
Minsk	Bel.	1808	Zaslavl	Ukr.	1807
Mogilev	Bel.	1825	Zhitomir	Ukr.	1804
Mogilev-Podolski	Ukr.	1809			

Ukr. = Ukraine Lith. = Lithuania
Pol. = Poland Bel. = Belorussia

The Russian Karaites too resumed printing in Chufut-Kale, 1804–06, and in Goslov-Yevpatoriya, Crimea, 1833–36, issuing prayer books and works of Karaite literature.

WESTERN EUROPE

It should not be assumed that in Germany Hebrew presses had ceased working. In Berlin the *Orientalische Buchdruckerei* was founded in 1760. The apostate Julius Sittenfeld was active in the middle of the 19th century, producing a fine Talmud, 1862–68, for which N.A. Goldberg was responsible. Another Berlin printer from the second half of the century onward was H. Itzkowski. In Koenigsberg, where there had been sporadic printing during the 18th century, Gruebe and Longrien printed some fine rabbinic texts from 1858. To this group belongs Johannisberg, also in East Prussia, in the 1850s; Stettin, from 1859, where parts of the Talmud and a fine Mishnah were printed; Danzig (Mishnah with *Tiferet Yisrael* commentary, 1843); Hanover, at Telgeners, from 1828; Halberstadt from 1859 (Jeruham Fishel b. Ẓevi Hirsch); Leipzig; Breslau, from 1790; Lyck, east Prussia, where the weekly *Ha-Maggid* was printed, 1856–91, and the Mekiẓe Nirdamim Society brought out its early editions; Krotoszy, from 1834, with a fine Jerusalem Talmud; and in Posen from 1802. Of special importance is the press founded by Wolf *Heidenheim in Roedelheim, near Frankfurt on the Main, about 1800, where he issued his famous Pentateuch, *maḥzor*, and other liturgical texts. This tradition was continued by his successor, M. Lehrberger, later in Frankfurt, who printed Seligman Isaac *Baer's well-known liturgical texts. Karlsruhe had a Hebrew press both in the 18th and the 19th centuries. In France Hebrew presses were established in Metz (c. 1760), Strasbourg (1770), and later in Paris (1806). Here the house of Durlacher has been active from the 19th century. In England, where Hebrew had been printed – in London and Oxford – in earlier centuries, London, as well as Edinburgh in Scotland, had their Hebrew presses in the 19th century. In Italy, Venice continued to decline, with Leghorn becoming from 1740 the center of liturgical work for the Mediterranean area. First Sadun and then Solomon *Belforte were the leading printers in Leghorn. Venice printers branched out to Pisa in 1779, printing for the Oriental market, and in Constantinople (so it was stated) books exclusively printed by Jews were preferred. Reggio Emilia had a small press from 1805 to 1820. Salonika and Smyrna continued in this period to turn out large amounts of rabbinical literature but no copies of the Talmud.

UNITED STATES

Hebrew printing in the United States at first took the form of Christian printers inserting isolated Hebrew words or phrases into their English publications, for which the type was brought over from England. Thus, in the first book printed in the U.S., an English version of Psalms (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1640), the Hebrew alphabet accompanied Psalm 119 and Hebrew words were used six times in the preface. In the two centuries following, many works containing some Hebrew were printed in Cambridge, Andover, Boston, New Haven, New York, and Philadelphia, comprising mainly Hebrew lexica, grammars, primers, and single books of the Bible. Hebrew was also used in printed rules and regulations of Jewish communities and religious societies, or in special orders of services. From the middle of the 18th century onward complete prayer books (*maḥzorim* with English translations) began to appear. In the 19th century Hebrew printing of sorts is found also in Baltimore (1843), Charleston, South Carolina (1842), Cincinnati (1824), New Orleans (1850), San Francisco (1850), and Kingston, Jamaica (1842). Jewish printers began to be active from 1825 (Solomon Henry *Jackson, Henry Frank, both in New York). With rising immigration from Eastern Europe, Hebrew and Yiddish newspapers began to appear from 1874 onward. By 1926 there were Hebrew presses, apart from those in the cities already mentioned, in Chicago, Cleveland, Detroit, Los Angeles, Minneapolis, Pittsburgh, St. Louis, and Toronto (Canada).

NEW TRENDS

While no new trends developed in Hebrew printing up to World War I and even World War II, the Russian Revolution and the debacle of European Jewry in the Holocaust terminated almost all Hebrew printing in Central and Eastern Europe. With the establishment of the Jewish National Home in Palestine (1918–47) and the State of Israel (1948), Jerusalem and Tel Aviv have become the centers of Hebrew printing and publishing. New York too, as well as other cities in the U.S., produce a good deal of Hebrew, particularly rabbinic literature. England, France, and Switzerland play a minor part. The invention of new processes of photomechanical printing have been applied to a great number of the best editions of the 19th century as well as incunabula and rare early prints to satisfy – if not the bibliophiles – the growing demand for rabbinic and other scholarly literature. On the other hand, the phenomenal growth of modern Hebrew (and Yiddish) literature is reflected in the work of the Hebrew printers and publishers in Israel, some of whom began their activities in Russia, Poland, or Germany before or after 1900. Yiddish literature too was being printed in the U.S. and to a very small extent in Soviet Russia.

See also the individual articles on most of the places where Hebrew printing took place and on the most important printers.

[*Encyclopaedia Judaica* (Germany)]

IN EREẒ ISRAEL

Before Statehood

SAFED. About 120 years after the invention of printing, in 1577, Rabbi Eliezer *Ashkenazi of Lublin attempted to set up a printing press in Safed. The press lasted for only ten years and printed ten books, including *Lekaḥ Tov* by Rabbi Yom Tov Ẓahalon, considered to be the first book ever printed in Ereẓ Israel and the Near East. Two and a half centuries later, in 1831, a fresh start was made in Safed by Israel *Bak, who had brought with him from Berdichev, Russia, type-founding equipment and two wooden presses. His printing house was destroyed by the earthquake that struck the town in 1837, after he had printed only six books.

JERUSALEM. Four years later, in 1841, he opened a printing house in Jerusalem. This was the first step toward developing the craft of printing, which later became one of the city's main industries. A second printing house was opened in 1862 and ten years later others were established and employed many yeshivah students who had hitherto lived only on the charity of the *ḥalukkah*. In 1882 Bak's printing house was liquidated and his equipment was sold, but his name remained a symbol as the pioneer of printing in Ereẓ Israel. The iron printing press presented to him as a gift in 1835 by Sir Moses Montefiore is still on show at the Lewin-Epstein Press at Bat Yam.

For many years Jerusalem continued to be the printing center of Ereẓ Israel. The industry's chief clients were at first the weekly newspapers *Ha-Ḥavaẓẓelet* and *Ha-Levanon* and the many religious institutions in the city. Jerusalem printing was distinguished for its own peculiarly decorative style in calendars, greeting cards, and **mizraḥs*, which were sent to all parts of the Diaspora. The Printing Workers' Association, established in 1897, was the first trade union in the country.

After World War I Zionist and communal institutions began to give out considerable printing orders, and the first process engraving works were established in Jerusalem to facilitate the printing of Jewish National Fund stamps, pictures, and illustrated publicity material for public bodies. Non-Jewish printing houses were to be found mainly in monasteries; there was one in the Schneller orphanage, which specialized in printing school exercise books. In the 1920s the new town of Tel Aviv began to replace Jerusalem as the printing and publishing center.

TEL AVIV. The first Jewish printing works in the area was opened in Jaffa in 1906, where most of them were to be found until the 1920s. Sa'adyah Shoshani, nephew of the owner, Aaron Eitan, was a pioneer in the organization of the industry and became president of the Organization of Printing Presses in Israel. Many printing workers arrived from Poland in the 1920s with the Third and Fourth Aliyah. Some of them established the Ha-Po'el ha-Ẓa'ir cooperative; others joined the Aḥdut cooperative, which had been set up in Jerusalem in 1909 and subsequently transferred to Tel Aviv. The daily press that grew up in Tel Aviv was an important factor in the industrialization of printing and modern equipment was purchased to meet its needs. When the canning industry started in the 1930s, Eliezer Lewin-Epstein, of the famous Warsaw printing family, set up a tin-can printing enterprise which became the first offset press in the country and was particularly noted for the printing of postage stamps and posters. Other offset presses were soon established and supplied Israel industry with advertising material and printed packing materials.

In the State of Israel

The establishment of the Government Printer – at first in Tel Aviv and soon with a branch in Jerusalem – gave an impetus to the development of printing. It did photogravure work, which had previously to be sent to Britain, and printed postage stamps and banknotes for various African and Asian countries. In 1966 it was transferred to Jerusalem. It is the largest printing establishment in the country, with some 300 workers, and is also a channel for handing out government orders to other printers in Jerusalem and elsewhere.

From the mid-1960s modern machinery for cold type composition, including IBM, Monophoto, and Photon equipment, was installed by several firms, including Isratypeset and the Israel Program for Scientific Translations (IPST; now *Keter) in Jerusalem, enabling high-quality bookwork to be done for local and foreign publishers. Offset notary presses for printing illustrated weeklies were imported; in 1970 there were over 30 offset presses in Israel that were capable, inter alia, of producing good-quality color work. Printing presses were also opened in Haifa, in many development towns, and in three kibbutzim. There were three Arabic presses in Nazareth and several in Jerusalem.

In 1969 there were some 900 printing and publishing enterprises in Israel, with 9,500 persons employed (about two-thirds of the employees working in Tel Aviv). Exports totaled about $5,000,000 (about half of which went to the U.S.), compared with $2,900,000 in 1966 and $400,000 in 1956. About 80% of the enterprises employed a little more than a quarter of the workers, while two-fifths of the personnel were employed by 3.5% of the enterprises, as shown in Table: Printing and Publishing. By the late 20th century Israel's printing industry met the most rigorous and advanced modern standards, and several publishers specialized in packaging coproductions for publishers overseas. The availability of advanced digital printing processes led to the re-issuing of many rare books, especially in the fields of Judaica and rabbinic studies. In 2004 the industry employed around 7,000 workers.

Printing and Publishing Establishments and Persons Employed in Israel in 1969

Number of employees	Establishments	Employed persons
1–10	79.0%	26.4%
11–20	9.5%	11.9%
21–50	8.0%	21.2%
51–100	1.9%	11.5%
Over 100	1.6%	29.0%

VOCATIONAL TRAINING. The first school of printing was established in 1946 by the *Hadassah Women's Organization in Jerusalem as part of the Brandeis Center. Additional schools were set up in Tel Aviv (the Amal School), Jerusalem (Boys' Town), and Kefar Ḥabad. By the late 1960s these schools had over 300 pupils, and another 600 apprentices in printing houses were taking part-time courses there.

[Gershon Zilberberg]

Women Printers

Jewish women produced Hebrew books from the earliest days of Hebrew printing. In 1477, the colophon of the Hebrew incunabulum *Beḥinat Olam,* printed in Mantua, declared, "I, Estellina, the wife of my worthy husband Abraham Conat wrote this book *Beḥinat Olam* with the aid of Jacob Levi of Tarascon." Estellina, who arranged for the printing and was involved in the actual process, used the word "wrote" because there was as yet no Hebrew term for "printing." Printing in general was a cottage industry until the 19th century. Adjacent living and printing areas enabled all family members to help with the multiple tasks involved. Women generally took up the profession when their husbands died.

From Estellina Conat through the 1920s, the names of at least 54 other Jewish women printers appeared in Hebrew books. Some are mentioned specifically by name; others can be identified by lines on title pages which state, as in the case of the *Proops family of Amsterdam, "Printed by the Widow and Orphans of Jacob (or Joseph) Proops." Names of female typesetters survive on random pages of texts or colophons; women typesetters were particularly associated with the Hebrew presses of the towns of Fürth and Wilhemsdorf in Franconia. Countless Jewish women also contributed anonymously to the printing endeavor through the centuries as many young girls learned the skill from their printer-fathers.

External sources provide evidence for women printers whose books have not survived. Inquisition records state that Juan de Lucena, considered the first Hebrew printer in the Iberian peninsula, and four of his daughters were accused of printing Hebrew books in the village of Montalban and in Toledo before 1480. In 1485, one daughter confessed before the Inquisition that she had helped her father print Hebrew books. Almost 50 years later, another was condemned to life imprisonment after a similar confession.

There is little evidence of women involved in Hebrew printing in the Muslim world with the exception of Dona Reyna Mendes (1536–1599), daughter of Dona Gracia *Mendes, and wife of Don Joseph *Naxos. Dona Reyna, when widowed and living in Constantinople, was the first Jewish woman to establish her own independent press. She published at least 15 books, including prayer books and a talmudic tractate. Hers was the only printing press in Constantinople in any language; after her death no Hebrew books were printed again until 1638.

Jewish women printers were prominent in 19th century Lemberg (Lvov). Judith Rosanes, great-granddaughter of the renowned printer *Uri Phoebus, initially printed by herself in Zolkiev, with her husband, David Mann, before his death, and with various cousins who were also printers. In 1782 she moved to Lemberg, established her printing business, and married the rabbi of the city, Hirsch Rosanes. Rosanes printed at least 50 books before her death in 1805, and was the first Jewish woman to print Hebrew books on a commercial basis over an extended period. She was so renowned that when the authorities forbade the publication of ḥasidic books, printers used her name to suggest that their books had been printed much earlier. Rosanes' daughter-in-law, Chave Grossman, and granddaughter Feige also ran a press in Lemberg that printed until at least 1857. Other Lemberg female printers were Chaya Taube, wife of the printer Aharon Madpis, and Tsharni, wife of Ze'ev Wolf Letteris. Most famous in the second half of the 19th century was Pesel Balaban. After her husband's death, she expanded their press, producing high–quality editions of halakhic texts, such as the Shulḥan Arukh.

At the end of the 19th century the most renowned Jewish printing house was that of the Widow and Brothers *Romm in Vilna. The Romm family, which had begun printing in 1799, had its greatest success under the management of Deborah Romm (d. 1903), beginning in 1862. Romm took over the firm when she was widowed at 29 and expanded it with her brothers-in-law; helped first by her father and then by the enterprising literary director Samuel Shraga Feigensohn. She remained the major partner in the firm as it produced thousands of superior editions including the famous edition of the Babylonian Talmud.

[Jennifer Breger (2nd ed.)]

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PRINZ, JOACHIM (1902–1988), U.S. rabbi and communal leader. Prinz, who was born in Burchartsdorf, Germany, was ordained by the Breslau Jewish Theological Seminary in 1925. In 1926 he became the rabbi of the Berlin Jewish community. His adherence to the Zionist movement brought him into conflict with Berlin Jewish community leaders. Prinz continually attacked Nazism from his pulpit, even after Hitler came to power, and was arrested several times by the Gestapo. His sermons were masterful in saying what had to be said, without actually saying anything that could quite get him into trouble. In 1937 he held his last meeting with his congregation before immigrating to the U.S. The meeting was spied on by Adolf *Eichmann, who reported to the Gestapo that Prinz's plan to immigrate proved that an international Jewish conspiracy had New York headquarters. Prinz was subsequently arrested by the Gestapo and expelled from Germany. In 1939 he was appointed rabbi at Temple B'nai Abraham, Newark, New Jersey.

After a long association with the Zionist movement, Prinz left it in 1948, contending that the establishment of Israel made it obsolete. It was a position that he shared with David Ben-Gurion. He suggested a new movement based on what he called "Jewish peoplehood," be created to strengthen further ties and community of interest between Israel and U.S. Jews. Prinz was a leader in the fight against antisemitism and a staunch civil libertarian. He opposed government aid to religious and private schools and advocated that state governments permit exceptions to their Sunday closing laws to non-Christians.

Extremely active in Jewish organizational affairs, his posts included president of the Jewish Educational Association of Essex County (1944); chairman of the Essex County United Jewish Appeal (1945); member of the executive board of the World Jewish Congress (1946); vice president (1952–58) and president (1958–66) of the American Jewish Congress; director of the Conference on Jewish Material Claims Against Germany (1956); and chairman of the Conference of Presidents of Major Jewish Organizations (1965–67). He was prominent in the civil rights movement. In fact, he was the speaker at the March on Washington in August 1963 who preceded Rev. Martin Luther King and his immortal address "I Have a Dream."

Prinz's writings include *Juedische Geschichte* (1931), in which he contended that Jews, despite their emancipation, still existed in the ghetto's shadow; *Illustrierte juedische Geschichte* (1933); *Die Geschichten der Bibel* (1934); *Wir Juden* (1934), urging Jews to be proud of their patrimony and to leave Germany; *Das Leben im Ghetto* (1937); *The Dilemma of the Modern Jew* (1962); and *Popes from the Ghetto* (1966). Contemporary readers can learn about Rabbi Prinz from Philip Roth's *The Plot Against America*. Roth, a native of Newark, who is not known for his reverential attitudes toward rabbis, treats Prinz as heroic in his opposition to antisemitism and defense of civil liberties.

[Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

PRISCUS, a Jewish agent of the Frankish king Chilperic I (561–584). In 581 Chilperic engaged Priscus in a religious debate in the presence of Bishop *Gregory of Tours. Courageously rejecting the arguments of the king, Priscus stated that "God does not need to share Himself, and He does not divide His power with others." Priscus asked, "Can God be made a man, be born of a woman, be struck with rods, and condemned to death?" The king did not reply but Gregory, who brought all his oratorical talent to bear, quoted a great number of christological passages from the Bible and Apocrypha as evidence for the Christian truth. Nevertheless, all his arguments were of no avail as Priscus stood his ground.

When all the Jews of Paris were ordered to accept Christianity, Priscus, who was imprisoned, but later released, withstood the king's attempts to baptize him by force. On a Saturday, while on his way to the synagogue together with several men of his household, Priscus was assassinated by the convert Phatir and a band of his henchmen. Priscus was avenged by his relatives who killed Phatir.

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[Judah M. Rosenthal]

PRITZKER, U.S. family in business and philanthropy. One of the world's wealthiest and most philanthropic families, the Pritzker clan was moving into its fifth generation in the early years of the 21st century with fortunes made in hotels, Levitz Furniture, Ticketmaster, gambling casinos in Las Vegas and Lake Tahoe, Nev., and Atlantic City, N.J., an airline, magazines, and a variety of other businesses. Its charitable contributions in Chicago are legendary, with virtually every cultural and educational institution a beneficiary of family largesse. In addition, family members have served on the boards of every major institution in Chicago.

NICHOLAS PRITZKER (1871–1957), from a poor family, settled in Chicago in 1881, leaving a ghetto near Kiev, Ukraine. He taught himself English by reading the *Chicago Tribune* with the aid of an English-German and a German-Russian dictionary. After selling newspapers on streetcorners, he became a tailor's assistant and then a licensed pharmacist. At the age of 30, he became a lawyer after studying at night. He started the family's first business ventures after opening his law practice in 1902. His three sons, ABRAM NICHOLAS (1896–1986), HARRY (1893–1957), and JACK (1904–1979), also became lawyers. Abram, who was born in Chicago, was a 1920 graduate of Harvard Law School. Jack joined their father's firm, Pritzker & Pritzker, but Abram and Jack left in 1936 to try their hand in commerce. Abram is credited with moving the family into real estate. The Pritzkers built the worldwide chain of Hyatt hotels to 140 from scratch after buying the Hyatt House in Los Angeles in 1957.

Jack's son, NICHOLAS (1945–), was a lawyer in Chicago and led the development side of Hyatt and the family's push into gambling. He was a major supporter of environmental causes.

Abram had three sons, DONALD (1932–1972), ROBERT (1926–), and JAY (1922–1999). Donald led the early expansion of Hyatt. He died of a heart attack at the age of 39. Robert was an engineer who specialized in turning around underperforming companies. With Jay, Robert built the Marmon Group into a $5 billion conglomerate that over the years had interests in dozens of businesses. Jay, a lawyer and accountant, began buying small companies when he was 29, first timber mills, then a small metal-goods company. But he was best known for deciding that an airport was a good place to site a hotel. He bought his first, named for its owner, Hyatt von Dehn, providing deluxe surroundings for business travelers. After building a second Hyatt hotel near San Francisco International Airport, the brothers went on to develop properties near airports around the United States and internationally. There were more than 200 hotels in the first years of the 21st century. Jay was a trustee of the University of Chicago and endowed the Pritzker Architectural Prize. He also founded the Nancy Friend Pritzker Laboratory at Stanford University for the study of clinical depression. It was named for his daughter, who committed suicide in 1972 at the age of 24. Jay had four other children, THOMAS (1950–), who took over and was running the $15 billion empire in 2005, JOHN (1953–), who runs Geolo, a private equity fund that invests in entertainment, hospitality, and retailing, DANIEL (1959–), a songwriter and member of a rock-soul band, and GIGI (1962–), co-owner of a film production company. She produced the movie *The Wedding Singer.*

Robert, an engineer, left Marmon, which had 266 companies and subsidiaries under its umbrella, in 2002. Robert had several children by two marriages. JAMES (1950–) lives in Chicago. He retired from the Illinois National Guard and runs the Pritzker Military Library. He supported conservative political causes and research in Antarctica. LINDA (1953–) is a Jungian therapist and political activist and contributes to Buddhist causes. She lives in Montana. KAREN (1958–), who lives in Connecticut, is a major supporter of education causes, including literacy in schools. She sponsors two websites that provide books to children.

Donald had three children: PENNY (1959–), the first female family member to take a leadership position in the business; ANTHONY (1961–), who headed a high-tech and manufacturing private equity firm with his brother "J.B." or JAY ROBERT (1965–), who ran unsuccessfully as a Democrat in a 1998 Illinois Congressional primary and heads a private equity firm, Pritzker Group LLC with Anthony. Penny, a fourth-generation Pritzker who earned her law and M.B.A. degrees simultaneously at Stanford University, carved out a leading role in the family's business empire. She oversaw a nationwide network of upscale retirement communities, multifamily housing developments, and office park complexes. She served as chairman of the Superior Bank from 1989 to 1994, but the savings and loan institution collapsed. Nevertheless, she was responsible for real-estate operations in at least 11 states, ranging from several thousand apartment units and modest commercial developments to master-planned communities.

Thomas, a fifth-generation Pritzker, was a board member of Royal Caribbean Cruises, where the family and partners held a 25 percent stake. He made a side career out of his interest in Asia. He was chairman of the Art Institute of Chicago's committee on Asian art and photographed and wrote about eighth-century Nepalese art.

In the early part of the 21st century, after the death of Jay in 1999, and according to his wishes, the Pritzker empire was overseen by Penny, her cousin Thomas, and Nicholas, their first cousin once removed. The family was always notoriously secretive about its activities, its trusts funds, many of them overseas, its complicated and intricate partnerships and business arrangements. It rarely talked about successes or failures. However, in 2001 the Pritzker heirs decided to break up the family fortune into 11 shares worth an estimated $1.4 billion each. That agreement remained a secret until Liesel Pritzker, Robert's daughter from his second marriage, filed a lawsuit in 2002 alleging that her trust funds had been emptied of nearly $1 billion. Her brother, Matthew, later joined the suit. The dispute was quietly settled in 2005, with Liesel and Matthew relinquishing their claim on family assets in exchange for $500 million each. That allowed the 11 heirs to proceed with the family agreement to divide the Pritzker empire among themselves.

The Pritzker Architecture Prize has been given annually since 1979 to a living architect. Largely modeled on the Nobel Prize, it is the premier architectural award in the United States. The prize is awarded by the Hyatt Foundation and the winner, who receives $100,000, is selected by members of the Pritzker family.

[Stewart Kampel (2nd ed.)]

PROBST, MENAHEM MENDEL (1881–1941), Hebrew bibliographer. Born in Galicia, he settled in Ereẓ Israel in 1928 and joined the staff of the National Library in Jerusalem, devoting himself to bibliography of Hebrew and Palestinian journalism.

Among his works are *Ha-Ittonut ha-Ivrit be-Hitpatteḥutah ha-Keronologit* (*Lu'aḥ Aḥi'asaf* (1923), 239–87); *Ḥomer Mispari le-Toledot Hitpatteḥutah shel ha-Ittonut ha-Yisre'elit le-Arẓoteha… 1667–1920* ("Statistical Material to the History of the Jewish Press… 1667–1920"; KS, 2 (1925–26), 212–4); *Yalkut Sefarim* (1929), a complete and detailed listing of modern Hebrew literature according to subjects. He also published articles on bibliographical subjects in the daily press.

[Getzel Kressel]

PROBST-KRAID, RIZA (1894–?), Romanian painter. She was born in Cracow and studied art in Bucharest. She exhibited in Romania, Belgium, Poland, Greece, and France. She taught painting and drawing and lectured on art under the auspices of the University of Bucharest and at the Jewish schools. In 1950, she immigrated to Israel, where she continued to teach and paint.

PROCURATOR, title of the governors (first over Judea, later over most of Palestine) appointed by Rome during the years 6–41 and 44–66 C.E. From a recently discovered inscription in which *Pontius Pilate is mentioned, it appears that the title of the governors of Judea was also *praefectus*. Procuratorial rule came into force with the banishment of *Herod's son *Archelaus in the year 6 and was interrupted for three years during the reign of *Agrippa I (41–44). The Judean-Palestinian procurator held the power of jurisdiction with regard to capital punishment (*jus gladii*). Roman citizens had the privilege of *provocatio*, i.e., the right to transfer the trial from the provincial governor to the emperor (cf. the case of *Paul, Acts 25:10–12; cf. 22:25ff.). The procurator was subject to the Roman legate in Syria, an illustration of this being the deportation of Pontius Pilate (26–36 C.E.) by Vitellius. Josephus also states (Wars, 2:280–1) that formal charges would have been preferred by the Jews against the last procurator Gessius *Florus (64–66 C.E.; see below) but that they refrained from taking their case to *Gallus in Syria from fear of reprisals. The Sanhedrin was allowed to exercise jurisdiction in civil matters, although the procurators could exercise control in this sphere as well. As a rule, the procurators maintained supervision over the country from their official residence at Caesarea. On Jewish festivals, their seat was temporarily transferred to Jerusalem in order to control the thousands who flocked to the Temple and on these occasions they sometimes gave physical expression to their hatred of Rome.

It is fair to assert that the procurators were either openly hostile or, at best, indifferent to the needs of the Jewish populace. They were notorious for their rapacity. Their relatively short tenure, coupled with hostility toward Jews as a whole, may have impelled them to amass quick profits. Whatever the case, the last two procurators before the Jewish War (66 C.E.), *Albinus and Gessius Florus, as a consequence of their monetary extortions and generally provocative acts, were indubitably instrumental in hastening the outbreak of hostilities. The only exception appears to have been Porcius *Festus

(60–62 C.E.) who made vain attempts to improve conditions. The procuratorial administration made an unfortunate beginning when the very first procurator, *Coponius, was dispatched to govern Judea, while the Syrian legate *Quirinius carried out a census (Jos., Ant., 18:1). The political consequences of this act were not delayed, as it led to the establishment of the Fourth Philosophy (*Sicarii) by *Judah the Galilean and the Pharisee Zadok. *Valerius Gratus (15–26) went so far as to depose high priests at will, an outrage on popular feeling hitherto perpetrated only by Herod. The outraged feelings of the populace were not calmed with the appointment of Gratus' successor, Pontius Pilate, during whose term of office Jesus was crucified. Pilate's decision to introduce into the city military standards bearing the emperor's likeness may have been inspired by Rome. Incontrovertible, however, are his own acts of cruelty and his miscarriages of justice, such as the execution of Galilean patriots without trial and his violence toward the Samaritans (35 C.E.). The latter act caused his recall to Rome and deposition by Vitellius in the spring of 36. So serious were the possible consequences of his misrule in the eyes of Rome that Vitellius was specially charged with the task of regaining Jewish favor by granting minor concessions.

While the "second series" of procurators, after the interlude of semi-independence under Herod Agrippa I, were deprived of the power of appointing the high priest, the very first of them, Cuspius *Fadus, gained custody of the priestly vestments. Although appointed by Claudius to counteract the Syrian legate's antipathy toward the Jews, Fadus adopted violent means in suppressing the followers of the pseudo-Messiah *Theudas. Tiberius *Alexander ordered the execution of Jacob and Simeon, sons of Judah the Galilean. Ventidius *Cumanus, next in office, not only let his troops cause a panic in the overcrowded Temple area on Passover, resulting in the death of 20,000 Jews (Jos., Ant., 20:105–12) but in addition armed the Samaritans against them. Whether the measure was actually considered necessary in order to maintain order is unclear. Cumanus was, however, subsequently removed by the Syrian legate. The last of the Judean procurators, Gessius Florus (see above), is reported by Josephus to have sparked off the Jewish War with his demand for 17 talents from the Temple funds, which caused rioting leading up to the outbreak of hostilities on a large scale. After 70 C.E. the office of procurator sometimes alternated with that of legate and was subordinate to the governor of the region, eventually being disbanded altogether.

LIST OF PROCURATORS

Coponius 6–9 C.E.
Marcus Ambibulus 9–12 C.E.
Rufus Tineus 12–15 C.E.
Valerius Gratus 15–26 C.E.
Pontius Pilate 26–36 C.E.
Marcellus 36–37 C.E.
Marullus 37–41 C.E.
Cuspius Fadus 44–46 C.E.
Tiberius Julius Alexander 46–48 C.E.
Ventidius Cumanus 48–52 C.E.
Antonius Felix 52–60 C.E.
Porcius Festus 60–62 C.E.
Albinus 62–64 C.E.
Gessius Florus 64–66 C.E.

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[David Solomon]

PROFANITY. Judaism has always stressed the importance of the spoken word and hence cleanliness in speech was inculcated in addition to strict prohibition of certain forms of speech such as lying, slander, calumny, or insults. Not only was outright indecent speech to be avoided, but even gross expression was to be shunned. According to the Talmud the Torah uses eight additional letters rather than utter a graceless expression in order to illustrate this principle, for it is written "and of the beasts that are not clean" (Gen. 7:2), instead of "unclean" (Pes. 3a). Likewise, the single word "unclean" would have saved nine letters in the Hebrew text in the verse, "If there be among you any man that is not clean by reason of that which chanceth by night" (Deut. 23:11; Pes. 3a). The Talmud relates that two disciples sat before Rav. One said: "This discussion has made us as tired as an exhausted swine"; the other said: "This discussion had made us as tired as an exhausted kid." Rav would not speak to the former. Similarly, there were three priests; one said, I received as much as a bean of the shewbread: the second said, I received as much as an olive; while the third said, I received as much as a lizard's tail. They investigated the third priest and found that his genealogy was impure and that he was unfit to serve in the Temple (Pes. 3b).

The Talmud considered obscene speech a grievous sin. Many calamities befalling the community were considered by the sages to be punishments for this offense. R. Ḥanan b. Rabbah remarked that even though all know for what purpose a bride enters the bridal chamber, yet God would punish him who say it *expressis verbis*. *Gehinnom is deepened for the individual who puts his mouth to folly, and punishment is meted out also to one who hears obscenities and does not protest (Shab. 3a). The Rabbis explained that fingers are jointed like pegs so that if a man hears an unworthy statement he should be able to plug them into his ears. The whole ear is hard and the earlobe soft so that if a man hears an unworthy thought he should be able to bend the earlobe into the ear (Ket. 5a–b). Proper language at times of warfare was particularly stressed; the interdiction that "thy camp be holy; that He see no unseemly thing in thee, and turn away from thee" (Deut. 23:15) is interpreted to mean that God shall hear no improper language in the military camp (Lev. R. 24:7).

[Aaron Rothkoff]

PROGRESSIVE JEWISH ALLIANCE. In March 1999, the Los Angeles chapter of the American Jewish Congress closed its doors. According to the National Office, the chapter had not been fulfilling its financial responsibilities, but the outgoing regional leaders told a different story. In their telling, the closure was the result of a long simmering dispute over ideological differences. The Los Angeles chapter had charted a more aggressively liberal stance on domestic and foreign policy issues – being on the cutting edge of anti-sweatshop work for example, and supporting a two-state solution in the Middle East years before the issue became popular in the mainstream.

Immediately upon closing the AJ Congress chapter, the outgoing leaders (Patsy Ostroy, Douglas Mirell, and Steve Kaplan) announced the formation of a new organization, which they called the Progressive Jewish Alliance (PJA). This new organization intended to pick up where the L.A. chapter of Congress had left off. The importance of the new organization for the history of American Jewish social justice activism lay in two important facts. First, the PJA was based in Los Angeles and not on the East Coast. The center of liberal activism had long since left the east coast cities that had birthed the classic Jewish defense organizations (ADL, AJ Committee, and the upstart AJ Congress). However, the centers of power for the Jewish establishment were still ensconced in Boston, New York, and Washington, D.C. PJA attempted to marry the cultural and political liberalism of the West Coast to an explicitly progressive Jewish political program.

Second, the PJA claimed as its mandate the traditional American Jewish social justice issues – worker's rights, anti-death penalty activism, feminism, gay and lesbian rights – and also embraced a two-state position in the Middle East. This latter position had sunk previous short-lived left and progressive Jewish organizations, such as New Jewish Agenda and Breirah, at a time when such views were heresy, not the policy – implied or actual – of the Israeli government.

In its first half-decade, PJA demonstrated that the West Coast could nurture a different model of Jewish social justice activism. By 2006 the two PJA chapters (Los Angeles and Northern California) had created cross-ethnic alliances on economic justice issues, inter-religious dialogue with both Christian and Muslim groups, and brought together Orthodox, Conservative, and Reform Jews with its restorative justice project (the Jewish Community Justice Project). At the same time, the PJA has laid claim to the Jewish textual tradition by recruiting professors and scholars to its leadership. All the PJA education programs and organizing initiatives have a text component to them, from mediation training and teach-ins to support hotel workers to amicus briefs on the death penalty and affirmative action.

In its activism and organizing the PJA seems to have forged a new model of Jewish activism that borrows from both the mainly secular Jewish labor movements (which led to the left and new-left unaffiliated though heavily Jewish movements) and from the religious traditions that support progressive activism, which before had been found mainly in Israel in the writings of the religious kibbutz movement and the Po'alei Agudat Israel movement.

[Aryeh Cohen (2nd ed.)]

PROHOVNIK, ABRAHAM (in Polish *prochownik* is a dealer either in powder or gunpowder), legendary Jewish figure in the pre-political period of the Polish tribes. After the death of the legendary prince Popiel (attributed to the middle of the ninth century) in the town of Kruszwica, a public meeting (*wiec*) was called to elect a new ruler. Conflicting opinions, however, prevented the nomination of a candidate acceptable to all the assembled. It was therefore decided to choose the first man to enter the town on the next day. This happened to be a Jew named Abraham Prohovnik. When brought to the assembly to be crowned Abraham refused. After some discussion, he was given three days in which to reflect, being warned that he would forfeit his life if still unwilling. After the delay, a crowd, led by a Pole named Piast, approached Abraham's lodgings to crown him. The latter remained adamant, and pointed to Piast as suitable to wear the princely crown. His suggestion was accepted, thus inaugurating the reign of the equally legendary founder of the Polish Piast dynasty. The origin of the legend and the period of its appearance are unknown. A number of Jewish historians consider it to be a transmutation of the Saul *Wahl legend, which arose during the golden era of Polish Jewry at the end of the 16th and early 17th centuries. Other scholars regard it as an echo of the Jewish presence and influence in Poland at the beginning of its political existence and connect the person of Abraham Prohovnik with the arrival of Jews in Poland from the southeast. The Polish Piast legend (first formulated in 1112) contains no mention of Jewish elements. The story undoubtedly is merely an expression in legendary form of the Jewish sense of deep-rootedness in Poland.

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[Arthur Cygielman]

PROJECT RENEWAL, the joint program of the government of Israel and the Jewish Agency for Israel for rehabilitation of distressed neighborhoods. Founded in 1978, by 1983 a total of 82 urban neighborhoods and towns throughout Israel, with a total population of 450,000, had been included in Project Renewal. By the early 21st century the number had risen to 100, representing a $2 billion investment, a quarter of the money coming from Diaspora communities via the Jewish Agency. A comprehensive redevelopment plan, this project differs from previous government programs in that it is aimed at whole neighborhoods rather than specific residents, groups of residents, or special target issues. In principle, residents are encouraged to remain in their homes, which are improved, rather than be evacuated to newer areas, and the process of physical renovation and repair is integrated with overall social rehabilitation.

Background

The conditions which make neighborhood renewal necessary have their roots in the country's history and unique character. Large waves of immigration followed the establishment of the State of Israel in 1948 and in the first three years of its existence the Jewish population doubled. In 1955–57, an additional 140,000 Jews immigrated to Israel and in 1965–66, another 50,000 arrived. The task of absorbing these immigrants was enormous, straining the limited resources of the state.

Initially, the newcomers were housed in temporary transit camps throughout the country or in abandoned residential buildings. Where possible, temporary shacks were constructed, but often only tents were available. In response to the need for immediate housing solutions, new towns and neighborhoods were hastily built. Financial constraints dictated that a maximum number of housing units be erected at a minimum cost; the resulting buildings are substandard by today's criteria, as is the physical infrastructure installed to serve them.

Service frameworks created over the years were often inadequate and in many cases encouraged dependency. Most social service agencies were centralized and therefore geographically distant from their clients. This remoteness led to both a lack of direct contact with the population and a failure on the part of professional staff to conceptualize community needs. The absence of an overall plan exacerbated the situation.

More than half of the first wave of immigration and most of the subsequent waves were from North African and Asian countries. These immigrants brought with them Jewish cultural heritages and traditions which differed radically from those prevailing in Israel at the time. This Western-oriented culture demanded adherence to its mores and values, causing a conflict which tended to act to the disadvantage of the newcomers.

Immigration had a negative effect on traditional community and interpersonal relations. Old and understood values which had provided the basis for community consensus were weakened. Family roles were eroded and past experience provided no model for present needs. Community cooperative activity became difficult and traditional ethnic leadership which had rested on old societal frameworks was rendered ineffective in the new situations.

Few of the men from these countries had been prepared, through either education or experience, for the skilled or professional jobs then available in Israel, since the demands of their earlier homes had been very different. Education levels were often low and many – women in particular – had received no formal education at all. Lack of appropriate skills created a serious employment handicap and kept incomes low. The fact that their culture discouraged women from working outside the home further limited per-capita and family earning power.

The country's security needs were a major factor in the situating of many settlements for new immigrants. Development towns such as Ma'alot and Kiryat Shemonah in the north and Bet-Shean in the east were intended not only to provide homes for the country's new citizens but to strengthen Israel's borders as well. Since these towns are on the economic and social periphery of the country, many of the original settlers have left. Often, new immigrants were settled in already problematic neighborhoods, placing additional strain on an inadequate social and physical infrastructure. In such cases, the stronger, more ambitious, better trained population left at the first opportunity, leaving behind the elderly, the less educated, and the more dependent population groups.

Faced with what seemed like a wall of official indifference, the residents of these neighborhoods and towns took refuge in apathy and cynicism. Bitterness about the poor quality of their lives increasingly expressed itself in draft evasion and delinquency among the young. This deterioration reinforced the already unfavorable image of the neighborhoods, both for the residents and for outsiders, and encouraged further out-migration.

History

In 1974, a government agency designated 160 distressed neighborhoods as areas requiring rehabilitation, and work was begun in a number of them. It was not until October 1977, however, that the Ministry of Housing and Construction announced a plan to focus government resources on the rehabilitation of the 160 neighborhoods. During the early months of 1978, with the formation of the Social Policy Team for Project Renewal, an interministerial approach was developed which has been maintained throughout.

Shortly thereafter, Prime Minister Menahem Begin declared his government's intention to give first priority to elimination of the conditions of neighborhood distress and issued an invitation to world Jewish leaders to participate with the government of Israel in a joint venture toward this end. With the acceptance in principle of this challenge, the Jewish Agency became a partner in discussions with the government ministries. In the course of talks, the Diaspora Jewish leadership concluded that the most promising basis for world Jewry's support would be a direct community-neighborhood relationship. Thus, the idea of twinning of individual Jewish communities with specific Israeli neighborhoods was born.

The seventh annual assembly of the Jewish Agency in 1978 ratified the decision taken by world Jewish leadership to join the government of Israel as partners in renewal. In addition to assigning the name Project Renewal to the program, the assembly established a number of principles which continue to guide activities to this day:

(1) That the project be a joint effort involving Israel government ministries, municipal authorities, local residents, the Jewish Agency and Jewish communities from abroad.

(2) That the basis for participation by Jewish communities from abroad be a direct twinning relationship between individual communities abroad and specific neighborhoods in Israel. That funds raised in a community for Project Renewal be used only for the specific Project Renewal neighborhood twinning with that community and that funds raised for a specific purpose are to be released for that purpose only.

(3) That the program deals with social as well as physical needs on the basis of a comprehensive plan covering all aspects of life in the neighborhood.

(4) That local residents take an active part in the planning and implementation of the project.

(5) That the duration of the program be limited to a period of about five years.

Initially, 11 neighborhoods were included in the project; by 1979 the number had grown to 30. Some of the neighborhoods were twinned with communities abroad and the first tentative activity began. By 1981, full activity was in progress in 69 neighborhoods, twinned with over 200 Jewish communities all over the world. In 1982, 13 neighborhoods were added, bringing the total number of renewal neighborhoods to 82.

Organizationally, a number of changes have taken place since the project's inception. In 1980, the Jewish Agency assembly upgraded its unit dealing with Project Renewal to the status of a department. The government's participation in the project was administered through the Prime Minister's Office until 1981, when it was placed under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Housing.

The Renewal Process

Despite the complexity of the organizational structure of Project Renewal that has resulted from the partnership between the government of Israel, local authorities, Diaspora communities, and neighborhood residents, the emphasis in the program is on coordinated policy-making, planning, and implementation. However, the Jewish Agency, the body representing the Diaspora communities, must act within its legal framework, which imposes upon it direct responsibility for implementation and direction of the programs that it funds.

Authority in the project is derived from the joint Government/Jewish Agency Project Renewal Committee, cochaired by the deputy prime minister and by the chairman of the Executive of the Jewish Agency.

Day-to-day policy and coordination of activity on a national level are within the authority of an interministerial team. This team consists of representatives of the Jewish Agency and the government ministries participating in the project (Housing; Labor and Welfare; Education; Health; Interior; and Finance).

A central element in the organizational structure is the local steering committee which exists in each neighborhood. It consists of local residents (who comprise 50% of the membership), professionals, representatives of the municipal authority, representatives of government agencies at the regional level, and a representative of the Jewish Agency. The committee's tasks are to weigh program and project recommendations, to set priorities in view of available funds and financial framework, to approve the annual proposed program and budget, and to approve the comprehensive plan proposed for each industrial neighborhood. The project is administered in each neighborhood by the project manager.

The establishment of the local neighborhood corporation was originally dictated by legal considerations to enable utilization of funds from abroad in the neighborhood. Its board of directors includes local residents, representatives of the local authority, and Jewish Agency representatives. The corporation's task is to implement all projects and programs assigned to the Jewish Agency. Local neighborhood corporations have provided a new dimension for residents' involvement in the implementation of programs: the acquisition of experience both in contending with the bureaucracy and in public administration.

Role of a Twinned Community from Abroad

All projects and programs designated for Jewish Agency implementation are funded by twinned communities from abroad on a community-neighborhood basis. In most communities, committees of lay leaders responsible for Project Renewal are formed. In the United States, the *United Jewish Appeal (UJA) acts as the liaison between the communities and the Agency Renewal Department in Israel and – through the department – the neighborhoods. In other parts of the world, *Keren Hayesod (the United Israel Appeal) fulfills this function. The community, acting in cooperation with the UJA or Keren Hayesod, encourages mission groups and individuals to visit the neighborhood, thereby maintaining ongoing contact between the residents of the neighborhood and members of the community. Once a year, the community Project Renewal Committee is invited to the community's twinned neighborhood for a consultation visit, to review and approve neighborhood programs.

Long-range budgets which represent the program proposal for the entire funding period are prepared and presented to community representatives for approval, and regular reports on the financial and operational status of the project are sent to the community for its consideration and examination.

The Impact of Project Renewal through 1983

More than 600,000 people throughout Israel have been directly or indirectly touched by Project Renewal and before the project is completed 20% of the country's population will have been affected by it.

During the first five years of its operation, 30,653 housing units were renovated and expanded. More than 200 community and neighborhood centers were built, improved, or enlarged as part of the total of more than 500 public service facilities that the project made available to neighborhood residents. Among these facilities are early childhood development centers, family health and dental clinics, day centers for the elderly, and playgrounds.

Physical infrastructure, roads, sewage and drainage systems, street lighting, and the like have been upgraded in all neighborhoods and the general appearance of most of the neighborhoods has been greatly improved. With the betterment of the quality of life in the neighborhoods, the steady departure of stronger population groups has been virtually halted. Apartment prices, which had been much lower than market prices, have risen steadily, as the demand for housing in the neighborhoods has increased.

Sixteen thousand neighborhood residents currently take part in "Second Chance" programs designed to raise educational levels and improve or provide educational skills, with more than 5,000 adults learning basic Hebrew language skills in the Tehila program of adult education classes each year.

A number of programs are aimed at improvement of parental skill. The Etgar preschool development program, for example, is designed to encourage cognitive development in preschoolers; 6,000 parents take part each year. In addition, more than 15,000 preschoolers and schoolchildren regularly participate in enrichment programs sponsored by Project Renewal.

Courses have been established to encourage burgeoning leadership and to help interested residents obtain the tools necessary for responsible decision-making. At least 1,300 residents in over 50 neighborhoods have taken part in courses for local lay leaders. An academic leadership course toward a bachelor's degree, operated in cooperation with the Open University is offered to over 400 students in several locations throughout the country.

The twinning relationship has added a more personal and direct dimension to both fund-raising and to Israel-oriented activity. Close to 20,000 Jews from all over the world have visited their renewal neighborhoods since the inception of the project. Young people from abroad – as many as 500 in the summer of 1984 alone – have served as volunteers in their twinned neighborhoods.

The Project Renewal twinning relationship has provided a unique opportunity for Israeli citizens to meet with Diaspora Jews in Israel-in their homes, at community gatherings, and at committee meetings, and 600 Israeli children are in contact with their counterparts in the Diaspora through pen pal programs.

According to preliminary assessment of the International Committee for the Evaluation of Project Renewal, the impact of the project's activities has been positive both for the neighborhoods in Israel and for the Jewish communities abroad. The reports indicate significant improvements in housing; in social and community services; in the level of resident participation in neighborhood affairs; in relations with the Diaspora, and in residents' attitudes toward their neighborhoods.

In many of the neighborhoods included during the first years of the project, a phase-out of community funding has begun, and responsibility for essential programming has been transferred to other funding agencies. Neighborhood residents and representatives of the twinned community abroad are full partners in this process.

Subsequent Phases

Beginning in the mid-1980s the Project moved into a second phase of selective intervention focusing on populations in distress (the aged, single parents, etc.). In the early 1990s a differential approach was taken, focusing on the special needs of individual neighborhoods. At the same time, an attempt was made to draw previously neglected populations into the Project, such as the Arabs, Druze, Ethiopians, and ultra-Orthodox.

The work of Project Renewal is not yet complete. Changing economic conditions and continuing economic distress in the neighborhoods and the country as a whole require a new look at how the Project and its beneficiaries may best be served in the future.

PRONUNCIATIONS OF HEBREW. This article is arranged according to the following outline:

THE TRANSMISSION OF HEBREW AS A LITURGICAL LANGUAGE
CLASSIFICATION OF THE TRADITIONAL PRONUNCIATIONS OF HEBREW
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  The Sephardi Pronunciation
    PHONOLOGICAL FEATURES
    MORPHOLOGICAL FEATURES
  The Ashkenazi Pronunciation
  Classification of the Pronunciations of Hebrew
THE REALIZATIONS OF THE CONSONANTS AND THE VOWELS AND THE STRESS PATTERNS IN THE VARIOUS PRONUNCIATIONS
  The Consonants
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    ṢERE AND SEGOL
    ḤIREQ

- THE ŠEWA
  - *Mobile Šewa and Quiescent Šewa in the Various Communities*
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- THE ḤATEFS
- VOWEL QUANTITY

Stress

SPECIMEN TEXTS

THE TRANSMISSION OF HEBREW AS A LITURGICAL LANGUAGE

Before its revival at the end of the 19th century, Hebrew existed, for a period of about 1700 years, mainly as a literary and liturgical language. This period in the history of Hebrew probably began around the third century C.E. There is evidence that Hebrew was spoken, at least in some parts of Palestine, in the second century C.E. This is clear from the story in the Talmud about the maid of Rabbi Judah ha-Nasi who knew the meanings of some Hebrew words with which the scholars of that time were not acquainted (RH 26b; Meg. 18a; TJ, Meg. 2:2, 73a). Evidence that Hebrew was spoken in the first half of the second century C.E. is also borne out by the Hebrew letters of Bar-Kokhba, some of the grammatical forms of which show that Hebrew was still a living language at that time (c. 135 C.E.). It should be mentioned, however, that at that period, and for centuries before, other languages were spoken concomitantly by the Jewish communities of Palestine, mainly Aramaic and Greek. The use of Hebrew as a spoken language became more and more limited, and finally it was superseded by Aramaic and Greek. Although the exact time when Hebrew ceased to be spoken is not known, there is no unequivocal evidence for the use of Hebrew as the ordinary spoken language of any Jewish community in a period later than the second century. It may be assumed, therefore, that the period in which the use of Hebrew was limited to literature and liturgy only began about the third century C.E.

As a liturgical language Hebrew has been transmitted during this long period, and in fact up to the present day, in a number of forms which are known as the "traditional pronunciations" of Hebrew. This term denotes those pronunciations which have been used by the various Jewish communities in reading the Bible and the post-biblical literature and in prayers. Another term used for "traditional pronunciation" is "reading tradition," or "liturgical reading tradition." A few words explaining these terms are in order here. A "reading tradition" may be defined as a corpus of linguistic information, transmitted orally, upon which the correct reading of a text is based; a "liturgical reading tradition" is a reading tradition that is used in the transmission of those parts of the literature which have particular religious importance. The traditional pronunciations of Hebrew have been transmitted in the various communities over a long period. They still exist in Israel and in various Jewish communities of the Diaspora. In Israel, however, the traditional pronunciations are disappearing at a fast rate, as a result of the mutual contact among the various communities, and of the influence of the current pronunciation of Hebrew.

The traditional pronunciations of Hebrew extant with most communities are of two major categories: (a) the pronunciations used in the reading of the Bible; (b) the pronunciations used in the reading of the post-biblical literature, primarily the Mishnah. In the pronunciations pertaining to the first category, the reading is based upon the vocalized text of the Bible, whereas in the second it is based, in many communities, upon an unvocalized text. This results from the fact that for the Mishnah no authorized vocalization exists that could be compared to the Tiberian vocalization of the Bible (which was accepted by all Jewish communities, except for the Samaritan, as the authoritative vocalization according to which the Bible should be read). Therefore, the reading of the Mishnah in most communities is based upon a text which does not possess vocalization signs and which, for many words, represents only their consonantal skeleton. The reader supplements those phonological entities that are not represented in the orthography according to the oral tradition of his community. In other words, in reading the Bible the reader gives each grapheme (that is, the letters and the vocalization signs) the phonetic value it has in the traditional pronunciation of the community. In reading the Mishnah, on the other hand, in addition to giving each grapheme the phonetic value it has in the traditional pronunciation of the community, the reader also supplements, according to the oral tradition of his community, those phonological entities which are not represented by the orthography. Since the oral traditions of the various communities differ from each other, it follows that the various reading traditions of the Mishnah disclose different forms of the same word. To illustrate the difference between the traditional pronunciation of the Bible and that of the Mishnah, the word *qereaḥ* (קֵרֵחַ) "bald" may be taken. This word appears both in the Bible and in the Mishnah. In the Bible this word is spelled קֵרֵחַ and vocalized *qereaḥ*, and the communities differ from each other in the phonetic values they give to the consonants and the vowels. Thus ק is pronounced as [*g*] or [*q*] by the Yemenite (the exact pronunciation depending on the district from which the individual reader comes; for further details, see below), as [*q*] by the Iraqi readers, and as [*k*] by the Ashkenazi and some of the Sephardi readers; the ֵ (the vowel sign *ṣere*) is pronounced as [*e*] by the Yemenite and Sephardi readers, and as [*ey*] or [*ay*] by the Ashkenazi; the ח is pronounced as [*ḥ*], an unvoiced pharyngeal fricative, by the Yemenite and some of the Sephardi readers, but as [*x*] by the Ashkenazi. The situation is utterly different in the reading of the Mishnah. Here the word is spelled קרח, as it is in the Bible, but no vocalization signs appear in the text which would make a certain form of the word binding for a specific community. Therefore, there are differences among the communities as to the very form of the word – the Iraqi reading it as [*qareyaḥ*], the Yemenite as [*qereḥ*], all other communities as *qereaḥ* (that is, a form identical to the biblical) – and not only in the phonetic values given to the consonants and the vowels.

CLASSIFICATION OF THE TRADITIONAL PRONUNCIATIONS OF HEBREW

1. First, a differentiation must be made between the Samaritan pronunciation and all other pronunciations. Due to its specific features, the Samaritan pronunciation occupies a unique position within the bulk of the traditional pronunciations, and is of particular importance. We shall mention a number of the features typical of the Samaritan pronunciation: (a) the total disappearance of ח and in many cases also of ע; (b) the realization of the letter ו as [*b*]; (c) the existence of four degrees of length in the realization of the vowels, two of which are phonemic; (d) the realization of historical [*i*:] as [ə] (for example, the word הַבַּדִּים – Ex. 25:13 – is pronounced as *abbaddəm* – Z. Ben-Ḥayyim, *The Literary and Oral Tradition of Hebrew and Aramaic Amongst the Samaritans*, vol. III pt. 1, p. 40); (e) the distinction between the counterparts of the historical vowels ū, u and those of ō, o disappeared; in most cases, the realization of these vowels as either [*o*] or [*u*] depends on their position in the word. Thus Tiberian סוּס, "horse," is [*sos*] in the Samaritan pronunciation (Ben-Ḥayyim, *ibid.*, p. 37), whereas Tiberian שְׁמוֹ, "his name" is [*se:mu*] in Samaritan (*ibid.*). These features, and a number of others, make the Samaritan pronunciation unintelligible to the members of all other Jewish communities. In this connection it should also be mentioned that the Samaritan reading tradition of the Pentateuch is not based on vocalized texts. Such texts have not been used by the Samaritan community in the teaching of the traditional pronunciation, and in the reading of the Pentateuch. The Samaritan reader supplements the Pentateuch with the missing phonological entities according to the oral tradition transmitted in the community. In this respect the Samaritan traditional pronunciation differs from the traditional pronunciation of the Bible extant in all other Jewish communities, which use the Tiberian vocalization for the reading of the Bible.

2. The traditional pronunciations of the communities except the Samaritan are to be classified into three major groups: the Yemenite, the Sephardi, and the Ashkenazi.

The Yemenite Pronunciation

Geographically isolated for generations, the Yemenite community has preserved a traditional pronunciation possessing a number of peculiar features. Some of these features, it is true, resulted from the influence of the pronunciation of the Yemenite Arabic vernaculars on the pronunciation of Hebrew. This influence is disclosed, e.g., in the realizations of גּ (when having a *dageš*) by members of the community who originally came from various regions of Yemen as an affricate [*ǧ*], a velar [*g*], or a palatalized [*g'*]. These realizations correspond to the realizations of the Arabic phoneme [*g*] in the respective regions of Yemen (for which see below). Other features of the Yemenite pronunciation – particularly as regards the vowels – reflect, however, the traditional pronunciation of the Jewish community of geonic Babylonia. The correspondence between the present-day Yemenite pronunciation and the Babylonian pronunciation may best be proven by two phonetic phenomena: (a) the identity of the realizations of *pathaḥ* and *segol*; (b) the realization of *ḥolem* as *ṣere* by members of the communities of southwestern Yemen and of Aden. Both these phenomena are attested by the Babylonian vocalization, that is, the vocalization which reflects the pronunciation of Hebrew in Jewish communities of geonic Babylonia. However, whereas the former phenomenon is a regular feature of the Babylonian system of vocalization, which has only one vowel as the counterpart of both Tiberian *pathaḥ* and *segol*, this is not the case with the latter. The Babylonian system has signs for both *ḥolem* and *ṣere*; but in certain Babylonian manuscripts the signs for these two vowels interchange freely, and this indicates that in the pronunciation of the vocalizers of these manuscripts the two vowels were identical. Evidence for the identity of the realizations of *ḥolem* and *ṣere* by the Jewish communities of some provinces of Babylonia in the first half of the tenth century C.E. is borne also by a literary source, mainly al-Qirqisānī's *Kitāb al'anwār walmarāqib*. It is, therefore, clear that the identity of the realizations of *ḥolem* and *ṣere* by members of some Yemenite communities reflects a feature of the pronunciation of Hebrew in geonic Babylonia, and the Yemenite community is the only community to have preserved the Babylonian pronunciation of Hebrew. In fact, Yemenite Jewry has been the recipient of the legacy of geonic Babylonia in other fields as well: for centuries the Yemenites have used the Babylonian vocalization, in periods when it has been completely unknown to other Jewish communities; the Yemenites have used the Babylonian recension of the Bible at least until the beginning of the 13th century C.E.; the Yemenite reading tradition of post-biblical Hebrew resembles in many of its morphophonemic and morphological features the Babylonian tradition of post-biblical Hebrew, which is reflected by manuscripts of the Mishnah and Midrashim possessing Babylonian vocalization. The Yemenites have preserved a stable tradition of the vocalization of Targum Onkelos and Targum Jonathan, a tradition which most probably received its final shape in geonic Babylonia.

The fact that Yemenite Jewry has been the recipient of the Babylonian traditions in a number of fields is to be seen in the light of the close relations that existed between the Jewish community of Yemen and that of Babylonia in the geonic period. Historical evidence for these relations is found in some Genizah documents.

The Yemenite tradition of biblical Hebrew is to be clearly differentiated from that of post-biblical Hebrew. In reading the Bible, the Yemenites use the Tiberian vocalization and masorah; however, they give the Tiberian vocalization signs the values they had in the traditional Babylonian pronunciation. Thus, no distinction is made in the Yemenite pronunciation between Tiberian *pathaḥ* and *segol* since in the Babylonian pronunciation of Hebrew these two vowels were identical. In other words, the Yemenite pronunciation of biblical Hebrew discloses phonological features of the Babylonian tradition, but the morphology of biblical Hebrew in this tradition is Tiberian. Hence it follows that in their pronunciation of biblical

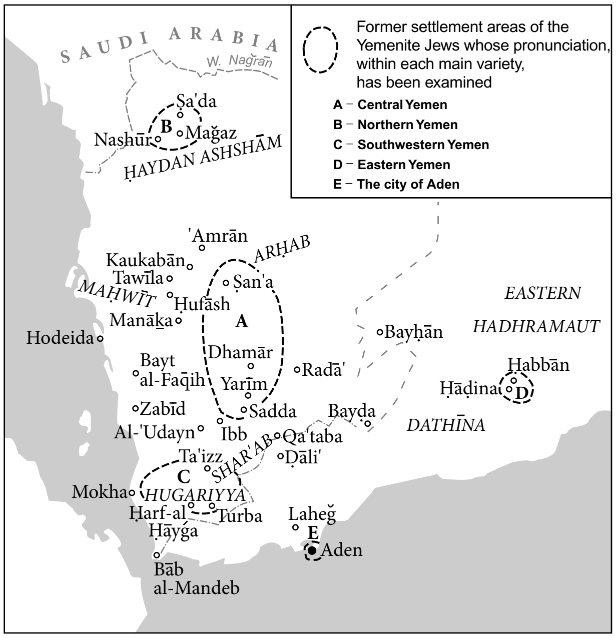

Map 1. Major varieties of the traditional pronunciation of Hebrew in Yemen. After S. Morag, The Hebrew Language Tradition of the Yemenite Jews, *Jerusalem, 1963.*

Hebrew the Yemenites differ from other communities in aspects which are purely phonetic, but not in the morphology.

The situation is, however, different in the pronunciation of post-biblical Hebrew. The Yemenite reading of post-biblical Hebrew is not based upon vocalized texts, but upon an oral tradition of the vocalization. Therefore, the reading of these texts discloses in the morphology, and not only in the phonology, a number of specific features. Many of those morphological features are originally Babylonian. This is readily proved by comparing the morphology of post-biblical Hebrew as reflected by the Yemenite pronunciation with the morphology of Hebrew as represented by manuscripts of Mishnah and Midrashim possessing Babylonian vocalization. Thus, for example, both the Yemenite pronunciation and the manuscripts have הַם for "they" (versus הֵם in biblical Hebrew) and זוֹג for "pair" (versus זוּג in other pronunciations).

It should be noted that the Yemenite pronunciation is not homogeneous. Within what is usually called "Yemenite pronunciation of Hebrew" five major groups may be distinguished, each group representing a different geographical zone of Yemen. These groups are:

(a) central Yemen, around the capital Ṣanʿa;

(b) northern Yemen, the region of Ḥaydān ashshām – Ṣaʿda;

(c) southwestern Yemen, the region of Sharʿab;

(d) Eastern Yemen, consisting of the communities of Ḥabbān and Ḥāḍina;

(e) the city of Aden.

The differences existing among these groups in the consonantal aspects of the pronunciation of Hebrew mostly correspond to the differences which exist among the Arabic dialects of the respective geographical zones. This is not the case, however, as regards a number of variations in the pronunciation of the vowels, which do not reflect the influence of the Arabic dialects on the pronunciation of Hebrew. These variations probably disclose inner varieties of the Babylonian pronunciation, which, as seen above, is to be considered as the source of the Yemenite pronunciation of Hebrew. Of these features we shall mention the following: 1. the realization of *ḥolem* as *ṣere* by groups (c) and (e); 2. the realization of *ḥireq* as a central vowel in group (d); 3. the realization of *qameṣ* as a back low unrounded vowel [ɒ] in group (d).

The Sephardi Pronunciation

This term denotes a rather large variety of pronunciations used by the Jewish communities of the Orient (except the Yemenite community, whose pronunciation as observed above, differs basically from that of the other communities of the Orient) and of North Africa, as well as by the Sephardi communities of Europe (such as the Dutch-Portuguese, the Sephardi communities of Greece, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, and Italy). Among these pronunciations there are considerable differences, which are mostly due to the influence of the vernaculars of the respective communities on the pronunciation of Hebrew. Two features, however, are common to all the pronunciations known as "Sephardi" or Oriental (but non-Yemenite): lack of distinction between *pathaḥ* and *qameṣ* on the one hand (except a *qameṣ* is a closed unstressed syllable; see below), and *ṣere* and *segol* on the other. These two features are characteristic of certain manuscripts possessing 'Palestinian' vocalization. A certain variety of the 'Palestinian' pronunciation is, therefore, to be regarded as the source of the Sephardi pronunciation. By the term "Palestinian pronunciation" we denote the pronunciation reflected in manuscripts (mostly of *piyyutim* and of biblical texts) whose vocalization is called Palestinian, which was used by some communities of Palestine in a period approximately lasting from the sixth to the ninth century C.E. The Palestinian vocalization was apparently used in Palestine concomitantly with the Tiberian vocalization, but most probably not by the same communities. Each of these two vocalizations was based upon a different reading tradition, and in a general way it may be said that the Tiberian vocalization reflects a more classical and more pure reading tradition than the one reflected by the Palestinian. The latter vocalization is apparently based upon a more popular, or rather "vulgar," reading tradition. It may be added here that the Palestinian vocalization and pronunciation disclose a number of affinities with the vocalization and pronunciation of Samaritan Hebrew. The Palestinian pronunciation was adopted by many communities, far beyond the boundaries of Palestine, as the standard pronunciation of Hebrew, the pronunciation to be used in the liturgy and the teaching of the language. The Tiberian pronunciation, on the other hand, had, for some time at least, a classical standing. However, in spite of this classical standing of the Tiberian pronunciation, the Sephardi communities, some of which, particularly those of Spain and North Africa, may have used the Babylonian pronunciation during a certain period, finally adopted the Palestinian pronunciation. This may have resulted from the fact that the use of the Tiberian pronunciation was current only in a rather small group of Masoretes, whereas that of the Palestinian was far more common. The Palestinian pronunciation was probably first transplanted from Palestine to Italy, and later, when the influence of Italian Jewry on the Jewish communities of Spain became prominent, it was transplanted from Italy to Spain (this transplantation possibly took place in the time of Rabbi Moses ben Ḥanokh, in the second half of the tenth century C.E.). After the expulsion of the Jews from Spain, the Palestinian pronunciation, known by then as the Sephardi pronunciation, was transferred by the emigrants to the many communities in which they settled. These communities include the Dutch-Portuguese community of Amsterdam and the Sephardi communities in the Mediterranean countries (Italy, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Greece, Turkey, North Africa). The communities of the East (Syria, Palestine, Egypt, Persia) apparently used the Palestinian pronunciation for generations prior to the expulsion of the Jews from Spain.

The term "Sephardi" (or "Palestinian-Sephardi") pronunciation comprises in fact a number of pronunciations which differ from each other in a number of details, such as the pronunciation of the gutturals (for which see below). The features common to all varieties of pronunciations which are called "Sephardi" are, as stated above, lack of distinction between *pathaḥ* and *qameṣ* on the one hand, and between *ṣere* and *segol* on the other. The term "Sephardi" reading tradition when applied to the post-biblical literature (primarily the Mishnah) is a general term, covering a number of reading traditions, such as the Iraqi, the Aleppo, the Moroccan, etc. As yet the Sephardi reading traditions of the Mishnah have not been sufficiently studied, and an exhaustive description of their features is not possible. We shall therefore present here only a few phonological and morphological features of the "Sephardi" reading traditions of the Mishnah.

PHONOLOGICAL FEATURES. A number of Sephardi reading traditions of the Mishnah have a *quiescent šewa* in forms which in the reading of the Bible have a *mobile šewa*. This occurs when a medial *šewa* follows a *qameṣ* or a *ḥolem*, in forms like שָׁמְרָה, שׁוֹמְרִים. In such forms all the "Sephardi" pronunciations have in the reading of the Bible a *mobile šewa* (with primary stress on the last syllable, and secondary stress on the syllable preceding the *šewa*), that is, *šame'ra, šome'rim*. In the reading of the Mishnah a number of "Sephardi" communities have in these forms a *quiescent šewa* (with primary stress on the syllable preceding the *šewa*), that is, *'šamra, 'šomrim*. Another phonological (or, to be more precise, morphophonemic) feature in which the "Sephardi" reading traditions of the Mishnah differ from the "Sephardi" reading traditions of the Bible is disclosed by the distribution rules of the hard and soft realizations of those consonants of the בגדכפ״ת series for which the traditional pronunciations of the respective community have a double realization, hard and soft (for the realization of בגדכפ״ת consonants, see below). In the reading of the Bible the distribution rules of those /*bgdkpt*/ consonants for which the Sephardi communities have a double realization agree with the distribution rules of the Tiberian vocalization. This is not, however, the case in the reading of the Mishnah. Thus, for example, a number of Sephardi reading traditions of the Mishnah have a hard realization of a בגדכפ״ת consonant when this consonant follows an initial preposition whose vowel is a *šewa*. Such a realization – e.g., in the form *bekerem*, "in a vineyard" – stands in contradiction to that extant in the reading of the Bible, which is, in the form given here, *beḵerem*.

MORPHOLOGICAL FEATURES. Morphologically, the Sephardi reading tradition of post-biblical Hebrew is not homogeneous, that is to say, there are differences in the forms of words in the various traditions, e.g., in the Iraqi tradition as compared with that of Aleppo, Morocco, and other traditions. There is lacking, for the time being, sufficient information as to the morphological structure of post-biblical Hebrew in the various Sephardi traditions; therefore, we shall mention here only two features which are shared by many of those traditions.

(1) The use of the pausal forms of the third person, fem. sing. and masc. plur., in the *hofʿal* stem (e.g., *huqama*, "she was raised," *huqamu*, "they were raised") as the usual forms, that is, the forms which appear both in pausal and contextual positions.

(2) The appearance of -*aḵ* as the pronominal suffix for the second person masc. sing., as in e.g., *kevodaḵ* "your (masc. sing.) honor" (sometimes, in some traditions side by side with *kevodeḵa*).

The Ashkenazi Pronunciation

The term "Ashkenazi" pronunciation is used to denote a variety of pronunciations used by the communities of Eastern and Central Europe and by immigrants from these communities who settled down in other parts of the world. We shall first survey briefly the salient features of the Ashkenazi pronunciation in the consonantal and vowel system. As regards the former system, the Ashkenazi pronunciation possesses two main features, which are shared by all its varieties, namely:

(a) the realization of ע as א that is, as "zero" (in some varieties of the Ashkenazi pronunciation [*n*] appears sporadically as the reflex of ע; this [*n*] may appear also as the reflex of historical א, e.g., *kanšer*, "when" (Heb. כַּאֲשֶׁר)).

(b) the realization of the soft ת as [*s*], e.g., *'bayis*, "house."

The vowel system of the Ashkenazi pronunciation is far from being homogeneous. Thus the *ḥolem* is pronounced as [*ey*], and its realization is identical to that of the *ṣere*, in the northeastern variety of the Ashkenazi pronunciation (this variety is more commonly called the "Lithuanian"); as [*oy*] in the southeastern and central variety; as [*aw*] in many of the subtypes of the western varieties; as [*ow*] in those varieties of the Ashkenazi pronunciation used in the last generations in English-speaking countries. By and large the geographical distribution of the main varieties of the Ashkenazi pronunciation agrees with that of the dialects of Yiddish.

To quote another illustration of the heterogeneity extant in the Ashkenazi pronunciation as to the realizations of the vowels: the *qameṣ* is realized, in different varieties of the Ashkenazi pronunciation, as [*o*] or [*u*]. Of all the three major groups into which the traditional non-Samaritan pronunciations of Hebrew are divided, the Ashkenazi pronunciation is the only one to possess distinct phonetic realizations for all seven vowel graphemes of the Tiberian vocalization system: *šureq-qibbuṣ* (the *qibbuṣ* in the Tiberian vocalization is an allograph of the *šureq* and does not denote a different vowel phoneme), *ḥolem, qameṣ, ḥireq, ṣere, segol*, and *pathaḥ*. In the Yemenite pronunciation, which reflects the Babylonian, there is no distinction between *pathaḥ* and *segol* (see above); in the Sephardi, which continues the Palestinian, there is no distinction between *qameṣ* and *pathaḥ* on the one hand and between *ṣere* and *segol* on the other. In the course of time, however, some varieties of the Ashkenazi pronunciation developed a leveling of the realizations of two of the seven Tiberian vowels. In the northeastern ("Lithuanian") variety the realization of the *ḥolem* had been equaled with that of the *ṣere*, both becoming consequently [*ey*]; in most, if not all, subtypes of the southwestern and central varieties the realization of the *šureq-qibbuṣ* had been equaled with that of the *ḥireq*, both becoming consequently [*i*] or rounded [*i*]. These developments within the Ashkenazi pronunciation resulted from parallel developments in the Yiddish dialects of the regions in which the above varieties of the Ashkenazi pronunciation were used. The fact that the Ashkenazi pronunciation had originally possessed distinct phonetic realizations for all seven vowels of the Tiberian vocalization system led some scholars to surmise that the Ashkenazi pronunciation constitutes, in its vowel system, a direct continuation of the Tiberian pronunciation. This opinion, however, cannot be accepted since there is evidence that until the 13th century C.E. the Sephardi pronunciation was used by the Ashkenazi communities. The above evidence is borne out by various sources (vocalized texts, transcriptions of Hebrew words in Latin character, notes in grammatical treatises), which show that in Ashkenazi communities until the 13th century C.E. the *qameṣ* was realized as *pathaḥ* and the *ṣere* as *segol*, and these two features are typical of the Sephardi pronunciation. The evidence is reinforced by certain Hebrew loanwords in Yiddish in which historical *qameṣ* is reflected by *pathaḥ* and historical *ṣere* by *segol*.

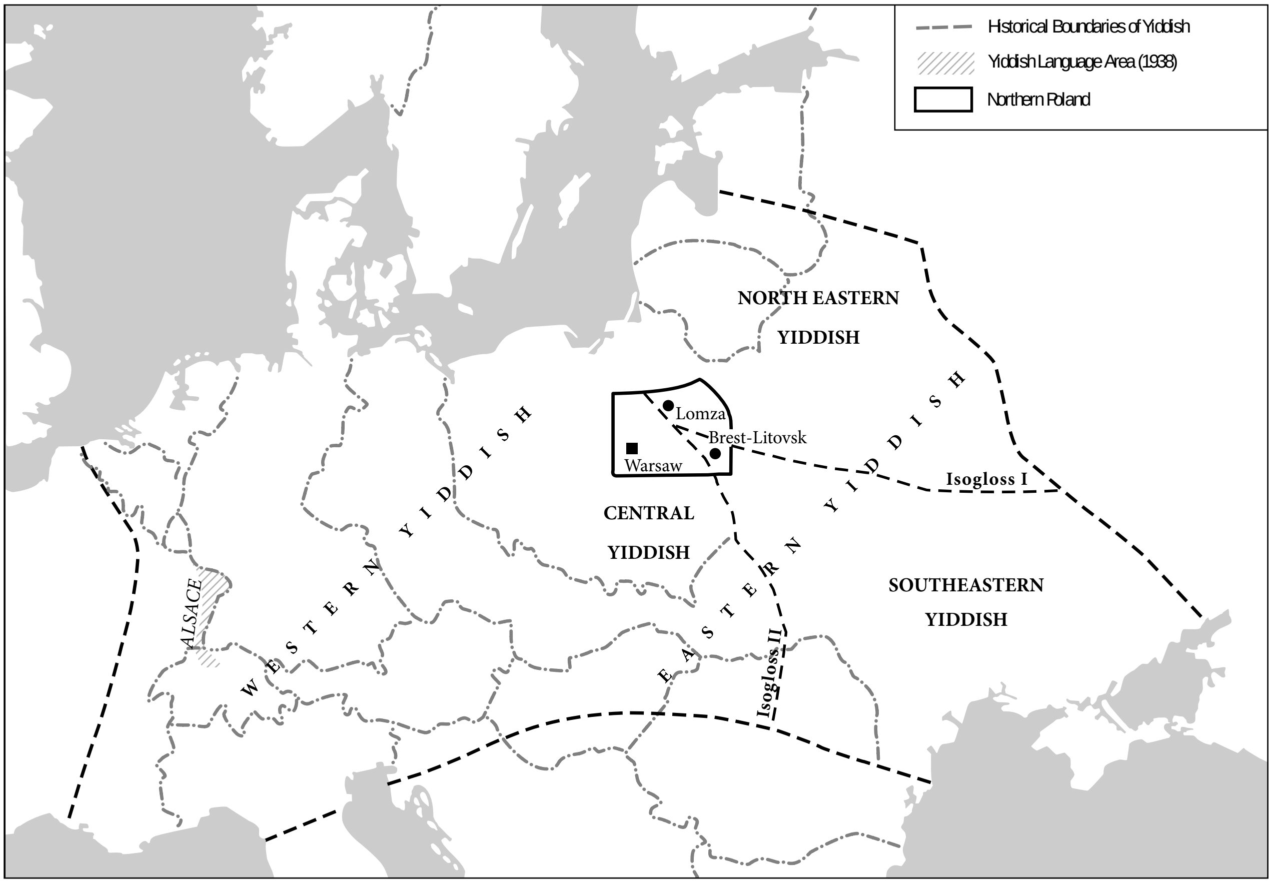

Map 2. Traditional classification of Yiddish dialects. After M. I. Herzog, The Yiddish Language in Northern Poland, *Bloomington, Indiana, 1965.*

How can the fact be explained that until the 13th century C.E. there prevailed in the Ashkenazi communities (or, at least, in a number of them) the Sephardi pronunciation, making no distinction between *qameṣ* and *pathaḥ* on the one hand and between *ṣere* and *segol* on the other, and later these communities developed the Ashkenazi pronunciation, which differentiates between the above vowels? Max *Weinreich suggested that the pronunciation which is known as Ashkenazi was formed, in its main features, in Central Europe approximately in the 13th century; until that period the pronunciation used by the Ashkenazi communities was rather close to the Sephardi. The formation of the Ashkenazi pronunciation at that time in Europe resulted from the introduction of the Tiberian pronunciation (mainly as concerns the vowel system) into the Ashkenazi communities, this introduction being made by "Babylonian" scholars and teachers who immigrated to Central Europe from Babylonia (Iraq). By that time, and in fact for generations before, the original Babylonian pronunciation (for which see above) had been superseded in the Babylonian communities by the Tiberian. The Babylonian teachers and scholars were the carriers of the Tiberian pronunciation, and its transplantation into the Ashkenazi communities is due to their activity in these communities. The introduction of the Tiberian pronunciation into the Ashkenazi communities, which, according to Weinreich, played a major role in the formation of the Ashkenazi pronunciation, is a part of a more general process that took place at that time in Ashkenaz, and which Weinreich calls "The Babylonian Renaissance." Weinreich's theory is weak in that there is not sufficient historical evidence for the transplantation of the Tiberian pronunciation into the Ashkenazi communities through the medium of "Babylonian" scholars and teachers. The explanation offered by Yalon, with whom Weinreich agrees as to the very existence of a Sephardi pronunciation (or a pronunciation close to the Sephardi) in the Ashkenazi communities prior to the 13th century, is more plausible. Yalon's opinion is that the development of the distinction between *qameṣ* and *pathaḥ*, as well as between *ṣere* and *segol* – that is, of the main features in the vowel system in which the Ashkenazi pronunciation differs from the Sephardi – is due to the influence of the vowel system of Yiddish of that period (the Judeo-German dialects of the 13th century) on the pronunciation of Hebrew current in the Ashkenazi communities. In these dialects there was a sound shift *a* > *o* (cf. e.g., German *das*, Yiddish *dos*, "this"), and this sound shift brought over the realization of the *qameṣ* (which had been realized before as a *pathaḥ*, that is, as [*a*]) as [*o*] in the Ashkenazi pronunciation of Hebrew. The rise of the differentiation between *ṣere* and *segol* followed a similar course.

Classification of the Pronunciations of Hebrew

The classification of the pronunciations of Hebrew is presented in two charts, the first showing the historical aspects of the classification (See Table 1: Hebrew Pronunciations – Historical Classification), the second indicating the present-day ramifications (or, to be more precise, the ramifications that existed, especially as to the varieties of the Ashkenazi pronunciation, until the extermination of the Jewish population of central Europe during World War II). (See Table 2: Hebrew Pronunciations – Present-day Classification.)

Table 1. Historical classification

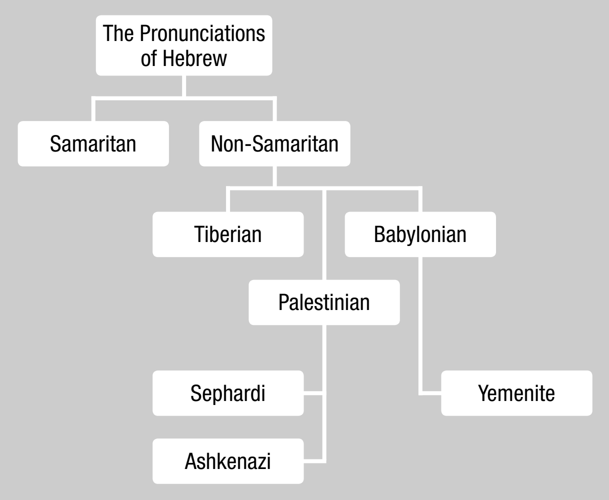

Chart: Hebrew Pronunciations – Historical Classification shows that whereas the Babylonian pronunciation was continued by the Yemenite and the Palestinian by the Sephardi and (indirectly – see above) by the Ashkenazi, there is no direct continuation of the Tiberian pronunciation in any of the pronunciations that were adopted by the Jewish communities. The present-day classification of non-Samaritan Hebrew pronunciation is as follows:

The Yemenite ramifications divide into Central, Northern, Southwestern, Aden, and Eastern.

The Ashkenazi branches are Western and Eastern. The Eastern further subdivides into Northeastern, Southeastern, and Central.

Among the Sephardi pronunciations there are those of the European communities – Ladino-speaking communities, Italian-speaking communities, and Dutch-Portuguese pronunciation – and the pronunciations of the Asian (Yemenite excepted) and African communities – Arabic-speaking communities, Aramaic-speaking communities, Persian-speaking communities, and Georgian-speaking communities.

THE REALIZATIONS OF THE CONSONANTS AND THE VOWELS AND THE STRESS PATTERNS IN THE VARIOUS PRONUNCIATIONS

First, a word of comment on the term "realization." In describing the sounds extant in the traditional pronunciations of Hebrew we have to deal with a pronunciation of a literary language transmitted from generation to generation through a reading tradition. In each of these reading traditions specific phonetic values are given to the letters that represent consonants and vowels, as well as to the vocalization signs which represent vowels and some other phonological entities. These

Table 2. Present-day classification

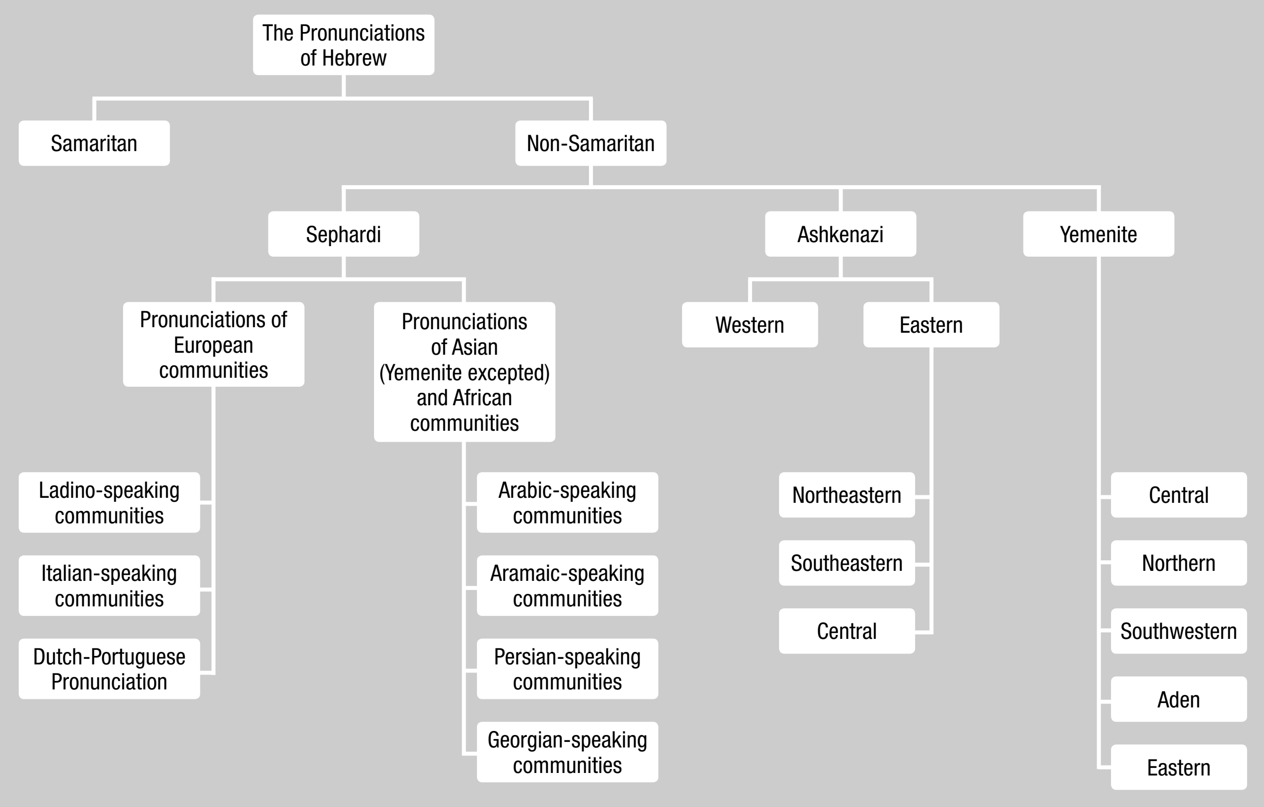
The Pronunciations of Hebrew
Samaritan
Non-Samaritan
Sephardi
Ashkenazi
Yemenite
Pronunciations of European communities
Pronunciations of Asian (Yemenite excepted) and African communities
Western
Eastern
Ladino-speaking communities
Italian-speaking communities
Dutch-Portuguese Pronunciation
Arabic-speaking communities
Aramaic-speaking communities
Persian-speaking communities
Georgian-speaking communities
Northeastern
Southeastern
Central
Central
Northern
Southwestern
Aden
Eastern

phonetic values are called the realizations of the letters and the vocalization signs. (See Table 3: Realization of Graphemes.)

The Consonants

בגדכפ״ת. The realization of these letters as plosives [*bgdkpt*] in initial position and medially after a consonant and as fricatives [*vḡḏḵf̱ṯ*] is attested in the Middle Ages in all Arabic-speaking communities, including Spain, and in France (I. Garbell, in: *Bulletin de la Société de Linguistique de Paris*, 50 (1954), 232). Of the pronunciations of Hebrew extant today, only the Yemenite pronunciation, and that of the Aramaic-speaking communities of Zakho (near Mosul, in Iraqi Kurdistan) differentiate the plosive series from the fricative series in the realizations of all the six letters. Other communities have fricative counterparts for the plosive realizations of some of the letters only, and the details will be given here. The realization of each of the בגדכפ״ת letters in the various communities will be presented according to the phonetic order of these letters (that is, in the order, פּ, בּ, תּ, דּ, כּ, and גּ).

For the letter פּ, there exist in all communities, but for the Georgian-speaking community of the Caucasus, a plosive, [*p*], and a fricative, [*f*], realization for the hard and the soft *p* respectively. The Georgian-speaking community has only the plosive realization [*p*] for both hard פּ and soft פ. Members of Arabic-speaking communities tend to replace [*p*] by [*f*] as the realization of hard פּ, but all these communities have both [*p*] and [*f*] as the realizations of hard and soft פ respectively.

The letter ב is constantly, whether hard or soft, realized as the plosive [*b*] by many Arabic-speaking communities (those of Iraq, Syria, Egypt, Libya, North Tunisia, and Algeria), as well as by the Dutch-Portuguese community of Amsterdam and by some Italian communities, such as the community of Leghorn. In the Yemenite community, the learned members distinguish between the plosive realization, [*b*], for hard בּ and the fricative realization, [*v*], for soft ב; other members of the community have [*b*], or both [*b*] and the bilabial fricative [β], as the realizations of the letter ב, hard or soft. Such a free variation between [*b*] and [β] is found also in other communities, namely those of eastern Kurdistan, the island of Djerba, southern Algeria and some of the provinces of Morocco. In the Persian-speaking communities, hard בּ is realized as [*b*], soft ב as either [β] or [*v*], and, in the vicinity of a back vowel, as the semivowel [*w*]. This realization of soft ב as [*w*] also occurs, when it comes at the end of a syllable, in some communities in the northwestern part of Italy. The Georgian-speaking community has only [*b*] as the realization of both soft and hard בּ. All the communities not mentioned here have [*b*] and [*v*] as the realization of hard and soft ב, respectively.

The letter תּ, when hard, is realized as voiceless (or fortis) dental (or alveolar) plosive by all communities but not a few exceptions: in some communities of Yemen, affricate [*ts*] occurs (mostly as a free variant of [*t*]). When it is soft, it is realized as [*s*] by the Ashkenazi communities, as interdental voiceless [*t̠*] by the Yemenite community, the Arabic-speaking Iraqi community, and the Aramaic-speaking community of Zakho in northern Iraq; as [*d*] by the communities of Italy (but for the Sephardi communities of this country); and as voiced interdental or postdental [*d̠*] by the Cochin community of India. All other communities have [*t*] as the realization of both hard and soft ת, but for some communities of Morocco which have the affricate [*ts*] for both hard and soft ת.

Only relatively few communities differentiate the realization of soft ד from that of hard ד. Soft ד is realized as an interdental [*d̠*], whereas hard ד is [*d*], by the Yemenite community, by the Aramaic-speaking Zakho community of northern Iraq (where [*z*] appears as a free variant), and by a number of communities in the Balkan countries. The Arabic-speaking community of Iraq has [*d̠*] as the realization of soft ד only in a few words: in the divine name [*ʾad̠onay*] and in the word [*ʾeḥad̠*], "one," but only when occurring in the first verse of *Qeriat Shema*. In all other words [*d*] is the realization of both hard and soft ד in the Iraqi community.

כ is realized as a voiceless velar stop, [*k*], when hard, and as a voiceless velar fricative [*k̠*], when soft, by all communities but for the Samaritan, who has [*k*] for both hard and soft כ.

ג, when soft, is realized as a voiced velar fricative, [*ḡ*], by most Arabic-speaking communities, as well as by some communities of the Balkans. The Dutch-Portuguese community has a voiceless velar fricative, [*k̠*], as the realization of soft ג. All communities not mentioned here have only one realization, [*g*], for both hard and soft ג. This is also the realization of hard ג in the above communities who do maintain this differentiation, except for certain Yemenite communities. The communities of central Yemen have a voiced prepalatal affricate, [*ǧ*], as the realization of hard ג; those of extreme eastern Yemen, and some of those of northern Yemen – a voiced prepalatal plosive, [*g*ʼ].

THE GUTTURALS. *The Laryngeals.* The letter א is realized as a glottal stop, [ʾ], in most pronunciations. It should be noted, however, that in the Ashkenazi pronunciation, and occasionally, but much less frequently, also in some Sephardi (including the Italian) and Yemenite pronunciations, it may be realized as zero, that is, it is not represented by any sound. In some Ashkenazi pronunciations the contact between two vowels caused by the elision of א in medial intervocalic position gives birth to a glide. In the Georgian-speaking community as well as in some North African communities, and in the community of Cochin (India), [*h*] appears as free variant of א.

The letter ה is realized as a glottal fricative [voiced or voiceless] by most communities. In the Italian-speaking communities its realization is, however, zero, as that of א. In some Ashkenazi communities, as well as in some communities of the Balkan countries, and in a great number of communities located in the area stretching from Libya to southeast Morocco, it varies freely with the realizations of א, that is also with zero.

Final consonantal ה (ה with a *mappiq*) is realized as [*h*] in the Yemenite pronunciation and in those of some other Arabic-speaking communities. In the Ashkenazi communities and in most Sephardi communities of Europe it is generally realized as zero. In the Dutch-Portuguese community it is realized as [*aha*].

The Pharyngeals. The realizations of the letters ח and ע as voiceless and voiced pharyngeal fricatives, [*ḥ*] and [ʿ], respectively, are found in all Arabic-speaking communities and in most Aramaic-speaking communities. Most of the Persian-speaking communities, however, have [*h*] as the realization of ח, and zero as that of ח. ע is realized as a voiceless velar fricative, [*k̠*], by all European communities, both Ashkenazi and Sephardi, and by the Georgian-speaking community. ע is realized as [ʾ] or zero by all of the European communities, with the exception of those of Italy and the Dutch-Portuguese of Amsterdam. The latter communities have a voiced velar nasal, [ŋ] – the sound of *ng* in the English word "king" – as the realization of ע. The Georgian-speaking community has for this letter a voiceless glottalized uvular plosive, [*q*ʾ], in initial and final position; intervocally it is realized as a voiced laryngealized uvular fricative.

THE EMPHATICS. ט is realized identically to its non-emphatic counterpart, ת in the pronunciations of the Ashkenazi, Italian, Dutch-Portuguese, and Sephardi communities of Europe, as well as in the pronunciation of the communities of Persia and eastern Kurdistan (in the pronunciation of the Kurdish communities, however, a historical ט is reflected in the quality of the phones of the word, which became emphatic). In the Arabic-speaking communities, the Aramaic-speaking community of Iraqi Kurdistan and in the Georgian-speaking community the realization of ט differs from that of ת: it is a velarized dental (or alveolar) voiceless (or fortis) plosive, [*ṭ*], in most Arabic-speaking communities and in the aforementioned Aramaic-speaking community; either [*ṭ*] or [*ḍ*], the voiced (or lenis) counterpart of voiceless (or fortis) [*ṭ*], in the Yemenite community, and [*t*ʼ], a voiceless glottalized dental plosive in the Georgian-speaking community.

צ is realized as a voiceless dental affricate [*ts*] by the Ashkenazi, Italian, and Dutch-Portuguese communities; as [*ṣ*], a velarized hissing sound, in the Arabic-speaking communities and the Aramaic-speaking community of Iraqi Kurdistan; as a non-emphatic [*s*] – its realization being identical to that of ס – in the Persian-speaking communities, in the Aramaic-speaking communities of eastern Kurdistan and Azarbaijan, in the Georgian-speaking community, in the community of Cochin (India), and in some communities of the Balkan and North African countries.

ק is realized identically to its non-emphatic counterpart, כ, in the Ashkenazi, the Italian, the Dutch-Portuguese, and the other Sephardi communities of Europe, in some Algerian and east Moroccan communities, and a number of Persian-speaking communities. In the following communities ק is realized in a way different from כ: in the communities of central, north-

Table 3: The Realizations of Hebrew Graphemes (letters, vowel-signs, gemination signs) in the Traditional Pronunciations

Hebrew grapheme	Samaritan pronunciation	Yemenite pronunciation					Sephardi pronunciation							Ashkenazi pronunciation		
		Central	Northern	South-western	Aden	Eastern	European communities			Asian (Yemenite excepted) and African communities				North-eastern	South-eastern	Central
							Ladino speaking	Italian speaking	Dutch-Portuguese	Arabic speaking	Aramaic speaking	Persian speaking	Georgian speaking			
א	ʾ, “zero”	ʾ, “zero”	ʾ	ʾ	ʾ	ʾ	“zero”	“zero”	“zero”	ʾ, “zero”	ʾ, “zero”	ʾ, “zero”	ʾ, h	“zero”	“zero,”(h)	“zero”
בּ	b, (β)	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b, β	b, β	b	b	b	b	b
בֿ	b, (β)	v	v, b	v, b	v, b	v, b	v	v	b	b, β	b, β, v	β, v, w	v	v	v	v
גּ	g	ǧ	g’	g	g	g’	g	g	g	g	g	g	g	g	g	g
גֿ	g	ḡ, q^{x}	ḡ	ḡ	ḡ	ḡ, q^{x}	g	g	x	ḡ	ḡ	ḡ	g	g	g	g
דּ	d	d	d	d	d	d	d	d	d	d	d	d	d	d	d	d
דֿ	d	d̲	d̲	d̲	d̲	d̲	d	d	d	d	d̲[1]	d	d	d	d	d
ה	ʾ, “zero”	h	h	h	h	h	h, “zero”	h, “zero”	h	h	h	h	“zero”	h	“zero,” h	“zero,” h
הּ	“zero”	h	h	h	h	h	h, “zero”	h, “zero”	ha	h, “zero”	h, “zero”	h, “zero”	“zero”	“zero”	“zero”	“zero”
ו	b,(w)	w	w	w	w	w	v	v, w	v	w, v[1]	w, β	β, v, w	v	v	v	v
ז	z	z	z	z	z	z	z	z, s, dz, ts	z	z[2]	z	z	z	z	z	z
ח	ʾ, “zero”	ḥ	ḥ	ḥ	ḥ	h	x	x	x	ḥ	ḥ	ḥ, h	x	x	x	x
ט	ṭ, t	ṭ, ḍ	ṭ, d	ṭ, ḍ	ṭ, ḍ	ṭ, ḍ	t	t	t	ṭ	ṭ, t	t	tʾ	t	t	t
י	y	y	y	y	y	y	y	y, (ğ)	y	y	y	y	y	y	y	y
כּ	k	k	k	k	k	k	k	k	k	k	k	k	k	k	k	k
כֿ	k	k̲	k̲	k̲	k̲	k̲	k̲	k̲	k̲	k̲	k̲	k̲	k̲	k̲	k̲	k̲
ל	l, (ḷ)	l	l	l	l	l	l	l	l	l	l	l	l	l	l	l
מ	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m
נ	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n
ס	s, (ṣ)	s	s	s	s	s	s	s	s	s[3]	s	s	s	š[4]	s	s
ע	ʾ, “zero,” ʿ	ʿ	ʿ	ʿ	ʿ	ʿ	“zero”	ŋ	ŋ	ʿ	ʿ	ʿ, ʾ, ”zero”	qʾ	“zero”	“zero”	“zero”
פּ	b, f	p	p	p	p, f	f	p	p	p	p, f	p, f	p	p	p	p	p
פֿ	b, f	f	f	f	f	f	f	f	f	f	f	f	p	f	f	f

צ	ṣ, s	ṣ	ṣ	ṣ	ṣ	ṣ	ts	ts	ts	ṣ	ṣ, s	s	s	ts	ts	ts
ק	q, ͗	g, ǥ	g, ǥ	q	q, ʁ	g, ǥ	k	k	k	q, ͗	q	ǥ, ʁ, (k)	k͗	k	k	k
ר	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r, ḡ	r, ḡ	r, ḡ
שׁ	š	š	š	š	š	š	š	š, s	š	š[5]	š	š	š	see ס	š	š
שׂ	š	s	s	s	s	s	s	s	s	s[5]	s	s	s	see ס	s	s
תּ	t	t	t	t	t	t	t	t	t	t, (t^{s})	t	t	t	t	t	t
ת	t	ṯ	ṯ	ṯ	ṯ	ṯ	t	d	t	t, (t^{s}), ṯ[6]	t, ṯ[1]	t	t	s	s	s
dageš forte	CC	CC	CC	CC	CC	C	C	CC	C	CC	CC, C	C	C	C	C	C

šureq-qibbuṣ	u, o[7]	u, (ü), (ʉ)	u	u	u	u	u	u	u	u	u, (ü)	u, (ü), (ʉ)	u	u	i, (ü), (ʉ)	i, (ü), (ʉ)
ḥolem	u, o[7]	ö	ö	e	e	ö	o	o	o	o[8]	o	o	o	ey	y	oy[9]
qameṣ	a, å	å	å	å	å	ɒ	qameṣ (except when coming in closed unstressed syllable: "qameṣ qaṭan") is identical to pathaḥ, both being realized as a; "qameṣ qaṭan" is realized as o. Exception: some Persian speaking communities realize the qameṣ as å.							o	u	u
pathaḥ	a, å	a, ä	a, ä	a, ä	a, ä	a, ä								a	a	a
ṣere	ε[10]	e	e	e	e	e	In all varieties ṣere and segol are realized alike, as e ~ ε							ey	ay	ay
segol	ε[10]	realization is identical to that of pathaḥ												ε	ey, e	ey, e
ḥireq	i	i	i	i	i̬	ə	i	i	i	i	i	i	i	i	i, ə	i, ə
mobile šewa		basic realization = ǎ; when preceding y = ǐ; when preceding ͗, h, ḥ or ͑ = ultrashort vowel, identical in quality to the vowel of the following consonant					e ~ ε	e ~ ε	e ~ ε[11]	e ~ ε	e ~ ε[12]	a, (ʌ)	e	e, ə	e, ə	e, ə
ḥatef-pathaḥ		ǎ	ǎ	ǎ	ǎ	ǎ	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a
ḥatef-segol		ǎ	ǎ	ǎ	ǎ	ǎ	e ~ ε	e ~ ε	e ~ ε	e ~ ε	e ~ ε	e ~ ε	e	ε	ey, e	ey, e
ḥatef qameṣ	å̌	å̌	å̌	å̌	å̌	å̌	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	u	u

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1. In some communities.
2. In some North African communities a sound intermediate between z and ž.
3. In some North African communities a sound intermediate between š and s (for these communities see also footnote 4).
4. No distinction between ס (and שׂ) and שׁ; both realized as š or as a sound intermediate between š and s.
5. For North African communities see ס.
6. In Iraq.
7. Merger of šureq-qibbuṣ and ḥolem into one phoneme, whose allophones are o, u.
8. In North African communities merger of ḥolem and šureq-qibbuṣ into one phoneme, whose allophones are o, u.
9. In German-speaking communities: aw.
10. Merge of these phonemes into one phoneme: ε; allophones: e, a.
11. Šewa ga'ya = a: šewa preceding y=i.
12. In some communities as in the Yemenite pronunciation, but less consistently.

Notes to Table 3.

1. Two or more phonetic signs are given as the realizations of any letter (or of a vowel sign) in a specific community, when the letter has two or more realizations, the relationship between them being that of "free" or "positional" allophones (that is, sounds whose articulation depends on their position in the word, the preceding and the following sounds, the structure of the syllable, etc.).

One of the phonetic signs that represent the realizations of a letter comes in brackets when it is less common than the other realizations, or when it is used only by a part of the community in question.

2. c stands for "consonant." cc = a geminated, double, consonant.

3. The sign ˘ above a letter representing a vowel, denotes that the vowel is ultrashort, e.g. [ă] = ultrashort [a].

4. A long vowel is denoted by a line above it, e.g. [ā] = long [a].

ern, and eastern Yemen it is realized as a voiced velar or uvular plosive [*g*] or [*ǥ*]. In the communities of southwest Yemen and Aden it is realized as a voiceless uvular plosive, [*q*], which has, particularly in the community of Aden, a voiced uvular fricative, [ʁ], as its variant in certain positions. In some Persian-speaking communities ק is realized as a voiced uvular stop, [*ǥ*], which has as its variant a voiced uvular fricative [ʁ]; other Persian-speaking communities realize ק as [*k*]. Many Arabic-speaking communities and those speaking Aramaic have a voiceless uvular plosive, [*q*], as the realization of ק. In the community of Aleppo, as well as in some communities of Algeria and Morocco, ק is realized as a glottal stop, [ʾ]; in these communities, however, this realization of [ʾ] exists alongside with [*q*]. In the communities of southern Algeria and Cochin, ק has a velar, or uvular, voiceless fricative, [*k*], as its realization (along with the realization [*q*]). In the Georgian-speaking community ק is realized as a velar-uvular affricate, [*k*ʶ].

THE SIBILANTS. No community maintains the distinction that existed in biblical Hebrew between the phonemes represented by the letters שׁ, ס, and שׂ. In the Samaritan community the realization of שׂ is identical to that of שׁ; in all other communities the realization of שׂ is equal to that of ס. Most communities realize שׁ as an unvoiced hushing sound, [*š*], and ס (as well as שׂ) as an unvoiced hissing sound, [*s*]. Exceptions are the following:

(1) In the northeastern ("Lithuanian") Ashkenazi and some North African communities, no distinction was made between the realization of שׁ on the one hand and that of ס (and שׂ) on the other, the exact articulation of the sound representing both שׁ and ס (and שׂ) – whether [*š*] or a sound intermediary between [*š*] and [*s*] – varying locally. This pronunciation, which corresponds to dialectal features of northeastern Yiddish, tended to disappear after about 1930. A similar phenomenon occurs in some Moroccan communities in which both שׁ and ס (and שׂ) are realized as a sound intermediary between [*š*] and [*s*], or as [*s*].

(2) In some communities of Greece the realization of שׁ as [*š*] has a variant [*s*].

(3) In the communities of northwest Italy, and to a lesser extent in the communities of northeast Italy, שׁ is realized as [*s*].

ז is realized by most communities as a voiced hissing sound, [*z*]. In some Italian-speaking communities it is realized as a voiceless hissing sound, [*s*]; in other communities as an affricate, voiced, [*dz*], or voiceless, [*ts*]. In both categories of these communities, the exact realization of ז depends on the position of the letter in the word. In some communities of Morocco it is realized as a sound intermediary between [*z*] and [*ž*].

RESH. The letter ר is realized as an apical flap or trill, [*r*], by most of the Arabic-speaking, Aramaic-speaking, and Persian-speaking communities as well as by the Sephardi communities of Europe. Most of the Ashkenazi communities, on the other hand, realize it as a voiced velar fricative [*ḡ*], or a velar frictionless continuant; some Ashkenazi communities, however, realize ר as an apical flap or trill, [*r*].

THE SEMIVOWELS. The letter ו is realized by most Arabic-speaking communities as the semivowel [*w*]; in some communities of Syria and Egypt, as well as in northwest Morocco, it is realized as a labiodental voiced fricative, [*v*]; in the communities of northeast Morocco the realization [*w*] has the variant [*v*]; in some communities of Algeria [*w*] is realized as a bilabial voiced stop, [*b*]. In the Aramaic-speaking communities ו is realized as [*w*]; this realization, however, has a bilabial voiced fricative, [β], as its variant. In the Persian-speaking communities the realization of ו is identical to that of soft ב: it is either a bilabial voiced fricative, [β], or a labiodental voiced fricative, [*v*]; in the environment of a back vowel it has as its variant the semivowel [*w*]. Some Italian-speaking communities realize as [*v*] when it comes in initial and medial position, but as [*w*] in final position.

All Ashkenazi communities have [*v*] as the realization of ו.

The letter י is realized by the great majority of the communities as the palatal semivowel [*y*]. Some communities have for this realization the variants [*i*] or [ʾ*i*], the particular positions in which these variants occur differing for the various communities. In some communities in northeast Italy, י, when occurring at the beginning of a syllable, is realized as the voiced prepalatal affricate, [*ğ*]. According to the medieval grammarians Profiat Duran and Abraham de Balmes, such was the realization of geminated י in Provence and Italy.

GEMINATION. The *dageš forte* is realized by doubling the consonant in the Arabic-speaking communities and the Aramaic-speaking communities of eastern Kurdistan. However, a single consonant occurs in some of these communities as the realization of a letter which has a *dageš forte*, particularly in an unstressed syllable. Most of the Italian-speaking communities also have a doubling of the consonant as realization of the *dageš forte*; the communities of northeast and northwest Italy, however, tend to realize a letter with a *dageš forte* in a way identical to that of a letter not possessing a *dageš forte*.

All the Ashkenazi communities, as well as the Persian-speaking communities, disregard the *dageš forte* in their traditional pronunciations.

The Vowels

The basic features of the vowel systems of the three major groups of the traditional pronunciations, in their relation to the Tiberian system of vocalization, were described above. We shall now present the realizations of the vowels in the various pronunciations.

ŠUREQ-QIBBUṢ וּ, –ֻ. The Ashkenazi communities of the regions in which southeastern and central Yiddish was spoken – that is the Ukraine, Poland, Western Hungary, Western Slovakia, etc. – realize the *šureq* and the *qibbuṣ* as [*i*], or, some of them, as [*ü*] (rounded [*i*]). A realization of the *šureq* and the *qibbuṣ* as [*ü*], or as a centralized variant of this vowel, [*ʉ*], also exists in a number of other communities – in some communities of Yemen, in Shiraz (Persia), Azarbaijan, in western Kurdistan, in some communities of northwestern Morocco, in northwestern Italy – but in most of these communities the realizations in question, rounded [*i*] and [*ʉ*], are in fact variants of [*u*]. Since *qibbuṣ* appears in the vocalization of the Bible mostly in closed unstressed syllable, some scholars stated that in these communities a realization of the *qibbuṣ* is found – rounded [*i*] or [*ʉ*] – which differs from that of the *šureq*, which is [*u*]. But the situation is not so. Today a consistent and regular differentiation between the realization of the *šureq* and that of the *qibbuṣ* does not exist in any community.

For communities in which the difference between the realizations of the *šureq* (and the *qibbuṣ*) and that of the *ḥolem* was neutralized, see below.

ḤOLEM וֹ, –ֹ. In two groups of communities, which were geographically located quite apart, the realization of the *ḥolem* was identical with that of the *ṣere*: in the communities of the regions in which northeastern ("Lithuanian") Yiddish was spoken, and in the communities of southwest Yemen (as well as in the community of Aden): in the former group both the *ḥolem* and the *ṣere* were realized as [*ey*], in the latter as [*e*]. From a historical point of view, however, there is no relation between the realization of *ḥolem* as *ṣere* in these two groups of communities. In the "Lithuanian" communities this realization apparently resulted from an interference of Yiddish in the traditional pronunciation of Hebrew. In the pronunciation of the aforementioned Yemenite communities, the realization of *ḥolem* as *ṣere* constitutes a feature of the pronunciation that prevailed in some Babylonian communities of the geonic period (see above).

The communities of the regions in which central and southeastern Yiddish was spoken realized the *ḥolem* as [*oy*], some German-speaking communities as [*au*], English-speaking communities as [*ou*]. In the communities of central, northern, and eastern Yemen – that is, in all Yemenite communities but for these in which *ḥolem* is realized as *ṣere* (see above) – the *ḥolem* is realized as a lower-mid rounded central vowel, [*ö*] (quite similar to the realization of *eu* in French *peur*). A similar realization of the *ḥolem* is attested in the Aramaic-speaking communities of Persian *Azerbaijan.

QAMEṢ AND PATHAḤ –ָ, –ַ. All the Sephardi communities of Europe, the Italian communities, the Dutch-Portuguese communities of Amsterdam, and all the Asian and African communities – but for the Yemenite and the Persian (to some extent – see below) – do not differentiate between the realization of *qameṣ gadol* (that is, a *qameṣ* not occurring in a closed unstressed syllable) and that of a *pathaḥ*: they are both realized as a low front (or, in some communities, low central) vowel, [*a*]. This is a feature typical of the Sephardi pronunciation. In the Aramaic-speaking communities of eastern Kurdistan and Persian Azerbaijan a historical *qameṣ gadol* (which is realized as [*a*]) is reflected by the emphaticization of the phones of the word in which it occurs. All the above-mentioned communities realize *qameṣ qaṭan*, i.e., *qameṣ* which comes in a closed unstressed syllable (and which historically reflects the phoneme [*u*]) *as* [*o*], that is as a *ḥolem*. It should be noted, however, that the communities in question make two exceptions to the realization as [*o*] of *qameṣ* which historically reflects the phoneme [*u*], namely:

(1) A *qameṣ* preceding a *ḥatef-qameṣ*, e.g., in נָעֳמִי, is consistently regarded by these communities as a *qameṣ gadol*, and is realized as [*a]*. This realization of the *qameṣ* originated in the fact that these communities regard the *metheg* that follows a *qameṣ* preceding a *ḥatef-qameṣ* as indicating that the **qameṣ* is a *qameṣ gadol* (whereas in fact it indicates that the syllable is open and that it has secondary stress).

(2) In the word כָּל, but only in two instances in the Bible (Ps. 35:10; Prov. 19:7) the *qameṣ* is realized as [*a*], that is, this word is pronounced [*kal*]. The reason for this lies in the fact that in these two instances the word כָּל has an accent, and this has been taken by the communities whose pronunciation is Sephardi to indicate that the *qameṣ* is a *qameṣ gadol*, which is realized as a *pathaḥ*, namely [*a*] (see Z. Ben-Ḥayyim, *Studies in the Traditions of the Hebrew Language* (1954), 71–72).

The Ashkenazi, the Yemenite, and some Persian communities differentiate between the realizations of *qameṣ* (*qameṣ gadol* as well as *qameṣ qatan*: no distinction is made in these communities between these entities) and that of *pathaḥ*. In the Ashkenazi communities the *qameṣ* is realized as [*o*] or [*u*] (the latter realization prevailing in communities of the region in which central and southeastern Yiddish is spoken). Most of the Yemenite communities realize the *qameṣ* as a rounded lower-mid back vowel, [*å*]; the communities of Ḥabbān and Ḥāḍina in Ḥaḍramaut realize the *qameṣ* as an unrounded low back vowel, [ɒ]. Some Persian-speaking communities realize the *qameṣ* as a rounded lower-mid back vowel, [*å*].

ṢERE AND SEGOL ֵ, ֶ. All the communities which follow the Sephardi pronunciation have one realization for both *ṣere* and *segol* (see above).This realization is a front higher-mid or lower-mid vowel, [*e*] or [*ɛ*]. In some North African communities no distinction is made between the realizations of *ṣere* (and *segol*) and that of *hireq*. This applies also, to some extent, to the Iraqi community. In the Yemenite pronunciation the realization of the *segol* is identical with that of the *pathaḥ*. The Ashkenazi pronunciations are divided into two major groups as to the realizations of *ṣere* and *segol*:

(1) The communities of the area of northeastern Yiddish (the "Lithuanian" communities), as well as some other Ashkenazi communities, realized the *segol* (in a stressed syllable) as a front unrounded higher-mid vowel, [*e*]; the *ṣere* is realized as the diphthong [*ey*].

(2) Many communities of the areas of central and southeastern Yiddish realize the *segol* in a stressed syllable as [*ey*] and the *ṣere* as [*ay*]. No community makes any distinction between the realization of a defective *ṣere* and that of full ("plene") *ṣere*, as well as between the realization of a defective *segol* and that of a full ("plene") *segol*.

ḤIREQ ִ. All communities realize the *ḥireq* as a high front vowel, [*i*], with some positional variants. In eastern Yemen the *hireq* is realized as a central vowel, [ə].

THE ŠEWA ְ. In presenting the realizations of the *šewa* two points should be considered: the principles that guide the various communities in differentiating a *mobile šewa* from a *quiescent šewa*; the realizations of the *mobile šewa* in the various communities.

Mobile Šewa and Quiescent Šewa in the Various Communities. The Yemenite community and the communities that adhere to the Sephardi pronunciation, including the Italian community, regard the *šewa* sign as denoting *mobile šewa* when it belongs to one of the following categories:

(1) when it appears in the beginning of a word;

(2) when it follows another *šewa*;

(3) when it comes with a letter that has a *dageš forte*;

(4) when it comes with the second of two identical letters, as in the word הִנְנִי (to this rule, however, there are exceptions);

(5) when it follows, in medial position, *qameṣ, ṣere, ḥolem, šureq*, or *ḥireq* which do not come in a syllable that has a primary stress, but may have a secondary stress (the reading traditions of many communities regard the *metheg* as a sign denoting secondary stress), and after which a *dageš forte* does not come (this applies mostly to the *ḥireq*). It should be noted that there is no general consistency as to the realizations of the *šewa* of this category as a *mobile šewa*. In Hebrew grammar this *mobile šewa* is known as "a *šewa* following a 'long vowel'"; in the traditional pronunciation of these communities, however, there is no consistent differentiation between "long" and "short" vowels in accordance with the opposition between these two categories of vowels in Hebrew medieval grammatical theory (primarily, in the grammatical theory of the school of the Kimḥis). Therefore, for the actual pronunciation of the communities in question this kind of *mobile šewa* cannot be defined in terms of "a *šewa* following a 'long vowel.'"

In some Yemenite pronunciations the second of two final *šewas* is regarded as *mobile*.

In the reading of the post-biblical literature the communities who adhere to the Sephardi tradition disclose some deviations from the ways they follow in differentiating the *mobile šewa* from the *quiescent šewa* in the reading of the Bible. The most prominent among these deviations is the realization as a *quiescent šewa* of the *šewa* in forms of the *qatĕla, qatĕlu, qotĕlim*, and *qotĕlot* patterns.

In the pronunciations of the Ashkenazi communities a *šewa* which historically should be regarded *mobile* is in fact *quiescent* in many cases. This is always the case with a *šewa* coming with a letter that has a *dageš forte* (see above, category (3)); these communities do not geminate the consonants) and with a *šewa* that follows a so-called "long vowel" (above, category (5)). As to an initial *šewa* (above, category (1)), its realization either as a vowel (that is, as a *mobile šewa*) or as zero (that is, as a *quiescent šewa*) depends on the phonological rules according to which initial clusters may or may not exist in the vernaculars of the various communities.

The Realizations of the Mobile Šewa. In the Yemenite community there exist three categories in the realizations of the *mobile šewa*:

(1) when it comes with a letter which is not followed by י or by a guttural (that is, a laryngeal – ה, א, or a pharyngeal – ע, ח), the *šewa* is realized like an ultrashort *pathaḥ*, namely, [ă];

(2) when it comes with a letter which is followed by י, the *šewa* is realized as an ultrashort *ḥireq*, namely [*ī*];

(3) when it comes with a letter which is followed by a guttural (but is not itself a guttural), the *šewa* is realized as an ultrashort vowel, whose quality is identical to that of the vowel of the following guttural. Thus, when the vowel of the following guttural is a *qameṣ*, the *šewa* is realized as an ultrashort *qameṣ* namely, [ŏ]; when it is a *šureq*, the *šewa* is realized as an ultrashort *šureq*, namely [ŭ]; when it is a *ḥolem* the *šewa* is realized as an ultrashort *ḥolem*, namely [*ŏ*].

A *šewa* followed by a *gaʿya* ("*šewa-gaʿya*") is realized by the Yemenite community as a short (not an ultrashort) vowel, its quality being determined by the nature of the following consonant as stated above, in categories (1), (2), (3). The realizations of the *mobile šewa* in the traditional pronunciation of the Yemenite community disclose complete agreement with the realizations of the *mobile šewa* in the pronunciation that prevailed in the Tiberian school. To these latter realizations a number of medieval grammatical treatises bear evidence. Very few communities except the Yemenite have preserved the above realizations that the *mobile šewa* had in the Tiberian school: they exist – but much less consistently than in the Yemenite community – in the Aramaic-speaking communities of western Kurdistan. Some Persian-speaking communities, as well as the Aramaic-speaking communities of Persian Azerbaijan (see above) have the realization [*a*], or [^], a lower-mid unrounded back bowel, for the *mobile sewa*. This realization is identical, in quality, to category (1) of the realizations of the *sewa* in the Yemenite community; but whereas in the Yemenite community this realization occurs when the *šewa* comes in certain positions only (see above), in the above-mentioned communities it is the regular realization of the *mobile šewa*. The Dutch-Portuguese community realizes the *šewa -gaʿya* as [*a*] and a *šewa* preceding **ʾ** as [*i*], an ordinary *mobile šewa* as [*e*]. All the communities that follow the Sephardi tradition – except the Dutch-Portuguese community and the above-mentioned Aramaic- and Persian-speaking communities, which can be regarded as following the Sephardi tradition in as much as they realize the *qameṣ* as *pathaḥ* and the *ṣere* as *segol* – realize the *šewa* as a phone which is qualitatively identical to the realization of the *ṣere* and the *segol*. Quantitatively, the *ṣere* and the *segol*, when they come in stressed syllables, may be realized as long vowels, whereas the *šewa*, which does not come in a stressed syllable, is always realized as a short vowel.

In the Ashkenazi communities, the *šewa*, in those instances in which it is realized as a vowel (see above) is realized as [*e*] or [*ə*]. The Samaritan community has usually a vowel as the counterpart of a *mobile šewa* of the Tiberian vocalization.

THE ḤATEFS. The Yemenite community is the only one to have preserved the quantitative difference between the realization of a *ḥatef* and that of a vowel which is its counterpart, that is between *ḥatef-pathaḥ* and *pathaḥ*, between *ḥatef-segol* and *segol*, between *ḥatef-qameṣ* and *qameṣ*; the *ḥatefs* are realized as ultrashort vowels which are qualitatively identical with the vowels which are their counterparts – *ḥatef-pathaḥ and ḥaṭef-segol* as [ă], *ḥatef-qameṣ* as [å̆]. The reason for the identity of the realizations of the *ḥatef-pathaḥ* and the *ḥatef-segol* is that in the Yemenite pronunciation the realizations of the *pathaḥ* and *segol* are identical.

In the Sephardi and Ashkenazi pronunciations the *ḥatefs* are realized as the vowels which are their counterparts: *ḥatef-pathaḥ* is realized as [*a*], *ḥatef-segol* as [*e*] (or as a variant of this phone, in accordance with the variants of the realizations of the segol in the various communities), *ḥatef-qameṣ* as [*o*].

VOWEL QUANTITY. No community maintains, in the realizations of the vowels, the distinction between a "long" and a "short" vowel ("*tenuʿah gedolah*" and "*tenuʿah qeṭanah*"), a distinction prevalent in later medieval grammatical theory. In most communities long realizations of the vowels occur in stressed syllables. The Yemenite community maintains the distinction between ultrashort and ordinary vowels, the *mobile šewa* and the *ḥatefs* being realized as ultrashort vowels.

Stress

The communities which follow the Sephardi tradition follow, in reading the Bible, the Tiberian rules of stress distribution, as regards both primary and secondary stress. In reading the post-biblical literature there are, in these communities, quite a few cases of deviations from these rules (detailed studies as to the stress distribution in the reading traditions of post-biblical literature in the Sephardi communities are, as yet, missing).

The Yemenite community generally maintains in reading the Bible the Tiberian rules of stress distribution in words which have disjunctive accents; words which have conjunctive accents, on the other hand, quite frequently have stress patterns differing from those of the Tiberian tradition. This latter phenomenon is manifest in the fact that words, which in the Tiberian tradition have an ultimate stress ("*milleraʿ*"), have in the Yemenite pronunciation the stress on the penultimate syllable ("*milleʿl*"), and occasionally on the antepenultimate, when they come with a disjunctive accent. In the reading of post-biblical literature the number of the words having a penultimate or an antepenultimate stress, and which according to the Tiberian rules of stress distribution should have an ultimate stress, is greater than in the reading of the Bible.

The Ashkenazi communities do not adhere to the Tiberian rules of stress distribution. Quite frequent is the occurrence of penultimate (or, in some communities, antepenultimate) stress where the Tiberian tradition has ultimate stress.

Samaritan Hebrew has, as a rule, penultimate primary stress (with concomitant secondary stress on the second syllable preceding the one which has the primary stress; secondary stress may fall on the syllable directly preceding the syllable which has the primary stress – this is the case when the former syllable has a long vowel). It may be, however, proven that the actual stress patterns of Samaritan Hebrew are rather late, and that the stress patterns that Samaritan Hebrew formerly possessed were identical with those of Tiberian Hebrew (Z. Ben-Ḥayyim, *Sefer Ḥanokh Yalon* (1963), 149–160).

SPECIMEN TEXTS

The text of Genesis 47:28–31 is given here in the traditional pronunciations of several communities

1. ˊ= primary stress; , = secondary stress. Both signs appear before the stressed syllable. When a word has no stressed syllable, no space is left in the transcription between this word and either the preceding or the following word. Since in the Samaritan pronunciation, stress usually falls on the penultimate syllable, it is not marked in specimen text no. 1, unless it occurs in the last syllable.

2. A colon that follows a letter representing a vowel denotes that the vowel is ultralong, e.g. [ā:] = ultralong[a].

1. The Samaritan Community

(transcription kindly provided by Professor Z. Ben-Ḥayyim)

Gen. 47:28: wyī yå:qob bårəṣ miṣrəm šåba ʿåšåra šēna wyåyyu yåmi yå:qob šēni ʿayyo šåba šēnəm warˊbīm wmåt šēna.

29: wyiqrābu yåmi yišråʾəl almot wyiqra albēno alyūsəf wyåʾūmər lū am nā måṣåtti ån bīnək šim nā yēdåk tēt yirki waššītå nā immådi ēsəd wåmət al nā tiqbårinni båmiṣrəm.

30. wšåkåbti am åbūti wnåšåttåni mimmiṣrəm wqåbårtåni afqēbirråtimma wyåʾūmər ånåki ēšši kådēbårək.

31. wåyʾūmər iššāba li wyiššāba lū wyištabbi yišråʾəl ʿal rēʾoš ammēṭå.

2. The Yemenite Community (Ṣanʿa)

28. wayh´ḥi ,yaʿa´göv bă´ʾāraṣ miṣ´rāyim šă´vaʿ ʿas´re šå´nå way´ḥi yă´me ,yaʿă´göv šă,ne ḥay´yow ´šāvaʿ šå´nim wă´ʾarbåʾim ʾum´ʾaṯ ,šå´nå.

29. Wayyigră´vu yă´me yisrå´ʾel lå´mūṯ wayyig´rå liv´nö lĭyö´sef way´yömar ´lö ʾim̱´nå må´ṣåṯi ´ḥen beʿe´nāḵå ´simnå ,yåḏă´ḵå ´tāḥaṯ yăre´ḵi wåʿå´sīṯå ´immåḏi ´ḥāsaḏ waʾă´maṯ ´ʾalnå ṯigbă´rēni bamiṣ´råyim.

30: wašåḵav´ti ʿim ʾavö´ṯay ʾunså´ṯāni mimmiṣ´rāyim ʾugvar´tāni big,vūrå´ṯåm way´yömar ,ʾånö´ḵi ´ʾaʿăsa ḵiḏ´vå rāḵå.

31: way´ yömar hiš,šåvå´ʿå li way,yiššå´vaʿ ´lö wayyiš´taḥu yisrå´ʾēl ´ʿalröš ,hammī´ṭṭå.

3. The Iraqi Community (Baghdad)

28: way´ḥi ´yāʿa´qob be´ʾēreṣ məṣ´rāyəm šəbaʿ ʿəs´re ša´na way´hi ye´me ,yāʿa´qob še´ne ḥay´yaw ´sēbaʿ ša´nim we-ʾarba´ʿim ʾum´ʾaṯ šā´nā.

29: wayyiqre´bu ye´me yisra´ʿēl la´mūṯ wayyəq´rā ləb´no leyo´sef way´yomer ´lo ´ʾimna ma´ṣāṯi ´ḥen beʿe´nēḵa sim´na yade´ḵa ´taḥaṯ yere´ḵi weʿa´siṯa ´ʿəmmadi ´ḥesed weʾe´mēṯ ʿal´na ṯəgbe´rēni beməṣ´rāyəm.

30: we,šāḵab´ti ʿimʾabo´ṯay wunsa´ṯāni məmməs´rāyəm wuqbar´tani biq,bura´ṯam wayyoʾmar ´ʾano´ḵi ʾeʿ´se ,kədba´reḵa.

31:way´yōmer həš,šābe´ʿa ´lī way,yišša´bāʿ ´lō wayyiš taḥu yisrå´ʾēl ´ʿalrös ,hammī´ṭṭā.

4. The Aleppo (Syria) Community

28: way´ḥi[1] ´yāʿa´qob be´ʾēreṣ məṣ´rāyim ši,vaʿes´re ša´na way´hi ye,me yaʿa´qov še´ne ḥa´yav ´ševaʿ ša´nim weʾarba´ʿim um´at ša´nā. note: Var.: vayhi [v] and [w] both appear in the pronunciation of the Aleppo community as the realizations of Heb. ו.

29: wayiqrə´vu ye,me yisra´ʾēl la´mut wayəq´rā lĭb´no leyo´sēf wa´yomer ´lo ʾəm´na ma´ṣati ´ḥen ,beʿe´nēḵa ,sim´na ,yade´ḵa ´taḥat yere´ḵi veʿa´sita ʿəmma´di ´ḥesed ,veʾe´met ʾal´na təqbe´rēni beməṣ´rāyim.

30: we,šaḵav´ti ʿəmʾavo´tay wunsa´tāni məməṣ´rāyim wuqbar´tani bəq,būra´tam wayo´mar ,ʾano´ḵi ʾeʿ´se ,kədba´rēḵa.

31: wa´yomer hiš,šaveʿal´li wayiš,ša´vāʿlo wayiš´taḥu yisra´ʾel ʿal´roš hamməṭ´ṭā.

5. The Community of Lithuania

28: vay´ḵi ´yankev beʸeḡets mits´ḡaim ´švaesrey ´šono va´yi yemey´yankev šney ´ḵayov ´ševa ´šonim veaḡ´boim u´meas ´šono.

29: va´yikḡvu yemey yis´ḡoel lo´mus va´yikḡo liv´ney le´yeyeʸ seyf va´yeymaḡley im´no mo´tsosi ´ḵeyn bey´nēḵo ´simno ´yodḵo ´taḵas ye´ḡeyḵi veʸ o´siso i´modi ´ḵesed ve´ʸemes ´alno tigbe´ḡeyni bemitsḡaim.

30: vešo´kavti ima´veysay unso´sani mimits´ḡaim ukvaḡ´tani bikvu´ḡosom va´yeymaḡ o´neyḵi ee´se kidvo ´ḡēḵo.

31: va´yeymeḡ i´šovoli vayi´sovaley vayiš´taḵu yis´ḡoel al´ḡeyš a´mito.

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[Shelomo Morag]

PROOPS, family of Hebrew printers, publishers, and booksellers in Amsterdam. SOLOMON BEN JOSEPH (d. 1734), whose father may have been a Hebrew printer as well, was established as a bookseller in Amsterdam and associated with other printers from 1697 to 1703. In 1704 he set up his own Hebrew press, which produced mainly liturgical books but also a wider range of works in *halakhah, aggadah*, Kabbalah, ethics, and history. In 1714 Proops began to print a Talmud edition in competition with that planned by Samuel b. Solomon Marches and Raphael b. Joshua de Palasios, but was forced by them to discontinue in view of their prior rabbinic monopoly. From 1715 productions by Proops carried advertisements of books he had published, and in 1730 he issued a sales catalog (*Appiryon Shelomo*), the first such Hebrew publication.

At his death, appointed guardians continued to operate the press, and even when his sons JOSEPH (d. 1786), JACOB (d. 1779), and ABRAHAM (d. 1792) took over, they traded under the old name until 1751. Between 1752 and 1765 the sons – now under their own name – printed a Talmud edition with interruptions, which were due in part to attempts to print a Talmud in *Sulzbach, against which they successfully asserted their own rabbinical monopoly. In 1761 they bought the typographical material of the *Athias press, but business declined. In 1785 Joseph Proops sold most of his work to Kurzbeck of Vienna, and when he died a year later his widow and sons – for some time in partnership with Abraham Prins – continued printing on a small scale until 1812. From 1774 to his death Jacob Proops worked on his own; his widow and sons continued along until 1793 and until 1797 in partnership with SOLOMON (d. 1833), son of Abraham Proops; Solomon worked alone until 1827. Abraham Proops had been active on his own in 1776–79; afterward he removed his business to *Offenbach, but his son, who worked with him, returned to Amsterdam at his father's death. DAVID, a son of Jacob Proops, printed from 1810 to 1849 in partnership with H. van Emde and his widow, when the press was sold to Levisson who continued it until 1869; the Levisson brothers remained active until 1917.

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PROOPS, MARJORIE (1911–1996), British advice columnist and journalist. Born Rebecca Marjorie Israel in Tottenham, London, the daughter of salesman, she went to art school and became a freelance fashion artist, known as Marjorie Proops after her marriage. Around 1945 she became fashion editor of the London *Daily Mirror* newspaper and soon after began the advice column which made her nationally known, "Ask Marje." Emulating such American advice columnists as Abigail Van Buren, Proops became probably the best-known "Agony Aunt" (as such columnists are known) in Britain. She was especially noted for her extreme frankness on sexual matters and is seen as having a role in initiating the more liberal attitudes of the 1960s. A 1992 biography by Angela Patmore, *Marje: The Guilt and the Gingerbread*, revealed her own failing marriage and many affairs. Proops was named Woman Journalist of the Year in 1969 and was the author of an autobiography, *Dear Marje* (1976).

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[William D. Rubinstein (2nd ed.)]

PROPERTY.

Classification

Property may be divided into different classes in accordance with the various legal principles applicable thereto. One common division is between immovable property and movables, distinguished from each other in the following respects among others: in their different modes of *acquisition, since there cannot be a "lifting" (*hagbahah*) or "pulling" (*meshikhah*) etc., of land; the law of overreaching (see **Ona'ah*) applies to the sale of movables but not land, apparently because land is always distinctive by virtue of its quality and situation and frequently it is of varying value for different people (see *Sefer ha-Ḥinnukh*, no. 340); in the case of land a rival claim to ownership may be resisted upon proof of three-year possession (see **Ḥazakah*), whereas movables which are in a person's possession for any period of time are presumed to belong to him; litigants are only required to swear an *oath if the dispute concerns movables and not land; unlike movables, land can never be stolen (see *Theft and Robbery) since it cannot be removed or carried away – and it is for this reason that originally only the debtor's land and not his movables became subjected to the creditor's *lien (although later, as a result of changed economic circumstances, the lien was extended by the Babylonian *geonim* to both categories, probably because the majority of Jews had ceased to be landowners at that time). The laws relating to slaves resemble those applicable to land in some respects – for instance as regards overreaching – and in other respects resemble the laws applicable to movables – for instance as regards incidental acquisition (*kinyan aggav*, Tos. to BK 12a).

For the purposes of debt recovery, land is divided into best, median, and poorest quality (*iddit*, *beinonit*, and *zibburit*, respectively). A claim arising from tort is recovered from land of the best quality, the creditor's claim from the median, and the wife's *ketubbah* from the poorest (Git. 5; see also *Execution). In biblical times land was further classified according to location, thus, "a dwelling house in a walled city," "land of one's holding," "land that is purchased" (Lev. 25:25ff.; 27:16ff.).

Movables may be classified by a number of criteria:

(1) *perot* ("fruits" or "produce") and *kelim* ("vessels" or "utensils"), the one for consumption and the other for use respectively; the latter serve for the purpose of acquiring by barter by way of *kinyan sudar*, the former not (see *Acquisition, Modes of);

(2) animals and other movables, the former requiring three-year possession for establishment of title whereas *ḥazakah* of the latter is immediately acquired (Sh. Ar., ḤM 133–5);

(3) coins which are legal tender constitute a special category of movables which cannot be acquired or alienated by barter and can only be given as a loan for consumption but not for use and return (i.e., the borrower need not return the very coins of the loan);

(4) deeds are another separate category of movables since these are not in themselves property but only serve as evidence

of their contents, and they differ from other movables in their modes of acquisition (see *Shetar*; *Assignment).

A criterion unrelated to physical differences is one between property that is owned and ownerless property (*hefker*), for which there are different modes of acquisition. Owned property is further subdivisible into public property (see Meg. 26; BB 23a and *Tosafot*) and private property (including joint ownership (see *Partnership)); and into consecrated property (*hekdesh*) as distinct from property of the common man (*nikhsei hedyot*). It is forbidden for the common man to derive a benefit from consecrated property as long as it retains its sanctity of which there are different categories (see *Hekdesh*).

Consecrated property is further distinguished from property of the common man as regards the modes of acquisition and the applicable laws of overreaching, tort, etc. Land which is owned may be classified into free, unencumbered property (*nekhasim benei ḥorin*) and encumbered and mortgaged property *(nekhasim meshu'badim)*, the latter being land sold by the debtor to others but remaining charged in favor of his creditors for the repayment of debts which cannot be recovered out of his free property (see *Lien).

Another separate category is property from which no enjoyment may be derived, such as *ḥameẓ* ("leaven") on Passover, the ox that is condemned to death by stoning, fruit of the *orlah* (i.e., the first three years), etc. Such property is not considered to be in the possession of its owner, nor apparently does the latter have a full proprietary right thereto since it not only cannot be enjoyed but may not even be purchased or sold (see *Lien).

Property is further divisible into capital, fruits or profits, and improvements (*keren, perot*, and *shevaḥ*, respectively). The capital is the property as it is at any given time; the fruits are the profits derived therefrom; and the improvement is the increase in market value of the property – whether deriving from actual improvement, natural or effected, or from increase in market price without such.

Proprietary Rights

OWNERSHIP. This is the most common proprietary right and is closely connected with possession. A person is the owner of property if he has possession thereof for an unlimited period, or if it is out of his possession for a limited period only and thereafter is due to be restored to him for an unlimited period – for instance when it had been let, lent, or even when it has been lost or stolen or robbed from the owner in circumstances where it may be surmised that he will regain possession of the property; if not, his ownership of the property will likewise terminate. Since the same property may be in the possession of different people – for instance, one in possession of a dwelling and another of its upper floor – it follows that ownership may be shared by different people with each owning a defined part of the property. The owner does not have unrestricted freedom to deal as he pleases with his property. In biblical times for instance it was not possible to sell a field in perpetuity, but only until the Jubilee Year. Other restrictions have applied at all times, including the following: a person may not use his land in such a manner as to disturb his neighbors in the normal use of their land (see *Nuisance); in certain special circumstances a person is obligated to allow others the use of his land (BK 81a).

RIGHTS IN THE PROPERTY OF OTHERS. Short of ownership, a person may have proprietary rights in the property of others (*jura in re aliena*). Such rights are not exhausted by the recognized legal categories thereof, but may be freely created by the parties thereto in a form and on conditions suited to their needs, without restriction. Broadly, however, these rights may be classified as falling into one of the following three categories: a right to the use of another's property along with its possession as in the case of hire (see *Lease and Hire), loan, and bailment; a right to the enjoyment of another's property without its possession – such as the right to project a bracket into the space of the neighboring courtyard; a right in the form of a charge on another's property, such as a mortgage, and the abutter's rights (see *Maẓranut*; *Execution). All the above proprietary rights have in common the fact that they avail against the whole world, including the owner of the property concerned, continue to attach to the property even if it be sold to a third party, and cannot be cancelled without the right-holder's consent. Hence these rights are like a form of limited or partial ownership for a specific purpose – their acquisition being a "transfer of the body for its fruits," such as transfer of a tree for its fruit, a dovecote for the fledglings, or land for a road or thoroughfare (see *Servitude). Similarly, hire is like a sale for a limited period and loan like a gift for a limited period (Yad, She'elah 1:5; Sekhirut 7:1). However, this does not really amount to full, nor even limited, ownership (*Nimmukei Yosef*, BM 56b, in the name of Ran), but only to a real right in the property, available against the whole world.

The most common of the first of the above-mentioned categories of *jura in re aliena*, i.e., with possession, is hire or *lease. The lessor, like the lender or bailor, may not withdraw during the subsistence of the contract and the lessee's rights are protected against all comers, including the lessor. A contract of lease may take various forms and, in the case of land, may be for monetary remuneration or the right to work the land for a proportional part of the produce (Yad, Sekhirut 8:1) – the latter right either for a fixed period or passing on inheritance; the lease may even take the form of a sale of the land for return after a number of years. The "sale for the fruit" is so close to the transfer of ownership that the *amoraim* disputed whether acquisition for the fruits was an acquisition of the land itself (*kinyan ha-guf*; Git. 47b), i.e., whether the sale of a field for its fruits involved transfer of the field's ownership or not. When the law of Jubilee Year was observed, any sale of a field was in fact no more than a sale for its fruits.

The proprietary rights attaching to the above relationships carry also corresponding personal rights or obligations. Thus in the case of movables it is the duty of the hirer to take care of the hired property and he assumes liability for damage arising from his negligence, or from the loss or theft of the property, and – in the case of loan – even from inevitable accident. These obligations are separate from the proprietary right in question and the two may even come into effect at different times (see Tos. to BM 99a). Thus an unpaid bailee who has mere custody or detention, but not possession, of the deposit – since it may be removed by the owner at any time – apparently has not proprietary right in the deposit but only the obligation to take proper care thereof and to compensate for his neglect to do so. Other similar obligations may be circumscribed by agreement in the same way as are the terms of the real rights, since both may be created by the parties in a manner they think fit.

The second of the above-mentioned categories of proprietary rights are those which allow a person the enjoyment of another's property without its possession. These include a man's right to cause a nuisance to his neighbor or to project an abutment into the airspace of his neighbor's court (see *Servitude). Similarly, a man buying a tree has the right of having it stand in the land of the seller (BB 81b), or the owner of a vine or shrub to have it cling to the tree of his neighbor (BM 116b). These too are proprietary rights which are transferable to others and available against purchasers of or heirs to the servient property, the owner whereof may not withdraw from or cancel the said rights.

Acquisition and Transfer of Proprietary Rights

The usual transfer of proprietary rights is by the parties' will. There are two categories of voluntary acquisition of ownership, the first involving the acquisition of ownerless property, and the second acquisition of property from its former owner. For acquisition of the former, i.e., original acquisition, it is necessarily required that the person becoming entitled thereto have possession of the property together with the intention of acquiring its ownership. Hence in this case the formality of acquisition is satisfied by way of a "lifting" or "pulling" of the property, or by its presence within his "premises which are guarded for him" or his "four cubits" (*arba ammot*), or, in the case of land, by acts revealing his control thereover (i.e., *ḥazakah*).

For the acquisition of property from its former owner, it is not necessary that the acquirer have possession of the property, which may be at any place whatever. In this case acquisition takes place by consent of the parties and their making up their minds to the transaction so as to exclude withdrawal therefrom. Here too it is not sufficient that the parties make up their minds, but this fact must also be revealed in a manner that is recognized by all. In general it is customary for the parties to make up their minds and complete the formal acquisition by the same modes as those applicable to the acquisition of ownerless property; additional modes of acquisition in this case are those which naturally reveal that the parties have made up their minds – including by way of money, deed, delivery (*mesirah*), barter, or by way of an act or formality which for historical reasons had become recognized as an act of acquisition, such as *kinyan sudar* (acquisition by means of the "kerchief") and *kinyan aggav* (incidental acquisition). These acts are not symbolic of anything else, but are acts bringing about the making up of the parties' minds and its revelation. Hence if in a particular locality some other act is equal legal validity (as, e.g., in the case of *kinyan* customary in the closing of a transaction, it will be of *sitomta*, i.e., affixing of a mark).

For details, see *Acquisition, Modes of.

Extinction of Ownership

A person's ownership of property is extinguished when he is reconciled (makes up his mind) to the fact that he no longer has permanent possession of the property or that it will no more return to his permanent possession. Here too his state of mind must be revealed and recognizable to all, save that no formal act is required and it may be indicated by speech or conduct alone. Thus ownership terminates upon (1) **ye'ush* ("despair"), i.e., when the owner abandons hope of recovering possession of property of which he has been deprived, for example through loss or theft; (2) abandonment or reunification, whereby the owner reveals his intention to terminate his ownership, whether or not the property be in his possession (see **Hefker*); (3) transfer or alienation of property to another, whereby the owner reveals his intention to terminate ownership thereof but only through its acquisition by a specific person and only from the moment of such acquisition. Transfer of ownership other than by the will of the parties concerned, takes place on a person's death (see *Succession), or upon forfeiture by order of the court, or by the operation of law (see *Confiscation, Expropriation, Forfeiture). Ownership is also extinguished upon the destruction of property or its transmutation (*shunnui, specificatio*).

In the State of Israel

Property law in the State of Israel is governed mainly by Knesset laws, such as the Water Law, 5719 – 1959; the Pledges Law, 5727 – 1967; the Bailee's Law, 5727 – 1967; the Sale Law, 5728 – 1968; the Gift Law, 5728 – 1968; the Land Law, 5729 – 1969; etc. Some of the provisions of the above laws are in accordance with Jewish law on the particular subject.

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[Shalom Albeck]

PROPHETS, LIVES OF THE, name given to one of the few examples of ancient Jewish hagiographic writings (another example being the "Martyrdom of Isaiah"). Although in its present form the book contains some Christian elements, there is a general consensus among scholars as to the antiquity and the basic Jewish character of the work. Many of the traditions, such as that of Isaiah's death at the hands of Manasseh, find echoes in Jewish apocryphal and rabbinic literature (see also Martyrdom of *Isaiah).

The primary text is preserved in Greek. The Greek version falls into four recensions, two attributed to Epiphanius of Cyprus (hence the title "Pseudo-Epiphanius" sometimes given to this work), one to Dorotheus, and one anonymous. The anonymous recension is to be found in Codex Morchalianus (Codex Q of the Septuagint). It is generally considered to be the oldest extant form of the work. Certain of the other recensions, especially that attributed to Dorotheus, are much expanded, containing the lives of various New Testament figures, apostles, and so forth. The "Lives of the Prophets" is also known in a number of the Oriental Churches in translation. There are various Syriac forms of the book which all appear to be developments of a single original translation from Greek. Although it is attributed to Epiphanius, Nestle and Schermann were of the opinion that the form of the Syriac "Lives" contained in the Syrohexaplar Code represents a different translation, but this is denied by Torrey. The "Lives" are also extant in Armenian, in a number of forms, but little is known of this version. Most scholars consider the Greek to be original, although Torrey posited a Hebrew original for the book.

The recension of Q contains the lives of Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and Daniel, followed by the lives of the Twelve Minor Prophets. These are followed by the lives of Nathan, Ahijah, Joed (identified with the anonymous prophet who is mentioned in I Kings 13), Azariah (son of Oded – II Chron. 15:1ff.), Zechariah b. Jehoiada (II Chron. 24:20–22; cf. Matt. 23:35; Luke 11:51), Elijah, and Elisha. Some of these "Lives" are quite extensive, containing many traditions of extra-biblical character touching on the circumstances of birth, acts, or death of the prophet concerned. Others seem to be limited to the very barest of details of place of birth and death. The traditions contained in these brief narratives are of considerable interest. Some of them are found in other sources, others are extant only in the "Lives." It is plausible that the "Lives" preserve references to lost apocryphal documents or at least traditions in common with them. The popular character of many of the traditions also adds to their interest. The "Lives" abound with geographical names, not all of which can be identified.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: E. Nestle, *Marginalien und Materialien* (1893), 1–64, 2nd pagination; T. Schermann, *Propheten-und Apostellegenden* (1907); idem, *Prophetarum Vitae Fabulosae…* (1907); C.C. Torrey, *The Lives of the Prophets* (Gr. and Eng. 1946).

[Michael E. Stone]

PROPHETS AND PROPHECY. This article is arranged according to the following outline:

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IN THE BIBLE

Classifications

The second division of the Hebrew Canonical Scriptures is today subdivided into "The Former Prophets," i.e., the books of Joshua, Judges, Samuel, and Kings (the term is taken from Zech. 1:4, where it has a different sense), and "The Latter Prophets," i.e., the books of Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and the Twelve Minor Prophets.

This division is basically a chronological one. A preferable nomenclature would be the pre-classical, or popular, prophets and the classical, or literary, prophets. The latter terminology is reserved for those prophets whose oracles were preserved in writings either by themselves, their disciples, or their scribes (e.g., Jer. 36:4, 18). The primary literary remains of the pre-classical, prophets, in contrast, are the stories and accounts of their lives transmitted at first, no doubt, orally by followers and admirers. Though several third-person biographical accounts of the classical prophets have also been preserved in their respective books (e.g., Isa. 36–39; Jer. 26ff.; Amos 7:10–17), these stories are secondary to their prophetic pronouncements. The terminological division serves as a formal external criterion for distinguishing between the two.

Nature of Prophecy

The institution of prophecy is founded on the basic premise that God does not abandon humans to their own devices, but provides them with divine guidance. A prophet is a charismatic individual endowed with the divine gift of both receiving and imparting divine messages. In biblical theory, the prophet does not choose his profession but is chosen, often against his own will, to convey the work of God to his people regardless of whether or not they wish to hear it (Ezek. 3:11). A prophet does not elect to prophesy, nor does he become a prophet by dint of a native or an acquired faculty on his part. Prophecy is not a science to be learned or mastered. There is no striving to be one with God, no *unio mystica*, no indwelling of God within the spirit of the prophet through rapture, trances, or even spiritual contemplation. The prophet is selected by God and is irresistibly compelled to deliver His message and impart His will, even if he personally disagrees with it. He is to some extent set apart from his fellowmen and is destined to bear the responsibility and burden of being chosen. The prophet stands in the presence of God (Jer. 15:1, 19) and is privy to the divine council (Isa. 6; Jer. 23:18; Amos 3:7). He speaks when commanded, but once commanded, must speak (Amos 3:8). Appointed messenger, he must translate his revelatory experience into the idiom of his people. For though the prophet is overwhelmed by the divine word and becomes "word possessed," he does not lose his identity nor does he suffer from any effacement of personality. The "word of YHWH" and not His "spirit" is the primary source of prophecy. The "spirit" may prepare the prophet to receive divine revelation, may evoke the revelatory state of mind, but the "word" is the revelation itself. What makes him a prophet is not the spirit which envelops or moves him – for this spirit also motivated elders, judges, Nazirites, and kings – but the word that he has heard and which he transmits to others. In fact, the "spirit" or the "hand" of God (see below) is mentioned only occasionally in the writings of the classical prophets (a major exception being Ezekiel), and then it constitutes the stimulus, not the content, of revelation. The prophet, although conscious of being overwhelmed by the divine word and of being involved in an encounter with God, is still capable of reacting and responding and may even engage God in a dialogue. The divine constraint does not exclude the prophet's personal freedom; his individuality is maintained, and the divine message is accented by his own tones.

The prophetic experience is one of confrontation. The prophet is both a recipient and a participant. Armed solely with the divine word and as conveyor of the divine will, he views the world *sub specie dei*. He is concerned not with the being of God but with the designs of God. He has knowledge not about God but from God concerning His actions in history. The prophet is neither a philosopher nor a systematic theologian, but a mediator, often a covenantal mediator, who delivers the word of God to his people in order to shape their future by reforming their present. He is not the ultimate source of the message nor its final addressee; he is the middleman who has the overpowering experience of hearing the divine word, and who must perform the onerous task of bearing it to a usually indifferent if not hostile audience.

The individuality of the prophet is never curtailed. No two prophets prophesied in the same style. Their unique literary styles, whether expressed in prayers, hymns, parables, indictments, sermons, dirges, letters, mocking and drinking songs, or legal pronouncements, bear the mark of independent creativity. The divine message is refracted through the human prism. This is dramatically brought out by the striking image of the prophets' receiving, literally eating, God's word, and then bringing it forth (Jer. 15:16ff.; Ezek. 3:1ff.). God speaks to the prophet and the prophet speaks out. The divine revelation is delivered by a human agent.

ORIGIN AND FUNCTION. The Hebrew term for a prophet, *navi'*, cognate of the Akkadian verb *nabû*, "to call," i.e., "one who has been called," is first applied to Abraham. He merits this title because of his role as intercessor (see below): "But you [Abimelech] must restore the man's wife [Sarah] – since he is a prophet, he will intercede for you – to save your life" (Gen. 20:7). The origin of the office of prophecy, according to Deuteronomy, is rooted in the event at Horeb. Since the people were afraid of receiving God's word directly in a public theophany (divine manifestation), they requested Moses to "go closer and hear all that our Lord our God tells you… and we will willingly do it" (Deut. 5:24). The account serves as an etiological explanation of why ordinary Israelites do not have direct access to the divine word. This etiology is elaborated in the words of Moses: "I stood between the Lord and you at that time to convey the Lord's word to you, for you were afraid of the fire and did not go up the mountain" (Deut. 5:5; cf. Ex. 19:19). Thus Moses in Deuteronomy serves as the inaugurator of prophecy in Israel (se further Deut. 18:15–19).

The term *navi'*, translated in the Septuagint by the Greek word *prophētēs* ("prophet"), which means "one who speaks on behalf of" or "to speak for" "speak before," is a "forthteller" and spokesman as well as a "foreteller" and prognosticator. He is God's mouthpiece (Jer. 15:19); the one to whom God speaks, and who, in turn, speaks forth for God to the people. This, indeed, is the very definition of the prophet's role found in several places in the Bible. In Exodus 4:15–16 the roles that Moses and Aaron are to assume before Pharaoh are delineated: "You [Moses] shall speak to him [Aaron] and put the words in his mouth… and he shall speak for you to the people. Thus he shall be your spokesman and you shall be an oracle [*ʾelohim*]." In Exodus 7:1, "The Lord replied to Moses, 'See I make you an oracle [*ʾelohim*] to Pharaoh, and your brother Aaron shall be your spokesman' [*naviʾ*]." So, too, in Deuteronomy 18:18, "I will raise up a prophet for them among their own people, like yourself. I will put My words in his mouth, and he will speak to them all that I command him."

DREAMS. Moses, though he is called a *naviʾ* for the first time only in Deuteronomy (18:15; 34:10), is cast as the prophet par excellence. He is distinguished by God's revealing Himself directly to him, "mouth to mouth, plainly and not in riddles," while to other prophets, God revealed Himself only in visions or dreams (Num. 12:6–8). This distinction between *dreams and prophecy is made because of the universal belief that gods communicate their will to humans through the medium of dreams. Several instances of divine revelation through dreams are attested in the Bible, e.g., the dreams of Abimelech (Gen. 20:3; cf. Gen. 31:10–13); Solomon (I Kings 3:5–14); Joel (3:1); and Job (33:14–18).

In Deuteronomy 13:2ff. dreams are directly linked to prophecy. It is no wonder, then, that they are considered a possible means for determining the will of God, e.g., I Samuel 28:6 (cf. 28:15). Nevertheless, this means for revealing the will of God is frowned upon by some prophets (see Jer. 23:28; 27:9; Zech. 10:2; cf. Jer. 29:8). Dream interpretation existed in ancient Israel as shown by I Samuel 28:6, 15 and by the stories of Joseph and Daniel. Even though classical Judaism viewed prophecy as a thing of the past, dream interpretation persisted in rabbinic literature (Bar 101–7).

DIVINATION. In the aforementioned quotations from the books of Jeremiah and Zechariah, the medium of dream communication is coupled with that of divination, a science that was well known and widely spread throughout the entire Ancient Near East. It was a highly specialized skill, which enabled the expert practitioner to peer into the world of the future by fathoming the inexplicable will of the gods. The art of divination was extremely elaborate and encompassed many different fields, including hepatoscopy, extispicy, lecanomancy, libanomancy, necromancy, belomancy, reading entrails, bird omens, astrology, and so on. Against these common practices of Israel's neighbors the Bible inveighs, "You shall not practice divination or soothsaying" (Lev. 19:26); "Do not turn to ghosts and do not inquire of familiar spirits" (Lev. 19:31; cf., also, 20:6, 27). The most comprehensive prohibition is found in Deuteronomy 18:10–11: "Let no one be found among you who consigns his son or daughter to the fire, or who is an augur, a soothsayer, a diviner, a sorcerer, or one who casts spells, or who consults ghosts or familiar spirits, or who inquires of the dead." The prohibition is a clear indication that these practices obtained in Israel (see I Sam. 28:7; II Kings 23:24; Isa. 2:6; 8:19; 29:4). In keeping with their attribution of practices of which the biblical writers disapprove (e.g., forms of sexual activity) to the Canaanites, the biblical legislator of Deuteronomy 18:10–11 expresses disapproval of some divinatory practices by identifying them with the Canaanites. The Bible is well aware of divination in other nations as well, e.g., Philistines (I Sam. 6:2; Isa. 2:6); Babylonians (Isa. 47:9, 12–13; Jer. 10:2; 50:35; Ezek. 21:26–28), and Egyptians (Isa. 19:3). It is of interest that the Bible never says that these practices are ineffective. When a prophet vilifies other prophets, he may link them rhetorically with sorcerers (Jer. 27:9).

Biblical opposition to divination is selective. There are several biblical analogues to various forms of divination, e.g., hydromancy or oleomancy (Gen. 44:5, 15), and tree oracles (II Sam. 5:24). Other biblically sanctioned, legitimate means through which God discloses His will are dreams (I Sam. 28:6; see above), the *Urim and Thummim placed in the priest's breastplate (Ex. 28:30; Lev. 8:8; Num. 27:21; I Sam. 14:41; Ezra 2:63), and the *ephod (I Sam. 23:9ff.). In fact, it seems that prophets may have, at times, fulfilled the same function as the last two. This is suggested by the manner of framing questions in the simple form of alternatives in I Samuel 14:37, 42 (cf. Greek version); 23:11, and I Kings 22:6. Lots (Num. 26:55–56) and the ordeal (Num. 5) were also occasionally resorted to.

Pre-Classical Prophets

TERMINOLOGY. The pre-classical prophets are referred to by four different names: *ḥozeh, roʾeh*, both meaning "seer"; *ʾish ha-ʾElohim*, "man of God" (I Kings 13:1; Elijah, I Kings 17:18, 24; II Kings 1:10; Elisha, II Kings 4:7, 9, 21; 8:4, 8, 11; 13:19; cf. Moses, Deut. 33:1; Josh. 14:6; Ps. 90:1; Ezra 3:2; I Chron. 23:14; II Chron. 30:16); and *naviʾ*, "prophet." (The last is also the standard term for the classical prophets.) The seer was one who possessed the ability to reveal that which was concealed from ordinary mortals; he was also able to foretell the future. The term *roʾeh* is first applied to Samuel in I Samuel 9, when Saul, in search of his father's asses, seeks the aid of the seer Samuel and is prepared to pay a fee of one-quarter of a shekel. Samuel, who in this narrative (9:6) is also called *ʾish ha-ʾElohim*, and who had been previously informed by the Lord of Saul's arrival, provides the necessary information and, in addition, anoints Saul king of Israel (I Sam. 10). He then informs Saul of the events which are about to befall him on his way home. It is within this account that the editor of the narrative adds an important historical-chronological footnote (9:9): "He who now is called *naviʾ* was formerly called *roʾeh*." The title *roʾeh* is later applied to Samuel in I Chronicles 9:22; 26:28; and 29:29. The only other one clearly designated by this title is Hanani (II Chron. 16:7, 10; some also attribute it to the priest Zadok (II Sam. 15:27), but this is highly dubious). In I Chronicles 29:29 the three diversely titled prophets of the period of David, Samuel the *ro'eh*, Nathan the *navi'*, and Gad the *ḥozeh*, are named together.

The title *ḥozeh* is first applied to Gad in II Samuel 24:11, where he is called the *ḥozeh* of David (so, also in I Chron. 21:9), where he once again is distinguished by protocol from Nathan the *navi'*. (On the interchangeability of these two terms, however, one may note that Gad is also called *navi'* in I Sam. 22:5, and in II Sam. 24:11 he is accorded the dual title *navi'* and *ḥozeh*.) According to Chronicles, several other kings kept in their courts men who bore the title *ḥozeh*: I Chronicles 25:5, Heman is mentioned as a *ḥozeh* for David; II Chronicles 9:29, Jedo (Iddo) for Jeroboam (in II Chron. 12:15, he is distinguished from Shemaiah the *navi'*); II Chronicles 19:2, Jehu son of Hanani, for Jehoshaphat; II Chronicles 33:18, anonymous men for Manasseh; and II Chronicles 35:15, Jeduthun, Heman, and Asaph for Josiah. Since only the term *ḥozeh* (and not *ro'eh* or *navi'*) is found when reference is made to a king (*ḥozeh ha-melekh*), it most probably indicates that the seers who bore this title were officially attached to the court, the so-called court prophets.

The term *ḥozeh* was at times also connected with *navi'*: positively, in II Samuel 24:11 and II Kings 17:13, and negatively, in Isaiah 29:10 (cf. 28:7); Amos 7:12; and Micah 3:7. That this technical term was not confined to Israel, but was a common West Semitic title for such seers is attested by the inscription of King Zakkur of Hamath (early eighth century B.C.E.), who declares: "I lifted up my hands to Baʿalsha[may]n and Baʿalshamayn answered me [and spoke] to me through seers [חזין] and diviners" (lines 11–12; Pritchard, Texts3, 655; COS II, 155).

GROUP PROPHECY. The first story in the Bible that makes reference to a seer also mentions bands of prophets. When Saul consults the seer Samuel as to the whereabouts of his father's lost asses, he is told that he is to become "prince over his people Israel" (I Sam. 10:1). To substantiate the authenticity of this prediction, he is informed that upon arriving at Gibeah he will meet "a band of prophets coming down from the high place with harp, tambourine, and lyre before them." And when he did subsequently meet them, a "spirit of God came mightily upon him and he spoke in ecstasy among them." This encounter became the source for the proverbial question "Is Saul also among the prophets?" (I Sam. 10:12). I Samuel 19:18–24 relates this proverb to another instance of the contagious nature of group prophecy: Saul sends men to capture David, who was then in the company of Samuel. However, when the men "saw the company of prophets with Samuel standing as head over them, the spirit of God came upon the messengers of Saul and they also prophesied." This incident is repeated two more times as subsequent messengers are overcome by their contact with the band of prophets. Finally, Saul himself goes to capture David, but the spirit of God comes upon him and he, too, prophesies before Samuel, strips off his clothes, and lies naked all that day and night. Hence, it is said, "Is Saul also among the prophets?"

ECSTASY. The ecstatic nature of these groups of prophets is illuminated by Numbers 11:16ff., a narrative whose purpose may have been the legitimation of the phenomenon of ecstatic prophecy. Moses gathered 70 of the people's elders and stationed them around the Tent of Meeting. "Then the Lord came down in a cloud and spoke to him. He drew upon the spirit that was on him and put it upon the 70 elders. And when the spirit rested upon them they spoke in ecstasy" (11:25; cf. 11:16–27).

Another instance of group ecstasy is found in I Kings 22, where some 400 prophets rage in ecstasy before kings Jehoshaphat and Ahaz on the eve of their attack against Ramoth-Gilead. This feature of collective dionysiac frenzy is not confined to early Israelite prophets. In I Kings 18 it is recorded that 450 Canaanite prophets (referred to as *navi*) of Baal (and 400 prophets of Asherah, verse 19) "cried aloud and cut themselves after their manner with swords and lances till the blood gushed out upon them. And it was so, when midday was past, that they prophesied in ecstasy until the time of the evening offering…" (18:28–29). Ecstatic seizures, moreover, were not limited to groups; individuals, too, could have them. Thus, the seizure of Elijah: "The hand of the Lord was upon Elijah… and he ran before Ahab['s chariots]" (I Kings 18:46; see also *Ecstasy).

An extra-biblical reference to an ecstatic prophet is attested in the 11th-century tale of the Egyptian Wen-Amon, which takes place in Byblos. It relates that "while he [Zakar-Baal, king of Byblos] was making offering to his gods, the god seized one of his youths and made him possessed. And he said to him, 'Bring up [the] god! Bring the messenger who is carrying him! Amon is the one who sent him out! He is the one who made him come!' And while the possessed [youth] was having his frenzy on this night…" (Pritchard, Texts, 26; COS I, 90). Additional examples of this phenomenon are found among the Hittite *šiunianza* and the pre-Islamic *kāhins*.

In such a state one turns, as Saul did, into "another man" (I Sam. 10:6) and may behave madly, as witnessed by Saul's attempt to take the life of David in I Samuel 18:10ff. The irrational and ecstatic behavior of such possessed individuals makes them appear to be madmen. Thus, when Elisha goes to Ramoth-Gilead to anoint Jehu king of Israel, Jehu was asked, "Is all well? Why did this madman come to you?" (II Kings 9:11). A juxtaposition of "madman" and "ecstatic prophet" is found in Jeremiah 29:26; and in Hosea 9:7 the parallel to "prophet" is "madman." (The Hebrew term for madman, *meshuggaʿ* in these verses may very well be a *terminus technicus*, related to the Akkadian *muḫḫûm*, "crazy/frenzy," found in *Mari).

According to the Bible, an ecstatic seizure might be induced by external means, e.g., music. In II Kings 3:15 Elisha requests a musician, "and when the musician played, the power of the Lord came upon him." Specific mention of various musical instruments of the band of prophets is found in I Samuel 10:5 and II Chronicles 35:15. (Dancing in order to induce a prophetic frenzy is mentioned in connection with the Canaanite prophets of Baal, I Kings 18:26.) Of course, prophetic seizure is conceived of as dependent on God, otherwise it would simply be madness. It is ascribed directly to Him and is caused either by "the hand [*yad*] of YHWH," "the spirit [*ru'aḥ*] of YHWH" or "the spirit [*ru'aḥ*] of God." The term "the hand of YHWH" to indicate divine inspiration is employed when Elisha resorts to music to help induce this state (II Kings 3:15). It is also found in I Kings 18:46 in the description of Elijah in an ecstatic fit running before Ahab's chariot (cf. Jer. 15:17). The term "the spirit of God" appears in both I Samuel 10:6, 10 and 19:20, 23, where the spirit "came mightily" upon Saul and his messengers (cf. I Sam. 18:10). In I Kings 22:21–24 the "spirit" is responsible for inducing false prophecy. Azariah son of Oded in II Chronicles 15:1 and Jahaziel son of Zechariah in II Chronicles 20:14 are both inspired by "the spirit of God/YHWH," which comes upon them (cf. Neh. 9:30).

GROUP LIFE OF PROPHETS. The pre-classical prophets as a group were distinguished by several prominent personalities, e.g., Samuel, Nathan, Elijah, and Elisha, and by their number, at times in the hundreds. They were often banded together in groups of "disciples of the prophets" (Heb. *benei ha-nevi'im*) who may or may not have been located at a shrine. Such groups first appear when Saul encounters a "band of prophets" (I Sam. 10:5, 10) and reappear in the Elijah and Elisha cycles. Though in II Kings 4:38 it is stated that they have their meals in common, some of their members are married and have families. Elisha performed a miracle for the widow of one of the members of this order (II Kings 4:1–7). Some of them owned their own houses (I Kings 13:15 ff.). One group was found at Beth-El, and another at Jericho, the latter consisting of 50 members (II Kings 2:3, 5, 7, 15). Elisha performed miracles on behalf of his coterie at Gilgal (II Kings 4:38–44, where 100 are mentioned), and sent one of them to anoint Jehu (II Kings 9:1 ff.). He is also called their master (lit., "father," II Kings 6:21). Obadiah, the chief steward of Ahab, saved 100 of them, during the siege of Jezebel (I Kings 18:3–4, 13), and kings Ahab and Jehoshaphat consulted some 400 prophets prior to their attack against Ramoth-Gilead (I Kings 22:6). There is also one possible, but far from certain, indication that heredity may have played some role in such circles, for Jehu, the *ḥozeh*, was a son of Hanani, presumably the same Hanani who was himself a *ro'eh* (II Chron. 16:7; 19:2; I Kings 16:1, 7).

Some of these prophets had attendants in their service. Elisha ministered to Elijah (I Kings 19:21), and Elisha had an attendant (*mesharet*) himself (II Kings 4:43; 6:15). A synonymous term, *na'ar* is also employed for the servants of Elijah (I Kings 18:43; 19:3), of Elisha (II Kings 4:38; 9:4), who was also attended by Gehazi (II Kings 4:12, 25; 5:20; 8:4), and of the attendant of the "man of God" in II Kings 6:15.

ROLE IN SOCIETY. These early prophets played a prominent role in communal affairs and were often sought out and consulted for advice, and asked to deliver oracles in the name of God. In I Kings 14:5, the wife of Jeroboam turns to Ahijah; in I Kings 22:8, Jehoshaphat and Ahab to Micaiah (cf. verses 5 ff.); in II Kings 3:4 ff., Jehoshaphat and Jeroboam to Elisha; in II Kings 8:8, Ben-Hadad (king of Aram!) to Elisha; and in II Kings 22:13, Josiah to Huldah. Prophets, like ordinary people needed to make a living. There are several references to remunerations for prophetic services, sometimes amounting to as little as one quarter of a shekel (I Sam. 9:8) or ten loaves of bread, some cakes, and a jar of honey (I Kings 14:3); or as much as 40 camels bearing the treasures of Aram (II Kings 8:9). Prophets in Israel, as was true earlier in Mari, delivered their oracles whether asked to or not. In II Kings 1:3 ff. Elijah stops Ahaziah's messengers on their way to inquire of Baal-Zebub; Ahijah the Shilonite tears his new garment when he confronts Jeroboam and announces the division of the United Kingdom (I Kings 11:29 ff.); and Shemaiah announces to that same king that he should not go to war against his kinsmen of Israel (I Kings 12:22 ff.). In Israel (as in Mari and Assyria) prophets could be female as well as male (Ex. 15:20; Judg. 4:4; II Kings. 22:14; Isa. 8:3; Neh. 6:12).

Politics. The prophets greatly influenced the political destiny of Israel. Samuel chose both Saul (I Sam. 9) and David (I Sam. 16) to be kings over Israel. Nathan castigated David for his conduct with Bath-Sheba and Uriah, her husband (II Sam. 12:7 ff.), and later instigated the scheme to have David recognize her son, Solomon, as the next king (I Kings 1:8 ff.). Ahijah announced both the selection and the rejection of Jeroboam as king of Israel (I Kings 11:29–39; 14:1–18; 15:29). Another "man of God" declared to Jeroboam the future birth of Josiah, who would destroy the idolatrous priests of the high places (I Kings 13:1–2). Shemaiah, mentioned above, forbade that king to attempt to regain the ten tribes of the North (I Kings 12:22–24; II Chron. 11:2–4). Azariah son of Oded influenced King Asa to institute a reform in Judah and to rely on God (II Chron. 15:1 ff.), but the seer Hanani reprimanded Asa for requesting Ben-Hadad's aid against the blockade set up by Baasha, king of Israel (II Chron. 16:1 ff.). Jehu denounced Jehoshaphat, king of Judah, for allying himself with Ahab (II Chron. 19:2–3). (He also chronicled that king's career, II Chron. 20:34.) In I Kings 22 both Ahab and Jehoshaphat turn to the prophets for an oracle to instruct them whether or not to go to war, and they receive an answer from Micaiah. ("Shall I go to battle against Ramoth-Gilead, or shall I forbear"; the alternative form of this question is reminiscent of the type formerly addressed to the Urim and Thummim.) Elisha foretells the defeat of Moab at the hands of Jehoshaphat and Jehoram (II Kings 3:16 ff.). Elisha has one of his colleagues anoint Jehu king of Israel, inspires the latter's rebellion against Jehoram (II Kings 9), and later (II Kings 13:14 ff.) by means of a symbolic act (see below) helps insure the victory of Joash over the Arameans.

Prophets were so important to the crown that several kings had their own court prophets. Both Nathan (II Sam. 7; I Kings 1:8 ff.) and Gad (I Sam. 22:5; II Sam. 24:11; I Chron. 21:9; 29:29; II Chron. 29:25) served with David. Also in David's court were the sons of Asaph, Heman, and Jeduthun "who could prophesy with lyres, harps, and cymbals" (I Chron.

25:1 ff.; II Chron. 29:30; 35:15 – the interesting connection between the prophets and musical guilds may be noted). According to the Chronicler, both Nathan and Ahijah wrote accounts of Solomon's career (II Chron. 9:29); Jedo (Iddo) wrote of either Solomon or Jeroboam (II Chron. 9:29); Iddo and Shemaiah recorded Rehoboam's acts (II Chron. 12:15); and Iddo did the same for Abijah, Rehoboam's successor (II Chron. 13:22).

CLAIRVOYANCE AND PREDICTION. The prophets were both clairvoyant and capable of predicting future events. For example, Ahijah predicted the overthrow of Jeroboam's house and the death of his son (I Kings 14:6 ff.); Elijah predicted a drought (I Kings 17:1), and the death of Ahaziah (II Kings 1:4); and Elisha predicted a famine for seven years (II Kings 8:1), and many other events. The prophetic groups in Beth-El and Jericho knew that the Lord would take Elijah away that very day to die (II Kings 2:3 ff.). Elisha was aware that Gehazi had accepted a remuneration, for "did I not go with you in spirit when the man turned from his chariots to meet you? Is it a time to receive money…?" (II Kings 5:26). He also knew where the Arameans were encamping (II Kings 6:9) and hears their very words (6:12). Only in exceptional cases does he not foresee events, e.g., when the Shunamite's son died and he declared, "the Lord has hid it from me, and not told me" (II Kings 4:27). Elisha even falls into a trance and foretells the future harm that Hazael, king of Aram, is going to cause Israel (II Kings 8:11 ff.). Even if some of these events are *vaticinium ex eventu*, "prophecy after the events," the narratives make it abundantly clear that the people believed in the prophet's ability to foresee the future. Some prophets are also visionaries, e.g., in I Kings 22:19 ff., Micaiah sees God enthroned on high; in II Kings 6:17, Elisha sees a mountain full of horses and chariots.

SYMBOLIC ACTS. The prophets did not merely predict the future, however. They often performed symbolic acts, which dramatized and concretized the spoken word. Though the dynamism of the spoken word is considered to have a creative effect in and of itself, it is given further confirmation by this act, which is efficacious and actually plays a role in bringing about the event. Ahijah rends his garment into 12 pieces and bids Jeroboam take ten of them for "thus says the Lord of Israel: 'Behold I will rend this kingdom out of the hand of Solomon and will give you ten tribes, but he shall take one tribe for my servant David's sake…'" (I Kings 11:29 ff.). Elisha, in turn, orders Joash to take bow and arrows, open the window eastward, and shoot: "The Lord's arrow of victory, the arrow of victory over Aram! For you shall fight the Arameans in Aphek until you have made an end of them" (II Kings 13:14 ff.).

WONDERS. These prophets were also wonder workers. The two most famous are Elijah and Elisha. Elijah causes the jar of meal and the cruse of oil not to fail the widow of Zarephath, "according to the word of the Lord which he spoke" (I Kings 17:8 ff.); later, he brought her son back to life (17:17–24). He succeeded in bringing fire down from heaven in his famous contest with the Canaanite prophets (I Kings 18); split the Jordan River by striking it with his mantle (II Kings 2:8); and was swept up on high into heaven by a whirlwind (II Kings 2:11). His successor, Elisha, was no less successful in performing miracles. He, too, split the waters of the Jordan into two with Elijah's mantle (II Kings 2:13–14), made a small jug of oil fill many large vessels (4:1–7), and brought back to life a child who had died (4:8 ff.). When the inhabitants of Jericho complained that "the water is bad and the land is unfruitful," he requested a new bowl and salt, which he then threw into the water and said, "Thus says the Lord: 'I have healed these waters; henceforth neither death nor miscarriage shall come from it.' And so the waters were healed" (II Kings 2:19–22). Once in Gilgal during a famine, the prophetic guild complained that the pottage they were eating had the taste of death. By pouring some flour into the pottage, he effected a miracle and made the food edible (II Kings 4:38–41). Another miracle made a small allotment of food suffice for 100 men, "For thus says the Lord, 'They shall eat and leave some'" (4:42–44). His potency for producing miracles continued even after his death. A dead man was reported to have come back to life when his corpse was thrown into Elisha's grave and touched his bones (II Kings 13:20–21). The stories of Elijah and Elisha influenced the New Testament portrayals of Jesus.

These prophets did not always enjoy the security and immunity that their prophetic position should have assured them. Ahab persecuted or permitted Jezebel to persecute Elijah (I Kings 17 ff.); Micaiah was put into prison because he foretold the defeat of Israel and the death of Ahab (I Kings 22:27); and Asa, king of Judah, put Hanani, the seer, in the stocks, because the prophet reprimanded him for not relying on God but accepting the help of the king of Aram (II Chron. 16:7–10).

EXTRA-BIBLICAL PROPHECY: MARI. In the pre-biblical period, apostolic prophets, i.e. prophets who declare that a god has sent them, appear in Syria at *Mari in the early second millennium, while late second millennium *Emar texts have the tantalizing *nābû* and *munabbiātu* among their cultic personnel who call upon god. Seers are attested by name outside of Israel (cf. above, the Zakkur inscription). In the neo-Assyrian period favorable oracles are delivered personally to Kings Esarhaddon and Assurbanipal by individuals, mostly women, who address Esarhadddon in the name of Ishtar, and Assurbanipal in the name of Mullissu (Ninlil).

Comparison of Pre-Classical and Classical Prophets

Earlier scholars attempted to draw strong distinctions between the pre-classical prophets such as Samuel, Elijah, and Elisha and such classical prophets as Isaiah and Jeremiah. Among the alleged distinctions are the following:

(1) The classical prophets rejected the cult and ritual and called for ethical monotheism.

(2) They rejected the nationalistic outlook of the popular prophets and replaced it with their concept of universalism.

(3) Whereas the popular prophets functioned as part of guilds, the classical prophets always appear alone (e.g., Amos 7:14).

(4) The popular prophets were ecstatics, given to intoxication of the senses (I Sam. 19:20–24), and they employed musical accompaniment to induce or heighten their frenzy (II Kings 3:15). The classical prophets, however, for the most part pronounced their oracles soberly in clear control of their senses.

It was thought that there was an unbridgeable gap between the two, and with *Amos, the first of the literary prophets, the watershed was reached. Yet, there are many points of contact and continuation in the lives and writings of the classical prophets. Classical prophecy, like every other institution in ancient Israel, did not exist in a vacuum but came into being with an ancestry. The classical prophets were indebted in many ways to the heritage of their predecessors. The technical title *navi*ʾ is applied to both. Both speak solely in the name of the God of Israel, who reveals His will directly to them. They are both sent by God, hear the divine word, and are admitted into His council; their messages are sometimes rooted in the Covenant. These and the following considerations lead to the conclusion that there was one continuous religious tradition. More likely the difference between the pre-classical and classical prophets is the literary form in which the prophetic traditions have reached us.

RITUAL VERSUS MORALITY. The prophet Nathan rebukes King David for his breach of the moral law in his conduct with Bath-Sheba, and Elijah takes Ahab to task for the Naboth incident, in which Ahab was an accessory to murder. True, both indictments concern a primary breach of the moral law, adultery and murder, and are leveled against kings; but they are still an integral part of the ethical-moral dimension. Here, too, may be added Samuel's rebuke of Saul "Has the Lord as great delight in burnt offerings and sacrifices, as in obeying the voice of the Lord? Behold to obey is better than sacrifice, and to hearken than the fat of rams" (I Sam. 15:22). The classical prophets for the most part, do not reject the cult per se any more than they absolutely reject prayer or any other type of worship. To them the cultic obligations are secondary to, and dependent upon, the fulfillment of the moral code of behavior. There is a decided change in the degree of emphasis in the preexilic literary prophets, but not in the principle. Moreover, the words of castigation leveled against the cult are found in the writings of the pre-Exilic prophets; in contrast, in the books of the Exilic and post-Exilic prophets the ritual is often highly emphasized and favorably viewed (see below).

NATIONALISM VERSUS UNIVERSALISM. Nationalistic as well as universalistic tendencies are present in greater or lesser degree in the writing of both. This can be seen in Elijah's command that Elisha anoint Hazael king of Aram (I Kings 19:15), for YHWH is considered equally responsible for events in Aram and in Israel. Other universalistic themes in the early prophets are exemplified in I Kings 20:28, in which a man of God says to the king of Israel, "Thus says the Lord, 'Because the Arameans have said, "the Lord is a god of the hills but he is not a god of the valleys," therefore I will deliver all of this great multitude into your hand, and you shall know that I am the Lord,'" and in I Kings 5:15 in which Naaman, the commander of the Aramean army, after being cured by immersing himself in the Jordan River as prescribed by Elisha, confesses, "Behold, I know that there is no God in all the world but in Israel." The universalistic prophecies of the classical prophets on the other hand, do not preclude, of course, their predominant number of nationalistic oracles.

MANTICS VERSUS REPROVERS. Mantic behavior was not restricted to the pre-classical prophets. For example, Isaiah foretells the future for Hezekiah (Isa. 37:1ff.; 38:1ff.), and Jeremiah, for Zedekiah (Jer. 32:4–5, and see below). The latter also predicts the death of his prophetic rival, Hananiah (Jer. 28:16–17). At the same time, the early prophets Nathan, Elijah, and Elisha do not restrict their activity to merely predicting the future and the answering of queries, but are themselves messengers, apostles, and chasteners who deliver the word of God.

GROUP VERSUS INDIVIDUALS. Although Samuel, Elijah, and Elisha are followed by bands of prophets, when they fulfill their missions, they do it alone as individuals just as the later prophets did. The latter, too, may have had their followers (e.g., the difficult verse, Isa. 8:16), for it is most likely that it was the disciples of these prophets who recorded their masters' words (e.g., Jer. 36:4).

ECSTATICS VERSUS NON-ECSTATICS. Ecstasy, too, is not limited to the pre-classical prophets. The classical prophets had visions and unnatural experiences during their prophetic "seizures." Ezekiel, in particular, was prone to various ecstatic fits; Hosea is called a "madman" (Hos. 9:7) and so too, by direct implication, is Jeremiah (Jer. 29:26).

ROLE IN SOCIETY. The classical prophets played an extremely important role in the Israelite society, as is well known. Like the earlier prophets, they were consulted by those who wanted information from God. Jeremiah is requested by King Zedekiah's messengers to "inquire of the Lord for us, for Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, is making war against us…" (Jer. 21:1–2; cf. similar requests in Jer. 37:7ff.; 42:1ff, and the advice given in Jer. 23:33ff.; Ezek. 8:1ff.; 14:1ff.; 33:30ff.; and contrarily, Isa. 30:1–2).

SYMBOLIC ACTS. The classical prophets, too, performed significant symbolic acts which not only presaged future events but were efficacious in initiating their process of realization. In this category may be included the symbolic names which Isaiah gave his children: "a remnant shall turn back" (Isa. 7:3), and "pillage hastens, looting speeds" (Isa. 8:3), and most probably his own name (Isa. 8:18; cf. the child's name, "God is with us," Isa. 7:14). Isaiah walked about naked and barefoot for three years as a sign that the king of Assyria would lead the Egyptians and Cushites naked into exile (Isa. 20:2ff.). Jeremiah (16:1ff.) refrained from marrying and having children as a portent that both the parents and children of Israel would perish by the sword and famine. He buys a linen waistcloth, wears it, and then buries it in a cleft of the rock, and later upon recovering it, he finds that it has become spoiled, "good for nothing": "Thus will the Lord spoil the pride of Judah and Jerusalem who were made to cling to God but would not obey" (Jer. 13:1ff.). He buys a potter's earthen flask and promptly smashes it to signify that the Lord "will break this people and this city, as one breaks a potter's vessel so that it can never be mended" (Jer. 19:1ff.). He is commanded by the Lord to make thongs and yoke bars and put them on his neck as a portent that any nation or kingdom that does not put its neck under the yoke of Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, will be punished, and only those who submit will be left alone to till their own land (Jer. 27:2ff.; cf. the same act performed by Zedekiah, I Kings 22:11).

The "false" prophet Hananiah, as a symbolic act of his own, breaks these very bars and says, "Thus says the Lord: 'Even so will I make the yoke of Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon break from the neck of all the nations within two years.'" Jeremiah subsequently replaces his wooden yoke with one of iron and repeats the same message (Jer. 28). During the very last months of the siege of Jerusalem, he purchases a field from his uncle as a sign that "houses and fields and vineyards shall again be bought in this land" (Jer. 32:6ff.). In Jeremiah 43:8ff. the prophet is commanded to take large stones and hide them in the mortar in the pavement which is at the entrance to Pharaoh's palace in Tahpanhes as a sign that the Lord will set the throne of Nebuchadnezzar over these stones. In Jeremiah 51:61–64, when Seraiah comes to Babylon, Jeremiah commands him to read the book he has written concerning all the evil that would befall Babylon. He is then to bind a stone to it and cast it into the Euphrates and say, "Thus shall Babylon sink, to rise no more, because of the evil I am bringing upon her." Both the recitation of curses and the sinking of the scroll portend the final downfall of Babylon. Ezekiel (4:1ff.) takes a brick, portrays upon it the city of Jerusalem, puts siege works against it, builds a siege wall, casts a mound, sets camps against it, and plants battering rams round about. He then takes an iron plate and places it as an iron wall between himself and the city and presses the siege against the city, "a sign for the house of Israel." He also lies alternately on his left and right sides for an extended period of time, presaging the oncoming days of punishment of Israel and Judah. He eats and drinks during those days only a very small amount of food including barley cake baked on human dung to indicate that the people of Israel and Jerusalem "shall eat their bread unclean among the nations" and "shall eat bread by weight… and water by measure" (Ezek. 4:9ff.). In chapter 5 he takes a sharp knife, uses it as a barber's razor to cut the hair of his head and beard, takes balances and weights, and divides the hair for impending judgment. And in chapter 12 he conspicuously prepares for exile in full sight of his people.

SIGNS AND WONDERS. The literary prophets, following their predecessors, also resorted to the use of signs and wonders to authenticate their prediction of impending events. Isaiah tells King Ahaz that since the latter did not put his complete confidence in the Lord in order to withstand the Syro-Ephramite coalition, "The Lord Himself will give you a sign: Behold a young woman is with child and shall bear a son and shall call his name, Immanuel." Before this lad reaches maturity, the kingdoms of Aram and Ephraim would be destroyed (Isa. 7:10–25). The same prophet gives a sign to King Hezekiah in order to prove to him that the Lord has heard his prayer; 15 years would be added to his life, and he would be delivered from the hand of the king of Assyria: "This is the sign to you from the Lord, that the Lord will do this thing that he has promised: Behold I will make the shadow cast by the declining sun on the dial of Ahaz turn back ten steps" (Isa. 38:5–8). He also cures the king by rubbing a cake of figs over his inflammation (38:21–22; II Kings 20:7). In the previous chapter he gives the following sign to that same king: "And this shall be the sign for you: This year eat what grows of itself, and in the second year what springs of the same; then in the third year sow and reap, and plant vineyards" (Isa. 37:30). This is a sign that the surviving remnant of Judah would take root and bear fruit.

Jeremiah, in an embarrassing confrontation with the "false" prophet Hananiah, who later smashed the wooden yoke bars of Jeremiah and subsequently replaced them with bars of iron, says, "Thus says the Lord… 'This very year you shall die, because you have uttered rebellion against the Lord'." The next verse tells that in that very year Hananiah died (Jer. 28:15–17). In one instance Ezekiel himself becomes a sign to the people, when God predicts and then executes the death of the prophet's wife and forbids him to mourn for her as an omen of what the people are about to experience (Ezek. 24:15ff.).

VISIONS. Both the pre-classical and classical prophets share the common oracular terminology "Thus says YHWH." Though the latter are more "hearers" than "seers," they, too, often report visions, e.g., those of Amos (7:8); Isaiah (6); Jeremiah (1:11ff.; 24:1ff.), and the extraordinary visions of Ezekiel (particularly in chapters 1–3, 8–10); and Zechariah (5–6). Indeed, visions play an important role in the classical prophetic writings, as the following quotations further attest:

> I spoke to the Prophets;
> It was I who multiplied visions (Hos. 12:11).
> And it shall come to pass in the future
> that I will pour out my spirit in all flesh;
> your sons and daughters shall prophesy,
> your old men shall dream dreams, and your young
> men shall see visions (Joel 3:1).
> For they are a rebellious people, lying sons,
> sons who will not hear the instruction of the Lord;
> who say to the seers, 'See not!' and to the prophets,
> 'Prophesy not to us what is right' (Isa. 30:9–10; cf. Isa. 29:10;
> Amos 7:12 in negative contexts).

Like their pre-classical forerunners, the literary prophets occasionally employ the terms "the hand of YHWH" (Isa. 48:16; 59:21; 61:1; Joel 3:1; Micah 3:8; Zech. 7:12; cf. Isa. 11:2; Hos. 9:7) and "the spirit of YHWH" to describe the power that activates and evokes their revelatory state of mind. The ecstatic character of literary prophecy is documented in the various trances of Ezekiel. Finally, classical prophets also, at times, bore the consequence of their dire predictions. Just as Ahab persecuted Elijah (I Kings 17ff.) and had Micaiah imprisoned, because he foretold the destruction of Israel and the death of the king (I Kings 22:27), so too Jeremiah was put into the stocks (Jer. 20:2) as well as in prison (Jer. 32ff.), and Uriah was put to death (Jer. 26:20–23).

Classical Prophecy

The classical prophets, thus, cannot be fully understood without knowledge of their antecedents. Some prophets are connected with the literature of the Torah, e.g., Jeremiah with Deuteronomy and Ezekiel with the Priestly Code. Hosea was indebted to traditions about Jacob; and he, Micah, and Jeremiah knew traditions of Exodus and wilderness wanderings. Isaiah was indebted to traditions of David and Zion. Nevertheless, they cannot be entirely explained by their predecessors or by earlier traditions. For in the middle of the eighth century B.C.E., a new dimension was added to Israelite religion, which definitively shaped the character of the nation. Commencing with Amos, a herdsman from Tekoa, there arose a series of great religious teachers and thinkers, inspired spokesmen who became the passionate bearers of the word of God.

HISTORICAL SCOPE. Their appearance was engendered by specific historical and political events. The temporal limits of the classical apostolic prophets can be placed in a historical framework extending over some 300 years and highlighted by two cataclysmic events. The first prophets appeared a few decades before the fall of Northern Israel (722 B.C.E.), after the conclusion of the 100-year war with the Arameans – a war which produced a vast societal cleavage between the impoverished masses and the wealthy minority, and they disappeared approximately a century following the destruction of Jerusalem (587/6 B.C.E.). Within this period three major empires successively dominated the world scene: Assyria, Babylonia, and Persia.

The prophets, however, always addressed their message to the contemporary situation. Amos, living in the time of Jeroboam II before the rise of Tiglath-Pileser (745 B.C.E.) and the neo-Assyrian empire, foretold exile and destruction for Israel, but he never indicated that it would be executed by Assyria. Second *Hosea (chs. 4–14), a somewhat later contemporary, also foresaw destruction, but although he was aware of both pro-Egyptian and pro-Assyrian factions, he did not designate Assyria as the enemy par excellence. Isaiah's call, in contrast, came at the time of the peak of Assyrian ascendancy. He called that nation the rod of God's wrath and considered it the last of the world powers. Simultaneous with the fall of Assyria would come the demise of arrogance, the root of all idolatrous behavior. Micah and *Zephaniah, too, knew of the Assyrian menace, but except for one late interpolation in the former (Micah 4:10), they, like Isaiah, did not include Babylonia within their historical purview. *Nahum, coming a bit later, rejoiced over the fall of Assyria, but was silent about Babylonia. The Book of *Habakkuk reflects the transition period between Assyrian and Babylonian hegemony. Jeremiah, who received his call to prophecy in 627 B.C.E., identified the enemy described as the "nation from the north" with Babylonia only after the battle of Carchemish in 605 B.C.E. When he portrays the eventual defeat of Babylonia, however, he once again resorts to his initial image of a "nation from the north." Persia is never mentioned as the successor to Babylonia in Jeremiah. Ezekiel, living in the time of Nebuchadnezzar, prophesied the fall of Babylonia but never specified Persia as the conqueror. (Persia is mentioned only once in this connection and then incidentally, 38:5.)

Only with the advent of the anonymous prophet of the Exile who is called Deutero-Isaiah (Isa. 40ff.), was Cyrus, king of Persia, specifically mentioned and then favorably so (Isa. 44:28; 45:1). The three last prophets of Israel, *Haggai, *Zechariah, and *Malachi, were active during the post-Exilic period under the Persian rule and were not aware of the future ascendancy of the Greek Empire. (For the dating of all these prophets as well as *Jonah, *Joel, and *Obadiah, see the individual articles under their names.) Though there are supplements and interpolations, the oracles of the prophets are oriented to their own contemporary situation.

Thus, classical prophecy arose and reached its zenith during the rise and fall of world empires. In the period of the pre-classical prophets, the political-historical horizon was of limited local significance. The enemies of those days – Ammonites, Moabites, Edomites, Philistines, and Arameans – did not strive for world dominion. The age that witnessed the emergence of great empires bore witness to the unique religious phenomenon of classical prophecy, which interpreted these world-significant events in the light of its own theological viewpoint. The Lord of Israel was seen as the director of the drama of world history. His ever-changing cast included the leading historical figures of those days – Sargon, Sennacherib, Nebuchadnezzar, Cyrus – but his attention was continually focused on Israel; her destiny within the divinely controlled arena of world politics was his main concern. The prophets provided an answer to the "why" of destruction and the "how" of future restoration. One implication of classical prophetic teaching was that Israel's defeats did not indicate Yahweh's weakness, but his strength. He could move all the peoples of the earth to punish his people or reward them, depending on their behavior.

DEDICATION AND COMMISSIONING OF THE PROPHET. The dedication and commissioning of a prophet has its own literary motif; the account of his being called. Such commissioning or re-commissioning accounts are found in Isaiah 6 (which does not describe the prophet's original call to prophecy, but rather his re-commissioning, so Kaufmann); Jeremiah 1:4ff. and 15:19–21 (the latter, too, being a re-dedication; see below); Ezekiel 1–3; and perhaps Deutero-Isaiah 40:6–8.

The lengthy prophetic dedication of Moses (Ex. 3–4) contains motifs that recur from time to time in the descriptions of the dedication of other prophets: (1) the humble occupation of the prophet (so, too, Amos, who was taken from his flocks to become a prophet, Amos 7:14); (2) the human response; (3) a protest of inadequacy for the mission; and (4) the divine reassurance. Moses made several attempts to dissuade God from selecting him, since he felt that he did not possess sufficient credentials for his mission. He pleaded inadequacy: "Who am I that I should go to Pharaoh and free the Israelites from Egypt" (Ex. 3:11) and "Please, O Lord, I have never been a man of words… I am slow of speech and slow of tongue" (Ex. 4:10).

Isaiah, in chapter 6, which describes his re-dedication to the prophetic office, after complaining of "unclean lips," first has his mouth sanctified, and then upon hearing God's question, "Whom shall I send?" volunteers his services, "I am ready, send me." (In an augural vision, the prophet would most likely not be asked to volunteer but would be compelled to go willy-nilly.) Jeremiah, who was prenatally designated and consecrated for his calling, recounts how God touched his mouth, too, and put His words into his mouth (Jer. 1:9). Ezekiel describes his consecration as the devouring of a scroll written by God (Ezek. 3:1ff.). The organ of speech is specifically mentioned in all of these prophetic accounts, because the prophet becomes, upon dedication, God's "mouthpiece." Not only the lips, however, but the prophet's whole being becomes dedicated to the service of God.

His Reluctance and God's Reassurance. The prophets, however, were often reluctant to accept their calling. The most dramatic example by far is the unsuccessful flight of Jonah. The unwillingness of Moses, Isaiah, and Jeremiah to accept the divine call is also concentrated on their organ of speech: "I have never been a man of words" (Ex. 4:10); "Woe is me, for I am lost; for I am a man of unclean lips" (Isa. 6:5); "Alas, Lord God, I do not know how to speak, for I am inexperienced" (Jer. 1:6). God, in turn, responds with encouraging assurances, for Moses (Ex. 4:11), for Isaiah (Isa. 6:7), and, in particular, for Jeremiah, "Gird up your loins… Do not be dismayed… They will fight against you; but they shall not prevail against you, for I am with you, says the Lord, to deliver you" (Jer. 1:17–19; cf. 15:19–21).

LIFE OF THE PROPHET. Why such initial opposition? Why, too, such an outpouring of divine encouragement? The prophet's distinction of being chosen by God was matched only by his frustration and rejection on the part of his fellowman. The prophetic office was not easy to bear. The description of the prophet's emotional experience upon receiving a "stern vision" is at times graphic and overwhelmingly frightening: his loins are filled with anguish; his pain is comparable to birth pangs; he is tortured, anguished, terror-stricken; he reels, and he is filled with the wrath of God (Isa. 21:3–4; Jer. 4:19; 6:11; 15:17; Hab. 3:16).

Of far greater significance, however, is the fact that such a selected messenger sometimes becomes a solitary individual, whose life is marked by loneliness and bitterness: "I sat not in the company of merrymakers, nor did I rejoice; I sat alone because Your Hand was upon me" (Jer. 15:17); "Oh that I had a lodge in the wilderness that I might leave my people and go away from them, for they are all adulterers, a troop of treacherous men" (Jer. 9:1). Jeremiah, whose personal tribulations and confessions are better known than those of any other prophet, became the paradigm of one who suffers for his mission. It is no wonder that he was not euphoric about being selected for such a task. Rejected and spurned, he bemoans his fate, "Woe unto me, my mother, that you bore me, a man of strife and contention to the whole land. I have neither a lender nor borrower been, yet everyone belittles me" (15:10). Even his own kinsmen and family are counted among his chief antagonists (12:6; cf. 20:10). Enemies were continually plotting against his life (11:19). Eventually, he even cursed his fate, "Cursed be the day on which I was born. Let the day my mother bore me not be blessed… Why did I come forth from the womb to experience trouble and grief and to waste my days in chagrin" (20:14–18).

Some prophets were fated to become harbingers of their nation's downfall. Messengers of doom, they were doomed to suffer from their very message: "Lord, how long!" (Isa. 6:11); "Let me weep bitterly. Seek not to comfort me for the destruction of the daughter of my people" (Isa. 22:4); "For this I will lament and wail. I will go stripped and naked… For incurable are her blows, for it has come to Judah, has reached the gate of my people, to Jerusalem" (Micah 1:8–9); "O that my head were water and my eyes a fountain of tears, that I might weep day and night for the slain of the daughter of my people" (Jer. 8:23). The prophet bemoans their imminent tragedy and weeps over their tragic rejection of his words: "But if you will not listen, I will weep in secret for your pride; my eyes will weep bitterly and run down with tears because the Lord's flock has been taken captive" (Jer. 13:17; cf. 10:19ff.; 14:17–18).

The life story of a prophet is liable to be one of anguish, fear, rejection, ridicule, and even imprisonment (Isa. 28:9–10; Jer. 11:18–23; 12:1ff.; 15:10, 15; 17:14–18; 18:18–23; 20:7–18; 37:12–21; Ezek. 21:11–12; Hos. 9:8; Amos 7:12–13; Micah 2:6). Some did not escape their assassins (Jer. 26:20–23; Uriah). Though the prophet weeps with his destined victims and takes up the cry of his compatriots, he is not understood by them. Great yet unbearable is the fate of one who claims that he was seduced, even forced into his role: "O Lord you have seduced me, and I was seduced; you have raped me, and have prevailed" (Jer. 20:7). Nevertheless he cannot cease from being a prophet: "If I say, 'I will not mention Him or speak any more His name,' there is in my heart as it were a burning fire shut up in my bones, and I am not able to hold it in" (Jer. 20:9). Yet paradoxically when he does prophesy, he may be silenced by God (Jer. 7:16; 11:14; 14:11) or mocked and spurned by man. Jeremiah is eventually led to curse his people and demand vengeance against his adversaries (11:20b; 12:3b; 15:15a; 18:21–23).

Reproaching God. He is even driven in extremis to reproach God: "Why are you like a man dumbfounded, like a mighty man who cannot save?" (Jer. 14:9); "You are to me like a deceitful stream, like waters that fail!" (15:18). With this last outburst the prophetic protest reached its ultimate, as is indicated by the response of God, "If you return, I will restore you, and you shall stand before me" (15:19). Paradoxically, he who dedicated his life to persuading the people to return must now "return" himself. And why? So that he can once again perform the role of God's emissary, "You shall be my spokesman" (15:19). Thus, it seems that for a short period of time Jeremiah had actually lost prophetic office. This "demotion" is further substantiated by the remainder of God's response, where He repeats in almost exactly the same words the original encouragement at the time of the prophet's initial call, "I will make you before this people an impregnable wall of bronze; They will attack you, but they will not prevail over you, for I am with you to save you and deliver you, says the Lord" (15:20). Jeremiah, after his defiant outcry of reproach, was re-commissioned to deliver the word of God.

False Prophets. The problem of how to distinguish a prophet who was truly commissioned by God from a "false" prophet is perplexing. A prophet may speak falsely but there is no term for a false prophet in the Bible. The distinction, which is found in rabbinic literature, was introduced by the Greek translation of the Bible into some verses in the books of Jeremiah (6:13:26 (= Greek 33); 7, 8, 11, 16; 27 (= Greek 34):9; 28 (= Greek 35):1) and Zechariah (13:2), as *pseudoprophētēs*. In the Hebrew Bible, however, both "false" and "true" prophets are called *navi'*, and both claim inspiration and a mission.

In Deuteronomy there are several, not too useful, attempts to provide infallible criteria for distinguishing between them. Deuteronomy 18:20–22 reads "Any prophet who presumes to speak in My name a prophetic word that I did not command him to utter, or who speaks in the name of other gods – that prophet shall die. And should you ask yourselves, 'How can we know that the prophetic word was not spoken by the Lord?' – if the prophet speaks in the name of the Lord and the word does not come true, that word was not spoken by the Lord; the prophet has uttered it presumptuously: do not stand in dread of him." Deuteronomy 13:2ff. goes one step further: even if the prophet utters prophecies after providing signs and wonders, should his message be to worship other gods, that prophet, too, is not to be heeded, since his appearance is only a test to determine whether the people really love and revere the Lord alone.

However, examples of an Israelite prophet delivering his message in the name of another god (Jer. 2:8; 23:13) are rare and not one demands that an alien god be worshiped. Most of them spoke, apparently with sincerity and conviction, in the name of God. As for the chronological criterion of the fulfillment of the oracle, this was of no value whatever at the moment the prophecy was uttered. How could the people suspend judgment if Hananiah told them not to submit to the king of Babylon and foretold the release from Babylonian captivity within two years, while Jeremiah declared that it was God's plan that Israel surrender and remain in exile for 70 years (Jer. 27–28)? Jeremiah, himself, was completely perplexed and left the scene of confrontation without further contradicting Hananiah (28:11). Furthermore, several occasions are specifically recorded in which an oracle delivered by an acknowledged true prophet did not materialize in the manner in which he predicted – even within his own lifetime! Only a few examples of unfulfilled prophecies need be cited: Jeremiah predicted an ignominious end for King Jehoiakim (Jer. 22:19); yet II Kings 24:6 clearly belies this oracle. Ezekiel predicted the destruction of Tyre by Nebuchadnezzar (26:7–14), but later he acknowledged that the king's siege of the city was unsuccessful (29:17–20). Both Haggai's (2:21–23) and Zechariah's (4:6–7) glorious anticipations and designs for Zerubbabel never materialized.

Jeremiah sought another objective criterion for distinguishing between a true and false prophet when he was dramatically confronted and confuted by Hananiah son of Azzur (Jer. 28). Hananiah declared in the name of YHWH that the Lord was going to break the yoke of Babylon, and that within two years the exiled community in Babylon and their king Jehoiachin would return to Israel. Jeremiah sincerely wished that Hananiah's words were true. He did not question his sincerity nor did he call him a false prophet, but he merely pointed out that "the prophets who were of old, before my time and yours, prophesied against many countries and great kingdoms of war, disaster, and plague." Only the future would vindicate the prediction of a prophet who foresaw peace; "As for the prophet who prophesies of well-being, when that prophet's word comes to pass, then it can be acknowledged that he is the prophet whom YHWH really sent." But then again how could one suspend judgment until history decided?

Jeremiah, more than any other prophet, was in constant combat with these prophets. He attacks three different types of "false" prophets (Jer. 23): (1) those who have dreams and report them as though they were the word of God and thus mislead the people, "The prophet who has a dream, let him tell his dream"; (2) those who are plagiarists "who keep stealing My words from one another" and pretend that they have had direct revelation; and (3) those "who using their own speech" concoct their own oracles and pass them off as prophecy. Nevertheless, when prophet clashed with prophet not only were the people confounded, but Jeremiah himself, in the case of Hananiah, was left speechless, and was unable to point to any irrefutable objective standard by which to verify or disqualify his opponent (Jer. 28).

To confound matters even more, a true prophet might be misled by a "false" prophet (I Kings 13), and false prophecy might even be inspired by God in order to deceive and entice Israel (I Kings 22:21ff.). According to Ezekiel 14:9–11, moreover, God might actually seduce a bonafide prophet to deliver a false message!

If the individual prophet had a questionable moral character – if he was a drunkard (Isa. 28:7), an adulterer, or a liar (Jer. 23:14); if he used his office to make a living by telling the people what they wanted to hear and not what they ought to hear (Micah 3:11); or if he was a "professional" prophet attached to the staff of temple personnel (the joint denunciation of priest and prophet may be noted in Isa. 28:7; Jer. 23:11, 34; Micah 3:11; Zech. 7:2–3), his veracity obviously would be highly dubious. But what of the others? If there was no difference in the technical form of the prophecy, what of the contents? Apparently the only, and by no means infallible, criterion would be the nature of the message, whether it was one of weal or woe. Proclamations of national-religious salvation were suspect for over 250 years (cf. I Kings 22:11ff.; Jer. 6:14; 8:11; 14:13; 23:17; 28:2ff.; Ezek. 13:16; Micah 3:5ff.). It is also possible that such prophecies were related to the national interests of the crown and the cult – Hananiah predicted the early return of the cult vessels (Jer. 28:3).

But this, too, was not an absolute definition, for both pre-Exilic, e.g., Nahum 2:1, Jeremiah 30–33 (if these chapters stem from the early part of his career), and Exilic, e.g., Deutero-Isaiah, as well as post-Exilic prophets, Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi, brought messages of comfort, and some also took a positive view of the cult (see below). Hence, the falsity or veracity of prophecies could not be determined on the external basis of form or content. They could only be judged by the person who had true insight into the intentions of God at that historical moment. A prophet "who has My word, let him faithfully speak My word. What has straw to do with wheat?… Is not My word like fire… like the hammer that shatters the rock" (Jer. 23:28–29).

The Prophet as Intercessor. The irresistible character that such a religious experience has on a "God-intoxicated" individual (Jer. 23:9), "who has stood in YHWH's council and seen and heard His word…" (Jer. 23:18), not only constrains him to deliver the divine message but compels him, at times, to intercede on behalf of his people. Herein lies one possible means of distinguishing between the two kinds of prophets: the function of the prophet as an intercessor. In this role, as distinct from his role as a messenger, the prophet attempts through prayer to offset the impending doom. The first individual in the Bible to be designated a prophet, Abraham, does not merit this title because he delivered oracles in the name of God, but because he was ready to intercede: "Since he is a prophet, he will intercede for you to save your life" (Gen. 20:7). Abraham also valiantly attempted to save the twin cities of Sodom and Gomorrah, and with unbridled daring challenged God: "Shall not the judge of all the earth deal justly" (18:25).

The paragon of prophets, Moses, paradigmatically and eloquently exemplifies this aspect of his prophetic mission several times:

(1) After the incident of the golden calf, "Let not Your anger, O Lord, blaze forth against Your people, whom You delivered from the land of Egypt with great power and with a mighty hand… Turn from Your blazing anger, and renounce the plan to punish Your people. Remember Your servants, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, how You swore to them by Your Self and said to them: 'I will make your offspring as numerous as the stars of heaven, and I will give to your offspring this whole land of which I spoke, to possess for ever'" (Ex. 32:11–13). Moses' plea was successful. "And the Lord renounced the punishment He had planned to bring upon His people" (Ex. 32:14).

(2) At Taberah, "The people cried out to Moses. Moses prayed to the Lord and the fire died down" (Num. 11:2).

(3) After the incident of the spies, Moses prayed, "Therefore, I pray, let my Lord's forbearance be great… Pardon, I pray, the iniquity of this people according to Your great kindness, as You have forgiven this people ever since Egypt" (Num. 14:13ff.). Once again he met with success, "And the Lord said, 'I pardon, as you have asked'" (Num. 14:20). (For Moses' personal intervention on behalf of Miriam and Aaron, see Num. 12:13 and Deut. 9:20, respectively.)

Next in line in the Bible's narrative tradition of prophetic intercession stands Samuel, who prayed on behalf of his people after their defeat at the hands of the Philistines (I Sam. 7:5–9), on their behalf after their request for a king, which so embittered God (I Sam. 12: 19, 23), and on behalf of Saul after God rejected his election as king of Israel (I Sam. 15:11).

In the Book of Jeremiah, both Moses and Samuel are singled out as the exemplars of great intercessors on behalf of their people (Jer. 15:1; cf. Ps. 99:6). Jeremiah proved a worthy, though unsuccessful, successor to these two. That he prayed to God on behalf of his nation is explicitly stated several times, e.g., in a time of drought, when he was driven by the enormity of his task to defy God, "Why are You like a man confused, like a mighty man who cannot save" (Jer. 14:1ff.; cf. his words in 4:10; 15:11; and his confession in 18:20, "Remember how I stood in Your presence speaking good on their behalf so as to avert Your anger from them"). Even more impressive are God's express commands to Jeremiah not to intercede! "Do not pray for this people, or lift up cry or prayer for them, and do not intercede with Me, for I do not hear you" (Jer. 7:16; cf. 11:14). When God attempts to silence Jeremiah in 14:11–12, the prophet, nevertheless, blurts out a plea on their behalf (verse 13). The die, however, was cast; the nation was doomed. Even Moses and Samuel (Jer. 15:1) would be helpless in such a situation. Intercession would no longer avail, or more properly stated, God would not permit any further intercession, because it just might have been successful in diverting Him from His self-prescribed course.

The passages cited above and the pleas of Amos (Amos 7:1–3, 4–6) make it patently clear that a prime function of the prophet was to defend his people and to act as mediator on behalf of his nation. Kings Hezekiah and Zedekiah also requested Isaiah (Isa. 37:2ff. = II Kings 19) and Jeremiah (Jer.

37:3; cf. 42:2, 20) respectively, to intercede on behalf of Israel in the face of an enemy onslaught.

Intercession, thus, is an integral component of the true prophet's mission. To be a prophet means to speak for the people to God, represent their case, and take up their cause. Should one shirk from such a duty by refusing to engage God in polemics and confine himself to merely speaking to the people for God, he would be belying his prophetic call. He would then be a "false" prophet. This interpretation finds confirmation in Ezekiel, who himself carries on the tradition of intercession (cf. 9:8; 11:13). In Ezekiel 13:4–5, God declares, "Your prophets have been like foxes among ruins, O Israel. You have not gone up into the breaches to prepare the broken wall around the Israelites, that it may stand firm in battle on the day of the Lord." The prophet's mission was to stand in the breach of the nation's wall, a breach caused by the sin of his people. He was to prevent God from entering; for entrance spelled doom and destruction. This is explicitly stated in Ezekiel 22:30–31, "I looked for a man among them who could build up a barricade, who could stand in the breach before Me to defend the land from ruin; but I found none. Thus I poured out my indignation upon them and utterly destroyed them in the fire of My wrath…" It is of interest to note that the very same imagery is employed in Psalms 106:23 (Y. Muffs).

In sum, though some of the "false" prophets did have revelations and visions, performed symbolic actions (Jer. 28:10ff.), imparted oracles (23:31), and prophesied in YHWH's name (14:14; 29:9), since they promised good fortune and prosperity and thereby lulled the people into false security (6:14; 8:11; 14:13; 23:17; 28:2ff.), they were accused by Jeremiah of not having been sent by God (14: 14–15; 23:21, 32; 28:15; 29:9), of not having been admitted to the divine council (23:18), and of not interceding with God on behalf of the people (27:18). However, after all, the final verdict could only be given by a true prophet, and even he was not always completely certain.

HISTORY

Universalism and Election

To the prophets, events of history disclosed the finger of God. God revealed Himself in the language of history. It is true that other nations in the Ancient Near East also regarded their gods as being active in history on significant occasions, but none of them conceived of a panoramic world outlook in which all of history was seen to be governed by the will of one God, nor did they interpret the history of their nation as a unified sequence governed by one, all-encompassing divine plan. Though the God of Israel addressed Himself to all humanity (see, e.g., Isa. 13:23; Jer. 27:2ff.; 28:8; 46–51; Ezek. 25–32; Amos 1:3–2:3; 9:7; Obad.; Nah. 3), the concept of election was unique to Israel: "Only you have I chosen from amongst the nations; therefore I shall punish you for all your sins" (Amos 3:2). Election was not a bona fide guarantee of special protection. Some prophets actually fought against this popular conception of inviolability (e.g., Isa. 28:15; Jer. 5:12; Amos 5:14). The consequence of being chosen was not immunity but heightened responsibility.

Whereas the nations of the world were held culpable solely for gross violations of the established order, Israel alone was taken to task for any and every infringement of the moral and ethical code of behavior. Indeed, one of the distinctive characteristics of the writings of the classical prophets is their insistent and adamant denunciation of corruption in the moral, ethical, and social fields. No one was impervious to their attack: not kings, priests, prophets, judges, women, creditors, wealthy landowners, or even the poorer classes. They leveled severe criticisms against murder, juridical corruption, violence, cruelty, dishonesty, greed, oppression, exploitation, bribery, harlotry, degeneracy, debauchery, arrogance, luxury, callousness, apathy, lust for power, and militarism. Each and every one of these vices exemplifies a "forgetting of God," which leads to the disintegration and the eventual condemnation of the nation (e.g., Isa. 3:14–15, 16–24; 5:8, 11–12, 18–19, 20–23; 9:8–9, 16; 31:1; Jer. 5:26; 7:9; Ezek. 22; Hos. 1:7;4:2,6, 11–13; 6:8–10; 7:1–7; 8:14; 10:13; 12:8–9; 13:6; Amos 2:6–8; 3:10–11; 4:1; 5:7; 6:1–7, 13; Micah 3:1–3, 11; Zeph. 1:12). Idolatry, too, was subjected to its usual severe criticism (e.g., Isa. 65:3–4; Jer. 7:18, 30–31; 19:4–5; Ezek. 8; Hos. 2:15; Amos 8:14; Zeph. 1:4–6).

Supremacy of Morality

Special attention should be given to the prophets' new concept of the cult and their novel idea of the supremacy of morality. The problem of the relationship of the prophets to cultic worship has gone through several stages of interpretation. One of the basic axioms of biblical scholarship was the notion that the priest and prophet were fundamentally opposed to one another. The major contribution of the prophets was considered to be the de-ritualization of religion. The basic message of the prophets was "ethical monotheism," with the stress on morality rather than ritual. Thus, it was thought that the independent spirit of the prophet conflicted head-on with the priest, the professional officiant of organized religion. The former was interested in right; the latter in rites. The prophet was "word-possessed" – he brought the word of God to man. The priest was "cult-possessed" – he raised man's sacrifice to God.

The development of form-critical studies brought a partial scholarly reversal, and the attempt was made to demonstrate the positive attitude of the prophets toward the cult. Their utterance of divinely inspired oracles was supposed to be an integral component of Israelite worship. The time, and later even the content, of these oracles were understood to be liturgically fixed. The prophets were identified as members of the cultic personnel.

Both views, especially the latter, are extreme and are constantly being debated. What can be said with certainty is that the prophetic attacks on the cult did introduce a new principle into the religion of Israel: The essence of God's demand is not to be found in the cult but in the moral and ethical spheres of life. In the Torah and pre-classical prophetic literature there is no sharp distinction between cultic and moral prescriptions. Both are equally important, and both are essential to the continued existence of the nation. With the words of the classical prophets, however, a new aspect was introduced. While Samuel argued for the primacy of obedience over sacrifice (I Sam. 15:22), Amos and his fellow prophets stressed the primacy of morality (Isa. 1:11–17; 66:1ff.; Jer. 6:20; 7:21–23; 14:12; Hos. 6:6; Amos 5:21–25; Micah 6:6–8). The prophets were no more unequivocally opposed to the cult than they were to song and psalm (Amos 5:23) or prayer, festival, and Sabbath (Isa. 1:13–15), all of which they mentioned in their attacks. On the contrary, Isaiah's call came apparently while he was in the Temple (Isa. 6). The Exilic (Isa. 44:28; 52:11; 66:20–24; Jer. 33:11, 18; Ezek. 20:40–44; 22:8, 26; 40–48), as well as the post-Exilic prophets Haggai and Zechariah, had a very positive attitude toward the Temple and its cult. They advocated the rebuilding of the sanctuary, with the restoration of sacrificial worship, and stressed ceremonial law. The prophets did not denounce the practice of sacrifice per se, but they did adamantly oppose the absolutization of the cult.

Attitude Toward Ritual

In Israel, ritual is conceived of as God's gift, an act of grace intended for the good of humanity. It affords man means by which to draw closer to God. Worship and ritual are means, justice and righteousness are ends. "God requires devotion, not devotions" (S. Spiegel, *Amos versus Amaziah* (1957), 43), right not rite. When cult becomes a substitute for moral behavior, it is to be condemned. Religion is not to be equated with formal worship, nor is it to be restricted to certain specified times during the calendar year; it is to encompass all of life. Hence, any cultic act performed by a worshiper whose moral or ethical character is not beyond reproach is considered an abomination to God. It is no wonder that, after disparaging independent importance of the cult, the prophets clashed with the acknowledged heads of established religion, the priests. Clashes such as of Amos with Amaziah (Amos 7:10ff.), Jeremiah with Pashhur (Jer. 20), or with Zephaniah son of Maaseiah (Jer. 29:25ff.), are unheard of in stories set in pre-classical times. In the dramatic, near tragic confrontation of Jeremiah with his antagonists (Jer. 26) the priests are among the forefront in demanding the death sentence for the prophet, who was accused of "blasphemy" for repudiating the inviolability of the Temple (Jer. 7).

Moreover, it should be recalled that in other religions of the Ancient Near East the correct observance of the cult was of paramount importance, since it was thought that the welfare of the gods was dependent on both the maintenance of their temples and the daily upkeep of their sacrifices. The prophets, however, devaluated the intrinsic significance of ritual, and stressed God's ultimate concern with correct behavior. Justice, righteousness, kindness, integrity, and faithfulness were among God's chief demands (e.g., Jer. 9:22–23; 22:15–16; Hos. 6:6; Amos 5:15, 24; Micah 6:8).

Morality and Destiny

The prophets took yet another step. Not only was morality of ultimate importance but it became the decisive factor in determining the national destiny of Israel. The classical prophets differ in emphasis from the view expressed in the Torah literature and in the Former Prophets, according to which the sin of idolatry was the primary transgression. Not only were the worship of other gods than Yahweh and the cardinal sins of murder and incest denounced as before, but the everyday immoral acts of society were condemned as well. With the emergence of the classical prophets a new criterion became operative – moral rectitude. The destiny of the nation was bound up with it, and unrighteousness would spell the end of Israel.

Repentance

The prophets consistently pleaded with Israel to seek God that they might live (Amos 5:4, 14). They demanded piety and faithfulness to the covenant between God and Israel, and threatened punishment and fulfillment of the covenant's curses for those who were disloyal to it. Yet all of their denunciations and frightful maledictions were not meant as ends in themselves. They were, rather, a vain attempt to arouse the people from their lethargic status quo; they were didactic means to achieve the desired end – repentance. The objective of the prophetic threat of dire punishment was that it should not take place. Paradoxically, the prophets wished to make their own calling self-defeating by persuading man to return to God. They censured, warned, and admonished their audiences to forsake their immoral ways in order to avoid imminent destruction.

The prophets were not always ready to accept the finality of divine judgment (for Amos and Jeremiah, see above). They prayed that repentance would have the desired effect: "Who knows, God may yet have a change of heart and turn from His fierce anger so that we shall not perish" (Jonah 3:9, the words of the king of Nineveh expressing the prophetic sentiment; cf. the "perhaps" of the sailors in 1:6). There are other examples: "Who knows whether He will not turn and change His decision and leave a blessing behind Him" (Joel 2:14). "It may be that the Lord, the God of hosts, will be gracious to the remnant of Joseph" (Amos 5:15). "Perhaps you may find shelter on the day of the Lord's anger" (Zeph. 2:3). The future is contingent on human response to the prophetic word. Divine plans are not unchangeable; human actions tip the scales of justice and mercy: "If at any time I declare concerning a nation or a kingdom, that I will pluck up and pull it down and destroy it, and if that nation, concerning which I have spoken, turns from its evil, I will repent of the evil that I intended to do it. And if at any time I declare concerning a nation or a kingdom that I will build and plant it, and if it does evil in My sight, not listening to My voice, then I will repent of the good which I intended to do to it" (Jer. 18:7–10; cf. Ezek. 3:17–21; 33:7–20). Even the possibility of a "divine turning" not predicated upon the prior repentance of the people was contemplated, "How can I give you up, Ephraim! [How can I] hand you over, Israel! How can I treat you like Admah or make you like Zeboim! My heart is changed within Me; My compassion grows warm and tender, I will not execute My fierce anger, I will not again destroy Ephraim…" (Hos. 11:8–9). Compassion may overcome wrath (cf. Jer. 33:8; Micah 7:18–19).

SUSPENSION OF FREEDOM AND GOD'S INACCESSIBILITY. Yet the prophets were not often so optimistic. They knew very well the futility of chastisement (e.g., Amos 4:6–11; Isa. 1:5ff.; 9:12; Jer. 2:30; 5:3). This incurable stubborness and hardheartedness of the people (Jer. 5:21; Isa. 42:18–20; 43:8; 46:12; 6:10, 17; 9:25; Ezek. 2:4; 12:2) led one prophet to take the most radical step of all: the suspension of freedom. Isaiah was commissioned to "make the heart of this people fat, their ears heavy, and their eyes dim, lest they see with their eyes, and hear with their ears, and understand with their hearts, and turn and be healed" (Isa. 6:10). The prophet became God's messenger to harden their hearts and thereby to prevent the people from repenting! Since Israel had so often spurned the words of God and since they had not returned to Him, the privilege of repentance was to be denied them (until only one-tenth of the population remained). The only "cure" for obdurate hardness was to intensify it.

At other times God would make Himself inaccessible to the people as a punishment (e.g., Hos. 5:6; Amos 8:11–12), or to the prophet himself. Jeremiah had no immediate answer for Hananiah (Jer. 28:11) and had to wait once for ten days for the word of God (Jer. 42:7).

New Covenant

The frustration of waiting for human response and the realization that human effort alone could not effect a total return to God led to the development of an entirely new idea. If humans would not initiate the process, God would. He would not only initiate it but finalize it as well. This is the thought implicit in the concept of a "new covenant." Since the old covenant was broken, God despairing of further futile warnings and punishments, would implant His will directly into the human heart, thereby changing human nature by a divine "grafting." The human heart of stone would be turned into a heart of flesh. People would have their whole being filled with the "knowledge of God," and thus he could not but obey God; they would no longer be capable of rejecting God's teachings. This new covenant would be unbreakable and would presage final redemption (Isa. 55:3; Jer. 24:7; 31:30–33; 32:38–41; Ezek. 16:60; 34:25ff.; 36:26ff.; 37:26ff.; cf. Deut. 30:6; Isa. 11:9; 54:13).

Future of Israel

With the covenant renewed, the future community of Israel, constituted by the *remnant (e.g., Isa. 4:3–4; 8:16–17; 10:20–21; Jer. 31:31ff.; Amos 9:8ff.; Micah 7:8; Zeph. 2:3, 9), which will have survived the "*Day of the Lord" (see also *Eschatology), would live in peace, no longer troubled by oppression, injustice, or war (e.g., Isa. 2:1–5; 10:27; 11:1–9; 60:5–16; 61:4–9; Hos. 2:21ff.; Micah 4:3–4). It would be an age in which God's glory would be manifested to all mankind (Isa. 40:5), and so all the nations would come to reject idolatry and recognize and revere the God of Israel alone (Isa. 19:18–25; 45:22ff.; Jer. 3:17; 12:16; Ezek. 17:24; Micah 7:16ff.; Hab. 2:14; Zeph. 2:11; Zech. 2:15; 8:20–23; 14:16–21). Jerusalem would become the spiritual center of the world (Isa. 2:2), from which would flow God's instruction to all mankind (Isa. 2:3; 51:4ff.). Israel, would, according to Deutero-Isaiah, become a prophet nation (49:2–3; 51:16; 59:21), spreading the teaching of God to all humanity (42:1–4) and recounting His glory (43:21). It would become "a light to the nations" (42:6; 49:6) and bring God's blessing and beneficence to the ends of the earth (45:22–24).

[Shalom M. Paul / S. David Sperling (2nd ed.)]

In the Talmud

Despite the many aggadic elements in the references to prophecy or the prophets in rabbinical literature, there emerges a clear picture of the rabbinic view of the prophets. Substantially it is based upon two main principles. The first is that Moses was the "master of the prophets" and no prophet after him succeeded as did Moses in penetrating into the nature of the Divine, communing with Him, and receiving His message while in full possession of his normal cognitive faculties. This is of course clearly expressed in the Bible (Num. 12:6–8) but it is extended to apply to all future prophecy. This concept is expressed in various ways, the most striking being that whereas Moses beheld the Divine as through a clear mirror, the other prophets did so through a distorted mirror ("a mirror which does not shine," Yev. 49b; cf. "through a glass darkly," I Cor. 13:12).

However, there is noticeable a definite tendency to give Isaiah precedence over all other prophets. Although it is stated that of the four near-contemporary prophets, Isaiah, Amos, Micah, and Hosea, the last was first both in time and in importance (Pes. 87a), it is stated that of all the prophets only Moses and Isaiah "knew what they were prophesying" (Mid. Ps. 90:1, no. 4). Both are referred to together as "the greatest of the prophets" (Deut. R. 2:4). Isaiah is responsible for more prophecies than any other prophet and he prophesied not only to Israel but to mankind as a whole (PR 34:158a); he received revelation direct from God and his prophecies were "doubled" (Pd–RK 125b). If Ezekiel was vouchsafed a revelation of the Divine Essence equal to that of Isaiah, he saw Him as "a villager sees the person of the king," while Isaiah saw Him as an "inhabitant of a metropolis [*kerakh*] who sees the person of the king" (Ḥag. 13b).

The second principle is a corollary of the first. It is to the effect that the prophets were not responsible for any religious innovations or novel doctrines, their function being confined to expounding and clarifying the teachings of the Pentateuch. The Talmud interprets the verse (Lev. 27:34) "these are the commandments which the Lord commanded Moses for the children of Israel in Mount Sinai," to mean that "henceforth a prophet may make no innovations" (Shab. 104a). "The prophets neither took away from, nor added to, aught that is written in the Torah, save only the commandment to read the *megillah*" and even for that they sought biblical sanction (Meg. 14a). In conformity with this view, in the chain of tradition with which tractate *Avot* opens, the prophets appear merely as the tradents of the Torah of Moses, the successors to the elders after Joshua, and the predecessors of the men of the Great Synagogue. It is highly probable that this view was influenced by the contrary Christian view of progressive revelation through the ages, culminating in Jesus, though one need not go so far as does Weiss (Dor, 2 (1904^4), 8) in seeing in it a polemic against the antinomianism of Paul. Consequently statements of the prophets which have no pentateuchal confirmation or support cannot normally be made the basis of the *halakhah*.

According to the rabbis the number of prophets was innumerable ("double the number of the children of Israel who went forth from Egypt") and every tribe produced them (Suk. 27b). However only the prophecies of those which contained a lesson (lit. "were required for") future generations were recorded. They amount to 48 prophets and seven prophetesses: to Miriam (cf. Ex. 15:20 and Num. 12:2), Deborah, and Huldah, the rabbis add Sarah, Hannah, Abigail, and Esther (Meg. 14a). There were also seven gentile prophets: Balaam, his father Beor (Sanh. 105a), Job and his three companions, and Elisha the son of Barachel (BB 15b), but of them Balaam was incomparably the greatest. He was even regarded as the equal of Moses (see *Balaam in Aggadah) and the gentile nations cannot therefore claim that they were not vouchsafed prophecy (Yalk 966; Num. R. 14:34). Nevertheless prophecy came to them only by night and in "half words" and from "behind the curtain" (Gen. R. 52:5). All the prophets prophesied only concerning the messianic age (i.e., the present world in its ideal state) but were not vouchsafed to see the celestial world to come (Ber. 34b). The statement "the same message [*signon*, lit. "sign"] is given to a number of prophets but no two prophets prophesy in the same *signon*" (Sanh. 89a) is probably to be taken to refer to the fact that although they all reveal the word of God, each one has his own particular message or doctrine. The daring use of anthropomorphisms by the prophets is regarded as a sign of their "greatness" (Num. R. 19:4). With the exception of Jeremiah, all the prophets conclude their prophecies on a note of hope and comfort (TJ, Ber. 5:1, 8d). Where the patronymic of the prophet is given, it is to show that his father was also a prophet; when his place of origin is not given he was a Jerusalemite (Meg. 15a).

The prophets are divided into the Early and Later Prophets, but the former encompass all those of the period of the First Temple, only the post-Exilic – Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi – constituting the latter (Sot. 48b). All the prophets were wealthy. An interesting proof is given with regard to Amos. Since he was both a herdsman of Tekoa (Amos 1:1) and a dresser of sycamore trees (7:14), and sycamores grow only in the Shephelah but not in the hilly country of Tekoa, he must have been a wealthy landowner with flocks in Judea and plantations in the Shephelah (Ned. 38a). When prophecy came to an end, the **Shekhinah* departed from Israel and the **Bat Kol* became a partial substitute (Yoma 9b).

For the order of the prophets according to the Talmud (BB 14b) see *Bible Canon.

[Louis Isaac Rabinowitz]

IN JEWISH PHILOSOPHY

Philo

The teaching of *Philo concerning prophecy has to be reconstructed from discussions scattered throughout his writings. Philo conceives of the prophet as priest, seer, and lawgiver all in one. Prophetic understanding is the highest form, transcending reason, which is based on sense perception. When the divine prophetic spirit rests on a man, he is "possessed" by it in a kind of frenzy or "sober intoxication." All prophecy is by grace of God, but prophecy through the divine spirit, in contrast to communication through angels or the divine voice, demands preparation in the recipient, be he Jew or non-Jew: he must be refined, wise, and just, and emancipated from bodily concerns.

[Ralph Lerner]

Medieval Jewish Philosophy

Prophecy is a critical subject in medieval Jewish philosophy. This is hardly surprising. Where a religious community defines itself by a divinely revealed law and regards the teachings of the biblical prophets as the Word of God, the nature and significance of revelation, the manner of its transmission, and the qualities of the human recipient of the divine message are issues of primary importance. The early medieval Jewish philosophers developed their approaches to prophecy in the broader context of Greek philosophical thought as it was received and shaped in the Islamic world. A fundamental question they wrestled with as a result of this influence is how can the incorporeal, transcendent Deity appear to human beings and communicate with them. As we shall see, their approaches vary greatly in addressing this problem. While all the philosophers agreed that God has no body and hence cannot be seen, nor does He possess any organs of speech, some continued to view Him as directly involved in every bestowal of prophecy, while others developed naturalistic explanations for understanding the phenomenon.

SAADIAH GAON. The early 10th-century Babylonian *gaon* *Saadiah in his *Book of Beliefs and Opinions* (Books 2 and 3) deals with a number of issues related to prophecy, particularly the problem raised by the corporeal descriptions of God in biblical literature, and the problem of the purpose of prophecy and the manner of its verification. Since God, in Saadiah's view, is incorporeal and is not to be characterized by any of the categories that pertain to matter (e.g., time, place, quantity, affections), most of the prophets' corporeal descriptions of Him are not to be interpreted literally but allegorically. In regard to the instances when the prophet reports actually seeing God, Saadiah, however, presents a different explanation. These visions are to be interpreted literally – the prophet in fact sees with his eyes what he is describing – but they are not of God. Rather their object is a special created entity made from the purest luminous matter and called the Created Glory or the *Shekhinah*. God sends this special entity to the prophet in order to confirm that the message heard indeed comes from Him. The message itself consists of words created by God, Created Speech, and conveyed through the air to the hearing of the prophet. Prophecy hence is an experience that the recipient attains and verifies by means of the external senses, which, in Saadiah's view, are a source of reliable knowledge. Prophecy is verified by others by their beholding this special entity in one of its manifold forms, or by miracles that accompany the relaying of the divine message and which only God is capable of performing. This explanation serves to preserve the integrity of Scriptures by limiting the necessity for introducing allegorical interpretations which undermine its literal meaning. Allegorical interpretations are to be accepted only when there is a blatant contradiction between the literal meaning and the other sources of reliable knowledge.

The Created Glory receives a more extensive treatment in Saadiah's earlier *Commentary to the Book of Creation*, where he identifies it with the Holy Spirit (**Ru'aḥ ha-Kodesh*) which is the first of God's creations. In addition to being the instrument for transmitting prophecy, it also fills the entire world and plays a crucial role as an intermediary for divine governance. One can detect in this work overtones to the Philonic idea of the *Logos*. Saadiah in his *Book of Beliefs and Opinions* greatly reduces the stature of the Glory, stressing instead God's direct governance of the world.

As for the purpose of prophecy, Saadiah underlines its role in revealing to all of humanity the fundamental truths of reason, such as the existence of God and the creation of the world, so everyone will possess these beliefs with full confidence even prior to being able to prove them. He also sees a necessity for prophecy with respect to the commandments dictated by the intellect, in addition to those known only by way of revelation (see Reasons for *Commandments). While the former commandments are known by reason and obligatory upon all human beings, reason dictates only general moral principles. Revelation lays down specific commandments which translate these principles into a body of law.

JUDAH HALEVI. While Saadiah views prophecy primarily in terms of a mission, the early 12th-century philosopher Judah *Halevi in his *Kuzari* identifies this phenomenon as the ultimate perfection of the individual. Halevi at the beginning of his treatise indicates that the Islamic Aristotelian philosophers posit the following criteria for attaining human perfection: possessing the proper potential inherited from one's parents, living in a moderate geographical clime conducive to actualizing this potential by attaining the moral virtues and mastering all of the sciences. They define ultimate perfection in terms of conjunction with the Active Intellect resulting in the eternal felicity of the intellect, as well as attainment of knowledge of hidden matters by way of prophetic visions. As opposed to this view, while at the same time drawing heavily from it, Halevi maintains that prophecy is unique to the Jewish people due to a special inherited quality they possess and which is actualized by living in the Land of Israel and observing the divinely revealed commandments with the proper intent. God alone knows the actions that will perfect the soul and they are those given in the Torah. Halevi describes prophecy in terms of conjunction with the *Amr Ilahi* (Divine Matter), though he never offers a clear definition of this term (some scholars maintain that it refers to the *Logos* while others see it as an epithet for God in those instances where there exists an unmediated connection between the Deity and His creatures). The prophet attains the rank of the angels. By means of prophetic intuition, labeled by Halevi "the inner eye," the prophet sees the divine world and experiences an immediate relation with God leading to an overpowering love of the deity, described also in terms of the sense of "taste" (4:3, 15–17) – a state reminiscent of Islamic mystical descriptions of ecstatic rapture.

Halevi, however, does not present a single model for understanding the prophetic phenomenon. In passages where it is important for him to show that prophecy is an empirically verifiable phenomenon proving that God is cognizant of individuals and acts in history, Halevi adopts Saadiah's view of the Created Speech and Created Glory. In this manner he explains the Revelation at Sinai (1:87). In other cases of prophecy he wavers between this approach and the one that treats prophecy as an internal experience. Halevi goes so far as to leave open the possibility that the visions themselves are the product of the prophet's imagination acting under the control of the intellect, a view that follows the Aristotelian philosophers (4:3).

In treating prophecy more in terms of ultimate perfection than a divinely bestowed mission, Halevi himself may have sought to attain this state. Certainly his intention to move to Israel and revive the Jewish community there was part of his plan to bring about the conditions leading to the reappearance of prophecy. His aspiration for achieving this state also finds expression in his liturgical poetry.

MAIMONIDES. Prophecy is a central topic in all of *Maimonides' major writings. It is integrally related in his thought to a host of issues – the nature of God, divine knowledge, providence, divine law, politics, human perfection and biblical exegesis. Already in his early legal writings Maimonides presents a naturalistic approach to prophecy drawn from the Islamic Aristotelians. In his *Commentary to the Mishnah: Introduction to Perek Ḥelek* (Sixth Principle of Faith), Maimonides describes prophecy as follows: "There are human beings possessing a superior nature and great perfection. They prepare their souls till they receive the form of the intellect. The human intellect then conjoins with the Active Intellect. From it [the Active Intellect], a noble emanation emanates upon them. These are the prophets; this is prophecy and this is its essence." The "form of the intellect" is a reference to the "acquired intellect," which according to Alfarabi (see *Farabi, Abu Nasr Muhammad, Al-) is attained only after mastery of all the sciences and apprehension of the essence of the intellect itself. This intellect is an immortal entity, not dependent upon the body for its existence, and it conjoins with the Active Intellect. A similar description of prophecy is presented by Maimonides in his *Mishneh Torah: Laws of the Principles of the Torah* (7:1). In both of these legal works he goes on to deal with the imagination's role in prophecy, which accounts for the prophetic visions.

The naturalistic approach to prophecy characterizes also *The Guide of the Perplexed*. Maimonides dismisses the view of the masses that God bestows prophecy upon whom He chooses even if the individual is not perfect. He insists that only a perfect individual – one who possesses a perfect physical temperament and imagination, the moral virtues, and a perfect intellect – can attain prophecy. He introduces the proviso, however, that God can miraculously withhold prophecy from the worthy individual (2:32). In this manner he leaves room for the workings of divine will, though he ascribes to it a negative role. Maimonides defines prophecy as an emanation from God to the Active Intellect and from there to the individual's rational faculty and imaginative faculty (2:36). This emanation results in the apprehension of metaphysical truths, principles of governance and the ability to divine the future. Philosophers and non-prophetic rulers and diviners possess perfection in only one of these two faculties, while one alone attains the Active Intellect's emanation (2:37) – the rational faculty in the case of the philosophers enabling them to master the sciences and the imaginative faculty in the case of the others enabling them to govern and divine the future (though imperfectly). The prophet for Maimonides thus reaches the pinnacle of human perfection and achieves the rank of the perfect philosopher, statesman and diviner. His account suggests that the emanation to the prophets does not consist of specific information, the Active Intellect has no cognizance of the recipient or his circumstances; rather it strengthens the prophet's own faculties to apprehend those matters about which he is thinking and to represent them in a figurative manner. Even the prophetic mission is explained by Maimonides in a naturalistic manner. While for many, if not most, prophets this attainment is a private one, for some the emanation is so strong that the recipient feels inwardly compelled to extend his perfection to others by assuming a leadership role despite the dangers involved (2:37). Maimonides stresses that one attaining intellectual perfection and prophecy in truth prefers the solitary existence in which he can continuously enjoy the state of contemplation. The private longings of the individual who attains perfection to detach himself from society together with the overpowering feeling that he must assume a public role is reflected in Jeremiah's initial prophetic vision in which he tries to refuse the divine mission but is commanded to undertake it nevertheless. The vision itself reflects the conflict in Jeremiah's own soul. Maimonides attempts to reconcile the dilemma facing the public prophet by positing a state in which the prophet continues to live in his own private space, contemplating God and the order of the world, even while engaged in interacting with others and leading them.

In Maimonides' approach to prophecy one can detect his wavering between viewing prophecy primarily in terms of an intellectual attainment and viewing it primarily in terms of the perfection of the imagination. In his most lengthy treatment of this phenomenon in the *Guide of the Perplexed* (2:36–48) he stresses the latter dimension. His distinction between prophetic dreams, which occur while the recipient is asleep, and the higher level prophetic visions, which occur while awake, is based on the functioning of the imagination. A similar consideration marks his division of prophetic levels based on whether the prophet saw only parables in his dream, heard a voice without seeing anything, beheld a human being speaking, beheld an angel speaking, or beheld God speaking (2:45). His discussions of prophecy in the introduction to his treatise and towards its conclusion (3:51), on the other hand, describe prophecy as the ultimate intellectual attainment, surpassing the metaphysical knowledge possessed by the philosophers. The stress on the imaginative dimension of prophecy is not only important in explaining the biblical visions but also in order to draw a categorical distinction between Moses and all other prophets.

From his discussion of prophecy Maimonides excludes Mosaic prophecy and the Revelation at Sinai. He insists that as opposed to all other prophets, Moses' imaginative faculty was not involved in his prophetic experience, only his intellect. The uniqueness of Moses' prophecy has as its most important corollary the fact that his prophecy alone involves divine legislation. No other prophecy, past or future, results or will result in the laying down of a divine law (2:39). Maimonides appears to maintain that Moses received the Torah directly from God, word for word, and not from the Active Intellect. Furthermore, at Sinai an audible voice was heard by all of Israel, though only Moses heard the actual words (2:33). Maimonides clearly builds on Saadiah's view of Created Speech. Whether this stance reflects his true opinion on the subject or is designed solely for public consumption has been a source of controversy among Maimonidean scholars. His views on the nature of Mosaic prophecy and the Revelation at Sinai are clearly intended to uphold the supernatural origin of the Torah, its uniqueness and inviolability in a manner that would appeal to the masses of Jews. Despite this apparent fundamental departure from the naturalism of the Aristotelian philosophers, Maimonides continues to follow in their footsteps in his conception of the goal of the Torah. He maintains that it is designed to lead society to human perfection in the best possible manner by preventing wrongdoing, instilling the moral virtues and inculcating true beliefs, particularly the monotheistic idea and all this idea entails, which directs one to the path of intellectual perfection (2:49; 3:27). Even all the ceremonial commandments play a crucial role in this regard. All other legislations fall short in attaining this goal.

GERSONIDES. Maimonides' approach to prophecy, as well as *Averroes' account of divination in his *Epitome to Parva Naturalia* had a decisive impact on subsequent treatments of this topic among the Jewish philosophers in Provence and in Spain. The most analytical discussion of this phenomenon is to be found in the early 14th-century treatise by Gersonides (*Levi ben Gershom), *Wars of the Lord*. Gersonides deals with prophecy in Book Two of his treatise in the context of his discussion of veridical dreams. He was more interested than his predecessors in understanding the details of this phenomenon – what exactly is the nature of the emanation from the Active Intellect and how does it come about that the prophet receives it as a particular message relating to his own historical circumstances. While Gersonides views prophets as perfect philosophers, he treats prophecy itself as primarily concerned with knowledge of the future. The prophet has no advantage over the philosopher *qua* prophet when it comes to theoretical knowledge.

The fact that prophecy primarily involves future contingent events raises in its wake certain fundamental philosophic problems for Gersonides: Can the future be known while humans at the same time enjoy free will? Can God's knowledge which is unchanging nevertheless encompass all particulars throughout history? Since Gersonides does not feel that the future can be known absolutely without sacrificing the idea of human freedom, even God in his view does not know what occurs as a result of free choice. The implications of this point are profound. Since God's knowledge is unchanging, not only does He not know the future but also does not know the past. In short, God does not know any individual *qua* individual nor any of his particular circumstances. The same is true also of the knowledge of the Active Intellect. This position is certainly exceptionally radical (and problematic) from a theological perspective. It also does not explain the empirical fact that diviners and prophets often see the future, including events that are contingent upon human choice.

Gersonides resolves this dilemma by ascribing to God and to the Active Intellect knowledge of the entire order of the world, including all the specific influences of the stars and planets upon human events. God does not know individuals as such, but has knowledge of all the influences that the heavenly bodies exert upon any person born at any given time and place. One may say that according to Gersonides, God and the Active Intellect possess knowledge of all possible horoscopes without knowing which horoscope applies to any particular person. Since most people act in accordance with the influences of the heavenly bodies, and do not exercise their freedom to act in a manner contrary to them, their future can be predicted with a fair amount of confidence. Hence all predictions are not absolute but conditional; they are contingent upon the fact that those involved will act in accordance with the celestial influences.

This view still does not explain how the Active Intellect transmits specific knowledge to a particular individual regarding other particular individuals or groups, without at all being cognizant of the individual and his circumstances. According to Gersonides, all information pertaining to the world order emanates continuously from the Active Intellect. The rational and imaginative faculties of the prophet, while "withdrawn" from the other faculties of the soul in the state of sleep, attain the information that applies to an individual or group who the prophet has in mind. One may think of the Active Intellect as a giant transmitter which transmits on all frequencies at once all information regarding celestial influences on all places on earth through all time. The prophet receives only the information on the frequency to which his mind is attuned, that is to say, which people and groups he is thinking about. In this manner he learns their probable future without the Active Intellect being aware who receives this information, who and what is the subject of the information, and what actually occurs in the domain of human events.

Gersonides deals with Moses' perfection within the context of his discussion of prophecy, but he does not discuss in his philosophic treatise the most important facet of Moses' attainment – the divine law. He turns to this subject in his commentary on the Torah, where he sees the Torah as resulting from a miraculous and unique act of divine providence. Both the topics of providence and miracles are treated in the *Wars of the Lord*. They are seen as resulting from the impersonal activity of the Active Intellect vis-à-vis the person who has attained the level of perfection that triggers off this activity on his behalf.

ḤASDAI CRESCAS. The late 14th-century Spanish philosopher, Ḥasdai *Crescas sought to restore to Jewish philosophy the notion of God's personal involvement in the bestowal of prophecy as well as the primacy of the prophetic mission. In short, he sought to counter the naturalistic approaches to prophecy that characterize Maimonides' and Gersonides' approaches by treating prophecy primarily as a supernatural phenomenon. In his philosophic treatise, *Light of the Lord*, he defines prophecy as follows [Book 2, Section 4]: "Prophecy is a spiritual emanation of knowledge. It emanates from God to the intellect of the person, with or without an intermediary. It informs him, even without [his possessing] the necessary premises, of a certain matter or matters of which he is ignorant. It extends to all subjects. Its purpose is to guide him or others properly." For Crescas, prophecy categorically differs from divination which is received by the imagination. It does not entail the recipient possessing any previous knowledge of the subject of the message. Prophecy is a gift of God, who knows all particulars through all time including all contingent events, to the perfect individual with the purpose of correct guidance. In the case of Moses, the prophecy came directly from God, who is the Author of each word of the Torah. Crescas accepts Saadiah's notion that the voice heard by Moses and by Israel at Sinai was a created audible one. Even in those cases where prophecy came through the mediation of the Active Intellect and was received by the internal faculties of the individual, God determined the message to be received.

Crescas does not abandon the naturalistic approach to prophecy entirely. The attainment of prophecy in his view is contingent upon the attainment of perfection. Yet this perfection for Crescas, as for Halevi before him, does not lie primarily in one's level of theoretical knowledge but in the level achieved of love of God, which is dependent also upon observance of the commandments. As a result of the prophetic experience, the individual not only attains a specific message but achieves an even more passionate love of God and ultimate felicity. This experience in turn leads to the overpowering desire to call upon others to serve and love God. For Crescas, even more than for Maimonides, the prophetic mission is integral to the prophetic experience itself.

BARUCH SPINOZA. In the *Tractatus Theologico-Politicus* by the 17th-century philosopher Baruch *Spinoza we find a reaction to the medieval Jewish philosophic tradition regarding prophecy at the same time that he incorporates into his treatise many of its ideas. For Spinoza there can be no "supernatural" activity or supernaturally attained knowledge, for the eternal laws of nature are inviolable Spinoza depicts the prophets as simple-minded individuals, sharing with their contemporaries the same false beliefs about the world, but possessing a superior imagination that translates these beliefs into images. Hence their prophecies as presented in the Bible contain no theoretical truths, and Scripture should not be read as presenting such truths in figurative form. Moses, too, possessed a completely false conception of reality. The law that he laid down led to a well-ordered society of former slaves but certainly not to true virtue and felicity. In this manner Spinoza seeks to undermine completely the authority of the Bible (at least the Old Testament) as a source of knowledge beyond philosophy, and with it the authority of its religious interpreters. Only philosophers left unrestrained in their activity can attain true knowledge of the world. Only they are capable of achieving true virtue and the intellectual love of God. In a crucial sense they are for Spinoza the true prophets.

[Howard Kreisel (2nd ed.)]

Modern Jewish Thought

Depending on their attitude toward *revelation, modern Jewish philosophers treat prophecy either as a subjective experience or as a supernatural phenomenon. Those philosophers who regard prophecy as a subjective experience account for the phenomenon in a variety of ways. Some dismiss it as a form of psychological delusion; others view it as a mystical experience or an "inspired" insight, deriving from excellence of moral, intellectual, or imaginative faculties. Those who treat prophecy as a supernatural phenomenon differ over the nature of the prophetic experience. Of those philosophers who accept the notion that revelation constitutes a supernatural communication of content, some regard prophecy as the authentic disclosure of a message received word by word from God, a view referred to as "the doctrine of verbal inspiration," and others regard it as the record of a human response to a divine revelation of content. According to the latter view, human and divine elements are intermingled in prophecy. Other philosophers, while accepting supernatural revelation, deprive it of any ideational or instructive content and restrict it to the manifestation of the Divine Presence; they look upon the words of the prophet as a personal response to a revelatory experience.

As a dogmatic rationalist, Moses *Mendelssohn maintained that reason could supply man with all the theoretical insights needed for salvation. Therefore, he restricted the function of prophecy to the practical sphere, to the divine communication of instruction for human action (*Jerusalem* (1852), pt. 2, ch. 3).

The idealistic philosophers, emphasizing the cognitive aspects of prophecy, viewed it as a special aptitude for moral and religious insight. Hermann *Cohen regarded the prophets as pioneering thinkers who removed the mythical elements from religion and developed Judaism from a tribal religion into a universal ethical monotheism. The essence of the universal ethical monotheism is belief in God and adherence to the moral law (*Juedische Schriften*, 1 (1924), 310–6). Kaufmann *Kohler, like many other exponents of the doctrine of "progressive revelation," viewed the "inspired" moral and religious insights of the prophets as important milestones in the evolution of the human spirit toward higher ethical and metaphysical truths.

Sharply reacting to idealistic theories that reduce prophecy to a function of the human spirit, Solomon Ludwig *Steinheim insisted that revelation cannot be explained solely in terms of rational or spiritual insight. The central religious affirmations of Judaism could not have originated within our own cognitive faculties because of their inherent limitations. The primary function of prophecy is to disclose religious truths that can be known only through supernatural revelation (*Die Offenbarung nach dem Lehrbegriffe der Synagoge*, 5ff.). However, Steinheim assigned reason an important function in determining which parts of Scripture represent the revelation of eternal truth.

Samson Raphael *Hirsch and other Orthodox thinkers subscribed to the doctrine of verbal inspiration of the Scriptures. Bitterly objecting to any form of biblical criticism, Hirsch insisted that one must look upon the Scripture as a basic datum in the same manner scientists look upon natural phenomena as given (*Nineteen Letters* (1960), note to letter 18). As a staunch exponent of the traditional view, he rejected the evolutionary theory, according to which the contributions of later prophets are an advance over earlier formulations (*Horeb* (1962), 7).

Naturalist thinkers, such as *Aḥad Ha-Am and Mordecai *Kaplan, ruled out all supernatural elements in prophecy. However, because of their positive attitude toward Jewish nationalism, they could not follow Hermann Cohen in treating the prophet merely as an exponent of ethical universalism. According to Aḥad Ha-Am, who regarded the nation as the bearer of true ethical universalism, the prophet personifies the finest manifestation of the Jewish national spirit.

Jewish existentialist thinkers characterize prophecy as a dialogic relationship between man and God, rather than as the disclosure of a message. Martin *Buber in his book *The Prophetic Faith* (1949) maintained that the prophet is involved in a divine-human encounter. The prophet's message reflects the prophet's personal subjective response to his encounter with God. In the view of Franz *Rosenzweig, although revelation is a supernatural event occurring at specific times to particular individuals, the words of the prophet are nonetheless a purely human "interpretation" of a revelatory experience in which God reveals His love to man. Abraham J. *Heschel contends that the prophet experiences not merely the presence or the love of God, but a revelation of the "divine pathos." However, although prophecy is a revelatory experience in which God's concerns and designs for man are apprehended (*The Prophets* (1962), 307–23), the expression of this experience is affected by the cultural background as well as the personal style of the prophet (*God in Search of Man* (1965), 258–62).

Of the most recent Orthodox thinkers, Joseph B. *Soloveitchik, maintains in his article "The Lonely Man of Faith" (*Tradition*, summer 1965) that the prophetic encounter, a dialogue initiated by God, makes possible the establishment of a "covenantal community" between God and man. Unlike the mystical experience, however, prophecy cannot be limited to religious feelings or intuitions, but entails a normative content. Abraham Isaac *Kook's treatment of prophecy, in his work *Orot ha-Kodesh* (pt. 1 (1963), 267–72), reflects his mystical orientation. Genuine metaphysical insights, according to Kook, cannot be obtained by reason alone. When properly cultivated by a life of piety and holiness, man's imaginative faculties enable him to attach himself to the Divine Source and apprehend reality in the light of the **Shekhinah*, or "Divine Presence." Illumination derived from union with the Divine reaches its highest level in prophecy. Thus, Kook regarded prophecy as the ultimate religious goal.

[Walter S. Wurzburger]

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PROPPER, DAN (1941–), Israeli Industrialist, CEO of Israeli food giant Osem International Ltd., founded by his father in 1942. Propper and his brother GAD (1944–) hold 13% of Osem stock, with Nestlé the majority shareholder. The group produces more than 1,000 different food products in ten plants located throughout Israel. Exports went primarily to Europe. Net sales in 2004 reached nearly NIS 2.5 billion ($550 million).

Propper studied food engineering and worked for a few years in the industry in England. He joined the firm in the age of 26, starting off in product development and becoming director-general at the age of 37. During the 1990s he served as president of the Israel Manufacturers Association, establishing himself as a highly visible spokesman for Israeli industry. In 2006 he announced that he was stepping down as Osem CEO while remaining chairman of the board.

[Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

PROSBUL (Heb. פרוזבול or פרוסבול), a legal formula whereby a creditor could still claim his debts after the *Sabbatical Year despite the biblical injunction against doing so (Deut. 15:2). The text of the prosbul reads, "I declare before you, so-and-so, the judges in such-and-such a place, that regarding any debt due to me, I may be able to recover any money owing to me from so-and-so at any time I shall desire." The prosbul was signed by witnesses or by the judges of the court before whom the declaration was made (Shev. 10:4, Git. 36a). The principle underlying the prosbul was based on the passage "and this is the manner of the release: every creditor shall release that which he hath lent unto his neighbor; he shall not exact it of his neighbor and his brother… Of a foreigner thou mayest exact it; but whatsoever of thine is with thy brother thy hand shall release" (Deut. 15:2, 3). From this the law was deduced that the operation of the year of release did not affect debts of which the bonds had been delivered to the court (*bet din*) before the intervention of the Sabbatical Year (Shev. 10:2), since the Court was regarded as a corporate body to which the words "thy brother," suggesting an individual, did not apply. The court would therefore collect its debts after the Sabbatical Year (Yad, Shemittah ve-Yovel 9:15). Through a slight extension of this precedent, the prosbul was instituted, which in effect amounted to entrusting the court with the collection of the debt. Without actually handing over the bond to the court as previously required, the creditor could secure his debt against forfeiture by making the prescribed declaration.

The prosbul was instituted by Hillel. The Mishnah states that when he saw that the people refrained from giving loans one to another before the Sabbatical Year, thereby transgressing “Beware that there be not a base thought in thy heart,” etc. (Deut. 15:9), he instituted the prosbul (Shev. 9:3). The Talmud therefore explained prosbul as *pruz buli u-buti*, meaning an advantage for both the rich and poor. It benefited the rich since it secured their loans, and the poor since it enabled them to borrow (Git. 37a). The word seems, however, to be an abbreviation of the Greek expression πρὸς βουλῇ βουλευτῶν meaning “before the assembly of counselors” (cf. *Boule). The rabbis later explained that Hillel only abrogated the Mosaic institution of the release of all debts every seventh year since the law of release itself was only of rabbinic authority during the Second Temple period when the Jubilee was not operative because the land was not fully occupied by Israel (Git. 36a–b). It was only permitted to write a prosbul when the debtor possessed some real property from which the debt could be collected. The rabbis were very lenient with this rule, however, and permitted the writing of a prosbul even when the debtor possessed a minute amount of land such as a flowerpot or the trunk of a tree. The creditor was also permitted temporarily to transfer to the debtor a small parcel of land so that the prosbul could be written (Shev. 10:6, 7; Git. 37a). An antedated prosbul was considered valid, but a postdated one was void (Shev. 10:5).

During the Hadrianic persecutions, all religious practices were forbidden on the penalty of death and it was hazardous to preserve a prosbul. The rabbis therefore ruled that a creditor could collect his debt even if he did not produce a prosbul since it was assumed that he previously wrote one, but had destroyed it out of fear (Ket. 9:9). This temporary provision later became the established law, and the creditor was believed when he alleged that he had lost his prosbul (Git. 37b; Sh. Ar., ḤM 67:33). Orphans were not required to execute one since they were considered wards of the court. Money owed to them was therefore automatically considered as being owed to the court (Git. 37a). The *amoraim* debated the virtue of Hillel’s institution. Samuel declared that if he had the power he would abolish it, while R. Naḥman held that even if no prosbul was actually written it should have been regarded as written. Samuel also maintained that only the leading courts of each generation could supervise the writing of a prosbul. Subsequent practice, however, entrusted all courts with this responsibility (Git. 36b; Isserles to Sh. Ar., ḤM 67:18). During the Middle Ages, the writing of prosbuls was widely disregarded since there was an opinion that the laws of the Sabbatical Years were no longer operative (Rema to Sh. Ar., ḤM 67:1 and commentaries). Nevertheless, meticulous individuals continued to write prosbuls even in modern times (e.g., *Pe’er ha-Dor: Ḥayyei Ḥazon Ish*, 2:245; see also *Takkanot; *Usury).

[Aaron Rothkoff]

PROSE, FRANCINE (1947–), U.S. novelist and short story writer. Prose was born in Brooklyn, New York, and educated at Radcliffe and Harvard. Among her works devoted to Jews and Judaism is *Judah the Pious* (1973), which is a story within a story. The work is a fable dealing with the religious quest that leads to moral transformation and a changed way of viewing the empirical world. *Hungry Hearts* (1983), with its homage to *An-Ski, focuses on a Yiddish theater troupe in which a dybbuk possesses an actress. In *Guided Tours of Hell: Novellas* (1997), the title story examines with caustic wit the uses of authenticity as a famed Holocaust survivor helps lead a tour of a concentration camp, spurring the envy of a minor American playwright. *A Changed Man* (2005) depicts with comic irony the ethical metamorphosis of a member of a neo-Nazi group; he becomes a spokesman for a Jewish organization promoting understanding and peace.

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[Lewis Fried (2nd ed.)]

PROSELYTES. There is ample evidence of a widespread conversion to Judaism during the period of the Second Temple, especially the latter part of the period, and the word *ger*, which in biblical times meant a stranger, or an alien, became synonymous with a proselyte (see *Strangers and Gentiles).

Among the notable converts to Judaism may be mentioned the royal family of Adiabene, Aquila and/or Onkelos, Flavius Clemens, the nephew of Vespasian, and Fulvia, wife of Saturninus, a Roman senator. Unique, as the only case of forced conversion in Judaism, was the mass conversion of the Edomites by John Hyrcanus.

In addition to those outstanding figures, however, it is obvious that proselytism was widespread among the ordinary people. The statement of the New Testament that the Pharisees “compass sea and land to make one proselyte” (Matt. 23:15), suggesting a vigorous and active proselytization may possibly be an exaggeration, but on the other hand, the near pride which the rabbis took in the claim that some of their greatest figures were descended from proselytes (see below) point to an openhanded policy toward their acceptance. Such incidents as the different approach of Shammai and Hillel to the request to be taught the principles of Judaism by a potential proselyte (Shabb. 31a) and the incidental mention of “Judah the Ammonite proselyte” (Ber. 28a) point to the fact that the movement was not confined to the upper classes. In fact Josephus states explicitly that in his day the inhabitants of both Greek and barbarian cities evinced a great zeal for Judaism (Contra Ap. 2. 39).

It was during this period that the detailed laws governing the acceptance of proselytes were discussed and codified, and they have remained standard in Orthodox Judaism.

Laws of Conversion

The procedure, established by the *tannaim*, according to which a non-Jew may be accepted into the Jewish faith, was elucidated as follows: "In our days, when a proselyte comes to be converted, we say to him: 'What is your objective? Is it not known to you that today the people of Israel are wretched, driven about, exiled, and in constant suffering?' If he says: 'I know of this and I do not have the merit,' we accept him immediately and we inform him of some of the lighter precepts and of some of the severer ones… we inform him of the chastisements for the transgression of these precepts… and we also inform him of the reward for observing these precepts… we should not overburden him nor be meticulous with him…" (Yev. 47a; cf. Ger. 1, in: M. Higger, *Sheva Massekhtot Ketannot* (1930), 68–69). This text refers to a person who converted through conviction. The *halakhah* also accepts a posteriori, proselytes who had converted in order to marry, to advance themselves, or out of fear (Yev. 24b, in the name of Rav, see TJ, Kid. 4:1, 65b–d; Maim. Yad, Issurei Bi'ah 13:17; Sh. Ar., YD 268:12). The acceptance of a proselyte "under the wings of the Divine Presence" is equivalent to Israel's entry into the covenant, i.e., with circumcision, immersion, and offering a sacrifice (Ger. 2:4, in: M. Higger; loc. cit. 72).

A proselyte had to sacrifice a burnt offering either of cattle or two young pigeons. R. Johanan b. Zakkai instituted that in those times when sacrifice was no longer possible, a proselyte was not obliged to set aside money for the sacrifice (Ker. 9a). Therefore, only circumcision and immersion remained. R. Eliezer and R. Joshua disagreed as to whether someone who immersed himself but was not circumcised or vice versa could be considered a proselyte. According to R. Eliezer, he is a proselyte, even if he performed only one of these commandments. R. Joshua, however, maintained that immersion was indispensable. The halakhic conclusion is that "he is not a proselyte unless he has both been circumcised and has immersed himself" (Yev. 46). The act of conversion must take place before a *bet din*, consisting of three members; a conversion carried out by the proselyte when alone is invalid (Yev. 46b–47a). There is a suggestion that the three members of the *bet din* must be witnesses only to his acceptance of the precepts but not to the immersion. Maimonides, however, decided (Yad, Issurei Bi'ah 13:7), that a proselyte who immersed himself in the presence of two members only is not a proselyte. The schools of Shammai and Hillel differed on the issue of a proselyte who had already been circumcised at the time of his conversion: "Bet Shammai states: 'One must draw from him the blood of circumcision'; Bet Hillel states: 'One need not draw the blood of circumcision from him'" (Tosef., Shah. 15:9; TB, Shab. 135a). Most of the rabbinic authorities decide in favor of Bet Shammai (Tos. to Shab. 135a; Maim. Yad, Issurei Bi'ah 14:5; Sh. Ar., YD 268:1), and "who hast sanctified us with Thy commandments and hast commanded us to circumcise proselytes and to draw from them the blood of the covenant" (Shab. 137b) is said in the circumcision benediction of proselytes.

A proselyte must observe all the precepts that bind Jews. The statement: "There shall be one law for the citizen and for the stranger that dwelleth amongst you" (Ex. 12:49), which refers to the paschal lamb, the sages interpreted to mean that the stranger (proselyte) was the equal of the citizen concerning all the precepts of the Torah (Mekh. Pisha, 15). They tried to equalize the status of the proselyte and that of the Jew; certain differences stemming from the origin of the convert, however, remained. According to an anonymous Mishnah, a proselyte may not confess himself after taking out the tithes since the statement occurs in the confession "the land which Thou hast given to us"; nor does he read the section on the first fruits, where the statement is: "which the Lord hath sworn unto our fathers to give unto us." The proselyte, praying by himself must say: "the God of the Fathers of Israel"; in the synagogue he says: "the God of your Fathers" (Ma'as. Sh. 5:14; Bik. 1:4). According to one tradition, R. Judah permitted a proselyte to read the section on the first fruits, claiming that Abraham was the father of the whole world (TJ, Bik. 1:4, 64a; but in Tosef., Bik. 1:2 this permission is only extended to the Kenites). The Palestinian *amoraim*, R. Joshua b. Levi and R. Avihu, agreed with R. Judah. The authorities (particularly R. Samson in his commentary to *Bikkurim* (*ibid.*), and Maimonides in his letter to Obadiah the Proselyte, below) in permitting a proselyte to say "the God of our Fathers" in the prayers based themselves on the same rationale.

A proselyte terminates all former family ties upon conversion and "is considered a newly born child." His Jewish name is not associated with that of his father and he is referred to as "the son of Abraham (our father)." Later, it became the custom to name the proselyte himself after the first Jew who knew his Creator "Abraham the son of Abraham." According to the letter of the law, a proselyte may marry his relatives. The sages, however, decreed against this "So that they should not say: 'We have come from a greater sanctity to a lesser sanctity'" (Yev. 22a, Yad, Issurei Bi'ah 14:12). The disqualifications pertaining to testimony of relatives in judicial cases of family members do not apply to the proselyte; his relatives also may not inherit from him. If no heirs were born to him after his conversion, his property and his possessions are considered not to belong to anyone, and whoever takes hold of them becomes their owner (BB 3:3, 4:9; Git. 39a; Yad, Zekhi'ah u-Mattanah 1:6).

A proselyte may marry a Jewish woman, even the daughter of a priest (Kid. 73a; Yad, Issurei Bi'ah 19:11; Sh. Ar., EH 7:22). A female proselyte, however, cannot marry a kohen, unless she was converted during childhood, not later than the age of three years and one day (Yev. 60b; Kid. 78a). R. Yose permits the marriage of the daughter of a male or female proselyte to a kohen; R. Eliezer b. Jacob, however, disputes the matter. The statement "From the day of the destruction of the Temple, the kohanim have preserved their dignity and followed the opinion of R. Eliezer b. Jacob" shows that tradition tended toward the latter's opinion. The *amoraim*, however, decided that he be followed only in those cases where the marriage has not yet taken place. If a female proselyte is already married to a kohen, she is not bound to leave him (Kid. 4:7; TB, Kid. 78b; Yad, Issurei Bi'ah 19:12). A proselyte may also marry a *mamzer* ("bastard"). According to some opinions, the permission may extend over ten generations, while others claim it should be only until his heathen origin is forgotten (Kid. 72b, 75a).

A proselyte cannot be appointed to any public office. The rabbis based their decision on the verse: "Thou shalt appoint over thee a king from among thy brothers – appointments shall be only from among thy brothers." This injunction does not apply to a proselyte whose mother or father are of Jewish origin (Yev. 45b; Kid. 76b; Tos. Sot. 41b, Yad, Melakhim 1:4). A proselyte may not hold the office of judge in a criminal court; he may act as such in a civil court (Sanh. 36b) and also judge a fellow proselyte, even in a criminal law case (Rashi to Yev. 102a). Unless one of his parents was born Jewish, most authorities bar a proselyte from acting as judge even in a civil court (Alfasi on Sanh. 4:2, Yad, Sanh. 2:9, 11:11). Others are of the opinion that even in a civil court he can only judge a fellow proselyte (Tos. Yev. 45b; Ra-Sh-BA on Yev. 102a).

Appreciation of the Proselyte

In the Talmud and the Midrashim, as well as in other contemporary literature, the accepted attitude toward proselytes is usually positive. There is, however, strong evidence in rabbinic sources that some authorities were opposed to the concept of conversion and proselytes. Those scholars who ignore or obliterate such evidence cannot be justified. The differences in outlook found in rabbinic sources can partly be explained by disparities in character and temperament. However, the deciding factors were usually contemporary conditions and the personal experiences of the rabbis. R. Eliezer b. Hyrcanus, who was under ban, objected to the acceptance of proselytes (Eccles. R. 1:8). When Aquila the Proselyte wondered and asked: "Is this all the love which the Lord hath given unto the proselyte, as it is written 'and He loveth the stranger to give him bread and clothing?'" R. Eliezer was angry with him, but R. Joshua comforted him, saying: "Bread means Torah… clothing means the *tallit*: the man who is worthy to have the Torah, will also acquire its precepts; his daughters may marry into the priesthood and their grandsons will sacrifice burnt offerings on the altar." (Gen. R. 70:5). It is possible that R. Eliezer's negative attitude may have been influenced by his contacts with the first Christians. He may have seen that many of the new heretics were proselytes who had relapsed and it is only concerning these that he said, "They revert to their evil ways" (BM 59b). The same R. Eliezer also states: "When a person comes to you in sincerity to be converted, do not reject him, but on the contrary encourage him" (Mekh. Amalek 3). From his time, proselytes out of conviction were mentioned in the benediction for the righteous and the pious in the *Amidah* (Meg. 17b). The bitter experience of Jews with proselytes in times of war and revolt influenced the negative attitude to conversion. Proselytes and their offspring became renegades, often slandering their new religion and denouncing the Jewish community and its leaders to the foreign rulers. In Josephus there is a description of Hellenist proselytes who apostatized and returned to their evil ways (Jos., Apion 2:123). Reference to the situation which existed after the destruction of the Temple and the abortive revolt which followed it is made in the *baraita* statement: "Insincere proselytes who wear *tefillin* on the heads and on their arms, *zizit* in their clothes, and who fix *mezuzot* on their doors – when the war of Gog and Magog will come… each one of them will remove the precepts from himself and go on his way…" (Av. Zar. 3b). At the time of the revolt of Bar Kokhba the expression "they impede the arrival of the Messiah" (Nid. 13b), referred to such proselytes. At the same epoch, R. Nehemiah taught: a proselyte who converted in order to marry or converted to enjoy the royal table or to become a servant of Solomon, proselytes who converted from fear of the lions (see: II Kings 17:24–28), proselytes who converted because of a dream, or the proselytes of Mordecai and Esther, are not acceptable as proselytes, unless they convert themselves (as) at the present time (Yev. 24b), i.e., by conviction in times of political decline, oppressions, persecutions, and lack of any material benefit. R. Simeon b. Yohai, upon seeing Judah b. Gerim ("a son of proselytes"), who was responsible for the rabbi's criticism of the Romans reaching the ears of the rulers, said: "Is this one still in the world!" and set his eyes upon him, turning him into a heap of bones (Shab. 33b–34a). This experience throws light on the commentary of R. Simeon: "Those who feared the Lord were a hindrance to Israel… the best of the gentiles, you should put to death…" (Mekh. Va-Yehi 2). His real opinions, however, found expression in the commentary (Mekh. Nezikim (Mishpatim) 18): "It is said – 'And those that are beloved by Him are compared to the sun when it rises in all its strength'; Now who is greater – he who loves the king or he whom the king loves? One must say – he whom the king loves, as the verse says: 'and He loves the stranger [proselyte]'"; the statement of R. Hiyya: "Do not have any faith in a proselyte until 24 generations have passed because the inherent evil is still within him" (Mid. Ruth Zuta on 1:12); and other statements of *amoraim* who despised proselytes: "Proselytes are as hard for Israel [to endure] as a sore" (Yev. 47b) were prompted by the bad experiences Jews had with proselytes who had turned national or religious recreants. To these the rabbis referred: "The proselytes who left Egypt with Moses, made it [the Golden Calf] and said to Israel: These are your gods" (Ex. R. 42:6). The rabbis distinguished between three categories of proselytes: "Proselytes are of three types: There are some like Abraham our Father, some like Hamor, and some that are like heathens in all respects" (SER 27). In the teachings of the *amoraim* the basic tone is that of the tannaitic statement: "Proselytes are beloved; in every place He considers them as part of Israel" (Mekh. *ibid.*). They too made efforts "not to close the door before the proselytes who may come" (*ibid*). In the third century, R. Johanan and R. Eleazar separately deduced from different verses that "the Holy One, Blessed be He, exiled Israel among the nations only in order to increase their numbers with the addition of proselytes" (Pes. 87b). R. Eleazar also said: "Whoever befriends a proselyte is considered as if he created him" (Gen. R. 84:4). There are numerous other statements which praise proselytes (e.g., Tanh. Lekh Lekha 6; Num. R. 8:9; Mid. Ps. 146:8). A tendency to increase the honor of the proselytes and to glorify conversion can perhaps be found in the tradition which traces the origins of such great personalities as R. Meir, R. Akiva, Shemaiah, and Avtalyon to proselytes. They were descendants of such wicked men as Sisera, Sennacherib, Haman, and Nero (Git. 56a, 57b; Sanh. 96b). The name of R. Akiva's father does not appear explicitly in the Talmud, but *Dikdukei Soferim, ibid.*, 9 (1878), 283 and also Maimonides' introduction to *Mishneh Torah* relate that Joseph, the father of R. Akiva, was a proselyte by conviction. The last of the Babylonian *amoraim*, R. Ashi, said that the destiny of the proselytes had also been determined at Mount Sinai (Shab. 146a). Most of the rabbis of the Talmud observed the tradition: "When a proselyte comes to be converted, one receives him with an open hand so as to bring him under the wings of the Divine Presence" (SER 7; Lev. R. 2:9).

Two of the three paradigmatic biblical proselytes in midrashic tradition, Ruth and Rahab (Joshua 2), are female. *Pesikta Rabbati* 40:3 links these two women with Jethro, Moses's father-in-law, as examples of "upright" gentiles who chose to join the Jewish people. Ruth, the ancestor of King David, is praised for her loving-kindness and for her complete devotion to Jewish law and practice (Ruth R. 2:22, 2:23). Rahab, the beneficent Jericho harlot who preserved Joshua's spies from capture, became the pre-eminent rabbinic model of the righteous proselyte who went beyond all others in her proclamation (Josh. 2:11) of divine ubiquity and omnipotence (*Mekhilta* Amalek 3; Deut. R. 2:26–27). She is said to have married Joshua and their descendants became prophets and righteous men in Israel (Sifrei Numbers 78; Meg. 14b; Num. R. 8:9; Ruth R. 2:1). It may be that Rahab, a woman with a lurid past, assumed this special importance in a rabbinic setting looking for engaging female figures of repentance and conversion (Zev. 116a–b).

Post-Talmudic

During the following era the proponents of the two ruling monotheistic religions – in contrast to polytheism – regarded abandonment of their faith and transfer to another religion as a capital offense. The canons of the Church forbade proselytism and Christian rulers fiercely opposed any tendency to adopt Jewish religious customs. The number of proselytes diminished in Christian countries, and those who endangered their lives by adherence to Israel were generally compelled to flee to lands beyond the bounds of the rule of the Church.

At the commencement of this period, however, during the period of transition from polytheism to belief in One God, Judaism also succeeded in winning the hearts of the upper classes of two peoples, as formerly occurred with the kingdom of Adiabene. In the fifth century the kings of Himyar in southern Arabia adopted Judaism, and in the first half of the eighth century the upper classes of the Khazars. There is no information about Muslim proselytes, but the adoption of Judaism by Christians in Muslim countries was not forbidden, and even common. The sources chiefly mention Christian male and female slaves in the houses of Jews whose owners were enjoined by Jewish law to circumcise them and have them undergo ritual immersion. The *geonim* Sar Shalom and Zemah Zedek b. Isaac were asked about a "gentile woman slave who was conversant with the idolatry of the Christians and was compelled to undergo ritual immersion by her owner," and about "a slave woman who says I am a Jewess, but acts in all respects like a gentile" (*Ozar ha-Ge'onim*, Yev. 114). They also mention that there are some slaves "who become proselytes immediately and some eventually. Some of these do not want to convert at all; most are such and do not convert but there are some who say: 'Wait until we see your laws and learn them, and we shall convert…'" (*ibid.*, 199). It may be assumed that many of these slaves became assimilated into the Jewish community. Sometimes Jews became sexually involved with women slaves and had them undergo ritual immersion for the purpose of proselytism; their children were regarded as full-fledged proselytes. The best known of these cases concerns the Exilarch Bustanai b. Haninai (*ibid.*, 39–43, 173).

Besides such converts, there were also proselytes from conviction in Christian countries who voluntarily adopted Judaism out of love for Jewish law and about whom only fragmentary information has been preserved. Such proselytes were mainly members of the Christian clergy, whom theological study, and especially comparison of the New Testament with its roots in the Old, brought to Judaism. After becoming proselytes some even attempted to win over souls for their new religion. Bodo-Eleazar, court deacon of Louis the Pious in the ninth century, escaped to Muslim Spain and wrote sharp polemics attacking Christianity (B. Blumenkranz, in: RHPR, 34 (1954), 401–13). In 1012 the priest Vicilinus in Mainz became a proselyte, and he, too, wrote works to prove from the Bible the correctness of his course and the truth of the religion of Israel. Some scholars consider that his action was the cause of the expulsion of the Jews from Mainz by Emperor Henry II (Aronius, Regesten, nos. 144, 147). From about the same period record has been preserved about a wealthy Christian woman of distinguished family who became a proselyte, settled in Narbonne, and married R. David, a member of the family of the *nasi* Todros.

One remarkable case of proselytism in the Middle Ages concerns the Norman proselyte Obadiah (c. 1100), a member of a noble family of Oppido in Lucano, southern Italy. The events that befell him are known from a number of fragments preserved in the Cairo *Genizah*. This proselyte left notes in which he introduces himself by his gentile name Johannes and relates first concerning "the archbishop Andreas, chief priest of the province of Bari… in [whose] heart God placed love of the Torah of Moses. He left his land and priesthood, and all his glory, went to the province of Castantinia and circumcised himself. Troubles and evils befell him. He arose and fled for his life because the uncircumcised sought to kill him, and God delivered him from their hands… strangers arose after him, saw his deeds, and acted as he had done, and they too entered the covenant of the Living God. This man then went to Egypt and dwelt there until his death. The name of the king of Egypt at that time was Al-Mustanzir…" News of the action of Andreas, bishop of Bari from 1062 to 1078, spread throughout Greece and Italy and reached the ears of Johannes while he was a youth. In the first year of his entering the priesthood he had a dream which influenced him to follow in the path of Andreas. In 1102 he was circumcised and began to observe the Sabbath and the festivals, and even wrote pamphlets calling upon all religious people to return to the religion of Israel. The authorities, however, imprisoned him and threatened to kill him unless he repented of his deeds. He succeeded in escaping, arrived in Baghdad, and dwelt in "the home of Isaac b. Moses, head of the Academy." He also visited Jewish communities in Syria, Erez Israel, and Egypt, and wrote the events of his life.

There were also proselytes who remained in Christian countries and apparently succeeded in concealing themselves from the vigilance of the Church by roaming from one country to another. There is also mention of a proselyte family at the time of Jacob Tam which originated in Hungary and was living in northern France or Germany. The father, Abraham the proselyte, interpreted the rabbinic dictum "Proselytes are as hard for Israel [to endure] as a sore" (Yev. 47b) in favor of proselytes: because they are meticulous in observing the precepts they are hard for the Jews since they recall their iniquities. He and his two sons Isaac and Joseph, engaged in biblical interpretation, taking issue with Christian exegesis, and also criticizing the Gospels and the Christian prayers. A pupil of Jacob Tam, Moses b. Abraham of Pontoise, tells of a proselyte who used to study "Bible and Mishnah day and night." Six *piyyutim* composed by the *paytan* Josephiah the proselyte who lived in France in the 12th century are known (Zunz, Lit Poesie, 469). Toward the end of the 12th century a proselyte living in Wuerzburg who knew "the language of the priests" (i.e., Latin) but not Hebrew made a copy of the Pentateuch for his own use from "a rejected book belonging to priests." R. Joel permitted this proselyte to act as reader for the congregation.

A talmudist who was a proselyte by conviction sent halakhic queries to Maimonides, who addressed him in respectful terms: "Master and teacher, the intelligent and enlightened Obadiah, the righteous proselyte," and wrote to him, "You are a great scholar and possess an understanding mind, for you have understood the issues and known the right way." In his letters to this proselyte, Maimonides expresses high appreciation of proselytism and the proselyte: he permits him to pray: … as every native Israelite prays and recites blessings… anyone who becomes a proselyte throughout the generations and anyone who unifies the Name of the Holy One as it is written in the Torah is a pupil of our father Abraham and all of them are members of his household… hence you may say, Our God, and the God of our fathers; for Abraham, peace be upon him, is your father… for since you have entered beneath the wings of the Divine Presence and attached yourself to Him, there is no difference between us and you…. You certainly recite the blessings: Who has chosen us; Who has given us; Who has caused us to inherit; and Who has separated us. For the Creator has already chosen you and has separated you from the nations and has given you the Torah, as the Torah was given to us and to proselytes…. Further, do not belittle your lineage: if we trace our descent to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, your connection is with Him by Whose word the universe came into being.

(Resp. Rambam (ed. Freimann), no. 42). Concerning the vexations and humiliating words violently addressed to this proselyte by certain Jews, Maimonides writes to him:

Toward father and mother we are commanded honor and reverence, toward the prophets to obey them, but toward proselytes we are commanded to have great love in our inmost hearts…. God, in His glory, loves proselytes…. A man who left his father and birthplace and the realm of his people at a time when they are powerful, who understood with his insight, and who attached himself to this nation which today is a despised people, the slave of rulers, and recognized and knew that their religion is true and righteous… and pursued God… and entered beneath the wings of the Divine Presence… the Lord does not call you fool [Heb. *kesil*], but intelligent [*maskil*] and understanding, wise and walking correctly, a pupil of Abraham our father… (*ibid.*, no. 369). There were proselytes who suffered martyrdom (*Kiddush ha-Shem*) and even those who became proselytes with this intention. Among those who suffered martyrdom during the massacres of the First Crusade in 1096 was a man whose "mother was not Jewish"; before his martyrdom he said: "hitherto you have scorned me." In 1264 the burning took place at Augsburg of "Abraham, son of Abraham our Father, of Ishpurk, who rejected the gods of the nations, broke the heads of the idols… and was tormented with severe tortures." This proselyte had conducted a campaign for Judaism among the Christians and attacked the symbols of Christianity. Elegies on his death were written by the great scholars of the generation; Mordecai b. Hillel ha-Kohen described how the man became a proselyte: "And Abraham journeyed, reaching the Hebrew religion, attached himself to the house of Jacob and cut his foreskin," and related that the words spoken by the proselyte in public against his former religion were the cause of his being burned at the stake: "when he proclaimed his ideas… in the town, he was taken to the stake." Another elegist spoke of his courage during his life and at his death: "He walked in purity and broke images… he revealed the glory of the Creator to the nations, denying belief in the crucified one; to martyrdom he walked like a bridegroom to the bride." In 1270 Abraham b. Abraham of France was burned in Wiesenburg. He was a respected monk and fled from his country after he became a proselyte: "he rejected images and came to take refuge in the shadow of the wings of the Living God." In 1275 it was noted that a monk, Robert of Reading, became a proselyte in England.

It is difficult to ascertain with certainty the extent of proselytism in the Middle Ages. The historical sources mention isolated cases only. However, the fact that such cases recurred in every generation, as well as the preachings and admonitions by the heads of Church against Judaizing and the many regulations and decrees they issued to prevent this danger, testifies to the persistence of the phenomenon, at least to a limited extent. Some scholars regard proselytism as being of quantitative significance also during the Middle Ages and explain the marked anthropological differences between the various Jewish communities, and the resemblance of every community to the ethnic type of its environment, as being due in great measure to the inflow of external ethnic elements which continued at least throughout the first half of the Middle Ages.

With the decline in the number of proselytes by conviction, the fundamental attitude of the medieval Jewish scholars toward proselytism as a phenomenon of profound religious significance did not change, and some of them continued to consider that the purpose of Israel's dispersion among the nations was to gain proselytes. Moses b. Jacob of Coucy (mid-13th century) explains to his contemporaries that they must act uprightly toward gentiles since "so long as they [i.e., Jews] act deceitfully toward them, who will attach themselves to them?" (*Semag*, Asayin 74). Isaiah b. Mali di Trani the Younger permits the teaching of the books of the Prophets and the Hagiographa to gentiles, because he regards them as consolation spoken to Israel, "and as a result he [the gentile] may mend his ways" (*Shiltei Gibborim*, Av. Zar., ch. 1).

In Modern Times

The Jewish attitude to proselytism at the beginning of the modern period was inclined to be negative; aspirations to win over people of other faiths to Judaism dwindled. However, the *bet din* has no authority to repudiate proselytes wishing to convert despite the admonitions concerning the gravity of such a step; the Shulhan Arukh and the other *posekim* of the period left the laws concerning proselytism in force, but examination of the texts reveals, and at times it is even expressly stated, that it was only a formal duty to accept proselytes, and, indeed, attempts at active conversion were infrequent. However, isolated cases of conversion continued to occur. Proselytes were associated with the Hebrew press in Amsterdam, in various cities in Germany, in Constantinople and Salonika (see A. Yaari, in: KS, 13 (1936/37), 243–8). A Christian who visited Jerusalem in 1494–96 relates that he found there two monks "who had three years before gone over from the Christian faith to the Jewish religion" (*Die Pilgerfahrt des Ritters Arnold von Harft* (ed. by E.V. Groote (1860), 187). On the other hand, there is no real evidence to indicate attempts at actual conversion or proselytizing activity in the "Jewish heresy" (see *Judaizers) that was reported in the Orthodox Church in the principality of Moscow at the end of the 15th and beginning of the 16th century.

> Solomon Luria warned against receiving proselytes, and the Jewish councils of Lithuania and Moravia even threatened to impose severe penalties on anyone who began to proselytize or gave protection to converts. The reason for this in part stemmed from the fear of the consequences and dangers this activity entailed, since it was severely prohibited by the authorities. The Jewish communities in Poland and Lithuania were more than once obliged to clear themselves of the charge of proselytizing, and it is not always clear whether this was the result of a false accusation by agitators or of the prevalent public opinion in regard to actual occurrences.

When Lutheranism began to spread in Poland in the 16th century, many who inclined to "reforms" were accused by the Catholics of "Judaizing." In 1539 an old woman of 80, Catherine Weigel, the wife of a citizen of Cracow, was burned at the stake for having embraced Judaism; the clarification of her case took ten years. Before she perished she said: "God had neither wife nor son… we are His children and all who walk in His ways are His children." Jews were falsely accused of smuggling proselytes into Turkey, and an official investigation of this matter took place in Lithuania causing great harm to the Jews of that country. Nevertheless, it appears that most Jews not only refrained outwardly from engaging in proselytizing activities as the result of external pressures and penalties, but the attitude of Judaism itself in that period formed an important factor. The Jews increasingly withdrew from the outside world; the difference between Judaism and the other faiths was regarded as an inherent, radical distinction between two unbridgeable worlds with scarcely any points of contact. The general tendency of that entire period is expressed in the words of Solomon Luria: "Would that the seed of Israel continue to stand fast and hold its own among the nations throughout the days of our exile and no stranger be added to us who is not of our nation."

With the relative toleration that began to prevail in the ruling circles and among intellectuals in the 17th century, especially in Western Europe, the negative attitude to Christianity among Jews diminished. There was a growing tendency not to regard Christianity as an idolatrous religion but to look upon its adherents as Noachides who are absolved from the belief in absolute monotheism. Such a view left no room for conversion efforts to bring Christians under the wings of the *Shekhinah*. This abandonment of conversionary activity on the part of Jews was thus given a theoretical, intellectual basis. However, individual proselytes continued to find their way to Judaism by their own inner conviction. At the end of the 16th century a pious Christian who embraced Judaism on his own initiative is known (Moes Germanus). In 1716 two Christian women were put to death in Dubno because they became Jews; in 1738 the naval officer Alexander Voznitsyn was publicly burned to death in Russia for having become a Jew, together with the Jew, Baruch b. Leib, who persuaded him to take this step. The memory of the "*Ger Ẓedek* of Vilna," Count Valentine Potocki, who was allegedly burned in Vilna in 1746, is preserved in popular folklore. Another notable 18th-century proselyte was the English politician Lord George Gordon.

The Enlightenment strengthened this inclination to religious contraction. The slogan of religious toleration discouraged propaganda activities among the different faiths. The *maskilim* pointed with pride to the resemblance between the principles of Enlightenment and the aims of Judaism – which, in their opinion, were tolerance. Emphasis on Jewish tolerance and abandonment of all active proselytizing became a fixed principle in modern Jewish apologetics. This apologetical attitude even influenced study of the past, and historical accounts tended to ignore that active Jewish proselytizing had occurred, as if Judaism had never desired to make converts. There was no change from the psychological point of view in the self-defensive attitude of Judaism even after it had been granted a status of juridical equality with the other religions of the state. Even though no legal obstacles now prevent proselytizing little attempt has been made to propagate conversion.

A certain number of proselytes came from the sects of the Sabbath Observers in Russia (see *Judaizers; *Somrei Sabat), who adopted a number of Jewish customs and finally went over to Judaism completely. Others embraced Judaism because of an experience or religious conviction, but chiefly it was the result of unhampered social contacts that ended with intermarriage (see also *San Nicandro).

[*Encyclopaedia Hebraica*]

Recent Trends

Whereas in some countries of the Diaspora, particularly England and South Africa, there was a distinct tendency to adopt more stringent regulations for the acceptance of proselytes in the Orthodox community, it was generally appreciated that a greater leniency could be permitted in the State of Israel, since the prospective proselytes, most of whom were either partners in, or the children of, mixed marriages, would become much more integrated in the Jewish people than would be likely in the Diaspora. Despite this the rabbinical authorities were slow to alleviate the difficulties in the way of applicants for proselytization. They normally insisted on a year's postponement of consideration after making application, and on the ability and undertaking of the candidate to adhere to the requirements of Orthodox Judaism. From 1948 to 1968, 2,288 proselytes were accepted by the rabbinical courts of Israel, out of a total of 4,010 who applied. A tendency toward leniency became more pronounced at the beginning of the 1970s as a result of two factors. One was the expectation of an increased immigration from Soviet Russia where, owing to prevailing circumstances, intermarriage had taken place on an unprecedented scale; and the other was the situation created by the amendment to the Law of Return adopted by the Knesset in 1970. Two provisions made the need for an acceleration of proselytization urgent. The first was that the law was extended to include the partners, children, and grandchildren of mixed marriages who were not Jews according to *halakhah*, and the second that, whereas in Israel only those converted in accordance with *halakhah* were registered as Jews, in the case of immigrants, conversion by Reform and Conservative rabbis was accepted by the civil authorities for these immigrants to be registered as Jews. The resulting anomaly, that these non-Orthodox proselytes were regarded as Jews by the civil authorities while their conversion was not accepted by the Orthodox rabbinate, which was the only legal body determining personal status, had to be reduced as much as possible. In 1971 the Ministry for Religious Affairs, for the first time, established schools for prospective proselytes in Israel, at the Orthodox kibbutzim of Sa'ad and Lavi, where candidates may undergo an intensive course in Judaism.

There have also been a number of instances of the conversion of Muslims to Judaism (see A. Rotem, in: *Mahanayim*, no. 92 (1964), 159).

In 1955 a World Union for the Propagation of Judaism was established in the belief that the time had come for Jews to undertake conversionist activity, and it published a brochure, *Jedion*. There was, however, little response to this suggestion from the public, and some of the steps taken in that direction, particularly among the Chuetas, proved abortive.

[Louis Isaac Rabinowitz]

In the U.S.

In 17th-century colonial America Jewish slaveholders, following ancient custom, converted their slaves to Judaism. A number of Black Jewish congregations in the United States are made up, in part, of the descendants of these early proselytes. During the first quarter of the 18th century a community of German Baptists, in what is now Schaefferstown, Pennsylvania, voluntarily "Judaized." They observed dietary laws and the Sabbath, built a "schul" and a home for their *hazzan* from rough logs, and in 1732 laid out a cemetery. The community lasted from about 1720 to 1745. The cemetery – now destroyed – was still intact in 1885; the home of the *hazzan* still stood in 1926 but was destroyed later. Whether or not these "Judaizers" actually became Jewish proselytes is uncertain.

The earliest well-known U.S. proselyte was a Quaker, Warder Cresson, who became U.S. consul in Jerusalem in 1844. There, in 1848, he converted and assumed the name of Michael Cresson Boaz Israel. His American wife divorced him and he then married a Palestinian Jewess. He was a prominent member of the Jerusalem Sephardi community and is buried on the Mount of Olives.

The first incorporated Jewish missionary society in modern times, the United Israel World Union (UIWU), was established in New York City in 1944 by the journalist David Horowitz. Groups of UIWU proselytes have their own congregations in Wilbur, West Virginia, and West Olive, Michigan. Another such missionary society, the Jewish Information Society of America, was founded in Chicago in 1962. U.S. Reform Judaism has maintained that Jews have an obligation to teach their religion to all mankind and to attract like-minded non-Jews into the Jewish community. This theoretical determination was followed by the establishment in 1951 of a Committee on the Unaffiliated, by the Central Conference of American Rabbis, to develop "practical means for extending the influence and acceptance of the Jewish religion." The Conservative rabbinate declined to undertake such efforts, although it accepted prospective converts. The Orthodox remained extremely reluctant to accept converts, making stringent demands of all prospective candidates.

Reports from 785 U.S. congregational rabbis in 1954 regarding conversions to Judaism in the United States showed that approximately 3,000 persons were then being converted annually to Judaism. The number increased yearly. In 95 percent of the conversions, an impending or existing marriage to a Jew was involved; female proselytes outnumbered males five to one.

[David Max Eichhorn]

Non-Orthodox Views

Reform rabbis have insisted upon instruction in Judaism and study of selected books as prerequisites for conversion. However, in conflict with the traditional Jewish attitude they have stressed the importance of the declaration of faith by the convert, disregarding the ritual aspects of conversion to Judaism (*tevilah*, and in the case of male converts, circumcision). In 1892 the Central Conference of American Rabbis (CCAR) decided that any Reform rabbi in conjunction with two colleagues could accept as a convert any person without any initiatory rite, and also published manuals for guiding their rabbis in regard to conversion. Nor did Reform follow the *halakhah* with regard to children – children of converted parents born prior to their conversion are considered Jews if the parents declare they will raise them as Jews. With regard to children of school age their confirmation at the end of their schooling is considered the ceremony of their official entry into Judaism. Children past confirmation age are considered adults, and have to undergo instruction prior to conversion. However, attitudes were changing at the beginning of the 21st century. In 2001, the Central Conference of American Rabbis approved new guidelines recommending that all Reform rabbis require *bet din*, *tevilah* for all converts, and a symbolic circumcision for male converts.

The Conservative movement has always officially upheld the *halakhah* as regards the ceremonies of conversion. They demand that three rabbis be present, but they emphasize the preparation of the proselyte in Jewish sources and texts on Jewish history and customs. In 1970 the Rabbinical Assembly committee on Jewish Law and standards reaffirmed that its members "may not conduct a conversion *ab initio* without *tevilah*."

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PROSKAUER, JOSEPH MEYER (1877–1971), U.S. lawyer and community leader. Proskauer, who was born in Mobile, Alabama, was a partner in the law firm Elkus, Gleason, and Proskauer from 1903 to 1923, then served as judge in the Appellate Division of the First Department of the Supreme Court of New York (1923–30). A close associate of Alfred E. Smith, whom he first met through his political activities for the Citizens Union in New York, Proskauer served with Belle *Moskowitz and Robert *Moses on the non-Tammany faction of the "War Board" which helped Smith plan his gubernatorial campaigns, and later worked closely with Smith in his 1928 presidential campaign. In 1935 Proskauer served on the New York City Charter Revision Commission.

Early in the Nazi regime, he joined the *American Jewish Committee. He became its president in 1943 on the platform "Statement of Views with Respect to the Present Situation in Jewish Life," prepared by him, Irving *Lehman, Samuel I. *Rosenman, and George Z. *Medalie, which proposed free Jewish immigration into Palestine and an international trusteeship status but opposed a Jewish state. From October 1947, however, the committee publicly supported creation of a Jewish state in the form proposed by the UN Special Commission on Palestine. Proskauer led it in the thrust for a Jewish state. Elected essentially as an anti-Zionist, his 1948 presidential address, "Our Duty as Americans – Our Responsibility as Jews," marked his complete commitment to political Zionism. The desire to find a common Jewish front on settlement of the Palestine question and the need for continued support from the U.S. Jewish community for the committee's primary interest in Jewish defense probably contributed to Proskauer's change of direction. In his *Segment of My Times* (1950), he describes his pre-1943 anti-Zionist stand as based on instinctive opposition to a state identified with a religion; once he began to study the problem as committee president, he found that the U.S. form of national allegiance he was committed to could not apply in Eastern Europe, where Jews were accorded only partial rights. He thus came to believe that a state in which they could be free was essential. Proskauer remained committee president until 1949. He had served as consultant to the U.S. delegation to the 1945 UN Conference in San Francisco. Proskauer returned to private law practice as senior member of Proskauer, Rose, Goetz, and Mendelsohn. He was chairman of the New York State Crime Commission in 1951–53 and also served as director of the National Refugee Service.

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PROSKUROV (from 1954 **Khmelnitzki**), capital of the Khmelnitski district, Ukraine. Jews are mentioned in 1629;

they suffered at the hands of the Cossacks of Khmelnitski in 1648. In 1765 there were 750 Jews in the city who paid poll tax; by 1847 the number had risen to 3,107. After the town was linked by the railway, wholesale trade flourished, mainly in grain, timber, and textiles. Jews owned factories for sugar, bricks, roof tiles, ceramics, and tobacco. Toward the end of the 19th century, the Jewish population increased, reaching 11,411 (50% of the total population) in 1897. There were in town 18 *ḥadarim*, a *talmud torah*, a library, and a theater. After the February revolution some 24 Jews (out of 50 members) served on the local council. In Februrary 1919, as Semosenko's Ukrainian troops retreated before the Red Army, they committed in Proskurov one of the most vicious pogroms of the civil war period. On February 15 Semosenko's forces marched into the city, methodically killing every Jew they could find. A local priest who begged the soldiers to stop was killed at the door of his own church. Three and a half hours after the soldiers had entered the city, a telegraphed order came from headquarters, calling a halt to the slaughter, but by then 1,600 people had been murdered and thousands wounded. Despite the demands made by representatives of the Jewish community to the *Petlyura government, Semosenko was never punished. There were 13,408 Jews (42% of the population) in Proskurov in 1926. Yiddish was used in documents issued by the municipality and by the court of law. A Jewish school existed at this time. In 1939 the Jews numbered 14,518 (39% of the total population). The Germans occupied Proskurov on July 7, 1941, and by the end of August they had killed 800 Jews. Jews from the environs were brought into a labor camp in the town. In August 1942 8,000 were murdered, and on November 30, 1942, another 7,000 were killed. About 18,000 Jews were murdered in Proskurov. The 1959 census recorded 6,200 Jews (10% of the total population). In 1970 there was no synagogue but kosher poultry was available. In the 1990s most Jews left for Israel and the West.

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[Yehuda Slutsky]

PROSODY, HEBREW. This article is a survey of the history of Hebrew poetic forms from the Bible to the present time. The entry is arranged according to the following outline:

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INTRODUCTION

Hebrew poetry throughout the ages has used many forms of verse, rhyme, sound patterns, and strophic structure which changed from period to period, often from country to country, and from genre to genre. Since the close of the Bible, an enormous number of Hebrew poems have been written in Palestine and throughout the Diaspora, most of them following strict forms which were often quite complex and elaborate. To date no history of these forms has been published and while for the major periods some central concepts are known, they are usually framed in normative terms. The following survey should therefore be considered merely as a tentative outline.

The term "form," used here in a limited sense, refers to all poetic patterns which employ sound elements for the organization of the language material of a poem, such as rhyme, acrostic, meter, stanza, and other principles of composition. The term "poem" here refers to any text composed in such forms and does not necessarily imply aesthetic values in a modern sense. In the Middle Ages thousands of Hebrew texts, written as liturgy, chronicles, rhymed letters, dedications, etc., used the same formal norms employed in works which could be classified from a modern or aesthetic point of view as "poetic."

Of the few ancient literatures that have continued uninterruptedly throughout the ages, Hebrew poetry is the most variegated and versatile in its forms, due to its permanent creativity and to its interaction with different systems of language and poetry: Arabic, Italian, German, Russian, Yiddish, English, and others. The pronunciation of Hebrew as well as the norms of writing have undergone considerable changes during the wanderings of the centers of this literature. On the other hand, there were strong tendencies of continuity and conservatism in Hebrew forms and poetic genres, as well as in the language itself.

Unlike other languages, Hebrew, as a semi-"dead" tongue, has never changed the core of its vocabulary, or the written form of its words, its basic morphology, certain patterns of syntax and of idiomatic formulations, or the fundamental framework of its historical, semantic, and mythological allusions. Hebrew poems separated by a time span of a thousand years are from the point of view of their language comparable, and may be intelligible to the same reader. The major changes in the language (insofar as this survey) occurred in the field of pronunciation, but even these did not alter the basic form of the written word. However, due to its interaction with a variety of foreign prosodic and aesthetic norms, most known systems of verse have been created in Hebrew over the past 2,000 years.

The Variety of Formal Systems

The following prosodic systems are found in Hebrew poetry: (1) a purely *accentual* poetry with a free variation of the verse units (primarily in the Bible); (2) a meter based on a regular *number of accents* (in post-biblical poetry); (3) a meter based on the *number of words* (in the major tradition of liturgy); (4) a *quantitative* meter based on the opposition of short and long syllables (especially in medieval Spain and Italy); (5) a *syllabic* meter (in Italy since the Renaissance and in Central and Eastern Europe in the 19th century); (6) an *accentual-syllabic* system (in modern poetry in Eastern Europe, Israel, and the U.S.); (7) an *accentual meter with restricted syllabic freedom*, influenced by the verse of Russian modernism (in Israeli poetry since World War I); (8) a variety of *free verse* forms, based largely on a rhythm of phrase groups (which evolved in Europe in the 1920s during the vogue of Expressionism and in Israel since the 1950s under the impact of English imagism).

The earliest known systematic use of rhyme in poetry was invented in Hebrew sometime between the fourth and the sixth centuries C.E. It grew out of a cluster of principles of repetition, based on semantic, morphological, and sound elements. During its long history, Hebrew verse passed through a gamut of rhyme norms: terminal or accentual, continuous or discontinuous, grammatical or sound-autonomous, based on suffixes or on the lexical morpheme, using word repetition or excluding it. The same kind of variety runs through the rhyme patterns, strophic forms, and through the principles of composition of a poem.

The Specific Nature of Hebrew Literary History

A study of the changes in the forms of Hebrew verse should take into account the peculiar nature of its history. A Hebrew poet, regardless of his time, was at the crossroads of three lines of development. (1) There was the historical factor common to all literatures: the tension between synchrony and diachrony, i.e., trends of the poet's generation as juxtaposed to norms of the immediate past as well as classical works. The other two factors are specific to the geographic and sociological situation of the Hebrew writer: (2) the influence of Hebrew poetry written in other countries; (3) the impact of non-Hebrew poetry of his own time and place.

The tension between the three systems, of which the Hebrew poet was aware, was of primary importance to the history of Hebrew poetic forms. Quite often cardinal differences existed between the three. Thus, the 13th-century Hebrew poets in Rome wrote in the strophic forms of Byzantine Ereẓ Israel (canonized long before any Italian language existed) in which words rather than syllables were counted and in which each rhyme had multiple members but did not alternate with other rhymes. But they were confronted with two other poetic systems as well: Contemporary Italian poets used stanzas with alternating rhymes and syllabic meters; the Hebrew poets in Spain used a purely quantitative versification mostly without any strophic forms. It took time until Hebrew poets in Italy changed their poetic system and, typically enough, they adapted quantitative meters (developed in Spain in genres of Hebrew secular poetry) to write Hebrew strophic poetry in the Italian sonnet form. Similar dilemmas faced Jewish poets in other generations and countries.

A Jewish poet was closer to each of the three traditions than poets usually are when experiencing influences of a foreign literature. Thus, the impact of Hebrew poetry written in other countries was enhanced by the closeness of the language and the mobility of men of letters and of written and printed texts. The influence of aesthetic norms dominant in other languages was particularly strong, in spite of traditional Hebrew conservatism, because most Hebrew poets did not speak primarily Hebrew, but were intimately acquainted with other languages which they read and used in everyday life. In many cases they knew at least one more Jewish language and one or two foreign languages, e.g., Arabic and Spanish (in Christian Spain), or Yiddish and Italian (in 16th-century Venice), or Yiddish and Russian (in 19th-century Eastern Europe), or Yiddish, Russian, and English (in America since the late 19th century). Shifts in the forms of Hebrew poetry, whether gradual or drastic, were wrought by such factors as the influence of literary authorities, changes in the relationship to another culture, or changes in the system of genres of Hebrew writing itself. Such changes were usually accompanied by a sudden leap from one way of writing to another, brought about by a realization of a potential influence from one of the three above-mentioned directions.

The influences, however, were implemented neither automatically nor immediately. There was a strong awareness of the peculiar Hebrew tradition, and there usually was neither eclecticism nor chaos of forms. Forms created under the influence of one culture were transposed by Hebrew poetry into the domain of quite a different foreign culture; e.g., (1) quantitative meters, developed in Spain under Arabic influence, were used for centuries in Christian Europe where no such meters had been employed; (2) syllabic versification, developed in Italy, dominated 19th-century Hebrew poetry in Germany and Russia where such meters were no longer used. Even adaptations of poetic elements and themes from other literatures were not automatically introduced in their original forms.

Moreover, there was not necessarily an acceptance of a whole system of forms from the influencing source, but quite often a reconciliation, or a readjustment, of several traditions. Thus, (1) *Immanuel (b. Solomon) of Rome combined the form of the Italian sonnet with the Hebrew-Spanish quantitative meter which was of Arabic origin; (2) Italian strophic forms were used for several centuries with their original rhyme patterns but without the requirement of stress accord, which is compulsory in Italian rhyme.

Foreign influences on Hebrew poetry were not necessarily contemporaneous, e.g., while accentual-syllabic versification was introduced into Hebrew under Russian influence, it occurred only toward the end of the 19th century when this metrical system began to fall into disuse in Russian poetry. These influences should also not be considered as organic transplantations or imitations of a literary trend or poetic school. Belated as such an impact may have been, it was not necessarily accepted in all its aspects. Thus, Judah Leib *Gordon, though influenced by his Russian contemporary Nekrasov as to theme, genre, and even tone of language, did not accept the Russian verse system; the poetry of Abraham *Shlonsky of the 1920s and 1930s was strongly influenced by the imagery of Russian futurism, but in meter it was as classical as the verse of Pushkin. On the other hand, many Hebrew poets were very much aware of the relativity of prosodic systems. They knew how to use diverse, and sometimes even opposing, systems for different genres (such as religious and secular poetry) or for different languages (especially in the case of bilingual poets, such as Elijah Baḥur *Levita and J.L. *Gordon). Despite these complex circumstances and the great body of rhymed and versified Hebrew texts, the varying norms of Hebrew poetry can be described exactly, since in most ages these norms were conventional rather than individual and constituted a firm part of the language of Hebrew verse. The history of these forms epitomizes the worldwide scope of Hebrew poetry; the tensions between tradition and openness which were basic to its evolution; and the symbiotic, but autonomous, nature of Hebrew culture throughout the ages.

The Major Periods of Hebrew Prosody

The peculiar nature of Jewish history does not permit the development of Hebrew poetic forms to be divided into pure historical "periods," but rather into "areas," determined by a combination of historical, geographic, and generic factors. Since the close of the Bible, the following major areas of Hebrew poetic traditions may be distinguished:

(1) POST-BIBLICAL POETRY. This is a rather amorphous area consisting of several distinct trends: *Wisdom poetry (*Ben Sira), the poetry of religious sects, the formulation of the basic prayers, and the beginnings of liturgy. A variety of rhythmic formulae, occasional rhyme, patterns of sound, and parallelism were widely used, but no established formal system of any kind can be discerned.

(2) THE RHYMED PIYYUT. Created in Byzantine Ereẓ Israel sometime between the fourth and the sixth centuries C.E., the rhymed *piyyut* comprehends some clearly defined poetic genres which have specific functions in Jewish liturgy. Fundamental to it are large poetic cycles of a complex structure in which the poems use strophic patterns and obligatory rhyme. This kind of *piyyut* spread to the East (Babylonia and Egypt) and to Italy and Ashkenaz (the German Rhine area).

A vigorous strain in this tradition, which used the difficult "Kallirian" rhyme, flourished in the 10th century and determined the formation of the Italian and Ashkenazi **maḥzor*. The rhythm crystallized in this evolution was based on a strict number of words.

(3) THE SPANISH TRADITION. It is based on quantitative meters (under Arabic influence), which were used mainly in secular poetry but also in religious genres. Developed in Islamic Spain since the 10th century, it flourished in Christian Spain and Provence until the 15th century and dominated Hebrew poetry in Italy and throughout the Islamic East almost until the present time. Besides the long metrical poems which use one single rhyme, a peculiar strophic tradition evolved in Spain ("girdle" poems), as well as a major genre of rhymed prose (*maqāmat*).

(4) ITALY. Created from the 9th to the 20th century, Hebrew poetry in Italy passed through all possible stages of Hebrew poetic forms: several periods of forms stemming from the Palestinian *piyyut*; Italian strophic patterns; Spanish quantitative meters, which in time were transformed into Italian-like syllabic verse; and even onsets of accentual-syllabic iambs.

(5) THE AREA OF ASHKENAZI JEWRY. Hebrew poetry was written throughout the Middle Ages by Ashkenazi Jews, at first in Germany and France, then in the Slavic countries. The Palestinian-Italian tradition formed its early stages (10th to 12th centuries). A "weaker" line descending from the Palestinian *piyyut*, followed and continued until modern times, especially in several shorter genres (notably the **seliḥah* and the **kinah*). The forms of this tradition influenced other genres too, such as the Hebrew verse chronicle and some Yiddish poems.

(6) THE EAST. Babylonia, North Africa, and other countries under Islamic rule passed easily from the old *piyyut* forms to the Spanish tradition (similar to Arabic forms). In the 16th century, however, the influence of Turkish song forms may be discerned in the writings of Hebrew poets in the Ottoman Empire (including Ereẓ Israel itself).

(7) HASKALAH. Toward the end of the 18th century in Central and Eastern Europe purely syllabic versification was introduced. It continued to be the medium of Hebrew verse until the end of the 19th century.

(8) THE PERIOD OF "REVIVAL." Since the early 1890s Hebrew poetry in Russia, using the Ashkenazi pronunciation, accepted accentual-syllabic meters and became receptive to all forms of modern European poetry. The system spread immediately from its Russian center to all countries of Hebrew creativity: Germany, Ereẓ Israel, the U.S., etc.

(9) "CLASSICAL" VERSE IN ISRAEL. Accentual-syllabic meters, transferred to the Israeli (basically "Sephardi") pronunciation, appeared at the beginning of the 20th century, but started to dominate Hebrew poetry only since the late 1920s. The system spread from its center in Israel to other countries where Hebrew literature was being written (Poland, U.S.S.R., U.S.).

(10) FREE VERSE. There are two varieties: (1) the Russian influenced strophic and rhymed free verse which is close to regular meters (the so-called Russian Dolnik); (2) free irregular verse beginning with some poems by H.N. Bialik (written in period 8), developed in Europe in the 1920s and in Israel and the U.S. especially since the 1950s.

These forms followed both foreign examples (English, German) and Hebrew antecedents (notably some of the so-called biblical verse of the Period of "Revival").

Approaching the present day, the periods become shorter; different forms, traditions, and influences become more intermingled, frequently coexisting in time, in place, often in one literary journal, and even in the writings of one poet.

SOME PRINCIPLES OF BIBLICAL VERSE

The forms of biblical poetry constitute a world of their own, at the same time however, a discussion of post-biblical verse must consider the Bible which had an overpowering influence on Hebrew poetry of all periods. The language of the Bible has dominated the language of Hebrew poetry, more often than it did prose, in a variety of poetic conceptions, at least since *Saadiah Gaon (10th century) and almost to the present. Despite this fact, however, post-biblical Hebrew poetry has not relied on biblical rhythm and verse forms. With few exceptions, post-biblical Hebrew prosody at every stage of its development was based on highly formal conventions, and it could not have been satisfied with the fluid, though rich orchestration of biblical verse. Nevertheless the patterns of biblical poetry, its syntactic-rhythmical tendencies, its typical word groups, its alliterations, loomed large behind the language of the Hebrew poets in subsequent generations. These patterns did not prevail or mold the new forms, but embellished and imbued Hebrew poems with the power of internal rhythm. The strength of the biblical example was not merely in its sanctified status, but in the very "weakness" of "impurity" which its rhythm had from any normative or classicistic point of view: the intimate, almost inseparable relationship between the semantic, syntactic, and accentual aspects of its rhymic patterns of language.

Though including writings which range nearly over a millennium, the Bible has been viewed by later ages as primarily a unified work with basically a common language. Whatever may have been the developments in phonetics and prosody during the time of its creation, the Bible for post-biblical readers was the canonized text with its system of stresses, intonation marks, and vocalization. In this survey of post-biblical poetry the major principles of biblical verse, as seen from the point of view of a reader of later times, shall merely be mentioned and illustrated.

Parallelism

The foremost principle dominating biblical poetry is parallelism. Usually two versets (sometimes three or even four) are parallel to each other in one or several aspects. The parallelism may be either complete or partial; either of the verset as a whole or of each word in it; of words in the same order or reversed. It may be a parallelism of semantic, syntactic, prosodic, morphological, or sound elements, or of a combination of such elements. In most cases there is an overlapping of several such heterogeneous parallelisms with a mutual reinforcement so that no single element – meaning, syntax, or stress – may be considered as completely dominant or as purely concomitant. The parts of the parallelism may be equal or unequal in their size or form; they may be related to each other in a variety of ways: synonymous, antithetic, hierarchic, belonging to a category of some kind, etc. The principles of the parallelism used may change from verse to verse. The basis of this type of rhythm may be described as semantic-syntactic-accentual. It is basically a free rhythm, i.e., a rhythm based on a cluster of changing principles. Its freedom, however, is clearly confined within the limits of its poetics. The following is an example of a rather ordered type:

הַאֲזִינוּ הַשָּׁמַיִם וַאֲדַבֵּרָה   וְתִשְׁמַע הָאָרֶץ אִמְרֵי־פִי.
יַעֲרֹף כַּמָּטָר לִקְחִי   תִּזַּל כַּטַּל אִמְרָתִי,
כִּשְׂעִירִם עֲלֵי־דֶשֶׁא   וְכִרְבִיבִים עֲלֵי־עֵשֶׂב.

Give ear, o, ye heavens, and I will speak;
    And hear, O earth, the words of my mouth.
My doctrine shall drop as the rain,
    My speech shall distil as the dew,
As the small rain upon the tender herb,
    And as the showers upon the grass
(Deut. 32: 1–4).

There are 3:3 stresses in the first two pairs of versets, and 2:2 stresses in the last pair. But syntactically the last two pairs are linked. The words הַאֲזִינוּ ("give ear"), and וְתִשְׁמַע ("hear") are synonymous in meaning though not in morphology; "I will speak" and "the words of my mouth" are not synonyms, but their meanings are parallel. "Heavens" and "earth" are parallel by opposition. "Rain" and "dew" both express fruition by water, but one is strong and the other is subtle, these are two poles of one scale. There is also a concatenation of the three parts: versets 3 and 4 unfold the theme of the first pair ("the words of my mouth"); versets 5 and 6 develop the images of 3 and 4. But the versets of the last pair are parallel only to one member of the previous pair ("the rain" or "the dew").

The parallelism of meaning in the last four versets is chiastic: the water is strong (3) – weak (4) – weak (5) – strong (6). In the last pair דֶשֶׁא and עֵשֶׂב are on one level, but שְׂעִירִים and רְבִיבִים, though morphologically alike, are quite different in degree. Some additional devices of rhythm and sound reinforce the effect of this passage.

Rhythm

If the equivalent meaning or syntactic pattern of parallel versets draws the reader's attention to the parallelism and its reinforcing quality, it is the rhythmical structure proper which embodies it. The major rhythmic element is stress. The rhythm is accentual, but the number of stresses in each verset is not necessarily fixed or permanent. There may be an exact repetition: 3:3 stresses, or a freer relationship: 3:4, as well as changing numbers throughout the poem. The specific numerical relationship is however important. The numbers are quite often equal or similar. Moreover, whenever there is freedom it is confined within fixed boundaries. Each verset is usually a phrase, a basic syntactic and logical unit, consisting of 2, 3, or 4 stressed words. The smallness and compactness of the verset lends each stress conspicuous force. The condensed, laconic nature of biblical Hebrew also contributes to the prominence of each word within the line, the more so when it is reinforced by the parallel verset. The versets are static, independent units, well balanced against each other. This is supported by the nature of biblical syntax which favors parataxis to the subordination of clauses and phrases.

Is stress the only sound element determining biblical rhythm? For many generations scholars have argued over the "secrets" of biblical prosody; there have been attempts to correct or rewrite the text so that it might conform with pseudo-classic ideas of rhythm which require strict numbers of some kind: regularized "feet," equalized hemistichs, or stanzas of recurring numbers of lines. Such attempts seem pointless today since no exact regularity of any kind has been found and since rhythm need not be based on strict numerical regularity. Considering the rhythm to be based on free variation, it is clear, however, that stress is not enough to describe the effects of biblical rhythm. The number of unstressed syllables between two stressed ones, though not fixed in the sense of modern accentual-syllabic versification, is certainly limited: By rule no two stresses are permitted to follow each other, on the other hand long words have secondary stresses. Thus, each stress dominates a group of 2, 3, or 4 syllables; there are 2, 3, or 4 such groups in a verset, and 2, 3, or 4 parallel versets in a sentence. It is a three-stage hierarchy of simple, indivisible, though flexible groups. Within this free framework there are clearly functional specific patterns, such as the so-called rhythm of elegy based on an opposition of 3:2 stresses. The rhythm of major stresses is so strong that sometimes it may be the only supporter of the parallelism of two versets, without any actual repetition of meaning or syntax.

Sound

Within this framework of rhythmical parallelism there is a whole gamut of sound repetition and sound patterns, freely distributed, but clearly embellishing the text. Whatever the origins of Hebrew rhyme and puns or sound patterns in later poetry, the later poets were able to draw on a variety of such devices in the Bible. There is (1) simple alliteration: (2) הוֹד וְהָדָר, חֵן וָחֶסֶד; a chain of one repeated sound: צַדִּיק מִצָּרָה נֶחֱלָץ; (Prov. 11:8); (3) a repetition of the same root which is syntactically justified: אָחוּדָה־נָּא לָכֶם חִידָה ("I will riddle you a riddle," Jud. 14:12), חוּדָה חִידָתְךָ וְנִשְׁמָעֶנָּה ("riddle your riddle and we will hear," *ibid.* 14:13); (4) puns on similar sounding roots: אַל תַּחֲרוֹשׁ עַל רֵעֲךָ רָעָה (Prov. 3:29); (5) פַּחַד – פַּחַת פָּח; אִישׁ – אֵשׁ – אֵשֶׁת; root rhyming בָּבֶל – בָּלַל

(cf. Gen. 11:9), צְדָקָה־צְעָקָה (cf. Isa. 5:7); (6) occasional rhymes in modern sense יֵינָהּ – שֻׁלְחָנָהּ (cf. Prov. 9:4), צֶמַח־קֶמַח (cf. Hos. 8:9), etc.

Rhyme is sometimes obviously linked to the parallel structure, e.g.,

פֶּן־תִּתֵּן לַאֲחֵרִים הוֹדֶךָ/ וּשְׁנוֹתֶךָ לְאַכְזָרִי
פֶּן־יִשְׂבְּעוּ זָרִים כֹּחֶךָ/ וַעֲצָבֶיךָ בְּבֵית־נָכְרִי

Lest thou give thy vigor unto others,
And thy years unto the cruel;
Lest strangers be filled with thy strength,
And thy labors be in the house of an alien.
(Prov. 5:9–10).

The two sentences are similar in rhythm (3:2 stresses) and are linked by an anaphora, as well as by parallel syntax, meaning, morphology, and rhyme. Though the symmetry is pervasive and multiple, it is however neither regular nor permanent: the first versets of each line are parallel in meaning as a whole but not in each word; אחרים ("others") and זרים ("strangers") are parallel in morphology and rhyme but not in their syntactical function; וּשְׁנוֹתֶךָ ("thy years") and וַעֲצָבֶיךָ ("thy labors") are not parallel in the same sense as אחרים ("others") and זרים ("strangers"); אכזרי ("the cruel") and בית־נכרי ("the house of an alien") are not synonymous in the language but become so when enforced by this context. In the same way all parallel words rhyme with each other, except for the second word.

This is an extreme example of order; usually the patterns are less symmetrical and the sentence that follows may not have any of the above devices. Rhyme, as it is known at present, i.e., as a regular organizing principle of a poem which is not an internal ornament of a line but links lines together, was created as concomitant to an unequivocal strophic structure and a formalization of poetic patterns. This occurred centuries later in the Palestinian *piyyut* of *Yannai and Eleazar *Kallir.

THE CLASSICAL PIYYUT

Piyyut (from *paytan* (poet) from the Greek Ποιητής) is the common term applied to a variety of genres of Hebrew liturgical poetry which originated in Ereẓ Israel under Byzantine rule. Some scholars distinguish between *piyyut* and *seliḥah* (a penitential prayer), including under the former all kinds of hymns and under the latter several types of elegies, supplicating or exhortative religious poems. For the purposes of this survey it is convenient to include the entire range of Hebrew religious poetry of the Middle Ages under the general term *piyyut*. The chronological division of the earlier periods of the *piyyut* from a formal point of view is as follows: (1) the so-called beginnings of the *piyyut*, primarily in Ereẓ Israel and in Babylonia from the close of the Bible until the creation of the formal rhymed *piyyut*; (2) the formal period, employing formalized, strophic, and rhymed poems patterned in highly complex *piyyut* cycles, apparently originating in their complete form in Byzantine Ereẓ Israel somewhere between the fourth and sixth centuries C.E. Only the latter will be discussed here.

The Formal Period

Various forms of rhythm, sound patterns, sporadic rhyme, acrostic, and strophic patterns have been developed in biblical literature and during the first centuries of the *piyyut*. But only by an act of formalization were the new complex structures created. Even if it were possible to trace every single device of the formal *piyyut* to earlier examples, there is no precedent to any of the complex structures as a whole. Rhyme, refrain, stanza, etc., whatever had been sporadic, was now formalized and organized in complex cycles of poems, governed by strict rules which set the formal conventions of all poems belonging to a given genre.

In the same way as the period is characterized by the introduction of unequivocal rules of formal structure, differences in genres are marked by differences in form. Moreover, some diversities between poets, or successive generations, or local traditions are marked by minor or major changes both in the complex structures, as well as in the use of particular devices or genres of the *piyyut*.

The large variety of genres, formal differences, and historical changes in these structures does not permit a complete, even schematic, description here. Since the complex structures are determined by the genre, it is preferable to describe the formal structure together with the thematic aspect of each genre, its liturgical function and the particular way of its inclusion in the basic text of the prayer book. The difficulty of such a detailed description is underlined by the present limited knowledge of the history of the *piyyut*. While there are many scattered studies and insights, there is no detailed up-to-date historical description of the whole field. The objective circumstances were a contributing factor to this state of scholarship: tens of thousands of poems and fragments, found in the Cairo *Genizah*, are in the process of being deciphered. These poems, written over many centuries, are by and large undated, often fragmentized or written in a cryptic language, and are either anonymous or only have the first name of the poet who in most cases is unknown from other historical sources. On the other hand a considerable number of *piyyutim* were known for centuries because they were included in the prayer book. More and more of them have been published in recent years. Below only the principles of some basic patterns employed in the complex structures will be outlined and only schematic examples of major formal principles will be given.

The Structure of One Cycle

The widespread forms of the older formal *piyyut*, especially the **kerovah* with its varieties and the **yoẓer*, are cycles of a complex nature, e.g., a *kerovah* by Yannai is a superstructure of nine parts with a permanent set of rules for each. Yannai wrote hundreds of *kerovot* – a different cycle for each week of the triennial cycle of the Torah reading. The structure of each of these poems is governed to the smallest detail by one set of rules. Other poets wrote cycles of poems for the Sabbath, the festivals, and often several different sets of poems for the same purpose, apparently written for the services of different years or different synagogues.

Yannai's *kerovot* are mostly of the *kedushta* type. The *kedushta* is a poetic cycle incorporated in the prayer in which the *Kedushah* is recited. The *kedushta* has a fixed theme for every week based on the weekly biblical portion. The theme and its language are integrated into the poems of the cycle. It consists of the following parts:

(1) A poem to the first benediction of the *Amidah* composed of 3 stanzas of 4 versets each. Every stanza has a separate fourfold end rhyme, linking all its versets. Every verset begins with a separate letter following the order of the Hebrew alphabet; the poem is thus linked by an unfinished acrostic from the letters א to ל. The concluding verset alludes to the first sentence of the weekly portion which follows and introduces a series of biblical sentences in their original form, having neither rhyme nor meter. The biblical passage gives, as it were, authoritative support to the content of the poem. This chain of biblical sentences is linked to a closing stanza of 3 or 4 versets, with the last word of the chain of sentences repeated at the beginning of the closing stanza. The last verset of this stanza is again linked to what follows, alluding to the *Magen Avot* benediction (the second) recited after this poem.

(2) A poem to the second benediction which is similar in its strophic structure to the first poem. It continues the interrupted acrostic (from the letter מ to ת) and uses the last two letters twice in order to fit the 22-letter Hebrew alphabet into a framework of a series of four-verset stanzas (altogether 24 versets). This poem too is linked to the weekly portion with the final verset alluding to its second sentence. A chain of explanatory sentences also lead toward a closing stanza in which the final verset anticipates the following benediction, *Meḥayyeh ha-Metim*.

(3) A short poem of 4 stanzas, each starts with a letter which is part of an acrostic of the poet's name יני״. Every stanza consists of 4 short cola of 2 or 3 words each, rhymed either with a fourfold rhyme or with a twofold rhyme. The poem ends with an allusion to the first word of the *haftarah* which follows, together with an explanatory passage.

(4) A poem of a rather free structure, having no fixed rules for its rhyming though usually consisting of 3 fourfold stanzas. Concluding the first part of the *piyyut*, the poem is marked by the obligatory use of the final word – *Kadosh*.

(5) A poem traditionally called *asiriyyah* because it is composed of 10 stanzas which are linked by an acrostic of the first 10 letters of the Hebrew alphabet. The stanzas are rhymed couplets having quite often a large variety of internal rhymes.

(6) A poem consisting of 11 stanzas, each using a separate fourfold rhyme. Every couple of versets is linked to a complete alphabetical acrostic. The poem introduces a group of poems and is preceded by the biblical statement which it discusses. Frequently, the biblical statement or parts of it are interwoven into the poem either as beginnings of the first lines of the poem or of its stanzas.

(7) This part consists of 1 to 3 pattern poems (*rehitim*), each of which has an individual structure, usually of a complex form, which permeates the text in every detail. Variegated and individual in their composition, they follow a fixed set of rules (described below). Only in this category is the poet allowed to use strictly organized poems without rhyme.

(8) The *silluk*, a kind of free verse poem that introduces the *kedushah*. It has a free structure which varies from *kerovah* to *kerovah* and is richly rhymed in an unrestricted manner. In the poetry of Yannai's follower (or disciple), Eleazar Kallir, the *silluk* developed into a very long, exuberant, richly orchestrated, yet unrestricted poem. Yannai's *silluk*, however, is rather short.

(9) The *Kedushah*; it has neither rhyme, nor strophic structure. In the period of Yannai there was no fixed version as yet, and the poet was free to formulate his *Kedushah* in every cycle anew. It was based on an exegesis and elaboration of the formula *Kadosh, Kadosh, Kadosh* (*Holy, Holy, Holy*).

The above is a simplified account of a poetic cycle, as described by M. *Zulay. It is impossible to delineate here in detail the forms of other cycles, their liturgical functions, and their development throughout the ages. Each cycle is determined by a combination of certain thematic, verbal, and formal elements. Though the intricate rules for each cycle changed from genre to genre, there was no free combination in each new creation: The basic forms used in these compositions were quite restricted. Some of these basic forms are discussed below:

Forms of Composition

Within a given cycle the form and length of each poem was restricted, depending on its place in the cycle, its use of acrostic, and its strophic form. The following strophic forms existed in the *piyyut*:

(1) AN UNDIVIDED POEM. One single end-rhyme runs throughout the poem (*ḥaruz mavri'aḥ*). At the beginnings of the lines there is a compulsory acrostic which covers the whole Hebrew alphabet, each letter is repeated one or several times; the number of versets being either 22, 44, or 88.

(2) REGULAR STROPHIC STRUCTURE. Each poem is composed of a number of stanzas of a permanent form and length. Every stanza has its own independent rhyme both differing from and not interfering with members of other rhymes: *aaaa bbbb cccc*, etc. The length of stanzas may vary from 2 to 10 versets. A stanza of 4 versets became the major form of the *seliḥah*, especially in the variety created throughout the ages in Ashkenazi Europe. The multiple (fourfold or eightfold) repetition of each rhyme and the lack of rhyme alternation in the rhyming *piyyut* create an effect quite distinct from standard European strophic poetry which uses its rhymes in alternation.

Stanzas may have an additional internal structure and may be molded by means additional to rhyme, primarily meter, acrostic, and the refrain. Thus, in Kallir's *kerovah* to the *Musaf prayer of the Day of Atonement (in the Ashkenazi prayer book), one of the poem *Essa De'i le-Meraḥok* is based on a stanza of 9 versets. The following is one stanza of the poem:

יְשַׁלְּגוּ אָדְמֵי שָׁנִים/ שֶׁל כָּל־יְמוֹת הַשָּׁנִים/ חֲדָשִׁים וְגַם יְשָׁנִים
יְלַבְּנוּ כִּתְמֵי שׁוֹשַׁנִּים/ וְיוּשְׁבוּ לְתַעֲרָם שְׁנוּנִים/ בְּפִלּוּל אֲשֶׁר מְשַׁנְּנִים
רַחֲצוּ וְהִזַּכּוּ מֵעִשּׁוּנִים/ לְאִוֶּלֶת מִהְיוֹת שׁוֹנִים/ וְעַל מִבְטָחֵימוֹ שְׁעוּנִים

Each verset has 3 words, 3 versets form a line, each line begins with a letter from the acrostic (in this case it is the end of the poet's name קליר, the י repeated twice), 3 lines form a stanza by means of the particular rhyme which is repeated 9 times.

This particular poem belongs to the *kiklar* (from the Greek κύςκλο, cycle) genre, in which there is a refrain-like shorter stanza of 3 versets after each regular stanza. There are 3 different refrains in the above poem, alternating between the 7 regular stanzas. In the following general scheme of the poem each verset of the regular stanzas shall be represented by letters from *a* to *g*, according to the rhyme patterns; the refrains by letters *p* to *r*; capital letters represent versets linked by an acrostic:

Aaa	Ddd	Ggg
Aaa	Ddd	Ggg
Aaa	Ddd	Ggg
ppp	ppp	ppp
Bbb	Eee	
Bbb	Eee	
Bbb	Eee	
qqq	qqq	
Ccc	Fff	
Ccc	Fff	
Ccc	Fff	
rrr	rrr	

The poem is organized, as it were, both vertically and horizontally. The triadic principle is dominant throughout: 3 words make a verset, 3 versets a line, 3 lines a stanza, 3 stanzas complete a refrain cycle. The third refrain cycle is, however, not completed since there are 7 stanzas.

(3) PATTERN POEMS. An unusual kind of formal poem – the pattern poem – was developed in the *piyyut*, especially by Yannai. A pattern of a line elaborated in all its details – syntactic, semantic, morphological, and sound devices – was established in the poem and was then repeated throughout its 22 lines (the number being determined by the acrostic). A great variety of such patterns appear in Yannai's poetry, all in the seventh part of the *kerovah* cycle. The following is an example of a very simple kind:

If you loved who would hate? אִם אָהַבְתָּה מִי יַשְׂנִיא
If you blessed who would curse? אִם בֵּירַכְתָּה מִי יָאֲרֹר
If you fenced who would break out? אִם גִּדַּרְתָּה מִי יִפְרוֹץ
If you joined who would separate? אִם דִּבַּקְתָּה מִי יַפְרִיד

Every line is a rhetorical pattern with two fixed and two free words. The initial letter of the first free word depends on the place of the word in the alphabetically arranged poem; this word is a verb in the second person past, and its meaning has a positive connotation. The second free word is opposite in meaning, it has a strongly negative connotation, and is a verb in the third person future.

There are more complex patterns, such as this:

תּוֹלְדוֹת אָהוּב וְשָׂנָאוּי אָהוּב (לְ...) חס וְשָׂנָאוּי לְמַאֵס
תּוֹלְדוֹת בָּחוּר וּבָזוּי בָּחוּר לְסֶגֶל וּבָזוּי לְסֶגֶר
תּוֹלְדוֹת גְּדִי וְנָמֵר גְּדִי לְרִצּוּי וְנָמֵר לְנִיצּוּי

The story of a loved one and a hated one/
loved for respect and hated for neglect
The story of a chosen one and despised one/
chosen for virtue and despised for rejection
The story of a lamb and a tiger/
a lamb for pleasing and a tiger for strife

Every line consists of two parts, of 3 and 4 words, respectively. The first part refers to a story of two personae: one positive, the other negative. The second part elaborates on the first, repeating the two personae and modifying the description of each. The first word is permanent, creating an anaphoric chain ("the story of…"); the second word is positive in meaning and is strung on an acrostic; the third word is either a direct or indirect opposite of the second. The other hemistich repeats words (2) and (3) and qualifies them, explaining the reason for the opposition: In what perspective are the personae to be cast. The modifiers do not provide a full explanation, but allude to a biblical text. Both modifiers – words (5) and (7) – are introduced by a preposition of purpose (-ל) and are linked to each other by some kind of rhyme, though the rhyming principle changes throughout the poem. It may be:

a terminal sound rhyme רִצּוּי – נִיצּוּי
or an initial rhyme עזוז – לעזאזל, סגל – סגר
or a semantic rhyme זכות – חובה, חיים מות

Since the morphology of most words of the pattern is fixed, in all cases where suffixes are used the rhyme is inevitable, e.g.,

וירא אהובים ויאמל ואבה לארורם
וירא באים ויבעת וביקש לבלעם
וירא גרים ויגר וגמר לגרשם

The meaning of the pattern is "He saw ("positive personae") and he was frightened (or shocked, or worried, etc.) and he wished (or planned, or hurried, etc.) to curse them (or swallow them, or uproot them, etc.)." All four changing words are linked to the acrostic, the second and the fifth, using plural suffixes, create each a chain of rhymes. In the rhyming chain of the second words there are, however, two exceptions: המון, רבבה – words which designate plurality but do not have the grammatical plural form. Indeed, rhyme is concomitant to grammatical parallelism but is not an absolute necessity. It is possibly the only structured poem in a Yannai cycle which may have no rhyme, if rhyme does not appear with the grammatical form. In most cases there is rhyme, but of a peculiar variety; a morphological rhyme based on a suffix.

The form of the pattern poem is derived from biblical parallelism, but two new principles were applied: (a) the symmetry of two versets was turned into a chain of synonymous sentences; (b) there was a rigorous formalization of the pattern, and all deviations are excluded.

(4) FREE STROPHIC FORMS. These are of two kinds: (a) the unrhymed *piyyut*, an exceptional form, fulfilling strict liturgical functions and employing phrases of a formulaic nature; (b) the rhymed free poem, especially the *silluk*, developed by Kallir into a long chain of rhymed versets, with changing rhymes and shifting rhyme principles and without any strophic structure or measure of length. Each rhyme usually has many members (e.g., 25 LAKH+20 MU+18 ŠEV+13 MEM, etc. – in Kallir's *silluk* to *Parashat Zakhor*). Besides sound rhyme there may be in the rhyming position semantic rhymes (names of rivers or of time periods), word repetition, words of one root, etc.

Rhyme

THE ORIGINS OF RHYME IN EUROPEAN POETRY. Rhyme, the great innovation of the *piyyut*, had impact on the history of world poetry. Since not many *piyyutim* were known before the recent studies of the *Genizah* (where over 50,000 liturgical poems were discovered), and also since the external circumstances of the *piyyut* were obscure and its language almost puzzling, it was not until recently that scholars have become aware of this original contribution of Hebrew poetry. All its aspects, however, have not yet been fully explored.

It is clear by now that rhyme grew out of the internal development of Hebrew poetry and became in Hebrew a permanent, even obligatory, feature of poetry earlier than in any other language. It is assumed that the principle of rhyme was then transferred to the poetry of the Syriac Church, written in Aramaic (a language closely related to Hebrew, spoken *inter alia* by Jews and written in the same area; i.e., in the Middle East) and through this mediation introduced into Latin poetry and then into all other languages of Europe.

THE MAJOR NORM: THE DISCONTINUOUS RHYME. Not one, but several kinds of rhyme existed in the *piyyut*, each associated with different strophic forms. The most important was the rhyme of the strophic poems. The basic norm of this rhyme is unknown in the poetry of other languages. Each rhyme of a strophic *piyyut* had to meet two requirements: (1) parallelism of all the sounds of the last syllable, beginning with the consonant preceding the last vowel; (2) parallelism of two consonants belonging to the root of each rhyming word, e.g., in Eleazar Kallir's stanza quoted above (from the *piyyut Essa De'i le-Meraḥok*), the rhyming words are: ŠaNIM – ha-ŠaNIM – ye-ŠaNIM – Šo-ŠaNIM – ŠenuNIM – meŠaneNIM – meiŠuNIM – So-ŠaNIM – ŠenuNIM – meŠaneNIM – meiŠuNIM – Šo-NIM – ŠeuNIM. For the sake of identification capital letters represent the rhyme (all the sounds repeated in all members of one rhyme).

The rhymeme in this system is both terminal and discontinuous. The principle of terminality implies that the rhymeme covers the final syllable of each rhyming member whereas in European or in modem Hebrew poetry its basis is the stressed syllable rather than the final one. In most cases in Hebrew, though, the two overlap, but in instances of discrepancy, stress in the rhyme of the *piyyut* is disregarded. The principle of discontinuity of the rhymeme is unique in rhyming systems and is based on the nature of the Hebrew lexical morpheme, which is discontinuous, consisting merely of consonants. Thus, the changes of vowels in such Hebrew words as Ša-Var – Še-Ve-R – Šo-Ve-R cause morphological differences only (Š+V+R is a root meaning "break," the vowels in the example creating: past, noun, present), whereas in English the differences between, e.g., "lever – liver – lover" are lexical.

Though rhyme may have had, as one of its sources the puns on words of one root, rhyme became an autonomous pattern, independent of grammar or word repetition. The discontinuous rhyme is merely similar in structure to the Hebrew root, but is not necessarily based on words of one root. In the above case the rhyme is S+NIM. Between the discontinuous sounds of the rhymeme there appeared changing vowels and even consonants, though usually consonants of the kinds found in the rhymeme (as in our case).

Thus, rhyme was based on sound parallelism of the roots of words as well as of their endings. Since a Hebrew root can have no more than three sounding consonants, only one (at most) is given to variation. In stanzas with many rhyme members, it is extremely difficult to find enough words which may meet such requirements, especially when the rhyming words are at short distances from each other. Such rhyming was possible in the *piyyut* due to the difficult "Kallirian" style which allowed, on the one hand, for an almost unlimited number of neologisms and, on the other hand, was abundant in allusions and ellipses which permitted the bringing together of words from quite distant semantic areas.

There are in this system five major forms of rhyme, dependent upon the morphological structure of the rhyming words:

(1) if the final syllable is open (e.g., LA), an additional preceding consonant was necessary, e.g., in Kallir's rhyme: GoLA – Geula – beGiLA – niGLA – GiLA – veeGLA – aGuLA – meGiLA – veGoLA (the rhymeme is G + La); (2) if the final syllable is closed (e.g., NIM) and one consonant belongs to a suffix, a root consonant has to be preceded as in the above case with plural endings: ŠaNIM – haŠaNIM – ŠenuNIM, etc. The rhymeme is Š+NIM; (3 and 4) if the final syllable has no root consonants, two discontinuous root consonants are added, e.g., צוּרֵינוּ – נַעֲצְרֶנּוּ – יוֹצְרֵינוּ – מִצָּרָתֵינוּ – ẒuReNU – naaẒReNU – yoẒReNU – ẒaRateNU (the rhymeme is Ẓ+R+NU). The same holds for a suffix in a closed syllable (e.g., M+R+HEM); (5) if the final syllable is closed and includes no suffix, then it meets in itself both requirements. There is no discontinuity, but the difficulty in finding or inventing rhyme words remains, e.g.,

the famous stanza which served as a symbol of Kallir's unintelligible (or even cacophonous) style:

אץ קוצץ בן־קוצץ / קצוצי לקצץ / בדבור מפוצץ /
רצוצי לרצץ / לץ בבוא ללוצץ /
פלץ ונתלוצץ / כעץ מחצצים לחצץ / כנץ על צפור לנצץ.

Due to the neologisms, allusions, and the elliptic syntax, this passage is almost unintelligible without a commentary. On the other hand, the richness of rhyme and sound effects is obvious.

Using the symbols N – the norm; R – a root consonant; C – a morphological consonant; V – a vowel; + – a possible discontinuity in the sound string, the above five forms of the Kallirian rhyme may be summarized as follows:

$N_1 = R+RV$
$N_2 = R+RVC$
$N_3 = R+R+CV$
$N_4 = R+R+CVC$
$N_5 = RVR$

A typical case of discontinuous rhyme can be found in the *Hoshanot* read on the first and second days of Sukkot where the poet rhymes 22 times שׁ + עִי (in the poem אֶעֱרוֹךְ שַׁוְעִי) or 22 times שׁ + עוֹת (in the poem אֵל לְמוֹשָׁעוֹת) מוֹשָׁעוֹת – שְׁבוּעוֹת – בְּשַׁוְעוֹת שׁוּעוֹת – שַׁעְשְׁעוֹת, etc.

In Yannai's poetry, repetitions of four equivalent or similar words are often found in rhyme (such as פָּנִים – פָּנִים – לְפָנִים – לִיפְנִים). A repeated word obviously meets both requirements of the rhyme norm. But Yannai's pupil Kallir excluded word repetition as a substitute for a strophic rhyme, thus enforcing his difficult norm. Word repetitions remained a device of rhyming, but in a distinct kind of rhyme chain.

LANGUAGE AND RHYME. The rhyme norm described above was primarily based on sound. Sound was not identical with letter or with the later canonized vocalization. For the sake of rhyme the *qameš* (ָ) and the *pattaḥ* (ַ) were equivalent (*a*); also the *ṣere* (ֵ) and *segol* (ֶ) (*e*). The letters א, ה, ח, ע lost their consonantal qualities and in the rhyme of the *piyyut* they are interchangeable and may be either disregarded or counted as consonants. Kallir rhymes אֱלוֹהַּ – לְשָׁלוֹחַ, טְמֵאָה – קְמֵעָה, etc., ב and ו seem to be equivalent מַחֲשָׁבָה – שָׁוֶה, אֵבָה – גַאֲוָה, etc. On the other hand, however, consonants with or without a *dageš* rhyme freely with each other, thus פּ פ, e.g., נֶפֶשׁ – טִפֵּשׁ and בּ ב, e.g., מַרְבֵּץ – רוֹבֵץ – מַשְׁבֵּץ – קוֹבֵץ. The equivalence of בּ ב, according to the graphic principle, and that of ב ו, according to the sound principle, established a new equivalence for the sake of rhyme: ב וְ, e.g., Kallir rhymes דְּבָרִים – שְׁוָרִים – גִּבּוֹרִים or רְבִיד – מַעֲבִיד – לְהַאֲבִיד – הִרְבִּיד – דָּוִד.

This tradition of equivalents for the sake of rhyme was carried with the *piyyut* into Italy and Franco-Germany. Thus, *Meshullam b. Kalonymus of the 10th century (born in Italy, lived in Mainz) rhymes freely בִּבְּוְ; הִרְבָּה – רָוָה – מְרִיבָה, etc.; Rabbi *Meir b. Baruch of Rothenberg in the 13th century rhymes: טְבוּעִים – מִצְבִּיעִים – מְשַׁוְעִים , etc.

THE HISTORY OF KALLIRIAN RHYME. The forms of "Kallirian" *piyyut* spread throughout the Diaspora to the East and to the West. In the East they were superseded in the 10th and 11th centuries by the forms of Arabic versification, especially as adapted by the Hebrew poetry of Spain. In Italy and Franco-Germany they dominated the basic form of the *maḥzor* and do so to the present day. With time, the difficult rhyme norm was simplified: poets dropped the requirement to include two root consonants; rhyme was based on a repetition of the final syllables and became *terminal*, i.e., the standard Hebrew rhyme of the Middle Ages. The process of simplification apparently originated in Ereẓ Israel. (Thus, in the ninth century the Palestinian-influenced *piyyut* of southern Italy was based on final syllables only.) But the "strong" norm prevailed again in the 10th century in Babylonia, Italy, and Franco-Germany to be dropped finally toward the end of the 11th century.

OTHER KINDS OF RHYME. In Yannai's poetry the discontinuous rhyme of the strophic poem is not the only rhyme form. All aspects of the Hebrew word were employed in one form or another for the sake of rhyme: the root, the suffix, the meaning, the sound. In pattern poems it is obvious: not only the final sounds of the parallel words are repeated, but also their meaning and morphological structure. In this genre, however, rhymes, as other kinds of repetition, are tied: they serve the composition of the poem not independently but as a whole cluster. For the later development the untied free rhyme is of primary interest.

The following kinds of rhyme may be discerned: (1) *Sound Rhyme*, a rhyme based on parallelism of sounds especially in the discontinuous terminal form described above. (2) *Morphological Rhyme*. This rhyme is based on a suffix. It appears sporadically in the Bible and was used several times at considerable length in the Dead Sea Scrolls and in Ben Sira. It became a legitimate variety of rhyme in non-strophic *piyyutim*, especially in the pattern poems. (3) *Semantic Rhyme*. The relations of the rhyming members are in parallelism of meaning rather than in sound: זמר – רנן אכילה – שתיה, etc. Even in a strophic poem, in a chain of sound rhymes, Yannai writes suddenly: סוס – סוס – חמור – חמור rhyming horse with donkey! (4) *Root Rhyme*. Found in the rhyming of words of one root, they do not necessarily have similar sound endings, e.g., תּוּצְדַּק – יִצְדַּק – צַדִּיק – צֶדֶק or גֵּאָה – גָּאָה – גַּאֲוָה – גֵּאִים. Semantic rhyme and root rhyme are used only occasionally, especially in free strophic forms, such as the *silluk*, or as an additional device within the line. They are of particular interest for the understanding of the origins of sound rhyme which grew in an environment of repetition of any possible aspect of the language. (5) *Word Rhyme*. This rhyme is based on the repetition of one word, usually a key word (life, death, night, war, etc.), throughout a poem. It is older than systematic rhyme and is often employed in *piyyutim* – either in poems of 22 lines or in free strophic patterns.

A distinct kind of *piyyut* uses a word rhyme together with sound rhymes in one single rhyme chain of a long poem, such as Kallir's rhyme of the word טל ("dew") (in his "prayer for dew" "תפלת טל"), repeated endlessly and interwoven with words ending with same sounds: טלטל, נטל, etc.

Rhythm

Biblical rhythm was accentual but with free variation of the numbers of stresses in parallel versets. It seems that later developments led in two directions:

(1) The rhythm as found in the poetry of Ben Sira where there are usually 2 versets to a line, with 4 metrical stresses being the optimal limit of a verset. A 4-stress pattern is achieved if long words are seen as having two metrical stresses (in a way quite similar to our reading of iambs in modern Hebrew poetry), e.g.,

אחר́י תאות́יך א́ל תל́ך   ומ́חמדות́יך ה́מנ́ע
א́ם תעש́ה רצ́ון נפש́ך   ת́שיג́ך שמח́ת שונ́א

This was apparently a tradition of a poetry which sensed an inherent semi-regular meter, approaching syllabic regularity. (The syllabic principle is said to be underlying Syriac poetry of the early Christian centuries.)

(2) The tradition of early liturgical poetry which was based on the number of major stresses. Here, too, 4 stresses were a common optimal frame, but these were major stresses, each dominating a word or a group of words. Thus, *Yose b. Yose, in his famous *Avodah le-Yom Kippur* has regular stanzas of 4 lines each (determined by a fourfold repetition of each letter in the alphabetical acrostic). Each line consists of two versets (or hemistichs), each verset having 4 major stresses:

את́ה כונ́נת עול́ם ברוב-ח́סד / ובו́ יתנה́ג עד ק́ץ הימ́ים,
אשר ל́א ימ́וט מעו́ן יצור́ים / ולא ימע́ד מכ́בד פשע́ים וחטא́ים

In Ben Sira there are often two stresses on one long word; in Yose b. Yose two smaller words are linked by one stress. The number of stresses is similar, but the interpretation of the rhythm in the language is quite different.

Yannai usually has no regular rhythm, except for pattern poems in which the number of words is fixed by the pattern. Neither is there any syllabic regularity, similar to the one which is supposed to govern Syriac meters, discernible. But in Kallir's poetry there are already *piyyutim* (beyond the pattern poems) which have a fixed meter, based on the number of words, such as the meter of the *kiklar* analyzed above. In Italy, this meter became obligatory from the ninth century. While this meter may have grown out of earlier stress regularity, it was now strictly based on the graphic division of words, requiring a permanent number of words in each verset. It became the dominant form of the Ashkenazi *piyyut* in the Middle Ages. Some genres had norms peculiar to them, e.g., the *seliḥah* was usually written in Italy and in Franco-Germany in 5-word lines and 4-line rhymed stanzas.

MEDIEVAL HEBREW POETRY IN SPAIN

Hebrew poetry entered a new era with its emergence in Islamic Spain, in the 10th century. The Arabic rules of versification were adopted by the Hebrew verse; quantitative meter became the dominant system in Hebrew poetry in Spain from its beginnings, through the "Golden Age," until the destruction of Jewish life in Spain at the end of the 15th century. Due to the authority and the achievements of Hebrew culture and poetry in Spain, its poetic language and metrical system spread to other countries. It dominated Hebrew poetry throughout the Islamic world – Egypt, Babylonia, Yemen, North Africa, the Ottoman Empire – until recent times. It ruled Hebrew poetry in Provence, spread throughout Europe, and reigned in Italy until the 19th century.

Hebrew literature in the East in the first centuries of Arabic rule, though flourishing in the very heart of Islamic culture and strongly influenced by Arabic science and literature, shows no trace of having come under the sway of the forms of Arabic poetry. *Saadiah Gaon of Babylonia (10th century), a distinguished philosopher and linguist in Arabic, followed the norms of the pre-Islamic *piyyut* in his Hebrew poetry. He used the strophic structure of the *piyyut* in fourfold or manifold rhymes which change from stanza to stanza and there was no trace of any syllable-counting meter. However, Saadiah Gaon's pupil, *Dunash b. Labrat, a native of Fez, who was educated in Baghdad and went to Cordoba, Spain, introduced there in the middle of the 10th century the Arabic quantitative metrical system into Hebrew poetry. Ben Labrat's innovation, which became the subject of a fierce polemic, was seen as violating the nature and grammar of the Hebrew language. But even Ben Labrat's opponents used quantitative meters in their caustic polemical poems against this very same system. Arguments against quantitative metrics, raised time and again, especially emphasized the biblical tradition and the accentual nature of the Hebrew language. The opponents themselves, however, notably *Judah Halevi, seldom strayed from this metrical system in their secular poetry.

Kinds of Verse

Hebrew literature in Spain was written in a variety of genres, secular as well as liturgical. Generic properties included theme, forms of composition, attitude of the speaker, use of language. But hardly any thematic genre had its own peculiar meter or rhyme scheme. On the other hand, there was a strong distinction between several kinds of literature, based on principles of meter, rhyme, and strophic structure. The following major types may be discerned: (1) Non-strophic poems using one single rhyme throughout, linking all the lines of the poem. In this type quantitative meter in one of the classical regular forms was obligatory (used in most of Spanish Hebrew poetry, especially secular poetry). (2) Strophic poetry of the type of the "girdle" poem, employing a quantitative metrical pattern which may be irregular in itself but permanent throughout the poem. (3) Poems with a plain syllabic meter, primarily in strophic forms. (4) Strophic poetry in "free" verse, i.e., without syllable counting, used primarily in liturgical genres. (5) Rhymed prose, used primarily in genres of Oriental storytelling.

The Hebrew Quantitative Meter

A quantitative meter is based on a regular pattern of short and long (rather than stressed and unstressed) syllables. Hebrew quantitative meters though derived from Arabic versification were quite different from their prototypes as well as from Greek quantitative patterns. This was basically due to the different properties of the Hebrew language.

Traditional descriptions of Hebrew verse in Spain did not distinguish between problems of diachrony and synchrony. The derivation of a particular meter from this or that Arabic prototype seemed to be more relevant than the assessment of its place in the synchronic system of Hebrew verse. The existing classification of medieval Hebrew meters, basically unchanged for the past 800 years, relies on medieval Arabic cataloguing. One finds usually long taxonomic lists of patterns rather than structural rules to explain the nature of the Hebrew quantitative meters.

Twelve of the 16 basic meters codified in the theories of classical Arabic versification were adopted by Hebrew poets (the other being impossible to imitate in Hebrew). With their many derivations, the number of particular regular meters runs into several dozens (Yellin's list has 67), whereas the irregular patterns of the "girdle" poems may account for several hundred forms. No explanation is usually given as to why no other meters existed.

The traditionally identified meters will not be enumerated here but rather an attempt will be made to explain the basic rules and tendencies. One reason for the large number of metrical types is that each is used as a label for a pattern of a whole line which has not been analyzed into its distinctive features. Three such features should be considered: (a) the basic metrical units, or recurring groups of syllables ("feet"); (b) the number and order of such groups (i.e., the length of the line); (c) the form of the final group – whether complete, short, or changed (cf., in accentual-syllabic poetry an analytical term such as "iambic pentameter" – one word signifies the basic foot, the other the length of the line, whereas the nature of the end of the line is described in terms of rhyme gender: "feminine" or "masculine"). Thus, the difference between the two traditionally distinct meters *ha-merubbeh* (/ ᴗ − − − / ᴗ − − − / ᴗ − − /) and *ha-marnin* (ᴗ − − − / ᴗ − − −) (ᴗ stands for a short syllable, − for a long, the direction of the symbols here is from left to right) is one of length of line only; whereas for a parallel difference between (− ᴗ − − / − ᴗ − − / − ᴗ − −) and (− ᴗ − − / − ᴗ − −) only one term (*ha-kalu'a* a' and b') has been used. While a difference in the length of a line may be an important rhythmic factor, it should not justify the use of unanalyzed terms.

THE BASIS OF HEBREW QUANTITATIVE METERS. The Hebrew poets in Spain did not resort to the distinction between short and long vowels of the biblical vocalization. Only the mobile *ševa*, the *ḥataf*, and the conjunction ו (when pronounced *u*) were considered short vowels. All full vowels were considered long, e.g., in Ibn *Gabirol's poem (from right to left; short syllables are unmarked):

מְ̆לִ̄יצָ̄תִ̄י בְּ̆דַ̄אֲ̆גָ̄תִ̄י הֲ̆דוּ̄פָ̄ה, / וְ̆שִׂ̄מְחָ̄תִ̄י בְּ̆אַ̄נְחָ̄תִ̄י דְּ̆חוּ̄פָ̄ה

In comparison with Arabic or Greek quantitative meters, the number of short syllables in Hebrew is conspicuously small. Moreover, whereas in Greek verse a long (i.e., a strong) syllable constitutes the distinguishing element of a foot, in Hebrew it is a short (i.e., a weaker) element. It is hard to conceive how such a weaker element could provide a rhythmic basis for a foot. Indeed, there was a different way of describing this kind of meter, through use of another kind of contrast, namely that of cord (C = −) (*tenu'ah*, i.e., vowel) and peg (P = / ᴗ − /) (*yated*). A short followed by a long was called a peg. (In traditional Hebrew grammar a peg is considered one syllable.) All other syllables are cords. The above quoted line from Ibn *Gabirol can be rewritten (from left to right): PCC PCC PC/PCC PCC PC, the basic foot consisting of one peg and two cords (rather than one short and 3 longs). Besides the rhythmic factor considered above, this system of description is justified because in Hebrew there is practically no short "syllable" which is not followed by a long one, i.e., a short is not an independent unit (even though modern pronunciation may create such an illusion). Except for experimental poems, there are no meters of pegs only. Thus, a quantitative meter may be described as based on a regulated opposition of pegs and cords.

The basic group of syllables recurring several times in a line is called a foot. A foot may consist of either 2 or 3 syllables. The basic feet are:

Number of Syllables	Place of the Peg
Binary:	PC (initial)
	CP (final)
	CC (neutral)
Ternary:	PCC (initial)
	CPC (medial)
	CCP (final)

No foot has more than one peg. (In some meters there may be a substitute of 2 pegs: PP, but not as a regular recurring unit.) In Hebrew, as opposed to Arabic, there was a meter without pegs, the so-called *mishkal ha-tenu'ot* (meter of cords) of 8 long syllables, but it retained the quantitative opposition, since the text avoids all pegs in the language (i.e., all the mobile *ševa'im* and the like). No ternary foot without pegs may constitute a regular metrical scheme (though CCC may occur as a substitute within a meter with pegs).

The verse form of classical poetry is a distich (*bayit*) consisting of 2 lines identical or differing slightly at the end: the first line is called *délet*, the second *soger*. At the end of the *soger* there is a rhyme member linking it to the whole poem, which has one rhyme with a long chain of members, connecting the ends of the distichs as a string. A poem often consists of several dozens of distichs repeating again and again the same rhyme, with the typical effect of emphasis and monotony. In the first distich usually both lines are rhymed.

Any meter in this system is based on the principle of rhythmic impulses of recurring groups of pegs and cords, combined with a tendency to repeat each group at least twice, but an exact repetition of the same group more than twice in each line is avoided in most meters. The variations are codified within the metrical pattern of a line. This pattern, however, is in all its details permanent throughout the poem.

In each line the basic foot is repeated several times, but the last foot may be incomplete. The feet of a line may be of one kind only (as in the accentual-syllabic system of modern poetry), or of two kinds, unknown in modern poetry. If the first two feet are identical, the meter is *regular*; if they are different, the meter is *variegated*.

The length of a line is not as varied as in Hebrew or European poetry of modern times. There is a strong interrelation between the nature of the feet and their number. The rules governing the length of a line are the following: (a) if one of the first two feet is binary, there are 4 feet in a line; (b) if both first feet are ternary, there are 2 or 3 feet in a line, and the third may be either complete, shortened, or changed.

The last foot of a line can be described separately; if it is the third foot, it is either complete, shortened, changed, or avoided. But for this element, the length of a line can be seen as automatic. Indeed, there are 5 basic regular meters. These can be illustrated by using the list of all meters and variants which appear in J. Schirmann's famous anthology of Hebrew poetry in Spain and Provence (see following table).

REGULAR METERS

PC binary initial	PC·PC·PC·PC	המתקרב	*ha-mitkarev*
CC binary neutral	CC·CC·CC·CC	משקל התנועות	*mishkal ha-tenu'ot*
PCC ternary initial	PCC·PCC·PC	המרובה	*ha-merubbeh*
	PCC·PCC	המרנין	*ha-marnin*
CPC ternary medial	CPC·CPC·CP	הקלוע א׳	*haa-kalu'a (a)*
	CPC·CPC	הקלוע ב׳	*ha-kalu'a (b)*
CCP ternary final	CCP·CCP·CCP	השלם א׳	*ha-shalem (a)*
	CCP·CCP·CC·P/C	השלם ב׳	*ha-shalem (b)*
	CCP·CCP·CCC	השלם ג׳	*ha-shalem (c)*
	CCP·CCP·CPC	השלם ז׳	*ha-shalem (g)*
	CCP·CCP·CPCC	השלם ח׳	*ha-shalem (h)*
	CCP·CCP·CP	המהיר א׳	*ha-mahir (a)*
	CCP·CCP·CC	המהיר ב׳	*ha-mahir (b)*
	CCP·CCP·C	השלם ד׳	*ha-shalem*
	CCP·CCP -/C	השלם ה׳	*ha-shalem*
	CCP·CCP·C	השלם ו׳	*ha-shalem*

(The symbol P/C shows two differing endings of the two lines in a distich.) In spite of the different labels, all the variations are in the third foot and can be described separately. Binary meters have practically no variations (due to rule a) and there is practically no binary final meter. Only the rule of length (a) can explain why the meter of cords (binary neutral) uses 8 syllables. There is no regular ternary meter of cords. Moreover, the ternary medial meter is rare in Hebrew. No other regular meters are possible. In the ternary meters the third foot may be complete only if the peg is at the very end. But this weak position of the last peg calls for a great variety of substitutes.

VARIEGATED METERS. From the rules of length follows also the structure of the variegated meters of which there are two kinds:

(1) Alternating meters: if one of the first two feet is binary and one is ternary there are 4 feet in a line (according to rule a); the whole pattern is repeated twice (e.g., PC PCC PC PCC in the meter *ha-arokh*).

(2) Changing meters: if both first feet are ternary (and different) there cannot be 4 feet (according to rule b), i.e., there can be no repetition of the whole group within each line. In this case, if there is a third foot it either repeats the first or is changed (as the last foot of a line).

Alternating Meters. In alternating meters the following rules hold for the basic patterns: (1) there are 4 feet in a line; (2) the meter is based on a regular alternation between ternary and binary feet; (3) both kinds of feet are either initial or final; (4) in each hemistich, if there are 2 pegs they are removed from each other by only one cord. From rules (3) and (4) follows that there may be only 2 basic meters:

alternating initial PC PCC PC PCC הארוך *ha-arokh*
alternating final CCP CP CCP CP המתפשט *ha-mitpashet*

There can be no medial feet since there must be a common rhythmical denominator; if it is not the foot, it is its direction. Since each line has two symmetrical hemistichs, variations of the scheme may be accepted at the end of the line as well as in the second foot, e.g., the alternating falling meter has a variant PC CCC PC CCC (the meter of Dunash b. Labrat). The variants will not be listed here.

Changing Meters. If the first two feet are different but ternary, the whole group cannot be repeated twice. Only two ternary feet combine: the medial and the final. Hence the two basic metrical schemes are as follows:

medial and changing CPC CCP CPC הקל א׳ *ha-kal* (*a*)
final and changing CCP CPC הקטוע *ha-katu'a*

Variations occur in the third foot (the end of the line) and in the second (the end of the basic group). These meters are however rare and will not be enumerated here.

THE METERS USED IN HEBREW POETRY. All the basic meters practically used in Hebrew poetry may be summed up as in the following table.

Feet \ Meter	Regular		Variegated	
	binary	ternary	alternating	changing
Initial	PC	PCC	PC·PCC	–
Medial		CPC	–	CPC·CCP
Final	–	CCP	CCP·CP	CCP·CPC
Neutral	CC	–		

The structural symmetry is obvious. There are practically no meters beginning with a binary final foot; no medial foot in the alternating patterns, and no initial foot in the changing meters (rare exceptions may be found).

In actual poetry the situation is even simpler. Indeed, some poets liked experimenting. As Yellin has shown, *Samuel ha-Nagid used 57 different metrical schemes. The bulk of Hebrew poetry in Spain, however, employed only a small number of basic meters, with some variations, of which the most widespread are (in this order): initial and final ternary meters and the meter of cords. More precisely:

(1)	ternary initial, esp.	PCC PCC PC	הַמְּרֻבֶּה	*ha-merubbeh*
	but also	PCC PCC	הַמַּרְנִין	*ha-marnin*
(2)	ternary final, esp.	CCP CCP CC P/C	השלם ב׳	*ha-shalem* (b)
	also	CCP CCP CC	המהיר ב׳	*ha-mahir* (b)
(3)	cords (binary neutral)	CC CC CC CC	התנועות	*ha-tenu'ot*

These three groups, with a few variations, account for 94% of Moses *Ibn Ezra's meters in his secular poetry. The major meter, *ha-merubbeh*, found in about half of the Hebrew poems in Spain, later gave way to *ha-shalem* (b).

Following these three groups, though far behind, are the alternating meters, initial (PC PCC PC PCC – *ha-arokh*), and final (CCP CP CCP CP – *ha-mitpashet*). The preference of initial over final meters is due to the structure of the Hebrew word; the majority of vocal *šewa'im* are at the beginnings of words and a *šewa* may easily be added before a word with a preposition or conjunction (ב, כ, ל, ו). Medial or changing meters are quite rare.

The bulk of the poetry uses ternary meters, with 3 (incomplete) feet in a line. Since the length of the line is regulated, it varies only within narrow limits. There are only lines of 6 to 10 syllables. If the short syllables are also counted (as they were later, in Hebrew poetry in Italy), the limits are 8–14. Since in contemporary Israeli poetry about half of the *šewa'im* are considered syllables, those limits are comparable with 7 to 12 syllables today. If the special effect of the *ha-marnin*, which has the typical rhythm of a short line, is excluded, all other meters compare well with the variations given in modern poetry between 4 iambics and 4 anapests. Thus, the length of a line in Spanish Hebrew poetry as well as its rhythmic-syntactical form are similar to the length of typical lines in modern poetry. The optimal line has 8 to 9 long syllables (or 11, counting the short ones), which is similar to a line of 4 or 5 iambs.

VERSE ENDINGS. There are many variations of verse endings in the last foot of the basic metrical schemes. Any such variant creates a permanent pattern, repeated in all the lines of a poem. As opposed to modern poetry or to Greek and Arabic quantitative meters, Hebrew poets allowed very rarely for changes from line to line (feet-substitutes) or deviations from a given metrical scheme (i.e., changes occurring only in some lines, e.g., in Hebrew in the changing meter CPC CCP CPC the second foot may be substituted by PP). The variations in Hebrew in the third foot are felt not against the pattern of the poem but against the rhythmic impulse of the first 2 feet of the same line.

Variations of feet in verse endings are of several kinds: (1) the last foot is short (catalectic), PCC→PC, CPC→CP; CCP→CC; this change occurs almost only in ternary meters where it is the usual case (unless it is the last peg which is shortened, as in the final *ha-shalem*);

(2) hypercatalectic: CCP→C which is very rare; (3) a peg substituted by a cord: CCP→CCC; CP→CC, which occurs quite often since short syllables are scarce in Hebrew; (4) two cords are substituted by a peg, CCP→PP; PPC→PP; a rare variation, occurring in changing meters, especially in the second foot; (5) a peg is advanced, CCP→CPC (or: CP), e.g., in *ha-shalem* (g) CCP CCP CPC. The most widespread changes are a catalectic foot (1) or a substitute by a cord (3) (cf., instances in the list of regular ternary meters).

RHYTHM. The quantitative opposition provides the Hebrew poet with a metrical framework rather than with a pervasive rhythmic movement. The role of short syllables in the Hebrew language is much less than in Arabic. Thus, the two major meters in Arabic, *tawil* and *basīt* (equivalent to our alternating final and initial meters) are far from being major meters in Hebrew. Moreover, every possible substitution of longs for shorts is resorted to in Hebrew. Thus, the scheme of the Arabic *basīt* is (from left to right):

/ ∪ – ∪ – / ∪ ∪ – / ∪̄ – ∪ – / ∪̄ ∪ – /
its Hebrew derivation: / – - ∪ – / – ∪ – / –- ∪ – / – ∪ – /
CCP CP CCP CP

Instead of 8 shorts to 6 longs, the proportion became 4:9. A common variation of this meter has even less shorts:

/ C̄C̄ P̆ – / C̄C̄ / C̄C̄ P̆ – / C̄C̄ /

No two consecutive short syllables are possible in Hebrew, therefore some Arabic meters could not be reproduced. There is also the favorite Hebrew innovation: the meter of cords in which all short syllables are avoided.

On the other hand, in many Hebrew poems can be distinguished a strong tendency of regulating stress order and word boundaries. Although no permanent laws hold in this area, the tendencies are clearly felt, e.g., in the poem by Solomon ibn *Gabirol (short syllables are unmarked):

נ̄ח̄ר̄ ׳ב̆ק̄ר̄ א̄י ג̆ר̄ו̄נ̄י̄ ׳ד̄ב̄ק̄ ל̆ח̄ ׳כ̄י ל̆ש̄ו̄נ̄י̄
היה לב בי סחרחר מרב כא בי ואוני

The formal division of the quantitative meter in this poem (*katua'*), though consistent, seems artificial. The language of the poem follows quite clearly a different pattern:

נִחַר / בְּקָרְאִי / גְרוֹנִי / דָּבַק / לְחִכִּי לְשׁוֹנִי

The accents are clearly regulated, and so are the word boundaries. Though it is not an absolute rule in this poem, in 85% of the cases there are word boundaries in marked places (whereas only 36% observe the formal foot boundaries of the meter). This kind of regularity in stress order and word boundaries is partly due to the correlation between the following factors: (1) short syllables cannot be stressed in Hebrew; (2) short syllables are most common at the beginning of a word, therefore, a boundary usually precedes them. It seems, however, that the major force behind this tendency is the subconscious rhythmical sense for stress order felt especially in the works of the great poets, Ibn Gabirol and Judah Halevi.

Relative regularity in stress order may be felt as a rhythmic substitute in meters without the peg/cord alternation. Thus, in the meter of cords there are lines which are clearly "iambic" in the modern sense:

כְּתֹנוֹת פַּסִּים לָבַשׁ הַגַּן / וּכְסוּת רִקְמָה מַדֵּי דִשְׁאוֹ

Girdle Poems

Though the bulk of Hebrew poetry in Spain used regular meters and one rhyme running throughout the poem (with as many as 60 or 80 rhyming members – distichs), several kinds of strophic forms also flourished.

The *muwaššaḥ*, or "girdle" poem (שִׁיר אֵזוֹר, *shir ezor*), an original development of Arabic Andalusian poetry, was represented in Hebrew poetry almost from its beginnings (11th century) and was the form of some of the best Hebrew lyrical poems in the 12th century. Though originally used in love poetry, it was employed widely for religious poems. The girdle poem combines in its composition both the strophic principle of changing rhymes and the principle of the "running" rhyme, which runs through all parts of the poem in a refrain-like manner. There are two kinds of stanzas: (1) the changing stanzas with changing rhymes. Every stanza has one or several distinct rhymes, different from the rhymes of other stanzas;

(2) the girdle stanza, a strophic pattern recurring after every changing stanza, with the same rhyme or rhymes repeated in all girdle stanzas throughout the poem. A girdle stanza often appears at the beginning of the poem; it is the "guiding" stanza. In many poems the final girdle, the so-called *ḫarǧa*, is written not in Hebrew but in popular Arabic or in the old Romance language of Spain. Usually it is a quotation of a love conversation. The *ḫarǧa* thus determines the meter and rhyme of the girdle, as well as the melody (most girdle poems were apparently created as songs).

The meter of the changing stanzas and of the girdle may be identical, but often is not. Each line may consist of 1, 2, or 3 parts, rhymed or unrhymed. The metrical pattern may either be regular or highly irregular: Within the line there is a free combination of all kinds of feet, which seems often to be a kind of "free verse." But the same irregular pattern is repeated throughout the poem, in the stanzas of each kind separately. The two metrical schemes are often related to each other, in a variety of ways, e.g., one may include a partial repetition of the other. A simple example, in Judah Halevi's song "בִּי הַצְּבִי בִּי אֲדוֹנִי" ("*Bi ha-Ẓevi, Bi Adoni*")

the meter of the changing stanza is	CCP CPC
and that of the girdle:	CC CPC/CCP CPC

The stanza has a simple but irregular scheme. The metrical pattern of the girdle repeats the meter of the stanza in its second part, but the first part of the girdle is different (in this case a slight variation).

An example of a complex rhyme scheme can be found in a poem by Joseph ibn Jacob ibn *Ẓaddik (1075–1149), which begins with a guiding girdle,

נוּמִי, אֲהָהּ, נִגְזַל – / בָּרַח, אֲהָהּ, גּוֹזָל / מֵאָהֳלִי!
דִּמְעִי, אֲהָהּ, יִזַּל – / עָפְרִי אֲהָהּ, אָזַל – / מִי גוֹאֲלִי?

נוֹגֵן, שְׁלַח אֶצְבַּע / לָעוּת חֲלִילֵךְ / טוּב מַעֲנֶה!
אִלֵּם – אֲבָל יַבַּע / צַחוֹת, כְּקוֹלֵךְ / כֵּן יַעֲנֶה.
שָׁלֹשׁ וְגַם אַרְבַּע / עַל פִּי נְבָלֵיךְ / בִּשְׂמֹאל מְנֵה.

שִׁירִים נְצֹר עַל דַּל / שָׂפָה, וְאַל יֶחְדַּל מִפִּי כְלִי־
שִׁיר – קוֹל, אֲשֶׁר יִגְדַּל עִתִּים, וְעֵת יִדַּל – לֹא מֵחֳלִי!

The rhyme pattern is seen in the following table (capital letters represent the girdle rhymes):

PPR	abc	def	ghi	jkl	mno
PPR	abc	def	ghi	jkl	mno
	abc	def	ghi	jkl	mno
	PPR	PPR	PPR	PPR	PPR
	PPR	PPR	PPR	PPR	PPR

The principles of the girdle poem were widely used in Hebrew religious poetry, especially by the great poets *Judah Halevi and Abraham *Ibn Ezra.

Other Metrical Principles Used in Strophic Poems

In the genres of religious poetry the metrical principles varied: (1) the quantitative principle, using regular or irregular patterns of pegs and cords; (2) patterns using free numbers of cords where no pegs appeared; (3) syllabic meter where the opposition P/C was disregarded (i.e., the short syllables *šewa* and *ḥataf* appeared irregularly, but were not counted); (4) a free verse in the vein of older Hebrew liturgy, though usually tending toward a syllabic semi-regularity.

Rhymed Prose

The *maqāma* is a genre of rhymed prose, usually written as a chain of stories in the Oriental manner, and interwoven with anecdotes, fables, and metrical poems. Many books in this genre were written during the Middle Ages or translated and adapted from Arabic (notably by Judah b. Solomon *Al-Ḥarizi and *Immanuel of Rome). Usually the prose text of the *maqāma* rhymes throughout, though it has no meter. The number of members of each rhyme is not fixed; the distance between the rhyming members constantly changes and the sound patterns of such rhymes also vary, from a mere minimum to near-homonyms. On the other hand, the poems, which are frequently introduced into this rhymed prose, are clearly marked by their strict adherence to classical meters and rhyming.

A typical case of a different kind of rhymed prose is the religious philosophical poem "*Keter Malkhut*" by Ibn *Gabirol. Though rhyme and rhythm play an important role in this work, their use is neither permanent nor regular; it may be considered a kind of richly adorned free verse, changing its rhythmical tone from a densely rhymed sound-orchestration to mere prose employing parallelism.

Rhyme in Medieval Poetry

TERMINAL RHYME. Rhyme in Hebrew poetry in Spain, and throughout the Diaspora in the Middle Ages, was terminal. It disregarded stress or morphology. The rhymeme included all sounds from the consonant preceding the last vowel to the end of the line:

DO הוֹדוֹ – לְהַגִּידוֹ – נוּדוֹ
DOT חֲמוּדוֹת – חִידוֹת – חֲרָדוֹת
DOD מְדוֹד – כִּידוֹד – וּנְדוֹד

The norm is N=CV (C). The number of sounds (2 or 3) depends on the language: whether the final syllable is open or closed. The principle was obviously derived from the rhyme of the Palestinian *piyyut*, after it dropped the requirement of including two root consonants in the rhymeme.

In order to make rhyming easier, the poets made wide use of rhymemes with open syllables or with suffixes (as in the first two of the above examples), thus having to change only one root consonant. This tendency was motivated by other principles of medieval poetics. Since there was no requirement for individuality in imagery or theme, the poets could widely use the Hebrew plural suffixes throughout their long poems. The same holds for possessive particles, such as –ֶיךָ (yours, when addressed to God) אַיִךְ (to Zion), etc.

The obligatory requirement that a consonant precede the final vowel, similar to the French *consonne d'appui*, was peculiar to medieval Hebrew poetry and was not required in other languages. It was, as it were, a compensation for the missing stress principle required in modern Hebrew poetry. A typical example is found in the following table:

Medieval Hebrew				**Modern Hebrew**	
	סוֹרֵג		מְדַלֵּג	סוֹרֵג – מְדַלֵּג	ÉG
REG		LEG			
	דֶּרֶג		שֶׁלֶג	שֶׁלֶג – פֶּלֶג	ÉLEG

In modern Hebrew ÉG is a perfectly sufficient rhymeme, in medieval poetry an additional preceding consonant had to be included in the rhyme. On the other hand, in penultimately stressed (feminine) rhymes in modern poetry the inclusion of one syllable is not enough. The principles changed, but the overall proportion between the vocabulary of the language and the rhyming patterns remained similar.

This relationship between modern and medieval Hebrew rhyme may be compared to the difference between English and French rhyme. Whereas in French *rime riche* (using *consonne d'appui*) was highly welcome, in English it was often excluded from rhyme. The situation is similar: French rhymemes are based practically on the last syllable, the words are longer, and an addition to the minimal rhymeme is welcome in order to avoid trite rhyming. Only in Hebrew, however, was the use of the *consonne d'appui* obligatory; hence it may be called the Hebrew terminal rhyme. Its peculiar impact was felt especially against the background of Italian, German, Yiddish, or Russian rhyme, where such enrichments were discouraged.

THE RULE OF MAXIMUM. If the final syllable was based on a suffix, the poets often strove to enrich the rhymeme, adding to it at least some part of the root. Though this was not a necessary rule (there appeared rhymemes of pure suffixes too), it was a strong tendency.

But rich rhyming was limited by unwritten rules:

(1) if the normally required final syllable (N) had two root consonants, no sound could be added to N; rhymemes such as מִיד, דּוֹד, בָּל are both minimal and maximal;

(2) if the final syllable (N) included one root consonant, a preceding vowel could be added; thus, there are rhymemes, such as: לִי, כִּי, לִים, רים; but also –ָלִי, –ָרִים, etc.;

(3) if the final syllable (N) included no root consonant, one root consonant could also be added; thus, besides rhymemes such as הֶם, נוּ, –ךָ there are: –ֵינוּ, –ֵיהֶם and נֵינוּ, לֵיהֶם, רַיִךְ.

"FEMININE" RHYME. Though stress was disregarded, in meter as well as in rhyme, a secondary tradition developed a "feminine" rhyme, which is based on penultimately stressed endings (which are a small minority in the language, but are represented in several suffixes and in word endings with ע, ח (–ֵעַ, וֹעַ, –ֵחַ, וּחַ).

Feminine rhyme became obligatory on one kind of meter composed of unequal hemistichs in which the final foot had a cord instead of a peg appearing in the first hemistich, e.g., the *ha-shalem* (b): CCP CCP CCP / CCP CCP CCC. The end presents a change in the regularity of the meter – where a P was expected a C appeared instead. As a compensation for this frustrated expectation, the poet used in this case feminine rhyme.

Feminine rhyme appeared occasionally in other meters too. But with the meter *ha-shalem* (b) it became prominent in Romance-speaking countries, especially in Italy, where feminine rhymes were the dominant rhyming form.

Elsewhere, i.e., in the majority of Hebrew medieval poems, stress was disregarded, words ultimately and penultimately stressed rhymed freely with each other.

The Dispersion of the Hebrew Terminal Rhyme

The Hebrew terminal rhyme originated in the Palestinian liturgy as an alleviated form of its "difficult" rhyme. It may be found both in Ereẓ Isael after Kallir and in ninth-century Byzantine in Southern Italy. It developed again, as a simplification of the "Kallirian" rhyme in 10th-century Babylonia (Saadiah Gaon) and in 11th-century Germany. It was strengthened by the comparison with the Arabic rhyming norm (basically requiring a consonant and the vowel following it) and later with European terminal rhyme which knew no discontinuous rhymeme.

This norm persisted in Hebrew throughout the world until the end of the 18th century, except for Italy, where stress was accepted in rhyme since the 17th century (but in Italy, too, no violation of the Hebrew norm could be found). The norm also remained obligatory throughout the Ashkenazi domain (Germany, Poland), though Hebrew had become a penultimately stressed language there. The penultimate stress caused a neutralization of all final vowels. Nevertheless rhyme remained exclusively in the final syllable. Thus, Meir b. Samuel of Sczebrzeszyn in his historical chronicle rhymes in 8-line stanzas words such as: פָּקִיד – נִפְקָד – עוֹקֵד, apparently pronounced: *pokəd-nifkəd-oykəd*. Though the original *i, o, ey* (or *i, a, e*) were blurred in an unstressed position, rhyme remained terminal: a repetition of final sounds. This Hebrew conservatism is even more astounding in bilingual poems, such as the *Megillat Vinẓ* (1616), with regularly alternating Hebrew and Yiddish stanzas. In the Yiddish stanzas all rhymes are stress-bound (feminine and masculine), according to the standard European norm; even Hebrew words follow this rule. But in the Hebrew stanzas the same Hebrew words disregard stress: terminal rhyme is preserved.

Only in some cases under the influence of foreign poetry did Hebrew rhyme relinquish the requirement of the *consonne d'appui* (in closed syllables only), rhyming N=VC. Such was the case in some of the girdle poems (patterned on rhymes in a foreign language), e.g., Judah Halevi rhymes: צַח – פַּח – נֶאֱנַח, (AḤ). The same holds for the bilingual Hebrew-Arabic strophic poems of the Yemenite classical poet Shalem *Shabazi and for the strophic songs the 16th-century kabbalist poet of Safed, Israel b. Moses *Najara, who was apparently influenced by Turkish songs.

HEBREW POETRY IN ITALY

The Jewish community in Italy was probably the oldest in Europe; though small in number, it was an important center throughout the Middle Ages. Located in a central position, between Israel, Yemen, and Babylonia in the East and Spain in the West, between North Africa in the South and Germany and France in the North, Italy was on the crossroads of the major cultural trends in Jewish history. Hebrew poetry in Italy, the first examples of which are from the ninth century, continued to flourish uninterrupted until the 20th century. The changes of poetic systems in Italy may be representative of the shifts in Hebrew prosody throughout the centuries. The major formal periods in Italy will be briefly listed below:

(1) The poetry of Byzantine Southern Italy in the ninth century consisted of strophic *piyyutim*, from 2 to 10 lines in a stanza, each stanza having one separate rhyme. The rhymes were simple (terminal norm). Usually an acrostic was required and sometimes a permanent refrain was used to close all stanzas of a poem. Contrary to the "Kallirian" *piyyut*, the early Italian *piyyut* required a compulsory meter, based on a constant number of words in a line.

Though strophic poems were known in Latin and in Greek-Byzantine poetry of the period, in these languages rhyme was not yet a required, regular, or permanent device. Only in Hebrew did rhyme serve as a criterion for strophic structure and was obligatory.

(2) In the 10th and beginning of the 11th centuries Italy accepted again the "difficult" "Kallirian" rhyme. It was, as it were, a "reversed evolution." But strict meters were required too. *Solomon b. Judah ha-Bavli and other poets of this period composed in this vein. Their followers who moved to the Rhine area introduced this norm into the Hebrew *piyyut* of Franco-Germany. These circles edited the *maḥzor* and apparently included in it only such rhymed strophic poems which were written by Kallir or followed his rhyming norm. A number of *yoẓerot* and a large number of *seliḥot* were created in this style.

(3) In the 11th and 12th centuries the norms of the ninth century were again revived: The *piyyut* used strophic poems with changing but separate rhymes, written in exact meters, based on the number of words. The simplification of rhyme was apparently due to a variety of factors, the foremost being (a) The influence of the Hebrew rhyme of Spain and Provence (though neither the pattern of one running rhyme nor the quantitative meter was accepted). The Spanish scholar and poet Abraham *Ibn Ezra propagated the simpler rhyme in Rome in the 11th century. (b) The decline of the difficult enigmatic style of Ha-Bavli, which occurred in Franco-Germany too. Without this style "Kallirian" rhyming was almost impossible.

In the 13th century Italian poetry in the vernacular emerged and flourished. Hebrew poets living in Rome could not have been unaware of the differences in the respective prosodic systems: (a) Hebrew strophic poems used changing but separate rhymes (*aaaa bbbb cccc*, etc.), whereas Italian rhymes were usually alternating (*abba; aba bcb*, etc.); (b) Hebrew meter was based on the number of words, Italian – on the number of syllables; (c) Hebrew rhyme was terminal but required a *consonne d'appui*: N=CV(C), whereas Italian rhyme was stressed, usually feminine: N=V́CV. Thus, Hebrew rhyme was based on one syllable, Italian on two. Hebrew leaned primarily on consonants, Italian on vowels. In these three respects Hebrew poetry in Italy adopted the Italian norms, but it was done over a period of centuries, primarily through the transformation of forms existent in some Hebrew tradition.

(4) Alternating rhyme was introduced into Roman Hebrew poetry in the 13th century. The major poet who initiated this change was Benjamin b. Abraham *Anav. But Benjamin Anav did not directly imitate Italian forms; he switched to alternating rhymes, meeting thus an Italian aesthetic norm by

adopting the patterns of the girdle poem which had been developed in Hebrew poetry in Spain and Provence. However the poets of this generation did not transfer the system of quantitative meters from Spain; only a semi-regular syllabic meter, as in many a strophic *piyyut* of Judah Halevi or Isaac *Ibn Ghayyat, was employed. Many such poems, both of Italian and Spanish origin, were by that time absorbed into the Italian *maḥzor*.

(5) *Immanuel of Rome (end of 13th–beginning of the 14th century) was the major Hebrew poet who shifted to the use of both quantitative syllabic meters as well as of Italian strophic forms, primarily the sonnet. In both techniques he had predecessors, but the major achievement was his. With him Hebrew poetry in Italy switched from liturgy to secular poetry. It seems that in order to find an equivalent for Italian poetic forms, Immanuel had to seek a language for secular poetry in Hebrew; this he found in the Spanish tradition, which he accepted with its rhymed prose (*maqāma*), quantitative meters, Oriental storytelling, and imagery. Suddenly Hebrew poetry discovered exact syllabic meters, required by the Italian aesthetic taste, in its own language and tradition. Though the distinction between long and short syllables, a vestige of Arabic influence, was apparently disregarded in the Italian Hebrew pronunciation, its patterns persisted until the 20th century: Isaac Ḥayyim (Vittorio) *Castiglioni wrote his poem on the death of Theodor Herzl in 1904 in a quantitative meter.

Moreover, Hebrew poets in Italy found in the Spanish tradition meters which fitted the lengths of line favored in Italian poetry. The major meter, especially in the sonnets, was the endecasyllabic line for which a Hebrew poet was able to use either *ha-merubbeh* or *ha-shalem* (b), counting both "long" and "short" as whole syllables. *Ha-shalem* (b): / – – ∪ – / – – ∪ – / – – – / became the major meter of Hebrew poetry in Italy, due to its compulsory feminine rhyme which fitted both Hebrew-Spanish and Italian taste. Immanuel accepted it for his sonnets, breaking each distich into two lines, with a rhyme for each; lines with an even number of syllables had a masculine rhyme, and those with uneven numbers – a feminine rhyme.

But Immanuel introduced stressed rhyme and alternating rhyming only for his Italian strophic forms. In other parts of his book he completely accepted the Spanish Hebrew tradition, employed widely the running rhyme, rhymed prose, disregarded stress, etc. His was a combination of two systems with a common denominator: the quantitative metrical system.

(6) After Immanuel of Rome, Hebrew poetry adopted a variety of other Italian strophic forms (besides the sonnet which became the most popular), the ottava rima, Dante's *terza rima*, the *sestina*, the *canzonetta*, and some others. Nevertheless, strophic forms of the *piyyut* on the one hand and the Spanish running rhyme on the other lived on for centuries:

(7) Despite the domination of the quantitative meter, a new syllabic meter evolved. Its first major poet was Moses b. Isaac *Rieti (beginning of the 15th century) called "Il Dante Ebreo" for his book *Mikdash Me'at* written in the form of Dante's *terza rima*. Rieti understood that Hebrew had to rhyme primarily in the ultimately stressed form (masculine rhymes) and accordingly reduced his line to 10 syllables.

Whereas previous Italian attempts at syllabic meters (13th century) disregarded short syllables altogether, according to their Spanish prototypes, Rieti counted short syllables as completely equivalent to long ones. Hence he abolished the limitation of short syllables to particular spots in the metrical scheme. But Rieti's innovation, i.e., syllabic meters without quantitative distinctions, did not become prominent in Italian Hebrew verse until the 18th century.

(8) For several centuries Hebrew poets proceeded to retain in their rhyme forms the distinction between Italian strophic patterns and the Spanish or the liturgical tradition. On the whole, rhyme was terminal, stressed rhyme being reserved for the sonnet and other Italian patterns. Thus, *Joseph ha-Zarefati (12th century) writes his octaves in masculine rhymes but still follows the Hebrew rule of a required *consonne d'appui* (thus, פֵּר and בֵּר are for him two different rhymemes). Only in the 17th century was the change completed; stressed rhyme according to the European norm became compulsory. Despite the nature of the Hebrew language, which favored masculine rhymes, under Italian impact feminine rhyme became dominant. Since the 18th century feminine rhyme was almost exclusive. It was employed primarily in the *ha-shalem* meter, or in derivations of it: either dropping one or both short syllables, or shortening the line, e,g., in Moses Ḥayyim *Luzzatto's *La-Yesharim Tehillah* there are two kinds of verse line: (a) the 11-syllabic: – – ∪ – / – – – – – / – – – – –, and (b) the 7-syllabic: – – ∪ – / – – – – – each retaining merely one short syllable. Some of his followers in Italy and in Amsterdam dropped this last vestige of quantitative metrics, thus paving the way for the forms of the new era, the Haskalah.

(9) Another Italian development of great interest should be noted: the earliest invention of accentual iambs in Europe was accomplished in Yiddish rhymed romances by the Venetian poet Elijah Baḥur Levita, about 1508/09. Northern Italy was at that time a center of Yiddish literature. Elijah Levita, a grammarian, a versatile scholar, and a poet was fluent in several languages. He wrote Hebrew verse both in the Sephardi pronunciation, using quantitative meters, and in the Ashkenazi vein, using free accentual verse. When adapting long Italian strophic romances, such as *Buovo d'Antona* (the *Bove Bukh*) and *Paris un Viene*, and creating stanzas in pure ottava rima in a quite modern Yiddish, he merged the Italian syllabic principle with the Germanic accentual principle (which ruled Yiddish poetry until his time) and developed his iambic tetrameter. The process of this invention is of major interest to comparative prosody, but with the decay of the Italian center, it did not last in Yiddish poetry. Accentual-syllabic meters reappeared in Yiddish and in Hebrew under Russian influence only as late as around 1890 (with the one exception discussed below).

(10) In the later centuries of Italian Hebrew poetry iambic pentameters began to appear.

The combination of principles from three metric systems in one verse line – the Hebrew quantitative, the Italian syllabic, and the biblical accentual – did not hamper but encouraged the creation of a fourth system in the same verse: the accentual-syllabic meter, in its iambic form. How did it come about? The major quantitative meter used in Italy was: – – ∪ – / – – ∪ – / – – –. Since short syllables cannot be stressed in Hebrew, the third and seventh syllables were unstressed. Italian poetry opposed a stress on the fifth syllable. On the other hand, the 10th syllable was stressed by the rule of rhyme. Since the biblical rule precluded two adjacent syllables from being stressed (if it happens, the first stress would move backward) and the ninth and 11th were also excluded from stress, the following pattern – with the third, fifth, seventh, ninth, and 11th positions unstressed – emerged: – – ∪ – – – ∪ – – – – – . Thus, only even syllables were allowed to receive a stress and a perfect iambic pentameter evolved. (The first foot only was free for variation, but this is the case in English or German iambics too.) Only when the Italian requirement for not stressing the fifth syllable was disregarded did these iambs not materialize.

Hebrew stress was apparently strong and this tendency was felt and spread to other meters too (primarily meters without fixed short syllables). Despite this obvious iambic tendency, it was never formulated as such, being rather an automatic, unintentional result of rules of quite a different nature. The 19th-century Haskalah poets were strongly influenced by late Italian Hebrew poetry, but having a different pronunciation (Ashkenazi as opposed to the Italian "Sephardi"), they could not feel this underlying iambic meter. Though they dropped entirely all distinctions of a quantitative nature, they interpreted this verse as purely syllabic. Only poets in Ereẓ Israel of the 1930–40s, such as J. *Fichmann writing again in a "Sephardi" dialect, rediscovered the iambs of their Italian predecessors.

HASKALAH

The modern age of Hebrew literature began with the revival of Hebrew poetry in Germany in the second half of the 18th century. It is regarded as a "secular" period (though many of the poets were religious and some of their themes were of a religious nature) since there was a conscious creation of poetry and prose written in the genres of contemporary European literature which were conspicuously different from the genres of liturgy. Haskalah poetry was a direct descendant of Hebrew poetry in Italy and Holland. However, since this poetry emerged with a new social and cultural trend, the Enlightenment movement, and flourished closer to the center of the Jewish population in Eastern Europe, it expressed a reorientation of Hebrew literature and may rightly be considered a new period.

Haskalah literature was written and published by small groups of writers and their followers in Germany, Austria, Hungary, and Russia (including Poland) throughout the 19th century. Though their ideas were, to some extent, typical of the European Enlightenment of the 18th century, Haskalah poetry cannot be considered of a monolithic nature, but rather as an eclectic body of verse. This new poetry was indeed, from its beginnings, influenced primarily by 18th-century German literature, especially in the typical genres of epic and fable. It embraced, however, also genres developed previously in Hebrew, in Italy, such as allegorical drama, and absorbed themes and motifs from 19th-century European lyrical and social poetry.

It seems that Hebrew literature lagged considerably behind the evolution of European poetry, going into the stages of the development of neighboring literatures only after those had been established as "classical." Thus, one of the major Hebrew writers of the Haskalah in Russia, Judah Leib *Gordon, who knew Russian well and lived for many years in the capital of Russia, wrote poetry in the vein of the Haskalah in the 1860s and 1870s, i.e., in the time of Tolstoy and Dostoevski and after Pushkin, Lermontov, and Tyutchev. But though Haskalah verse seemed to be a fossilized remnant of the 18th century, untouched by the poetics of Russian classical poetry, Gordon also absorbed some influences from the social and "civic" poetry of his Russian contemporary Nekrasov. On the other hand, he continued to use forms which antedated the Haskalah.

The meter of Hebrew poetry throughout the Haskalah was syllabic. Thus, the poets continued the basic form of Hebrew versification in Italy in spite of the fact that their prototypes in German and Russian were written in accentual-syllabic meters. Even translations from German poetry were transposed in Hebrew into syllabic meters, regardless of the German prototype, e.g., Schiller's *Glocke* (written in accentual-syllabic meters) was translated into Hebrew in syllabic meters, without stress regularity, and into Yiddish in accentual meters, without syllable counting. Stress, strangely enough, played no role in the Hebrew meters of this period, despite the fact that it was prominent in the speech of these writers and even dominant in the meter of folk song in their spoken language, Yiddish, as well as in the small amount of Yiddish poetry which they wrote, and despite the fact that it ruled the versification of German and Russian poetry which they strove to imitate. There was no traditional Hebrew poetic authority to back up this choice of syllabic versification – the venerated poetry of the Bible was accentual and relatively free in its verse forms. The only explanation could be the sense of continuity and the typical conservatism of Hebrew verse.

A few attempts were made in the second half of the 19th century to introduce accentual-syllabic meters (notably by A.B. *Gottlober). But only S. *Frug, well-known as a Russian poet, transferred the Russian system of versification into Yiddish when he started writing in this language. Ḥ.N. *Bialik in the 1890s, strongly influenced by Frug, was among the first to use predominantly accentual-syllabic versification in his Hebrew poetry.

The new meter, influenced by the Russian prototype, swept Hebrew and Yiddish poetry in the 1890s, paradoxically enough at the same time when the symbolist movement, which tried to break away from meter altogether, emerged in Russia.

The Syllabic System of Versification in Hebrew

Haskalah poetry used the pure syllabic system, which had developed in Hebrew literature in Italy, after the last vestiges of quantitative versification have been dropped. Every poem had its own meter, i.e., a permanent number of syllables in each line, with a stress on the penultimate syllable. Otherwise, stress was not regulated. A permanent caesura was rarely implemented.

Apart from marginal uses of quantitative meters, inherited from medieval Spanish Hebrew poetry, the poetry of the Haskalah did not apply the distinction between short and long syllables. The traditionally short syllables, *šewa* and *ḥataf*, confused the poets and were considered sometimes as syllables and sometimes as non-syllables. Naphtali Hirz *Wessely, who introduced this system, used the *ḥataf* at the beginning of words as a syllable and in the middle of words as a non-syllable; the mobile *šewa* as a syllable in the middle of a word and as a non-syllable at the beginning. It seems that Wessely tried to avoid the mobile *šewa* at the beginning of words in order to eschew the problem. With time, however, it became impossible to refrain from using a whole group of words (beginning with the mobile *šewa*) in Hebrew poetry.

Shirei Tiferet, Wessely's epic, was the classical prototype of all the poetry of the Haskalah. The prologues to each of the 18 parts of his epic were written in 11-syllabic rhymed stanzas, but the epic itself was composed in 13-syllabic unrhymed verse. Wessely used feminine endings exclusively both in his rhymed and unrhymed poetry. Unrhymed feminine endings in his poem conformed with the Hebrew tradition inherited from Italy (where the penultimate syllable was stressed) and with Wessely's German prototype, Friedrich Gottlieb Klopstock's *Der Messias*. Wessely, however, in accordance with his Italian prototypes, resorted only to words which were penultimately stressed in the Sephardi pronunciation; these constitute a small and very specific part of the Hebrew vocabulary.

The firm grip of tradition led to the exclusive use of penultimately stressed (*mille'eil*) endings in the Sephardi pronunciation in much of Haskalah poetry; it was an absolute rule in the higher genres of poetry, especially poetic drama and epic verse, and in the "higher" circles of the Haskalah, such as the centers of Germany and Vilna, though not in Galicia or Hungary. The paradox of this use of *mille'eil* in the Sephardi pronunciation is underscored by the fact that in other respects Hebrew was obviously pronounced according to the Ashkenazi dialect, even in specific Ashkenazi subdialects. Thus in the poetry of Lithuania (a major center of Haskalah literature in the second half of the 19th century), the rhymes often betray the poet's pronunciation: חֹפֶשׁ – נֶפֶשׁ (both *ḥolam* and *segol* being pronounced as *ei*), רַעַשׁ – כַּעַס (שׁ and ס being equal to *s*). Though Lithuanian Ashkenazi pronunciation is evident in their poetry and the penultimate stress was the general rule of the Hebrew words in all varieties of the Ashkenazi dialect, the Haskalah poets did not dare use Hebrew in their own pronunciation as a natural resource for the compulsory use of feminine rhymes. Consequently most of the vocabulary of their language was excluded from final verse positions.

When the young poet Mikhal (Micah Joseph *Lebensohn) was negligent in this respect and rhymed words which were perfectly equivalent in his own dialect, but appeared as a mixture of *millera* and *mille'eil* (masculine and feminine) to a distant Sephardi ear, he was scolded by the Italian scholar S.D. *Luzzatto. Both Mikhal and J.L. *Gordon, in his later period, broke the rule and on and off used words which are feminine only according to the Ashkenazi pronunciation. But even then the majority of rhymes were still based on words which are considered *mille'eil* in the Sephardi pronunciation: What used to be a compulsory rule became a habit, or a matter of merit in poetic style.

This phenomenon had a strong effect on the style of Haskalah poetry. Words of the *mille'eil* form exist only in several specific groups: (1) a small group of nouns penultimately stressed (אֶרֶץ – פֶּרֶץ – קֶרֶץ) which recurred endlessly in the rhymes of the Haskalah and became trite symptoms of this poetry; (2) a variety of archaic forms (אֶחֱלוֹמָה, בָּמוֹ, לָמוֹ, מֶנְהוּ); (3) several forms of the verb (הפריעה, אמרתי), notably in the biblical end-stop pronunciation (יִנְהָרוּ, יִבְעָרוּ); (4) a group of feminine endings (אוֹמֶרֶת, תָּבִינִי). Since other sources were limited, the penultimately stressed forms of the verb became prominent in the rhymes of Haskalah poetry. As a further result, the rules of rhyme caused sentence inversion, since the verb was closing a verse line, and enjambement was excluded; all complements of the verb, similes, etc., preceded the verb rather than followed it (as the usual word-order would require). The following is a typical stanza of this kind:

וּבֵין כֹּה וָכֹה הַדְּמָמָה הִפְרִיעוּ
תּוֹפְשֵׂי הַמָּשׁוֹט בַּמַּיִם יַחְתּוֹרוּ;
גַּם קוֹל עַל הַמַּיִם עַם רָב הִשְׁמִיעוּ,
גַּם דָּוִד גַּם רֵעוֹ מִשְּׁנָת נֵעוֹרוּ.

Meantime the silence they interrupted,
The crew who in the water rowed;
A voice on the water a multitude emitted,
And David and his friend from their sleep awoke

Thus, in spite of the accepted Ashkenazi pronunciation in the later poetry of J.L. Gordon, most of the words in his poetry were excluded from rhyme position: a group of words constituting 8% of the normal language continuum was used in 90% of his rhymes. With the abolition of the restriction to the Sephardi stress, no revolutionary change occurred in the rhymes of the Haskalah since the typical rhymes became part of poetic style as such. Only a fundamental change in poetic style and in the very conception of poetic language, introduced by Ḥ.N. Bialik and his generation, was to alter radically the resources of Hebrew rhyme, making available for rhyme practically the whole range of the Hebrew language. During the Haskalah, this freedom was enjoyed only sometimes in minor genres and by poets on the geographical "periphery" (poets from Galicia or Hungary).

Though the tradition of epic poetry in the Haskalah began with Wessely's blank verse, in time rhyme became dominant in this domain too, especially in the Lithuanian center. The poets of the Haskalah used a variety of strophic forms very often of more than 4 lines, notably the stanza developed by Wessely consisting of 6 lines and rhyming *aabccb*, the ottava rima inherited from Italy, and other strophic patterns, especially of 6 or 8 lines. The 4-line stanza was also widespread, primarily in the form of *abab*, but it was not as predominant as in the poetry of later generations.

The strophic forms in all their variety usually used alternating rhymes, the members of one rhyme alternating with the members of another rhyme. Rarely did a Haskalah poet systematically use one rhyme more than twice without alternating. In this respect Hebrew poetry conformed to the prevalent European sense of rhyme variation. On the other hand, there was no alternation whatsoever or rhymes insofar as their rhythmical properties. Though Russian poetry alternated, as a rule, not only the rhymes, but also their rhythmic patterns, i.e., combining throughout a poem feminine and masculine, or masculine and dactylic rhymes, Hebrew poetry of this period did not accept this norm. Feminine rhymes were the absolute rule, except for sporadic, non-systematic uses of masculine-rhyming words.

In Italy such a restriction of the language could be understood as influenced by a taste formed through the reading of Italian poetry in which predominantly feminine rhymes are used; this is a concomitant of the structure of the Italian language. In Russia, however, the restriction made no sense and can only be explained through the compulsion exerted by the internal Hebrew tradition. Paradoxically enough, this requirement continued to obtain even at a time when feminine rhymes were drawn merely from the words regarded as feminine according to the Sephardi pronunciation, i.e., when the bulk of the language could have been used for the purpose of masculine rhymes. It was only the generation of Bialik that, again paradoxically enough, attempted to alternate between feminine and masculine rhymes, in spite of the scarcity of the latter in the Ashkenazi dialect, which became in this generation the accepted language of Hebrew verse.

Nevertheless, though stress was disregarded by the syllabic system, it may subconsciously have played a role in forming the rhythmic nature of Hebrew verse in the Haskalah period. The most widespread meters were 13 and 11 syllables. Such a length of lines conformed very well with the structure of 4 major accents, or 4 words, grouped mostly in 2 pairs. This condition may have played a role in the acceptance of Haskalah poetry, for there was, to the ear, as it were, an underlying quasi-biblical meter, felt even more because of the biblical language used in this poetry. A line of 11 or 13 syllables, using 4 major stresses, in a language in which the average number of syllables to each stress is about 3, can easily be brought to approximate an amphibrachic tetrameter, e.g., the first stanza of A.D. *Lebensohn's poem לַבֹּ֫קר רִנה in the Ashkenazi pronunciation can be read (unstressed syllables are unmarked):

קוֹ֫ל תִּ֫שְׁמַ֫ע נַ֫פְשִׁ֫י // הֲ֫מוֹ֫ן צְ֫בָאוֹ֫ת חַ֫יִ֫ל
רִנַּ֫ת כּ֫וֹכָ֫בִים // וּ֫בְרֹ֫אשָׁ֫ם יָ֫רֵ֫חַ;
עַ֫ל מִ֫שְׁמֶ֫רֶת אֶ֫רֶץ // עָמְדוּ֫ בַּ֫לָּ֫יִל;
עַתָּ֫ה כִּ֫י בָ֫א שַׁחַ֫ר // לִבָּ֫ם שָׂ֫מֵ֫חַ;
גַּ֫ם נָ֫גַ֫ע זֶה // עַל עֵ֫ינַי וַ֫יֵּ֫עוֹרוּ֫,
וּ֫מְלֹ֫א כָל הָ֫אָ֫רֶ֫ץ // אֶרְאֶ֫ה כִּ֫י אוֹרוֹ֫

This is a typical Haskalah stanza (*aba bcc*), rhyming Sephardi *mille'eil*. But an Ashkenazi reading reveals the underlying dactylic-amphibrachic meter, sidestepped only in the first hemistichs of lines 3, 4, and in the second hemistich of line 5.

Toward the end of this period the unregulated stresses within the line became more and more often "ordered," many lines approximating 4 amphibrachs (such were, for example, the poems of S.L. Gordon in the early 1890s).

Thus, for the second time in its history, Hebrew syllabic verse developed again toward an accentual-syllabic meter, dominated however by the amphibrach rather than the iamb, prevalent in Italy, and it followed the Ashkenazi rather than the Sephardi pronunciation.

Such is the story of the transformations of a major Hebrew metrical form: The quantitative meter of Spanish Hebrew poetry, originating in Arabic versification, was reinterpreted in Italy as syllabic, under the influence of Italian versification. Hebrew syllabic poetry stretched over a period of centuries (from the 12th to the 19th), adopting Italian strophic forms without relinquishing the quantitative patterns of the Arabic heritage, but shifting time and again into accentual-syllabic iambs. The Haskalah took up the same syllabic verse forms, continued to use them in spite of a literary environment which accepted exclusively accentual-syllabic meters and imbued them with an underlying semi-biblical (that is accentual) rhythm. It finally brought Hebrew poetry again to the verge of accentual-syllabic meters.

The development of Hebrew poetry should be considered as a chain in transformation rather than a series of totally opposed and separate periods. In regard to sentence structure and syntactical rhythm, there was no fundamental change: Similar groups of words could constitute a verse line, since a line of 11 syllables was the most frequent length in all these periods.

THE MODERN PERIOD

The Historical Setting

Though echoes of European literature and of European poetics of the modern age had reverberated in Hebrew poetry since the days of Dante in Italy, and throughout the literature of the Haskalah, Hebrew poetry had not accepted fully, until the very end of the 19th century, the consequences of the lyrical revolution accomplished by *Goethe, Pushkin, or the English romantics.

From the limited point of view of this survey, one can observe the striking fact that Hebrew meter was based, until the end of the 19th century, on syllable-counting rather than on the subtle and complex instrument developed in other languages with "free" stress in the form of accentualsyllabic (or tonic-syllabic) versification. English poetry since the 16th century, German poetry since Opitz (17th century), Russian poetry since the middle of the 18th century – the whole modern period of these poetries – cannot be imagined without the metrical system. It is an instrument whose exact structures made possible the clear-cut distinction of a large variety of forms and also provided the background for clearly pronounced effects of particular rhythmical variations. These two assets were of primary importance for a poetry characterized by the individuality of the writer, the individuality of the poem, the reliance on a living language, and the immediate appeal in concrete sensuous images to the imagination of the reader. Even free verse was rich and effective when playing on this background. Such a poetics was accepted and absorbed by the Hebrew poets who, through an externist's secondary education, came to know the classical Russian heritage of Pushkin, Lermontov, and their followers. The first poet to write consistently in accentual-syllabic meters was Ḥ.N. Bialik whose first poem "*El ha-Ẓippor*" ("To the Bird") was published in 1894, in the very year when Russian symbolism emerged, i.e., a movement which strove to break away from the regularities of this very same metrical system.

In Odessa before World War I where Hebrew poets wrote some of the best of Hebrew poetry in the poetic mode of Russian literature of the 1830s, young Jewish poets, writing in Russian, launched modernistic journals such as *The Flying Omnibus*. The beginning and end of the major cycle of modern Russian poetry seemed to meet at one time and in one place. Obviously, Hebrew poetry could not for long be excluded from the general developments, the more so because Yiddish poetry was sometimes written by the same poets in a language more alive and actual and therefore absorbed the waves of modernism more rapidly. Thus, in one generation Hebrew poetry not only caught up with the European classical heritage as conceived by the early 19th century, but at the same time landed, in one grand leap, into the European 20th century. The struggle and interaction between a variety of poetic trends – evolution turned into contemporaneity – make it one of the most panoramic and interesting periods of Hebrew poetry. But, as regards this survey, it is a handicap: It is difficult to keep apart the "generations" of poetry in which unequivocal norms persist. Free verse was developed almost contemporaneously with exact meters or Greek verse forms. Modernistic rhymes were intermingled with exact "classical" rhyming and with blank verse. Hence it is advisable to discuss forms and formal systems – "regular" or "modernistic" – rather than periods of poetry.

A second objective difficulty in discussing the rhythms of Hebrew poetry in the 20th century is due to the revolution in the pronunciation of the Hebrew language which undermined its whole prosodic foundation. The rhythm and sound orchestration, so essential to the concept of poetry of the classics of the last generation – Ḥ.N. Bialik, S. *Tchernichowsky, J. *Fichmann, J. *Steinberg, Z. *Shneour – is lost to the ears of Israeli readers. The poetry of the Hebrew revival in Russia at the end of the 19th century, which is concrete and sensuous and employed the Russian sensibility for subtleties of rhythm and sound, unfolded the sound values of the language in the Ashkenazi dialects. But almost at the same time there was in Israel a revival of Hebrew as a spoken language, which used the "Sephardi" or "Israeli" pronunciation. The clash between the two dialects was sometimes fierce. The changing laws of language will be discussed below. Here one example may suffice. The two words עֹז־רְתֵת were a perfect rhyme in the Lithuanian Ashkenazi Hebrew of U.N. *Gnessin E YS-rs-E YS (both *ḥolam* and *ẓere* being pronounced *ey*; ת sounding like *s*; and *z* = *s* in rhyme, according to the Russian convention of neutralizing voiced consonants in an end position); but the same rhyming pair lost all sound identities to the ears of an Israeli who reads it: *oz-retét*. The Sephardi pronunciation was also employed in Hebrew meters in this period, as early as 1900 (not to count some experiments during the Haskalah period as well as the unintentional iambs of Hebrew poetry in Italy). The Ashkenazi pronunciation was still dominant in the 1920s and was alive with some poets until the 1960s. This coexistence again complicates our discussion.

The shift of dialects was a revolution in the sound system of a language, which did not occur elsewhere in such an abrupt manner. In this process most of the poetry of the period of Revival was lost from the point of view of its musicality and rhythm. But the poets who moved from one Hebrew tongue to quite a different one, despite the pangs of readjustment, remained the same, and so did the poetic ideals and norms. These had no time to change. It was simply a matter of readjusting to the new sound system, of regaining a *modus vivendi* with the spoken language. Therefore it is possible, despite the crucial shift, to discuss the prosodic norms, using at first illustrations from Hebrew poems in the contemporary Israeli pronunciation.

The Two Dialects of Modern Hebrew

When Hebrew became a spoken language in Ereẓ Israel, it adopted the principles of the "Sephardi" pronunciation in which the location of stress is based on the accentuation marks of the Bible. The majority of words in this Israeli pronunciation have a stress on their final syllable. Only a small group of words are penultimately stressed; these are of two varieties; the so-called *segoliyyim* having two *e* vowels, patterned like *dégel*, and words with the furtive *pattaḥ* ending in an originally guttural consonant, like תַּפּוּחַ (*tappúʾaḥ*), רֵיחַ (*reiʾaḥ*) לָנוּעַ (*lanuʾa*). A larger group of penultimately stressed words is provided by several suffixes, such as the feminine forms אוֹמֶרֶת (*omeret* – versus the masculine *Omer*), verbs in some perfect forms: אָמַרְנוּ, אָמַרְתָּ, אָמַרְתִּי (*amarti*, *amarta*, *amarnu*), or nouns in the plural with some possessive pronouns

(דְּבָרַיִךְ, דְּבָרֶיךָ – *devarekha, devarayikh*). A new group of penultimately stressed words consists of foreign borrowings: *akadémya, gemnázya*, etc. On the other hand, several distinctions in the quality of sounds marked in the biblical vocalization system, are blurred in the Sephardi dialect. Thus, both *pattaḥ* and *qameṣ* are pronounced *a; ṣere* and *segol* are pronounced *e*; תּ and ת are both *t*.

The Ashkenazi pronunciation of Hebrew, developed in Europe since the 14th century, is based primarily on the penultimate stress. With a few exceptions, a penultimate stress is absent only when it is impossible to implement it: (a) in monosyllabic words (a small group in Hebrew); (b) in bisyllabic words, if the first syllable is a short one (*ḥataf* or *šewa*), e.g., בְּנִי, אֲנִי; (c) in longer words where the penultimate syllable is a short one, the stress moves to the third-to-last syllable, e.g., הַמְּחוֹנְנִים (*ha-meḥónenim*), נַעֲרָה (*náarah*). In (b) and (c) there are exceptions, based on the fact that historically short syllables became normal and may be stressed, like in Hebrew words in Yiddish (e.g., חֲלוֹם should be *khalóym*, but it is often pronounced as in Yiddish: *khólem*). On the other hand, there is in Ashkenazi a wider range of vowel qualities: *qameṣ* is distinguished from *pattaḥ*; *ḥolam* and *ṣere* are diphthongs. The weak ת is pronounced *s* (rather than the Israeli *t*). Within the Ashkenazi domain there were several dialects, on the whole resembling the dialects of Yiddish. In poetry these sub-dialects are felt not in the meter but in the rhyme.

Ashkenazi Hebrew with its diphthongs and penultimate stress was felt by the poets to be "softer" and more "musical" than the "harsh" Israeli Hebrew which is ultimately stressed and in which *a* makes up 50 percent of its vowels. Until the late 1930s some tried to keep poetry in the traditional Ashkenazi dialect, but finally they had to give in to the spoken language of Israel. Several poets attempted "translating" their poetry into the new dialect. On the whole they succeeded in making a mechanical meter, but in most cases the poem was severely harmed in the process. A variety of interesting transitional forms developed. Thus, U.Z. *Greenberg, though still writing in Ashkenazi Hebrew, let the Israeli workers in his poems speak in their authentic Israeli pronunciation.

Accentual Syllabic Meter in Hebrew

The dominant system of Hebrew prosody since the 1890s was accentual-syllabic, though throughout the period other forms also existed. Accentual-syllabic versification came to Hebrew poetry under the influence and in the forms of the Russian tradition of the 19th century. However, some rhythmical characteristics of these meters are due to the structural properties of the Hebrew language. Accentual-syllabic meters are based on the ordering both of the number of syllables and of the location of stresses in a verse line. But it is rare, especially in Hebrew poetry, that the actual stresses in the language of a line constitute a neatly ordered pattern, copying exactly the metrical scheme. There is a discrepancy between the units of the language and the units of meter: stress and word boundaries on the one hand and metrical accents and feet on the other. A meter exists in a poem if its actual stresses and word boundaries meet certain rules of correlation with the underlying metrical scheme.

TYPES OF METERS. A meter is a permanent order of accented and unaccented syllables, underlying all lines of a poem (or part of it). The sign (–) represents a metrically accented syllable, the sign (∪) an unaccented one. The elementary recurrent group of syllables is called a "foot." Thus, in a line of the type: ∪ ∪ – ∪ ∪ ∪ – ∪ – there are three feet / ∪ ∪ – /. A foot is not a rhythmical unit; its boundaries do not mark any stop in reading; it is a mere abstraction of the basic principle underlying the pattern of a line. Each foot has one accented and one or two unaccented syllables.

There are two binary feet:	iamb / ∪ – /
	trochee / – ∪ /
and three ternary feet:	anapest / ∪ ∪ – /
	amphibrach / ∪ – ∪ /
	dactyl / – ∪ ∪ /

A meter of a line is determined by the kind of feet and their number, e.g., an iambic pentameter is a line of five iambs. The number of feet is determined by the number of accents; the last foot may be incomplete and may vary throughout a poem. Thus, in an iambic pentameter there may be either 10 or 11 syllables: ∪ – ∪ – ∪ – ∪ – ∪ – (∪) (depending on the gender of rhyme or on the line ending). Usually in Hebrew poetry there is only one kind of foot in a poem, i.e., one form of alternating accented and unaccented syllables (binary or ternary).

DEFINITION OF METER. A poem has a certain meter, when it can be read according to a metrical pattern without contradicting its language. The general rule of correlation is: If a word receives metrical accents, at least one of them must fall on the stressed syllable. This rule implies that a word (1) may be unaccented; or (2) may have an accent on its stressed syllable; or (3) may have several accents, one of them falling on the stressed syllable, e.g., *Nŏshē̍v, ērĕv ăfō̍r vĕ-ŏr$^{(e)}$vim ăl t$^{(e)}$rănā̍v.* This is a line of four anapests (by *Alterman) in which the stress (marked) of the first word is disregarded by the meter, the stresses of other words are employed by the meter as regular accents. The following is an example of a Hebrew stanza meter of 4 iambs (by Alterman):

Ăz ḥivvărō̍n gădō̍l hē'ī̍r
Ĕt ha-r$^{(e)}$hŏvō̍t vĕ-hā-sh$^{(e)}$văkī̍m
Ămā̍d nătū̍i ăl p$^{(e)}$nē̍i
Năḥshō̍l shămā̍yĭm yērŭkī̍m

The first word of the first line is unaccented by the meter, the second word has 2 accents (one of them on the stressed syllable). The second line provides only two stresses in its language.

RHYTHMIC VARIATION. Obviously, an expressive reading of a poem will consider language stress and word boundaries rather than the mechanical pattern of the metrical accents.

Thus, rhythmical variation is created primarily by the fact that not all accents of the meter are realized in the language, the division of actual stresses and word boundaries may vary from line to line, e.g., a trochaic stanza (Alterman):

Dumiyyáh la-merḥavím shoreket
Bóhak ha-sakkín be-éin ha-ḥatulím
Láylah, kámmah láylah! Ba-shamáyim shéket
Kokhavím be-ḥittulím

It has 5–6–6–4 trochees, but the number of stresses is 3–4–5–2, irregularly dispersed. When read according to its language, every line seems to be rhythmically different (every box represents a word, X denotes a syllable, Y an accented syllable).

X X·Y	X·X·X·Y	X·Y·X		
Y·X	X·X·Y	Y·Y	X·X·X·Y	
Y·X	Y·X	Y·X	X·X·Y·X	Y·X
X·X·Y	X·X·X·Y			

In modern Hebrew there is, on the average, one stress to each three syllables. In binary meters, which constitute the bulk of modern Hebrew metrical verse, rhythmical variation is based primarily on avoiding stresses in accented positions. This tendency usually follows the Russian symmetrical pattern of variation. Thus in a meter of four iambs or trochees, the fourth and the second accents are almost always stressed, the third and the first are quite often unstressed. (This is obviously different from English binary meters where variation is largely based on the opposite possibility: stressing unaccented syllables.) In short, Hebrew iambs and trochees are not based on a regular number of stresses to each line, but on changing deviations from a regular abstract scheme.

Limited Free Verse: The "Ternary Net"

Whereas in binary meters variation is built into the system (a 3:2 relationship between accent and stress), in ternary meters almost all accents coincide with stresses. In the Israeli pronunciation where in most words stress coincides also with word boundary, the effect becomes tedious, especially in the anapestic meters where almost every foot is a word and every accent a stress. Poets did their best to create variation here too, but the solution came in the form of a kind of free verse adapted from Russian modernist poetry (Blok, Akhmatova, Yessenin). In this system, the number of accents in a line remains regular, but the number of syllables is free to a certain extent. Usually an impulse of a ternary meter is created, to be disturbed on and off; instead of two unaccented there are occasionally one or none (and in some poets also three). The abstract pattern looks like a "net": a ternary scheme with "holes" in it which appear without any regularity, but rarely enough, so as not to destroy the underlying ternary pattern. Beginnings of lines are usually free too, thus abolishing any distinction between anapest, amphibrach, or dactyl, e.g., two stanzas by the poetess Raḥel:

Hen damáh be-dami zorém	∪∪–∪∪–o∪–
Hen koláh bi rán	∪∪–o∪–
Rahél, ha-ro'áh ẓón laván	o∪–∪∪–∪∪–
Rahél – em ha-ém	o∪–∪∪–
Ve-al kén ha-bayit li ẓar	∪∪–o∪–∪∪–
Ve-ha-ir zarah	∪∪–o∪–
Ki hayah mitnoféf, sudaráh	∪∪–∪∪–∪∪–
Le-ruḥot ha-mid-bár	∪∪–∪∪–

The conversational tone is achieved here by breaking the anapestic flow. But the same principle may be used for a variety of rhythmic tendencies and poetic themes and tones. It became a major form of Hebrew poetry since the 1920s, developed by *Raḥel, Alterman, Zusman, Lea *Goldberg, *Bat-Miriam, and other poets of the Russian tradition.

Free Verse

Since the beginnings of Hebrew accentual-syllabic meters, varieties of freedom from their strictures were sought. Thus, Tchernichowsky used widely the dactylic hexameter, varying often two or one unaccented syllables. The effect was similar to the ternary net, but the "excuse" was an interpretation of the Greek meter followed by German poets, which varied the dactyls by using trochees (instead of the Greek spondee). Bialik developed his so-called biblical rhythms; but, unlike in the Bible, the number of accents was fixed and the number of unaccented syllables varied in a limited way: 1 or 2 (and occasionally 3) syllables in each interstress interval. About 10 years after the initiation of the accentual-syllabic meters, a Hebrew poet appeared who wrote purely free verse: Avraham *Ben Yiẓḥak. This trend, based on the balancing of small word groups and phrases, was enhanced by the influence of German expressionism (exerted on such poets as David *Vogel). It was renewed in some of the young poets of the Palmaḥ generation (1948) and in the 1950s, under the influence of English modernism. The forms of free verse are too varied to be discussed here. Basically they lean on syntactic patterns, strengthened by parallelism and sound orchestration. At present the whole scale from strict meters to prose-like free verse is productive in Hebrew poetry.

Rhyme in Modern Poetry

Though rhyme in Hebrew was older than in any of the surrounding languages, and though its forms changed throughout the centuries, it was not before the 1890s that Hebrew rhyme accepted fully the European rhyme system. (As has been seen, the principle of stressed rhyme was adopted already in Hebrew poetry in Italy in the 17th century, but it actually applied to feminine rhymes only and did not involve the whole language until the end of the 19th century.)

In modern Hebrew poetry it is convenient to distinguish "exact" from "inexact" rhymes. In "exact" rhymes the rhymeme always extends to the very end of the rhyming members (*x=ḥ* or *kh; c=ẓ*): *sma MA-ey-MA, novÉYAX- KerÉYAX*; in "inexact" rhymes some of the final sounds are not identical, i.e., the rhymeme does not always reach the end of the verse line:

meso-RÉGEt- baRÉGEv; la ḥaDSÍ- kiDuŠIn; ba-xÓFEn- ha-OFEk, etc. The inexact rhyme, a symptom of modernism, should be discussed after the basic "exact" norm from which it deviated.

THE BASIC NORM OF THE EXACT RHYME. The rhymeme is the basic norm in modern Hebrew poetry, as it is in most European languages; it includes all sounds from the last stressed vowel to the end of the line: N=V́ ( ). (The parentheses represent all sounds, which may come after the stressed vowel.) As opposed to the terminal Hebrew rhyme of the Middle Ages, this is an accentual-terminal rhyme norm, e.g., *šovÁX- heÁX; šenavÓXA- kamÓXA; dÁY LA- LÁYLA; lirKOŠET- xarOSET*. The rhyme in these cases includes 2, 3, or 4 sounds (V́C, VCV, V́CCV, VCVC). All of these are minimal rhymemes: they may be enlarged, but deducting one sound destroys the rhyme. Thus, the basic norm is not determined by the number of sounds but by their position. The number of sounds following the stressed vowel depends on the structure of the words; it is a matter of language rather than of rhyming norm. In this system, a *rime riche* is based not on the number of sounds in the rhymeme, but on the employment of sounds additional to the required norm. Thus, *tic-Nax – aNAX* (תִּצְנַח – אֲנָךְ) is a rich rhyme, though its rhymeme *Nax* has only three sounds, since *AX* would be good enough; whereas *ESET* in *IESET – nogÉSET* (לֶסֶת – נוֹגֶסֶת) is not rich, though it has four sounds, since it is the minimal sound group in such feminine rhymes.

SECONDARY NORMS. In addition to the basic norm, several secondary norms are at work, some are more general, others less obligatory or more restricted to certain poets or trends.

The Numeric Norm. Hebrew poetry in the Israeli pronunciation requires a minimum of two sounds in the rhymeme. In English, German, or Yiddish poetry, one stressed vowel is enough, if it comes at the end of the word: *free – tranquility – sea, be – we, go – snow* are perfect rhymes in English. But in Israeli Hebrew, as in Russian, in such cases, a consonant has to precede the final vowel: *bitfi-LÁ-leo-LÁ* is a minimal rhyme (N2 = CV). Two sounds are enough, even when there is no consonant: *ligvÓA- elÓA*.

Hebrew poetry in the Ashkenazi pronunciation did not require this numeric norm. Bialik rhymed *lÍ – bnÍ* (לִי – בְּנִי), *hazE – hapE* (הַזֶּה – הַפֶּה), etc. The reason is obvious: there are in the Ashkenazi pronunciation very few ultimately stressed words (primarily monosyllables, a rather small group in Hebrew) and even fewer such words with open syllables. With the additional rule it would be almost impossible to rhyme these words. On the other hand, in the Israeli pronunciation most of the words are ultimately stressed, the number of vowels has been reduced to 5, and there are an enormous number of words which terminate in (resulting both from the historical *pattaḥ* and *qameṣ*). The use of such an á as a rhyme would be too easy and trite to be effective.

The Historical Factor. There was a historical factor to this development, too. Bialik and many of his contemporary "Ashkenazi" poets at the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century (Z. Shneour, I. *Katzenelson, Jacob Steinberg, J. Fichmann) wrote Yiddish as well as Hebrew poetry. Yiddish, as other Germanic languages, does not require the numeric norm. But the Israeli poets of the next generation (Raḥel, A. *Shlonsky, Lea Goldberg) were overwhelmingly influenced by Russian poetry where this norm is required.

The historical factor is felt again in the "young" Israeli poetry of the 1950s. Hebrew poetry now moved from the Russian to the English sphere of influence and away from rich "colorful" rhyming to a rather "prose-like" poetics. Here again rhymes appeared, based on a single stressed vowel: *kÍ-civonÍ; lezokhrÓ be-motÓ*, etc.

The Morphological Norm. In the Israeli pronunciation *sIR – kabIR, niM – alIM* (נִים – אֲלִים) are perfect rhymes, but *mex-usIM – alIM* (מְכוּסִים – עָלִים) is not, since *IM* in this case is a morphological ending: the non-feminine plural suffix of nouns, verbs, and adjectives. This secondary norm requires the participation of at least one stem consonant in a rhyme: *mesuSIM – ma'aSIM* or *aLIM – keLIM* are minimal rhymes in this case.

Three Criteria of the Rhyming Norm. The basic norm with the secondary norms may now be combined: "exact" rhyme in modern Hebrew poetry in the Israeli pronunciation requires in its rhymeme all the sounds from the last stressed syllable to the end of the verse line, provided that there are at least two sounds and at least one is part of the root of the rhyming word. This complex rule makes three kinds of demands: (a) a norm for the *place* of the rhymeme; (b) a norm for its minimal *size*; (c) a norm concerning its *morphological* structure.

THE RELATIVITY OF THE MORPHOLOGICAL NORM. The three heterogeneous norms have different degrees of validity in different poets or generations. The morphological subnorm seems to be the most flexible. Some suffixes are less susceptible to this norm. Thus, Raḥel, a poetess of the 1920s who preceded the "young" generation in the use of "prosaic" language in her lyrical poetry (influenced not by English Imagism but by the Russian Acmeists, especially the poetry of Akhmatova), strictly applies the morphological norm to the non-feminine plural suffix *Im* (e.g., *raVIM – asaVIM*), but disregards this requirement for the feminine plural *OT* (*kallOT – netivOT*) and other suffixes. Some "young" poets of the 1950s use even obvious grammatical rhymes, with the plural suffix *IM* as a rhymeme.

On the whole, the more widespread the use of a suffix in a language, the stronger is the tendency not to rely upon that suffix alone. The opposition to grammatical rhyme, inherited from Russian poetry, was strongest in the plural *IM*. On the other hand, the requirement to add a root consonant is entirely weak in two-syllabic suffixes, which are penultimately stressed, such as the dual: *áyim*.

The "mistrust" of grammatical rhyme is often expressed in poetry far beyond the required norm. Thus, Shlonsky uses rich rhymes especially when a suffix occurs, as if to compensate for the very use of a suffix in rhyme: *DIRIM – aDIRIM, MeDuROT – MiDoROT* (where *RIM* or *ROT* would be sufficient), etc.

MINIMUM AND MAXIMUM. The norm described above concerns the minimal group of sounds required in a rhymeme. In Hebrew poetry in the Israeli pronunciation there is a wide discrepancy between the minimum sounds required and the maximum actually used. Some poets, such as Shlonsky or Alterman, influenced by the poetics of Russian modernism, employ rhymes as rich as possible: *tiKTEFÉNU – Ktefenu, AKuMÓT – hAKOMÓT*, etc. The words in modern Hebrew, having no secondary stress, are usually long (3 syllables and more). Most of the sounds in the rhyming words of the poets under discussion are employed in the rhymeme. This tendency is doubly connected with the poetics of Hebrew "imagistic" poetry: (a) It is part of the general "colorful" aesthetics which abounds in striking imagery, rich sound patterns, "strong" themes, etc. There is a strongly expressed "set toward the message," a high "density" of the poetic language. (b) Since many sounds are involved in each rhyme, it is quite difficult to find words rhyming with each other; only a poetic language with a high degree of flexibility in imagery and elliptic combination could enable such freedom in connecting rhyming words drawn from distant spheres of meaning.

The maximal limit for a rhymeme consists in leaving a minimal difference between the rhyming members. In such rhymes as Yehudah *Karni's *K'ILU MAT − KIL'UMAT* (כְּאִלּוּ־מַת – כִּלְעוּמַת) or *YIF'AM – YIF AM* (יִפְעָם – יִיף עָם), the difference may only be a junction between words. In Alterman's rhyme בְּגוּמַת לְחָיַיִךְ – אֶת יֵינָן הַלּוֹהֵט לְחַיַּיִךְ (*LEXAYAYIX*), the difference lies merely in the different morphological structure: in the first case ("your cheeks") the *l* is part of the root לחי, in the second case ("for your life") the *l* is a separate morpheme ("for") connected only graphically with the word חיים.

A COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVE. Rich rhyme in Israeli Hebrew can be explained not merely by the influence of one kind of modernist poetics. The properties of the language also encourage this trend. Most of the words in this pronunciation are stressed ultimately and most of the words are multisyllabic. Rhyming merely one syllable time and again would be tedious. Moreover, since most of the words are stressed ultimately, there is a multitude of words available for each rhyme ending. It may be compared to other languages. In Russian, where many words are also multisyllabic, stresses may occur on any syllable of a word, there-fore the number of words rhyming ultimately is relatively smaller, and multisyllabic rhyme is usual. In Yiddish, too, the number of feminine and dactylic rhymes is incomparably higher.

In English the number of monosyllables is so high that masculine rhymes are usual, as in Hebrew. But the "neutral" sounds of each number are not felt strongly, since they are few. In a usual Hebrew word one or three syllables do not participate in a minimal rhymeme: cf., the English pARTS – mARTS (though the rhymeme is monosyllabic most sounds of each member are covered by it) with the Hebrew *mešuxrÁR – veaxzÁR* where the nonparticipating, "neutral," sounds of each member are conspicuous. Moreover, English has some 13 different rhyming vowels (as compared to the mere five of Israeli Hebrew) and many consonant clusters, preceding and following the vowel, which make the number of possible rhyme endings incomparably higher and the number of words available for each relatively much smaller. Since there are very few possible rhyme endings in Israeli Hebrew, it is much easier to meet the minimal rhyme requirements and also easier, and more necessary, to add sounds and "enrich" the rhymeme. French with its ultimate stress, though it is more abundant in rhyme endings than Hebrew, also tends to prefer *rime riche*.

RHYME IN THE ASHKENAZI PRONUNCIATION. The basic norm of the accentual-terminal rhyme is identical in the poetry of the "Sephardi" pronunciation (in Italy since the Renaissance) or in the Israeli, as well as in the Ashkenazi, pronunciation, which was accepted in European Hebrew from the 14th century, but entered rhyme only in the 19th century. But the realization of the norm differed strongly due to the difference in the rhythmic structure of the Hebrew word.

Since the Ashkenazi stress falls on the second or third syllable from the end, most rhymes were automatically polysyllabic and most sounds of a word were included in the rhymeme. Thus, *mÍDBOR – nÍDBOR* is a very common rhyme in Bialik's poetry, but the same pair makes a very rich rhyme in the Israeli pronunciation: *mIDBÁR – nIDBÁR* (since *AR* would be enough). Therefore, rich rhymes are few in Ashkenazi but may abound in Israeli Hebrew (at least in the practice of some poets). Moreover, the necessity to include in most cases at least two syllables in the rhymeme leads the poets to search for alleviating devices. Thus, Bialik in his early poetry tends to use grammatic rhymes which have already one syllable given in the morphological suffix, and the poet has to find words which differ in one syllable only. This necessity also leads to the use of archaic endings, feminine forms, etc. In short: any *manqué* form of a word, e.g., the Israeli rhyme צוֹהֵל – נוֹזֵל is not a rhyme in Ashkenazi (*cohel – nozel*), but the feminine form, with an added syllable, is צוֹהֶלֶת – נוֹזֶלֶת (*coheles – nozeles*). Therefore Bialik uses not אוֹר נוֹזֵל ("running light") but a more archaic form, which is feminine אוֹרָה נוֹזֶלֶת. Feminine verbs or adjectives in rhyme position obviously bring about feminine nouns in the middle of the line. The same holds for plurals and archaic forms.

"Modernistic" Rhyme

THE "INEXACT" RHYME. Modernistic Hebrew poetry uses a large number of inexact rhymes, such as Alterman's *ŠKuFÁ hI-miŠKaFAyIM: KoS Ha-MÁyIM – KSuMÁ hI*, etc. In such rhymes at least one member ends with a "neutral" sound not participating in the rhymeme. But the effect is strong, since such rhymes usually have many sounds. There is a great variety of concrete forms, but in all cases the stressed vowel is constant, i.e., it is an accentual rhyme. In most cases the rhymeme is discontinued and the system may be called: *accentual-discontinuous*. The rhymeme, in addition to the fixed-stressed vowel, is based primarily on consonants. This phenomenon of the discontinuous rhymeme, particular to Hebrew poetry, is based on the nature of the Hebrew lexical morpheme, which is discontinuous and purely consonantal.

This system, representing a strong break from the standard European norm where rhyme is *accentual-terminal* and is usually continuous, had its forerunner in the earliest system of rhyme, in old Hebrew liturgy (the *piyyut*). But the concrete immediate influence which created this norm in Hebrew modernism came from the poetry of Mayakovski and *Pasternak, where rhymemes were also inexact in their endings and moved deeper into the middle of the line. While discontinuity in Russian rhyme was an occasional form of deviation rather than the rule, for Alterman and his contemporaries it became the norm, based on the characteristics of the Hebrew language. Alterman uses both exact and inexact rhymes in the same poems. The minimal requirement for a rhymeme now is: two sounds, at least one of which is the last stressed vowel. But only rarely was the minimal rhymeme employed (e.g., an exact rhyme: *zahÁV – yadÁV*; an inexact rhyme: *koXÓ harXÓv*). Most of the rhymes are very rich. The sound contrast between the rhyming members was strongly emphasized through the introduction of neutral sounds in between the sounds of the (discontinuous!) rhymeme, e.g., *SiPuNÉXA – kaSE PaNÉXA, LEORÉR – LEOR nER*; or by changing the order of the parallel sounds, e.g., *miTPARECET – TRAPECIo-T* (*TPAR* Trap).

In short, modernist rhyme cannot be described merely in negative terms, as a deviation from a "classical norm." The norm of the *accentual-discontinuous* rhyme creates a system as consistent and as effective as the *accentual-terminal* one, though the range of variation given to particular poets may be considerably wider now.

SUMMARY

A Pan-Historic Synopsis of Hebrew Prosodic Systems

The preceding historical survey, though simplified as much as possible, presents a long chain of changes. When pan-historical comparisons are made, one finds logical relationships; similarities and contrasts between systems which are distant in time and place, but created in the forms of one language and culture. The table below, The Major Systems of Hebrew verse, may present the basis of such a comparison. The major systems of Hebrew verse are arranged in this diagram clockwise, in the order of their emergence in the history of Hebrew poetry. Except for a meter based on pitch, all known verse systems were productive in Hebrew. As can be seen from the diagram, there is a logical pattern, a kind of cyclic movement in this history. The major basis of the meter moved from *phrase* to *word* to *syllable* and vice versa.

The earliest and the latest verse systems were based on a free rhythm of phrase groups, though in the Bible there was a strong symmetricity of parallelism, whereas in modernist free verse there is a typical flow of continuity and lengths of lines may be highly varied. On the other hand, in modernist free verse poets often employ changing segments of accentual-syllabic meters as well as effects of irregular rhyme. It is not the freedom of "primitive" poetry, preceding any system, but the freedom of a "late" post-classical period, which is also free to employ any device developed in the "classical" rules of previous periods.

From biblical rhythm, based on semantic-syntactic-accentual free parallelism of phrases, the development of Hebrew verse moved toward basing its meters on more and more exact measures, i.e., ordering smaller elements of the language from phrases to the number of stresses, through the exact number of words, to the number of syllables, to a distinction of syllables according to their prosodic features.

Meters based on syllable counting ruled Hebrew poetry from about 950 almost to 1950. These were the most exact and variegated systems of Hebrew versification. Within this tradition, the change in the internal organization of the verse line from a quantitative principle to an accentual principle represented the general development of European poetry, but marked also the shift from the artificial "high" style of reading poetry to the intrusion of the cadences of the spoken language. (In religious poetry of Franco-Germany throughout the Middle Ages, a system based on the number of words persisted, i.e., a rhythm which, though numerically rigorous, was closer to representing some phrase patterns and clearly resembled the rhythm of medieval Yiddish and German poetry.)

In modernist poetry the movement of the early centuries of the Christian era was reversed: from strict syllable counting through a semi-regular meter, relying almost exactly on the number of major word stresses (though with a still limited freedom of syllable numbers 7), to a free verse system, based primarily on a rhythm of phrase groups, relying on the tension between the verse line and syntactic units. But in this period, even within the domain of free verse (8), the previous regular norms (6 accentual-syllabic and 7, accentual net) were still widely employed. On the other hand, the essential difference between the major systems of Hebrew verse should not lead to the overlooking of some basic consistent trends which cut across several systems. Within each system not all possibilities were equally employed. In any system, a rather small number of all possible forms were prevalent in poetry. Observing the syntactic possibilities of Hebrew verse in different periods, one finds a predilection for a certain optimal length of line, persistent throughout the ages: three or four major stresses in the Bible, four or five graphic words, 11 or 13 syllables (including short ones), three or four amphibrachs, and five iambs which are very similar in length of line and conveniently accommodate similar groups of words and phrases.

The Major Systems of Hebrew Verse (in their logical and chronological order)

Length of a line	**Free**	**Fixed**		
Major Basis of the Meter	**Phrase**	**Word**		**Syllable**
Antiquity and Middle Ages (From phrase to syllable)	I. *Bible: free accentual* (Phrase – parallelism group of stresses)	II. *Early Piyyut: accentual* Number of major stresses	III. *Rhymed Piyyut:* word meter Number of words	IV. *Spain: quantitative* Number of syllables order of long/short syllable
				V. *(Italy) Haskalah: syllabic* Number of syllables
Modern Age (From syllable to phrase)	VIII. *Modernist: Free Verse* Changing balance of phrase groups		VII. *Modernist (“Russian”) accentual net* Number of major stresses (+ limited freedom of syllables)	VI. *Modern: accentual=syllabic* Number of syllables order of stressed/ unstressed

Regular Rhyme

No Regular Rhyme	**Form of Rhymeme** **Decisive Vowel**	**Discontinuous**	**Discontinuous**
I. *Bible* Free sound orchestration	final	II. *Kallirian Piyyut:* *terminal-discontinuous* RVR ריק R+RV מ + רִי R+RVC מ + רִיס R+R+CV(C) מ + ר + הם (תִּי)	III. *Medieval: terminal* CVC רִיק CV רִי CVC רִים CV(C) הֵם (תִּי)
VI. *Modernist* (“Free”) Scattered Rhymes	stressed	V. *Modernist (“Russian”):* *accentual-discontinuous* מַבְרִיק CV́+ רִי + מוֹרִי דְּבָרִים V́C (V)+ וֹר + (אֹרַת עוֹרֶק) CV́C(V) דֶר + (דֶּרֶךְ-קוֹדֵר-אַץ) C+C+CV́+(V)+ ק + ס + מָ + יְ (Ko-S ha Malm-KSu-MAhl)	IV. *(Italy, Haskalah) Modern:* *accentual-terminal* V́C יק CV́ רִי RV́C רִים V́CVC וֹרֶק

The Major Systems of Hebrew Rhyme

A similar pattern can be discerned in the history of Hebrew rhyme norms. Here, again, Hebrew poetry completed a whole cycle in its development. But rhyme was not as obligatory as meter. The earliest and the latest periods have no regular rhyme, i.e., no rhyme in the strict sense of a sound device used regularly for the strophic composition of a whole poem. The Regular Rhyme section of the table Major Systems of Hebrew verse represents typical rhymemes, using the following symbols: V – vowel, C – consonant, R – root consonant (only where relevant), V´ – stressed vowel, ł – discontinuity in the rhymeme. When read clockwise, the diagram represents the history of Hebrew rhyme.

Disregarding some secondary developments, there were four major rhyme systems. The similarities and the differences between these systems are related to the form and location of the rhymeme. The upper part of the diagram is opposed to the lower part from the point of view of the decisive vowel: in the Middle Ages the rhymeme relied on the final vowel, in the modern age on the stressed vowel. On the left hand (the extremes of this history) the rhymeme could be discontinuous, whereas on the right hand (in the “classical” periods) the rhymeme had to be a continuous and a terminal chain of sounds.

There is also a correlation (though not overlapping) between the corresponding major systems of meter and rhyme, as may be seen from a comparison of both diagrams. At the extreme ends of this cycle, when rhythm was based primarily on phrases, i.e., was dominated by a balancing of syntactic and semantic patterns, no regular rhyme was necessary. In the “classical” periods, when meter was based on the number of syllables, rhyme, too, was syllabic: the medieval rhymeme was based on one (terminal) syllable; modern rhyme based its major distinction of rhyme gender (masculine-feminine) on the number of syllables. Typically enough, in verse systems in which the prominence of the word was basic, discontinuous rhyme developed, i.e., rhyme based on the nature of the Hebrew word. However, this parallelism, essential as it was, was by no means automatic, e.g., word meter continued a long time after the suppression of the early discontinuous rhyme.

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[Benjamin Hrushovski-Harshav]

PROSSNITZ, JUDAH LEIB BEN JACOB HOLLESCHAU (c. 1670–1730), Shabbatean prophet. Born in Uhersky Brod, he settled in Prossnitz (Prostejov) after his marriage. An uneducated man, he made his living as a peddler. About 1696 he underwent a spiritual awakening and began to study the Mishnah, and later the Zohar and kabbalistic writings. Believing that he was visited by the souls of deceased, he claimed that he studied Kabbalah with Isaac *Luria and *Shabbetai Ẓevi. Whether his Shabbatean awakening was connected with the movement in Moravia around *Judah Ḥasid, Heshel *Ẓoref, and Ḥayyim *Malakh is still a matter of conjecture. Possibly he was won over by Ẓevi Hirsch b. Jerahmeel *Chotsh, who spent some time in Prossnitz in 1696. Judah Leib first turned to teaching children but later his followers in Prossnitz provided for him and his family. Taking up residence in the *bet midrash* of Prossnitz, he led a strictly ascetic life; he became generally known as Leibele Prossnitz. Before long he started to divulge kabbalistic and Shabbatean mysteries and to preach in public in the manner of a revivalist preacher (*mokhi’aḥ*). He found many adherents, his most important supporter for some years being Meir *Eisenstadt, a famous rabbinic authority who served as rabbi of Prossnitz from 1702. At the same time his Shabbatean propaganda, especially since it came from an uneducated lay mystic, aroused strong hostility in many critics. Between 1703 and 1705 he traveled through Moravia and Silesia, causing considerable agitation in the communities. Along with other Shabbatean leaders of this period, he prophesied the return of Shabbetai Ẓevi in 1706. His open Shabbatean propaganda led to clashes in Glogau and Breslau, where the rabbis threatened him with excommunication unless he returned to Prossnitz and stayed there. As 1706 approached his agitation reached a pitch. He assembled a group of 10 followers who studied with him and practiced extravagant mortifications.

Judah Leib was widely credited with magical practices connected with his attempts to bring to an end the dominion of *Samael and is reported to have sacrificed a chicken as a kind of bribe to the unclean powers. The facts concerning this and his promise to reveal the *Shekhinah* to some of his followers, including Eisenstadt, are shrouded in legend, but they contain some kernel of historical truth. Since by then he was widely considered by his foes to be a sorcerer, Eisenstadt left him and Prossnitz was put under a ban by the rabbinical court and sentenced to exile for three years; however, he was allowed to return after several months. He persisted at the head of a secret Shabbatean group in Prossnitz, again working as a children’s teacher. Maintaining connections with other Shabbateans, in

1724 he tried to obtain the appointment of one of his closest followers, R. Sender, to the rabbinate of Mannheim (L. Loewenstein, *Geschichte der Juden in der Kurpfalz* (1895), 198–9). Jonathan *Eybeschuetz, a pupil of Meir Eisenstadt in Prossnitz for several years, is said to have studied secretly with Judah Leib, who was then propagating teachings close to the radical wing of Shabbateanism. Along with others in this group, he supported heretical teachings regarding divine providence. When Leib b. Ozer wrote his memoir on the state of Shabbateanism in 1717, Judah Leib was refraining from public manifestations of Shabbatean faith and was said to be working on a kabbalistic commentary on the Book of *Ruth. With the resurgence of Shabbatean activities in 1724, in the wake of the emissaries from Salonika, Judah Leib again appeared publicly on the scene, claiming to be the Messiah ben Joseph, the precursor of the Messiah ben David. Once more, he found many followers in Moravia and even in Vienna and Prague. Some of his letters to Eybeschuetz and Isaiah Mokhi'aḥ in Mannheim were found among the papers confiscated from Shabbatean emissaries. In the summer of 1725 Judah Leib was again excommunicated by the rabbis of Moravia in Nikolsburg (Mikulov) and after that led a vagrant life. When he came to Frankfurt on the Main in early 1726 he was not allowed to enter the Jewish quarter, but he was given material assistance by one of his secret supporters. His last years were reportedly spent in Hungary. Whereas the friendly contact between Judah Leib and Eybeschuetz is well established, there is no conclusive proof of Jacob *Emden's claim that Judah Leib saw Eybeschuetz as the future leader of the Shabbateans (J. Emden, *Beit Yonatan ha-Sofer* (Altona, 1762 (?), 1b), or that he would even be the Messiah after Shabbetai Ẓevi's apotheosis (*Shevirat Luḥot ha-Aven* (Zolkiew, 1755), 18b). After Judah Leib's death a strong group of Shabbateans survived in Prossnitz during the 18th century.

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[Gershom Scholem]

PROSSTITZ (Prossnitz), DANIEL (Steinschneider; 1759–1846), Hungarian rabbi. Born in Tobitschau near Prossnitz (Prostejov), Daniel studied first in Moravia and later in Pressburg under the rabbi of the town Meir b. Saul *Barby and was later appointed by Meshullam *Igra to his *bet din* there. Eventually he succeeded Rabbi M. Toska, the head of the *bet din*. In addition he was appointed rabbi to a society for the study of the Talmud (*Ḥevrah Shas*) established in Pressburg. He served the Pressburg community in these capacities for 50 years. Prosstitz recommended Moses *Sofer for the vacant position of rabbi of Pressburg and it was largely due to his conduct of the negotiations that Sofer was appointed. Prosstitz also occupied himself with Kabbalah and used to fast frequently, especially after a dream.

He published the *Sefer ha-Yashar* of Jacob Tam, and left responsa and novellae to the Talmud in manuscript. Responsa addressed to him are found in the Resp. Ḥatam Sofer, in Ezekiel *Landau's *Noda bi-Yhudah*, and in the responsa of his other great contemporaries.

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[Samuel Weingarten-Hakohen]

PROSTEJOV (Czech **Prostějov**, Ger. **Prossnitz**, Heb. פרוסטיץ), city in central Moravia, Czech Republic. From the Middle Ages Prostejov was a center for the textile and ready-made clothing industries, in which Jews played an important part. A Jew is mentioned in a document of 1445. The Jewish community, founded by people expelled from nearby *Olomouc (Olmuetz) in 1454, was, from the 17th to the 19th century, second only to *Mikulov (Nikolsburg) among the communities of Moravia. The Jews dealt in luxury goods and locally made textiles. In 1584 the Jews' right of residence was confirmed but the branches of trade open to them were restricted. The community then numbered 31 families. A minute book (*pinkas*) opened in 1587 began with the *takkanot* of *Judah Loew b. Bezalel regulating synagogal arrangements. A compendium of Sabbath hymns, *Kol Simḥah*, was printed in 1602 by a short-lived local printing house.

The Jewish community and its importance in local industry increased after the Protestant inhabitants had left when the town became Roman Catholic under duress. In 1639 there were 143 Jewish men in Prostejov and 64 houses in the town were owned by Jews. Prostejov absorbed many refugees after the *Chmielnicki massacres in 1648 and the Vienna expulsion in 1670. The community numbered 64 families in 1669. The synagogue was dedicated in 1676. The first known rabbi was Isaac Ḥayyut b. Abraham (d. 1639); among his successors were Meir b. Isaac Ashkenazi and Wolf Boskowitz. The Prostejov rabbinate was a steppingstone to the office of **Landrabbiner* for Menahem *Krochmal and Nahum *Trebitsch. The names of almost 30 rabbis have been recorded since the late 16th century. In 1785–94 the local yeshivah was led by Rabbi Moses *Sofer (Schreiber), called Ḥatam Sofer (1762–1839). A compromise reached in 1677 (and supplemented in 1688) concerning the extent of trade between Jews and gentiles testifies to the importance of Jewish participation in the textile and clothing trades. The community numbered 318 families in 1713, 1,393 persons in 1787, and 1,495 in 1798. In 1804 the number was 1,704, representing about a quarter of the total population. The population continued to grow to about 2,000 in 1875 but then dropped to 1,553 and 1,442 in 1930. The number of families allotted under the *Familiants Law was 328. The Prostejov community was strongly influenced by the Shabbatean movement, and one of its leaders, Judah Leib *Prossnitz, lived in the town. The community was also affected by *Frankism and was one of the first to absorb the ideas of the *Haskalah. The first sermon in German in the Hapsburg dominions was preached there by Loew *Schwab (1835). In 1843 a Jew founded a private elementary school for Jewish and Christian children. In 1831 Feith *Ehrenstamm founded a factory, the beginning of Jewish enterprise in modern textile industry. By 1842 there were 135 Jewish textile merchants in Prostejov. The first factory for ready-made clothes on the European continent was founded by Mayer and Isaac Mandel in 1859. The 200 Jews in the National Guard units were lauded for their conduct in fighting during the anti-Jewish riots in 1848. Prostejov became a political community (*politische Gemeinde) in 1849. In 1880 there were 1,804 Jews in Prostejov. The community absorbed many World War I refugees from Eastern Europe. Between the two world wars the community was one of the most active in Czechoslovakia and the first to arrange modern Hebrew courses. The clothing industry, represented mainly by the Sborowitz firm, which had 108 sales establishments throughout Czechoslovakia and a vast export business, brought affluence to the community which attracted many new members from *Sub-Carpathian Ruthenia (Carpatho-Russia). In 1930 the community numbered 1,442 (4.3% of the total). Among the natives of the town were Menahem Katz, rabbi of the *Deutschkreutz community and leader of Hungarian *Orthodoxy; Gideon Brecher, physician and author of a booklet on circumcision; his son Adolph, author and physician; and the bibliographer Moritz *Steinschneider. Jonathan *Eybeschuetz and Adolf and Hermann *Jellinek were among the pupils of the Prostejov yeshivah. The well-known philosopher and founder of phenomenology Edmund *Husserl (1859–1938) was born there.

Many refugees from the Sudeten area arrived in Prostejov in autumn 1938. After the German invasion (March 1939) Jews suffered from Gestapo raids, mainly in July when the synagogue also was closed. Many Jews left Prostejov during 1940. Those who remained were deported to the Nazi extermination camps in 1942. Over 1,200 local Jews perished in the Holocaust. The synagogue appurtenances were transferred to the Jewish Central Museum in Prague. In 1945 a small congregation administered by the Olomouc community was reestablished, mostly by Jews from Sub-Carpathian Ruthenia. A memorial to the victims of the Holocaust was consecrated in 1950. The congregation was still active in 1980. Few Jews remained in the early 21st century.

Three synagogues were active in Prostejov: the first, from about 1676, was demolished before 1905; the second synagogue served as a *bet midrash* before being converted into a synagogue; it was in service until World War II; in 1953–64 it was used by the Orthodox church and in 1970 it was converted into an exhibition hall; the third synagogue was built in 1904; services were held there until World War II and from 1949 it was used by the Hussite church.

The prayer house established in 1945–46 has been used by the Plymouth Brethren's Church since 1982. Prostejov had three cemeteries: the first known from the 17th century and closed down after 1800; the second from about 1801 and destroyed by the Nazis in 1943; and the last founded in 1908.

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[Meir Lamed / Yeshayahu Jelinek (2nd ed.)]

PROSTITUTION (Heb. זְנוּת, *zenut*), the practice of indiscriminate sexual intercourse for payment or for religious purposes. Prostitution was practiced by male and female prostitutes. The word *zenut*, applied to both common and sacred prostitution, is also often used metaphorically.

Biblical

The prostitute was an accepted though deprecated member of the Israelite society, both in urban and rural life (Gen. 38:14; Josh. 2:1ff.; I Kings 3:16–27). The Bible refers to Tamar's temporary harlotry and to the professional harlotry of Rahab without passing any moral judgment. The visits of Samson to the harlot of Gaza (Judg. 16:1) are not condemned, but conform with his picaresque life. Harlots had access to the king's tribunal, as other people (I Kings 3:16ff.). Nevertheless, harlotry was a shameful profession, and to treat an Israelite girl like a prostitute was considered a grave offense (Gen. 34:31). The Israelites were warned against prostituting their daughters (Lev. 19:29), and priests were not allowed to marry prostitutes (21:7). The punishment of a priest's daughter who became a prostitute, thus degrading her father, was death through fire (Lev. 21:9). According to the talmudic sages, however, this law applies only to the priest's daughter who is married or at least betrothed (Sanh. 50b–51a). Prostitutes might be encountered in the streets and squares, and on street corners, calling out to passersby (Prov. 7:10–23); they sang and played the harp (Isa. 23:16), and bathed in public pools (I Kings 22:38). Their glances and smooth talk were dangers against which the immature were warned (Jer. 3:3, Prov. 2:16; 5:3, 6:24–25, 7:5, et al.).

In the Ancient Near East, temple women, of whom one class was called *qadištu*, probably served as sacred prostitutes. Sometimes dedicated by their fathers to the deity, they had special statutes, and provisions were made for them by law (Code of Hammurapi, 178–82). Customs connected with them are likely to underlie Herodotus' lurid and misleading statement that in Babylon every woman was to serve once as a sacred prostitute before getting married, thus sacrificing her virginity to the goddess Mylitta (Ishtar; 1:199). In Israel the sacred prostitutes were condemned for their connection with idolatry. Deuteronomy 23:18–19 forbids Israelites, men and women alike, to become sacred prostitutes, and states that their wages must not be used for paying vows.

It has been supposed that "the women who performed tasks at the entrance to the Tent of Meeting," mentioned in I Samuel 2:22, were sacred prostitutes – though this hardly suits their other occurrence in Exodus 38:8. There were male and female prostitutes in Israel and Judah during the monarchy, and in Judah they were, from time to time, the object of royal decrees of expulsion (cf. I Kings 14:24; 15:12; 22:47; II Kings 23:7; Hos. 4:14). Sacred prostitution, because of its association with idolatry, was the object of numerous attacks in the Bible, especially in the historical and prophetic books (cf., e.g., II Kings 23:4–14; Jer. 2:20; Ezek. 23:37ff.). Terms connected with harlotry are used figuratively to characterize unfaithfulness toward the Lord (Num. 25:1–2; Judg. 2:17; 8:27, 33; Jer. 3:6; Ezek. 6:9; Hos. 4:12; et al.).

[Laurentino Jose Afonso]

Post-Biblical

The many warnings of Ben Sira against prostitution is evidence that it was widespread in the Hellenistic period. According to II Maccabees 6:4, Antiochus Epiphanes introduced sacred prostitutes into the Temple. Throughout the whole of the apocryphal and pseudepigraphical literature, in the Damascus Document, in the documents of the Dead Sea sects (Serekh ha-Yahad 1:6), in Josephus (Ant. 4:206), and by Philo (Jos. 43, Spec. 3:51), prostitution is vigorously denounced.

In Talmud and Halakhah

Different opinions are expressed in the Talmud with regard to the prostitute of the Bible, both concerning her hire and her marriage to a priest. Some were of the opinion that these references apply only to a professional prostitute, but there were also other opinions. With regard to her hire (Deut. 23:19) the *halakhah* was decided in accordance with the opinion of R. Judah ha-Nasi that it was not forbidden except to those for whom "cohabitation is a transgression" (Tosef., Tem. 4:8; see Prohibited Marriage). With regard to the unmarried woman who engages in prostitution, however, "her wage is permitted" (i.e., for use in the Temple; Maim. Yad, Issurei ha-Mizbe'ah 4:8). Some were of the opinion that her wage is forbidden only with regard to such reward "the like of which can be offered on the altar," but not to money (Tem. 6:4; but Philo refers explicitly to a prohibition on money). The term *be'ilat zenut* ("intercourse of prostitution") was, however, applied not only to those relations forbidden in the strict legal sense (see also Yev. 8:5) but also to any intercourse not expressly for the purpose of marriage (TJ, Git. 7:448d; Git. 81b), and even to a marriage not celebrated in accordance with the *halakhah*.

The *halakhah* imposed a general prohibition on the professional prostitute, and the term came to include any woman who abandoned herself to any man even if not for pay, and states that "Whoever hands his unmarried daughter [to a man] not for the purposes of matrimony," as well as the woman who delivers herself not for the purposes of matrimony, could lead to the whole world being filled with *mamzerim* since "from his consorting with many women and not knowing with whom, or if she has had intercourse with many men and does not know with whom – he could marry his own daughter, or marry her to his son" (see *Mamzer*; Sifra, Kedoshim 7, 1–5). The ruling is based on the verse "Profane not thy daughter, to make her a harlot" (Lev. 19:29), as well as the verse "There shall be no harlot of the daughters of Israel" (Deut. 23:18; *kedeshah* being taken as referring to every prostitute (Sanh. 82a)). The penalty for both parties is flogging (Maim. Yad, Ishut 1:4; Na'arah Betulah 2:17). Abraham b. David of Posquières in his gloss (*ibid.*) stressed that this law applies only to the woman "who is ready to prostitute herself to every man," and he makes an express exception in the case of a woman "who gives herself solely to one man without benefit of marriage." The rabbis were eloquent in their condemnation of the prostitute and her like, but in most cases their strictures apply to every kind of licentiousness. They warned particularly against approaching a harlot's door (Ber. 32a; Av. Zar. 17a) and passing through a "harlots' market" (ARN^1 2, 14; ARN^2 3, 13), such as were to be found in large cities (Pes. 113b; Ket. 64b), especially in Ereẓ Israel, where the Romans "built marketplaces in which to set harlots" (Shab. 33b). Sometimes inns served as brothels. The Targum gives *pundekita* ("woman innkeeper") as the translation of the "harlot" of the Bible (also Yev. 122a). After the destruction of the Temple and during the Hadrianic persecutions, the Romans placed Jewish women in brothels (ARN^1 8, 37; Av. Zar. 17–18), and even men were taken captive for shameful purposes (Lam. R. 1:16, no. 45; cf. Or. Sibyll. 3:184–6, and 5:387–9). Some succeeded in maintaining their virtue and were ransomed; others committed suicide to avoid being forced into prostitution (Git. 57b). But there were also Jewish women who willingly engaged in prostitution (TJ, Ta'an. 4, 8, 69a) and Jews who were pimps (*ibid.* 1:4). There are even stories in the *aggadah* about sons of scholars who were very dissolute (BM 85a). The *halakhot* of ritual purity and impurity mention several garments which were peculiar to prostitutes: a "net" for the hair and a harlot's shift made like net work (Kel. 24:16, 28:9). The sages, who realized that the urge to prostitution is greater than that to idolatry (Song R. 7:8), considered it one of the important causes of the destruction of the Temple, and its spread as a sign of the advent of the Messiah (Sot. 9:13, 15). But there are also stories about prostitutes who repented completely (Av. Zar. 17a; SEZ 22), as well as about a gentile prostitute who converted to Judaism out of conviction (Sif. Num. 115; Men. 44a). Extensive aggadic material about the biblical Rahab portrays both her dissolute behavior as a harlot and her complete spiritual and social transformation when she accepted the truth of Jewish beliefs (Zev. 116a–b; Sif. Num. 78).

[Moshe David Herr]

Post-Talmudic

Jews in the pre-modern world lived, with few exceptions, in Jewish communities and under the yoke of Jewish tradition and *halakhah*. This affected every aspect of their lives, including sexual relations. As stated above, every sexual act between a man and woman outside marital relations was considered as coming within the definition of prostitution (*be'ilat zenut*), and the rabbis strongly condemned manifestations of sexual license in the Jewish community. Many regulations were issued by the various communities to fight prostitution in all its forms. Relations between Jews and gentiles were regarded as especially dangerous, because in most places they were against the laws of the land and the Church, and were therefore apt to evoke an undesirable reaction by non-Jews and involve the whole community.

Jewish communities were never reconciled to the existence of prostitution among them, especially organized prostitution on a commercial basis. They reacted energetically to every attempt to maintain a brothel in the Jewish quarter. There is mention of brothels actually being closed down by order of the communities in various German and French cities in the 17th and 18th centuries. Heavy fines were imposed on landlords who rented their houses for the purpose of prostitution. Anybody who knew of such a case was obliged to report it to the community. The Jews did not always manage to prevent brothels being opened within their neighborhoods, although protests against their establishment sometimes brought about their removal. In many places the laws of the country forbade their being maintained in the cities, so that they were relegated to the outskirts. Sometimes they were located in the vicinity of the Jewish quarter merely by chance, but in some cases they were established there deliberately, out of contempt for the Jews. At times the rabbis closed their eyes to the visits of unmarried men of the community to the brothels, in order to prevent other forms of lewdness.

There is evidence in the responsa literature that Jewish women engaged in prostitution, and no doubt there were also Jews who lived on pimping, but there is no data to the extent. The *halakhah* literature in the Middle Ages mentions several regulations against Jewish prostitutes and against Jews who frequented gentile prostitutes, but the prostitute was entitled to claim her fee (Rema). At the end of the Middle Ages it was laid down that a married man who frequented prostitutes was obliged to give his wife a divorce.

[Max Wurmbrand]

Modern Period

Prostitution is known to increase in times of chaos and upheaval and this was certainly true for East European Jews at the end of the 19th century. Violence and other forms of antisemitism, economic deprivation, and massive emigration led to various forms of significant Jewish involvement in the white slave trade, a euphemism for the trafficking of women across international borders for the purpose of prostitution.

Drastic impoverishment had always led some Jewish women, especially widows or abandoned wives, to occasional or part-time prostitution. The sexual mores of the Jewish community also meant that young women who had been seduced or had chosen to have premarital sexual relations, as well as unmarried older women, often had difficulty finding marriage partners. As it was nearly impossible for an uneducated single woman to support herself by other means, prostitution was often the only viable option. With the increasingly difficult situation in Eastern Europe in the late 19th century, and the large and mostly unregulated movement of population, it was particularly easy for profiteers to induce or entrap Jewish women to travel abroad and serve as prostitutes.

Traffickers used local agents to point them to young widows, abandoned wives, spinsters, or "ruined women," who were offered an escape from their poverty and shame and the promise of riches in distant lands. The procurers would then rely on a string of colleagues to obtain papers and tickets, arrange passage through borders, and accompany the women to their destinations. Upon arrival the women were usually placed in brothels where they had to work, initially without pay in order to pay back all of the fees incurred through their travels. Some professional procurers courted and married attractive women from poor families with promises of a prosperous new life abroad. The "groom" would then consummate the marriage and bring his "bride" to a large city before disclosing her fate. Procurers would often comb entire regions, collecting brides and depositing them with an agent in a larger city before transport abroad. The young women, even when not physically forced to serve as prostitutes, were often too ashamed to return to their homes and had no other alternative. Other procurers specialized in wooing and seducing young domestic servants working far from their families. Some Jewish women became prostitutes of their own volition to escape the drudgery of factory or domestic work or the grinding poverty of family life.

Jews neither controlled nor dominated the white slave trade but they did oversee the large and lucrative traffic in Jewish women. By the turn of the 20th century Jewish criminal gangs managed a complex system of routes, personnel, brothels, and corrupt officials. Obtaining accurate statistics on Jewish prostitution is nearly impossible. Although prostitution was legal in most European states in the late 19th century, it carried a social stigma and legal consequences, such as the need to submit to regular medical examinations. Additionally, many women engaged in prostitution only on an occasional basis. Nonetheless it is estimated that the proportion of Jews among prostitutes was never, even at its height, greater than the proportion of Jews in the population.

Jewish women from Europe were sent as far as southern Africa and the Far East, with England and Constantinople serving as major transit points, but one of the main destinations was South America. South American countries were eager to attract European immigrants and imported thousands of young men to serve in their growing economies. Open borders and underdeveloped law enforcement capacities led to rampant prostitution. In 1900, shortly after having been excluded by the local burial society, the Polish Jewish pimps of Buenos Aires chartered a mutual aid society and obtained their own cemetery. The groups that came to be known as the Zwi Migdal Society later had a synagogue as well. This was only the most infamous of a series of Jewish communal institutions established by and for criminal elements around the world.

America was another destination of the white slave trade, as well as a recruiting ground. Crowded and poor immigrant neighborhoods in cities across the United States provided ideal conditions. Polly *Adler, a prominent brothel-keeper in the first half of the 20th century, described in her memoirs (*A House Is Not a Home*, 1950) how her rape by a co-worker, the extreme privations of working-class existence, and her attraction to the trappings of success led her gradually toward a career as a madam.

The uneasy alliance between official toleration of prostitution and public discomfort with its visible aspects began to deteriorate as prostitution, and especially large-scale trafficking, grew across Europe and the United States. Yiddish literature of the early 20th century contains a number of powerful portrayals of the social and personal costs of widespread prostitution including Sholem *Asch's *God of Vengeance* and Perets *Hirschbein's *Miriam*. A 1908 performance of the latter in Buenos Aires led to a bloody public riot.

Already in the 1880s outraged individuals involved in social purity movements in Britain and the United States had begun to sound the alarm about the problems of the white slave trade. By the beginning of the 20th century, the public began to listen. Sensational press stories about kidnappings of young girls contributed to raising public ire. Much of the press coverage focused on Jewish involvement. While major news outlets published unfounded reports of salacious deeds and hinted that Jews masterminded these events, the antisemitic press went even further in exploiting the association between Jews and the white slave trade. These antisemitic polemics gave the impression that Jewish men were raping and stealing Christian girls in a modern version of the ancient *blood libel. In fact, although Jewish involvement in the white slave trade is not in question, Jewish traffickers dealt almost exclusively in Jewish women. The trade in non-Jewish women was generally overseen by their own countrymen and correligionists.

Public opinion, however, was not limited to placing blame, and Jewish and non-Jewish organizations began to form to combat the white slave trade. In 1899, Britain's fiery evangelical campaigner William Coote toured Europe trying to raise awareness about the need to regulate cross-border traffic and protect women. His trip was financed in part by the Rothschild family. Only several years previously the formation of the Jewish Association for the Protection of Girls and Women had created a central agency for British Jewish action. The group was ably and energetically run by Arthur Moro for the next several decades.

In Germany, Bertha *Pappenheim tirelessly fought for the rights of women. Combating the trade in women was one of the central platforms of her *Juedischer Frauenbund, established in 1904. Hers and other voluntary association across Europe established travelers aid stations at major terminals and worked to have laws changed to prevent the free movement of human traffic. Equally important, they established international communication lines. The National Council of Jewish Women in the United States undertook similar initiatives in the American immigrant community. Although these networks were never as sophisticated as those of the traffickers, they were still able to cause disruptions by sending advance warning to law enforcement and other voluntary societies around the world. The Jewish community in South America was particularly grateful for the monetary and informational support of their correligionists in Europe. At times Jewish and non-Jewish groups worked together on such projects but often their relations were soured by antisemitism.

In the early 20th century, the success of social work and legal activism in Western Europe, and the awareness that the root of the problem lay further east, led to calls to treat the blight of prostitution at its source. In 1913 a group of Jewish social workers and nurses were preparing to travel to Galicia and Romania to establish institutions to help Jewish women avoid the snares of poverty and the white slave trade. This work, however, ended as Europe descended into war.

The onset of World War I meant a severe deterioration in Jewish life in Europe, as well as the closure of escape routes. Both increased presence of soldiers and failing economic conditions led to an increase in non-professional prostitution among Jews and non-Jews on the continent. At the same time the international white slave trade routes were interrupted, and would never fully recover. World War I essentially put an end to the period of major Jewish involvement in prostitution. Jewish prostitution, and even small scale procuring and trafficking continued, but the conditions were no longer ripe for large-scale activities as emigration slowed down and Jews in western countries increasingly moved up the economic ladder.

Prostitution once again came to the fore in Jewish communal concerns following the collapse of the Soviet Union and the large-scale immigration of former Soviet citizens to Israel in the 1990s. Among the many immigrants was a small minority of individuals involved in a variety of criminal activities, including trafficking and prostitution. The relatively open immigration policies contained in the *Law of Return made Israel a useful hub for international criminal enterprise. Vulnerable women from all ethnic groups in the former Soviet Union were brought into Israel either voluntarily, or in some cases by deception, to serve as prostitutes in Israel or to be shipped elsewhere. Following time-tested methods, many of the women were forced to serve their procurers for lengthy periods to repay the cost of their travel. Others had their personal papers confiscated and were imprisoned in brothels or intimidated through the use of violence.

As the scope and size of the problem became clear, the Israeli government worked with internal non-governmental organizations and women's groups as well as international bodies to craft appropriate policies on judicial and criminal matters as well on as issues of rehabilitation and repatriation. Although these efforts did not end the international traffic in women, by 2004 they had proven effective in increasing both the prosecution of leaders of criminal rings and the rehabilitation of their victims.

[Eliyana R. Adler (2nd ed.)]

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PROSTITZ, ISAAC BEN AARON (d. 1612), Hebrew printer. Isaac was born in Prossnitz, Moravia, and learned the printing trade in Italy, working with G. Cavalli and G. Grypho in *Venice. There he met the proofreader Samuel Boehm (d. 1588), who later joined Isaac in *Cracow, where he printed from 1569. From Italy they had brought with them typographical material, decorations etc., and in the privilege issued in 1567 to Isaac by King Sigmund August II of Poland for 50 years he is called an "Italian" Jew. In spite of initial intrigues by the Jesuits, Isaac and later his sons – Aaron and Issachar – and grandsons were able to print for nearly 60 years some 200 works of which 73 were in Yiddish, using fish and a ram (symbol for the offering of Isaac) as printer's mark. The productions covered a wide field: rabbinics, Bible, Kabbalah, philosophy, history, and even mathematics. The Babylonian Talmud was printed twice (1602–08; 1616–20); these were poor editions after an earlier and more auspicious beginning in 1579. The Jerusalem Talmud of 1609 has become standard in the form it was reissued in Krotoschin in 1886. Isaac was printer to the great scholars of the time: Moses *Isserles of Cracow, Solomon *Luria of Lublin, and Mordecai *Jaffe of Prague and Poznan. In 1602 he returned to his native Prossnitz, where he printed some works until 1605, while his son Aaron remained active in Cracow to 1628 printing apart from the Talmuds, the *Zohar (1603), and the *Shulḥan Arukh (1607, 1618–20), Turim with Joseph *Caro's commentary (1614–15), and **Ein Ya'akov* (1614, 1619). Isaac's descendants were working as printer's assistants until nearly the end of the 17th century.

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PROTESTANTS.

Up to World War II

Seen in perspective, the attitude of the Protestant movement toward Jews and Judaism was ambivalent and unstable. For the earlier periods see *Luther, *Calvin, and *Reformation. By the beginning of the 18th century the Protestant churches had amassed a vast amount of material on the Jews and on Judaism. The traditional hostility of more than a millennium was fully recorded in books such as *Entdecktes Judentum* (1700), an immense storehouse of learning and abuse collected by Johannes Andreas *Eisenmenger. The Jewish response in polemic and apologetic was equally comprehensively dealt with in *Tela Ignea Satanae* (1681) by Johann Christoph *Wagenseil. Of more interest was the appearance of material of a different kind – material which for the first time described Jews, Jewish customs, and Judaism sympathetically and objectively, and without either a controversial or theological bias.

In the historical field the most important work was *L'Histoire et la Religion des Juifs depuis Jésus Christ jusqu'à Présent*, by the Huguenot diplomat and scholar Jacques *Basnage. It appeared at the beginning of the century, and was immediately plagiarized by the Jesuits, who altered or omitted all his references to Christian responsibility for Jewish sufferings. The increase of travel led to an interest in Jewish customs, social, domestic, and religious; and books describing these customs in Europe, Africa, and the Middle East became part of the stock of any well-equipped library. But the most attractive field for Protestant study was rabbinic, and almost every university claimed a chair in Hebrew. Leiden and Franeker in Holland, Cambridge in England, and Jena in Germany were among the most distinguished. While the Christian Hebraists wrote much that was of little value, their studies of the Talmud removed the atmosphere of mystery and even blasphemy which medieval scholars had imparted to it. John *Selden in *De Synedriis et Praefecturis Juridicis veterum Hebraeorum* (1650–55) laid the foundation for the serious study of Jewish legal procedures. At the beginning of the 18th century, Wilhelm *Surenhuys of Amsterdam, in his introduction to a Latin edition of the Mishnah and in other writings, was the first to speak of rabbinic Judaism as the natural and proper development of the Judaism of the Bible.

Side by side with this interest in rabbinic Judaism was the concern of some of the Protestant sects with biblical Judaism as an ideal expression of natural law. John *Toland in *Nazarenus* (1718) made the first study of Judaic Christianity as something distinct from its gentile brother, and more valuable in that it retained the laws of Moses. But as the century progressed, this attitude of the free-thinking sects changed to violent hostility which saw "Jehovah" as the model of all tyranny. Hermann Samuel Reimarus (1694–1768) subjected the Scriptures to so detailed a critical examination that he can be regarded as the father of much of 19th-century biblical scholarship.

Missionary Activities

While these various developments helped to maintain a general interest in the Jews, it was not until the very end of the century that any organized approach to them evolved. Protestantism had been slow to develop missions in any field, and still slower to create organized missions to Jews. But individual authors, some of them converts from Judaism, exhorted the Jews to recognize the truth of Christianity. Traditionally such writings were filled with mockery and hatred; but in the 18th century, although there was a good deal of writing in the old style, a new approach of friendliness and respect appeared.

This contradiction was also manifested in the 18th-century view as to the general status of the Jews in a Christian society. In 1753 a bill was passed through the British Parliament to facilitate the naturalization of Jews. It provoked an immense flow of pamphleteering; of those pamphlets written from a Christian standpoint some were hostile and others favorable. When full political emancipation became an issue a hundred years later, the archbishop of Canterbury opposed it, while the archbishop of Dublin supported it. Even with individual Jewish converts to Protestantism the same contradiction was apparent, and in many cases they were received with scarcely veiled hostility and suspicion.

The leading figure in the emergence of organized Protestant missionary activity was Lewis *Way. He had unexpectedly inherited an enormous fortune upon the sole condition that he used it for the glory of God; and events led him to fulfill this condition in work for the conversion of the Jews. In 1809 the London Society for Promoting Christianity among the Jews had been founded, largely through the enthusiasm of a German Jewish convert, J.S.C.F. Frey. Way wished to increase his understanding of the whole question, and traveled extensively. He was horrified by the treatment that Jews received in Christian countries, and came to the conclusion that full emancipation was the fundamental preliminary to a missionary approach. He visited St. Petersburg and so impressed Czar Alexander I that he was invited to the Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle by the emperor, and succeeded in getting a resolution passed commending the idea of emancipation to the governments of Europe. Emancipation came slowly, but Way's influence brought into existence throughout the Protestant world societies which devoted themselves to sending missions to the Jews. Jewish life at that period was at a low ebb; and while actual conversions were few, many communities in eastern Europe, as well as in Palestine and North Africa, profited from the schools and hospitals established by the missions.

In 1910 an International Missionary Council was formed, and it included a special committee on missions to the Jews. (In 1961 the Council was incorporated in the World Council of Churches; and under its new name of "Committee on the Church and the Jewish People" it to some extent disavowed its proselytizing activity.)

Converts' Participation in Academic Life

Alfred Edersheim (1825–1889), the son of Viennese Jewish parents, first served the Scottish mission in Jassy, and then had a distinguished academic career at Edinburgh and Oxford. His *Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah* was the first scholarly picture of the Jewish environment of the Gospels. Even more distinguished was the son of a Jewish peddler of Goettingen by the name of Emmanuel Mendel, who on his baptism took the name of Neander (new man). As August Johann Wilhelm *Neander, he became a prolific historian of the Christian Church and professor of theology at Berlin University. More interesting than individual scholars was the group of distinguished converts who published a short book absolutely denying the authenticity of the ritual murder accusation at the time of the Damascus Affair in 1840. The accusation had first originated with a converted Jew of Cambridge in the 12th century, but this was the first time that a group of Jewish converts turned to defend their old religion. The most valuable contribution to the scholarly work of the missions was made by social institutes for Judaic studies (1650 in Strasbourg and 1702 in Halle) and chiefly by Franz *Delitzsch, who wrote extensively on post-biblical Judaism; in 1880 the Institutum Delitzschianum was founded in his honor, and it continued to produce scholarly works until the time of the Nazis.

While the leadership in missionary work was largely British, in the field of scholarship it was unquestionably German. Freedom of criticism was inevitably more possible in the Protestant than in the Catholic universities, and from the end of the 18th century onward Protestant German scholars made great contributions to the understanding of the literature, history, and religion of the people of Israel. The list begins with Johann Gottfried *Eichhorn, professor at Jena, and continues down to the present day. Among many famous names those of Karl Heinrich *Graf and Julius *Wellhausen are conspicuous; and their theory of how different sources were combined in the Pentateuch held the field until the emergence of the contemporary "formcritical school" pioneered by Herman *Gunkel. While German scholarship often tends to extremes which others find unnecessary and unacceptable, it has immensely enriched knowledge by its research, even for those who reject its conclusions.

At the very end of the 19th century, the work of *Selden and Surenhuys in recognizing and defining the spiritual validity of Judaism was taken up by two scholars – George Foot *Moore in America, who published his two volumes on *Judaism in the First Centuries of the Christian Era* in 1927, and R. Travers *Herford, an English Unitarian, whose first work *Pharisaism* appeared in 1912, and was, during the next 30 years, followed by a whole series on talmudic Judaism.

Jewish Return to the Land of Israel

The 19th century witnessed a new understanding between Jews and Protestants in another field. As far back as the millenarians of the 17th century there had been a fluctuating interest in a Jewish return. John Toland predicted that this would lead to the creation of a society of unparalleled power and prosperity. Many other 18th- and 19th-century writers did so too. In 1839, under the influence of the deeply religious Earl of Shaftesbury, Lord Palmerston set up a British consulate in Jerusalem with a special mandate to protect Jews who had no other source of defense. From then onward until the Balfour Declaration in 1917, there were always some members and even whole sects of the Protestant churches who, motivated partly by eschatological beliefs, gave their support to Zionism.

To all this varied work there was a reverse side. The Protestant Church in Germany produced powerful support for the new *antisemitism in the Christian Socialist Workingmen's Union, founded and led by a court chaplain, Adolf *Stoecker;

and its failure to speak and act against Nazi antisemitism was a lasting disgrace.

[James W. Parkes]

From 1945

(For the 1939–45 period, see Holocaust and the Christian *Churches.) A new era in the development of relations between Protestantism and the Jewish people opened in 1945, and had four major causes:

(1) the influence of the Holocaust, which led many Christians to question the responsibility of the Church's "teaching of contempt" (Jules *Isaac's phrase) which had nurtured antisemitism;

(2) the establishment of the State of Israel;

(3) the general reconciliation between different churches and religions and the rise of ecumenism; and

(4) the consolidation of pluralism in Western culture.

Declarations Against Antisemitism

The foundations of the new attitude toward Jews were laid at the International Emergency Conference of Jews and Christians which was held in 1947 in Seelisberg in Switzerland and was attended by 64 theologians, educators, and thinkers, Jewish, Catholic, and Protestant. They deliberated on methods of fighting antisemitism through educational, political, religious, and social channels. At the conclusion of the conference, the "Ten Points of Seelisberg" were drafted and adopted. These were principles to assist the Churches "to show their members how to prevent any animosity toward the Jews which might arise from false, inadequate or mistaken presentations or conceptions of the teaching and preaching of the Christian doctrine, and how on the other hand to promote brotherly love toward the sorely-tried people of the old covenant." The conference thus established the lines for the new process of reconciliation between Jews and Christians, which was to be developed in two spheres: the struggle against antisemitism and a new form of dialogue.

At its foundation conference in Amsterdam in 1948, the World Council of Churches (WCC; the roof organization of the majority of larger Protestant, Anglican, and Orthodox churches) moved a resolution strongly condemning antisemitism. The organization again passed this resolution at its third world conference in New Delhi (1961), with the additional recommendation that Christians should repudiate the idea of the collective guilt of the Jews for the crucifixion of Jesus. However, the texts of both these resolutions are ambiguous, because there is an evangelist-missionary undertone in their attitude toward the Jews.

In 1964, further declarations condemning antisemitism were issued by several important Protestant organizations: the roof organization of the Protestant churches in the United States (National Council of the Churches of Christ in the United States) passed a "Resolution on Jewish-Christian Relations," calling among other things for the fostering of a dialogue between Jews and Christians. The Lutheran World Federation also made a declaration, following an international consultation in Denmark on the subject of "The Church and the Jews"; and the House of Bishops of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States drafted a statement of condemnation of antisemitism in extremely strong terms. The Lutheran and Episcopalian declarations also contained expressions of regret for past persecutions of the Jews fomented by the churches.

Liquidation of Theological Antisemitism

As seen above, the Churches recognized that some of the roots of antisemitism were implanted in their religious literature and that it was their duty to uproot them. In a number of countries, a fundamental examination of religious literature, teaching manuals of the Church, prayers, and so on was carried out in order to assist the Church in purifying this material from all versions or commentaries which were liable to create hatred of Judaism or prejudices about it. The Protestants' most comprehensive research was carried out at Yale University under the direction of the sociologist B.E. Olson, who published his findings in *Faith and Prejudice* (1963). This work brings to light the various aspects of the "teaching of contempt" in the curriculum of the Fundamentalist, the Conservative, the Neo-Orthodox, and the Liberal Protestants in the United States. Further research into the religious roots of antisemitism, especially within Protestantism, was carried out by the sociologists Ch. Y. Glock and R. Stark of the University of California at Berkeley and published in their work *Christian Beliefs and Anti-semitism* (1966).

Church Committees for the Fostering of Relations with the Jews

The interest shown by Protestantism in a dialogue with the Jews led to the establishment of new Church bodies for this specific purpose. A special committee to the Jews known as the Committee on the Christian Approach already existed in 1932 as part of the International Missionary Council (IMC; the world roof organization of Protestant missions). In 1961, the IMC amalgamated with the WCC, and the committee for Jews became an integral part of the WCC, its name being changed to CCJP (Committee on the Church and the Jewish People). This committee, which considers that its aim is "to further the Church witness to the Jewish people by study and other appropriate means," has in fact principally taken upon itself the duty "to study the Jewish world in its various aspects in order to develop an effective program to combat antisemitism and arouse Christian responsibility toward the Jews." The CCJP has convened a number of international conferences (usually held at the Ecumenical Institute of the WCC at the Château de Bossey, near Geneva) which have been attended by theologians of many countries, in order to lay down a new theological standpoint toward Judaism and the State of Israel. However, to the regret of the promoters, the recommendations agreed upon at the end of these deliberations have never become official decisions of the WCC and are therefore not binding upon the member Churches. It should also be noted that Protestant institutions have always shown reticence in adopting a clear theological stance toward the existence of the State of Israel. The declaration made in 1956 by the WCC is characteristic. It states: "We cannot say a plain yes, nor can we say a plain no, because the Church does not stand for a vague cosmopolitanism."

Special committees for the fostering of relations with the Jews have also been formed within the Protestant churches of a number of Western European countries, independently of the framework of the world organization. An outstanding example is that of the Reformed Churches of the Netherlands, which have concentrated their efforts for the strengthening of contacts with the Jews by means of a joint coordination committee ("Interchurch Contact for Israel"), which publishes its own bulletin. The Reformed Church of the Netherlands was also the first to mold a more positive theological approach to Judaism, in one of its publications, *Israel and the Church* (1960), and to advocate the adoption of a dialogue in place of missionary activities.

The Evangelical Church of Germany has also worked intensively toward a Jewish-Protestant reconciliation. During the national conferences of the Church (Evangelische Kirchentage) in 1961 (Berlin), 1963 (Dortmund), and 1965 (Cologne), study days were dedicated to the "Jewish-Christian problem" under the direction of joint working groups of Protestant delegates and specially invited Jews. The lectures and discussions were published by the German Church in two volumes which contain extensive documentation and an exhaustive bibliography on the Protestants' attitude toward the Jews since 1945 (*Der ungekuendigte Bund*, 1962; *Das gespaltene Gottesvolk*, 1966).

In comparison with the situation in Europe, organized Protestantism in the United States and Canada has shown less interest and initiative in furthering relations with the Jews; and activity in this field is led by a small group of "concerned Christians." Although their numbers include theologians and members of the clergy, they are not generally representative of the churches (see below).

The Protestant Mission

Most of the Protestant Churches view the "Christian witness to the Jewish people" as a fundamental religious obligation. However, as a result of a recommendation of the WCC that it was preferable for the mission to the Jews to engage in its activity "as a normal part of parish work, rather than by special agencies, and with avoidance of all 'unworthy pressures'" the majority of the member Churches, especially those of the United States, decided to abolish all organizations devoted especially to the evangelization of the Jews. The Lutheran, Reformed, and Anglican Churches of Europe continue to maintain separate missionary agencies in many countries, including Israel, for activities among the Jews. Even within these Churches, however, there is growing opposition to the antiquated methods of conversion, although Evangelicals and Fundamentalist Protestants still continue to attach the utmost importance to the evangelization of the Jews. These denominations, as well as many organizations of converted Jews (Hebrew Christians), carry on intensive and sometimes even aggressive missionary activities.

In recent years a new conception has been evolved repudiating the theological value of the missions; but it has been expressed by only a limited number of Protestant thinkers, the most notable among them being Reinhold *Niebuhr, Roy *Eckhardt, and James *Parkes. These theologians believe in the Jewish religion's right to independent existence as a road to Redemption, and they deny validity to all forms of evangelization of the Jews.

Development of the Interfaith Movement

The dialogue between Jews and Christians is also conducted independently of the organizational framework of the churches. In the British Isles, most European countries, in the United States, Canada, and Australia, as well as in Israel, councils composed of Jews and Christians have been formed for the advancement of understanding and for holding a dialogue between the two religions. These bodies function in many countries under various names and employ different methods. Some of them publish bulletins dedicated to the aims of their activities. In 1961, a roof organization of all these councils, the International Consultative Committee of Organizations for Christian-Jewish Cooperation, was established. A number of Jewish organizations, such as the World Jewish Congress, the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, and the American Jewish Committee, have created special departments for the advancement of interfaith activities. Reform and Conservative Jews, especially in the United States, attach especial importance to the achievement of a deeper understanding between Jews and Christians and have set up their own organizational frameworks to this end.

Since 1950, there has been a growing tendency among the promoters of interfaith contacts to change the character of their interreligious relationships and to translate such expressions as "good will" and "brotherhood" into an honest and fruitful dialogue adjusted to the requirements of a pluralistic society. Upon the initiative of interested Jews and Christians, interfaith dialogues have been held in academic and theological institutions, with important religious and intellectual personalities of both faiths taking part. As a result of these numerous encounters, there has emerged a ramified literature on the question of dialogues in general and Jewish-Protestant relations in particular. Within Orthodox Judaism there are many reservations toward the movement, considered on principle unacceptable. Some other Jewish circles have also expressed their suspicions that these dialogues may become a means of disguised missionary activity on the part of some churches. Moreover, despite the extensive activity carried on by the promoters of the dialogues, the interfaith movement has only succeeded in winning over to its cause a limited elite among Protestant believers. This was no doubt one of the reasons for the crisis in Jewish-Protestant relations, which broke out in 1967 after the Six-Day War. The silence of the Churches that had preceded the war and the unfriendly, even hostile, declarations of the Protestant leadership concerning Israel and her postwar policies proved that the dialogue, as conducted previously, was a disappointment. It also became evident that Christians who had participated in these dialogues, due to their ignorance of the true essence of Judaism as a synthesis of a people and a religion bound to the Land of Israel and the Holy City of Jerusalem, had no understanding of the way in which Diaspora Jews identified themselves with the Jews of Israel. Those Jews and Christians who despite all these setbacks insisted on continuing the dialogue arrived at the conclusion, expounded by Rabbi Marc Tanenbaum (d. 1992), one of the leaders of interfaith in the United States, that "no future dialogue will take place without Jews insisting upon the confrontation on the part of Christians on the profound historical, religious, and liturgical meaning of the Land of Israel and of Jerusalem to the Jewish people."

[Yona Malachy]

In the U.S.

Throughout its history the vast but decreasing majority of the inhabitants of the United States was classed as Protestant (about 98% in 1776 and 66% in 1965), in contrast to the very small Jewish minority. Despite a strong evangelical and missionary outlook in American Protestantism, the two groups have maintained a relatively harmonious relationship. The reasons for this are embedded in the social and religious history of the U.S. Since U.S. independence (1776) was achieved in an age of religious laxity and suspicion of ecclesiastical authority, Jews were from the very first accorded a measure of hospitality. Constitutional guarantees of religious freedom and the separation of church and state assured U.S. Jews a legal security unprecedented in Western history. Concentrated in urban areas, Jews also possessed a regional influence disproportionate to their actual numbers. Creedal and denominational diversity within U.S. Protestantism also meant that this majority group could rarely approach U.S. Jewry, and Catholics, with a single voice.

Cognizant of their organizational weaknesses, spokespersons for U.S. Protestantism periodically made great efforts to strengthen and unify their position. Prior to the 20th century many Protestants believed that the U.S. was "chosen" to be a Christian light to the world; and because of the lack of official public support they were determined to lean upon their own resources to Christianize the U.S.

As long as Protestant efforts were aimed to "convert" the West, U.S. Jews, sparse in that region, were not seriously touched by their efforts. After 1870, however, when Protestant revivalism turned toward the more Eastern cities, its impact was felt more sharply. Protestant Christianizing programs included street corner preaching, distribution of Bibles and Christian tracts, efforts to inject Christian teaching into public education, the erection of Young Men's and Young Women's Christian Associations, institutional churches, and Christian-oriented settlement houses. In part to counteract the possible influence of these efforts, U.S. Jews created their own settlement houses, YMHAs, Hebrew schools, and Jewish centers. Increasingly, U.S. Protestants began to associate social reform with the conversion of the U.S.

The years 1880–1914 witnessed the most intense involvement of the Church in social and economic problems. During these years Protestantism also adopted a new theological outlook, which emphasized the goodness of man rather than his depravity, a new view of God as an Immanent Deity directly involved in human history, and stressed the moral and ethical aspects of theology. A rising interest in comparative religious studies and Higher Criticism motivated Protestants to examine more critically ancient Jewish life. This period, referred to as the Social Gospel, elicited considerable interest, especially among Reform Jews, who believed that the Jewish tradition shared many similar social and theological beliefs. An ecumenical outlook, which first manifested itself in the World Parliament of Religions, held in Chicago in 1893, facilitated a dialogue between Protestants and Jews. During the early years of the 20th century some liberal spokesmen of both camps exchanged pulpits and joined in worship. Nevertheless, despite such outbursts of friendship, an undercurrent of suspicion persisted within both religious groups; and even the most liberal Protestants, be they Unitarians, Transcendentalists, Social Gospelers, or mid-Twentieth Century ecumenicists, continued to view Judaism as merely a bridge from paganism to Christianity.

Recent decades have witnessed the creation of new Protestant-Jewish bonds which, however, were periodically severed. Both have joined in opposing Communism, the outspoken enemy of all organized religions. Involvement in the 1960s in the Civil Rights movement and in the Vietnam debate forged ties between rabbis and ministers of all denominations. Among the leading voices of Protestantism, Paul Tillich and Reinhold Niebuhr evinced an abiding respect for Judaism. Yet Protestant silence in the face of Nazi destruction of Europe's Jews was disturbing. Antisemitism persists among U.S. Protestants and continues to be disseminated in religious literature. As mentioned above, the response of Protestants to the Six-Day War was disappointing and disillusioning to U.S. Jews and seriously threatened the dialogue between the two faiths. On the theological level, Jews and Protestants have also parted roads. The "God-is-dead" theological movement among liberal Protestants, a group which in the past significantly influenced Jewish thought-to secularize theology, was completely rejected by virtually all Jewish religious thinkers.

[Egal Feldman]

Protestants and Israel

The World Council of Churches, a fellowship of mainstream Protestant churches, was established in 1948, a few weeks after the founding of the State of Israel. In 2005 the coalition numbered 347 denominations in 120 countries. However, the member bodies of the WCC have experienced a significant decline in numbers the last half of the 20th century. As of the early 21st century, the constituencies of Evangelical and Pentecostal churches throughout the world comprise the majority of Protestant churchgoers.

Despite its gradually diminishing size, the WCC, headquartered in Geneva, continues to exert a strong influence in political and social justice issues throughout the world. In particular, since early 2005, the WCC has recommended divestment from Israel and opposition to the building of the security wall. A small group of Protestants, most notably the Presbyterians Concerned for Jewish and Christian Relations and the National Christian Leadership Conference for Israel, have opposed this stance, together with evangelical denominations who, on the whole, do not see these steps as an appropriate church response to the quest for stability in Israel-Palestinian relations. The WCC in addition has called for a return to pre-1967 borders and for an unlimited right of return for "Palestinian refugees."

Despite Israel's efforts, both in resuming serious negotiations with the Palestinian Authority and the withdrawal from Gaza, there has been no significant change in the WCC's position.

[Claire Pfann (2nd ed.)]

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PROTESTRABBINER ("**Protest Rabbis**"), phrase coined by Theodor *Herzl (in an article in *Die *Welt*, 1, no. 7 (July 16, 1897)), as a designation for the five German rabbis who had signed a trenchant protest letter against Zionism and the Zionist Congress in the name of the German Rabbinical Association. This association comprised two opposing wings – Orthodox and Reform (liberal) – united in their opposition to Zionism. Their attitude as formulated in the protest letter contained three postulates: the intention to establish a Jewish state in Palestine contradicts the messianic destiny of Judaism; Judaism obligates all her believers to be faithful to their native land, serving it as best they can; philanthropic support for agricultural settlers in Palestine is permissible, since it is not connected with the establishment of a Jewish national state. The letter closes with the assertion that love for one's country obligates all those who care for Judaism to shun Zionism and in particular the Zionist Congress.

It was mainly because of this letter that the first Zionist Congress was held in Basle rather than in Munich, as was originally planned. The letter also aroused an unusual amount of agitation because of its hints about the Zionists' unfaithfulness to Germany. Herzl severely criticized the signatories (two Orthodox rabbis – M. Horowitz of Frankfurt and A. Auerbach of Halberstadt – and three liberals – S. Maybaum of Berlin, J. Gutmann of Breslau, and K. Werner of Munich) – and a great number of Zionist rabbis, Orthodox, and liberal, wrote letters and articles condemning the "protest rabbis." The protest letter was endorsed, however, by the general assembly of the Rabbinical Association, convened in Berlin a year later (July 1–2, 1898), with only one rabbi – Selig Gronemann (Samuel *Gronemann's father) – voting against it. Seventy years after the publication of the protest letter, a survey discovered that almost all the children, grandchildren, and great-grandchildren of the "protest rabbis" had settled in Israel.

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[Getzel Kressel]

°PROUDHON, PIERRE JOSEPH (1809–1865), French Socialist and anti-Jewish theorist. For Proudhon, the Jew was the "source of evil," as "incarnated in the race of Shem" (*Césarisme et christianisme*, 1 (1883^2), 139). He accused the Jews of "having rendered the bourgeoisie, high or low, similar to them, all over Europe" (*De la justice dans la Révolution et dans l'Eglise* (1858), 458). In his "diary," published posthumously, he called them an "unsociable race, obstinate, infernal… the enemy of mankind. We should send this race back to Asia, or exterminate it" (*Carnets*, 2 (1961), 23, 337). Proudhon's unremitting hatred of the Jews was probably influenced by *Bonald and by *Fourier, but above all by his own xenophobic passion for France, which he saw as "invaded by the English, Germans, Belgians, Jews," and other foreigners (*France et Rhin* (1867^2), 258). In the France of the first half of the 19th century, Proudhon was the mainstay of a grass-roots socialism, which has been seen as an early version of National-Socialism.

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PROUST, MARCEL (1871–1922), French novelist. Proust was born in Paris to Adrien Proust, a successful non-Jewish physician, and Jeanne (née Weil), a member of an old Alsatian-Jewish family. Through his mother, Proust was related to the eminent statesman Adolphe *Crémieux and to the wife of Henri *Bergson, whose theories of time and memory were a possible influence on him. By 1893 it became obvious that Proust's delicate health would not allow him to follow any profession, and he thereafter devoted himself to writing and to the pursuit of social advancement. His wealth and personal qualities gave him an entrée into the high society that was to form the background to his literary works. He became a contributor to literary reviews, helped to found the short-lived *Le Banquet* (1892) and in 1896 published two books – *Portraits de peintres*, a volume of poems, and *Les Plaisirs et les jours*, a collection of poems, stories, and sketches. Proust's outstanding work, *A la Recherche du temps perdu* (15 vols., 1913–27), one of the masterpieces of 20th century literature in its representation of the nature and texture of memory and its evocation of *fin de siècle* French society, consists of seven parts: *Du côté de chez Swann* (1913); *A l'Ombre des jeunes filles en fleurs* (1918); *Le Côté de Guermantes* (1920); *Sodome et Gomorrhe* (1921); *La Prisonnière* (1923); *Albertine disparue* (1925); and *Le Temps retrouvé* (1927). Though not strictly autobiographical, the novel cycle contains much material based on personal recollections and encounters. During the last 17 years of his life he was an invalid, and spent most of his time locked up in his Paris apartment, feverishly working on his manuscripts and revising his published work. Raised as a Catholic, Proust alludes to his Jewish ancestry in his writings, describing his mother and maternal grandparents, and mentioning his grandfather's practice of placing a pebble on his parents' grave. In *Du côté de chez Swann*, his grandfather admits a preference for his Jewish friends and Proust himself remained on the closest terms with Jews such as Léon *Brunschvicg, and the convert Daniel *Halévy. He always retained some Jewish sympathies, and it was he who persuaded Anatole France to intervene in the *Dreyfus Affair. *A la recherche du temps perdu* contains three major Jewish characters: the actress *Rachel; the aggressive unsympathetic intellectual Albert Bloch; and the assimilated Charles Swann, a member of the exclusive Jockey Club, who has been seen as Proust's own alter ego. The snobbishness of Proust's Jewish characters masks their basic insecurity and, like his creator, Swann finally discovers his identity when he sides with Dreyfus and detaches himself from high society. The contrasting titles of *Du Côté de chez Swann* ("the Side of Swann") and *Le Côté de Guermantes* ("the Side of Guermantes") reflect the conflicting Jewish and non-Jewish sides of Proust's own heritage. Other works published after his death include the fragmentary novel, *Jean Santeuil* (3 vols., 1952), and the critical study *Contre Sainte-Beuve* (1954).

C.K. Scott Moncrief produced the first English translation of *A la recherch du temps perdu* in the 1920s under the title *Remembrance of Things Past*, reworked by Terence Kilmartin and subsequently revised by D.J Enright as *In Search of Lost Time.* Pléiade published its second, definitive French edition in 1987–89. *Correspondance de Marcel Proust* appeared in 1970–93 in 21 volumes (ed. Philip Kolb).

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[Georges Cattaui]

PROVENÇAL, ABRAHAM BEN DAVID (16th century), scholar of Mantua. He was the son of David b. Abraham *Provençal. Abraham was the teacher of Azariah dei Rossi and Abraham Portaleone, who refer to him in terms of the highest praise and make mention of his extensive knowledge of Torah and Talmud, Latin, philosophy, and medicine. The titles of doctor of philosophy and doctor of medicine were conferred upon him, and from 1563 he started to become widely known as an outstanding physician. At the same time he served as rabbi in various Italian towns, including Ferrara and Mantua. With his father, he planned, in 1564, the founding of a university for the study of Judaism and the general sciences. Both David and Abraham Provençal belonged to a group of Italian scholars who aspired toward a beneficial merger between the curricula of Jewish religious studies and of general knowledge in order to strengthen religious education among Jews and to minimize the influences of general education.

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[Yehoshua Horowitz]

PROVENÇAL, DAVID BEN ABRAHAM (b. 1506), rabbi of Mantua, preacher, and linguist. He was the brother of Moses *Provençal. Provençal had the idea of establishing a Jewish university in Mantua because he feared a decline in the study of Torah in Italy after the burning of the Talmud. In 1564 he addressed an appeal on this subject to the Italian communities (later published in *Ha-Levanon*, 5 (1868), 418f., 434f., 450f.). According to his plan the curriculum was to include the written and oral law, philosophy, Hebrew grammar, Hebrew poetry, Latin and Italian, grammar, medicine, and astronomy. There are differences of opinion as to the extent to which the proposed program was carried out. The traditional view is that many of the fundamental points were implemented, even though the atmosphere of intolerance on the part of the Catholic Church toward the Jews of Italy undoubtedly served to hinder the fulfillment of the university program.

Provençal was the author of *Ir David*, a commentary on the Pentateuch, and a commentary on the Song of Songs; *Dor Haflagah*, on the Hebrew words adopted in foreign languages;

and *Migdal David*, on Hebrew grammar. All three books have been lost, though they were seen by Azariah dei Rossi. Provençal's defense of Philo against Azariah dei Rossi's criticisms is not extant either. His commentary to *Avot* has been preserved in manuscript (N. Weisz, *Kataloge… D. Kaufmann* (1906), no. 131). He also proofread the Venice 1565 edition of the *Paḥad Yiẓḥak*.

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[David Tamar]

PROVENÇAL, JACOB BEN DAVID (15th century), scholar of France and Italy. It is probable that Jacob was the ancestor of the Provençal (Provenzale) family that settled in Mantua in the 16th century. He resided first in Marseilles, where he engaged in maritime trade, but subsequently went to Naples, where he is mentioned in c. 1480 as one of its rabbis.

It was from Naples that he wrote a letter to Messer David b. Judah *Leon of Mantua, in which he expressed his opinion on the value of secular studies, particularly medicine (see *Divrei Ḥakhamim* (1849) edited by Eliezer Ashkenazi). He gave an approbation for the *Agur* of Jacob Baruch b. Judah *Landau which appears in the Rimini edition of 1526. He also seems to have written a commentary on the *Song of Songs which was published together with the commentaries of *Saadiah Gaon and Joseph ibn *Kaspi in about 1577.

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[Yehoshua Horowitz]

PROVENÇAL, MOSES BEN ABRAHAM (1503–1575), rabbi. He is sometimes referred to as Moses da Rosa from the town near Vicenza in which he was apparently born. Brother of David *Provençal, Moses was considered one of the greatest talmudists and one of the most illustrious scholars of Italian Jewry in the Renaissance period. For many decades he was rabbi of the Italian community of Mantua, which therefore became a center of talmudic study. Rabbis turned to him from all over Italy and beyond with halakhic problems. With the Catholic Counter-Reformation a sociocultural ferment was set off in Italy, which spread even to the ghettos, with the result that zealous rabbis began to persecute such liberally minded scholars as Moses. Matters reached a head when Moses introduced a new formula for the **Havdalah* when a festival immediately followed the Sabbath. The innovation so aroused the wrath of Meir *Katzenellenbogen of Padua and Moses Basilea that they secured his expulsion from office, although for some unknown reason they later repealed the ban. Another ruling, in which he invalidated Samuel Venturozzo's divorce of his wife, the daughter of Joseph Tamari, on the grounds of its having been given under duress – brought down upon him the censure of many Italian rabbis. He appealed with the help of the Court impresario Judah Leone *Sommo to Duke Guglielmo, who granted him a hearing before an impartial rabbinical tribunal. In 1566 he was banned by the rabbis of Venice from holding office for three years. Rabbis in Turkey and Greece also associated themselves with the ban, and even the scholars of Safed entered into the controversy. Moses *Trani supported the excommunication, but many of the outstanding rabbis of Safed, including almost certainly Joseph *Caro, supported Provençal. This was apparently the reason that his second dismissal also was not implemented, since he continued to act as rabbi of Mantua until his death. In 1560 he was asked to decide on the permissibility of playing tennis on the Sabbath. In his reply, which sheds much valuable information on the development of the game, he permitted tennis on the Sabbath provided that there was no betting, that rackets were not used, and it was not played at the time of the sermon. The approbation he gave to the Mantua (1558–60) edition of the Zohar shows him to have been in favor of the publication of kabbalistic works, which was the subject of a dispute in Italy at the time.

Moses' works include: *Be'ur Inyan Shenei Kavvim*, a dissertation on the Theorem of Apollonius, on two straight lines which never meet, which is discussed by Maimonides and published in the Sabionetta (1553) edition of Maimonides' *Guide of the Perplexed*. His commentary on this dissertation was translated into Italian by Joseph Shalit (Mantua, 1550) and from Italian into Latin with a commentary by F. Barocius (Venice, 1586); *Elleh ha-Devarim*, and a commentary, *Be'ur Zeh Yaẓa Rishonah* (Mantua, 1566), on the Tamari-Venturozzo divorce; *Hassagot* ("notes") to *Me'or Einayim* (Mantua, 1573) of Azariah dei Rossi, published at the end of the book; *Be-Shem Kadmon* (Venice, 1596), abridged rules of Hebrew grammar in poetic form; responsa published in various works. Moses' major literary legacy, responsa, and commentaries on various tractates of the Talmud, and a commentary to Maimonides' *Guide of the Perplexed* are almost entirely unpublished.

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[Abraham David]

PROVENCE (Heb. פרוונצא), region and former province of S.E. France corresponding to the present departments of Bouches-du-Rhône, Var, Basses-Alpes, and parts of Vaucluse and Drôme. In rabbinical literature the name of Provence is frequently applied simultaneously to a part of Languedoc, a practice also adopted by some modern scholars which has given rise to numerous confusions. *Comtat Venaissin and

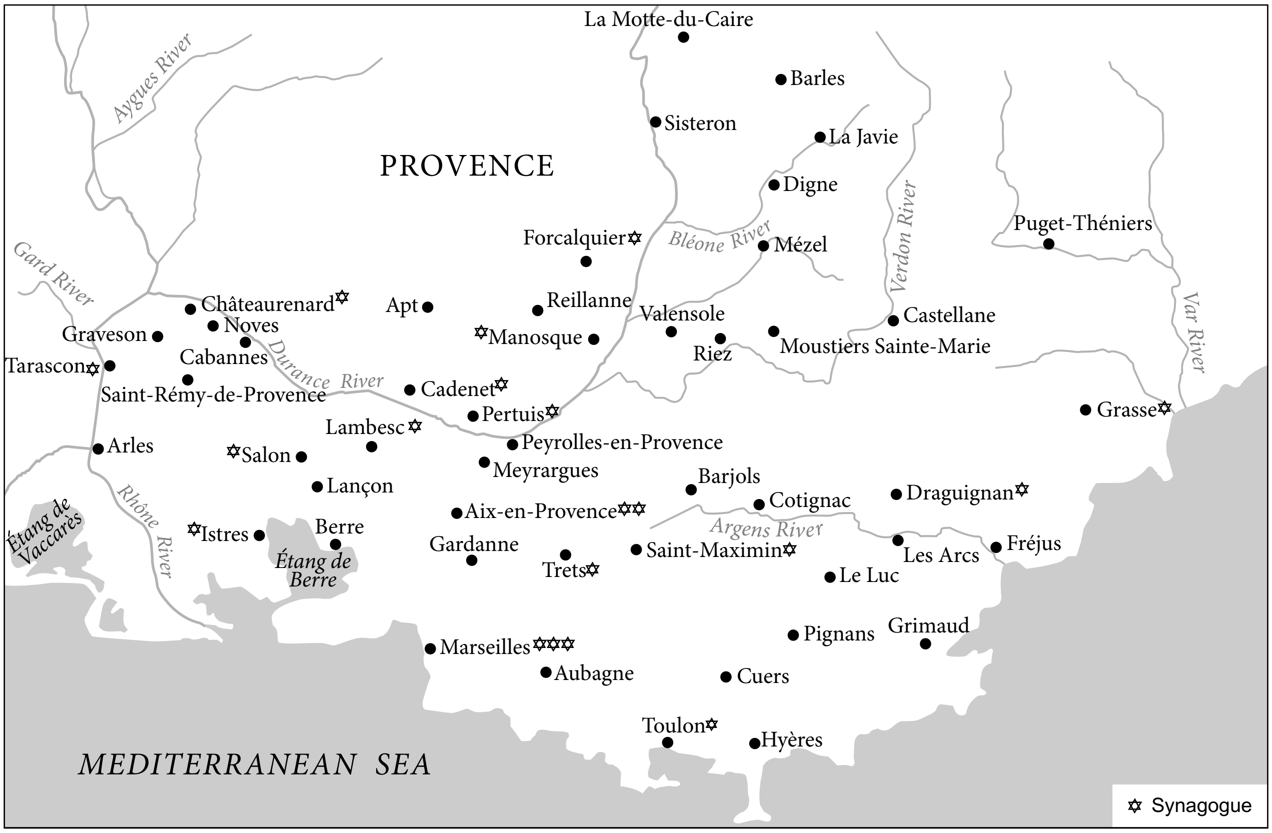
PROVENCE
La Motte-du-Caire
Barles
Sisteron
La Javie
Digne
Aygues River
Forcalquier ✡
Bléone River
Mézel
Verdon River
Puget-Théniers
Gard River
Châteaurenard ✡
Apt
Reillanne
Valensole
Castellane
Var River
Graveson
Noves
✡Manosque
Riez
Moustiers Sainte-Marie
Tarascon ✡
Cabannes
Durance River
Saint-Rémy-de-Provence
Cadenet ✡
Pertuis ✡
Grasse ✡
Lambesc ✡
Peyrolles-en-Provence
Arles
✡Salon
Meyrargues
Lançon
Barjols
Cotignac
Draguignan ✡
Étang de Vaccarès
Rhône River
✡Istres
Berre
Aix-en-Provence ✡✡
Argens River
Étang de Berre
Gardanne
Trets ✡
Saint-Maximin ✡
Les Arcs
Fréjus
Le Luc
Pignans
Grimaud
Marseilles ✡✡✡
Aubagne
Cuers
Toulon ✡
Hyères
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
✡ Synagogue

Principal Jewish settlements in medieval Provence.

the county of *Nice were detached from Provence from the administrative point of view at an early date and are therefore mainly excluded from this survey. Recent archaeological discoveries prove that the settlement of Jews in Provence is of ancient date and goes back to at least the end of the first century C.E. The earliest documentary evidence for the presence of Jews dates from the middle of the fifth century in *Arles. They were to be found in large numbers in *Marseilles at the close of the sixth century. It was not until the 13th and especially the 14th century that Jews were to be found in numerous localities of Provence, between 80 and 100, more particularly in *Aix-en-Provence, *Apt, Aubagne, Berre, Cadenet, Castellane, Chateaurenard, Cotignac, *Digne, *Draguignan, Forcalquiers, Fréjus, Grasse, *Hyères, Istres, Lambesc, *Manosque, Moustiers-Sainte-Marie, Pertuis, Peyrolles-en-Provence, Saint Maximin, *Saint-Rémy, Salon, *Tarascon, *Toulon, and Trets. The Jewish population reached a peak on the eve of 1348, when it probably numbered about 15,000.

Regulations governing the activity and administration of the communities in Provence are known from 1215 on, as evidenced from the community of Arles. Later the first sumptuary regulations appear in Provence, as well as charitable confraternities and the introduction of compulsory education. From at least the end of the 13th century an inter-community organization existed, though imposed by the government to facilitate the collection of the tax rendered by Jews to the sovereign of Provence. From the beginning of the 15th century, a special official, the "Conservateur des Juifs," was responsible for their protection and adjudication; the office was coveted by the leading families of Provence, because of the considerable revenue it brought in.

The principal occupation of the Jews in Provence was *moneylending; the rate of interest charged was very low for that period, from 10 to 25%. However they only lent small sums destined for expenses and did not possess the capital required for commercial loans on a large scale; the latter was furnished by Christians of Provence and Languedoc, Italians, and Catalans. Hence, not a single Jew is found among the creditors of King René of Provence (1434–80) although members of the Forbin family of Provence and of the Doria family of Genoa are frequently recorded. Jewish participation in commerce was also dependent on this factor. Jews did not have the capital required to engage in large business upon their own initiative but often acted as brokers. They were therefore involved in most transactions of wheat and wine. They also traded in spices and textiles and the sale or lease of houses. The number of Jewish physicians in Provence was particularly great and in some towns they formed 5% of the Jewish working population; this would have amounted to one physician for every 100 persons if their services had been restricted to the Jewish community, but they also treated Christians, often holding the official function of municipal physician, and were particularly in demand when epidemics broke out. Their fees were nevertheless far lower than those of their Christian colleagues. In agriculture, Jews in Provence often cultivated vineyards. They also owned and worked fields, as well as market gardens, especially in the vicinity of Digne.

From having been subject to the direct authority of local lords, particularly the bishops, the Jews were placed under the jurisdiction of the count from the time of Charles of Anjou's suzerainty (1246–85). In 1276 he limited the jurisdiction over the Jews which had been assumed by the Inquisition. In contrast, his successor Charles II (1285–1309) issued a regulation in 1294 which reintroduced several anti-Jewish measures of ecclesiastical origin: the employment of Christians by Jews was forbidden; the Jews were barred from public functions; they were compelled to wear the distinctive *badge. At the time of the expulsion of the Jews from France in 1306, those of Provence were exposed to vexations of a fiscal nature. In 1310 King Robert (1309–45) ordered his officers to assist the Jews to collect the debts which were due them. He refused to consider a request of several ecclesiastics to expel the Jews, but stringently applied the separationist measures which had been issued against them. Jewish quarters had developed in various towns spontaneously, but from 1341 at the latest, Jewish residence was confined to a separate quarter in the towns of Provence. The first anti-Jewish disturbances on a large scale broke out in Provence in 1331. In 1340 other disturbances occurred in Moustiers and Forcalquiers. The severest anti-Jewish riots of the 14th century took place in 1348, at the time of the *Black Death; in Toulon, the community was almost completely annihilated; there were also attacks in Apt and throughout Provence. The loss of life and property suffered by the Jews was so considerable that Queen Jeanne (1343–82) reduced the tax of the Jews of Provence to one-half of its usual rate for ten years. Before the end of this reprieve, new persecutions broke out in several towns in 1355.

The 15th century on the whole was an extremely favorable period for the Jews of Provence. In an edict of 1423, Queen Yolande extended protection to the Jews from arbitrary arrest if there were no reliable witnesses; every accuser of a Jew was required to identify himself by name and provide a surety; a Jew was not to be imprisoned if he could provide bail, unless for crime liable to corporal punishment. King René was known as "the good king," a sobriquet which applied to his treatment of the Jews as well. In 1443 he renewed the edicts of Queen Yolande which had been so favorable to the Jews. In 1454 he authorized the admission of Jews to every category of commerce, trade, and craft, as well as to certain public functions of a fiscal nature. He reduced the size of the Jewish badge and exempted the Jews from wearing it while traveling. He expressed his opposition to instances of forced baptism and even penalized those who had perpetrated such acts.

Within France

In 1481, after the death of René, Provence became united with the Kingdom of France, from which the Jews had been "definitively" expelled in 1394. The privileges of the Jews of Provence were nevertheless renewed in 1482. However, from 1484, anti-Jewish disturbances broke out in Arles, Aix, and Marseilles. This looting and violence was perpetrated by bands of laborers hired for the harvest season from Dauphiné, Auvergne, and the mountain regions of Provence. In Tarascon, where they threatened the Jews, the latter were effectively protected by the officials of the town. Charles VIII, who, although aged only 14, already nominally governed France, took the Jews under his protection. However, a voluntary exodus began and was accelerated when similar disorders were repeated in 1485. On this occasion, the bands of seasonal workers were reinforced by the inhabitants of the town who took part in looting the Jewish quarter. The Jews once more took refuge in the castle. From 1484, one town after another called for their expulsion. In Marseilles, which had also demanded their expulsion, a veritable gang had been organized to rob the Jews, although protests were voiced against their departure. New anti-Jewish disorders broke out in Tarascon in 1489, in Arles before July 1493, and in Manosque in 1495, led by the Carmelites and Franciscans. Louis XII finally issued a general expulsion order against the Jews of Provence in 1498. Not enforced at the time, the order was renewed in 1500 and again at the end of July 1501. On this occasion, it was definitively implemented.

The only alternative to exile offered to the Jews of Provence was conversion to Christianity and a number chose such a solution. However, after a short while – if only to compensate partially for the loss of revenues caused by the departure of the Jews – the king imposed a special tax on them, referred to as "the tax of the neophytes." A roster dating from 1512 enumerates 122 to 164 persons (probably heads of families) subjected to this tax living in 16 important localities of Provence. These converts and their descendants soon became the objects of social discrimination, a situation against which the parliament of Provence reacted in 1542. The campaign of discrimination was nevertheless maintained. A pamphlet published in 1611 attributed the miserable condition of the parliament of Provence to the neophytes. Around the beginning of the 18th century a lampoon entitled "Critique du nobiliare de Provence," which accused a large number of aristocratic families of being of Jewish origin, gained notoriety. To this campaign must also be attributed the adaptation to Provençal of a forgery of Spanish origin: this was a mere literary farce in the form of an exchange of letters between the Jews of Arles and those of Constantinople. The correspondence was supposedly conducted at the close of the 15th century, when the Jews of Provence asked how they were to act in order to avoid expulsion. The Jews of Constantinople, according to this, counseled them to accept baptism while inwardly remaining Jews, stating that once they had attained the powerful positions to which the Christian religion admitted them, they would be able to avenge all the former miseries which they had endured.

During the second half of the 17th century a number of Jews attempted to reestablish themselves in Provence, following the edict issued by the minister Colbert in March 1669 which granted Marseilles the status of a "tax-free port." However, on complaints of the chamber of commerce of that town the parliament of Provence renewed the prohibitions against the residence of Jews there. Although the parliament authorized their temporary residence during the 18th century to enable them to trade at the fairs, a further attempt by a number of Jews to settle permanently, on this occasion in Aix, was prevented. Before the French Revolution abolished the administrative entity of Provence, the first community outside the southwest, Alsace-Lorraine and Comtat Venaissin, was formed in Marseilles.

For later history see *France.

[Bernhard Blumenkranz]

Cultural Life

The fortuitous geographical circumstance in which Provence was situated between three great intellectual centers – Spain, Italy, and Franco-Germany – had a decisive effect on the development of Provence as a major center for Jewish learning and literature. The incorporation of Provence into the Christian Carolingian Empire severed it from contact with Jews in Muslim lands until the 12th century. As a result the early cultural life of Provence was closely allied with that of the Franco-German center. Unlike their contemporaries in Spain, Provençal scholars focused entirely on the Talmud in the development of their cultural life. Their achievements were of some importance. While scholars in Arles at one time turned to those in Lucca, Italy, for guidance, Torah centers in France, Germany, and Italy often looked to Provence for the solution of halakhic difficulties and exchanged responsa with Provençal scholars. Provençal halakhic traditions were expressed largely in oral rather than in written form. Provence had an important influence on the development of Midrash, both in their creation of new Midrashim and the editing of older ones; of equal importance were its *minhagim*, some merging Babylonian and Palestinian influences.

At the beginning of the 12th century a large part of Provence was incorporated into Catalonia, bringing Provençal scholars into contact with those of *Barcelona. The result was a greater spirit of enlightenment in Provence and the broadening of its intellectual horizon to include interest in the sciences and language. That development was speeded up considerably with the invasion of Spain by the *Almohads in the middle of the 12th century and the consequent flight of many Spanish thinkers to Provence when Jewish centers in Spain were destroyed. The cultural life of Provence was considerably enriched as a result. Major changes took place in biblical exegesis; scholars increasingly engaged in the natural sciences; there was a flowering of interest in poetry, lexicography, grammar, and philosophy. Major effort was expended on the translation of literature from Arabic to Hebrew. Nevertheless, the halakhic knowledge of Provençal scholars was not lost, Ashkenazi influences remained, and the contact with Ashkenazi scholarship was deepened. Through the work of Spanish scholars the influences of Isaac *Alfasi and the Babylonian *geonim* were deeply felt in Provence; Ashkenazi and Spanish approaches to the *halakhah* found a new synthesis in the work of Provençal halakhists. Unlike Spain it was in Provence that the philosophers and grammarians also wrote works on *halakhah*. Great interest was kindled in mysticism, also, and philosophical knowledge was profound enough to make Provence a major focus of the *Maimonidean controversy. Into the 14th century Provence remained the meeting point of different intellectual systems and an area of considerable intellectual ferment.

Prominent among the scholars of Provence were R. Moses of Arles, a correspondent of Kalonymus of Rome; R. Judah b. Moses of Arles, his son, mentioned by Rashi in *Sefer ha-Pardes*; *Gershon b. Solomon of Arles, author of the metaphysical work, *Sha'ar ha-Shamayim*; *Kalonymus b. Kalonymus (1281–after 1328), translator and author of *Even-Boḥan*; Kalonymus b. David b. Todros, 14th-century Bible commentator; *Isaac b. Abba Mari of Marseilles (12th century), author of a commentary to the Code of Alfasi as well as *Sefer ha-Ittur*; Joseph of Marseilles, Bible commentator mentioned by Judah Messer Leon; Aaron b. Abraham b. Isaac and Shem Tov Falcon, the correspondents of Solomon b. Abraham *Adret; Samuel b. Judah, 14th-century scientist and translator of the commentary of Averroes on Aristotle's *Ethics*; Moses de Salon, philosopher and teacher of Kalonymus b. Kalonymus; Bonjudas Nathan Crescas, physician, noted through the medical work, *Sod ha-Sodot*; and *Nissim b. Moses of Marseilles, 14th-century author of a commentary on the Pentateuch entitled *Ma'aseh Nissim*.

[Alexander Shapiro]

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PROVERB (Heb. מָשָׁל, *mashal*; pl. מְשָׁלִים, *meshalim*). The term "proverb" as a translation of the biblical Hebrew word *mashal* denotes certain specific literary forms, particularly of wisdom literature. Several of these forms are also referred to by the words *pitgam* and *mikhtam* in post-biblical Hebrew (although in the Bible these two terms have other connotations). The literary forms referred to in the Bible by the term *mashal* are of different types, and scholars are divided on the question of the connection between these forms, as well as on the basic meaning of the biblical term *mashal*. In post-biblical Hebrew, *mashal* signifies several poetic forms, i.e., figures of speech or types of ornate style. The nature of these poetic forms, which are found particularly in classical literature, has been elucidated in Western thought. Parallels to these poetic forms are found in the Bible, although its authors were not conscious of them. Discussions of the term *mashal*, therefore, may fall into two sections: the first, devoted to *mashal* in its broader post-biblical sense, i.e., as referring to poetic forms in general, and the second, to *mashal* in its more limited sense, i.e., in its specific use in the Bible as a concept associated principally with wisdom literature.

Poetic Forms

Many examples of basic figures of speech, such as similes and metaphors, occur in the Bible. These are common in every language, and occur even in daily conversation. The complex literary forms known as *meshalim* in post-biblical Hebrew are structured on these basic figures of speech.

ALLEGORY. An allegory is a metaphor expanded to the dimensions of a narrative in which all the details reflect the actual subject of the metaphor. Examples of allegory in the Bible are to be found, in particular, in Ezekiel's account of the great eagle and the top of the cedar (17:3–12), of the lioness and her whelps (19:2–9), of the vine that was uprooted and withered (19:10–14), of the pot set on fire (24:3–5), of the cedar in Lebanon that was cut down (31:3–17), and of the shepherds who neglected the sheep (34:2–31), as well as others. The description of old age at the end of Ecclesiastes (12:2–6) is not allegorical, but consists rather of a series of metaphors which do not combine to form a narrative. On the other hand, there are expressions which, while they are not allegories, contain the elements of allegory, being extended metaphors which do not reach the proportions of an actual narrative, for example, Balaam's comparison of Israel to a lion (Num. 24:8–9).

PARABLE. A parable is an independent narrative in which a particular detail contains a moral that is applicable beyond the content of the narrative itself. Examples of parables in the Bible are Nathan's tale of the poor man's ewe lamb (II Sam. 12:1–4), and, to some extent, Jehoash's story of the thistle and the cedar in Lebanon (II Kings 14:9). Isaiah's song of the vineyard (5:1–6) may be either an allegory or a parable.

FABLE. A fable is a story whose figures are taken from the animal or vegetable realm and are endowed with human characteristics; it has a moral which is applicable beyond the content of the narrative itself. Examples of fables in the Bible are Jotham's tale of the trees that sought a king for themselves (Judg. 9:8–15), and, to a certain extent, Jehoash's account of the thistle and the cedar in Lebanon (II Kings 14:9). The sayings drawn from the animal realm in Proverbs (6:6–8; 30:24–31) and the descriptions of animals in God's reply to Job (38:39–39:30; 40:15–41:26) cannot be considered fables because they do not contain personification; they are rather didactic statements based on observation of natural phenomena.

Mashal in the Bible

The term *mashal* in the Bible can be elucidated either by means of etymological investigation or by examining its actual usage and combining the features common to all the literary forms to which it refers. These two methods have been accompanied by conjecture and differences of opinion among scholars, and neither has as yet produced any definitive results.

ETYMOLOGY. The root *mšl*, from which the word *mashal* is derived, has two etymologies, both of which have been used to explain the nature of the biblical *mashal*. Some scholars base their interpretation of *mashal* on one meaning of the root *mšl*, which is "resemblance" or "the equating of one thing to another," found in the Arabic *mithl*, and the Aramaic *mtl*. While some scholars maintain that this meaning indicates the primary tendency of the *mashal* which is to compare and allegorize (Koenig, Eissfeldt, Johnson, et al.), others find it an allusion to the element of sympathetic magic prevalent in the ancient proverb (Godbey). This meaning of the root *mšl* does not occur in Canaanite, but a trace of it is to be found in the Bible: "Upon earth there is not his like" (Job 41:25[33]), although the absolute state of the noun here is *moshel* (מֹשֶׁל), not *mashal* (מָשָׁל). The Bible contains examples of *meshalim* that are not allegorical in character but simply songs (see below). Another meaning of the root *mšl* implies government and rule; equivalents are found in Canaanite inscriptions, and in the Bible *mšl* commonly has this meaning. On the basis of this meaning of the root, some scholars seek to explain the primary significance of the *mashal* as the statement of an influential man who is endowed with authority (Pedersen, Bostroem, Bentzen). However, this explanation, too, is forced and cannot be completely reconciled with the examples of *meshalim* in the Bible.

LITERARY FORMS. The following are the literary forms called *mashal* in the Bible:

The Folk Saying. The characteristic features of the folk saying are its widespread use and its pithy, concentrated formulation, which gives pointed expression to popular experience and wisdom. In the Bible, such sayings are prefaced by expressions attesting to their popular character. At times the identical saying occurs in two different passages, further evidence of its widespread use. The saying, "Is Saul also among the prophets?" is quoted in two narratives and is introduced by the statements: "Therefore it became a *mashal*" and "wherefore they say" (I Sam. 10:12; 19:24). A folk saying of the period of the Babylonian Exile, "The fathers have eaten sour grapes, and the children's teeth are set on edge," is mentioned in two prophetic books (Jer. 31:29; Ezek. 18:2–3). Another contemporary saying current in Palestine is quoted by Ezekiel (12:22–23), while David repeats to Saul the *mashal* of the Kedemites, "Out of the wicked comes forth wickedness" (I Sam. 24:13). There are introductory expressions hinting at other folk sayings quoted in the Bible which, by analogy, may presumably also be regarded as *meshalim*, although they are not called such in the Bible, for example: "Like Nimrod a mighty hunter before the Lord" (Gen. 10:9). There are other statements which have the characteristics of folk sayings even though they are not prefaced by introductory expressions, for example, "For as the man is, so is his strength" (Judg. 8:21) and "Let not him that girds on his armor boast himself as he that puts it off" (I Kings 20:11).

The Literary Saying. The literary saying does not differ in form from the folk saying, except that it is not in common use, being coined by a wisdom writer who uses a fixed formula in which to cast conventional thoughts of his school. Compilations of literary sayings are extant in the second and fifth collections of the Book of Proverbs (10:1–22:16; chs. 25–29) and segments of them are embodied in other collections of that book (see *Proverbs). These sayings inculcate the particular outlook of wisdom literature. Groups of literary sayings have also been incorporated in Ecclesiastes as quotations from its author's wisdom compositions, their conventional contents frequently contradicting Ecclesiastes' essentially pessimistic reflections. One passage attests that Koheleth "also taught the people knowledge, weighing, and studying, and arranging proverbs [*meshalim*] with great care" (12:9), that is, he redacted and composed many *meshalim* that are not included in this book. At times it is impossible to know whether a saying is literary or popular, such as the following statement by Ezekiel concerning Jerusalem: "Everyone who uses proverbs will use this proverb about you saying, 'Like mother, like daughter'" (Ezek. 16:44), and Jeremiah's remark, "What has straw in common with wheat?" (Jer. 23:28). It cannot be determined whether in these passages the prophets are quoting current sayings or coining new ones. Sometimes a literary saying may be adopted and widely used by the people, as is the case with many biblical verses which in the course of time became popular sayings.

The Poetic Utterance. The poetic utterance is also called *mashal* in the Bible. Sometimes such an utterance contains obvious metaphorical and allegorical features, as in Ezekiel's statements about the great eagle and the top of the cedar (17:2–10), the forest of the South (21:1–5), and the pot set on the fire (24:3–11), all of which he calls *meshalim*. Sometimes, although the poetic utterance lacks these features it is still termed a *mashal*. It may have been popular – a sort of folk saying, like the song which the ballad singers uttered on the overthrow of Heshbon by Sihon king of the Amorites (Num. 21:27–30). In some cases the poetic utterance may not even have been popular and yet been called a *mashal*. The first collection in Proverbs (1–9) contains about a dozen poetical-rhetorical units, all of them literary compositions bearing the imprint of the wisdom school; most of these have no allegorical features; their contents are evident and explicit, yet all are called *meshalim* (Prov. 1:1). Two psalms that are referred to as *meshalim* have neither a folk character nor employ allegory – the one speaks of the fate of the wicked (Ps. 49), the other reviews the history of Israel from the Exodus until the building of the Temple in Jerusalem (Ps. 78). Job's last two monologues are similarly called *meshalim*, and from their superscriptions: "And Job took up his *mashal*, and said" (Job 27:1; 29:1), it seems that his earlier utterances during the discussion are also regarded as *meshalim*. At the same time, several poetic utterances that are called *meshalim* do not even seem to belong to wisdom literature, e.g., Balaam's songs (Num. 23:7–10, 18–24; 24:3–9, 15–24); the derisive elegy on the fall of the king of Babylon (Isa. 14:4–22); and the song of the ballad singers on the overthrow of Heshbon, referred to above.

CONCLUSION. To understand more fully the meaning of *mashal* in the Bible, the features common to all the above-mentioned literary forms may be combined and in this way the essential characteristics of the concept determined. The first, and indispensable, characteristic of the *mashal* is its poetic form. All the *meshalim* quoted or alluded to in the Bible take the form of a song, while the *mashal* and the song (*shir*) are mentioned as analogous concepts in I Kings 5:12. Folk sayings of a few words (see above) must thus be understood as versets of poetry. Prose statements are never termed *meshalim* in the Bible. Thus the story of Jotham in Judges 9:8–15 and that of Nathan in II Samuel 12:1–4 are not called *meshalim*. The difference between a *mashal* and a song (*shir*) apparently lies in the fact that the song was set to a tune and its recitation accompanied by musical instruments, whereas the *mashal* may have been associated with some melody, but was generally simply declaimed. The wisdom psalm is an exception, however, insofar as it has the form of a *mashal* and yet is at the same time a psalm (Ps. 49:5). Another characteristic of the *mashal* is its rhetorical aspect. It is intended for oral recitation only. Every *mashal* quoted in the Bible is accompanied by a statement indicating that it was, or was supposed to be, uttered aloud. Frequently it is prefaced by the phrase "to take up a *mashal*" (Num. 23:7, 18; 24:3; Isa. 14:4; Micah 2:4; Hab. 2:6; Job 27:1; 29:1). In Ezekiel, the usual phrase employed is "to use [or speak] a *mashal*" (Ezek. 12:23; 16:44; 17:2; 18:2–3, et al.). The Bible says that Solomon "spoke three thousand *mashal*" (I Kings 5:12). Of the literary compositions assembled in Proverbs and called *meshalim* – the poetic units in the first collection (Prov. 1–9) and the literary sayings in the second and the fifth (10:1–22:16; chs. 25–29) – some bear a clear rhetorical stamp, and all were apparently intended to be declaimed and memorized in the wisdom schools (see *Proverbs). Also characteristic of the *mashal* is its essentially secular nature. It is not the word of God but specifically the product of human "wisdom." A prophetic statement in the name of God, even if in the form of a poem, is never called a *mashal*, unless the prophet is commanded to compose *meshalim*, as in Isaiah 14:4 and in Ezekiel. In such instances, the prophet employs, as it were, his own wisdom and creative talents to proclaim the word of God specifically in the form of a *mashal*. Balaam's *meshalim* are similarly to be understood as the product of his occult science, as the expression of his skill in cursing and blessing (cf. Num. 22:6; Josh. 13:22; see *Balaam). These characteristics lend probability to the view that the *mashal* originated either in wisdom circles, or in those close to it, or in ancient folk wisdom (as distinct from aristocratic wisdom whose compositions have been assembled in the Book of Proverbs), the occurrence of the *mashal* in the prophetic books being explained as the use by the prophets of ready-made formulas. The figures of Balaam and of the ballad singers who on important occasions expressed themselves in *mashal* (Num. 21:27) point to pre-Solomonic times. The figure of Balaam also suggests that the ancient *mashal* was connected with sorcery and magic, those who practiced them being likewise included in the category of wise men (cf. Gen. 41:8; Ex. 7:11; Isa. 44:25; Ps. 58:6; cf. Isa. 3:3: "the skillful enchanter"). In the course of time the *mashal* apparently developed in several directions. Mention has been made above of the pithy saying and the poetic utterance. Other changes of nuance in the character of the *mashal* are expressed in the Bible by combining *mashal* with another word thus producing hendiadys or parallelism. The words *mashal* and *ḥidah* ("riddle") in parallelism allude to a *mashal* whose contents are somewhat obscure and for whose comprehension some knowledge and ability are necessary (Ezek. 17:2; Hab. 2:6; Ps. 49:5; 78:2; Prov. 1:6). Accordingly, it may be inferred that the *ḥidah*, too, in particular one which is in the form of a poem and whose solution takes a poetic form (cf. Judg. 14:14, 18), is in essence close to the *mashal*. The combination of *mashal* and *sheninah* ("byword"; Deut. 28:37; I Kings 9:7; Jer. 24:9; II Chron. 7:20; and in elliptic form in Ps. 69:12) refers to a *mashal* marked by derision and irony. This characteristic is also alluded to in the combination of *ʾot*, "sign," and *meshalim* (Ezek. 14:8) and of *mashal* and *menod rosh* ("shaking of the head"; Ps. 44:15). An example of the derisive *mashal* occurs in Isaiah 14:4–23. Another term used in the Bible to express irony is *meliẓah*, "taunt," and hence the combination of *mashal* and *meliẓah* (Hab. 2:6; Prov. 1:6). Some maintain that the *moshelim*, mentioned by the prophet in Isaiah 28:14, refer to composers of *meshalim*. According to this interpretation, they composed taunting *meshalim*, as is also evident from the verses that follow. The parallelism of *mashal* and *nehi*, "lamentation" (Micah 2:4), alludes to a *mashal* which has the characteristics of an elegy. An example of this type of *mashal* occurs in Isaiah 14:4–23, and to some extent in Numbers 21:27–30. Another possible tendency in the development of the *mashal* is the emphasis on metaphorical and allegorical features, which are the determining characteristics of Ezekiel's *meshalim* and are found, to a certain extent, in other *meshalim* as well. The verse which says of Solomon that "he spoke of trees, from the cedar that is in Lebanon to the hyssop that grows out of the wall; he spoke also of beasts, and of birds, and of reptiles, and of fish" (I Kings 5:13 [4:33]) may refer to *meshalim* of an allegorical and fabulous nature. On the other hand, it may simply refer to didactic sayings and poems. It is difficult to assume that originally the allegorical aspect determined the essential character of *meshalim*.

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PROVERBS, BOOK OF (Heb. סֵפֶר מִשְׁלֵי, *Sefer Mishlei*), one of the three "wisdom books" of the Hagiographa, representing the affirmative and didactic element in wisdom (*ḥokhmah*), in contrast to the radical questioning of Job and Ecclesiastes. In its present form the book appears to have served as a manual for the moral and religious instruction of the young. Comprising materials of various kinds gleaned from the long tradition of wisdom, the book was used in schools by professional sages (cf. Eccles. 12:9–12; Ecclus. 6:23–28). The teacher's objectives and methods are outlined in Proverbs 1:2–6, namely, cultivation of the mind and training in ethical principles by the use of *proverbs (*mashal*), epigrams (*meliẓah*), sayings of the sages, and riddles (*ḥidah*) or puzzling questions. The teacher's basic theme is summed up in the motto with which he begins and ends the introduction to the older materials – "The fear of the Lord is the beginning [or first requirement, chief part] of knowledge [wisdom]" (1:7; 9:10).

Title

In the Masoretic Text the title *Mishle Shelomo ben David Melekh Yisrael* is usually abbreviated *Mishle* (so LXX, Vulg.). Solomon is here named as the traditionally supreme sage and patron of wisdom; this neither proves nor necessarily implies a claim of authorship. According to I Kings 5:12–13, Solomon authored 3,000 proverbs, which are said to have addressed the nature of trees and animals, presumably as fables illuminating the behavior of humankind. There are, however, very few examples of this genre preserved in the Book of Proverbs itself (e.g., 6:6–8; 30:24–31). Statements such as Proverbs 20:2, 8, 26 are not such as would come from a king's own lips. Two divisions of the book are each headed *Mishle Shelomo*, which would be redundant if the title in 1:1 were intended to be comprehensive. Other authors are named in 22:17, 24:23; 30:1; and 31:1. It is therefore probable that the title of the book was taken over and adapted from 10:1 when chapters 1–9 were prefixed to the previously existing materials. The word *mashal*, literally "likeness, comparison" (cf. Akkadian *mašālu*, "to be similar to"), would most obviously refer to proverbial expressions employing similes (e.g., Ezek. 16:44, "like mother, like daughter"). In practice however, *mashal* is applied to a wide variety of compositions characterized by elevated language or rhetorical style, such as prophetic speeches, parables, and even extended series of oaths (e.g. Num. 23:7; Ezek. 17:2; Job 27:1). Indeed, in the Hebrew Bible itself, *mashal* appears alongside and is linked to such disparate designations as *kelalah,* "curse"; lit., "deprecation" (Jer 24:9), *neginah*, "(taunt) song" (Ps. 69:13), *nehi,* "lament" (Mic. 2:4), and *ot,* "sign," "symbol" (Ezek. 14:8). In Proverbs 10–22:16 and chapters 25–29 the heading *Mishle Shelomo* may have designated the literary form characteristic of these sections, namely, a single-line proverb in poetic parallelism, as distinguished from the half-line or prosaic form of colloquial sayings (cf. I Sam. 10:12; 24:14).

The Wisdom Tradition

The cultivation of *ḥokhmah* as an understanding of the good and satisfactory life had a long history in ancient Israel. In and of itself, the term has no ethical content, but means simply a special skill or superior ability. The moral and religious element, broadly speaking, is an expansion of its meaning. In Job 38:36 and 39:17 it denotes simply intelligence. The "wisdom" of Bezalel was his expertness as a craftsman (Ex. 35:30–35). The word is used even of the disgraceful cunning of Jonadab (II Sam. 13:3). In I Kings it refers successively to Solomon's cleverness (2:6), his moral discernment (3:12), his encyclopedic knowledge (5:9), and his special ability as a king (5:21). The wise women of Tekoa and Abel in II Samuel 14:2ff., and 20:16ff. are characterized chiefly in terms of their rhetorical skills and mastery of the art of persuasion. The "wise" with whom Isaiah and Jeremiah disputed were powerful courtiers (Isa. 29:13–16; Jer. 9:22). However, wisdom as embracing ethical qualities in personal and social life found expression in the divinely given moral obligations of the covenant people (Deut. 4:5–6), and in the prophetic picture of the ideal king (Isa. 11:1–2). It finally took literary form in the piety of wisdom psalms, e.g., Psalms 1 and 34, of the author of Proverbs 1–9 and of Ben Sira, and in the dogmatism against which the writers of Job and Ecclesiastes revolted (see also *Wisdom).

International Wisdom

Hebrew wisdom was distinctive but not unique, as is recognized in the Bible itself. Solomon's wisdom is compared to his advantage with that of Egypt and of the people of the East (I Kings 5:10–11). Edom was famous for its sages (Jer. 49:7; Obad. 8), as was Tyre (Ezek. 28:2ff., 12ff.). Surviving wisdom literature from Egypt and Mesopotamia exhibits the same kind of divergence as between Proverbs and Ben Sira on the one hand, and Job and Ecclesiastes on the other – the first conservative, affirmative, didactic, and practical, the second skeptical of traditional values and radically speculative. The lengthy "instruction" (Eg. *sb'yt*) addressed by a pharaoh or high official to his son and expected successor was a well attested genre in Egypt from the Old Kingdom on. The oft-repeated warnings in Proverbs 1–9 against the danger posed by the "strange woman" find their parallel in the Instructions of Ani (New Kingdom). The influence of this form has been traced in the admonitory discourses in Proverbs 1–8, and more certainly in 22:17–24:22. The latter has a demonstrable literary connection with the Egyptian *Instruction of Amen-em-ope* (New Kingdom). A late example of the instruction, ascribed to *Onchsheshonqy*, contains many sayings and proverbs of which some recall those of Proverbs, including examples of antithetical parallelism. In Sumerian literature the instruction genre (NA.RI.GA) is attested as early as 2400 B.C.E. in the *Instructions of Suruppak*. This composition, which exists in a number of versions, as well as in an Akkadian translation, includes both positive instructions and prohibitions on a wide variety of subjects. These are introduced, and regularly reintroduced, with the formula "Suruppak gave instructions to his son." Various kinds of advice offered here, some quite distinctive in content, are likewise found in Proverbs: warnings against going surety for another (Prov. 6:1–5), involvement in quarrels (Prov. 25:8), drinking beer when administering justice (Prov. 31:4–5), or partaking of "stolen food" (metaphorical; Prov. 9:17). Study of the recensional history of this long-lived Mesopotamian wisdom collection may well have specific application for understanding how the biblical book of Proverbs was composed. Similar to the Sumerian *Instructions of Suruppak* is the later Akkadian composition referred to as *The Counsels of Wisdom*, which in some cases offers the identical advice, but more consistently favors longer, more extensive topical units. The discovery of an Akkadian tablet at Ras Shamra in Syria containing the *Instructions of Shube-awilim*, itself related to the more ancient *Instructions of Suruppak*, attests to the availability of traditional Mesopotamian wisdom literature in the Canaanite cultural sphere as early as the 15th pre-Christian century. A millennium later a fifth-century Aramaic papyrus from the Jewish military colony at *Elephantine in Egypt contains the maxims of the famed Assyrian court sage Ahiqar. This collection presents numerous parallels in both content and form to the practical advice offered in the biblical Book of Proverbs. Particularly remarkable is the cluster in one column of the papyrus of close to 10 individual proverbs counseling caution in dealing with kings, whose unlimited power and volatile wrath are fraught with danger for the ordinary courtier. This topical cluster is most reminiscent of analogous groupings on the identical theme in Proverbs 16:10, 12–15; 25: 2–7 (cf. 20:2, 8, 26, 28).

Precepts and Proverbs

Inherent in the biblical idea of wisdom was that it could be taught to those capable of learning (Ex. 35:34). The *peti* in Proverbs 1:4 is "simple," "untutored"; he is not a "fool" (*'evil*) unless he despises learning (1:7). There were two methods of education – the authoritative *musar* ("training, precept") of the parent and of the teacher in a parent's role, and *'eẓah*, the "counsel" of the sage and of the teacher as sage. *Musar* is found in Proverbs in peremptory "dos and don'ts" (e.g., 3:25–32; 22:22ff.), and in longer discourses in chapters 1–9 and 30:1–9. *'Eẓah* is expressed in the sentence-long sayings about how life is lived well or badly, which form the substance of the "Solomonic" proverbs in 10:1–22:16 and chapters 25–19. The precept speaks in the imperative mood, the proverb in the indicative, with the occasional variant of a rhetorical question. The one seeks to impose the teacher's will and knowledge on the student; the other to elicit from him a free and positive response. They have the same objectives of forming the mind, building the moral character, and training the judgment of the pupils (1:2–4). The form of extended instruction differs from that of the shorter precept by including a motive clause indicating the welcome or unwelcome results that would follow from obedience or disobedience respectively. In this it resembles many proverbs describing the character and behavior of men, and thus serving as indirect precepts encouraging virtue and holding up vice to contempt. "A little sleep, a little slumber, a little folding of the hands to rest – and poverty will come upon you like a robber" (24:33–34) has the same effect as "Love not sleep lest you come to poverty" (20:13). The precept in 25:16 is the equivalent of the saying in 25:27a. Precepts reflect the imperatives of social order and religious values. Proverbs were rules of another kind, pointing to a right order in life which exists or should exist, expressed in the stylistic pattern: "this is like that," "this is better than that," "this results in that." Happy or unhappy consequences of actions occur in accordance with an unseen order of justice. The observations and counsels of the proverbs in 10–22:16 and chapters 25–29 are on two levels of moral and religious understanding. On one level they are exhortations to personal piety and probity, and affirmations that the Lord is master in human affairs and guarantor of the moral order (e.g., 10:3; 11:1; 12:2; 16:1). With these are associated the encomiums on wisdom and wise men, and the identification of the latter with "the righteous" and of fools with "the wicked" (e.g., 10:6–8; 12:1, 15; 13:20; 16:22). On the second level are the more secular sayings, caustic comments on antisocial behavior, and pathetic reflections on "the way things are" (e.g., 13:7; 14:13; 20:14; 26:6–16). Some short colloquial sayings seem to have been recast in verse form, as when an identical saying in 10:15a and 18:11a has been differently supplemented in the second half of the line. In 15:33 and 18:12, what looks like a simple parental admonition has been given different parallel lines. Other sayings possibly of popular origin are 11:2a; 12:4a; 17:14a; 22:8a; 27:7b, 10c. A special type of proverb compares phenomena in a culminating numerical series. "Three things are never satisfied, four never say, 'Enough!': Sheol, the barren womb, the earth ever thirsty for water, and the fire which never say 'Enough'!" (30:15b–16; cf. 30:18–19, 21–31). Since a whole number cannot have an exact synonym, it is paired with the number next lower when used in synonymous parallelism (see *Poetry). The form originated in the effort of early wisdom thinkers to classify phenomena by common characteristics. It is a kind of riddle: "What do such similarities mean for man's understanding of the world about him?"

Structural Outline of the Book

PART 1. Chapters 1–9. Didactic discourses and "wisdom poems."

Title, preface and motto: 1:1–7.

Ten instructional discourses: 1:8–19; 2:1–22; 3:1–12; 3:21–26 + 31–35; 4:1–9; 4:10–19; 4:20–27 + 5:21–23; 5:1–14; 6:20–21 + 23–35; 7:1–27.

Five poems:

(a) the rewards of wisdom: 3:13–20;

(b) personified Wisdom addresses men in rebuke, appeal and self-affirmation: 1:20–33; 8:1–36; 9:1–6 (+ Folly, 13–18).

Precepts, direct or implied: 3:27–30; 5:15–20; 6:1–19, 22;9:7–12.

PART 2. Chapters 10–22: 16. First Collection of "Solomonic Proverbs."

PART 3. (A): Chapters 22:17–24:22. The "Thirty Precepts" of the Sages; an "Instruction" modeled on the Egyptian *Instruction of Amen-em-ope*.

(B): Chapter 24:23–34. Other Sayings of the Sages; an appendix to (A).

PART 4: Chapters 25–29. Second Collection of "Solomonic proverbs," transmitted by Hezekiah's scribes. Appendixes to the book:

(1) Chapter 30:1–9. The skepticism of Agur, and a believer's reply.

(2) Chapter 30:10–13. Warnings and numerical proverbs.

(3) Chapter 31:1–9. A queen mother's diatribe.

(4) Chapter 31:10–31. Acrostic poem on the Excellent Wife.

Subject Matter

Since none of the main divisions of the book is entirely homogeneous in spite of the clear distinctions from one another, some further comments are called for.

In Part 1 the points where each of the 10 discourses begins are clearly marked, but their extent and possible expansions are less certain. Each opens with an exhortation to learn wisdom because of its value for living. All except no. 2 have as their pivotal point a specific precept, with corresponding promises or threats. In no. 2 the casuist form ("if you… then") replaces the imperative. In nos. 3, 5, and 7 the counsel is positive and general: "learn wisdom, and keep to the right path." In nos. 1, 4, and 6 the pupil is sternly warned against casting his lot with evildoers, and in 2, 8, 9, and 10 against the seductions of adultery. The latter evidently has here both a literal meaning and a metaphorical reference to religious unfaithfulness. A notable feature in nos. 1, 6, 8–10 is the vividness of the descriptions of temptation and the fateful consequences of yielding to it. The poems in 1:20–33, 8:1–36, and 9:1–6 not only conceptualize Wisdom but personify her in striking fashion. Chapter 8, arranged in three strophes and an epilogue, is one of the most remarkable passages in the wisdom literature, picturing Wisdom as YHWH's associate in the creation of the world. This poem appears to be based on the shorter one in 3:13–20, which, however, speaks of Wisdom in the third person. The short poem on Folly in 9:13–18 is a companion piece to that on Wisdom in 9:1–6. Following the eighth discourse, four short warnings against particular vices are inserted, together with a numerical list of hateful sins (4:15–20; 6:1–19). Again in 9:7–9 three proverbs intrude into the context.

Part 2 brings together about 375 single-line metrical proverbs or "wisdom sayings," haphazardly arranged except for one or two small groups on related topics (16:1–15). Some formal differences can be noted between chapters 10–15 and 16–22:16, though the point of division is indefinite and the teaching of both halves of the collection is essentially the same. In 10–15 there is a much higher incidence of antithetical parallels than later; "righteous" and "wicked" are contrasted most frequently in chapters 10–12, and "wise man" and "fool" most often in 12–15. After chapter 15 synonymous and extended parallelism predominates, together with scornful descriptions of the fool. References to YHWH's overruling providence and to divine sanctions on man's conduct are most frequent in 15 and 16. These may have been inserted by the teacher who prefaced 1–9 to the earlier collection of proverbs.

The literary relationship of Part 3 (A) to Amen-em-ope is clear, but difficult to spell out in detail. The structure of the two is the same: a summons to hear "thirty" (*sheloshim*, for MT vocalization *shalishim*) admonitions, a series of extended negative precepts. The first six and the ninth of these have topical and some verbal echoes of their Egyptian counterparts, but in a different order. The most striking verbal correspondence is the counsel against avarice in Proverbs 28:4–5: for wealth "grows wings, like an eagle it flies away into the sky." Amen-em-ope gives the same counsel but uses the simile "geese" rather than an "eagle." Because the order of corresponding sections is different, and 21 of the Egyptian precepts have no counterparts in the Hebrew work, it seems that the Hebrew scribe was depending on what he remembered from an earlier acquaintance with the Egyptian work. Part 3 (B) is a brief miscellaneous section attributed like 3 (A) to "the wise men," that is, to tradition. The first seven verses have enough points of contact with (A) to raise the possibility that they were left over from an earlier or alternative form of (A).

Part 4, the second collection of "Solomonic proverbs," resembles the first in some particulars and differs in others. It also falls into two parts unmarked in the text, 25–27 and 28–29. Chapter 25 opens with a series of precepts of double length, and chapter 26 has groups of sayings that pillory the fool and the sluggard. Throughout 25–27 precepts and similes predominate, rather than the declarative sentences common in the first collection. The tone also is more secular and less moralizing; the name YHWH occurs only once, and then in a supplementary line. The topical unit 27:23–27 is devoted to the seemingly unusual subject of animal husbandry, but similar subject matter appears in the Sumerian *Instructions of Suruppak* and in an Akkadian composition styled *The Counsels of a Pessimist*. This venerable tradition of combining advice on one's behavior together with helpful hints on the care of farm and flock survives in Hesiod's *Works and Days*, Virgil's *Georgics*, and beyond. In 28–29 the resemblance to 10–22:16 is greater both in form and content. Parts 2 and 4 have six proverbs in common, seven others are nearly identical, and four more have identical half-lines. The virtues extolled and the vices held up to scorn are much the same. The four appendices differ markedly from each other and from the rest of the book. In 30:1–9 the challenge of Agur the agnostic is answered (either in dialogue or as a later addendum) by a believer who affirms his faith and adds a humble prayer. In 30:10–33 there are five numerical sayings or riddles, a numbered list of sinners in the same style as 6:16–19, and some miscellaneous proverbs. In 31:1–9 the mother of an otherwise unknown King Lemuel cautions her son against dissolute behavior and neglect of his duties to his people. The fourth appendix is an acrostic poem on the excellent wife; it is remarkable for the light it throws on domestic activities in well-to-do homes and on the managerial responsibilities undertaken by the woman.

Text and Dating

The questions of the text and its dating are interrelated. The Hebrew text is relatively well preserved. The Septuagint seems to have been derived from essentially the same text, in spite of the idiosyncracies of that version. The only significant difference is in the order of some sections, indicating that the text was still not finally fixed in the first century B.C.E. One problem of dating is that an atomistic work, of which so much of Proverbs consists, was peculiarly susceptible to minor expansions. Hence the rare occurrence of Aramaic words may be meaningless for dating. There are no Persian or Greek words, and it is no longer necessary to posit the Greek period on philosophical or theological grounds. The customary post-Exilic dating of the book may have been influenced more than is realized by its association with Ben Sira. The book is composed throughout in classical Hebrew, with the exception of some Phoenicianisms, chiefly in chapter 8, which may have resulted from the use of older sources. Material as early as the time of Solomon may be included in the numerical proverbs of 30:15–31 and many of the more secular sayings. If reliable, 25:1 indicates that older materials were assembled in Hezekiah's reign. The activity of Wisdom teachers in the eighth century B.C.E. is evident in Isaiah (cf. Prov. 19:11–12; 21:2), in the prophet's adoption of a wisdom form for his oracle in Isaiah 28:23–29, and in apparent references to schools (Isa. 28:9–10; cf. 6:9–10). The literary influence of the Egyptian instructions and the optimistic serenity of tone point to a time when concern for individual conduct and education were not crowded out by alarm over national security. However, both older and later materials undoubtedly are included. Although the evidence is inconclusive, the late monarchical period seems as likely as any for the completion of the work in substantially its present form.

Ethical and Religious Teachings

The contents of Proverbs range from purely intellectual observations about natural phenomena, to "secular" comments on how men behave and life's occurrences, as well as a final positive association of right conduct with true wisdom and piety. The teacher's introduction in chapters 1–9 emphasizes the spirit in which the older wisdom materials are to be approached. Virtues and vices which had been discerned in the long experience of the community and by its older sages were still valid. The principal new emphasis is on resisting the temptation to fall into the ways of hardened evildoers and adulterous women. The "wise" and the "fools" have become the "righteous" and the "wicked" in newly composed moralistic couplets, inserted in the Solomonic collections. Whereas in the older wisdom it was asserted on grounds of experience that good conduct generally led to prosperity and its opposite to ruin, the reason for each now is seen to be that "the eyes of the Lord are in every place, keeping watch on the evil and the good" (15:3). In the older parts of the book, wisdom means simply the state of being wise. Its conceptualization begins with the idea in the Solomonic sayings that wisdom is an inner fountain of life (13:14). The teacher in 1–9 further develops both ideas: The state of being wise is attained by training, but it is also a gift of divine grace (2:1–6), and will act as a personal guide through life. This personification of Wisdom is dramatically enhanced in 1:20–33 and 8:1–31, yet still within the limits of poetic imagery (cf. Ps. 85:11–12). Wisdom here addresses men in her own name and in the guise of a goddess; she is a living power in the order of the world and has been YHWH's associate in its creation. Scholars differ as to whether in 8:22ff. Wisdom has become a full-blown hypostasis of YHWH, or whether it is an imaginative image of what is said in 3:19: "YHWH by [His] wisdom founded the world." The structure of the whole passage 8:12–31, when compared to 3:13–20, favors the latter alternative, though the picture may be colored to some degree by mythic language. However, the oft-posited identification of *ḥokhmah*, "Lady Wisdom," and the Egyptian goddess Maat has yet to be demonstrated beyond a superficial similarity. At the same time, the personification of Wisdom and her characterization as one who is herself not divine but nevertheless "dear to the gods" are found in the Aramaic proverbs of Ahiqar cited above.

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PROVERBS, TALMUDIC. The Talmud abounds in proverbs of all kinds. Important sources are the tractates *Avot, Avot de-Rabbi Nathan, Derekh Ereẓ Rabbah*, and *Derekh Ereẓ Zuta*, and numbers of proverbs occur together in several smaller collections (BK 92a–b; Bek. 17a; et al.), although they are scattered through all rabbinical literature.

Scholarly and Popular Proverbs

The proverbs of scholars are usually introduced with the words, "it was customary for A to say" or "he used to say," and their popular ones by "as the rabbis say." In most cases these proverbs have an ethical and didactic character. The Talmud also contains many popular proverbs which are quoted with the opening words "the proverb says" (in Hebrew and in Aramaic), "they say," "as people say," "the proverb says," "the common proverb says," and in "the language of the people." These popular proverbs are mainly expressed in Aramaic. In many cases there is no clear distinction between scholarly and popular proverbs, and it is then difficult to determine their source. For example, the saying of Rabban Simeon b. Gamaliel, "One who gives bread to a child must inform its mother" (Shab. 10b), is also cited in the Midrash (Num. R. 19:33) as "a popular proverb." The words "he used to say" merely indicate that a particular scholar quoted it frequently. Thus the saying of Samuel the Younger, "Rejoice not when thine enemy falleth, and let not thine heart be glad when he stumbleth" (Avot 4:19), is a verse from Proverbs (24:17). The dictum of Shammai, "Receive all men with a cheerful countenance" (Avot 1:15), is quoted with a slight variation by Ishmael (3:13). The dictum of Hillel on the Feast of Water Drawing, "Whither I desire to go thither my feet lead me" (Tosef., Suk. 4:2), was originally a popular saying which Hillel applied to God (S. Lieberman, *Tosefta ki-Feshutah*, ad loc.). This is probably why Rashi quotes "walls have ears" as a popular proverb (Ber. 8b), although it is given in the Midrash in the name of R. Levi (Lev R. 32:2; Eccles. R. 10:21). Sometimes contradictory proverbs appear to be directed at one another. An example is found in the ethical dictum, "Be rather a tail to lions than a head to foxes" (Avot 4:15), which contradicts the popular saying, "The proverb says: Be a head to foxes rather than a tail to lions" (TJ, Sanh. 4:10, 22b), and indeed parallels to this popular version are found in Hellenistic literature.

The rabbis spared no effort to introduce beautiful popular proverbs into the world of scholarship. They sought authority for them in early sources, in the Bible and in the tannaitic literature (BK 92a–b), and also derived proverbs from the interpretation of biblical verses, although in these cases it is also possible that the proverb anticipated the interpretation (cf. "From here we see that the ignorant person pushes himself to the front" (Meg. 12b); "When wine enters, counsel departs" (Er. 65a; Sanh. 38a); "Woe is me because of my Creator [*yoẓer*], woe is me because of my [evil] inclination" (*yeẓer*; Ber. 61a)).

Proverbs and *Halakhah*

The sages did not hesitate to utilize the worldly wisdom in the proverbs for halakhic ruling. "Once a man borrowed a cat to deal with mice, but the mice killed the cat. The case came before Ashi for judgment. Thereupon a certain Mordecai, who was present, intervened, quoting Rava: A man killed by women gets neither judgment nor judge," i.e., the cat was itself responsible and the owner can have no claim (BM 97a). They applied the proverb "It is not the mouse that is the thief, but the hole" (Git. 45a) in halakhic discussions. From the ancient, pointed proverb, "An olive's bulk of the paschal offering, yet the rejoicing splits the roof," expressing the popular attitude toward an inflated ceremony, Ḥiyya inferred a *halakhah* in connection with ritual uncleanness (TJ, Pes. 7:10, 35b). The reverse also occurred, namely that the proverb was created through the halakhic ruling, as in the case of a ruling of Akiva expressed in a proverbial form: "You have dived into the depths and brought up only a potsherd" (BK 91a). The rabbis utilized the dictum: "That which made you unclean, did not make me unclean, yet you have made me unclean" as a mnemotechnic chain connecting a collection of *mishnayot* on the laws of ritual defilement (Par. 8:2–7).

Rabbinic Study of Proverbs

The sages engaged in the study of proverbs. Mention has been made of a series of dialogues in which *amoraim* searched for the classical source of popular sayings, and it is worth noting that for one of them (BK 92b) they discovered five possible sources. They also compared the dicta of Ereẓ Israel and Babylon: "Here [in Babylon] they say, 'Tobias sinned and Ziggas was flogged.' There [in Ereẓ Israel] they say, 'Shechem married and Mabgai was circumcised'" (Mak. 11a; i.e., because Shechem – Gen. 34 – wished to marry Jacob's daughter the whole population had to undergo circumcision).

Ereẓ Israel and Babylon

Undoubtedly much use was made of proverbs in Ereẓ Israel; but for some reason the number of them in the Jerusalem Talmud is relatively meager in comparison with those in the Babylonian, and most of those quoted in the Jerusalem Talmud are also found in the Babylonian Talmud.

Translations from Aramaic to Hebrew

In the late Midrashim there occur translations into Hebrew of the Aramaic proverbs in the Babylonian Talmud. At times the translation is inferior to the original. Thus the dictum (BK 92b), "Into the well from which you have drunk water do not throw clods," becomes in the Midrash (Num. R. 22:4), "Into the well… do not throw stones." The Aramaic word for "clod" is more suitable, since it suggests the defiling of the water.

Comparison with Biblical Proverbs

Talmudic proverbs surpass the biblical ones in pungency and appositeness but are inferior in sophistication and poetry. Thus the biblical (Eccles. 10:8), "He that diggeth a pit shall fall into it," parallels, "If a man spits into the air, it will fall on his face" (Eccl. R. 7:9, no. 1), and the verse (Prov. 17:10), "A rebuke entereth deeper into a man of understanding than a hundred stripes into a fool," parallels, "A hint is sufficient for a wise man but a fool needs the fist" (Mid. Prov. 22:15).

Animal Proverbs

The sages made extensive use of the animal world for their proverbs. The miser is compared to "a mouse lying upon the coins" (Sanh. 29b). Of a coward who treats harshly those subservient to him, it says: "One who cannot hit the donkey [lest it kick], hits the saddle" (Tanḥ. Pekudei 4). A warning against women occurs in the saying: "If the dog barks – enter; if a bitch – leave" (Er. 86a; from which Rav exemplified a *halakhah* in the laws of *Eruvin* based upon the difference in a man's relationship to his son-in-law and to his daughter-in-law). Of a weak character it says, "He never controlled two flies" (Deut. R. 1:5).

Stylistic Characteristics

Alliteration occurs in several dicta, such as "A man's character can be recognized in his cup, his purse, and his anger" (Heb. *koso, kiso, ka'aso* – Er. 65b). In some instances the alliteration is somewhat rhymed such as, "He who eats the fat tail [*allita*] must hide in the loft [*alita*], but he who eats cress [*kakule*] may lie by the dunghill [*kikle*] of the town" (Pes. 114a); and "When a Jew must eat carobs [*ḥaruva*], he repents [*tetuva*]" (Lev. R. 13:4). Ingenious homiletical interpretations of words occur: "Why are some coins called *zuzim*? Because they are removed [*zazim*] from one and given to another. Why are other coins called *ma'ot*, because they signify *mah la-et* [what of the future time?]" (Num. R. 22:8).

Eulogistic Dicta

The Talmud cites dicta uttered by professional mourners. Thus, "if the flame has fallen upon the cedars [the great] what avails the hyssop on the wall!" (the lowly; MK 25b); "Many have drunk the cup of death; many shall drink" (Ket. 8b). Tawiow noted that the Bible and the Talmud contain no derogatory proverbs about deformed persons such as occur in abundance in the sayings of other peoples.

Rabbinic Proverbs in Popular Parlance

Hundreds of rabbinic dicta have found their way into popular usage. In many of them changes have occurred which are worth noting. Very many others originally quoted in a halakhic or theoretical framework have become popular sayings with a meaning different from the original. Thus, "A man may see any leprous signs except his own" (Neg. 2:5), taught originally as a law that a leprous priest must be examined by some other priest, received the popular psychological meaning that no man is objective with reference to himself. The expression *dikdukei aniyyut* ("the minutiae of poverty"; Er. 41b), first used of the sufferings of poverty, is used already by Ibn Ezra (Eccles. 12:5) with reference to a forced explanation, i.e., the writer is lacking imagination. "*Damim tarte mashma*," in the original means "the word *damim* [blood] applies to two kinds of blood" and is popularly used to express both "blood" and "money." Hundreds of rabbinic sayings found their way into the spoken language in the form in which they occur in more popular works, such as Rashi's commentary, *piyyutim*, etc. The expression, "The Omnipresent has many agents of death" (Ta'an. 18b), is current among people in the form it occurs in Rashi (to Ex. 16:32): "The Omnipresent has many agents." The dictum, "Four count as if dead: a poor man, a blind man…" (Ned. 64b), is better known in the abridged form of Rashi (to Ex. 4:19): "A poor man is regarded as dead." Akiva's dictum, "No pity may be shown in a lawsuit" (Ket. 9:2), is popularly known by the form in which it occurs in a *silluk* (type of *piyyut*) for the first day of the New Year: "[The Supreme King preserves the world through justice, for] there is no pity in judgment." The changes popularly introduced did not result from ignorance but from didactic grounds whether consciously or unconsciously. These changes gave greater clarity and accuracy to the dicta, furnished a general and abstract form to dicta that needed it, and also added interpretation where necessary. The talmudic dictum, "In the place where penitents stand, the wholly righteous do not stand" (Ber. 34a) was popularly revised into the clearer dictum, "In the place where penitents stand, the wholly righteous are unable to stand," stressing the superiority of the penitent more clearly than in the original. The statement of Rava (Meg. 16a) that the help given Mordecai was given "not because of the love for Mordecai but because of the hatred for Haman" received a general abstracted meaning in the mouth of the people: "not from love of Mordecai but from hatred of Haman" (a version already found in the *Massekhet Purim* attributed to *Kalonymus b. Kalonymus, ed. by J. Willheimer (1871), 43). The expression "R. Yose always has his reason" (Git. 67a) became through the influence of Rashi, "his justification and reason are with him," i.e., he always has good reason. During recent years many works have appeared comparing talmudic sayings with those of other peoples (see bibliography) which prove that among cultures and languages far from Ereẓ Israel and Babylonia, such as the Far East, independent proverbs similar to those in the Talmud were common.

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[Arie Strikovsky]

PROVIDENCE, in religion and philosophy, God's guidance or care of His creatures, emanating from His constant concern for them and for the achievement of His purposes. Providence includes both supervision of the acts of men and the guidance of the actors in specific directions. Its object is also to deal out fitting retribution – in order to establish justice in the world, retribution itself often serving as a means of guidance (see below). Hence there is a connection between providence and the principle of *reward and punishment. The origin of the term providence is Greek (πρόνοια, lit. "perceiving beforehand") and first appears in Jewish literature in the Wisdom of Solomon, 14:3; 17:2.

In the Bible

The basis of the belief in a constant and eternal divine providence is the biblical conception of God. In polytheism there is generally a belief in a fixed "order" of nature, which is above the gods. This "order" serves to some extent as a guarantee that right prevails in the world (this is the Greek θέμιζ or μοῖρα; the Egyptian *ma'at*; and the Iranian-Persian *artha*, "truth"). However, in this type of belief the right is, as it were, a product of action (this is also the Buddhist belief in "karma") and is not dependent on a divine providence with a universal moral purpose. On the contrary, through the use of certain magical acts, man can even overcome the will of the god. In any case, there is a basic belief in fate and necessity. By contrast, the belief in providence is in the first instance a belief in a God who has cognition and will, and who has unlimited control over nature and a personal relationship with all men – a relationship which is determined solely by their moral or immoral behavior. Biblical belief does not deny the existence of a fixed natural order – "the ordinances" of heaven and earth, of day and night (Jer. 31:35–36; 33:25) – but since God is the creator of nature and is not subject to its laws (e.g. Jer. 18:6ff.), He can guide man and reward him according to his merit, even through the supernatural means of miracles. Such guidance may be direct (through divine *revelation) or indirect – through a prophet or other animate or inanimate intermediaries ("Who maketh His angels spirits; His ministers a flaming fire," Ps. 104:4; cf. Joel 2:1ff.; Amos 3:7; Ps. 103:20–22). God's providence is both individual – extending to each and every person (Adam, Abel, Cain, etc.), and general-over peoples and groups, especially Israel, His chosen people. The guarding and guidance of the Patriarchs (Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob) and their families (Sarah in the house of Pharaoh, Hagar in the desert, Joseph in Egypt, etc.) aimed at the ultimate purpose of creating an exemplary people exalted above all other nations (Deut. 26:18). The whole history of the Israelites, beginning with the Exodus from Egypt, is, according to the biblical conception, a continuous unfolding of divine providence's guidance of the people as a whole as well as of its individual members in the way marked out for them. Even the sufferings undergone by the people belong to the mysteries of divine providence (cf. e.g., the doctrinal introductions in Judg. 2:11–23; 3:1–8; 6:7–10, 13–17; 10:6–15; II Kings 14:26–27; 17:7ff.).

It can be said that the entire Bible is a record of divine providence, whether general or individual. While the Pentateuch and the Prophets emphasize general, national providence, Psalms and Proverbs are based on the belief that God is concerned with the individual, hears the cry of the wretched, desires the well-being of the righteous, and directs man, even against his will, to the destiny which He has determined for him ("The lot is cast into the lap, but the whole disposing thereof is of the Lord," Prov. 16:33; "The king's heart is in the hand of the Lord, as the rivers of water; He turneth it whithersoever He will," Prov. 21:1; etc.). Prophets (Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Habakkuk) and psalmists (Ps. 9; 71; 77; 88) sometimes question the ways of providence and divine justice, but they ultimately affirm the traditional belief in providence. In the last analysis, this position is also maintained by the author of Ecclesiastes, who otherwise expresses the gravest doubts regarding providence ("But know that for all these things God will bring thee to judgment," Eccles. 11:9). This is true also of Job, but his doubts and misgivings are confined to the question of a divine providence which rules the universe, and particularly mankind.

The unlimited belief in providence would seem to conflict with the doctrine that man can freely choose good and evil (for which God rewards or punishes him), which is also integral to the biblical world view. This issue was grappled with only in later times, with the development of religious philosophy in the Middle Ages.

In the Apocrypha

In the Apocrypha, too, the belief is widespread that God watches over the deeds of mortals in order to requite the wicked and the righteous according to their deserts. The suffering of the righteous is but a temporary trial in order that they be well rewarded in the end. Tobit, for instance, for dealing kindly with the living and with the dead is persecuted by the authorities. It appears as if the hand of God, too, was turned against him but his righteousness is rewarded. In the end he is vindicated and is vouchsafed the victory of righteousness. The same applies to the community of Israel – the enemy invariably receives his punishment and the righteous nation is saved, almost unexpectedly. According to I Maccabees (9:46), Judah Maccabee urged the people to pray because he knew that God pays attention to prayer ("Now therefore cry unto Heaven that you may be delivered out of the hand of your enemies"). Similarly, the inhabitants of Jerusalem were convinced that their prayer saved them in time of trouble (II Macc. 1:8). As in ancient times, so too in the time of the Hasmoneans, God continued to save His people by means of angels sent by Him (Heliodorus, who went to desecrate the Temple, fell into a faint at the hand of angels: II Macc. 3; angels in heaven hastened to the assistance of Judah Maccabee: *ibid.* 10:29–30). Lysias also realized that the Hebrews were invincible because God helped them (*ibid.* 11:13).

In the concept of providence in the apocalyptic works, particularly in the writings of the *Dead Sea sect, one can detect a tendency toward an important innovation. In these works the idea is expressed that God, who has preknowledge of everything, also decrees everything in advance; both the wicked and the righteous are formed at their creation ("all the sons of light each one to his fortune according to the counsel of the Lord…; all the sons of darkness each one to his guilt according to the vengeance of the Lord," – Manual of Discipline 1:9–10; "From the Lord of Knowledge, all is and was… and before they came into being he prepared all their thought… and it is unchangeable," – *ibid.* 3:15–16; "and unto Israel and the angel of his truth [Michael?] [they] are a help to all the sons of light," while "the angel of darkness" rules over "all the dominion of the sons of wickedness," – *ibid.* 20–24; and see Jub. 1:20 and 2:2). According to Jubilees everything is also written beforehand in the "tablets of the heavens" (3:10). Josephus, too (Ant., 13:171–3, 18:11f.; Wars, 2:119f.), distinguishes between the different sects that arose in the time of the Second Temple, primarily on the basis of the difference between them in the concept of providence. According to him, "the Pharisees say that some things but not all depend on fate, but some depend upon us as to whether they occur or not" (Ant., 13:172). "The Essenes hold that fate rules everything and nothing happens to man without it; while the Sadducees abolish fate, holding that it does not exist at all, that human actions do not occur through its power, and that everything is dependent upon man himself who alone is the cause of the good, and evil results from man's folly" (*ibid.*; see also *Essenes; *Sadducees; *Boethusians; *Pharisees). If the definitions of Josephus are accurate, one may say that the Sadducees deviated from the biblical concept and believed in providence in general but not in detail; something of the same can be said of the Essenes in what pertains to their belief in predestination, but judging from the writings found in Qumran, this belief was not without qualifications and exceptions.

In the Talmud

The outlook of the scholars of the Mishnah and Talmud on the nature and purport of divine providence is summarized in the dictum of Akiva (Avot 3:15): "All is foreseen, but freedom of choice is given; and the world is judged with goodness, and all is in accordance with the works." It is apparent that the first part of this dictum expresses an attempt to reconcile the principle of providence on the one hand with freedom of choice on the other; but it is possible that the idea here expressed is identical with that contained in the dictum: "Everything is in the hand of heaven except for the fear of heaven" (Ber. 33b), which is intended to build a bridge between freedom of choice and the idea of predestination. From various dicta in the Talmud it is possible to infer that the idea of providence during this era embraced not only all men but even all creatures. For the gazelle that is wont to cast its seed at parturition from the top of the mountain, the Holy One prepares "an eagle that catches it in its wings and places it before her, and were it to come a moment earlier or a moment later [the offspring] would die at once" (BB 16a–b); in similar vein is: "The Holy One sits and nourishes both the horns of the wild ox and the ova of lice" (Shab. 107b). Of man it was said: "No man bruises his finger on earth unless it is decreed in heaven" (Ḥul. 7b); and all is revealed and known before God: "even the small talk of a man's conversation with his wife" (Lev. R. 26:7). Similarly: "The Holy One sits and pairs couples – the daughter of so-and-so to so-and-so" (Lev. R. 8:1; Gen. R. 68:4; and cf. MK 18b), or: "He is occupied in making ladders, casting down the one and elevating the other" (Gen. R. 68:4).

The continuation of Akiva's dictum ("and the world is judged with goodness") accords apparently with the traditional outlook of the Talmud. Thus, for example, it was said that even if man has 999 angels declaring him guilty and only one speaking in his favor, God assesses him mercifully (TJ, Kid. 1:10, 61d; Shab. 32a); that God is distressed at the distress of the righteous and does not rejoice at the downfall of the wicked (Sanh. 39b; Tanh., be-Shallaḥ 10) and does not deal tyrannically with His creatures (Av. Zar. 3a); and he sits and waits for man and does not punish him until his measure is full (Sot. 9a).

[Yehoshua M. Grintz]

In Medieval Jewish Philosophy

The treatment of providence (*hashgaḥah*) in medieval Jewish philosophy reflects the discussion of this subject in late Greek philosophy, particularly in the writings of the second-century C.E. Aristotelian commentator Alexander of Aphrodisias, and in the theological schools of Islam. The Hebrew term *hashgaḥah* itself was apparently first coined by Samuel ibn Tibbon as a translation of the Arabic word *ʿanāʾyah.* In his *Guide of the Perplexed* (trans. by S. Pines, 1963), Maimonides uses the latter synonymously with *tadbīr*, the Hebrew equivalent of which is *hanhagah* (i.e., governance of the world). In most Hebrew philosophical works, however, *hanhagah* designates the universal providence which determines the natural order of the world as a whole, while *hashgaḥah* is generally used to designate individual providence. For the latter, Judah *Al-Ḥarizi also used the Hebrew term *shemirah* ("safekeeping"), and it should be noted that originally Ibn Tibbon, too, preferred this, as is shown in a manuscript copy of a letter to Maimonides (see below).

*Saadiah Gaon deals with the problem of providence in treatise 5 of his *Emunot ve-De'ot* (*Book of Beliefs and Opinions*, trans. by S. Rosenblatt, 1948), whose subject is "Merits and Demerits." In chapter 1, he identifies providence with the reward and punishment meted out by God to the individual in this world, which is "the world of action"; though, ultimately, reward and punishment are reserved for the world to come. Echoes of the philosophical debate on the problem of providence may be found in other parts of Saadiah's book. Thus, he asks how it is possible that God's knowledge can encompass both the past and the future and "that he knows both equally" in a single, eternal, and immutable act of knowing (*ibid*., 2:13). His reply is that it is impossible to compare man's knowledge, which is acquired through the medium of the senses, with God's, which "is not acquired by any intermediate cause" and is not derived from temporal facts, but rather flows from His essence. This linking of the problem of providence with that of the nature of God's knowledge originated with Alexander of Aphrodisias, as did the question of the reconciliation of God's foreknowledge with man's freedom of the will. Saadiah's solution to the latter problem is to point out that the Creator's knowledge of events is not the cause of their occurrence. If that were the case, all events would be eternal, inasmuch as God's knowledge of them is eternal (*ibid*., 4:4). Abraham *Ibn Daud devotes an entire chapter of his book *Emunah Ramah* (6:2; ed. by S. Weil (1852), 93ff.) to the problems involved in the concept of providence. Ibn Daud, too, was considerably influenced by Alexander of Aphrodisias, who upheld "the nature of the possible," thereby allowing for human choice, in opposition to the absolute determinism of the *Stoics. Like Alexander, he limits God's knowledge to that which stems from the necessary laws of nature through natural causes, to the exclusion of the effects of accident or free will which are only possible. He argues that God's ignorance of things that come to be as a result of accident or free will does not imply an imperfection in His nature, for whatever is "possible" is also only possible for God, and hence He knows possible things only as possible, not as necessary.

Maimonides deals with the question of providence in light of the philosophic teachings on "governance" (*hanhagah, tadbīr*), which identify it with the action of the forces of nature (*Guide*, 2:10). He fully discusses *hashgaḥah* (*ʿanāʾyah; ibid*., 3:16–24), listing five main views on the matter: those of *Epicurus, *Aristotle, the Ash'arites, the Mu'tazilites (see *Kalām), and, lastly, of the Torah, which affirms both freedom of the human will and divine justice. The good and evil that befall man are the result of this justice, "for all His ways are judgment," and there exists a perfect correspondence between the achievements of the individual and his fate. This is determined by the level of man's intellect, however, rather than by his deeds, so that it follows that only he whose perfected intellect adheres to God is protected from all evil (*Guide*, 3:51). Such a man realizes that governance, providence, and purpose cannot be attributed to God in a human sense, and he will, therefore, "bear every misfortune lightly, nor will misfortunes multiply doubts concerning God… but will rather increase his love of God." Maimonides argues against Alexander of Aphrodisias and Ibn Daud that God's knowledge instantaneously encompasses the numerous things subject to change without any change in His essence; that God foresees all things that will come to be without any addition to His knowledge; and that He therefore knows both the possible ("privation," i.e., that which does not yet exist but is about to be) and the infinite (i.e., individuals and particulars which are unlimited in number). The philosophers, he states, arbitrarily asserted that it is impossible to know the possible or the infinite, but they overlooked the difference between God's knowledge and human knowledge. Just as man's intellect is inadequate to apprehend God's essence, so it cannot apprehend His knowledge (*ibid*., 2:20).

In his letter to Maimonides (published by Z. Diesendruck in: HUCA, 11 (1936), 341–66), Samuel ibn Tibbon calls attention to a contradiction between Maimonides' treatment of providence in *Guide*, 3:17ff., and his discussion at the end of the *Guide* in chapter 51, where, departing from the philosophical approach that providence is relevant only to the welfare of the soul, Maimonides expresses the conviction that the devout man will never be allowed to suffer any harm. Shem Tov ibn *Falaquera (*Moreh ha-Moreh*, 145–8), Moses ibn *Tibbon, in a note to his father's letter (ed. Diesendruck, *op. cit.*), *Moses of Narbonne, in his commentary on the *Guide* (3:51), and Efodi (Profiat *Duran), in his commentary on the same chapter, all dwell on this point. Shem Tov b. Joseph *Ibn Shem Tov, in his book *Emunot* (Ferrara, 1556, 8b–10a) and Isaac *Arama, in his *Akedat Yiẓḥak*, take Maimonides to task for having made the degree of providence exercised over man dependent on perfection of the intellect rather than on performance of the commandments. The Karaite *Aaron b. Elijah devotes several chapters of his book *Eẓ Ḥayyim* (ed. by F. Delitzsch (1841), 82–90) to the subject of providence, and he, too, criticizes Maimonides. Once the position has been taken that God's knowledge cannot be restricted, the activity of providence likewise cannot be made to depend only upon the degree of development of man's intellect. Just as God knows everything, so He watches over all things (ch. 88).

Isaac *Albalag, in his *Tikkun De'ot*, discusses providence in the course of his critique of the opinions of *Avicenna and al-*Ghazālī. It is impossible, he contends, to comprehend God's mode of cognition, but it is possible to attribute to Him a knowledge of things which are outside the realm of natural causation, i.e., free will and chance. God's knowledge and providence also provide the subject of a penetrating analysis in the *Milḥamot Adonai* of *Levi b. Gershom (treatises 2 and 3), who returns to the Aristotelian position as understood in the light of Alexander of Aphrodisias' commentary. It is inadmissible, he states, that God should know the possible and the numerically infinite, that is, the particulars qua particulars, but He does know all things through the order embracing them all.

In contrast to this view, Ḥasdai *Crescas argues in his *Or Adonai* (2:1–2) that the belief in individual providence is a fundamental principle of the Mosaic Law, according to which God's knowledge "encompasses the infinite" (i.e., the particular) and "the non-existent" (i.e., the possible) "without any change in the nature of the possible" (i.e., without His knowledge nullifying the reality of free will). Crescas maintains that the biblical and talmudic faith in providence is based on a belief in individual providence. His disciple, Joseph *Albo, also deals extensively with God's knowledge and providence in his *Sefer ha-Ikkarim* (4:1–15), during the course of his discussion concerning reward and punishment.

[Alexander Altmann]

In the Kabbalah

The question of divine providence almost never appears in the Kabbalah as a separate problem, and therefore few detailed and specific discussions were devoted to it. The idea of providence is identified in the Kabbalah with the assumption that there exists an orderly and continuous system of government of the cosmos, carried out by the Divine Potencies – the *Sefirot* – which are revealed in this government. The Kabbalah does no more than explain the way in which this system operates, while its actual existence is never questioned. The world is not governed by chance, but by unceasing divine providence, which is the secret meaning of the hidden order of all the planes of creation, and especially in the world of man. He who understands the mode of action of the *Sefirot* also understands the principles of divine providence which are manifested through this action. The idea of divine providence is interwoven in a mysterious way with the limitation of the area of action of causality in the world. For although most events which happen to living creatures, and especially to men, appear as if they occur in a natural way which is that of cause and effect, in reality these events contain individual manifestations of divine providence, which is responsible for everything that happens to man, down to the last detail. In this sense, the rule of divine providence is, in the opinion of *Naḥmanides, one of the "hidden wonders" of creation. The workings of nature ("I will give you your rains in their season," Lev. 26:4 and the like) are coordinated in hidden ways with the moral causality determined by the good and evil in men's actions.

In their discussions of divine providence, the early kabbalists stressed the activity of the tenth *Sefirah*, since the rule of the lower world is principally in its hands. This *Sefirah* is the *Shekhinah*, the presence of the divine potency in the world at all times. This presence is responsible for God's providence for His creatures; but according to some opinions the origin of divine providence is actually in the upper *Sefirot*. Symbolic expression is given to this idea, particularly in the *Zohar, in the description of the eyes in the image of **Adam Kadmon* ("Primordial Man"), in his two manifestations, as the *Arikh Anpin* (lit. "The Long Face" but meaning "The Long Suffering") or *Attikah Kaddishah* ("the Holy Ancient One"), and as the *Ze'eir Anpin* ("The Short Face," indicating the "Impatient"). In the description of the organs in the head of *Attikah Kaddishah*, the eye which is always open is taken as a supernal symbol for the existence of divine providence, whose origin is in the first *Sefirah*. This upper providence consists solely of mercy, with no intermixture of harsh judgment. Only in the second manifestation, which is that of God in the image of the *Ze'eir Anpin*, is the working of judgment also found in the divine providence. For "…the eyes of the Lord… range through the whole earth" (Zech. 4:10), and they convey his providence to every place, both for judgment and for mercy. The pictorial image, "the eye of providence," is here understood as a symbolic expression which suggests a certain element in the divine order itself. The author of the Zohar is refuting those who deny divine providence and substitute chance as an important cause in the events of the cosmos. He considers them to be fools who are not fit to contemplate the depths of the wisdom of divine providence and who lower themselves to the level of animals (Zohar 3:157b). The author of the Zohar does not distinguish between general providence (of all creatures) and individual providence (of individual human beings). The latter is, of course, more important to him. Through the activity of divine providence, an abundance of blessing descends on the creatures, but this awakening of the power of providence is dependent on the deeds of created beings, on "awakening from below." A detailed consideration of the question of providence is set forth by Moses *Cordovero in *Shi'ur Komah* ("Measurement of the Body"). He, too, agrees with the philosophers that individual providence exists only in relation to man, while in relation to the rest of the created world, providence is only directed toward the generic essences. But he enlarges the category of individual providence and establishes that "divine providence applies to the lower creatures, even animals, for their well-being and their death, and this is not for the sake of the animals themselves, but for the sake of men," that is to say, to the extent to which the lives of animals are bound up with the lives of men, individual providence applies to them as well. "Individual providence does not apply to any ox or any lamb, but to the entire species together… but if divine providence applies to a man, it will encompass even his pitcher, should it break, and his dish, should it crack, and all his possessions – if he should be chastized or not" (p. 113). Cordovero distinguishes ten types of providence, from which it is possible to understand the various modes of action of individual providence among the gentiles and Israel. These modes of action are bound up with the various roles of the *Sefirot* and their channels which convey the abundance (of blessing) to all the worlds, in accordance with the special awakening of the lower creatures. He includes among them two types of providence which indicate the possibility of the limitation of divine providence in certain instances, or even its complete negation. Also, in his opinion, things may happen to a man without the guidance of providence, and it may even happen that a man's sins cause him to be left "to nature and to chance," which is the aspect of God's hiding his face from man. In fact, it is uncertain from moment to moment whether a particular event in an individual's life is of this latter type, or whether it is a result of divine providence: "And he cannot be sure – for who will tell him if he is among those of whom it is said: 'The righteous man is as sure as a lion' – perhaps God has hidden His face from him, because of some transgression, and he is left to chance" (p. 120).

Only in the Shabbatean Kabbalah is divine providence seen once again as a serious problem. Among *Shabbetai Ẓevi's disciples was handed down his oral teaching that the Cause of Causes, or the *Ein-Sof* ("the Infinite") "does not influence and does not oversee the lower world, and he caused the *Sefirah Keter* to come into being to be God and *Tiferet* to be King" (see Scholem, Shabbetai Ẓevi, p. 784). This denial of the providence of *Ein-Sof* was considered a deep secret among the believers, and the Shabbatean Abraham *Cardozo, who was opposed to this doctrine, wrote that the emphasis on the secret nature of this teaching arose from the Shabbateans' knowledge that this was the opinion of Epicurus the Greek. The "taking" (*netilah*) of providence from *Ein-Sof* (which is designated in these circles by other terms as well) is found in several Shabbatean schools of thought, such as the Kabbalah of Baruchiah of Salonika, in *Va-Avo ha-Yom el ha-Ayin*, which was severely attacked for the prominence it gave to this opinion, and in *Shem Olam* (Vienna, 1891) by Jonathan *Eybeschuetz. The latter work devoted several pages of casuistry to this question in order to prove that providence does not actually originate in the First Cause, but in the God of Israel, who is emanated from it, and who is called, by Eybeschuetz, the "image of the ten *Sefirot*." This "heretical" assumption, that the First Cause (or the highest element of the Godhead) does not guide the lower world at all, was among the principle innovations of Shabbatean doctrine which angered the sages of that period. The Orthodox kabbalists saw in this assumption proof that the Shabbateans had left the faith in the absolute unity of the Godhead, which does not permit, in matters pertaining to divine providence, differentiation between the emanating *Ein-Sof* and the emanated *Sefirot*. Even though the *Ein-Sof* carries out the activity of divine providence through the *Sefirot*, the *Ein-Sof* itself is the author of true providence. In the teachings of the Shabbateans, however, this quality of the First Cause or the *Ein-Sof* is blurred or put in doubt.

[Gershom Scholem]

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PROVINS, town in the department of Seine-et-Marne, France. The earliest evidence of the presence of Jews in Provins dates from 1201. Concentrated in two streets, Rue de la Vieille-Juiverie and the Rue des Juifs, the Jews rapidly increased in number. They owned at least two synagogues and a cemetery. The importance of the market of the Provins Jewish community is described in the polemic work of Joseph "the Zealot" (*le Zélateur*). The extent of Jewish financial activity in Provins is apparent from the use of a special seal for ratifying documents in business transactions which involved Jews. The town itself, as well as the Jewish community – which disappeared entirely after the expulsion of 1306 – began to decline with the reign of *Philip the Fair and the transfer of the town (which had formerly belonged to *Champagne) to royal authority.

In the early 13th century, the yeshivah of Provins was under the direction of Jacob b. Meir author of a biblical commentary (not preserved) sometimes erroneously attributed to a certain Jacob of Provence. Some medieval remains have been found in a modern house on the Rue des Juifs; these include a hall with ogive vaults, which local tradition claims is the remains of a medieval synagogue.

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[Bernhard Blumenkranz]

PRUEWER, JULIUS (1874–1943), conductor. Born in Vienna, Pruewer became a close friend of Brahms during his studies there. He worked as a conductor at Bielitz, in Cologne, and at the Breslau Municipal Theater (1896–1923), where he became director in 1920. At Breslau he gained a high reputation and produced many modern works. He later became professor at the Berlin Hochschule fuer Musik and conducted the popular concerts of the Berlin Philharmonic. In 1933 he left Germany and in 1939 settled in New York where he taught at the New York College of Music.

PRUSINER, STANLEY S. (1942–), U.S. medical investigator and Nobel laureate. Prusiner was born in Des Moines, Iowa, and graduated A.B. (1964) and M.D. (1968) from the University of Pennsylvania. He was trained in scientific methodology in Earl Stadtman's laboratory at the National Institutes of Health in Bethesda (MD) (1968–72) and in neurology at the

University of California, San Francisco (1972–74). From 1974 he was on the staff of UCSF, becoming professor of neurology and biochemistry and the founder and director of the Institute for Neurodegenerative Diseases. His lifelong interest in degenerative neurological diseases was initiated by clinical experience. He showed that certain neurodegenerative diseases of sheep and other species, formerly attributed to a "slow virus" infection, are caused by proteinacious infectious particles lacking nucleic acids, which he called "prions." Because of Prusiner's persistence the prion concept, once heretical, is now accepted. Prions cause disease by inducing structural changes in proteins of similar sequence to those found in normal brains. In man, prions cause disease in three ways: through genetic variation in the normal protein, sporadically from unproven causes (Creutzfeld-Jacob disease), and probably through ingesting prions of other species (new variant Creutzfeld-Jacob disease). The discovery of a human disease occurring on a genetic or an infectious basis was unprecedented. His discoveries have fundamental implications for other human neurodegenerative diseases, including Alzheimer's disease. He was awarded the Nobel Prize in medicine in 1997. His many honors include the Gairdner award (1993), the Lasker award (1994), the Wolf Prize from the State of Israel (1996), and membership in the U.S. National Academy of Sciences as well as foreign membership in the Royal Society of London.

[Michael Denman (2nd ed.)]

PRUSSIA (Ger. **Preussen**), former dukedom and kingdom, the nucleus and dominant part of modern united *Germany (1870). The name came to signify a conglomerate of territories whose core was the electorate of *Brandenburg, ruled by the Hohenzollern dynast from the capital, *Berlin.

1300–1740

The order of Teutonic Knights, who ruled East Prussia from the 13th century, in 1309 expressly prohibited Jews from entering their territory. From the 15th century East Prussia was dominated by Poland and became economically dependent on it. As Jews constituted an important section of the merchant class in Poland, East Prussia acquiesced to the presence of Jewish merchants (exporters of furs, leathers, wax, and honey) although prohibiting them from settling and repeatedly threatening them with expulsions, which were rarely enforced. It was only with the complete secularization of the Teutonic order under Duke Albert I of Prussia (1522–77) that two Jewish physicians were allowed to settle temporarily in *Koenigsberg (1538–41). From the 17th century Jews came in ever increasing numbers to the then staunchly Protestant region, where they were welcomed by the ruling circles. In 1664 Moses Jacobson de Jonge of Amsterdam received very favorable commercial privileges (subsequently renewed) in *Memel, where he became the most important merchant, paying more customs dues than any of his Christian counterparts. He became a *Court Jew in 1685 and his sons inherited the function. In Koenigsberg, capital of East Prussia, Jews were permitted to graduate in medicine from the university in 1658, and Jewish merchants were encouraged to settle soon after. A synagogue was built there in 1680 and a cemetery opened in 1703. The community grew during the 18th and 19th centuries, remaining the economic, social, and religious center of the region. In the latter half of the 18th century Jewish communities were founded in *Elblag, Marienwerder, *Lyck, and elsewhere.

Jews were expelled from Brandenburg in 1573 by Elector Joachim II. The great elector, Frederick William (1640–88), who became absolute master of East Prussia, inherited principalities in Western Germany where Jews had already settled (see *Cleves, Behrend *Levi); subsequently he acquired *Halberstadt and *Minden (1648), and at a later date *Magdeburg and *Halle (1680) where Jews were granted rights of residence soon after the annexation. Frederick William, anxious to repair the havoc wrought by the Thirty Years' War and influenced by mercantilistic and tolerant ideas, encouraged foreigners to settle on his lands. In 1650 he permitted Polish Jews to trade in Brandenburg for seven years but not to settle there; this privilege was renewed in 1660. Israel Aron, a military contractor and purveyor to the mint (see *Mintmasters) received permission to settle in Berlin in 1663 and became Frederick William's Court Jew.

The basis for a Jewish settlement, however, was created by the expulsion from Vienna (1670). Through his resident agent in Vienna, Andreas Neumann, the elector, declared that he was not opposed to receiving 40–50 "rich and wealthy persons, prepared to bring and invest their means here"; on May 21, 1671, he permitted 50 families to settle, buy houses and shops, and engage in trade almost unrestrictedly. They could not, however, open a synagogue. The leaders of the small and interrelated group, Benedict Veit and Abraham Ries, and the richer Jews were encouraged to remain in Berlin. Other families settled in the cities of *Brandenburg, *Frankfurt on the Oder, and Landsberg (*Gorzow Wielkopolski) where the first **Landrabbiner*, Solomon Kajjem Kaddish, and his successor had their seat. The elector disregarded his subjects' objections to Jewish settlement, being concerned with the economic benefits he derived from direct taxation of the **Schutzjuden* and indirect taxation through customs, tolls, and excise, which the Jews paid at a higher rate. During his reign the Berlin Jewish community grew to 40 families, that of Halberstadt to 86, that of Frankfurt to 43, while 15 families had settled in Pomerania.

His son Frederick I (1688–1713; crowned king of Prussia in 1701) confirmed existing Jewish privileges on his succession; new communities were founded and existing ones grew. A noted collector of gems, Frederick patronized jewel purveyors such as Jost and Esther *Liebmann and Marcus *Magnus. Under his son Frederick William I (1713–40), a generally harsh regime was introduced. On his accession he ordered a thorough inquiry into Jewish affairs, the outcome of which was the law of 1714 restricting to one the number of sons who could inherit their father's right of residence (*Schutzbrief*); to be granted this right the second son had to possess 1,000 ta-

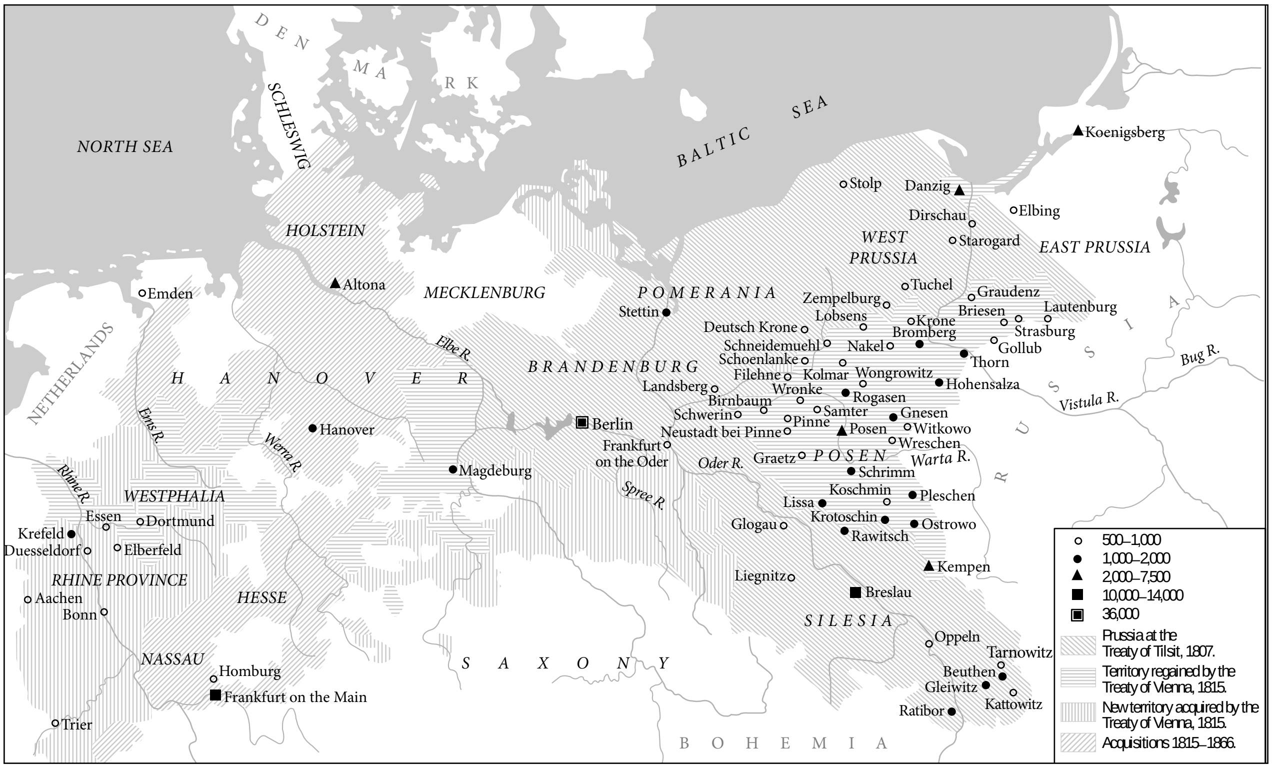
DENMARK
NORTH SEA
SCHLESWIG
BALTIC SEA
HOLSTEIN
Koenigsberg
Stolp
Danzig
Dirschau
Elbing
WEST PRUSSIA
Starogard
EAST PRUSSIA
Emden
Altona
MECKLENBURG
POMERANIA
Tuchel
Graudenz
Zempelburg
Lobsens
Krone
Briesen
Lautenburg
Stettin
Deutsch Krone
Bromberg
Strasburg
RUSSIA
NETHERLANDS
Schneidemuehl
Nakel
Gollub
Elbe R.
Schoenlanke
Thorn
Bug R.
BRANDENBURG
Filehne
Kolmar
Wongrowitz
HANOVER
Landsberg
Wronke
Hohensalza
Birnbaum
Rogasen
Vistula R.
Ems R.
Berlin
Schwerin
Samter
Gnesen
Hanover
Weser R.
Neustadt bei Pinne
Pinne
Posen
Witkowo
Frankfurt on the Oder
Wreschen
Oder R.
Graetz
POSEN
Warta R.
Magdeburg
Schrimm
Rhine R.
WESTPHALIA
Koschmin
Pleschen
Spree R.
Lissa
Essen
Dortmund
Krotoschin
Ostrowo
Krefeld
Glogau
Rawitsch
Duesseldorf
Elberfeld
Kempen
Liegnitz
RHINE PROVINCE
Aachen
HESSE
Breslau
Bonn
SILESIA
Oppeln
NASSAU
Tarnowitz
SAXONY
Homburg
Beuthen
Gleiwitz
Frankfurt on the Main
Kattowitz
Ratibor
Trier
BOHEMIA
○ 500–1,000
● 1,000–2,000
▲ 2,000–7,500
■ 10,000–14,000
▣ 36,000
Prussia at the Treaty of Tilsit, 1807.
Territory regained by the Treaty of Vienna, 1815.
New territory acquired by the Treaty of Vienna, 1815.
Acquisitions 1815–1866.

Major Jewish communities in Prussia in 1871, with historic place names. Based on S. Neumann, Zur Statistik der Juden in Preussen von 1816 bis 1880, *Berlin, 1884.*

ler and pay 50, and the third son twice these amounts. Thus a dominant theme in Prussian-Jewish relations, the attempt to restrict and even to reduce the number of Jews, was formally introduced. In 1717 the king appointed Moses Levin *Gomperz as *Oberaeltester* ("chief elder," *parnas*) of Berlin and Prussian Jewry, an appointment probably connected with the supervision of the just distribution of the tax load, conducted by representatives of communities and *Landjudenschaften. In 1728 the sum was fixed at 15,000 taler annually, to be reapportioned every five years. In 1730 a new Jewry law was promulgated: the eldest son was now obliged to own 1,000 and pay 50 taler and the second twice these amounts; all were subject to the condition that the number of protected Jews (*Schutzjuden*) in any given locality should not increase. Foreign Jews in possession of at least 10,000 taler were allowed to settle in Prussia. The law also prohibited Jews from engaging in all crafts (except seal engraving) competing with Christian guilds; it prohibited them from dealing in a large number of goods (mainly local produce). *Peddling, in particular, was suppressed. Commerce in luxury wares (expensive textiles, spices, etc.) was permitted, as was moneylending and dealing in old clothes. The law applied not only to Brandenburg but to all Prussian territories, creating uniform conditions for the Jews and defining (in article 24) their juridical relationship to the state. The regular tax load was raised, in addition to extraordinary exactions. Jewish merchants were encouraged to become entrepreneurs and invest in manufacture, particularly of textiles (silk, ribbons, satin, lace, etc.). These businessmen were granted highly favorable conditions. Thus the king passed on to his son a basically contradictory policy, at the same time mercantilist and anti-Jewish; needing and encouraging Jews for their economic contribution he attempted to restrict their rights and numbers.

From Frederick II to Emancipation

*Frederick II, the Great, enforced his father's policies even more rigorously. By his conquest of Silesia (1742) his rule extended over a sizable Jewish population; appreciating their economic importance he exempted them from his otherwise obnoxious Jewish legislation. In 1750 Frederick promulgated his *Revidiertes Generalprivilegium und Reglement*, prompted by the results of an inquiry which showed the number of privileged Jewish families in Prussia (excluding Silesia) in 1749 at 2,093, almost double the 1728 figure. The preamble stated that the law was intended to help both Christians and Jews, whose livelihood was being threatened by the increasing number of Jews. It created two types of *Schutzjuden*: an unrestricted number of "extraordinary" ones whose rights could not be inherited, and a restricted number of "ordinary" *Schutzjuden* who could pass on their rights to one son only. As in 1730, Jews were excluded from almost all professions and expressly prohibited from brewing, innkeeping, and farming. Trade in livestock, wool, leather, and most local produce was prohibited; the permitted occupations were moneylending and dealing in luxury wares and old clothes. The strictures against peddling were made more severe, as were those against beggars. During the Seven Years' War (1756–63) Frederick relied on monetary manipulations effected by Daniel *Itzig, V.H. *Ephraim, and other purveyors to the mint. His armies were provisioned by Jewish military *contractors (supplying horses, grain, fodder, wine, etc). After the war he encouraged a newly created, sparse layer of very wealthy Jews to invest their capital in industry and manufacture. Frederick levied onerous and distasteful taxes. In 1766 he introduced the *Silberlieferung*: 12,000 silver marks to be delivered annually at below face value to the royal mint; the 15,000 marks annual tax (from 1728) was increased to 25,000 in 1768. In 1769 he ordered every Jew to purchase and export a certain quantity of local porcelain (expensive, inferior wares produced by the royal factory) whenever he needed a royal concession or privilege (e.g., for marriage).

During Frederick's reign the Berlin community gradually became preponderant in Prussian Jewry. The *Landrabbinat* was occupied by such leading authorities as David Fraenkel (1742–62), Aaron Mosessohn (1762–71), and Hirschel *Levin. The dual office of *Oberlandes-Aeltester* was successively occupied by elders of the Berlin community, V.H. Ephraim (1750–75), Daniel Itzig (1775–99), and Jacob Moses (1775–92). In Berlin, Breslau, and Koenigsberg the upper strata of the Jews, who were rich and influential, took the first steps toward assimilation, acquiring the *General-Privilegium*, which granted them the rights of Christian merchants (such as freedom of movement and settlement). Through the First Partition of Poland (1772) Prussia's Jewish population had almost doubled, and Frederick feared above all an influx of Jews from the newly annexed province of West Prussia.

Frederick's nephew, Frederick William II (1786–97), inaugurated a period of liberalization and reform in Prussia. As crown prince he had borrowed large sums from Berlin's Jewish financiers. An admirer of *Mendelssohn and *Mirabeau, in the first years of his reign he abolished the porcelain law and repealed the *Leibzoll* for foreign Jews. On May 2, 1791, Daniel Itzig and his family received the first *Naturalisationspatent*, which granted them full citizenship. A year later the *solidarische Haftung* (collective responsibility and liability of the Jewish community for non-payment of taxes and crimes of theft) was abolished. The king nominated a commission to draft a new and liberal Jewry law but due to the procrastination of his counselors, his own hesitations, and his increasing preoccupation with foreign affairs this was never carried out. New problems were created by the Second (1793) and Third (1795) Partitions of Poland, which respectively added about 53,000 and 75,000 Jews to the Prussian realm. New legislation became urgent. Shortly before his death Frederick William II passed a Jewry law for the new territories, which was in some respects more progressive than previous laws. His early death and the conservative nature of his son, *Frederick William III, disrupted all reformatory activity until Napoleon's defeat of Prussia at Jena (1806), when far-reaching reforms were carried out under the leadership of Karl August von *Hardenberg and Wilhelm von *Humboldt. In 1808 municipal citizenship and offices were opened to all, irrespective of religion.

The decisive step was taken with the promulgation in March 11, 1812, of an edict concerning the civil status of the Jews. The first article declared all legally resident Jews to be full citizens. All occupations were declared open to Jews, as were academic positions. Article 9, however, postponed the question of Jewish eligibility to state offices; the *oath *more Judaico* also remained in force. Marriage to a Prussian Jewess did not bestow citizenship and foreign Jews were prohibited from becoming communal employees. The edict was received with thanksgiving by the elders of the main Jewish communities, Berlin, Breslau, and Koenigsberg. A year later, during the War of Liberation, Prussian Jews expressed their patriotism by volunteering in large numbers (see *Military service). The high expectations of Prussian Jewry were not put to the test until after the Congress of *Vienna, at which Prussia was given back the province of Posen (*Poznan) and received the Rhineland and part of *Westphalia (where Jews had been fully emancipated).

As King Frederick William III had no intention of carrying out the 1812 edict, he repudiated his express promise that volunteers, irrespective of their religion, would be eligible for state offices. On Sept. 18, 1818, Jews were excluded from all academic positions (causing Heinrich *Heine, Eduard *Gans, and others to apostatize); the following January Jewish officials in Westphalia and the Rhineland were dismissed (including Heinrich Marx, father of Karl *Marx). The benefits of the 1812 edict had not been applied to Posen (where the laws of 1750 and 1797 remained in force), while its restrictions were applied to the western territories. Thus the Napoleonic "infamous decree," which by then had lapsed in France, was renewed by Prussia in 1818 to cover the Rhineland for an indefinite period. Prussian Jewry's legal position was encumbered by the coexistence of 22 different legislative systems with the various provinces. The king actively encouraged conversion to Christianity and prohibited conversion to Judaism; between 1812 and 1846, 3,171 Jews in Prussia converted. In addition he closed down Israel *Jacobson's private Reform prayer room in Berlin; on Sept. 12, 1823, he made the minister of the interior responsible for ensuring that "no sects among the Jewries (*Judenschaften*) of my lands be tolerated." The king's policy toward the Jews of Posen province – the historical *Great Poland (where they were 6.4% of the population and 42% of all Prussian Jews in 1816) – was even more restrictive. Severe steps were taken to keep them within the boundaries of the province. In 1833 a new Jewry law was promulgated for Posen; its main feature was the division of the province's Jews into naturalized citizens, whose rights were conditional on their economic, moral, and educational achievements (command and use of German), and the remainder, who remained deprived of basic rights. By 1846, 80% of Posen Jews were still not citizens and one-third of Prussian Jews had not attained that status.

The accession of *Frederick William IV (1840) was accompanied by rising hopes, which were soon dashed when he took steps to implement his medieval conception of a corporationist "Christian state." In this crisis Prussian Jewry, led by Moritz *Veit and Ludwig *Philippson, was supported by the liberal majorities in the provincial estates. Nevertheless, with the aid of the upper house and Friedrich Julius *Stahl, the king succeeded in passing the 1847 Jewry constitution which recognized the corporate status of individual Jewish communities. It permitted Jews to occupy "offices not carrying executive, juridical, or law enforcement powers"; at universities all chairs in the humanities were closed to them, as were the senate and rectorate; Jews owning landed estates could not enjoy the rights accorded the gentry. The law, introduced for the benefit of the Jews the king declared, was not applicable to Posen. It had barely been introduced when the 1848 revolution proclaimed the principles of religious freedom and equality for all, reconfirmed in 1869 for the whole North-German Confederation. In practice, however, discrimination in the army, bureaucracy, and university remained the rule.

During the 19th century the geographic, demographic, social, and economic makeup of Prussian Jewry underwent great changes. Their number increased from 123,823 in 1816 to 194,558 in 1840. In 1840 about two-fifths of Prussian Jewry were concentrated in Posen province (where they formed about 6% of the population), and another two-fifths in Silesia, the Rhineland, and West Prussia (where they constituted about 1% of the population). Posen had the largest Jewish community (6,748), with Berlin (6,458) and Breslau (5,714) following. The majority of Prussian Jewry lived in rural and semi-rural conditions; peddling, shop- and innkeeping, commerce, and the livestock trade were the main occupations. In 1816 Prussia contained 48.2% of German Jewry; in 1871, 325,000 Jews were natives of Prussia (69.2% of German Jewry), including the Jews of the recently (1866) annexed territories of *Hanover, *Schleswig-Holstein, *Hesse-Nassau, and *Frankfurt on the Main. Due to internal migration the percentage of Posen Jews had declined proportionately, to 22.8% in 1871, and also absolutely, so that by 1910 only 26,512 remained (about 7.7% of Prussian Jewry). A similar process of depletion occurred in West Prussia. As a result of industrialization and urbanization, Brandenburg (Berlin) attracted a greater proportion of Prussian Jewry, increasing from 6.5% in 1816, to 17.5% in 1871, and 43.9% (151,356) in 1910. In the other provinces, Westphalia, Rhineland, and Silesia, the number of Jews remained proportionately stable while increasing at a regular rate. Demographically, Prussian Jewry reached its peak around 1870–80. The process of urbanization continued, causing small-town communities to remain stable or decline while village communities gradually vanished. By 1925, 60% of Prussian Jewry (342,765) was to be found in the four largest communities and another 15% in communities with more than 1,000 persons.

Prussia within the German Empire

In spite of the noteworthy cultural, economic, and social achievements of Prussian Jews within the new German Empire, Prussia retained a specific conservative, anti-Jewish, social and political attitude, which found expression in the influence of the Prussian mentality within the empire and in its political parties (see *Bismarck, E. *Lasker, I.D. *Bamberger, and *Central-Verein). Until World War I the majority of Prussian communities were organized within the *Deutsch-Israelitischer Gemeindebund (DIGB). The organization's main difficulties were caused by differences between the numerous small, rural, and needy communities and the large wealthy ones, primarily Berlin. Thus, when a common communal organization did not immediately emerge after the war the Berlin community entrusted Ismar *Freund with organizing the Preussischer Landesverband juedischer Gemeinden. Its opening session (1921) was attended by 110 communities, who soon numbered 656 (96% of Prussian Jewry), making it the largest regional communal organization in Germany. Its charter and activities were modeled on the defunct DIGB; although a Prussian official was present at its founding and it received state subsidies, it was not officially recognized by the government of Prussia.

Throughout the late 19th and 20th centuries the Prussian reactionary mentality found a persuasive anti-Jewish argument in the "*Masseneinwanderung,*" the alleged mass immigration of unwanted East European Jews (*Ostjuden*) into Prussia, particularly into Berlin and the major cities. Their number was greatly magnified by antisemitic propaganda which eventually caused the expulsion of 30,000 Russian Jews, mainly refugees from the 1883 pogroms. In fact, the number of Prussian Jews was decreasing, due to a low birth rate and emigration. After World War I the problem of the unwanted East European Jews again became a political issue; in fact, the majority of these were Jews from Posen, then once more in Poland, who had preferred to be repatriated to Prussia (one-third of c. 45,000 Jews). When the Nazis seized power, H. *Goering was appointed prime minister of Prussia, where he enforced the Nazi anti-Jewish measures (see *Germany).

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[Henry Wasserman]

PRUZHANY (Pol. **Pružana**), city in Brest district, Belarus. Situated on the road which leads from Brest-Litovsk to Moscow, it was under Polish rule until 1795; in the third partition of Poland it was incorporated into Russia, and in 1919 regained by Poland until 1939. Jews lived in Pruzhany during the middle of the 15th century and around 1450 there was a *ḥevra kaddisha* which noted its activities in a register. In 1463 the first synagogue (destroyed by fire in 1863) was erected near the center of the Jewish quarter. In 1495 the Jews of Pruzhany were included in the general expulsion of Jews from Lithuania, but they returned after a few years. In 1563 there were 11 Jewish families and 276 Christian families. Both Christians and Jews earned their livelihood primarily from agriculture and livestock, although there were some engaged in commerce and crafts. In 1588 the town was granted autonomous rights according to the *Magdeburg Law. The rights of the Jews were formally drawn up and ratified by Ladislaus IV in 1644 and subsequently, on several occasions, by his successors. According to these rights Jews were authorized to reside in Pruzhany, to practice their religion and freely engage in their occupations. At the close of the 17th century there were 571 Jews (42% of the population); in 1868, during the period of Russian rule, there were 2,575 Jews (61% of the total), and in 1897 there were 5,080 (of a total population of 7,633). By the close of the 19th century the Jewish community enjoyed a vigorous social and cultural life in which all trends and parties were active. During German occupation (1915–1917) Jews were taken for forced labor, and suffered from a typhoid epidemic. In 1921 the Jewish population was 4,152 (about 57% of the total). With the establishment of independent Poland, Jews also participated in the municipal government. In 1927, 16 of the 24 delegates elected to the administration were Jews. In the elections of the Jewish community in 1928, M. Goldfein, a delegate of the merchants, was elected president. There were in town a Jewish orphanage, an old-age home, a Hebrew and Yiddish schools, and a yeshivah; two weeklies were published.

Distinguished rabbis served in the town. At the close of the 16th century, R. Joel *Sirkes, the renowned author of the *Baḥ* (*Bayit Ḥadash*), officiated as rabbi and *rosh yeshivah* for some time. R. *David b. Samuel ha-Levi, author of the *Turei Zahav* (*Taz*) also held the rabbinical office for a brief period. Among the last rabbis of the town, one of the most prominent was R. Elijah Feinstein (1842–1929) who was appointed in 1884. Active in the affairs of Polish Jewry, he wrote *Sefer Halikhot Eliyahu* ("Book of the Demeanors of Elijah," 1932), and a novella on Maimonides which was published in 1929. He was succeeded by his son-in-law R. David Feigenbaum, who perished in the Holocaust.

[Shimshon Leib Kirshenboim]

Holocaust Period and After

Under Soviet rule (1934–41) the Jewish communal bodies were disbanded. Private enterprise was gradually liquidated as merchandise was sold and no new stock made available. Cooperatives were set up for the skilled craftsmen. Educational institutions were reorganized, and a Yiddish-language school set up. The Jewish orphanage was combined with its Christian-run counterpart and placed under the municipality.

On June 27, 1941, after war broke out between Germany and the U.S.S.R., the Germans entered Pruzhany. They immediately exacted a fine from the Jewish community of 500,000 rubles, 2 kg. of gold, and 10 kg. of silver, to be paid within 24 hours. A Judenrat was set up, first chaired by Welwel Schreibman and later by Yiẓḥak Janowicz, which tried to cope with the emergency. The Germans set up a ghetto on Sept. 22, 1941. Workshops were created in the hope that the economic utility of the Jews to the Germans would forestall deportations. The Judenrat combated the decrees against the Jewish inhabitants, gaining the confidence of members of the community. The ghetto swelled when 4,000 Jews were brought in, 2,000 from Bialystok and 2,000 from towns in the vicinity. In the latter half of 1942 an underground resistance organization was formed in the ghetto. Cells were established, arms acquired, and contacts sought with the partisans on the outside. On Jan. 27, 1943, two Jewish partisans approached the Judenrat to strengthen contact with the underground. Germans caught them there by surprise, but with the help of some of the Judenrat members the partisans escaped. The Judenrat was then charged with collaborating with the partisans. The following day the Germans began the deportation of the 10,000 inmates of the ghetto, 2,500 being dispatched daily to *Auschwitz. Within four days the community was destroyed. Some groups of Jews fled to the forests and joined the Jewish partisans who operated in the vicinity. In the late 1960s there was a Jewish population of about 60 (12 families). The former Great Synagogue was turned into an electric power plant. A mass grave of Jewish victims massacred by the Nazis was repeatedly desecrated and a road was built through its site.

[Aharon Weiss]

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PRYLUCKI, NOAH (1882–1941), Yiddish philologist and journalist, and Polish political leader. Born in Berdichev, Ukraine, he grew up in Kremenets and in Warsaw, and practiced as a lawyer after 1909. Having published a collection of erotic lyrics, *Farn Mizbeakh* (1908), he gave up poetry and devoted himself to journalism and Yiddish philology. He was a pioneer of research into the Yiddish language and helped to classify the various dialects of Eastern, Central, and Western Yiddish. His closest collaborators were the linguist M. *Weinreich, the literary historian Z. *Rejzen, and the folklorist Shmuel Lehman. At the Czernowitz Language Conference of 1908, he fought unsuccessfully for an extreme resolution declaring Yiddish as the national Jewish language. In 1905, together with his father, Ẓevi *Prylucki, he founded the Warsaw Yiddish daily *Der *Moment*, which existed until the German occupation of Warsaw in 1939. Active in politics from 1916, he was the defender of the impoverished Jews and of the middle-class artisans. He founded the Folkspartei, which fought for Jewish autonomous rights in Poland. In 1918 he was elected as the party's representative in the Polish Sejm. Besides publishing philological studies, he influenced the modernization of Yiddish orthography, helped to found the *YIVO Institute for Jewish Research, edited YIVO's organ *Yidish far Ale* (1838–1939), and published articles and reviews in *YIVO Bleter.* When World War II began, he fled to Vilna, where he lectured on Yiddish philology until 1941. When the Germans marched into Vilna he was arrested, compelled to classify YIVO's treasures for the Gestapo, and tortured to death.

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[Melech Ravitch]

PRYLUCKI, ẒEVI HIRSCH (1862–1942), Hebrew and Yiddish journalist, one of the first members of Ḥovevei Zion. Born in Kremenets, Ukraine, Prylucki began his journalistic career with a series of critical essays in Hebrew criticizing *Aḥad Ha-Am's "Truth from Ereẓ Israel." From then on he wrote for Hebrew, Yiddish, and Russian-Jewish journals. In 1905 he moved to Warsaw, establishing the first Yiddish daily there, as well as a Hebrew daily, *Ha-Yom*. Both newspapers were of a Zionist and literary character. After several failures, at the end of 1910 Prylucki began to publish the daily *Der Moment*, whose circulation amounted to more than 60,000 copies on the eve of World War I. Prylucki, the editor, wrote the weekly political review. The newspaper was Jewish nationalist in a general sense, giving expression to non-Zionist opinions as well (Folkism, Yiddishim). Prylucki died in the Warsaw ghetto during the German occupation.

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[Yehuda Slutsky]

°**PRYNNE, WILLIAM** (1600–1669), Puritan barrister and pamphleteer. Prynne first came to notice through his vehement opposition to the theater. A fierce tirade against the stage coincided, unfortunately for him, with Queen Henrietta Maria's appearance in a court play. After he had been imprisoned in the tower for one year, his ears were struck off.

While in the tower Prynne wrote an essay, published in 1654, entitled *A Briefe Polemical Dissertation*, concerning the "true time of the Inchoation and determination of the Lordsday – Sabbath… that the Lordsday begins and ends in evenings and ought to be solemnized from evening to evening: against the novel errors of such who groundlessly assert that it begins and ends at midnight or daybreaking…" At that time the question of the observance of Sunday was a highly controversial issue between Catholics and Protestants. The Church of England inclined toward the Catholic view, maintaining that Sunday, being essentially the commemoration of the resurrection of Jesus, had no connection with the Jewish Sabbath. This infuriated the Puritans, who insisted that Sunday had taken over the characteristics of the Jewish Sabbath. Prynne contended that all days in Scripture begin and end at evening, the Sabbath being no exception. Furthermore, the beginning and termination of days is perpetual and was not altered by the resurrection of Jesus in the morning. These points were proved by a wealth of citations from the Bible, the Church Fathers, and subsequent medieval writers, among whom was the Franciscan *Nicholas of Lyra, whom Prynne declared to be a convert from Judaism, possibly because of his knowledge of Hebrew and his use of Rashi. But, as Prynne amply demonstrates, Puritans could admire Judaism while still hating Jews. At the time the sabbatical pamphlet was published, the question of the official readmission of the Jews into England was being discussed, and during the following year Prynne produced yet another pamphlet entitled *A Short Demurrer to the Jewes Long Discontinued Remitter into England, Comprising an Exact Chronological Relation of Their First Admission into, Their Ill Deportment, Misdemeanours, Condition, Sufferings, Oppressions, Slaughters, Plunders… With a Brief Collection of Such English Laws, Scriptures, as seem strongly to plead and conclude against their Readmission into England, especially at this Season*. The *Demurrer* is an important source for the study of medieval Anglo-Jewish history.

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°**PRYSTOR, JANINA**, deputy in the Polish Sejm; wife of Alexander Prystor (1874–1941), premier of Poland from 1931 to 1933. With the growing influence of the reactionary anti-Jewish elements in leading circles after the death of Marshal Piłsudski (1935), Janina Prystor proposed in 1936 that *sheḥitah* should be prohibited, claiming that it contradicted Christian moral and religious principles. The proposal had an obvious economic aim for it would have broken the Jewish monopoly on trade in cattle destined for slaughtering. After a struggle in which the Jews boycotted buying meat and strong objections were voiced by all Jewish circles, the proposal, which would have prevented Jews from eating *kasher* meat, was rejected. After prolonged discussions the government adopted a compromise, allowing limited *sheḥitah* in areas of dense Jewish population and prohibiting it in districts where the Jewish population was less than 3% of the total. Although intended to reduce political tension, the compromise succeeded in breaking the Jewish livestock monopoly.

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PRYWES, MOSHE (1914–1998), Israeli physician and medical educator, born in Warsaw, Poland, to a distinguished Jewish family. He studied medicine at the University of Tours, France, from 1931 to 1933 and at the University of Warsaw from 1933 to 1939. In 1939 he was mobilized into the Polish army as a medical officer and from 1940 to 1945 was a prisoner in the U.S.S.R. As a prisoner, he became the medical director of a 350–bed hospital. From 1945 to 1946, he was head of surgery in the Kherson hospital in Ukraine and later became a chief assistant in the department of surgery, University Hospital, Gdansk, Poland. In Paris, from 1947 to 1951, he headed the medical services of the Union OSE, international Jewish medical organization, and organized preventive and curative services for Jewish communities in Europe, Morocco, Tunisia, and Libya. He immigrated to Israel in 1951, joined the Hebrew University-Hadassah Medical School as assistant dean and later became associate dean (1955), and associate professor and head of the department of medical education in 1965. In 1968, he was appointed vice president, resigning in 1973 to take up his appointment as president of the University of the Negev (now the Ben-Gurion University of the Negev), to devote himself to acting as dean of the Faculty of Health Sciences of the university, as well as director of Health Services for the Negev region on behalf of both Kuppat Ḥolim and the Ministry of Health. Prywes was a delegate to the World Conference on Medical Education and a member of the World Health Organization's Advisory Board on Medical Research. He was chairman of the scientific subcommittee of the France-Israel Cultural Agreement, and was made a Chevalier of the Legion of Honor by the French government for his work in this capacity. He served as editor-in-chief of the *Israel Journal of Medical Sciences*, and edited a number of works, including *Medical and Biological Research in Israel* (1960), *Health Problems in Developing States* (1968; with A.M. Davies), and *Topics in Basic Immunology* (1969; with M. Sela). He was elected senior member of the Institute of Medicine, National Academy of Sciences, U.S., 1983, and in 1990, Prywes received the Israel Prize in life sciences for his pioneering work in medical education. In 1995 he was awarded the Ben-Gurion Foundation's Ben Gurion prize.

[Bracha Rager (2nd ed.)]

PRZEDBORZ (Pol. **Przedbórz**), town in Kielce province, S. central Poland. Jews lived in Przedborz from the time of the town's earliest development. At the beginning of the 15th century, urban population increased when King Ladislaw II Jagello granted the merchants of the town privileges according to the *Magdeburg Law. In the years 1550 and 1570 King Sigismund II Augustus further aided the town's Jews by exempting them from customs duties and certain other payments. In 1595 King Sigismund III restricted their rights to own houses. The restriction was lifted, however, in 1638 when a fire destroyed the town and it had to be rebuilt. A second fire destroyed Przedborz in 1834. The Jewish population increased during the 19th century when Jews established trade relations with markets of the Russian empire. In 1865 about 75% of the town's population were Jews; in 1921 Jews numbered 3,749 (63.6% of the total population).

[Shimshon Leib Kirshenboim]

Holocaust Period

Before the outbreak of World War II, there were about 4,500 Jews in Przedborz. The Jewish community was liquidated on Oct. 9–12, 1942, when all Jews were deported to *Treblinka death camp. After the war, the Jewish community of Przedborz was not reconstituted.

PRZEDBORZ, ḥasidic dynasty founded by ISAIAH OF PRZEDBORZ (d. 1830). He was one of the closest disciples of *Jacob Isaac, Ha-Ḥozeh ("the Seer") of Lublin, and a companion of Jacob Isaac, the *Yehudi ha-Kadosh* ("Holy Jew") of *Przysucha (Pshiska), with whom he studied at the renowned yeshivah of *David Tevele b. Nathan of Lissa (*Leszno). Rabbi in Przedborz from 1788, in 1815 Isaiah became a ḥasidic *ẓaddik*. His son, IMMANUEL WELTFREID (1802–1865), officiated as rabbi in Przedborz from 1850, and was famed as a miracle worker. He married the granddaughter of Jacob Isaac Ha-Ḥozeh of Lublin and was a disciple of Dov Baer of Radoshits. His son, ABRAHAM MOSES OF ROZPRZE (d. 1918), became leader of the ḥasidic community after his father's death. He had three sons, EMMANUEL OF LODZ, ISAIAH OF KALISH (Kalisz; both d. 1939), and SOLOMON OF TOMASZOW who perished in the Holocaust.

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[Esther (Zweig) Liebes]

PRZEMYSL (Pol. **Przemyśl**), city in Rzeszow province, S.E. Poland; after the partition of Poland, it passed to Austria (1772–1919), subsequently reverting to independent Poland. In 1939–40 the German-Soviet borderline ran through Przemysl. A Jewish community existed in the city by 1367. In 1542 some 18 Jewish families were living there. The community numbered 1,558 by 1775. A Jew of Przemysl, Moses (Moshko) Shmuhler, was sentenced to death in 1630 following a *Host desecration libel. In 1638 the communities in the vicinity were ordered to pay their taxes through the Przemysl community, and from 1670 Przemysl became a leading community for the region of "Red Russia" within the framework of the *Councils of the Lands. Przemysl Jewry was granted detailed charters of rights by King Sigismund II Augustus (March 29, 1559) and King Stephen Báthory (June 27, 1576) enabling the Jews to trade despite opposition from the municipality. The economic position of Przemysl Jewry declined in the 18th century and the community fell heavily into debt. When in 1772 the community passed to Austrian rule its autonomy was curtailed, and the Jews in Przemysl, like the rest of the Jews in the territories incorporated into Austria, came under the Austrian system of supervision limiting their numbers and marriages (see *Familiants Laws). On the other hand they also benefited from the more favorable Austrian attitudes toward the Jews and legislation concerning them. The Austrian authorities gave support to the *Haskalah movement, directed Jews to attend government schools, and were inimical to *Ḥasidism. Half of the members of the Przemysl city council were Jews. Among the heads of the Jewish community the most influential was Moshe Sheinbah, an active member of both the municipal and community councils before World War I. The Jewish population numbered c. 5,692 in 1870; 16,062 in 1910 (29.6% of the total population); 18,360 (38.3%) in 1921; and 17,300 (34.0%) in 1931. Wealthy Jews of Przemysl engaged in the wholesale commerce of wheat and timber; some were purveyors to the Austrian army garrison in the town. Jews also engaged in banking, small- and large-scale industry, and agriculture. A large section of the Jewish population was impoverished.

Among rabbis of Przemysl in the 19th century Samuel Heller and Isaac Judah *Schmelkes were prominent. In 1875 the Yishuv Ereẓ Israel organization was founded, and from 1897 many Jews in Przemysl joined Zionist organizations, prominent among them Aguddat Herzl. The *Bund, *Agudat Israel, and the *Folkspartei were also active in Przemysl. H. *Lieberman was active in organizing the Polish Socialist Party (PPS). In World War I Przemysl was occupied for a short time in 1915 by the Russians. Many Jews then left the city and some were expelled by the Russians.

After the war Przemysl was incorporated in independent Poland. In the municipal elections of 1928 the Jewish National bloc in coalition with the Polish Sanacja party won 18 seats out of 40; a Jew was elected deputy mayor. In the communal elections of 1928 Agudat Israel gained the majority. In the 1936 elections it was defeated by the Zionists whose representative, Jacob Rebhan, was elected president of the community organization.

[Shimshon Leib Kirshenboim]

Holocaust Period

There were approximately 20,000 Jews living in Przemysl in 1939. When war broke out that year, many Jews from areas further west took refuge in the city. On Sept. 14, 1939, Przemysl fell to the Germans and within a few days some 500 Jews, about half of them refugees, were murdered on a trumped-up charge that 12 Germans had been shot by Jews. On September 18 Przemysl was handed over to the Soviet Union; two days prior to this, the Jews of Zasanie, which remained under German occupation, were expelled to the eastern sector of the city. Under Soviet rule all Jewish communal activities ceased. Jewish artisans were organized in cooperatives; Jews in the professions (except physicians) faced difficulties in finding employment. In April and May 1940, 7,000 Jews were deported to Russia. Most of them were refugees from the western parts of Poland.

Following the German attack on the Soviet Union in June 1941, Przemysl fell to the Germans on June 28, 1941. Subsequently a Judenrat was set up, headed by Ignacy Duldig. In June 1942 the Germans shot 45 of the Jews from Zasanie. This was followed by the expulsion of 1,000 Jews to the camp of Janowska in *Lvov and the transfer, by Aug. 3, 1942, of 12,500 Jews to *Belzec extermination camp. On Nov. 18, 1942, a further 4,000 Jews were sent to the same camp. Some 10 months later, on Sept. 2–3, 1943, 3,500 Jews were sent to *Auschwitz. In subsequent months the remaining Jews in Przemysl – some 2,000 persons – about half of whom had been in hiding, were murdered by the Nazis.

The Jews made an attempt at armed resistance. In April 1943 a group of young Jews went to the nearby forests with the intention of joining the partisans. They were all captured and murdered.

The Soviet army reentered the city on July 27, 1944, and a few days later some 250 Jewish survivors gathered in Przemysl. A Jewish council was established under the leadership of Mordechai Schatner and later of Ẓevi Rubinfeld to assist the survivors; in 1947 its activities were limited to religious needs only. Przemysl Landsmannschaften had been established in Israel and in New York. A memorial book on the Jewish community of Przemysl has been published (*Sefer Przemysl*, Heb. and Yid., 1964).

[Aharon Weiss]

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PRZEWORSK, town in Rzeszow province, S.E. Poland. The town was overrun by the Turks in 1498, it endured the invasion of the Swedes in 1656 during the reign of John Casimir, and recovered after 1677 when the Polish *Sejm decided to lend its assistance in its development. From then on it enjoyed economic prosperity. In 1865 its total population was 4,000 and in 1921 it was 3,371 of which 1,457 were Jews. Moses *Sofer (d. 1805), a rabbi of the community, achieved fame in his lifetime and was regarded as a saint after his death. After World War I its library played a prominent role in the cultural life of the Jewish population. After the great fire of 1930 many of the town's Jews were left homeless and dependent on support from charitable institutions. With the increase of antisemitism during the 1930s the community organized a protest campaign and a self-defense group. Elections to the community were held in 1934. No information is available on later years.

[Shimshon Leib Kirshenboim]

PRZYSUCHA, city in Kielce province, S.E. central Poland. The Jewish population of the city increased during the 19th century. In 1865 there were 2,907 inhabitants; this number grew and in 1921, 3,238 inhabitants, including 2,153 Jews (66%) lived in Przysucha. The ancient synagogue, which stood in the town until the Holocaust, testified to the antiquity of the Jewish community. The Jewish settlement became renowned through its *ẓaddikim*. One such prominent ḥasidic leader, R. Jacob Isaac b. Asher *Przysucha (*ha-Yehudi ha-Kadosh*; see next entry), acquired a world reputation among Jews. Another renowned ḥasidic leader of Przysucha was R. *Simḥah Bunem, the disciple of the *Yehudi ha-Kadosh*. After World War I there was a considerable amount of communal activity. Upon the eve of World War II the Jewish community was headed by Joseph Meisels. Its rabbi was R. Elhanan Fuks.

[Shimshon Leib Kirshenboim]

Holocaust Period

On the outbreak of World War II there were about 2,500 Jews in Przysucha. The Jewish community was liquidated on Oct. 27–31, 1942, when 4,000 Jews from Przysucha and its vicinity were deported to *Treblinka death camp. After the war the Jewish community of Przysucha was not reconstituted.

PRZYSUCHA (Pshishkha), JACOB ISAAC BEN ASHER (ha-Yehudi ha-Kadosh, "the holy Jew"; 1766(?)–1814), ḥasidic rebbe, the founder of Pshiskha Ḥasidism, in Poland. R. Jacob Isaac was born in *Przedborz, Poland, to a rabbinic family. In his youth he was a student of R. David Tevele b. Nathan of Lissa and R. Aryeh Leib Halperin, whom he followed to Apta. His first wife was his confidant until her early death. His second marriage, to her sister Sheindel, the mother of his children, was bitter. He started teaching in the local yeshivah, after which he wandered in poverty, teaching children. It was in Apta that he joined Ḥasidism after becoming acquainted with R. *Moses Leib of Sasov and R. David of *Lelov. The latter became a life-long friend and their children married. It was David of Lelov who influenced him to travel to see to R. *Jacob Isaac Horowitz – "Ha-Ḥozeh" (the Seer) of Lublin – in what would be a decisive event in both of their lives. The Ḥozeh recognized him as his great disciple, and Ha-Yehudi ha-Kadosh accepted the Ḥozeh as his rebbe. It was probably then that he began to be called Ha-Yehudi ha-Kadosh, so that he would not be called by his rebbe's name. The mutual admiration continued throughout their lives, nevertheless their relationship was tangled and complex.

Ha-Yehudi ha-Kadosh arrived in Lublin at a relatively young age but as a fully developed personality. The Ḥozeh asked him to become a mentor to the young elite students that arrived in Lublin. Soon brilliant youngsters along with older Ḥasidim were looking to him to guide them in their religious life. The very presence of a new charismatic teacher in the Ḥozeh's inner circle attracted hostility from some of the older disciples who were overshadowed by him, and from the Ḥozeh's family. A major cause of the opposition was his original religious teaching and leadership, which was in conflict with the Ḥozeh's.

Under the influence of his surroundings the Ḥozeh's dealings with him vacillated between intimacy and bitter hostility and even persecution. The schism was inevitable. Ha-Yehudi ha-Kadosh moved to Przysucha to become a rebbe and to found his own school. Some of the most distinguished Ḥasidim of Lublin joined him, among them R. *Simḥah Bunem of Przysucha and R. Menahem Mendel of *Kotsk. Ha-Yehudi ha-Kadosh died in Przysucha as he was in the midst of his ecstatic daily prayers. After his death, R. Simḥah Bunem of Przysucha was recognized by most of his disciples as his successor.

Teachings

The first expressions of Ha-Yehudi ha-Kadosh's religious orientation can be traced back to his childhood and youth, when he concealed his acts of charity and engaged in diligent Torah learning and fervent praying which led him to give up praying in a *minyan* as a child. Hiding his deeds should be understood as part of his emphasis on purifying one's motives and eliminating socially influenced behavior from one's actions so that they will express the inner-self. An individual should reexamine his intentions to cleanse them, so that they will be truthful. "God's seal is 'truth,' it can not be forged, since if it is forged it is true no more" (*Tiferet ha-Yehudi*, 50). This inner process is the route that leads to repair (*tikkun*). It was in this respect that the religious dispute with the Ḥozeh manifested itself strongly. The Ḥozeh recognized the Napoleonic wars as the "War of Gog and Magog" and understood his religious duty to use kabbalistic means to bring about the redemption. Although the Ḥozeh put all of his weight on Ha-Yehudi ha-Kadosh to join this spiritual endeavor, the latter refused, believing that the road to redemption passes, rather, through personal struggle for perfection.

Humility is the characteristic virtue of a person who truly knows himself, recognizing his own imperfection. At the same time one should not be influenced by social conventions and public opinion: "Each person should have two figs (Yid. *feigen*), after showing one to himself he will not be troubled by others and will be able to show the other to the rest of the world" (*Tiferet ha-Yehudi*, 76). The search for a true path to God's worship involves critical judgment of religious routine. In this spirit Ha-Yehudi ha-Kadosh understood that there are many routes in the search for God and taught that "all the rules that a person makes for himself to worship God are not rules, and this rule is not a rule either" (*Tiferet ha-Yehudi*, 93). Behaving in this unconventional way, he broke the halakhic rules, delaying the time of his ecstatic prayer, finding that he needed time to prepare for it. This conduct provoked great antagonism and fueled his opponents. His religiosity was both ecstatic and ascetic. He had outstanding physical strength but his intensive, ascetic life exhausted him. He removed himself from earthly desires, in particular eating, sex, and money, aiming at what he viewed as the end of all the *mitzvot* – *devekut*.

The Ḥozeh and other Polish rebbes of his time emphasized their duty to provide the masses with materialistic and spiritual comfort, by conventional means and through miracles. Though Ha-Yehudi ha-Kadosh did not oppose this altogether, he changed the emphasis dramatically, criticizing the ḥasidic leadership of his time. He understood their way as leading Ḥasidism to degeneration and mediocrity – subverting it under its very own principles. He taught that the main role of the rebbe was to guide his disciples in their struggle for spiritual depth, while responsibility lies primarily with the disciple. This teaching suited his followers, an elite group with outstanding mental and spiritual qualities who were willing to sacrifice their material well-being as well as their inner peace for a demanding religious quest.

R. Uri of Sterlisk described Ha-Yehudi ha-Kadosh's innovation as "worshiping God by unifying Torah learning and praying" (*Imrei Kadosh*, 68). Learning Talmud became central to the worship of God, as Ha-Yehudi ha-Kadosh taught that "learning Talmud and Tosafot purifies the mind and makes one ready for praying" (*Tiferet ha-Yehudi*, 29), stating that "through the learning of Torah one can attain all spiritual levels" (*Nifla'ot ha-Yehudi*, 1992, p. 60).

While his innocent mystical religiosity did not spawn successors in Pshishkha Ḥasidism, other aspects of his legacy marked the routes of the diverse branches of Pshishkha Ḥasidism, creating a new ethos in Polish Ḥasidism. This ethos is characterized by: (a) the critical search for truth; (b) a critical attitude to conventions; (c) understanding the rebbe's main role as challenging his elite followers rather than comforting the masses with miracles; (d) the centrality of studying Talmud for religious growth.

Some of his teachings were collected and published, the earliest almost a hundred years after his death, in *Nifla'ot ha-Yehudi* (1909), *Tiferet ha-Yehudi* (1912), *Kitvei Kodesh* (1906), and *Torat ha-Yehudi* (1911). His figure stands in the center of Martin Buber's novel *Gog u-Magog* (1941).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: A. Marcus, *Ha-Ḥasidut* (1980), index; W.Z. Rabinowitsch, *R. Ya'akov Yizḥak mi-Pshishkhah* (1932); A.Z. Eshcoly, *Ha-Ḥasidut be-Polin* (2000), 50–72; M. Buber, *Or ha-Ganuz* (1965), 52–53, 395–403.

[Yehuda Ben-Dor (2nd ed.)]

PRZYTYK, town near Radom, E. central Poland. In 1936, 90% of its 3,000 inhabitants were Jews. Przytyk became notorious because of the pogrom which occurred there in 1936 and aroused sharp reaction from Jewish public opinion throughout the world. After the death of Marshal *Pilsudski in May 1935, the strength of his followers in the government weakened, and they were unable to check the virulent antisemitism which erupted as a result of reactionary and nationalist pressure from the *Endecja party. A series of bloody riots broke out against Jewish students in metropolitan universities and against small Jewish shopkeepers, who were regarded as competitors by impoverished peasants who had been driven to seek a livelihood in the cities. Anti-Jewish *boycott propaganda was followed by several attacks on Jews, which the authorities took no measures to prevent.

Against this background of tension, a pogrom broke out in Przytyk. In March 9, 1936, when the peasants came to the seasonal fair, they were incited to attack Jewish stallkeepers and even break into Jewish homes; three Jews were killed and 60 wounded. The Jews organized a self-defense group, and in the ensuing clashes one Pole was shot and killed. In the subsequent trial no attempt was made to distinguish between attackers and defenders. The Jew accused of the shooting was found guilty and given a harsh sentence. As a mark of Jewish protest, the Bund announced a general strike starting on March 18, 1936; the majority of Jews in Poland, as well as many Polish workers, joined in the strike.

[Moshe Landau]

Holocaust Period

On the outbreak of World War II there were about 2,500 Jews living in Przytyk (about 70% of the total population). The German army entered the town on Sept. 4, 1939, and initiated persecution of the Jews. A decree of March 5, 1941, ordered the immediate evacuation of the Jewish population from Przytyk and about 160 surrounding villages. Their passive resistance prolonged the deportation action for over a month. The Jewish refugees settled in about 30 different places in the Kielce province, but within a short time were again ordered to concentrate in two towns only – Przysucha and Szydlowiec. All of them were afterward deported to Treblinka death camp and exterminated, in part together with the Jewish population of Przysucha (Oct. 31, 1942), and that of Szydlowiec (Jan. 13, 1943). The community was not reestablished after the war.

[Stefan Krakowski]

BIBLIOGRAPHY: H.M. Rabinowicz, *The Legacy of Polish Jewry* (1965), 57–58; Y. Gruenbaum (ed.), EG, 1 (1953), 116. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** E. Melzer, *No Way Out: The Politics of Polish Jewry 1935–1939* (1997), index; J. Zyndul, *Zajscia antyzydowskie w Polsce w latach 1935–1937* (1994), 21–27.

PSALMS, APOCRYPHAL. Syrian manuscripts have preserved a group of five apocryphal Psalms, one of which is also contained in the Septuagint version of the canonical Book of Psalms. This Psalm, which occurs as a "supernumerary" in the Septuagint, found its way into the *Vetus Latina* and the *Syrohexapla* (see *Bible, Versions) as well. It was not known whether the five apocryphal Psalms were a translation from an original Hebrew version or whether they were originally composed in some other language in imitation of the Hebrew Psalms.

An answer to this problem came in 1962 with the publication of the Psalms Scroll found among the *Dead Sea Scrolls in Qumran Cave 11 (11QPs^a), which included, among the canonical Psalms, three of the five apocryphal Syrian Psalms. This unexpectedly confirmed the supposition, of M. Noth, of the Hebrew origin of (at least some of) the Syrian Psalms. Moreover, the fact that the apocryphal Psalms were included in 11QPs^a among the canonical Psalms raised the possibility that the members of the Qumran sect regarded them as part of the Canon. This assumption, if correct, would imply that shortly before the beginning of the Common Era – when 11QPs^a was written – a great flexibility existed in the books of Psalms in circulation in Ereẓ Israel both as regards the Psalms they included and as regards the internal arrangement of the biblical Psalms themselves. This is a further indication that the final crystallization of the Book of Psalms, in its present form, is comparatively late. Thus the boundary line between canonical and apocryphal materials – at least as far as the Book of Psalms is concerned – becomes rather blurred. Some scholars however maintain that 11QPs^a does not represent the Book of Psalms, as generally understood, but rather a liturgical compilation used in religious services. This "liturgical theory" removes two major difficulties for those scholars rejecting such a late date for the final canonization of the Biblical Psalter:

(1) a compilation of this nature would naturally contain various non-biblical excerpts without any intention of ascribing to them a canonical status;

(2) the biblical chapters quoted in such a liturgical compilation would not necessarily follow the order in which they occur in the Bible. Hence the Qumran Psalms Scroll cannot, at this stage, confirm the canonicity of the apocryphal Psalms even among certain Jewish circles at the turn of the Common Era. It can however prove the existence of an original Hebrew text from which (some of) the Syrian Psalms were translated.

Date and Place of Origin

The content of these Psalms do not provide a clear solution for the problem of their date and place of origin, since they too exhibit those nontemporal features characteristic of the canonical Psalms. The attemps to find in them traces of "an Orphic influence" or indications of "an Essene origin" cannot be conclusively proved. Linguistic criteria, although insufficient for fixing any definite dating, at least furnish grounds for stating that in their present form the apocryphal Psalms (including the Septuagint Psalm 151, apparently the earliest of them) were possibly composed in Hellenistic times and certainly not before the Persian period. This is borne out by the use not only of characteristically postclassical Hebrew idioms and phraseology but also of terms and epithets typical of rabbinic and post-biblical literature: "sons of the covenant"; "a faithful judge" (*dayyan emet*); "the Lord of all" (but this reading is disputed). The apocryphal Psalms also display significant parallels to the Wisdom of Ben Sira and to Qumran post-biblical writings, as do other "Psalms" contained in other scrolls.

If it should be proved that the apocryphal Psalms are Hellenistic, and if it is true that none of those in the canonical Psalter originated after the Persian period, it may well be contended that (one of) the reason(s) for the exclusion of the apocryphal Psalms from the canonical Psalter is due to the fact that the rabbis did recognize the late origin of these compositions. This is however a question that can be clearly and unequivocally decided only on the basis of new facts and the discovery of further apocryphal writings.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: J.A. Sanders, *Psalms Scroll of Qumrân Cave 11* (1965); idem, *Dead Sea Psalm Scroll* (1967), incl. detailed bibl. (pp. 151–3); Yalon, in: *Molad*, 22 (1964), 463–5; B. Uffenheimer, *ibid.*, 69–81, 328–42; Talmon, in: *Tarbiz*, 35 (1965/66), 214–34; idem, in: *Textus*, 5 (Eng., 1965), 11–21; Goschen-Gottstein, *ibid.*, 22–23; A. Hurvitz, in: *Eretz Israel*, 8 (1967), 82–87.

[Avi Hurvitz]

PSALMS, BOOK OF This article is arranged according to the following outline:

TITLE
PLACE IN THE CANON
NUMBER OF PSALMS
VERSE DIVISION
DIVISION INTO BOOKS
COMPOSITION OF THE PSALTER
DATE OF THE PSALTER
ASCRIPTION TO DAVID
TYPES OF PSALMS
PSALMS AND THE CULT
THE TEXT
SUPERSCRIPTION AND TECHNICAL TERMINOLOGY
    Those Containing Personal Names (with affixed *lamed*)
    Titles with Liturgical Application
    Technical Terms in the Headings
    Technical Terms Within the Psalms
IN THE TALMUD AND MIDRASH
IN THE LITURGY
    Statutory Prayers
    Non-Statutory Prayers
    Various
IN THE ARTS
    In Literature
    In Art
    In Music
MUSICAL RENDITION IN JEWISH TRADITION
    Historical Sources
    Melody
    Performance

TITLE

The English name Psalms is derived from the Latin Vulgate *Liber Psalmorum or Psalmi* for short. The Latin, in turn, was borrowed from the Greek ψαλμοι which is the title found in most Greek manuscripts and by which the book is cited in the New Testament (Luke 20:42; 24:44; Acts 1:20). It meant "a song sung to a stringed instrument" and seems to be a translation of the Hebrew term *mizmor* which occurs 57 times in the individual Hebrew captions of the book. A variant title, derived from the same Greek root, is ψαλτήριον, found in the fifth-century Codex Alexandrinus (GA), which is the source of the Latin *Psalterium* and the English Psalter. No Hebrew name which might have served as the origin of the Greek is known, but there is evidence of a Palestinian practice to refer to all psalms as *mizmorot*, even when the technical term *mizmor* is absent (cf. TJ, Ber. 4:3, 7d–8a; Shab. 16:1, 15c; Ta'an. 2:2, 65c). Closest to this is the Syriac title of the book, *Kēthaba de-mazmūrē*.

The Hebrew Bible does not preserve any original title for the compilation as a whole. The editorial note, Psalm 72:20, would indicate that at some period "The Prayers of David son of Jesse" designated a smaller collection of psalms, although the Hebrew term *tefillah* in its usual supplicatory meaning would be inappropriate to much of the contents of the present Books I and II. Perhaps it was used in a more generalized sense of the articulated communication of man with God (cf. I Sam. 2:1; Hab. 3:1).

The universally accepted Hebrew name for the book in rabbinic and subsequent literature is *Sefer Tehillim* (cf. BB 14b), often contracted to *Tillim* (Av. Zar. 19a; TJ, Suk. 3:12, 53d; Ket. 12:3, 35a) or *Tille* and reflected in the transliterations of the Palestinian Church Fathers as Σφαρ θελλέιμε (Origen, in Eusebius, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, 6:25) and *Sephar Tallim* (Jerome, *Psalterium juxta Hebraeos*).

This Hebrew title poses several difficulties. In the first place, there is the use of the normally masculine plural ending *-im* for a feminine noun as against the regular feminine plural *-ot* (i.e., *tehillot*), which the word *tehillah* takes in the Bible (cf. Ps. 22:4; 78:4; cf. Ex. 15:11; Isa. 60:6; 63:7). Then, only a single psalm (145) is actually entitled *tehillah* and this, curiously, is replaced by *tefillah* in the Qumran scroll (11QPs^{a} 16:1, 7). Lastly, a title based on *tehillah*, a song of praise, would seem to be applicable only to a selection of the compositions that make up the collection.

The oft-repeated assumption that *Tehillim* was artificially coined to differentiate the title of the canonical book (i.e., Psalms) from the ordinary plurality of *tehillah* (i.e., psalms) must now be discarded in view of the presence of *tehillim* in the aforementioned Qumran scroll (11QPs^{a} 27:1, 4) in the simple sense of liturgical compositions. It must be supposed that the masculine plural form represents an internal, post-biblical Hebrew development parallel to the development of *tefillim/n* as the plural of *tefillah* in the sense of "phylactery." In any case, medieval Hebrew writers such as Mishael b. Uzziel (*Kitāb al-Khilaf*) and Abraham Ibn Ezra (*Iggeret ha-Shabbat*, 3) refer to the book as *Sefer Tehillot*, though whether they do so by some tradition or out of a desire to preserve the biblical Hebrew form, it is difficult to tell.

The Hebrew title itself was selected or emerged doubtless because the root *hll* in biblical usage is overwhelmingly characteristic of the language of psalms and, in fact, seems to have acquired in the post-Exilic books the specialized connotation of "Temple worship" (cf. Ezra 3:10–11; Neh. 5:13; 12:24; I Chron. 16:4, 36; 23:5, et al.). The popular liturgical refrain *Hallelujah, which is exclusive to the Book of Psalms, was probably an additional influence, as was the fact that the hymn plays a leading role among the categories of psalms (see discussion of technical terms, below).

PLACE IN THE CANON

According to an anonymous tannaitic source, the proper place of Psalms in the corpus of *Ketuvim* is second, following Ruth and succeeded by Job and Proverbs (BB 14b; see *Bible). The source does not give any explanation for the sequence, but the precedence of Ruth is undoubtedly due to the closing genealogy of David (Ruth 4:18–22), the reputed author of Psalms. For an exploration of the other features of the arrangement, see *Job, beginning. The importance of the book in the canon may be gauged by the fact that despite the great variety in the order of the books of the *Ketuvim* exhibited by the manuscripts, Psalms invariably either heads the list or is preceded only by Ruth and/or Chronicles. In the early printed editions the book always comes first and this has become the universal practice in Hebrew printed Bibles (see *Bible, table 2, cols. 829–30).

It is quite likely that this represents the oldest order of the *Ketuvim* for II Maccabees 2:13 refers to "books about the kings and prophets and the writings of David…," and Philo similarly speaks of "Laws and oracles delivered by prophets and hymns and other writings" (Cont. 25). The New Testament likewise invokes "the law of Moses and the prophets and the psalms" (Luke 24:44). It is reasonable to infer from this early testimony that the Psalter was looked upon as being the most important among the books of the *Ketuvim*.

NUMBER OF PSALMS

Current editions of the Psalter universally contain 150 psalms. The ancient Greek version of the Jews of Alexandria has the same number even though it exhibits some different internal divisions, combining into single psalms the Hebrew 9–10 and 114–115, while dividing the Hebrew 116 and 147 each into two psalms. The Hebrew-Greek correspondences are as follows:

MT	LXX
1–8	1–8
9–10	9
11–113	10–112
114–115	113
116:1–9	114
116:10–19	115
117–146	116–145
147:1–11	146
147:12–20	147
148–150	148–150

The coincidence of 150 psalms in the two versions, despite the differences, would seem to be significant, particularly since the Greek contains an additional composition which it designates as "supernumerary," thereby exhibiting a conscious desire to limit the canonical psalms to 150.

At the same time, there is a wealth of evidence for the existence of widely varying traditions. A Psalter of 147 chapters is mentioned as early as amoraic times (TJ, Shab. 16:1, 15c; cf. Sof. 16:11; Mid. Ps. to 22:4) and is to be found in manuscripts (C.D. Ginsburg, in bibl., 18, 777) and in the first edition of the *Yalkut Shimoni* (Salonica, 1521–26; cf. also Jacob b. Asher, *Ba'al ha-Turim*, Gen. 47:28). The Leningrad Codex B and the Brescia (1494) and Naples (1491–94) Bibles all feature a division into 149 psalms, an arrangement also known to Mishael b. Uzziel (*Kitāb al-Khilaf*) and to Samuel ha-Nagid (J.H. Schirmann, in bibl.) and present in some Hebrew manuscripts (I. Joel, in bibl.). Others comprise divisions of 148 (*ibid.*), 151, 159, and even 170 psalms (C.D. Ginsburg, in bibl., 583, 536, 725).

These variations have nothing to do with the content of the Psalter which remains the same in all the editions. They merely register differences in the divisions and combinations of psalm units. That our Psalms 1 and 2 were very early conjoined is explicitly attested in rabbinic sources (Ber. 9b–10a; TJ, Ber. 4:3, 8a; Ta'an. 2:2, 65c) and in New Testament manuscripts (Acts 13:33) and may possibly also be reflected in a Qumran scroll (4Q 174 col. 1). The truncated alphabetic acrostic that spans Psalms 9–10 shows that the two originally constituted a single psalm in the Hebrew just as they do in the Greek. It is very likely that such a combination is behind a Palestinian *amora's* citation of Psalm 20:2 as belonging to the 18th psalm (TJ, Ber. 4:3, 8a; Ta'an. 2:2, 65c), thus showing that a pair of our short units apart from 1 and 2 must have counted as a single entity in his Psalter.

Other documented examples of the conjoining in earlier times of what appear in our texts as individual psalms are 42–43 (cf. 42:6, 12; 43:5; Yal., Ps. 745; C.D. Ginsburg, in bibl., 725); 53–54 (*ibid.*); 70–71 (*ibid.*, 18, 777); 93–94 (I. Joel, in bibl.); 94–95, 104–105, 114–115, 116–117, 117–118:4 (C.D. Ginsburg, in bibl., 18, 536, 777, 853, 873). In the case of 117, the idea of a two-versed psalm seemed preposterous (cf. Tos. to Pes. 117a) and led to its merging with either the preceding or following psalm. Yet, just as the Greek displays the breakdown of 116 and 147 each into two separate compositions, so there are manuscripts in which 118 and 119 are subdivided (C.D. Ginsburg, in bibl., 536–7, 583, 725–6).

All in all, it is quite clear that no fixed and uniform system of chapter divisions existed in ancient times. Except where a superscription intervenes, the manuscripts frequently do not in any way mark the transition from one psalm to another, thus easily permitting varieties of verse groupings. What is not clear is the significance to be attached to the variant numbers of the psalms. The most plausible explanation is that which relates them to the custom of reading the Torah each Sabbath in the Palestinian synagogues in a triennial cycle (cf. Meg. 29b). It is presumed that there also existed a similar cycle of weekly Psalter readings in association with the Torah and prophetical readings. Since the latter were not stable, but varied from community to community, this would account for the diversity in the numeration of the psalms.

VERSE DIVISION

In the Qumran scroll (11QPs^{a}), all the psalms are written in prose form with nothing to indicate verse division, except for Psalm 119 where the alphabetic arrangement provides a natural indication. However, the verse division must be quite early. Other Qumran Psalms manuscripts, especially from cave 4, do reflect a practice of transmitting the text in a form in keeping with the verse structure.

According to a tannaitic report, the number of verses in the Psalter is 5,896 (Kid. 30a). This is over twice the sum of 2,527 specified in the western masorah's note at the end of the book. The eastern masorah details only three fewer due to the combination of each of the following two verses into one: 22:5–6; 52:1–2; 53:1–2; and 129:5–6, and the division of verse 1 in Psalm 90 into two (C.D. Ginsburg, in bibl., 101; Lewin, in bibl., 84). The great discrepancy between the masoretic and tannaitic traditions is to be explained by varying concepts of "verse." The former enumerates the larger poetic unit which may contain two or three stichs and which is marked off by a major stop or caesura; the latter is most likely based on a peculiar mode of writing biblical poetry in which the spacing of words and their alignment, column by column, was important (cf. Meg. 16b; TJ, Meg. 3:8, 74b; Sof. 12:9). The *tannaim* evidently counted as a "verse" each compact cluster of words and even a caption of one or two words (S.D. Luzzatto, in bibl., 281–2). In this connection, incidentally, it should be noted that our printed editions, following the pattern fixed in the Torah (cf. Gen. 26:6), may accept three words, but not less, as a separate verse, so that a superscription of three words or more receives a separate enumeration. This is never the case in the English versions and accounts for the frequent difference of one between the Hebrew and English verse numberings.

One other distinction between the talmudic and masoretic traditions lies in the location of the middle verse of the book which is stated by the note at the end of the Psalter to be Psalm 78:36, but two verses ahead in the rabbinic computation (Kid. 30a).

DIVISION INTO BOOKS

The Psalter is divided into five books, each of the first four being marked off by a doxology, or formulaic expression of praise to God, as follows:

Book I, Ps. 1–41
41:14 Blessed is the Lord, God of Israel,
From eternity to eternity.
Amen and Amen.
Book II, Ps. 42–72
72:18–20 Blessed is the Lord God, God of Israel,
Who alone does wondrous things;
Blessed be His glorious name for ever,
And let His glory fill the whole world.
Amen and Amen. End of the prayers of David son of Jesse
Book III, Ps. 73–89
89:53 Blessed be the Lord to eternity.
Amen and Amen.
Book IV, Ps. 90–106
106:48 Blessed is the Lord, God of Israel,
From eternity to eternity.
And let all the people say
Amen, Hallelujah.
Book V, Ps. 107–150

This last book bears no closing formula. It is likely that Psalm 150 was regarded as a doxology for the entire Psalter.

These liturgical formulas which distinguish the various books that now make up the Book of Psalms are present in the Greek and are therefore at least as old as the second half of the second century B.C.E., by which time that translation was certainly completed. They are also definitely post-Exilic in origin as can be determined by some stylistic and terminological peculiarities. Indeed, three of the four doxologies are not integrated with the psalms to which they are attached, but form an appendage to them. It is thus reasonable to assume that they signify the close of what were once independent collections. Further support for this inference may be derived from the colophon to Book II. It is hardly conceivable that an editor who was aware of the 18 psalms attributed to David in the subsequent books would have written that "the prayers of David son of Jesse" had come to an end (Ps. 72:20; cf. Jer.

51:64; Job 31:40). It is also unlikely that a single compiler would have duplicated individual psalms. If Psalm 14 appears again in Book II (Ps. 53) which also repeats Psalm 40:14–18 (Book I) in the form of Psalm 70, and if parts of two psalms of Book II (57:8–12; 60:7–14) become Psalm 108 in Book V then it should be conceded that the various books existed at some time or other as independent entities. In other words, the division of the Psalter into books may represent successive stages in the growth of the work as a whole.

There are good reasons for believing, however, that the doxology to Book IV (Ps. 106:48) constitutes the exception to the rule and that the division between Books IV and V is artificial. These books share certain characteristics which put them in contrast with the preceding ones. Eighteen of their 61 psalms bear no superscriptions as opposed to only six psalms without superscriptions in all the foregoing 89 psalms. On the one hand, not a single musical reference is to be found in the headings, while such otherwise characteristically technical terms as *La-Menaẓẓe'aḥ* and *Selah* are almost totally absent, the former occurring only three times and the latter four. On the other hand, Hallelujah appears exclusively in these two collections. In addition, the subject matter of the two is very much alike; they contain predominantly praise and thanksgiving psalms suitable for the public service in the Temple. Most telling is the fact that the doxology of Book IV seems really to be an integral part of the last psalm and need not originally have applied to the entire collection. The first and last two verses of Psalm 106 are cited in I Chronicles 16:34–36 together with the peculiar invocational rubric. Since the latter fits naturally into the situation there described it is likely that the presence of the rubric, slightly varied, at the end of Psalm 106 has been due to the influence of the Chronicles passage.

The cumulative effect of the evidence here presented is to cast grave doubt upon the originality of the book division after Psalm 106. In this connection it is of interest that the Qumran scroll (11QPs^{a}) intersperses in Book V selections from Book IV, although in an order differing slightly from ours. While it is not at all certain that the scroll is not a sectarian liturgy or hymn book, rather than a canonical Psalter, the phenomenon may reflect a period of time before the division of Psalms 90–150 into two. At any rate, the extension of a fourfold into a pentateuchal arrangement was probably suggested by the analogy of the Torah, and may have been the result of the reading of the Psalms, week by week, in association with the triennial cycle of Torah readings. An echo of this is to be found in the rabbinic observation that "Moses gave the five books of the Torah to Israel, and David gave the five books of the Psalms to Israel" (Mid. Ps. to 1).

At all events, the liturgical character of the doxologies would seem to prove that the book divisions were originally fixed for purposes of public worship, and it can hardly be accidental that the Book of Psalms opens with a reference to the study of the Torah.

COMPOSITION OF THE PSALTER

From the foregoing data it becomes evident that the present pentateuchal division is only the crystallization of a long and complex history involving the emergence of several small collections and their combination into larger units. The process of development can only be partially discerned and any reconstruction must of necessity remain conjectural to a certain extent.

The earliest collection is undoubtedly Book I, or rather Psalms 3–41 within it. Except for Psalms 10 and 33 which are anonymous, every unit is "Davidic." As has been pointed out above (on the number of psalms) the alphabetic arrangement, supported by contextual and stylistic considerations, confirms the tradition of the rabbis, the Greek translation, and several Hebrew manuscripts, that Psalms 9 and 10 originally were one. Psalm 33 has a "Davidic" superscription in the Greek which may have gotten lost in the Hebrew, although it is more likely that the psalm was inserted into Book I at a later date. (Perhaps it was influenced by the similarities between 32:11 and 33:1; *kōnes* (33:7) is a vocable characteristic of post-Exilic Hebrew and a late composition for Psalm 33 is also suggested by the fact that the summons to sing a new song to the Lord is put off to verse 3 instead of coming at the beginning as in Psalms 96, 98, etc.) The "Davidic" psalms would thus constitute the very first stage in the compilation of the Psalter.

The second collection is the group comprising Psalms 42–83 which is distinguished by the rarity of the use of YHWH and the frequency of the appearance of *Elohim* (in its absolute or suffixed forms) in its place, in striking contrast to the situation in the rest of the Psalter. Within this group of 42 psalms, the Tetragrammaton occurs some 45 times and *Elohim* 210 times. However, in the remaining 118 psalms (1–41, 84–150) *Elohim* appears only 94 times altogether, while YHWH occurs 584 times. This overwhelming preference for *Elohim* is so consistent that it even influences two psalms of Book I as they reappear in a second recension in this group. YHWH in Psalm 14:2, 4, 7 becomes *Elohim* in Psalm 53:3, 5, 7 and the same switch occurs between Psalm 40:14a, 17 and Psalm 70:2a, 5 (cf. also Ps. 50:7 with Ex. 20:2; Ps. 68:2, 8–9 with Num. 10:35 and Judg. 5:4–5). Furthermore, such otherwise unknown combinations as *Elohim Elohai* (Ps. 43:4) and *Elohim Elohekha* (Ps. 45:8; 50:7) make their appearance.

Since this phenomenon is restricted to Books II and III (up to Ps. 83), it is evident that the "elohistic" Psalms 42–83 once constituted an independent collection. Their superscriptions show, however, that this development resulted, in turn, from the combination of smaller "elohistic" groupings. Psalms 51–65 and 68–70 make up a second "Davidic" collection which quite probably once followed the first and to which the subscription of Psalm 72:20 was attached. Insofar as no additional psalms are ascribed to David in the "elohistic" Psalter, the colophon is accurate. The other constituents are the "Korahite" Psalms 42–49 (42–43 were originally a unit) and the "Asaphic" Psalms 50, 73–83, both collections internally arranged according to the technical terms of the superscriptions. Four other psalms (66, 67, 71, 72) belong to the "elohistic" Psalter, three of which are anonymous in the received Hebrew text; Psalm 67 is ascribed to David in some Greek manuscripts; Psalm 71 is conjoined with Psalm 70 to form one psalm in many Hebrew manuscripts, but is "Davidic" in the Greek; Psalm 72 is "Solomonic." The presence of the colophon at the end of Psalm 72 naturally influenced the bisection of the "elohistic" Psalter so that it marked off Book II and received a doxology. To the rest of the "elohistic" group was added an appendix (Ps. 84–89) consisting of four more "Korahite" psalms, one "Davidic" psalm, and one attributed to "Ethan" to complete Book III.

The distinguishing characteristics of Psalms 90–150 and their artificial bisection into Books IV and V have been discussed earlier. Here it may be added that this group of psalms must postdate the "elohistic" Psalter because Psalm 108 is constituted from it (Ps. 57:8–12; 60:7–14) and still retains its "elohistic" character despite its presence in a collection otherwise differentiated by the preferred use of YHWH as the divine name. Within the group of Psalms 90–150 some originally smaller collections are still discernible. The most obvious example is that comprising 15 psalms (120–134) entitled *Shir ha*(*la*)-*Maʿalot*. There also seems to have existed still another "Davidic" collection from which were extracted Psalms 101, 103, 108–110, and 138–145. In contrast, Psalms 90–100 are practically all anonymous and although some of them have features in common, they can hardly be said to derive from a recognizable source. Whether the "Hallelujah" psalms (104–106, 111–117, 135, 146–150) were once a separate hymnbook is a question impossible to decide with any degree of confidence.

It is extremely improbable that Psalm 1 or Psalm 2 originally formed part of Book I, if only for the reason that they are anonymous. It is far more likely that when Psalm 2 came to be messianically interpreted and associated with David it was affixed to the "Davidic" collection, just as Ruth was placed immediately before Psalms in many orders of the *Ketuvim* because of its concluding Davidic genealogy (see discussion on place in Canon, above).

After the Psalter had been completed, Psalm 1 was added as a sort of introduction to the entire work, for a combination of various factors made it an ideal choice for the purpose. In the first place, the psalm affirms the governance of the world by a divinely ordained moral order so that the operation of providence is both inevitable and effective. It thus gives expression to the fundamental and indispensable presupposition for all meaningful communication with God, in the biblical view. At the same time it formulates the basic Pharisaic notion of the preoccupation with Torah as the response of Israel to the Divine demand, with the consequent interdependence of study and piety. In addition, the canonical form of the Hebrew Bible indicates the supremacy of Torah over the other divisions by beginning the first prophetic book, Joshua, with an injunction to Joshua to keep the Torah of Moses and read it day and night (Jos 1:7–8) and concludes the last prophetic book, Malachi, with the injunction to be mindful of the Torah of Moses with its laws and statutes (Mal. 3:22). As such Psalm 1 is the appropriate beginning for the third division of the Hebrew Bible.

The selection of what became Psalm 1 also proved to be felicitous from an external literary viewpoint, for it exhibits striking verbal associations with both Psalm 2 (Table 1) and Psalm 41 (Table 2). It could simultaneously be unified with the former, if need be (see discussion on the number of psalms above), and serve with Psalm 41 as a literary framework to Book II.

Table 1

Ps. 1	verse	1	אַשְׁרֵי
		2	תוֹרָה
		2	יֶהְגֶּה
		6	דֶּרֶךְ... תֹּאבֵד
Ps. 2	verse	12	אַשְׁרֵי
		7	חֹק
		1	יֶהְגּוּ
		12	תֹּאבְדוּ דֶרֶךְ

Table 2

Ps. 1	verse	1	אַשְׁרֵי
		2	חֶפְצוֹ
		5	לֹא־יָקֻמוּ
		6	תֹּאבֵד
Ps. 41	verse	2	אַשְׁרֵי
		12	חָפַצְתָּ
		9	לֹא־יוֹסִיף לָקוּם
		6	אָבַד

DATE OF THE PSALTER

Critical scholarship in the 19th century generally regarded the Psalms as the product of the Maccabean-Hasmonean era. This view was grounded in the conviction of the late development of pure monotheism in Israel with its concomitant that the Psalms postdated the prophets. The numerous traces of Psalms' language in the prophetic literature were explained by the influence of the latter on the former, while the extremely individualistic consciousness that is mirrored in the psalms was taken as sure evidence for a highly developed, and hence late, stage in the history of the religion of Israel. Granted these assertions, it was not difficult to interpret allusions to historic events in the Psalter as reflections of internal and external affairs in Judea in the course of the second century B.C.E.

The 20th century witnessed the weakening of this position on the part of biblical scholars for whom the convergence of several lines of independent evidence led to a far more conservative reevaluation of the problem of the age of the Psalter.

In the first place, renewed attention has been paid to the testimony provided by the Greek version. The unchallenged prestige and prominence of the Psalter among the books of the Hagiographa (cf. II Macc. 2:13; Philo, Cont., 25; Luke 24:44) would of itself have been a factor in its early translation into Greek. In addition, the known fact that this version was made in response to the needs of the synagogue worship makes it virtually certain that the Psalms were turned into the vernacular in Alexandria even before much of the Prophets. Ben Sira itself amply attests a knowledge of the Psalms and it may be taken for granted that his grandson, writing around 132 B.C.E., had in mind a Greek Psalter when he referred to the translation into that language of "the law, the prophecies, and the rest of the books." Since the Greek Book of Psalms is identical in order and number with the received Hebrew, the canonization of the corpus must have taken place well before the beginning of the second century B.C.E., by which date the Greek translation is now generally agreed to have existed. It is apparent, moreover, that the translators often encountered difficulty with the original language and were quite ignorant of the meaning of the Hebrew technical terminology which had become completely obsolete. This loss of the living tradition presupposes a considerable passage of time between the composition of the psalms and their rendition into Greek. It is significant that whereas Daniel 3:5ff. contains a list of characteristic musical instruments of the Hellenistic period, not one of these appears among the more than ten instruments referred to in the psalms.

All this, of course, precludes the possibility of any significant number of Maccabean psalms, influences, or historical references. Some Psalms use language that belongs to Late Biblical Hebrew (LBH). Among these are Ps. 119; 133; 144. Nonetheless, the Hebrew Psalter is completely free of Greek linguistic influences and its theology is wholly devoid of Hellenistic concepts.

This conclusion fits in precisely with the evidence to be derived from various types of literature recovered from the Judean Desert. A second-century B.C.E. Psalter (4QPs^a), although fragmentary, clearly demonstrates that at least Books I and II of the Hebrew Psalms collection had been fixed by Hasmonean times. In fact, the Psalter had gained such wide currency that it had generated an imitative literature in the form of psalms (or hymns) of thanksgiving (4QH) which are replete with the phraseology of the canonical Psalter. Nevertheless, linguistic, stylistic, structural, thematic, and theological differences between the two bodies of literature are so large as to leave no doubt of the far greater antiquity of the biblical Psalms. Moreover, the recovery of parts of the original Hebrew version of the Ben Sira from Qumran and Masada has clearly shown that the style of the Psalms belongs to a much earlier stratum of the language than that of an educated Jew of approximately 200 B.C.E.

As to historic allusions, explicit references to national events are to be found in but a handful of psalms, e.g., Ps. 137 which refers to the Babylonian exile. Of the Judahite or Israelite kings, David alone is favored with a mention in the body of a psalm (Ps. 18:51; 89:4, 36, 50; 132:1, 11, 17). Otherwise, there are allusions to foreign invasions of Israel (cf. Ps. 2, 48, 74, 79, 83, 89), but no way of pinpointing the specific event. The references to "God-Fearers" as a group distinct from Israel and the (post-Exilic) "house of Aaron" (Ps. 115:11, 13; 118:4; 135:20) reflect the post-Exilic conditions of semi-conversion to Judaism. The emphasis on Torah (Ps. 19:8–12) and its study (Ps. 1, 119) is likewise post-Exilic. In contrast, the picture of internal corruption and social injustice reflected in many of the psalms could as well mirror the same conditions inveighed against by the literary prophets as the state of affairs in Second Temple times. It is probably fair to say that the Book of Psalms has an ancient foundation, with additions made in the period of the Second Temple.

Above all, it is in the realm of the religious ideas of the Psalter, or rather in the inexplicable omission of certain concepts, that a late date for the collection becomes highly dubious. There is no clear notion of eschatological judgment upon the wicked and no trace of the characteristic eschatological terminology such as "the end of days," "the day of the Lord," "in that day." The motif of national sinfulness is lacking, and the theme of the absolute supremacy of morality over the cult, which has no intrinsic worth without morality, does not find unambiguous expression. There are no prayers for the restoration of the Davidic line or for the ingathering of the exiles. Were the prophetic activities and teachings indeed the source of inspiration for the psalmist, and if he composed during the life of the Second Temple, then the absence of all these would be very strange, especially since they all appear as characteristically dominant features of the known literature of the period. There is an exception which proves the rule. The lateness of the Books IV and V of Psalms was stressed above; and near the very end of Book V it is found that Psalm 147, which, among other signs of lateness, borrows extensively from older psalms, is also replete with echoes of Deutero-*Isaiah, including, at the beginning, praise of the Lord for rebuilding Jerusalem (cf. Isa. 44:28) and for healing the brokenhearted (cf. Isa. 57:15, 18; 61:1). But even when the other echoes from Deutero-Isaiah are added they fall far short of the extent to which Deutero-Isaiah and other prophets make use of various psalms, which are thereby proved to antedate them (see, e.g., Ginsberg, in bibl.).

The argument concerning the supposedly late date of the highly individualistic and personal spirit that animates the religion of Psalms has increasingly lost its validity in the wake of the progressive discovery of a huge psalms' literature of the Ancient Near East. Most of it antedates by far the appearance of Israel on the scene of history, yet it exhibits exactly the same individualized and personal qualities as does the Hebrew Psalter.

Finally, there are several psalms and parts of psalms that combine genuinely archaic language with religious concepts that undermine the Jewish monotheism of the post-Exilic period. Psalm 29 has the *bene elim*, "the sons of the gods," blessing Yahweh in phraseology at home in the cult of the ancient Syrian storm god (Ginsberg, 1969), while Ps. 19:2–7 uses sun-god imagery (Sarna).

ASCRIPTION TO DAVID

The Book of Psalms contains neither superscription nor colophon and nowhere in the Hebrew Bible is there any indication of its Davidic authorship. Seventy-three of 150 psalms are designated *le-David*, but the precise connotation of this term is uncertain. It could well have reflected a tradition of authorship ("by David"); it might equally have related to some tradition connecting the content with an event in the life of David ("concerning David"; cf. *la-Nevi'im* in Jer. 23:9 and the headings of Jer. 46:2; 48:1; 49:1, 7, 23, 28). The existence of such exegesis is apparent in the superscriptions to Psalms 3, 7, 18, 34, 51, 52, 54, 56, 57, 59, 60, 63, and 142. That it was once more widespread is evident from the headings in the Greek version of Psalms 27, 71, 97, 143, and 144. However, such an interpretation of *le-David* might be of secondary origin and in any case does not of itself preclude an original understanding of the phrase as implying Davidic authorship of the individual psalms involved. Other possibilities include a dedication to David, a tune or style supposedly Davidic in origin, or a composition taken from the repertoire of a Davidic guild of singers.

If *le-David* indeed originally indicated authorship, then it is of interest that the form is unique to the psalms' literature (cf. Hab. 3:1) for the ascription of no other biblical book to a historic personality ever involves the use of the *lamed* formula (cf. Song, Proverbs). Yet the Psalter is internally consistent in its employment of the same construction with other names such as the Korahites (Ps. 42, et al.), Asaph (Ps. 50, et al.), Solomon (Ps. 72), Heman (Ps. 88), Ethan (Ps. 89), and Moses (Ps. 90).

Whatever its original meaning, there cannot be any doubt that *le-David* was very early interpreted in the sense of authorship. This can be demonstrated by the heading of Psalm 18 which explicitly declares that David "addressed the words of this song to the Lord" (cf. the parallel in II Sam. 22:1 which lacks *le-David*). Another proof is provided by the editorial colophon to the second book of Psalms (72:20): "End of the prayers of David son of Jesse." Since 56 of the 73 occurrences of the formula appear in the first two books, it must be assumed that this remark is a sure indication of how that term was understood very early in the history of the development of the canon of Psalms.

In the course of time, the claim for Davidic composition was extended to the entire Psalter. II Maccabees 2:13 mentions "the writings of David," apparently in reference to the Book of Psalms. The Greek version extends the Davidic heading to psalms not so marked in the received Hebrew text (viz., 33, 43, 71, 91, 93–99, 104, 137). How the idea of Davidic authorship could be applied to the entire collection can now be illustrated by the epilogue of the large Qumran scroll (11QPs^{a}, 27:4–5, 9–10) which ascribes to David a library of 3,600 "psalms" (*tehillim*) and 450 "songs" (*shirim*), although its use of the Davidic superscription does not differ greatly from that of the standard Hebrew text. The first explicit claim to the Davidic origin of the entire Psalter is to be found in rabbinic literature which draws a comparison between the five books of Davidic psalms and the Pentateuch of Moses and was not perturbed by the incidence of other names in the headings (Mid. Ps. to 1:2; BB 14b, 15a; cf. Pes. 117a).

There can be no doubt that the association of David with psalmody rests upon very ancient traditions. The king had a reputation as a skillful player on the lyre in his early youth (I Sam. 16:16–23), an inventor of musical instruments (Amos 6:5; Neh. 12:36; I Chron. 23:5; II Chron. 29:26–27), as a composer of dirges (II Sam. 1:17; 3:33), and as a "sweet singer of Israel" (II Sam. 23:1; cf. 6:5). His role in the establishment of Jerusalem as the supreme, national, religious center (6:2–17; I Chron. 13:3–14; 15:1–16:2) is beyond dispute, and although the sources making David responsible for the organization of the guilds of Temple singers and musicians and for the institution of the liturgy are post-Exilic (Neh. 12:24; I Chron. 6:16ff.; 16:4–7, 41–42; 25:1, 5; II Chron. 7:6; 8:14; 23:18; 29:26–27, 30), there is every reason to believe that they rest upon a solid kernel of historical fact. Indeed, other ancient Near Eastern kings were credited with the composition of hymns including Ammiditana (1683–1647) of Babylon and Assurbanipal of Assyria (669–627; COS I, 445).

TYPES OF PSALMS

The Psalter presents a picture of unusual variety and complexity in its literary typology. Any attempt, however, to effect a systematic generic classification based upon considerations of a commonality of theme, mood, occasion, and style is bound to be more an exercise in convenience than precision. The choice of categories will be influenced by subjective or exegetical factors; sometimes the lines between one class and another cannot be clearly drawn; sometimes a single psalm can be simultaneously subsumed under more than one heading; many psalms are a fusion of two or more types; many are susceptible of diverse interpretations; the tense system, for example, is still imperfectly understood and it is difficult at times to decide whether one is dealing with a prayerful description of present troubles or grateful enumeration of afflictions now happily over; lastly, external criteria might favor one arrangement, whereas a determination of the original life-setting (*Sitz im Leben*) of a psalm might disclose an unsuspected generic affinity with other compositions.

The leading genre is the hymn. Broadest in scope, it invades other groups as well and its preeminence helped provide the most popular title of the book (see discussion on title, above). In essence, it is a poem of praise celebrating the majesty, greatness and providence of God. Examples of such include Psalms 8, 19a, 29, 33, 65, 66, 92, 100, 104, 113, 114, 117, 135, and 145–150. Several psalms specifically extol God's royal role in the universe and so may be regarded as forming a special category within the hymn (Ps. 47, 93, 96–99). They are often referred to as "enthronement psalms." Another group (Ps. 46, 48, 76, 84, 87, 122) glorifies God's city, His holy mount in which He has placed His abode, and is thus designated "Zion Songs." Two psalms (19b, 119; cf. 1) acclaim God's Torah and laud its attributes and its beneficial effects on those who study and observe it.

About one third of the Psalter is given over to laments in which the speaker may be either the individual or the community. The latter type bewails situations of national oppression or misfortune (e.g., Ps. 44, 60, 74, 79, 80, 83, 89c, 94); the former comprises about 40 psalms in all and is distinguished by personal complaints of bodily or mental suffering which may frequently be accompanied by protestations of innocence and integrity and are usually coupled with a strong plea for divine help (Ps. 3, 5, 6, 7, 9–10, 13, 17, 22, 25–28, 31, 35, 36, 38, 39, 41, 42–43, 51, 52, 54–57, 59, 61, 63, 64, 69, 71, 77, 86, 88, 102, 120, 123, 130, 140–143). A distinctive feature of many of the laments is the expression by the worshiper of the absolute certainty that His prayers will be heard. These "psalms of confidence" may be both collective (e.g., Ps. 46, 125, 129) or individual in nature, the latter being more frequent (e.g., Ps. 4, 11, 16, 23, 27, 62, 91, 121).

Closely related to the hymn and the lament is the genre of thanksgiving psalms. Here, again, community songs are relatively rare (e.g., Ps. 66, 67, 118, 136). This may be due to the fact that many of the hymns may have had their origin in a national song of thanksgiving. Psalms in which the speaker is an individual are 9–10, 18, 30, 34, 40, 111, and 138. In Psalm 107 it is difficult to know whether the speaker is a single worshiper or the congregation as a whole. Similarly, in Psalm 144 the speaker employs both the singular and plural forms of address. Many psalms of thanksgiving also contain descriptions of the original misfortune which has now given way to new circumstances. They thus combine two or more types of psalmody into a cohesive union (e.g., 6, 13, 22, 28, 30, 31, 36, 41, 54, 55, 56, 61, 63, 64, 69, 71, 86, 94, 102, 130).

A class in itself is the "royal psalms" in which the center of attention is the anointed one of God, the earthly king of Israel. His relationship to God, his ideal qualities, the misfortunes that befall him, and the woes that afflict him may all be the themes of the song (Ps. 2, 18, 20, 21, 45, 72, 89, 110, 132, 144; cf. 28, 61, 63, 84). Psalms 44 and 101, which, in contrast to royal psalms in the greater ancient Near East contain no direct reference to the reigning monarch (see Starbuck) but which appear to have been liturgies recited by him, probably belong within this same category. The numerous royal hymns in the Psalter are in marked contrast to the scarce references to the king in the Torah (Deut. 28:14–20; 28:36).

One other major category is provided by those compositions which betray the influence of wisdom literature or which have a distinctly pedagogic function or character. They may be reflective or sententious (Ps. 1, 34, 36, 37, 49, 73, 78, 112, 127, 128, 133) or descriptive of the kind of conduct pleasing to God (Ps. 15, 24, 32, 40, 50). They may also be historical retrospectives which either directly or inferentially project the lessons to be derived from the past and which are deemed to be relevant to the occasion of the psalm (Ps. 78, 81, 105, 106, 114).

PSALMS AND THE CULT

The detailed and elaborate prescriptions of the Pentateuch's Priestly Code contain almost no reference to any recitations by the priest or the worshiper in the course of the performance of the daily and festival rituals. Conversely, none of the psalms provides any explicit information on the type of cultic priestly ceremony to which it might have been attached. It is not clear whether this reflects differences in the cult as conceived respectively by the writers of the Torah and the psalmists, or whether the explanation for the difference is literary.

It is of interest that the Chronicler carefully and consistently differentiates the origin of the sacrificial system which he ascribes to Moses, from the institution of its musical-recitative accompaniment which is attributed to Davidic innovation (II Chron. 23:18; see section on ascription to David, above). The Psalter, significantly, never associates any psalm with the Aaronide priests. Given the post-Exilic origin of the priesthood of *Aaron, this is a further argument for the early date of much of the book of Psalms.

There is ample evidence to show that the verbal element did constitute an aspect of the worship of both the pre-Exilic period and the post-Exilic periods. The pre-Exilic priestly benediction (Num. 6:22–26) is one example, the cultic liturgy of the first fruits offering (Deut. 26:1–11) is another. Hannah's personal prayer in the Sanctuary at Shiloh (I Sam. 1:10–13) could not have been exceptional. Solomon's post-Exilic Temple dedication address repeatedly refers to "prayer and supplication" (I Kings 8:28ff.), and both early and late evidence from Isaiah shows the Temple to have been, indeed, a place of a multitude of prayers (Isa. 1:15; cf. 56:7). Amos (5:23) makes it quite clear that song set to musical accompaniment was part of the cult at the temple at Beth-El. It is not regarded as illegitimate as such, and there is no reason to believe that it was unique to this place. Jeremiah describes the chanting of a well-known refrain during the bringing of the *todah* offering to the Jerusalem Temple (Jer. 33:11; cf. Ps. 100:1, 4–5; 107:1; 118:1, 29; 136:1ff.). The prophet of the late Babylonian Exile describes the Temple as "a house of prayer" (Isa. 56:7).

All this suggests a close and ancient connection between cult and liturgy. In fact, without some association between the two it would be extremely difficult to account for the preservation and transmission of the individual compositions over long periods of time until they became gathered into collections and ultimately canonized as a corpus.

Two basic forces operated simultaneously in anchoring the psalms to the cult. First, most of them clearly answer to specific situations in the life of the individual or the community. The ability to categorize them according to a relatively few major and minor types (see above) and to recognize a recurrent use of a limited number of fixed patterns and conventional modes of expression strongly suggest standardized liturgies available for recitation, when the need arose, either at the central Temple or at the provincial shrines that existed throughout most of the period of the Monarchy. The great national festivals which were fundamental to the religious life of Israel would have been the natural occasions for the public recitation of many of the psalms.

Once a liturgical tradition is assumed within the Israelite cult, and it must be so assumed, then the analogy of Near Eastern temples can be drawn upon. In Egypt, Mesopotamia, Ugarit, and Canaan, guilds of singers and musicians connected with the temples enjoyed official status and were highly organized. There is good reason to believe that similar guilds existed in Israel, and there is ever-increasing evidence to support the view that the Davidic date for their establishment as claimed by the Chronicler may not be very wide of the mark (I Chron. 6, 15, 16, 25, 29; II Chron. 35:15), if anachronistic in detail.

Proof for the well-rooted and extensive tradition of music and psalmody in Israel in the period of the First Temple comes from several sources. King Hezekiah of Judah included male and female musicians among the tribute he paid to Sennacherib of Assyria (c. 701 B.C.E.; Annals of Sennacherib, 3:46–48; Pritchard, Texts, 288; COS II, 303) and no fewer than 200 lay singers of both sexes were among those who returned from the Babylonian Exile with Zerubbabel (Ezra 2:65, 70), apart from the 148 Asaphites (Ezra 2:41; Neh. 7:44). The latter are connected with several psalms (Ps. 50, 73–83) and are said to have been appointed by David to be in charge of the service of the song in the Temple at Jerusalem (I Chron. 6:16, 24). At any rate, their presence in the list of returnees can prove that they had functioned as professional singers in the First Temple. Another guild of Temple servitors from the same period is called "the Korahites" (I Chron. 6:7, et al.) and their name, too, appears in the superscriptions of several psalms (Ps. 42, 44–49, 84–85, 87–88). Their existence as Temple functionaries, in the times of the late Monarchy at least, is now attested by the appearance of their name among the inscribed Hebrew ostraca discovered in the temple of Arad.

There can be no doubt of the involvement of musical guilds in the public worship of Israel in the days of the kings. Inevitably, each guild would develop its own liturgical repertoire and thus constitute another important factor in the presentation and transmission of Hebrew psalmody, rooted in the cult as it naturally was anyway.

THE TEXT

It is unlikely that the standard Hebrew text is free of the corruptions that inevitably beset all ancient literature in the course of scribal transmission. Hundreds of years elapsed between the editio princeps of a given psalm and its earliest witnesses, and while the special circumstances of its connection with the cult must certainly have reduced its susceptibility to gross error, it cannot be gainsaid that many of the textual cruxes owe their origin to the carelessness of intermediaries. At the same time, so long as no autograph is available there can be no way of knowing the extent, if any, of editorial activity behind the smoothest text. That such occurred is the inescapable conclusion from a comparison of Psalms doublets (Ps. 14 = Ps. 53; Ps. 18 = II Sam. 22; Ps. 31:2–4 = Ps. 71:1–3; Ps. 40:14–18 = Ps. 70; Ps. 57:8–12 = Ps. 108:2–6; Ps. 60:7–14 = Ps. 108:7–14).

At the same time, there can also be no doubt that the consonantal text of Psalms has proved to be far more reliable than an earlier age of textual criticism had judged. Northwest Semitic inscriptions and comparative Near Eastern literature have opened up new vistas in the understanding of the biblical poetic idiom and in ancient Hebrew orthography, lexicography, grammar, and syntax. The result has been a considerable diminution in the number of instances previously deemed to be corruptions of the text.

This conclusion intermeshes with the observation that, unlike the case with some other biblical books, a comparison of the received Hebrew of Psalms with the Greek, Latin, Aramaic, and Syriac versions shows that all known witnesses to the text basically constitute a single recension. This conclusion is, in turn, in perfect agreement with the evidence from the scrolls of the Judean Desert. About 30 exemplars in various stages of preservation have been uncovered in the library of Qumran, more copies than of any other part of the Scriptures. While numerous variations from the standard Hebrew text may be registered, the overwhelming number are merely orthographic in character and very rarely present significant differences in meaning or interpretation. In no instance can a recension different from that of the earliest Ben Asher manuscripts be detected. The text of the Massadah Scrolls is, in fact, virtually identical in content and orthography with the received Hebrew text.

It is clear that this latter enjoys a traceable history of over 2,000 years. Its great prestige and constancy must derive from its use in the liturgy of the Second Temple times, a powerfully conservative factor in the preservation of a text.

SUPERSCRIPTION AND TECHNICAL TERMINOLOGY

Only 24 psalms have no headings of any sort. Psalms 1, 2, 10, 33, 43, 71, 93–97, 99, 104, 105, 107, 114–119, 136, and 137 may thus be termed "orphan psalms" (Av. Zar. 24b). In each instance, the LXX repairs the Hebrew deficiency, though in Psalms 105, 107, 114–119, and 135 the addition consists solely of an initial "Hallelujah." In all but Psalms 115 and 118 this term belongs in the Hebrew to the preceding composition.

The titles of the psalms are for the most part obscure. For the sake of convenience they may be classified as follows:

Those Containing Personal Names (with Affixed *Lamed*)

Usually the preposition *le* must indicate either authorship or a collection identified with a guild. However, in Psalm 72 it must mean "about" or "dedicated to," and Psalm 102 *le-ʿani* can only mean, "for [recitation by] the afflicted man."

DAVID. Seventy-three psalms are connected with the name David, distributed as follows:

Book I, 37 (3–9, 11–32, 34–41).
Book II, 18 (51–65, 68–70).
Book III, one (86).
Book IV, two (101, 103).
Book V, 15 (108–110, 122, 124, 131, 133, 138–145).

The LXX omits the Davidic reference in Psalms 122, 124, 131, and 133, but adds it to Psalms 33, 42 (GA), 43, 67, 71, 91, 93–99, 104, and 137. It is of interest that 96, 105, 106, and 107 are connected with Davidic activity in I Chronicles 16, yet they do not have Davidic superscriptions in the Hebrew text.

A unique feature of the Davidic ascription is the tendency, found 13 times, to connect a psalm with some event in the life of that king: Psalms 3 (II Sam. 15–19), 7 (? II Sam. 18:21), 18 (II Sam. 22), 34 (I Sam. 21:14), 51 (II Sam. 11–12), 52 (I Sam. 22:9), 54 (I Sam. 23:19; 26:1), 56 (?I Sam. 21:11; 27:2), 57 (I Sam. 22:1; 24:3), 59 (I Sam. 19:11), 60 (II Sam. 8:13; I Chron. 18:1–12), 63 (I Sam. 23:14; 24:1; 26:2), 142 (I Sam. 22:1; 24:3). Here, again, the LXX extends this practice by connecting Psalms 27, 71, 97, 143, and 144 with David's biography, but apart from 144 (cf. I Sam. 17) the references are indeterminate.

It should be noted that in some instances the connection between the Hebrew superscription and the body of the psalm is very tenuous. It is possible that the reference may often be to some tradition rooted in a biography of David not included in the biblical narratives and now lost.

ASAPH. Twelve psalms are associated with Asaph (50, 73–83). If the reference is to Asaph rather than to the Asaphites (Ezra 2:41; 3:10, et al.) it is probably because he was a contemporary of David, appointed by him to a prominent position in the leadership of the Temple (Neh. 12:46; I Chron. 6:24; 15:19, et al.).

THE KORAHITES. There are 11 Korahite psalms (42, 44–49, 84–85, 87–88). The Korahites (cf. Num. 26:11) are first recorded as participating in the public worship of the Temple in the time of Jehoshaphat (II Chron. 20:19). They are not listed among the returnees from Babylon (Ezra 2; Neh. 7), so that they operated only during the First Temple period. The appearance of the Korahites among the ostraca of Arad confirms the existence of the guild in the Monarchy period.

HEMAN, ETHAN. Only one psalm each is assigned to Heman and Ethan (Ps. 88, 89). Both are entitled "Ezrahite" (LXX, "Israelite"). They are both leaders of the Temple musicians under David (I Chron. 2:6; 6:18, et al.). Both names are otherwise mentioned as personages famous for their wisdom (I Kings 5:11). Psalm 88 is also ascribed to the Korahites, indicating a double tradition.

SOLOMON. It appears that in the case of Psalm 72 the reference to Solomon is to the content rather than the authorship and was so understood by the Greek translators. In Psalm 127 the presence of "Solomon" in the title (omitted in LXX) was conditioned by the mention of "the building of the house."

MOSES. The attribution to Moses in Psalm 90 is probably based on the affinities between verse 1 and Deuteronomy 33:27, verse 10 and Exodus 7:7, and verse 13 and Exodus 32:12.

JEDUTHUN. At first sight Psalms 39, 62, and 77 appear to be ascribed to Jeduthun who, according to the Chronicler, was a levitical singer in David's time (I Chron. 16:38, 41, 42; 25:1, 3, 6; II Chron. 5:12). However, not only are the first two also attributed to David and the third to Asaph, implying a combination of variant traditions, but the preposition *ʿal* (62–77) is difficult to reconcile with a personal name. It is possible, therefore, that a musical instrument is intended.

Another interpretation connects the term with the verb *ydh*, "to confess," and presumes some confession liturgy or ritual.

Eight names are listed, at most, to which the Septuagint adds "Zechariah" in Psalm 137 and "Haggai and Zechariah" in Psalms 146, 147:1, 147:12, and 148.

Titles with Liturgical Application

The heading of Psalm 30 mentions "the dedication of the Temple" which must be an allusion to the occasion of its public recitation. The identification of the reference, however, is not clear (cf. Sof. 18:2). Psalm 100 implies a liturgy for the *todah* offering (cf. Jer. 33:11). Psalm 92 indicates a Sabbath reading. The Greek Psalter further reflects liturgical traditions by affixing additional superscriptions indicating that Psalms 24, 48, 94, and 93 were read, respectively, on the first, second, fourth, and sixth days of the week (cf. Tam. 7:4; RH 31a). It also, strangely, designates Psalm 38 "for the Sabbath" and appends to Psalm 29 the notice, "on the going forth of the Tabernacle," perhaps a reference to a custom of reading this hymn on the last day of the Feast of Tabernacles. However, the rubric may also allude to a tradition connecting Psalm 29 with David's bringing of the ark to Jerusalem, since the verses supposedly sung on that occasion (I Chron. 16:28–29) betray a close affinity with verses 1–2. Another possibility in explanation of the Greek annotation may be that the original Hebrew rubric containing the term *ʿaẓeret* was mistakenly identified with the eighth day of Tabernacles (cf. Lev. 23:36), whereas it is the rabbinic term for Pentecost. Indeed, the reading of Psalm 29 on this festival is attested (Sof. 18:3).

The Greek rubric to Psalm 96, "when the house was built after the captivity," would imply some tradition not otherwise known. Totally obscure is the Septuagint annotation to Psalm 97, "when the land was established."

Technical Terms in the Headings

The superscriptions are remarkably rich in the number and variety of technical terms, most of which are shrouded in obscurity. Their meanings were already lost in early times for the Greek translators were generally ignorant of them, even in the days of the Second Temple, and rabbinic literature and medieval commentators present an assortment of interpretations. The explanation for this severance of tradition may lie, at least partially, in the fact that the terminology was rooted in the technical jargon of the different guilds of singers and musicians who jealously guarded their professional secrets until they, themselves, went out of existence (cf. Yoma 3:11).

Mizmor. The term *mizmor* appears exclusively in the Book of Psalms, always as a title and never in the body of a psalm. It is never attached to those psalms found elsewhere in biblical literature. With a single exception (Ps. 98:1, but LXX adds "of David") it is always used in conjunction with a proper name preceded by *lamed*. Why it is restricted to 57 psalms cannot be known. It was translated *psalmos* by the Septuagint and by Theodotion and so came down in English as "psalm" lending its name to the entire book (see discussion on title, above). The verbal form appears outside Psalms only in Judges 5:3, II Samuel 22:50 (= Ps. 18:50), Isaiah 12:5, and I Chronicles 16:9 (= Ps. 105:2) and always in a liturgical context (cf. Isa. 51:3). It appears 44 times alone, 13 times together with *shir*, and also frequently in parallelism with that term (cf. Ps. 21:14; 27:6; 57:8; 68:5, 33; 104:33; 108:2; Judg. 5:3; Amos 5:23). It is also used in connection with the lyre (Ps. 71:22; 98:5; 147:7; 149:3), the harp (33:2; 144:9; cf. Amos 5:23), and the timbrel (81:3; 149:3). There can be no doubt that *mizmor* refers to liturgical music.

La-Menaẓẓe'aḥ. The title *la-menaẓẓe'aḥ* occurs in 55 psalms invariably in the initial position. Outside the book it appears only in Habakkuk 3:19, also a liturgy. Its absence from II Samuel 22 and its presence in Psalm 18 shows that it has to do with the liturgical performance. Medieval Jewish commentators generally point to the verbal usage in the sense of overseeing labor (Ezra 3:8, 9; I Chron. 23:4; II Chron. 2:1, 17; 34:13) and so understand the term to mean "director, overseer, choirmaster" or the like. Its connection with music is established by I Chronicles 15:21 and II Chronicles 34:12. However, the Septuagint took it to mean "eternity" (cf. Heb. *la-neẓaḥ*), the other Greek versions and Jerome connecting it with victory (cf. Heb. *niẓẓaḥon*). The Targum understood it to mean "to praise."

Shir. Thirty psalms are entitled *shir.* The feminine *shirah* appears but once (Ps. 18:1; cf. Ex. 15:1; Num. 21:17; Deut. 31:19, et al.). *Shir* is not restricted to psalms and may be used for secular as well as religious songs (cf. Isa. 23:16). However, the invocation "sing ye!" (*shiru*) is exclusively liturgical. The term *shir*, unlike *mizmor*, may also appear in the body of the psalm itself (Ps. 18:1; 28:7; 33:3, et al.). Only in Psalm 46 is it found alone. In five instances it is followed by *mizmor* (Ps. 48, 66, 83, 88, 108) and in seven (or eight) others the order is reversed (30?, 65, 67, 68, 75, 76, 87, 92). The significance of the sequence is unknown. The emphasis in its use would be on the words set to a rhythm since the Hebrew uses the phrase "to speak a song" (Judg. 5:12; cf. 11QPs^{a} 27:9, 11), but whether it indicates a special mode of presentation is a matter of conjecture.

Shir ha-Maʿalot. Shir ha-maʿalot appears at the head of a cluster of 15 psalms (Ps. 120–134; Ps. 121 *la-maʿalot*). LXX and Jerome translate it "degrees" (cf. II Kings 20:911), but what was understood by that is not clear. Some assume a reference to some peculiar gradational style of musical execution. The rendering "ascents" assumes a connection with the return from Babylon (cf. Ezra 7:9), but only Psalm 126 would be suitable to such a context for in Psalms 122 and 134 the Temple is still standing. Similarly, only Psalm 122 would be appropriate to a "pilgrim psalm" interpretation which would better fit other psalms (e.g., 15, 24, 43, 84) not so designated. The Mishnah appears to understand *maʿalot* as "steps" (cf. Ex. 20:26 [23]; I Kings 10:19, 20) and to find a connection with the 15 steps joining the court of the Israelites to the court of women in the Second Temple on which the levitical musicians used to stand during the ceremony of the "drawing of water" on Sukkot (Suk. 5:4; Mid. 2:5). These psalms may also have derived their designation from their use in some festal procession.

Maskil. Featured in the headings to 13 psalms, *maskil* never appears without a proper name with a prepositional *lamed* (Ps. 32, 42, 44, 45, 52–55, 74, 78, 88, 89, 142). The LXX understood it to mean "instruction" (cf. Ps. 32:8). It must be assumed to refer to some special skill required in the manner of musical performance (cf. Ps. 47:8). From the context of Amos 5:13 and the contrast between the *maskil* and the mourning rites (5:16–17), the term might well indicate some type of song.

Neginot. The term *neginot* appears six times (Ps. 4, 6, 54, 55, 67, 76) preceded by *la-menaẓẓe'aḥ* and with the preposition *be-* (cf. Hab. 3:19), and once in the singular preceded by *ʿal* (Ps. 61). From I Samuel 16:16, 23 it would clearly seem to indicate stringed instruments (cf. Ps. 68:33; Isa. 23:16; Ezek. 33:32).

Mikhtam. All six appearances of the term *mikhtam* are attached to *le-David* (Ps. 16, 56–60). LXX and Theodotion rendered it *stēlographia* which most likely represents its original meaning as "an inscription upon a slab." It is probably interchangeable with the title *mikhtav* in Hezekiah's thanksgiving psalm (Isa. 38:9). Some connect the word with the Akkadian verb *katāmu*, meaning "to cover," "to conceal," and assume a connection with some ritual.

Tefillah. Despite the epilogue to the second book of Psalms (72:20) which speaks of "the prayers [*tefillot*] of David" and the more than a score of appearances in the body of the psalms, the term *tefillah* is found only in the superscriptions to five psalms (17, 86, 90, 102, 142) and to Habakkuk 3.

Al Shoshannim. Al Shushan Edut, El Shoshannim Edut. Al shoshannim may be translated "On the lilies" (Ps. 45, 69), *al shushan edut* "On the lily of testimony" (Ps. 60), and *el shoshannim edut* "To the lilies of testimony" (Ps. 80). They may be cue-words, i.e., the incipits or titles of some well-known songs to the tune of which the psalm was sung. The reference may also be to a six-stringed or six-bell instrument shaped like the lily.

Al Tashḥet. Found in the headings of Psalms 57–59, *al-tashḥet* means "do not destroy" and may be an incipit, perhaps of some old vintage song (cf. Isa. 65:8). Since it is accompanied by *mikhtam* (see above) in three of its four occurrences, it has been suggested that it may be an adjuration against altering or destroying inscriptions.

Al ha-Gittit. The ancient versions generally connect the term *al ha-gittit* in Psalms 8, 81, 84 with the winepress (*gat*). It may indicate a tune sung by the grape treaders (cf. Isa. 16:10; Jer. 25:30), or it may be a musical instrument derived from the Philistine city of Gath (so Targum).

Al ha-Sheminit. Meaning literally, "on the eighth," *al ha-sheminit* may refer to an eight-stringed instrument in Psalm 6, 12 (cf. Ar. 13b; Tosef., Ar. 2:7). It cannot mean an octave as the division into eight modes was unknown. The reference in I Chronicles 15:21, "with lyres on the *sheminit*" in parallel with verse 20, "with harps on *ʿalamot*" (see below) has suggested a quality of the voice, perhaps a low bass.

Lehazkir. The appearance of the term *lehazkir* in I Chronicles 16:4 in a context of public worship strongly suggests a liturgical or cultic meaning in the headings of Psalms 38, 70. However, the precise circumstances cannot be determined for the verb is elsewhere used of invoking the divine name (cf. Ex. 20:21; Isa. 26:13; 48:1; 62:6; Amos 6:10; Ps. 20:8), of recalling sinfulness (cf. Gen. 41:9; Num. 5:15; I Kings 17:18; Ezek. 21:28, 29; 29:16), and in connection with the meal offering or incense burning (cf. Lev. 2:2; 24:7; Num. 5:15, 26; Isa. 66:3).

Al Maḥalat. If *al maḥalat* is not a cue-word identifying the tune to which Psalms 53, 88 were to be sung, it may indicate a wind instrument (cf. I Kings 1:40, et al.) or some choreographic direction (cf. Judg. 21:23, et al.). It might also be translated, "for sickness" (cf. I Kings 8:37) and imply some accompanying ritual.

Al Alamot. The term *al alamot* is found as a heading only once (Ps. 46). However, another occurrence of *al alamot* may be the obscure *al-mut* in our received Hebrew text of Psalm 48:15, which might belong to the next psalm, as well as in the title of Psalm 9 (see below *al mut la-ben*). Its connection with public worship is attested by I Chronicles 15:20. It could refer to a musical instrument such as a small flute or pipe or express a quality of the voice, i. e., "youthful" (cf. *almah*, "a maiden"), perhaps high pitched or soprano.

Al Mut la-Ben. Al mut la-ben could either mean "male soprano" or be a cue-word in its single appearance (Ps. 9).

El ha-Neḥilot. Either a wind instrument (cf. *al-maḥalat* above) or a cue-word could be intended by *el ha-neḥilot* in Psalm 5. The variant *ʾel* for the frequent *al* cannot be explained.

Al Ayyelet ha-Shahar. Al ayyelet ha-shaḥar is almost certainly a cue-word, the psalm (22) being set to the tune of a well-known song entitled, "On the hind of the morning."

Al Yonat Elem Reḥokim. Al yonat elem reḥokim too (Ps. 56) must be a cue-word that may be translated, "On the speechless dove far-off," or, "On the dove of the far-off terebinths [*elim*]." The Septuagint seems to have understood "dove" as an epithet for the people of Israel and have read *elim*, and construed it as "gods" or "holy beings."

Shir Yedidot. The title *shir yedidot*, "a love song," is appropriate to the occasion of Psalm 45 which celebrates the marriage of an Israelite king to a Tyrian princess.

Lelammed. Lelammed means literally "to teach." Its use in Psalm 60 is reminiscent of the similar introductions to songs in Deuteronomy 31:19 and II Samuel 1:18.

Leʿannot. The meaning "to afflict" indeed connects with the theme of Psalm 88. *Leʿannot* might refer to some ritual of penance (cf. Lev. 23:27, 29). It could also be an intensive form of the verb *anah* ("to chant"; cf. Ex. 15:21; 32:18), and might indicate some antiphonal arrangement in the performance of the psalm.

Shiggayon. Shiggayon (Ps. 7) also appears in the plural form in the heading to Habakkuk 3. On the basis of the Akkadian *šigû*, "lamentation," "type of prayer" (CAD, š / II, 413–14) it has been understood as meaning a psalm of lamentation, and is an Akkadian loanword.

Tehillah. The term *tehillah*, which gave the book its most popular Hebrew title, occurs only in Psalm 145 (see discussion on title, above).

Hallelujah. Ten psalms begin with the term Hallelujah (106, 111–113, 135, 146–150) which is not strictly a title but an invocation (see *Hallelujah).

Technical Terms Within the Psalms

Two terms appear within the body of the psalms themselves.

Selah. The term *selah* occurs 71 times in 39 psalms mainly in the "elohistic" psalms, and three times in Habakkuk 3 (verses 3, 9, 13). In 31 of these psalms *la-menaẓẓeʾaḥ* also appears, as it does in Habbakkuk 3. It is never to be found at the beginning of a verse, but occasionally comes in the middle (Ps. 55:20; 57:4; cf. Hab. 3:3, 9). Otherwise, its position is at the end of the verse and four times even at the end of the entire psalm (Ps. 3, 9, 24, 46). It may appear more than once in the same psalm (Ps. 3, 32, 46, 66, 68, 77, 89, 140). The LXX adds *selah* also at Psalms 34:11; 39:8; 50:15; 80:8; 94:15.

There is no agreement among the ancient versions and medieval Jewish commentators as to its meaning and function. There is no certainty that its current position in a psalm is always original and not sometimes the work of a later scribe or editor. The etymology is obscure and even the masoretic vocalization seems to be secondary.

The Septuagint, Theodotion (usually), and Symmachus all translated *selah* as διάψάλμά. However, the meaning of the Greek is as enigmatic as the Hebrew, and the usual rendering "interlude" is not at all sure. The Targum, Aquila, and Jerome all understood it as part of the text of the preceding verse in which it appears and rendered it as "always," or "for eternity." The present vocalization of the Hebrew word seems to reflect this tradition for it is the same as that of the usual word for eternity (*neẓaḥ*), and the accentuation connects the term with the preceding. The same interpretation is to be found in the Talmud (Er. 54a), and in the employment of *selah* in the Hebrew prayer book. It also finds support in the comments of Saadiah, Jonah ibn Janaḥ, and Rashi.

A different explanation is given by Kimḥi (*Sefer Shorashim*) who connects it with the use of the Hebrew root *sll* in the sense of raising up (cf. Isa. 57:14; Ps.68:5). The term would then be an instruction for the singers or musicians. Abraham

Ibn Ezra (to Ps. 3:3) believes it to be a liturgical response on the part of the worshipers, affirming the truth of the sentiments previously stated in the psalm.

Some scholars have suggested a derivation from *sal* ("basket"), concluding that at certain points in the service a basket-shaped drum was beaten. Others believe the term to be an acrostic. No solution to the enigma of *selah* is possible in the present state of our knowledge.

Higgayon. The term *higgayon* appears together with *selah* in Psalm 9:17 and with a musical instrument in Psalm 92:4. It is found as part of the text in Psalm 19:15 where it implies "utterance," or "musings." The basic root meaning seems to be "to make a sound" (cf. Isa. 16:7; 31:4; 39:14). *Higgayon* may therefore be an instruction to the musicians to produce a murmuring glissando or a flourish.

The Psalms, with their messianic references real and imagined, played a significant role in Jewish-Christian polemic as early as the New Testament (Matt. 22:21–46). The responses of the medieval Jewish biblical commentators to Christian Psalms interpretation, extremely valuable resources for the history of Jewish-Christian relations, were censored out of earlier editions of rabbinic Bibles but are now available in the excellent edition of M. Cohen (ed.), *Mikra'ot Gedolot "ha-Keter" Tehillim* (2 vols., 2003).

[Nahum M. Sarna]

IN THE TALMUD AND MIDRASH

The rabbis reduced the traditional number of psalms to 147 (Mid. Ps. 22:19; 104:2) merely for homiletical purposes as is evident from the passage in *Berakhot* 9b–10a. The Talmud explains that Psalm 19:15 was instituted to be recited after the 18 benedictions of the **Amidah* since it comes at the end of the 18th Psalm. Whereupon the Talmud asks, "But this is the 19th Psalm, not the 18th," and answers that Psalms 1 and 2 constitute one psalm. It brings evidence for this in the statement that David first uses the word Hallelujah at the end of the 103rd Psalm, where in fact it is in Psalm 104:35. It is therefore evident that at that time Psalms 1 and 2 normally constituted two psalms, and Psalms 19 and 104 were numbered as they are today. That homiletical purpose seems clear. It is reflected in the statement "Moses gave the five books of the Torah to Israel, and corresponding to them, David gave the five books of the Psalms to Israel" (Mid. Ps. 1:2). In order to emphasize this relationship, the number of psalms was reduced to 147, probably in order to make it correspond to the number of *sedarim* in the Bible according to the triennial cycle current in Ereẓ Israel. The other two cases of two psalms which were combined in one were probably 114 and 115 (see Kimḥi in loc.) and 117 and 118 (see Buber in Mid. Ps. 22 note 88).

The Book of Psalms includes the compositions of ten earlier authorities, Adam, Melchizedek, Abraham, Moses, Heman, Jeduthun, Asaph, and the three sons of Korah (BB 14b, 15a, variants are given in Eccles. R. 7:19.4). Nevertheless the Book of Psalms was called after David because "his voice was pleasant" (Songs R. 4:4 no. 1 referring to II Sam. 23:1). All the psalms were inspired (Pes. 117a) and music helped to bring the inspiration: "A harp was suspended above the bed of David. When midnight came the north wind blew on it and it produced music of its own accord. Immediately David arose and occupied himself with Torah." That "Torah" consisted of songs and praises, however, since "until midnight he occupied himself with Torah; and from then with songs and praises" (Ber. 3b). The psalms are both individual and general; those in the singular are personal, those in the plural are of general application (Pes. 117a).

Various psalms and groups of psalms are singled out for special mention in the Talmud. They are the **Hallel*, Psalms 113–118, the only psalms which formed part of the liturgy in talmudic times (see below; Psalms in Liturgy) and also known as the "Egyptian *Hallel*" (Ber. 56a), to distinguish it from Psalms 145–150 and Psalm 136 which are also variously referred to as *Hallel* (Shab. 118b), or, the latter, *Hallel ha-Gadol* (Pes. 118a); the seven psalms which were "the psalms which the levites used to recite in the Temple" (Tam. 7:4) and which have been included in the liturgy; and the Fifteen Songs of Degrees 120–134 (*shir ha-ma'alot*). Such importance was attached to the alphabetical Psalm 145, that it was stated that "he who recites it three times a day is certain to be vouchsafed the world to come" (Ber. 4b). Psalm 16 compresses into 11 principles the whole of the Torah (Mak. 24a). The *Tamnei Appei* (lit. "eight faces"), i.e., Psalm 119, the eightfold alphabetical acrostic psalm which in later ages is given a special importance (see below), is only mentioned en passant (*ibid.*).

The almost complete neglect of the psalms in the liturgy during talmudic times may give a wrong impression of the enormous importance with which the psalms were invested by the rabbis. A suggestion has been made that in some places there was a triennial cycle of the reading of psalms, corresponding to the triennial cycle of the reading of the Pentateuch, which would explain, inter alia, the comparison made between the Five Books of Moses and the Five Books of Psalms, and the equalization of the number of psalms with the pericopes of the Pentateuch. It was, however, in their homilies and preaching that the psalms were most heavily relied upon. The Midrash states that Ben Azzai "strung together [as a row of pearls] the words of the Pentateuch with those of the prophets, and of the prophets with the Hagiographa, and words of Torah rejoiced as on the day they were given at Sinai" (Lev. R. 16:4). Although it refers to the Hagiographa in general, there is no doubt but that Psalms was the favorite book of that section of the Bible employed. This method of "stringing together" the verses of Psalms with those of the Pentateuch is reflected in the proems to the classical *Midrashim, the overwhelming majority of which are expositions of verses of the psalms which are linked with the pentateuchal verse under discussion. As a result, even disregarding **Midrash Tehillim* (*Midrash Psalms*), which is a running commentary on the whole Book of Psalms, and which in any case is largely a compilation based on earlier material, there is not a single chapter of Psalms and hardly a single verse which is not expounded in the Talmud and Midrash (cf. A. Lavat, *Beit Aharon ve-Hosafot*, 1881).

IN THE LITURGY

The penetration of the psalms into the liturgy represents a gradual process extending over the centuries, the effect of which can be seen in the fact that whereas in the talmudic period the statutory prayers included no psalms whatsoever on Sabbaths and weekdays, and the only psalms recited were the *Hallel* on the three Pilgrim Festivals and Ḥanukkah, and later, despite a specific rubric to the contrary (Arukh 10a), on the *New Moon, the authorized Daily Prayer Book of the United Hebrew Congregation of England (Singer) gives an index of 73 psalms and part of another included in the various services. In part, at least, this inclusion of the psalms into the liturgy came as a result of popular demand. Of the Daily Psalm, for instance, there is the statement that "the people have adopted the custom of including it" (Sof. 18:1) and with regard to the choice of Psalm 136 as the psalm for the Passover "the people have adopted the custom of reciting this psalm, though it is not the best choice" (*ibid.* 18:2).

Statutory Prayers

The process whereby the recitation of psalms became an integral part of the statutory prayers consisted of regarding every reference to the recitation of psalms in the Talmud, either as acts of special piety performed by individuals, or as part of the Temple service, as a justification for making them part of the statutory service. To this class belong the **Pesukei de-Zimra* and the Daily Psalm. The *Pesukei de-Zimra* consisted originally only of the six last psalms, the Hallelujah Psalms 145–50. The process of inclusion is clearly seen in the fact that whereas their recitation is mentioned in the Talmud by R. Yose as an act of especial piety (Shab. 118b; and it is the later authorities who decide that the *Hallel* to which he refers are those psalms), in the post-talmudic tractate **Soferim*, they are called simply "the six daily psalms" which are already part of the statutory service (Sof. 17:11). Both these passages, however, confine the *Pesukei de-Zimra* to those six psalms. On the principle, however, that there was more leisure on Sabbaths and festivals, both the Ashkenazi and Sephardi rites add a considerable number on those days: the former adds nine (19, 34, 90, 91, 135, 136, 33, 92, and 93) and the Sephardi 14 (103, 19, 33, 90, 91, 98, 121–124, 135, 136, 92, 93; some rites include the first two in the weekday service).

The same process is seen with regard to the Daily Psalm. They are mentioned in the Midrash as "the psalms which the levites used to sing in the Temple" (Tam. 7:4). By the time of *Soferim* they are already part of the daily prayers, "the people having adopted the custom" (18:1). However, here again, once the transfer was made to the synagogue, it was extended to special psalms for every festival (for the text see *Soferim* 18 and 19 and for a variant, Baer, *Avodat Yisrael*, last unnumbered page). In the course of time a large number of individual psalms were added: Psalm 30 before the *Pesukei de-Zimra*, Psalm 100 on weekdays in the *Pesukei de-Zimra*, Psalm 6 in the supplicatory prayers, Psalm 24 on weekdays when the *Sefer Torah* is returned to the ark, and 29 on Sabbaths and festivals. Psalm 20 was included in the last portion of the daily service. Some rites have psalms added to the evening service parallel to the Daily Psalm in the morning (see Singer, 133–40). Psalm 27 was instituted for the penitential period from the second day of Elul to *Hoshana Rabba, 144 and 67 for the Service of the Termination of the Sabbath, etc.

Two groups of psalms have to be mentioned: Psalms 104 and the Fifteen Songs of Degrees, included in the Sabbath afternoon service during the winter months, instituted in the 12th century, and the latest addition of all, which spread with remarkable rapidity, Psalms 95–99 and 20, for the Inauguration of the Sabbath. Instituted by the kabbalists of Safed in the 16th century – although the author of the liturgical work *Matteh Moshe* published in 1615 makes no mention of it, and 15 years later the author of *Yosef Omeẓ*, while praising it as "a good and beautiful custom," refers to it as "a new one, lately come up" – it has become standard in all Ashkenazi services (most Sephardi rites confine themselves to 29). This list, however, though incomplete, does not exhaust the inclusion of Psalms in the statutory service. Some of the prayers consist merely of a mosaic of single verses from Psalms of which the most notable are two passages which precede the Psalms of the *Pesukei de-Zimra*, called by their opening words *Romemu* and *Yehi Khevod*. Both consist entirely of verses from Psalms (except for one verse from Prov. 19:21 and one composite verse (*Adonai Melekh*) consisting of three parts, two of which are from Psalms) and of verses selected from the five books into which Psalms is divided. Only the second book has no verse in the *Yehi Khevod*, but the Yemenite rite adds Psalm 46:12 from this book, and this is probably the original version, already mentioned in *Soferim* (17:11). It would appear that this selection is deliberate. In all, no less than 250 individual verses from Psalms are thus added to the liturgy (A. Berliner, *Randbemerkungen*, p. 9).

Non-Statutory Prayers

It can safely be said that there is no special or non-statutory service which does not include one or more psalms. They include the introduction to the Grace after Meals, prayers for drought (Baer, appendix, p. 87), before going on a journey, the night prayer before retiring to rest, prayers for and by the sick, the burial service, the prayer in the house of mourning, the memorial service for the dead, and the service at the consecration of a tombstone which, apart from the memorial prayer, consists of a selection of psalms. The custom has been followed in all forms of service added in recent years, of which Singer includes the services on the occasion of making collections for hospitals, of thanksgiving of a woman after childbirth, and on the consecration of a house. They are naturally included in the prayers for Independence Day. Custom has developed, under the influence of the Kabbalah, especially in Israel, with regard to Psalm 119, the eightfold alphabetical psalm. At memorial services the verses are recited which make up the name of the deceased and his father, with the addition of the verses the letters of which form the word *neshamah* ("soul").

Various

The regular reading of Psalms was not confined to services. The recital of the whole Book of Psalms is widespread, whether as an act of piety by saintly individuals, or by groups of unlearned people. For this purpose "societies of reciters of psalms" (*ḥevrot tehillim*) were formed, and in recent times a special society has been formed in Jerusalem whereby two separate groups recite the whole Book of Psalms daily at the Western Wall. The Psalms are included in their entirety in all large prayer books. A prayer has been composed to be recited prior to and at the conclusion of each of the five books as well as for its reading on Hoshana Rabba which specifically equates them with the Five Books of Moses (Baer, Introduction to Psalms in *Avodat Yisrael*, pp. 5–8). Baer concludes with a list of psalms which it is customary to recite on Sabbath to correspond with the weekly portion "in the manner of the *haftarah*," thus "stringing together" Pentateuch, Prophets, and Psalms (last page, unnumbered).

[Louis Isaac Rabinowitz]

IN THE ARTS

In Literature

From the early Middle Ages the Book of Psalms has had an incalculable influence on literature, art, and music. Its impact has, perhaps, been greatest on writers. J.G. *Herder stated that "it is worth studying the Hebrew language for ten years in order to read Psalm 104 in the original" and Israel *Zangwill even claimed that the psalms "are more popular in every country than the poems of the nation's own poets. Besides this one book with its infinite editions… all other literatures seem 'trifles light as air'…" (1895). Literary treatment of Psalms has taken several forms: translation and paraphrase in verse and prose, imitation, and the composition of hymns and epics inspired by the themes and style of the original. Many of the first European translations of Psalms possess considerable literary merit and importance and some helped to mold the languages in which the sense of the Hebrew was conveyed. Among the earliest known are the versions in Anglo-Saxon (eighth century), Old Church Slavonic (ninth century), and Old High German (tenth century). During the 13th–15th centuries many more versions of the Psalter appeared in lands throughout Europe; and translations of Psalms were among the first books printed in some countries, notable examples being Jacques Lefèvre d'Etaples' French Psalter (1509), Jan Kochanowski's *Psałterz Dawidów* (1578) and Maciej Rybiński's *Psalmy monarchy i proroka świątego Dawida* (1598) in Poland, and the Psalter of the Brasov friar Coresi (1578–80) in Romania. Together with other portions of the Old Testament, the Psalms were translated from the Hebrew by 15th-century Judaizing sects in Russia, and a version in Yiddish was published in Venice by the pioneer Hebrew grammarian and author Elijah *Levita (1545).

From the early 16th century the Psalms inspired the highest degree of literary creativity in England and France. Thomas Sternhold headed a team of scholars who published *The Whole Booke of Psalmes; collected into Englysh metre… conferred with the Ebrue…* (London, 1551^2, 1562), which ran to literally hundreds of editions during the 16th–18th centuries; and this version was first used for the Church of Scotland's metrical *Psalms of David* (Edinburgh, 1650), which has remained one of the standard collections for Protestants throughout the English-speaking world. Another verse translation of the 16th century was that by Sir Philip Sidney and his sister, Mary Herbert, Countess of Pembroke, whose *Psalmes of David* was, however, only published in 1823. The pioneering French translation was that prepared by the poet Clément Marot (later in collaboration with the Geneva Reformer Théodore de Bèze): *Trente Pseaulmes de David mis en francoys* (1541) and *Cinquante Pseaulmes de David* (1543), which ran to dozens of editions from 1560 onward. Marot's version, with its "sober, solemn music," became an integral part of the French Protestant liturgy and enjoyed an extraordinary vogue, not only at the Protestant court of Navarre but even at the Catholic French court, where it was officially banned by the Sorbonne. French writers who paraphrased or reinterpreted the Book of Psalms include Agrippa d'Aubigné, Jean Antoine de Baïf, Jean Bertaut, Honorat de Bueil, Jean de la Ceppède, Jean Baptiste Chassignet, Philippe Desportes, Guy *Le Fèvre de la Boderie (whose works include many verse paraphrases from the Hebrew), and François de Malherbe.

During the 17th century, too, the Psalms retained their fascination for many writers. They inspired German hymns by Paul Gebhardt; the so-called *Teitsch-Hallel*, a Yiddish composition based, at least in part, on contemporary Protestant hymnology; and the first important work printed in New England, the *Bay Psalm Book* (Cambridge, 1640), a metrical (and highly literal) translation from the Hebrew for those who wished to "sing in Sion the Lord's songs of prayse according to his own wille." In the 18th century a Spanish verse paraphrase (*Espejo fiel de Vidas que contiene los Palmos de David in Verso*, London, 1720) was published by the ex-Marrano Daniel Israel Lopez *Laguna; and a German Jewish translation was prepared by the philosopher Moses *Mendelssohn (1783). Directly and indirectly many writers of the 19th and 20th centuries have been influenced by the Book of Psalms. Thomas Carlyle maintained that the Psalms of David "struck tones that were an echo of the sphere-harmonies." Even greater praise was expressed by the British statesman William Ewart Gladstone, who unfavorably contrasted "all the wonders of Greek civilization" with "the single Book of Psalms," claiming that the "flowers of Paradise… blossomed in Palestine alone" (*The Place of Ancient Greece*, 1865). The same source has provided perennial inspiration for Jewish writers, including Penina *Moise, whose metrical renderings of the Psalms were adopted by U.S. Reform congregations; Heinrich *Graetz; and Samson Raphael *Hirsch, whose German neo-Orthodox edition of the Book of Psalms appeared in 1882. Jewish writers of the 20th century who dealt with the same theme included Nachman Heller, who published an edition of the Psalms together with a rhymed Hebrew paraphrase, English and Yiddish translations, and English notes (1923); Izak *Goller, whose original verse translation of Ps. 113–118, *Hallel – Praise*, was published in 1925; and the U.S. rabbi Gershon Hadas who published a new translation for "the modern reader" (1964).

[Godfrey Edmond Silverman]

In Art

Among Christians of the Middle Ages the Book of Psalms was the most popular section of the Hebrew Bible and it was frequently illustrated in illuminated manuscripts such as Psalters, Bibles, breviaries, and Books of Hours. A particularly popular subject was King David the Psalmist playing on his harp or, occasionally, on other instruments. In the English 13th-century Rutland Psalter he is shown playing the organ. Carolingian Psalters and Bibles and manuscripts of the following two centuries often depict David surrounded by Asaph, Heman, Ethan, and Jeduthun, his four musicians, symbolizing Jesus with the four evangelists. A charming representation of David the Psalmist is the introductory miniature to a 15th-century north Italian Book of Psalms, part of a Hebrew miscellany volume in the Israel Museum, Jerusalem. The king is shown seated in a garden near a wood from which deer emerge, charmed by his playing. The subject was revived in northern Europe in the 17th century. There are paintings by Rubens (Staedelmuseum, Frankfurt), Pieter Lastman (Gallery Brunswick), and *Rembrandt (Kaplan Collection, New York). Modern works include those by Dante Gabriel Rosetti (Llandaff Cathedral) and by Jozef *Israels (Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam).

The Middle Ages have also left manuscript illuminations of other subjects taken from the Psalms; and these are often extremely literal in interpretation. Some illustrations to Psalm 27:1 ("The Lord is my light") show David turning toward Jesus or the hand of God, and pointing to his own eyes. Psalm 53:2 ("The fool hath said in his heart: 'There is no God'…") is illustrated by a half-naked medieval jester with a bauble in his hand or wearing a jester's long-eared cap. Sometimes he swallows a stone or bites a dog by the tail. In the 16th-century *Henry VIII Psalter* (British Museum) David is shown as Henry and the fool as his court jester. In some cases, however, the fool is David himself feigning madness before Abimelech. Psalm 69:2–3 ("Save me, O God; For the waters are come in even unto the soul…") takes the form of a naked crowned monarch submerged up to the waist or shoulders, his hands raised in supplication. Psalm 81:2 ("Sing aloud unto God, our strength") is illustrated by David striking on bells with a hammer, playing his harp, or dancing before the ark. Psalm 137 ("By the rivers of Babylon") likewise formed the subject of manuscript illustrations, but also of paintings by the 19th-century French Romantic artist Eugène Delacroix (in the dome of theology of the Palais Bourbon, Paris) and the German academician Eduard Bendemann (Wallraf-Richartz Museum, Cologne). Psalm 150:1 ("Praise God in His sanctuary") inspired the bas-reliefs of choristers by Luca della Robbia (15th century; Florence Cathedral).

In Music

The singing of psalms was the chief medium of personal and communal devotion during the formative period of Christianity and has retained an important position in its liturgy ever since. In both the old Eastern and Western denominations, as in Jewish traditions, the melodies of the psalms are built on the principle of psalmody and show many similarities (see Musical Rendition, below). In the Christian traditions they are correlated with a rigid system of melodic theory, that of the Eight Modes or Tones, i.e., eight basic melodic-scalar patterns. The roots of this system also lie in the Near East; the psalmodic patterns have been the least affected by changes in style or creative initiative, since they were to all effect "canonized" no less than the liturgical texts. Their earliest notation in the West is found in the anonymous treatise, *Commemoratio brevis de tonis et psalmis modulandis*, dating from about the second half of the ninth century, and their final forms, preserved thereafter by notation and usage, are those established shortly after the turn of the first millennium. As in Jewish tradition, the performance of the Psalms in the Christian liturgies shows many forms of responsorial and antiphonal divisions (soloist-group, group-group) and various relationships and means of musical linkage with the hymns and prayers of the service. An important feature is the florid rendition of the *Alleluia*, interpolated between the half clauses or the verses (cf. *Hallelujah), often spun out into a long, wordless melisma on the final *a*, the so-called *Jubilus*, and the extension of the psalmodic principle to form the very melismatic chants of the *Tractus* ("drawn-out") category. Special psalmodic formulas are also used for the rendition of certain hymns from the Bible and the New Testament, such as the Songs of Moses – *Audite coeli (Ha'azinu*, Deut. 32:1–43) – and the Song of Mary – the *Magnificat* (Luke 1:46–55).

The Protestant Reformation and its related movements, basing its liturgy on the vernacular, created rhymed paraphrases of the Psalms, which were furnished with new melodies, i.e., newly composed, taken over from secular songs, or reshaped to the meter from a traditional ("Gregorian") melody. The major composers who took part in the creation of this new tradition were Loys Bourgeois (c. 1510–c. 1561), Claude Le Jeune (1528–1600), and Claude Goudimel (c. 1515–1572), in France and Switzerland, for the psalm paraphrases by Marot and Calvin; Jacobus Clemens Non Papa (c. 1510–c. 1556) in Holland, with his three-part arrangements of folk tunes to the Dutch rhymed Psalter (the *Souterliedekens* – "little Psalter songs"); and Martin *Luther and the members of his circle for the psalm paraphrases among the German chorales. The continental tunes were largely taken over into the English and Scottish repertoire (Sternhold Psalter, 1563), and then with local additions, migrated with the Puritans to North America, where the earliest book of music instruction published was *A very plain and easy introduction to the whole Art of Singing Psalms* by John Tufts (1712, 1744^{11}). Almost from the outset, the Protestant and related movements linked their psalm and hymn collections with art music (and no doubt also popular harmonizing practices) by publishing them in three- or four-voice part settings, a practice which still continues.

Art music compositions for the Psalms appear much later than for the other parts of the service, in the early 15th century, since most of the Psalm texts appear in those parts of the service which are less frequently the occasion for artistic elaboration, such as Vespers. The polyphonic settings of the Psalms "do not constitute a musical category, but are the sum of all those musical categories and forms which stand in any relationship to the biblical Psalms, to their text (original, translated, paraphrased, rhymed, reinterpreted, or taken as the base for an instrumental interpretation), or, in a more narrow sense, to their liturgical melodies" (L. Finscher). It is therefore hardly possible to trace the history of these compositions separately from the mainstream of European art music, from the strictly liturgical-functional harmonizations of the Psalm tones, through the golden ages of the continental motet and the English verse anthem (16th–17th centuries), to the free settings of modern composers. The Psalms have always appealed to composers not only as the "essence of sacred music" but also through their balance of the individual and communal expression of joys and sorrows, which challenges each composer anew. Psalm settings are found in the works of almost all major composers from the 16th century onward. The tradition has been continued by such works as Igor Stravinsky's *Symphony of Psalms* (1930, to the Latin text), and Leonard *Bernstein's *Chichester Psalms* (1965, specified by the composer to be sung only in Hebrew).

[Bathja Bayer]

MUSICAL RENDITION IN JEWISH TRADITION

Historical Sources

It is most probable that some of the components of the so-called psalm titles, i.e., the verses or half verses prefaced to many of the psalms, indicate certain musical aspects: *shir, mizmor,* and their combinations (see above; see also *Music). The simple recurring response *ki le-olam ḥasdo* ("For His mercy endures forever") in Psalms 136, 118:1–4, 106:1, etc., may have been sung to an equally simple melodic formula (by the levitic choir or by the public) after the more elaborate rendition of the first part of the verse by a soloist or by the choir. The refrain or response verses did not have to be written out explicitly if the performers and the public knew them by tradition, and the same was true for the practice of interjecting the praise Hallelujah, once, or several times, after each verse or group of verses. Present-day traditional usages show many instances of the use of one verse as response or refrain, the intercalation of extraneous sentences as refrains, and the addition of Hallelujah in both Jewish and Christian traditions.

The version of Psalm 145 found in Cave 11 at Qumran (11QPs^{a}) may be an early documentation of the practices. A refrain-like clause ("Blessed be God and blessed be His Name forever and ever"), not found in the masoretic text or in the versions, is added after each verse. This refrain is obviously related to verse 1 and could have been intoned as a response. The talmudic sources offer a number of fairly detailed references to psalm singing. Especially important are those references that refer to the various possible divisions of performance between soloist and choir (or public) in the *Hallel* (Sot. 5:4, elaborated in Tosef., Sot. 6:2; TJ, Sot. 5:6, 20c; Sot. 30b; Mekhilta Shirata 1). The discussion centers upon the rendition of the Song of the Sea which is said to have been performed "as the *Hallel* is sung." The information may therefore be applied to the contemporary performance of the *Hallel*.

The historical notated sources begin rather late, as compared to the notations of masoretic cantillation (see *Masoretic Accents). A specimen of psalm-cantillation motives according to the masoretic accents was notated sometime during the first half of the 17th century by Jacob Finzi, cantor in Casale Monferrato. Four psalm melodies – three Italian-Sephardi and one Italian-German – were among the 11 synagogal melodies notated by Benedetto Marcello in Venice and published in his *Estro poetico armonico* (1724–27 and subsequent editions). More than half of the compositions in Salamone de' *Rossi's *Ha-Shirim asher li-Shelomo* (Venice, 1622–23) are settings of psalms (for three or more voices) with Psalms 92 and 111 set for a double choir of four-plus-four voices. Many freely composed settings of *Hodu* (Ps. 136) appear in the early cantor's manuals, beginning with the manuscript of Juda Elias of Hanover (1740). Similar to Rossi's works, these also belong to the province of art music; but the cantoral specimens frequently feature the beginning of the traditional intonation as a point of departure for their late-baroque flights of fancy.

Since the practice of psalm singing was taken over by Christianity from the synagogues of the surrounding Jewish communities in the Near East (and not from the art music of the Second Temple), many fruitful – and often problematic – attempts have been made to discover the "common heritage" by comparative methods. A survey of the oral traditions shows that the melodic content of psalm singing is extremely varied. On the other hand, all the truly traditional styles and practices of psalm singing do fall into a very limited number of categories as regards the melodic structure, relationship between melody and text, response and refrain, usages, and the influence of external musical and non-musical factors.

Melody

About 90% of the existing melodies follow the pattern which musicologists call psalmody (Gr. Πσ́άλμὸδίά, "singing of psalms"), i.e., a simple two-wave melodic curve corresponding to the parallel-clause structure of the majority of the psalm verses (two hemistichs). According to the still accepted definition established by medieval European church-music theory, psalmody consists of the following: *initium*, the opening rise; *tenor* (or *tonus currens*, or *tuba*) the holding tone for the recitation of the main parts of the verse; *mediant* (or *flexa*), the midpoint "dip" between the two hemistichs, with a kind of secondary *initium* leading to the reappearance of the *tenor* for the second hemistich; and *finalis* (or *punctum*), the closing formula (see ex. 1). The tenor may be repeated for as long as necessary to cover a varying number of words, and the system is applied with enough flexibility to cover even those psalm verses which are actually not bipartite but tripartite. The realization of the psalmodic principle in the Jewish traditions is frequently more complex than in the Christian ones in several respects:

(1) many melodies have not one but two tenors, and there are also some "double" melodic formulas (see ex. 2);

(2) the tenor, or tenors, are often covert, appearing as one or several long notes, or as the axis of a series of melismatic movements, or otherwise hidden beneath a florid elaboration;

(3) in the second half of the verse, the structure is often disturbed by subtraction, addition, or other departures from the pattern; the ending, however, will always come to obey the convention of the *finalis* (see ex. 3). On the other hand, there are also many very simple and presumably archaic melodies which follow the psalmodic pattern faithfully: examples are known from Tunisia, Morocco, Persia, Yemen, and even Europe.

The character and complexity of the melody are linked with the liturgical function. A certain psalm may thus be sung to various melodies. The exceptions are the two psalms of national mourning ("Asaph, O God the heathen are come into Thine inheritance"), and Psalm 137 ("By the rivers of Babylon") and Psalm 79 ("A psalm of often Psalm 91 ("Psalm of the afflicted individual"). The traditional intonations these have acquired in each community are so strongly associated with their contents that they cannot be transferred to the more joyful and festive texts of other psalms. The daily reading in the synagogue, or in private devotions, is the simplest and most closely follows the principle of psalmody. For the group of psalms sung in the morning prayer (*Pesukei de-Zimra*), different melodies are chosen for weekdays, Sabbath, and feasts. With the increasing festiveness of the occasion, the melodies tend to become more elaborate, especially when the rendition is given to the *ḥazzan*. Examples are the *Hallel* in the synagogue and psalms sung at weddings (especially Ps. 45). On extraordinarily festive occasions, the ritual will consist mostly of appropriately chosen psalms, and here virtuoso composition and performance are given the freest rein – as in a festive prayer for the sovereign (which will feature Ps. 21 and similar texts) and in the ceremony for the dedication of a new synagogue (where Ps. 118 is prominent).

In home rituals, such as in the *Hallel* sung at the *seder*, or

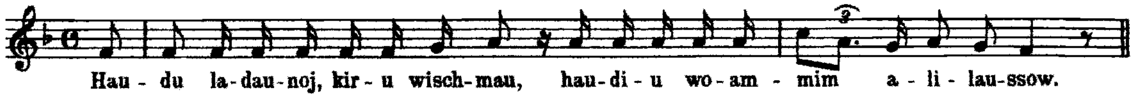
Hau - du la-dau-noj, kir - u wisch-mau, hau-di - u wo-am - mim a - li - lau-ssow.

Example 1. Simple psalmody, Ps. 105, Frankfurt tradition. From F. Ogutsch and J.B. Levy, Der Frankfurter Kantor, *1930, p. 4.*

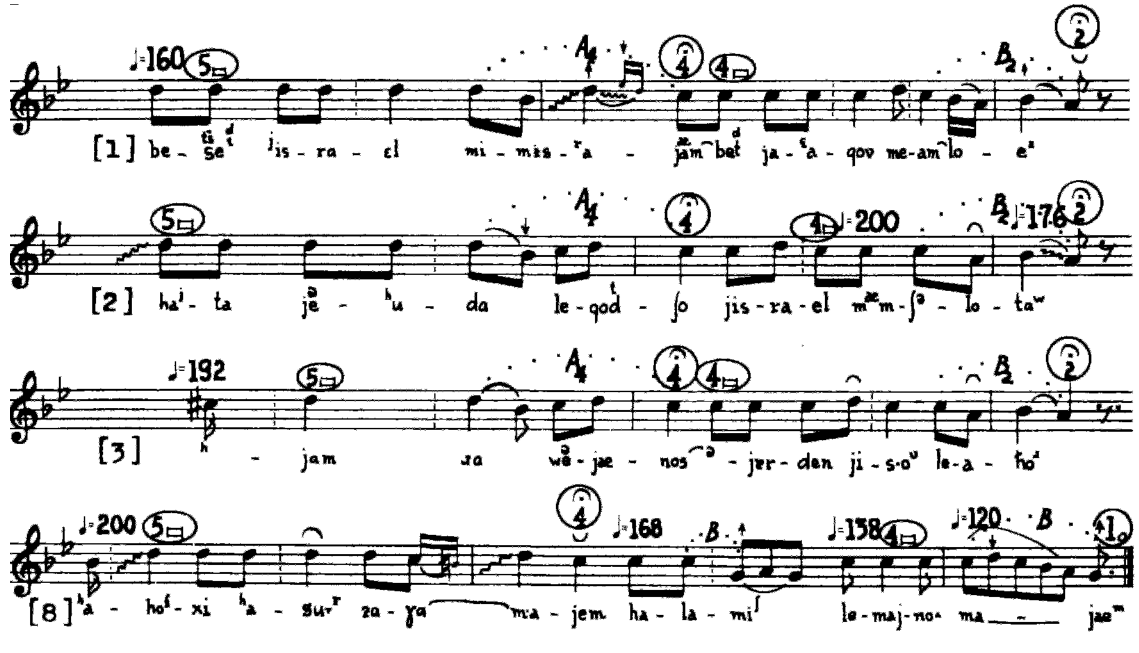

Example 2. Psalmody with two tenors (i.e., holding-notes), Ps. 114, Djerba tradition. The melodic pattern analyzed here has also been preserved in the Western Christian tradition, where it is called tonus peregrinus. *Recorded in Jerusalem, 1955, by A. Herzog. Transcription by A. Herzog, from* Yuval 1, *1968, music examples booklet, no. 14.*

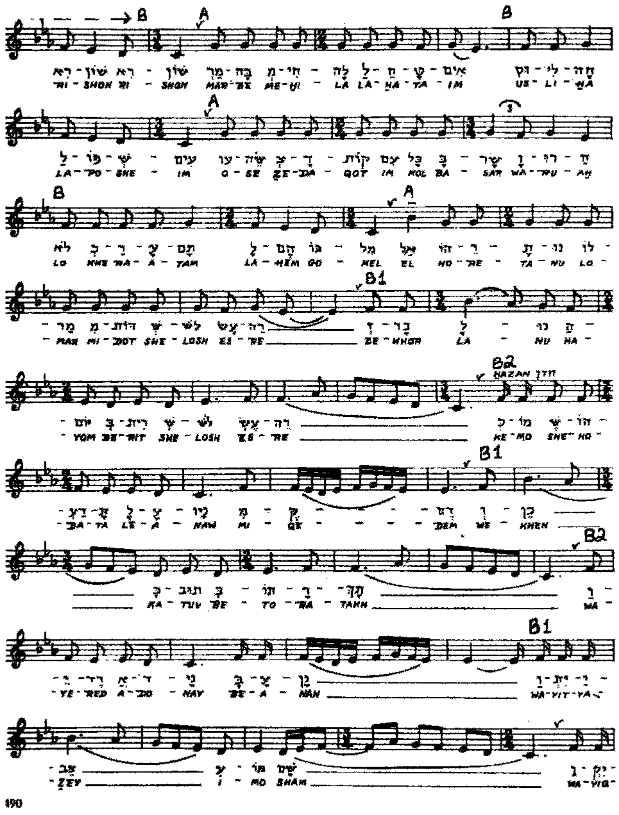

Example 3. Psalmody with free expansion of the second half-clause. Ps. 95, East Ashkenazi tradition for the Friday evening service. Verses 1–9 and the first half-clause of verse 10 are sung to the strict psalmodic pattern. The melody then takes over elements of the Adoshem malakh *shtayger, *but returns to the psalmodic closing-formula. From Idelsohn,* Melodien, *vol. 8, no. 27.*

for those parts of the above-mentioned ceremonies in which the congregation is expected to participate the simplest psalmodic melodies will retain their place by the force of tradition and for obvious practical reasons (cf. Volunio Gallichi's manuscript score for the inauguration of the Siena synagogue in 1786 (ed. I. Adler, 1965)) which, in addition to an elaborate composition of *Open to me the Gates of Righteousness* (Ps. 118) and of various poems, has also preserved the traditional intonation for the "obligatory" prayers of the ceremony, including those for Psalms 32 and 95 (*Lekhu nerannenah*).

The psalmodic pattern may be overlaid by non-psalmodic elements as an effect of liturgical function. In the Ashkenazi *Lekhu nerannenah*, for example, the original psalmody seems to have been stretched by successive generations of *ḥazzanim* toward the *nusaḥ* of the "Reception of the Sabbath" (cf. Idelsohn, Melodien 8, no. 27, and A. Baer, *Ba'al T'fillah*, no. 320). "If…a psalm was used as an introduction to or interlude between prayers in a certain mode, that mode was, as a rule, transferred also to the Psalms – a procedure called by the precentors *me-inyana* [מעניינא – "of the relevant subject," a talmudic technical term]" (Idelsohn, Music, p. 60). The all-important end clause in the Ashkenazi **nusaḥ* intonation is truly psalmodic and it has been maintained that the *nusaḥ* system itself developed out of psalmody. Another instance of *me-inyana* is the singing of Psalms 92 and 93 in Yemen at the onset of the Sabbath, in the intonation of the study of the Mishnah, since the mishnaic passage *Ba-Meh Madlikin* is read there, as in many other communities, immediately preceding, as a kind of bridge between the afternoon and evening prayer.

Psalmodic melodies are also used for texts which are not psalms, as in the **Seliḥot* (of all communities) and in various prayers for Rosh Ha-Shanah and the Day of Atonement (among the Ashkenazim). Some of these may be better classified as a litany, which is an even simpler form than psalmody but closely related to it. In any case this again supports the contention of the relationship between prayer and psalmody.

Although the psalms are furnished with accents in the masoretic texts, the question, whether they were ever, or still are, sung according to the accents is still moot. Even the 17th-century Italian notation of accent motives for Psalms and the claims of present-day informants that they sing according to the accents are not conclusive. Most scholars think that the system of the accents is too sophisticated to be followed precisely or that there was a "lost art" of psalm cantillation. It may even be that some present-day practices of following the accents approximately are a back-formation phenomenon: since the accents were there, it was felt that they had to be obeyed somehow, and after many generations some characteristic motives became attached to the accent-signs in coexistence with the overall psalmodic line. Some modifications, such as those which occur in *Mizmor Shir le-Yom ha-Shabbat* (Ps. 92) in many communities, can only be explained by the influence of the accents.

Performance

In traditional group singing the psalm is sung in unison (or, as in Yemen, in the *organum*-like folk polyphony of that community). In most non-Ashkenazi communities the text is "metricized" in a precisely proportioned succession of the short and long syllables, as done with almost all prose or prose-like liturgical texts when sung by the congregation. As the oldest sources attest and contemporary practices still show, the psalms are also frequently sung in various forms of alternation: solo and group (responsorial psalmody), alternating or succeeding soloists, group against group (antiphonal psalmody), with response and refrain verses and intercalations of Hallelujah between the verses or even after each half clause (see *Music, ex. 4). The point of alternation is not always at the end of the verse or after each half clause: often the performers alternate only at the half-clause point, apparently disregarding the primary verse divisions. In some cases a singer will end his part with the word bearing a masoretic accent of major divisive status inside the verse (not the *etnaḥta* at the half clause). For the waving of the *lulav* (palm branch) on *Sukkot, verses of Psalm 118 are sung to an extended melody to allow for the waving in six directions (cf. Suk. 37b; A. Baer, *Ba'al T'fillah*, no. 814ff., for the Western and Eastern Ashkenazi melodies; and ex. 4 a melody from Djerba).

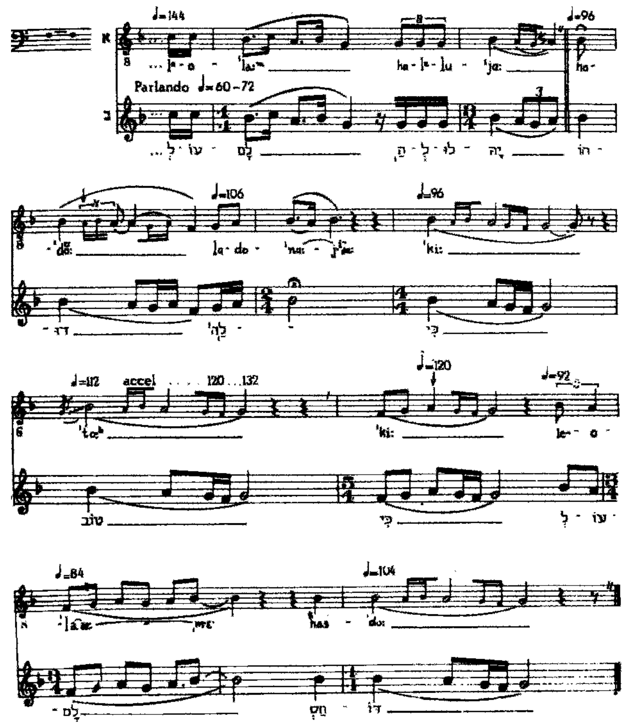

Example 4. End of Ps. 117 and beginning of Ps. 118, as sung during the waving of the palm branches on Hoshana Rabba, Djerba tradition. Recorded at moshav Berekhyah, 1955, by A. Herzog. Parallel strict and simple transcription. From A. Herzog, Renanot, *10, 1963, p. 8.*

Some communities are particularly rich in psalm melodies: Yemen, Morocco, Tunisia, Cochin, Syria, Turkey, Italy, and the "Portuguese communities" of Western Europe. In Yemen groups of psalms are sung most artistically in the prayer meetings called *ashmorot* (at dawn on the Sabbath), very similar to the singing of hymns by the Near Eastern communities in the **bakkashot*. The Egyptian repertoire is less varied, but many of the melodies are extremely florid and linked to the **maqāma* system; it is a moot point whether the practice is rooted in the same old tradition from which Christianity derived its extended "Jubilus" (the wordless prolongation of Hallelujah) or acquired more recently from Arabic art song. Among the Ashkenazi communities hardly any true psalmodies have survived, and the home rituals for the singing of the psalms have absorbed many folk tunes from the surrounding cultures. In the realm of the ḥasidic *niggun*, psalm verses furnish some of the texts, with no particular distinction as to the choice of melody (cf. the well-known "neo-ḥasidic" *Yismeḥu ha-Shamayim*).

In the "ordered *ḥazzanut*" of the 19th century in Western Europe, the psalms were set to music in a manner not different from the style of the prayers and often as showpieces for the choir, somewhat in the manner of the Anglican anthem. In Reform Judaism where the text was paraphrased as a rhymed poem in Western meters, the result followed the precedents of the Protestant chorale and even utilized its tunes. At this stage the survey of the traditions of the musical rendition of the Psalms passes into the history of musical composition, discussed under Psalms in the arts (see above).

[Avigdor Herzog]

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PSANTIR, JACOB (1820–1902), historian of Romanian Jewry. Born in Botosani, Romania, Psantir was orphaned in childhood and received no formal education apart from a few years in a Jassy *talmud torah*. He earned a meager living in a variety of occupations, including that of singer in a gypsy band. In this way he traveled throughout Romania and several other Balkan countries, and his great desire for knowledge coupled with an acute sense of observation enabled him to fill the gaps in his education. In his wanderings Psantir learned about the life of Jewish communities at first hand, investigating their history, their organization, their means of livelihood, and their relations with their non-Jewish neighbors. He supplemented his findings from communal and municipal archives and by deciphering inscriptions on gravestones. The results of his research are contained in two books written in Hebrew, *Divrei ha-Yamim le-Arẓot Rumanyah* ("Chronicles of the Lands of Romania," 1871) and *Korot ha-Yehudim be-Rumenyen* ("History of the Jews in Romania," 1873), and the Yiddish *Sefer Zikhroynes* ("Memoirs," 1875).

Although Psantir's work lacks any scientific discipline, being the product of a self-taught writer whose imagination exceeds his critical faculty, it has important historical value because the sources completely disappeared after the Nazi Holocaust.

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[Isac Beercovici]

°**PSEUDO-LONGINUS**, name ascribed to the author of the Greek treatise "On the Sublime." The oldest manuscript of the treatise ascribes it to Dionysius Longinus. The only Longinus known, however, was named Cassius not Dionysius, and the opening of this manuscript notes the author as "Dionysius or Longinus." The work must therefore be regarded as of uncertain date and authorship. The book tries to answer the question: "What are the characteristics of great writing?" In 9.9, the author cites Genesis as an example of greatness of thought: "Similarly, the lawgiver of the Jews, no ordinary man – for he understood and expressed God's power in accordance with its worth [cf. Jos., Ant. 1:15 for similarity of language] – writes at the beginning of his Laws: 'God said' – what? – 'Let there be light,' and there was light; 'let there be land,' and there was land." The fact that Longinus gives only the substance of the biblical passage suggests an intermediate source, and since Longinus' treatise was written explicitly in answer to a work of *Caecilius of Calacte, who was apparently a Jew, the latter may well be the source. Another possible source is *Philo, whose language and sentiments resemble those of "Longinus" in chapter 44.

PSEUDO-PHOCYLIDES, a Hellenistic Jewish didactic poet, author of 230 hexameters falsely ascribed to the sixth-century B.C.E. Greek lyric poet Phocylides. The few fragments of Phocylides that have survived suggest a reputation for moral wisdom which Pseudo-Phocylides seems to have drawn upon to lend authority to his own moral apothegms. The poem of Pseudo-Phocylides was apparently considered an authentic work of the Greek poet from the time of its earliest citation in Stobaeus (fifth century C.E.). In the later Byzantine Empire this poem became quite popular and it was widely distributed as a school textbook in the period of the Reformation. There are many Byzantine manuscripts; the first printed edition is of 1495; there are many 16th-century translations and reprints. In 1856 Jacob *Bernays wrote a definitive study on the subject demonstrating that the author was Jewish and dependent on the Bible. Since then others have argued for Christian elements in the poem (A. Harnack), pagan elements (A. Ludwich, W. Kroll), and that the work is by a convert to Judaism (M. Roissbroich).

The contents are primarily ethical maxims of such general content that they might easily be taken to be the work of a non-Jew. Their Jewishness can be recognized occasionally as, for example, in the injunction to let the mother bird escape and keep only the young when a nest is taken (84ff.; cf. Deut. 22:6ff.) or the prohibition against eating the flesh of an animal killed by a beast of prey (147ff., cf. Ex. 22:30 and 139, cf. Deut. 14:21). Most of the poem, however, preaches a universal moral code rather than a particular theology or ceremonial law. Even though many parallels can be made between passages in Pseudo-Phocylides and the Pentateuch, the spirit of the poem as well as some of its phraseology is more akin to the wisdom literature in the Bible and the Apocrypha, especially the Apocryphal books of *Ben Sira* and *Wisdom of Solomon*.

Absent from the poem is any specific attack on idolatry, which Bernays ascribes to the cowardice or indifference of the author. There is also little or nothing which can be considered as anti-Christian, thus placing it in the period before the anti-Christian polemics, i.e., before 70 C.E., if it is assumed that the author was a Jew. Some verses (103ff.) speak of physical resurrection and say that "those who rise up again afterward become gods." This is taken to be a Christian reference (Harnack), or a pagan reference (Kroll). Little else can be distinctly identified with any specific religious view. There are similarities between the moral admonitions of Pseudo-Phocylides and a moral manual of the early Church known as the *Didaché*. Rendel Harris, in his edition of the *Didaché* (1887, p. 46), suggests the possibility that both Pseudo-Phocylides and the *Didaché* go back to an earlier Jewish manual of morality. Part of Pseudo-Phocylides (5–79) was excerpted, with few variants and omissions, and incorporated into the *Sibylline Oracles

(2:56–148). Since the text is sometimes dependent on the Septuagint, the dating of the work would be in the second or first century B.C.E. (or, if Christian, in the first century C.E.). The metrics and the poetry are not very inspiring and the corruption of the text presents many problems. An exaggerated importance has been attached to the work.

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[Marshall S. Hurwitz]

°**PSEUDO-SCYLAX** (fl. c. 350 B.C.E.), pseudonym of the Greek author of a seafarers' manual (*Periplus*), which includes a description of the Mediterranean and Black Sea coastlines. The work, entitled "Periplus of the sea of inhabited Europe, of Asia, and of Libya," refers to Scylax of Caryanda, a contemporary of Darius I (521–485 B.C.E.). However, the work was composed about the middle of the fourth century B.C.E. It has survived in almost complete form. The author charts, inter alia, the coastal cities of Palestine and Syria, such as Joppa (Jaffa), Doris (Dora), and Ascalon (Ashkelon). The latter two are described, respectively, as a city of the Sidonians and as a royal city of the Tyrians. He also mentions a mountain and temple of Zeus, which seems to refer to Mt. Carmel. He describes the boundaries of "Coele-Syria" as extending from Ascalon to the river Thapsacus, and states the distance between them.

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[Solomon Rappaport]

PSYCHIATRY.

The Biblical Period

References to states of mental disturbance are frequently found in the Bible. Deuteronomy 28:28, 34 views madness as punishment for disobeying the commandments. The tragedy of Saul's last years is ascribed to an evil spirit that troubled Saul when the Lord departed from him. Saul's paranoidal fears and jealousy of David could not be assuaged by David's attempts to help and reassure him by playing the harp (I Sam. 16:14–23; 18:10ff.; 19:9–10). Later, David himself, in order to escape from Achish, simulated insanity, "scribbling on the doors of the gate and letting his spittle fall upon his beard" (21:11–16). The Bible does not speak of treatment of mental illness or recognize insanity as illness. On the contrary, it was enjoined that the person who was seen to be possessed by spirits should be stoned to death (Lev. 20:27); yet the Bible abounds in counsel for mental health, usually with an ethical intention. In Proverbs it is held that understanding is "a wellspring of life" (16:22) and that "a merry heart doeth good like medicine" (17:22).

In the Talmud

In the Talmud mention of mental illness is generally of a legal nature. The episodic nature of mental illness is taken into account on several occasions and there are references to periods when the person is of lucid or of unsound mind. There are also suggestions of a possible classification of mental illness such as a mental defect, confusion, acute and cyclical psychoses, and those which result from physical illness. The Talmud recognizes mental illness and is chary of accepting popular definitions such as: "he who goes out alone at night, who sleeps in the cemetery and tears his clothes" (Tosef., Ter. 1:3, and cf. Ḥag 3b). The word *shoteh* which contains the idea of walking to and fro without purpose is used to describe the mentally ill. The legal and social implications of insanity are frequently referred to in the Talmud. The mentally ill are not responsible for the damage they cause and those who injure them must bear the responsibility; the insane are not responsible for the shame they cause. They may not marry but, contrary to Greek concepts, in periods of lucidity the individual is considered healthy and capable from every other point of view. The Talmud sets very little store by magical medicines and cures for mental illness which were then current among the nations and were frequently found among Jews in the Middle Ages. It prefers to admit frankly the lack of effective treatment.

The Medieval Period

In the Middle Ages Jewish physicians no less than others were dependent on the humoral theories of Greek and Roman medicine (Hippocrates and Galen). Some Jewish physicians made original discoveries and contributions. *Asaph, the earliest Jewish physician known by name who lived apparently in the sixth or seventh century, felt that the heart is the seat of the soul and vital spirit. In his work, *The Book of Medicines*, he refers to the disturbed behavior of epileptics and to psychosis–phreneticus. Shabbetai *Donnolo, who lived in the tenth century, wrote in one of his medical books an analysis of the psychiatric conditions of melancholia and of nightmare. His description of mania contains a complex of conditions and undoubtedly included schizophrenia. Donnolo's psychiatric views while avoiding the magical element are derivative from the humoral theory of the Greeks. Nevertheless, though some of his explanations could be termed psychological his treatment was almost purely medicinal.

*Maimonides in the 12th century added to the genius of exegetical and philosophic work the brilliant practice of medicine and the exposition of it. His work *Pirkei Moshe* ("The Aphorisms of Moses") distinguishes clearly between motor and sensory nerves and voluntary and automatic activity. This book also deals with the anatomy of the brain and organic conditions such as epilepsy, weakness, contractions, and tremor. Maimonides' view of the influence of emotion on bodily function, in producing illness and retarding cure, was unique in his time. He was thus the father of psychosomatic medicine. In *Hanhagat ha-Beri'ut* ("The Regimen of Health") he sets out these views and instructions for attention to and the mitigation of the emotional state of the patient. He does, however, recognize the limitations of psychiatric care. *Sefer ha-Nimẓa*, which deals with mental illness, is questionably attributed to him. The "*Sefer Madda*" in Maimonides' Code sets out clearly his views on the promotion of individual mental health. His orientation to it is, of course, profoundly ethical, yet he relates mental health no less to the pragmatic functioning of the body and its appetites and effects. In essence this view recommends the middle road between indulgence and asceticism. He abjures all magical procedures.

The medieval flowering of Jewish medicine was followed by a prolonged period of folk medicine practiced by peripatetic healers. They acquired a reputation for healing as wonder-workers through incantations, *amulets, etc. They treated mental patients as if they were afflicted by spirits, devils, and impure influences. The founder of the ḥasidic movement *Israel ben Eliezer, in the 18th century, acquired his medical reputation by a rapid cure of a mental case. After him there ensued a further period of decadence in which the healers encouraged and exploited superstition.

The Modern Period

The reconstruction of psychiatry as a moral practice and a rational system after medieval times was accomplished in Europe only after a prolonged struggle against the demonological beliefs of the Church and the people. Phillipe Pinel's work in France after the Revolution was a turning point. The 19th century saw the progressive definition and classification of mental illness, of the psychoses and the neuroses, and the humanization of treatment in hospital. The first Jewish medical psychologist to join this European movement was Cesare *Lombroso who in 1864 published his *Genius and Insanity.* He described the delinquent personality carefully and related it to anatomical phenomena and genetic causes rather than moral factors. He thus became a pioneer in human and rational corrective measures for criminal behavior. His work also contributed much to the promotion of scientific thought and methods in psychiatry. Hippolyte *Bernheim's name is linked with the investigation of the neuroses which took precedence in the last two decades of the century. Although a careful observer, his interest was not in theory but in the cure of the patient. He was the first psychologist to advocate the principle of the "irresistible impulse" in legal medicine.

In 1889 Sigmund *Freud was a spectator of Bernheim's astonishing experiments in the treatment by hypnosis of mental hospital patients. Freud decided to use hypnosis in the treatment of neurotic patients and was associated in this task with Josef *Breuer, a practitioner in Vienna. In 1895 their epoch-making book, *Studien ueber Hysterie*, appeared. This work embodied the discovery of the unconscious. Freud soon found that he could dispense with hypnosis by letting the patient talk at random and obtained better therapeutic results. This new method Freud called free association. With the publication in 1900 of his *Interpretation of Dreams*, Freud invaded the field of normal psychology, and the borderland between abnormal and normal psychology began to disappear. Freud's theory and technique of psychoanalysis, after much resistance, not only revolutionized psychiatric therapy but was the final and decisive medium in which education, child care, and the treatment of criminals was humanized and made rational.

Alfred *Adler challenged the validity of Freud's concepts of basic sexual drives and repression as prerequisites for neurotic symptom formation. In 1912 he coined the term "individual psychology." He reduced the significance of childhood sexual factors to a minimum. For the school which developed around Adler, neurosis stems from childhood experience of over-protection or neglect or a mixture of both. This leads to a neurotic striving for superiority. His intuitive thinking may have been confirmed by thinkers subsequently who have defined the interaction between the goals of the individual and his social group and environment. Sandor *Ferenczi made a singular contribution to psychoanalysis which has been considered second only to that of Freud with whom he was associated. He attempted to correlate biological and psychological phenomena in his scientific method – bioanalysis. Karl *Abraham, one of the founders of psychoanalysis, contributed greatly through his researches to the clinical understanding of the neuroses and the psychoses especially of manic-depressive insanity. A.A. *Brill was responsible for the introduction of psychoanalysis into the United States and into the practice of psychiatry there. Max *Eitingon founded the first psychoanalytic training institute and polyclinic in Berlin in 1920. This became the model for all psychoanalytic training. He settled in Palestine in 1933 where he founded the psychoanalytic society and institute. Freud's inner circle or "Committee" by 1919 comprised Ferenczi, Abraham, Eitingon, Otto *Rank, Hans *Sachs, and the only non-Jew among them, Ernest Jones. Jones has commented on the effect of Freud's Jewishness on the evolution of his ideas and work; he attributed the firmness with which Freud maintained his convictions, undeterred by the prevailing opposition to them, to the "inherited" capacity of Jews to stand their ground in the face of opposition and hostility. That also held true for his mostly Jewish followers. Freud believed that the opposition to the inevitably startling discoveries of psychoanalysis was considerably aggravated by antisemitism. Early signs of antisemitism appeared in the Swiss analytic group. Freud felt that it was easier for Abraham to follow his thought than for Jung, because Jung as a Christian and the son of a pastor could only find his way to Freud through great inner resistance. Hans Sachs joined Freud in 1909. He abandoned law for the practice of psychoanalysis. Sachs was an editor and trained analyst whose main work was in the application of psychoanalysis to understanding the creative personality.

There were several other Jewish psychiatrists and lay psychoanalysts associated with the earlier phases of the development of psychoanalysis. Among them was Paul *Federn who met Freud in 1902 and was the fourth physician to become an analyst. Theodor *Reik was associated with Freud from 1910. Probably his major theoretical contribution was in the field of masochism. Helene *Deutsch as a psychiatrist and analyst made the pioneer exploration of the emotional life of women and constructed a comprehensive psychology of their life cycle. Melanie *Klein and Anna *Freud, both lay analysts, were originators of the psychoanalytical treatment of children, which they carried from the Continent to England.

In the United States, Erik Homberger *Erikson developed concepts of the development of the identity of the individual and his effort to maintain its continuity while seeking solidarity with group ideals and group identity. Margaret *Mahler added to the understanding of normal development in earliest infancy, describing the separation process from the mother. Perhaps the greatest contribution to child psychiatry was made in the United States by Leo *Kanner who, in 1943, first described and named the infantile psychosis, "early infantile autism." Lauretta *Bender believed that genetic factors determine the infants' vulnerability to a schizophrenic type of disorder and further related the onset of the psychosis to a biological crisis. Her visual Motor Gestalt Test was widely used to reveal organically based problems. Moritz *Tramer, the Swiss child psychiatrist, maintained that childhood schizophrenia exists as a hereditary entity in childhood and runs its course into the adult form. The psychoanalyst Paul *Schilder's dynamic concept of the "body image" contributed much to psychological thinking in the study of schizophrenia, especially in children. Beata Rank, while stressing the hereditary and constitutional factors in atypical emotional development, in therapy treated the early parent-child relationship. Rene *Spitz, a psychoanalyst, made important contributions in his studies of emotionally deprived infants and those separated from their mothers.

Many Jewish psychoanalysts, psychiatrists, and psychologists have been involved in the further development of child psychiatry and therapy especially in the United States. These include Phyllis *Greenacre, Herman *Nunberg, Ruth Eissler, Edith Buxbaum (c. 1895–1982), Bertha Bornstein (c. 1890–), Marianne R. Kris, William Goldfarb (1915–1995), David Levy (1892–1977), Stella Chess (1914–), Augusta Alpert, S.R. *Slavson, Peter B. Neubauer (1913–), Reginald Lourie, Fritz *Redl, and Martin Deutsch (1923–).

The effect of analytic theory and practice on psychiatry in the United States received an historic impulse after the Nazi accession and the transplantation of the psychoanalytic centers and practitioners from Europe. Franz *Alexander from Berlin had already added much to ego psychology and that of the criminal before developing, in his Chicago School, concepts of psychosomatic medicine and modifications of psychoanalytic treatment methods. Sander *Rado, who had studied drug addiction and developed "ego analysis" in New York, developed his modifications of it in "adaptational psychodynamics." Heinz *Hartman laid the foundations for the theoretical understanding of the interaction of the ego with personal, biological, and social reality. With Ernst *Kris and Rudolph *Loewenstein he explored the ways in which cultural differences produced variations of behavior. Géza *Roheim applied psychoanalytic principles to anthropological research. Otto *Fenichel is remembered as a teacher of psychoanalysis. Ernst Simmel was noted for his contribution on war neuroses and on antisemitism. Wilhelm *Reich made a basic contribution in his analysis of character before his defection from psychoanalysis. Sander Lorand is noted for his teaching in technique. Kurt *Lewin made a notable contribution to the understanding of personality within its psychological environment; Erich *Fromm to the appreciation of the passions and behavior of men as determined by the creativity and frustrations of society; Kurt *Goldstein's studies have applied principles of perception and reaction of Gestalt psychology.

Among the U.S. psychiatrists and others who have contributed much to psychiatry the following should be mentioned here: F.J. Kallmann, for his genetic studies; Jules *Masserman, for his "biodynamic" methods; David *Rapaport, in his psychological researches; Melitta Schmideberg, for her treatment of major criminals; Manfred *Sakel who discovered insulin therapy; Roy *Grinker, for his integrative approach; and Nathan *Ackerman, for his family therapy. Other notable practitioners, teachers, and researchers were Eduardo Weiss, Milton Greenblatt (1914–), Paul Lemkau (1909–), Felix *Deutsch, Greta L. Bibring (1899–1977), Melvin Sabshin (1925–), Lewis *Wolberg, Theresa *Benedek, Lawrence S. Kubie (1896–1973), Leon Salzman (1915–), David A. Hamburger (1925–), David Shakow (1901–1981), Abraham *Kardiner, Frieda *Fromm-Reichman, Theodore Lidz (1910–2001), Thomas *Szasz, Samuel Beck (1896–), Bruno *Bettelheim, David Wechsler (1896–1981), J.S. Kasanin (1897–1946), Samuel Ritvo, Ralph Greenson (1911–1979), Rudolf Ekstein (1912–2005), Milton Rosenbaum (1910–2003), Eugen Brody (1921–), Eric D. Wittkower (1899–1983), Iago Galdston (1895–), M. Ralph Kaufman (1900–1977), Howard P. Rome (1910–1992), J.R. Linton (1899–), Frederick Redlich (1910–2004), and J.L. *Moreno who developed psychodrama.

Social scientists who contributed to mental health were Marvin and Morris *Opler, Melford Spiro (1920–), Leo Srole (1908–1993), Morris and Charleen Schwartz, Bert Kaplan (1919–), and Daniel Lerner (1917–1980).

In England the psychoanalytic approach was represented by Michael *Balint, Kate *Friedlander, Willie *Hoffer, Susan *Isaacs, August Bonnard, Joseph J. Sandler (1927–), W.G. Joffe, and Liselotte Frankl. Erwin Stengel (1902–1973) made remarkable contributions on suicide and M.D. *Eder, an early member of the movement, was also a devoted Zionist. Jews in psychiatry are ably represented by Sir Aubrey *Lewis, W. Mayer-Gross, Emanuel *Miller (1894–1970), and H.J. Eysenck (1916–1997), who represents the school of "behavior therapy" and psychology. In South Africa, Wulf Sachs (1893–1949) pioneered psychoanalysis and analyzed the first African subject. In France, Eugene *Minkowski was a pioneer in psychiatry and existentialist psychotherapy. In the Soviet Union L.M. Rozenshteyn developed preventive methods in neuropsychiatry. M.O. Gurevich (1906–) shared the writing of a well-known textbook of psychiatry. The noted Soviet psychiatrist T.I. Yudin wrote an outline of the history of Russian psychiatry. O.B. Feltsman tried to popularize psychoanalysis through a psychotherapy journal and Moshe Woolf attempted this through his activities. The psychologist L. Vygotski and his coworker Luria contributed fundamentally to the understanding of disturbed thought processes. Psychoanalysis was brought to Palestine by Eitingon Moshe Woolf and Ilya Shalitd. Its influence was extended into the practice of psychiatry by Henri Winnik, Ruth Jaffe, Eric Gumbel (1908–), and Shmuel Nagler (1914–). The establishment of the State of Israel led to a rapid expansion of psychiatric facilities, initially in the army and later in communities. Notable contributions were made in this respect and in others by Yeshayahu Baumatz (1897–1964), Erich *Neumann, Shmuel Golan (1901–1966), Janus Schossberger (1914–), Shlomo Kulcar (1901–), Abraham Weinberg (1891–1972), Julius Zellermayer (1910–), F.S. *Rothschild, Franz Bruell (1904–), Ludwig Tramer (1923–), Miriam Gay (1917–), Phyllis Palgi (1917–), and Nehama Barzilai (1918–).

The impact of Jews in modern Western psychiatry probably relates to their personal analytic gifts fostered by their own historic culture. Two events of the 19th century contributed to their entry into psychiatry in the 20th century: the political emancipation of Jews in Europe which permitted their entry into the universities and into the valued profession of medicine in which they had been involved in medieval times; and the freeing of psychiatry from its cloak of irrationality and prejudice, speeded by the discoveries of Freud. Ernest Jones has remarked that historically psychoanalysis was not a particularly Jewish movement in England. Neither psychoanalysis nor psychiatry in England are so even today. Psychoanalysis was not essentially attractive to Jews in the United States until the displacement to the U.S. of the largely Jewish Viennese and German schools and their attraction of Jews there to the profession. In psychiatry in Western countries, Jews were on the whole under-represented but they are especially today well represented in the U.S.

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[Louis Miller]

PSYCHOLOGY, the science of the mind or of mental phenomena and activities.

Psychological Concepts in the Bible

"Psychology has a long past, but only a short history" (H. Ebbinghaus, *Abriss der Psychologie*, 1908). Nowhere is this aphorism better exemplified than in the many centuries during which Jewish physicians and thinkers dealt with the problems of behavior and behavior disorders. Many current notions on classification and therapy were foreshadowed in biblical and talmudic literature, and Jewish philosophers wrestled with the same psychological concepts that still occupy attention today.

The Jewish art of healing always emphasized mental as well as physical health. Behavior disorders were well known to the early Hebrews, who were noteworthy for their observance of the laws of preventive medicine and hygiene. From the beginning Jewish monotheism excluded all kinds of magic practices. The Bible opposed occult healing as "Amorite customs" and prescribed as therapy for all mental and physical ills prayer to "God your healer" (Ex. 15:26) and the use of medicine (Ex. 21:19; I Kings 17:21; II Kings 4:32–35; Ezek. 30:21).

Cases of mental disorder described in the Bible include King Saul's paranoia, depression, and epileptic seizures, treated by music therapy, and Nebuchadnezzar's lycanthropy. Various types of insanity are cited in the Pentateuch, such as phobia and panic (Lev. 26:17).

Post-Biblical and Talmudic Period

The talmudic description of *shoteh* ("the mentally insane") approaches the symptomatology of several psychoses (Ḥag. 2b; Sanh. 65b; Nid. 17a). The rabbis saw in the act of transgression a *ru'aḥ shetut* ("a mental deviation," Sot. 3a). Other psychological conditions mentioned are: epilepsy (Yev. 64b); hysteria (Hag. 3a); phobias (Git. 70a); hereditary traits (Bek. 8a; Yev. 64b) versus environment (Suk. 56b), melancholia (Shab. 2:5; see Maim.), defense mechanisms such as repression, sublimation, and projection (Meg. 25b; Kid. 70a), and the concept of catharsis cited in both the Bible (Prov. 12:25) and the Talmud (Sanh. 100b). Talmudic and midrashic literature also discussed ideas related to individual and social behavior, attitudes and values, systems of learning, discipline, and punishment. The need for "group belongingness" in the spirit of Hillel (Avot 2:4) was always stressed, and social acceptance was considered an indicator of divine approval (Avot 3:10). In the realm of education, the Talmud approached the training of children in the light of an awareness of differing learning abilities and the relation of learning to stages of development (Ber. 28a; Kid. 30a; Yoma 27a; Avot 5:12). The Talmud understood and stressed such principles as the need for psychological understanding of the mentally sick, individual differences in personality assessment (Sanh. 38a; ARN^1 4, 17), and the role of habit formation (Yoma 27a).

*Dreams were regarded as being of divine provenance. In antiquity Jews were famous as "dream interpreters," from Joseph to Daniel, and later the Essenes. The Talmud considers the dream "a sixtieth part of prophecy," that also contained irrelevant material, which "if not interpreted is like a letter which was not opened" (Ber. 55a). Halakhic literature deals with dreams related to oaths and promises, and with anxiety over a "bad dream," for which one is permitted to fast a *ta'anit ḥalom* even on the Sabbath (Shab. 11a). Hebrew "dream books" similar to those of the old Egyptians and Greeks were written by R. Hai.

The nature and function of the *soul, reason, and intellect were treated by Jewish philosophers (under Greek influence) and in the Kabbalah. Judaism believes that the soul and the body comprise the total personality in the divine image and do not represent an essential duality. Although the biblical terms *ru'aḥ, nefesh*, and *neshamah* are used synonymously, the rabbis identified the *neshamah* as the human psyche – the higher spiritual substance. In recognizing the conflict between the *yeẓer ha-ra* (the orgiastic drive to sin) and the *yeẓer ha-tov* (the positive inclination to control it), Judaism believes in the *liber arbitrum* (the principle of free choice), whereby man can master the id forces of the destructive *yeẓer ha-ra* (Suk. 52a) for the sake of the emergence of a healthy ego. *Maimonides attributed to the divine soul five different faculties: the nutritive, the sensitive, the imaginative, the emotional, and the rational (*Shemonah Perakim*, 1), the last being the distinctive, discriminating trait of man enabling him to apprehend and create ideas (*Guide* 1:70).

Medieval Period

Medieval Jewish philosophers who wrote on psychology included the eclectic Isaac b. Solomon Israeli who wrote *Sefer ha-Yesodot* ("The Book of Elements"), and discussed the interaction of mind and body and identified epilepsy and melancholia with insanity; Baḥya b. Joseph ibn Paquda; Solomon ibn Gabirol; Joseph ibn Ẓaddik; Judah Halevi; Abraham ibn Daud; and the rationalist Maimonides.

The Jewish share in the spread and development of medieval culture and the sciences is well known. Jewish works in medicine and science became the ultimate source of European medicine in the schools of Salerno and Montpellier. *Asaph's earliest medical work in Hebrew contains the first medical notice of the hereditary character of mental diseases and of psychosomatics. A description of mania was given by the earliest Italian physician Shabbetai Donnolo who was born in 913 C.E. Although ideas about psychological illness were historically attributed to Ḥibat Allah ibn Jumay (c. 1180), who was the Jewish physician to Saladin, Jewish genius in this field really begins with that remarkable physician of mind and body, Moses Maimonides, the most modern in approach of all medieval physicians.

Maimonides advocated research through experiment. He emphasized the high regard a physician should have for the human mind, and stressed the psychosomatic approach in therapy (*Regimen Sanitatis*, 3:13). He also differentiated between constitutional and environmental sources of behavior, urging the mentally sick to avail themselves of a "physician of the mind" (Code, 1:2). He warned against excessive use of tranquilizers or any radical changes in behavior (*Shemonah Perakim*, 1). Quite modern from the psychotherapeutical point of view, Maimonides insisted on complete psychological harmony between couples during sexual union for the benefit of the offspring, and viewed "physical health as a prerequisite to mental health and excellence" (Code, 1:4). In his treatise on the manic-depressive state Maimonides proposed "a strict hygiene of the soul" based on self-discipline and mental calm (*Shemonah Perakim*, 3).

The 13th-century rabbi Gershon b. Solomon of Arles identified the brain as the center of motility and not the heart. He is said to have experimented by removing the heart of a monkey and to have made similar tests on birds. In the same century Shem Tov b. Joseph *Falaquera wrote *Battei Hanhagat Guf ha-Bari ve-ha-Nefesh* and *Sefer ha-Nefesh* dealing with the psychic forces. Philosophical and physiological psychology is treated by *Hillel b. Samuel of Verona in *Tagmulei ha-Nefesh* ("Rewards of the Soul"). Moses Narbonni (11th century) and Nathan b. Joel Falaquera wrote on mental hygiene. Sleep was analyzed by the tenth-century Karaite Jacob al-*Kirkisani, and later by Jedaiah (ha-Penini) Bedersi as "a state when the sense of comprehension comes to a standstill" (*Ketav ha-Da'at*, "Treatise of the Intellect"). The medical works of *Amatus Lusitanus (16th century) and of Jacob *Ẓahalon (17th century) contain ample references to psychological issues.

Responsa Literature

The responsa literature also deals with mental diseases, in connection with matrimonial suits. Among the topics discussed were: melancholia, hysteria, "lunacy," manic-depressive states, megalomania, and character disorders. Isaac Lampronti of Ferrara permitted the desecration of the Sabbath "to prevent a state of emotional anxiety" (Resp. *Naḥalat Shivah*, 83). Music therapy, already used by King Saul and later treated separately by both Saadiah Gaon and Maimonides, is discussed by Ḥ.J.D. *Azulai in the Responsum *Ḥayyim Sha'al* (53), while hypnotism was noted by R. Jacob Ettlinger (d. 1871) in *Binyan Ẓiyyon* (67). Prison psychology was first introduced by the 18th-century Marrano Ribeira Sanchez. Jewish religious law requires strict consideration and good care for the mentally deficient (Sh. Ar., YD 240:10; Sh. Ar., EH 119:6). Even before Pinel's pioneering work in France, Jewish law required communal care for the insane, who "are not held responsible for their actions, yet, injuring them is legally prohibited" (Sh. Ar., ḤM 924:8). Suggestive therapy "to pacify a patient's mind" is permitted by Maimonides and Caro on psychological grounds (Sh. Ar., YD 179:6).

Ḥasidism

The ḥasidic movement of the 18th century again introduced suggestive therapy. Mental disorders were often treated by early *ẓaddikim*. The Ḥasid's identification with his ego-ideal, the *ẓaddik*, a humane, divinely inspired messenger, and the strong belief in this spiritual leader, had phenomenal therapeutic effects. Much psychological insight is to be found in the writings of R. Israel Ba'al Shem Tov, R. Dov Baer, the Maggid of Mezhirech, R. Naḥman of Bratslav, R. Shneur Zalman of Lyady, and their disciples. Ḥasidic teaching with its kabbalistic overtones and its strong emotional appeal and emphasis on the humane and mystical factors is the most psychologically oriented of all the expressions of Judaism.

[Menachem M. Brayer]

Modern Period

Psychology as a science and a profession emerged in the second half of the 19th century. Before the birth of psychology as an independent discipline, there had been a long period during which the subject matter of psychology – mental activity, human nature, and the relationship of mind and body – had been the province of philosophy. Jewish thinkers, ranging from Philo, who attempted to reconcile Greek and Hebrew thought, to the Jewish philosophers in the Arab countries during the Middle Ages, and from *Spinoza and his laws of the mind to *Husserl and his phenomenology, played an important role in this history. But modern, scientific psychology could only come into being when the progress of physiology had provided the biological basis and physics, the methods to make psychology an experimental science.

PSYCHOLOGICAL PIONEERS. The last two decades of the 19th century saw the founding of academic departments of psychology in most major universities in Europe and the United States. As it was difficult for Jews to obtain university appointments because of official and unofficial discrimination, there were relatively few Jewish pioneer psychologists involved in the founding of laboratories. G.F. *Heymans participated in the establishment of a laboratory at Louvain in Belgium in 1891 and went on to found the first Dutch laboratory at Groningen in 1892. Hugo *Muensterberg founded the laboratory at Freiburg in Breisgau, Germany, and was called to Harvard in 1892 to reactivate and take charge of the laboratory there. Joseph *Jastrow received the first doctorate in psychology granted in the United States, at Johns Hopkins University in 1886. Doubly handicapped by the absence of academic departments and the fact that he was Jewish, he circularized the major university departments with his proposals for a psychology curriculum. He was successful in gaining an appointment at the University of Wisconsin, thus founding the second psychological laboratory in the U.S. in 1888. In England, where resistance to the new experimental psychology was especially strong, C.S. *Myers was the first psychologist to be in charge of the laboratory at Cambridge.

THE SCHOOLS. After its initial phase, psychology passed through a period in which various schools advanced their claims to be its true representative. Although most psychologists remained eclectic, it was the schools which provided the chief directions for the development of psychological theory. Joseph Jastrow of Wisconsin was typical of this trend. Otto *Selz was a prominent member of the so-called "Wuerzburg" school which investigated the psychology of thinking processes. The next generation of psychologists rejected many of the theoretical concepts and experimental techniques of the older schools. The European movement, in opposition to the older schools, successfully challenged the earlier elementaristic concepts, substituting an emphasis on relationships and phenomenological methodology. It was influenced by the work of David *Katz and Edgar *Rubin on perception. The founders of the new school, known as Gestalt psychology, were Max *Wertheimer and his associates, including Kurt *Koffka. Other important early members of this school were Kurt *Goldstein and Kurt *Lewin. Gestalt psychology was particularly affected by the fact that most of its founders were Jewish. It was originally primarily a European school, but the forced emigration of most of its important contributors to the U.S. (including Koehler, who was not Jewish, but in sympathy with his Jewish colleagues) with the advent of the Nazis, introduced it into U.S. psychology. There it gained further support through the work of Hans Wallach in perception, Abraham Luchins in problem solving, and Solomon Asch in social psychology. In the 1920s and 1930s the acceptance of psychoanalytic and allied concepts in psychology grew rapidly and the ideas of Sigmund *Freud began to penetrate all facets of psychology, as well as literature, history, and the arts. The development of clinical psychology as a field of study and treatment of personality disorders can be traced primarily to the influence of psychoanalytic thinking.

Contemporary Period

Contemporary psychology has discarded the approach of the schools, with their attempt to bring all of psychology into one harmonious framework. It has substituted, in its systematic part, an emphasis on specific theories and models, and in its work, an emphasis on the investigation of specific problems and their applications. Many of the ideas of the schools have been incorporated into these modern approaches. Jewish psychologists have significantly contributed to the development of these theories. German and Austrian psychology was practically destroyed by the measures adopted by the Nazi regime, many of the displaced psychologists emigrating to the U.S. and making their contribution through teaching and research. Besides the Gestalt psychologists already mentioned, these included such important figures as Charlotte *Buhler, William *Stern, Heinz *Werner, Werner *Wolff, Erich *Fromm, Adhémar Gelb, and Else Frenkel-Brunswik (see Albert Wellek, "The impact of the German immigration on the development of American psychology," in *Journal of the History of the Behavioral Sciences*, 4 (1969), 207–29). A selective sample of prominent Jewish contributors to the development of present-day theoretical positions shows that practically all the psychological specialties are represented. Abram Amsel, Howard Kendler, Joseph Notterman, Leo Postman, William Schoenfeld, and Richard Solomon engaged in the study of learning with human and animal subjects. In the field of perception and sensory functions, leading names include Julian Hochberg, Hershel Leibowitz, Carl Pfaffman, and Irvin Rock. Comparative and physiological psychology are represented by Daniel Lehrman and David Krech, and by Murray Jarvik in the allied field of psychopharmacology. Jerry Hirsch made important contributions to psychogenetics, and Joshua *Fishman and Kurt Salzinger to the study of language. Melvin Marx worked in the field of learning, but is better known for his contribution to systematics. Abraham *Maslow figured prominently in the development of a humanistic psychology. The social field includes Leonard Berkowitz, Morton Deutsch, Leon Festinger, Otto Klineberg, and Daniel *Katz, with George Katona working in the allied area of the relation of economics and psychology.

Saul Rosenzweig, after work in personality and projective testing, became primarily interested in the history of psychology, as did Benjamin Wolman. In the development of projective testing Samuel Beck and Bruno Klopfer became known as experts on the Rorschach test. Personality theory has gained through the work of Milton Rokeach. David Wechsler originated the standard tests of intelligence named after him, while Boris Levinson used intelligence tests to discover the characteristic patterns of the mental development of Jewish children. Joseph Zubin attempted to devise objective tests of abnormal behavior. Jewish psychologists constitute a large segment of the U.S. clinical field. Their various contributions to theory and practice can be exemplified by the work of Perry London, Emanuel Schwartz, and Hans Strupp in clinical psychology, and Morton Seidenfeld in counseling.

The Jewish contribution to all branches of psychology has been very important from the start, and Jews make up a disproportionate number of the profession. The diversity of viewpoints and the distribution of psychologists in the past indicate that psychology has attracted Jewish professionals because it presented an opportunity for intellectual advancement that was denied in some of the better-established fields. Without the Jewish contribution it may safely be said that psychology would not have reached its present state of development and would be seriously handicapped in its future course.

[Helmut E. Adler]

Women in Psychology

Jewish women are well represented in the field of psychology; they have been particularly prominent in clinical psychology and the social psychology of intergroup relationships, especially as it involves socially marginalized groups. Female Jewish psychologists hoping to work in the academic world, particularly prior to the 1960s, often faced both antisemitism and discrimination based on their gender that made it difficult to find tenured professorships. A number of Jewish women psychologists in the second half of the 20th century came from working-class households imbued with socialist political convictions; many of these women were advocates of social justice and equity in their scholarly work and in their lives. A disproportionate number of Jewish women have been active scholars and practitioners in the field of the psychology of women. Seven of the 12 recipients of the Association for Women in Psychology's distinguished career awards through 2005 have been Jewish women. These include sociologist Jessie Bernard in 1977; Ethel Tobach in 1979; Jean Baker Miller in 1980; Florence *Denmark in 1986; Rhoda Unger in 1994; Bernice Lott in 1998; and Lenore Tiefer in 2004. A number of these women also received distinguished publication awards from that organization. In addition, 10 of the 23 recipients of the Carolyn Wood Sherif Award, the most important award offered by the Division of the Psychology of Women of the American Psychological Association, are Jewish women whose work is mentioned in this article. Rhoda Unger received the first such award in 1984 followed by Barbara Wallston in 1986 (posthumously), Martha Mednick in 1988, Florence Denmark in 1991, Phyllis Katz in 1994, Bernice Lott in 1996, Sandra Schwartz Tangri in 1999, Michelle Fine in 2000, Judith Worell in 2001, and Laura Brown in 2004. A Jewish male, Arnold Kahn, received this award in 2002.

EARLY PIONEERS. The first major Jewish women psychologists were trained in Europe in the first few decades of the 20th century; many fled to the United States to escape the Nazis in the mid- or late 1930s. Like their male counterparts, many of these women, including Frieda *Fromm-Reichmann (1889–1957) and Else Frenkel-Brunswick (1908–1958), made their most important contributions in psychoanalytic and psychodynamic theory; others had an impact on the developing field of clinical psychology. These female refugees from Nazism helped to change the focus of American social psychology by giving it a more "outsider" perspective. These women, who were also early activists for various social causes, included the following:

Tamara Dembo (1902–1993) ultimately became a full member of the faculty at Clark University. Her major contributions were in the field of rehabilitation psychology, in which she advocated adapting environments to people rather than the other way around.

Erika Fromm (1910–2003) emigrated to the U.S. with her husband in 1938. Although confronted with gender discrimination that hampered her academic career, Fromm had an important impact on psychoanalysis through her work on dream interpretation and on hypnosis as a key to the unconscious.

Eugenia Hanfmann (1905–1983) studied conceptual thinking in schizophrenics and the role of projective tests in the assessment of personality. After a number of impermanent faculty positions, Hanfmann was invited to begin a counseling service for students at the newly formed Brandeis University in 1952.

Marie Jahoda (1907–2001) spent the war years in England but had an illustrious career in the U.S. beginning in 1945.

Margaret Mahler (1897–1985), a native of Hungary, worked in object relations theory.

Four U.S.-born Jewish women also made significant contributions to the field of psychology in the period directly after World War II:

Thelma Alper (1908–) was the 11th woman (and the first Jewish woman) to receive a psychology Ph.D. from Harvard University. After several years as a non-tenure track lecturer at Harvard, Alper accepted a tenured position at Wellesley in 1952. Her research combined elements of clinical and social psychology. She did a great deal of applied work with children and adolescents.

Mary Henle (1913–), who was born in Cleveland, was committed to experimental and theoretical issues involving Gestalt psychology. A member of the Graduate Faculty of the New School for Social Research in New York City, her research shifted to experimentation on perception and cognition in later years.

Bernice Levin Neugarten (1916–2001) received her Ph.D. from the interdisciplinary program on child development at the University of Chicago; this was the first degree in human development conferred by any institution.

Jane Loevinger (1918–) completed her graduate work at the University of California at Berkeley. Unable to obtain an academic position in St. Louis, where her husband was on the faculty of Washington University, Loevinger conducted a variety of research studies in the areas of measurement and psychoanalysis supported by outside grants. In 1971, she finally became a tenured professor at Washington University. Well known as a pioneer in the study of the structure of personality, she published work on the construction of projective tests as well as on the meaning and measurement of ego development.

SOCIAL ACTIVISTS. This group of women (born in the 1920s or early 1930s) began their careers after World War II when discrimination against Jews and women had become less overt. Social activism, as well as research on the personal and social costs of societal inequities, was the central focus of their professional lives. As the feminist movement in the late 1960s and early 1970s made positions of leadership for women more acceptable, a number of Jewish women became presidents of the Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues (SPSSI).

Cynthia Deutsch (1928–), who succeeded June Tapp as president of the SPSSI, received her Ph.D. from the University of Chicago in 1953. Deutsch was primarily concerned with the psychological consequences of early intervention in the lives of children at risk.

Marcia Guttentag (1932–1977), was born in New York City and received her Ph.D. from the clinical psychology doctoral program at Adelphi University in 1960. Her scholarship focused on mental health evaluation and gender and racial inequity in education. In 1972 Guttentag became the Richard Clarke Cabot Visiting Professor of Social Ethics in the Department of Psychology and Social Relations at Harvard University as well as Director of the Social Development Research Center and the Center for Evaluation Research at its School of Education.

Lois Wladis Hoffman (1929–), who was born in Elmira, New York, and received her Ph.D. from the University of Michigan in 1958, spent most of her professional career at the University of Michigan where she became a professor of psychology in 1975. Her earliest work was on child development, but she also investigated the effect of maternal employment on children. Her books include *The Employed Mother in America* (1963/1976) and *Working Mothers: Evaluative Review of the Consequences for Wife, Husband, Child* (1974). She later collaborated with Martha Mednick and Sandra Tangri on a book called *Women and Achievement: Social and Motivational Analyses* (1975).

Phyllis Katz (1938–), born in New York City, received her Ph.D. in developmental and clinical psychology from Yale in 1961. She founded and edited the feminist journal *Sex Roles* and edited the *Journal of Social Issues*. She was a professor at the Graduate School of City University of New York and went on to maintain her own research institute in Boulder, Colorado. Her major work in psychology was on the socialization of gender roles in children and she also edited two books on eliminating racism (1976; 1988).

Clara Weiss Mayo (1931–1981) received her Ph.D. in psychology from Clark University in 1959. After she joined the faculty at Boston University, Mayo was involved in one of the first studies to examine the effect of busing on school integration. She was also interested in the way nonverbal communication patterns helped or hindered relationships between individuals from different social groups.

Martha Mednick (1929–) was an influential pioneer in the study of women and gender.

June Tapp (1929–1992) was born in New York City but grew up in Los Angeles. After graduating from the University of Southern California, she completed her Ph.D. in social and political psychology at Syracuse University in 1963. A major researcher in psychology, law, and public policy, Tapp held a number of short-term positions before becoming a professor at the Institute of Child Development at the University of Minnesota in 1972. Her co-authored books include *Ambivalent America* (1971) and *Law, Justice, and the Individual in Society* (1977); she was also an effective social activist.

Ethel Tobach (1921–) is unique among this group, because of her field of comparative psychology as well as her European birth.

PROMINENT LATER PRACTITIONERS. Judith Alpert (1944–), who received her Ph.D. in school psychology from Teacher's College of Columbia University in 1973, did her research in school psychology and women and psychoanalysis. She was associated with the School Psychology Program in the School of Education at New York University for virtually all of her career.

Sandra Lipshitz Bem (1944–), a Pittsburgh native, moved with her husband Darryl Bem to University of Michigan, where she received her Ph.D. in developmental psychology in 1968. Bem did early collaborative work with her husband on the internalization of gender stereotypes as a source of gender inequality; she also originated the concept of "androgyny" – a measure of personality which views "masculine" and "feminine" traits as independent of each other. Her 1993 *The Lenses of Gender* examined the way gender is constructed by societal constraints.

Annette Brodsky (1938–) followed Florence Denmark and Martha Mednick as the fifth president of the APA's division on women (1977–1978). Born in Chicago, Brodsky received her Ph.D. in clinical psychology from the University of Florida in 1970. She initiated the first women's studies course at the University of Alabama and co-edited the first book on psychotherapy and women and also conducted important research on sexual contact between therapists and clients. She later lived in Los Angeles where she was director of clinical training for a large hospital and an expert witness on sexual abuse in psychotherapy.

Laura Brown (1952–), a Cleveland native, received her Ph.D. from Southern Illinois University in 1977. A clinical professor of psychology at the University of Washington and a private practitioner, Brown served as president of the APA

Division on the Psychology of Women following her term as president of the APA's Division on Gay and Lesbian Psychology. Brown is the author of *Subversive Dialogues* (1994) and other books on diversity issues in feminist therapy and feminist perspectives on personality and psychopathology.

Nancy Datan (1941–1987) emigrated to Israel in 1963, two years after receiving her master's degree from the human development program at the University of Chicago where she worked with Bernice Neugarten. She completed her Ph.D. from the same program while in Israel and returned to the U.S. in 1973. She taught at the University of Wisconsin at Green Bay with her second husband for the few years before her death. Datan and several colleagues conducted a pioneering study of aging among women from five subcultures in Israel, which ranged from traditional to modern in their conceptions of women's roles (Datan et al., 1981). She later reconsidered the research questions they had asked and their implications for gender roles within a religious and cultural framework (Datan, 1986). Datan also edited an important series of books on adult development and aging.

Florence Denmark (1932–) was the first Jewish woman to be elected president of the American Psychological Association (1980).

Michelle Fine (1953–), who grew up in suburban New Jersey, received her Ph.D. in 1980 from Teacher's College of Columbia University. A professor of psychology at the Graduate Center of the City University of New York, Fine's scholarship has focused on women and disability; black and Latina high school dropouts; and problematizing whiteness.

Frances Degen Horowitz (1932–), New York City-born, received her Ph.D. from the University of Iowa in 1959. Much of her professional career was spent at the University of Kansas where she rose from professor of psychology to dean of the Graduate School. She became president of the Graduate School of the City University of New York in 1991. Horowitz's research focused on early childhood development and children in poverty. President of the APA Division of Developmental Psychology in 1977–78, and president of the Society for Research on Child Development in 1996–97, she received the Weizmann Institute's Women in Science award in 1994.

Hannah Lerman (1936–), the twelfth president of the APA Division of the Psychology of Women (1984–85), was born in New York City and received her Ph.D. in clinical psychology from Michigan State University in 1963. A therapist in private practice in the Los Angeles area, she co-founded the Feminist Therapy Institute. Lerman wrote a well-received book critiquing Freudian theory (1986) as well as a critique of the psychodiagnosis of women in the late 20th century (1997). She also co-edited an important book on feminist ethics in psychotherapy (1990).

Bernice Lott (1930–), a president of the APA Division on the Psychology of Women (1990–91), taught at the University of Rhode Island. Her career shows discontinuities similar to those of other women who are/were married to prominent men in the field. Following her second marriage to Albert Lott, she began to publish research regularly both in collaboration with him and by herself. Her work focused on prejudice and discrimination against women and on the social learning of gender.

Judith Seitz Rodin (1944–) was born in New York City and received her Ph.D. in social psychology from Columbia University in 1970. She did important work on obesity, aging, and social control while a professor of psychology at Yale where she became dean of the Graduate School before becoming president of the University of Pennsylvania. She made important contributions to research and policy issues involving women's health.

Marilyn Safir (1938–) moved to Israel shortly after receiving her Ph.D. in clinical psychology from Syracuse University. Born and raised in New York City, Safir was an activist on racial issues. Disenchanted with the treatment of women in the civil rights movement, she went to Israel because she believed that there would be more sexual equality there than in the U.S. In Israel, Safir was an early advocate of feminism and fostered dialogue between U.S. and Israeli scholars. Her research challenged myths of sexual equality in Israel.

Sylvia Scribner (1923–1991) worked as a union organizer and an anti-establishment activist for many years. After receiving her Ph.D. in 1970 under the direction of Mary Henle, Scribner became professor of developmental psychology at the Graduate Center of the City University of New York at the age of 59. Her extensive scholarly contributions were primarily in the area of cross-cultural psychology, cognitive science, and the history of science.

Sandra Schwartz Tangri (1937–2003) received her Ph.D. from the University of Michigan's interdisciplinary social psychology program in 1967. Tangri held faculty appointments at Douglass College of Rutgers University and Richmond College of the City University of New York. Between academic jobs, she was director of the Office of Research for the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights for four years and senior research associate at the Urban Institute for three more years. She later became professor of psychology at Howard University. Tangri conducted longitudinal research on women's careers and also investigated sexual harassment in the federal work force and ethical issues in population programs.

Rhoda Kesler Unger (1939–), who received her Ph.D. in experimental psychology from Harvard University in 1966, was the eighth president of the APA Division of the Psychology of Women (1980–81). Co-author of an early text on the psychology of women with Florence Denmark (1975), she became professor of psychology and director of the All-College Honors Program at Montclair State University in New Jersey in 1972. Her primary work was on the relationship between ideological values, theory, and methodology within psychology.

Lenore Walker (1942–), the 17th president of the APA Division of the Psychology of Women (1989–90), received her Ed.D. from Rutgers University and is best known for her groundbreaking work on battered women. She received a

Distinguished Award for Contributions to the Public Interest from the American Psychological Association for her lobbying efforts in this area.

Barbara Strudler Wallston (1943–1987) received her Ph.D. in social psychology from the University of Wisconsin in 1972. She spent her entire career as an academic researcher at George Peabody College of Vanderbilt University, where she served as chair of the Department of Psychology and Human Development and as coordinator of its graduate program in psychology. She was a leader in the Association for Women in Psychology and chair of APA's Committee on Women in Psychology in 1980; in 1987 she received the Carolyn Wood Sherif Lectureship Award for her achievements in and commitment to feminist scholarship, teaching, and mentoring and to professional leadership in feminist psychology (O'Leary, 1988). Wallston developed a health locus of control scale with her then husband, Kenneth Wallston, which is used internationally to measure people's beliefs about what controls their health status and she also worked in the area of dual-career couples, stereotyping (Wallston and O'Leary, 1981), and feminist methodology in psychology.

Naomi Weisstein (1940–), born in New York City, received her Ph.D. in cognitive psychology from Harvard University. Academic gender discrimination initially limited her employment to an adjunct lectureship at the University of Chicago. She finally joined the faculty at the State University of New York at Buffalo in 1973 where her research life was cut short by chronic fatigue and immune dysfunction syndrome. Weisstein contributed to the understanding of the neuropsychology of visual perception as well as to feminist scholarship.

Judith Worell (1928–) was born in New York City and received her Ph.D. in clinical psychology from Ohio State in 1954. She served as chair of the Department of Counseling Psychology at the University of Kentucky and edited *Psychology of Women Quarterly*. Worell's research interests focus on the development of a feminist model for counseling psychology; she also conducted extensive research on women's roles throughout their lifespan and on their satisfaction with their choices.

[Rhoda K. Unger (2nd ed.)]

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PTASHNE, MARK STEPHEN (1940–), U.S. biochemist. Born in Chicago, Ptashne graduated with a B.S. from Reed College in Portland, Oregon, and received his Ph.D. from Harvard University under the direction of Matthew Meselson. He joined the faculty of biochemistry and molecular biology at Harvard (1965) where he became professor (1971), chairman (1980–83), and Herschel Smith Professor from 1993. He was later a faculty member of the Molecular Biology Program at Memorial Sloan-Kettering Cancer Center, New York. His early research concerned the relationship between a virus called phage lambda and the bacteria it infects. There are two possible outcomes to infection. The virus may multiply and destroy the infected bacteria, a process termed lysis. Alternatively, the viral genetic information may persist without destroying the bacteria, a process called "lysogeny." However the quiescent phage DNA may subsequently be reactivated and lead to bacterial lysis. Ptashne identified and characterized the protein which determines the outcome of infection and he elucidated the mechanisms by which it operates. These discoveries were the basis for the new field of "transcriptional regulation" which explores the control of genetically determined programs in cells. It has crucially important implications for understanding the molecular basis of normal development and the abnormal events underlying cancer. He continued to work on gene regulation in normal and cancer cells. He reviewed his research in *A Genetic Switch: Phage Lambda Revisited* (2004^3). His work has been recognized by many honors, including election to the U.S. National Academy of Sciences, the Gairdner Award (1985) and the Lasker Award for Basic Medical Science (1997). Ptashne is an accomplished violinist.

[Michael Denman (2nd ed.)]

PTOLEMY, the common name of monarchs of the Macedonian (or Thirty-First) Dynasty who ruled in Egypt from 323 to 30 B.C.E. It is unclear precisely how many such sovereigns there actually were; some scholars give a total of 14 and some 16. Most important for Jewish history were: PTOLEMY I (called Soter), reputed son of Lagus, founder of the dynasty. Ruler of Egypt as satrap from 323 B.C.E., he assumed the title of king in 305 and remained in power until his death in 283. Josephus states (Apion, 1:209 ff., and cf. Ant. 12:2 ff.) on the authority of Agatharchides of Cnidus that Ptolemy, after gaining admittance to Jerusalem on the pretext of wishing to make a sacrifice, captured the city on the Sabbath day when the Jews did not fight (320 B.C.E.). Agatharchides comments derisively that the Jews "persevering in their folly" of not defending their city on this day, were given over to a "harsh master." The second part of his statement is of especial interest, for scholars differ over whether Ptolemy was indeed a "harsh" master or whether his attitude toward the Jews was essentially benevolent. Whether the Jews in Egypt during his reign were indeed granted equal rights with Macedonian *clerouchoi* ("settlers") must remain an open question.

PTOLEMY II (called Philadelphus) reigned from 283 to 245 B.C.E. According to the Letter of *Aristeas he was responsible for two important actions, the one of immediate and the other of lasting consequence: he freed numerous Jewish slaves (themselves evidence of his father's military actions in Palestine) and initiated the Greek translation of the Bible – the *Septuagint. Both the foregoing statements may well have a historical basis. Philadelphus' literary interests are attested from other sources, and the Bible project may conceivably have been begun during his reign. The construction of several cities in Ereẓ Israel must also be attributed to his reign, including Philoteria (near Lake Kinneret) and Ptolemais, near present-day Acre (Arist. 115) as well as Philadelphia in Transjordan. He gained important victories in the first Syrian war against the Seleucid sovereign, *Antiochus I, and gave his daughter Berenice's hand in marriage to Antiochus II upon completion of the second Syrian campaign (c. 253 B.C.E.).

PTOLEMY III (called Euergetes) reigned from 246 to 221 B.C.E. Some scholars identify this Ptolemy with the king of that name mentioned by Josephus with regard to Joseph the Tobiad (Ant. 12: 154ff.), while others are of the opinion that it was Ptolemy V (Epiphanes). If the king was Euergetes, then he must be credited with a favorable attitude toward his Jewish subjects. Josephus goes so far as to claim that after Euergetes' great victory over the Seleucids during the third Syrian war (246–241 B.C.E.) he offered incense at the Temple in Jerusalem. A possible reference to some of the king's actions during and after his campaigns in the Seleucid realm may be found in Daniel 11:7–9 where it is related that the Egyptian king removed idols from the conquered territories and restored them in his own country.

PTOLEMY IV (called Philopator) reigned from 221–203 B.C.E. A "wretched debauchee" according to E. Bevan, this monarch has fared less well than his predecessors in Jewish annals. Philopator is often associated with the following events described in III Maccabees: On the conclusion of the (fourth Syrian) war and his victory over Antiochus at Raphia (present-day Rafa) in 217 B.C.E., Philopator paid a visit to Jerusalem with the intention of entering the Temple. God intervened and he was felled to the ground. As revenge, when he returned to Egypt he ordered the Jews to be massacred in the Alexandrian arena by a horde of elephants, but the beasts turned on the royal troops instead. The day of deliverance was commemorated by the Jews as an annual feast day, which seems to be the only historically verifiable aspect of the story, though Josephus places it in a later context.

PTOLEMY V (called Epiphanes) reigned from 203 to 181 B.C.E. This monarch irretrievably lost the whole of Palestine to Antiochus III at the battle of Paneas (present-day Banias) c. 200 B.C.E.

PTOLEMY VI (or VII; called Philometor) reigned from 181 to 145 B.C.E. (from then on until the death of the last of the Ptolemies in 30 B.C.E., dates of birth and regnal years become increasingly uncertain). Philometor appears to have been generally well disposed toward the Jews, though he invaded Palestine to intervene in the disputes over the succession to the Syrian throne. His relations with *Jonathan the Hasmonean were cordial. II Maccabees 1–10 states that Philometor's mentor was a Jewish philosopher and biblical exegete, Aristobulus by name. Under this same ruler the high priest *Onias IV, having fled from Jerusalem, built a temple at Leontopolis (c. 161 B.C.E.), while Philometor's military garrisons were commanded by two Jews, Onias and Dositheus.

PTOLEMY VII (or IX; called Euergetes II) reigned from 145 to 116 B.C.E. According to Josephus the Jews were persecuted during his rule, yet a synagogue was dedicated to him by the Egyptian Jewish community. It was in the 38th year of Euergetes' reign that the grandson of *Ben Sira went to Egypt where he translated his grandfather's work into Greek.

PTOLEMY VIII (or X; called Lathyrus and Soter II) reigned intermittently from 116 to 80 B.C.E. He launched an attack on the Hasmonean Alexander *Yannai shortly after the latter had come to the throne, only to be driven back by his mother, *Cleopatra III, who, with his brother Ptolemy IX (or XI; called Alexander I), later planned their own assault on Yannai.

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[David Solomon]

PTOLEMY (c. 135 B.C.E.), son of Ḥabub (Abubus) and son-in-law of *Simeon b. Mattathias (the Hasmonean). Ptolemy was *strategos* (i.e., military and local commander) at Jericho. Plotting to overthrow the Hasmonean House in 135 B.C.E., he invited Simeon and his entourage to a banquet while they were on a visit to the Jericho area, and treacherously murdered him and later two of his sons. He then sent messengers to Gazara (Gezer) to kill Simeon's other son John *Hyrcanus. At the same time, he set out to capture Jerusalem, dispatching a message to the Syrian king, Antiochus Sidetes, to inform him of the developments and to enlist his aid. Hyrcanus succeeded, however, in killing his assailants and hastened to Jerusalem where he won the trust of the people, who remained loyal to the Hasmonean dynasty. Having ensured his succession, Hyrcanus pursued Ptolemy and besieged him in a fortress in the vicinity of Jericho to which he had retreated. Ptolemy was able to defy Hyrcanus by holding his mother as a hostage. Eventually Hyrcanus had to lift the siege as a result of the onset of the Sabbatical year which led to a food shortage. Ptolemy fled to Philadelphia (Rabbath Ammon), after putting Hyrcanus' mother to death, and he is not heard of again.

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[Lea Roth]

°**PTOLEMY** (**Son of Mennaeus**), king of Chalcis, in the region of the Lebanon (c. 85–40 B.C.E.). *Josephus relates that the inhabitants of Damascus despised Ptolemy, and preferred as king of Coele-Syria the Nabatean king, Aretas. Ptolemy's position in the area, however, was firmly established, and the Judean queen *Alexandra's armed attempt to weaken that influence brought no results. During Pompey's campaign in Syria, the territory under Ptolemy was devastated, but Ptolemy held fast to his principality though he was compelled to pay a ransom of 1,000 talents to the Roman conqueror. Following the Roman conquest of Judea, Ptolemy assumed guardianship over *Antigonus, the son of the Hasmonean prince, Aristobulus, and his sisters. They were brought to Ptolemy at Ashkelon by his son, Philippion, who eventually married one of the princesses, Alexandra. Philippion, however, was subsequently slain by his father on account of Alexandra, after which Ptolemy married the princess himself. Meanwhile, with the gradual subjugation of Judea under Herod, Antigonus gathered an army and with Ptolemy's assistance returned to his country, only to be defeated by Herod and again driven out of Judea. Ptolemy was succeeded as king of Chalcis by his son, Lysanias, who continued to support Antigonus.

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[Isaiah Gafni]

°**PTOLEMY THE BIOGRAPHER**, brother of *Nicholas of Damascus. Like his brother, Ptolemy was a highly esteemed member of the literary circle which surrounded Herod I. After Herod's death, he sided with Antipas (Jos., Ant. 17:225; Wars 2:21). A fragment of a work about Herod stating that the Idumaeans were Phoenician and Syrian in origin and were forcibly converted to Judaism (cf. Jos., Ant. 18:257–8) has been ascribed to him by Reinach (Textes, 88–89) but it may possibly belong to another Ptolemy.

°**PTOLEMY THE GEOGRAPHER** (second century C.E.), Alexandrian astronomer and geograher. Among his many works was a "Geography" in eight books in which he fixed the longitude and latitude of thousands of places, including many in Palestine: Ptolemais (Acre), Sycaminon (Haifa), Mount Carmel, Caesarea Stratonis (Caesarea), Iope (Jaffa), Ascalon (Askelon), Tiberias, Neapolis (Nablus), Gaza, Lydda, Hierosolyma (Jerusalem). However, Ptolemy's locations are often in error.

°**PTOLEMY MACRON**, a general under *Antiochus IV (Epiphanes). The author of II Maccabees (10:12) explicitly states that Ptolemy "had taken the lead in preserving justice" for the Jews. As a result, he was accused before *Antiochus V (Eupator) and eventually took his life by poison. Some commentators accept the fact that the Ptolemy in question is synonymous with the Ptolemy son of Dorymenes, mentioned by Josephus (Ant. 12:298), in I Maccabees 3:38 and II Maccabees 4:45. The difficulty lies in equating this benevolent reputation with that in the foregoing passages (and cf. II Macc. 8:8–11). In these he is depicted as taking the field against *Judah Maccabee and being instrumental in the execution of a three-man Jewish deputation which had leveled charges against the Hellenizer *Menelaus. Polybius (27, 13) and Suidas (s.v. Πτόλέμάῖός) refer to Ptolemy as former governor of Cyprus under Ptolemaic rule. He was later awarded the governorship of Coele-Syria and Phoenicia by the *Seleucids.

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[David Solomon]

°**PTOLEMY OF CHENNOS** (early second century B.C.E.), of Alexandria, author of a lost "new" compilation of interesting facts, summarized in Photius. He derived Moses' supposed nickname, "Alpha," from the Greek word for leprosy, *alphoi* (cf. Nicarchus).

°**PTOLEMY OF MENDE** (date unknown), an Egyptian priest who wrote in Greek a lost work on Egyptian chronology, quoted by Tatian in *Oratio ad Graecos*, 38, on the date of the Exodus. Apion made use of this work.

PUBERTY. It was estimated that puberty, defined by the appearance of two pubic hairs, began in women early in the 13th year, and in men about the start of the 14th year, and for that reason maturity was regarded as beginning legally from the age of 12 years and one day in the case of females and 13 and one day in the case of males (Nid. 5:6; Nid. 52a). The rabbis reckoned religious responsibility to begin with the onset of puberty. From this period onward one was recognized as an adult, responsible for the observance of the precepts and the discharge of communal obligations. In the case of females, the rabbis delineated several distinct stages: *ketannah* ("minor"), from the age of three to the age of 12; the *na'arah* ("young woman"), for six months following the initial period; and the *bogeret* ("adult"), which begins at the expiration of these six months (Nid. 5:7). No such distinctions were made for the males who were simply *ketannim* ("minors") before 13 and *gedolim* ("adults") after their 13th birthday.

The attainment of the age of maturity did not automatically render one an adult, since the physical characteristics of puberty were also necessary in order to establish adulthood. However, when an examination for the signs of puberty was not made, it was presumed that a minor who reached the age of maturity had also developed the necessary signs (Nid. 46a). A young man past his *bar mitzvah is therefore counted for a *minyan even without an examination (Isserles to Sh. Ar., OḤ 55:5). A woman's maturity was deemed sufficiently established if she bore a child (Yev. 12b). In the event that signs of puberty did not appear by the age of maturity, the person retained the status of a minor until the age of 20. After that age, if signs of impotence developed, thus accounting for the absence of secondary sex characteristics, the person was considered an adult (Nid. 5:9). If such signs did not develop, the person retained the status of a minor until the age of 35, which was considered the major portion of a person's life-span (Nid. 47b).

After attaining the age of maturity, young adults were held responsible in ritual, civil, and criminal matters, and were held punishable by the courts for their transgressions or breaches of contract. It was believed, however, that heavenly punishment was not forthcoming for sins committed before the age of 20 (Shab. 89b, cf. BB 121b) and only those above the age of 20 were liable for military service (Num. 1:3) or obligated to pay the half-shekel when the people were counted (Ex. 30:14).

See *Child Marriage for marriages entered into by minors or arranged for them.

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[Aaron Rothkoff]

PUBLIC AUTHORITY, in the context of this article, a term referring to an authoritative body composed of representatives of the public – whether appointed or elected by the latter – and entrusted with the duty and power to arrange various matters of common concern to this public. (For particulars concerning a personal authority, see *King and Kingdom; **Nasi*; *Exilarch.) It has been stated that "the foundations of the community, as they remained in existence until the modern Enlightenment, were laid mainly in the first generations of the Second Temple period" (Y. Baer, in: *Zion*, 15 (1950), 1). Attributable to this early period are a number of tannaitic sources incorporating *halakhot* concerning the "townspeople" (*benei ha-ir* or *anshei ha-ir*, Shek. 2:1; BB 1:5), as well as certain *beraitot* concerning the authority of the townspeople to compel each other toward the satisfaction of public needs in various fields (Tosef., BM 11:23ff.; BB 8a). At the head of such public authority stood the "seven good [elder] citizens" (*tovei ha-ir*, Jos., Ant., 4:214; TJ, Meg. 3:2, 74a; Meg. 26a). However, it was only with the rise of the Jewish community in various parts of the Diaspora from the tenth century onward that Jewish law came to experience its main development in the field of the laws concerning a public authority. This article deals with aspects of a public authority such as its legal standing, composition and powers, the legal relationship between itself and individual members of the community, and so on. For further particulars concerning the legislative institutions of the community and the related administration of the law, see **Takkanot ha-Kahal*; as regards the legal aspects of communal administration in fiscal and financial matters, see *Taxation; **Hekdesh*.

Qualifications, Duties, and Standing of Communal Leaders

The qualifications and duties of public representatives are discussed in the Bible and in the Talmud, mainly from the social, moral, and ideological aspects. The ways of the Patriarchs and other leading Jewish figures – such as Moses, Aaron, Samuel, and David – in dealings with the people serve as a basic source of guidance for the relationship between the people and their leaders, between the citizen and the public authority. It has been stated that appointment of "a good public leader [*parnas tov*] is one of the three things proclaimed by the Almighty Himself" (Ber. 55a; Kal. R. 8); that the Almighty had already shown to Adam "every generation with its leaders" (*dor dor u-farnasav*, Av. Zar. 5a), and to Moses, "all the leaders destined to serve Israel from the day of its leaving behind the wilderness until the time of the resurrection of the dead" (Sif. Num. 139); that in time to come, "when the Almighty shall renew His world, He shall stand Himself and arrange the leaders of the generation" (Yal., Isa. 454).

The requirements demanded of the leader representing a public authority are many and stringent: "In the past you acted only on your own behalf, from now on [i.e., upon appointment] you are bound in the service of the public" (Yal., Deut. 802); "a leader who domineers over the public" is one of those "whom the mind does not tolerate" (Pes. 113b) and over whom "the Almighty weeps every day" (Ḥag. 5b). It is not only forbidden for a leader to impose undue awe on the community if not intended "for the sake of Heaven" (*le-shem shamayim*; RH 17a), but he must himself stand in awe of the public (Sot. 40a). The scholars described in various ways the mutual interdependence between the citizen and the public authority: "A leader shall not be imposed on the public unless the latter is first consulted" (Ber. 55a), but once appointed, "even the most ordinary… is like the mightiest of the mighty" (RH 25b), to whom the public owes obedience and honor. This interdependence is illustrated in the difference of opinion between Judah Nesi'ah (grandson of Judah ha-Nasi) and other scholars as to whether the stature of a leader follows that of his generation – *parnas le-fi doro* – or whether the generation is influenced by its leaders – *dor le-fi parnas*.

These, and other similar concepts scattered in halakhic and aggadic literature, guided the halakhic scholars in their determination of the principles of Jewish administrative law. A person engaged in public affairs is as one studying the Torah (TJ, Ber. 5:1). Moreover, "If he be engaged in studying the Torah and the time comes for recital of the *Shema* ["morning prayers"], he shall leave off studying and recite the *Shema*… if he be engaged in the affairs of the public, he shall not leave off but complete this work, and recite the *Shema* if there remain time to do so" (Yad., Keri'at Shema 2:5; Sh. Ar., OḤ 70:4; based on Tosef., Ber. 1:4, 2:6; see also Lieberman, *Tosefta ki-Feshutah*, Berakhot, p. 3). Hence it followed that it was not merely a privilege to represent the public but also a duty. Thus in a case where a member of the community was elected to public office, contrary to his own declared wishes in the matter (namely, appointment as a tax assessor; see *Taxation), it was decided that "no person is free to exempt himself… since every individual is bound in the service of the public in his town… and therefore anyone who has sought to exclude himself from the consensus has done nothing and is bound to fulfill the duties of his office because the community has not agreed that he be excluded" (Resp. Rashba, vol. 3, no. 417; cf. also vol. 1, no. 769; vol. 7, no. 490; *Tashbeẓ*, 2:98).

In post-talmudic times the legal standing of a public authority was given precise definition based on the central legal doctrine accepted by the scholars of this period as the source of the community's standing and authority to make enactments; namely, that the standing of the communal leadership is assimilated to that of a court (*bet din*; see **Takkanot ha-Kahal*). In a certain case a person sought appointment to a public office; he had previously sworn a false oath with regard to his tax declaration, was fined for so doing, and came to an arrangement with the community concerning this tax payment. It was held by Israel *Isserlein (15th-century scholar of Vienna) that since such a person was unfit for appointment as a *dayyan*, he was also unfit to be numbered among the leaders of the community: "the leaders of the community fulfill the role of a court when they sit in supervision over the affairs of the public and private individuals" (*Pesakim u-Khetavim*, no. 214). This principle set a guide standard for the qualifications required of communal leaders (see, e.g., *Terumat ha-Deshen*, Resp. no. 344): "communal leaders appointed to attend to the needs of the public or private individuals are like *dayyanim*, and it is forbidden to include among them anyone who is disqualified from adjudicating on account of his own bad conduct" (*Rema*, ḤM 37: 2). A further reason given by the scholars for assimilating the standing of communal leaders to that of *dayyanim* is that the duties of the former are largely concerned with providing for the social needs of the community, determination of the measure of support and relief for each being a task of a judicial nature (BB 8b and Rashi thereto; Sh. Ar., YD 256:3; *Mishpetei Uziel*, ḤM no. 4).

The assimilation of the communal leader's standing to that of *dayyan* is naturally limited to such powers as he enjoys in his official capacity only. Hence communal leaders who have been empowered to elect a body to supervise public affairs must do so themselves, since they have no power to delegate this authority to others (see below), even though an ordinary court has authority to appoint an agent and entrust him with the execution of certain tasks (Resp. Ribash no. 228).

The Public Authority and Laws of Property and Obligation

The aforementioned assimilation facilitated the solution of a number of problems arising in Jewish law with regard to legal relations between the public authority and the individual. Thus, for instance, the general requirement in Jewish law of a formal act of *kinyan* (see *Acquisition; *Contract) in order to lend a transaction legal effect would normally have constituted a serious obstacle to the efficient administration of a public authority's multiple affairs. However, beginning in the 13th century, the new legal principle of the validity of any legal transaction effected by a public authority, even without a *kinyan*, came to be recognized. Apparently this was first laid down by *Meir b. Baruch of Rothenburg in a case concerning the hire of a teacher by the community (quoted in *Mordekhai*, BM 457. 8). Normally the parties would have been entitled to retract, since no formal *kinyan* had been effected and the teacher had not yet commenced his work (see *Labor Law), but Meir of Rothenburg decided that there could be no retraction from the contract of hire "because a matter done by the public requires no *kinyan* – although this would be required in the case of an individual." He based this innovation on a wide construction of a number of talmudic rulings from which it may be inferred that the public has to be regarded differently from the individual, even though these contain no suggestion whatever that a *kinyan* might be dispensed with in a transaction effected by a public body (Meg: 26a; Git. 36a); in addition he compared the case of a transaction effected by a public body to that of a small *gift, although in this case withdrawal from the transaction is prohibited as amounting to a breach of faith and not because the transaction has full legal validity (i.e., when effected without a formal *kinyan*; BM 49a; Yad, Mekhirah 7:9; Sh. Ar., ḤM 2; see also *Contract). He further decided that a *suretyship for the fulfillment of the contract of employment between the community and the teacher was valid, even though it had been undertaken without a *kinyan* and in a manner in which the suretyship would otherwise be of no legal effect (*ibid.*). This decision is also given as the source of the rule that a gift by a public body is fully valid even if it is made without a formal *kinyan* (Sh. Ar., ḤM 204:9, and see also *Ha-Gra* thereto, n. 11). The law was similarly decided in regard to other legal matters affecting the public (see, e.g., Resp. Ribash no. 476; *Rema*, ḤM 81:1). This principle took root in the Diaspora: "The custom is widespread that whatever the communal leaders decide to do is valid and effective… and neither *kinyan* nor deed is required" (Resp. Rosh 6:19 and 21); similarly, in Constantinople in the 15th century it was held: "The widely accepted *halakhah* is that all matters of the public and anything that is done by or before the public is valid, even without *kinyan*, nor do the laws of alienation and acquisition [*hakna'ah*] apply in respect of such transactions" (*Mayim Amukkim*, no. 63); it was likewise decided by Isserles that "All matters of the public require no *kinyan*" (*Rema*, ḤM 163:6).

Other fundamental requirements of the law of *kinyan* were also relaxed with reference to a public authority. It was thus laid down, e.g., that the public may validly acquire something not yet in existence and alienate to someone not yet in existence (*Mayim Amukkim*, no. 63; see also *Acquisition, Modes of; *Contract); and also that in a public matter **as-*

makhta constitutes no defect (Resp. Mabit, vol. 2, pt. 2, no. 228). One of the explanations given for this fundamental innovation was that it had to be assumed that in any transaction with which the public was connected the parties would make up their minds absolutely (*gemirut ha-da'at*), even without a *kinyan* and notwithstanding the fact of *asmakhta* and so on (see, e.g., Resp. Ribash no. 476; *Rema*, ḤM 81:1; *Sma*, ḤM 204, n. 14); However, the main explanation given for this innovation is the fact that the legal standing of a public authority has to be assimilated to that of a court, that is "because it is influenced by the rule of **hefker bet din*… and a public authority, in its dealings with the public, is as a court for the whole world" (Resp. Rashbash no. 566, also no. 112; cf. the statement of Meir of Rothenburg quoted in *Mordekhai*, BM 457–8; idem, Resp., ed. Prague, no. 38). For the same reason it was held that a public body might not plead that it had not seriously intended a particular transaction, nor that it had erred and not properly understood the nature thereof (Rashbash, loc. cit.).

Relaxation of the requirements of the law of *kinyan*, of the rule of *asmakhta*, and so on, in the case of public matters naturally extended not only to the public body but also to the individual transacting with that body, so that he too was not free to withdraw from the transaction, even if it was effected without a *kinyan*, etc. (Resp. Rashbash no. 112; *She'ot de-Rabbanan*, no. 14; *Ba'ei Ḥayyei* ḤM, pt. 2, no. 81; PDR 6: 172f., 180f.).

The Public Authority and the Exercise of its Own Discretion

A basic question of administrative law concerning the power of a public authority to delegate authority in a matter requiring the exercise of its own discretion was extensively dealt with in a responsum of *Isaac b. Sheshet Perfet (Resp. Ribash no. 228). A certain Catalonian community was granted a royal privilege in terms of which three communal trustees, together with the court, were authorized to nominate 30 persons to supervise the affairs of the community, particularly tax matters. The trustees and the court were unable to reach agreement on the execution of their task and instead agreed to elect two persons and delegate to them authority to appoint the 30 communal leaders. When this was done, a section of the community objected on the ground that authority could not be delegated by a body required to exercise its own discretion. In upholding this objection Isaac b. Sheshet held that even if in general an agent could delegate his authority to another – in circumstances where it could be assumed that the principal was not particular about the matter (see *Agency, Law of) – this was not so in the case of a public authority, even though the latter is in a sense an agent of the public. The explanation offered is that no express power to delegate authority was given in the royal privilege, and the matter was of great importance since all the affairs of the community depended on selection of its 30 leaders, and those responsible for their selection had to choose leaders possessing suitable qualities; wise, just, and peace-loving persons, knowledgeable in the affairs of the community: "it is not the intention of the community that those who have to select them [the 30] shall be able to appoint others to act in their own place, even if these others equal them in wisdom and standing"; if, however, the responsible parties had been given express authority to delegate their powers, "then it would be as if the community itself had chosen these two."

In the same matter Isaac b. Sheshet went on to give an important ruling concerning resort to the law of the land in the interpretation of the royal privilege. In his opinion, even if it were to be said that the privilege had been given with the intention that it be construed "only according to the law of the land," and even if according to this "anyone entrusted with a matter may in turn entrust this matter to anyone he chooses," yet in the case under consideration the delegation of authority remained invalid, because the rules of administrative law, so far as the Jewish community was concerned, derived their authority from Jewish law also, which did not allow for the delegation of authority in the case at hand. This ruling also involved no conflict with the law of the land in accordance with which the privilege had been given, since the general authorities were not concerned if the Jewish public failed to avail itself of the powers given under the law of the land, but were only concerned when the Jewish collective interpreted the privilege in such a manner as to lend itself wider authority than was available under this law: "the king is only particular about an extension of authority, not about a narrowing of it" (*ibid.*).

The Public Authority as an Employer

The great development of Jewish public law that followed on the rise of the Jewish community also made itself felt in the field of master and servant, in relation to employment by a public body. Special requirements relating to a public-service contract had already been emphasized in talmudic law. Thus, it was laid down that if a public-bath attendant, barber, or baker was the only one available and a festival was approaching, he could be restrained from leaving his employment until he provided a replacement (Tosef., BM 11, 27; see also *Contract). In addition, in order to avoid harm to the public, it was laid down that an individual fulfilling his duties to the public in a negligent manner might be dismissed immediately, as in the case of a public gardener, butcher, or bloodletter, a scribe, a teacher of young children, "as well as other like artisans who may cause irretrievable harm, may be dismissed without warning, since they are appointed by the public for as long as they carry out their duties in a proper manner" (Yad, Sekhirut 10:7, based on BM 109a and BB 21b). The majority of the *rishonim* interpret the rule of the *Gemara* as also extending to a private servant, considering that he too may be dismissed during the duration of his service contract if he has caused irretrievable damage (*Hassagot Rabad*, Sekhirut 10:7; *Beit ha-Beḥirah*, BM 109a; Tur and Sh. Ar., ḤM 306:8; *Rema* thereto; *Sma* thereto, n. 19). It was, however, laid down that a servant might not be dismissed without proper warning unless he was continually guilty of slackness in his work, and it must also be proved in the presence of the worker that he was indeed failing in his duties (*Rema* loc. cit.; *Maggid Mishneh*, Sekhirut 10:7; *Nimmukei Yosef*, BM 109a; see also below).

In post-talmudic times the halakhic scholars had to contend with the converse question: namely, whether it was permissible for a public authority to dismiss its servant without justifiable reason, on expiry of the agreed period of service, in the same way as could a private employer, who is free to refrain from renewing his servant's employment. (In modern times Jewish law has come to recognize the master's duty to pay severance pay to his servant on his dismissal: see **Ha'anakah*.) The talmudic rule that the high priest may not be dismissed from his office (TJ, Sanh. 2:1) did not serve as an analogy for public servants in general (see Assaf, *Mi-Sifrut ha-Ge'onim*, 73f.; *Sha'arei Teshuvah*, nos. 50, 51). From the 12th century, Jewish law consistently tended toward recognition of the principle that a public servant may not be dismissed from his employment except for justifiable reason. Maimonides laid down the general rule: "a person is not removed from a public position in Israel unless he has offended" (Yad, Kelei ha-Mikdash 4:21); also that "it is not proper to dismiss any officeholder from office on account of mere rumors concerning him; this cannot be done even if he has no enemies, all the less so if there are people in the town who are his enemies and have ulterior motives" (his Resp. (ed. Blau) no. 111; this was also the view of Meir ha-Levi and R. *Yom Tov b. Abraham Ishbili (Ritba), see Nov. Ritba to Mak. 13a). This principle was explained on the ground of "avoiding suspicion," that is, termination of the servant's employment with the public may arouse suspicion that the servant is being dismissed on account of his improper conduct (Resp. Rashba, vol. 5, no. 283; quoted also in *Beit Yosef*, OḤ 53, conclusion).

At the same time, it is held to be permissible to dismiss a public servant whenever it is customary to appoint people in charge of public matters for a fixed period, "so that at the end of it these men depart and are replaced by others, whether they be appointed in charge of food supplies, the charity fund, tax, or any other public service, and whether or not they receive any remuneration for their service; even if no fixed period of service be stipulated for them, the terms of their appointment shall be similarly in accordance with the custom… because of their practice to replace [officials], the suspicion mentioned above is eliminated" (Rashba loc. cit.). In his responsum Solomon ibn Adret confirmed that such was in fact the custom in his time: "that the competent in each generation carry out tasks on behalf of the public, and thereafter depart to be replaced by others." The statement of this twofold principle – that a public servant may not be dismissed without justifiable cause except when it is the custom to hold office for a fixed period only – was accepted as *halakhah* in the Shulḥan Arukh (OḤ 53:25–26) and was applied in the different centers of Jewish life in respect of all persons employed by a public authority (*keneset ha-gedolah*, OḤ 53, *Beit Yosef; Arukh Ha-Shulḥan*, OḤ 53:26; *Mishnah Berurah*, OḤ 53, no. 73ff.; *Even ha-Ezer*, Sekhirut 10:7). In modern times attempts have been made to distinguish between different categories of public servants, although there is no apparent justification for this in the halakhic sources (see PDR 3:94ff.).

The discussions concerning dismissal of a public servant also embraced the related and more far-reaching proposition that a public office be transmitted from father to son by way of inheritance. In this respect too there was already the tannaitic rule, on the analogy of a king succeeded by his son (Deut. 17:20), that "all the leaders [*parnasim*] of Israel have their places taken by their sons" (Sif. Deut. 162; cf. Sifra Ẓav 5). Also Maimonides laid down that "Not only the kingship, but all offices and appointments in Israel are an inheritance from father to son for all time" (Yad, Melakhim, 1:7; Kelei ha-Mikdash, 4:20). In later times a trend toward restriction of this widely stated rule asserted itself. Thus, some scholars held that the rabbinate too was an office that could be passed by inheritance (Resp. Ribash no. 271; *Rema*, YD 245:22). Others disagreed, taking the view that "the crown of Torah is not an inheritance" (Reap. Maharashdam, YD, no. 85; Shneur Zalman of Lyady, Sh. Ar., OḤ 53:33, et al.). This was also Moses Sofer's original opinion, which he later reversed (Resp. Ḥatam Sofer, OḤ 12 and 13). It was laid down that local custom concerning inheritance of an office was to be followed (*Rema* loc. cit.). A son can in no event inherit a public office unless he is qualified for it and worthy of doing so (Sifra, loc. cit.; Maim. Yad, Melakhim, 1:7; *Rema*, Sh. Ar. YD 245:22; Ḥatam Sofer loc. cit.; for further details see OPD 46, 112; PDR 4:211; see also *Labor Law).

Election of Public Officeholders

Questions such as the nomination of candidates, their number, their manner of election, etc., are extensively dealt with in post-talmudic halakhic literature (see **Takkanot ha-Kahal*; *Taxation). In modern times, with the renewal of Jewish autonomy in Ereẓ Israel and the establishment of the State of Israel, halakhic discussion has been resumed in relation to various problems arising in connection with the election of officeholders to representative state and municipal bodies. The primary sources relied upon in this discussion are found in the post-talmudic halakhic literature dealing with the leadership and administration of the community and its institutions; sometimes, when these sources do not deal specifically with the subject discussed by modern scholars, a conclusion is reached by way of analogy.

MAJORITY AND MINORITY. The principle of electing a public representative by majority vote was based by the scholars on the doctrine of *Aḥarei rabbim le-hattot* ("to follow a multitude": Ex. 23:2; see *Majority Rule), which was interpreted to mean "that in all matters to which the community consents the majority is followed" (Resp. Rosh 6:5; in talmudic *halakhah* the doctrine was interpreted as pertaining to a majority of the court in giving its decision, or to the concept of majority as a legal presumption; see **Takkanot ha-Kahal; *Ḥazakah*). At various times extensive discussions and sharp disputes centered around the question of the weight to be attached to the vote of individual members of the community. Many scholars objected to a scale graded in accordance with social and economic standing: "and it makes no difference whether this majority was composed of rich or poor, of scholars or the common people" (Resp. Re'em no. 53). An illiterate person was held to be eligible even for certain public appointments (Resp. Rashba, vol. 3, no. 399).

An informative description of some such disputes is to be found in a responsum of Menahem Mendel *Krochmal (mid-17th-century leader of Moravian Jewry; *Ẓemaḥ Ẓedek* no. 2). It had been the custom in a certain community for all taxpayers, regardless of their financial standing or education, to participate in the election of communal leaders and the appointment of public officials. Some of the "respected citizens" sought to depart from this custom and to have it laid down that only a person paying tax in excess of a certain rate, or a *talmid ḥakham* ("at least qualified as a **ḥaver*"), could participate in the elections. Krochmal mentions that the "respected citizens" supported their demand with the argument that "most of the needs and affairs of the public involve the expenditure of money; how is it likely that the opinion of a poor man shall be as weighty as that of a rich man, or the opinion of an *am ha-areẓ* who is not wealthy be considered in the same way as that of a *ḥaver*." They further contended that what they were seeking was anyhow customary in "large and important communities." The rest of the community objected to such a change in the system: "the poor, the masses of the people cry out against the derogation of their rights, since they also pay tax and contribute their share, and even if the rich pay more, the poor at any rate find the little they pay to be a greater burden than do the rich in paying much more."

In his decision Krochmal strongly condemned the discriminatory nature of the proposed change in the election system and held that – at the very least – "the little of the poor is balanced against the much of the rich." He nevertheless upheld the custom prevailing in most of the communities of striking a balance between a majority based on the number of souls and a majority based on financial contribution. He also rejected the proposition that those lacking in knowledge of the Torah be deprived of their vote, "lest they separate themselves from the public… which will lead to increased strife in Israel." A change involving discrimination against any section of the public was forbidden except with the unanimous consent of all members of the community, and, added Krochmal, in communities where there was such discrimination it had to be assumed that this had been instituted with the unanimous approval of the entire community. In recent times halakhic scholars have accepted as binding the view that every vote is to carry equal weight (see, e.g., *Mishpetei Uziel*, ḤM no. 3).

ELIGIBLE AGE. The question of the age at which the right to elect and be elected to public office is acquired has in recent times come to be discussed by analogy with the criterion of age in other fields of the law. The general view is that the usual age of legal capacity – namely 13 years and one day for a man and 12 years and a day for a woman – is not to be relied upon as decisive with regard to the right to participate in elections, since in Jewish law the age of legal capacity is dependent on the specific nature of the legal act involved (see Elon, ILR, 1969, p. 121ff.) and exercise of the voting right carries with it legal consequences affecting the public as a whole – a factor calling for greater maturity on the part of the voter. According to one view, the active right to elect is acquired at 18 years: at this age a person has legal capacity to adjudicate in matters of civil law (*dinei mamonot*; Sh. Ar., ḤM 7:3) and to perform public religious duties, for instance as a ritual slaughterer (*Rema*, YD 1:5). Another view is that the right to vote is acquired from the age of 20, paralleling the biblical military age (Ex. 30: 14; Num. 1:3) and the age of full majority, for instance for the purpose of the sale of paternal land which has been inherited (Yad, Mekhirah, 29: 13; Sh. Ar., ḤM 235:9).

In the case of the passive right to be elected, the general view is that the minimal age is 20 years and over. At this age a person has the right to adjudicate in matters of criminal law (*dinei nefashot*; TJ, Sanh. 4:7) and even – for the purpose of permanent appointment as a *dayyan* – in matters of civil law (*Pitḥei Teshuvah*, ḤM 7, n. 4). Other scholars arrive at this age (20) following the minimal age for permanent appointment as a cantor (Sh. Ar., OḤ 53:8) or as an *apotropos (cf. Resp. Ribash no. 20). There is also an opinion that distinguishes between a person elected to a state body, such as the Knesset (by virtue of whose far-reaching substantive powers the function of its representatives is held to be analogous to that of a *dayyan* adjudicating in matters of the criminal law), and a person elected to a municipal body (whose function is held to be analogous to that of the *dayyan* adjudicating in matters of the civil law, and who is therefore eligible from the age of 18 years).

WOMEN. A woman's right to elect and be elected to public office has been the subject of much halakhic discussion in recent times. In particular a great deal of opposition has been expressed to granting women the passive right to be elected, such opposition being based on tannaitic and amoraic law (Sif. Deut., 157 and Ber. 49a, respectively): "A woman is not appointed to the kingship, as it is said, 'set a king over thee' (Deut. 17:15) and not a queen; similarly for all offices in Israel none but men are appointed" (Yad, Melakhim 1:5). Some scholars took a different view, basing themselves on the fact that Deborah "judged Israel" (Judg. 4:4), i.e., that she functioned not only as a judge but was also the leader of the people. The *rishonim* had already commented on the contradiction between the fact of Deborah's leadership and the rule excluding women from public office, a contradiction they sought to reconcile by the qualification that the objection to a woman's leadership is eliminated when she is accepted by the will of the people (Nov. Rashba and Ran, Shevu. 30a; cf. also Tos. to BK 15a and Nid. 50a). On this basis some latter-day scholars have decided that a woman is entitled to elect and be elected (see, e.g., *Mishpetei Uziel*, ḤM no. 6), their conclusion being influenced by the consideration that under existing social conditions "men and women meet daily in business transactions" (*ibid.*). Although at the time he gave this decision (in the 1940s) R. Uziel wrote that it was of a purely theoretical nature and was not to be applied in practice (*ibid.* and see p. 292), it has nevertheless been accepted in practice in the state of Israel by the decisive majority of religious Jewry so far as concerns Knesset and municipal elections.

PERIOD OF RESIDENCE. The period of residence qualifying a person to elect and be elected has generally followed the period laid down for tax liability (see *Taxation; see also Resp. Maharit, vol. 1, no. 569; *Mishpetei Uziel*, ḤM no. 3).

PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION. In detailed decisions, scholars such as Rabbi *Kook, Jacob *Meir, and Ḥayyim *Brody expressed the opinion that the system of elections on a proportional basis answers the requirements of Jewish law, one of their main reasons being that in this way representation in the government of the state and its institutions is offered to all sections of the people (see *Sinai*, 14 (1943/44), 100–14).

In the State of Israel

IN THE SUPREME COURT. A number of Jewish law principles, concerning the legal standing of a public body and the relationship between the latter and its employees, have been considered and relied upon in decisions of the Supreme Court of Israel. In one case a municipal employee who had been dismissed on a charge of improper conduct applied to the Supreme Court – sitting as a high court of justice – to have his dismissal set aside on the ground that he had been given no opportunity to make himself heard and to answer the charge against himself prior to his dismissal. The court rejected the municipality's plea that in terms of the municipalities' ordinance it had been under no obligation to hear the employee prior to his dismissal and upheld the employee's application, relying mainly on the following principles of Jewish law:

(1) a person appointed to a public office, or holding a position with a public institution, may not be dismissed without a reasonable cause;

(2) municipal councilors are as judges and therefore may not act arbitrarily but must consider a case on its merits;

(3) since the councilors are like judges they have to follow a procedure that accords with natural justice, and a basic principle of Jewish law is that a person subjected to an inquiry must be enabled to appear and state his case (see PD 20, pt. 1 (1966), 29; cf. Resp. Rema no. 108).

In another case the court applied the Jewish law principle that – for the good of the public – there is an obligation to dismiss a public servant who is proved to have neglected his duties after he has been given due warning (see PD 20, pt. 1 (1966), 41). In another instance the court, relying on the principle that a member of a public body is as a judge, concluded that no fault was to be found with a publicly elected official for not always following the opinions of those by whom he had been elected, since he has to act as a judge seeking the truth of a matter (PD 21, pt. 1 (1967), 59), provided only that he does so upon mature consideration and does not irresponsibly and often change his views (PD 20, pt. 1 (1966), 651). Another principle of Jewish law which the court has applied precludes a judge from adjudging a matter from which he stands to derive personal benefit, and in terms of this the court set aside the decision of a local council which had been taken with the participation of a councilor who had a personal interest in the matter (*ibid.*, 102; see also PD 19, pt. 3 (1965), 393).

IN THE RABBINICAL COURTS. There is among others a decision of the rabbinical court on a basic problem that has arisen in recent years, touching on the above-mentioned rules of Jewish administrative law (the court in this instance sitting as an arbitral body since its jurisdictional authority is confined to matters of personal status; see **Mishpat Ivri*). Three political parties entered the municipal elections under a joint list, having agreed that if only two of their candidates were elected then the second one on the list resign in favor of the next candidate on the list; only two candidates were elected and the second one refused to resign as agreed. It was contended before the court that the agreement was invalid because it had not been effected by means of a *kinyan*, because it related to something not yet in existence (the agreement having been concluded prior to the elections), and because it was defective on account of *asmakhta* (i.e., since the parties had been confident that more than two of their candidates would be elected, there had been no *gemirut ha-da'at*). The court rejected all these contentions and upheld the validity of the agreement, relying on the principles discussed above governing a public authority. The court emphasized that these principles applied not only to a public authority administering municipal affairs, but also to the public constituting a political party: "If it is the rule that in public matters there is no need for a *kinyan*, and the power of the public in its doings is so great that it is not restricted by the limitations imposed on the legal act of an individual – for instance as regards something that is not yet in existence, *asmakhta*, etc. – then there is no matter that is more eminently of a public nature than the matter under consideration, namely the composition of the public leadership" (PDR 6:176). It was accordingly held that the second one of the elected representatives was obliged to resign, as undertaken in the agreement. The decision was confirmed on appeal (*ibid.* 178ff.) and in addition the following guiding principle in the field of Jewish administrative law was laid down: "We have to add and say to the litigants that public leaders should not, in the course of their public duties, avail themselves of the plea that they are not bound by their own undertakings because of their questionable legal validity. Statements and undertakings, particularly in public affairs, are sacred matters which have to be observed and fulfilled wholeheartedly, in letter and spirit… for the public is always bound by its statements and may not retract" (*ibid.*).

[Menachem Elon]

Court Rulings on Issues Relating to Public Authority

The courts in the State of Israel, particularly the Supreme Court, have on more than one occasion had recourse to Jewish law when discussing various issues relating to public authorities. In this respect, one may draw a distinction between two different periods in time. Until the mid-1970s, the policy in this area was characterized by judicial restraint and moderation. The court limited its grounds for reviewing public authorities almost exclusively to those cases where the latter exceeded its authority, and avoided intervening in the decisions themselves or an examination of their reasonability.

During this period, Jewish law served as a reference for a number of legal procedures in the area of administrative law. Thus, for example, Justice Silberg laid down the obligation of the public sector to consult with the public prior to making appointments to public office (*Aboudi* case, see below). In a number of other cases, the court discussed issues of dismissal of public employees (see below).

In the late 1970s, a major change came about in Israeli public law. The public authorities, with all its institutions and employees, became one of the most conspicuous focuses of Supreme Court rulings in Israel. This effect also became apparent in other judicial instances. The broadening of the "right of standing" in the High Court of Justice and the development of additional grounds for judicial review of the actions of the public sector (such as reasonability, arbitrariness, discrimination, unlawful considerations and so forth) led to massive intervention on the part of the judicial authorities in the actions of the public sector, and to the development of many new laws in this field.

In view of the little legislation governing public law in Israel, it has developed mainly by means of court rulings. More than once, those sitting in judgment have taken into account sources of Jewish law when studying various related issues. In 1980 the Foundations of the Law Act was enacted (see *Mishpat Ivri: The Law in the State of Israel), requiring the court to refer to the principles of "justice, freedom, integrity and peace of Israel's heritage" in all those cases where no answer could be found in the standard legal sources (e.g., legislation, case law, analogy). In 1992, two Basic Laws were passed – Basic Law: Human Dignity and Freedom; and Basic Law: Freedom of Occupation – that also required that the sources of Jewish law be examined for the interpretation of various basic rights included therein in accordance with "the values of a Jewish state." These acts of legislation made a very significant contribution to increasing the degree of recourse to the sources in Jewish law dealing in constitutional and administrative law.

In this context, a most important contribution was made by court rulings, especially those of the Supreme Court justices, who anchored many of the procedures they established in sources of Jewish law. The basis for this was the considerable quantity of material in the field of administrative law in Jewish law which, according to Justice Menachem Elon, saw "great development and rich creativity with the rise in power and status of the Jewish community from the 10th century onward. The Jewish community in various parts of the Diaspora enjoyed broad internal and judicial autonomy and, as a result of the diverse activities of community leadership in various public and administrative spheres, numerous principles of Jewish administrative law were developed and formulated. In some cases this internal autonomy was given, not only to an individual community within its own borders, but to associations of communities in many parts of the Diaspora, or a large number of communities within the bounds of the same association" (HC 702/79, *Goldberg v. Ramat Hasharon Municipal Council Head*, 34 (4) PD 89; HC 376/81, *Lugasi v. Minister of Communication et al.*, 36 (2) PD 467; cf. M. Elon, *Ha-Mishpat Ha-Ivri*, 547 ff; 558 ff; HC 333/78, *Bank Leumi Le-Israel Trust Company v. Estate Duty Administration,* 32 (3) PD I. 212; HC 323/81 *Wilozni v. Jerusalem Rabbinical Court of Appeals*, 36 (2) PD 741 ff.). On the basis of this valuable material, the Israel Supreme Court had recourse to various aspects of Jewish law when establishing the procedures of Israeli public law. We shall present below a general review of the subjects discussed in these rulings, in the different judicial instances.

PUBLIC FIGURES AS "TRUSTEES." One of the governing principles of administrative law in Israel is the conception of public figures as "trustees" of the community's assets and rights. The status of "trustee," is known in many legal systems, with its origin in the laws of trusteeship in private law, and it imposes special obligations on public employees and elected public officers.

With the large-scale creation and development of Jewish administrative law from the 10th century onwards, alongside the increase in strength and status of the community within the framework of internal Jewish autonomy, the concept of trusteeship as the essence of the role of the public official was also expressed in the terminology of Jewish public administration. Justice Elon (HC 4566/90, *David Dekel v. Minister of Finance et al.,* 45 (1) PD 34) pointed out that a foreshadowing of the application of the laws of trusteeship with regard to public figures is already found in Jewish law, in which community leaders and people filling public positions in different areas of community life were known as "trustees" or "trustees of the congregation" (*parnasim* or *parnasei ha-ẓibbur*; see, for example, the responsum of Rabbi Joseph Bonfils (Tov Elem) in Resp. Maharam of Rothenberg, 23; cf. Resp. Rashba, vols. 3:398; 4:112; 5:259, 7:353; Resp. Ribash, 33, 61, 198, 228, 399; Tashbeẓ, 1.23; Resp. Rashbash, 287; and cf. *Digest of Responsa of the Sages of Spain and North Africa*, ed M. Elon, *Legal Digest*, vol. 2, s.v. Congregation, 414–15).

This quality of "trustee" was already identified by the Sages as attributable to Moses, the leader of Israel (see Prov. 28:20; *Exodus Rabbah* 51.1). As "trustee of the community," according to the Midrash, he took care to ensure that two other people would calculate and supervise the money he expended from the people's donations for the Tabernacle (see Ramban, Sforno, and *Ha-Emek Davar* to Gen 47:14). This title for public leaders and rulers in the Jewish community expresses the essential nature of their authority as being entrusted with power for the welfare of the community, and everything evolved from the obligations of this trusteeship, in accordance with the principles of justice and integrity of the Jewish heritage.

THE OBLIGATION OF CONSULTING THE COMMUNITY PRIOR TO MAKING AN APPOINTMENT. In one case that came before it, the Supreme Court was asked to intervene in the actions of the Elections Committee for the Chief Rabbinate (FH 12/60 *Aboudi v. Minister of Religious Affairs et al.*, PD 14, 2084). In this context, Justice Silberg insisted upon the obligation of the public authority to consult with the community prior to appointing people to public positions (see below). This principle is derived from the work of the Tabernacle, prior to which God asked Moses to turn to the people of Israel for their opinion as to whether he was worthy of the exalted position of building the Tabernacle (Ber. 55b). The court quoted the response of R. Moses Sofer, who was fiercely critical of the appointment of a rabbi against the wishes of the community (Resp. Ḥatam Sofer ḤM, 19). This principle was also discussed by the Supreme Court in a case relating to the appointment of a rabbi to the local council. The presiding judge, Justice Türkel, ruled that, given that the obligation of consulting the community is a fundamental principle in Jewish law for the appointment of public officials (see Ber. 55b*;* Sh. Ar., ḤM. 3; Resp. Ribash, 271), and this obligation had not been fulfilled, the appointed rabbi should be disqualified from serving in the position.

Rights and Obligations of Elected Officials and Employees of the Public Authorities

With regard to the employees of the public sector, Jewish law applies the fundamental principle by which authority "was entirely created merely to serve the common good, and it has nothing of its own." Consequently, the fundamental instruction given to those appointed to communal positions is: "In the past you were your own master; from now on you are enslaved to the community" (*Sifre,* at Deut 1:16); and therefore those receiving an appointment to serve in a public position are told: "Perhaps you think I am giving you a position of power? I give you slavery!" (TB Horayot 10a–b) and, according to Rashi's interpretation (ad loc.): "Authority is bondage for a man, imposing on him the yolk of the public." Consequently Justice Elon, speaking for the Supreme Court (in the above-cited Dekel judgment), drew attention to the Sages' severe criticism of "those who accept authority in order to derive benefit from it" (*Pesikta Rabbati* 22.2, Ish-Shalom edition, p. 111). According to this, the Sages' denunciation of the community leader and member of the public sector who "raises himself up above the community" is also understandable (Ḥag. 5b; cf. Maharal of Prague, *Netivot Olam*, pt. 2, *Netiv ha-Onah*, ch. 5 (Jerusalem, 5731), 12b). From all these, Justice Elon concluded there that: "Until a person becomes a public figure, he is his own master; from the time he becomes a public figure, he belongs to the community. He belongs to the community, but the community does not belong to him. The authority he undertakes is in order that the community may benefit from it, not for his own benefit. The appointed community leader must support the community, rather than himself, the community leader, being supported by the community and raising himself above the community."

On the basis of these sources, the Supreme Court concluded that political appointments made by virtue of connections rather than talent are invalid, as:

> A public authority that appoints an employee in public service acts as a trustee of the public. And it is an important rule that this trusteeship must act with integrity, without extrinsic considerations, and for the benefit of the community, by whose power and on whose behalf the mandate to make the appointment is given to the appointing authority… When a public figure appoints an employee to the public service on the basis of extraneous considerations of political interests, such an appointment is invalid and is a form of breach of trust with regard to the community that has empowered the appointing authorities (ibid.).

In one of its judgments (Cr. A 884/80 *State of Israel v. Grossman,* 35 (1) PD 412) the Court discussed the State's appeal against the acquittal of a senior employee of the Bank of Israel charged with fraud and breach of trust after acquiring debentures, intended for banking institutions and further education funding, for members of his own family. Justice Tirkel, in a minority opinion, allowed the respondent's acquittal to stand, but spoke at length of the obligation of members of public authorities to avoid any act that might cast suspicion on themselves or their actions. In this context, he cited the rules concerning the watchmen of the Temple Guard, who were enjoined from any action – even the most legitimate – which might cast the slightest suspicion of their defrauding the community's trust, in order to fulfill the obligation "that you shall be clear before the Lord and before Israel" (Num. 32:22). From this verse, the sages inferred that "a man must perform his obligations to the community in the same way as he must perform his obligations to God" (TJ Shek. 3.2; BT Yoma 28a).

In another case, the special obligation of the public figure to be incorruptible and honest is discussed (HC 400/87 *Kahana v. Speaker of the Knesset*, 41 (2) PD 729). Based upon the words of Rabbi Israel Isserlein (*Terumat ha-Deshen, Pesakim u-Ketavim*, 214; Rema, Sh. Ar., ḤM, 37: 22), Justice Elon derived this obligation from the analogy made by the Sages between the public figure and the judge sitting in judgment.

A PUBLIC FIGURE AS A WITNESS. The special status of the public figure dictates the upholding of his dignity. This matter was discussed in a Supreme Court case concerning a litigant's request to call a judge as witness and to examine him on the stand in the course of a civil suit (LCA 3202/03 *State of Israel v. Hagai Yosef et al.*, 58 (3) PD 544–545). In rejecting the request, Justice Tirkel based his decision, inter alia, on Jewish law, which discusses the importance of maintaining the dignity of public figures. He quoted Maimonides' ruling that "The community must act with respect towards judges, and be in awe of them, nor should he degrade himself or act frivolously in their presence, for when a person is appointed as a leader over the community, he may not engage in [manual] labor in the presence of three people so as not to be degraded before them; all the more so may he not eat and drink in the presence of the public" (ḤM 8:4; and see also Yad, Sanh. 25.1, 4).

THE PUBLIC AUTHORITIES' DUTY OF GOOD FAITH. One of the fundamental rules in law is the duty to act in good faith. This duty applies not only to the individual but also, and in particular, to the public authorities, who are required to act in good faith in their dealings with those who turn to them. In one of the appeals to the Supreme Court (HC 376/81 *Lugasi et al. v. Minister of Communications*, 36 (2) PD 465), Justice Elon based this obligation on the principles of Jewish law: "The principle of acting in good faith, both towards the individual and towards the community, is based on the ancient precept of 'and you shall do that which is right and good' (Deut. 6:18). By virtue of this precept, the principle of good faith crystallized in the legal system of the State of Israel in the aforementioned provisions of the Contract Law (General Section). The term 'good faith,' both in its Jewish sources and in ordinary contemporary usage, is synonymous with integrity, and represents an overall guiding principle, a kind of 'royal decree,' in the entire world of procedure." Justice Elon further wrote that: "Assistance in understanding this concept may be found in the sharp and incisive words of Naḥmanides (one of the Spanish Sages at the end of the 12th century), defining the essence of behavior which is the opposite of that which is righteous and good: Namely, that anyone acting according to the technical and formal meaning of the laws of the Torah alone, that is, who takes care to adhere only to that which is explicitly stated and not to that which is not explicitly mentioned but is implied by the general spirit of the Torah is, in the words of the Ramban, a 'scoundrel with the permission of the Torah' (Naḥmanides, Torah Commentary, on Lev 19:2). Thus, a lack of good faith on the part of the public authorities in discharging an obligation is the behavior of 'a scoundrel in the service of the public.'"

THE PUBLIC AUTHORITIES' OBLIGATION TO KEEP THEIR PROMISES. The duty of good faith also obliges public authorities not to renege on promises they have made. Accordingly, the Supreme Court has ruled that even a "political agreement" binds its signatories, even if it is not treated in the same way as a private legal contract. Since no solution was found to this matter in the Contracts Law, the Supreme Court turned to sources of Jewish law and established this basic principle as derived from Jewish Law (HC 1635/90 *Jerczewski v. the Prime Minister et al.*, 45 (1) PD 780–781). Thus, for example, Ribash wrote that the community is not entitled to renege on a promise that has been given, "public authorities do not make statements in jest [i.e., act as a joker and recant]" (Resp. Ribash, no. 476), and this was the basis of the Rema's ruling in the Shulḥan Arukh (ḤM 81:1). Justice Elon refers to a golden rule in this matter that appears in the response of the Rashbash (Rabbi Solomon ben Simeon Duran), who ruled: "If you examine the conduct of all the communities in such a matter, you will see that they never revoke or rescind [an agreement] …as it is unseemly for the community to say 'we were mistaken'" (Resp. Rashbash, no. 566; and cf. the response of the Ra'anah, Resp. Mayim Amukim, Teshuvot, no. 63). Justice Elon found an instructive explanation of the binding legal validity of a public agreement in the words of Rabbi Joseph Colon, one of the greatest respondents of 15th century Italy: "that the agreement of many is pleasant and its paths are the paths of peace, and therefore it was said that their words would be fulfilled when all were in agreement and together, and none of them would be able to recant and destroy the state of truth and peace" (Resp. Maharik no. 179 in Lemberg 1797 ed.; in Warsaw, 1870 ed., no. 181).

THE DUTY TO GIVE REASONS FOR A DECISION. Like other legal systems, Israeli law also states that, apart from exceptional cases, all public authorities must give reasons for their decisions. One of the appeals before the High Court of Justice discussed a case in which one of the institutions of the Bar Association failed to give the reasons for a certain decision. Justice Kister, who discussed this matter (HC 142/70 *Shapira v. the District Committee of the Bar Association*, 25 (1) PD 333), based the public authority's obligation to give reasons on the basis of Jewish law, and the duty of the law court to give reasons for its decisions. The source for this appears in the Talmud (Sanh. 31b), which says that if one of the litigants says "write and tell me for what reason I have been judged – you write and tell him." The obligation and conditions of reasoned explanation are also set out in the literature of the rabbinical authorities (Yad, Sanh. 6.6; Tur & Sh. Ar., ḤM 14.4, in Rema).

A number of reasons are given for this in Jewish law: (a) to ensure the possibility of review by the *Bet Din ha-Gadol* (High Court) or by another body (*Bet ha-Va'ad*) that may be able to determine whether there has been an error in the decision or not; (see *Appeal); (b) the overall principle, guiding all persons, and especially those holding public office, "then you shall be clean before the Lord and before Israel" (Num. 32:22).

In view of these considerations, the rabbinical authorities ordered that, in those cases where both parties had agreed to be involved in litigation before any body, there was usually no reason to give an explanation, unless there was cause for suspicion that an error had been made. In addition, the rabbinical authorities distinguished between the duty to give a broader verbal explanation for the sake of the litigants, and the requirement to provide a written explanation.

With regard to written reasons, which for the most part are not necessarily intended to explain to the litigants the reasoning behind the judgment but rather to enable review, it is stated in the *Nimmukei Yosef Baba Mezi'a* (ibid): "One does not write 'for this reason and for this evidence' [i.e., in the sense of an argument or proof from halakhic literature], but one writes 'so-and-so claimed this and so-and-so responded that, and as a result so-and-so was acquitted, and in the Court they knew the reasons.'" The same ruling was given by the Rema (R. Moses Isserles – in the Sh. Ar., ḤM 14: 4. One of the commentaries on the Shulkhan Arukh, the *Sema* (ibid., 26), explains: "When they (i.e., the judges) hear the arguments, they know how to rule on them, because there is one law for all of us."

On the other hand, Rabbi Jair Ḥayyim Bacharach, author of Resp. Ḥavvot Yair (whose comments are partially cited in *Pitḥei Teshuvah* in Sh. Ar., ḤM 14:10), questioned the Rema's ruling and ruled that a description of the argument or, as it might been described in modern legal terms – a description of the facts as presented in court, was not sufficient and that it was necessary to add the actual legal reasons for the decision. In Justice Kister's opinion, the considerations mentioned in the above sources hold true today. Today, as in the past, authorities discussing the rights of the citizen – and not necessarily in the courts – should act according to the rule "then you shall be guiltless before the Lord and before Israel" or, as it is commonly said, "that justice must not only be done, it must be seen to be done." In any event, today too it is difficult to provide appropriate review of any decision if the reasons for the decision are not known.

When translating the *posekim*'s dispute regarding the scope of the reasoned explanation into modern terms Justice Kister stated that in order to enable review of a particular decision, it is sufficient for the deciding authorities to provide the applicant the set of facts upon which the decision is based; the authority reviewing the case will then be able to determine whether the authority that decided was in error or not. This is the minimum requirement with regard to reasoned explanation; it may be expected that the authorities will also state its legal reasoning, at least in brief.

The regulations of the rabbinical courts in Israel state that "every judgment, in addition to the decision regarding the case, must also include: (a) a brief summary of the arguments of the parties; (b) determination of the important facts; (c) reasons for the decision."

THE CLAIM OF ESTOPPEL IN ADMINISTRATIVE LAW. One of the governing principles of administrative law is that a person who was a partner to a particular act may not raise arguments against the legality of the act in which he himself participated. This doctrine is known as "estoppel," and has implications for different areas of law, including public law. In one of the cases heard before the High Court of Justice, the court was required to hear an appeal of a company that had participated in the tender issued by a public authority, and complained that its bid was not accepted (HC 632/81 *Migda Ltd. v. Minister of Health et al.* 35 (2) PD 688). Contrary to the positions of Justices Barak and Netanyahu, who sat in judgment, Justice Elon was of the minority opinion that the appeal should be rejected, on the basis of the theory of *estoppel* set down in Jewish law: "In cases such as this, the Talmud of the Sages says 'embellish yourself and then embellish others' (BM 107b), and in the words of the ancient maxim, when one says to another: 'take the toothpick out of your teeth, the other responds: first take the beam out of your eye' (BB 15b; and see Rashi, BB ibid.).

ONUS ON THE PUBLIC AUTHORITIES EVEN IN THE ABSENCE OF A KINYAN. One of the characteristics setting the public sector apart from others is its obligation to keep promises it has made even in the absence of an act of acquisition (*kinyan*) (unlike private law, in which Jewish law demands an act of acquisition to create a legal obligation – see entry *Acquisition).

In a ruling dealing with the authority's obligation to honor its undertaking to provide telephones to the country's residents (HC 376/81 *Lugasi et al. v. Minister of Communications et al.* 36 (2) PD 449), Justice Elon based this obligation on the sources of Jewish law: "Beginning from the thirteenth century the principle was established that any legal transaction made by the community is binding, even if no such act of acquisition (*kinyan*): 'for whatever is done by the public does not require a *kinyan*, even if it is something which for a *kinyan* is necessary in the case of an individual'" (Resp. Maharam of Rothenburg, cited in Mordechai, BM 457–458). This new principle was applied to various types of legal transactions, such as employee-employer relations, the laws of guarantee and gifts, and other legal matters in which the public is a party (see, for example, Resp. Maharam b. Baruch, Prague, no. 38; Resp. Ribash, no. 176; Rema, Sh. Ar., ḤM 163:6, in Rema; 204:9; Resp. Mayim Amukkim, section with Responsa of Resp. Ra'anah – R. Eliyahu b. Ḥayyim, no. 63). The rule that was laid down and accepted was: "It is a simple custom, that whatever the community leaders agree to do is completely valid even without a *kinyan*" (Resp. Ha-Rosh, 6:19, 21). In addition, a number of other fundamental requirements of the laws of acquisition in Jewish law, were drastically relaxed for public authorities. Thus it was settled that a public authority can purchase or transfer a thing that has not yet come into existence and, contrary to the rule in Jewish Law that an agreement affected by an *asmakhta* (i.e., absence of a deliberate and unqualified intent to be bound) is not valid, (see *Asmakhta) it was established that there is no defect in *asmakhta* where the public is involved (Resp. Mayim Amukkim, ibid.; R. Moses Di Trani, Resp. Mabit, vol.3. no. 228; and see *Contract, the Laws of Contract).

Based on this fundamental assumption, Justice Elon further states (HC 376/81 *Lugasi*, ibid, p. 470) that "a greater degree of seriousness, integrity, and propriety is demanded of the public authorities in fulfilling its undertakings than is demanded of an individual in the field of private law. For this reason, when a representative of a public authority agrees that an individual citizen is exempt from a certain payment, this admission is binding and has full legal force. If, however, an individual makes a similar admission, it is not binding unless he has made it before two witnesses to whom he says 'you are my witnesses,' because we presume that admissions given only in the presence of the two litigants themselves lacks the necessary resolve to constitute valid, admissions, as the party making the admission may claim 'I made the admission in jest' (Sanh. 29a). This is not, however, the case with regard to an admission made by a public authority. Why is this so? Because 'although an individual making an admission may claim this, it may not be said… of the community making an admission, because the community does not make statements in jest" (Isaac b. Sheshet Perfet, Resp. Ribash, no. 476 (14th century, a leading halakhic authority in Spain and Algiers; and see also Rema to Sh. Ar., ḤM 81:1). To support this, Justice Elon cited two incidents recorded in the responsa literature. In the first, a question was brought before Rabbi Solomon b. Simeon Duran (Rashbash; the spiritual leader of the Jewish community of Algiers, 15th century), with regard to "a community whose custom was to a particular kind of concession for one year, as was the practiced in all the communities; and the custom of that community was to sell it for one year, but on that occasion the treasurers of the community sold if for four years, and they wished to revoke the sale. May they recant or not?" (Resp. Rashbash no. 566). From the responsum, it appears that the leaders of the community wanted to revoke the sale because, in their opinion, the concession had been sold at a price lower than should have been obtained for such a period of time. Selling for either more or less than the accepted price is called in the Talmud "over-reaching" and when the deviation from the accepted price is more than one-sixth below the fair price, the seller, who is the injured party is entitled to rescind the transaction (BM 49b; and see *Ona'ah). It was further claimed that the concession was sold without an act of acquisition, and therefore is invalid, because it relates to something that has not yet come into existence. The Rashbash rejected the arguments of the community, and denied them the right to rescind their agreement:

> A sale by the public, even without an act of acquisition, and even regarding something that is not yet in existence, and even to someone not yet in existence, is valid…. And even if it was their custom to sell it [the concession] for one year and they sold it for four [years], they cannot rescind the sale… And there is no ground for rescinding the sale for this reason, unless the treasurers sold it privately, not in the presence of the community, for then the community may rescind the sale, as they sold it contrary to their custom. But if the sale was made in the presence of the members of the community, or the majority of them, then it may not be rescinded and it is valid; and there is no element of over-reaching. If you examine the conduct of all the communities in this matter you will see that they never revoke or rescind [an agreement], neither because it concerns an object not yet in existence, nor because of over-reaching… because it is unseemly for the community to say: we were mistaken.

From these words of Rashbash, the High Court of Justice concluded, *per* Justice Elon, that the transaction would have been invalid had the treasurers not been authorized to engage in a transaction of this kind at their own discretion and without the explicit authority of the community. However, if the representatives of the public body did not deviate from their authority and are authorized, by the accepted practice of that body, to engage in transactions on behalf of the public body at their own discretion, then the transaction is valid and the public body may not rescind it, even though a transaction of this kind, carried out by an individual, in the field of private law, may be rescinded for reasons of mistaken price under the laws of over-reaching. Why? Because a greater degree of integrity and propriety is demanded of a public authority and its representatives; they do not recant the undertakings they have made and for which they request the validity of a legal transaction, because it is unseemly for them to say that they were mistaken in their undertaking.

Justice Elon also finds support for this fundamental principle concerning the public authorities in another responsum by Rabbi Elijah b. Ḥayyim, the Ranaḥ (Resp. Mayyim Amukkim, ibid.). In this case, the community leaders agreed with one of the town's residents as to the amount of the tax to be paid on his father's estate. After a while, the community requested to rescind the agreement made by its representatives, claiming that there had been a mistake in the evaluation of the estate made by the community representatives. The respondent objected to a reappraisal and argued that the agreement he had reached with the community leaders was binding with regard to the entire community. Ranaḥ first examined the duty imposed upon the court to be most meticulous in ensuring that public funds are not misused. Nevertheless, he rejected the arguments of the public authorities, by virtue of the fundamental principle that "every act undertaken by the leaders of the community to whom the affairs of the community are entrusted is valid, and the community may not retract, even if it is evident that the community leaders erred in the matter." On the basis of this response, Justice Elon established a basic principle in public law: "The undertaking made by a public authority or its representatives within the framework of their powers, with the intention that it have legal force, is binding on the public authority, and it cannot retract it, even if such an undertaking, were it to be made by an individual in the area of private law, could have been rescinded and revoked. A public authority which has assumed an undertaking must fulfill it with a greater degree of integrity and propriety, over and above what the law requires of an individual as to such an undertaking in private law." This guiding principle, based upon Jewish law, has served as the foundation for many other rulings in later years and determined the obligation of the administrative authorities to fulfill promises it has made, even if these are not accompanied by a formal undertaking as is customary in private law.

THE OBLIGATION OF PUBLIC AUTHORITIES TO ACT OVER AND ABOVE THE LETTER OF THE LAW. Alongside the obligation of the public authorities to uphold their undertakings even if given in the absence of any formal act of acquisition, there are other cases in which the public authority is relieved of fulfilling duties that exist in private law. In the *Lugasi* ruling mentioned above (HC 376/81 *Lugasi et al. v. Minister of Communications et al.* 36 (2) PD 449), Justice Elon further states that, notwithstanding the fact that in the world of Jewish law there is a duty, in special circumstances, to act over and above the letter of the law, even when the litigant is exempt from this by the law (see, for example, BM 83a; BK 55b–56a), this duty does not always exist in the case of a public authority. The reason is that the individual is required, in certain circumstances, to uphold the general rule "Favor him with your own property and give it to him" (Ḥul. 154a); but this is not the case for a public authority which, when exempted by the law, may not make payment to an individual from public funds on the basis of an extra-legal obligation. In this case, the public authority would be favoring an individual at the expense of the general public – since the public authority acts as a trustee for the funds and rights of the general public – and it is not entitled to do so. The rule is "Favor him with your own property and give it to him but not from public funds" (see also the discussion in the Rabbinical Court on this subject, in File 517/5714 (Jer) p. 171.)

CAPACITY AND DISMISSAL OF PUBLIC EMPLOYEES. The subject of the capacity of public employees to serve in a public position, and their dismissal, has come up before the Supreme Court on a number of occasions, and more than once the court has had recourse to the sources of Jewish law to support its rulings. Thus, for example, a particular case (HC 290/65 *Altgar v. Head of the Municipality*, 20 (1) PD 29) concerned a municipality employee dismissed from his position due to inappropriate behavior. Among other arguments, the employee claimed that he had been dismissed without being given an appropriate "right to plead" and to respond to the charges against him. In his discussion of this matter, Justice Kister set out the reasons for dismissal of a public employee in Jewish law. The talmudic rule is that "one never removes [a person] from leadership within Israel," but this rule does not apply to an employee who has "sinned" – i.e., who was involved in a serious transgression or behaved in a way that is not fitting to his position – nor does it apply to one who was initially appointed for a fixed period of time.

On the basis of Maimonides' rulings (*Klei Mikdash* 4:21), Justice Kister wrote that a public employee may not be dismissed merely because of a bad rumor that has been spread about him (Resp. Rambam no. 111), and that the public authorities should act with propriety and in good faith in the dismissal process (with regard to the public authorities obligation to act in good faith, see above). Since members of the public sector are like judges, they must be scrupulous in upholding legal procedure and in providing an appropriate opportunity for the employee to make his arguments heard before deciding in his case (see below).

In another case, the Supreme Court ruled, *per* Justice Kister, that in the interests of the public's benefit there was a duty to dismiss a public employee who was negligent in his job and did not carry it out properly despite being cautioned, and to employ in his stead someone who was fair and honest. This rule is based upon the words of the Ḥazon Ish, Rabbi Abraham Isaiah Karelitz (second half of the 20th century) (HC 218/65 *Gabbai v. Jerusalem Municipality*, 20 (1) PD 48).

In discussing these issues, the Supreme Court included the obligation to consider, inter alia, the damage that may ensue to the family of an employee threatened with dismissal, who is dependent upon him for its livelihood. This consideration has an important place in the sources of Jewish law, and expresses the balance between the interests of the community and the interests of the individual (See HC 192/68 *Bashkin v. Mayor of Tel Aviv*, 22 (2) PD 748; Rabbi Avraham Halevi Horovitz, *Ẓur Ya'akov*, end of §195).

Another case (ALA 1/68 *Anon. v. Attorney General*, 22 (1) PD 676), discusses the terms set in Jewish law for restoring a public employee to his position after serving a sentence. In this matter, the authority must be convinced that the employee has completely repented of his ill deeds (ḤM 34.33, in the words of Rema). In extreme cases, such as the case of a man who has committed murder, he is never returned to his position (Yad, Sanh. 17:8).

Justice Kister emphasized that, notwithstanding that Jewish law regards the rehabilitation of those who repent as an overarching principle (see *Punishment) and believes in the possibility of complete rehabilitation, it is cautious with regard to one who has transgressed and repented serving in a public position of trust. Rambam already ruled that people in various public positions who have failed in carrying out their position, even in error, "are dismissed without notice, for there is permanent notice upon them, as they act as public agents" (Yad, Sekhirut 10.7, according to BM 109a; and see also Sh. Ar., ḤM 306). With regard to restoration to their former position, Justice Kister says that, according to Jewish law, when the case in question involves dismissal due to a crime, a particularly stringent examination is carried out, to assure that they may be regarded as trustworthy in the future, as to whether repentance is indeed complete, or whether the court is being deceived or not (Sh. Ar., ḤM 34.33, end of the Rema's comments; and cf. *Bet Yosef* ad loc. See also the article by Justice Kister, "*Gishat ha-Yehadut la-Avaryan u-le-Shikkumo* ("The Jewish Approach to the Criminal and his Rehabilitation" (Hebrew), *Ha-Praklit*, 25, 485–86).

This issue was discussed at length in another Supreme Court ruling dealing with the capacity of a criminal who has served his sentence to return and serve in public office (HC 1935/93 *Mahfoud v. Minister of Religious Affairs et al.*, 48 (1) PD 768–769). Based on Jewish law, Justice Elon writes about the duty to balance between the desire to prevent a stain on the reputation of the public service and a loss of public trust in it, and the basic principle of rehabilitation in Jewish law, which has even been anchored in legislation by the Knesset in the Crime Register and Rehabilitation of Offenders Law, 5741 – 1981 (on this issue, see also: ALA 18/84 *Carmi v. State Prosecutor*, 44 (1) PD 373–381).

RULES OF NATURAL JUSTICE AND THE RIGHT TO PLEAD. One of the basic rules in the theory of administrative law requires the public authorities to uphold "the rules of natural justice" – among which, the right to hear a person's arguments before making a decision liable to affect his rights. Justice Silberg, who discussed this issue (HC 3/58 *Berman v. Minister of Interior*, 12 PD 1493), noted that English law of the 18th century (*The King against the Chancellor, Master and Scholars of the University of Cambridge (1723)*, 93 ER 698, 704) already regarded the Torah as the source of this obligation, in the words God spoke to Adam before his expulsion from the Garden of Eden (Genesis 3: 9–11). Justice Silberg expanded and extended this obligation to "hear the other party" when talking about a judicial or quasi-judicial authorities, based upon many sources in Jewish law, including the words of Rabbi Moses Isserles (leading rabbinic authority in Poland, 16th century), who discussed it at length in his responsa (Resp. Rema, no. 108). The Rema saw this principle as already well-established in the Torah precept of "hearing your brothers." In addition to the aforementioned proof from Adam, the Rema adds that it is also possible to learn this principle from other cases: e.g., God calling upon Cain to hear his arguments before imposing the punishment. Similarly, in the case of Sodom the Sages derived from God's words "I will go down and see" (Gen. 18:21), that the judge may not make his ruling until he has heard and understood the arguments of the accused (HC 10/59 *Vicky Levy v. The Rabbinical Court*, 13 PD 1187; and see the High Court judgment in *Altgar* cited above. Judge Leron of the Beersheba District Court also based his decision upon the source in App.31/81 *Ben-Simon v. State of Israel*, PSM 5742 (1) 438).

The basic principle of the "duty to hear" was among the reasons invoked by Justice Elon in stating the husband's right to be a party to his wife's application to terminate a pregnancy, as one liable to be affected by a decision on this matter (CA 413/80 *Plonit v. Ploni*, 35 (3) PD 88). (See *Abortion). Justice Elon based this decision, among other things, on a statement by the Sages to the effect that "there are three partners in the creation of man: God, his father and his mother" (Kid. 30b), which requires that the husband's position be heard prior to taking a decision with regard to aborting the fetus.

PROHIBITION AGAINST CONFLICT OF INTEREST. One of the basic rules in the theory of public authority and administrative law, arising from the "rules of natural justice," is the prohibition against a public employee being in a position of "conflict of interest" when coming to decide on a certain matter. This conflict of interests may arise from a personal interest that he has in a particular matter under discussion, or from an institutional interest on the part of the entity he is representing. In a number of Supreme Court rulings (HC 291/72 *Rubinstein v. Elections Committee for the Chief Rabbinate Council*, 26 (2) PD 279; HC 91/74 *Gabara et al. v. The District Court*, 28 (2) PD 526; HC 21/66 *Katabi v. Chairman of Kiryat Ekron Local Council*, 20 (2) PD 108), the Supreme Court (per Justices Haim Cohn and Kister) referred to the sources of Jewish law in order to highlight this prohibition, and in particular to a ruling concerning judges, by which a judge cannot sit in judgment on any issue in which he has any kind of benefit (Sh. Ar., ḤM 8.12). The Talmudic sages went to the extent of disqualifying a judge whose interest in the case was no more than that of any other inhabitants of a town whose Torah scroll had been stolen:

> If a scroll of the Law belonging to the inhabitants of a town has been stolen, the judges of that town must not try him [the alleged culprit]. If a man says: Distribute a *maneh* to the inhabitants of my town [and it is stolen], the judges of that town must not try him [the alleged culprit] (BB 43a). And Rosh ruled that if a person avoided paying tax, the town's judges, to whom the tax was paid, were not entitled to judge him: "it is obvious that he should not be judged by them, because how can they judge themselves as they have a part in the claim" (Resp. Ha-Rosh, 58.7). The analogy between elected public figures and judges implies that the obligation to avoid conflict of interest applies both to employees in public services and to elected public figures.

In another case (SSA 2/73, *Ploni v. State of Israel*, 28 (1) PD 370), Justice Kister stated, again on the basis of sources in Jewish law, that every public employee must avoid making use of his subordinates for his own personal purposes. According to Rabbi Jonah Gerondi (a contemporary of Naḥmanides) in his book *Sha'arei Teshuvah,* (Sect. 3. 60), one who is in charge of others is entitled, and even required, to demand of these employees that they carry out their work in the service, and no more than that.

PROHIBITION AGAINST "LEAKS." In one case (HC 264/70 *Mizrachi v. the Committee for Appointing Dayyanim*, 24 (2) PD 229), the High Court of Justice, per Justice Kister, established the obligation on the part of the public authorities to maintain confidentiality with regard to information, which if disclosed might harm another. Justice Kister based this obligation on the verse "He that goes about as a talebearer reveals secrets" (Prov. 11:13), and on the words of Rabbi Israel Meir Ha-Cohen of Radin, in his famous book *Hafeẓ Hayyim* (*Hilkhot Lashon ha-Ra*, 2.11).

NON-JUSTICIABILITY. Alongside judicial review of the actions of the implementing authorities by the court, there are certain areas that "are not justiciable" and which the court avoids dealing with, such as military considerations, foreign policy and so forth. In one case, the High Court of Justice discussed the question of the judicial review of orders issued by the security authorities (HC 302/72 *Abu Hilu v. Government of Israel*, 27 (2) PD 184–185). In rejecting the petition, the Supreme Court, in a decision by Justice Kister, ruled that the Court would not pass issues of this kind under its judicial review. Among other things, he based this position on the distinction that exists in Jewish law in this respect: alongside the provision that the king may embark on a voluntary war only with the consent of the Sanhedrin, in the case of a just war, such as "saving Israel from a foreign power," he does not require the permission of the Sanhedrin, and his decision is not subject to judicial review (Yad, Melakhim 5:1–2; S. Arieli, *Mishpat ha-Milḥamah*, pp. 96, 179; E.Y. Waldenberg, *Hilkhot Medinah*, vol. 2, chs. 4–5).

DEVIATING FROM AUTHORITY. One of the most important grounds for judicial review is *ultra vires*. The basic rule in public law, known as the "principle of legality," states that, unlike a private individual, a public authority may not carry out any action whatsoever unless it has obtained explicit authority to perform this action by law or by virtue of the law. In an appeal hearing in the Supreme Court, the issue of the ability of a local authority to impose imposts on a resident without explicit authorization to do so by law was discussed (Cr. A 656/76 *Ha-Giva ha-Aduma Co. v. Rishon le-Zion Municipality*, 30 (3) PD 823). Justice Haim Cohn stated that not only was this impost improper, as a deviation from authority, but that it even involved an element of robbery. He supported this position with Maimonides' words with regard to the King's Law: "'that the king may cut down trees and destroy houses, and even more so collect taxes so as to build roads or bridges. In what case? That of a king whose coin is valid… But if his coin is not valid, then he is like a robber with a strong arm or a gang of armed bandits whose laws are not law, and this king and all who work for him are robbers in every respect' (Yad, Gezeilah ve-Aveidah 5.18). The king's 'coin is valid' when he carries out actions and decrees with the authorization of the people of that land; consequently, one can say that the municipality's 'coin' is valid when it imposes taxes and collects money, either with the authorization of the legislator or with the consent of the taxpayer. Without explicit and unequivocal authorization and without the agreement of the taxpayer, a requirement to pay for the sake of providing a deposit is a form of 'royal robbery' which does not justify taking money from its owner."

DELEGATION OF AUTHORITY. Administrative law has developed various rules relating to the right of a public figure to delegate authorities to another person. The basic principle is that, so long as the authority in question is mainly technical (such as the erection of signposts) there is nothing to prevent one person from delegating authority to another. By contrast, an authority involving an element of discretion may not be delegated, as it has been granted to a particular person and not to another. The Supreme Court had recourse a number of times to the sources of Jewish law in this matter. In one case (HC 380/74 *Salman v. National Labor Court in Jerusalem*, 30 (1) PD 501) the issue of the dismissal of an employee was discussed. Justice Berenson held that where a local authority has a number of panels authorized to make decisions, not every matter needs to come before the highest instance. He anchored this decision in a verse from the Torah, regarding the advice given to Moses by Jethro (Exod. 18:22): "and it shall be, that every great matter they shall bring unto thee, but every small matter they shall judge themselves."

In another ruling (HC 702/79 *Goldberg v. Sherman*, 34 (4) PD 85), discussing the ability of the head of a local authority to delegate authority to his deputies, Justice Elon developed the doctrine of "delegation of authority" in administrative law, utilizing the response of Rabbi Isaac ben Sheshet Perfet (Ribash, halakhic authority, Spain–North Africa, end of 14th century–beginning of 15th century) to a question asked by the leaders of the Barcelona community (Resp. Ribash 228). The question concerned a public regulation (see *Takkanot ha-Kahal) enacted in a particular community in the Catalonia district, in which three of the community's leaders, called "trustees," were authorized, along with the community's court, to select a group of 30 people to supervise various community matters, in particular matters relating to the division of the tax burden and the manner of its collection. The trustees, who did not succeed in reaching an agreed position, attempted to delegate their authorities to two other people, but certain members of the community objected to this. Ribash accepted the arguments of those who objected to the delegation, stating that the authority conveyed upon a person elected by the community, whose performance involved a degree of "reasoning and consideration," must be carried out by that individual, unless there is an explicit provision enabling the position holder to delegate his position to another (see also HC 2303/90 *Philipovitz v. Ministry of Justice*, 46 (1) PD 425–426).

ADMINISTRATIVE DISCRETION. One of the most important issues in administrative law concerns the obligation of a public authority to exercise its discretion before taking a decision on any matter. The components of this discretion and the scope of judicial review over the manner in which it is exercised are frequently discussed in court rulings. In one case, the basic principle of independent exercise of discretion was established, based upon sources of Jewish law. The court held that the obligation of trust imposed upon an official elected to a given institution, required it to act in accordance with relevant considerations and in accordance with his convictions, even if this contradicted the partisan interests of the body that elected him and sent him to that elected institution (HC 24/66, *Malkah v. Seri Levy*, 20 (2) PD 657); cf. Elon, *Authority and Power in the Jewish Community* (Hebrew) p. 29).

INCORRUPTIBILITY AND SINCERITY. One of the laws concerning public administration states that the court will not review an action involving an appellant wishing to appeal the decision of a public authority if he appears before the court with "unclean hands" – that is, if he is himself a criminal or is concealing facts from the court. Justice Tirkel based this ruling on a passage from Psalms (24:3–4): "Who shall ascend into the mountain of the Lord, and who shall stand in his holy place? He that hath clean hands and a pure heart; who hath not taken my name in vain and hath not sworn deceitfully" (LCA 5072/00 *Izzy Yogev Industries Ltd. v. Abu Bros. Locksmiths*, 55 (2) PD 309).

Takkanot Kahal (community enactments) and the Responsa Index

A major contribution to the rules and laws concerning public authorities in Jewish law was made by a number of digests appearing in recent years. Among these, we should particularly note the *Legal Digest of Responsa Literature from Spain and North Africa* (edited by M. Elon), and its counterpart from Ashkenaz, France, and Italy (edited by B. Lifschitz and

A. Shochetman), containing many entries (such as community, community regulation) dealing with various aspects of public administration law. An important source concerning the legal status of the public authorities and its employees are the community records (see *Takkanot ha-Kahal) which have been published in recent years, containing rich material on the history of public authority, its rules and procedures, rights and obligations.

[Aviad Hacohen (2nd ed.)]

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PUBLIC RELATIONS. Public relations as a profession developed in the 20th century, mainly in the U.S. Until the beginning of the 20th century public relations was a refined form of propaganda employed almost exclusively to defend a movement, cause, or individual or institution, regardless of merit or social significance. Among the first Jews in the field were Moses Lindo of South Carolina, who made skillful use of publicity to promote the export of American indigo in the years before the Revolution, and Henry Castro, a French Jew who publicized Texas among European Jews in 1844 as an agent of the Republic of Texas. Henry Zeltner was a U.S. government press agent in New York City during and after the 1863 draft riots. Twenty years later his son, Louis, served as publicity man for Theodore Roosevelt when he was police commissioner of New York City. The country's first financial publicity agency was founded by Albert Frank in 1872 to obtain free newspaper space for stockbrokers. Rudolph Guenther set up a similar agency in 1892, and later the Albert Frank-Guenther law firm became the leading financial publicity organization. Gus J. Karger (1866–1924), a vice president of the firm, was the press chief of William Howard Taft's 1908 presidential campaign and director of the Republican Party's press bureau in the 1912 presidential election.

Modern public relations took shape during World War I with the formation of the U.S. Committee on Public Information. This first organized use of all the tools and techniques of publicity as an offensive measure for mobilizing the power of mass opinion demonstrated to business, industry, government, and private institutions the value of public relations. This committee was the training ground for two young men, Carl Byoir (1888–1957) and Edward L. *Bernays, who became major forces in raising public relations to a profession. Byoir helped distribute 40,000,000 of the famous red, white, and blue texts on war aims abroad, publicized the draft, interpreted American war objectives throughout the world, and was on Woodrow Wilson's press staff at the Versailles Peace Conference. He also served as public relations adviser to Thomas G. *Masaryk, first president of Czechoslovakia. He was the originator of the Franklin D. Roosevelt birthday balls that raised millions for polio victims and led to the establishment of the National Foundation for Infantile Paralysis.

It was Bernays who coined the term "public relations counselor" and gave the profession its first code and set of principles. He also wrote the first book on the subject, *Crystallizing Public Opinion*, in 1923, and taught the first college course in public relations at New York University in 1930. Before his retirement in the late 1950s, Bernays represented some of the nation's largest corporations and newspapers as well as government agencies and social and health organizations.

The Europe of World War I was also the training ground for Benjamin Sonnenberg (1901–), who began his flamboyant career as a writer of publicity stories for the *American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee. He launched his own firm in 1924 and became a highly successful adviser to corporations, entertainment and literary personalities, and big businessmen. George Weissman (1919–1978), who rose from public relations director to president of the Philip Morris Co., learned the art in the Sonnenberg office. Out of the Byoir firm came Kalman Druck, later head of his own firm, and Edward Gottlieb. Druck was one of the key figures in uniting the Public Relations Society of America and the American Public Relations Association (APRSA) into a single professional organization. He headed the committee that developed the system for accrediting practitioners. Gottlieb, famed for coining the permanent-wave slogan "Which twin has the Toni?" was responsible for popularizing French champagne in the U.S.

Public Relations in Entertainment and Sport

In the 1920s and 1930s, most Jews in public relations were not in industry but in the world of entertainment, in the film industry. One of the earliest motion picture press agents was Mike Newman, promotion director for Columbia Pictures, who made Mary Pickford an international celebrity. Howard Dietz was the publicity agent who in 1917 devised Leo the Lion as the Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer trademark. He spread the malapropisms of Samuel *Goldwyn for many years before becoming press chief for *Loew's. Another film public relations pioneer was Charles Einfeld (1901–1974) of Warner Bros. Studios, who trained scores of people in motion picture promotion. He introduced the movie trailer and the premiere junket. Harry Reichenbach was an outstanding press agent from 1915 to 1930, as was Irving Strouse in the 1930s. Bernard Sobol was the man who made Flo *Ziegfeld's Follies a national institution before World War II. Sydney Eiges and Sid Garfield were publicity chiefs for the National Broadcasting Company and Columbia Broadcasting System respectively. Many of the leading stage and movie personalities were represented by Henry C. Rogers of Hollywood. The public relations resourcefulness of Henry Meyer converted Miami Beach from a winter playground for the rich to a year-round resort for people of modest means. The bathing beauty contests that became internationally famous were Meyer's brain children. Hal Cohen, Meyer's successor, built up the Florida resort even more.

Many of the best-known professional sports enterprises had Jewish public relations directors. Haskell Cohen was the public relations chief of the National Basketball Association. Robert Fishel and Harold Weisman were the public relations directors of the New York Yankees and the New York Mets respectively. Joe Goldstein, who promoted Roosevelt Raceway, began as a publicity man at the old Madison Square Garden. Irving Rudd, who handled public relations at Yonkers Raceway, grew up in small-time boxing club publicity. Harry Markson was for years the public relations man for Mike Jacobs, the leading fight promoter of Madison Square Garden. Joe Reichler handled public relations for the Baseball Commissioner of America.

Public Relations in Politics and Public Affairs

Events flowing from the depression of the 1930s and the New Deal, and later from World War II, were responsible for the immense expansion of public and private public relations in which Jews came to play an increasingly significant role. Charles Michelson (1869–1947), brother of the scientist Albert A. *Michelson, who became press director of the Democratic National Committee in 1929, was the ablest political publicist of his time. Mike Straus, who went to Washington with the New Deal, was the highly effective public relations director of the Department of the Interior under Harold C. Ickes.

One of the founders of the American College Public Relations Association in 1917 was Bernard Sobel, information director of Purdue University. An early president of this oldest organized group of publicists was Louis Boochever, public relations director of Cornell University in the 1920s, and later national public relations director of the American Red Cross. George Hecht, publisher of *Parents Magazine*, was the founder in 1919 of *Better Times*, the first publication to publicize social work. Six years later he established the Social Legislation Information Service as a public relations lobby. Louis Resnick (1892–1941), for 15 years public relations director of the National Society for the Prevention of Blindness, set many of the standards used in social welfare publicity during his years as information director of the National Safety Council. In 1935 he became the first information director of the newly established U.S. Social Security Administration. Harold Levy, for many years on the staff of the Russell Sage Foundation, was one of the pioneers of social work publicity. Irving Rimer was the third executive director of the National Public Relations Council on Health and Welfare, and his successor was Harold Weiner. Rimer later became public relations director of the American Cancer Society. Sol Lifson was for a long time director of public information for the National Tuberculosis and Respiratory Diseases Association. Another pioneer in social work publicity was Viola Paradis, who headed public relations for the *National Council of Jewish Women. Bernard Roloff introduced the "crusade for mercy" theme as public relations director of the United Fund for Chicago, one of the largest community chests. Victor Weingarten made the Child Welfare League widely known. From 1923 to 1936 Herbert Seligman was public relations director of the National Association of Colored People, and Frances Adlerstein directed public relations for the Travelers Aid Association.

Anna *Rosenberg, who served as assistant secretary of defense under President Truman, later became a highly successful public relations expert for big business. When he retired from newspaper work, Herbert Bayard *Swope, the renowned managing editor of the *New York World*, was public relations adviser to Bernard M. *Baruch and to many government agencies and business firms. In the 1950s, Sydney S. Baron was the publicity director of Tammany Hall. The CIO Political Action Committee's public relations director was Allan Reitman, and David B. Charney had the same post with the International Teamsters' Union. Frank Mankiewicz was the press director for Senator Robert F. Kennedy, and held the same post in the unsuccessful effort of Senator George McGovern to win the 1968 Democratic presidential nomination.

Public Relations in the Jewish Community

The rise of the public relations man in Jewish communal life was a post-World War I phenomenon directly attributable to major events and developments in Jewish history. The relief campaigns on behalf of war-stricken European Jewry, the struggles against the antisemitism of Henry Ford and the Ku Klux Klan in the 1920s, the growth of national membership organizations and Jewish federations, the building-fund campaigns for synagogues, Jewish community centers, old folks homes and institutions of Jewish higher learning, the fight against Nazism, and the dramatic efforts to establish the State of Israel, all called between 1917 and 1948 for the unprecedented mobilization of Jewish public opinion as well as the winning of support from the general population.

The first public relations bureau serving the Jewish community was formed in 1919 by Louis Popkin (1894–1943) and his wife Zelda (née Feinberg). A reporter on the *American Hebrew*, Popkin had been drafted in 1914 to handle publicity for the newly-organized American Joint Distribution Committee. In 1917 he took on the same job for the wartime National Jewish Welfare Board. After the war the Popkin established Planned Publicity Service, which did public relations for a number of Jewish organizations. Their first assignment was the drafting of the cable to Woodrow Wilson at the Versailles Peace Conference asking for the protection of Jewish rights. For the New York Federation of Jewish Philanthropies they set up the first organized permanent public relations department in any Jewish agency. In 1922 Abraham H. Fromenson (1874–1935), editor of the English page of the Yiddish-language daily, the *Tageblatt*, who had been publicity head of the Zionist Organization of America when Louis D. *Brandeis controlled it, joined the Popkin firm, which trained many of the people who later became the first public relations directors of major Jewish organizations. David A. Brown, the Detroit business executive who turned into the leading Jewish fund-raiser of the 1920s and 1930s, pioneered many of the public relations techniques on which later public relations experts built.

As public relations chief of the Federation of Jewish Philanthropies from 1934 to 1945, Elliott Cohen, founder of **Commentary*, introduced to the field of public relations people of professional competence and familiarity with Jewish life and traditions, who were able to interpret health and welfare with intelligence, style, and clarity. He established the high standards of production and art that set the pattern of fund-raising literature for the whole Jewish community. One of Cohen's predecessors was Isidore Sobeloff (1899–), who went on to become a Federation executive in Detroit and Los Angeles.

Henry *Montor (1905–1982) became publicity director of the United Palestine Appeal in 1931, and was a genius in persuading American Jewish communities to provide unprecedented sums for Palestine by the use for the first time of all the tools and techniques of modern public relations. In 1939, when the JDC and UPA joined forces in the United Jewish Appeal, Montor was elevated to national campaign director. He and his successor, Meyer Steinglass, broke new ground by running full-page advertisements in the daily press and using radio for campaign publicity. When Montor left UJA to assume direction of the Bonds for Israel campaign, Steinglass went with him as public relations director. Raphael Levy and Ben Hanft (d. 1985), Steinglass' successors at UJA extended their methods to television and films.

The public relations techniques first tested by UJA and Bonds for Israel were adapted with some modifications but equal success by the American offices of Israel organizations as well by virtually every other national Jewish agency. The American Jewish Committee, the Anti-Defamation League, and the American Jewish Congress varied in approach and emphasis, but they all saw public relations as a significant element of their overall educational role in bringing to public attention the nature of prejudice, the evils of antisemitism and bigotry, and the importance of understanding among men of all races and ethnic groups.

A unique public relations instrument created by the Jews of America was the Jewish Welfare Board Public Relations Committee, formed during World War II by the American Jewish Committee, the Anti-Defamation League, the American Jewish Congress, the Jewish War Veterans, and the Jewish Labor Committee. This combined operation developed within the Jewish community an understanding of the war issues, and built up support for a program of religious and morale services to Jewish military personnel.

Through public relations of the most dignified character, the Jewish Theological Seminary of America helped establish Judaism as one of the major religious traditions in America. The Seminary's radio and TV program, "The Eternal Light," was a highly effective public relations instrument. Skilled public relations played significant roles in the expansion of Yeshiva University, Albert Einstein College of Medicine, Brandeis University, the growth of mass Jewish membership organizations such as Hadassah and B'nai B'rith, and the raising of hundreds of millions of dollars for new synagogues, community centers, hospitals, and other communal institutions.

By 1940 there were enough people professionally employed as public relations specialists by Jewish organizations to warrant the organization of the Jewish Publicity Directors Council. In 1956 this was reorganized as the American Jewish Public Relations Society. In 1968 it was estimated that more than 500 people were engaged in some phase of public relations for local and national American Jewish organizations and by international Jewish agencies with offices in the U.S. In the 1960s a number of commercial public relations firms headed by Jews were called in as short-or long-term consultants by several Jewish organizations. Ruder and Finn served the Jewish Theological Seminary in this capacity, while Kalman Druck's firm took over full public relations responsibility at UJA in 1968. Of the more than 15,000 public relations firms operating in the U.S. in 1968, some twenty percent were reported to be Jewish in ownership or management.

[Bernard Postal]

In the latter years of the 20th century, Howard J. Rubenstein became one of the most influential public relations practitioners in the country. As an individual and with his firm he represented important political figures, winning recognition as an adviser to Mayor Abraham *Beame of New York City. At the same time, he became close to the governors and successor mayors of New York State and City and he advised politicians of both major parties. Among his clients were such controversial figures as George Steinbrenner, principal owner of the New York Yankees, who was constantly in the news during that time. Other public relations practitioners of note were Richard Manoff, who had many clients in the theater, and Morton Yarmon, who became one of the highest officials in the American Jewish Committee.

[Stewart Kampel (2nd ed.)]

In Israel

The Public Relations Association of Israel was established in 1958 in Tel Aviv as the Public Relations and Tourism Coordinators. Each of the three major cities set up their own organization designed to serve the special interests in that area. Jerusalem members called their organization "The Spokesmen's Circle" and limited membership to government public relations and information officers.

In 1961 it was decided to create a national organization with all three branches maintaining a special autonomous status covered by a new constitution and the national body run by an Executive Committee drawn from all three branches. There are national conventions every year, professional activities on both a local and national scale, and courses either sponsored or controlled by the organization. In 1970 the Israel Association was host to the Fifth Public Relations World Congress. There were over 200 members in the Public Relations Association of Israel.

[Zvi Harry Zinder]

With the introduction of television in Israel in the late 1960s, and the understanding of the power of its images, the role of the media adviser became central in all campaigns geared to a viewing audience, particularly in politics. By the 1990s, leading candidates could be divided into those who understood the medium and those who did not, understanding often coming courtesy of advisers imported from the United States. And as in the United States, though the viewer recognized the artificiality of the presentation, he was often taken in by it in spite of himself. The handling of public relations was also thought to be a central element in the way Israel was perceived around the world in its clashes with the Palestinians. Generally, Israel was given poor marks, for using ineffective spokesmen, failing to have a comprehensive PR plan, and failing to accommodate foreign media representatives. However, some would argue that the management of news and the manipulation of images might not necessarily make Israel a more popular country, for clearly the eagerness with which many attacked Israel might lead one to believe that their views were not necessarily a response to good or bad public relations, not to mention simple facts.

PUBLISHING. This article is arranged according to the following outline:

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  - JERUSALEM PUBLISHING HOUSE
  - KETER
  - KINNERET/ZMORA/DVIR
  - MAGNES PRESS

MODAN
RAV KOOK INSTITUTE
SCHOCKEN
YEDIOTH AHARONOTH

GENERAL PUBLISHING

Jews joined the European publishing industry little more than three decades after its pioneering efforts, notably in Italy, Spain, and Portugal. The first recorded Jewish printer of non-Hebrew books (possibly *Abraham b. Garton of Reggio di Calabria) published the outstanding fourth edition of Dante's *Divina commedia* (Naples, 1477), as a result of which he was bitterly attacked by a Christian rival who appended *Erubescat Judeus infelix* ("Let the unhappy Jew blush for shame") to his own edition of the *Purgatorio* (c. 1478). By this time Jews were evidently active in the Naples book trade, as they had been for some years as Hebrew printers in Italy as a whole. In its early stages, the printing industry was combined with book publishing, printers accepting, printing, and selling their works in one commercial venture. Prior to the expulsion from Spain (1492), Jews probably played an equally important part in printing there. During the 1470s, Juan de Lucena issued a prayer book (*cituri*, i.e., *siddur*) in Spanish, for which he was years later (as a New Christian) persecuted by the Inquisition. A more significant publishing achievement was that of Solomon b. Maimon Zalmati of Jativa, who in 1483 entered into partnership with two Christian printers with the aim of producing Christian theological works for the general market. They subsequently published Jaime Perez's commentary on Psalms (Valencia, 1484) and other works by the same writer, including his antisemitic *Tractatus contra judaeos* (1485). In neighboring Portugal, Jewish printer-publishers also attained eminence as pioneers before the general expulsion of 1497. Samuel de Ortas issued *Tabulae tabularum coelestium motuum: sive almanach perpetuum* (Leiria, 1496), a classic by the great astronomer Abraham *Zacuto.

Jewish activity in the sphere of general publishing was centered in Italy from the beginning of the 16th century. The *Soncino family, famous in early Hebrew printing, also produced a host of works in other languages. Gershom Soncino the elder, who studied the art of printing in Mainz, published a series of books in Latin and Italian from 1502 and for 25 years thereafter issued about 100 titles – about as many as he published in Hebrew over a longer period. As Hieronymus Soncinus, he produced only non-Hebrew works in Ancona and Cesena. Gershom's new edition of Petrarch (Fano, 1503) was dedicated to Cesare Borgia, and his literary editor, the humanist Lorenzo Abstemio (Bevilaqua), urged other Italian scholars to patronize the Soncino press. Gershom Soncino later published the statutes of the cities of Fano (1508), Jesi (1516), and Rimini (1525), as well as many other works for Christians, including the "Rules of the Franciscan Order" (Pesaro, 1507). Gershom Soceino produced his non-Hebrew books for non-Jewish readers. He was, however, compelled to abandon this activity in about 1527.

From the early 1550s onward, Yom Tov b. Levi *Athias (Jeronimo Vargas) published Spanish versions of Jewish liturgical works at Ferrara and, in collaboration with Abraham *Usque, issued the famous Ferrara Bible (1553) which appeared in separate editions for Jews and Christians. Abraham Usque later published other liturgical books for Jewish immigrants as well as works by Bernardim *Ribeiro, Alfonso de la *Torre, and his kinsman Samuel *Usque. The self-imposed Jewish censorship of Hebrew books after the burning of the Talmud in Rome (1553), the temporary persecution of newly arrived Marranos, and Church interference in Jewish affairs all led to the eventual abandonment of vernacular publishing by Italian Jews. However, the physician Jacob Marcaria, who operated a Hebrew press in Riva di Trento (1558–62), was the unofficial publisher of speeches and works by many of the churchmen assembled at the Council of Trent (1545–63). The scene of Jewish activity in general publishing thereafter shifted to Amsterdam, where a host of works in Spanish and Portuguese was written and published from the beginning of the 17th century.

The "Dutch Jerusalem"

The earliest Jewish vernacular publications in the Netherlands were written in Spanish for Marrano immigrants unfamiliar with Hebrew and often took the form of translations of biblical and liturgical texts. The first work of this type was a reissue of Yom Tov Athias' Ferrara prayer book (1552), published at Dordrecht ("Mainz") in 1584 and evidently intended for the crypto-Jewish community of Antwerp. The first work in Spanish to appear in Amsterdam dates from 1612 and during the next two centuries hundreds of books in Spanish and Portuguese were issued by the city's Jewish publishers. These included *Manasseh Ben Israel, whose press, founded in 1626, produced books in Spanish and Portuguese as well as Hebrew; Joseph *Athias; and Isaac Cohen de *Lara, a leading bookseller. The messianic frenzy roused by the claims of *Shabbetai Ẓevi led to a spate of publications in Spanish in 1666. Spanish substituted for Hebrew as the language of study and prayer among Marranos, while Portuguese was reserved for poetry and other secular literature.

In time, however, Dutch Jews began writing and publishing works in the vernacular. Two of the oldest Jewish publishing houses of Amsterdam, both noted for their Hebrew printing, also engaged in producing books in Dutch for the Jewish reader: the firms of the brothers *Proops, which flourished during the 18th–19th centuries, and J.L. Joachimsthal, which was still active in the 1970s and issued the Dutch Jewish weekly *Nieuw Israëlietisch Weekblad*. The bookseller L. Simons (1862–1932) founded the *Wereldbibliotheek*, while Isaac *Keesing established the firm of N.V. Keesing, noted for its production of reference books and archive material. Another Amsterdam Jewish publisher was the minor writer Emmanuel Querido (18711943), a victim of the Nazis, whose brother was the novelist Israël *Querido.

[Godfrey Edmond Silverman]

In Germany and Austria

During the Middle Ages, Jews played an active part in the European book trade, which assumed increasing importance in the German-speaking lands after the introduction of printing. From the 16th century onward, Jews naturally promoted Hebrew publishing, of which Frankfurt became the principal center, and from the early 19th century they were active in the general sphere of German book production (Berlin, Breslau, Frankfurt, Koenigsberg, Leipzig, Prague, and Vienna). Probably the earliest such enterprise was the Prague firm of Taussig (founded in 1783), which ceased its activities under the Nazis. Other pioneering firms were those of Julius Eduard *Hitzig (Berlin, 1808–14); Friedrich Cohen (Bonn, 1829); Joseph and Felix Lehmann (1832); and Moritz *Veit, president of the Berlin Jewish community, whose scientific publishing house, Veit & Co., flourished between 1834 and 1858. Also prominent in Berlin was the Schlesinger'sche Buch- und Musikalienhandlung (1810), headed by Adolf Martin Schlesinger (1768–1848), which issued some of the compositions of Beethoven.

In general publishing, however, Jews only achieved real importance from about 1835 during the heyday of the *Jung Deutschland* literary group. The leading literary publisher of this era was Karl (Zacharias) Loewenthal, who changed his name to Loening after abandoning Judaism. A close friend and admirer of Karl Gutzkow, the leader of *Jung Deutschland*, Loewenthal founded his publishing house in Mannheim in 1835 and published Gutzkow's periodical *Deutsche Revue* and his novel *Wally, die Zweiflerin* (1835). When the works of the *Jung Deutschland* group, including those of Heinrich *Heine, were proscribed and their authors and publisher brought to trial, Loewenthal did not abandon his friends, despite antisemitic slanders. In 1844 he moved to Frankfurt and, together with the apostate author Joseph Jacob Ruetten (Rindskopf, 1805–78), reestablished his firm under the name of Rueten und Loening, producing philosophical and sociological books as well as fiction. The firm still operated in Munich in the 1970s. Other 19th-century enterprises included those of R. Levi (Stuttgart, 1840), J. Guttentag (Berlin, 1842), Moritz Perles (Prague, 1844; later moved to Berlin and Vienna), M. Glogau (Hamburg, 1850), J. Taubeles (Prague, 1861), Albert Goldschmidt (Hamburg, 1863), S. Cronbach (Berlin, 1867), R.L. Prager (Berlin, 1872), and the Enoch Brothers (Hamburg, 1875). In Vienna, a literary firm was established by Leopold Rosner (1838–1903).

During the 1880s, the champion of the school of realism was Otto *Brahm, who in 1889 founded the Freie Buehne, which later became the literary periodical *Die Neue Rundschau*. Closely connected with this new literature was the Berlin publishing house of Samuel *Fischer. The S. Fischer Verlag (1886) rapidly became a center of avant-garde literary life. Under the Nazis, this publishing house moved overseas but after World War II reopened in Frankfurt. In 1895 George Bondi (1865–1935) established a firm in Berlin specializing in works by members of the Stefan George circle, such as Friedrich *Gundolf, Ernst Bertram, and Ernst Kantorowitsch (*Blaetter fuer die Kunst*). When George decided to make his own poetry available to the general public, Bondi became his publisher. Paul *Cassirer founded a publishing house in 1908 as a branch of his art gallery. He issued books mainly about modern artists (Herman *Struck, Ernst Barlach, Max Pechstein, Oskar Kokoschka), but also published literary works by Else *Lasker-Schueler, Ernst Barlach, Walter *Hasenclever, René Schickelé, and Kasimir Edschmid. Another field in which Cassirer became interested was cultural socialism, represented by the works of Ferdinand *Lassalle, Kurt *Eisner, and Gustav *Landauer. His cousin Bruno Cassirer (1872–1942) also founded a publishing house in 1898. Bruno Cassirer's book production, which was of the highest intellectual standard, ranged through art, philosophy, and literature. His art books were written by leading historians and critics of the fine arts; his journal, *Kunst und Kuenstler*, edited by Karl Scheffler, became the leading German art journal during the early 20th century. Bruno Cassirer also published all the writings of another cousin, the eminent philosopher Ernst *Cassirer. He issued the complete edition of Kant's works, edited by Ernst Cassirer, and those of Hermann *Cohen, the founder of neo-Kantianism. During the years before the rise of Hitler, he turned to modern fiction, where he was assisted by Max *Tau, who introduced several modern Scandinavian authors to the German reader. Bruno Cassirer finally immigrated to England. His publishing house, refounded in Oxford, now specializes in illustrated books about foreign countries.

Erich Reiss founded his Berlin publishing house in 1908 and was a keen enthusiast of the beautiful, well-printed book. He published German editions of Jonathan Swift's works, the writings of Georges *Brandes, and the political essays of Maximilian *Harden. For a time Reiss also issued Siegfried *Jacobsohn's periodical *Die Schaubuehne* (later *Die Weltbuehne*) and *Blaetter des deutschen Theaters*. After 1933 he tried to publish books of Jewish interest only, but soon abandoned the project and immigrated to New York.

All attempts to make Vienna a center of the publishing trade on a par with Leipzig and Berlin failed until Paul von Zsolnay established the Paul Zsolnay Verlag in 1924. In a very short time, this firm assembled the works of some of the most distinguished European novelists, including Sholem *Asch, Henri Barbusse, Max *Brod, John Galsworthy, Heinrich Mann, and Franz *Werfel. After the *Anschluss* of 1938, Zsolnay immigrated to England; his firm was refounded in Vienna after World War II. The Austrian capital was also the home of the Internationaler Psychoanalystischer Verlag, established by the *Freud family and later transferred to London, and of E.P. Tal (1919), a firm specializing in modern German and foreign literature.

Bela Horovitz (1898–1955), who was devoted to the study of Greek, Roman, and Jewish antiquity, established his Phaidon Verlag in Vienna (1923) with the aim of popularizing works on the ancient world. His publications included Plato, Petrarch, Shakespeare, Klabund, Friedell, and Unamuno. In later years, the Phaidon Verlag republished illustrated editions of the great German historians, such as Mommsen, Grimm, and Ranke. Assisted by Ludwig Goldseheider, Horovitz also issued many low-price art books which appeared in several languages and made Phaidon known in many countries. After 1938 he established the Phaidon Press in London, following the same line as in Vienna. The Nazi onslaught on the Jews led him to establish a new publishing house in London, the East and West Library, entirely devoted to Jewish literature. From 1955 onward, his family continued to run both publishing houses until these were sold to other companies in the late 1960s.

Other firms active between the world wars were Ernst Salter's literary Verlag die Schmiede in Berlin, which introduced Marcel *Proust to the German public; Erich Lichtenstein's Weimar house, devoted especially to new editions of classic writers (e.g., Annette von Droste-Huelshoff); and Victor Fleischer's Frankfurter Verlags-Anstalt, which published books on literary criticism and history.

Salman *Schocken, who headed a chain of department stores, founded the Berlin Schocken Verlag in 1931. This firm's publications dealt largely with Jewish philosophy, theology, Hebraica, and poetry, but also included the works of Franz *Kafka and Alfred *Mombert. Wide popularity was achieved by the "little Schocken books" and the works of Martin *Buber, particularly his German Bible. In 1933, Schocken, a leading German Zionist, emigrated to Jerusalem and his publishing house now operates in New York and in Tel Aviv, where it published, among others, the works of the Nobel Prize winner S.Y. *Agnon. In scientific publishing, firms like Carl Heymann (1815), Julius Springer (1842), S. Karger (1890), and the Akademische Verlagsbuchhandlung (1906) were in Jewish hands.

The Jewish publishers of the great liberal newspapers such as the *Frankfurter Zeitung* and the *Berliner Tageblatt* also entered book publication. Rudolf *Mosse established his firm in 1867 and, apart from his newspaper empire (*Berliner Tageblatt, Berliner Volkszeitung, 8-Uhr Abendblatt*), produced books of a popular character. The entire business was confiscated by the Nazis. Leopold *Ullstein founded the Ullstein Verlag in 1877. Besides a vast number of newspapers and magazines, the firm published popular fiction. Ullstein's Propylaeen Verlag (1919), under the direction of Emil Herz, who later emigrated to the United States, grew into a versatile publishing house of the highest standard, publishing an edition of Goethe's works in 45 volumes. It also issued the serialized *Klassiker des Altertums, Propylaeen-Weltgeschichte, Werke der Weltliteratur*, and *Klassiker des Altertums*, as well as the works of Brecht, Remarque, and *Zuckmayer. After World War II the corporation returned to family ownership, but it was eventually sold to Axle Springer in 1960. The Frankfurter Societaetsdruckerei, publishers of the liberal *Frankfurter Zeitung*, which was founded in 1856 by the democratic Jewish politician Leopold *Sonnemann, also published works by modern German writers.

[Rudolf Kayser]

In Scandinavia

The only major house in Scandinavia was the Albert Bonniers Förlag of Stockholm (established in 1837). Its founder, Albert Bonnier (1820–1900), was the son of a Dresden Jew who settled in Copenhagen. Albert and his brother Adolf moved to Sweden, where they set up a publishing and printing enterprise that became the largest in the country. It was subsequently run by Albert's son, Karl Otto Bonnier (1856–1941), and, with associated firms, remained under family control. In Denmark, the Gad publishing house of Copenhagen specialized in Judaica, while Norway's leading publishers included the German refugee Max Tau, who began his career with Bruno Cassirer in Berlin.

The Swedish-Jewish publishing house Hillel started offering books on the subject of Judaica in 1963. For the first couple of decades, Hillel worked closely with the Chinuch educational organization. In those early days, the publishing house's foremost purpose was to produce Swedish-language educational materials for use in Stockholm's Hillelskolan Jewish school. As of 2001, Hillel is housed on the premises of the Stockholm Jewish Community. With its sights set firmly on a wider reading public, Hillel produces Jewish literature of a religious, historical, and socio-political nature.

The Megilla publishing house started up in 1990 and has published several Swedish-language books since then, all with a specifically Jewish connection – novels, poetry anthologies, and fact books.

Megilla has also published a number of books on the subject of Yiddish as well as books in Yiddish, in the form of textbooks, songbooks, books of proverbs, etc. Megilla is run on a purely voluntary basis.

In Italy

As mentioned above Italian Jews were among the pioneers of general publishing activity in the country, but Jewish participation in the trade declined sharply from the mid-16th century. It was not until the 1840s that Jews again became prominent in the general sphere, with the establishment of the Florence publishing house of Felice Paggi (1823–1895) and his brother Alessandro (1818–1893). This issued many works of popular education and other books by leading authors, including Carlo (Lorenzini) Collodi's children's classic, *Pinocchio* (1880). The firm was joined by Alessandro Paggi's son-in-law, Roberto Bemporad (d. 1891), whose son, Enrico *Bemporad, eventually assumed control, changing its name to R. Bemporad & Figlio. Under his direction it soon became one of the most important publishing houses in Italy. A firm associated with Bemporad was that founded by Simone Lattes in Turin.

Italy's greatest publishing house, however, was that established in Milan by Emilio *Treves and his brother Giuseppe (1838–1904). Fratelli Treves (1864) published newspapers and works by leading Italian and foreign authors. In 1886, Leo S. Olschki (1861–1944), a Prussian immigrant, established himself in Florence, where he later became the leading antiquarian bookseller and publisher of scholarly works in Italy. After his death the business remained under family control. Jews continued this close association with Italian publishing during the 20th century. Among them was Angelo Fortunato *Formiggini, a staunch anti-Fascist, whose firm was first established in Bologna (1908) and who published Italy's first "Who's Who." Luciano Morpurgo (b. 1886) founded his Casa Editrice Dalmatia in 1928, and this publishing house was still operating under the name in the second half of the 20th century.

In France

Jews only began to achieve prominence in the field of general publishing toward the middle of the 19th century. The two pioneering firms were those established by the *Alcan and *Lévy (Calmann-Lévy) families. Moyse Alcan's publishing house was active in Metz from about 1840 and was later headed by his son Félix, who specialized in works on philosophy. The brothers Michel, Alexandre-Nathan, and Calmann Lévy founded their enterprise in Paris in 1842 and, as Michel Lévy Frères, succeeded in building up one of the leading French publishing firms, issuing the works of writers such as Balzac, Dumas, Heine (in translation), and *Renan. From 1875 the business changed its name to Calmann-Lévy. Paul Ollendorf, the Paris-born son of a Polish immigrant, published *Gil Blas*, a political and literary newspaper that flourished between 1880 and World War I. In 1881 Fernand Nathan established a firm (still under family management) specializing in classics, reference works, and educational and children's books. Four other modern firms were Rieder (Crémieux), Bernheim-Jeune, Camille Bloch, and Fernand Hazan (1945).

[Godfrey Edmond Silverman]

In Czechoslovakia

Although, compared with Germany and Austria, Jewish publishing firms in what was Czechoslovakia were few and limited in scope, they included some pioneering enterprises, such as Taussig und Taussig (see Germany and Austria, above). The first Jewish bookseller and antiquarian in Prague was Wolf (Ze'ev) *Pascheles, who founded S. Pascheles & Son in 1836. A branch of this famous house was established in Breslau (1899) by his son-in-law, Jacob B. Brandeis (relative of Louis D. *Brandeis). Both firms specialized in Judaica, but also published biographies and fiction in German (Sacher-Masoch, M.G. Saphir, M. Rosenfeld, etc.) under the imprint of the Juedische Universal-Bibliothek. Also active in Prague was the firm of Josef Flesch, which produced scholarly works between the world wars, while Julius Fuerth managed the Melantrich publishing house and the liberal paper *Lidové noviny* at about the same period, later transferring his interests to London. Outside of Bohemia, the influence of German diminished, and most Jewish publishing enterprises were founded only from the late 19th century onward.

In Yugoslavia

The first translations and editions of world classics issued in Croatia were by the pioneer Jewish publisher and bookseller Lavoslav Hartmann (1813–1881). The Yugoslav book trade was later revolutionized by Geca Kon (1873–1941) of Belgrade, who headed the country's greatest publishing house between the world wars.

In Romania

From about 1880 until 1940 Jews made an outstanding contribution to the development of the Romanian publishing industry. In Jassy, Elias Șaraga established an important firm, in partnership with his brother Samuel, in 1878. Three other Jewish publishing houses in the same town were those of A. Berman, Cuperman, and H. Goldner. The family business of Samitca in Craiova (c. 1895) specialized in low-cost editions and books of Jewish interest. In Bucharest, low-price books were also produced by Leon Alcalay (1900–34). Other firms included Simon Benvenisti, I. Ciornei, H. Steinberg, Carol Segal, and Emmanuel Ocneanu. Literary works were also published by the house of Virgil Montaureanu, which later transferred its activities to Israel.

In Hungary

Jews played an important part in the Hungarian publishing industry from its very inception. A pioneer in the field was Sámuel Révai (Rosenberg; 1833–1908), who began trading as a bookbinder and later as a bookseller in Eperjes (now Prešov, Slovakia). In 1869, he and his brother Leó established the Budapest publishing house of Révai Testvérek, which was later run by Sámuel's sons. In time, this became one of the leading firms in Hungary, its publications including the works of such eminent writers as Mór Jókai and Kálmán Mikszáth and an important reference work, *Révai Nagy Lexikona* ("Révai's Great Encyclopedia"). Earlier still, the Wodianer family, late 18th-century immigrants from Wodian, in Moravia, had achieved prominence when Fülöp Wodianer, a printer turned publisher, became the official publisher of the revolutionary government of Kossuth in 1848. He acquired the R. Lámpel firm in 1874 and was ennobled for his services to the state. Wodianer's business remained under family control after his death, the Lámpel house issuing books on a wide variety of subjects and publishing various newspapers. A firm specializing in the publication of musical works and scores was that founded by Gyula Rózsavölgyi (1822–1860), whose father was the eminent composer Márk Rózsavölgyi. Other leading Jewish publishers were József Wolfner, Lipót Hirsch de Örményes, and Andor Miklós, who took over the Athenaeum publishing house, which issued books by modern Hungarian writers. One of Athenaeum's directors was Viktor Ranschburg (1862–1930), who later moved to the firm of Pantheon. His brother, Gusztáv Ranschburg, was the editor of the Müveltség Könyvtára ("Library of Culture") and of the Athenaeum Könyvtár ("Athenaeum Library"). Izidor Kner (1860–1935) of Gyoma specialized in belles lettres and was awarded the gold medal at the Leipzig Exhibition of 1914 for his publications, mostly works by contemporary writers. His son, Imre Kner (1890–1944), a victim of the Nazi Holocaust, published the historical series *Monumenta Litterarum*, as well as other Hungarian and European classics, and gained first prize at the

Paris Exhibition of 1937. As in Romania, Jewish publishers in Hungary were subjected to increasing restrictions from the late 1930s onward.

[Baruch Yaron]

In Poland

One of the earliest Jewish influences in Polish literary life from the first quarter of the 19th century was the activity of Jewish, or converted Jewish, publishers. Side by side with the Jews who pioneered the printing and publishing of Hebrew and Yiddish works, there were a few who achieved distinction in the general field, notably Nathan Gluecksberg (1780–1831) and sons, Samuel Orgelbrand (1810–1868) and son, and S. Lewental. Orgelbrand is mainly remembered for the first modern Polish encyclopedia, which he issued in 28 volumes (1859–68). In the 20th century, particularly between the world wars, Jews made an increasingly important contribution to the Polish publishing industry with firms such as those headed by H. Altenberg, M. Arct, J. Mortkowicz, J. Przeworski, K. Wild, and W. Zukerkandel. Others, notably the well-known firm of Rój, had important Jewish managing interests, although they did not bear recognizably Jewish names. Even after the Communist takeover following World War II, there were Jews among the founders and directors of state publishing houses, of whom J. Borejsza of Czytelnik was one of the most prominent.

[Moshe Altbauer]

In Russia

During the last decades Jews published on specifically Jewish topics in Russian, as well as Hebrew and Yiddish. After the Bolshevik Revolution, these activities tended to be transferred overseas. In the general sphere of pre-Revolutionary Russian publishing, the outstanding names were the brothers I.N. and A.N. Granat, who issued an important encyclopedia, and Ilya Abramovich *Efron, who began his activity in 1880. Efron's enterprise, which became one of the largest in Russia, mainly produced scholarly works and is best remembered for its massive 86-volume *Novy entsiklopedicheskiy slovar* (1907) and for the 16-volume Russian-Jewish *Yevreyskaya Entsiklopediya* (1907–13), in which the publisher himself took an active interest. (For Russian-language publishing in Israel from the 1990s see "In Israel" below.)

[Godfrey Edmond Silverman]

In Spain and Latin America

Despite the numerical insignificance of Spain's Jewish population in the 20th century, Jewish activity in the book trade was seen in the establishment of the Madrid firm of Aguilar (1923), which also operated in Latin America. It was only after World War I that Jews began to figure in the Latin American publishing industry (mainly in Argentina, Brazil, and Mexico). In Argentina, the Buenos Aires firm of Candelabro, established by Abrahám Mibashán and specializing in Judaica, was taken over by José Mirelman and Máximo G. Yagupsky, who also controlled the firm of Israel. Jews have played a more important role in the general publishing life of Brazil. Here the major names were Aizen, Bloch, Iussim, Koogan, and Weissman, with Adolfo Aizen publishing comic books and strip cartoons (*Brasil, América*), Nathan Waissman heading the Rio de Janeiro publishing house of Guanabara, and Henrique Iussim (who was also a writer) controlling the Biblos firm. Abrahão Koogan published literary, medical, and scientific books and, through the firm of Delta, world classics and encyclopedias. Almost all of the Jewish enterprises were based in Rio de Janeiro, one exception being Perspectiva of São Paulo. The largest Brazilian publishing firm under Jewish control was run by the Bloch family (Adolfo, Arnaldo, and Boris Bloch) and incorporated Fatos & Fotos and Manchete. It was later managed by Oscar Bloch Sigelman, Pedro Jack Kapeller, and H.W. Berliner.

In Great Britain

Three 19th-century pioneers were Samuel Lewis (d. 1865), who published topographical dictionaries and atlases; John Wertheimer (1799–1883); and William Swan Sonnenschein (1855–1931). The latter, son of a refugee Hungarian revolutionary, founded Swan Sonnenschein & Co. (1878), which specialized in reference books, and also traded under his non-Jewish mother's name of Stallybrass, becoming senior managing director of the Routledge publishing firm. The Franklin family subsequently obtained a controlling interest in Routledge's (George Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1934).

Two prominent figures, both with marked Socialist leanings, were Leonard *Woolf and Sir Victor *Gollancz. Woolf co-founded the Hogarth Press (1917), which issued works by modern writers (including his wife, Virginia Woolf); while Gollancz, who established the firm bearing his name in 1928, also co-founded the Left Book Club (1936) and helped to stimulate the production of low-cost quality literature. Gollancz specialized in modern fiction and religious books and threw his prestige behind several unpopular causes. Oliver Simon (1895–1956), the typographer, was a director of the Soncino Press and managed another house, Curwen Press, from the 1930s until his death. He was succeeded by his brother Herbert Simon. Another printer and publisher was Ellis Paul Howe. Among those who established publishing firms between the world wars were John *Rodker (Ovid Press, Imago Press), who issued works by Freud. T.S. Eliot, and Ezra Pound; Frederick Muller (1933); Michael Joseph (1935), a specialist in general fiction and mysteries; and *Frederick J. Warburg of Secker & Warburg, founded in 1936.

Soon after World War II Jewish activity in the British publishing world increased with the establishment of many new publishing houses catering for a wide variety of interests. *André Deutsch (1917–2000), who had immigrated from Hungary as a youth, entered the trade in 1942 and, after operating as Allan Wingate (1945–50), founded his own company in 1951, specializing in history, biography, and paperback editions. Deutsch founded African publishing firms in Nigeria (1962) and Kenya (1964). Sir George *Weidenfeld, Baron Weidenfeld, an Austrian refugee, founded *Contact* (1945), a journal of contemporary affairs and arts, and three years later established the firm of Weidenfeld and Nicolson in association with Nigel Nicolson. Weidenfeld, a keen Zionist, published many books by Israel writers and founded a subsidiary company in Jerusalem (1969). His firm specialized in books on literature, art, and archaeology (many in illustrated editions). Another postwar publisher of importance was Anthony Blond (1930–), who established his publishing house in 1958, specializing in new writers, paperbacks, and works for young people. Blond is the author of an autobiography, *Jew Made in England* (2004). Other names in postwar British publishing were Sidney Bernstein, Baron Bernstein (1899–1993), the television pioneer, whose enterprises included the Granada Publishing company; Robert *Maxwell, who headed Pergamon Press (1948) and built a publishing empire; and Paul Hamlyn, Baron Hamlyn (1926–2001), who controlled Ginn & Co., Newnes, Odhams, and Spring Books, Temple Press, the Paul Hamlyn "coffee table books," and (in association with EMI) Music For Pleasure Records. Other British publishing firms under Jewish management or with important Jewish interests include H. Pordes (1947), Thomas Yoseloff, W.H. Allen, Frank Cass, Peter Owen, Paul Elek, and a large group containing Cresset Press, Berrie and Rockliff, and Hammond, Hammond.

[Godfrey Edmond Silverman]

In the United States

Before the 20th century, Jews played an insignificant part in the general book publishing industry of the United States. In 1897 the bookselling firm founded by August *Brentano in 1858 started a publishing division. Brentano was the original U.S. publisher for the plays of George Bernard Shaw, but the firm discontinued publishing in 1933. Another pioneer, Ben[jamin] W. Huebsch (1873–1964), son of Adolph *Huebsch, began publishing under his own imprint from 1900 and introduced the writings of Hauptmann, Strindberg, Chekhov, and Gorki to the American public. He also published works by James Joyce and Sherwood Anderson. In 1925 his firm merged with the Viking Press. Alfred A. *Knopf began publishing in 1915 and quickly established a reputation for excellence in design and materials. His list featured many prominent authors, both foreign and American. The firm merged with Random House in 1960. Boni and Liveright was established by Albert Boni (1892–1981) and Horace Briabin Liveright (1896–1933). Their most successful project was the Modern Library, a reprint series now issued by Random House. Boni soon left the firm, but the original name was retained until 1928. In 1923 Boni became a partner in Albert and Charles Boni, a pioneer of paperback books. Albert Boni, who founded the Washington Square Players (now the Theatre Guild), invented Microprint and the Readex reading projector and from 1940 was president of the firm that produced these devices. Horace Liveright was a lavish promoter of authors such as Theodore Dreiser and Eugene O'Neill, but later worked mainly as a stage producer.

Men who had worked for Boni and Liveright established several important publishing firms. Thomas Seltzer formed his own firm in 1920 and Richard L. Simon organized Simon and Schuster with M. Lincoln *Schuster in 1924. In 1925 Liveright sold the Modern Library to Bennett A. *Cerf and Donald S. Klopfer (d. 1986). Two years later they and Elmer *Adler formed Random House. In 1965 when Cerf became chairman of the board, the presidency was assumed by Robert L. Bernstein. The poet and literary critic Joel Elias *Spingarn was a founder of Harcourt, Brace & Co. and the firm's literary adviser from 1919 to 1932.

Other book publishing firms established by Jews in the 1920s and 1930s included that of Greenberg Publisher (1924) by Jacob Walter Greenberg (1894–1976); Viking Press (1925); and the short-lived Covici-Friede, which specialized in limited editions. When this last firm was dissolved, Donald Friede joined the World Publishing Company as a senior editor, and Pascal Covici became an editor for Viking Press. William Bernard Ziff (1898–1953), a founder of the Ziff-Davis Publishing Company (1933), was also president of the Zionist Revisionist Organization of America. From Greenberg, Nat Wartels and Robert Simon bought the Outlet Book Company, which disposed of publisher's overstocks, and they began publishing under the imprint of Crown Publishers. Max Salom of the Harlem Book Company, who pioneered the sale of publishers' overstocks through drugstores, acquired the Dial Press in 1934. George W. Joel was editor-in-chief of Dial Press (1939–51) and president and publisher from 1951 until his death in 1959. Stanley Burnshaw (1906–2005) was founder, president, and editor-in–chief of Dryden Press (1936).

Several other publishing houses were established by Jews or had Jews in leading managerial positions. Roger W. Straus, Jr. was founder and president of Farrar, Straus, and Giroux (1945); Abelard-Schuman was headed by Lew Schwartz; Arthur J. Rosenthal was president editor-in-chief of Basic Books, Inc. (1952); Oscar Dystal was president of Bantam Books, a subsidiary of Grosset and Dunlap whose president from 1944 was Manuel Siwak; Joseph Gaer (1897–1969) served as editor-in-chief of the Federal Writers Project. With Charles Boni, Gaer formed Boni and Gaer (1946), which soon changed its name to Gaer Associates. Jeremiah Kaplan, an executive of the Free Press of Glencoe from 1947, became president of the Macmillan Company in 1965. Harry N. Abrams, Inc., specialized in art books. Robert Salomon headed Citadel Press; Paul Steiner, Chanticleer Press; Arthur B. Frommer headed Arthur Frommer, Inc.; Harold H. Hart, Hart Publishing Co.; A.L. Furman, Lantern Press; Philip F. Cohen, Oceana Publications; Jacob Steinberg, Twayne Publishers; Milton Gladstone, Arco Publishing Co.; Richard L. Grossman, Grossman Publishers; and Sol Stein, Stein and Day.

The decades in which American Jews became active in book publishing saw tremendous changes in the book world in the United States. Alfred A. Knopf and Simon and Schuster did much to invigorate book promotion and advertising. Huebsch, Knopf, Seltzer, and their successors introduced many new European authors, but at the same time sought fresh American and British talents. The new publishers had high production standards, Knopf and Viking in particular insisting on attractive, well-made books.

BOOK CLUBS, REPRINTS, AND CHILDREN'S LITERATURE. Three publishing developments during the first half of the 20th century greatly expanded the market for books and in these Jews were prominent. The basic idea of membership in a club for the publication and distribution of books was not new. The *Jewish Publication Society of America (1888) was the successor to at least two earlier membership schemes, and several other groups had been established to publish special editions for members. Harold K. *Guinzburg, founder of the Viking Press (1925), was impressed by the popularity of recently-formed book clubs in Germany. He developed a plan for an American book club, The Literary Guild, which began active operations in 1927; it was sold to Doubleday in 1934. Harry Scherman (1887–1969) who was born in Montreal, Canada, had successfully promoted the Little Leather Library (1916), a mail-order firm, and felt that people living far from bookshops would subscribe to books as to magazines. With Robert K. Haas (1890–1964) and Maxwell B. Sackheim, he organized the Book-of-the-Month Club (1926), which by 1970 had distributed 250 million books. In 1929 George Macy started the Limited Editions Club, limited to 1500 members; and he also founded several others (Heritage Club, Junior Heritage Club, Readers Club). Thomas Yoseloff (1913–) has operated many book clubs, including the Jewish Book Guild, Military Science Book Club, Natural History Book Club, Book Collectors' Society, Art Book Guild, and the Science Book Club. He also established or bought several publishing houses (Beechurst Press, A.S. Barnes and Co., Sagamore Press, Thomas Yoseloff, Inc.) and was the U.S. publisher of the Ben-Yehuda Hebrew dictionary.

Another important development was in the area of low-price reprints, many publishers issuing inexpensive editions of popular works with several firms specializing in this field. The Modern Library was a notable addition to the hard-cover reprint world, and the World Publishing Co. of Cleveland, founded by Alfred Cahen as the Commercial Book Bindery (1905), became prominent, particularly after Benjamin David Zevin (1901–1984) joined the firm. However, the revolution in the industry really began with paperback books. As editor and publisher of Little Blue Books, Emanuel Halderman-Julius (1889–1951) had issued and distributed millions of small paperbound books through the mail for as little as five cents a copy. Occasionally, too, Simon and Schuster had issued a book in paper binding, while the paperbacks published by Albert and Charles Boni and by the *New Republic*, though praised for their content and format, made little impact on sales. In 1939, Pocket Books Inc. was organized by Robert F. de Graff, an expert in the cloth reprint field, with H. Lincoln Schuster, Leon Shimkin, and Richard L. Simon (1899–1962). The first printing of each of the ten titles in the initial list was about 10,000 copies. Twenty years later, 1,000,000 paperbacks a day were sold in the United States. By 1957 only Leon Shimkin remained active in Pocket Books. Others who entered the field were Joseph Meyers, who founded Avon Publications in 1940, and Ned L. Pines, who published under the Popular Library imprint. Doubleday opened a new era in paperback publishing in 1953 with its Anchor Books. The first editor of this serious fiction and non-fiction series was Jason Epstein, later an editor with Random House. Other higher-priced, serious paperback series were the Viking Press's Compass Books and those issued by Schocken Books.

During the 20th century, children's books became one of the most important divisions of American publishing. Knopf, Viking, and Random House were all leaders in the field, but the establishment by Simon and Schuster of Little Golden Books in 1942 brought low-cost books to young people for the first time. More than 400,000,000 Golden Books were sold in the first 13 years. Golden Press Inc., headed by Albert R. Leventhal, formerly a Simon and Schuster executive, became a division of Western Printing Co.

[Israel Soifer]

AFTER THE 1970S. The huge changes that continue to engulf the general book publishing field in the United States, and indeed throughout the world, also had a sharp impact on the specialized area of Jewish publishing. In 1950 it was thought that there were some 600,000 Jewish youngsters attending some kind of Jewish school in the U.S. and Canada, offering a market for textbooks and supplementary reading books that attracted substantial numbers of Jewish publishers. In 1970, it was estimated that the number of such students was closer to 300,000, of whom one-third were enrolled in largely Orthodox yeshivot. The results were almost predictable: the innovative Orthodox house, Artscroll, serviced the Orthodox market; Behrman House continued to be the leader of modern texts for the Conservative area; and the publishing arm of the Reform movement, the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, provided books for the Reform congregations' school needs.

The one area in Jewish school enrollment that saw a steady rise remained the pre-school nurseries, where children aged three and four are introduced to Judaic concepts through a wide variety of educational material, including video cassettes. It was this slice of the Jewish market that seemed to attract both general and Jewish publishers, as the number of full-color illustrated books for very young children continued to mount.

Although an estimated 700 new Jewish books appear every year in the United States, many of these are highly specialized titles meant for limited academic or professional library use. While the number of general Jewish books remains relatively high, and the number of Jewish-theme novels, biographies, general non-fiction, books on Israel, the Holocaust, etc. remains impressive, many publishers are not at all certain how much longer this phenomenon will last, especially as the total number of Jews in the United States is declining for various reasons.

This is not to say that publishers – both general houses and Jewish houses – have given up on Judaica publishing. Jews still buy books in disproportionately large numbers, and every publisher is trying to turn out titles that will capture the community's imagination and become perennial bestsellers. Jewish Book Month, which is sponsored by the Jewish Book Council, an affiliate of the National Jewish Welfare Board, takes place annually in November, with many hundreds of book fairs being held throughout the country.

In New York, a major fair attracted some 15,000 visitors. Some of the authors featured had written general books but since they were themselves well-known Jews, they helped bring in people. A number of authors spoke about such esoteric topics as "The Jewish Detective," "The Jewish Voter" (the fair was held just before the national elections in the U.S.), "How to Care for Your Parents," and "The Jewish Holiday Kitchen." The new books featured at 1988 fairs ranged from a new coffee table volume on Israel published on the state's 40th anniversary, with text by A.B. Yehoshua, to a new volume by Israel's Lova Eliav, titled *New Heart, New Spirit: Biblical Humanism for Modern Israel*, plus a series of new first-person memoirs of the Holocaust, a new series of brief biographies of Rashi, Buber, Bialik and Heine, the autobiography of a former Soviet dissident, fiction by Leon Uris, Amos Keinan, and David Grossman, and scholarly works with such titles as *Jewish Values in Psychotherapy: Essays on Vital Issues of Man's Search for Meaning* by Rabbi Levi Meier.

Although the trend in the last quarter of the 20th century was toward smaller numbers of vast publishing empires (Doubleday, once a major general publisher of large numbers of Jewish titles, is now part of the German-owned Bertelsman-Bantam-Doubleday group, while Random House has absorbed Crown, and Macmillan was taken over by Britain's vast Maxwell empire), the number of tiny one or two-man publishing houses has exploded, and now numbers in the thousands. Modern computer technology and desktop publishing have attracted literally thousands of people to set up shop in their homes, basements, and garages, where they issue local, regional or national titles at the rate of two or three a year. This radical new concept has also caught on in the Jewish community.

In addition to the well-known Jewish houses like the Jewish Publication Society, Behrman, Hebrew Publishing, Bloch Publishing, Feldheim, Ktav, Artscroll, and the publishing arms of various religious/educational/rabbinical organizations, one can now find a growing number of small, new Jewish houses: Micah Publications, Alpha Publishing, Bet Shamai Publications, Biblio Press, Bezalel Art, Jewish Historical Society of Oregon, Kar-Ben Copies, Hunter Publishing, Markus Weiner Publishing, Quartet Books, Madison Books, Edwin Mellen Press, Wandering You Press, Mensch Makers Press, Judaica Press, Peartree, Jason Aronson.

The number of Jewish titles appearing on the regular lists of large and small university presses, as well as in the offerings of Christian religious houses, remains high. Abingdon Press, a noted Christian house, issued *A Grammar for Biblical Hebrew* by C.L. Seow in 1988, while Wayne State University Press published a study by Amnon Linder titled *Jews in Roman Imperial Legislation*.

The Jewish Publication Society of America celebrated its 100th anniversary in 1988, noting that it had issued more than 700 titles in that period aggregating more than nine million volumes that it had distributed to its members and the public at large.

A glance at the catalogs of general houses and Jewish houses will quickly demonstrate that certain broad subjects remain on top of the community's reading agenda: Israel, the Holocaust, antisemitism, assimilation, Jewish ethics, culture, and philosophy. From the last quarter of the 20th century, a number of publishers began to issue titles dealing with a subject that is often peripheral in Jewish life – Kabbalah, or Jewish mysticism. Whether this was a reflection of the times or a deep spiritual hunger is hard to say.

A major problem in Jewish publishing in America – distribution – was not fully resolved in the traditional manner. Books of Jewish interest reviewed in daily or Jewish media, recommended by friends or referred to by a rabbi during a Sabbath sermon, were often very hard to come by in general book stores. Although there were some 250 strictly Jewish book shops in all parts of the U.S., and many hundreds of (primarily Conservative and Reform) congregations sold limited numbers of Judaica titles from their volunteer-manned "gift shops," no one was been able to work out an effective method of getting Jewish books into the hands of book buyers on a nationwide scale.

With the coming of the Internet in the 1990s Jewish books became available online at innumerable sites, obviating the longstanding problem of distribution among publishers of Jewish books.

[David C. Gross]

PUBLISHING OF HEBRAICA AND JUDAICA

Central and Western Europe

The first publishers – in the modern sense – of Judaica were in Germany, which for a long time remained the center of Jewish (mainly non-Hebrew) publishing. The pioneer was W. *Heidenheim, who was succeeded by M. Lehrberger, in Roedelheim, the producer of famous editions of the Jewish liturgy. In the first half of the 19th century Jewish bookshops were opened in the larger towns and many of their owners later became publishers. M.W. Kaufmann established himself in Leipzig in 1828, later specializing in publishing synagogue music. J. *Kaufmann established himself in Frankfurt on the Main in 1832 and his firm was the leading Jewish publisher (and bookseller) in Germany for three generations, taking over Lehrberger in 1899. In Prague W. Pascheles was active from 1836. Several firms were established in Berlin in the course of the 19th century, some of which, like *Asher and Co., later gave up Jewish publishing; others did not stay the course (A. Cohn, J. Sittenfeld, Springer and Co., Veit and Co., and others). M. Poppelauer (est. 1860) and C. Boas (est. 1863) remained of importance for some decades. The firm of B.L. Monasch was active in Krotoschin from 1835 to 1910 and that of Zirndorfer published works in Fuerth.

In the 20th century the most important publishing house became the *Juedischer Verlag, which not only produced Zionist literature but also a great variety of Hebrew and Yiddish works in the original and in translation. After World War I the concentration of Jewish writers and scholars from Eastern Europe in Germany, in Berlin in particular, produced a Jewish intellectual revival, and many publishing houses sprang up, producing both Hebraica and Judaica. Louis Lamm was already established in 1903; the Weltverlag followed it in 1919. The *Philo Verlag (1919–38), the publishing arm of the *Centralverein deutscher Staatsbuerger juedischen Glaubens, fought against the rising antisemitism, but its activities covered a wide range of Jewish literature, including the publication of periodicals like *Der Morgen and Zeitschrift fuer die Geschichte der Juden in Deutschland*. The Akademie Verlag was a branch of the Akademie fuer die Wissenschaft des Judentums. The Eschkol Verlag published the *Encyclopaedia Judaica* in German (10 vols., to 1934 unfinished) and in Hebrew (2 vols., 1929–32, also unfinished) and other important works such as J. Klatzkin's *Thesaurus Philosophicus Linguae Hebraicae* (4 vols., 1928–33). Other firms included Reuben Mass in Berlin, who later continued publishing in Jerusalem; Schocken Verlag, also in Berlin (see above); Saenger und *Friedberg (the bibliographer) in Frankfurt; the Hermon Verlag, which was connected with the Orthodox weekly **Israelit*; the Juedischer Verlag (1901); and the *Soncino Gesellschaft (1924). After 1938 Schocken Verlag published in Israel and the U.S. Some Hebrew publishers, like *Devir, *Moriah, and *Stybel, transferred to Germany, later moving to Ereẓ Israel or the U.S. Similarly, the Omanut Hebrew publishing house, established in Moscow in 1917 by H. *Zlatopolski and his daughter Shoshannah *Persitz, moved to Odessa in 1918, Homburg (near Frankfurt) in 1920, and Tel Aviv in 1928. Other firms include Chorev, which published small-size reproductions of the great rabbinic texts, Yavneh, Ayyanot, and Yuval, the latter specializing in Jewish music. Klal and Vostock published Yiddish literature. The economic conditions in post-World War I Germany led to the closing of several smaller firms.

In Vienna Benjamin Harz republished, among other works, L. Goldschmidt's Talmud edition and German translation. The firm of R. Loewitt, active there from 1833, later issued mainly Jewish belletristic works. Joseph Schlesinger founded his firm in 1858 – with a branch in Budapest at a later date – and became a leading publisher of prayer books and other items, supplying several European countries as well as North Africa.

In Leghorn, Italy, the house of *Belforte was active from 1838 to 1939 as publishers of liturgical literature for the Italian, North African, and Levantine market. In France (Paris), E. Durlacher and M. Lipschuetz published Hebraica and Judaica; the former was still active in 1970.

NON-JEWISH PUBLISHERS OF JUDAICA. In pre-Hitler Germany a number of non-Jewish publishers were responsible for some works of Hebraica and Judaica: the Insel Verlag (Brody-Wiener's *Anthologia Hebraica*, 1924), Langenscheidt (Eliezar Ben-Yehuda's *Thesaurus*), O. Harrassowitz in Leipzig, Toepelmann, Giessen, and others. In Holland the house of Brill in Leiden has been active for nearly 100 years. In France some general publishing houses published books dealing with Jews and Judaism, e.g., F. Rieder, Fernand Nathan, Albin Michel, Payot, Au-bier Montaine, Flammarion, and Presses Universitaires de France.

In Great Britain

The pioneers of Jewish publishing in Great Britain were members of the London Sephardi community who issued works on philosophy, literature, and Jewish liturgy in Spanish and Portuguese from the early 18th century onward. Daniel Israel Lopez *Laguna's *Espejo Fiel de Vidas* ("Faithful Mirror of Life"), a Spanish metrical version of Psalms planned in the cells of the Inquisition and completed in Jamaica, was published in London in 1720. Long after Marrano immigration had virtually come to an end, Spanish and Portuguese remained the official languages of the Sephardim, with the result that Isaac *Pinto's English translation of the prayer book had to appear in New York (1761–66) because of the disapproval of the London *mahamad*. One of the first Anglo-Jewish publishers whose name has survived was Alexander b. Judah Loeb Alexander (d. 1807), who issued a *Haggadah* (1770) and a Sephardi prayer book with English translation (1788), as well as other works of a liturgical nature. This activity was maintained by his son, Levy Alexander (1754–1853), who also proved to be an indifferent translator with his pioneering, but defective, Hebrew-English Bible (1824). Levy, however, did not confine himself to religious publications, producing an account of Anglo-Jewish social scandals in 1808.

By about the middle of the 19th century Jews were becoming more prominent in the general field of publishing, founding several important family business concerns. Isaac Vallentine (1793–1868), the Belgian-born son of a rabbi, was a leading communal figure as well as a printer, publisher, and bookseller of note. In 1841 he founded the predecessor of the weekly *Jewish Chronicle* and also established *The Hebrew Almanack and Calendar* (1848), a forerunner of the *Jewish Year Book*. The firm of Vallentine & Co. later underwent a merger, becoming the bookselling and publishing firm of Shapiro, Vallentine, which remained in business until 1971.

[Godfrey Edmond Silverman]

Other Jewish publishers of Hebraica and Judaica, who became active from the late 19th century included the booksellers M. Cailingold, R. Mazin (later Jack Mazin), and Edward Goldston. In the 1920s Jacob Davidson founded the Soncino Press, which was responsible for the publication of classic Jewish texts in English. They issued (35- and 11-volume editions) the Talmud edited by I. *Epstein, Midrash Rabbah (10 vols.), Zohar (5 vols.), the Bible (text, translation, and commentary, 13 vols.), a one-volume edition of J.H. Hertz's Pentateuch and Haftarot, the minor tractates of the Talmud (2 vols.), a collection of S.R. Hirsch's essays (2 vols., edited by I. *Grunfeld), and Hirsch's *Horeb* (2 vols.; also edited by I. Grunfeld). From the 1930s onward the East and West Library (see above) brought out a series of Jewish classics. In the 1940s and 1950s a number of books in Hebrew and Yiddish, as well as the journal *Metsudah*, were produced by the Ararat Publishing Company. Since World War II the firm of Valentine Mitchell (associated with the *Jewish Chronicle*) has published a large variety of books of Jewish interest. Literature pertaining to Anglo-Jewish history was published by the *Jewish Historical Society of England.

General publishing firms as well, some of them owned by Jews, have published Hebraica and Judaica. George Routledge and Sons published the Davis-Adler *Maḥzor* (6 vols., 1904), which has gone through many editions and reprints, and other books of Jewish interest. Eyre and Spottiswoode have issued the popular Singer's *Prayer Book* since 1890; it has sold over half a million copies.

In Eastern Europe

In Eastern Europe publishing gradually emerged as distinct from Hebrew printing. Great printing houses signed contracts with authors, e.g., Romm in Vilna with I.M. *Dick and K. *Schulman. Important booksellers also began to publish works, e.g., A. Zuckermann and A.J. Shapiro in Warsaw; I. Ginzburg in Bobrisk; and Rawnitzki in Odessa. Newspaper owners, learned societies, and patrons published works, hitherto in manuscript or unsatisfactory editions. The first noncommercial publishing house was Aḥiasaf, founded in Warsaw in 1892–93 on the initiative of the *Bnei Moshe and under the direction of E.E. Kaplan and the guidance of *Aḥad Ha-Am. Aḥi'asaf, which was active until 1923, published works of modern Jewish scholarship and youth literature as well as the annual *Lu'aḥ Aḥi'asaf* and the periodicals *Ha-Shilo'ah* and *Ha-Dor*. One of the founders of Aḥi'asaf, A. Ben-Avigdor, set up the Tushiyyah company in 1895, which extended its activities to Hebrew belles lettres, both original and translated, works in the natural and social sciences, and modern school books.

In 1899, in Warsaw, J. Lidzki founded the "Progres" publishing firm for Yiddish literature. B. Schimin, also in Warsaw, brought out books both in Hebrew and Yiddish as did S. Scherberk in Vilna (established 1901–02), who published the popular Bible commentary *Mikra Meforash*. In order to further original Hebrew literature P. Lachower set up the Sifrut company in Warsaw in 1908. In 1910 in Vilna B. Klatzkin began to publish scientific books, as well as original and translated literature in Yiddish. A year later Tushiyyah, Progres, Schimin, and Scherberk merged under the name of Merkaz ("Zentral"). In 1901 Ḥ.N. Bialik, S. Ben-Zion, and Yehoshua Ḥana Rawnitzki founded the *Moriah publishing house in Odessa for classical Hebrew literature and textbooks for schools, while Turgeman concentrated on translations from other languages.

World War I brought with it a severe crisis in the Jewish book market in Russia, which was aggravated by an edict in 1915 prohibiting all printing in Hebrew types. After the March 1917 revolution two Hebrew publishing houses were set up in Moscow: *Stybel, under the direction of D. *Frischmann, for classical world literature in Hebrew, and Omanut (see above). Moriah also renewed its activities. After the October Revolution and the subsequent anti-Jewish measures of the Soviet government, all these ceased. Stybel moved to Warsaw and later to Berlin, New York, and finally Tel Aviv. In the early years of the Soviet regime some private Yiddish publishing continued, e.g., by the Kultur-Lige (founded in 1917 in Kiev), but these businesses were soon absorbed by the state corporation Der Emes in Moscow; the Ukrainian state publishers and the Belorussian state publishers year after year issued many hundreds of Yiddish books, most of them propagating communist ideology. With the outbreak of World War II this output was severely reduced, ceasing altogether with the liquidation of Jewish writers in the years 1942–48. From 1958 onward only very few books in Yiddish were published in Soviet Russia.

In Poland the centers of Jewish publishing between the two world wars were Warsaw and Vilna. In Warsaw "Zentral" continued its activities; S.L. *Gordon published his Bible commentary, and Stybel *Ha-Tekufah*, and hundreds of books. A Kultur-Lige, founded in 1921, issued the best of Yiddish literature, school books, and Dubnow's "World History of the Jewish People." B. Klatzkin moved from Vilna to Warsaw and expanded its activities. Other publishers include A. Gitlin, H. Bzoza, S. Goldfarb, Katzanellenbogen, and Armkraut and Freund (Przemysl). The brothers Lewin-Epstein, who had published religious literature from 1880, began to issue belles lettres in Hebrew as well as in Yiddish. In Vilna "Tomor" produced I. Zinberg's history of Jewish literature. The various political parties also published books, as did newspapers (*Literarishe Bleter*) and scholarly societies such as *YIVO. With the invasion of Poland by Nazi Germany this activity came to an end. After the war a state corporation under the control of Jewish communists, Dos Yidishe Bukh, produced some important studies on the Holocaust.

[Yehuda Slutsky]

In the United States

Until the early 19th century, Jews in the United States imported books of specifically Jewish interest (chiefly Bibles, prayer books, and instructional material for the young) from Europe. However, a Hebrew Bible, a reprint of Joseph *Athias' unpointed text, was printed in Philadelphia in 1814. In 1845 Isaac *Leeser established the American Jewish Publication Society for the dissemination of Jewish literature. Fourteen books were published under the general title "Jewish Miscellany," but the society collapsed in 1851 when a fire destroyed the building in which the books and plates were stored. The firm now known as the Bloch Publishing Co. was founded in Cincinnati in 1854 by Isaac M. *Wise and Edward Bloch (1816–1881) to print and publish books on Jewish subjects. The *Bloch family has retained control of the firm, which has been in New York since 1901. Edward H. Bloch (1899–), grandson of the founder, was president from 1940, and Solomon Kerstein (1901–1969), a founder of the Jewish Book Council, was vice president from 1947 onward. By 1970 over 1,000 titles had appeared on the firm's catalogs. The Hebrew Publishing Company came into being in New York in 1883, when Joseph L. Werbelowsky and some associates began to publish prayer books and school texts. In 1901 the firm was known as Rosenbaum and Werbelowsky, Inc. Menahem Menschel, an agent for the Stybel (Hebrew) Publishing House and a partner in the Jewish bookselling firm of Reznick, Menschel and Co., was manager from 1938. The firm published new Hebrew-English editions of the *siddur* and the *maḥzor* by Philip *Birnbaum. The third of these pioneering Jewish publishing houses, the Jewish Publication Society, was established in Philadelphia in 1888, and its many titles include authoritative translations of the Bible (1917; 1963–). Unlike the others, this is a membership organization with many features of the modern book clubs. The *Jewish Encyclopedia* (1901–06) was issued by the non-Jewish publishing house of Funk and Wagnall (see *Encyclopedias: Jewish).

National Jewish organizations in the United States have sponsored various publication programs. The *Union of American Hebrew Congregations (Reform) developed an extensive program under its own imprint. Emanuel *Gamoran, educational director of the UAHC and its Commission on Jewish Education (1923–1958), developed text and reference books catering for all age groups. The Conservative movement (*United Synagogue of America) also established its own publishing divisions. Burning Bush Press and the United Synagogue Book Service serve the needs of the affiliated synagogues and schools. The *Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations of America has also published text materials, while many works for both adults and children have appeared under the imprint of the Ḥabad ḥasidic Merkos l'Inyonei Chinuch of New York. The viewpoint of *Reconstructionism is presented in the bound books and paperbacks of the Reconstructionist Press. The Herzl Press has issued Zionist classics, handbooks, and yearbooks. In 1967 the *B'nai B'rith Commission on Adult Education contracted with the W.W. Norton Co. for a 50-book series of "Jewish Heritage Classics."

The Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith usually employs a general publisher for its major works, pamphlets and shorter publications normally appearing under the organization's own imprint. The B'nai B'rith Hillel Foundation has also published books and pamphlets, while *Commentary*, the monthly sponsored by the American Jewish Committee, operates its own book club. Other publishers active in the field include Pardes, the Jewish Agency, various Zionist bodies (ZOA, Farband, Mizrachi) and university presses (Dropsie College, HUC, JTS, Yeshiva University, Brandeis) and the National Jewish Welfare Board. The *Histadrut Ivrit publishes Hebrew literature and *YIVO, the Yiddish Scientific Institute, has issued several important Yiddish works. Several regional educational bodies have also entered publishing. The JEC Press of the Jewish Education Committee of New York has issued a library of Hebrew story books for American children, while the bureaus of Jewish education of Chicago and Cleveland also have their own publishing divisions.

Establishing these institutional publishing firms or the sponsoring of individual books under the imprint of a general publisher has tended to discourage privately owned publishing houses from specializing in the Jewish field. Indeed, practically all the privately owned Jewish publishing firms also run bookshops where Jewish books under various imprints are sold. They include Behrman House (1920), founded by Louis Behrman and later directed by his son, Jacob; the Ktav Publishing House, which issued text and story materials from 1924 (with Asher Scharfstein as president), and which has latterly published and reprinted serious scholarly works; the Furrow Press (1933), which issued festival plays and literature for Jewish schools; and the U.S. branch of Schocken Books (1945), known particularly for its serious paperback program. Other privately owned firms specializing in Judaica are Shengold Publishers (Moshe Sheinbaum); the Jonathan David Publishing Co. (Alfred J. Kolatch); Philipp Feldheim, which published English translations of the works of Samson Raphael *Hirsch; and Hermon press. The established firm of Shulsinger Brothers also prints Jewish publications. Morris *Silverman, a Conservative rabbi in Hartford, edited and published a series of Conservative prayer books with English translations under the Prayer Book Press imprint. Most publishers active in the Jewish field belong to the Association of Jewish Book Publishers. The chief publication of Yiddish works include *YIVO, *Congress for Jewish Culture, and Der Kval, a private firm.

Several general publishers have displayed continuous interest in Jewish books and their authors. Rinehart (now Holt, Rinehart, and Winston) issued a series of Jewish anthologies edited by Leo W. Schwarz, and Abelard-Shuman operates a separate division, Ram's Head Books, for Jewish books. Maurice *Samuel's books have been published by Knopf, and those of Isaac *Bashevis Singer and Bernard *Malamud by Farrar, Straus, and Giroux. Meridian Books (established by Arthur A. Cohen) first distributed the paperbacks of the Jewish Publication Society, a function later performed by Harper and Row. Another area of cooperation is the joint issue of a title by a Jewish and a general publisher. Many JPSA titles appear under the joint imprint of the Society and a general publisher. Thus Columbia University Press collaborated in Salo W. *Baron's multivolume *Social and Religious History of the Jews*, while Herzl Press and Doubleday have also cooperated on several publications.

In 1925, Fanny *Goldstein, a librarian, organized a Jewish Book Week in Boston. The movement grew gradually, and the Jewish Book Council, sponsored by the *National Jewish Welfare Board, was established in 1942. Jewish Book Week was later expanded to Jewish Book Month. The *Jewish Book Annual* has been issued since 1942 and a series of annual prizes for authors in the Jewish field was established.

[Solomon Kerstein]

IN ISRAEL

Printing and publishing developed slowly in Ereẓ Israel. Eliezer ben Yitzhak *Ashkenazi, a printer of Hebrew books from Prague, together with his brother Abraham, established the first printing plant in the Upper Galilee city of Safed in 1577. Their first publication was *Lekaḥ Tov* ("A Worthy Inspiration"), a commentary on the biblical Book of Esther by R. Yom Tov Ẓahalon. The Ashkenazi press remained in Safed for some 10 years during which time only five books were printed, and in 1605, the type was sold to a printer in Damascus. It took another two and a half centuries before a printing house was again established, that of Israel *Bak, in 1831, also in Safed. The publishing and printing business was subsequently transferred to Jerusalem where it continued to function until 1878. With the growing Jewish immigration to Palestine in the latter half of the 19th century, Jerusalem began to develop into a center for the printing of religious and liturgical works in Hebrew. By the turn of the century, more than a dozen Jerusalem printers – most of whom also acted as booksellers – were producing Hebrew books and periodicals, most of them in the field of Judaica, rabbinic studies, and prayer books.

Professional publishing in the modern sense really began only during the period of the British Mandate in the 1920s and 1930s, with the move to Palestine of some of the major Jewish imprints of Europe. Moriah, which had been established in Odessa early in the century by Ḥayyim Naḥman *Bialik and Yehoshua *Rawnitzky merged in 1923 with *Dvir, which had been founded in Berlin by Bialik, Rawnitzky, and Shmaryahu *Levin a year earlier. The workers' periodical *Ha-Poel ha-Ẓa'ir* introduced the writings of contemporary luminaries of Hebrew literature such as Asher *Barash, A.D.*Gordon, and Moshe *Smilansky among others and issued a series of books under the title "The People's University Library." Shlomo Sreberk, a publisher in Vilna and Warsaw, moved to Palestine in 1933 reestablishing his imprint and founding a new one named Izreel. Omanut, specializing in the arts and books for children, was founded in Moscow in 1916 by Shoshanah *Persitz (who subsequently became a member of the Israel Knesset) and was transferred to Tel Aviv in 1925. Rubin Mass, founded in Berlin in 1927, moved to Palestine in 1933. The Schocken publishing house, founded in Berlin in 1927, moved to Palestine in 1938, where it also established Israel's leading daily newspaper, *Haaretz*. Most of the publishing houses mentioned above still exist in one form or another (for details see below).

At the same time that many of the old-established European houses were being reborn in Palestine, new indigenous publishing houses were also being set up. Three veterans of the *Jewish Brigade of the British Army in World War I, Joshua Chachik, Mordechai Newman, and Joseph Sreberk, inaugurated Mitzpeh in 1925; in 1944 the partnership dissolved and each of them set up their own imprint. In 1930, one of the pioneers of early Tel Aviv, Naḥum Twersky, established his own publishing house as did Z. Zack in Jerusalem in the same year. Schachna Achiasaf founded his eponymous publishing house in Jerusalem in 1933. Joshua Orenstein's Yavneh Publishing House has been active in Tel Aviv since 1932. One of the most important publishers in pre-state Palestine and during the first four decades of the state was Massadah, founded in 1931 by Bracha Peli, who had left Russia with her family and immigrated to Palestine 10 years before. The company, which began as a lending library in 1922, then becoming a chain of bookstores, eventually developed into one of the dominant publishing houses in the Israeli book trade and it also owned one of the biggest printing plants in the Middle East. The company was split up and its assets disposed of following the death of Bracha Peli in 1986. Under the direction of Alexander Peli, the son of Bracha, Massadah was publisher of the 38-volume *Encyclopedia Hebraica*, unquestionably the single most important and complex publishing project in the history of the state.

Israel has had a tradition of publishing by institutions with a strong ideological motivation. From 1939, the two major kibbutz movements Ha-Kibbutz ha-Arẓi and Ha-Kibbutz ha-Me'uḥad operated their own publishing houses (respectively Sifriat Poalim and Ha-Kibbutz ha-Me'uḥad) combining general publishing with books having a clear ideological affinity with their respective kibbutz movements. Another institutional publisher is Am Oved, founded and owned by the Histadrut (the General Federation of Labor in Israel). For details of these publishing houses, see below.

While the Hebrew language is by far the dominant force in Israeli publishing, there is a certain amount of quality Arabic publishing in the country, some of it sponsored by institutions and there are also several independent publishers, including Dar el-Huda of Kafr Kara, Al-Mushreq of Shefaram, and al-Aswar of Acre. In addition there is a limited amount of original publishing of books and journals in English and other languages (much of it of a scholarly and academic nature).

With the influx of nearly one million new immigrants from the former Soviet Union between 1989 and 2000, the cultural face of Israel has been transformed in many ways, and the Russian influence is very apparent in music, theater, dance, and, of course, literature. There has been a flowering of newspapers and magazines, and some 250 outlets throughout the country sell books in Russian. It has been asserted that Israel has one of the world's largest publics for Russian language books and magazines – second only to Russia itself. Among the leading Russian language publishers are Gishrei-Tarbut ("Cultural Bridges") based in both Jerusalem and Moscow, which publishes an extensive list of original and translated books in Russian including the works of many contemporary Hebrew writers. Its main publication is the multi-volume *Bibliotheca Judaica* published in cooperation with the Center of Jewish Studies in Russian of the Hebrew University, Jerusalem. Other leading Russian-language publishers include Mahanayim, for religious publications including the Bible, Talmud, and prayer books. Merkur, Beseder, and Moskva/Kfar Saba are three general publishers. Sifriat Aliya has published the *Shorter Jewish Encyclopedia* in Russian, based on the *Encyclopaedia Judaica*.

Although official government statistics with reference to the book trade have not been compiled for several years, it is estimated that some 4,500 new books were being published annually in Israel in the early 21st century – the overwhelming majority of which in Hebrew. While there are hundreds of individuals, companies and institutions who publish the occasional book or two, there are approximately 100 publishing houses which can be considered as "professional" (those publishing from 15 to 100 or even more new titles a year). A brief account of some of the leading publishers is given below.

Some 90 publishers belong to the Book Publishers' Association of Israel founded in 1939. In addition to acting as a lobby for the promotion of Israeli books, the Association also organizes and administers Hebrew Book Week (see below). It also operates a joint paper-purchasing company which negotiates reduced prices for its members. Another smaller group of about 25 publishers is organized in the Israel Publishers' Union. The Book and Printing Center of the Israel Export Institute promotes Israeli publishing and printing abroad and is responsible for organizing Israel's national stand at the Frankfurt Book Fair and other international book trade events.

The major event in the Israeli publishing world is the annual Hebrew Book Week. This event, first held in 1952, takes place in the early summer in all of the country's major cities. It takes the form of open-air markets and is a very popular occasion attended by hundreds of thousands of people who take advantage of the many special offers and bargains that the publishers display on their own stands. The event in effect lasts a whole month with all the local bookstores participating and offering books at the same reduced prices as on the publishers' stands.

The Jerusalem International Book Fair is a biennial event that began in 1963. Over the years it has become one of the most popular events on the international publishing circuit and is attended by publishers from all over the world who seek new projects and authors in Israel or who wish to sell Hebrew rights or make distribution arrangements. A key event of the Fair is the Editorial Fellowship Program, which is internationally regarded as the most important forum in the world today for young editors. Since its establishment in 1985, more than 250 editors from some 25 countries (as of 2005) have participated in the program. Today many of its alumni hold key positions in publishing houses the world over. The Fair is also the occasion of the awarding of the Jerusalem Prize for the Freedom of Mankind in Society – Israel's premier international literary award. Prominent past recipients of the Jerusalem Prize include Bertrand Russell, Isaiah *Berlin, Jorgé Luis Borges, Simone de Beauvoir, Milan Kundera, Mario Vargas Llosa, Don DeLillo, and Susan *Sontag.

While some of Israel's leading writers are represented by literary agents abroad, two agents in Israel represent the bulk of Israeli authors. The Institute for the Translation of Hebrew Literature is a public company founded in 1962 for the purpose of promoting Hebrew literature including poetry and children's books into other languages. It represents a wide range of Israeli writers of quality fiction. The Institute also publishes the highly regarded magazine, *Modern Hebrew Literature*, edited by Gershon *Shaked, which features short stories, extracts, and chapters from important recently published or forthcoming books. It also publishes catalogues of Israeli books, biographies of leading writers, and a series of bibliographies of Israeli publications both in the original and in translation.

The Harris/Elon Agency, founded in Jerusalem by Deborah Harris in 1991, also represents an important cross-section of Israeli authors of both fiction and non-fiction, as well as those writing in languages other than Hebrew. Three agencies specialize in the marketing of foreign rights to Israeli publishers for translation into Hebrew: the Harris/Elon Agency referred to above; the Pikarsky Agency in Tel Aviv, founded in 1975 by the American/Israeli writer, Barbara Rogan; and a literary agency belonging to the Israel Book Publishers' Association, which caters to its members.

Israel's printing industry measures up to the most rigorous and advanced modern standards and several publishers specialize in packaging co-productions for publishers overseas. The availability of advanced digital printing processes has led to the short-run reissuing of many rare books, especially in the fields of Judaica and rabbinic studies.

Israel's retail book trade is dominated by the Steimatzky chain. Founded by Ezekiel Steimatzky in Jerusalem and Beirut in 1925, this is the oldest and most diversified bookselling enterprise in Israel. It imports books and magazines, videos and CDs and its business extends to over 160 shops throughout the country. It also acts as a wholesaler to another 1,000 retail outlets. Steimatzky also acts as a publisher and issues co-editions of books having a particular reference to Israel, such as illustrated albums, books by prominent local personalities, etc. While Steimatzky still enjoys a near monopoly over imported general books and magazines, the Tzomet Sefarim chain, founded in 1996 and owned by the Kinneret/Zmora/Dvir publishing conglomerate, is a major force for Hebrew books with some 30 shops mostly but not exclusively situated in the country's shopping malls.

A relatively small, third chain, Tamir, has seven shops in the Jerusalem area. The main sources for scientific, medical, and academic books are Academon, belonging to the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, and Dyonon, belonging to Tel Aviv University and with branches in the Ben-Gurion University of the Negev in Beersheba and the Multi-Disciplinary Center of Herzliyyah. Despite the competition from the chains, there are still many smaller traditional bookstores throughout the country, although their numbers are declining. There are electronic companies selling books through the internet, including dbook and Mitos. Gefen, a primarily English- language publisher, has a subsidiary company called Israbook, with a branch in New York, which supplies libraries, institutions and individuals throughout the world with Israeli publications.

The Publishers

The following brief list gives some of the leading, most prolific, or best-known Israeli publishers (the list is by no means exhaustive nor does it imply any value judgment).

AM OVED. One of Israel's leading publishers of quality literature and non-fiction. Founded by the Histadrut (the General Federation of Labor) in 1942, it publishes in an exhaustive range of subjects. As a major publisher of paperback books, it promotes new and classical Israeli and world literature in Hebrew through its series *Sifriyyah le-Am* ("The Peoples' Library").

BIALIK INSTITUTE. This distinguished non-profit making institution, was established by the World Zionist Organization in 1935 and was named in honor of the national poet Ḥayyim Naḥman Bialik. Its aim is to promote Hebrew literature, particularly in the field of Jewish studies, biblical research, philosophy, and sociology. Its publications cover scholarly and popular editions of classical Jewish works, archaeology, Judaica, art and art history, and Hebrew literature.

CARTA. Founded in 1958, the company specializes in the publication of maps, atlases, encyclopedias, and other reference books in Hebrew, English, German, Russian, and other languages, many of them in co-production with overseas publishers, concentrating on the geography, history, and archaeology of the Bible, the Holy Land, and the Land of Israel today.

HA-KIBBUTZ HA-ME'UḤAD/SIFRIAT POALIM. A merger of two publishing houses owned respectively by the National Federation of Collective Settlements (kibbutzim) and the Kibbutz Artẓi movement. Sifriat Poalim was founded in 1939 and Ha-Kibbutz ha-Me'uḥad in 1945. Both are public cultural institutions with a broad general publishing vision and a prolific and eclectic list with a strong emphasis on children's books, as well as books of an ideological nature representing the social and political beliefs of the two pioneering movements. The series *Ha-Sifriyyah ha-Ḥadashah* ("New Library") is one of the country's most distinguished lists of original and translated fiction. The two houses merged their publishing activities in 2000.

THE INSTITUTE FOR THE TRANSLATION OF HEBREW LITERATURE. The Institute for the Translation of Hebrew Literature (ITHL) was founded in 1962 to create a bridge between modern Hebrew literature and the non-Hebrew–speaking world. Over the years its range of activities has expanded far beyond translation (into 66 languages). ITHL's current activities include publication of author/book directories and catalogues; a unique bibliographic center listing all published translations of Hebrew literature; a website including an index of Hebrew authors in English (about 450 to 2006); yearly publication of *Modern Hebrew Literature*, a journal in English; literary agency services to more than 200 leading authors of adult, young adult, and children's literature; participation in major book fairs, financial support to foreign publishers; initiating anthologies of Hebrew literature in a variety of languages (about 200 to 2006); organizing international translation and literary events in Israel and abroad.

JERUSALEM PUBLISHING HOUSE. Founded in 1966, the company initiates and packages co-publishing projects with leading publishers overseas under whose imprints the books are published. Its profusely illustrated publications, concentrating on biblical research, archaeology, and general history, have made it a world leader in the production of Jewish English-language encyclopedias and dictionaries. Among its major publications are the *Dictionary and Concordance of the Bible*; *Guide to Biblical Holy Places*; *Archeological Dictionary of the Holy Land*; *Continuum Political Encyclopedia of the Middle East*; *Encyclopedia of the Holocaust; New Encyclopedia of Judaism*; *Encyclopedia of Jewish Life Before and After the Holocaust*; and *Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations.* It is co-publisher of the second edition of the *Encyclopaedia Judaica* (2006), responsible for all editorial content.

KETER. The company began as the Israel Program for Scientific Translations, established in 1958 by the U.S. National Science Foundation in Washington and the Israel Prime Minister's Office to translate scientific literature from Russian and other languages into English. In the 1960s it began to diversify its publishing activities under the imprints Israel Universities Press and Keter Books. Keter was purchased from the government in 1966 and has been a public company since 1987. It is Israel's largest integrated publishing, manufacturing (with its own printing plant), and book marketing concern and one of the country's major publishers in a wide range of genres. Its Israeli authors include Amos *Oz, Aharon *Appelfeld, Savyon *Liebrecht, and Uri *Orlev, and foreign authors include Paul *Auster, Paolo Coelho, Boris Pasternak, Salman Rushdie, Susan Sontag, and Mario Vargas-Llosa. Keter's major achievement was the magisterial English-language *Encyclopedia Judaica* first published in 16 volumes in 1971. The revised and updated second edition was co-published by Thomson Gale (Macmillan) in 2006.

KINNERET/ZMORA/DVIR. This house is a merger dating from 2002 of three well-known publishers and is today Israel's most prolific publisher in terms of annual number of titles. The group is also part owner of the Tsomet Sefarim bookselling chain (see above). Kinneret was founded as a general publisher in 1979 and Zmora (previously Zmora/Bitan/Modan), founded in 1973, was a leading publisher of original and translated fiction, as well as a broad general list. One of the most distinguished names in Israeli publishing, Dvir was established in Berlin in the early 20th century by some of the leading Hebrew literary figures of the time and moved to Palestine in 1924. It has published many of the classics of Modern Hebrew literature, several of which are now being re-issued.

MAGNES PRESS. Founded in 1929, the publishing house of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem is the oldest and largest scholarly publishing house in the country. It publishes books and journals, in English and Hebrew, on Jewish studies, Bible, history, contemporary Jewry, archeology, law, mathematics, among other subjects. Many of its publications are published in cooperation with academic and university publishing houses overseas.

MODAN. The successor to the Lewin-Epstein publishing house founded in 1930, Modan, established in 1974, is a large general publisher specializing in cookbooks, general fiction, and "how-to" books.

RAV KOOK INSTITUTE. This scholarly publishing house was founded in 1936 to perpetuate the memory of the chief rabbi of Palestine, Abraham Isaac Kook. It is a non-profit institution whose aim is to publish scholarly works in traditional religious Jewish studies, especially Bible commentary, the Talmud, Jewish history, philosophy, and Jewish law. Among its major publications are several editions of the Bible, a Bible commentary in 30 volumes, and the collected works of Maimonides.

SCHOCKEN. Schocken Verlag was founded in Berlin in 1931 by Salman *Schocken, owner of a chain of prosperous department stores. He immigrated to Palestine in 1934 and established two publishing houses: Schocken Tel Aviv for books in Hebrew and Schocken New York for books in English. The Israeli company is one of the most distinguished publishing houses in the country and numbers among its writers some of its leading literary figures such as Yehuda *Amichai, Yeshayahu *Leibowitz, Meir *Shalev, A.B.*Yehoshua, and Shmuel Yosef *Agnon, Israel's only winner of the Nobel Prize for literature (in 1966). Among its foreign authors are Franz *Kafka, Herman Hesse, Ted Hughes, D.H. Lawrence, Dylan Thomas, Gabriel Garcia Marques, Philip *Roth, and Alexander Solzhenitsyn. Schocken has acquired the rights to reissue a new an updated edition of the monumental *Encyclopedia Hebraica,* originally published by Massadah.

YEDIOTH AHARONOTH. Wholly owned by the mass-circulation daily newspaper of the same name, the publishing house, established in 1952, began with the publication of basic Jewish texts including the Bible, but since then has branched out into a wide range of subjects with a strong emphasis on books on the history of the State of Israel, political and military affairs, biographies of prominent individuals, encyclopedias, and children's books. The house has an imprint called Proza for quality original and translated fiction, philosophy, psychology, etc.

[Asher Weil (2nd ed.)]

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PUERTO RICO, island in the Caribbean 1,000 miles southeast of Miami. In 2005 there were 1,500–2,000 Jews in Puerto Rico among its population of 4,000,000. The Jewish experience in America begins with the actual "Discovery" in 1492. The first Jews to come to Puerto Rico were mainly Spanish and Portuguese. The existing Jewish community consists mainly of immigrants who had arrived in the United States during the post-World War II years and Cuban families who settled there in the 1960s and 1970s.

In the 19th century several records were located in the form of anecdotes in personal letters mentioning Jews of the 19th century. Sources dating back to 1898 confirm that there were a number of American Jews residing in Southern Puerto Rico at the time. A census conducted for that year includes the names of Jacob Benjamin and Samuel Levi as the Ponce residents.

Jews then arrived in Puerto Rico most often in conjunction with war. Among the soldiers who took part in the Spanish American War, there were several Jews.

Between 1899 and 1905, Rabbi Adolph Spiegel tried to organize the first Jewish congregation in the island. There was a slight increase in Jewish immigration when, as a result of the Spanish American War, Puerto Rico became a territory of the United States. During this period and before World War I, several Jewish men were involved in the drafting of the Island's first legal and fiscal codes. They aided in the creation of the court system and recruitment for it. Their contributions were crucial in the forming of the island's infrastructure.

World War I added to the presence of Jewish soldiers in the military bases. But at the end of the war the Jewish population once again decreased. Still, several government workers remained along with a pioneering group of businessmen who saw the island as a fertile ground for building their home and future.

Among the most prominent of the Island's Jews was Louis Sulzabacher, president of the Supreme Court of Puerto Rico and a strong supporter of United States citizenship for the Puerto Rican people.

The end of the 1920s and early 1930s brought a new surge of Jews from Central and Eastern Europe suddenly excluded from the United States by quotas. Other Jews continued to arrive on the Island; many represented American companies such as the Consolidated Tobacco Company. The 1930 generation consisted of men and women with a desire to make Puerto Rico their permanent home. They organized the first Jewish Community Center and the first synagogue in San Juan.

By 1940, there were only 150 Jews living in Puerto Rico. World War II brought a large number of soldiers to Puerto Rico and they included some Jews. About 400 Jewish soldiers were living in military bases in Puerto Rico at the time. The Jewish Welfare Board coordinated the rental of various meeting halls around San Juan in order to provide the soldiers with the opportunity to celebrate Sabbath services. They held the first Passover Seder in 1942.

The beginning of the 1950s was marked by the creation of Operation Bootstrap, an initiative by the local government based on the concept of "industrialization by invitation." The program indirectly encouraged the arrival of more Jews to the island. They were attracted by a series of incentives offered to American manufacturing companies. Jews were among the architects of the economic development of the Island and also prominent in the legal and medical professions. Cecil Snider was named by President Roosevelt associate justice of the Supreme Court of Puerto Rico. Eleven years later he was named by Governor Luis Muñoz Marín chief justice of the Supreme Court.

The emergence of the Cuban communist regime in 1958, headed by Fidel Castro, produced the third migration of Jews to Puerto Rico. Thousands of families abandoned the island of Cuba. Many of them wanted to move to the United States eventually, while others sought a social and cultural environment similar to that of Cuba.

Upon their arrival in Puerto Rico, most of these Jewish families joined the Jewish Community Center. At the time, the center embraced 200 families and the Hebrew school had 125 registered students. The inclusion of Cuban families gave the Jewish Community Center a new Hispanic outlook. These Orthodox families exerted a significant influence in the development of the Shaare Zedek Synagogue and the Hebrew school. They came to stay in Puerto Rico.

In the 1970s and the 1980s a new Jewish migration arrived in Puerto Rico. Close to 200 Israeli farmers came to the Island as part of an agricultural program developed by companies such as April-Agro, Isprac, HDC, and Fruits International. This project utilized 2,500 acres in the Santa Isabel region. A new revolutionary irrigation system was introduced by a group of agronomists from Israel. In the 1960s a new group of Argentinean Jews began to arrive in Puerto Rico.

Synagogues in San Juan

The first attempt to establish a Jewish congregation in Puerto Rico proved unsuccessful. The second effort in 1935 gathered some 26 families. They would meet in private homes and commercial spaces, such as the offices above La Esquina Famosa store in Santurce, the San Juan Casino, and El San Juan Hotel.

In 2005 there were three synagogues in San Juan, representing the three ideologies within Judaism: Orthodox, Conservative, and Reform Judaism.

In 1953 the Jewish Community acquired a private residence and transformed it into a synagogue and site of the first congregation. Nowadays, the Shaare Zedek Temple is the largest synagogue in the Island. The first religious school was started in 1952.

The Shaare Zedek Temple, founded in 1953, became the first Conservative synagogue. Its name means "Gates of Justice," and was taken from a synagogue that was destroyed in Leipzig, Germany. It is headed by Rabbi Gabriel Isaías Frydman, originally from Argentina. The Jewish Community Center also operates as a Hebrew and Judaic studies school as well as a pre-school center and meeting facility. It houses the Morris Rothenberg Library, the most complete Judaic library in the Caribbean. The center currently has 255 members.

The second Jewish organization established in Puerto Rico is Temple Beth Shalom, the Reform Jewish Congregation of Puerto Rico, which was established in 1967. The synagogue has among its Torahs one that had been rescued from the Holocaust. For most of its congregational life, Temple Beth Shalom has relied on retired rabbis from the mainland who have served for all or part of the period from Rosh Hashanah to Shavuot. Currently a series of distinguished rabbis serve for six weeks at a time. The congregation owns a beautiful building on the corner of Loiza and San Jorge Streets in the Condado section of San Juan. Many of its members are "snowbirds," who spend their winters in Puerto Rico. There are, however, enough all year around attendees to hold services every Friday evening and Saturday morning, maintain a flourishing Religious School and provide a very active Adult Education Program. Tourists and other visitors are always made to feel very welcome.

The third synagogue, Sharei Torah, was founded in 1999; it is one of the Chabad Lubavitch synagogues and educational centers around the world. During its early period, the group would rent meeting rooms in the Marriott Resort to conduct prayers and activities. The synagogue was officially inaugurated on February 2, 2000. A few years later a larger property was purchased in Isla Verde, making it more accessible for Jewish tourists and communities from nearby Caribbean islands.

The Chabad Lubavitch Center and its synagogue Sharei Torah operate under the direction of Rabbi Mendel Zarchi and his wife Rachel Zarchi. Chabad Lubavitch of Puerto Rico features a school to educate children and adults. It also offers religious services and coordinates community activities such as visits to hospitals, activities related to Jewish festivities, assistance in the immersion rituals of *mikveh*, lectures and provision of kosher food products. The Center is to expand to accommodate the first and only *mikveh* in Puerto Rico.

[Museum of San Juan Staff (2nd ed.)]

PUGLIESE, EMANUELE (1874–1967), Italian soldier. His military career began when he took part in the Italo-Turkish war (1911–12). With the entry of Italy into World War I, Pugliese rose rapidly. In 1917, he took part in the battle of Vittorio Veneto. At the end of the war, he became a divisional commander and as such he fought in the war in Albania in 1920. In 1931, he was appointed military commander of Sardinia and in 1934 reached the rank of lieutenant general and corps commander. Pugliese received the highest military decoration of his own country and many foreign honors.

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[Mordechai Kamrat]

PUGLIESE, UMBERTO (1880–1961), Italian-Jewish patriot and scientist, a genius in the field of naval architecture. Pugliese was born in Alessandria, Piedmont, and joined the Italian navy in 1898, later being transferred to the naval corps of engineering. After various positions both in the royal arsenal and aboard ship he served for ten years on the committee for naval projects, and was appointed general inspector of the Naval Corps of Engineers. Pugliese planned and was responsible for the construction of most of the great Italian battleships ("Garibaldi," "Vittorio Veneto," "Roma," "Impero," "Littorio," and others). His most remarkable invention was a device known as the Pugliese Water-Line capable of enabling bombed battleships to float and, in many instances, to resume service.

On December 31, 1938, while his battleships were still in the dockyards, Pugliese was dismissed from the navy because of his Jewish origin, in compliance with the new racial laws. He nevertheless remained in Italy and, when the British bombed the Italian Navy out of service in November 1940, the chief of staff, Admiral Cavagnari, did not hesitate to appeal to Pugliese for his assistance in refloating the battleships. Pugliese fulfilled the mission and, when asked what reward he demanded for his services in saving the Italian Navy, he requested the honor to don his naval uniform again. His request was partially granted in 1942.

In 1943, he was arrested and questioned by the Germans, who had hoped to use his valuable knowledge in Germany, but Pugliese was adamant in his refusal, declaring that he was, and would stay faithful to, the oath he had given to the monarchy. When the Germans occupied Rome in 1943, they sent the Jewish Admiral Augusto *Capon to Auschwitz, where he was gassed despite the fact that he had a personal letter from Mussolini, but Pugliese was spared. When he died in Sorrento in 1961, Pugliese was buried with full military honors.

[E.L. Touriel]

PUKHACHEWSKY, MICHAEL ZALMAN (1863–1947), pioneer of Jewish agriculture in Ereẓ Israel. He was born in Brest-Litovsk in 1885. Pukhachewsky was one of six young men chosen by Ḥovevei Zion in Russia (at Baron Edmond de *Rothschild's suggestion) to specialize in agriculture in the Baron's settlements and become agricultural instructors for settlers. He established a farm in Rishon le-Zion and worked for many years as an agricultural instructor, specializing in viticulture in the Jordan Valley, the Jezreel Valley, and other areas. He published articles in Palestinian agricultural journals and wrote his memoirs on the early days of Jewish settlement (*Bustanai*, 1 (1929/30), nos. 6–44). His wife, NEḤAMAH (1869–1934), was a writer active in the public life of Palestine. She joined Ḥovevei Zion at the age of 17 and went to Ereẓ Israel together with her husband. She wrote essays under the pen name Nefesh.

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[Yehuda Slutsky]

PUKHOVITSER, JUDAH LEIB (c. 1630–after 1700), rabbi, scholar, and preacher in Lithuania, Poland, and Germany. His father had settled in Pinsk by the end of the 1620s. Judah Leib studied under Naphtali b. Isaac Katz, the rabbi of Pinsk (1639–44). His surname appears to have been derived from the townlet of Pukhovichi, near Minsk. In 1659, when he was rabbi of *Bykhov, he was an eyewitness to the conquest of the town by Muscovite soldiers, who massacred the Jews and killed one of his daughters. After 1667 Pukhovitser returned to his native Pinsk where he acted as rabbi and preacher. From time to time he left Pinsk, preaching in the communities of Pinsk province and the large communities of Lithuania and Poland. In 1681–82 he stayed in Frankfurt on the Oder, where he published his homiletic works in two parts, *Keneh Ḥokhmah* and *Derekh Ḥokhmah*. His work *Divrei Ḥakhamim* (in two parts) on Shulḥan Arukh was published in Hamburg (1692–93), and *Kevod Ḥakhamim* in Venice (1699–1700). Leaving Venice, he went to Jerusalem, where he died after 1700.

Pukhovitser lived during a period which saw tremendous changes in the lives of the Jews of Poland and Lithuania as a result of the massacres of 1648–49 and 1666–67. One of the fundamentals of his homiletic teaching is that the study of the Torah for its own sake must lead to good deeds and repentance. In his sermons, he urged that *battei midrash* in which Torah would be permanently studied should be maintained and every Jew obliged to fix regular times for Torah study; he thus gave a great impetus to the formation of study groups in Lithuania. Criticizing the prevailing methods of study in the *ḥadarim* and yeshivot, he called for a gradual progression from easier subjects to more difficult ones. He also attacked the situation which prevented the poor from studying in the yeshivot and demanded that several well-established members of the community provide for the upkeep of a Torah student. At the same time he condemned the method of study based on *pilpul*. Pukhovitser's works are imbued with kabbalistic motifs, containing many Lurianic elements. In a letter to the scholars of Jerusalem (Hamburg, 1692), he developed the idea that the future redemption of Israel would be effected by the community of Jerusalem when it had reached the degree of *kenishta ḥada* ("a unified community").

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[Mordekhai Nadav]

PULAWY (Pol. **Pulawy**; Yid. **Pilev**; Rus. **Novaya Aleksandriya**), a town in Lublin province, Poland. The first Jews to settle in Pulawy came from the neighboring townlets (mostly Wlostowice) at the beginning of the 19th century when the area developed rapidly upon the initiative of its owner, Prince A.K. *Czartoryski. There was an organized Jewish community in Pulawy from 1820. In 1897 it numbered 3,883 (about 73% of the population). The principal Jewish occupations were shoemaking, gardening, furniture-making and shopkeeping. From the middle of the 19th century, the influence of Ḥasidism became widespread among the Jews of Pulawy; they were attached to the ḥasidic courts of *Lublin and *Kotsk and later to those of Gut (*Gora Kolwariya) and *Sokolow. From 1875 to 1884 the rabbinical seat of Pulawy was held by Elijah Lerman, the author of *Devar Eliyahu* (1884). In 1888, Ḥayyim Israel Morgenstern, the grandson of Menahem Mendel of *Kotsk, founded a ḥasidic court in Pulawy. At the close of the 19th century, enterprises established by Jewish initiative included iron industries, machinery and shoe manufacture. Jewish workers found employment in them and organized themselves into trade unions. From 1875 Jewish students studied at the Higher Institute of Agriculture of Pulawy; many of the students participated in revolutionary social democratic activities. From 1907 a Jewish cooperative bank functioned in Pulawy with much success. In 1910 there were 6,111 Jews (61% of the population). During World War I, the Jewish population of the town decreased because of persecutions and a fire. From 1917 branches of all parties then active on the Jewish scene were organized in Pulawy. At first, the *Bund and *Agudat Israel wielded the greatest influence, but *Po'alei Zion circles, other Zionist parties, and communists soon grew strong. Jewish craftsmen and merchants established unions in 1920. In 1921 there were 3,221 Jews (45% of the population) living in the town. Between the two world wars there was a private Hebrew secondary school, as well as *Tarbut, Yavneh and Beth Jacob schools, and a Jewish library.

[Arthur Cygielman]

Holocaust Period

At the outbreak of World War II there were 3,600 Jews in the town. At the end of October 1939, an open ghetto was established. On Dec. 29, 1939, the entire Jewish population was expelled to the nearby town of Opole Lubelskie, where all were in turn deported to the *Sobibor death camp in May 1942 and exterminated. No Jewish community was reconstituted in Pulawy.

[Stefan Krakowski]

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PULCELINA OF BLOIS, 12th-century female moneylender to the court of Blois. Pulcelina (also Pucellina) was implicated in the first ritual murder accusation in France and was burnt at the stake along with her two daughters and 30 other co-religionists in 1171. These events are documented in a variety of Hebrew sources, including five surviving letters, a chronicle, two memorial lists, and eight poems; this literary productivity indicates the degree to which this tragedy shocked the Jews of Ashkenaz. In his account in *Sefer Zekhirah* ("Book of Remembrance"), the chronicler and liturgical poet Ephraim ben Jacob of Bonn (1132–c. 1200) used the verb *ohav* ("love") to describe the affection of Count Thibaut of Blois (1152–1191) for Pulcelina; most historians have assumed that the two were involved in a romantic relationship. (See the translation in J. Marcus, ed., *The Jew in the Medieval World* (rep. 1990), pp. 127–30.) This theory has been challenged by S. Einbinder (1998), who suggests that *ohav* in this instance implies that the count "favored" Pulcelina as a lender and perhaps as a trusted financial advisor. Einbinder believes that Thibaut's wife, Countess Alix, who is described as hating Pulcelina and swaying the count against her, was motivated not by sexual jealousy but because she herself, and others close to her, owed significant sums to Pulcelina and resented her influence over the Count. The surviving documents make it clear that Pulcelina behaved arrogantly and was widely disliked by members of Thibaut's court. That a ritual murder accusation could be brought against Pulcelina, and Blois Jewry, when there was no corpse and no missing child, also indicates the level of animosity her position of power had generated. Ephraim wrote that once she was arrested she was prevented from speaking with the count for fear that she might convince him to change his mind and release the Jews. Although Jews from other communities attempted to ransom the prisoners, they were unable to offer sufficient funds to prevent their martyrdom. While in many ways this catastrophe represents a cautionary instance of the fall of a court Jew, with tragic consequences for the larger community, Pulcelina's gender and the possibility that she had an intimate relationship with Count Thibaut give the story added dimensions as an extreme example of the independence and entrepreneurship of Jewish women in Askenaz in the 11th and 12th centuries. The tragedy was the subject of a Hebrew drama by S.D. *Goitein, *Pulzelinah* (1927).

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[Judith R. Baskin (2nd ed.)]

PULITZER, JOSEPH (1847–1911), American editor and publisher who bought declining newspapers and restored them to national influence. Born in Mako, Hungary, son of a Jewish father and a Roman Catholic mother, Pulitzer emigrated to the U.S. at the age of 17 to serve in the Union Army during the Civil War. Discharged from the cavalry in 1865, he went to St. Louis and in 1868 became a reporter for the German-language daily *Westliche Post.* Three years later he bought an interest in the paper, became managing editor, and sold back his shares at a vast profit. In 1878 Pulitzer took his first big step toward creating a newspaper empire when he bought the St. Louis *Dispatch* at an auction for $2,500 and merged it with the St. Louis *Post* into the *Post-Dispatch*. By 1881 it was yielding profits of $85,000 a year. He left for New York in 1883 and bought *The World* from Jay Gould, the financier, for $346,000.

Three years later, revived by Pulitzer's innovations in mass appeal journalism, *The World* was earning more than $500,000 a year. He established a sister paper in New York, the *Evening World*, in 1887. All three newspapers succeeded on a formula of vigorous promotion, sensationalism, sympathy with labor and the underdog, and innovations in illustration and typography. In 1869 Pulitzer served in the lower house of the Missouri legislature, and in 1885 was elected to the U.S. House of Representatives from New York, but served only briefly. A man of intellect and energy, he worked himself into a condition which compelled him to live his last years as a totally blind invalid. However, he still directed his newspapers. He endowed the Pulitzer School of Journalism at Columbia University and the famous Pulitzer Prizes for journalism. His son, JOSEPH JR. (1885–1955), continued the policies of his father with success as the publisher of the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch*, but under his other two sons, Ralph (1879–1959) and Herbert (1897–1957) the two New York papers declined and were sold in 1931 to Scripps-Howard.

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[Irving Rosenthal]

PULKAU, small town in Lower Austria; it became notorious in the 14th century as the scene of a *Host desecration libel, which was followed by a wave of massacres of the Jews. A bleeding Host was allegedly found concealed in front of a Jew's house on Easter Sunday, April 12, 1338, the day following the last day of Passover. Rumors spread that the Host had performed miracles; crowds came to venerate it, and on April 23 they burned the Jews at the stake and plundered their property. The disorders spread, and Jews were massacred in 27 localities as far away as *Jindrichuv Hradec (Neuhaus) in Bohemia, *Trebic (Trebitsch) in Moravia, and St. Poelten. Duke *Albert II expressed his doubts about the accusation and asked Pope Benedict XII for an investigation. The pope ordered the bishop of Passau to conduct an inquiry, but its results are unknown. A church called Zum Heiligen Blut ("The Holy Blood") was built on the site; decorated with representations of the alleged occurrence, it attracted many worshipers throughout the years. The pictures were later painted over. The site where the Jews were burned is well marked. At the time of the massacres, Jewish books were confiscated; possibly some of the parchment manuscripts confiscated in 1338 were utilized for binding city records in 1622 and 1623.

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[Meir Lamed]

PULTUSK (Pol. **Pułtusk**), town in Warzawa province, Poland. Although there were some Jews in Pultusk in 1486 a settlement as such did not develop because of the privilege *de non tolerandis Judaeis* granted to the Masovia region during the 16th century by the Polish king, Sigismund II Augustus. Even temporary residence for Jews was authorized only by special permit. The prohibition was temporarily abrogated after the Grand Duchy of Warsaw was created in 1807 but renewed with the establishment of the Polish kingdom in 1815, according to the decision of the Congress of Vienna. The decree was finally abolished in 1866. During the 19th century the Jewish population increased; there were 118 Jews in 1810 (5.1% of the total population), 4,769 in 1856, and 6,950 (45.7%) in 1909. During World War I many Jews fled to Warsaw, so that by 1921 the number had decreased to 5,919 (about 46% of the total population). In independent Poland the Jewish population rose again and by 1931 there were 8,300 Jews (49.2% of the total) in the town.

Despite its proximity to Warsaw, Pultusk did not develop as a center of commerce and crafts mainly because it was removed from railway junctions. Nevertheless, a considerable number of Jews were craftsmen, particularly tailors. Because of the surrounding forests, there were a number of sawmills so that carpentry as well as trade in wood and furniture developed. However, economic difficulties led many Jews to emigrate. In 1894 many wealthy Jews left when a cholera epidemic broke out. During the 19th century the community supported various activities, the most important of which was social relief to the needy. Between the two world wars a Jewish educational program was developed. It attracted most of the community's elementary and secondary school students. Jews were represented in the municipal administration; about one-half of the delegates elected in 1922 and 1927 were Jews. The leadership of the Jewish community itself was elected democratically for the first time in 1927. The oldest synagogue was erected between 1805 and 1815. It burnt down and was rebuilt in 1854. Of the rabbis of Pultusk, the most renowned were R. Joshua *Trunk (from 1853 to 1861), R. Ḥanokh Zundel b. Jacob Grodzinski, who belonged to the *Mitnaggedim* (appointed in 1878), and R. Ḥayyim Meshullam ha-Kohen (1909–1929), known for his Zionist tendencies. The last rabbi of Pultusk was R. Israel Ber Lowenthal, who immigrated to Palestine at the outbreak of World War II and died there in 1942.

[Shimshon Leib Kirshenboim]

Holocaust Period

The city was captured by the Germans on Sept. 7, 1939, and by September 11, 14 Jews had been shot. During the holiday of Sukkot 1939, the Germans deported all the Jews to the other side of the Narev River, in the Soviet zone of occupation. All Jewish property was looted, and on the way to the border Jews were maltreated and many were killed. Many of the deportees found temporary shelter in Bialystok and surrounding cities under the Soviet administration, where they were subjected to administrative restrictions and met with difficulties in finding housing and work. In the summer of 1940 many were deported to the Soviet interior.

[Aharon Weiss]

PULVERMACHER, OSCAR (1883–1958), British editor. Pulvermacher's father came to England from East Prussia. Oscar Pulvermacher was born in London and started work with the

London *Daily Mail* at the age of 17, rising to be editor in 1929. Pulvermacher apparently remained editor for only one year, although he continued to be employed by the *Daily Mail* in a period when the paper achieved what was then the highest circulation in the world. In 1933 he disagreed with the sympathetic policy toward Hitler of the paper's owner Lord Rothermere and resigned. A month later he was engaged by the *Daily Telegraph* to reorganize its news services and during World War II was its northern editor in Manchester.

[William D. Rubinstein (2nd ed.)]

PULZER, PETER G.J. (1929–), British political historian. Born in Vienna, Pulzer was a lecturer in politics at Oxford University from 1952 and, in 1985–91 was Gladstone Professor of Government and Administration at Oxford and a fellow of All Souls College. Pulzer's best-known work, *The Rise of Political Antisemitism in Germany and Austria* (1964), was a pioneering study of the emergence of modern political hostility towards the Jews in German-speaking Central Europe. He wrote widely on German and German-Jewish history, in such works as *Jews and the German State* (1992) and *Emancipation and Its Discontents: The German-Jewish Dilemma* (1997). A *Festschrift* in his honor, edited by Henning Tewest and Jonathan Wright, *Liberalism, Anti-Semitism, and Democracy* (2001), includes a biography.

[William D. Rubinstein (2nd ed.)]

PUMBEDITA, town in Babylonia. Pumbedita was situated on the bank of the River Euphrates on the site of the Shunya-Shumvata (Git. 60b), the most northerly of the canals joining the Euphrates and the Tigris. A canal called Nehar Papa also passed through Pumbedita itself (Yoma 77b), and situated near it was the town of Peruz-Shavur. The area had an exceptionally abundant water supply and a pleasant climate, and commerce flourished there, the caravan route to Syria passing nearby. Crops included cereals and fruits, dates being especially plentiful (Pes. 88a), and the flax grown there (Git. 27a; BM 18b) was the basis of the local textile industry. The Jewish settlement in Pumbedita apparently already existed during the period of the Second Temple and was included by Sherira Gaon among those settlements which were centers of the study of Torah during that period (*Iggeret Ray Sherira Ga'on*, ed. by B.M. Levin (1921), 40). However, its importance as a communal and religious center dates only from the middle of the third century C.E. In 259, after Nehardea was destroyed by Papa b. Naser (see *Odenathus and Zenobia), commander in chief of Palmyra, Judah b. Ezekiel founded an academy there. This academy and its *bet din* were the central religious authority for Babylonian Jewry until the middle of the fourth century C.E. During that period some of the best known **amoraim* of Babylonian Jewry headed the academy – Rabbah b. Nahamani, Joseph, Abbaye, and Rava. During the time of Rava the academy was transferred to Maḥoza, where Rava resided. During this period, when the academy began to flourish, exceptionally strong ties were established between it and its sister academy at Tiberias through the medium of the **neḥutei*. The aforementioned heads of the academy, with the exception of Joseph, were distinguished for their teaching methods which were marked by acumen and even casuistry (Hor. 14a; BM 38b). As a result of this intellectual acumen, which in their opinion was an efficient method to discuss *halakhah* and arrive at correct decisions, they came to be called "uprooters of mountains," and it was said of them that "they could draw an elephant through the eye of a needle" (BM 38b).

From the death of Rava in 352 until the first half of the geonic period, the Pumbedita academy did not occupy a central place in the scholastic and halakhic world. It was subordinate to *Sura, which was granted more privileges than Pumbedita. Life in a large, bustling, commercial city full of connections with foreign merchants had a deleterious influence on the character of the Jews of Pumbedita. The Babylonian Talmud has preserved many adverse evaluations of their moral character. Mention is made of the cheating by workers (BB 46a; Ḥul. 127a), and Rava refers to the thieves who would come to the city, as well as the resident thieves (Av. Zar. 70a). In fact, the dishonest practices of the people of Pumbedita became a byword among the Jews of Babylon (Ket. 82a), and it is therefore not surprising that scholars were not popular among them, since the scholars rebuked them for their deeds (Shab. 153a). One scholar advised his son not to dwell in affluent Pumbedita (Hor. 12a).

[Moshe Beer]

During the Post-Talmudic Period

Sherira Gaon related that as the result of religious persecution under Persian rule, the Pumbedita academy was transferred to Peruz-Shavur, in the vicinity of Nehardea. It remained there during the period of the **savoraim*; when the Arabs conquered Babylonia (c. 634 C.E.), it returned to Pumbedita. R. Isaac, the *Gaon* of Pumbedita, who lived in Peruz-Shavur, went out to welcome the conquering caliph ʿAli ibn Abi Ṭāleb. During the Arab period Pumbedita was known as Anbar, and the academy was called *yeshivah shel ha-golah* ("academy of the Diaspora"). Until the beginning of the ninth century Pumbedita was overshadowed by *Sura. During the 830s the *ḥakhamim* of the Pumbedita academy backed the candidacy of David b. Judah as exilarch against Daniel, who had the support of the *ḥakhamim* of Sura. The former's election as exilarch also resulted in the consolidation of the Pumbedita academy. From his time the Jews gathered in Pumbedita on the occasion of the *Shabbeta de-Rigla* (*Iggeret R. Sherira*, p. 93). In an extant letter of his son, the exilarch Judah, he seeks contributions for the academy, which is described "as having many **allufim, ḥakhamim*, elders, Mishnah scholars, Talmud scholars, and *tannaim*: there are seven *allufim* …" (Abramson, Merkazim, 18).

An important head of the academy in this period was *Paltoi b. Abbaye (842–52), the first to be styled *Gaon* of Pumbedita, who maintained contacts with the communities of Spain and North Africa. From Spain, they turned to him "to write the Talmud and its interpretation down for them, and upon his order it was written for them" (Sherira Gaon, *Iggeret*…, ed. by M.N. Adler (1907), xxiii (2nd Roman pagination)). During his son *Ẓemaḥ's (872) lifetime these ties were strengthened and the status of the academy surpassed that of Sura. In the *Kaddish* the name of Ẓemaḥ b. Paltoi was mentioned before that of the *gaon* of Sura, *Ẓemaḥ b. Ḥayyim.

During the days of the *Gaon* Hai b. *David (890–98), who had previously been a *dayyan*, the academy was transferred to Baghdad. In the first half of the tenth century contributions to the academy decreased – the centers of the Diaspora established their own Torah institutions and their attachment to the Babylonian center was thus weakened. The contest for the gaonate between R. Aaron Sargado and R. *Nehemiah b. Kohen Ẓedek from the 940s to 960s and the dispute between the latter and R. Sherira were also responsible for the decline in the status of the academy. The situation changed under Sherira *Gaon, a powerful personality, who renewed the contacts with the communities of North Africa and called upon them to support his academy. The period of office of Sherira Gaon (968–98) and that of his son *Hai Gaon (998–1038) was the period of Pumbedita's efflorescence. The greatest number of extant responsa to the Diaspora, especially to the communities of North Africa (e.g., Kairouan, Fez, etc.), was written by these two *geonim*. Students came from abroad to study with R. Hai and later went on to hold important positions. These included *Shemariah b. Elhanan of Egypt, who was "the first in the 'great' [first] row of the three rows of the academy"; Maẓliaḥ b. Albaẓak of Sicily; the *gaon* Solomon b. Judah's son from Palestine; and students from Byzantium and Italy. After R. Hai's death the exilarch *Hezekiah b. David headed the Pumbedita academy for 20 years (until 1058).

According to sources found in the Cairo *Genizah*, the *divan* of Eleazar b. Jacob ha-Bavli, and Arab sources, it appears that the Baghdad academy continued in existence until the 13th century. The names of nine *geonim* who lived during the 12th and 13th centuries and considered themselves the heirs of the Pumbedita academy are known. The last *Gaon* was Samuel b. Daniel ha-Kohen (1288). According to Benjamin of Tudela, who visited Babylonia in the 1170s, there were about 3,000 Jews in Pumbedita. Even though this number seems to be exaggerated, it appears that an important community still existed there.

[Moshe Beer and Eliezer Bashan (Sternberg)]

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PUNISHMENT. While there is no modern theory of punishment that cannot, in some form or other, be traced back to biblical concepts, the original and foremost purpose of punishment in biblical law was the appeasement of God. God abhors the criminal ways of other nations (Lev. 20:23) whose practices the Israelites must not follow (*ibid.*) and from whose abominations they must not learn (Deut. 20:18); by violating His laws, His name is profaned (Lev. 22:31–32); and not only are criminals abhorrent to God (Deut. 18:12; 22:5; 25:16; 27:15), as well as crimes (Lev. 18:27–29), but God's own holiness obliges man to be holy like Him (Lev. 19:2). By taking "impassioned action" (Num. 25:13) to punish violators of His laws, expiation is made to God and God's "fierce anger" (Deut. 13:18) turned away from Israel (Num. 25:4). Closely related to the appeasement of God is another expiatory purpose of punishment: a crime, and more particularly the shedding of blood, pollutes the land – "and no expiation can be made for the land for the blood that is shed therein but by the blood of him that shed it" (Num. 35: 33). Excrement must be covered because the land being holy demands that "thy camp be holy,… "(Deut. 23:15), so that God would "see no unseemly thing" occurring there (*ibid.*).

Still another aspect is reflected in the talionic punishment of death for *homicide, as originally formulated: "Whoso sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed; for in the image of God made He man" (Gen. 9:6). Man being created in the image of God, it is an affront to God to kill him and killing the killer is the only acceptable expiation to God. Similarly, purging Israel of the blood of the innocent (Deut. 19:13) by killing the killer appears to be necessary in order to avoid blood guilt attaching to the land and to the people forever (cf. Deut. 21:9; 19:10); and it is for this reason that a murderer must be taken even from God's very altar to be put to death (Ex. 21:14).

All talionic punishment as such reflects its underlying purpose, namely the apparent restitution of the *status quo ante* by inflicting on the offender the injury inflicted by him (Lev. 24:20) and by doing to him what he had done to another (Lev. 24:19). This sort of sanction (see *Talion), where the character and measure of punishment is precisely commensurate with those of the crime, is intended to represent exact justice. It was, indeed, by proving that this kind of "exact justice" necessarily involved unavoidable injustice, that some talmudical jurists justified the abolition of talionic punishment except for murder (BK 84a). And while they did not abolish it for murder, whether by reason of the many express biblical injunctions that murderers must be killed (especially Num. 35:31), or in order to retain the deterrent effect of the death penalty, many of them held that judges must do everything in their power to avoid passing death sentences (cf. Mak. 1:10), e.g., by rigorously cross-examining the witnesses long enough to have them contradict themselves or each other in some particular (Mak. 7a) and thus render their evidence unreliable (see *Evidence, *Witness). The warning was already sounded then that any reticence in imposing capital punishment would result in an increase of crime and bloodshed (Mak. 1:10). Maimonides comments on the talmudical discussion, that while it was true that the courts must always satisfy themselves that the incriminating evidence was credible and admissible, once they were so satisfied, they ought to order the execution even of a thousand men, day after day, if that is what the law (the Torah) prescribes (his commentary to the Mishnah, Mak. 1:10).

The most common purpose of punishment, as found in the Bible, is "to put away the evil from the midst of thee" (Deut. 17:7, 12; 19:19; 21:21; 22:24; 24:7). While such "putting away" is applied in the Bible to capital punishment only (which indeed constitutes the only effective total elimination), the principle underlying the elimination of evil, as distinguished from that of the evildoer (cf. Ps. 104:35 and Ber. 10a), provides a theory of punishment of universal validity and applicable to all criminal sanctions. It means that the act of punishment is not so much directed against the individual offender – who is, however, unavoidably its victim – as it is a demonstration of resentment and disapproval of that particular mode of conduct. By branding that conduct as worthy of, and necessitating, judicial punishment, it is outlawed and ostracized. Similarly, punishment is inflicted on the offender not so much for his own sake as for the deterrence of others: that all people should hear and be afraid (Deut. 17:13 – rebellious elder; 19:20 – perjury; 21:21 – rebellious son). From the point of view of criminal law enforcement policies, the deterrent aspect of punishment in Jewish law is already the most important of all: people who hear and see a man heavily punished for his offense are supposed to be deterred from committing the offense and incurring the risk of such punishment (they "will do no more presumptuously" – Deut. 19:20). Hence the particular injunction to have the offender impaled on a stake after having been put to death (Deut. 21:22), so as to publicize the execution as widely and impressively as possible; but note that the corpse must be taken off the gibbet before nightfall, "for he that is hanged is a reproach to God" and defiles the land (Deut. 21:23) – and no concession made to policies of law enforcement can derogate from the affront to God involved in killing and impaling a human being.

It is not only the principle known in modern criminology as "general prevention," the deterrence of the general public, but also that of "special prevention," the prevention of the individual offender from committing further crimes, that is reflected in Jewish law. It has been said that the imposition of capital punishment on such offenders as the rebellious son (Deut. 21:18–21), the rebellious elder (Deut. 17:12), the abductor (Ex. 21:16), and the burglar (Ex. 22:1) is justified on the ground that these are all potential murderers (cf. Maim., Guide 3:41); and rather than let them take innocent human lives, they should themselves be eliminated. That the deterrent effect of punishment on the offender himself was a consideration which weighed heavily with the talmudical jurists is illustrated also by the rule that where punishment had proved to have had no beneficial deterrent effect on the offender and he has committed the same or some similar offenses over and over again, he would be liable to be imprisoned and "fed on barley until his belly bursts" (Sanh. 9:5).

The talmudical law reformers also achieved the substitution for the ever-threatening divine punishment by the judicial punishment of *flogging, making it clear that whoever underwent judicial punishment would not be visited with any further *divine punishment (Mak. 3:15). They went so far as to lay down that even though God had Himself expressly proclaimed that a criminal would not be "guiltless" and escape divine wrath (Ex. 20:7; Deut. 5:11), the judicial authorities in imposing the flogging were authorized by the Torah itself to clear him: if God would never clear him, a court of justice could (Shevu. 21a). The measure of punishment must always conform to the gravity of the offense on the one hand, and the blameworthiness of the individual offender on the other: "according to the measure of his wickedness" (Deut. 25:2). Even here the talmudical law reformers found cause for some mitigatory improvement: they interpreted "wickedness" as the yardstick for the measure of punishment, as including also the physical capacity of the offender to undergo and suffer punishment (cf. Maim., Comm. Mak. 3:10 and Yad, Sanhedrin 17:1). In several instances, the particular turpitude of the offense is expressly stressed as reason for heavy penalties (e.g., "because she hath wrought a wanton deed in Israel" – Deut. 22:21; "it is wickedness" – Lev. 20:14); and in post-talmudic times, the imposition of severe punishments (such as *capital punishment) was always justified by stressing the severity of the particular offense and the public danger of mischief thereby caused.

Maimonides laid down that the gravity and measure of punishment are to be determined, first, by the gravity of the offense: the greater the mischief caused, the heavier must be the penalty; second, by the frequency of the offense: the more widespread and epidemic the offense, the heavier must the penalty be; third, the temptation prompting the offense: the more easily a man is tempted to commit it, and the more difficult it is for him to resist the temptation, the heavier must the penalty be; and fourth, the secrecy of the offense: the more difficult it is to detect the offense and catch the offender, the more necessary is it to deter potential offenders by heavy penalties (Maim., Guide 3:41).

[Haim Hermann Cohn]

In the Framework of Jewish Autonomy

Within the framework of the Jewish *autonomy structure, a great variety of penalties could be imposed on wrongdoers, including *fines, *imprisonment, *ḥerem, and – extremely rarely – capital punishment, according to judgment passed by a *bet din* under the ordinances of the community or a **ḥevrah*. New and previously unknown penalties were resorted to in the Middle Ages, sometimes for crimes not provided for in talmudic law. This development was especially evident in Muslim and Christian Spain. Capital punishment was openly imposed in Spain with the sanction of the state authorities, and somewhat clandestinely in other countries on rare occasions; the death penalty was reserved mainly for *informers, and it was imposed with the aid and often the urging of the very authorities to whom the denunciation had been made. The manner of execution usually followed that obtaining in the host country, such as bloodletting from an arm, drowning, strangulation, or stoning. Some of the talmudic rules of evidence were waived. In 1380 the Jews of Castile were denied the right of capital punishment. Other bodily penalties – again mainly in Spain – were amputation and mutilation of limbs (mainly for sexual offenses), cutting off the nose and ears, cutting out the tongue (in the case of informers), gouging out the eyes, shaving of head and beard, and stripes. Flogging was most common, particularly in lands like Germany where capital punishment was not resorted to. There were two kinds of lashes: the biblical statutory 39 stripes and the discretionary rabbinic penalty, which could be severe or very light, aimed at inflicting not pain but rather public shame. In Babylonia the person punished in this way had his hands and feet tied as he lay on a bench in the courtroom. More customary was the symbolic penance at the threshold of the synagogue between the afternoon and evening daily services. Shaving the head or beard, which was dreaded more than bodily mutilation, was reserved mainly for assault and battery, adultery, or fornication with a gentile maiden.

The most severe social penalty was the *ḥerem*, with its associated "donkey's burial," interment by the fence of the cemetery, far from respectable graves. Another punishment was expulsion – most customary in Spain and Poland-Lithuania – from the town or even from the country for a stated period or permanently. Sometimes a man's entire family was banished with him. This penalty was imposed on suspected murderers who had only one witness to testify against them, for assault and battery resulting in death, for wife-beating, fornication, stealing, and forgery. The *Mahamad community council of the Sephardi Jews of Hamburg expelled moral or business offenders for several years to Amsterdam or elsewhere. For card-playing and similar offenses German Jewry was accustomed to banish the recalcitrant from the local synagogue. A bankrupt was sometimes ordered to sit for three years behind the *almemar*. For libeling a friend, a woman was ordered to change her seat periodically in the women's gallery of the synagogue. Various penalties involving loss of title or prestige were imposed. For insulting a fellow Jew the culprit would be denied the title of *morenu* or *ḥaver* in Ashkenazi Jewry. The right to be called to the reading of the Torah was withdrawn in certain cases. Often an announcement would be made in all synagogues that for a stated offense a person could not be trusted as a witness or to take an oath.

Institutionally imposed punishment ran parallel to punishment self-inflicted by people who wanted to do penance for their sins. The *Ḥasidei Ashkenaz, in particular Eleazar b. Judah of Worms, developed a detailed and exacting system of penance, the *teshuvat ha-mishkal*. Throughout the Middle Ages and early modern times such offenders as mothers who smothered their infants in sleep, people who killed unwittingly, or persons who committed undetected sexual transgressions would ask the rabbi to impose on them strict penances, which included public confession and self-vilification. Denial of participation in and benefit from communal and religious services was considered a severe penalty. The sinner could also be deprived of certain citizenship rights, such as membership in the plenary assembly and the right to vote. Most damaging socially and economically – especially in Eastern Europe – was expulsion from a *ḥevrah* by the *kahal*, since expulsion from a guild could also mean the loss of livelihood. The *kahal* was especially strict with its own employees or other communal functionaries. A **badḥan* ("jester") would be forbidden to perform at weddings and musicians to solicit their customary holiday gifts. The *kahal* possessed much more serious weapons against persons who refused to cooperate: exorbitant taxes, frequent billeting of troops, and, in Russia during the *Cantonist troubles, drafting the son into military service. Fines and confiscation of property were very common.

With the weakening of Jewish autonomy in modern times these penalties became, in various stages in different countries, obsolete and inoperative.

See also *Banishment; *Reward and Punishment.

[Isaac Levitats]

Forms of Punishment: Biblical Law; Extra-Legal Punishment; "The King's Law"

Jewish criminal law as crystallized in talmudic literature, includes, inter alia, the following characteristics:

1. Before commission of an offense, the prospective offender *must have been admonished by two witnesses,* who explain to the prospective offender the specific offense he is about to commit, and the offender must answer them, stating that he is aware of the offense and that he is nevertheless deliberately committing the offense (Yad, Sanhedrin 1–2);

2. Strict evidentiary law, which prevents the admission of many forms of testimony and evidence (see *Witness; *Evidence). These two requirements made it very difficult to maintain a system of criminal judgment that could realistically deter criminal behavior. In order to cope with these difficulties, in both the societal and legal arenas, Jewish law recognizes two additional tracks of judgment and punishment. The first is that of "punishment not in accordance with Torah law" (*anishah shelo min ha-din*), which authorizes the court, in accordance with the exigencies of the times, to impose punishment, as well as to legislate enactments with regard to punishment, on a far broader scale than that prescribed by biblical law (for an extensive discussion regarding the implementation of this power by rabbinic courts throughout various periods of

history, see: *Capital Punishment). The second track is "the King's Law" (*mishpat ha-melekh*), which was defined in great detail by Rabbi Nissim of Gerona (*Derashot ha-Ran*, no. 11). The "King's Law" is a legal system that operates concurrently with biblical law, and that complements the law of the Torah by adjudicating and punishing those offenses or cases regarding which punishment cannot be imposed and enforced under strict biblical law. If such a parallel system did not exist, says Rabbenu Nissim, "the social order would collapse entirely, and murderers would proliferate without fear of punishment; therefore God, may He be blessed, commanded that Kings be appointed, so that public order might be maintained … a king may judge a case without [prior] admonition, as he sees fit, for the benefit of the public" (*ibid.*).

These two tracks – punishment not prescribed by the Torah, and the King's Law – are characterized by the fact that they grant considerable discretionary authority to the courts both in prescribing punishment in specific instances, and in legislating general enactments in criminal law. One important distinction between these two systems and the Torah's penal system is that, when the law of the Torah prescribes a specific punishment for a particular transgression, the rabbinic court may not deviate from the prescribed punishment (Yad, Sanhedrin 14.1). In the extra-legal system of punishment and in the King's Law, on the other hand, the judges are not limited by any such restriction. It follows, therefore, that these two legal systems enable the courts to adjudicate and punish even in those situations not punishable under biblical law, as well as to impose more lenient sentences than those prescribed by the Torah, in accordance with the specific circumstances.

Instructions to Judges in Imposing Sentence

Once this broad authority has been bestowed on the courts, the judges are instructed, with regard to each and every case presented to them, to carefully consider the appropriate punishment, and the degree to which it should be imposed. Maimonides affirms that rabbinical judges are indeed vested with the authority to impose punishment which deviates from the strict law of the Torah, and proceeds to summarize a judge's obligations in exercising that authority:

> All these matters are carried out in accordance with what the judge deems necessary in accordance with the exigencies of that time, and his acts should always be for the sake of heaven and he should not take a frivolous attitude to human dignity… This applies with even greater force to the dignity of the children of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, who adhere to the true Law. The judge must be careful not to do aught calculated to destroy their dignity, but his sole concern should be to enhance the glory of God… (Yad, Sanhedrin 24:10).

Similarly, Rashba warned judges that the law should be adjusted and imposed in a manner appropriate to the situation of the public. A judge needs to take into account the public's ability to accept the punishments imposed on offenders, rather than be carried away by the passion for revenge: "moderation, consideration, and consent are required, and then the public will be led in the name of Heaven; the greater the act, and the more powerful its execution, the greater the need for consideration, observation and controlled anger; the judge must be on guard lest he be consumed by the heat of his zeal for the Holy God that may have caused him to abandon the appropriate path" (Resp. Rashba, 5: 238).

The Israeli Supreme Court was guided by Rashba's comments when considering the appropriate punishment for criminals (CA 212/79 *Anon. v State of Israel*, 34 (2) 421, 426–428; Cr. A. 156/80 *Binyamin v. State of Israel*, 35 (4) PD 744, Justice Menachem Elon.)

Avoiding Discrimination in Imposing Punishment

The discretionary authority enjoyed by the judges in imposing punishment does not release them from their responsibility to refrain from discrimination between offenders in doing so. This obligation appears repeatedly in the Torah and in rabbinic literature, in various contexts. Judges are warned not to discriminate for socioeconomic reasons – neither on behalf of the rich, in deference to their dignity, nor in favor of the poor, out of inappropriate compassion (Exod. 23:6; Lev. 19: 15; Deut. 24:17). The Torah certainly grants special consideration to the poor man, even when he has broken the law in order to deal with his predicament, as in the words of King Solomon, "Do not despise a thief if he steals to satisfy his appetite when he is hungry" (Prov. 6:30). This is, however, not a legal instruction, but a moral one: "It is written: 'justify the poor and the downtrodden' (Ps. 82:3). What is meant by 'justify'? If this were meant to justify him legally, is it not written, 'you shall not show preference to a poor person in his suit'?! Rather, exact justice [by giving him] from your own property and give it to him." That is, the judge must bestow his own property to the poor person, after the legal process has been completed, as an act of charity.

The Torah emphasizes that there must be no discrimination between man and woman with regard to punishment. The Torah states, "when a man or woman may do any in transgression" (Num. 5:6), which the Rabbis understood to mean that "Scripture considers women equal to men with regard to all of the punishments in the Torah" (Bava Kamma 15a; Yad, *Genevah*, 1:7; Tur, Sh. Ar., ḤM, 349:1). Similarly, discrimination between Jews and proselytes as it states: "you shall not pervert the judgment of a proselyte" (Deut. 24:17).

Talmudic *halakhah* determines that public figures are not immune from the law or from punishment. A high priest is not punished differently than a layman in any respect (Sanh. 18a), and a president (*nasi*) who sins may be flogged (JT Horayot 3:1). The same applies to a rabbinic scholar (*talmid ḥakham*). The one exception to this rule is the king who, according to the Mishnah, may not be judged (Sanh. 2.2). According to the Babylonian Talmud, this exception was introduced as a rabbinic enactment in wake of an episode in which King Yannai was summoned to court but the members of the Sanhedrin would not judge him because they were afraid of him (Sanh. 19a–b; Yad, Sanh. 2:5). This exceptional enactment applies only to "kings of Israel," i.e., to Hasmonean Kings, to their contempt for the Sanhedrin's authority, and not to the kings of the Davidic dynasty, who are judged as any other individual would be. According to the Jerusalem Talmud (Sanh. 2.3), the exemption from judgment applies to any king, whether or not from the House of David, because the king is not subject to any authority whatsoever, other than that of God Himself. It would seem that in our era the president or prime minister of the State of Israel would not be included in this classification, and that they would be judged as any other individual, according to Jewish law. This is because, first, they are not "kings," but rather, at best enjoy a status similar to that of the "*Nasi*"; second, because they are indeed governed by other institutions, unlike the king who is subject to God alone (see bibliography, Fogelman, and editors notes, ibid.).

Sentencing in Accordance with the Offender's Circumstances

The obligation to avoid discrimination does not mean that the personal circumstances of an offender may not be taken into account when imposing punishment. While the same punishment might be meted out to different offenders, it may not have the same implications. Thus, when imposing flogging, for example, the rule is that the degree of the punishment should correspond to the physical capacity of the offender (see *Flogging). This rule was cited by the Israeli Supreme Court in when establishing a fundamental principle in sentencing policy (CA 419/81, *Kalman Feibish v. State of Israel*, PD 35(4)701; per Justice Shilo). In discussing the tension between the need to impose punishment appropriate to the offender, and the desire that punishment be perceived as being consistent and uniform – i.e., that all offenders receive the same punishment for the same offense – Justice Shilo pointed out that "the origin of the concept of setting the degree of punishment in accordance with the offender's circumstances" is indeed to be found in the principle discussed above, i.e., that an offender may not be flogged to a greater degree than he is able to tolerate (p. 708 and 709 of the judgment).

Collective Punishment

The rule in Jewish law is that the offender, and he alone, is liable for his actions, and that he alone may be punished for his behavior. Since the era of the Tannaim, this rule has been clear and unequivocal. In the Bible, however, we find seemingly contradictory statements in this respect. On the one hand, the Bible warns that "The fathers shall not be put to death for the children, neither shall the children be put to death for the fathers: every man shall be put to death for his own sin." (Deut 24:16). During the era preceding the Destruction of the First Temple, the prophets confronted the complaint that the people were being punished by God for the sins of their fathers; the prophets rejected those accusations, and attempted to convince the people that, according to Divine law, only the sinner himself, and not his offspring, could be punished (Jer. 31:28–29; Ezek. 18:2–3). On the other hand, Scripture describes God as "visiting the iniquity of the fathers upon the children, and upon the children's children, unto the third and to the fourth generation." (Exod. 34:7), implying that He indeed punishes descendants for the sins of their fathers. The Rabbis, however, interpreted this as applying to descendents who "continue to perform the actions of their fathers" (Sanh. 27b).

An additional case in which the Torah ostensibly mandates collective punishment is the law of the "condemned city" (*ir ha-nidaḥat*; Deut. 13:13–19), a city in which, according to the Biblical description, all of the city's inhabitants are punished because certain individuals incited the other inhabitants to worship idols. But according to the rabbinic interpretation of these passages, this is not a case of collective punishment at all; the halakhic Midrash interprets the verses as requiring a standard legal process, in which each and every individual among the city's inhabitants receives his punishment by a court of law, and even then only after testimony and admonition by witnesses (*Midrash Tannaim*, ed. Hoffmann, 13.15; *Sifre Devarim*, 93) – that is to say, punishment identical to that of any other case of capital punishment (see *Capital Punishment). The dissenting opinion in this regard is that of Maimonides (Yad, Ovedei Kokhavim 4:6), who rules that it is sufficient that the majority of the city be idolatrous for all of its inhabitants be sentenced to death. Maimonides' ruling was the subject of heated debate among the leading scholars of the generation that followed him. It is also important to note that a view was expressed in the Talmud, that a condemned city ever actually existed, and that its laws were never intended for concrete application, but rather as a hypothetical concept for the sake of theoretical study and drawing moral lessons alone (Sanh. 71a).

The Appropriate Attitude Toward the Offender During and After His Punishment

The obligation to respect the dignity of every individual applies even when the individual in question is an offender who is serving a sentence, and this obligation applies even during the process of the sentence itself. The rabbis ordered that even the execution of a person sentenced to death must be carried out in such fashion that minimizes suffering and does not include humiliation. The well-known great principle of the Torah, "you shall love your fellow as yourself" (Lev. 19:18; *Sifra*, *Kedoshim* 2) was interpreted by the rabbis of the Talmud as obligatory even with regard to an offender awaiting punishment, even capital punishment. The rabbis ruled: "choose (i.e., rule in favor of) a pleasant death for him" (Ket. 37b). Even an individual sentenced to death is considered "your fellow." The rabbis also taught that the dignity of an individual who is sentenced to imprisonment must be preserved. In a responsum by Rabbi Hayyim Palaggi (19th century – Resp. Ḥikekei Lev, vol. 2 ḤM 5), we find a ruling that prisoners may not be incarcerated in "dirty and desolate cells," because "even though they have sinned, they are still Jews," and they must therefore be kept in a "dignified prison." This requirement of Jewish law formed the basis for the Israeli Supreme Court's judgment in the *Tamir* case, which dealt with conditions of imprisonment of prisoners in the State of Israel (CAA 4/82, *State of Israel v. Tamir*, PD 37(3)201; Justice

Elon; for further information and additional legislation regarding this matter, see *Imprisonment; *Human dignity).

Jewish law seeks to prevent any offender being permanently stigmatized. Rather, after being punished the offender once again becomes a regular citizen for all intents and purposes. This reflects his position in relation to his Creator: the truly repentant offender is accepted by God as pure and unblemished: "Yesterday, this one [i.e., the offender] was hated by the Holy One blessed be He – and was considered a detestable outcast, rejected, and abhorred… but today, he is beloved, near to him, and a friend… Yesterday he was separated from the God of Israel…. he cries [prays] and is not answered…; today he is cleaved to the *Shekhinah*… he cries out and is answered immediately…" (Maimonides, Hilkhot Teshuvah 7:6–7), and this is similarly the case in human criminal law. Regarding punishment by flogging, the Torah states that an offender may not be flogged more than is necessary, so as not to create a situation in which "your brother shall be debased before your eyes" (Deut. 25:3). The rabbis expounded this verse as meaning that "once he has been flogged – he is to be considered as your brother" (M. Makkot 3.15). In another source, we read: "all day the Torah calls him as "a wicked person," as it is stated "If the wicked one is to be flogged" (Deut. 25:2). However once he has been flogged, the Torah refers to him as 'your brother' as it is stated 'Lest your brother be degraded'" (*Sifre Devarim*, 286).

This fundamental rule served as the basis for a set of laws and *halakhot* intended to rehabilitate offenders who have borne their punishment, a concept known as "the Enactment for the Encouragement of Penitents" (*Takkanat ha-Shavim*: Mishnah Gittin 5:5). The Mishnah cites the testimony of Rabbi Johanan ben Gudgada (end of 2nd century, C.E.) concerning a law stipulating that one who stole a wooden beam and built it into his house is not required to dismantle his house in order to return the actual beam to its rightful owner, but rather may restore its monetary value, "so as to enable the encouragement of penitents." The reasoning behind this enactment is that if the thief is required to destroy his house in order to return the specific beam to its owner, he might refrain from repentance altogether (Rashi, on Gittin 55a). This enactment was accepted as legally binding, in accordance with the opinion of the School of Hillel, and in opposition to the dissenting view of the School of Shammai, who maintained that the thief must in fact take down his home in order to return the original beam to its owner.

There are exceptions to this rule: where the offense is particularly grave, or involves a position demanding an especially high level of moral integrity and reposition of trust in the position holder, the offender may not continue to serve in that position even if he has served his sentence and repented. Maimonides (Yad, 17:7–9) rules that:

> Whoever sins and has been flogged returns to his state of propriety, as it is stated: "Lest your brother be degraded before your eyes" (Deut. 25:3) – once he has been flogged, he is to be considered [again] as your brother… If the High Priest sins, he is flogged and is reinstated to his high position… But if the head of the academy [i.e., the President (*nasi*) of the Sanhedrin] sins, he is flogged, and he does not return to his position, and cannot even resume a position as an ordinary member of the Sanhedrin….

The same holds true for crime of involuntary manslaughter. An individual who killed another involuntarily must flee to a city of refuge. The Mishnah (Makkot 2:8) records a dispute between the Sages regarding the status of the prisoner exiled to the city of refuge: May an exile who has served his punishment and returned from the city of refuge, return to a position of authority he formerly held? The halakhic ruling cited by Maimonides (Yad, Roẓe'aḥ u-Shemirat ha-Nefesh 7:13–14) is that the individual may not return to his former position for the rest of his life "since it was through him that this great misfortune came about" (cf. Nov. Ritba to Makk. 13a; and see *City of Refuge).

In addition, it is forbidden to remind an individual who has served his sentence and/or repented of his former offenses; this is considered "oppression by means of words" (*ona'at devarim*; Mishnah, BM 4:10; Yad, Teshuvah 7:8; Mekhirah 14:13). Rabbenu Gershom Meor ha-Golah actually imposed a ban on any person who reminded a former offender of his bygone deeds. The reason invoked by Rabbenu Gershom for this prohibition is the desire to make it easier for offenders to reform their ways and to reintegrate into society as honest citizens (*Teshuvot Rabbenu Gershom Meor ha-Golah*, 4; see also under *Apostate).

The "Rehabilitation of Penitents" in the State of Israel

Jewish law's basic approach – that the past life of an offender who has been punished is to be forgotten – is the basis of the legislation of the Rehabilitation of Offenders and Crime Register Law, 5741 – 1981. This law imposes restrictions on divulging information from the Crime Register regarding crimes committed by an individual after the period of limitations has passed as well as ordering the deletion of such information from the Register after an additional period of time has passed. Nonetheless, the law regarding the aforementioned statute of limitations differentiates between various offenses, depending on their severity, and it also differentiates between various bodies to whom such information may be divulged. During the parliamentary debate that preceded the enactment of the law, the justice minister emphasized that "the proposed law is consistent with the principles of Jewish law as mentioned above, i.e., on the one hand, it forbids the use of information regarding an individual's past history when it is possible to conclude – without harming the public interest – that for certain purposes and under certain circumstances, the past history of an individual who has transgressed, but did not return to his former ways, is immaterial; on the other hand, it allows use of information concerning the individual's past history in those cases where preserving the public interest is of greater importance than rehabilitation of the offender. For this reason it allows for preserving the information, without erasure, even after the passage of time (*Divrei ha-Knesset* 75 (5736) 301).

In the *Carmi* case (ABA 18/84, *Carmi v. Attorney General of the State of Israel*, 44(1) PD 53); Justice Menahem Elon), the issue of the interpretation of the Crime Register and Rehabilitation of Offenders Law was raised before the Israeli Supreme Court in the wake of an appeal submitted by a lawyer who, long after he had been found guilty of criminal activity, was suspended by the disciplinary court of the Israel Bar Association. The court conducted an extensive study of the sources of the law, which are rooted in Jewish law and part of which have been cited above, with particular attention to the matter in general, as well as to cases in which exceptions were determined.

[Menachem Elon (2nd ed.)]

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PUNON (Heb. פּוּנֹן), encampment of the Israelites in Edom, between Zalmonah and Oboth (Num. 33:42–43). It is identified with Khirbat Faynān, the Greek Phainon, in the Arabah. Remains of ancient copper mines abound in the area, the richest being at Umm al-ʿAmad. The copper ore of Punon was exploited from Chalcolithic times onward. There is evidence of extensive settlement at the end of the Early Bronze Age and in Iron Age I. The name of the Edomite prince Pinon (Gen. 36:41; I Chron. 1:52) may be connected with the locality. The mines were reopened in Nabatean times and continued to be exploited throughout the Roman and Byzantine periods. They were worked by condemned criminals, as well as Christian martyrs and bishops. Remains at the site include the foundations of a basilica and an inscription mentioning a bishop Theodorus. According to the Madaba map, the place where the Israelites were saved by the *copper serpent was located near Punon. The place was included in the fortifications of the Roman *limes*, Ala Prima miliaria Sebastena being stationed there (*Notitia dignitatum*, 73:32).

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[Michael Avi-Yonah]

PURIM (Heb. פּוּרִים), the feast instituted, according to the Book of *Esther (9:20–28), by *Mordecai to celebrate the deliverance of the Jews from *Haman's plot to kill them. Purim (Akk. *pūrū*, "lots") is so called (Esth. 9:26) after the lots cast by Haman in order to determine the month in which the slaughter was to take place (Esth. 3:7). Purim is celebrated on the 14th of Adar, and in Hasmonean times it was known as the "Day of Mordecai" (II Macc. 15:36). The Jews of Shushan celebrated their deliverance on the 15th of Adar (Esth. 9:18), and this day became known as Shushan Purim. Out of respect for Jerusalem, it is said, the day is still kept by Jews living in cities which had a wall around them "from the days of Joshua" (Meg. l:1). Thus in present-day Israel Purim is celebrated in Jerusalem on the 15th, but in Tel Aviv on the 14th. In leap years Purim is celebrated in the second month of *Adar.

The chronological difficulties such as the identity of King *Ahasuerus and the absence of any reference in the Persian sources to a king having a Jewish consort; the striking resemblance between the names Mordecai and Esther to the Babylonian gods Marduk and Ishtar; the lack of any reference to Purim in Jewish literature before the first century B.C.E.; the language of the Book of Esther, which suggests a later date – all these have moved the critics to look elsewhere than the account in Esther for the true origin of the festival. Various conjectures have been made (see *Scroll of Esther) but the problem still awaits its solution. In any event the festival had long been established by the second century C.E. when a whole tractate of the Mishnah (*Megillah) was devoted to the details of its observance, especially to the rules governing the reading of the Scroll of Esther, called in the rabbinic literature the *megillah* ("scroll"). Purim is a minor festival in that work on it is permitted, but it has been joyously celebrated in Jewish communities as a reminder of God's protection of His people. However, the widespread acceptance of the festival as only minor is reflected in the popular Yiddish saying that as a high temperature does not denote serious illness neither is Purim a festival.

The main feature of Purim is the reading of the Book of Esther, the *megillah*, with a special cantillation. *Megillot* are frequently decorated, sometimes with scenes from the narrative. Since according to the midrashic interpretation the word *ha-melekh* ("the king"), when it is not qualified by Ahasuerus, refers to the King of the universe, some *megillot* are so written that each column begins with this word. It would seem that originally the *megillah* was read during the day, but eventually the rule was adopted to read it both at night and during the day (Meg. 4a). It is customary to fold the *megillah* over and spread it out before the reading since it is called a "letter" (Esth. 9:26, 29). The four verses of "redemption" (2:5; 8:15–16; and 10:3) are read in louder voice than the other verses. The custom of children to make a loud noise with rattles and the like whenever the name of Haman is read, in order to blot out the "memory of Amalek" (see Deut. 25:19; and Esth. 3:1 and I Sam. 15:8–9 for Haman was a descendant of Amalek) is ancient and still persists, though frowned upon as undecorous by some authorities. It is the practice for the reader to recite the names of the 10 sons of Haman (Esth. 9:7–9) in one breath (Meg. 16b) to show that they were executed simultaneously. The custom has also been seen, however, as a refusal by Jews to gloat over the downfall of their enemies (C.G. Montefiore and H. Loewe (ed.), *A Rabbinic Anthology* (1938), 53). The Torah reading for Purim morning is Exodus 17:8–16.

The Book of Esther (9:22) speaks of "sending portions" (*mishlo'aḥ manot* – abbreviated to *shelakhmones*) to friends on Purim and of giving gifts to the poor. The rule is to send at least two "portions" of eatables, confectionery, and so forth, to a friend and to give a present of money to at least two poor men. A special festive meal is eaten on Purim afternoon toward eventide. Among the special Purim foods are boiled beans and peas, said to be a reminder of the cereals Daniel ate in the king's palace in order to avoid any infringement of the dietary laws, and three-cornered pastries known as *hamantashen* ("Haman's ears"). There has been much discussion around the saying of the Babylonian teacher Rava (Meg. 7b) that a man is obliged to drink so much wine on Purim that he becomes incapable of knowing whether he is cursing Haman or blessing Mordecai. The more puritanical teachers tried to explain this away, but the imbibing of alcohol was generally encouraged on Purim and not a few otherwise sober teachers still take Rava's saying literally (see, e.g., H. Weiner: *9½ Mystics* (1969), 207). The laws of Purim and the reading of the *megillah* are codified in Shulḥan Arukh, OḤ 686–97. Various parodies of sacred literature were produced for Purim, the best known of which, *Massekhet Purim*, is a skillful parody of the Talmud with its main theme the obligation to drink wine merrily and to abstain strictly from water. The institution of the Purim rabbi, a kind of lord of misrule, who recites Purim Torah, the frivolous manipulation of sacred texts, was the norm in many communities. Some have seen in all this an annual attempt to find psychological relief from what otherwise might have become an intolerable burden of loyalty to the Torah (Druyanow, *Reshumot*, 1 and 2). Under the influence of the Italian carnival it became customary for people to dress up on Purim in fancy dress, men even being permitted to dress as women and women as men. The *Adloyada carnival in Tel Aviv has been a prominent feature of Purim observance in modern Israel.

In the kabbalistic and ḥasidic literature much is made of Purim as a day of friendship and joy and as the celebration of God at work, as it were, behind the scenes, unlike Passover which celebrates God's more direct intervention. (God is not mentioned in the Book of Esther.) The "lots" of Purim are compared with the "lots" cast on the Day of Atonement (Lev. 16:8), what human beings call "fate" or "luck" being, in reality, only another manifestation of God's providential care. So highly did the kabbalists esteem Purim that they reported in the name of Isaac Luria that the Day of Atonement is "like Purim" (*Yore ke-Furim*).

While some Reform congregations abolished Purim, others continued to celebrate it as a day of encouragement and hope, some even arguing that it helped Jews to express their aggressive emotions and to sublimate their feelings of wrath and hatred (W.G. Plaut, *The Growth of Reform Judaism* (1965), 224).

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[Louis Jacobs]

PURIM KATAN (Heb. פּוּרִים קָטָן; "minor Purim"), the name given to the 14th and 15th days of the first month of *Adar in a leap year, when *Purim is celebrated during the second month of Adar. (The Karaites were the only sect to celebrate Purim during the first Adar in a leap year.) According to talmudic tradition, Purim should be celebrated in the second Adar because that was the date of the original Purim (which occurred in a leap year). The rabbis also wanted to bring the period of the redemption of Esther closer to that of the redemption of the Israelites from Egypt celebrated in the following month of Nisan (Meg. 6b). Purim Katan has none of the ritual or liturgical features of Purim: The *megillah* is not read, and no gifts are sent to the poor (Meg. 1:4). The *Al ha-Nissim prayer is not said, but fasting and funeral eulogies are prohibited (Meg. 6b). Also, *Taḥanun is not recited on these days, which are considered a minor occasion of rejoicing (Sh. Ar., OḤ 697:1).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Eisenstein, Dinim, 337; G. Ki-Tov, *Sefer ha-Toda'ah*, 1 pt. 1 (1958), 297.

PURIM MESHULLASH ("Triple Purim"). As stated in the article on *Purim, Purim is celebrated on the 15th of Adar ("Shushan Purim") in Jerusalem, which "has been a walled city from the days of Joshua ben Nun," whereas elsewhere it is celebrated on the 14th of the month. When, however, the 14th of Adar falls on Friday, the celebration in Jerusalem and other cities said to be "walled cities from the time of Joshua" extends over three days, and is thus called Purim Meshullash. The *megillah*, the Scroll of Esther, is read on the 14th but the additional prayers for Purim are included in the Sabbath service on the 15th and the *haftarah* of the previous Sabbath, *Shabbat Zakhor* (I Sam. 15. 2–34), is repeated. The special festive meal however is held on the Sunday, so as to distinguish it from the normal Sabbath festive meal, and it is on this day gifts are exchanged ("*mishlo'aḥ manot,*" popularly called "*shelakhmones*") and donations to the poor are made.

PURIMS, SPECIAL. Following the talmudic injunction that one must recite a special thanksgiving benediction on returning to the place where one was once miraculously saved from danger (Ber. 54a), the custom evolved for Jewish communities or families to celebrate the anniversary of their escape from destruction by reciting special prayers and with a ritual similar to that of Purim. (See: A. Gumbiner's note to Sh. Ar., OḤ 686.) These special communal Purims are called *Purim Katan ("minor Purim"), or Mo'ed Katan ("minor holiday") or Purim… (followed by the name of the community or the special event). In many cases special Purims were preceded by a fast comparable to the Fast of *Esther. In addition, on the Purim Katan itself the story of the personal or communal salvation was often read from a scroll (**megillah*) in the course of a synagogue service in which special prayers of thanksgiving, in the style of *piyyutim*, were offered. Sometimes the *Al ha-Nissim prayer and the *Hallel were inserted into the ritual. The traditional Purim observances of enjoying a festive meal and giving charity to the poor were also applied to special Purims. (See Table: List of Special Purims.)

The Karaites observe a special Purim on 1st Shevat, in memory of the release from prison of one of their leaders, Yerushalmi. The exact date of the event is unknown. The followers of Shabbetai Ẓevi observed a special Purim on 15th Kislev, because on this day in 1648 Shabbetai Ẓevi proclaimed himself Messiah.

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List of Special Purims

Purim of…	Observed on	Established in	Reason for Observance
Algiers (called Purim Edom)	4th Ḥeshvan	1540	Saved from destruction in Spanish-Algerian wars of 1516–1517 and 1542.
Algiers (called Purim Tammuz)	11th Tammuz	1774	Saved from danger.
Alessandria Della Paglia (Italy)	25th Av	1779	Saved from massacre.
Ditto	2nd Ḥeshvan	1797	Saved from riots during revolutionary war.
Ancona	21st Tevet	1690	Saved from earthquake.
Ancona	15th Tishri	1741	Synagogue escaped destruction by fire.
Ancona	24th Adar	1775	Jewish quarter saved from conflagration.
Ancona	12th Shevat	1797	Saved from riots in revolutionary war.
Angora/Ankara/(called: Purim Angora or Purim Sari-Kiz)	21st Elul	?	Saved from blood libel accusation.
Angora, called Purim Abazza	11th Iyyar	?	?
Angora, called Purim de la Turquito	14th Tammuz	1775	Saved from blood libel accusation.
Avignon	24th Tammuz	?	?
Avignon	28th Shevat	1757	Escaped dangers of a riot.
Baghdad	11th Av	1733	Relieved from Persian oppression.
Belgrade	19th Sivan	1822	Saved from destruction during Turko-Serbian war.
Breche (Champagne, France)	14th Adar	1191	Chief Jew-baiter executed.
Cairo	18th Shevat	?	?
Cairo, called Purim Miẓrayim	28th Adar	1524	Saved from extermination.
Candia (Crete)	18th Tammuz	1583	Saved from collective punishment for treason, during Turco-Venetian conflict.
Carpentras	16th Kislev	1512	Saved from riot.
Ditto	9th Nisan	1692	Saved from annihilation.
Ditto, called Yom va-Yosha	21st Nisan	1651	Saved from threat of massacre.
Casablanca, called Purim Hitler	2nd Kislev	1943	Escape from riot and Nazi occupation.
Castille (Spain) called Purim Martinez	1st Adar	1339	Saved from annihilation following accusations by Jew-baiter Gonzales Martinez, king's adviser.
Cavaillon (Provence)	25th Iyyar	1631	Plague ended.
Ditto	29th Sivan	1677	Saved from blood libel accusation.
Cento (Italy)	12th Av	1820	Escaped from fire.
Chieri (Italy)	1st Av	1797	Saved from danger of war.
Chios (Greece), called Purim de la Senora ("Purim of the Good Lady")	8th Iyyar	1595 (or 1820)?	Saved from death during Franco-Turkish war.
Cuneo (Italy)	5th Kislev	1799	Synagogue saved from destruction by shell.
Ettingen (Germany)	18th Iyyar	1690	Saved from destruction by enemies.
Ditto	29th Sivan	1713	?
Ferrara	24th Kislev	?	Saved from destruction by fire.
Ditto	18th Iyyar	1799	Escaped war riots.

List of Special Purims (cont.)

Purim of…	Observed on	Established in	Reason for Observance
Fez	22nd Kislev	1840	Saved from destruction.
Florence	27th Sivan	1791	Escaped sacking and riots.
Fossano (Italy)	18th Nisan	1796	Saved from bomb explosion during war.
Frankfurt on the Main, also called: Purim Winz or Purim Fettmilch	20th Adar	1616	Expelled Jews readmitted to town and chief Jew-baiter, Fettmilch, executed.
Fulda	15th Elul	?	?
Gumeldjina (Thrace) called: Purim de los ladrones (“Purim of the thiefs”)	22nd Elul	1786	Saved from collective punishment for instigating robbers to sack town.
Hebron	1st Av	?	Saved from collective punishment and execution by Ibrahim Pasha.
Ditto, called Purim Takka (“Window Purim”)	14th Tevet	1741	Saved from annihilation by miraculous ransom money on the windowsill of synagogue.
Ivrea (Italy)	1st Shevat	1797	Escaped plundering during revolutionary war.
Komotini (Gumurjina, Gumuldjina) (Greece)	22nd Elul	1768	Saved from destruction during Turkish suppression of Greek revolt.
Kovno	7th Adar (II)	1783	Privileges of civic freedom granted by King Stanislaus II
Leghorn	12th Shevat	1742	Saved from destruction in earthquake.
Ditto	25th Tevet	1810	Plague ends.
Ditto	16th Adar	1813	?
Lepanto (Greece)	11th Tevet	1699	Saved from destruction during Turkish war.
Medzibezh (Poland)	11th Tevet	1648 or 1649	Saved from annihilation by Chmielnicki’s bands.
Morocco	13th Nisan	1771	Saved from annihilation.
Mstislavl (Russia)	4th Shevat	1744	Saved from slaughter by Cossacks.
Ditto	3rd Kislev	1844	Saved from collective punishment for alleged rebellion against authorities.
Narbonne	20th Adar	1236	Saved from riots.
Oran	6th Av	1830	Saved from massacre before arrival of French troops.
Ostraha	23rd Nisan	1734 or 1768	Saved from pogrom.
Ditto	7th Tammuz	1792	Saved from destruction during Russo-Polish war.
Padua called Purim di fuoco (“Fire Purim”)	11th Sivan	1795	Saved from fire.
Ditto, called Purim di Buda	10th Elul	1684	Saved from massacre during Austro-Turkish (in Budapest).
Ditto, called Purim dei Sassi (?)	Shabbat “Bo”	1748	?
Pesaro/see also: Urbino and Senigallia	?	1799	Escaped damages of war.
Pitigliano (Italy)	15th Tammuz	1757	Collapse of school roof, no casualties.
Ditto	15th Sivan	1799	Saved from damages during revolutionary war.
Posen	1st Ḥeshvan	1704	Saved from death during Polish-Swedish war.
Prague	14th Ḥeshvan	1620	Saved from sacking and riots by protection of Emperor Ferdinand.
Ditto, called Vorhang Purim (“Curtain Purim”)	22nd Tevet	1622	Beadle of synagogue saved from hanging for keeping stolen curtains.
Purim Byzanc (observed by Jews of Thrace)	14th Adar	1574	Saved from extermination.
Ragusa	?	1631	Saved from accusation of blood libel.
Rhodes	14th Adar	1840	Saved from annihilation.
Ritova (Lithuania) called Purim Jeroboam b. Nebat.	14th Adar	1863	Jew-baiter Count Aginsky died.
Rome	1st Shevat	1793	Ghetto saved from assault and fire.
Sa’na	18th Adar	?	Saved from extermination.
Sarajevo	4th Ḥeshvan	1819	10 leaders of Jewish community freed from prison and saved from execution.
Senigallia (Italy)/see also: Urbino and Pesaro	15th Sivan	1799	Saved from annihilation during war by escaping to Ancona.
Sermide (Italy)	25th Tammuz	1809	Saved from earthquake.
Shiraz, called Purim Mo’ed Katan	2nd Ḥeshvan	1200 or 1400	Permitted to practice Judaism after having being forced to convert to Islam.

List of Special Purims (cont.)

Purim of…	Observed on	Established in	Reason for Observance
Sienna	15th Sivan	1799	Saved from destruction during revolution.
Spoleto	21st Sivan	1797	Saved from annihilation during revolutionary war
Ditto	7th Adar	?	?
Syracuse (Sicily), called Purim Saragossa	17th Shevat	1425	Saved from destruction for alleged treason by honoring King Alfonso with empty cases of Torah Scrolls.
Tetuan and Tangiers, called Purim de las bombas, or Purim de los Christianos	2nd Elul	1578	Saved from destruction during Moroccan Portuguese war.
Tiberias	7th Elul	1743	Saved from danger of war.
Ditto	4th Kislev	?	?
Trieste	14th Adar	1833	Leading Jew-baiter died.
Tripoli and Tunisia	25th Shevat	?	?
Ditto, called Purim Sheriff or Purim Kadebani (“False Purim”)	24th Tevet	1705	Saved from destruction by hostile ruler, Khalil Pasha.
Ditto, called Purim Borgḥel	29th Tevet	1793	Saved from destruction during occupation by Bourgel Phasa of Turkey.
Tunisia, called: Purim Sheleg (“Purim of Snow”)	24th Tevet	1891	Jewish quarter saved from natural disaster
Tunisia	15th Shevat	?	?
Turino	1st Av	1797	Saved from war and sacking.
Urbino	11th Sivan	1799	Saved from war and riots.
Verona	20th Tammuz	1607	Permission granted to lock ghetto gates from inside instead of from outside.
Vidin, Bulgaria, called Purim de los borrachones (“Purim of the Drunken”)	4th and 5th Ḥeshvan or 9th–10th	1806	Saved from annihilation following accusation that the ruler had been poisoned by his Jewish physician.
Ditto	2nd Adar	1878	Saved from destruction during Russo-Turkish (Balkan) war.
Vilna	15th Av	1794	Saved from destruction during Russo-Polish war.
Zborow (Galicia)	12th Tevet	?	Saved from annihilation because of blood libel accusation.
Family Purims			
Altschul family of Prague	22nd Tevet	1623	Head of family, Hanokh Moses, saved from death.
Brandeis family of Jungbunzlau (Bohemia), called Povidl Purim “Plum Jam Purim”	10th Adar	1731	David Brandeis and family saved from accusation of having killed gentiles by poisoning plum jam.
Danzig family of Vilna, called Pulverpurim (“Powder Purim”)	15th Kislev	1804	Family of Abraham Danzig author of “Ḥayyei Adam” saved from explosion of magnesium.
Elyashar family of Jerusalem	2nd Nisan	?	Saved from death.
Heller family of Prague	1st Adar	1629	Head of family, Yom Tov Lipman, rabbi of Prague saved from death sentence.
Jonathan ben Jacob of Fulda (Germany)	17th Tammuz	?	?
Maimon family of Lithuania	?	1750	Grandfather of Solomon Mimon saved from death sentence for blood libel.
Meyuḥas family of Jerusalem	16th Adar	1724	Head of family, Raphael Meyuḥas, escaped death by highwaymen.
Samuel Ha-Nagid of Spain	1st Elul	1039	Saved from death plot of conspirators.
Segal family of Cracow	1st Iyyar	1657	Family saved from drowning in river while escaping from pogrom.
Treves family (?)	Shabbat “Va-Yeẓe”	1758	Escaped from fire.

PURIM-SHPIL (Yid. lit. “Purim play”), monologue or group performances given at the traditional festive family meal held on the festival of *Purim. There is definite evidence that use of the term *Purim-shpil* was widespread among all Ashkenazi communities as early as the mid-16th century. The earliest written record in which the term appears is at the beginning of a lengthy poem relating the events of the Book of Esther with the aid of appropriate midrashic material, composed about 1555 in Venice by a Polish Jew (*Lieder des Venezianischen Lehrers Gumprecht von Szczebrszyn*, ed. by Moritz Stern (1922), 18). From the context it appears that the poem was intended as a *Purim-shpil*. However, there are extant manuscripts of Yiddish poems on the Purim story dating from at least the 15th century, and from the start of the 16th century printed versions began to circulate. Well into the 19th century this type of poem continued to be defined as a *Purim-shpil* (e.g., *Purim-Shpil*, Warsaw, 1869 and 1874). At first the term *Purim-shpil* was used to define a monologue during which the performer sometimes appeared in costume. The monologues were mostly rhymed paraphrases of the Book of Esther, as well as parodies on liturgical and other holy texts, such as a "kiddush" or a "sermon" for Purim, composed to entertain the audience. Together with the more complex forms, the monologue form of *Purim-shpil* continued to appear in Eastern Europe until World War II.

Manuscript fragments and other evidence from the second half of the 16th century attest to the gradual enlarging of the *Purim-shpil* to include presentations by several performers. One such fragment includes a contest between cantors from Poland, Italy, and Germany; it may be assumed that this is a combination of three earlier satirical monologues. Other fragments show evidence of growing complexity in dramatic expression blended with the traditional parody. Judging from the extant material it is probable that during the 16th century and until at least the mid-17th century, the subject matter of the *Purim-shpil* was drawn from contemporary Jewish life and was based on well-known humorous tales. This type of *Purim-shpil* also survived in Eastern Europe until World War II (16 *Purim-shpil* texts of this non-biblical type were published in the collection, *Yidisher Folklor* (1938), 219–74). In its initial and developing stages, the *Purim-shpil* often parallels the German *Fastnachtspiel*, as evidenced from texts of the 15th and 16th centuries. The *Purim-shpil* in all its varieties was usually presented in private homes during the festive family meal; the performers, who wore masks or primitive costumes, were generally recruited from among yeshivah students. In the course of time the *Purim-shpil* became the object of competition between groups of performers recruited not only from among students but also from among apprentices, craftsmen and mendicants; even professional entertainers saw in the *Purim-shpil* a field for their activity. By the 16th century, the prologues to the *Purim-shpil* had developed a conventional form, which included blessings for the audience, an outline of the contents of the performance, and an introduction of the actors; conventional epilogues had also developed, including parting blessings and appeals for an ample reward. (One of the shorter prologues reads in part: "Good Purim, good Purim, my worthy audience! And do you then know of Purim's significance?…" And an excerpt from an epilogue reads: "Today Purim has come in, tomorrow it goes out. Give me then my single groschen and kindly throw me out!…") Like the *Fastnachtspiel*, the Purim performance was introduced, conducted, and concluded by a narrator (leader of the performance), traditionally called *loyfer*, *shrayber*, or *payats*, and, as in the *Fastnachtspiel*, profanity and obscenity of an erotic nature are outstanding elements of the humorous effects.

Well-developed texts on biblical themes presented as *Purim-shpils* began to appear in the late 17th century. Naturally, the subject of the oldest surviving text of this type, a manuscript of 1697, is the story of the Book of Esther, popularly known as the *Akhashverosh-shpil*. In the 18th century the repertoire expanded to include *The Selling of Joseph* and *David and Goliath*, and in the 19th and 20th centuries East European performers presented *The Sacrifice of Isaac, Hannah and Penninah, The Wisdom of Solomon*, etc. (A collection of this genre of *Purim-shpil* was edited by Noah Prylucki in *Zamlikher far Yidishn Folklor* (1912), 125–88; (1917), 143–5.) Most of these biblical works retain the conventional form of *shpil* with prologues, epilogues, parodies, vulgar language, the traditional narrator, and, often, stories unconnected with any biblical theme. These older forms are very apparent in the above-mentioned text of 1697 and in a similar version of an *Akhashverosh-shpil* printed at Frankfurt in 1708 (which appears in J.J. Schudt's *Juedische Merckwuerdigkeiten*, 3 (Frankfurt and Leipzig (1714), 202–25). The printed version of the *Akhashveroshshpil* was burned by the city fathers of Frankfurt presumably because of the play's indecent elements. This was probably the reason for a public notice of 1728 in which the leaders of the Hamburg community banned the performance of all *Purim-shpils*. To assure compliance with the ban, fines were threatened and special investigating officers were posted.

As early as the beginning of the 18th century, the biblical *Purim-shpil* reflected many trends of the contemporary European theater in its literary style, choice of subject, and scenic design. Previously marked by extreme brevity, not exceeding a few hundred rhymed lines, and by the limited number of performers, the *Purim-shpil* became a complex drama with a large cast, comprising several thousand rhymed lines performed to musical accompaniment in public places for a fixed admission price. Nonetheless, the plays maintained a connection with Purim and were performed during the appropriate season. From the early 18th century there are extant texts of such plays and evidence of performances in Frankfurt, Hamburg, Metz, and Prague, and, later in the century, in Amsterdam and Berlin. Although there is an historical tie between the traditional *Purim-shpil* and the more developed biblical dramas of a later era, the term *Purim-shpil*, if strictly applied, refers only to those early, short performances at family gatherings.

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[Chone Shmeruk]

PURITY AND IMPURITY, RITUAL (Heb. טֻמְאָה וְטָהֳרָה, *tumah ve-toharah*), a symbolic system according to which a pure person or object is qualified for contact with the Temple and related sancta (holy objects and spaces) while an impure person or object is disqualified from such contact. Ritual impurity arises from physical substances and states associated with procreation and death, not in themselves sinful. Ritual impurities are in general permitted (if not unavoidable or obligatory) and in this they can be distinguished from moral impurities, which arise from prohibited acts. Both types of impurity are denoted by Hebrew terms of defilement (forms of *tame*) but context and associated terms indicate that different kinds of impurity are intended.

Ritual, or permitted, impurity is distinguished by the following features: (1) it is contagious, transferred from one person or object to another in a variety of ways, such as physical contact or sharing space within a covered area; (2) impurity contracted from a source of ritual impurity is impermanent and can be reduced and removed by some combination of ablutions, time, and/or the performance of specified rituals; (3) ritual impurity can defile sancta and must be kept separate from it. More severe forms of ritual impurity can also defile common (non-sacred) objects as well, and thus may require isolation or exclusion.

By contrast, moral impurity arises from the commission of certain heinous sins, specifically idolatry, bloodshed, and sexual transgressions. These sins are said to generate a moral impurity that symbolically defiles a range of sancta including the land of Israel itself and the sanctuary. In addition to originating in sin, moral impurity differs from ritual impurity in that it is not contagious (one does not contract impurity by touching a murderer), and it is not generally removed by rituals of bathing, laundering, and the like. Moral impurity is sometimes removed through a process of atonement. In some cases, a repentant sinner may bring a sacrificial offering to purge the sanctuary of the defilement caused by his sins. In severe cases, however, moral impurity is absolved only with punishment and/or death. The Yom Kippur rite is designed to purge the sanctuary of the defilement caused by unrepentant sins of the community at large.

The concept of ritual – as distinct from moral – purity and impurity is by no means exclusive to the Jewish religion; indeed it was a central and integral feature of most, if not all, ancient religions (see below). It is generally believed that impurity is a concurrent of the belief in evil spirits and a part of the taboo concept. Whatever its origins, the system of ritual purity and impurity as crafted in the priestly writings of the Hebrew Bible represents an attempt to "monotheize" the community's purity practices. In these writings, impurity is generally divorced from any association with evil spirits and functions as a symbol of that which is anathema to the holy.

In the Bible

The main source for the biblical laws of ritual purity and impurity is Leviticus 11–17 and Numbers 19. Other specific purity laws are also found in Leviticus 5:2–3; Numbers 31:19–20, Deuteronomy 14:3–21; 23:10–15; 24:8; 26:14. The ritual purity system limned in the priestly writings of the Hebrew Bible does not reflect a concern with health or hygiene. Only one set of diseases generates ritual impurity and many substances widely considered unhygienic, such as human and animal excrement, are not deemed to be ritually impure. While there is no theoretical definition of purity and impurity in the Bible, its function and symbolism can be readily deduced from the antithetical relationship between impurity and holiness (Lev. 11:43–47). Only God is inherently holy. Things that are nonholy, or common, may acquire holiness by being brought into God's realm (being sanctified or consecrated). The realm of the common is subject to two possible states connoting compatibility and incompatibility with holiness: purity and impurity. Under normal circumstances, common objects are pure and compatible with the holy. However, contact with certain sources of ritual impurity will defile common objects and render them incompatible with the holy. That which is holy is by definition pure and must never come in contact with the impure. If defiled, a sanctum loses both its holiness (becomes common) and its purity (becomes ritually impure). To be fully restored, it must first be purified (making it pure but common) and then resanctified (making it holy once again).

What are the sources of ritual impurity that are incompatible with the holiness of God? The three main sources of impurity are (1) corpses and certain animal carcasses, (2) *ẓara'at* – skin diseases in humans (a decomposition of the flesh associated with death; see Num. 12:12, Job 18:13) and fungal growths in fabrics and houses, and (3) genital discharges. Many scholars have noted that the physical substances and states labeled impure, and thus deemed to be anathema to God, are associated with death and procreation. The God of the Hebrew Bible does not die and does not have sexual relations. These are characteristic of humans. To be eligible to approach the sanctuary, God's residence among the Israelites, humans must separate from that which makes them least Godlike: death and procreation. The ritual purity laws requiring separation from sources of impurity are thus essential to the frequent priestly exhortation to be like God (*imitatio dei*) and to strive for holiness.

According to Leviticus 10:10, the priests must teach Israel the distinction between pure and impure on the one hand, and holy and common (or profane) on the other, in order to prevent impermissible contacts between the holy and the impure. Maintaining a ritually pure and holy area in the community (the sanctuary compound) is essential if God is to dwell in Israel's midst. During the wilderness period, the entire camp of the Israelites was a kind of holy war camp with the ark in the center; thus, it was subject to stricter purity regulations than the ordinary settled habitation. This accounts for the exclusion of severe impurity bearers from the camp (Num. 5:2–3 and 31:13–44), even though such persons are not excluded from their communities in the laws for ordinary settled habitation (see below).

CORPSES AND CARCASSES. The most severe source of ritual impurity is the human corpse, which communicates to persons and objects that contact it or enter an enclosed space with it (Num. 19:14ff.) an impurity that lasts seven days and can in turn defile others with a milder one-day impurity. Human bones and graves also convey ritual impurity. Corpse impurity is so severe that some sources exclude the corpse-defiled from the holy camp for the period of impurity (Num. 5:2–3, Num. 31:13–24). Numbers 19, which reflects the situation in settled communities generally, rather than the holy camp, does not. The corpse-defiled are purified by a ritual process that includes sprinkling with a mixture of water and ashes from a ritually burned red heifer on the third and seventh days, bathing, laundering and waiting till sundown. Corpse-defiled objects are purified by fire or immersion in water as appropriate, though defiled earthenware cannot be purified and is simply destroyed.

The carcasses of all large land animals and eight types of smaller land animals (e.g., mice, lizards) convey a one-day ritual impurity. One who touches or carries them becomes impure until nightfall (Lev. 11:24ff.). The purity laws pertaining to animals are complicated by the fact that many defile by ingestion (see *Dietary Laws). The only living beings to contract corpse impurity are humans, both Israelite and non-Israelite (Num. 19:11). Food may also become impure if it has first been in contact with water (which makes it "receptive" to impurity; Lev. 11:34).

SCALE-DISEASE OR "LEPROSY". "Leprosy" is a conventional but erroneous rendering of Hebrew *ẓara'at*. The term covers a set of skin lesions in humans that feature scaling of the skin as well as fungal growths in clothes and residential buildings; these are detailed in Lev. 13–14. Skin lesions of human beings generate a most severe impurity (defiling to both sancta and common objects) and can be subdivided: one type is immediately declared as impure, another as pure (including a case where the symptoms appear over the whole body). A third type requires isolation for a week or a fortnight, and if there is no deterioration the bearer is considered pure. Because the scale-diseased person can defile even common objects and persons, he is either restricted within or excluded from the community (Lev. 13:46; Num. 12:14–15). Scale-disease of clothes and buildings always requires isolation of the afflicted entity for a week or a fortnight and only following this period is it decided whether it is pure or not. The purification ritual for persons is carried out by the priest only after healing is complete (hence, the ritual is not curative). It is more intricate and complicated than for other impure persons, and bears certain similarities to the Azazel (scapegoat) ceremony on the Day of Atonement (Lev. 16:5–11). Impurity is removed by sprinkling a mix of bird blood and water, and then carried away by a live bird. The person bathes, launders, and shaves, waits a week, and then bathes, launders, and shaves again before offering a special sacrifice at the sanctuary. Houses from which *ẓara'at* has been removed are purified by sprinkling and dispatch of a live bird; fabrics are purified by washing.

In many narrative texts of the Hebrew Bible, *ẓara'at*, like death, can be deployed as a divine punishment for sin (Ex. 4:6; Num. 12:10–15; Deut. 28:27, 35; II Sam. 3:29; II Kings 5). Nevertheless, the priestly discussion of scale-disease impurity makes no mention of a state of sinfulness, only of ritual impurity preventing contact with sancta. There is slight evidence for a biblical association of scale-disease with death (Num. 12:12, Job 18:13), supporting the claim that biblical impurities arise from substances and conditions associated with procreation and death.

ISSUE FROM THE SEXUAL ORGANS. Emissions of semen, pus, or blood from the genitals of either sex convey ritual impurity. Emissions may be divided into two main classes: normal emissions (discharges of semen from the male and menstrual blood from the female) and abnormal emissions (diseased discharges of non-menstrual blood or pus).

Normal emissions are less severe, conveying impurity only for the period of the discharge itself: one-day for an emitter of semen and (an idealized) seven-days for a menstruant. Semen (the least defiling genital flux) defiles clothing, but since emitters of semen do not convey a secondary impurity, the semen-defiled are restricted only from the sphere of the holy (the sanctuary area and holy items outside the sanctuary such as sacrificial meats). Purification for a semen emitter is achieved by bathing, laundering, and waiting until evening. Sexual intercourse conveys a one-day semen impurity to the female partner as well as the male. This is removed by bathing and waiting until evening. The ritual impurity of a menstruant (*niddah*) is slightly more severe, defiling both persons and objects for one day. The bed and chair of the menstruant are defiled (probably due to the possibility of actual contact with the flux) and can convey a one-day impurity to persons or things by contact. Objects or furniture on which a menstruant sits or lies can convey impurity by contact. Sexual intercourse with a menstruant conveys an equivalent seven-day impurity to the male partner (Lev. 15:24; but Lev. 18:19 prohibits sex with a menstruant). Purification from menstrual impurity does not require a sacrifice; we may deduce that the menstruant bathes and launders on the seventh day and waits until evening although this is not explicitly stated. Lev. 15, which contains the impurity regulations for genital emissions, normalizes and regularizes menstruation on analogy to the emission of semen. These regulations do not banish the menstruant from her home and they contain none of the rhetoric of disgust for menstruation evidenced in other biblical texts (such as Isaiah 30:22 which suggests a practice of physical expulsion for menstruants; or Ezekiel 7:19–20; 36:17) and in ancient literature generally (see Pliny, *The Natural History*, Book VII, chapter 13).

Abnormal emissions convey a more severe form of ritual impurity that resembles in its effect the other severe impurities of *ẓara'at* and corpse contamination. First, the impurity continues for a period of seven days beyond the time of the discharge itself (similar to the week between healing and purification of scale-disease). Second, the purification ritual, like that prescribed for *ẓara'at* and corpse contamination, requires sacrificial offerings. Third, the *zav* and *zavah* (male and female with an abnormal emission) are excluded from the sanctuary camp (Num. 5:2–3). The regulations in Leviticus 15, presumably intended for settled habitation, do not include expulsion from the community. The *zav/ah* conveys to a bed, chair, or saddle on which he sits or lies a one-day impurity that can defile other persons or things. Touching a *zav/ah* or being touched by a *zav/ah* with unwashed hands leads to a one-day impurity. The spittle of a *zav* also conveys a one-day impurity. Purification from abnormal genital emission, beginning seven days after the condition has healed, involves bathing in "living water" (*mayyim ḥayyim*; (Lev. 15:13)), laundering, waiting until evening, and bringing a burnt offering and a purification offering (*ḥattat*) on the eighth day.

Lochial discharge (genital emissions attending and following the birthing process) also convey ritual impurity. For seven days after the birth of a male and fourteen days after the birth of a female, a woman defiles like a menstruant. For an additional 33 or 66 days (for a male or female child respectively), the mother bears a lesser impurity and is restricted only from contact with sancta, not ordinary objects or persons (presumably sexual intercourse is permitted). The new-born child is not considered impure. Purification from post-partum impurity is not detailed and must be deduced from comparable impurities, but likely included bathing and laundering after both the first and second stages. When the purification period is over, the woman brings a burnt-offering sacrifice and a purification (*ḥatta't*) sacrifice to the sanctuary (Lev. 12:6–8).

Other permitted ritual defilements occur in the context of the cult when those engaged in certain purification rituals absorb or otherwise incur a one-day impurity.

PURIFICATION FROM PERMITTED (RITUAL) IMPURITIES REGARDING PERSONS AND OBJECTS. Common to all purifications for ritual impurity is the time factor. One must wait until the evening for the lesser degrees of impurity (e.g., Lev. 11:24, 25, 27) and seven days for the greater degrees (e.g., Lev. 12:2). Rituals increase with the severity of the impurity. Thus, ablutions, bathing for persons and washing for objects, are a basic purification rite for all permitted ritual impurities even where not expressly specified. Slightly more severe forms of contact with a source of impurity (carrying rather than mere touching) and impurities lasting longer than one-day also require laundering (Lev. 11:25, 28). Sprinkling, another form of cleansing, is prescribed for the severe impurities (sprinkling with water and blood for the scale-diseased, with water and the ashes of a red heifer for corpse-defilement). The more severe ritual impurities of abnormal genital emissions and scale-disease require a *ḥattat* (purification offering) to purify the sanctuary, not the offerer, of impurity generated by his or her condition. (The offerer's personal impurity has been removed by the passage of time and by ablutions following the healing of his or her condition.) On occasion, additional sacrifices are prescribed as appeasements that enable the full reintegration of the offerer (e.g., a burnt offering for the *zav/ah*, Lev. 15:14–15, 29–30). The *asham* offering required of the scale-diseased person is normally brought for cases of sacrilege and may reflect an ancient idea that scale-disease is a punishment for sacrilege.

Objects defiled by contact with a corpse are passed through fire if they can endure it; if not they are immersed in water (Num. 31:19–24). Earthenware vessels cannot be purified but must be broken, as must even stoves and ovens. Various modes of destruction or disposal are prescribed for other impurities that cannot be removed. For example, corpses must be buried outside the settlement, fabrics infected by *ẓara'at* are burned and *ẓara'at* infected building materials are deposited in an impure place outside the camp.

Defiled sancta are fully restored with a two-step process of purification followed by reconsecration. Purification rituals also elevate persons to positions of increased access to the sacred. Priests undergo ablutions (washing hands and feet) before serving in the sanctuary and special ablutions attend the high priest's performance of the Yom Kippur ritual. Levites are purified by shaving, laundering, and sprinkling with "waters of purification" (*me ḥattat*; Num. 8:6–7, 15, 21) before assisting the priests and performing sanctuary labors.

PROHIBITED (MORAL) IMPURITIES AND THEIR PURIFICATION. Leviticus 18, 20, and related texts (most belonging to a set of writings known as the Holiness Code) employ impurity terminology in a moral context. (In addition to the term *tame*, the terms *to'evah* and *ḥanaf* are used in reference to moral, and not ritual, impurity.) According to these texts, moral impurity arises from the commission of sin and defiles the sinner himself (with a non-removable degradation) and the sanctuary. Unlike ritual impurity, moral impurity is not conveyed to others; it is not subject to rites of purification (such as ablutions). Moral purity of persons can be achieved only by punishment for heinous sins (such as *karet*, the divine penalty of "cutting-off"), atonement for lesser sins, or abstention from defiling immoral acts in the first instance. Where ritual impurity defiles persons, some objects, and the outer altar of the sanctuary, severe moral impurity defiles the innermost areas of the sanctuary as well as the land. Land that is repeatedly defiled by sexual transgressions will eventually "vomit out" those who dwell upon it, a reference to exile (see Lev. 18:25, 28).

Three classes of heinous moral transgression are singled out as sources of a moral impurity that defiles the land. These transgressions, which incur severe punishment, include various sexual sins, homicide, and idolatry. According to Leviticus 18 and 20, sexual sins such as incest (18:6–18), adultery (18:20), homosexuality (18:22), bestiality (18:23), and intercourse with a menstruant (18:19, 20:18), result in *karet* for the offender and defilement of the land (exposing the community to the danger of expulsion). In other texts, victims of sexual violations incur a personal moral defilement (a non-contagious condition of degradation), as in the case of rape (Gen. 34:5, 13, 27) and incest (Ezek. 22:11). So, too, do those who remarry after an intervening union (Deut. 24:1–4).

Illicit (i.e., non-judicial, non-military) homicide, whether intentional or unintentional, also defiles the land (Num. 35:33–34). The manslayer bears "bloodguilt," a kind of moral impurity, and his life is forfeit. In cases of murder, the personal defilement of the murderer and the defilement of the land are removed only by the death of the murderer. In instances of accidental homicide, the death of the perpetrator at the hands of the victim's blood avenger also removes bloodguilt and impurity from the land. However, the accidental manslayer may take refuge in one of five cities designated for this purpose until the death of the high priest, which serves to remove the impurity of the homicide.

Two idolatrous actions are described as defiling in Leviticus (offering a child to Molech in Leviticus 20:2–5 and consulting the dead in Lev. 19:31). However, numerous biblical texts speak of idolatry, idols, and idolatrous utensils more broadly as defiling the worshipper (e.g., Josh. 22:17, Jer. 2:23, Ezek. 20:7, 18, 26, 31), the sanctuary (Jer. 7:30, Ezek. 5:11), and the land (Jer. 2:7–9; Ezek. 36:17–18). Offenders are subject to stoning and the divine penalty of *karet* (cutting off). In many passages, idols and their cultic appurtenances must be destroyed or disposed of (for burning see Ex. 32:20, Deut. 7:5, 25, II Kings 10:26; for burying see Gen. 35:4).

In addition to the three classes of heinous sin, lesser transgressions generate a moral impurity that defiles the sanctuary. The defiling effect of these transgressions is calibrated to the sinner's intentionality (deliberate or inadvertent sin) and the presence or absence of repentance. The sanctuary defilement of inadvertent sins is purged by bringing a *ḥattat* sacrifice. Repentance reduces deliberate sins to a status equal to that of unintentional sin, allowing the removal of sanctuary defilement by *ḥattat* also. Brazen, unrepented sins and unintentional sins of which the perpetrator is unaware remain unremedied. Thus, Leviticus 16 describes an annual ritual process designed to purify the sanctuary from the accumulated defilements accruing to it as a result of these trespasses. On the Day of Atonement (or Yom Kippur) a *ḥattat* sacrifice is brought on behalf of the community. The high priest confesses all of the sins of the Israelites over the head of a goat which is then dispatched into the wilderness.

Although ritual impurities are not sinful, failure to purify oneself from a permitted ritual impurity (e.g., corpse-defilement) is sinful and defiles the sanctuary with a moral impurity. If inadvertent, the situation can be rectified by bringing a *ḥattat* (purification offering) in addition to the normal purification procedures for the ritual impurity. If deliberate and unrepented, the punishment is *karet*.

The purity requirements for Nazirites and priests are higher than those for ordinary Israelites because of the greater holiness of the former. Thus, while Israelites may become impure from any corpse, priests may not defile themselves by any corpse but that of close kin. The high priest and Nazirite must avoid corpse-defilement altogether. Nazirite contact with a corpse is a sin that defiles the sanctuary. If done inadvertently, a *ḥattat* must be offered to purify the sanctuary, but if done deliberately the Nazirite is punished with *karet*.

Both ritual and moral impurity appear in biblical sources as real and potent forces. While their sources and modes of transfer differ, they are deemed to have real (albeit different) effects in the world. There are, however, secondary non-literal applications of terms of impurity that should be understood as mere metaphor. For example, "a pure heart" (Jer. 4:14, Ps. 24:4, 51:12, 73:1) and "pure hands" (Gen. 20:5, II Sam. 22:21, Ps. 18:21, 25) are clearly metaphors for righteousness while "impure lips" (Isa. 6:5) is a metaphor for impious speech.

GENERAL. Several scholars have stressed the similarity between the laws of purity and impurity in the Bible and those of the ancient Near East, including Egypt, Mesopotamia, and the ancient Hittites. According to Herodotus (1,198), it was customary in Babylon to bathe in water after cohabitation and it was forbidden to touch any utensil prior to this. According to an ancient Babylonian text, a man touching a menstruating woman was unclean for six days. The pig was considered unclean, although it was not considered forbidden food. In Egypt it was forbidden for a man to enter the temple after cohabitation unless he first bathed, and the priests bathed twice daily and twice nightly. The king of Egypt purified himself every morning (cf. Ex. 7:15). Among the Hittites a corpse was considered impure and there is evidence of a detailed ritual for the purification of a mother after giving birth. Despite these significant similarities and the ancient, pre-monotheistic roots for many Israelite purity practices, any effort to understand the purpose and meaning of these practices as systematized by the monotheizing priestly writings in Lev. 12–16 must attend to the larger symbolism of impurity and holiness in those writings. Thus, although Babylonian purity rites are accompanied by healing incantations, it cannot be assumed that biblical purification rites as crafted by the priestly writers are designed to heal, since they occur only *after* the diseased condition (abnormal genital emission, *ẓara'at*) has already ceased.

In some cultures purity regulations serve as tools of subordination. There is little evidence to suggest that Israelite purity regulations served this function. Ritual impurity is not a permanent or long-lasting stigma applied to certain groups selectively. The biblical system of ritual impurity is impermanent and applies to all Israelites – priests and lay Israelites, men and women.

In the Halakhah

A general concern for ritual purity is attested in the Second Temple Period. Ritual purity was important when handling consecrated food or objects and impurity had restrictive consequences, such as disqualification from eating sacrificial food, or participating in the Passover celebration. Purity observance, however, was important for reasons that extended beyond cultic practice and access. For example, groups like the Essenes and Pharisees voluntarily adopted the purity regulations of priests, striving to eat their food in a state of purity, as part of their quest for holiness. Moreover, strong biblical sanctions attended the failure to purify from severe impurities (e.g., Num. 19:13 threatens those who do not purify from corpse impurity with *karet* or "cutting off"). Finally, the larger Hellenistic milieu was one in which corpse impurity was feared and avoided. In Greek tradition, priests could not attend funerals and were defiled by even looking at a corpse. Houses of the dead contracted impurity and were to be cleansed with sea water. Tombs, bones, and uncovered graves were to be avoided. According to Roman law, corpse impurity traveled along blood lines so that relatives of the dead were defiled even if physically distant. For Jews to observe their own ritual purity laws in such an environment would be rather unremarkable, as evidenced by passages in Philo and Josephus. All of these non-cultic inducements to the observance of purity regulations while the Temple still stood, help explain rabbinic interest in the laws of purity in a post-Temple world.

The *tannaim* continue the biblical distinction between ritual impurity and moral impurity, recognizing that ritual impurity arises from natural, unavoidable and even obligatory circumstances and not from sin. While the biblical laws of ritual impurity and purity are systematized and extended in rabbinic *halakhah* (at least ⅓ of the Mishnah deals with the laws of ritual purity in some fashion), moral impurity and the consequences of sin are matters of moral instruction rather than legal formulation; they are treated in aggadic rather than halakhic texts. (The rabbis expand on the list of morally defiling transgressions, as in *Mekhilta, ba-Ḥodesh* 9: "anyone who is arrogant causes the land to become impure").

The following discussion of rabbinic and later halakhic impurity regulations focuses exclusively on the treatment of ritual impurity.

RABBINIC SYSTEMATIZATION OF BIBLICAL IMPURITY REGULATIONS. Twelve complete tractates in the Mishnah and the Tosefta, scores of *mishnayot* in other tractates, and many *beraitot* in the halakhic Midrashim and in the two Talmuds, as well as the studies of *amoraim* connected with them, are devoted to these *halakhot*. The rabbinic authors assume that the biblical regulations are not random, but form a system whose principles can be discerned and extrapolated. Through exacting exegesis, comparison of parallel passages and logical inference, they fill the gaps in the biblical material and produce a fully elaborated scheme of ritual purity and impurity. For example, as regards purification, rabbinic authors realize that: (1) the requirement of bathing can be assumed even where not specified (supported by such parallels as Lev. 11:39–40, Lev. 17:15, and Lev. 22:5–6); (2) ablutions or immersion of some kind are a minimal purity requirement for any defiled person or object even when not specified; (3) more intense contact with impurity (carrying and eating rather than merely touching a carcass; lying down or eating rather than merely stepping in a *ẓara'at* afflicted house) necessitates laundering as well as bathing (compare Lev. 11:39–40 with 17:15; Lev. 14:36,46 with 14:47); (4) since more intense contact with impurity necessitates laundering as well as bathing, the requirement to launder assumes the need to bathe even where not specified (supported by such parallels as Num. 19:19 and Num. 31:24); (5) logic demands that females with genital discharges of any description must bathe even where not specified since (a) bathing is required of those they defile and (b) the bathing requirement indicated in the first case of genital discharge discussed in Leviticus 15 (the *zav*) extends to all cases, male and female, subsumed thereunder (see Lev. 15:33); (6) for more severe impurity bearers ablutions remove layers of impurity (supported by Lev. 14:8, Lev. 15:11), a biblical idea that generates the rabbinic category of *tevul yom* – one who has undergone immersion and is awaiting sunset for complete purification. The *tevul yom* is no longer defiling in the common sphere (hence he may reenter the camp; cf. Lev. 14:8) and is a threat only to sancta and food that must be eaten in purity,

The Categories of Impurity. Rabbinic systematization may also be seen in the categorization of the biblical impurities. The ritual impurities mentioned in the Torah (corpses, carcasses, genital emissions, and scale-disease) are regarded in rabbinic texts as "fathers of impurity" (*avot ha-tumah*). Impurity affects persons, vessels, clothing, food, liquid, and, in some cases, beds and chairs. Entities that contract ritual impurity from a father of impurity are called "children" (*yeladot*) or "offspring of impurity" (*toledot ha-tumah*) and are impure in the first degree. These offspring of impurity render only foods and liquids impure in the second degree (BK 2b; Yad, Tumat Met 5:7). In the common sphere the chain of impurity ceases in the second degree, but hands, food and liquid which are impure in the second degree still transmit impurity to dedicated or sacred produce. *Terumah* contracts a third degree impurity but does not transmit impurity further. Sacred produce (*kodoshim*, dedicated to Temple use) can contract a third degree impurity and transmit an impurity to foods and liquids to the fourth degree (Sot. 5:2; Toh. 2:3–5; Yad, Avot ha-Tumah 11:1–4). The exception to this descending series is that which contracts impurity from a corpse, which (based on an ambiguity in Num. 19:22) is deemed by the rabbis to be a father of impurity which is itself able to defile both persons and objects. In order to differentiate the corpse from the corpse-defiled, the corpse itself is called a "father of fathers" (*avi avot*) of impurity by Rashi (Pes. 14b, 17a, et al.) and other commentators (R. Samson to Kel. 1:1; Oho. 1:2).

Methods of Contracting Impurity. Corpses and related matter (bones, graves). Rabbinic texts are careful to define and prescribe minimum specifications for corpse matter, graveyards, and bones that convey impurity according to Num. 19:16. They also define the "tent" that conveys the impurity of a corpse reposing within it according to Num. 19:11. The rabbis recognize that the power of a tent in which a corpse reposes to convey impurity lies in its overhang and declare other overhangs capable of conveying impurity (a tree or awning for example). Impurity by overshadowing (Kel. 1:4) is caused whether the corpse or corpse related item (such as a bone) overshadows the person or utensil, these overshadow the corpse, or something a handbreadth wide overshadows both the corpse and the object (Oho. 3:1; Naz. 53b; Maimonides, Yad, Tumat Met 1:10). However, significant limitations of the corpse impurity law are effected by the rabbinic determinations that (1) corpses defile in a vertical direction only and (2) the only items in a corpse-defiled house susceptible to defilement are unsealed vessels, foods, and liquids (interpreting Num. 19:11 in light of Lev 11:32 and Num. 31:20). The latter leniency stands in stark contrast to Qumranic law in which every single item in a corpse-defiled house contracts impurity.

Ẓara'at Impurity. The rabbinic material pertaining to the scale-diseased person (*meẓora*) reveals a desire to reduce the incidence of *ẓara'at* as far as possible. The rabbinic definition of the disease is narrowed to exclude certain persons (e.g., resident aliens) and places (e.g., Jerusalem in Tosef., Neg. 6:1 and later all of Babylonia in Ket. 77b). Certification of a *meẓora* is subject to stringent criteria concerning minimal size, time of examination, location of affliction, and so on. *Ẓara'at* for garments is limited by excluding all naturally colored or dyed fabrics, and houses are susceptible to *ẓara'at* only if the original stone or wood is affected (Sifra, Neg. 5:3). An extra week is added to the quarantine period for *ẓara'at*, and doubtful cases must be decided leniently (in opposition to the general rule that doubts in matters of Torah law are decided stringently; cf. Neg 7:14). That the purpose of these rules is to reduce the incidence of *ẓara'at* impurities is attested by the pronouncement in Tosefta, *Nega'im* 6:1 that "there never was and never will be a case of a *ẓara'at* infected house."

At the same time, the actual impurity of a *meẓora* is elaborated in a relatively stringent manner in rabbinic *halakhah*. The biblical text offers very little on the conveyance of impurity by a *meẓora*, and the rabbis fill in this gap by comparative exegesis. Thus the *meẓora* is said to defile others present in the same house on analogy with the *ẓara'at* affected house, which defiles its contents. The *meẓora*'s defilement by overhang is analogized to that of a corpse. Since the spittle and shifting (see below) of the less severely defiled *zav* conveys impurity, the rabbis rule that the spittle and shifting of the more severely defiled scale-diseased person must also convey impurity. Thus a *meẓora* defiles others by touching, shifting, carrying without contact, spitting, and according to *Zav* 5:6, breathing. According to *Niddah* 34, all fluids of a *meẓora* are impure. Rabbinic sources also define legal minima for the conveyance of impurity. For example, a scale-diseased person must put his head and the greater part of his body into a house in order to defile by overhang; a person must put his head and the greater part of his body into a house afflicted with *ẓara'at* in order to contract impurity from it; a *ẓara'at* diseased garment must be the size of an olive or more to defile a house in which it is put (Neg. 13:8); building materials from a house afflicted by *ẓara'at* must be the size of an olive or more to convey impurity to humans and vessels by contact, carrying, and overhang (Neg. 13:6; Tosef., Neg. 6:11; Yad, Tumat Ẓara'at 16:1).

The *meẓora* is subject to some restrictions. He is not allowed within walled cities, and the Mishnah states that a partition 10 handbreadths high and four cubits wide was made in the synagogue to segregate the *meẓora* from other congregants, and he was required to enter first and exit last (Neg. 13:12). The Mishnah shows greater stringency in its treatment of the *meẓora* than the *Sifra* or the Babylonian Talmud (the latter declaring that there is no *ẓara'at* in Babylonia at all). Some aggadic traditions express the older view that *ẓara'at* is a divine punishment for transgression (Lev R. 15:5, 16:1, 17:3).

Genital Emissions. The rabbinic systematization of impure genital emissions is complex and there are differences among the sources. In general, the semen emitter is distinguished from other dischargers in that the former conveys impurity to persons only through sexual intercourse and not by contact. This is because the semen, and not the semen emitter, is an *av tumah* (the semen emitter being impure in the first degree). The other dischargers are analogized by virtue of their having a flux. While rabbinic texts recognize a hierarchy among the *zav*, *zavah*, *niddah,* and first-stage *yoledet*, they nevertheless equate their potential to defile to a large degree. A unique feature of discharge impurity is the ability of its bearers to defile by pressure (*midras*), based on the attention in Lev. 15 to the impurity of items upon which these persons have sat or lain. Because Lev. 15 specifically mentions seats and beds, the rabbis limit *midras* impurity to items used for sitting or lying (Nid. 49b). However, Lev. 15:10 attributes impurity to "all that is under" (the *zav*), and not merely beds and seats. The rabbis choose to read this verse as attributing impurity to "all that [the *zav*] is under" (a grammatically possible reading), generating the concept of "*maddaf*" (impurity of items located above the *zav.* Although it is not clear what these items are in tannaitic texts, the Babylonian Talmud limits *maddaf* to the bed covering of the *niddah*. *Maddaf* uncleanness is understood to be of rabbinic origin and is considered a light impurity. Persons with a genital discharge also defile by shifting or being shifted (*hesset*). *Hesset* is when an object is supported or carried by one with a flow without direct contact.

While rabbinic *halakhah* extends the defiling power of bodily discharges by systematic analogizing, there is evidence of a simultaneous desire to limit impurity. Susceptibility to *midras* impurity by flux-bearers is limited to beds and seats. Earthenware and items that cannot be purified are not considered susceptible to defilement by flux-bearers. In addition, comparison with Qumranic exegesis of the same biblical laws reveals a lenient tendency on the part of the rabbis. At Qumran, all women, not merely menstruants, are excluded from Jerusalem; excrement is also viewed as a defiling discharge, and semen-emitters contract a three-day impurity. Although the reference to "places of impurity" in Mishnah *Niddah* 7:4 may point to a custom in tannaitic times of isolating menstruants in special places, the practice is not robustly attested in rabbinic *halakhah*. In general, while sectarian exegetes fill scriptural gaps in a stringent manner, creating a purity system that ultimately requires separation and isolation in a desert community, the rabbis fill scriptural gaps in a less stringent manner, enabling observance to continue in the course of everyday existence.

Things susceptible to impurity are Israelites, utensils, food, and drink. Although biblically, a *ger* (gentile resident alien) can contract corpse uncleanness (see Num. 19:10b–14), the rabbis understand the term *ger* to refer to a proselyte, and conclude that only a convert and not a gentile contracts corpse impurity (Naz. 61b; Yad, Tumat Met 1:13). All human corpses convey impurity, but whether a gentile corpse defiles by contact and carrying only (Yev. 61a; Maim. *ibid.*, 1:12) or also by overshadowing (Oho. 18:7) is disputed. All utensils, except those made of stone, unfired clay, or dung, are susceptible to impurity no matter what their shape. Some, however, such as flat wooden or bone utensils, contract impurity by rabbinic law only (Men. 69b; Kel. 11:1; 15:1; Yad, Kelim 1:6, 10). Glass vessels are the subject of a special decree (Shab. 14b, 15a, 16b; Yad, Kelim 1:15). Metal vessels that contact a corpse take on its degree of impurity (based on exegesis of Num. 19:16). Utensils can contract impurity only when they are completed and the sages defined what stage of manufacture marks completion for the different types of vessels. Broken vessels likewise are not susceptible to impurity but some, on being repaired or reassembled, revert by a special rabbinic decree to their original impurity (Shab. 16b).

Purifications. As in the Bible, impurity is removed by sacrifices, immersions or ablutions, waiting for sunset, and in some cases special cultic acts. An individual with a genital discharge counts seven pure days and then has to bathe in living waters, i.e., a spring (Mik. 1:8). A *meẓora* whose signs of impurity have disappeared brings two birds that have lived in freedom, and the priest (or in another view, any person) slaughters one over a new earthenware bowl, then takes cedar wood, hyssop, and scarlet wool and binds them together. He then brings the tips of the wings and the tail of the second bird near to them, dips them in the blood and sprinkles it seven times on the back of the hand (and some say also on the forehead) of the *meẓora*. After sending away the living bird the priest shaves the *meẓora*. After seven days, during which the *meẓora* may enter within the wall of Jerusalem but is still regarded as a "father of impurity," the priest shaves him a second time and the *meẓora* must then wash his garments and bathe (Neg. 14:1–2; Yad, Tumat Zara'at 11:1–2). He who contracts impurity from a corpse is sprinkled on the third and seventh days of his impurity with purification-offering water, and after the sprinkling on the seventh day is obliged to bathe. Bathing alone is sufficient for all others who are impure and can be purified. Wherever bathing is mentioned in connection with those who are impure, except in the case of one with a flux, the bathing takes place in a **mikveh*. The purification of the impure is completed at the going down of the sun (Lev. 22:6–7). On the day the impure individual bathes, he is called a *tevul yom* (immersed that day) and is disqualified from *terumah* and hallowed things. The bathing of the hands for (the eating of) hallowed things also requires a *mikveh*. Otherwise those needing to wash their hands must pour a quarter *log* of water (about a quarter liter) over the hands (see *Ablution).

The priest who was to burn the red heifer and the high priest who was to serve on the Day of Atonement were separated from their households seven days beforehand and sprinkled with the purification-offering water (Par. 3:1). The duty of every Israelite to purify himself for the festival (Sifra, Shemini 4; RH 16b) is also because of the pilgrimage to the Temple (Yad, Tumat Okhelim 16:10). Immersions are sometimes required even of the ritually pure to mark the transition to a sacred context: "None may enter the Temple court for the service, even though he is pure, until he has immersed himself" (Yoma 3:3; TJ, Yoma 40b). Certain sects habitually immersed themselves even though they were not impure. According to Josephus (Wars, 2, 129), the Essenes used to immerse their bodies in cold water before their communal meals at noon and in the evening. The immersion of the "morning bathers," too, was unconnected with seminal impurity, but was a regular daily immersion. The Pharisees opposed this custom, and responded to the complaint of the morning bathers that "they mention the Divine Name in the morning without immersion," to the effect that, "I complain against you morning bathers who mention the Divine Name out of a body in which impurity resides."

Food. All foods set apart for human consumption can contract impurity, once they are detached from the ground and have been made susceptible through being moistened, to the satisfaction of their owners, by one of the following seven liquids: water, dew, oil, wine, milk, blood, honey (Uk. 3:1; Makhsh. 1:1; 6:4). These liquids themselves also contract impurity (Yad, Tumat Okhelim 1:4 and commentaries), in an even stricter degree than foodstuffs (Par. 8:7; Toh. 2:6, Yad, Avot ha-Tumah 10:10). Liquids are the most potent conveyers of impurity. If defiled by an item, even in the third degree, they contract and convey a first degree impurity.

Fathers of Impurity on the Authority of the Scribes. In addition to the Pentateuchal sources of ritual impurity, the rabbinic sages ascribed irregular forms of ritual impurity to the *bet ha-peras* ("burial area," see below), to gentile countries, to idols and related items, and to gentiles. These impurities bear the signs of rabbinic innovation, including controversy over the details, sporadic enforcement, resolution of doubtful cases on the side of leniency, conceptual irregularity, and the use of analogical formulations ("x conveys impurity *like* a menstruant or *like* a corpse").

Burial Area. A burial area (*bet ha-peras*) is defined as land in which a ploughed-over bone, a lost grave, or burial niches (*kukhim*) may be present. By rabbinic decree, such areas are deemed to be impure by reason of the doubt that attaches to them. These fields have special laws for building, sowing, planting, and impurity removal (Oho. 17:1, 18:1–5; Tosef., Oho. 17:1–2).

Gentile Countries. Gentile lands are decreed by the rabbis to be ritually impure (the decree is attributed in later sources to Yose b. Yoezer and Yose b. Yohanan; see b. Shab. 14b; Tosef., Par. 3:5). In the Mishnah and Tosefta, the juxtaposition of the impurity of gentile lands with the impurity of the *bet ha-peras* indicates that gentile lands were likewise deemed impure because of doubt about the possible presence of bones, corpses, and graves (Tosef., Ahilot 17:6–7, 18:1–5, 14–17, Tosef., Kel. 7:1). In the Hebrew Bible, land is defiled *morally*, by sinful deeds such as idolatry, but not ritually. The few biblical verses that refer to gentile lands as impure (Amos 7:17 and Josh. 22:18) should be understood as references to moral impurity (stemming from the idolatry that occurs there). Thus, the rabbinic decree of *ritual* impurity is a true innovation. The degree to which and the precise manner in which gentile lands convey ritual impurity is not explicit in the halakhic sources (see Maimonides, Yad, Tumat Met 2:16; Rashi, Shah. 14b s.v. *Al ha-Areẓ*). The conjecture that the purpose of this decree was to discourage emigration from Ereẓ Israel following the persecutions and exterminations in the time of Antiochus has no basis in the sources. The decree did not prevent emigration: not only do we find scholars in Alexandria (Joshua b. Perahya and Judah b. Tabai), but the Mishnah also assumes that people could be in foreign countries legitimately. Frequent contact with various countries and the existence of Jewish settlements outside the land of Israel made the observance of this decree a burden and in consequence it was lightened in various ways (Tosef., Oho. 18:2; Yad, Tumat Met 11:6). The paths taken by the pilgrims from Babylon on their festival pilgrimages, even in gentile lands, were declared pure (Tosef., Oho. 18:3; Yad, Tumat Met 11:12; see Maim. comm. to Oho. 18:7). Gentile towns within the land of Israel (Tosef., *ibid.*, 18:4; Yad. *ibid.*) were also declared free from impurity. Similarly, gentile dwellings are declared to be impure, pending inspection, because of doubt about the possible presence of a buried fetus (Ohal. 18:7–8; see the Temple Scroll, 11 QT 48:11–12, for the sectarian belief that gentiles bury their dead indiscriminately and even in the middle of their houses).

Idols/idolatry. In the Bible, idols and idolatry are strictly prohibited. While idols are strongly associated with moral impurity capable of defiling persons, land, and sanctuary, they are not among the biblical sources of ritual impurity. However, by the rabbinic period, idols and associated items are deemed to be ritually impure and to convey ritual impurity to sacred and profane places, objects, and persons. Rabbinic sources explicitly assert that the ritual impurity of idols and related items is rabbinic rather than from the Torah, as seen by the lack of consensus on the nature and degree of the impurity, the leniency governing the construction of these laws (Shab. 9:1, 11d and b. Shab. 83b), and the use of analogies to express this impurity. Drawing on biblical metaphors, R. Akiva asserts that, like a menstruant, the idol defiles by carriage. The sages, on the other hand, assert that an idol defiles only by physical contact, like a dead creeping thing (Shab 9:1). Elsewhere, the idol is said to defile by overhang like a *meẓora* (Tosef., Zav 5:5). The law that one passing under an *asherah* (idolatrous tree) becomes impure (Av. Zar. 3:8) is explained in conformity with this view, i.e., the likely presence of an idolatrous offering beneath it (Av. Zar. 48b).

Gentiles. According to the biblical purity system, all humans are subject to moral impurity arising from certain heinous sins, but only those under the covenant (Israelites and gentiles who join the covenant community) are subject to ritual impurity from the physical states and substances detailed in Lev. 12–15. Rabbinic texts are consistent and unanimous in asserting that biblical law excludes gentiles from the ritual purity system of Lev. 12–15 (Sifra, Zavim 1:1; Sifra, Tazria 1:1). Gentiles neither contract nor communicate ritual impurity through genital emissions (Mik. 8:3–4, Zav. 2:1, 2:3, Nid. 4:3, Ed. 5:1, cf. Tosef., Nid. 5:5, Nid. 7:3); nor are they, their houses or their garments susceptible to scale-disease impurity (Neg. 1:1, 3:1, 7:1, 11:1, 12:1). The consensus of rabbinic texts is that gentiles are also not susceptible to corpse impurity. Nor do gentiles bear an intrinsic ritual impurity, as some scholars have argued, as evidenced by the fact that they may separate *terumah* (Ter. 3:9) and make sacrificial offerings and donations to the sanctuary (Sifra, Emor 7:2, Shek. 7:6, Zev. 4:5, Men. 5:3, 5:6, 6:1 and 9:8). Many rabbinic passages assume commensality of Jews and gentiles without concern for ritual impurity (Ber. 7:1, Av. Zar. 5:5) and others assume other interactions (Shab. 1:9) and even collaboration in the production of wine (a liquid that is very susceptible to defilement; Av. Zar. 4:9–12). The exclusion of gentiles from the Temple rampart is not due to an alleged intrinsic ritual impurity but to a hierarchical gradation of holiness in the sanctuary precincts that determines different degrees of access even for the pure (ranging from pure gentiles who have the least access to pure Israelite women, followed by pure Israelite men, Levites, priests, and finally the high priest who has the most intimate access).

Nevertheless, some rabbinic sources hold that gentiles bear a ritual impurity by rabbinic decree. "Israelites defile by *zav* and not gentiles, but the rabbis decreed concerning them that they defile like *zavim*" (Sifra, Zav 1:1). Later sources suggest that this decree dates to the early first century C.E. All sources agree that the ritual impurity of gentiles is not biblical but rabbinic. Doubtful cases are decided leniently, observance appears to have been sporadic, and the impurity itself is irregular. Specifically, the gentile does not defile like a *zav* in every respect. Scattered traditions assume the gentile can convey impurity by carriage, *hesset*, or *madras*, but in most instances this statutory impurity is understood to mean that the spittle and urine of a gentile convey impurity (Zav. 5:7, Mak. 6:6, Shek. 8:1, Toh. 5:8, Tosef., Toh. 5:4, Mak. 2:3, Toh. 5:2, and Tosef., Mik. 6:7). Some scholars believe that the rabbinic decree of statutory impurity for gentiles was a political decree intended to segregate the Jews from Romans and neighboring peoples during the time of the war. However, the mild impurity contracted from the spittle or urine of a gentile would not have been a major inconvenience and would not have prevented interaction between Jews and Romans (as evidenced by many laws regulating everyday transactions with gentiles). The rabbinic position seems lenient when compared with the sectarian rule of bathing after any contact with an alien.

Impurity of Hands. The idea that hands should be washed before contacting sacred items is probably quite ancient. Rabbinic tradition attributes a decree concerning the impurity of hands to Shammai and Hillel (early first century C.E.) (TJ Shab. 1:7, 3d; Shab. 14b). Despite the Babylonian Talmud's assertion that Hillel and Shammai were merely extending to *terumah* an older Solomonic regulation requiring hand washing before contact with holy things (in view of the fact that "hands are fidgety" and may be presumed to contact impure things; Shab. 15a), the nature and extent of this decree is not clear. Tannaitic sources do refer to hand washing before eating *terumah* (Sifrei Num. 116; Bik. 2:1). However, in Second Temple times, some Jews strove not only to maintain the purity of priestly food, but also to eat their own ordinary food in a state of purity. Josephus (Wars 2:129) relates that the Essenes were wont to bathe before their meal. In non-sectarian circles hand washing was more common. New Testament sources attest to the Pharisaic practice of washing hands before consuming ordinary food (Mark 7; Luke 11:38; washing the hands before a meal is referred to in Matthew 15:2 as a "tradition of the elders."). In some tannaitic traditions, the impurity of hands is assumed even for ordinary meals (Ḥag. 2:5, cf. TJ Ḥag. 78b, Ḥag. 18b). That Bet Shammai and Bet Hillel are said to have debated the timing of the hand washing rite at ordinary meals, suggests the ritual was accepted practice in the first century C.E. (Ber. 8:2; but cf. Tosef., *ibid.* 6 (5):3, and S. Lieberman, *Tosefta ki-Feshutah*, *ad loc.*). However, other tannaitic sources indicate that only the pious considered hands to be impure, even for ordinary food. Thus, one who eats ordinary food in purity is called a *ḥaber*, and one who does not is called an *am ha-areẓ* (Tosef., Av. Zar. 3 (6):10; Tosef., Dem. 2:2–3; Tosef., Dem. 2:20–22). By eating ordinary food in the same state of purity required for priests who were eating sacred food, Pharisees and *ḥaverim* aspired to a higher level of holiness. Pouring water over the hands before a meal may reflect the influence of a similar ancient Greek custom (Yad 1:2 and Tosef., Yad 1:12).

In a number of cases, the sages decreed a statutory ritual impurity upon the hands as a protective measure. For example, it was decreed that all sacred writings and *tefillin* with straps render hands impure (Yad, Avot ha-Tumah., 3:3–5: and see Kel. 15:6). The desire to discourage (mis)handling and storage near food are cited as reasons. Of the sacred writings, "their importance is the cause of their impurity, that they not be made into covers for animals" (Tosef., Yad 2:19 and cf. Shab. 14a). To prevent the loss of sacred meats, it was said that hands do not render impure in the Temple (Pes. 19a–b, Rashi; Yad, Avot ha-Tumah 8:6).

THE CONSEQUENCES OF IMPURITY. The most immediate and direct consequences of ritual impurity attach to the realm of the sacred. According to rabbinic sources, priests in Second Temple times were especially strict about the purity of the Temple. If a dead reptile was found in the Temple "a priest may remove it with his girdle even on the Sabbath" (Er. 10:15). "If a priest served [at the altar] in a state of impurity, his fellow priests did not bring him to the *bet din*, but the young priests took him outside the Temple court and split open his brain with clubs" (Sanh. 9:6; cf. Tosef., Kel. 1:6). In Jerusalem itself, precautions were taken to guard the hallowed things and the priests from impurity. No burials were permitted there, and corpses were not allowed to be kept in the city overnight. In conformity with this view, the biblical requirement to send severe impurity bearers out of the camp was understood as meaning the area of Jerusalem and the Temple Mount (Kel. 1:8–9; Sifre Num.1). The *mezora* was sent out of walled cities only (Kel. 1:7) but "they may go throughout the land" (Sifrei Zuta to 5:2). Impure persons were expected to take care not to impart impurity to the people of Jerusalem and lenient rulings made it possible for pilgrims to maintain purity during pilgrimage festivals (e.g., Shek. 8:1: "any spittle found in Jerusalem may be deemed free from impurity excepting what is found in the upper market" frequented by gentiles). The verse (Lev. 11:8): "of their flesh you shall not eat, and their carcasses you shall not touch; they are impure for you," directed to all Israel, is explained as referring only to the time of the festivals (Sifra, Shemini 4, 9; RH 16b), "since they must be ready to enter the Temple and eat of the hallowed things" (Yad, Tumat Okhelim 16:10).

Nevertheless, there is considerable evidence that impurity was deemed to have consequences outside the Temple context, though to what extent is unclear. Certainly, the *ḥaver* was obliged to undertake "to eat [even] common food in purity" (Tosef., Dem. 2:2). This *halakhah* might be regarded as merely the custom of individuals who were strict with themselves, something like the report of Johanan b. Gudgada that "he always ate [even common food] in accordance with the purity of hallowed things" (Ḥag. 2:7; cf. Tosef., Ḥag. 3:2–3). On the other hand, some sources teach the *halakhot* of common food purity with no differentiation between *ḥaverim* and others (Ḥul. 2:5; Tosef., Ber. 6:2–4; et al.). The prohibition against causing impurity to common food in the land of Israel is also taught as incumbent upon all people (Tosef., Maksh. 3:7). In addition to their impact on the eating of common food, certain impurities had an effect in regard to prayer (Ber. 3:4–6; Ter. 1:6). The prohibition against praying where there is corpse impurity is inferred from the *baraita*, "If he were busy with a dead body in a grave and the time of reading the *Shema* arrives, he removes himself to a pure place, puts on *tefillin*, reads the *Shema* and says his prayers" (TJ, Bet. 2:3, 4c). The practice of bathing after sexual intercourse and before Torah study mentioned in some rabbinic sources has been mistakenly interpreted as a ritual purity requirement. However, there is no blanket prohibition against studying Torah in a state of ritual impurity. Tosef., Ber. 2:13 states explicitly that severe impurity bearers are not prohibited from Torah study: "males and females who have an abnormal genital discharge, menstruants, and women after childbirth are permitted to read the Torah, and to study Mishnah and Midrash, *halakhot* and *aggadot*, but men who have had an emission of semen may not" (Tosef., Ber. 2:13). The prohibition of the semen emitter and the Palestinian practice of immersion after sex and before Torah study is linked to a perceived incompatibility between sexuality and holy activity (TJ, Ber. 3:4, 6c; Ber. 22a states that the requirement of immersion is to ensure that scholars do not frequent their wives like roosters). Some sages in the land of Israel were so meticulously careful to comply with bathing before their learning, that Ḥanina, who came from Babylon, ridiculed them with the title "morning bathers" (TJ, *ibid.*). In the Babylonian Talmud the practice of immersion after sex and before Torah study was abolished. During the geonic era it was considered a point of difference between Ereẓ Israel and Babylon (M. Margalioth, *Ha-Ḥillukim she-Bein Anshei Mizraḥ u-Venei Ereẓ Yisrael*, pp. 78 and 108 ff.). The view attributed to R. Judah ben Bathyra, that "the words of Torah are not susceptible to impurity," (b. Ber 21b) was eventually normative in this respect. As regards menstruants, however, more restrictive views prevailed and in a later period some local customs included prohibitions against menstruants praying or entering the synagogue or being present as blessings are recited (see the late source *Baraita de-Messekhta Niddah*, ed. Horowitz pp. 3 and 17; and see **Baraita de-Niddah*; **Niddah*). Such extensions of the laws of impurity and purity liken prayers to Temple sacrifices, and extend the sanctity of the priesthood to all Israel.

Despite such extensions, some maintain that the laws of impurity and purity have no relevant consequences of any substance except for priests and the affairs of the Temple and its hallowed things. This view has been summarized in the words of Maimonides (Yad, Tumat Okhelim 16:8–9): "Whatever is written in the Torah and in traditional teaching about the laws relating to things impure and pure is relevant only to the Temple and its hallowed things and to heave-offering and second tithe, for it warns those impure against entering the Temple or eating anything hallowed, or heave-offering, or tithe. However, no such prohibition applies to common food, and it is permitted to eat common food that is impure and to drink impure liquids…. Similarly, it is permissible to touch things that are impure and to incur impurity from them, for Scripture warns none but the sons of Aaron and the Nazirite against incurring impurity from a corpse, thereby implying that for all others it is permissible, and that even for priests and Nazirites it is permissible to incur impurity from other impure things, but not from a corpse."

REASONS FOR PURITY AND IMPURITY. There is not a great deal of discussion of the reasons for purity and impurity in rabbinic literature. It is certain that the rabbis did not regard the impurities as infectious diseases or the laws of purification as quasi-hygienic principles. In a late narrative Johanan b. Zakkai is described as denying any efficacy to impurity and rites of purification: "By your lives! The corpse does not cause impurity, nor do the waters purify, but it is a decree of the Supreme King of Kings" (*Pesikta de-Rav Kahana* 40a–b). Ritual purity is a religious ideal. It is said of the patriarch Abraham that he ate common food in purity (BM 87a). In describing the ideal era of the time of King Hezekiah, Isaac Nappaḥa says, "Search was made … from Gabbat to Antipris and no boy or girl, man or woman, was found who was not well versed in the laws of impurity and purity" (Sanh. 94b). In Avodah Zarah 20b, purity is listed as one of the grades on the path to holiness.

Impurity and Purity at the Present Time.

The cessation of most of the laws of impurity and purity in the contemporary era is the consequence of a prolonged process, which is only in part connected with the destruction of the Temple. Already in rabbinic times, the laws of *ẓara'at* in houses was weakening and even in the laws concerning the *meẓora* a clear trend to limit and lighten their impact is noticeable (Neg. 3:1–2; 5:1; "Any condition of doubt in leprous signs is deemed pure," in opposition to the rule: "Doubts in Torah law are decided stringently"; cf. 7:4). The law that when a *meẓora* enters the synagogue "they must make for him a partition ten handbreadths high and four cubits wide; he must enter first and come out last" (Neg. 13:12 and cf. Tosef., Neg. 8:2) is not directed especially to the era of the Temple. The laws of scale-disease were not in force in Babylon in the geonic era, as can be inferred from the summary of an unknown *gaon*: "Nowadays if a disciple or scholar is *meẓora,* he is not thrust forth from the synagogue or *bet midrash*, for there is not now the law that thy camp shall be holy" (*Sha'arei Teshuvah*, no. 176 and S. Assaf (ed.), *Teshuvot ha-Ge'onim* (1942), 123). Although immersion after sex and before learning was abolished in the Babylonian Talmud, the *geonim* in Babylon, under the influence of Muslims who were accustomed to bathe before every prayer, were also strict "because of cleanliness and in order to sanctify the Name before gentiles" (*Sha'arei Teshuvah*, no. 298). It became "the common custom in Shinar and Spain that none from whom semen issues prays before washing his whole body in water" (Yad, Tefillah 4:6). The custom was not followed in Christian Europe "and all Jews among the uncircumcised are not accustomed to wash" (*Teshuvot ha-Ramban* (Leipzig, 1859), no. 140; see Tur, OḤ 88 and 613). Some were strict, however, even in those countries, and required bathing at least for the reader and the priest reciting the priestly blessing (Resp., Maharam of Rothenberg (Berlin, 1841), 137). The ḥasidim reintroduced the duty of bathing for one from whom semen issues (see *Ablution). For various reasons, including the biblical prohibition against intercourse with a menstruant, halakhic prohibitions and practices designed to preserve men from contracting ritual impurity from their menstruating and post-partum wives, have continued in traditional Judaism (see **Niddah*). This is the only element of the biblical ritual purity system that retains serious contemporary relevance.

Purification from corpse impurity was possible as long as purification-offering water prepared from the ashes of a red heifer was available. Mishnah Parah 3:5 claims that some red heifers were burnt in Second Temple times. Some of the ashes of the red heifer were distributed to each of the priestly courses (*mishmarot* – Par. 3:11) and Israelites were sprinkled with it (Tosef., *ibid.*, 3:14). In Galilee there may have been purification-offering water even in the time of the *amoraim* (Nid. 6b; see also TJ Ber. 6, 10a). With the cessation of purification-offering water, all Israel are assumed to have incurred corpse impurity. Priests are forbidden to contract corpse impurity even today (Sh. Ar., YD 369), but even so they are not pure, since they cannot guard against impurity from a metal utensil overshadowed by a corpse (see comm. Samson of Sens to Ḥul. 4:8). These facts have consequences also in the laws of *terumah* and *ḥallah* (*ibid.*; Sh. Ar., YD 322:4), and are the reason for the prohibition against entering the Temple area even nowadays (*Yere'im ha-Shalem*, no. 297; *Magen Avraham* to Sh. Ar., OḤ 561:2).

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[Christine Hayes (2nd ed.)]

PUT (Heb. פּוּט), one of the sons of Ham, son of Noah. In the Table of Nations, Put is mentioned, along with Cush, Egypt, and Canaan (Gen. 10:6; I Chron. 1:8). However, whereas the genealogies of the other three are recorded, nothing further is said of Put. However, the people is mentioned several times in the prophetic literature. Referring to the impending conquest of Egypt by Nebuchadnezzar, Jeremiah mentions the "men of Cush and Put, who handle the shield, men of Lud, skilled in handling the bow" (Jer. 46:9). Ezekiel mentions Put along with Persia and Lud as serving in the army of Tyre (Ezek. 27:10). In his prophecy against Egypt, he cites Put, together with Ethiopia (Cush), Lud, Arabia, and Cub (Gr. Libya), as doomed to fall by the sword (Ezek. 30:5), and in his oracle against Gog, he again places Put alongside Persia and Cush (Ezek. 38:5). From the passages cited the exact identity of Put cannot be decided, but an African location is strongly suggested. In all the prophetic passages cited above, except Ezekiel 30:5, the Septuagint translates Put by "Libyans." It would seem then that Put was identified with Libya or possibly some neighboring area such as Cyrene.

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[Shlomo Balter]

PUTIEL (Heb. פּוּטִיאֵל). The name Putiel occurs only once in the Bible (Ex. 6:25), where it is stated that Eleazar the son of Aaron married one of Putiel's daughters, and that their son was Phinehas.

The rabbis identify Putiel with Jethro and give two homiletical interpretations of the name, one praiseworthy and the other derogatory. The first one, connected with the view that he became converted to Judaism, is that he "emancipated" (*patar*) himself from idolatry (Mekh., Amalek 1) and the other that he fattened (*pittem*) calves for the purpose of idolatrous worship. The same passage, however, also makes it refer to Joseph, who overcame (*pitpet*) his passion, and concludes that Phinehas was descended from both (Sot. 43a). It has been suggested that Putiel is in fact a Hebraized version of Poti-Phera, the "priest of On" whose daughter Joseph married (Gen. 41:45), "ph" being the definite article in Egyptian, and Ra the Egyptian god.

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PUTNAM, HILARY (1926–), U.S. scholar. Born in Chicago, Putnam is the son of Samuel Putnam, a writer and translator. Hilary Putnam received his bachelor's degree from the University of Pennsylvania in 1948 and his Ph.D. from the University of California at Los Angeles in 1951. He was a Rockefeller Foundation research fellow in 1951 and 1952.

From 1952 to 1953 Putnam taught at Northwestern University as an instructor in philosophy, then joined the faculty of Princeton University as an assistant professor, becoming an associate professor in 1960. From 1961 to 1965 he was a professor of philosophy at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

In 1965 Putnam became a professor of philosophy at Harvard. He was named the Walter Beverly Pearson Professor of Modern Mathematics and Mathematical Logic in 1976. In 1995 he was appointed the Cogan University Professor in the department of philosophy; he became professor emeritus in 2000.

Putnam wrote extensively on the philosophy of mathematics, the philosophy of natural science, the philosophy of language, and the philosophy of mind. His many notable works include *Philosophy of Logic* (1971); *Meaning and the Moral Sciences* (1978); *The Many Faces of Realism* (1987); and

Realism with a Human Face (1990). In the philosophy of mathematics, Putnam advanced the view that mathematics does not use only strictly logical proofs but "quasi-empirical" methods, and he contributed to the resolution of Hilbert's tenth problem. In the philosophy of language, Putnam addressed external, as opposed to inherent, meaning. His work on the philosophy of mind has evolved through an early embrace of functionalism, which he later recanted.

Putnam was actively involved in the antiwar movement of the Vietnam era and for a time was a member of the Progressive Labor Party (PLP), a left-wing political organization. He received numerous awards and honors. He was a fellow of the National Science Foundation (1957 and 1968–69), a Guggenheim Foundation fellow (1960), and a fellow of the National Endowment for the Humanities (1975–76). He was a fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences and a president of the American Philosophical Association.

[Dorothy Bauhoff (2nd ed.)]

PUTTERMAN, DAVID (1903–1979), U.S. cantor. Born in New York, Putterman was one of the first American-trained cantors to establish a reputation for himself. In his youth he sang and studied with the leading cantors of the time, including Zeidel Rovner (Jacob Samuel *Morogowsky) and Josef *Rosenblatt. From 1921 to 1933 he was cantor of Temple Israel, Washington Heights, New York, and then moved to the Park Avenue Synagogue. He had a pleasing tenor voice and was a popular soloist in concert and radio programs. Putterman strove to interest Jewish and non-Jewish composers alike in composing for the synagogue, and commissioned a series of "Services of Contemporary Liturgical Music." An anthology of 38 of these works, *Synagogue Music by Contemporary Composers*, was published in 1951 and includes compositions by Leonard *Bernstein, Darius *Milhaud, Morton Gould, Kurt *Weill, Mario *Castelnuovo-Tedesco, Alexander Gretchaninoff, Roy Harris, and the African-American composer William Grant Still. Putterman was also instrumental in the establishment of the Cantors Assembly of the United Synagogue of America and the Cantors Institute of the Jewish Theological Seminary.

[David M.L. Olivestone]

In 1979 the Cantor's Assembly of New York issued *Mizmor le-David*, containing compositions by Putterman which he sang during his 43 years (1933–76) as cantor to the Park Avenue synagogue.

[Akiva Zimmerman]

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PUY (-EN-VELAY), LE, town in the department of Haute-Loire, S. France. The Jewish quarter of Le Puy, on the site of the Rue de la Juiverie, is first mentioned in 1212. There is no other information available on the early medieval community there. Following the return of the Jews to the kingdom in 1315 after the expulsion of 1306, a Jew of Le Puy was accused in 1320 of having killed a chorister of the church of Notre-Dame, the murder having been revealed by a miracle. The accused was murdered by the populace, and the other Jews were banished from Le Puy. In 1325 Charles IV granted the choristers of Le Puy the jurisdiction over any Jew found within the town.

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[Bernhard Blumenkranz]

PYE (Mendez), JAEL HENRIETTA (c. 1737–1782), English writer. Apparently the daughter of a wealthy London merchant named Mendez and the niece of Moses *Mendez (c. 1690–1788), the playwright and poet, in 1762 she married John Neil Campbell, a barrister, and, in 1766, Robert Hampden Pye, the son of a member of Parliament and the brother of the Poet Laureate Henry Pye. Her anonymous book of verse, *Poems. By a Lady* (1767), and her novel, *Theodosius and Arabella* (1768), are the earliest recorded contributions of a Jewess to English literature. She lived much of her life in France, where she died.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: ODNB online; Katz, England, 255.

[William D. Rubinstein (2nd ed.)]

PYRRHUS, DIDACUS (originally **Diogo Pires**; also known as **Pyrrhus Lusitanus** and, from his birthplace, Évora, as **Flavius Eborensis**; 1517–1607), Portuguese Marrano poet. He is not to be confused with the more famous Diogo Pires (Solomon *Molcho) who was martyred in 1532. In order to escape the Portuguese Inquisition, Pyrrhus left Évora for Salamanca in Spain, where he began to study medicine in 1535 and eventually qualified as a physician. His movements during the following two decades are relatively confused, but he is known to have fled to Antwerp in about 1540. From there he made his way to Venice and Ferrara, and then lived for a time in Ancona; but the persecution of the local Marrano colony in 1555 obliged him to take refuge in the Dalmatian town of Ragusa (Dubrovnik), where he formally reverted to Judaism under the name of Isaiah Kohen. Pyrrhus, who had first achieved literary distinction with his volume of *Carmina* (Ferrara, 1545), spent about 50 years of his life in Ragusa, then a center of Neo-Latin poetic culture, and was mainly active as a teacher and writer. According to some authorities, Pyrrhus made a pilgrimage to Jerusalem in his last years before returning to Ragusa, where he died.

He published two humanistic works in praise of his new home: *De illustribus familiis quae hodie Rhacusae exstant* (Venice, 1582; 1709^2) and *Excerpta ex Flavii Jacob Eborensis Carminibus ad Historiam Sacram Rachusinam aliquo modo facientibus* (1596); *Cato Minor* (Venice, 1592), moralizing verse for children; and *Jacobi Flavii Eborensis seu Didaci Pirrhi Lusitani Elegiarum Libri Tres…* (Venice, 1596). Pyrrhus ranks among the outstanding Neo-Latin poets of the Renaissance. One of his rare works of Jewish interest was a Latin elegy composed for the tombstone of *Amatus Lusitanus in Salonika, but unfortunately no trace of it survives.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: A. Ribeiro, *Portugueses das sete partidas* (1950), 223–85; M. Gruenwald and A. Casnacich, *Didacco Pyrrho… ein Lebensbild* (1883); JE, s.v. *Flavius Eborensis*; Roth, England, 137–8; Roth, Marranos, 298; idem, *Jewish Contribution to Civilization* (1940), 113; (1956^3), 82n.; idem, *Jews in the Renaissance* (1959), 109–10.

°**PYTHAGORAS** (late sixth century B.C.E. (?)), Greek philosopher. Pythagoras founded a religious community incorporating strict rules of ritual and ethical purity. This perhaps led ancient Jewish, Christian, and pagan authors to claim that he owed his theories to the Jews and other Eastern peoples with whose teachers he had studied during his travels. The idea seems to have originated with *Hermippus of Smyrna (late third century B.C.E.), who only referred to the Jews. The idea that Greek philosophers were indebted to the East for their views was popular in Hellenistic times. Conversely, it has been suggested by Levy that the legends surrounding the life of Pythagoras influenced the account of Moses' life found in *Philo and *Josephus. Influence of the Pythagorean brotherhood on the Essenes and on the Dead Sea Sect have likewise been postulated. The five-pointed star found on some Pythagorean coins and in some Jewish inscriptions probably derives from a common Babylonian source.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: I. Levy, *Recherches sur les sources de la légende de Pythagore de Grèce en Palestine* (1927); C.J. de Vogel, *Pythagoras and Early Pythagoreanism* (1966), 28–51.

[Daniel E. Gershenson]

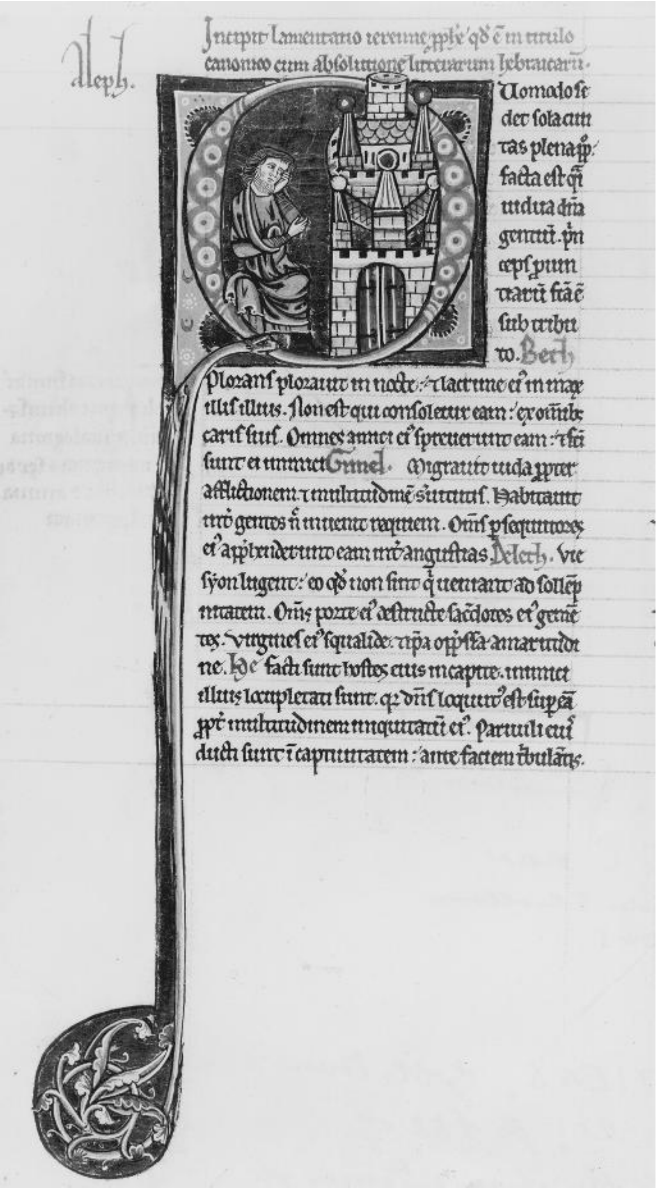

Initial letter "Q" for Quomodo *at the beginning of Lamentations, from a Latin Bible, N. France, c. 1200. Within the letter is Jeremiah mourning Jerusalem. Amiens, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. 21, fol. 132v. Photo Caron, Amiens.*

QA-QU

QALʿAT ḤAMMĀD, city formerly situated S.W. of *Constantine, *Algeria. It was founded in 1007 by a branch of the *Zirids (Banu Zīrī) who reigned in *Kairouan. Its population included Christians, Jews, and members of the Jerāwa tribe, *Berbers formerly converted to Judaism. Qalʿat Ḥammād received the majority of the inhabitants of Kairouan when that city was sacked by Arab nomads in 1057, and it inherited the importance of the former metropolis. As capital of a vast kingdom in the 11th century, it possessed a Jewish elite among whom was Solomon ha-Dayyan b. Formash. Abraham *Ibn Daud knew of Solomon and also reported the tradition which stated that Isaac *Alfasi was born in Qalʿat Ḥammād. The city was completely destroyed by the *Almohads in 1152.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Neubauer, Chronicles, 1 (1887), 73, 75; L.M.E. de Beylie, *La Kalaa des Beni-Hammad* (1909); Poznański, in: REJ, 58 (1909), 297–8; Hirschberg, Afrikah, 1 (1965), 167, 259.

[David Corcos]

QAṢR IBN HUBAYRAH (**Kasr ibn Hubayrah**), town that was situated south of the ruins of ancient Babylon, west of the Euphrates (i.e., then its eastern arm, which was known as the Sura River). Qaṣr ibn Hubayrah was founded by Omar ibn Hubayrah, the last governor of Babylonia appointed by the

*Ummayyad caliphs; the town bears his name. A report by the Arab geographer al-Muqaddasī, dating from the end of the tenth century, states that Qaṣr ibn Hubayrah had a large Jewish community. According to *Nathan ha-Bavli, it was the original home of *David b. Zakkai, the *exilarch who had a bitter controversy with R. *Saadiah Gaon. At the beginning of the 12th century, when the town of *Ḥilla was founded and became a transit point for the district's caravans and its trade center, Qaṣr ibn Hubayrah lost its importance and eventually fell into a state of ruin.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: G. Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate* (1930), 70f., 83.

[Eliyahu Ashtor]

QAYNUQĀʿ, BANŪ, a large, strong Jewish tribe in *Medina (pre-Islamic Yathrib) that became famous in Islamic historiography through its conflict with *Muhammad in the battle of Buʿāth several years before Muhammad's arrival at Medina. The Qaynuqāʿ fought against the other two large Jewish tribes of Medina, *Naḍīr and *Qurayẓa. Before *Islam the market of the Qaynuqāʿ was the central market of Medina. But when Muhammad attempted to gain a foothold there, it was the Naḍīr leader *Kaʿb ibn al-Ashraf who prevented him from doing so. The Qaynuqāʿ were goldsmiths; their *bayt al-midrās* was located in their town, al-Quff. They owned at least two fortresses as well as an unknown number of date orchards (*amwāl*, sing. *māl*) that were seized by Muhammad. Unlike the Naḍīr and Qurayẓaʿ, the Qaynuqāʿ did not own large agricultural lands.

The Qaynuqāʿ lived in the *Sāfil*a of Medina or Lower Medina, close to Muhammad's first territorial basis. Consequently, when the conflict between Muhammad and the Jews began, they found themselves in a precarious situation, the more so since they were allied with the strong Arab tribe of Khazraj that was far more loyal to Muhammad than the other large Arab tribe, the Aws. The sources provide a variety of reasons for Muhammad's attack on the Qaynuqāʿ where one good reason would have sufficed. But one has to bear in mind that Muhammad's biography is not only a history book and that for its compilers justification of Muhammad's actions was at least as important as historical fact. The fall of the Qaynuqāʿ is connected to internal Arab tribal politics. Qaynuqāʿ's allies from among the Khazraj were the ʿAwf ibn al-Khazraj, who were divided into two subsections led respectively by ʿAbdallāh ibn Ubayy and ʿUbāda ibn al-Ṣāmit. ʿAbdallāh, arguably the strongest Arab leader in Medina before Muhammad's arrival, was steadfast in his support of his Jewish allies, reportedly reasoning that he feared that the Jews might gain the upper hand over Muhammad. ʿUbāda, who was younger, repudiated his alliance with them. This left them exposed to Muhammad's attack, because internecine fighting within the ʿAwf over the alliance with the Qaynuqāʿ would have been inconceivable. However, Ibn Ubayy managed to prevent the execution of the Qaynuqāʿ men, literally compelling Muhammad to let them go into exile. The many weapons found in their fortress included some fine items that are often listed among Muhammad's own weapons. One of them was a coat of mail called al-Sughdiyya or "the Soghdian" that had belonged to ʿUkayr al-Qaynuqāʿī; allegedly it had been carried by David when he killed Goliath. With regard to the expulsion of the Qaynuqāʿ, Muhammad's biography is probably not nuanced enough, since there are indications that a significant number of them lived in Medina after the supposed expulsion of the whole tribe. One assumes that part of the Qaynuqāʿ, perhaps even a whole subsection, was not expelled. Jews from the Qaynuqāʿ participated in Muhammad's expedition against Khaybar in 7/628, receiving a modest share of the spoils. In due course they converted to Islam, although some of them were branded hypocrites who had embraced Islam outwardly only.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: The chapter on the siege of the Qaynuqāʿ in Muhammad's Arabic biographies; A.J. Wensinck, "Ḳainuḳā," in: EIS, 4, 645b–646a; idem and R. Paret, "Ḳainuḳā," in: EIS², 4, 824a–b; M. Lecker, *The "Constitution of Medina": Muhammad's First Legal Document* (2004), index; idem, *Jews and Arabs in Pre- and Early Islamic Arabia (*1998), index.

[Michael Lecker (2nd ed.)]

QAZZĀZ, MANASSEH BEN ABRAHAM IBN (AL-) (tenth century, also known as **Menashe b. al-Farrar**), Jewish silk trader and governor in *Damascus from 990 to 996. In the year 980 he engaged in administering Yaʿqūb ibn Killis' property. He must have played a leading part in the military administration of Syria. Al-Qazzāz was appointed by the *Fatimid caliph al-ʿAzīz (975–96) as deputy to the Coptic Christian vizier ʿĪsā b. Nestorius (995–96), whose seat was in Cairo. These two high officials made use of their positions for the benefit of their coreligionists. The discontented Muslims complained to the caliph, and he imprisoned the two officials and their subordinates. After some time the Christian vizier was reinstated. The fate of al-Qazzāz is unknown. A poem discovered in the *genizah* praises his son, ʿAdiya (d. after 1037). It describes the exalted position of Manasseh and his activities, including his support of the Palestinian *geonim* and the exilarchs. Another source mentions that he was one of the opponents of the Jerusalem *gaon* R. *Salomon b. Judah. Al-Qazzāz' son ʿAdiya, who also held an important position in Damascus and protected his coreligionists, was employed as government secretary (*kātib*). ʿAdiya's sons Samuel and Ishmael held the position of **nagid*.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Mann, Egypt, 1 (1920), 19–23; 2 (1922), 11–13; idem, in: HUCA, 3 (1926), 257–8; Fischel, Islam, 62–64; S. Assaf and L.A. Mayer (eds.), *Sefer ha-Yishuv*, 2 (1944), 51, 73–75; Ashtor, Toledot, 1 (1944), 29. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** S.D. Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society*, II (1971), 354.

[Abraham David]

QITTNER, ZSIGMOND (1857–1918), Hungarian architect. After studying in Munich and traveling in three continents he settled down in Budapest. In collaboration with L. and J. *Vago he designed the Gresham Palace for an English insurance company (1907), a landmark in Budapest and an example of early Secessionism. Among other public appointments he was also president of the Association of Hungarian Architects.

[Eva Kondor]

°**QUADRATUS, UMMIDIUS CAIUS**, Roman governor of *Syria (50–60 C.E.). During the administration of Quadratus a series of disturbances erupted between the Jews and Samaritans of Palestine. *Cumanus, the Roman procurator of Judea at the time, was unable to cope with the situation, and the leaders of both camps presented their arguments before the Syrian governor at Tyre. Whereas the Samaritans accused Jewish bands of sacking their villages and thus taking the law into their own hands, the Jewish delegation, including the high priest J *Jonathan b. Anan, alleged that Cumanus had been bribed by the Samaritans to ignore the murder of Jewish pilgrims on their way to Jerusalem through Samaritan territory. According to Josephus, Quadratus at first deferred judgment. He subsequently proceeded to Caesarea where he crucified the prisoners taken by Cumanus from both sides. From there he went to Lydda and granted a second hearing to the Samaritan case. As a result of this, several Jews, including Doetus, were executed for their part in the rising. Numerous Samaritan and Jewish dignitaries, among them the high priest *Ananias, were ordered to appear before the emperor Claudius and account for their actions. Quadratus then left for Jerusalem, found the people peaceably celebrating Passover and returned to Antioch (52 C.E.).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: A. Schalit, *Namenwoerterbuch zu Flavius Josephus* (1968), 39, s.v. 4 Δοσίθεος.

[Isaiah Gafni]

QUAIL (Heb. שְׂלָו), the bird *Coturnix coturnix*, the smallest of the pheasant family. The quail is approximately seven inches (about 18 cm.) long and weighs some 3½ ounces (100 gr.). The color of its plumage is like that of the house sparrow, a fact indicated in the Talmud, which also states that the quail is one of four species of pheasant (the other being the *pheasant and two species of *partridge), that its flesh is very fatty and its taste inferior to that of the other species (Yoma 75b). Large flocks of quail provided food for the Israelites in the wilderness having been blown across the sea by a wind which "let them fall by the camp, about a day's journey on this side, and a day's journey on the other side, round about the camp, and about two cubits above the face of the earth." Some were eaten fresh, the rest being spread out on the ground to dry in the sun (Num. 11:31–33; cf. Ex. 16:3–4; Ps. 78:26–27; 105:40). According to Josephus, flocks of quails from the Arabian gulf "came flying over this stretch of sea, and, alike wearied by their flight and withal accustomed more than other birds to skim the ground, settled in the Hebrews' camp" (Ant. 3:25). This description is factual. The phenomenon repeats itself in spring and in fall when large flocks of quail pass over the Mediterranean Sea on their migration from northern countries to Africa in fall and on their return in spring. Weary from their lengthy flight, the flocks settle on the southern coast of the country (between Gaza and El-Arish), to be caught in nets spread out before they settle, into which they fall exhausted. The local population eats them, selling most of them in city markets. Until the 1930s and 1940s millions of quails were caught in this way at these seasons but their number has since decreased. In addition to the migratory flocks of quails, some of them breed in cereal and fodder fields in various regions of Israel, building their nests on the ground. Their grayish-brown color conceals them from human sight and only when approached do they rise in noisy flight, coming to rest in a nearby field, since their comparatively short wings make it difficult for them to fly high.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Lewysohn, Zool, 210f., no. 260; F.S. Bodenheimer, *Animal and Man in Bible Lands* (1960), 59; J. Feiks, *Animal World of the Bible* (1962), 56.

[Jehuda Feliks]

°**QUARESMIUS, FRANCISCUS**, a 17th-century Franciscan friar. Quaresmius was born at Lodi, Italy, and from 1619 to 1626 was custodian and apostolic commissary for the Holy Land. He later served as the general procurator of the Franciscan Order and from 1637 as custodian of St. Angelo, Milano.

He was the author of two folio volumes *Elucidatio Terrae Sanctae historica, theologica et moralis* (1639) which contain the most complete survey of the remains and legends of the Holy Land as accepted in Catholic circles. Quaresmius painstakingly copied inscriptions and used the archives of the Mt. Zion monastery for his description of the traditions and monastic institutions of 17th-century Palestine.

[Michael Avi-Yonah]

QUASTEL, JUDAH HIRSCH (1899–1987), British biochemist. Quastel, born in Sheffield, was a fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge (1924). Quastel was a descendant of Solomon Judah Leib *Rapoport (Shir). He was director of research at the Cardiff City Mental Hospital from 1929 to 1941, and director of the soil metabolism unit of the Agricultural Research Council from 1941 to 1947. In 1947 he went to Canada to become professor of biochemistry at McGill University and director of the McGill-Montreal General Hospital Research Institute. In 1966 he became professor of neurochemistry and biochemistry at the University of British Columbia, Vancouver. Quastel is recognized as a founder of modern neurochemistry. His fields of research were the chemistry of enzymes, microorganisms and soils, phytobiochemistry, and the biochemistry of mental disorders. In 1970 he was made a Companion of the Order of Canada (COC), Canada's highest decoration. In 1974 he was the recipient of the Gairdner International Award for Medical Research, and from 1976 to 1977 was visiting professor at the National Hospital for Nervous Diseases, London, and in 1979 was appointed honorary president of the International Congress of Biochemistry, Canada.

He was editor and coauthor of *Neurochemistry* (1955, 1962^{2}), *Methods in Medical Research*, vols. 8–9 (1960–61), *Metabolic Inhibitors*, vols. 1–2 (1963–64), vol. 3 (1972) and vol. 4 (1973), and coauthor of *The Chemistry of Brain Metabolism in*

Health and Disease (1961). Quastel was a fellow of the British Royal Society and of the Royal Society of Canada, and president of the Canadian Biochemical Society. He was on the Board of Governors of The Hebrew University of Jerusalem from 1950 and honorary secretary of the Canadian Friends of The Hebrew University for 19 years.

[Samuel Aaron Miller]

QUE, the Assyrian (*Quwe*) and biblical Hebrew (קְוֵא, קְוֵה), name of Cilicia, the classical name of the Mediterranean littoral south of the Taurus Mountains in Turkey, from Paphlagonia in the west to the Amanos Mountains in the east. At its eastern end, this littoral broadens into a fertile valley watered by the rivers Pyramus (Ceyhan), Sarus (Seyhan), and Cydnus (Tarsus); this portion was known in classical times as *Cilicia Pedias* or *Campestris*, or simply *Cilicia* proper, to the Egyptians as *Kode* or *Qedi*, to the Hittites as *Kizzuwatna* (*Kizwatna*), and to the neo-Babylonians as *Ḫume*. According to some Egyptologists, the western portion of Cilicia (*Cilicia Aspera* or *Tracheia*) was called *Keftiu* (the biblical Caphtor), though this name is more generally held to designate Crete and perhaps the Aegean coasts as well. The name Cilicia is probably derived from that of the Ḫilakkû people who were the dominant ethnic group in the neo-Assyrian period (as identified by Herodotus). Like much of the surrounding littoral, Que was an important link in the trade routes of the ancient Near East and subject to influences, by land and sea, from all its neighboring cultures (see below).

Political History

The political history of Que begins in about 1650 B.C.E. Kizzuwatna, eastern Que, was clearly under Hittite control, for Ḫattušili I and Muršili I, the outstanding Old Hittite kings, seem to have moved freely down the Pyramus River (Hittite *Purna*) on their campaigns into Syria. However, with the death of Muršili about 1590 B.C.E., the Hurrians asserted themselves in Que, as elsewhere, and Que enjoyed two precarious centuries of independence. The first attested king of Que, Išputaḫšu, son of Paria-watri, is known both from his own inscription and from a Hittite record. His bilingual bull from Tarsus proclaims him a "great king." In the time of Arnuwanda I (c. 1440–1420 B.C.E.), Kizzuwatna even expanded beyond the borders of Que as far east as Uršu and Wašukanni (see *Hittites). However, the increasing power of the new Hittite Empire and the rise of rival Hurrian states, particularly Mitanni, soon put an end to these pretensions.

An interesting light is thrown on western Que at this time. Texts from *Ugarit in the 14th and 13th centuries mention a number of merchants from Ura, the capital of the later Pirindu (see below). One in particular regulated their status at Ugarit, where they apparently enjoyed "extra-territorial" rights under Hittite protection.

Que After Hittite Times

With the collapse of the Hittite Empire under the onslaught of the Sea Peoples (c. 1200 B.C.E.), Que too was plunged into obscurity. It is conceivable that as the remnants of Hittite culture and population sought refuge in northern Syria, those of Kizzuwatna migrated into Anatolia, and that the later name Katpat-uka (Cappadocia) preserves the ancient tribal name of Kizwatna. Que-Cilicia (or better, a part of it) reemerged into history at first through biblical sources. I Kings 10:28 and II Chronicles 1:16 state that royal merchants imported, and perhaps even transported and resold, horses from Que and *Miẓrayim* (= Muṣri, a neighbor of Que) for the king's personal use and for the other northern kings of Aram and of the Hittites (the petty successors of the Hittite Empire; cf. II Kings 7:6). The word *mi-qweh* ("from Que") in these passages was generally misunderstood. From the ninth century on, Que and the other parts of Cilicia are taking part in northern coalitions against Assyria. At this period, Que appears to have been settled by new ethnic elements, known to the Assyrians collectively as Ḫilakkû, though many individuals, including particularly the petty princes who ruled various parts of the area, still bore Luwian names comparable to those of the second millennium. The name of Kizzuwatna survived in the name of the city Kisuatni, but the principal site of Que in this period is Karatepe at Ceyhan (classical Pyramus in the Amanus mountains). According to the monumental bilingual inscriptions of Azittawdda, the contemporary king, in Phoenician and Hittite hieroglyphics, this site was the capital of Awar(a)ku king of the Danunites (Homer's Dannaeans?) of Que (identical with the Urikki king of Que in Tiglath-Pileser III's annals). The growing involvement of Que with Assyria began in Shalmaneser III's time, when the northern coalition was crushed by him. On the other hand, Que did not participate in the southern coalition (see *Karkar where the corrected lines of the inscription are cited). Que's connections with Assyria continued through *Esarhaddon's time down to that of Neriglissar.

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QUEBEC, Canadian province. Quebec is Canada's second largest province and the only one of Canada's provinces with a French-speaking majority. It is also home to Canada's longest-established Jewish community. In 2005 it has a Jewish population of approximately 94,000, making it the province with the second largest Jewish community in the country.

Quebec's first Jewish settlers accompanied the British military during the Seven Years' War when it captured the vast territory from the French in 1760. While Jews concentrated in Montreal, they were also present in other parts of what was then known as Lower Canada. Mainly involved in the fur trade and other commercial activities, as many as one out of 10 merchants in the city were of the Jewish faith. Canadian Jewish communal and organizational life traces its origins to Montreal, where in 1768 the first congregation was established – Shearith Israel – more commonly known as the Spanish and Portuguese Synagogue. By 1830 there were about 100 Jews in Lower Canada.

Because they enjoyed British legal status, Jews benefited from the privileges of the early colonial regime. But their status became the object of debate. The first major test emerged in 1807 with the election of the first Jew, Ezekiel Hart, to the Legislature by the voters of Trois-Rivières. Hart's right to sit was challenged by French Catholics who argued that a Jew could not legitimately take an oath of office which included the words "on the faith of a Christian." As a consequence he was prohibited from assuming office. It took some 25 years but on January 31, 1831, the Bill of Equal Rights was adopted by the Assembly of Lower Canada granting Jews the right to hold public office. Championed by the prominent French Canadian political reformer Louis Joseph Papineau, the Bill was received favorably by England's Parliament and became law within a year. The granting of freedoms to Jews proved to be a catalyst for the freedoms of others within the colony, directly resulting in the abolition of certain religious restrictions for Catholics.

The Jewish population continued to grow slowly and in middle of the 19th century, institutions were established to facilitate the absorption of Jewish settlers. In 1847, the Hebrew Philanthropic Society of Canada was founded and replaced in 1863 by the Young Men's Hebrew Benevolent Society (YMHBS). In the 1870s Jews from Eastern Europe began arriving in Montreal. By 1886 there were some 3,000 Jews in the province and by 1890 the imminent influx of immigrants prompted the established Jewish community to enhance relief efforts. With significant financial aid from Maurice Baron de *Hirsch, the YMHBS was renamed the Baron de Hirsch Institute with a mission to provide services to the new immigrants.

In the early 20th century, Montreal's Jewish leadership was confronted by the challenge of assisting a large influx of East European Jewish immigrants. Between the mid-1890s and the onset of World War I in 1914 the Jewish community of Quebec, largely centered in Montreal, increased nearly fourfold from 7,600 to 30,000. The fast-growing numbers contributed to rising demands for service from Montreal's existing Jewish community. In 1916 the established Jewish leadership consolidated the major Jewish community institutions with the creation of the Montreal Federation of Jewish Philanthropies.

By far the largest percentage of the early 20th century immigration was Yiddish speaking and such individuals often looked to their own **landsmannshaften*, labor and political organizations and congregations, for support rather than to the Federation. The massive immigration of the Yiddish-speaking group not only altered the composition of the Montreal Jewish community but the city on the whole. By the 1920s, Yiddish had become the third most widely used language in Montreal after French and English. Based in Montreal, the country's only daily Yiddish newspaper, the *Keneder Odler* ("Canadian Eagle") was established in 1907 with a growing readership. Conflicts emerged between the predominantly immigrant working-class Yiddish speakers (commonly referred to as "downtowners") and the mainly English-speaking community establishment (referred to as "uptowners").

Given the demographic and political importance of the "downtowners" their views could not be ignored. Within the province's biconfessional structure of Catholics and Protestants, Jews were considered Protestant for educational purposes. This situation resulted in certain limits on the rights of Jewish students in publicly funded schools. In the late 1920s, the downtowners pressed for the creation of a publicly funded Jewish school board alongside the existing Catholic and Protestant school systems, a proposal to which the established Jewish leadership was less favorable. Although the Quebec government submitted a bill in support of the initiative, the negative reaction from the province's Catholic hierarchy prompted the administration to reverse course.

By 1931 the Quebec Jewish population grew to nearly 60,000. The economic depression of the 1930s was characterized by a significant rise in antisemitism in the province. Elements within the Quebec Catholic hierarchy disseminated antisemitism through various publications. Influenced by European fascism Catholic intellectuals such as Lionel Groulx propagated anti-Jewish sentiment. A concrete expression of the antisemitism of the decade was the "*achat chez nous*" ("buy from your own kind") movement which under the guise of promoting French Canadian economic progress urged a boycott of Jewish-owned businesses. Antisemitism was not confined to the French Canadian population, as certain programs at McGill University imposed quotas on the admission of Jewish students.

Despite the challenges of the 1930s, Jewish community leaders aimed to address the problem of badly needed services. The construction of the Jewish General Hospital with a substantial financial contribution from Sir Mortimer B. *Davis ensured quality health care for subsequent generations of Jews. Today the Jewish General is Quebec's most multiethnic hospital.

During the 1930s, conflict within the Jewish community appeared to wane as the growing threat of antisemitism both locally and abroad drew the community together. In 1934 the reactivation of the Canadian Jewish Congress (which first convened in 1919) under the leadership of Montreal's Samuel *Bronfman aimed to reinforce the political influence of the Canadian Jewish community to help address the plight of European Jewry. Locally, the already strained relations between Jews and French Canadians suffered a further setback around the issue of military involvement in World War II. While the Jewish community was committed to greater involvement in the war effort, French Canadians were overwhelmingly opposed to military conscription.

In 1943 the persistent ideological divisions within the Quebec Jewish community surfaced around the election of the Communist candidate, Fred *Rose (Rosenberg), in the federal riding of Cartier. Rose contended that a vote for the Communist Party would support Russia and the war effort and was thus a vote in support of the Canadian war effort. After the war, political divisions within the Jewish community diminished further as the leadership turned its attention to providing relief to East European Jews. Between 1947 and 1952, more than 4,500 Holocaust survivors settled in Montreal and benefited from the assistance of Jewish immigration aid services.

As in the rest of Canada in the aftermath of World War II, there was some reexamination on the part of the Quebec Catholic hierarchy of its attitude towards the Jewish population. Dialogue between Jews and French Catholics were organized through the Council of Christians and Jews. But the dialogue encountered ongoing difficulties and thus initiatives aimed at fostering interfaith and intergroup understanding were spearheaded by Quebec intellectuals, writers, and elected officials. The postwar period and the challenges to which it gave rise proved a source of great cultural inspiration for Quebec Jews. Based in Montreal, such writers as Leonard *Cohen and Mordechai *Richler achieved international status with their literary works. In his popular book *The Apprenticeship of Duddy Kravitz*, Richler offered some insight into the often difficult relationship between Jews and both English and French Canadian communities in Montreal.

During the 1950s through the 1970s, the Quebec Jewish community welcomed yet another wave of immigrants. Jews from Middle Eastern and North African countries, mainly French-speaking, further modified the composition of the community. Aside from their largely Sephardi religious traditions, these Sephardi Jews often brought with them the customs of their particular countries of origin. As well as the adaptation effort put forward by the institutions of the predominantly English-speaking Ashkenazi Jewish population, the process of integration of the Sephardi population also involved the creation of a series of parallel organizations directed at specific needs of the new immigrants.

During the 1960s the Jewish community witnessed a significant expansion of its Jewish day schools, a network that existed since the early 20th century. The provincial authorities did not offer these Jewish schools public status equal to the Catholic and Protestant sectors, but in 1968 the Quebec government did declare that the funding of private Jewish schools was in the public interest and thus assumed the majority of Jewish school costs. Although funding diminished somewhat in the decades that followed, approximately half of the Quebec Jewish student population are today enrolled in Jewish schools. The Jewish schools are characterized by significant internal diversity and differences in affiliation and include Sephardi establishments and a number of educational institutions for the growing ḥasidic segment of the community.

By 1971 the Quebec Jewish population reached more than 120,000 persons, but declined quite sharply thereafter. During the 1970s the Quebec provincial government was more and more challenged by French-Canadian nationalists to protect and expand French language primacy in Quebec. The government responded by passing legislation aimed at making the French language the province's common language. But this was not enough for the growing body of support for Quebec independence amongst the French-speaking majority. Strongly supportive of Quebec's remaining part of Canada, many in the province's Jewish community were uneasy with the rise in nationalism and the threat of separatism. In the growing atmosphere of political uncertainty, the overwhelming number of Jews in Quebec endorsed the federalist Quebec Liberal party. Certainly the Jewish community in Quebec was unprepared for the 1976 provincial electoral victory of the separatist Parti Québécois. Quebec Jewish community leadership had few contacts with the new government and thus tensions occasionally emerged. During the 1980 referendum on sovereignty, the Canadian Jewish Congress (CJC) chose to remain officially neutral though community members voted massively in favor of Canadian unity. During the 1995 referendum on Quebec sovereignty, the CJC chose to officially endorse the federalist position. In both cases the federalist side won, but only by the slimmest of majorities in 1995. Despite the often difficult political climate in Quebec, relations between Jews and increasingly urban, secular, and educated French Quebecers have much improved and although antisemitic expression has not altogether disappeared, it is but a pale shadow of what it was less than a generation ago.

However, political uncertainty has cost the Quebec Jewish community dearly. During the 1970s through the turn of the century, as many as 35,000 Jews left the province, notably the younger, better educated, and more mobile segment of the community. By 2001 the number of Quebec Jews dropped below 95,000. This out-migration had significant consequences for the demographic condition of the community and the establishment of priorities. Amongst other issues, the departure of so many younger Jews has contributed to the aging profile of the population and the need to direct greater attention to service provision for the elderly. More than one out of five Quebec Jews are over the age of 65. Other priorities included trying to stem the departure of young Jewish professionals through enhanced youth employment services.

In 2001, immigrants constituted some one-third of the Quebec Jewish population. More recently efforts have been directed at attracting Russian and Argentinian immigration. The community profile continues to possess characteristics that set it apart from Jewish communities elsewhere in Canada and for that matter in North America. While most Quebec Jews are English speaking, Quebec has both the largest French-speaking Jewish population on the continent and the largest share of Holocaust survivors of any Jewish community in Canada. Moreover it is one of the few Jewish communities in the world where Yiddish is still spoken almost as much as Hebrew. As a result of the pressure on the population to acquire the French language, Quebec Jews are the most trilingual group in North America.

On a national scale, the exodus of many Quebec Jews, a large number to Toronto, resulted in the decline of the Jewish population of Quebec. It dropped from around 40% of the total Canadian Jewish population in 1971 to just above one-quarter in 2001. As a result, the center of national Jewish decision-making has increasingly shifted away from Montreal as witnessed by the move of the national headquarters of the CJC from Montreal to Ottawa. Still, the Jewish historic contribution of Jews to Quebec life qualifies Jews as one of the province's founding peoples.

[Jack Jedwab (2nd ed.)]

QUEEN OF SHEBA. The biblical account of the queen of Sheba (I Kings 10:1–10, 13; II Chron. 9:1–9, 12) describes how when the queen of Sheba heard of the fame of Solomon, she went to Jerusalem with a great train of camels, bearing spices, gold, and precious stones, "to prove him with hard questions," all of which Solomon answered to her satisfaction. They exchanged gifts, after which she returned to her land. For details, see *Solomon.

In the Aggadah

Talmudic references to the queen of Sheba are sparse. A most elaborate account, however, is given in *Targum Sheni* to Esther, which can be supplemented by details found in the Alphabet of Ben Sira and Josephus (Ant. 8:165–73). A hoopoe informed Solomon that the kingdom of Sheba was the only kingdom on earth not subject to him and that its queen was a sun worshiper. He thereupon sent it to Kitor in the land of Sheba with a letter attached to its wing commanding its queen to come to him as a subject. She thereupon sent him all the ships of the sea loaded with precious gifts and 6,000 youths of equal size, all born at the same hour and clothed in purple garments. They carried a letter declaring that she could arrive in Jerusalem within three years although the journey normally took seven years. When the queen arrived and came to Solomon's palace, thinking that the shining floor was a pool of water, she lifted the hem of her dress, uncovering her legs. Solomon informed her of her mistake. When she arrived she asked him three (Targ. Sheni to Esther 1:3) or, according to another source, 19 riddles to test his wisdom.

In Islam

Sheba (Ar. Sabā') was the most important kingdom in ancient southern *Arabia with its capital Mārib (in inscriptions: Mayrab, east of Sanʿa), the largest city in that area. This kingdom existed from the beginning of South Arabian civilization, and the oldest stone inscription dates back to the eighth century B.C.E., already referring to the kingdom as quite an established one. Its history is divided into two periods: (a) from its beginning until the first centuries B.C.E., dominated by caravan economy linked with Mesopotamia and the Land of Israel; (b) from the first century B.C.E. until the sixth century C.E., when it was controlled in general by the highland kingdom of Ḥimyar. Owing to the frankincense and many other spices exported to ancient lands, Sheba was quite known in the classical world, and its country was called Arabia Felix. Its disappearance resulted from the destruction of the Great Dam built seven kilometers north of Mārib, by which it had been possible to irrigate up to 10,000 hectares.

The biblical story, unattested by any other source, including hundreds of inscriptions from the Kingdom of Sheba, was adopted by the Ethiopic Church claiming that Ethiopian kings were descendants of the kingly couple King Solomon and Queen of Sheba. The Muslim sources, especially the *Koran, just copy the Bible and other Jewish sources, although they call this queen Bilqīs and add the tradition that the first Jews arrived in Yemen at the time of King Solomon, following the politico-economic alliance between him and Queen of Sheba. However, this tradition is suspected to be an apologetic fabrication of Jews in Yemen later transferred to Islam, just like many other traditions. The ancient Sabaic Awwām Temple, known in folklore as *Maḥram* (the Sanctuary of) *Bilqīs*, was recently excavated by archaeologists, but no trace of Queen of Sheba has been discovered so far in the many inscriptions found there.

[Yosef Tobi (2nd ed.)]

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QUELER, EVE (1936–), U.S. conductor. Born in New York City, Queler studied horn and piano at Mannes College and conducting with Joseph *Rosenstock, Carl Bamberg, Walter *Susskind, Leonard *Slatkin, Igor Markevich, and Herbert Blomstedt in Europe. Her career was temporarily interrupted following her marriage in 1956 but she later returned to study conducting and she became a rehearsal pianist for the New York City Opera. Her conducting debut in opera came in 1966, at Fairlawn, N.J. Because of the few opportunities offered to women conductors, she founded the Opera Orchestra of New York in 1968 with the aim of giving opera in concert performances and it met with increasing success and popularity. A leading exponent of forgotten opera, she worked to make them known with the participation of many major singers, including June Anderson, Carlo Bergonzi, Montserrat Caballé, Placido Domingo, Jane Eaglen, René Fleming, and Renata Scotto. A combination of determination in the face of great odds and a natural flair for opera gained Queler a position in the front rank of women conductors. She also appeared as a guest conductor at the New York City Opera, the Kirov Mariinsky Opera, the Hamburg Staatsoper, and the Frankfurt Opera as well as with the Philadelphia Orchestra, Montreal SO, and Honolulu SO. Queler also wrote a number of journal articles and supervised critical editions of three Donizetti operas. She made recordings of *Jenůfa*, Strauss's *Guntram* and Boito's *Nerone*.

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[Max Loppert / Israela Stein (2nd ed.)]

QUERIDO, ISRAËL (1872–1932), Dutch novelist and author. He belonged to an Amsterdam Sephardi family and displayed a generally ambivalent attitude toward his Jewish background. In an early novel, *Levensgang* ("Life," 1901), he vividly portrays the diamond workers and merchants of Amsterdam and contrasts virtuous Christians with venal Jews. His autobiographical novel *Zegepraal* ("Triumph," 1904) was less successful. *Aron Laguna* (1916) is a lively recreation of Sephardi life which preserves the everyday speech of Sephardi Jewry of his generation.

His most important work was the cycle of novels published as *De Jordaan* (4 vols., 1912–25), a study of life in an Amsterdam working-class neighborhood. He wrote a number of novels and plays on biblical themes, including the lyrical drama *Saul en David* (1914) and a trilogy entitled *De oude waereld* ("The Old World"), which comprises three novels: *Koningen* ("Kings," 1918), *Zonsopgang* ("Sunrise," 1920), and *Morgenland* ("The Orient," 1921). Another biblical work was the novel *Simson* ("Samson," 2 vols., 1927–29). Toward the end of his life Querido published another novel cycle dealing with the Sephardim. It consisted of two books, *Van armen en rijken* ("Of the Rich and the Poor," 1931) and *Menschenharten* ("Human Hearts," 1932). They reappeared together as *Het volk Gods* ("God's People," 2 vols., 1932). Other works by Querido include *Misleide Majesteit* ("Misled Majesty," 1926), an animal story based on an Indian epic, and volumes of criticism.

His brother, the publisher EMANUEL QUERIDO (1871–1943), wrote a semi-autobiographical novel dealing with the development of Amsterdam during the years 1880–1910. This work, *Het geslacht der Santeljano's* ("The Santeljano Family," 10 vols., 1918–29), contains much important biographical material on his brother. After the Nazi occupation, Emanuel Querido was deported and died in the Sobibor death camp.

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[Gerda Alster-Thau]

QUERIDO, JACOB (c. 1650–1690), Shabbatean leader in *Salonika. The son of R. Joseph Filosof, he was later generally known as Jacob Querido (Sp. "the beloved"). His sister became *Shabbetai Ẓevi's last wife. When she returned to Salonika after Shabbetai's death in 1676, she allegedly claimed that her brother was the recipient of her late husband's soul. Querido's father and R. Solomon Florentin supported his assertions which led, in 1683, to the mass apostasy of a large group of Salonika families. Together with the earlier converts to Islam among Shabbetai's followers, this group formed the nucleus of the *Doenmeh sect. Taking the Turkish name Abdullah Yacoub, Querido became the most prominent leader of the sectarians. An apocryphal letter attributed to Shabbetai confirmed his claims. His extravagant leadership led to dissension within the group as earlier converts had become dissatisfied with his innovations and therefore opposed his leadership. Insisting on outward demonstration of strict Muslim piety, he undertook a pilgrimage to Mecca in 1688, accompanied by one of his leading followers, Mustafa Effendi. Returning from Mecca, he died in Egypt, in either Alexandria or Bulak. When his companion returned, the schism among Querido's followers became final; according to tradition 43 families formed a subsect called Jacobites. As Querido had no male children, his adherents were led by chiefs who maintained a very strong control over the affairs of their group. They treasured several relics of Shabbetai Ẓevi and Querido and administered the personal fortune left by Shabbetai. The members of their subsect were mostly merchants and lower officials. No writings by Querido and his followers have survived, but one of the pamphlets written against him by another apostate between 1690 and 1695 is extant. Querido's followers took no part in the further divisions within the *Doenmeh sect that led to yet another schism. Their organization existed down to the 20th century.

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[Gershom Scholem]

QUETSCH, SOLOMON (1798–1856), Moravian Orthodox rabbi. A native of *Mikulov (Nikolsburg) and pupil of Mordecai *Banet, he officiated as rabbi at Piesling and *Lipnik (1832–54). He was the last representative of the old Orthodoxy and the chief opponent of Samson Raphael *Hirsch as Moravian *Landesrabbiner. In May 1855 he became rabbi of Mikulov, but the position was not combined with that of *Landesrabbiner.* His death in January 1856 caused the closing of the Mikulov yeshivah.

A few of his novellae were published as *Ḥokhmat Shelomo* together with the Prague edition of Mordecai Banet's *Har ha-Mor* (1862). S.J. Rapoport wrote a commemorative poem on him in *Kokhevei Yiẓḥak*, (22, (1856), 3).

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[Meir Lamed]

°**QUIETUS, LUSIUS** (second century C.E.), Roman general. Quietus, who was of Moorish origin, was commander of the Moorish cavalry in the Roman army as early as the time of Domitian. He especially distinguished himself in the wars during Trajan's reign and was one of his principal commanders in the Parthian campaign. Among his activities in Mesopotamia was the subduing of the Jews there, who were hostile to Rome. Trajan ordered Lusius Quietus to crush them. He conducted the attack craftily, killing many. As a reward for this success he was appointed ruler of Judea in 117 C.E. (Eusebius, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, 4:2). Apparently Quietus also subdued the Jews in Judea who revolted against Rome. Details are lacking of this action, but a reference to them has been preserved in the talmudical accounts of "the war of Quietus." When Hadrian became emperor he removed Quietus from his command of the Moors and from the army, and shortly after he was executed for participating in a conspiracy against the emperor.

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[Uriel Rappaport]

QUINCE, name of both a tree, *Cydonia oblonga*, and its fruit. It is not mentioned in the Bible, but in rabbinic literature it is referred to under three names: *ḥavush, parish*, and *aspargal. Ḥavush* (Aram. *ḥavusha*) is mentioned as being given to the sick (Tosef., Ter. 7:13). It is an aromatic fruit and is enumerated together with the *etrog* among the fruits over whose fragrance a blessing should be recited (Ber. 43b). The name *parish* is found in a discussion as to the permissibility, in time of emergency, of substituting some other large and beautiful fruit for the *etrog* in order to fulfill the precept of the Four Species, and it was decided in the negative (Tosef. Suk. 2:9, 31a–b). According to the Jerusalem Talmud (Kil. 1:3, 27a), it was so called because it is the only fruit reserved (*parush*) for the pot, i.e., it is inedible in its raw state and must be cooked. The same passage notes that its Aramaic name is *aspargal* which is the Arabic name for the quince. The Mishnah lays down that the quince belongs to the same species as the hawthorn (*uzrar*). Apparently the ancients took the latter to be a degenerate quince.

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[Jehuda Feliks]

°**QUINTILIAN** (**Marcus Fabius Quintilianus**; first century C.E.), Roman rhetorician. In language reminiscent of Tacitus he berates the founder (Moses?, though some have thought, probably wrongly, that Jesus is meant) for having concentrated his people in cities as a curse to others (*Institutio Oratoria* 3:7, 21).

[Jacob Petroff]

°**QUINTILIUS VARUS** (d. 9 C.E.), Roman consul in 13 B.C.E. and governor of Syria from 6 to 4 B.C.E. Varus first appeared in Judea during the last years of *Herod the Great, and on that occasion he participated in the king's trial of his son Antipater, accused of attempted patricide. After hearing lengthy denunciations of the prince and verification that the poison allegedly prepared for the plot was in fact potent, Varus went into private consultation with Herod, drafted a report to Augustus, and departed for Antioch. Antipater was put into chains, and it was assumed by the populace that Herod in so doing was acting upon the advice of the Syrian governor, although Antipater was eventually executed. With the death of Herod in 4 B.C.E., his primary heir Archelaus was unable to control the serious disturbances that broke out throughout the country. Following a bloody attempt on Passover at quieting the unrest, Archelaus departed for Rome and disturbances reached a new peak with the appearance of Sabinus, finance officer (procurator) of Syria, for the purpose of taking charge of Herod's estate. During the festival of Pentecost the Jews in Jerusalem rose up in open rebellion, which eventually spread to all of Palestine, Sabinus, realizing his inability to cope with the situation, was forced to appeal to Varus for help. The Syrian governor appeared at Acre with the three legions at his disposal, together with auxiliary troops supplied by the citizens of Berytus, and from there proceeded to subdue the whole country. Cities such as Sepphoris and Emmaus were reduced to ruins, and thousands of rebels were crucified. The invasion under Varus was so devastating that Josephus lists it together with the wars of Antiochus Epiphanes, Pompey, and Vespasian (Apion 1:34). The rabbinic chronology *Seder Olam Rabbah* also cites a *pulmus shel Asveiros* taking place 80 years before the war of Vespasian, and since Graetz historians have interpreted this as "the war of Varus." Varus was eventually killed by the Germans at the battle of the forest of Teutoburg.

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[Isaiah Gafni]

°**QUIRINIUS, P. SULPICIUS**, Roman commander and administrator at the beginning of the first century C.E. Quirinius did not belong to an aristocratic family; his rise to power was due to his own abilities and the support of Augustus and his stepson Tiberius with whom he enjoyed a relationship of unwavering friendship. He achieved his reputation as a result of his military exploits in Africa and Asia Minor. He reached the peak of his public career in the year 6 C.E. when he was appointed governor of Syria. He was responsible for laying the foundations of the organization of the new province of Judea, after *Archelaus, son of Herod, had been dismissed from the post of ethnarch of Judea. Quirinius himself, accompanied by Coponius, newly appointed governor of Judea, arrived in order to conduct a general census of property in the new province, and to deal with the possessions of Archelaus (Jos., Ant., 18:1ff.). The census aroused widespread opposition among the Jews, but thanks to the influence of the high priest, *Joezer b. Boethus, it was carried out without serious disturbances. However, extremist circles, headed by *Judah the Galilean and *Zadok the Pharisee, who incited the people to rebellion maintained that the institution of the census symbolized servitude to the Romans. Quirinius also introduced changes into the high priesthood. He dismissed Joezer b. Boethus and replaced him by *Anan b. Seth (Jos. Ant., 18:26), the first high priest of the house of Anan. Scholars dispute the passage in Luke 2:1–2 where the census of Quirinius is mentioned in connection with the birth of Jesus. An inscription discovered in Tibur Tivoli, Italy, has been regarded as referring to Quirinius and as a result an attempt has been made to maintain that Quirinius served twice as governor of Syria, the first time being during Herod's lifetime. But even if the inscription refers to Quirinius, it fails to prove that he served twice as governor of Syria.

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[Menahem Stern]

°QUISLING, VIDKUN ABRAHAM LAURITZ JONSSØN (1887–1945), Norwegian who openly met the conquering Nazis as their collaborator; since he was the first to do so, the British press used his name as the symbol of all collaborators and traitors during World War II. Born in Fyresdal (southern province of Telemark), where his father was a priest, he graduated with distinction from the military academy of Norway and served as an officer in the General Staff (1911–18). His special interest in Russia – and his fluent Russian – brought about his appointment as military attaché to the Soviet Union and a diplomatic post in Petrograd (St. Petersburg, 1918–19) and Helsinki (1920–21). He became an assistant to Fridtjof Nansen fighting starvation in Ukraine in 1922 and after fulfilling humanitarian tasks on behalf of the League of Nations returned to Norway after Nansen's death in 1930. In his politics he veered from the Soviet-oriented left to the fascist right. He was minister of defense in 1931–33 in the government of the Farmers' Party. In 1933 Quisling founded his own party, Nasjonal Samling (National Union), which never gained popular support. The Nazi leaders took an interest in him while the invasion into Norway was planned, when he was received by Hitler on whom he made a favorable impression. On the day of the invasion he declared himself prime minister but was removed six days later by the German authorities, who installed Josef Terboven as a military police governor. In February 1942 Quisling succeeded in being named prime minister, but although his influence was nil, he committed enough crimes, including the preparations for the deportation of the Jews, to be condemned to death by a Norwegian tribunal in 1945, and was executed on October 24. The Norwegian government earmarked the mansion in which Quisling lived during World War II and until his arrest for a Center for Holocaust and Minorities Studies, comprising a research center and a museum. The Center is financed by Norwegian Holocaust restitution funds and was opened in 2006.

[Leni Yahil]

QUMRAN, region on the northwest shore of the Dead Sea, which has become famous since 1947 as the site of the discovery of the *Dead Sea Scrolls. The name belongs more particularly to Wadi Qumran, a precipitous watercourse which runs down to the sea from the west, and to Khirbet Qumran, a ruin standing less than a mile west of the sea on the marl terrace north of the wadi. Visitors to the region in earlier days, impressed by the fortuitous similarity of names, thought that Khirbet Qumran might be all that was left of Gomorrah. In 1873 C.S. *Clermont-Ganneau inspected the ruin, but was more interested in a cemetery lying between it and the sea. He came to no positive conclusions as a result of his inspection.

Occupation of Khirbet Qumran

In 1949, the possibility was raised of a connection between the discoveries in the first manuscript cave and Khirbet Qumran. A trial excavation was made on the site, but nothing was found which suggested any connection. In November and December 1951, three rooms were excavated. In the floor of one of them was found a jar of the same type as those in which the scrolls in Cave 1 had been placed, and along with it was a coin bearing a date equivalent to 10 C.E. Systematic campaigns of exploration were mounted in 1953, 1954, 1955, and 1956, in which the Jordan Department of Antiquities, the Palestine Archaeological Museum, and the French Dominican Ecole Biblique collaborated.

It soon became evident that the building complex had formed the headquarters of a fairly large and well-organized community. R. de Vaux, soon after the excavations began, expressed the belief that these were the headquarters of the *Essenes referred to by *Pliny the Elder in his *Natural History* (5:73), partly on the ground that nothing else in that region could correspond to Pliny's description. Pliny says that "below" the Essene headquarters lies *En-Gedi; since he is describing the Jordan Valley and Dead Sea region from north to south he may mean that En-Gedi lies south of the Essene headquarters; En-Gedi in fact lies some 22 miles (34 km.) south of Khirbet Qumran. But the identification of the community or *Yaḥad that occupied Khirbet Qumran cannot be determined on archaeological grounds alone.

The cemetery to the east of Khirbet Qumran proved to contain about 1,200 graves, laid out in parallel rows lying north and south, with the head to the south. The burials were as simple as possible; the bodies were neither placed in coffins nor accompanied by funeral offerings. In an eastern extension of the cemetery, skeletons of four women and one child were found. Skeletons of women and children were also identified in two other subsidiary cemeteries lying north and south respectively of Wadi Qumran. Pottery in the earth-filling of the graves indicated that the burials belonged to the same general period as the community occupation of Khirbet Qumran.

The site of Khirbet Qumran had been occupied at various times in antiquity. At a low level were found the remains of walls and pottery of Iron Age II (8th–7th centuries B.C.E.). A potsherd inscribed with Phoenician characters and a royal seal stamped on a jar handle belonged to this period, as did also a deep circular cistern which, centuries later, was incorpo-

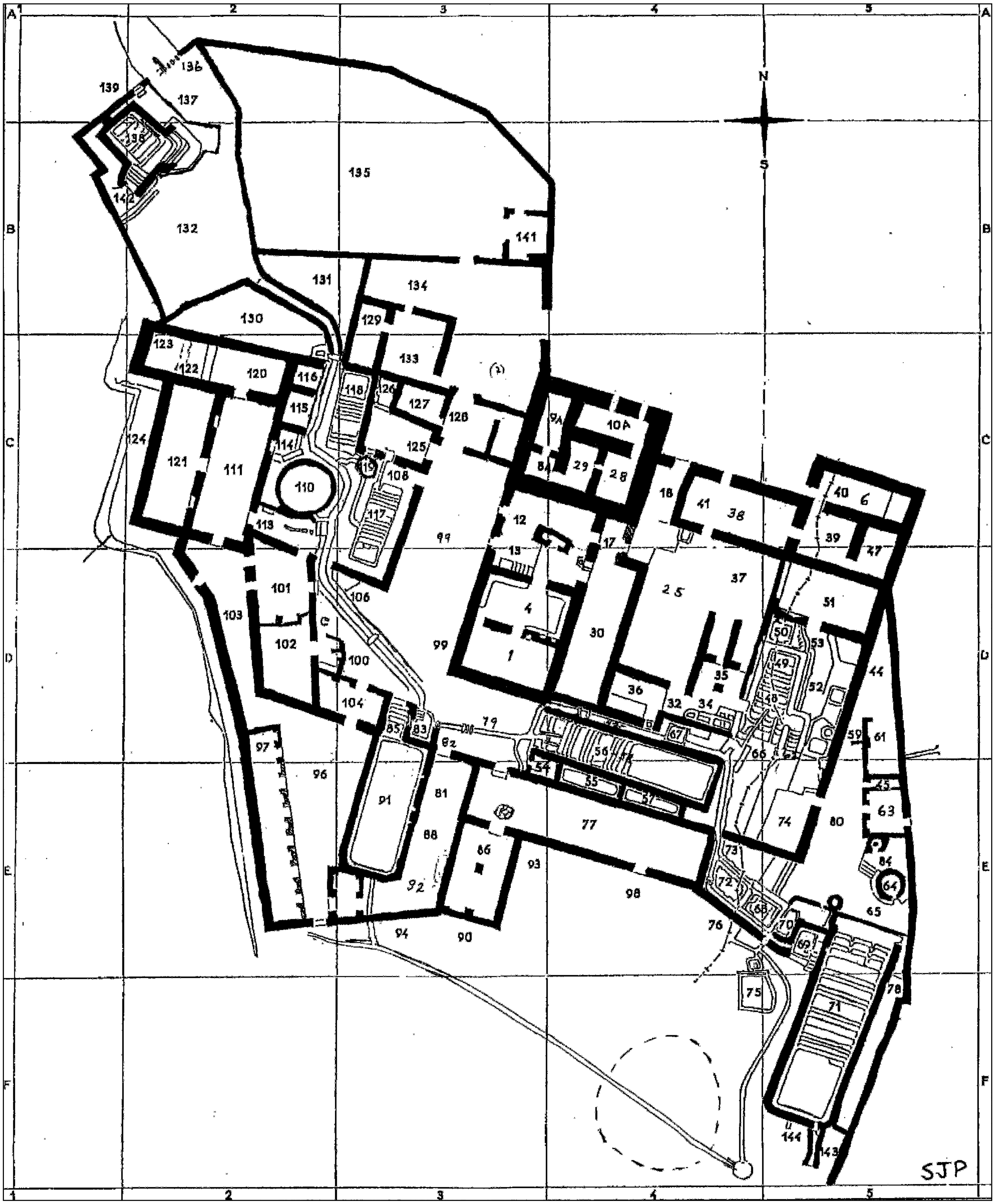
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Khirbet Qumran: Schematic Plan and Position of the Loci in Period Ib.

rated in an elaborate system of aqueducts and reservoirs. This phase of occupation may be correlated with the statement that Uzziah king of Judah (c. 790–740 B.C.E.) "built towers in the wilderness and hewed out many cisterns" (II Chron. 26:10). M. Noth has suggested that at this period the site was known as Ir ha-Melaḥ ("city of salt," Josh. 15:61).

Chief interest attaches to the abundant evidence for the occupation of the site in the Greco-Roman period. In this period Roland de Vaux, the excavator, distinguished the following phases of occupation:

IA. May have been constructed by John Hyrcanus I (134–104 B.C.E.) or more likely by one of his predecessors, i.e., Jonathan (152–142 B.C.E.) or Simon (142–134 B.C.E.), due to the presence of a relatively significant number of coins of John Hyrcanus I and Antiochus VII (138–129 B.C.E.). It was occupied at that time by a people who cleared the circular cistern, built two rectangular stepped pools beside it, constructed a few rooms around these, and installed two pottery kilns in the Iron Age enclosure.

IB. Occupation of a much enlarged area, with two- and three-storey buildings, and an elaborate system of ritual immersion pools and cisterns (incorporating the earlier ones) connected by channels and supplied by an aqueduct from a dam built to store the water which runs down Wadi Qumran in the rainy season. This phase began quite possibly during the reign of John Hyrcanus I and was terminated by a severe earthquake (almost certainly the famous one of 31 B.C.E.) followed by an extensive fire.

II. After about a quarter of a century of abandonment, the building complex was reoccupied and was restored following the lines of phase IB but was reinforced at various points against earthquake damage. Based upon numismatic evidence this phase came to an end during the First Revolt, in the year 68 C.E.

III. Non-Jewish coins ranging from 67/68 C.E. until 72/73 C.E. seem to indicate that a Roman garrison was stationed among the ruins of the site from 68 until 73 C.E., and withdrew immediately after the fall of Masada.

The site was again abandoned until the Bar Kokhba War (132–135 C.E.), as evidenced by coins, when the site served revolutionaries as a hiding place or center of resistance.

Description of Khirbet Qumran

The main building of the complex in phases Ib and II was roughly 37 meters square, of large undressed stones, with a strong tower at the northwest corner. There were several large rooms suitable for assembly rooms or refectories. Adjoining the largest of these rooms (on the south side of the building) was a smaller room containing over 1,000 earthenware vessels – all the varieties necessary for kitchen and refectory use. They may have been manufactured on the spot, since the excavations brought to light the best preserved pottery factory thus far found in ancient Palestine, complete with kilns and levigating pit. A first-storey room in the southwest part of the building (upper loc. 30) was evidently furnished with inkwells and plastered writing tables as a writing room (*scriptorium*). Flour mills, storage bins, ovens, a laundry, a stable, furnaces, and workshops with metal implements were also uncovered. The occupants apparently aimed at being as self-sufficient as possible. The building complex does not seem to have included sufficient sleeping quarters; tents or the neighboring caves may have served the occupants for rest and shelter.

The elaborate series of pools, designed to ensure a plentiful water supply, has excited special interest; there has been a tendency to relate these to the prescriptions regarding cleansing in water laid down in the Manual of *Discipline found in the Qumran caves. It is especially in one of these pools that the damage from the earthquake is still most clearly visible. The 14 stone steps of the largest pool (loc. 85/86), to the east of the site, show a central crack running down from top to bottom, so that their eastern half has sunk nearly half a meter below the level of the western half. When the site was reoccupied some 30 years after the earthquake, this pool could not be used as it no longer held water; a new one was excavated southeast of the building. Other major repairs were effected at the same time: the walls were strengthened and the northwestern tower was reinforced.

Chronology of Khirbet Qumran

The record of the phases of the occupation of Khirbet Qumran is indicated most clearly by the coins found in the course of excavations on the site. About 650 coins of the Greco-Roman period have come to light. The coin record starts with Antiochus VII of the Seleucid dynasty (139–129 B.C.E.) and his contemporary John Hyrcanus (135–104 B.C.E.) and goes on without a break to Antigonus, the last Hasmonean king (40–37 B.C.E.). Coins of Alexander Yannai (103–76 B.C.E.) are especially frequent. Only five coins from Herod's reign (37–4 B.C.E.) have come to light. The record is resumed with coins of Archelaus (4 B.C.E.–6 C.E.) and continues with those of the procurators and a particularly large number of Herod Agrippa's coins (37–44 C.E.). There are 73 coins from the second year of the war against Rome (67–68 C.E.) and several from the following year, contemporary with these are coins minted in the coastal cities of Caesarea, Dora, and Ashkelon; later are a coin of Agrippa II (86 C.E.), one of Vespasian (69–79 C.E.), three of Trajan (98–117 C.E.), one of the type struck by the liberation leaders during the second revolt. It is doubtful whether a hoard of 563 silver coins hidden in three pots in a floor to the west of the building can be related to the occupation of Khirbet Qumran. The hoard was comprised primarily of tetradrachmas and didrachmas of Antiochus VII (earliest dated 139/138 B.C.E.) and Demetrius II (later reign) along with shekels and half shekels of Tyre, the latest of which was dated 10/9 B.C.E. These coins may have been hidden there toward the end of the period of abandonment between Phases Ib and II or at the very beginning of Period II.

A sample of charcoal from the room where the large number of earthenware vessels (Loc. 89) was found was subjected to the radiocarbon test, which yielded a date of 16 C.E. (with a margin of deviation of 80 years either way) for the age of the wood, and a date of 66 C.E. (with a similar margin of deviation) for the burning. Phase II of the occupation of Khirbet Qumran was brought to an end not by earthquake but by fire and sword. The destruction was much more thorough than that caused by the earthquake 100 years earlier. The walls were demolished, a layer of black ash covered the site, and a quantity of arrowheads added their silent testimony to the picture. De Vaux concluded that that the building was attacked and stormed by the Romans in the summer of 68 C.E. because of the paucity of First Revolt bronzes which date to that year. (However it should not be discounted that perhaps the site was destroyed by revolutionaries, who were known for their "scorched earth" policy, on the eve of the Vespasian's scourge of Judea.)

A few rooms were built over the ruins and occupied by a Roman garrison which appears to have been stationed there for a few years. The brief occupation of the site by an insurgent garrison during the second revolt was followed by the complete destruction of its surviving fortifications.

The chronology of the occupation of Khirbet Qumran, archaeologically established, agrees remarkably well with that of the nearby manuscript caves and their contents, paleographically established.(The paleographical evidence is supplemented by the application of pottery dating to the jars in which the manuscripts of Cave 1 were placed and by the application of the radiocarbon test to some of the linen in which these manuscripts were wrapped before being placed in the jars, although the radiocarbon test involves too large a margin of deviation to be helpful when precise dating within decades is required.) A close connection between the occupants of the building and the manuscripts in the caves is cogently indicated; the community described in the "community documents" and the community which manifestly occupied Khirbet Qumran must have been one and the same community; at least, it would require specially conclusive arguments to make it probable that they were two separate communities.

Additional Phases

After 50 years, the time has come to reassess De Vaux's proposed phases, based on data from recent excavations of Qumran's immediate periphery (sequentially: Y. Magen and Y. Peleg; M. Broshi and H. Eshel; O. Guttfeld and R. Price), in which refuse dumps and agricultural terraces were examined in the immediate vicinity. Along with these investigations, a fresh review of De Vaux's excavation and its associated material culture by Donçeel, Humbert, and Chambon, along with new light from recent scientific analyses (Humbert and Gunneweg (eds.), *Khirbet Qumrân et 'Ain Feshkha*, vol II., 2003) provide evidence for three additional phases at the site, and at least four separate sources in the caves.

INTERIM PERIOD. De Vaux's "Period of Abandonment" (ca. 31–10 B.C.E.), during which the site was *not* entirely abandoned. A large pit containing hundreds of carbonized dates which cuts through the southern drainage system suggests that date farmers (perhaps lay Essenes), occupied the site during this period.

PERIOD IIB. During the last years of Period II (ca. 66–68 C.E.), during a period of social upheaval, political strife, and war, Qumran was taken over by another group, likely revolutionaries. Hoards of Revolt coins, stoneware, new pottery forms (differing in form and proportions from the communal pantries of loci 89 and 114), and light weapons (including knives and arrow heads) were recovered from this period, which preceded the Roman occupation of the site.

PERIOD IIIB. Another "Period of Abandonment" according to De Vaux (ca. 73–132 C.E.). Numerous items, including late first and early second century coins (Vespasian and Trajan), numerous shards of glass, a spindle whorl, a stone vase and white strainer jugs indicate that a non-military occupation at the site extended well beyond that of the Roman garrison (which ended ca. 73 C.E. according to De Vaux), an occupation that seems to have extended into the early second century.

The Caves of Qumran

After the first two "scroll caves" were discovered in 1947 (Cave 1Q) and 1952 (Cave 2Q), a survey of the cliffs in the vicinity of Qumran was conducted during March 1952. Upon completion of the survey, the caves and sites which contained archaeological remains were numbered, from north to south, "Survey Cave GQ1" through "Survey Cave GQ40." Certain scroll caves that were found in the cliffs (specifically, 1Q, 2Q, 3Q, and 6Q) were also assigned Survey cave numbers (GQ14, GQ19, GQ8 and GQ26, respectively). Subsequent caves in which manuscripts were discovered were numbered in the sequence of their discovery, yielding Scroll caves 1Q through 11Q, the last being discovered in January 1956. These two separate numbering systems were conceived at that time and continue to be used for all Qumran caves of archaeological import identified between 1947 and 1956. However, the two categories of caves and their numbers have often become confused in the literature. In April 1956 two adjacent caves without manuscripts were discovered and excavated to the northeast of cave 3Q (= GQ8) and were called "Cave A" and "Cave B." In 1963, an additional cave with abundant remains, but no manuscripts, was discovered by John Allegro and his team as part of the "Copper Scroll Expedition" and was dubbed "The Christmas Cave," since King Hussein of Jordan visited the cave on that day. A third system of enumeration has arisen with the cave surveys and excavations of Y. Patrich between 1984 and 1991, for which we will use the numbers "PQ1–PQ24."

The Caves of Qumran can be divided into five distinct clusters:

Cave Cluster of the Marl Terrace Adjacent to the Qumran Site. Southwest Caves 4 Spur. Qa, 4Qb, 5Q and 10Q. The complex is located 80 meters southwest of the buildings of Qumran on a spur of the marl formation separated from the site by a narrow ravine. The Bedouin discovered caves 4Qa and 4Qb simultaneously, with the result that the fragments from the two caves arrived at the museum mixed and indistinguishable. Thus these adjacent but separate caves were delineated "4Q" by de Vaux with regard to the manuscripts and other items collected by

Phases of Occupation at Qumran and their Character

Dates	De Vaux's Phases	Modified de Vaux	Nature of Occupation	Datable Loci	Coins	Lamps	Pantry	Characteristic Material Culture	Cave/Manu-script Collection (Time of Deposition)
8th–6th cent. B.C.E.	Iron II	Iron II	Settlement, perhaps farmstead; cf. II Chron. 26:10	Below 73, 80, 68, 86, 88; outside 6, 40; north of 38	Not applicable	Late Iron Age	(unknown)	LMLK jar handles; hole mouth jars	11Q; GQ6, 13, 27, 39; GQA, B; Christmas Cave
c 150–130	Ia	Ia	Pre Essene, farmstead	Under 30; under 66	Demetrius I (early reign)	Hellenistic: Tr A, delfiniform; west trench (Broshi/Eshel)	(unknown): includes fish plates (cf. loc. Under 30)	Villa rustica with agricultural terraces	(unknown)
c 130–31	Ib	Ib	Essene (mainly Yahad)	89, 48/49, 52, 53, 16	Antiochus VII, John Hyrcanus I	Qumran type: loc 130, 1Q.1; Hellenistic Radial	Communal: loc. 86/89; 1 cup : 3 dishes : 10 bowls	Ritual communal meals; numerous mikvaot; lots	1Q Phase A (part of 4Q, 5Q)
31–4	Abandoned	Interim	Lay Essenes? Date farmers	South 75 (pit with dates)	Shekel hoards A, B & C	Herodian Radial	(unknown)	Pit full of dates	(unknown)
4 B.C.E.–66 C.E.	II	IIa	Essene (first Yahad then Lay)	114	Procurators, Agrippa I	Herodian A and B	Communal: loc. 114; 1 cup : 3 dishes : 10 bowls	Ritual communal meals; numerous mikvaot; lots	1Q Phase B; 6Q (part of 4Q, 5Q)
66–68	II	IIb	Revolutionaries	2, 4, 30, 45a–c, 59, 61	1st Revolt coin hoards	Herodian C	Personal: loc. 2, 4, 45a–c, 59, 61, upper 77; 10 cups : 10 dishes : 10 bowls	Stoneware; numerous spherical juglets; carinated bowls	2Q; ostracon 1 (Year 2)
67–83	III	IIIa	Roman Outpost	(none)	Roman provincial coins 67-73 CE	(none)	(unknown)	Hob nails (on paths)	Northern Cluster; includes 3Q, 11Q (c 70 C.E., likely Zealot); not associated with Qumran site.
c 73–132	Abandoned	IIIb	Post-Essene occupation	14, 15, 16, 20, 21, 24, upper 34	Vespasian, Agrippa II (86 CE), Trajan	Discus lamp 4Q, molded lamps	(unknown)	Glass, stoneware, pseudo-Nabatean painted; white strainer jugs, spindle whorl	None
c 132–135	Bar Kokhba	IIIc	Revolutionaries	29	Second Revolt coins	(unknown)	(unknown)	(unknown)	Christmas Cave

the Bedouin. However, when describing the findings from his own excavations, De Vaux was able to distinguish them as "4Qa" and "4Qb".

Southern Spur: Caves 7Q, 8Q and 9Q. The complex is located at the southern end of the same marl terrace, 90 meters directly south of the building complex of Qumran and connected to it by the southern enclosure. The three caves, whose roofs had collapsed, are accessible only from within the confines of the enclosure wall.

Cave Cluster of the Northern Cliffs. Caves 3Q and 11Q; Survey Caves GQ1–11; Caves A and B; PQ13, PQ. The northern cliffs lie between the wadi that divides the cliffs two kilometers to the north of Qumran and the Rijm al-Asbah "the rock of the thumb," about one kilometer further north.

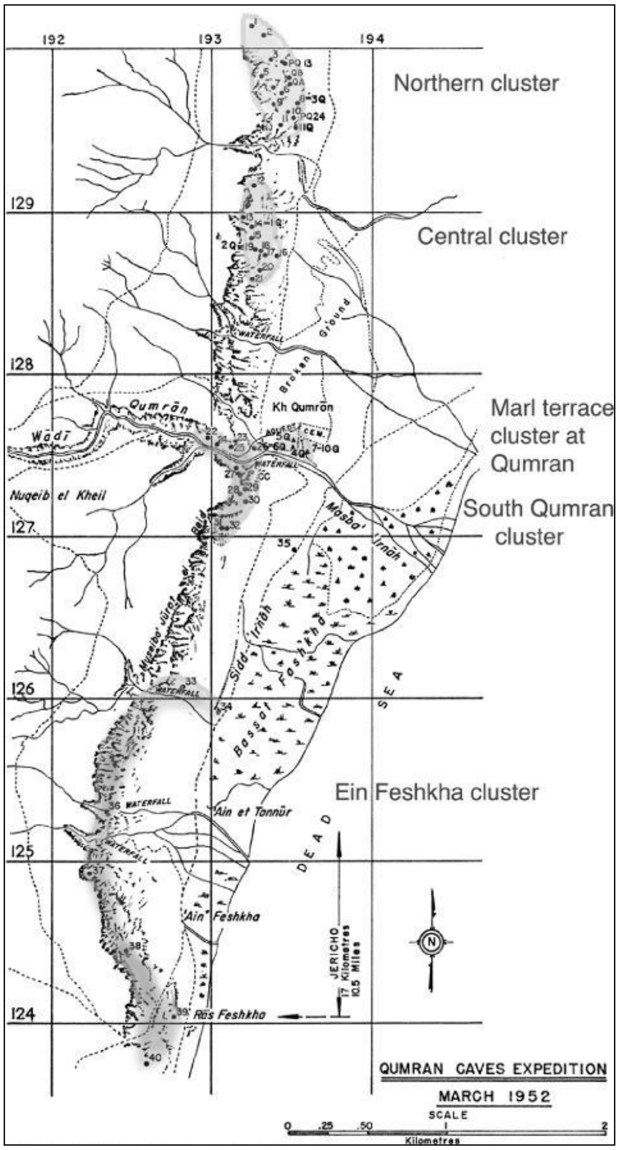
192
193
194
129
128
127
126
125
124
Northern cluster
Central cluster
Marl terrace cluster at Qumran
South Qumran cluster
Ein Feshkha cluster
PQ13
3Q
PQ24
11Q
2Q
Kh Qumrān
Broken Ground
Wadī Qumrān
Nuqeib el Kheil
WATERFALL
AQUEDUCT
CEM.
5Q
6Q
4Q
7-10Q
Masba' Irnāh
Sidd Irnāh
Feshkha
Bassat
Ain et Tannūr
'Ain Feshkha
Rās Feshkha
DEAD SEA
JERICHO
17 Kilometres
10.5 Miles
N
QUMRAN CAVES EXPEDITION
MARCH 1952
SCALE
0
.25
.50
1
2
Kilometres

Map of Cave Locations

Cave Cluster of the Central Cliffs. Caves 1Q, 2Q; Survey Caves GQ12–21. This cluster stretches for one-half kilometer along the cliffs, about one and one-half kilometers to the north of Qumran.

Cave Cluster of Qumran's Wadi and Southern Cliffs. Cave 6Q, Survey Caves GQ22–32, "Christmas Cave." The caves of the southern cliffs lie along a one-half kilometer stretch south of the Wadi Qumran.

Cave Cluster of the Ein Feshkha Cliffs. Survey Caves GQ. This stretch of cliffs begins 33–40. 2.75 kilometers south of Qumran and extends southward for 2.5 kilometers, ending at Ras Feshkha, with the spring of Ein Feshkha at the center.

Pottery and Dating of the Caves

The caves in the cliffs contained material from the Pre-Pottery Neolithic B (flint blades), Chalcolithic (pottery sherds), Iron II (lamps and bowls), Hellenistic, Roman, Byzantine, and Islamic periods. The most substantial and widespread remains were from the first century C.E., including the typical cylindrical jars and, less commonly, lamps, cooking pots, tableware and, of course, the scrolls themselves. Many of the caves were visited on more than one occasion in antiquity, providing remains from more than one period in the same cave. Most periods represented by the remains from the caves have counterparts in the stratified remains of Khirbet Qumran.

In certain cases, the date of the remains in the cliffs reflects a time of hiding and transition in the occupation of the site. This is also true of the various hidden scroll deposits, the approximate date of the deposition being concurrent with the latest paleographically dated manuscript in the collection. On the other hand, the remains from the caves in Khirbet Qumran's marl terrace have a different history of use than those in the cliffs. The deposition of manuscripts there took place continuously over a long period of time and can be dated within a limited frame: no earlier than the late second century B.C.E. and no later than the end of the first century C.E. (roughly concurrent with periods IB and II).

On occasions when domestic pottery has been found in a cave – including collections of lamps, cooking pots, tableware, and food remains – this would indicate that individuals hid in or used the caves as temporary lodging (although these occupants should not necessarily be identified as those who hid the scrolls). Domestic pottery, especially lamps, provides an important means toward pinpointing periods of occupation, as in Iron II lamps (caves 11Q and GQ39), Hellenistic lamps (1Q), and lamps from the second half of the first century C.E. or First Revolt (caves 1Q, 3Q, 4Q, 8Q, 10Q, 11Q, GQ29, GQ39, PQ13, PQ24).

Cylindrical Jars

From the initial moment that the first scrolls were said to have been found in a certain, cylindrically shaped jar in Cave 1, it was assumed that those hitherto unknown jars were manufactured specifically to store scrolls. Even though the original excavator consistently called the jars "cylindrical jars," scholars preferred to utilize the term "scroll jars" whenever a new jar of this type was found. The facts, however, show that the jars were not all intended for carrying scrolls. This is clear from the fact that most of these jars were not found with scrolls in them and very few scrolls that were discovered were actually found in jars. Also, most caves which contained cylindrical jars or their lids had no trace of even a single manuscript inside the cave (e.g., GQ1–3, 7, 10, 12, 15, 17–18, 21, 22, 28–32, 39, 40; PQ13, PQ24).

It also has been assumed that these jars were manufactured at Qumran. However, after recent chemical analyses of the cylindrical jars by Gunneweg and Bala, it was concluded that at least 75% of the cylindrical jars from the caves, and more than 50% of those from the site of Qumran, were derived from the Jerusalem area, having been made from clay from the Jerusalem/Motsa flow. The remainder were proven to derive primarily from the regions of Qumran and Jericho and were further distinguished by detectable variations in form, color and manufacture. Those in the caves which derived from Jerusalem were often accompanied by lamps or domestic wares dating to the second half of the first century C.E., indicating that they were most likely hidden there during the period of the First Revolt.

The fact that most of the jars were found empty, and yet had been purposely hidden, seems to indicate that they were valued aside from their contents. Furthermore, it appears that most of the jars, especially the tall cylindrical jars, were not originally intended to contain scrolls. Rather, they were intended for the collection of levitical tithes. They are designated by the term *kelei dema*', "tithe jars," and are frequently listed among the hidden treasures in the Copper Scroll (3Q15) without any reference to their actual contents (if they had any). One of the jars from cave 3Q was marked twice with the letter *tet* which characterizes certain jars of this type as similarly found at Masada. (Cf. M. *Ma'aser* 4:11, "If a vessel was found on which was written a *kof,* it is *korban*; if a *mem*, it is *ma'aser*; if a *dalet*, it is *demai*; if a *tet*, it is *tevel*.") It is more likely that only the shorter jars with handles were used for archival purposes. The handles were actually used as anchors for tying down the lid; parallels of such practices have been found in Egypt. However, the scrolls of an active community library were not placed in archive jars for extended periods of time but were normally stored on shelves inset into the walls of a room (compare, e.g., the Celsus library at Ephesus, the library at Nizanna, and, apparently, Qumran loc. 2). The only reason the contents of a library might be found in a cave, whether in jars or not, would be to set aside worn or damaged scrolls in a *genizah* or to temporarily hide the scrolls from imminent danger. If the latter case is true for the cliffs of Qumran, those who hid them did not survive to retrieve them according to plan.

Diverse Caves and Libraries of Qumran

It has been generally assumed that the numerous manuscripts from the Qumran caves (and those from Masada!) were once part of a single library, produced and kept by a singular movement of people, known within the scrolls as the "Yaḥad" or the "Sons of Light" (and by their contemporaries as the "Essenes"). The various manuscript deposits, however, when examined by content and context, by what unites them and what divides them, tell a different story. Their unique and dissimilar features reveal that their owners actually came from diverse groups, who hid the scrolls at different times.

A survey of the contents of each manuscript collection confirms that, in all cases, the Books of Moses were central to each collection, reflecting the common Jewish background of the peoples who deposited the manuscripts. However, the Torah manuscripts were supplemented in each collection by other Jewish writings, which reveal the views of its owners and help to define each group. This feature along with certain variations in material remains from each scroll cave provides evidence as to the identity of individual groups who harbored each manuscript collection.

The general character of a group, whether priestly or lay, is indicated by a number of predictable elements. If, for example, a library predominantly contains works such as rulebooks, liturgies, and multiple copies of the Book of Psalms – a collection which helps to define and support the role of priesthood – then priests must have comprised the core group (e.g., the collections of caves 1Q and 11Q). If the supplemental material contains rule books, copies of the "five *megillot*" (pocket scrolls read by the laity during the feasts), and legendary texts which define and support the role of the laity, then the collection likely belonged to a lay group (e.g., the collections from caves 2Q, 3Q, 6Q and perhaps 5Q). If the collection contains a mixture of these features, then it might represent a *genizah* for both priestly and lay communities (e.g., the contents of cave 4Q and perhaps 5Q), or the library of a community which composed of both priestly and lay elements (e.g., Masada).

The specific sectarian leanings of the owners can be discerned by the contents of their rulebooks and the supplemental literature they preserve within the collection, or even possibly by which texts are excluded. These leanings appear to go in two directions: (1) Caves 1Q, 4Q, 5Q and 6Q, which as a group preserve libraries of the two divisions of the "Sons of Light," the priestly *Yaḥad* "Community" and the laity Israelites (both divisions of which are, by nature, ideologically and typically "Essene" as described by Josephus; the term "Qumran Community" is inappropriate since the movement, as described in the scrolls, was not confined to this site), and (2) Caves and sites which preserve libraries which ideologically support and belong to various groups involved in the First Revolt (potentially including especially the Sicarii, the followers of Simon bar Giora, the Zealots and others described by Josephus in his *Jewish Wars*).

CAVES 1Q, 4Q, 5Q, AND 6Q. Cave 1Q: This *Yaḥad* collection, in addition to being of a priestly character, is all written on parchment, and contains one copy each of all of the major works identified with the Yahad and its founder the Moreh Ẓedek, especially the *Rule of the Community,* two copies of the *Thanksgiving Hymns* and most of the community's commentaries (lacking, however, the *Temple Scroll* and *Ben Sira,* which support divergent views). The group also avoids authoring pseudepigraphic works. 1Q contained at least 75 manuscripts from about 125 B.C.E. to 25 C.E., with two peaks in accession (14% from c. 100–75 B.C.E. and 43% from 31–1 B.C.E.). Since accessions ended by 25 C.E., this must be the approximate date that this library was removed from Qumran and hidden in the cave. This may provide a *terminus ad quem* for the presence of the priestly *Yaḥad* at Qumran. The textiles from 1Q were of unbleached, "off-white" linen, often with blue dyed indigo or *tekhelet* pin-stripes woven into the fabric.

Cave 6Q: This Essene collection of lay character (including a *megillah* of the Song of Songs) is written primarily on papyrus and contains one copy of the lay rule book, the *Damascus Document*.

Cave 4Q: The special case of cave 4Q is that, as a *genizah*, it contains more than 700 worn copies of parchment and papyrus scrolls, sometimes from diverse sources, copied over long periods of time (in this case, dating from the late third cent. B.C.E. to the late first cent. C.E., with at least 70% deriving from the period between 75 B.C.E. and 25 C.E.). The cave contains books of Essene institutional interest, both from a priestly and a lay perspective. There is a broad and mixed offering of scrolls topically (Bible, Apocrypha, parabiblical, liturgical, legal, calendrical, and legendary texts), yet an avoidance of works which would be considered errant, such as *Ben Sira*, the *Books of Maccabees*, and all works of the Pharisees and the Sadducees.

Cave 5Q may also belong to the adjacent cave 4Q**a**/4Q**b** *genizah* complex, as it contains parchment scrolls (including both the *Community Rule* and the *Damascus Document*), though of a more limited age span. (If it is not a *genizah,* then a lay character might be assigned to this collection, since it contains two *megillot* of the book of Lamentations)

CAVES 11Q AND 3Q. Cave 11Q: A non-Essene collection of a priestly character, located in the northern cave cluster, Cave 11Q contains three copies of the pseudepigraphic rulebook the *Temple Scroll*, a chapter of *Ben Sira* (in 11Q Psalms^{a}), and promotes Ezekiel among the prophets (perhaps due to its emphasis on the future temple and its promotion of the Zadokites). The library contains no certain works that promote the history or views of the Moreh Ẓedek and his followers. The textiles derived from this cave were almost exclusively bleached white (as opposed to the usual natural off-white, as in Cave 1Q and elsewhere) and often with blue indigo pin-stripes woven in.

Cave 3Q, located in the same cave cluster as 11Q, is of non-Essene, lay character (including a Lamentations *megillah*). It is likely connected with the Zealots, the self-appointed protectors of the Temple and its treasures, since it contained the *Copper Scroll*, which enumerates the locations where priestly paraphernalia, Temple treasures, and tithe jars were hidden.

Sixty-five percent of the at least 46 manuscripts from caves 11Q and 3Q come from the last 25 years before the fall of Jerusalem and 90% of the manuscripts come from the 1st century C.E. It would seem that these, and the other caves of the northern cluster, were inhabited briefly at the end of the First Revolt. The best candidate for ownership of these manuscript collections would seem to be the group of rebels led by the Zealot general Judah ben Jair who came down from Jerusalem to the jungle of the Jordan to take their last stand, along with another group of refugees from Machaerus (Jos., Wars, 7:210–15).

CAVE 2Q. Cave 2Q, although it is in the same cluster as cave 1Q, is not likely connected with the Essenes since it contains no community documents and includes *Ben Sira*. It is of lay character (containing two *megillot* of the Book of Ruth) and is likely connected with the revolutionaries (perhaps with Simeon bar Giora's group).

THE CASE OF MASADA. Early during the revolt Masada became the sole stronghold and residence of the Sicarii. The founder Judah the Galilean and his successors were called "teachers" by Josephus (Wars, 2:118). There is no reason to believe that this group would not keep an institutional library. The cache of scrolls found at Masada that once were thought to connect with the Qumran scrolls are no longer considered to be either Yaḥad or Essene in character. The corpus of manuscripts from Masada should be viewed as the remnants of a Sicarii library, written mainly on parchment, with certain lay and priestly components. (The various extraneous papyrus documents derived from the Roman occupation of the site must be treated separately.)

CAVES 7Q, 8Q, 9Q, AND 10Q: The remains from cave 7Q, which contained only Greek manuscripts, and cave 8Q, which contained Psalms, a liturgical work, a phylactery and a *mezuzah*, although having a definable character, are too sparse to be able to connect them with the other caves. The manuscripts from Caves 9Q and 10Q are not definable. However, in light of the food remains and lamps from all four of these caves, they all appear to have been used at the end of period IIb as residences for the rebels. This is also true with respect to most of the caves throughout the cliffs. In the Ein Feshkha cluster most of the caves contain remains from the post-70 C.E. period.

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[Frederick Fyvie Bruce / Stephen Pfann (2nd ed.)]

QUNAYṬIRA, AL- (**Kuneitra**), central town in *Ramat ha-Golan, at the crossroads where the highway connecting the Benot Ya'akov bridge with Damascus intersects roads to Mt. Hermon and Lebanon, to Sheikh Miskīn and the southern Bashan, and to *Ḥammat Gader on the Iarmuk River. The town lies in a shallow valley, approximately 2,950–3,100 ft. (900–950 m.) above sea level. Remains from the Byzantine period were found there, e.g., a granite column and three tombstones with legends in Greek. An archaeological survey in 1968 revealed additional Greek inscriptions, some of which testify to a Jewish population there in the Byzantine period, e.g., the legend "Archelaus ben Hananiah" on a tombstone. Until the mid-19th century al-Qunaytira was only a wayfarers' inn (*khān*). With the settlement of Circassians in Golan the town became a regional center, and by the end of the 19th century had 1,800 inhabitants, almost all Circassian Muslims. Water from a spring was collected in a reservoir dating from the Byzantine period and conducted to ponds at several places in the town, and the houses were built along broad, paved roads. The Circassians regarded al-Qunayṭira as their national center. The economy was based on administrative services, commerce, small workshops, and auxiliary farming. In the 1950s, when the town belonged to Syria, it began to lose its Circassian character as Arab merchants settled there. In the 1960s al-Qunayṭira was made the district town of Golan, when the population approached 15,000 and the economy was increasingly geared to the Syrian military installations. A large headquarters for the "Palestinian Front" was erected at the town's western entrance. The Circassians by then constituted no more than 15–20% of the total population. When al-Qunayṭira was captured by Israel forces on the last day of the *Six-Day War (June 11, 1967), it was found abandoned by almost all its inhabitants. According to the Israel census (1967), there were still 206 people, but they subsequently left. Kibbutz Merom Golan was established at the town's western entrance. Al-Qunayṭira has a place in Theodor *Herzl's prophetic novel *Altneuland*. The town, which he envisioned as accessible by an electric train rising from the shores of Lake Kinneret, became a junction of Transjordanian railways.

[Mordkhai Neishtat]

QURAYẒA, BANŪ, One of the three major Jewish tribes in *Medina (pre-Islamic Yathrib) that became famous in Islamic historiography through their conflict with *Muhammad. Their defeat in 627 came after that of the *Qaynuqāʿ and the *Naḍīr. Following Qurayẓa's siege and unconditional surrender, hundreds of their men were beheaded and their women and children were sold into slavery. The tribe of Qurayẓa was divided into two subdivisions, the ʿAmr and the Kaʿb, each having its own assembly (*majlis*). They had tower-houses used for residence that were owned by leaders such as al-Zabīr ibn Bāṭā, "the last of the Qurayẓa" in Saul *Tchernichowsky's famous poem, and Kaʿb ibn Asad, their chief at the time of Muhammad. In addition, they had a central fortification, al-Muʿriḍ, which was large enough to shelter the whole tribe in wartime. As was always the case in a settled tribal society, Qurayẓa's defense was also based on alliances. When these alliances collapsed, their fall was only a matter of time.

The dramatic events surrounding Qurayẓa's demise dominate the reports about them in Islamic literature. They were preceded by the Battle of the Ditch (Khandaq) in which Medina was besieged by a coalition of Muhammad's enemies that included his own tribe, Quraysh, and several nomadic tribes. The Qurayẓa who had a non-belligerency agreement with Muhammad – not to be confused with the so-called "Constitution of Medina" in which they did not participate – probably remained neutral: they lent the Muslims tools for digging the defensive ditch, but also sold provisions to the besiegers. After their surrender their fate was reportedly decided not by Muhammad, but by the fatally wounded Saʿd ibn Muʿādh of the Aws. His decision was met with opposition among the Aws with whom the Qurayẓa had an old alliance. One of the Quraẓī women taken captive was Rayḥāna, who became Muhammad's wife or concubine. The Quraẓī boys who were spared because they had not yet reached puberty were literate, and hence an asset for the emerging Islamic culture. When we read Qurayẓa stories "from within" that favorably describe certain Quraẓī leaders, otherwise known as Muhammad's enemies, they should be attributed to the role of these survivors as Muslim informants. The son of one such survivor achieved great fame a century after Muhammad: it was Muhammad ibn Kaʿb al-Quraẓī who was a leading authority on *Koran exegesis.

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[Michael Lecker (2nd ed.)]

LEFT: **Mallow.** *© Dr. David Darom.* *RIGHT:* **Almond tree.** *© Dr. David Darom.*

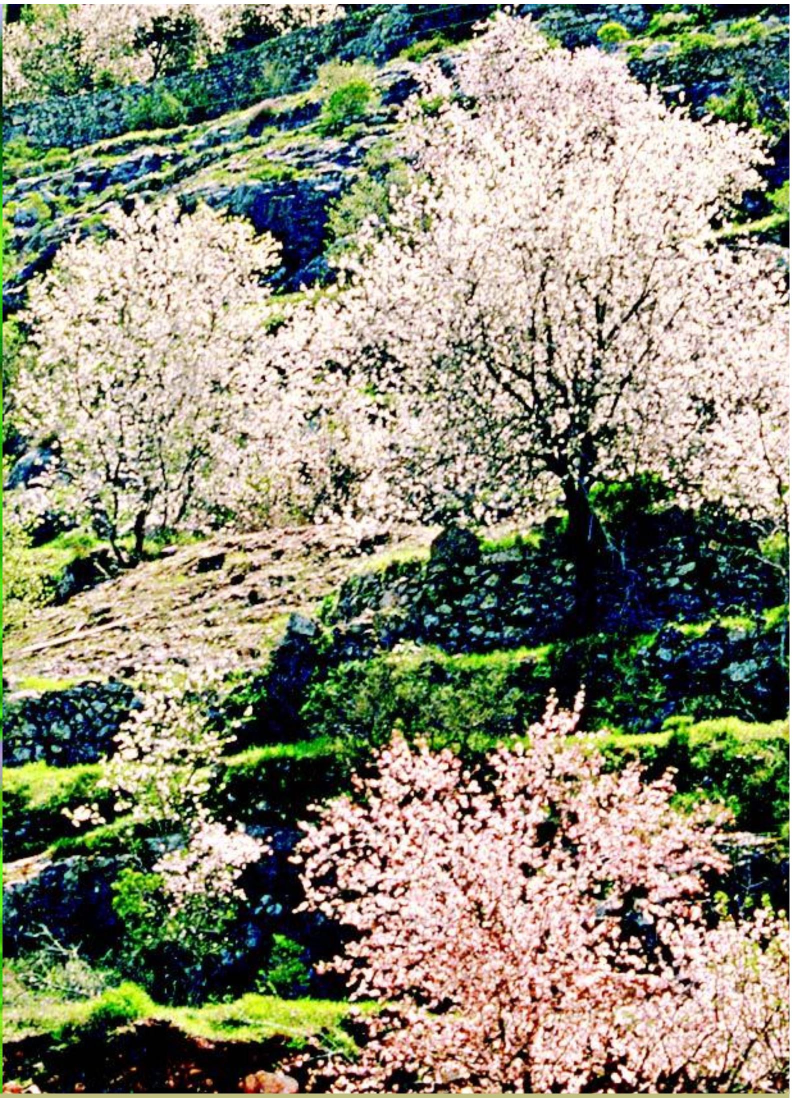

The Bible mentions about 100 names of plants, the bulk of them from Ereẓ Israel, the others being trees of Lebanon and tropical plants that yield an aromatic substance or are used in incense. Israel is at the convergence of three floral regions, which results in a wide variety of plant life.

PLANTS OF THE BIBLE

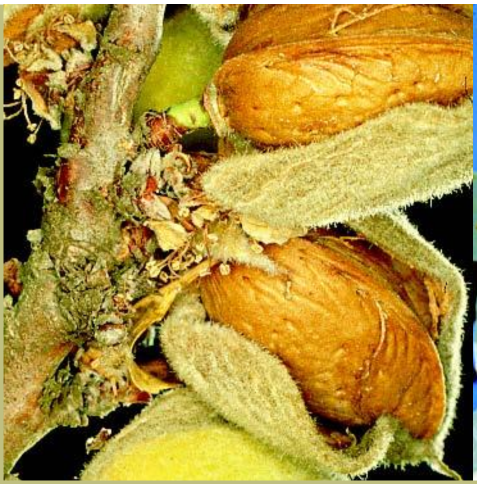

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Anise. © *Dr. David Darom.*

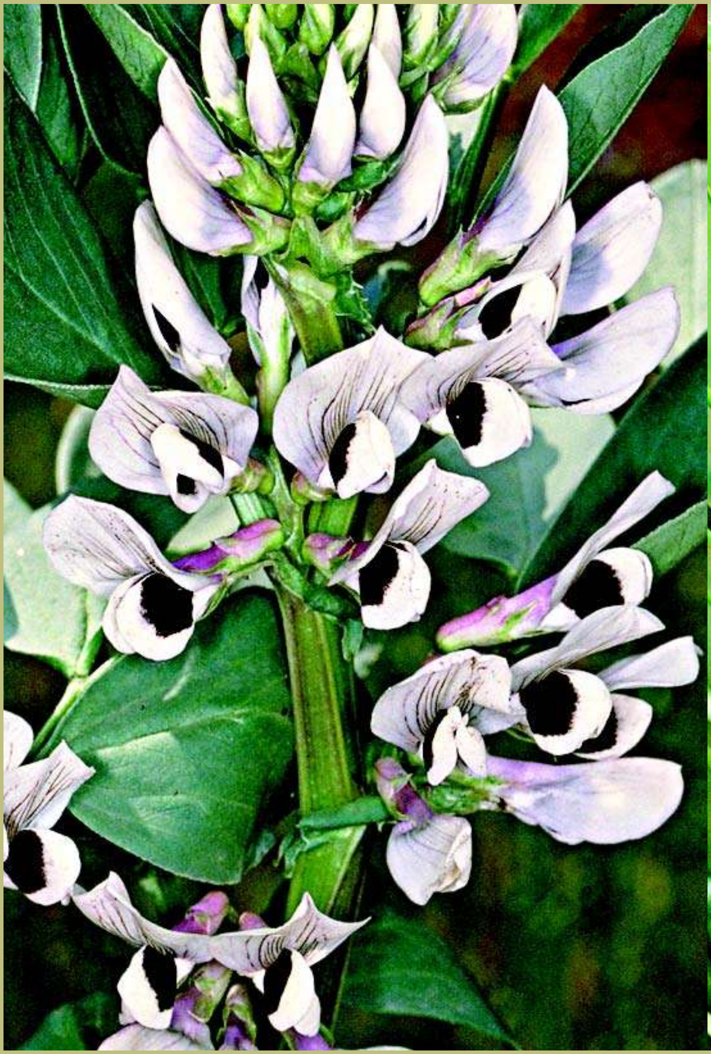

Broad bean blossom. © *Dr. David Darom.*

Cattail. © *Dr. David Darom.*

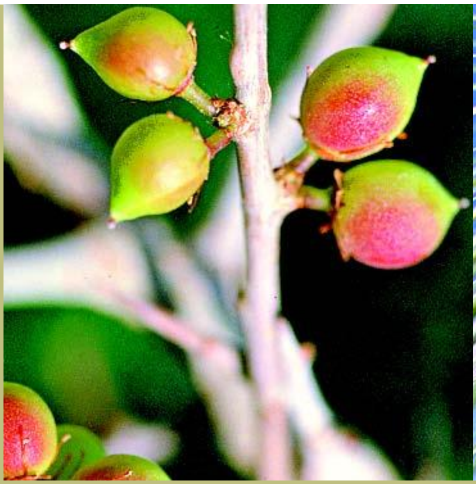

Balm. © *Dr. David Darom.*

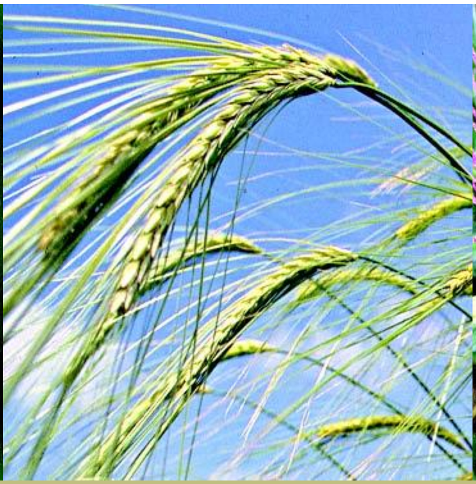

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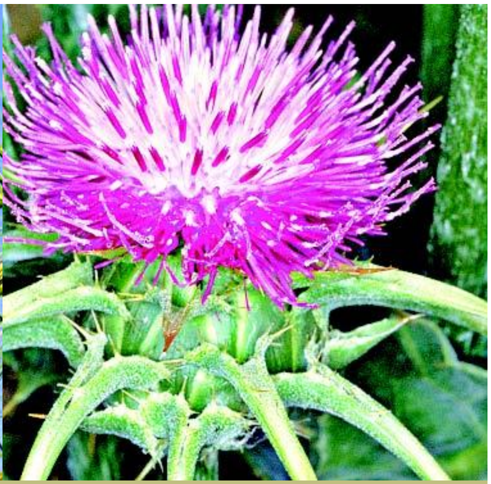

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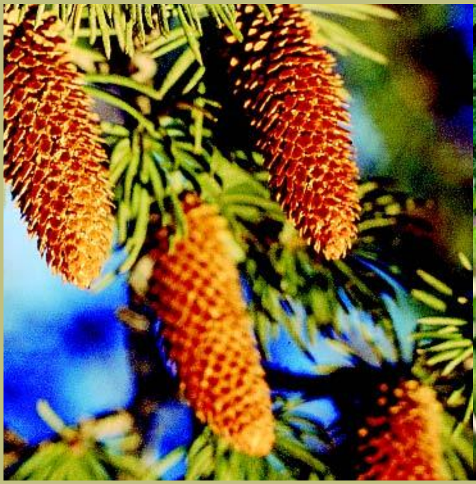

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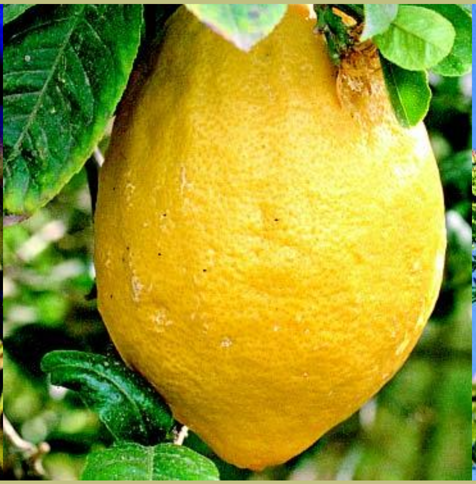

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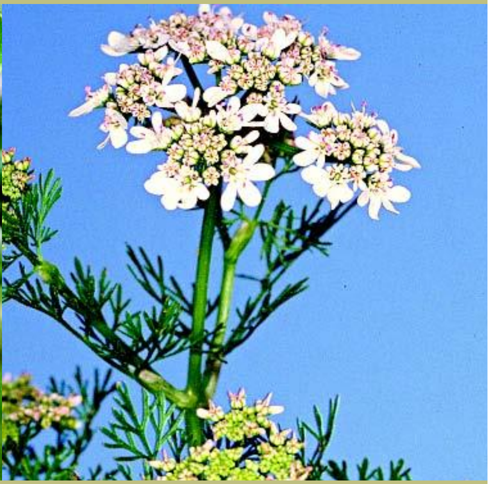

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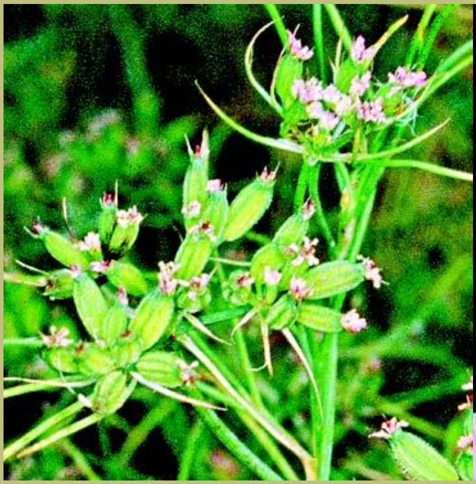

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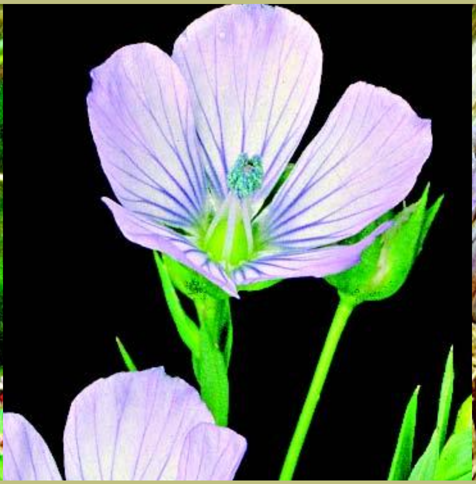

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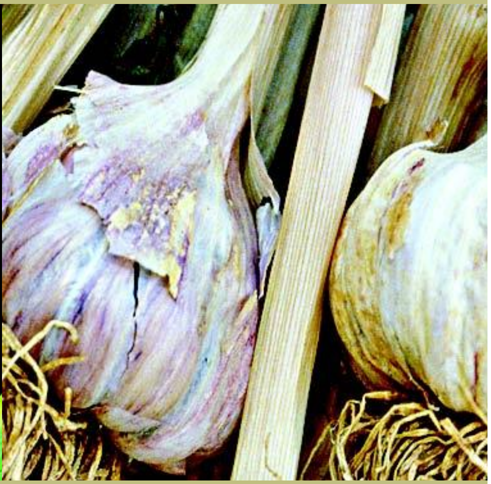

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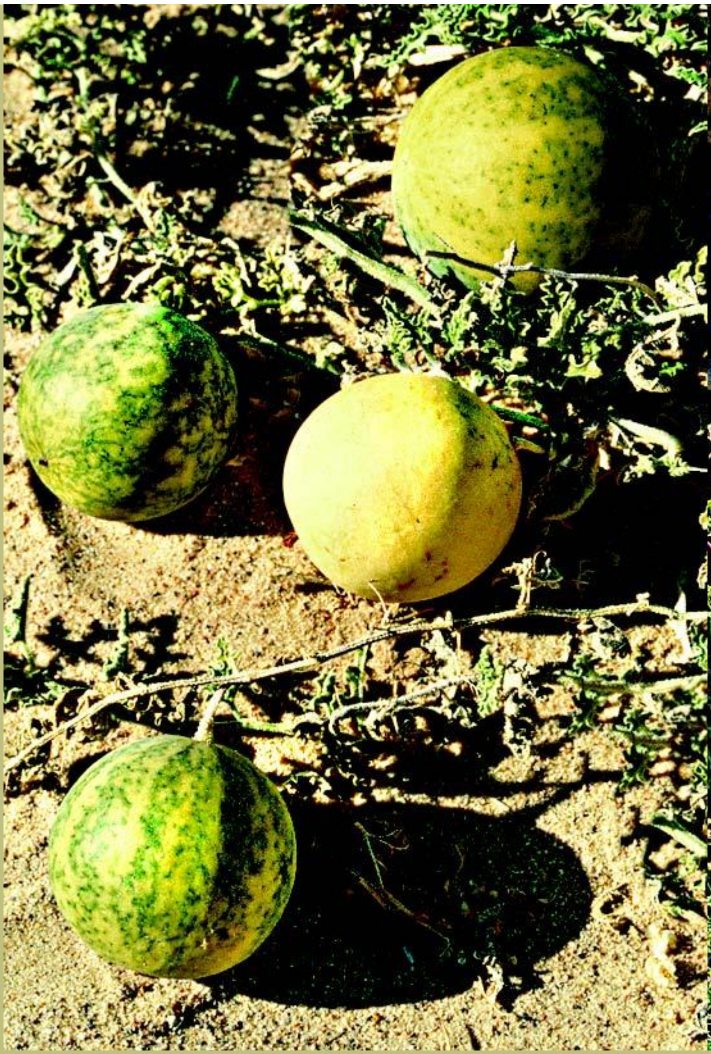

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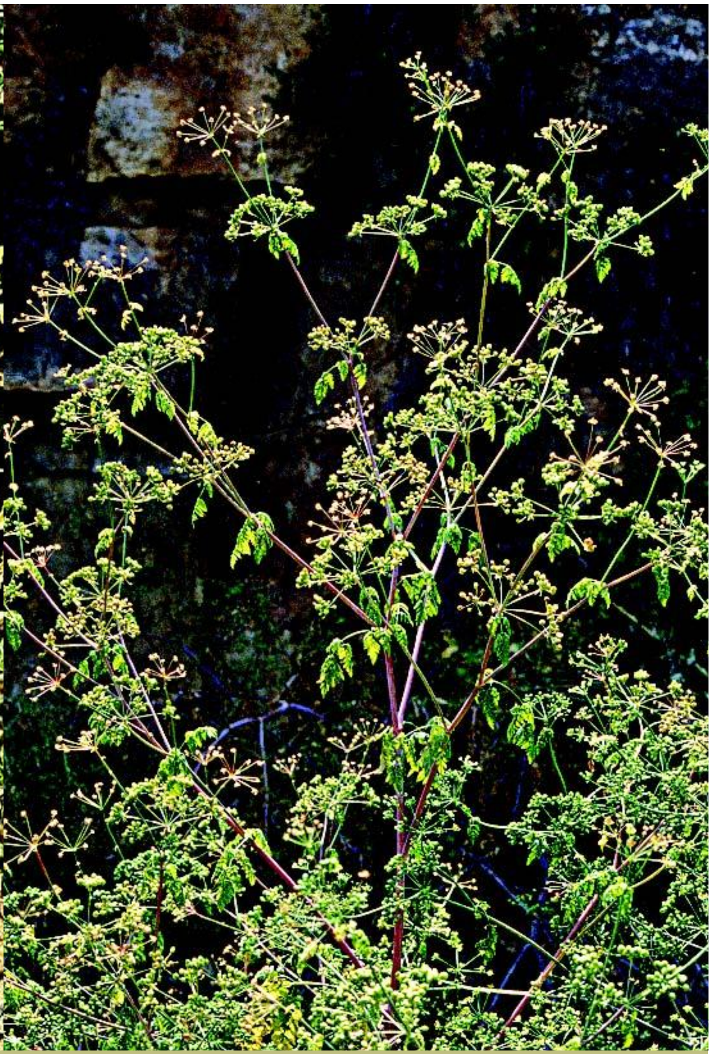

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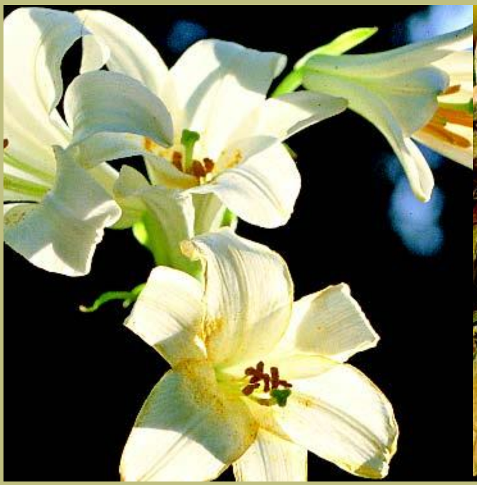

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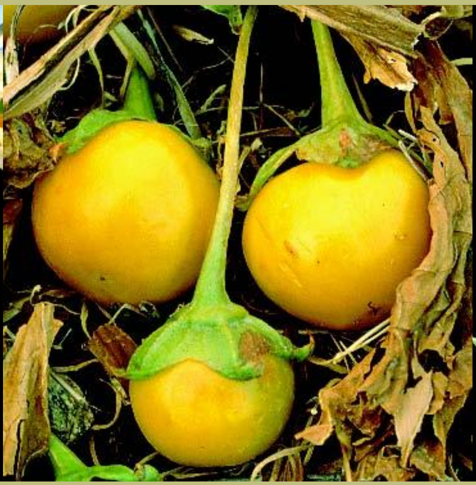

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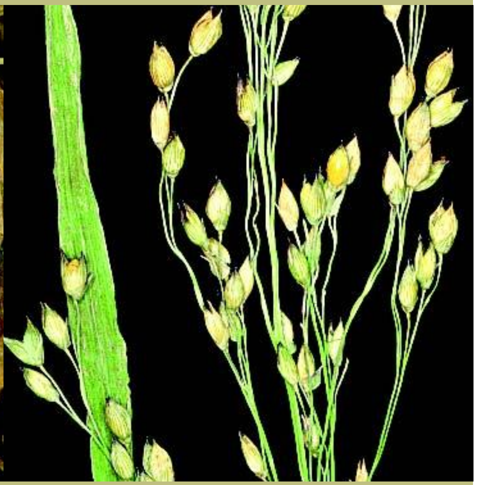

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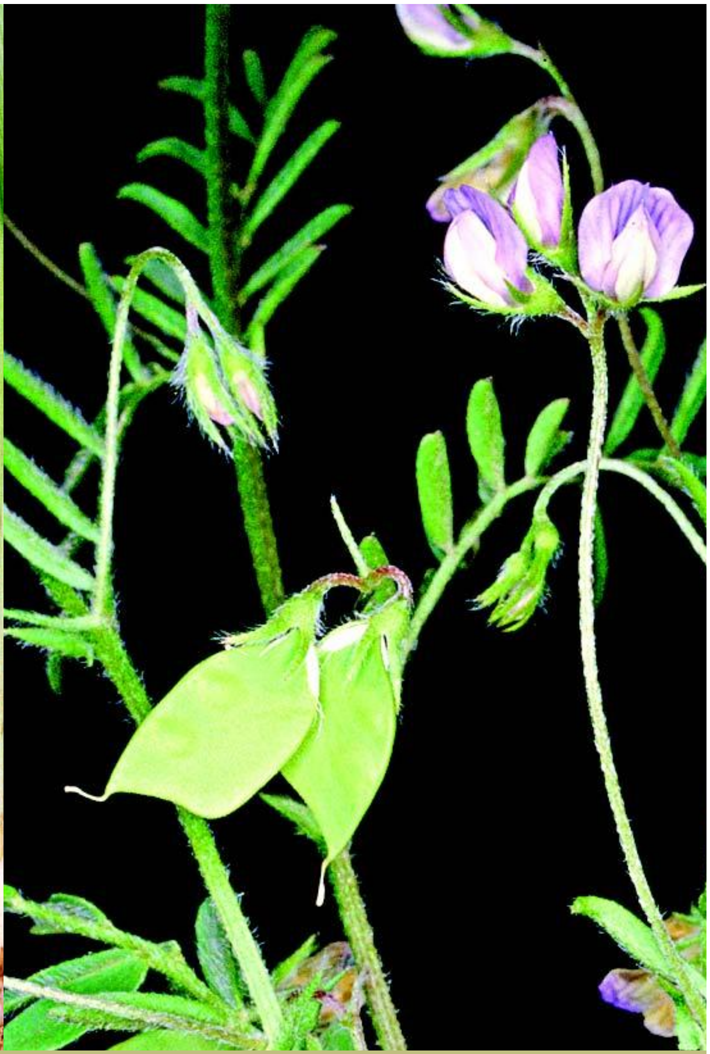

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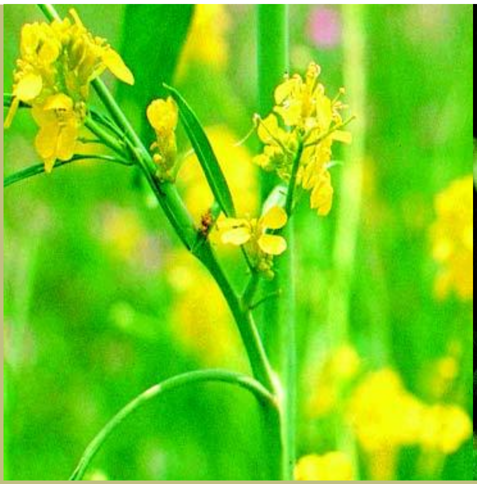

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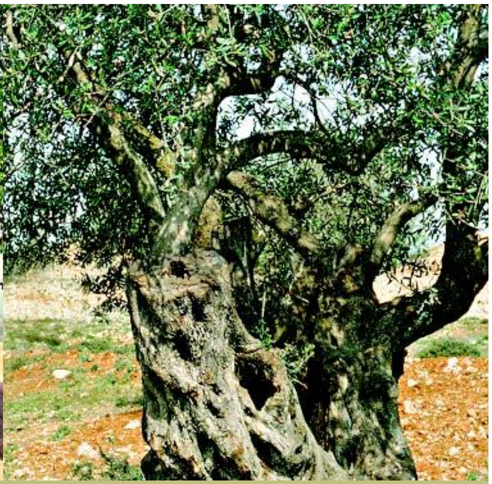

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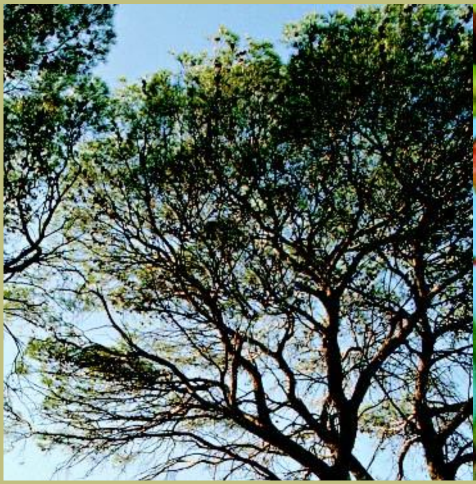

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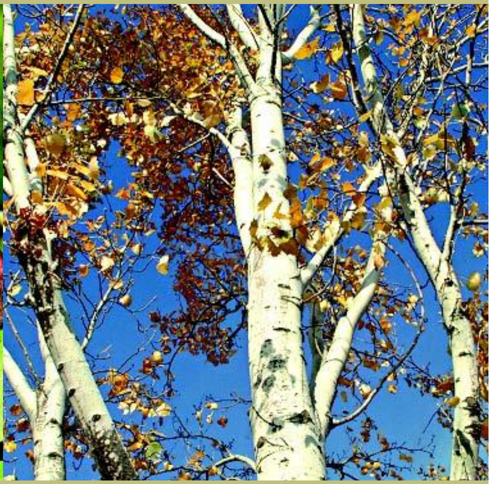

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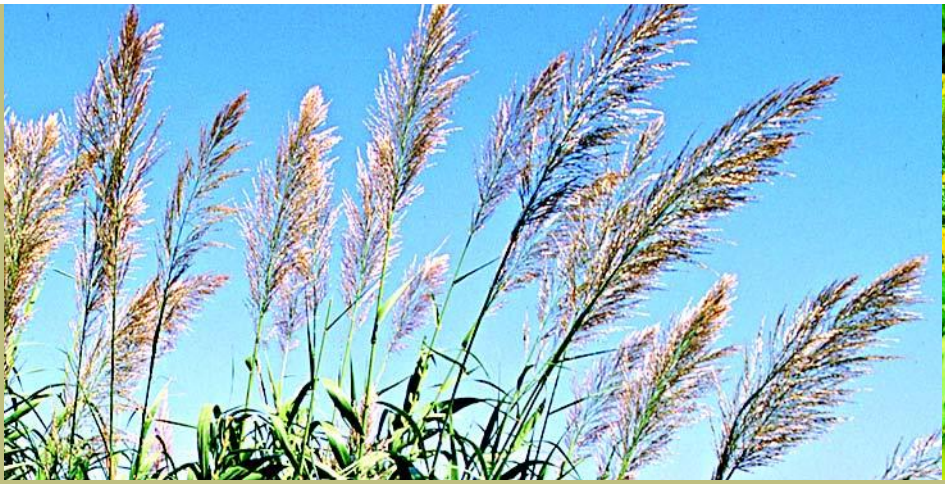

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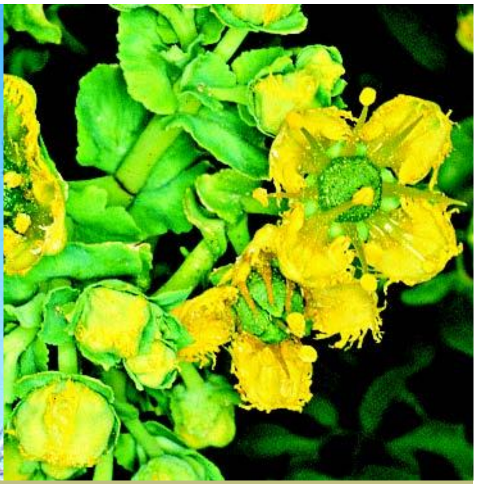

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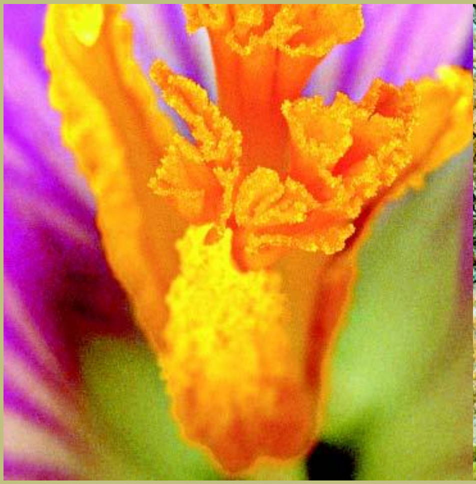

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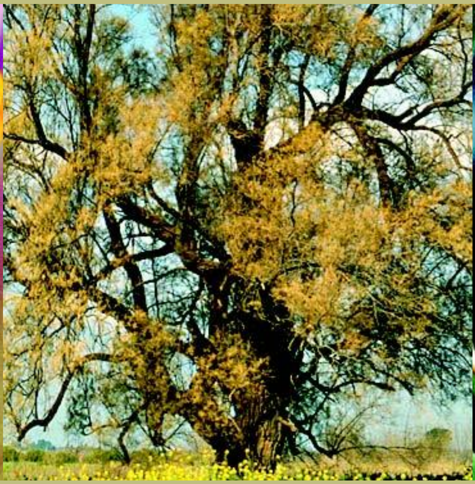

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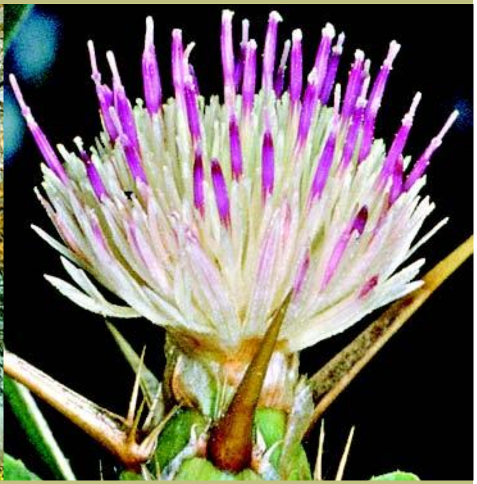

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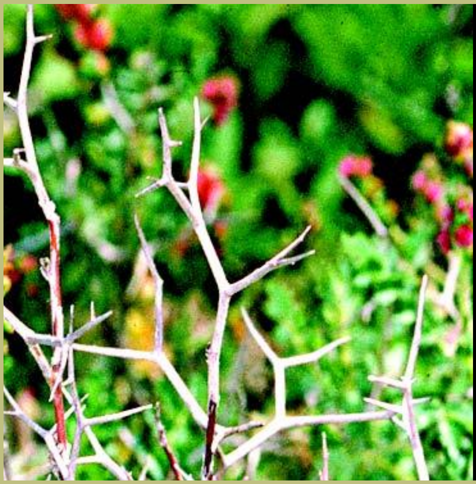

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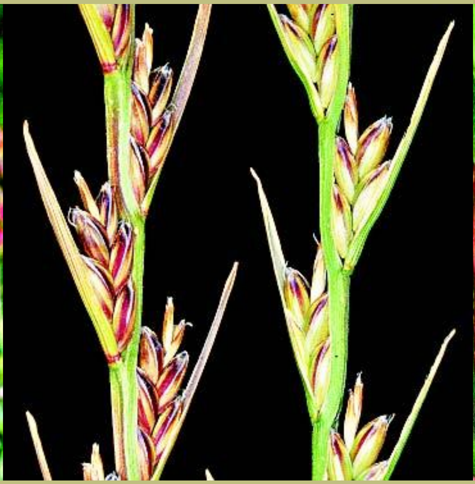

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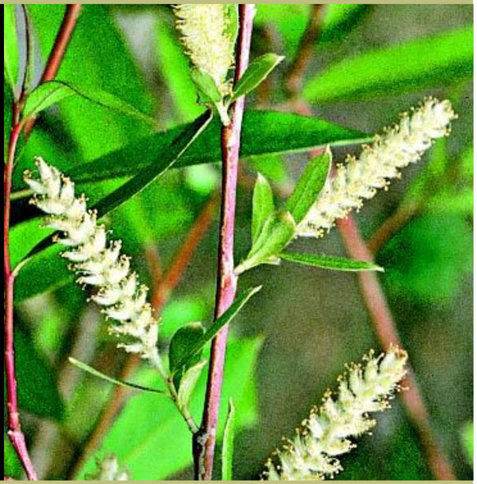

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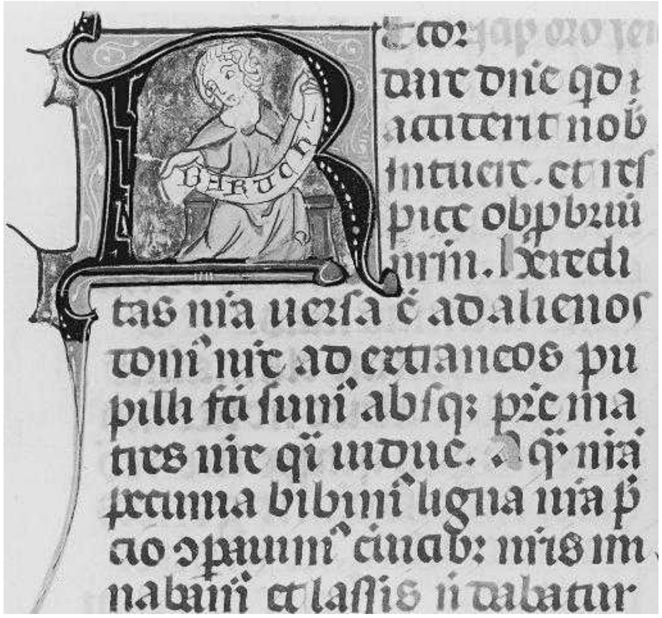

Initial letter "R" of Recordare, *the first word of a prologue to the apocryphal book of Baruch, in a Latin Bible written and illuminated in France, c. 1300. Princeton University Library, Med. and Ren. Mss., Garrett no. 29, vol. II fol. 79v.*

Ra-Rz

RAAB, ESTHER (1894–1981), Hebrew poet. Raab, born in Petaḥ Tikvah, is considered the first Hebrew poetess in Ereẓ Israel. Her father, Judah *Raab, had immigrated from Hungary and helped found the first moshavah, where she grew up in poverty and hardship. After a short stay in Deganyah, she worked in Ben Shemen and returned home. In 1921 she married her cousin, the merchant Yitzhak Green and spent five years with him in Cairo and in Paris. Back in Tel Aviv, the couple's home became a meeting place for writers and painters. Her first poems appeared in *Hedim* in the beginning of the 1920s. In 1930, shortly before the publication of her first collection of poems, *Kimshonim* (*Thistles*, 2002), her husband died. Two years later, Raab married the painter Arieh Alweil. Her second collection, *Shirei Esther Raab*, appeared more than 30 years later, in 1964. Her late poems appeared in the volume *Tefillah Aḥaronah* ("Last Prayer," 1972). *Yalkut Shirim*, published in 1982, includes a lengthy introduction by Reuven Shoham. A collection of stories, *Gan she-Ḥarav*, with stories depicting her childhood and youth in the moshavah and her vivid impressions of her stay in Egypt, appeared in 1983. Her nephew, the writer Ehud Ben Ezer, edited *Kol ha-Shirim* (1988) and *Kol ha-Prozah* (2001) and wrote her biography *Yamim shel La'anah u-Devash* ("Days of Gall and Honey" – including a bibliography, 1998). The landscape of Ereẓ Israel and the Orient, colors, shades, and smells, and particularly the flora of the homeland make up her poetic texture. Raab expresses a genuine love for the country, the soil, the space, and writes passionate lyrical poetry, expressing yearning, pain, disappointment, and loneliness. The growing interest in Hebrew women writers and their oeuvre has also given rise to a rediscovery and re-appreciation of Esther Raab and her poetry. In addition to the English collection *Thistles*, to which the translator Harold Schimmel added an Introduction, single poems and stories appeared in foreign anthologies. For translations see the ITHL website at www.ithl.org.il.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: E. Sharoni, "Edenic Energy: E. Raab's Unmediated Vision of Nature," in: *Modern Hebrew Literature* 8:3–4 (1983), 62–69; D. Melamed, "Requiem for a Landscape," in: *Modern Hebrew Literature*, 9:3–4 (1984), 69–72; A. Lerner, "'A Woman's Song': The Poetry of E. Raab," in: *Gender and Text in Modern Hebrew and Yiddish Literature* (1992), 17–38; idem, "The Naked Land: Nature in the Poetry of E. Raab," in: *Women of the Word* (1994), 236–57; B. Mann, "Framing the Native: E. Raab's Visual Poetics," in: *Israel Studies*, 4:1 (1999), 234–57; H. Zamir, "*Ahavat Moledet ve-Si'aḥ Ḥershim*," in: *Theory and Criticism*, 7 (1995), 125–45; E. Ben Ezer, "*E. Raab ve-ha-Aravim*," in: *Nativ*, 9:5 (1996), 72–78; Z. Luz, *E. Raab, Monografiyyah* (1997); E. Ben Ezer, "*Or Ḥadash al E. Raab ve-Y. Luidor*," in: *Iton 77*, 255 (2001), 17–20; Sh. Zayit, "'*Ani Amarti et Kol ha-Emet, Ani Nishba'at': Ha-Model ha-Biografi shel E. Raab*," in: *Masad*, 2 (2004), 21–29.

[Anat Feinberg (2nd ed.)]

RAAB (Ben-Ezer), JUDAH (1858–1948), pioneer and one of the first Jewish guards in Ereẓ Israel. Born in the village of Szent István in western Hungary into a farming family which had contacts with the Jewish community in Ereẓ Israel, Raab went to Ereẓ Israel with his father in 1876. He joined the group of Jerusalemites who founded Petaḥ Tikvah and plowed the first furrow in its fields in 1878. He was one of the first guards and was responsible for the settlement's security during its early years. When Petaḥ Tikvah was abandoned during the sabbatical year (*shemittah*) of 1882, Raab became an instructor for new settlers in Rishon le-Zion and the Bilu settlers. In 1883, when Petaḥ Tikvah was resettled, he returned and instructed new immigrants ("the Byalistokites") in agricultural techniques. Raab was appointed a foreman by Baron de *Rothschild's officials and struggled to maintain the agricultural character of Petaḥ Tikvah. His memoirs, *Ha-Telem ha-Rishon* (1956) recorded by his son, B. Ben-Ezer, constitute valuable material on the early history of Jewish settlement in Ereẓ Israel. His daughter Esther *Raab (1894–1981) was born in Petaḥ Tikvah and joined kibbutz Deganyah in her youth. After her marriage she lived in Egypt for five years and then in Tel Aviv, returning afterward to Petaḥ Tikvah. Her early lyric poetry, characterized by its descriptions of the landscape of Ereẓ Israel, is collected in *Kimshonim* (1930). Her collected poems were published in *Kol ha-Shirim* (1988).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Y. Yaari and M. Ḥarizman, *Sefer ha-Yovel shel Petaḥ Tikvah* (1929), 126–9, 187–92; Tidhar, 1 (1947), 119–21.

[Yehuda Slutsky]

RA'ANANNAH (Heb. רַעֲנַנָּה), urban community with municipal council status in central Israel, N.E. of Herzliyyah. Ra'anannah was established in 1922 as a village (moshavah) by a group of American Jews who founded Aḥuzzat New York A Inc. (1912). The land was bought through the Palestine Land Development Company. Initially there were many economic difficulties. An attempt was made to raise cattle as the mainstay of the economy. Ra'anannah progressed in the later 1920s and in the 1930s when a rich groundwater table was tapped, the citrus branch introduced, and middle-class immigrants of the Fourth Aliyah and later newcomers were absorbed. With the crisis in the citrus branch during World War II, the settlers changed over to mixed farming and made beginnings in industry. In the 1940s, two housing quarters for Yemenite and other immigrants were built with contributions from Zionists in the United States and South Africa. In 1947, Ra'anannah had 3,800 inhabitants and grew quickly after the War of Independence (1948) when *ma'barot* (immigrant transit camp) inhabitants were given permanent housing (1953 – 9,000 inhabitants; 1968 – 11,900). Ra'anannah belonged to the outer ring of the Tel Aviv conurbation and developed various industries as well as agriculture. Over the years, most of Ra'anannah's farmland became built-up areas. In 1981 Ra'anannah received city status, with an area of about 6 sq. mi. (15 sq. km.). In the mid-1990s the population was approximately 56,900, rising to 68,900 in 2002. The city had a large community of immigrants from English-speaking countries. Its expansion reached the outskirts of *Herzliyyah in the south. In 1996 a high-tech industrial area was established, housing such big companies as Amdocs. Ra'anannah was one of the few Israeli cities to receive ISO 9002 certification for the quality of its public services. Income among residents was much higher than the national average.

WEBSITE: www.raanana.muni.il.

[Efraim Orni / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

RABAN, AVNER (1937–2004), Israeli underwater archaeologist. Born in kibbutz Ramat David in the Jezreel Valley, Raban's interest in underwater activities began after completing his military service while fishing with nets along the coast of Israel and accidentally discovering archaeological artifacts. Raban studied fine arts at the Oranim Teachers College from 1958 to 1960. In 1961 he became one of the founders of the Underwater Exploration Society of Israel, together with Dr. Elisha Linder. The society eventually joined the International Confederation of Underwater Activity (CMAS), headed by Jacques Cousteau, and Raban in time took part in a number of underwater expeditions working in the Mediterranean area, notably on the excavation of the Yassi Ada shipwreck off the coast of Turkey. Raban was co-director and staff member of various underwater expeditions in Israel: Akhziv (1961); surveys along the northern coast of Israel (1964); Acre (1965); and Athlit (1966). In 1966 Raban began his academic studies at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, studying archaeology and geography. To qualify for his B.A. Raban participated in a number of excavations on land, at Megiddo and Hazor. During the Six-Day War (1967), he discovered several shipwrecks in the Red Sea while combing the Straits of Tiran and Snapir for mines. In 1968 he directed his first underwater excavation at Sharm el-Sheikh, which led to an interdisciplinary survey of the Gulf of Eilat and a survey of the east coast of Sinai in 1969–70, the excavation of the "Mercury Wreck" in the Red Sea in 1972, and the excavation of a wreck in the Na'ama Gulf of the Red Sea in 1973. In 1981 Raban received his Ph.D. degree from the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, subsequently teaching in the Department of Maritime Civilizations and the Center of Maritime Studies at Haifa University, where eventually he became a full professor. From the mid-1970s Raban concentrated on the archaeological study of the harbors along the coast at Israel, namely at Acre, Dor, Athlit, and Caesarea, as well as further afield in Crete and Sicily. Between 1972 and 1992 Raban also conducted work on land, with a survey of the Jezreel Valley, and digging at Tell Abu-Hawam. From the 1980s on Raban dedicated many years to the study of Caesarea Maritima, but, unfortunately, was unable to complete the two-volume report *The Harbors of Caesarea*, when he unexpectedly died while visiting London during a sabbatical at Oxford.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: R. Gertwagen, "Obituary: Avner Raban (1937–2004)," in: *Bulletin of the Anglo-Israel Archaeological Society*, 22 (2004), 79–82.

[Shimon Gibson (2nd ed.)]

RABB, MAXWELL MILTON (1910–2002), U.S. attorney, government official, and Jewish community leader. Rabb, who was born in Boston, graduated from Harvard Law School and was admitted to the Massachusetts bar in 1935. He subsequently became an administrative assistant to Senators Henry Cabot Lodge (1937–43) and Sinclair Weeks (1944). After naval service, Rabb became a legal and legislative consultant to Secretary of the Navy James Forrestal in 1946. He later served as associate counsel to President Dwight Eisenhower (1953–54), and was secretary to Eisenhower's cabinet from 1954 to 1958. Rabb was sent as chairman of the U.S. delegation to the tenth session of UNESCO in Paris in 1958, later serving on the executive committee of the United States Committee for UNESCO (1959–60). President Johnson appointed Rabb to the Commission on Income Maintenance Programs (the Heineman Commission on welfare and related programs, 1968–70). He was a trustee of the American Health Foundation (1969–74) and served on the Council of Foreign Relations (1978). Between 1981 and 1989 he was American ambassador to Italy.

Among other posts, Rabb was a director of several corporations and a member of the board of directors of the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund. He also served as president of the United States Committee for Refugees, a private group organized in 1958 that dealt with refugee resettlement and immigration. Active in Jewish community affairs, Rabb was chairman of the government division of the UJA (1953–57), a member of the board of governors of the Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion, and vice chairman of the New York executive committee of the Anti-Defamation League, among many other posts. Rabb was a member of the New York law firm of Stroock, Stroock and Lavan from 1958.

John Cabot University established the Maxwell Rabb Scholarship in honor of Rabb, who was the longest-serving American ambassador to Italy. The partial-tuition scholarship is granted to a degree-seeking student from the U.S. or Italy who demonstrates a commitment to community service and/or civic involvement.

[Rohan Saxena and Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

RABBA, MENAHEM (16th century), preacher in Padua. Rabba wrote *Beit Mo'ed* (Venice, 1605), a homiletic work containing sermons for every religious occasion during the year. A large number of his sermons deal with the concept of repentance (*teshuvah*) to which he ascribes a metaphysical dimension. Although the work exhibits certain philosophic influences, no specific philosophic thought is dominant. The book was published posthumously by Rabba's son, Elijah, who in the introduction lists other works of his father similar in style to *Beit Mo'ed: Ot ha-Berit, Ḥavvat Rabba, Netivot Olam, Kelil Tekhelet, Ma'aneh Rakh*, and *Kiryat Arba*, none of which was published.

RABBA BEN MATNAH (late fourth–early fifth century), Babylonian *amora*. The Talmud relates that he was a pupil of *Rabbah and *Sheshet and a colleague of *Abbaye b. Avin and Ḥanina (Pes. 34a). On the death of R. Joseph he was a candidate, together with Abbaye, Rava, and Zera II, for the post of head of the Pumbedita academy. They decided on a contest to see which of them could make a statement that the others could not refute. Abbaye succeeded and was appointed. The rabbis, in discussing the relative merits of the intellectual characteristics of Zera and Rabba ben Matnah, described the former as "keen witted, and sharp intellectually," whereas Rabba ben Matnah was "slow in deliberation, and so able to arrive at firm conclusions" in deciding a law (Hor. ad fin). Strangely enough, though he was apparently a very great scholar, none of his teaching has survived. However if he is to be identified with R. Abba II much of his wisdom has been recorded under the latter name.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Halevy, Dorot, 2 (1923), 460–1; Hyman, Toledot, s.v.

RABBAH (**Ha-Rabbah**; Heb. רַבָּה, הָרַבָּה).

(1) An abbreviation for *Rabbath-Ammon.

(2) A town in Judah mentioned with Kiriath-Jearim as part of the inheritance of the tribe of Judah in the hill country (Joshua 15:60). It is probably identical with a city called *Rbt* near Gezer in Thutmosis III's list of Canaanite cities (no. 105). It may also be mentioned in a cuneiform letter found at Taanach. According to two el-Amarna letters (289, 290) sent by the king of Jerusalem to the pharaoh, Milkilu, the king of Gezer, together with Shuwardata captured Rubutu with the aid of mercenaries. The name appears for the last time in Shishak's list of conquered towns, after Gezer and before Aijalon. Some scholars, following the Septuagint, identify Rabbah with Soba (Ar. Sūbā) near Jerusalem, but the recently discovered site of Khirbat Bīr (Bi'r) al-Ḥilū fits the descriptions in the ancient sources remarkably well.

(3) An abbreviation for the city of Rabbath-Moab, now Khirbat al-Rabba, 14 mi. (c. 22 km.) south of the River Arnon. Alexander Yannai conquered it with other cities in Moab; after his death it was restored to the Nabateans by Hyrcanus II (Jos., Ant., 14:18). It is called Rabbathmoba by Ptolemy (5:16, 4) and appears thus on the coins of his time. Rabbah appears as a district capital in one of the Babatha letters found in the Naḥal Hever in 1961. Eusebius refers to it as Areopolis, the town of the war god Ares (Onom. 124:15 ff.). In the fourth century it was identified with the Ar of Moab of Numbers 21:28; recently, the remains of a Canaanite-Moabite city (Early and Late Bronze ages) were found at al-Mishna in the vicinity of Khirbat al-Rabba. In late Roman times, Rabbah was a post of the Equites Mauri Illyriciani (*Notitia Dignitatum* 80:5); remains of a temple, walls, and a citadel have been noticed here. A sumptuous Jewish synagogue was destroyed there in the fifth century by the fanatical monk Bar-Sauma. After the Arab conquest, Rabbah, sometimes called Moab by Arab geographers, continued in existence. It is mentioned in 1321 as a village in the district of Karak and as a station on the Damascus-al-Karak road.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Glueck, in: AASOR, 14 (1934), 62; Press, Ereẓ, s.v.; Abel, Geog, 2 (1938), 23–5; Aharoni, Land, index; idem, in: VT (1969).

[Michael Avi-Yonah]

RABBAH (**Mar-Rava**), *gaon* of Pumbedita from 651, contemporary of *Huna, *gaon* of Sura. Rabbah and Huna were jointly responsible for one of the earliest and most important of post-talmudic *takkanot*, the *takkanah* of the *Moredet* ("the obstreperous wife"). According to the Talmud, a Jewish wife could demand a divorce only in certain exceptional cases specified in talmudic law (as for instance when her husband was stricken with a repulsive disease). The new *takkanah* extended the reasons and made it possible for some women to obtain dissolution of their marriages by the local courts obliging the husband to issue a divorce, without her forfeiting the amount of her *ketubbah* or suffering any loss of property which she had brought into the marriage. Moreover, the period of waiting was reduced from the usual 12 months to as short as one to four weeks.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Baron, Social^2, 6 (1958), 132f.; Ḥ. Tykocinski, *Takkanot ha-Ge'onim* (1960), 11–29.

[Meir Havazelet]

RABBAH BAR BAR ḤANA (second half of the third century), *amora*. As his father's name was also Rabbah, it is thought his patronymic referred to his grandfather (see *Rabbah bar Ḥana). Born in Babylonia, he went to Ereẓ Israel to study in the academy of R. Johanan, and many years after returned to his native land, where he disseminated the teachings of Johanan, transmitting in his name close to 200 *halakhot* in all spheres. The heads of the Babylonian academies, such as R. Judah of Pumbedita and his distinguished disciples, Rabbah, and R. Joseph, transmitted in his name *halakhot* they had learned from him. He suffered from the persecutions of the Sassanids who even broke into his house, and he complained: "Merciful One! Either in Thy shadow or in the shadow of Esau [= Rome]" (Git. 17a). It is possible that in consequence of these sufferings he decided to return to Ereẓ Israel (Pes. 51a), but there is no evidence that he did so.

Rabbah achieved great renown for his remarkable legends (known as the "*aggadot* of Rabbah bar Bar Ḥana" and chiefly found in the tractate *Bava Batra* (73a–74a). These tales purport to relate what he saw and heard during his many journeys by sea and land. They are marked by hyperbole, and excited the wonder of contemporary scholars. Some of them spoke out sharply against him: "Every Abba is an ass and every bar Bar Ḥana is a fool" (BB 74a). Rabbah ascribes some of his stories to sailors and Arabs, but begins most of them with the words, "I myself saw." The following is a typical one: "We were once traveling in a desert and an Arab joined us.… He said to me: 'Come and I will show you where the men of Korah were swallowed up' (cf. Num. 16:23ff). I saw two cracks that emitted smoke. I took a piece of clipped wool, dipped it in water, attached it to the point of a spear, and inserted it there, and when I took it out it was singed. He said to me: 'Listen carefully! What do you hear?' I heard them crying out: 'Moses and his Torah are true and we are liars!' The Arab said to me 'Every 30 days Gehenna returns them here as meat turns on a spit,' and they cry out: 'Moses and his Torah are true and we are liars'" (BB 74a).

The expositors of the Talmud, aware of the strangeness of these stories, sought to rationalize them. Yom Tov b. Abraham *Ishbili stated: "The stories in this chapter deal with subjects that are strange to people because they are unfamiliar with them, but they are very plausible to those with a knowledge of nature, such as the size of sea monsters and the size of waves in a storm. They also contain allusions to matters which were not seen with the eye but in a vision. For when the sages went on ocean voyages they saw there God's wonders … and during their sleep they experienced remarkable visions in the context of their meditations. The *geonim* wrote that wherever the words 'I myself saw' occur, it was in a dream while on a voyage." Some regard these tales and *aggadot* as ethical and national allegories, while others see them as intimations and cryptic sayings (see Maharsha (Samuel Eliezer b. Judah *Edels), ad loc.).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Hyman, Toledot, 1076–78; Bacher, Bab Amor, 87–93; idem, *Ergaenzungen und Berichtigungen…* (1913), 10; Bacher, Trad, 699, s.v.

[Abraham Arzi]

RABBAH BAR ḤANA (TJ, **Abba bar Hana**, e.g., in BM 5:5; early third century), Babylonian *amora*. In Babylon Rabbah studied under his uncle, Ḥiyya (MK 16b), whom he subsequently accompanied to Ereẓ Israel (MK 21a). Before they left to return to Babylon, Ḥiyya asked the *nasi* to give Rabbah permission to decide matters of ritual law, monetary cases, and defects in a firstborn animal which could render its slaughter permissible. Although such permission was rarely granted, the *nasi* acceded to the request (Sanh. 5a). Rabbah's closest colleague was Ray (TJ, BM 5:7, 10c), in whose company he is found both in Ereẓ Israel and in Babylon (MK 21a; Ḥul. 44b), with whom he held halakhic discussions (Ḥul. 8b), and in whose name he transmitted teachings (Shab. 50a; Nid. 47a). It is related that when Rabbah was once in mourning and thought that he ought not to give his regular lecture, Rav said, "We have learned, 'if the public have need of him, he does not refrain'" (MK 21a). Little is known of Rabbah's personal life, other than that he traded in wine (BM 83a, see Dik. Sof. *ibid.*) and that his wife died before him (BB 52a). His only known pupil was Hananel (MK 19a). Rabbah b. Ḥana is frequently confused with *Rabbah b. Bar Ḥana who, some believe, was his son. They can be distinguished only by context and chronology.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Hyman, Toledot.

RABBAH BAR HUNA (in TJ, **Abba bar Huna** or **Bar bar Huna**; d. 322 C.E.), Babylonian *amora*. Rabba was a disciple of both Samuel (Er. 49a), and Rav (BB 136b), in whose names he transmitted sayings and decisions (Ber. 25a; Shab. 97a). His main teacher, however, was his father, Huna (Me'il. 15b), the head of the academy at Sura (cf. Git. 35a). His father urged him to attend Ḥisda's lectures diligently. Initially, however, Rabbah found some of the matters discussed (such as personal hygiene) alien to his earnest nature (Shab. 82a). Only in later life did he develop a close association with Ḥisda, and served with him as a judge (Shab. 10a). Indeed, his eventual respect for Ḥisda was such that he accepted his advice not to introduce the Decalogue in the statutory daily prayers (Ber. 12a; see Dik. Sof. thereto). He publicly acknowledged Ḥisda's correction of another of his decisions, instructing his *amora* to deliver a discourse on the theme that "no one can fully understand the words of the Torah until he has been mistaken in their interpretation" (Git. 43a). The two are also known to have studied *aggadah* together (Pes. 110a; 117a; Sot. 39a).

After Ḥisda's death Rabbah was appointed head of the academy of Sura (*Iggeret Sherira Gaon*, p. 82). Rabbah was particularly friendly with the exilarch, frequenting his home (Shab. 157b, Suk. 10b, etc.), and the exilarch used to address halakhic queries to him (Shab. 115b). Nevertheless, Rabbah insisted on his complete independence of him, and in a dispute with the members of the exilarch's household, he emphasized that he had received authority to act as judge from his father and not from the exilarch, and was therefore not bound by their views (Sanh. 5a). Rabbah was distinguished by his piety (Shab. 31a–b), and by his modesty which his colleague Rava once prayed that he might emulate (MK 28a). Among his maxims and sayings are many which stress this virtue: "An insolent person is considered a transgressor" (Ta'an. 7b). He also taught that he who possesses knowledge of the Torah but is without the fear of God is like a steward who, although in possession of the inner keys of the treasure house, is unable to gain access to it, because he does not possess the outer keys (Shab. 31a–b). He also said: "When a man loses his temper, even the Divine Presence is unimportant in his eyes" (Ned. 22b). Rabbah died in Babylon, but his remains were taken to Ereẓ Israel, where funeral orations were delivered for him (MK 25b).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Bacher, Bab Amor, 62f.; Hyman, Toledot, 1071–74.

RABBAH BAR NAḤAMANI (c. 270–330; d. 321/22 according to *Iggeret R. Sherira Ga'on*, ed. by B.M. Lewin (1921), 87; according to Hyman c. 260–340), Babylonian *amora*. Rabbah was the scion of a priestly family, which traced its lineage to the high priest Eli (RH 18a). He studied under *Huna at Sura, and under *Judah b. Ezekiel at Pumbedita (Er. 17a). To such an extent did Huna respect him that he seldom decided a question of importance without consulting him (Git. 27a; BM 18b; BB 172b, et al.). On one occasion his contemporaries in Ereẓ Israel suggested that he join them and study under *Johanan, maintaining that he would learn more with a guide than by studying by himself (Ket. 111a). From *Nedarim* 59a, it would appear that he took their advice, although Bacher maintains that he never left Babylonia. He certainly spent most of his life in Babylonia, where his most constant colleague was Joseph (BB 114a). Rabbah's main interest was in the *halakhah*, and he was renowned for his interpretation of the Mishnah and for his elucidation and clarification of the apparent contradictions contained in various texts. He was particularly versed in the regulations concerning ritual purity, in which he was regarded as an authority (BM 86a). Whereas Joseph's encyclopedic knowledge of traditions earned him the title "Sinai," Rabbah was known as *oker harim* ("uprooter of mountains"), for his exceptionally skillful dialectic ability (Ber. 64a.). Only ten aggadic sayings are quoted in his name (e.g., Shab. 64a; Pes. 68b; Meg. 15b; et al.), and there is no foundation for the statement of Abraham ibn Daud in the *Sefer ha-Kabbalah* that he was the author of such aggadic compilations as *Genesis Rabbah*.

Judah's death left the post of the head of the academy of Pumbedita vacant. Joseph declined the office, whereupon Rabbah was elected. He held the post for 22 years, until his death (Ber. 64a; *Iggeret R. Sherira Ga'on*, 85–86), and under his leadership the academy achieved its greatest renown. The number of regular students rose to 400 (Ket. 106a), and during the **kallah* months of Adar and Elul, the audiences numbered 12,000 (BM 86a). Rabbah's own contribution as a teacher was significant. He used to put his audience in a receptive mood by beginning his lectures with witty aphorisms and interesting anecdotes (Shab. 30b), and he would frequently invite comment on paradoxical *halakhot* and deliberately captious decisions (Ber. 33b). However, although highly esteemed by scholars, he was intensely disliked by the members of the Pumbedita community, whose behavior he frequently and severely denounced (Shab. 153a and Rashi *ibid.*).

Little is known of his private life other than that he was poor. The Talmud explicitly contrasts his poverty with Ḥisda's comfortable economic position (MK 28a). Rabbah died in tragic circumstances. Charged with aiding his large audiences to avoid paying poll tax during the *kallah* months, Rabbah was forced to flee the bailiffs who had been sent to seize him. He wandered about in the vicinity of Pumbedita, and it was there, in a thicket, that his body was ultimately found (BM 86a; *Iggeret R. Sherira Ga'on* 78–87). According to the *aggadah*, it was on that day that the Heavenly Academy was debating whether, if the bright spot appeared after the white hair (cf. Lev. 13:1–3), the leper was clean or unclean. The Almighty maintained that he was clean, the Heavenly Academy that he was unclean. Rabbah was asked for his opinion, and, as he called out "Clean, clean," he expired. At that moment, a heavenly voice was heard to declare, "Happy art thou, O Rabbah b. Naḥamani, whose body is pure, and whose soul has departed in purity" (BM 86a). According to *Rosh Ha-Shanah* 18a (MK 28a) he was only 40 years old at his death. However, this figure is unacceptable on chronological grounds and has generally been emended to 60. He was survived by a son also called Rabbah (Shab. 123a). *Abbaye, who grew up in his house (Ber. 48a), was his nephew and pupil.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Halevy, Dorot, 2 (1923), 435–40; Hyman, Toledot.

RABBAH BEN AVUHA, Babylonian *amora* of the second half of the third century C.E. Rabbah's first teacher was Rav, in whose name he transmitted many sayings (Shab. 129b; Er. 85a). After the latter's death, he continued his studies at Samuel's academy at Nehardea. When Nehardea was destroyed in 259 by the Palmyrenes, he moved to Maḥoza, where he was appointed a judge (Yev. 115b) and head of the academy (Shab. 59b). According to Sherira Gaon he was of the family of the exilarch, and Sherira himself claimed to be a descendant of his (*Iggeret R. Sherira Ga'on*, ed. by B.M. Lewin (1921), 82). The Talmud (Ber. 21a; BM 91b) records halakhic decisions in his name. He, however, stated that his knowledge extended only to four orders of the Mishnah (according to Rashi, *Mo'ed, Nashim, Nezikin*, and *Kodashim*; not *Zera'im* and *Tohorot*; but according to *tosafot*, the reference is to those four orders in the Tosefta; BM 114b). A legendary account is given of the manner in which Rabbah was miraculously relieved of his poverty. He was privileged to meet the prophet Elijah, and to discuss *halakhah* with him. Elijah gave him some leaves from paradise which, although discarded by Rabbah (in order not to consume his portion in the world to come), left such a pleasant fragrance on his robe, that he sold it for 12,000 denarii (BM 114a–b).

He had a son named R. Kamma (Er. 3a); however his main pupil and (probably) his son-in-law was R. Naḥman (b. Jacob), who transmits many of his sayings (Yev. 80b). Among his teachings were that the commandment to love one's neighbor as oneself (Lev. 19:18) applies even in the execution of a criminal, and is fulfilled by granting him as easy a death as possible (Ket. 37b).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Hyman, Toledot, 1070–71.

RABBAH BEN SHILAH (fl. late third early fourth century C.E.), Babylonian *amora*. His teacher was Ḥisda (Shab. 81a). Because of his aversion to bribery, Rabbah declared a judge unfit to try a case involving neighbors from whom he had borrowed anything (Ket. 105b). He was quick to defend others. According to an *aggadah*, Elijah appeared to Rabbah on one occasion, and told him that God mentions *halakhot* in the name of the sages but not in that of R. Meir, because he had been taught by *Elisha b. Avuyah who had denied the existence of God. Rabbah said to Elijah: "Meir found a pomegranate, ate the fruit, and threw away the peel," i.e., he had extracted only what was good from Elisha's teachings, whereupon Elijah replied that henceforward God would mention Meir's name (Ḥag. 15b).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Hyman, Toledot, 1083–84; Bacher, Bab Amor, 140–1.

[Moshe Beer]

RABBAH TOSFA'AH (middle of the fifth century), Babylonian *amora*. He was a pupil of *Ravina (I) (Suk. 32a; BK 119a), and a colleague of the latter's nephew, *Ravina (II) (Yev. 75b; MK 4a). He succeeded Mar Bar Rav Ashi as head of the Sura Academy, a position he held for six years until his death in 474 (Ibn Daud, *Book of Tradition*, 36). Although among the last of the *amoraim*, he still gave original rulings. He declared a child legitimate although born to a woman whose husband had gone overseas 12 months before the birth, assuming that a pregnancy may extend as long as that period (Yev. 80b; for another example see Ber. 50a). Some claim that his name, Tosfa'ah ("the amplifier"), reflects the activity of making additions of brief, explanatory remarks, through which he clarified talmudic themes and decided between the conflicting opinions of earlier *amoraim* (Halevy, Dorot, 3 (1923), 19; but see Ḥ. Albeck, in: *Sinai, Sefer Yovel* (1958), 72). He is in fact mentioned by name in the Talmud only in nine places.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Hyman, Toledot, 1086f.; Ḥ. Albeck, *Mavo la-Talmudim* (1969), 448.

[Aaron Rothkoff]

RABBANITES, name and definition current from approximately the tenth century applied to Jews accepting the Oral Law (*Torah she-be-al peh*) as binding and normative in the same degree as Scripture (*Torah she-bi-khetav*). As with many party definitions the term is used with pride by the Rabbanites themselves and with derision and contempt by their opponents the *Karaites.

RABBATH-AMMON (**Rabbah**; Heb. רַבַּת בְּנֵי עַמּוֹן, רַבָּה), the capital of the Ammonites, present-day Amman, capital of the Hashemite Kingdom of *Jordan. The earliest settlement, dating from the Chalcolithic period until the end of the early Bronze Age (c. 2200 B.C.E.), was centered on a sacred rock on the acropolis. After a gap, occupation was resumed with the establishment of the Ammonite kingdom. Its strong fortifications prevented its capture by the Israelites (Josh. 13:25). The bedstead of the giant *Og, king of Bashan, in Rabbath-Ammon is mentioned in the Bible (Deut. 3:11). In the time of David, Joab captured the "royal city" and the "city of waters" (probably the acropolis and the water installations in the valley below), but he postponed conquest of the entire city until David's arrival (II Sam. 11–12; cf. I Chron. 20:1). Shobi, the son of Nahash (an Ammonite king) of Rabbath-Ammon, succored David when he fled before Absalom (II Sam. 17:27–29). Soon after David's death, however, the city again became the capital of an independent kingdom, and it is denounced as such by the prophets Amos (1:14), Jeremiah (49:2–3), and Ezekiel (21:25; 25:5). Remains of tombs and temples containing figurines and seals inscribed in Ammonite have been found there. The main temple was erected over the "sacred" rock on the acropolis.

In the Hellenistic period, Rabbath-Ammon was again a flourishing city and was known as Philadelphia in honor of Ptolemy II and his wife Arsinoe. It was besieged and taken by Antiochus III in 218 B.C.E. by a stratagem similar to that used earlier by *Joab (see I Chron. 19:10ff.). The city successfully resisted Alexander Yannai under its ruler Zeno Cotylas. It became a city of the *Decapolis in Roman times and later developed into a great and prosperous center of the caravan trade in Provincia Arabia. It was mentioned by Eusebius (*Onom*. 146). It was captured by the Arabs in 635 and became the capital of the Belqa' district. A Jewish community existed there in the 11th–12th centuries, as is known from the Scroll of *Abiathar. In the time of the Crusaders, Rabbath-Ammon, then known as Ahamant, was temporarily in the possession of the prince of Transjordan. It was subsequently abandoned until resettled by Circassians in 1878, who were relocated there by the Ottoman Turks. In 1921 it became the capital of the emirate of Transjordan and later of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan. Its population, greatly increased by Palestinian refugees, numbered approximately 200,000 in 1970. By 2006 its population was over 1.7 million.

The site was surveyed and photographed by a British team led by C. Warren in 1867 for the Palestine Exploration Fund. Since then Amman was frequently visited by scholars and explorers, notably by H.C. Butler in 1921. In 1927 an Italian expedition directed by G. Guidi worked at the site; the excavations continued in 1929–33 under the direction of R. Bartoccini. From 1945 G.L. Harding investigated Amman on behalf of the Department of Antiquities, and in 1966 J.B. Hennessy excavated the Late Bronze Age temple on behalf of the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem. Numerous excavations have taken place in recent years in Amman, particularly in the area of the acropolis/citadel (Jebel Qal'a).

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[Michael Avi-Yonah / Shimon Gibson (2nd ed.)]

RABBI, RABBINATE. The title rabbi is derived from the noun *rav*, which in biblical Hebrew means "great" and does not occur in the Bible; in its later sense in mishnaic Hebrew, however, the word *rav* means a master as opposed to a slave (e.g., "does a slave rebel against his *rav*" – Ber. 10a; "It is like a slave who filled a cup for his *rav* and he poured the water over his face" – Suk. 2:9). It was only during the tannaitic period, in the generation after Hillel, that it was employed as a title for the sages. The passage in the New Testament (Matt. 23:7) in which the Scribes and Pharisees are criticized because they "love… to be called of men, Rabbi, Rabbi" probably reflects the fact of its recent introduction. The word "rabbi" therefore means literally "my master," although the Sephardim point it and pronounce it *ribbi*, the suffix therefore not being a pronominal one. In any case it lost its significance, and rabbi became simply the title accorded to a sage. Since the title was accorded only to those who had been properly ordained, and such ordination was not granted in talmudic times outside Ereẓ Israel (see *Semikhah*), it was not borne by the Babylonian sages (the *amoraim*) who adopted, or were granted, the alternative title of *rav.* In the Talmud, therefore, the title rabbi refers either to a *tanna* or to a Palestinian *amora*, while *rav* refers to a Babylonian *amora*. The rabbi of the Talmud was therefore completely different from the present-day holder of the title. The talmudic rabbi was an interpreter and expounder of the Bible and the Oral Law, and almost invariably had an occupation whence he derived his livelihood. It was only in the Middle Ages that the rabbi became – in addition to, or instead of, the interpreter and decisor of the law – the teacher, preacher, and spiritual head of the Jewish congregation or community, and it is with this meaning of the word that this article deals. For the talmudic rabbi see Sages. In modern usage the word "rabbi" in Hebrew has sometimes become the equivalent of "mister." Thus every Jew called up to the reading of the Torah is invited to do so as "Rabbi So-and-So the son of Rabbi So-and-So," and for the rabbi as spiritual head the title *ha-rav* is employed.

[Louis Isaac Rabinowitz]

Middle Ages

In medieval times, the title *ha-rav* denoted great scholarly standing and social reputation unconnected with the hierarchical structure of the yeshivot and *geonim*. In this sense it appears, for example, in various letters of the 10th–12th centuries, and in the Chronicle of Ahimaaz is used to describe the mysterious Aaron, while the chronicler Abraham ibn Daud employs these terms and their derivatives to define the generations of scholars – *rabbanim* – after the death of Hai Gaon. Relatively early in these centuries, the term *rabbanim* (now translated into English as Rabbanites) came to designate the mainstream of Orthodoxy in Judaism, which based itself on the authority of the Talmud and the *geonim*, as against the minority of the Karaites. Centralistic tendencies in the leadership of the gaonate and exilarchs are revealed in the tendency for one of these institutions to appoint from above the scholar who led the local community and in the main carried out the functions of judge (*dayyan*), bringing with him as his letter of appointment a "writ of judgeship" (*pitka de-dayyanuta*). What is known of their actual functioning, however, shows both that such appointees were in reality much more than judges only and that in fact local opinion had a say in their appointment. By the end of the 10th and beginning of the 11th century there were more and more cases of open local election by the community of a spiritual and moral leader.

Through their social functions rabbi and rabbinate carried over into the Middle Ages a medley of concepts and attitudes, the active elements being scholarship, judgeship, social-spiritual leadership, and example. A certain measure of religious authority attached to the concept of rabbi and to his person, deriving from the authority invested in the geonic academies and the outlook of their scholars, and also from the distant memories of the supreme authority of the mishnaic rabbi ordained by *semikhah* – the ordination of ancient times. These titles and designations never carried with them priestly or semi-priestly authority or functions. Prayer and leading in prayer, blessing of the people, and officiating in marriage and burial ceremonies never became an integral part of the conception of rabbinical office until the beginning of the 19th century, with the Reform movement. Some rabbis led in prayer and blessed the people, but until modern times this was no more than a matter of personal inclination. The supervision of marriage, and even more so of divorce proceedings, became an integral part of the rabbinic office, both because the payment for performing such functions became part of the stipend of the local rabbi, and because legal acumen was required, especially in the case of divorce. It would seem that from its earliest days preaching to the people was an integral part of the rabbinic function, the rabbi being both the authoritative scholarly expositor of law and morals, and the moral and spiritual leader of the people. At certain times and in certain regions scholarly exposition was regarded as the main part of preaching, while in others moral exhortation was seen as its main burden; both elements were always present in rabbinical preaching, though in varying proportions.

The weakening of centralistic institutions, as well as the continuing growth of Jewish communities in countries which had never known such leadership, increasingly augmented the importance of the local rabbi. Although the activities of many rabbis are known, in most cases neither income nor status are clearly apparent. Over the years the ideal has developed of the scholarly charisma of the rabbi asserting itself without recourse to official definitions. Ideally all rabbis are equal as officeholders; the only hierarchy ideally obtaining between them is that of personal intellectual and moral preeminence.

The office of rabbi was originally an honorary one on the principle that the Torah had to be taught free of charge. It was not until the 14th century that there is the first clear evidence of a rabbi receiving emoluments. When Simeon b. Zemah Duran fled from the anti-Jewish riots in Spain in 1391 and arrived in Algiers the local community wished to appoint him as rabbi. He pleaded inability to accept as he was penniless and had to earn a livelihood. In order to enable him to accept the position, a formula was worked out whereby instead of a salary for his services he was to receive *sekhar battalah*, i.e., compensation for loss of time due to his preoccupation with his rabbinic office. This remained the legal basis in Jewish law for a rabbi receiving a salary, even though in the modern period the rabbi's salary is generally regarded as in the category of a professional wage with contracts written between rabbis and their congregations.

In outward recognition of such preeminence, the various communities applied to a particular local rabbi for his personal responsa on different legal and theoretical matters. He would thus be given, de facto and personally, the authority vested in the *geonim* ex officio.

In both Ashkenazi and Sephardi centers rulers became aware relatively early of this new development in Jewish society. In the story of the Four Captives, Abraham ibn Daud describes the satisfaction of a local ruler in late tenth-century Muslim Spain, at having a scholarly Jewish authority in his country, independent of the *geonim* in Baghdad. The office of the *rab de la corte* in Castille and *Arraby moor* in Portugal, as well as appointments known from the 13th century of a Jewish *Hochmeister* for some regions of the German Empire (see, e.g., Meir Baruch of Rothenburg), and also similar appointments in France – all are related phenomena. They are manifestations both of the gradual institutionalization of the office of rabbi, and of the attempts by rulers and community leaders to structure a formal and fixed hierarchy out of fluid relationships based on scholarly and personal charisma. The responsa of the Sephardi Isaac b. Sheshet Perfet disclose a conflict surrounding the appointment to the office of rabbi of France in the 14th century, while other contemporary writings reveal the views of the Ashkenazi scholar Meir ha-Levi of Vienna on the nature of the rabbinate. All demand proven and attested knowledge, as well as integrity and excellence in character and conduct; and on these grounds candidates are approved and disqualified. The Ashkenazi scholar reveals a conception of a well-defined written diploma attesting to the knowledge and qualifications for a rabbi – the so-called *semikhah* diploma. For about a century – mainly in the 15th – Ashkenazi rabbis were titled *manhig* ("leader"), which shows their centrality in community life at that time. Sephardi society had its own ways of attesting these qualifications, without instituting such a diploma (see below). When Sephardim and Ashkenazim came in close contact after the expulsion from the Iberian Peninsula (1492–97), the institution of this diploma became a bone of contention, as is evidenced in the writings of Isaac Abrabanel. Ironically enough, the abortive attempt to resurrect the *semikhah*, made in 1538 by Jacob Berab and enthusiastically accepted by Joseph Caro, served to strengthen the Ashkenazi type of *semikhah* diploma and the medieval line of development of the office of rabbi, and also gave impetus to the development of the Shulḥan Arukh, the combined work of Joseph Caro and the Ashkenazi-Polish Moses Isserles (who was himself a royal appointee to the central rabbinate in Poland).

From the 14th century onward there emerged the concept of one rabbi for one locality – the *mara de-atra* ("the master of the locality"). Other scholars in his community were to submit to his authority, ex officio, a concept that took a long time to establish. In Poland-Lithuania of the 16th–17th centuries rabbinical office was linked to being a *rosh yeshivah*, thereby deriving much of its authority and prestige. In its main outline, though with various changes in details, this conception of the rabbi and his office remains to the present day that which in fact dominates the society and communities of *Mitnaggedim* wherever they are found, the religious establishment in the State of Israel, and communities of Hungarian and German Orthodoxy and Neo-Orthodoxy. In these circles the office and conception of the rabbi are those which have emerged from the Middle Ages: he is seen as scholar and teacher, judge and spiritual leader. His livelihood comes either from a fixed salary or from payments for functions performed, or from a combination of both. His rights and duties are often defined in a *ketav rabbanut* (letter of appointment to and acceptance of the rabbinic office, sometimes written as two separate documents), a custom deriving from the late Middle Ages. In the frame of this traditional rabbinate there have appeared in modern times centralistic trends, manifested, e.g., in the

British office of chief rabbi for the U.K. and the dominions and the Chief Rabbinate in Ereẓ Israel. On the other hand, in the huge concentrations of Jewish population in modern cities, in the U.S. in particular, the concept of the *mara de-atra* is on the point of vanishing and the rabbi there is mainly the rabbi of a synagogue congregation. In regions and communities where Ḥasidism prevails, the status and function of the rabbi as such have in many ways become subordinate to those of the *ẓaddik*.

The Reform movement, with its progressive rejection of traditionally received *halakhah*, has changed the very concept of rabbi. The Reform rabbi is judge no longer: he has become to a large degree, for the first time in the history of the rabbinate, a priest ordering the prayer service and leading it. In the U.S. in particular he is also becoming the social and even the socialite director of his synagogue congregation. The Conservative wing of Judaism, in particular in the U.S., is trying to combine both concepts of the rabbinate.

The Jewish Religious Leadership in the Muslim East

There is a scarcity of information concerning the religious leadership of the early Middle Ages in eastern lands. Extant fragments of records pertaining to such leadership date back only to the 12th century. Sources become more extensive beginning in the 16th century, after the expulsion of the Jews from Spain, and are found in the responsa of the eastern lands, especially from the Ottoman Empire. In this section the religious leadership will be discussed starting with the geonic era, although the title of "rabbi," in its usual sense of a scholar appointed over a community to decide and teach its religious regulations, was not used until the 12th century.

The *geonim* served as spiritual heads of the Babylonian or Palestinian communities, and in Babylonia they ruled alongside the exilarchs, who served as secular heads. The authority of the *geonim* extended over the borders of the Arabian caliphate due to their religious authority. Previously the exilarch had reserved the right to appoint judges, either alone or in consultation with the *gaon*. But during the decline of the exilarchate, the *geonim* appointed judges for most of Babylonia, granting them a "certificate of justiceship" (*pitka de-dayyanuta*).

In Ereẓ Israel the religious head of a community was known as a *ḥaver* (associated member of the Academy) and was ordained in the Palestinian academy. The *ḥaver* served as head of the community's rabbinical court once he had been empowered by the head of the academy. The Palestinian academies granted to ordained scholars the title of *ḥaver be-Sanhedrin ha-Gedolah* (member of the Great Sanhedrin); in Babylonia it was customary to call similar appointees *alluf.* At the same time the title of *rav* (rabbi) was common in Egypt, North Africa, and Spain.

The decline of the gaonate and the Palestinian Academy in the 11th century created some confusion regarding the rabbinate as a communal institution. There was no sufficient religious authority capable of continuing the traditional ordination (*semikhah*) or appointment of judges. Consequently, ordination was discontinued. In Spain, however, some religious heads of communities would grant their students a "writ of ordination" (*ketav masmikh*). Judah ben Barzillai al-Bargeloni declared in his *Sefer ha-Shetarot* that this writ was only reminiscent of the ancient ordination and that no actual *semikhah* could be given outside Ereẓ Israel. This type of document, he maintained, was awarded only for the purpose of encouraging students.

In the 1130s R. Joseph ibn Migash ordained Joseph *ben* Mamal by means of a *ketav minnui* (writ of appointment). Maimonides opposed the institution of the professional rabbi in the sense of a paid official; he preferred the ideal of the scholar who earns his living independently but serves as a communal teacher. Even in the geonic period in North Africa, there were scholars who received "appointments" to the rabbinate. R. Hushi'el b. Elhanan of Kairouan ordained his son Hananel and Nissim b. Jacob b. Nissim (Ibn Shahin). Abraham ibn Daud mentioned in his *Sefer ha-Kabbalah* that after the deaths of Hananel and Nissim b. Jacob the tradition was discontinued, although judges officiated in Mahdia and Qalat Hammad without ordination. In the geonic period the title of *ha-rav ha-rosh* (chief rabbi) was widespread in North Africa. It was awarded by the academy in Pumbedita to designate the head of a famous rabbinical court.

In Spain the rank of *dayyan* (judge) was higher than that of rabbi. Certain individuals were empowered to punish offenders and bore the right to judge alone. Important authorities, such as Maimonides and his father Maimon, were called *dayyan*. The position of *dayyan* was more highly regarded in Spain than in the eastern lands after the expulsion. In those countries the *hakham* ("scholar") gained prominence, although the *dayyan* reserved the right to appoint a *hakham* or to empower even ordinary individuals with the right to judge. Two examples are known of appointment of rabbis by the government in the 14th and 15th centuries: Joseph Sasportas who was invested with judicial powers in the kingdom of Tlemcen and Isaac b. Sheshet Perfet, who was appointed by the government of Algiers. Isaac b. Sheshet Perfet (second half of the 14th century) wrote that in Germany, as well, it was customary to award a "writ of ordination," although in Spain it was considered sufficient if a teacher gave permission to his student to act as congregational religious leader.

The arrival of Spanish and Portuguese refugees in eastern lands aroused a serious conflict concerning "ordination" as practiced by the native Ashkenazim and Romaniots. An example of this was the controversy about Messer David ben Judah Leon, an "ordained" scholar and leader in Jewish education in Avilona (Valona), Albania, in the early 16th century. Rabbi David Cohen of Corfu supported Leon and stated that the method of ordination in use at least served to deter those not fit to decide the *halakhah*. David Cohen himself had received "ordination." Elijah Mizraḥi opposed the Sephardi refugees who claimed that no one could ordain once the Sanhedrin no longer existed. Nonetheless, the Ashkenazim did influence some Eastern Sephardi communities to practice "ordination."

However the significance of the ordination was completely different from the Ashkenazi ordination. The responsa cite several examples of writs of appointment containing the phrase "*yoreh, yoreh, yadin, yadin*" ("he will teach, he will judge"), sometimes adding "*yattir, yattir*" ("he will permit"); this was the text of ordination customary in the talmudic period. One factor which soothed the conflict was the public's reluctance to accept Ashkenazi ordination as an automatic qualification for communal leadership. The idea of reinstituting the traditional ordination as known in ancient times continued to excite scholars until the 16th century, when Jacob Berab relied on the words of Maimonides in his attempt to ordain certain scholars. This act aroused negative reactions and a fresh conflict continued for two generations.

When the Spanish and Portuguese refugees reached the Ottoman Empire, they organized communities according to their origins, each preserving its own traditions. Due to the absence of ordination, the spiritual leader in these communities was mainly called *ḥakham* or *marbiẓ Torah* ("teacher of the Torah"). Other titles in use were *dayyan, ḥaver beit ha-din, kaḥin ve-rosh, moreh ẓedek*, and *moreh hora'ah*; these titles were not limited to congregational leaders in the strict sense. In *Erez Israel*, Egypt, and Syria, however, the title *marbiẓ Torah* was replaced by *ḥakham* and in North Africa by *moreh ẓedek*. A rabbi in charge of all or most congregations in a city was called *ha-rav ha-kolel* ("the 'supreme' rabbi").

The *marbiẓ Torah* or *ḥakham* was the highest religious authority in his district. To qualify for his office he had to be expert in all fields of *halakhah*. He preached publicly on Sabbaths and holidays. Frequently he acted as chief controller over foundations and bequests and organized the redemption of hostages. In small communities he often served as a scribe or notary. The *marbiẓ Torah* judged in matters of marriage, divorce, *ḥaliẓah*, and monetary disputes generally alone but sometimes joined by two laymen to strengthen the verdict as having been passed in a court of three. Claims between people of different communities were judged by the *marbiẓ Torah* of the defendant's community. He was also responsible for judging in matters of ritual fitness and maintaining standards of morality in the city. Generally, his office was not inherited.

The *marbiẓ Torah* was usually treated with respect and admiration. He was paid an ample wage and honored with set marks of etiquette; the congregation stood when he entered and allowed him to pass first through the synagogue or street. He occupied a fixed seat in the synagogue and when he died he was buried with special marks of honor. Certain congregations purposely left the late leader's office vacant for a considerable period to show deference to their loss.

On the other hand there is record of conflicts between the *marbiẓ Torah* and members of his congregation. Sometimes his knowledge of *halakhah* was questioned or sometimes competition between two scholars for the same office would cause conflicts or a split in the community; many *marbiẓei Torah* are known to have been dismissed from their positions. An *ḥakham* who was disregarded or dishonored could excommunicate his opponents, and sometimes members of his congregation took measures to curb his powers of excommunication if used too freely.

From the late 15th century the Eastern communities felt the need for a central rabbinate that would assume the overall religious and administrative leadership that lay beyond the province of the local *marbiẓei Torah*. In the late 15th and early 16th centuries this office had already been filled by the two chief rabbis of the Romaniots, Moses Capsali and Elijah Mizraḥi, both in Constantinople, who were called *rav kolel, ha-rav ha-manhig* ("leading rabbi"), or *ha-rav ha-gadol* ("grand rabbi"). They were appointed by the government and given a permit known as the *hurman* to collect Jewish taxes. For the privilege of maintaining this office, the community had to pay a special tax, known as *rav aqchesi* ("white (i.e., silver) coin for the permit to have a rabbi"). This tax had to be paid even in the 17th century long after the office of chief rabbi had been discontinued. After the death of Elijah Mizraḥi, there was no longer any one figure who filled this position; rabbinical councils, however, frequently met in various cities on important matters. At this time there was a growing feeling among the *Sephardim* to grant high office to great rabbis of the generation. Samuel de Medina was recognized as chief rabbi in Salonika, and Jacob Berab filled the same office in Safed. In almost every large community there was a *rav kolel* who was not appointed by the government but by the Jews themselves. The *rav kolel* performed all tasks of the *marbiẓ Torah* and was also head of the rabbinical court or of a yeshivah. Often he was called *reish mata* (Aramaic: "head of the city"). In Izmir (Smyrna) it was customary for two chief rabbis to serve simultaneously, one in charge of civil law, the other in charge of ritual; both were called *ha-rav ha-gadol*. Their subordinate rabbis were called *morei ẓedek*. In this city there was a time when four chief rabbis ruled simultaneously. The *ḥakhamim* devoted all their time to the study of Torah and as such were exempt from taxes; an ordinance which fixed this exemption was drafted in Jerusalem in the early 16th century. The exemption applied to any *ḥakham rashum* ("recorded rabbi") who served as *marbiẓ Torah* or filled a spiritual position.

In other eastern countries, additional titles were awarded attesting the outstanding scholarship or eminence of the leader. The names *navon* ("understanding") or *maskil* ("wise, erudite") were used generally for young scholars who had acquired a fair knowledge of *halakhah*. The term *ḥakham vatik* ("senior" or "conscientious scholar"), despite its literal meaning, was also used for younger leaders. The name *he-ḥakham ha-shalem* was used to distinguish well-known important rabbis, *marbiẓei Torah*, heads of academies, and rabbinical courts.

Beginning in 1836 the Ottoman regime established the office of *ḥakham bashi* (head of the rabbis) in Constantinople. The incumbent had to be a citizen of the empire. Eventually similar offices were established in the capitals of big provinces. The exact duties and privileges of the *ḥakham bashi* were fixed in 1864. The *ḥakham bashi* of Constantinople exercised authority over all other rabbis in the empire (including the *rishon le-Zion* in Ereẓ Israel). In Egypt the *ḥakham bashi* was the only authority to decide ritual matters and was accompanied by a judge who had the right to sit alone. The Jewish community in Ereẓ Israel appointed a chief rabbi known as the *rishon le-Zion* ("first of Zion"). Although this title existed from the 17th century, it was not officially recognized until 1842, when the incumbent *rishon le-Zion* was named *ḥakham bashi* of Ereẓ Israel. In 1874 a *ḥakham bashi* was appointed in Tripoli (North Africa) and soon the title became so popular that almost every North African community had its *ḥakham bashi*.

There were also chief rabbis who were heads of rabbinical courts in Tunis, Djerba, in Algeria and Morocco.

In smaller cities in Morocco, which did not possess rabbinical courts, a *rabbin délégué* was appointed who acted as a one-man court and a community representative before the government. In Morocco there were some families who reserved the dynastic right (*serarah*) to serve as rabbis and judges. No parallel custom is found in any other land. Soleiman Kareh was appointed in 1872 *ḥakham bashi* of Yemen by the Turkish regime. In that country the *ḥakham bashi* was the highest legal and religious authority. After Kareh the position of *ḥakham bashi* was held intermittently and for short durations. In each village and town in Yemen, the *mori* served as rabbi, judge, and teacher. The Yemenite rabbis earned their livings mainly as slaughterers, goldsmiths, and teachers.

[Leah Bornstein-Makovetsky]

Modern Period

Since the emancipation era, the functions of the rabbi, particularly in Western countries, have undergone a radical change to which various factors contributed. In the first place, the governments of the various countries abolished the right of jurisdiction previously granted to the Jews in civil law, in consequence of which the function of the rabbi as judge in civil litigation and the need to study *Ḥoshen Mishpat* (the Jewish civil code) for practical purposes no longer existed. Moreover, even matters of ritual and matrimonial law which remained within the sphere of Jewish jurisdiction were dealt with, in these countries, not by the individual rabbi, but by a central *bet din*, these functions being fulfilled by the *dayyan*. In the second place, with the entry of the Jews into general life the need became increasingly felt for the rabbis to be equipped with a wider knowledge than was regarded as necessary for the medieval rabbi in the Jewish community, in both Jewish spheres – Jewish history, literature, homiletics, and *Juedische Wissenschaft* generally – and in purely secular branches. This need, felt internally, was powerfully reinforced when the governments of various countries, commencing with Emperor Franz Joseph in Austria in 1848 and extending to other countries, demanded a certain standard of general education as a condition of recognizing rabbis. When the existing yeshivot refused to countenance any change in their traditional syllabus, which was almost wholly confined to Talmud and the codes, the need was met by the establishment of rabbinical seminaries which provided a comprehensive curriculum of Jewish studies (with a lessened stress on Talmud and codes), which was generally supplemented by a university education. The modern rabbi, whether Orthodox, Conservative, or Reform, was largely the product of these institutions. A major transformation in the makeup of the rabbinate in liberal denominations (Reform, Conservative, and Reconstructionist) from the 1970s into the 21st century has been the ordination of women.

FUNCTIONS OF THE RABBI. The function of the modern rabbi varied somewhat in the various countries according to local conditions. Thus in England he approximated until recently more to the cantor than in any other country. His official title in the United Synagogue was "minister-preacher," while his colleague was the "minister-reader," both sharing the conduct of the weekly and Sabbath services and the reading of the Torah. In England, France, and Germany the wearing of canonicals was obligatory, while in France the organizational aspects of the rabbinate was largely determined by the Consistory. Nevertheless there are general lines of similarity which applied equally to all. Preaching, of course in the vernacular, occupied a place of prime importance, out of all proportion to the old-fashioned rabbi who generally limited his public discourses to two halakhic-aggadic addresses per year (see Preaching). The modern rabbi was expected to devote much of his time to pastoral work, establishing a personal bond between himself and his congregants, visiting the sick, officiating at benei mitzvahs, marriages, funerals, and houses of mourning as a matter of course. He was expected to take part in all social, educational, and philanthropic activities of the congregation. Above all he was looked to as the spokesman of the Jewish community to the larger community, though the extent of this participation varied in different countries, being most extensive in the United States. The influence of the larger denominations, particularly the Protestant Church, was marked. Until recent times in England it was de rigueur for the rabbi to wear a clerical collar, while the garb of the French rabbi in synagogue was identical with that of the Protestant pastor. In England Chief Rabbis Adler and Hertz donned the gaiters and the silk hat with cockade of the Anglican bishop at official functions. Recent years have witnessed a departure from those models to a considerable extent, and a closer proximation to those of the old school, partly under the influence of the yeshivot and the revival of Orthodoxy.

In England particularly, as in the countries which constituted the British Empire for which it served as a model, it was not even regarded as essential that the rabbi should acquire the rabbinical diploma (it was actually forbidden by Chief Rabbi Herman Adler, who essayed to establish the principle that he was the only rabbi for the British Empire) and the title "reverend" was coined for them. This situation changed considerably, but a student of Jews College still graduates and is qualified to accept a position on obtaining the minister's diploma, which is less than the rabbinical diploma and carries with it the title "reverend." In all other countries, without exception, and among Reform and Conservative, as well as Orthodox, the only title borne by the spiritual leader is rabbi, apart from the *Sephardi* congregations where he is called Haham (*ḥakham*). In England, France, and South Africa, in which the various congregations are united in one roof organization, the rabbi tended more and more to become a local congregational functionary, the chief rabbi alone representing the community as a whole both in religious matters and vis-à-vis the non-Jewish world. In the United States (see below) and Canada, where the tendency is for each congregation to be an independent unit, his sphere of activities was much wider. In the United States, Canada, and England, and in other countries where yeshivah education developed, a return to the old conception of the classic Eastern European rabbi in appearance, outlook, and function is apparent within limited pockets of strict Orthodox Judaism.

Jacqueline Tabick, the first female rabbi in the United Kingdom, was ordained in 1975 by Leo Baeck College, an institution under the joint sponsorship of the Reform Synagogues of Great Britain and the Union of Liberal and Progressive Synagogues.

[Louis Isaac Rabinowitz]

Germany

Some special features characterized the German rabbinate until the *Holocaust*. In the debates on emancipation the question of the training and functions of the rabbis played an important part. In Prussia, which had the largest number of Jews, successive legislation beginning with the "Religionsedikt" of 1788 to the community law of 1847, had more or less ignored the position of the rabbi, leaving it to the communities whether to appoint rabbis at all, and if they did, they were shorn of their traditional authority, becoming mere functionaries, whose opinion in religious matters could be ignored by the lay leaders. Opinions given by prominent Jews such as Gumpert, Muhr, Rubo, and even Zunz had declared the rabbinical office to be altogether dispensable; rabbis were considered mere "Kauscherwaechters" (Kashrut Supervisors) and protests to the contrary remained ineffective. Their rabbinical jurisdiction had been abolished in 1811 (in Altona-Schleswig-Holstein as late as 1863) and when the last chief rabbi of Berlin, Hirschel Lewin, appointed under the "General Juden Reglement" of 1750, died in 1800, his position was not filled again. Yet rabbis of the old school were in positions of religious authority to the middle of the century, such as Akiva Eger (d. 1837) and his son Solomon (d. 1852) in Posen. The Law of 1847 required government confirmation of rabbinical appointments, though they were not considered public functionaries. The constitution of the Bismarckian Reich gave rabbis equal status with Christian clergy in some respects. States like Hanover, Electoral Hesse, and Schleswig-Holstein, which were later incorporated in Prussia, retained their previously adopted Jewish community organization in which rabbis had the official status of Landrabbiner, Provinzialrabbiner, etc. Even where rabbis possessed no legal status, they were in fact recognized as the representatives and spokesmen of the Jewish faith and community, sat on the advisory educational boards, were given chaplaincy commissions, etc. In most other German states the new laws regulating the life of Jewish communities (Bavaria, 1813; Wurtemberg, 1828; Baden, 1809; grand-duchy of Hesse, 1841) recognized the official position of rabbis providing for offices of Landrabbiner, Konferenzrabbiner, Bezirksrabbiner or just local rabbis, regulating their qualifications, duties, emoluments, garb, etc. In several of these states they had to face examinations before specially appointed government boards. The new type of rabbi who emerged spoke High German and possessed besides rabbinical training a higher and often university education. This was not limited to Liberal and Reform rabbis; it applied to the Orthodox rabbinate as well as exemplified by such men as J. Ettlinger, I. Bernays, M. Sachs, S.R. Hirsch, and A. Hildesheimer. The transition from the new to the old was not without struggle as shown by the controversy about A. Geiger's appointment in Breslau. The emerging Wissenschaft des Judentums was both creative of and created by this modern type of rabbi. At first, at least, their individual and collective authority within the community was paramount, while rabbinical conferences and synods were shaping a new non-Orthodox Judaism. Rabbinical seminaries of the three main religious trends (Breslau, Hildesheimer, and Hochschule) trained these modem rabbis. Their students could not always be clearly classified. Orthodox ones could be found at Breslau and the Hochschule, while some non-Orthodox rabbis qualified at the Hildesheimer Seminary. A large part of the future rabbis hailed from Germany's eastern provinces or from East European countries where they had received the traditional yeshivah training. Toward the end of the 19th century and after World War I new yeshivot (the last of the old yeshivot was closed in 1865) were established in Germany itself, while some rabbinical students enrolled in eastern yeshivot. This raised both the qualifications and standing of the Orthodox rabbinate.

With this went a general lowering of their status and authority, with the lay leadership, qualified by mere professional or financial success, in the ascendancy. Most rabbis were no longer given a "call," but had to apply for advertised positions. They were now officials rather than leaders, without a vote and even a voice on their communities' administration. Even by 1922 there was only one congregation in Germany on whose board the rabbi had a seat and later became its chairman. Vigorous protests from within the rabbinate were of no avail. Only the Nazi persecutions brought about some belated change.

The rabbi usually taught at the community's religious school as well as to Jewish pupils in the state high schools. Adult education emerged gradually after World War I and became an important function in the Nazi period. Public relations with the non-Jewish community, such as lecturing, participation in public functions and social and educational work in general, occupied a considerable part of the rabbi's time. His relations to his congregation were regulated by private contract; his salary was usually adequate for maintaining a middle-class standard of living, incidental fees being paid into the community's funds.

In the larger communities with several synagogues a division developed between the community rabbi and the synagogue rabbi. In many parts of Germany, where rural, rabbi-less communities survived in great number, district rabbis, with their seat in state or provincial capitals, were in charge of their religious needs. Even after 1918, when the separation of church and state had led to the abolition of the 19th-century laws, the titles of Oberrabiner, Landesrabbiner, or Provinzialrabbiner survived as a historical relic, without much significance, unless it meant the care of rural communities. There was at no time a German chief rabbi. When, under the Nazis, Leo Baeck became president of the Reichsvertretung der deutschen Juden, his being a (liberal) rabbi was incidental.

Regina *Jonas, the first woman to receive rabbinic ordination, was a 1930 graduate of the Hochschule fuer die Wisenschaft des Judentums (College of Jewish Studies) in Berlin. She received private ordination in 1935 from Max Dienemann, one of the rabbinic leaders of German Liberal Judaism.

From the Franco-Prussian War of 1870 until World War I, many German rabbis served as army chaplains. The needs of German Jewry under the Nazi regime produced the office of Youth Rabbi; the social – and educational – responsibilities of the rabbi in this tragic period increased manifold.

In 1884 German rabbis united in the "Verband der Rabbiner Deutschlands," which in 1896 became the "Allgemeiner Rabbinerverband in Deutschland," though some Orthodox rabbis refused to join. The Orthodox, on their side, established in 1897 their own "Vereinigung traditionell-gesetzestreuer Rabbiner" while an "Orthodoxer Rabbinerverband" excluded those rabbis who served in "mixed" Reform-Orthodox communities. Another source of controversy was emerging Zionism; the great majority of German Jews were anti-Zionist and their assimilated leaders even more so; a great number of rabbis had signed the famous protest against the holding of the First Zionist Congress (see Protestrabbiner). This led to a head-on conflict with some of the younger rabbis who had embraced Zionism, as in the case of Emil Bernard Cohn, who was dismissed from his post by the Berlin Jewish community board for propagating Zionism.

[Alexander Carlebach]

In the U.S.

The status and role of the contemporary rabbi in North America exhibit some unique features which can best be understood in the light of the historical development of the synagogue as the central institution in the Jewish community.

The North American cultural and social development accepted the concept of differences based on faith, but has resisted differences based on other criteria. A full treatment of this sociological phenomenon can be found in W. Herberg's *Protestant-Catholic-Jew* (1955). The Eastern European community, from which most North American Jews and their ancestors emigrated, was based on ethnic and other national minority differences. In the "melting pot" process, allowances were made for such concepts as Jewish nationality on the one hand, while on the other various ethnic minorities that make up the North American community (with the possible growing exception of the French-Canadian and the black-American separatists) assimilated to a cultural climate in which only differences of faith are recognized and where each community is given equal status and dignity unrelated to the number of its adherents.

Insofar as earlier immigrant generations attended churches and synagogues, they probably preferred those where the language and customs of their countries of origin were used in worship and pulpit. Norwegian Lutherans attended churches where Norwegian was used, Italian Catholics where Italian was used. Their children and grandchildren however chose to affiliate with a place of worship which was American in loyalty and composition. The place of worship became a center around which gravitated social and cultural activities which previously had been the functions of societies and clubs of a strong ethnic flavor. In the Jewish community particularly, many of the functions previously performed by Hebrew communal schools, Zionist youth movements, philanthropic activities, and social action committees, became increasingly centered in the synagogue which developed into the comprehensive Jewish Center. The latter often was the only functioning Jewish institution in the community with adequate building, constituency, and professional leadership. Besides being spiritual leader, interpreter of Jewish law, and preacher, the rabbi tended more and more to become the senior Jewish professional in the community. This was equally true of the rabbi of a Conservative, Orthodox, Reform, or unaffiliated congregation. He came to interpret the Jewish tradition not only to the members of his congregation, but also to their Christian neighbors. He had to assume responsibility for all aspects of Jewish education. National and international Jewish organizations looked to him for influence. During the first decades of this century, the Reform rabbi tended to represent the total Jewish community to its neighbors. This function later came to be performed by rabbis of all denominations. The field of counseling has become a part of the modern rabbi's schooling. In the U.S. both the Reform and Conservative rabbinical training schools include courses in pastoral psychiatry for their students. These institutions also maintain pastoral psychiatry centers for research, marriage counseling, etc.

In recent years, the modern rabbi has played an increasing role in the general field of human relations or civil rights, and organizations dealing with them as a general rule increasingly tend to have a rabbi either on their staff or as an elected president. For example, the American Jewish Congress has almost invariably elected a rabbi as president, after the election of Stephen Wise, its first rabbi president. One of the reasons is that when they participate in government or communal affairs, they often prefer that a rabbi represent them since their counterparts are likely to be Protestant or Catholic clergymen.

The modern rabbi tends to model himself after the paradigm (and often the founders) of his rabbinical seminary and professional associations, e.g., Sabato Morais and Isaac Meyer Wise, the first presidents of the Jewish Theological Seminary and the Hebrew Union College respectively, who took forthright, if different, positions on the merits of the American Civil War. Alumni of all the American Jewish seminaries played central roles as social activists, Zionists or anti-Zionist leaders.

The status of the modern rabbi is probably best reflected in the number of institutions established by the different Jewish denominations to educate future rabbis (see *Rabbinical Seminaries).

[Wolfe Kelman]

The ordination of women as rabbis has transformed the rabbinate in North America. In 1972, in response to changing public attitudes and social realities, the leadership of the Reform movement approved the ordination of Sally *Priesand by Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion. By the beginning of the 21st century, several hundred women had been ordained as rabbis in North America, the United Kingdom, and Israel, and as many as half of rabbinical students in seminaries of liberal denominations of Judaism, including those of the Conservative/Masorti and Reconstructionist movements, were female. The paths of rabbis who are women have not been free of obstacles. Many female clergy hold subordinate positions in larger synagogues, or work as educators or chaplains, rather than senior leaders of congregations. These occupational patterns are a not only a reflection of persistent cultural prejudices towards women as religious authority figures, but also of many women's choices of rabbinic options that allow them time for the demands of home and family.

[Judith R. Baskin (2nd ed.)]

In Israel

The rabbinate and the functions of the rabbi in modern Israel differ fundamentally from their counterparts in any other part of the Jewish world, whether ancient or modern. A number of factors have contributed toward this unique state of affairs. In the first place there is the law of the State of Israel which establishes the *halakhah* as state law in all matters affecting personal status, which includes marriage, divorce, legitimacy, and conversion and affords the rabbinical courts the status of civil courts of law within that wide sphere. This, coupled with the fact that the Ministry of Religious Affairs was, apart from one brief interregnum, the prerogative of the (Orthodox) National Religious Party, has had the effect of making Orthodox Judaism to all intents and purposes the "established church" of the state, to the virtual exclusion of other religious trends in Judaism, Conservative and Reform, which have only a handful of congregations, mostly composed of recently arrived immigrants belonging to those trends in the countries of their origin.

A second factor determining the complexion and the functions of the rabbinate is the establishment of the twin Orthodox chief rabbinate (Ashkenazi and Sephardi) which are state appointments, and similar twin chief rabbinates in the larger cities. These local rabbinates and chief rabbinates are administered by the local religious councils, which are nominated through a complicated system of political party representation and the Ministry of Religious Affairs, and it is to all intents controlled by the ministry. These councils consist of Orthodox Jews. All appointments of rabbis must be confirmed by the chief rabbis and the Ministry of Religious Affairs.

A third factor is the fact that almost without exception the *rashei yeshivot*, who exercise a powerful influence in Israel, as well as the other rabbis who belong to the Agudat Israel (to which the *rashei yeshivot* also mostly belong), regard the National Religious Party and the chief rabbis who owe their appointments to their support as tending toward heterodoxy, a charge which they are at great pains to disprove or dispel. As a result, they are unduly apprehensive of any move which might be regarded as progressive or "reform." To these considerations must be added two others. The Ashkenazi rabbinate continues wholly the tradition of the classical Eastern European rabbinate, and the new incumbents to the rabbinate are wholly the products of the yeshivot, while the Sephardi rabbinate equally continues in their old traditions. Lastly, the synagogue in Israel is, with only a handful of exceptions, not a congregational entity with fixed membership but a place for worship and study.

All these factors add up to the distinctive features of the rabbinate and the functions of the rabbis in Israel. Next to the chief rabbis the hierarchy consists of the *dayyanim* of the Supreme Bet Din of Appeal, followed by the *dayyanim* of the district courts. They are classified as civil judges with the emoluments and privileges of judges, and their functions are wholly judicial and not pastoral. Next in importance, and in receipt of salaries from the religious councils, are a host of rabbis who act as religious functionaries with specific and limited duties such as inspection of *kashrut*, of *mikva'ot*, of the *eruv*, of the adherence to the various agricultural laws, etc. They also, by nature of their functions, perform no pastoral duties. Next in the scale come district rabbis, also appointed by the religious councils. In theory they are charged with the welfare of the community within the district over which they have been appointed, but with few exceptions they regard their position as a sinecure. Lowest on the scale come, what in theory is the nearest approach to the Western rabbi, the rabbi of a synagogue. In the absence of a regularly constituted congregation, however, and with no official source of income, they are financially the least rewarded. Few synagogues pay anything approaching a living wage to these rabbis. They mostly depend upon one of the other rabbinic functions referred to for their livelihood, and their appointments largely commence as de facto ones which sometimes develop into uneasy de jure ones. In the absence of the congregational unit with its duly paid-up membership, and the consequent lack of personal bond between rabbi and worshiper, there is nothing in the rabbinate in Israel which approaches the pastoral aspect of the work of the modern rabbi. Marriages are performed by duly appointed officials of the local religious councils, funerals by the various *ḥevra* *kaddisha* organizations. Visiting the sick is not regarded as the function of the rabbi of a synagogue; cultural activities apart from the *shi'urim* in rabbinics are undertaken by other agencies, as is youth work and philanthropic activity. The virtual nonexistence of regular preaching should be noted.

The cumulative effect of this situation is that the Western-trained rabbi even of Orthodox Jewry finds it hard to find a place in the rabbinate in Israel. Of all those who have immigrated few have been appointed to a rabbinical position in Israel, and most find their livelihood in other spheres.

[Louis Isaac Rabinowitz]

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RABBI BINYAMIN (pseudonym of **Yehoshua Radler-Feldmann**; 1880–1957), Hebrew journalist. Born in Zborov, Galicia, Rabbi Binyamin published his first essay in 1903, and in 1906 moved to London, where he joined J.Ḥ. *Brenner in the publication of *Ha-Me'orer.* Arriving in Palestine in 1907, he first worked as a laborer in Petaḥ Tikvah, then as secretary of Herzlia, the first Hebrew high school in Tel Aviv. He left this position to join in the founding of kevutzat *Kinneret. In 1910 he moved to Jerusalem, taught at the Reḥavyah Hebrew high school, and later at the Taḥkemoni religious school. After World War I he was active in the Mizrachi Party and edited the religious national monthly *Ha-Hed* (1926–53). In 1925 he was among the founders of the *Berit Shalom association, which advocated a binational state for Arabs and Jews.

Rabbi Binyamin published thousands of articles and essays, often expressing individualistic viewpoints. He did much to introduce Brenner and Agnon to the Hebrew reading audiences. His critical essays include surveys and analyses of the great figures of ancient and modern European civilization, Asian cultures, and modern Hebrew literature. His works include *Al ha-Gevulin* (1923) and *Parẓufim* (2 vols., 1934, 1936), a volume of memoirs, *Mi-Zborov ve-ad Kinneret* (1950), and essays on writers and scholars, *Mishpeḥot Soferim* (1960) and *Keneset Ḥakhamim* (1961).

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[Getzel Kressel]

RABBINER-SEMINAR FUER DAS ORTHODOXE JUDENTUM, the Rabbinical Seminary for Orthodox Judaism, founded in 1873 in Berlin by Azriel (Israel) *Hildesheimer to promote *Torah im Derekh Ereẓ* (the combination of loyalty to Judaism with awareness of modern culture and method). For the next seven decades rabbinic and lay leaders emerged from that institution whose influence extended over four continents. Throughout his career Hildesheimer had to fight opponents from the left and the right. He inspired his disciples by his life and learning. After having headed the seminary for 26 years, Hildesheimer was followed by David *Hoffmann, Joseph *Wohlgemuth, and Jehiel Jacob *Weinberg. The students attended classes both at the seminar and at the university, and the curriculum included Bible, Talmud, Jewish philosophy, and other subjects. Hildesheimer's faculty was made up of distinguished scholars. Among them were Jacob *Barth, Abraham *Berliner, Hirsch *Hildesheimer (son of the founder), Simon *Eppenstein, Moses Auerbach, and Samuel *Gruenberg. The seminary's annual reports (*Jahresberichte*, 1873–1915; 1935–36) contained a series of important scholarly studies by the members of its teaching staff. The seminary was the center of modern Orthodoxy, which combined loyalty to traditional Judaism with the recognition of the need for scientific method (most of the graduates obtained a doctorate in philosophy). Many graduates, among them Joseph *Carlebach and Leo *Deutschlander, attained continental fame through their educational work in Eastern Europe, while many others built *Torah im Derekh Ereẓ* congregations in Germany, France, and beyond their frontiers. The seminary, which started as a German-Hungarian enterprise, was greatly enriched in its last two decades by two Lithuanian scholars on its faculty: Abraham Elijah *Kaplan, who died at a young age, and Jehiel Jacob Weinberg, a great talmudist. In 1934 plans were prepared to transfer the seminary to Palestine, but the proposal had to be abandoned owing to the opposition of extreme Orthodox elements there to the concept of a modern rabbinical seminary. The institution closed in November 1938 shortly after the *Kristallnacht* pogrom. The greater part of its library was transferred to Tel Aviv. The principal fruits of the seminary's work was the training of German rabbis to counter the tide of religious liberalism.

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[Leo Jung]

RABBINICAL ALLIANCE OF AMERICA (Iggud ha-Rabbonim). Founded in 1942 as an association of Orthodox rabbis, the RAA "seeks to promulgate the cause of Torah-true Judaism through an organized rabbinate that is consistently Orthodox." In its early years, most of its members were ordained by Yeshivah Torah Vodaath in Brooklyn. By 1965 the group had a membership of 250, of whom 100 occupied pulpits. In 2005 membership reached 834, of whom slightly more than half occupied pulpits. It has always been common for members of the RAA who occupy significant pulpits to also hold membership in the preexisting *Rabbinical Council of America (RCA). As early as 1949, there was discussion about an amalgamation with the RCA, which heightened during the RCA presidency of Theodore L. Adams and his counterpart at the RAA, Ralph Pelcovitz, yet nothing ever materialized from these discussions. At a joint press conference in New York City on December 3, 1954, the RCA and RAA teamed up to protest the Conservative movement's innovations regarding the *ketubbah* (marriage contract). This was noteworthy since the other major Orthodox rabbinic body, the Union of Orthodox Rabbis of the United States and Canada (Agudat ha-Rabbonim), refused to join the RCA in this endeavor. A defining feature of the RAA has been its refusal to recognize non-Orthodox streams of Judaism, although some of their rabbis are members of Jewish ecumenical bodies such as the New York Board of Rabbis. From its founding, the RAA has maintained its own **bet din* in Brooklyn, New York, headed (2005) by Rabbi Herschel Kurzrock, who was also the chairman of the RAA's halakhic committee. The RAA publishes an occasional periodical by the name of *Zikhron Meyer.* Since 1972 Rabbi Abraham B. Hecht has served as president of the RAA, although prior to the assassination of Yitzhak Rabin, Hecht called for the death of any Jewish leader who would concede portions of the land of Israel for peace. Later he expressed remorse for his comments.

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[Asher Oser (2nd ed.)]

RABBINICAL ASSEMBLY (RA), the international association of Conservative rabbis. The Rabbinical Assembly was founded in Philadelphia in June 1901, as the Alumni Association of the Jewish Theological Seminary, with Rabbi Henry M. Speaker as its first president. The name was changed to the Rabbinical Assembly in 1918, when graduates of other institutions were admitted as members. The RA, as it is known, functions on two levels – as a professional organization serving the needs of its members, and as an organization which seeks to promote the observance of Conservative Judaism, working closely with the Jewish Theological Seminary of America, the United Synagogue of Conservative Judaism, and other arms of the Conservative Movement.

In 2005, the organization had 1,564 members, 1,290 of them serving in the United States. Members served in 25 countries, with 151 in Israel, and 52 in Latin America. First admitting female rabbis in 1985, the group had 204 women members in 2005.

As a professional organization, the RA has always sought to improve the status of the Conservative rabbi; and its achievements have benefited the rabbis of other movements as well. Thanks to the efforts of its long-time executive director, Rabbi Wolfe Kelman, who served from 1951 to 1989, and his successor, Rabbi Joel Meyers, many rabbis now receive benefits such as pensions, medical insurance, and convention allowances. Working with other arms of the movement on the Joint Placement Commission, the RA has sought to create fair and standardized procedures for rabbinic placement. RA members serve not only as pulpit rabbis, but also as educators, academics, Hillel directors, and chaplains, and hold other positions in the Jewish community.

In seeking to promote the practice of Conservative Judaism and the study of the Torah, the RA has had an active publications program, headed from 1961 to 1994 by Rabbi Jules Harlow. It has published weekday, Sabbath, and holiday prayerbooks, a Passover *haggadah*, a commentary on the Torah, a Holocaust *Megillah*, rabbis' manuals, and other learned works that reflect the Conservative ideology. Through its Law Committee, the RA has sought to grapple with halakhic issues such as the plight of the **agunah* (deserted wife), the observance of the Sabbath and the dietary laws under modern conditions, and the role of women in the synagogue. At the start of the 21st century, the RA was also dealing with the issues of outreach to intermarried families and the role of homosexuals in Jewish life.

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[Robert E. Fierstien (2nd ed.)]

RABBINICAL CONFERENCES. The idea of a *synod to provide authoritative guidance and meet the current needs of Jews in the era of *Emancipation led to the holding of rabbinical conferences in Germany in the mid-19th century. A convention was called by Abraham *Geiger in Wiesbaden in 1837 to discuss his proposals for *Reform, but had no practical results. Subsequently a conference initiated by Ludwig *Philippson met in Brunswick in 1844, and was attended by 25 Reform rabbis, including Geiger and Samuel *Holdheim. However, no substantial resolutions were passed, and the conference was attacked by all sectors: the Orthodox protested against the rejection of Jewish tradition, Philippson regretted the theorizing instead of practical solutions, and Zacharias *Frankel criticized the discussions and results. Following the conference 116 Orthodox rabbis declared that nobody could "abrogate the least of the religious laws." In 1845, 31 rabbis, this time including Frankel, met at Frankfurt on the Main. As laid down in a memorandum delivered to the Frankfurt conference by three representatives of the Reform Association of Berlin, their stated purpose was to strengthen Judaism by rescuing it from legalistic stagnation and adapting it to modern needs, thus making it attractive to the new generation. When Frankel was overruled on the retention of Hebrew prayers, he withdrew. Heinrich *Graetz expressed a similar view. Other proposed reforms referred to the messianic portions of the prayers, the supplication for the restoration of sacrifices, the triennial cycle of Torah readings, and the use of the organ in the synagogue. A third conference took place in 1846 at Breslau, attended by 25 rabbis only. While Holdheim suggested that the Sabbath should be transferred to the civil day of rest, the majority was satisfied with minor reform in Sabbath observance, and the abolition of the second day of holidays and many mourning customs. Several resolutions dealt with the supervision of circumcision from the hygienic aspect. A number of radical reformers, dissatisfied with the conservative line taken by the conference, demanded that laymen should participate in future meetings.

In 1868 24 rabbis met in Kassel to prepare such a "synod" and to decide on a number of liturgical reforms. The "synod" assembling at Leipzig in 1869 consisted of 49 lay and 34 rabbinical delegates from 60 communities. Presided over by Moritz *Lazarus, it dealt with Jewish education, liturgical reforms, and other questions. The Orthodox and Frankel's sympathizers were not represented. Two years later, the "synod" of Augsburg was attended by representatives from only 30 communities. Its resolutions dealt with marriage, *ḥaliẓah*, and other subjects, but the stand taken on the Sabbath was more conservative than before. Again, 133 Orthodox rabbis published a strong protest, asserting that the participants were unfit to hold religious office. Neither "synod" came up to the expectations of its own promoters, and no further meeting of this kind was convened in Germany.

[Ze'ev Wilhelm Falk]

Nevertheless, agitation for synods continued especially in America, by Isaac Mayer *Wise in 1881, and at three sessions of the Central Conference of American Rabbis in 1904–06. Solomon *Schechter, leader of U.S. *Conservative Jewry, opposed synods as encouraging sacerdotalism and creating the danger of a schism within Orthodoxy. The Reform movement in the United States, nevertheless, adopted in 1887 its Pittsburgh *Platform, laying down the principles of classic Reform. It reversed its stance in 1937 in Columbus, when it reaffirmed its adherence to Hebrew, Zionism, and other traditional values. In 1961 the Federation of *Reconstructionist Congregations and Fellowships, at a conference of lay and rabbinic delegates, adopted a guide for Jewish ritual in line with their humanist philosophy of Judaism. Among certain Orthodox circles there has been agitation for a Sanhedrin to legislate for world Jewry, but the difficulties involved appeared insuperable.

[Isaac Levitats]

See also *Bet Din; *Chief Rabbi; *Synods.

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RABBINICAL COUNCIL OF AMERICA (RCA; Histadrut Harabanim). Founded in 1923 (as the Rabbinical Council of the Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations), in 1935 the RCA merged with the Rabbinical Association of the Rabbi Isaac Elchanan Theological Seminary (Yeshiva University) and took its present name. The goal of the RCA is "to advance the cause and the voice of Torah and the rabbinic tradition" by "promoting the welfare, interests, and professionalism of Orthodox rabbis all around the world"; it is the rabbinic counterpart of the Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations. The RCA has offices in New York and Jerusalem and sponsors various yeshivot and educational institutions in Israel. In 2005 the RCA claimed an international membership of over 1,000 members, of whom 600 occupied pulpits and one hundred were in chaplaincy, the remainder were in educational or communal positions. Most of its members are graduates of the Rabbi Isaac Elchanan Theological Seminary.

Since 1960, the RCA has sponsored the independent Beth Din of America, which, in addition to dealing with questions of personal status, also addresses issues arising from commercial disputes and keeps records of prenuptial agreements that are promulgated through the RCA. In 2005 The Beth Din of America was headed by Rabbi Gedalia Schwartz and its director was Rabbi Jonathan Reiss. Until his death in 1993, Rabbi Joseph B. *Soloveitchik was the "guiding spirit and mentor" of the RCA and chaired its *halakhah* commission, which Rabbi Asher Bush was coordinating in 2005. While eschewing inter-religious activities that include discussions of theology, the RCA has sent representatives to the International Jewish Committee for Interreligious Consultations (IJCIC), which is under the auspices of the World Jewish Congress. The RCA publishes two journals, a quarterly, *Tradition* (1958–) and a halakhic journal in Hebrew, *Hadarom.* (1957–). From 2002 the executive vice president of the RCA was Rabbi Basil Herring.

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[Asher Oser (2nd ed.)]

RABBINICAL LITERATURE, a modern scientific term used to describe the literature of *halakhah* which is based upon the Oral Law, its traditions and methodology in its different periods, its changing languages, and its varied forms. This definition excludes from its purview such sacred literature as liturgy, *piyyutim*, and other liturgical compositions, pure Kabbalah works, philosophical bible exegesis, theology, and grammar. On the other hand it frequently includes what appear at first sight to be purely secular topics, such as the works on astronomy – inasmuch as their aim is to clarify topics connected with the calendar, such as laws of the determination of the New Moon and its intercalation; "chronologies of the *tannaim* and *amoraim*", which are strictly chronographies, but whose main purpose is to determine according to which authority the *halakhah* is to be established; homiletic ethical and aggadic works, which aim at giving the practical *halakhah* and guidance for everyday living, and other similar works. Despite this, or perhaps because of this, the term also includes books on the laws of the Temple and its appurtenances, the laws of ritual cleanness and uncleanness, which will be actual only in the messianic future, since their purpose was regarded as "practical" in view of the ever-present faith in the imminent redemption. Combined with this was the concept of "interpret and receive reward," i.e., the study of Torah for its own sake without regard to its application to practical life, as an independent discipline which was part of the concept of *talmud torah*, and therefore this literature too is included in the term "rabbinical literature." It must be clearly emphasized that, despite the formal name, the term does not indicate books written by rabbis but works whose subject matter and aim belong to the sphere that concerns rabbis in their function as teachers of Judaism. Works on grammar may have an important halakhic bearing, for instance in connection with the laws of reading the Torah, but in most cases such was not the intention of their authors, whose purpose was primarily to teach grammar for its own sake or as an aid to biblical exegesis. These books are therefore not included in the term "rabbinical literature." The name rabbinical literature is also used in an entirely different sense since it also describes literature written by Rabbanites against the *Karaites in all eras – even if it deals with theology or other non-halakhic topics.

Rabbinical literature can be divided, according to its contents, into several basic categories: exposition of the *Talmud; *responsa; codes and their commentaries; *minhagim; halakhic monographs; rules of conduct and ethical wills, and the like. This formal division, however, was adopted in practice long after the inception of this literature. The term is commonly accepted to indicate every category of this literature as defined above, from Saadiah *Gaon, who was the first rabbinical scholar to write "books" in the present sense of the word. According to this usage rabbinical literature constitutes a stage following the period of talmudic and midrashic literature, which, as is usually accepted, came to a close at the end of the geonic period. No books in the present sense of the word were written, however, from the close of this period until Saadiah, with the possible sole exception of the *She'iltot* of Aḥa of *Shabḥa. Saadiah was also a very prolific writer, and the many fragments extant of his various works bear evidence to his creativity in every branch of rabbinical literature.

The formal division begins to emerge in the 11th and 12th centuries, and, with the general development of literary expression, it became progressively more refined and defined. In its historical development rabbinical literature may be divided into three periods:

(1) The geonic period;

(2) The period of the *rishonim*;

(3) The period of the *aḥaronim* (the subdivisions of each period are dealt with under their separate headings). In its fate and its preservation in manuscripts in libraries or in the *genizah*, there is not much difference between rabbinical literature and other branches of Jewish literary creativity. It is likewise very difficult to indicate lines of development which are unique or specially characteristic of it. Research into rabbinical literature, as a branch of the study of Jewish literature in general, is still in its infancy, and the basic groundwork toward it has not yet been done. There are as yet no reliable and comprehensive catalogs of Hebrew manuscripts in the different libraries and erroneous identification of books belonging to it is still widespread.

[Israel Moses Ta-Shma]

RABBINICAL SEMINARIES. Until the first quarter of the 19th century the only source for the training of rabbis was the *yeshivot. These were not rabbinical training institutions in the strict sense, but institutions of higher rabbinic learning designed for the education of the people as a whole. The curriculum was thus strictly limited to Talmud and its commentaries and the codes. A student wishing to enter the rabbinate obtained *semikhah* and thus became an ordained rabbi.

With the advent of the era of emancipation and the consequent demolition of the ghetto walls in Western Europe, and under the influence of the *Haskalah and the development of the Wissenschaft des *Judentums, the demand became increasingly heard for the establishment of institutions specifically for the training of rabbis. These institutions would produce a new type of modern rabbis, equipped with a thorough mastery of the vernacular and a knowledge of both secular and extra-talmudic Jewish subjects. An added incentive to the establishment of such institutions was the regulation enacted by Franz Joseph I of Austria-Hungary in 1848 requiring secular knowledge of an academic standard for rabbis in his country.

The proposed seminaries were bitterly contested by the rabbis and heads of the yeshivot of the old school as a dangerous innovation, with the result that where they dominated the religious life of the community these seminaries never struck root and consequently they played no significant part in Russia and Poland. This opposition, which still exists, is the cause of the curious fact that in Israel there is no institution specifically set up for the training of rabbis. It was only in Central and Western Europe and in the United States that such seminaries flourished.

The first rabbinical seminary was the Instituto Convitto Rabbinico, established in Padua by I.S. *Reggio in 1829, in which Lelio Della *Torre and Samuel David *Luzzatto were the first teachers. It served as the model for all future seminaries. It was closed in 1871 but reopened in 1887 in Rome as the Collegio Rabbinico Italiana. In 1899 it moved to Florence where it remained until 1932, when again it moved to Rome remaining there until it was closed down under the Fascist regime in 1939. In 1928 a branch was established for Sephardi communities on the Island of Rhodes, but it was also closed down at the outbreak of World War II.

The Ecole Centrale Rabbinique was established in Metz in 1830 and a year later it received a state subsidy. It moved to Paris in 1859 as the Seminaire Israelite de France and later was given the name of the Ecole Rabbinique. Probably the most famous rabbinical seminary in Europe was the Juedisch-Theologisches Seminar of Breslau founded by Zacharias *Frankel in 1854. Among its professors were H. *Graetz, Immanuel *Loew, J. *Guttman, and Yiẓḥak *Heinemann. Jews' College was founded in London in 1855. Its most prominent principals were Michael *Friedlaender (1865–1907), Adolph *Buechler (1907–39), and Isidore *Epstein (1948–62). In Berlin the Juedische Hochschule was established in 1872. Its name was changed to the Lehranstalt fuer die Wissenschaft des Judentums in 1883, but it resumed its old name in 1920. A year after the establishment of the Hochschule the strictly Orthodox Rabbiner Seminar fuer das Orthodoxe Judentum was established in Berlin by Azriel *Hildesheimer, and is usually referred to as Hildesheimer's Seminar.

The bitter opposition of Hungarian Orthodox circles to the establishment of a rabbinical seminary in that country caused a delay in its opening for over a quarter of a century. In 1850 the Emperor Franz Joseph I devoted a million talers, derived from the fine imposed upon the Jews of Hungary for their participation in the rebellion of 1849, to a fund for Jewish education, but the rabbinical seminary was not established until 1877 in Budapest. Among its prominent teachers were Wilhelm *Bacher, M. *Guttmann, and I. *Goldziher. The Israelitisch-theologische Lehranstalt of Vienna, established by A. *Jellinek in 1862, did not make much progress until 1893 when it moved to the Jewish quarter of Leopoldstadt and Adolph Schwarz was appointed its rector.

An outstanding example of the complete failure of a rabbinical seminary was provided by Poland. Established in 1826 and strongly supported by the government, in the 36 years of its existence, it did not produce a single rabbi. The fact is not surprising since both its principal, A. *Eisenbaum, and its main teacher, A. *Buchner, were pronounced assimilationists. Buchner actually published a book, *Der Talmud in seiner Nichtigheit* ("The Worthlessness of the Talmud", 1848). Not much more successful was the Russian seminary which was opened in 1847 in Vilna and in Zhitomir. It was regarded with suspicion by the Jews as an instrument of the government's anti-Jewish educational policy and was closed down in 1873.

On the other hand the *Makhon le-Ḥokhmat Yisrael*, whose name was later changed to the *Makhon le-Madda'ei ha-Yahadut*, established by M. *Schorr, the chief rabbi of Warsaw and its first principal, served as the rabbinical seminary for Poland until the outbreak of World War II.

The United States has rabbinical seminaries for all three trends in religious Jewry. The first to be established, the Reform Hebrew Union College, was founded by Isaac Mayer *Wise in Cincinnati in 1875. In 1922 Stephen *Wise established the Jewish Institute of Religion in New York which merged with the Hebrew Union College in 1950.

The rabbinical seminary of the Conservative movement, the Jewish Theological Seminary, was established in 1886. Orthodox seminaries are represented by the Rabbi Isaac Elchanan Theological Seminary, later a unit of the Yeshiva *University, established in 1897; and the Talmudical College of Chicago, in 1922. As a result of the Holocaust, all the seminaries in Central and Eastern Europe, with the exception of the Budapest seminary have ceased to exist. The only seminaries still functioning in Europe are the Ecole Rabbinique, Jews' College, and the Reform Leo Baeck College in London.

See also the articles on the individual seminaries.

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[Louis Isaac Rabinowitz]

RABBINICAL TRAINING, AMERICAN.

Background

When the *Hebrew Union College and the *Jewish Theological Seminary were established in the late 19th Century as the first institutions for the education of rabbis on American soil, the founders did not establish these schools of higher learning in a vacuum. Men like Isaac Mayer Wise of Hebrew Union and Sabato Morais of JTS did not confront the task of imagining a modern rabbinical seminary *de novo*. Instead, their aim was to house "places of Jewish learning" comparable to the models provided by schools such as the Positive-Historical Breslau Jewish Theological Seminary (see Breslau *Juedisch-Theologisches Seminar), the Liberal Berlin *Hochschule fuer die Wissenschaft des Judentums, and the Orthodox Berlin Rabbinerseminar (see *Rabbiner-Seminar fuer das

Orthodoxe Judentum) that had been established in Europe just years before.

All of these schools – even the Orthodox Rabbinerseminar – were marked by a dual devotion to classical Judaica and rabbinic sources on the one hand and modern critical scholarship on the other. This twofold commitment to classical rabbinic sources and the canons of academic inquiry reflects an era and intellectual setting in which it was deemed imperative that texts be understood and interpreted in light of the historical contexts that formed them.

While this ethos did not take hold at the Orthodox Rabbi Isaac Elchanan Theological Seminary (RIETS) of Yeshiva University in New York, this approach did shape the curricula and courses of training designed for rabbis in the American Reform and Conservative movements for the next 75 years. Indeed, this heritage remains prominent at JTS and HUC-JIR as well as other liberal rabbinical schools even today. Events and currents from the mid-1970s, however, have challenged the exclusive monopoly this particular vision previously enjoyed in shaping rabbinical education in North America and these events and currents have changed and informed the nature of rabbinical education for North American rabbis across denominational lines at the onset of a new century. A few words about these currents and patterns, as well as an appreciation of the western European heritage mentioned above that shaped the initial manifestations of the American rabbinical seminary, will provide a fitting backdrop and framework for the description and analysis of rabbinical education for the North American Jewish community at the onset of the 21st Century.

In the 1960s and 1970s, many of the sociological factors that became seminal in shaping the contours of contemporary American Judaism today started to emerge. The American Jewish community was no longer an immigrant community seeking to adjust to the United States. Old ethnic patterns that formerly preserved and divided the Jewish religious community were no longer present and the rivalry that had existed between American Jews of German and Eastern European descent was no more than an historical memory – if that – for most American Jews.

Jews were now completely accepted into American life, and Jews of all stripes and ethnic backgrounds were now full participants in the cultural and economic spheres of the United States. As a result, the attitudes and beliefs that had so sharply divided Reform from Conservative Jews in the first half of the 20th century were now blurred for many of these people. A permeability was emerging, one that would allow for crossover between the disparate movements.

Larger societal developments going on in the greater American culture also promoted this crossover. With the rise in the 1960s of what came to be known as "the new ethnicity" in the larger culture, an expression of ethnic allegiances unprecedented in this nation's history appeared, and a religious revival and a renewed search for religious and spiritual meaning accompanied this expression. These forces had a decisive impact in promoting a renewed interest in Judaism among many, as did the exhilarating 1967 Israeli victory in the Six-Day War. Trips to Israel and programs there now became a staple of American Jewish life. All these dynamics propelled many Jews to seek out Jewish community and religion in an intensive manner that was unknown to their parents earlier in the century.

The *Havurah Movement of the late 1960s and 1970s ran parallel to and was a result of these developments, and the appearance and influence of what is today called "Jewish renewal" owes its origins to those years. This "movement" envisioned a non-hierarchical brand of Judaism and promoted an "expressive individualism that featured the activism of all participants." The inroads of feminism in organized Jewish religious life also appeared for the first time in American Jewish religious life. Jewish day school attendance in the United States rose as well, and the explosion of Jewish studies programs in American universities also began at this time. This phenomenon has caused there to be an ever-burgeoning number of serious academics devoted to the many fields of Jewish Studies. A number of these scholars are the products of previous rabbinical training. The opportunity for employment academia now provides these rabbis contrasts sharply to the reality that obtained in earlier generations, for rabbis who were scholars and gravitated to an academic environment prior to the 1960s were generally compelled either to choose Hillel or the pulpit as there were few academic positions available. Today the opportunities abound for rabbis and non-rabbis alike. Many Jewish Studies scholars today are not rabbis, and many among this non-rabbinic group now populate the teaching ranks of Jewish religious institutions as well as the secular academy.

At the same time, the reality of acculturation among American Jews fostered Jewish assimilation. As Jews became fully accepted by gentiles as social equals and as traditional Jewish attitudes that opposed exogamy weakened, intermarriage rates soared. While significant numbers of Israeli, Russian, Iranian, and South African Jewish immigrants came to the United States during the latter years of the 20th Century, they entered a well-established and fully organized American Jewish community that was largely composed of fourth-, fifth-, and sixth-generation American Jews who are an integral part of every sector of American society.

It is small wonder that Charles Liebman, in his influential landmark study, "The Training of American Rabbis," written in 1968, would give voice to the need for change in rabbinical education brought on by all these transformations. The events and trends that were then unfolding led him to critique the contemporary state of rabbinical education in the United States for its inability to inculcate practical rabbinical skills in its graduates. While Liebman acknowledged that many of the graduates of these schools were well educated Jewishly, all too few were able to explain the relevance of Jewish knowledge to their congregants nor were they able to inspire and guide their laity spiritually and religiously in this transformed setting. The point of his critique was not to assert that classical

Jewish knowledge was not vital for the modern rabbi. Indeed, no Jewish educational institution or seminary would dissent from this posture. All are agreed that such knowledge must serve as the foundation for the authority and authenticity of the rabbi. However, American rabbinical training centers at the current moment do resonate to his call that this knowledge be taught in such a way that modern rabbis can apply this knowledge to the spiritual life and interests of modern persons. As Ismar Schorsch, the retiring chancellor of Jewish Theological Seminary has stated, the changed world of contemporary America brought on by all the factors enumerated above, has signaled a move in the present day from an accent upon historical context to an emphasis upon the immediacy and spiritual intensity associated with text devoid of content in the education and formation of American rabbis. The cultural, religious, and intellectual climate of the day has caused the institutions charged with educating rabbis for the Jewish community of 21st-century America to restructure their programs as they rethink their priorities and reshape their educational offerings in light of these concerns and this reality. This survey and analysis of rabbinical education in America at the turn of the 21st century will indicate how this is so; elements of discontinuity as well as continuity in the training of American rabbis and the curricula of the institutions and schools that educate American rabbis will be highlighted in this essay.

Conservative Institutions

JEWISH THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY OF AMERICA. In turning at the outset of this survey to the Jewish Theological Seminary of America of the Conservative Movement, it must be said that devotion to Talmud and classical rabbinical texts taught in accord with a modern critical-academic spirit still resides at the heart of the curriculum – just as it has since the institution was established in 1886. Indeed, JTS affirms a long seminary tradition of academic rigor and devotion to Jewish scholarship as a religious value. The seminary remains committed to the belief that knowledge of rabbinic literature *and* mastery of academic scholarship remain the *sine qua non* that establishes the grounds for exercising legitimate rabbinic leadership. Talmud constitutes the central core of the curriculum, and courses in other areas of rabbinic literature as well as in academic disciplines such as history, literature, and philosophy occupy the bulk of the course of instruction throughout the years spent in study at JTS.

There was a period in American Jewish history when most of the students at JTS came from Orthodox Jewish homes and their backgrounds in Talmud were strong and their commitment to Jewish observance could be taken for granted. This is not the case today, and JTS increasingly accepts students who lack the knowledge and preparation in Judaica that was true of earlier generations. While Solomon Schechter Day Schools, Camp Ramah, and United Synagogue Youth provide fertile training grounds for many Conservative movement rabbis and professionals, their level of commitment to *halakhah* cannot always be assumed. Consequently, JTS stipulates that candidates for admission to the rabbinical school are "expected to be living according to Jewish tradition." This means that "*mitzvot* must guide the lives of the students," and while JTS – like other non-Orthodox rabbinical programs – admits women to rabbinical study, the women are obligated – no less than the men – to observe "even those mitzvoth from which women have traditionally been exempt – *tallit*, *tefillin*, and *tefillah*." However, there is an acknowledgement "that persons may be in the process of deepening their religious commitment" as they apply, and JTS encourages such students to explore JTS as an option for their rabbinic careers.

On an academic level, students are required to have completed at least the equivalent of four semesters of college-level Hebrew prior to their admission, and they must be prepared to enroll in a six-year course of study. For students with minimal background in Jewish sources, the first year is labeled as *Mechinah* (Preparation). The student is then introduced to the richness and depth of the Jewish textual tradition and required to master ten folios of Talmud prior to admission to the second year of study. Students with advanced backgrounds in Talmud at the time of admission can proceed – depending upon their talmudic skills and erudition – immediately to the second or third year.

What is noteworthy at JTS is that the curriculum now pays significant attention – particularly in the final years – to the task of "spiritual formation" and the rabbi is consciously trained for the role he/she will play as a mediator of the tradition for those whom he/she will serve. There is a recognition that scholarly goals alone are no longer the most appropriate way to educate rabbis for their future vocation, one in which the rabbi will be asked to mediate the knowledge of Torah to their congregants so that these Jews can make the legacy of the tradition relevant to their lives as contemporary American Jews. This requires the modern Conservative rabbi to "develop a more collaborative style of leadership," one that will demand them to be "leaders of inquiry," not "suppliers of answers." Bible, history, electives, and professional skills are thus given much more emphasis in the prescribed course of study at JTS than was true in earlier generations, and the administration recognizes that the modern Conservative rabbi "is a member of a profession dedicated to addressing the needs of the individual."

This means that JTS aspires to devote serious attention to the inner religious growth of the student, and seminars and internships during the last two years of study seek to allow the student to develop the ability to teach, inspire, and transform the lives of others by articulating a compelling vision of Jewish life. Students should serve as mediators of tradition, and the curriculum is now designed to foster the analytical-synthetic skills of the students. While the vast majority of courses remain devoted to Jewish texts, the description of rabbinic training at JTS today as reflected in catalogues and articles by JTS professors and staff indicate that in accord with the changing spirit of the time there is an effort to have students "grow in wisdom and piety" as well as knowledge as they prepare for the rabbinate.

THE ZIEGLER SCHOOL OF RABBINIC STUDIES AT THE UNIVERSITY OF JUDAISM. Of course, JTS no longer has a monopoly on Conservative rabbinical ordination. The Ziegler School of Rabbinic Studies at the University of Judaism (UJ) in Los Angeles now serves as a second center for Conservative ordination. While the *University of Judaism housed the *Mechinah* program of JTS for many years, the UJ expanded to a full rabbinic program in 1995. The parallels between the course of study at the Ziegler School and JTS are many. Both programs emphasize the study of Talmud and classical rabbinic texts. However, the UJ is distinct in that the attempt to sensitize the rabbinical student "to the affective and spiritual dimensions of Jewish identity and faith" is even more pronounced than at JTS. There is also a decided emphasis on preparing the students to provide such an approach to the laypersons they will one day serve. Consequently, all UJ students are required to take a ten-hour per week Senior Internship that is integrated into a Senior Seminar co-taught by a Rabbi/M.B.A. and a congregational rabbi so that the graduates are prepared to do the actual work of a congregational rabbi. The congregational rabbinate is thus privileged as the normative option for UJ students in a way that it is not for students at JTS. Finally, classes in Kabbalah and *ḥasidut* are required for all UJ students. This literature involves study of texts and genres that focus on the mystical and personal elements in Jewish tradition, and their assignment as a required part of rabbinical training surely reflects the intense personalism and turn towards spirituality that marks American religion today.

THE INSTITUTE OF TRADITIONAL JUDAISM. The Union for Traditional Judaism established The *Institute of Traditional Judaism (ITJ), also known as the Metivta, in 1990 in Monroe, New York. The founders of ITJ were drawn principally, though not exclusively, from graduates and faculty of JTS who were disturbed by the decision of JTS to ordain women as rabbis. They believed that that the ordination of homosexuals would soon follow. Former JTS professor of Talmud David Weiss *Halivni, who moved to a position at Columbia University in the wake of his not being appointed as rector of JTS after the death of his mentor Professor Saul Lieberman, was the principal academic-religious spirit behind the establishment of ITJ, and he continues to serve as rector. Rabbi David Novak of the University of Toronto as well as Sephardi Hakham Isaac Sassoon from the Syrian Community are members of the Metivta Faculty, whose members range from graduates of the Mir Yeshiva and the Rabbi Isaac Elchanan Theological Seminary of Yeshiva University to ordinands of JTS. The ITJ motto is, "*Emunah ẓerufah ve-yosher da'at* – Genuine Faith and Intellectual Honesty." ITJ strives to create rabbis who are halakhic traditionalists. At the same time, the Metivta opposes an Orthodox Judaism that is seen as becoming increasingly "triumphalist and separatist." ITJ therefore seeks to create rabbis who will "be fully committed to halakhic observance while facing the non-halakhic community with warmth and willingness to work with all Jews regardless of affiliation."

The ITJ, in keeping with its Conservative Movement roots, is comfortable with the critical method of Talmudic study employed by Rabbi Halivni, who said that "our library will have Wellhausen in it, but not on the top shelf." The leadership sees the school as a transdenominational halakhic rabbinical school. In 1995 the school moved to Teaneck, New Jersey, and in 2005 opened a satellite site on the Upper West Side of Manhattan. In addition to rabbinical ordination, the school offers an MPA in Jewish communal service in conjunction with Fairleigh Dickinson University as well as a *mekhinah* or preparatory program in textual study for men and women.

Reform Institutions

HEBREW UNION COLLEGE-JEWISH INSTITUTE OF RELIGION. The oldest rabbinical college in North America, the Reform seminary Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion (HUC-JIR) was formed from a merger of Hebrew Union College (1875) in Cincinnati with the Jewish Institute of Religion (1922) in New York in 1950; it has been informed by the same contemporary cultural-religious forces and sentiments that have influenced the parameters of the JTS and UJ curricula described above. The College-Institute has engaged in a Core Curriculum Project that has caused the curriculum to focus on three key areas – academic, professional, and spiritual – in the education of a new generation of Reform rabbis. While this curriculum has been designed to "foster greater appreciation of practical skills," every effort has been made to strengthen the "academic integrity" of the course of study. For the first time in the history of HUC-JIR, students cannot be admitted unless they have completed at least two years of college-level Hebrew. It is hoped that this minimal level of Hebrew competency for entering students will allow them to advance to "a scholarly mastery of sources."

The HUC-JIR course of study for the rabbinate is five years, and the first-year student is required to study at the HUC campus in Jerusalem. The College-Institute is absolutely committed on an ideological level to the notion of Jewish peoplehood, the first year program in Israel is designed to instill – in addition to Hebrew and textual skills – a sense of solidarity with the Jewish people and the reborn Jewish state. Commitment to **kelal Yisrael* (the Jewish community as a whole) is viewed as a prerequisite for the rabbinic office. While students with little Judaica background are often accepted, HUC-JIR is in the process of raising its requirements in this area (beyond the Hebrew requirement mentioned above) and the establishment of a *mekhinah* year was being contemplated. All students who will be ordained must possess suitable qualities of "character, leadership, personality, and academic capacity" to serve in the rabbinical office, though unlike JTS and in keeping with the non-halakhic character of the Reform Movement, there are no minimal requirements for observance that are demanded.

While the current curriculum of HUC-JIR does display a greater emphasis on classical textual competency than previous curricula did, it would be incorrect to assert that the HUC-JIR curriculum – even as it is refashioned – privileges Talmud. Students can often leave with as little as three classes in Talmud, as required rabbinic literature is construed much more broadly to include commentaries, liturgy, Midrash, and responsa than it would be in more traditional settings. Bible remains a central subject in the curriculum of the College-Institute and the academic orientation of the program is reflected in the scholarly thesis that is required for ordination.

Interestingly, the professors at HUC-JIR today are drawn from every part of the Jewish world, and a number of faculty have received their rabbinic and academic training at both Yeshiva University and the Jewish Theological Seminary as well as secular universities throughout North America, Europe, and Israel. These professors are asked to help equip their students with "the ability to elicit religious values and meanings from the texts they study." Furthermore, there has been a concerted effort to foster the individual spiritual growth of the student as well as the student body as a whole. After all, the student will be striving to create such community after graduation. This necessitates spiritual growth in the seminary years, and the creation of a spiritual community during this period can serve as a model of what the student can aspire to create in the years ahead. In articulating these concerns and themes, HUC-JIR reflects the educational ethos and cultural-spiritual concerns of the day.

Reconstructionist Institution

Such concerns are present at the *Reconstructionist Rabbinical College (RRC) as well. The RRC asserts that its curriculum "embodies a new approach to rabbinic education. The approach understands rabbinical studies as necessarily combining aspects of academic study with a personal encounter with Judaism." Citing the work of Rabbi Mordecai *Kaplan, the RRC contends that a rabbinical school should furnish its students with extensive knowledge of the Jewish heritage, of human nature and social conditions, and with the ability to synthesize situations with which they will have to deal as rabbis. In so doing, the RRC consciously rejects the ideal of rabbis as authority figures. Instead, the rabbi is envisioned as a guide who will help people explore Jewish life for themselves. The rabbi, as part of the community, will work in an egalitarian spirit of cooperation with others to shape the future of Jewish life. Indeed, the RRC teaches its rabbis "to work closely with lay people to build democratic communities." While there is undoubtedly a unique Reconstructionist emphasis at play at the RRC, the themes that are articulated in these descriptions echo comparable accounts found at JTS, UJ, and HUC. The influence of larger cultural trends on all these major institutions of non-Orthodox rabbinical education is readily apparent.

Academically, the program is based on the Reconstructionist notion of Judaism as an evolving, dynamic religious civilization. Each year focuses on biblical, rabbinic, medieval, modern, and contemporary eras of Jewish civilization in succession. By studying the texts, history, thought, and culture of the Jewish heritage in this way, the student gains an appreciation of the constantly evolving nature of Jewish belief and practice. There is also a practical rabbinics program with three main components – course work, fieldwork, and group supervision. The RRC offers five programs of study in this program, and encourages the student to specialize in one – congregational life; campus and Hillel; chaplaincy in hospital, hospice, and geriatric centers; community organization; and education. For people who specialize in education, there is a joint master's degree in education from *Gratz College. The curriculum is designed to have the students appreciate and understand the nature of a rapidly changing world. The RRC is a self-described "warm, caring" community, and its rabbis are educated for the entire Jewish community – in both the synagogue and beyond. In its early years, the RRC insisted that its students pursue a Ph.D. at either Temple University or the University of Pennsylvania alongside their course of study for ordination. However, the demands this imposed on the students were soon seen as too strenuous and such academic training and aspirations were seen as unnecessary for the rabbinic careers they were choosing. The notion of the scholar-rabbi that the American rabbinical seminary had inherited from their German seminary models was no longer culturally compelling.

Transdenominationalism and Spirituality

The dual themes of transdenominationalism and spirituality find strong expression in both the Rabbinical School at Hebrew College in Greater Boston (Newton Centre) (BHC) and the Academy for Jewish Religion (AJR) in California and New York.

RABBINICAL SCHOOL AT HEBREW COLLEGE IN GREATER BOSTON. Led by Rabbi Arthur *Green, a scholar of Ḥasidism, the founder of Havurat Shalom in 1968 during the era of Jewish renewal, and the former dean and president pf the RRC, the Boston Hebrew College Rabbinical School has built upon the Hebrew College's "84-year legacy of transdenominational Jewish studies." Boston Hebrew sees itself as devoted to *kelal Yisrael* and notions of inclusion and spirituality. Indeed, BHC emphasizes that it accepts men and women, gays and heterosexuals, and it requires that candidates display "a love of Jews as well as Judaism." Applicants must have a B.A. and three years of college Hebrew to qualify for admission. The standard program is five years, though BHC specifies that there is a possible *mekhinah* year for students who are in need of remedial work in Judaica and texts. All students are required to study for at least one semester and one summer in Israel.

The emphasis at BHC is upon the study of primary texts. However, these texts focus upon "themes of Jewish living and daily rabbinic practice," and the curriculum is structured around cycles of Torah study and Jewish religious life. The school states that it is a blend of "academy and *yeshivah" –

formal academic study is combined with traditional *ḥevruta*-style learning. Emphasis is placed upon the historic contexts, but a personal religious point of view is cultivated in every class, and there is a strong emphasis on ḥasidic and kabbalistic sources. BHC hopes that the transdenominational setting will prepare rabbis for service in a wide variety of congregational and non-congregational settings, and the college intends to support its graduates should they apply for membership in particular denominations (including possible Orthodox *semikhah*).

ACADEMY FOR JEWISH RELIGION. The Academy for Jewish Religion in California is also designed to be transdenominational and successful completion of its program leads to the title "Rabbi and Teacher in Israel" as well as a Master's Degree in Rabbinic Studies, for its graduates. The program is designed for five years of full-time study, with part-time options available. A supervised internship is required as well as an M.A. thesis prior to ordination. The school, in a manner reminiscent of HUC-JIR, intends to offer "in-depth studies in Bible, Hebrew, History, Liturgy, Philosophy and Theology," as well as rabbinic literature. According to Rabbi Mel Gottlieb, dean of the Rabbinical School, the AJR attempts to revitalize Judaism and seeks to train rabbis who "reflect a deep respect for all denominations" and who engage in "outreach to the unaffiliated." Its motto, "To serve as a bridge between the pillars of Judaism," reflects the aspirations of its founders. The AJR in California also emphasizes spirituality by focusing on mysticism and spirituality and the classics of those traditions – Musar, Ḥasidic thought, and kabbalistic teachings.

Its sister institution, the Academy for Jewish Religion in New York, also seeks to train rabbis who have a deep understanding of all the streams of modern Judaism. There is a focus on "texts and tradition," and there is an effort to cultivate "an appreciation for the historical forces that have shaped our people." At the same time, there is a recognition that Jews in the contemporary period "are in search of meaning and authentic guidance in spirituality." Therefore, considerable time and attention is devoted in the curriculum to "meditation and prayer," in addition to courses in Bible, Hebrew, history, liturgy, and philosophy.

Orthodox Institutions

The Orthodox schools for rabbinic education are all centered on the intensive study of Talmud, and critical academic study is completely eschewed in virtually every one of them. Nevertheless, the institutions and programs that educate rabbis for the North American Orthodox rabbinate display a great deal of variety in their approaches and emphases, and their offerings are surely influenced by the larger environment of North America in ways that parallel the impacts this environment have upon non-Orthodox rabbinical settings.

RABBI ISAAC ELHANAN THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY. Rabbi Isaac Elchanan Theological Seminary of Yeshiva University (RIETS) remains the premiere rabbinical educational institution of Orthodox Judaism in North America. The curriculum is "firmly set in Talmud, Codes, and Halakhah," and there is no attempt to introduce a critical approach to talmudic scholarship into its course of study. While the motto of Yeshiva University may be "*Torah u'madda* – Torah and Academic Study," the latter does not intrude upon the former within the walls of RIETS. As Rabbi Samuel Belkin, the late president of Yeshiva University and head of RIETS, phrased it, "Modern Jewish scholarship has tried to explain Judaism in terms which are alien and do not apply to it, and has attempted to force even those practices and rituals which define the relationship of man to God into the molds of current sociological and economic theories." Though Belkin made this statement decades earlier, critical academic scholarship still has no place at RIETS, which views itself as "heir to, and modeled after, the traditional yeshivot of Europe." This vision is the mirror opposite of the models that the liberal programs have embraced.

The prescribed course of study at RIETS is four years. All students accepted at RIETS must possess an undergraduate academic degree, and they must also have studied Talmud in a post-high school *yeshivah environment for a significant period of time. Virtually all of the students come from intense Orthodox educational backgrounds, and no more than a quarter of the students aspire to the pulpit rabbinate. Study of Talmud for its own sake constitutes the *raison d'être* for this yeshivah and the trend towards ever-greater levels of piety and traditional observance that mark contemporary Orthodoxy have only intensified this ethos within the walls of RIETS. While enrolled in RIETS, students study Talmud a minimum of six hours daily. During the last two years, more emphasis is placed on the codes of the Shulḥan Arukh that deal with dietary laws, family purity, and Sabbath and holiday observance, topics that have constituted the core of classical rabbinic training for centuries.

Students may also then elect an additional four hours of Talmud study daily, work towards a Master's Degree in Judaic Studies, education, or social work, or attend classes sponsored by RIETS in traditional Jewish thought. All students must pass an examination demonstrating mastery of Hebrew as well.

To be sure, a host of classes that hone practical skills have been added to the curriculum in recent years and students may do a year's internship in a synagogue under the guidance of an experienced pulpit rabbi. The rabbis educated by RIETS are essentially prepared to deal almost exclusively with an Orthodox audience of Jews. RIETS has therefore "developed programs to meet the communal and personal needs of our time and place – business ethics, bioethics, and technology." The description indicates that RIETS remains modeled upon the traditional yeshivah, and these other topics are in effect supplements to the study of Talmud that occupies the central place in the curriculum of the yeshivah. This allows the ordainee of RIETS who elects congregational work "to present a more sophisticated, culturally contoured side of Judaism" to congregants who are increasingly Jewishly knowledgeable and halakhically observant.

Interestingly, RIETS was legally separated decades earlier from Yeshiva University itself, because then President Belkin wanted RIETS to be unencumbered by the legal requirements the federal government might impose upon the university itself when the university applied for federal grants. He feared that federal requirements in areas such as housing for men and women and treatment of homosexuals might compromise the religious integrity of RIETS. However, both Rabbi Belkin and his successor rabbi Norman Lamm served both as president of Yeshiva University and *rosh ha-yeshivah* at RIETS. When layman Richard Joel was appointed as president of Yeshiva University, Rabbi Lamm remained formal head of RIETS, inasmuch as Joel faced stiff opposition from many faculty members at RIETS because he was not a rabbi and a suitable religious authority.

HEBREW THEOLOGICAL COLLEGE. A parallel trajectory to that of RIETS is displayed by the Hebrew Theological College (HTC) in Skokie, Illinois. HTC was created in 1922 to provide Orthodox rabbis for an expanding Midwestern Jewish population. Its popular name, "The Skokie Yeshiva," seems to best capture its sectarian nature. Its three-year course of study focuses almost exclusively on traditional Jewish texts and topics and a wide range of classical commentaries on those texts. The student is expected to master the same halakhic texts that the RIETS student is, and the parts of the Shulḥan Arukh that deal with the Sabbath, dietary law, family purity, and mourning are emphasized. The students possess the same type of backgrounds that RIETS students do, though the flavor of the school is even more traditional.

In addition to the intensive three-year cycle of Talmud and *halakhah* study program, "students are also involved in academic areas addressing the particular needs of the chosen specialized area of rabbinic activity, such as education, public speaking, homiletics, and psychology." These students are also assigned to internships with rabbinical mentors in these practical areas.

There is also a *Rav u-Manhig* Program, begun in 1995, which includes 30 semester hours of Talmud study and completion of exams in *Oraḥ Ḥayyim* that "form the cornerstone of the life of a religious Jew." This program is designed to assist students who wish to pursue advanced programs of talmudic studies and is a further sign of the rightward drift that marks the Orthodox world today.

Ironically, the late Rabbi Eliezer *Berkovits, who taught for many years at the Skokie Yeshiva, wrote in a 1975 article in *Tradition: A Journal of Orthodox Jewish Thought*, that the traditional Orthodox rabbinical curriculum had to reshape itself so that the modern Orthodox rabbi would be more capable of connecting traditional Jewish learning to the demands of the modern world in which most North American Jews live.

YESHIVA CHOVEVEI TORAH. While HTC did not heed Rabbi Berkovits's word, Yeshiva Chovevei Torah Rabbinical School (YCT), founded by activist Orthodox Rabbi Avi *Weiss of Riverdale, New York, has donned this mantle. YCT consciously seeks "to promote an inclusive modern Orthodoxy that requires respectful interaction with all Jewish movements" and that expands "the role of women in religious life and leadership." YCT has a four-year program, and intensive study of Talmud and *halakhah* form the focus of the curriculum, as is the case at both HTC and RIETS. However, *Tanakh* (Bible) is a separate discipline as is Jewish Thought (labeled *Maḥshevet Yisrael*). There is an attempt to nurture students "both intellectually and spiritually," and to encounter the texts as an act of "*avodat Hashem*" – service to God. Here YCT adopts the language of religious personalism and spirituality that is the hallmark of all the more liberal non-Orthodox programs.

YCT is distinct among Orthodox yeshivot in other ways as well. In studying Talmud, the curriculum is designed to "address historical and source critical concerns." In *Tanakh*, academic issues of authorship are addressed, while the literary-theological message, as well as classical commentaries, are consulted and considered. This openness to integrating critical, scientific approaches with traditional ones in the study of Jewish texts makes YCT unique in the Orthodox world.

YCT is also a yeshivah that emphasizes the value and religious significance of the State of Israel, and requires a year of study there prior to ordination. In Jewish Thought, ḥasidic and kabbalistic literatures are studied, and two required courses are "The Rise and Development of Jewish Denominations" and "The Challenges of Modern Orthodoxy," which addresses issues of faith and doubt, dogma, authority of the modern rabbi, and gender issues. As its literature proclaims, YCT is "a yeshiva not afraid of ideas," and promotes "academic excellence, *ahavat HaTorah* (love of Torah), and ahavat *Yisrael* (love of the Jewish people)" in its graduates who go out to serve in a wide variety of Orthodox synagogues and communal and educational settings.

OHR TORAH STONE (JOSEPH STRAUSS RABBINICAL SEMINARY). In completing this review of institutions and programs that produce Orthodox rabbis to serve the North American Jewish community, it is important to take note of Ohr Torah Stone (Joseph Strauss Rabbinical Seminary) in Efrat, Israel. Headed by Rabbi Shlomo *Riskin and Rabbi Chaim Brovender, this Israeli-based Orthodox rabbinical program aims at training "a new generation of rabbinic leaders who combine their halakhic knowledge with an understanding of the particular needs of contemporary Jewish life." After completing a four-year course of study, students are expected to return to the Diaspora. Ohr Torah Stone views Torah as a "unifying force rather than a divider," and is "attentive to the importance of tolerance and openness, without compromising religious commitment." There is "sensitivity towards the situation of Jews in the Diaspora." Thus, when laws of conversion, for example, are taught, considerable attention is paid to issues of assimilation and intermarriage in the Diaspora. Similarly, in studying laws relating to Sabbath observance, the focus is placed upon how a community of Sabbath-observant Jews might be established.

There is also a program called Amiel – Rabbi Emanuel Rackman Program for Practical Rabbinics, attached to the yeshivah. Directed by R. Eliyahu Birnbaum, it is open to both JSRS students and qualified candidates from other Israeli yeshivot. This program is designed to train rabbis to work with the non-observant in Jewish communities throughout the Diaspora and desires to meet the challenges posed by assimilation. A number of these students come to America for at least two years, and they focus on "Communal Leadership."

ULTRA-ORTHODOX YESHIVOT. *Ḥaredi* (Ultra-Orthodox) yeshivot that focused almost exclusively on the study of Torah for its own sake during the first 80 years of the 20th century began to change direction as a result of a speech Rabbi Moshe Sherer, the president of Agudath Israel in America, delivered in 1978. In an appeal to yeshivah students, Rabbi Sherer stated that if *ḥaredi* rabbis did not enter "into the rabbinate to save," assimilated American Jews, then "millions of *neshamos* (souls)… will enter churches." While ultra-Orthodox seminaries remain firm in their commitment to "Torah for Torah's sake," there has been movement towards the pulpit in many of them during the last two decades.

In The Rabbinical Seminary of America, Chofetz Chaim Yeshiva, Kew Gardens Hills, New York, which follows the Lithuanian model of the Musar (Ethical-Pietistic) yeshivah, a great deal of emphasis is placed upon *middos*, the formation of spiritual and ethical character. In addition to classical rabbinic texts, time is devoted each day to the study of *musar* literature. Its students can earn a master's degrees in education or business while they study at the yeshiva a novel turn for such institutions. Baltimore's Ner Israel Rabbinical College has such cooperative programs as well.

Chofetz Chaim also sends its students into the public schools each week for an outreach activity labeled JEP – Jewish Educational Programs. Here, the yeshivah students offer programs in Jewish cultural literacy to non-observant Jews. In this yeshivah, students study from the age of 18 to 30 or 35 before they complete their studies and receive ordination. Hence, they are in school 8 to 12 years more than their counterparts at other Orthodox rabbinical schools. As of 2006, there were over 300 students in Chofetz Chaim yeshivot, and branches have been established in Milwaukee, Cherry Hills, Los Angeles, and San Diego. The *rosh yeshivah* (head of the yeshivah) assigns ordainees to communities where he feels there is the greatest need, and these rabbis are instructed to establish day schools. These rabbis also go in a group, not as individuals, and an infrastructure is thereby established to sustain religious life for these men and their families. The influence of these rabbis in a number of communities is quite pronounced, and they are marked by a significant missionary zeal.

At the Maor Program, in Silver Spring, Maryland, a course consisting of two three-week sessions is offered in two consecutive summers to train graduates of *ḥaredi* yeshivot for the pulpit rabbinate. Established by Rabbi Shaya Milikowsky, a Ner Israel ordainee, the program is similar in its aim to the Amiel Program of Ohr Torah, and it reflects a shift in the right-wing Orthodox world and the determination of the leadership of that world to speak to non-observant as well as observant Jewish populations. The students come from places such as Ner Israel and Beth Midrash Ha-Gavohah in Lakewood and Philadelphia. The classes meet five days a week, eight hours a day, and the courses aim to prepare their graduates for service in communities with heavy Jewish populations where no Orthodox synagogues exist. Maor does not seek students who have undergraduate degrees, and even looks askance upon them.

Rabbinical Ordination/Leadership Program (ROLP) (Aish Hatorah) was established in 1975 by Rabbi Noah Weinberg. This yeshivah also aims to educate rabbis who will bring non-observant and weakly affiliated Jews to embrace traditional Judaism, and the program attempts to foster an "Aish Culture." In contrast to other Orthodox yeshivot, the course of study is relatively short and less textually demanding. Furthermore, it is focused on outreach. Thus, even courses in Talmud and Codes center on what one needs to know in order to be an effective outreach rabbi. The course of study is one and a half to two years. Three components mark the curriculum – traditional rabbinic learning, practical rabbinics, and vocational training. In addition to study of Talmud and Codes, there is a great deal of emphasis placed upon Bible, as this is seen as vital for outreach to non-observant American Jews. Students also engage in practical programs where they work with such people during their time in the yeshivah, and they then take courses "dedicated to the daily responsibilities of the rabbi." This constitutes 40% of the curriculum, and the graduates are expected to work one day in Aish centers, principally in North America.

Finally, *Chabad constitutes the other formal program designed for the education of rabbis who will serve the North American Jewish community. Chabad rabbis have to complete three years of post-high school study in Chabad yeshivot. They are then permitted to study the traditional Codes required to receive ordination, and they center their efforts in these years on those sections that deal with dietary laws, the Sabbath, and prayer. However, most of these rabbis began their formation for the Chabad rabbinate long before they entered advanced Chabad yeshivot. Indeed, the average Chabad rabbi began serving as a *shali'aḥ* (emissary) at the age of 14. Hence, by the time they are ordained, most have spent eight years as *sheliḥim*, teaching Jewish men how to don *tefillin* and women to light Shabbat candles. They have a great deal of exposure to non-observant Jews and unlike other Orthodox yeshivot, their graduates intend to stay in whatever community they have been assigned permanently. They often serve as Orthodox rabbis to non-observant Jews and will sometimes begin their work as the only observant Jews in their new homes. The difference here between the ideology and program that animates Chofetz Chayim – where graduates go to a community in a group – and Chabad is pronounced.

Conclusion

The venues where rabbis are educated to serve the North American Jewish community are thus many and highly variegated. Furthermore, there are a number of rabbis who are ordained privately as well and these men and women serve the North American Jewish community in a wide variety of settings. While the student of North American Judaism must be keenly mindful of this variety, there is no question that the religious and cultural environment of 21st-century America has had a profound impact upon the course of study that these many programs and institutions of higher Jewish education provide and the coming years will undoubtedly witness an ongoing vitality and diversity in the education of rabbis who will serve the contemporary American Jewish community.

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[David Ellenson (2nd ed.)]

RABBINOVICZ (Rabinovitz), RAPHAEL NATHAN NATA (1835–1888), talmudic scholar. Born in Novo-Zhagory, district of Kovno, at the age of 16 he wrote a bibliographical treatise, *Siftei Yeshenim Gimmel*. Several years later he gave it to the bibliographer Isaac *Benjacob, who used it in compiling his *Oẓar ha-Sefarim*. Rabbinovicz lived for a time in Lemberg, Galicia, where he published a volume of responsa by R. Meir of Rothenburg (1860) and *Ge'on Ya'akov* (1863), novellae on the tractate of *Eruvin* by R. Jacob Kahana of Vilna. Moving on to Pressburg, he published *Kunteres Ikkarei ha-Avodah* (1863) by his teacher R. Joseph b. Israel Issar of Vilkomir. About that time he learned from Adolph *Jellinek in Vienna of the 14th-century manuscript of the Babylonian Talmud preserved in the Royal Library of Munich. He proceeded to that city, and with the encouragement of R. Joseph Saul *Nathanson, the rabbi of Lemberg, devoted himself to copying the variant readings in order to publish them. In 1864 he published a small booklet, *Alim le-Mivḥan* (lithographed from his handwriting), containing samples of the variant readings found in the Talmud manuscript. The following year he published a similar, but more detailed, treatise, *Kunteres Dikdukei Soferim*, in the Hebrew weekly *Ha-Maggid*.

Between 1867 and 1886 he published 15 volumes of *Dikdukei Soferim*, containing the variant readings on all the tractates of the orders of *Zera'im, Mo'ed*, and *Nezikin*, and on the tractates of *Zevaḥim*, and *Menaḥot*. The variant readings are accompanied by explanatory notes in which readings found in other manuscripts – in the writings of early authorities and in old printed editions – are recorded. In his introduction to *Dikdukei Soferim* Rabbinovicz gave a history of the printing of the Babylonian Talmud. A revised and much enlarged version of this essay *Ma'amar al Hadpasat ha-Talmud* appeared later in volume 8 (1877). In the course of his work he traveled widely to consult manuscripts and early printed editions in various libraries. He was aided greatly in his efforts by the Munich Jewish banker Abraham *Merzbacher, who supported him materially and permitted him to buy at his expense all the books and manuscripts he needed. After the death of Merzbacher, Rabbinovicz compiled, at the request of the banker's son, a catalog (*Ohel Avraham*, 1888) of the rich library he had amassed for his father. Its treasures included 156 manuscripts and 43 incunabula.

Despite the material support he received, Rabbinovicz was forced to engage in the selling of books and manuscripts. He died in Kiev, while on one of his business journeys to Russia. Shortly before his death he began printing *Dikdukei Soferim* on the tractate of *Ḥullin*. The work on the volume was completed by Heinrich Ehrentreu and appeared in 1897.

Rabbinovicz also wrote *Moreh ha-Moreh* (1871), a critique of D.B. *Zomber's *Moreh Derekh*, about Rabbenu Gershom's and Rashi's commentaries on the tractate *Mo'ed Katan*, and published a small part of the medieval *Yiḥusei Tanna'im va-Amora'im* (1874). He also contributed to *Ha-Maggid*, where his notes on Jehiel M. Zunz's *Irha-Ẓedek* appeared (vols. 19–20, 1875–76).

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[Tovia Preschel]

RABBINOWICZ, ISRAEL MICHEL (1818–1893), writer and scholar. Born in Gorodets, Lithuania, Rabbinowicz, whose father was rabbi in Gorodets and from 1828 in Antopol, received a traditional education. His brother, Joshua Jacob, also rabbi in Gorodets, was the author of several talmudic works. At the yeshivah in Brest-Litovsk Rabbinowicz began his study of the philosophers, especially Maimonides. Deciding to widen his field of study, he learned German in Brody and Greek and Latin (with D. Chwolson) in Breslau, where he subsequently entered the university as a student of philology. In 1851 he published a Hebrew grammar, *Hebraeische Grammatik nach neuen, sehr vereinfachten Regeln und Grundsaetzen*, followed by *Hebraeische Schulgrammatik…* in 1853 (French translation by J.J. Clement-Mullet), selling the books himself in order to earn a living. Later he took up medicine and in 1854 went to Paris, where he continued his studies in hospitals until 1865. In that year he obtained his M.D. with his *Etudes historiques de l'empoisonnement*, which consisted in the main of a translation of Maimonides' "Treatise on Poisons." However, he rarely practiced medicine, preferring to devote himself, in solitude and poverty, to scholarship. Too poor to heat his room, he wrote his books in a café. As well as extending his grammatical methods to other languages (*Nouveaux principes comparés de la prononciation Anglaise…*, 1874; *Vergleichende Gramma-*

tik der polnischen Sprache, 1877; *Grammaire de la langue française d'après de nouveaux principes…* 1886, 1889^2), he defended Jewish tradition against its detractors, publishing *Le rôle de Jésus et des apôtres* (1866), a critique of Renan; *La religion nationale des anciens Hébreux* (1873), a criticism of Jules Soury; and *Histoire Sainte: Ancien Testament* (1877). However his main work was his condensed translation, with commentary, of talmudic legislation, *La législation criminelle du Thalmud* (1876) and *La législation civile du Thalmud* (1–5, 1877–80). A Zionist from the early days of the movement, he took part in the Kattowitz Conference of 1884 and presided over the Benei Zion of Paris. He went to Russia in 1889 with the intention of trying to have his books republished, and subsequently lived in London, where he was assisted until his death by Chief Rabbi N.M. Adler and other benefactors.

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[Moshé Catane]

RABBINOWITZ, SAUL PHINEHAS (acronym, **SHePHeR**; 1845–1910), East European Hebrew writer and historian. Rabbinowitz, who was born in Tavrogi, Lithuania, to a family of rabbis, received *semikhah* from Israel Salanter (Lipkin), while also becoming interested in Haskalah and teaching himself German and Russian. Rabbinowitz first worked as a private tutor in Vilna and other Lithuanian towns before settling in Warsaw in 1875 where he wrote for the Hebrew press. During this period he inclined toward socialist cosmopolitanism, which brought him into contact with A.S. *Liebermann's circle of Jewish Socialists. In 1881 Rabbinowitz was among those who reported on the Russian pogroms to Western Jewry. He accompanied S. *Mohilever to Brody, where they organized help for the refugees; he also took part in the St. Petersburg Conference of Notables (1882), calling for mass emigration from Russia. At first, Rabbinowitz advocated emigration to the U.S. but he soon joined Ḥovevei Zion, became secretary of the important Warsaw branch, and attended the Kattowitz Conference (1884). During 1886–88 he published the annual *Keneset Yisrael*, an organ for national revival and Ḥibbat Zion, and published documents on the history of Russian-Polish Jewry in a supplement (*Orot me-Ofel*). In 1890 he was among the founders of the Warsaw office of Aḥad Ha-Am's order *Benei Moshe and tried to defend the interests of religious tradition within its ranks. In 1891 he joined an abortive Ḥovevei Zion mission to the West. A member of the Zionist movement, Rabbinowitz attended the first Zionist Congresses, although he criticized aspects of the movement in *Al Ẓiyyon ve-al Mikra'eha* (1898).

Rabbinowitz's great scholarly achievement was his Hebrew translation of H. Graetz's *History of the Jews* (1890–99), in which the author had given him a free hand. Rabbinowitz introduced many changes in the text, also omitting passages that might offend the Orthodox and the Russian censors. The translation includes his own notes and those of A. Harkavy and other scholars. Rabbinowitz's work, which was in fact a new "Graetz," had a tremendous impact on Eastern Jewry, despite its *meliẓah* style, and was reprinted in many editions. Other writings by Rabbinowitz include biographies of L. *Zunz (1896), Z. *Frankel (1898), and *Joseph (Joselman) of Rosheim (1902), and a study on the Jews expelled from Spain, published on the 400th anniversary of the Expulsion (*Moẓe'ei Golah*, 1894). He contributed articles to the newly founded (1896) Hebrew periodical *Ha-Shilo'aḥ*, participated in the early *Eshkol* Hebrew encyclopedia (1888), and completed S.J. *Fuenn's Hebrew dictionary *Ha-Oẓar* (1900–03).

Beset by poverty and family misfortunes, and having suffered great hardship during and after the 1905 revolution, Rabbinowitz left Russia for Frankfurt where, however, he found little recognition and had to live on charity. His proposed three-volume modern Jewish history did not advance beyond the publication of a few chapters. His biography was written by his son-in-law, the historian J. *Meisl.

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[Yehuda Slutsky]

RAB DE LA CORTE ("court rabbi"), an office common in Navarre and Castile until the expulsion of the Jews from Spain in 1492. He was appointed by the crown to supervise the Jewish communal leadership and the apportionment of taxes among the communities. Because of this task he is referred to as *repartidor de todas las aljamas* and was considered "Judge in Chief" of the Jewish communities. The office was established in these kingdoms during the middle of the 13th century. Attempts to introduce it into Aragon, Catalonia, and Valencia, mainly at the end of the 13th century, failed. The beginnings of this office are unknown. As judge in chief, *juez mayor* ("chief justice"), he served as a kind of a court of appeals for the Jews. Generally those appointed to this position were Jews close to the kings or crown princes, serving as physicians, interpreters, or fiscal agents. The majority were not distinguished for their learning, and Solomon b. Abraham ibn *Adret complained that "in our country there are rabbis appointed by the king who do not know how to read properly." Some, however, were scholars, for instance Abraham *Benveniste. The Rab de la Corte presided over meetings of representatives of the communities who were convened when necessary and supervised the drafting of the *askamot* ("communal regulations") and the tax apportionment. Sometimes, he acted as arbitrator in intercommunal disputes. The last Rab de la Corte in Castile was Abraham *Seneor, who became converted to Christianity shortly before the expulsion. The office of Araby *Mor in Portugal largely corresponds to that of Rab de la Corte.

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RABI, ISIDOR ISAAC (1898–1988), U.S. physicist and Nobel Prize winner. Rabi was born at Rymanow, Austro-Hungary, and taken to the United States when he was a year old. He became a tutor in physics at City College, New York, and won fellowships to various European universities. In 1937 he returned to lecture at Columbia, where he was appointed a full professor in 1950. Meanwhile, he continued his own researches in nuclear physics, quantum mechanics and magnetism. He realized that the essential step was to determine the nature of the force that holds together the protons within the nucleus of the atom, overcoming the mutual repulsion that must exist between them, as all are positively charged. When Otto *Stern discovered how to measure this force by means of a "molecular beam," Rabi followed up the discovery, which he found more effective than fission for elucidating the structure of the atom. His most distinguished work was the development of a method of receiving and interpreting such beams, and it was this that won him the Nobel Prize for physics in 1944, four years after he had become associate director of the radiation laboratory at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. During the remainder of World War II Rabi served as a civilian investigator for the Office of Scientific Research and Development. From 1953 he was chairman of the general advisory committee of the Atomic Energy Commission, but he was active among those opposing the strict military control of atomic energy proposed by Congress, and he deplored what he saw as a tendency for pure science to be subordinated to industrial needs. He was involved with building the cyclotron as well as with other work at the Brookhaven National Laboratory for Atomic Research. Rabi was a member of the UN Science Committee and on the Atomic Energy agency, among other international agencies. He was a member of the board of governors of the Weizmann Institute in Israel. Two autobiographical lectures, published under the title *My Life and Times as a Physicist*, appeared in 1960.

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[J. Edwin Holmstrom]

RABĪʿ IBN ABI AL-ḤUQAYQ (end of the 6th century). Jewish poet from the Jewish tribe of Banī *Naḍīr in Yathrib, Arabia. A short poem of his is included in the anthology of Arabic poetry by al-Jumaḥī, in the chapter on the Jews of *Medina (pp. 70–74). Except for al-*Samaw'al ibn ʿĀdiyah, he is the only poet in pre-Islamic Arabia mentioned by Moses Ibn Ezra in his book on Hebrew medieval poetry, probably based on Arab sources. Ibn Ezra raises the possibility that both Samaw'al and Rabīʿ were Arabs converted to Judaism. Rabīʿ took part in intertribal wars and in poetic contests with other famous Arab poets, such as al-Nābighah.

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[Yosef Tobi (2nd ed.)]

RABIN, family of scholars. ISRAEL ABRAHAM RABIN (1882–1951) was born in Proskurov, Ukraine. After the *Kishinev pogrom of 1903, he was entrusted to accompany the orphans to Austria (in the post-World War I Ukrainian pogroms his own parents were murdered). From 1909 he taught at the Ezra teachers' seminary in Jerusalem, and in 1911 was called to head the Odessa Rabbinical Seminary. Detained in Germany by the outbreak of World War I, he subsequently took up a teaching position in post-biblical Jewish literature and history at Giessen University, taught at Frankfurt University (1918–21), and at the Jewish Theological Seminary, Breslau. From 1929 Rabin also taught Semitics and post-biblical literature at Breslau University. In 1935 he left Nazi Germany for Palestine where he headed a Mizrachi elementary school at Haifa and was chairman of the Haifa Religious Council. Rabin was an early supporter of religious Zionism (Mizrachi) and as its delegate attended all Zionist Congresses from the sixth – at which he voted against acceptance of the Uganda offer – to the twenty-first. While teaching at Jerusalem (1909–11), he was among the members of the *Academy of the Hebrew Language.

Rabin's published work ranges over a wide field of Jewish scholarship. His historical studies are devoted to the Jews of Silesia (*Beitraege zur Rechts-und Wirtschaftsgeschichte*… 1, 1932; *Rechtskampf der Juden in Schlesien*, 1927; *Juden in Dyhernfurth*, 1929; in *Zuelz*, 1926) and also deal with general problems of historiography (*Stoff und Idee…, in Festschrift… Dubnow*, 1930, 41–56). His *Studien zur Vormosaischen Gottesvorstellung (Festschrift zum 75 = jaehrigen Bestehen des Juedisch-Theologischen Seminars*, 2, 1929) deal critically with the hypotheses of higher biblical criticism and anticipate some of the ideas on Israel's monotheism later developed by Y. *Kaufmann. Of special importance to rabbinics is the critical edition of *Mekhilta*, prepared by S. Horovitz but completed and published by Rabin (1931, repr. 1960).

One son was the Hebraist and linguist Chaim Menachem *Rabin. Israel's younger son was Michael Oser *Rabin.

RABIN, MICHAEL OSER (1931–), Israeli mathematician. Rabin was born in Breslau, Germany, and was brought to Ereẓ Israel in 1935. After graduating from the Hebrew University he taught mathematics from 1956 to 1958 at Princeton, where he obtained his doctorate and was a member of the Institute for Advanced Study. Returning to Israel in 1958 he became associate professor at the Hebrew University in 1961 and full professor in 1965. Rabin's field of study was mathematical logic, autotheory, and the mathematical theory of computations, and he is credited with a number of inventions in the field of computers. From 1972 to 1975 Rabin was the rector of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem and in 1980 was awarded the Harvey Prize of the Haifa Technion (jointly with S.D. *Goitein and E. *Racker). He was rewarded the Israel Prize in 1995.

RABIN, OSCAR (1928–), Russian painter. Rabin, both of whose parents were doctors, was born in Moscow and studied music before turning to art. He is an extraordinary case of an artist refused recognition in the Soviet Union, who nevertheless became known as an outstanding painter outside his native country. Since he was not a member of the Artists' Union he was not officially recognized as an artist or allowed to exhibit and had to work as an exhibition designer from his home in a suburb of Moscow. He first gained a reputation outside the U.S.S.R. when his work was seen in London at the Grosvenor Gallery in 1964 in a mixed show of Soviet painters, and later the same gallery mounted his first ever one-man exhibition. Rabin's work was Expressionistic in character, having much in common with Soutine and Rouault, using dark somber colors and heavy outlines – almost in the manner of stained glass. He painted his native Moscow in street scenes and often depicted Western cities he has never visited. On the day of President Kennedy's assassination, Nov. 22, 1963, he painted a canvas to commemorate the event. Rabin was a prolific painter and despite official lack of recognition his work was popular both in the Soviet Union and among foreign visitors.

Both Rabin's status as a leader of young, dissident Soviet painters and his connections with foreign journalists and diplomats came to the fore in the remarkable effort to hold a "free" exhibition in September 1974. The exhibition was organized by Rabin and his son, together with a group of unorthodox artists. Their first effort was literally destroyed by the police, but as a result of international publicity the authorities relented and allowed some 60 painters to exhibit their work in an informal display at Moscow's Izmailovo Park.

In July 1978 the Soviet authorities canceled his Soviet citizenship "in view of his systematic activity incompatible with the status of Soviet citizen." He continued to work in Paris

[Charles Samuel Spencer]

RABIN, SAM (1903–1991), British painter. Rabin was born in Manchester as Samuel Rabinovitch, the son of an impoverished cap cutter who had migrated from Vitebsk. His children were artistically gifted and Rabin was taught draughtsmanship by an elder brother. At the age of eleven he was the youngest pupil ever to win a scholarship to the Manchester School of Art, and later won a scholarship to the Slade School in London, where, at the age of 15, he was the youngest student and where he was befriended and influenced by the artist Barnett *Freedman. On the completion of his studies Rabin spent some time in Paris and took up modeling under the influence of the famous French sculptor Charles Despiau. His portrait head of Barnett Freedman is in the Tate Gallery, London. Rabin, however, devoted most of his career to working in pastels and to the subject of sport. A physically powerful man, Rabin won a bronze medal in wrestling at the 1928 Olympics and later, to make ends meet, became a professional wrestler. Wrestling and boxing became the principal subjects of his work, which depicted the atmosphere of the ring and the figures of the combatants with a mixture of brilliant realism and graceful movement. Rabin was also an actor, and played boxers and wrestlers in several films, including *The Scarlet Pimpernel* (1934), where he had the role of Daniel *Mendoza, the famous Jewish boxer. He taught at the Goldsmith School of Art from 1949 to 1965, where Mary Quant was one of his students, and then at the Bournemouth College of Art. His work is represented in leading public collections; the British Museum obtained a group of his drawings.

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[Charles Samuel Spencer / William D. Rubinstein (2nd ed.)]

RABIN, YITZHAK (1922–1995), military commander and politician, seventh chief of staff of the Israel Defense Forces, and prime minister in the years 1974–77 and 1992–95, member of the Eighth to Thirteenth Knessets. Rabin was born in Jerusalem. His mother was known as "Red Rosa." He graduated from the Kadoorie Agricultural School. He joined the *Palmaḥ in 1941, and participated in the Allied invasion of Syria that year. In 1944, as second in command of a Palmaḥ battalion, he participated in underground activities against the British Mandatory Government. On Black Saturday, June 29, 1946, he was arrested and imprisoned in the Rafa detention camp for six months. After his release he was appointed deputy to Yigal *Allon, who was commander of the Palmaḥ from 1945. In the early days of the *War of Independence, Rabin was appointed commander of the Harel Brigade on the Jerusalem front. Later in 1948 he was responsible, as Allon's second in command, for the occupation of Lydda and Ramleh, and the expulsion of their Arab inhabitants. He was next appointed chief of operations of the Southern Command until the armistice agreement with Egypt, and was a member of the Israeli delegation to the Rhodes armistice talks. However, he objected to the agreement reached, and left before it was signed. After the War of Independence Rabin was given various assignments, and graduated from the British Staff College in 1953. In the years 1956–59 he served as commander of the Northern Command, and in the years 1959–63 served as head of the Operations Branch in the General Staff, and deputy chief of staff. Rabin was appointed chief of staff in January 1964, and served for four years. As a heavy smoker on the eve of the outbreak of the *Six Day War he suffered from nicotine poisoning but recovered to lead the IDF in its major victory over the Egyptian, Syrian, and Jordanian forces. Immediately after the war he was awarded an honorary degree by the Hebrew University at a ceremony on Mount Scopus, and delivered an impressive acceptance speech, noted for its humane spirit. He retired from active military service in January 1968, and was appointed ambassador to the U.S. Upon his return to Israel in March 1973 he decided to enter politics, and was elected to the Eighth Knesset on the Alignment list, right after the *Yom Kippur War. He was appointed minister of labor in the short-lived government formed by Golda *Meir, and when Meir decided to resign following the publication of the Interim Report of the *Agranat Commission in April 1974, he won the first of numerous contests for the leadership of the *Israel Labor Party against Shimon *Peres. The fact that he had not been involved in any way in the Yom Kippur War was the main reason for his victory. Rabin formed a new government in June 1974. Even though his first premiership was generally viewed as mediocre, during his term as prime minister, with U.S. assistance, the IDF was rehabilitated, and the economy picked up, even though the rate of inflation rose. After disengagement agreements were signed with Egypt and Syria in January and May 1974 with the help of the "shuttle diplomacy" of Secretary of State Henry *Kissinger, an interim agreement was signed with Egypt in September 1975, together with a memorandum of understanding with the U.S. The Entebbe operation also took place in the course of his premiership. Towards the end of 1976 Rabin fired the ministers from the *National Religious Party, after they had abstained in a vote on a motion of no-confidence in the government, over the arrival of F-15 planes from the U.S. to Israel on a Friday afternoon, and the holding of a ceremony that allegedly resulted in the desecration of the Sabbath by those who participated in it. However, the historic coalition with the NRP was in trouble even before this event, due to a shift to the right by the young guard in the national religious camp. As a result of pressure by Attorney General Aharon *Barak, Rabin was forced to resign from the premiership in March 1977, following the revelation by journalist Dan *Margalit that his wife, Leah, continued to hold a bank account in Washington, D.C. from the time of his service as ambassador, contrary to the Israeli foreign exchange regulations. In the elections for the Ninth Knesset held in May 1977, Shimon *Peres led the Alignment and suffered a bitter defeat, in what came to be known as "the political upheaval." In 1979 Rabin published his memoirs, in which his bitterness against Peres emerged. Following the death of Yigal *Allon, Rabin decided to contend again for the leadership of the Labor Party against Peres, but at the Party Conference held in December 1980 he gained only 29% of the votes. In the National Unity Government that was in office from 1984 to 1990 Rabin served as minister of defense. In this capacity he got the IDF out of Lebanon, canceled the Lavi fighter project, and led Israel's fight against the first Intifada. Even though his policy in the territories was viewed as a "hard fist" policy, he realized soon after the outbreak of the Intifada that there could be no military solution to the conflict with the Palestinians. Prior to the elections to the Twelfth Knesset in 1988, he formulated a plan for holding elections in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. This plan was adopted by the National Unity Government in May 1989 as part of the Shamir-Rabin peace initiative. Even though he favored the continued existence of the government led by Yitzhak *Shamir, he supported Peres' initiative to bring down the government in March 1990, following problems within the Likud in advancing the peace initiative. However, after Peres failed to form an alternative government, he called the ploy "the stinking ploy." In February 1992 he contested the leadership of the Labor Party with Peres for the third time, gaining over 40 percent of the votes to Peres' 34 percent (there were two additional contestants). In the Knesset he supported the adoption of the law for the direct election of the prime minister, but he won the elections to the Thirteenth Knesset under the old system. After forming a government with *Meretz and *Shas, he concentrated on changing Israel's economic priorities from massive support of the settlements in the territories to Israel's periphery, and on efforts to further the peace process. Though the Oslo process was initiated by Yossi *Beilin (who in the past Rabin had called "Peres' poodle") he gave the negotiations his backing in its latter stages, and on September 13, 1993, signed the Declaration of Principles (DOP) with PLO chairman Yasser *Arafat, which led to Israel's handing over to a "Palestinian entity" the city of Gaza and the Jericho area. This agreement was followed by two additional agreements, under which Israel handed over the Arab towns and cities in the territories to the Palestinians, and agreed to the establishment of a *Palestinian Authority. However, the talks with the Palestinians at this stage did not deal with the future of the Jewish settlements, Jerusalem, or the Palestinian refugees. Very close relations also developed at this time between Rabin and King *Hussein of Jordan, and a peace treaty was signed between Israel and Jordan in October 1994. Formal relations were also established with Morocco, Tunisia, and several Gulf states, and Israel participated in a succession of economic conferences held in various Arab capitals. Talks were also held with Syria, but despite Rabin's willingness to make substantial concessions, these talks led to naught. For his efforts toward regional peace, Rabin was the recipient, along with Peres and Arafat, of the Nobel Prize for Peace in December 1994.

However, right-wing circles in Israel objected to Rabin's peace initiatives, and willingness to give up control over parts of Ereẓ Israel. Demonstrations against him became increasingly vicious and threatening, but despite warnings by the General Security Services, Rabin refused to wear a bulletproof vest. On November 4, 1995, at the end of a mass demonstration in Kikar Malkhei Yisrael in Tel Aviv, which he addressed, Rabin was shot in the back by Yigal Amir, a Jewish right-wing fanatic, who acted on his own, with only his brother being privy to his plans. Rabin's coffin was placed at the entrance of the Knesset, and his funeral was attended by numerous heads of state and prime ministers, including King Hussein of Jordan and President Hosni *Mubarak of Egypt, who had never previously set foot in Israel. It was President Bill Clinton who coined the term "*Shalom Ḥaver*" ("farewell, friend") that continues to appear on stickers on many cars in Israel to the present day. The assassination was a major failure for the GSS, which changed its entire strategy of protecting VIPs in Israel. Ten years after his assassination the people of Israel were still divided over Rabin's heritage.

Rabin's daughter DALIA RABIN-PELOSSOF entered the Fifteenth Knesset on the Center Party list, and joined the One Israel (Labor) parliamentary group in May 2001. She did not run in the elections to the Sixteenth Knesset.

Among his books are *The Rabin Memoirs* (1979) and a collection of his peace speeches *Ne'umei ha-Shalom shel Rosh ha-Memshalah Yiẓhak Rabin* (1995).

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[Susan Hattis Rolef (2nd ed.)]

RABINOFF, GEORGE W. (1893–1970), pioneer of U.S. professional Jewish communal service. Rabinoff, born in New York City, graduated from the New York School of Social Work (1914), one of the first trained Jewish social workers. After serving various Jewish communities and the Jewish Welfare Board, he became associate executive director of the Bureau of Jewish Social Research (1928–32), where he was instrumental in founding the Council of Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds, serving as its first executive (1932–35) and, after the merger of the Council and the Bureau, as its associate director. He was associate director of Chicago's Jewish Charities and Jewish Welfare Fund during World War II and served UNRRA as deputy director of the Division of Welfare and Displaced Persons in Europe. From 1947 to 1951 he directed the training bureau for Jewish Communal Service, reflecting his concern for Jewish communal professionalism. He then became associate director of the National Social Welfare Assembly (1951–61), afterward spending a year aiding the development of social work in Australia. Throughout his career Rabinoff was a leader of the National Conference on Jewish Communal Service, serving as secretary (1929–33) and president (1949). His influence on Jewish communal service and its professional practitioners was extensive.

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[Robert S. Goldman]

RABINOVICH, ISAAC JACOB (**"Itzele Ponovezher"**; 1854–1919), Lithuanian rabbi. Rabinovich was born in Shershov, Grodno district. Contrary to the prevailing custom, his father, a wealthy and learned merchant, did not send him to a yeshivah but engaged private tutors for him. Supported by his father-in-law, both before and after his marriage, he was able to devote himself entirely to study, including two years with R. Ḥayyim Soloveichik in Brest-Litovsk.

In 1889, after teaching Talmud for a year in Bialystok, he was appointed a teacher at the famous Slobodka Yeshivah, a center of the *musar* movement. Rabinovich, whose system of study was similar to that of Soloveichik, maintained that priority should be given to the study of Talmud and not to *musar,* and the popularity of his courses-at the expense of the *musar* aspect-brought about some tension between him and the head of the yeshivah, R. Nathan Ẓevi Finkel. As a result, in 1899 Rabinovich left the yeshivah and, after serving for a year as rabbi of the small town Gorzd, moved to Panevezys. There he established in 1911 the *Kolel "Kibbutz le-Meẓuyyanei ha-Yeshivot," which was financed by Miriam Gavronsky, daughter of the tea magnate and philantropist Kalonymus *Wissotzky. The venture was an outstanding success and made Panevezys a major center of Talmud study in Lithuania. Forced to leave Panevezys during World War I Rabinovich moved the Kolel first to Luzin in the Vitebsk district and then to Mariopol. After the Bolshevik Revolution he returned to Panavezys, where he died.

Rabinovich was one of the few rabbis of his time who knew Russian and modern Hebrew literature, which he mastered during an illness. Originally a supporter of the *Ḥibbat Ẓion movement, he later became one of the founders of the *Agudat Israel. He was almost unique among contemporary rabbis in his support of the workers' and socialist movements; in 1917 he made a passionate but unavailing appeal at a meeting of the Orthodox association *Masoret ve-Ḥerut*, to persuade its member to come out in support of expropriation of the lands of the nobility and their redistribution to the peasants. As a result he was popular among the *Bundists, and even among the *Yevsektsiya, who did not attack him as they had other rabbis. Despite this they refused to allow him to reopen his yeshivah, and he died brokenhearted.

Famed as an outstanding *posek*, especially after the death of R. Isaac Elḥanan *Spektor, and in his decisions tending to leniency, he committed little to writing and what there was, was lost in World War I. In 1948, however, a small collection of his commentaries and responsa was published under the title *Zekher Yitzhak*. About the same time a former student, D. Zachs, published a volume consisting of notes he had taken of his master's lectures on tractates *Kiddushin* and *Baba Meẓia*.

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[Shaul Stampfer]

RABINOVICH, ISAAK MOSEYEVICH (1886–1977), Russian construction engineer. Rabinovich, who attained the rank of major-general in the Red Army, taught at several Soviet institutes of higher education. He was appointed professor at the Military Engineering Academy in 1932 and at the Moscow Construction Engineers' Institute in 1933. From 1946 he was a corresponding member of the Academy of Sciences. He wrote several books on construction mechanics.

RABINOVICH, ITAMAR (1942–), president of Tel Aviv University. Born in Jerusalem, Rabinovich received his B.A. degree from the Hebrew University in 1960; in 1966 he completed his M.A. degree at Tel Aviv University; and in 1971 he received his Ph.D. from the University of California. In 1971 he joined Tel Aviv University. He was the director of the Shiloh Center, dean of the Faculty of Humanities, and rector of the university. He also served as senior research fellow at the Moshe Dayan Center for Middle Eastern and African Studies and as incumbent of the Yona and Dina Ettinger Chair in Contemporary History of the Middle East at Tel Aviv University as well as Andrew White Professor at Large at Cornell University. Between 1993 and 1996 Rabinovich was the chief negotiator with Syria and ambassador in Washington. He served as a board member of the International Crisis Group and was a member of the Trilateral Commission and a lecturer at the World Economic Forum. He was elected president of Tel Aviv University in 2003.

Rabinovich published a number of articles and books, including *Syria Under the Ba'th* (1972); *The War for Lebanon* (1984); *The Road Not Taken: Early Arab-Israeli Negotiations* (1991); *The Brink of Peace: Israel and Syria* (1998); *Waging Peace: Israel and the Arabs at the End of the Century* (1999); and *Waging Peace: Israel and Arabs, 1948–2003* (2004).

[Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

RABINOVICH, JOSÉ (1903–1978), Yiddish and Spanish author, playwright, and poet. Born in Bialystok, in 1924 Rabinovich arrived in Argentina, where he made his living in the printing business. Before his emigration he had written a number of texts in Yiddish and continued to do so in Argentina; part of these works were translated into Spanish, the language he adopted at a later stage. Influenced by the hardships of his life in Russia, by the difficulties faced by Jewish immigrants in Argentina and, later, by the Holocaust, all his writing is haunted by an atmosphere of hostility, material and moral misery, poverty, and fear. His Jewish characters often face the religious aporia of God's indifference and injustice. Many of his themes deal with proletarian issues and come under the rubric of leftist social-realist literature. His works include the following: novels and short stories: *Cabizbajos* ("Lowered Heads," 1943); *Tercera clase* ("Third Class," 1944); *Pan duro* ("Hard Bread," 1953); *El perro de Maidanek* ("The Dog of Majdanek," 1968); *Cuentos de pico y pala* ("Stories of Pick and Shovel," 1971); and the autobiographical *Sobras de una juventud* ("Youth Leftovers," 1977); dramas: *Con pecado concebida* ("Conceived in Sin," 1975); *El gran castigo* ("The Great Punishment," 1976); poetry: *Hombre escatimado* ("Skimped-on Man," 1969); *Rapsodia judía* ("Jewish Rhapsody," 1969); *El violinista bajo el tejado* ("The Fiddler under the Roof," 1970); *Rapsodia rusa* ("Russian Rhapsody," 1971); *Misa de un play boy* ("A Playboy Mass," 1972); *Dios mediante* ("With God's Help," 1976).

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[Florinda F. Goldberg (2nd ed.)]

RABINOVICH, JOSEPH (1837–1899), missionary in *Kishinev, Bessarabia, and founder of a Jewish-Christian sect. Born into a ḥasidic family, Rabinovich was attracted by the *Haskalah movement. During the early 1880s he joined the *Ḥibbat Zion movement and visited Palestine. He returned disappointed in the new movement and at the end of 1883, under the influence of a missionary named Faltin, he founded a new sect called The Children of Israel of the New Testament (this sect should not be confused with the sect called Novy Izrail (*New Israel) founded by Jacob Priluker of Odessa). Adherents of the sect were to accept the basic precepts of Christianity, while at the same time retaining their Jewish nationalism and observing Jewish traditions such as circumcision, the Sabbath, Jewish festivals, etc. On Christmas Day, 1884, a prayer house Bethlehem, in which prayers were recited in Hebrew and sermons delivered in Yiddish, was opened in Kishinev. In 1885 Rabinovich converted to Protestantism and continued his work in Kishinev with the support of Protestant missionaries whose funds allowed him to open a small printing press where he published prayer books and sermons. Among his publications were *Tefillah ve-Ikkerei Emunah li-Venei Yisrael Benei Berit Ḥadashah* ("Prayers and Principles of Faith of the Children of Israel of the New Testament," 1892), and *Divrei Niḥumim* ("Words of Comfort," 1897). His activities had no influence on Russian Jewry and he remained an inefficient instrument in the hands of the German Protestant mission.

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[Yehuda Slutsky]

RABINOVICH, OSIP ARONOVICH (1817–1869), Russian author and publicist, founder and editor of *Razsvet, the first Jewish journal in Russian. Born in Kobelyaki, Ukraine, the son of a well-to-do businessman, he studied both Jewish and secular subjects under private tutors. He settled in Odessa in 1845 and developed a successful practice as an adviser and pleader at the commercial court, and later, as a notary. Rabinovich's literary career also began in Odessa. In 1847 he translated Jacob *Eichenbaum's Hebrew poem on chess, *Ha-Kerav*, into Russian and contributed articles and feuilleton-type fiction to local publications. Later his works were published by leading Russian journals. Although published after the abolition of certain laws regarding recruitment of Jews into the Russian army, his story, "*Shtrafnoy*" (in *Russkiy Vestnik*, 1859), was considered a bitter reflection of the abuse perpetuated on Jews under the rule of *Nicholas I. It was a tale of the anguish suffered by a fine, public-spirited, middle-aged Jew recruited for a lifetime into the Russian army in partial payment for communal indebtedness. In 1860–61 Rabinovich published *Razsvet*. He was the mainstay of the journal, writing articles and stories for it and setting its tone by his weekly editorials. Maintaining a high standard, Rabinovich concentrated in the journal on the relationship of Jewish life to outside forces, i.e., to Russian society, and in particular to the Russian authorities. He relegated to others the concern for the inner aspects of Jewish life. He pleaded for the recognition of Jews as Russian citizens and for their integration step by step into Russian society as useful, contributing human beings. If inner reforms were needed to prepare Jews for their role in society, it was no less important to rid them of the outward vestiges of medieval segregation and discrimination they were suffering in Russia. Rabinovich felt that a first step must be the removal of such vestiges from the law and from state and public institutions. As Rabinovich saw it, the major obstacle toward citizenship for Jews was the *Pale of Settlement. He contended that not only Jews but the country as a whole suffered from this system which closed off most of the state from Jewish settlement. He believed that the humanist and reformist tendencies during the early years of the reign of *Alexander II, which culminated in the abolition of serfdom (1861), should also lead to reforms for Russian Jews, enabling them to emulate the progress of Western Europe. Rabinovich insisted that the coercive administrative measures sometimes urged by westernizers would not help to better the conditions of the Jewish masses and should not be applied. He believed that a progressive modernization among the Jews would be evoked primarily by improving social and legal conditions. Full equality was due to Jews as human beings, irrespective of the degree to which they might be considered modern, i.e., westernized. Under oppressive Russian censorship, Rabinovich decided to discontinue the publication of *Razsvet*. He died in Merano, Italy. His complete works were published in three volumes in 1880–88.

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[Mark Perlman]

RABINOVICH, YEHUDAH LEIB (**Leon**; 1862–1937), Hebrew writer, editor, and physicist; known by his pen name, Ish Yehudi. Born in Brestovitz, Russia, Rabinovich studied medicine and physics. In 1887 he began to write popular articles on science etc. in *Ha-Meliẓ and *Keneset Yisrael*. In 1890 he won a gold medal at the Paris Exhibition for his inventions.

A collection of his articles appeared in *Ha-Yerushah ve-ha-Ḥinnukh* (1903), and *Yesod Leshon ha-Mikra* (1939). In 1903 he published a Yiddish newspaper *Bleter fun a Togbukh*. Later he served as editor of *Ha-Meliẓ* but was unable to adapt it to the spirit of the times, and had to discontinue it in 1904. In his later years he lived in poverty in Leningrad and contributed articles to the Jewish press in the United States. His memoirs appeared in *Hadoar,* 3 (1924), no. 1, pp. 7–8; no. 3, pp. 5–6).

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[Yehuda Slutsky]

RABINOVICZ, HAIM BEN ZION (1888–1976), *ḥazzan*. Rabinovicz was born in Kiev to a family of Tomashover ḥasidim. As a child he sang at the synagogue of the Tomashover rebbe. In 1917 he moved to Odessa and studied in the conservatory. When Pinḥas Minkovsky moved to the United States, Rabinovicz took his place in the Brody Synagogue in Odessa. In 1927 he moved to Antwerp and was appointed chief cantor at the "Shomre Hadass" Synagogue there. In 1951 he immigrated to Israel. He refused to perform in concerts and only in his old age did he agree to make recordings of some portions of the prayer service that attest to his talents.

[Akiva Zimmerman]

RABINOVICZ, PINCHAS (1947–), *ḥazzan*. Rabinovicz was born in Lodz, and at the age of three immigrated to Israel with his family and was educated in *yeshivot*. In 1968 he began to serve as a cantor in the Gevurat Yisrael Synagogue in Tel Aviv. He has appeared in concerts and on radio and television programs. In 1973 he moved to Montreal and continued his studies in music and voice development in McGill University. His voice is a lyric tenor, and he soon became famous throughout Canada and appeared in broadcasts of the Canadian Broadcasting Authority. He served as a cantor in the Beth Ora Synagogue in Montreal and was president of the Cantors' Association. In 1983 he moved to Los Angeles and was appointed chief cantor of the largest Orthodox congregation in the Western United States, Beth Jacob Synagogue of Beverly Hills. He has composed music to portions of the prayer service and ḥassidic songs. Rabinovicz's website made available many new and original compositions for downloading.

[Akiva Zimmerman]

RABINOVITZ, ALEXANDER SISKIND (known by acronym **Azar**; 1854–1945), Hebrew author. Born in Lyady, Belorussia, Rabinovitz became affiliated with the *Ḥibbat Zion movement during a stay in Moscow. In 1888 he became a teacher in Poltava, where his pupils included D.B. *Borochov and Izhak *Ben-Zvi. It was in Poltava that he was elected a delegate to the First Zionist Congress (1897). Settling in Ereẓ Israel in 1906, he alternately taught and worked as a librarian.

From 1888 the Hebrew language was his medium of expression, although he also wrote occasionally in Yiddish. He contributed articles to *Ha-Meliẓ* (1899) and to *Sefer ha-Sharon* (1891), a children's book. From that time on, he concentrated on storywriting, and was among the first to write stories of social content in Hebrew. These were published successively in the books *Be-Ẓel ha-Kesef* (1894), *Ḥattat ha-Ẓibbur* (1896), *Bat he-Ashir* (1898), and in various Hebrew literary journals, such as *Ha-Shiloʾaḥ* and *Luʾaḥ Aḥiʾasaf.* His writings were a synthesis of his affinity with the common people, his interest in socialism and Russian literature, and of his strong attachment to the Jewish tradition and its cultural values – an attachment which, upon his arrival in Ereẓ Israel, expressed itself both in his personal ties with Rabbi A.I. *Kook and in his own inclination to religious observance.

In its entirety, Rabinovitz's prolific and varied output numbers over 100 books and pamphlets, including original works, translations, and adaptations. He popularized scientific subjects in Hebrew, and for many years also wrote "*Hirhurim*," a regular column in *Kunteres* and *Davar*, which dealt with matters of concern to the labor movement. The first collection of his stories and articles was published in 1904; the second and third volumes were published, in Ereẓ Israel, in 1914–22. Some of his stories were also published separately at various times. Among his monographs are *Jean Jacques Rousseau* (1899); *Keter Torah* (1911), on Rabbi Kook; *Yosef Ḥayyim Brenner* (1922); and *Ḥayyei L.N. Tolstoi* (1924). He also wrote *Toledot ha-Sifrut ha-Ivrit li-Venei ha-Ne'urim* (1906–10), a literary history for youth; *Toledot ha-Pedagogikah* (1913) a history of pedagogy from early times to the present; textbooks for Jewish history; original and translated books for children and youth; and *Ha-Islam* (1927) and *Ha-Inkviziẓyah* (1930), popular histories. Encouraged by Bialik, he worked for many years on the translation of the works of W. Bacher, among them *Aggadot ha-Tanna'im* (3 vols., 1920–23) and *Aggadot Amora'ei Ereẓ Yisrael* (1916–17, 2 pts.; 1925–30^2, 5 vols.). In addition he edited several literary collections, notably *Yizkor* (1912), commemorating Jewish laborers who fell in the course of their work in Ereẓ Israel. On his 80th birthday his collected works were published in five volumes (1934–36).

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[Getzel Kressel]

RABINOWICH (Rabinowitsch), ELIYAHU AKIVA (1861–1917), Russian rabbi. Born in Silale, Lithuania, Rabinowich studied in various Lithuanian yeshivot, including Eisiskes, where he obtained *semikhah*, at the same time becoming proficient in secular studies and foreign languages. After marriage he engaged in business, but was unsuccessful, and on his father's death in 1888 he succeeded him as rabbi of Pyantiza. In 1892 he was appointed as rabbi of Kinishin but following a communal dispute he was expelled by the authorities, who were informed that he had no right of residence there. In 1893 he was appointed rabbi of Poltava, where he remained until his death.

Rabinowich became famous as a result of his attitude toward Zionism and the resulting controversy. Influenced by R. Samuel *Mohilewer, he attended the first Russian Zionist Conference in Warsaw in 1898 and was a delegate to the Second Zionist Congress in Basle in the same year. Like many other rabbis, Rabinowich was uneasy about associating himself with Zionism, and the parting of the ways came over the question of "Culture." Rabinowich, like R.J.L. *Zirelson, objected to the Zionist movement engaging in culture and education, urging that it confine itself to political and economic activity, and that if it did deal with such matters it should at least be under rabbinic supervision. When his proposal was rejected, the disappointed Rabinowich, on his return to Poltova from the Congress, launched a vehement attack against the Zionist Movement. In 1899 he published a pamphlet, *Ẓiyyon be-Mishpat*, which raised a storm in both the Zionist and the Orthodox world. He was attacked by both the secular elements in the Zionist Movement (*Ha-Meliẓ*. 1899, 218–9) and its Orthodox members, such as Rabbis S.J. *Rabinowitz (*ibid.*, 153–73) and David Solomon Slouschz (*Mikhtav le-David*, 1899). A bitter personal note was injected into the controversy. Rabinowich replied in his pamphlet *Ve-Anta Bi Ẓidkati* (1899). Thereafter he became one of the leading opponents of Zionism, and was associated with the Lishkah Sheḥorah (see *Zionism: In Russia) which had its headquarters in Kovno (Kaunas). From 1901 to 1905 he edited *Ha-Peles* and from 1910 to 1914 *Ha-Modi'a* which were the main vehicles for his polemics. In 1912 Rabinowich participated in the founding conference of the Agudat Israel in Kattowice. He also participated in various rabbinical conferences, including the one in Cracow in 1903, whose proceedings he edited.

Among his literary works were *Ḥesed li-Meshiḥo*, a commentary on the Book of Ruth. The first edition (1898), unlike later ones, also included halakhic responsa. His son, J.Z. Rabinowich, published a selection of his sermons (1943).

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[Jacob Barnai]

RABINOWICH, SARAH (**Sonia**; married name – **Margolin**; 1880–1918), publicist, daughter of S.P. *Rabbinowitz. Born in Berezin, province of Minsk, Sarah graduated in Germany in 1902 as a doctor of social sciences, her thesis dealing with the organization of the Jewish working class in Russia. In 1903 she was sent to Galicia on behalf of women's organizations against white slavery, and together with Bertha *Pappenheim she wrote a study on the situation of Galician Jewry and possible steps towards an improvement of its social conditions. During 1904–05 she organized illegal political activities by workers against the military in Odessa and was arrested. Released after a short time, she left for Germany where she continued her political and publicistic work, writing in Russian, German, and Yiddish. In her writings Rabinowich showed a special interest in the Jewish working class in Russia, the women's question within Jewry, Jewish education, and statistics. Her published works include "Zur Lage des juedischen Proletariats in Mohilew am Dnjepr," in: *Die Welt* (15.8.1902), no. 33:6–7 (Aug. 22,1902), no. 34, 4–6 (an extract of her Ph.D. thesis); "The Life of the Trade and Handcraft Classes in the Representation of Peretz," in: *Yevreyski Mir* (1909, 69–79); "On the Jewish Question within Jewry," in: *Yevreyski Mir* (1909); "On the Question of the Training of Jewish Female Teachers," in: *Vestnik obshchestva rasprostraneniya prosveshcheniya mezhdu evreyami v Rossii* (1911), no. 5, 28–46); "*Die Heiraten von Juden im Europaeischen Russland vom Jahre 1867 bis 1902*," in: *Zeitschrift fuer Demographie und Statistik der Juden* (5 (1909), nos. 10, 11, 12); "Die Heiraten von Juden in Russisch-Polen," *ibid.* (6 (1910), no. 4, 61–64); "*Zur Statistik der juedischen Schulen in Russland*," *ibid.* (7 (1911), nos. 9, 121–30); "Zur Bildungsstatistik der juedischen Arbeiter in Rußland," *ibid.* (9 (1913), no. 11, 153–60). During World War I Sarah was active in the German Independent Labor Party and was again arrested. In a seizure of depression she committed suicide in prison.

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RABINOWICZ (Kwasnik), OSKAR K. (1902–1969), financier, author, and Zionist. Born in Aspern, Austria, Rabinowicz studied at Brno, Prague, and Berlin, later engaging in the gold business. He was active in the Zionist Revisionist movement and after 1933 became chairman of the Czechoslovak committee to boycott Nazi Germany. When the Germans occupied Prague in 1939, he barely managed to escape, though he had helped 3,000 Jews leave Czechoslovakia for Palestine. He went to England, living mainly in London, and became active in communal life, being on the councils of Jews' College and the Jewish Historical Society. He was director of the Anglo-Federal Banking Corporation from 1946 to 1956. In 1956 he settled in the U.S., where he was active in communal affairs, particularly in the Jewish Theological Seminary and the Jewish Publication Society of America.

In his Prague period Rabinowicz wrote, among other works, *Einleitung in die Probleme des rituellen Schlachtens* (1937), in defense of *sheḥitah* and edited his father's *Makor Niftaḥ* (1938), a lexicographical Bible index. In England he wrote *Vladimir Jabotinsky's Conception of a Nation* (1946), submitted Chaim *Weizmann's autobiography *Trial and Error* to a searching factual criticism in his *Fifty Years of Zionism* (1950), and championed Herzl as the great figure in Zionism in his *Herzl, Architect of the Balfour Declaration* (1958). Among his other works is *Winston Churchill on Jewish Problems* (1956, 1960^2) and the posthumously published *Arnold Toynbee on Judaism and Zionism: A Critique* (1974). He was one of the initiators of the Society for the History of Czechoslovak Jews and co-editor of *The Jews of Czechoslovakia* (vol. 1, 1968). His literary work was based on his extensive library, which was particularly rich in periodicals and works on Zionist and contemporary history. This was bequeathed to the National and University Library, Jerusalem. Rabinowicz was a departmental editor of the *Encyclopaedia Judaica* for Czech Jewish history.

His son, THEODORE K. RABB (1937–), was a professor of history at Princeton, specializing in 16th- and 17th-century European history. His works include *Enterprise and Empire* (1967), a study of merchant and gentry investment in early English maritime ventures; *The Struggle for Stability in Early Modern Europe* (1975); *Industrialization and Urbanization* (1981); *Renaissance Lives* (1993); *Origins of the Modern West* (1993); and the audiobook *What If?* (with J. Ober, 2001). He co-edited *Action and Conviction in Early Modern Europe* (1969); *The New History, the 1980s and Beyond* (1982); and *The Making and Unmaking of Democracy* (2002).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: A. Hertzberg, in: JSOS, 32 (1970), 99–100.

[Cecil Roth / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

RABINOWITCH, EUGENE (1901–1973), U.S. biochemist and biophysicist. Born in St. Petersburg, Russia, Rabinowitch worked in the Kaiser Wilhelm Institute of Physical Chemistry at Dahlem, Berlin (1926–29), and at the University of Goettingen until the Nazis came to power. In 1933 he was Rask-Orsted Fellow of the Royal Academy of Sciences in Copenhagen and from 1934 worked in London. In 1939 he went to the United States, where he was attached to the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and associated with the Manhattan Atomic Bomb Project. In 1947 he became professor of botany at the University of Illinois, and in 1960 professor of biophysics. In 1968 he was appointed professor of chemistry and biology, and adviser to the Center for Science and Human Affairs, at the State University of New York (Albany). His major scientific papers were on photochemistry, photobiology and reaction kinetics.

He wrote *Periodisches System* (1930) and *Photosynthesis and Related Processes* (3 vols., 1945–56), edited *The Bulletin of Atomic Scientists* (1945–); *Minutes to Midnight* (1950); *The Chemistry of Uranium* (1951); and *Dawn of a New Age* (1963), and co-edited *The Atomic Age* (1963).

[Samuel Aaron Miller]

RABINOWITZ, ELIAHU WOLF (1853–1932), Hebrew writer. Born in Stawiski, Poland, he went to Germany in his youth. Rabinowitz joined the Socialist movement, was also involved in the Hebrew Socialist Circle and became friendly with Morris *Vinchevski. In 1876, after contributing to the journal *Ha-Shaḥar*, he became the assistant of M.L. *Rodkinson, owner of *Ha-Kol*. As a result of the persecution of German Socialists he moved to Paris and then to London (1880). A member of Ḥibbat Zion from its early days, he conducted a correspondence with Judah L. *Levin regarding the social prospects of Palestinian settlement in Ereẓ Israel (*Ha-Maggid* (1883), no. 20). In his later years he published chapters from his memoirs, in *Haolam* (1927), nos. 52, 53, and in *Iyyim*, 1 (1927). His autobiographical notes appeared in *Davar* (July 7, 1933).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: S.L. Zitron, *Drey Literarishe Doyres*, 2 (1921), 129–32; Klausner, Sifrut, 6 (1958^2), index.

[Yehuda Slutsky]

RABINOWITZ, JOEL (1828–1902), one of the first Jewish ministers in South Africa. Born in Lublin, Poland, Rabinowitz was second minister to the synagogue in Birmingham, England. He came to Cape Town in 1859, when the congregation was struggling to keep alive. Largely as a result of Rabinowitz' efforts, the congregation was able to erect its first synagogue in 1863, which still stands. Taking the small Jewish communities scattered over the whole *Cape Province and beyond as his parish, Rabinowitz corresponded with outlying families and traveled long distances by post-cart to officiate at marriages or circumcisions, thus contributing greatly to the preservation of Judaism. He was also a tireless collector for charitable causes, Jewish or non-Jewish, at home and abroad.

After serving the Cape Town community for 23 years he returned to England, but was back in Cape Town in 1886. His modest investments having failed because of a depression at the Cape, he took a course in metallurgy at the South African College in Cape Town and opened an assay laboratory on the Witwatersrand. He remained involved in communal life, raised funds for building the first synagogue in *Johannesburg and officiated at High Holy Day services. Two years later ill health forced him to retire to Cape Town, where he continued to devote himself to communal affairs. Rabinowitz wrote a series of articles about the early Jewish settlers in South Africa for the London *Jewish Chronicle* (1895).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: L. Herrman, *History of the Jews in South Africa* (1935), index; G. Saron and L. Hotz, *The Jews in South Africa* (1955), index; I. Abrahams, *The Birth of a Community* (1955), index. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** J. Simon, *The Reverend Joel Rabinowitz, and Other Adventures of a Library Chairman* (1996).

[Lewis Sowden]

RABINOWITZ, LOUIS ISAAC (1906–1984), rabbi. Born in Edinburgh, he served as rabbi in the London communities of Shepherd's Bush, South Hackney, and Cricklewood, successively. During World War II he was a senior Jewish chaplain with the British army in the Middle East and Normandy. In 1945 he became chief rabbi of the United Hebrew Congregation of Johannesburg and the Federation of Synagogues of Transvaal and the Orange Free State. He was appointed professor of Hebrew at the University of Witwatersrand and head of the Johannesburg *bet din*. In 1947, in protest against British policy in Palestine, he discarded his war decorations in public. An eloquent preacher, he was also outspoken in his criticism of the South African government's apartheid policy. Retiring in 1961, he settled in Israel and became deputy editor in chief of the *Encyclopaedia Judaica* (first edition). He was also a *Gaḥal* representative in the Jerusalem municipality from 1969 and in 1976 was appointed a deputy mayor of Jerusalem. He did not stand for re-election in the elections held in October 1978. In 1980 he was made a Yakir Yerushalayim ("Worthy Citizen of Jerusalem"), and in November of that year he was given the title of Chief Rabbi Emeritus of the Federation of Synagogues of South Africa.

Rabinowitz is the author of *The Social Life of the Jews of Northern France* (1938), *Ḥerem Hayyishub* (1945), and *Jewish Merchant Adventurers* (1948). His other books include *Soldiers from Judea* (1942), *Far East Mission* (1952), *Torah and Flora* (1977), and volumes of sermons.

[Lewis Sowden]

RABINOWITZ, LOUIS MAYER (1887–1957), U.S. manufacturer and philanthropist. Rabinowitz, who was born in Rosanne, Lithuania, immigrated to the U.S. in 1901. In 1916 he established a corset manufacture company in New York. Rabinowitz subsequently became chairman of the corset industry (1934) and director of the Business Men's Council (1935).

Active in Jewish community affairs, he was vice president of the Hebrew National Orphan Home (1921), the Jewish Hospital of Brooklyn, the American Jewish Historical Society, the New York chapter of the America-Israel Society, and director of the Federation for the Support of Jewish Philanthropic Societies of New York City (1935). A collector of books, manuscripts, and paintings, he gave much of his collection to the New York Public Library, Library of Congress, Jewish Theological Seminary, and Yale University. Donating the Rabinowitz Fund for Judaica Research at Yale, he established a chair there in Semitic languages and literature (1955). Rabinowitz served as director of the Yale University Association of Fine Arts and as honorary trustee of the Yale Library Associates. A director of the Jewish Theological Seminary, he established the Louis M. Rabinowitz Institute for Research in Rabbinics at the seminary in 1951 and donated many rare books to its library. The Louis M. Rabinowitz Foundation (1953) sponsored a five-year archaeological exploration in Israel in conjunction with the Hebrew Union College of Cincinnati.

RABINOWITZ, SAMUEL JACOB (1857–1921), Lithuanian rabbi and Zionist leader. Born in Kelme, Rabinowitz held rabbinical posts at Ivye, Aleksot, and Sopotskin and was esteemed as a writer of responsa and novellae, some of which were collected in his *Sefer Oraḥ Yashar* (1903). An early member of the Ḥovevei Zion, Rabinowitz attended the Second Zionist Congress, where he made a deep impression on both Theodor Herzl and the delegates; he was elected to the Zionist General Council, later serving as one of the first directors of the *Jewish Colonial Trust. In 1899 Rabinowitz led the Lithuanian Zionists in their battle against the Lishkah Sheḥorah, a group of violently anti-Zionist rabbis. As a result of his vigorous efforts, over 100 East European rabbis wrote letters in support of the Zionist movement. His own essays on the religious aspects of Zionism appeared in *Ha-Dat ve-ha-Le'ummiyyut* (1900). After the Fourth Zionist Congress Rabinowitz accompanied Isaac J. *Reines on a mission to the Warsaw area, where their efforts to gain the support of leading ḥasidic rabbis for the Zionist cause met with some success.

In 1906 Rabinowitz was appointed rabbi of Liverpool, where he did much to promote traditional observance and communal harmony, despite the early hostility of more Anglicized members of the local community. Together with Reines, he founded the *Mizrachi world movement of religious Zionists in 1902, and he maintained his Zionist activity in England, being elected president of the British Mizrachi organization at its first conference in 1918.

A volume of his essays and addresses, *Li-Tekufot ha-Yamim* ("The Cycle of Seasons," 1918), was sponsored by *Aḥad Ha-Am, and a supplementary work, *Sefer Yashresh Ya'akov* (1925), appeared as Liverpool Jewry's memorial tribute, with a preface written by Rabinowitz's successor, Isser Yehudah *Unterman. He inspired the character of "Reb Shemu'el" in Herzl's novel *Altneuland*.

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[Godfrey Edmond Silverman]

RABINOWITZ, STANLEY (1917–), U.S. rabbi and president of the Rabbinical Assembly. Born in Duluth, Ia., Rabinowitz received his B.A. from the State University of Iowa in 1939 and was ordained by the Jewish Theological Seminary

(1943). He began his career as an itinerant rabbi of congregations whose rabbis were away serving in the Armed Forces; as director of the Midwest office of the Jewish Theological Seminary; and then as director of field services for the United Synagogue of America. For a time, he served as acting director of the United Synagogue.

In 1947 Rabinowitz assumed the pulpit of B'nai Jacob Congregation in New Haven, Connecticut, where he served for five years, and then moved to Congregation Adath Jeshurun in Minneapolis (1953–60) before coming to Adas Israel Congregation in Washington, D.C., where he served for 26 years. As the rabbi of the largest Conservative congregation in Washington, Rabinowitz often had Israeli ambassadors and prominent national leaders in the pews. A champion of women's rights in Conservative Judaism, he initiated the bat mitzvah ceremony at his three congregations and counted women in the *minyan* at Adas Israel well before it was sanctioned by the Rabbinical Assembly.

He was instrumental in pushing for the desegregation of Washington, D.C., encouraging building owners in his congregation to desegregate their facilities. He allowed and encouraged Adas Israel to hold multiple services on Shabbat morning including a Havurah service and an Orthodox *minyan*. Adas Israel also did not follow the lead of many other inner city synagogues that moved to the suburbs following the 1968 riots.

Rabinowitz was also a national leader. Handsome and charismatic, he was a well-respected orator; he chaired the Committee on Synagogue Standards for the Rabbinical Assembly; and was later vice president of the Rabbinical Assembly in 1974–76 and then president in 1976–78. He represented the Conservative movement in its confrontations with Prime Minister Menaḥem Begin over an amendment to the *Law of Return regarding non-Orthodox conversions. He also traveled to Egypt soon after Anwar Sadat's path-breaking trip to Jerusalem.

His national career was thwarted by a technicality of the Rabbinical Assembly bylaws that limited the presidency to two one-year terms. A leading candidate to be chairman of the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organization and thus *the* major spokesman of American Jews, his nomination hinged on his remaining a third year as president of the RA, at least until he secured the chairmanship of the Conference. The timing was not propitious and Rabinowitz became ineligible to serve as chairman since he was no longer president of a major American Jewish organization. Rabbi Alexander *Schindler had used the bully pulpit of the chair to advance his movement's prominence. Since then no Conservative movement figure has had comparable influence.

Rabinowitz' experience with the Israeli prime minister convinced him that Conservative Judaism needed a strong presence in Israel. He thus became founding president of the Zionist Organization of the Conservative Movement (MERCAZ) (1977–1985) and chaired the Rabbinic Cabinet of United Jewish Appeal (1986). He retired in 1986 and was named rabbi emeritus of Adas Israel.

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RABINOWITZ, YA'AKOV (1875–1948), Hebrew journalist and author. Born in Volkovysk, Poland, Rabinowitz, after teaching for several years in Vitebsk, left in 1900 for Switzerland, where he started to write. Upon his return to Russia in 1904, he became active in Zionist affairs and began his long career as journalist and author. From 1907 until his departure for Ereẓ Israel in 1910, he was active in the *Odessa Committee, becoming M.M. *Ussishkin's principal aide. In Ereẓ Israel he first settled in Petaḥ Tikvah, but moved to Tel Aviv in 1923.

Rabinowitz became a regular contributor to *Ha-Po'el ha-Ẓa'ir*. Together with A. *Barash he founded the literary journal *Hedim* (1922), which became a forum for both the old and young generations of writers and an outstanding expression of the literary milieu in Ereẓ Israel from the time of the Third Aliyah. His own contributions consisted of monographs on various authors. In addition, he wrote a regular column for *Davar*, contributed to many literary periodicals, and published translations. Among Rabinowitz' books are *Be-Ein Shoresh* (1914), a historical novel; *Or va-Ed* (1922), stories; *Setav* (1926), poems; *Nedudei Amasai ha-Shomer* (2 vols., 1929), a story of the Second Aliyah period; *Neveh Kayiẓ* (1934), a novel; and *Hassagot* (1935), articles and essays. Y. Har-Even edited Rabinowitz's essays and published them with a biographical essay under the title *Maslulei Sifrut* (1971).

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[Getzel Kressel]

RABINOWITZ, YEHOSHUA (1911–1979), Israeli politician. Rabinowitz was born in Vishnevets, Poland, where his father was a well-to-do merchant. He studied at the Tarbut school and graduated from the Teachers' Seminary in Vilna. He was appointed director of a Hebrew school in Poland, where he was active in the He-Ḥalutz movement.

Immigrating to Ereẓ Israel in 1934 Rabinowitz was employed in the Department of Industry of Hamashbir Hamerkazi, eventually becoming head of the Consumers' Cooperative of Israel.

Elected to the municipal council of Tel Aviv in 1956, he succeeded Mordekhai Namir as mayor in 1969. The Israel Labor Party, which he represented, was defeated in the elections held in 1973, and he was not reelected. A member of the Central Bureau of the Labor Party, he was regarded as a key figure in the movement and wielded enormous influence in it councils.

In March 1974 Rabinowitz was appointed minister of housing in the short-lived government of Golda Meir, but when Pinḥas Sapir decided not to serve in the government formed on June 3, by Yiẓḥak Rabin, Rabinowitz was appointed to succeed him as minister of finance, remaining in office until the elections held in May 1977.

RABINOWITZ, ẒEVI HA-COHEN (1832–1889), science popularizer. Born in Linkavo, in the Kaunas district of Lithuania (then Russia), Rabinowitz early showed an inclination for mathematics and physics, and from 1852 began to prepare a comprehensive Hebrew work which was to encompass all the fields of physics, with his own notes.

Because of financial difficulties, he only published one volume, *Sefer ha-Menuḥah ve-ha-Tenu'ah* (1867). He later wrote other books on mathematics, magnetism, chemistry, and steam engines, thus enriching Hebrew terminology in these fields and bringing them to the attention of Hebrew readers. He also published many articles on these subjects in *Ha-Meliẓ*, and in Russian in several newspapers and periodicals which he edited and published between the late 1870s and 1885. Even after the pogroms of the 1880s he remained convinced that education was the solution to the Jewish problem in Russia. He died in St. Petersburg.

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[Getzel Kressel]

RABINOWITZ, ZINA (1895–1965), Hebrew writer. Born in Bendery, Bessarabia, she went to Ereẓ Israel in 1913. With the outbreak of World War I she returned to Bessarabia and later continued her studies at Moscow University. After living in the U.S., Canada and Palestine, she permanently settled in Israel in 1961.

Her poems and stories first appeared in *Ha-Shilo'aḥ* during World War I, after which she continued to publish stories and travel articles in Hebrew and Yiddish. Her books include *Ma'aseh be-Makkel* (1960), *Ba-Derekh la-Ḥerut* (1962), and *Be-Ahavatam Nitgallu* (1963).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Kressel, Leksikon, 2 (1967), 816.

[Getzel Kressel]

RABINOWITZ-TEOMIM, ELIJAH DAVID BEN BENJAMIN (**ADeReT**; 1842/43–1905), Ashkenazi chief rabbi of Jerusalem. Elijah David was born in Pikeln, Lithuania. His father Benjamin Rabinowitz, who was rabbi of Zamosc and later of Wilkomierz, was called "Benjamin the righteous" because of his great piety; it was said that he never slept the night through and never ate a meal before completing the study of a tractate. As Elijah David was a twin, his brother being Ẓevi Judah, the name Teomim ("twins") was added to the family surname. Elijah David was known from his youth as an unusual genius and in 1874 was chosen rabbi of the community of Ponevezh. In 1893 he was appointed rabbi of Mir which, though smaller than Ponevezh, was renowned for its large yeshivah. His decision to move to Mir started a controversy, and the leaders of Ponevezh sent "an open letter" to Mir asking that their rabbi be "freed," but the appeal was ignored. His period at Mir was regarded as the creative period of his life. There he published the most notable of his works, as well as articles which appeared in many periodicals – *Ha Tevunah, Ha-Me'assef, Kevod ha-Levanon, Ha-Ẓofeh, Ha-Maggid, Keneset Ḥakhmei Yisrael, Ittur Soferim, Keneset ha-Gedolah*, etc. In Mir he wrote no less than a hundred works, especially notes and glosses to the Talmud, Maimonides' *Mishneh Torah*, the *Tur* of Jacob b. Asher, the Shulḥan Arukh, and responsa. His novellae and glosses on the Jerusalem Talmud entitled *Tuv Yerushalayim* appeared in the Romm-Vilna edition (1922) and those on the *Tur Ḥoshen Mishpat* entitled *Et Devar ha-Mishpat* in the *El ha-Mekorot* (1959) edition of the *Turim*. His extraordinary erudition is discernible in his novellae and notes, and his great knowledge of historical matters from his correspondence on these subjects with Jacob Reifmann, Isaac Hirsch Weiss and others.

The following of his works may be mentioned: *Oholei David, Matta'ei Hadar,* and *Heshiv Davar,* responsa; *Gefen Adderet*, on the Babylonian and Jerusalem Talmud; *Seder ha-Mo'adot*, on the festivals and special seasons; *Ma'as la-Melekh*, on Maimonides' *Mishneh Torah; Ẓiyyunim la-Torah*, source references; and *Kelei ha-Ro'im*, on the *aggadot* of the rabbis. Among his published works are *Zekher le-Mikdash* (1889), on *Hakhel; Aḥarit ha-Shanim* (1893); *Over Oraḥ*, appended to N. Cahana, *Orḥot Ḥayyim* (pt. 2, 1898); notes and glosses on the *Mishneh Torah* of Maimonides (1900); *Teshuvah mi-Yirah* (1906), on all topics in which Maimonides employs the phrase *Yireh Li* ("it seems to me"); *Zahav Sheva* (appended to *Tosefot ha-Rashba*, 1956), notes on the *tosafot* to *Pesaḥim* by Samson b. Abraham of Sens.

In 1899 a new period of his life commenced. When Samuel *Salant reached an advanced age and asked for a successor to be appointed chief rabbi of Jerusalem, extended negotiations with rabbis of the Diaspora began. At the recommendation of Ḥayyim Ozer *Grodzinski of Vilna, Elijah David was officially appointed in 1901. He succeeded in uniting the Jerusalem community, which was split into various **kolelim* and suffered from inner dissension between the *perushim* (the non-ḥasidic Ashkenazi community) and the **Ḥasidim*, and in forming a single organization for *sheḥitah*. He was also active in many communal spheres. He was the first treasurer of the Bikkur Ḥolim hospital, made regulations for institutions of learning and charity – particularly in the yeshivah Eẓ Ḥayyim – and arranged strict supervision of shops and merchants. His local regulations and customs are still in force, included in the annual calendar which is published by the Eẓ Ḥayyim yeshivah. The most famous of his sons-in-law, Abraham Isaac ha-Kohen *Kook, published a special brochure entitled *Eder ha-Yakar* (1906, 1967^2) describing his father-in-law's personality and quoting his testament, which shows the extraordinary humility and modesty of its author, and 20 of his letters.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: A.I. Kook, *Eder ha-Yakar* (1906, 1967^{2}); J. Gelis, *Mi-Gedolei Yerushalayim* (1967), 116–35.

[Itzhak Alfassi]

RABON (Rubin), ISRAEL (1900–1941), Yiddish poet and novelist. Born in Govertshev, Poland, Rabon lived most of his life in Lodz. He was murdered by the Nazis at Ponary, near Vilna. He wrote his works of raw power and imaginative force under several pseudonyms including Yisrolik der Kleyner, Rut Vintsigster, Shabtai Tsiter, and Y. Rozental. His books include poetry, *Hintern Ployt fun der Velt* ("Behind the World's Fence," 1928) and *Groer Friling* ("Grey Spring," 1933), and two novels, *Di Gas* ("The Street," 1928), and *Balut, Roman fun a Forshtot* ("Balut, Novel of a Suburb," 1934).

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[Leonard Prager / Marc Miller (2nd ed.)]

RABOY, ISAAC (Yitskhok; 1882–1944), Yiddish novelist, poet, and playwright. Born into a ḥasidic family in rural Podolia and raised in northern Bessarabia where he came in contact with maskilic circles and read Russian literature, in 1904, following the Kishinev pogroms and seeking to avoid conscription into the czarist army, he immigrated to New York where he worked in a hat factory. Dovid *Ignatov, a fellow worker, and *Mani Leyb, a neighbor, introduced him to the literary group Di *Yunge, in whose anthologies Raboy published his first stories. He studied agriculture with the financial support of the Baron de Hirsch Fund (1908–10) and subsequently worked on a horse-breeding ranch in North Dakota. On his return to the East in 1913, he failed both at farming in Connecticut and in a business venture in New York and was compelled to work in factories for the rest of his life. Many of his short stories and his two best-known novels, *Her Goldnbarg* ("Mr. Goldenberg," 1923) and *Der Yidisher Kauboy* (1942; *Jewish Cowboy*, 1989) reflect his farming experiences. The lightly veiled autobiographical protagonists exult in the freedom of the prairies – a world hitherto unknown to Yiddish literature. They empathize with Native Americans, are compassionate to animals, but experience antisemitic prejudice and long to till the soil of Palestine. In his lyrical and often humorous prose, Raboy celebrates the Jewish discovery of the New World, not only the vast spaces of the Midwest but also, in a manner comparable to those works of Sholem *Asch set in New York, as in *Iz Gekumen a Yid keyn Amerike* ("A Jew Came to America," 1929), the sweatshops and tenements of Delancey Street at the turn of the century.

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[Sol Liptzin / Hugh Denman (2nd ed.)]

RAB-SARIS AND RAB-MAG (Heb. רַב מָג; רַב־סָרִיס), titles of high ranking Assyrian and Babylonian officials. An economic bilingual document in Akkadian and Aramaic attests the title Rab-Saris as held by an Assyrian eponym. In that document, however, the corresponding Akkadian term is absent and it is as yet unattested elsewhere. Further a מרסרס of Sargon is found in Aramaic. The meaning of all these is "chief of the king's attendants." Though the *saris* – in Akkadian *ša rēši* – was often a *eunuch (in contradistinction to the *ša ziqni*, "the bearded one"), there is no indication that the Rab-Saris was always castrated. In the story of Daniel, the Rab-Saris Ashpenaz trained certain aristocratic Jewish youths for service in the court of Nebuchadnezzar (Dan. 1:3ff.). The Rab-Saris is among the Assyrian officials leading the siege of Jerusalem in the days of Hezekiah (II Kings 18:17). In Jeremiah 39:3–13, the Rab-Saris Nebushazban is mentioned together with other Babylonian officials. Among these was Nergalsharezer the Rab-Mag. In late Assyrian and late Babylonian texts the *rab-mugi* (or *rab-mungi*) is described as a high official who performed military, administrative, and diplomatic duties, although the precise significance of the title is unclear.

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[S. David Sperling]

RAB-SHAKEH (Heb. רַבְשָׁקֵה; Akk. *rab šāqî*), title of a high Assyrian and Babylonian official. Akkadian texts indicate that he was in charge of territories. In the Assyrian eponym succession, this official was fourth in line from the king. In Middle Assyrian texts the *šāqû* ("butler") is mentioned as a member of the domestic staff of the palace. The *rab-šāqî* was thus originally "chief butler." The development calls to mind the English "chamberlain." At the siege of Jerusalem by Sennacherib the Rab-Shakeh addresses the leaders and the people in an effort to secure their surrender (II Kings 18:19; Isa. 36–37).

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[S. David Sperling]

RACAH, GIULIO (Yoel; 1909–1965), Israeli physicist, born in Florence, Italy. On his mother's side, Racah's family claimed to trace its ancestry in Italy back to the destruction of the Second Temple. Racah studied in Rome under Enrico Fermi and in Pisa under Wolfgang Pauli. At the age of 28 he was appointed professor at the University of Pisa. An ardent Zionist, he placed his farm outside Pisa for use by the Zionist Organization as an agricultural training center. He first visited Palestine in 1934, and on settling in Jerusalem in 1939 headed the department of theoretical physics of the Hebrew University. Here, Racah began his studies of atomic spectroscopy which gained the department an international reputation. During the Israel War of Independence he served as deputy commander of the Haganah on Mount Scopus and led research on munitions that could be produced from the raw materials available in the besieged city. The "Racah method" of spectroscopy has been recognized as one of the most effective methods of studying all types of nuclear structure. His "Racah coefficient W" has wide application in research on nuclear radiations, and it is the basis of books of tables published by many of the world's leading scientific institutions. In 1958 Racah was awarded the Israel Prize for natural sciences. His reputation attracted notable scientists to Israel, and the department of nuclear physics at the Weizmann Institute of Science was built up mainly by graduates trained by Racah. In 1961 Racah was elected rector of the Hebrew University. He died while visiting Florence.

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RACCAH, MAS'ŪD BEN AARON (1690–1768), rabbi in *Tripoli. Raccah appears to have been descended from the Venetian Raccah family. Isaac Raccah, whose daughter he married, and Solomon Raccah, wealthy uncles of his, and his brother-in-law Mas'ūd lived in Venice. These relatives encouraged him and lent him their support. He studied principally in Smyrna under R. Ḥayyim Abulafia the Elder and R. Isaac ha-Kohen Rapoport, the author of *Battei Kehunnah*. Raccah immigrated to Ereẓ Israel, settled in *Jerusalem, and was sent from there as an emissary to Tripoli. The leaders of the Tripoli community invited him to become their spiritual leader. Accepting their proposal, he was appointed *av bet din*. During his stay in Tripoli he founded a yeshivah and trained many disciples who later became rabbis and community leaders. They included R. Shalom Flus, R. Moses Lahmias, R. Nathan Adadi, who married his daughter, R. Benjamin Vaturi, and others. During the years 1731–36 he appears to have been in Leghorn, where he corresponded on halakhic matters with the rabbi of Leghorn, R. Abraham Rodriguez. While there, he gave his *haskamah* ("approval") in 1736 to the responsa of R. David b. Zimra, which were then published there.

Raccah wrote the following works:

(1) *Ma'aseh Roke'aḥ* ("Works of the Apothecary," a pun on his own name), a commentary in four parts on Maimonides' *Mishneh Torah* (parts 1–2, Venice, 1742; part 3, Leghorn, 1863; part 4, Tel Aviv, 1964). In this work he compares the texts of the various editions of *Mishneh Torah* in order to determine the correct version;

(2) *Divrei ha-Baraita* ("Words of the *Baraita*"), commentaries on the *beraitot*, which is extant in manuscript;

(3) various sermons which are extant in manuscript;

(4) a commentary on the Five Scrolls; and

(5) a collection of commentaries on several of the tractates of the Talmud.

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[Haiim Bentov]

RACE, THEORY OF. In the 18th century the "founding fathers" of anthropology almost all believed that the human races differed in innate intelligence, or even in virtue. Obviously the idea of such racial differences is far older than the first attempts at their scientific classification.

Early Beliefs

Primitive tribes who laid claim to particular genealogies, going back to legendary ancestors, developed these ideas in their own way. In classical Greece, philosophers like Plato and Aristotle were "racists" in the modern sense of the word: according to Aristotle, the Greeks were born to be free while the barbarians were slaves by nature. However, in the melting pot of Alexander's empire and later in the Roman empire, belief in ethnocentrism faded; this was especially true of Stoic philosophy. The Jewish tradition, with its majestic story of Adam which furnished all men with a common ancestor, can be considered the first historical example of a fundamentally "antiracist" conception. On this subject the Talmud states: "for the sake of peace among creatures, the descent of all men is traced back to one individual, so that one may not say to his neighbor, my father is greater than yours" (Sanh. 4:5). Belief in a common descent from Adam was taken over by Christianity and became one of the fundamentals of the Christian principle of the equality of all men before God. However, at the same time, medieval society was divided into three estates – commoners, clergy, and nobility – superiority being ascribed to the "blue blood" of the latter. As most of Europe's reigning monarchs were of Germanic origin, there was a tendency apparent from the earliest days to accord a measure of preeminence to "Germanic blood." Conflicts between such conceptions of degree and the Christian universalist principle were particularly acute in the 16th-century Spanish empire. It was only after lengthy struggles and theological discussions that the Spaniards recognized the native races they found in America as men endowed with souls. At the same time, through statutes dealing with racial purity (*limpieza de sangre*), a system of racial discrimination was instituted in Spain, applying to the descendants of Jews and Moors who had been converted to Christianity. In spite of their baptism, the blood of these "new Christians" was considered impure and their race inferior.

Eighteenth-Century Anthropological Theories

So, during the whole of European history, it is possible to speak of latent, or even open, racial prejudice. The establishment of the anthropological sciences in the 18th century enabled these prejudices to be expressed systematically, and the systems of classification worked out by the scientists Buffon and Linnaeus were typical in this respect. Both men coupled features (color of skin, type of hair, etc.) with mental and moral characteristics, which were interpreted in favor of the white man of Europe. Buffon, whose system was more overtly racial than Linnaeus', even considered the white man as the norm, the "king of the creation," and colored men as members of degenerate races. The tendency to regard the white race as superior characterized the majority of anthropological systems elaborated during the 18th and 19th centuries. The rejection of biblical anthropology favored this trend, because then it became possible to attribute different origins to different races. Thus, according to *Goethe, Adam was the ancestor of the Jews only, while *Voltaire believed that black men were an intermediate species between white men and apes. In the 18th century the major systems of classification (of which the best known and least marred by racial value judgments was that of Blumenbach) distinguished between only four or five principal races. The Jews were usually included in the white race, in whose midst they were supposed to form a nation *sui generis*. But at the beginning of the 19th century, with the emergence of nationalist struggles, writers began to multiply the number of races, to distinguish between different European races and even to set one against the other. There was continuous interaction in this field between the mental climate of the time, itself closely related to political upheavals, and the current intellectual theories.

Nineteenth-Century Nationalism

From then on racist or quasiracist notions took root, especially in Germany where nationalist agitators like E.M. Arndt and F.L. Jahn extolled the merits and qualities of the Teutonic race. The philosopher *Fichte elaborated a patriotic theory postulating that German was the original language (*Ursprache*) of Europe and the Germans its original people (*Urvolk*). After 1815, many German students and academics propounded these opinions as part of the Pan-Germanic movement. Ideas of the same type also spread in other countries. After the restoration of the monarchy in France some bourgeois intellectuals, reacting against the pretensions of the "Frankish" nobility, claimed to belong to the native "Gallic" race. In Britain "Germanism" or "Teutonism" found influential supporters in Carlyle and Thomas Arnold. In more enlightened English circles the "Hebrew race," which had given the West its spiritual values, was championed by Benjamin *Disraeli: "All is race, there is no other truth" was his maxim. In that age the concept of "race" was espoused by numerous authors as a substitute for divine providence as the determining factor in history. Germany continued to be the principal nursery of race theories reinforced by scientific pretensions, partly because its political divisions before 1871 stimulated nationalist fervor, and partly because according to the most prevalent notions the Germans were the only European nation which could claim to be a wholly "pure" race, that is, purely Teutonic. Heinrich *Heine commented ironically: "We Germans are the strongest and wisest race; descendants of our princely house sit on all European thrones; our Rothschilds control all the world's stock markets; our scholars lead in all sciences; we know it all."

"Aryan" and "Semite"

It is obvious that from then on the Jews were considered as a race apart, an Oriental one, and the spectacle of their success in all walks of life after emancipation strengthened the tendency to attribute to them certain specific – and detrimental – racial characteristics. In intellectual spheres the race theories of the 19th century received a powerful impetus and gained a new orientation from the linguistic discovery of the Indo-European group of languages. A confusion arose between languages and races, a mistake which had grave consequences. It was believed that the nations that spoke European languages, which were thought to have derived from Sanskrit, belonged to the Indo-European or "Aryan" race. In opposition to them was a "Semitic" race, represented by the Jews and the Arabs. Typically enough, German scholars used the term "Indo-Germanic" instead of Indo-European. Of course it was also taken for granted that the "Aryan" race was morally superior to the "Semitic" one. Thus, according to the famous Orientalist scholar Lassen, "the Semites do not possess that harmonious equilibrium between all the powers of the intellect which characterized the Indo-Germans." His well-known French colleague Ernest *Renan spoke of the "appalling simplicity of the Semitic mind." All original creations of the human spirit – with the possible exception of religion – were attributed to the "Aryans." Moreover, many authors considered that, to preserve their special qualities, the Aryan nations must avoid intermingling with the people of an "inferior race." They accorded the Germans the distinction of being the purest Aryans.

Such were the opinions, which, pushed to their limits, were developed and popularized by Comte de *Gobineau in his infamous *Essai sur l'Inégalité des Races Humaines* (1853–55). The racial theories of the 19th century tended to establish a double hierarchy: the superiority of the "Aryans" over "Semites" and other "inferior races"; and the superiority of the "Germans" over other "Aryans." The political and economic success (especially after 1871) of the nations that spoke Germanic languages and that therefore considered themselves as belonging to the Teutonic race helped to sanction these opinions. In Latin countries efforts were made to set up a rival hierarchy (which gave rise to the myths of "Latinity" and "Celticity") or, especially in France, to proclaim the superiority of a "racial mixture" over "racial homogeneity." Similarly, in the United States, the adherents of the "melting-pot" conception of the country (limited to the white race) were in conflict with the acolytes of the "Anglo-Saxon race." All these notions continued to be based on the tenacious confusion, typical of the materialist orientation of anthropological science in the 19th century, between "races" and languages or cultures.

However, during the same century, progress in anthropology, ethnography, and prehistory made most specialists gradually abandon these simplified conceptions. Thus the distinguished philologist Max Mueller, although he had previously supported such theories, announced in 1871 that it was absurd to speak of an "Aryan race" or of a "grammar based on the size of the head." However, the "Aryan theory" continued to gain adherents among the general public. It was propagated in every country in school textbooks, which usually summarily repeated ancient opinions and classified Europeans as "Aryans," all except the "Semitic" Jews. The anti-Jewish campaigns, from then on styled "antisemitic," made their contribution to the spread of the theory. As a result of all this, by 1900 the existence of an "Aryan race" was firmly established in the public mind as a scientific truth. Usually, this only implied a vague belief in the intellectual or moral superiority of the "Aryans" over the "Semites," and a more marked superiority of the "whites" over the "yellows" and especially the "blacks." But in the arena of the violent antisemitic campaigns of the time, some fanatics worked out elaborate eschatological systems in which the struggle between the Aryan and Semitic races was the counterpart of the final struggle between Good and Evil. The most influential of these writers was the Anglo-German Houston Stewart *Chamberlain, who stated that the original sin of the Jews was that from ancient times they had been a mixed race opposed to Aryan purity. Ingenuously, in the time of King Cyrus, the Aryans had committed the fatal blunder of protecting the Jews: "…under the protection of Aryan tolerance was planted the seed from which Semitic intolerance spread its poison over the earth for thousands of years, a curse on all that was noble and a shame to Christianity."

From the second quarter of the 20th century scientific anthropology rid itself almost entirely of the dangerous error of dividing the human races into "superior" and "inferior," or even "good" and "bad." At that same time, however, in a defeated and disoriented Germany, gripped by unemployment, this same error helped to weld a political party and then grew into a state dogma. Thus, from 1933 the theory of race was nothing but a kind of totemistic mythology, serving to justify an imperialistic and murderous expansionism.

In the later part of the 20th century, all such theories of race, whether applied to Jews or other groups, had been largely dicredited by the scientific community.

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[Léon Poliakov]

RACHEL (Heb. רָחֵל), matriarch of Israel, wife of *Jacob and the mother of *Joseph and Benjamin. Her name means "ewe," while that of her sister *Leah means "cow." She was the younger daughter of *Laban, brother of Rebekkah.

Rachel first appears as a shepherdess who happened to come in sight just when Jacob had arrived at a well near Haran in his flight from his brother Esau. The two seem to have fallen in love at once, and Jacob made an agreement with his uncle to work for him for seven years in return for receiving Rachel in marriage. However, when the time of the nuptials arrived, Laban cheated Jacob and gave him Leah, his older daughter, instead. Laban, however, agreed to deliver Rachel in advance if Jacob undertook to serve him for another seven years as the bride-price for Rachel (Gen. 29:4–30).

Rachel is described as "shapely and beautiful" (29:17) and was more beloved of Jacob than Leah (29:30). She was, however, barren and became very jealous of her sister's fecundity. In her desperation, she resorted to the device of concubinage, used earlier by Sarah under similar circumstances (16:2–4; see *Patriarchs). She gave her maid Bilhah to Jacob and looked upon the offspring of the union, Dan and Naphtali, as her own children (30:1–8). On one occasion, she yielded her conjugal rights to Leah in return for some mandrakes that Reuben had collected (30:14–16), apparently sharing the widespread belief that this "love apple" could cure barrenness in women. It was only after Leah had borne seven children that Rachel finally gave birth, naming her son Joseph, noting with satisfaction that God had taken away (*ʾasaf*) her disgrace and expressing the wish that the Lord might give her an additional (*yosef*) son (30:22–24).

Jacob consulted with Rachel and her sister about his plan to return to his homeland and he received their consent. Before the family's precipitate flight, Rachel stole her father's household idols, unbeknown to her husband. The exact significance of this act is uncertain (see *Teraphim). Three days later, Laban caught up with Jacob and searched his effects. Rachel, however, managed to outwit her father and to conceal the idols (31:4–35).

When Jacob prepared for the encounter with Esau on his return home, he took care to place Rachel and Joseph last in the receiving line (33:1–7), apparently to ensure that they would have a chance to escape should the meeting prove to be hostile.

Rachel died in childbirth on the way from Beth-El to Ephrath. As she lay dying she named her son Ben-Oni, "son of my suffering," although her husband called him Benjamin. Jacob did not bury her in the ancestral, patriarchal vault at Machpelah, but interred her at the place of her death and set up a monument over the grave (35:16–21; cf. 48:7). These traditions of burial in Bethlehem are in conflict with I Samuel 10:2 and Jeremiah 31:14 (15), which locate the tomb in Benjamin (see below).

Rachel appears again only twice in biblical literature. She is mentioned, together with Leah, as a matriarch of Israel, in the marriage blessing of Ruth (Ruth 4:11), and Jeremiah poetically visualizes her weeping in Ramah for her children (the tribes of Ephraim and Manasseh descended from Joseph), who are in exile (Jer. 31:15).

The traditions about Rachel in Genesis are generally regarded as reflections of Israelite tribal history – though there is no unanimity as to the period involved. It is assumed that at some stage in the development of the 12-tribe league, the tribes associated with Rachel (Benjamin, Ephraim, and Manasseh) and Bilhah (Dan and Naphtali) constituted a distinct confederation. The territory of Benjamin is, as a matter of fact, contiguous with that of Ephraim. The attribution of two tribes to the concubine Bilhah probably reflects their inferior status within the smaller confederation, while the birth of Benjamin in Canaan would imply a late association of that tribe with the others in the group. The very name can be interpreted as "son of the south," which correctly describes the location of Benjamin's territory in Israel in relation to that of the other members of the groups.

[Nahum M. Sarna]

In the Aggadah

Rachel warned Jacob that her cunning father would try dishonestly to wed her elder sister, Leah, to him. Jacob and Rachel therefore agreed upon a sign by which he would recognize her on the nuptial night. Nevertheless, when Laban actually sent Leah into the bridal chamber, Rachel revealed the sign to her sister lest she be put to shame. As a reward for this act, Rachel was vouchsafed to be the ancestress of King *Saul (Meg. 13b).

Rachel began to envy her sister after Leah had borne Jacob four sons because she attributed this good fortune to her sister's piety (Gen. R. 71:6). After she implored Jacob to pray for the termination of her barrenness, he hinted that Sarah was only blessed with Isaac because "she brought her rival [Hagar] into her home." Rachel thereupon gave her maidservant, Bilhah, to Jacob (Gen. R. 71:7). When she finally bore a son, she was doubly thankful because she had feared that Laban would permit only Leah to accompany Jacob to Ereẓ Israel, and would detain the childless wife (Gen. R. 73:3). She was a prophetess and thus knew that Jacob was destined to have only 12 sons. Since Joseph was the 11th, she prayed for only one more son (Tanḥ. Va-Yeẓe, 20). One opinion is that she stole her father's teraphim in order to conceal the knowledge of Jacob's flight (PdRE 36); another is that the purpose was to turn her father away from idolatry (Gen. R. 74:5). Jacob's unintentional curse against her on that occasion caused Rachel's premature death. The curse would have taken effect at once were it not that she was destined to bear Jacob his youngest son (Gen. R. 74:9; PdRE 36).

She was not vouchsafed burial next to her husband in the cave of Machpelah because of her indelicate request to Leah in the mandrake incident (Gen. R. 72:3). Jacob buried her at Ephrath because he foresaw that the exiles would pass this place when they were exiled to Babylon. As they passed, Rachel would entreat God's mercy for them (Gen. R. 82:10). Indeed, it was only Rachel who was able to obtain God's promise that Israel would ultimately be restored after she pleaded with Him to recall her kindness to Leah on the night that should have been her own nuptial celebration (Lam. R., Proem 24).

[Aaron Rothkoff]

Tomb of Rachel

According to Genesis (35:19–20), Rachel was buried "on the road to Ephrath, which is Beth-Lehem"; according to I Samuel (10:–2) the tomb of Rachel was situated "within the border of Benjamin, in Zelzah." The words of the prophet Jeremiah (31:15) allude to the tomb of Rachel as being in the portion of Benjamin. The rabbis who sought to correct this contradiction saw an error in the order of the words in the construction of the verse in the Book of Samuel. Among others, they suggested the following correction: "When thou goest from me today to the border of Benjamin, to Zelzah, thou shalt find two men by the tomb of Rachel" (Gen. R. 82:10; Tosef., Sot. 11:11; Sif. Deut. 352). Some modern scholars read: "When thou goest from me today, thou shalt find two men within the border of Benjamin, in Zelzah, and they shall say to thee: the she-asses which thou went to seek by the tomb of Rachel have been found."

The tombstone near Beth-Lehem is mentioned by the first Christians, e.g., Eusebius; the most ancient Jewish source on the tomb of Rachel is the *Guide to Jerusalem* of the tenth century, which was found in the Cairo **Genizah*. According to the descriptions of Jewish travelers, from R. Benjamin of Tudela (c. 1170) until the 18th century, the tombstone consisted of 11 stones which were laid by the 11 sons of Jacob on the grave; a large stone was placed over them, that of Jacob. The tomb was roofed over with a dome which was supported by four pillars. At the end of the 18th century the tomb was surrounded by a closed structure. In 1841 this structure was renovated with funds which were supplied by Sir Moses Montefiore. This is attested by an inscription engraved on a marble tablet inside the structure.

The tomb is especially visited on the new moons, during the whole of the month of Elul, and on the 14th of Marheshvan, the traditional anniversary of the death of "Our Mother Rachel." Jews donated oil, sacred curtains, and charity for the tomb structure. They were also accustomed to inscribing their names on the tombstone and measuring it with red woolen threads, which were tied onto children and the sick as a remedy for good health and healing. During the Jordanian occupation, the area around the tomb was converted into a Muslim cemetery. After the Six-Day War, the structure was renovated by the Israel Ministry of Religions and adapted to mass pilgrimage. A picture of the Tomb of Rachel was commonly used as a decoration in Jewish homes throughout the world.

[Joseph Braslavi (Braslavski)]

In the Arts

Of the four matriarchs Rachel has inspired the most original work in literature and art. In many instances she figures largely as the wife of Jacob, but in others she appears as the central character, often in connection with the theme of Jeremiah 31:15 – "A voice is heard in Ramah, Lamentation, and bitter weeping, Rachel weeping for her children; She refuseth to be comforted for her children, Because they are not." The account of Rachel's marriage to Jacob forms the basis of three early literary works, the German dramatist Christian Weise's

Jacobs doppelte Heyrath (1683), the Swiss German Johann Jacob Bodmer's epic *Jacob und Rachel* (1752), and an anonymous Spanish allegorical play, *La mas hermosa Rachel pastora de las almas* (c. 1780). Probably the outstanding 19th-century treatment of the subordinate theme was *Rachel* ("Rachel's Lament," 1851), a verse allegory of the fate of his homeland by the Hungarian nationalist poet János Arany. Among works on the subject written in the 20th century are *Plach Rakhili* ("Rachel's Lament," c. 1923), by the Russian writer Nikolai Alexandrovich Krasheninnikov; "Rahel," a lyrical ballad by the German poet Max Barthel, who later became sympathetic to the Nazis; and *Jacob's Ladder*, one of Laurence Housman's *Old Testament Plays* (1950), in which Rachel and Leah unendearingly squabble over their claims to Jacob's affection. A Jewish treatment was that by the Hebrew poet *Raḥel, whose *Shirat Raḥel* ("Song of Rachel," 1935) includes the phrase "Her voice sings in mine…" In medieval Christian iconography, the two wives of Jacob, Leah and Rachel, were associated with the New Testament figures of Martha and Mary (representing the active and the contemplative life), since Rachel was preferred by Jacob as Mary was preferred by Jesus. However, Rachel was not a popular subject among artists of the Middle Ages. Interest revived in the 15th century, when the meeting of Jacob and Rachel (Gen. 29:10ff.) was the subject of a pen-and-wash drawing by the Flemish painter Hugo van der Goes (Christ Church, Oxford). During the Renaissance, Palma Vecchio painted Jacob kissing Rachel (Gen. 29:11), and there is a study of Jacob and Rachel by Raphael in the Loggia of the Vatican. A painting by Hendrik Terbrugghen (National Gallery, London) shows Jacob asking Laban for Rachel's hand (Gen. 29:18). Claude Lorrain painted an idyllic landscape with Jacob and Rachel (Hermitage, Leningrad). The robust nude by *Rembrandt, known as *Danaë* (Hermitage, Leningrad), may have been intended to represent Jacob's unintended marriage to Rachel's sister, Leah. Jacob's appropriation of Laban's household idols, which were taken and hidden by Rachel (Gen. 31:30–35), is depicted in the seventh-century *Ashburnham Pentateuch* (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris). This subject later appeared in the Vatican Loggia frescoes by Raphael and in a tapestry by Barend van Orley, one of a series recounting the story of Jacob. It was also a popular subject in the 17th century. There are examples by the French painter Sébastien Bourdon (Louvre), by the Spanish master Murillo (Duke of Westminster Collection, London), by the Dutch genre painter Jan Steen, and by Rembrandt's teacher Pieter Lastman. Among works of the 18th century is a painting by Gabriel de Saint-Aubin in the Louvre; and the subject was included by Tiepolo in his wall paintings for the archbishop's palace at Udine, Italy.

In Music

Rachel has attracted rather less attention in music, although she and Jacob have together inspired some compositions, notably a 16th-century motet by Joachim à Burck (1599), some 17th-century Spanish songs, and a comic opera by Johann Philipp Krieger (1649–1725). The oratorio *Rachel* was composed by Jean François Lesueur (1760–1837), and in the 20th century Lazare *Saminsky wrote a ballet on the theme. *Raḥel Mevakkah al Baneha* (Jer. 31:15–17) has been a favorite subject for composers of cantorial music, and settings have been recorded by several leading *ḥazzanim*, including Josef (Yossele) *Rosenblatt; there are also modern interpretations by singers such as Jan Peerce and Richard Tucker. David Roitman's extended version of *Raḥel Mevakkah al Baneha* (Jer. 31:15; Jer. 25:30; Isa. 20:12; Lam. 1:16; and Isa. 33:7) was arranged for voice and piano by A.W. Binder (1930).

See also: *Jacob in the Arts.

[Bathja Bayer]

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RACHEL (first century C.E.), wife of R. *Akiva. The daughter of *Kalba Savua, one of the three richest men of Jerusalem, Rachel secretly married Akiva, who was ignorant and her father's shepherd, because she saw in him a man of modest and noble character. When her father found out about the secret betrothal, he took a vow against her deriving any benefit from his estate. Akiva and Rachel lived in straitened circumstances, but Akiva promised her a gift of a golden ornament with an engraving of Jerusalem on it. According to legend, the prophet *Elijah once came to them disguised as a poor man and begged them for some straw for a bed for his wife who had just given birth, in order to make them realize that there were people worse off than they (Ned. 50a). Akiva later decided to study Torah. Encouraged by Rachel he stayed away for 24 years (Finkelstein assumes that this absence did not last more than three years). He returned home with 24,000 disciples to whom he said, "mine and yours are hers," i.e., the credit for all our achievements is hers. When Akiva was able to fulfill his promise and give Rachel the "Jerusalem of Gold," Rabban *Gamaliel's wife envied her and told her husband of Akiva's generosity. He replied, "Did you do what she did, selling her hair in order that he might study?" (TJ, Sot. 9:16,24c). Akiva's love for Rachel is reflected in his saying, "who is wealthy?… He who has a wife comely in deeds" (Shab. 25b).

When Akiva's daughter became secretly betrothed to *Simeon ben Azzai, the Talmud concluded that this was indeed an illustration of the proverb "Ewe (Heb. *raḥel*) follows ewe; a daughter acts like her mother" (Ket. 63a). Two major traditions are preserved in the Talmud about Rachel. One is that it was she who encouraged Akiva to study (Ket. 62b, 63a; see also Ned. 50a, which is a more legendary source), while the other presents the stimulus as coming from himself and his gift to his wife as a compensation for her suffering during his absence (ARN[1] 6, 29).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: L. Finkelstein, *Akiba; Scholar, Saint, and Martyr* (1936), 22ff., 79ff.

RACHEL, the stage name of **Eliza Rachel Felix** (1821–1858), French actress and one of the world's greatest tragediennes. Born in Switzerland, Rachel was the daughter of a peddler, Jacob Felix, who took his large family to Paris. She was singing with her sisters in the streets when she was heard by the singing master, Etienne Choron, who undertook to give her free instruction. Under his sponsorship, she attended drama classes and the conservatoire, and at the age of 17 played at the Théâtre Gymnase. The leading Paris critic, Jules Janin of the *Journal de Débats*, was the only one to perceive her quality, and saw his enthusiasm vindicated when, in 1838, she entered the Comédie-Française and achieved success in Corneille's *Horace*. Thereafter her career was one of fame and notoriety. Rachel was slight of build and by some considered plain; but on the stage she had beauty, charm, and power. Though she had little formal education, her supreme dramatic achievement was in the French classics, especially Corneille and Racine, in which she replaced the declamatory style of the period with vitality and passion. She appeared in some contemporary plays, including *Adrienne Lecouvreur*, written for her by Legouvé and Scribe. Her greatest performance was in Racine's *Phèdre*; it was described as "an apocalypse of human agony."

The notoriety attending Rachel's name arose from her private life. She never married, but she had two children, one by Count Colonna-Walewski, an illegitimate son of Napoleon. She was also the mistress at different times of the poet Alfred de Musset, the Prince de Joinville, and a nephew of Napoleon, Prince Jerome. She first appeared in London in 1841 and subsequently toured the Continental capitals, including St. Petersburg. Her tour of the United States in 1855 proved to be the end of her career, for the tubercular condition from which she suffered became worse, and she never acted again. At her funeral, the chief rabbi of the Consistory of Paris delivered an oration in Hebrew.

Rachel's brother RAPHAEL (1825–1872), and her sisters SARAH (1819–1877), LIA (1828–1908), REBECCA (1829–1854), and DINAH (1836–1909) all had theatrical careers of varying success.

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[Ravelle Brickman]

RACHMAN, PETER (c. 1920–1962), British property tycoon and racketeer. He was born Perec Rachman in Lvov, Poland, the son of a dentist. His parents perished in the Holocaust and he survived the war as a slave laborer, migrating to Britain around 1946. After working as a dishwasher, in the 1950s Rachman built up a property empire in London by methods which later made him nationally notorious. Due to the war, there had been an extreme housing shortage in London. Resident tenants were protected by rent control, but the owner of a property was free to raise rents to their market level once the previous occupant had vacated a building. Rachman hired thugs, mainly recent West Indian migrants, to intimidate tenants, often elderly, into leaving, using threats and other unacceptable tactics. It is believed that Rachman was one of the main progenitors of the race riots in Notting Hill and elsewhere in west London in the late 1950s. Rachman dealt almost exclusively in cash, operating from no fixed premises, which made him immune from prosecution. He also became notorious for his lifestyle of ostentatious luxury, philandering, and gambling. In 1960 he was denied British citizenship on police advice, which resulted in his moving into more upmarket property pursuits just before his death of a heart attack at the age of about 42. After his death, when his methods became public knowledge, Harold Wilson coined the term "Rachmanism" to describe his racketeering, a term which has passed into common British usage. Rachman was among the most notorious businessmen in modern British history.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: ODNB online.

[William D. Rubinstein (2nd ed.)]

RACHMILEWITZ, MOSHE (1899–1985), Israeli hematologist. Born in Mstislavl (Russia) and educated in Berlin, he reached Palestine in 1926. He joined the Hadassah Department of Internal Medicine in Jerusalem in 1931 and became its head in 1939. One of the architects of the Hebrew University-Hadassah Medical School, he became professor in 1950 and served as dean from 1957 to 1961. From 1960 he headed the Israel Association for Hematology and Blood Transfusions and in 1964 was president of the first Congress of the Asian and Pacific Society of Hematology to be held in Israel. His research work has centered on the metabolism of vitamin B-12 and folic acid, Mediterranean fever, liver diseases, the mechanisms regulating blood creation, and nutritional anemia. He made a significant contribution to the formulation of Israel's health policies as vice chairman of the National Health Council, and internationally as a member of the World Health Organization's Expert Committee on Nutritional Anemia. In 1964, he was awarded the Israel Prize in Medicine.

[Lucien Harris]

°RACINE, JEAN (1639–1699), French tragic dramatist. Racine's reputation rests on nine tragedies in Alexandrine verse written between 1667 and 1691. There is no record of his having any personal knowledge of Jews, but the heroine's speech in *Esther* (1689) makes his sympathy for them clear enough. A reference in the preface to *Esther* to the modern celebration of Purim also shows an awareness of Jewish customs. Racine's profound knowledge of the Scriptures and its application to his work can be traced to his Jansenist education at Port-Royal (1655–58), where he first met Blaise *Pascal and enjoyed semi-private tutoring by such scholars as Louis-Isaac Le Maître de Saci (1615–84), the translator and Bible commentator, and Jean

Hamon (1618–87), author of a four-volume commentary on the *Song of Songs* (1708). Racine obtained the most thorough grounding in the Scriptures then available in France, but did not learn Hebrew. His knowledge of *Midrash* and *Targum* and Jewish traditions were derived from the works of the contemporary Christian Hebraists Matthew Poole, John *Lightfoot, and Richard *Simon. Racine's *Phèdre* (1677), though based on classical myth, involves Judeo-Greek syncretism. Phaedra's pangs of conscience can only be understood within the framework of biblical law and a biblical conception of man's relationship to the Deity. The biblical tragedies (*Esther,* 1689; *Athalie*, 1691) are less religious in implication than *Phèdre*, and partake of the rationalist spirit that pervaded French intellectual society at the end of the 17th century. Like most of Racine's plays, *Esther* depicts only the last part of the story, stressing midrashic, apocryphal, and original elements – Ahasuerus' dream, Esther's prayer, and an intimate conversation between Haman and his wife. Haman's pathetic supplication to the queen, Esther's refusal of pardon, and her silence when the king falsely accuses Haman of attempting to rape her are given far more emphasis in Racine's play than in the biblical narrative. David *Franco-Mendes, who pointed out that Racine's last great tragedy supports Queen Athaliah in her struggle against God, intended his Hebrew melodrama *Gemul Atalyah* (Amsterdam, 1770) as a reply to the French author. Racine makes the high priest Joad (the biblical Jehoiadah) a prophet of heroic faith, who foresees on stage the criminal career of his Davidic protégé, yet unflinchingly sacrifices his own son to his messianic hopes.

A Hebrew verse translation of *Esther* by Solomon Judah *Rapoport, entitled *She'erit Yehudah*, was published in Vienna in 1827 in *Bikkurei ha-Ittim*, 7, 171–254. *Athalie* was twice translated into Hebrew, first by Meir ha-Levi *Letteris (1835), and a century later by Elijah Meitus (1950). A two-volume English translation by Samuel Solomon of Racine's complete plays appeared in New York in 1968.

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[Herman Prins Salomon]

RACKER, EFRAIM (1913–1991), U.S. biochemist Racker was born in Neu Sandez, Poland, and, after a brief period in the Vienna Academy of Art studied at the University of Vienna, where he received his M.D. in 1938. However, art remained a lifelong passion and later in life he sold his own brilliant acrylics to benefit the fund he had established to help needy students. He left Austria after Nazi occupation for Great Britain, where his interest in psychiatry led him to work on the metabolism of the brain at the Cardiff City Mental Hospital. The general ignorance of normal cell metabolism motivated his change from physician to biochemist after he moved to New York University Medical School in 1944 and Yale Medical School in 1952. In 1954–66 he was head of the Nutrition and Physiology Department at the Public Health Research Institute, New York City, before moving to Cornell University, where he became the Albert Einstein Professor of Biochemistry and remained a working scientist until his death. His research interests concerned photosynthesis and energy production with the major discovery that oxidative phosphorylation is mediated by a transmembrane proton gradient. His world leadership in this field was recognized by many honors, including the National Medal of Science (1976), the Gairdner Award (1980), and the Harvey Prize of the Israel Technion (1980).

[Michael Denman (2nd ed.)]

RACKMAN, EMANUEL (1910–), U.S. Orthodox rabbi, educator, and author. Rackman was born in Albany, New York. His father, Rabbi David Rackman, was an early *rosh yeshivah* at the Rabbi Isaac Elchanan Theological Seminary (RIETS). Rackman studied at Columbia University where he received his B.A. Phi Beta Kappa, his law degree, and a Ph.D. in political science, and at the Rabbi Isaac Elchanan Theological Seminary (see *Yeshiva University) where he was ordained in 1934. He served congregations in Glen Cove (1930–36) and Lynbrook (1936–43), New York, and was a chaplain in the U.S. Air Force (1943–46), later attaining the rank of colonel in the reserves. He was in Europe at the time of the liberation of the concentration camps, an experience that shaped his desire to make use of his rabbinical ordination to rebuild the Jewish people. In 1946 he became the rabbi of Congregation Shaarey Tefila of Far Rockaway, New York, and in 1967 succeeded to the rabbinate of Manhattan's Fifth Avenue Synagogue, replacing Rabbi Immanuel Jacobwitz, who had been named chief rabbi of the United Kingdom. Rackman was prominently identified with the modern Orthodox group within American Orthodoxy, and was particularly concerned with understanding the meaning of the *halakhah* in order to find contemporary applications. He took issue with those who he claimed have frozen Jewish law and refused to solve current problems within its framework. Rackman also held that Orthodox rabbis and institutions should cooperate with the non-Orthodox and could participate in organizations which contained all the divisions of American Jewry. Rackman was also a leading figure in the Far Rockaway Jewish community and was instrumental in making it an important center for Orthodoxy. He also taught political science and served as assistant to the president of Yeshiva University (1962–70), a professor of political science and jurisprudence, and later a University Professor at Yeshiva where he served as provost, and professor of Jewish studies at the City University of New York (1971–77). Rackman was president of the New York Board of Rabbis (1955–57) and the Rabbinical Council of America (1958–60), and a member of the executive of the Jewish Agency. In 1977 Rackman was appointed president of Bar-Ilan University and became chancellor of the institution in 1986. Under his leadership Bar-Ilan expanded dramatically and became the focal point of contact between Orthodox Jews and secular education. It took shape as a critical institution in what remained of Modern Orthodoxy. Well into his 90s, he was not afraid to tackle difficult issues and, despite great controversy, he worked with Agunot International to free women trapped in dead marriages by recalcitrant husbands who refuse to grant a *get,* serving on a *bet din* that invokes the halakhic concepts of *kiddushei ta'ut* and *umdenah* to annul the marriage. He was the author of *Israel's Emerging Constitution* (1955) and *One Man's Judaism* (1970), which included some of his previously published essays. Among his many acts of service, he was a member of the Board of Higher Education of the City of New York. Rackman received the Jerusalem Prize for Community Spiritual Leadership. The prestigious honor was awarded to him by Israel President Moshe Katzav, on Rackman's 90th birthday. The Jerusalem Prize is awarded annually to leading international figures dedicated to the education and preservation of the Jewish people. The prize is awarded by the Center of Jewish Relations in the Diaspora of the World Zionist Organization.

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[Aaron Rothkoff / Stanley Wagner (2nd ed.)]

°**RAD, GERHARD VON** (1901–1971), German Bible scholar. Born in Nuremberg, Von Rad was a disciple of A. Alt. He was professor in Jena (1934), Goettingen (1945), and Heidelberg (from 1949).

His earliest research was concerned with the theological aspects of certain books of the Bible (*Das Gottesvolk im Deuteronomium*, 1929; *Das Geschichtsbild des chronistischen Werkes*, 1930; *Die Priesterschrift im Hexateuch*, 1934). Later he applied the form-critical method to the entire Hexateuch, whose nucleus he saw in confessional summaries of the Exodus and the entrance into Canaan, like Deuteronomy 26:5–9 ("short historical credo"), which had their "*Sitz im Leben*" in the cult (*Das formgeschichtliche Problem des Hexateuchs*, 1938). His *Theologie des Alten Testaments* (2 vols., 1957–60) tries to let the biblical texts speak for themselves ("*Nacherzaehlung*"), and traces a history of the tradition, in continuity and discontinuity, through to the New Testament. Von Rad was particularly concerned with Wisdom Literature, in which he found a possible relevance to contemporary thought (*Weisheit in Israel*, 1970).

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[Rudolf Smend]

RADANIYA (**Radhanites**), Jewish merchants of the ninth century C.E., who, according to the contemporary report of the Arab geographer Ibn Khurradādhbih, spoke Arabic, Persian, Greek, Frankish, Spanish, and Slavonic, and traveled from the farthest west to the farthest east and back again. Their starting point is stated to have been in Spain or France. They crossed the Mediterranean to Egypt, and transferred their merchandise on camelback across the isthmus of Suez to the Red Sea, whence by ship they eventually reached India and China. They returned by the same route with musk, aloeswood, camphor, cinnamon, and other products of the Oriental countries. From the west they brought eunuchs, slave girls and boys, brocade, beaver and marten skins, and swords. Some of them sailed to Constantinople to sell their goods. Others visited the residence of the Frankish king for the same purpose. Sometimes, instead of using the Red Sea route to the East, they disembarked at Anṭākiya (Antioch) and crossed Syria to the Euphrates, whence they passed to Baghdad. Then they descended the Tigris to the Persian gulf, and so reached India and China. These journeys could also be made by land. Thus the Jewish merchants might proceed to the east via Tangier, Kairouan, and the other North African towns, reaching Cairo, Damascus, Kufa, Basra, Ahwaz, Persia, and India, and finally, as before, attaining by this land route their destination in China.

Another of their routes lay across Europe, "behind Rome," through the country of the Ṣaqāliba (Slavonians) to Khamlīj, the capital of the *Khazars, another name for *Atil. Thence they passed to the sea of Jurjan (i.e., down the Volga to the Caspian), then to Balkh and Transoxiana, and so to the Far East. Since Ibn Khurradādhbih relates that the Russian merchants, when passing through the Khazar capital, were tithed by the Khazar ruler, the Radaniya in similar circumstances were no doubt also liable.

The name occurs in two forms: Rādhāniya (as recorded by Ibn Khurradādhbih) and Rāhdāniya (by Ibn al-Faqīh). Since the research of J.-T. Reinaud it has been customary to explain the latter form as Persian, from *rāhdān*, "knowing the way," but it is not certainly the more original. Other suggestions have been that the name is connected with Latin Rhodanus, i.e., the river Rhone, and that in the Letter of Ḥasdai (see *Khazars) the people called *sheluḥei Ḥorasan ha-soḥarim*, apparently "merchant-envoys of Khurasan" (not very probably), are the Radaniya.

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[Douglas Morton Dunlop]

RADAUTI (Rom. **Rădăuți**, Ger. **Radautz**), city in Bukovina, N. Romania, near the Ukrainian border. The first Jews to settle there came from Bohemia in the late 18th century and were later joined by others from Galicia and Russia. Three Jewish families were listed in the tax register of 1807. The Jews of Radauti were at first affiliated to the community of the district capital *Suceava. They opened their own synagogue in 1830, when a *talmud torah* was also founded. Subsequently land for a cemetery was acquired (until then the cemetery at *Siret had been used). After Radauti became an independent community it established its own institutions. The Jewish population numbered 3,452 in 1880 (30.9% of the population), and 6,000 in 1914. In 1888 there were in Radauti eight prayer-houses (*shtiblekh*) in addition to the central synagogue. In that year 523 heads of families were registered in the community.

Ḥasidism had a strong influence on Jewish life in Radauti, especially the *Vizhnitz, *Bojan, and *Sadagora dynasties. The Ḥasidim held services in their own *kloyzen* and were frequently the cause of local disputes in their opposition to Zionism. There had been adherents of Zionism in Radauti from the beginning of the *Bilu movement, and in 1892 a local group Ahavat Zion was founded. The movement gained headway in the early 20th century. When the city was incorporated in Romania (1918) the Zionist parties began to exert an active influence on municipal and communal affairs. Members of the *Bund were also active on the municipal and community councils. A Hebrew school, which maintained a kindergarten and adult courses, was supported by the community. From 1919 to 1926 a private Jewish high school also functioned in Radauti. In 1930 the community numbered 5,647 (about 31% of the total population). Among rabbis of Radauti were Eliezer Lipmann Kunstadt (officiated 1894–1907); Jacob Hoffmann (1912–23); and the Hebrew author and scholar Jacob Nacht (1925–28).

Holocaust and Contemporary Periods

Romanian antisemites increased their agitation in 1939, and in October 1941 the Jews of Radauti, numbering 4,763 (32% of the total population), were deported to death camps. In 1942 there were only 42 Jews remaining in the city.

Some survivors made their way back in 1944, and by 1947 there were as many as 6,000 Jews living in the city. The Zionist movement regained strength after World War II (until the government decided to dissolve it in 1949). New communal and welfare institutions were established with the aid of overseas organizations, such as *OSE, the American Jewish Joint Distribution *Committee, and the World Jewish *Congress, but their activities gradually decreased. From 1948 the community dwindled through emigration to Israel and other countries. In 1971 only 700 Jews remained in the city (3.5% of the total population). Some communal activity continued, however, including the holding of Sabbath and holiday services in the central synagogue.

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[Yehouda Marton]

RADEK (Sobelsohn), KARL (1885–1939?), Russian revolutionary and publicist. Born in Lemberg, Radek was a member of the Polish Social Democratic Party, for which he wrote many articles. Before World War I he was also active as a publicist for the left wing of the German Social Democratic Party. During the war he played a prominent part in the Zimmerwald and Kintal pacifist conferences. After the Russian Revolution broke out in February 1917, Radek was one of those who accompanied Lenin on his famous journey from Switzerland through Germany to Sweden in a sealed railroad car. He remained in Sweden as a representative of the Bolshevik Party, but after the October Revolution he returned to Russia and became head of the Central European section of the Foreign Affairs Commissariat. In 1918, when revolution broke out in Germany, Radek entered the country secretly and helped to organize the first congress of the German Communist Party. In 1920 he proposed and supported the idea of a "united front" of the German Communists and Social Democrats. He was arrested in February 1919 but was released at the end of the year. He was one of the leaders of the group which opposed the Brest-Litovsk agreement with Germany. He returned to the U.S.S.R. and in 1922 became a leading official of the Communist International. In this capacity he maintained contact with communist-oriented Zionists of the "left *Po'alei Zion faction" who applied for admission into and recognition by the Communist International. In 1924, however, he joined the Trotskyite opposition and in 1927 was expelled from the party and banished to the Ural mountains. He was readmitted in 1930 on renouncing his adherence to the Trotskyists. Just before his banishment he had served for a year as rector of the Sun Yat-Sen University for Chinese students in Moscow.

In the 1930s Radek was an influential writer and speaker on international affairs and was a regular contributor to *Pravda* and *Izvestia*. He was the coauthor of the draft of the so-called "Stalin constitution" of the U.S.S.R. (1936). Radek's writings include *In den Reihen der deutschen Revolution 1909–1919* (1921) and many articles on literature and the theater. In 1937 Radek was arrested and charged with complicity in plots against the Soviet government. At a show trial which received worldwide publicity, with the prisoners compelled to make dramatic and abject confessions, he was convicted of being "an enemy of the people" and was sentenced to ten years' imprisonment. On May 19, 1939, he was killed by criminal prisoners in the prison, probably by the order of the leadership. In 1988 he was rehabilitated by the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R. A selection of his works, *Portraits and Pamphlets*, appeared in 1935.

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°**RADEMACHER, FRANZ** (1906–1973), German diplomat; from 1940–43 head of Section Deutschland III of the German Foreign Office, which dealt with "Jewish Affairs" and cooperated closely with *Eichmann. The son of a railroad engineer, he was a lawyer and joined the Nazi party only in 1933. He joined the Foreign Office in 1937 and served abroad. Like many ambitious civil servants, Rademacher carved out an area of expertise, choosing to view the Jewish situation within the context of Germany's war aims and its expected triumph. It is in this context that Rademacher wrote a memorandum on the

"*Madagascar Plan" – one of a number of territorial solutions to the Jewish problem that were overtaken by the Final Solution. When Germany did not defeat Great Britain, the plan became impossible to implement and therefore non-operative. He exerted personal influence on the German representatives in the satellite states to facilitate the "Final Solution" (see *Holocaust, General Survey). In the autumn of 1941 he was sent to speed up the killing of 8,000 Serbian Jews (see *Yugoslavia). His task was in part to minimize the foreign policy complications of the Final Solution. After the war he was sentenced to only five months' imprisonment by a German court in 1952, but skipped bail and escaped to Syria. In 1966 he returned to Germany and was sentenced in May of that year to five years' imprisonment for aiding in the murder of Romanian, Bulgarian, and Yugoslav Jews, but was released from prison for medical reasons.

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[Yehuda Reshef /Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

RADIN, ADOLPH MOSES (1848–1909), U.S. rabbi and communal worker. Radin, born in Neustadt-Schirwindt, Lithuania, served as rabbi in Prussia and Poland, and then immigrated to the United States in 1886, becoming rabbi in Elmira, New York. There he was appointed visiting Jewish chaplain of the State Reformatory, but soon accepted a position as rabbi of Congregation Gates of Hope in New York City. A pioneer among American rabbis in working with Jewish inmates, Radin was named chaplain of all penal institutions in New York and Brooklyn (1890), serving until his death. In 1905 he assumed the pulpit of the People's Synagogue of the Educational Alliance, from which he assisted immigrants on the Lower East Side, and founded the Russian American Hebrew Association, which he considered his greatest achievement. Radin was an active philanthropic fund raiser and a champion of Zionism.

He wrote *Offener Brief eines polnischen Juden an Heinrich von Treitschke* (1885^3); *Asirei Oni u-Varzel* (1893), a report on the Jews in New York prisons; and other works, and contributed to Hebrew, German, Polish, and American Jewish periodicals.

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RADIN, MAX (1880–1950), U.S. jurist, teacher, and legal historian. Son of Adolph *Radin, he was born in Kempen, Russian Poland. He taught in public schools and then at Columbia University (1918–19). He was professor of law at the University of California at Berkeley from 1919 to 1948. Among his many offices and positions, he was Commissioner on Uniform State Laws for California 1941–48. Upon his death his library went to the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. Radin's work as a scholar and teacher ranged through law, philosophy, history, linguistics, anthropology, and literature. He was known as one of the chief proponents of "legal realism."

The principal works in which he propagated his views are *The Law and You* (1947); *Stability in Law* (1944); *Law as Logic and Experience* (1940); and *The Law and Mr. Smith* (1938). His first interest was in the relationship of morals and ethics to commercial occupations. One of his first publications was *The Legislation of the Greeks and Romans on Corporations* (1909). Related works are *Lawful Pursuit of Gain* (1931) and *Manners and Morals of Business* (1939). Radin was deeply concerned with the political events of his time. In *The Day of Reckoning* (1943), he expounded his thoughts on the war crimes trials, then in the planning stage, and he also wrote on the treatment of the Nisei (American-born citizens of Japanese descent) of California during World War II. His pervasive interest in legal history found expression in his *Handbook of Anglo-American Legal History* (1936) and *Handbook of Roman Law* (1927), and numerous works on Jewish law and history, including: *The Life of the People in Biblical Times* (1929), *The Trial of Jesus of Nazareth* (1931), and his unpublished *Bibliography of Jewish Law.*

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[Albert A. Ehrenzweig]

RADIN, PAUL (1883–1959), U.S. anthropologist. Born in Lodz, Russian Poland, Paul Radin was the youngest son of Adolph *Radin, a rabbi, and brother of Herman, a physician, and of Max *Radin, an eminent legal scholar. He studied first in Europe, then in New York, coming to anthropology via zoology and history. A student of Franz Boas and James Harvey Robinson, he did his first field work with the Winnebago Indians, and during the next five decades explored this group intensively. He advocated the outlook of a natural scientist for the study of human cultures. Like his mentor Boas, he represented the humanistic approach to the understanding of preliterate societies.

A member of the Boas School, he differed from it principally in holding that Boas' quantitative and distributional treatment of culture data leads to inadequate and faulty histories of the societies concerned. With his historicist perspective, Radin interpreted Boas' work in terms of the latter's intellectual antecedents, showed how changes in Boas' intellectual perspective influenced his interpretation of the primitive, and how his positions became the framework and presupposition for subsequent American anthropology. Radin taught at various universities including Cambridge, Chicago, Brandeis, and California.

His contributions to linguistics are impressive, comprising texts of Winnebago and various other American Indian languages, and work in historical linguistics (*The Genetic Relationship of the North American Indian Languages*, 1919). He also endeavored to produce a systematic ethnological theory in such works as *The Method and the Theory of Ethnology* (1933, 1966^2).

Radin's life style was that of a liberated cosmopolitan intellectual, and evinced humanistic skepticism toward our culture-bound arrogance vis-à-vis the primitives. His Enlightenment perspective stimulated his immersion in the intellectual world of the primitive and his defense of the primitive mentality as against denigration of it by *Levy-Bruhl as "prelogical." While admitting, in *Primitive Man as Philosopher* (1927), that primitive mentality differs in degree, he noted that its reaction patterns evince regularity, uniqueness, individuality, and depth, and betray neither linguistic nor conceptual inadequacy. He devoted much study to the phenomena of religion, especially the God concept among primitives, as in *Primitive Religion* (1937) and *The Trickster: A Study in American Indian Mythology* (1956).

His synthesis of the objective and subjective worlds of the primitive culminated in an apologia for pristine civilizations, and he stressed the virtues found therein – viz., their respect and concern for the individual and their impressive social and political organization.

His deeply felt insight that the universal human drama is enacted in primitive societies was set forth in *The Road of Life and Death: A Ritual Drama of the American Indians* (1945) and in his other studies of the Winnebago Indians.

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[Ephraim Fischoff]

RADISH, a vegetable, the *Raphanus raphanistrum*; not mentioned in the Bible, despite the fact that it is one of the ancient plants of the Mediterranean region. Herodotus reports that the large sum spent on radishes for the pyramid workers was inscribed on the pyramid of Cheops. In Israel it is found as a weed. In the Mishnah it is called *ẓenon* and in the *Gemara* it is called *pugla* (Akk., *puglu*). The radish tuber was regarded as a healthy vegetable but its leaves as harmful (Er. 56a). It is a winter plant difficult to grow in Israel in the summer, and it is therefore related of the emperor Antoninus and Judah ha-Nasi that radish was not absent from their tables even in summer (Ber. 57b). From the radish seeds an oil was extracted which the Mishnah (Shab. 2:2) declares invalid as fuel for the Sabbath lamp. In the Tosefta (*ibid.*) however, a *tanna* contends against those forbidding its use: "What shall the people of Alexandria do who possess only radish oil?" The radish is very like the rape, called *nafos* or *nafoẓ* in the Mishnah. According to the Jerusalem Talmud (Kil. 1:5, 27a) they are regarded as belonging to different species in spite of their similarity.

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[Jehuda Feliks]

RADNER, GILDA (1946–1989), U.S. comedian and actress. Radner was born to Herman Radner and Henrietta Dworkin in Detroit, Michigan. Her father was a Canadian brewery owner and during the Prohibition earned enough from smuggling to the United States to invest in the Detroit hotel The Seville, where performers stayed while entertaining in local theaters. Known for his humor and magic tricks, he died of a brain tumor when she was 14. Radner joined the drama club at the Liggett School, an all-girls high school in Detroit, and later studied in the theater department at the University of Michigan, which she attended over a six-year period without graduating. In 1972, she joined a Toronto production of *Godspell*, which included Paul Shaffer and Eugene Levy. After the show ended, she joined the comedy troupe Second City in Toronto, where she was discovered by producer Lorne Michaels, who asked her to join the cast of the *National Lampoon Radio Hour*. In 1975 she was the first cast member Michaels hired for *Saturday Night Live*. Radner would go on to create such memorable characters as Lisa Loopner, Emily Litella, and Babwa Wawa, a parody of Barbara *Walters. In 1979, she appeared on Broadway in a solo show, *Gilda Radner Live from New York*, which featured many of her well-established characters. She left *Saturday Night Live* in 1980, the same year she married its bandleader, G.E. Smith. Radner had small parts in a variety of feature films, including *The Rutles* (1978) and *First Family* (1980), but her first major role was in *Hanky Panky* (1982), a film directed by and co-starring Gene *Wilder. After she divorced Smith in 1982, Wilder and Radner married in 1984. The couple went on to star in two other films together, *Woman in Red* (1984) and *Haunted Honeymoon* (1986). Radner was diagnosed with ovarian cancer in 1986. She used her celebrity status to call attention to the Wellness Community, a cancer support group, and to start her own, Gilda's Club. In 1988, she earned an Emmy nomination for her appearance on *It's Garry Shandling's Show*. In 1989, she detailed her fight with cancer in her autobiography *It's Always Something*. She died in Los Angeles shortly after the book's publication.

[Adam Wills (2nd ed.)]

RADNÓTI, MIKLOS (1909–1944), Hungarian poet. Radnóti, born in Budapest and an orphan from childhood, was converted to Christianity. He trained to become a teacher, but because of his Jewish origin was prevented from taking up a post. He spent his last years in Hungarian army labor camps. Radnóti's writings are overshadowed by World War II and the social crises of the Horthy regime. His early poetry is filled with surrealistic influences, but over the years, as the atrocities of the Holocaust increased, it became pure enough to be defined as neoclassicist.

His verse collections include *Pogány köszöntő* ("Pagan Salute," 1930), *Újhold* ("New Moon," 1935), *Meredek út* ("Steep Way," 1938), and the autobiographical *Ikrek hava* ("Under the Sign of Gemini," 1940). Two verse collections that appeared after World War II were *Radnóti. Miklós versei* ("The Poems of Miklós Radnóti," 1948), and *Radnóti, Miklós összes versei és műfordításai* ("Translations and Poems of Miklós Radnóti," 1963).

His last book, *Tajtékos ég* ("Stormy Skies"), published in 1946, contains poems found in his pocket as he lay in a mass grave at Abda. They accurately prophesy the circumstances of his death. Radnóti, who has come to be considered one of the most important Hungarian lyric poets, was also a skilled translator.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Magyar Irodalmi Lexikon*, 2 (1965), 543–9; L. Madácsi, *Radnóti Miklós* (Hung., 1954).

[Itamar Yaos-Kest]

RADÓ, ANTAL (1862–1944), Hungarian journalist and translator. Born in Mór, Radó wrote for newspapers during his student days and in 1885 became a parliamentary stenographer. He eventually became director of the stenographic bureau. Known mainly as a translator of classics of Western literature, he wrote many books: *A magyar müforditás története, 1772–1831* ("History of Hungarian Literary Translation," 1883), *Az olasz irodalom történte* ("History of Italian Literature," 1896), and a biography of Dante (1907). When Germany occupied Hungary, Radó committed suicide.

RADO, SANDOR (1890–1972), psychoanalyst. Born in Hungary, Rado became secretary of the Hungarian Psychoanalytic Society in 1913 during the presidency of Sandor *Ferenczi. In 1922 he was analyzed by Karl *Abraham in Berlin and from 1926 to 1930 was secretary of the German Psychoanalytic Society, playing an active part in organizing the training curriculum there. Sigmund *Freud appointed him managing editor of the *Internationale Zeitschrift fuer Psychoanalyse* in 1924 and three years later managing editor of *Imago.* In 1931, at the invitation of A.A. *Brill, Rado moved to the U.S., where he organized the New York Psychoanalytical Institute on the Berlin model. In 1944 Rado was appointed professor of psychiatry and head of Columbia University's pioneering psychoanalytic institute. He was subsequently professor of psychiatry at New York State University (1956–58) and from 1958 he organized a progressive teaching program in the New York School of Psychiatry.

Rado's contributions to psychiatry were threefold: in the sphere of classical psychodynamics; the quest for a basic conceptual system of mind; and the development of adaptational psychodynamics. In his early writings, which included two works on the problem of melancholia, Rado revealed his search for psychological realities rather than abstractions. His research into drug addiction developed the concept of "alimentary orgasm" (later, "narcotic elation") replacing genital satisfaction. During the years 1933–45, in his search for generally valid conceptual schemata, Rado wrote papers on the fear of castration in women (*Die Kastrationsangst des Weibes*, 1934) and the concept of bisexuality. His work culminated in his writings on adaptational psychodynamics. Rado questioned the therapist's exclusive preoccupation with the patient's past. He felt that the exploration of the past should be the beginning of an "emotional reeducation" of the patient in relation to his past and his adaptation to present reality.

His *Collected Papers* (*Psychoanalysis of Behavior*) appeared in 1956 and 1962 and *Adaptational Psychodynamics: Motivation and Control* in 1969. Rado also co-edited *Changing Concepts of Psychoanalytic Medicine* (1956).

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[Louis Miller / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

RADOM, city in Kielce province, Poland. The first Jews to visit Radom mainly traveled there as representatives of the Jewish communities at the sessions of the Polish Sejm (Diet) or to negotiate with the tribunal of the treasury, which met at Radom between 1613 and 1764. Jewish residence in the city was banned in 1633, 1724, and 1746; a few Jews settled in the suburbs and numbered 67 by 1765. They were later permitted to reside in a special quarter. The settlement began to develop after 1814, and an organized community was formed; a cemetery was established in 1831 and the first synagogue built in 1884. The community increased from 413 in 1815 (about 16% of the total population) to 1,495 in 1856 (23%); 11,277 in 1897 (37.6%); 24,465 in 1921 (39.7%); and 25,159 in 1931 (23.3%). Before World War I and during the period between the two world wars Jews played a considerable role in the development of commerce and industry in Radom, both as entrepreneurs and employed workers. Jewish organizations in 1925 included a merchants' and artisans' bank and trade unions; there were numerous welfare institutions, including the hospital, founded in 1847, and an old age home, founded in 1913. Religious and secular educational and cultural needs were met by yeshivot, the first founded in 1908, the *talmud torah*, and prayer houses (*shtiblekh*) for the ḥasidic community, as well as schools of various types, including a high school, and five libraries. Periodicals published in Radom during the inter-war period were the Yiddish daily *Radomer Tsaytung* until 1925; the weekly *Radomer Lebn*, later *Radomer-Keltser Lebn; Radomer Shtime*; and *Trybuna* (in Polish). The first rabbi of the community officiated at the beginning of the 19th century. Rabbis of note were Samuel *Mohilewer and Simḥah Treistman (1904–13), later rabbi of Lodz.

[William Glicksman]

Holocaust Period

In 1939 over 30,000 Jews, comprising 30% of the total population, lived in Radom. During the German occupation it was the capital of the Radom District in the General Government. The German army entered the city on Sept. 8, 1939, and immediately subjected the Jewish population to persecution. During the first months of German occupation, about 2,000 Jews from the Poznan and Lodz provinces were expelled to Radom. In turn, 1,840 Jews from Radom were expelled to the smaller towns in the Kielce Province (December 1939). In August about 2,000 young men and women were deported to slave labor camps, where almost all of them perished. In March

1941 a decree for the establishment of the ghetto was issued and by April 7, 1941, the entire Jewish population was concentrated in two separate ghettos. At the beginning of 1942 the Nazis conducted a number of terror actions within the ghettos, among them an action of February 19 ("bloody Thursday") when 40 men were shot, and on April 28, when 70 men were killed and hundreds deported to the concentration camp in *Auschwitz. On Aug. 5, 1942, the smaller ghetto was liquidated and its inhabitants (almost 10,000 people) were deported to *Treblinka death camp. On Aug. 6–17, 1942, the larger ghetto was liquidated and its 20,000 Jews dispatched for extermination. Within the part of the ghetto that was transformed into a slave labor camp (the "small ghetto"), only about 4,000 Jews remained. On Dec. 4, 1942, about 800 inmates of this camp were deported to Szydlowiec and afterward exterminated. On Jan. 13, 1943, another 1,500 prisoners were deported to Treblinka. On Nov. 8, 1943, the prisoners of the "small ghetto" were transferred to the newly established forced labor camp in the town. On July 26, 1944, all but 300 prisoners were deported to Auschwitz, where only a handful survived. The last 300 prisoners were liberated on Jan. 16, 1945.

At the time of the mass deportations in August 1942, hundreds of Jews fled to the forests to organize guerrilla units. Such units were composed mostly of persons who escaped from Radom. All the partisans fell in battles with the Germans. Many who escaped from Radom reached Warsaw and took part in the Polish Warsaw uprising (August 1944). In the whole Radom District 380,000 Jews lost their lives during the German occupation, according to figures of the Radom Regional Commission to investigate Nazi Crimes. A few hundred Jews settled in Radom for a short time after World War II, but soon left due to the hostility of the Polish population. Organizations of former Radom residents exist in Israel, the United States, Canada, France, and Australia. There were seven Jews living in Radom in 1965.

[Stefan Krakowski]

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RADOMSKO (**Radomsk**), town in Lodz province, S. central Poland. In 1643 King Ladislaus IV granted the city the privilege *de non tolerandis Judaeis* excluding Jews from its bounds, which remained in force until 1862. Although the city council complained about the presence of Jews on the nobles' estates and in neighboring villages during the 17th and 18th centuries Jewish settlement there continued. The establishment of a Jewish cemetery in the city was permitted in 1816, and by 1822 a synagogue committee existed which levied taxes for the engagement of religious functionaries. The census of 1827 recorded 369 Jews of the total 1,792 inhabitants. In 1834 the community engaged Solomon ha-Kohen Rabinowich of Włoszczowa as rabbi and *av bet din*, who in 1843 established a ḥasidic court and founded the *Radomsko ḥasidic dynasty.

After the opening of the Vienna-Warsaw railroad in 1846, the community developed rapidly. By 1857 there were 1,162 Jews living in Radomsko (about 39% of the total population). The 1897 census showed 5,054 Jews (43%). They were mainly occupied in carpentry, weaving, and dealing in timber and grain. Well-to-do Jews established factories, hotels, and restaurants which employed some 500 Jews. In this period the community expanded its activities in all spheres. Ḥovevei Zion (see *Ḥibbat Zion) groups formed Zionist parties. In 1899 the Great Synagogue was completed. Jewish workers organized in the *Po'alei Zion, *Bund, etc., from 1905 to 1907. In 1906 the Jews in Radomsko organized *self-defense against pogroms.

During World War I the Jews in Radomsko suffered from the depredations of Russian soldiers and economic depression. The historian M. *Balaban visited the city in 1916 and established a Jewish youth group, Kultura.

In 1919, after Poland became independent, there were attempts at pogroms, but they were prevented by the Jewish self-defense organization. The Jewish population rose from 7,774 in 1921 (41.5%) to 12,371 in 1935 (55%). During this period the number of Jewish workers doubled in the large industrial plants for furniture, metal goods, and printing. Of the 24 members of the city council elected in 1926, eight were Jews. Jewish educational institutions included a high school (from 1916), two *talmud torah* schools, the Keter Torah yeshivah, a *bet midrash*, and two government elementary schools. There were also guilds of craftsmen and small businessmen, and a cooperative commercial bank. In 1926 a library named for *Shalom Aleichem was opened, and there were Ha-Po'el and Ha-Ko'aḥ sports clubs. In 1930 a commune preparing for immigration to Ereẓ Israel was established named Vitkinyah.

[Arthur Cygielman]

Holocaust Period

Under the German occupation, Radomsko was incorporated into the *Radom district of the General Government. When the German army entered the city on Sept. 3, 1939, they immediately began a campaign of terror against the Jewish population. On Dec. 20, 1939, a decree was issued establishing a closed ghetto in Radomsko into which all the Jews from the surrounding districts were also concentrated. In consequence, the Jewish population of the Radomsko ghetto increased despite the high mortality due to starvation and epidemics. Two especially severe epidemics of typhus broke out during the early winter of 1940 and in January 1941. In June 1941 the authorities reduced the area of the ghetto, thus aggravating the living conditions there. On Oct. 9, 1942, an *Aktion* was carried out, and in the course of the following three days almost the entire Jewish population was deported to *Treblinka death camp where they perished. About 500 Jews and seven houses remained in the Radomsko ghetto (including some 200 Jews living there "illegally"). During the deportations hundreds of Jews from Radomsko and thousands from the surrounding districts escaped to the forests, many joining Jewish guerrilla groups which rapidly organized. They encountered severe obstacles: lack of arms, an inimical local peasant population, and no possibility of a food supply for the great number of Jews who had escaped. In November 1942 the Germans established a "second ghetto" in Radomsko, and promised security for all who voluntarily left the forests. About 4,500 Jews unable to survive the winter there returned to resettle in the ghetto. On Jan. 5, 1943, the Germans liquidated the ghetto in a surprise *Aktion*; hundreds of Jews who resisted were murdered on the spot while the rest were deported to Treblinka. A number of Jews who escaped from Radomsko were active in partisan units and resistance organizations. Some of them won recognition for bravery, including Tuvia Borzykowski, who became a member of the staff of the Jewish Fighting Organization in the *Warsaw ghetto; the three brothers Sabatowski (Ḥayyim, Mordekhai, and Herzke) who fought together in a guerrilla unit in the Konskie forest (all three were murdered in a treacherous attack by antisemitic Polish nationalists); and Rosa Szapiro, who managed to make her way out of Radomsko to the Yugoslav partisans under Tito.

After the war the community was not renewed in Radomsko. Organizations of former Radomsko residents were formed in Israel, Argentina, the United States, Canada, and France. A memorial book, *Sefer Yizkor li-Kehillat Radomsk ve-ha-Sevivah*, was published in 1967 (Heb. and Yid.).

[Stefan Krakowski]

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RADOMSKO (Radomsk), SOLOMON HA-KOHEN RABINOWICH OF (1803–1866), ḥasidic *ẓaddik*. Solomon studied in the yeshivah of Piotrkow under Abraham Ẓevi, author of the responsa *Berit Avraham* (1819). His father educated him in Ḥasidism. In his youth he joined Meir of *Apta, leader of the popular trend in Polish Ḥasidism after the death of *Jacob Isaac ha-Ḥozeh ("the Seer") of Lublin. In 1834 Solomon was appointed rabbi of Radomsk, and from 1843 he was accepted as an ḥasidic rabbi. Solomon's teachings were in the spirit of the popular trend of Polish Ḥasidism. He engaged in public affairs and worked on behalf of the poor of his town. His striking personality, his enthusiastic way of praying, and his witty sayings attracted to him many disciples, among them the Ḥasid and philosopher Aaron *Marcus (Verus) and the physician Ḥayyim David Bernard of Piotrkow. Solomon's book, *Tiferet Shelomo* (1867–69), is considered one of the classic works of Polish Ḥasidism. His successor was ABRAHAM ISSACHAR HA-KOHEN (d. 1892), author of *Ḥesed le-Avraham* (1893–95), who in turn was succeeded by his son EZEKIEL HA-KOHEN (d. 1911), author of *Keneset Yeḥezkel* (1913). The last of the ḥasidic rabbis of Radomsk in Poland before the Holocaust was SOLOMON ENOCH HA-KOHEN (d. 1942), famous for his establishment of a network of yeshivot called Keter Torah. He was murdered in the Warsaw ghetto. His novellae and those of his son-in-law David Moses, who was killed at the same time, were collected in the book *Shivḥei Kohen* (1953).

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[Zvi Meir Rabinowitz]

RADOMYSHL, city in Zhitomir district, Ukraine. The Jewish community of Radomyshl was established in the 18th century. In 1792 it numbered 1,424 (80 percent of the total population), in 1847 2,734, and it increased to 7,502 (67 percent) in 1897. There were 161 Jewish artisans out of a total of 198. The community maintained a *talmud torah* and three secular schools. The district of Radomyshl included the communities of *Chernobyl near *Korosten (4,160), Brusilov (3,575), Malin (2,547), and others. The entire region was influenced by the teaching of the ḥasidic rabbis of Chernobyl. In May 1919 bands of peasants of the *hetman* Sokolovski organized pogroms in the Jewish communities of Radomyshl and neighboring towns. Hundreds (more than 400) of Jews were massacred and many others fled to the big cities. Under the Soviet regime, Jewish community life stopped and the town declined. In 1926 there were 4,637 Jews (36 percent of the total population) in Radomyshl, their number declining by 1939 to 2,348 (20 percent of the total population). The Germans entered the town on July 9, 1941, and established an open ghetto, where 15 persons were crowded per room. In August they killed 389, and on September 6 a unit of Sonderkommando 4A murdered 1,107 adults, and the Ukrainian auxiliary police murdered 561 children. Six mass graves mark the murder of Jews in the vicinity. Later, Jews were prohibited from gathering at the graves, since the militia claimed that for them to do so was to cause a "demonstration." Jews were also forbidden to erect a monument to the dead. In 1970 the Jewish population was estimated at about 250.

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[Yehuda Slutsky / Shmuel Spector (2nd ed.)]

RADOSHITSER (of Radoszyce), ISSACHAR BAER (1765–1843), ḥasidic *ẓaddik* whose popularity is attested by his nickname, "the holy old man"; famous as a miracle healer. At first he lived in great poverty as a village schoolmaster (*melammed*) in Checiny (Chantchin) and Chmielnik. He frequented the courts of numerous *ẓaddikim* and was among the disciples of *Jacob Isaac ha-Ḥozeh (The Seer) of Lublin, Jacob Isaac "the holy Jew of *Przysucha", Joshua Heshel of *Apta, and Israel the *Maggid* of *Kozienice. From 1815 he became a *ẓaddik* in his own right in Radoszyce. He was a *tärnik*, i.e., one of those who believed that 1840 (ת"ר) would be the year of the redemption.

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[Esther (Zweig) Liebes]

RADOSHKOVICHI (Pol. **Radoszkowice**), town in Molodechno district, Belarus; within Poland until the partitions and between the two world wars. The Jewish community was established in the 16th century. The Jews numbered 455 in 1765; 1,701 in 1847; 1,519 (58.9 percent of the total population) in 1897; and 1,215 (49.4 percent) in 1925. The Jews earned their livelihood from trading at the annual fair, dealing in wood and cereals (exported to Germany and even Hungary), local retail trade, and crafts. In the town there was also a brewery, a brick factory, flour mills, and small tanneries. Many families earned their living from cultivating orchards on behalf of non-Jewish farmers and landowners. In the 1920s and 1930s the Jewish economy suffered and there was considerable poverty as a result of the poor returns, the heavy taxes, and the competition of non-Jews who were supported by the Polish government. The local Jewish people's bank made considerable efforts to assist the community in its economic struggle. The members of the community were largely **Mitnaggedim*, but local Ḥasidim had two prayer rooms. Pioneers from Radoshkovichi were among the first members of the Third *Aliyah. After World War I, Zionist youth movements were very active and a *He-Ḥalutz training farm was established. In 1921–22 Radoshkovichi (then on the Polish-Russian border) was a transit station for the Jewish refugees returning from Soviet Russia to their homes in Poland. Communal institutions included a *Tarbut school, and a Hebrew library named after the poet Mordecai Ẓevi *Manne, a native of Radoshkovichi. Among the community's rabbis were Abraham b. Judah Leib *Maskileison, Meir b. Joshua Ẓevi Rabinsohn, who settled in Palestine in his old age, and his son, Joseph Zundel, the last rabbi of Radoshkovichi. Notable natives of the town included Israel Rivka'i-Rubin, educator and author; Mordecai Rabinsohn, Hebrew critic; and Naphtali Maskileison, poet and Talmud scholar.

[Dov Rabin]

Holocaust Period

At the outbreak of World War II there were about 1,200 Jews in Radoshkovichi. On Sept. 18, 1939, the Red Army entered the town and a Soviet administration was established there. The Germans occupied the town on June 25, 1941. A Judenrat was appointed and the Jews were compelled to pay heavy contributions. An *Aktion* took place on March 11, 1942, when 800 Jews were killed, 200 escaped, and 50 were shot while trying to flee; 110 were left as skilled artisans. After this *Aktion*, a ghetto was established for the remaining Jews. The Jewish community was liquidated on March 7, 1943, when the remaining 260 Jews were burned alive in a barn. During the liquidation, about 50 Jews succeeded in escaping to the nearby forests, where they joined the "Revenge" partisan unit. After the war the Jewish community of Radoshkovichi was not reconstituted.

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RADUN (Pol. **Raduń**; Yid. **Radin**), a town in Grodno district, Belarus. Originally a Polish royal estate, Radun became important in the 16th century because it was situated on the main road between Cracow and Vilna. Jews were still forbidden to live there in 1538 and Jewish farmers who cultivated lands in the vicinity exerted their influence to have Radun granted municipal status so that they would not be expelled. In 1623 the Council of the Province of Lithuania (see Councils of the *Lands) made the Radun community subordinate to that of Grodno. In 1765 there were 581 poll tax-paying Jews in Radun and district; in the town itself there were 283 Jews in 1847; 896 (53.3 percent of the total population) in 1897; and 671 (53.5 percent) in 1925. The center of Radun spiritual life was the yeshivah founded in 1869 by *Israel Meir ha-Kohen (the Ḥafez Ḥayyim). Its fame was widespread and the 300 students came from far and near. In 1940 most of the yeshivah students were transferred to United States via Japan. The Jews of Radun earned their livelihood from commerce, crafts, and agriculture; in the 1920s, 12 percent of the 200 members of the Jewish cooperative bank were farmers. In 1922 the *Yekopo relief society in Vilna gave loans to 19 farms, covering an area of 420 dessiatines (1,134 acres).

[Dov Rabin]

Holocaust Period

Before the outbreak of World War II, there were about 800 Jews in Radun. In September 1939 the Red Army entered the town and a Soviet administration was established there until the outbreak of the German-Soviet war. The Germans occupied the town on June, 30, 1941. In October a ghetto was established containing 1,700 persons, from neighboring towns: Dowgielishki, Zablocie, Zirmun and Nacha. A large-scale *Aktion* took place on May 10, 1942, when 1,000 Jews were killed, 300 escaped to the forests, some joining partisan units; the remaining skilled artisans were sent to Szczuczyn and from there, after a while, to their deaths in an unknown place. After the war the Jewish community of Radun was not reconstituted.

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[Shmuel Spector (2nd ed.)]

RADYMNO (Yid. **Redem**), town in Rzeszow province, S.E. Poland; between the two world wars in the province of Lvov. The town was founded in the 14th century by the Polish king Casimir the Great. In 1640 King Ladislaus IV granted it the privilege *de non tolerandis Judaeis*, excluding Jews from the town. Subsequently Jewish settlement was discontinued until the first partition of Poland and the incorporation of Radymno into Austria in 1772, although during this period a few Jews were granted the right of residence. In 1644 the Jew Benko was granted the right by the owners of the town to settle in Radymno with his family and trade there. When a survey of the population carried out in 1711 showed some Jews living there, they were expelled on the demand of the townsmen. Jews who settled in the town from the close of the 18th century engaged in commerce. The Jewish population gradually increased, and around 1880 numbered 898 (46.8% of the total population). During World War I the number declined, and in 1921 there were 808 (42.3%). After World War I and the incorporation of Radymno into independent Poland, it lost its importance. The Jewish population became impoverished, Jewish communal activities, particularly in the sphere of social relief, began to wane. Elections to the community council were held in 1927, and Jews also took part in the municipal elections of 1934. The community came to an end during the Holocaust.

[Shimshon Leib Kirshenboim]

RADZINOWICZ, SIR LEON (1906–1999), British criminologist. Born in Poland to affluent parents, Radzinowicz lectured at the University of Geneva from 1928 to 1931. In 1932 he began teaching at the Free University of Warsaw and in 1936 was appointed an assistant professor. Two years later he made a study of the English penal system on behalf of the Polish Ministry of Justice. He and his wife remained in England at the outbreak of World War II, living in Cambridge. In 1946 he was named assistant director of research at the University of Cambridge and in 1949 director of the department of criminal science, a post he held for ten years. From 1959 to 1973, he was Wolfson professor of criminology at Cambridge, and from 1960 was director of the Institute of Criminology which he had founded.

Radzinowicz held many important offices in the field of law and criminology, among them, head of the Social Defense Section of the United Nations and a member of the Royal Commission on Capital Punishment in the Advisory Council on the Penal System of the Home Office and president of the British Academy of Forensic Sciences (1960–61). He served on many British inquiries and committees into crime and prison policy and was knighted in 1970. Radzinowicz made a major contribution by his research in the trends of legal thought which led to modern concepts in the administration of justice which were adopted in many of the democratic countries. Among his most significant works are *History of English Criminal Law* (4 vols. 1948–68), *In Search of Criminology* (1961), *The Need for Criminology* (1965), and *Ideology and Crime* (1966). From 1940 he was the editor of 33 volumes of *English Studies in Criminal Science*, called later *Cambridge Studies in Criminology.* Radzinowicz converted to Christianity prior to World War II. He was generally regarded as the most influential British academic criminologist and historian of crime of his time. Radzinowicz wrote an autobiography, *Adventures in Criminology* (1999).

ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY: ODNB online.

RADZIWILLOW (since 1940, **Chervonoarmeisk**), town in Volhynia, today in Rovno district, Ukraine. A Jewish community existed in Radziwillow from the end of the 16th century. In 1787 the owner of the town, K. Miączyński, obtained permission from King Stanislaus II Augustus (Poniatowski) to establish a printing press for Hebrew books. At that time Jewish merchants and contractors founded an explosives factory in the town. From 298 Jews who paid poll tax in 1765, the community increased to 3,064 in 1857 and 4,322 (59 percent of the total population) in 1897. The majority were shopkeepers, tailors, and furriers, but some Jews also engaged in tanning, joinery, manufacture of building materials, and transportation; the wealthy traded in timber and grain. Branches of the Jewish labor movement and of the Zionist movement were first organized in 1905–06. The Jewish population of Radziwillow suffered heavily during World War I and the civil war between Ukrainian nationalists and Bolsheviks. In 1920 the town was incorporated into independent Poland. By 1921 the number of Jews had declined to 2,036 (48 percent). Jews dominated the grain trade between the world wars. Jewish cultural and educational institutions functioned until 1939, among them a Hebrew Tarbut school with 300 pupils.

[Arthur Cygielman]

Holocaust Period

In 1939 the Jewish population numbered more than 3,000. As a result of the Soviet-German partition of Poland, the Red Army entered the city on Sept. 19, 1939. The Soviet authorities conducted a survey to determine how many of the refugees wished to return to the German-occupied zone. All those who declared that they wished to do so were deported in the summer of 1940 to the Soviet interior. After June 22, 1941, when war broke out between Germany and the U.S.S.R., groups of Jews retreated with the Red Army, but were turned back by the Soviet border patrol at the old Soviet-Polish border. Most of these Jews returned to Radziwillow.

On June 27, 1941, the city was captured by the Germans. In the first few weeks the Jewish population suffered damage to life and property at the hands of the Ukrainian police and population. On July 15, 1941, 28 Jews were killed for being "dangerous Communists." The following day the Germans set the synagogue aflame and burned the Torah scrolls. On April 9, 1942, a ghetto was established for 2,600 Jews, and divided into two categories: "fit" and "unfit" for labor. Only about 400 persons were found to be "fit." On May 29, 1942, an *Aktion* took place and some 1,500 persons were killed near the city. After this *Aktion* the youth attempted to organize; at the head of one of these underground organizations was Asher Czerkaski. A second *Aktion* took place on Oct. 5, 1942, and hundreds of persons were killed in Suchodoly. Under the assumption that this was a final *Aktion* mass suicides were committed and some 500 Jews broke out of the ghetto and succeeded in reaching the forests, but only 50 of them survived; some reached Brody, where a ghetto still existed, but later they also perished.

[Aharon Weiss]

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RADZYMIN (Rus. **Radimin**), town in Warszawa province, E. central Poland. Founded during the middle of the 17th century as a private town by a privilege granted by King Ladislaus IV of Poland, it grew rapidly during the 19th century as a result of Jewish enterprise. The synagogue was erected in 1840. There were 432 Jews (about 33% of the total population) in Radzymin in 1827, 1,278 (c. 70%) in 1856, 2,133 (c. 53%) in 1897, 2,209 (55% of the population) in 1921, and 3,559 (52.6%) in 1931. Radzymin was a center of Ḥasidism, and during the 19th century it was the home of Jacob Aryeh Guterman, founder of the *Radzymin dynasty of *ẓaddikim*. A yeshivah which gained renown was also established by the dynasty in Radzymin. Zionists played an important role in the public life of the town and in the municipal elections of 1927 they won seven of the ten seats reserved for Jews. The community council, elected in 1931, included six Zionists and two members of Agudat Israel. Among religious, educational, and charitable institutions in Radzymin was the *Linat ha-Ẓedek* ("Hospice for the Poor") established in 1910.

[Shimshon Leib Kirshenboim]

Holocaust Period

Before the outbreak of World War II there were 3,900 Jews living in Radzymin. The Jewish community was liquidated on Oct. 3, 1942, when all the Jews were deported to *Treblinka death camp. After the war the Jewish community was not reconstituted.

RADZYMIN, dynasty of ḥasidic *ẓaddikim* in central Poland. The founder of the dynasty, JACOB ARYEH BEN SOLOMON GUTERMAN OF RADZYMIN (1792–1874), was a pupil of the *ẓaddikim* *Simḥah Bunem of Przysucha and Isaac Kalish of Worky (see *Warka). Jacob Aryeh was rabbi in Rychwal and Radzymin. He became famous as a miracle worker and attracted a large ḥasidic followership. His teachings were published in *Divrei Aviv* (1924) and *Bikkurei Aviv* (1936). Jacob Aryeh's son, SOLOMON (d. 1903), followed his father in the rabbinate of Radzymin and in the ḥasidic leadership. The third *ẓaddik* of the Radzymin dynasty was AARON MENAHEM MENDEL (d. 1934). During World War I he moved to Warsaw, where he also remained after the war. He was active in Jewish communal affairs in Poland. He visited Ereẓ Israel in 1929 and on his initiative a separate section for women was established at the Western Wall. This served as a pretext for the Arabs in the bloody anti-Jewish riots which occurred in 1929. Aaron Menahem Mendel was the author of *Ḥinnukh ha-Banim* (1913) and *Alim li-Terufah* (1936).

[Avraham Rubinstein]

RADZYN (Pol. **Radzyń-Podlaski**; Rus. **Radin**), district capital in the province of Lublin, E. Poland. Founded in 1468, the town was first named Koźirynek. Although no reliable evidence is available, it has been assumed that Jews lived in Radzyn from its foundation. In 1765 there were 537 Jews living there. The town developed during the 19th century. There were 1,301 Jews (about 53% of the total population) by 1856 and 2,853 (53.5% of the total population) in 1897. During World War I the general population decreased, but in 1921 there were still 2,895 Jews (59.7%) in Radzyn, and an estimated 3,000 on the eve of World War II.

The synagogue, a single-story stone building, was erected at the beginning of the 19th century. Among the outstanding personalities of the community was Gershon Ḥanokh Leiner, founder of the Radzyn dynasty of Ḥasidim, who reintroduced the interweaving of the blue thread among the *ẓizit* and established a laboratory for producing the proper color. His grandson, Samuel Solomon Leiner, also a leader of the Radzyn Ḥasidim, perished in the Holocaust. Prominent rabbis of Radzyn were Simeon Deutsch, who held office during the first half of the 19th century, and Ḥayyim Fein (d. during World War II). Jewish economic life was affected by a fire which destroyed many homes in 1929, and many Jewish families became dependent on support from their coreligionists in other communities. During the 1930s an economic crisis and the anti-Jewish economic *boycott proclaimed by Polish antisemites also undermined Jewish economic life. In the democratic elections to the community's council (1931) two Zionists, two Ḥasidim, two representatives of the craftsmen, one of the socialist craftsmen, and two representatives of the *battei midrash* were elected.

[Shimshon Leib Kirshenboim]

Holocaust Period

On Sept. 9, 1939, the Jewish quarter of Radzyn was heavily bombarded by the German air force. At the end of the month, just before the German army entered the town, several hundred Jews, mostly young men and women, left for Soviet-occupied territory. In December 1939 the Germans sent most of the Jews to Sławatycze and Miedzyrzec, but after a few months most returned to Radzyn. In the summer of 1940 an open ghetto was established in Radzyn. Considerable underground activities were conducted, mainly by *Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir, which organized several smaller partisan groups. On Aug. 20, 1942, the first deportation of Jews to the *Treblinka death camp took place, and on Dec. 20, 1942, the second, when the Jewish community was "liquidated."

[Stefan Krakowski]

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RADZYNSKI, JAN (1950–), composer, born in Warsaw, Poland. Radzynski immigrated to Israel in 1969 and studied at the Tel Aviv Rubin Academy of Music with Leon *Schidlowsky. From 1977 he continued his studies at Yale University in the U.S. with Krzysztof Penderecki and Jacob Druckman and received his doctorate in 1984. He settled in the U.S.

Radzynski's music is characterized by the utilization of contemporary techniques in contexts rich of stylistic elements from the past. It is carried by expressive melodies of long chromatic lines and features rich textures and carefully composed structures, paying special attention to the links and interrelations between movements of a single work. Radzynski's virtuoso writing offers technical challenges to the performing musicians and is often witty and full of verve. By embedding East European-Jewish (cantorial) and Middle-Eastern (heterophonic) musical elements in compositions committed to the past masters, Radzynski aims at a musical language timeless and contemporary alike, culturally unique and universal.

His works have been performed by such orchestras as the Cleveland, Columbus, New Haven Symphony, the Mexico National, the West German and the Saarländische Radio Symphony Orchestras, the Cracow Philharmonic, the Russian Federal, the Moscow Bolshoi Theater Chamber Orchestra; the Israel Philharmonic, Jerusalem and Haifa Symphony and Israel Chamber Orchestras and Israel Sinfonietta. He was composition professor at Yale between 1981 and 1994 and was professor at the Ohio State University in Columbus.

Radzynski's list of compositions include *String Quartet* (1977); *Kaddish for the Victims of the Holocaust* for four amplified flutes, six percussion players, piano and strings (1979); *Homage to Itzik Manger* for mixed ensemble of nine players (1979); *Canto* for piano (1981); *Psalms* for viola and eight celli (1983); *Take Five*, brass quintet (1984); *Hebrew Melodies*, piano quintet; Violin/Viola Sonata (1985); *David – Symphony in One Movement* (1987); *Encounters* for chamber ensemble (1988); *Viola Concerto* (1990); *Time's Other Beat* for symphony orchestra (1990); Cello Concerto (1990–92); *Serenade*, Wind Quintet; String Trio (1995); *Fanfare*; *Shirat Ma'ayan* for mezzo-soprano, tenor and orchestra (1997); *Summer Charms Rag* for violin and piano (1998); *Personal Verses* for violin and piano (1999); *Serenade for Strings* (2000); *Concert Duos* for clarinet and cello (2004).

Among the many awards Radzynski received are the ASCAP Standard Awards (1989 and 1997), the Mellon Fellowship (1985), the Research and Creative Work Grant of the Rothschild Foundation (1995), and the Distinguished Scholar Award given by the Ohio State University (1996). In 1983 he was in residence at the Foundation Artists' House in Boswil, Switzerland.

[Yuval Shaked (2nd ed.)]

RAFA (Ar. **Rafah**; Heb. **Rafi'aḥ**), town, near the Mediterranean coast, 22 mi. (35 km.) S. of Gaza. Rafa is first mentioned in an inscription of the pharaoh Seti I (c. 1300 B.C.E.) as Rph; it also appears in other Egyptian sources, in Papyrus Anastasi I and in the inscription of Shishak. As a border town on the way to Egypt and a point of sharp transition from desert to cultivated land, it is frequently referred to as the site of conflicts between the armies of Egypt and its neighbors. In 721 B.C.E. Sargon of Assyria defeated at Rapihu (Rafa) Sib'e of Egypt and Hanno of Gaza; the Assyrians burned the city and deported 9,033 inhabitants. Rafa does not appear in the Bible; the Targums (on Deut. 2:23) identify it with Hazerim. It was the center of important operations in the Hellenistic period during the wars of the Diadochi. Antigonus attacked it in 306 B.C.E. and in 217 B.C.E. Antiochus III of Syria was defeated there by the army of Ptolemy V of Egypt (Polybius 5:82–86). The town was conquered by Alexander Yannai and held by the Hasmoneans until it was rebuilt in the time of Pompey and Gabinius; the latter seems to have done the actual work of restoration for the era of the town dates from 57 B.C.E. Rafa is mentioned in Strabo (16:2, 31), the Itinerarium Antonini, and is depicted on the Madaba Map. It was the seat of worship of Dionysius and Isis (*Papyrus Oxyrrhynchus*, 1380). It was the seat of an Episcopal see in the fifth-sixth centuries. A Jewish community settled there in the geonic period; it flourished in the ninth to tenth centuries and again in the 12th, although in the 11th century it suffered a decline and in 1080 the Jews of Rafa had to flee to Ashkelon. A Samaritan community also lived there at this period. Like most cities of southern Ereẓ Israel, ancient Rafa had a landing place on the coast (now Tell Rafāḥ), while the main city was inland.

[Michael Avi-Yonah]

Modern Period

Between 1905 and 1913 Ereẓ Israel Jews and Zionist groups in Central and Eastern Europe made repeated but futile attempts to buy land and establish settlements in the area. The town was reestablished in the 1920s under the British Mandate, and built for the most part on the Palestinian side but also on the Egyptian side of the border. Rafa's population grew around the time of World War II, when the British army established large military camps there, providing the Arab inhabitants with employment. In the late 1940s, before the *War of Independence, members and leaders of Jewish settlements, *Haganah, *Irgun Ẓeva'i Le'ummi, and the *yishuv* were detained in British detention camps at Rafa. After the battles of 1948 Arab refugees settled in the former British camps at Rafa, which was under Egyptian administration in the *Gaza Strip. Taken by Israel forces in the Sinai Campaign (1956), Rafa was evacuated by them in March 1957. During the *Six-Day War, on June 5, 1967, Israel again took the town. In 1931 the town had 1,400 inhabitants, in 1945 2,500, and according to the Israel census of the fall of 1967, 49,812, almost all Muslim Arabs, 39,000 of whom lived in refugee camps. In 1971 many inhabitants worked as farm laborers and in small trades, but the percentage of those subsisting on relief was particularly high. After the signing of the Declaration of Principles in 1993, the town was handed over to the Palestinian Authority.

[Efraim Orni]

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RAFALIN, DAVID SHLOMÓ (1899–1979), rabbi of the Ashkenazi community of Mexico. He was born in Suwalki, Poland, and studied in the yeshivot of Slobodka and Mir. Rabbi Rafalin immigrated to New York and in 1929 to Havana, Cuba, where he was appointed rabbi of the Orthodox Ashkenazi congregation Adath Israel and was active in the Zionist Union of Cuba. In 1933 Rafalin immigrated to Mexico where he became the rabbi of the Ashkenazi community Nidchei Israel, serving until his death. Besides his rabbinic functions, Rafalin developed many public activities in the community. As an active Zionist he presided over the Jewish National Fund (1938–39); he founded and was the leader of the Mexican branch of the religious Zionist party, the Mizrachi; he headed many fundraising efforts in support of the government in its campaign for the nationalization of oil resources (1938) and for the aid to Holocaust survivors. Rafalin also collaborated in the foundation of the Jewish religious school Yavneh (1942).

[Efraim Zadoff (2nd ed.)]

RAFELSON, ROBERT (1933–), U.S. director, producer, writer. Born in Manhattan, Rafelson worked at a rodeo at 15, followed by a stint as a deckhand on an ocean liner, and later tried his hand as a jazz drummer. At Dartmouth College, Rafelson was an Armed Forces radio deejay. He was a producer on the TV series *The Wackiest Ship in the Navy* (1965–66) before becoming writer, director, and producer for the television series *The Monkees* (1966–67) for which he won an Emmy. Rafelson's film debut was *Head* (1968), a Monkees movie which he directed and produced. He cowrote the screenplay with Jack Nicholson, and coproduced *Easy Rider* (1969). Rafelson directed, produced, and cowrote *Five Easy Pieces*, in which Nicholson starred, earning four Academy Award nominations, including Best Film and Best Original Screenplay. Rafelson and Nicholson also worked together on *The King of Marvin Gardens* (1972). *Stay Hungry* (1976), which Rafelson directed and produced, featured Arnold Schwarzenegger in one of his first roles. Nicholson also starred in Rafelson's 1981 hit *The Postman Always Rings Twice,* a remake of the 1946 film based on the James M. Cain novel, with a screenplay by David *Mamet. *Mountains of the Moon* (1990) was a biographical account of Sir Richard Burton and John Speke's search for the origin of the Nile. In 1994, Rafelson returned to television and directed the "Armed Response" episode of the miniseries *Picture Window.* Rafelson also directed the television films *Poodle Springs* (1998) and *Afterthoughts* (2002), a documentary about independent Hollywood filmmakers. Other Rafelson films include *Brubaker* (1980), *Black Widow* (1987), *Man Trouble* (1992), *Wet* (1995), *Blood and Wine* (1996), and *The House on Turk Street* (2002). Rafelson is playwright Samson *Raphaelson's nephew.

[Susannah Howland (2nd ed.)]

RAFES, MOSES (1883–1942), leading member of the Russian Bund. Rafes, born into a family of merchants, was associated in his youth with revolutionary circles and in 1902–03 joined the *Bund in Vilna, where he had some connection with the terrorist act of Hirsch *Lekert. He was also active in *Gomel (1906) and St. Petersburg and was a Bund delegate to the London convention of the Social Democratic Workers' Party of Russia (1907). In 1912 he was coopted to the central committee of the Bund. During World War I he supported the "defensist" wing of the Social Democrats, which preferred the victory of Russia. Together with H. *Erlich he represented the Bund on the "industrial war committees." After the revolution of February 1917 he was a member of the Executive Council of the Petrograd Soviet and was later active within the Ukrainian Bund. He was at first an extremist of the right and anti-Bolshevist wing, then turned toward the center, and after the revolution in Germany made a sharp turn toward communism. He played a central role in the divisions in the Bund, creation of the Kombund and Komfarband, and the amalgamation of its majority with the Communist Party in Soviet Russia, and he was then also sent to work for the liquidation of the Bund in Poland. In a 1919 memorandum he appealed to the Kommissariat of Interior Affairs to immediately liquidate all Jewish institutions, organizations, and parties, claiming that they were a danger to the Soviet state. He acted with particular energy as the head of the Liquidation Committee for Jewish Affairs of the *Yevsektsiya, subsequently adhering to the assimilationist trend and abandoning Jewish activities. After having served as a commissar in the Red Army, he worked in the government in Moscow, and also for the Comintern and the Soviet Foreign Service (Chinese affairs). He was finally transferred to the sphere of cinema work. He was arrested in May 1938, and sentenced to 10 years imprisonment, and died in the camps of Komi ASSR.

Before World War I, he contributed to the Bundist press and continued to write from time to time in the Soviet Yiddish press. He published some works on the history of the Bund which, in spite of their bias, are of some historiographic value. These include (in Russian): "Two Years of Revolution in the Ukraine" (1920) and "Chapters on the History of the Bund" (1923). He edited the anthology *Der Yidisher Arbeter* (4 vols., 1925–28) of A. *Kirzhnitz.

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[Moshe Mishkinsky]

RAFFALOVICH, ARTHUR GERMANOVICH (1853–1921), Russian economist. Born in Odessa, Raffalovich lived in Paris where his lucid and pertinent explanations of, and comments on, contemporary economic issues such as cartels and other commercial agreements, brought him in close contact with leading French publications and journalists. He became a regular contributor to *Le Temps* and *Le Journal des Débats*. Having acquired the confidence of the Russian authorities, particularly of Prime Minister Witte and Finance Minister Kokovtsev, whom he successfully advised on commercial and financial affairs, he became the major Russian publicity agent in France, and was particularly concerned with press relations and their effect on the placement of Russian government bonds in France. His assignment included guidance to the Russian authorities on the allocation of advertising in the French press. This exposed him to the charge of bribery. After having attacked Bolshevism, Raffalovich became the object of relentless charges by *L'Humanité*, the Communist daily, which published his confidential reports to St. Petersburg after their release by the Soviet government. Most of these publications, however, did not prove conclusively the bribery charge.

[Joachim O. Ronall]

RAFFALOVICH, ISAIAH (1870–1956), rabbi and author who promoted the development of Brazil's Jewish community. Born in Bogopol, Podolia, Raffalovich was taken in 1882 by his parents to Ereẓ Israel. He became interested in Jewish settlement schemes on both sides of the Jordan and worked for nine months at Es-Salt in Transjordan, trying to encourage young Jews in Jerusalem to follow his example. Together with M.E. Sachs, he published an album of his own photographs, *Views from Palestine and its Jewish Colonies* (1898). Raffalovich left for Europe, where he studied in Berlin and London, obtaining his rabbinical diploma at the Hildesheimer Seminary in Berlin. He served congregations in Manchester and Wales and the Hope Place Synagogue in Liverpool (1904–24).

While on a mission to South America in 1923, he was invited by the *Jewish Colonization Association (ICA) to go to Brazil as its representative, promote immigration to that country, and serve as a spiritual guide to the Jewish community. In this capacity he toured the country, established welfare institutions and improved already existing ones, and helped the newly established communities and synagogues. Raffalovich appealed to the common heritage of the Ashkenazi and Sephardi immigrants in working for the coordination of Jewish life in Brazil, and it was through his personal efforts that more than 30 Jewish schools and teachers' training courses were firmly established. His publications include: *Rudiments of Judaism* (1906); *Anglo-Hebrew Modern Dictionary* (1926); and *Our Inheritance* (1932), a volume of sermons and addresses. He also published in 1927 a Portuguese version of Paul *Goodman's popular short *History of the Jews* (1911) and the first Jewish sermons in Portuguese printed in modern times, *Rudimentos de judaismo* (1926^2). In 1935 he retired to Ereẓ Israel and five years later was appointed senior Jewish chaplain to the British forces in the Middle East. A Hebrew edition of his collected sermons (*Ma'gelei Yosher*) appeared in 1950 and his autobiography, *Ẓiyyunim ve-Tamrurim*, in 1952. His brother SAMUEL REFAELI (1867–1927), a numismatist, was director of the numismatic department of the Department of Antiquities in Palestine (under the British) and left his coin collection to the Bezalel Museum.

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[Godfrey Edmond Silverman]

RAFI (abbreviation of Heb. *Reshimat Po'alei Yisrael*, "Israel Labor List"), founded in 1965 as the result of a split in *Mapai. The original split was the outcome of *Ben-Gurion's political fight against Levi *Eshkol over the *Lavon Affair and of the struggle for succession to the leadership between a group of younger men, headed by Moshe *Dayan and Shimon *Peres, supported by Ben-Gurion, and the party veterans, headed by Levi Eshkol and Golda *Meir. At the Mapai convention in February 1965, the rebels supported Ben-Gurion's demand for an inquiry into the Lavon Affair and opposed the proposed political alignment with Aḥdut ha-Avodah. After their defeat at the convention, they proposed Ben-Gurion's return to the premiership in place of Eshkol. In July, seven Mapai Knesset members (later joined by Dayan) formed a new list, called Rafi, which obtained 12% of the votes at the Histradrut elections in September and ten Knesset seats in November.

At its founding convention in May 1966, representing 23,000 members, Rafi called for electoral reform, self-reliance in the field of defense, national health insurance, free secondary education, and modernization of the economy, with particular emphasis on the full utilization of science. It became part of the parliamentary opposition, especially in defense and foreign affairs, sometimes cooperating with *Gaḥal. In May 1967, during the prewar tension and the discussions on the appointment of Dayan as minister of defense, Rafi offered to return to Mapai bodies, and when the government was reformed after the 1969 elections Peres joined it. The elections were also contested by the State (or National) List (*Reshimah Mamlakhtit*), headed by Ben-Gurion, which consisted mainly of Rafi supporters and won four seats. In February 1971 (after Ben-Gurion's resignation from the Knesset) it decided to call itself Rafi-State List. Negotiations after the *Six-Day War led to agreement between Mapai, Rafi, and Aḥdut ha-Avodah. When the united Israel Labor Party was formed on Jan. 21, 1968, Rafi received 21.5 percent of the places on its governing bodies. In 1973 the State List ran for the Knesset as part of the Likud.

[Misha Louvish]

RAGEN, NAOMI (1949–), author. Born in New York, Ragen earned a bachelor's degree in English from Brooklyn College and a master's in English from the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. In January 1971 she moved with her husband to Israel. The translation of her books into Hebrew made her one of Israel's best-loved writers. Blending history, Jewish religious themes and their relation to the modern-day world, she had six international bestsellers: *Jephte's Daughter* (1989); *Sotah* (1992), her first book translated into Hebrew; *The Sacrifice of Tamar* (1995); *Chains Around the Grass* (2001); *The Ghost of Hannah Mendes* (2002); and *The Covenant.* (2004) Her play, *Women's Minyan*, commissioned by Israel's National Theater, Habimah, premiered in Israel in 2000 and became one of Habimah's longest-running hits. Its American premiere in English took place in 2005 at Duke University's Reynolds Theatre. She is an outspoken advocate of gender equality and human rights. One of the most influential and widely read columnists on the Internet, with thousands of subscribers, Ragen served as Israel's delegate to the Council of Europe's International Conference on Women's Rights in September 2000. Caught along with her family in the Netanyah Passover massacre, she used the experience to write passionately about the dangers of terror organizations and their supporters, as well as the experience of innocent civilians who find themselves on the front lines. A frequent contributor to op-ed pages, she was also a columnist for *The Jerusalem Post*. The Israeli government honored her in 2002 for outstanding achievement in literature.

[Stewart Kampel (2nd ed.)]

RAGER, BRACHA (1938–), Israeli microbiologist. Born in Tel Aviv, Rager obtained her M.Sc. in microbiology from Tel Aviv University in 1963 and received her Ph.D. from the School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine, London University, London, England in 1973. Between 1973 and 1976, she was a postdoctoral research fellow in the Department of Microbiology and Immunology, Albert Einstein College of Medicine, New York, where later she was appointed visiting professor, a position she held until 1987. In 1977 she joined the newly established Faculty of Health Sciences, Ben-Gurion University of the Negev, and was one of the founders of the department of microbiology and immunology, where she was appointed full professor in 1997. From 1997 to 2001 she was chief scientist of the Ministry of Health and from 2005 the president of the Israel Society of Microbiology. Rager was a member of the Higher Council of Education (MALAG) and served on the board of directors of Teva Pharmaceuticals. As an expert in virology and immunology, Rager conducted extensive research on mechanisms of defense against virus infections and cancer. She was a recipient of many prestigious awards and wrote numerous papers, which were published in professional journals. She also published articles on medical research policy and of scientific interest in national newspapers and was much involved in promoting medical research, women's health, and biotechnology. Throughout her professional life, Rager was extremely active in community and education projects related to the scientific education of the young. She was the academic consultant to gifted children and science for youth programs at Ben-Gurion University and a board member of the Blumfield Science Museum in Jerusalem. She was also a member of the board of directors of ORT, Israel. Rager was co-editor of the science section of the 2nd edition of the *Encyclopedia Judaica* and the widow of Itzhack *Rager, the late mayor of Beersheba.

RAGER, (IJO) ITZHACK, (1932–1997), Israeli journalist, diplomat, businessman, and mayor. Rager was born in Egypt and came to Israel in his infancy in 1932. He was a graduate of the David Yellin Teacher's College, the Hebrew University (in international affairs), Hunter College (in Soviet studies), and the City University of New York Graduate Center (in cross-system analysis). After his army service, in 1955, he was a bureau chief for the minister of interior, Israel Rokach, and in 1958 he joined the Israel Broadcasting Authority (IBA) as a parliamentary correspondent, later becoming chief news editor. In 1962, he was appointed chief European correspondent of IBA in Paris, and upon his return from Paris (1966) was appointed secretary general of the Broadcasting Authority. In 1969 he was chief editor of the *Ha-Yom* national daily newspaper. From 1971 to 1976 he was consul in London and New York and in 1980–83 was president of the worldwide State of Israel Bonds agency. In 1976 he settled in Beersheba, and in 1983 was appointed chairman of the Eilat Development Company. After building the first shopping mall in Beersheba (1984–89), he was elected mayor of Beersheba. Rager is remembered for numerous achievements during his lifetime. As an IDF officer (colonel, reserve), during the Six-Day War he commanded the battalion that liberated *Gush Etzyon and was the first to enter the city of Bethlehem. As a counselor in London and consul in New York he was an active leader for the freedom of Soviet Jews and participated in the creation of the "35s" Women's Campaign for Soviet Jewry. During his time as mayor of Beersheba, the city's population grew by 50 percent; he attracted industrial investments and revolutionized the educational system. Rager died of cancer in 1997 during his second term as mayor.

[Bracha Rager (2nd ed.)]

RAGOLER, ABRAHAM BEN SOLOMON (18th century), Lithuanian rabbi and preacher, brother of *Elijah b. Solomon Zalman Gaon of Vilna. Abraham was born in Vilna, but because of the controversy between *Ḥasidim and *Mitnaggedim* he moved to Ragola and was thereafter called Abraham of Ragola or "the Ḥasid ("righteous one") of Ragola." He was appointed preacher in Shklov.

He was the author of the *Ma'alot ha-Torah* (1828), a collection of rabbinic dicta dealing with the virtue of those who occupy themselves with the study of Torah. While explaining in detail the precepts of Torah study, he stressed that it is not sufficient "merely to study the text superficially, but it is also essential to carry it out in practice." He left in manuscript a kabbalistic commentary to the tractate *Megillah* and a commentary to the Book of Esther.

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[Yehoshua Horowitz]

RAGOLER, ELIJAH BEN JACOB (1794–1850), Lithuanian talmudist. Ragoler was born in Sogindat in the Zamut region. His only teacher was his father Jacob, a distinguished scholar and wealthy merchant. In his youth Elijah acquired a comprehensive knowledge of the Talmud, the *rishonim*, and the *posekim* – which he regarded as the essential elements of study in contrast to the prevalent methods of *pilpul* and hairsplitting unconnected with the definitive *halakhah*. He was renowned throughout Lithuania for his encyclopedic talmudic knowledge, and his contemporaries said of him that he had gone over the whole of the Talmud more than 400 times. He devoted himself to considerable study of the Kabbalah, in which he also became renowned. Nevertheless, he refused throughout his life to have any dealings with mystic exercises, despite the many appeals for prayers, amulets, etc. made to him by scholars and the common people. In his youth he spent some months with *Isaac of Volozhiner for the purpose of learning Kabbalah from him in accordance with the traditions which Isaac had received from *Elijah of Vilna. When, however, he lost hope of this he returned home. At that time, his father and father-in-law failed in business and Elijah was compelled to accept a rabbinical post. He first served as rabbi of the small town of Schatt near Keidany. From 1821 to 1824 he was rabbi of Ragola (Eiragola) where he gained his main reputation and from which he derived his name. From 1824 to 1840 he was rabbi of Slobodka and from 1840 until his death rabbi of Kalisz in Poland.

In addition to his great reputation as a *posek* and scholar in *halakhah* and Kabbalah, Elijah was distinguished for his diligence and application, and for his shrewdness and sincerity. During his last years he suffered from ill health as well as from the opposition of a group of members of the Kalisz community to whom the Lithuanian ways of their rabbi were strange. Despite this he did not hesitate to take a decisive attitude in his leadership of the community, and sided with Akiva *Lehren of Amsterdam in his violent opposition to the Reform conference of Brunswick (1844), organized by A. *Geiger. Ragoler's letter to Lehren differs from the many other letters of contemporary Orthodox rabbis in its exceptionally moderate tone. In contrast to them, Elijah held that the weapon of excommunication, prohibition of marriage, etc., should not be followed because of the grave danger it held for the whole of the Jewish community. In his view a sharp and unequivocal dissociation from the path of reform, and a warning to the public against it were necessary, but not a "war of destruction."

Ragoler left many manuscripts in all spheres of Torah study. According to the members of his family their number exceeded 35. Of these only one has been published: *Yad Eliyyahu* (1900), pt. I, 120 responsa and a methodology of the Talmud in alphabetical order, pt. II, talmudic novellae. Among his pupils were many great Lithuanian talmudists, including Mordecai Eliasberg and Joshua Heshel *Lewin. Many of his novellae are to be found in the works of other scholars, particularly in those of his pupils, including the *Ilana de-Ḥayyei* (1860–65) of Gershon Tanḥum. The *Keneset ha-Gedolah*, pt. 4 (1892), of Isaak *Suwalski cites many of his sayings on prayer.

Ragoler's brother, SAMUEL KELMER, was also a renowned scholar who went to Ereẓ Israel in the closing years of his life. Samuel was the father of Aryeh Leib *Frumkin.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: A.L. Frumkin, *Toledot Eliyyahu* (1900); Urbach (ed.), in: *Koveẓ al Yad*, 6 (16) pt. 2 (1966), 535–53.

[Israel Moses Ta-Shma]

RAHAB (Heb. רָחָב), the prostitute (Heb. *zonah* – see below), mentioned in the Book of Joshua as a central figure in Joshua's conquest of Jericho (Josh. 2–6). When Joshua sent two of his men to Jericho on a reconnaissance mission, they came to the house of Rahab and spent the night there (2:1–2). When the king of Jericho learned about the two spies, he sent word to Rahab ordering her to surrender them (2:3). However, she hid them on the roof under stalks of flax, and declared that they had already left (2:4–6). In return for the kindness that she had shown them and her promise to keep the entire affair confidential, the spies took an oath that she and her family would be spared when Joshua conquered the land (2:12–14). They further stipulated that when the conquest began, she was to gather her entire family into her home and bind a cord of crimson thread in the window, which would serve to identify her house (2:17–21). This cord of crimson thread was the same one which had been used to let the spies down through the window when they left Rahab's house (2:18). Rahab did as she was bidden, and so when Joshua did conquer the land, she and her entire family were saved (6:22–23, 25). After the total destruction of Jericho, it is stated that Rahab and her family elected to reside with the Israelites, who accepted her into their camp (6:25).

There are two somewhat conflicting Jewish traditions concerning Rahab's profession and later life among the Israelites. The first (e.g., Meg. 14b; Ginzberg, Legends, 4 (1954), 5–8) maintains that she married Joshua after becoming a proselyte, and became the ancestress of eight prophets and priests among whom were the prophet Jeremiah and the prophetess Huldah. According to this tradition, the fact that a proselyte and former prostitute could achieve such a name for herself in the annals of Jewish history proved that repentance can work salvation for anyone no matter how great his past sins. The second tradition contends that Rahab was not a prostitute at all but an innkeeper. This tradition (e.g., Rashi on Josh. 2:1) is based on the Targum's rendering of *zonah* as *pundekita* (*pundeqita*), the assumption being that this word means, like *pundakit* (*pundaqit*) in Hebrew, "hostess, innkeeper," and the derivation of the word *zonah* (normally "prostitute") from the same stem as *mazon* (מָזוֹן, "food"). If Rahab had been merely an innkeeper, then the shame of considering a former prostitute to be the ancestress of some of Israel's most important figures would cease to be a problem. However, as first noted by Kimḥi (on Josh. 2:1), the adherents of this theory simply misunderstood the Targum, for the Targum to the Prophets in various passages also renders *zonah* by *pundeqētā*, plural *pundeqāyān* or *pundeqāʾān* (e.g., I Kings 3:16; Ezek. 23:44), in which it cannot possibly have been understood to mean anything but "prostitute." Therefore, the Targum's rendering of Hebrew "prostitute" with Aramaic "innkeeper" is to be understood either as a euphemism or as an intended double entendre, implying that there is a connection between bars or inns and prostitutes.

[Chayim Cohen]

In the Aggadah

Rahab was one of the four most beautiful women in history. The mere mention of her name sufficed to excite desire (Meg. 15a). At the age of ten Rahab became a prostitute. There was not a prince or ruler who did not have relations with her. Because of this, she was well informed about events outside of Jericho (Zeb. 116b). Rahab became a righteous proselyte and married Joshua. She was the ancestress of eight prophets, among them Jeremiah, who were also priests, and of the prophetess Huldah (Meg. 14b). Her conversion is regarded as more complete than that of Jethro and Naaman for, unlike them, she acknowledged that the God of Israel is the only God both in heaven and on earth (Deut. R. 2:26–27).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Y. Kaufmann, *Sefer Yehoshu'a* (1959). IN THE AGGADAH: Ginzberg, Legends, index.

RAHABI, EZEKIEL (1694–1771), merchant and community leader in Cochin (*Kochi), India. In 1726, after the death of his father, Rahabi was appointed by the Dutch East India Company as "chief merchant and agent," and invested with a monopoly of the trade in pepper and other commodities in Malabar. He rose to a position of remarkable influence and prestige; for almost 50 years he was connected with all the company's major financial transactions in Malabar, and undertook for it diplomatic assignments to the king of Travancore (1734–42), to the zamorin of Calicut (1751), and to other native rulers.

Rahabi was also an outstanding leader of the Jewish community. He purchased land for the Black Jews near Cranganore and in 1756 built a synagogue there for ten Jewish families, supporting it until it was closed in 1761; improved and embellished the Parathesi synagogue of the White Jews in Cochin; and imported Hebrew books from Holland. Through his efforts to decipher the ancient copperplate inscriptions in Cochin, Ezekiel Rahabi also became the historian of his community. His letter of 1768 to the Dutch banker Tobias Boas remains a major source of information about Cochin Jewry. Rahabi's tombstone is preserved in the courtyard of the Parathesi synagogue. The changed economic and political conditions in Malabar after the English occupation of Cochin (1795) caused the decline of the Rahabi family.

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[Walter Joseph Fischel]

RAHABI (Raby), NAPHTALI ELIAHU (1863–1951), "white" Jewish scholar of Cochin (*Kochi), India. He is the author of *Divrei Yemei ha-Yehudim be-Cochin* ("History of the Jews of Cochin"; Sasson Ms. 268), and of *Toledot Beit Rahabi be-Cochin* ("History of the Rahabi Family"), both unpublished. He edited *Ḥuppat Ḥatanim* (1917), a collection of songs and hymns for weddings, etc. Like many Cochin leaders, Rahabi had strong Zionist sympathies.

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[Walter Joseph Fischel]

RAHAMIMOFF, RAMI (1937–), Israeli physiologist. He was born in Sofia and immigrated to Israel in 1949. He received his M.D. from the Hebrew University-Hadassah Medical School (1963) and, after deciding on a research career, worked with Sir Bernard *Katz as a British Council Research Fellow (1965–66) and lecturer in biophysics (1966–68) in the department of biophysics of University College, London. He returned to the Hadassah Medical School as a senior lecturer in physiology (1969), where he was appointed professor of physiology from 1975, chairman of the division of basic medical sciences (1974–81), Jacob Gitlin Professor of Physiology from 1985, chairman of the department of physiology (1986–89), and director of the Bernard Katz Minerva Center for Cell Biophysics (1994–2005). Rahamimoff's research interests developed with the undergraduate teaching he received from Jonathan Magnes and Joseph Dobkin. It concerns the regulation of the chemical transmitters in the nervous system which pass information from one nerve cell to another. He and his collaborator Fred Dodge developed a theory of cooperation between factors governing neuro-transmission that has been highly influential in progress in this field. Subsequently his laboratory has helped to clarify the significance of calcium and the functional significance of the fine anatomical details involved in neuro-transmission. His findings also have important implications for understanding the mechanisms that account for many diseases of the nervous system and their therapeutic control. Rahamimoff's teaching distinction was recognized by his regular nomination as distinguished university lecturer, the many physiologists he trained, and his contributions to many prestigious international courses. He also made important contributions to scientific education and research as chairman and council member of national and international committees concerned with the neuro-sciences and physiology in general. He served as dean (1981–85) and director of the Center for Medical Education (1985–88) of the Hebrew University-Hadassah Medical School (1981–85). From 2001 he was chief scientist of the Israel Ministry of Health and chairman of the committee responsible for the establishment of an Israeli Medical Research Council in 2002. His achievements were recognized by the award of the 1998 Israel Prize in life sciences.

[Michael Denman (2nd ed.)]

RAḤBAH, AL-, town situated on the W. bank of the Euphrates, S. of Kirkisiya. Founded in the first third of the ninth century by Mālik ibn Ṭauq, al-Raḥbah was named Raḥbat Mālik ibn Ṭauq to differentiate it from other towns bearing the name Al-Raḥbah. Onkelos, and after him R. *Saadiah Gaon, identify the town with the biblical Rehoboth by the River (Gen. 36:37), while the Arab geographer Yāqūt reports an ancient tradition, according to which Al-Raḥbah was founded by Namrūd (Nimrod) b. Kūsh. It was, at any rate, one of the large cities on the Euphrates – as confirmed by another Arab geographer, al-Mukaddasī, writing at the end of the tenth century – and it had a large Jewish community. Obadiah the proselyte was in this town at the beginning of the 12th century. *Benjamin of Tudela, the 12th-century traveler, found a Jewish community of 2,000 there. In a letter (*iggeret*) written by R. *Samuel b. Ali, head of the *Baghdad academy, in 1191, Al-Raḥbah heads the list of the communities of northern *Babylonia and *Syria. There were also *Karaites living in the town, as is known from a list appearing at the end of a manuscript of Japheth b. Ali's commentary on Numbers, dedicated by Moses b. Japheth al-Raḥbī to the Karaite community in *Jerusalem. By the 14th century the ancient town had been destroyed and its site had been moved further to the west. At the time that the town was included within the *Mamluk kingdom, Jews still lived there, as may be inferred from an inscription found in the synagogue of Tadef (a village near *Aleppo), dating apparently from about 1400, which mentions the name "Obadiah b. Moses … b. Abraham al-Raḥbī." During Ottoman rule Jews from al-Raḥbah moved to *India, and some of them (e.g., a prominent family that lived in Cochin in the 18th century), bore the name of their ancient home.

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[Eliyahu Ashtor]

RAHBAR, SAMUEL (1929–), Iranian immunologist. Rahbar was born in Hamadan, Iran, and studied medicine at the University of Teheran, obtaining his doctorate in 1953. After doing hemoglobin research at the Albert Einstein College of Medicine, New York, he was appointed professor of immunology at the University of Teheran. In 1963, he established the university's Abnormal Hemoglobin Research Laboratory of which he became the director; a number of new abnormal hemoglobins were discovered there. In addition to numerous contributions on the subject in international scientific journals, Rahbar published *Principles of Molecular Biology* (Persian, 1972). His most important achievement is the discovery of HbA1c in diabetic patients, which was published in 1968. HbA1c became one of the most important biochemical values to be measured in diabetic patients, its measurement being a major contribution to the quality of care of diabetic patients. At the beginning of the Islamic Revolution, he was fired from the University of Tehran and immigrated to U.S. As a professor of diabetes at the City of Hope National Medical Center in Duarte, California, he worked on the development of "inhibitors of glycation," compounds that may prevent diabetic complications in the kidneys, eyes, and nervous system.

RAḤEL (pseudonym of **Rahel Bluwstein**, 1890–1931), Hebrew poet in Ereẓ Israel. Raḥel was born in Saratov, on the Volga in northern Russia, and raised in Poltava. She began writing poetry in Russian at the age of 15 and also studied painting. In 1909 she emigrated to Ereẓ Israel, settling in Reḥovot. She abandoned her native Russian idiom and learned Hebrew. Under the influence of the pioneer Zionist Hannah Maisel (Shoḥat) she became a pioneer and was one of the first trainees at the young women's training farm at Kinneret. At Kinneret she met Aaron David *Gordon, the philosopher of Zionist agrarianism, and to him she dedicated her first Hebrew poem, "*Halokh Nefesh*" ("Mood"), in *Ha-Shiloʾaḥ*, 37 (1920). Having decided on an agricultural life, she studied agronomy at the University of Toulouse (1913). Unable to return to Ereẓ Israel because of World War I, she went to Russia, where she taught Jewish refugee children. After the war she settled in Deganyah. However, having contracted tuberculosis during the war, she soon became too ill for farm life and had to spend the rest of her life in hospitals and sanatoria.

Raḥel is among the first modern Hebrew poets who wrote in a conversational style. Her knowledge of Hebrew was drawn from both the developing spoken idiom and the Bible. She was also influenced by the conversational school which then prevailed in Russian poetry (Blok, Akhmatova, and Yesenin). Her poems are characterized by a clear, uncomplicated lyrical line and a musicality, then rare in Hebrew poetry. Invariably short, her poems are elegiac and nostalgic in tone, many of them reflecting the pessimism of a young writer on the brink of death. These qualities made her writings very popular with younger Hebrew readers and with the general public. Many of the poems, including the widely sung "*Kinneret*," have been put to music. Raḥel also translated Russian, Yiddish, and French poetry and wrote occasional pieces of criticism. Two volumes of her verse appeared in her lifetime: *Safiʾaḥ* ("Aftergrowth," 1927), *Mi-Neged* ("From Opposite," 1930), and one posthumously, *Nevo* (1932). These were collected in *Shirat Raḥel* ("The Poetry of Raḥel," 1935), the eighth edition (1961) of which also contains her other works as well as a biography by Bracha *Ḥabas and a bibliography of her poems and their translations. Uri Milstein edited a collection of Raḥel's poems, letters, and articles with a biographical essay (1985) and Z. Yafit published all of her poems accompanied by a biographical note (2000). An unknown short play written in Deganyah 1919/1920, in which Rahel depicts with a grain of irony the life of the pioneers and the gap between ideals and daily life, was discovered by Dana Olmert and published in the literary supplement of *Haaretz* (November 19, 2004). Rahel's poems have been translated into many languages and information is available at the ITHL website at www.ithl.org.il.

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[Ezra Spicehandler]

RAHV, PHILIP (1908–1973), U.S. editor and critic. Born in Russia and named Ivan Greenberg, Rahv (literally, teacher) came to the United States after living in Palestine. One of the founders of the *Partisan Review*, Rahv helped to turn the magazine into an anti-Stalinist organ. He was also known for his helping other writers find their audience. His later magazine was called *Modern Occasions*. His critical works include *Image and Idea* (1949), *Literature in America* (1957), and *Myth and the Powerhouse* (1965). His *Literature and the Sixth Sense* was published in 1969. Of note is his *Essays on Literature and Politics, 1932–1972*, edited by Arabel Porter and Andrew Dvosin (1978). He also edited anthologies of U.S., British, and Russian fiction. During the 1940s Rahv did much to revive interest in the works of Henry James.

RAILROADS. Jewish financiers played a considerable role in the construction of railroads in France and in Central and Eastern Europe from the 1830s until the beginning of the 20th century. These Jewish financiers were the only investors – besides the British – among the private bankers dominant in Europe until the second half of the 19th century (see also *Banking) who were prepared to risk their capital in the pioneer stage of railroad construction. In the second half of the 19th century, when large banking joint-stock firms sprang up and expanded, private banks were increasingly pressed into the background, and the share of private Jewish capital in railroad investment diminished accordingly. In the majority of European countries this tendency became linked to nationalization of the railroads when financial crises occurred in private railroad companies. The nationalization of Prussian railroads was organized on the financial side by Bismarck's adviser Gerson von *Bleichroeder. In the 19th-century era of "railroad fever" former *court Jews who had become private bankers with considerable funds took part in furthering the industrial revolution through their investments in railroad construction.

The *Rothschilds were urged by Nathan Mayer Rothschild soon after the opening of the first successful railroad in England (1825) to invest money on the continent in railroad construction. Salomon Rothschild of Vienna sent Professor F.X. Riepel from the Vienna Institute of Technology to England to study the new means of transportation with Rothschild's secretary, Leopold von Wertheimstein. Subsequently they proposed the construction (1829) of a first line to run straight through the Hapsburg Empire, connecting Vienna with Galicia and Trieste. The July Revolution postponed the execution of Rothschild's plans. It was only in 1836, after overcoming many obstacles (especially the rivalry of the Viennese banking houses of *Arnstein and *Eskeles) that he began construction of the northern line from Vienna to Bochnia, in Galicia. The railroad was only completed in 1858. The house of Rothschild sold the shares on the stock market mainly to small investors.

James Rothschild of Paris was encouraged to construct the local line between Paris and St. Germain (opened in 1837) by Emile *Pereire. Emile Pereire and his brother Isaac viewed the railroad as the salvation of the future, producing work for the masses, connecting nations, and conducive to world welfare and peace. The two brothers could later boast that through their efforts more than 6,000 miles (10,000 km.) of railroads had come into existence. In the 1840s they were the rivals of the Rothschilds in this field.

After the success of the Paris-St. Germain line, James Rothschild and the *Fould brothers (apostate Jews), were eager to receive the concession for the Paris-Versailles line. The government eventually approved two plans, so that Rothschild constructed his line on the left bank of the River Seine and the Foulds on the right bank. In 1839 the railroad was opened, and in 1840 the two companies merged. This did not diminish the rivalry between them and the Pereire brothers. James Rothschild also succeeded in obtaining the concession for the construction of a northern line connecting Paris with England and the industries of northern France. The financial means of the Rothschilds were thereby severely strained, but the line was at last opened in 1846.

Nathan Mayer Rothschild and his sons helped finance the state-constructed railroad network in Belgium in the years 1834 to 1843. The Antwerp-Ghent line was built by the first private railway company in Belgium formed by Leopold *Koenigswarter. The Rothschilds were the chief financiers of the world-spanning railroad politics of Leopold I. They also raised funds for building railroads in Italy, Spain, and Brazil.

The Pereire brothers were second only to the Rothschilds in the first stage of railroad network development on the continent until 1869. The first half of their organizational activity was spent on a substantial part of the French railroad network. While the Rothschilds constructed the "northern" line in the 1840s, the Pereires were responsible for the "southern" one. The 1848 revolution plunged the railroads into a severe crisis (the "southern" line, managed by Isaac Pereire, was also financially ruined). The Pereire brothers wished to overcome this crisis by diverting to plans for a "railroad bank," a bank that would solve all the current financial difficulties of the French economy. The Crédit Mobilier (1852) also was intended not only to finance railroad construction but also heavy industry. Pereire introduced a new type of railroad security, the 500-franc capital bond (*obligation*), paying 15 francs annual interest and issued at whatever the market would bring, generally between 300 and 400 francs. With interest guaranteed by the state these bonds were ideally suited to the investor of moderate means. They quickly replaced other types of railroad borrowing and greatly facilitated railroad finance.

In the first years of its establishment the Crédit Mobilier financed (through advance payments and increased circulation of bonds) the "southern" line, the "grand central," the French "eastern" line, and many others in their first years. Through its contribution the railroad network expanded from 2,000 miles (3,600 km.) in 1852 to 11,000 miles (18,000 km.) in 1870. The Pereire brothers did not neglect to finance railroad construction and industrial ventures abroad. They contributed to the predominance of French finance in the development of foreign railroads in the post-1850 decade: in Austria, where there was fierce competition between the Pereires and the Rothschilds, the Pereires founded the important Austrian State-Railroad Company, in conjunction with Sina, Arnstein, and Eskeles, while the Rothschilds were successful in buying the Lombard-Venetian and the Central Italian Railway (1856). In Spain there was lively rivalry between the Rothschilds, Pereires, and Jules Isaac *Mirès; and in Hungary they built the "Franz-Joseph" line (1857). The Crédit Mobilier also financed Swiss railroads.

The importance of railroads was grasped in Russia only after its defeat in the Crimean War. The Grande Société des Chemins de fer Russes (1857) had, besides the Pereires, other Jewish bankers as founders: Alexander *Stieglitz of St. Petersburg, S.A. Fraenkel of Warsaw, and the *Mendelssohns of Berlin. An important figure in Russian railroad construction in the 1860s and 1870s was Samuel *Polyakov. He built railroads of supreme importance for the Russian grain export trade, and also wrote on the political aspect of railroad construction. He and other Jewish entrepreneurs succeeded in attracting foreign capital (Leopold *Kronenberg, J.J. Sack, Gerson von Bleichroeder, Sulzbach Brothers, etc.) without which their plans would have been unattainable. Railroad construction by Jewish bankers in Russia created employment for numbers of Jews, who filled technical and administrative posts. The advent of the railroad brought many changes in Jewish economic and social life, described, for instance, in the poem *Shenei Yosef ben Shim'on* of J.L. *Gordon.

Bethel Henry *Strousberg started by working for English firms, and when he had accumulated enough capital, founded railway companies in Prussia and later in Hungary. He also acquired locomotive factories and rolling mills for rails, and subsequently coal mines. A careless venture into Romanian railroad construction ruined his enterprise. His bankruptcy influenced public opinion in favor of nationalization of railroad lines in Germany. It also revealed malpractices and bribery, which were given a prominent place in antisemitic propaganda.

Jewish bankers were large-scale investors in railroad construction outside Europe. Baron Maurice de *Hirsch bought, in 1869, the concession for railroad building in Turkey from the bankrupt International Land Credit Company. His connection by marriage with the Jewish banking enterprise Bischoffsheim and Goldschmidt aided him initially. In 1869 he began the first stage of extending the Austro-Hungarian lines southward. However, before beginning construction on the Oriental Railroad, he took steps to secure financial backing, and chose a new type of 3% government loan. "Turkish lottery bonds," which attracted small investors in France and Germany, were offered on the general market. Hirsch concluded his project in 1888.

At first Jewish financiers, mainly of German origin, acted as intermediaries between foreign finance and the United States. When the Civil War broke out in 1861, railway bonds, mainly distributed by Jewish bankers in Europe, served as a means of payment for munitions bought in Europe. The Speyer, Stern, and *Seligman New York banking houses all dealt in railway shares. A leading personality in late 19th and early 20th century American financing was Jacob H. *Schiff. In 1875 he became a member of the banking firm of Kuhn, Loeb & Company (a firm long engaged in railroad financing) which he eventually dominated. In 1897 he reorganized the Union Pacific Railroad, which was described in the period as being "battered, bankrupt and decrepit." According to financial authorities the Harriman-Schiff railway combination became the most powerful and most successful that America had ever known. Schiff was one of the first supporters and associates of James Hill, who, by building the Great Northern Railway, virtually became the founder of a vast empire in the northwest. His firm aided other railroads by financial operations until the end of World War I. Schlesinger-Trier in Berlin, together with other Jewish banks, imported the shares of the Canadian Pacific railroad and offered them on the Berlin stock market.

A position similar to that of Schiff in financing railway companies in the United States was held by Sir Ernest *Cassel in England. He had a share in developing Swedish, American, and Mexican railway companies. The Vickers and Central London Railway Company was connected with his name.

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[Michael Graetz]

RAIN (Heb. מָטָר, גֶּשֶׁם). The large number of quotations referring to rain in the biblical and talmudic sources may be attributed to the fact that rain is the most important climatic element for the agriculture of Israel, particularly in non-irrigated areas. In comparing these quotations with modern knowledge of rainfall in Israel it is evident that although part of the quotations are in the realm of folklore, many of them are valid and correspond to contemporarily measured data, although the descriptions of rain in the Bible and talmudic literature are mainly qualitative. This correspondence not only shows the keen observations of weather phenomena made in ancient times, but also indicates that during the last 3,000 years there were fluctuations but not fundamental changes in the climate of Israel. The importance of a normal rainfall regime, i.e., an appropriate seasonal distribution of rainfall, for the success of agricultural crops is clearly stated in the Bible on several occasions (Lev. 26:4; Deut. 28:12; Ezek. 34:26), sometimes with special emphasis on the first and last rains of the season (the *yoreh* and the *malkosh*) whose importance for agriculture is particularly great (Deut. 11:14; Jer. 5:24). The local nature of

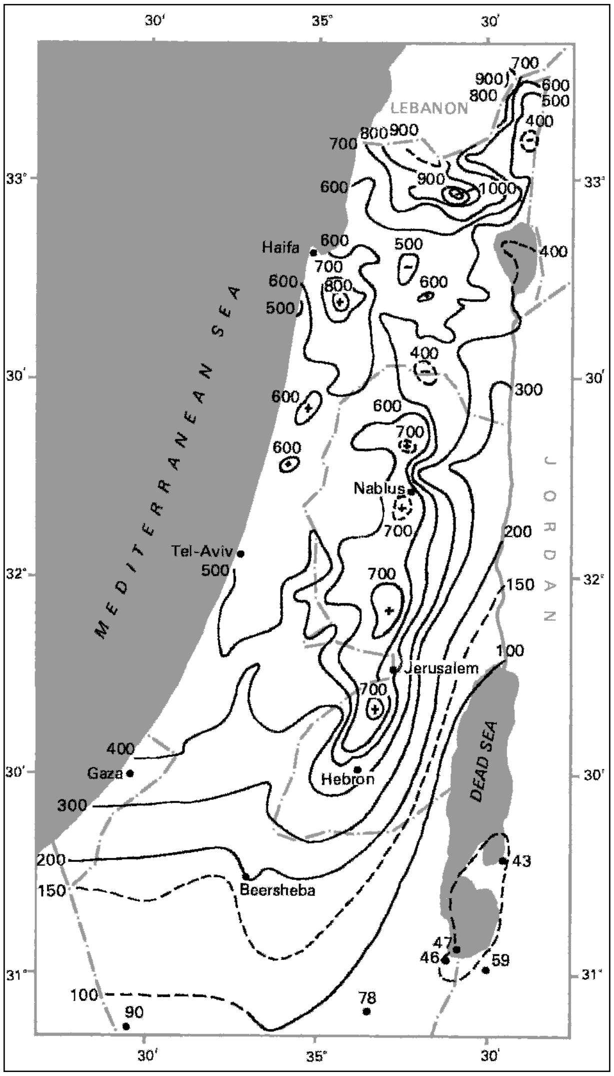
LEBANON
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Haifa
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Map 1. Average annual rainfall, amounts in mm. (1921–1950).

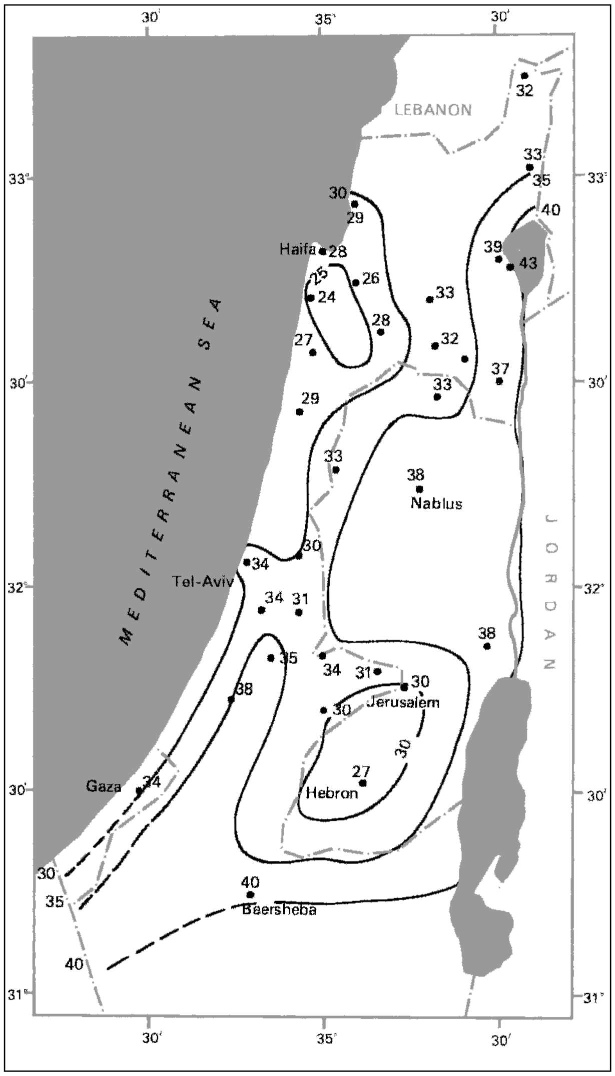
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Map 2. Interannual variability of rainfall amount, as a percentage of the average for the period 1921/22–1950/51.

rainfall, expressed in Ereẓ Israel particularly at the beginning and end of the rainfall season, is also mentioned (Amos 4:7; cf. Ta'an. 6b). An impressive description of the results of droughts is available in Jeremiah 14:1–6. Late and strong rains at the beginning of June are as rare and notable nowadays as they were at the time of Samuel (1 Sam. 12:16–18). Similarly, three consecutive drought years in the region of Samaria are as rare and notable in the last 50 years of rainfall measurements (1931/32, 1932/33, and 1933/34) as they were at the time of Elijah and Ahab (1 Kings 18:1).

In the Talmud and Midrashim

Rain is referred to on many occasions in the Talmud and midrashic literature, particularly in tractate *Ta'anit* (Mishnah, Tosefta, and the Babylonian and Jerusalem Talmuds). In the Mishnah there is a quantitative definition of drought (Ta'an, 3:1). The following references are examples of keen observations of weather phenomena: R. Eleazar b. Perata paid attention to the variations from year to year in both amounts and times of rain occurrence (Ta'an. 19b). R. Johanan and R. Papa determined that thin clouds under thick clouds are a sign of rainfall (*ibid.* 9b); the ragged fragments of low clouds, known as scud (nautical term) or stratus fractus (meteorological term), often moving rapidly below rain clouds, indicate rainy weather (which is also the case today). On the same page in the Babylonian Talmud a weather forecast is given by R. Ulla, using the above-mentioned sign. Even a forecast for the rainfall of a whole year is given in the Jerusalem Talmud (Ta'an. 2:1, 65b). The dates of the beginning and end of the rainfall season in Israel also fit modern conditions (Ta'an. 1:1; Ned. 8:5; see also Yal., Num. 29). As for rain intensities, there are various expressions for slight, moderate, and heavy rains in the Bible (e.g., 1 Kings 18:45; Ezek. 13:11; 34:26; Ps. 68:10; Prov. 28:3; for the Mishnah see Ta'an. 3).

In Contemporary Israel

Israel is situated on the boundary of two different climatic regions: its northern half belongs to the southern part of a region having the so-called "Mediterranean" type of climate, whose main feature is that the greatest part of the annual rainfall occurs during the moderately cold winter months, while in the warm summer practically no rain falls; the southern half of Israel, the Negev, is situated on the northern boundary of a hot desert. Like every country with a Mediterranean climate Israel also lies near the limit of the cyclonic rains. Most of the rain-bearing cold lows (barometric depressions) arriving or forming in the eastern Mediterranean during the rainfall season are situated in the northeastern part of this sea (the "Cyprus Low"). Such a depression in the lower layers of the atmosphere is generally associated with a cold barometric trough in the higher layers (upper trough). The great majority of rainfall in Israel is due to this combination, even in the southern Negev – which is far away from the center of the Cyprus Low. Rains usually fall in Israel when cold air masses arrive mainly from Russia, the Balkans, or Turkey. These air masses are cold and dry, but in passing over the relatively much warmer waters of the Mediterranean they are heated in their lower layers, absorb much moisture, and reach Israel in a state of marked instability. Then, the land areas of Israel serve as a "trigger" to induce rainfall.

REGIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF RAINFALL. For the areal distribution of rainfall over Israel four rules can be stated:

(1) rainfall decreases with increasing distance from the sea, i.e., from west to east (continental effect);

(2) rainfall increases with increasing elevation (orographic effect);

(3) rainfall depends on exposure: of two localities at the same elevation, other conditions being equal, the windward slope facing ascending air (anabatic effect) receives more rainfall than the leeward slope with descending air (katabatic effect);

(4) rainfall decreases from north to south, i.e., with increasing distance from the Cyprus Low and decreasing distance from the planetary desert.

A good example for the first rule is the Valley of Jezreel where the average annual rainfall decreases gradually from west to east (650 mm.–400 mm.), and for the fourth rule – the Coastal Plain (650 mm.–200 mm., north to south). In each of these regions there are no significant differences in elevation. The second and third rules are clearly demonstrated on the Carmel range (600 mm.–850 mm.), where the isolines of rainfall (isohyets) are somewhat similar to those of elevation (isohypses), demonstrating the importance of the height factor. The same applies to two other compact and continuous ranges, namely, Upper Galilee, which is the highest and most northerly region in Israel and therefore the rainiest one (600 mm.–1000 mm.), and the Judean Hills (450 mm.–700 mm.); whereas the Samarian Hills and those of Lower Galilee are broken up and scattered, so that their isohyets do not take a markedly topographic course. The Samarian Hills, which generally become higher from north to south, demonstrate the prevalence of height over latitude when the latter factor is opposed to the former: this is the only region in Israel where rainfall increases from north to south (500 mm.–700 mm.). In the Jordan Rift Valley, on the other hand, the combined influence of southward progress and falling elevation is seen in the rapid decrease of the average annual rainfall from 570 mm. in the northern part of the Ḥuleh Area to 90 mm. at the northern edge of the Dead Sea. Further south, the Arabah between the Dead Sea and the Gulf of Eilat, forming the eastern border of the Negev, is the driest region in the country (25 mm.–50 mm.). Even the highest hills of the Negev do not enjoy 100 mm. while the northwestern Negev receives 200 mm. as an annual average.

SEASONAL DISTRIBUTION OR REGIMEN OF RAINFALL. In effect rains fall in Israel only during the period October through May, which is called "the rainfall season." The three central rainy months – the "winter" of the temperate climates, December, January, and February – contribute two-thirds to three-quarters of the annual rainfall in most regions of the country. The remaining 30% is distributed among the first and last months of the rainfall season: the "autumn" months October and November and the "spring" months March, April, and May, although in the Coastal Plain the percentage of rainfall in autumn is greater than in the hill region, while in the hills and other regions of the interior the percentage of spring rains is larger than near the coast. In addition to this west-east variation of the rainfall regime there is a north-south variation: while the northern half of the country has a Mediterranean rainfall regime with the characteristic steep increase from the beginning of the season toward the peak month and a rapid decrease from then to the end of the season, no specific month can be singled out in the central and southern Negev as having a marked maximum, and the curve typical for the Mediterranean regime becomes ill-defined. All the preceding facts are true with respect to a normal rainfall regime, i.e., a seasonal distribution of rainfall in which each month receives its average value. But in fact there are large variations from year to year in the seasonal rainfall, and particularly in its monthly distribution, so that it is difficult to find a season in which each of its months has even approximately received its average amount.

VARIABILITY OF RAINFALL. There are several statistical methods for measuring quantitatively the variations of annual rainfall from year to year. One measure, called Relative Variability, is defined as the percentage ratio between the mean deviation of individual annual totals from their average and the average; another measure, Relative Interannual Variability, relates, in percent, the mean value of absolute differences between successive annual totals to the average. The values of each of these measures of variability are relatively low (20%–26% RV; 25%–37% RIV) in regions with much rainfall (the hill region and Coastal Plain) and higher (≥ 27% RV; ≥ 38% RIV) in regions with less rainfall (the Jordan Valley and Negev). This property is of important consequence to non-irrigated areas in the eastern and southern parts of Israel in drought years. For charts, tables, and further details see bibliography.

See *Rain, Prayer for; *Israel, Land of (Climate).

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[Jacob Katsnelson]

RAIN, PRAYER FOR (Heb. תְּפִלַּת גֶּשֶׁם, *Tefillat Geshem* (Ashkenazi); תִּקּוּן הַגֶּשֶׁם, *Tikkun ha-Geshem* (Sephardi)), prayers offered on various occasions, in which God is acknowledged as the power causing rain and the change of seasons, and which contain petitions for the fertility of the fields and for preservation from famine.

The principal prayer for rain is recited during the *Musaf* service on the eighth day of Sukkot (*Shemini Aẓeret) as part of the second benediction in the reader's repetition of the **Amidah* (Ashkenazi tradition). The Sephardim recite it before the Additional Service. The *piyyutim* of which this prayer is composed vary according to the different rites. Those in the Ashkenazi rite are by Eliezer *Kallir; the last of the six *piyyutim* invokes the remembrance of Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Moses, Aaron, and the Twelve Tribes, and culminates in the invocation: "In their merit favor us with abundant water (rain)… For a blessing and not for a curse, for life and not for death, for plenty and not for famine. Amen." From this service on Shemini Aẓeret until that of the first day of Passover when the prayer for *dew is said, the sentence *mashiv ha-ru'aḥ u-morid ha-geshem* ("cause the wind to blow and the rain to fall") is included in every *Amidah* prayer at the beginning of the second benediction (Sh. Ar., OḤ 114). This insertion is called by the Mishnah (Ta'an. 1:1) *gevurot* (meaning "the Powers of God"). In traditional synagogues following the customs of Eastern Europe the *ḥazzan* officiates in the *kitel at the *Musaf* service when the prayer for rain is read as on the Day of Atonement, and recites the *Kaddish* before the *Musaf* service to a solemn melody. In Israel, the *Tefillat Geshem* is recited after the Torah scrolls have been returned to the ark and before the *Musaf* service so as to avoid an "interruption" in the statutory *Amidah*; however, the ḥasidic rite in Israel recites it in the reader's repetition of the *Amidah*. The *Tefillat Geshem* (like the prayer for dew) is part of the service in all Jewish rituals including the *Conservative and *Reform where it appears in a shortened version.

Another prayer for rain is the petition (*she'elah*) "and give dew and rain for a blessing" (*ve-ten tal u-matar li-verakhah*; in the Sephardi rite this is a different and longer petition) inserted in the ninth benediction of the *Amidah for weekdays. This petition is recited only from a date two weeks or more after the *Tefillat Geshem* on Shemini Aẓeret because the pilgrims in Temple times had to return from Jerusalem to their homes and traveling during a rainy season would have caused them hardship. Thus, in Ereẓ Israel the insertion is made from the evening prayer of the seventh of Ḥeshvan (Ta'an. 1:3; Ta'an. 4b); elsewhere, from the 60th day after the autumnal equinox, that is, from the fifth or sixth of December. This petition for rain appears in the ninth benediction (the "Blessing of the Years"), rather than in the second benediction of the *Amidah*, because the first three benedictions of the *Amidah* should contain the praise of God only and no petitions.

Prayers for rain are among the earliest liturgical texts and withholding of rain is regarded in the Bible as a punishment from God (cf. Deut. 11:11–17; I Kings 17:1). In the time of the Second Temple, the high priest recited a special prayer for rain on the *Day of Atonement (Yoma 53b) based upon Solomon's prayer (I Kings 8:35–36; II Chron. 7–13). During periods of drought, special prayers and supplications combined with fasting (see Fast *Days) were ordained (Ta'an. 1:4–3:9). These prayers entered the liturgy as it evolved in the time of the Mishnah and thereafter.

The dates for the special fasts and prayers for rain were fixed by the rabbis with a view to the climate and agricultural needs of Palestine; later rabbinic authorities decreed that wherever rain is beneficial during the summer, appropriate prayers for rain may be inserted, even during this season, in the 16th benediction of the *Amidah, Shome'a Tefillah* (Ta'an. 14b; Maim. Yad, Tefillah, 2:17; Sh. Ar., OḤ 117:2).

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RAINBOW, "bow" (Heb. קֶשֶׁת), "in the cloud" (Gen. 9:13–14, 16; Ezek. 1:28). In the sequel to the Flood Story (Gen. 9:8–17) God sets His bow in the clouds as a sign to the people and as a reminder to Himself that no deluge shall again destroy the earth. According to the rabbis this rainbow was created during the eve of the Sabbath of Creation at twilight (Pes. 54a). Naḥmanides similarly explained that the rainbow had existed previously but was now designated to serve as this symbol (to Gen. 9:12). However, Ibn Ezra held that the bow was first created by God after the Flood (to Gen. 9:13). The bow symbolized that God s wrath had ceased since the end of the bow pointed downward just as the warrior lowers his bow on declaring peace (Naḥmanides to Gen. 9:12).

The rabbis held that the rainbow need not appear in the lifetime of a saint whose merit alone is sufficient to save the world from destruction (Ket. 77b and Rashi ad. loc.). Since the rainbow was the reflection of "the glory of the Lord" (Ezek. 1:28), it was considered injurious to gaze directly at it (Hag.

16a). It was reported that R. Joshua b. Levi declared that upon seeing the rainbow one should fall on his face as did Ezekiel (Ezek. 1:28). Nevertheless, in Ereẓ Israel, the rabbis disapproved of such action since it appeared as if the person was bowing down to the rainbow. They, however, approved of reciting a blessing upon the rainbow's appearance. The text of this blessing as it is today recited is "Blessed are Thou O Lord our God, King of the Universe, Who remembers the Covenant, is faithful to His Covenant, and keeps His promise" (Ber. 59a; Sh. Ar. OḤ 229:1). The blessing is to be recited even if a rainbow is seen twice within 30 days *Mishnah Berurah* to Sh. Ar., loc. cit.).

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RAINER, LUISE (1910 –), German actress. Born in Dusseldorf, Germany, into a prosperous Jewish family, Rainer began her career in 1928. She later joined Max Reinhardt's company in Vienna, Austria. As part of his company, Rainer became a popular stage actress in Berlin and Vienna in the early 1930s, appearing in such plays as *Saint Joan* and *Six Characters in Search of an Author.* In 1935 she went to Hollywood and became famous for her performance in the films *Escapade* (1935); *The Great Ziegfeld* (Oscar for Best Actress, 1936); and *The Good Earth* (Oscar for Best Actress, 1937). These were followed by less notable roles in *The Emperor's Candlesticks* (1937)*; The Big City* (1937); *The Toy Wife* (1938); *The Great Waltz* (1938); *Dramatic School* (1938); and *Hostages* (1943). Ultimately disillusioned with the superficial quality of Hollywood and frustrated at not being able to attain the more substantial roles, Rainer retired from the screen in 1943. She made a brief comeback decades later when she starred in the Swiss TV movie *A Dancer* (1988) and appeared in the Hungarian film *The Gambler* (1997), based on the story by Dostoievsky; and the German film *Poem*: *I Set My Foot upon the Air and It Carried Me* (2003).

Amassing a string of "firsts" to her credit, Rainer was the first actor/actress to achieve the perfect Oscar track record of two nominations, two wins; she was the first to receive double Oscars consecutively; she was the first to obtain two Oscars before turning 30; she was the first (and as of 2005 the only) German actress to win an Academy Award; and she was the first actress to win an Academy Award for portraying a real-life person – Anna Held in the biopic *The Great Ziegfeld.*

Her first role on the English stage was in *Behold the Bride* (London, 1939) and, on the New York stage, *A Kiss for Cinderella* (1942), followed by *The Lady from the Sea* (1950).

Clifford *Odets, the playwright, was her first husband; they were married from 1937 to 1940. Rainer wed publisher Robert Knittel in 1944, to whom she remained married until his death in 1989.

[Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

RAISA, ROSA (née **Raisa Burchstein**; 1893–1963), dramatic soprano. Born in Bialystok, Poland, Raisa fled from there following the 1907 pogroms and settled on Capri. She studied at the Conservatorium of Naples with Barbara Marchisio, the famous 19th-century "bel canto" contralto. Conductor Cleofonte Campanim, the director of the Chicago Opera, contracted the 20-year-old Raisa for a debut in Parma's Teatro Regio in Verdi's first opera, *Oberto, Conte di San Bonifacio*, inaugurating a special festival of operas commemorating the hundredth anniversary of Verdi's birth. Her immediate success prompted him to take Raisa to the United States for her North America debut. Her first professional seasons witnessed debuts at London's Covent Garden singing Aida opposite Enrico Caruso as well as appearances in Paris, at the Rome Opera, and La Scala, Milan.

Raisa spent the major part of her career with the Chicago Opera as principal dramatic soprano from 1913 to 1937. Her best known roles were as Aida, Gioconda, Norma, Santuzza, Maliella in *Jewels of the Madonna* and Rachel in *La Juive.* She also appeared on the stages of South America (Buenos Aires, Montevideo, Rio do Janeiro, and Sao Paulo) and Mexico. Arturo Toscanini, whose admiration for her voice and art, led him to name her in 1916 the "Tamagno of dramatic sopranos," brought her back to La Scala (1924–1926) and cast her in the world premieres of Boito's posthumous *Nerone* and Puccini's posthumous *Turandot.* Raisa sang numberous concerts throughout the United States with her husband, the Italian baritone, Giacomo Rimini. Her programs often included Russian and Yiddish art and folk songs. She made numerous appearances for Jewish charities and causes. Upon her retirement in 1938 she and Rimini opened a voice school in Chicago.

Raisa was noted for her large and richly colored voice with its brilliant upper register, the technical control and ease of her delivery, as well as the emotionalism, sincerity, and beauty of her stage portrayals.

[Charles B. Mintzer]

RAISIN, JACOB ZALMAN (1877–1946), rabbi and writer. After emigrating from Poland to the United States, he served as a Reform rabbi in Charleston, South Carolina, for many years (1915–44).

An author of Hebrew poems and articles on English literature in Hebrew, his books – in English – include *Sect, Creed and Custom in Judaism* (1907), *Centennial Booklet Commemorating the Introduction of Reform Judaism in America* (1925), and the posthumously published *Gentile Reactions to Jewish Ideals* (1953). His volume *The Haskalah Movement in Russia* (1913) is still an important contribution to the literature of Haskalah.

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[Eisig Silberschlag]

RAISIN, MAX (1881–1957), rabbi and author, the younger brother of Jacob *Raisin. Born in Poland, he arrived in the United States as a boy of 12. He was ordained as rabbi at the Hebrew Union College in Cincinnati in 1903. He served as rabbi of Congregation B'nai Jeshurun of Paterson, New Jersey (1921–53).

A prolific writer in Hebrew, English, and Yiddish, Raisin dealt with contemporary problems, with the history of the Reform movement, and with Hebrew literature, on both a popular and a scholarly level. His books included: *Mordecai Manuel Noah: Zionist, Author and Statesman* (1905); *John Milton* (1924); *Israel in America* (1947); and *A History of the Jews in Modern Times* (1919) which was published as a supplement to *Graetz's *History of the Jews*. An ardent Zionist when Zionism was unpopular in the Reform movement, his views were influenced by *Aḥad Ha-Am. A number of his works were autobiographical: *Dappim mi-Pinkaso shel Rabbi* (1941); *Out of My Life* (1956); and *Great Jews I have Known* (1959).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Morgenstern, in: Central Conference of American Rabbis, *Yearbook*, 67 (1957), 154f.; Kressel, Leksikon, 2 (1967), 861f.

[Eisig Silberschlag]

RAISMAN, SIR (Abraham) JEREMY (1892–1978), British economist and banker. Born in Leeds, in 1916 he entered the Indian Civil Service, first in Bihar and Orissa, then with the customs department in Bombay and Calcutta, and as commissioner for income tax in the Punjab and the Northwest Frontier Province. In 1931 he joined India's central government as joint secretary in the Commerce Department. In 1938 he was appointed secretary to the Finance Department, and from 1939 to 1945 served as finance member of the government of India. In 1944 he led India's delegation to the International Monetary Conference at Bretton Woods (New Hampshire) which resulted in the formation of the International Monetary Fund and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development. In 1939 he was knighted, and in 1945 resigned from service in India, where he had been helpful to many Jewish refugees from Europe. After his retirement he served as an adviser to several newly independent countries including Pakistan, Rhodesia, Nigeria, and East African countries.

[Joachim O. Ronall]

RAISZ, ERWIN J. (1893–1968), U.S. geographer and authority on cartography. Raisz was born in Hungary, where he studied architecture and engineering. He settled in New York City in 1923 and studied geology at Columbia University. From 1925 to 1931 he was an instructor in this field, but during this period turned his attention to geography and cartography. He instituted Columbia's first course in cartography. From 1931 to 1950 he was a lecturer at the Institute of Geographical Exploration at Harvard. In 1945 he founded the cartography group of the Association of American Geographers and was its chairman until 1952.

Raisz was the author of *General Cartography* (1938); the *Atlas of Global Geography* (1944); *Mapping the World* (1956); *Principles of Cartography* (1962); and *Atlas of Florida* (1964).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *New York Times* (Dec. 5, 1968).

RAJAK, TESSA (1946–), British historian of Hellenistic and Roman-era Judaism. Born in London and educated at Oxford, Rajak became professor of ancient history at the University of Reading, a leading historian of the cultural history of the Jews in the Hellenistic and Roman periods. She is particularly known for her work on *Josephus, and is the author of *Josephus: The Historian and His Society* (1982) as well as *The Jewish Dialogue With Greece and Rome: Studies in Cultural and Social Interaction* (2000) and other works. She was the editor of *The Journal of Jewish Studies.*

[William D. Rubinstein (2nd ed.)]

RAJPURKAR, JOSEPH EZEKIEL (1834–1905), scholar of the *Bene Israel community in Bombay. After studying at the Free Assembly School, he became a teacher in the David Sassoon Benevolent Institution, Bombay, in 1856 and after five years its headmaster, a post which he occupied for 40 years. In 1871 he was appointed Hebrew examiner at the University of Bombay, which elected him a fellow in 1879. A master of Hebrew as well as of Marathi, the vernacular of Bombay, he translated over 20 works of the Hebrew liturgy and many English works of Jewish interest into Marathi.

His translations of Hebrew liturgical works include the Daily Prayer Book (1889, 1924), the *maḥzor, piyyutim*, and *seliḥot*. In 1887 he published *Kuttonet Yosef* – a handbook of Hebrew abbreviations, a Hebrew grammar in Marathi, a Hebrew primer for children, and prayers for various occasions.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: H.S. Kehimkar, *History of the Bene Israel of India* (1937); *The Israelite*, 9 (1925), 97ff.; A. Yaari, *Ha-Defus ha-Ivri be-Arẓot ha-Mizraḥ*, 2 (1940), 54n, 73–79, 82. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** S.B. Isenberg, *India's Bene Israel. A Comprehensive Inquiry and Source Book* (1988

[Walter Joseph Fischel]

RÁKOSI, MÁTYÁS (1892–1971), Hungarian Communist dictator. Born in Ada (then Hungary), Rákosi was the son of a small shopkeeper. He completed his studies at the Budapest Oriental Academy and after working as a bank clerk in Budapest and Hamburg, went to England where he became active in the socialist movement. During World War I he fought in the Austro-Hungarian army until 1915 when he was taken prisoner by the Russians. Following the October Revolution of 1917, Rákosi joined the Red Army and the Communist Party and returned to Hungary with Béla *Kun. He was made deputy commissioner of trade in Kun's Hungarian soviet republic (1919) and with the suppression of the regime in the same year, fled to the Soviet Union. He returned to Hungary secretly in 1924 to organize the illegal Communist Party, and was arrested and sentenced to death. Following the intervention of leading intellectuals abroad such as Romain Rolland his sentence was commuted to life imprisonment. In 1940 he was released and settled in the Soviet Union where he became the leading figure and propagandist among the Hungarian exiles in Moscow.

Rákosi returned to Hungary in 1944, and reorganized the Hungarian Communist Party. Between 1945 and 1948 he served as deputy leader of a coalition government, but step by step he removed the other parties from political life and assumed dictatorial powers. From 1949 he removed all traces of the former regime, among them leaders of the Catholic Church, Social Democrats, and even Communists and secret police chiefs. Rákosi conducted his policy in strict conformity with the Stalinist line. After Stalin's death (1953) he was summoned to Moscow and severely criticized for the failure of his economic policy. He resigned but was recalled to the premiership in the following year and remained in power until the summer of 1956, shortly before the outbreak of the Hungarian revolution. Once again, he was obliged to flee to the Soviet Union but after the rebellion's suppression did not return to Hungary until shortly before his death. Rákosi did not take any interest in Jewish affairs and tried to hide his Jewish origins. His policy of trials against Zionists, the confiscation of private enterprises, and the transfer of populations from the large cities caused great suffering to many Jews.

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[Baruch Yaron]

RAKOUS, VOJTĚCH (pseudonym of **Vojtěch Oesterreicher**; 1862–1935), Czech writer. Born in Velký Brázdim, Bohemia, Rakous was a prominent representative of the Czech-Jewish assimilation movement in literature. He published some short stories in a serious vein, such as Doma ("At Home," 1897) and *Na rozcestí* ("At the Crossroads," 1914). Nevertheless, he is best remembered as a writer with a sense of comedy or the tragicomic, as in the sketch *Strýc Václav* ("Uncle Wenceslas"). In the four volumes of humorous tales entitled *Vojkovičtí a přespolní* ("Those from Vojkovice and Those from Elsewhere," 1910), Rakous vividly portrayed Jewish life in the Czech villages. The volume featuring the *schlemiel*, Modche, and his domineering wife, Rézi, became a popular classic and was later dramatized and filmed. The stories also shed important light on Jewish-Christian relations in Czech villages at the turn of the 19th century. *Výbor ze spisů* 1–3 ("Selected Works") appeared in 1925, other editions continuously.

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[Avigdor Dagan /Milos Pojar (2nd ed.)]

RAKOVSKY, PUAH (1865–1955), feminist activist, Zionist, educator, and translator. Born in Bialystok into a middle-class religiously observant family, Rakovsky was educated by private tutors in Bible, Hebrew, and rabbinics, in addition to receiving a general education in Polish schools. Fluent in Russian, Polish, German, French, Hebrew, and Yiddish, Rakovsky made her debut as a translator at 15, when her translation of a Russian poem by Shimon Frug was published in the Hebrew journal *Ha-Ẓefirah*. Rakovsky had a son and a daughter in her unhappy first marriage to Shimon Machlin, arranged when she was 16. She ultimately left her husband to be trained as a teacher, and they were divorced while she was teaching Hebrew in a Jewish girls' school in Lomza, Poland. Two years later, under the auspices of Bnei Moshe, the cultural arm of the Zionist movement *Ḥibbat Zion, Rakovsky founded "Yehudiah," a Jewish school for girls in Warsaw, which was pathbreaking in the prominence given to Hebrew in its curriculum. Rakovsky married twice more; her second husband, Abraham Krislavin, died of pleurisy after six years of marriage. Rakovsky and her third husband, Mordechai Birnbaum (1875–1934), whom she married in 1901, had a daughter.

World War I drove Rakovsky to close her school and flee Warsaw. Now drawn to Socialist Zionism, Rakovsky joined the Ze'irei Zion faction, and she became well-known as a Zionist and feminist advocate. Her first pamphlet, *Di Yiddishe Froy* ("The Jewish Woman"), published by Bnos Tsyion ("Daughters of Zion"), called for Jewish women's greater activism in Zionist affairs. In 1920, at the age of 55, Rakovsky emigrated to Palestine, but remained there for only one year. Rakovsky attended the 1920 founding meeting of *WIZO and became the first secretary of its Palestinian branch. She also established a vocational school for girls in Jerusalem before returning to Warsaw.

Known for her mastery as a Hebrew writer, highly unusual for a Polish Jewish woman of her generation and social class, Rakovsky also strongly supported the Yiddish language; during the 1920s, she increasingly turned to Yiddish in her writing, publishing, and translations. As a leader of the Jewish Women's Association in Poland, she coedited the *Froyenshtim* ("Women's Voice"), a journal which gave women a forum for public commentary that the general Yiddish press denied them. In this publication, as well as in her second Yiddish pamphlet, *Di moderne froyen-bavegung* ("The Modern Women's Movement"), Rakovsky encouraged women to organize separately and independently for equal participation in Zionist and Jewish communal affairs.

In 1935, Rakovsky moved permanently to Palestine. Between 1940 and 1942, she wrote her memoirs, published in both Hebrew and Yiddish. In her autobiography, Rakovsky labeled herself a "Radical Jewish Woman," an appellation which accurately reflected the revolutionary nature of her break from the traditional heritage of her family, her devotion to Zionism, and her advocacy for women's equality in modern Jewish life.

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[Tracy Sivitz (2nd ed.)]

RALL, YISRAEL (1830–1893), Hebrew writer and translator. Born in Brody, Galicia, he became interested in the Haskalah and studied classical and European languages. He lived for many years in Odessa where he published a collection of translations from classical Latin poetry, *Shirei Romi* (1876), which established his reputation. After years of wandering in Western Europe he settled in Lemberg, where he founded the periodical *Shem ve-Yafet* (1887). He also published booklets in German and French in which he rebutted antisemitic libels. Rall contributed to **Ha-Meliẓ, *Ha-Maggid*, and also to the German press.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Lachower, Sifrut, 2 (1963), 171–6; Waxman, Literature, 3 (1960^{2}), 262.

[Yehuda Slutsky]

RAM, MOSHE (1895–1975), Israel hydrological engineer. Born in Tatarsk, Russia, Ram was educated at California and in Moscow. He went to Palestine in 1925, and worked on the Naharayim hydroelectric station. Ram was chief engineer of the Jewish Agency water resources bureau from 1936, and with the establishment of the State in 1948 he became director of the water utilization division of the Israel Ministry of Agriculture until 1960. He wrote several books, including *Surface Irrigation* (1964). He was one of the leading thinkers of Israel water planning.

[Bracha Rager (2nd ed.)]

RĀMA, AL-, Christian-Arab and Druze village in Upper Galilee, Israel, at the foot of Mt. Ha-Ari. Reported uninhabited and in ruins in 1729, the village thrived in the 20th century, and as in antiquity, is one of the principal olive-growing centers in the country. In the Israel War of *Independence, al-Rāma fell to Israel forces in October 1948. The number of inhabitants increased from about 1,100 in 1947 to 3,570 in 1968, with a majority of Christians (mostly Greek-Orthodox and Greek-Catholic), and about one-third Druze. In 1954 al-Rāma received municipal council status. In 2002 the population of al-Rāma was 7,280 in an area of 2.5 sq. mi. (6 sq. km.). Among the inhabitants, 51.5% were Christian, 29% Druze, and 18% Muslims. Income in the village was much lower than the national average.

[Efraim Orni / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

RAMAH or **HA-RAMAH** or **HA-RAMATHAIM-ZOPHIM** (Heb. רָמָה, הָרָמָה, הָרָמָתַיִם־צוֹפִים; "height"), the designation of several places located on high ground (see also Ramoth).

(1) A town in the territory of Benjamin, mentioned together with Gibeon and Beeroth in Joshua 18:25 and with Gibeah on the main road north of Jerusalem in Judges 19:13, Isaiah 10:29, and Hosea 5:8. Baasha, king of Israel, tried to fortify the place against Judah, but Asa of Judah dismantled the fort and used the materials to strengthen Gebah and Mizpeh (I Kings 15:17ff.; II Chron. 16:1, 5–6). Jeremiah, following the tradition of the north, located the tomb of Rachel in Ramah (31:15). There the Babylonians concentrated the captives taken from Jerusalem before exiling them (Jer. 40:1). After the return from exile, the place was resettled by Judeans (Ezra 2:26; Neh. 7:30; 11:33). Later authors place it 6 mi. (c. 9 km.) north of Jerusalem (Eusebius, Onom. 144:14; Jerome, Hosea 5:8, and Zephaniah 1:15), a location corresponding to the village of al-Rām, which was a fief of the Holy Sepulcher in the Middle Ages.

(2) A town in the territory of Naphtali, mentioned together with Adamah and Hazor in Joshua 19:36. It is identified with Khirbet al-Jūl, near al-Rāma in the valley of Beth-Cherem in Galilee. In 1933 I. Ben-Zvi discovered a synagogue lintel with an Aramaic inscription there.

(3) A town in the territory of Asher (Josh. 19:29). Its identification with Rāmiya, southeast of Tyre, is controversial.

(4) The hometown of Samuel (I Sam. 1:1; as Ramathaim-Zophim) and possibly the residence of Deborah (Judg. 4:5). There Samuel judged Israel (I Sam. 7:17; 8:4) and was later buried (I Sam. 25:1; 28:3); his school of prophets was located in Naioth in Ramah (I Sam. 19:22–24). In the Septuagint, it is identified with ha-Ramatha or Arimathea, which is described in I Maccabees 11:34 as the headquarters of a Samaritan toparchy transferred to Judea in 145 B.C.E.; this place was the home town of Joseph, a Jerusalem councilor, in whose tomb Jesus was buried (Matt. 27:57, et al.). It was called Remphthis by Eusebius (Onom. 144:28) and is the present-day Rantis, northeast of Lydda. However, the identification of this site with Samuel's birthplace is controversial. Various scholars view that both names of Zuph on the border of the territories of Benjamin and Ephraim (I Sam. 1:1; 9:4).

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[Michael Avi-Yonah]

RAMALLAH (**Rām Allāh**; **al-Bīra**), twin towns in the northern Judean Hills, 9 mi. (15 km.) N. of Jerusalem. While al-Bīra is supposed to stand on the site of biblical *Beeroth, Ramallah is generally identified with *Ramah. The twin towns occupy a strategic position at 2,854 ft. (870 m.) above sea level, where the Judean upfold broadens, and at a crossroads. During the British Mandate, Ramallah was preponderantly Christian-Arab with 4,710 Christian and 650 Muslim inhabitants in 1946. The proportion was reversed in al-Bīra, then a village with 2,100 Muslims and 150 Christians. Because of Ramallah's elevation, the authorities chose it as the site for the country broadcasting transmitters. The clear, brisk climate encouraged the development of the town as a summer resort, which gained impetus under Jordanian rule when wealthy citizens built summer houses there and tourists came from other Arab countries to spend the summer. In the *Six-Day War, Ramallah was taken by Israeli forces. The census taken by the Israeli authorities in the fall of 1967 revealed that the population of both towns had greatly increased since 1948, mainly through the opening of refugee camps, while the relative strength of the Christian communities had diminished. Ramallah in 1967 had 12,134 inhabitants, of whom 6,966 (57.4%) were Christians, while al-Bīra, with a population of 13,037, was larger than Ramallah and was almost exclusively Muslim. Following the Oslo Agreements and the transfer of the city to the Palestinians, the Palestinian Authority located its government institutions there. Against a background of undiminished terrorism, Yasser *Arafat was confined to his headquarter compound in the city (the Muqata) by Israeli forces from 2003 until his death in 2004, and was also buried there. According to the Palestinian Bureau of Statistics, in 1997 the population of Ramallah was 18,017 and that of Al-Bīra was 27,972.

[Efraim Orni / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

RAMAT DAVID (Heb. רָמַת דָּוִד), kibbutz in northern Israel, near Nahalal, affiliated with Iḥud ha-Kevuẓot veha-Kibbutzim, founded in 1926 by two groups of Third Aliyah pioneers, "Ayanot" and "Ha-Sharon," from Eastern Europe. The kibbutz economy was based on field and fodder crops and dairy cattle. The kibbutz also housed one of the biggest disco clubs in the north of the country, called Vertigo. The village is named after David *Lloyd George who was prime minister of the British War Cabinet which issued the *Balfour Declaration. In 2002 its population was 238.

[Efram Orni / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

RAMAT GAN (Heb. רָמַת גַּן; "Garden Height"), city in central Israel adjoining Tel Aviv. In 1914, 20 settlers from Eastern Europe formed a group called Ir-Gannim ("garden city"); they envisaged a garden suburb where they could enjoy a country-like life without having to relinquish the amenities of a city. The group resolved to carry out the building without the use of any hired labor and forbade the establishment of factories within the settlement's boundaries. The project became feasible only in December 1921. The proximity of Jaffa and expanding Tel Aviv engendered Ramat Gan's quick growth. In 1922 it had 140 inhabitants, but in 1926 already rated municipal council status with A. *Krinitzi as its first mayor. In the 1930s relatively large industrial enterprises, instead of choosing Tel Aviv, preferred to establish themselves in Ramat Gan where land prices were cheaper. In 1939, the community had 5,000 inhabitants and grew vigorously. In 1948 its population was 19,000. Care was taken to preserve the design of the town. Avenues of trees were planted and many public gardens were laid out, utilizing mainly the slopes of the low sandstone hills. In 1948 the municipal area covered about 3 sq. mi. (7.92 sq. km.). After 1948 Ramat Gan's growth accelerated and city status was obtained in 1950. Population growth was most rapid in the early 1950s. In 1953 there were 42,000 inhabitants, in 1958, 71,500, and by 1963, 95,800. In 1961 *Bar-Ilan University and the Tel ha-Shomer hospital were affiliated to Ramat Gan. By 1968 the city's population totaled 106,800. In 2002 it was 126,000, making it the 11th largest city in Israel.

Bordering on Tel Aviv in the west and north, on Givatayim in the southwest, on Bene-Berak in the east and on Ramat ha-Sharon in the northeast, Ramat Gan, whose municipal area expanded to 4.7 sq. mi (12.2 sq. km.) in 2004, occupies a central position in the country's largest conurbation. The city has been one of Israel's foremost manufacturing centers (food preserves, chocolate, cigarettes, textile spinning, weaving, dyeing and finishing, metals, building materials, and wood). In 1968 the Israel Diamond Bourse was opened in Ramat Gan. Hotels and recreation sites constituted another branch of the city's economy. The largest of the city's network of gardens was the 494 acre (200 ha.) national park to the south with tropical tree species, a rose garden, and a large artificial lake with boating facilities. A quarter of the city's area is green. Ramat Gan has the country's largest sport stadium with a capacity of 60,000 and Israel's most important sports center. The Safari, a large zoo without bars, is also located in Ramat Gan, as is the *Maccabiah Village and many other installations and children's playgrounds belong to its municipal area. It has many cultural institutions (municipal library, museum, and lecture halls), and a chamber orchestra as well as the Beit-Zvi acting school and the Shenkar School of Engineering and Design.

WEBSITE: www.ramat-gan.muni.il.

[Efraim Orni / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

RAMAT HA-GOLAN (Heb. רָמַת הַגּוֹלָן; the "Golan Heights" or "Plateau"), comprises practically the whole Golan region of N. Transjordan which forms the western section of the *Bashan. Ramat ha-Golan borders on the upper Jordan Rift Valley and Lake Kinneret in the west, on the Yarmuk Valley in the south, on the Ruqqād stream in the east, and on the Hermon Massif in the north. In the last stage of the Six-Day War (1967), nearly the entire region was occupied by the Israeli army and came under Israeli administration. Together with the southeast portion of Mount Hermon – also occupied by Israeli forces – it measures about 480 sq. mi. (1,250 sq. km.). The origin of the name Golan is not clear; A.J. Brawer proposes that it is derived from *golah* ("exile") as the biblical "Golan in Bashan" (Deut. 4:43; I Chron. 6:56) was a city of refuge for expatriates (see below History and Archaeology).

Three subregions are distinguished: the southern Golan, a plain area with land suitable for farming, characterized by a hot, dry climate and an average annual rainfall of 10 in. (250 mm.); the central Golan, moderate slope with altitudes of up to 3,000 ft. (700 m.), with rocky lands and deep gulleys; and the northern Golan, rising to altitudes of 2,000–3,000 ft. (600–900 m.), with a number of hilltops attaining 3,600–4,040 ft. (1,100–1,226 m.). This last area is characterized by low temperatures and large amounts of rain (about 40 in. or 1,000 mm. a year). The dominant characteristics of the Golan's topography were created through volcanism, which continued into the Middle Pleistocene period, i.e., until approximately 500,000 years ago, with lava pouring out from fissures and craters and covering the plateau with a continuous layer of basalt and strings of volcanic cones, the largest being Tel Avital (Tell Abu al-Nadāʾ, 1,204 m.). The plateau rises gently from south to north and dominates the rift valley to the west and south with abrupt escarpments. Stream courses, mainly in the southern section, have cut deep ravines, laid bare light-colored chalks, marls, and limestones underneath the black basalt, and separated small portions of the plateau from each other. Soils are mostly dark, fertile, and deep grumusols and are covered with basalt boulders in the north.

The Lower Golan has been farming country throughout most of its historic past, with grain crops as the principal branch; the ample rainfall and resulting stronger erosion make the Upper Golan a region of brush, forest, and pastures, rather than tilled fields, and biblical expressions such as the "cows" or "cattle of Bashan" (Amos 4:1; Ezek. 39:18) and "oaks of Bashan" (Isa. 2:13; Ezek. 27:6) seem to refer to this section. Deforestation by man has left only stunted remnants of ancient forests in the northern Golan; flocks of sheep and herds of cattle, however, continued to be the region's economic mainstay until the recent past.

[Efraim Orni]

History and Archaeology

The name "Golan" is first mentioned in the Bible as a settlement in the region of the Bashan (Deut. 4:43; Josh. 20:8), within the territory allocated to the tribe of Manasseh (Deut.4:43). It is referred to as a free city (Josh. 20:8) and later as a Levitical city (I Chron.6:7), thought to be Sahem ed-Djolan (Eusebius, *Onom.* 64:7), beyond the eastern border formed by the river Rukkad. The name of the entire region appears to have derived from this site. In the Persian period the region was included in the satrapy of *Karnaim, which encompassed the Golan and the *Bashan.

In the early Hellenistic period, the Golan formed a separate district under the name of Gaulanitis. The writings of *Josephus help to trace the history of the entire area (Antiq. 4:5, 3; 8: 2, 3; 13:15, 4; Wars 2:20, 6; 3:3, 1–5; 3:10, 10; 4:1,1). Early in the reign of the Hasmonean Alexander Jannaeus, the cities of Golan, Gamala and Seleucia were conquered (83–81 B.C.E., and the Golan was annexed to the Hasmonean kingdom (Antiq. 16:9, 2). After the conquest of Palestine by Pompey (63 B.C.E.) the Golan was populated by the *Itureans, but when Herod the Great came to the throne it came into his possession (23 B.C.E.). It remained part of his descendants' kingdom until the death of Agrippa II. It was then annexed to the Roman Provincia Judaea and later in the Roman period it formed part of Palaestina Secunda. The more important large villages were Seleucia, Sogane, Bethsaida, and Gamla, and these were fortified by Josephus who had been proclaimed Jewish rebel commander of the Galilee (Wars 2:20, 6). The revolt was crushed by the Romans in 67 C.E. During the Roman and Byzantine periods the Gaulanitis was a prosperous rural area but devoid of large towns. At the end of the 5th century C.E., the emperor Anastasius made use of the Ghassanids, a Monophysite Christian Arab tribe from the Yemen that had moved into Syria, as frontier guards, particularly against the Lakhimids who were nomads in the Upper Euphrates. The Golan in the sixth century was populated by two groups: a well-established community of Jews and the Christian Ghassanids. Following the Arab invasion of 636 C.E., the region was slowly depopulated. The Mamluk and Ottoman authorities initiated enforced resettlement.

L. Oliphant was one of the first to record the archaeological sites in the Golan during his visits to the region between 1879 and 1886. At Khirbat Kānif Oliphant found the remains of a synagogue with a lintel bearing an incomplete Aramaic inscription: "… remembered be for good Yose son of Ḥalfu son of Ḥana[n]."

A large number of sites were recorded and described by G. Schumacher following his work in the area between 1883 and 1885, and until 1914. Schumacher also prepared the first proper map of the region. He investigated at least a dozen sites with stones bearing Jewish symbols, such as the seven-branched *menorah* and other motifs, and attributed these to the remains of ancient synagogues. These sites include Fîq, Umm al-Qanāṭir, Khan-Bandaq, Lawiyya, al-Dikkī (Dikke), al-Rafīd, al-Aḥmadiyya, al-Burayka – most of them in southwestern Golan near the shores of the Sea of Galilee. In the village of Fîq a basalt column was found incised with a seven-branched *menorah* and under it an Aramaic inscription: "I, Judah, the cantor."

Since 1967 numerous surveys and excavations have been carried out in the region, notably a general survey of the region by S. Gutman and C. Epstein in 1967–1968, a more methodical general survey by D. Urman in 1968–1972, surveys of Chalcolithic sites and of dolmen fields by C. Epstein in 1973–2000, various investigations by Z. Maoz since 1977, a study of settlements and their landscapes by C. Dauphin in 1978–1988, and a study of "Iturean" settlements by M. Hartal since 1983. Since the late 1970s surveys and excavations have been undertaken on Mount Hermon by S. Dar.

Prehistoric evidence (Upper Paleolithic) comes mostly from Berkehat Ram with flints and basalt implements, and from Biq'at Kuneitra. A site from the southern Golan, Mjhiyyeh, has been dated to the Pre-Pottery Neolithic period. At least 30 Chalcolithic unwalled settlements from the first half of the 4th millennium B.C.E. have been investigated. Houses were broad rooms built in chain formation. The settlers engaged in agriculture and stock breeding and placed basalt pillar-shaped house gods in their houses and courtyards. Their material culture was quite distinctive. The Early Bronze I is barely represented in the Golan, but more than 40 sites from the Early Bronze Age II have been identified, including settlements (e.g., Gamla) and enclosures (e.g., Mitham Leviah). The enigmatic megalithic structure at Rujm el-Hiri with concentric circles and a tumulus at its center is also dated to this period.

Early Bronze Age IV settlements have only been identified in the southern Golan. Elsewhere there are very extensive fields of dolmens and tumuli/cairns. The earliest material found in the dolmens is dated to the Early Bronze IV. However, it is likely that these finds represent the final use of these structures, which may date back to the Early Bronze II. In the Middle Bronze Age IIB, settlement was concentrated mainly in the southern and northern parts of the region. Many of the sites controlled roads and were probably built for strategic purposes. Fewer settlements of the Late Bronze Age were found. Settlement was renewed in the Iron Age I, especially above earlier Middle Bronze II sites. A lion's head carved on an orthostat, discovered not *in situ*, was dated on stylistic grounds to the 9th century B.C.E. It was probably originally placed at the entrance of a citadel of a local ruler. Numerous Iron Age II sites are known from the Golan and particularly at sites along the shores of the Sea of Galilee (see *En-Gev; Tel Hadar).

From the Hellenistic period there are agricultural villages and fortified towers. Two sites (Ḥorvat Zemel and Ḥorvat Namra) are identified as "Iturean" on the basis of the discovery of a distinctive pottery ("Golan Ware") within these settlements. Early Roman sites were scattered throughout the Golan. One major site was Gamla which fell to the Romans in 67 C.E. Numerous sites from the Late Roman period are known (2nd–early 4th centuries C.E.), with exceptional remains at the site identified as Hippos (Sussita) and Banias. Villages were built in the Golan, many of which were of pagan character, judging by the discovery of statue fragments and altars. Roads were built criss-crossing the region, linking the land of Israel with Damascus.

The Byzantine period saw an enormous increase of sites in the Golan to close to one hundred. Numerous large villages are known but the region did not have towns or cities. A project led by C. Dauphin has traced the growth of four settlements (Kafr Naffakh, Na'aran, Farj, and Er-Ramthaniyyeh) between the Hellenistic and Ottoman periods, focusing particularly on the Byzantine period. Olive oil production (but not exclusively) was undertaken in the western parts of the Golan. Viticulture was also practiced. The agricultural landscapes surrounding the four above settlements were also investigated. Remains of numerous churches and synagogues have been found. An ongoing debate exists among scholars as to whether the ethnic divide between the Jewish and Christian populations in the Golan in this period was sharply defined or whether some or many of the settlements had mixed populations as well as to the extent of the Jewish-Christian element in the population between the 1st and 5th centuries C.E. Some agricultural villages were abandoned prior to the Umayyad period (7th century), but others survived, notably Kaẓrin, until the earthquake of 749 C.E.

[Shimon Gibson (2nd ed.)]

Modern Period

One of Syria's backward provinces, Golan entered modern history in the 1880s, when the Turkish authorities settled Circassians there to ward off Bedouin robbers. The regional center, *al-Qunaytira, came into being at that time. Shortly afterward, Jews made attempts to found settlements in the Golan, initially at Rumsaniyya, south of al-Qunaytira; then at Benei Yehudah east of Lake Kinneret; and finally, in 1908, in the Bet Ẓayyada (al-Buṭayḥa) Valley (a much larger enterprise, at Benei Binyamin and Jilīn, was undertaken with Baron E. de Rothschild's aid in the Bashan, further east). Prior to 1967, the Golan's population included Sunnite Muslims, as well as Circassians, Druze, Alawids (Nusayris), a small Christian minority, and others. In the 1950s and 1960s, the Syrians covered the Golan with a network of artillery positions and fortifications to harass Israeli settlements in Upper Galilee and the Lake Kinneret area, and geared the region's entire economy to military needs. In the last two days of the Six-Day War (June 9–10), almost the entire population took to flight together with the Syrian army, with the exception of the Druze who stayed on in six villages in the north (in the September 1967 census they numbered over 6,000). The remaining Druze villagers in the area quickly made contact with their kinsmen in Israel and developed friendly relations with the Israeli administration and their new Jewish neighbors.

The first initiative for new Jewish settlement in the region was taken in July 1967 by a group of Ha-Kibbutz ha-Me'uḥad, which founded Kibbutz Merom Golan. By 1970 the number of Golan settlements had increased to 12, including Ramat Banias (Senir; of Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir), Merom Golan and Ein Zivan (Ha-Kibbutz ha-Me'uḥad) in the north; Naḥal Geshur (Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir) in the center; Ramot Magshimim (moshav shittufi of Ha-Po'el ha-Mizrachi), Givat Yo'av (Tenu'at ha-Moshavim), Ne'ot Golan (moshav shittufi of Ha-Oved ha-Ẓiyyoni), El Al (Tenu'at ha-Moshavim), Mevo Ḥammah (Iḥud ha-Kibbutzim), Naḥal Golan, and Ramot (Tenu'at ha-Moshavim) in the south Hermon. In 1977 *Kaẓrin, an urban community, was established. Subsequently, other settlements were founded, bringing the total up to 33 at the beginning of the new millennium, with a total population of 37,000, including 18,300 Druze (see *Israel, State of, under Religious Life). After 1967, land reclamation was carried out on a large scale and the first storage ponds were installed to retain runoff and ease the problem of water shortage, which is serious despite the relatively ample rainfall. The main economic branches in the area are agriculture, tourism, and industry. Farming is based on citrus groves, orchards, vineyards, and vegetables crops. Tourism includes 1,000 guest rooms and other tourist attractions. Ramat ha-Golan industry is located in three industrial zones, in Katzrin, Benei Yehudah, and the Technological Center. It includes the Golan Heights Wineries and the Eden natural mineral water bottling plants.

Since the 1990s there have been sporadic negotiations between Israel and Syria about the future of the area in a political settlement, and various Israeli prime ministers have reportedly expressed a willingness to return most of it to Syria. In 1999 the Knesset passed the Golan Law, requiring an absolute majority of 61 Knesset votes to confirm the return of any Golan land.

[Efraim Orni / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

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RAMAT HA-KOVESH (Heb. רָמַת הַכּוֹבֵשׁ), kibbutz in central Israel, N.E. of *Kefar Sava, affiliated with Ha-Kibbutz ha-Me'uḥad. It was founded in 1932 by pioneers from Eastern Europe who, before setting up their own kibbutz, had worked in Kefar Sava's citrus groves. In the 1936–39 Arab riots, the kibbutz was the easternmost outpost of Jewish settlement in the southern Sharon and suffered attacks, losing 15 of its members. Similarly, the kibbutz found itself in the front line during the Israel *War of Independence (1948), and again suffered losses. In 1970 Ramat ha-Kovesh had 520, rising to 586 in 2002. Its economy was based on citrus groves and irrigated crops, etc., as well as on a large bakery. The kibbutz also opertated a factory for rubber products and an events garden. The name, "Height of the Conqueror," symbolizes the settlers' early history as "conquerors of labor" in Kefar Sava

[Efram Orni / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

RAMAT HA-SHARON (Heb. רָמַת הַשָּׁרוֹן; "Sharon Height"), urban community with municipal council status, in central Israel, N. of Tel Aviv. Ramat ha-Sharon was founded in 1923 as a middle-class village (moshavah) primarily based on citriculture. Following the crisis in citrus exports during World War II, the settlers turned to other branches, including vegetable growing. In the late 1940s, industrial enterprises were opened. By 1947 the population reached 1,150. After the War of Independence (1948), a large *ma'barah* was included in Ramat ha-Sharon's area which covers 4,250 acres (1,700 ha.). The population increased quickly as the *ma'barah* inhabitants were gradually transferred to permanent housing and numerous veteran Israelis settled in Ramat ha-Sharon. It became a town within the Tel Aviv conurbation. Over the years, the moshavah changed its character from rural to urban. The number of inhabitants grew to 8,200 in 1958 and 17,600 in 1970. By 2002 it had reached 35,600, occupying a municipal area of 8.5 sq. mi. (22 sq. km.). Its population was well-educated, with high income and a high mean age level. Most residents earned their livings in the Tel Aviv conurbation. Some of Israel biggest industries, such Israel Military Industries and Elco, were located in Ramat ha-Sharon.

WEBSITE: www.ramat-hasharon.muni.il.

[Efraim Orni / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

RAMAT HA-SHOFET (Heb. רָמַת הַשּׁוֹפֵט), kibbutz in central Israel, on the Manasseh Hills near Ein ha-Shofet, affiliated with Kibbutz Arẓi ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir. It was founded by pioneers from Lithuania, Poland, Hungary, and Bulgaria in 1941, with the aim of reinforcing the "bridge" of Jewish settlements between the Sharon and the Jezreel Valley. In 1970 the kibbutz had 530 inhabitants, increasing to 710 in the mid-1990s but then dropping to 557 in 2002. Farming included field crops (with Kibbutz *Ramot Menasheh), avocado plantations, poultry, and dairy cattle. The kibbutz also manufactured plastic and wood products and operated guest rooms. The local Beit Rishonim museum focuses on the history of the kibbutz. The name Ramat ha-Shofet, meaning "Height of the Judge," commemorates Judge Julian W. *Mack, U.S. Zionist leader.

[Efraim Orni / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)

RAMAT RAḤEL (Heb. רָמַת רָחֵל), ancient tell (Khirbat Ṣāliḥ) located on a hilltop (2,683 ft. (818 m.) above sea level) within Israel's international 1947–48 border, in the western part of Kibbutz Ramat Raḥel, about midway between the Old City of Jerusalem and Bethlehem. The site is strategically situated, overlooking the junction of two important roads – the one that in ancient times was the major route from Jerusalem southwards, and the road connecting Jerusalem to the west, via Beth-Shemesh in the Shephelah, through the Rephaim valley, where the old Turkish railway, as well as the modern one, runs to Jerusalem.

The name and the site's biblical identity are still enigmatic. Y. Aharoni identified the site as *Bet-Cherem, and hypothesized that it had been built on a former vineyard of the king, hence its name. He based the assumption on the reference in the LXX supplement to Joshua 15:59a, as a site near Bethlehem. It was also mentioned in Nehemiah 3:14 as a center of one of the districts in the province of Yehud. B. Mazar, however, identified the Ramat Raḥel site with Netofah, a place mentioned in the OT near Bethlehem (II Sam. 23:28; I Chr. 2:54ff. and cf. Ezra 2:22; Neh. 7:26; 12:28). G. Barkay identified the site with *MMŠT* – one of the places mentioned on the *lmlk* stamp impressions. He regarded it as one of the four local centers in Judah (together with Hebron, Sochoh, and Ziph). Lipschits has suggested identifying the site with

Geruth Chimham, mentioned in Jeremiah 41:17 as a place "near Bethlehem."

Already in 1930–31, B. Mazar and M. Stekelis, working on behalf of the Israel Exploration Society, excavated a Jewish burial cave some 200 m. south of the hilltop of the site. Y. Aharoni began excavating the site in 1954 and later conducted four successive seasons there, between 1959 and 1962, on behalf of the Israel Department of Antiquities and Museums, the Israel Exploration Society, the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, and the University of Rome. G. Barkay made a few soundings at the site in 1984 on behalf of the Institute of Archaeology of Tel Aviv University, the Israel Exploration Society, the Israel Department of Antiquities and Museums, and the American Institute of Holy Land Studies on Mount Zion. In the course of the site's restoration and reconstruction as an Archaeological Park, trial excavations were made by Gideon Suleimanny on behalf of the Israel Antiquities Authority. Excavations on behalf of the Institute of Archaeology of Tel Aviv University and the University of Heidelberg were resumed at the site in 2004 under the direction of O. Lipschits, M. Oeming, and Y. Gadot, as part of a major excavation project.

As at other hilly archaeological sites, differentiating between the strata at Ramat Raḥel has been difficult. The generally accepted view, however, is that there were seven periods of occupation:

1. The site was first settled in the time of the kings of Judah at the end of the eighth and early seventh centuries B.C.E. (Stratum VB). Scanty architectural remains have been found, and a large number of storage jar handles, stamped with royal seal impressions of the *lmlk* type. Aharoni assumed that during this period there was a royal fortress at the site (though only scanty architectural remains were assigned to this stratum, and most of them were found in the fillings of stratum VA, out of any clear archaeological context). Some agricultural terraces and private dwellings are the main structural finds from this stratum; in one of the houses Aharoni found seal impressions of "Shebnah [son of] Shaḥar." The same seal impressions have also been discovered at Lachish and Mizpah. Lipschits, Oeming, and Gadot assigned to this same stratum another private seal impression – "Ahaziahu [son of] Tanhum." The same seal impressions are known at Mizpah, Lachish, and Beth-Shemesh.

2. In the next stratum (VA), dated to the seventh century B.C.E., an imposing palace stood on top of the mound. This is the first palace from the period of the kingdom of Judah that has so far been found in archaeological excavations. The palace walls were built of ashlar blocks, uniquely in Judean architecture, and it was decorated with proto-Aeolic capitals. Ten of these were found in Ramat Raḥel, and other than one found in Kenyon's excavations in the city of David (dated by her to the 10th–9th centuries), this is the only example found in Judah. Lipschits, Oeming, and Gadot have suggested that the capitals may have been first used in the palace of stratum VB. Among the other main finds were window balustrades of the palace (cf. Jer. 22:14), a painted potsherd depicting a king (?) seated on a throne, and a seal impression of "Eliakim, steward of Yokhan," also known from Beth-Shemesh and Tell Beit Mirsim. Aharoni assumed that the palace was built at the end of the seventh century and assigned it to king *Jehoiakim son of Josiah (608–598 B.C.E.), whose palace is described by Jeremiah (22:13–19). This date is, however, not justified, at least from the archaeological point of view. Aharoni assumed that the palace was surrounded by a wide fortified courtyard extending over an area of about 20 dunams (five acres). However, the 2005 excavation season at the site revealed that this courtyard, if it existed, was much smaller and confined to the western side of the mound. As a result of the recent work it is possible to reconstruct a small citadel that stood west of the palace, next to its western wall, and a system of wide, open pools adjacent to the southwestern corner of the palace. However, the architectural and chronological connections between the palace and the citadel with the pools and water system are still unclear.

3. The next settlement (Stratum IVB), was dated to the long time-span extending between the Persian and Hasmonean periods. Numerous small finds from these periods have been found, with unclear and segmented architectural finds. Hundreds of seal impressions on jar handles were attributed to the Persian and Hellenistic occupation. The site was the main center of the Yehud seal impressions (of all types), as nearly 200 impressions were found. Many jar-handle impressions with the name *yršlm* (Jerusalem) were found at the site, dated to the Hasmonean occupation. Other seal impressions were stamped with the names of royal officials or governors of the province, two of whom – Jehoezer and Ahiyab (new reading by Lipschits and Vanderhooft) – could have been previously unknown Jewish governors. We may accept Aharoni's assumption that a new citadel was built at the site during the post-Exilic period, and served as one of the main administrative centers in Judah. So far, however, no significant architectural finds from the Persian and Hellenistic periods have been found.

4. A small unfortified village from the Early Roman period (Stratum IVA), dated to the first century B.C.E.–first century C.E. After its destruction ca. 70 C.E., the site remained abandoned until the third century. The main find from this period are tomb caves containing ossuaries with Jewish names written in Aramaic and Greek.

5. After a gap of more than a century, a Roman-style house with a well-built bathhouse was erected on the hill, probably for the Tenth Roman Legion, as confirmed by bricks stamped LXFR (*Legio X Fretensis*). The many small remains from this stratum (Stratum III) are dated to the third and fourth centuries C.E.

6. Between the middle of the fifth century and the sixth century, a Christian church was built on the tell with an attached monastery complex and a large settlement around it (Stratum II). There are clear two phases in this period. This church should be connected to the other, larger, church of the "Kathisma" ("the Seat"), that was excavated close by, about

300 m. from the tell and just beside the main road leading from Jerusalem to Bethlehem. This last church was often mentioned in Byzantine sources as the place where Mary, mother of Jesus, rested during her journey to Bethlehem, where she gave birth.

7. Scanty remains were found upon the ruined Byzantine stratum dating from the Umayyad and the early Abbasid periods (7th-8th centuries C.E.). The finds from this period (Stratum I) consisted of poorly built structures. This was the last occupation of the tell.

[Oded Lipschits (2nd ed.)]

Modern Period

The founders of Kibbutz Ramat Raḥel originated from Eastern Europe. They came with the Third Aliyah to the country and belonged to *Gedud ha-Avodah ("Labor Legion"). In 1921 they were sent to Jerusalem as an "urban work group" and set up a temporary camp on the site of Jerusalem's Reḥavyah quarter. The first houses in this quarter were built by the work group, who became construction workers and stone dressers. In 1926 the kibbutz was transferred to its present site on a dominating hill overlooking a wide expanse of the Judean Desert to the east, *Herodium, and the town of *Bethlehem with Rachel's Tomb to the south (from which the settlement took its name). Ramat Raḥel joined Ha-Kibbutz ha-Me'uḥad at the end of the 1920s. In the 1929 Arab riots a large armed mob stormed Ramat Raḥel and completely destroyed it. The kibbutz was rebuilt in 1930. Ramat Raḥel again came under repeated attacks in the 1936–39 Arab riots. As the settlement's cultivable area was then severely limited, its economy was partly based on outside work in which the members performed important pioneering tasks, e.g., in the potash works near the Dead Sea, the railway service, and in enterprises established in the kibbutz, notably a laundry and bakery for Jerusalem customers. In 1946 additional land was allocated and the deciduous fruit orchards and vegetable gardens were enlarged. In the Israel *War of Independence (1948), Ramat Raḥel constituted one of Jewish Jerusalem's forward defense positions and the battles around it were decisive for the city's fate. In May 1948 the kibbutz was attacked by the Arab Legion and irregulars advancing from the east and by an Egyptian tank force simultaneously attacking from the Bethlehem road in the west. In the following battles, the place changed hands several times and was completely destroyed, but finally remained in Israel hands. The armistice border was drawn around it to the east, south, and southwest. The village was rebuilt and received farmland in the nearby demilitarized zone around the former high commissioner's palace and in the Coastal Plain. A seminary was opened at the kibbutz. In the 1951–52 split in Ha-Kibbutz ha-Me'uḥad, Ramat Raḥel joined Iḥud ha-Kevuzot ve-ha-Kibbutzim, while a part of its members went to Ein Karmel. In the autumn of 1956 nearby Jordanian positions opened fire on a party of the Israel Exploration Society congress visiting the local excavations and killed four persons. In the *Six-Day War (1967), the kibbutz again found itself in the front line, when the way to Bethlehem and the Hebron Hills was opened by Israel forces on June 6–7, by the capture in a hard battle of fortifications around the nearby monastery of Mar Elias.

In 2002 the population of the kibbutz was 308. Its economy was based mainly on tourism, including a hotel, archaeological garden, and conferences and sports centers. Its farming branches were field crops, fruit orchards, citrus groves, and poultry.

[Efraim Orni]

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RAMAT RAZIEL (Heb. רָמַת רָזִיאֵל), moshav in Israel's Judean Hills, on the Ẓobah-Eshtaol road, affiliated with the Ḥerut movement. Ramat Raziel was founded in 1948 as one of the first settlements designed to secure the Jerusalem Corridor that had been opened in the fighting in the Israel *War of Independence in the preceding months. The terrain conditions were particularly difficult and all the farming land had to undergo heavy reclamation. Ramat Raziel was therefore included in the work village scheme. The population, in spite of this scheme, changed several times. In 1970 the moshav had 135 inhabitants. In 2002 the population was 382. Farming was based on deciduous fruit orchards, vineyards, and poultry. A well-known boutique winery by the name of Kastel was owned by one of the settlers. The village bears the name of David *Raziel, the *Irgun Ẓeva'i Le'ummi commander.

[Efram Orni / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

RAMAT YISHAI (Heb. רָמַת יִשַׁי), semirural settlement in N. Israel, in the Tivon Hills. It was founded in 1925 by industrialists from Poland as a textile center. Abandoned with the outbreak of the Arab riots in 1936, Ramat Yishai was resettled in 1943. In 1958 the settlement received municipal council status. In 1970, it had 800 inhabitants and medium-size factories for textiles and leather. In the mid-1990s the population was approximately 2,990, increasing to 5,280 in 2002 on an area of nearly a square mile (2.3 sq. km.). The majority of residents found work in the Haifa conurbation. Income was much higher than the national average. The town is named after the writer and teacher Yishai Adler, whose contribution was instrumental in rebuilding the settlement in 1943.

[Efraim Orni / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

RAMAT YOḤANAN (Heb. רָמַת יוֹחָנָן), kibbutz in N. Israel, in the Haifa Bay area, E. of Kiryat Ata, affiliated with Iḥud ha-

Kevuẓot ve-ha-Kibbutzim, founded in 1932 by pioneers from Eastern Europe. In 1939 an ideological split brought about an exchange of members with *Bet Alfa, with those in favor of *Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir concentrating in the latter kibbutz, while the members who supported the *Mapai Party stayed in Ramat Yoḥanan. In the Israel *War of Independence, the kibbutz was attacked by a strong unit of Druze irregulars, but held out and counterattacked successfully (April 13–16, 1948). After this battle, the Druze in Israel ceased to side with the Arabs. In 1970 Ramat Yoḥanan had 500 inhabitants, increasing to 700 in 2002. The kibbutz's economy was based on highly intensive farming (field crops, orchards, citrus groves, and dairy cattle) and on a plastics factory. Ramat Yoḥanan had among its members several painters and writers. The ancient tradition of gathering the *Omer* ("sheaf") during the Passover week was first renewed in Ramat Yoḥanan. The name, "Height of Yoḥanan," commemorates Gen. Jan (Yoḥanan) *Smuts.

[Efraim Orni]

RAMAT ẒEVI (Heb. רָמַת צְבִי), moshav in N. Israel, on the Kokhav Plateau of Lower Galilee, affiliated with Tenu'at ha-Moshavim. It was founded in 1942 by a group of veteran farm laborers, who had previously set up a temporary settlement, based on auxiliary holdings at Shimron, near Nahalal. They were later joined by demobilized soldiers from World War II. After 1948 the population changed when most of the veteran settlers left and were replaced by new immigrants. Farming at Ramat Ẓevi consisted mainly of field crops and dairy cattle. The village is named after Ẓevi (Henry) Monsky, B'nai B'rith president. Its population in 1970 was 180. In 2002 its population was 388.

[Efraim Orni]

RAMBERT, DAME MARIE (1888–1982), British ballet teacher and founder director of the Ballet Rambert. Born in Warsaw as Miriam Rambach, she studied eurythmics and was invited by Serge Diaghilev to teach in his company. While she influenced Diaghilev's most famous dancer, Nijinsky, in his choreographic work, she was herself won over to classical ballet, became a pupil of Enrico Cecchetti, the Italian ballet dancer and teacher, and followed his principles when she opened a school in London in 1920. By 1930 the school had developed into the Ballet Club which, as the Ballet Rambert, became famous for its performances at the Mercury Theater, a former parish hall at Notting Hill rebuilt by Rambert's husband, the author, Ashley Dukes. Rambert had a great flair for discovering new talent and inspired choreographers, designers, and dancers. She was the first to present a whole group of young dancers under British names, and she drew the public with ballets like *A Tragedy of Fashion, Lilac Garden, Lady into Fox*, and *Death and the Maiden*. In 1966 she became co-director with Nathan Morrice of the New Ballet Rambert Company. She was made a Dame of the British Empire in 1962.

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[Lewis Sowden]

RAMERUPT, village in the Aube department, N.E. central France. No single extant non-Jewish source confirms the existence of a Jewish community in Ramerupt during the Middle Ages, but Jewish sources mention a community which existed from at least around 1100 until the latter half of the 12th century. It was renowned for its yeshivah, headed by *Meir b. Samuel, Rashi's son-in-law, who was succeeded by his sons, Jacob *Tam and *Samuel b. Meir. The chronicle of *Ephraim b. Jacob of Bonn records an attack made by crusaders on the community of Ramerupt on the second day of Shavuot, 1147, but only describes in detail the ill-treatment of R. Jacob Tam. His house was looted, a Torah Scroll was desecrated, and he would have been murdered in the fields had not a passing nobleman tricked the crusaders into releasing him.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Gross, Gal Jud, 634–8; A.M. Habermann, *Sefer Gezerot Ashkenaz ve-Ẓarefat* (1946), 121.

[Bernhard Blumenkranz]

RAMLEH (Heb. רַמְלָה, **Ramlah**), city in Israel, situated on the Jerusalem–Tel Aviv highway, approximately 28 mi. (45 km.) from Jerusalem.

The Old City

Ramleh was founded in 716 by the Umayyad caliph Suleiman ibn ʿAbd al-Malik and is the only city in the country established by Arabs. The name means "sand" in Arabic and refers to the sandy ground on which the city arose. Ramleh was the administrative capital of the country under the *Umayyads and the *Abbasids. Although originally founded as a town for Muslims, it had from the beginning a large population of Christians, Jews, and Samaritans. Hārūn al-Rashīd, the Abbasid ruler in the late eighth century, increased the Samaritan farming population. Due to its advantageous location on the crossroads of the Egypt–Damascus and Jerusalem–Jaffa highways, the city prospered until the time of the Crusades.

Among the Jewish community, Ramleh was called Gath or Gath-Rimmon or Ramathaim-Zophim, after the biblical towns with which it was identified. The temporary transfer of the Jerusalem academy to Ramleh in the tenth century greatly strengthened the Jewish population. At that time, a Karaite and a Rabbanite community, the latter divided into Palestinians and Babylonians, existed in the town; there were also synagogues for the Jerusalemites and the Damascenes. In the 11th century the flourishing communities of Ramleh suffered from a series of blows: a disastrous Bedouin raid in 1025 and two devastating earthquakes in 1033 and 1067 (in the latter, 25,000 people reportedly perished). During the Crusader occupation, beginning in 1099, the Jewish and Samaritan communities were dispersed. When Benjamin of Tudela visited there in 1170–71, he recorded a Jewish population of only three dyers, living in the midst of extensive cemeteries.

During the 12th and 13th centuries, the city was often attacked by Muslims. It was finally captured by the *Mamluk sultan Baybars and as the capital of a province, it regained some of its former importance. By the 14th century, it was again the largest town in Palestine and a Jewish community was reestablished there. With the Ottoman conquest, it once more declined, although most pilgrims passed through the town, at the time called Rames, on their way to Jerusalem. The tax records for 1690–91 show no Jews living there. The main buildings of the early city which still stand are the Cathedral of St. John (now the Great Mosque), the White Mosque and its minaret (completed in 1318) and the ʿUnayziyya cistern (dating from the eighth century).

[Michael Avi-Yonah]

The New Town

In 1890 Ramleh had 9,611 inhabitants, the majority of whom were Muslim Arabs, with a sizable minority of Arab and non-Arab Christians, and a small Jewish community of 66 people. Under the British Mandate (1917–48), the town's economy benefited only slightly from its location near a principal highway. Christian institutions helped raise the local educational level. In the 1930s Ramleh still had five Jewish families; they left, however, in 1936, with the outbreak of the Arab riots.

During the Israel *War of Independence, when Ramleh was occupied by Israel forces in July 1948, most of the town's Arabs abandoned it, causing the population to shrink to 1,547 persons by the November 1948 census. At the beginning of the 1950s the town absorbed a large number of Jewish immigrants from various countries, raising the population to 20,548 in 1961. Initially the newcomers were housed in three *ma'barot* ("immigrant transit camps"); but, with housing construction proceeding rapidly, Ramleh's built-up area expanded, principally to the west and southwest, until it covered an area of about 4 sq. mi. (10 sq. km.). In 1969 about 4,200 families lived in the new sections, compared to 3,000 in the town's older areas, where numerous structures were earmarked for leveling and reconstruction. Of its 30,800 inhabitants in 1970, 27,000 were Jews and 3,800 Arabs. In the mid-1990s the population was approximately 55,000, including 9,020 non-Jews. By 2002 the population of Ramleh increased to 62,800, consisting of 80.5% Jews, 15.4% Muslims, and 4% Christians. A third of the population consisted of immigrants from the former Soviet Unions. In earlier years the Arabs were for the most part well integrated in the city's economy and cultural life and satisfactory social relations existed between the Jewish and Arab communities, with a Jewish-Arab Friendship League in operation. However, in the course of time, relations became tense. Most Arabs remained in the old city, nicknamed the Ghetto, while the Jews lived in the new areas of the city. When the "al-Aqsa" Intifada erupted in 2000 a few synagogues were set on fire and Jews tried to burn a mosque.

The city's economy was based mainly on industry, which benefited from its location at one of the country's major highway and railroad junctions and its relative proximity to the port of Ashdod. In 1969, 23 of the larger industrial enterprises employed about 2,000 workers. Products included cement (in the country's largest cement factory), wood products, metal pipes, motors, refrigerators and miscellaneous metal products, prefabricated houses, and canned foods. There were two industrial zones. Until June 1971, the Tel Aviv–Jerusalem traffic artery intersected the town from northwest to southeast, with the number of vehicles passing through Ramleh averaging 17,000 a day. The local market mainly serviced rural settlements around Ramleh, and provided an outlet for its farm produce. The city also provided health services to the villages in the vicinity. During the 1980s the city became known for its various disco clubs. According to Israel's Central Bureau of Statistics, income in Ramleh was much lower than the national average in 2002 and a third of the population was on welfare

[Shlomo Hasson / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

BIBLIOGRAPHY: B. Segal, in: *Zion*, 5 (1933), 12–18; S. Klein, *Toledot ha-Yishuv ha-Yehudi be-Ereẓ Yisrael* (1935), index; S. Assaf and L.A. Mayer (eds.), *Sefer ha-Yishuv*, 2 (1944), 56–63; Mayer-Pinkerfeld, *Principal Muslim Religious Buildings in Israel* (1950), 25–30; J. Braslavski, *Le-Ḥeker Arẓenu* (1954), index; Hirschberg, in: *Yerushalayim*, 4 (1953), 123–8; Shapira, *ibid.*, 118–22; J. Kaplan, in: *ʿAtiqot*, 2 (1958), 106–15; Z. Vilnay, *Ramleh* (1961); I. Ben-Zvi, *She'ar Yashuv* (1965), 316–21; Ben-Zvi, Ereẓ Yisrael, index; M. Rosen-Ayalon, in: IEJ, 16 (1966), 148–50. **WEBSITE:** www.ramla.muni.il.

°**RAMON, LULL** (**Raimundus Lullus**; c. 1234–1315), Catalan Christian preacher, mystic, and philosopher. As a youth Lull grew up in *Majorca, where a substantial Muslim majority had remained even after this island's conquest (1229–32) by King James I. This enabled him, besides the traditional education imparted to the sons of Spanish nobility, to familiarize himself with Muslim culture and the Arabic language. When he was 30, Lull turned to ascetic life. Besides his immersion in mystical contemplation, he considered it his vocation to preach and propagate Christianity among nonbelievers, Muslims, and Jews in Aragon and, chiefly, in Majorca. To this end, Lull devoted many years to the study of Arabic language, philosophy, and theology, and some of his initial works were written in that language. In comparison, his knowledge of Judaism was scant and superficial, some works by Jewish thinkers being known to him through Arabic philosophy, or from Maimonides *Guide of the Perplexed*. In about 1272 Lull wrote in Arabic and translated into Catalan the widely circulated *Libre del gentil e los tres savis*, which was subsequently translated into Latin, French, and probably Hebrew. It is a work of apologetic character, drawn up in a form frequent in those times. A man, either a nonbeliever or a pagan, consults three sages – a Jew, a Christian, and a Muslim – and asks them the basic principles of their respective creeds. This furnishes the starting point of a peaceful debate between the three, which finally remains inconclusive, although the author does not conceal his sympathy for the Christian. There has been speculation as to the possible influence of *Judah Halevi s *Kuzari* over this work, but there is nothing to warrant it. In 1305 Lull wrote a second apologetic work chiefly directed against the Jews, *Liber de Trinitate et In-*

carnatione adversus Judaeos et sarracenos, better known under its shorter appellation *Liber Predicationis Contra Judaeos* (scholarly edition published in Madrid-Barcelona, 1957). The book comprises 52 sermons, one for each week of the year, preceded by a verse from the Bible. In these Lull strives to demonstrate, against Jewish and Muslim arguments as to the irrationality of Christianity, that the Christian truth is not only rational but also borne out by common sense.

Lull was also active as a preacher. In 1299 James II (1291–1327) allowed him to give sermons on Saturdays and Sundays in the synagogues and on Fridays and Sundays in mosques. In his important *Ars Magna* (c. 1274) Lull reduces all knowledge to a few basic metaphysical principles. The theory of the attributes of God occupies the central part of this work and it is interesting to compare the *dignitates* of Lull with the *Sefirot* of the kabbalists. The similarity between the two categories possibly stems from Neoplatonic influence common to the kabbalists and to Lull; the latter maintained friendly relations with a circle of Jewish religious thinkers in Catalonia, such as Solomon b. Abraham *Adret and R. Aaron ha-Levi of Barcelona, author of *Sefer ha-Ḥinnukh*; Lull presumably learned about the foundations of *Kabbalah from them.

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[José Maria Millas-Vallicrosa]

RAMON, HAIM (1950–), Israeli politician, member of the Knesset from the Tenth Knesset. Ramon was born in Jaffa. He served in the air force in the years 1967–73 and received a law degree from Tel Aviv University. He started his political life as national secretary of the *Israel Labor Party Young Guard in 1978, serving in this capacity until 1984. He first entered the Knesset in 1983, replacing MK Danny Rosolio, who resigned. In the course of the Eleventh Knesset he was the Labor Alignment's coordinator in the Knesset Finance Committee, and in the course of the Twelfth Knesset served as chairman of the Labor parliamentary group. In 1985 he established together with Nissim Zvili the Kefar ha-Yarok circle – a dovish political group made up of younger members of the Labor Party that succeeded in getting several members into the Twelfth Knesset. It was generally believed at the time that some of Labor's future leaders would emerge from this circle, but in 2005 Ramon and Amir *Peretz were the only two members of this group still in the Knesset.

In March 1990 Ramon was actively involved, in full coordination with Labor Party chairman Shimon *Peres, and in consultation with his friend Aryeh *Deri from Shas, in the plan to bring down the National Unity Government headed by Yitzhak *Shamir, of which the Labor Party was a member, in a vote on a motion of no confidence. However, Peres failed to form an alternative government. Prior to the fifth Labor Party Conference, at the end of 1991, Ramon considered leaving the Labor Party and forming a joint dovish party with the CRM, Mapam and Shinui. However, in light of his success, together with some of his colleagues, in getting the Conference to adopt many of their positions in connection with the peace process and religion and state, he decided to remain. In the primaries for the elections of Labor's leader in February 1992 Ramon supported Yitzhak *Rabin rather than Peres, and in the government formed by Rabin in July he was appointed minister of health. In this position he started, much to the chagrin of many of his Labor colleagues, to prepare a National Health Insurance bill that would, inter alia, break the link between the *Histadrut and Israel's largest health fund, Kuppat Ḥolim Kelalit. Ramon supported the candidature of Amir Peretz as Labor's candidate in the election for secretary general of the Histadrut against that of Haim Haberfeld, and when Peretz failed, stood himself for election against Haberfeld at the head of his own list, called Ḥayyim Ḥadashim la-Histadrut. Before deciding to run, Ramon gave a well-publicized speech at a special session of the Labor Party Conference in which he compared the party to a whale swimming towards the beach to its death, arguing that with his meager power he was trying to push the party back into the living water. Several days later he resigned from the government. As a result of his decision to run against the Labor candidate for the Histadrut, he was removed from the party, but nevertheless remained part of the Labor parliamentary group.

In May 1994 Ramon was elected secretary general of the Histadrut, and changed his title to chairman. He set off immediately to make drastic organizational and functional changes in the bankrupt Histadrut, and managed to enact the National Health Insurance Law. Before Rabin's assassination in November 1995 Ramon was reinstated in the party, and was invited by Rabin to return to the government. However, it was only in December that he entered the government formed by Peres, as minister of the interior, and Peretz took over the leadership of the Histadrut. Ramon was in charge of Labor's propaganda strategy in the elections to the Fourteenth Knesset, and was largely responsible for the decision to minimize mention of the Likud's role in creating the atmosphere that led up to Rabin's assassination. He was thus blamed by many Laborites for Labor's defeat in the elections, in which Binyamin *Netanyahu beat Peres by only 30,000 votes. Ramon considered running against Ehud *Barak in the primaries for the Labor Party leadership in June 1997, but when his proposal that open primaries be held, rather than primaries among Labor Party members only, was rejected, he decided not to run. In the government formed by Barak after the elections to the Fifteenth Knesset Ramon was appointed minister in the Prime Minister's office. He was not a member of the National Unity Government formed by Ariel *Sharon after he defeated Barak in the election for prime minister in 2001.

In 2004–5 Ramon played an active role in the negotiations for the formation of a new National Unity Government, after the government formed by Sharon following the 2003 elections disintegrated against the background of his disengagement plan. However, after doing poorly in the vote that took place in the Labor Party Central Committee for ministerial posts in the new government formed in January 2005, he was appointed minister without portfolio. At the end of 2005, when Sharon left the Likud and formed the new Kadimah Party, Ramon left the Labor Party to join him, along with Shimon Peres and others. After the 2006 elections he was appointed minister of justice.

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RAMON, ILAN (1954–2003), colonel in the Israel air force, the first Israeli astronaut. Ramon was killed on board the U.S. space shuttle *Columbia* in its ill-fated 2003 mission. Ramon served in the IDF as a combat pilot and was among those who participated in the bombardment of the Iraqi nuclear reactor in 1981. From 1983 to 1987 he studied computer science and electronic engineering at Tel Aviv University. From 1990 to 1992 he served as an F-16 squadron commander. Later, with rank of colonel, he served as head of the Department of Operational Requirements for Weapons Development and Acquisition. In 1995 Israel and the United States agree to send an Israeli astronaut into space, and Ramon was chosen in 1997 after a lengthy selection process. He and his alternate, Yiẓḥak Mayo, were sent with their families to the U.S. to start training at the NASA Space Agency. Four years later, in 2003, as the only payload specialist on board, he was part of the crew that lifted off on the *Columbia* shuttle mission. During the 16-day journey in space, he carried out a number of scientific experiments. During re-entry, a technical problem caused the *Columbia* to disintegrate, and all its crew members, including Ramon, lost their lives. After his death, asteroid 51828 was named after him.

[Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

RAMONE, JOEY (**Jeffrey Hyman**; 1951–2001), co-founder, vocalist, and songwriter for the influential U.S. punk rock group The Ramones (1974–96); member of the Rock & Roll Hall of Fame. Ramone was born in Forest Hills, Queens, to Charlotte and Noel, who divorced when he was young. His mother encouraged an interest in music in both Joey and his younger brother Mitchell (who later adopted the name Mickey Leigh). Ramone took up drums at 13, playing throughout his teen years at Forest Hills High School, where he met his future band mates. The 6 ft. 6 in., gangly Ramone was originally the drummer for the Ramones, but eventually moved to vocalist and frontman for the band. Described as a "cartoon family," The Ramones played fast, furious, and funny primal pop songs, with titles like "Teenage Lobotomy" and "I Wanna Be Sedated," and chants like "Hey ho let's go" and "Gabba gabba hey!" that became rallying cries for disaffected youth. The other original Ramones were Tommy, Johnny, and Dee Dee, who like Ramone, all adopted the stage surname of Ramone and wore matching "non-uniforms" of black leather jackets, black t-shirts, and ripped jeans – what became standard attire for a generation of musicians. They led a movement of no-frills bands that were based in the seedy Bowery club CBGB in New York. Rules that The Ramones eponymous 1976 debut album instated into a bloated mid-1970s rock world were no song needed to be more than two minutes long, include more than three chords, or needed a guitar solo – guidelines the band stuck to closely for their entire career. During their career, The Ramones played over 2,000 shows. Diagnosed with lymphoma in 1995, and given three to six months to live, Joey maintained his health and spirits for five years until a broken hip led to a decline. His death was treated as the end of an era, and given almost the same amount of coverage as the deaths of rock icons John Lennon and Jerry Garcia. Ramone's first solo album – *Don't Worry About Me* – was posthumously released in 2002, the same year he entered the Rock & Roll Hall of Fame as a member of The Ramones. In November 2003, the city of New York named the corner of 2nd St. and the Bowery near CBGB as Joey Ramone Place. In September 2005, Ramone was awarded the Heeb Magazine Lifetime Achievement Award at the inaugural Jewish Music Awards.

[David Brinn (2nd ed.)]

RAMOT, BRACHA (1927–2006), physician and medical researcher. Ramot was born in Raseinei, Lithuania. In 1941, after the occupation of Lithuania by the Soviets, she was transferred to Komi in North Russia, where she studied to become a practical nurse (*felsher*) and substituted for a family physician. Simultaneously, she also graduated from an evening high school. She arrived in Israel illegally via Poland and Cyprus in 1947, to be joined by her family 27 years later. During the Israel War of Independence she served in the *Palmaḥ as a nurse. She then studied at the Hebrew University-Hadassah Medical School, from which she graduated in 1952. She did her internship and residency in medicine at the Tel Hashomer (now Sheba) Hospital.

In 1954–56 Ramot trained with Karl Singer in hematology at the Michael Reese Hospital, Chicago, and in 1956–57 at the Albert Einstein College of Medicine with Irving London. Upon her return to Israel, she established the Institute of Hematology at Tel Hashomer Hospital and took an active part in the founding of the Sackler Faculty of Medicine of Tel Aviv University. From 1971 until her retirement in 1994 she was professor and head of the Hematology Section at the Postgraduate School of Medicine, Tel Aviv University. In 1975–79 she was head of the Blood Service of *Magen David Adom and in 1991–96 she was medical director of the Maccabi Health Services. She educated an entire generation of hematologists who became leaders in the field in Israel. In 2001 she was awarded the Israel Prize in medical sciences.

Ramot was involved in a number of fields of basic and clinical research. They included red cell enzymes and cell aging, circadian rhythms of enzymes, variants of glucose-6-phospahate dehydrogenase (G6PD), genetic variants of serum proteins in Jewish ethnic groups and Arabs, and effects of genetic and environmental factors on the hematologic malignancies. She described the clinical and pathologic entity of small intestinal lymphoma with malabsorption in Arab and non-Ashkenazi Jewish young adults.

[Bracha Rager (2nd ed.)]

RAMOTH (Heb. רָאמוֹת), Levitical city in the territory of Issachar (I Chron. 6:58), called Jarmuth in one of the lists apportioning territory to the Levites (Josh. 21:29). In the city list of Issachar, the town is called Remeth (Josh. 19:21). It seems to have been the center of the mountainous district of Yarmutu, which was inhabited by Ḫabiru even before the Israelite conquest; Seti I, in one of his stelae found at Beth-Shean, describes his victory over them in approximately 1300 B.C.E. The suggested identification is with Kokhav ha-Yarden (Ar. Kawkab al-Hawā, the Crusader "Belvoir"), a dominating height (895 ft., 275 m.) overlooking the Jordan Valley; it is possibly identical with the fortress of *Agrippina. The topographical position of the site justifies the name Ramoth ("the Heights").

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Abel, Geog, 2 (1938), 435; Aharoni, Land, index.

[Michael Avi-Yonah]

RAMOT HA-SHAVIM (Heb. רָמוֹת הַשָּׁבִים; "Heights of the Returning"), moshav with municipal council status, in central Israel, near Hod ha-Sharon, affiliated with Ha-Mo'eẓah ha-Ḥakla'it. It was founded in 1933 by middle-class immigrants from Germany, who chose to become farmers although they had been merchants and members of the free professions abroad. As the area initially available for farming was extremely limited, poultry breeding became the principal farming branch. In 1970, Ramot ha-Shavim had 450 inhabitants, growing to around 890 in the mid-1990s and 1,100 in 2002.

[Efraim Orni]

RAMOTH-GILEAD (Heb. רָמוֹת גִּלְעָד), levitical city of refuge in the territory of the tribe of Gad in N. Transjordan, which was held by the family of Merari (Deut. 4:43; Josh. 20:8; 21:38). Ramoth-Gilead was chosen by Solomon as the capital of his sixth district, which included the villages of Jair and the region of Argob in Bashan (I Kings 4:13), thus strengthening the assumption that the levitical cities served as administrative centers from the time of David. Its fall to the Arameans in the days of the divided monarchy was regarded as a grievous blow. Ahab, king of Israel, tried to retake it with the help of Jehoshaphat, king of Judah, but fell in the battle (I Kings 22; II Chron. 18); his son Joram was wounded in another attempt (II Kings 8:28ff.; II Chron. 22:5ff.). Jehu was anointed and proclaimed king by a messenger of the prophet Elisha in the camp before Ramoth-Gilead (II Kings 9). Josephus calls the city Arimanon or Aramatha(h) (Ant., 4:173; 8:399; 9:105). Eusebius identified it with the village al-Rāmm on the Jabbok (Onom. 144:4). Modern scholars locate it at Ḥuṣn ʿAjlūn or at Tell Ramīth south of Edrei, near the village of al-Ramta. A fortress of the Israelite period was discovered at the latter site in recent excavations.

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[Michael Avi-Yonah]

RAMOT MENASHEH (Heb. רָמוֹת מְנַשֶּׁה; *ramot*, "heights"), kibbutz in the Manasseh Hills, Israel, affiliated with Kibbutz Arẓi ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir. It was founded in 1948 by young immigrants from Poland, including ghetto fighters of World War II, and Bulgaria. Later, immigrants from Chile and Uruguay joined the kibbutz and became the majority among the settlers. In 1970 the kibbutz had 500 inhabitants; in 2002, 447. Its economy was based on partly intensive farming, including field crops in partnership with Kibbutz Ramat ha-Shofet, and dairy cattle. It also manufactured water gauges and was a partner in a metal factory at nearby *Daliyyah.

[Efram Orni / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

RAMOT NAFTALI (Heb. רָמוֹת נַפְתָּלִי; *ramot*, "heights"), moshav E. of the Israel-Lebanese border, Israel, affiliated with Tenu'at ha-Moshavim. It was founded by a group of veteran soldiers called "Irgun Wingate." Originally a moshav shittufi, Ramot Naftali was the first settlement of demobilized soldiers from World War II. In the *War of Independence (1948), the settlers were in a highly dangerous position and in one instance drove off Lebanese attacking forces after they had already broken into the settlement's perimeter. Although after the war moshav-born youth, and later new immigrants joined the village, it made little progress, due to a number of difficulties: access to the site, the pumping of water, and reclamation of the mountainous terrain for farming. Deciduous fruit trees and vineyards constituted its prominent agricultural branches. Later, guest rooms became another source of income in the face its declining farm economy. Large areas in the vicinity have been afforested. In 2002 the population of Ramot Naftali was 414.

[Efraim Orni]

RAMSES (**Raamses**, **Rameses**; Heb. רַעַמְסֵס, רַעְמְסֵס), ancient city in Lower Egypt. The second but the more important of the two treasury cities which the Hebrews built in Egypt (Ex. 1:11), Ramses is mentioned four further times in the Bible (see also *Pithom). In Genesis 47:11 *Joseph established his family in the land (i.e., region) of Ramses, and in Exodus 12:37 and Numbers 33:3, 5 Ramses was the Israelites' point of departure from Egypt. Ramses can be hardly any city other than the Delta residence of the Ramessid kings of the Egyptian 19th dynasty, Per-Rameses-Miʿamunpa-ka-aʿo-en-preʿ-Ḥorakhty ("The House of Rameses-Beloved-of-Amun, the-Great-Ka-Soul-of-Re-Ḥorakhty"), the identification of which was long a subject of controversy among modern scholars. Since it was certainly situated within the eastern Delta, its exact location would shed light on the possible route of the Exodus. It was first thought to have been Pelusium, but the identification was then narrowed down to either Tanis (biblical *Zoan) or Qantir, with the weight of scholarly opinion favoring the latter.

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[Alan Richard Schulman]

RAMSES (Egyptian **Rʿ-ms-sw**; "Re is he that has borne him"; name of several Egyptian rulers of the 19th and the 20th dynasties. Connected with the sun god of Heliopolis, the name is significant for the orientation toward Lower Egypt that accompanied the attempt to regain power over Asia, which had been lost in the Amarna period. Ramses I (c. 1306–1305 B.C.E.) rose to become founder of the 19th dynasty from a nonroyal position as vizier. It was left to his grandson Ramses II (c. 1290–1223 B.C.E.) to restore Egypt to her former greatness. His long reign, splendid building activities (additions to the Karnak and Luxor temples, the Ramesseum, the monumental rock-cut temple at Abu Simbel), and numerous offspring (over 100 children) made him a legendary figure for later times. The enlargement of his residence at Tanis, renamed Per-Ramses in his honor, agrees with the biblical record (Ex. 1:11) of the building of *Ramses and *Pithom (Tell el-Maskhouta in the eastern Delta) by the Israelites, and makes him the probable *pharaoh of the Exodus. A battle with the Hittites at Kadesh in his fifth year ended in a stalemate. Campaigns in Palestine, southern Phoenicia, and Edom are attested for the following years. In year 21 of his reign a treaty with Hatti was drawn up in the face of the new common menace embodied in the advancing Sea Peoples. The full impact of these peoples fell on Ramses III (c. 1188–1157 B.C.E.), the son of the founder of the 20th dynasty. He warded off their attack in his eighth year, after they had overrun the Hittites. He also managed to check the Libyans and maintained authority over Palestine. However, after his death by a harem intrigue, Palestine, now settled by Philistines and the Israelites, was forever lost to Egypt. A list of his temple donations shows that increasing wealth accumulated in the hands of the priests of Amun at Thebes. Under his successors (Ramses IV–XI, c. 1157–1085 B.C.E.), political influence was also taken over by the priests, while the might of the rulers steadily declined in a country lacking foreign influence and troubled by poverty and inflation.

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[Irene Grumach]

RAN, SHULAMIT (1949–), composer. Born in Tel Aviv, already by age nine she studied composition with Alexander U. *Boskovich and Paul *Ben-Haim and piano with Emma Gorochov. At the age of 14 she moved with her mother to New York on a piano scholarship to the Mannes College of Music where she studied composition with Norman Dello-Joio and piano with Nadia Reisenberg. She continued her studies with Dorothy Taubman (1970–76) and Ralph Shapey (1977). In 1971 she premiered her *Concert Piece* for piano and orchestra as soloist with the Israel Philharmonic Orchestra conducted by Zubin *Mehta. In 1973, she joined the faculty of the University of Chicago, where she became the William H. Colvin Professor in the department of music. She was visiting professor at Princeton University in 1987.

Ran's music shows a diversity of styles and flexibility maintained in the process of composing. Her early works are more indebted to modernism than her later ones. Though the emphasis is on the comprehensibility of the music, the result is often an overt expression of a large gamut of sentiments, at times extravagantly so. Being mostly fantasy-like, the works feature great contrasts and have a sharply dramatic profile. Ran explores the dramatic potential of a certain compositional idea or of specific musical instruments and sets musical elements in action similar to theatrical personae in a play.

Her list of works includes *O the Chimneys* for mezzo-soprano, chamber ensemble and magnetic tape (1968); *For an Actor*, monologue for clarinet (1978); *Private Games* for clarinet and cello (1979); *Verticals* for piano (1982); *Amichai Songs* for mezzo-soprano, oboe/English horn, viola da gamba and harpsichord (1985); *Concerto da Camera I & II* (1985 and 1987); *String Quartet No. 2 "Vistas"* (1988/89); *Concerto for Orchestra* (1986); *Inscriptions* for violin (1991); *Legends* for orchestra (1992/93); *Invocation* for horn, timpani and chimes (1994); *Soliloquy* for violin, cello and piano (1997); *Between Two Worlds* (*The Dybbuk*), opera (1997); *Vessels of Courage and Hope* for orchestra (1998); and *Voices* for flute and orchestra (2000).

Ran's numerous honors include an award from the Rockefeller Fund (1968), Ford Foundation (1972), and the Guggenheim Foundation (1977 & 1990). From 1990–97 she served as composer-in-residence with the Chicago Symphony Orchestra and from 1994–97 with the Lyric Opera of Chicago. Her *Symphony* (1989/90) earned her the 1991 Pulitzer Prize in Music and the 1992 Kennedy Center Friedheim Award. In 1998 she received the Koussevitsky Foundation Grant. In 2003 she was elected to the American Academy of Arts and Letters.

[Yuval Shaked (2nd ed.)]

RAND, AYN (**Alissa Zinovievna Rosenbaum**; 1905–1982), writer and philosopher. Born in St. Petersburg, Russia, she displayed a strong interest in literature and films from an early age. Her mother taught her French and subscribed to a magazine featuring stories for boys, where Rand found her first childhood hero, an Indian army officer in a Kipling-style story. She expressed a passionate enthusiasm for the Romantic Movement and fell deeply in love with the novels of Victor Hugo at the age of 13. She studied philosophy and history at the University of Petrograd. In her diary she expressed intensely anti-Soviet ideas. She loved the philosophical ideas of Nietzsche, and embraced his exaltation of the heroic and independent individual who embraced egoism and rejected altruism in *Thus Spake Zarathustra.* She eventually became critical of Nietzsche, believing his philosophy emphasized emotion over reason. She considered Aristotle her greatest influence by far.

She entered the State Institute for Cinema Arts in 1924 to study screenwriting. The following year, she was granted a visa to visit American relatives and in 1926, after a brief stay in Chicago, she resolved never to return to the Soviet Union. She set out for Hollywood to become a screenwriter, changing her name to Ayn (rhymes with pine) Rand, a variant spelling of the name of a Finnish writer. While working as an extra in Cecil B. DeMille's *King of Kings*, she met an aspiring actor, Frank O'Conner. They married in 1929. Rand became a naturalized citizen of the United States in 1931. The following year she achieved literary success with the sale of her fist screenplay, *Red Pawn,* to Universal Studios. In 1934 she wrote the play *The Night of January 16th*; it was highly successful. She then published two novels, *We the Living* (1936) and *Anthem* (1938).

Her first major professional success came with the best-selling novel *The Fountainhead* (1943), which she wrote over a period of seven years. The theme of *The Fountainhead* is "individualism and collectivism in man's soul." The hero is Rand's ideal, a noble soul, an architect who is firmly and serenely devoted to his own ideals and believes that no man should copy the style of another. The other characters demand that he renounce his values, but the hero maintains his integrity.

Rand's *Atlas Shrugged* (1957), her most extensive statement of her Objectivist philosophy in any of her fiction, became an international bestseller. In the appendix, she asserted: "My philosophy, in essence, is the concept of man as a heroic being, with his own happiness as the moral purpose of his life, with productive achievement as his noblest activity, and reason as his only absolute." Along with Nathaniel Branden, a young philosophy student, his wife, Barbara, Alan *Greenspan, the future head of the Federal Reserve System, and others, members of The Collective, she launched the Objectivist movement to promote her philosophy of individual ability and laissez-faire capitalism. After several years, Rand and Branden's relationship blossomed into an intense romance, despite the fact that both were married. Eventually, the affair led to the Brandens' divorce.

Rand's political views were radically pro-capitalist, anti-statist, and anti-Communist. She had a strong dislike for mysticism, religion, and compulsory charity, all of which she believed helped foster a crippling culture of resentment towards individual human happiness and success. Although she became a cult figure in libertarian circles, her view of selfishness as a virtue and altruism as a vice was a reversal of the traditional Judeo-Christian ethic. In 1985, Leonard Peikoff, a surviving member of The Collective and Rand's designated heir, established the Ayn Rand Institute: The Center for the Advancement of Objectivism.

[Stewart Kampel (2nd ed.)]

RAND, YA'AKOV (1926–), professor of education, specializing in special education. His research contributed to the development of cognitive teaching techniques. Rand was born in Romania, and left for Israel in 1947. Seized by the British, he was sent to Cyprus and finally arrived to Israel in 1948. In 1964 he graduated in psychology and special education from the Hebrew University of Jerusalem and in 1971 he received his Ph.D. from the Sorbonne. From 1971 he served as a lecturer in the School of Education of Bar-Ilan University, serving as head of the school in 1972. In 1978 he was named dean of the Faculty of Social Sciences, a position he held until 1982. From 1980 until 1983 he was the chairman of the public committee for retarded children. In 1983 he served as the chairman of the committee for advanced studies in Bar-Ilan. In 1989 he became a professor. From 1990 until 1996 he was a member of the Council for Higher Education and from 1991 chairman of its regional college committee. From 1997 he served as academic consultant for Touro College and rector of the Academic Education College Talpiyyot. During these years he was also a visiting professor in universities in the United States and Canada. Rand is a member of many professional and academic associations and societies. He published numerous articles and 10 books. In 2001 he was awarded the Israel Prize for education.

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[Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

RANDALL, TONY (**Leonard Rosenberg**; 1920–2004). Born in Tulsa, Okla., Randall enrolled as a speech and drama major at Northwestern University in Evanston, Ill., but dropped out after a year and moved to New York, where he studied acting at the Neighborhood Playhouse. In the early 1940s he got a start in radio, appearing in mysteries; his distinctive voice was heard on soap operas like *Portia Faces Life*. He made his New York stage debut in an adaptation of the 13th-century Chinese fantasy *A Circle of Chalk* and later that year appeared in Shaw's *Candida*. After his discharge from the army in 1946, he returned to New York. By 1950 he was appearing in *Caesar and Cleopatra* and two years later he won a role as a teacher in *Mr. Peepers*, playing opposite Wally Cox as his posturing, swaggering sidekick. His portrayal earned him an Emmy nomination and his career took off. He appeared in three Doris Day-Rock Hudson movies: *Lover Come Back*, *Pillow Talk*, and *Send Me No Flowers*, often as the foil to Hudson's romantic leads. He had similar roles in *Let's Make Love* (with Marilyn Monroe) and *Boys Night Out* (with Kim Novak).

Randall was best known for comedy, particularly his signature role as the fussbudget Felix Unger in the classic television series *The Odd Couple* (1970–75), based on Neil *Simon's play and movie. Randall's roommate and temperamental opposite on the show was the slovenly, unkempt, cigar-smoking sportswriter, played by Jack *Klugman. Randall had a great love for repertory theater, and in 1991, with a million dollars of his own money and much more from friends and moneyed associates, he founded the National Actors Theater in New York. Its purpose was to keep the works of playwrights like Ibsen, Chekhov and Arthur *Miller before the public, at a reasonable price. As he gained fame as an actor, Randall became active in a number of causes, including a futile effort to save the old Metropolitan Opera House in New York. He was national chairman of the Myasthenia Gravis Foundation for

30 years, and supported medical and artistic organizations. A member of Congregation Rodeph Shalom in New York, he was also prominent in many Jewish scientific and educational philanthropies.

[Stewart Kampel (2nd ed.)]

RANK, OTTO (original surname – **Rosenfeld**; 1884–1939), psychoanalyst. Born in Vienna, Rank met *Freud in 1906 and became a member of his inner circle. Rank edited with H. *Sachs the psychoanalytic journal *Imago* and with S. Ferenczi and E. Jones *International Zeitschrift fuer Psychoanalyse* (1912–24). He founded and directed the Internationale Psychoanalytische Verlag (1919–24). He had a special flair for interpreting myths, legends, and dreams. His vast erudition was evident in his great work on incest myths, *Das Inzest Motiv in Dichtung und Sage* (1912). He spent the war years in Cracow. E. Jones notes the change that had occurred in him as a reaction to the melancholia he suffered there. He eventually broke with Freud after his book *Das Trauma der Geburt* (1923; *The Trauma of Birth*, 1929) appeared. Freud opposed what he finally considered to be Rank's error in attributing to birth trauma the determination of anxiety and his underemphasis of the role of incest drives and the Oedipus complex. After the split with Freud he left Vienna, finally settling in the U.S. in 1935. Rank applied psychoanalytic theory to the arts and to mythology in his works *Der Kuenstler* (1907; *Art and Artist*, 1932) and *Der Mythus von der Geburt des Helden* (1909; *The Myth of the Birth of the Hero*, 1914).

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[Louis Miller]

RANKIN, HARRY (1920–2002), Canadian lawyer and politician. Rankin was born and raised in Vancouver, British Columbia, and became one of the city's most beloved and controversial public figures. During World War II, Rankin served in the Canadian Army Seaforth Highlanders and was twice wounded. Returning to civilian life, he completed a B.A. and law degree in just five years at the University of British Columbia. Staunchly left-wing, Rankin was nearly prevented from taking the bar because he had belonged to the Communist University Club. He went on to become treasurer and a life member of the BC Law Society and was appointed Queen's Counsel. In addition to helping establish the province's first system of legal aid, much of Rankin's work as a lawyer was performed without charge. He was a tireless advocate for tenant rights, the working class, Aboriginals, Vancouver's downtown east side, and many disadvantaged groups and individuals. He and his first wife, Jonnie (Ottwell) Rankin, were early members of the city's People's Cooperative Bookstore, and their Vancouver home was a well-known meeting place for leftist political and labor activists. In 1966 Rankin was elected as a City Council alderman, a position that he held for 24 years. In 1968 he co-founded the Coalition of Progressive Electors (COPE), a socialist municipal political party that eventually broke the conservative domination of city government. Rankin retired from the City Council in 1993, but he continued to pursue high-profile progressive causes and cases until his death. His second wife and widow, Connie Fogal-Rankin, is also a prominent Vancouver lawyer and politician. Following Rankin's death, the BC chapter of the Canadian Bar Association established an annual award in his memory as recognition of Rankin's outstanding contributions in pro bono work.

[Barbara Schober (2nd ed.)]

RANSCHBURG, BEZALEL BEN JOEL (1760–1820), rabbinical author. In accordance with the imperial decree of 1787 (see *Names) he adopted the name "Daniel Rosenbaum" but was later called Ranschburg, the Yiddish pronunciation of the town Ronsperg, the German name for *Pobezovice where he was born. He attended yeshivot at Schwabach, Fuerth, and Prague, where he was a pupil of Leib Fischels and also studied under Ezekiel *Landau. He never held an official appointment and was supported by his wife and her father, but acted as *rosh yeshivah* in Prague. Ranschburg fought Reform (Resp. Ḥatam Sofer). Among his pupils was Zacharias *Frankel (MGWJ, 45 (1901), 220).

He devoted himself to commenting on those tractates of the Talmud on which there are few commentaries, such as his *Horah Gever* on *Horayot (Prague, 1802) and *Pitḥei Niddah* (1957; published in Jerusalem 1928 under the title *Hokhmat Beẓalel*). His *Sedeh Zofim* on *Asher b. Jehiel's *halakhot* was appended to the Prague Talmud edition (1839–46). His *Ma'aseh Rav* (Prague, 1823) deals partly with tractate *Nazir.* *Haggahot based on it are included in all subsequent editions of the Talmud. Many letters on halakhic subjects which he wrote to the censor Carolus Fischer (partly signed "Ilan Shoshan") are preserved in the Prague University Library (MGWJ, 62 (1918), 49–56).

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[Meir Lamed]

RANSOM (Heb. כֹּפֶר, *kofer*), the compensation required to avoid bodily punishment or to free one's self from an undesirable state or condition (Isa. 43:3). The term *kofer* is related to the Akkadian *kapāru* ("to wipe off") or *kuppuru* ("to expiate"). The substitution of a penal sum for corporal punishment was widespread in the ancient world. Thus, the Hittite Code provides for fixed damages for bodily harm; and the Bedouin, too, allowed for ransom as an alternative to blood vengeance. Except in the case of murder (Num. 35:31–34), the Israelites followed this practice too, though fixed sums do not seem to have existed in early times. Instead the principle of "measure for measure" was employed (Ex. 21:36; Lev. 24:18), together with specific standards for determining the compensation

(Ex. 21:19; 22:16). Later, set amounts were established (Deut. 22:29), such as the "redemption" fees for those consecrated to YHWH (Lev. 27). To be distinguished from *kofer* in the sense of "ransom," which is paid to an aggrieved party, is *kofer* in the sense of "bribe," which is paid to a judge in the hope of influencing his decision (I Sam. 12:3; Amos 5:12).

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[David L. Lieber]

°**RAOUL** (**Rodulphus**) **GLABER** (before 1000–1049?), Benedictine chronicler. In his very comprehensive account of the anti-Jewish persecutions perpetrated in France (and in Germany) at the beginning of the 11th century, Glaber confirms or completes many details of the Hebrew report concerning the same events, in which Jacob b. Jekuthiel of Rouen had become involved. His narrative gives a clearer insight than the Hebrew report as to what extent this persecution gave rise to the idea of the *Crusades. He is also the source of information on a Judaizing movement promoted by Raynaud, Duke of Sens, from 1009, and a similar Judaizing heresy in Lombardy in 1024.

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[Bernhard Blumenkranz]

RAPAPORT, DAVID (1911–1960), U.S. clinical psychologist. Born in Hungary, he interrupted his studies in 1933 and for two years lived in a kibbutz in Palestine. He moved to the U.S. and from 1940 to 1948 was a leading figure at the Menninger Foundation, Topeka, Kansas, first as chief clinical psychologist and then as director of research. From 1948 he worked at the Austen Riggs Center, Stockbridge, Massachusetts.

He wrote *Emotions and Memory* (1950) which reflects his continuous attempts at demonstrating the close interaction between the affective and cognitive spheres in mental functioning; *Diagnostic Psychological Testing* (with M.M. Gill and R. Schafer, 2 vols. 1948–49; rev. ed. 1968) presenting his pioneering work in clinical psychology and reflecting the revolutionary transition of psychologists from psychometricians to clinicians; and *Organization and Pathology of Thought* (1951), a monumental annotated source book, in which his copious critical footnotes to excellent translations into English of important contributions to psychology and psychiatry from Europe attempted to create a conceptual framework linking ideas and findings of different thinkers. A visit to Israel in 1953 resulted in his paper "Study of Kibbutz Education and Its Bearing on the Theory of Development" (1957). His works extend from clinical research on the etiology of the psychosis of dementia paralytica to the analysis of different psychodiagnostic instruments. His attempt at systematization of psychoanalytic theory appeared as *The Structure of Psychoanalytic Theory: A Systematizing Attempt* (1960). He was also concerned with the professional status of the clinical psychologist and his training. With David Shakow he wrote *The Influence of Freud on American Psychology* (1964). His collected papers, edited by M.M. Gill, were published in 1967.

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[Avraham A. Weiss]

RAPAPORT, DAVID HA-KOHEN (second half of 17th century), rabbi and Jerusalem emissary. Rapaport's family originated in Lublin. He emigrated to Ereẓ Israel and settled in Jerusalem, where he served as a *dayyan* in the *bet din* of Moses *Galante. A responsum to a halakhic query from Mordecai ha-Levi, chief rabbi of Egypt, signed by Rapaport, Abraham *Amigo, and Moses ibn Ḥabib, is mentioned in Ha-Levi's *Darkhei No'am* (*Even ha-Ezer*, no. 18), where he refers to Rapaport as "one of the three great men of Ereẓ Israel" (*ibid.*, 17, 31). In 1679, apparently, Rapaport went as an emissary to Germany, and his mission seems to have terminated in 1682. When he passed through Belgrade he appended his signature in approval to two rulings of Joseph b. Isaac *Almosnino (see *Edut bi-Yhosef*, pt. 1 (Constantinople, 1716), nos. 1 and 3), who refers to him in the most laudatory words, stating that "his decision is final since the *halakhah* is according to him" (*ibid.*, no. 23).

His responsum on the subject of a will in the town of Arta in 1675 is no longer extant, but it was seen by Moses b. Jacob Shilton of Constantinople, who agreed with his decision (Resp. *Benei Moshe* (Constantinople, 1712), no. 4). Rapaport's responsum is also mentioned in *Shenei ha-Me'orot ha-Gedolim* of Elijah Covo (Constantinople, 1739), pt. 1, nos. 21–22). In 1700 Rapaport signed in Jerusalem the authentication of a Safed bill of debt (*Mishkenot ha-Ro'im* of Uzziel Al-Haïk, 1860, 153c). He was the author of *Da'at Kedoshim* (Leghorn, 1809), source references to the *posekim* – both *rishonim* and *aḥaronim* – on the four sections of the Shulḥan Arukh, arranged alphabetically and published by his grandson Jacob David Jekuthiel, who added his own commentary, entitled *Shelal David*. Rapaport's novellae together with the sermons and memorial addresses he delivered on various occasions were published under the title *Ben He He* (Leghorn, 1821).

His son JACOB was rabbi of Safed. His daughter married her relative Judah ha-Kohen Rapaport of Lublin, who emigrated to Jerusalem. Their son ISAAC HA-KOHEN, author of the *Battei Kehunnah*, was rabbi of Smyrna.

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[Yehoshua Horowitz]

RAPAPORT, NATHAN (1911–1987), Israel sculptor, born in Warsaw. Rapaport studied in Warsaw, Italy, and France, went to Russia, and settled in Israel in 1948. Among his best-known works are his majestic monument in Warsaw to the *Heroes of the Warsaw Ghetto* and his statue of their commander, Mordecai *Aniliewicz, at Kibbutz Yad Mordekhai, Israel. His monument to the *Defenders of Kibbutz Negbah* is also famous. Rapaport is a conservative sculptor whose rhetorical, patriotic monuments are characterized by idealization and pathos. In later works he experimented with abstract form.

RAPE (Heb. אֹנֶס, *ones*), sexual intercourse with a woman against her will. Unless the contrary be proved by the testimony of witnesses, intercourse with a woman in a place where no one could have come to her aid even if she had cried out ("in the open country," Deut. 22:25, 27) will be presumed to have occurred against her will. If, however, it happened in a place where she could have summoned help ("in the town," Deut. 23), but there are no witnesses to testify that she did so, she will be presumed to have been seduced, i.e., to have consented to intercourse (*ibid.* and Sif. Deut. 242:5 and commentaries; Yad, Na'arah Betulah 1:2 and *Hassagot Rabad* thereto). If intercourse took place while she was asleep and thus unaware, she is considered to have been raped because of the absence of her free will. Intercourse with a female minor is always regarded as rape since she has no will of her own (Yev. 33b, 61b; Sh. Ar., EH 178:3 and Beit Shemu'el n.3, thereto). If intercourse began as a forcible violation but terminated with the woman's consent, she will nevertheless be regarded as having been raped since in such circumstances her passions and nature have compelled her to acquiesce (Ket. 51b; Yad, Issurei Bi'ah 1:9).

Legal Consequences

IN CIVIL MATTERS. A person who violates a virgin *na'arah* (between the ages of 12 years and one day and 12 years and six months) must pay a fine at the fixed amount of 50 shekels of silver (Deut. 22:28–29), as well as compensation for pain and suffering, shame, and blemish, which is to be assessed according to the circumstances in each case (Yad, Na'arah Betulah 2:1–6; see *Damages). If the *na'arah* is seduced, the seducer is liable to pay the same fine and compensation, but in view of her consent is not liable for compensation for pain and suffering (*za'ar*; *ibid.*). Since when laying down the liability for the fine the pentateuchal law speaks of a *na'arah* only, there is no liability for a fine upon the rape or seduction of a *bogeret* i.e., a girl above the age of 12 years and six months (Yad, *ibid.* 1:8), but compensation for pain and suffering, shame, and blemish is due if she was raped (Tur, EH 177, contrary to Yad, *ibid.* 2:10, 11). The seducer of a *bogeret* is exempt from all financial liability toward her since, having consented to the intercourse, she is presumed to have waived all such claims (Ket. 42a; Yad, *ibid.; Beit Yosef,* EH 177).

IN PERSONAL LAW MATTERS. In addition to the financial liabilities mentioned above, the violator of a *na'arah* is compelled to marry her, "She shall be his wife… he cannot put her away all his days" (Deut. 22:29), unless marriage between them is prohibited by the pentateuchal or rabbinic law (see *Marriage, Prohibited). However, for the reasons set out above concerning the fine, this obligation does not apply if the victim is a *bogeret* (Ket. 39a; Yad, *ibid.* 1:3; 5:7; Resp. Radbaz, no. 63; Glosses (*haggahot*) of Akiva Eger to Sh. Ar., EH 177:2). The *na'arah* or her father may refuse her marriage to the violator, in which event the transgressor will be exempt from the obligation to marry her and be liable only for the fine and the other payments (Yad, *ibid.* 1:3; Sh. Ar., EH 177:3). A person who seduces a *na'arah* has no obligation to marry her (Yad, *ibid.*). A married woman who has been raped does not become prohibited to her husband unless he is a priest, in which case he must divorce her (Yev. 56b; Yad, Ishut 24:19, 21; Sh. Ar., EH 6:10, 11; see also *Marriage, Prohibited). The outraged wife's pecuniary rights toward her husband, in particular her **ketubbah*, remain unaffected in both cases since there is no blameworthiness on her part (Yad, *ibid.* 24:22; Sh. Ar., EH 115:6).

In suits concerning matters of rape and seduction the court must be composed of three competent ordained judges (*mumḥim semukhim*), and, therefore, in strict law the fine (see above) is no longer recoverable since today there are no *semukhim* (see **Bet Din*); in various *takkanot*, however, the scholars have nevertheless regulated for recovery of the fine, "lest the sinner be rewarded" (Tur, EH 177; Sh. Ar., EH 117:2; Resp. Radbaz, no. 63; see also *Fine).

In the State of Israel

Of practical significance is the *halakhah* concerning the effect of rape on the marital relationship between the victim and her husband, since this is a matter of personal law which for Jews is governed by Jewish law. The purely civil-law aspects, such as the question of compensation, are governed before the civil courts by the general law of the state, i.e., the Civil Wrongs Ordinance, 1946 (NV 1968). The provision that a person must marry the *na'arah* he has violated is rendered unenforceable by the provisions of the Marriage Age Law, 1950, as amended in 1960.

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[Ben-Zion (Benno) Schereschewsky]

RAPHAEL, one of the chief angels. The name occurs in the Bible (I Chron. 26:7) but not yet as an angelic name, first appearing as such in the Apocrypha (Tob. 12:15 and I En. 20:3), where he is one of the seven archangels. In angelological systems built upon four archangels, he is one of the four; the others are Michael, *Gabriel, and *Uriel or Suriel (I En. 9:1–3). He defeats the demon Asmodeus (Tob. 3:17) and binds *Azazel, chief of the demons, throwing him into the abyss (I En. 10:4). As his name implies ("God is healing"), he is the angel set over all kinds of healing and this is his main function. The Talmud (Yoma 37a; BM 86) knows of him as one of the three angels who came to visit Abraham after he had circumcised himself. From the second century on, Jewish traditions referring to Raphael were taken over by both Christian angelology and syncretistic magic. His name occurs frequently in magical papyri in Greek and Coptic, on amulets, and in many Jewish and Mandean incantations. As a planetary angel he governs the sun, and in the division of the four corners of the world he commands the west. He is one of the four angels of the Presence who stand on the four sides of God, a notion taken over into the prayer at bedtime: "to my right Michael and to my left Gabriel, in front of me Uriel and behind me Raphael, and over my head God's *Shekhinah* ["the presence of God"]." According to esoteric Midrashim, his original name was Laviel or Buel but the name was changed to Raphael when he defended against the other angels God's decision to create man. In kabbalistic literature he keeps his high rank and is credited with many missions and functions. Among the four elements he governs earth; in the colors of the rainbow he represents green. M. Recanati even sees him as the angel who governs primordial matter before it divides up into the four elements. According to others, he commands the host of angels known as the *ofannim*. He is also ordained over one of the four rivers coming out of paradise. In the Zohar he is the angel who dominates the morning hours which bring relief to the sick and suffering.

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[Gershom Scholem]

RAPHAEL, ALEXANDER (1775–1850), English merchant. Born in Madras (India) of Persian Jewish parentage, Raphael settled in England and built up a considerable fortune as a stockbroker in the City of London. Having become converted to Roman Catholicism, he was sheriff of London in 1834 and was elected to the House of Commons as a Liberal in 1835 and again in 1847–50. He was one of the two Roman Catholic M.P.s who opposed Jewish emancipation, notwithstanding the fact that their own religious disabilities had been removed so recently. Although he was not the first person born a Jew to be elected to the English parliament, his career is of interest as typifying the assimilatory potentialities of even an Oriental Jew in early 19th century England. There is some doubt about his ancestry: it is possible that his mother was not Jewish.

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[Cecil Roth]

RAPHAEL, CHAIM (1908–1994), author and scholar. Born in Middlesborough, he lectured in post-biblical Hebrew at Oxford (1932–39), became a civil servant, and was head of the information division of the British Treasury (1959–68) before returning to academic life as a Jewish social historian. Raphael wrote thrillers such as *The Naked Villany* (1958) under the pen-name of Jocelyn Davey; the autobiographical *Memoirs of a Special Case* (1962); and several books on Jewish history and practice, including *The Walls of Jerusalem* (1968), on the destruction of the Temple in history and legend, *The Springs of Jewish Life* (1983), and *The Sephardi Story* (1991).

RAPHAEL, FREDERIC (1931–), English novelist and scriptwriter. Born in Chicago of an American mother and a British father, Raphael was taken to England by his parents in 1938. His first novel, *Obbligato*, was published in 1956 and *The Earlsdon Way,* a study of suburban life, in 1958. Other books included *Orchestra and Beginners* (1967) and *Like Men Betrayed* (1970).

Jewish themes dominate two of Raphael's novels, *The Limits of Love* (1960) and *Lindmann* (1963). The former traces the development of three children of a lower-middle-class London Jewish shopkeeper from the years immediately after World War II up to the Suez Campaign and the Hungarian Revolt in 1956. A family chronicle in form, this novel touches vividly upon a number of social themes. *Lindmann* is different in form and conception. It is a brilliant tour de force, based on the tragic fate of the SS Struma which sank in Turkish waters with its cargo of "illegal" immigrants during 1941.

Raphael won an Academy Award for best screenplay for the 1975 film *Darling,* one of many film scripts he wrote. Later books included *Richard's Things* (1973), *California Time* (1975), *The Glittering Prizes* (1976) – which became a popular television serial – and *Heaven and Earth* (1985). These too evince Raphael's perpetual preoccupation with Jewish themes such as antisemitism, the specter of the Holocaust, and the pull toward assimilation. He also wrote a biography, *Somerset Maugham and His World* (1977), and several books of short stories. Raphael wrote most of the screenplay for Stanley Kubrick's controversial last film, *Eyes Wide Shut* (1999), and a book about his dealings with the filmmaker, *Eyes Wide Open: A Memoir of Stanley Kubrick* (1999).

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[Shulamit Nardi / Rohan Saxena (2nd ed.).]

RAPHAEL, GIDEON (1913–), Israeli civil servant. Raphael was born in Berlin and immigrated to Ereẓ Israel in 1934. Prior to the establishment of the State of Israel he served in the Political Department of the Jewish Agency, and after its establishment he joined the Ministry for Foreign Affairs and was a member of its Israeli delegation to the United Nations until 1953. In September of that year he returned to Jerusalem on his appointment as head of the Department of the Middle East and of United Nations Affairs in the Foreign Ministry. In 1957 he was appointed ambassador to Belgium and Luxembourg, and from 1960 to 1965 was a deputy director-general of the Foreign Office. From September 1965 to April 1966, Raphael served as Israel's representative to the European Office of the United Nations in Geneva, and in February 1967 was appointed permanent representative of Israel to the United Nations. In 1968 he was appointed director-general of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs. From 1972 until January 1974 he served as senior adviser to the foreign minister, when he was appointed ambassador to England and Israel's first nonresident ambassador to Ireland. Upon his return to Israel in 1977 he was appointed political adviser to the foreign minister, retiring in 1978. In 1981 he published his memoirs *Destination Peace*.

RAPHAEL, JOHN (**Nathaniel**, known as "**Percival**"; 1868–1917), author, critic, and journalist. He reported the *Dreyfus case for *The Daily Mail* and was Paris correspondent for various British periodicals. Raphael's plays include *The Uninvited Guest* (1911), based on a drama by Tristan *Bernard, and a French adaptation of *Potash and Perlmutter* by Montague *Glass (1916). He also wrote books about Paris and made translations from the French.

RAPHAEL, MARK (**Marco**; c. 1460–after 1534), Italian rabbi converted to Christianity by Francesco *Giorgio, who acted as his godfather. Raphael played an important role in the theological controversy engendered by the divorce suit brought by Henry VIII against his wife Catherine of Aragon and instituted at Venice by the secret envoy of the king, Richard Croke. Associated with the kabbalistic circles which were influential at the time, as well as with the most erudite of the hebraizing humanists in Venice, Raphael entered the service of the Venetian republic in 1525, which made him a grant for having invented an improved invisible ink. He ranged himself on the side of the king in 1529. Although many eminent rabbis of Venice had been consulted, including Kalonymus b. David, Elijah Menahem *Ḥalfan, and Baruch (Bendit) Axelrod ben Eleazar, as well as Solomon *Molcho, Henry VIII attached the greatest weight to Raphael s opinion. Raphael wrote a number of theological treatises in Hebrew, still not discovered, at the instigation of Giorgio, who translated them for the king. The quality of his arguments, which varied according to need, and his vast erudition were feared by the king's opponents. Warmly recommended by Giorgio to Henry VIII, Raphael was invited to England in 1530, and he remained in the king's service for several years, accompanying him on his visit to France in 1532, serving him in the most diverse capacities and receiving substantial rewards. Henry VIII even sent him on a mission of investigation to the Welsh silver and iron mines. He was still alive in 1534, when he complained about his lack of means to his protector Thomas Cromwell.

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[J.-F. Maillard]

RAPHAEL, RALPH ALEXANDER (1921–1998) British organic chemist. Raphael was born in Croydon, Greater London, and educated at Wesley College, Dublin and Tottenham County School, where he was inspired to study science by Edgar Ware. He graduated B.Sc. (1941), Ph.D. (1943, under the supervision of I. Heilbron and E.R.H. Jones), and D.Sc. (1952) from Imperial College of Science and Technology, University of London. Raphael was head of the chemotherapy research unit of the pharmaceutical company May and Baker (1943–46) and then ICI research fellow at Imperial College (1946–49). He was lecturer in chemistry at Glasgow University (1949–54) before his appointment as the first professor of organic chemistry at Queen's University, Belfast (1954–57), where he established a new department. He returned to Glasgow University as Regius Professor of Chemistry (1957–1972). Later, he was appointed professor of organic chemistry at Cambridge University and Fellow of Christ's College (1972–88). Raphael's research started with his Ph.D. thesis and mainly concerned the chemistry of acetylenic compounds and their application to the synthesis of a wide range of novel products derived from natural substances. He was the first to synthesize penicillinic acid and linoleic acid. He synthesized novel compounds related to carbohydrate synthesis and many other compounds of great theoretical and practical importance. He also developed new pathways for synthesizing histamine and many alkaloids. He was an outstanding teacher and he established thriving research and teaching departments in the universities where he held chairs. He served on the governing committees of his own and other universities and of the societies with which he was associated. His many honors included election to the Royal Society of London (1962) and the award of its Davy Medal (1981), the Ciba-Geigy Award for Synthetic Chemistry (1975), and appointment as C.B.E. (1982). He was visiting professor at the Haifa Technion and the Hebrew University of Jerusalem (1981). He married the violinist and violist Prudence Gaffikin (1944). He was passionately interested in music and the improvement of violin tone by utilizing his chemical expertise. He was a noted raconteur of Jewish humor.

[Michael Denman (2nd ed.)]

RAPHAEL, WILLIAM (1833–1914), artist and teacher. Raphael is Canada's first known professional Jewish artist. He was born into a religious home in East Prussia and studied at the Royal Academy of Berlin and emigrated first to New York and then to Montreal in 1857. Here he produced mainly genre scenes, landscapes, and portraits in the Biedermeier realist tradition. His earliest livelihood derived from portrait commissions in Montreal, Quebec City, and Trois Rivières and from photography-based art for William Notman. In Jewish public spaces, portraits remain of Dr. Aaron David Hart, ophthalmologist, and Dr. Abraham David *de Sola, rabbi of the Spanish and Portuguese Synagogue. Raphael loved the Canadian landscape and its indigenous peoples and habitants, both of which became part of his lively genre scenes and site-specific landscapes. He created artistically rendered drawings in *Behind Bonsecours Market, Montreal*, 1866, (where he includes himself as the immigrant artist clutching his portfolio and family menorah), *Habitants Attacked by Wolves*, 1870 (made into the first Canadian chromolithograph for distribution by the Art Association), and his Murray Bay Indian Encampment scenes. Raphael painted religious subjects for Catholic institutions and taught in those institutions as well. Canadian artist Wyatt Eaton received his first art lessons with him before 1867. Raphael also taught at Montreal High School; the Art Association of Montreal (the first teacher of "Figure Painting and Drawing" there, 1881); the Sisters of St. Anne Convent (where he trained nuns to teach art); and the Villa Maria Convent and society pupils at Raphael's private art school from 1885. One of his nine children, Samuel, became an artist in New York. Raphael was a charter member of the Royal Canadian Academy and the Society of Canadian Artists. He was a member of the Art Association of Montreal; the Ontario Society of Artists; the Pen and Pencil Club of Montreal; and the Council of Arts and Manufacturers of Quebec. Raphael was also a founder of the National Gallery of Canada and of Montreal's first Reform temple, Temple Emanuel.

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[Sharon Goelman (2nd ed.)]

RAPHAEL (Werfel), YITZHAK (1914–1999), Israeli religious politician, member of the Second to Eighth Knessets. Born in Sasov, East Galicia, Raphael went to a *heder*, and then studied at a yeshivah in Lublin. Raphael moved to Lvov in 1929, where he studied in a gymnasium. He was one of the founders of the *Bnei Akiva movement and a member of the Torah va-Avodah leadership in Galicia. Raphael settled in Palestine in 1935. He received a second degree from the Hebrew University in the arts, and a doctorate from the Jewish Theological Seminary in New York. In the years 1940–46 he edited the weekly *Bamishor*. In the Jewish Agency he was director of the department for small businesses. In 1944 he became a member of the Va'ad Le'ummi. In the years 1947–48 he was a member of the Jerusalem Committee, and in 1948 was the director of the office that provided for those wounded in the course of the War of Independence. In the years 1948–53 he was a member of the *Jewish Agency Executive, and head of its Aliyah Department during the period of mass immigration. He was a member of Ha-Po'el ha-Mizrachi, and later of the *National Religious Party. Raphael was first elected to the Second Knesset. In the Knesset he was a member of the Foreign Affairs and Defense Committee. In the years 1961–65 he served as deputy minister of health. During this period he started to edit *Sinai*, a monthly on Judaica. In 1965 he was implicated in an affair involving one of his employees, who was imprisoned on charges of extortion, and resigned from his ministerial post in 1965. He was finally acquitted of complicity in this affair by the Tel Aviv District Court. In the years 1974–76 he was minister of religious affairs. After abstaining in a vote on a motion of no confidence in the government, against the background of the alleged desecration of the Sabbath as a result of an official ceremony held when new fighter aircraft arrived from the U.S. on Friday afternoon, the National Religious Party ministers, including Raphael, were dismissed from the government.

Raphael was chairman of Mossad ha-Rav Kook and Yad ha-Rav Maimon, and a member of the Party Executive and of the World Center of ha-Mizrachi-ha-Po'el ha-Mizrachi. In 1979 he received the Bialik prize for Jewish knowledge.

Among his writings are an autobiography *Lo Zakhiti ba-Or min ha-Hefker* (1981) and a book on Ḥasidism. He was also an encyclopedia editor on religious Zionism in the *Enẓiklopedyah shel ha-Ẓiyyonut ha-Datit*, 3 vols. (1958–65), and on Ḥasidism, in the *Enẓiklopedyah le-Ḥasidut* (2000).

[Susan Hattis Rolef (2nd ed.)]

RAPHAEL OF BERSHAD (d. between 1816 and 1826), ḥasidic *ẓaddik*. Raphael was a close disciple and successor of Phinehas of *Korets, who thought highly of him. After Phinehas' death many of his followers became Raphael's disciples. He introduced several customs and liturgical elements ("the Bershad liturgy") that differed from the accepted ḥasidic style and came closer to the Ashkenazi rite. His followers remained a distinct group after his death, although he had no successor. There are many legends about him and some of his sayings were published in *Midrash Pinḥas* (1872), most of which is still in manuscript.

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[Adin Steinsalz]

RAPHAELSON, SAMSON (1894–1983), U.S. playwright and screenwriter. After graduating from the University of Illinois, the Manhattan-born Raphaelson worked at various jobs, including English literature professor at his alma mater, advertising account executive, and crime reporter at the *New York Times*. *The Jazz Singer* (1926) was Raphaelson's first and best-known play. A story of assimilation, it told how a young Jew breaks with his family's tradition of being cantors to become a jazz singer. In 1927, Raphaelson adopted *The Jazz Singer* for the screen and it became the first "talkie." Raphaelson's 1934 play, *Accent on Youth*, was turned into a film in 1935. It was redone in 1950 as *Mr. Music* and in 1959 as *But Not for Me*. Other Raphaelson plays that later became movies include *Skylark* (1941), *Bannerline* (1951), from his play *A Rose Is Not a Rose,* and *Hilda Crane* (1956). In 1941, Raphaelson wrote the Alfred Hitchcock classic *Suspicion*. Raphaelson characterized his work as "sophisticated comedy," which went well with director Ernst *Lubitsch's style. The two often worked together, and Raphaelson was the screenwriter for *The Smiling Lieutenant* (1931), *Broken Lullaby* (1932), *One Hour with You* (1932), *Trouble in Paradise* (1932), *The Merry Widow* (1934), *Angel* (1937), *The Shop Around the Corner* (1940), and *Heaven Can Wait* (1943). Other Raphaelson films include *Caravan* (1934), *Ladies Love Danger* (1935), *Green Dolphin Street* (1947), and *That Lady in Ermine* (1948). From 1978 to 1982, Raphaelson taught screenwriting at Columbia University. Raphaelson was Robert *Rafelson's uncle.

[Susannah Howland (2nd ed.)]

RAPHALL, MORRIS JACOB (1798–1868), rabbi. Raphall, who was born in Stockholm, Sweden, settled in England in 1825. He quickly became prominent in British Jewry and one of its chief exponents to the Christian world, fighting for the political rights of Jews and against defamations of Judaism. He published *Hebrew Review and Magazine of Rabbinical Literature* (3 vols., October 1834–July 1836), the first Jewish periodical in England, and, with David Aaron de *Sola, he produced the first translation of parts of the Mishnah into English, *Eighteen Treatises from the Mishna* (1843; 1845^2). In 1849 Raphall went to the U.S. to serve as rabbi of B'nai Jeshurun Synagogue in New York. There he associated himself with Isaac *Leeser and S.M. *Isaacs and preached against Reform. His lectures on Jewish history attracted large crowds, including many Christians. In 1860 he gave the first invocation by a rabbi before the House of Representatives.

At the peak of the secession crisis, on Jan. 4, 1861, a day President Buchanan had proclaimed a National Fast Day, Raphall delivered what became the most highly publicized rabbinical statement on the "Bible and Slavery." Placing Judaism squarely in opposition to abolitionism, he denied that any statement in the Bible could be interpreted to prohibit slavery, and insisted that, on the contrary, biblical law granted the right to own slaves. He did distinguish between biblical slavery and the southern system; the Bible, he said, regarded the slave as a person, whereas Southerners treated the slave as a thing. But he directed his major attack against the abolitionists for their misrepresentation of the Bible and their agitation against the legitimate right of slaveholding. The sermon was widely reprinted, drawing praise throughout the South and criticism from Jewish and non-Jewish abolitionists in the North. A notable reply came from the Reform leader and abolitionist Rabbi David *Einhorn.

An active fund-raiser on behalf of the needy, Raphall was particularly concerned for the poor of Palestine. His books include *Ruhama: Devotional Exercises for the Use of the Daughters of Israel* (1852), *Post-Biblical History of the Jews* (2 vols., 1855), and *Path to Immortality* (1859).

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[Jack Reimer]

RAPKINE, LOUIS (1904–1948), biochemist. Rapkine was born in Russia, taken to Canada in 1911, and settled in France in 1924. As early as 1932 he became involved with the plight of European victims of racial and political discrimination and in 1934 set up in France the "Comité d'accueil des savants étrangers" to find work for academic refugees. During the war he went to the United States, where he worked tirelessly and managed to rescue a group of men of science and their families. When American legislation made it difficult for this group of foreign scientists to work for the allied war effort, Rapkine arranged for them to be transferred to the United Kingdom, where he became head of a French Scientific Mission. In 1946 he followed his group back to France to continue his research in a department of cellular chemistry created for him at the Pasteur Institute. He also devoted much of his energy to getting French science back on its feet.

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RAPOPORT (**Rappoport**; also **Rapaport** or **Rappaport**), common surname among Jews in Italy, Germany, Poland, and Russia. The family was descended from Abraham Menahem b. Jacob ha-Kohen Rapa who lived in Porto, Italy, at the beginning of the 16th century. The name Rapa originated in the German *Rabe* (*Rappe* in Middle High German), i.e., a raven. In order to distinguish themselves from other members of the Rapa family, the members of this family added the name of the town of Porto, and thus the name Rapoport was formed. (According to another version, this came about by a marriage between the Rapa and Porto families.) The family escutcheon of Abraham Rapa of Porto shows a raven surmounted by two hands raised in blessing (indicating the family's priestly descent). In the course of time other families, including some who were not *kohanim*, took the name of Rapoport.

Known from the 17th century were David ha-Kohen *Rapaport of Lublin and SOLOMON BEN NAḤMAN HA-KOHEN, who officiated as a rabbi in Dubno, Grodno, and Lublin. In the 18th century there were ḤAYYIM BEN SIMḤAH HA-KOHEN RAPOPORT (c. 1700–1771), rabbi in Slutsk and Lvov, who took part in the disputation with the Frankists in Lvov in 1759 and was the author of *Zekher Ḥayyim* (Lemberg, 1865), responsa and funeral orations. His brother, BENJAMIN BEN SIMḤAH HA-KOHEN RAPOPORT, a *Maggid* in the community of Brzezany (Berezhany), Galicia, wrote *Gevulot Binyamin* (Lemberg, 1789), containing novellae on the Torah, and a commentary on the Passover *Haggadah*. Isaac ben Judah ha-Kohen *Rappaport officiated as rabbi at Smyrna. He died in Jerusalem, having published responsa and homilies *Battei Kehunnah* (Smyrna, 1736; Salonika, 1754^2). In the 19th century Benjamin Ze'ev Wolf ha-Kohen ben Isaac *Rapoport (1754–1837) officiated as rabbi in Papa, Hungary. He was known for the lenient decisions in his responsa, which caused the extreme Orthodox Mordecai *Banet and Moses *Sofer to demand his dismissal. He opposed Kabbalah and Ḥasidism. He wrote *Simlat Binyamin* (Dyhernfurth, 1788), *Simlah Sheniyyah* (Vienna, 1800), and responsa *Edut le-Yisrael* (Pressburg, 1839).

The most important member of the Rapoport family in the 19th century was Solomon Judah Leib *Rapoport ("Shir"). His grandson, ARNOLD RAPOPORT (b. 1840), a leader of the assimilationists in Galicia, was a deputy of the Austrian Reichsrat from 1879 to 1907 representing the Polish party. He was popular among the Jewish masses in Galicia for founding relief organizations. In 1890 he was ennobled, receiving the title von Porada.

Members of the family well known in Russia in modern times were the Russian-Yiddish journalist SIMON RAPA-

PORT; the author and folklorist Solomon Zainwil Rapoport (S. *An-ski); and the socialist leader and writer Charles *Rappoport. ALEXANDER RAPOPORT (1862–1928), a publisher in Russia, was the last owner of the Hebrew newspaper *Ha-Meliẓ* as well as the publisher of *Der Fraynd*, the first Yiddish daily in Russia.

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[Yehuda Slutsky]

RAPOPORT, ABRAHAM BEN ISRAEL JEHIEL HAKOHEN (1584–1651), Polish talmudist and halakhic authority. Abraham was born in Cracow, and studied in the yeshivah there under Meshullam Feivush of Zbarazh. He married the daughter of Mordecai Schrenzilsh, a wealthy man of distinguished ancestry from Lvov, and adopted his surname, becoming known as Abraham Schrenzel of Schrenzilsh. In Lvov he studied under Joshua ben Alexander *Falk. Although one of the outstanding scholars of his time, Abraham did not take up a rabbinical position, and taught in a voluntary capacity for more than 40 years in the yeshivah of Lvov. He was prominent in the *Council of the Four Lands, and was placed in charge of the collection of funds for the needy in Ereẓ Israel.

Rapoport's most important work is his *Eitan ha-Ezraḥi*, published by his grandson Abraham, the rabbi of Baslov (Ostrow, 1796). It is divided into two parts, the first containing more than 50 responsa, and the second including sermons arranged according to the weekly sections of the Pentateuch, together with a commentary on the Five Scrolls and parts of Psalms and Proverbs. Rapoport's genealogy appears at the end of the work. In addition to its halakhic value, *Eitan ha-Ezraḥi* contains much important historical material, biographies of rabbis and heads of yeshivot, and details of the economic and moral state of the Polish communities of the time. Some responsa shed light on the Chmielnicki massacre (1648–49) which occurred during his lifetime. From the introduction to *Eitan ha-Ezraḥi* it appears that Rapoport left many writings in manuscript, which were destroyed during various upheavals which occurred after his death.

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[Shlomo Eidelberg]

RAPOPORT, BENJAMIN ZE'EV WOLF HA-KOHEN BEN ISAAC (1754–1837), Hungarian rabbi. His father Isaac and his grandfather came from Fuerth in Germany to Nikolsburg, where Benjamin was born. In 1771 Rapoport went, as was the custom with many Moravians, to nearby Hungary in order to evade the ban on Jewish marriages of other than the eldest son in force at the time in Moravia (see *Familiants Laws). He settled in Obuda (now part of Budapest) and married the daughter of David Boskovitz, one of the leaders of the community. He lived with his father-in-law for ten years, engaging in studying and teaching. In 1781 he was appointed rabbi of the community of Pápa in Hungary, where he served until his death. This community, founded in 1749, made considerable progress during the period of his office. Because of his comparatively liberal attitude, differences between him and the influential rabbis of the time, particularly Moses *Sofer and Mordecai *Banet, increased. These two rabbis were opposed to his methods of study and teaching as well as to his halakhic rulings, even attempting to oust him from his rabbinic office. Rapoport was opposed to *Ḥasidism and to the study of *Kabbalah. A dispute, which exercised Jewish communities in Central Europe for many years, also developed between him and Moses Sofer with regard to Jonathan Alexandersohn, rabbi of Hejőcsaba in Hungary. Like R. *Schwerin-Goetz, Rapoport supported the attacked Alexandersohn, while Moses Sofer was opposed to him, even invoking the secular government, but his community supported him.

Rapoport published during his lifetime, *Simlat Binyamin u-Vigdei Kehunnah* (Dyhrenfurth, 1788) on the Shulḥan Arukh *Yoreh De'ah*, but he left a number of works in manuscript, some of which were published after his death, among them *Edut le-Yisrael* on tractate *Makkot* with additions by his son (Pressburg, 1839). It constitutes the third part of his *Masat Binyamin*.

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[Yehouda Marton]

RAPOPORT (Rappaport), SAMUEL (1871–1943), rabbi, folklorist, and religious Zionist. Born in Lemberg, Rapoport studied in Germany and then returned to Galicia where he managed the family estate at Kalinka near Zloczow. An ardent (pre-Herzlian) Zionist from his youth, he was active and prominent in the Zionist movement from its beginning, participating in Zionist Congresses from 1898. Rapoport was co-founder of the *Mizrachi and the leader of its East Galician branch. During World War I, the Austrian government appointed him honorary rabbi of Zloczow, in which post he remained to the end. He was a victim of the Holocaust. His scholarly interests were in Jewish folklore, Ḥasidism, and Kabbalah.

In 1906 he published in Polish a work on the psychology of Ḥasidism, and also wrote a historical study in German on the Ḥanukkah festival (1912). His main work, *Werdegang und Charakteristik des religioesen Lebens der Ostjuden*, was not completed, but a number of chapters appeared in M. Buber's *Der Jude* from 1917–23. These gave western Jews an insight into the rich religious and cultural life of Eastern Jewry. Rapoport also wrote the articles on Jewish folklore for the *Juedisches Lexikon*.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: N.M. Gelber, in: S.K. Mirsky (ed.), *Ishim u-Demuyyot be-Ḥokhmat Yisrael…* (1959), 353–6.

RAPOPORT (Rappaport), SOLOMON JUDAH LEIB (known by his acronym **Shir**; 1790–1867), rabbi and scholar, pioneer of Haskalah and *Wissenschaft des Judentums. Rapoport, born in Lemberg, Galicia, received a traditional education and became known for his brilliance as a talmudist. Under the influence of Nachman *Krochmal he took an early interest in Haskalah and secular learning, studying classical, Semitic, and modern languages, as well as science. Supported at first by his father-in-law Aryeh Leib *Heller, who was one of the leading talmudists of his time, Rapoport later had to take the position of a manager of the government kosher-meat tax. Without income again in 1832, Rapoport tried unsuccessfully to obtain a rabbinical position in Berlin and in Italy through recommendations by L. Zunz and S.D. Luzzatto, but his German was poor and he had no university education. After a period in business in Brody, he became rabbi of Tarnopol (1837), where he had to contend with the violent opposition of the Ḥasidim, whom he had attacked in a pamphlet (*Ner Mitzvah*, in: *Naḥalat Yehudah*, 1868) in defense of Haskalah in 1815 (see also his introduction to *She'erit Yehudah*, in: *Bikkurei ha-Ittim*, 8, 1827). Rapoport was appointed chief rabbi of Prague in 1840, successfully opposing the candidacy of Ẓevi Hirsch *Chajes for the same position.

After some youthful efforts at poetry and drama, including a paraphrase of Racine's *Esther* entitled *She'erit Yehudah* ("The Remnant of Judah," first published in *Bikkurei ha-Ittim*, 8, 1827), Rapoport turned to Jewish scholarship, publishing articles in *Bikkurei ha-Ittim* and *Kerem Ḥemed*. Dealing with biblical subjects, he considered the Book of Judges a composite work, certain Psalms to be post-Davidic, and some chapters in Isaiah as belonging to a later prophet. His real mark on Jewish scholarship was made in a series of bibliographical studies of the geonic leaders Saadiah, Hai, Hananel b. Ḥushi'el, Nissim b. Jacob, and Ḥefeẓ b. Yaẓli'aḥ, and of Eleazar ha-Kallir and Nathan b. Jehiel of Rome, author of the *Arukh* (published in *Bikkurei ha-Ittim*, 1828–31; and also separately and posthumously under the title *Yeri'ot Shelomo*, 1904, repr. 1913 and 1960). These studies illuminated a relatively obscure period of Jewish history and paved the way for later research; moreover, they set a new standard of critical methodology to be applied to the history of rabbinics. In them Rapoport traced the migration of rabbinic scholarship and tradition from Ereẓ Israel through italy to Central and Western Europe, and from Babylonia through North Africa to Spain.

Of importance, too, was his *Erekh Millin*, a talmudic encyclopedia dealing mainly with historical and archaeological aspects of the Talmud (vol. 1 (1852); the rest, 1914). Rapoport also wrote an introduction to Abraham b. Ḥiyya's ethical treatise *Hegyon ha-Nefesh* (ed. by Freimann, 1860, reprint 1967). Rapoport wrote articles for Abraham Geiger's *Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift*, Julius Fuerst's *Orient*, and Zacharias Frankel's *Zeitschrift fuer die religioesen Interessen des Judentums* and became editor of *Kerem Ḥemed*. He was in close contact with these and other leading figures of the Wissenschaft des Judentums (see his correspondence in A. Harkavy, *Zikkaron la-Rishonim* (vol. 2, pt. 1, 1881); *Iggerot Shir*, ed. by S.E. Graeber (1885); M.S. Ghirondi, *Peletat Soferim* (1890); and B.Z. Dinaburg-Dinur (in KS, 3 (1927), 222–35; 306–19). Rapoport took a moderate line against radical writers such as Geiger (see his *Or Torah*, a detailed criticism of the latter's *Urschrift*, in: *Naḥalat Yehudah*, published posthumously in 1868 by Rapoport's son David). He strongly opposed the decisions of the Rabbinical Conferences held by the German Reform rabbis (1844–46), both for the divisive character of the proposed reforms and for the assimilationist tendencies which inspired them, but even so did not exclude the reformers from the Jewish people as long as they considered themselves Jewish (*Tokhaḥat Megullah*, with German translation by R. Kirchheim, 1845). Like Krochmal and Luzzatto, he wanted to see the national character of Judaism preserved. When Frankel's *Darkhei ha-Mishnah* was attacked by Samson Raphael *Hirsch and others on dogmatic grounds, Rapoport came to his defense (*Divrei Shalom ve-Emet*, 1861, repr. 1969; see Hirsch's reply in his *Gesammelte Schriften*, 6, 419–34).

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[Victor A. Mirelman]

RAPPAPORT, ARMIN H. (1916–1983), U.S. historian. Rappaport was born in New York City. He taught briefly at Stanford University and then for nearly two decades at the University of California, Berkeley, where he gained recognition as one of the foremost scholars of American diplomatic history. He also served as assistant dean of students from 1957 to 1967.

He was then appointed professor of history and, from 1967, provost of the Third College, University of California, San Diego. He was one of the founding members of the UCSD history department and served as its chairman. He was editor of the journal of *Diplomatic History* and president of the Society of Historians of American Foreign Relations. Rappaport was also involved in La Jolla, California, Jewish community affairs.

UCSD established the Rappaport Prize, which is awarded annually for the best history essay.

Rappaport's major works include *The British Press and Wilsonian Neutrality* (1951), *The Navy League of the United States* (1962), *Henry L. Stimson and Japan* (1963), *Patterns in American History* (with A. De Conde and W. Steckel, 1965), *Present in the Past* (with R. Traina, 1972), and *A Short History of American Diplomacy* (1975). He also edited several books of sources and issues in American diplomacy.

[Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

RAPPAPORT, HENRY (1913–2003), U.S. pathologist. Born in Austria, where he obtained his doctorate in medicine, Rappaport trained in both Europe and the U.S. In the late 1940s he was assistant professor of pathology at George Washington University School of Medicine and pathologist and chief of laboratories at Mount Alto Veterans Administration Hospital, Washington, D.C. He headed the reticulo-endothelial pathology and hematology section of the Armed Forces Institute of Pathology, Washington, D.C., from 1949 to 1954. Rappaport moved to the University of Chicago, where he became professor of pathology and director of surgical pathology. He was a member of the WHO committee for nomenclature and histopathologic classification of leukemias and lymphomas. He wrote *Tumors of the Hematopoietic System* (1966).

RAPPAPORT, ISAAC BEN JUDAH HA-KOHEN (d. 1755), rabbi in *Jerusalem and Smyrna, and rabbinic emissary of Safed. His father emigrated from Lublin to Jerusalem, where Isaac studied at the yeshivah Beit Ya'akov Pereira, headed by *Hezekiah da Silva. Because of the difficult circumstances then prevailing in Jerusalem, Isaac accepted the assignment of rabbinic emissary of Safed to Turkey and the Balkans (1702–12). Arriving in Constantinople in 1709, he joined Abraham *Yiẓḥaki, who was there as the emissary of Jerusalem, in issuing a proclamation against the Shabbatean, Nehemiah Ḥiyya *Ḥayon, and engaged there in halakhic discussions with Aaron *Alfandari. He arrived in Salonika in 1712. At the conclusion of his mission, because of the straitened circumstances in Jerusalem, he accepted the position of rabbi at Smyrna, a position he held for 36 years, though he originally intended to stay only a short time. In this capacity, he greatly assisted Ereẓ Israel emissaries who visited Smyrna, and in 1732–33 saw through the press in Constantinople and Smyrna *Zera Abraham*, responsa by Abraham Yiẓḥaki, then the chief rabbi in Jerusalem. In 1749 he returned to Jerusalem, where he became the chief rabbi. Unable to trace the old record book of the local *takkanot*, he published many of them from memory, but was unwilling to issue new ones of his own accord. A collection of his responsa, novellae, and homilies, entitled *Battei Kehunnah*, was published in two volumes, the first in Constantinople, 1736, and the second at Salonika, 1754.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Rivkind, in: *Reshummot*, 4 (1925), 341–2; Frumkin-Rivlin, 3 (1929), 61–4; Yaari, Sheluḥei, 423–5.

[Avraham Yaari]

RAPPAPORT, JACOB (1890–1943), *ḥazzan*. Rappaport was born in Telenesht, Bessarabia. As the son of a rabbi and a seventh generation descendant of the Ba'al Shem Tov, he enjoyed a strong ḥasidic upbringing. As a child he was apprenticed to the great Zeidel Rovner. In Hungary, at the age of 18, he made his debut as a cantor. Two years later he emigrated to America, where he held various positions and devoted himself to composing, becoming a master of the ḥazzanic recitative. Among those who turned to him for their materials were *Hershman, Shlisky, and *Ganchoff, as well as operatic singers Richard *Tucker and Jan *Peerce. Amongst his famous recitatives are *Ellu Devarim, Modim anahnu lakh* and *Atta noten yad*. He also served as president of the Jewish Ministers Cantors Association.

[Raymond Goldstein (2nd ed.)]

RAPPAPORT, ROY (1926–1997), U.S. anthropologist. A native of New York City, Rappaport enlisted in the U.S. Army at the age of 17, seeing combat duty with the Infantry in World War II, for which he received the Purple Heart. He earned his bachelor's degree in hotel administration from Cornell University in 1949; in 1951 he opened Avaloch Inn, near Tanglewood in Lenox, Massachusetts. He then studied anthropology at Columbia University, receiving his doctorate in 1966.

Rappaport joined the faculty of the University of Michigan at Ann Arbor as an assistant professor in 1965, becoming associate professor in 1968 and professor of anthropology in 1972, eventually serving as chair of the department of anthropology. An internationally respected scholar, his work explored the relationship between religion, society, and ecology, and his many professional activities reflected these interests. His early work, *Pigs for the Ancestors: Ritual in the Ecology of a New Guinea People* (1968), based on his fieldwork among the Maring people, established his reputation. Another notable work, *Ecology, Meaning and Religion*, was published in 1979. His last book, *Holiness and Humanity: Ritual in the Making of a Religious Life*, completed shortly before his death in 1997, was published in 1999; it is considered to represent the scope of his academic work, and it was described as a milestone in the anthropology of religion.

Rappaport served as a consultant for educational, anthropological, and environmental projects, including the National Academy of Sciences Task Force. He was a consultant to the state of Nevada and to Nye County concerning the storage of nuclear waste at Yucca Mountain, and he advised the federal government regarding oil leasing on the outer continental shelf. He contributed numerous articles to academic journals, including *American Anthropologist*, *Ethnology*, *Scientific American*, and the *Journal of the Polynesian Society*. He was a member of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, and the American Ethnological Society. Rappaport was president of the American Anthropological Association, and he served on several national committees on environmental issues.

[Dorothy Bauhoff (2nd ed.)]

RAPPOPORT, CHARLES (1865–1941), socialist politician and writer. Born in Doukshty (Dukštos), Lithuania, Rappoport joined the social revolutionary movement in Vilna as a youth. In 1887 he took part in a conspiracy together with Lenin's brother Alexander Ulyanov, to assassinate Czar Alexander II. Ulyanov was apprehended and hanged. Rappoport fled to France where he joined the Socialist Party and became a prominent Marxist, in opposition to the moderate doctrines of the Socialist leader, Jean Jaurès (1858–1914). Rappoport opposed France's participation in World War I and was present at the left-wing anti-war conferences at Kienthal and Zimmerwald and was arrested in 1917 on charges of making defeatist speeches. Sentenced to three months' imprisonment, his pamphlet *Devant les juges militaires*, describing how he conducted his own defense, created a sensation. In 1921 Rappoport joined the French Communist Party and edited the *Revue Communiste* and the official party organ *Humanité*. Already disillusioned by the evolution of communism in Russia, and shocked by the Moscow trials, Rappoport resigned from the Communist Party in 1938. He condemned the Munich pact and expressed his great sympathy for the Jewish victims of Nazism, regretting that he had not fought more often for Jewish rights.

Rappoport published several works on politics and history including *La Philosophie de l'histoire comme science de l'évolution* (1925^2), *Jean Jaurès, L'homme, le penseur, le socialiste* (1916, 1925), and *La revolution mondiale* (1921). His autobiography was published in the Paris Yiddish newspaper, *Arbeter Shtime*.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: A. Kriegel, *Aux origines du communisme français*, 2 vols. (1954), index.

RAQQA (al-), city on the Euphrates in N.E. Syria, founded in 722 by the *Abbasid caliph al-Manṣūr. The Jews identified al-Raqqa with the Calneh of Genesis 10:10. According to the Arab geographer al-Muqaddasī (late 10th century) the city was an important commercial center during his lifetime. Throughout the period of caliphal rule there was a large Jewish community in al-Raqqa and its environs. The philosopher David *al-Mukammis was from this city. An 11th-century letter from a *ḥaver* (rabbi) to a *rosh yeshivah* in *Jerusalem is extant which states that he will go to Calneh the following day to pacify the community, where a dispute had arisen over the appointment of a successor to the deceased *dayyan*. The Jewish community of al-Raqqa also prospered during the period of the Crusades. In the latter half of the 12th century, the traveler *Benjamin of Tudela found about 700 Jews there. In 1191 the head of the Baghdad academy, Samuel b. 'Ali, addressed an *iggeret* ("letter") to al-Raqqa and other important communities in northern Babylonia and Syria. A letter from the last decade of that century, from a Jewish scholar in al-Raqqa to *Cairo, is extant; he sends greetings to *Maimonides and tells about his contacts with the Jews of *Aleppo. At the beginning of the 13th century Judah *Al-Ḥarizi visited the city and complained about the miserliness of the Jews living there, deriding them bitterly.

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[Eliyahu Ashtor]

RASEINIAI (Rus. **Rossieni**), city in W. central Lithuania. The community there, which included *Karaites, numbered 4,247 in 1797, 2,649 in 1847, and 3,484 in 1897 (46.7% of the total population). Raseiniai was one of the centers of the *Haskalah movement in Lithuania. Abraham *Mapu and Senior *Sachs lived there. According to the 1923 census, there were 2,305 Jews living in Raseiniai (43.7% of the total), most of whom were occupied in small trade and crafts, with a number in business on a larger scale. The Jewish People's Bank had 600 members. Communal institutions included a Yavneh primary school, a Hebrew secondary school, and a yeshivah. Raseiniai was occupied by the Germans a few days after the outbreak of the German-Soviet war in 1941. The more prominent Jews were murdered first, followed by the men, and ultimately the women and children. A few families who managed to escape survived until the liberation.

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[Joseph Gar]

RASHI (**Solomon ben Isaac**; 1040–1105), leading commentator on the Bible and Talmud.

His Life

Rashi was born at Troyes, France. (See Chart: Rashi Family). His mother was the sister of the liturgical writer, *Simeon b. Isaac. His father was a scholar whom Rashi quoted in his writings (Av. Zar. 75a). Few facts are known about his early life, although many legends are told about this period. A legend tells that his father cast a precious gem into the sea rather than surrender it to Christians who desired it for idolatrous purposes. A heavenly voice then foretold the birth of a son who would enlighten the world with his wisdom. It is also related that his mother was imperiled in a narrow street during her pregnancy. She pressed against a wall which formed a niche to rescue her.

Troyes was then the capital city of Champagne which attracted merchants from many countries. Rashi learned about different currency standards, banking, and trade. He knew of soldering, engraving, weaving figures into material, and the embroidering of silk with gold. He also learned much about agriculture and husbandry. After his initial education in Troyes, Rashi was attracted to the great academies of Mainz and Worms where he studied after his marriage. His main teachers were *Jacob b. Yakar and *Isaac b. Judah at Mainz, and *Isaac b. Eleazar ha-Levi at Worms. At about the age of 25, Rashi returned to Troyes. He maintained close relations with his teachers, occasionally returning to the academies to discuss unclear talmudic texts with them.

Rashi's return to Troyes was notable, since, due to his influence, henceforth the schools of Champagne and northern France were destined to rival and finally supplant those of the Rhenish provinces. Around 1070, he founded a school which attracted many pupils and became even more important after the death of his own teachers. His most gifted pupils were his relatives, *Simḥah b. Samuel of Vitry, Shemaiah, *Judah b. Abraham, Joseph b. Judah, and *Jacob b. Samson. Nothing is known about Rashi's wife. Although the couple had no sons, they are generally believed to have had three daughters, all of whom married prominent scholars. One of them, Jochebed, married R. *Meir b. Samuel who attended the Mainz academy with Rashi. Four sons were born to Jochebed and Meir and they all became famous scholars: *Samuel (Rashbam), *Isaac

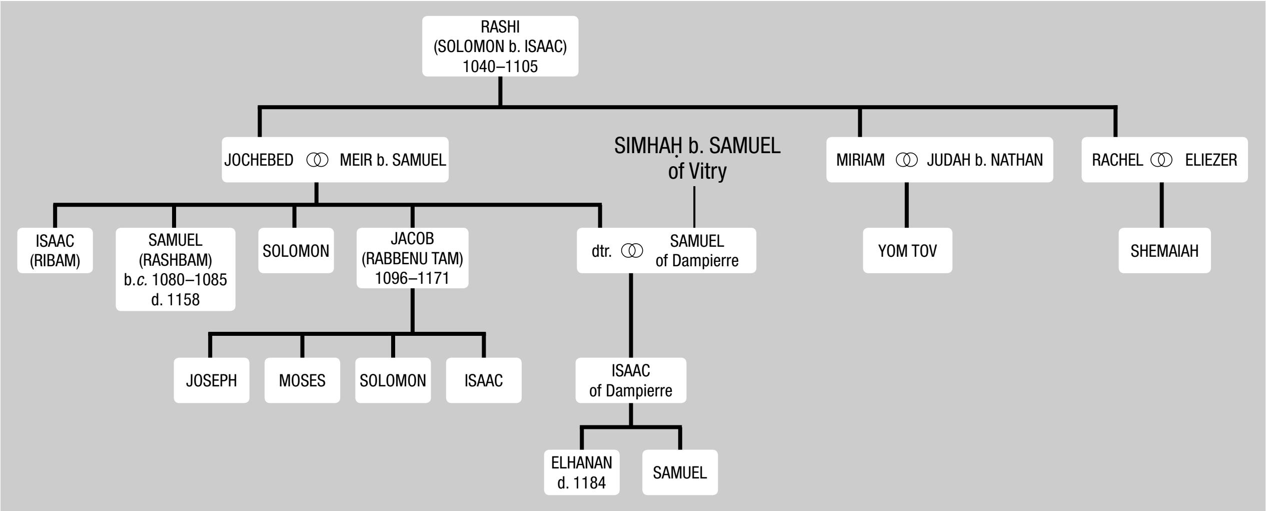

(Ribam), *Jacob, popularly known as Rabbenu Tam, and *Solomon (the actual birth order is unclear, although Jacob was certainly younger than Samuel). They all belonged to the outstanding group of French scholars of the following generation who founded the school of *tosafot*. Another daughter, Miriam, was married to *Judah b. Nathan, whose commentary to the end of *Makkot* is included in all editions of the Talmud (19b–24b). This couple also had a learned son, Yom Tov, and a daughter, from whom *Dulcea, the wife of R. Eleazar of Worms, was descended. A third daughter, Rachel, was known as Belle Assez. Her marriage to a certain Eliezer (Jocelyn or Vasselin in the vernacular) ended in divorce.

Rashi's last years were aggrieved by the massacres committed at the outset of the First Crusade (1095–96), in which he lost relatives and friends. Tradition relates that he foretold the defeat of the expedition of Godfrey of Bouillon, correctly predicting that Godfrey would return to his native city with only three horses remaining from his entire massive army. It is only a legendary tradition that during this period Rashi transferred his school to Worms; there the house called his *bet ha-midrash*, which was located next to the city's synagogue, is a construction of the 16th century. He is reported to have died while writing the word "pure" in his commentary to *Makkot*, (19b) on 29 Tammuz. His burial place is not known.

[Aaron Rothkoff]

Biblical Exegesis

Rashi commented on most, if not all, the books of the Bible. The comments ascribed to him on Job, from 40:25, on Ezra, Nehemiah, and Chronicles are not his, being different in style and method of exegesis. According to Poznański, Rashi did not manage to comment on these, since in writing his commentary he followed the order of the books in the Bible. Lipschuetz, however, contends that the exegesis on these books is substantially Rashi's but was recast and augmented by his pupils. Comments of pupils of Rashi, who studied with him, are embodied in his biblical commentary, which contains (1) explanations that Rashi himself accepted and included in his commentary, and (2) annotations written alongside Rashi's commentary by others, and later interpolated into the text by copyists.

Rashi incorporated in his comments that of *Samuel b. Meir (Rashbam) on Exodus 15:6 ("Thy right hand, O Lord, glorious in power"), even referring to this and other verses expounded by the latter as "the verses of Samuel" (Tosafists' Commentary on the Pentateuch, in Ms.). Writing to the rabbis of Auxerre in connection with his commentary on Ezekiel, Rashi declared: "At all events I made a mistake in that comment… I have now gone through it with our brother Shemaiah and have corrected it" (A. Geiger, *Melo Chofnajim* (1840), Heb. pt. 36). A third pupil whose explanations are embodied in Rashi's commentary is Joseph *Kara (the passages are enumerated by A. Berliner in *Peletat Soferim* (1872)). There is evidence that the latter two, Shemaiah and Joseph Kara, studied the Book of Ezekiel under Rashi, while he was writing his commentary to it. The copyists' interpolations, now part of Rashi's commentary, can be identified by the aid of manuscripts, in which these are written between the lines, accompanied by the word "addition."

Main Characteristics of His Commentary

The main distinguishing characteristic of Rashi's commentary is a compromise between the literal and the midrashic interpretations; to the latter, which was the principal method of exposition in French biblical exegesis, he added the former. At least three-quarters of Rashi's comments are based on rabbinic sources. The few that are original are mainly philological explanations. When basing his comment on the Midrashim, Rashi chose from the available material those that were closest to the literal interpretation of the biblical text, or solved the difficulties presented by it. Thus, for example, in commenting on Leviticus 19:3 ("Ye shall fear every man his mother, and his father"), Rashi, instead of using the *Sifra*, the halakhic Midrash on Leviticus, as he had done in interpreting the preceding verses, now resorted to the *Mekhilta*, the halakhic Midrash on Exodus. The latter explains the twofold difficulty in the verse, namely, the prior mention of the mother and the use of the verb "fear" rather than "honor" as in the Ten Commandments, whereas the *Sifra* explains only the first difficulty.

Another characteristic aspect of Rashi's exegesis is the manner in which he formulated his comment. In many instances he did not quote a Midrash literally but either augmented or abridged it, or even altered its wording (cf. Gen. 1:5, 6, 7 with Gen. R.), his aim being to make for easier understanding and lucidity, and to adapt the language of the Midrash to that of the text. In this way Rashi obviated a patchwork impression and instead achieved a uniform style. The criterion on which he based his choice of comment is clearly stated by him: "As for me, I am only concerned with the literal meaning of the Scriptures and with such *aggadot* as explain the biblical passages in a fitting manner" (Gen. 3:8). In many instances where he departs from this latter principle he adds the comment that these *aggadot* do not give the literal interpretation. But it is not to be assumed that where he failed to add this comment he regarded such Midrashim as providing a literal exposition of the text (thus, for example, the Midrash quoted without this comment in his explanation on Gen. 1:6 ("Let there be a firmament") does not accord with his exegesis of Gen. 1:1). While Rashi based his comment on the halakhic part of the Pentateuch on talmudic literature, his purpose was not to lay down the *halakhah*, and he therefore quoted only some of the many *halakhot* dealing with the subject in question. Sometimes he states that the halakhic Midrash does not give the literal interpretation of a passage (Ex. 16:29, 22:8); at others he interprets a verse contrary to the decided *halakhah* (Lev. 13:6). His partiality for the literal explanation is further attested by the fact that, having revised his commentary several times, he wished at the end of his days to improve it "on the basis of the plain meanings which appear daily" (Rashbam, to Gen. 37:2).

Generally, Rashi did not state his sources but these have been given in detail by Zunz in his book on Rashi, the most important of his sources being the Targums. In his Pentateuch commentary, Rashi derived much help from Targum Onkelos. Not only did he expound many verses according to it, but on occasion dwelt at length on its rendering (Gen. 49:24; Ex. 24:14); interpreted the words of Targum Onkelos; quoted from the Talmud in support of them, and dealt with the etymology of some Aramaic word in the Targum (Deut. 14:5). He laid down general rules explaining Onkelos' choice of words (Gen. 43:15), but in many instances rejected his translation where he found this unacceptable (Gen. 15:11). On several passages Rashi had a different version of Targum Onkelos (Gen. 27:36; Ex. 23:27), which was subsequently emended by publishers in accordance with his version. In his commentary on the Prophets and the Hagiographa he made much use of Targum Jonathan and even quotes Targum Sheni on Esther but apparently did not know the Palestinian Targum on the Pentateuch nor the Targum on the Hagiographa. Some of his sources he heard from others (Deut. 29:3). On one occasion he even declared: "I have had no one to help me, nor a teacher, in all this edifice, but it is as revealed to me from Heaven."

[Avraham Grossman]

Rashi as Grammarian

Rashi centers his commentaries on meticulous analysis of the language of the text. He was both philologist and linguist and derived his grammatical principles from rabbinic literature and the Hebrew works of the Spanish grammarians, *Menahem b. Jacob ibn Saruq and *Dunash b. Labrat (Ps. 39:7, 55:22). Since he knew no Arabic, Rashi never learned of Judah b. David Ḥayyuj's and Jonah *Ibn Janaḥ's work on tri-consonantalism. Like Menahem, Rashi sometimes assumes the existence of roots of one consonant (like *hoga*), although, following Dunash, he generally regards the verbs primae *waw* as being tri-consonantal. Verbs tertiae *he* are in his view bi-consonantal. To support this view Rashi calls attention to the nominal derivation from the root (such as *ẓadah-ẓedi'ah* in Ex. 21:13). Verbs primae *nun* are bi-consonantal (e.g., *niḥatu*, Ps. 38:3), as are those mediae *waw* as the middle letter, and the geminates like *yegudennu* (Gen. 49:19). By turns, he utilizes the terms *yesod, ikkar*, and *shoresh* to indicate the root; *yesod nofel* (omitted root) to represent a consonantal root which falls away in conjugation; and *pa'ol* and *asoh* to indicate the conjugation of the verb. For the names of vowels he utilizes *pathaḥ* (a), *pathaḥ qatan* or *segol* (e (or: ae)), *ḥireq* (i), *qameṣ* or *qameṣ gadol* (a), *ṣereh* (e), *melopum* (o), *šuruq* (u). Scattered throughout his commentaries are many remarks on syntax, tenses, moods, conjugations (such as the privative use of the *pi'el* – Ex. 27:3), collective nouns (Gen. 32:6), deletion of parts of the sentence, prepositions required by certain verbs (Judg. 6:32), and changes in word order (Gen. 2:19). Occasionally he formulates rules on linguistic usage (Jer. 51:12), and discusses the shades of meaning of various synonyms (Gen. 1:11; Micah 5:7). He discriminates clearly between biblical Hebrew and mishnaic Hebrew (e.g., Ps. 76:11), even though he sometimes interprets the verse in accordance with the rabbinic literature (Ex. 12:7), for which he was criticized by his grandson, Samuel b. Meir. Rashi often resorts to the vernacular French in order to explicate difficult words and phrases, for example, about 1,000 such words and phrases are so explained in his commentary on the Bible. This practice has proven invaluable for the study of Old French glosses (see *La'az). He wrote a small number of glosses in German. However, some of the existing German glosses, and all of the Slavonic glosses, were added by other scholars in subsequent generations (1 Kings 6:7).

[Menahem Zevi Kaddari]

His language is concise and straightforward. At times his terseness is due to his assuming that the reader is fully acquainted with the relevant details (Deut. 1:3, 18), and it is therefore a mistake to hold, as some do, that his commentary was intended for the masses. He explained many difficult problems with a word or a mere hint. Thus, for example, he did not deal explicitly with the difficulty raised (in view of the belief in the giving of the Torah at Mt. Sinai) by the passage "And the Canaanite was then in the land" (Gen. 12:6), but contented himself with the brief comment: "He [i.e., the Canaanite] was increasingly conquering Ereẓ Israel from the descendants of Shem." In many instances he even refrained from entering into the detailed proof of his comments hinted at in the verses he cites. A thorough study of his statements is thus necessary to reveal the problems that faced him, his manner of solving them, and the support for his comments that he derived from scriptural verses and rabbinic sources. His honesty led him in many instances to declare: "I do not know what it is" (Ex. 22:28; Is. 13:21).

Other Characteristic Aspects of Rashi's Commentary

(1) He placed great reliance on the cantillation signs: "Had I not seen the accent *zakef gadol* on the word *u-feneihem*, I would not have been able to explain it" (Ezek. 1:11), but also on occasion he disagreed with them (Gen. 20:16).

(2) Sometimes he combined verses (Deut. 4:44), or explained apparently superfluous details in order to throw light on events mentioned elsewhere (Ex. 13:18), two methods that were later developed and elaborated by his French pupils in their exegesis.

(3) On occasion, as at the beginning of his commentary on Zechariah and Song of Songs, he prefaced his comments with the principles underlying his exegesis, or added illustrations for greater clarity (1 Kings 6:31), some of which were omitted by copyists and publishers (*Rashbam* Num. 34:2: "Our teacher, my grandfather, explained and made a drawing of the borders").

(4) He refrained from dealing with problems associated with philosophy which had not penetrated into German Jewish culture, and thus the question of reconciling philosophy with the biblical concept of the universe did not arise. In many instances he did not even deal with moralistic appreciations of the Patriarchs' actions, e.g., the driving out of Hagar), nor was he concerned with mysticism.

(5) On various occasions he referred to contemporary events (Ex. 28:41; Job 19:24). Here and there one can detect in his comments an echo of the persecution of the Jews in his day (Isa. 53:9; Ps. 38:18). He also disputed the christological interpretation of biblical passages (e.g., Isa. 9:6), a course also adopted by his pupils in Germany in their exegesis.

Rashi's commentary on the Bible, and particularly that on the Pentateuch, enjoyed an enormous circulation. More than 200 supercommentaries were written on his Pentateuch commentary, some even by distinguished halakhists, such as, for example, Joseph *Caro, the author of the Shulḥan Arukh. Of particular importance is Elijah Mizraḥi's supercommentary. The study of Rashi's commentary spread to such an extent that he was accorded the title of "Parshandata" ("the expounder of the law," "the commentator par excellence," a pun on Esther 9:7). It was even laid down in the *halakhah* that the reading of the weekly portion with his commentary could take the place of the obligatory reading "twice in the original and once in the Targum." Christian scholars were also influenced by his commentary. As early as the 12th century Nicholas of Manjacoria mentions him. Nicholas de Lyra (1279–1340) in particular was so greatly influenced by him that his critics called him "the ape of Rashi." This interest of Christian scholars in Rashi grew in the 15th century, and from the 17th century onward his commentary began to be translated into other languages. Rashi's commentary on the Pentateuch is the first known Hebrew work to have been printed (1475), and since then hardly an edition of the Hebrew Bible for Jewish use has appeared without his commentary. An excellent edition was issued by A. Berliner (1905^2) who examined more than a hundred manuscripts and printed books, indicated Rashi's sources, and added annotations of his own. Part of Rashi's commentary to the Prophets and Hagiographa was edited by I. Maarsen, Isaiah (Jerusalem, 1933), the Minor Prophets (Amsterdam, 1932), and Psalms (Jerusalem, 1936). I. Elbogen published fragments from his commentary to Ezekiel from manuscripts in the S. Poznański jubilee volume (Warsaw, 1927) and by A. Levy in Rashi's commentary on Ezekiel (Philadelphia, 1931). J. Rosenthal edited his commentary to Song of Songs, on the basis of manuscripts and various printed versions (S. Mirsky jubilee volume (New York, 1958), 130–88). An English translation of Rashi's commentary on the Pentateuch was made by M. Rosenbaum and A.M. Silbermann (5 vols., London, 1929–34).

Commentary to the Babylonian Talmud

The summit of Rashi's creative work was his commentary to the Babylonian Talmud. His commentary on most of the tractates of the Talmud has been preserved, but those to tractates *Ta'anit, Nedarim, Nazir*, and *Horayot* ascribed to him are not his. The commentary to *Mo'ed Katan* which bears his name is not by him, but his commentary to this tractate has been published by A. Kupfer (1961). His commentary to *Bava Batra* was completed by his grandson and pupil, Samuel b. Meir (Rashbam), and to *Makkot* by his pupil, *Judah b. Nathan. Rashi's commentary to the Talmud was published with the first printed edition of the Talmud, and except for modern editions of a few tractates no edition of the Talmud has appeared without it. There are extant whole or fragmentary manuscripts of his commentary on most tractates but no critical and scientific edition of his commentary to even one tractate had appeared by the end of the 1960s. Rashi's commentary on the Talmud had been preceded by others, both of the Franco-German school, including his own teachers, and of other centers. His commentary, however, superseded them all and caused them to be virtually forgotten. The language of his commentary is variegated but nevertheless accurate. In his explanations of words he does not confine himself to dry lexicographical data; his explanation is often colorful and the commentary is replete with realistic concrete descriptions. He adduces reasons for *halakhot* and talmudic argumentations, and often provides psychological and realistic backgrounds to talmudic times. In manifold ways he aids the student in the understanding of the text. He provides introductions to themes, intersperses the commentary with the words of the text, and combines recurring statements. With an excellent feeling for the methodology of the Talmud, he points out difficulties in the construction of the passages and unusual terminology. In all this his commentary is unique. In Rashi's view, the only acceptable explanation of the Mishnah is that given to it by the *Gemara* (see BM 33a and b et al.), with the result that he does not give an independent explanation of the Mishnah. Rashi did not write commentaries to those tractates that have no Babylonian Talmud (the commentary to *Avot* ascribed to him is not his).

Although carefully planned, the linguistic variety led many scholars to point to inconsistencies and contradictions, but most of these have no real substance and can be explained against the background of his methods. From the statements of medieval scholars it is known that Rashi emended his commentary here and there after it had already been issued. However, there are only a few emendations which are definitely from Rashi's pen and an examination of the manuscripts proves that Rashi did not write his commentary more than once, i.e., there were no revised editions of it. The commentary circulated rapidly, and from the beginning of the 13th century almost every talmudic scholar made use of it and pointed out difficulties which he answered or explained. Some even worked over his commentary to various tractates, e.g., to *Sukkah, Ketubbot, Bava Kamma*, and *Sanhedrin*. Rashi's corrections of the Talmud text were for the most part introduced into the standard editions and became the accepted text.

[Jona Fraenkel]

As a Halakhist

Despite the fact that Rashi's main aim in his commentary to the Talmud was not to determine the *halakhah*, practical halakhic rulings are scattered here and there, and at times even at length, and he was regarded as a halakhic authority of the first rank in Germany during a very long period. In the same way as his commentary on the Talmud became the basis for all later literary activity in this field in France and Germany, even though his pupils and their pupils did not hesitate to query his comments, disagree with them, and suggest alternatives, so with regard to his halakhic rulings. They based themselves upon his oral teachings and his practices as testified to by those who witnessed them, though they did not hesitate to differ from him in practice from time to time. His grandson Jacob already disagreed with him on *halakhah*, and did not even refrain from criticizing him sharply (cf. *Sefer ha-Yashar*, novellae no. 449). To such an extent was he regarded as a halakhic authority that shortly after his death his responsa, teachings, communications, and practices were assembled in different collections. This literature, the greater part of which has survived, both published and in manuscript, is very ramified, and has acquired the general title of "the school of Rashi." The published collections are: *Sefer ha-Pardes* (Constantinople, 1807, ed, by H.L. Ehrenreich, 1924), *Sefer ha-Orah* (ed. by S. Buber, 1905), *Siddur Rashi* (ed. by S. Buber, 1911), *Maḥzor Vitry* (ed. by S. Hurwitz, 1923²), *Likkutei ha-Pardes* (Venice, 1519), *Sefer Issur ve-Hetter* (printed in part c. 1925), and the one published by Urbach (see bibl.). The connection of the *Sefer ha-Sedarim* (ed. by S. Elfenbein, in: *Horeb*, 11 (1951), 123–56) with Rashi is very much closer. Apart from all these there are extant about 350 of Rashi's responsa, collected from various sources by S. Elfenbein (1943). On the other hand, the works of "the school of Rashi" include additions of a very varied and diversified nature, from the teaching of the *geonim*, from the great Spanish scholars (chiefly in accordance with the *Sefer ha-Ittim* of *Judah b. Barzillai al-Bargeloni), as well as from the early teaching of Ereẓ Israel. It is still somewhat of a riddle how the teaching of Ereẓ Israel was preserved and in what manner it found its way into various works of "the school of Rashi."

The special character of the books of "the school of Rashi" as halakhic collections caused them to pass through many hands, involving additions and omissions, so that the traditions and the practices have become confused. The many parallels existing among these books themselves show considerable differences. Rashi's influence as a ruling authority is also discernible upon the Italian authorities, both among the pupils of *Isaiah di Trani I and also upon Zedekiah *Anav, whose *Shibbolei ha-Leket* depends upon the work of Rashi and his school.

[Israel Moses Ta-Shma]

Rashi's Daughters

Legends about the exceptional piety and learning of Rashi's daughters include the claim that they wore *tefillin*. There is no direct evidence for this assertion but it may have arisen from the likelihood that Rashi's daughters, like other daughters of learned men who had no sons, were better educated than most women in the Jewish communities of their time. Moreover, Jewish women of medieval Ashkenaz, who played a significant role in the economic success of their households and community, had an unusually elevated social position. As A. Grossman has demonstrated, this high status was reflected, in part, by women's increased involvement in Jewish religious life, including their voluntary assumption of religious practices from which they were exempt in talmudic Judaism. Certainly, Rashi's grandson, Rabbenu Tam, knew of women who chose to recite blessings over the performance of time-bound commandments, including donning *tefillin*. Like many contemporaneous sages in Ashkenaz, he accepted these practices (Tosafot to Er. 96a, s.v. *dilma*).

A legend also survives that one of Rashi's daughters had significant rabbinic scholarship. This may be based on a report in *Shem ha-Gedolim* that when Rashi fell ill he called upon his daughter to write an involved responsum. While this reading was accepted by the 19th-century historian Heinrich *Graetz, most contemporary scholars believe it stems from a scribal error which made its way into *Sefer ha-Pardes*. They suggest that instead of "*ve-lakhen bitti karati*" ("and thus I called my daughter"), the text should be read "*u-le-ven bitti karati*" ("and

I called the son of my daughter") (Berger, 167, n. 46). The claim that one of Rashi's daughters wrote a commentary on *Nedarim* probably stems from confusion over the commentary on that tractate written by Judah b. Nathan, Miriam's husband.

However, Rashi's daughter Miriam is cited as an authoritative source on ritual practice in the *Teshuvot Maimoniot* of R. Isaac b. Samuel (the Ri) to *Hilkhot Kedushah, Ma'akhalot Asurot*, par. 5, which states, "This is how it was done at the home of Miriam, the daughter of our teacher Solomon." The citation adds, "We rely upon our logic and upon the testimony of the daughters of the leading lights of the generation." (See E. Urbach, *Ba'alei ha-Tosafot* (1955), 1:38, who cites manuscript evidence that "daughter," not "granddaughter," is the correct reading.) In medieval and early modern Ashkenaz, women were often invoked as authoritative witnesses of the domestic practices of their learned fathers and husbands.

[Judith R. Baskin (2nd ed.)]

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RASHID AL-DIN (**Fazlallah Tabib al-Hamdani**, "the physician from Hamadan"; 1247–1318). He was born to Jewish parents in *Hamadan. He was the son of ʿImād al-Dawla b. Abu al-Khayr, a pharmacist by profession. We do not have any knowledge of the early periods of his life until we hear of him entering the service of the Ilkhan Abaqa (r. 1265–1282), the second *Mongol Emperor, as a physician. We are informed from some early sources that he had embraced Islam around the year 1278, when he was 30 years old. Twenty years later, namely around 1298, Rashid al-Din became a deputy to Sadr al-Din Zanjāni, the vizier of Arghun's son, Ghazan Khan (r. 1295–1304). A few months later, Sadr al-Din was put to death and his place was taken by Saʿd al-Din Sāvaji who made Rashid al-Din his associate. In this capacity Rashid al-Din introduced substantial administrative reforms during Ghazan's reign. He amassed tremendous power and wealth and owned property in almost every corner of the Mongol Empire. Eight of his 14 sons were appointed governors of provinces. As the associate of the Sāhib Divān, mostly using his fortune he built *madrasa*s, hospitals, and other public and educational institutions in many places in the empire, especially in the capital city of *Tabriz and in the nearby city, Sultāniyya. In the suburb of Tabriz he constructed a little town, called by his name Rabʿ-i Rashidi, to which he brought intellectuals and artists from different Islamic lands.

In *Tārikh-i Uljeitu*, composed by ʿAbdallah Kāshāni (d. 1337), we read about a bitter debate which took place between Rashid al-Din and Saʿd al-Din Sāvaji in the presence of the Uljeitu. Saʿd al-Din vilified Rashid al-Din with abusive words and called him a Jew (1969:121ff.). For this impudent behavior, Saʿd al-Din was dismissed from the office of the Sāhib Divān and was put to death on February 19, 1312. Rashid al-Din almost experienced the same fate.

Soon afterwards, Tāj al-Din ʿAli-Shāh was appointed by the Emperor Uljeitu to replace Saʿd al-Din. From that time, because of the deep hatred and rivalry between ʿAli-Shāh and Rashid al-Din, the vast Mongol Empire was divided and administered by the two Sāhib Divāns. Thus ʿAli Shāh became responsible for northwestern *Persia, Mesopotamia, and Asia Minor, and Rashid al-Din took charge of central and southern Persia. Eventually, the enmity between the two viziers brought disaster to Rashid al-Din when he was accused of having poisoned the Uljeitu. In an interesting account, related mostly by Kāshāni, Rashid al-Din was charged with murdering the emperor by prescribing the wrong medicine. During his trial, his Jewish background was mentioned very often. Rashid al-Din, when defending himself against the accusation that he had poisoned Uljeitu, said: "How could I do such a thing? I was a Jewish pharmacologist, a physician, a weak person who rose to a high rank" (Suqāʿi 1974:183). Rashid al-Din and his 16-year-old son, Ibrahim, were put to death in 1318 by the new emperor, Abu Saiʿd, the son of Uljeitu. Consequently, Rashid al-Din's property was confiscated and Rabʿ-i Rashidi was looted. Later on, one of Rashid al-Din's sons, Ghiyāth al-Din, was appointed vizier to Abu Saʿīd (r. 1316–1335).

Rashid al-Din is considered one of the greatest scholars in Persia. Besides Persian, he knew Arabic, Hebrew, Turkish, and Mongolian languages. He produced several monumental books, the most important of which was *Jāmiʿ al-Tavārīkh*. The latter includes the history of the Mongols and accounts relating to the history of many nations including the European peoples. His production of the history of the Mongol and Turkish tribes remains a single, uniquely valuable source until now. Regarding his writings, including a commentary on *Koran, see S.H. Nasr et al. in the bibliography below. About

80 years later, Rashid al-Din's body was transferred from the Muslim graveyard and buried in the Jewish cemetery.

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[Amnon Netzer (2nd ed.)]

RASHKIN, LEYB (**Leib Raskin**, born **Shoyl Fridman**; 1905–1942), Yiddish writer. Born in Kazimierz Dolny (Kuzmir), Poland, where he managed a cooperative bank and was a hardwareman, Rashkin started writing stories in his early youth. His major work is a searingly satirical anatomy of the *shtetl* Godlbozhits (patently the author's Kuzmir) between the two world wars. Completed in 1934 and published in Warsaw in 1935, *Di Mentshn fun Godlbozhits* ("The People of Godlbozhits") is an epic portrait of the disintegrating Polish Jewish *shtetl*. The author draws his townsfolk with acerbic pungency, animating a large crosscut of the town's inhabitants in a broad-canvas *comedie humaine*. The Polish Jewish Pen Club divided the 1938 Peretz Prize among Aaron *Zeitlin, Joshua *Perle, and Rashkin. Y.-Y. *Trunk wrote of the novelist: "*Er iz geven … di letste atraktsye fun a nayem yidishn shriftshteler in Poyln*" ("He was the last new Jewish writer to attract attention in Poland"). The novel still attracts readers, one recent study hailing it as "a lasting work of European literature" (Clifford). His *ershtling* ("firstling"), as he calls his novel in a dedication to Abraham *Reisen (University of Haifa Library copy), had no fellows since he was killed by the Nazis in the Brest ghetto extermination while still in the prime of life. A daughter survived and raised a family in Israel.

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[Leonard Prager (2nd ed.)]

RASKIN, JUDITH (1928–1984), U.S. lyric soprano. Born in New York City, she grew up as the only child of teachers Harry A. Raskin and Lillian Mendelson Raskin. She studied both violin and piano as a child, but discovered singing and sang in the glee club of Roosevelt High School in Yonkers. She studied voice with Anna Hamlin and acting with Ludwig Donath at Smith College, graduating in 1949 with a B.A. Smith College also awarded her an honorary M.A. in 1963. She won the Marian Anderson Scholarship in 1952 and 1953, and in 1956 won an award from the Musician's Club of New York. That same year, she sang the title role in *The Ballad of Baby Doe*, which premiered in Central City, Colorado. Raskin married the psychiatrist Dr. Raymond A. Raskin, a distant relative, in 1948. They had two children.

Raskin sang with the New York Oratorio Society and was soloist with the Symphony of the Air. She joined the New York City Opera Company in 1959, making her debut at City Center as Despina in *Cosi fan Tutte*. From her debut at the Metropolitan Opera in 1962 as Susanna in *The Marriage of Figaro*, Raskin's repertoire ranged over about 20 operatic roles, especially baroque opera. She stayed at the Met 10 years until 1972. She also sang at the Chicago Lyric and other opera houses.

In 1964, Raskin received a Ford Foundation grant for a solo recital where she premiered pieces by Hugo Weisgall and Miriam Gideon. While she enjoyed an active recital life, especially in baroque music, unfortunately the amount of recital work that she would have preferred did not materialize during her mature career years. She took advantage of other opportunities and recorded for numerous record labels. She also turned to teaching, becoming an instructor at Manhattan School of Music, the 92nd Street Y, and at Mannes College. Raskin served on the music panel of the National Endowment of the Arts and as a judge for the Metropolitan Opera auditions. Raskin continued singing until just before her death from ovarian cancer at the age of 56. Her voice was often described as ravishing.

[Judith S. Pinnolis (2nd ed.)]

RASKIN, SAUL (1878–1966), illustrator, painter, printmaker, critic. Born in Nogaisk, Russia, Raskin studied lithography in Odessa, and attended art academies in Germany, Switzerland, France, and Italy. In 1904, he emigrated to the U.S. He worked in many media and garnered a reputation for his draftsmanlike attention to detail and his realistic approach. His imagery depicted scenes of Jewish life, especially that of New York's Lower East Side. His trips to Palestine yielded many representations of that country's Jewish population, among them twenty lithographs of Jerusalem. Raskin also illustrated many Hebrew texts, including *Pirke Aboth* (1940), the *Haggadah* (1941), Psalms (1942), the *Siddur* (1945), *Kabbalah in Word and Image* (1952), and other works with Jewish content, such as *Hebrew Rhapsody* (1959). *Pirke Aboth* demonstrates Raskin's wonderful sense of design; he makes dramatic use of blank space as a component of his compositions as well as underscores the meaning of each of the book's sections with a powerful combination of human and fantastic forms, each revealing carefully rendered details of expression. Raskin was the art and theater critic for the Yiddish weekly magazine *Does Neie Land.* In 1911, Raskin's "The Future of Jewish Art," appeared in the magazine. In the article, Raskin bemoans the inability to find common Jewish attributes in the works of such artists as Antokolsky, Israels, Liebermann, and Pissarro. Raskin postulated that a Jewish Art (sic) might emerge through the identification of common themes and subjects in the work of his contemporaries, specifically in genre and history paintings, rather than through an examination of the widely varied techniques, forms, and styles used by artists of Jewish heritage. Raskin's work has been exhibited at the Art Institute of Chicago, the National Academy of Design, and the Pennsylvania Academy.

His work has been collected by many major museums and galleries, including the Brooklyn Museum.

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[Nancy Buchwald (2nd ed.)]

RASKY, HARRY (1928–), Canadian film maker, producer, director, author. Rasky was born in Toronto, one of eight children in a Yiddish-speaking Russian immigrant home. Harry, whose father was a cantor and *shoḥet*, spoke only Yiddish until he began public school. In 1949 he graduated from the University of Toronto with a B.A. in arts and began looking for a job in the media, a field not always welcoming to Jews. He found a first job as a reporter in Kirkland Lake in northern Ontario but soon moved back to Toronto to work as editor for a local radio station and also wrote copy for popular newscaster Lorne *Greene. In 1952 Rasky began to write and direct news programs for the new CBC television network and in 1955 he moved to New York to work for Edward R. Murrow. In 1970, already an accomplished documentary film maker and winner of an Emmy award for his film *Hall of Kings*, a documentary on Westminster Abbey, Rasky returned to Toronto, where he continued his career as freelance filmmaker.

Rasky regards his more than 40 films as infused with Jewishness – about half of his documentaries deal directly with Jewish themes and many of the rest are informed by his Jewish roots. His unique, innovative documentary films, often dubbed "Raskymentaries" for their combination of documentary and fiction-film elements, include: *Homage to Chagall: The Colours of Love* (1975), *Arthur Miller on Home Ground* (1979), *Karsh: The Searching Eye* (1986), and the autobiographical *Nobody Swings on Sunday* (2003). His work has chronicled the lives of people as diverse as Shaw and Tennessee Williams, Northrop Frye and Robertson Davies, Leonard Cohen and Henry Moore. In 2005 he was preparing a film on Italian-Jewish artist Amedeo Modigliani.

Rasky's art has been honored with more than 200 international prizes and citations, including the Venice Film Award, the Golden Eagle, several Peabody Awards, an Emmy, and two Oscar Nominations. In 1992, he was given the lifetime award of the Association of Canadian Television and Radio Artists. The Denver International Film Festival called Harry Rasky "the world's most acclaimed nonfiction filmmaker." Rasky has also published a number of books on his life, his art, and some of those he has documented on film, including *Nobody Swings on Sunday, The Many Lives and Films of Harry Rasky* (1980), and *The Three Harrys* (1999).

[Joel Greenberg (2nd ed.)]

RASMINSKY, LOUIS (1908–1998), economist, governor of the Bank of Canada. Rasminsky was born in Montreal and grew up in Toronto. He was active in Jewish life at the University of Toronto, where, despite his outstanding record in the Economics Department, he was unable to attract postgraduate funding. Jewish community leaders established a scholarship allowing him to attend the London School of Economics in 1928. He was soon drawn to Geneva, where he worked at the League of Nations specializing in monetary and banking matters. By the late 1930s he was devoting a large portion of his salary to aiding refugees from Nazism to escape to England.

A man of formidable intellect, Rasminsky joined the Bank of Canada in 1940, becoming executive assistant to the governor in 1943. He organized the research and statistical section of Canada's Foreign Exchange Control Board and played a key role at the 1944 Bretton Woods Conference. John Maynard Keynes credited him with helping shape the consensus that gave birth to the postwar system of international finance and trade. In 1954, Rasminsky was deeply disappointed to be passed over for the position of governor of the Bank of Canada, a snub which reflected antisemitism in the civil service and banking sector of the day. Nevertheless, he continued to hold important positions at the Bank and in 1955 was appointed deputy governor and finally in 1961 governor of the Bank of Canada. In 1973 Rasminsky resigned to spend more time with his ailing wife. However, he remained active, chairing the Board of Governors of the International Development Research Institute in 1973–78 and re-immersing himself in Jewish communal activities.

Although a member of the small circle that comprised Ottawa's postwar bureaucratic elite, Rasminsky was initially denied membership in the Rideau Club, the bastion of Ottawa's establishment. Due to his influence, the club's membership policies were altered, but Rasminsky chose not to join until he completed his term as governor. Among his many honors, Rasminsky received eight honorary doctorates and the Outstanding Achievement Award of the Public Service, Canada's highest recognition of a public servant. He was named a Companion of the Order of Canada in 1968.

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[Paula Draper (2nd ed.)]

RASSEGNA MENSILE DI ISRAEL, LA, Italian Jewish review founded by Alfonso *Pacifici in 1925 as a monthly supplement to the weekly newspaper *Israel*. It dealt with Jewish history and contemporary Jewish life from the traditional point of view. Its editor until 1938 was Guido *Bedarida, but it became most effective under the direction, until 1965, of Dante *Lattes. From 1965 the review was directed by Yoseph *Colombo. The *Rassegna* was closed by the Fascist government in 1938, but reappeared in 1948 and in time regained its importance. For the centenary of Samuel David *Luzzatto in 1966, a special number of 300 pages was issued.

[Yoseph Colombo]

It was followed by another special number of 400 pages for the centenary of Dante Lattes' birth in 1976. In the course of the years the *Rassegna* tried to express in the best possible way the cultural recrudescences of an Italian Hebraism during a process of radical transformation under the influence of new

Jewish migratory waves coming mostly from Libya, on the one hand, and the influence of circumstances that are extrinsic to the local Jewish situation. These phenomena were specifically connected to Italian political and social life, mostly involving, in broad terms, the vicissitudes of Italian public opinion in the context of the Arab-Israeli conflict. After the editorship of Augusto Segre (1975–1979) the *Rassegna* was distinguished chiefly as a publication with a high-quality scholarly content, published by the Italian Jewish Communities Union.

[Massimo Longo Adorno (2nd ed.)]

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RAT (Heb. חֹלֶד, *ḥoled*, mod. Heb. חֻלְדָּה, *ḥuldah*, JPS and AV "weasel"), rodent. Two species of rat are found in Israel, *Rattus rattus* and *Rattus norvegicus*. The second only reached the country in approximately the 18th century. *Ḥuldah* occurs as the name of a prophetess (II Kings 22:14, the same verse including two other names taken from the world of fauna: *shafan* ("coney") and *akhbar* ("mouse")). In the Torah *ḥoled* is mentioned with the *akhbar* among the unclean creeping things, from which it seems that *ḥoled* is the same as *ḥuldah* (so rendered by Onkelos) where the Palestinian Targum (cf. Meg. 14b) has *kirkushta*, "rat." The name *ḥuldah* is derived from *ḥalod* ("to undermine"); "*ḥuldah* that undermines the foundations of the houses" (Pes. 118b in Ms. Munich). The *ḥuldah* is frequently mentioned in rabbinic literature. It is said to drag food into its nest for storage (Pes. 1:2; TJ, Shab. 14:1, 14c; Lev. R. 6:2). There is a well-known legend of "the rat [*ḥuldah*] and the pit," in which the *ḥuldah* bit the child of a man who did not keep faith with a maiden and married another (see Rashi, Ta'an. 8a). These characteristics do not apply to the cat or the polecat (*Mustela nivalis*), with which some have identified the *ḥuldah*. The polecat is not found in Israel, neither does it store up its food.

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[Jehuda Feliks]

RATH, MESHULLAM (1875–1963), talmudist and rabbinic authority. Rath's father and earlier forebears had occupied the rabbinate of Kolomyya for 150 years consecutively. Rath, who had a remarkable memory and a rapid grasp of essentials, was ordained at the age of 12 by Isaac *Schmelkes and Jacob Teomim. In 1895 he was appointed rabbi of Molniza and in 1899 rabbi to his native town Horoskov and then to Ushbuza. Rath was an active community leader. He founded a yeshivah for outstanding students, was elected to the Romanian senate, and was one of the first rabbis to join the Mizrachi movement openly. He spent part of World War I in Vienna, where his renown spread. On returning to Galicia after the war, he was considered for the Lvov rabbinate but withdrew his candidacy when asked to give up his Zionist work. He was then appointed rabbi of Chernovtsy. In 1944 he settled in Ereẓ Israel and became a member of the chief rabbinate. There he was consulted by the Supreme Rabbinic Court, and examined candidates for the post of *dayyan*.

Some of his responsa were published under the title *Kol Mevasser* (2 vols., 1955–62). These deal with such topical matters as the permissibility of a bat mitzvah ceremony for girls and of the wording of the *ketubbah* in Hebrew instead of Aramaic. He ruled that *Hallel* with blessings and the *She-Heḥeyanu* should be recited on Israel Independence Day.

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[Mordechai Hacohen]

RATHAUS, KAROL (1895–1954), composer. Born in Poland, Rathaus studied composition in Vienna and in Berlin, where he taught at the Hochschule fuer Musik. In 1934 he moved to London, and in 1938 to New York. He taught at Queen's College, New York, from 1940 until his death.

His music was very individual in style. It was atonal and intellectual, showing skill in contrapuntal development and at the same time brooding and romantic. Among his works are three symphonies; an opera *Fremde Erde* describing the modern American city; a ballet; chamber and piano music; incidental music to films; a setting of Psalm 23; and stage music, including, for the Habimah Theater, the music for *Uriel Acosta, Jacob's Dream*, and *Herod and Mariamne*.

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°**RATHBONE, ELEANOR** (1872–1946), British philo-semite and champion of Jewish refugees. Born to a family of wealthy and influential Unitarian shipowners in Liverpool, Rathbone was educated at Somerville College, Oxford, and became a champion of feminism and other social causes. She was an early and important advocate of family allowances – benefits paid to the wife rather than the husband – and of state pensions for widows, and was very active in the anti-colonial movement. From 1929 until her death she was an Independent Member of Parliament. Beginning in 1934, when she visited Palestine, Rathbone became probably the foremost gentile champion of Jewish refugees from Nazism in Britain, constantly raising their plight in the House of Commons, and was a determined opponent of the appeasement of Hitler. In 1942, with Victor *Gollancz and others, she was the founder and head of the National Committee for Rescue from Nazi Terror, the main British body working on behalf of rescuing Jews from the Nazis. It constantly lobbied government ministers to do more to save the lives of Jews in Nazi-occupied Europe and produced a number of widely distributed pamphlets advocating plans of action. The committee met with little success, in large part because of the near impossibility of rescue from the

Nazi death machine, but was very influential in arousing British public opinion on behalf of Hitler's victims.

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[William D. Rubinstein (2nd ed.)

RATHENAU, EMIL MORITZ (1838–1915), German industrialist and engineer. Emil Rathenau was born in Berlin into a family of businessmen and entrepreneurs. Through his mother he was related to the painter Max *Liebermann. After leaving school before the final examination he started his education as an engineer and technician, which lasted until 1862. Afterwards he worked in different companies in Germany and Great Britain. In 1865 he bought an engineering plant in Berlin. One year later he married Sabine Mathilde Nachmann, with whom he had three children Walther (1867), Erich (1871), and Edith (1883). Shortly after the foundation of the German Reich, Rathenau's company was closed. After some years living independently on his own resources, he established the Deutsche Edison Gesellschaft in 1883. In 1887 it was enlarged and named Allgemeine Elektrizitaets-Gesellschaft (AEG). By the turn of the century the AEG became Germany's second-largest electrical company, topped only by Siemens. The AEG was active worldwide. Rathenau was an obsessive and brilliant entrepreneur. He was creative in finding new ways of marketing and creating new needs for products of the AEG. Thanks to his close contacts with banks, with which the AEG cooperated (especially the Deutsche Bank, later the Berliner Handelsgesellschaft under Carl *Fuerstenberg), he invented new systems of financing his business projects by founding his own company banks (i.e., the Elektrobank in Zurich). Buying licenses for innovative technical products he carefully applied scientific advances to the purposes of the AEG. As a Jew, Rathenau followed the path of acculturation. He avoided any kind of close religious or cultural contacts with the Jewish community. He assumed that a Jewish state could never be self-supporting and thus rejected Zionism. In spite of all this Rathenau was an opponent of the conversion of Jews. Early in his life, he was confronted with antisemitism, including antisemitic comments by his competitors. Being a National Liberal Rathenau always remained faithful to the constitutional monarchy. He was one of the few unbaptized Jews who could come into close contact with German Emperor Wilhelm II. When World War I broke out Rathenau initially expected that it would last only a short time. As an entrepreneur he followed traditional and patriarchal social patterns even though he was able to think in modern abstract terms of building up a modern world-wide company. In the years before his death Emil Rathenau succeeded in placing his son Walther *Rathenau at the helm of the AEG.

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[Christian Schoelzel (2nd ed.)]

RATHENAU, WALTHER (1867–1922), German statesman, writer, and industrialist; son of Emil *Rathenau and his wife, Mathilde. Walther Rathenau's father became the founder of the Allgemeine Elektrizitäts-Gesellschaft (AEG) in the 1880s. After his studies in physics, chemistry, and philosophy in Berlin and Strasbourg, Walther Rathenau wrote his Ph.D. thesis on the "Absorption of Light in Metals." Afterwards he completed a postdoctorate course in electro-chemistry in Munich and then started practical work in the field of industry. Step by step Rathenau developed into an industrialist on the world stage. In 1899 he became a member of the governing body of the AEG. From 1902 to 1907 Rathenau was co-proprietor of the Berliner Handels-Gesellschaft. At the same time he went back to the AEG as a member of its board of directors. In 1912 he became chairman of the board. Rathenau was one of Europe's leading entrepreneurs and an expert on global finance. As an innovative "system-builder" he not only created new organizational structures in the AEG, but also thought of new ways to develop processes for both heavy and light industry. During the last pre-war years Rathenau made some attempts at attaining a political role. A few days after the outbreak of World War I he started to organize the German war economy as the leader of the newly created Kriegs-Rohstoff-Abteilung (Raw Material Department) in the Prussian War-Ministry. When Emil Rathenau died in 1915, Walther became president of the AEG, a newly created directorial function. During the war Walther Rathenau became increasingly an informal advisor to politicians and high-ranking military personnel. After the war he was one of the official German experts at the financial conference in Spa in 1920. Here he created, with other members of the German delegation such as Moritz Julius *Bonn and Carl *Melchior, the idea of a cooperative "fulfillment policy." In 1921, Rathenau was appointed minister for reconstruction (*Wiederaufbauminister*). In this capacity he signed the Treaty of Wiesbaden with his French colleague Louis Loucheur. This treaty foresaw partial payment by Germany of its reparations not in money but in goods. The agreement helped German industry regain the French foreign market. In 1922 Rathenau was appointed foreign minister. Increasingly despairing of French diplomacy Rathenau was tempted to abandon his concept of a "cooperative revisionism" of the Versailles Treaty. He still planned to cooperate in the reconstruction of the Soviet economy with the Western powers. Rathenau signed the Treaty of Rapallo, which set the frame for further closer political and economic German-Soviet-Russian cooperation.

During his career as an industrialist, banker, and politician Rathenau also revealed a strong desire to be a man of letters. In this he opposed his father's wishes to see his son exclusively in the world of money and technology. His publications number more than 150 titles, monographs, essays, poems, and plays. Rathenau wrote about politics, economics, financial affairs, aesthetics, social matters, the arts, literature, and philosophy. He developed a philosophy of world history which was based on the antagonism of two types of human beings, the "*Furchtmensch*" (as a symbol for a mechanistic and rational capitalism) and the "*Mutmensch*" (as a symbol for the world of art, social progress, and morality). Both were fighting for dominance in the world. The ideal, which only the "*Mutmensch*" could reach was Rathenau's "*Reich der Seele*" – a way of living characterized by love, freedom, and transcendent spirituality. Out of his experiences as an industrialist and also with the ideal aim of reaching the "*Reich der Seele*," after the war Rathenau also developed his theory of a cooperative economy ("*Gemeinwirtschaft*"). However, Rathenau was a staunch opponent of socialism. For him the question of a constitutional monarchy or a democracy (which he demanded in opposing the feudal structures in Prussia until 1918) was not as important as having all institutions run by capable and moral people. In foreign affairs Rathenau had an international perspective strongly influenced by his business interests. During the war he became increasingly nationalistic, which also reflects the development of his ideas for creating a "Mitteleuropa" under German hegemony. From the end of the World War I until 1920 Rathenau turned towards a "cooperative revisionism" of the Versailles Treaty.

Rathenau revealed a complex relationship towards his own Jewishness. He internalized antisemitic stereotypes with the idea of escaping discrimination by identifying with the perpetrators. Rathenau regarded Jews as a "race" and demanded their physical and spiritual transformation ("*Höre Israel!*" (1897) published in *Die Zukunft*). He opposed Zionism and all kinds of Jewish organizations (e.g., the Centralverein). Beneath these tendencies Rathenau also displayed more hidden, positive attitudes towards Jewishness: He refused to leave the Jewish community. The baptism of Jews seemed to him only possible for religious reasons, not for reasons of social opportunism. He was interested in Ḥasidism and started to re-learn Hebrew. In his belief Rathenau tried to find parallels between Jewishness and Christianity. After World War I he tried to create his own religion integrating the ideal of the "*Reich der Seele*" in it.

Rathenau suffered severely from constant attacks by antisemites from his early years on. From 1918 there were warnings about assassination plots against him and, indeed, in 1922 he was assassinated by members of the "Organization Consul," an antisemitic, antidemocratic, "volkish" secret organization. The murderers killed Rathenau as a symbol of the Republic of Weimar and as a Jew. Rathenau became a symbol of the Weimar democracy, and remains one of its most-read authors.

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[Christian Schoelzel (2nd ed.)]

RATISBONNE BROTHERS, two French Jews who converted to Christianity and who became prominent in the Catholic Church in the 19th century. The Ratisbonne brothers were sons of a Strasbourg Jewish banker who was president of the Consistoire of Alsace. His second eldest son, THEODORE RATISBONNE (1802–1884) was born in Strasbourg and practiced law in his native city. He devoted much of his time to the improvement of the social and economic plight of the Jews in the Strasbourg ghetto. However, his study of the Bible and church history led him to be baptized secretly. He adopted the name Marie and was hereafter known as Marie Théodore Ratisbonne. After being ordained a priest in 1830 he taught at a church school in Strasbourg and in 1840 went to Paris to work for the archconfraternity of the parish Notre-Dame des Victoires. In 1843, together with his brother Alphonse, he founded the Congregation of Notre Dame de Sion for women and in 1852 the Fathers of Zion. Marie Théodore Ratisbonne's avowed aims in founding these religious societies were to bring about a better understanding between Jews and Christians and to convert Jews. He wrote profusely, and among his principal works are *Histoire de Saint Bernard et de son siècle* (2 vols., 1840; 1903^{11}) *Manuel de la mère chrétienne* (1859; 1926^{22}).

ALPHONSE RATISBONNE (1812–1884), the ninth child of the family, was also born in Strasbourg and began his career as a lawyer and banker. Like his brother Théodore he was filled with fervor to help his fellow Jews. At first he found it difficult to forgive his brother's conversion and felt hatred toward Christendom for its persecution of Jews. However, an experience during a visit to a church in Rome in which he reportedly saw a vision of Mary (January 20, 1842) moved him so powerfully that he had himself baptized eleven days later. He took the name of Marie, became a Jesuit, as Marie Alphonse

Ratisbonne, and in 1848 was ordained a priest. He left the Society of Jesus in 1852 to collaborate with Théodore in Paris, but in 1855 went to Palestine, where he spent the rest of his life working for the conversion of Jews and Muslims. In 1856 he established the Ecce Homo convent for the Sisters of Zion in the Old City of Jerusalem and, subsequently, two orphanages. He wrote *Monument à la gloire de Marie* (1847).

The Ratisbonne Congregations

The Sisters of Zion benefited from the fact that in the middle of the 19th century there was a prodigious development in the education of girls, particularly in France, and that the French teaching congregations were spreading throughout the world. A congregation whose aim was the conversion of the Jews would have attracted a very limited number of candidates, whereas the movement toward teaching and the establishment of boarding schools made it possible to reach young ladies attracted to religious life. The development deflected the primitive orientation of the congregation: if in their life of prayer their objects remained unchanged the sisters made no efforts at proselytizing. The Fathers of Zion who did not constitute a canonically erected religious congregation during the lifetime of the Ratisbonne brothers were at the beginning primarily chaplains and spiritual directors to the Sisters and their pupils. Until the end of World War I both congregations had little contact with Jews and Judaism. With the rise of Hitlerism Fathers and Sisters were among its most prominent opponents on the Catholic side and insisted in their publications on the necessity of common action by Jews and Christians against neo-paganism. In the countries occupied by Nazi Germany Sisters and Fathers made efforts to provide Jews with shelter and a passage to safety, although they themselves were closely observed by the Gestapo. After World War II they were active in the development of the mentality which led to the Declaration "*Nostra Aetate*" by the second Vatican Council. Both Congregations now hold that proselytizing must be entirely abandoned and they considered themselves pioneers of a new era of Jewish-Christian understanding. The Sisters and Fathers of Zion have taken a positive attitude toward the State of Israel.

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[Marie Joseph Stiassny]

RATNER, BRUCE C. (1945–), U.S. developer. Ratner was born in Cleveland, Ohio, part of the second generation of a prominent realestate family that left Poland in 1920. The original family name, Ratowczer, was changed to Ratner. A family lumberyard business built by Ratner's three uncles and an aunt grew into a national real estate enterprise, Forest City Enterprises, now publicly owned, with Albert Ratner, Bruce's cousin, as its chairman. Bruce Ratner graduated from Harvard University in 1967 and earned a law degree from the Columbia University School of Law in 1970. His interest at first was public service, and his first job out of school was as a lawyer for the Model Cities program in Queens. In 1978, he became head of the city's consumer-protection division. He taught law for four years at New York University Law School before being named commissioner of consumer affairs for New York City. He quit government at the end of 1981 to fortify his net worth in real estate development. He formed the Forest City Ratner Companies, an affiliate of Forest City Enterprises, in 1982. He picked unlikely places to develop, like little-known poor areas of Brooklyn. He built an office building in Brooklyn and then the Metrotech office complex in downtown Brooklyn, which proved to be major factors in raising the vitality of the area. From there he built hotels in Manhattan and spread his projects across Harlem, Queens, the Bronx, and Staten Island. In 2004 he bought the New Jersey Nets, a professional basketball team, and was engaged in extensive negotiations with New York City and others to build an arena at Brooklyn Atlantic Yards for the team and to create a cultural-business center there, with Frank *Gehry as the architect. He was also a partner with the New York Times Company in building the newspaper's new headquarters, with Renzo Piano as architect. He was a member of the board of the Museum of Jewish Heritage.

[Stewart Kampel (2nd ed.)]

RATNER, DOV BAER (1852–1917), Lithuanian talmudic scholar. Born in Kalvarija, Lithuania, Ratner studied at the yeshivot of Mir and Volozhin, and acquired a wide secular knowledge by independent study. In St. Petersburg and Vilna he engaged in commerce, but later devoted himself entirely to scholarly research.

Having made his literary debut at the age of 16, he contributed studies, learned notes, and book reviews to a variety of publications, particularly to *Ha-Meliẓ*. In 1894 his *Mavo le-Seder Olam Rabbah* appeared in Vilna and was followed three years later by a critical edition of the text of the *Seder Olam Rabbah*. From 1901 until his death, he published 12 parts of *Ahavat Ẓiyyon vi-Yrushalayim*, on the entire orders of *Zera'im* and *Mo'ed* of the Jerusalem Talmud, except for the tractate *Eruvin*, containing variant readings and explanations culled from the writings of early authorities. Selections from this work were subsequently included in the Vilna (Romm) edition of the Jerusalem Talmud. An early adherent of the Zionist movement, Ratner was among the Vilna community notables who welcomed Theodor Herzl on his visit to the city in 1903. He left his books to the Straschun Library of Vilna, of which he had been a director.

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[Tovia Preschel]

RATNER, LEONARD (1896–1975), U.S. business executive and Jewish community leader. Ratner, who was born in Bialystok, Poland, went to the U.S. and settled in Shaker Heights, Ohio. He was founder and chairman of the board of directors of Forest City Enterprises, Inc., a national real estate development firm with interests in retail stores and building materials.

Ratner served a wide variety of community organizations and educational institutions in the United States and Israel. He was a member of the board of overseers of the Jewish Theological Seminary from 1953, a member of the board of the American Committee for the Weizmann Institute of Science in Israel, and former vice president and board member from 1965 of the American Friends of the Hebrew University. He worked for many charitable organizations, including the Jewish Community Federation of Cleveland, the UJA, and the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee.

RATNER, MARC BORISOVICH (1871–1917), Russian lawyer and socialist. Born in Kiev, Ratner was brought up in an assimilated environment. He was expelled from high school because of clandestine Socialist activities. As a law student he was arrested and exiled for two years, but later graduated as a lawyer. In his student days he attracted attention with his articles in *Russkoye Bogatstvo* on the agrarian problem, Marxism, political economy, and labor legislation. He appeared as counsel for the defense in political trials and as civil prosecutor in the pogrom trials. The Kishinev pogrom brought him closer to Jewish affairs. He was among the leaders of the *Vozrozhdeniye and later the *Jewish Socialist Workers' Party, in which, with Chaim *Zhitlowsky, he represented the populist socialist-revolutionary trend. He fought for the inclusion of Yiddish in the curriculum of the *Society for the Promotion of Culture among the Jews of Russia, and was a candidate to the second *Duma. As a result of his activities during the 1905 revolution, he was compelled to leave Russia. Ratner was the initiator of the convention of the socialist parties of oppressed nations in Russia (1907). He represented the Jewish Socialist Workers' Party at the Congress of the Socialist International in Copenhagen (1910) and initiated the campaign for the recognition of a Jewish section of the International. The hardships of emigration (Switzerland, Vienna) ruined his health. A short while before his death he settled in Jassy, Romania.

In his works on the national question he rejected assimilationism and supported the idea of a national-personal, exterritorial, autonomy. Noteworthy are his "*Evolyutsiya natsionalno-politicheskoy mysli v russkom yevreystve*" ("The Evolution of National-Political Thought among Russian Jewry," in *Serp*, vol. 2, 1907); "*Natsionalny vopros v svete sotsialisticheskago mirovozzreniya*" ("The National Question in Light of the Socialist Weltanschauung," in *Russkoye Bogatstvo*, nos. 2–5, 1908); and articles on autonomism in *Yevreyskiy Mir*, nos. 6, 9, and 10 (1909).

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[Moshe Mishkinsky]

RATNER, SIDNEY (1908–1996), U.S. economic historian. Born in New York City, Ratner was appointed professor of economic history at Rutgers University, New Brunswick, New Jersey, in 1958. He was active in U.S. civil liberties and civil rights movements. Ratner's major scholarly work concerned the interaction between government and the economy, with particular focus upon American taxation problems.

Among other books, he was the author of *Taxation, Its History as a Social Force in Democracy* (1942), *Taxation and Democracy in America* (1967), and *The Evolution of the American Economy* (with J. Soltow and R. Sylla, 1979).

RATNER, YOHANAN (1891–1965), Israel architect and a commander in the *Haganah and the *Israel Defense Forces. Born in Odessa into an assimilated family, Ratner completed university studies in Germany and served in the Czar's army during World War I and, despite being a Jew, was employed in planning campaigns on various fronts. Ratner went to Palestine in 1923 and was appointed a professor at the *Technion in Haifa. He played an important role in establishing the faculty of architecture, which he headed from 1930 until his retirement in 1963. Parallel to his career as a teacher, Ratner worked as an architect and drew up the plans for many public buildings, including the *Jewish Agency building in Jerusalem, the Eden Hotel, Jerusalem, the aeronautics building for the Technion in Haifa, the Kefar ha-Yarok Agricultural School, and Bet Berl at *Ẓofit.

Ratner joined the Haganah upon arrival in Palestine, became a member of the Haganah Committee in Haifa, and participated in the defense of Jerusalem during the riots of August 1929. He supported a more efficient and compact organization of the Haganah, and when the decision was made to appoint a head of the territorial command of the Haganah, Ratner was the first to occupy the position, which he held in 1938–39. During the German advance on Egypt (1941–42), he was among the creators of the "Carmel Plan," the main aim of which was to concentrate the Jewish armed forces in the Haifa region to fight the invaders. In 1947 Ratner became a member of the Haganah's high command, and, when the Israel Defense Forces were formed, became head of a department of general headquarters with the rank of *alluf* ("brigadier general"). In 1948 he was appointed military attaché to the Israel embassy in Moscow and filled the post until 1951.

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[Yehuda Slutsky]

RATOSH, YONATHAN (originally **Uriel Halperin**; 1908–1981; pseudonym: **Uriel Shelaḥ**), Hebrew poet and journalist. Born in Russia, the son of Yehiel *Halperin, he was brought up in an exclusively Hebrew-speaking environment. Ratosh went to Palestine in 1921. In the mid-1930s, he worked on the staff of two daily newspapers, first *Haaretz* and then the right-wing *Ha-Yarden*. In 1938 he left the country to avoid imprisonment by the Mandatory authorities for his political activities, but returned with the outbreak of World War II.

Ratosh published several volumes of poetry; the first, *Ḥuppah Sheḥorah* ("Black Canopy," 1941), caused a scandal because of its sensuality, its innovations of language, and the *Canaanite motifs intrinsic to the writer's political-cultural thought. He translated many books into Hebrew, including such classics as *Cyrano de Bergerac* (1965) and the *Fables* of La Fontaine. Ratosh founded a political movement, originally called the Young Hebrews, but dubbed the "Canaanites" by its opponents, and he published articles on politics. He coined many new Hebrew words, worked in Hebrew literature and linguistics, and advocated the use of the Latin alphabet for Hebrew.

Ratosh was distinguished by his political-cultural philosophy. His insistence on being defined as a "Hebrew" rather than as a "Jew" reflects his conviction that the population developing an identity in Palestine/Israel is a new nation – as the descendants of immigrants in a country of immigration invariably become. Through its choice of the Hebrew language and culture, the new nation is defining itself as the cultural descendant of the ancient Hebrew-Canaanite nation, indigenous to what is generally known as the Fertile Crescent, which produced such cultural documents as the Ugaritic tablets and the body of literature that, extensively and tendentiously edited, has come down as the Hebrew Bible. The terms "Jew" and "Jewish" are, in Ratosh's opinion, to be reserved for the adherents of the religion of that name, developed by a group of Judean emigrés during the Babylonian Exile and imposed on the people of the land when part of them returned there in the time of Ezra and Nehemiah. To apply the term now as a national determinant is in his view a distortion, and the resulting identification between the old-new Hebrew nation and the Jewish communities of different persuasions in the rest of the world runs counter to history. In addition, Ratosh believed that the identification is injurious to the Hebrew nation and to the role that it must play in the national revival of the lands of the Euphrates. Ratosh had considerable influence on contemporary Hebrew poetry. The vicissitude of his early work, which provoked violent opposition when it first appeared, and was accepted ten years later and held up as a standard 20 years later, is perhaps characteristic. Devices and principles which he was the first to use were later taken for granted as part of the Hebrew poet's tools. This is true at all levels, from such purely technical matters as the use of an indention and dash pattern instead of punctuation, to structural techniques such as the near-repetition of phrases and refrains to obtain a counterpoint effect, to the recourse to local mythology as a vivifying poetic element. It seems likely that later works, particularly his verse in *Ha-Holkhi ba-Ḥoshekh* ("Who Walketh in Darkness," 1965) will, in time, be found to have had a similar influence. His collected poetry was published 1975–77, followed by a number of collections, among them *Shirei Ahavah* (1983), *Ḥuppah Sheḥorah* (1988), and *Shirei Ḥeshbon* (1988), as well as the letters (1937–80), which were edited by Y. Amrami (1986). D. Laor supervised the publication of Ratosh's essays (1983). Aharon *Amir edited (with a bibliography) a collection of Ratosh's poems (*Yalkut Shirim*), to which he and Dan Miron added essays (1991). For English translations of Ratosh's works see Goell, Bibliography and the ITHL website at www.ithl.org.il.

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[David Saraph]

RATSHESKY, ABRAHAM CAPTAIN (1864–1943), U.S. banker and civic leader. Ratshesky was born in Boston. He became a state Republican leader and was state senator in 1892–94. In 1895 he left career politics and founded the U.S. Trust Company, of which he served as president and board chairman. Subsequently, Ratshesky held numerous civic posts, including Massachusetts food administrator during World War I and U.S. minister to Czechoslovakia (1930–33). He was chairman of the Massachusetts Department of Public Welfare for ten years. Ratshesky served as first president of the Federated Jewish Charities of Boston (1909–19) and was prominent in many civic and Jewish endeavors. He formed the A.C. Ratshesky Charity Foundation in 1916.

[Edward L. Greenstein]

RATTNER, ABRAHAM (1893–1978), U.S. painter and sculptor. An expressionist artist who painted many biblical subjects imbued with subjective elements, Rattner was born in Poughkeepsie, New York, to Russian immigrant parents. He studied at George Washington University and the Corcoran School of Art in Washington, D.C., and attended the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts in Philadelphia. His studies were interrupted by service in the army during World War I as a camouflage artist. Upon his return from war Rattner re-enrolled at the Pennsylvania Academy and soon won a fellowship to travel in Europe. After his travels, Rattner lived in Paris (1920–39), only returning to the United States because of Germany's invasion of France. While in Paris, Rattner received additional art instruction at École des Beaux-Arts, Grand Chaumière, and Académie Ranson. He had his first one-man show at the Galerie Bonjean in Paris (1935), from which the French government bought *Card Party* for the Louvre. At this time Rattner exhibited paintings influenced by Cubism and Futurism. Later that year Rattner had a one-man exhibition in New York at the Julien Levy Gallery, establishing the artist as a progenitor of the avant-garde in contrast to the Social Realist imagery popular in New York at the time. Much of Rattner's early work was abandoned when he hurriedly left France and was destroyed before the artist could return after the war.

Soon after settling in New York, Rattner toured the eastern and southern United States with Henry Miller in 1940. Their travels resulted in the book *The Air-Conditioned Nightmare*, with text by Miller and drawings by Rattner. Distraught by the war, Rattner responded with a series of Crucifixion paintings conceived in what would become known as his signature style. *Descent from the Cross* (1940, Art Institute of Chicago) shows a cubistically rendered Jesus helped down from a bright red cross by two geometrically delineated figures. The segmented figures, painted with exaggerated limbs and oversized features, are colorful in conception with thick black lines separating the juxtaposition of warm and cool hues. Many of Rattner's later paintings, which are often pictured in multiple versions of biblical themes – such as Moses, Ezekiel, and Job – employ a heavy paint application and stronger abstraction.

He designed mosaics and a tapestry column for Fairmount Temple in Cleveland, Ohio (1957), and a stained-glass window, *And God Said Let There Be Light*, for the Chicago Loop Synagogue (1958). In 1968, Rattner exhibited his canvas *Victory – Jerusalem the Golden* (1967–68, collection unknown) to honor the celebration of Israel's 20th anniversary of independence. In 1969, he painted *The Gallows of Baghdad* series to protest the hanging of nine Jews in Iraq. Opened in 2002, the Leepa-Rattner Museum on the Tarpon Springs campus of St. Petersburg College contains the largest holdings of Rattner's work in the world.

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[Samantha Baskind (2nd ed.)]

RAU, HEINZ (1896–1965), Israel architect. Rau was born in Berlin, where he specialized in interiors, among which were several for Berlin University. When Hitler came to power in 1933 he immigrated to Ereẓ Israel, where he entered the office of Richard *Kaufmann. From 1949 to 1953 he worked for the Israel Government Planning Department. In 1962 he went to England to become assistant professor in the Department of Town and Country Planning, Manchester. Among Rau's designs in Jerusalem were the Hebrew Union College, the Mathematics Institute, and the domed synagogue at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem (in collaboration with Reznik). A feature of his buildings in Israel is the small intake of light, which he regarded as most suited to the climatic conditions.

RAUCH, EDUARDO (1940–2002), Jewish educator. Rauch was born in Chile to a family that fled Romania before the Holocaust. He was raised and educated in Santiago, receiving a master's degree in biochemistry from the Universidad de Chile. In his student years he was deeply affected by Zionism, partially through meeting the charismatic Argentinean Jewish educator Jaime *Barylko, and in the wake of the Six-day War, led a delegation of Latin American volunteers to Israel. He spent three years in Israel working in the No'ar ve-he-Ḥalutz department of the Jewish Agency under Shelomo Dinur and Mordechai (Morele) Bar-On. In Israel he met and married his wife.

Rauch was elected secretary general of the World Union of Jewish Students (WUJS) and relocated to the WUJS headquarters in London, where he stayed from 1970 to 1973. After his term at WUJS ended, Rauch moved to America so that he could work on a doctorate in education at Harvard. He completed his degree in 1978 and accepted a position at the Melton Research Center for Jewish education at the Jewish Theological Seminary of America.

Two years later he and Barry W. Holtz became co-directors of Melton, serving in that position for 12 years. Rauch taught on the Seminary's education faculty, was the co-creator and editor of *The Melton Journal* (in its time one of the liveliest publications in the field), invented innovative educational projects such as the Melton Teacher Retreat Program, and helped build the Melton Center as a national force in American Jewish education. He published numerous reviews, poems, and essays on a wide range of topics. In a language that was not his native tongue, he was a powerful writer and a remarkable editor. His history of American Jewish education, *The Education of Jews and the American Community,* was published by Tel Aviv University Press posthumously in 2004.

[Barry W. Holtz (2nd ed.)]

RAUH, FRÉDÉRIC (1861–1909), French philosopher. He was born at St. Martin-le-Vinoux, was professor at Toulouse and later (1901) at the Sorbonne (where he replaced *Bergson) and at the Ecole Normale Supérieure.

His main philosophical interest was in morality, which he treated apart from metaphysics and empirical facts. He held that moral thought is like invention, and finds its verification in action. Moral certitude is possible, and man's true guide is reflection upon instinct, rather than either just reflection or just instinct. Individual conscience in which active moral belief manifests itself is all important. His main works were *Essai sur le fondement métaphysique de la morale* (1890); *L'experience morale* (1903); *Psychologie appliquée à la morale et à l'éducation*, with R. d'Allones (1900–17); and *Etudes de Morale* (posthumous, 1911). He was a brilliant teacher. He was actively involved in the Dreyfus case.

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[Richard H. Popkin]

RAUH, JOSEPH L., JR. (1911–1992), U.S. lawyer. Rauh, who was born in Cincinnati, Ohio, graduated from Harvard Law School. He was law secretary to U.S. Supreme Court Justice Benjamin *Cardozo and counsel to various government agencies, including the Wage and Hour Administration and the Federal Communications Commission (1935–42). Rauh served in the U.S. Army as a commissioned officer in the Pacific during World War II and was discharged with the rank of lieutenant colonel. He was a founder of the Americans for Democratic Action in 1947, which presented a liberal, non-Communist alternative to the then-conservative domination of both the Republican and Democratic parties. He was chairman of the ADA executive committee (1947–52), vice chairman (1952–55 and 1957), and national chairman (1955–57). Rauh was a delegate to all Democratic National Conventions from 1948, when he fought for the inclusion of the first strong civil rights plank in that party's platform, through 1964, when he strongly advocated seating the blacks representing the Mississippi Freedom party as the official Democratic delegation from that state. He served for many years on the board of the NAACP and as general counsel to the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights. Rauh was the Washington counsel (1951–63 and again from 1966) and general counsel (1963–66) for the United Automobile Workers. He also served as attorney for the insurgent United Mineworkers Union group led by Joseph Yablonski, who opposed incumbent Tony Boyle for the union's presidency in 1969.

Rauh was instrumental in the founding of the District of Columbia's public law school. In 1999, the Joseph L. Rauh, Jr. Chair of Public Interest Law was established at the University of the District of Columbia's David A. Clarke School of Law.

Regarded as one of the foremost civil rights and civil liberties lawyers of his time, Rauh was awarded the Presidential Medal of Freedom, posthumously, by President Bill Clinton in 1993.

°RAUTER, HANNS ALBIN (1895–1949), Austrian *SS officer and *Himmler's principal representative in the occupied *Netherlands. One of the founders of the fascist Steirischer Heimatschutz ("Styrian Homeguard"), he became its chief. In 1933 he adhered with his organization to the Austrian branch of the Nazi Party. Himmler appointed him in 1940 Higher SS and Police leader in the Netherlands. In this capacity he won Himmler's praise for precisely and zealously carrying out the persecution of Dutch Jewry and their deportation to the camps in Poland. Rauter was considered the chief executor of the "Final Solution" (see *Holocaust, General Survey) of the Jews of the Netherlands. He was sentenced to death by a Dutch court and executed in 1949.

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[Yehuda Reshef]

RAV (third century C.E.), leading Babylonian *amora* and founder of the academy at *Sura. His name was Abba b. Aivu, but he was also called Abba Arikha ("Abba the Tall") because of his tall stature (Nid. 24b). He is generally known as Rav by reason of being "the teacher [*rav*] of the entire Diaspora" (Beẓah 9a, and Rashi thereto). Born at Kafri in southern Babylonia in the latter half of the second century C.E., he belonged to a very distinguished family; he was related to Ḥiyya through both his parents (Sanh. 5a; Pes. 4a and Rashi) and traditionally was descended either from Shimei, brother of David (Ket. 62b), or from Shephatiah, the son of Abital and David (TJ, Ta'an. 4:2, 68a). It is not known who were Rav's teachers in Babylonia, but he immigrated to Ereẓ Israel and studied under his uncle Ḥiyya (MK 16b), was a member of his household (Shab. 66b), and assisted him in his business affairs (TJ, BM 6:1, 10d). Ḥiyya introduced him into the home of Judah ha-Nasi (Ber. 46b), where he discussed *halakhah* under Ḥiyya's guidance (Ḥul. 16a). Extremely diligent in his studies (cf. Suk. 26b), Rav joined the academy of Judah ha-Nasi, with whom he debated halakhic topics (Ḥul. 137b) and whose *bet din* he joined (Git. 59a). He knew and entered into halakhic discussions with the greatest of the last generation of *tannaim*, being in contact with Ishmael b. Yose (Pes. 112b, according to R. Hananel's version; see Dik. Sof. *ibid.*), Symmachus (Ket. 81a), Bar Kappara (Yoma 87b), Eleazar b. Simeon (Zev. 102b), as well as with Levi (Beẓah 24b) and Ḥanina b. Ḥama (Yoma 87b).

He learnt the Torah of Ereẓ Israel, and prior to leaving the country was ordained by Judah ha-Nasi and was authorized to give decisions in ritual law and in civil cases (Sanh. 5a–b; TJ, Ḥag. 1:8, 76c). Some hold that after going back to Babylonia, he returned several times to Ereẓ Israel (see TJ, Pe'ah 6:3, 19c) before finally deciding to settle in Babylonia, apparently in 219 C.E. (*Iggeret R. Sherira Ga'on*, ed. by B.M. Lewin (1921), 78). He encountered some difficulties in Nehardea (Shab. 108a), which was an important center of sages and Torah, and where Shila, Samuel, and Karna flourished at the time. Rav first served as an interpreter in Shila's *bet midrash* (Yoma 20b), and subsequently the exilarch appointed him *agoranomos* ("market commissioner," TJ, BB 5:11, 15a), whose duties in Babylonia comprised superintending market measures and prices; in keeping with the prevailing *halakhah* in Ereẓ Israel, however, he refused to regulate prices. Compelled to resign his position, he left Nehardea and went to Sura, whose inhabitants were not distinguished for their knowledge of the Torah (Ḥul. 110a); there he established a *bet din* and academy which in time attained such eminence that it was regarded as "a little sanctuary" (Meg. 29a) and attracted hundreds of pupils from Sura and its neighborhood. Its permanent pupils numbered 1,200 (Ket. 106a).

The Jews of Sura and its neighboring towns accepted his religious leadership and jurisdiction (*ibid.* 54a). Not only the Babylonian sages, foremost among them Samuel, acknowledged his considerable religious authority (Git. 36b), but Johanan, the head of the academy at Tiberias and one of the outstanding sages of Ereẓ Israel at the time, counted Rav as his teacher in *halakhah* (Ḥul. 95b). Perhaps the most conspicuous recognition of his signal religious authority is the statement: "Rav is a *tanna* and differs" (Ket. 8a), that is, Rav has the right to differ from a *tanna* without sustaining or basing his view on that of another *tanna*, a privilege accorded only to him among all the Babylonian sages of that generation. Returning to Babylonia equipped with the teachings of Judah ha-Nasi and with a profound, comprehensive knowledge of the Torah of Ereẓ Israel, Rav introduced into Babylonia several *halakhot* previously not practiced there. Thus Huna, one of Rav's distinguished pupils, declared: "From the time Rav arrived in Babylonia, we in Babylonia have put ourselves on the same footing as Ereẓ Israel with regard to the breeding of small cattle" (which was prohibited there; BK 80a), as well as "with regard to bills of divorce" (the bearers of which in Ereẓ Israel were exempted from stating, "In my presence it was written and in my presence it was signed"; Git. 6a). Rav enacted regulations relating to matrimony (Yev. 52a; Kid. 12b) and the education of children (Ket. 50a), and frequently visited different communities in Babylonia to institute various ordinances there and to raise their religious and social standard (the sources have been collected by J. Umanski, notes 140/1).

That he relied on his independent judgment, unrestrained by other authorities, when issuing regulations and arriving at decisions, shows the extensive authority enjoyed by him in Babylonia and recognized, according to all indications, also by the exilarch and his officials. Rav was a member of the exilarch's *bet din* (Kid. 44b) and his daughter married into the exilarch's family (Ḥul. 92a). The fact that Rav was economically independent (Ber. 57b), owning landed property (Kid. 59a) and enjoying an income from the manufacture and sale of beer (Pes. 107a), helped to sustain his eminent status. Although there is evidence that he was in some contact with Artabanus V, the last of the royal Arsacid dynasty (Ar. Zar. 10b), unlike Samuel, he did not maintain close relations with the authorities or with non-Jews, his chief activity being directed to internal affairs, to the religious welfare of the members of the Babylonian Jewish community. In addition to his labors in his *bet din* and the academy, Rav was one of the most eminent and prolific Babylonian aggadists and frequently delivered public discourses. In his addresses, greatly influenced by the Ereẓ Israel *aggadah*, he urged his audiences to observe the *mitzvot* and to study the Torah.

In explaining the reason for the *mitzvot* and for their observance he declared: "The *mitzvot* were given only as a means of refining men. For what difference does it make to God whether one slaughters an animal from the front or from the back of the neck?" (Gen. R. 44:1). Of the study of the Torah he said that it "is more important than the offering of the daily sacrifices" (Er. 63b), that it "is superior to the building of the Temple" (Meg. 16b), that "whoever departs from the words of the Torah is consumed by fire" (BB 79a), and that "he who says, 'I shall rise early to study this chapter or this tractate,' has vowed a great vow to the God of Israel" (Ned. 8a). In his solicitude for the status and dignity of scholars he asserted that anyone who insults a scholar is a heretic (*eppikoros*; Sanh. 99b) and "has no remedy for his wounds" (Shab. 119b). Urging scholars to be diligent in teaching the Torah, he declared that "whoever withholds a *halakhah* from a disciple is as though he has robbed him of his ancestral heritage" (Sanh. 91b), and "that whoever teaches Torah to his neighbor's son will be privileged to sit in the Heavenly Academy… if he teaches it to an ignorant man's son, even if the Holy One blessed be He decrees adversely, He annuls it for his sake" (BM 85a). From the examples quoted and their emphasis, it is evident that Rav regarded the teaching of the Torah and the spreading of the knowledge of the Torah as one of the most important spheres of his communal activities.

Of the Jews of Babylon who had refused to grant a certain Shabbetai b. Marinus facilities for earning a livelihood and had not given him any food either, Rav said: "These are the descendants of the 'mixed multitude' (Ex. 12:38), for it is written (Deut. 13:18). 'And [He will] show thee mercy, and have compassion upon thee.' Whoever is merciful to his fellowmen is decidedly of the children of our father Abraham, and whoever is not merciful to his fellowmen is decidedly not of the children of our father Abraham" (Beẓah 32b). Rav warned his audiences against quarreling (Sanh. 110a), against slander and its grave consequences (BB 164b), against paying heed to slander (Shab. 56b), and against boastfulness (Pes. 66b), and was solicitous for the position and welfare of workers (BM 83a).

In some of Rav's homilies a tendency to a certain mystical thinking is discernible. Describing, for example, the difference between this and the next world, he said: "In the future world there is no eating nor drinking, no propagation nor business, no jealousy nor hatred nor competition, but the righteous sit with their crowns on their heads feasting on the Divine Glory" (Ber. 17a). Rav expounded God's names and their pronunciation (Kid. 71a), the purpose of creation (Shab. 77b) and the process of creation (Ḥag. 12a), the divine providence of the world and its creatures (Sot. 2a; Ḥag. 5b), and warned against criticizing God's attributes (Men. 29b). Rav composed several prayers, the best known being *Teki'ata de-Rav* which is recited during the *Amidah* on Rosh Ha-Shanah (TJ, RH 1:3, 57a) and whose contents express his outlook on God's providence over the nations and of Israel.

Opposed to a life of abstinence and mortification, Rav asserted: "Man is destined to render an account for all that his eye has seen and he has not eaten" (TJ, Kid. 4:12, 66d). To *Hamnuna he declared: "My son, if you have anything, derive what benefit you can from it, for there is no enjoyment in the grave nor does death delay. And should you say, 'I would leave a portion for my children,' who will tell you in the grave? The children of men are like the grasses of the field, some blossom and some fade" (Er. 54a, based on Ecclus. 14:12–14). The Jews of Babylonia had great esteem for Rav and grieved deeply at his death. Samuel rent his garments (MK 24a), as did Rav's pupils (Ber. 42b–43a) who mourned him for a long time (Shab. 110a). People took earth from his grave for medicinal purposes (Sanh. 47b). Rav and Samuel are the founders of the Babylonian Talmud, and their discussions and debates both in *halakhah* and *aggadah* are one of its prominent features. Where Samuel, who probably never visited Ereẓ Israel, and his academy in Nehardea reflect the Babylonian tradition, Rav and the academy of Sura which he founded reflect that of Ereẓ Israel.

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[Moshe Beer]

RAVA (d. 352 C.E.), Babylonian *amora*. Rava is an abbreviation of R. Abba, and his full name was R. Abba b. Joseph b. Ḥama (Er. 54a). He lived at *Maḥoza. His teachers were *Ḥisda, the head of the academy at Sura, whose daughter he married (BB 12b), but principally *Naḥman b. Jacob (Shab. 4a) and R. Joseph, head of the academy at Pumbedita (Ḥul. 133a). His main halakhic discussions were with his companion *Abbaye, and their statements and controversies are found throughout the Babylonian Talmud. In their many debates the *halakhah* follows Rava's view except in six instances (for which the mnemonic יע"ל קג"ם was given) in which the *halakhah* is according to Abbaye (BM 22b). After R. Joseph's death in 323 (*Iggeret Sherira Ga'on*, ed. by B.M. Lewin (1921), 85–86), Abbaye was chosen in preference to the other candidates (Rava, Zera, and Rabbah b. Matna) as the head of the Pumbedita academy. Rava thereupon left that city and returned to Maḥoza, where be established a *bet midrash* which attracted many pupils (BB 22a). Rava ascribed overriding weight to logical reasoning and inference in the study and comprehension of the Torah; this approach is reflected in his statement that "one grain of pungent pepper is better than a basketful of pumpkins" (Ḥag. 10a) and in his assertion that he was "like Ben Azzai," who was noted for his mental keenness (Er. 29a). His educational approach was popular with Rava's pupils, one of whom, addressing the pupils of Abbaye, who in his teaching preferred a thorough knowledge and comprehension of halakhic discussions, said: "Instead of gnawing bones in the school of Abbaye, why do you not eat fat meat in the school of Rava?" (BB 22a). Those who had studied under Rava found no great satisfaction in other sages' discourses (Ta'an. 9a). Rava's academy became the principal one after Abbaye's death in 338, the sages and pupils of Abbaye's academy moving to Maḥoza (*Iggeret Sherira Ga'on* pp. 88–89).

For 14 years, until his death, Rava was the head of the academy, during which time his intellectual powers and economic position so expanded as to enable him to assert that he had been granted the wisdom of *Huna and the wealth of Ḥisda, though not the modesty of *Rabbah b. Huna (MK 28a). He owned fields and vineyards (BM 73a) and traded in wine (Ber. 56a), cooperated in public and administrative matters with the exilarch's officials (BB 22a; Git. 31b), and negotiated with the Persian authorities. He was on friendly terms with the exilarch (Beẓah 21b; Ber. 50a; Pes. 74b), and there is illuminating information on his contacts with *Shapur II. When the sages of the academy complained that Rava had established too close relations with the royal court, he replied by telling them what he had to endure there and the large sums with which he bribed the court (Ḥag. 5b). Apparently much money was demanded from the Jews, as from the rest of the population, to finance Shapur's wars against the Romans. Rava also maintained close ties with Ifra Hormuz, the king's mother, who sent him money for distribution among the poor (BB 10b) and a calf to be sacrificed on her behalf (Zev. 116b). She told her son of Rava's greatness when the king wished to punish him for having sentenced a man to flogging which proved fatal (Ta'an. 24b). Maḥoza's geographic proximity to Be-Ardashir, one of the country's capitals, may have facilitated Rava's contacts with the authorities there.

Rava's main activity, however, lay in teaching and in spreading knowledge of the Torah. He instituted various regulations for the people of Maḥoza (Beẓah 30a; Er. 40a; MK 22a; Nid. 66b). He denounced for their pursuit of pleasure (RH 17a), many among the well-to-do (BK 119a) who ate and drank to excess (Shab. 109a) and whose wives did no work (Shab. 32b–33a). On the other hand, he praised the industry of the workers of Maḥoza (BM 77a). Large audiences gathered on Sabbaths to hear Rava's discourses (Er. 44b), and in numerous statements he stressed the signal religious value of studying the Torah. Once, when he noticed a disciple of the sages praying at great length, he said: "They forsake eternal life and occupy themselves with temporal life" (Shab. 10a). He declared that whoever occupies himself with the study of the Torah has no need of sacrifices (Men. 110a) and is superior to a high priest who enters into the innermost part of the sanctuary (Sot. 4b), that the Torah is an antidote to the evil inclination (BB 16a), that suffering comes upon a man for neglecting the study of the Torah (Ber. 5a), and that King Asa was punished for having imposed forced labor on the disciples of the sages who were thus compelled to neglect the study of the Torah (Sot. 10a). He claimed exemption from government taxes for disciples of the sages (Ned. 62b), to whom he gave the right to sell their goods in the market (BB 22a). To uphold their honor and prevent them from wasting their time, which should be devoted to the study of the Torah, he allowed them to disclose that they were disciples of the sages so that they might be judged or give evidence without having to wait for the cases of others to be finished (Ned. 62a). But he also demanded of them that they be worthy of the name, declaring that "any disciple of the sages whose inside is not like his outside is not a disciple of the sages" (Yoma 72b).

Yet despite its great importance Rava did not regard the study of the Torah as an end in itself. Thus a favorite saying of his was, "The goal of wisdom is repentance and good deeds, so that a man should not study the Torah and Mishnah and then despise his father and mother, his teacher, and his superior in wisdom and rank" (Ber. 17a). In like manner, when describing what is demanded of man in this world, he said: "When man is brought in for judgment [in the next world] he is asked, 'Did you deal faithfully, fix times for studying the Torah, did you engage in procreation, hope for salvation, did you search after wisdom, infer one thing from another?' Yet, even so, if 'the fear of the Lord is his treasure' (Isa. 33:6) it is well; if not, it is not well" (Shab. 31a). Rava's special outlook can be better comprehended when compared with Hamnuna's statement that "the first matter for which a man is called to render account in the hereafter is with regard to the study of the Torah" (Sanh. 7a). Rava likewise said: "Jerusalem was destroyed only because men of integrity ceased therein" (Shab. 119b). An illuminating view of his is that "length of life, children, and sustenance depend not on merit but on luck" (MK 28a). He had many affinities with mysticism and performed miracles (see Sanh. 65b). On one occasion he even wished to discourse in the *bet midrash* on the mystery of the Tetragrammaton but was stopped by a certain old man (Pes. 50a). On Rava's death the academy at Maḥoza was divided in two, *Naḥman b. Isaac, the head of the **kallah* at Maḥoza, succeeding Rava as head of the academy there, while R. *Papa, a pupil of Rava, established one at Naresh.

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[Moshe Beer]

RAVA, MAURIZIO (1878–after 1935), Italian colonial administrator and traveler. Born in Milan, Rava studied painting. Due to poor health he moved to warmer climates, traveling in Africa and Asia. He published his impressions in Italian magazines and geographical periodicals. In 1909 he founded *Il Carrocio*, a political literary periodical, staunchly supporting the new Italian Nationalist Party. Rava strongly advocated Italian colonial expansion. He served in the Libyan campaign and was decorated for valor. In 1927 Rava was appointed secretary-general of the *Tripoli government and from 1932 to 1935 was governor of Italian Somaliland. Rava published many studies on Italian administration in *Libya, East Africa, and Ethiopia.

RAVAYA (**Ravalia**, **Ravaylla**), family of courtiers in 13th-century Spain, originating from Gerona in Aragon. Its prominent members included ASTRUG RAVAYA, bailiff of Gerona from 1276 to 1281. In the 1260s Astrug and his son JOSEPH (d. 1282) loaned large sums to King James I, and also farmed the royal revenues. Joseph was the treasurer of King Pedro the Great (1276–85). In the reign of Pedro's father, James I, Joseph had served as the infante's banker and for a time managed all the latter's property. From 1268 Joseph was bailiff of Besalú and from 1271 also of Gerona and district. Apart from the king and the infante, Joseph was the only person in the kingdom of Aragon whose functions enabled him to act in the three states of the crown (Aragon, Catalonia, and Valencia). The general local bailiffs as well as various other officials were all subordinated to his authority. Muca de *Portella, Aaron Abinafia, and Joseph's brother, Moses (see below), served under him as district commissioners, their functions being similar to those of the general bailiffs in later periods. As king's treasurer, Joseph had to supervise the royal accounts and manage the crown revenues. In 1279 he is mentioned by the title *thesaurarius* ("treasurer"). Joseph had a part in the appointment or dismissal of royal officials and often served Pedro in an advisory capacity. He accompanied the king at the siege of Balaguer against the rebel Catalonian nobles (1280) and during the campaign against Sicily (1282). Various state documents contain Joseph's signature in Hebrew and other administrative notes in this language.

Joseph's brother, MOSES, headed the crown administration of Catalonia until his dismissal (before February 1283). In that year, when he was about to inherit his brother's office in charge of the three states of the kingdom, the king ordered that Moses' functions should be restricted to Catalonia only, while for the first time Christian officials were appointed to these posts in Aragon and Valencia. Moses also continued his activities under Alfonso III (1285–91), despite the laws of 1283 which barred Jews from holding public office in the kingdom.

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RAVEN (Heb. עוֹרֵב), bird. Mentioned in the Pentateuch among the unclean birds is "every raven after its kind" (Lev. 11:15). The reference is to the genus *Corvus* of which four species are found in Israel, three black (cf. Song 5:11) and one, very prevalent near inhabited areas, the hooded crow, *Corvus corone*, which has a gray back and belly and a black head and wings. It is commonly found in Jerusalem where it nests in high trees. Metal spikes were placed on the roof of the Temple to prevent ravens, undoubtedly attracted by the remains of sacrifices, from sitting on these (Mid. 4:6) and disturbing the Temple service with their raucous cries. These sounds are particularly strident during hot spells at the beginning of summer, when the "young ravens" leave the nest. Although already grown, the young are incapable of finding food, and since they have a voracious appetite, their parents fly to and fro in search of food for them, the air being filled with their cries, and hence the description: "He giveth to the beast his food, and to the young ravens which cry" (Ps. 147:9). These young ravens cry, as it were, to God to satisfy their hunger, as it says in Job (38:41): "Who provideth for the raven his prey, when his young ones cry unto God…?" The hooded crow is found in flocks which with great devotion defend their companions and especially the young, and hence the saying: "Three love one another, proselytes, slaves, and ravens" (Pes. 113b). The black raven, *Corvus corax*, preys on small animals and feeds on carcasses and corpses (cf. Prov. 30:17). Although folklore represents the raven as presaging evil (cf. Isa. 34:11), it is once mentioned in a favorable context, ravens having fed *Elijah when he hid in the brook *Cherith (I Kings 17:2–6). The raven is endowed with a highly developed sense of orientation, and in eastern countries mariners took with them ravens to direct them to dry land; the story of the raven in the ark (Gen. 8:7) is reminiscent of this.

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[Jehuda Feliks]

RAVENNA, city in Emilia Romagna, N. central Italy. There is evidence that a Jewish settlement existed in Ravenna in the third and fourth centuries, probably the earliest Jewish community in the region. A piece of an amphora with the word "Shalom" written on it attests physically the Jewish presence, when Ravenna was the capital of Byzantine Italy. Around the beginning of the sixth century Ravenna became the capital of the kingdom of the Ostrogoths under Theodoric, who was well disposed toward the Jews. Thus in 519, after the Christian populace incited by the clergy burnt down the synagogue in Ravenna, Theodoric ordered that those responsible should pay compensation: persons who refused were to be publicly flogged. The early medieval Jewish community of Byzantine Ravenna probably consisted of merchants engaged in overseas commerce.

In 1352 there is mention of the first loan bank owned by Jews. When the Republic of Venice took control of Ravenna, a number of Jews immigrated. Ravenna Jews were goldsmiths, wine merchants, and hemp merchants. When Ravenna passed under the rule of the pope the situation of the Jews worsened. The vigilance committee of the Italian Jewish communities met at Ravenna in 1443 to consider measures to counteract the restrictive papal bull recently issued. The original nucleus had by now been joined by loan-bankers, whose lucrative activities continued until 1492 when a public loan-bank (*Monti di Pietà) was opened. In the same year the first expulsion occurred. The previous year the synagogue had been destroyed by the populace incited by the preaching of the *Franciscans, and the Jews had been attacked. Since Ravenna was now under the sovereignty of the Church, the anti-Jewish regulations issued by the popes in the second half of the 16th century were all enforced, and the Talmud was burned in 1553. Jews came back to Ravenna; thus in 1515 the General Council decreed the erection of a ghetto in the area where Via Luca Lunghi stands today. The Jews also erected a small synagogue. The Jews were expelled once more in 1555. In 1569, when Pope *Pius V ordered the Jews to leave the minor centers of the Papal States, the Jews were expelled from Ravenna. Thirty loan-bankers returned following the concessions made by *Sixtus V in 1587. In 1593, the Jews were again expelled by Clement VIII.

The Biblioteca Classense includes various manuscripts in Hebrew and a printed book, *Sefer Kol Bo*, dated to 1525. The book was printed in the workshop of Gershon Soncino at Rimini.

Not far from Ravenna at Piangipane, there is the Allied War Cemetery. Part of the burial ground includes the graves of the 34 soldiers of the Jewish Brigade Group who fought in the Senio area at Alfonisine di Romagna and Brisighella between March and April 1945.

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[Ariel Toaff / Samuele Rocca (2nd ed.)]

RAVENSBRUECK, Nazi concentration camp for women. This camp, the only one of its kind, was located near Fuerstenberg in Mecklenburg (in the former East Germany). Its construction by prisoners from *Sachsenhausen, begun in the fall of 1938, was completed in the spring of 1939. The first camp commandant, Max Koegel, was replaced in 1942 by Fritz Suhren, who remained in charge until the evacuation of the camp (April 30, 1945). The key posts were held by men, but the *SS staff was mostly female and excelled in its cruel treatment of the inmates. Originally intended as a prison camp for political prisoners, Ravensbrueck's role changed with the start of World War II, eventually becoming a concentration camp and finally, in 1944, with the addition of a gas chamber, an extermination camp.

On May 15, 1939 the first prisoner transport arrived from Lichtenburg, a concentration camp for women in Saxony that closed in May 1939. The women were "Bibelforscher" (Jehovah's Witnesses) or criminals. On May 18, 1939, 867 women who were political prisoners (some were coincidentally Jewish, arrested for their political activities, not because they were Jewish), arrived from Germany and Austria. By late May 1939 there were 974 women imprisoned in Ravensbrueck including 137 Jews. In the summer of 1939 a transport of gypsies arrived from Austria. The camp's original purpose was the imprisonment and punishment of political prisoners. After the war began its prisoners served as a pool for slave labor. The outbreak of World War II also brought thousands of Polish women (many with their children) and Czech women to Ravensbrueck. Later on other prisoners came, especially resistance fighters from all over Europe. Women wore color-coded triangles that designated them as political prisoners, criminals, asocials, Jehovah's Witnesses, or Jews. With the war and the increasing numbers of incarcerated women came a swift deterioration in living conditions due to overcrowding, malnutrition, and hard labor. The escalation of the war brought continually harsher and demanding work conditions in jobs that ranged from hard physical labor such as road building to factory work in the network of satellite camps. A clothing industry, especially for furs, operated in the camp. Work was required of everyone. Older women who were too weak to do hard labor were used to make clothes for the army or clean the barracks and latrines. The "Bunker" – as the camp prison was known – was completed in 1939 and became the site where women were regularly subjected to solitary confinement and torture. In 1941 the sick prisoners were included in the *Euthanasiaaktion* involving the killing of the mentally ill. The steadily growing death rate was caused by overwork and deteriorating living conditions. In the fall of 1944 a gas chamber was constructed (until then prisoners had been sent for gassing to other camps), and it is likely that the first female prisoners were murdered there in January 1945.

Ravensbrueck prisoners served as guinea pigs for pseudomedical experiments carried out by the *Auschwitz physicians, August Horst and Karl Clauberg. The surviving victims were often crippled for life. Ravensbrueck also became a training site for women SS auxiliary guards who went on to work in Auschwitz or *Majdanek. The rising number of Jewish inmates was concentrated in a special Jewish block, where the worst living conditions prevailed. With the implementation of the "Final Solution," all Jewish prisoners were sent to Auschwitz or Majdanek in October 1942. In the summer of 1944 Hungarian Jewish women arrived, followed later by others from other camps. Due to the intervention of *Himmler's favorite, the Finnish Dr. Kersten, and of the representatives of the World Jewish Congress in Sweden, together with the activities of *Bernadotte, on April 21 Himmler gave his consent to release thousands of women from Ravensbrueck and two other camps nearby. They were transferred by the Red Cross to Sweden and Denmark. Among them were at least 1,000 Jewish women. This rescue action had been decisively influenced by the personal intervention of Norbert Masur (d. 1971), a member of the Swedish section of the World Jewish Congress, who flew with Kersten to Berlin on April 19 and conferred with Himmler in a meeting arranged by Kersten, during the night of April 20 to 21. With the approach of the Soviet army, evacuation of Ravensbrueck was ordered by Himmler and 15,000 women were sent on a forced death march. Up to this time, 132,000 women and children had passed through the camp, of whom 92,000 died or were murdered in the camp. When the Red Army reached the camp on April 30, 1945, they found 3,000 gravely ill and dying prisoners there.

No armed resistance was possible in Ravensbrueck, but other examples of "illegal" and punishable activities are noteworthy. Those of a political nature include attempts by women working in the nearby Siemens factory to sabotage its manufacture of rocket components, to steal newspapers, or to keep lists of prisoners. Women also taught clandestinely and attempted small theatrical productions. Acts that offered reminders of home and emotional reassurance to the imprisoned women are also important. Women secretly created cookbooks, artwork, and other small items. These artistic and hand-crafted gifts that prisoners fashioned from scraps and threads of clothing and exchanged among themselves were unique ways in which women were able to resist the dehumanizing and deadly conditions.

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[Yehuda Reshef / Beth Cohen (2nd ed.)]

RAVENSBURG, city in Wuerttemberg, Germany. A Jewish community existed there in the first half of the 14th century and had a synagogue. From 1330 to 1343 ten Jews are listed in the burgher rolls, including a rabbi or teacher (referred to as Ysak *scholasticus*) and a miller. The Jewish *oath (a brief dignified formula) was administered in the synagogue. The Jews' street was near the northern wall. During the *Black Death persecutions, the Jews fled to the imperial bailiff's castle where most of them were burned to death by the populace early in 1349. A survivor was admitted as a burgher in *Esslingen in 1385. Jews again appear in Ravensburg in 1380; in 1385 two Jewish masons are mentioned. In 1427 a Jew was imprisoned on charges of forgery but released upon proving his innocence. In 1429, when a young lay brother's body was found hanging from a tree in a nearby wood, two Jewish couples, one of them with their son, were accused of murder and imprisoned; they made a public declaration of innocence, which was signed by the Swabian imperial bailiff, his deputy, and others. However, the social unrest in the area caused the *blood libel to spread, and Jews in the communities on Lake *Constance were also arrested. In 1430 the imprisoned Jews in Ravensburg were burned to death and the rest banished from the city. The decision was reaffirmed by King Ferdinand I in 1588. Both King Sigismund II at the end of 1430 and Bishop Henry of Constance in 1441 vigorously opposed attempts to venerate the dead boy. Nevertheless, in local tradition the blood libel fable prevailed, as crystalized in a chronicle written c. 1770.

In the 18th century some Jews attended fairs held in Ravensburg, and by 1835 a few Jews had moved to the city. They numbered 40 in 1900 and 27 between 1925 and 1933. Of these 12 emigrated, five moved elsewhere, and 13 were deported to death camps in Eastern Europe in 1941–42. There were 32 liberated Jewish survivors of the Holocaust living in Ravensburg by 1947–48; 17 Jews remained by 1965. In 1968 eight Jews were affiliated with the *Stuttgart community. In 2005 there were three Jews living in Ravensburg who were members of the Jewish community in Stuttgart.

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[Toni Oelsner]

RAVIKOVITCH, DALIA (1936–2005), Hebrew poet. Born in Ramat Gan, Ravikovitch was sent after her father's death to live on a kibbutz. She studied at the Hebrew University, worked as journalist and teacher, and began publishing poetry in 1955. Her first collection, *Ahavat Tappuaḥ ha-Zahav*, with the title alluding to Prokofiev's burlesque opera, appeared in 1959. Nearly a dozen volumes of poetry followed, including *Ha-Sefer ha-Shelishi* ("The Third Book," 1969), *Ahavah Amitit* ("True Love," 1987), *Kol ha-Shirim ad Ko* ("All the Poems Till Now," 1995), *Merov Ahavah* ("Because of Love," 1998) and *Ḥaẓi Sha'ah lifnei ha-Monsun* ("Half an Hour before the Monsoon," 1998). The often very intimate poetry addresses the theme of loss and loneliness. Typical is the way in which Ravikovitch sets the personal experience in a wider context, the emotion in a collective historical or mythological frame of reference (as, for example, in the poem "*Ha-Historyah shel ha-Perat*"). Dreams and hallucinations evoke the vulnerability of the feminine speaker in the poems, the sense of yearning and anticipation, frequently alluding to a thwarted eroticism (as in "Clockwork Doll"). Motherhood and commitment, bodily decrepitude, and the mysterious life-driving force are some of the recurring themes. Another keynote is the political one: poems in which the speaker protests in the tradition of the biblical prophet against injustice and oppression. Ravikovitch depicts the fate of an infant who was killed in his mother's womb ("Mother Walks Around"), delineates with sarcasm the picture of terror and death in the Palestinian refugee camps of Sabra and Shatilla ("One Doesn't Kill a Baby Twice"), tells of an Arab who was burned to death, reflects on Palestinian youth throwing stones, robbed of the innocence of childhood ("Stones"), or portrays the Israeli mother whose son died in the army ("But She Had a Son"). A sense of futility and resignation marks many of the confessional poems speaking of existence – both private and collective – on the verge of an abyss. "We are a plan that has gone awry," she writes.

In addition to her own collections of poetry, Ravikovitch translated the poetry of W.B. Yeats and T.S. Eliot into Hebrew. She is the author of children's books in verse and prose, including *Mekhonit ha-Pela'im* ("The Magic Car," 1959), *Kalman shel Rami* ("Rami's Kalman," 1961), *Imma Mevulbelet* ("Absent-Minded Mommy," 1978). She also published two collections of short stories: *Mavet ba-Mishpaḥah* ("Death in the Family," 1976) and *Kevuẓat ha-Kaduregel shel Winnie Mandela* ("Winnie Mandela's Soccer Team," 1997). The typical protagonist is generally a woman or a girl who does not fit into normative social frameworks, a sensitive individual who remains an outsider, whether in the family, in the group, or in the kibbutz. In 2005 Ravikovitch published a collection of fifty mini-stories, oscillating between the melancholy and the humorous, under the title *Ba'ah ve-Halkhah* ("She Came and Went"). Ravikovitch was awarded the Bialik Prize (1987) and the Israel Prize (1998). Her poems have been translated into many languages. The English collection *Dress of Fire* appeared in 1978, followed by *The Window* in 1989. For information concerning translations into other languages see the ITHL website at www.ithl.org.il.

Ravikovitch was found dead in her apartment on August 21, 2005, apparently by her own hand.

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[Anat Feinberg (2nd ed.)]

RAVINA (abbreviation of Rav Avina), the name of several Babylonian *amoraim*, some of whom are mentioned with their patronymics and some without. At times it is difficult to identify the particular Ravina. The two best known are: RAVINA I (d. 422), who studied under Rava (Ber. 20b; 38a, et al.), and also maintained contact with Rava's other pupils, Naḥman b. Isaac, Papa, and Huna b. Joshua (Pes. 105a; BM 74b; Sanh. 69a). He had frequent discussions with R. Ashi, who was his junior. He attended his academy in *Mata Meḥasya and referred to himself as a pupil-colleague of Ashi (Er. 63a; et al.). He gave rulings on various occasions (Er. 40a, 63a). The statement, "Ravina and R. Ashi conclude the [authoritative] teaching [of the Talmud]" (BM 86a), may refer to him (Ravina's name occurs before that of Ashi in many manuscripts and early sources; see bibl., *Sinai Sefer Yovel*, 60, n. 6). He was renowned for his devotion to study and it was said of him that "he made nights as days in study of the Torah" (MK 25b; see Dik. Sof., *ibid.*). He had a son and daughter (BM 104b; Nid. 66a), and lived to an advanced age ("*Seder Tanna'im ve-Amora'im*" in *Maḥzor Vitry*, p. 483). Lavish eulogies were delivered at his death (MK 25a).

Ravina II (d. 499), Ravina b. Huna, apparently a nephew of Ravina I (Ket. 100b). His father, who was a scholar since he transmitted sayings of R. Papi (Ned. 90a) and of R. Joseph (Ned. 60b), died while Ravina was still young and his mother reported some of his father's customs in a number of *halakhot* that were in dispute (Ber. 39b; Men. 68b). Maremar was his main teacher and Ravina frequently discussed halakhic problems with him (Shab. 81b; et al.). Ravina served as *dayyan* in Mata Meḥasya and helped Ashi's daughter collect the portion of her father's property that was her due from the property of her brother Mar (Ket. 69a). On the death of Rabbah Tosfa'ah in 474, Ravina succeeded him as head of the academy of Sura (*Iggeret R. Sherira Ga'on*, ed. by B.W. Lewin (1921), 95; and see Abraham ibn Daud, *Sefer ha-Kabbalah – Book of Tradition*, ed. by G.D. Cohen, 1942). During that period the Babylonian government issued harsh decrees against the Jewish community; synagogues were closed and Jewish children compelled to apostasize (*Iggeret R. Sherira Ga'on*, p. 97). According to Sherira Gaon it is this Ravina who together with Ashi "concluded the teaching" (see above). The death of Ravina marks the end of the era of *amoraim* in Babylonia and the beginning of the age of the *savoraim*.

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[Moshe Beer / Yitzhak Dov Gilat]

RAVINA (**Rabinowitz**), **MENASHE** (1899–1968), composer and writer. Menashe Ravina was born in Pereyaslavl, Ukraine, went to Palestine in 1924, and became active as a music educator, choral organizer, music critic (for *Davar*, from 1925 until his death), and composer. He pioneered in music popularization as well as in the arranging of music and singing courses for workers. Ravina's writings include *Yo'el Engel ve-ha-Musikah ha-Yehudit* (1947); and an exercise book for solfège, *Organum and the Samaritans* (1963). His songs include *Ha-Shekediyyah Poraḥat* (text by Israel Dushman), *Alei Giv'ah* (A. Broides), and many others.

RAVITCH, MELECH (pseudonym of **Zekharye Khone Bergner**; 1893–1976), Yiddish poet and essayist. Born in Radymno, East Galicia, Ravitch left home at 14 and lived in various cities, including, for long periods, Vienna (1912–21) and Warsaw (1921–34), later emigrating to Australia (1936–38), Argentina, the U.S., and Mexico (1939–40), before settling in Montreal in 1941 for the rest of his life (excepting 1954–56 in Israel). His earliest lyrics appeared in *Der Yudisher Arbeter* (1910); his first volume of verse was *Oyf der Shvel* (1912). He worked in a bank before serving in the Austrian army during World War I. His *Spinoza* (1918) is a tribute to the philosopher whom he ranked with Moses and Jesus. From the early 1920s he was an active contributor of poems and essays to major Yiddish periodicals in Eastern Europe and beyond. He co-founded *Literarishe Bleter* (1924) and the Yiddish Pen Club. In Vienna he felt the impact of expressionistic poets such as F. *Werfel and E. *Lasker-Schüler and began to experiment with expressionistic technique. In his *Nakete Lider* ("Naked Songs," 1921), he gave up rhyme, regular meter, and stanzas. Impressed by the Yiddish revival in postwar Poland, he settled in Warsaw in 1921. There he joined Uri Ẓevi *Greenberg and Peretz *Markish, a triumvirate branded the *Khalyastre ("Gang"), in the struggle against realism in art. Ravitch reached the climax of his expressionistic striving in the poems "Dos Gezang tsum Mentshlekhn Kerper" ("Song to the Human Body"), "Gezang tsu der Zun" ("Song to the Sun"), "Dos Gezang fun Has un Libe tsum Yidishn Folk" ("Song of Hate and Love for the Jewish People"), and "Efntlekher Mishpet Ibern Toyt" ("Public Judgment of Death"), all four of which, having initially appeared in periodicals, were published in book form in *Di Fir Zaytn fun Mayn Velt* ("The Four Sides of My World," 1929). Ravitch's retreat from expressionism was reflected in the song and ballads of *Kontinentn un Okeanen* ("Continents and Oceans," 1937), a volume which embodied his moods and experiences of the restless decade that preceded his two years in Melbourne (1936–37). Instead of trying to shock and mystify his readers, he aimed at maximum clarity, proclaiming himself a citizen of the world, a poet beyond nationalism. In 1946 he and his brother H. *Bergner published the memoirs of their family as recorded by their mother Hinde Bergner (1870–1942) on the eve of World War II. In Montreal he served as a catalyst of Yiddish literary, educational, and cultural activities. During his active association there with the *Yidishe-folksbyblotek* (Jewish Public Library), he revived the *Yidishe-folksuniversitet* (Jewish People's Popular University) to offer adult education programming in Jewish and non-Jewish topics from 1941 to 1954. Soon after he settled in Montreal, Ravitch embarked on a project to immortalize the Jewish cultural figures he had known in Poland, Israel, and America, and other countries and produced five encyclopedic volumes, *Mayn Leksikon* (1945–82). He also wrote three autobiographical volumes (*Dos Mayse-bukh fun Mayn Lebn* (1962–75), which appeared in Hebrew as *Sefer ha-Ma'asiyot shel Ḥayai* (1976).

Ravitch was one of the world's leading Yiddish literary figures after the Holocaust. His poetry and essays appeared in the international Yiddish press and in anthologies, as well as in translation. Ravitch published numerous collections of poetry, including *67 Lirishe, Satirishe, Natsyonale, Sotsyale un Filozofishe Lider fun di Letste Finf-zeks Yor* (1946), *Di Kroynung fun a Yungn Yidishn Dikhter in Amerike: Poeme* (1953), *Di Lider fun Mayne Lider* (1954), and *Iker Shokhakhti: Lider un Poemes fun di Yorn 1954–1969* (1969), as well as in Hebrew translation (*Ḥamishim Shirim*, 1969). His essays appeared in *Eynems Yidishe Makhshoves in Tsvantsikstn Yorhundert* (1949), and posthumously in *Eseyen* (1992). Ravitch edited and co-edited numerous collective projects, including the weekly literary supplement of the *Keneder Odler* (1943–49), *Almanakh Yidish* (1961), and *Dos Amolike Yidishe Varshe biz der Shvel fun Dritn Khurbn* (1966). During his long career, he was awarded numerous literary prizes including the prestigious L. Lamed, Yud Yud Segal, and Itzik Manger Prizes.

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[Sol Liptzin / Jerold C. Frakes and Rebecca Margolis (2nd ed.)]

RAVITZ, SHELOMO (c. 1886–1980), *ḥazzan* and composer. Born in Novogrudok, Russia, Ravitz studied music from the age of 15 and received his diploma in Vienna. He officiated in various European communities, including Riga, and in Johannesburg before moving to Ereẓ Israel in 1932. He became *ḥazzan* of the Ohel Shem Synagogue in Tel Aviv and his reputation spread through his singing together with his own choir, at the weekly *oneg shabbat* organized there by Ḥ.N. *Bialik. He subsequently became *ḥazzan* of the Tel Aviv Great Synagogue, where his expressive, yet unexaggerated, style of singing brought him admiration and popularity. As director of the Selah Seminary for *ḥazzanim*, Ravitz was the teacher of many present-day *ḥazzanim*.

His compositions and arrangements of traditional melodies were published in *Yalkut Zemirot* (1954) and *Kol Yisrael*, 2 vols. (1964), edited by M.S. Geshuri. Ravitz also edited the music section in each volume of Y.L. Baruch and Y.T. Levinsky (eds.), *Sefer ha-Mo'adim*, 8 vols. (1946–67), which serves as a popular source of Jewish musical tradition in Israeli homes and schools.

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[David M.L. Olivestone]

RAVITZKY, AVIEZER (1945–), Israeli philosopher and professor. Born in Jerusalem, Ravitzky was raised in a religious-Zionist family and in his youth led the Bnei Akiva youth movement in Tel Aviv. As a graduate student in Jewish philosophy at the Hebrew University he headed the university's student union. His Ph.D. dissertation dealt with the early commentators on Maimonides' *Guide of the Perplexed*, a subject of his continued scholarly interest. In 1980 he joined the faculty of the department of Jewish Thought at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, eventually becoming department chairman and head of the Institute of Jewish Studies. Ravitzky was an active member of the Israel Council for Higher Education, and from 1995 served as a senior fellow at the Israel Democracy Institute, where he headed research projects dealing with religion and state, the subject of some of his own publications. Ravitzky also served on the National Committee for Bio-Ethics. In 2001 he was awarded the Israel Prize for Jewish Thought.

His research has led to new ways of understanding Jewish philosophy in the Middle Ages and 20th-century Jewish thought. Ravitzky's medieval studies cast new light on *Maimonides and Ḥasdai *Crescas, and showed how a continuous Maimonidean–Ibn *Tibbon school of thought shaped Jewish philosophy in subsequent generations, thereby influencing research into the esoteric doctrines found in the manuscripts of Maimonides' early followers and commentators. Ravitzky's work also provided a new conceptual framework for understanding Jewish political philosophy, clarifying the ideological tensions relating to messianism and the Land of Israel. His research investigating the roots of contemporary Orthodox theological responses to nationalist movements, presented these diverse perspectives in an overall conceptual model, and thereby led to new ways of understanding religious thought and its relation to modernity, Zionism, and the State of Israel. Many of Ravitzky's publications focus on the connection between classical Jewish thought and existential issues, including war and peace, exile and redemption, religion and state.

Ravitzky rejected the increasingly right-wing orientation of the national-religious movement and its emphasis on settlement activity, in favor of an ideology balancing these values with the sanctity of life and the search for peace. From the early 1970s he was a founder and leader of the religious peace movements in Israel.

Among Ravitzky's books are *Messianism, Zionism and Jewish Religious Radicalism* (1996); *History and Faith: Studies in Jewish Philosophy* (1996); *The Land of Israel in Jewish Thought* (Heb., 3 vols., 1990, 1998, 2005), *Religion and State in Jewish Thought* (Heb., 2 vols., 1998, 2005; Eng., 2000); and *Argument on Faith and Philosophy with Yeshayahu Leibowitz* (Heb., 2006).

[Raphael Jospe (2nd ed.)]

RAWET, SAMUEL (1929–1984), Brazilian author. Rawet was born in Klimontow, Poland; in 1936 his family immigrated to Brazil, where his parents settled in the suburbs of Rio de Janeiro. Rawet earned a degree in engineering, and he made significant contributions to the design and building of Brasília. He early on decided to establish a career as an author and in 1956 published his first volume of short stories, *Contos do imigrante*, which contains stories he had previously published between 1949 and 1953 in a variety of magazines and literary supplements. Subsequent works of fiction include: *Diálogo* (1963), *Abama* (1964), *Os sete sonhos* (1967), *O terreno de uma polegada quadrada* (1970), *Viagens de Ahasverus* (1970), and *Que os mortos enterrem os seus mortos* (1981). An anthology of his stories has also been published in English under the title *The Prophet and Other Stories* (1998). In addition to his fiction, Rawet also wrote two plays (never published) and a number of nonfiction works such as *Alienação e realidade* (1970), *Homossexualismo, sexualidade e valor* (1970), and *Angústia e conhecimento* (1978).

Rawet's works began to receive critical attention in the 1990s. Most critics point to his adherence to a nostalgic portrayal of *Yiddishkeit* in his early fiction to a rather violent rejection of Jewishness is his later works. To be sure, his work reflects the author's changing attitudes over the course of his life. He was at times controversial. His characters are in a constant struggle to define and find their place in the world. Displacement, exile, tragedy, solitude, suffering, incomprehension, anguish, insecurity, and memory persist in his literature as inherent to the human condition. The trope of the wandering Jew, most overt in *Viagens de Ahasverus*, is a persistent leitmotif in his works. Problematic and inconsistent, his works represent a major contribution to Brazilian literature.

[Darrell B. Lockhart (2nd ed.)]

RAWICZ (Ger. **Rawitsch**), town in Poznan province, W. Poland. The first settlement of Jews in Rawicz took place soon after the founding of the town in 1639. In 1648 complaints were lodged against Jewish merchants who were then expelled. They returned soon thereafter, only to be expelled again in 1674. By 1698 an organized community was in existence and in 1719 it received a *Freibrief* ("letter of privileges") regulating the rights and taxes of its members. By then the community totaled 12 families. A *ḥevra kaddisha* was founded in 1728 and the first rabbi, Menahem Mendel Gradenwitz, was appointed in 1755. Its *bet din* was headed by learned talmudic authorities, including R. Solomon b. Dov Baer (1786–93), later to be the community's rabbi. In 1774 a *bet midrash* was founded. Services were held in a private house until a synagogue was built in 1783. The community (35 families in 1739) flourished, and after a fire in *Leszno (1790) absorbed many refugees, including R. Akiva *Eger, who lived there for one year. The local Jews were mainly shopkeepers, tailors, livestock merchants, and artisans. In 1797 the community had 198 families, and by 1835 there were 401 families (a total of 1,574 persons, or about 50% of the total population). A new synagogue was built in 1889 when the community was at its economic peak and served by a long line of scholarly rabbis, including its last one, the scholar John Cohn (1893–1920). The Jewish population subsequently declined to 363 in 1905. The town suffered during World War I, and under Polish rule the community was subjected to discrimination which induced many to leave for Germany; only 15 remained in 1933. The cemetery and synagogue were both destroyed by the Nazis during World War II. Markus *Brann, the historian, and Arthur *Ruppin, the Zionist leader, were both born in Rawicz.

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RAWIDOWICZ, SIMON (1896–1957), Jewish scholar, philosopher, Hebraist, and ideologue. Born in Grajewo, then in Russia, Rawidowicz received a traditional Jewish education, during the course of which he became attracted to the Haskalah and Modern Hebrew literature. After the outbreak of World War I in 1914, he moved with his family to Bialystok, where he became active in the Hebrew cultural life of the city. In 1919, he left for Berlin, where he obtained a Ph.D. in philosophy in 1926 for his dissertation on Ludwig Feuerbach, which he expanded into *Ludwig Feuerbachs Philosophie: Ursprung and Schicksal* ("Ludwig Feuerbach's Philosophy: Sources and Influence," 1931; 1964^2). Concomitantly, he made his mark as a scholar of Judaica with the publication of *Kitvei Ranak* ("The Writings of Nahman Krochmal," 1924; 1961^2), and volume seven of the Jubilee Edition of the writings of Moses Mendelssohn (1930; 1971^2). Additionally, he established the Hebrew Ayanot Publishing Company (1922–25) and the *Brit Ivrit Olamit (World Hebrew Union, 1931), and edited the Hebrew miscellany *Ha-Tekufah* (1928–30) with Saul Tchernikowsky and Ben-Zion Katz. In 1933, he left Berlin and after looking unsuccessfully for a position in Ereẓ Israel, went to London, where he continued his research in Jewish philosophy, primarily on Saadiah, Maimonides, Krochmal, and Mendelssohn.

From his youth, Rawidowicz had been a staunch supporter of the development of the Jewish community in the Land of Israel and of the political aims of the Zionist movement, but in the early 1930s he also became concerned with the future of Hebrew creativity in the Diaspora. This led him to criticize the accepted Zionist position that the Land of Israel was to serve as the spiritual center for world Jewry and to reject the concept of the "Negation of the Diaspora." He believed that realistically the Jewish Diaspora would continue to exist for the foreseeable future, and that as long as it did, it should be accepted as a fact and encouraged to maintain its own creativity. Consequently, Rawidowicz formulated his concept of "partnership" which posited that rather than being relegated to the inferior role of imitating the spiritual center, the Diaspora should be considered an equal partner. Rejecting the dominant ideology expressed symbolically by a circle with a center and circumference representing the Land of Israel and the Diaspora, respectively, instead he adopted the figure of an ellipse with two foci, the Land of Israel and the Diaspora, with the ellipse itself representing the entirety of the united Jewish people. As historical precedent for the coexistence of two such creative centers, Rawidowicz invoked the experience of the Land of Israel and Babylonia during the talmudic period.

In 1941, Rawidowicz accepted a newly created position in Medieval and Modern Hebrew at Leeds University, eventually becoming head of the department of Hebrew language and literature in 1946. During World War II, he established the Ararat Publishing Company as an affirmation of Hebrew creativity in the only country in Europe in which it was still possible to publish Hebrew books. Ararat's publications edited by Rawidowicz included the Hebrew miscellany *Meẓudah* (7 vols. in 5; 1943–54) and *Sefer Dubnow* (1954). He additionally edited *Sefer Sokolow* (1942).

In 1948, Rawidowicz left Leeds for the College of Jewish Studies in Chicago, and in 1951 accepted a new position in Jewish Philosophy and Hebrew literature at Brandeis University. There, he served as the first chair of the department of Near Eastern and Judaic Studies until his death in 1957. At the time, he was in the final stage of proofreading *Bavel vi-Yrushalayim* ("Babylon and Jerusalem," 1957), the final and most elaborate formulation of his ideology which also contained a chapter from his projected introduction to the philosophy of Jewish history.

Rawidowicz's overall approach was to stress the importance of the Hebrew language for continued Jewish creativity and to emphasize the ongoing internal process of interpretation within the realm of Jewish thought rather than the influence of external factors. While his philosophical research remains important for the field of Jewish thought, he is increasingly remembered for his ideological approach and insights, which despite the acknowledgment of his great erudition were widely and sharply criticized during his lifetime but in recent years have attracted growing favorable attention.

Many of Rawidowicz' essays and articles have been reissued in four books: *Shriftn* ("The Yiddish Writings of Simon Rawidowicz"), ed. A. Golumb (Buenos Aires, 1962); *Iyyunim Be-Maḥashevet Yisrael: Hebrew Studies in Jewish Thought by Simon Rawidowicz*, ed. B. Ravid, 2 vols. (Jerusalem, 1969–71), with biography and bibliography; and with translations from Hebrew and Yiddish, *Studies in Jewish Thought,* ed. N.N. Glatzer (Philadelphia, 1974), 3–42, and *Israel: The Ever-Dying People and Other Essays by Simon Rawidowicz,* ed. B. Ravid (Rutherford, NJ, 1986), with biography, reissued in expanded version in paperback under title of *State of Israel, Diaspora and Jewish Continuity* (Hanover, NH, 1998).

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[Benjamin Ravid (2nd ed.)]

RAWNITZKI, YEHOSHUA ḤANA (1859–1944), Hebrew journalist and publisher. Born in Odessa, Rawnitzki began his journalistic career – in which he continued for most of his life – in 1879, by contributing first to *Ha-Kol*, and then to other periodicals. His articles, first in Hebrew and later in Yiddish, were largely the result of his activities in the *Ḥibbat Zion movement. He was the editor and publisher of the literary collection *Pardes* (3 vols., 1892–96), a forum for the outstanding Hebrew writers of the time and a forerunner of *Ha-Shilo'aḥ. With his publication of Ḥ.N. *Bialik's first poem, "*El ha-Ẓippor*," in *Pardes*, Rawnitzki became Bialik's first patron, thus initiating a lifelong association with the poet. Some of his own works appeared in *Pardes* and subsequently in *Ha-Shilo'aḥ*, as well as other periodicals. Special recognition was aroused by a series of feuilletons, "*Kevurat Soferim*" ("The Burial of Writers"), which were written with Shalom Aleichem under the pseudonyms of Eldad (Shalom Aleichem) and Medad (Rawnitzki). As a result of his teaching experience and interest in pedagogical problems, he established the Moriah publishing house in Odessa in 1901, together with S. *Ben-Zion and Bialik, having influenced the latter to move to Odessa. The publishing house, the first of his joint endeavors with Bialik, began with the publication of textbooks (e.g., *Sippurei ha-Mikra*, 1903–05), followed by the influential aggadic anthology *Sefer ha-Aggadah* (1908–11), and many other books. This partnership between the two continued until the poet's death. Bialik frequently complained that Rawnitzki's role was not sufficiently appreciated. Settling in Ereẓ Israel in 1921, Rawnitzki, together with Bialik and S. *Levin, founded the Devir publishing house, where he published the works on which he and Bialik had cooperated (e.g., the commentary on the poems of Moses *Ibn Ezra and Solomon ibn *Gabirol).

Later, he published *Dor ve-Soferav* (2 vols., 1926–37), a collection of his articles and memoirs on Bialik, Mendele Mokher Seforim, and other writers of his time, and *Mikhtavim le-Vat Yisrael* (2nd ed., 1923), on educational problems. A collection of his articles, *Be-Sha'arei Sefer* (1961), was published by S. Kremer, together with a comprehensive introduction by the editor. Rawnitzki also published Yiddish books and edited various Yiddish periodicals.

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[Getzel Kressel]

RAY, MAN (1890–1976), U.S. photographer and painter. Born in Philadelphia and moving to Paris in 1921, Ray is known as a founder of the dadaist-surrealist movement in painting, and in photography circles he is famous for his abstract prints made in the darkroom without a camera, to which he gave the name of "Rayograph." Ray added beams and moving pencils of light to the original technique of spreading objects on photographic sensitized papers which were exposed and then developed. He also contributed other facets to creative photography, making effective use of solarization by giving a momentary second exposure to his negative before developing it. The prints he produced from film treated this way showed strong secondary black lines along the major contours of the subject. Ray's portfolio of portraits records the celebrities of the 1920s. Ray fled from France in 1940 on the Nazi invasion and went to Hollywood, where he remained for the duration of World War II, after which he returned to Paris. His autobiography, *Self Portrait* (1963), explains a great deal of his artistry and his personality.

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[Peter Pollack]

RAYKIN, ARKADI ISAAKOVICH (1911–1987), Soviet Russian vaudeville actor and director. After theatrical training in Leningrad, Raykin became widely known in the U.S.S.R. for his mime and impersonations. In 1939 he established the Variety and Miniature Theater in Leningrad, becoming its director. One of his most popular impersonations was that of Charlie Chaplin. He also appeared as Don Quixote and caricatured many types in his act *Intourist Hotel*. In later years his satire of bureaucrats and pseudointellectuals became more caustic. In 1962 Raykin appeared at the International Festival of Pantomime in West Berlin, and in 1964 in England. His wife, Ruth Joffe-Raykin, was a writer and an actor, as were his daughter Yekaterina and his son Konstantin.

°**RAYMOND DE PENAFORTE** (d. 1275), Dominican monk, one of the initiators of anti-Jewish activities in Catalonia during the reign of James I (1213–76). Raymond was born in Peñaforte, Catalonia, and studied law at the University of Bologna, completing his studies in 1216. In 1222 he founded the

Dominican monastery of Barcelona. He was a favorite of Pope *Gregory IX and, among other duties, he served as the Pope's confessor beginning in 1230. When the heresy of the *Albigenses spread to northern Catalonia from Provence, Raymond influenced the king of Aragon to establish the Papal *Inquisition in the district of *Tarragona. As initiator of missionary activities in his order, he made great efforts to convert Jews to Christianity, founding Hebrew and Arabic schools for this purpose. He was the moving spirit of the anti-Jewish legislation of James I in 1228. He was also among the initiators and most prominent participants of the *Barcelona disputation of 1263. The accusation before the royal tribunal of Barcelona against *Naḥmanides, in 1265, that he had "blasphemed Christianity," was also instigated by Raymond and the Christian anti-Jewish literature written after the disputation of Barcelona was a product of his school. He was canonized in 1601.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Baer, Spain, 1 (1961), 152, 156f., 161; F. Valls-Taberner, *San Ramón de Penyafort* (1953), incl. bibl., 372–80.

RAYNAL, DAVID (1841–1903), French politician. Born in Paris, Raynal founded the firm of Astruc and Raynal in Bordeaux in 1862 and there made the acquaintance of the French leader, Léon Gambetta. He was elected deputy for Bordeaux in 1879 and two years later became minister of works in the government of Gambetta. From 1883 to 1885 Raynal was again minister of public works, from 1893 to 1894 he was minister of the interior. While in office he was accused of underhand dealings in his handling of the railways, but his successful libel action against the journal *La Cocarde* in 1893 cleared him of all suspicion. He was made a senator in 1897 and was president of a commission to reform the merchant navy.

[Shulamith Catane]

RAYNE, SIR MAX, BARON (1918–2003), British businessman and financier. The son of a tailor in London's East End, Rayne was educated at University College London and served in the Royal Air Force during World War II. Rayne was was one of the most successful of post-World War II property developers and was chairman from 1961 of the property company London Merchant Securities. He was also chairman or director of other property and industrial companies. Rayne was active in support for the arts as a governor of the Royal Ballet School, chairman of its London Trust (1967–75) and of the National Theatre Board from 1971 to 1988. His support for medical work included the post of special trustee of St. Thomas's Hospital. He was an honorary vice president of the (London) Jewish Welfare Board and served on other bodies concerned with social service, including the King Edward VII Hospital Fund for London and St. Thomas's Medical School. Rayne was knighted in 1969 and created a life peer in 1976. In 1962 he established the Rayne Foundation, a charity devoted to helping the disadvantaged, the arts, and education.

[Vivian David Lipman]

RAYNER, ISIDOR (1850–1912), U.S. lawyer and politician. Rayner was born in Baltimore, where his Bavarian immigrant father William Solomon Rayner had been one of the founders of the Har Sinai Congregation. He studied law at the University of Virginia and was admitted to the Baltimore bar in 1870. After several years of legal practice he entered Democratic Party politics and was elected to the Maryland state legislature in 1878 and to the state senate in 1885. In 1886 he was elected to the first of three terms in the U.S. House of Representatives, and after serving a term as Maryland attorney general (1899–1903), he was elected to the U.S. Senate in 1904 and again in 1910. Politically, Rayner was a moderate liberal. While still in the state legislature, he was a vigorous opponent of black disenfranchisement laws and Jim Crow, and his 1904 senatorial campaign was undertaken in defiance of the corrupt Democratic machine. In the Senate Rayner was particularly active on the Foreign Relations Committee, which he used as a forum to eloquently criticize President Theodore Roosevelt's imperialist policies toward Latin America. He also helped lead successful Senate efforts to abrogate the treaty with Russia in 1911 in protest against czarist antisemitism and discrimination against U.S. Jewish travelers. A nominal member of his father's congregation, Rayner married a Christian and was buried in a Unitarian ceremony.

[Hillel Halkin]

RAYNOR, BRUCE (1950–), U.S. labor leader. Raynor was born and raised on Long Island, New York, the son of a truck driver and a department store worker. He joined the labor movement shortly after graduating from Cornell University in Ithaca, N.Y., in 1973, rose to become president of UNITE, the apparel and textile workers union, then became the first president of the organization formed in 2004 by the merger of UNITE and HERE, the hotel and restaurant employees union. Raynor entered Cornell on a scholarship, majoring in biochemistry, but found himself stirred by the Vietnam antiwar and civil rights movements. He gave up his chemistry scholarship and enrolled in Cornell's School of Industrial and Labor Relations. After graduation, Raynor joined the education department of the Textile Workers Union, which in a few years would merge with the Amalgamated Clothing Workers Union and became the ACTWU. His first assignment was to help lead a six-month strike at Oneida Knitting Mills. It resulted in the union's first contract with that company. Raynor became an associate organizing director and soon found himself taking part in a bigger fight, one that had begun in 1963. This was an effort to organize J.P. Stevens, the giant textile company, a struggle dramatized in the 1979 movie *Norma Rae*. Raynor was said to have been the inspiration for the union organizer portrayed by actor Ron Leibman. In 1980, the ACTWU finally won a contract at Stevens. A year later, Raynor was named Southern Regional Director of the union and in 1993 was appointed executive vice president. He held the same post when the ACTWU and the International Ladies Garment Workers Union merged in 1995 to create UNITE. Three years later, he was named secretary-treasurer of UNITE and in 2001 he became president, succeeding Jay *Mazur. Although many Jewish garment workers had been replaced by other ethnic groups by then, Raynor said, "This is still a Jewish union – in terms of its beliefs and ideals. It views itself as much more than wages and benefits. It's deeply rooted in the traditions of social justice and concern for the least of us. When I say 'Jewish union,' that's what I mean." Raynor had already led an organizing drive that expanded UNITE's membership to include industrial laundry workers. From 5,000 such members in 1998, the number grew to more than 40,000 in 2000. As UNITE's president, Raynor continued to focus on building its membership. At the same time, he helped reform abusive labor practices by overseas contractors of major U.S. brands. Raynor, who was also a vice president of the AFL-CIO, then played a key role in the merger with HERE. At the time of the merger, the combined organization had 440,000 members and an annual operating budget in excess of $60 million.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Women's Wear Daily* (Feb. 17, 1998); *The Forward* (July 20, 2001).

[Mort Sheinman (2nd ed.)]

RAYSS, TSCHARNA (1890–1965), Israel botanist. Born in Vinnitsa, Russia, Rayss was in charge of research at the department of botany at the universities of Odessa and Bucharest, 1918–29, and deputy director of the phytopathology department of the Institute for Agricultural Research, Romania. An enthusiastic Zionist she joined the newly formed botany department of the Hebrew University in Jerusalem in 1934 and was appointed professor in 1951.

Her research on the lower plants dealt with the taxonomy and ecology of algae of the Mediterranean and the Red Sea; mycoflora of Israel; taxonomy and biology of fungi in Romania, France, and Israel, with special emphasis on their pathogenicity to crops and wild plants. She built up the herbarium and library of cryptogamic plants in the Hebrew University.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Viennot Bourgin, in: *Bulletin de la Société Mycologique de France*, 81 no. 2 (1965), 113–5.

[Shira Borut]

RAZA RABBA, SEFER (Aram. סֵפֶר רָזָא רַבָּא; "The Book of the Great Secret"), a work of *Merkabah mysticism which is no longer extant as a separate entity. That it existed, however, cannot be doubted. Several Near Eastern, Palestinian, and Babylonian authors of the ninth, tenth, and 11th centuries who attest to its existence were discovered by Jacob Mann (Mann, Texts, 2 (1935), 74–83). In the polemical works of the leading Karaite sage of Jerusalem, *Daniel b. Moses al-Qumisi (late ninth century), the work is described as having magical content. Another Karaite author writes about the magical acts described in the book: "for love and hate, miraculous shortcuts, and questions in dreams." *Raza Rabba* is also mentioned in a responsum of *Hai Gaon (B.M. Lewin (ed.), *Oẓar ha-Ge'onim*, on *Ḥagigah* (1931), 21). In *Sefer Raza Rabba* magical content is intertwined with an exposition on the Merkabah, including speculations on the names of angels and demons known from magical literature on oaths, formulations of amulets by Babylonian Arabs from the fifth to eighth centuries, and *gematriot* which afterward passed on to the *Ḥasidei Ashkenaz.

Raza Rabba differs in character from Midrashim written in France and in Narbonne and apparently derived from an Eastern or Babylonian source which reached Germany and groups of Ḥasidim. However, it is not clear whether either *Judah he-Ḥasid or *Eleazar of Worms knew the work.

Portions of *Raza Rabba* were found in a manuscript of a commentary on *Sefer *Shi'ur Komah* written in the late 13th century by Moses (Azriel) b. Eleazar ha-Darshan ("the preacher"), son of Moses ha-Darshan (the husband of Judah b. Samuel he-Ḥasid's granddaughter in Wuerzburg), and have been published by G. *Scholem. Moses cites a work which he calls *Ha-Sod ha-Gadol* ("The Great Secret") and quotes other works which leave no doubt that he saw several versions of *Raza Rabba* or parts of it; he cites Sefer ha-*Bahir as a separate source.

In contrast to extant visionary Merkabah texts, *Raza Rabba* was a Merkabah Midrash and some elements in it are clearly and unquestionably linked to *Sefer ha-Bahir*, although they appear in different versions. While *Raza Rabba* contains no definitely Gnostic homilies, the *Sefer ha-Bahir* develops the same motifs in a new direction, a kabbalistic-Gnostic one. *Sefer ha-Bahir* contains the oldest enumeration of the ten *Sefirot* interpreted kabbalistically; an older, though incomplete, list is found in *Raza Rabba*, which was one of the literary sources for the editing of the *Bahir*. The homiletic symbolism of the *Sefirot* developed in the *Bahir* does not occur in *Raza Rabba*. Other matters treated in the *Bahir*, such as **gilgul*, are not present in the extant portions of *Raza Rabba*.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: G. Scholem, *Reshit ha-Kabbalah* (1948), 195–238; idem, *Ursprung und Anfaenge der Kabbala* (1962), 94–109.

[Esther (Zweig) Liebes]

RAZIEL, an important angel who, according to his name, is connected with "the mysteries of God." In midrashic and magical literature he is mentioned only in sources going back to the esoteric teachings of the talmudic period, where he appears in three sources. When Moses is ascending to heaven in order to receive the Torah, he encounters on his way the angel Gallizur ("he who reveals the hidden reasons of the Rock"; i.e., God), who is also called Raziel because he hears from behind the divine curtain all that is going to happen in the world, and this he reveals to Elijah, who "spreads the voice" over all the world. The angel Raziel also appeared to Adam three days after he had been expelled from paradise and had fallen into despair. Then Raziel revealed to him a magical textbook containing the mysteries of the workings of creation. This version of an old esoteric *aggadah* was incorporated into a collection of cosmological and angelological material culled mainly from the writings of *Eliezer b. Isaac of Worms and some other 13th-century kabbalists, and published in Amsterdam in 1701 under the title, "This is the book of the first Adam which the angel Raziel delivered to him," commonly called "*Sefer Razi'el*" (see below). It had a wide circulation, being reprinted nearly 40 times. The third source is the apocryphal Sefer *ha-Razim, known in manuscript form in post-talmudic times. This purported to be the book of mysteries which the angel Raziel taught to Noah in the year he entered the ark and which Noah later wrote down on tablets of sapphire. It is a handbook of magic, both Jewish and syncretistic, giving a detailed account of the angels in the seven heavens and the magical practices connected with them and their conjuration. Whereas the first part is of a strictly Jewish character, the magical practices contain strong pagan elements. In the opinion of the editor, Mordecai Margalioth (1966), the text goes back to the talmudic period, perhaps even to the earlier part, especially because of its close connection with some texts in the Greek magical papyri. The age of the book is still a matter of controversy. According to the Zohar, Adam received his book while he was still in paradise, and the angel Raziel was none other than the archangel *Uriel who revealed the deep mysteries of the Torah. The numerical value of the Hebrew name is 248, corresponding to the number of the positive commandments of the Torah and the name Abraham. The kabbalist Abraham b. Samuel *Abulafia used this name as a pseudonym in several of his books.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: M. Margalioth, *Sefer ha-Razim* (a newly recovered book of magic from the talmudic period) (1966[9]); M. Schwab, *Vocabulaire de l'angélologie* (1897), 246; R. Margalioth, *Malakhei Elyon* (1945), 280–2; J. Dan, in: Tarbiz, 37 (1967/68), 208–14; F. Secret, in: REJ, 128 (1969), 223–45.

[Gershom Scholem]

RAZIEL, BOOK OF, collection of mystical, cosmological, and magical Hebrew works and portions of works. First printed in Amsterdam in 1701, it was reprinted many times, because of the popular belief that the book protected its owner's home from fire and other dangers. There are some manuscripts of, at least, parts of this work which date back to the 16th century. However, in its printed form, it was not compiled much earlier than the 17th century. Many manuscript collections of material of the same sort are extant, and *Raziel* is not unique among them in any way. The material included in the collection can be divided into three distinct categories or strata:

(1) Works, or parts of works, which belong to *Heikhalot* and *Merkabah mysticism, the mystical and cosmological literature of the talmudic and geonic periods. Of these, *Raziel* contains a version of the *Sefer ha-Malbush*, a magical work; *baraita* of *Ma'aseh Bereshit*, a cosmological and astrological description of the Creation, which has some mystical overtones; and a major part of the *Sefer ha-Razim* ("Book of Magical Secrets"), which is a collection of magical formulas and angelological material from talmudic times. The introduction to *Sefer ha-*Razim* probably gave the whole collection its name. In this introduction, the angel Raziel is claimed to have revealed the secrets described to Adam. In this category, there is some importance to a long version of the early anthropomorphic work, the **Shi'ur Komah*, describing the members and secret names of the Creator.

(2) Material which belongs to literature of the 13th-century *Ḥasidei Ashkenaz. To this category belong the introduction and the first half of *Eleazar of Worms' work, *Sod Ma'aseh Bereshit* ("The Secret of the Creation"), which formed the first part of his *Sodei Rezaya*. Some exegetical works on the Holy Names of God, and some magical formulas which conclude the collection, also belong to the literary heritage of the Ḥasidei Ashkenaz.

(3) A few portions of kabbalistic literature, descriptions of the *Sefirot* and exegeses of Holy Names, mostly reflecting kabbalistic theology of pre-Lurianic periods. A critical analysis of the work by Elyakim Melsack (Milzahagi) is preserved in a manuscript in Jews' College, London.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: M. Margalioth, *Sefer ha-Razim* (1966), introduction; J. Dan, *Torat ha-Sod shel Ḥasidei Ashkenaz* (1968), 83, 208.

[Joseph Dan]

RAZIEL, DAVID (1910–1941), commander of the *Irgun Ẓeva'i Le'ummi (IẒL). Born in Smorgon, near Vilna, Raziel was taken to Ereẓ Israel at the age of three by his parents. From an early age he displayed literary ability, writing essays and plays on biblical themes. During the 1929 Arab riots he joined the *Haganah, becoming one of the first members of the IẒL, which seceded from the Haganah in 1931. He soon became known as a gifted instructor and leader and produced manuals of military instruction. About a year after the first split in IẒL (1937), he became commander of the organization, and during that tense year led it in its reprisal activities against the Arabs. On May 19, 1939, he was captured by the British authorities, and sent to a prison camp, from which he was released at the end of October as a result of the outbreak of World War II and the IẒL's readiness to cooperate in the war effort against the Axis. He continued to serve as commander of the IẒL and leader of *Betar in Palestine even after the June 1940 split in IẒL. On May 17, 1941, in cooperation with British Army intelligence, he led a group of IẒL members to Ḥabbāniyya, Iraq, to sabotage the oil depots on the outskirts of Baghdad, which were serving the German Luftwaffe; but on May 20, in a German bombing attack, the car in which he was traveling was hit and he and a British officer were killed. Buried in the British military cemetery at Ḥabbāniyya, his remains were transferred to Nicosia, Cyprus, in 1955 and finally interred on Mount Herzl in Jerusalem in 1961. Ramat Raziel, a moshav in the Judean Mountains, is named after him.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: S. Katz, *Days of Fire* (1968), index; Jabotinsky Institute in Israel, *David Raziel* (Heb., 1956); D. Niv, *Ma'arekhot ha-Irgun ha-Ẓeva'i ha-Le'ummi*, 3 (1967), index; Dinur, Haganah, 2 pt. 3 (1963), index.

[David Niv]

RAZIM, SEFER HA- (Heb. סֵפֶר הָרָזִים; "Book of Secrets"), early work of Jewish mystical literature. *Sefer ha-Razim* is remarkable for its systematic treatment of magic, witchcraft, incantations, and supernatural remedies, on which no special works have otherwise been preserved in Hebew literature. In the midst of deliberations on the angels, their names, and their functions in the six heavens which precede the supreme heaven, the book interweaves about 30 magical counsels for suppliants – who might include those seeking to know the future, to sway the hearts of the great, to have their enemies overtaken by misfortune, to be healed, to have their dreams interpreted, to overcome an enemy or a wild animal, to see the sun during the day or the night, or to speak with the moon and the stars. The general contents of this work have long been known, especially from the extracts scattered in the *Book of *Razi'el*, but most of its magical terms became known only through Mordecai Margalioth's discovery, as he probably succeeded in restoring *Sefer ha-Razim* to its original form. On the basis of fragments from the *genizah* and Hebrew, Latin, and Arabic manuscripts, he organized the work into a preface and seven short chapters describing the Seven Heavens. The work is relatively short (about 800 lines), but it is of considerable literary and historic interest. Written in a beautiful midrashic Hebrew containing hardly any Aramaic, it is however inlaid with transliterated Greek words – some of which are *termini technici* of Greek magic – as well as a short Greek prayer. The names of about 700 angels are listed (some having a Greek etymology); several have specified "characters" (symbolic figures, which form a quasi-magical alphabet). The chapter on the Seventh Heaven, dealing with the Divine Throne, the Throne of the Great Light, praises God in an exalted liturgical style. The chapters dealing with the heavens are skillfully constructed to form one unit (but it cannot be ascertained if the preface in the Margalioth edition belongs to the work because it differs widely in content from the seven chapters). Nor is it at all certain that the original name of the work in its original context was *Sefer mi-Sifrei ha-Razim*. It may perhaps have been entitled *Razi'el ha-Malakh* or possibly *Razei Ḥokhmah*, or some other name.

In this work, Raziel is mentioned as the angel who stands on the seventh step of the Second Heaven. Scholars differ on the extent of the role and influence which mystical doctrines wielded over the rabbis and their schools, but it may definitely be assumed that these doctrines, which were accepted in the Orient as well as by the Greeks and Romans, were not basically foreign to the Jews of Palestine during the Second Temple period and the generations which followed the destruction of the Temple. According to *Origen (third century), such Hebrew names as Ẓeva'ot, Eloha, etc. were mentioned along with the names of the archons, and Gabriel, Raphael, Michael, and Soriel with the demons of the Gnostic sect of the Ophites (*Contra Celsum* I, 22, 26; II, 6; IV, 33–34; V. 9, 42, 45, etc.). Those engaged in magic recited the prayer to the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob while invoking demons (*Contra Celsum*, IV, 33). Greek amulets which have been preserved show a marked relation to Jewish concepts. The pagans even attributed the worship of the sun and the moon to the Jews, but Origen pointed out their error. Some of the themes of the *Sefer ha-Razim* are also discussed in the apocryphal books of the Bible, especially in II *Enoch (the Slavonic version), and in the Apocalypse of *Baruch: others are mentioned in talmudic literature (Seven Heavens, dreams, amulets in Shab. 8:2; remedies in Ber. 40a; and "Hezekiah burned the Book of Remedies" in Pes. 4:8), while parallels to them can be found in various Midrashim, *Heikhalot*, *Merkabah, and *Ma'aseh Bereshit* literature.

On the grounds of contents and style, his work should be dated to no later than the talmudic period, a dating corroborated by the chronology of Greek kings mentioned in it, which A.S. Rosenthal explained as referring to the *Indictio* of the middle or possibly the beginning of the fourth century. However, further study may perhaps reveal the later inclusion of Greco-Egyptian magical texts to eighth-century Arabic literature.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: M. Margalioth (ed.), in: *Sefer ha-Razim* (1966), 1–62; H. Merhavia, in: KS, 42 (1967), 297–303; E.E. Urbach, in: *Studies in Mysticism and Religion presented to G.G. Scholem* (1968); G. Scholem, *Jewish Gnosticism, Merkabah Mysticism and Talmudic Tradition* (1965^2), 101–17; idem, *Kitvei Yad be-Kabbalah* (1930), 12; J. Dan, in: *Tarbiz*, 37 (1968), 208.

[Chen Merchavya]

RAZIN, AHARON (1935–), Israeli biochemist. Born in Tel Aviv, Israel, he received his Ph.D. in biochemistry from the Hebrew University of Jerusalem in 1967, continuing his postdoctoral studies at the California Institute of Technology from 1968 to 1970. From 1971 he taught cell biochemistry and human genetics at the Hebrew University and held the Dr. Jacob Grunbaum Chair in Medical Science from 1988. His career included research and teaching posts at Cambridge University, the Beckman Cancer Research Center, and the NIH. Between 1994 and 2000, he was a member of the advisory committee on human genome research of the Israeli Academy of Sciences. Razin was awarded the Israel Prize in 2004 for his research in biochemistry and was among the outstanding figures in this field in Israel and internationally. His studies made significant contributions to the furtherance of the understanding of gene-expression control mechanisms, and he was a pioneer in the understanding of the biological role of DNA methylation.

[Ruth Rossing (2nd ed.)]

RAZON, JACKO (1921–), Greek boxer. Born in Salonika, Razon had to terminate his studies when the Germans occupied Salonika in 1941 and was left without a profession. He learned boxing in Maccabi and in 1939 was the middleweight boxing champion of Greece. He was also goalkeeper for the Salonikan soccer team Olympiakos in the Greek National Football League. In 1943, he was deported by the Germans to Auschwitz. After two months, he was transferred to the Buna labor camp where he organized the boxing at the camp. He had 12 pairs of boxers – Jews and non-Jews, professionals and amateurs, among them Jung Perez, the former Tunisian world lightweight boxing champion. During the day he worked in the kitchen and after working hours he trained the boxers. Razon had to box weekly, often against heavyweights, winning most of his matches. Due to his kitchen connections, he was able to help many prisoners and hundreds owed their lives to him. This ended when Buna was evacuated and the "death march" began.

After a short stay in Gleiwitz, where Jung Perez died, Jacko was moved to Dora. He boxed also there but received little extra food for his talent and managed to feed only a few individuals at most. Transferred to Bergen-Belsen, he found the way to return to kitchen duty and helped Greek Jews in their most dire hour, when the camp was full of living skeletons and food was scarce. He was liberated by the British in May 1945.

After returning to Greece, Razon was a leader of Holocaust survivors who planned to immigrate to Palestine "illegally." They sailed on the *Henrietta Szold*, with 356 passengers, which was met by British warships in Haifa port. Razon led a revolt against the British navy, which was eventually overcome, and he and the other passengers were deported to Cyprus where they were interned for several months.

Eventually he arrived in Palestine and participated in Israel's War of Independence; he was one of the founders of the Organization of Greek Concentration Camp Survivors in Israel.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: S. Raphael (ed.). *Binitivei Shaol: Yehudei Yavan Beshoa – Pirkei Aidout* (1988), 454–458.

[Yitzhak Kerem]

RAZOVSKY (Davidson), CECILIA (1891–1968), U.S. social worker and expert on immigration. Born in St. Louis, she worked there as a volunteer at the Jewish Educational Alliance, teaching English to foreigners. In 1917 she moved to Washington, D.C. and served as an inspector in the U.S. Children's Bureau. She was secretary in the immigration department of the National Council of Jewish Women and in 1932 became associate director of the council. Razovsky traveled widely to study the conditions of Jewish refugees, and in Cuba she set up a social service program for the refugees.

Razovsky was head of a group of experts assigned by Secretary of Labor Perkins to study conditions on Ellis Island and was on several U.S. immigration committees. She also served as assistant to the executive director of the National Refugee Service.

From 1922 to 1930 she was editor of *The Immigrant* and she wrote articles, plays, and pamphlets on immigration. Her pamphlet *Handicaps in Naturalization* (1932) investigated the effects of the 1929 amendment to the Naturalization Law, raising the fee from five to twenty-five dollars. Her *Making Americans* (1938), a manual prepared for the National Council of Jewish Women, contains information on the naturalization process and suggests ways of organizing communal naturalization aid programs.

RAZRAN, GREGORY (1901–1973), U.S. psychologist. Razran was born in a village near Slutsk, Russia. He immigrated to the United States in 1920 and graduated from Columbia University in 1927, receiving his doctorate in 1933. He was a lecturer in psychology at Columbia from 1930 to 1938 and a research associate from 1938 to 1946. In 1946, he was appointed chairman of the Psychology Department of Queens College, and on his retirement in 1966 was appointed emeritus professor. He served as statistical consultant to the Office of Strategic Services in World War II. In 1952, he took a year's leave to serve as visiting professor at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, where he helped to establish the Department of Psychology. In 1961 he was co-chairman of the International Pavlovian Conference on Higher Nervous Activity, which was held in Israel.

Razran's main contribution to psychology was twofold. His interest in conditioning led him early in his career (1933) to pioneering work in the study of conditioning of young infants. His later work on adults focused on the study of the meaning of words by a conditioning technique (1939). Other areas of conditioning theory to which he contributed were the transposition problem (1938) and conditioning to compound stimuli, particularly as an aid in analyzing perception (1965). Much of his activity consisted in bringing to the attention of his colleagues the work of the Russian school of conditioning, especially the use of conditioned stimuli of the internal organs in interoceptive conditioning. Razran served as president of the division on general psychology of the American Psychological Association and chairman of the psychology section of the New York Academy of Sciences. His only book *Mind Evolution: An East-West Synthesis* (1971) represents the culmination of his activities. He met his death by drowning.

[Helmut E. Adler (2nd ed.)]

RAZSVET (Rus. "Dawn"), name of four Russian-Jewish weeklies that appeared in Russia and abroad.

(1) The first *Razsvet* was published in Odessa (May 1860–May 1861). The first Jewish periodical in Russian, it was founded in an era when knowledge of the Russian language was rare even among "enlightened" Jews. Although a few *maskilim* in Vilna and Minsk regarded the promotion of Russian among the Jews as a step toward social integration in Russia (see *Haskalah), Odessa was the only Russian-speaking Jewish community of any considerable size. Among the founders of *Razsvet* were Osip *Rabinovich and Joachim (Ḥayyim) *Tarnopol, who in 1856 appealed to the ministry of education through N.I. Pirogov, inspector of education for the Odessa region, to allow them to publish a weekly. The purpose of this weekly was to spread Russian among the masses, thus helping to eliminate prejudices and enlighten the Jews. Rabinovich and Tarnopol also claimed that the periodical would serve to clarify Jewish problems to the Russian public and combat defamation of the Jews and attacks against them. After considerable effort permission was received to publish the weekly. Soon after the first issues a disagreement arose among the founders as to whether *Razsvet* should include Jewish self-criticism and a public airing of internal Jewish problems. It was feared that

a lack of discretion might provoke antisemitic reaction. Those who opposed self-criticism, led by Tarnopol, left the staff, and Rabinovich remained as sole editor. Among those who contributed to *Razsvet* were the writer L. *Levanda, the physician and communal leader E. Soloveychik, and the jurist and historian Hermann *Baratz, as well as the Russian professor A.I. Georgiyevski and the German-Jewish historian I.M. *Jost. From the outset *Razsvet* encountered difficulties from the censors, who forbade all reference to emancipation for the Jews, and from the apathy of the Jewish public toward the Russian language. The number of subscribers never exceeded 640. After a year's publication, Rabinovich was forced to relinquish editorship to L. *Pinsker and Soloveychik, who for technical reasons changed the periodical's name to *Sion*. *Razsvet* was a first step in an effort to encourage an active Russian-speaking Jewish intelligentsia and a Jewish literature in Russian.

(2) The second *Razsvet*, published in St. Petersburg (September 1879–January 1883), was founded by a group of young intellectuals seeking ways to attract more enlightened Jews back to their national values. Publication rights were acquired from the journalist Alexander *Zederbaum, who had been granted them by the authorities. The editors were Jacob Rosenfeld and G.I. *Bogrov, and the staff was filled by such writers as S. *Wengeroff, L. *Slonimski, A. Tenenbaum, S.Z. Luria, A. *Volynski (A.L. Flexer), and M.B.H. Ha-Kohen, and the poets N. *Minski (Vilenkin) and S. *Frug. *Razsvet* called for Jewish patriotism and the development of Jewish literature in Russian, closer association with the Jewish masses, and a positive approach to Jewish national values, the Jewish religion, the Hebrew language, and the settlement of Ereẓ Israel. The solution of the Jewish problem would be for large numbers of Jews to take up agriculture. The publication soon attained a circulation of 3,400. However, the wave of pogroms and antisemitism in 1881 caused severe disillusionment among the staff, and after several weeks of indecision they reached the conclusion that the sole solution to the Jewish problem was emigration. Hence *Razsvet* became the outstanding spokesman for organized emigration and the proponent of the *Ḥibbat Zion movement. The January 16, 1882, edition of *Razsvet* contained an interview between a staff member, I. Orshanski, and the minister of the interior, N. Ignatiev, in which the latter announced that "the western borders were open to the Jews." The Zionist writings of Levanda and M.L. *Lilienblum appeared in *Razsvet*, as well as a translation of Pinsker's *Autoemanzipation*. Bogrov left the staff, and Rosenfeld departed for Constantinople to examine the possibilities of Jewish immigration into, and settlement in, Ereẓ Israel. Opponents of mass emigration sought all possible ways to fight *Razsvet's* policies. The two other Russian-Jewish periodicals, *Russky Yevrey* and *Voskhod, attacked *Razsvet*, and letters were sent to the provinces to discourage further subscriptions; by 1883 circulation fell to 900. Financial support was not forthcoming and *Razsvet* closed down. Its staff dispersed, some withdrawing from public life and some joining Ḥibbat Zion; others turned their attention from Jewish affairs to find their places in Russian literature and public activity. Despite its brief existence *Razsvet* opened up a new direction in Jewish life and thought in Russia, especially among the intellectuals.

[Yehuda Slutsky]

(3) The third *Razsvet* was a weekly journal of topical political and literary content, published in St. Petersburg by the Zionist Organization of Russia from 1907, when it replaced the weeklies *Khronika Yevreyskoy Zhizni* ("Chronicle of Jewish Life") and *Yevreyskiy Narod* ("The Jewish People"), which had been suppressed by the czarist administration. The editor of *Razsvet* was A.D. *Idelson, assisted by an editorial staff consisting of S. Gepstein, A. *Goldstein, V. *Jabotinsky, A. Seidenman, and M. Soloveichik (*Solieli). Questions of major policy were decided upon by the Zionist Central Committee. *Razsvet* played an outstanding part in molding and disseminating the ideology and program of the Zionist movement in Russia. Strictly adhering to Herzl's political Zionism, the journal also advocated immediate practical colonizing work in Ereẓ Israel and active Zionist participation in the defense of the rights and interests of the Russian-Jewish community. It laid the foundation of what later became known as "synthetic Zionism," a concept which harmoniously combined the traditional Zionist negation of *Galut with the struggle for Jewish survival and national organization in the countries of dispersion. *Razsvet's* militant nationalist crusade against all forms of assimilation contributed essentially to the defeat of assimilationist tendencies and groups in Russian Jewry and made it the most widely read Jewish publication in the Russian language. Early in its career its circulation reached 10,000. In July 1915 the weekly was closed down, and in its stead appeared in Moscow the *Yevreyskaya Zhizn*. In July 1917 *Razsvet* again appeared in Petrograd, and its circulation rose to 25,000. After the Bolshevik Revolution of November 1917, the Zionist press was allowed to exist for a time. But in September 1918 *Razsvet* was closed by the Cheka. In its place appeared the *Khronika Yevrevskoy Zhizni*, edited by Y. Klebanov, which was also closed down on July 18, 1919.

(4) The fourth *Razsvet* reappeared in 1922 in Berlin as the organ of the Federation of Russian-Ukrainian Zionists in exile. It was headed by an editorial board nominated by the Federation and consisting of S. Gepstein (editor), J. *Schechtman (secretary), M. Aleinikov, Ḥayyim Greenberg, M. Hindes, and V. *Jacobson. Soon after V. Jabotinsky's resignation from the Zionist executive (February 1923), *Razsvet* endorsed his criticism of the official Zionist political line and his concept of an activist Zionist policy; it strongly disapproved, however, of Jabotinsky's later decision to leave the World Zionist Organization. Soon Jabotinsky, J. *Brutzkus, Y. Klinov, M. Schwartzman, and I. Trivus joined the reconstructed editorial board and *Razsvet* became the spokesman of the Zionist Revisionists. Financial difficulties led to the periodical's brief discontinuance in May 1924, but by the end of the year publication was resumed in Paris, with Jabotinsky as editor-in-chief and M. Berchin and J. Schechtman as acting editors.

The first issue of the Paris edition sold 1,000 copies; the tenth issue, 2,500. The ideology, program, and tactical line of the Zionist-Revisionist World Union, founded in April 1925, was largely molded by the *Razsvet* group. Although the readership of the journal largely consisted of Jewish émigrés from Russia in West European countries and groups in Ereẓ Israel, and of the Jewish communities in east and southeast Europe which had a Russian cultural background, *Razsvet's* influence reached far beyond its immediate audience. Its articles were frequently translated and reprinted in other periodicals and widely commented upon by Zionists and non-Zionists alike. Stressing that *Razsvet* was the only Russian-language journal serving the Russian-Jewish diaspora, a group of noted non-Revisionist and non-Zionist émigré leaders in Paris, headed by Henry *Sliozberg, and including I. *Naiditsch, M. Goldstein, G. Vishnyak, and the sculptor N. *Aronson, formed in the spring of 1933 the "Society of Friends of Razsvet." The editorial policy in Zionist affairs remained unaffected by the agreement between the editorial board and the "Friends," but the coverage of matters of general topical Jewish interest – cultural, economic, and political – was expanded. The financial position of the paper steadily deteriorated, however, as the circle of the Jewish Russian-reading public shrank. *Razsvet* had to be converted from a weekly to a biweekly, and even in this form it appeared irregularly; the periodical was discontinued in 1935.

[Joseph B. Schechtman]

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RAZUMNI, EPHRAIM ZALMAN (**Solomon**; 1866–1904), *ḥazzan* and composer. Born in Nikolayev, Russia, Razumni became *ḥazzan* there at the age of nineteen. After serving in Kishinev, he moved to Odessa where he spent the rest of his life. An unpredictable character, Razumni was a lyric tenor with an unusually fine faculty for improvisation. He officiated as guest cantor in many communities and gave concerts throughout Eastern Europe, gaining a huge popular following and becoming a legend in his own lifetime. His rendition of *El Male Raḥamim after the *Kishinev pogrom became the standard musical version of the prayer in the East European Ashkenazi area and its sphere of influence. A collection of his recitatives, *Shirei Razumni*, was published by S. *Alman in 1930.

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[David M.L. Olivestone]

RAZUMNY, MARK (1896–1988), Yiddish writer. Born in the *shtetl* of Zhager, he grew up in Riga, where he received a traditional Jewish and general secular education and became a Labor Zionist. In 1919, after brief service in the Red Army, he emigrated to Germany, living in Hamburg, where he worked at a bank and studied at the university. His first publication, a story in German, appeared in the Hamburg *Israelitisches Familienblatt*. In 1921 he returned to Riga and began to work for various Yiddish periodicals, some edited by his cousin, journalist Moshe-Mikhl Kitay (1886–194?). From 1924 he was a correspondent for the New York *Forverts*, and in January–March 1925, he edited the shortlived *Riger Moment*. In 1926–34 he worked for the democratic newspaper *Frimorgn*, cofounded by Kitay. Newspapers published his numerous travelogues, some of which later appeared in book form, e.g. *Dos Land fun Toyznt Geshtaltn: a Rayze in Norvegye* ("The Country of a Thousand Images: A Trip to Norway," 1929) and *Eyner Tsvishn Milyonen: fun an Amerikaner Nesie* ("Alone among Millions: From an American Trip," 1931). He was a prolific translator from German and Russian. From 1937 until World War II, he edited the popular magazine *Yidishe Bilder* ("Jewish Pictures"). When Riga became the capital of Soviet Latvia, Razumny became secretary of the Jewish Cultural Society and wrote for the newspaper *Kamf* and the journal *Ufboy*. After World War II he continued to write short stories and fables, which appeared in the Warsaw-based *Yidishe Shriftn* and *Folks-shtime,* and after 1961 the Moscow journal *Sovetish Heymland* and its affiliated book publications. Among his other books are *Hintergeslekh* ("Backalleys," 1929), *Breyter di Trit* ("Longer Steps," 1975), and *A Velt mit Vunder* ("A World of Wonders," 1986; German tr. 1985).

[Gennady Estraikh (2nd ed.)]

READING, family of British statesmen and lawyers. RUFUS DANIEL ISAACS (1860–1935), first marquess of Reading, British statesman, advocate and lord chief justice. Born in London into a family of fruit merchants, and a relative of the famous boxer Daniel *Mendoza, Isaacs went to sea as a ship's boy at the age of 16. He returned to England two years later and in 1879 went into the London Stock Exchange in an attempt to make his fortune. In 1884, however, he was unable to meet his obligations and was "hammered" (suspended from the exchange). Isaacs planned to sail to Panama to recoup his losses but was persuaded by his mother to study for the bar instead and was admitted in 1887. His knowledge of the commercial world enabled him to establish himself as a leading commercial counsel and in 1898 he was made a queen's counsel. Subsequently he was involved in a series of cases which brought him before the public eye. His ability to master complicated facts and his magnificent cross-examination of the financier Whittaker Wright on charges of fraud and of Frederick Seddon on charges of murdering his lodger won him the reputation as one of the greatest advocates of all time. Isaacs' success at the bar was phenomenal. He amassed a considerable fortune and honors were heaped upon him. He was elected to parliament as a Liberal Imperialist in 1904 and was made solicitor-general in 1910. In the same year Isaacs was given a knighthood and appointed attorney-general. Nevertheless, he was passed over for the appointment of lord chancellor because of his involvement in the Marconi scandal in which he was one of four ministers accused of attempting to make financial gain out of a government contract with the English Marconi Company. In 1913 Isaacs was made lord chief justice of England, the first Jew ever to hold this post, and took the title of Lord Reading. He presided over several famous criminal cases, among them the trial of the Irish nationalist, Roger Casement, on charges of treason. Yet although he was well known for his humanity and impartiality he was not considered a great judge.

Following the outbreak of World War I, Isaacs became increasingly involved in problems of government finance and introduced the scheme by which the state guaranteed all bills of exchange, thereby preventing a panic in the London bill market. In 1915 he went to the United States as president of the Anglo-French mission and secured a loan of 500 million dollars. Isaacs returned to the U.S. two years later as special envoy with the object of persuading America to join the Allies. In the following spring he went to the U.S. for a third time as high commissioner and special ambassador to convince the American government to send half a million American troops to France immediately. Isaacs remained lord chief justice until 1920 when he was made viceroy of India, ruler of India on behalf of the British crown, the only Jew ever to hold this post. His appointment was hailed as a move to reconcile warring factions in India and also to assuage the growing hostility toward British rule. Isaacs succeeded in initiating the widespread reforms embodied in the Montagu-Chelmsford report (1918), establishing a form of self-government in most of the Indian provinces and introducing improvements in agriculture and housing. He was much admired for the genuine sympathy he and his wife showed for the people of India but he failed, nevertheless, to obtain the cooperation of Mahatma Gandhi and the Hindu nationalists and was eventually obliged to arrest Gandhi for incitement to civil disobedience and to call in the army to keep order. Isaacs returned to England in 1926 and was given the title of marquess, the only Jew to be so honored. He held numerous company directorships and remained a prominent figure in the Liberal Party, representing the party at the Indian Round Table Conference of 1930. For a short period in 1931 he was foreign secretary in the national government headed by J. Ramsay Mac-Donald and he retired in 1934 from public life with the honorary post of lord warden of the Cinque ports.

Rufus Isaacs was one of the outstanding figures of his age and in Anglo-Jewish history. He showed considerable interest in Jewish and Zionist affairs toward the end of his life and in 1926 became chairman of the Palestine Electric Corporation. He visited Palestine in 1932 and associated himself with various Zionist projects. After the advent of Hitler, Isaacs resigned the presidency of the Anglo-German Fellowship and spoke in the House of Lords against the persecution of the Jews in Germany.

GERALD RUFUS ISAACS (1889–1960), second marquess of Reading, British statesman and lawyer. Born in London, he was the only son of Rufus Isaacs and succeeded to his father's titles in 1935. He was admitted to the bar and was a bencher of the Middle Temple from 1936, becoming treasurer in 1958. Isaacs was chairman of several government committees and was undersecretary of state for foreign affairs from 1951 to 1953. He served as minister of state for foreign affairs from 1953 until his retirement in 1957. Isaacs was active in Jewish affairs as chairman of the Council for German Jewry and president of the London Jewish Hospital.

EVA VIOLET, MARCHIONESS OF READING (1895–1973), English social worker. The daughter of Alfred *Mond, first Lord Melchett, she married Gerald Rufus Isaacs in 1914. Eva Reading devoted her life to problems of nursing and child care and was adviser to the ministry of health on child care during World War II. From 1957 to 1959 she was president of the National Council of Women. Though brought up as a Christian, Eva Reading reverted to Judaism in the 1930s and became a staunch Zionist; she toured the United States on behalf of the *United Jewish Appeal in 1939, and later served as chairman of the British section of the *World Jewish Congress. She should not be confused with Stella Isaacs, marchioness of Reading (1894–1971), the second wife of Rufus Isaacs, first marquess of Reading, who was not Jewish. She was the founder of the Women's Royal Voluntary Service, and, in 1958, was the first woman to be given a life peerage and to sit in the House of Lords, where she took the title of Baroness Swanborough.

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READING, FANNY (1884–1974), Australian communal leader. Born Fanny Rabinowich near Minsk, she migrated with her family to Victoria, Australia, in 1889. Active from her youth in Melbourne Jewish communal affairs, she was originally a music teacher but in 1916–22 studied medicine and became a physician, moving to Sydney and changing her name to Reading in 1918. She was one of the first Jewish women physicians in Australia. In 1923 she was instrumental in founding the Council of Jewish Women of New South Wales, serving as its president from 1923 to 1931. Unlike many mainstream Australian Jewish organizations of the time, it was keenly Zionistic, despite communal pressures to moderate its stance. In 1929 it changed its name to the National Council of Jewish Women of Australia. Reading remained its life president until her death. In 1947 she sued *Smith's Weekly,* a populist Australian tabloid, for libel when it alleged that her fundraising was being used to fight the British in Palestine. Although she lost the case on a technicality, the verdict, delivered "with regret" by the judge, was regarded as a moral victory for the Jewish community. In 1957 a settlement in Israel, Neve Zipporah, was named in her honor. The National Council of Jewish Women of Australia continues as one of the most important Jewish women's organizations in the country.

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[William D. Rubinstein (2nd ed.)]

°**REAGAN, RONALD WILSON** (1911–2005), 40th president of the United States. Born in Tampico, Illinois, Reagan became an actor, serving as president of the Screen Actor's Guild (1947–52, 1959–60) and the Motion Picture Industry Council. From 1967 to 1975 he was governor of California, home to America's second largest Jewish community.

In 1948 he resigned from the Lakeside Country Club in Los Angeles because of its refusal to permit a Jew to take out membership. In 1967 he strongly supported Israel during the *Six-Day War and was the featured speaker at a pro-Israel rally in the Hollywood Bowl in Los Angeles.

During his governorship he was instrumental in having a law passed in the California legislature in which banks and savings institutions were authorized to purchase and invest in State of Israel Bonds. During the mid-1970s Reagan had a weekly column in the *Jewish Press* newspaper, whose readers were mainly Orthodox Jews in New York and other parts of the U.S.A.

His closest Jewish advisor was Theodore E. Cummings of Los Angeles. Cummings served in the Reagan inner circle for a number of years. During the presidential campaign in 1980 Los Angeles businessman Albert Spiegel headed the Jewish Coalition for Reagan. Additional figures with access to Reagan were Max *Fisher, *Maxwell Rabb, George Klein, Gordon Zacks, and Jacob Stein. Neo-conservative Jewish intellectuals, such as Eugene V. Rostow, Max Kempelman, Irving Kristol, and Norman Podhoretz were active in the Reagan election campaign and many became influential in the Reagan Administration.

In the 1980 election 40 percent of the Jews who voted chose Reagan, another 40 percent voted for the incumbent President Jimmy Carter, the lowest percentage for a Democrat in the past 80 years, and 20 percent for John Anderson, indicating that the Democratic party could no longer take the Jewish vote for granted. Orthodox Jews in Brooklyn voted overwhelmingly for Reagan, the first time that the Jewish vote split along religious divides within the United States.

Reagan saw the early raw footage of the liberation of the concentration camps and referred to this during his Yom Hashoah address in the White House in 1981. None of this, however, was any guarantee that at the helm of the nation he would be particularly sensitive to the cause of Israel.

Upon assuming office Reagan's Middle East position could be summarized as follows: First, a militarily strong Israel, which is both democratic and anti-Soviet, is "the only remaining strategic asset in the region on which we can rely" (*Washington Post*, August 1979); second, opposition to the terrorist PLO and rejection of the notion of a PLO state because it would be a surrogate to the Soviet Union; third, strong support for Israel as America's most reliable ally in the Middle East and unequivocal support for Egyptian and Israeli peacemakers as the best way to attract other Arab states to the peace process.

Interestingly, one of the first crises affecting Israel, which was to have tremendous ramifications for the region, revolved around the June 7, 1981, bombing of the Iraqi nuclear reactor at Osirak by Israeli jet fighters. Only the newly appointed U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations Jeane J. Kirkpatrick stood in the way of an anti-Israel vote. Realizing that the word "aggression" had terrible consequences for Israel as it would make it appear that the attack was unprovoked and that the attacked party, Iraq, might now legitimately undertake unspecified self-defense measures, she strenuously argued that the U.S. should abstain from voting for that resolution, unless the word "aggression" was deleted. In the end, after taking the matter directly to President Reagan, her efforts prevailed and "aggression" was deleted from the resolution allowing the U.S. to half-heartedly join in the condemnation. This set the tone for much that was to follow at the UN during the years of the Reagan presidency.

In this context, and especially as concerned UN activities relative to Israeli-Arab relations, Reagan understood that charges of illegality aimed at Israel's conduct in the West Bank and Gaza had nothing to do with allegiance to rule of law in the sense of objective jurisprudence. Rather, it had everything to do with using law as a weapon in order to isolate Israel on the diplomatic front as a prelude to legitimating terrorism and other hostilities against Israel as a pariah state. The formula that Reagan repeatedly espoused was that "the settlements are not unlawful."

Similarly, when it came to Arab efforts to characterize East Jerusalem as "occupied territory," President Reagan instructed his delegates to the UN to veto such resolutions on the grounds that the final status on Jerusalem was to be negotiated, and not subject to resolution by legal fiat. He authorized a U.S. veto – the only veto cast – on April 19, 1982, of a Security Council resolution which sought to condemn the 1982 shooting of Palestinian worshippers at the Dome of the Rock by a deranged Israeli gunman – even though the U.S. was revolted by the shooting – because of the insertion of a paragraph equating Jerusalem with occupied Arab territory.

The Israeli invasion of Lebanon on June 6, 1982, created unique challenges for the Reagan Administration, with many White House advisors wanting Israel out of Lebanon as quickly as possible. Their views prevailed, but only up to a point. Although the United States joined in a UN Security Counsel resolution on June 6 that called for "unconditional withdrawal of Israeli forces (paragraph 1) while calling (paragraph 2) for cessation of all cross border attacks," the U.S. made clear in its explanation of its vote that "paragraphs 1 and

2 are inextricably linked… there can be no Israeli withdrawal before there is a cessation of all cross border hostilities. One cannot be without the other." This set the tone for the U.S. position throughout the war.

U.S. Ambassador Phillip Habib conducted a mission for peaceful evacuation of the PLO from Beirut. Its success led in turn to termination of the Lebanon war, and made it propitious for President Reagan to launch a major peace initiative in his speech of September 1, 1982. That initiative, also known as the Reagan Plan, called for direct negotiations between the Israel and the Arab states; Palestinian autonomy, but not an independent Palestinian state; and, for maintaining Jerusalem as an undivided city, with its final status to be negotiated.

A byproduct of Ronald Reagan's meetings with U.S.S.R.'s President Mikhail Gorbachev in 1985 aimed at creating a thaw in the Cold War led to conditions for the liberation of Ethiopian Jews who were rescued and brought to Israel in Operation Moses between November 19, 1984, and January 5, 1985, with some covert U.S. assistance.

In July through September of 1985, Israel had undertaken the sale of arms to Iran through the "Arms for Hostages Deal." Although the Iran Contra Affair, which resulted from exposure of the illicit sale of U.S. arms to Iran resulted in a major embarrassment to the Reagan Administration, it did not impair U.S.-Israeli relations.

Reagan's consistent record in identifying with the cause of Israel was somewhat marred by his decision to go to Germany's Bitburg Cemetery in 1985 (see *Bitburg Controversy), despite the knowledge that this was the burial ground for SS officers who committed the most heinous crimes. In hindsight, the President's visit – controversial as it was – caused no lasting damage to the cause of remembrance.

[David Geffen / Allan Gerson (2nd ed.)]

REBBETZIN, Yiddish honorific for the wife of a rabbi. Although no such title existed in ancient Judaism, its emergence in medieval and early modern Central and Eastern Europe indicates that rabbis' wives frequently assumed an elevated status in Jewish society deriving from their husbands' religious roles and from their own activities. Rabbis tended to marry daughters of elite families who had often received Jewish educations superior to those of most women. Many learned *rebbetzins*, such as the 12th-century *Dulcea of Worms, took on a variety of spiritual and communal functions. These could include leading worship in the women's section of the synagogue and teaching prayers and responses to other women as well as coordinating bridal arrangements, preparing corpses for burial, and dispensing charity. *Rebbetzins* were regarded as reliable witnesses of their husbands' rulings on ritual matters, particularly related to Jewish dietary laws, and they might be consulted for legal testimony as to their husbands' customary practices.

In a social setting which honored scholarship above economic success, the *rebbetzin* frequently supported her family financially while her husband devoted himself to study. In some European communities the *rebbetzin* had a monopoly on the sale of yeast; she might also be compensated for providing refreshments following religious events at which her husband officiated. Literary portrayals of the *rebbetzin* in East European Jewish culture can be found in the writings of such authors as Chaim *Grade (*Rabbis and Wives*, 1982) and Isaac Bashevis *Singer (*In My Father's Court*, 1966).

In more recent times, the *rebbetzin* in all denominations of Judaism was expected to fulfill a number of social, communal, and educational functions within her husband's congregation. Prior to the introduction of female ordination in non-Orthodox forms of Judaism, some women who became *rebbetzins* built on their husbands' positions to achieve their own independent roles as teachers and representatives of Jewish life within their communities and the larger non-Jewish world. With changing social mores and increased professional opportunities for Jewish women in many fields, it had become less common by the early 21st century for rabbis' spouses in Reform, Reconstructionist, and Conservative Judaism to follow these patterns. However, within Orthodox Jewish communities, the *rebbetzin,* more frequently known by the Hebrew designation *rabbanit,* continued to fulfill traditional expectations, serving as a domestic hostess to her husband's congregation and as an educator and counselor to female congregants. Some *rebbetzins* continued to achieve renown on their own terms, as inspirational teachers and charismatic counselors for women in their communities.

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[Judith R. Baskin (2nd ed.)]

REBECCA BAT MEIR TIKTINER (16th century), Yiddish author, probably from Prague. Two texts are attributed to her: *Meneket Rivkah* (*Meynekes Rivko*) ("The Nursemaid of Rebecca"), which was published posthumously in 1609, and *Eyn Simkhas Touro Lid* ("A Simḥat Torah Song"), to be sung by women in the synagogue.

While Rebecca bat Meir's place and date of birth are unknown, her tombstone inscription in Prague indicates that her learned father was from Tykocin, Poland. She probably acquired her knowledge of Hebrew and rabbinic literature in her childhood home. The inscription also relates that Rebecca "taught (or preached) day and night to women in every pious neighborhood." The titles, *darshanit ve-rabbanit* (preacher and teacher), with which she was eulogized on the title page of *Meneket Rivkah*, appear to be honorifics reflecting her instruction to women in Prague and elsewhere. Rebecca bat Meir was married; her husband is mentioned in her entry in the *Memorbukh* of the Altneushul as *ha-rav rabbi*, a title uncommon for an officiating rabbi in Prague.

Meneket Rivkah, published posthumously in Prague in 1609 (a second edition appeared in Cracow in 1618) and consisting of 36 folios, was written for a female readership, and belongs to the genre of Yiddish **musar* literature. The book is divided into seven chapters, six of which deal with a particular domestic relationship in the life of a married woman (her husband, her parents, her parents-in-law, her children, her daughter-in-law, and servants and guests). In the first chapter, the author develops a comprehensive ethical system, in which she lists important profane and religious commandments related to the body. These include healthy nutrition and the laws of **niddah*, labeled as *ḥokhmat ha-guf* (wisdom of the body), and the enumeration of social and practical-religious ideals and commandments, termed *ḥokhmat ha-neshamah* (wisdom of the soul).

Rebecca's many practical instructions paint a vivid picture of Jewish women's daily lives in the early modern period. They are accompanied by long homiletical and exegetical passages demonstrating her erudition. She provides biblical citations in Hebrew, as well as quotations from contemporary Hebrew and Yiddish *musar* literature. Rebecca also includes Yiddish adaptations of stories from the Talmud and midrash, and adopts terms and techniques of rabbinical exegesis. *Meneket Rivkah* is probably the first substantive published book in Yiddish written by a Jewish women. The only other extant Yiddish works by Jewish women from this period are personal supplicatory prayers (**tkhines*). It is significant, too, because it contains homiletics and exegeses, genres which had hitherto been written exclusively by learned men.

Rebecca also wrote a rhymed Yiddish hymn for the holiday of Simḥat Torah, entitled *Eyn Simkhas Touro Lid,* which describes an eschatological, festive banquet for men and women alike. The poem, which survives in two separate undated 17th century printings, consists of 40 rhyming couplets (with acrostic), in which each verse is followed by the refrain *hallelujah*.

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[Frauke von Rohden (2nd ed.)]

REBEKAH (Heb. רִבְקָה), wife of *Isaac, daughter of Bethuel, and granddaughter of Nahor, a brother of *Abraham (Gen. 22:23; 24:15, 24, 47). Rebekah is also described as "the sister of *Laban" (24:29, 50; 25:20). When Abraham sought a wife for his son he sent his servant to his homeland, Aram-Naharaim, for he wanted to avoid marriage with the Canaanites. The episode is described in detail in Genesis 24, which makes clear the providential nature of the union of Isaac with Rebekah (verses 7, 14, 27, 48, 50).

The text provides an insight into Rebekah's character by stressing her hospitality to strangers and her kindness to animals (verses 14, 18, 20), as well as her beauty and chastity (24:16; 26:7).That she is willing to expend considerable energy on watering camels is a testament to her virtue. The same feature may reflect an eighth century B.C.E. date for the origin of this element of the tradition. On one occasion Isaac felt that his life was in danger because of Rebekah's great beauty and he felt constrained to claim that she was his sister (26:6–11). Isaac's age at the time of the marriage is given as 40 (25:20); Rebekah's is not recorded. She is said to have remained childless for 20 years until, in divine response to her husband's prayers, she gave birth to twins: Esau and Jacob. During a difficult pregnancy, she received an oracle about the future relationships between, and destinies of, her unborn children (25:21–26). On the biblical account she displayed favoritism toward Jacob (25:28).

When Isaac in his old age expressed his intention of bestowing his farewell blessing on Esau, Rebekah skillfully induced Jacob to supplant his brother so as to obtain it for himself. When Esau, in his bitter disappointment, threatened to kill Jacob, Rebekah arranged Jacob's flight to the house of Laban in Haran (Gen. 27), using as a pretext her bitterness and disgust over Esau's marriage to local women and her determination that Jacob marry within the family (26:34–35; 27:46; 28:1).

The death of Rebekah is not recorded in the Bible, but only the fact that she was buried in the cave of Machpelah together with the Patriarchs and *Sarah and *Leah (49:31).

[Nahum M. Sarna]

In the Aggadah

The description of Rebekah as the "daughter of Bethuel the Aramean, of Padan-Aram, the sister of Laban the Aramean" (Gen. 25:20) is taken to indicate her righteousness. Despite the fact that her father and brother were scoundrels and she came from a land where deceit was rife, she succeeded in being pious (a play on the Hebrew *arammi* which by a transposition of letters is read as *ramai*, "scoundrel" or "cheat"; Gen. R. 63:4). Eliezer immediately perceived her greatness since the water of the well rose to greet her when she came to draw water (Gen. R. 60:5). The blessings of her mother and brother when she left with Eliezer were not sincere, and they were considered the "blessings of the impious which are curses." This caused Rebekah to remain barren for years (60:13). Rebekah was either three or fourteen years old at the time of her marriage (Tos. to Yev. 61b). When she entered Sarah's tent, the divine cloud that had overhung it during Sarah's lifetime immediately reappeared (Gen. R. 60:16). Nevertheless, their marriage was not entirely happy, as a result of Rebekah's barrenness. Together they prayed for children. Finally, God acceded to the prayers of Isaac since the prayer of a pious man who is the son of a pious man is far more efficacious than the prayer of one who descends from a godless father (Yev. 64a). While pregnant, Rebekah suffered agonizing pains because her twin sons had already begun their lifelong quarrel in her womb. If she walked near a synagogue, Jacob tried to break forth from her womb, while Esau attempted to get out when she passed an idolatrous temple (Gen. R. 63:6). Finally she went to consult in the *bet* *midrash* of Shem and Eber where she was informed that two opposing nations were in her womb (63:6, 7).

The children Esau and Jacob seemed alike, yet Rebekah already perceived Jacob's greatness. The more often she heard his voice (engaged in study), the deeper grew her affection for him (63:10). Rebekah was not present when Isaac requested Esau to bring him savory food so that he would bless him; Isaac's charge was revealed to her through the holy spirit since she was a prophetess (67:9). She thereupon insisted that Jacob receive Isaac's blessing. She was not only actuated by love for Jacob, but also by the wish to keep Isaac from committing a detestable act by blessing the wicked Esau (65:6). She agreed to bear the possible imprecation of Isaac just as the curse of Adam fell upon "his mother," the earth (65:15). Rebekah died a short time after the death of her nurse Deborah. Her death was not mentioned explicitly in the Scripture, but is implied by the words *allon bakhut* (Allon-Bacuth; Gen. 35:8) which the Midrash renders "weeping for another," *allon* being connected with the Greek ἄλλον "another" (Gen. R. 81:5). There was no public mourning for Rebekah. Since Abraham was dead, Isaac blind, and Jacob away from home, only Esau remained to represent the family in public. It was feared that onlookers might say, "Cursed be the breasts that sustained thee." To avoid this, Rebekah was buried at night (PdRK 23; PR 12:48b).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Noth, Personennamen. 10; H. Bauer, in: ZDMG, 67 (1913), 344; idem, in: ZAW, 48 (1930), 78; See Commentaries on *Genesis. IN THE AGGADAH: Ginzberg, Legends, index.

REBELLIOUS SON. "If a man have a stubborn and rebellious son, that will not hearken to the voice of his father and [not "or"] the voice of his mother and though they chasten him, will not hearken unto them, then shall his father and his mother lay hold of him and bring him out unto the elders of his city… They shall say unto the elders of his city: This our son is stubborn and rebellious, he doth not hearken to our voice, he is a glutton and a drunkard. And all the men of his city shall stone him with stones that he die; so shalt thou put away the evil from the midst of thee; and all Israel shall hear, and fear" (Deut. 21:18–21).

It appears that this law was intended to limit the powers of the *pater familias*: the head of the household could no longer punish the defiant son himself, according to his own whim, but had to bring him before the elders (i.e., judges) for punishment. In earlier laws (eg., Hammurapi Code, nos. 168, 169) only the father had to be defied; in biblical law it must be both father and mother, and the father cannot act without the mother's concurrence. If either was dead (Sif. Deut. 219) or refused to join in the prosecution, the son could not be indicted (Sanh. 8:4), but it was not necessary that father and mother should be validly married to each other (Sanh. 71a).

There is no record of a rebellious son ever having been executed, except for a dictum of R. Jonathan stating that he had once seen such a one and sat on his grave (Sanh. 71a). However, it is an old and probably valid tradition that there never had been, nor ever will be, a rebellious son, and that the law had been pronounced for educational and deterrent purposes only, so that parents be rewarded for bringing their children up properly (*ibid.*; Tosef. Sanh. 11:6).

Interpreting every single word of the biblical text restrictively, the talmudic jurists reduced the practicability of this law to nil. The "son" must be old enough to bear criminal responsibility, that is 13 years of age (see *Penal Law), but must still be a "son" and not a man: as soon as a beard grows ("by which is meant the pubic hair, not that of the face, for the sages spoke euphemistically") he is no longer a "son" but a man (Sanh. 8:1). The period during which he may thus be indicted as a "son" is three months only (Sanh. 69a; Yad, Mamrim 7:6), or, according to another version, not more than six months (TJ, Sanh. 8:1). The term "son" excludes a daughter (Sanh. 8:1; Sif. Deut. 218), though daughters are no less apt to be rebellious (Sanh. 69b–70a).

The offense is composed of two distinct elements: repeated (Sif. loc. cit.) disloyalty and defiance, consisting in repudiating and reviling the parents (Ex. 21:17), and being a "glutton and drunkard." This second element was held to involve the gluttonous eating of meat and drinking of wine (in which sense the same words occur in Prov. 23:20–21), not on a legitimate occasion (Sanh. 8:2), but in the company of loafers and criminals (Sanh. 70b; Yad, Mamrim 7:2) and in a ravenous manner (Yad, Mamrim 7:1). There are detailed provisions about the minimum quantities that must be devoured to qualify for the use of the term (cf. Yad, Mamrim 7:2–3). As no "son" can afford such extravagance, the law requires that he must have stolen money from his father and misappropriated it to buy drinks and food (Sanh. 8:3, 71a; Yad, Mamrim 7:2). "Who does not heed his father and mother" was interpreted as excluding one who does not heed God: thus, eating pork or other prohibited food, being an offense against God, would not qualify as gluttony in defiance of parents (*ibid.*). But it was also said that one who in his use of the stolen money performed a precept and thus heeded his Father in heaven could not be indicted (TJ, Sanh. 8:2).

As father and mother have to be "defied," to "take hold of him," to "say" to the elders, and to show them "this" is our son, neither of them may be deaf, dumb, blind, lame, or crippled, or else the son cannot be indicted as rebellious (Sanh. 8:4; Sif. Deut. 219). Either of them could condone the offense and withdraw the complaint at any time before conviction (Sif. Deut. 218; Sanh. 88b; TJ, Sanh. 8:6; Yad, Mamrim 7:8).

The son had first to be brought before a court of three judges (see *Bet Din) where, when he was convicted, he would be flogged and warned that unless he desisted from his wanton conduct he would be indicted as a rebellious son and liable to be stoned; if he did not desist, he would be brought before a court of 23, including the three judges who had warned him (Sanh. 8:4; 71b; Mid. Tan. to 21:18; Yad, Mamrim 7:7). If he escaped before sentence was passed, and in the meantime his hair had grown, he had to be discharged; but if he escaped after sentence, he would be executed if caught (Sanh. 71b; Yad, Mamrim 7:9).

The sentence passed upon a rebellious son had to be published far and wide, so that "all Israel will hear and be afraid" (Sanh. 89a; Mid. Tan. to 18:21). According to one view, the sentence was to be passed and executed at Jerusalem, at the time of mass pilgrimages, when all the people would be there to see and to hear (Tosef. Sanh. 11:7). It is said that the rebellious son is executed, not because of what he has actually done, but because of what he was foreseen to be prone to do were he allowed to live. His conduct showed that eventually he would have ruined his parents and become a robber and murderer (Sanh. 72a; TJ, Sanh. 8:7), so God considered it better for him to die innocent than to die guilty (Sanh. 8:5).

"In our times, we pay no attention to gluttonous and defiant sons, and everybody covers up the sins of his children; even where they might be liable to flogging or to capital punishment under the law, they are not even reprimanded. Many such children are leading purposeless lives and learn nothing – and we know that Jerusalem was destroyed because children loafed around and did not study" (Shab. 119b; Samuel Eliezer Edels, *Ḥiddushei Halakhot ve-Aggadot*, Sanh. 71a).

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[Haim Hermann Cohn]

REBREANU, village in Transylvania, central Romania. Jews settled in the villages Lusça and Entrádám which later became part of Rebreanu. There was a Jewish community in Lusça dating from the early 18th century, while the population of Entrádám was entirely Jewish and its Romanian name was Jidoviţa, from the Old Romanian word *jidov* of Slavic origin (a pejorative ethnonym meaning "Jew"). The Jews engaged mainly in commerce and agriculture and operated water mills. With the abolition of the settlement restrictions in Transylvania in 1848 many Jews from Entrádám moved to the nearby city of Nasaud, founding the community there. The population of the village was almost wholly Jewish in 1900. In 1930 the 135 Jews formed over 60% of the total population. The administration of the village remained in Jewish hands, and Rebreanu was popularly known as "Klayn Ereẓ Israel" ("little Ereẓ Israel"). The community was Orthodox with a strong ḥasidic influence.

During World War II, in 1944, the Jews were moved by the Hungarian Fascists first to Nasaud, then to Bistrita, then finally deported to *Auschwitz. In 1947 there were 17 Jews living in Rebreanu, but they left soon afterward. There was no Jewish community in Rebreanu in the early 21st century

[Yehouda Marton]

REBUKE AND REPROOF (Heb. *tokhaḥah*), admonition and chastisement for the purpose of restraint or correction. The biblical source for the duty to rebuke the wrongdoer is: "You shall not hate your kinsman in your heart. Reprove your neighbor, but incur no guilt because of him" (Lev. 19:17). In the view of the rabbis the duty to reprove one's neighbor has two applications: the first, to confront one's fellow with personal grievances held against him, and the second, to chastise evildoers in the hope of bringing about their regeneration (Maim. Yad, De'ot 6:6, 7). The duty to openly confront one's neighbor with personal grievances is entailed in the injunction against hatred of one's brother, insofar as the silent harboring of resentments leads to hatred (Ch. B. Chavel (ed.), *Sefer ha-Ḥinnukh* (1961), 297). Thus the behavior of Absalom toward his brother Amnon ("Absalom spoke unto his brother Amnon neither good nor bad, for Absalom hated Amnon…," II Sam. 13:22) is cited as an example of the wickedness of bearing unexpressed grievances (see Gersonides on this verse; and also Yad, De'ot 6:6, 7). The duty to chastise sinners and wrongdoers stems from the view that everyone is charged with the responsibility of bringing about the correction of the sins of his fellowman. Failure to discharge this responsibility is tantamount to bearing the same sins and faults (cf. Targum Onkelos and commentary of Naḥmanides on Lev. 19:12).

Because the intention behind the rebuking of the evildoer is his rehabilitation, a number of qualifications are imposed upon this commandment. One is prohibited from rebuking another to the point of embarrassment (Ar. 16b). According to Maimonides, admonition must be carried out in private (Yad, De'ot 6:7). In fact, rebuke must be effected with such delicacy that R. Eleazar b. Azariah doubted that there were any in his generation sufficiently capable in this regard (Ar. 16b). Furthermore, the Talmud, in accordance with the dictum "Reprove not a scorner lest he hate thee" (Prov. 9:8), prohibits admonition where there is a foregone conclusion that it will be rejected and merely increase enmity (Yev. 65b). Certain later rabbinic authorities maintain that in cases where it may safely be assumed that rebuke will be disregarded, it is preferable not to rebuke people for violating prohibitions that are not explicit in the Torah, for it is preferable that they transgress unknowingly rather than deliberately (Sh. Ar., OḤ 608:2).

Procedures of Rebuke

It is not sufficient to rebuke the wrongdoer once, rather one must rebuke him incessantly so long as he is recalcitrant. According to R. Johanan, a person should persist in rebuking his neighbor until the wrongdoer insults him; according to Samuel, until he curses him; and according to Rav, until he is ready to strike him (Ar. 16b). The obligation to rebuke one's neighbor falls even upon one who is generally intellectually and morally inferior to the person at fault, so that the disciple, for instance, must rebuke his teacher where necessary (BM 31a). Every community must appoint a wise and respected person whose function it is to publicly chastise wrongdoing and call for repentance (Yad, Teshuvah 4:2).

The role of admonition is central in Jewish ethical thought. The rabbis proclaim that there exists no love or peace where there is no admonition, citing as an example the peace covenant between Abimelech and Abraham which resulted from Abraham's reproving Abimelech (Gen. R. 54:3). The duty of admonition extends not only to individuals, but to the community at large, and even to the entire world, to the extent that if one does not fulfill the commandment of rebuke, the guilt of all those he might have reformed accrues to him (Shab. 54b). Some rabbis of the Talmud maintain that the Second Temple was destroyed, despite the presence of the righteous, because the righteous did not fulfill their obligation to rebuke the wrongdoers of their time, and thus shared their guilt (Shab. 119b). In the opinion of Judah ha-Nasi, the most righteous course for a man to choose is the love of admonition: "As long as there is admonition in the world there is satisfaction, goodness, and blessing in the world… as it is written [Prov. 24:25] 'To them that rebuke shall be delight, and a good blessing shall come upon them'" (Tam. 28a).

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[Joshua H. Shmidman]

RECANATI, town in the Marches, central Italy. Already by the 13th century there was a Jewish community in Recanati, trading in wine, oil, and cereals. Around the end of the following century Jewish loan-bankers settled in Recanati. In the 15th and 16th centuries Recanati became the most important Jewish center in the Marches, and in 1448 delegates of the Jewish communities in the region were summoned to assemble there to consider ways of defending themselves against the prevailing anti-Jewish agitation. Other meetings took place in 1480, 1509, and 1515. In 1558 the apostate Fra Filippo (formerly Joseph Moro) burst into the synagogue during the Day of Atonement service and profaned the Ark. After he had been driven out of the synagogue by the furious congregation, he appealed to the ecclesiastical authorities and obtained a severe sentence against the Jewish community. In 1569, following a bull by Pius v, the Jews were expelled from Recanati, as they were from all other centers in the Papal States, except Rome and Ancona. They returned for a brief period under Sixtus *v (1587) and opened loan-banks once again until 1593. The famous mystical exegete, Menahem (of) *Recanati, may have lived here in the 14th century.

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[Ariel Toaff]

RECANATI, Italian family, originally from *Spain, which produced scholars, physicians, merchants, and financiers. The name derives from the town of *Recanati. The family rose into special prominence in the 17th century, but earlier members of the family are Menahem *Recanati in the 13th century and AMADEO (Jedidiah) in the 16th century who translated Maimonides' *Guide of the Perplexed* into Italian, under the title *Erudizione dei Confusi*, which he dedicated to Menahem Azariah da *Fano.

The main branch of the family begins with SHABBETAI ELHANAN (early 17th century), rabbi of Ferrara when the ghetto was established there (1624). He founded a dynasty of rabbis that continued for at least six generations. MENAHEM, his son, succeeded him as a rabbi in Ferrara. He wrote a number of responsa. Some of these are included in *Piskei Recanati ha-Aḥaronim* of Jacob Ḥayyim Recanati (nos. 4, 6, 33; see below). JUDAH ḤAYYIM (late 17th century), Menahem's son, was rabbi of the Sephardi community of Ferrara. He wrote a number of responsa and his name appears often with the other rabbis of the city on rabbinical decrees. One of his responsa appears in *Piskei Recanati ha-Aḥaronim* (no. 5). SHABBETAI ELHANAN (d. 1738), his son, continued as rabbi of the Sephardi community of Ferrara. He was a contemporary of Mordecai *Ẓahalon and his name appears often together with Ẓahalon's and those of the other rabbis of Ferrara on regulations (*takkanot*) and approvals (*haskamot). He wrote responsa at a very early age. One of them is found in *Devar Shemu'el* (p. 280) of Samuel Aboab. He is mentioned in the *Paḥad Yiẓḥak* of Lampronti, *Reshit Bikkur Kaẓir* of Jacob Daniel Olmo, and *Shemesh Ẓedakah* of Samson Morpurgo. His son MOSES was also a rabbi in Ferrara as early as 1730.

JACOB ḤAYYIM BEN ISAAC SAMUEL (1758–1824), his grandson, born in Pesaro. At first an elementary school teacher in Ferara, he later served as rabbi in Siena, Acqui, Moncalvo, Finale, Carpi, Verona, and Venice. In Verona he also acted as head of a rabbinical school. He is best known for his *Piskei Recanati ha-Aḥaronim* (Leghorn, 1813) a collection of responsa, and for *Ya'ir Nativ* (Dessau, 1818) a responsum on the Hamburg Temple and its use of an organ. He was one of the four rabbis who took the liberal view. He was a man of wide interests, being also a grammarian and mathematician, poet and preacher. He published a treatise on arithmetic at Siena. Unpublished are books of sermons entitled *Afikei Mayim, Oholei Ya'akov*, and *Neveh Ya'akov.* He also wrote a compendium on Judaism (Verona, 1813), a number of Hebrew poems, and *Har ha-Tov*, quotations from *Ein Ya'akov.* Emanuele (Menahem; 1796–1864), the son of Jacob Ḥayyim, was physician in Verona. He wrote *Grammatica Ebraica in Lingua Italiana* (Verona, 1842); and *Dizionario Ebraico-Caldaico ed Italiano e Italiano ed Ebraico* (2 vols., *ibid.*, 1854–56). Other branches of the family are found in various Italian cities. In the 20th century branches of the family spread to Greece, Israel, and the U.S.

[Isaac Klein]

In *Greece, Yehudah Leib Recanati (1890–1945) was a noted banker. Born in *Salonika, Recanati was a leader of Greek Jewry for many years and became the president of the Greek communities in 1934, representing them on the Jewish Agency council. In 1935 he settled in Tel Aviv and established the Discount Bank of which he became chairman of the board of directors. This bank became one of the largest in the country and contributed substantially to the economic development of Israel. Recanati was the chairman of the Sephardi community council in Tel Aviv and was active in a large number of public institutions and bodies. His sons, Harry Rafael (1918–) and Daniel (1921–1984), were both directors of the Discount Bank and developed wide banking and commercial interests in Israel and elsewhere. They were dedicated to public and social needs in Israel (see Israel: *Banking).

[Benjamin Jaffe]

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RECANATI, ABRAHAM SAMUEL (1888–1980), Greek Zionist and journalist. A member of the *Recanati family, Abraham Samuel was born and educated in Salonika. He wrote in the local Jewish Judeo-Spanish press. In the Balkan wars, as a correspondent for the *Jewish Chronicle* and *Die Welt* (Berlin) he brought the suffering of the Jewish community of Salonika to the attention of the Jewish world and to the general European public.

In 1911 he became the head of Maccabi Federation in Salonika, transforming it from a sports organization to a mass youth movement.

Among his writings are *La Poriza dela Familia Judia, Ke es el Tsionismo*, and *Los Judios de Rusia Sofrin Eyos Como Judios.* He also translated *The Jewish State* by Theodor Herzl into French.

Owing to tactical and ideological differences, Abraham Recanati and a group of friends left Maccabi and in 1917 founded the French weekly newspaper *Pro Israel*, which Recanati edited during the ten years in which it appeared. The newspaper had widespread influence on the development of the Zionist movement in Salonika. The connections which developed at that time between Vladimir *Jabotinsky and Recanati brought about the molding of the core group of *Pro Israel* into a branch of the Revisionist Zionists in Salonika.

In 1919, Recanati formed the Histadrut ha-Mizrachi (Mizrachi Organization) in Greece and served as its leader. In 1923 he formed "Ha-Shomer," which was founded to use legal and "illegal" means to work for a Jewish state in Ereẓ Israel.

He was a delegate to various Zionist Congresses and was among the founders of the World Revisionist Organization and a member of its world executive committee. The Jews always had a small representation in the municipality of Salonika and in 1929 Recanati was appointed assistant mayor of the city.

In 1934 Recanati immigrated to Palestine. He was one of the founders of "Ha-Mizrachi Ha-Mekori," which was a faction in the Tel Aviv branch of the Mizrachi. In 1935 he obtained immigration certificates for Salonikan portworkers, sailors, and fishermen.

In Tel Aviv most of the Salonikan immigrants settled in the Florentin Quarter. Recanati served as vice chairman of the neighborhood committee under Rabbi Iẓḥak Yedidiah Frenkel and helped in the areas of health, sanitation, education, commerce, and the crafts. During the period of the Holocaust he participated in the formation of the Va'ad ha-Haẓẓalah (Rescue Committee) for Greek Jewry.

As a veteran Revisionist he was elected to the First Knesset in Israel representing the Ḥerut party. He was chairman of the public services committee of the Knesset.

In the last years of his life, he spent much time collecting material and writing for the Salonika memorial book, *Zikhron Salonika* (vol. 1, 1972; vol. 2, 1986).

He was the brother of the banker Yehudah Leib (Leon) Recanati.

[Yitzhak Kerem]

RECANATI, LEON (**Yehuda**) (1890–1945), banker. Born in Salonika, Recanati was one of the earliest Zionist activists in Salonika. After the outbreak of the Young Turk revolution in 1908, he was one of the first Zionist leaders who acted in the open. In the same year he began to function as a correspondent of the local Zionist movement to the Central Zionist Bureau in Cologne. After the death of his older brother Zacharia, Leon took over the family business of commercial representation for foreign firms in Salonika.

When the Young Turks began to ban official Zionist activities, Leon channeled his public endeavors through his involvement with B'nai B'rith, of which he was one of the founding members in Salonika (1911). One of the first results of his B'nai B'rith work was his initiative in founding a women's organization, B'not Israel.

Recanati's principal business was as owner of the tobacco factory Fumero. He provided work for some 600 Jewish breadwinners in times of economic stress.

In 1929 he was the Greek Jewish representative at the gathering which founded an extended Jewish Agency and subsequently was Greek Jewry's representative to the World Jewish Congress in Geneva. In 1933 the Zionist slate won the local Jewish community elections, and Leon Recanati was elected president of the Jewish community of Salonika.

In 1934 he moved to Palestine and in 1935 founded the Israel Discount Bank. He continued his concern with the welfare of his fellow Salonikan Jews. During the period of Nazi occupation in Greece, Recanati tried to take measures to help save his fellow Jews. He persuaded the Jewish agency to rent a small boat that sailed secretly at night between Zakalos, on the eastern coast of the Euboean peninsula in Greece, and Gesme, Turkey. Hundreds of Greek Jews fleeing Nazi terror were saved in this manner and later arrived in Palestine. Hundreds of Greek officers escaped from Greece in these same boats in order to join the Greek army stationed in the Middle East.

In Palestine, Recanati cared for the few refugees who succeeded in escaping and granted them loans for initial rehabilitation. He also participated in the building of a residential area for Greek Jewish immigrants in Yad Eliyahu in the Tel Aviv region.

He was also actively involved in public life in Palestine. He was chairman of the Greek-Jewish Kadima club, leader of the Organization of Greek Immigrants which ran a kitchen for the needy as well as a welfare fund for Greek immigrant women, and was president of the settlement company Banimli-Gevulam, which founded and strengthened the settlements of Kefar Hittim, Bet Hanan, Zur Moshe, and Bet Halevi, all inhabited mostly by Sephardi Jews. He also set up a scholarship fund to enable Sephardi youth to obtain high school, technical, agricultural, and particularly university training.

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RECANATI, MENAHEM BEN BENJAMIN (late 13th-early–14th centuries), Italian kabbalist and halakhic authority. No information whatsoever is available on Recanati's life, although according to family tradition mentioned in *Shalshelet ha-Kabbalah* he was once an ignorant man who miraculously became filled with wisdom and understanding.

He wrote three kabbalistic works: *Perush al ha-Torah* (Venice, 1523); *Ta'amei ha-Mitzvot* (Constantinople, 1544); and *Perush ha-Tefillot* (*ibid.*, 1544); and one halakhic work, *Piskei Halakhot* (Bologna, 1538). Two commentaries on the *Perush al ha-Torah* were written during the 16th century: one by Mattathias Delacrut (Neubauer, Cat, nos. 1615, 1623, 3); and *Be'ur Levush Even Yekarah* by Mordecai Jaffe (Lublin, 1605; Lemberg, 1840–41). An important part of the *Ta'amei ha-Mitzvot*, in which Recanati deals with the problem of the nature of the *Sefirot*, still remains in manuscript. According to Recanati, the *Sefirot* are not the essence of God but coverings in which God enfolds Himself and instruments through which He acts. This entire extract is quoted by Judah *Ḥayyat in his commentary to **Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut*, and in their discussions of this question other 16th-century kabbalists (notably Isaac Mor Ḥayyim, Elhanan Sagi Nahor, Solomon *Alkabez̦, and Moses *Cordovero) refer to Recanati's views. Even those who oppose his theory refer to him with admiration and respect, with the exception of David Messer *Leon, who attacks him harshly in *Magen David* (MS Montefiore 290).

With the exception of his discussion on the essence of the *Sefirot*, where his conclusion is the result of his own speculations, Recanati's doctrine is drawn mainly from written sources. He cannot be regarded as the recipient of "revelations from heaven" (despite Guedemann; see bibl.), and in few places indeed does he tell of his dreams and visions. Thanks to him the doctrines of many kabbalists whose writings are otherwise unknown have been preserved. He made use of many sources, which he usually does not mention by name, and was especially indebted to *Naḥmanides, whom he refers to as "the great rabbi." Another kabbalist he mentions frequently is R. Ezra (whose name is occasionally changed to R. Azriel), and he made use of the writings of Jacob b. Sheshet Gerondi, *Asher b. David, Joseph *Gikatilla, and *Moses b. Shem Tov de Leon. Recanati was acquainted with two large works on the reasons for the precepts which were written during his lifetime: one by R. Joseph from Shushan (then attributed to Isaac ibn Farḥi) and another by an unknown author. An important part of his commentaries on Naḥmanides' esoteric mysticism derives from *Keter Shem Tov* by Shem Tov *Ibn Gaon. Other important sources were Sefer ha-*Bahir and the Zohar, which he quotes often although he had access to only a limited number of sections.

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[Efraim Gottlieb]

°**RECCARED,** Visigothic king of Spain (586–601). He succeeded his father Leovigild and shortly thereafter converted from Arianism to orthodox Christianity. This conversion was followed in 589 by the Third Council of Toledo, where it was decreed that all Arians must become orthodox. His preoccupation with religious matters seems to have led Reccared to reaffirm and modify existing anti-Jewish legislation. He forbade Jews to own Christian slaves and decreed that if a Jew circumcised a Christian slave, the latter was to be set free and the owner was himself to be enslaved. Jews were further forbidden to have Christian wives or mistresses and any children born from such a union were to be baptized. This is the earliest example of compulsory conversion of Jews in Visigothic Spain. Aside from the enactment requiring the forced baptism of offspring from mixed marriages, Reccared's legislation did not go beyond that which had existed under his Arian predecessors. In fact the punishment for converting one's own slaves was reduced from death to slavery. Like his predecessors, moreover, Reccared was lax in enforcing the anti-Jewish laws. Not only did Jews continue to own and trade Christian slaves, but the pope felt compelled to indicate his wrath at this state of affairs. This had little effect, however, and the Jews seem to have been little bothered by Reccared's legislation against them.

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[Bernard Bachrach]

RECHAB AND BAANAH (Heb. רֵכָב, "rider"; and בַּעֲנָה, cf. Ugaritic *bnʿna*, "son of Ana"), sons of Rimmon from Beeroth, one of the four cities which constituted the Gibeonite (or Hivite) league, and which has been identified as the site of el-Bire, lying northwest of Jerusalem just outside the territory of the tribe of Benjamin. Rechab and Baanah, captains of the army of Saul's son Ish-Bosheth (II Sam. 4:2), murdered their king (verse 7). Entering Ish-Bosheth's house undetected, they decapitated him while he was sleeping (verse 7) and took his head to David, claiming to have carried out the will of God (verse 8). David, anxious to clear himself of the suspicion of complicity, had them summarily executed, reminiscent of the way he treated the man who brought the news of Saul's suicide. The assassins' bodies were mutilated and hanged beside the pool in Hebron, while the head of Ish-Bosheth was honorably buried in Abner's grave in the same town (verse 12). Several possible motives may explain the captains' regicide: the hope of being rewarded by David; the desire to realize Abner's plan for a united kingdom with David as king, by eliminating David's most dangerous opponent; and revenge for Saul's conquering the confederacy of the Hivite cities (cf. Josh. 9:17).

Saul's conquering of the confederacy explains why the Beerothites, including the sons of Rimmon, fled to Gittaim, where they lived as aliens (II Sam. 4:3). In the course of time the sons of Rimmon became officers of Ish-Bosheth and at an opportune moment murdered him as an act of blood revenge.

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RECHABITES (Heb. בְּנֵי הָרֵכָבִים), a small religious sect first identified as such in Jeremiah 35 in an incident dated in the reign of *Jehoiakim, but tracing their descent to Jonadab son of Rechab, who was a contemporary of *Jehu (II Kings 10:15–17 where he is called Jehonadab; see below). Jeremiah was commanded by God to take the Rechabites to one of the chambers in the Temple and serve them wine. The Rechabites, however, refused to drink the wine, citing the charge of their ancestor Jonadab son of Rechab, which forbade them to drink wine, to cultivate or even to own fields or vineyards or to build houses. They had remained pastoral tent-dwellers until the invasion of Nebuchadnezzar, when they had taken refuge in Jerusalem. It is not known whether this was when Nebuchadnezzar merely occupied the West and Jehoiakim became his vassal (604 B.C.E.) or during Jehoiakim's rebellion (601–598), nor whether the Rechabites had been able to continue to dwell in tents while residing in Jerusalem, but at any rate they continued to abstain from wine. Jeremiah, while he did not necessarily demand this Nazirite-like asceticism, extolled their strict observance of these commandments, contrasting it with the evil ways of the people of Judah. He promised the Rechabites that they would continue to serve before God: "Jonadab son of Rechab shall never lack a man to stand before me" (35:19).

"Ben Rechab" may mean not literally "son of Rechab" but "Rechabite," in which case Jonadab may have won over his clansmen as well as his descendants to his way of life. He was not necessarily the physical ancestor of all the Rechabites of Jeremiah's day, but he was in any case their lawgiver and spiritual ancestor. Whether the Rechabites had peculiar religious observances (e.g., letting the hair grow) other than those enumerated above is not known.

Opposition to the Monarchy of Omri

Jonadab son of Rechab sided with Jehu against the House of Ahab. From a fragmentary text (II Kings 10:15–17) it appears that Jonadab, riding in Jehu's chariot from Jezreel to Samaria, gave his blessing to the slaughter of the royal family, and that Jehu was interested in proving to him his zealousness on behalf of God. Jonadab also participated at Jehu's side in the slaughter of the prophets of Baal in the House of Baal in Samaria (II Kings 10:23). There is no evidence in the text that other men of the family of Rechab participated with Jonadab or that he acted as a representative of the sect. However, although Jonadab was accepted by Jehu on the strength of his personality, it may be assumed that his reputation as a zealous supporter of the God of Israel, who would tolerate no compromises, derived from his position as a head of a family that was completely opposed, because of its zealous faith and unique social character, to the rule of the House of Omri. Jonadab may have promulgated his rules as a reaction to the policies of Ahab, which notoriously provoked the opposition of the prophets and the sons of prophets headed by *Elijah and *Elisha. It appears that even at that time the Rechabites were distinguished from the prophets by their asceticism and extreme zealousness on behalf of the God of Israel (there is no sign that the prophets also participated in the slaughter of the worshipers of Baal in Samaria).

Origin of the Group

There is no definite information concerning the origins of the Rechabites. From a vague verse in I Chronicles 2:55 – "These are the Kenites who came from Hammath, the father of the house of Rechab" – it follows that the house of Rechab (as far as it is possible to identify it with "the house of the Rechabites" in Jer. 35 and "the son of Rechab" in II Kings 10) was related to the *Kenites. This verse mentions the Rechabites only in passing, in connection with the lineage of the Kenites. It goes on to say that the Kenites, or at least some of them, were among the inhabitants of Jabez, implying that they established a permanent settlement there, which cannot of course refer to the Rechabites. Even if "the house of Rechab" is also a place-name, identical with the name of the family, as is usually the case in the genealogies of Chronicles, there is no proof that it refers to a permanent settlement. If preference is given to the text of the Septuagint: "these are the men of Rechab," over that of I Chronicles 4:12: "these are the men of Recah," it is seen that, in accordance with the genealogical context in I Chronicles 4:11–15, the Rechabites were related to the Kenazites and the Calebites. Indeed, if these above verses reflect the process of settlement of the desert tribes in Judah in the period of the united monarchy in Israel, it may be estimated that the Rechabites were known, many years before Jonadab, as a special family in Judah. It is reasonable to suppose that, like the Kenites and the Kenazites, the Rechabites were absorbed in Judah at the time of the united monarchy, and in any case their territory was adjacent to the permanent settlements in the hill country of Judah. But their character as a religious sect dates only from the time of Jonadab.

Seminomadic Shepherds

Not engaging in agriculture and living in tents, the Rechabites must have subsisted by raising sheep and goats (cf. Gen. 4:20; 25:27). It follows that the Rechabites were among the nomads and herdsmen who dwelt in proximity to the permanent settlements in Israel and Judah, and even wandered further to the Wilderness of Judah. From the verses describing the meeting between Jonadab and Jehu – which took place between Jezreel and Samaria – it may be inferred that Jonadab's settlement was in the neighborhood of the cities in Israel. But their wanderings in the different periods ranged over Israel and Judah.

Relation to Society at Large

It appears that, in contrast to the deeds of Jonadab in the days of Jehu, the Rechabites in the following generations did not participate in the practical life of the kingdom and were essentially not a rebellious sect. The impression is that they did not set out to preach a way of life to the whole people, but, as is generally the case with a separatist group unified by family ties and stringent communal restrictions, it served in its very existence as a challenge to the conventions of the agrarian society and culture; in this respect it was analogous to some of the ascetic sects in the Wilderness of Judah in Second Temple times.

Second Temple Period

There are allusions to the existence of the family of the Rechabites in the days of the Second Temple. In Nehemiah reference is made to Malchijah son of Rechab, officer of the district of Beth-Cherem who held the Dung Gate (3:14), but there is no mention of his being unique among the other officers. Diodorus Siculus (19:9), in the name of Jerome of Cardia, speaks of the asceticism of the early Nabateans at the end of the fourth century B.C.E. in terminology almost exactly like that which Jeremiah used in describing the Rechabites, and he too placed special emphasis on the prohibition against drinking wine. There is no way of knowing of any connection between the Rechabites and the Nabateans, but it is probable that there were parallels to biblical asceticism, such as that of the house of Rechab, among other ethnic groups that settled in the south and Transjordan. According to the Mishnah (Ta'an. 4:5), "the children of Jonadab son of Rechab" had (in Second Temple times) a fixed day in the year for bringing wood for the altar of the Temple. They were probably descended from the tent-dwelling Rechabites, but they hardly constituted a separate sect. There were "water-drinking" sacrificers, and the Midrash traces their descent to Jonadab (Gen. R. 98:10; Sif. Num. 78, 81, et al.; cf. Ta'an. 28a; TJ, Ta'an. 4:2, 68a), but this merely indicates that sects of teetotalers existed in the Second Temple period. The designation which connects them with the pre-Exilic Rechabites may very well be typological rather than truly genealogical.

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[Samuel Abramsky]

RECHITSA, city in Gomel district, Belarus. Rechitsa had one of the oldest Jewish communities in Belorussia. In 1648 the rampaging Cossacks murdered many of its Jews. The Jewish population in 1766 numbered 133, increasing to 1,268 in 1800 (two thirds of the total population), and 2,080 in 1847. The city was a center for Chabad *Ḥasidism. At the end of the 19th century Rechitsa had a yeshivah led by Rabbi Ḥayyim Shelomo Kumm and was the residence of the ḥasidic leader, R. Shalom Dov Ber *Schneersohn. Rechitsa's Jews included petty merchants in lumber and agricultural produce, artisans, a few wholesalers, and the owner of a match factory. In 1897 the 5,334 Jews of Rechitsa constituted 57 percent of the population. On October 23, 1905 the peasants of the surrounding area participated in a pogrom which killed 6 Jews and wounded 12, most of them members of the Jewish self-defense force. On the eve of World War I the Jewish population numbered about 7,500. Jewish communal and religious life began to decline under Soviet rule. There existed a Yiddish section in the court of law and two Jewish elementary schools. In 1926 there were 7,386 Jews, and 7,237 in 1939 (24 percent of the total population). The Germans occupied the town on August 23, 1941. In November 1941 all 3,000 remaining Jews were gathered in a ghetto, and on November 25 they were murdered. A few Jews returned after the war. They had no synagogue, and in 1970 the Jewish population was estimated at about 1,000. In the 1990s most remaining Jews emigrated to Israel and the West.

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[Yehuda Slutsky / Shmuel Spector (2nd ed.)]

RECHTER, Israeli architects. ZE'EV RECHTER (1899–1960) was born in Russia and went to Palestine in 1919, working in an engineering office in Jerusalem. He worked for many years as a draughtsman and surveyor, later studying architecture and engineering in Italy and France. After his studies, he returned to Tel Aviv. He had a considerable influence in formulating the types of urban dwelling houses in Israel as a whole, and in Tel Aviv in particular. He introduced the house built on piles, with the lower floor open to the street, which determined the look of residential streets in Tel Aviv and other towns. The first building of this type was Bet Engel in the Rothschild Boulevard in Tel Aviv built by Rechter in 1934–36. Among other public buildings built or designed by Rechter are Binyenei ha-Ummah in Jerusalem, the Meir Hospital at Kefar Sava, the Elisha Hospital in Haifa, the Tel Aviv law courts (in partnership with Dov *Karmi), and the School of Archaeology at the Hebrew University. Rechter was one of the leaders of the modernist movement in Israel, simple forms characterizing his architecture.

His son, YA'AKOV RECHTER (1924–2001), was born in Tel Aviv and served as an officer during the War of Independence. In 1951 he became partner in his father's firm. He worked on a number of private buildings and public projects such as the F.R. Mann Auditorium in Tel Aviv (in collaboration with D. Karmi). On the death of his father, he ran the office with his brother-in-law, Zarchi. The designs emerging from the reorganized office shifted from a solid sobriety to lively sculptural forms blending with the natural surroundings. In the Zikhron Ya'akov Rest Home, Rechter repeated the cellular pattern of his Tel Aviv Hilton. In a different mood, Rechter experimented with concrete and glass at the Polyclinic in Haifa. Rechter worked on a town-planning scheme for the development of the Tel Aviv seafront. One of his most famous buildings is the Stage Arts building in Tel Aviv, a monumental structure that includes a small piazza, two large entrance gateways, and a large hall. Rechter was awarded the Israel Prize for arts in 1972.

The Ministry of Education and Culture awards the Rechter Prize for excellence and creativity in architecture.

[Abraham Erlik / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

RECIFE, city in northeast Brazil, capital of the state of Pernambuco; population: 1,486,869 (2004); Jewish population estimated at 1,300.

Colonial Period

When Recife became a prosperous center for sugar production in the 16th and 17th centuries, Portuguese New Christians were already living in the city and its environs and in many regions of the Brazilian Nordeste (North East). They worked mainly in sugar production and commerce. The significant number of New Christians in Recife took part in a variety of activities, and some bound themselves through intermarriage to prestigious Old Christian families.

The Inquisition dispatched an official inspector (*visitator*) and an inquisitional commission was established in 1593–1595 in Olinda, the port of Recife. New Christians were tried and arrested; some were taken to Lisbon and handed over to the inquisitional tribunal. After the inspector had left, surveillance of New Christians was continued by the bishop of Brazil, with the assistance of the local clergy. Thus the New Christian Diego Fernandez, husband of Branca Dias, was accused by the Inquisition of being a "Judaizer" and of keeping an "esnorga," a secret place to pray.

Two New Christian writers lived in Recife and stood out in the colonial period with works that reveal elements of Jewish expression: Bento Teixeira, author of *Prosopopéia* – one of the most important Portuguese-Brazilian colonial poems – published in Lisbon on 1601, and Ambrósio Fernandes Brandão, author of *Diálogos das Grandezas do Brasil*, in 1618.

Dutch Period

The first organized Jewish community in Brazil was established in Recife during the period of Dutch colonial occupation (1630–1654) that brought Jews among other Dutch colonists and permitted religious freedom. The West India Company came to Brazil attracted by the sugar plantations and more than 120 engenhos (sugar mills) in Pernambuco.

In 1636–1640 the Dutch Jews founded the first Brazilian synagogue in Recife, the first on American soil: Kahal Kadosh Ẓur Israel. Later they founded the synagogue Kahal Kadosh Magen Abraham in Maurícia. Both were unified in 1648, with the signatures of 172 members both from Recife and Maurícia. The Jewish community was very well organized along the same lines as the mother community in Amsterdam. Ẓur Israel maintained a synagogue, the religious schools Talmud Torah and Eẓ Ḥayim, and a cemetery. In Recife there was a "Rua dos Judeus" (Jodenstraat or Jewish street) in 1636.

In 1642 Rabbi Isaac Aboab da Fonseca arrived from Holland, accompanied by the *ḥakham* Moses Rafael de Aguilar. Jews from Recife addressed an inquiry regarding the proper season to recite the prayers for rain to Rabbi Ḥayyim Shabbetai in Salonika, the earliest American contribution to rabbinic responsa literature. Despite official tolerance, however, the Jews were subjects of some hostility at the hands of Calvinists.

The estimates of the Jewish population at Recife vary greatly. According to Arnold Wiznitzer, it reached 1,450 members in 1645. Egon and Frieda Wolff's research indicated around 350 Jews.

By 1639 Dutch Brazil had a flourishing sugar industry with more than 120 sugar cane mills, six of which were owned by Jews. Jews also had an important role in commerce, tax farming, and finances. Jews were also engaged in the slave trade, worked in agriculture, in the Dutch militia and as artisans and physicians. The contacts with the local population – including many New Christians – was permanent, due to the economic activities. During Dutch domination in the Nordeste, New Christians came closer to Judaism.

As early as 1642 the Portuguese began preparations for the liberation of northeastern Brazil. In 1645 they began a war that lasted nine years. Jews joined the Dutch ranks, and some were killed in action. Famine had set in and conditions were desperate when, on June 26, 1649, two ships arrived from Holland with food. On that occasion, Rabbi Isaac Aboab wrote the first Hebrew poem in the Americas, "*Zekher Asiti le-Nifle'ot El*" ("I Have Set a Memorial to God's Miracles").

It was stipulated in the capitulation protocol of Jan. 26, 1654, that all Jews, like the Dutch, were to leave Brazil within three months and had the right to liquidate their assets and to take all their movable property with them. The majority left for Amsterdam, but some sailed to the Caribbean Islands (Curaçāo, Barbados, and so on). Wiznitzer maintained that a group of 23 Brazilian Jews arrived in New Amsterdam (old name of New York), then under Dutch rule, on the *Saint Catherine* at the beginning of September 1654 and that they were the founding fathers of the first Jewish community in New York. Egon and Frieda Wolff rejected this historical connection and argued that there is no documentary basis to assume that the Jews who arrived in New York were the same that had left Recife during the expulsion of the Dutch.

New Christians continued to live in Recife. Two decades after the departure of the Dutch, the Inquisition was also acquainted with and persecuted the New Christians who had converted to Judaism during the Dutch occupation and had remained in Pernambuco. Many reports reached the Lisbon

Inquisition in the second half of the 17th century and during the 18th century regarding their clandestine observance of Jewish rituals. Portuguese policy in the middle of the 18th century eventually enabled the New Christians to mingle with the rest of the population, until their traces disappeared as they became completely assimilated.

Modern Period

The contemporary immigration of Jews from Eastern Europe to Recife started in the 1910s, and in 1910 a synagogue was established in a private house. The Centro Israelita de Pernambuco and the local Ídishe Shul were founded in 1918. Synagoga Israelita da Boa Vista and the Jewish cemetery were created in 1927. In 1930 Sephardi immigrants built their synagogue. The Jewish community was very active with a network of institutions, including six schools, the assistance organization Relief, a sports club, a library, a Yiddish theater group, youth and Zionist groups, and women organizations such as WIZO and Pioneiras. The community, which reached a population of 1,600, lived mostly in the neighborhoods of Boa Viagem and Boa Vista.

In 1992 the Arquivo Histórico Judaico de Pernambuco (Historic Jewish Archive of Pernambuco) was founded. In 1994 the Associação para a Restauração da Memória Judaica das Américas (Association for the Restoration of Jewish Memory in the Americas) was established and in 2000 the building where the synagogue Kahal Kadosh Ẓur Israel had been founded in the Dutch period was recognized as a "national historical patrimony" by Instituto do Patrimônio Histórico e Artístico Nacional – Iphan, a federal agency, and a memorial-museum was opened. Together with the old "Rua dos Judeus" the memorial figures in the tourist tours of the city of Recife.

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[Roney Cytrinowicz (2nd ed.)]

RECKENDORF, HERMANN SOLOMON (1863–1923), German Orientalist. Reckendorf's father, also named HERMANN (Ḥayyim Ẓevi; 1825–1875), taught Semitic languages at Heidelberg University, and wrote a Hebrew translation of the Koran (1857). Inspired by E. Sue's *Les Mystères de Paris*, he also wrote *Die Geheimnisse der Juden* (5 vols., 1856–57), a fictionalized recounting of Jewish history. Several Hebrew versions of this work were published; the one by A.S. Friedberg (*Zikhronot le-Veit David*, 1893–1900) is still popular with Israel youth. Hermann Solomon Reckendorf studied Semitics under T. Noeldeke and at the Berlin rabbinical seminary, but later abandoned Orthodoxy. Reckendorf became professor at Freiburg University, specializing in Arabic syntax.

His *Die syntaktischen Verhaeltnisse des Arabischen* (1895–98) outlines the problems of Arabic syntax; his *Arabische Syntax* (1921) is important for its collection of material. The two works remain outstanding. In his *Ueber Paronomasie in den semitischen Sprachen* (1909) Reckendorf covers a wider field, dealing with a well-defined syntactic phenomenon in most Semitic languages. Another of his works is *Mohammed und die Seinen* (1907).

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[Joseph L. Blau]

RECKLINGHAUSEN, town in Westphalia, Germany, where the presence of Jews is attested as early as 1305. The financier Gottschalk of Recklinghausen, who carried on extensive business from Lochern (in Dutch Gelderland), was killed during the disturbances caused by the Black Death in 1349–50. No organized community, however, came into being in medieval times, and there is no record of one in Recklinghausen until 1828. In the course of time, an active Jewish life developed and the community established a synagogue, communal center, elementary school, *mikveh*, and a variety of Jewish societies. Eastern European immigrants founded their own society and *minyan*. The Jewish population of Recklinghausen grew from 72 in 1880 to 298 in 1905. It dropped to 280 (5% of the total population) in 1933. From 1903 until 1922 and again from 1934 to 1938, Recklinghausen was the seat of a district rabbi. The last incumbent was Selig Auerbach, who later immigrated to the U.S. During the Nazi persecutions, many members of the community succeeded in emigrating from Recklinghausen, principally to Holland. On Nov. 9/10, 1938, the synagogue was destroyed, and subsequent deportations of the remaining Jews brought the community to an end. A new community of 52 Jews was established in Recklinghausen after World War II in conjunction with *Bochum and Herne, numbering 76 persons in 1962. In 1960 and 1961 the "Synagoga" exhibition of Jewish art and folklore was held in Recklinghausen and was subsequently shown throughout Germany. In 1974 there were 60 Jews residing in the city. In 1997 a new synagogue was consecrated. Due to the immigration of Jews from the former Soviet Union, the community grew so that it was divided in 1999. The new Jewish community of Recklinghausen numbered 624 in 2004.

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[Larissa Daemmig (2nd ed.)]

RECONSTRUCTIONISM, ideology and movement in U.S. religious life. Both the idea and the movement owe their inspiration to Mordecai Menahem *Kaplan (1881–1983). Raised Orthodox in Eastern Europe, Kaplan came to America at age eight. He saw his generation responding to this radically different setting in two ways: struggling to maintain Jewish identity while acclimating to America, or abandoning Jewish identity altogether. Kaplan believed that with the breakdown of belief in the Torah as the revealed word of God, in the authority of *halakhah* (Jewish law), in a supernatural conception of God, and in the notion of the Jews as a separated and "chosen people," a new rationale for maintenance of Jewish identity was needed. Kaplan argued that in pre-modern times, Jews had remained loyal to their identity despite hardship and suffering because they believed that adherence to Judaism assured them of salvation in the next world. Before the French Revolution (1789) Europe's Jews also lived in segregated communities; with the entry of Jews into citizenship in the countries where they resided, the social and sociological constraints that kept them apart from the larger culture were removed, however imperfectly. Kaplan argued that Jews had to learn to live in two civilizations: the Jewish one and the larger culture of which they were now a part.

When Kaplan began his career, there was widespread disagreement among Jews about how to define Judaism and what comprised Jewish identity. Reform Judaism defined Judaism as a religion only, and Jews as a community of faith. Zionist theoreticians defined Judaism as a nationality, and Jews as citizens (in exile, perhaps, but citizens nonetheless) of the Jewish nation. Secular Jews saw Judaism as a culture and Jews as an ethnic group. Kaplan sought definitions that could encompass this diversity. He decided that Judaism should be understood as the evolving religious civilization of the Jewish people, and that the Jews should share a common sense of peoplehood. Judaism, like any other civilization, comprised a history, a language, a religion, a social organization, standards of conduct, and spiritual and social ideals. Under the influence of modern sociology, Kaplan stated that whatever is an object of collective concern takes on all the traits of a religion, which in its turn functions in order to hold up to the individual the value of the group and the importance of his complete identification with it. For Kaplan, belonging to the Jewish people came before behaving according to Jewish practice or believing according to Jewish religion.

Kaplan believed that Judaism had to be transformed from an "other-worldly" civilization into a "this-worldly" one. He rejected supernaturalism in all of its manifestations. For Kaplan, the Torah was a human document recording the Jewish people's earliest record of their search for God and for the behaviors that would lead to human responsibility. What tradition called *mitzvot* (divine commandments) were for Kaplan "folkways" (*minhagim*) that had been created by the Jewish people, and thus were subject to adaptation, change, and/or rejection in response to the changing needs of the Jewish people. The Jewish religion, said Kaplan, exists for the Jewish people, not the Jewish people for the Jewish religion. Where Reform Judaism saw ethical monotheism as the unbroken line of continuity throughout Jewish history, and Orthodox Judaism saw the Torah and *halakhah* as the unchanging constants, Kaplan held that it was Jewish peoplehood that was the sole constant throughout the evolving history of Judaism.

Many Jewish intellectuals were attracted to Kaplan's program for a Jewish life. Since Judaism was a civilization, Kaplan argued that its parts could best function in interrelationship with one another. Kaplan sought to replicate the model of the European Jewish *kehillah* as what he called an "organic community," in which the basic unit of Jewish life would be the entire aggregate of a given community's synagogues, educational institutions, Zionist organizations, agencies, and organizations, linked into a single structure with a democratically elected leadership. In Kaplan's vision, one would join the local Jewish community, pay dues to that community, and in return have access to all the services of that community from birth to death. While this model was never implemented in the way Kaplan envisioned, it did have an influence on the emergence and development of the Jewish Federations and Jewish Community Relations Councils, each of which sought to embrace the entire spectrum of the communities they represented.

Kaplan was also a pioneer in conceiving of the synagogue as a Jewish center, in which social, intellectual and athletic activities would be as much a part of the institutional program as the synagogue and the religious school. This vision not only influenced the development of Jewish congregational life in the period before World War II, but it also helped inspire the creation and development of the Jewish Community Center movement.

The most controversial aspect of Kaplan's thinking was his theology. The conception of God as a supernatural personality became for Kaplan a conception of God as force or process, or, in his preferred formulation, "the Power that makes for salvation." Salvation was understood by Kaplan as self-fulfillment on a social and individual basis. It meant the progressive improvement of the human personality and the establishment of a free, just, and cooperative social order. Kaplan maintained that there were adequate resources in the world and capacities in humans to achieve such salvation. Since we sense a power that orients us to this life and elicits from us the best of which we are capable, this notion of God conforms to our experience. Kaplan distinguished between conceptions of God and belief in God. He felt that Judaism offered many different conceptions of God, from rational to mystical, and from personal to non-personal. It was belief in God as that force or power in creation and in human life that supported salvation, what Kaplan later called "transnaturalism," that he felt was essential; the conception of God that a Jew might choose was less important. Some early Reconstructionists, such as Milton *Steinberg, rejected Kaplan's naturalistic theology while accepting the rest of Kaplan's program.

Until the founding of the Reconstructionist Rabbinical College (RRC) in 1968, Reconstructionist ideology was essentially defined by Kaplan and his immediate circle of disciples and followers. Once the RRC began to ordain Reconstructionist rabbis, and as the number of Reconstructionist congregations began to grow in the 1980s and 1990s, Reconstructionism itself began to evolve, adapt and change to meet new circumstances. The inclusion of ḥasidic, kabbalistic and meditative practices and teachings broadened the spectrum of Reconstructionist spirituality in ways that the primarily rational approach of Kaplan might not have accommodated. As an independent movement, Reconstructionism had to grapple with creating positions and practices that, if not exactly couched as a return to *halakhah*, meant a serious engagement with *halakhah*. The rise of literary analysis and appreciation of biblical scripture in the last quarter of the 20th century provided a new opportunity to reengage the Torah and other biblical writings as myth and poetry, and not only as an historical document.

Reconstructionism in the 21st century remains firmly grounded in Kaplan's essential insight, that Judaism is the product of the historical experience of the Jewish people, and is not the revealed word of God or an inspired reaction to revelation. The traditional sources and practices of Judaism still have, in Kaplan's famous formulation, a "vote but not a veto." The organic Jewish community may never have actually been created, but the institutions of the movement and the congregations affiliated with the Jewish Reconstructionist Federation (JRF) try to operate with Kaplan's principles of democracy, egalitarianism, and openness. In particular, the concept of values-based decision-making has become integral to Reconstructionism, as has inclusivity, the bringing into the Jewish community of intermarried Jews, single Jews, gay and lesbian Jews, single Jewish parents and elderly Jews, among others. Kaplan's emphasis on belonging over behaving and believing remains central to Reconstructionism; what has changed is that it is as much the belonging to a Jewish community (congregation or havurah) as to the Jewish people that is now central.

The founding of the Reconstructionist movement may be dated from the establishment by Mordecai Menahem *Kaplan of the Society for the Advancement of Judaism (SAJ) in January 1922. The society served both as a synagogue center and as a forum for Kaplan's ideas. Several months after the publication of Kaplan's *Judaism as a Civilization* (1934), he launched the magazine *The Reconstructionist* in collaboration with his closest associates, of whom Milton Steinberg, Eugene *Kohn, and Kaplan's son-in-law, Ira *Eisenstein, formed the nucleus. In 1941 the *New Haggadah* and *A Guide to Jewish Ritual* were published. In the *Guide*, ritual was viewed not as law but a means to group survival and the spiritual growth of the individual Jew. The individual was to be the arbiter of which rituals or folkways would be followed, though when making such choices, a balance between one's own needs and those of the group was optimal. Preserving the integrity of the tradition, while being responsive to contemporary needs, was fundamental.

In 1945 the Reconstructionist Sabbath Prayer Book appeared, which resulted in a ban (*ḥerem*) against Kaplan by the Agudat ha-Rabbonim, a small Orthodox association, although such an attempt was largely ignored. But several of Kaplan's colleagues on the faculty of the Jewish Theological Seminary published an adverse "statement of opinion" (*gillui da'at*) in the Hebrew publication *Hadoar*. In accordance with Kaplan's ideology, the prayerbook excised references to the Jews as the "chosen people," and to such concepts as God's revelation of the Torah to Moses, the parting of the Red Sea, and belief in the coming of a personal Messiah. Some passages of the traditional prayerbook were retained despite Kaplan's rejection of the concepts which lay behind them. In such cases the editors suggested to the reader how the passages were to be understood. Thus, prayers for the restoration of Israel were retained, but readers were told this should not be construed as the return of all Jews to Palestine. Kaplan was a Zionist of the American school, ardent in his support for the colonization of Palestine, but opposed to concepts implying the "negation of the Diaspora" and to emphasis on the necessity of *aliyah*. The entire second half of the prayerbook contained a major innovation for the time: supplementary readings intended to allow for variety in the structure of weekly services.

Kaplan's greatest success was in his impact on Jewish educators, social workers, and rabbis, especially students of the Jewish Theological Seminary, where he taught from 1909 to 1963. Because he himself preferred to think of Reconstructionism as a school of thought rather than a separate movement, and because he was resistant to further dividing the Jewish community, Kaplan's followers were constrained from building on his intellectual and liturgical efforts. Only with the establishment in 1968 of the Reconstructionist Rabbinical College (RRC) in Philadelphia did Kaplan finally give his blessing to the development of Reconstructionism as an independent denomination. Ira Eisenstein, who had been Kaplan's closest collaborator, and had served as the editor of *The Reconstructionist* magazine since the 1940s, became the first president of the RRC, serving until his retirement in 1981. Without Eisenstein's dedication to the creation of the RRC, Kaplan's legacy would have been one primarily of ideas, and not of institutions.

Once Reconstructionism began to train its own rabbinic leaders, the movement began to grow, slowly at first, but then in the 1980s and 1990s, the number of affiliated Reconstructionist congregations and havurot grew rapidly. From ten affiliates in 1968, the movement counted 105 members of the Jewish Reconstructionist Federation (JRF) in 2005. As of 2005, the RRC had graduated 265 rabbis who served in congregations, agencies, schools, on campuses and in chaplaincy settings, and as writers, lecturers and teachers, so that the influence of Reconstructionism continued to be disproportionate to the size of the movement.

In the 1990s, the Reconstructionist movement issued a new series of prayerbooks and a new *Haggadah*. This second generation of Reconstructionist liturgy was unique in being the work of an editorial committee comprised of rabbis, academics, and laypeople, and in reflecting the contributions of many of the graduates of the RRC, who were also rapidly moving into positions of leadership on the faculty and administration of the RRC, the staff of the JRF, and of the Reconstructionist Rabbinical Association (RRA, established in 1974). In 1996 the RRA published the first Reconstructionist rabbi's manual.

A new magazine, *Reconstructionism Today,* was established in 1994. In 2005, *The Reconstructionist,* now a journal, published its 70th anniversary issue. The initial publication of a projected three-volume *Reconstructionist Guide to Jewish Practice* appeared in 2000. In 2003, a Reconstructionist youth movement, No'ar Hadash, was established. That same year, the first Reconstructionist summer camp opened (Camp JRF); in 2005, the camp purchased a permanent home in the Pocono mountains in Pennsylvania, which will also serve as a year-round conference and retreat center for the movement.

After Kaplan and Eisenstein, the most important and influential leader of the Reconstructionist movement has been David *Teutsch, who served as vice president of the Jewish Reconstructionist Foundation (1980–82), executive vice president of the Federation of Reconstructionist Congregations and Havurot (1982–86), president of the Reconstructionist Rabbinical College (1993–2002), editor-in-chief of the *Kol Haneshamah* prayerbook series (1989–2002), and director of the Center for Jewish Ethics at the RRC (2002–).

The intellectual history of the Reconstructionist movement came full circle with the publication in 2002 of the first volume of excerpts from the daily journal kept by Kaplan from 1913 until the late 1970s. Edited by Kaplan's biographer, Mel Scult, the journals helped to bring to a new generation of Reconstructionists and to all interested in the history of American Judaism in the 20th-century, the insights of the founder of Reconstructionism as he worked out the ideas, principles, and positions that would become Reconstructionist Judaism.

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[Richard Hirsch (2nd ed.)]

RECONSTRUCTIONIST RABBINICAL COLLEGE. The Reconstructionist Rabbinical College (RRC) was founded in 1968 in Philadelphia to carry on the ideals of the founder of Reconstructionist Judaism, Rabbi Mordecai *Kaplan. The decision to open the school was made by the lay-led organization of the movement, the Federation of Reconstructionist Congregations and Havurot (today the Jewish Reconstructionist Federation) meeting in Montreal in June 1967. Kaplan previously had resisted establishing a seminary that would mark Reconstructionism as a denomination rather than a school of thought. He maintained a life-long allegiance to the Jewish Theological Seminary where he taught for decades. However Reconstructionist congregations, insufficiently served by Reform and Conservative rabbis, pushed Rabbi Ira Eisenstein and lay leaders to make this decision.

Eisenstein became the RRC's first president. The college included two unique features. Reflecting Kaplan's vision of living in two civilizations, students were to pursue doctoral studies in religion simultaneously at a secular university. (However this dual-studies program would later be dropped.) Second, the curriculum would be based on Kaplan's concept of Judaism as an evolving Jewish civilization, studying each period sequentially and integrating history and literature from each time period. The five-year rabbinic curriculum devotes a year each to the biblical, rabbinic, medieval, modern, and contemporary periods. Open to both men and women, from the beginning RRC included faculty from diverse Jewish backgrounds.

The college opened in September 1968 in Philadelphia near Temple University, as the college was to collaborate with the Temple religion department and provide access to other graduate programs. Given the existence of only a handful of Reconstructionist congregations, for many students their first exposure to the movement in practice came as students. In 1974, the second graduating class included Sandy Eisenberg Sasso, the second woman rabbi in the United States.

In 1984 the college moved from its inner-city location to its current home in a former mansion in suburban Wyncote. Around that time, the college leadership wanted to enrich the curriculum and increase the Hebrew level of students. The number of RRC courses increased, including courses by visiting non-Jewish scholars. In 1983 RRC became the first rabbinical seminary to officially admit openly gay students. A *mekhinah* (preparatory) year for some students was also added. The college continued to expand in the late 1980s as faculty and student enrollment significantly increased, and the Israel study program expanded. The college received full academic accreditation in 1990.

In the 1990s and early 2000s the college strengthened its financial base and expanded its programs, publications, and facilities. Cantorial studies and a masters program in Jewish studies were added. Three academic centers were established to support research, publications, and education in the wider community: Jewish ethics; Kolot, a center on Jewish women's and gender studies; and Hiddur, a center on aging.

By 2005, RRC had graduated 283 rabbis and two cantors. Of these, 153 were male and 132 were female. Enrollment in 2005 was 76 rabbinical students, two cantorial students, and two masters' candidates. RRC publishes the *Reconstructionist* journal (1935–).

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[Robert P. Tabak (2nd ed)]

RECORDS, PHONOGRAPH. The earliest "talking machine" was patented by Thomas A. Edison in 1878 as a vertical cylinder device. In 1887 Emile *Berliner produced a lateral flat disc mechanism, bringing the disc "gramophone" into competition with the cylinder "phonograph." By 1891 recordings were introduced to public entertainment as coin-in-slot machines, and soon included some Jewish monologues, skits, and songs.

One of the most widespread Jewish subjects on recordings was cantorial music. Gershon *Sirota was the first cantor to record liturgicals commercially. He was widely criticized because recordings were played in cabarets and on the Sabbath. Then Zavel *Kwartin recorded and other cantors followed in a "golden cantorial age." In the 1920s such favorites as Mordecai *Hershman, David *Roitman, and Berele *Chagy were presented on discs and cylinders. Cantor Josef (Yossele) *Rosenblatt put 82 different liturgical selections on 10 labels. Since World War II revival of interest in European-style cantorials has resulted in re-pressings and reissues of old liturgical performances, as well as recordings of modern cantors such as Moshe *Koussevitzky and Leib *Glantz, and the cantorial records of such prominent concert and opera artists as Jan *Peerce and Richard Tucker. In the U.S. congregations have honored their own cantor with a recording issue of his performances. In the 1960s recordings of the devotional music of ḥasidic groups, such as the Lubavitcher, Modzhitzer, and Gerer, on their own labels or Jewish companies, added to the number of Jewish liturgical recordings.

Theatricals

Edison cylinders early captured such voices as the Yiddish artist Madame Regina Prager (1874–1949) and the Jewish entertainer Sophie *Tucker. Among the Jewish performances early in this century on single-side small discs were a folk melody *Min ha-Meẓar* and a popular ditty *Kum Yisrulik, Kum Aheym*. Shalom Aleichem read his works for cylinders, and the comic monologuist, Ikey Eisenstein, was a great favorite on discs. Especially in the U.S. dance music recordings sold well, particularly of Jewish wedding *freylekhs, shers, kazatskis*, and *horas*. By the end of World War I every recording company had a roster of all types of Jewish performers. With the rise of radio in the 1920s, records dropped in sales. Jewish records especially lost their audiences with the changing tastes of the U.S. Jewish public for "Anglicized" entertainment and with the appearance of Jewish "stars" on the general stage, in radio, and "talking pictures." Some recordings include Yiddish theatrical personalities of the era between the two world wars, such as Joseph Rumshinsky (1881–1956), Aaron Lebedeff (1873–1960), Ludwig Satz (1891–1944), Moishe Oysher (1907–1958), and Menasha Skulnick (1892–1970). The aftermath of the Holocaust in Europe and the establishment of the State of Israel stimulated wider interest for popular performances of Yiddish and Hebrew folk music. Prominent among recorders of this postwar Jewish expression have been the actor-singer Theodore Bikel, the ḥasidic performer Shlomo Carlebach, the Israel entertainer Shoshana Damari, and the Yiddish actress Molly Picon. With the rise of the "youth market" in the 1960s, such phenomena as folk-rock liturgicals and rock-ballads in Hebrew with electronic instrumentation have appeared in the U.S. and Israel.

At the turn of the century, in St. Petersburg, Russia, the Jewish proprietor of Rappaport's "listening shop" encouraged and assisted his supplier of discs to present in 1902 a roster of higher quality selections on a special "red seal" label. The entire industry followed over the next decade with "quality labels" on larger double-side discs, upon which were available the performance of concert artists, many of them Jewish. In the worldwide growth of better quality recordings over the decades to the 1970s, Jewish participation has been outstanding. In 1969 the *Service Technique pour l'Education* (STE) of the Alliance Israélite Universelle in Paris published a selective listing of all types of Jewish recordings available on the Continent at the time.

Folk Music

Use of cylinder recording for collection of Jewish folk materials was made at the turn of this century by collectors in Russia. Before World War I the Jewish musicologist Abraham Ẓevi *Idelsohn made use of recording apparatus in assembling liturgical materials in Jerusalem for his 10-volume *Thesaurus of Hebrew-Oriental Melodies*. Such scholars in Israel and America as Edith *Gerson-Kiwi and Johanna *Spector used recording equipment in their work among groups in the field.

Jewish Recording Companies

By 1920 there were about 30 different companies each issuing several labels, all of which had some Jewish materials in addition to rosters of Jewish performers. The decade of the 1920s was an era of consolidation into "big business" concerns in the recording industry, as well as much technological expansion. The oldest continually operating record shop into 1971 has been the Metro Music Shop, which was established in 1918 on the Lower East Side of Manhattan in the Yiddish theatrical area of Second Avenue by Henry Lefkowitch (1892–1959), a composer and publisher of Jewish music. A number of specifically Jewish recording companies have been formed since World War II. In 1939 Moses Asch (d. 1986) formed Asch Record Company to supply Jewish recordings for the all-Jewish radio station WEVD in New York. Expanded to Ethnic-Folkways Records in 1947, its scope of Jewish materials was broadened to include recordings of Sephardim, Beta Israel, Yemenites, and other Oriental Jewish groups, much of it based on field collections by researchers, in addition to folk music in Yiddish and Hebrew Zionist songs. Formed after the war, Banner Records has made a specialty of Jewish variety and theatrical presentations by more recent artists. Ḥasidic music has been issued by smaller companies as well as by the larger Jewish companies. Menorah Records features recordings for children, holiday albums, and other educational releases. Since 1947, Tikva Records has manufactured and distributed a wide variety with an active market catalog of about 130 different issues. It has been especially successful in presenting Jewish folk dance records with instructions for the performances of the dances. In 1962 Greater Recording Company was formed to locate and re-issue on long-playing records rare Jewish performances done originally in the early decades of this century on cylinders and discs. Some recent performances of ḥasidic music and cantorials are included in its roster. Benedict Stambler (1903–1967) formed Collectors Record Guild and began in 1955 to re-press for commercial sale many of the old Jewish recordings from his large personal collection. He also produced new ḥasidic recordings. In 1971 the Stambler collection of recorded Jewish music, comprising 4,000 different selections, was donated to the Rogers and Hammerstein Archives of Recorded Sound, housed in the New York Public Library at Lincoln Center. This collection, recorded on approximately 150 labels and starting with materials from 1902, is available for study on the library premises. Among the leading Israel recording companies were Hed Arẓi, for light Israel entertainers and folk ensembles; Ha-Taklit, with folk music presentations; Israeli Music Foundation, for serious compositions as well as folk dances; and CBS-Israel, which produced light popular, classical, musical and drama, educational material, and "small disc specials" for children. All went over to compact disks in the 1990s.

See also *Music: Archives and Important Collections of Jewish Music.

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[Irene Heskes]

REDEMPTION, salvation from the states or circumstances that destroy the value of human existence or human existence itself. The word "redeemer" and its related terms "redeem" and "redemption" appear in the Bible some 130 times and are derived from two Hebrew roots, *pdh* (פדה) and *g'l* (גאל). Though used to describe divine activity as well, they arose in ordinary human affairs and it is in this context in which they must first be understood. *Pdh* is the more general of the two, with cognates of related meaning in Akkadian, Arabic, and Ethiopic. It belongs to the domain of commercial law, and refers to the payment of an equivalent for what is to be released or secured. The verb *pdh*, unlike *g'l*, indicates nothing about the relation of the agent to the object of redemption, which in the Bible is always either a person or another living being. Its usage does not differ in cultic activity from that of a normal commercial transaction. In both cases a person or an animal is released in return for money or an acceptable replacement (cf. Ex. 13:13; 34:20; Lev. 27:27; I Sam. 14:45 with Ex. 21:7–8; Lev. 19:20; Job 6:23). *G'l* is more restricted in usage and does not appear to have cognates in other Semitic languages. It is connected with family law and reflects the Israelite conception of the importance of preserving the solidarity of the clan. The *go'el* ("redeemer") is the next of kin who acts to maintain the vitality of his extended family group by preventing any breaches from occurring in it. Thus, he acquires the alienated property of his kinsman (Lev. 25:25) or purchases it when it is in danger of being lost to a stranger (cf. Jer. 32:6ff.). Possibly, too, he is required to support the widow of his next of kin in the event of her being dependent on this estate for her livelihood (cf. Ruth 4:4ff.). In any event, he redeems a clansman who has been reduced to slavery by poverty (Lev. 25:47ff.), and avenges his blood when it has been shed (cf., e.g., Num. 35:17–19). Whether he actually was duty bound to perform these acts was contested by early rabbinic authorities (cf. Kid. 21a), but it seems likely that he was expected to do so, unless there was a good reason to the contrary (cf. Ruth 4:6).

When applied to divine activity, a slight shift occurs in the use of both these terms. Thus, *pdh* takes on the general meaning of "deliver" and does not involve the notion of the payment of an equivalent. God is, after all, the Lord of the universe and everything belongs to Him. Indeed the only place in Scripture when the possibility of such an exchange is even suggested is obviously rhetorical and *pdh* is not used (cf. Isa. 43:3–4). God's purpose is not to retain the right of possession, but to liberate people, both individuals and groups, from their woes (cf. II Sam. 4:9; I Kings 1:29), including bondage (e.g., Deut. 7:8; 13:6), oppression (e.g., Isa. 1:27; Ps. 119:134), and death (e.g., Hos. 13:14; Ps. 49:16). In the Torah, the Deuteronomist uses *pdh* to characterize God's acts at the time of the Exodus as redemptive (e.g., Deut. 9:26; 15:15; 21:8; 24:18). This usage is extended by later writers to describe Israel's eschatological redemption as well (cf., e.g., Isa. 1:27; 35:10; Jer. 31:11) and even, on one occasion, its deliverance from its sins (Ps. 130:8). Though *g'l*, like *pdh*, loses its strictly juridical connotation when describing divine activity, and takes on the meaning of "deliver" pure and simple (cf., e.g., Gen. 48:16), it still does retain some of its original overtones even when referred to God. Thus, Proverbs (23:10–11) speaks of God as the *go'el* of ("the next of kin," duty bound to protect) orphans, and Job similarly believes Him to be the *go'el* of the persecuted (19:25; cf. 19:21–22). In the same spirit the Psalmist calls Him the "father of orphans, defender of widows" (68:6). What better way, then, for the prophet to reassure his people that God has a special reason to redeem them, for He is their *go'el* (Isa. 41:14; 43:14; 44:6, 24; 47:4; 48:17, etc.) and an intimate relationship exists between Him and them (41:89; 43:10, 20; 44:1–2; 45:4; 54:10; 55:3). It must be no accident also that the prophet uses *pdh* only twice (50:2; 51:11) and in both instances it appears in earlier expressions that concern the Exodus. For, though the two terms were used interchangeably when separated from their life context, the poet was aware of their broader connotations and exploited them to create a more receptive mood for his message. Possibly, too, he wanted to distinguish between the earlier redemption from Egypt and the later one to come, by using a term for the latter that had only infrequently been associated with the Exodus (e.g., Ex. 6:6; 15:13).

While the king is described as a deliverer of the poor in a royal Psalm (72:4, 14), and Ezekiel prophesies that David will be established as the shepherd of God's flock (34:23), the national hope for redemption was centered on God. Only He – not the messianic king or other divine being – was the Redeemer. And though some biblical passages stipulated that His deliverance is conditional upon repentance, many simply state that He Himself would take the initiative because of His boundless love (e.g., Isa. 54:8) and passionate concern for justice (cf., e.g., Isa. 59:15–20). An end would come to all pain and suffering, and Israel would be restored to its land to live in safety, protected by an everlasting covenant and the Divine Presence (Jer. 32:37–44; cf. Ezek. 11:17–21). Israel's Redeemer would then be manifest through His great acts of redemption and "the redeemed of the Lord" give thanks to him (Ps. 107:1–2).

[Donald Daniel Leslie]

Dead Sea Sect

The idea of redemption had a special character among sects in the Judean desert. Although the word *geʾullah* itself has not yet been found in their works, nor does the root *gaʾal* appear there, yet a redemptive function was at the very heart of the beliefs of the sect, which in their view was the remnant of Israel of whom the prophets had spoken. They are "the basis for that which God chose. He appointed them as a permanent estate and will possess them the portion of the holy ones" (Manual of Discipline, 11:6–7; cf. Col. 1:12). Entry into the sect is an act of divine grace that atones for all iniquities and purifies the associate "from human impurity and the sin of men" (*ibid.*, 11:14). Despite this the sect believed also in the perfect redemption of the end of time. "And then God with His truth will clarify all the deeds of a man… to purify him with a holy spirit of truth free of any abomination of falsehood" (*ibid.*, 2:20–22, cf. Mark 1:8). In keeping with the sect's regard of itself as the subject of redemption, the Messiah served merely a minor role in their religious system.

In the Talmud

While the Bible uses both *padah* and *gaʾal* for redemption, the Talmud applies *padah* to ransom (see *Ransom) and *gaʾal* to redemption. The sages know nothing of a miraculous redemption of the soul by external means. There is no failing in man, whether collectively or as an individual, which requires special divine intervention and which cannot be remedied, with the guidance of the Torah, by man himself. As a result, the term *geʾullah* is applied almost exclusively to national redemption, and became a synonym for national freedom. This idea of national freedom from subjection to other states is the main element in the yearnings of the people for the redemption of Israel, and it became even more pronounced during the period of Roman domination. Redemption is dependent upon repentance and good deeds (Shab. 118b; Yoma 86b; BB 10b; Sanh. 97b), and all attempts to calculate the exact date of the redemption by means of transcendental or cosmic factors were opposed, at times even sharply, even though in all eras such calculators – for understandable psychological reasons – were never wanting (Sanh. 97b). Despite the prominence of the image of the Messiah as a redeemer, his role in the process of redemption is no different from those of Moses and the other redeemers in the past; he is merely an instrument in the hands of God. The view is also found that in contrast to past redemptions that were effected by human agency and were therefore only temporary redemptions, the final redemption will be accomplished by God Himself and will be eternal (Mid. Ps. to 31:2).

A quasi-transcendental and mystical element was introduced into the concept of redemption with the notion that it served the "needs of the Most High," since "wherever [Israel] was exiled the Divine Presence was exiled with them" (Sif. Num. 161; Meg. 29a). God therefore, so to speak, redeems Himself with the redemption (Mekh. Bo 14). There are contradictory statements and inconsistent popular aggadic descriptions about the redemption. At one extreme is found the view that even proselytes will not be accepted in the time of the Messiah (Yev. 24b) – a saying that is probably to be explained by the unfortunate personal experience of its author. At the other are the many descriptions of the redemption of Israel bringing with it the redemption of the world (Song R. 2:2, no. 3); the gentiles will become proselytes and all will call on the name of the Lord (cf. Tosef., Ber. 7:2); God himself will bring all of them "beneath the wings of the Divine Presence" (Tanḥ. B., Gen. 108).

[David Flusser]

Medieval Philosophy

As in the biblical and talmudic systems that preceded them, the medieval philosophers generally regarded man's finite condition as the primary state from which he required redemption. The state of finiteness was not the result of human action or sin, but a cosmic circumstance ultimately due to the nature of creation. The creation of the universe is attributed ultimately by almost all medieval Jewish philosophers to the goodness and grace of God, yet despite the divine goodness, man was so formed that he is finite, a state in which he is subject to despair and death, spiritual and physical annihilation. Open thus to annihilation, man stands in need of redemption. Owing to the divine goodness, redemption is available to him, but he must participate in the redemptive process. If he adheres to true beliefs and performs right actions, he is accounted righteous and worthy of redemption, otherwise he is a sinner and condemned either to eternal torment or physical annihilation. Hence sin does not produce the unsaved state, as does original sin, for example, in the Christian view; sin rather serves to prevent the redemption of man from the spiritual or physical consequences of his finite condition.

Despite broad agreement among the medieval Jewish philosophers on the general understanding of redemption, significant differences appear among them in their various individual soteriologies. Two major approaches, which may be termed traditional supernaturalism and philosophic naturalism, can be distinguished. The former retains the basic features of talmudic soteriology, while the latter is strongly influenced by Aristotelian and Neoplatonic concepts. Saadiah *Gaon (*Book of Beliefs and Opinions*), whose view is representative of traditional supernaturalism, states the position this way. God created the world out of his goodness. Man, though created finite, is the ultimate purpose of creation. God intended from the beginning that man should attain redemption from his finite condition. To enable man to merit such redemption, God revealed to him His will through Moses at Sinai. Thus man could come to know the divine commandments and by obedience to them earn salvation. Although the Jews are the chosen of God, salvation is attained by the righteous of all peoples. There are two major stages of redemption, both of which will arise miraculously: the Messianic Age and the world to come. In the Messianic Age the Jewish people will be restored to the Land of Israel and the first of two resurrections will occur, that of the righteous Jews. When the Messianic Age ends, the world to come will emerge, then all the dead will be resurrected and final judgment rendered. All who ever lived will now be infinite in time, the righteous enjoying eternal reward and the wicked eternal punishment. Included among those who subscribe to the view of traditional supernaturalism are Judah *Halevi (*Kuzari*), Ḥasdai *Crescas (*Or Adonai*), and Joseph *Albo (*Sefer ha-Ikkarim*).

*Maimonides (*Guide of the Perplexed*) is the foremost exponent of a philosophic, naturalistic soteriology among the medieval Jews. In Maimonides' view, the creation of the world is also the result of God's goodness, but the universe was not created for the sake of man nor is he the direct creation of the Godhead. The universe comes from God through a successive series of emanations in the course of which the world of man (sublunar world) and man himself are created out of matter. All that is formed of matter is necessarily finite. Hence matter is the principle of human finity, and redemption is attained, therefore, by man overcoming his material nature. This is accomplished naturally, by the actualization of the hylic intellect to an acquired intellect through metaphysical and scientific studies. The acquired intellect enables man to gain ascendancy over his material desires during the life of his body, and at the time of death gives him immortality, since the acquired intellect exists separate from the body and is unaffected by its states or finity. Among those who subscribe to such a view of redemption are Solomon ibn *Gabirol (*Mekor Ḥayyim*), Abraham ibn *Ezra, and Levi b. *Gershom (*Milḥamot Adonai*). The Christian notion that mankind requires redemption owing to the guilt of original sin, which is incurred by every person as a consequence of Adam's disobedience in Eden, is completely foreign to the medieval Jewish thinkers. Judah Halevi manifests the spirit of the Jewish position when he presents Adam as a paradigm of religious excellence whose spiritual genius was ultimately inherited by the Jews, the chosen people.

[Alvin J. Reines]

In the Kabbalah

The kabbalists make no additions to the historic aspects of the doctrine of redemption as developed in rabbinic tradition. Their original contribution to this concept is bound up with its inner "hidden" aspect. As in all things, there is an inner aspect or "mystery" in the course of redemption, which is intimated and expressed in a symbolic manner. The basic tenet of their outlook is derived from the verse "On that day the Lord shall be One and his Name One" (Zech. 14:9), which was often interpreted in the *Zohar as indicating the lack of perfection in the unity of God during the time of exile. As long as iniquity has caused a fissure in the mystery of the Godhead, i.e., between His *Sefirot* which constitute the totality of His manifestation to created beings, His Name is not one; for the "Name" is, in the opinion of the kabbalists, the symbol of the Divine *Sefirot* when they are joined in complete unity. The exile is indicative of a state of creation in which this unity has, "so to speak," become impaired. (Many kabbalists took care always to add the qualifying phrase "so to speak" in order to intimate the symbolic character of their daring expressions.) Consequently, redemption is bound up with a certain change in the regulating mechanism at the heart of creation: If exile is expressed, in the language of symbols, as a temporary separation between the king and the queen, between God and His *Shekhinah*, so that their union is not perfect and continuous, then redemption will be expressed in restoration of this uninterrupted union. The return of the people of Israel to its land at the time of redemption symbolizes the inner process of the return of the "Congregation of Israel" or the *Shekhinah* ("the Matron") to a continuous attachment to her husband. The secret meaning of the messianic redemption was already defined in this way by the Gerona school of Kabbalah (*Naḥmanides and his colleagues), and this definition was accepted by the author of the Zohar. Views more far-reaching than this were expressed in the *Ra'aya Meheimna* and the *Tikkunei Zohar*, where a new set of symbols appears. During exile, the world is conducted in accordance with the mystery of the "Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil" from which Adam and Eve ate and brought sin and separation upon the world; redemption will reveal a conduct of the world in accordance with the mystery of the "Tree of Life." These two trees were once of one root, but were separated by the original sin of Adam, as were "the king and the matron" in the earlier symbolism. Consequently, during the exile there are separate spheres of good and evil, holiness and impurity, etc., but at the time of redemption the pure spiritual essence of all the worlds will become manifest. The Divine Life will spread to every sphere and this will cause a deep change in the state of the entire creation. In this view the kabbalists are aligned with those who regard redemption as a metaphysical concept. It is not only the oppression of Israel by the nations of the world which distinguishes exile and redemption, but also a deep and even utopian change in the structure of creation.

In Lurianic Kabbalah a new element is added to these ideas which relates redemption and exile not only to original sin, but also to the inner structure of every act of creation and to situations and events in the world of emanation. The "breaking of the vessels" (see *Kabbalah) caused, in all the worlds, a state which has in it something of a general exile of all creation, a disturbance in the harmony destined for the worlds. The disturbance, however, was inevitable, and the entire substance of the process of creation in all its manifestations, including the history and mission of the people of Israel within it, are nothing but stages through which this harmony will be restored and achieve the perfection for which it was destined from the beginning. Redemption is here defined as the manifestation of that state in which the breaking of the vessels is completely "mended." Every other manifestation of redemption serves only as symbol of this fundamental meaning.

An important problem in the doctrine of redemption arose regarding the role of the Jew in bringing it about. There were two contradictory opinions on this point.

(1) Essentially, redemption will come miraculously, and flesh and blood creatures shall have no part in bringing it about: this is the opinion of the majority of the Spanish kabbalists.

(2) Redemption is no more than the external manifestation of the inner state of *tikkun* ("restitution") which depends on the deeds of Israel and a realization of the way of life which the Kabbalah preaches. The fact of *tikkun* is not something which depends on a miracle, but rather on human action.

According to the first view, the Messiah's coming will not bear any essential relationship to men's deeds; according to the second view, his coming is conditional upon the accomplishment of the task of Israel in the "*tikkun* of the world." According to this latter view, there is a human and historical preparation for redemption and the Messiah will come automatically if this preparation is completed. This belief is widespread among the disciples of Isaac *Luria, and it follows logically from the basic assumptions of Lurianic Kabbalah. Only after the triumph of these ideas had brought about the deep historical crisis of Shabbateanism did the Ḥasidic doctrine appear, which distinguished between "general redemption" (of the people of Israel; redemption in its literal meaning) and "individual redemption" (the mystical redemption of the soul, which has no messianic connotation). This distinction is intended to limit human initiative to the realm of individual redemption and make general redemption once again dependent solely on the power of God. This distinction removed the dangerous and utopian sting contained in the Lurianic view of redemption.

[Gershom Scholem]

Modern Jewish Thought

In modern Jewish thought redemption has been viewed as referring to the eventual triumph of good over evil, to the striving of individuals to self-fulfillment, to the achievement of social reforms, and also in terms of the reestablishment of a sovereign Jewish state. Hermann *Cohen, for example, regarded redemption as man's conquering his impulse to sin. The idea of God is that which ensures the eternal existence of mankind as a whole in order that His program for the future ethical world can become real. The individual who commits sin feels that he has strayed from the rest of mankind and detracted from the common goal, and that he must be redeemed back to humanity. God then becomes the indicator of individual man's triumph over sin (cf. *Der Begriff der Religion im System der Philosophie* (1915), 64). This conception of God the Redeemer is an aid to the individual in helping him to repent. The individual who contemplates this relationship with God may be led to improve his character.

Other thinkers who deal with redemption as the triumph over evil are Martin *Buber and A.J. *Heschel. Buber speaks of redemption as the eradication of man-caused evil in human history. The means of achieving this is to sanctify daily life in order to redeem evil. This sanctification comes about in the greater context of the encounter of man and God, "Who enters into a direct relation with us men in creative, revealing, and redeeming acts, and thus makes it possible for us to enter into a direct relation with him" (*I and Thou* (1958^2), 135). This encounter is characterized by a turning away from evil and toward God. In addition God comes toward us "The Thou meets me through grace – it is not found by seeking" (*ibid.*, 11) – and when this grace of His becomes manifest – redemption begins. Repentance is the spur to the attitude of redemption, but is not to be confused with it. Buber saw in Ḥasidic teaching the kernel of this doctrine of redeeming evil. "If you direct the undiminished power of your fervor to God's world-destiny… you will bring about the union between God and *Shekhinah*, eternity and time… All that is necessary is to have a soul united within itself and indivisibly directed to its divine goal. The world in which you live affords you that association with God, which will redeem you and whatever divine aspect of the world you have been entrusted with" (*Tales of the Ḥasidim; the Early Masters* (1947), 4). Heschel also speaks in these terms: "The world is in need of redemption, but the redemption must not be expected to happen as an act of sheer grace. Man's task is to make the world worthy of redemption. His faith and his works are preparation for ultimate redemption" (*God in Search of Man* (1959), 380). In the manner of Ḥasidic thought Heschel sees man's task in preparing the world for redemption as separating evil from good. "All of history is a sphere where good is mixed with evil. The supreme task of man, his share in redeeming the work of creation, consists in an effort to separate good from evil and evil from good. Since evil can only exist parasitically on good, it will cease to be when that separation will be accomplished. Redemption, therefore, is contingent upon the separation of good and evil" (*The Insecurity of Freedom* (1966), 135). Heschel does not emphasize the state of actual redemption but the task of separating good and evil – which leads to redemption.

For Franz *Rosenzweig, redemption is the process by which the world and man are united in one perfect harmony with God – and thereby partake of God's eternity. Rosenzweig dealt with the relationship between God, man, and the world pointing to certain key words as standing for those relationships. The words are creation (God – world), revelation (God – man), and redemption (man – world). Traditionally, philosophy held that these three items had basically one being – that all existence was a unity. For Rosenzweig that conception, a basic premise of much of Western philosophy, was the conclusion of his philosophy. Man, God, and the world have three separate beings which unite into one only under the force of redemption. The revelation of God to man implies God's love. Man's feeling of God's love "redeems" man from his state of isolation and indeed from the supreme form of isolation – death, and its concomitant fear. This love also awakens the response of love in man, and the binding together of man and God in love is the first step toward redemption of the world for the love spreads and is applied to other men. This first redemption applies to man. Rosenzweig also held that the world had a special spiritual relationship to God and that it, too, could be redeemed. In the second stage God acts to unite man and the world. When this is achieved God, too, is redeemed. "For God is not only the redeemer but also the redeemed. In this redemption God redeems the world by the means of man and redeems man by the means of the world. He also redeems Himself" (*Kokhav ha-Ge'ulllah* (1970), 267). "For then true unity is created – God-man-world. Eternity enters into being and death is pushed off and the living become immortals in eternal praise of redemption" (*ibid.*, 280).

Mordecai *Kaplan uses the term salvation instead of redemption. He links redemption with the concept of the other world and asserts that until modern times the Jewish concept of salvation was other-worldly. Kaplan maintains that it is impossible in modern times to continue this belief and that we must see salvation in terms of this world. Furthermore Kaplan speaks of God as "the power that makes for salvation," i.e., an inherent force in the universe which enables man to achieve salvation. He points out that salvation must have both a personal and social significance. "In its personal aspect it represents the faith in the possibility of achieving an integrated personality" (*The Meaning of God in Modern Jewish Religion* (1937), 53). Social salvation is the natural concomitant of personal salvation for "we cannot think of ourselves except in relation to something not ourselves" (*ibid.*)… Social salvation is "the pursuit of common ends in a manner which shall afford to each the maximum opportunity for creative self-expression" (*ibid.* 54). "Salvation must be conceived mainly as an objective of human action, not as a psychic compensation for human suffering" (*ibid.*) "Salvation means deliverance from those evils, external and internal, which prevent man from realizing his maximum potentialities. It is deliverance from frustration…" (*Questions Jews Ask* (1956), 126).

Joseph B. *Soloveichik, the modern Orthodox thinker, describes redemption in terms of faith and performance of *mitzvot*, but also includes the idea that the human capability of renewal and self-transformation manifests itself especially in times of human distress. Being redeemed is a mode of existence, not an attribute. "Even a hermit can live a redeemed life" (i.e., as a mode of existence, redemption is an individual thing and not dependent upon society. "The Lonely Man of Faith" in: *Tradition*, vol. 7, no. 2, Summer 1965). Furthermore redemption is a function of man's control over himself. "A redeemed life is ipso facto a disciplined life" (*ibid.*). As opposed to dignity which is man's triumph over nature and the feeling of success, redemption is when man is "overpowered by the creator of nature," and it is discovered in the "depth of crisis and failure" (*ibid.*, 23–24).

Zionist thought represents another aspect of modern Jewish thought about redemption. To the extent that Zionism was considered a messianic movement dealing with the redemption of the Jewish people, its theorists talked in terms of redemption. A. *Hertzberg characterizes Zionist thought by saying that classical Judaism saw redemption as a confrontation between the Jew and God, but Zionism "in its most revolutionary expression… is between the Jew and the nations of the earth" (*The Zionist Idea* (1959), 18). Religious Zionist thinkers saw redemption as at least beginning in temporal terms with the return of the Jews to Ereẓ Israel and the building of the land. Rabbi Y. *Alkalai writes "Redemption must come slowly. The land must, by degrees, be built up and prepared" (*ibid.*, 105). Some religious Zionists such as A.I. *Kook added another dimension to this idea: "The hope for the return to the Holy Land is the continuing source of the distinctive nature of Judaism. The hope for the redemption is the force that sustains Judaism in the Diaspora; the Judaism of Ereẓ Israel is the very redemption" (*ibid.*, 420). Redemption in Kook's thought thus becomes not only a physical reality by the return to Ereẓ Israel, but a metaphysical underpinning for Jewry everywhere. Even nonreligious Zionist thinkers, while not necessarily using the term redemption, spoke in messianic terms or expressed themselves by concepts traditionally connected with redemption. J. *Klatzkin for example states "Zionism pins its hopes, in one sense, on the general advance of civilization and its national faith is also a faith in man in general – faith in the power of the good and the beautiful" (*ibid.*, 327). Here the element of the triumph over evil and the advance of social good, topics connected with redemption, are assumed as an integral part of the Zionist hope.

[Michael J. Graetz]

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REDER, BERNARD (1897–1963), U.S. painter, printmaker. Born in Czernowitz, Bukovina, Austria, a center of Hasidic culture before WWII, Reder studied at the Academy of Fine Arts in Prague, after which he returned to his hometown to work as a carver of cemetery monuments while also pursuing stonecarving. In 1935, he returned to Prague, enjoying his first exhibition at the Manes Gallery. Reder moved to Paris in 1937, where he met the sculptor Aristide Maillol, even exhibiting at the prestigious Wildenstein Gallery in 1940. However, the Nazi occupation of France forced Reder to flee to Spain, passage to which Maillol secured for Reder and his wife. The Nazis destroyed the contents of Reder's studio. Sometime later, Reder traveled to Cuba, where he concentrated on woodcuts and drawings, such as the both haunting and whimsical woodcut *The Complaining Ravens* (1950). A recurring subject in Reder's art was that of musicians, such as the one depicted in the bronze sculpture *The Trumpeter* (1955). He settled in New York in 1943, where he enjoyed great success: he won a Guggenheim fellowship and exhibited at the Whitney Museum and the Philadelphia Museum of Art (1949). In 1954, Reder studied sculpture in Rome and Florence; two years later, he had a solo exhibition at Galleria d'arte Moderno l'Indiano. Reder attained American citizenship in 1948. The artist worked in both bronze and stone. For instance, the bronze sculpture *The Conquerer*, a work depicting a military figure astride a tiny horse balanced on a circular object, suggests to the viewer both the pompousness and precarious nature of leadership. As his career progressed, Reder moved from realism to a rhythmic abstraction, as expressed in the stone sculptures *Centaur's Head* and *The Fantastic Bird.* One of Reder's better-known sculptures is the bronze *Aaron with Tabernacle* (1959), now in the Israel Museum in Jerusalem. This large-scale sculpture combines biblical history, Jewish folklore, and references to mysticism and magic in a magisterial figure which seems rooted and blossoming like a tree. Reder was a recipient of a Ford Foundation Grant in 1960, and a year later the Whitney Museum presented a solo exhibition of his work. In 1969, the State of Israel gave Denmark a sculpture entitled *Wounded Woman.* Made by Reder, it is sited behind the Museum of Jewish Resistance, as a symbol of gratitude for Denmark's efforts on behalf of persecuted Jews during WWII. Reder's prints and sculptures have a wide range of subject matter, including figures, both human and fantastic, and subjects with Jewish themes, often infused with what many critics refer to as a baroque, Rabelaisian spirit. He also worked as an illustrator, fashioning woodcuts for such publications as *Yiddish Proverbs* by Hanan J. Ayalti (1949). His work is in the collections of the Art Institute of Chicago, the Brooklyn Museum, the Hofstra Museum, the Jewish Museum, New York, the National Gallery of Art, and the Whitney Museum.

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[Nancy Buchwald (2nd ed.)]

RED HEIFER (Heb. פָּרָה אֲדֻמָּה), the animal whose ashes were used in the ritual purification of persons and objects defiled by a corpse (Num. 19). While the English term heifer means a young cow that has not had a calf, the Bible (Num. 19:2) speaks simply of a cow (Heb. *parah*). The Bible prescribes that the red cow be without blemish (Heb. *temimah*), that it should have no defect (Heb. *mum*), and that it should never have been yoked (Num. 19:2). The first of these requirements applies also to burnt offerings (Lev. 1:3, 10), peace offerings (Lev. 3:1, 6), and sin offerings (Lev. 4:3). The second regulation, which applies to all sacrifices (Lev. 22:19, 21; Deut. 17:1), is explained in Leviticus 22:22. The third stipulation applies also to the calf whose neck is broken to atone for the bloodguilt of the unidentified manslayer (Deut. 21:3).

Unlike ordinary sacrifices, which could be slaughtered only at the entrance of the Tent of Meeting (Lev. 17:5), the red heifer was to be slaughtered outside the camp (Num. 19:3). Not slaughtered in the camp are likewise the scapegoat (Lev. 16:10), the calf whose neck is broken (Deut. 21:4), and the birds used in the purification of the recovered leper (Lev. 14:7). The red heifer was more like an ordinary sacrifice than these, however, in that some of its blood was sprinkled seven times toward the front of the Tent of Meeting (Num. 19:4). In the other two rites there was no sprinkling of blood at the sanctuary. The red heifer ritual resembled the purification of the recovered leper in that cedar wood, crimson stuff, and hyssop were used in the preparation of the purificatory substances in both rites. While it was the blood of a bird that was mixed with these in the purification of the leper, these were combined with the ashes of the red heifer in the purification of persons and objects defiled by a corpse. Like the bull used in the induction of Aaron and his sons (Ex. 29:14; Lev. 8:17), the bull for the sin offering of the anointed priest (Lev. 4:11), and the goat and the bull for the sin offering of the Day of Atonement (Lev. 16:27), the red heifer was burned outside the camp along with its flesh and dung. In the red heifer ritual the greater part of the blood as well was burned outside the camp (Num. 19:5). In all of these rituals the performance of certain acts outside the camp clearly indicates a degree of ritual impurity that somehow threatens the holiness of the sanctuary itself. If the scapegoat which assumed Israel's impurities had to be removed from the camp, and if the birds which revived the leper from his temporary symbolic death (cf. Ned. 64b) had to be subjected to the appropriate ritual outside the camp, it is logical that the ritual purification of those in contact with death itself, the source of the highest degree of ritual impurity (cf. Kel. 1:4), should be performed outside the camp. In the books of Numbers and Deuteronomy the Israelite community is often pictured as an armed camp. Wherever the camp is located God's Presence is found. The area outside the camp is the sphere of uncleanness to which lepers, gonorrheal persons, and those defiled by contact with the dead are sent (Num. 5:2), as are men who have had nocturnal emissions (Deut. 23:11 [10]). Excrement likewise was to be buried outside the camp (Deut. 23:14 [13]). The stoning to death of the man who gathered sticks on the Sabbath also took place outside the camp (Num. 15:35). The Book of Leviticus (Lev. 14:45) speaks of the domain of the unclean as "outside the town" rather than as "outside the camp" but there is no practical difference, since the camp of the wilderness period actually represents the towns of the settled period.

The law of the red heifer addressed to Moses and Aaron (Num. 19:1) prescribes that the slaughtering and burning of the animal be carried out by Eleazar (19:4), Aaron's heir apparent (after the death of his two older brothers; Lev. 10:1–3, 12). Some modern commentators suggest that Eleazar was given the role so as not to defile Aaron the high priest. The ashes were gathered by a ritually clean man (Num. 19:9) and placed outside the camp in a ritually pure place (cf. Lev. 6:4). The gatherer of the ashes could evidently be a layman as could also the slaughterer of a freewill offering (Lev. 1:5). Both the priest and the gatherer became unclean until evening, as did a person who carried the carcass of an animal from a species that is forbidden for food and as did a person who ate or carried the carcass of a permissible animal that was not properly slaughtered (Lev. 11:28, 39).

The ashes of the red heifer were combined with spring water (Heb. *mayim ḥayyim*) in a vessel (Num. 19:17) to produce a mixture called "water of lustration" (Heb. *me niddah*). The mixture was applied by dipping into it and sprinkling (19:18) on the third and seventh days after defilement (19:19). This defilement was acquired by touching a corpse, a grave, or a human bone, or by being under the same roof with any of these. That the priest, the gatherer of the ashes, the sprinkler (19:21), and the one who touched the water of lustration (19:22) became unclean until evening has been explained both as uncleanness attached to the handling of sacred objects and as contamination by association. The second explanation means that the red heifer caused uncleanness because of its association with death. The first explanation finds its analogy in the defiling of the hands by sacred scrolls (Yad. 3–4), while the latter has no analogue. In addition, the red heifer has not yet come into contact with the dead during the time of its preparation. Furthermore, the assumption that the red heifer defiles because of its association with human death ignores the distinction between the seven days of uncleanness consequent on contact with the dead (Num. 19:14) and the shorter period noted for the priest, the gatherer of the ashes, the lustrator, and the one who touched the water of lustration according to the law of the red heifer.

Baumgarten elaborates on the first explanation by showing that normality results from equilibrium. On the one hand, the dead are the most potent source of defilement. On the other hand, the ashes of the heifer with their ability to reverse that defilement are equally potent. As a result, those who come into contact with the ashes, which are especially holy, have subverted the equilibrium required for normality and are therefore impure. The apparent paradox as to how the red heifer purifies the defiled and defiles the pure is no paradox. Too much sanctity is dangerous and leads to impurity. The same conception underlies Rabban Yohanan b. Zakkai's explanation (Yad. 4:5–6) that sacred Scripture defiles the hands because of their precious character. The ancient of sanctity though, conveys a lesser impurity than corpse contagion. The uncleanness of the red heifer is only until evening, but it affects the priest, the gatherer, the lustrator, whoever touches the water of lustration, and indeed the man who is purified by it from the more severe defilement. Thus, after his purification from the latter by the application of water of lustration, he, like the lustrator, must wash his clothes, bathe in water, and remain unclean until evening (Num. 19:19b).

The burning of the red heifer with its blood, the crimson that was combined with it, and the red color of the animal itself may allude to the power of blood to overcome the power of death which threatens both the sanctity and the existence of the Israelite camp (cf. Ex. 12:22–23). While blood is mostly a source of purity, innocent blood that has been shed is a pollutant. In such a case, the red of the heifer might be seen as symbolic of the sin (cf. lsa. 1:18) that caused the death, which is banished from the camp.

[Mayer Irwin Gruber / S. David Sperling (2nd ed.)]

In the Talmud

The entire tractate *Parah* is devoted to the laws of the red heifer. The accepted opinion in talmudic law is that a cow which has been mounted by a bull may not be used for the ritual (Par. 2:4). The Mishnah specifies that the cow be at least three or four years old; younger than three is termed "calf" (Heb. *eglah*) rather than "cow" (Par. 1:1). Furthermore, R. Meir asserts that theoretically the animal may be aged. In practice, he explains, a younger one is more likely to fulfill the other biblical specifications (Par. 1:1). Since the red heifer is called a sin offering (*Ḥattat*; Num. 19:9), the rabbis applied to it the laws appertaining to this offering. The mixture of the heifer's ashes with water is called consecrated water. Some of the rites connected with the red heifer were instituted by the Pharisees in order to refute the view of the Sadducees. The Sadducees claimed that only those who were in a state of complete ritual purity were entitled to burn the heifer. According to the Pharisees, however, even a *tevul yom* (an unclean person who has already undergone ritual immersion but still has to wait until sunset to be declared clean; see *Tevul Yom*) is qualified to burn it. As a result, the priest who was assigned to burn the heifer was deliberately rendered unclean and afterward immersed himself (Par. 3:7–8). This procedure was not carried out without opposition. One tradition tells about a Sadducean high priest who attempted to burn the red heifer according to the ritual of his faction and was prevented by *Johanan b. Zakkai, who told him to immerse himself. The priest answered rudely, and the story continues that as a punishment the Sadducee died three days later (Tosef., Par. 3:8). In reference to another law, R. Yose recommended being less strict, saying, "Do not give the Sadducees an opportunity to cavil at us" (Par. 3:3; cf. Tosef., Par. 3:3). According to the Mishnah, only the high priests could be qualified (Par. 4:1; cf. Yoma 42b). Some talmudic authorities (Yoma 42b; Sif. Num. 123) insist that the assistant to the high priest be in charge; others suggest that it may be any priest.

According to R. Meir in all of Jewish history only seven heifers were burned, but according to the rabbis there were nine (Par. 3:5), and the tenth and last will be prepared by the Messiah (Yad, Parah Adummah 3:4). If two hairs of the animal were not red, it was invalid. As a result, the red heifer was rare and costly, and several stories are told in the Talmud about the exorbitant price demanded for it (TJ, Pe'ah 1:1, 15c; Kid. 31a). Although it was impossible to prepare the ashes of the red heifer after the destruction of the Temple, its use did not cease with the destruction, since there was still a supply of the ashes. As late as the amoraic period, those who had become ritually unclean through contact with the dead still used to cleanse themselves with it (see Nid. 6b, Y. Gilat, *Mishnato* *shel R. Eliezer b. Hyrcanus* (1968), 252; Neusner (1987), 146 ff.; and Sussmann, 306–16).

Even after it ceased entirely, however, the rabbis still regarded its regulations as of importance in teaching a profound lesson. With its contradictory "regulations" rendering the unclean clean and the clean unclean, it was regarded as a classic example of a *ḥukkah* (i.e., a statute for which no rational explanation can be adduced, but which must be observed because it is divinely commanded). It is one of the laws about which "the evil inclination and the gentile nations" deride the Jews and weaken their religious loyalties (Num. R. 19:5–6). Even Solomon, the wisest of men, was baffled by it (Eccles. R. 7:23 no. 4). Similarly, although an *aggadah* relates that Rabban Joḥanan b. Zakkai once replied to a gentile that the sprinkling of the holy water of the heifer's ashes can be compared to exorcising a demon from a person (Num. R. 19:8), it goes on to tell that he nevertheless told his students that he was merely "putting him off with a straw," and that in truth the law of the red heifer should be understood as a *ḥukkah* which must not be questioned (*ibid.*). It is even stated that the reason was not revealed to Moses himself (Eccles. R. 8:1 no. 5). Several homiletical interpretations of the red heifer are given, one being that it was to atone for the sin of the golden calf, so that the mother – the red heifer – should purify the defilement caused by her offspring, the golden calf (PR 14:65a and see the whole chapter). Nevertheless, the rabbis of the talmudic period never really solved these problems (Urbach, see bibl.). The portion of *Parah* constitutes the reading of the third of the four special *Sabbaths, and one of the reasons given is that an unclean person could not celebrate the paschal sacrifices without first being purified by the consecrated water of the red heifer.

[Arie Strikovsky]

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REDL, FRITZ (1902–1988), child psychologist. Redl was born in Klaus, Austria, and trained at the Vienna Psychoanalytic Institute. In 1936 he emigrated to the United States, where he was a research associate at the Rockefeller Foundation. From 1941 to 1953 he was a professor of social work at Wayne State University, Detroit, and from 1953 to 1959 he was chief of the Child Research Branch of the National Institute of Mental Health. From 1948 to 1957 he was the principal investigator on a research project for clinical work with disturbed children, and from 1959 was professor of behavioral science at Wayne State.

In 1959 Redl published *Mental Hygiene in Teaching* (with William Wattenberg; 1959^2) and *Children Who Hate* (with David Wineman; 1951; 1969^2). In the latter book, Redl contributed to understanding the abnormal psychology of antisocial behavior. Redl made an essential contribution to understanding delinquency, especially in groups and gangs, and the use of group methods in its treatment. In his paper *The Psychology of Gang Formation and the Treatment of Juvenile Delinquents* (1945) he distinguishes four types of delinquents: those protesting against wrong handling; those basically nondelinquent who drift into delinquency because of growth confusion; delinquency as a part of neurosis; and "genuine delinquency" in which there are disturbances of impulse or personality structure. On the issue of treatment, Redl wrote *Psychoanalysis and Group Therapy: A Developmental Point of View* (1963).

He also co-wrote with David Wineman *Controls from Within* (1952), *The Aggressive Child* (1966), and *When We Deal with Children* (1966).

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[Louis Miller]

REDLICH, FREDERICK C. (1910–2004), U.S. psychiatrist and psychoanalyst. Redlich was born in Vienna. Raised as a Catholic, he discovered his Jewish ancestry at age 24. After working at a psychiatric hospital in Vienna, he left for the United States in 1938. In 1940 he joined the staff of the New Haven Hospital and in 1948 was appointed its chief psychiatrist. From 1942 he taught at Yale University, where in 1950 he became professor of psychiatry. He served as head of the department of psychology from 1950 to 1967 and was dean of the Yale School of Medicine from 1967 to 1972. During that time, he helped to establish a new department of molecular biophysics and biochemistry and to create a new program of medical education. In 1972 he returned to Yale's department of psychiatry for five more years before retiring. He subsequently taught for five years at the University of California, Los Angeles. He returned to New Haven in 1999.

Redlich was the co-founder and first director of the Yale-Connecticut Mental Health Center. He was also instrumental in inspiring the founders of the Western New England Institute of Psychoanalysis to locate in New Haven, and was president of the foundation's Fund for Research in Psychiatry throughout its existence.

Redlich published *Psychotherapy with Schizophrenics* (1952, joint ed.), *The Inside Story* (1953, 1955^2, compiler, written by J. Bingham), *Social Class and Mental Illness* (1958, with August B. Hollingshead), and *Theory and Practice of Psychiatry* (with Daniel Freedman, 1966). *Social Class and Mental Illness* is a report on research conducted in 1957 by Redlich and Yale sociologist August Hollingshead into the relation of social class and the distribution of mental illness and its relation to the ways mentally ill persons are treated by psychiatrists. Redlich also wrote *Hitler: Diagnosis of a Destructive Prophet* (1998), in which he attempts to determine whether Hitler's actions were the result of physical and mental illnesses. It is novel in that it may well be the first book in which these questions were examined by a practicing psychiatrist.

[Louis Miller / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

REDLICH, HANS FERDINAND (1903–1968), musicologist. Born in Vienna, Redlich conducted opera in Berlin and Mainz, and after 1931 devoted himself to research and writing. In 1939 he settled in Britain, where he lectured at Cambridge University from 1942 and at Edinburgh University from 1955. He was an authority on Monteverdi and edited some of his works. His writings include *Gustav Mahler* (1919), *Claudio Monteverdi* (1949; Eng., 1952), *Bruckner and Mahler* (1955), and *Alban Berg* (1957). He composed a concerto grosso (1927) and *Hoelderlin Trilogy* for tenor and orchestra (1946).

REDLICH, JOSEPH (1869–1936), Austrian constitutional lawyer and politician. Born in Goeding, Moravia, Redlich was acknowledged as an outstanding authority on Austrian and British parliamentary procedure. He was made assistant professor at the University of Vienna in 1905 and full professor in 1908. Redlich was active in politics and, from 1906 to 1918, was a Liberal member of the Moravian Landtag (provincial legislature) and the Austrian Reichstrat. His support for the Western Allies before World War I barred him from the Austrian government until 1918 when shortly before the fall of the empire he was made minister of finance in the last Hapsburg government. Redlich was an authority on American legal education on which he had written a study in 1905. He was invited to lecture in the United States at the Institute of Politics at Williamstown, Massachusetts, and at Harvard. In 1929 he was appointed professor of comparative law at the latter university but in 1931 was recalled to Austria to become minister of finance for a second time during the Austrian financial crisis. Redlich retained this post until the advent of the Dolfuss regime in 1934. He was baptized in 1903.

Redlich's many works include *The Procedure of the House of Commons* (3 vols., 1908); *The Common Law and the Case Method in American University Law Schools* (1914); and *Das Wesen der oesterreichischen Kommunalverfassung* (1910) as well as a number of important books on Austrian political history, such as *Das oesterreichische Staats- und Reichsproblem* (1920) and *Oesterreichische Regierung und Verwaltung im Weltkriege* (1925). He also wrote a history of English local government, *Englische Lokalverwaltung* (1901; trans. by F.W. Hirst, *Local Government in England*, 1903; vol. 1, republished 1958) in which he traced the growth of democratic institutions in English local government.

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[Josef J. Lador-Lederer]

REDLICH, NORMAN (1925–), U.S. jurist. Redlich received his LL.B. from Yale Law School in 1950 and served as the executive editor of the *Yale Law Journal* from 1949 to 1950. He received his LL.M. from New York University in 1955. He was in private practice and business from 1950 to 1959. He was a lecturer at the New York University School of Law (1957–60), and then associate professor (1960–62), and professor of law from 1962 to 1988. In 1974 he was appointed associate dean, and then served as dean from 1975 to 1988. He taught the subjects of constitutional law, professional responsibility, federal income taxation, state and municipal finance, and urban law.

An outspoken opponent of capital punishment, he has been counsel to the New York Committee to Abolish Capital Punishment. He served from 1963 to 1964 as assistant counsel to the President's Commission on the Assassination of President Kennedy (the Warren Commission), and as special consultant to the state of Vermont on Revision of Vermont's Income Tax Law (1965–66). In 1966 he was given a leave of absence from the New York University School of Law to become Executive Assistant Corporation Counsel to the City of New York. In 1972 Mayor John Lindsay named him corporation counsel of the City of New York, the city's highest legal office. Redlich was active in the organized bar, having served as chair of the American Bar Association's Section of Legal Education and Admissions to the Bar (1989 to 1990). He was a member of the House of Delegates of the American Bar Association. He was also a member of the board, and of its executive committee, of the NAACP Legal Defense and Education Fund, and cochair of the Commission on Law and Social Action of the American Jewish Congress.

Redlich served as counsel to the law firm of Wachtell, Lipton, Rosen, & Katz. He continued to teach at the NYU Law School as an adjunct professor, offering a course in professional responsibility. Greatly concerned with professional ethics, Redlich believes there is "deficiency in legal education concerning what a lawyer's role is to his client, his adversary, and the legal system." He has written extensively on taxation and civil liberties. From 1960 to 1966 he was editor of the *Tax Law Review.*

Redlich wrote or co-authored such books as *Professional Responsibility: A Problem Approach* (1976), *Constitutional Law* (1983), *Standards of Professional Conduct for Lawyers and Judges* (1984), *Understanding Constitutional Law* (1995), and *Understanding Contracts* (2004).

[Julius J. Marcke / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

RED SEA (Heb. יַֽם סוּף, *yam suf*; lit. "Sea of Reeds"). The Hebrew term *yam suf* denotes, in some biblical references and in most later sources, the sea known as the Red Sea (as in Gr. ʾΕρυθρά θάλασσα; Lat. Sinus Arabicus, Mare Rubrum; Ar. Baḥr or al-Baḥr al-Aḥmar). The Red Sea is a long narrow strip of water separating the Arabian Peninsula from the northeastern corner of Africa (Egypt, Sudan, Ethiopia) and forming the northwestern arm of the Indian Ocean to which it is connected by the Bāb al-Mandib Straits (whose narrowest point is 21 mi. (33 km.) wide). In the northern part of the Red Sea are the Gulf of Elath (Aqaba) and the Gulf of Suez which enclose the Sinai Peninsula. With the opening of the Suez Canal, the Red Sea was connected with the Mediterranean. Its total area is 176,061.6 sq. mi. (456,000 sq. km.) and its length about 1,240 mi. (2,000 km., excluding the gulfs in the north). For most of its length it is 124–155 mi. (200–250 km.) wide and about 223 mi. (360 km.) at its widest point, near Massawa. Its mean depth measures approximately 1,640 ft. (500 m.); about 70% of its area is more than 656 ft. (200 m.) deep and its maximum depth, 7,741 ft. (2,360 m.), is northeast of Port Sudan. The Red Sea is the warmest and most saline of all open seas. The temperature of the surface water reaches 30°–33° C (86°–91° F) in July–September (near the shores it rises to 36° C (97° F) and drops to 23°–27° C (73°–81° F) in December-February. The average salinity near the surface is 40–41% which increases to 43% on the northern side, in the gulfs of Elath and Suez. Because of the wasteland nature of the area, the shores of the Red Sea are sparsely settled. Its port sites are few and for the most part small; the principal ones are Joba, Suez, Port Sudan, and Hudida.

History

In the Bible the Red Sea, apart from its problematical appearance in the route of the Exodus (see below), is clearly identified in the description of the borders of the land promised to Israel (Ex. 23:31) and in other passages describing the maritime activities of Solomon (I Kings 9:26) and later kings. In antiquity the two gulfs at its northern tip served as important navigation routes. The Gulf of Clysma (Suez) was used by the rulers of Egypt as the shortest route to the Mediterranean above the Isthmus of Suez. It was connected via the Bitter Lakes with the Nile and the Mediterranean by a canal which already existed in the days of Necoh and which was repaired by Darius I, the Ptolemies, and the Romans. The Gulf of Elath was a vital outlet to the south for the kings of Israel and Judah and their Phoenician allies. David acquired access to the sea and this was maintained by his successors until the division of the kingdom; it was later regained by Jehoshaphat and Uzziah. Still later the Nabateans used it for their maritime trade and overland transport to Petra and Gaza. In the Hellenistic period the discovery of the monsoon wind systems revived direct trade with India via the Red Sea; this trade continued throughout the Roman period. During the Byzantine period the Red Sea was the only trade route to the East open to the empire, which explains the tenacity with which the Byzantines fought for its control against the Jewish kings of Ḥimyar. From the seventh century onward the Arabs dominated the Red Sea, except for a brief period during which Elath was held by the crusaders. The discovery of the sea route to India and Turkish domination put an end to international trade on the Red Sea; it was revived with the inauguration of the Suez Canal in 1869.

The Red Sea and the Problem of the Exodus

Tradition has identified the sea which engulfed Pharaoh's army with the Red Sea ever since the Septuagint translation of the Bible in the third century B.C.E. This identification was adopted by Josephus and the Christian pilgrims and is still accepted by some scholars. They place the crossing of the Red Sea in the vicinity of Suez and point out the high tides in the Red Sea (up to 6½ ft.), but they fail to explain how an east wind could have driven the waters back at this point (Ex. 14:21). Most of the scholars who accept the southern route of the Exodus maintain that the Red Sea was crossed at the Great Bitter Lake, but here too an east wind could lower the water level by only a few inches at the utmost. This theory, furthermore, is unable to account for the places Pi-Hahiroth, Migdol, and Baal-Zephon which the Israelites passed. The majority opinion today identifies the Red Sea of the Exodus with one of the lagoons on the shores of the Mediterranean. Some locate it at Baḥr Manzala (Gardiner, Loewenstamm) or the Sirbonic Lake (Jarvis, Mazar, Noth) and identify Pi-Hahiroth with Tell al-Khayr, Migdol with Pelusium, and Baal-Zephon with the sanctuary of Zeus Cassius on the isthmus dividing the lake from the sea, the former being occasionally inundated by waves from the latter when an east wind is blowing (cf. also *Exodus).

[Moshe Brawer and Michael Avi-Yonah]

In the Aggadah

While the Israelites were threatened by the Egyptians' closing in on them and driving them toward the sea, the angels wanted to sing a song of praise, but God did not permit them to do so, saying: "My sons are in distress and you want to praise Me?" (Tanḥ. Ex. 60; Ex. R. 23:7; the version quoted in Meg. 10b, "The work of My hands are about to drown in the sea," also referred originally to the Israelites, not the Egyptians). Even after the sea was parted and Israel had crossed it safely, God again told the angels to wait, for He desired to hear first the song sung by Israel (Tanḥ *ibid.*; Ex. R. *ibid.*). When Moses raised the rod over the sea and commanded it to be parted, the sea refused at first to obey the orders of a human being; it only submitted when it saw the Divine Name engraved on the rod, or – according to another version – when God Himself rebuked it (Mekh. Be-Shallaḥ 4; Ginsburger, *Fragmententhargum*, Ex. 14:29). In spite of the miracle, the people were at first afraid to enter the receding waters, until *Naḥshon of the tribe of Judah descended first; but another version relates that all were eager to obey the Divine command, competing among themselves until eventually the tribe of Benjamin succeeded in being the first to enter the sea (Mekh. *ibid.* 5; Sot. 36bff.). When the Egyptians had drowned, the sea tossed their bodies to the shore, but the earth, too, refused to receive them until God swore an oath not to punish it for receiving the corpses (Mekh. Shirata 9; Pseudo-Jon.; Ex. 15:12). According to another version the sea refused to give up the corpses and only agreed to do so when God promised to compensate it in the days of Sisera (Pes. 118b). God's decision that the Egyptians should not be swallowed up by the sea was either in order to give the Israelites the satisfaction of seeing their former masters lying dead at their feet (Mekh. Be-Shallaḥ 6) or because in spite of all they deserved burial in the ground (Mekh. Shirata 9; PdRE 39).

[Joseph Heinemann]

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REDSTONE, SUMNER MURRAY (**Ostrovsky**; 1923–), U.S. entertainment executive. Born in Boston, Massachusetts, Redstone attended Boston Latin School, the oldest public high school in the United States, graduating at the top of his class in 1940. While attending Harvard University, Redstone studied German and Japanese. In 1943, he was selected to join a team that successfully broke a secret Japanese code. After a two-year stint in the Army, Redstone entered Harvard Law School in 1947. After law school, he worked first as special assistant to U.S. attorney general Tom Clark before joining private practice. In 1954 he joined the family business, Redstone Management, which owned movie theaters, building up the company's drive-ins. In the early 1960s, he served as president of the Theater Owners of America. In 1968, as president and CEO of the growing family business, which had been renamed National Amusements, Redstone began converting his properties into multi-screen theaters, which he called "multiplexes," a term he trademarked. In 1977, he purchased a 5 percent stake in 20th Century Fox after viewing the film *Star Wars*; the investment netted him $20 million when he sold the stock in 1981. In 1979, he was caught in a fire at Boston's Copely Plaza Hotel, during which he suffered third-degree burns over 45 percent of his body. He underwent five operations, which lasted 60 hours. Redstone went on to invest in Columbia Pictures and MGM/UA, earning $40 million. In 1987, Redstone bought Viacom Pictures for $3.2 billion and then took the company public the next day. Throughout the 1980s and 1990s, he battled for control of studios, finally acquiring Paramount. In 1996, Redstone was elected CEO of Viacom, and by 2000 National Amusements' holdings would include CBS, Blockbuster, Simon and Schuster, Showtime Networks, 18 television stations, and movie theaters in 12 countries. In 2001, he released his biography, *A Passion to Win*. In 2004, Redstone announced he was stepping down as CEO of Viacom by 2006. Redstone also served in leadership roles for various nonprofits, including the Combined Jewish Philathropies of Greater Boston, and was a visiting professor at Brandeis University.

[Adam Wills (2nd ed.)]

RÉE, HARTVIG PHILIP (1778–1859), manufacturer, merchant, and religious reformer. He was born and brought up in Fredericia (Denmark), where in his young days, he tried to introduce religious reform but was unsuccessful. In 1810 he moved to Aarhus, establishing there a business empire and became known as "King Rée." In Aarhus he also founded a synagogue and officiated as rabbi, introducing choir hymns, psalms in German, and sermons in Danish; however his reforms were not imitated throughout Denmark, as he had hoped. He also wrote many hymns in Hebrew and German, with melodies, and made frequent contributions to Jewish and general periodicals. Rée was the author of several books, including *Forschungen ueber die Ueberschriften der Psalmen* (1846).

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REED. Three species of reed grow in Israel on the banks of rivers and swamps. Two of them, *Phragmites communis* and *Arundo donax,* are the *kaneh* of the Bible and rabbinical literature; the third, *Saccharum biflorum,* seems to be the biblical *agmon*. These species also grow on the banks of the Nile. In the scriptural parable "the bruised reed" that cannot be depended on and even inflicts harm symbolizes treacherous Egypt (Isa. 36:6; Ezek. 29:6–7), and it is mentioned as withering during the drying-up of the Nile. The *Behemoth dwells "in the covert of the reed and the fens" (Job 40: 21), and is therefore called "the wild beast of the reeds" (Ps. 68:31). The reed standing in the water and shaking in the wind in the prophecy of *Ahijah symbolized the Israelite nation shaking from the many blows inflicted upon it (I Kings 14:15). According to the Midrash: "The curse with which Ahijah of Shiloh cursed Israel is preferable to the blessing of the wicked Balaam. Balaam praised them as cedars (Num. 24:6) while Ahijah cursed them as 'the reed which is shaken.' The reed stands in water and, although bruised and bent, recovers. It has many roots so that even if all the winds of the world blow upon it, they do not move it from its place, but it sways with them and when the wind ceases it remains standing in its place." Hence, concludes the moralist, "a man should always be as pliant as a reed and not as hard as the cedar." As a result, the reed merited that the scroll of the law be written with it.

Reeds had many uses: for roofing (Gen. R. 1:8), for making partitions (Tosef., Er. 2:4), mats (Kel. 17:17), scales (Kel. 17:16), flutes (Tosef., Ar. 2:3), and pens (*kolmos*, "pen" is derived from *calamus*, "reed," Ta'an, 20b). Some grew it in gardens (Tosef., Dem. 7, end). The pay for cutting reeds was low, hence the designation *katla kanya be'agma* ("cutter of reeds") for a person of little worth (Sanh. 33a, et al.). Reeds were much used for making arrows, the Midrash noting that Israel lacks nothing – "even reeds for arrows" (Eccles. R. 2:8, no. 2). In this connection the words of Pliny are instructive: "The peoples of the East wage war with the aid of the reed, they strengthen their arrowheads with it and give wings to death by putting feathers into the reeds" (*Natural History*, 16:159).

Agmon is mentioned a number of times in the Bible as a slender plant, shaking in the wind and bowing its head, its head being the thick inflorescence shaped like a tail (Isa. 9–13). Its thin stalk was used for stringing fish (Job 40:26). The word is connected with *agam* ("swamp"). The scriptural descriptions of *agmon* fit *Saccharum biflorum*, the slenderest of the reeds common in Israel.

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[Jehuda Feliks]

REED, LOU (**Lewis Allen**; 1942–), U.S. guitarist, songwriter, founder of the influential art rock band The Velvet Underground; often referred to as the "Godfather of Punk." Born into a middle-class Jewish family in Freeport, New York, Reed played guitar in several high school bands. He attended Syracuse University, but dropped out after two years and moved to New York City, where he became a songwriter for Pickwick records. There, Reed met John Cale, with whom he formed The Primitives, a band which evolved to become The Velvet Underground in 1964. Later managed by Andy Warhol, The Velvet Underground was considered groundbreaking for their lyrical tales of urban decay, heroin addiction, and social realism, as well as for their droning sound and experiments in noise. Although the band was never a commercial success, The Velvet Underground is considered one of the most influential rock bands of all time. Reed left the band in 1970, and after spending a short musical hiatus working for his father's Long Island accounting firm, he released an eponymous solo album that was mostly rehashed Velvet Underground tunes. It wasn't until Reed recruited David Bowie and Mick Ronson to produce his 1972 album *Transformer* that Reed achieved widespread success: a Top-20 hit in the U.S., and a Top-Ten hit in the U.K. for "Walk on the Wild Side," a tribute song to the transsexuals, misfits, and hustlers at Andy Warhol's Factory. Reed followed *Transformer* with *Berlin*, which though artistically impressive, failed to make a mark commercially. Reed, who adopted a public persona of an androgynous junkie, followed *Berlin* with *Rock and Roll Animal* and *Sally Can't Dance*, both albums aimed at commercial success, and then in 1975, *Metal Machine Music*, a double album of pure guitar feedback. As Reed wrestled with drug and alcohol problems, his releases, while prolific, remained inconsistent. On 1976's *Rock and Roll Heart*, Reed delivered an album of pure guitar pop, only to follow up with raw punk on 1978's *Street Hassle*. The 1980s saw a sober, drug-free, and more focused Reed releasing critically acclaimed albums such as 1983's *The Blue Mask* and 1989's *New York*, a love letter and sharp criticism of the state of his adored city. After a 25-year estrangement, Reed reunited with John Cale in 1990 and released *Songs for Drella*, a musical biography and tribute to Andy Warhol. The Velvet Underground temporarily reunited in 1993. Reed and his bandmates from The Velvet Underground were inducted into the Rock and Roll Hall of Fame in 1996.

[Harry Rubenstein (2nd ed.)]

REESE, JIMMIE (**James Hymie Solomon**; 1901–1994), U.S. baseball player and coach for 78 years. Reese first became involved with baseball in 1917 as a mascot and then batboy for the Los Angeles Angels in the Pacific Coast League, for whom he played briefly in 1920 and 1924. Reese had changed his given name from Solomon, and no one knew that he was Jewish. Reese was invited to play in a celebrity exhibition game in Los Angeles against a team with songwriter Harry Ruby pitching and Ike Danning – brother of N.Y. Giants star Harry – as the catcher. Clowning around, the battery mates opted to forgo the traditional hand signals and instead call out their pitches in Yiddish, certain that nobody on the other team would understand. Reese got four hits in the game, and afterward Danning said, "I didn't know you were so good," to which Reese replied, "You also didn't know that my name was Hymie Solomon." Reese played fulltime with the PCL's Oakland Oaks from 1924 to 1928, when he was sold to the New York Yankees. Reese, who made his Major League debut on April 19, 1930, played second base for the Yankees in 1930 and 1931 – when he was the roommate of Babe Ruth on the road – and then with the St. Louis Cardinals in 1932, finishing with a .278 batting average in 742 at bats. Reese returned to the Pacific Coast League, finishing a 14-year minor league career hitting .289 in 1,673 games, and setting the PCL record for most put-outs by a second baseman (4,771) as well as most assists (5,119). Reese served as a coach with four minor league teams and managed two others, and then joined the California Angels in 1972, where he remained as scout and coach until he died. Reese was known for his ability to hit fungos, and for being known as "the nicest guy in baseball" – indeed, two pitchers he worked with named their sons Reese.

[Elli Wohlgelernter (2nd ed.)]

REESE, MICHAEL (1815–1878), U.S. realtor and philanthropist. Reese, whose place of birth is unknown, made his fortune as a realtor during the California gold rush, but lived alone in miserly frugality. Reese's estate was worth ten million dollars at the time of his death and he was the second-largest real-estate owner in San Francisco. He bequeathed $30,000 to his nephews in Chicago for use in a charitable cause. They, in turn, donated the money toward the rebuilding of a Jewish hospital destroyed in the Chicago fire, with the stipulation that it be called the Michael Reese Hospital. Reese also left portions of his estate to the University of California and to various Jewish charities.

REEVE, ADA (1874–1966), British actress. Born in London to an acting family, Ada Reeve played Willie in *East Lynne* at the age of six and toured the music halls with a light comedy group. She appeared in the West End in 1894, and played the title role in *San Yoy*, 1901. In subsequent years she visited Australia five times between 1896 and 1935, and South Africa five times between 1906 and 1913. She acted in many plays during World War II. In 1954 she appeared in the television show *Life Begins at 80* and at the age of 90 she took part in a TV film. In 1954 she published her autobiography *Take it for a Fact*. Some sources give her birthdate as 1870 or 1876.

REFORMATION. Like most revolutions the Reformation within the Christian Church in 16th-century Europe combined ultraconservative trends with a drive for change. In his attitude toward the Jews, Martin *Luther moved from a conscious attempt at a form of reconciliation, through a missionary effort, to a most extreme, abusive outlook aimed at putting an end to their very existence in Christian states. His more benevolent approach finds expression in his *Das Jesus Christus eyn geborner Jude sey* (1523), while his *Von den Jueden und jren Luegen* (1543) exemplifies his most vehement attitude. This vacillation between extremes was typical of Luther's personal approach to many problems (e.g., toward the peasant revolt and toward toleration in general); more than that, however, it was also an expression of, on the one hand, the reform movement's feeling that their revolutionary return to a "pure" biblical Christianity would make a greater appeal to the Jews – the earlier missionary attempts having failed because they were made in the name of corrupt Christianity – and, on the other, the deeply ingrained fear and hatred of the Jews which characterized most of the Reformation leaders. As their mission to the Jews failed too, they felt deeply insulted; the deep layers of their baleful image of the Jew came to the fore in Luther's scurrilous attacks. His work is described by Joseph b. Gershon of *Rosheim as "such a boorish and inhuman book, containing curses and vilification hurled at us, hapless Jews, such as by the will of God can truly never be found in our beliefs and Judaism generally" (ZGJD, 5 (1892), 331). Of the legal and social measures vis-à-vis the Jews proposed by Luther toward the end of his life, Joseph b. Gershom said that the like "never has… been contended by any scholar, that we Jews ought to be treated with violence and great tyranny, that none was bound to honor any obligation toward us" (*ibid.*, 332).

Less abuse and violence but a similar mixture of innovation and hatred marked the attitude to the Jews of John *Calvin – in his "*Ad quaestiones et obiecta Judaei cuiusdam Responsio*" (*Opera quae supersunt omnia*, 9 (1900), 653–74), of Martin *Bucer – in many of his writings and public appearances, and especially in the *Ratschlag ob die Christliche Oberkait gebueren muege, dass sye die Juden undter den Christen zu wonen gedulden, und wa sye zu gedulden welche gestalt und mass* of 1539 (in his *Deutsche Schriften*, 7 (1964), 319–94), and of many of their followers and imitators. Exceptions to the rule were Wolfgang Fabricius *Capito of Strasbourg and the Bavarian Andreas *Osiander, who dared to give the lie to one of the basic elements of popular hatred of the Jews, the blood *libel, in: *Ob es war vn-glaublich sey dass die Juden der Christen kinder heymlich erwuergen, und jr blut gebrauchen, ein treffenlich schrifft, auff eines yeden urteyl gestelt. Wer menschen blut vergeusst, des blut sol auch vergossen werde* (written in 1529; published in 1893). Here is an eloquent and well-reasoned treatise against this appalling accusation.

For the Jews, the Reformation brought humiliation and suffering and an additional burden because of Catholic Counter-Reformation claims that they were responsible for its "Judaizing" tendencies. There is also the impression that, at a far later date, Luther's teaching of the submission of the individual to his rulers, combined with his latter-day virulent antisemitism, were one of the root causes of racist Nazism, preparing the soil for the acceptance of the Holocaust in the German mind and society. Yet in spite of all these elements (some certain and some arguable), in Jewish history the Reformation was not only, nor even largely, negative and harmful. Not only were many elements of Catholic faith changed in a way that removed the grounds for anti-Jewish accusations – e.g., charges of desecration of the *Host disappeared in Protestant circles because of the change in beliefs about transubstantiation – but many of the reformers' innovations removed some differences between Jews and Christians in the Reformation environment. About 1524, Jews coming from Europe described with joy to the kabbalist Abraham b. Eliezer *ha-Levi in Jerusalem the iconoclastic and anti-clerical tendencies of the reformers. On the basis of this much exaggerated report the kabbalists regarded Luther as a kind of *Crypto-Jew who was trying gradually to educate Christians away from the bad elements of their faith (Abraham's letter of 1525; see KS, 7 (1930/31), 444–5).

Of more importance and real impact for the future relationship with Christians – and for that matter for the relationship with Christians of other denominations in the post-Reformation period – was the great weight the Reformation gave to the Bible in Hebrew and to Hebrew in general. Although it had originated with the Renaissance, this tendency was given major religious sanction in the Reformation. According to Abraham b. Eliezer ha-Levi, this was one of the mysteries of "God's mind, who decreed this beforehand… when He turned the hearts of many nations in the lands of the uncircumcised toward the study of the Hebrew language and writing. And they delve into these, each according to his powers of attainment" (*ibid.*, 445). Later, in many Protestant groups and sects, this was combined with the appreciation of the law and values of ancient Jewish society which were seen as the proper basis for the life of a model sectarian society. Away from the individualistic spiritual path of the evangelists, they looked to the Hebrew Bible for the modes of justice and moral way of life appropriate to a closely knit group. Many of them – both before and after him – would have agreed with Samuel Langdon, president of Harvard, when he declared in his election sermon delivered in 1775 that "the Jewish government, according to the original constitution which was divinely established, if considered merely in a civil view was a perfect republic" (in J. Wingate Thornton, *Pulpit of the American Revolution* (1860), 239). This sums up the attitude of many settlers in New England from the time it was first expressed by John Cotton in his *Moses, His Judicials* (1641). The great debate in Reformation countries, in Cromwellian and Restoration England in particular, about the divine right of kings and regicide was conducted to a large degree on the basis of texts and ideas from the Old Testament, which were taken as valid paradigms for actual Christian society. In many such circles, from the Netherlands to the eastern boundaries of Reformation Europe, Jews and Judaic ways came to be considered respectable and exemplary. Gradually this appreciation of the Jewish past developed into an appreciation of the Jews of the day, as abundantly shown by the paintings of *Rembrandt and a great deal of literary and social evidence.

Yet the main importance of the Reformation for Jewish history lies more in what it failed to achieve than in its direct attitudes and achievements. No less fervently than the pope, its leaders wanted to have one Christian, all-embracing, orthodox Church. In the clash between the various strands of the Reformation and between all of them and the Catholic Counter-Reformation, this concept of an all-inclusive orthodoxy had perforce gradually to be abandoned. Through the fire and blood of the wars of religion (at least up to 1648), toleration reluctantly dawned in European culture. The centuries-old reality of a fixed religious, legal, and social attitude toward the Jews vanished; many established attitudes were now reexamined. Toleration embraced only very reluctantly the notion of including a non-Christian, let alone a Jew, within its permissive outlook. An anonymous Jew began to urge this change in Luther's lifetime. To the demand for apostasy he advised that the Jew reply with a polite refusal based on historical continuity and loyalty. Jews will not listen: "now, in our [the Jewish] old age, after we have suffered the servitude to the kingdoms and the hand of our enemies… God forbid that we should relinquish what our fathers left to us, a tradition in our hands, with proof, more than the other nations of the world." This refusal is addressed to the "very few men of reason who ply their words mildly" (published from Ms. by H.H. Ben-Sasson, in HTR, 59 (1966), 388). Yet by implication, and through forces inherent in the very logic of its birth, toleration had to relate to the Jews. This move was first made only by small splinter groups like some Puritan sectarians in the Netherlands and England. But the attitude of the eminent lawyer and theologian Hugo *Grotius in his memorandum of 1616 (as member of a committee of two appointed by the municipality of Amsterdam to regulate the status of the newly admitted Jews) shows the considerable change in the thought of the Calvinist Netherlands. He assumes the right of the Jews to basic equality, while advocating many specific legal disabilities; thus, much of medieval practice was to remain without the medieval frame of mind. Oliver Cromwell's readmission of Jews into England was intended to be on a similar basis; in the end popular opposition resulted in factual readmission without explicit legal formulation. The pro-Jewish trend continued both in England and the Netherlands, widening to embrace more and more sectors of the population. By 1697 the city of London had demanded that Jews be admitted as members of the London Stock Exchange. The writings of men like John *Toland and Roger Williams give an explicit edge to the reform attitude of toleration toward Jews, providing a weapon for its advocates. Thus the fluid situation following on the Reformation offered the chance of a change (both for better and worse) in the status and image of the Jews in Europe.

As noted, Jewish reaction to the Reformation was related from the beginning to the actions and expressions of the movement, but from the very first moment the Jews appreciated the element of revolutionary breakthrough, as they had done much earlier in relation to other heretical and revolutionary movements in Christianity, as evident in their disputations and in their attitude toward the *Hussites. Old traditions and ideas looked to a change in Christianity that would bring back its beliefs to the right Jewish way that they had erroneously departed from. Some made an extreme evaluation of the reports of the new leader and his acts. In a "prophecy" ascribed to "the sage and astronomer R. Abraham *Zacuto," Abraham b. Eliezer includes "what a great astrologer in Spain, named R. Joseph, wrote in a forecast on the significance of the sun's eclipse in the year 1478. He states: 'Having no desire to favor any particular religion or mores I say that a man will arise who will be great, valiant, and mighty. He will pursue justice and loathe butchery. He will marshal vast armies, originate a religion, and destroy the houses of worship and clergy. In his days Jerusalem shall be rebuilt.'" Abraham b. Eliezer adds that "at first glance we believed that the man foreshadowed by the stars was Messiah b. Joseph [see *Messiah]. But now it is evident that he is none other than the man mentioned [by all; i.e., Luther, according to the general trend of Abraham b. Eliezer's thought at this time], who is exceedingly noble in all his undertakings and all these forecasts are realized in his person" (in H.H. Ben-Sasson, *Yehudim mul ha-Reformazyah* (1969/70), Eng. translation in bibl.).

Admiration for Luther vanished in many Jewish circles, in particular in Germany, in view of his later enmity and cruelty. To Joseph b. Gershon of Rosheim, Luther is the archenemy of the Jews, a second Haman. But some still retained their sympathy for the Reformation movement if not for Luther himself. The growing diversity within the Reformation camp encouraged the rationalist Abraham ibn Migash, physician to the sultan in the 16th century, to think that "their faith has reverted to a state of primeval flux. Where there are a thousand of them one cannot find 10 men willing to rely upon a single doctrine or consent to a given line of reasoning. Thus they are in a state of formlessness, ready to take shape, since faith has departed and no longer finds expression in their utterances. But they have been made ready to assume form when they will find favor with God, after being scourged for their sins and the sins of their fathers, for all that they and their fathers have perpetrated against Israel. And when they find favor with God they will be ready to accept the faith" (*Kevod Elohim* (Constantinople, 1586), essay no. 3, ch. 3, fols. 127v.–128r.). Even from afar, the capital of the Ottoman Empire, Ibn Migash recognized that the Protestant camp was splintered because it was ardently striving for true faith; they had lost their form in the Aristotelian sense of the term. He could not understand their remaining outside of the true Jewish form except through accepting that this is a temporary withholding of grace to enable them to expiate their sins in persecuting Jews in former generations. To Samuel *Usque the Reformation was a revolt of descendants of Jewish *anusim who had naturally taken the opportunity to avenge their forced conversion: "For since throughout Christendom Christians have forced Jews to change their religion, it seems to be divine retribution that the Jews should strike back with the weapons that were put into their hands; to punish those who compelled them to change their faith, and as a judgment upon the new faith, the Jews break out of the circle of Christian unity, and by such actions seek to reenter the road to their faith, which they abandoned so long ago" (*Consolation for the Tribulations of Israel*, trans. by M.A. Cohen (1965), 193). Another Jewish chronicler, Joseph *ha-Kohen – born in Avignon but living and writing in Italy – wholeheartedly supported the Reformation camp and described events and personalities consistently from this point of view. To him Luther was the sage among the Christians; the Council of Trent failed because the Lutherans did not come and, left to themselves, the Catholics could only do foolish things. His sympathy goes out to the Reformation fighters of southern France in particular. He describes their plight in a way that shows that he made use of their information and sources. The death of the heads of the population of a Protestant city in the province is described as true *kiddush ha-Shem*: "the leaders of the populace they [the Catholic forces] took along with them, torturing them and burning them alive… But they [the Reformation martyrs] exclaimed: 'This indeed is the day we have hoped for – our souls shall return to God while our bodily clods return to dust'" (*Divrei ha-Yamim* (Sabbioneta, 1554), pt. 2, fol. 289v.). Joseph ha-Kohen was happy to witness and describe the sack of Rome in 1527, but when a Protestant church in Metz was destroyed by the Catholics and some of the people killed, he commented that the Catholics had "polluted the land with blood" (in H.H. Ben-Sasson, op. cit., 284). Perceiving the hope of toleration emerging from the wars of religion, he felt that the essential factor to emerge from a peace pact between reformers and Catholics in France was "that each man could worship his God according to his wish without fear. So all the people were exceedingly pleased" (*ibid.*). This is quite in the spirit of the middle-of-the-road party in France.

With sectarian existence under Catholic rule in Bohemia and Moravia, Hungary, and Poland-Lithuania, ties between Protestants and Jews became closer, for there was a growing similarity between their modes of existence. In the 1530s there were complaints in Poland that Jews exploited the Reformation disquiet for proselytizing. Much more clear are the contacts – both through disputations and through direct influence – between anti-trinitarians and Jews, as, e.g., in Poland between Isaac b. Abraham of *Troki and Szymon *Budny, and between Marcin Czechowic and Jacob of *Bełżyce. In the thought of Judah Loew b. *Bezalel of Prague and his circle, there is much evidence of contacts with sectarians. Judah Loew's plea against censorship on books – antedating *Milton's *Areopagitica* by about 50 years (Judah Loew's plea was printed in 1598) – has the marks of sectarian pleading for tolerance. Yet his brother *Ḥayyim felt constrained to warn "the Jews that… when they slacken in their regard for the Torah and its commandments, God bestows His bounty upon the unclean cattle. So that even if Israel subsequently repents, it is difficult for God to reject that nation on their account. This is all due to the fact that we, in our manifold sinfulness, are daily drawing farther away from the truth, whereas they, on the contrary, realize day by day that they are in the grip of falsehood. A different spirit is manifesting itself to some extent in their midst, bringing them nearer to truth, since they, too, for the most part are descended from the true seed" (*Sefer ha-Ḥayyim, Sefer Ge'ullah vi-Yshu'ah*, ch. 7, fol. 46v.). Ḥayyim feared that the new and eager spirit of the Reformation was endangering the covenant between the Jewish people and the Torah.

In modern times some Reformation patterns of worship and behavior and modes of thought influenced not only the *Reform trend in Judaism but also some of the *Orthodox communities, in particular in Anglo-Saxon countries. The ideology of religious pluralism accepted in the U.S., and welcomed by Jews, is a direct result of Reformation development. On the other hand, Nazism reawakened in Europe all the scars and problems of the Reformation's antisemitic inclination. In modern Jewish *historiography and thought, the 19th century may be described mainly as the pro-Reformation period, while in the 20th century some pro-Catholic and anti-Reformation historiography and ideas emerged and developed.

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[Haim Hillel Ben-Sasson]

REFORM JUDAISM, first of the modern interpretations of Judaism to emerge in response to the changed political and cultural conditions brought about by the *Emancipation.

The Reform movement was a bold historical response to the dramatic events of the 18th and 19th centuries in Europe. The increasing political centralization of the late 18th and early 19th centuries undermined the societal structure that perpetuated traditional Jewish life. At the same time, Enlightenment ideas began to influence not only a small group of intellectuals but also wider circles. The resulting political, economic, and social changes were profound. From a religious point of view, many Jews felt a tension between Jewish tradition and the way they were now leading their lives.

Many responded to this new situation by observing less and less of that tradition. As the insular religious society that reinforced such observance disintegrated, it was easy to fall away from vigilant observance without deliberately breaking with Judaism. Over the course of a few decades, a large percentage of the Jews of central Europe were no longer sure exactly how much of the traditional belief they subscribed to. Some tried to reconcile their religious heritage with their new social surroundings by reforming traditional Judaism to meet their new needs and to express their spiritual yearnings. Gradually these efforts became a movement with a set of religious beliefs, with practices that were considered expected as well as practices regarded as antiquated, and with an identity as a coherent and cohesive modern Jewish religious stream or denomination.

Usually viewed in contrast with Orthodoxy, Reform Judaism was the first of the modern responses to the emancipation of the Jews, a political process that occurred over an extended period. Because of its stress on autonomy – both of the individual and of the congregation – Reform Judaism has manifested itself differently in various countries. Nevertheless, Reform communities throughout the world share certain characteristics. Reform Jews believe that religious change is legitimate and that Judaism has changed over the centuries as society has changed. While in the past this evolutionary process was subconscious and organic, in the modern world it has become deliberate. The guiding principal of the contemporary Reform movement is that it can adapt Jewish religious beliefs and practices to the needs of the Jewish people from generation to generation.

The first Reformers – long identified as "German" Jews but, in fact, Jews from many European countries – were seeking a middle course between halakhic Judaism, which they wanted to break away from, and conversion to Christianity, which they wanted to avoid. Looking for a way to remain Jewish while adapting to the prevailing social customs, they hoped that by introducing modern aesthetics and strict decorum, they could make worship services more attractive to the many central European Jews who were drifting away from traditional Judaism but had not become Christians. Most of the early reforms focused on minor cosmetic changes: They abbreviated the liturgy and added a sermon in the vernacular, a mixed male and female choir accompanied by an organ, and German along with Hebrew prayers. From the point of view of Jewish law, reading some additional prayers in German was a relatively minor divergence. But for the congregants eager to create a synagogue service that would look respectable to their neighbors and at the same time feel authentic to themselves, such a change carried great import.

By the early 1840s, a trained Reform rabbinic leadership had emerged in central Europe. Abraham Geiger, called to the Breslau Jewish community in 1839, developed into the most distinguished intellectual defender of Reform Judaism in 19th-century Europe. Reform rabbinical conferences in Brunswick in 1844, Frankfurt in 1845, and Breslau in 1846 gave rabbis an opportunity to clarify their beliefs and the practices that could follow from them. A debate over the use of Hebrew in the services led Zacharias *Frankel to walk out of the 1845 conference, a moment many see as the beginning of the historical school, which advocated positive-historical Judaism. Frankel accepted the evolutionary character of the Jewish religion but insisted that the "positive" dimensions of Jewish tradition needed to be preserved. This perspective later evolved into Conservative Judaism. Although most of the rabbis at these conferences were much less traditional than Frankel, they taught in the established Jewish community, the *Einheitsgemeinde*, and therefore had to remain sensitive to and conversant with traditional rituals and observances.

A number of radical Reform rabbis, in particular Samuel Holdheim, made strong anti-traditional statements that shocked many of the more traditionally inclined. Geiger himself has been quoted as seeming to repudiate the circumcision rite as "a barbaric act." Yet the practice of most German Reform rabbis remained far more traditional than their rhetoric. They worked to remain a part of Kelal Israel, the totality of the Jewish people, and did not fully accept the radical Reform groups in Berlin and Frankfurt.

Reform Arrives in the United States

The history of Reform Judaism in the United States differs profoundly from that in Europe. Whereas in Europe the movement developed under the shadow of antisemitism and the threat of conversion to Christianity, in the United States a much freer and more pluralistic, more heterodox atmosphere prevailed. There was no established religious community and no support from the state. Over 200 years, the U.S. Reform movement has changed significantly and has seen substantial regional and even local variation among individual congregations. Nevertheless, it can point to a surprisingly high degree of continuity.

The first attempt at Reform occurred in Charleston, South Carolina, in 1824, when 47 members of Congregation Beth Elohim signed a petition requesting that their congregational leadership institute certain ritual reforms, including the introduction of prayers in English. The congregational board rejected the request, and a small group of intellectuals decided to form a new congregation, to be based on enlightened liberal values. On November 21, 1824, the Reformed Society of Israelites came into being, and the group published the first American Reform prayer book, *The Sabbath Service and Miscellaneous Prayers Adopted by the Reformed Society of Israelites*. Although the original group disbanded in 1833, due in part to the relocation and subsequent death of one of its more dynamic leaders, an interesting Sephardi intellectual named Isaac *Harby, Mother Congregation Beth Elohim soon began to move toward Reform under the leadership of its *hazzan*, Gustavus Poznanski.

One of the most fascinating episodes in American Jewish history, the Charleston Reform attempt was an isolated phenomenon. Far more important for the development of the Reform movement in the United States was the arrival of large numbers of central European Jews beginning in the 1830s, later mistakenly referred to as "German" Jews. For the most part, they were central Europeans. The Jewish population of the United States jumped from approximately 3,000 in 1820 to 15,000 in 1840 and 150,000 in 1860. Although many scholars have assumed that these immigrants brought Reform Judaism with them from Germany, Leon Jick has argued persuasively that American Reform was not "imported" but rather developed in the United States in response to the American socioreligious environment of the antebellum period. While Jick overstates his argument, his book was a much needed corrective to the earlier historical consensus.

Jewish immigrants settled throughout the United States. As they established businesses and built homes, local Jews began to put more effort into building a community. They consecrated cemeteries and held High Holy Day services, usually in a private home or a hotel meeting room. Eventually, they erected synagogue buildings and, if the community was large enough, engaged a religious leader with training in religious matters in the old country who could read the Hebrew prayers and perform the required rituals. For the congregations in Fort Wayne, Indiana, or Lexington, Kentucky, this was sufficient. As the immigrants gradually acculturated, they wanted their synagogue practice to reflect American norms. They wanted to use English as well as Hebrew in the services and to create an atmosphere to which they could bring Christian neighbors, who would come away impressed with the propriety and nobility of the ritual. Thus they moved their congregations toward Reform, not out of an intellectually based theological commitment, but as a practical response to daily life in the United States. Most of the functionaries went along with that trend. They were not theologically motivated but rather saw the practical benefits of adapting religious practices to the American patterns of living and enabling Jews to remain Jewish.

But ideologically motivated reformers also existed. One group of liberal religious intellectuals in Baltimore formed a *verein* in 1842, a small religious group that met to discuss theology and conduct services based on that theology, the Har Sinai Verein. In 1845 a similar group founded Emanu-El in New York City, which developed into the largest and most prestigious Reform congregation in the country. These groups, dedicated to Reform Judaism in ideological terms, differed from the vast majority of congregations in the United States, whose members were more concerned with the realities of everyday life in America than with the intricacies of Judaic theological debate.

Isaac Mayer Wise and the Development of the American Reform Movement

As more congregations developed in the antebellum period, the need for strong rabbinic leadership grew. Not all congregations felt this need; many treasured their independence and many local lay leaders enjoyed dominating communal affairs. Despite the difficulties, rabbis carved out a leadership niche for themselves. Numerous immigrant teachers and ritual functionaries were interested in serving in the rabbinate and, in some cases, in assuming leadership roles on a regional or national level. One of the best known was Isaac *Leeser of Philadelphia. A traditionalist minister who published an influential newspaper, *The Occident*, Leeser also promoted many other intellectual, social, and educational projects. But it was Isaac Mayer *Wise who had the charisma and determination to develop into a national Jewish religious leader and to actively work to build American Jewish institutions and organizations.

Isaac Mayer Wise arrived from Bohemia in 1846, and although he was advised to become a peddler, Rabbi Max Lilienthal encouraged him to consider the pulpit rabbinate and sent Wise in his stead to dedicate a number of synagogues. This led to an opportunity for Wise to begin serving as rabbi in Albany, New York, where there was a famous confrontation between Wise and the congregation's president, the first of so many clashes between rabbis and lay leaders. When he was offered a life contract in 1854 to become the rabbi of Congregation B'ne Jeshurun in Cincinnati, Wise accepted, and the pulpit became his base for building the American Reform movement.

Wise established a newspaper, *The Israelite* – later *The *American Israelite* – and edited a *siddur* called *Minhag Amerika: Tefillot Beney Yeshurun/Daily Prayers*. Credited with establishing or being the driving force behind the founding of all three major institutions of the Reform movement, he inspired one of his lay leaders to establish the Union of American Hebrew Congregations (UAHC, later *Union for Reform Judaism (URJ)) and himself founded the *Hebrew Union College (HUC) and the *Central Conference of American Rabbis (CCAR).

Although Wise had hoped to build an American Judaism that included all American Israelites rather than just the more liberal elements, a moderate form of Judaism that combined some ritual reforms with traditional elements, this vision proved unworkable especially after the incident of the *Treife Banquet*, in which forbidden foods were served as the post ordination reception of the first ordination of Hebrew Union College. The Reform movement, however, was the first Jewish religious movement in the United States to organize itself on a denominational basis. Reform Judaism includes three types of organizations, each with its own territorial parameters: the congregational organization, today represented nationally by the UAHC; the four campuses of the *Hebrew Union College–Jewish Institute of Religion (HUC-JIR); and the rabbinate, represented by the CCAR. The movement pioneered this "tripartite polity" – a congregational body, a rabbinic organization and a seminary – as Lance Sussman refers to it, subsequently adopted by the other major denominations of American Judaism.

In the early 1870s, Wise, who had been trying for many years to create a national association of U.S. congregations, encouraged Moritz Loth, the president of Wise's Congregation B'ne Jeshurun, to issue a call to congregations to meet in Cincinnati for the purpose of establishing a Hebrew theological college. In July 1873, representatives from 34 congregations from 28 cities, mostly in the Midwest and the South, came together to found the organization. The following year, 21 additional temples joined. By the end of the decade, 118 congregations belonged to the UAHC, more than half of all identified synagogues in the United States.

The UAHC dealt with congregational issues and strategies for working together as an organized congregational movement. Its first goal was to create a rabbinical school. Wise had been trying to create such a school for many years and had actually opened one shortly after his arrival in Cincinnati in 1855, Zion College, which lasted for only one year. But Wise did not give up on the idea. He was further encouraged when Henry Adler of Lawrenceburg, Indiana, offered a $10,000 gift toward the establishment of an American rabbinical college. With the UAHC's establishment in 1873, Wise saw a new opportunity to build a successful school. That same year, the University of Cincinnati was founded, presenting the possibility for rabbinical students to attend the university simultaneously and graduate from rabbinical school with a university degree as well. At the UAHC annual meeting in July 1874, congregational representatives voted unanimously for such a college to be established, with Wise as president. In 1875 the Hebrew Union College was founded. Wise served as president until his death in 1900. A number of distinguished Reform rabbis followed him in this role: Kaufmann *Kohler (1903–1921), Julian *Morgenstern (1921–1947), Nelson *Glueck (1947–1971), Alfred *Gottschalk (1971–1996), Sheldon *Zimmerman (1996–2000), and David *Ellenson (2001–). Since its founding, the college has educated the professionals who would assume leadership roles in the congregations, as well as many of the women who would marry future rabbis.

A long period of tension and conflict between the theologically oriented radical Reformers in the East and the more moderate Reformers in the Midwest had created a great deal of bitterness between the two groups as they attempted to influence the direction of American Judaism. Because of this divisiveness, Wise waited until HUC had graduated a sufficient number of rabbis and only then moved forward with the establishment of a permanent rabbinical association. David Philipson, an early HUC graduate and rabbi at Congregation Bene Israel in Cincinnati, helped Wise issue a call to rabbis planning to attend the 1889 UAHC conference to meet separately to establish their own organization. The rabbis created the Central Conference of American Rabbis, then elected Wise president by unanimous vote; he continued to serve until his death 11 years later.

By 1890 90 rabbis had affiliated with the CCAR, which dealt with rabbinical issues, including controversial religious questions. Membership was open to any rabbi who was serving or had served a synagogue as spiritual leader. After the first year, membership would be open to those from several categories, not only those with ordination from HUC, but also a wide variety of religious functionaries. As time went on, more and more members were HUC graduates. Today the CCAR has a membership of more than 1,800.

Despite his successful leadership, Wise was considered an uneducated and unworthy colleague by some of the "German" Reform rabbis who arrived in the 1850s and 1860s with doctorates from prestigious central European universities. Primary among them was David *Einhorn, who immigrated to the United States in 1855. Einhorn wrote a number of scathing attacks on Wise for abrogating Reform theology and turning what he saw as a consistent and principled approach to modern Judaism into a jumble of incoherent beliefs. The issue debated by Wise and Einhorn has remained a relevant theme throughout the history of the Reform movement. Is it more important to be theologically unswerving, or to respond effectively to changing societal trends? Most of the time, the movement has favored pragmatism over theological consistency.

Wise represented a pragmatic approach to American Judaism. He was primarily an institution builder who attempted to use ideology as a tool for compromise and consensus. Wise succeeded as an organizational leader in building an entire American religious movement from scratch, under very difficult circumstances.

The Classical Reform Period

Classical Reform was the type of Reform Judaism that developed in the late 19th century. American Jews, most of whom were of central European background, saw the tremendous influence that liberal religion had on their Protestant neighbors and wanted to develop a form of Judaism equivalent to Episcopalianism, Presbyterianism, and especially Unitarianism.

As presented in the 1885 *Declaration of Principles*, known as the 1885 *Pittsburgh Platform, Classical Reform Judaism minimized Judaic ritual and emphasized ethics in a universalist context, stressing universalism while reaffirming the Reform movement's commitment to Jewish particularism through the expression of the religious idea of the mission of Israel. The document defined Reform Judaism as a rational and modern form of religion in contrast with traditional Judaism on one hand and universalist ethics on the other.

Motivated by his concern that persuasive personalities were urging American Jews to embrace these alternatives, Kohler, the platform's principal author and a son-in-law of David Einhorn, wanted to present in a formal manner what distinguished Reform Judaism from traditional Judaism as well as what was Jewish about Reform Judaism. Earlier in 1885, he had debated in a series of public forums with Alexander *Kohut, a Hungarian rabbi recently arrived in New York who espoused the traditionalist approach. Their debates had attracted wide attention in the synagogues and the press. That the founder of the Society for Ethical Culture, Felix *Adler, was the son of Samuel *Adler, the rabbi of Congregation Emanu-El in New York, particularly galled Kohler. The rabbi's son, who had returned from rabbinic studies in Germany advocating a philosophical approach to ethics in a universalistic framework, was attracting to his philosophy and organization many Reform Jews who wanted both to express their conviction that ethics was important and to loosen or break their particularistic ties with Jewish ethnic identity. Adler placed himself on the extreme of the continuum between particularism and universalism, emphasizing the individual's connection with and commitment to humanity as a whole, rather than to any one ethnic or religious grouping.

Kohler chose a middle road, as this excerpt from the *Declaration* indicates:

> We hold that all such mosaic and rabbinical laws as regulate diet, priestly purity and dress originated in ages and under the influence of ideas altogether foreign to our present mental and spiritual state. They fail to impress the modern

> Jew with a spirit of priestly holiness; their observance in our days is apt rather to obstruct than to further modern spiritual elevation.

Reform Judaism has historically emphasized what it interpreted as the central message of the prophets: the need to fight for social justice. The Reformers believed deeply in working with their Christian neighbors to help make the world a place of justice and peace, and this belief was a central part of the religious worldview. The platform emphasized the prophetic mandate to work tirelessly for the rights of the downtrodden, and the term "prophetic Judaism" described the Reform vision of following the dictates of the prophets to create a just society on earth. Coupled with the emphasis on its interpretation of prophetic Judaism, the early Reformers in particular spoke frequently about the mission of Israel, which presented the idea that the prophets of the Bible served as advocates of ethical monotheism. Ethical monotheism combined the Jewish belief in one God with rational thought and modern innovations in scientific knowledge.

The mission of Israel was to stand as an example of the highest standards of ethics and morals and to help bring the world to an awareness of and commitment to ethical monotheism.

American Jews who embraced Reform were greatly influenced by the popular belief in the sovereign self. They started with their own religious feelings and tried to place their personal understanding of what we would today call "spirituality" in a Judaic context. When Emil G. Hirsch of Chicago Sinai Congregation in 1925 entitled one of his books *My Religion*, he was making a statement about the source of his religious inspiration. Still, the Reformers understood that American Judaism could not stand solely on the basis of personal inspiration but needed a connection to Jewish history through a religious concept not "nationalistic" in orientation, but pure and holy.

They believed that the prophets stressed universalism rather than particularism, and therefore the Reformers felt justified in likewise stressing the universal over the particular. At the same time, the concept of the mission of Israel justified the continued existence of the Jewish people by arguing that their ongoing survival as a religious group was essential if the Jews were to bring their universalistic message of ethical monotheism to the world. David Einhorn used a version of this argument to oppose intermarriage with non-Jews, since "the small Jewish race [a term acceptable at that time]" needed to preserve itself as a separate entity to fulfill their religious mission on earth. Taken to its extreme, the mission of Israel concept helped Reform leaders present Judaism as the ultimate expression of ethical monotheism.

As the purest form of monotheistic religion, Judaism was therefore the strongest theological argument for ethical behavior. As such, it deserved to be taken seriously as a way of thought and a way of life by all individuals committed to finding a true understanding of God and God's place in the world. This allowed Reform leaders such as Wise to declare that Judaism was destined to become the faith of all humankind, or at least of all Americans who held liberal religious beliefs.

Reform leaders believed that as time passed, humankind would be better able to understand the will of God, and thus society was certain to become a better place. This belief became most pronounced in Classical Reform.

The theology of the Classical Reform rabbis is only part of the story. Yaakov Ariel has argued that historians have portrayed the Reform movement of this period in stereotypical terms taken from eastern European Jewish perceptions of the German Jewish elite. Specifically, such historians have presented the Reform movement as having divorced itself completely from the national as well as the ethnic components of Jewish identity. Ariel argues that there was an "astonishing gap" between the ideals of the Reform movement as expressed by rabbinic leaders, and the attitudes held by the vast majority of members in the congregations:

> The Reform movement held a character almost diametrically opposed to its universalistic aspirations. As an ethnically oriented, parochial, and tribal group, Reform Jews were concerned with Jewish matters on local, national, and international levels, and were strongly involved with their non-Reform Jewish brethren.

Classical Reform Judaism had developed during a period of heady optimism, beginning with the 1885 Pittsburgh Platform, but as early as 1881, Jews began fleeing to the United States to escape the pogroms of eastern Europe. By the time the Nazi Party rose to power in 1933, it was increasingly difficult to see the world as a place where Jew and gentile could continue to work side-by-side to make the world a better place and to bring justice and peace to all in the spirit of the prophets.

The 1930s brought signs that at least some of the Reform movement's leaders felt the need for a return to tradition. Jews increasingly believed that the world was profoundly hostile to them. Rather than universal goals, they yearned for a Jewish homeland that could absorb the hundreds of thousands or even millions of Jews who faced prejudice, persecution, and murder. While no one imagined the enormity of the tragedy that would befall European Jewry, the possibilities were apparent. In response to the changing political environment, the Reform movement began to accept and eventually embrace a more particularistic understanding of Jewish identity, including political Zionism. The Reformers began to accept a definition of Judaism centered on Jewish peoplehood. Nevertheless, Reform rabbis continued to speak of ethical monotheism, which stressed that the Jewish belief in one God would lead to the highest ethical behavior.

The Changing Character of the Reform Movement

The Reform movement changed its direction as a consequence of the increasingly brutal nature of the 20th century. World War I jump-started the process of reexamining the liberal sense that had propelled Reform religious thought until that time. The movement's optimistic view of human progress in collaboration with God underwent further change after the rise of the Nazi movement in Germany and the subsequent murder of six million Jews. In the aftermath of that tragedy, the Reform movement veered away from its universalistic triumphalism toward a more ethnically based cultural identity. But the breakdown of this optimism did not mean the end of either Reform Judaism or the Reform movement. Congregations continued to attract new adherents as sociological patterns shifted. Many Jews found that the Reform temple met their need for a nominal religious identification, while allowing them to join the stew in the American melting pot.

From 1881 until 1920, the Reform movement grew slowly relative to the increase in the American Jewish population, with 99 congregations consisting of 9,800 members in 1900 and 200 congregations with 23,000 in 1920 while the American Jewish population increased 14-fold. The Reform movement went from being the single most important voice of the Jewish American community to being a small minority. Although the elite nature of many Reform Jews meant they retained a high profile, they were swamped by the eastern European organizations and ideologies.

The eastern European mass immigrations increased the American Jewish population from 250,000 in 1880 to 1 million by 1900 and 3.5 million by 1920. The bulk of the immigrants came from Russia, Ukraine, Lithuania, Poland, Romania, and other regions where there had not been full emancipation. Since most of the native population in their home countries had viewed these Jews as an alien presence, they came to America from an insular Jewish background. As a consequence, few joined the Reform movement. The immigrants did not like the Reform service, which they found lacking in traditional Jewish elements. Many Reform Jews maintained a haughty attitude toward the newcomers, preferring not to remember that their own parents or grandparents had arrived in the United States one or two generations earlier under similar circumstances. Indeed, a mythology developed that had the "German" Jews descended from aristocrats. Historically inaccurate, it reflected a widely held perception.

Nevertheless, over the course of time increasing numbers of eastern Europeans joined Reform congregations. Under their influence, the Reform movement inched back toward a more traditional approach to Jewish thought and practice, hastened by world events. By the 1920s and especially the 1930s, with the worldwide rise of antisemitism, this direction became clear. Even though the 1885 *Declaration of Principles* had argued that Jews should remain together solely as a religious group to fulfill their mission of bringing ethical monotheism to the world, the rise in antisemitism threatened Jewish physical survival, a concern that far outweighed theology or ideology. Policies that had seemed levelheaded just a few decades earlier now appeared naïve and foolhardy. As a result, the CCAR adopted the Columbus Platform in 1937, officially named *The Guiding Principles of Reform Judaism*. This new platform embraced Jewish peoplehood and leaned toward support of political Zionism. The culmination of a revolutionary shift in the ideology of the American Reform movement, it encouraged a greater diversity of opinion and a multiplicity of approaches.

By 1945 the Reform movement was well on its way to accepting Zionism and the soon-to-be-created State of Israel. The interwar period saw the rise of two strongly Zionistic Reform rabbis, Stephen S. *Wise and Abba Hillel *Silver. Wise (no relation to Isaac Mayer Wise) began his rabbinic career in Portland, Oregon, then moved to New York, where he established his own congregation after Temple Emanuel refused to promise him freedom of the pulpit. In 1922, he established the Jewish Institute of Religion (JIR) in New York City to provide a Zionist alternative to Hebrew Union College. Wise believed in both the importance of social justice and the centrality of Jewish peoplehood. Like him, Abba Hillel Silver was a prominent leader in American and world Jewish affairs as well as a congregational rabbi. After serving as a rabbi in Wheeling, West Virginia, he became rabbi of the temple in Cleveland, Ohio. From this pulpit he worked tirelessly to build up the American Zionist movement in the hope of establishing a Jewish state. With Wise, Silver formed the American Zionist Emergency Council, which lobbied the U.S. Congress on behalf of the Zionist movement. Silver was the leader who announced to the United Nations that Israel had declared itself an independent state. Both men were Classical Reformers devoted to Jewish nationalism, a synthesis that would have been incongruous just a few decades earlier.

Post–World War II Developments

The aftermath of World War II brought a massive suburban construction boom that within American Judaism benefited the Conservative branch most. Conservative Judaism appealed to the now Americanized Eastern European immigrants and their children, because it appeared substantially more traditional than Reform but allowed far greater flexibility than Orthodoxy. Nevertheless, Reform Judaism benefited from this suburbanization trend as well. The 265 congregations in 1940, with 59,000 members in the UAHC, grew by 1955 to 520 congregations and 255,000 members.

Many suburban Jews who joined Reform congregations saw the temple mainly as an extracurricular activity for their children. Congregations that moved most rapidly to meet the needs of these new suburbanites thrived. The temple became a social center that substituted to some degree for the loss of the old Jewish neighborhoods, such as those once clustered on the Lower East Side or Brownsville in New York and its equivalences in other major urban settings. The Reform leadership faced the challenge of conveying a religious message to congregants who had not joined their synagogues primarily to share a religious vision. Yet the leaders needed to captivate and motivate them to care and to feel that the congregation was helping them fulfill themselves as ethically concerned people.

The Reform movement grew in large part because it benefited from strong leadership. While much of this strength was more perception than reality, it nevertheless inspired many in the rank-and-file. A tremendous amount of private infighting remained largely hidden from public view. Maurice N. *Eisendrath, who became UAHC executive director in 1943 and president in 1946, moved the national headquarters from Cincinnati to New York – and thus geographically separate from Hebrew Union College – where he constructed an entire building for the organization on Fifth Avenue across the street from Central Park and next to Congregation Emanu-El. He called the new headquarters the "House of Living Judaism," and it remained the operating center of the Reform movement until it was sold under the presidency of Eric H. Yoffie in 1998. Unlike the Conservative Movement, where the titular leadership of the movement is the chancellor of the Jewish Theological Seminary, the president of the Union is the titular and actual head of the Reform Movement.

Nelson Glueck, a world-famous archeologist who had appeared on the cover of *Time*, became president of HUC in 1947. While many viewed him as more interested in his archaeological pursuits than in his administrative responsibilities, his fame brought a great deal of attention to the movement. He oversaw the 1950 merger of HUC with JIR, and under his leadership HUC-JIR established a third U.S. branch in Los Angeles in 1954 and a fourth campus in Jerusalem in 1963. Although this growth may have owed more to the burgeoning of the American Jewish community than to Glueck, the perception grew that the Reform movement had competent and visionary leadership.

The leaders could project this image of a strong, unified movement partly because of the number of pressing causes that could galvanize members of Reform congregations. In the 1960s many Reform Jews became involved in the U.S. civil rights struggle as well as in the movement opposing the war in Vietnam. The Six-Day War of 1967 dramatically increased American Jews' emotional connection and commitment to the State of Israel. As they worried about its ability to survive in the face of Arab promises to destroy the country during the tense three weeks preceding the war, many came to realize how important the State of Israel had become to them. This fear resurfaced in 1973 when Israel's physical survival was in doubt during the early stages of the Yom Kippur War. The cumulative effect was to increase dramatically the Zionist fervor of most American Jews, a sea change felt throughout the movement.

Interest in liturgical issues also increased. Many began to feel that *The Union Prayer Book,* used in Reform congregations since the 1890s, had become outdated; new prayers would better express how people felt in response to the volatile 1960s. Joseph Glaser, executive vice president of the CCAR, initiated a campaign in 1971 to write and publish new forms of liturgy. A thick blue prayer book, *The Gates of Prayer,* replaced *The Union Prayer Book* in 1975 to a mixed response – great excitement at the numerous options offered, along with horror at the drastic changes. This publication was joined in 1978 by a completely reworked High Holy Day prayer book, *The Gates of Repentance*. Both new prayer books contained a great deal more Hebrew than their predecessors and reintroduced many traditionalist elements deleted from *The Union Prayer Book*. There were 10 different Friday night services offered, most of which presented a specific theological approach, as well as services that catered specifically to children or those preparing for bar mitzvah. Synagogues introduced new ceremonies and experimented with various types of innovations. While many congregants embraced these changes, others resisted – some who had ideological objections, some who missed the liturgy they had been using their entire lives. To this day, some congregations, such as Congregation Emanu-El in New York, continue to use *The Union Prayer Book*. Others, such as Temple Sinai in New Orleans, have a Friday-night service once a month that uses *The Union Prayer Book* instead of the more recent liturgical works. The Reform movement's boldness in its liturgical publications matches its brave leadership in the realm of social justice, as well as its willingness to break with traditional belief and practice.

New Approaches to Changing Social Trends

Alexander M. *Schindler, who became president of the UAHC in 1973, gained renown for his assertive support of the social action agenda of the Reform movement of the 1970s and 1980s, including civil rights, world peace, nuclear disarmament, a "Marshall Plan" for the poor, feminism, and gay rights, as well as his opposition to the death penalty. Although this advocacy landed Schindler frequently in the pages of the *New York Times*, he got along with traditional Jews and Israeli leaders better than had any of his predecessors. His command of Yiddish and his sense of humor and of fairness helped enormously. He played a central role as chairman of the Conference of Presidents' of Major American Jewish Organization in smoothing the way for Likud leader Menachem Begin, with whom he disagreed ideologically but with whom he established a warm and trusting personal relationship, to be accepted by American Jewish leaders who had long thought of Israel leadership as synonymous with Labor Israel. Despite a disinterest in administrative issues, Schindler and his German accent became synonymous with Reform Judaism. His leadership inspired not only individuals, but also entire temples, to join the movement. During his presidency, the UAHC grew from 400 congregations in 1973 to about 875 in 1995. Of course, the continuing move to suburbia made much of this growth possible, but Schindler's inspirational leadership on issues meaningful to American Jews disconnected from traditional belief or practice played an important role.

Schindler is perhaps best remembered for two issues, his outreach to intermarried couples and his advocacy of patrilineal descent. Intermarriage had long been a taboo in the Jewish community, and many parents ostracized children who "married out." Some would even sit *shiva* for children about to intermarry, as if the child had died. Schindler, who felt strongly that this taboo was counterproductive as well as inappropriate, came to believe that a bold gesture was in order. At a meeting of the UAHC's Board of Trustees in Houston in December

1978, he issued a public call to the Reform movement to reach out to the non-Jewish spouses in interfaith marriages. Even more surprising, he urged making the Jewish religion available to unchurched gentiles. This controversial call to proselytize those with no connections of blood or marriage to the Jewish community appeared to be a dramatic departure from two thousand years of Jewish religious policy against proselytization. His critics argued that such a move would encourage certain Christian groups to launch opposing campaigns against the Jewish community, using Schindler's call as an excuse for proselytizing unaffiliated Jews. Despite the attention that this suggestion created, little proselytizing of unchurched gentiles has occurred in the succeeding years, whereas many outreach programs to interfaith couples have been developed.

During the Schindler years the Reform movement adopted the patrilineal descent resolution, which stated that the child of one Jewish partner is "under the presumption of Jewish descent." While the document's vague wording led to some difficulties, the patrilineal descent policy insured that if one's father was Jewish and one's mother was not, one would still be regarded as Jewish, *provided that one was raised as a Jew.* This requirement of raising a child as a Jew was more stringent than *halakhah*. This would supplement rather than replace the traditional matrilineal descent policy, which established that the children of a Jewish mother would be Jewish regardless of their father's faith or even how they were raised.

Also during Schindler's presidency, the Reform movement allowed women to assume a more central role in the synagogue, a direct consequence of the feminist movement that influenced every aspect of American life. As American women in the 1960s and 1970s took on a far greater role in religious life than those of previous generations, the Reform movement responded quickly and actively to the changing sex-role expectations. Increasing numbers of congregations allowed women to assume responsibility for all aspects of religious and communal life, even the rabbinate. In 1972, Sally J. Priesand became the first woman ordained a Reform rabbi at HUC-JIR, a revolutionary breakthrough. Since 1972, hundreds of women have enrolled in HUC. As the changes in the Reform movement paralleled social changes, its character as an American religious denomination made it popular with an increasingly Americanized Jewish community.

Contemporary Trends

Reform practice today, especially in the synagogue itself, is characterized by the partial restoration of a number of formerly abrogated rites and rituals. Ritual items eliminated by the Classical Reformers, such as the *yarmulke*, *tallit*, and even *tefillin*, have been brought back. But because of the concept of religious autonomy, individual congregations cannot and do not require congregants to wear any of these traditional prayer items. Rather, they are offered to those who find them religiously meaningful or who prefer to wear them as an expression of traditionalist nostalgia. This generates some incongruous and perhaps amusing situations. For example, it is not uncommon to find congregations where many of the women wear *yarmulkes* and *tallitot*, while most of the men sit bareheaded and bare shouldered. This is the converse of the norm in traditional synagogues, where all men wear *yarmulkes*, *tallitot*, and on weekday mornings *tefillin*, and women rarely do. The Orthodox Jew who wanders into a Reform sanctuary by mistake would either break out laughing or withdraw in shock and horror.

Another dramatic trend has been the move away from a formal style of worship and music toward more jubilant and enthusiastic prayer. Certain particularly progressive congregations, such as the independent Congregation B'nai Jeshurun on the Upper West Side of New York, have served as models for most congregations that have been slowly evolving toward this more informal, exuberant style. The formalized Classical Reform service, which could uncharitably be called sterile, no longer impresses many with its dignity and majesty. Younger people have grown up with a different aesthetic. New types of music incorporate simple Israeli, ḥasidic, and folk styles, a style of worship developed at the UAHC summer camps under the rubric of the North American Federation of Temple Youth (NFTY) programs.

In a remarkably smooth transition of leadership, Eric H. *Yoffie, the president of the UAHC since 1996, inherited a movement that had grown substantially in numbers yet was perceived as having fundamental problems. Yoffie moved quickly and boldly to address these challenges, taking advantage of the new enthusiasm for spirituality and launching a systematic campaign to rebuild the entire Reform movement. He initiated a Jewish literacy campaign, which encouraged every Reform Jew to read at least four books with Jewish content every year. Recognizing that the NFTY, the movement's youth organization, had dwindled in effectiveness, Yoffie proposed a system that would include the appointment of full-time youth coordinators in each of the UAHC's thirteen regions.

Yoffie has only begun the process of reorienting the movement to meet the sociological challenges that Reform Judaism faces in contemporary America. At the same time, the rabbinic leadership has proposed a number of interesting initiatives, most notably Richard Levy's new Pittsburgh Platform. This restating of Reform religious beliefs generated a firestorm of controversy in 1998 and 1999. Although the CCAR at its annual conference in Pittsburgh in May 1999 eventually passed a revised version called *A Statement of Principles for Reform Judaism*, supporters found it severely watered down, while Classical Reformers viewed it as a betrayal of the Reform legacy in America. Despite a year-and-a-half of conflict over this issue, the values that inspired people to join the Reform movement have kept them from splitting off or leaving altogether. Although many remain persuaded that Reform Jews have no strong religious beliefs, the movement has created and propagated a religious vision that remains compelling after 200 years. It owes its success to its ability and willingness to respond theologically to changing times.

REJECTION OF JEWISH LAW. Traditional Judaism had focused on the observance of the *mitzvot*, the commandments given by God and incumbent on every adult Jew. The Reformers argued that if the Sages developed specific laws as a response to historical conditions, then *halakhah* could be changed or even abrogated. The Reform movement thus viewed *halakhah*, Jewish law, as no longer obligatory.

Yet there was never complete agreement over how to relate to ritual observance. By the middle of 19th century, a wide spectrum of opinion existed on the issue. The historical school, which developed into the Conservative movement, argued that although *halakhah* might develop over time, it nevertheless remained binding. The historical school developed innovative religious approaches as well. The main difference – a significant one – is that the historical school attempted to show that *halakhah* evolved in order to justify ritual change on the basis of contemporary needs. The Conservative movement viewed itself as faithful to the halakhic process.

But Reform thinkers understood the historical changes within Judaism as far more radical. According to a Reform understanding of the history of Judaism, the religion has evolved in a revolutionary fashion at several key points in its history. These changes were not simply adaptations of a minor nature, but dramatic developments that marked huge jumps in both belief and practice. Reform theologians believed that generations in different time periods fashioned a Judaism that suited their contemporary religious sensibilities.

But if Jewish law was not obligatory, then what was the purpose of Judaism? Many 19th-century rationalists believed that human beings possessed an autonomous sense of ethics and morals.

The rationalist philosophers argued that religion imposed an externally derived legal system on individuals that prevented them from exercising their autonomous will. Such reasoning could lead one to conclude that the essence of Judaism is ethics rather than law. That explains why so much of the early Reform literature stressed abstract ethical lessons and avoided describing ritual acts. Religious law, the Reformists believed, was inferior to ethics; Judaism's challenge was to develop along Kantian lines. Revelation became a bit tricky, because one needed autonomy to choose the ethical path. If God made all the decisions and issued all the commands, then the individual would not have autonomous choice. Therefore, Reform thinkers developed the notion of man and God as partners in an unfolding process of continuing revelation.

The rejection of *halakhah* as a legal system meant that every individual practice had to be justified on its own merits, which produced widespread inconsistencies and contradictions. For example, the *halakhah* requires all Jews to fast not only on Yom Kippur, but also on Tisha be-Av, a fast day commemorating the destruction of the First and Second Temples and other catastrophic events, and four additional minor fast days. But if *halakhah* no longer bound Reform Jews, then they no longer had to abstain from eating even on the holiest fast day of the year. Most pulpit rabbis seem to have chosen to ignore the glaring problem of ritual inconsistency, particularly in the private sphere. While Reform synagogues developed a standard liturgy and a formalized ritual, no corresponding code detailed how Reform Jews should live their lives outside the synagogue; each person had to decide what rituals, if any, remained meaningful. Perhaps the rabbis preferred not to interfere with the private habits of their congregants. Some theologians, however tried to provide an ethical justification for specific observance. In recent years, many Reform Jews have come to a new appreciation of the importance of ritual in religious life, which some Orthodox observers misinterpret as a return to halakhic observance. Rather, these Reformists find that specific traditional practices provide spiritual meaning for the individual. And that is, at heart, what the Reform movement stands for.

DIFFERENTIATING BETWEEN BIBLICAL AND TALMUDIC LAWS. From the beginning, lay leaders who wanted specific practical changes implemented pushed Reform forward. Innovation developed in response to local needs and took into account no overarching theological system or broad religious blueprint. Nevertheless, Reform thinkers had to develop a system for interpreting the tradition. One of their most important concepts was to differentiate between biblical and talmudic laws.

In traditional Judaism, the Sages differentiated laws that were *de-oraita*, from the Torah, from laws that were *de-rabbanan*, from the rabbis. But both types of laws were obligatory to the same degree, and one could not justify nonobservance by pointing out that a given law was "only" *de-rabbanan* rather than *de-oraita*. What was important to the Reformers was to develop a religious system that synchronized Jewish belief with contemporary trends yet retained enough particularistic elements to distinguish their religion as a form of Judaism. To this end, they wanted to eliminate laws and practices that would prevent or restrict their social and economic integration into the host society.

Writing in the 1960s and 1970s, American Jewish sociologist Marshall Sklare argued that the Jewish rituals most likely to endure were those capable of being redefined in modern, universal terms. A ritual would command widespread observance only if it did not bring with it social isolation or the adoption of a unique lifestyle. The message of the ritual had both to accord with the religious culture of the larger community and to provide a Jewish alternative to it. These usually focused on children and were performed infrequently so as not to be overly burdensome. Passover and Ḥanukkah, two holidays that met people's needs well, were therefore widely observed.

Reform Jews were quick to abandon practices such as *kashrut* that did not meet Sklare's criteria. Although it could be redefined in modern terms, for instance, keeping kosher would still demand a relatively high degree of social isolation as well as the adoption of a unique lifestyle. Nevertheless, some Reform Jews remained observant of the kosher laws, at least to some degree.

Reformers emphasized the prophetic ideals of justice and righteousness, arguing that these universalistic values formed the essence of Judaism. The 1885 Pittsburgh Platform, which differentiated moral and ritual laws and became the "principle of faith" for Classical Reform Judaism, stressed that most of the ancient laws were not to be observed.

Classical Reform was not only a system of beliefs, but also an aesthetic approach to religious practice. Although as immigrant Jews Americanized, they wanted their synagogues to reflect American norms, even in Europe many had seen the Orthodox way of worship as disruptive and undignified.

Many of the central European Jews not only believed that houses of worship should be places of propriety but also wanted their synagogue worship to reflect American norms and standards; they borrowed structural and stylistic features from local Protestant churches, copying their architecture, seating arraignments, musical styles, and so forth. Reform Jews also made a number of ritual changes solely on the basis of what they considered the most dignified approach. A Classical Reform aesthetic slowly developed into a compulsory system of ritual that replaced the halakhic system.

THE CHALLENGE OF UNRESTRICTED AUTONOMY. While Reform Judaism stood for the autonomy of the individual and against the belief that *halakhah* was binding in its entirety, in the post–World War II period, Reformers took a variety of positions on religious authority and how it can be reconciled with individual autonomy. While some argued against all boundaries, others tried to develop a post-halakhic justification for some form of Jewish legal authority. Reform thinkers understood that the freedom of action they advocated could result in unintended consequences. If individuals could make their own decisions over what to observe, then what would stop those individuals from observing nothing at all? Indeed, there were those who used the Reform movement to justify apathy and even apostasy. But no obvious solution presented itself.

In 1965, W. Gunther Plaut recommended to the Central Conference of American Rabbis (CCAR) that a Sabbath manual be written as a beginning toward a comprehensive guide for the Reform Jew. Plaut edited the result, *A Shabbat Manual*, published by the CCAR Press in 1972. The manual went much further than any previous CCAR publication in urging Reform Jews to perform certain *mitzvot* – to light Shabbat candles, to recite or chant the **kiddush*, and to avoid working or performing housework on the Sabbath. This watershed publication led to additional efforts to "return to tradition."

Yet a return to tradition should not be misunderstood as an acceptance of *halakhah* as a binding system. Most Reform Jews believe that religion in general, and Judaism specifically, is very much a human institution. They believe that it is impossible to know with absolute certitude what God wants from us. Certainly, behaving ethically is necessary for people of all faiths. But we cannot know what ritual behavior God expects from us. Eugene B. Borowitz, HUC-JIR theologian, has suggested that "when it comes to ritual, they [Reform thinkers] admit we are dealing largely with what people have wanted to do for God… ceremonial [behavior] discloses more of human need and imagination than it does of God's commands." The traditional belief that the *mitzvot* are binding because they are God-given is reinterpreted to acknowledge God's indirect inspiration in what is essentially a process of human spiritual expression.

THE QUESTION OF THEOLOGICAL BOUNDARIES. The question of whether the movement has theological boundaries was tested in the early 1990s when Congregation Beth Adam of Cincinnati applied to join the URJ. Its founder, Robert Barr, had graduated from HUC-JIR; many if not most of its congregants came from Reform backgrounds, including three current or former members of the HUC-JIR Board of Governors. An adherent of Sherwin T. Wine's Humanistic Judaism, Barr had founded Beth Adam in 1981. Arguing that it was possible to follow Judaism without believing in God and certainly without a traditional conception of God, Wine had established the small movement in 1963, along with the first Humanistic Jewish congregation, the Birmingham Temple, in Michigan. Beth Adam had grown unhappy with the organization, in particular, as Barr explained, because the group had begun ordaining its own leaders. After about 10 years of belonging to no national organization Barr and the congregation felt the need to be in closer touch "with the issues and concerns of the wider Jewish community." The board of Beth Adam decided to apply to join the URJ.

URJ president Alexander Schindler encouraged Beth Adam's application but took no public stand on what the Union should do, stating at the 1991 URJ biennial only that the controversy would "generate a boon to our community" by opening a debate on what a Reform congregation must accept, if anything. The debate centered on the congregation's exclusion of God from its liturgy. Neither the *Shema* nor the *kaddish* was recited, the group's literature explained, because prayers "which presume a God who intervenes or manipulates the affairs of this world" would be inconsistent with its religious message.

While some supported Beth Adam's application, the response was largely negative and even hostile, and in 1990 a majority of the CCAR Responsa Committee voted against accepting the group. Chairperson W. Gunther Plaut wrote that its "elision of God" means the congregation "does not admit of Covenant or commandments"; while the Reform movement can accept individuals who may be agnostic or even atheist, it cannot accept congregations whose declared principals contradict the religious beliefs of Reform Judaism. Three rabbis on the Responsa Committee disagreed with the majority view, arguing that to accept Beth Adam into the URJ would not necessarily imply that the Reform movement accepts its theological views. The debate continued through the early 1990s.

In June the URJ Board of Trustees spent an entire day deliberating the matter in Washington, DC. At the end of its deliberations, the board voted 115 to 13 with four abstentions to reject the application.

The Beth Adam decision meant that while congregations still had the right to adopt the prayer book of their choice or write one of their own, there were theological limits on what could legitimately be regarded as Reform liturgy. The vote also reaffirmed that the drive for inclusion did not obligate the Reform movement to accept every group from every background espousing every ideology.

THE MOVE TOWARDS RETRADITIONALIZATION. Rabbi Eric H. Yoffie, a Reform rabbi and the president of the URJ, is leading the restructuring and revitalization of the Reform movement. When Yoffie took office the Reform movement had to either make dramatic changes or watch its fortunes fade rapidly. Large numbers in the movement have been receptive to his proposals. New approaches to study, worship, and ritual practice are being implemented.

Yoffie then outlined a plan to reform Reform. "I propose, therefore, that at this biennial assembly we proclaim a new Reform revolution. Like the original Reform revolution, it will be rooted in the conviction that Judaism is a tradition of rebellion, revival, and redefinition; and like the original too, this new initiative will make synagogue worship our Movement's foremost concern." Yoffie urged that this "worship revolution" be built on a partnership among rabbis, cantors, and lay people.

The URJ leadership has prepared a series of initiatives that taken together constitute "a Reform revolution." Many insiders are very hopeful that the coming years will see radical changes that excite Reform Jews and get them involved in concrete religious activities. To bring the synagogue back as a central Jewish institution, Reformers are developing programs that appeal to a much broader range of individuals and client groups.

Much of the success of this effort relies upon how deeply it can touch people's emotions. In his Orlando address Yoffie asked, "What will be the single most important key to the success or failure of our revolution?" And then he answered his own question: "Music." "Ritual music is a deeply sensual experience that touches people in a way that words cannot. Music converts the ordinary into the miraculous, and individuals into a community of prayer. And music enables overly-intellectual Jews to rest their minds and open their hearts."

The new programming has occurred not only within the movement itself, but also in related efforts such as the Synagogue 2000 transformation project led by Rabbis Ron Wolfson and Lawrence Hoffman. As Wolfson put it, "What defines great, spiritual davening experiences is music, music, music." Some cutting-edge congregations like B'nai Jeshurun in Manhattan and Temple Sinai in Los Angeles have become nationally known for implementing vibrant music programs that draw hundreds to their Friday night and Saturday morning services. That neither congregation is affiliated with the Reform movement may not be a coincidence. A vibrant musical experience requires the congregants to actively participate, to sing the songs with passion as well as confidence, and most Reform Jews do not know the words well enough to sing along. Their Hebrew may be poor, and not enough congregants have so far expressed the willingness to put in the time and effort necessary to acquire more advanced Hebraic skills.

The URJ has inaugurated a number of programs specifically to address this issue, among them a Hebrew literacy campaign called "Aleph Isn't Tough: An Introduction to Hebrew for Adults" launched to "open the gates of prayer" to the average Jew. The URJ's new Hebrew primers will focus not only on phonetic reading but also on the comprehension of basic prayers and text. The hope is that more and more synagogues will use these or other texts to offer a variety of adult Hebrew classes. The more Hebrew that Reform Jews know, the more accessible is the textual tradition.

Yoffie argues that in the current religious climate, concrete programming designed to get people doing *mitzvot* must precede theological formulations.

YOUTH EDUCATION PROGRAMS. Temple youth groups are the entry points for many young people into congregational life, and over the last several years, the Reform movement has set out aggressively to nurture the development of teen leaders not only for youth groups but also for congregations as a whole.

Once a dynamic and successful organization, NFTY failed to keep up as society changed in the 1980s and the 1990s. As a consequence, more and more youth found NFTY no longer as nifty as it had once been, and they voted with their feet, particularly after their bar and bat mitzvahs. Other youth organizations that had experienced similar problems had taken steps to remake their images and reformat their activity offerings, including the Girl Scouts, as Fox News reported in November 2000. "We're no longer about baking cookies and toasting marshmallows around the fire," one Girl Scout leader told a news crew. "We now offer young women the chance to get advanced computer training, learn marketing skills, and network widely."

Yoffie himself called the teen dropout rate in the Reform movement "appallingly high." While many Reform teenagers appear to be uninterested in Reform Judaism and drop out for that reason, others claim that they would love to continue to be involved but are simply not the youth-group type. In response, Yoffie suggested revamping NFTY. To build a structure that could more effectively keep youth involved throughout their high school years, he announced that each URJ region would hire a full-time professional to organize and develop youth programming in that region. The hope was that this decentralization would allow the URJ regional directors to have more impact on youth programming, a far more effective approach than trying to run everything out of New York. Yoffie has further committed the entire movement to developing a range of new programs for teenagers who want alternatives to the standard youth group activities. His ideas include a summer travel program focusing on social action projects and a summer study program that combines SAT preparation and college visits with Judaica.

NFTY's own summer programs in Israel have proved remarkably popular, although registration dropped off precipitously as a consequence of the renewed tensions between Palestinians and Israelis. Eric Yoffie set off a controversy when he cancelled Reform youth trips to Israel at the height of the violence, arguing that it was not fair to use other people's children to make political points. In any case, the movement quickly reestablished its Zionist credentials. New trips were publicized, but it remains difficult to recruit teenagers willing to go or parents willing to allow their children to go. At its height, the summer program sent more than a dozen groups for six-week trips that incorporated touring, educational programs, and leadership training. The Israel trips were inspirational because they immersed the participant not only in the NFTY experience 24 hours a day, but also in the Israeli context. Most participants came back transformed, although it remains unclear how much of that "transformation" endured. But rabbis and educators feel convinced that a trip to Israel is one of the most significant experiences a family can give teenagers. An entirely different style of informal education is available at the Reform movement's summer camps, where generations of youngsters have had some of their most positive Jewish experiences. These regional camps provide "a joyous, invigorating and uplifting few weeks of total immersion in Judaism, with memories powerful enough to last the entire year."

The camps combine a rich Jewish atmosphere, positive development experiences, and a natural setting. As Lee Bycel explained in a temple bulletin: "No matter how much we do here at Fairmount Temple, it is hard to convey the depth and feeling of Judaism in just a few hours each week. At a Jewish summer camp, our young people are immersed in a total Jewish environment. Shabbat is a natural part of the week, which emerges from all they have learned and experienced during camp. For many years, I have spent time in our movement's summer camps. I love watching the faces on our young people as they gather for Shabbat – eager, joyful, immersed in the moment, understanding of the beauty of Shabbat, truly a sight to be seen."

Further, "Jewish summer camps can play an important role in building self-esteem. It is important for our young people to be in a healthy and safe environment, away from parents, where they can learn more about themselves and their own abilities and skills. They gain a lot by having to be responsible for themselves – and it is amazing what they can manage to do without our help." Finally, "hiking, sleeping out under the stars, having the time to see the beauty around them without a car or movies, or video games – teaches some of the most important lessons in life."

The first URJ camp in North America, was Olin-Sang-Ruby Union Institute (OSRUI) in Oconomowoc, Wisconsin. When OSRUI began, the music consisted largely of folk songs and, later, of civil rights movement chants "considered to have religious significance in that they embodied Reform principles." The folk music was slowly supplemented by traditional Jewish music and a new American Jewish folk music. OSRUI hired Debbie Friedman as a song leader in 1970 as "a new genre of music was coming to the fore. It was a Reform Jewish genre of music, songs that were mainly liturgical, written by [camp] song leaders. She brought her tunes and her compositions to the camp and helped to empower a whole generation in this region." This music continues to inspire many Reform Jews.

Friedman began song leading for her synagogue youth group in 1968, then attended a song leader workshop at the Kutz Camp Institute in Warwick, New York, and soon began writing her own music. "I taught it to a group of kids who were doing a creative service with James Taylor, Joan Baez, and Judy Collins music. Not only did they sing the *Ve-Ahavta*, they stood arm in arm. They were moved; they were crying. Here was something in a genre to which they could relate." In 1972 she recorded *Sing unto God,* an album of Sabbath songs that featured a high school choir. "I had planned [only] to make a demo tape, but when I found out it would cost only $500 more to make 1,000 LPs, I thought, why not? They sold like hot cakes at camp. That's how it started. It was a fluke." Friedman moved to Chicago, where she began leading services and continued her youth work. Later she took a position as a cantorial soloist in California, began performing more frequently, and recorded additional albums. Soon people began using her melodies in their synagogue services.

Perhaps her most famous creation is "*Mi-she-Berakh*," composed for a *simchat ḥokhmah*, a celebration of wisdom, to honor a friend on her 60th birthday. The prayer offers the hope of healing for those suffering. "My friend was having a very difficult time in her life and a number of her friends were also struggling. Yet she had arrived at this age and was determined to embrace it." Introduced at the URJ biennial in San Francisco in 1993, the tune has become the most popular adopted liturgical melody in recent decades.

A NEW COMMITMENT TO ADULT EDUCATION. Because study is not solely a youth concern, the URJ leadership has committed itself to creating a "synagogue of the future" that will provide a place of serious learning for all ages. In traditional Jewish thought, God spoke to individuals through their study of sacred texts. But few in the Reform movement could read Hebrew well enough to study the texts in the original, and most of the few English translations were not suitable for adult education programs.

One indication of the URJ's commitment is a resolution on Torah study adopted at the 1997 biennial conference in Dallas:

> We recognize that North American Jews face a Jewish literacy crisis. While we are the best-educated generation of Jews that has ever lived, we are often woefully ignorant of our own Jewish heritage. At the same time, we are witnessing a renewed enthusiasm for Jewish learning throughout the Reform movement. Those of us who have had the opportunity to study and taste the richness of Torah have discovered that learning is a source of inspiration and great adventure.

Adults throughout the Jewish community are finding their way back to serious textual study. Kenneth Cohen, a founding executive of the software giant Oracle, became involved in Lehrhaus, a Berkeley, California, adult education program named after Freies JüdischesLehrhaus (Free Jewish study center), the pioneer program developed by Martin Buber, Franz Rosenzweig, and a number of other German Jewish intellectuals in Frankfurt during the interwar period. Featured in 1998 in a widely distributed report from the Jewish telegraphic agency, Cohen spoke of his motivation for studying: "It's just inevitable that you say to yourself, 'What do I want to pass on to this kid [his child] other than my stock certificates?' I had to have a higher goal." He found that "doing and receiving Jewish education is a remarkable, rewarding thing. It's passing on not the latest hot computer chip, which will be obsolete next year, but taking the accumulated knowledge of humankind and perpetuating that, passing it on to new generations and pass it on [further]."

In almost every major city today, nondenominational independent institutions offer intensive Jewish adult education. The Florence Melton Adult Mini-School Program offers a two-year, 120-hour course of study to several groups of students at a time in 34 cities. Most students in all of these programs are middle-aged baby boomers searching for meaning. "It's an awakening," says Paul Flexner of the Jewish Education Services of North America. Many had stopped their Jewish education immediately after their bar or bat mitzvah two, three, or four decades earlier. They now feel an acute awareness of how much they have missed and how much they don't know. Many feel their textual illiteracy prevents them from passing on to their children a meaningful Judaism that goes beyond superficial ethnic foods and accents.

Along with the URJ, individual synagogues are developing new approaches to attract the many congregants who do not attend Jewish study sessions. When Congregation Beth Am in Los Altos Hills, California, hired Josh Zweiback in 1998 as adult educator, he took the first full-time position in a Reform congregation in the United States intended to "develop new frontiers of education in synagogue life," according to Richard Block, the congregation's senior rabbi. Funded by the Koret Foundation of San Francisco, Zweiback interpreted his mandate as spanning a very broad spectrum, from Torah study to "all sorts of experiences including praying and giving Tzedakah." He pointed out that "distinctions between mind and body were not made in classical times: living Torah and learning Torah went hand in hand." Zweiback has tried a number of interesting ideas. On the congregation's Tikkun Olam Day, he distributed a tape about the role of social action in Judaism that included mock interviews with famous Jews throughout history, a number of Hebrew concepts relating to the subject, and the senior rabbi teaching a blessing that should be recited before performing a mitzvah.

Among new paradigms being explored are family education, where the entire family – adults and children – study and experience Judaism together, and an intensive immersion program. Peter Knobel of Beth Emet, the Free Synagogue of Evanston, Illinois, takes about 50 members of his congregation to Jerusalem for one week every other year. "They stay in the dormitory of Hebrew Union College, and I get some of the best Jewish scholars in the world to teach them. They have been required to read a serious book on Judaism by a major scholar – they all have read it and have come prepared – and for a week they study with the scholars. We do no touring; when they are not in class they are free in Jerusalem. The success of this program indicates to me that many Jews really want to learn about the faith in a serious way." Unlike a special interest program for people from all over the country, Knobel's group comes from one temple in a Chicago suburb. The study trip's congregational nature accounts for its success, allowing the intense experience to include both extensive preparation and substantial follow-up.

New Definitions of Jewish Identity

The patrilineal descent resolution was thus less a significant departure from previous Reform policy than a public declaration of inclusivity, a logical step in the open society of the United States. To move in the direction of exclusion would severely limit the pool of potential recruits, just when the Reform movement was looking for new members. The acceptance of patrilineal descent sent a clear message that the children of intermarried couples – even those who were not halakhically Jewish – were welcome in the synagogue.

FEMINISM AND THE REFORM MOVEMENT. Despite the Reform movement's never having opposed equal rights for women, the male hierarchical structure remained in place until the 1960s. The push for egalitarianism was not a high priority for the 19th-century Reformers, who were far more concerned with reforming the liturgy and adapting Judaism's religious beliefs to the surrounding cultural environment.

Yet until the 1960s, most Reform congregations were run by men, and their dominance was accepted without question. Fitting in was important, and congregational social mores reflected the society's. Whether immigrant or native born, American Jews adjusted to American values and wanted to see those values reflected in their congregational structure and activities. This meant that women in the typical Reform congregation were relegated to the traditional woman's role, a situation accepted by almost all parties without dissent. Sisterhoods served central functions in temple life; without them, many if not most activities would have been impossible. Whether they were baking cakes for fundraising purposes, preparing the confirmation dinner, or simply attending services, women constituted the backbone of Reform religious and social life.

But in the 1960s, the feminist movement began to challenge the traditional roles assigned to women. Through the 1970s and 1980s, its impact on the synagogue was immense. As women began to move into roles of responsibility traditionally assigned to men, there was a great deal of dissonance. Rachel Adler, an early Jewish feminist and then a lecturer at

HUC-JIR in Los Angeles, in 1983 summarized the feeling of many women: "Being a Jewish woman is very much like being Alice at the Hatter's tea party. We did not participate in making the rules, nor were we there at the beginning of the party. At best, a jumble of crockery is being shoved aside to clear a place for us. At worst, we are only tantalized with the tea and bread-and-butter, while being confused, shamed and reproached for our ignorance." Women in the Reform movement studied for the rabbinate, the cantorate, and other professional positions, while others became synagogue presidents rather than sisterhood presidents. What had been seen as an oddity became an accepted phenomenon, then so commonplace as to be unworthy of note.

Many of the leading feminists were Jewish, and some of them took an interest in Jewish affairs. Other women admired the feminist leaders and specifically wanted to apply their perspective in a Jewish context. The Reform movement provided an ideal setting for this synthesis because of its non-halakhic nature, allowing a much greater flexibility than could have developed in Orthodox or even Conservative Judaism. Women wanted to be treated on an equal basis with men, both in the synagogue power structure and in their portrayal in the myths of the tradition.

The Struggle for the Ordination of Women as Rabbis

While the issue of women's ordination is only one aspect of the struggle for gender equality in the Reform synagogue, it is important not only for its symbolic value, but also for opening the way for women to increase in their influence dramatically. The ordination of Sally *Priesand in 1972 was an extraordinary event, because HUC-JIR was the first major rabbinical program in the history of Judaism to ordain a woman rabbi.

By the time Sally Priesand had finished her studies at HUC-JIR, the impact of feminism had transformed the Reform movement to a degree unimaginable just a few decades earlier. Nelson Glueck supported her petition – there was little basis upon which to deny her the certificate of ordination. Unfortunately, Glueck died before he could actually ordain Priesand, and new HUC-JIR president Alfred Gottschalk conducted the ordination ceremony. After a stint as an assistant rabbi and then as a chaplain, Priesand joined Monmouth Reform Temple in Tinton Falls, New Jersey, where she continued as the rabbi.

THE IMPACT OF FEMINISM ON REFORM LITURGY. Many modern American women found the language of the traditional prayer book restrictive and even sexist. Based on biblical models that portrayed God solely in masculine terms, the prayers assume that public worship is an obligation primarily for men. For example, the prayer that began "Praise be our God, God of our Fathers, God of Abraham, God of Isaac and God of Jacob" now seemed exclusionary. Where were the matriarchs? In 1972, a task force on equality, arguing that such language misleads worshipers about the true nature of both human beings and God, recommended altering masculine references in prayer. In the resulting effort to rewrite the prayers to reflect the growing egalitarian nature of American Jewish thinking, the names of the matriarchs were added in a series of gender-sensitive prayer books published in the early 1990s. The same prayer now reads, "Praised be our God, the God of our Fathers and our Mothers: God of Abraham, God of Isaac and God of Jacob; God of Sarah, God of Rebekah, God of Leah, and God of Rachel."

Dealing with the names of God framed in the masculine form was more difficult. In English, Reform prayer books had referred to God as "He" and "Him" and called God "the Lord." These references could be changed, but the practical problem of replacing prayer books in use for only a short time was daunting. Some congregations developed a list of gender-sensitive words that could be substituted for masculine references to God. Thus, the word "God" might be used to replace "the Lord" each time that phrase appeared in the prayer book. But this could confuse congregants, who had to be exceptionally alert to make all the correct substitutions in the right places and at the right times. In the mid-1990s a series of soft-cover experimental gender-sensitive prayer books, then a hard-cover gender-sensitive version intended to be semi-permanent, gradually supplanted the original Sabbath prayer book *Gates of Prayer*. A new gender-sensitive edition is under way.

Congregations did not want to replace the new edition of the High Holy Day prayer book, *Gates of Repentance*, so soon. The solution was a gender-sensitive version that matched the original, page for page. Unfortunately, many found the mix of the two High Holy Day prayer books in the same service confusing, as their neighbors seemed to be reading from a different text than they were. But the production of new prayer books would eventually resolve such issues. Most Reform Jews adjusted to the new liturgy and accepted the gender-sensitive wording without a murmur. Many women found it empowering and exhilarating.

Priesand's ordination opened the door for many other women interested in careers to which rabbinical ordination could provide them access. Large numbers applied to cantorial as well as rabbinical programs at HUC-JIR. The Rabbi Sally J. Priesand Visiting Professorship was launched in the fall of 1999 at HUC-JIR in New York. By May 2001, 373 women were ordained. At HUC-JIR in Los Angeles, the very first group of female ordainees in May of 2002 includes five women out of eight rabbinical graduates. Six women have been ordained in the Israeli program on the Jerusalem campus.

The increasingly active role that women are playing in the Reform congregation has fueled concerns that an increasing number of men may walk away from active leadership involvement. This phenomenon is not new; many-19th century Reform rabbis complained that their congregations on Shabbat morning were composed primarily of women, children, and the elderly. But if the new trends increase the alienation of Jewish men from the temple, the yoke of Jewish communal leadership may fall more and more on female shoulders. Others worry that Jewish professional work is starting to be seen as more suitable for women than men. There is a persistent rumor that HUC-JIR deliberately admits fewer women than men to avoid the "feminization" of the rabbinate. Some older male rabbis have grumbled that the rabbinate is becoming a "woman's profession" and, like grammar-school teaching and nursing, will decline in professional status and in salary range. They cite studies suggesting that when women enter certain professions in large numbers, those fields undergo profound and – from their perspective – negative changes.

Many women rabbis complain that their career path has been blocked. In Sylvia Barack Fishman's terminology, they had to break through "Jewish ceilings." Only a handful have been appointed as senior rabbis of large congregations in recent years. Paula Reimers, a rabbi in Arizona, said in 1992: "It's the same old story. Everyone is in favor of women rabbis – until it comes time to hire one. A congregation would rather take an incompetent man than a woman. Women are picked last." Such complaints, frequent in the early years, seem to have diminished, if not disappeared. Although a shortage of rabbis may explain the change in part, an increasing willingness to accept women in the rabbinate is apparent. Many congregations have had positive experiences with women rabbis; many boards may have found that female rabbis are more likely to deliver the type of service their congregation needs. In the face of this pragmatic reality, any residual resistance quickly melts away. Women cantors in the Reform movement have had an easier path in the years since Barbara Ostfield Horowitz was invested in 1975 as the first female cantor. An almost continuous shortage of ordained Reform cantors has guaranteed enough pulpits for all graduates of the School of Sacred Music at HUC-JIR in New York. Furthermore, it is easier for many of the old-fashioned congregants to accept a woman cantor than a woman rabbi, perhaps because cantors are perceived as subordinate to the rabbi. The fine voices of many of the women may also have dissipated potential opposition, as congregants discovered the new cantor's leading of the service to be a pleasant experience.

An increasing number of congregations simply take the equality of men and women for granted.

Laura Geller, the senior rabbi at Temple Emanuel in Beverly Hills since 1994, believes that she exemplifies a feminine approach to the rabbinate. "My style is one of shared leadership – I would argue that's a feminine model of leadership. Our congregation is not a hierarchy, but a series of concentric circles. One of my very clear goals is to empower lay people to mentor young people, lead services, teach, and really take responsibility for their own Jewish life." Credited with shattering the "stained-glass ceiling" by becoming the first female senior rabbi at a major metropolitan synagogue, Geller has been followed by senior rabbis Marcia Zimmerman at Temple Israel in Minneapolis and Amy Schwartzman at Temple Rodeph Sholom in Falls Church, Virginia. Geller wonders: "Are there so few of us in senior rabbi positions because we're not choosing them, or because we're not given a shot at it? The answer is a bit of both."

"I have come to discover, through my involvement over the years, that when women's voices are heard, a tradition changes," Geller says. "What happens when women become engaged in creating and reforming Jewish experience [is that] our experience becomes central and not marginal, and deserving of blessing and ceremony."

THE ISSUE OF HOMOSEXUALITY. The issue of *homosexuality cuts to the heart of how the Reform movement deals with the conflicting demands of tradition and modernity. Here is a case where the tradition could not be clearer – homosexuality was prohibited in the strongest terms. Yet liberal American Jews felt they had to find a way to reconcile this condemnation with their contemporary values. How the Reform rabbinate handled this sensitive question is worth a close look.

The CCAR first dealt with the issue of homosexuality in the mid-1970s and soon after was supporting human rights as well as civil liberties for gays and lesbians. Most Reform rabbis took liberal positions across the board and so were quick to embrace what many saw as another liberal social cause. One issue that concerned still closeted gay and lesbian rabbis was the impact on their career trajectory should they declare themselves publicly. HUC-JIR did not officially admit openly gay students, and the CCAR did not guarantee to support gay rabbis looking for congregational employment. In 1986, Margaret Moers Wenig and Margaret Holub proposed a CCAR resolution that recommended a nondiscriminatory admissions policy for HUC-JIR and a nondiscriminatory placement policy for the Rabbinical Placement Commission (RPC). The motion was not voted on but referred to the newly created Ad Hoc Committee on Homosexuality and the Rabbinate chaired by Selig Salkowitz.

The 17-member committee – eight congregational rabbis and representatives of HUC-JIR, UAHC, and the RPC – met regularly for study and deliberation for more than four years. They talked often with leaders of other Jewish denominations as well as with the Progressive movement in Israel. Consulting with Reform leaders in Israel was particularly important because any American resolution favoring gay rights would be used as a political weapon by the Orthodox in Israel, who opposed religious pluralism in the Jewish State. Israeli Reform rabbis told the Americans that any such resolution would make their already difficult position even more so, but this information had little impact.

In the belief that gays and lesbians were entitled to equal religious as well as civil rights, many Reform rabbis felt it was important to push ahead. Whereas the Orthodox saw homosexuals as violating an explicit commandment of the Torah, most Reformers saw them as people who needed and wanted the same spiritual sustenance available to heterosexuals. Alexander Schindler, well known for confronting controversial issues head-on, gave a public address in November 1989 adding his voice to those already supporting gay rights. "If those who have studied these matters are correct, one half million of our fellow Jews, no less than one hundred thousand Reform Jews, are gay. They are our fellow congregants, our friends and committee members and, yes, our leaders both professional and lay."

In June of that year at a CCAR meeting in Seattle, there was a debate on a widely publicized report issued by the CCAR's Ad Hoc Committee on Homosexuality and the Rabbinate. As a part of the educational process, the committee invited four Reform rabbis to prepare and submit papers on the topic of "Homosexuality, the Rabbinate, and Liberal Judaism." Despite the appearance of an active debate, it was clear that the movement as a whole would support greater rights for gays and lesbians. It was less clear exactly what the CCAR would decide concerning some of the technical questions.

In 1990 the committee issued a report noting that the Bible uses the harshest terms to condemn male homosexual behavior, referring to it repeatedly as a *to'evah,* an abomination. The Talmud and Codes reinforce the position that any male or female homosexual activity was strictly prohibited. Nevertheless, the committee rejected this position as untenable and stated that "all Jews are religiously equal, regardless of their sexual orientation." While the committee recognized that, in the Jewish tradition, heterosexual monogamous procreative marriage is the ideal, "there are other human relationships which possess ethical and spiritual value, and… there are some people for whom heterosexual, monogamous, procreative marriage is not a viable option or possibility." Thus the committee took the position that a homosexual relationship could possess spiritual value for those who could not form a heterosexual union.

One of the most pressing questions was how HUC-JIR should deal with gay and lesbian applicants to the rabbinical program, for although the two are separate organizations, it was expected that all rabbinic graduates of HUC-JIR would become Reform rabbis and join the CCAR. Gary Zola, HUC-JIR's national dean of admissions, showed the committee a written policy statement issued by HUC-JIR president Alfred Gottschalk on February 8, 1990. Gottschalk wrote, "The College will consider any qualified candidate in terms of an applicant's overall suitability for the rabbinate, his/her qualifications to serve the Jewish community effectively, and to find personal fulfillment within the rabbinate." The HUC-JIR Dean's Council felt that sexual orientation should not be a consideration in a candidate's decision to apply for admission; "I underline, however, that this does not commit us to the acceptance or rejection of any single student. Each applicant is judged as an individual on the basis of his total profile."

THE CONTEMPORARY REALITY. In the early 21st century, Reform Judaism is a pluralistic American religious denomination. No one could possibly argue that one must accept a specific set of theological principles in order to be a Reform Jew in good standing. Yet the movement is thriving. New congregations are joining the URJ and existing ones are increasing their membership. This popularity has little to do with Reform's specific theological formulations. Rather, the flexibility that has emerged from its theological pluralism has allowed the movement to draw strength from new types of adherents while creating new enthusiasm among substantial numbers of longtime members.

The Reform movement has come a long way from the theological uniformity of the 1885 Pittsburgh Platform. By the 1970s, there was such full acceptance of a wide range of traditions, customs, and practices that it would have been ridiculous to suggest that one official standard was uniformly accepted and required for a Reform service of any type. Behind this diversity of ritual expression lay the acceptance of the idea that there was no one Reform theology, that Reform Judaism represented many different ways of thinking about God and the relationship between God and the Jewish people.

Eugene Borowitz acknowledges this pluralism explicitly in his book *Liberal Judaism*, published by the URJ in 1984. He asks, "Who is a good Jew?" And he answers, "I consider nothing more fundamental to being a good Jew than belief in God." But he goes on to suggest that there are many different ways of looking at God, and that many of them can be religiously authentic for a believing Jew. "With our religious and communal authority largely replaced by the insistence of modern Jews on thinking for themselves, no one can easily claim the authority to overrule competing views." In discussing how Jews may legitimately view God, Borowitz admits: "With our new appreciation of pluralism, we have also gained greater appreciation of the extraordinary openness with which Judaism has allowed people to talk of God. 'My' good Jew believes in God but not necessarily in my view of God. We have numerous differing interpretations of what God might mean for a contemporary Jew.… I am saying that we Jews have been and remain fundamentally a religion, not that we are very dogmatic about it." From a theological point of view, the acceptance of such a broad spectrum of beliefs makes it impossible to present a clear and compelling religious vision that could motivate followers to sacrifice for the sake of God. There are simply too many images of God for the group to agree on any one. On the other hand, this theological diversity allows the Reform movement to reach out to a broad spectrum of people who differ not only in their lifestyles, but also in their religious convictions.

The pluralistic nature of American religion has mushroomed over the past 25 years. "Spiritual individualism" has become an important force as congregants became less willing to sit quietly listening to the choir sing and the rabbi sermonize. They expect to participate actively in a common spiritual quest. More and more Americans seek inspiration from their personal life experiences rather than from a doctrine handed down through creedal statements or religious hierarchies. "Spirituality" is becoming more and more detached from traditional religion. In an increasingly therapeutic age, religion will be viewed as just another means of solving or at least coping with emotional and even medical problems.

Despite these trends, the Reform movement would again urge Reform Jews to embrace traditional rituals and to this end would debate and pass yet another theological statement, the 1999 Pittsburgh Platform. But in spite of arguments over its substance among the Classical Reformers and the neo-Reformers, the movement has continued to grow, further proof that Reform thrives because of, not despite, its pluralism.

Problems Facing the Reform Movement in Israel

With such a diverse population expressing such a multiplicity of views and practicing religion in so many different ways, one might expect the Reform movement to find a ready niche in Israeli religious life. This has not proven to be the case. Since Israel's rabbinate controls all issues of personal status, non-Orthodox rabbis in that country are not able to perform legally binding marriage ceremonies, divorces, or even most burials. Reform and Conservative conversions are accepted by the Jewish Agency, thus allowing such individuals to immigrate to Israel under the Law of Return. Such converts, however, will not be recognized as Jews by the chief rabbinate and may therefore have problems once they settle in the country.

Complex and multifaceted problems face the Reform movement in Israel. The early Jewish settlers came from countries that lacked the pluralistic religious environment that would have allowed alternative forms of religious expression to develop. The settlers arrived in a Palestine ruled by the Turks, who likewise did not encourage Western liberal cultural or intellectual developments. The early Zionist pioneers included few Western immigrants, and most of those who did settle in Israel adapted themselves to the prevailing social and religious norms. While Maurice Eisendrath had argued in favor of the creation of an Israeli Reform movement as early as 1953, not until the late 1960s did the World Union for Progressive Judaism develop an Israeli movement, and not until 1968 did the group hold a biennial conference in that country.

Over the past three decades, the World Union has devoted much effort to building up the Israel Movement for Progressive Judaism (IMPJ), which was incorporated under Israeli law in 1971. The Israeli leaders chose to refer to themselves as the movement for Yahadut Mitkademet, Progressive Judaism, avoiding the use of the term "reform." By doing so they hoped to minimize the negative associations that many Israelis have of the American Reform movement. Particularly damaging was a video replayed on Israeli TV a number of years ago of an American Reform rabbi and a priest co-officiating at a wedding ceremony, a sight many Israelis, including many secularists, found shocking and offensive. The 2000 Greensboro, North Carolina, CCAR resolution sanctioning same-sex unions has attracted a great deal of attention and criticism. Israeli Orthodox leaders, including politicians, argue that the Reform movement has encouraged assimilation and has proven itself a destructive force. Periodically, well-known Israeli Orthodox rabbis have attacked Reform Judaism and its adherents, sometimes in the vilest of terms. Nevertheless, Israeli-born Reform leaders such as Uri Regev, founder of the Israel Religious Action Center and now executive director of the WUPJ, have become well-known personalities interviewed frequently by TV news crews. Regev has made a great deal of progress in pushing for greater rights through the court system. Each time he has petitioned the Israeli Supreme Court, news media interviewed him on the importance of his petition and his understanding of why it was necessary to change the religious status quo, further positive publicity for the Progressive movement.

Many non-Orthodox Israelis have been positively impressed. A few years ago, a number of leading Israeli writers and intellectuals called on the Israeli public to join the Reform movement to protest the Orthodox monopoly on lifecycle ceremonies. The Orthodox in turn renewed their attacks on the Reform movement. Orthodox spokesmen continued to lambaste Reform Judaism, and unknown individuals suspected to be from the ultra-Orthodox community vandalized buildings associated with Reform institutions.

But Orthodox hostility, only one facet of the problem, could work in the Progressive movement's favor, since many secular Israelis harbor resentment toward what they see as the religious coercion of the Orthodox. But the coalition agreements between the Labor and Likud Parties and one or more Orthodox parties have insured that the status quo is maintained in religious matters. As a consequence, an Orthodox rabbi must certify weddings between Jews, for example, although a few sympathetic Orthodox rabbis have signed for a Reform or Conservative rabbi who is the actual officiant. But the Orthodox rabbinate has worked vigorously to clamp down on those who helped circumvent the system. Most Jews who marry in a Reform ceremony in Israel then go to Cyprus to receive a civil marriage license, as the Israeli Ministry of Interior will accept any marriage certificate issued by an official government. Thus, the Israeli government recognizes a marriage certificate signed by a Cypriot judge but not one signed by an Israeli Reform rabbi.

There have been some encouraging developments. As part of a series of public relations campaigns, the IMPJ launched a $350,000 media blitz right before the High Holy Days of 1999, to encourage Israelis to attend a Progressive or Masorti (Conservative) synagogue. Billboards, posters on buses, and newspaper supplements featured the slogan, "There is more than one way to be Jewish." The accompanying radio campaign became immersed in controversy after the government-owned Israeli state radio tried to cancel the advertisements, claiming the wording would offend Orthodox Jews. The Supreme Court issued a show-cause order, and the campaign was allowed to proceed after IMPJ and Masorti leaders agreed to change the slogan on the radio to, "This is our way – you just have to choose." The IMPJ reported that an estimated 20,000 Israelis filled 27 synagogues and additional facilities rented for the High Holy Days. Many congregations doubled the number of attendees from just a year earlier. The IMPJ received many phone inquiries about membership and even a few requests for information on how to form congregations.

In March 2000, the IMPJ worked together with Israel's Masorti movement to promote non-Orthodox marriage ceremonies. The campaign ran full-page advertisements in the weekend editions of the major Israeli newspapers and four hundred radio ads featuring couples who had been married in either Progressive or Masorti ceremonies. The ads emphasized the egalitarian nature of the non-Orthodox wedding ceremony, as well as the lack of the intrusive questions Orthodox rabbis usually ask. The campaign also stated clearly that under current Israeli law, the couple would need to marry a second time in a civil ceremony abroad for their marriage to be recognized by the Interior Ministry.

The IMPJ is also continuing efforts to reach Russian-speaking immigrants. In February 2000, Michael Brodsky and a number of other Russian speakers published their first edition of the revised *Rodnik* (The source). Originally geared toward Jews in the Former Soviet Union (FSU), the magazine had shifted its focus to the emerging local movements. Now the editors refocused it on issues of interest to Israeli immigrants from the FSU. Brodsky, previously spokesperson for the Yisrael ba-Aliyah political party, now serves as the IMPJ's liaison with Russian-language media outlets. The IMPJ is also working with a number of Russian-language groups in Haifa, Nahariyyah, Netanyah, and Ra'anannah. In August 2000, a congregation for immigrants from the FSU was founded in Ashdod. The group began meeting for *havdalah* services on Saturday nights and expanded to Friday night services led by HUC rabbinical students from the Jerusalem campus. The IMPJ hired a paraprofessional community organizer for the group and has hired similar community workers for the other Russian-language groups in Israel.

The IMPJ has recently formed a number of new congregations. Yozma in Modi'in, between Tel Aviv and Jerusalem, already has established four kindergarten classes as well as a first grade. Sulam Ya'akov was established in Zichron Ya'akov, between Tel Aviv and Haifa. Gusti Yehoshua-Braverman, the director of community development for the Israeli Progressive movement, states: "We must establish new congregations. However, we must also rejuvenate those that already exist but are struggling because they lack a rabbi or are in the periphery." Some long-standing congregations have expanded their programming, including Aḥvat Yisrael in Rishon le-Zion near Tel Aviv, which has also recently hired a community coordinator. The congregation has a growing Jewish study group that regularly brings in well-known guest lecturers and was recently given a city-owned building for its exclusive use. The structure is a former kindergarten in a quiet leafy neighborhood in the city. According to congregational chairperson Shai Eitan, it will need to be extensively renovated but offers "tremendous potential." In Nahariyyah, Emet Ve'shalom offers a lecture and field trip program for about 150 new immigrants. The IMPJ also caters to those with special needs. The movement offers special Shabbat activities for the residents of Kishor, a community of about 70 people with learning, functioning, and adaptive disabilities – a candle-lighting ceremony, *kiddush*, *Kabbalat Shabbat*, and other religious programming three times a month. Joint activities with the IMPJ-affiliated Harhalutz and the IMPJ's Young Adult Leadership Forum are also undertaken.

The Reform movement has built an impressive complex on King David Street in Jerusalem; it includes the Israeli campus of Hebrew Union College and Mercaz Shimshon, the WUPJ's cultural center, which opened in October 2000. Designed by world-famous architect Moshe Safdie, the $15 million facility was built adjacent to Beit Shmuel, WUPJ headquarters. Both centers offer panoramic views of Jaffa Gate, David's Citadel, and the walls of the Old City.

While the movement faced a great deal of resistance, land has been designated for Progressive congregational building projects in a number of municipalities. Affluent families in the area are enthusiastic about holding their sons' bar mitzvah ceremonies in the beautiful new Beit Daniel in North Tel Aviv. At services, the families seem to adjust without any problem to the mixed seating and the use of *Ha-Avodah she-Balev* (The service of the heart), the Israeli Progressive prayer book. There are now approximately 30 Progressive congregations in the country. Those with their own buildings and full-time rabbis have tended to attract a clientele looking for bar mitzvah celebrations, High Holy Day services, and so forth.

The Reform movement has poured effort and money into building up the Progressive presence in the State of Israel, yet the fear remains that the government would move quickly to pass new laws to bypass any legal gains achieved through future rulings by the High Court of Justice, the Israeli supreme court. Shas and other ultra-Orthodox political parties have already indicated their intention to do just that, if the need should arise. Until the movement can achieve official recognition and equal legal status with the Orthodox, it will remain a small, struggling, barely tolerated denomination on the fringes of Israeli life. The marginalization of the Israeli Progressive movement threatens to undermine the legitimacy of the Reform movement in the United States and throughout the world.

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[Dana Evan Kaplan (2nd ed.)]

REFUGEES (1933–1949). When the Nazis came to power, many Jews believed that this chapter in German history would soon pass, that Germany would come to its senses, and that Hitler could not last long. Over time, however, the ranks of the pessimists swelled. After **Kristallnacht* (the November 1938 pogroms) for most German Jews the question was not whether to leave but where to go. Could a place of refuge be found? Would some country – any country – be willing to receive Jews? By the beginning of the war, the quest for refuge became a matter of life and death.

The first wave of German Jews seeking refuge began in 1933 when according to Reichsvertretung der Deutschen Juden records, 52,000 Jews left and 37,000 who were abroad remained there. In 1934 the pace of emigration slowed down as conditions stabilized and after the Nuremberg laws of 1935, it once again intensified. Most Jews went to neighboring countries presuming that they were leaving Germany for a time and not for good and never imagining that Germany would conquer the lands in which they had found refuge. By 1938 approximately one in four Jews had left. Some countries were willing to receive some Jews but never in the numbers that would resolve the problem; Turkey imported professors, architects, musicians, physicians, and lawyers to Westernize their country.

The quest for refuge was related to the perception of the viability of Jewish life in Germany. The calmer things remained the more Jews stayed and after periods of turmoil the pace of Jewish emigration quickened. By early 1938 the process of Aryanization had impoverished many Jews, making their lives within Germany ever more difficult and making them even less desirable to potential countries of refuge. In March, Germany entered Austria and as 200,000 more Jews became part of the expanded Reich, the Anschluss reversed, seemingly overnight, the "progress" that Germany had made during the previous years to be rid of its Jews. Efforts were made to speed up the emigration of Jews and Adolf *Eichmann was dispatched to Vienna to organize the departure of its Jews. His success there propelled his career. The *Evian Conference of July 1938, convened ostensibly to solve the refugee crisis, proved that countries were unwilling to receive the Jews, at least not in sufficient numbers to handle the crisis. Only the Dominican Republic was willing to receive a large number of refugees, the comfortable euphemism for Jews.

In October 1938, things went from bad to worse. Jews of Polish origin living in Germany were expelled, and in November *Kristallnacht* made matters all the more urgent.

At the beginning of the Jewish quest for refuge, Jews could leave with their possessions and could dispose of what they had in an orderly fashion. Year after year, this became less possible. Economic restrictions on the Jews undermined their basic ability to earn a living and Aryanization deprived them of businesses and resources. By the late 1930s many were impoverished and appeared desperate. The *Haavara agreement of 1933, which permitted Jews to dispose of their property in Germany and receive a percentage of their capital in Palestine, was not augmented by any other agreements.

[Aryeh Tartakower / Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

High Commissioner for Refugees from Germany

When Hitler came to power in Germany in 1933, thousands of Jews, together with many non-Jewish anti-Nazis, were compelled to take refuge in adjacent countries. Democratic governments and large Jewish organizations exerted pressure on the League of Nations to deal with the refugee problem. On Oct. 26, 1933, the League appointed James G. *McDonald as high commissioner for refugees from Germany, with the task of negotiating for international collaboration for solving the economic, financial, and social problems of the refugees. In order to avoid offense to Germany, at that time still a member of the League, the high commissioner worked independently and did not report to the League Council but to its own governing body. Its budget was mainly provided by Jewish organizations. The high commissioner achieved little except for conventions on political and legal protection (in 1933 and 1938), and, convinced that without the authority of the League his efforts were useless, he resigned on Dec. 27, 1935. In February 1936, after Germany left the League, Sir Neill Malcolm (1869–1953) succeeded McDonald as high commissioner, this time with direct responsibility to the League. In May 1938 his office was extended to help refugees from Austria, but it was limited to legal and political protection for refugees and intervention with the governments of the countries of asylum in order to provide residence and work permits. On Sept. 30, 1938, the Assembly of the League decided to merge the existing Nansen Office for Refugees of the League with the Office of the High Commissioner for Refugees from Germany and on Jan. 1, 1939, it appointed Sir Herbert Emerson (1881–1962) as high commissioner for all refugees for a period of five years. Despite the League's efforts to ease the situation of the refugees, the practical results were not encouraging. However, the Office of the High Commissioner for Refugees from Germany was marginally useful both in securing legal status for stateless refugees and in coordinating the work of the numerous Jewish voluntary and philanthropic organizations.

In 1939 the situation became ever more desperate. Jews were willing to go anywhere. Seventeen thousand Jews arrived in Shanghai. Jews from Eastern Europe were later to join them in Japanese-occupied China. But there were few places to go. The United States operated on a quota system. A British White Paper limited the number of Jews immigrating to Palestine. Cuba and the United States turned away the ship **St. Louis* carrying affluent Jewish refugees. With nowhere to go, they were forced to return to Europe.

When the Germans invaded Poland in September 1939, some Polish Jews faced a critical decision. History had taught them that refuge was in the West. During World War I, the Germans had been relatively benign during occupation. Did one go west or east to the land of Czar and of the pogroms, a land from which Jews had been fleeing for decades? Those who went against the grain of history and of collective wisdom suffered but were not killed. It is estimated that about half a million Jews left for the Soviet Union in the wake of the German advance. Many of these people were later engulfed by the German conquest of the Soviet-held territories, as were their counterparts, Jews who had left for France and Denmark, Belgium and Holland and other West European countries.

Neutral countries were reluctant to be overrun by Jews. Switzerland received 21,500 but thousands more were turned away. And in the fall of 1938, the Swiss Foreign Ministry requested that the Germans stamp Jewish passports with the letter *J* so that non-Jewish Germans could enter Switzerland freely. Spain received some Jews. Those who made it over the Pyrenees were not turned back; they were sent on to Portugal, from where many managed to leave for the United States. Some German allies, notably Italy and Hungary, received some Jews. Sweden provided a sanctuary for Scandinavian Jews fleeing Denmark, but that was in 1943 when it was understood that Germany would lose the war.

Clandestine passage to Palestine remained an option but the sinking of a stricken ship, the *Struma*, just outside Turkish waters in 1941 by a Soviet submarine, killing all but one of its passengers, underscored the difficulties of such dangerous routes. The Emergency Rescue Committee had a program for the cultural elite of Central Europe, but that was of little use to others. Among the great figures who fled were Jean Arp, Andre Breton, Marc *Chagall, Marcel Duchamp, Max *Ernst, Jacques *Lipshitz, Andre Masson, and Henri Matisse. Eminent musicians included George *Szell and Bruno *Walter. Many established writers came to the United States, among them Franz *Werfel, the novelist whose work, *Forty Days At Musa Dagh*, conveyed the tragedy of the Armenians and was invoked by Jewish resistance fighters in Bialystok and Warsaw. Lion *Feuchtwanger and Max *Brod, the friend and biographer of Franz *Kafka, were forced to flee. Feuchtwanger came to the United States and Brod reached Palestine. Sigmund *Freud dispatched his disciples around the globe before he left Vienna for London.

The Jewish refugee movement during the 12 years of Nazi rule (1933–45) differed in its structure from the usual population migrations, including Jewish migrations in previous generations. Among the German-Jewish immigrants to Palestine in the years 1933–37, practically all of whom were refugees, 52.2% were males and 47% females (0.8% were not recorded). The Jewish immigration to the U.S. in 1939–43, all of whom were refugees, showed a ratio of 46.3% males as against 53.7% females. The percentage of women refugees was much higher in comparison with general migration figures (in 1899–1914, out of every 100 immigrants to the U.S., 68.29% were males and 31.71% females), and even compared with general Jewish migration figures, where the percentage of women was always much higher (55.97% males as against 44.03% females). The refugee movement was thus mostly a family migration. This is also confirmed by the age structure of the movement and particularly by the considerable number of children (21% of the refugee migration to the U.S. in 1939–43; in the German-Jewish migration to Palestine in 1933–39, the age group of 1–20 was 32.5% – considerably more than within the Jewish population in Germany itself (21.5%) due to the fact that children were often sent out alone while the parents stayed behind in Germany) and old people, whereas people of working age were considerably less represented.

There were also differences in the occupational structure. Jewish mass migrations in the 19th and 20th centuries had consisted mostly of artisans and small traders, with no means of their own, who went abroad in search of a living. However, figures relating to German Jews coming to Palestine in 1933–39 showed 25.6% in the liberal professions and 27.7% as merchants, while industrialists and artisans accounted for 24.1%. Figures on Jewish immigration to the U.S. in 1932–43 showed nearly one-fifth (19.8%) in the liberal professions and 41.9% merchants. They brought with them rather considerable amounts of money, when some property could still be taken out of Germany. The estimate of such transfers to the U.S. up to the outbreak of World War II reached $650,000,000 while for Great Britain up to mid-1938 the figure was £12,000,000 (prewar parity $48,000,000). The *Haavara transferred the equivalent of £P 8,000,000 ($32,000,000) in the first years of Nazi rule into Palestine, while capital imported into the country in 1937–41 reached about £14,000,000. These possibilities of transfer gradually disappeared, until the refugees were forbidden to take with them any funds whatsoever and those who departed had less money because of years of economic harassment. Then the family character of the refugee movement and its occupational structure added to the difficulties of admission and absorption. Large numbers of people with commercial or free professions could not easily find employment in the prospective countries of immigration. The few refugees admitted as immigrants not infrequently had to switch over to other, mostly manual, work. For many refugees the abandonment of their occupation or profession and the changeover to physical work meant extreme hardship or even degradation. Only in Palestine was labor, and especially farming, socially favored, as part of the Zionist pioneer effort.

The Nansen Office, established in the early 1920s, when millions fled revolutionary Russia without any travel documents, continued to function up to the end of 1938 and assisted "stateless" Jewish refugees from Germany by issuing them the so-called "Nansen passports," which established their identity and enabled them to travel. Among the German-Jewish refugees (after 1933) only those from the territory of the Saar took advantage of its assistance. For the rest a special agency was created by the Assembly of the League of Nations, in October 1933, called the High Commissioner for Refugees (Jewish and Other) coming from Germany (see below). The intergovernmental *Evian Conference convened by President Roosevelt in July 1938, in which 32 governments and representatives of 39 private organizations, among them 21 Jewish bodies, participated, set up a permanent Intergovernmental Committee for Refugees with headquarters in London. In February 1939 it merged with the office of the High Commissioner for German Refugees, but it hardly fulfilled the aims for which it was established. Apart from a few unsuccessful attempts at negotiations with the German authorities, very little was done before and during the war to help the refugees and deportees. The failure was due to the general atmosphere of helplessness during those years and a lack of real understanding for the tragedy of the refugees. Even later, when the German policy of the total extermination of European Jewry was known all over the world, the *Bermuda Conference of Great Britain and the U.S. in April 1943 proved completely fruitless. Its task was to manage a domestic problem, not to solve a refugee problem. Only in January 1944, an election year, after facing enormous pressure from his Secretary of the Treasury Henry Morgenthau Jr. did President Roosevelt establish the War Refugee Board and open a temporary asylum in the United States.

A great deal more was accomplished by private, especially Jewish, relief agencies, which tried to mobilize public opinion, find countries willing to admit refugees, and rescue victims in the occupied territories. But even the accomplishments of bodies like the *Jewish Agency for Palestine, the American Jewish *Joint Distribution Committee, the *World Jewish Congress, and the Rescue Committee (Va'ad Haẓẓalah) of Orthodox Jewry were also pitifully small compared with the proportions of the disaster. In 1944, under considerable pressure of public opinion, the U.S. government established a special agency, the *War Refugee Board, which succeeded in saving small groups of Jews from German-occupied countries. The only intergovernmental body whose activities proved of some significance was the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (*UNRRA), set up by 44 Allied countries in November 1943. UNRRA took care of the *Displaced Persons after the end of the war in the countries of their temporary residence as well as aiding them to return to their countries of origin. However, all attempts to induce UNRRA to extend the scope of its activities to include resettlement of non-repatriable Displaced Persons – as, e.g., the overwhelming majority of the Jews among them who refused to go back to Poland, the U.S.S.R., Hungary, etc. – failed. In this field much more was done in the following years by the International Refugee Organization (IRO), established in 1946 (see below).

[Shalom Adler-Rudel / Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

The Refugee Movement and its Proportions

An exact evaluation of the size of the Jewish refugee movement in the Nazi period and immediately after World War II presents considerable difficulties due to a lack of reliable statistics, especially during the last years of the war. An additional difficulty is how to define who is a refugee. Two attempts to produce accurate statistics were made at the end of 1943, one by the Institute of Jewish Affairs of the World Jewish Congress in New York and the other by the International Labor Organization (ILO). The Institute estimated the number of Jewish refugees at 2,391,000, the number of people deported from one country to another at 665,000, and those displaced within the same country at 2,205,000. These figures totaled over 5,000,000 – more than half of European Jewry. The ILO in a study of the war period proper estimated the number of Jewish war refugees at 2,200,000 and the number of deportees outside their country at 1,080,000, while Displaced Persons within their own country were estimated at 1,000,000. The total of this study was 4,150,000 and including Jewish refugees before 1939, the estimate comes to about 4,500,000. A deduction from the overall number of refugees of persons who found temporary admission in the interior of the U.S.S.R. during the war brings the figure to more than 800,000 distributed as seen in Table 1: Countries of Reception for Jewish Refugees 1933–1943. (For emigration of Jews from Germany in the period April 1933 to May 1939, including areas occupied by Germany by May 1939, see Table 2.)

Compared with the overall figure of 5,000,000 Jewish refugees and deportees in this period, those admitted to different countries (most of whom survived), came to no more than one-sixth. The number was everywhere severely limited; only the U.S., Palestine, and to a certain degree England admitted larger numbers than the others. The overall figures of refugees and deportees rose considerably in the remaining years of the war, as the Hungarian Jews were included in deportation in 1944 and the remnants of Jews in several countries of occupied Europe were rounded up and transported to other areas. The grand total may therefore have reached 7,000,000 and perhaps even more, but the great majority of them perished, some during the process of deportation itself (German official sources estimated that 30% of those deported died on the way), and the others in ghettos and in labor and extermination camps. No more than one-fourth survived the war period.

As to the definition of a refugee, two attempts deserve mention. In 1936 the Institute of International Law defined refugees as persons who have left or been forced to leave their country for political reasons, who have been deprived of its diplomatic protection, and who have not acquired the nationality or diplomatic protection of any other state (*Summaire de l'Institut du Droit International*, vol. 1 (1936), 294). The second definition, in 1951, went much further, considering as a refugee any person forced to leave his place of residence for reasons independent of his will (*The Refugee in the Post-War World*. Preliminary Report of a Survey of the Refugee Problem. Published by the United Nations, Geneva, 1951. Part One, Chapter One. The Concept of "Refugee," pp. 3ff.). From the point of view of Jewish experiences, both definitions are unsatisfactory. The first neglects to take into consideration persons displaced within their own country whose number

Table 1: Countries of Reception for Jewish Refugees 1933–1943

Country	Number admitted (thousands)	Percent
United States	190	23.5
Palestine	120	14.8
England	65	8.1
France	55	6.8
Belgium	30	3.7
Holland	35	4.3
Switzerland	16	1.9
Spain	12	1.4
Other European countries	70	8.8
Argentina	50	6.2
Brazil	25	3.1
Uruguay	7	0.8
Bolivia	12	1.4
Chile	14	1.7
Other Latin American countries	20	2.4
China	25	3.1
South Africa	8	1.0
Australia	9	1.1
Canada	8	1.0
Other countries	40	4.9
Total	811	100.0

Table 2: Emigration of Jews from Germany in the Period April 1933 to May 1939, including Areas Occupied by Germany by May 1939[1]

Country of Reception	No. of German immigrants
United States	63,000
Palestine	55,000
Great Britain	40,000
France	30,000
Argentina	25,000
Brazil	13,000
South Africa	5,500
Italy	5,000
Other European countries	25,000
Other South American countries	20,000
Far Eastern countries	15,000
Other	8,000
Total	304,500

[1] Estimated figures.

grew into the millions during the years of mass deportations, whereas the second definition is too broad because it includes victims of natural catastrophes, and only man-made events should be taken into consideration. A general definition, based mainly but not exclusively on Jewish experience in the 1930s and 1940s, would consider as refugees persons forced to leave their places of residence because of political or other man-made reasons, independent of their will or their individual character, mostly because of their race, religion, nationality, or political convictions.

[Aryeh Tartakower / Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

International Refugee Organization (IRO)

The IRO was created by the General Assembly of the United Nations on Feb. 12, 1946, as a specialized agency for refugees and stateless persons to assist in the repatriation, protection, and resettlement of refugees and Displaced Persons after World War II. A special Committee on Refugees and Displaced Persons was then set up to work out a draft constitution for a nonpermanent organization to replace existing refugee organizations (such as UNRRA and the Intergovernmental Committee for Refugees (IGCR)). The Economic and Social Council ratified the draft constitution on Sept. 30, 1946, and the General Assembly gave its final approval on December 15 that year. The IRO constitution determined the criterion for "eligibility" of a refugee or Displaced Person. The signatures of 15 member states who would contribute 75% of the operational budget were required before the organization could function effectively. By Dec. 31, 1946, eight governments had signed the constitution, thereby making it possible to establish a preparatory commission for the IRO (PCIRO) which would immediately assume certain functions and become fully operative. On June 30, 1947, this commission went into effect and the responsibilities of UNRRA and IGCR were transferred to it; but the organization did not formally come into existence until Aug. 20, 1948, when the 15th member ratified the constitution. When the PCIRO began operations there were over 1,000,000 refugees, 20% of whom were Jews, in the liberated countries of Europe. At the peak of its operations in 1948, the IRO was working in about 30 countries and employed an international staff of 2,800. Between 1947 and 1951, it maintained about 1,500,000 refugees, repatriated 75,000, and resettled 1,040,000. These results were achieved at a cost of $430,000,000 which was contributed by 18 countries. About 20 countries offered to resettle refugees. Three of these countries accepted nearly two-thirds of all the refugees for resettlement: the United States, 330,000; Australia, 182,000; Israel, 132,000. The IRO was helped by many governments and 25 voluntary societies which included six Jewish organizations, the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (JDC), the Jewish Agency for Palestine, *United HIAS Service, *ORT, *OZE, and the Jewish Committee for Relief Abroad.

The government of Israel in cooperation with the JDC and the Jewish Agency for Palestine undertook final responsibility for the resettlement and care of 8,700 hard-core cases toward which the IRO provided assistance amounting to $6,500,000. It contributed over $10,000,000 for transportation costs toward resettling refugees in Israel. The IRO succeeded the IGCR as trustee for international reparations (amounting to $25,000,000) for the resettlement of Jewish refugees. The IRO was dissolved in February 1952 when some of its functions were taken over by governments and voluntary agencies; others were handed over to the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and to the Provisional Intergovernmental Committee for the Movement of Migrants from Europe.

[Shalom Adler-Rudel]

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REFUSENIKS, Jews who wished to leave the U.S.S.R. but were refused permission to do so. Some were allowed to leave in 1977, and under the policy of *glasnost* declared by Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev, most of the long-standing refuseniks were allowed to leave in 1988-89. For a full discussion of the subject see *Russia.

REGAVIM (Heb. רְגָבִים; "Earth Clods"), kibbutz in the Menasheh Hills, 6 mi. (10 km.) E. of Binyaminah, affiliated with Ha-Kibbutz ha-Me'uḥad. Regavim was founded during the War of Independence by pioneers from Tunisia, Algeria, and Italy. Its farming was based on field crops, fruit orchards, and dairy cattle. The kibbutz also produced building materials. In 1969 Regavim had 288 inhabitants; in 2002, 256.

[Efraim Orni]

REGBAH (Heb. רֶגְבָּה), moshav shittufi in N. Israel 2½ mi. (4 km.) S. of Nahariyyah, affiliated with Tenu'at ha-Moshavim. Regbah was founded by veteran soldiers of World War II, some of them Israel-born and some from Central Europe and other countries (1946). The village had highly intensive and fully irrigated farming (field crops, citrus groves, avocado plantations, poultry, cattle) and two factories, for kitchen cabinets and closets and for plastics. In 1969 Regbah had 311 inhabitants; in 2002, 548. Its name is derived from *regev* which means "clod of earth."

[Efraim Orni / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

REGELSON, ABRAHAM (1896–1981), Hebrew poet. Born near Minsk, Regelson arrived in the United States as a boy of nine. Though his formal education was not extensive, he read voluminously and acquired substantial knowledge in poetry and philosophy. He began to publish poems immediately after World War I. Although mainly a poet, he also wrote philosophical essays and satirical sketches, and translated from English into Hebrew, and from Hebrew and Yiddish into English. During his stay in Ereẓ Israel in 1933–36, he wrote a regular column for *Davar* and contributed occasionally to *Davar li-Yladim*. The latter contributions were published in a book of children's stories *Massa ha-Bubbot le-Ereẓ Yisrael* (1936; 1954). *Ein ha-Sus* (1967), another book for children, is a paraphrase of Greek legends. When he settled permanently in Israel in 1949, he worked for various newspapers and, sporadically, at the publishing house Am Oved. All of his collections of poetry are assembled in *Ḥakukot Otiyyotayikh* (1964) which includes translations of American, English, and Yiddish poetry. Influenced by Robert Browning, Regelson developed his own form of dramatic monologue in poetry. His philosophical aperçus were often given expression in longer poems in the form of poetic Midrashim. His most ambitious poem, "Cain and Abel," depicts struggling opposites: the man of action and the thinker who is poisoned by a sense of vanity of all things. The title poem of his collected works, "*Ḥakukot Otiyyotayikh*" (*Ha-Tekufah*, 30/31 (1945/46), 271–86), is an ecstatic hymn to the Hebrew language.

Regelson's prose appeared in three volumes: *Melo ha-Tallit Alim* (1941), *Sham ha-Bedolaḥ* (1942), and *Erelei ha-Maḥashavah* (1969). The last and most important of the three is both a critical evaluation of some contemporary philosophies and past philosophers and a repository of Regelson's own thought. His translations into Hebrew include stories by Kipling (1935), Melville's *Billy Budd* (1950); into English Glanz' Yiddish poems, M. Maisels' philosophical work *Maḥashavah ve-Emet* (in an abridged version, under the title *Thought and Truth* (1956),) and Jacob Klatzkin's philosophical essays, *In Praise of Wisdom* (1943). While in New York, he also edited a small literary and philosophical review, *Rivon Katan* (1944), of which only two issues appeared.

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[Eisig Silberschlag]

REGEM-MELECH (Heb. רֶגֶם מֶלֶךְ), a name of uncertain meaning and origin, occurring in Zechariah 7:1ff. (cf. Regem in I Chron. 2:47). Regem-Melech is reproduced by the versions as a title: "*rab-mag* of the king" (Peshitta), and in a form that scholars consider to be a transliteration of a title: *arbeseer* (LXX A), a transliteration of the Hebrew *rav saris*, "chief eunuch [of] the king," and *arbeser* (LXX B), a transliteration of *rav sar ha-Melekh*, "chief officer [of] the king." The difficult passage in which the name occurs may mean that Bethel-Sarezer (see *Sharezer), Regem-Melech, and their men wrote (from Babylonia?) to the prophets and Temple priests in 518 B.C.E., when the reconstruction of the Temple was nearing completion, asking whether they should continue to wail and fast in the fifth month to commemorate the Temple's destruction.

[Bezalel Porten]

REGENSBURG (**Ratisbon**), city in Bavaria, Germany. Its Jewish quarter was the oldest in Germany (1020). During the First *Crusade (1096) the whole community was forcibly converted but a year later was allowed to return to Judaism by *Henry IV. In 1182 Emperor Frederick I Barbarossa, apparently renewing a charter originally granted to the Regensburg community by Henry IV, stated the principles of his attitude, as emperor, toward the Jews and added in the preamble: "We concede to our Ratisbon Jews and confirm with our imperial authority their good customs which their ancestors secured through the grace and favor of our predecessors until our time." The economic clauses of this charter relate to the functions of Regensburg Jews in trade with Slav countries, detailing that "they be allowed to sell gold, silver, and any other kinds of metals and merchandise of any sort, and also to buy them, according to their ancient custom" (Aronius, Regesten, no. 314d, pp. 139ff.). Thus at this time Regensburg Jewry was regarded as a community of traders continuing the traditions of its founders. When this privilege was renewed by King Henry in 1230, a further provision stipulated that they might be brought before judges of their own choosing only. In the 12th and early 13th centuries, Christians also lived in the Jewish quarter and owned homes there. Between 1210 and 1217 a synagogue was built and a plot for a cemetery acquired in 1210. By the end of the 12th century Regensburg had become a religious and cultural center for German Jewry. Among its rabbis were *Baruch b. Isaac, *Ephraim b. Isaac, and *Isaac b. Moses of Vienna (the author of *Or Zaru'a*). *Judah b. Samuel he-Ḥasid made the city the cradle and center of the *Ḥasidei Ashkenaz. Even in the 15th century, a time of economic decline and trouble, Regensburg attracted such luminaries as Israel *Bruna. At this time Regensburg yeshivot developed a *pilpul* and *ḥillukim* style of their own contrasted in the Ashkenazi yeshivot with that of Nuremberg. The economic importance of the community enabled it to weather the *Rindfleisch (1289), *Deggendorf (1338), and *Black Death persecutions (1348/49) and to reach new heights of prosperity by offering asylum to rich refugees. *Moneylending to secular and ecclesiastic princes, in addition to the merchants of the city, was conducted on a large scale.

In the 14th century the community suffered from heavy taxes and was hit by the annulments of debts to Jews decreed by Emperor Wenceslaus II in 1385 and 1390. After the time of the Black Death the municipality's aspirations to "ownership" of the Jews grew; its fiscal extortions were as severe as those of the Jews' other "owners" – the emperor, the duke of Bavaria, and the local bishop. Gradually the Jews were forced to rely mainly on moneylending, and their freedom of movement was severely curtailed. The general decline and impoverishment of Regensburg, combined with growing social tension between the upper and lower classes of the citizenry, made the years 1475–1519 a period of increased bitterness against the Jews, a struggle that ended in their total expulsion. The violent anti-Jewish sermons of Peter *Schwarz (Nigri) resulted in the confiscation of the property of the whole community (1476); following the accusation by one of the defendants in the *Trent ritual murder trial 17 Jews from Regensburg were imprisoned. After four years, under unremitting pressure from Frederick III, the city was forced to free them. Frederick exacted a heavy fine from the city and also a pledge that it would not expel its Jewry. Balthasar Hubmeier (1485–1528), later the Anabaptist leader, was the most virulent of many preachers who accused the Jews of usury and blasphemy and repeatedly demanded that the synagogue be converted into a church; the guilds insisted on expulsion. In 1498 the community was led by ten elders; its **takkanot* were enacted by majority vote in a council of 31. At this critical period of its history, the community's ordinances dealt with the preservation of internal peace (R. Straus, *Urkunden*… (1960), no. 676, pp. 228–30). When Emperor Maximilian died in January 1519, the interregnum was made the occasion for the immediate expulsion of the Jews, about 800 in all. The synagogue was razed and a chapel, which became the center of mass pilgrimages, was erected on the site. About 5,000 gravestones were wrenched out of the cemetery and used for building. Trophies of the "victory against the Jews" were prominently displayed on walls of houses in Regensburg and other cities. Most of the refugees settled in nearby Stadtamhof, on Bavarian territory, but were later expelled from there too (1551).

In 1545 the city received the privilege of *non recipiendis Judaeis* from *Charles V and guarded it jealously in the future. Nevertheless, Jewish **shtadlanim*, *Court Jews, and physicians continued to be present at the meetings of the Reichstag of the Holy Roman Empire, which were occasionally held in Regensburg. From 1669 the Reichstag convened regularly in Regensburg, and a Jewish settlement affiliated to the assembly sprang up under the protection of the hereditary dukes von Pappenheim. The number of **Schutzjuden* was bitterly contested between the dukes and the city and was finally fixed at three to four families (60–80 persons) throughout most of the 17th and 18th centuries. In the latter half of the 18th century Isaac Alexander gained temporary fame as the first rabbi to write on contemporary philosophical subjects in Germany. Philip Reichenberger (1750–1818), court agent of Ansbach and Brandenburg, and Wolf *Breidenbach led the fight for the abolition of the **leibzoll* ("body tax"). In 1805 the three richest families were granted the right to own land. Reichenberger unsuccessfully requested full citizenship in 1808. Regensburg passed to Bavaria in 1810. A cemetery was consecrated in 1822 and a synagogue in 1841. The community grew from 180 persons in 1810 to 635 in 1880 (1.96%); after this it declined gradually.

Under the Nazi regime the number of Jews decreased from 427 in 1933 to 226 in 1939. On Nov. 9, 1938, the synagogue was burned down, shops and homes were pillaged, and almost all the men arrested. About 230 Jews (including some from the countryside) were deported in 1942 to Theresienstadt, Auschwitz, and Lublin. After World War II a new community was organized, with 140 persons in 1970 (two-thirds over the age of 40) and its own rabbi and *shoḥet*.

The history of Regensburg's medieval Jewish community became one of the outstanding instances of Nazi historiography when it was falsified by the Nazi historian Wilhelm Grau in his *Anti-semitismus im spaeten Mittelalter* (1934). He used the sources collected by the Jew Raphael Straus (published posthumously in 1960), which had been confiscated by the Gestapo. A new community center was consecrated in 1969. The Jewish community numbered 117 in 1989 and about 1,000 in 2005. The increase is explained by the immigration of Jews from the former Soviet Union.

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[Henry Wasserman]

REGGIO, ABRAHAM BEN EZRIEL (1755–1846), Italian rabbi and kabbalist. Born in Ferrara, Reggio was a pupil of Isaac *Lampronti and his son Solomon. He went to Gorizia where he studied under Moses Ḥefeẓ (Gentili), the local rabbi, and taught in the *talmud torah*. After the death of his teacher, Reggio was appointed to succeed him as rabbi of the town (c. 1796), and he held this office until his death. Reggio was considered an important *posek* in his time. Leading scholars of that period, including Mordecai *Baneth, addressed halakhic problems to him.

His only published work is *Tiglaḥat ha-Ma'amar* (Leghorn, 1844), a reply to the pamphlet *Ma'amar ha-Tiglaḥat* (Vienna, 1835) by his son, Isacco Samuel *Reggio, on the permission to shave during the intermediate days of a festival. His most important works, *Eshel Avraham*, on general principles and themes in the Bible, Mishnah, Talmud, prayer book and Kabbalah; *Mazkeret ha-Limmud*, novellae; and *Mashal u-Meliẓah*, letters, poems, and elegies, remain in manuscript.

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[Abraham David]

REGGIO, ISACCO SAMUEL (**Ia-Sha-R**; 1784–1855), Italian rabbi; one of the founders of the *Collegio Rabbinico Italiano. He published an Italian translation of the Pentateuch, with a Hebrew commentary (Vienna, 1821), and wrote *Ma'amar Torah min ha-Shamayim* ("The Torah as Divinely Revealed," Vienna, 1818) to prove the divine authority of the Pentateuch. Among his other biblical works are a poetic version in Italian of the Book of Isaiah (Udine, 1831); a Hebrew introduction to the Scroll of Esther (Vienna, 1841); and Italian translations of the books of Joshua, Ruth, and Lamentations, and of *Pirkei Avot*. In *Ha-Torah ve-ha-Filosfyah* (Vienna, 1827), written under the influence of Mendelssohn, Reggio tried to show that reason and philosophy were compatible with the Torah. His *Iggerot Yashar* (1834–36) are exegetic, historical, and philosophical notes in the form of letters to friends. He also edited some of the writings of Leone di Modena and wrote *Beḥinat ha-Kabbalah* (Gorizia, 1852). Reggio published other works on Kabbalah and philosophy in *Bikkurei ha-Ittim ha-Ḥadashim* under the pseudonym Iashar. His autobiography, *Mazkeret Yashar,* appeared in Vienna (1849). His Hebrew correspondence with S.D. *Luzzatto was collected by V. Castiglione (1902); it shows their mutual esteem and friendship. Reggio also wrote some halakhic and pedagogical works, one of which appeared in English: *A Guide for the Religious Instruction of Jewish Youth* (London, 1855). His views on Judaism did not always conform to tradition and led to polemics with German rabbis as well as his own father, Abraham *Reggio.

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[Alfredo Mordechai Rabello]

REGGIO DI CALABRIA, city in S. Italy. The first Jewish settlement in Reggio can probably be traced back to the fourth century, but the earliest documents mentioning its presence date from 1127. The Jewish colony's main occupations were dyeing and dealing in wool and silk. On Feb. 17, 1475, the first dated Hebrew printed book (see *Incunabula), Rashi's commentary on the Pentateuch, was issued there by Abraham b. Garton b. *Isaac. In 1492–93 many Jewish refugees from Sicily, Sardinia, and Spain, including the whole Syracuse community, took refuge in Reggio. After Calabria had passed under Spanish rule, the Jews were banished from the town (July 25, 1511), leaving the sale of their property to trustees.

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[Ariel Toaff]

REGGIO EMILIA, city in central Italy. The first Jewish settlement of Jewish loan bankers in Reggio Emilia, a fief of the House of Este, dates from the year 1413. For a long time they benefited from the favorable attitude of the ducal house to the Jewish settlements, which sometimes protected them from the persecutions instigated by Franciscan friars. When the papacy secured possession of the duchy of Ferrara in 1598, the duchy of Modena and Reggio was left in the hands of the House of Este. In the succeeding two centuries the duchy continued to welcome considerable groups of Jews, who engaged in moneylending and commercial activities. The ghetto was instituted in Reggio Emilia in 1669 and the Jews were able to carry on freely their business activities and exercise a variety of entrepreneurial, commercial, and cultural activities, including the production, manufacture, and trading of silk, silver, and diamonds. In 1652–53 the duke of Modena issued charters inviting foreign Jews to settle, proclaiming them "wealthy people and very likely to introduce traffic and commerce" and 60 Sephardi families settled in the duchy, mainly in Reggio Emilia. The majority of these were former Marranos from Spain who had recently reverted to Judaism, usually in Tuscany, and nine of them had migrated from Amsterdam and Hamburg. They were able to build an autonomous Portuguese community.

There was a renowned yeshivah in Reggio Emilia with learned rabbis such as *Benjamin b. Eliezer ha-Kohen Vitale and Isaiah *Bassano. A Jew of Reggio, Moses Benjamin *Foà, was book purveyor to the ducal library in Modena, participated in the Comizi of Lion, and worked actively with Moses Formiggini of Modena for the emancipation of the Italian Jews in the Napoleonic era, when the French occupation of 1796 temporarily brought the right to live outside the ghetto and to participate in public. In 1806–1807 Jacob Israel Carmi was one of the Italian rabbis who went to Paris for the Assembly of Notables and the Napoleonic *Sanhedrin; he gave a penetrating account of his experiences in his letters. In this period a number of Jews began to move to cities affording greater cultural and economic opportunities and at the beginning of the 19th century Reggio Emilia had a population of fewer than 800 Jews. During the Holocaust 18 Jews were deported to the death camps from the province of Reggio Emilia. In the early 21st century few Jews lived in Reggio Emilia and the community was affiliated to the community of Modena; the City Hall and the Italian State Ministry of Culture completed the restoration of the main synagogue in 2005.

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[Ariel Toaff / Federica Francesconi (2nd ed.)]

REGHIN (also **Reghinul Săsesc**; Hung. **Szászrégen**; Ger. **Saechsisch-Regen**), town in northwestern Romania, Transylvania. The inhabitants of Reghin included Romanians, German-Saxons, and Hungarians. The city was founded in the 13th century by German (Saxon) and Romanian settlers. Although Jews began to settle there at the close of the 18th century, an organized community was established only during the middle of the 19th century, probably in 1849. The majority of the Jews came from Bukovina and Galicia. As a result of the battles during the Revolution of 1848 against Austria and the riots in Transylvania, Reghin and its Jewish population suffered severely. The first Jewish settlers, who arrived mainly from Bukovina and Galicia, were Orthodox, and the community remained Orthodox throughout its existence. Ḥasidic influence was also felt. Besides the synagogue, there were two prayerhouses (*kloyz*) where the Ḥasidim used to pray and had their own rabbis. A prominent figure in the community during its early years was the Orthodox rabbi Hillel Pollak (who was spiritually close to the extreme Orthodox rabbi Hillel *Lichtenstein).

A Jewish elementary school was founded in 1874. (Later it ceased its activities but was reestablished in 1910 and functioned until 1940.) The language of instruction in the school was Hungarian until 1918 after which it was Romanian. In 1885 the community became the administrative center for all the Jews of the district. The community numbered 282 in 1866, about 40 families in 1889, and 394 persons (about 7% of the total population) in 1891. Jews engaged in commerce, industry, and crafts. Their trade and industry were mainly connected with timber and some of them owned sawmills; there were also unskilled Jewish workers employed in the timber industry. The institutions of the community assisted the poor. Some of the *Ḥadarim* established by the community translated the Pentateuch into German instead of Yiddish in order to facilitate study of this language by the children. From 1919 there was considerable Zionist activity in Reghin, and many members of the youth organizations emigrated to Ereẓ Israel. The community numbered 1,587 (about 16% of the total population) in 1930, and 1,653 (about 10% of the total) in 1941.

Between the two world wars the Jews suffered from the nationalist and antisemitic activities of members of the Iron Guard, and from the official antisemitic policies of most of the Romanian governments. The change of rule in 1940 (from Romanian to Hungarian) did not bring with it any improvement, as was hoped by the Jews, who remembered their legal emancipation in 1867 by the Austro-Hungarian authorities.

Holocaust Period and After

In the summer of 1944 the local Jews were concentrated into a ghetto set up in a brick factory. Jews from the surrounding area were also brought there. From this ghetto about 6,000 Jews were deported to *Auschwitz by the Hungarian Horthiite authorities, at the request of the Nazi occupiers.

After World War II, in 1947 a community numbering about 820 was formed mostly by survivors of the death camps and other Jews who had arrived in Reghin from places in different parts of Romania. The community gradually declined as a result of immigration to Israel and elsewhere. In 1971 there were still some 20 to 25 families living in Reghin and even fewer in the early 21st century.

[Yehuda Marton / Paul Schveiger (2nd ed.)]

REGNER, SIDNEY L. (1903–1993), U.S. Reform rabbi and organizational executive. Regner was born in New York City and received his B.A. from the University of Cincinnati in 1924. In 1927, he was ordained at *Hebrew Union College, which also awarded him an honorary doctor of divinity degree in 1954. His career in the congregational rabbinate (1927–54) was spent at Temple Oheb Sholom in Reading, Pennsylvania, where he also served on the executive committees of the Jewish Community Council (1935–54) and the Central Atlantic States Region of the Council of Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds (1943–47); on the Governor's Committee on Children and Youth (1953–54); and as president of the Council of Social Agencies (1942–44). Long active in the *Central Conference of American Rabbis – as financial secretary (1939–52), executive board member, and chairman of its Committee on Publication (1952–54) – he became the CCAR's first executive vice president when the position was created in 1954. In this capacity, he represented the Reform movement's rabbinical association on the governing body of the *World Union for Progressive Judaism, the executive committee of the *Synagogue Council of America, and in meetings with heads of other national Jewish organizations. He also supervised the CCAR's publications, edited the yearbook and served ex-officio on joint commissions with the *Union of American Hebrew Congregations. Under his leadership, the CCAR became a recognized professional association with annual regional *kallot* (study retreats) in addition to its annual convention. He retired in 1971, becoming executive vice president emeritus (1971–93). A lifelong peace activist, he was elected vice president of the Jewish Peace Fellowship in 1980.

[Bezalel Gordon (2nd ed.)]

REHFISCH, HANS JOSE (1891–1960), German playwright. The son of a Berlin physician, Rehfisch was a successful lawyer who turned to literature, publishing many of his works under the pseudonyms Rene Kestner, Sydney Phillips, and Georg Turner. A free-lance writer until 1933, he escaped from the Nazi regime first to Vienna and then to London where he worked in industry. After World War II he taught at the New School for Social Research in New York (1947–49). He returned to Germany in 1950 and settled in Hamburg. Rehfisch wrote many successful plays mostly dealing with contemporary politics and society. He began his career as an expressionist with the drama *Die goldenen Waffen* (1913), but soon changed to realistic subject matter. His comedy, *Nickel und die 36 Gerechten* (1925), was inspired by the Jewish legend of the 36 (*Lamed Vav) Righteous Men.

Among his works most frequently staged were the tragicomedy *Wer weint um Juckenack?* (1924) and *Die Affaire Dreyfus* (1929), a historical drama written in collaboration with Wilhelm Herzog. Rehfisch's play *Quell der Verheissung* (1946) deals with German Jews who settled in Palestine. *Oberst Chabert* (1955) was a tragedy based on the novel by Balzac. In 1944, he edited the symposium *In Tyrranos: 4 Centuries of Struggle against Tyranny in Germany*, published by the Emigre 1943 Club. He was twice president of the Union of German Stage Writers and Composers (1931–33; 1951–53). In 1967 his selected works appeared in four volumes, edited by the Eastern German Academy of Arts in Berlin.

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[Rudolf Kayser]

REHINE, ZALMA (1757–1843), merchant and Baltimore communal leader. Rehine was born in Prussia. After his arrival in America, he settled in Richmond, Virginia, and became a storekeeper. In 1793 he helped found the Richmond Light Infantry and served in it until 1800. When Isaac *Leeser went to the U.S. in 1824, he was employed by Rehine who was his uncle. In 1829 Rehine left Richmond for Baltimore, where he organized a *minyan* and, according to tradition, the first communal religious service by Baltimore Jews took place during High Holy Days in Rehine's home. The first Baltimore congregation grew out of this nucleus.

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[Isaac M. Fein]

REHOB (Heb. רְחוֹב, רְחֹב; "a wide place, square");

(1) Town allocated to the tribe of Asher, mentioned together with Hammon and Kana (Josh. 19:28), but apparently not conquered by the tribe (Judg. 1:31). It may be identical with the Rehob mentioned in the Egyptian Execration texts of the late 19th century B.C.E. and in the list of Thutmosis III (no. 87). It is variously identified both with Tell al-Balāṭ, southeast of Tyre, and with Khirbat al-ʿAmrī, northeast of Achzib.

(2) A second Rehob in the territory of Asher, mentioned together with Aphek (Josh. 19:30). It was one of the levitical cities (Josh. 21:31; I Chron. 6:60). A suggested identification is with Tell al-Birwa al-Gharbī where remains of the Middle and Late Bronze Ages and the Early Iron Age have been found. Some scholars consider it identical with (1) above.

(3) The Roobot of Eusebius (Onom. 142:11) and the Rehob known from various Egyptian inscriptions are identified with the large tell of al-Ṣārim, south of Beth-Shean, near the present-day al-Sheikh al-Riḥāb. This is the most important mound in the Beth-Shean Valley and the remains found there date from the third millennium B.C.E. to about the tenth century B.C.E. It may be identical with the Rehob mentioned in the Egyptian Execration texts of the 20th–19th centuries B.C.E. According to one of the Beth-Shean stelae of Seti I, it was attacked by forces from Pehel and Hamath, but was eventually relieved by the pharaoh's army. The name appears as Rahabu in the Taanach letters (15th century) and in Papyrus Anastasi I (13th century), where it is listed before Beth-Shean. The last mention of the place occurs in the list of towns conquered by Shishak (no. 26) and, therefore, the town must have ex-

isted until at least 925 B.C.E., although it is not mentioned in the Bible.

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[Michael Avi-Yonah]

REHOBOAM (Heb. רְחַבְעָם; "the [divine] kinsman has been generous" or "the people has expanded"), king of Judah for 17 years (c. 928–911 B.C.E.); son of Solomon by Naamah the Ammonitess (I Kings 14:21; II Chron. 12:13). Rehoboam's name is connected with one of the most important events in the early history of Israel, namely, the division of David's united monarchy into two separate kingdoms (see *Israel; *Jeroboam son of Nebat). On Solomon's death, Rehoboam went to Shechem, "for all Israel had come to Shechem to acclaim him as king" (I Kings 12:1; II Chron. 10:1). The words "all Israel" here evidently refer to only the northern tribes, since Rehoboam seems to have been accepted by Judah as a matter of course (I Kings 11:43; II Chron. 9:31). As a precondition for accepting him as king, the representatives of Israel made the following demand of Rehoboam: "Lighten the hard service of your father and his heavy yoke upon us, and we will serve you" (I Kings 12:4; II Chron. 10:4; see *Solomon). Rehoboam asked the people to wait three days for his reply, and first consulted "the old men, who had served his father Solomon while he was alive" (I Kings 12:6). They advised him to accede to the people's request, thereby ensuring himself their loyalty "for ever" (12:7). But the king rejected the elders' counsel, preferring to be guided by the "young men who had grown up with him" (12:8); who counseled a hard line. He is reported to have used the words: "Whereas my father laid upon you a heavy yoke, I will add to your yoke; my father chastised you with whips, but I will chastise you with scorpions" (12:8–14). He also was swayed by the vulgarism of his advisers, who told him to tell the people, "My little one [i.e., my penis] is thicker than my father's loins." The people replied: "What portion have we in David? We have no inheritance in the son of Jesse. To your tents, O Israel! Look now to your own house, David" (12:16). The Israelites chose as their king Jeroboam son of Nebat, who had previously returned from Egypt (12:3, 20).

Naturally, Rehoboam did not recognize the legality of the split and provocatively sent *Adoram "who was taskmaster over the *corvee" in order to assert his rule, but the people stoned Adoram to death (I Kings 12:18). Rehoboam was forced to flee to Jerusalem and then to wage a prolonged war against Jeroboam, in a vain effort to reunite Israel with Judah (I Kings 12:21; 15:6; I Chron. 11:1; 12:15). The split in the kingdom and the prolonged fighting between Rehoboam and Jeroboam weakened the Israelites, and at the same time encouraged their neighbors not only to throw off Israelite rule and proclaim their absolute independence (see *Aram, *Ammon, *Moab, *Edom, and *Philistines), but even to attempt to enlarge their own territories at the expense of Israel and Judah. As a defensive measure, Rehoboam ringed his kingdom with a system of forts (II Chron. 11:5–12). On the west he fortified Aijalon, Zorah, Azekah, Soco, Gath, Mareshah, and Lachish; on the south, Lachish, Adoraim, and Ziph; and on the east, Ziph, Hebron, Beth-Zur, Tekoa, Etam, and Beth-Lehem. Possibly Rehoboam refrained from fortifying his border with the kingdom of Israel as an expression of his refusal to accept the split. Although the list of the fortified cities built by Rehoboam appears in the Bible before the account of Pharaoh *Shishak's invasion of Palestine, most scholars are of the opinion that Rehoboam carried out the work of fortification only after the Egyptian campaign. According to the two versions found in the Bible, the campaign took place in the fifth year of Rehoboam's reign (I Kings 14:25; II Chron. 12:2). The Egyptian king advanced into Judah with a large army, took the fortified cities "and came as far as Jerusalem" (II Chron. 12:3–4). Shishak carried off the Temple treasures, including the gold shields, and the treasures of the king's house. From the Egyptian list of places and cities captured by Shishak, it is clear that the campaign was not only directed against Judah but also, and mainly, against the kingdom of Israel (see *Jeroboam son of Nebat). Jerusalem is not mentioned in the list (at least, not in the extant sections of it), from which it may be deduced that Shishak did not conquer the city, but only passed threateningly close to it (cf. 12:7–8). Rehoboam went out to the north of Jerusalem to meet Shishak and paid tribute to him, thereby saving the city from conquest. Shishak's campaign led to the destruction of many of the cities of Judah, particularly those in the Negev, including Ezion-Geber on the coast of the Red Sea. Fortunately for Judah and Israel and the other little states of the region, however, Egypt lacked the unity and strength to maintain a permanent suzerainty over them.

See *Abijah.

[Bustanay Oded]

In the Aggadah

David praised God for having permitted Ammonite and Moabite women in marriage, since this allowed him (a descendant of Ruth, a Moabite woman) and Rehoboam (the son of Naamah, an Ammonite woman) to enter into the assembly of Israel (Yev. 77a). The treasures which the Jews removed from Egypt (Ex. 12:36) were retained, until Shishak, the king of Egypt, took them away from Rehoboam (Pes. 119a). All the curses with which David cursed Joab (II Sam. 3:29) were fulfilled in David's own descendants, Rehoboam being afflicted with a gonorrheal flux (Sanh. 48b). The rabbis, emphasizing the message to be derived from Rehoboam's failure, declared that the king is the servant of the people and not their ruler (Hor. 10a–b).

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REHOBOTH (Heb. רְחֹבוֹת).

(1) Rehoboth-in-the-Negev. Rehoboth is the etiological name of a well dug by Isaac in the Negev in order to escape from quarrels with the people of Gerar (Gen. 26:22). Some scholars locate it in the region around al-Ruḥayba, approximately 20½ mi. (33 km.) southwest of Beersheba. Near the tell, an Iron Age fortress was discovered. *Nabatean remains, including a building (caravanserai?) and a bilingual Nabatean and Greek inscription, suggest that the site was a stopping place for traders on the secondary road extending to the Sinai via Rhinocorura. The main remains at the site date to the Byzantine period. After Haluza, ancient Elusa, Rehoboth (22 acres) is the second largest town in the Negev. The ancient town contained a large central church, apparently built in the late fourth or fifth centuries C.E., and two additional churches on the northern and southern edges of the settlement. Found in the north church were small glass plaques decorated with images of saints. On the site are the remains of one of the best-preserved bathhouses in the Negev. Numerous Greek inscriptions were found on tombstones in the cemetery, the earliest from 488 C.E. and the latest from 555 C.E. A kufic inscription was also found at the site referring to Amr ibn-al-As, conqueror of Byzantine Palestine in the seventh century. Excavations were conducted at the site by Y. Tsafrir and R. Rosenthal-Higgenbottom between 1975 and 1979, with further excavations by Tsafrir and K. Holum in 1986.

(2) Rehoboth ha-Nahar (Heb. רְחֹבוֹת הַנָּהָר; "Rehoboth by the River"), the residence of Shaul, king of Edom (Gen. 36:37; I Chron. 1:48). Roman sources (*Notitia Dignitatum* 73:27), the Beersheba edict, and Eusebius (Onom. 142:13–14) mention it as a garrison in the Gebalene. In the Babylonian Talmud (Yoma 10a) it is located on the Euphrates, usually called *nahar* ("river") in the Bible. It is perhaps to be identified with Khirbat al-Riḥāb on the Sayl al-Riḥāb, a confluent of the river Zered (Wadi al-Ḥasa'). Remains on the site date to the Nabatean and Roman periods.

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[Michael Avi-Yonah / Shimon Gibson (2nd ed.)]

REḤOV, TEL (often spelled **Reḥob**; Arabic: **Tell eṣ-Ṣarem**; Israel map reference 197.207; UTM Grid 873.594), the largest mound in the alluvial Beth-Shean Valley, extending over 26 acres (10.4 hectares); its summit at an elevation of 116 m below sea level. Located between the Jordan River and the Gilboa ridge and 5 km south of Tel Beth-Shean, the mound dominates the north–south road through the Jordan Valley. It is located near plenty of water sources and fertile land. The site comprises an upper mound and a lower mound to its north, each covering about 13 acres.

Tel Reḥov was identified since the 1920s with Reḥob of Egyptian texts, based on the preservation of the name in the Byzantine Jewish town Roḥob and the Islamic tomb of esh-Sheikh er-Riḥab, both located nearby. Surveys conducted by W.F. Albright, A. Bergman [Biran], and N. Zori indicated occupation at the site throughout the entire Bronze and Iron ages.

Reḥov (the Hebrew word for "piazza" and "street") was the name of several cities mentioned in the Bible and Egyptian sources. Two cities by that name in the western Galilee are referred to in the city lists of Asher (Josh. 19:28–30). An Aramean city and state of that name are mentioned in Syria, mainly in relation to David's conquests (II Sam 10:6, 8).

Reḥov in the Beth-Shean valley is mentioned as Raḥabu in an Akkadian letter from Taanach (15th century B.C.E.). In the stele of Seti I found at Beth-Shean (c. 1300 B.C.E.), it is mentioned as remaining loyal to the Egyptian imperial rule at a time of local revolts. In Papyrus Anastasi I from the 13th century B.C.E., the city is mentioned in relation to Beth-Shean and the crossing of the Jordan. Pharaoh Shishak's list of conquered cities (c. 925 B.C.E.) mentions Reḥov (No. 17) after "The Valley" and before Beth-Shean. Several additional Egyptian sources refer to either the city in the Beth-Shean Valley or to that in the Western Galilee. These include the Execration Texts (19–18th Dynasties), Tuthmosis III's topographic list (No. 87), a 20th-dynasty papyrus in Torino, and a notation concerning the production of chariots parts in Papyrus Anastasi IV. Reḥov in the Beth-Shean Valley is not mentioned in the Old Testament.

Seven excavation seasons were conducted at the site between 1997 and 2005, directed by Amihai Mazar on behalf of the Institute of Archaeology of the Hebrew University and sponsored by John Camp. Four excavation areas (A, B, H, J) were excavated on the upper mound, and five (C, D, E, F, G) on the lower mound.

Third Millennium B.C.E.

A fortification system dating to the Early Bronze Age II–III was revealed in a narrow trench on the slope of the higher mound (Area H). It includes a 9.5-m-wide mud brick wall preserved to a maximum height of 6.5 m, abutted on its outer side by an earthen glacis preserved to 13 m wide and 3.5 m high. This impressive fortification, which apparently surrounded the upper mound, suggests that Tel Reḥov was the site of a major city during this period.

Evidence for an Intermediate Bronze Age (*ebiv/mbi*) settlement and cemetery was revealed in surveys of the alluvial plain west of the mound. Several burial caves from this period were excavated close to the southwestern corner of the mound, containing pottery vessels, metal weapons, and beads.

Second Millennium B.C.E.

The excavations did not reveal any remains from the first half of the second millennium B.C.E. (Middle Bronze Age). An

Old Babylonian seal found on the mound, and few Middle Bronze graves near the mound hint for a possible occupation level which was not yet exposed.

The occupation history during the second half of the second millennium B.C.E. (Late Bronze and Iron Age I periods) was explored in Area D, a 10-m-wide trench on the western slope of the lower mound. At the bottom of the trench (Phase D-11), a layer of dark silt and ash located 1.2 m below the present-day alluvial field west of the mound indicates a significant rise in the level of the plain during historical periods. This layer contained few pottery sherds dated to the 16th–15th centuries B.C.E. This layer was covered by a 2-m-thick layer of travertine (D-10), probably an evidence of a small lake or pond at the foot of the mound during part of the Late Bronze Age. From the 14th century onwards, a continuous urban settlement was detected. The earliest (Phase D-9) included the remains of a substantial building dated to the 14th–13th centuries B.C.E. In the next phase (D-8), still in the 13th century B.C.E., a thick plaster floor covered the remains of the earlier building. Two occupation layers are dated to the 12th century B.C.E.; the earlier (D-7) includes remains of several rooms in a large architectural complex and the later (D-6) includes flimsy walls, plastered industrial installations, and beaten earth floors which were mended several times. Phases D-5 and D-4 represent two architectural phases of an 11th century B.C.E. city, of which a north–south street and parts of houses on either side were excavated. The destruction of stratum D-4 was followed by a total change in the function of this area. In Phase D-3 an open area covered the previous buildings, and more than 40 pits were recovered in a rather small area, used for storage or refuse. The material culture in all phases D-9 to D-3 is Canaanite in nature; painted pottery continued to be utilized until the end of the Iron Age I. Area D thus revealed a continuous development of the Canaanite city from the 13th to the end of the 11th centuries B.C.E., in spite of at least three destructions. No evidence of fortifications was discerned in any of these strata.

The Iron Age IIA: 10–9th centuries B.C.E.

The term Iron Age IIA is used here to define a period of about 150 years, from c. 980 B.C.E. to ca. 830 B.C.E., the time of the Israelite United Monarchy and of the Omride Dynasty. This is the main period studied at Tel Reḥov, and the rich finds contributed much to the study of this debated period in northern Israel. Three strata were defined: VI, V and IV, based on correlation between local phases in various excavation areas. During this period the city was densely built according to a well-ordered town plan, with parallel blocks of buildings. However, no fortifications were found. Both the building technique as well as the buildings' plans are exceptional in the Iron-Age architecture of Israel: the houses were constructed of unbaked mud bricks without stone foundations; wood foundations were constructed for both walls and floors and the buildings lack the pillars which are common in Israelite architecture. An open air sanctuary was found next to one of the dwelling quarters, perhaps serving the local neighborhood and used for ancestors cult. In another area, beehives were found in a building of Stratum V, the first of their kind to be uncovered in the Levant.

The second of these three Iron IIA cities was partly destroyed by fire, and partly continued to survive in Stratum IV. The third (Stratum IV) was violently destroyed by fire, resulting in the abandonment of the lower city. A large number of 14C dates of grain and olive stones as well as conventional archaeological considerations indicate that Strata VI and V belong to the 10th century B.C.E., and Stratum IV to the 9th century B.C.E. The destruction of V occurred during the last third of the 10th century, perhaps during Shoshenq I raid; Stratum IV was destroyed during the 9th century, perhaps during the Arameans attacks in the days of Hazael.

The destruction layers yielded rich assemblage of finds representing a specific regional aspect of the Iron Age IIA material culture in northern Israel. The pottery is characterized by the appearance of red slip and hand burnish, though in Stratum VI Canaanite tradition of painted pottery was still abundant. The painting diminishes in the following strata, and the red slip and hand burnished pottery become dominant.

International trade is detected in the form of Phoenician, Cypriot, and Greek pottery. Of special interest are several Greek Proto-Geometric, Sub-Proto-Geometric, and Middle Geometric sherds, which are rare imports in the Levant and are of special importance for the study of the Greek Iron Age chronology and international connections.

Objects related to a local cult include a group of ceramic horned altars, some with naked female figurines attached to their fronts. These altars retain traditions known from Syria at the end of the Late Bronze Age. A ceramic model shrine was decorated with unique molding on its roof, depicting a crouching animal with its front paws on two grotesquely-shaped human heads. A variety of clay figurines belong to the Canaanite/Phoenician artistic tradition, others are typical of northern Israel, such as several examples of the "drum player" woman. A unique figurine in a crude local style depicts a naked female crouching on her knees.

A variety of seals and seal impressions represent animals (antelopes, ostriches, crabs, birds), while one example depicts two human figures on either side of a palm tree. A unique type of seal impression on jar handles, known so far only from Tel Reḥov and Tel Beth-Shean, shows schematic human figures (or deities?) striding on mountaintops (?). A unique ivory object shows an enthroned human figure dressed in a long garment. The object is hollow, the head, hands and legs were made separately and attached to the main body.

Three alphabetic inscriptions incised on pottery jars were found. One from Stratum VI reads lnḥ[ ], perhaps to be reconstructed "belonging to Nach[um]." A second inscription reads: lšq[?] nmš – "belonging to Shky (?) [son of?] Nimshi." The name Nimshi is known from a contemporary inscription at nearby Tel Amal, and in the Bible as the name of Jehu's father or grandfather. The third inscription was broken, only the letters m’..’m were preserved and the meaning remains elusive.

Reḥov, though not mentioned in the Bible, must have been one of the most important cities in the Northern Kingdom of Israel. The specific material culture found in the 10th–9th centuries levels may indicate that much of its population could have been descendants of the previous Iron Age I Canaanite inhabitants, though now the city was part of the Israelite geopolitical entity.

The Iron Age IIB

During the Iron Age IIB (c. 830–732 B.C.E.) the city was reduced to half its former size and limited to the upper mound. The city was now surrounded by a 9.5-m-wide mudbrick wall, probably intended to stand against the Assyrian threat. Several occupation phases were detected (Stratum III) ending with dramatic destruction, including evidence of people slaughtered in their houses, most probably during the Assyrian conquest in the year 732 B.C.E.

Two graves with Assyrian pottery, as well as scant occupational remains (Stratum II), are evidence of a short period of activity after the Assyrian conquest, but the site was soon abandoned.

The Early Islamic to Medieval Periods

After a gap of about 1,000 years, a small village was founded on the summit of the mound in the 8th century C.E., and it survived until the 12th century C.E. Only the edges of this settlement were excavated.

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[Amihai Mazar (2nd ed.)]

REḤOVOT (Heb. רְחוֹבוֹת; "Wide Expanses," a name based on Gen. 26:22), city in central Israel, in the Coastal Plain, 14 mi. (22 km.) S. of Tel Aviv-Jaffa. Reḥovot was founded in 1890, by First *Aliyah immigrants from Poland. The land had been bought from a wealthy Christian Arab owner through the efforts of Yehudah *Goor (Grasovski), Yehoshua *Hankin, and A. *Eisenberg. The founding group, Menuḥah ve-Naḥalah, was intent on establishing a moshavah independent of Baron Edmond de *Rothschild's aid and tutelage. Reḥovot was then the only Jewish village to achieve this status. Although the moshavah was based on private initiative and property, the settlers showed civic spirit and strove toward cooperation. Initially, they had to overcome many obstacles – the Arab neighbors' enmity, agricultural failures due to plant diseases and the like, and marketing difficulties of their grape and almond produce. Citriculture was introduced in the first decade of the 20th century and the population increased, particularly after 1906, with the settlement of immigrants from Yemen in the suburbs, e.g., Sha'arayim founded in 1912. In 1914 Reḥovot had 955 inhabitants and 2,750 acres (11,000 dunams) of vineyards and almond orchards as well as over 130 acres (530 dunams) of citrus groves. After the hardships of World War I, Reḥovot entered a phase of quick expansion. In 1922 the village received municipal council status. In 1932 the Agricultural Research Station of the Jewish Agency (since statehood under the authority of the Ministry of Agriculture) was transferred from Tel Aviv to Reḥovot. In 1934 Chaim Weizmann founded the Sieff Institute in Reḥovot and built a home in the moshavah in 1936. While throughout the 1930s and 1940s the citrus crop continued to constitute the mainstay of Reḥovot's economy, industrial enterprises, particularly citrus preserve plants, were opened. In 1949, the Sieff Institute was enlarged and became the *Weizmann Institute. In 1952 the Agricultural Research Station became the Faculty of Agriculture of the *Hebrew University. In 1948 Reḥovot had 9,000 inhabitants and became a city two years later. The population increased rapidly in the first years of statehood, reaching 23,000 in 1953. Later, its growth continued at a slower pace with 29,000 inhabitants in 1958 and 36,600 in 1968. Citrus and mixed farming still constituted an important element in the local economy, and Reḥovot became one of Israel's principal centers for citrus packing, particularly after the opening of *Ashdod port. Industry was diversified and included the production of artificial leather and chemicals, along with additional food-processing plants. In the late 1960s, a number of scientific enterprises connected with the Weizmann Institute added yet another element to the city's economy. The Kaplan Hospital is included in Reḥovot's municipal boundaries. In the mid-1990s the population was approximately 83,200, rising to 98,800 in 2002, on an area of 8.5 sq. mi. (22 sq. km.). A third of the population was religious, 21% had an academic education. The economy continued to be based on packing, food processing, and chemicals, services, commerce, and the science and research institutes.

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[Efraim Orni / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

REHUM (Heb. רְחֻם; probably רְחוּם, an Aramaic hypocoristic of רחמאל, cf. רחמיאל in *Murashu tablets), a popular name borne by Jews and Arameans during the Persian period. Written in the Aramaic script, it has been confused by ancient scribes (cf. Ezra 2:2 with Neh. 7:7) and modern scholars (Kraeling, *The Brooklyn Museum Aramaic Papyri* (1953), 10:19, 11:14, 12:34) with the graphically similar Nehum.

(1) One of the 12 leaders joining Zerubbabel in the return from Babylonia (Ezra 2:2).

(2) As chancellor of the province Samaria or the satrapy Trans-Euphrates, Rehum and the scribe Shimshai succeeded in blocking construction of the Jerusalem wall during the reign of Artaxerxes I (Ezra 4:8–23).

(3) One of the levites who aided Nehemiah in the reconstruction of the Jerusalem wall (Neh. 3:17).

(4) A lay family name affixed to the agreement to observe the Torah (Neh. 10:26).

(5) As the name of a priestly family (Neh. 12:3) it may be a scribal corruption of Harim (cf. Neh. 10:6; 12:15; I Chron. 24:8).

[Bezalel Porten]

REḤUMEI, name of three Babylonian *amoraim*. REḤUMEI (I), *amora* of the mid-fourth century and a pupil of Rava and Abbaye (Pes. 39a; Naz. 13a). It is told that he died prematurely on the eve of the Day of Atonement, the circumstances of his death being given as follows: Reḥumei studied with Rava at Maḥoza and returned home to his wife only once a year on the eve of the Day of Atonement. One year he was so involved in his studies that he forgot to return. When he did not arrive, his anxious wife burst into tears. At that moment the roof collapsed and he was killed (Ket. 62b). REḤUMEI (II), *amora* of the mid-fifth century. He was a pupil of Ravina I, before whom he expounded a saying of Huna b. Taḥlifa (Zev. 77a). He also transmitted the customs of Ravina (Yoma 78a). Reḥumei succeeded Rafram II as the head of the academy of Pumbedita from 443 to 456. He died during the persecution of the Jews by Yazdegerd II. He may have also been called Naḥumai (*Iggeret R. Sherira Ga'on*, ed. B.M. Lewin, p. 96; *Seder ha-Qabbalah*, ed. Cohen, p. 34). REḤUMEI (III), *amora*, is also considered one of the early *savoraim*, although his teachings are still included in the Talmud. He differs with his contemporary Joseph on certain topics (Er. 11a; Men. 33b). He died in 505 C.E.

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REICH, ASHER (1937–), Hebrew writer. Reich was born in Jerusalem, grew up in the ultra-Orthodox milieu of Me'ah She'arim and was educated in religious schools. At 18 he defied the norms of his surroundings and joined the army, and later studied philosophy and literature at the Hebrew University. His first collection of poems, *Ha-Shanah ha-Shevi'it* ("The Seventh Year") appeared in 1963. It was followed by a dozen collections, including *Mareh Makom* (1978), *Seder Shirim* ("Collection of Poems," 1986), *Uvdot Bidyoniyyot* ("Fictional Evidence," 1993) and *Penei ha-Areẓ* ("A View of the Land," 1999). Reich's protest poems set up a mirror to the changes in Israeli society and mentality. Other poems are of a personal nature, contemplating love and loss and relating with poignant, sensual images to nature and landscape in Israel and in Europe. Particularly striking is his rich language, a poetic idiom which interweaves the language of the Scriptures and various Jewish sources with modern, colloquial Hebrew. Reich, who was for eight years co-editor of *Moznayim*, the magazine of the Hebrew Writers Association, participated in the International Writing Program at Iowa University and received several awards, including The Bernstein Prize. His autobiographical novel *Zikhronot shel Ḥoleh Shikheḥah* ("Reminiscences of an Amnesiac," 1993) tells the story of poet Yeshayahu Sonnenfeld, against the background of Berlin after the Unification and Tel Aviv under the threat of Saddam Hussein's SCUDs. The oxymoronic title points to the complex theme which underlies the novel, namely the power of past experiences and the inability to suppress painful memories. A collection of stories *Ish im Kelev* ("Man with Dog") appeared in 1999. Individual poems have been translated into various languages. Three of his collections as well as the novel were published in German. For further information see the ITHL website at www.ithl.org.il.

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[Anat Feinberg (2nd ed.)]

REICH, IGNÁC (1821–1887), teacher and historian. Born in Zsámbek, Hungary, Reich worked from 1851 as a teacher at the Jewish Community School of Budapest, where he proposed that religious subjects be taught in Hungarian. He wrote newspaper articles in favor of the emancipation of Hungarian Jewry and their assimilation as Hungarians. During the 1848 Revolution, Reich voiced his sentiments in patriotic poems. He was a frequent contributor to the Hungarian Jewish press, and translated Genesis and the *Haggadah* into Hungarian for use in schools (1879, 1878).

His main works included a collection of biographies of Hungarian Jews under the title *Beth El: Ehrentempel verdienter ungarischer Israeliten* (5 vols., 1856–65, 1878^2), an important source book for Hungarian Jewish history; and *Bet Lehem: Jahrbuch zur Befoerderung des Ackerbaues, des Handwerks und der Industrie unter den Israeliten Ungarns*, a yearbook for the advancement of agriculture, trade, and industry among Hungarian Jews (2 vols., 1872–73).

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REICH, KOPPEL (**Jacob**; 1838–1929), Hungarian rabbi. Born in Verbó into a rabbinical family, he studied under his father

Abraham Ezekiel Reich, rabbi of Bannewitz, and Abraham Samuel Benjamin *Sofer, rabbi of Pressburg. He married the daughter of Israel ha-Ro'eh, disciple of Moses *Sofer and rabbi of Szobotiszt, whom he succeeded in 1860. Twenty years later he became rabbi of Verbó where his grandfather had previously held office and was elected chief rabbi of the Orthodox community of Budapest in 1889. Reich possessed a wide general education and was active in Hungarian Orthodox communal affairs. In 1905 he presided over the convention of Orthodox rabbis and community leaders who drew up the regulations of Orthodox Jewry in Hungary. He delivered the opening speech in Hebrew – an unusual event in Hungary. These regulations were later ratified by the government and became the legal framework for the organization of Orthodoxy in Hungary. In the school which he established and directed, Torat Emet, both religious and secular subjects were taught. In 1927, although he was almost 90 years old, he took his seat in the upper house of the Hungarian parliament. Reich left no works, but he is quoted by rabbis of his generation. All his sons and sons-in-law held rabbinical office in Hungary.

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[Itzhak Alfassi]

REICH, LEON (1879–1929), Zionist leader in eastern Galicia and a leader of Polish Jewry. Born in Lemberg, Reich joined the Zionist Movement in his youth and founded the first Zionist students' association in Galicia, called Emunah. By that time he was already known as an able lecturer and writer. After studying political science in Paris for two years, Reich returned to Galicia and became head of the Zionist Movement. He was also active in the political struggle for the civil rights of the Jews. In 1911 he was a candidate for the Austrian parliament, and, in spite of his failure to be elected, his influence increased in all Jewish circles. He was the editor of the Zionist Polish-language weekly *Wschód* and also edited a Polish Zionist almanac in 1910. During the political unrest in Galicia at the end of World War I (1918), he was arrested by the Polish government, accused of treason, and placed in a detention camp. He was released, however, on the intervention of West European leaders. He moved to Paris and became a leading member in the *Comité des Délégations Juives to the Versailles Peace Conference, on whose behalf he edited a book concerning the national rights of East European Jews, *Les Droits nationaux des Juifs en Europe Orientale* (1919). Back in Poland, he was elected a member of the Polish Sejm for the Lvov district, an office which he retained until his death.

In 1924 Reich was made chairman of the Jewish Club in the Sejm and Senate (Kolo Zydowskie) In this capacity he and O. *Thon negotiated an agreement with the Polish government according to which the Jewish members of the Sejm were to support the government, provided that certain concessions be given to the Jews. The agreement (known under its Polish name *Ugoda) met with wide opposition in the Jewish public and became void later, when, after a coup, a new regime was established in Poland. Reich was forced to resign from the chairmanship of the Jewish Club in the Sejm, but retained his influence, especially in eastern Galicia, where he was reelected to the Sejm in spite of pressures exerted by the Polish authorities in favor of their own candidates. At the same time, he carried on his Zionist work as president of the Zionist Organization in eastern Galicia and deputy chairman of the Zionist General Council. He took part in all Zionist congresses as a leading delegate of the *General Zionists. In order to increase his influence throughout Poland, he founded a second Zionist Polish-language daily in Warsaw, *Dziennik Warszawski*, in addition to *Chwila*, published in Lvov. The new paper was on a high level, but had to be closed because of financial difficulties. Reich's remains were brought to Tel Aviv in 1934.

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[Aryeh Tartakower]

REICH, ROBERT BERNARD (1946–), U.S. political economist, educator, and government official. Born in Scranton, Pennsylvania, Reich was raised in Westchester County, N.Y., and educated at Dartmouth College (B.A. 1968), Oxford (Rhodes Scholar, M.A. 1970), and Yale Law School (J.D. 1973). He was an intern in the office of Senator Robert F. Kennedy in 1967, and worked for the presidential campaign of Eugene McCarthy in 1968. He was an assistant solicitor general in the Department of Justice, 1974–76; director of policy planning, Federal Trade Commission, 1976–81; and lecturer at the Kennedy School of Government, 1981–93. Reich was a contributing editor of the *New Republic*, 1982–93, and a cofounder of the journal *American Prospect* in 1990. An advisor to Democratic presidential candidates Walter Mondale in 1984, Michael Dukakis in 1988, and John Kerry in 2004, he was secretary of labor during the first term (1993–97) of the administration of President Bill Clinton, a friend Reich had known as a student at Oxford and Yale. Small in stature, he quipped that he always knew that he was on Clinton's short list. Reich was professor of social and economic policy at Brandeis University, 1997–2005. In 2002 he ran unsuccessfully in the Democratic primary for governor of Massachusetts. He became a professor at the Goldman School of Public Policy at the University of California, Berkeley.

From the early 1980s Reich was a prominent public "policy entrepreneur," an enthusiastic advocate and popularizer of economic policy ideas through public appearances, articles, and books, focusing on jobs, the global economy, and related issues. He was associated with the tendency known as neoliberalism, which combines a fundamental reliance on markets and free trade to achieve economic growth with a belief in government regulation and at least minimal social provision. Once an advocate of a comprehensive state industrial policy that would direct investment to certain industries, by the time he became secretary of labor he had abandoned that approach for one that favored education and retraining as a way of adapting the American workforce to a changing global economy whose conditions are determined by essentially unrestrained multinational corporate activities. He did implement generally liberal policies, however, having to do with sweatshops, child labor, minimum wages, worker safety, and pensions, and attempted to get the administration to address seriously the issues of economic insecurity on which it had been elected, but lost influence as Clinton moved politically to the center/right after the 1994 congressional elections. Reich argued against any attempt to keep American manufacturing jobs from being outsourced overseas, believing that such jobs are being lost everywhere because of automation, and that the benefits of cheaper products will generate more American jobs in the long run.

Among Reich's books are *Minding America's Business* (1982, with Ira Magaziner); *The Resurgent Liberal and Other Unfashionable Prophecies* (1989); *Public Management in a Democratic Society* (1990); *The Work of Nations: Preparing Ourselves for 21st Century Capitalism* (1991); *Locked in the Cabinet* (1997); *The Future of Success: Working and Living in the New Economy* (2000); and *Reason: Why Liberals Will Win the Battle for America* (2004).

[Drew Silver (2nd ed.)]

REICH, STEVE (1936–), U.S. composer and performer. Reich was born in New York and began studying drumming with Roland Kohloff at the age of 14. At Cornell University (1953–57) he devoted himself mainly to philosophy but also attended lectures of William Austin in music history. After returning to New York he began his composition studies, first privately with Hall Overton (1957–58) and later at the Juilliard School with Bergsma and Persichetti (1958–61). He received his master's degree under Berio (Mills College, California).

In the middle of the 1960s the idea of "phasing" captured his imagination; he composed some pieces where identical sound elements move out of synchrony with each other, i.e., in and out of phase (*It's Gonna Rain*, for tape, 1965, *Piano Phase*, 2 pianos, 1967, etc.). In this way, Reich became one of the founders of minimalism, or repetitive music. This music demanded a new type of reception, characterized by Reich as follows: "Some critics […] thought I was intending to create some kind of 'hypnotic' or 'trance' music. […] But I actually prefer the music to be heard by somebody who's totally wide awake, hearing more than he or she usually does, rather than by someone who's just spaced-out and receiving a lot of ephemeral impressions."

In the late 1960s Reich began giving concerts in New York galleries, where other minimalists (musicians, film artists, and visual artists) were also active. At the same time he and his own ensemble began making records of his music. He studied drumming with teachers from Africa and Asia, and often included percussion in his scores (*Music for 18 Musicians*, 1974–76; *Eight Lines*, 1979). *Music for 18 Musicians* became a new stage in his composition technique: within a context of many constantly recycling musical figures, each of them gradually changes.

In 1976–77 Reich devoted his time to Hebrew, Torah, and cantillation studies, visited Israel, and heard singers from Eastern Sephardi communities. Following this experience, he composed *Tehillim* for choir and instrumental ensemble (1981). His next opus, *The Desert Music* (1982–84) for choir and orchestra on the lines from William Carlos Williams, refer to the possible destruction of the planet. K.R. Schwarz characterized the opening of the finale as "[…] a solitary human running across a vast desolate plain – a desert at once intimidating and exhilarating."

In his most famous piece, *Different Trains*, 1988, Reich combines his childhood recollections of frequent train journeys between New York and California and his divorced parents with the memory of the different trains taking Jewish children to the death camps. Reich used recordings of train sounds and spoken testimonies of his governess, a retired Pullman porter, and Holocaust survivors, to be played as short melodies by live and recorded string quartets. *The New York Times* hailed *Different Trains* as an "astonishing work of such originality that breakthrough seems the only possible description … possesses an absolutely harrowing emotional impact." *The Cave*, Steve Reich and Beryl Korot's theater piece (1990–93), was also highly appreciated by the critics. The title is metaphoric: *The Cave* is about the cave at Hebron that is by tradition the burial place of Abraham and Sarah. Exploring the biblical story of Abraham, Sarah, Hagar, Ishmael, and Isaac, the 18-musician production consists of edited documentary video footage timed with live and sampled music. After *The Cave*, Reich and his wife, the video maker Beryl Korot, continued their collaboration in *Three Tales*, a full-evening music-theater piece on the topic of technology and its consequences. Noted choreographers often interpreted Reich's music, including Laura Dean, who commissioned *Sextet* (1984). The ballet, entitled *Impact*, earned Steve Reich and Laura Dean a Bessie Award in 1986. In 1994 Reich was elected to the American Academy of Arts and Letters.

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[Yulia Kreinin (2nd ed.)]

REICH, WILHELM (1897–1957), Austrian psychoanalyst. In his earlier years Reich made significant contributions to psychoanalytic theory. He broke away from the orthodox Freudian approach, believing that neurosis is due to undischarged sexual energy and that any blocking of sexual discharge causes actual physiological disturbance of sexuality (*Die Funktion des Orgasmus*, 1927). According to Reich, mental health is the ability to achieve full orgasm. The sexually satisfied person would have already released his aggressions and thus behave in a socialized manner. He related these ideas to the prognosis of treatment in his paper "Concerning genitality from the standpoint of psychoanalytic prognosis and therapy" (1924, Eng., 1925). Another important contribution was Reich's focus on character and character formation. Previously psychoanalyses dealt mainly with the interpretations of unconscious material. In his study of character resistances he concentrated on the whole person, his habits, tensions, and mannerisms. He went to the U.S. in the 1930s.

He died in prison after he was convicted of fraud. He had sold "orgone boxes" which according to Reich attracted "orgone," a material found in the air that had therapeutic powers. His books which deal with character are *Der triebhafte Charakter* (1925) and *Charakteranalyse* (1933, Eng., 1945^2), his most important work.

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[Miriam Gay]

REICHARD, PIROSKA (1884–1943), Hungarian poet, critic, and translator. Piroska Reichard's verses, which are outstanding for their great delicacy and were collected in *Az életen kivül* ("Out of Life," 1911) and *Oszi üdvözlet* ("Autumn Greetings," 1922), reflect the fate of the lonely woman. She was a noted translator from English and French as well as being an important essayist and critic of the *Nyugat* school. She committed suicide during the Nazi era.

REICHENBACH, HANS (1891–1953), philosopher. Reichenbach, who was born in Hamburg, is considered one of the most distinguished philosophers of science of the 20th century. He taught at the Technische Hochschule in Stuttgart (1920–26), and at the University of Berlin (1926–33). When Hitler came to power, he left Germany and obtained a teaching position at the University of Istanbul. From 1938 he was professor of philosophy at the University of California at Los Angeles. Reichenbach belonged to that group of scientifically minded philosophers whose conceptual ideals were embodied in the philosophy of logical positivism, a doctrine that was a blend of the new logic developed by Frege and Russell and of traditional British empiricism, modified by the phenomenalism of Ernst Mach. Though never a member of the Vienna circle in a formal sense, Reichenbach worked closely with its main representatives, especially Rudolf Carnap and Herbert *Feigl, and the spirit of their joint endeavors is well expressed in his *The Rise of Scientific Philosophy* (1951). Reichenbach's main contributions to philosophy fall into four main categories: (1) his analysis of the relativity theory; (2) his attempt to solve Hume's classical problem of induction; (3) his development and defense of a frequency theory of probability; (4) his highly original work on nomological statements in the field of inductive logic.

A prolific writer, Reichenbach was the author of 19 books, some of which were published posthumously. His masterpiece is generally considered to be his *Axiomatik der relativistischen Raum-Zeit-Lehre*, originally published in Germany in 1924, but translated into English as *The Philosophy of Space and Time* (1958).

REICHER, EMANUEL (1849–1924), one of the most famous actors of the naturalist movement in Germany. Born in Bochnia, Galicia, Austria, Reicher played first in Hungary, then in Munich, and came in the 1880s to Berlin, where he was promoted by Otto Brahm; he became a leading actor of the Freie Buehne, the Lessing Theater (1892), and the Deutsches Theater (1895, under O. Brahm). In 1902–04 he joined the Kleines Theater of Max Reinhardt, then returned to Brahm. He was a pioneer of the naturalistic play and an actor famous for roles in plays of H. Ibsen and G. Hauptmann. From 1915 to 1921 he lived in New York as an actor, and later as the manager of the Garden Theater. He also directed plays at Maurice Schwartz's Jewish Art Theater (1918) and later for the Theater Guild. He returned to Germany in 1923 and died in Berlin.

[Archiv Bibliographia Judaica (2nd ed.)]

REICHERSON, MOSES (1827–1903), Hebrew author and grammarian. Reicherson was born in Vilna where he earned his living as a part-time teacher of Hebrew and as a proofreader and editor for publishing houses. He was a childhood friend of J.L. *Gordon. He produced the first Hebrew translation of the proverbs of the Russian author I.A. Krylov (1860), and published a three-part Hebrew grammar, *Dikduk li-Sefat Ever* (1864, 1873, 1884). In 1890 he immigrated to New York where he translated Lessing's proverbs and stories in *Mishlei Lessing ve-Sippurav* (1902). He also wrote many essays on linguistics for American and European Hebrew journals.

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[Yehuda Slutsky]

REICHERT, ISRAEL (1891–1975), Israeli botanist and agricultural scientist. Born in Ozorkow, Russian Poland, into a well-to-do Orthodox family, Reichert went to Palestine in 1908 and worked first as a laborer and then as a natural history teacher. He went back to Europe to study biology and plant pathology, returning to Palestine in 1921 to organize the plant pathology department at the newly formed Agricultural Experiment Station. In the 29 years he directed the department, it became a renowned research center in plant pathology, vegetable storage problems, disease control, mycology, bacteriology, virology, and lichenology. In 1942 Reichert joined the Hebrew University's new School of Agriculture at Reḥovot as a lecturer. From 1949 to 1959 he was professor of mycology and plant pathology. In 1938 he was a co-founder of the *Palestine Journal of Botany*. In 1955 he received the Israel Prize for natural sciences.

Reichert's early investigations were on cereal diseases such as rusts and smuts. He went on to diseases of vegetables and plantation crops – grapevines, citrus fruits, and bananas –

and did the earliest pioneering work on the mushrooms of Ereẓ Israel. He created the Hebrew terminology for his field of work, and coined the term "pathogeography" to describe the application of eco-geographical principles to plant pathology and to disease control. He was a world authority on the fungi and lichens of the Near East, which he classified according to these principles. His main contribution was to bridge the gap between plant-physiography and plant-geography.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: H.R. Oppenheimer, in: *Israel Journal of Botany*, 15 (1966), 83–85.

[Julian Louis Meltzer]

REICHINSTEIN, DAVID (1882–1955), physical chemist, born Mogilev, Russia. Reichinstein was professor physical chemistry at the University of Nizhni Novgorod (1918); the Ukrainian Agricultural Academy, (1924); Polytechnicum, Berlin-Charlottenburg (1928–33); and in Prague (1933–38). He was a private consultant in Zurich (1938–55). He wrote *Bestimmung von Geschwindigkeiten von Elektrodenreaktionen* (1913); *Eigenschaften des Adsorptionvolumens* (1916); *Der elektrolytische Stromverstaerkungseffekt* (1920–22); and *Grenzflaechenvorgaenge in der unbelebten and belebten Natur* (1930).

REICHMANN, family of international real estate developers, philanthropists. SAMUEL REICHMANN (1898–1975), a wealthy egg merchant from the small Hungarian town of Beled, and his wife, RENÉE (1898–1990), moved to Vienna in 1923. Deeply observant Jews, they eventually had six children. The family was visiting Samuel's sick father in Hungary when **Kristallnacht* took place and Nazi-inspired gangs attacked Jews and Jewish property in German and Austria. The Reichmann's did not return to Vienna. Instead, Samuel took his family first to London and then to Paris. When France fell to the Nazis in 1940, the family escaped to the international city of Tangier in then-Spanish-controlled Morocco. In the wide-open business atmosphere of wartime Tangier the family prospered as Samuel became a major currency trader. Renée, with the help of her daughter EVA (1923–1986), used the family's wealth and influence to pressure Franco's officials into issuing visas to Jews in Nazi-controlled Budapest, helping to save several thousand lives. Through the Spanish Red Cross, Renée also packed and shipped many thousands of food parcels to the inmates of Auschwitz and other concentration camps.

After the war, Samuel's son PAUL (1930–) left Tangier to study in yeshivot in Britain and Israel. He returned to Morocco as a rabbi in 1953 and began working to modernize Jewish religious education in Morocco. But like most Jews in Morocco, the Reichmann family would soon pack up and leave. Despite their financial success, the family joined an exodus of Moroccan Jews hoping to avoid turbulence looming in the wake of Morocco independence. Eva settled in London and EDWARD (1925–2005) went to Montreal with its already large Jewish community. In 1955 Edward founded Olympia Flooring and Tile to import and sell tiles from Europe. The rest of the family soon followed him to Canada. LOUIS (1927–) joined Edward in Montreal but ALBERT (1929–), PAUL (1930–), and RALPH (1933–) settled in Toronto, where they first extended Edward's tile business but eventually, under the corporate name of Olympia & York, branched out into construction and property development. Edward would later suffer business reversals and, aided by his younger brothers in Toronto, moved to Israel where he became successful in property development.

In Toronto the Reichmann brothers – soon known for their integrity, religious observance, protection of their privacy, and modest lifestyle – first built and operated warehouses and other commercial developments in the bourgeoning city's rapidly growing suburbs. With Paul at the helm, the Toronto company gained a reputation for building structures faster and more cheaply than any other developer. Building success on success, they expanded into the international property development and management business. Among the company's larger projects were First Canadian Place in Toronto, manor property development projects in Tokyo, and the successful New York City Battery Park development known as the World Financial Center. By the 1980s Olympia & York had grown to be the largest property development firms in the world and, in an effort at diversification, the Reichhmann company purchased Abitibi Price, a major pulp and paper firm, and in 1985 bought the Gulf Canada oil company. By the late 1980s the Reichmanns were reportedly among the ten wealthiest families in the world.

In the late 1980s the Reichmanns took a huge gamble when Olympia & York agreed to develop the 83- acre Canary Wharf site in remote east London, the largest development project in the world. They lost. As Britain slid into recession and property values tumbled, the project suffered enormous financial setbacks. With office space at Canary Wharf largely empty, Olympia & York ran out of money. In 1992 the company filed for bankruptcy and was dismembered in February 1993. The Reichmanns were left with only a small property management company known as Olympia & York Properties Corporation. During the decade that followed this new company rebounded to become a multibillion dollar firm, reclaiming a stake in the now prosperous Canary Wharf project, as well as First Canadian Place in Toronto. It also has begun to revitalize its stake in property development in major centers around the world. Today, the family's business interests are moving to the next generation.

The members of the Reichmann family in Toronto remained steadfast in their adherence to Orthodox religious tradition. At cost to themselves, the Reichmanns closed down their construction sites for the Sabbath and for Jewish holidays. Much honored in Toronto and international Jewish world, they were also generous in supporting an international infrastructure of Orthodox schools, yeshivot, *kolelim*, synagogues, and other institutions. The family was also very active in Soviet Jewry campaigns and in support of other charitable and educational causes in Canada, Israel, and around the world.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: A. Bianco, *The Reichmanns: Family, Faith, Fortune, and The Empire of Olympia & York* (1997).

[Harold Troper (2nd ed.)]

REICH-RANICKI, MARCEL (1920–), German journalist and literary critic. Born in Wloclawek, Poland, the son of a merchant, Reich-Ranicki moved with his family to Berlin in 1929, where he was able to finish high school in 1938 but – as a Polish Jew – was not permitted to study at the university afterwards. Soon he was arrested and deported to Poland, where he lived in Warsaw, from 1940 in the ghetto working as translator for the *Judenrat. In 1943 he and his wife hid in the underground, while most of his family was murdered by the Nazis. After liberation by the Soviet army, he joined the Communist Party of Poland, working as consul for the Foreign Ministry and also for the secret service of Poland in London from 1947 to 1949. Resigning from these posts, he returned to Warsaw, where he was excluded from the party and arrested because of "ideological alienation." This termination of Reich-Ranicki's diplomatic career was also the beginning of his career as a critic. Working as a publisher and journalist, he mediated between German literature and the Polish reader. He translated Kafka's *Das Schloss* and published a history of German literature from 1871 to 1954 (1955) and a book on Anna Seghers (1957). In 1958, he did not return from a trip to West Germany, remaining in Frankfurt/Main and from 1959 to 1973 in Hamburg, where he worked – supported by his friends Heinrich Boell and Siegfried Lenz – as a critic for several newspapers, such as the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, *Die Welt*, and *Die Zeit*. As a participant in "Gruppe 47" he soon became the most famous and influential as well as the most controversial critic in West Germany. In 1973, he took over the editorship of the literary section of the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, retaining the position until 1988, also editing from 1974 the *Frankfurter Anthologie*. His most influential activity as a critic, however, was to host the television program *Das literarische Quartett* (1988–2001), which was followed by *Reich-Ranicki – Solo*. Beside his many books on major German writers (e.g., Thomas Mann, Heinrich Heine, Heinrich Boell, Thomas Bernhard), he also wrote about the auxiliary streams of the German literary canon, e.g., in his essays *Die Ungeliebten – Sieben Emigranten* (1968) and *Ueber Ruhestoerer. Juden in der deutschen Literatur* (1973, 1989^{2}), where he represents Jewish writers as "outcasts" and "provocateurs," i.e., as critical voices. In 1999 he published his autobiography *Mein Leben* (*The Author of Himself*), which is not only a powerful account of his life as a Jewish intellectual during and after World War II but is also representative of Jewish history in 20th-century Europe as well as the intellectual and literary history of Germany, particularly after 1945.

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[Andreas Kilcher (2nd ed.)]

REICHSBUND JUEDISCHER FRONTSOLDATEN (RJF), organization of Jewish war veterans in Germany. Founded in February 1919 in Berlin (and simultaneously in other major cities) by Captain Leo Loewenstein (1877–1956), a scientist who had played an important role in the German war effort, the Reichsbund was formed to counteract the widespread anti-Jewish feeling prevalent after the post-World War I breakdown. These feelings were nurtured by the commonly held prejudice that Jews had either evaded conscription or had held safe office jobs in the army. A further impetus to its formation was offered by the exclusion of Jews from the Stahlhelm, the right-wing paramilitary veterans' organization. During the chaotic days of 1923–24 some Reichsbund members participated in street fights and guarded the Berlin Fasanenstrasse synagogue. Slighter activities were to discourage Jewish actors from telling vulgar Jewish jokes and persuading Jews not to wear ostentatious clothing and jewelry during the High Holy Days. The Reichsbund grew rapidly and by 1933 had more than 30,000 members in about 400 branches and published a periodical, *Der Schild*. Special stress was put on physical education (after 1933 judo and boxing in particular) and agricultural training. After the Nazi rise to power the Reichsbund tried to obtain preferred treatment for war veterans and for long-settled Jewish families. These demands, acknowledged by President Hindenburg, were ignored by the Nazis. The Reichsbund originally refused to join the Reichsvertretung der Juden in Deutschland (see *Reichsvereinigung) because of Zionist participation, and protested, with official approval, at the outcry abroad against Nazi anti-Jewish excesses. The Reichsbund eventually joined the Reichsvertretung and, with other Jewish organizations, was dissolved after 1938.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: K.J. Herrmann, *Das dritte Reich und die deutsch-juedischen Organisationen 1933–1934* (1969); A. Asch, in: *AJR Information*, 16 (Aug., 1961); M. Kreutzberger (ed.), *Bibliothek und Archiv* (1970) index s.v. *RJF*.

REICHSTEIN, TADEUS (1897–1996), Swiss organic chemist, endocrinologist, and 1950 Nobel laureate. Reichstein was born in Wloclawek, Poland, and his family moved to Zurich in 1908. He became professor of organic chemistry at Zurich in 1934 and in 1938 joined Basle University as head of the Institute of Pharmacy. In 1933 he succeeded in the synthesis of ascorbic acid (Vitamin C), the first total synthesis of a vitamin. He worked on other aspects of organic chemistry, and in 1934 began the isolation of the hormones of the adrenal cortex. He separated and characterized some 30 different steroids from adrenal glands, the most outstandingly important being corticosterone, cortisone, and cortisol, which are among the therapeutics used for sufferers from arthritis. In 1950 he, together with the Americans E.C. Kendall and P. Hench, was awarded the Nobel Prize in physiology and medicine "for their discoveries relating to the hormones of the adrenal cortex, their structure and biological effects." Reichstein used his Nobel prize money for other research work at the University of Basle.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: T.N. Levitan, *Laureates: Jewish Winners of the Nobel Prize* (1960), 161–3; L.G. Stevenson; *Nobel Prize Winners in Medicine and Physiology, 1901–1950* (1953), 272–83; *Chimia*, 11 (1957), 205; *Chemiker Zeitung*, 81 (1957), 506.

[Samuel Aaron Miller]

REICHSVEREINIGUNG (**Reichsvereinigung der Juden in Deutschland** – Ger. **Reich Association of the Jews in Germany**), compulsory organization of all Jews in Nazi Germany (excepting Austria and the Protectorate of Bohemia-Moravia), established on July 4, 1939, by the tenth executive ordinance (*10. Verordnung*) appended to the Reich's citizenship law (*Reichsbuergergesetz*) of 1935. The Reichsvereinigung replaced the previous framework called the Reichsvertretung der Juden in Deutschland ("Reich Representation of the Jews in Germany"), which in turn replaced the Reichsvereugbgung der Deutschen Juden (Reich Representation of German Jews). The name changes are significant, representing a worsening of the situation of the Jews in Germany, who were no longer considered by the regime as German Jews. There were several distinctions between the two organizations. From the Jewish communal perspective, the Reichsvereinigung was imposed upon the Jewish community rather than formed by a consensus of Jewish organizations. More importantly, the Reichsvereinigung included all Jewish subjects of the Nazi Reich as defined by the *Nuremberg Laws (1935), not only Jews by religion, it included those who had converted or even those whose parents had converted. The Reichsvereinigung was supervised by the Ministry of the Interior, i.e., by the security police. Its duties, as fixed by law, were to promote Jewish emigration from Germany – still possible and still desired by both the regime and the Jews in Germany – and to support the Jewish school system and Jewish welfare. A special provision empowered the minister of the interior to assign additional tasks to the Reichsvereinigung. To the Germans, the Reichsvereinigung was an instrumentality of its control much like the Jewish Councils which were later formed in the ghettos. It is clear that the Germans regarded it as useful to have the appearance of continuity of Jewish leadership rather than install their own puppets. This policy was also followed with regard to the Jewish Councils. The centralization of Jewish communal representations into one body was a matter of convenience and effectiveness; instead of dealing with many organizations, the Germans imposed unity on the Jews at least with regard to their dealings with the state. The existence of the Reichsvereinigung enabled the Nazis to implement many of their deadliest orders without much publicity and to play off the Jewish leadership against the Jewish population, who naturally blamed their own leaders, and thus responsibility and guilt was shifted onto a leadership that had few resources and even fewer options. Jewish leadership perceived itself to be struggling under difficult and soon to become impossible conditions for Jewish survival. Emigration was deemed essential, a matter of life and death. The prior leadership of the Reichsvertretung now filled the leadership positions in the Reichsvereinigung. Rabbi Leo *Baeck, Otto *Hirsch, Paul *Eppstein, and their colleagues continued at their posts until their arrest and deportation. There was no need to set up new departments because all the functions assigned by law to the Reichsvereinigung had already been carried out by its predecessor. The local activities of the Reichsvereinigung were executed by the Jewish communities, called Juedische Kultusvereinigung ("Jewish Synagogue Association") and its own *Bezirkstellen* ("district offices"). The latter dealt with small communities or with single Jewish families. In the course of time the Jewish communities were dissolved and their property transferred to the Reichsvereinigung. Under the leadership of the Rechsvereinigung Jewish education continued until June 1942. It undertook vocational training to teach Jews basic skills for survival and earning a living abroad and it attempted to provide welfare for the needy. All Jewish publications were suspended and only the publication of the bulletin of the Reichsvereinigung, *Juedisches Nachrichtenblatt*, was permitted. It served as a channel for the Gestapo to inform the Jews of new restrictions and confiscations without stirring up too much dissent from the outside.

From the start of World War II the activities of the Reichsvereinigung were slowed down. In the planning of the "Final Solution" (see *Holocaust, General Survey), the Gestapo used the statistical material prepared by the Reichsvereinigung and even utilized the activity of its statistical section for its own purposes. Its leadership protested the deportations in 1940 and from 1941 onward the central leadership was not involved in the deportations, but various branches were forced to cooperate. In the deportations the Gestapo used the services of the Reichsvereinigung: the organization cared for the deportees in the roundups, with the notion that they could alleviate their suffering – they did not perceive themselves to be an instrumentality of destruction – while the Reichsvereinigung leaders and staff served as hostages against the exact delivery of fixed batches of deportees. Several hostages were deported in place of Jews who escaped. Others were shot in retaliation for sabotage. Under orders of the *RSHA, the Reichsvereinigung concluded the "home buying agreements" (*Heimeinkaufsvertraege*) for *Theresienstadt, i.e., in which Jews were forced to sign away their money to the German government in return for an "alleged" apartment in Theresienstadt to which they were deported. On June 10, 1943, the remaining staff was arrested and the Reichsvereinigung in its original form dissolved. Only two of its leaders, Leo Baeck, who had refused offers to leave Germany and offers of personal safety, and Moritz Henschel, survived the Holocaust. In assessing their behavior one must see the dual function of Jewish leadership as instrumentalities – however unwilling – of the Germans and as representatives, however powerless and ultimately ineffective, of the Jews. The tightrope they walked was the result of their impossible situation. Integrity and wisdom could not compensate for the absolute lack of power and the murderous intent of those in power.

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[Yehuda Reshef / Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

REICHSZENTRALE FUER JUEDISCHE AUSWANDERUNG (Center for Jewish Emigration), Nazi central agency for Jewish emigration matters, set up in the Ministry of the Interior by *Heydrich on *Goering's order (Jan. 24, 1939). Its principal aim was to increase and accelerate emigration, giving preferential exit to poor Jews, and speeding up individual cases. Heydrich appointed Heinrich *Mueller *Geschaeftsfuehrer* ("manager") of the Zentralstelle, which was run by a policy committee composed of representatives from different agencies and an executive which was, in practice, Department II of the *Gestapo. The Zentralstelle was modeled on *Eichmann's successful Zentralstelle fuer juedische Auswanderung set up in 1938 in Vienna. Employing Eichmann's methods, the Zentralstelle unified the various emigration authorities and coerced the wealthier Jews in Germany and abroad to pay for the exit of the poor Jews, using pressure and even imprisonment to gain its ends. The chief of the Zentralstelle on behalf of Mueller was Kurt Lischka, who was replaced by Eichmann after the establishment of *RSHA. The Zentralstelle set up its office in Berlin, and later others in Prague (July 15, 1939) and in Amsterdam (April 1941), but functioned in all other cities through the local Gestapo branches. This organization furthered Nazi policy, which prior to 1941 was to get rid of the Jews and to expropriate their property and possessions; it also ironically furthered Jewish interests, as leaving the Reich by whatever means possible was imperative. It literally was life saving. In 1940 the Zentralstelle joined up with the Gestapo section for evacuation but ceased its original functions when the order to stop emigration was issued in October 1941. Its personnel afterward organized deportations in the framework of the "Final Solution" (see *Holocaust, General Survey).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *International Law Reports*, 6 (1968), 63–67; *Documents on German Foreign Policy 1918–45*, Series D. vol. 5 (1953), 933–6.

[Yehuda Reshef / Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

REIFENBERG, ADOLF (1899–1953), Israeli expert in soil chemistry, archaeologist, and numismatist. Reifenberg, who was born in Berlin, studied agricultural chemistry and graduated from Giessen University. A Zionist from his youth, he was among the first *ḥalutzim* who arrived in Ereẓ Israel from Germany after World War I. After working as an agricultural laborer at Kinneret for two years, he joined (1922) the laboratory for agricultural chemistry of the mandatory government. In 1924 he became a member of the staff of the Institute of Chemistry of the newly founded Hebrew University. He later founded and was head of its department of soil science. In 1947 he was appointed professor at the university. Reifenberg also served as dean of the faculty of agriculture and of the faculty of mathematics and science. In World War II Reifenberg, although overage for military service, volunteered for a Palestinian unit of the British Army, was torpedoed off Malta, but was rescued after a long time in the sea.

Reifenberg's contributions to agricultural chemistry were mainly in the field of soil research. Through his familiarity with the peculiar climatic and topographical conditions of the Mediterranean countries and his knowledge of chemistry and physiology, he was able to formulate a theory of the red soil (terra rossa) formations in the Mediterranean (*Karka Ereẓ Yisrael* (1938); *The Soil of Palestine*, 1947^2). He investigated one of the major problems of Erez Israel: soil erosion and its prevention (*Milḥemet ha-Mizra ve-ha-Shimmamon* (1950); *The Struggle Between the Desert and the Sown*, 1955). Reifenberg also dealt with various practical problems connected with the use of the few raw materials provided by Ereẓ Israel, such as the Ḥuleh peat, potash, phosphate, and citrus peel.

Reifenberg was also an archaeologist and numismatist. He built up one of the finest collections of Palestinian and ancient Jewish coins (presented after his death to the State of Israel), and in 1951 became the first president of the Israel Numismatic Society. Together with L.A. *Mayer, he examined several ancient synagogues such as the one at Eshtemo'a (Samoa), south of Hebron, and that of Naveh in Hauran.

His main archaeological publications are *Architektur und Kunstgewerbe im alten Israel* (1925); *Palaestinensische Kleinkunst* (1927); *Denkmaeler der juedischen Antike* (1937); *Ancient Jewish Coins* (1947^2); *Ancient Hebrew Seals; Ancient Hebrew Arts* (both 1950); and *Israel's History in Coins…* (1953). In 1950 he founded the *Israel Exploration Journal*, which he edited until his death.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: IEJ, 3 (1953), 213–6; M. Cassuto-Salzmann, *ibid.*, 4 (1954), 143–9 (bibl.); *AJR Information* (Oct. 1953), 4; *Jerusalem Post* (Aug. 28, 1953).

REIFMANN, JACOB (1818–1895), scholar and writer. Reifmann, born in the Lagow district of Radom, Poland, was raised in Apta and subsequently lived in Lublin, Zamosc, and Szczebrzeszyn. Growing estranged from Ḥasidim, who were then dominant where he lived, Reifmann turned more to the Haskalah. His field was criticism of the Bible and the Talmud. Highly respected in scholarly circles for his erudition and critical mind, Reifmann also caused antagonism, especially because he was outspoken. His life was spent in great poverty, and he did not receive any official position or recognition. The conflicts in his attempt to merge his traditional East European background with modern Western scholarship are apparent in his writing, and probably also contributed to his difficulties in adjusting to his environment.

Reifmann contributed hundreds of articles to the Hebrew periodicals of his time, and wrote 17 books. He covered a wide variety of areas, including Bible, Talmud, rabbinic literature, Aramaic translations of the Bible, liturgy, Jewish philosophy, and biography. He corresponded with such leading scholars of his time as S.J.L. Rapoport, L. Geiger, H. Graetz, M. Steinschneider, and S.D. Luzzatto. His correspondence and some of his unpublished writings are at the library of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America.

Among Reifmann's works are *Tavnit ha-Bayit* (1844) and *Pesher Davar* (1845), critical studies on talmudic matters; *Toledot Rabbenu Zeraḥyah ha-Levi* (1853), a biography; *Ḥut ha-Meshullash* (1859), on the familiarity of talmudic rabbis with foreign languages, on the history of fables among the Jews, and notes to the book **Mivḥar ha-Peninim; Beit ha-Talmud* (vol. 3), on the problems concerning the geonic work, *She'iltot; Sedeh Aram* (1875), on Targum Onkelos; and *Or Boker* (1879), on talmudic criticism. Some of his works were published by M. Herskovics in *Hadarom* (1964–69) and by N. Ben-Menahem, *Iggeret Bikkoret al Seder ha-Haggadah shel Pesaḥ* (1969) and *Iyyunim be-Mishnat Avraham ibn Ezra* (1962).

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REIK, ḤAVIVAH (**Emma**; 1914–1944), one of four *Haganah envoys from Palestine parachuted into Slovakia during World War II. Ḥavivah Reik was born into a working-class family in a small Slovak village near *Banská Bystrica. She settled in Palestine in 1939, joining the Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir kibbutz Ma'anit. During the critical days of the war she volunteered to be parachuted into Slovakia. She was to reach Bratislava and establish contact with the "Working Group" (see Gisi *Fleischmann) but arrived too late. In mid-September 1944, she reached Banská Bystrica, where she assisted the Jewish remnant that had gathered there. On October 28, when Banská Bystrica (the center of the Slovak uprising) fell, she retreated into the mountains along with a group of Jewish fighters. Captured by Germans a week later, she was imprisoned and executed on November 20, 1944, in Kremnička. Kibbutz Lahavot Ḥavivah, the Israel freighter *Ḥavivah Reik*, and the research and educational center Givat Ḥavivah in Israel were named in her memory.

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[Livia Rothkirchen]

REIK, THEODOR (1888–1970), psychoanalyst. Reik, who was born in Vienna, met *Freud in 1910 and received his training analysis from Karl *Abraham in Berlin. After World War I he worked as an analyst first in Vienna, and then in Berlin until he moved to The Hague in 1934. In 1938 he immigrated to the United States. In 1946 he was elected president of the National Association for Psychoanalytic Psychology.

Reik wrote many psychoanalytic articles on literary and musical figures such as Flaubert and *Mahler, on clinical and anthropological themes, and on psychological theory. Four of his best-known papers of the 1920s were collected in *Das Ritual, psychoanalytische Studien* (1928^2; *Ritual, Psychoanalytic Studies*, 1931). The first paper dealt with "couvade," the primitive custom in which the father of a newborn child lies in bed, the last two papers with *Kol Nidrei and the *shofar*. A series of papers on problems of crime – including the compulsion to confess, and Freud's view of capital punishment – were developed in *Der unbekannte Moerder* (1932; *The Unknown Murderer*, 1936), in which he sets forth as a major concept that unconscious guilt motivates the crime itself and also the criminal's need to be caught and punished. Reik held that an analyst's theoretical assumptions may interfere with treatment and that the therapeutic relationship should be an "unconscious duet" between patient and analyst in which surprises to both parties provide important insights. He wrote about his new technique in *Der Ueberraschte Psychologe* (1935; *Surprise and the Psychoanalyst*, 1936), and *Listening with the Third Ear* (1948). In *Aus Leiden Freuden* (1940; *Masochism in Modern Man*, 1941) Reik stated his theory that masochistic suffering is basically a search for pleasure and, as in the case of the Christian martyrs, for final victory. He therefore regarded masochism and the associated death instinct as secondary rather than primary as seen by Freud.

Some of Reik's thought was iconoclastic. In *Psychology of Sex Relations* (1945) he rejected the classical psychoanalytic theory of the libido and some of the sexual concepts that go with it. Among his more than 50 books are the autobiographical *From Thirty Years with Freud* (1940), *Fragment of a Great Confession* (1949), and *The Search Within* (1956). His biblical tetralogy included *The Creation of Woman* (1960), and in 1962 he published *Jewish Wit*. In *Pagan Rites in Judaism* (1964) he endeavors to show that much of the pagan and prehistoric survives in the rites of Judaism as professed today.

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[Louis Miller]

REINACH, family of French scholars and politicians. JOSEPH REINACH (1856–1921), political leader, journalist, and historian, was born in Paris. He graduated from the University of Paris and became a lawyer, also writing several works on European politics. Reinach's articles on foreign policy in the *Revue Bleue* were noticed by Leon Gambetta, who, when he became premier in 1881, made Reinach his *chef du cabinet*. After Gambetta's death, Reinach became political editor of the *Republique Française*. He was elected to the Chamber of Deputies in 1889 and reelected in 1893. One of the first to demand a new trial for Captain *Dreyfus, Reinach was subject to bitter attacks from the anti-Dreyfusards, lost his seat in the elections of 1898, and was dismissed from the army in which he was a reserve captain. Following Dreyfus' rehabilitation, Reinach was reinstated and reelected to parliament, where he served until his retirement in 1914. Reinach's historical works include a seven-volume history of the Dreyfus Affair, *Histoire de l'Affaire Dreyfus* (1901–11). While campaigning for the Dreyfus cause, he wrote a history of the case of Raphael Levy who was executed in 1670 on a ritual murder charge (*Raphael Levy,* 1898). Reinach published many works on general history and politics.

Solomon (1858–1932), archaeologist, philologist, and historian, was a brother of Joseph. As a member of the Ecole Française d'Athènes he took part in several excavations in Greece. He taught archaeology at the Ecole de Louvre and from 1886 served as curator of the Musee d'Antiquites Nationales at his native St. Germain-en-Laye. In 1893 he was appointed assistant keeper of the Musees Nationales, becoming keeper in 1902. He was a member of the Institut Français and of the Conseil Superieur des Beaux Arts. Reinach's scholarly work was devoted primarily to French archaeology and Gallic civilization. He also made numerous contributions to classical and French philology, the history of art, and the history of religion. His major work in the latter field, *Orpheus; histoire generale des religions* (1909, 1926^2; Eng. 1909, 1930^2; repr. 1942; Ger. 1910), is written in the Voltairean tradition of radical rationalism. It classifies Judaism and Christianity as "barbaric," and accepting the conclusions of contemporary Bible criticism, termed many biblical figures as mythical. Reinach has nothing but disdain for the Talmud and "for those backward Jews who follow its rules." Nevertheless, he took an active part in Jewish affairs. A confirmed Dreyfusard, like his brothers, he published a French translation of H.C. Lea's *History of the Inquisition* (3 vols., 1901–03) at the height of the Dreyfus Affair as a weapon in the fight against religious intolerance. He published various articles in the **Revue des Etudes Juives* and served as president of the Societe des Etudes Juives. He was vice president of the Alliance Israélite Universelle and helped in the establishment of the *Jewish Colonization Association. Anti-Zionist in principle, Reinach nevertheless gave assistance to colonization in Palestine.

Theodore (1860–1928), younger brother of Joseph and Solomon, was a scholar and politician. His studies extended to law, archaeology, mathematics, numismatics, and history of music and of religion. Reinach was appointed professor at the Ecole des Hautes Etudes where he taught the history of religions. He was also editor of the *Revue des Etudes Grecques*. A member of the Institut de France, Reinach presented a musical interpretation of a Delphic paean and himself played this resurrection of ancient music. He served in the Chamber of Deputies of Savoy during 1906–14. Active in the rather ineffective movement of French Reform Judaism (Union Liberale Israelite) and a confirmed assimilationist, he strongly opposed Zionism, believing that since the French Revolution Jews no longer were a nation but only a religious community. He presented these views in his widely read *Histoire des Israelites* (1884, 1910^4). He also wrote a *Histoire sommaire de l'affaire Dreyfus* (1904, 1924). In the field of Jewish scholarship Reinach was important as a student of Jewish numismatics (*Les monnaies juives*, 1887) and as the editor of an important reference book, *Textes d'auteurs grecs et romains relatifs au Judaisme* (1895; repr. 1963). He was the general editor of a French translation of the works of Josephus (7 vols., 1900–32), completed after his death by his brother Solomon. Reinach also contributed to the *Revue des Etudes Juives*, and various French encyclopedias.

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[Gerard Nahon]

REINACH, ADOLF (1883–1917), German philosopher. Reinach, who was born in Mayence, was a student of *Husserl and taught at Goettingen with him. Through his lectures, articles, and personal discussions he had considerable influence on Husserl and on the early phenomenologists. Reinach's version of phenomenology was simpler and clearer than Husserl's and more concrete. He stressed the intuiting of the essential core of phenomena and developed a theory of the phenomenological *a priori*, a property of states of affairs rather than of acts of judging. He applied phenomenology to the philosophy of law, and tried to construct an *a priori* theory of law, contending that there are essential elements of law that have an absolute validity, independent of the mind that thinks of them and of temporal conditions. Reinach tried to explore the relationships of these elements. He was killed during World War I. His writings were collected and published by his students in *Gesammelte Schriften* (1921).

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[Richard H. Popkin]

REINER, CARL (1922–), writer, actor, and director. Born in the Bronx, New York, Reiner first came to prominence as an actor and writer for two seminal TV programs, Sid Caesar's *Your Show of Shows* (1950–54) and *The Dick Van Dyke Show* (1961–66), for which Reiner won several Emmy Awards. Moving to feature films, Reiner began his career by directing a filmed version of his 1958 semiautobiographical novel *Enter Laughing* (1967). He went on to direct and sometimes cowrite such comedies as *The Comic* (1969), *Where's Poppa?* (1970), *Oh God!* (1977), *The One and Only* (1978), *The Jerk* (1979), *Dead Men Don't Wear Plaid* (1982), *The Man with Two Brains* (1983), *All of Me* (1984), *Summer Rental* (1985), *Summer School* (1987), *Bert Rigby, You're a Fool* (1989), *Sibling Rivalry* (1990), *Fatal Instinct* (1993), and *That Old Feeling* (1997).

A familiar figure on both the small and the silver screen, Reiner appeared in such films as *The Gazebo* (1959), *The Thrill of It All* (1963), *The Art of Love* (1965), *The Russians Are Com-*

ing… (1966), *Generation* (1969), *The Spirit of '76* (1990), and *Slums of Beverly Hills* (1998). On TV, from 1954 he was a guest on dozens of programs, from *The Dinah Shore Chevy Show*, *The Tonight Show Starring Johnny Carson,* and *The Carol Burnett Show* to *Ally McBeal*, *Life with Bonnie*, *Ellen*, and *Boston Legal*. He also appeared many times on television and in a series of record albums (first released in 1960) as straight man to Mel Brooks in their comedy routine "The 2000-Year-Old Man."

Among his many honors and awards, including 12 Emmys and a Grammy, Reiner won the American Comedy Award for Lifetime Achievement in 1992; he was inducted into the Television Academy Hall of Fame in 1999; and in 2000 he was awarded the Mark Twain Prize for Comedy by the Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts.

Reiner wrote *All Kinds of Love* (1993), *Continue Laughing* (1995), *The 2000-Year-Old Man in the Year 2000* (with Mel Brooks, 1997), *How Paul Robeson Saved My Life and Other Mostly Happy Stories* (1999), *Tell Me a Scary Story …but Not Too Scary* (2003), and *My Anecdotal Life: A Memoir* (2003).

His son is film director Rob *Reiner.

[Jonathan Licht and Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

REINER, FRITZ (1888–1963), conductor. Born in Budapest, Reiner was a student at the Liszt Academy, Budapest, where he studied the piano with Bartók. He worked as répétiteur at the Vigopera, where he made his conducting début in *Carmen* at the age of 19. He became conductor at the Budapest People's Opera (1911–14) and musical director of the Dresden Opera (1914–21). In the United States, he was conductor in Cincinnati (1922–31), in Pittsburgh (1938–48), at the Chicago Symphony Orchestra (1953–63), and at the Metropolitan Opera, New York (1949–53). He taught conducting at the Curtis Institute of Music in Philadelphia (1931–41) where his pupils included *Bernstein and Lukas *Foss. Reiner also was guest conductor of the opera in Halle (1921), Rome (1921), Barcelona (1922), Buenos Aires and Budapest (1926), Philadelphia (1931–2), Covent Garden (1936–7), San Francisco (1936–8), and Vienna (1955). He embraced a wide orchestral and operatic repertory, ranging from Bach, Haydn, and Mozart to Bartók, Stravinsky, and Webern. Between 1954 and 1963 he made series of recordings including his famous interpretations of Bartók's Concerto for Orchestra and Music for Strings, Percussion and Celesta, Rimsky-Korsakov's *Sheherazade*, and Ravel's orchestration of *Pictures at an Exhibition*. He was regarded as a "conductor's conductor," and showed great technical mastery with breadth of interpretation.

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[Israela Stein (2nd ed.)]

REINER, MARKUS (1886–1976), Israeli engineer. Born in Czernovtsy, Reiner served as an officer in the Austrian army during World War I. He emigrated to Ereẓ Israel in 1922, first working as an agricultural laborer. He then became chief construction engineer of the public works department in Jerusalem, where he remained for 25 years, engaged in road, bridge, and housing construction and the restoration of ancient and historical sites, such as Herod's irrigation channels in Jericho. In 1926 Reiner published a paper on his research in the flow of elastic liquid in a capillary. His research was independently and simultaneously duplicated by E. Buckingham of the U.S. National Bureau of Standards, and their findings are thus known as the "Buckingham-Reiner equation." Their work resulted in a new branch of physics and mechanics known as rheology. From 1932 Reiner spent two years at Lafayette College, in Eaton, Pennsylvania, as a research professor, working with Professor E.C. Bingham, whom he joined as coeditor of the *Journal of Rheology*. Reiner's research covered a wide selection of subjects in mechanics, including investigation of rheological phenomena in the body. In 1948 he joined the Technion – Israel Institute of Technology – in Haifa as professor of practical mechanics.

Apart from nearly 200 articles and papers, Reiner published three standard works which have been translated into several languages: *Ten Lectures on Theoretical Rheology* (1943), *Deformation Strain and Flow* (1949), and *Agricultural Rheology* (1957), written together with G.W. Scott Blair of England. Reiner was awarded the Israel prize in 1958. He was a member of the Israel Academy of Science from its inception and of the Israel government's Research Council.

[Carl Alpert]

REINER, ROB (1945–), U.S. director and actor. Born in New York, the son of actor/writer/director Carl *Reiner, Rob Reiner began as a sketch writer for television's *Smothers Brothers Comedy Hour*. Reiner's breakthrough as an actor came in 1971 when he was chosen for the part of Mike Stivic ("Meathead," 1971–78) on the popular TV comedy series *All in the Family*, for which he won two Emmy Awards. Finding only limited movement in his acting career, Reiner turned to directing, and his feature film mock-documentary *This Is Spinal Tap* (1984), which he cowrote, was a surprise hit. Reiner followed this success with a series of well-reputed films: *The Sure Thing* (1985), *Stand by Me* (1986), *The Princess Bride* (1987), *When Harry Met Sally* (1989), *Misery* (1990), *A Few Good Men* (Oscar nomination for Best Picture, 1992), *North* (1994), *The American President* (1995), *Ghosts of Mississippi* (1996), *Spinal Tap: The Final Tour* (1998), *The Story of Us* (1999), *Alex & Emma* (2003), and *Rumor Has It* (2005).

As an actor, Reiner has appeared in such films as the TV movie *More Than Friends* (1979), *This Is Spinal Tap* (1984), *Throw Momma from the Train* (1987), *Postcards from the Edge* (1990), *The Spirit of '76* (directed and cowritten with his brother, Lucas, 1990), *Bullets over Broadway* (1994), *Mixed Nuts* (1994), *Bye Bye, Love* (1995), *For Better or Worse* (1996), *Spinal Tap: The Final Tour* (1998), *Ed TV* (1999), *The Story of Us* (1999), and *Alex & Emma* (2003).

A principal in Castle Rock Productions, Reiner also had a hand in producing a variety of films and TV series. From 1971 to 1979, Reiner was married to actress/director Penny Marshall.

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[Jonathan Licht / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

REINES, ALVIN JAY (1926–2004), scholar of Jewish philosophy. Born in Paterson, New Jersey, his early education was entirely Orthodox. He graduated from the Rabbi Jacob Joseph School in Manhattan and the Talmudical Academy of New York. He then entered Yeshiva University, where he earned his B.A. in 1947. From YU, he went to New York University Law School and left before completing his degree. In a rare move for Orthodox-educated Jews of his generation who when they left the Orthodox world moved over to the Jewish Theological Seminary, Reines went to Hebrew Union College and earned his MHL and ordination in 1952. He received the Mrs. Henry Morgenthau, Jr. Fellowship at Harvard where he earned a Ph.D. in 1958 studying with Harry Austryn Wolfson, and then joined the faculty of HUC-JIR as a professor of Jewish Philosophy and retired in 2003.

His field of specialization was medieval philosophy, particularly the work of Moses *Maimonides, and he struggled both to understand Maimonides as a halakhic and philosophical thinker and to deal with revelation as a source of absolute authority. Rejecting the notion of absolute authority led to his own original philosophical innovation. He developed the concept of polydoxy, meaning a religion of many opinions, in which the notion of absolute knowledge is abandoned and diversity and individual autonomy is not only respected but welcomed. This concept has had significant influence on liberal religious thought in the United States and elsewhere as well as within the Reform movement. He helped create the Institute for Creative Judaism and chaired its board, which was formed to develop religious and educational and liturgical material for free Judaism. It has evolved into The Polydox Institute, which is "committed to serving all polydoxians, be they of Jewish, Christian or other origin, and whether or not they view themselves as belonging to any historic religious group, or as being presently affiliated with any organized religious body." His work has thus had influence far beyond the Jewish community. For religious communities that reject the existence of infallible knowledge, Reines argued that the only morally justifiable position was to affirm individual autonomy. Such communities should be prepared, Reines maintained, to accommodate diverse and even unconventional beliefs, rituals, and practices.

The Reform Movement's *Gates of Prayer* (1975), included an edited version of the polydox Sabbath worship service written by Reines. His seminal work is *Polydoxy: Explorations in a Philosophy of Liberal Religion*, (1987). Among his other works are *Elements in a Philosophy of Reform Judaism* (1968), *Maimonides and Abarbanel on Prophecy* (1970), and *Reform Judaism as Polydoxy* (1970–1973). His work on the Institute includes services for Hanukah and Rosh Hashanah as well as a Passover *Haggadah*.

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[Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

REINES, FREDERICK (1918–1998), physicist and Nobel Prize winner. Reines obtained his M.E. and M.S. degrees from Stevens Institute of Technology in Hoboken, New Jersey, and his Ph.D. from New York University in 1944. He was a member and then group leader of the theoretical division of the Los Alamos Scientific Laboratory (1944–59). He was professor and head of the Physics Department at Case Institute of Technology (1959–66) and professor and founding dean of Physical Sciences at UCI.

Reines, the great-nephew of the founder of the Mizrachi movement, Rabbi Isaac Jacob *Reines, was joint winner with Dr. Martin Perl of the 1995 Nobel Prize in physics for their discovery of two fundamental particles of matter, the tau and the neutrino. The existence of the neutrino was first postulated by Wolfgang Pauli in 1930 to account for apparent loss of energy when an atomic nucleus decays, releasing an electron, but it was Reines who first proved that the elusive particle, which has no mass and no charge, exists. The discovery started the new field of neutrino physics. Reines was honored with membership in the National Academy of Sciences and many other awards, including the National Medal of Science.

REINES, ISAAC JACOB (1839–1915), rabbi, one of the founders and first head of the *Mizrachi movement. Born in Karolin, Belorussia, Reines studied at the Eishishok (Eisiskes) and Volozhin yeshivot and was ordained by leading rabbis. He served in the rabbinate in Shavkyany (Saukenai), Lithuania, from 1867; in Sventsyany (Svencionys), Vilna district, from 1869; and in Lida from 1885 until his death. Reines made a distinct contribution to rabbinic scholarship, introducing a new and almost modern methodology which was in contrast to the current system of **pilpul*. It was based upon a purely logical approach and was influenced by Maimonides' *Millot ha-Higgayyon*; it is actually called "*Higgayon*" ("Logic"). In the introduction to his first major halakhic work, *Ḥotam Tokhnit* (2 parts, 1880–81) he emphasized this new approach, as he did in his later works (e.g., *Urim Gedolim*, 1887). The *Ḥotam Tokhnit* made a great impression, especially in Western Europe where Jews were not accustomed to works on *halakhah* with a strictly logical approach that had been written by Eastern European scholars. He also applied his new approach in his homiletical books (*Nod shel Dema'ot*, 1891), which, like others of his works, went through a number of editions. Reines tried to introduce the spirit of the times in his public activities, without breaking with tradition, and founded a yeshivah in Sventsyany. Because its curriculum included secular studies, he aroused the anger of some religious fanatics and was forced to close the school after a few months.

Reines joined the *Ḥibbat Zion movement from its creation. His attachment to Ereẓ Israel was due principally to the influence of his father, who stayed in Ereẓ Israel in the 1830s. Reines cooperated with Samuel *Mohilewer and proposed settlement programs for Ereẓ Israel that combined Torah study with physical labor. He was among the first rabbis to answer Theodor Herzl's call, and his joining the Zionist movement served as a great encouragement to Herzl in face of the opposition of most of the East and West European rabbis. He devoted much energy to propaganda for political Zionism among rabbis and Orthodox circles. Toward this end he published in 1902 the book *Or Ḥadash al Ẓiyyon* ("A New Light on Zion") in which he countered all the claims of those in the rabbinical circles opposed to Zionism. He participated in the first Zionist Congresses and was very close to Herzl, but he opposed the cultural work of the Zionist movement for fear that it would encroach on the status of religion. In 1902 he convened a large conference of rabbis and Orthodox people in Vilna and as a result the Religious Zionist movement, Mizrachi, was formed. Reines was the recognized leader of the movement and the outstanding personality at its founding convention in Pressburg (Bratislava; 1904). Many Orthodox rabbis, especially from Hungary, protested the convening of the founding conference and were against Mizrachi altogether. Reines answered them very sharply, sparing not even the greatest among them. He also founded the first journal of Mizrachi, entitled *Ha-Mizraḥ* (published in 1903 under the editorship of Ze'ev *Jawitz). His great attachment to Herzl found expression during the controversy over the *Uganda Scheme, when he proved to be an enthusiastic supporter of the plan.

Despite all his public activities, Reines continued to write. Only a small portion of his works were published, and the rest remain in manuscript (in about 100 volumes). In Lida, he realized his greatest personal dream – the establishment of a modern yeshivah in which secular studies were taught side by side with traditional studies, all within the framework of the meticulous observation of tradition. The yeshivah was established in 1905 and achieved a distinguished reputation. Reines developed the educational principles of the yeshivah in the booklets *Kol Ya'akov* (1908), *Mishkenot Ya'akov* (1910), and others. Although the Mizrachi movement viewed the yeshivah as its own project, its maintenance rested on Reines' shoulders. While the institution was developing, World War I broke out and the suffering that it brought affected Reines' health. In the past few years some of his works have come out in new editions and in facsimile editions.

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[Getzel Kressel]

REINHARDT (Goldmann), MAX (1873–1943), stage producer and director. Reinhardt, a leading force in the theater during the first part of the 20th century, was born in Baden, near Vienna. At 17 he became an actor and assistant director at the Salzburg State Theater. Otto *Brahm, director of the Deutsches Theater in Berlin, noted Reinhardt's work and brought him to the German capital in 1894. After succeeding Brahm as director of the theater in 1905, Reinhardt sought to integrate the two main theatrical traditions, the baroque, which he had learned in Vienna, and the literary and intellectual tradition then dominant in Berlin. "Our standard," he declared, "must not be to act a play as it was acted in the days of its author. How to make a play live in our time, that is decisive for us." Reinhardt offered the public a cosmopolitan repertory – revivals of the classics: Shakespeare, Goethe, Schiller, and Molière; and modern playwrights such as Wilde, Synge, Shaw, Ibsen, Gorki, and Strindberg.

Reinhardt's methods were experimental and spectacular. He used massive crowds and a projecting rostrum. For *A Midsummer Night's Dream* in 1905 he introduced a revolving stage; and for *Hamlet*, which he staged in 1909, he used modern dress. These technical innovations accompanied a revitalized concept of the theater that distinguished Reinhardt's productions and deeply influenced European stagecraft. Avoiding the star system, he was able to use leading performers in either major or minor roles, and he trained actors in his methods at a school which he established at the Deutsches Theater. Reinhardt created a furore in London with his productions of the wordless spectacle *The Miracle* at Olympia (1911) and of *Oedipus Rex* at Covent Garden (1912). In 1920 he produced *Jedermann* ("Everyman") at Salzburg, where until the 1930s it became an annual event at the festival he founded there.

In 1924 Reinhardt returned briefly to Berlin to present Shaw's *Saint Joan* with Elisabeth *Bergner and Pirandello's *Six Characters in Search of an Author*. When the Nazis came to power in 1933, Reinhardt was deprived of all connections with the German state theater. He immigrated to the United States in the following year and staged *A Midsummer Night's Dream* in the Hollywood Bowl, playing to 12,000 people nightly. He made a film version of the play with the same type of massive settings that he used in his stage productions. During his last years Reinhardt ran a school for actors on the West Coast.

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[Stewart Kampel]

REINHARDT, STEPHEN R. (1931–), U.S. federal judge. Born in New York City, he received his bachelor's degree from Pomona College in 1951 and he graduated from Yale Law School in 1954. Reinhardt served in the U.S. Air Force General Counsel's Office from 1954 to 1956. He was law clerk to Judge Luther W. Youngdahl of the U.S. District Court in the District of Columbia from 1956 to 1957, then entered private practice in Los Angeles with the firm O'Melveny and Myers until 1958. He was a partner in the firm Fogel, Julber, Reinhardt, Rothschild, and Feldman from 1959 until 1980, when he was appointed a judge in the U.S. Court of Appeals in the Ninth Circuit, Los Angeles.

Judge Reinhardt ruled in several controversial cases, gaining a reputation as a liberal jurist. In *Phinpathya v. Immigration and Naturalization Service* (1981), he reversed and remanded the Board of Immigration Appeals' denial of an application for suspension of deportation, concluding that the Board erred in its finding that the petitioner had failed to meet the "continuous physical presence" requirement because of a three-month visit to Thailand to aid her sick mother. The Supreme Court reversed the decision, holding that the three-month visit did not fall within the exceptions to the requirement of continuous presence. In *Orhorhaghe v. Immigration and Naturalization Service* (1994), Reinhardt, writing for the panel, ruled that the Immigration and Naturalization Service's seizure of an alien based solely on a foreign-sounding name was a violation of the Fourth Amendment that warranted the suppression of the evidence of illegal status acquired in the course of the seizure.

Other controversial cases involved the right to die and restrictions on assault weapons. In *Compassion in Dying v. Washington* (1996), Judge Reinhardt, writing for the court, ruled that a Washington statute that imposed a criminal penalty on persons assisting in an attempted suicide violated the Fourth Amendment's due process clause. The Supreme Court reversed the decision in 1997. In *Silveira v. Lockyer*, which challenged California's restrictions on assault weapons, he ruled that the Second Amendment guarantees a collective right to bear arms but does not guarantee an individual's right to do so.

Reinhardt served in numerous professional organizations. He served on the California Advisory Committee to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights from 1962 to 1974, and as its vice chairman from 1969 to 1974. A member of the American Bar Association, he was cochairman of the Committee on Labor Arbitration and Law of Collective Bargaining Agreements from 1967 to 1973. He was a member of the Committee on Legislation of the California Bar Association from 1973 to 1977 and of the Labor Law Section of the Los Angeles Bar Association from 1974 to 1980. In 1998 Judge Reinhardt received the Champion of Justice Award from the Association of Criminal Defense Lawyers.

[Dorothy Bauhoff (2nd ed.)]

REINHARZ, JEHUDA (1944–), Israeli-American scholar. Born in Haifa, he emigrated to Germany in 1958 and the United States in 1961 (naturalized 1966). He was educated at Columbia University (B.S. 1967), Jewish Theological Seminary of America (B.R.E. 1967), Harvard University (M.A. 1968), and Brandeis University (Ph.D. 1972). Reinharz taught at Hebrew College, Brookline, Mass. (1969–70); Brandeis University; Hiatt Institute, Jerusalem (1970); the University of Michigan, where he was the first professor of Judaic studies (1972–82); and from 1982 at Brandeis, where he became the Richard Koret Professor of Modern Jewish History and was president of the university from 1994. He had fellowships from the Woodrow Wilson National Fellowship Foundation, the American Council of Learned Societies, the Leo Baeck Institute, the Royal Historical Society (U.K.), and other organizations. He was a member of the Association for Jewish Studies, the Leo Baeck Institute, the World Union of Jewish Studies, the National Foundation for Jewish Culture, the Institute for Polish Jewish Studies, and a number of other professional and scholarly bodies. He was also is a member of the Council on Foreign Relations, the International Council of Yad Vashem, and the boards of the United Israel Appeal/Jewish Agency and the American Joint Distribution Committee as well as the Presidential Advisory Committee to the president of Israel.

Reinharz is a leading scholar of modern Jewish history as well as a leading public advocate for Israel. His *The Jew in the Modern World* (written with Paul R. Mendes Flohr) is a widely adopted college text, and his two-volume biography of Chaim Weizmann has won many awards. His appointment to the presidency of Brandeis, a private Jewish-sponsored university, after one of his predecessors tried to distance it from its Jewish roots, was widely heralded as a choice to return to its Jewish heritage, and Reinharz did not disappoint. As president of Brandeis, Reinharz presided over a great expansion of its programs and physical plant as well as a significant increase in its endowment. Under his leadership the university flourished, its student body improving and its faculty and course offerings growing in scope and depth. In 2005 he established the "nonpartisan" Crown Center for Middle East Studies, believing that existing academic centers are "infused with ideology" and "third-rate." Among Reinharz's books are *Fatherland or Promised Land? The Dilemma of the German Jew* (1975), *Chaim Weizmann: The Making of a Zionist Leader* (1985), *Chaim Weizmann: The Making of a Statesman* (1993), and *Zionism and the Creation of a New Society* (with Ben Halpern (1998; 20002), and a number of edited volumes, including volume 9 of *The Letters and Papers of Chaim Weizmann* (1977), *The Jew In the Modern World: A Documentary History* (with Paul R. Mendes Flohr, 1980; 1995^2), *The Jewish Response to German Culture: From the Enlightenment to World War II* (with Walter Schatzberg, 1985), and *Essential Papers on Zionism* (with Anita Shapira, 1996). He also published many journal articles and contributed to yearbooks and collections of essays.

[Drew Silver (2nd ed.)]

REINMANN, SALOMON (c. 1815–c. 1880), traveler. A native of Galicia, he left his home country in the 1840s and traveled to Burma, where he supplied food to the British army. He amassed a great fortune but soon lost it, and was wounded when involved in battle, losing one eye and part of his left hand. Later he wandered around the Orient as a merchant, then settled in Cochin. Finally he returned to Europe, homeless and without hope, and died in Vienna. While in Austria, he was urged by Peretz *Smolenskin to write down the impressions and observations gained during his many years of travel. His *Masot Shelomo be-Ereẓ Hodu, Birman ve-Sinim* was edited and annotated after his death by Wolf *Schur of Warsaw and appeared in 1884. Though a rather uncritical account of countries and people, Jews and others, with many inaccuracies, the book is an important source of information on Jewish life in *Bombay (especially on the *Bene Israel), *Cochin, *Calcutta, *Burma, and other communities.

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[Walter Joseph Fischel]

REINSDORF, JERRY (1936–), U.S. baseball and basketball owner, the third owner in the history of North American sports to win a championship in two different sports. Born in Brooklyn, New York, the son of a sewing machine peddler, Reinsdorf graduated from George Washington University in Washington, DC, and went on to receive his law degree from Northwestern University after moving to Chicago in 1957. His first job was as a tax attorney for the IRS, and then he went into private tax law practice. He made his fortune in Chicago real estate, heading up the multi-billion-dollar Balcor Corporation. Reinsdorf headed the partnership that purchased the Chicago White Sox and Comiskey Park from Bill Veeck for $19 million on January 29, 1981. He was a member of Major League Baseball's Executive Council, served as chairman of baseball's Ownership Committee, and was a member of the Long Range Planning, Restructuring, Expansion, Equal Opportunity, Strategic Planning, Legislative and Player Relations committees. Reinsdorf assumed the position of chairman of the Chicago Bulls on March 13, 1985, when he led the group that purchased controlling interest in the franchise for $16 million. During his tenure as chairman of the Bulls, the team captured six World Championships for Chicago (1991–93, 1996–98). Reinsdorf was also responsible for the construction of two new sports facilities in Chicago, Comiskey Park (1991), now U.S. Cellular Field, and the United Center (1994). Reinsdorf was the 1997 recipient of the Order of Lincoln Award, and his many contributions to the community have been recognized by such organizations as Keshet, the Interfaith Organizing Project, the American Academy of Achievement, the Cystic Fibrosis Foundation, and the Trial Lawyers Club of Chicago. In addition, he is the recipient of the Chicago Park District's 1990 Chicagoan of the Year Award, the 1992 PUSH Bridgebuilder Award, the National Italian-American Friendship Award, Northwestern University's Award of Merit, the U.S. Air Force American Spirit Award and a honorary degree in humane letters from Illinois College. Reinsdorf was awarded the Ellis Island Medal of Honor in 1993 and the 1997 Mayor's Medal of Honor.

[Elli Wohlgelernter (2nd ed.)]

REISCHER, JACOB BEN JOSEPH (also known as **Jacob Backofen**; c. 1670–1733), rabbi, halakhic authority, and author. Born in Prague, Reischer studied under Aaron Simeon Spira, rabbi of Prague, and was known as a prodigy in his early youth. Afterward he studied under Spira's son, Benjamin Wolf Spira, *av bet din* of the Prague community and rabbi of Bohemia, whose son-in-law he subsequently became. His brothers-in-law were Elijah Spira and David *Oppenheim. Reischer's surname, borne by his grandfather and uncles (see introduction to his *Minḥat Ya'akov*), derives from the fact that his family came from Rzeszow, Poland, and not, as has been erroneously stated, because he served as rabbi of that town.

While still young, he became *dayyan* of the "great *bet din* of *Prague." He was appointed *av bet din* of Ansbach, capital of Bavaria, and head of its yeshivah in 1709, and in 1715 *av bet din* of Worms. There, students flocked to him from all parts of Europe. He had, however, opponents who persecuted him. About 1718, he was appointed *av bet din* and head of the yeshivah of the important community of Metz. There, too, he did not find peace. He related that in 1728 "malicious men, as hard as iron, who hated me without cause, set upon me with intent to destroy me by a false libel, to have me imprisoned." His first work, *Minḥat Ya'akov*, was published, while he was still young, in Prague in 1689. In the course of time he was accepted by contemporary rabbis as a final authority (*Shevut Ya'akov*, vol. 1, no. 28; vol. 3, no. 61), and problems were addressed to him from the whole Diaspora, e.g., Italy, and also from Ereẓ Israel (*ibid.*, vol. 1, nos. 93 and 99). He made a point of defending the **rishonim* from the criticism of later writers, and endeavored to justify the Shulḥan Arukh against its critics. But there were also those, particularly among the Sephardi rabbis of Jerusalem, who openly censured his habit of criticizing *rishonim* and **aḥaronim* (*ibid.*, vol. 1, no. 22), and criticized him in their works. His replies to these criticisms were not always couched in moderate language (see *Lo Hibbit Aven be-Ya'akov*). The main target of his criticism was Joseph b. David of Breslau, author of *Ḥok Yosef* (Amsterdam, 1730). Jacob's only remaining son, Simeon, *av bet din* of Danzig, died in 1715.

Reischer was the author of the following works: (1) *Minḥat Ya'akov* (Prague, 1689) – part 1 is an exposition of the *Torat ha-Ḥattat* of Moses *Isserles, and part 2, entitled *Torat ha-Shelamim*, is an exposition of *Hilkhot Niddah* of the Shulḥan Arukh together with expositions and supplements to the *Kunteres ha-Sefekot* of *Shabbetai b. Meir ha-Kohen and responsa; a second edition, entitled *Solet le-Minḥah ve-Shemen le-Minḥah* (Dessau, 1696), contained the glosses of his son, Simeon; (2) *Ḥok le-Ya'akov*, novellae and expositions on *Hilkhot Pesaḥ* of the Shulḥan Arukh, subsequently included in the large edition of the Shulḥan Arukh; (3) *Shevut Ya'akov*, responsa in three parts – part 1 (Halle, 1710) also contains "*Pe'er Ya'akov*," the residue of his novellae on the Talmud which were destroyed by fire in 1689, part 2 (Offenbach, 1711) contains a revised edition of the laws of *migo* and *sefek sefeka* ("double doubt"), which had been published separately in Prague in 1689, and part 3 (Metz, 1789) contains his "*Lo Hibbit Aven be-Ya'akov*," a reply to the attacks on his first works; (4) *Iyyun*

Ya'akov (Wilhelmsdorf, 1729) is a commentary on the *aggadot* in *Ein Ya'akov* of Jacob *Ibn Ḥabib, and on *Avot*.

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[Ephraim Kupfer]

REISEN, ABRAHAM (**Avrom Reyzn**; 1876–1953), Yiddish poet, short-story writer, playwright, and editor. Born in Koidanovo, Russia (now Dzyarzhynsk, Belarus), Reisen was the son of the Hebrew and Yiddish poet Kalman Reisen (1848–1921) and the brother of the poet, short-story writer, and translator Sarah (Sore) Reisen (1884–1974) and the celebrated philologist Zalman *Rejzen (1887–1941). While he was still a teenager, his talent was recognized by *Shalom Aleichem and I.L. *Peretz, who arranged for the publication of his earliest poems. After some years in Minsk, Warsaw, Cracow, and Berlin, he settled permanently in New York in 1914. Influenced by Heinrich *Heine, whom he translated into Yiddish, he was one of the first Yiddish poets to make use of folksong material. His poetry, though mostly written in conventional quatrains, is suffused by a refined sensibility that adumbrates the writing of Di *Yunge. In contrast to the verse of the "sweatshop" generation, such as Morris *Vinchevsky or Morris *Rosenfeld, his work is characterized by a certain understated Romanticism and melancholy irony. Reisen shared the preoccupation with poverty and social problems manifested by his predecessors, but he entirely eschews their propagandistic rhetoric. Nonetheless, while most of his poetry is softly lyrical, a proportion has sufficiently social-critical implications to have been sung at clandestine workers' meetings in the forests. Many of his poems were set to music and became a standard part of Yiddish folk culture.

In hundreds of short stories, often written at a pace of one a week for the many newspapers to which he was a regular contributor, he reflected with transparent honesty the lives of simple Jews whether in the *shtetl* or as immigrants. His style completely lacked didacticism and the mediating narrators of earlier Yiddish fiction. Though set in a Jewish environment, the stories are animated by wider values. His characters are overwhelmingly Jewish, but they are beset by universal human problems. The narration is restrained, with minimal action and is often reminiscent of Anton Chekhov, another writer whom he translated into Yiddish. His stories are masterpieces of concision and evince his particular gift for catching the essential psychological traits of a character or a situation in a few strokes. His characters are ill-adjusted to their environment and suffer all manner of petty tragedies. He is particularly effective in his unsentimental, quietly realistic depiction of the miseries caused by poverty and the daily struggle to survive. Stories such as "Ayzn" (1912; "Iron," 1974) often constitute brilliant essays in unspoken psychopathology. He wrote with particular effectiveness on a wide variety of themes incorporating characterizations of hungry dreamers, prostitutes, workers, mothers and children, parvenus, and factory girls, all treated with equal lack of censoriousness. Though Reisen adopts a seemingly distanced, objective voice, the reader's sympathy is nonetheless all the more poignantly evoked. Reisen was immensely popular with the general reader and his public appearances were attended by thousands, yet, perhaps on account of his deceptive simplicity, it was only from the 1930s onwards that he began to receive due recognition by intellectual critics.

His valuable autobiography, *Epizodn fun Mayn Lebn* ("Episodes from My Life," 1929–35) covers events in his varied life up to his participation in the epoch-making *Czernowitz Yiddish Language Conference of 1908. Subsequent episodes were never published in book-form. He was also an indefatigable editor and publisher and brought out many important anthologies and a dozen or so journals of which most were fairly ephemeral. He had a deep interest in European literature, and was eager to disseminate acquaintance with the European writers in Yiddish translation as to promote Yiddish literature as an equal within the broader European context.

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[Hugh Denman (2nd ed.)]

REISENBERG, NADIA (1904–1983), U.S. concert pianist and piano teacher. Born in Vilna, Lithuania, Reisenberg moved with her family to St. Petersburg in 1915, where she studied piano at the Conservatory under Leonid Nikolaiev. After the Russian revolution, the family moved, eventually arriving in America in 1922. Under the helpful largesse of Isaac Sherman, Nadia gave private recitals and began to build a reputation. She gave her American debut concert to strong reviews in late 1922 and in 1924 began touring.

Reisenberg possessed a brilliant technique and her audiences were won over by the depth of her musicianship, diverse repertoire, strength and agility, and convincing and serious interpretations.

She married Isaac Sherman, an economist, in 1924, and they had two sons; Reisenberg credited the successful balancing of her concert career and raising a family to having "complete cooperation and understanding" from her husband. In 1930, she began studies with Josef Hoffman at the Curtis Institute, receiving a diploma in 1935 and teaching there from 1934 to 1938. She also taught at Mannes College, Queens College, CUNY, and the Juilliard School; in the 1960s she gave master classes at the Rubin Academy in Israel. Reisenberg focused significant attention on chamber music, which she considered "her first and real love in this world." She often concertized with the Budapest Quartet, or soloists such as cellist Joseph Schuster and violinists William Kroll and Erick Friedman.

In 1939–40, Reisenberg amazed radio listeners by performing the complete Mozart Piano Concertos in a cycle of weekly broadcasts, which she called "the most rewarding experience of my career, my private year with Mozart." Arthur Rubinstein said of this series, "She played brilliantly and I admired her very greatly."

Reisenberg toured with orchestras, including the New York Philharmonic under John Barbirolli, and was the first soloist to play twice in one season with that orchestra, in 1941. Nadia often played premieres of Russian composers, and frequently included newer compositions on her programs, although she did not like "ultra-modern" 20th century music. She also recorded for commercial labels. Reisenberg's last solo recital was at Carnegie Hall on November 21, 1947, though she still gave some concerts, such as a benefit for Israeli children at Carnegie Hall in 1948. In general, after 1950, she focused on teaching, becoming a beloved, sympathetic instructor with deep personal interest in all her students.

[Judith S. Pinnolis (2nd ed.)]

REISER, PAUL (1957–), U.S. actor and writer. Born in New York to a health food distributor, Reiser studied classical piano and composition at the State University of New York-Binghamton. He began performing stand-up comedy at New York comedy clubs, such as the Improv and Comic Strip. His big break came in Barry Levinson's *Diner* (1982). Reiser went on to appear in *Beverly Hills Cop* (1984), *Aliens* (1986), and *Beverly Hills Cop II* (1987). He also appeared on television specials, award shows, and pilots, including a *Diner* pilot in 1983. He starred on the NBC sitcom *My Two Dads* (1987–90). After the show ended, Reiser returned to feature films with roles in *Crazy People* (1990) and *The Marrying Man* (1991). Toward the end of *Dads*, Reiser developed a new show based on his own marriage. *Mad About You* debuted in 1992, featuring Reiser and Helen Hunt as a recently married couple dealing with life after the honeymoon, and ran successfully until 1999. The show's theme song, *The Final Frontie*r, was written by Reiser and musician Don Was. In 1994, Reiser published his first book, *Couplehood*, a bestseller that featured unused material from his sitcom. That same year, Reiser received an Emmy nomination as a lead actor in a comedy series. In 1997, he released his second book, *Babyhood*. He continued to appear in movies, including *The Thing about My Folks* (2005), which he wrote.

[Adam Wills (2nd ed.)]

REISMAN, HEATHER (1948–), Canadian entrepreneur and philanthropist. Reisman was born in Montreal and went to McGill University where she studied social work. Later she moved to Toronto. Drawn to business, she co-founded Paradigm Consulting, a strategy and change management firm in 1979. She left Paradigm in 1992 to become president of Cott Corporation, the regional bottler which she helped grow into the world's largest retailer-branded beverage supplier. Harvard University developed two case studies focusing on the company's growth and development during Reisman's time as president. Reisman left Cott and in 1996 founded and became chief executive officer of Indigo Books, Music and More. The launch of Indigo was the culmination of a lifelong passion for books and music. After a merger with Chapters Books, Indigo became Canada's largest book retailer.

Reisman was recognized for her many contributions to the Jewish and larger community. In 2005, she was awarded the Canada Council of Christians and Jews (CCCJ) Human Relations Award for her contribution to a variety of initiatives that span social, religious, racial, and ethnic communities. She served as governor of McGill University and of the Toronto Stock Exchange, In addition to being the CEO of Indigo Books she was also an officer of Mount Sinai Hospital and a board member and adviser to many organizations, including World Literacy of Canada and Toronto's Holy Blossom Temple, where she and her husband established the Gerald Schwartz/Heather Reisman Centre for Jewish Learning, which sponsors lectures and study classes on a wide range of Jewish-interest subjects. Reisman and her husband were also active in support of the Liberal Party of Canada. Her husband, Gerald *Schwartz, served as chair and CEO of Onex Corporation.

[Mindy Avrich-Skapinker (2nd ed.)]

REISS, LIONEL (1894–1986), U.S. painter, printmaker, watercolorist. Born in Jaroslav, Galicia, a four-year-old Reiss and his family immigrated to New York in 1898. Reiss attended the Art Students League and then worked as a commercial artist for newspapers, publishers, and a motion picture company. Reiss was art director for Paramount Studios and the creator of the now famous MGM lion. In 1930, Reiss made a decision to leave New York to travel to Europe, North Africa, and the Near East, accumulating material for art with Jewish subject matter, often focusing on Jewish life in Eastern Europe. Reiss published some of the fruits of his travels in a limited edition folio titled *My Models Were Jews* in 1938. In part, this work attempted to negate Hitler's assertion of a distinctive "Jewish type" with images of a wide range of different Jews in varying milieus, including the Venice ghetto, the Jewish cemetery in Prague, and an array of shops, synagogues, streets, and marketplaces. All of his depictions are infused with a great sensitivity to details of dress, hair, facial features, and expression often suggested with an economy of line which still manages to retain a powerful descriptive quality. Reiss' subject matter was wide-ranging, from the gritty realism of a group of near-derelicts escaping the heat on a tenement rooftop in *New York Summer Night* (c. 1946) to more brilliantly colored images such as the watercolor and gouache *Spring Promenade* (c. 1946), which depicts a bevy of well-dressed New Yorkers parading through Central Park. Reiss also completed paintings lighter in hue and spirit which reflect the artist's observation of life in Israel, such as *Tel Aviv Balconies, Boy from Safed*, and *Yeminite Girl*. He published and illustrated *New Lights and Old Shad-*

ows (1954) and *A World at Twilight,* two books featuring text by I.B. Singer. He illustrated many other books including the English edition of Ḥayyim Naḥman *Bialik's poem *Hamatmid*, published in 1947, for which he created the etching *The Talmud Student*, a somewhat expressionistically rendered depiction of a reader, his weary but engrossed expression illuminated by vibrant candlelight. Reiss' work has been exhibited at the Art Institute of Chicago, the Carnegie Institute, and the Whitney Museum. His art has been collected by many institutions, including, among others, the Jewish Theological Seminary, the Smithsonian Institution, and the Tel Aviv Museum.

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[Nancy Buchwald (2nd ed.)]

REISZ, KAREL (1926–2002), British film director. Born in Ostrava, Czechoslavakia, Reisz came to Britain on a *Kindertransport* in 1938; his family perished in the Holocaust. Reisz served in the Royal Air Force and studied natural sciences at Cambridge. Initially a film critic, from 1959 Reisz became an influential film director, responsible for many hard-hitting and realistic dramas and comedies such as *Saturday Night and Sunday Morning* (1960), *Night Must Fall* (1964), *Morgan: A Suitable Case For Treatment* (1966), and, later, *The French Lieutenant's Woman* (1981). He was often compared to such contemporary dramatists as Harold *Pinter and Samuel Beckett.

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[William D. Rubinstein (2nd ed.)]

REITLINGER, GERALD (1900–1978), British historian. Born in London and educated at Westminster School and Oxford, Reitlinger worked as an art dealer and critic while writing important pioneering works on the Nazi era. His *The Final Solution* (1953; revised edition, 1967) was one of the first comprehensive histories of the Holocaust and is still valuable. Reitlinger's *The ss: Alibi of a Nation* (1956) was one of the earliest serious accounts of the Nazis' agents of genocide. Reitlinger also wrote a three-volume history of art sales down the ages, *The Economics of Taste* (1961–70) and exhibited his own paintings.

[William D. Rubinstein (2nd ed.)]

REIZENSTEIN, FRANZ (1911–1968), composer and pianist. Reizenstein was born in Nuremberg, and studied the piano at the Berlin State Academy with Leonid Kreutzer and composition with Hindemith. He settled in London in 1934, undergoing a further period of study-of composition with Vaughan Williams and the piano with Solomon. He was a prolific composer in a lucid, neo-classical style, his works always showing clarity of thought and neatness of design. They include: two radio operas – *Men Against the Sea* (1949) and *Anna Kraus* (1952); the cantata *Voices of Night* (1939), for soprano, baritone, chorus, and orchestra; concerto for cello, violin, and piano (the first performance of the *Second Piano Concerto* was in June 1961, with Reizenstein as soloist); much chamber music; and pieces for solo piano, songs, etc. Reizenstein taught composition at the Guildhall School of Music, London.

[Max Loppert (2nd ed.)]

REIẒES (also **Reiẓeles**; in Heb. רייציס), **ḤAYYIM BEN ISAAC HA-LEVI** (1687–1728), and his brother **JOSHUA** (1697–1728), rabbis and Jewish martyrs in Poland. Ḥayyim was a wealthy and learned man who held the position of *av bet din* in *Lvov (Lemberg) and was rabbi of *Kamenka-Bugskaya. He was also a member of the provincial committee. Joshua headed a yeshivah in Lvov. In the spring of 1728 the bishop of Lvov accused the two brothers and other Jewish personalities of the town of having attempted to induce the Jewish apostate, Jan Filipowicz, to return to Judaism, and of having profaned the symbols of Christianity which he carried with him. The Reiẓes brothers were arrested, interrogated, tortured by the Inquisition tribunal, and condemned to death by burning at the stake. Information on the tragedy of the Reiẓes brothers stems from Jewish and Catholic sources. According to the Jesuit source, Joshua committed suicide in prison after which his body was abused, and burned at the stake. It is also related that on the day that Ḥayyim was to be burned at the stake a Jesuit priest attempted to convert him in exchange for a pardon, "but he could not convince his obstinate soul" ("*Sed nihil evicit in obstinato pectore*"). The property of the Reiẓes brothers was confiscated and set aside for financing a project to strengthen the town walls. Regularly, on the eve of Shavuot, the anniversary of the death of the martyred Reiẓes brothers, a special memorial service was held in the Naḥmanovich synagogue of Lvov for the repose of their souls.

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[Arthur Cygielman]

REJZEN (Reyzn), ZALMAN (1887–1940?), Yiddish lexicographer, literary historian, and editor. Born in Koidanovo, Minsk province (now Dzerzhinsk, Belorus), Rejzen, together with his elder brother, the poet and short story writer Abraham *Reisen, prepared the Yiddish textbook *Muter-Shprakh* ("Mother Language," 1908). That year he also published a widely used Yiddish grammar, which he expanded to the more definitive *Gramatik fun der Yidisher Shprakh* ("Grammar of the Yiddish Language," 1920), thus helping to standardize Yiddish grammar. He also helped to bring greater uniformity to Yiddish spelling by editing a book on Yiddish orthography prepared by a group of Yiddish teachers in 1913. But his most important contributions were in literary history. His *Leksikon fun der Yidisher Literatur un Prese* ("Lexicon of Yiddish Literature and Press") appeared in a single volume in 1914 under the editorship of S. *Niger and became the basis for his monumental bibliographic *Leksikon fun der Yidisher Literatur, Prese, un Filologi* ("Lexicon of Yiddish Literature, Press, and Philology"), published in four volumes in Vilna (1926–29), where he had settled in 1915 and assumed a leading role as journalist, editor, scholar, and stimulator of cultural life. When he became the editor of the Yiddish daily *Vilner Tog* in 1920, he fought for Jewish cultural autonomy and fostered new literary talents. In 1928 he was imprisoned for two months because of his opposition to the Polish government's attempt to compel Jews to accept Sunday as their day of rest. He also edited the linguistic journal *Yidishe Filologi* and several books, including the handbook for the history of Haskalah literature, *Fun Mendelssohn biz Mendele* ("From Mendelssohn to Mendele," 1923). With A. Fridkin he coauthored a study on Abraham *Gottlober and wrote on the life and works of I.L. *Peretz (*I.L. Peretz – Zayn Lebn un Zayne Verk*, "I.L. Peretz – His Life and His Works," 1931). He translated European classics into Yiddish. In 1925 he helped found the *YIVO Institute for Jewish Research, edited several of its important scholarly publications, and was especially active in its sections on philology and literature. The posthumous essay collection, *Yidishe Literatur un Yidishe Shprakh* ("Yiddish Literature and Yiddish Language," 1965) includes a full bibliography. When Soviet troops occupied Vilna in 1939, he was arrested, and when Vilna was handed over to the Lithuanian Republic, he was taken to Russia, where he was shot in June 1941. No reason was ever given for his imprisonment or execution.

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[Moshe Starkman]

REKHASIM (Heb. רְכָסִים, "Ridges"), semiurban settlement in the Tivon Hills of Israel, 10 mi. (16 km.) S.E. of Haifa. Rekhasim, founded in 1951 as *Kefar Ḥasidim (*ma'barot* "A" and "B"), became a permanent settlement and received local council status in 1959. The population, numbering 1,500 in 1951, grew to 2,550 in 1970 as immigrants from Romania and North Africa were absorbed. Most of the inhabitants found employment in the Zebulun Valley. In the mid-1990s the population was approximately 4,970, increasing to 7,750 in 2002 and occupying an area of 1.2 sq. mi. (3 sq. km.). The majority of Rekhasim's population was ultra-Orthodox, with family income considerably below the national average.

[Efraim Orni / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

°**RELAND, ADRIAN** (**Hadrian**; 1676–1718), Dutch Orientalist and theologian. Reland studied at Utrecht, was appointed professor of philosophy at Harderwijk in 1699, and professor of Oriental languages and antiquities at Utrecht in 1701.

He published *Antiquitates sacrae veterum Hebraeorum* (1708) and *De spoliis templi Hierosolymitani in arcu Titiaco Romae conspicuis liber singularis* (Utrecht, 1716). Reland's major work was *Palaestina ex monumentis veteribus illustrata* (2 vols., 1714), in which he collected all the knowledge then available on the historical geography of Ereẓ Israel and its ancient sites, arranging the latter alphabetically. His sources included not only the writings of classical authors, but also those of the church historians, the *Lives of the Saints*, and talmudic literature which he quotes in the original. Reland also recorded Nabatean and Palmyrene inscriptions, though he was unable to decipher them. All later Orientalists made use of his monumental compilation which is of value even today.

RELGIS (**Sigler**), **EUGEN** (1895–), Romanian author and journalist. Born in Jassy, Relgis showed an early inclination toward humanitarianism and pacifism. He wrote his first book, *Triumful Neființei* (1913), before embarking on his main journalistic and literary career. He contributed to leading Romanian periodicals and to the Jewish journals *Adam*, the official Zionist *Știri din lumea evreească, Renașterea Noastră.* For a time, he was on the editorial staff of the Zionist periodical *Mântuirea*. After 1920, he edited *Umanitatea* and *Cugetul liber* ("Free Thinking").

During the 1920s, Relgis was mainly concerned with his idealistic conception of humanitarianism – ultimately, the struggle to improve the human soul. His fundamental work was *Principiile umanitariste* ("Humanitarian Principles", 1922), which was translated into 17 languages and made Relgis one of the best-known figures in the intellectual world between the world wars. He developed his ideas in *Umanitarismul și internaționala intelectualilor* ("Humanitarianism and the Intellectuals' Internationale", 1922), *Umanitarismul și socialismul* ("Humanitarianism and Socialism", 1925), *Umanitarismul biblic* ("Biblical Humanitarianism", 1926) and similar works. Some of his books contained prefaces by such celebrities as Albert Einstein and Romain Rolland who declared Relgis to be his most worthy successor. During this period he wrote *Petre Arbore* (3 vols., 1924), *Glasuri în Surdin* ("Voices in a Low Key", 1927), and *Prieteniile lui Miron* ("The Friendships of Miron", 1934).

In the years immediately preceding World War II Relgis was active in the Jewish cultural institute attached to the Bucharest Choral Temple. In 1947, he left Romania and settled in Montevideo, Uruguay, lecturing at universities there and in Argentina and Brazil. He then republished his main works in Spanish. His articles on the values of Judaism, which he identified with modern humanitarianism, originally published in Romania as *Esseuri despre judaism* ("Essays on Judaism", 1936), appeared in an elaborated form in the volumes *Profetas y Poetas* (1955) and *Testigo de mi tiempo* (1961). Another collection of articles and lectures on Romanian-Jewish subjects, *Mărturii de ieri și de azi* ("Testimonies of Yesterday and Today"), was published in Israel in 1962.

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[Dora Litani-Littman andAbraham Feller]

REMAK, German family of neurologists. ROBERT REMAK (1815–1865) was born in the province of Posen and was one of the first Jews to become lecturer (*Dozent*) at the University of Berlin, by special permission of Emperor Frederick William IV. In 1859 he was appointed associate professor of medicine. He made important contributions in the fields of anatomy, histology, neurology, and electrotherapy. He discovered the nonmedullated nerve fibers (Remak fibers), and a sympathetic ganglion in the heart tissue (Remak's ganglion). In opposition to accepted theories, he stated that cell growth to form tissue is achieved by cell division. He also proved that the double middle embryological germ layer is a single structure. His contributions in the field of electrotherapy include substitution of galvanic for induced current and the introduction of galvanic therapy for certain nerve and muscle diseases.

His son, ERNST JULIUS REMAK (1849–1911), continued the work of his father in neurology and his contributions to medicine were mainly in electrodiagnosis and electrotherapeutics. He described the so-called Remak's reflex of the first three toes as an indication of disturbances in the spinal cord, and described a form of paralysis of the extensor muscles of fingers and wrists. His publications include *Grundriss zur Elektrodiagnostik und Elektrotherapie* (1909) and *Neuritis und Polyneuritis* (1899). Born in Berlin, he became an assistant in the clinic for nervous diseases at the Charité Hospital of that city. In 1902 he was appointed associate professor of neurology at Berlin University.

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[Suessmann Muntner]

°**REMBRANDT VAN RIJN** (1606–1669), Dutch painter and engraver, considered Holland's national cultural hero. Born in Leiden, he was probably reared in Calvinism, the official religion of Holland. There has been some speculation that Rembrandt became a Mennonite later in life. Rembrandt has always been associated with the Jews of Amsterdam. His religious-cultural background naturally brought him nearer to the Hebraic than the Hellenistic heritage and, like his fellow Dutchmen, he was well versed in the Old and New Testaments. The new Dutch Republic at that time was celebrating its liberation from Spain, and regarded itself as the chosen people, the "New Israel," and its land as a "New Jerusalem," while the Spanish oppressor was likened to Pharaoh or Haman of biblical times. Like other Dutch artists of the time Rembrandt painted Old Testament subjects and created many wonderful drawings and etchings. His pupils continued this trend, often using his drawings as the basis for their work. For these Old Testament depictions Rembrandt may have used Jewish models, which were portrayed in a sympathetic and, above all, human manner. Rembrandt learned his first lessons in giving form to biblical texts from his teacher Pieter Lastman (1583–1633), and from 16th-century prints. An early work by Rembrandt is *Balaam and the Ass* (1626; Paris), similar to and inspired by Lastman's work on the same subject (1622; Jerusalem). In certain instances his treatment of the themes deviates from the traditional and has led scholars to speculate that Rembrandt may have derived his novel interpretations from conversations with rabbinical authorities, who provided him with details from post-biblical Jewish literature. It has been shown that Rembrandt and other artists consulted the *Antiquities* of *Josephus Flavius to enrich their biblical iconography. In his New Testament depictions the Jews, especially when he depicts the Pharisees, are sometimes shown as "suspicious of the Christian Miracle."

Rembrandt lived in the Jewish Quarter in Amsterdam on the Breestraat from 1633 to 1635 and from 1639 to 1658. It has been suggested that his choice of a home in Amsterdam's Breestraat was motivated by its proximity to the city's growing Jewish community. In actual fact quite a few artists resided in this quarter. Rembrandt was friendly with two Sephardi Jews, one of whom was the physician Ephraim Hezekiah *Bueno (Bonus). The Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam owns a small Rembrandt oil portrait of Ephraim Bueno, a preliminary study for the etching of 1647. In World War II this portrait was "bought" by the Nazis for Hitler's museum, from the dealer Mannheimer. Rembrandt's other Jewish friend was *Manasseh ben Israel; Rembrandt's etching of him in 1636 is supposed to have been based on a painted portrait that has disappeared. It is doubtful, though, whether it is in fact a portrait of Manasseh ben Israel, but, on the other hand, there is no doubt that Rembrandt and Manasseh knew each other. In Rembrandt's 1635 *Balthazar's Feast* (National Gallery, London), a mysterious hand writes the words: *Mene Mene Tekel Upharsin* in Hebrew letters on the wall. Rembrandt may have consulted Manasseh about the script and in what manner the writing should be arranged. He wrote the words from top to bottom, according to an old Jewish tradition, which was later quoted in Manasseh's book *De Termino Vitae*. For Manasseh's book *Piedra Gloriosa, o de la Estatua de Nebuchadnesar* ("The Glorious Stone, or Nebuchadnezzar's Statue," 1655) Rembrandt made four etchings, one of which was the *David and Goliath*. His plates were not found acceptable on religious rather than aesthetic grounds, and a new commission was accordingly given to another artist – possibly the Jewish copper engraver Shalom *Italia.

The painting and the four etchings are based on the book of Daniel, and are related to messianic ideas common in Holland at that time. Manasseh was, in many respects, a mediator between Jews and Christians. He, like the philo-Semites, was fostering millenarian hopes for messianic salvation.

There has been much speculation as to whether Rembrandt and Baruch *Spinoza knew each other. The assertion that Rembrandt was Spinoza's drawing teacher has been rejected. Many scholars have claimed to see a likeness of Spinoza in paintings by Rembrandt, yet alleged identifications have remained highly debatable. There is a possibility that the two may have met at the home of Manasseh ben Israel, who was one of Spinoza's teachers, or at the home of Spinoza's Latin teacher, Dr. Frans van den Emden, where one of Rembrandt's pupils was a lodger, or at meetings of Collegiants and Mennonites which the philosopher occasionally attended.

Much of what we think about Rembrandt and the Jews derives from ideas formulated in the 19th century. E. Kolloff wrote in 1854 about Rembrandt's depictions of the biblical past as bearing a "strong touch of the Judaic." Rembrandt's financial problems, which eventually led to his bankruptcy in 1656, were believed to be the result of his relations with Jewish patrons, especially Manasseh ben Israel, who had allegedly influenced him to spend time and money on kabbalistic ideas.

Evidence of Rembrandt's artistic interest in the Jews he encountered in Amsterdam is provided by his numerous drawings, in pen and bistre, or brown or black chalk, of bearded old Jews in long coats. His early depictions of beggars in high hats are not of Jews, but probably based on J. Callot's prints of vagabonds. His etching known as *Jews in the Synagogue* (1648) shows nine Jews and not a *minyan* (quorum) as has been stated. Nor is it any longer agreed that the setting is a synagogue, and it has been suggested that the picture should be titled, *A Scene in the Jewish Quarter of Amsterdam*. *The Jewish Bride* (Rijksmuseum; painted after 1665) may not be a portrait of Jews at all, though one scholar maintains that the sitters are the Jewish poet Miguel de *Barrios, and his much younger wife, Abigail de Pinna. The title was given to the painting in 1825, and therefore lacks historical justification. It is now believed to be a biblical painting, most probably of Isaac and Rebecca. Already in the 18th century art collectors cataloguing their collections gave Jewish "Romantic" names to some of the artist's works, as for instance two etchings, labeled the *Great Jewish Bride* and the *Small Jewish Bride* by Valerius Rover, but which are not what they are called.

A number of portraits assigned to Rembrandt, including some that may be works by his pupils, are believed to be of Jews, though the titles alone, often supplied by dealers, are not sufficient proof. The sole documentary evidence that Rembrandt found patrons among the well-to-do Sephardim of Amsterdam is a deposition concerning a disagreement between the artist and a certain Diego d'Andrade over a portrait of a young woman (perhaps Diego's daughter) which the patron had found unsatisfactory. This painting has, very tentatively, been identified as one in a private collection in Toronto. All identifications of portraits of unknown Jews based on "racial" features are tentative, though in certain cases the physiognomy and style of clothing appear to be more persuasive than in others. Jewish sitters have thus been claimed for as many as 40 oils, but the number is open to challenge. A painting in Rembrandt's inventory of 1656 which is listed as "a Head of Christ, a study from life" and related works were probably painted after a Jewish model. According to S. Schama some of the types of people dressed in heavy coats and fur hats (*kolpaks*) are actually Polish noblemen from Gdansk, and not Jewish. It is assumed that quite often Jewish beggars, who were poverty-stricken Ashkenazi refugees from Poland, served as paid models.

Among Rembrandt's most celebrated oils on Old Testament themes in major public collections the following may be named: *Samson and Delilah* (1628; Berlin), *Jeremiah Lamenting the Destruction of Jerusalem* (1630; Amsterdam); *Saul and David* (1631; Frankfurt); *Sacrifice of Abraham* (1635; St. Petersburg); *Samson Threatening his Father-in-law* (1635; Berlin); *Blinding of Samson* (1636; Frankfurt); *The Angel Leaving the Family of Tobias* (1637; Paris); *Samson's Wedding Feast* (1638; Dresden); *David's Farewell to Jonathan* (1642; St. Petersburg); *Bathsheba at her Toilet* (1643; New York); *Susanna and the Elders* (1647; Berlin); *Bathsheba with David's Letter* (1654; Paris); *Joseph Accused by Potiphar's Wife* (1655; Berlin); *Saul and David* (c. 1655; The Hague); *Jacob Blessing the Sons of Joseph* (1656; Kassel); *Jacob Wrestling with the Angel* (c. 1659; Berlin); *Moses Holding the Tablets of the Law* (1659; Berlin). In this last-mentioned painting the tablets are inscribed in beautiful Hebrew lettering in accordance with the Amsterdam Sephardi manner.

Rembrandt made numerous drawings and prints of Old Testament subjects. Often he seeks to analyze the human motives and the psychological turning points of the episodes. Many are depictions of the stories of Genesis, such as *Joseph's Coat Brought to Jacob* (1633); *Abraham Casting Hagar and Ishmael* (1637); *Joseph Telling his Dreams* (1638); *Adam and Eve*, (1638); *Abraham's Sacrifice* (1655). The story of Tobias also held his fascination throughout his life. In 1651 he made the print of *The Blindness of Tobit*.

In his famous etching *The Triumph of Mordecai* of c. 1641 Rembrandt shows the Temple of Jerusalem through an arch, which is an allusion to the building of the Third Temple. The print is close in conception and composition to the *Nightwatch*, Rembrandt's great masterpiece.

Jewish artists after the Emancipation considered Rembrandt and his "Jewish" creations as proof of the fact that Jewish art was possible.

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[Alfred Werner / Rivka Weiss-Blok (2nd ed.)]

REMÉNYI (Hoffmann), EDUARD (1830–1898), violinist. Born in Heves, Hungary, Reményi studied in Vienna, became involved in the Hungarian insurrection (1848), and after its failure fled to the United States and later toured in England. Pardoned in 1860, he was appointed solo violinist to the emperor of Austria. He was noted for his brilliant technique and intensely individual style. On one of his concert tours his accompanist was the 20-year-old Brahms, and Reményi's playing of Hungarian gypsy tunes became the inspiration for Brahms'

Hungarian Dances. Reményi made violin transcriptions of the piano works of Chopin and Field and wrote a violin concerto. He died in San Francisco, California, while on tour.

REMEZ (Drabkin), MOSHE DAVID (1886–1951), labor leader in the Jewish *yishuv* and Israeli politician, member of the First Knesset. Born in Kopys in the Mohilev district in Belorussia, Remez attended a *ḥeder*, and then studied at a gymnasium in the town of Yeltz. He was a member of *Po'alei Zion in his youth, and published Hebrew poems in *Ha-Shilo'aḥ*, then edited by Ḥayyim Naḥman *Bialik. He also served for a while as a teacher. After studying law in Constantinople, Remez settled in Palestine in 1913, where he worked as an agricultural laborer for five years in Ben-Shemen, Be'er Toviyyah, Karkur, and Zikhron Ya'akov. After World War I, he became one of the leaders of *Aḥdut ha-Avodah, and later of *Mapai, and was a key figure in the organizational and economic activities of the *Histadrut. In the years 1921–29 he headed the Public Works Office of the Histadrut, which later became *Solel Boneh, and served as secretary general of the Histadrut in the years 1935–44. Remez was chairman of the Va'ad Le'ummi from 1944 to 1948 and was one of the Jewish leaders arrested by the British authorities on June 29, 1946 ("Black Saturday"), spending several months in the Latrun detention camp. In 1948 he was appointed minister of transportation in the provisional government, and served in this position also in the first government formed by David *Ben-Gurion. In the second government he was appointed minister of education and culture, but he passed away in May 1951.

A linguist and writer, Remez introduced several new words into the Hebrew language, such as וֶתֶק (seniority); דַחְפּוֹר (bulldozer); רַמְזוֹר (traffic light). The housing complex of Ramat Remez in Haifa was named in his memory.

His only son, AHARON (1919–1994), served in the British Royal Air Force from 1942 to 1947 and from 1948 to 1951 was the first commander of the Israeli Air Force. He was a member of the Third Knesset. In 1965 he was appointed Israeli ambassador to Great Britain. In the years 1970–77 he was the head of the Israel Ports Authority, and in 1977–81 he served as chairman of the Airport Authority.

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[Susan Hattis Rolef (2nd ed.)]

REMNANT OF ISRAEL (Heb. שְׁאֵרִית יִשְׂרָאֵל), a term denoting the belief that the future of Israel would be assured by the faithful remnant surviving the calamities that would befall the people as a result of their departing from the way of God. On the one hand the prophets foretold the forthcoming exile and destruction of Israel, and on the other they held forth the hope and promise of its survival and eternity. The doctrine of the Surviving Remnant resolved this contradiction. The doctrine is referred to by most of the prophets. Thus Micah (2:12) states, "I will surely gather the remnant of Israel"; Jeremiah (23:3) "and I will gather the remnant of my flock out of all the countries whither I have driven them and will bring them back to their folds, and they shall be fruitful and multiply." Joel promises, "For in Mount Zion and in Jerusalem there shall be those that escape and among the remnant those whom the Lord shall call" (3:5), and the first half of the verse is repeated almost literally by Obadiah (v. 17).

It is in Isaiah, however, that the doctrine is found in its most developed form which greatly affected Israel's thoughts about the future. He gives his son the symbolic name Shear-Jashub ("a remnant shall return," 7:3) and in 10:22 the phrase is repeated as a statement of fact "a remnant shall return, even the remnant of Jacob." The most detailed description of the doctrine appears in 6:13. The land shall be utterly destroyed, the children of Israel will be "removed far away," only a tenth will remain – even that tenth "shall again be eaten up" but "the holy seed" shall remain. Isaiah's concept of the remnant may have included both the faithful minority and those who would accept God's message, under the impact of the forthcoming disaster. Paul applied Isaiah's teaching to the Church (Rom. 9:27).

In the daily prayers there are included the prayers "Guardian of Israel, Guard the Remnant of Israel, and suffer not Israel to perish."

After World War II the phrase the "remnant which survives" (*she'erit ha-peletah*) was applied to the survivors of the Holocaust.

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REMNICK, DAVID (1958–), U.S. editor, author. A native of Hillsdale, NJ, and a graduate of Princeton University with a degree in comparative literature, Remnick became the fifth editor of *The New Yorker* magazine in 1998 after an award-winning career as a reporter and foreign correspondent for *The Washington Post*. Starting in 1982 as an intern in the *Post's* Style section, he worked the night police beat and covered tennis and professional basketball for the Sports section and *The Post's* Magazine before going to Moscow for a four-year tour in 1988. Remnick chronicled the politics and personalities of the upheaval in the Soviet Union, which was soon to disappear as a national entity. He wrote *Lenin's Tomb: The Last Days of the Soviet Empire,* and it won the Pulitzer Prize in 1994. *The Wall Street Journal* compared the reportage with John Reed's influential eyewitness account of the formation of the Soviet Union, *Ten Days That Shook the World* (1919). After a stint as a visiting fellow of the Council on Foreign Relations, Remnick became a staff writer for *The New Yorker* and a frequent contributor to *The New York Review of Books* and other publications. His book, *King of the World: Muhammad Ali and the Rise of an American Hero* (1998), chronicles the early career of the heavyweight champion and placed Ali's career in a wider cultural context. In 1998, after a stellar career at the magazine, publishing more than 100 articles on an array of subjects, everything from Boris Yeltsin's political travails to Luciano Pavarotti's opera career to Mike Tyson's rise and fall, Remnick was named editor of *The New Yorker*, succeeding Tina Brown. Remnick brought a more serious tone to the magazine, which published major exposes, included articles by Seymour *Hirsch exposing degrading treatment of Iraqi prisoners by American military personnel at the Abu Ghraib prison. In addition to editing the magazine, and writing introductions to various collections of articles, Remnick continued to report and write his own lengthy articles for the magazine, some from the Middle East. In New York, he was on the Board of Overseers of *YIVO, which seeks to preserve the foremost resources for the study of the history and culture of East European Jews. His wife, Esther Fein, was a correspondent for *The New York Times.*

[Stewart Kampel (2nd ed.)]

REMOS, MOSES BEN ISAAC (c. 1406–c. 1430), physician, philosopher, and poet. Born in Majorca, he traveled widely, and eventually came to Palermo, where he was condemned to death after having been accused of poisoning a Christian patient. His judges offered to quash the sentence if he would convert (it seems that his grandfather, also named Moses Remos, had done this in Palma, Majorca, in 1391). Remos's reply was laconic: "Better that my body die than my soul. My portion is the Living Rock and the dead shall be His." Thus when only 24 years old he was put to death, his remains being buried outside Palermo, beside the city wall. The few poems which he left are of a philosophical nature, written in a careless, prosaic style.

The only one of his poems in print is an elegy on his forthcoming death: "Who would have thought that a villain's death.... " At the beginning of it he wrote: "I lament on this first day of the week, for they have told me that tomorrow they will kill me. Woe unto me! May it be God's Will that my death be the pardon for my sins. Bitterly weeping, without thinking or looking, I have taken my pen and have cried and written. In the name of the Lord, the God of Israel, I conjure the person into whose hands this falls, to read it, copy it, and send it to others until it reaches my unfortunate relatives." This elegy begins by describing a procession of worldly and natural forces, together with the arts which he had mastered during his lifetime, come to bewail the poet's death. In the latter part of the poem, the personal feelings of the author are clearly brought out. He confesses his sins, accepts his fate, and is thus prepared for his last journey.

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[Yonah David]

°**RENAN, ERNEST** (1823–1892), French philosopher and Orientalist. Renan, born in Brittany, was one of the foremost French savants and authors of the 19th century. Educated for the priesthood, Renan rebelled against the oppressive Catholic intellectual atmosphere, and in 1846 abandoned his religious studies, dedicating himself to independent research. In 1847 he was awarded the Prix Volney for *L'Histoire Generale et Système Compare des Langues Semitiques*, in which his thesis was that monotheistic tendencies are inherent in the character of Semitic peoples. While working at the Bibliothèque Nationale in the department of Hebrew and Semitic manuscripts, Renan published an essay on Averroes and Averroism in 1852, a work of great erudition and insight into the world of medieval Arab philosophy. His real inclination toward biblical studies and historical research on the Jewish people and origins of Christianity soon became evident. His translations and commentaries on the Book of Job (1859), the Song of Songs (1860), and Ecclesiastes (1882) were widely appreciated at the time. When in 1860 he was barred from an appointment to the chair of Hebrew and Chaldaic at the Collège de France due to Catholic pressure, Napoleon III appointed him head of a French archaeological mission to Syria and Palestine. There Renan wrote the first draft of his famous *Vie de Jesus* (published in 1863). During this voyage he also conceived the project of a *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum* (1881–92). In 1862 his appointment to the Collège de France was confirmed, but he was suspended due to the furore created by his inaugural lecture.

Vie de Jesus was the first volume of a monumental *Histoire des Origines du Christianisme*, of which the subsequent volumes were *Les Apôtres*; *Saint Paul*; *L'Antechrist* (1873), a portrayal of Nero's empire; *Les Evangiles et la Seconde Generation Chretienne*; and *Marc-Aurèle et la fin du monde antique* (1881). Renan made erudite use of rabbinic sources; see his *Le Judaïsme et le Christianisme – identite originale et separation graduelle* (1883). In the later part of his scholarly career, Renan turned to the history of the Jewish people. His five-volume *Histoire du Peuple d'Israël des origines à l'epoque romaine* was published during 1887 to 1893. As in an earlier article (*Le Judaïsme comme race et comme religion*, 1883), he declared himself an enthusiastic admirer of the great biblical prophets, who were socialists before their time. Renan collaborated with A. *Neubauer in *Les Rabbins français du 14me siècle* (1877) and *Les ecrivains Juifs français du 14me siècle* (1893), thus integrating these rabbinic writers into the literary history of France. Renan's work has been analyzed by René Dussaud in *L'Oeuvre Scientifique de Renan* (1951). A bibliography is given in H. Girard and H. Moncel, *Bibliographie des oeuvres d'Ernest Renan* (1923).

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[Yohanan (J.-G.) Cohen-Yashar (Kahn)]

RENASSIA, YOSSEF (1879–1962), Algerian rabbi. Renassia was a *dayyan* (rabbinical judge) in *Constantine, *Algeria, the chief rabbi of the community, and a primary force behind all types of Jewish education in that community. He was a significant figure in the entire Algerian Jewish community.

He wrote some 130 works covering the entire spectrum of Torah literature. His major efforts were devoted to translating into Judeo-Arabic and writing biblical commentaries.

Among his translations were the entire Mishnah (*Nishmat Kol Ḥai*), *Maimonides' *Mishneh Torah* (*Orah ve-Simḥah – Sefer ha-Rambam*, for which he received the Zadok Kahn award in 1961), and Isaac *Alfasi's commentary on the Talmud (*Sefer ha-Rif*).

Renassia also wrote works on history and belles lettres and edited the legends of the Talmud (*Ben-David*, 1923), translating them into Judeo-Arabic. He was the author of commentaries on biblical topics and responsa literature. He edited dictionaries as learning aids for students of Talmud and Arabic, French, and Hebrew and popularized basic works from the realm of Jewish philosophy and Kabbalah.

His educational approach was non-elitist seeking to reach everyone, from the uneducated to the advanced scholar. With that in mind he translated into the most commonly used dialect and into the *derush*, which was the sermonic style used in most synagogues.

Renassia's educational philosophy was based on the idea that one must develop students who become familiar with a wide range of subjects at an elementary level so that they continue on to specialization in those to which they are attracted. A direct result of this was that the Eẓ Ḥayyim *yeshivah* which he headed was home to a large number of students.

He had a unique attitude to modernity, not rejecting it but applying a selective openness. Renassia knew French very well, served in the French army, and was well acquainted with the basics of French culture, even though he absorbed only those elements he considered positive or worthy of being adopted. His main thrust was on Jewish cultural content which he felt was necessary for the maintenance of Jewish life in the Diaspora.

Upon Algeria's independence in 1962 he emigrated to Israel and at no time linked his destiny to the French people or to Jewish bodies loyal to France, such as the Consistoire or the Alliance, although he did not dissociate or alienate himself from them.

His approach to family, conversion, and observance of the commandments is rooted in his general attitude towards modernity. He felt that the solution to the processes of erosion wearing away the Algerian Jewish communities was in proper Jewish education which should be aimed at emigration to Israel. He acted tolerantly towards the problems of Jewish society as he understood – but did not condone – that it was going through gradual processes of secularization and abandonment of traditional values.

He favored a streamlined, convenient process of conversion, more so than the other Algerian rabbis, particularly after World War II. He thought that the phenomenon of conversion after the Holocaust was akin to a miracle and should be encouraged.

Renassia's correspondence with President Izhak Ben-Zvi was crucial to the saving of his works, since he used to send a dedicated copy of each to the president. If it had not been for that, it is doubtful whether it would have been possible to collect his writings, which were in threat of being lost after 1962.

All of his works are available in Jerusalem at the Jewish National and University Library, the Yad Izhak *Ben-Zvi Institute, and the Gei Yinnasei Institute, established in Jerusalem in his name and memory.

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[Yosef Chavit]

RENDELL, EDWARD GENE (1944–), U.S. Democratic politician. Born in New York City and educated at the University of Pennsylvania (B.A. 1965) and Villanova University Law School (J.D. 1968), Rendell was an assistant district attorney in Philadelphia from 1968 to 1977. After entering electoral politics, he was district attorney, 1978–85 (elected 1977 and 1981; he was the youngest DA in the city's history when he took office); ran unsuccessfully for governor of Pennsylvania, 1986; ran unsuccessfully for mayor of Philadelphia, 1987; was mayor, 1992–99 (elected 1991 and 1995); chairman of the Democratic National Committee, 1999–2000; and governor of Pennsylvania (elected 2002). Rendell was briefly in private law practice, 1987–91 and 2000–02. He also lectured on government and politics at the University of Pennsylvania.

Ed Rendell, a Clintonian Democrat, "stocky, balding, gravel-voiced, yet still oddly charismatic," as one journalist has put it, is known as a blunt, outspoken politician with a big personality, an effective campaigner and fundraiser. He was regarded as a law-and-order district attorney. When he became mayor of Philadelphia during a national economic recession, the city was deep in debt, and Rendell managed to balance the city's budget by imposing spending cuts, eliminating jobs, conducting competitive bidding for municipal contracts, privatizing some services, and forcing favorable wage settlements on municipal unions, establishing a national reputation as an effective manager. Legally barred from running for a third term, he was chosen to lead the Democratic National Committee during the 2000 election, but his tenure as chairman alienated him from some in the Gore presidential campaign, who felt that his public statements were frequently "off-message." Elected governor of Pennsylvania on the strength of his performance as mayor, Rendell has managed to get some parts of his legislative program enacted, but in general has had less success than he had in Philadelphia, since the state legislature is controlled by very conservative Republicans. As a Democrat able to win in a large, electorally important state, Rendell has been mentioned as a potential Democratic presidential candidate in 2008.

[Drew Silver (2nd ed.)]

RENE, ROY (known by his stage name, "**Mo**"; 1891–1954), Australian comedian. Born Henry Vande Sluice in Adelaide, South Australia, the son of a Dutch-born Jewish cigar maker, Rene (the name he adopted from about 1910) became one of the best-known Australian comedians of his day. He originally worked as part of a vaudeville duo, "Stiffy and Mo," which toured the Australian theatrical circuit from about 1916 until 1933. Universally known as Mo, he continued on the stage alone thereafter and became a star on Australian radio in the 1940s and early 1950s in a famous series, *MacCackie Mansions*. He also starred in a film, *Strike Me Lucky* (1934).

Probably the most popular Australian comedian of his time, Mo spoke in an exaggerated "Jewish" lisp and was famous for his risqué material which often sailed close to the wind of Australia's strict laws. Many visiting celebrities, including Jack *Benny, said that he was among the best comedians they had ever seen, and urged Mo to try his luck in Hollywood, but he never left Australia. In private life, plagued by ill health, he was often a sad figure. He wrote an autobiography, *Mo's Memoirs* (1945).

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[William D. Rubinstein (2nd ed.)]

REPARATIONS, GERMAN. On Sept. 20, 1945, three months after the end of World War II, Chaim *Weizmann, on behalf of the *Jewish Agency, submitted to the governments of the U.S., the U.S.S.R., Britain, and France, a memorandum demanding reparations, restitution, and indemnification due to the Jewish people from Germany. He appealed to the Allied Powers to include this claim in their negotiations for reparations with Germany, in view of the "mass murder, the human suffering, the annihilation of spiritual, intellectual, and creative forces, which are without parallel in the history of mankind." Due to the deadlock and later interruption of the Allies' negotiations for reparations, no further development took place until March 12, 1951, when the Israel foreign minister, Moshe *Sharett, submitted a note to the four Allied governments which claimed global recompense to the State of Israel of $1,500,000,000 from the German Federal Republic (FRG, i.e., West Germany). This claim was based on the financial cost involved in the rehabilitation in Israel of those who escaped or survived the Nazi regime. The financial expense incurred by Israel in the absorption of 500,000 Nazi victims could be covered at $3,000 per capita. As a result of unofficial preliminary contacts, Chancellor Konrad *Adenauer declared on Sept. 27, 1951, the FRG's readiness to compensate Israel for material damage and losses and to negotiate with her and with representatives of Diaspora Jewry. The latter established a *Conference on Jewish Material Claims against Germany (Claims Conference) in New York (October 1951) presided over by Nahum *Goldmann.

After a resolution to enter into direct negotiations with the FRG was passed in the Knesset by a small majority after stormy street demonstrations staged by the *Ḥerut opposition and a heated three-day debate (Jan. 7–9, 1952), the FRG delegation, headed by Prof. Franz Boehm (d. 1977), first met with the Israel delegation, headed jointly by Giora *Josephthal and Felix Eliezer Shinnar (d. 1985), at The Hague on March 21, 1952. The delegation of the Claims Conference, headed by Moses *Leavitt, was in charge of the negotiations on individual claims for indemnification. Israel reduced her claim of $1,500,000,000 against the whole of Germany to $1,000,000,000 against the FRG alone. She reserved her right to claim the balance from East Germany (German Democratic Republic), which did not respond. On Sept. 10, 1952, after six months of negotiations, an agreement between Israel and the FRG was signed at Luxembourg by Moshe Sharett and Konrad Adenauer. The agreement was ratified and came into effect on March 21, 1953, after a delay caused by the Arab states' efforts to prevent ratification.

The FRG undertook to pay an amount of DM3,450,000,000 ($845,000,000) in goods, of which DM450,000,000 ($110,000,000) was earmarked for allocation by the Claims Conference. This $845,000,000 was to be paid in annual installments over a period of 14 years (between April 1, 1953, and March 31, 1966). Thirty percent was to pay for Israel's crude oil purchases in the United Kingdom. With the balance of 70%, Israel was to buy ferrous and nonferrous metals, steel, chemical, industrial, and agricultural products. The agreement was carried out by the FRG both in letter and in spirit. The reparations agreement was implemented by the government-owned Shilumim Corporation in Tel Aviv – *Shilumim* refers to recompense for material damage ("For the Lord hath a day of vengeance, a year of recompense for the controversy of Zion" (Isa. 34:8)) – which accepted orders from prospective buyers under the agreement, and by the Israel Purchasing Mission in Cologne, to place these orders with the German suppliers. Goods bought and imported under the agreement represented 12–14% of Israel's annual imports and thus made an important contribution to Israel's economy.

In 1988, the German government allocated another $125 million, enabling remaining Holocaust survivors to receive monthly payments of $290 for the rest of their lives. In February 1990, before its unification with West Germany, East Germany admitted for the first time that it was also responsible for war crimes committed by the German people during World War II and agreed to pay reparations.

In 1999, German government and German industry agreed, in response to the filing of numerous class action lawsuits in American courts, to compensate Jews and non-Jews specifically for slave and forced labor they performed for German industry during the war. In return for the dismissal of all such lawsuits and guaranteeing Germany and its industry "legal peace" from any such further litigation, the German government and German industry created a foundation, "Remembrance, Responsibility and the Future," with assets of 10 billion German marks (approximately US $5 billion). Slave and forced laborers still alive at the time of the settlement could apply to receive a lump sum payment of between $2,500–$7,500 from the German foundation. Over 140,000 Jewish survivors in over 25 countries received such payments, and the compensation program to the Jewish survivors was administered by the Claims Conference. Final payments from the Foundation were to be made by September 2006.

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[Felix Eliezer Shinnar / Michael Bazyler (2nd ed.)]

REPENTANCE. Repentance is a prerequisite for divine forgiveness: God will not pardon man unconditionally but waits for him to repent. In repentance man must experience genuine remorse for the wrong he has committed and then convert his penitential energy into concrete acts. Two substages are discernible in the latter process: first, the negative one of ceasing to do evil (Isa. 33:15; Ps. 15; 24:4), and second, the positive step of doing good (Isa. 1:17; 58:5 ff.; Jer. 7:3; 26:13; Amos 5:14–15; Ps. 34:15–16; 37:27). The Bible is rich in idioms describing man's active role in the process of repentance e.g., "incline the heart to the Lord" (Josh. 24:23), "make oneself a new heart" (Ezek. 18:31), "circumcise the heart" (Jer. 4:4), "wash the heart" (Jer. 4:14), and "break one's fallow ground" (Hos. 10:12). However, all these expressions of man's penitential activity are subsumed and summarized by one verb which dominates the Bible, שוב (*shwb*, "to return") which develops ultimately into the rabbinic concept of *teshuvah*, repentance. This root combines in itself both requisites of repentance: to turn from the evil and to turn to the good. The motion of turning implies that sin is not an ineradicable stain but a straying from the right path, and that by the effort of turning, a power God has given to all men, the sinner can redirect his destiny. That this concept of turning back (to YHWH) is not a prophetic innovation but goes back to Israel's ancient traditions is clear from Amos, who uses it without bothering to explain its meaning (Amos 4:6–11). Neither he nor Isaiah stresses repentance, except in his earliest prophecy (1:16–18 – to which the prophet adds 19–20 by way of interpretation – and 27), not because they believe it is insignificant, but because in their time the people had sinned to such an extent, that they had overstepped the limits of divine forbearance and the gates of repentance were closed (Amos 7; Isa. 6). For Isaiah, the need to turn back indeed continues to play a role, but only for the few who will survive God's purge. This surviving remnant will itself actively engage in a program of repentence to qualify for residence in the New Zion (e.g., Isa. 10:20–23; 17:7–8; 27:9; 29:18 ff.; 30:18–26; 31:6–7; 32:1–8, 15 ff.; 33:5–6). Indeed, the name of this prophet's firstborn was imprinted with this message: "[Only] a remnant will return" (Shear-Jashub; Isa. 7:3).

In the teaching of both Hosea and Jeremiah, on the other hand, the call to turn back is never abandoned. When Jeremiah despairs of man's capability of self-renewal, he postulates that God will provide a "new heart" that will overcome sin and merit eternal forgiveness (31:32–33; 32:39–40; cf. Deut. 30:6; Ezek. 36:26–27).

[Jacob Milgrom]

Rabbinic Views

The rabbis are eloquent in describing the significance of repentance. It is one of the things created before the world itself (Pes. 54a); it reaches to the very Throne of Glory (Yoma 86a); it prolongs a man's life and brings on the Redemption (Yoma 86b). God urges Israel to repent and not be ashamed to do so because a son is not ashamed to return to the father who loves him (Deut. R. 2:24). God says to Israel: My sons, open for Me an aperture of repentance as narrow as the eye of a needle, and I will open for you gates through which wagons and coaches can pass (Song R. 5:2 no. 2). On public fast-days the elder of the congregation would declare: "Brethren, it is not said of the men of Nineveh: 'And God saw their sackcloth and their fasting' but: 'And God saw their works, that they had turned from their evil way' [Jonah 3:10]" (Ta'an. 2:1).

The rabbis were not unaware of the theological difficulties in the whole concept of repentance. Once the wrong has been done how can it be put right? The general rabbinic answer is that it is a matter of Divine Grace, as in the following passage, in which it is incidentally implied, too, that the concept of *teshuvah* has only reached its full emphasis as a result of a long development from biblical times: "They asked of wisdom? 'What is the punishment of the sinner?' Wisdom replied: 'Evil pursueth sinners' [Prov. 13:21]. They asked of prophecy: 'What is the punishment of the sinner?' Prophecy replied: 'The soul that sinneth it shall die' [Ezek. 18:4]. Then they asked of the Holy One, blessed be He: 'What is the punishment of the sinner?' He replied: 'Let him repent and he will find atonement'" (TJ, Mak. 2:7, 31d). The third-century Palestinian teachers debate whether the repentant sinner is greater than the wholly righteous man who has not sinned, R. Johanan holding the opinion that the latter is the greater, R. Abbahu that the repentant sinner is greater (Ber. 34b). R. Simeon b. Lakish said, according to one version, that when the sinner repents his sins are accounted as if he had committed them unintentionally, but, in another version, his sins are accounted as virtues. The talmudic reconciliation of the two versions is that one refers to repentance out of fear, the other to repentance out of love (Yoma 86b). Even a man who has been wicked all his days who repents at the end of his life is pardoned for all his sins (Kid. 40b). The ideal, is for man to spend all his days in repentance. When R. Eliezer said: "Repent one day before your death," he explained that since no man can know when he will die he should spend all his days in repentance (Shab. 153a).

The Day of *Atonement brings pardon for sin if there is repentance (Yoma 8:8), but Judah ha-Nasi holds that the Day of Atonement brings pardon even without repentance except in cases of very serious sin (Yoma 85b). The Day of Atonement is ineffective if a man says: "I will sin and the Day of Atonement will effect atonement." If a man says: "I will sin and repent, and sin again and repent" he will be given no chance to repent (Yoma 8:9). The second-century teacher R. Ishmael is reported as saying (Yoma 86a): "If a man transgressed a positive precept, and repented, he is forgiven right away. If he has transgressed a negative commandment and repented, then repentance suspends punishment and the Day of Atonement procures atonement. If he has committed a sin to be punished with extirpation (*karet*), or death at the hands of the court, and repented, then repentance and the Day of Atonement suspend the punishment, and suffering cleanses him from the sin. But if he has been guilty of the profanation of the Name, then penitence has no power to suspend punishment, nor the Day of Atonement to procure atonement, nor suffering to finish it, but all of them together suspend the punishment and only death finishes it." This scheme contains all the tensions resulting from the different aspects of atonement mentioned in the Bible.

Repentance involves sincere remorse for having committed the sin. The third-century Babylonian teacher, R. Judah, defined a true penitent as one who twice more encountered the object which caused his original transgression and he kept away from it. R. Judah indicated: "With the same woman, at the same time, in the same place" (Yoma 86b). The penitent sinner must confess his sins. According to R. Judah b. Bava a general confession is insufficient; the details of each sin must be stated explicitly. But R. Akiva holds that a general confession is enough (Yoma 86b). Public confession of sin was frowned upon as displaying a lack of shame except when the transgressions were committed publicly, or, according to others, in the case of offenses against other human beings (Yoma 86b). Confession without repentance is of no avail. The ancient parable, as old as Ben Sira (34:25–26), is recounted of a man who immerses himself in purifying waters while still holding in his hand a defiling reptile (Ta'an. 16a).

The sinner must be given every encouragement to repent. It is forbidden to say to a penitent: "Remember your former deeds" (BM 4:10). If a man stole a beam and built it into his house, he was freed from the obligation of demolishing the house and was allowed to pay for his theft in cash, in order to encourage him to repent (Git. 5:5). It was even said that if robbers or usurers repent and wish to restore their ill-gotten gains, the spirit of the sages is displeased with the victims if they accept the restitution, for this may discourage potential penitents from relinquishing their evil way of life (BK 94b).

[Louis Jacobs]

In Jewish Philosophy

Repentance was a favorite subject in medieval Jewish ethical and philosophical literature. *Saadiah discusses repentance in section five of his *Emunot ve-De'ot*. Baḥya ibn *Paquda devotes the seventh "gate" of his "Duties of the Heart," and *Maimonides, the last section of *Sefer ha-Madda*, "*Hilkhot Teshuvah*." to repentance.

Saadiah, Baḥya, and Maimonides agree that the essential constituents of repentance are regret and remorse for the sin committed, renunciation of the sin, confession and a request for forgiveness, and a pledge not to repeat the offense (*Emunot ve-De'ot*, 5:5; *Ḥovot ha-Levavot*, 7:4; Yad, Teshuvah, 2:2). In the case of sins perpetrated against other people it is necessary to beg forgiveness from the person one has wronged before one can receive divine forgiveness (*Emunot ve-De'ot*, 5:6; *Ḥovot ha-Levavot*, 7:9; Maim. Yad, Teshuvah, 2:9). Maimonides in particular, emphasizes the importance of verbal confession, or *viddui* (Yad, Teshuvah, 1:1), maintaining that one should publicly confess those sins that one has committed against one's fellow men. Of course, a verbal confession without inner conviction is worthless (*ibid.*, 13:3).

The conditions necessary for repentance, according to Baḥya, are:

(1) recognition of the evil nature of one's sin;

(2) realization that punishment for one's sin is inevitable, and that repentance is the only means of averting punishment;

(3) reflection on the favors previously bestowed by God; and

(4) renunciation of the evil act.

There are different gradations of repentance. The highest level of repentance, according to Saadiah, is the repentance which takes place immediately after one has sinned, while the details of one's sin are still before one. A lower level of repentance is that which takes place when one is threatened by disaster, and the lowest, that which takes place just before death. According to Baḥya, the highest level of repentance is the repentance of one, who, while still capable of sinning has conquered his evil inclination entirely. The next level of repentance is the repentance of one who, while managing to refrain from sin, is nevertheless constantly drawn toward sin by his evil inclination. The lowest form of repentance is the repentance of one who no longer has the power or opportunity to sin. Maimonides maintains that he has achieved perfect repentance (*teshuvah gemurah*) who, upon finding himself in the position of repeating his sin, is able to refrain from doing so (Yad, Teshuvah, 2:1).

Among the many other medieval works on repentance are *Iggeret ha-Teshuvah* ("Letter on Repentance," Constantinople, 1548) and *Sha'arei Teshuvah* ("Gates of Repentance," Fano, 1583) by Jonah b. Abraham Gerondi (c. 1200–1263), and *Menorat ha-Ma'or* ("The Candlestick of Light," Constantinople, 1514) by Isaac *Aboab (14th century).

[Samuel Rosenblatt]

Post-Medieval Period

The idea of repentance continued to play a central role in the life of the Jew in the postmedieval period, reinforced as it was by both the penitential liturgy and the rituals of the High Holidays. External stress, pogroms, and expulsions turned the Jew in on himself and led him to ask forgiveness of God for the sins which he assumed were at the root of his suffering. Messianic movements, often largely a consequence of the tribulations which beset Jewish communities, gave further incentive to renewed religious fervor and "re-turning" to God. Pietist movements, such as that of Ḥasidei Ashkenaz, practiced ascetic penitential techniques to scourge the sinful flesh.

Against this background kabbalistic speculation, which associated repentance not merely with the salvation of the individual soul but with the cosmic drama of redemption, gained ground. This doctrine reached its climax in Lurianic Kabbalah, where repentance was one step, but a most essential one, in the process of *tikkun*, or rectification. Through repentance, the Jew was able to assist God in the elevation of the holy sparks entrapped in the shells and thus usher in the messianic age – the work of creation having been completed and perfected.

The 18th and 19th centuries saw the rise of two important movements in Eastern European Jewry in which the idea of repentance played somewhat different theological roles. In Ḥasidism, where the highly personal and anthropomorphic relation to the Deity, either on the part of the ḥasid himself or at least on that of the *ẓaddik*, was emphasized, the severity of the doctrine of repentance was toned down. Confidence in the loving response of God and His forgiveness helped lessen the sense of overburdening sin. By contrast the Musar movement, which may be regarded as the response of the *Mitnaggedim* to the challenge that Ḥasidism presented to traditional Judaism, played up the factor of sin, and thus repentance became the persistent task of the Jew, day after day, year after year. The turning inward to scrutinize one's deeds and motives – in essence the heart of the Musar movement – gave the follower of this movement an awareness of sin of which the average Jew or the ḥasid would be totally oblivious. This process of self-scrutiny and repentance reached its pinnacle for the follower of the Musar movement in the month of Elul, preceding the High Holidays. This month was wholly given over to soul-searching, and there are well attested cases of great exponents of the Musar movement who inflicted discomfort and even suffering on themselves as part of the self-punishment involved in genuine repentance.

Modern Developments

In the modern period, marked by a drift of Jews away from traditional forms of religion and belief in God, the idea of repentance appears in two guises. On the one hand, there is the traditionalist interpretation which still sees repentance as something of which the believing, as well as the unbelieving, Jew is in need. On the other, there is the re-interpretation of repentance as the way back to God for those who have weak roots in Judaism, or have at some stage abandoned whatever roots they had.

The traditionalist interpretation takes its most original form in the writing of A.I. *Kook who devoted a whole work to the subject of repentance (*Orot ha-Teshuvah*, 1970^5). Kook weaves together three themes in his concept of repentance: the kabbalistic idea that repentance is not merely something on the personal level, but partakes of cosmic proportions; messianic Zionism; the "re-turning" of the individual to God. By sinning, man isolates himself from the Deity and disrupts the potential unity and harmony of all existence. Repentance is the overcoming of this isolation, and communion with God, the ideal point of man's striving. In repentance, the harmony of the world is reestablished, for the repentance of one man helps to bring the whole world back to God. Israel's return to its ancestral land is seen by Kook as repentance (returning) on the national level and a further step in the reestablishment of the unity of the creative process. The repentance of the individual Jew strengthens national repentance and return, for righteousness is the very soul of Israel.

The importance of Franz *Rosenzweig for the modern reinterpretation of the idea of repentance is first and foremost the example of his own life. Rosenzweig's personal experience of finding his way back to Judaism has come to be the paradigm of the modern *ba'al teshuvah* ("one who repents"). In 1913, he was on the verge of converting to Christianity, but while attending a Day of Atonement service in an orthodox synagogue he changed his mind and ultimately his whole life. From then on his mode of life and his writings represent the struggles and ideas of a man on the way back ("re-turning") to Judaism. Rosenzweig gradually took upon himself the yoke of the *mitzvot* and tried to find means, mainly educational, to bring other assimilated Jews to an awareness of the "inner fire of the Jewish star of redemption." Rosenzweig's conception of repentance turns on his portrayal of existential man facing God and the dialectical tension between man's anticipation of the call of God and God's love which is ultimately at the basis of such a call. Having been called by God, the man of faith enters into dialogue with Him. The turning to God is not simply this dialogic openness to Him, it also involves the attempt to fulfill the *mitzvot* as far as one can, in the hope and belief that one's ability to fulfill *mitzvot* will widen. Rosenzweig's attitude to those *mitzvot* he did not keep was "not yet," i.e., although he was at the moment not ready to observe these commandments, he hoped that at some future time he would be.

Unlike Kook, who dealt with the subject of repentance in relation to Israel's return to God and nationhood, Rosenzweig was concerned with the turning away of the individual from Western culture, specifically Christianity, back to Judaism. This feature of his thought, typical of existentialism where biographical experience and philosophy meet, colors his whole discussion of the subject. Whereas Kook is concerned with the repentance of the Jew, orthodox or otherwise, Rosenzweig speaks only to the "hyphenated" Jew, i.e., one who has been strongly influenced by non-Jewish cultural values.

In the thought of Martin *Buber the idea of repentance is essentially the turning of the whole man to God, the Eternal Thou. Though God is revealed to man in his dialogic relationships to other men and the natural world, these relationships continually move from the plane of the "I-Thou" to that of the "I-It." The relationship with God is always, and necessarily, that of "I Thou" since God is the Eternal Thou who can never become It. Yet in order to maintain this relationship with God, a total response is called for from man, a response which is often only partially forthcoming. Repentance, "returning" to God, is thus the renewed total response of "I-Thou." The influence of ḥasidic thought on Buber is apparent both in the highly personalistic approach to the Deity and in the idea that turning to God involves a relationship with him not merely in religiously separated times and places, but even in the most mundane of situations. Unlike both Kook and Rosenzweig, Buber is addressing man as man, not qua committed or even uncommitted Jew but qua "I." This is true despite his attempt to locate his philosophy within a distinctly Jewish framework – rejecting the Christian framework of an already achieved redemption.

[Alan Unterman]

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REPHAIM (Heb. רְפָאִים). The Rephaim are known from biblical, Ugaritic, and Phoenician sources. In the Bible two uses of the term are discernible. The first is as a gentilic (e.g., Gen. 14:5; 15:20; Deut. 2:11) referring to a people distinguished by their enormous stature. Especially singled out are Og king of Bashan (Deut. 3:11) and the powerful adversaries of David's heroes (II Sam. 21:16, 18, 20). The biblical authors trace their designation to an apparently human eponym Rapha(h) (e.g., II Sam. 21:16, 18, 20; I Chron. 20:8). The Bible's emphasis on the size and might of the Rephaim is responsible for the Septuagint's renderings *gigantes* and *titanes* as well as for *gabbārē* of the Peshitta and *gibbarāyyā* of the Targums. The *Genesis Apocryphon* (21:28) on the other hand prefers the noncommital *rephāʾayyā*.

In its second use Rephaim designates "shades" or "spirits" and serves as a poetic synonym for *metim* (מֵתִים; Isa. 26:14; Ps. 88:11). It thus refers to the inhabitants of the netherworld (Prov. 9:18). This second meaning is also found in Phoenician sources. King Tabnit of Sidon curses any prospective despoiler of his tomb: "May there be no resting-place for you with the Rephaim" (H. Donner and W. Roellig, *Kanaanäische und aramäische Inschriften* (KAI, 1962), 13, lines 7–8; COS II, 182), King Eshmunazar (*ibid.*, 14, line 8; COS II, 183) employs the same formula in the plural, adding "… and may they not be buried in a grave." The chthonic aspect of the Phoenician Rephaim is made even more explicit in a neo-Punic bilingual which equates the לעל [נם] ארפאם with *dis manibus sacrum* KAI (*ibid.*, 117, line 1).

The Ugaritic material is most problematic because the relevant texts referring to the *rpum* are fragmentary and difficult to interpret. These *rpum*, like their Phoenician counterparts, are divine in nature, being referred to as *ilnym* (I AB 6:46 ff.; Pritchard, Texts, 141; COS I, 357–58), literally "divine ones?" (cf. Heb. *eʾlohim*, "ghost[s]," literally "divine being[s]" (I Sam. 28:13; Isa. 8:19, 21). There is, however, no clear indication that the *rpum* are chthonic deities. Moreover, they seem to have a military function. One of their number is referred to as a *mhr*, the Ugaritic term for soldier, and the *rpum* are described as riding in chariots. The nonliterary Ugaritic texts mention a guild of *bn rpiym* who presumably were a group under the patronage of the divine *rpum*, as has been pointed out by B. Margulies (Margalit). In addition, the Ugaritic hero Dnil is described as *mt rpi* which may indicate his membership in such a group. (Marguiles errs in equating this last epithet with the alleged *ṣābe bilaṭi* which should be read *tillati* and which is not restricted to Canaan.) Another Ugaritic hero, Keret, is described as belonging to the *rpi arṣ* – the Rephaim of the land – a term which is paralleled by the *qbṣ dtn*, the group associated with Ditanu.

The existence of a god named *Rpu* has long been indicated by personal names such as *Abrpu* (C.H. Gordon, *Ugaritic Textbook* (1965), 311, line 10; Ditriech and Loretz, 2). This is now corroborated by the publication of a text (Ras Shamra 24. 252) that mentions *rpu mlk ʿlm*, "Rpu the eternal king" (Dietrich and Loretz, 187), described appropriately as *gṯr*, "mighty" (cf. Akk. *gašru*). Though this text is not free of difficulties, *Rpu* seems to be mentioned along with the *r[pi] arṣ* possibly as their patron. If the admittedly hypothetical interpretation of the Ugaritic material is correct, the biblical tradition of Rephaim as mighty warriors can be understood. Their huge stature would contribute to their military prowess. Furthermore, the biblical eponym Rapha(h) can be considered as an undeified god *Rpu*, more in keeping with biblical thought.

The Hebrew and Phoenician use of *Rephaim* as "shade, spirit," however, remains problematic. Various attempts have been made to discover an underlying etymology which would account for the development. The presence of an eponym in both Hebrew and Ugaritic, however, suggests that the ancients were unaware of the connection between Rephaim and any verbal root. It should further be noted that the verb *rpʾ* is unknown in Ugaritic outside of the onomastica. Notions such as "heal" and "gather" or "unite" attested in other Semitic languages for the root *rpʾ* were often adduced to explain Rephaim, but in Ugaritic these words are not connected with the root *rpʾ*. In Ugaritic the word for "heal" is *bny* while that for "gather" is *ʾsp, ḥpš* and *ʿdn*, in reference to plants, straw, and troops respectively.

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77 (1965), 82–83; J.C. de Moor, in: *Ugarit Forschungen*, 1 (1969); H. Mueller, *ibid.* **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** B. Margulies (Margalit), in: JBL, 89 (1970), 292–304; D. Pardee, in: *Ugarit Forschungen,* 15 (1983), 127–40; K. van der Toorn, CBQ, 52 (1990), 203–22; idem, in: BiOr, 48 (1991), 40–66; H. Rouillard, DDD, 692–700; M. Dietrich and O. Loretz, *Wordlist of the Cuneiform Alphabetic Texts from Ugarit…* (1996); W. Pitard, in: W. Watson and N. Wyatt (eds.), *Handbook of Ugaritic Studies* (1999), 259–86.

[S. David Sperling]

REPHIDIM (Heb. רְפִידִם, רְפִידִים), a stopping place of the Israelites on their way from Egypt, situated between the Wilderness of Sin and the Wilderness of Sinai (Ex. 17:1; 19:2; Num. 33:14–15). In Rephidim the lack of water caused the people to find fault with Moses and to challenge his position of leadership. Moses struck "a rock at Horeb" and water gushed forth. The place came to be known as Massah and Meribah (Ex. 17:1–7). In a parallel account (Num. 20) the place where this occurred is said to be *Kadesh. The defeat of the *Amalekites which later took place at Rephidim was effected by virtue of the force mustered by Joshua and Moses who kept his hands raised during the whole course of the battle. God's oath to wipe out Amalek was commemorated by an altar, named "YHWH is my ensign" (Heb. ה׳ נִסִּי; Ex. 17:8–16), erected at the spot.

No definite evidence has been forwarded for the exact site of Rephidim, which depends on the location of Mt. *Sinai. Most scholars who identify Mt. Sinai with Jebel Musa locate Rephidim in Wadi Fīrān, or, according to Abel, at Wadi Rafayd or Jebel Rafayd, about 22 mi. (36 km.) southeast of el-Arish.

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REPUBLICAN JEWISH COALITION. Formerly known as the National Jewish Coalition, the RJC began in 1985 as an effort by senior Jewish leaders to craft positive and productive relationships with Republican Party officials, decision-makers, and opinion leaders, and to serve as a bridge between the Republican Party and the Jewish community. RJC leaders worked on the first significant efforts to promote the GOP as a community that should and would welcome Americans Jews. Across a range of foreign and domestic issues, and over time, the national Jewish political conversation has, indeed, broadened.

In 2005 RJC was at the forefront of efforts within the Jewish community to work closely with a GOP White House and U.S. Congress, through its legislative affairs committee, and its continuing grassroots, media and public affairs outreach efforts. As well, the RJC (and its sister non-profit educational organization, the Jewish Policy Center) worked to communicate the GOP message to the Jewish community, with special focus on Israel, national security, and economic growth issues.

The national Jewish vote for Republican presidential candidates grew from 11 percent in 1992, to 16 percent in 1996, to 19 percent in 2000, to over 25 percent in 2004. Significant pockets of Jewish Republican support had begun to appear in the Orthodox, Persian, and Russian Jewish communities, and future growth was expected among younger Jews, many of whom have experienced sharp antisemitism from the Left on campuses.

Beyond this vote trend, however, lay a story of successful political fundraising. Many of the top donors to the presidential and congressional candidacies of the Jewish community's best friends in Washington, D.C., were affiliated with the RJC and the RJC PAC (Political Action Committee). Interestingly, many credited the 1998 RJC governors trip to Israel, wherein then-Texas governor George W. Bush and General Ariel Sharon shared a famous helicopter tour over the tiny Jewish state, as a signal moment in the formation of the political and ideological bond between the two individuals that would be critical during the very difficult and dangerous period of the second Intifada in Israel, rising antisemitism in Europe, and the War on Terror.

Early in the Bush Administration, the RJC national board embarked on an ambitious plan to grow its grassroots base. From six chapters in 2000, the RJC opened regional offices in California, Florida, New York, and Pennsylvania, and had over 21,000 members in 41 chapters by 2005.

With the appearance of President Bush at the RJC 20th anniversary luncheon on September 21, 2005, which honored Bernard Marcus, a founder of Home Depot; Sheldon Adelson, the Las Vegas hotel magnate; and Ken Mehlman, chairman of the Republican National Committee, the RJC had secured itself as an important and effective voice in both Washington and within the American Jewish community. It has assured visibility for Jews – a constituency, which in the last two thirds of the 20th century had been traditionally identified with the Democratic Party – within Republican circles.

[Larry Greenfield (2nd ed.)]

RESEN (Heb. רֶסֶן), according to Genesis 10:12, one of the cities (?) which Nimrod built "between Nineveh and Calah, the latter is the great[er] city." The verse describes the situation of the cities in the "Assyrian triangle" (inner Assyria) in the latter part of the second millennium, when Calah was still a more important city than Nineveh (cf. the differences of opinion between Rashi and Ibn Ezra). While the traditional interpretation of the verse takes Resen to be the name of a city like Calah and Nineveh, other interpretations have been advanced.

According to one possibility, Resen is related to the Akkadian stem *rsn* and is derived from the verb *rasānu or resēnu*, "to wash, to irrigate (?)," whence the noun *risnu*, "washing, cleansing." A second, more fruitful possibility is that Resen was part of a waterwork (standing between Nineveh and Calah). This suggestion is advanced by D. Dossin and E.A. Speiser, who interpreted Resen as a sandhi of the original *rēš īnī* or the Assyrian *rēš ēne* (Heb. ראש העין) meaning, especially in Assyrian, "source of water, spring." The term exists not only as a common noun (see *Chicago Assyrian Dictionary*, 7 (1960),

158) but also as an actual place-name, *URU* ("city") *Re-eš-e-ne* (see D.D. Luckenbill, *The Annals of Sennacherib* (1924), 79:91), near Nineveh, which was a station of the aqueduct to Nineveh reconstructed by Sennacherib.

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[Pinhas Artzi]

RESH (Heb. ר; רֵישׁ), the twentieth letter of the Hebrew alphabet; its numerical value is 200. The initial form of this letter – in the early Proto-Canaanite and Proto-Sinaitic inscriptions – is a pictograph of a human head 𓁶. The Greek *rho* seems to indicate that the Canaanite name of the letter was *rosh*, while *resh* = "head" in Aramaic.

In the late Proto-Canaanite script the pictograph developed into a linear form 𐤓, which was preserved in the Greek P. Another Archaic Greek variant 𐌓 was the ancestor of the Latin R.

While the ancient Hebrew script preserved the closed top of the *resh* 𐤓 (hence Samaritan ࠓ), the Phoenician cursive opened the circular head at its lower part 𐤓 and the Aramaic script opened the top of the letter 𐡓 (compare with Aramaic *bet, dalet,* and *ʿayin*) already in the late eighth century B.C.E. Later there was a tendency to curve the shoulder 𐡓 and thus the Jewish *resh* ר was developed.

As *resh* and *dalet* resemble each other, in some scripts both were often written in the same way. In Syriac only diaritic marks distinguish between them: ܕ = *dalet;* ܪ = *resh*. In the Nabatean cursive and, hence, in the Arabic script, the *resh* has been assimilated with the *zayin.* Therefore a diacritic point above the *za* (ز) distinguishes it from the *ra* (ر). See *Alphabet, Hebrew.

[Joseph Naveh]

RESHEPH (Heb. רֶשֶׁף), Canaanite "netherworld" god of the pest (appearing as an element in Mari and Sargonic personal names; see Huffmon, in bibl.). As a god, Resheph did not have a significant place in the pantheon of Ugarit, since his name was semantically assimilated in the word *ršp*, "pestilence" (see "The Legend of Keret," trans. by H.L. Ginsberg, in: Pritchard, Texts, 143, line 19, where *ršp* is rendered by "pestilence"). In addition, the name occurs as an element in Ugaritic personal names. In the Ugaritic-Akkadian god list (see *Ugaritica*, 5 (1965), 45:26) Resheph is identified with Nergal, the Akkadian god of the netherworld and pestilence (for further data cf. *ibid.*, p. 57). One mythological fragment from Ugarit reads: *b'l ḥṣ ršp*, "Resheph, the lord of arrow."

In late bilingual inscriptions from the Phoenician-Hellenic cult of Cyprus, Resheph is identified with Apollo (cf. also the place-name Arsuf = Apollonia). In one of the Amarna letters (EA 35:13) the logogram *MAŠ.MAŠ* (= Nergal, the pest god) can be read "Resheph" (cf. also *Ugaritica*, 5 (1965), 667; AFO, 21 (1966), 59). Like the above-mentioned fragment from Ugarit, Phoenician inscriptions from Cyprus also read *ršp ḥṣ* ("Resheph at the arrow").

Resheph was an important god in the Aramaic pantheon of the eighth century B.C.E. (see, e.g., the inscription of Panammu I; H. Donner and W. Roellig, *Kanaanaeische und aramaeische Inschriften*, 1 (1967), p. 38 no. 214: 1, where the divine names Hadad and El are followed by Resheph). A Hittite-Phoenician bilingual inscription from Karatepe carries the words *ršp ṣprm*, "Resheph of the birds" (like "arrow," a figure of speech for swiftness). An orthostat found at Karatepe features a god with a bird in his hands.

In Egypt, from the 18th Dynasty on, Resheph was known as the god of war (see Pritchard, Pictures, no. 473, where Resheph appears together with Qadeš and ʿAnat; see also no. 474, no. 476; cf. further in bibl.) and the Pharaoh as a warrior is compared to him. The god Mikal of Beth-Shean, whom inscriptions from Cyprus connect with Resheph, is portrayed with similar characteristics (see Pritchard, Pictures, no. 487).

In the Bible

While Resheph is not mentioned in the Bible as a god, the word *reshef* appears in various uses:

(a) Resheph as a personal name in I Chronicles 7:25 (some scholars assume that there is some confusion here, questioning the probability of a Canaanite theophoric personal name in an Ephraimite family; but the name may not necessarily mean the Canaanite god; see below);

(b) in the general meanings of: "flame" (of true love, jealousy; Song 8:6); "arrow," i.e., "'flame' of the bow" (*rishpe qeshet*, Ps. 76:4);

(c) a synonym of *dever*, "pestilence" (Deut. 32:24; LXX "bird," thus also the traditional interpretation, Ex. R. 12:4; Hab. 3:5; cf. Ps. 78:48);

(d) "bird"

(?) (Job 5:7; cf. Ber. 5a: *reshef* means demons (?) and (burning) pains).

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[Pinḥas Artzi]

RESHEVSKY, SAMUEL HERMAN (1911–1992), U.S. chess master. Born in Poland, Reshevsky was a child prodigy. In 1919–20 he gave successful simultaneous displays against large numbers of strong opponents in Europe and America. During the same period he fared well in individual games, drawing against David Janowski. After settling in America he gave up chess during his adolescence in order to continue his education. He returned to the game in the 1930s and won the championship of the United States several times against opposition which included Reuben *Fine and Isaac Kashdan. He also won many of the famous tournaments in the United States, Latin America, and Britain. Against the very strongest opposition Reshevsky did well, but not as well as his great ability would suggest. Though a player of genius, in tournament play he would lose games "on the clock" because of the long spells of concentration demanded by his perfectionism. This explains his failure to win several candidates tournaments, including the world championship tourney in 1948 in which he was defeated by Mikhail Botvinnik.

Reshevsky's published collection of his own games, *Reshevsky's Best Games of Chess* (1960), is usefully annotated. He also wrote *How Chess Games are Won* (1962) and *The Art of Positional Play* (1978). An Orthodox Jew, Reshevsky always subordinated his chess life to his religious observances.

[Gerald Abrahams]

RESH KALLAH (Heb. רֵישׁ כַּלָּה), title that was awarded to the leading sages in Babylonian academies during the talmudic and geonic periods. R. Nathan b. Isaac *ha-Bavli (Neubauer Chronicles, 2 (1895), 87–88), in his description of the seating order of the *ḥakhamim* observed in the Babylonian academies, also discusses the status of the *resh kallah*. In Babylonian academies the 70 outstanding *ḥakhamim* were seated in the first seven rows, ten to a row, in order of their importance; the first and most important row was occupied by seven *reshei kallah*, each of whom was in charge of one row of *ḥakhamim*. The specific duty of the *reshei kallah* was to preach publicly in the academy. The Babylonian Talmud mentions by name only two *ḥakhamim* who were *reshei kallah*: R. Naḥman b. *Isaac (BB 22a) and R. *Abbahu (Ḥul. 49a). In talmudic times the *reshei kallah* were accustomed to preach only during the *kallah months, whereas in the geonic period the *reshei kallah* were accustomed to give sermons also on the rest of the Sabbaths. In the geonic period the *resh kallah* also bore the title of *alluf. In this period the title was awarded also to *ḥakhamim* who excelled in their studies in the academy, as well as *ḥakhamim* who resided in places other than Babylonia, such as Kairouan and Spain (e.g., Ḥisdai ibn *Shaprut). In the prayer *Yekum Purkan*, composed in the geonic period, the *reshei kallah* are mentioned before the exilarchs, the academy heads, and the *dayyanim*, although the latter were superior to the *reshei kallah* in rank; the reason for the *reshei kallah's* precedence here is not known.

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[Abraham David]

RESHUT (Heb. רְשׁוּת), a word found extensively in rabbinic literature and having three distinct and different connotations: authority, domain, and a duty which is optional or voluntary, in contrast to an obligatory duty, called *ḥovah*.

Reshut as Authority

The term *reshut* is used in rabbinic literature in the sense of power and authority, such as "Seek not acquaintance with the *reshut*," i.e., ruling power (Avot 1:10), or "Six things serve man; over three he has *reshut* and over three he has no *reshut*; over the eye, the ear, and the nose he has no *reshut*; over the mouth, the hand, the foot he has *reshut*" (Gen. R. 67:3).

Reshut as Domain

From this stems the concept of *reshut ha-yaḥid* to designate an area over which the individual has authority, i.e., a private domain, in contrast to *reshut ha-rabbim*, a public domain. The distinction is found mainly in the laws of Sabbath, with regard to the permissibility of transferring objects from one domain to another, and in connection with torts. Thus the Tosefta (Shab. 1:1) states: "Four domains are to be distinguished in connection with the Sabbath: the private domain [*reshut hayaḥid*], the public domain [*reshut ha-rabbim*], the semipublic domain [*karmelit*], and the exempted domain [*mekom petor*]" (also Maim. Yad, Shabbat, 14: 1). Similarly, in connection with torts, a differentiation is made between private and public domains. For instance the owner of an animal is liable for the damage done by it in the private domain of another. If, however, the damage is done in a public domain, to which everyone has the right of access, such as an open field or a marketplace, the owner is liable only if the animal gores or bites, since it has no right to cause damage to the people in the locality; but he is exempt from damage caused by the animal grazing or treading (cf. Maim. Yad, Nizkei Mamon, 1:7–8).

Reshut in the Sense of an Optional or Voluntary Duty

In the Talmud there is a difference of opinion between R. Joshua and Rabban Gamaliel as to whether the evening prayer is optional (*reshut*) or obligatory (*ḥovah*; Ber. 27b). A similar distinction is made between an optional war (to enlarge the borders of Israel) in contrast to an obligatory war, like that against *Amalek or Joshua's conquest of the land (Sot. 8:7). The word *reshut* is also used in medieval liturgical poetry (**piyyut*) for the introductory poem by the cantor who begs "permission" (*reshut*) despite his personal unworthiness to represent, and intercede for, the congregation.

[Abraham Arzi]

RESNICK, SALOMON (1894–1946), writer, journalist, lecturer, translator from Yiddish into Spanish, and community leader. Born in Russia, he immigrated to Argentina in 1902 as his father, Rabbi Moses Resnick, was hired by the JCA (Jewish Colonization Association) to serve the religious needs of the agricultural colonies. There, Salomon Resnick became a Spanish teacher. In 1914, he moved to Buenos Aires, where he started his literary career in the journal *Juventud*; in 1917 he joined the magazine *Vida Nuestra* publishing essays, articles, and translations from Yiddish writers. In 1918 he joined the founders of the daily Yiddish *Di Presse* as a journalist and editor; and from 1923 to 1933 he established and edited with Leon Kibrick the Spanish weekly *Mundo Israelita*, still appearing in the early 21st century. In 1923 Resnick launched the monthly Spanish journal *Judaica*, editing it until his death; this was his most outstanding project devoted to the promotion of Jewish culture through the publication of scholarly articles from all lines of thought, both Jewish and non-Jewish. As a community leader in 1923, Salomon Resnick participated in the foundation of the Sociedad Hebraica Argentina, a cultural and sport center oriented to Spanish-speaking Jews. He was named director of its newly created library. In 1924 Resnick was appointed director of public information of JCA; in 1938 he took part in the foundation of the Argentinean branch of YIVO – Yiddishn Wisnshaftlechn Institute (Jewish Research Institute) and was elected its first president; and from 1944 until his death he held the position of local director of the JDC – Joint Distribution Committee, Public Relations Office. He wrote four books: *Dos formas de nacionalismo espiritual judío: Ajad Haam y Dubnow* (1931), *La literatura de la post-guerra* (1931), *Esquema de la literatura judía* (1933), and *Cinco ensayos sobre temas judíos* (1943). His translations include the writings of most important Yiddish writers, such as Sholem *Asch, *Shalom Aleichem, Sholem Yankev *Abramovitsh (Mendele Mokher Seforim), and I.L. *Peretz. Resnick has been recognized as the preeminent expert in the Spanish version and interpretation of Yiddish literature. Over the years, he received many posthumous tributes in Latin America and Israel. His personal library was donated to Tel Aviv University by his family.

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[Rosa Perla Resnick (2nd ed.)]

RESNICK, ZVI (Hirsh) YOSEF HAKOHEN (1841–1912), Russian rabbi and *rosh yeshivah* also known as "Rebbe Hirsh Meitshitzer" (apparently from Molczada, the birthplace of his wife). Resnick taught in Slonim for many years, where his reputation grew to such an extent that he was popularly referred to as "The Slonimer" and in 1894 he was appointed head of the famous Suwalki yeshivah. Ohel Yiẓḥak, established by Rabbi Isaac Eisik *Wildmann, holding the position until his death.

Resnick rejected urgent requests to publish his teachings and commentaries on the grounds that the time involved would detract from his study. Many of his teachings, however, are to be found in the works of his son, Rabbi Menahem Hakohen *Risikoff.

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RESNIK, JUDITH ARLENE (1949–1986), U.S. scientist and astronaut and the second American woman to travel in space. Born in Akron, Ohio, to Marvin and Sarah Polens Resnik, she was an outstanding student and a talented classical pianist who received a doctorate in electrical engineering from the University of Maryland in 1977. An early marriage to Michael Oldak, a fellow student, ended in divorce in 1975. Resnik was recruited by the National Aeronautics and Space Administration for astronaut training in 1978. At NASA she worked on a number of projects in support of Orbiter development, including experiment software, the Remote Manipulator System (RMS), and training techniques. In 1984 Resnik served on the crew of the Orbitor *Discovery*, logging just short of 145 hours in space. The crew earned the name "Icebusters" in successfully removing hazardous ice particles from the Orbiter using the Remote Manipulator System. Resnik was killed with her six fellow crew members when the space shuttle *Challenger* exploded shortly after launch on January 28, 1986. She was posthumously awarded the Congressional Space Medal of Honor.

[Judith R. Baskin (2nd ed.)]

RESNIK, REGINA (1923–), U.S. mezzo-soprano singer. Born in New York City to Ukrainian parents, Resnik graduated from Hunter College, where she sang in Gilbert and Sullivan operettas. She studied as a soprano with Rosalie Miller, who introduced her to the conductor Fritz Busch, under whom she sang the part of Lady Macbeth in Verdi's opera (1942). In 1943, she reached the finals of the Metropolitan Opera Company's Auditions of the Air, but instead of finishing the competition, chose to sing the leading soprano parts in *Fidelio* and *Der Fliegende Hollaender* in Mexico City. In 1944, as the only woman finalist in the same competition, she received a contract for the 1944–45 season from the Metropolitan, where she made her debut as Leonora in *Il Trovatore.* For the next 30 years, she sang many soprano parts at the Metropolitan, including Ellen Orford in the New York premiére of Britten's *Peter Grimes*, Alice Ford in *Falstaff* under Beecham, and Sieglinde in *Die Walkuere* (she also sang this part at Bayreuth in 1953 and Fricka in 1961). Between 1953 and 1955 she took on several mezzo-soprano roles such as Azucena, Eboli and Herodias (*Salome*); and at the end of this period she decided to adapt her repertory to that of a mezzo-soprano. Her second debut took place at the Metropolitan Opera as Marina in *Boris Gudonov.* In 1957, she first appeared at Covent Garden as Carmen, and was hailed – as she was to be all over Europe and America – as one of the finest living exponents of the part; from then on she sang in almost every major operatic capital in the world. Admired as much for the gripping theatricality of her acting as for the warmth of her voice, Resnik was also acclaimed as Clytemnestra in Strauss's *Elektra*, Mistress Quickly in *Falstaff*, and Amneris in *Aida*. In later years, she turned to producing opera, such as *Elektra* at the Teatro la Fenice in Venice (1971). A third facet of her career was as stage director, with her husband Arbit Blatas as scenic and costume designer. She directed *Carmen* in Hamburg in 1971 and other works, such as *Salome*, *Falstaff*, and *The Bear and the Medium*. Among her many recordings are the parts written for the characters Sieglinde (1953, Bayreuth), Carmen, Clytemnestra and Mistress Quickly. She also acted in films.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Grove Music Online.

[Max Loppert / Israela Stein (2nd ed.)]

RESPONSA (Heb. שְׁאֵלוֹת וּתְשׁוּבוֹת; lit. "queries and replies"), a rabbinic term denoting an exchange of letters in which one party consults another on a halakhic matter. Such responsa are already mentioned in the Talmud, which tells of an inquiry touching upon halakhic practice that had been sent to the father of *Samuel (Yev. 105a). It relates of Samuel that he sent to Johanan "13 camels" (some Mss. read גְּוָלִם "parchments" for גְּמָלִים "camels") laden with questions concerning *terefot* (Ḥul. 95b). The same passage speaks of a ramified halakhic correspondence that took place between Johanan in Ereẓ Israel and Rav and Samuel in Babylon. Such "letters," of which the *amora* *Avin wrote many, constituted a general exchange of opinion in *halakhah* and did not necessarily bear the exact character of "query" and "reply" in the classical sense; they may be considered the inception of the responsa literature. The major novelty lay in the committing of halakhic subjects to writing, the prohibition against committing to writing words transmitted orally (Git. 60b) still being in force at the time. The Talmud (Sanh. 29a) speaks of a litigant who claimed that he could bring a letter from Ereẓ Israel which would support his view, the allusion being to a written "responsum" obtained on presentation of the facts of the case before the respondent in a distant locality.

The Geonic Period

The beginning of responsa literature as a literary and historical phenomenon of important dimensions, however, took place in the middle of the geonic period, when it played a decisive part in the process of disseminating the Oral Law and establishing the Babylonian Talmud as the sole authority in the life of the Jewish people, who were becoming ever more widely dispersed as a result of the Islamic conquests. The Jews of the Diaspora outside Babylon, already strangers to the language and format of the Talmud, turned to the scholars of the Babylonian academies, whom they had always regarded as their spiritual leaders, asking them to send them "such and such a tractate or chapter" together with "its explanation." They also turned to them for decisions on the many disputes which arose continually between different local scholars and on new halakhic problems for which they could find no precedent. Nor were problems wanting on scriptural subjects, traditions, beliefs, and opinions. Accordingly geonic responsa are divisible into: very short responsa, sometimes consisting of only one or two words, such as the earliest surviving responsa, those by *Yehudai Gaon; and responsa containing the exposition of an entire book, chapter, or topic. There was also, understandably, an intermediate group – the most common – of responsa of average scope, but most of these, too, tended toward extreme brevity. The second group mentioned, the "monographic," becomes more prominent toward the end of the geonic period, from *Saadiah Gaon onward, a classical example of this group (not on a halakhic topic) being the *Iggeret de-Rav *Sherira Ga'on*, written in response to an inquiry by *Jacob b. Nissim of Kairouan.

Of the tens of thousands of geonic responsa, only a small portion has been published in the various collections of geonic responsa. The major portion remains in the Cairo **Genizah* fragments and scholars are still engaged in publishing them. More than half the total of the known geonic responsa was written during the last generations of the geonic period, the most prolific writers being Sherira and his son *Hai. During this period of 300 years (750–1050), responsa literature embraced almost every aspect of Jewish life. Apart from issues of practical *halakhah*, they included explanations of verses and of talmudic themes, theological and ideological discourses, and various chronographic, medical, and scientific discussions, all written at the request of individuals or communities who desired this knowledge, either for the needs of the community or for their polemics with the *Karaites and with their Muslim neighbors. Generally speaking, the queries were assembled by the representatives of the yeshivot from the various Jewish centers of Spain, the countries of North Africa, and those surrounding Ereẓ Israel, to as far as Yemen in the south. These then transmitted them, along with the monetary donation of the communities for the financing and maintenance of the yeshivot, by way of the ramified routes of the postal caravan which passed through Egypt on its way to Babylonia. The representatives, who were usually outstanding scholars, sifted the queries, improved and corrected their language, and as far as possible refrained from answering questions to which answers had already been received on a previous occasion. The answers were copied by the representatives, several copies being preserved in anticipation of similar queries in the future. The yeshivah archives were often drawn upon by later *geonim* for their own decisions. That a large part of this material has been preserved in the Cairo *Genizah* is due to the fact that Egypt served as the postal junction of that time.

The yeshivot followed a set procedure for dealing with queries. In general hundreds of such questions were read and discussed at the yeshivah during each of the two months of **kallah* in the presence of the full forum of its scholars and pupils. At the conclusion of the discussion the yeshivah scribe wrote the decision of the head of the yeshivah at his dictation, and all the senior members of the yeshivah signed it. Urgent queries which could not be delayed were discussed and decided by the *gaon* as soon as they were received. In view of the fact that the questioners generally sent groups of queries, sometimes unrelated to one another, the reply of the *gaon* usually consisted of many sections. The scant mention of previous *geonim* and their rulings in the responsa stems from a desire to give them the character of impersonal finality, representative of the view of the yeshivah as a whole. The geonic responsa, which in themselves and in their many copies had begun to pile up by their thousands in the different centers of the postal route and outside it, were already collected in early times by various individuals into *kovaẓim* ("collections") or *kunteresim* ("booklets"), according to differing criteria: subject matter, the names of the respondents, order of tractates, etc. As a result, responsa which had comprised a single entity when written were divided up by the copyists and attached to different booklets piecemeal. The great number of such secondary booklets and the utter confusion in the names of the respondents, which they carelessly transcribed as a result of the arbitrary order prevailing in them and among their copyists, has rendered the problem of determining the authorship of various responsa one of the most difficult problems in present-day research into geonic responsa. In addition, the habit of most copyists of omitting those opening lines of the questions and answers which had no halakhic significance has increased the problem of identification. Much help is obtained, however, from the lists of responsa (without the responsa themselves) prepared by these copyists for themselves and preserved in the *Genizah*, in which the opening words of the responsa and the name of the author are noted.

Responsa of the Rishonim

Responsa literature acquired a different character during the period of the **rishonim*. Their contents became more and more confined to talmudic *halakhah*; the responsa became by degrees more and more detailed and lengthy, and the discussion of the parallel talmudic themes, whether closely or distantly related to the topic, grew correspondingly longer and all within the context of a definitive dependence upon the rulings of the *geonim* which had already become part of binding *halakhah*, almost like the Talmud itself, especially in the regions of Spain and North Africa. The responsa of the *rishonim* contain for the first time such expressions of humility as "in my humble opinion," "may the Merciful One save us from the abyss of judgment," and the like, and such admissions as that the understanding of a certain theme, or the determination of a correct reading, "requires further thought." One also encounters for the first time, in the middle of this period, an exchange of responsa between rabbis in different countries, for the purpose of clarifying and reinforcing their rulings and in order to diminish their responsibility in the event of their erring (cf. Hor. 3b). This correspondence also had great value in strengthening the ties between different localities. In contrast to geonic responsa, in which the mention of inter-geonic disputes is very slight (a factor to a certain extent attributable to the insistence of the *geonim* that their questioners were not to address the same query to more than one yeshivah), the responsa of the *rishonim* are filled with differences of opinion – another sign of the dwindling authority of the rabbis from the close of the geonic period.

A substantial number of responsa or remnants thereof from the period of the *rishonim* – some among the earliest – have already been published. Many of the numerous responsa of *Ḥanokh b. Moses and *Moses b. Ḥanokh, of the first generation of Spanish rabbis, for instance, have been published in various collections, especially in the compilation *Teshuvot Ge'onei Mizraḥ u-Ma'arav* (1888). Some of the responsa of *Gershom b. Judah, "the Light of the Exile," were published by S. Eidelberg (1955). Similarly most of Rashi's extant responsa and remnants of others were collected by I. Elfenbein (1943). Other responsa of the early *rishonim* of France and Germany were published in the *Teshuvot Ḥakhmei Ẓarefat ve-Loter* (1881). The situation is different with respect to North Africa, the responsa of whose scholars from the middle of the tenth century and for a considerable time afterward not being preserved in collected form or in great numbers. There are scattered specimens of these, especially in J. Hildesheimer's edition of the *Halakhot Gedolot* (1886–92) and in various *Genizah* fragments. The responsa of Isaac *Alfasi (the Rif) are chiefly from his last years in Spain.

The *rishonim* of France and Germany did not, in general, make collections of their responsa and such collections in our possession represent the work of their pupils and pupils' pupils, who assembled and edited the comprehensive literary legacy of their teachers. This is the case, for example, with the responsa of Jacob *Tam, which were incorporated by his pupils into his *Sefer ha-Yashar*, together with his novellae, rulings, glosses, etc.; with those of *Eliezer b. Nathan of Mainz; and also, in fact, with the various volumes of responsa which contain the complete literary heritage of *Meir b. Baruch (MaHaRaM) of Rothenburg. In contrast to the geonic responsa, specific collections of the responsa of *rishonim* have not been collected or arranged. This task was first undertaken by modern scholarship, and the work is still being pursued. The situation was slightly different in the countries of Spain and in the later period in North Africa, where many of the scholars, or their children, or pupils made collections of their responsa. To this can be attributed the large collections of responsa of Solomon b. Abraham *Adret (Rashba) and *Asher b. Jehiel (Rosh or Asheri), among Spanish scholars, and of *Isaac b. Sheshet (Ribash), Simeon b. Ẓemaḥ (Rashbaẓ), and Solomon b. Simeon (Rashbash) *Duran of North Africa, which were well preserved and frequently republished. Of the responsa of other Spanish scholars, however, such as *Naḥmanides (Ramban), Meir *Abulafia (Ramah), *Yom Tov b. Abraham Ishbili (Ritba), and others, only a minute portion has remained, and no additional manuscripts have been discovered.

Only a modicum of the responsa of *rishonim* has been published in scholarly editions, especially noteworthy among which are the numerous editions of the responsa of Maimonides (Rambam), the most recent and best being that of J. Blau (1957–61); and that of his son, *Abraham b. Moses b. Maimon (by A.H. Freimann, 1937). The fate of the Provençal scholars was completely different. Until very recent years hardly a single book of responsa by one of their outstanding scholars had been published. Only recently have relatively limited collections been published of the responsa of *Abraham b. David of Posquières (Rabad) and Abraham b. Isaac of Narbonne (Rabi [ראב״י]).

Until about the 16th century no self-inspired questions are found in rabbinic literature (with the single exception of the *She'iltot* of *Aḥa (Aḥai), which was also the first Hebrew book to be composed after the completion of the Talmud). They began to reach respectable proportions, however, in the middle of the 17th century, when the correspondence style became the accepted fashion among *maskilim*. For an analysis of this phenomenon see below.

Historical Significance of the Responsa

A special importance attaches to responsa as a primary source for knowledge of the history of the Jews in the various countries. Responsa literature has one advantage over such other accepted historical sources as chronographies, official documents, biographies, etc., since the evidence it affords is undesigned, without any specific historical purpose or intention. Moreover, while in general the accepted sources preserve only important events, the responsa echo the humdrum daily life of the ordinary person, his folkways, beliefs, dialects, and, of particular importance, details about the lives of villagers and townsmen whose identity is completely blurred in the usual sources. Since the beginning of modern Jewish *historiography the responsa literature has been drawn upon for this purpose. However, it is only during recent decades that monographs have been devoted both to individual collections of responsa which have been analyzed from the standpoint of their contents as books, and from the point of view of the study of a particular subject. Generally speaking, connected with this research is a study of the biography of the author of the responsa, and as a result, the history of the rabbinate has also benefited. The following works are examples: I. Epstein, *The Responsa of Rabbi Solomon ben Adreth of Barcelona… as a Source of the History of Spain* (1925); idem, *The Responsa of Rabbi Simon ben Ẓemaḥ of Duran as a Source of the History of the Jews of North Africa* (1930); A.M. Hershman, *Rabbi Isaac ben Sheshet Perfet and his Times* (1943); S. Eidelberg, *Jewish Life in Austria in the XVth century as Reflected in the Legal Writings of Rabbi Israel Isserlein and his contemporaries* (1962). This genre of literature is of additional importance for knowledge of the history of the *halakhah*, since in it is reflected the first reactions of the halakhic authorities of the various ages to new scientific inventions and discoveries which have increased considerably during recent centuries. It is no longer possible to recognize this immediate reaction of the *halakhah* in the codes, since the decisions of the respondents underwent many processes of modification and limitation before being summarized in the classical works of the *halakhah*. In this field a great deal of work was done by Isaak *Kahane, who wrote many monographs on the development of halakhic (but also historical) topics in the responsa literature throughout the ages. (See also **Ma'aseh*.)

Boaz Cohen's *Kunteres ha-Teshuvot* (1930), an annotated bibliography of the rabbinic responsa of the Middle Ages, which was one of the first attemps to classify and describe the responsa literature, became a standard reference work. There was, however, no list of individual responsa scattered in works devoted to other themes. The publication of Shmuel Glick's *Kuntress ha-Teshuvot he-Ḥadash: Bibliographic Thesaurus of Responsa Literature Published from ca. 1470-2000*, vol. 1: *aleph-lamed* (2005) is a major contribution toward accessing all types of responsa. In addition to the classic corpus of responsa, the work includes rare responsa found in other works focusing on spheres other than responsa. The *Kuntress ha-Teshuvot he-Ḥadash*, which has a bibliographical description of over 2,000 books of responsa, provides, among other features, authors' biographical details, a list of the editions of each work and their pagination, the original annotations of Boaz Cohen, and much updated scholarly information.

In 1963 the Institute for Research in Jewish Law attached to the faculty of law and the Institute of Jewish Studies in the Hebrew University of Jerusalem began to index the responsa literature. The index is made up of three parts: the first part gives in great detail all the legal material (*Ḥoshen Mishpat* and *Even ha-Ezer*) found in the responsa literature, classified alphabetically according to legal topics in modern scientific terminology; the second part cites all the halakhic sources mentioned in the responsa (from the Bible onward) while the third part gives all the historical material found in the responsa literature, divided according to subjects. Work has started on *rishonim* literature.

In its final form the project was to analyze the whole of the responsa literature according to a systematic legal index, rendering it possible to find any desired topic discussed in the literature.

[Israel Moses Ta-Shma]

From the Beginning of the 16th Century

After the expulsion from Spain, at the end of the 15th century, the exiles found their way to various countries, but chiefly to North Africa, the Balkans, Ereẓ Israel, and Egypt, where they either formed new centers, or new congregations in addition to those already there. As a result new problems arose. There were disputes about different customs, about the powers of the communities, including communal taxation and the apportionment between the original inhabitants and the newcomers, and about suffrage. Problems also arose in commercial matters regarding contracts and business dealings executed in accordance with the conditions obtaining in the locality from which the exiles hailed and their validity in their new localities, as well as in social and cultural relations. All these had to be given practical solutions in accordance with the principles of the *halakhah*.

In Germany changes also took place. In the wake of persecutions and expulsions German Jewry turned eastward, and new Jewish centers came into existence in Poland and Lithuania, where specific problems of a different type arose. The rivalries between communities with regard to settlement and trading, the apportionment of the taxes within the community itself and between the various communities, communal organization, relations between employee and employer in small industry – all of these had to be solved by means of **takkanot*, bans, and rulings, based on the *halakhah*. The communal leaders thereupon addressed themselves to the great contemporary scholars for solutions to these complex problems. There were in addition problems of **issur ve-hetter*, matters pertaining to marriage and divorce, and civil law. As a result a vast literature of responsa relating to different places and different customs was created. This literature, in addition to resolving the problems in accordance with the *halakhah*, serves as a source of knowledge for all aspects of life in these centers, their formation and their customs, the internal organization of the communities and relationship between them, and social, cultural, economic, and communal and private life.

Outwardly, this responsa literature was a continuation of that of the previous centuries – arranging the facts, clarifying the problem in all its aspects, and finally coming to the appropriate conclusion. Internally, however, changes took place in the content of the responsum. Discussions on matters of faith and belief and on philosophical views decreased, and were replaced by practical problems. There was also an increase in questions on the exposition of talmudic topics and on theoretical problems raised by the commentators, and on contradictions between halakhic rulings. It is from this century that the "responders" are referred to as **aḥaronim*, and they generally accept as binding the conclusions of the earlier *rishonim*. In matters already discussed by the *rishonim*, the main discussion was whether the data of the *aḥaronim* accorded with those of the *rishonim*, since only if there was such a correspondence was the conclusion of the *rishonim* binding. As a result of the examination of cases for this purpose, and because of the need to seek new solutions not given by the *rishonim*, the responsa became longer by the addition of novellae and complicated argumentation which could be followed only by a scholar, and they lost much of the simplicity and clarity that characterized the early responsa. The large number of new centers, the great number of problems, the lack of one central authority for Jewry as had formerly existed in Ereẓ Israel and Babylon, the extension of national and international trade, and the closely guarded principle of not resorting "to gentile courts" resulted in a broadening, deepening, and extension of the responsa literature to such huge dimensions that to date it numbers no less than some 250,000 responsa.

The list which follows, though it gives only the most outstanding and the most famous authors of responsa in the various centers from the 16th century, nevertheless numbers some hundreds. In some cases it notes unusual responsa.

The Turn of the 16th Century

COUNTRIES UNDER TURKISH RULE. While the oldest authors of responsa in the 16th century belonged to the previous century, their main responsa activity belongs to the 16th century. Among them are Elijah *Mizraḥi (Re'em), rabbi in Constantinople; Moses b. Isaac *Alashkar, *dayyan* in Cairo and then in Jerusalem; Jacob b. Moses Berab II (Ri-Berav; 1475–1546) in Safed; *Levi b. Jacob b. Ḥabib in Jerusalem; *David b. Solomon ibn Abi Zimra (Radbaz) in Egypt; and Joseph *Caro in Safed.

ITALY. To this generation belong Meir b. Isaac *Katzenellenbogen (Maharam) of Padua and Isaac Joshua b. Emanuel *Lattes, a contemporary of Joseph Caro, rabbi of Bologna and Ferrara, whose responsa were published in 1860 in Vienna. The end of the volume (pp. 139–140) gives the text of the authorizations given to two young women in Mantua in 1556 to practice *sheḥitah*, and states that "Jewish women are accustomed to study the laws of *sheḥitah*."

The 16th Century

COUNTRIES UNDER TURKISH RULE, THE BALKANS, AND NORTH AFRICA. There were Moses b. Joseph of *Trani (the Mabit) in Safed; Joseph b. David ibn *Lev (Maharival, Mahari b. Lev) in Constantinople (four volumes, 1–3 in Constantinople 1573, and 4 in Venice 1606), who, urged by his patron Gracia *Nasi, issued a ban against business dealings with the merchants of Ancona as a reaction against the cruelty of Pope Paul IV to the Jews and the burning of the Talmud in 1556 (no. 115); Samuel b. Moses de *Medina (Maharashdam) in Salonika; *Elijah b. Ḥayyim (Ranaḥ) in Constantinople; Solomon b. Abraham Cohen (Maharshakh), in Salonika; and Moses *Alshekh, in Safed; *David b. Ḥayyim of Corfu (Redakh); *Benjamin Ze'ev b. Mattathias of Arta; Simeon b. Ẓemaḥ *Duran in Algiers; Isaac b. Samuel *Adarbi in Salonika; Abraham b. Moses Di *Boton in Salonika; Baruch b. Solomon Kalai (see *Kalai, Mordecai; d. 1597) in Turkey; Yom Tov b. Akiva Ẓahalon Maharitaẓ (see *Ẓahalon Family), in Safed; and Aaron b. Joseph *Sasson in Salonika.

EGYPT. Jacob b. Abraham *Castro (Maharikash) was important.

ITALY. There were Azriel b. Solomon *Dienna in Sabbioneta and Menahem Azariah de *Fano (Rama [רמ״ע]), who deals with the question of whether it is permitted to sway while praying (no. 113).

POLAND. The study of Torah in Poland began to flourish with Jacob *Pollack and *Shalom Shakhna b. Joseph of Lublin. Their pupils were among the greatest talmudists in Poland and other countries, as well as the greatest responders. Henceforth Poland became an important source of responsa. Responders included Solomon b. Jehiel *Luria (Maharshal), who in one of his responsa (no. 72) deals with the permissibility of going bareheaded; Moses b. Israel *Isserles of *Cracow (Rema), three of whose responsa (5–7) are a dispute with Luria as to whether the study of philosophy, grammar, and Kabbalah are permitted; Meir b. Gedaliah (Maharam) of Lublin (see *Codification of Law); Benjamin Aaron b. Abraham *Slonik (Responsa *Masat Binyamin*, Cracow 1633), who was a pupil of the previous two, and among whose responsa are a number by Joshua *Falk.

The 17th Century

This period was characterized by the spread of Joseph Caro's Shulḥan Arukh with the glosses of Moses Isserles, and their acceptance as authoritative *halakhah*. As a result the responders henceforth relied upon the Shulḥan Arukh, and from this point of view were neither original nor independent in their responsa except on topics not mentioned in the Shulḥan Arukh.

GERMANY (INCLUDING BOHEMIA AND MORAVIA) AND POLAND. Among the outstanding responders of this generation were Joel *Sirkes (Baḥ); Menahem Mendel *Krochmal, rabbi of Holesov and Mikulov, who in one of his responsa banned the purchase of fish for some months to counter the excessive prices charged by the fishmonger (no. 28); Aaron Samuel b. Israel *Koidonover, rabbi of Brest-Litovsk and Frankfurt; Jacob b. Aaron *Sasportas of Amsterdam and Hamburg; Ẓevi Hirsch b. Jacob *Ashkenazi (the Ḥakham Ẓevi); Jacob b. Joseph *Reischer of Prague and Metz; Ezekiel b. Abraham Katzenellenbogen (1668?–1749; see *Katzenellenbogen Family) of Koidanov (Dzerzhinsk) and the joint communities of Altona, Hamburg, and Wandsbeck and author of the responsa *Keneset Yeḥezkiel* (Altona, 1733); and Jonah b. Elijah *Landsofer of Prague.

ITALY. There were Issachar Baer b. Israel Leiser Parnas Eilenburg of Gorizia; Leone (Judah Aryeh) *Modena; Moses b. Mordecai *Zacuto of Venice and Mantua; and Samuel b. Abraham *Aboab of Verona and Venice.

EREẒ ISRAEL, THE BALKANS, AND NORTH AFRICA. Responders included Jehiel b. Ḥayyim Basan (1550–1625), author of the responsa *Mahari Basan* (Constantinople, 1737); Jacob b. Israel ha-Levi of Salonika and Xanthe; Joseph b. Moses *Trani (Maharit), Moses b. Nissim Benveniste, and Abraham b. Solomon *Alegre – all in Constantinople; Jacob b. Ḥayyim *Alfandari; Joseph b. Saul *Escapa (responsa *Ri Escapa*, Frankfurt on the Oder, 1709), Ḥayyim b. Israel *Benveniste, and Aaron b. Isaac *Lapapa – all in Smyrna; Jacob (Israel) b. Samuel *Ḥagiz, Moses b. Solomon ibn *Ḥabib, and Abraham b. David *Yiẓḥaki, Rishon le-Zion and author of the *Zera Avraham* (Pt. 1, Constantinople, 1732; Pt. 2, Smyrna, 1733) – all in Jerusalem.

EGYPT. There were, all in Cairo, *MORDECAI b. Judah ha-Levi; *Abraham b. Mordecai ha-Levi; and Joseph b. Moses ha-Levi Nazir (see Moses ha-Levi *Nazir), author of responsa *Matteh Yosef* (Pt. 1, Constantinople, 1717; Pt. 2, 1726).

SALONIKA. There were Ḥayyim *Shabbetai (the MaHaRḤaSH), who wrote responsa on *Even ha-Ezer* with a *Kunteres Agunot* (Salonika, 1651) and also responsa *Torat Ḥayyim* on the other three parts of the Shulḥan Arukh (*ibid.*, 1713–22); Daniel *Estrosa; Solomon b. Aaron Ḥason (1605–1667), called "the younger" to distinguish him from his grandfather of the same name), who was author of the responsa *Beit Shelomo* (Salonika, 1720), and some of whose responsa were published in the collection *Mishpatim Yesharim* (*ibid.*, 1732) together with those of *Samuel b. Ali Gaon; Shabbetai Jonah (*Shai la-Mora*, Salonika, 1653); Baruch *Angel; Aaron b. Ḥayyim Abraham ha-Kohen *Peraḥyah; Ḥasdai b. Samuel ha-Kohen *Peraḥyah; Elijah b. Judah Covo (d. 1689; see *Covo Family); Ḥayyim b. Benjamin *Asael; Solomon b. Joseph *Amarillo; and Joseph b. Shemaiah Covo (c. 1660–1721; see *Covo Family).

The 18th Century

GERMANY (INCLUDING BOHEMIA AND MORAVIA). Among the responders were Meir b. Isaac *Eisenstadt; Jacob b. Ẓevi *Emden; Joseph b. Menahem *Steinhardt of Alsace and *Fuerth; Ezekiel b. Judah *Landau in Prague; and Israel b. Eliezer *Lipschuetz of Cleves.

ITALY. There were Samson b. Joshua Moses *Morpurgo of Ancona; Raphael *Meldola of Pisa and Leghorn; David b. Jacob *Pardo of Spoleto; and Isaiah ben Israel Hezekiah Bassano (see *Bassano Family) in Reggio Emilia.

EREẒ ISRAEL. Responders were Ḥayyim Joseph David *Azulai (the Ḥida), who included the writing of responsa in his manifold literary activities; Moses b. Jacob *Ḥagiz; Jonah b. Ḥanun *Navon; Moses Israel and his son Elijah *Mizraḥi (d. 1749), Rishon le-Zion and author of the responsa *Admat Kodesh* (Pt. 1, Constantinople, 1742; Pt. 2, Salonika, 1758) – all in Jerusalem; and Ḥayyim *Modai of Safed and Smyrna.

NORTH AFRICA, TURKEY, AND THE BALKANS. Responders included Yom Tov *Algazi; Judah b. Isaac *Ayash of Algiers, Leghorn, and Jerusalem; Ephraim b. Aaron *Navon of Constantinople; Zedekiah b. Saadiah Huẓin of Baghdad, author of the responsa *Zedakah u-Mishpat* (Pt. 1, Jerusalem, 1926); Isaac Bekhor David (1690–1755) of Constantinople, and Isaac b. Judah ha-Kohen *Rappaport of Jerusalem and Smyrna. In Salonika there were Asher b. Emanuel Shalem (turn of the 17th and 18th centuries), author of the *Matteh Asher* (Salonika, 1748); Moses b. Solomon Amarillo (see Solomon b. Joseph *Amarillo; beginning of the 18th century); *Joseph David; and Joseph Raphael b. Ḥayyim *Ḥazzan, in Smyrna, Hebron, and Jerusalem.

YEMEN. Yaḥya b. Joseph Ẓalaḥ (second half of 18th and first half of 19th century), rabbi and *av bet din* in Sanʿa wrote responsa *Pe'ullat Ẓaddik* (Tel Aviv, 1946) dealing with problems of the Jews in Yemen such as: whether a leper could act as communal *shoḥet* (no. 71); and whether those going from one town to another on the Sabbath for prayer or for other religious duties or for a festivity, were permitted to carry walking sticks (no. 123). David b. Shalom *Mizraḥi (Misraki; c. 1696–1771) and his son Yaḥya (1734–1809) in Sanʿa wrote responsa *Revid ha-Zahav* (Tel Aviv, 1955), on the Shulḥan Arukh (*Oraḥ Ḥayyim* and *Yoreh De'ah*) reflecting the customs of the Jews of Yemen.

The 19th Century

The new age ushered in by the 19th century, the era of *Emancipation effected by the French Revolution and the advances made in every sphere of life, brought with it a change in responsa literature. A distinction must be made between the literature created in Europe, the focal point of the upheaval, and that created in Turkey and the Balkans. In the latter countries, where autonomous Jewish jurisdiction continued to exist, no change in the responsa literature is noticeable. A substantial part of the responsa is devoted to the *Ḥoshen Mishpat* section of the Shulḥan Arukh, which deals with civil law and financial matters. In Europe it was otherwise; here the responsa literature bore the marks of the Berlin *Haskalah trend, the emancipation in Germany and Austria (including Galicia, Hungary, and parts of Poland under German or Austrian rule), the *Reform movement, the national movements, and the discoveries of technology. All are reflected in the responsa of this century.

Especially recognizable in the second half of this century is the influence of emancipation, which brought about the abolition of the judicial autonomy of the Jews and deprived rabbinic courts of the legal powers they had previously possessed. As a result, applications to Jewish courts on monetary matters declined, and the responsa on topics belonging to *Ḥoshen Mishpat* decreased. Such responsa as do occur on these topics are due to the fact that some Jews still preferred to bring their financial disputes to the rabbinical courts, although a number of responsa deal with hypothetical problems in this branch of Jewish law, as in other sections. On the other hand there was an increase in responsa on problems arising from the discoveries of technology and from the Reform and national movements, a number of which will be indicated.

POLAND AND LITHUANIA (UNDER RUSSIA). There were Menahem Mendel *Schneersohn of Lubavich; Isaac Elhanan *Spektor of Kovno; Naphtali Ẓevi Judah *Berlin of Volozhin; and Samuel *Mohilewer in Bialystok.

GERMANY (INCLUDING MORAVIA, HUNGARY, AND GALICIA). There were Eleazer b. David *Fleckeles of Prague; Mordecai b. Abraham *Banet of Nikolsburg; and Akiva b. Moses Guens *Eger of Posen. Moses *Sofer of Pressburg wrote responsa which reflect the spirit of the time and the changes that had occurred in German Jewry, including discussions on the permissibility of an organ in the synagogue (ḤM 192); whether one may sell one's body to assist the study of medicine (YD 326); Jews in a non-Jewish army (Pt. 6, no. 29); whether a rabbi who preaches heresy should be removed from office (ḤM 162, 207); the opening of one's business on the Sabbath (OḤ 195); and on prayer in the vernacular (ḤM 192, 193). There were also Ephraim Zalman *Margolioth of Brody; Judah b. Israel *Aszod of Semnitz and Sordihel, author of the responsa *Yehudah Ya'aleh* (Pt. 1, Lemberg, 1873, and Pt. 2, Pressburg, 1880); Jacob Meshullam b. Mordecai Ze'ev *Ornstein, rabbi in Zolkiew and Lemberg, author of responsa *Yeshu'ot Ya'akov* (Piotrkow, 1906); Solomon *Kluger of Brody; Ḥayyim Halberstamm (1793–1876) of Zans; Joseph Saul *Nathanson of Lemberg; Isaac Meir b. Israel Alter (1789–1866) of Gur (see *Gora Kalwaria); Ẓevi Hirsch *Chajes in Kalisz; Abraham Samuel Sofer (see Moses *Sofer) in Pressburg; Israel (Azriel) *Hildesheimer in Berlin; Isaac *Schmelkes of Berezhany and Lemberg, whose responsa discuss whether a telegram may be given to a gentile for dispatch on the Sabbath if it has been written out before the Sabbath (OḤ 57) and whether electric lamps may be used for the Ḥanukkah lights (YD 120); Samuel *Ehrenfeld; Abraham Bornstein (1839–1910) of *Sochaczew, author of the responsa *Avnei Neẓer* on the Shulḥan Arukh (OḤ in 2 pts., Piotrkow, 1912; YD, Pt. 1, Warsaw, 1913, Pt. 2, Warsaw, 1914; EH, Lodz, 1926); Isaac Jacob *Reines of Lida; David Ẓevi *Hoffmann of Berlin; Mordecai Horowitz (1844–1910) of Frankfurt; Jacob David *Willowski (the Ridbaz), rabbi in Russia, Chicago, and Safed and author of the responsa *Ha-Ridbaz* (Vilna, 1881); Shalom Mordecai Schwadron in Berezhany; and Samuel b. Ze'ev Wolf Engel (1853–1935), rabbi of *Radomysl and *Kosice, and author of the responsa *Maharash Engel* in eight parts, published in various places between 1905 and 1957.

TURKEY, THE BALKANS, AND EREẒ ISRAEL. Responders included Ḥayyim *Palache of Smyrna; Raphael Jacob b. Abraham Manasseh (1762–1832), author of the responsa *Be'er Mayim* (Salonika, 1736); Raphael Asher b. Jacob *Covo of Salonika; Ḥayyim *Benveniste of Salonika; Samuel Raphael Arditi, author of the responsa *Divrei Shemu'el* (Salonika, 1891); Ḥayyim David b. Joseph Raphael *Ḥazzan (Hazan), of Smyrna and Jerusalem; Aaron Azriel (1819–1879) of Jerusalem, author of the responsa *Kappei Aharon* (Pts. 1 and 2, Jerusalem 1874); Jacob Saul *Elyashar of Jerusalem; Elijah *Ḥazzan of Jerusalem; Abraham b. Mordecai *Ankawa in Morocco, Tunis, and Algiers; Isaac b. Samuel Abendanan (1836–1900) of Fez (see *Abendanan Family), author of the responsa *YizḥakRei'aḥ* (Leghorn, 1902); Moses Judah Leib b. Benjamin Auerbach (1794–1865) of Lask, Kutno, and Jerusalem, and author of the responsa *Zayit Ra'anan* (Pts. 1 and 2, Warsaw, 1851 and 1869), who was the first Ashkenazi rabbi in Jerusalem whose responsa were published; Moses Joshua Judah *Diskin of Jerusalem; and Raphael b. Mordecai *Ankawa of Salé Morocco.

The 20th Century

The two world wars during the first half of the century brought about profound changes in the world generally and in the map of Jewish centers in particular. Old centers were impoverished, weakened, and even completely destroyed. New centers were created by immigration. Migration had already begun to the United States before World War I and increased as a result of the two wars. Many communities were established in New York and in the provincial towns. Yeshivot that had been uprooted from Poland and Lithuania were founded with outstanding talmudists to head them. Orthodox Jewry sank strong roots. A natural result of this migration was the blossoming for the first time in the New World of creativity in Torah study, and responsa literature. Between the two wars Torah activity had reached a peak in Poland, Lithuania, Hungary, and Czechoslovakia. As a result of the Nazis' rise to power in Germany and of the Holocaust, the centers of Jewry there almost completely disappeared, except in individual countries like Belgium and England. The survivors from Europe found refuge in the State of Israel, as well as in the United States. Both centers now produced responsa literature, mainly in Israel, but some in the United States. Many responsa naturally deal with the new problems which arose as a result of the Holocaust and in the extermination camps. The establishment of the State of Israel with legal recognition of rabbinical law in all matters affecting matrimonial laws and laws of personal status; the problems arising from agriculture, Sabbath and festival rest in the state, work in factories, problems of modern technology, the law of return for Jews, the immigration of intermarried couples, and the desire to base the law of the state on foundations of Jewish law – all these have given rise to halakhic problems that have found expression in the ramified responsa literature created during the last decades. To summarize the rich harvest of responsa literature in the last 70 years, it must therefore be divided into two periods: until the 1930s, i.e., when Europe was still the spiritual center of world Jewry; and after the Holocaust, when it passed to Israel.

EASTERN EUROPE. Responders include David Dov b. Aryeh Jacob *Meisels (the Radad) of Lask, author of responsa on the *Even ha-Ezer* (Piotrkow, 1903) and on the *Oraḥ Ḥayyim (ibid.*, 1905); Aryeh Judah Jacob b. David Dov Meisels, rabbi of Lask, author of *Ḥedvat Ya'akov* (Piotrkow, 1919); Ẓevi David Shapira of Dynow, rabbi and Ḥasidic rabbi in Javornik, author of the *Ẓevi la-Ẓaddik* (Bilgoraj, 1936); Abraham Menahem b. Meir ha-Levi Steinberg (1847–1928), of Sniatyn and Brody, and author of the *Maḥazeh Avraham* (Pt. 1, Brody 1927, on *Oraḥ Ḥayyim*; Pt. 2, New York, 1964), on the four parts of the Shulḥan Arukh; Aryeh Leib *Horowitz of Stanislav; Meir b. Aaron Judah Arik (1855–1926) of Jaslowice, Buchach and Tarnow, the author of the *Imrei Yosher* (Pt. 1, Munkacz, 1913, and Pt. 2, Cracow, 1925); Ḥayyim Ozer *Grodzinski of Vilna; Joseph *Rozin (Rosen), the "Rogachower" of Dvinsk (Daugavpils), who in his responsa *Ẓafenat Pa'ne'aḥ* discusses a marriage entered into for the sole purpose of obtaining a legal marriage certificate (Pt. 1, no. 5), a synagogue that would be permitted to exist only if the children went to the Tarbut school where bare-headed boys and girls studied together (Pt. 2, no. 15), and whether photographed scrolls of the Torah are sacred (Pt. 2, no. 26); Judah Leib *Zirelson (1859–1941) of Kishinev, who rules that a synagogue reader may not be removed because his daughter has converted from Judaism (*Aẓei ha-Levanon*, no. 1); Ḥayyim Ze'ev Eleazar Shapiro of Munkacz; Dov Berish b. Jacob Weidenfeld (1881–1965) of Trzebin, author of *Dovev Meisharim* (Pt. 1, Trebin, 1937; reprinted with Pt. 2, Jerusalem, 1958); Judah Meir b. Jacob Samson Shapiro (1886–1934) of Lublin, author of *Or ha-Me'ir* (Piotrkow, 1926); Jehiel Jacob *Weinberg in Pilwiszki and Berlin, whose responsa dealing with new problems include the permissibility of the stunning of animals before *sheḥitah* (Pt. 1, nos. 1–16), the permissibility of hastening the death of the animal after *sheḥitah* (pt. 1), changing from the Ashkenazi to the Sephardi pronunciation (Pt. 2, no. 5), whether a non-Orthodox rabbi may be permitted to lecture in an Orthodox synagogue (no. 13), women's suffrage (52), whether fire-proof glass (pyrex) may be used for both meat and milk dishes (76), lecturing on talmudic topics in a gentile college (92), the law with regard to a convert to Judaism who cannot be circumcised because of the condition of his heart (102), transplanting of a cornea from a dead person (129), and whether the bat mitzvah ceremony may be permitted for girls; and Jacob Avigdor (1896–1968) of Drogobych, Borislav, and Mexico, author of *Abbir Ya'akov* (Piotrkow, 1934).

WESTERN EUROPE. After the Holocaust other Jewish centers were again organized in Europe and in some were great talmudists who replied to problems addressed to them by the rabbis of the Diaspora. In Belgium there was Moses Jonah Zweig (1910–1963), previously rabbi of Ataki (in Bessarabia) and then of Antwerp and author of *Ohel Moshe* (in 2 pts., Jerusalem, 1949 and 1960). In Switzerland there was Mordecai Jacob Breisch (1896–?) of Zurich, author of *Helkat Ya'akov* (Pt. 1, Jerusalem, 1951; Pt. 2, London, 1959). Among the subjects dealt with are whether a soldier may take leave for the New Year to hear the *shofar*, when it would entail his returning to his unit on the Sabbath (no. 37); whether an animal may be rendered unconscious with a narcotic before slaughter (no. 105); whether Jewish women studying nutrition in state schools may cook forbidden foods (no. 86); and artificial insemination (no. 24).

ENGLAND. Isaac Jacob b. Joseph Judah Weiss of Manchester and later of Jerusalem (1902ff.) wrote *Minḥat Yiẓḥak* (Pt. 1, London, 1955, Pt. 2, 1958).

EREẒ ISRAEL. Abraham Isaac *Kook's *Mishpat Kohen* (1937) deals chiefly with problems connected with Ereẓ Israel – hybridization of grapefruit and oranges (25), the giving of "first fruits" in the present day (57), and the sanctity of the Temple site (96); in *Da'at Kohen* (1912), he discusses whether spiritualism is forbidden (69). Israel Ze'ev Mintzberg (1872–1962), *av bet din* of the "Adat Ḥasidim" in Jerusalem, wrote *She'erit Yisrael* (Jerusalem, 1963). He discusses: the possibility of reestablishing a Sanhedrin (ḤM nos. 1 and 3), women's suffrage (no. 2), whether olives growing on the land of Arabs who have fled the country have to be tithed (YD no. 63), and the use on the Sabbath of electricity operated by Jews (OḤ no. 20). Ẓevi Pesaḥ *Frank, chief rabbi of Jerusalem, was one of the greatest *posekim* of his day. Both the chief rabbis Ben Zion Meir Ḥai *Ouziel (Responsa *Mishpetei Uziel*) and Isaac ha-Levi *Herzog deal with the permissibility of autopsies. Rabbi Herzog's responsa particularly reveal the manifold problems which had arisen as a result of the Holocaust and the establishment of the state, and two volumes of his responsa *Heikhal Yiẓhak* have been published. Others are Meshullam *Rath; Ovadosh Hadaya (1891–1969), *dayyan* in Jerusalem and author of *Yaskil Avdi* (in six parts, Jerusalem, 1931, 1935, 1939, 1948, 1958, 1959), in all the volumes of which there are kabbalistic responsa appended, entitled *De'ah ve-Haskel*, and which discuss whether one may listen to a woman's voice on the radio (Pt. 5, no. 2), whether a synagogue reader may wear canonicals (no. 15), and the use of a microphone in the synagogue on Sabbaths and festivals (Pt. 6, no. 16); Eliezer Judah b. Jacob Gedaliah Waldenberg (1917–), rabbi and *dayyan* in Jerusalem and the author of *Ẓiẓ Eli'ezer* in 22 volumes (Jerusalem 1945–1998), who discusses departure by airplane on the Sabbath (Pt. 1, no. 21), the use of hearing aids for the deaf on the Sabbath (Pt. 6, no. 6), whether reparation payments from Germany have to be tithed (no. 27), the population census (Pt. 7, no. 3), the use of water from sunheated boilers on the Sabbath (no. 19), the transplanting of another woman's womb into a childless woman (no. 48), the duty of immigration and settlement in sovereign Ereẓ Israel (no. 12), heart transplants (Pt. 10, no. 25), whether a coffin containing soap made from the bodies of Jews may be reinterred (Pt. 8, no. 35), whether a limb may be donated for transplantation into a sick person (Pt. 9, no. 15), the laws of war (pt. 3, no. 9), shipping (Pt. 4, no. 5), and the right to strike (Pt. 2, no. 23); Ovadiah *Yosef, chief rabbi of Tel Aviv-Jaffa, who discusses inter alia the use of the telephone and refrigerators on the Sabbath; Joshua Menahem b. Isaac Aryeh Ehrenberg, head of the Tel Aviv *bet din* and author of *Devar Yehoshu'a* (Pt. 1, Jerusalem, 1970), who discusses whether the victims of mass murders by the Nazis may be exhumed and reburied in a proper cemetery (no. 25). Others are Mordecai Fogelman (b. 1899), rabbi in Kiryat Motzkin, who in his responsa *Beit Mordekhai* (Jerusalem, 1971) deals with problems that arose in Ereẓ Israel after the Six-Day War: e.g., whether the blessing ("*She-Heḥeyanu*") should be recited when visiting the Western Wall (no. 23); and whether immigrants arriving after the Six-Day War were obliged to recite the blessing for the Land of Israel (no. 28). Ḥayyim David Halevi (b. 1929), rabbi of Rishon le-Zion, wrote responsa *Mekor Ḥayyim*, 1 (Tel Aviv, 1967), 2 (*ibid.*, 1968), 3 (*ibid.*, 1970), as well as *Bein Yisrael la-Amim* (*ibid.*, 1968) on the subject of religion and state, and also dealing with topics relating to the post-Six-Day War era; whether on seeing the Temple Mount after its liberation one must rend his garment (vol. 2, no. 95); when tourists visiting Israel are obliged to recite the blessing on the establishment of the state (*ibid.*); whether there is an obligation to make the pilgrimage on the three pilgrim festivals despite the fact that the temple has not been rebuilt (*ibid.*); *halakhot* on the questions of national security, such as military training and self-defense (vol. 2, no. 99); whether it is permitted to travel on the Sabbath in a ship with a Jewish crew (vol. 2, no. 172); the laws of warfare on the Sabbath (no. 173); automatic lifts, trains, underground trains, and allowing a radar receiver to remain in operation during the Sabbath (no. 174).

In all post-World War II works of responsa, many queries are found that arose among observant Jews, despite the inhuman and unbearable conditions which they suffered in the ghettos and concentration camps. Indeed there are complete works written by rabbis who themselves suffered in the concentration camps and were eyewitnesses to all that transpired. After their liberation they noted down the halakhic problems that had arisen or questions asked by prisoners, and reported the halakhic solutions they found for all these problems. To this category of responsa belongs *Me-Emek ha-Bakha* (Jerusalem, 1948) and *Mi-Gei ha-Haregah* (*ibid.*, 1961) of Simeon b. Yekutiel Ephrati, rabbi of Bendery (Bessarabia), and of Warsaw after the Holocaust, and later head of the *kashrut* department of the Israel chief rabbinate. Among the problems dealt with in the latter work are whether it was murder when the mouth of a child was closed while in a bunker to prevent the Nazis hearing it crying, and the child died (no. 1); whether the ashes of those burnt by the Nazis may be put on show (no. 9); and the status of sites where Jews killed by the Nazis were buried in a common grave (no. 11).

United States

Among the authors of responsa in the United States may be mentioned Moses *Feinstein of New York; a survivor of the concentration camps, Ephraim Oshry (1914–2003) in his *Mi-Ma'amakim* (New York, 1959) also deals with the problems of the Holocaust. He discusses the case of the Nazis forcing a Jew to tear and desecrate a scroll of the law (no. 1); whether garments stripped from the murdered martyrs may be used (3); whether one forced to cook on the Sabbath by Nazis may himself eat of the food because of danger to life (5); whether a Jew might read a page of Talmud to a Nazi who wished to ascertain its contents (14); whether a Jew may save his life by purchasing a certificate of conversion (15); the prohibition of leaven on Passover in the ghetto (18); the directive of the Nazis that any woman found to be pregnant should be killed with her fetus (18); and whether in view of this the inducing of abortion is permitted (20); and the case of a woman taken to a brothel and on whose arm was engraved: "a harlot for Hitler's troops" (27).

Recourse to rabbinic responsa is not confined to observant Jews. Reform Jews in the United States have recently developed a responsa literature, as evidenced by the eight volumes of responsa (1960–90), published in English by S.B. *Freehof.

Of the considerable number of volumes of responsa published from the late 1960s through the early 1970s, mostly in Israel, the majority are new editions of responsa which were out of print. Of those published for the first time the following may be mentioned:

She'erit Simḥah (Jerusalem, 1969) by S. Bamberger, rabbi of Stuttgart, which includes the responsa of his father, Rabbi Seckel Isaac of Kissingen.

Be-Ein Ḥazon (Jerusalem, 1969), anonymous, deals with topical halakhic problems. Appended is an exchange of correspondence between Rabbis E. *Wasserman and A. *Karelitz, the author of *Ḥazon Ish*, on a number of these topics. Responsa 1–4 discuss participation in elections to the Knesset: No. 5, participation in elections to urban and local councils; No. 8, the status and authority of the Council of Torah Scholars (Mo'eẓet Gedolei ha-Torah) according to the *halakhah*; No. 9, whether visiting the Western Wall is a religious obligation and whether the day of the liberation of Jerusalem is to be regarded as a day of religious thanksgiving.

Az Nidberu Pt. II (Bene-Berak, 1970) by R. Benjamin Joshua Silver discusses *inter alia* the carrying of arms on the Sabbath (no. 44) and the permissibility of purchasing goods manufactured in Germany (77).

Responsa Shevet ha-Levi (Tel Aviv, 1970) by S. Wozner deals *inter alia* with medical injections (no. 61) and the use of a loudspeaker on the Sabbath (66).

Responsa ha-Rabakh (Jerusalem, 1970) by R. Benjamin ha-Kohen of Reggio, edited by former Chief Rabbi Isaac *Nissim.

Part 4 of *Mekor Ḥayyim* (1972) by R. Ḥaim David Halevi, Sephardi chief rabbi of Rishon le-Zion.

Hitherto responsa collections have been those of individual rabbis, but the present century, and particularly recent years, have witnessed a new departure in responsa literature;

the appearance of periodicals devoted exclusively or largely to the clarification of practical and topical halakhic problems, with special stress on the solution of problems arising from new circumstances. The oldest of these, *Ha-Pardes*, a monthly, was founded in Poland in 1913, moved to Chicago in 1925, and is at present published in New York. The editorial policy of the non-halakhic section reflects the extreme right-wing Orthodox attitude, which can be seen in the halakhic sections as well. Among the topics dealt with are the use of the loudspeaker on the Sabbath (Vol. 5), civil marriages (12), adoption of children (1946. 3), and whether it is permitted to pray in the Cave of Machpelah since it is now a mosque (1968. 1).

Ha-Torah ve-ha-Medinah (1949–) is, as its title suggests, devoted particularly to the clarification of halakhic problems in the State of Israel and particularly those arising from its establishment. Thus, among the topics discussed in Volume 1 are the right of extending clemency to those sentenced by the courts of Israel, the authority of the president and the institutions of elected government: the legal status of spoils of war. Vol. 4 (1952) discusses the rights of women according to the *halakhah* and enlistment of women in the armed forces: Vol. 5–6, security measures in the state on the Sabbath and festivals; Vol. 7–8, the powers of municipal authorities according to the *halakhah* (63); Vol. 11–13 (1960–2), the religious duty of *aliyah* (immigration to Israel) and the prohibition against leaving Israel; the liability of rabbis to taxation.

Or ha-Mizraḥ (1959–), issued by the Mizrachi of the United States, is more or less a Diaspora equivalent of *Ha-Torah ve-ha-Medinah*. Among the problems dealt with are: Vol. 1 (1959), No. 3–4, p. 42 – war in the light of the Torah; Vol. 2, No. 11, p. 3 – traveling on a ship on the Sabbath that is manned by Jews; Vol. 3, No. 3–4, p. 4 – use of a corpse for plastic surgery; Vol. 4, No. 2, p. 13 – the halakhic status of Gaza and Sinai; No. 3–4, p. 35 – the determination of paternity; Vol. 5, No. 2, p. 17 – the Karaites; Vol. 6, No. 1, p. 3 – the halakhic definition of a Jew; Vol. 9, No. 3–4, p. 38 – whether one may buy a house in Israel from a gentile on the Sabbath; Vol. 10, No. 3–4, p. 23 – transporting immigrants on the Sabbath; Vol. 16, No. 2, p. 92 – relations between employee and employer; Vol. 17, No. 3, p. 105 – the right to cede areas of Ereẓ Israel liberated in the Six-Day War; Vol. 18, No. 4, p. 251 – *halakhah* appertaining to these areas.

Unlike the above two works, which appear under the aegis of a public body, the Mizrachi-Ha-Poel ha-Mizrachi, *No'am* (1959–), "a platform for the clarification of halakhic problems," is a venture of the Torah Shelemah Institute of Jerusalem, and its scope is much wider. Among the practical problems dealt with are the use of the birth control pill (11. 167), heart transplants (13. 1), the transplanting of kidneys and artificial kidneys (14. 308), artificial insemination (29), and even whether the laws of the Torah are applicable to the Jew on the moon (13. 196).

Ha-Darom (1957–), published by the Rabbinical Council of America, discusses such problems as whether a *ḥazzan* from Israel may officiate on the Second Day of the Festival in the Diaspora (24 (1967) p. 105), whether a blessing is to be recited on seeing the president (No. 25, p. 42), aborting the fetus to save the mother's life (28 (1969) p. 31), the determination of death according to the *halakhah* (32 (1971) p. 48), the *mamzer* (34 (1972) p. 27), and the freezing of prices (34 (1972) p. 106).

Among the topics dealt with in *Talpioth* (1959), a quarterly devoted to *halakhah, aggadah*, and ethics, edited by S.K. *Mirsky of Yeshiva University, are levirate marriage in modern times (No. 1, p. 151); whether visiting Israel is a religious duty (No. 2, p. 24); the halakhic status of Transjordan (p. 56); the obligation of those engaged in Torah study to serve in the army (No. 4, p. 720); the proposed regulations for inheritance by daughters put forward by Chief Rabbi *Herzog (No. 9, p. 11); the right of a person over his body with regard to autopsies (p. 79).

To a different category belongs a series of halakhic discussions on actual cases published as brochures by the Beth Din of London. Among the topics dealt with are: presumption of death of a man to enable his wife to remarry (*agunah*) (No. 1, 1956); the removal of the cornea from a corpse for transplanting (No. 5, 1957); the case of a *mamzer* (No. 17, 1967). They resemble to some extent the publications of the rabbinical courts of Israel (OPD) but differ from them in that they are anonymous and selective.

[Shlomo Tal]

The Publishing of Responsa Texts

Among the ongoing publications of historical or present-day responsa, the following deserve special mention.

Many of the contemporary texts published pre-1970 have become multivolume series. The *Yabbia Omer* by Rabbi Ovadiah *Yosef has now reached 10 volumes. In addition, material from his novel innovation, the *Pinnat ha-Halakhah* ("The *Halakhah* Column"), which was broadcast weekly over the Israeli radio network, wherein Rabbi Yosef responded to questions put to him by listeners by mail, has been edited and published under the *Yeḥaveh Da'at* (Vol. 1, 1977; Vol. 2, 1979; Vol. 3, 1980).

Rabbi Ḥaim David *Halevi, Sephardi Chief Rabbi of Tel Aviv, has published *Aseh Lekha Rav* ("Acquire a Rabbi," 3 volumes, 1976–80), similarly based in part upon his participation in the radio program of the same name, wherein listeners telephoned to the studio with their questions. Rabbi Isaac *Weiss, who headed the *Bet Din* of the Edah Ḥaredit of Jerusalem, expanded his *Minḥat Yiẓḥak* responsa into a seven-volume set; Rabbi Eliezer Waldenberg's *Ẓiẓ Eliezer* reached 22 volumes, while the posthumously published *Har Ẓevi* of Rabbi Ẓevi Pesaḥ *Frank consists of three volumes (one on *Yoreh De'ah* and two on *Orah Ḥayyim*), and the *Igrot Mosheh* of Rabbi Moses *Feinstein of New York reached its eighth volume.

These texts have become an essential basis of contemporary *halakhah* and this activity is ongoing.

MAKHON YERUSHALAYIM. Makhon Yerushalayim ("The Jerusalem Institute of Talmudic Research") was founded in

1968 by Rabbi Joseph Buxbaum. It inaugurated a series of programs centered around the responsa literature.

Ashkenazi works. In addition to ongoing publishing activities, the *Mifal Ḥakhmei Ashkenaz* ("The Writings of the Jewish Sages of Medieval Germany") program has devoted itself to publishing from manuscript, early editions, and sources, the responsa and *minhag* literature of the rabbis of Germany from the middle of the 14th until the 16th century. Prior to the inception of this program, only five responsa texts from this period had been published, and even they were defective and corrupt.

Sephardi works. The *Mifal Or Hamizraḥ* ("The Writings of the Great Sephardi Rabbis") program was founded by Rabbi Ovadiah Yosef in 1976 to publish the manuscripts of Sephardi rabbis (primarily responsa) dating from the expulsion from Spain until the 19th century.

The institute also publishes responsa texts from manuscripts not included in the above programs.

RABBINIC COURT DECISIONS. The responsa literature is primarily composed of expert halakhic opinions and decisions of the *battei din* ("rabbinic courts"). The present-day Israeli counterpart of this latter feature is the collection of *Piskei Din Rabbaniyyim* ("Rabbinic Court Decisions"), edited by Rabbi Dov Katz (Vol. 1, 1954; 11 volumes to date). Since Rabbinic courts in Israel have jurisdiction in Family Law, most of the material belongs to this subject.

The Beth Din of London has also issued several important decisions in pamphlet form.

Literary Projects Based upon Responsa

Many literary projects and research institutes make extensive use of responsa for various purposes. The following is a partial listing according to fields of interest.

RABBINICS. Among the literary programs making extensive use of the responsa for rabbinic and talmudic studies, the *Talmudic Encyclopedia* (founded in Jerusalem, 1947) has reached volume 26, up to the letter *yod.* The encyclopedia contains entries covering halakhic topics, from the Bible through the talmudic literature and its commentaries, to the early and later codes, and the relevant responsa sources. It is also available on CD.

Oẓar Ha-Posekim, also founded in Jerusalem in 1947, aims at producing a "digest of all extant Rabbinic Responsa bearing upon Jewish Law and ritual, arranged in the order of the Shulḥan Arukh." It concentrates in particular on the *Even ha-Ezer* section of the Shulḥan Arukh which deals with Family Law – due to the urgency of resolving problems in this sphere created in the wake of the Holocaust, the Ingathering of the Exiles into the Land of Israel, and the jurisdiction given to the rabbinic court in Israel in the realm of Family Law – and 19 volumes have been published to date. It is available on CD-Halachic Responsa Treasury; texts are only in Hebrew.

Kovez ha-Posekim uses the format of *Oẓar ha-Posekim* but is centered on the *Ḥoshen Mishpat* section dealing with Civil Law. The first volume appeared in Brooklyn, New York in 1969, and a total of three have appeared to date. This is the only literary project of its kind produced outside Israel.

Oẓar Mefarshei ha-Talmud ("A Compendium of Talmudic Commentaries"), the first volume of which was published in 1971, is published by Makhon Yerushalayim and five have appeared to date. The commentaries to the Talmud include materials drawn from the responsa.

The new Shabse Frankel edition of the *Mishneh Torah* of the Rambam (Vol. 1, 1975; Vol. 2, 1977) also contains a citation index including references to the responsa literature. Text variants of the Mishneh Torah also make use of responsa sources.

The Institute for Science and Halakhah (Jerusalem) has dealt with technological problems relating to *halakhah* in general, with special emphasis on Sabbath and Festivals, in particular those arising in industry and the public services. A team of engineers worked together with rabbinical experts in providing solutions for various problems. A card catalogue of responsa relevant to the various topics has been prepared, and two bibliographical surveys of relevant responsa grouped by topics, *Electricity and the Shabbath* (1975) and *Electricity in Halakhah* (Part 1, 1978) have been published, among other halakhic works.

ACADEMIC. The Israel Matz Institute for Research in Jewish Law at the Hebrew University School of Law, Jerusalem, has prepared a historical and legal card catalogue of the responsa of *Gedolei Sefarad* during the time of the **Rishonim* (11th–15th centuries, Spain and North Africa).

The Institute for Research in Oriental Jewry at Bar-Ilan University, Ramat Gan, Israel has inaugurated a series of programs based upon the responsa of Oriental rabbis, used as the basis for historical, sociological, and economic studies. A number of indices have been produced for various texts, plus a citation index for the place-names found in Ottoman Empire responsa collections, together with a map.

These programs all reflect the interest in applying halakhic materials to present-day real life situations, or for research into the history of Jewish communities.

Computerization of Responsa Literature

The Global Jewish Database (The Responsa Project) at Bar-Ilan University is the largest database of its kind. This database includes the full text of the Bible and its principal commentaries, the Babylonian Talmud with Rashi's commentary and *Tosafot*, the Jerusalem Talmud, the *Mishneh Torah* of Maimonides, Shulchan Arukh with commentaries, Midrashim, 391 books of responsa, and the *Talmudic Encyclopedia*, representing a period of over three thousand years of Jewish literary creativity. All these and more are included in a CD.

The Halakhah Berurah and Birur Halakhah Institute features a wide variety of collections on its website. The CD-ROM *Mekorot le-Toledot ha-Ḥinukh be-Yisrael*, vol. 4 (2004), prepared and edited under the direction of Shmuel Glick, provides over 300 responsa from 16th to the beginning of 20th century dealing with Jewish education in Mediterranean communities and eastern countries. The texts stem primarily from rare first editions.

The website of the Schechter Institute offers six volumes of responsa written by the Va'ad Halakhah (Law Committee) of the Rabbinical Assembly of Israel between 1985 and 1999.

Books Based upon Responsa Materials.
I. Schepansky wrote on the Land of Israel in the responsa literature, *Ereẓ Israel be-Sifrut ha-Teshuvot*, 3 volumes (1966, 1967, 1978).

The use of responsa for the biographies of outstanding scholars is, of course, well established, but during recent years there have been produced a number of works on specific topics in the responsa literature.

Y. Bazak published an annotated two-volume series of selected responsa on various legal topics, *Mishpat ve-Halakhah* (1971, 1975); A. Steinsaltz collected biblical commentary found dispersed throughout the responsa literature, *Perush ha-Mikra be-Sifrut ha-She'elot ve-ha-Teshuvot* (1978); and Dr. Fred Rosner published *Modern Medicine and Jewish Law* (1972) on various medical-ethical problems which are, for the most part, a collection of his articles which appeared in *Tradition.* I. Cahane's various historical legal studies were collected and published posthumously as *Meḥkarim be-Sifrut ha-Teshuvot* (1973); and J. David Bleich published a collection of his regular articles in *Tradition* on halakhic topics in book form, *Contemporary Halakhic Problems* (1977).

[Menahem Slae]

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RESSLER, BENJAMIN (1901–1983), novelist and journalist. Born in Galicia, Ressler visited Ereẓ Israel and many European countries in the 1920s and settled in the United States in 1930.

He contributed Yiddish articles to *Der Tog* and *The Day-Jewish Morning Journal*, and essays and stories to the periodical press in Hebrew. His Yiddish works include a volume of poetry, *Ershte Gezangen* (1922); three novels, *Oyf Alter Erd* (1927); *Nokhn Geretenish* (1929); and *Der Veg tsu Yisroel* (1950); and several plays. His one novel in Hebrew, *Naḥalat Ẓevi* (1958), evokes the tragic era of Polish Jewry before the Holocaust.

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[Eisig Silberschlag]

RESTITUTION AND INDEMNIFICATION (German).

Individual Reparations

RESTITUTION LAWS. After the collapse of Nazi Germany in World War II the Western occupying powers obligated the holders of property which had come into their possession by unlawful means to restore it to the rightful owners. Since the Reich no longer existed, the measures taken were notably inadequate as they did not apply to the Reich as the former legal entity which perpetrated the crimes and was therefore responsible for restitution. Furthermore, there was no access to most of the plundered property. As a result, in Article IV, Part 3 of the *Ueberleitungsvertrag* (the agreement with the Western Powers on the establishment of the German Federal Republic, May 26, 1952), the Federal Republic undertook to provide a remedy. For this purpose it issued a special law on July 10, 1957, the Federal Restitution Law (*Gesetz zur Regelung der rueckerstattungsrechtlichen Verbindlichkeiten des Deutschen Reiches und gleichgestellter Rechtstraeger* – BRue-G).

The Federal Indemnification Law (Bundesentschaedigungsgesetz – BEG). The restitution of property to its rightful owner did not, of course, necessarily repair the damage inflicted by the Reich's criminal acts. Life, health, liberty, and livelihood could not be restored. In the first instance the German Laender attempted to provide a solution to the problem, but this uneven arrangement was eventually replaced by the Federal Supplementary Law (*Bundesergaenzungsgesetz* – BErg-G), of Sept. 18, 1953, a uniform law applicable to the entire Federal Republic enacted by the German government in fulfillment of its obligations under the Luxembourg Agreement of Sept. 10, 1952 (see *Reparations, German) and the Hague Protocols. The BErg-G was later improved upon by the BEG – Federal Indemnification Law – of June 29, 1956, which was further revised and finalized in the BEG – Final Law of Sept. 14, 1965. This federal legislation provides indemnification for the victims of national socialism subjected to Nazi persecution for "race," religion, or political views and incurring loss of life, injury to health, deprivation of liberty, loss of property, and damage to professional or economic advancement. German restitution was complemented by additional laws which were also based on the Hague Protocols.

The following are the more important laws in this category: law of reparations to public servants persecuted by the Nazis (*Gesetz zur Regelung der Wiedergutmachung national-sozialistischen Unrechts fuer Angehoerige des oeffentlichen Dienstes*; BWGoe-D) of April 1, 1951 (several revisions, final version Dec. 15, 1965). In the versions passed on March 18, 1952 and Dec. 23, 1955, this law also applies to claimants living abroad. Paragraph 31d of the law, in compliance with the Hague Protocols, also provides for relief to former employees of Jewish communities and other public institutions (cf. the two relevant regulations, dated July 6, 1956 and (April 2, 1963); a law for the redress of National-Socialist Party injustices concerning the relief for war victims (final version June 25, 1958), and the same law for claimants living abroad (final version, June 25, 1958): a law providing rights to social insurance for victims (Aug. 22, 1949) with many subsequent revisions; a law on insurance for employees (Feb. 23, 1957 plus revisions); a law on revised regulations for the payment of social insurance benefits to foreigners and persons living abroad (FANG) dated Feb. 25, 1960; and the revised law on social insurance benefits of June 9, 1965, Dec. 23, 1966, and May 8, 1967. Article X of the BEG-Final Law contains a clause for continuing insurance, apart from past restitution payments; the 11th enactment regulation of the *Lastenausgleichsgesetz* (LAGlaw for the equalization of burdens), passed on Dec. 18, 1956, and revised on Sept. 17, 1957, and Feb. 28, 1961, is also based upon the Luxembourg Agreement and the Hague Protocols. It provides indemnification to victims of Nazi persecution under certain conditions not specified by the BEG and the BRue-G because of the territorial provisions of these laws. Heirless and unclaimed property and the property of disbanded Jewish communities and other institutions (foundations and the like) were to be turned over to the successor organizations – in the former American Zone to the Jewish Restitution Successor Organization (JRSO), and in the former British and later also the former French Zone, to the Jewish Trust Corporation for Germany (JTS).

Collective Reparations

The German Federal Republic also made global agreements with certain states and provided certain funds to indemnify the citizens of these states who suffered under Nazi persecution. Such agreements were concluded with Luxembourg, Norway, Denmark, Greece, the Netherlands, France, Belgium, Italy, Switzerland, Austria, Great Britain and Northern Ireland, and Sweden. The total payments made under these agreements amounted to DM972,000,000 ($243,000,000).

For bibliography and further developments, see *Reparations, German, and *Conference on Jewish Material Claims.

[Harry Knopf]

RESURRECTION (Heb. תְּחִיַּת הַמֵּתִים), the belief that ultimately the dead will be revived in their bodies and live again on earth. Resurrection is to be distinguished from the belief in some sort of personal existence in another realm after death (see *Afterlife) or in the immortality of the *soul. A major tenet of Jewish eschatology alongside the *Messiah, belief in resurrection is firmly attested from Maccabean times, enjoined as an article of faith in the Mishnah (Sanh. 10:1), and included as the second benediction of the *Amidah* and as the last of Maimonides' 13 principles of faith.

In the Bible

The standard biblical view of death took it as man's final state (cf. II Sam. 14:14). Aside from such anomalies as Enoch and Elijah who were "taken" by God (Gen. 5:24; II Kings 2:1), the common lot of all men, as it was then conceived, is aptly described in Job 7:7–9:

> Remember that my life is a breath;
> My eye will not again see good…
> A cloud dissolves and it is gone;
> So is one who descends to Sheol;
> He will not ascend.

Rabbah correctly inferred that the author of this passage left no room for resurrection (BB 16a). This accords with the biblical doctrine of *reward and punishment which satisfies the demands of justice during the (first) lifetime of men. When in Hellenistic times the doctrine proved inadequate, "the extension of divine retribution beyond the tomb came as a necessary corollary to the idea of God's justice and the assurance of his faithfulness in fulfilling his promise to the righteous" (G.F. Moore, *Judaism*, 2 (1950), 319).

The components of the idea of resurrection were present in biblical thought from early times. That God can revive the dead is one of His praises: "I slay and revive; I wounded and I will heal" (Deut. 32:39; cf. Pes. 68a for the argument that death and life of the same person is meant); "YHWH slays and revives; He brings down to Sheol and raises up" (I Sam. 2:6; cf. II Kings 5:7). His power to do so was exhibited through the acts of Elijah and Elisha (I Kings 17:17 ff.; II Kings 4:18 ff.).

In poetry, severe misery, mortal sickness, and dire peril are figured as death-like states – the victim has descended into Sheol, the (nethermost) pit, the dark regions, the depths of the sea (Ps. 30:4; 71:20; 88:4–7; 143:3). Divine rescue from such circumstances is "restoring to life" (Ps. 30:4; 71:20; 143:11; Isa. 38:17 ff.), "redemption from the pit," and "restoration of youth" (Ps. 49:16; 103:4–5; Job 33:24–30). This world, from which the victim is cut off and to which he wishes to be restored, is "the land(s) of the living" (Isa. 38:11; 53:8; Ps. 27:13; 116:9; 142:6; Job 28:13); in contrast to the dark region of death, it is also called "the light of the living" (Job 33:30; Ps. 56:14).

Biblical usage is identical with that of other Ancient Near Eastern poetry. The Mesopotamian sufferer is "plunged into the waters of a swamp" ("Prayer to Every God," Pritchard, Texts, 392a); Ishtar need but look and "one who is dead lives; one who is sick rises up" ("Prayer of Lamentation to Ishtar," Pritchard, Texts, 384c); the sufferer prays that "radiantly… let me enter the streets with the living" (*ibid.*, 385a). A striking parallel to biblical idiom is the doxology that concludes the "Poem of the Righteous Sufferer" ("I Will Praise the Lord of Wisdom," *ibid.*, 437d):

> The Babylon[ians] saw how [Marduk] restores to life,
> And all quarters extolled [his] greatness:.
> Who but Marduk restores his dead to life?
> Apart from Ṣarpanitum which goddess grants life?
> Marduk can restore to life from the grave,
> Ṣarpanitum knows how to save from destruction (trans. by W.G. Lambert, *Babylonian Wisdom Literature* (1960), 59).

In the Bible, similar figures are applied to the people of Israel in Ezekiel 37:1–14 (the vision of dry bones, which the *tanna* R. Judah classed as an allegory (Rashi: "An allusion to the Exile – as a dead man come to life the Israelites would return from Exile"): Sanh. 92b) and in Isaiah 53:8ff. (the suffering and dying servant of YHWH).

The idea of resurrection proper makes its first clear and datable appearance in Daniel 12:2–3. In a future time of great trouble (an allusion to Antiochus IV's persecution), a deliverance will come:

And many of those who sleep in the dusty earth shall awake, some to everlasting life, others to everlasting reproach and contempt. Then the knowledgeable shall shine like the brightness of the sky; those who justified the many, like the stars, forever and ever.

That is to say, the generation of the persecution, whose wicked members escaped punishment and whose loyal members died without enjoying a reward for their devotion, would be called back to life to receive their just deserts. Traditional theodicy, explaining national distress as the product of sin, was incapable of consoling the pious victims of Antiochus' agents, for this time it was precisely the righteous who died, while apostates flourished. The anguish of the moment was assuaged by the belief that in the coming deliverance the injustice perpetrated on earth would be rectified by a judgment rendered to the deceased, called back to life on earth for the purpose.

Isaiah 26:19 speaks in similar terms and in a context of world judgment: "Your dead shall live, my dead bodies shall arise – awake and sing you who dwell in the earth! – for your dew is as the dew of light, and the earth shall bring to life the shades." Whether this is indeed the later concept of resurrection rather than the earlier, figurative image of restoration is arguable. Critics tend to the first view, dating the passage to Hellenistic times.

Later Jewish exegesis, influenced by the Jewish doctrine of resurrection (see below), read it back into many of the above-cited passages, and others as well. Thus, e.g., the "waking" in which the beatific vision of Psalms 17:15 occurs was explained by Rashi as the resurrection (for the plain sense – a cultic experience – cf. Ps. 27:4; 63:3; and esp. Ex. 24:11). Often enough, however, medieval exegetes give the plain (figurative) sense in addition and prior to the resurrectional one: see Ibn Ezra to Deuteronomy 32:39; David Kimḥi to I Samuel 2:6 and Ezekiel 37:1. Their reserve and sobriety contrasts with M. Dahood's wholesale adoption of the resurrectional interpretation in most of the above-cited Psalm passages, in addition to many others in which "long enduring life" of royal prayers (e.g., Ps. 21:5; cf. the royal prayers in Pritchard, Texts, 383d, 394a, 397c) and the "future" of the righteous (often meaning progeny as in Ps. 109:13) are whimsically and uncritically combined and offered as evidence of an early Israelite belief in resurrection and immortality (M. Dahood fails to distinguish between the two; *Psalms*, 3 (1970), xli–lii).

[Moshe Greenberg]

Rabbinic Period

In the rabbinic period the doctrine of the resurrection of the dead is considered one of the central doctrines of Judaism. The tenth chapter of Mishnah *Sanhedrin* begins, "All of Israel has a portion in the world to come, as it is said (Isa. 60:21) 'And Thy people are all righteous, at the End they shall inherit the land…' and the following have no portion in the world to come: one who says, 'There is no resurrection of the dead….'" George Foot Moore in *Judaism in the First Centuries of the Christian Era* (2 (1950), 323) asserts "It must be further observed that, except on the single article of the revivification of the dead, there was no dogma and no canon of orthodoxy in this whole field [eschatology]." This dogma was one of the important points of dispute between the Sadducees and Pharisees (see Jos., Wars, 2:163; Ant., 18:16; ARN1 5, 14). The rabbis included belief in the resurrection in the canonical liturgy – especially in the second of the 18 benedictions of the *Amidah*.

The doctrine of the resurrection seems to embody two significant areas: (1) the idea of retribution and reward for the Jewish nation as a whole and not merely for individuals; and (2) the idea that body and soul are a single indivisible unit, both essential and equal in the constitution of a human being. These two ideas may have developed, or achieved prominence, at different stages in the development of the doctrine (see below).

As to the first point, in the Israelite worldview the ultimate redemption was always a redemption of the whole people. The prophets predicted a future time when there will be peace, justice, and righteousness in the world. This reward would seem to come, then, only to those living at the time of the redemption. The doctrine of the resurrection of the dead enables righteous souls throughout history to have a share in the world to come (*olam ha-ba*). As Moore points out (*ibid.*, 311–12) the Greek religion was individualistic and needed a doctrine of immortality for the soul, in which the individual was rewarded or punished, but Jewish religion posited a reconstituted nation as the arena of retribution.

The second point is somewhat more sophisticated. A rabbinic parable, however, makes it crystal clear (Sanh. 91a–b):

Antoninus said to Rabbi, "The body and soul could exonerate themselves from judgment. How is this so? The body says, 'The soul sinned, for from the day that it separated from me, lo, I am like a silent stone in the grave!' And the soul says, 'The body is the sinner, for from the day that I separated from it, lo, I fly in the air like a bird.'" He answered him, "I will tell you a parable. To what is the matter likened? To a king of flesh and blood who had a beautiful orchard and there were in it lovely ripe fruit, and he placed two guardians over it, one a cripple and the other blind. Said the cripple to the blind man, 'I see beautiful ripe fruit in the orchard. Come and carry me and we will bring and eat them.' The cripple rode on the back of the blind man and they brought and ate them. After a while the owner of the orchard came and said to them, 'Where is my lovely fruit?' The cripple answered, 'Do I have legs to go?'

Answered the blind man, 'Do I have eyes to see?' What did he do? He placed the cripple on the back of the blind man and judged them as one – so also the Holy Blessed One brings the soul and throws it into the body and judges them as one."

Neither body nor soul alone can sin or be righteous, so only the two together can be judged and punished or rewarded. Again the comparison with the Greek idea, in which the soul is the whole personality and the body merely its house, is instructive.

The idea of resurrection, then, for the rabbis was clearly and literally corporeal. Among the questions concerning resurrection discussed in rabbinic literature are whether or not the resurrected will have the same imperfect bodies as in this life or perfect ones, how the bodies will travel to the Land of Israel from the Diaspora, whether they will be clothed or naked, and the like (TJ, Kil. 9:4, 32c; TJ, Ket. 12:3, 35b; Ket. 111a; Sanh. 90b; Eccl. R. 1:4). In the talmudic period and on into modern times this idea has been taken so seriously and literally that pious Jews are often concerned about the clothes they are buried in, the complete interment of all organs, and being buried in Israel.

However, there is a serious problem in rabbinic literature with regard to the historical, or rather meta-historical, position of the resurrection. Some sources seem to imply that it is the final goal and thus last step in the *eschaton*, identical with the world to come, while other sources seem to refer to a resurrection which precedes the final redemption, the world to come. There even seem to be some sources which place the world to come as a stage before the resurrection. Furthermore, there are contradictions with regard to the question of who is to be resurrected, some sources suggesting clearly that only the righteous will be revived, others, that resurrection is the lot of everyone.

Moore resolves these contradictions by suggesting a process of historical development from one set of ideas about the resurrection and world to come to another, although he warns that the periodization and use of terminology is not always exact and consistent (Moore, *Judaism*, 2 (1946), 378ff.). In an earlier stage the "days of the Messiah," "the world to come," and the "coming future" all refer to the same period – the final stage in the development of history. Thus, the righteous dead (at this stage probably only of Israel) are revived to enjoy the benefits of a golden age in the Land of Israel. He states that rabbinic homilies which assign to the world to come such wordly, albeit exquisite, pleasures as eating the flesh of Leviathan and Behemoth, and cultivating infinitely fertile land clearly belong to this earlier idea (which, indeed, persisted alongside the latter; see references there).

In the second, later, stage of the development of the idea it becomes only a preliminary moment in the *eschaton*.

Now the various terminologies are separated out and assigned to different periods. There are the "Days of the Messiah," the golden age for the Jewish people, but this is now only a preliminary stage. There follows a general resurrection of all souls, which are then brought before the heavenly court. Now comes the period of the world to come, in which the righteous are blessed and sinners in some fashion damned.

Moore further states that in rabbinic literature when the phrase, "the revivification of the dead," is used without any special qualification, it refers to the latter concept, to the resurrection before the "grand assize" (*ibid.*, 380). The additional confusion, by which occasionally the phrase "world to come" refers to a state which completely precedes the resurrection (as in neither of the above systems) is explained by Moore by the fact that occasionally the transition period between death and redemption, which the souls of the righteous spend in heaven and the wicked in hell (cf. *Gehinnom*), is called the world to come. However, this, according to him, is merely a terminological and not an ideological difference (*ibid.*, 391).

Louis Finkelstein (*Mavo le-Massekhtot Avot ve-Avot de-Rabbi Natan*) reconstructs the development of these ideas somewhat differently. In his view, the crucial distinction is precisely in this last point of the "intermediate stage" between death and resurrection. He maintains that from early times there were two schools of thought on this matter. According to one (*ibid.*, xxxii), the soul upon dying goes into Sheol, "the Pit," i.e., grave, and there inactively awaits the resurrection. According to the other school, souls arise to be judged by God immediately after death. In the first view the world to come refers to the resurrection, and in the second it refers to the existence in between death and resurrection. Finkelstein further remarks that the term "world to come" is often used in rabbinic and later Jewish literature in a purposely ambiguous sense so as not to decide between these two opposing views (*ibid.*, XXXV).

Finkelstein maintains that this is an ancient controversy that continued in the controversies between Bet Shammai and Bet Hillel (*ibid.*, 217). Bet Shammai held that the dead souls are either in the grave itself or in a special "treasury" until the redemption, when the righteous are rewarded with resurrection (Moore's "older attitude"), while Bet Hillel held that the souls are immediately punished or rewarded after death in heaven or hell, and at the end of time all are resurrected for a final judgment, a review of the verdict or parole hearing, as it were.

A clear example of the nature of this disagreement (not necessarily between Shammai and Hillel at this point) is shown by comparing two texts (*ibid.*, 220). An early Sabbath prayer (Hertz, *Prayer Book*, p. 28) reads: "There is none of Your value, Lord, our God, in this world, and none beside You in the world to come. Nothing but You, our Redeemer in the days of the Messiah, and none like You for the resurrection of the dead." Clearly according to this text, the world to come is separate from the resurrection and precedes it. However, a passage in *Sifrei Devarim* (ed. by L. Finkelstein (1969^2), 62) reads: " 'In your going he will lead you' refers to this world, and 'in your lying down he will watch over you' refers to the hour of death, and 'in waking up' refers to the days of the Messiah, 'it will make you speak' refers to the world to come." Here clearly "world to come" is after the resurrection.

Medieval Jewish Philosophy

Among the medieval Jewish philosophers there were many differences of opinion with regard to the resurrection. These controversies depend for the most part on the fact that it was not clear, or certainly not explicit, that there had been controversy in the talmudic period. Consequently some thinkers accepted one of the talmudic opinions, and others contested their views, without realizing that they were simply following different sides of an old argument.

Saadiah Gaon (*The Book of Beliefs and Opinions*, 6:7) maintains that the dead souls remain in a treasury until the resurrection, when the righteous are resurrected. This constitutes the world to come. He follows, therefore, Finkelstein's "Shammaite" view or Moore's "earlier" view.

It was Maimonides, however, who made the most controversial statements in the Middle Ages regarding the resurrection. In his commentary on the first Mishnah of *Sanhedrin* 10, he makes the seemingly self-contradictory statement that:

The resurrection is one of the foundations of the religion of our teacher, Moses; there is no religion and no connection with the Jewish nation for whoever does not believe in it, but it is for the righteous… but know that man will definitely die and be separated into that of which he is composed.

Furthermore in the *Mishneh Torah* (Yad, Teshuvah, 8:2) he maintains that, "in the world to come there is no body, rather the souls of the righteous alone without a body like the ministering angels…" It is easy to see how readers of Maimonides became confused as to his true opinion, and indeed his main critic Abraham b. David of Posquières takes him severely to task: "The words of this man seem to us to be close to one who says that there is no resurrection for bodies, but only for souls, and by my life this was not the opinion of our sages on this for behold they said [Ket. 11b] in the future the righteous will arise in their clothes… and so they would command their sons, 'do not bury me in white clothes or not in black'…" (Yad, Teshuvah, 8:2). Maimonides, however, in a later work, *Ma'amar Teḥiyyat ha-Metim*, "The Essay on Resurrection" (ed. with an introduction by J. Finkel, in: PAAJR, 9 (1939), 61–105 and Heb. section), clarified his opinion further, stating that of course there will be a resurrection, but that the resurrection will not be permanent, that it follows upon a period in which the souls of the righteous are rewarded in the world to come, and is followed again by the death of the resurrected and the return of the righteous once more to the world to come, which is their true reward. One of the classic commentators on Maimonides, in the *Leḥem Mishneh*, remarks that Maimonides is consistent in his view in that he holds that the world to come and the resurrection are two distinct entities, and therefore he wrote that in the world to come there is no body, it being the fate of man immediately after death. He goes on to say, "The Ravad (Abraham ben David) his memory be blessed, believes that our teacher (Maimonides) holds that the world to come is identical with the resurrection and therefore attacked him… because he (ben David) holds that the world to come is the world of resurrection…." This perceptive remark makes it quite clear that once again, with some variations, the same controversy that was found in the talmudic period is operative. Modern interpreters of Maimonides (as some of their medieval predecessors) have raised a question concerning his true attitude. Did he, as his words imply, believe literally in the resurrection of the body, or did he, like some Muslim Aristotelians, consider this belief merely a concession to the understanding of the masses, while his true view is that the afterlife consists only of the incorporeal intelligences of those who have acquired theoretical knowledge in this life.

Naḥmanides in *Torat ha-Adam* (at the end of the chapter *Sha'ar ha-Gemul*), discusses Maimonides' view. He contends that, in the opinion of the rabbis, the resurrection is the world to come, but does not deny the existence of the souls of the dead in heaven before the resurrection. He merely maintains, in opposition to Maimonides, that this is not what is meant by "world to come." Moreover, Naḥmanides himself dismisses this difference as merely a matter of terminology and says that the important difference between his view and that of his predecessor is that while Maimonides "decrees death for the Messiah and his generation," Naḥmanides allows them to live forever. However, in answer to Maimonides' contention that there would be no purpose for the body in the world to come, its only functions being mundane, he states that there will be a mysteriously refined body, its functions being mystical and having to do with the fact that the body is a microcosm of the structure of the universe. Naḥmanides, it would seem, if Finkelstein's view is correct, has created a synthesis between the two rabbinic opinions.

Ḥasdai Crescas seems to have been the first medieval philosopher to realize clearly that there was a major difference of opinion among the rabbis of the Talmud. He states, with his characteristic clarity, that there are four questions with regard to the resurrection: "the first, will the resurrection be complete or partial, and if partial, which part? the second, the time of the resurrection? the third… if they will die after their rising or not? the fourth, if there will be in that time the day of judgment, which our sages believe in?" He states, particularly with regard to the second of these questions, that there is controversy among the rabbis themselves, pointing to the view of *Samuel that there is no difference between this world and the days of the Messiah except that Israel will be free. This, he says, necessitates the corollary that the resurrection will take place after the days of the Messiah. He does not hold (or rather does not realize, if Moore or Finkelstein is correct) that the other questions depend to a greater or lesser degree on the answer to this one, and therefore answers them definitely, holding that there will be a resurrection of all but the greatest sinners, that there will be then a court of judgment, and that the righteous will live forever in their refined bodies, in accord with the view of Naḥmanides.

The common denominator of all the views so far discussed, except, perhaps, that of Maimonides, is that they all stress the indivisibility of the body-soul unit for purposes of the accountability of the human personality for its actions, both good and bad. Whether it is understood that all people are resurrected for judgment, body and soul together, or whether only the bodies of the righteous are resurrected to enjoy the redemption, the central stress is the same. The human being is one essence, a unit, not merely a soul housed in a body which itself is of no worth. The parable above of the two guardians of the orchard is perhaps the best possible illustration of this idea.

Modern Period

In the modernistic versions of Judaism, the belief in resurrection was denied in favor of the seemingly more acceptable doctrine of immortality. In the Pittsburgh Platform it was expressly stated that the Reform movement rejects "as ideas not rooted in Judaism the beliefs both in bodily resurrection and *Gehinnom*." This idea was reflected in American Reform prayer books and in the prayer book of the Reconstructionist movement, where the statement affirming resurrection is removed. In the European reform movements, the tendency was to retain the traditional formula contained in the liturgy, but to formulate the translation in such a way that it would mean immortality and not resurrection (see J.J. Petuchowski, *Prayerbook Reform in Europe* (1968), 215ff.).

There has been some sentiment in more traditional circles to retain the belief in resurrection, but rather than taking it literally, to understand it as a symbol affirming that the ultimate salvation of the individual is dependent on God and that what is fulfilled is the entire person – both body and soul – not just the spiritual essence.

[Daniel Boyarin / Seymour Siegel]

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RETHYMNON (Retimo), town in Crete, in the W. central part of the island. Jews of Rethymnon lived in their special quarter during the Venetian rule over Crete (1204–1669). At first some of them possessed shops and portions of land outside their quarter. They had the inferior status of *vilani* and not that of Venetian citizens. They were compelled to pay taxes both as Jews and as *vilani*. They were also required to contribute lump sums to the treasury. After the conquest of the town by the Turks in 1647, the Jews left because of economic reasons. They did not return after this date.

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[Simon Marcus]

RÉTI, RICHARD (1889–1929), Slovak chess master. Born in Pezinok, Réti studied science in Vienna where he won his first tournament in 1910. After World War I he gained first prizes in many tournaments. In matches he drew with Savielly *Tartakover (1919) and defeated the Dutch player Max Euwe (1920). In tournament play he was one of the few to defeat Capablanca. Réti made an impressive contribution to chess. One of the opening systems bears his name; and he is famous as the composer of many end-game studies which combine great theoretical interest with extraordinary elegance. Playing blindfolded, he was the first to achieve simultaneous play on 24 boards. As a theorist he was a pioneer of the modern school and wrote about chess brilliantly. His books include *Die neuen Ideen im Schachspiel* (1922; *Modern Ideas in Chess*, 1923) and *Die Meister des Schachbretts* (1930; *Masters of the Chess-board*, 1932).

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[Gerald Abrahams]

RÉTI, RUDOLF (1885–1957), musical theorist and composer. Reti was born in Uzhitse, Serbia, studied at the Vienna Conservatory, and was later a music critic in Vienna. He was one of the founders of the International Society for Contemporary Music (Salzburg, 1922). After emigrating to the United States in 1938, he wrote *The Thematic Process in Music* (1951) and *Tonality, Atonality, Pantonality* (published posthumously, 1958), two of the century's most important studies in the genesis and processes of musical composition. Reti's own works include the opera *Ivan and the Drum* (so far unperformed), a piano concerto, piano pieces, and songs.

[Max Loppert (2nd ed.)]

REUBEN (Heb. רְאוּבֵן), firstborn son of Jacob and Leah (Gen. 29:32; 46:8), and the eponymous ancestor of the tribe of Reuben. The biblical derivation of the name is not etymological, but was given by Leah because it suggested the verb *ra'ah*, "to see" and the fact that YHWH had seen, i.e., taken note of, Leah's sorrow, and the noun *ben*, "son" (Gen. 9:32; in Ant. I: xix, 8 Josephus gives the name as Reubel). The attribution of primogeniture to Reuben may indicate that, originally Reuben headed the confederation of Israelite *tribes. He is mentioned first in the listing of the twelve (Gen. 46:8–23; Ex. 6:14–16; Num. 1:5–15, 20–42), and he enjoys a prominent position in the traditions of Israelite history prior to the conquest of Canaan in connection with the sale of Joseph (Gen. 37:21–22, 29–30; 42:22, 37) and rebellion against the leadership of Moses (Num. 16). The change that took place in the standing of the tribe is attributed to a sin of its ancestor; see Genesis 49:3–4;; and Genesis 35:21–22 for the incident to which they allude. In Genesis 49:3–4, Jacob rebukes Reuben for "mounting his (Jacob's) couch," by sleeping with Bilhah, Jacob's concubine, and curses him with the words *paḥaz ka-mayim al totar,* conventionally translated "unstable as water may you not be pre-eminent." This is interpreted by I Chronicles 5:1 to mean that Reuben lost his pre-eminent status as the first born. During the period of conquest and occupation, the tribe of Reuben lost the hegemony to the tribe of Joseph, which grew so that it split into the two tribes of Ephraim and Manasseh, and it was Joshua from the tribe of Ephraim who led the conquest of the land; while in the period of the monarchy, it was the tribe of

Judah that was of prime importance. At one time the tribe of Reuben must have been in danger of extinction, since Deuteronomy 33 has only one short verse on it, and that, a prayer for its survival (Deut. 33:6). A further indication of Reuben's troubles is provided by the more likely construal: *paḥaz, kamayim al totar*, to be translated, "wanton, like water nothing shall be left over of you" (for the thought, cf. II Sam. 14:14). It is probably no accident that no judges came from the tribe of Reuben, and still less that it is not mentioned in the *Mesha inscription though Gad is. The tribe, like that of *Simeon, remained semi-nomadic, subsisting principally from sheep-raising (Num. 32:1). Deborah reprimanded Reuben for not taking part in the war against Jabin and Sisera, choosing rather to "tarry among the sheepfolds, to hear the piping for the flocks" (Judg. 5:15–16).

In the early monarchy period, Reubenites still ranged far and wide with their sheep, fighting desert tribes as they wandered through the border regions of Transjordan (I Chron. 5:9–10, 18–22). At the same time, however, the Reubenites established family ties with these very tribes. Enoch, the son of Reuben (Gen. 46:9; Num. 26:5), is also connected with the tribe of Midian (Gen. 25:4). Reuben's genealogies (Gen. 46:9; Num. 26:5–9; I Chron. 5:1–8) indicate that the tribe had family ties with other Israelite tribes.

According to biblical tradition, Reuben, Gad, and half the tribe of Manasseh settled east of the Jordan during the first stages of the conquest, in the time of Moses (Num. 32). When the tribes of Gad and Reuben noted that "the lands of Jazer and Gilead were a region suitable for cattle" they asked Moses and the tribes of Israel for permission to settle there. Moses agreed to their request on condition that they constitute Israel's vanguard in capturing western Palestine (Num. 32: Josh. 1:12–18). Only after Gad and Reuben had kept their agreement and fought alongside Joshua west of the Jordan were they given permission to return east (Josh. 22). The tribes of Gad, Reuben, and half of Manasseh built an altar near the Jordan on that occasion as eternal proof that the tribes of the east bank were an integral part of Israel (verse 27). (See Map: Tribe of Reuben).

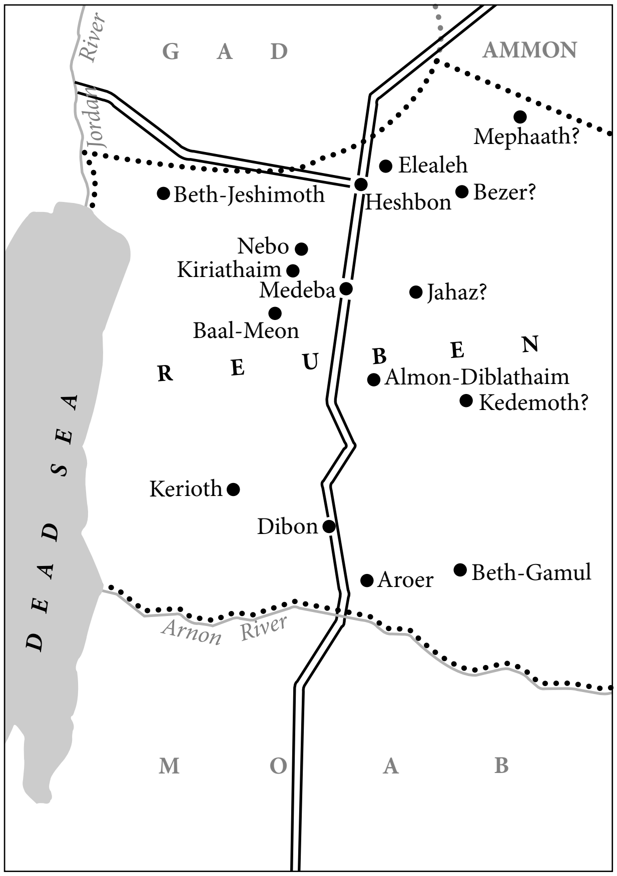

Territory of the tribe of Reuben.

According to some scholars, the Reubenites at first settled in western Palestine in an area bordering on Benjamin in the north and Judah in the south, only at a later stage forcing their way to the east of the Jordan. Among the evidence for this is cited the "Stone of Bohan the son of Reuben" (Josh. 15:6; 18:17) which these scholars identify as a point on the boundary between Judah and Benjamin; Migdal-Eder, where Reuben is said to have slept with his father's concubine Bilhah (Gen. 35:21–22), is located in the vicinity of Jerusalem (Micah 4:8); in Ezekiel 48:6–7, Reuben's frontier territory is described as lying north of Judah; the Song of Deborah does not state explicitly that Reuben dwells on the other side of the Jordan, but the mention of the "tribes" *mishpetayim* (Judg. 5:16) and the allusion to the tribe's pastoral habits point in that direction, and there is no decisive proof that Reuben's first settlement was originally west of the Jordan. It is conceivable that the tribe first settled in the plain north of Moab, as biblical tradition has it, and then later, Reubenite families crossed the Jordan westward settling in the area between Benjamin and Judah.

According to Numbers 32, Reuben's settlement extended south of Gilead, in the tableland, and was interspersed with Gadite settlements. Reuben's cities, Heshbon, Elealeh, Kiriathaim, Nebo, and Baal-meon, were surrounded by the territory of Gad which ran from Aroer near Arnon in the south, to Jogbehah near the border with Ammon in the north (Num. 32:34–38). According to Joshua 13, Reuben's settlement covered the entire tableland, from Aroer near the Arnon Valley to the wadi of Heshbon in the north, to the southern edge of the Gilead, while the tribe of Gad settled from the wadi of Heshbon northward (cf. I Chron. 5:8–9). The following are listed among those levitical cities situated in Reuben's area: Mephaath, Bezer, Jahaz, and Kedemoth (I Chron. 6:63–64, 78–79). These four cities are located at the eastern end of the plain, bordering on the desert. The southernmost of them, Kedemoth, is situated north of the uppermost tributary of the Arnon. The northernmost, Mephaath, is close to the border with Ammon. Since the area of Reuben's settlement given in Numbers 32 is smaller than that given in Joshua 13, it is possible that the information in Numbers 32 reflects a later stage in the history of the tribe when it became weak and was gradually absorbed by the tribe of Gad. It would seem, however, that it nevertheless retained its tribal identity until Transjordan was annexed by Tiglath-Pileser of Assyria in 733–732 B.C.E. to be sure the description of Transjordan in II Kings 10:33, in connection with events in the ninth century B.C.E., and in I Chronicles 5:26, in connection with events in the eighth century, as "the land of the Gadites, the Reubenites, and the Manassites" may be formulaic, but the notice in I Chronicles 5:6 about the identity of the chieftain of the tribe at the time of Tiglath-Pileser's conquest of Transjordan and the exiling of its inhabitants seems authentic. In 733–732 B.C.E., thus, Tiglath-Pileser of Assyria exiled Beera, a Reubenite prince, along with his tribe, and Gad and half of Manasseh, to Mesopotamia (I Chron. 5:6, 26).

[Bustanay Oded]

In the Aggadah

Reuben is contrasted with Esau in order to demonstrate his virtue. Whereas Esau looted and plundered the property of others, Reuben demonstrated that he would only touch that which was ownerless when he went to pick mandrakes (Gen. 30:14; Gen. R. 98:4). In fact Leah indicated this distinction when she called him Reuben, i.e., "*re'u bein*" (lit. "mark [the difference] between") Esau, who sold his birthright and hated his brother (Gen. 27:41), and Reuben who lost his birthright to Joseph, but nevertheless saved him from death (*ibid.*, 37:21; Ber. 7b). The sin of "going up to his father's bed" (Gen. 49:4 and I Chron. 5:1) is minimized as much as possible and he is specifically exonerated from any charge of incest (Shab. 55b). After the death of Rachel, Jacob had allotted the now vacant place of honor in his private quarters to the bed of Rachel's handmaid, Bilhah, and the verse is explained to mean that Reuben saw this as a slight upon the honor of his mother (Leah), and his sin consisted in removing Bilhah's bed (Gen. R. 98:4). Moreover, the extent of his subsequent repentance is commended, and was rewarded by the fact that one of his descendants, Hosea, was the first prophet to exhort Israel to "return unto the Lord thy God" (Hos. 14:2; Gen. R. 84:19). The sincerity of his repentance also earned him a place in the world to come (Sot. 7b), and by the fact that he is nevertheless specifically referred to in both Genesis 49:3 and I Chronicles 5:1 as the "firstborn" (Gen. R. 82:11). It was his prolonged acts of penance which explains his absence at the time of the sale of Joseph (Pal. Targ. Gen. 37:29). According to another source, he was ministering to his father at the time (Gen. R. 84:4). His attempt to save Joseph found divine recognition in the fact that the first of the cities of refuge mentioned in Deuteronomy 4:43, was situated in the territory of his descendants (Gen. R. 84:15). He was, in fact, appointed the head of the children of Israel in Egypt, after Jacob's death (Num. R. 13:8). He died at the age of 125 (Yalk. Ex. 162).

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REUBEN BEN ḤAYYIM (d. before 1276), Provencal talmudist. Reuben studied under Isaac ha-Kohen, a disciple of *Abraham b. David of Posquieres. Few biographical details are known of him. Both he and his brother Abraham composed *piyyutim*. Among his prominent pupils were *Manoah of Narbonne and Menahem b. Solomon *Meiri. The latter praises his teacher at great length both on account of his comprehensive knowledge of the Talmud and his general culture (Introd. to *Beit ha-Beḥirah to Avot* ed. by B.Z. Prag (1964), 56). Reuben was the author of *Sefer ha-Tamid*, a philosophical commentary on the liturgy, which seems also to have contained laws concerning the prayers together with a commentary.

A fragment of the commentary was published in the collection *Oẓar ha-Ḥayyim*, 11 (1935). *Aaron b. Jacob ha-Kohen of Lunel utilized the work in his *Orḥot Ḥayyim* and it is evident that *Abudarham also used it. But apart from these it was not widely used nor were copies of it available. It was used as late as the 18th century by Judah b. Meir Toledano, a Moroccan scholar. Azariah dei Rossi (*Me'or Einayim*, section "*Yemei Olam*," ch. 40) mentions a commentary on the *aggadot* of the Talmud by Reuben. According to Geiger, *Levi b. Abraham b. Ḥayyim was a nephew of Reuben.

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[Israel Moses Ta-Shma]

REUBEN BEN STROBILUS (mid-second century C.E.), *tanna*. Little is recorded of Reuben's scholarly activities. He is best known for his visit to Rome in an attempt to persuade the authorities to rescind certain decrees against the Jews. Disguising his Jewish identity by cutting his hair in the Roman fashion, he suggested to the Romans that if the Jews were allowed to refrain from working on the Sabbath, they would be impoverished; if they were authorized to practice circumcision, they would become enfeebled; and that if they were permitted to observe the laws of family purity, they would decrease in number. The authorities initially were persuaded by his reasoning and repealed the decrees, but they reinstated them when they discovered that he was a Jew (Me'il. 17a). Reuben is quoted as engaging in a dispute with a heathen philosopher in Tiberias, in which he claimed that the most despicable man on earth is he who denies his Creator, and that disregard of the moral laws of the Decalogue constitutes a denial of their author (Tosef. Shev. 3:6). He also taught that, "Suspicion does not come upon a person unless he has done the thing suspected; if he has not done it wholly, he has done it partly; if he has not done it partly, he had the intention of doing it; if he had no such intention, he has seen others doing it and enjoyed the sight of it" (MK 18b). He had two sons, who studied under *Judah ha-Nasi (TJ, Kil. 9:3). It is possible that one of them was Abtolumus b. Reuben, who mingled freely in Roman society.

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REUBEN HOESHKE BEN HOESHKE (Joshua) KATZ (d. 1673), rabbi and kabbalist. Reuben lived in Prague and was the grandson of the famous preacher R. *Ephraim Solomon of Luntshits. He wrote a comprehensive compilation of Midrashim, mostly based on kabbalistic literature, in four parts, two of which have been published: (1) *Yalkut Re'uveni* (Prague, 1660), a collection mostly of kabbalistic legends, arranged in alphabetical order. It is also called *Ha-Kaẓar* ("The Brief") or *Ha-Katan* ("The Small"), to differentiate it from his second book of the same name; (2) *Yalkut Re'uveni* (Wilmersdorf, 1681), also called *Ha-Gadol* ("The Great"). This work is based on the weekly portions of the Pentateuch (the author's project of writing on the Five Scrolls was not executed). *Yalkut Re'uveni* is an important collection of the kabbalistic lore, similar to the 13th-century anthology of midrashic lore, *Yalkut Shimoni. Its importance lay in the use of kabbalistic texts and manuscripts composed during the preceding 500 years, many of which have been lost and others such as *Sodei Rezayya* by *Eliezer of Worms, and the Parma manuscript of Sefer *Ḥasidim* have only recently been rediscovered and published. He lists the works which he used in rhymed verse in the introduction to his book. Additional importance lies in his wide use of the teaching of the *Ḥasidei Ashkenaz, and his conception of it as an organic part of the doctrine of the Kabbalah. The practical purpose of this anthology was to present to the public and to the preachers literary material not in their possession in an organized and accessible manner. He wrote two additional works of a definitely kabbalistic nature: (3) *Oneg Shabbat* (Sulzbach, 1684), a short compilation of Sabbath laws with mystical intentions and kabbalistic sayings; and (4) *Davar she-bi-Kedushah* (*ibid.*, (1684)), a lengthy treatment in a kabbalistic manner of the matters of sin mentioned in "the confession" (Heb. *viddui*). The popularity of this work is attested to by its numerous editions in print.

[Moshe Hallamish]

°**REUCHLIN, JOHANNES (Capnio**, or **Phorcensis**; 1455–1522), German and Hebraist; one of the architects of the Christian *Kabbalah and famous as the defender of the Talmud and Jewish scholarship against the attacks of Johannes *Pfefferkorn and the "obscurantists." Born in Pforzheim, Baden, Reuchlin served Duke Eberhard of Wuerttemberg and Elector Philip of the Palatinate, was ennobled by Emperor Frederick III in 1492, and later served as a member of the Swabian League's supreme court (1502–13). One of the leading Greek scholars of his day, Reuchlin first tried to study Hebrew in Paris (1473) and is said to have learned the Hebrew alphabet from a Jew named Calman in 1486. Another of his early teachers is thought to have been the convert Flavius *Mithridates.

After a visit to the famous library of J. *Trithemius at Sponheim (1496), Reuchlin turned his attention to Hebrew linguistics, publishing *De rudimentis Hebraicis* (Pforzheim, 1506), comprising a lexicon and a students' guide to Hebrew grammar (based mainly on the work of David Kimḥi), which was oddly printed from right to left. Although Reuchlin's younger colleague, Conrad *Pellicanus, had published a brief, crude Hebrew grammar in 1504, the *Rudimenta* was in fact the real pioneering work of its kind by a Christian scholar. However, Reuchlin's *De accentibus et orthographia linguae hebraicae* (Haguenau, 1518) showed many improvements. Apart from various works of general humanistic scholarship, Reuchlin also published an annotated Hebrew text and Latin translation of seven penitential Psalms (Tuebingen, 1512), and a Latin version of Jehoseph *Ezobi's *Ka'arat Kesef* (*ibid.*, 1512). Reuchlin's last public appointments were to the chairs of Greek and Hebrew at the University of Ingolstadt (1520–21) and of Hebrew at Tuebingen (1521–22). His lectures drew vast numbers of students and his pupils included the Hebraists Johann *Forster, Sebastian *Muenster, and Philipp *Melanchthon.

"Battle of the Books"

Reuchlin's attitude toward the Jews was, at first at least, far more ambiguous than it was toward Jewish scholarship. Despite his friendship with his Jewish teachers and a few other Jews, he initially shared the prejudices of his age and social class. Thus, while (in the prefatory dedication to his *Rudimenta*) he expressed his fear that the expulsion of Jews from Spain (1492) and other lands might adversely affect Hebrew studies, he showed little sympathy for the unfortunate Jews themselves who – until their conversion – remained in "the devil's captivity." This approach also characterized his *Tuetsch Missive warumb die Juden so lang im Ellend sind* (Pforzheim, 1505). Unlike Erasmus, however, Reuchlin had no strong personal bias against the Jews.

When, early in 1510, Reuchlin was visited by the apostate ex-butcher Johannes Pfefferkorn and was asked to assist in the confiscation and destruction of Hebrew books, he demurred, only to be drawn unwillingly into the affair by the imperial decree setting up a commission to deal with the problem. Although he felt a greater sense of outrage over the suppression of kabbalistic literature, Reuchlin refused to condemn the Talmud and, unlike most of his contemporaries, he would not agree to damn what he himself did not thoroughly know and understand. His reaction was characteristic: "The Talmud was not composed for every blackguard to trample with unwashed feet and then to say that he knew all of it." Only frankly anti-Christian works such as the **Toledot Yeshu* were, in Reuchlin's opinion, liable to condemnation. Pfefferkorn and his backers, notably Jacob *Hoogstraaten and the Cologne Dominicans, accepted the challenge and, during the next decade, the "Battle of the Books" intermittently raged throughout Germany and in scholarly Christian circles further afield. Pfefferkorn's abusive and slanderous *Handspiegel wider und gegen die Juden* (1511) was answered by Reuchlin's *Augenspiegel*; *Wahrhafftige Entschuldigung gegen und wider ains getaufften Juden genant*

Pfefferkorn … unwahrhaftigs Schmachbuechlin (Tuebingen, 1511) and supplemented by *Ain clare verstentnus in tuetsch uff Doctor Johannsen Reuechlins Ratschlag von den Judenbuechern (ibid.*, 1512). When Hoogstraaten leveled a charge of heresy against the *Augenspiegel* and its author, Reuchlin appealed to Pope Leo X and, in a famous letter, sought the good offices of the papal physician, Bonet de *Lattes, a professing Jew, in terms reminiscent of the Book of Esther (1513). It may well be as a result of this appeal that Reuchlin stood trial not before Hoogstraaten at Cologne but before the bishop of Speyer, who acquitted him in 1514. This particular episode was more in the tradition of the Italian than of the German Renaissance.

Leo X called a temporary halt to the conflict in 1516, but the battle was resumed when Reuchlin's publication of the *Clarorum virorum Epistolae Latinae, Graecae, et Hebraicae … ad J. Reuchlin (ibid.*, 1514), which contained a list of eminent German scholars who supported him, brought a curious response. An apparent rejoinder appeared, entitled *Epistolae obscurorum virorum* (1515, 1517^{4}), the total effect of which was to ridicule Reuchlin's opponents, the "obscurantists" (*Dunkelmaenner*), and bring their cause into utter disrepute. The first edition of this celebrated satire was mainly the work of Crotus Rubianus, and the two editions brought out in 1517 largely showed the hand of another of Reuchlin's allies, Ulrich von Hutten. One of the most advanced claims made by Reuchlin in the course of this battle was that the Jews be accorded proper treatment as "members of the Empire and imperial burghers." So far as the Jews themselves were concerned, victory had been achieved when Hebrew books were saved from the flames; but for the humanist intelligentsia the fight was not yet at an end. Pietro Columna *Galatinus published his *De arcanis catholicae veritatis* (Ortona, 1518) ostensibly as an anti-Jewish polemic, but its printer was Gershom *Soncino and it was, to a far greater extent, a Christian kabbalist's protest on Reuchlin's behalf. The latter's *De arte Cabalistica* (Haguenau, 1517) ended with a letter to Leo X regarding the *Augenspiegel* and this provoked Hoogstraaten's reply, *Destructio Cabale* … (Cologne, 1519), which in turn drew an answer from Paulus *Ricius. Reuchlin's own final contribution to the "Battle of the Books" was his *Dialogus an Judaeorum libri Thalmud sint potius supprimendi quam tenendi* … (Cologne, 1519).

Reuchlin's militant supporter, Franz von Sickingen, secured the deposition of Hoogstraaten and the silencing of the Dominicans in 1520, but in the same year Leo X, appalled by the gathering storm of the Reformation, decided the case against Reuchlin, all of whose works were subsequently placed on the Index. This was the supreme irony for, throughout the controversy, which had set Franciscans against Dominicans, Austria against France, and most of the humanists against the erudite reactionaries, Reuchlin had remained a loyal Catholic; and the *Reformation which the "Battle of the Books" had hastened, and in which Reuchlin's own nephew, Melanchthon, was to play a prominent part, evoked only bitterness and hostility from the weary, but unvanquished, Hebraist of Pforzheim.

[Godfrey Edmond Silverman]

Reuchlin and the Kabbalah

Reuchlin's interest in the *Kabbalah was aroused by Pico della *Mirandola, whom he met in Italy in 1490, and by Jacob b. Jehiel Loans (d. 1506), the Jewish court physician of Frederick III who taught Reuchlin Hebrew. He sensed the affinity between the neoplatonic elements in kabbalistic teaching and the basic conceptions of the great German platonic philosopher, Nicholas of Cusa (Cusanus), whom he deeply admired. His attraction to Kabbalah remained constant throughout his life and was most probably the positive driving power behind his defense of Jewish literature. Like Pico, he expected to find in the Kabbalah a kind of esoteric Christianity, although in an as yet undeveloped state. In 1494 he published in Basle *De verbo mirifico* ("The miracle-working word"), the first book in Latin devoted to the subject of the Kabbalah. It consists of three conversations between the author (Capnion), an epicurean philosopher (Sidonius), and a Jew (Baruchias). Their common ground is the conviction that all religions express, albeit in different symbols and at various stages of perfection or distortion, the same original revelation of truth. Presenting a highly garbled and largely unauthentic version of Kabbalah (reflecting Reuchlin's very rudimentary knowledge of the subject at the time), Baruchias praises it as against epicurean philosophy. Reuchlin, who, as it were, stands above the parties, presents the Christian point of view in theosophic garb. The conversations still have a strong anti-Jewish bias. Capnion reveals to his Jewish protagonist the true mystery of the word which works miracles, the true Name of God, which is nothing but the unfolded Name of God, as against the Tetragrammaton YHWH, which is said to represent the Name of God in the period of the dominion of the Law of Moses: the miraculous name in the period of the Messiah consists of the five letters YHSWH, representing, according to Reuchlin, the name of Jesus. This innovation was his main contribution to the development of a Christian Kabbalah. The emphasis in the kabbalistic chapters of the book is on the Names of God and their magical implications, seen as some kind of preparation for Christianity.

Twenty years later, Reuchlin returned to the subject. He had in the meanwhile studied some kabbalistic manuscripts, especially Gikatilla's *Ginnat Egoz* and *Sha'arei Orah* (the latter in a Latin translation by Paulus Ricius, published 1516) and a codex of kabbalistic collectanea which indeed contained much valuable information concerning kabbalistic doctrine. In his new work, *De arte Cabalistica* (Haguenau, 1517, Basle, 1550^{3}), which he dedicated to Pope Leo X, he again developed his theme in conversations between Simon, the Jewish kabbalist, the Muslim, Marannus, and Philolaus, who represents Pythagorean and mystical philosophy. Unlike in his former book, Reuchlin here identifies himself more or less with the Jewish kabbalist and explicitly underlines the affinity of some central kabbalistic teaching on God with that of Nicholas of Cusa. The first and third books of the work discuss the Kabbalah at considerable length and with a fair amount of objectivity and sympathy, while the second book contains a long dialogue on Pythagoras' philosophy. Citing many passages from his sources (most of which are found in Ms. Halberstam 444 in the Jewish Theological Seminary, New York), Reuchlin lays equal stress on the theosophic school of Kabbalah as on Abulafia's and Gikatilla's teachings on the Holy Names and their permutations and combinations, although he dissociates himself from the magical misuse of such speculations. Christology no longer plays a part in these expositions and appears, if at all, in marginal comments. The quiet and dignified tone and the wealth of new information assured wide interest in the book and made it a classic of the "Christian Kabbalah." In his polemical *Destructio Cabale* … (Cologne, 1519), Jacob Hoogstraaten denounced the "kabbalistical perfidy" propagated by Reuchlin, but because of his ignorance of the subject he failed to undermine the considerable influence of Reuchlin's kabbalistic studies.

[Gershom Scholem]

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°**REUSS, EDUARD** (1804–1891), Protestant Bible scholar. Reuss was professor in the University of Strasbourg, his native city, from 1834. According to his own account, as early as the summer semester of 1834 Reuss defended in his lectures the thesis that the Books of the Prophets antedate those of the Law, and the Psalms postdate both. In his search for a "…psychologically understandable process of development of the Israelite people…" he used the legal element in the Bible as an "Ariadne's thread," and discovered that the early history of Israel did not presuppose the levitical cult, and that in the case of many psalms there is no question of Davidic or Solomonic authorship. Initially, Reuss did not dare to publish in a systematic form these, at first rather intuitive, ideas, which were similar to those of W.W. de Wette (*Beitraege zur Einleitung in das Alte Testament*, 1806/07) and W. Vatke (*Die biblische Theologie*, 1, 1935); rather he hinted at them in various articles that he wrote for lexicons and in book reviews. Only after his disciple and friend K.H. Graf defended them in his *Die geschichtlichen Buecher des Alten Testaments* (1866) did he himself make them known, first in his large biblical work *La Bible, traduction nouvelle avec introductions et commentaires* (16 vols., 1874–81), and then in the *Geschichte der heiligen Schriften des Alten Testaments* (1881, 1890^2), in which he deals with biblical literature in the framework of the history of ancient Israel. Following F.C. Baur, but at the same time correcting him, Reuss also placed the early Christian sources in their historical context (*Die Geschichte der heiligen Schriften des Neuen Testaments*, 1842, 1887^6; *Historie de la théologie chrétienne au siècle apostolique*, 1852).

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[Rudolf Smend]

REUTER, PAUL JULIUS, FREIHERR VON (1816–1899), originally **Israel Beer Josaphat** (also called **Josephsthal**), German banker, bookseller, news entrepreneur and founder of the Reuters Ltd. news agency. Born in Kassel, Germany, as the third son of the Provisional Rabbi Samuel Levi Josaphat (died 1829), the 13-year-old Israel Beer was sent to his uncle in Goettingen where he was trained in a local banking house. At Goettingen University, he made the acquaintance of the famous mathematician and astronomer Carl Friedrich Gauss (1777–1855), who was experimenting in electrotelegraphy. In 1845, after having settled in Berlin, he converted to Protestantism, assumed the name Paul Julius Reuter, and married Ida, the daughter of Friedrich Martin Freiherr von Magnus (1796–1869), a Berlin banker. In 1847, together with Joseph Stargardt (1822–1885), he took over a bookshop and publishing business, "Stargard & Reuter," in Berlin, assisted by his father-in-law's capital. After being charged with spreading "democratic" pamphlets in 1848, he managed to escape to Paris. There, as a successor to Bernhard *Wolff, Reuter first worked as a translator for the established French news agency "Agence Havas," founded by Charles-Louis Havas in 1835 (since 1944 "Agence France-Press," AFP). Noting the demand for political news, Reuter embarked upon a career of news gathering on his own. In 1849, together with his colleague Sigmund Englaender (died 1902), who had fled from Vienna in October 1848, he started a lithographed "Correspondence," directed at the provincial papers of Germany, but tightened political censorship under Louis Napoléon Bonaparte soon brought this to an end. When Europe's first commercial telegraph line, the Prussian State Telegraph Berlin-Aachen, was opened on October 1, 1849, Reuter returned to Germany and established his own telegraphic agency in Aachen (later also in Brussels, Verviers, and Quiévrain), first supplying local clients with financial news from the Prussian capital, but soon expanding. In spring 1850, when the French opened a line from Brussels to Paris, Reuter bridged the gap of about 95 miles between Aachen and Brussels by a regular pigeon post service until 1851.

In June 1851, when the Dover-Calais cable was laid, Reuter moved to London on the advice of Werner Siemens (1816–1892) and, together with S. Englaender, opened his "Telegraphic Office," later to be called "Continental Telegraph," "Mr. Reuter's Office" and, from 1865, "Reuter's Telegram Company Ltd." (RTC). At first limited to the dispatch of commercial telegrams, Reuter's agency soon added news, serving clients and newspapers on the Continent, the provincial press, and by 1858 the London daily newspapers, including the *Times*. In 1869, three years after the laying of the first transatlantic cable, Reuter laid his own undersea cable connecting Brest and Duxbury, Massachusetts. By the 1870s, Reuters Ltd. had established itself as the leading international news agency, extending its services from Europe to North and South America, to the coastal regions of Africa, to the Far East, including China and the East Indies, as well as to Australia. From 1870 till 1934, secret "news cartel" agreements with the competing "Agence Havas" in Paris and Bernhard Wolff's "WTB" in Berlin (from 1893 also with the Associated Press in Illinois) secured "reserved areas" of gathering and spreading news, leaving the entire British Empire to Reuters. In 1871, Reuter who had become a British citizen in 1857, was raised to a German baronage (*Freiherrnstand*) by Ernst II, the Duke of Saxony-Coburg-Gotha, which was later recognized by Queen Victoria. During the 1870s, Reuter's son HERBERT VON REUTER (1852–1915) gradually took over Reuters Ltd., succeeding the father upon his retirement in 1878. The family's association with the news agency ended with Herbert's suicide in 1915. Reuter's grandson, BARON OLIVER DE REUTER (1894–1968), an art collector and genealogist, was the family's last offspring.

After 1915, Reuters Ltd. was transformed into a private company, in 1941 into the Reuters Trust, with independent trustees, and in 1984 into a public company. In 1923 Reuters pioneered the use of radio to transmit news internationally, in 1962 for the first time via satellite, and in the early 21st century controlled the world's largest satellite and cable network.

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[Irving Rosenthal / Johannes Valentin Schwarz (2nd ed.)]

REUTLINGEN, city in Wuerttemberg, Germany. Jews are first mentioned in Reutlingen in a declaration of Feb. 10, 1331, in which Ulrich III of Wuerttemberg waived his right to the pledges in his possession. In 1339 there is a record of Jews from Hagenau and Hessenberg settling in the town, where a major source of their livelihood was pawnbroking; a source dated 1334 notes a loan made by a Jew to a monastery. Jews owned houses in the town, and Jews from outside the town were permitted to own property and to conduct business there. A synagogue housed in a stone building dates from this period. In 1338 the mayor, Albrecht der Rote, successfully protected the Jews during the *Armleder uprisings. However, on Dec. 8, 1348, many Jews suffered martyrdom during the *Black Death persecutions. Apparently some Jews survived, as is evident from documents dated April 20, 1349, in which Emperor *Charles IV pardoned the crimes perpetrated against the Jews and distributed the properties of the victims among the rulers of the regions where they had lived at the time of the massacres. The municipal registers of Wuerttemberg mention Jews in Reutlingen in 1371. After they had received authorization to return to the town, they rebuilt their houses and reestablished their institutions. Reutlingen Jews are commemorated in several **Memorbuecher*.

At the close of the 19th century there were 45 Jews in the town. At the beginning of the 20th century, their numbers had increased to about 100, but by 1933 they had again declined to 50, while in the official census of 1939 only six Jews were recorded in Wuerttemberg. In 1942 the last Jews were deported to *Theresienstadt and to *Riga; none returned. After World War II a monument was set up in the city cemetery in memory of the Jews who perished during the Holocaust.

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[B. Mordechai Ansbacher]

REUVENI, AHARON (1886–1971), Hebrew writer; brother of Izhak *Ben-Zvi, second president of the State of Israel. Born in Poltava, Ukraine, Reuveni went to the U.S. in 1904, returned to Poland in 1906, was exiled to Siberia in 1908, escaped the following year, and reached Palestine in 1910. Active in public affairs, Reuveni published in a wide variety of fields: articles for the press, poems, novels, essays on Hebrew and general literature, studies on social and biblical subjects, and research in early history of the Jewish people and Ereẓ Israel.

Collections of his works include *Sippurim* (3 vols., 1928, 1951, 1954), a collection of his short stories, among the first to describe the period of the Second Aliyah; *Kol Sippurei A. Re'uveni* (1967); and *Shirim* (1965), a collection of his poems. Reuveni's novels are a trilogy on Jerusalem during World War I, *Bereshit ha-Mevukhah; Ha-Oniyyot ha-Aḥaronot*; and *Shammot* (first published in the 1920s and again in 1954 as a single book, *Ad Yerushalayim*); *Iẓẓavon* (1930); and *Gilgul Neshamot* (1966). Among his studies of the ancient world and the Bible are *Shem, Ḥam ve-Yafet (1932), Kadmut ha-Ivrim* (1962), and *David ha-Melekh* (1965). Reuveni's *Ir Yerushalayim* was published in 1987, preceded by *Yalkut Sippurim*, a collection of stories edited (with an introduction) by H. Bar-Yosef (1980). A. Pilovski edited Reuveni's Yiddish stories in *Gezamelte Derzeylungen* (1991). Reuveni translated many works from English and French.

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[Getzel Kressel]

REUVENI, DAVID (d. 1538?), adventurer who aroused messianic hopes in the first half of the 16th century. The main sources of information about his life are his "diary," written in Hebrew, and contemporaries' letters. Yet the "diary" accounts of his travels in the East prior to his appearance in Europe seem mainly fictitious, based on myths prevalent at the time. His true name and identity are unknown. He claimed to be the son of a King Solomon and brother of a King Joseph who ruled the lost tribes of Reuben, Gad, and half Manasseh in the desert of Habor: hence his name "Reuveni." At other times, however, he claimed descent from the tribe of Judah and even compiled a pedigree tracing his ancestry back to King David. Although scholars disagree about his origins, there is some evidence that he was of Sephardi origin and lived in Israel and hence had good knowledge of the land, and especially the holy places. It also seems that he was connected to the sages of the Jerusalem Yeshivah, particularly the famous rabbi and kaballist Avraham ben Eliezer Halevi.

His first historically recorded appearance was in Venice in autumn 1523. According to contemporary accounts, he appeared to be aged about 40. He claimed to be commander in chief of his brother's army and requested the Jews of Venice to aid him on an important mission to the pope. Although most of the Jews doubted his story, he found support among certain notables including the artist Moses da *Castelazzo. In February 1524 he arrived in Rome, riding on a white horse, and was received by the humanist Cardinal *Egidio da Viterbo, whose support strengthened Reuveni's position with Rome's Jews and it seems they were ordered to attend to his needs. Shortly afterward he was received by Pope Clement *VII to whom he proposed a treaty between his state and the Christian world against the Muslims.

According to his diary, he requested the pope to give him letters to the Holy Roman emperor Charles V and to Francis I of France, recommending them to extend him their help, mainly in the form of armaments. He also asked for a letter to the mythical "Prester John" in Ethiopia. Yet it seems that his real purpose was to get to Portugal, for to which he indeed received a letter of recommendation, so that the description in his diary is only a cover-up, written after the failure of his mission in Portugal. In Rome Reuveni found support in some enlightened Jewish circles, including the bankers Daniel and Vitale da Pisa and Benvenida Abravanel, wife of Samuel *Abravanel, who sent him money and a silk banner embroidered with the Ten Commandments. This and the other banners he carried created a theatrical impression wherever he traveled.

In 1525 Reuveni was in Portugal where the king, John III, received him as an official ambassador. He was immediately acclaimed by some of the *Marranos, who flocked to see him and kiss his hands, convinced that he heralded the coming messiah. To the representative of the sultan of Fez he openly said that the time had come for the Jews to take Jerusalem and Ereẓ Israel from the hand of the Ishmaelites. Reuveni also established contact with the Jews of North Africa and sent them letters of encouragement. However, while his prestige as a harbinger of redemption grew among the Crypto-Jews, his reputation with the nobility and officials gradually declined. The unrest he caused aroused serious suspicions at court and Reuveni was summoned to the king, who accused him of coming to suborn the Marranos to revert to Judaism. When Diego Pires (Solomon *Molcho) declared himself a Jew, Reuveni was ordered to leave Portugal. He left amid the grief of the Marranos, but he encouraged them by saying that he had come on that occasion only to inform them that redemption was near. He was arrested off the Spanish coast and imprisoned until, as he says, he was released on the instructions of the emperor Charles V. Here the "diary" breaks off but additional facts are known. A short while afterward he was shipwrecked off the coast of Provence, imprisoned for two years by the lord of Claremont, and released at the request of the king of France on the payment of ransom by the Jewish communities of Avignon and Carpentras. In November 1530 he was back in Venice, after having visited various places in Italy. He tried to have consultations with the city governors and attempted to bring his plans to the attention of the emperor. At the suggestion of Frederick, marquis of Mantua, he traveled to that city. However, Frederick was informed by some of Reuveni's enemies among the Jews that he had forged several letters – to himself, to the pope, to Charles, and to the Jews from his brother King Joseph – to replace the documents which he claimed had been lost during his travels. The marquis now warned the pope and Charles V against Reuveni and when he and Molcho appeared before the emperor in the summer of 1532 they were imprisoned. Molcho was burned at the stake while Reuveni was taken to Spain in chains. He perished in due course (probably at Badajoz in 1538), charged with having seduced New Christians to embrace Judaism.

From his "diary" Reuveni emerges as a man in whom the misery of the Jews aroused strong feelings. He admired the Jews of the West (while despising those of the East) and addressed himself to them; they in turn were impressed by those very qualities in him which he found in them. His deep feeling, fearlessness, and steadfast character are greatly praised by the banker Daniel de Pisa. Reuveni aroused the greatest fervor among the Marranos and downtrodden Jews brought up in the new spirit of the Renaissance and longing for redemption. Reuveni was the first to move the messianic idea and activity to a rational political sphere. He felt that an impressive appearance and a seemingly realistic political program were likely to help the messianic propaganda among the

Jews and Marranos. Hence his constant stress that he is not a prophet nor a messiah but only a military commander and occasionally he evaluates the martial qualities of the Jews he has encountered. All his exaggerated stories about his many expenses, his wicked servants, and his great treasures reflect his naive idea that nobles acted in this fashion. His activity is in sharp contrast with the messianic magical-mythical activity typical of that period, and in this he seems to continue in the path of R. Avraham ben Eliezer Halevi. It appears that Reuveni was interested in creating a certain geopolitical situation which would have messianic meaning for the Jews (a Christian-Muslim war which would become the war of Gog and Magog). This was probably the purpose of his traveling with Solomon Molcho to meet the Emperor Charles V in Regensburg. He re-edited his diary after his failure in Portugal, in the hope that it would help him reestablish his credibility and continue in his messianic activity. This is the explanation for the many contradictions in the diary. However, all his pretentious posturing does not hide the fact that he was a deeply religious man, scrupulously observing the Jewish precepts, fasting six days in the week, and feeling that Providence had chosen him to announce the coming redemption to his oppressed fellow Jews.

The story of David Reuveni fascinated subsequent generations and was the subject of a number of novels (e.g., by Max *Brod).

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[Shmuel Ettinger / Moti Benmelech (2nd ed.)]

REVADIM (Heb. רְבָדִים), kibbutz in the southern Coastal Plain of Israel N.E. of Kiryat Malakhi, affiliated with Kibbutz Arẓi ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir. Revadim was originally founded in 1947 as the fourth settlement of the Eẓyon Bloc (see *Kefar Eẓyon) in the Hebron Hills. The young settlers participated in the bloc's heroic defense and suffered grave losses. On May 13, 1948, their village fell and was totally destroyed. The survivors were taken to Jordan as prisoners of war. After their return, they were allocated the present site where they established a new kibbutz (November 1948). They were soon joined by immigrants from Bulgaria and other countries. In 1970 Revadim had 251 inhabitants; in 2002, 296. The kibbutz economy went over from mainly farming to tourism and small industry (guest rooms, a museum of antiquities, the Roman Glass Co. designing original jewelry for a worldwide market). The name, meaning "Terraces," refers to the landscape of the original site in the Hebron Hills, where terracing and afforestation constituted the settlers' principal occupation.

WEBSITE: www.revadim.org.il.

[Efraim Orni]

RÉVAH, ISRAEL SALVATOR (1917–1973), French hispanist. Révah was born in Berlin to a family originating from Salonika. Educated in Paris, he began his research career on 16th-century studies under the guidance of Lucien Febvre and Marcel Bataillon. Wartime persecution put a temporary halt to his academic career. He worked as a school teacher and in 1946 took a post as a Spanish teacher in Bordeaux and Saint-Maur. From 1946 he worked at the French Institute in Lisbon, where he elaborated his method of blending literary and archival research, first as research fellow and from 1948 as professor, editing its bulletin and publishing Portuguese texts related to Judaism as well as several works by Gil Vicente. In 1955 he was called back to Paris as a directeur d'études at the École des Hautes Études, and in 1966 he was appointed professor at the Collège de France, holding the chair of Language and Literatures of the Iberian Peninsula and Latin America. During the last decade of his life, he lectured almost exclusively on Sephardi subjects, leaving most of his studies unpublished at his untimely demise. As a linguist, Révah elucidated the origins of Judeo-Spanish (see *Ladino), his mother tongue, from the scientific viewpoint of medieval peninsular dialectology. As a historian, he explored the vicissitudes of Jewish consciousness among the Spanish and Portuguese Marranos by way of large-scale family monographs, coining the definition "potential Jews" for this profoundly inconsistent group. Révah is best known for his discovery of historical links between the Iberian crypto-Jewish environment and the antireligious revolt of Uriel da *Costa and *Spinoza; he published several studies on the intellectual history of the Marranos, on Spinoza, and on Uriel da Costa. In his evaluations of the role of Jews and New Christians and the Inquisition in Iberian culture, he defended the centrality of religious factors against the sociological approaches of Americo Castro and António José Saraiva on this subject.

Among his works are: *Spinoza et le dr Juan de Prado* (1959), *Des Marranes à Spinoza* (1995), *Antonio Enríquez Gómez, un écrivain marrane* (2003), and *Uriel da Costa et les Marranes de Porto* (2004).

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[Carsten Wilke (2nd ed.)]

REVEL, BERNARD (**Dov**; 1885–1940), U.S. educator and scholar, leader of modern Orthodoxy. Revel, born in Kovno, Lithuania, studied at the yeshivah of Telz. In 1906 he emigrated to the U.S., where he studied at New York University and Dropsie College in Philadelphia. For a time he had an oil refining business in Oklahoma. In 1915, as *rosh yeshivah*, Revel began reorganizing the Isaac Elchanan Theological Seminary in New York, opening it to laymen and teachers as well as rabbinical students; and in 1916 he founded Talmudical Academy, the first combined academic high school-yeshivah in the U.S. In 1928, despite strong opposition from those who feared that Torah study would be undermined, Revel founded Yeshiva College as an extension of the seminary. It was the first liberal arts college under Jewish auspices and represented the first attempt to offer a traditional talmudic education with a modern course of secular studies on the higher level based on the principle of *Torah im Derekh Ereẓ*. Revel, who served as president of the college, organized the graduate school of Jewish studies, named after him, in 1937. He was the first institutional head to give *semikhah* to Orthodox rabbis in the U.S. Revel was honorary president of the Union of Orthodox Rabbis of the United States and Canada, and was vice president of the Jewish Academy of Arts and Sciences from 1927. He was associate editor of *Oẓar Yisrael* (1913), a Hebrew encyclopedia. His scholarly interests included Targum Jonathan, Josephus, Jubilees, the development of ancient exegesis, Karaism, and, especially, the evolution of *halakhah*. He published his doctoral dissertation for Dropsie College, *Karaite Halakah and its Relation to Sadducean, Samaritan and Philonian Halakah* (1913), which refuted A. *Geiger's claim that Karaism was a continuation of Sadduceeism. Revel's many articles and novellae were published mainly in the *Jewish Quarterly Review, Ha-Pardes, Horeb, and Talpioth*. A biography of Revel by A. Rothkoff has been published by the Jewish Publication Society of America (1972).

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[Sidney B. Hoenig]

REVEL, MICHEL (1938–) Israeli virologist. Revel was born Strasbourg, France, where he obtained his M.D. and Ph.D. in 1963 from the University of Strasbourg. After a postdoctoral fellowship at Harvard Medical School in Boston, he held research positions at the Institut de Biologie Physico-Chimique in Paris, working with Prof. François Gros, a director of the Pasteur Institute. In 1968, he joined the Weizmann Institute of Science, Reḥovot, Israel, became a full professor in 1973, and headed for several periods the departments of virology and of molecular genetics. Revel together with Gros discovered the initiation factors of protein synthesis, which play a major role in the control of mRNA translation and gene expression. Revel is best known for his work on the mechanism of the action of interferon and the cloning of the genes for human interferon beta (IFN-β) and interleukin-6 (IL-6). His work led to the establishment in 1979 of InterPharm-Serono, the leading Israeli biotechnology company that produces recombinant interferon-beta (Rebif), a medication approved and used worldwide for the treatment of multiple sclerosis. Other uses of IFN-β include genital herpes, viral hepatitis, and some papillomavirus infections. Interleukin-6 (Atexakin) is being developed for the repair of nerve myelin in neuropathies and for differentiating embryonic stem cells as a means to transplant myelinating cells in the nervous system. Revel is the chief scientist of InterPharm, and pursues his research at the Weizmann Institute of Science. He received the Israel Prize for medicine in 1999 and the EMET Prize in 2004 for his contributions to medicine and biotechnology. He holds many honorary memberships in professional societies including the European Molecular Biology Organization (EMBO) and the Human Genome Organization (HUGO). He was the chairman of the National Biotechnology Committee for Israel (1999–2002). From 1993, he was a member of the International Bioethics Committee (IBC) of UNESCO. He contributed to the UNESCO Universal Declaration on the Human Genome and Human Rights and authored IBC reports on genetic counseling, on therapeutic research with human embryonic stem cells (including cloning), and on behavioral genetics. In Israel, he serves as chairman of the Bioethics Advisory Committee of the Israel National Academy of Sciences and Humanities and the National Bioethics Committee of Israel, appointed by the Israeli government in 2003.

Revel has published or edited three books, over 220 scientific articles, and writes on bioethics, emphasizing the viewpoints of the Jewish tradition. He directs a study group on the *Zohar and ḥasidic teachings

[Bracha Rager (2nd ed.)]

REVELATION, an act whereby the hidden, unknown God shows Himself to man. To be sure, this phenomenon belongs to the realm of human reality, but it is experienced by man as coming from God. Phenomenologically, every religion finds its starting point in a revelation. The ancient Hebrews expressed this idea in different ways. The reflexive form, *nifʿal*, of the verb *galah* ("to uncover, reveal"), is used only rarely to denote divine revelation (Gen. 35:7; I Sam. 2:27; 3:21). In the biblical tradition, revelation consists less in the disclosing of a secret or a mystery, than in the manifestation of the invisible God, unknowable to man on his own. This view of revelation results unmistakably from the widespread use of the *nifʿal* of the verbs *raʾah* ("to see"), and *yadaʿ* ("to know"), to express in biblical Hebrew the idea of revelation.

The word *nirʾah*, "he let himself be seen, showed himself," refers originally to a visionary manifestation of God in a holy place. It occurs principally in narrative passages whose aim was to explain the origin of a holy place. In fact, holy places are often regarded as sites where theophanies took place. The accounts of such divine appearances belong to the genre of etiological tales. They are found in the Bible too, insofar as the ancient Israelites attributed the sacredness of several holy places to the fact that they were sites of divine revelations. According to Genesis 12:6–7, for instance, Abraham passed through the land to the holy site of Shechem, i.e., to the terebinth of Moreh (cf. Judg. 9:37). There the Lord "showed Himself" to Abraham, and there Abraham built an altar to the Lord. The particular holiness of the altar marking the sacred place is explained by its origin, namely, the appearance of the Lord to the patriarch. It should be noted, however, that no attempt is made to describe the apparition, and only what words were uttered and what promise was made are recorded. Nevertheless, since in this narrative there is no suggestion of a dream, the revelation probably took the form of a vision accompanied by divine words. These words are an essential element, for revelation as an event generally needs further explanation. It is only after the Lord has spoken that His manifestation can be understood and acquires importance for human life. These characteristics are common to most divine revelations in the Bible when marked by the use of the *nifʿal nirʾah*.

There is, however, the belief, which originated in ancient times, that it is deadly for man to see the Deity (Ex. 33:20; Judg. 13:22). Dreams and the mediation of angels have no mitigating effect, since the dream gives a stronger vision and the *malʾakh YHWH* ("angel of the Lord") is the epiphanic medium of the Lord, even "the Lord Himself in self-manifestation or, in other words, a personification of the theophany" (J. Skinner, *Genesis* (1910), 286). It is only rarely and to special persons, therefore, that YHWH makes Himself visible, and communicates to man His purposes and intentions. He does so to Abraham (Gen. 12:6–7; 17:1–2), Isaac (Gen. 26:24), Jacob (Gen. 35:9–10; 48:3–4; cf. Ex. 6:3), Moses (Ex. 3:2ff., 16–17), Manoah (Judg. 13:21–22), and Solomon (1 Kings 3:5ff.; 9:2ff.). Nevertheless, He may show Himself to the whole of the people at the Tent of Meeting (Lev. 9:4, 6, 23; Deut. 31:15; cf. 31:11), which is "a kind of permanent image of the revelation on Mount Sinai" (M. Haran, in: JSS, 5 (1960), 50–65, esp. p. 58). What the people see, however, is the *kavod*, the "Presence of the Lord" (Lev. 9:6, 23), or the *ʿammud he-ʿanan*, the "pillar of cloud" (Deut. 31:15). The latter indicates the Lord's Presence, but, at the same time, veils Him from sight. The *kavod*, whose original conception goes back to early times (cf. 1 Sam. 4:21; 1 Kings 8:11; Ps. 24:7–10), likewise signifies a veiled appearance of God, an appearance in a manner in which no precise form can be discerned. It probably alludes to a manifestation by fire, light, and smoke, connected initially with the circumstances in which the cult operated.

Other texts use the word *nodaʿ*, "he made himself known," which avoids the anthropomorphic connotations of the root meaning "to see." The author of the Priestly document of the Pentateuch, however, uses both words, but opposes *nodʿa to nirʾah* in Exodus 6:3, the latter denoting the Deity's self-identification by name. Exodus 6:2–8, in turn, is obviously the inspiration of Ezekiel 20:5–9 and hence also of Ezekiel 35:11–12, 38:23, and 39:7 as well, where the causative form *hifʿil* is used with the Lord's Name as object (cf. Isa. 19:21). In all these texts, *nodaʿ* is connected with the formula *ʾani YHWH* ("I am the Lord"). These texts may be compared with similar expressions known from Mesopotamia: "I am Ningirsu," "I am Ishtar of Arbela," "I am the god Nabú," etc. The difference between these Oriental self-revelation formulas and the biblical one consists in the fact that the Tetragrammaton (YHWH) is usually followed by the statement that the Lord is the God Who brought Israel out of Egypt, and Who guides them through history. The God of Israel thus reveals Himself as acting in historical events. It may reasonably be inferred, therefore, that, according to the Bible, history is the milieu of God's revelation.

It has been objected that God's acting in history plays no real role in the biblical wisdom literature. This has, in fact, been a very awkward point for those who assert that revelation in history is central to Hebrew thought. The difficulty, however, seems to have originated in a confusion between revelation as understood by ancient Israelites and as viewed by modern scholars who are aware of a systematic biblical theology.

In the Pentateuch and the Former and Latter Prophets, God reveals Himself, His plans, or His will, through words or events. The other books of the Bible are generally thought not to contain revelations of this kind. In relation to modern theology, it must be emphasized that both revelation and wisdom phenomenologically proceed from experiences of life. Wisdom characteristically classifies the elementary experiences of daily life, whereas revelation results from "prophetic" interpretations of exceptional events in the life of the people or even of the "prophet" himself. (For the revelation on Mt. Sinai, see the Book of *Exodus.)

[Edward Lipinski]

In Talmudic Literature

The manifestation of God in acts or appearances which overawe man (*gillui Shekhinah*) is the theme of many passages in talmudic and midrashic literature. However, the main concern of talmudic thought is not so much with God's revelation of Himself or of His attributes (although this too is an important topic), but rather with God's revelation of His word to man (*devar Adonai*). Much is said regarding the revelation of God's word to the forefathers Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, as well as to other biblical characters, and especially to the prophets; a vast number of talmudic sources deal with the revelation of God's word par excellence, the Torah. Favorite topics of the Midrashim are the giving of the Torah (*mattan Torah*), the importance of the Torah for the world and for the people of Israel, the nature of the Torah, its permanence, etc.

Much less attention is devoted to the nature of the act of revelation, and what is said regarding the process in which God's world is revealed to the Jewish people and to the prophets is not nearly so systematic as the treatment of these topics in philosophy and in patristic literature. Talmudic sources assume a hierarchy of different forms of revelation, varying from inspiration by the Holy Spirit (**Ruʾaḥ ha-Kodesh*) to *prophecy itself; and of prophecy there are different degrees, of which the prophecy of Moses represents the highest. However, this scheme comes to demarcate the Torah, which represents the prophecy of Moses, from the works of the prophets, and these again from the other books in the Bible which are inspired by the Holy Spirit. It is bound up, therefore, with the sanctity and authority to be assigned to the different holy writings. Similar remarks apply to the talmudic sources regarding the psychological aspects of revelation. Sometimes the divine manifestation takes place in a vision or in a dream or through the mediation of an angel; but Moses speaks to God face to face whenever he wishes. He beholds God as in a translucent mirror, whereas the other prophets see as in a dark glass (Lev. R. 1:14; Yev. 49b). The stature of Moses as a prophet thus guarantees the sanctity and authority of *Torat Moshe* – the Pentateuch.

The Torah is identified with the wisdom which had existed before the creation of the world (Sif. Ekev 37; Gen. R. 1:4) and is regarded as the instrument with which the world was created (Sif. Devarim 48; Avot 3:14). The concept of Torah is thus broadened to include not only God's commandments, the admonitions to observe the commandments, and stories of the forefathers, but also the admonition of all the other prophets and the ethical maxims of the other books of the Bible. Thus there occurs the notion that all the prophecies of all the prophets were included in the revelation on Sinai – they were formulated and publicized by later prophets when the need arose (Ex. R. 29, 6; Tanḥ. Yitro 11).

The notion of the sanctity of the Torah as being the word of God is, therefore, the core of the talmudic teaching regarding revelation, and forms the theme of several passages which are specially important as representing the sources for the doctrines concerning revelation which came to be formulated in medieval Jewish philosophy.

One such passage is the Mishnah (Sanh. 10 (11):1) which tells that among the Israelites who have no portion in the world to come are those who deny that the Torah is from Heaven (*Torah min ha-Shamayim*). An expansion of this is afforded by the *Sifrei* (*Shelaḥ*, ed. Horowitz, p. 121) which says that also he who admits that the Torah is the word of God but maintains that one particular matter was said by Moses of his own accord is to be regarded as "a despiser of the word of God" (Num. 15:31). The *baraita* parallel to this is quoted in the talmudic discussion as an explanation of the Mishnah in *Sanhedrin* 99a and differs from the *Sifrei* only in emphasizing in more detail that even he who says a particular verse, a particular point, a particular a fortiori argument, or a particular inference by analogy was said by Moses of his own accord is to be regarded as a despiser of the word of God. Thus the concept of *Torah min ha-Shamayim* is associated primarily with the notion that every syllable of the Bible has the verity and authorship of the word of God. The contents of the sacred books are to be regarded throughout as conscientious and homogeneous, with not only no contradiction in them, but also no real differences (G.F. Moore). This concept of the underlying unity of the Scriptures, and especially of the Pentateuch, is connected with the notion of layers of deeper meanings beneath the words of the Written Torah of which the plain literal meaning is only the surface. Such a conception not only leads to the mystic notion of the oneness of the Torah, which is hinted at in several talmudic passages and comes to be expressed in particularly striking form by the medieval mystics (particularly Naḥmanides); it also forms the basis (cf. Y. Baer) for the explication of the traditional distinction between the Written and the Oral Law, the latter providing the real significance and true interpretation of the words of the written text.

Scholars such as Joel, Kohler, Boaz Cohen, and Heschel (see also below) have argued that Abbaye's statement (Meg. 31b) that the curses in Deuteronomy were said by Moses "of his own accord" (*mi-pi aẓmo*), and other statements in similar vein (see A.J. Heschel, *Torah min ha-Shamayim*, vol. 2, chs. VII and IX), reflect the dissenting view that there are parts of the Torah that are not literally inspired. However, this may be an error based on the ambiguous meaning of the expression "of his own accord" (for traditional sources concerning this see M.M. Kasher, *Torah Shelemah*, 19 (1959), 333–42).

The concept of the literal inspiration of the Torah is an important premise of the *hermeneutics of the Oral Law (*Torah she-be-Al Peh*) which sometimes treats the written text as little more than a series of mnemonic signs. Such an attitude is especially characteristic of the hermeneutics of R. Akiva and his school, but even R. Ishmael and his school, although they maintained that the Written Torah speaks the "language of men," nonetheless regarded each word as divinely inspired. The contrary has been argued by A.J. Heschel (*Torah min ha-Shamayim*, vol. 1, p. 16 and vol. 2, chs. VI and VII) in a work attempting to show that the two schools held basically different concepts of the Torah and of the nature of revelation.

The chief revelation of God to Moses and to His people took place at Mount Sinai. It is not explicitly stated either in the Pentateuch or in talmudic literature that this was a case of mass prophecy. Differing views concerning this are expressed in medieval Jewish philosophy. However, the revelation of the Torah to Moses is naturally interpreted as a prophetic phenomenon. That the revelation at Mount Sinai consisted of the giving to Moses of the whole Torah (including the Oral Law), and not merely the Ten Commandments, is stated in many talmudic and midrashic sources. This would seem to imply that the whole of the Torah was revealed to Moses, detail by detail, during his 40 days on Sinai in such a way that when he came down there was nothing left to be revealed. However, other commandments are said to have been given in the Tabernacle and at Arboth Moab. Talmudic sources offer different opinions to reconcile these statements. Different opinions are also offered regarding the writing of the Torah. The Mishnah in *Avot* 1, which is one of the primary talmudic sources associating the Torah with Sinai, seems to be referring particularly to the Oral Law. Some sources, however (TJ, Shek. 6:49d and Sot. 8:22d; Song R. 5:11 and Deut. R. 3:12, etc.), mention a scroll which was given at the same time. Other opinions maintain that the Torah was written piecemeal (scroll by scroll) during the 40 years of wanderings in the desert, or that it was written down all at once at the end of those 40 years (Git. 60a). There are also sources which speak of the existence of scrolls before Sinai (Kasher, pp. 356–62).

The attribution of the Written Torah to Moses is affirmed by a tannaitic source (quoted in BB 14b and TJ, Sot. 5:6–end) which relates that Moses wrote his own book, the portion of Balaam and Job, while Joshua wrote the book which bears his name and the last eight verses of the Pentateuch. In the discussion arising out of this passage a dissenting opinion is quoted which ascribes even the last eight verses of the Torah (describing his own death) to Moses. The authorship referred to in this passage is ostensibly comparable to Joshua's authorship of the book bearing his name. However, such a straightforward conception of literary authorship will be modified by the claim that the Torah is literally inspired and is the revealed word of God to Moses. Nevertheless, that the Torah is written by Moses is everywhere assumed in talmudic and midrashic literature, and the Torah is frequently described as *Torat Moshe* – the "Torah of Moses."

It has been plausibly argued (J.J. Petuchowski) that of the two traditional notions, the heavenly origin of the Torah (*Torah min ha-Shamayim*) and Mosaic authorship, the former is dogmatic in character in talmudic thought, whereas the latter is more in the nature of an accepted truth about literary authorship. The two notions are at any rate disparate in importance.

In receiving the Torah, Moses acted as a scribe writing from dictation, as was the case with Baruch and the prophet Jeremiah (BB 15a). This is the passage that has been dominant in subsequent attempts to describe the nature of the Mosaic revelation in medieval Jewish philosophy. But there are midrashic sources which would seem to support a less mechanical and more instrumentalist conception of revelation. Thus the Midrash (Ex. R. 47–end) relates that the angels, jealous of the role entrusted to Moses in bringing the Torah to mankind, voice suspicions that Moses might write his own ideas into the Torah. God replies that Moses would not do so; but even if he did he could be trusted to represent reliably the divine will. There is, however, no attempt in talmudic thought to provide the sort of instrumentalist analogies of revelation which are offered in patristic thought – the inspired writer as a vessel which the Holy Spirit proceeds to fill, etc. On the other hand, revelation, like prophecy, comes to each individual in accordance with his capacities. When the voice went forth at Sinai, God addressed each person with a voice he could endure (Ex. R. 5:9).

The voice from Sinai (*kol mi-Sinai*) is a characteristic talmudic theme. This voice already included all the words of the prophets, and indeed the rabbis of later ages received what they say at Sinai (Ex. R. 28:6; Tanḥ. Yitro 11, etc.). This may be interpreted (E.E. Urbach, p. 270) as a talmudic attempt to restrict revelation so far as possible to a onetime act in order to emphasize the irrelevance in matters of *halakhah*. On the other hand, according to other sources, the voice from Sinai has not yet stopped; so that even though the Holy Spirit has departed from Israel with the cessation of prophecy and subsequent revelations are confined to a Heaven-inspired echo (*bat kol*; 13:2; Sanh. 11a), this heavenly echo still goes forth each day from Sinai to announce that woe will befall all those who slight the Torah (Avot 6:2).

[Jacob Joshua Ross]

Ancient and Medieval Jewish Philosophy

Understanding the nature and process of prophetic revelation and especially its relation to reason constitutes one of the major areas of interest in Jewish religious philosophy. The question of the authority of the Mosaic revelation appears in its purest form in the works of *Philo, who wrote before the rise of Christianity and Islam. In later periods the differing claims of the other two monotheistic religions had to be taken into account: Islam, primarily in the Judeo-Arabic phase of medieval Jewish philosophy, and Christianity, in the Hebrew phase from the 13th through the 16th centuries in Spain, southern France, and Italy.

PHILO. The Mosaic revelation is central for Philo. In his view, statements in the Pentateuch can be divided into three categories: that of the direct revelation of God Himself by means of a created voice which Moses heard; those which came about as a result of the questions of Moses; and those which are the result of divine inspiration (Mos. 2:188). Moses himself is viewed as a philosopher king, in accordance with Plato's *Republic*, as well as a legislator, high priest, and prophet. "Moses necessarily obtained prophecy also, in order that through the providence of God he might discover what by reasoning he could not grasp" (*ibid.* 2:6). The allegorical method of interpreting revelation is the tool by means of which the conflict between the demands of philosophy and the apparent meaning of revelation can be reconciled. The use of allegorical interpretation is mandatory in respect to anthropomorphic expressions about God which must not be taken literally. The purpose of the revealed law is to serve as the constitution of the ideal state, caring for both the spiritual and material welfare of mankind.

SAADIAH. In the age of *Saadiah Gaon the claim of the Mosaic revelation to authority had to be justified against the Christian and Islamic assertions that it had been abrogated (*Book of Beliefs and Opinions*, 3). Confirmation of the prophet's mission lies in the miracles performed by him. The confirmation of the truth of revelation for those living after the time of its promulgation lies in tradition which, for Saadiah, is the fourth source of authentic knowledge in addition to sense perception, the first principles of reason, and logical inference. The commandments themselves fall into two major divisions: the rational and the nonrational or "obediential." Saadiah supposes that even rational commandments need to have been revealed in order to fix the details of their performance. Furthermore, he is of the opinion that revelation is necessary for those who would take a long time in arriving or never arrive at the truth by unaided reason. Allegorical interpretation plays a much more restricted role than in the case of Philo.

NEOPLATONISM. It is interesting to note that the chief representative of the neoplatonic trend of Jewish thought, Solomon ibn *Gabirol, does not even consider the problem of the relation of reason to revelation, nor does he quote Scripture in his *Mekor Ḥayyim*. His predecessor, Isaac b. Solomon *Israeli, does deal with the problem of the prophet and prophecy in passing. The prophet and the sage on the highest level, he who has achieved union with the Divine, are identified. But the prophet expresses himself in imaginative language in order to teach and guide the vulgar masses. One of the functions of the imaginative faculty of the prophet is to express in figurative symbols and sensible images material derived from reason, a view which is related to that of al-*Fārābī and which is to be found in Maimonides' *Guide*.

JUDAH HALEVI. With *Judah Halevi, the autonomous character of revelation and its superiority to reason come to the fore. In Judah Halevi's thought, the "divine command" (*al-amr al-ilāhī*), which is the link between God and man, clings to the prophet chosen by God to reveal His will to man. The prophet is superior to the philosopher by the very fact that his knowledge is derived directly from God, whereas the science of the philosopher is subject to doubt. Judah Halevi's concept is based on the neoplatonic concept of nature being ordered hierarchically in a great chain of being, that is, an upward progression from ordinary man to philosopher to Israel and the prophets and then the Divine. Contrary to his predecessor, Judah Halevi considers the unique quality of revelation to lie in its nonrational character. The ritual commandments are the true link between the people of lsrael and God. In the first treatise of his *Kuzari*, the claims of Christianity and Islam to have supplanted the Mosaic revelation are dismissed on the grounds that the beliefs of Christianity are inherently improbable while the Muslim claims lack supporting evidence at the same time that the divine origin of the Mosaic revelation is conceded.

MAIMONIDES. Maimonides returns to a more Aristotelian concept of revelation in which he follows in the footsteps of his Islamic predecessors al-Fārābī and *Avicenna. Essentially Maimonides treats prophecy as a natural phenomenon: "Know that the true reality and quiddity of prophecy consists in it being an overflowing from God … through the intermediation of the Active Intellect, toward the rational faculty in the first place and thereafter toward the imaginative faculty" (*Guide*, 2:36). If the rational faculty alone comes into play, the individual is a philosopher and if only the imaginative faculty is brought into play, the individual belongs to the class of statesmen. Therefore, essentially the prophet is a philosopher statesman in accordance with the Platonic tradition. Thus Maimonides takes a position similar to that of Philo mentioned above. The position of Moses in this scheme is problematic since, according to Maimonides in both his *Guide* and his *Mishneh Torah*, the imaginative faculty did not play any role in his prophecy and he prophesied whenever necessary. In a famous passage Maimonides states that "the Law as a whole aims at two things: the welfare of the soul and the welfare of the body" (*Guide*, 3:27). For the masses, belief has a political role to play, for the masses cannot achieve the heights of metaphysical speculation which alone insure true happiness and the immortality of the intellect. For the philosopher, the Law insures his political well-being and allows him the necessary leisure to indulge in the delights of the mind. Therefore, the function of revelation may be defined as essentially political in nature, not as a means to individual salvation. In order to reconcile any conflicts between philosophy and the apparent meaning of revelation, the allegorical method of interpretation is used. It would seem just to conclude from Maimonides' historical analysis of the origin of the sacrificial cult that he was satisfied with the status quo existing in his time and envisaged the possibility of the abrogation of part of the Mosaic code, although in speaking as a legist he took of course a completely different position in his *Mishneh Torah*.

CRESCAS. Maimonides exercised great influence on the development of philosophy in Hebrew by way of both support and criticism. Ḥasdai *Crescas, writing in 14th-century Christian Spain, and pressed by the attacks of the Catholic Church and its inroads on the Jewish community, emphasized the idea that the happiness of man lies essentially in the love of God and in the service of God through the observance of the commandments of the Torah. Here revealed religion is given intrinsic value contrary to the view of the Aristotelians.

ALBO. Joseph *Albo tries to steer a middle course between the conservative position of Judah Halevi and the more rational position of Maimonides. He begins his *Sefer ha-Ikkarim* by stating that "human reason is not capable of comprehending things as they are in reality … There must therefore be something higher than the human intellect by means of which the good can be defined and the true comprehended in a manner leaving no doubt at all. This can only be done by means of divine guidance …" (*Book of Principles*, ed. and tr. by I. Husik, 1 (1929), 5). For Albo, intellectual perfection is not the ultimate goal, but rather "belief in God and His Torah brings man to eternal happiness and causes his soul to cleave to the spiritual substance" (*ibid.*, 1, ch. 21). His definition of prophecy is worded very much like that of Maimonides (*ibid.*, 3:8, p. 71), but emphasis is laid on the intervention of the divine will which interferes with the natural process more drastically than in the case of Maimonides. It would seem that Albo's limitation of the rationalistic approach of Maimonides is due to the pressure of Christian polemics.

SPINOZA. Baruch *Spinoza in his *Tractatus Theologico-Politicus* ("Theological Political Treatise"), combating both the conservative and rational attitudes represented by his Jewish predecessors, clearly strips revelation of all authority except in the sphere of morals and ethics, and pleads for freedom from the thrall of revealed doctrine, thus laying part of the foundation for the emergence of the modern era.

[Lawrence V. Berman]

Modern Jewish Philosophy

In modern Jewish philosophy the term "revelation" embraces a variety of meanings, ranging from the supernatural communication of divine truth and instruction to the apprehension of God's will and attributes through the exercise of man's spiritual or rational faculties.

In conformity with deistic doctrines concerning "natural religion," Moses *Mendelssohn maintained that the "universal religion of reason" contains all the doctrinal elements and moral perceptions needed for salvation. The supernatural revelation received by lsrael at Sinai does not impinge upon the domain of the "universal religion of reason," for Judaism is not a revealed religion but revealed legislation, providing specific laws for the regulation of conduct but not concepts (*Jerusalem* (1862), pt. 2, ch. 3).

Idealistic thinkers reformulated the concept of revelation as a gradual process. Divine truth is revealed to man through his intellectual faculties in an educational process of "continuous" or "progressive" revelation. Nachman *Krochmal, whose views were influenced to a large extent by Hegelian categories of thought, considered revelation the process of ever-increasing consciousness of the immanent Divine Spirit. Similarly, Solomon *Formstecher and Samuel *Hirsch maintained that revelation constitutes the recognition of the Divine Spirit manifesting itself in man, not the communication received from a transcendent sphere. The last vestiges of opposition between reason and revelation are overcome in the neo-Kantian system of Hermann *Cohen. God reveals His will by creating man as a rational creature who through his reason is capable of apprehending the laws of logic and ethics. Thus, revelation no longer refers to any historic event nor even any special mode of cognition; it characterizes a trait of man, who through the possession of his rational faculties becomes the bearer of divine revelation (*Die Religion der Vernunft aus den Quellen des Judentums* (1919), 82–92).

In radical opposition to all idealistic trends, Solomon Ludwig *Steinheim emphasized the inadequecy of speculative reason in the realm of religious truth. Objecting also to Mendelssohn's position, he stressed the primacy of the doctrinal, rather than legislative, elements in the content of revelation. Only through revelation can belief in a freely creating God arise (*Die Offenbarung nach dem Lehrbegriffe der Synagoge*, 1 (1835), 318). Although Steinheim did not regard revelation as a process, but as a particular event in which the word of God is communicated to man, he was not committed to the doctrine of the verbal inspiration of the Scripture. The latter doctrine is the basis of Samson Raphael *Hirsch's system, which stresses the belief in the divine origin of both the Oral and the Written Law.

Existentialists opposed the theories that consider revelation primarily as the transmission of content consisting either of metaphysical principles or moral and ritual laws. Martin *Buber advocated a conception of revelation involving a dialogic relationship between man and God. Revelation is the encounter of the Presence of God, not the communication of ideas or instructions. Revelation constitutes a wordless address, which in turn stimulates a human response (*Eclipse of God* (1952), 135). This response, according to Buber, never gives rise to a general law, but only to a unique, subjective deed or commitment.

Although Franz *Rosenzweig subscribed to the premise that revelation represents the manifestation of a relationship in the form of a dialogue, he emphasized that it depends upon the will of God, Who chooses to reveal Himself at specific times to different individuals. Through revelation a covenantal relationship is established between man and God. As a responsible partner in this dialogue, man is expected to respond to God's demand, embodied in the revelational event, by concrete action. Thus, the commandments arise through man's response to God's revelation (N.N. Glatzer (ed.), *On Jewish Learning* (1965), 109–24).

According to Abraham J. *Heschel, revelation represents an event in which God communicates His teachings and concern for man. The act of revelation is a unique, mysterious event that cannot be reduced to the categories of mystical experience or psychophysical processes. The recipient plays an active role in casting the content of the revelation into the mold of his own personality, but he must not be considered merely an inspired visionary: he is a witness to a specific act of "God's turning towards man" (A.J. Heschel, *God in Search of Man* (1955), 198).

Naturalist thinkers such as *Aḥad Ha-Am and Mordecai *Kaplan do not see in revelation anything more than a purely subjective experience. Opposed to them, Orthodox thinkers are committed to the traditional view of revelation as the disclosing of God's will to man in the form of specific commandments. They view the process of the development of the Oral Law as an extension of the original revelation at Sinai, which continually provides new insights into God's will for man. Yet, revelation as a process is not necessarily limited to the elucidation or development of the content of the Sinaitic revelation. Drawing upon kabbalistic categories of thought, Abraham Isaac *Kook maintained that revelation is the apprehension of reality in the the light of the *Shekhinah*, or "Divine Presence," resulting in the perception of the underlying unity of all existence (*Orot ha-Kodesh*, pt. 1 (1963), 73). In the view of Joseph B. *Soloveichik, the height of religious development is the experience of the Presence of God. It is in the "covenantal community" that man in dialogue with God "re-experiences the rendezvous with God in which the covenant … originated" ("Lonely Man of Faith," in: *Tradition* (1965), 46).

[Walter S. Wurzburger]

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REVERE, GIUSEPPE PROSPERO (1812–1889), Italian poet and patriot. Born in Trieste, Revere studied in Milan, where he became well known as an active participant in the movement for the unification of Italy and as a follower of Mazzini during the 1848 Revolution. In 1849 he joined Daniele *Manin in Venice but, as a supporter of Mazzini, broke with him after some disagreement and took part in the defense of Rome. For many years he served in the Italian Foreign Office as editor of the *Bollettino Consolare*, and in 1869 was one of the Italian delegates at the opening of the Suez Canal.

Revere wrote minor historical dramas including *Lorenzino de'Medici* (1839), *I Piagnoni e gli Arrabbiati*… (1843), and *Sampiero da Bastelica* (1846). In his patriotic verse, mostly collections of sonnets – *Nuovi sonetti* (1846); *Persone ed ombre* (1862); *Osiride* (1879); and *Sgocciolii* (1881) – he gave personal expression to the tastes and poetic tendencies of the second Romantic generation, taking *Heine and Ugo Foscolo as his models. His impressionistic sonnets voice an inner dissatisfaction with contemporary society and a mood of rebellion. Among his outstanding books are some witty travel impressions, *Bozzetti alpini* (1857) and *Marine e paesi* (1858), and *Variazioni* (published only in 1957) which describes the landscape and customs of Piedmont and Liguria. His *Opere Complete* appeared in 1896–98.

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[Giorgio Romano]

RÉVÉSZ, BÉLA (1876–1944), Hungarian journalist and author. Révész was on the staff of the Social Democrat daily newspaper *Népszava* from 1906 and became a permanent member of its editorial board. Socialist in outlook, he often dealt with Jewish subjects and showed religious sentiment. His friendship with the great Hungarian poet, Endre Ady (1877–1919) led to his able biographical studies of Ady, published in 1935. Révész also wrote a biography of M. *Nordau (1940). After the Nazi invasion he was arrested together with other Jewish journalists, and is thought to have perished in Auschwitz. His works include *Vonagló falvak* ("Villages in Agony," 1914), *Emberek arca* ("Faces of Men"), and *Velük-értük* ("With Them – For Them," 1961).

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[Baruch Yaron]

REVESZ, GEZA (1878–1955), psychologist. Born at Siofok in Hungary, Revesz qualified first in law and then studied psychology. At the University of Goettingen, he was influenced by both his teacher, Georg Elias Mueller, and by David *Katz, under whose influence he became a phenomenologist in his thinking and with whom he collaborated in a number of studies. In 1908 he went to the University of Budapest, and was appointed professor of experimental psychology. He also lectured to the staff of Budapest's military academy and is credited with being the first to give European military training a pedagogical basis by setting up psychological tests for use by the army instructors. With the rise of anti-democratic and antisemitic movements in Hungary during the 1920s, Revesz's professorship was threatened and he departed for Holland. From 1923 he lectured there in industrial psychology, and in 1932 he was appointed to the Municipal University of Amsterdam as professor of psychology and director of the psychological laboratory. In 1935 he founded the journal *Acta Psychologica*, and edited it until the Germans occupied Holland during World War II. Publication was resumed in 1950, and Revesz remained editor until his death.

His work encompassed varied fields. His early interest centered on visual perception, and later he concerned himself with the psychological aspects of music. He carried out tests on the sense of touch, and identified those elements of tactile perception that are not shared by the optic and acoustic senses. This research brought him in contact with blind persons, and Revesz, in part moved by sympathy, conducted studies on the personal life of the blind. He also devoted himself to understanding the basic differences between humans and animals, in which connection he produced his study on the origins of languages. Several of Revesz's books appeared in English, including: *The Psychology of a Musical Prodigy* (1925), *Psychology and Art of the Blind* (1950), *The Origins and Prehistory of Language* (1956), and *The Human Hand* (1958).

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°REVICZKY, IMRE (1897–1957), Hungarian colonel; commander of the East Hungarian (Transylvanian) brigade of the labor battalions during World War II. Reviczky had about 30,000 Jewish forced laborers under his command, to which he was appointed in 1943. From the first he opposed every attempt to maltreat them, granted interviews to their relatives, and assisted them whenever possible. Reviczky was especially helpful after the German invasion of Hungary, when conscription orders were issued to all male ghetto inmates, regardless of age. On the approach of the Red Army, Reviczky dispersed the brigade in the neighborhood, and instead of sending the Jews to Germany, he loaded the wagons for their transport with lumber. When the Germans discovered Reviczky's stratagem, they sought to arrest him. He tried to escape with his staff, but was caught and sent to *Dachau. After the war Reviczky served in the Hungarian army but was later dismissed. He had to work at manual labor until he was granted a pension. He was recognized in 1966 by *Yad Vashem as one of the *Righteous of the Nations (Ḥasidei Ummot ha-Olam).

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[Baruch Yaron]

REVISIONISTS, ZIONIST (full name: **Union of Zionists-Revisionists**; abbr. Hebrew name, **Ha-Ẓohar**; later **New Zionist Organization**), movement of maximalist political Zionists founded and led by Vladimir *Jabotinsky. In the later 1920s and in the 1930s the Revisionists became the principal Zionist opposition party to Chaim *Weizmann's leadership and to the methods and policy of the World Zionist Organization and the elected Jewish leadership in Ereẓ Israel. The initial nucleus of the Revisionist movement consisted of a group of Russian Zionists who had supported Jabotinsky during World War I in his campaign for the creation of a *Jewish Legion. Their organ became the Russian-language Zionist weekly *Razsvet* published in Berlin (1922–24), later in Paris (1924–34). This group was joined by other Zionist circles and personalities, such as Richard *Lichtheim, Robert *Stricker, Jacob de *Haas, the Hebrew poet Jacob Cohen, and others, who opposed Weizmann and his policy.

The Revisionists based their ideology on Theodor Herzl's concept of Zionism as essentially a political movement, defined by Jabotinsky as follows: "Ninety per cent of Zionism may consist of tangible settlement work, and only ten per cent of politics; but those ten percent are the precondition of success." The basic assumption was that as long as the mandatory regime in Palestine was essentially anti-Zionist, no piecemeal economic achievements could lead to the realization of Zionism, i.e., the establishment of a Jewish state with a Jewish majority in the entire territory of Palestine, "on both sides of the Jordan."

At its inception, the Revisionist program centered on the following demands: to reestablish the Jewish Legion as an integral part of the British garrison in Palestine, to develop the *Jewish Colonial Trust as the main instrument of economic activity, and to conduct a "political offensive" which would induce the British government to adapt its policy in Palestine to the original intention and spirit of the *Balfour Declaration. The Revisionist program soon became more elaborate, asking, in addition to the demand for Jewish military units, etc., for the introduction of a whole new system of policy in Palestine, defined as a "settlement regime" – a system of legislative and administrative measures (such as land reform, state protection of local industries, a favorable fiscal system, etc.) explicitly designed to foster Jewish mass immigration and settlement. The Revisionists criticized the system of small-scale immigration and settlement based on "schedules" of immigration certificates and on the emphasis of agriculture. Economic and social methods, designed to bring to Palestine "the largest number of Jews within the shortest period of time" should include support of private initiative and private capital investment, mainly in industry, intensive agricultural cultivation of small plots (the *Soskin method), as well as compulsory arbitration of labor conflicts and the outlawing of strikes and lockouts "during the period of state-building." While strongly critical of British policy in Palestine, the Revisionists denied being "anti-British." Their conception was that constructive Anglo-Jewish cooperation could be brought about only through determined political pressure on the British government exerted on an international scale.

History

The founding conference of the Union of Zionists-Revisionists took place in Paris in 1925. The first president of the Union was Vladimir (Ze'ev) *Tiomkin. At its inception, the movement was an integral part of the World Zionist Organization. It attracted a large following in Eastern and Central Europe, where masses of Jews were waiting to emigrate. From four Revisionist delegates to the 14th Zionist Congress (1925), its representation rose to 52 delegates at the 17th Congress (1931). Subsidiary organizations sprang up under Jabotinsky's leadership: *Betar, a mass movement of youth; Berit ha-Ḥayyal ("union of army veterans"), existing mainly in Poland; Orthodox adherents organized in Aḥdut Israel; the women's Berit Nashim Le'ummiyyot; high school students in Masada, and the Nordia sports organization. In Palestine, the Revisionists achieved the position of the second-largest party in the Asefat ha-Nivḥarim by gaining 17% of the votes in 1931. The Zionist majority, in particular the labor parties, rejected the ideology and tactics of the Revisionists, often attacking them as "fascists." Growing conflicts in the Palestine labor market led to the withdrawal of Revisionists and members of Betar from the *Histadrut and the establishment of an independent National Labor Organization in 1934. Bitterness reached a climax in 1933 when two young Revisionists in Palestine were accused of assassinating the labor leader Chaim *Arlosoroff. Palestinian courts acquitted both, but the antagonism remained and poisoned the political atmosphere for many years.

From the late 1920s, especially after the enlargement of the *Jewish Agency through the inclusion of 50% non-Zionists (1929), Jabotinsky pressed for independent political action of the Revisionist movement in the international field, though the Zionist Executive considered it a breach of discipline. When Jabotinsky urged the secession of the Revisionist Union from the World Zionist Organization, allowing individual Revisionists to maintain their membership in it, he was opposed by members of the Revisionist executive, Meir *Grossman, Lichtheim, Stricker, and others. When the internal controversy reached an impasse at the session of the Revisionist Party Council at Katowice (1933), Jabotinsky "suspended" the Revisionist executive and assumed "personal responsibility" until the forthcoming world conference. A plebiscite among the membership endorsed Jabotinsky's move by a large majority, but his opponents seceded and founded the small *Jewish State Party, which was represented at the 18th Zionist Congress (1933) by seven delegates, as against 46 Revisionist delegates.

The first large-scale political action of the Revisionist Union was a world petition (1934) addressed by Jewish men and women to Britain's king and Parliament and to the governments and parliaments of the states of which they were citizens. More than 600,000 Jews in 24 countries signed the petition. After the Arlosoroff murder trial, an attempt at a reconciliation between the Revisionists and the Zionist leadership was made in 1934. At the initiative of Pinḥas *Rutenberg, Jabotinsky and David *Ben-Gurion met in London and, after lengthy negotiations, signed three agreements. The first enjoined all Zionist parties to refrain from certain forms of party warfare, notably "libel, slander, insult to individuals and groups." The second was a labor agreement providing for a modus vivendi between the Histadrut and the Revisionist workers, including the controversial issues of strikes. The third provided for suspension of the Revisionist boycott against the Zionist funds and a guarantee of immigration certificates for members of Betar. The agreements were welcomed by Zionist public opinion, but the labor agreement was submitted to a referendum of Histadrut members and rejected by a majority. The atmosphere of goodwill petered out. When the Zionist General Council voted a "discipline clause," intended to preclude independent political activities of Zionist parties (1935), a plebiscite held among Revisionists decided to secede from the World Zionist Organization and to establish a new Zionist body. Elected by 713,000 voters, the constituent assembly of the New Zionist Organization (NZO) met in Vienna with de Haas as chairman (September 1935). Jabotinsky was elected president (*nasi*). The aim of the NZO was formulated as "the redemption of the Jewish people and its land, the revival of its state and language, and the implanting of the sacred treasures of Jewish tradition in Jewish life. These objectives were to be attained by the creation of a Jewish majority in Palestine on both sides of the Jordan, the upbuilding of a Jewish state on the basis of civil liberty and social justice in the spirit of Jewish tradition, the return to Zion of all who seek Zion, and the liquidation of the Jewish Dispersion. This aim transcends the interests of individuals, groups, or classes."

In the later 1930s the NZO called for a policy aimed at speedy "evacuation" of the Jewish masses from the "danger zone" in Eastern and Central Europe, based on "alliances" with the governments of those countries. A ten-year plan for the transfer to and absorption in Palestine of 1,500,000 Jews was prepared in 1938. In 1938–39 the scheme gained the sympathy of Polish government circles, which seemed to be ready to intervene with the British government and raise the problem of Jewish mass emigration at the League of Nations. But Jewish public opinion overwhelmingly opposed the "evacuation plan" as unwarranted and irresponsible publicity, playing into the hands of "antisemitic governments." At the same time the Revisionists were instrumental in transforming "illegal" immigration to Palestine from a trickle into a mass movement, which brought thousands of European Jews in "illegal" ships to the shores of Palestine until 1940. The NZO opposed and combated the partition of Palestine as proposed in 1937 by the Palestine Royal Commission. Jabotinsky testified in London before the commission, while B. *Akzin gave evidence before the Palestine Partition Commission and advocated the "evacuation scheme" before the Intergovernmental Refugee Committee in Evian, France, in 1938.

With the outbreak of World War II, NZO activities ceased in continental Europe and political work was confined to Jerusalem, London, and New York. In 1939 Jabotinsky called for the suspension of the struggle against the British for the duration of the war, the concentration of all efforts to defeat Nazi Germany, and the creation of a Jewish army to fight alongside the Allies, and of a Jewish World Council to represent the entire Jewish people at the future peace conference. Jabotinsky's death in New York (August 1940) deprived the movement of its founder and leader. His successors continued their work, mostly in the United States, by information campaigns intended to arouse the attention of governments and public opinion to the plight of the Jewish people in Europe. They published full-page advertisements in leading American newspapers calling for the abolition of the White Paper and later for the relinquishment of the British Mandate over Palestine. They raised money for the *Irgun Ẓeva'i Le'ummi (IẒL) and to help the survivors of the death camps.

In the early 1940s a minor split occurred in the Revisionist Party in Palestine. With the tacit approval of its leadership, one of the members of its central committee, Binyamin Eliav (then Lubotzky), held private talks with the *Mapai leaders Berl *Katznelson and Eliyahu *Golomb, as a result of which a draft agreement between the Revisionist movement and Mapai was prepared and signed by them on the basis of two principles:

(1) a common platform of Jewish war aims, including the establishment of "the Jewish state in the historical boundaries of Ereẓ Israel," and

(2) the return of the Revisionists to the World Zionist Organization and the merging of the Revisionist labor organization with the Histadrut and of the Irgun Ẓeva'i Le'ummi (IẒL) with the *Haganah. Eri *Jabotinsky also signed the draft. Talks on the proposal came to naught, however, mainly because of a forceful veto by David Ben-Gurion, who was in the United States at the time. An opposition group, Hitna'arut, led by Eliav, was formed in the Revisionist movement, demanding its unconditional return to the official Zionist and *yishuv* institutions. In 1944 most of its members seceded and took the lead in founding an independent party Tenu'at ha-Am, which was active until 1948.

After the war, when the creation of a Jewish state had officially become the aim of Zionism and “illegal” immigration was conducted on a large scale by the Haganah, while some cooperation was established between the Haganah and IẒL, the Revisionist leaders decided to rejoin the Zionist Organization, and 42 Revisionist delegates were elected to the 22nd Zionist Congress (1946). In Palestine, two Revisionist representatives signed the Declaration of Independence of the State of Israel on May 14, 1948, but their party was not invited to participate in the Provisional Government. When the IẒL disbanded, its veterans founded the new *Ḥerut Party in Israel (October 1948); it won 14 seats in the First Knesset (1949), while the Revisionist list was unable to seat a single deputy. In the Diaspora, Revisionist groups remained mostly loyal to the old framework, but in 1950 a world union was founded called Berit Ḥerut ha-Ẓohar, with Ḥerut as its organization in Israel. A Revisionist representative was elected to the Jewish Agency Executive in April 1963 by a majority vote, against strong opposition from the Zionist labor parties. But the rift between the Revisionist and the labor camps was largely healed in the later 1960s, when the *Eshkol government decided to transfer Jabotinsky’s remains to Mount Herzl in Jerusalem and particularly after Ḥerut leaders, as part of the *Gaḥal bloc, joined the government of national unity in 1967. In the 1968 World Zionist Congress, Revisionists accounted for 69 delegates out of 644 (10.7%).

In the 1920s, and particularly in the 1930s, the Revisionist movement maintained a number of newspapers and periodicals in several countries. Apart from *Razsvet*, a French-language weekly *La Voie Nouvelle* appeared in Paris. In Poland the Yiddish weekly *Der Nayer Veg* enjoyed popularity in the mid-1930s, when it was edited by the poet Uri Ẓevi *Greenberg. In the late 1930s the great Yiddish daily in Warsaw, *Der Moment*, became closely linked with the Revisionist movement. Robert Stricker’s *Neue Welt* in Vienna served the Revisionist movement as long as Stricker himself was one of its leaders. In London *The Jewish Standard* was edited by Abraham Abrahams. In Johannesburg, South Africa, *The Jewish Herald* is the organ of the Revisionist movement.

In Palestine the daily *Do’ar ha-Yom* purchased by Jabotinsky in 1928 had a Revisionist-oriented editorial policy. It continued to be published for about two years. A maximalist Revisionist faction, led by Abba *Aḥimeir, Y.H. *Yeivin, and U.Ẓ. Greenberg published in the early 1930s its own paper *Ḥazit ha-Am*. The daily *Ha-Yarden* existed in Jerusalem for several years in the mid-1930s but for lack of funds became a weekly and was transferred to Tel Aviv in 1935. In 1938 *Ha-Mashkif* began to appear again and continued to be published through the period of statehood. The monthly *Beitar*, edited by Joseph *Klausner and B.Z. Netanyahu was published in Jerusalem in the mid-1930s and became the ideological and literary organ of the Revisionist-oriented public in Palestine. In the State of Israel, the daily *Ḥerut* served the movement until its merger with *Ha-Boker* in 1960 into the daily *Ha-Yom*. The latter closed in 1970.

See also *Jabotinsky; *Jewish Legion; *Betar; *Herut; *Irgun Ẓevai Le’ummi.

[Joseph B. Schechtman]

Some Historical Notes on the Development of the Right in Zionist and Israeli Politics

INTRODUCTION. The history of the parties of the “right” within the Zionist movement and the development of a society outside that of the General Labor Federation (the Histradrut) is much less known than that of the latter and of the Labor movement. The political dominance and ideology of the latter went unchallenged, both in theory and in practice, at least since the early 1930s. The “national right” or the “radical right”[1] was, in this respect, in a much better position than the “liberal” or “civil” right but its historiography nevertheless concentrated on several periods and a succession of events and is far from being complete. The Zionist “right” was generally credited with a monolithic image: for its supporters, the national and political movement was the only one in Zionism that fought, without aberrations, for the establishment of a Jewish State; for its opponents, it was an expression of “reactionary” foundations, a barren movement, whose historical function was negative from beginning to end. Both attitudes are generalizations with a clear ideological coloring. Both hold, but from different starting points, with Leonard Fein that “Ḥerut remained faithful to the Revisionist platform…”[2] i.e., that there have been hardly any changes in the Zionist “right” since its founding in 1925, apart from varied emphases stemming from the changes in status and circumstances of Zionism in the last 50 years, principally in the wake of the Holocaust and the establishment of the State of Israel. Both, to a large extent, ignore one of the questions that interest historians and sociologists dealing with political and social movements, namely, that of the internal dynamic during times of change and the appearance of adaptation or response to changing circumstances.

The rise to power of the Likkud, with Ḥerut as the main component of this new political constellation, has created a certain interest in its ideological heritage and political style. This interest focused mainly not on the history of the movement but on the political and spiritual heritage of Ze’ev Jabotinsky, the founder of the Revisionist movement.

Within Ḥerut this was an attempt to give credence to actual positions from Jabotinsky’s teachings, in order to defend or criticize the political behavior of the government headed by Menaḥem Begin. An internal dispute broke out in Ḥerut following presentation of their Peace Plan, regarding fidelity to the Jabotinsky platform, and reached its peak in January 1978.[3] Opponents viewed the government as a condemnable continuation of the Jabotinsky heritage, which was judged as wrong, barren and dangerous. Their intention was to point out that Ḥerut – and in its footsteps, the Likkud – was unable to free itself of the negative tradition of Revisionism in both foreign and home policy. To a very large extent the process of personification of the “right” continued; previously Revisionism had been identified with the personality of Jabotinsky, but the “right” is now identified with that of Menaḥem Begin.[4]

The purpose of this article is not to propose chapter headings for a history of the “right” from its inception with the founding of the Revisionist Zionists and Betar in the early 1920s (see "Revisionists, Zionist"), by way of the struggle of Irgun Ẓeva'i Le'ummi in the years 1937–48, and founding of Ḥerut and, subsequently, of Gaḥal (1965) and the Likkud (1973) until Likkud's victory in the elections of May 1977. The intention is to throw some light on a few of the basic problems in the development of the Zionist and Israeli "right," and to concentrate in particular on the above-mentioned question of continuity and change, of tradition and alteration, on both the ideological and socio-organizational levels.

REVISIONISM AND HERUT – CONTINUITY OR CHANGE. As noted, it is commonly held that there is an uninterrupted and almost single-minded continuity between the Revisionists under Jabotinsky and Ḥerut under Menaḥem Begin. The avowed fidelity to Jabotinsky's heritage, identical ingredients of leadership and political style, a certain organizational continuity, partial social-demographic identity, and a continuance of fundamental axioms, have created and given root to this. It is, however, clear that the far-reaching changes in the patterns of reality from the time of Revisionism to those in which Ḥerut functioned since 1949 should have left some mark of change and alteration. In fact, Revisionism did undergo a process of change and adaptation to the reality of the sovereign Jewish State after May 1948, as did all the other political and social movements in Israel. The Revisionists, however, were faced, at least in theory, with one problem of principle that did not worry the other Zionist and Israeli movements. In 1934, Ze'ev Jabotinsky wrote to David Ben-Gurion: "It is a matter of indifference to me whether the state of the Jews will be an orthodox Jewish state or a socialist state – the main thing is that there should be a state." Jabotinsky thus repeated what had been written by J.B. Schechtman in the Russian-language Revisionist organ, *Rassviet*, in December 1925: "(Revisionism)'s program and ideology contain no socialist or religious aspects that are unacceptable to Zionism as a whole… Revisionism is a political movement… On socialist questions our opinion, like that of the World Zionist Federation, is neutral." The ideology and declared Revisionist program stressed that they related only to the *period of building up* a Jewish majority in the Land of Israel as an essential base for the establishment of the State of Israel. But Revisionism did not dissolve in 1948. Revisionism was a social and ideological movement deeply anchored in Jewish public life, and, from its very beginning, had set aims beyond the establishment of a sovereign state. It considered establishment of the state as a partial and incomplete achievement both in terms of its territorial boundaries and from the point of view of its social and cultural image. Revisionism, therefore, had to adjust to the decisive change in reality in the Land of Israel with the transfer from an autonomous society to a sovereign society equipped with the apparatus of statehood. It had to reexamine its philosophy, renew its organizational structure and find new social support.

FROM POLAND TO THE LAND OF ISRAEL. Prior to 1939, Revisionism's main strength as a social and cultural movement in Eastern Europe was principally in Poland. There Revisionism quickly developed from a small political faction and a number of youth and student organizations into one of the largest and most crystallized popular movements within Zionism. This base was destroyed immediately on the outbreak of World War II. Revisionism's strength in the Land of Israel was relatively weak; it grew much more slowly and its organization was feeble. But even before the War, and with greater resolution afterwards, the center of gravity of Revisionist activity moved with the founding of the *Irgun Ẓeva'i Le'ummi. The IẒL (and subsequently Leḥi) drew much of their strength from the Revisionist public life in Poland, mainly from Betar, but after 1939 that source was blocked. Henceforth the strength of Revisionism and of IẒL were drawn from within the Land of Israel only. After 1944 support for IẒL in Israel expanded far in excess of the support that the Revisionists had had prior to World War II. Members joined IẒL who had belonged neither to the Revisionist Zionists nor to Betar. Ḥerut's electorate in the First Knesset in January 1949 was composed of veteran supporters of Revisionism, members of IẒL and supporters of its struggle between 1944 and 1948. From this point of view Ḥerut was a new demographic and social entity, even if its political elite comprised ex-members of IẒL and Betar.[5] Ḥerut obtained 49,782 votes in 1949, 45,652 in 1951, 107,190 in 1956, 130,515 in 1959 and 138,590 in 1961. It was only the establishment of Gaḥal, a union of Ḥerut and the Liberals, descendants of the *General Zionists, that doubled the number of voters for the new political framework of the "right" to 256,975 in 1965, 296,294 in 1969, 423,309 in 1973, and finally 583,968 in 1977. The membership of the Irgun Ẓeva'i Le'ummi comprised 45% born in Eastern Europe, 17% in Ereẓ Israel and 10% in the countries of Asia and Africa. Following the mass immigration to Israel of the 1950s, Ḥerut began to draw more and more supporters from voters from Asian and African countries. It is true that Revisionism had previously gained support from these quarters, but in the 1950s it became the main reservoir for the electoral growth of Ḥerut, and this happened without ignoring the continuity of the East European elite, most of whom were members of the free professions, employed and self-employed and with a formal education. In addition to the waves of immigration and the feeling of deprivation and alienation on the part of the manual laborers form Asia and Africa and the sympathy that they held for the nationalist-activist position taken by Ḥerut and its political culture, its growth was assisted by the differentiation among the Israeli working classes between the private and public sectors. Both before and after 1948 Revisionism and Ḥerut were anchored in Jewish public life, which rejected the philosophy and Zionist-pioneering make-up of its various components – both in theory and in practice. The most significant change was that the Ḥerut voting public increasingly became manual and white collar employees of a social and economic ilk that differed entirely from that of Jewish society in Poland of the 1920s and 1930s. This affected both the style of the movement, which acquired a new popular image, and the contents of its philosophy. After a difficult internal struggle, Ḥerut drew the conclusions from this change and established a faction within the Histadrut – the *Blue-White* faction – which expressed radical formulations in wages and in the realm of social policy different from the formulation that had been acceptable to Revisionism in the Mandatory period.[6] Fidelity to the ideological tradition and ideological change gave rise to a network of philosophies that, on the one hand, included emphasis on the priority status of the private sector and the demand for maximum reduction of state involvement in the economy while, on the other, there was support for widespread social legislation (minimum salary, national health insurance, etc.). What was described by Revisionism's opponents as "speaking with two voices" was an authentic expression of the internal complexity of Ḥerut and the change in its social structure.

FROM PARTY TO UNDERGROUND AND FROM UNDERGROUND TO PARTY. The adaptation to changes was not achieved without a severe organizational upheaval. Even prior to 1944 Revisionism was far from being a one-dimensional movement in terms of the opinions held by its members, and its organizational structure was split as well. There was a big difference between the Zionist Revisionists, the political arm, and Betar, the youth organization, and in 1933 the tension between the various groups caused the first split in Revisionism with the breaking away of a group of veterans headed by Meir Grossman and the founding of the *Jewish State Party. Within the party there was a tendency to undermine the basic axioms of Revisionism that expressed a nationalist-activist philosophy and demanded a change in the methods of operation of the movement. The IẒL grew within Betar in an underground fashion and contrary to the stand of the Betar leaders. Not till 1944 did the IẒL become the main and most active organization within Revisionism; after Jabotinsky's death and the outbreak of World War II, they disbanded. There were still those within the Zionist Revisionists and Betar who felt that the IẒL was a temporary entity and that at the conclusion of the struggle against the British its role would be over, and the leadership would be returned to the veterans of the two groups. This attitude gave rise to severe tension among them, but in practice Revisionism as a political movement was eliminated after 1939 and the IẒL took over. The latter was not the underground arm of a bona fide political party (as was the Haganah), but a sovereign underground organization.

The IẒL was not merely a new organizational entity but made a break that affected history of Revisionism, a break that came about not only because of the personal identification between the leaders of the IẒL and the former leaders of Betar, and the fidelity of the IẒL leaders, not to Revisionism as a movement, but to Ze'ev Jabotinsky as leader and teacher. Jabotinsky and Revisionism believed in the need for the existence of the movement as a *bona fide* party, functioning on a political plane and believing in the power of moral pressure and in the moral stand of Zionism, and in the force of common interests between Zionism and Great Britain. The IẒL rejected this attitude and placed its trust mainly on the pressure generated by armed struggle. To a large extent, this was a transition from the political philosophy of Jabotinsky to the revolutionary philosophy of Abba Aḥimeir which Jabotinsky completely rejected although he understood its roots and motives.

Menaḥem Begin's personality and activity mark the combination of the political philosophy and the revolutionary, despite the fact that at the Warsaw Convention of Betar in September 1938 he expounded the revolutionary philosophy in opposition to Jabotinsky's legal philosophy. Begin rejected the reasoning of the Loḥamei Ḥerut Israel and linked the revolutionary and political philosophies. Although the IẒL, under his leadership, didn't believe in the need for joint action by Zionism and Britain and indulged in underground activity for the removal of the British from Ereẓ Israel, his underground activity was largely designed to stress the hardship in which Jewry found itself after the Holocaust and the aspirations of the Jews to realize the moral and historical right to a Jewish state. Contrary to the Leḥi, the Irgun Ẓeva'i Le'ummi was closely linked to Jabotinsky's inheritance, even though its activity was contrary to his philosophy. The spirit of Aḥimeir and Uri Ẓevi Greenberg held great sway in the IẒL but it was Begin who underscored and strengthened the attachment to Jabotinsky and expressed the ideological continuity between Jabotinsky and Betar, and the Irgun Ẓeva'i Le'ummi.

The IẒL did not go out of existence in 1949, nor did it return the mantle of leadership to the veterans of the Zionist Revisionists and Betar. The Zionist Revisionist leadership brought the party back into the Zionist Federation in 1946 and took part in the Provisional Council of State; three of its members were amongst the signatories of the Scroll of Independence. There was a low of distrust between the leadership of IẒL and that of the Zionist Revisionists, with the former considering itself as the new leadership. The IẒL emerged from the underground and established a new political party in the State of Israel, "the Ḥerut Movement, founded by the Irgun Ẓeva'i Le'ummi. It replaced the Zionist Revisionists and created an amalgamation with the Zionist Revisionists in the Diaspora under the aegis of the Zionist Movement – Brith Ḥerut-ha-Ẓohar. The veteran Zionist leadership ran independently in the elections to the First Knesset but its list – the Jabotinsky Movement – Brith ha-Ẓohar – gained only 2,892 votes (0.7% of the votes). Part of the veteran leadership joined the Ḥerut Movement while others left Revisionism. (Some of them joined the General Zionists, while others, such as Dr. Benjamin Lubotsky, after a short-lived attempt to establish an independent party called Mifleget ha-Am, even joined Mapai.) In the 1950s a significant change took place in the leadership of Ḥerut, with some members of the IẒL and its supporters in Israel and abroad, such as Hillel Kook, Shmuel Marlin, Shmuel Katz and Uri Ẓevi Greenberg, leaving the movement, while Revisionists who had belonged to the "moderate" line in Revisionism joined and were included in its Knesset list.

The new party's main problem was twofold: on the one hand it had to establish its right of legitimization as a democratic-parliamentary movement, free of its past as a breakaway underground movement and meriting widespread political support irrespective of any sympathy for its struggle against the British; and, on the other, for the right of legitimacy as a political party in opposition to a political and national structure it considered faulty and negative. In the 1950s, the Ḥerut Movement deleted the words "Founded by the Irgun Ẓeva'i Le'ummi" and toned down its policy to some extent. The claim-cum-aspiration for Israeli sovereignty over Transjordan was dropped from the party platform, and it adjusted to the rules of parliamentary-electoral contest, particularly after the serious crisis that broke out in the wake of the dispute over German reparations and the violent demonstration against the Knesset in January 1952. Voices were now heard within the Ḥerut claiming that it had no chance of defeating Mapai at the polls and that its excessive parliamentarianism was blunting its revolutionary character and turning it into a regular Israeli political party of the establishment. At this point Menaḥem Begin was the link between the democratic parliamentary approach of Jabotinsky and that of Ḥerut as against the revolutionarism and anti-parliamentary tendency within the movement. Victory for his line was complete when several of Leḥi's former leaders (led by Yiẓhak Shamir, current Speaker of the Knesset) joined the Ḥerut Movement. The anti-parliamentary tendencies in Ḥerut disappeared completely during the 1950s and the heritage of the underground and the separation of Revisionism and IẒL faded from the movement's behavioral patterns. During the 1960s the process of legitimization was completed with the establishment of the Ḥerut-Liberal Bloc (Gaḥal).

HISTORICAL RIGHT AND NATIONAL SOVEREIGNTY OVER WESTERN PALESTINE. The various groups and schools of thought within Revisionism had no uniform position with regard to the Arab problem. The conclusion, however, was the same: Revisionism, IẒL and Ḥerut stood for the historical right of the Jewish people to national sovereignty over Western Palestine.[7] Up to the Six-Day War, the Ḥerut Movement was the only Israeli political party that maintained in its manifestos the necessity for the "wholeness of the homeland." The policy and ethics of the "iron curtain" were acceptable to Revisionism and Ḥerut, both of whom felt that the Arabs would come to terms with the Jewish state only after it became clear to them that it was an existing and organic fact in the Middle East. However, while Jabotinsky felt that the main point was that the Arabs of Palestine were a national minority living in a territory where the Jewish national majority ruled and that within this context they were entitled to the full legal rights of a national minority, the Ḥerut Movement spoke about civil equality of rights of the Arabs of Palestine, not in a separate autonomous framework.

Following the Six-Day War the principle of national sovereignty over Western Palestine became the main issue in Gaḥal's platform and the moderate Liberals also adopted it. From this point of view, the traditional position of the Liberals had become more extreme, but from a different point of view it created unity in the Gaḥal framework, and subsequently moderation in that of the Likkud in positions of the Ḥerut Movement, for the 1977 election manifesto no longer explicitly determined the need to apply Israeli sovereignty forthwith to Judea and Samaria.[8] In this area a gradual process of withdrawal can be detected – initially a retreat from the demand for sovereignty over Transjordan and subsequently a tactical renouncement of the demand for the introduction of sovereignty over Western Palestine. Begin's Peace Plan was anchored in Jabotinsky's political program by offering provisional autonomy to the Arabs of the territories, but not in the context of Jewish sovereignty. The question of national sovereignty over Judea and Samaria remained open, at least theoretically, although there was a declared objection to the application of any other

sovereignty over these territories. There was therefore opposition to the Peace Plan within Ḥerut. In effect, Begin's opponents of various hues within Ḥerut accused him of deserting the fundamental principle of Revisionism, i.e., that there should be no retreat from the public declaration concerning Israel's right of sovereignty over all of Western Palestine. This opinion – supported by that of Revisionism – maintains that for Zionism to relinquish, even with reservations, any part of Western Palestine, would be tantamount to recognizing the legitimacy of another national claim over it. The Premier, on the other hand, considered his Peace Plan as taking due account of current political facts as well as of Jabotinsky's political heritage, inasmuch as it proposed autonomy for the Arabs of the territories but opposed the introduction of any other national sovereignty over them. The debate revealed to a large extent not only the unique reliance of Ḥerut on the Jabotinsky heritage but also the current ideological hangover from the ideological struggle of the thirties and forties. As Prime Minister, Begin continued to practice Jabotinsky's belief in the power of the moral claim, of historical right and cooperation based on common interests with the Western Power (the U.S.A. replacing Britain), but not Jabotinsky's philosophy that Zionism does not need to conceal the full scope of its national and political aspirations. It is an irony of history that the argument between Begin and his opponents within his movement recalls to a certain extent the dispute between Jabotinsky and Mapai at the 17th Zionist Congress in 1931. Jabotinsky had demanded that the Congress publicly declare that the aim of Zionism was to establish a Jewish state in Palestine and Transjordan, while the leaders of Mapai considered such a declaration dangerous and superfluous and preferred a vague formulation.[9]

PRIVATE ECONOMY AND STATE INVOLVEMENT. Jabotinsky failed in his attempt to gain the political cooperation of the "civilian" parties in the *Yishuv* and Zionist movement. From this point of view, the establishment of Gaḥal in 1965 was something Begin achieved where Jabotinsky failed. This amalgamation was not based solely on the assumption that only a unification of the camp of the right would be able to overcome the continued hegemony of the Labor movement. It was created because Ḥerut and the Liberals shared the same platform in their economic and social ideology. Revisionism, and subsequently Ḥerut, considered the private sector and private initiative as the main motivating force of the economy, in which they demanded a minimum of state involvement. Both parties considered this involvement as strengthening the base of the ruling party. Jabotinsky, more than any other Zionist leader, accredited the bourgeoisie and private initiative with moral justification and moral validity within a comprehensive socio-economic theory that had no room for partisan-class interests. However, the cooperation with the Liberals, based on an appreciation of, and belief in, the primacy of the private sector and a reduction of state involvement, was accompanied in Ḥerut by the demand by some sections for state involvement in various social and economic areas that were contrary to the Liberal program, such as the introduction of a minimum wage, national health insurance, etc. The tension between Ḥerut's bourgeois ideological foundation and its etatist tendencies was accentuated as a result of the increase in the number of organized workers in Ḥerut, principally after the establishment of the Blue-White faction in the Histadrut. This internal tension was blunted to a great extent because Ḥerut was in the position of being a critical opposition with whose political nationalist outlook employees could identify, and also because it was a vehicle for expression of socio-economic bitterness, frustration and deprivation. During the first year of the Likkud rule, this internal tension did not surface, but it can be clearly seen as one of the most difficult problems of the Likkud as the party in power, having to honor both ideological commitments and its loyalty to the ideological heritage of Revisionism and Jabotinsky as well as its electoral commitments to the voting public at large. Ḥerut has absolutely opposed the socio-economic structure of the Israeli economy and society as they took shape during the period of Labor Movement hegemony, but the ideological tradition and commitment to work for a basic change of this structure has not yet been realized.

SETTLEMENT AS A STATE FACTOR. During the Mandatory period, Revisionism did not attach political importance to the pioneering settlement activity and strategy adopted by the Labor Movement. It viewed collective settlement as an element that channeled to itself vast amounts of money from the capital, beyond the degree of its importance, which were thus wasted on superfluous collectivist experiments. Collective settlement was seen in the main as the great rival of the private economy and its victor over the monies of the limited resources of national capital. The advantage of the various forms of agricultural settlements was judged by the criterion of how many jobs they could ensure. On the political level, Revisionism believed that political facts should be determined by political negotiations, their commitments, and not by the creation of settlements. This inimical attitude softened after the Six-Day War, with Ḥerut and the Likkud supporting, morally and politically, Jewish settlements and settlement activity in Judea and Samaria, and applying political and moral pressure on the government to guarantee their existence and expansion. This support stemmed mainly from recognition of the fact that in view of the Alignment government's preparedness for territorial compromise in Judea and Samaria, settlement in the territories was the most outstanding and concrete expression of the Israeli demand for sovereignty over them. The Gaḥal and Likkud manifestos declared that Jews have the right to settle in Judea and Samaria and demanded that the government increase the settlement momentum. The testing point of the Likkud after it came to power was in keeping the promises and fulfilling the expectations in all aspects of settlement. The Likkud Peace Plan did indeed ensure urban and rural settlement throughout Judea and Samaria, but political circumstances have caused a freeze on settlement activity. This was interpreted by those favoring settlement within the Likkud and its supporters within *Gush Emunim and The Land of Israel Movement (see 9: 41ff; 2: 774; 6: 575; 14: 1291; 10: 840), as an expression of the old tradition of Revisionism which had not valued pioneering settlement and had not accorded it any supreme political or Zionist value.

THE WEIGHT OF PERSONALITY. Ze'ev Jabotinsky and Menaḥem Begin were dissimilar both in character and in the projection of their intellectual and emotional world. The degree of esteem in which Begin held Jabotinsky is unique, far in excess of what is usual amongst political leaders. For Begin, Jabotinsky was the only true leader and guide in his generation, both as an ideological authority and by personal example.[10] For many years both of them wielded a large degree of authority in the movement that overcame many internal divisions and tensions. The personal trials that Begin underwent during his period of Zionist activity were much harsher than those of Jabotinsky, and the political and human decisions which confronted him, particularly during the struggle against the British, were of a nature that Jabotinsky never had to face. In terms of their political standing within their own movement (outside it both were leaders who were held in disrepute and reviled in a more extreme and bitter way than any other Zionist leaders), Begin has the same position of authority held by Jabotinsky, although the political patterns are entirely different. It would nevertheless appear that the connecting link between them is not merely that of continuity, but rather in the fact that the ideological, political and moral authority of Jabotinsky's achievements were the main factor that turned a social and political movement into a stable and ongoing political and social entity; Begin with his personality serves not only as the main connecting link to the Jabotinskian tradition of the past, but, like Jabotinsky, he is the cement binding together the various elements in the party. In the figures of Jabotinsky and Begin can be found a revelation as to the great weight of personality in history, for it would be difficult to understand how the continuity was created between Revisionism and the IẒL and Ḥerut without Begin, since the status of Revisionism was irrevocably dependent on the figure of Jabotinsky and that of Ḥerut on the figure and personality of Begin. It is a case of a social and political movement which, although its roots are deep, needs an authoritative personality in order to exist.

Notes

1. The problem of defining the ideological and social face of the Revisionist movement has engaged the attention of members of the Movement, its opponents and scholars. The accepted distinction into "right" and "left" which defines the latter as accepting the socialist or social democratic world outlook, that views the working class as the main social stratum and the collective economy as the ideal one, and "right," on the other hand, as anti-socialist, considering the middle class and private initiative as the kingpin of society and the economy, is here adapted, despite the fact that these accepted definitions largely ignore the special nature of the "left" and of the "right" in the Zionist movement and Israeli society as compared with "left" and "right" in the countries of Western democracy.
2. Leonard J. Fein: Israel (Boston, 1967), p. 89.
3. During the dispute in the Central Committee of Ḥerut, Menaḥem Begin battled against the critics of his Peace Plan: "There are some here who sat at his (Jabotinsky's) feet, and we never turned our backs on him." This barb was directed principally at MK Geula Cohen, the most bitter opponent of his policy, with Begin referring to the fact that Leḥi, to which Geula Cohen belonged, had explicitly rebelled against the heritage of Jabotinsky, and that she was not therefore entitled to quote Jabotinsky in support of her opinions in opposition to the Premier. In August 1955 Begin had called upon Geula Cohen and her friends from Leḥi to return to the Ḥerut Movement and the Jabotinsky heritage: "My second appeal is addressed to all those pupils of Ze'ev Jabotinsky, to all those who have ever sat at his feet or learned from him. I call on you, from the bottom of my heart, not, heaven forbid, out of any sense of achievement, but in all humility: Come, return to the rock from which you were hewn; join us again. Among us are those who left him at a time of double weakness, our weakness of organization and public spirit and their spiritual weakness… but now, as the turning-point is heralded, let us each forgive the mistakes of the other… for the chain of Ze'ev Jabotinsky's disciples has not yet been broken, nor will it ever be." Menaḥem Begin: On conclusion of the election campaign (Tel Aviv, August, 1955). The most comprehensive biography of Menaḥem Begin is that of Eitan Haber, *Menaḥem Begin – The Legend and the Man*, Delacorte Press, N.Y., 1978.
4. See: Yaacov Shavit, "*Revisionism in Zionism – The Revisionist Movement: the Plan for Colonizatory Regime and Social Ideas*," 1925–35 (Tel Aviv, 1977. Heb), pp. 27–34.
5. The average age of IẒL members was 26, half of whom were manual workers and half white collar workers and members of the free professions; 65% lived in the main cities.
6. The "Blue-White" faction joined the Histadrut in 1965 after a legal struggle, and in the elections to the Labor Federation they won 15.2% of the votes to the Histadrut Committee.
7. The first manifesto of Ḥerut declared that "the Hebrew homeland, whose area stretches on both sides of the Jordan, is an historical and geographical whole." The Likkud manifesto for the Ninth Knesset, March 1977, determined that "the right of the Jewish people to the Land of Israel is eternal, indisputable and integral to the right to security and peace; accordingly, Judea and Samaria will not be handed over to any foreign rule; between the sea and the Jordan there will be Israeli sovereignty only."
8. It did state that Judea and Samaria would be under Israeli sovereignty only, but did not determine a date for its implementation. The Likkud Peace Plan postponed the decision regarding sovereignty.
9. The text of the Resolution proposed by Ha-Ẓohar at the 17th Congress in Basel in July 1931 was that the Congress declare that "the demand for the establishment of a national home for the Jewish people in Palestine was promised unambiguously" and that the reestablishment promised under the Mandate of "the Jewish national home in Palestine," meant making all of the Mandatory territory, on both sides of the Jordan, into a Jewish state, i.e., a commonwealth with a Jewish majority. A critical examination of the position of Begin in the light of the ideas and policy of Jabotinsky was made by Israel Eldad in the article "*Bein Mahapakh le-Mahapekhah*" in *Ha-Uma*, 54, May 1978, pp. 170–83.
10. See, for example, Menaḥem Begin, "What We Learned from Ze'ev Jabotinsky," *Ma'ariv*, Aug. 30, 1976.

[Ya'akov Shavit]

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REVISTA CULTULUI MOZAIC ("Jewish Religious Review"), a fortnightly review published in Romanian by the Federation of Jewish Communities of Romania. It was founded in 1956, and by 1970 was the only Jewish newspaper in Romania. Appearing in three languages, Romanian, Yiddish, and Hebrew, it was the only periodical in the countries of Eastern Europe with a Hebrew section. It was edited by Moses *Rosen, chief rabbi of Romania. The review's propaganda for the government was, generally speaking, slight, appearing chiefly for special occasions such as parliamentary elections. Other articles have dealt with the Romanian national festival, the eastern bloc's version of the struggle for peace, and similar subjects. In addition to traditional religious material, the review devotes much space to articles on the history of Romanian Jewish communities, Jewish personalities, Jewish writers, and economic life. News appears from Israel and Jewish groups in the Diaspora. Other features are translations from Yiddish and rabbinic literature.

[Theodor Lavi]

REVIVIM (Heb. רְבִיבִים), kibbutz in southern Israel, 21 mi. (34 km.) S. of Beersheba, affiliated with Ha-Kibbutz ha-Me'uḥad. It was founded in 1943 as the southernmost of three observation outposts established to explore natural conditions and farming possibilities in the Negev and to create contacts with the Bedouin. Revivim was initially named Tel Ẓofim ("Mound of Scouts") and had only 15 young men and women. Lack of water constituted their central problem. In 1944, a system was worked out to divert flash flood waters from a nearby wadi to irrigate plantations of date palms, pomegranates, and olives. In December 1947, after the outbreak of hostilities which culminated in the Israel *War of Independence, the kibbutz rebuffed strong attacks of Bedouin irregulars; later, completely cut off by the invading Egyptian army, it held out until Israel forces broke through in Operation Yo'av (December 1948). After the war, Revivim had to be entirely reconstructed. In 1970, it had 429 inhabitants, increasing to 644 in 2002. Farming became feasible on a larger scale after the kibbutz was connected with the national water network. Field crops (in partnership with nearby kibbutzim), olive orchards and an olive press, dairy cattle (in partnership with Kibbutz Nir Eliyahu), and poultry were the mainstays of its farm economy. Its factories produced plastic products and ventilation systems. Revivim has a local museum in a patio courtyard reconstructed from the original observation post. Northwest of Revivim are the ruins of ancient Ḥaluẓa (see *Elusa). Its name, meaning "Dew Drops," is mentioned in Psalms 65:11.

WEBSITES: www.revivim.org.il; www.revivim.kibbutz.org.il.

[Efraim Orni]

REVSON, CHARLES HASKELL (1906–1975), U.S. industrialist. Born in Boston, Revson got his first job as a textile buyer in New York City. He was sales manager for a nail polish firm when, in 1923, he resigned to begin his own company, Revlon, Inc., with his brother Joseph and a chemist, Charles Lachman. His first important innovation was the introduction of true-color nail enamels, to replace the old transparent nail polish. He sold them first through salons and then through department stores. In 1939 he inaugurated matched lipstick and nail colors and introduced marketing innovations such as giving the colors of the products exotic, evocative names. This concept sparked the whole cosmetics industry into new growth, catapulting Revlon, Inc. to prominence. Revlon became the world's largest cosmetics manufacturer, with 26 companies in 12 European lands and in Israel, Australia, and Japan, and with markets in 80 countries. Revson served as president of Revlon from 1932 to 1962 and then as chairman from 1962 until his death in 1975.

In 1956 he established the Charles H. Revson Foundation, through which he donated more than $10 million during his lifetime. The majority of these donations went to organizations serving the Jewish community, medical institutions, schools, and universities. Revson helped found the Albert Einstein School of Medicine of Yeshiva University. He served as chairman on a number of national drives, including the United Jewish Appeal and United Cerebral Palsy.

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[Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

REVUE DES ÉTUDES JUIVES (REJ), Jewish scholarly periodical in Europe. The *Revue* was founded in 1880 as the organ of the Société des Études Juives, on the initiative of Zadoc *Kahn and Isidore *Loeb to stimulate Jewish studies in France. It was to deal with all aspects of the Jewish past, excluding dogmatic or purely denominational matters. The *Revue* published many important articles on the history of French Jewry, and also touched on all other fields of Jewish studies. It included a valuable and extensive book review section. Maintaining a high scholarly level, the *Revue* gained an important place among learned journals. The publication of the *Revue*, interrupted during World War II, was resumed afterward with the assistance of the Centre national de la recherche scientifique, the École pratique des hautes études (VIth section) and, for a few years, the Memorial Foundation. In 1961 the *Revue* merged with *Historia Judaica*, whose editor, Guido *Kisch, became coeditor of the *Revue*. The editorship of the REJ was held successively by Isidore Loeb, Israel Levi, Julien Weill, Maurice Liber, Georges *Vajda (1946–1980), G. *Nahon and Ch. *Touati for a time with G. Dahan, S. Mimouni (1997–), E. Oliel-Grausz (1997–2002), J.P. Rothschild (from 2001). Toward the end of the 20th century and into the 21st, ancient studies became more prominent, while medieval and French studies decreased slightly, and the bibliographical sections were expanded. A general index of vols. 1–50 (1910) was prepared by A. Hertz; a table of contents of vols. 50–100, appeared in 1936. G. *Nahon edited the *Tables et index* of vols. 101–125 (REJ 132:3, 1973); 126–131 (REJ 135:4, 1976); 132–138 (REJ 139:4, 1980); J.P. Rothschild, the *Tables et index…* [for vols. 139–158 (1980–1999)], (2003). The last issues are partially available on line.

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[Georges Weill / Jean-Pierre Rothschild (2nd ed.)]

REVUSKY, ABRAHAM (1889–1947), leader of the *Po'alei Zion movement and Zionist worker. Revusky was born in Smela, Ukraine, but spent his childhood years in Reḥovot, Israel, which his parents helped to found. The family returned to Russia for reasons of health and Abraham was educated in Russia and Austria. He returned to Russia before World War I, and joined the Po'alei Zion party, contributing to both the Russian and Yiddish press. During the Revolution of 1917–18, he was an administrative member of the Jewish community in Odessa. He became associated with Ukrainian nationalist circles and at the beginning of 1919 for a short while he held the position of minister for Jewish affairs in the nationalist Ukrainian government. He resigned from this position as a result of attacks perpetrated against the Jews by units of the Ukrainian army. His memoirs of this period (*In di Shvere Teg oyf Ukraine*, 1924) provide a historical document of much interest. From 1920 to 1921 his party sent him to Palestine to fight the anti-Zionist trends that had appeared within the Palestinian branch (Mifleget Po'alim Soẓyalistim, MPS; see *Israel, State of: Political Life and Parties). He participated in the founding conference of the Histadrut as a delegate of the MPS. In the summer of 1921 he was expelled from the country as a result of the publication of his pamphlet, "From Balfour to Samuel," in which he voiced what was considered to be destructive criticism of the Mandatory government. He left for Western Europe, and settled in Berlin, and in 1924 he went to the United States. After some hesitation he joined the "Rightist Po'alei Zion," contributing to Zionist propaganda activities in both Yiddish and English. His principal work, *Jews in Palestine*, was published in various editions and in several languages, the last in English in 1947. Revusky died in New York.

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REWARD AND PUNISHMENT. The doctrine of reward and punishment is central to Judaism throughout the ages; that man receives his just reward for his good deeds and just retribution for his transgressions is the very basis of the conception of both human and divine justice, and it is with the latter that this article deals. The doctrine of reward and punishment is incorporated in every classical enumeration of the fundamental principles of Judaism (see below, in philosophy). In the Bible the doctrine of reward and punishment – individual, national, and universal – is of this world. It is regarded as axiomatic that God rewards the righteous by granting them prosperity and well-being and punishes the wicked with destruction. It is the basis of the second paragraph of the *Shema* (Deut. 11:13–21): adherence to God's commandments will bring "the rain of the land in its seasons"; disobedience will cause Him "to shut up the heaven, that there be no rain, and the land will not yield her fruit." It is the subject of the two dire comminations in the Bible (Lev. 23 and Deut. 28). The reward of honoring one's parents will be "that your days may be long upon the earth which the Lord thy God giveth thee" (Ex. 20:12). The seeming prosperity of the wicked is fleeting; in the end he will be utterly destroyed (Ps. 92:8). Only in the drama of *Job is the doctrine of the suffering of the righteous examined, but even that book concludes with the banal and almost apathetic statement that the possessions which he had before the trial of his faith were doubled after he successfully passed that trial (cf. Job 1:2–3 with 42:12–13). Such agonizing cries as "why does the way of the wicked prosper" (Jer. 12:1) are made with the implication that they will receive their just retribution in the end.

The Talmud is equally insistent on the validity of the doctrine of reward and punishment, but the simple and even homely thesis of the Bible goes through various stages of refinement, finally reaching the view that in the end virtue is its own reward and vice its own punishment. It should be emphasized, however, that these stages are not necessarily in chronological succession, and side by side with the refinement and spiritualization of the biblical doctrine there is ample evidence of the belief in reward and punishment in this world. It is even given an almost mathematical exactitude with the often reiterated belief in "measure for measure" (*middah ke-neged middah*): "all the measures [of punishment and reward] taken by the Holy One, blessed be He, are in accordance with the principle of measure for measure" (Sanh. 90a; cf. Sot. 8b); and "from the very creation of the world the Holy One, blessed be He, arranged that by the measure with which a man measures is he measured" (Gen. R. 9:11). It finds its epigrammatic expression in the maxim of Hillel, "He saw a skull floating on the water and said 'Because thou didst drown someone, thou wast drowned and the end of him who drowned thee will be that he will be drowned'" (Avot 2:7). It was made a principle of the punishment meted out on various occasions. Such statements as "with boiling liquid they sinned, and with boiling liquid they were punished" (RH 12a) are almost standard in explaining the punishments meted out to sinners. In addition, there is a whole list of punishments which come in this world for specific transgressions: "for three things women die in childbirth" (Shab. 2:6), or "seven kinds of punishment come into the world for seven important transgressions," which are detailed (Avot 5:8).

Side by side with this approach, however, there was developed the nonmaterial concept of reward. It emerges with the dawn of the development of the Oral Law. *Avot de-Rabbi Nathan* ascribes the emergence of the two sects of the *Sadducees and the *Boethusians to two disciples of Antigonus of *Sokho, Zadok and Boethus, who interpreted the maxim of their master "Be not like servants who serve their master upon the condition of receiving a reward, but be like servants who serve their master without the condition of receiving a reward" (Avot 1:3) to be a denial of the doctrine of reward. R. Tarfon's maxim, "faithful is thy employer to pay thee the reward of thy labor" (*ibid.* 2:15), continues "and know that the grant of reward unto the righteous will be in the time to come," but this addition is missing in most of the manuscripts, and appears to be a later addition in order to make the statements agree with the more spiritualized attitude which developed. That attitude is vividly connected with what is given as an actual incident. It gives as the reason for the apostasy of Elisha b. *Avuyah that a man once told his son to go up to the roof of the house on a ladder and bring down some nestlings. The son obeyed his father and took care to drive away the mother before removing them. He thus fulfilled the only two injunctions of the Bible of which it is explicitly stated that he who fulfills them will be vouchsafed long life – honoring parents (Ex. 20:12) and driving away the mother (Deut. 22:7). On his descent from the ladder he fell down and was killed. It was this apparent flagrant denial of the truth of the doctrine of reward and punishment as laid down in the Bible which caused Elisha's apostasy. The Talmud explains that had he interpreted these verses as did "his daughter's son" R. Jacob ben *Korshai, who explained that the words "that thy days may be prolonged" refer to "the world that is wholly long" and "that it may be well with thee" to "the world that is wholly good" (i.e., the world to come), he would not have gone astray. From that the doctrine is laid down that "there is no reward in this world for the fulfillment of precepts" (Hul. 142a). The spiritualization of the doctrine, that virtue is its own reward and vice its own punishment, finds expression in the statement of Ben Azzai: "one good deed brings another in its train, and one sin another sin; for the reward of a good deed is a good deed, and the wages of sin is sin" (Avot 4:2).

Among the problems which exercised the minds of the rabbis, and to which they found no satisfactory answer, was that of "the righteous who suffers and the wicked who prospers." Among the solutions proffered is one which makes reward and punishment partake of both this world and the next. The suffering of the righteous is his punishment on earth for the sins he has committed so that his reward in the next world for his righteousness may be complete, and vice versa (Lev. R. 27:1). With the gradual acceptance of the doctrine of reward and punishment belonging to the world to come, the idea was developed that this world is the place where one, so to speak, accumulates a credit or a debit balance of good or bad actions, the results of which one enjoys or suffers in the world to come (cf. Avot 4:22, Er. 22a), and material joys in this world are at the expense of eternal bliss, while suffering is compensated for by that bliss. To that there is a notable exception with regard to certain good deeds which bring both. It is in that sense that the first Mishnah of *Pe'ah* which in an elaborated form has become part of the daily prayers, is to be understood: "These are the things of which a man enjoys the fruit thereof in this world, while the stock remains for him in the world to come." The attitude of the Apocrypha to reward and punishment, particularly in transferring their implementation to the world to come, largely follows that of the Talmud. The views expressed in the Wisdom of *Solomon are representative of the general approach.

[Louis Isaac Rabinowitz]

In Medieval Jewish Philosophy

Although the positions taken by the medieval thinkers on retribution display great diversity, no two being exactly alike, they fall largely into two major categories, which may be termed traditional supernaturalism and philosophic naturalism.

TRADITIONAL SUPERNATURALISM. The traditional supernatural theories of retribution, despite the philosophic context in which they appear, retain the basic beliefs regarding reward and punishment that are expressed in the talmudic literature. *Saadiah (*Book of Beliefs and Opinions*, 4 and 5), whose exposition may be taken as representative of traditional supernaturalism, states the position this way: God exercises a miraculous and absolutely just providence over man. Thus He has revealed in the Torah the commandments man is to keep. Man is rewarded or punished in accordance with his obedience or disobedience of the Torah. His deeds are known to God and recorded by Him. Reward and punishment are meted out both in this world and the next. Still, the fact that a person suffers or prospers in this world is no necessary indication that he is righteous or wicked. There are reasons other than sinfulness for suffering in this world, as there are reasons for prospering other than virtue. A righteous person may suffer in this world as atonement for his few bad deeds so that, his punishment over, he can receive reward alone in the hereafter for his many good deeds. Even a person who has not sinned at all may suffer in this world, as, for example, a baby who sickens and dies, in order that his future reward may thereby be increased. This is known as "afflictions of love" (*yissurin shel ahavah*). On the other hand, a sinner might prosper in this world either to receive now whatever reward he merits so that he will receive only punishment in the afterlife; to increase his future punishment; or for the sake of some righteous person. Absolute retribution will be dispensed in the world to come, which will be preceded by the messianic age when the exiled of Israel are ingathered to Palestine, and the resurrection takes place. At the conclusion of the messianic age, this world will come to an end and the world to come will emerge. Here reward and punishment will be meted out to both the body and the soul in combination. The world to come will never end and similarly the reward or punishment of the individual will be eternal.

Included among the medieval philosophers who hold the traditional supernatural positions are David *Al-Mukammis; Judah *Halevi (*Kuzari*); Hillel b. *Samuel (*Tagmulei ha-Nefesh*); Ḥasdai *Crescas (*Or Adonai*); and Joseph *Albo (*Sefer ha-Ikkarim*). According to the latter two, reward and punishment are dogmas of Judaism. For Crescas, although reward and punishment is not a fundamental principle, it is one of the true beliefs the rejection of which constitutes heresy. Joseph Albo maintains, however, that reward and punishment is one of the three fundamental principles of Judaism.

PHILOSOPHIC NATURALISM. Reward and punishment as conceived in philosophic naturalism differs from the view of traditional supernaturalism in essentially three points. These are that: retribution comes naturally rather than through a supernatural providence; it is primarily an intellectual process that in this life relates directly to the rational soul and only indirectly to the body; retribution in the hereafter concerns only the rational soul since there is no resurrection of the body. *Maimonides and Levi b. *Gershom (*Milḥamot Adonai*) are the two great exponents of a philosophic naturalistic theory of reward and punishment among the medieval Jewish philosophers. However, Maimonides' exposition of the position, which appears in the *Guide of the Perplexed*, is greatly obscured by his deliberate efforts to keep his philosophic religious beliefs from the uninformed masses. Gersonides' exposition, therefore, which is plainly stated, may be taken as representative of the position, although throughout his discussion his dependence upon Maimonides is apparent. Providence over man is exercised by nature. As the creator of nature, God is the ultimate ground of providence and, consequently, of retribution, but not the direct source. There are two basic forms of natural providence: general and special. General providence is extended to the entire human species. Its dispensation is determined by the positions and motions of the heavenly bodies which, in pursuing their natural courses, order the fortunes of human existence by their action upon the elemental qualities of the sublunar world. Special providence comes only to certain select individuals. It is attained by the person who has realized his intellect to the point where he possesses a highly actualized intellect called the acquired *intellect. This state of actualization is produced by the study of science and metaphysics. Traditional study of the Torah, and obedience to its ritual and ethical commandments are useful preliminaries, but science and metaphysics alone constitute the essential requirements for the attainment of the acquired intellect that brings one under the aegis of special providence. Those who do not achieve special providence cannot expect absolutely just retribution. General providence, dispensed as it is by nature, has for its end the general good of the entire species rather than the particular fortunes of an individual. Hence persons who appear to be righteous may suffer, while the seemingly wicked prosper. Nonetheless, for two reasons neither injustice nor imperfection can be attributed to God. First, nature provides the best possible order for the universe as a totality, and to remove it, therefore, because of the occasional evil it produces would be destructive for man rather than beneficial. Second, the person who has failed to realize his intellect is not truly good, and the misfortune he receives, therefore, is ultimately deserved. For the one who attains special providence there is reward in this world and in the afterlife. In this world, the reward is that he comes to possess a superior knowledge of natural causation and can, therefore, through the exercise of his free will, avoid the harm that is destined for him by the natural action of the heavenly bodies. Regarding the afterlife, the reward is immortality, for inasmuch as the one immortal part of man is the acquired intellect, only those who have actualized their intellects survive death. There is no resurrection of the body, and those whose destinies are governed by general providence suffer annihilation. Gersonides and Maimonides seem to differ on the nature of human immortality. Maimonides apparently takes the position that the acquired intellect becomes one with the active intellect and thereby loses its individual nature, whereas Gersonides is of the opinion that there is individual immortality and the individual thus retains his identity after death and continues to receive intellectual pleasure for all eternity. Among other Jewish thinkers who subscribed to the position of philosophic naturalism were Abraham ibn *Ezra and Abraham ibn *Daud (*Emunah Ramah*). Baḥya ibn *Paquda (*Ḥovot ha-Levavot*), who emphasizes intention and intellectual accomplishment for immortality and maintains that the soul is the immortal part of man, seems to take a position similar to philosophic naturalism, although he retains various traditional elements in his thought.

For Kabbalah see Eschatology.

[Alvin J. Reines]

Modern Jewish Thought

In modern Jewish thought the doctrine of reward and punishment has not played a major role but has been discussed insofar as it is a part of the network of ideas that link *providence, *redemption, and good and *evil. An attack upon the traditional conception of reward and punishment was that the doctrine provided the prime motivation for a Jew's obedience to the word of God. If a Jew fulfills the *mitzvot* only to reap the promised reward then the implication is that the difference between good and evil, which depends on internal motivation and conscious intent, is emptied of meaning. Jewish thinkers such as K. *Kohler, M. *Kaplan, and M. *Buber attempted to show that the classic doctrine of reward and punishment was not to be taken literally nor was it to be understood as applying to the individual, but rather to society as a whole. The concept of reward and punishment means that in the long run good deeds produce good results and evil deeds lead to a world of evil. Man's intention is thus important for the long-term "reward" of a good world. The harmony of intention with act makes goodness easier to transmit from one person to another, for the harmony is felt by the other and convinces him to accept the way of goodness. Once this choice is made evil can be redeemed.

A second aspect of dealing with the doctrine of reward and punishment is the discussion around the classic problem of the suffering of the righteous and the prosperity of the wicked.

The credibility of the doctrine that God rewards compliance and punishes rebellion was once again subjected to great strain as a result of the Nazi extermination of the Jews. The phrase "after Auschwitz" became a theological code word for the question of whether it is still possible to believe in the election of Israel and the God Who acts in history, especially Jewish history, in view of the Holocaust.

Although conservative Christian theologians responded almost immediately after the Holocaust with their conviction that the awesome events expressed God's will, there was almost no response in Jewish theological circles until about 1966. With the exception of Martin Buber who wrote of an "eclipse of God" in reaction to the Holocaust, representative thinkers of the postwar period such as W. *Herberg, E. *Fackenheim, and A.J. *Heschel initially exhibited no special concern with the Holocaust as a crucial theological problem. In 1970 Fackenheim wrote of his initial response to the Holocaust: "I was at work on a theology which sought to show that nothing unprecedented could call into question the Jewish faith – that it was immune to all 'secular' events between Sinai and the Messianic days" (*The Christian Century*, May 6, 1970).

Richard L. Rubenstein in his work *After Auschwitz* (1966) stated categorically that he was no longer able to accept the credibility of the traditional belief in the existence of the biblical God Who elects Israel and acts decisively in history, because such a God would have to bear ultimate responsibility for Auschwitz. The Holocaust was unique among the onslaughts visited upon the Jewish people both in terms of its comprehensiveness and the technological thoroughness it presupposed. Since the camps witnessed the nearly total annihilation of the European Jewish community, especially that segment which was religiously most compliant, Rubenstein maintained that no divinely guided pedagogic purpose could be ascribed to the event. He rejected any theological response which might suggest that Hitler and the Nazis were unwitting agents of the Lord of history. The translation of the works of Eli *Wiesel into English gave the problem literary immediacy. Wiesel, a survivor of Auschwitz, maintained a Job-like posture of faith in his coming to grips with the catastrophe. Wiesel was joined by Fackenheim in the reaffirmation of the traditional God of their people in spite of the Holocaust. Fackenheim argued that to reject the traditional God was "to give Hitler the victory" (*The Christian Century*, May 6, 1970). Rubenstein responded that loyalty to the Jewish past did not involve uncritical acceptance of its perspectives and that a God who was even remotely involved in Auschwitz was a deity unworthy of Jewish faith.

[Richard L. Rubinstein]

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REXINGEN, village in Wuerttemberg, Germany. Fleeing from the *Chmielnicki massacres in Poland, the first two Jewish families settled in Rexingen in 1650. Later, other families from Austria and neighboring countries settled in the village. Jews made their living mainly through trade in leather and peddling. A synagogue was built in 1710, and in 1760 a cemetery was consecrated. A limited emancipation granted in 1828 was completed in 1848. That year David Gideon, a Jew, was captain of the citizen's militia. In the 19th century Rexingen Jews were horse and cattle dealers, merchants of textiles and agricultural products, shopkeepers, bakers, butchers, innkeepers, almost all of whom possessed land (and worked it) and raised their own cattle. In the middle of the 19th century, 50% of the village population was Jewish; toward the end of the century, the Jews were 30% of the total population. There were 240 Jews in 1807; 330 in 1831; 427 in 1854; 387 in 1900; and 262 in 1933. The community was served by a district rabbi, whose seat was in Muhringen until 1914, when the responsibility was passed on to the rabbi of Horb. A Jewish school came into being in 1824. In 1924 there were six different community organizations, including a *ḥevra kaddisha*. Under the pressure of Nazi persecution, a group of 38 Jews (15%) immigrated to Ereẓ Israel in 1933 and was joined by others from nearby villages and towns. They set up the *Shavei Zion settlement near Nahariyyah (April 1938). In November 1938 the interior of the synagogue in Rexingen was destroyed; in 1939 the 126 Jews left in the town were deported; only three survived. All that remains of the once flourishing community is the cemetery, the synagogue building that has been converted into a church, and a memorial that was erected to the concentration camp victims. A damaged Torah scroll from Rexingen is preserved in a memorial hall in Shavei Zion in Israel.

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REZEKNE (Rus. **Rezhitsa**; Ger. **Rositten**), city in Latvia, one of the larger cities of the E. Latvian province of Latgale. In the late 18th century Jews expelled from Makasan (a nearby town) settled in Rezekne. The Jewish population grew steadily; in 1847 there were 542 Jews and in 1897 they numbered 6,478 (60percent of the total population). By 1920 the number of Jews had declined to 4,148 (41.5 percent); in 1925 to 3,911 (31 percent); and by 1935 to 3,342 (25.4 percent). Most Jews were either merchants or artisans, and during the period of Latvia's democratic regime (1918–34) there was a very active Jewish communal life. Rezekne had a yeshivah (Bet Yosef), several Yiddish and Hebrew schools, including a Jewish high school founded in 1922 (349 pupils graduated until World War II), and a variety of communal organizations and institutions. The town was occupied by the Nazis on July 3, 1941, and together with the Latvian police they began the systematic murder of Jewish men, and later of the women and children. German sources speak of about 1,219 killed in Rezekne. A census taken in 1959 indicated a figure for the total population, but did not give any information on the number of Jews living in Rezekne. It is known that in 1960 the baking of *matzah* was prohibited and that there was one synagogue in the town. In 1970 the number of Jews was estimated at about 250.

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[Joseph Gar / Shmuel Spector (2nd ed.)]

REZIN (Heb. רְצִין), properly **Raṣyān**, the Hebrew form of Aramaic *Ra῾yān*, "the man of favor," in cuneiform transcription *Raḥianu*, the last king of *Aram-Damascus (II Kings 15:37; 16:5; Isa. 7:1ff.). His name is attested in a tribute list of Tiglath-Pileser III dating from 734 B.C.E. Shortly after, in alliance with *Pekah of Israel, he attempted to depose *Ahaz of Judah and enthrone a rival candidate. This pressure from the north compelled Judah to evacuate definitively the port of Elath in the far south (II Kings 16:6). However, Tiglath-Pileser, being solicited with an enormous payment by Ahaz, attacked Aram and Israel. Upon the capture of Damascus, in 732 B.C.E., Rezin was killed (II Kings 16:9) and his former kingdom annexed to the Assyrian Empire.

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[S. David Sperling]

REZINA, city in the region of Bessarabia, E. Moldova. Jewish settlement during the first half of the 19th century turned Rezina into an urban community. In 1847, 248 Jews were registered in Rezina; in 1897 there were 3,182 Jews (85% of the total population). A considerable part of the Jewish population engaged in viniculture and tobacco production, Rezina being the most important center for tobacco growing in Bessarabia. In 1925 200 Jewish families cultivated an area of 1,567 hectares, 1,400 of which were rented. Before World War II communal institutions included a hospital built in 1916, and a kindergarten and elementary school both maintained by the *Tarbut organization. In 1930 there were 2,961 Jews in Rezina (39.4% of the total population). The community was destroyed when the German and Romanian armies entered Bessarabia in July 1941.

[Eliyahu Feldman]

In March 1960, the only synagogue was broken into by the militia who stopped the services and confiscated two Torah scrolls and other religious articles. Upon protest Jews were informed that all the articles would be placed in a local museum. The synagogue was closed down by the authorities and converted into municipal archives.

REZNIK, DAVID (1923–), Israeli architect. Born in Rio de Janeiro, and a pupil of the Brazilian architect Oscar Niemeyer, Reznik immigrated to Israel in 1949. After working with Ze'ev *Rechter and Heinz *Rau, he set up in private practice in 1958. His varied works include the Hyatt hotel in Jerusalem, the Mormon University, the Kennedy Memorial, the Hazor Museum in Kibbutz Ayyelet ha-Shaḥar, and the Israeli embassy in Brazil. He executed the Israel Pavilion for Expo '67, Montreal, in partnership with A. *Sharon. In 1995 he was awarded the Israel Prize in architecture.

REZNIK, LIPE (1890–1944), Soviet Yiddish writer and educator. Born in Chernobyl, Ukraine, Reznik was, for most of his adult years, closely associated with the Yiddish literary and educational life of Kiev where he settled in 1910. His early symbolist verse – for which he was later politically attacked – reveals him as an imitator of *Der Nister. His writing grew more conformist in the 1930s. During World War II he wrote poems of strong Jewish national feeling. He died in Kazakhstan, to which he had been evacuated. He published five volumes of verse, four plays, and wrote, edited, and translated much material for children (see Shmeruk, in bibliography).

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[Leonard Prager / Gennady Estraikh (2nd ed.)]

REZNIKOFF, CHARLES (1894–1976), U.S. poet. Despite his personal humility, his lack of recognition until late in life, and his deceptively understated, straightforward literary stance, Reznikoff is one of the most important Jewish poets of the 20th century. He was born in the Jewish neighborhood of Brownsville, in Brooklyn, the child of Russian immigrants who arrived in the United States a few years before his birth. Reznikoff's early years were marked by poverty and antisemitism, as were the lives of his parents and grandparents both in the old and new worlds. The compelling force of these conditions may be seen in the way Reznikoff drew upon the autobiographical impulse throughout his life in prose works such as *By the Waters of Manhattan* (1930; Reznikoff also used this title for his selected poems of 1962) and the poetic sequence *By the Well of Living and Seeing* (1969). In 1910, Reznikoff went to the University of Missouri to study journalism; he returned to New York and entered the Law School of New York University in 1912, receiving his degree in 1916. Reznikoff never practiced law, though years later (1930–34) he worked as an editor for *Corpus Juris*, the legal encyclopedia. Indeed, as Milton Hindus puts it in his biographical sketch of Reznikoff, "What else he did to earn money – selling hats for his parents, doing research for organizations, translating books, helping to edit a magazine, or being a general factotum for a friend, Albert Lewin, who was a successful Hollywood film producer – was more or less a matter of chance and largely indifferent to him." Reznikoff married the writer, teacher, and Zionist Marie *Syrkin in 1930, and their relationship was often troubled by career and financial woes. When Syrkin accepted a teaching position at Brandeis in 1950, Reznikoff remained in his beloved New York, an arrangement that lasted 17 years. Reznikoff based his bitter novel *The Manner "Music"* (1977) on their relationship, though it was only discovered and published after his death. Yet Syrkin also helped Reznikoff, securing an editorship for him at the Zionist journal *Jewish Frontier* – a job which, characteristically, he did not relish. Only in his later years did Reznikoff begin to find a larger audience, as renewed interest in the Objectivists grew, and younger poets, including Allen *Ginsberg, Robert Creeley, David *Ignatow, Harvey Shapiro, Michael Heller, and Paul *Auster, addressed his work.

Reznikoff's poetry was shaped by the experiments in free verse and imagism of the somewhat older first generation of American modernists. His first volumes were self-published, but by the early 1930s he joined Louis *Zukofsky and George *Oppen as a member of the short-lived Objectivist group and published a number of important books under the imprint of the Objectivist Press. Reznikoff's work, with its emphasis on the testimonial quality of the poem, served as a model for Zukofsky, who formulated the group's theoretical position, that of "thinking with the things as they exist." As an Objectivist, Reznikoff favors relatively short, direct poems built on perception and sympathetic observation of urban life; these concentrated lyric units are almost always structured into larger sequences or serial forms. As Charles Bernstein notes, "There is no poet more dedicated to foregrounding the detail and the particular than Reznikoff and no poet more averse to blending these details into a consuming and totalizing form."

To a much greater extent than any of his colleagues, including Zukofsky, who came from the same Yiddish-speaking immigrant background, Reznikoff consistently addresses Jewish history, religion, and culture, and frequently documents contemporary Jewish life in America. Through much of his writing career, Reznikoff's work appeared in the *Menorah Journal*, and the Jewish-American intellectual movement associated with that publication also played a crucial role in his writing and thinking about Jewish identity. Reznikoff's poetry may be regarded as an open-ended debate around such issues as language, religious belief and practice, Diaspora, and above all, the historical fate of the Jewish people. As Paul Auster puts it, "In spite of this deep solidarity with the Jewish past, Reznikoff never deludes himself into thinking that he can overcome the essential isolation of his condition simply by affirming his Jewishness. For not only has he been exiled, he has been exiled twice – as a Jew, and from Judaism as well." Thus, in the volume *Jerusalem the Golden* (1934), the tensions of assimilation and devotion to Jewish tradition manifest themselves among modern Jews of New York, but also mirror the lives of the Hebrews in the ancient city of King David. The culmination of Reznikoff's poetic investigation into Jewish fate is *Holocaust* (1975), based on the transcripts of the Nuremberg and Eichmann trials. Yet Reznikoff is equally concerned with America's historical destiny, as seen by his longest work in his mode of poetic documentary, *Testimony: The United States*. Based on American court reports from 1885 to 1900, including industrial accidents, hate crimes, and domestic violence, *Testimony* is a dark vision of one of the most hectic periods of modernization, a deliberate response to any optimistic notion of American progress and civic life. L.S. Dembo, who contributed immensely to the rediscovery of Reznikoff and his fellow Objectivists through a series of interviews he conducted with them in 1968 and 1969, sums up Reznikoff's status as a Jewish-American poet as follows: "Being himself, however, really meant not just a Jew or just an American but both and neither.… An exile, he sits down by the waters of Manhattan to weep; a wry smile comes over his face, for he realizes that he is home. And then he really weeps."

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[Norman Finkelstein (2nd ed.)]

RHEIMS, city in the Marne department, N. France. It was not the Church council of Rheims (624–625) that laid down legislation on the Jews, as has sometimes been thought, but the council of Clichy (626–627). Jews are first recorded in Rheims in 1077; in 1103 they lived in the *Vicus Judaeorum*, later known as the Rue de Gieu (Juifs) and after 1355 the Rue des Elus. The site of the medieval synagogue is disputed, but it was perhaps No. 18 Rue des Elus. The cemetery was situated at the junction of the roads to Châlons and Cernay. Jewish scholars from Rheims participated in the *synod convened by Solomon b. Abraham *Adret and Jacob b. Meir *Tam in the mid-12th century. According to Petrus Cantor (d. 1197), dean of the cathedral chapter, theological disputations between the Jews and the Christians of Rheims were a frequent occurrence in the second half of the 12th century. Although the community was greatly reduced in the latter half of the 13th century, nevertheless the royal officer and the archbishop disputed about who had paramount authority over the Jewish community. There is no evidence of a new community between 1315 and 1322 (after the expulsion from the kingdom of France in 1306), but there certainly were Jews in the city once more in 1389. It may be that the successive expulsions led to a marked number of conversions to Christianity; a number of Christians are recorded who bore the surname "le Juif." A few Jews settled in Rheims in 1820, but a community was not formed until the arrival of Jews from *Alsace and *Lorraine after 1870. In 1879 a synagogue was built. Although just before World War II an appreciable amount of real estate belonged to Jews, the number of Jews living in the city remained small. In 1971 there were 600 Jews in Rheims; they had a synagogue and community center.

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[Bernhard Blumenkranz]

RHINEWINE, ABRAHAM (1887–1932), Canadian journalist and historian. Rhinewine, who was born in Mezhirech (Miedzyrzec), Poland, studied for several years in the yeshivah in Slobodka. To avoid arrest for political activity he fled to London, where he lived from late 1907 to late 1908. He emigrated to Toronto in 1909. Already involved in journalism and editing before his arrival in Canada, in 1912 he joined the staff of Toronto's *Hebrew Daily Journal*, and from 1915 to 1931 served as its editor. For 15 years Rhinewine wrote almost daily for the *Hebrew Daily Journal*, reporting on a wide range of communal and cultural issues, as well as contributing some of his own fiction and drama. As the paper's editor, Rhinewine managed to appeal to a broader spectrum of the Jewish community, but the newspaper's editorial policy was decidedly pro-labor and Zionist. Rhinewine was an active member of the Labor Zionist movement. As a Labor Zionist delegate, he attended the founding convention of the 1919 Canadian Jewish Congress in Montreal and remained an active supporter of the organization's work. He was also an advocate of Jewish secular education and a founder and volunteer teacher at the National Radical School in Toronto, which opened its doors in 1911 with the support of various left-wing community groups. In addition Rhinewine chaired the Sholem Aleichem Library. An author in both Yiddish and English, Rhinewine did pioneer research in Canadian history. His writings include *Erets Yisroel in Yidishn Lebn un Literatur* (1921); *In a Kanadishn Shtot* (1921), a novella; the two-volume *Der Yid in Kanada* (1925–27); and *Looking Back a Century on the Centennial of Jewish Political Equality in Canada* (1932). A year before he died, Rhinewine was pushed out of his position at the *Hebrew Daily Journal*. He founded a rival weekly, the *Yidishe Velt*, but died of a heart attack while working on the second issue.

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[Ben G. Kayfetz / Richard Menkis (2nd ed.)]

RHODE ISLAND, state in N.E. United States. America's smallest state, it was the last of the original 13 colonies to ratify the Constitution and the first to gain a Catholic majority. Its population in 2000 was 1,048,000, the eighth smallest in the United States. Named for Aquidneck Island in lower Narragansett Bay, the state is still known officially as Rhode Island and Providence Plantations.

Roger Williams, an outcast from Massachusetts Bay Colony, founded Providence, located at the head of the bay, in 1636. He established the First Baptist Church in America and a tradition of religious tolerance. After the American Revolution, Providence succeeded Newport, on Aquidneck Island, as the state's dominant city. The second of five rotating capitals, Providence became the permanent capital in 1901.

Growth and Decline

The first Jews settled in Newport in the mid-17th century, although the exact date is disputed. The earliest recorded date is 1658, when some Dutch Jews arrived from Curaçao, and the early Jewish community of *Newport flourished before the American Revolution. Such families as Rivera, Lopez, Hart, Seixas, Levy, and Pollock were leaders in industry and shipping, and were generally respected in the community. Most of the colonial period Jews were Sephardim and most of them supported the revolutionary cause. By 1822, the last Jew had departed Newport. Sixteen years later, Solomon Pareira, a Dutch merchant, became the first Jew to settle permanently in Providence. In 1849, he was a founder of the city's first Jewish institution, a cemetery on New London turnpike. By 1878, there were approximately 1,000 Jews in Rhode Island, almost all in Providence and nearby Pawtucket; most had relocated from New York City.

By 1905, there were approximately 8,000 Jews in Providence, a national leader in the production of woolens, jewelry, files, screws, steam engines, and silverware. Jews settled in two neighborhoods: those from Lithuania, Poland, and Byelorussia in the North End; those from Galicia, Romania, and Ukraine in South Providence.

In 1937, the Jewish community reached 30,000. In 1963, according to a scientific survey, the Jewish population of greater Providence was 19,600, including 13,440 in Providence and Pawtucket. In 2001, there were 16,000 Jews in Rhode Island, including 14,200 in the Providence area.

Business and Labor

During the early decades of the 20th century, many immigrant Jews labored in jewelry factories. A large number were self-employed as peddlers, tailors, shopkeepers, grocers, and shoemakers. Compared to Jews living in other middle-sized cities, those in Providence were exceptionally entrepreneurial.

The most enterprising, such as the Lederer brothers and the Silverman brothers, achieved success as jewelry manufacturers. In 1894, the Samuels brothers opened the Outlet Company, which became Providence's largest department store and, eventually, the anchor of a retail chain and a broadcasting network. Jacob Shartenberg's department store, begun in 1882, was the largest in Pawtucket. Across Rhode Island, Jewish businesses were familiar fixtures on Main Street and High Street.

In the decades following World War II, major businesses emerged. Ann & Hope was a national pioneer of discount department stores; Ross-Simons became widely known for its catalogue sales. American Tourister luggage and Hasbro toys became world leaders.

Congregations

The first congregation, Sons of Israel, was chartered in 1854. After merging with Sons of David in 1874, it affiliated with the Reform movement. Jacob Voorsanger, a graduate of Hebrew Union College, became the first Rhode Island rabbi ordained in America. Sons of Israel and David's first building was erected in downtown Providence in 1890. The second, known as Temple Beth-El, was built in South Providence in 1911. The third synagogue, designed by Percival Goodman and built on Providence's East Side in 1954, remains one of the finest examples of modern synagogue architecture in New England. The 42-year tenure of William *Braude, Beth-El's scholarly rabbi, has been the longest in Rhode Island.

The oldest congregation in Providence remaining Orthodox was Sons of Zion, organized in 1875. Beth Jacob's synagogue, erected in 1906, is the only Jewish building to survive the North End, which was demolished during the 1950s and 1960s for highway construction and urban renewal projects.

The oldest Conservative congregation was Beth Israel, established in 1921 in South Providence. The next was Temple

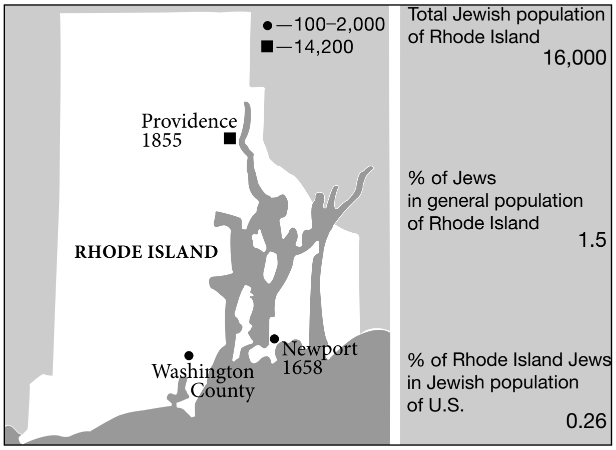
●—100–2,000
■—14,200
Total Jewish population of Rhode Island
16,000
Providence 1855
% of Jews in general population of Rhode Island
1.5
RHODE ISLAND
Newport 1658
Washington County
% of Rhode Island Jews in Jewish population of U.S.
0.26

Jewish communities in Rhode Island and dates of establishment. Population figures for 2001.

Emanu-El, which in 1927 erected a magnificent domed edifice, the first synagogue on the East Side and is still thriving in the same building site.

By the turn of the 19th century, Jewish communities sprouted in many of Rhode Island's smaller and somewhat isolated cities and towns. Newport's famous Touro congregation was revived, and others arose in Pawtucket, Bristol, and Westerly. In 1961, when Woonsocket's Conservative congregation built a second synagogue, it commissioned magnificent stained glass windows, textiles, and metalwork.

Hastened by the decline of South Providence and the availability of single-family housing elsewhere, new congregations were established around Narragansett Bay. In 1952, the first suburban synagogue was built in Cranston, only a few miles south of Providence. With the construction of new highways, such distant towns as Barrington and East Greenwich also became bedroom communities. In 2005, there were six congregations in Providence, 11 located elsewhere around the state.

Organizations

A B'nai B'rith lodge was organized in Providence in 1870, a Ladies Hebrew Benevolent Association a decade later. New immigrants established scores of mutual aid societies. For example, three Hebrew free loan associations have existed for more than a century. Except for Lawrence Spitz, who led Woonsocket's Independent Textile Union in the 1930s, Jews played minor roles in organized labor. They were active in a bevy of Zionist organizations, however.

Over the past century, almost all of the Jewish community's social service agencies have been built on or relocated to Providence's East Side. These have included a home for the aged, a hospital, an orphanage, a community center, a family counseling center, and a Holocaust museum. There are two day schools and a bureau of Jewish education. Since 1954, the Rhode Island Jewish Historical Association has published an annual journal.

Recurring efforts to unify fundraising did not succeed until 1945, when Providence's General Jewish Committee was established. In 1970, this body became the Jewish Federation of Rhode Island. Since early in the 20th century Rhode Island has produced several leaders of national stature, Selma Pilavin, Sylvia Hassenfeld, and Roberta Holland who were chairs of the Women's Division of United Jewish Appeal – Hassenfeld also headed the American Joint Distribution Committee; Norman Tilles, president of HIAS; Harry Cutler who was president of JWB, and Marian Misch was president of the National Council of Jewish Women.

Education

For generations, Jewish children flourished in Rhode Island's public schools. In recent decades, however, large numbers have enrolled in Jewish day schools and private academies. The number of Jewish public school teachers, administrators, and union officials has declined significantly.

Since its establishment in 1764 under Baptist auspices, Brown University, in Providence, has never imposed a religious test for admission. The first Jewish students (male and female) did not graduate until the 1890s, however. Samuel Belkin, who later became president of Yeshiva University received his Ph.D. from Brown, which recognized his rabbinic ordination at a European yeshivah and his manifest erudition as sufficient for entry into its graduate school without a secular undergraduate degree. In recent decades, Brown's undergraduate enrollment has reached 20 percent. There have been many distinguished Jewish scholars, including William *Braude, Ernest Freirichs, Calvin Goldscheider, Sidney *Goldstein, David Kertzer, Nelson Vieira, and Alan Zuckerman. For almost two decades Jacob *Neusner taught at Brown and during his era, Brown became the most influential American University in Jewish Studies producing scholars who went on to lead major programs throughout the United States. In 1971, Brown appointed the first Jewish chaplain in the Ivy League, and its Hillel program now occupies expansive quarters. Many Jews from Rhode Island and elsewhere have been trustees and donors. Sidney Frank of New York has become Brown's greatest benefactor.

Jews have taught and studied at most of Rhode Island's universities. Like Brown's Maurice Glicksman, the University of Rhode Island, in Kingston, has had a Jewish provost, David Gitlitz. Aaron Siskind, a master photographer, taught at the Rhode Island School of Design. Jews have also taught and studied at Providence College, a Dominican institution. Sol Koffler donated buildings to many campuses.

Prominent in the professions, most Jews have obtained postgraduate training beyond Rhode Island. Brown established its medical school in 1972, under the deanship of Stanley Aronson.

Government

As Democrats and Republicans, Jews have served in the state legislature since the 1890s. There have been two Jewish governors: Frank *Licht, first elected in 1968; and Bruce Sundlun, first elected in 1991. Jews have been elected to every statewide office, including three as attorney general. David N. Cicilline is currently mayor of Providence.

Leonard Holland was the longest serving adjutant general of the National Guard. Three Jews have served on Rhode Island's Supreme Court, and several have been close advisers to Senators.

Wider Impact

Jews have actively participated in Rhode Island's cultural life, especially during the past half century. The state's major theatrical company, Trinity Repertory, originated at the Jewish Community Center. Daniel Robbins, the first Jewish director of Rhode Island School of Design's Museum of Art, helped create its core collection of modern art, the gift of Selma Pilavin.

Active in civic affairs, Jews have helped lead the United Way, the Rhode Island Foundation, and the ACLU. Rhode Island's Children's Hospital was named for its largest donor, Hasbro. Irving Fain championed fair housing legislation, and in 1965 three rabbis marched from Selma to Montgomery, Alabama. A Jewish philanthropist donated the Roger Williams Spring, where Providence began, to the city.

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[George M. Goodwin (2nd ed.)]

RHODES (**Rhodos**), Greek island in the Aegean Sea, with city of the same name. It is the largest of the Dodecanese Islands in the Aegean Sea and also known as the Island of Roses.

Ancient Period

The biblical reference to Rhodes is in Genesis 10:4–5. Dodanim, the son of Yavan (Greece) and the biblical figure after whom the Island of Rhodes is named and to whom it belonged, was Noah's great-grandson on the side of his son Yefet. It is written, "By these were the isles of the nations divided in their lands; everyone after his tongue, after their families, in their nations" (Gen. 10:5). Although it is uncertain when the first Jews settled in Rhodes, it appears that a Jewish community existed on the island at least toward the end of the Hellenistic period. Rhodes is listed in a Roman decree among those areas notified of the renewal of the pact of friendship between the Roman senate and the Jewish nation under the high priest Simeon (142 B.C.E.), and numerous scholars have concluded from this document that a Jewish community existed on Rhodes at the time (cf. Suetonius, Tiberius 32, where a "Diogenes Grammaticus" is mentioned who used to dispute on the Sabbath; cf. also IG, XII, *fasciculus* 1, n. 11, line 5, where one should probably read "Menippus of Jerusalem"; cf. corrigenda, p. 206).

Herod the Great had occasion to visit the island a number of times. His first visit was in 40 B.C.E. when, having set sail for Pamphylia on his way to Rome, he was nearly shipwrecked and with difficulty made his way to Rhodes. There, according to Josephus' account (Ant., 14:377–8, see also Wars, 1:280), he found the city devastated by the war against Cassius and "did not hesitate to help it even though he was in need of funds, but actually exceeded his means in restoring it." It is probable that he thereby intended also to benefit the local Jewish population. Following the battle of Actium (31 B.C.E.) Rhodes was the scene of a meeting between Herod and the victorious Octavian. On this occasion Herod proclaimed his loyalty and friendship to the new Roman emperor and as a result was reconfirmed king of Judea (Wars, 1:387–8, Ant., 15:187–8). Josephus states that Herod continued to offer economic aid to Rhodes: "again and again he made contributions for shipbuilding, and when their Pythian temple burnt down he rebuilt it on a grander scale at his own expense" (Wars, 1:424; Ant., 16:147).

[Isaiah Gafni]

Middle Ages and Ottoman Rule Until 19th Century

Jews are again mentioned in Rhodes at the time of the Arab conquest in the seventh century C.E. In 653 the Arab conqueror, Muʿāwiya, ordered the destruction of the remains of the Colossus of Rhodes. It was sold to a Jew from Edessa who carried away 90 camel loads of bronze (Theophrastus, *Chronographia*, 1:345). *Benjamin of Tudela, the 12th-century traveler, found some 400 Jews in the city of Rhodes. Some Jews, upon fleeing Aragonese territory during the 1280 persecutions, went to Rhodes, then still under Arab rule. During the rule of the Knights Hospitalers of St. John of Jerusalem (1309–1522), the Jewish quarter (*vicus Judeorum*) was next to the city wall near the port. During the 38-day siege of the city by the Turks in 1480, the Jews fought valiantly in defense of the city. Their houses were torn down to reinforce the wall, and the fighting reached the synagogue before the Turks were forced to retreat. The grand master of the order, Pierre d'Aubusson, erected two churches on the site to commemorate the event and the synagogue had to be abandoned. In recognition of their bravery, the Jews were later allowed to rebuild it. Meshullam of *Volterra and Obadiah of *Bertinoro visited Rhodes in 1481 and 1488, respectively. The latter found only 22 Jewish families, the others having left after the 1481/82 earthquakes which again destroyed the Jewish quarter. The remnant was living in poverty, mainly on its womenfolk's earnings (the anonymous Pilgrim of Cologne noted the Jewesses' skill in making silk clothes), but some men worked in tanning. After a plague (1498–1500), the order decided to expel within 40 days all Jews who would not become baptized. They could leave with their belongings but had to sail for Nice, in order not to settle in Turkish territories. In the next two decades from 2,000 to 3,000 Jews captured by the order's ships, were brought to Rhodes, and kept there as slaves to work on fortifications.

In 1522 these captives helped the Turks conquer the fortress of Rhodes. Under the benevolent Ottoman rule, Rhodes became an important Sephardi center, the Jews outnumbering the Turkish population. The community numbered 144 Jewish household heads during the reign of Suleiman the Great (1520–66), but the number was probably higher. Expulsees from Spain and Portugal, as well as returned *anusim* (Marranos) strengthened the Jewish community and fortified it as an important Judeo-Spanish-speaking center. Also some 150 Sephardi families were transferred from Salonika to Rhodes for economic and strategic reasons as part of the *sorgun* by order of the sultan in order to strengthen the population base. Jews from Izmir, Istanbul, and Jerusalem were also relocated there; as well as Jewish political prisoners. Rhodes became known as the "small Jerusalem." In the Ottoman period, the community had two main synagogues: Kahal Grande and Kahal Shalom, founded later, in 1577, and renovated in 1593. Noteworthy of the time was the 16th century local poet Judah Zarko, who published his work *Leḥem Yehudah* in 1560. Among the noteworthy rabbis of Rhodes were: Judah ibn Verga (16th century); Moses Bussal (17th century); Jehiel Bassan (18th century); Michael Jacob Israel (1790–1856) author of the responsa *Yad Yamin*; Judah Moses Franco, who became *Rishon le-Zion* in 1911; and, above all, the long line of the rabbis of the Israel family, beginning with Moses Israel of Ereẓ Israel, who was appointed chief rabbi of Rhodes in 1714. The Jews of Rhodes were merchants, manufacturers of arms, moneychangers, tax farmers, and physicians; the middle class were craftsmen: carpenters, tanners, goldsmiths, and bookbinders, and others made a well-known wine, silk clothes, and wove cloth.

Moses de Vushal of Safed, chief rabbi of Rhodes in the mid-17th century, presided over a flourishing yeshivah on the island. He wrote *Yismaḥ Moshe* and lived in a time of messianic hysteria within the community prompted by the messianic activity of *Shabbetai Ẓevi of nearby Smyrna (Izmir). Shabbetai Ẓevi stayed at the rabbi's house for a month in 1662 when he was en route to Ereẓ Israel. Rabbi Vushal's son, Solomon, became an ardent follower of Shabbetai Ẓevi. After this false messiah converted to Islam by order of the Ottoman authorities in September 1666 in order to avoid a death sentence, Solomon Vushal also converted to Islam, like many of Shabbetai Ẓevi's devout followers throughout the region and the world. The rabbis who followed Moses de Vushal had to cope with the problem of maintaining rabbinical authority due to the turbulence caused by Shabbateanism. The community also suffered a plague in 1667, which caused many to flee temporarily to the villages of the island. In the 18th centuries the community was led by the Chief Rabbis Ḥayyim Algazi; Shmuel Sadok; the above Moses Israel (1714–38); Ezra Malki (of Safed), who died in 1768; Moses ben Eliyahu Israel (Moses Israel II) of Jerusalem, who was appointed in 1773 but died at the early age of 34 in 1782; Jedidiah Samuel Tarica (whose family originated in Candia); and Ḥayyim Tarsa, author of the responsa *Ḥayyim Shenayim* and student of Rabbi Moses Israel II.

Aharon Raḥamim Franco was the Austro-Hungarian consul in Rhodes beginning in 1769. In addition, he was appointed by the Emperor Franz Josef as minister of the post.

In the 19th Century

The wealthier Jews were merchants in cloth, silk, sulfur, and resins, and the rest were small shopkeepers and artisans, ambulant vendors, and fishermen. In 1819, Behor Alhadeff founded a bank which later became Solomon Alhadeff and Sons. The bank eventually became a powerful financial house in the Levant and the family established commercial enterprises and clothing factories throughout the region. The community was governed by a council of seven *memunim* ("officials"). The council decided on taxes to be levied, and together with the rabbi it gave *askamot* ("decisions") on current matters. Government taxes were collected by a Jew who was appointed by the Turkish governor. The rabbi was recognized by the authorities as the judicial authority in all questions concerning marriage, divorce, inheritance, etc. The Kahal Gadol synagogue was built under Knights Hospitalers' rule, and the Kahal Shalom synagogue in 1593; there were also two small synagogues, Kahal Kamondo (from 1865) and Kahal Tikkun Ḥaẓẓot, called also Keila de los Vicos ("the Synagogue of the Rich"). There were many yeshivot used as meeting places for prayer and study, and many smaller prayer rooms called *midrashim*. The Israel yeshivah dated from the 17th century and Moses Menashe founded the Menashe yeshivah in 1850. His son Boaz "Effendi" was a Turkish judge. The education of boys was given over to private teachers, usually employed by a group of families. In 1882, Moses Franco, who also was the French vice consul, opened the modern Progress school where Hebrew, Turkish, and French were taught, but it closed after five years due to fierce objection from the local rabbis. In 1895, the noted educator and historian Abraham *Galante founded the Tifereth Israel school, which had a similar curriculum and agenda as the progress school, but it only lasted two years. In 1899, he founded the *talmud torah*. In the early 1900s the Alliance Israélite Universelle opened separate boys' and girls' schools. The latter was opened when parents feared that their daughters who studied at the Catholics Soeurs school were exposed to proselytism and a 15-year-old girl converted to Catholicism. Life under Turkish rule was easy, except in 1840 when in the wake of the Damascus blood libel the rabbi and the leading members of the community were arrested and held until the innocence of the Damascus Jews was proven. According to various reports, the number of Jews during the 19th century was between 2,000 and 4,000.

At the end of the 19th century, young poorly educated teenage boys from Rhodes began migrating to Africa to search for a better future with dreams of getting rich. Eventually, they reached the Belgian Congo and Rhodesia and founded synagogues in Elizabethville and Salisbury. At the beginning of the 20th century, Rhodian Jews also followed Greek-Orthodox fellow townsmen to the United States and South America.

Among the noted rabbis of the second half of the 19th century was Ḥayyim Raḥamim Joseph Franco (b. 1835; "the Ḥarif"), who wrote *Sha'arei Raḥamim*, *Shenot Yamim*, *Ot le-Raḥamim*, *Midat ha-Raḥamim*, and *Kevod Ya'akov*. He was *av bet din* locally and later in Livorno and Jerusalem (1868), and finally served as chief rabbi of Hebron (1878–1901). Reuben Eliyahu Israel was the last chief rabbi of Rhodes, appointed in 1921 and serving until his death in 1932.

The *Maḥzor Sefarad* was used by all; parts of prayers and especially *piyyutim* were recited in Ladino. Before marriages, the dowry was assessed and the amount inscribed in a register and later in the *ketubbah*; the dowry was exhibited on carts in the Jewish quarter. On the Sabbath after the marriage the groom was called to the *tevah* and recited Abraham's order to his servant to find a bride for his son Isaac in Mesopotamia (Gen. 24); the congregation sang each verse in the Aramaic Targum. Those who recovered from serious illness or grave danger would offer a sacrifice – a cow or sheep – whose blood the *shoḥet* would smear on the door and the doorposts.

Italian Rule

In 1912, after the Balkan Wars, Rhodes and other Dodecanese islands came under Italian rule. There were about 4,500 Jews in Rhodes at the time. Rhodes became the center of the Italian possessions in the Levant and Italian Jews settled on the island. An Italian rabbinical seminary, the Collegio Rabbinico, was founded by the Italian government in 1928 to serve the Italian Levant (the Balkans, Ereẓ Israel, Egypt, and Ethiopia); it was closed in 1938 before the Fascist racial laws were promulgated. It was headed by such scholars and luminaries as Rabbi Marcus Breger, Riccardo Pacifici, Prof. Isaiah Sonne, and Rabbi Michel Albagli. The musicologist Albert Hemsi did important fieldwork with Rhodian Judeo-Spanish speaking Jews to annotate their knowledge of romances, coplas, and other cultural literary forms and religious musical rituals.

Jews who had arrived in Rhodes after 1919 (103 families from Bulgaria, Greece, and Turkey) were expelled and most of them sailed for Tangier. Others later fled in the face of the discriminatory measures, mainly to the Belgian Congo and Rhodesia; where Rhodian enclaves had existed since the early 20th century. Some 200 local Jews embarked the illegal immigration boat *Rim* to Ereẓ Israel after its North European Jewish passengers on the shipwrecked *Agios Nikolaos* had been stranded in Rhodes for six weeks and housed at the local stadium. After the capitulation of Italy to the Allies in September 1943, the Germans occupied Rhodes, and on July 24, 1944, deported to *Auschwitz all of the 1,820 Jews who were left on the island; only 179 survived. The future UN Secretary-General and Austrian President Kurt Waldheim, then a young Wehrmacht Intelligence officer, was present for the collection of gold when the Rhodian Jews were interned at the Chemenlik warehouses, formerly an early Ottoman aeronautical base, and assisted in arranging logistics for their deportation to the Haidari Camp in Piraeus, from which they would be deported to Auschwitz/Birkenau. Twenty-nine-year-old Turkish consul and Righteous Gentile Salahattin Ulkumen saved some 46 Jews from deportation.

Post-World War II

When Rhodes became a part of Greece in 1947, some 50 Jews lived there. In 1969 there were 32 Jews on Rhodes. In the early 21st century some 20 Greek Jews lived in the city of Rhodes and the Kal Grande synagogue functioned and also served as a museum for the history of Rhodian Jewry.

Despite the destruction of Rhodian Jewry in the Holocaust, an active Rhodian Diaspora still exists. In addition to the above-mentioned communities in the Diaspora, the former Rhodian Jews and their descendants relocated after the nationalization of the Belgian Congo in the 1960s and established communities in Seapoint, outside of Capetown, South Africa, and Brussels, Belgium; each having a Rhodian synagogue building. From this exodus, a Rhodian enclave was also created in Ashdod, Israel. A second-generation group in Israel, led by the Jerusalemites Mario Soriano, Maggie Cohen, and Dr. Yehuda Leon, publishes a periodical called *Ahi Rhodes,* and produced a film called *Rhodes: Story of a Community that Disappeared*.

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[Yitzchak Kerem (2nd ed.)]

RIBALOW, MENACHEM (1895–1953), U.S. Hebrew editor and essayist. Born in Chudnov, Volhynia (Russia), Ribalow received a yeshivah education and also studied at the University of Moscow; he immigrated to the United States in 1921. Two years later he was appointed editor of the Hebrew weekly *Hadoar*. For 30 years he wrote his weekly editorials under his pseudonym, M. Shoshani, and hundreds of essays which appeared in various periodicals and, eventually, were collected in five volumes. As an essayist he concentrated on literary criticism, especially of Hebrew poetry. Though his love for Hebrew sometimes led him to hyperbolic evaluations of Hebrew writers, he was a perceptive critic. Many Hebrew authors in the U.S. made their debut under his guidance.

Ribalow also edited a short-lived quarterly *Mabbu'a* (1952/53); two jubilee volumes of *Hadoar* (1952); several volumes of a literary annual *Sefer ha-Shanah li-Yhudei Amerikah* ("The Year Book of American Jews") between 1931 and 1949; a literary annual; and memorial volumes for various writers. He also edited an anthology of American-Hebrew poetry in Yiddish, an anthology of Hebrew writers and *Ahisefer* (1944), a volume designed to foster greater understanding between Hebrew and Yiddish writers in the U.S. A collection of some of his literary essays appeared in English translation, *The*

Flowering of Modern Hebrew Literature (1959, tr. and ed. by J. Nadich). Ribalow was a leader of Histadrut Ivrit of America, an organization for the propagation of Hebrew culture in the United States. With Israel's President Izhak *Ben-Zvi, he was co-president of the World Hebrew Union.

His son, HAROLD URIEL RIBALOW (1919–1982), was a writer and anthologist with a special interest in Jewish participation in the world of sport. He published *The Jew in American Sports* (1949) and *Fighter from Whitechapel: The Story of Daniel Mendoza* (1962). He served as editor of Congress Weekly from 1946 to 1951, the *American Zionist* from 1951 to 1953, and as sports editor of the Jewish Telegraphic Agency after 1956.

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[Eisig Silberschlag]

°**RIBBENTROP, JOACHIM VON** (1893–1946), German Nazi leader and foreign minister (from 1938). First introduced to Hitler in 1932, Ribbentrop soon became a foreign policy advisor and was appointed ambassador to England in 1936. He returned in February 1938 to become foreign minister. He reached the height of his career by negotiating the Ribbentrop-Molotov pact with his Soviet counterpart that divided Poland, with Germany invading from the west and the Soviet Union from the east, into three zones, territory annexed by Germany, territory occupied by Germany, and territory occupied by the Soviet Union. Given his previous service, Ribbentrop initially favored a pro-British foreign policy and later sought to maintain the Soviet-German alliance until the invasion. Vain and incompetent, Ribbentrop was useful even if not a fanatical antisemite. His power diminished as Germany took less interest in foreign policy and resorted to war. In late 1942 he perceived the depth of Hitler's commitment to the Final Solution and became devoted to its execution. He pressed this policy, most especially for Hungary. For this the ministry had a special section in Germany (later Deutschland III) dealing with Jewish questions in German satellites. At the head of the department stood Franz *Rademacher (until 1943) and afterward Eberhard von Thadden. Ribbentrop's visits and those of his subordinates to satellite states were partly aimed at implementing the extermination policy in those countries. He was hanged as a major war criminal after his condemnation by the International Military Tribunal.

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[Yehuda Reshef / Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

RIBEAUVILLÉ (Ger. **Rappoltsweiler**), town in the Haut-Rhin department, E. France. By 1311 there was a Jewish community in Ribeauvillé large enough to own a synagogue, but it was decimated in the *Armleder massacres of 1338 and the *Black Death persecutions of 1349. In 1375 a few Jews again lived in Ribeauvillé, but it is not known if there was a community in continuous existence until 1530 when Jews were again expelled from the town, not to return until the close of the 17th century. At the end of the 18th century there were over 300 Jews in Ribeauvillé. During the 19th century the expanding community erected a new synagogue. From the beginning of the 20th century, however, the number of Jews declined to the point where, before the outbreak of World War II, the community had practically ceased to exist.

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[Bernhard Blumenkranz]

RIBEIRO, BERNARDIM (1482–1552), Portuguese poet. Ribeiro was a prominent courtier, but beyond this little is known about his life except that he is said to have become insane after losing his mistress to a rival. The most talented Portuguese poet before Camões, Ribeiro wrote eclogues that created a vogue for bucolic verse. His outstanding work was the *Hystoria de Menina e Moça* (also known as *Saudades*), the first edition of which was published by the Jewish printer Abraham *Usque at Ferrara in 1554. The work is a novel of romance and chivalry in pastoral disguise, remarkable for its sensitivity, its realistic detail, and its prevailing melancholy. Some passages have been given a kabbalistic interpretation, or have been seen as referring to the persecution of the Jews. It has been suggested that Ribeiro was befriended by the Usque family, after he had fled from the Portuguese court; and it has even been conjectured that the similarities between the *Menina* and the *Consolaçãm* of Samuel *Usque stem from the fact that the latter and Ribeiro were one and the same person. One of the most important pieces of imaginative literature produced in the 16th century, Ribeiro's novel had considerable influence on later writers.

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[Kenneth R. Scholberg]

RIBEIRO DOS SANTOS, ANTONIO (1745–1818), Portuguese jurist, philologist, and humanist. Ribeiro was born in Oporto, Portugal. After studying under the Jesuits in Brazil, he returned to Portugal in 1764, where he studied Canon Law at Coimbra. He was ordained subdeacon in 1796, and fulfilled important ecclesiastical functions in Viseu, Faro, and Evora, where he served as Deputy of the Holy Office. He was a strenuous defender of the principle of democratic rule as opposed to the divine right of absolute monarchy.

In 1776 Ribeiro was appointed the first Director of the Public Library of Lisbon, in which capacity he served until his death.

He left many works on literature, history, law, and philology, among them studies on the history and literature of Portuguese Jewry. His *Memoria da literatura sagrada dos Judeus portugueses desde os primeiros tempos da Monarquia até aos fins do sec. xv* ("An Account of the Sacred Literature of the Portuguese Jews form the Early Days of the Monarchy until the End of the 15th Century"); *Memoria da literatura sagrada dos Judeus portugueses no sec. xvi* ("An Account of the Sacred Literature of the Portuguese Jews in the 16th Century"); *Memoria da literatura sagrada dos Judeus portuegueses no sec. xvii* ("An Account of the Sacred Literature of the Portuguese Jews in the 17th Century"); *Memoria da literatura sagrada dos Judeus portugueses no sec. xviii* ("An Account of the Sacred Literature of the Portuguese Jews in 18th Century") were published by the Portuguese Academy of Sciences.

He bequeathed several manuscripts to the Public Library of Lisbon, among them two studies entitled *Do estado civile religioso dos Judeus em Portugal e da sua emigraçâo para varias partes do mundo* ("On the Civil and Religious Status of the Jews in Portugal and Their Emigration to Various Countries in the World") and *Memorial dos feitos de Jeronimo de Santa Fé contra os Hebreos* "An Account of the Activities of Jeronimo (Geronimo) de Santa Fe against the Jews").

Ribeiro revealed his Jewish origin to a friend, Attilio Zuccagni Orlandini, an Italian geographer, and asked him to copy his manuscript on the "Civil and Religious Status of the Jews in Portugal" and to publish it "in his happy Tuscany, where one enjoys that honest freedom of opinion which in Portugal is almost always denied and punished, so that my work on the unfortunate Israelite Nation, so painstakingly compiled, should not remain forever buried in the Archives of the Public Library."

Zuccagni Orlandini in fact copied the manuscript and translated it into Italian, but failed to publish it.

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[Jeonathan Prato]

RIBEIRO SANCHEZ, ANTONIO (1699–1782), Marrano physician, born in Pernamacor, Portugal. Denounced to the Inquisition in 1726, apparently on flimsy grounds, he fled to London where he was circumcised without, however, joining the Jewish community. In 1731 he went to Russia, where in 1733 he became court physician to the empress Anna, being made a councillor of state. After the accession of the empress Elizabeth, his Jewish origin became known and he was dismissed and retired to Paris, where he worked among the poor. Although now out of sympathy with official Judaism, he wrote an important memorial, advocating the amelioration of the condition of the Portuguese New Christians and the restriction of the power of the Holy Office. In his opinion its severity was often responsible for arousing Jewish sympathies in New Christians formerly of unblemished orthodoxy. He was the first person to popularize in Western Europe the medicinal value of Russian vapor baths, and was a pioneer both in educational and in penal reform.

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[Charles Reznikoff]

RIBICOFF, ABRAHAM A. (1910–1998), U.S. politician. Ribicoff was born in New Britain, Connecticut, the son of a poor Polish immigrant factory worker. After working his way through school and college, Ribicoff won a scholarship to the University of Chicago Law School, graduating in 1933. He entered law practice in Hartford, Connecticut, and became active in the Democratic Party. In 1938 Ribicoff was elected to the General Assembly of the state legislature. He served there until 1942, when he was appointed a municipal judge in Hartford. In 1948 Ribicoff won election to the U.S. House of Representatives. After four years in the House, he ran unsuccessfully for the Senate in the Eisenhower Republican landslide of 1952. Two years later he ran as the Democratic candidate for governor in a campaign marked by antisemitic appeals. Ribicoff responded to the hate campaign against him in an impassioned speech affirming his faith in the "American dream" of equal opportunity. He won a narrow victory over the incumbent, the only Democrat to win a statewide election in Connecticut that year. He served as governor of Connecticut from 1955 to 1961. In that capacity he became extremely popular, especially for his crackdown on automobile driving violations. In 1958 he was reelected by a margin of 246,000 votes, the largest ever recorded in the state.

In 1960 Ribicoff led the campaign to gain his party's presidential nomination for John F. Kennedy. When Kennedy became president, he appointed Ribicoff to his cabinet as secretary of health, education, and welfare. After 19 months, marked by both success and frustration, Ribicoff resigned to run for the Senate, where he hoped to be able to promote needed changes in health and welfare programs more effectively than he could as an administrator. In the Senate, where he served from 1963 to 1981, his first major triumph came with the passage of the Medicare Act, in which he played a prominent part. Other reform causes that he championed included automobile safety, control of air pollution, aid for dependent children and the mentally ill, and increased federal help for the urban areas and for the arts and education. Ribicoff frequently spoke out in the Senate on issues of special concern to Jews. In 1965 he warned against resuming aid to Egypt so long as it continued to threaten Israel with extinction. He also denounced discrimination against Jews and the denial of Jewish cultural and religious rights in the Soviet Union. Although generally identified as a staunch advocate of social reform and the raising of social welfare standards, and as a defender of the rights of minorities, Ribicoff won general respect for his practicality, his concern for economy in government, and his criticism of those who seek redress of their grievances through violence.

Ribicoff served as chairman for the Committee on Government Operations (94th and 95th Congresses) and the Committee on Governmental Affairs (95th and 96th Congresses). After serving in the Senate, he returned to the practice of law in New York City.

Ribicoff wrote *America Can Make It!* (with P. Danaceau, 1972). *The American Medical Machine* (with P. Danaceau, 1972). *Politics: The American Way* (with J. Newman, 1973). *Nixon's Good Deed: Welfare Reform* (with V. Burke, 1974). and *Mental Health and Retardation Politics* (with D. Felicetti, 1975).

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[Sanford A. Lakoff / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

RIBLAH (Heb. רִבְלָה).

(1) Ancient Syrian town situated between Lebo-Hamath and Kadesh on the Orontes, south of Lake Homs, on the crossroads of the military highways to Mesopotamia and Egypt; present-day Ribla. Perhaps because it was better known than nearby Lebo-Hamath in Ezekiel's time (see below) it is named in Ezekiel 6:14 (read רִבְלָתָה), instead of the latter, as the theoretical northern limit of the Land of Israel. Around this point there are many important tells. The great battle of Kadesh between Pharaoh Ramses II (19th Dynasty) and the Hittite king Muwatalliŭ was fought there in 1286 B.C.E. The name of Riblah was then probably Sabtūnaʿ (Pritchard, Texts, 256). This place was strategically situated for northwestern or southwestern conquerors of the West. After a short reign of three months, King *Jehoahaz of Judah was deposed and imprisoned in Riblah by Pharaoh *Neco, presumably while the latter was still in northern Syria in the year 609. Later he took Jehoahaz with him to Egypt (II Kings 23:33–34). *Nebuchadnezzar chose Riblah as his headquarters during his last campaign against Jerusalem in 588–586 B.C.E. After two years of siege, King *Zedekiah saw that the situation was desperate and tried to flee the city, but the Chaldeans overtook him at Jericho and brought him to Nebuchadnezzar at Riblah. All of Zedekiah's children were slain before his eyes; he himself was then blinded by order of Nebuchadnezzar and brought to Babylon (II Kings 25:1–7; Jer. 52:9ff.).

(2) Shepham Hariblah (Num. 34:11) is a still unidentified boundary point on the northeastern boundary of the Land of Israel.

RICARDO, DAVID (1772–1823), British economist. He was born in London into a Sephardi family which in 1760 had immigrated from Holland. He was sent to Holland for a traditional Jewish education. After his return to London in 1786, Ricardo joined his father, Abraham Ricardo (d. 1812), a successful member of the stock exchange. In 1793 he married the daughter of a Quaker, broke with his family and left the faith, although he persistently advocated religious liberties and the removal of Jewish disabilities. Having become a member of the stock exchange on his own, Ricardo showed unusual ability and soon achieved financial independence. In 1814 he retired from business, turned to the study of economics, and became one of the founding fathers of modern economics. His interest in this field dated back to 1799 when he read Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations*. His publications were widely discussed and in 1819 Ricardo entered parliament, and took an active interest in current affairs. Ricardo's major contributions to economics were embodied in his *Principles of Political Economy and Taxation* (London, 1817).

Ricardo was a rigorous theorist, and much of today's knowledge about currency, taxation, and international trade is based on Ricardo's analysis. His monetary views foreshadowed the 1844 Bank Act and laid the foundations of an "economical and secure currency" which has remained the major objective of modern monetary policy. In the field of fiscal policy he expounded the broad economic consequences of taxes on capital accumulation, the distribution of national income, and price levels. His theory of international trade and his principles of the comparative advantage provided the scientific basis for the rule of free trade. Although critics differ on the validity of Ricardo's doctrines, there is agreement on his permanent merits as a methodologist. Ricardo introduced the first abstract models and established the concept of political economics as a body of principles dealing with material resources. His lasting merit is the definite transformation of economic speculation into a scientific discipline. His collected works and correspondence, edited by the great economist Piero *Sraffa and by M.H. Dobb, were published in 1951–73. With Adam Smith, Thomas Malthus, and Karl Marx, David Ricardo is regarded as among the seminal figures in Britain who, between the late 18th and mid-19th centuries, invented modern economics. Ricardo died at the age of only 51, leaving an enormous fortune of £500,000 that he had earned as a stockbroker, and much land. Many among Ricardo's family also had notable careers. His sister SARAH RICARDO PORTER (1790–1862) was one of the first Englishwomen to write on education. His nephew JOHN LEWIS RICARDO (1812–1862) was a member of Parliament and a key promoter of the electric telegraph in the 1840s. His collateral descendants include the architect HALSEY RALPH RICARDO (1954–1928) and his son, the mechanical engineer SIR HARRY RALPH RICARDO (1885–1974), who was a crucial figure in the development of the tank for the British army in World War I and who served as president of the Institution of Mechanical Engineers in 1944–45. He wrote an autobiography, *Memories and Machines* (1968).

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[Joachim O. Ronall / William D. Rubinstein 2nd ed.)]

RICARDO, DAVID (1904–1982), scholar of the liturgical music of the Spanish and Portuguese Jews. Born in Amsterdam, Ricardo acquired his knowledge and love of this music from his grandfather Elyakim Alvarez Vega, who was *ḥazzan* of the Spanish and Portuguese synagogue in Amsterdam from 1885 to 1923. He was also the conductor of the Sephardi children's choir Santo Servicio, which performed at religious services there. Ricardo settled in Ereẓ Israel in 1933 and although a mechanical engineer by calling, devoted himself from 1940 to recording the musical traditions of his community, collecting some 300 melodies. His recordings were donated to the National Sound Archives in the late 1950s and remain an important musical document for scholars. He published three booklets titled *Ne'im Zemirot* containing 170 notated traditional tunes from the Portuguese Jews Congregation (Amsterdam 1975) with an introduction by E. *Gerson-Kiwi; he dedicated the work to his late grandfather.

[Akiva Zimmerman / Israela Stein (2nd ed.)]

RICCHI, RAPHAEL IMMANUEL BEN ABRAHAM ḤAI (1688–1743), Italian rabbi, kabbalist, and poet. Ricchi was born in Ferrara, but when he was two years old his family moved to Rovigo. When he was six his father died and his mother's brother, Jedidiah Rabbino, undertook to provide for the family and the education of the children. On Rabbino's death his son took charge of the family and married Ricchi's sister. At the age of 20 Ricchi began to travel around various Italian cities, making his living as a teacher. Although his great wish was to study Kabbalah with *Benjamin b. Eliezer ha-Kohen Vitale of Reggio, he had to abandon his aim for economic reasons. In 1717 he was ordained rabbi in Trieste by R. Hillel Ashkenazi of Canea. Immigrating to Ereẓ Israel in 1718, he settled in Safed, where he devoted himself to the study of Lurianic Kabbalah. In Safed he was ordained rabbi by Ḥayyim Abulafia, the rabbi of Safed. Because of a plague that ravaged the country, in which his daughter died, Ricchi left Ereẓ Israel after two years. On his way back to Italy, his ship was captured and taken to Tripoli, but he was released after 40 days. He settled in Leghorn, but later journeyed to Smyrna, Salonika, Constantinople, and London. He spent two years in Aleppo and in 1737 he arrived in Jerusalem, where he stayed for three years. In 1741 he returned to Leghorn to settle business matters connected with his books. While on one of his trips he was murdered by robbers.

His books, in the order in which they were written, are (1) *Ma'aseh Ḥoshev* (Venice, 1716), a commentary on the building of the tabernacle; (2) *Ḥoshev Maḥashavot* (Amsterdam, 1727), on the size of a *mikveh*, on phylacteries, and homiletic commentaries on the Bible and Talmud; (3) *Hon Ashir* (Amsterdam, 1731), commentaries on the Mishnah, written in Gorizia and completed and expanded in Safed. The tractates are interspersed with poems with explanations by the author beside them; (4) *Mishnat Ḥasidim* (Amsterdam, 1727), an exposition of Lurianic Kabbalah according to topics. With the aim of teaching the subject in a methodical fashion, the book is modeled on the six orders of the Mishnah, with each order divided into tractates. The division into three parts *(maftehot)* is the author's own: (a) *Mafte'aḥ ha-Olamot*, consisting of the orders *Zera'im, Kodashim, Tohorot*, and *Nezikin*; (b) *Mafte'aḥ ha-Neshamot*, containing the order *Nashim*; and (c) *Mafte'aḥ ha-Kavvanot*, containing the order *Mo'ed*. Ricchi's sources were books based on the Lurianic tradition according to Ḥayyim *Vital and Israel *Sarug. A commentary on *Mafte'aḥ ha-Olamot*, written by Moses b. Jekuthiel Zalman of Dragichin (later *dayyan* in Pinsk) and entitled *Maggid Mishneh*, was printed in the margin of the text in Zolkiew in 1745; (5) *Yosher Levav* (Amsterdam, 1737), considered by the author as "the soul of the Ḥasidic tradition." Written in Jerusalem, the book deals with basic kabbalistic problems of *ẓimẓum* ("withdrawal"), *beri'ah* ("creation"), and *kavvanot* ("intentions"). Here Ricchi considers the problem of whether the Lurianic *ẓimẓum* was a real act or not. While believing that God actually withdrew into Himself in order to make room for the created worlds, he contends that this is not the main question: just as it is impossible to understand that the worlds could be created without God (who fills everything) withdrawing in order to make room for them, so it is impossible to grasp how God could withdraw into His own Being. It is beyond the power of the human intellect to decide in this matter or to comprehend the possibility of *ẓimẓum*. Ricchi arrives at this conclusion because the assumption that *ẓimẓum* was not a real act might lead to the inference that the essence of God is to be found in the lowly material world and in places unsuited to His majesty. He interprets the saying "There is no place which does not contain Him" as referring to the providence of God, which is everywhere. His discussion of the problem of *ẓimẓum* is intended to counteract the arguments of his contemporary, Irgas; (6) *Adderet Eliyahu* (Leghorn, 1742), explanations of difficult passages in the Talmud, responsa, homilies on various verses in the Bible, and riddles; and (7) *Ḥozeh Ẓiyyon* (Leghorn, 1742), a kabbalistic commentary on Psalms. The introduction contains Ricchi's autobiography. As Ricchi died before the printing was completed, the story of his death was added to the end of the book along with an elegy on him composed by Solomon Joseph Carpi.

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[Efraim Gottlieb]

RICE (Heb. אֹרֶז, *orez*), *Oryza sativa*, introduced to Ereẓ Israel at the close of the Second Temple period. Within a short time it became a product of considerable economic importance. The rice of Ereẓ Israel was of excellent quality and an important export. There was said to be "none like it outside Israel" (TJ, Dem. 2:1,22b) and as a result it was laid down that it had to be tithed as *Demai even outside Israel (Dem. 2:1). The Israel rice was distinguished from rice grown outside Israel, for example rice grown in "Ḥulata," i.e., "Ḥulat ["the plain of"] Antiochia" in the valley of the Orontes, it being noted that the latter was red (cf. Tosef. *ibid.*). Some good rice was sown in Paneas in the valley of Dan, but most of the excellent rice (the white species apparently) came from other parts of the country (TJ, Dem. 22d). Rice is a summer crop (Shev.

2:7), growing in water and requiring careful and prolonged preparation in sowing and planting, three months before the New Year (TJ, Dem. 2:2, 33d in accordance with the reading of the Rome Ms.). Instead of plowing, the earth was stirred with water (Shev. 2:10). The rice was eaten after the husk had been removed by threshing and the thin skin of the seed by pounding (TJ, Ter. 1:4, 40d).

Rice dishes were many and varied, and many formulas were suggested for the appropriate blessing, among them that of Simeon he-Ḥasid for a rice delicacy: "Who has created delicacies with which to delight the soul of every living being" (TJ, Ber. 6:1, 10b). The nutritive value of rice was regarded as double that of wheat (see TJ, Pe'ah 8:5, 20d; and cf. Pe'ah 8:5). According to Johanan b. Nuri "rice is a variety of grain," therefore the same blessing must be recited over it as over bread, and the full *grace after meals recited after eating it, but the other rabbis disagreed (Ber. 37b). He also holds that "*karet is incurred for eating it in its leavened state [on Passover] and a man may discharge the duty of eating unleavened [bread] with it on Passover" (Pes. 35a). On this point, too, the other rabbis disagreed, holding that "rice, *sorghum, *millet, and *legumes do not ferment but merely decay" (TJ, Ḥal. 1:1, 57a; Pes. 2:4, 29b). Since rice was not regarded as leaven, dishes made from it were permitted on Passover, and some used to eat them with beets on the night of Passover (Pes. 114b). It was decided that rice was not a species of grain, hence rice bread is exempt from *ḥallah* (Ḥal. 1:4). However, in the time of Ashi there were localities in Babylon where rice was the only bread of the inhabitants. In such places *ḥallah* was separated from the bread as a symbol in order "that the law of *ḥallah* be not forgotten by them" (Pes. 50b–51a).

From the sources quoted above it is clear that rice was not regarded as belonging to the class of legumes. Both Maimonides and Samson of Sens, however, included it among legumes and since there were authorities who forbade the use of legumes on Passover, rice too came to be included in the prohibition. Combined with this was the fact that some commentators and decisors held that both *orez* and *doḥan* (sorghum) are species of millet (Rashi to Ber. 37a). However, the Tosafot (ad loc.) rightly render *orez* as rice and *doḥan* as millet. To this day Ashkenazim refrain from eating rice during Passover whereas Sephardim permit it. The description of *orez* in rabbinical literature as well as its etymology clearly prove that *orez* is to be identified with the Greek ὄρυζα and the Latin *oryza*, i.e., rice. In recent times a number of attempts have been made on a small scale to grow rice again in Israel (previously the Arabs grew red rice in the swamp of Ḥuleh and its vicinity).

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[Jehuda Feliks]

RICE, ABRAHAM JOSEPH (1802–1862), U.S. Orthodox rabbi and businessman. Rice (Reiss) was born in Germany, where he was ordained at the Wurzburg yeshiva. Since he lacked a university education, he could not be a rabbi in Bavaria, so he taught Talmud at the Zell yeshiva. In 1840, a council of Bavarian rabbis sent him to serve the American Orthodox Jewish community as the first traditionally ordained rabbi in the United States. After trying to revive the venerable Yeshuat Israel congregation (now known as the Touro Synagogue) in Newport, Rhode Island, he became rabbi of Congregation Niche Israel, also known as the Baltimore Hebrew Congregation. As one of the few rabbinical scholars in the country at the time, Orthodox congregations all along the eastern seaboard as far north as New York turned to him for answers to particularly complicated questions of **halakhah* (Jewish law). In fact, Orthodox communal leaders repeatedly attempted to establish for Rice, who founded the first German-Jewish all-day school in America in Baltimore, the office of "chief rabbi of the United States." In 1849, Rice left the rabbinate to become a merchant and serve as unpaid religious leader of a small congregation he founded, Sherith Israel. He was an active supporter of charitable initiatives; during the Crimean War (1853–56), he spearheaded an emergency drive to help the Jews in the Holy Land. A vigorous defender of Orthodox tradition against the inroads of Reform Judaism, Rice engaged in polemics with Reform leaders, going so far as to excommunicate influential Reform leader Isaac M. *Wise for propagating heresy. Towards the end of his life, Rice resumed his position as rabbi of the Baltimore Hebrew Congregation. He was described in newspapers as the chief rabbi of America, a title he might have felt he merited but did not achieve.

[Bezalel Gordon (2nd ed.)]

RICE (Reizenstein), ELMER LEOPOLD (1892–1967), U.S. playwright. Born in New York, Rice studied law and used his familiarity with legal procedure in at least two plays. His first, *On Trial* (1914), was also the first play on the American stage to use the flashback technique of the cinema. *Counsellor-at-Law* (1931) was remarkable for its realistic detail and dialogue. Rice became known as an experimenter, though it took him some years to repeat his early success. Working in many styles, he wrote an expressionist satire on office drudgery, *The Adding Machine* (1923); *Street Scene* (1929), a tragedy of New York slum life which won the Pulitzer Prize, was made into a film, and was later turned into a musical by Kurt *Weill and Langston Hughes; *We, the People* (1933); and a fantasy, *Dream Girl* (1945).

A radical in his social outlook and a champion of freedom of thought, Rice resigned as regional director of the Federal Theater Project in New York City in 1936 as a protest against Washington censorship. In order to be independent of producers, he joined Maxwell Anderson, Robert E. Sherwood, and S.N. *Behrman in forming the Playwrights' Company. *Judgment Day* (1934), based on the Reichstag fire trial, and *Flight to the West* (1940) were both strong anti-Nazi dramas. *Between Two Worlds* (1934) dramatized the contrasts between American beliefs and Communist ideology. Rice held that the theater was a forum for "the discussion of problems… that affect the lives and happiness of millions," but that did not prevent him from writing appealing little plays like *The Left Bank* (1931) and *Two on an Island* (1940). *Not for Children* (1935) was a satire on the theater.

His other plays include *See Naples and Die* (1929), *A New Life* (1944), *The Grand Tour* (1951), and *Love Among the Ruins* (1963). Two of his novels were *Imperial City* (1937) and *The Show Must Go On* (1949). Rice published an autobiography, *Minority Report*, in 1963.

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[Joseph Mersand]

RICE, ISAAC LEOPOLD (1850–1915), U.S. lawyer and promoter. Rice was born in Wachenheim, Bavaria, and taken as a child to Philadelphia. He abandoned a career in music to study law, graduating in 1880 from Columbia Law School where he taught from 1882 to 1886. He devoted himself to railroad law, and was instrumental in reorganizing several southern railroads, which later constituted the Southern Railway, and the Philadelphia and Reading Railroad. In the 1890s Rice turned to electrical inventions, working on the electric storage battery, electric automobiles, and electric boat industries. He was president of the Electric Boat Co., the National Torpedo Co., the Electric Storage Battery Co., the American Casein Co., and numerous other firms manufacturing railway and marine vehicles and rubber tires. A prominent chess player, Rice invented the "Rice Gambit" opening and received the silver trophy for the International Universities Chess Match. Rice wrote *What Is Music?* (1875) and contributed to several periodicals, including *The Forum*, which he founded.

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[Edward L. Greenstein]

RICE, JAMES P. (1913–1997), U.S. organization executive. Born in Cleveland, Ohio, Rice graduated from Case Western University and received a master's degree in social administration from Adelbert College. From 1936 to 1945 he served as a caseworker and later as an administrator in Cleveland, Chicago, and New York. At the end of World War II he was appointed by the *American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee to supervise its program for the resettlement of Jewish refugees in Italy, France, Switzerland, and Austria, where he oversaw programs that helped more than 500,000 Holocaust survivors. From 1955 to 1966 he served as executive director of *United HIAS Service, in which capacity he worked to strengthen the organization's ties with other international Jewish bodies. During this period he also served as representative to the United Nations on behalf of the International Council on Jewish Social and Welfare Services, working with government officials to codify a new immigration law that would ease entry restrictions for refugees. Rice then served as executive vice president of the Jewish Federation/Jewish United Fund of Metropolitan Chicago (1966–79). He helped the federation form a merger and structured a reorganization plan that expanded its services to people in need. After his retirement, Rice served as a consultant to several organizations, such as the United Jewish Appeal and Chicago's Council for Jewish Elderly.

[Hillel Halkin / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

RICE, JOSEPH MAYER (1857–1934), U.S. physician, editor, and educator. Rice, who was born in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, was a pediatrician. Interested in problems of prophylaxis, he became increasingly concerned with school programs, and from 1888 to 1890 studied pedagogy at Jena and Leipzig. When he returned to the United States, he launched a journalistic crusade to reform the schools along progressive German lines. He first published his criticisms and recommendations in *The Forum and Century*, and then in a book entitled *The Public-School System of the United States* (1893). Later, while serving as editor of *The Forum and Century*, he undertook some of the first scientific investigations into teaching, beginning with a study of the effects of systematic instruction on achievement in spelling. Rice's studies and conclusions were collected in *Scientific Management in Education* (1913).

[Lawrence A. Cremin]

RICH, U.S. department store owners. The Rich family came from Kaschau (Hungary), from where Morris Rich (1847–1928) and his brother William moved to the United States in 1860; they became peddlers in Cleveland (Ohio). In 1865 Morris moved to Atlanta (Georgia) where in 1867 he opened a retail store which was the first of a leading chain of department stores in the South. His brothers Emanuel (1849–1897) and Daniel (1843–1920) who had come to the United States in 1862, and later Walter Henry (1880–1947), joined him in his successful business. Rich's of Atlanta was the first major retail store in the area to introduce liberal credit terms and homespun ways of merchandising, which popularized the store among the large black population. The firm's credit policy was a major factor in its rehabilitation after a disastrous fire swept Atlanta in 1917. The company also simplified internal administration and became famous for its excellent labor relations. Its owners and senior officers were prominent in many local and national civic organizations and charities which included the Rich Foundation, a major endower of Emory University's School of Business Administration.

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[Joachim O. Ronall]

RICH, ADRIENNE (1929–), U.S. poet. Rich was the daughter of a Jewish father who distanced himself from Judaism, and a gentile mother. Her Jewishness, and her response to it, inform much of the poignancy of her poems about claiming a heritage. No less importantly, her poetry is often bound up with her father, patriarchal authority, and her lesbianism. A revolt against, as well as a feminist reading of, a Judaism that is male-dominated, gives Rich's poetry a characteristic strength, compassion, and large embrace. In "Yom Kippur 1984," she reflects: "Am I writing merely about privilege/ about drifting from the center, drawn to edges.…" Rich, often writing about the shared experiences of females and about historical women, began her career with tightly controlled poetry which brought her early recognition by critics and other poets. Her first book of verse, *A Change of World* (1951), was chosen by W.H. Auden for the Yale Younger Poets Award; a Guggenheim Fellowship followed (1952–53). *The Diamond Cutters and Other Poems* (1955) won the Ridgely Torrence Memorial Award of the Poetry Society of America. She was also awarded the National Institute of Arts and Letters Award for poetry (1960); another Guggenheim Fellowship (1961–62); and a Bollingen Foundation grant for translation of Dutch poetry (1962). In 1994, she was awarded a MacArthur Fellowship.

Rich married an economist, had three sons, and served as Phi Beta Kappa poet at William and Mary College, at Swarthmore College, and at Harvard College. After Rich and her family moved to New York City in 1966, she grew active in protests against the war in Vietnam. Rich's poetry became radicalized as well, moving away from the precise blank verse that had been her trademark to freer meters. *Leaflets* (1969) expressed her new conviction that the goal of poetry should be to illuminate the moment, rather than to be worked over for posterity.

In 1970 Rich's husband died and she became increasingly involved in the radical feminist movement. She won the Shelley Memorial Award of the Poetry Society of America in 1971 and served as the Fanny Hurst Visiting Professor of Creative Literature at Brandeis University in 1972–73. When she was awarded a National Book Award for her 1973 book of verse, *Diving into the Wreck*, she refused to accept the award as an individual, and instead accepted it in the name of all women. Her books of poetry include *Poems: Selected and New* (1975) and *A Wild Patience Has Taken Me This Far* (1981). Of special interest is Rich's volume of poetry *Your Native Land, Your Life* (1986) which speaks about her Jewish identity. Her *An Atlas of the Difficult World: Poems 1988–1991* was published in 1991; her *Collected Early Poems, 1950–1970* in 1993; *The School Among the Ruins: Poems, 2000–2004* in 2004. She has written several volumes of essays, among them *On Lies, Secrets, and Silence: Selected Prose, 1996–1978* (1979); *Blood, Bread, and Poetry: Selected Prose, 1979–1985* (1986); and *What Is Found There: Notebooks on Poetry and Politics* (1993).

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[Sylvia Barack Fishman / Lewis Fried (2nd ed.)]

RICH, BUDDY (**Bernard**; 1917–1987); U.S. drummer, bandleader, tap dancer. The son of a vaudeville team (Wilson and Rich), he was on stage at the age of 18 months, or so the legend goes. He was definitely a professional entertainer by age four, playing drums and tap dancing in the Broadway show *Pinwheel* in 1921, and by the time he was 11, Rich had formed his own band. As soon as he looked old enough, he was sneaking into clubs and sitting in on the drums whenever he could. In 1937, Rich was hired by Joe Marsala, and he then moved on to gigs with Bunny Berigan, Artie *Shaw, and Tommy Dorsey. His musical career was interrupted by military service during World War II, but he picked up where he had left off when he returned, rejoining Dorsey. According to a contemporary source, Rich was "cocky, rashly outspoken and brutally sarcastic." With a temper as explosive as his all-out playing style, he was also quick with his fists, fighting nearly everyone in the Dorsey band, including star singer Frank Sinatra. Yet when Rich left Dorsey to form his own band, Sinatra was one of his financial backers, so completely did he believe in the tempestuous drummer's talents.

Although his sense of rhythm was exquisite, Rich's timing as an entrepreneur was less sterling; he blossomed as a big-band drummer just as the economic foundations of the Big Bands collapsed. He toured with Norman Granz's Jazz at the Philharmonic troupe, worked as a vocalist after a heart attack in the mid-1950s, then came roaring back with a new Big Band in 1966. That fire-breathing group stayed intact in one form or another for about a dozen years. A second heart attack in the mid-1970s forced Rich to pare the band down to a sextet, but he remained musically active and a frequent guest on such TV staples as *The Tonight Show* almost up to his death from a brain tumor.

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[George Robinson (2nd ed.)]

RICH, MARC (1934–), international commodities trader. Born Marc David Reich in Antwerp, Belgium, he and his family emigrated to the United States in 1942. He attended New York University, but did not graduate, and worked as a commodities trader for his father, who was a successful producer of burlap sacks. Rich then worked with Philipp Brothers, a dealer in raw metals, learning about the international trading of raw materials with Third World nations. He later focused on trading with dictatorial regimes and embargoed nations such as Iran. In 1983 Rich and his partner, Pincus Green, were indicted on charges of tax evasion and illegal trading with Iran. According to the indictment, Rich set up a scam to have his company's oil relabeled by a reseller, and thus seemingly exempted from price controls. Rich's lawyers sought a deal to end the prosecution and spare him jail time. They offered $100 million if all charges were dropped. This was on top of $50,000 a day Rich was paying in contempt-of-court fines. During this period, Rich and Green were in Europe. When the deal was finally rejected, Rich and Green became fugitives when they decided to stay abroad. The resellers who were the main co-conspirators in the fraud were convicted and served 12 months in jail. Rich's companies pleaded guilty to 78 counts and paid over $150 million while he and Green remained fugitives.

Rich was joined in Switzerland by his wife, DENISE EISENBERG RICH (1944–), the daughter of Holocaust survivors who fled Germany for Worcester, Massachusetts. Her father made millions in a shoe factory while Denise went to Boston University, where she taught herself to play the guitar and began a songwriting career. They married in 1966 and she stayed with her husband in Europe. After about 10 years, she returned to New York City with their three daughters and reportedly received a large divorce settlement. Denise began pursuing her songwriting career in earnest, contributed heavily to the Democratic Party and the campaign of Bill Clinton, whom she met in 1993, and became famous for large parties in New York City. Over the years, her songs were nominated for Grammys and Oscars and she wrote songs for pop stars like Celine Dion, Aretha Franklin, and Patti LaBelle. The songs and parties continued until 1996 when the Riches' middle daughter, Gabrielle, died of leukemia at the age of 27. Denise then created the G & P Charitable Foundation (G for Gabrielle, P for Philip, her daughter's husband) to finance cancer research. Since its formation in 1998 the foundation raised millions, aided by an appearance at the first gala by then-President Clinton.

While in exile, Rich continued his questionable business practices. In 1988, the Defense Logistics Agency lifted its bar on contracting with a Rich company and between 1989 and 1992, the U.S. Mint issued at least 21 separate contracts for nickel, zinc, and copper to the company.

Over the years, Rich kept trying to win a pardon, his lawyers arguing that he was the victim of overly zealous prosecutors. Many of those who wrote letters of support for a presidential pardon were leaders of Jewish philanthropy in the United States and Israel. Rich had given to a variety of major institutions in Israel, including Shaare Zedek Medical Center, Ben-Gurion University, the Israel Museum, and the Jerusalem Foundation. He also helped bring dozens of Jews from Ethiopia and Yemen to Israel and was one of 14 people who pledged five million dollars to Birthright Israel, a program that sends young, primarily North American, Jews on free trips to Israel. On January 20, 2001, only hours before leaving office, Clinton granted Rich a pardon. Clinton explained his decision by noting that similar situations were settled in civil, not criminal, court, and cited clemency pleas from Israeli government officials, including Prime Minister Ehud Barak.

After his pardon, Rich began lucrative business dealings with Saddam Hussein of Iraq, which were disclosed in 2005 in connection with the United Nations oil-for-food scandals.

[Stewart Kampel (2nd ed.)]

RICHARDS, BERNARD GERSON (1877–1971), U.S. journalist, widely active in Jewish affairs. Richards was born in Keidan (Kedziniai), Lithuania, and was taken to the U.S. in 1886. He began his journalistic career as a reporter on the *Boston Post*, and wrote for several Boston and New York papers, as well as for Yiddish and other Jewish journals, including the *American Hebrew* and *The New Palestine*. He also edited the magazine *New Era*. From 1906 to 1911 Richards served as secretary of the Jewish Community of New York City, an organization designed to further the cause of Judaism, and in 1915 helped found the *American Jewish Congress, of which he was executive director until 1932. At the end of World War I he was a member of the American Jewish delegation to the Versailles Peace Conference. He also founded the Jewish Information Bureau of Greater New York (1932), and the American Jewish Institute, New York (1942) to further adult education. He was director of both these institutions. He was also a member of the Zionist Organization of America, and his revised edition of I. Cohen's *The Zionist Movement* (1946) included a supplementary chapter of his own on Zionism in the U.S. His other books were *The Discourses of Keidansky* (1903), and *Organizing American Jewry* (1947). His papers are in the library of the Jewish Theological Seminary, New York.

[Irving Rosenthal]

RICHARDS, MARTIN (**Morton Richard Klein**; 1932–), U.S. stage and film producer. Morton Richard Klein grew up in the Bronx and got his first job at the age of 10 as a newsboy in the Broadway show *Mexican Hayride* with June Havoc. He did other shows and commercials until his voice changed. At 17, a baritone, he began performing in nightclubs under his new name. He spent two years at New York University studying architecture, his grandfather's profession, while singing at night, but quit to pursue show business full-time. Realizing he would never make it big as a singer, Richards landed jobs as a casting director. He found actors for small roles in Manhattan-location movies like *The Seven Year Itch, Sweet Charity, The Boston Strangler*, and *Sweet Smell of Success*. He then raised funds to stage an Off-Broadway show, *Dylan,* which proved a success, and his producing career was born. Richards was determined to stage the dark musical *Chicago,* and he spent 27 years before it had its premiere on Broadway in 1975. The show, a smashing success, ran for more than 900 performances. That same year, Richards met Mary Lea Johnson, one of several children who were heirs to the Johnson & Johnson medical supply fortune. Johnson, a former actress and a woman who had two failed marriages, and Richards, an acknowledged homosexual, married. In 1976, with one million dollars from his wife, they established the Producers Circle, with Robert Fryer and James Cresson. The partnership produced such Broadway musical hits as *On the Twentieth Century* (1978), *Sweeney Todd* (1979), *La Cage aux Folles* (1983), *The Will Rogers Follies* (1991), and *Grand Hotel* (1989) among others. Their shows won more than 36 Tony Awards. *Crimes of the Heart* won a Pulitzer Prize. Off Broadway, the Circle produced *March of the Falsettos* and *Mayor.* Among their films were *The Boys from Brazil* (1978), *The Shining* (1980), *Fort Apache, the Bronx* (1981), and *Chicago*, which won an Oscar for best film of the year in 2003, along with five other Oscars. Five years after the death of her father, Mary Lea Richards and her brothers and sisters challenged their father's last will, which disinherited five of his six children and left the vast bulk of the $350 million estate to his third wife, his former maid. The case was the largest inheritance contest in the history of New York before it was settled out of court with the children dividing about 12 percent of the total. Legal challenges continued for Richards into the early years of the 21st century, years after the death of his wife. Richards spent millions establishing the Mary Lea Johnson Richards Institute at NYU and the Children's Advocacy Center of Manhattan.

[Stewart Kampel (2nd ed.)]

RICHIETTI, JOSEPH SHALLIT BEN ELIEZER (17th century), rabbi and emissary of the Holy Land. Richietti apparently came from Mantua and settled in Safed some time after 1659. From 1674 to 1676 he was an emissary of Safed in Italy. Moses *Zacuto welcomed him with great honor upon his arrival in Mantua in 1674. He was a Shabbatean of Zacuto's circle. During his mission he published his *Ḥokhmat ha-Mishkan* (Mantua, 1676) on the erection of the Tabernacle, at the end of which he republished the *Iggeret Mesapperet Yaḥasuta de-Ẓaddikei de-Ara de-Yisrael* ("A genealogical table of the righteous men of Ereẓ Israel"). In the introduction to the work he speaks of having drawn up a map of Ereẓ Israel. He appears also to have spent some time in Verona. According to documents of the Mantua community, he lent a sum of money to the community during a time of need. He possessed important manuscripts, among them a copy of the **Midrash ha-Gadol*, and was the first European scholar to make use of it.

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[Abraham David]

RICHLER, MORDECAI (1931–2001), Canadian author. Richler's satiric portrayal of Montreal's Jewish Main gained both prominence and notoriety in 1955 with the publication of his second novel, *Son of a Smaller Hero.* Published in Britain, this slim, young man's novel of leaving one's community caused a stir in Canada, with its depiction of working-class Jews coming to terms with the breakdown of tradition and the speed with which a prosperous postwar Canada allowed middle-class Jews to assimilate and suburbanize themselves. These themes recur – more fully fleshed out and with greater humor – in Richler's breakthrough 1959 novel *The Apprenticeship of Duddy Kravitz.*

Richler's career would prove to be a writing away from and back to his childhood experiences in the neighborhood around Montreal's St Lawrence Boulevard, which existed as a Jewish enclave, with English Montreal to the west and French Montreal to the east. Between the middle 1950s and the early 1970s Richler made his home in London, England, raising a family and supporting himself by writing screenplays. Upon returning to Montreal to stay, Richler told friends that he worried that being too long away from his home turf might weaken his relationship with his richest material. The major novels that best reflect his ability to weave Montreal Jewish themes into a larger fictional tableau are *St. Urbain's Horseman* (1971), *Joshua Then and Now* (1980), and *Solomon Gursky Was Here* (1989). In the first of the three, Montreal plays the slightest role, and Richler addresses the Holocaust with deft, dark humor and moral outrage. *Joshua Then and Now* presents a loving portrait of a St. Urbain Street childhood. And in *Solomon Gursky Was Here*, Richler's most ambitious book, he takes liberties with the Bronfman liquor dynasty, the role of Jewish wealth and power in Canada, alongside a fanciful consideration of Jews in the Arctic. These major books confirmed Richler's place at the forefront of Canadian letters.

Richler's output also included three children's books featuring a character named Jacob Two-Two, as well as an excellent memoiristic collection, *The Street* (1969). Among his many literary awards are two Governor General's Awards, the Giller Prize, and the Commonwealth Writers Prize.

Alongside his fiction and memoir, Richler embraced freelance journalism and published regularly in Canada and abroad on subjects as varied as Israel and the sporting life. His willingness to editorialize aggressively and acerbically placed him at the center of the political and cultural debate concerning Quebec's national aspirations. Richler dismissed the *indépendantiste* movement as destructive, incoherent, and self-serving, insisting that its roots could be found in the xenophobic right-wing ideologies of 1940s Quebec. His influential, as well as provocative contributions to this discussion include a long essay, which appeared in *The New Yorker* in 1991, and his full-scale study and memoir *Oh Canada! Oh Quebec: Requiem for a Divided Country* (1992). With the latter's publication Richler found the Montreal Jewish community fully behind him – possibly for the first time in his career – as they applauded his criticism of Quebec nationalism. In the French-speaking community, Richler solidified his position as the Anglophone bête noir of French cultural life in the province.

In his last years, Richler was elevated to the role of cultural icon in Canada, a development that propelled his final novel, *Barney's Version* (1997), to bestseller status. The novel also became an unlikely success in Italy, where readers embraced Richler's characteristic brand of political incorrectness.

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[Norman Ravvin (2nd ed.)]

RICHMAN, JULIA (1855–1912), U.S. educator; the first woman district superintendent of schools in her native New York. She prepared for her teaching career at the Female Normal School (now Hunter College) and at New York University.

First serving as teacher and vice principal of Public School 77, she became the principal of its girls' department in 1884. In 1903 she was appointed district superintendent of schools, a post which she held until her death. Julia Richman helped immigrant children to adjust to American life, combated truancy and juvenile delinquency, and advocated educational programs for mentally retarded children. She organized an employment agency for school dropouts and provided medical and social services for pupils. She also pioneered in organizing the Parent-Teacher Association. She directed the Hebrew Free School Association and, as first president of the Young Women's Hebrew Association, 1886–90, influenced adult Jewish education. From 1895 to 1899 she was chairman of the committee on religious school work of the Council of Jewish Women. As educator and author of *Good Citizenship* (1908), with Isabel Richman Wallach, *The Pupils' Arithmetic* (1911–17), and *Methods of Teaching Jewish Ethics* (1914), she stressed the development and welfare of every child. A girls' high school in Manhattan was named after her.

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[William W. Brickman]

RICHMOND, state capital of Virginia, U.S, and commercial center on the James River; 2001 population of metropolitan region 1,138,000 and within the city itself 192,000; Jewish population, 12,500.

There is evidence of Jews residing in Richmond as early as 1769. Revolutionary war veterans and business partners, Jacob I. Cohen and Isaiah Isaacs, the city's earliest known Jewish residents, were instrumental in the establishment of the state's first Jewish congregation in 1789. Kahal Kadosh Beth Shalome was the sixth and westernmost congregation in the colonies, and one of the six that congratulated George Washington upon his inauguration as first president. The 1790 census shows Richmond with the fourth largest Jewish population, following only New York, Charleston and Philadelphia. The first Jewish burial ground in the state was established on Franklin Street in 1791 and, the first synagogue was dedicated on Mayo Street in 1822.

The early Richmond Jews appear to have integrated easily into the city's life, holding a number of elective and civic positions. Jacob Cohen was elected to the City Council in 1793 and served as a Master of his Masonic Lodge; Samuel Myers became alderman in 1800; Benjamin Wolfe and Joseph Darmstadt were elected to the City Council in 1816; and Solomon Jacobs was elected recorder, the second highest municipal office after that of the mayor, in 1815 and again in 1818. Gustavus A. Myers (1801–1869), known as the most prominent Jew of the city in his day, served on the City Council for nearly 30 years, 12 of which as its president. Judah P. *Benjamin, former U.S. Senator from Louisiana, lived in Richmond while serving as secretary of state for the Confederacy.

In 1841 the German Jewish community broke from Beth Shalome to establish Beth Ahabah, a new synagogue in the Ashkenazic tradition. In 1898 the two congregations merged as Beth Ahabah, which continues as Richmond's largest Reform congregation. A Polish congregation, Keneseth Israel, was organized in 1856, while an influx of Russian Jews beginning in 1880 led to the establishment of the Sir Moses Montefiore Congregation. By the 20th century such ethnic distinctions had faded away and the latter two synagogues joined with the Aitz Chaim Congregation in forming the Orthodox Temple Beth Israel.

Jews played a vital role in reviving the city's economy after the U.S. Civil War (1861–65) left the capital of the Confederacy in shambles. Philip Whitlock, a Confederate veteran, and his tobacco firm, P. Whitlock, helped establish the city as a major tobacco center. Gustavus A. Myers and Edward Cohen established the Merchants and Savings Bank in 1867, and Charles Hutzler and William H. Schwarzschild Sr. founded the Central National Bank in 1911.

A number of early Jewish firms were still owned and managed by the same families for over a century after their inception, such as the Thalhimer Brothers department store, established in 1842 and the Binswanger Glass Works. Schwarzschild Jewelers, established in 1897, remains the last of Richmond's carriage trade stores.

Richmond's first public school was founded by the Beth Ahabah Congregation. Sir Moses Jacob *Ezekiel, an internationally known 19th-century sculptor, was born in Richmond and attended the Virginia Military Institute. Gustavus Millhiser (1850–1915) of the Millhiser Bay Company and Richmond Cedar Works was greatly respected in his time. William B. Thalhimer Sr. helped to convince President Franklin D. Roosevelt to legalize the deduction of charitable gifts from income tax returns. He was active on behalf of Richmond's Byrd Airport, group hospitalization, the conservation of wildlife in Virginia, and the settlement of refugees from Germany in the 1930s. Samuel Z. Troy and his wife were also active for refugees. At the end of World War II, a group of Jewish businessmen from Richmond, including Israel November and H.J. Bernstein partnered with friends from Virginia Beach to purchase and retrofit the former Chesapeake Bay ferry boat that became known to the world as the *Exodus* ship.

In 2006 the Jewish community continued to be heavily concentrated in various branches of manufacturing, merchandising, banking, medicine, law, real estate, and the wholesale and retail trade.

As of 2006 eight congregations continued to function: two reform – Beth Ahabah and Or Ami; three Conservative – Or Atid, Beth El, and Beth Shalom; and three Orthodox – Young Israel, Keneseth Beth Israel, and the Chabad Community Shul.

The social welfare structure of the Jewish community centers around the Jewish Community Federation of Richmond, formed in 1935 to galvanize the Jewish community in raising funds to assist co-religionists seeking refuge from the Nazi regime. In 2006, member agencies include the Beth Sholom Home of Virginia, which has a nursing home, assisted living, senior living apartments, and a rehabilitation clinic; the Carole and Marcus Weinstein Jewish Community Center; Jewish Family Services, the oldest family welfare agency in Virginia, established in 1849; two days schools – Rudlin Torah Academy (K-12) and the Solomon Schechter School; and two high schools for the Orthodox community – Shaarei Torah, a high school for girls, and Yeshiva of Virginia, a high school for boys. There are four summer camps and a religious school for children with special needs. The department of religion at the University of Richmond teaches Judaism and holds the endowed Weinstein-Rosenthal Chair. Virginia Commonwealth University has a Center for Judaic Studies headed by Rabbi Jack Spiro, rabbi emeritus for Beth Ahabah. There are four *mikva'ot* and a Kosher Conference and Retreat Center.

Richmond is the home of two Jewish museums, the Beth Ahabah Museum and Archives that chronicles over 300 years of Richmond Jewish History, and the Virginia Holocaust Museum that teaches tolerance through the experiences of local survivors. Spearheaded by Jay Ipson, the Holocaust Museum recently relocated to a 19th-century tobacco warehouse deeded to the museum by the State of Virginia. In 1997, "Commonwealth and Community: The Jewish Experience in Virginia" opened at the Virginia Historical Society and traveled through the state to The Chrysler Museum in Virginia Beach and Roanoke. Saul Viener and the Jewish Federation of Richmond partnered with the Historical Society to develop the exhibit that remains on view at the Beth Ahabah Museum & Archives. The Jewish Experience is also part of a permanent exhibition on Virginia history at the Virginia Historical Society. In 2001 a Virginia Historical Marker was installed on South 14th street marking the site of the first Beth Shalome synagogue.

Throughout the late 19th and the 20th century Richmond Jews continued to serve in a variety of elected offices and civic positions. William Lovenstein, served in the Richmond Light Infantry Blues during the Civil War and later as president *pro tem* of the Virginia State Senate. Alfred Moses, Julius Straus, A.H. Kaufman, Clifford Weil, Joseph Wallerstein, Lee A. Whitlock, and Nathan Forb were elected to City Council. Sol L. Bloomberg was a council president. Dr. Edward N. Calisch, the rabbi of Congregation Beth Ahabah from 1891 until 1946, was an important leader in the community. Norman Sisisky was elected as the delegate representing Petersburg in the Virginia General Assembly in 1973 and to nine terms as U.S. Representative for Virginia's Fourth Congressional District. Eric Cantor served as the chief deputy majority whip, U.S. House of Representatives, as the U.S. Representative for Virginia's Seventh Congressional District (2000); and as Henrico County delegate in the Virginia House of Delegates from 1992 to 2000. Michael Schewel served as Virginia's secretary of commerce and trade under Governor Mark Warner.

Jewish-Christian relations in the Richmond area were characterized for many years by the indifferent Christian response to Jewish efforts to establish a meaningful religious dialogue. In the late 1990s, Congregation Beth Ahabah forged new ties with its neighbor St. James Church when it was severely damaged by lightning. St. James held worship services at Beth Ahabah for two years during the restoration, and later partnered to build shared parking facilities for the two congregations.

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[Susan Morgan (2nd ed.)]

RICHTER, BURTON (1931–), U.S. physicist and Nobel prize winner. Born in New York, Richter received his doctorate from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology in 1956. In the same year he joined Stanford University as a research associate, becoming assistant professor (1960). He moved to the Stanford Linear Accelerator Center as an associate professor (1963) and full professor (1967). In 1979 he was appointed the Paul Pigott Professor of Physical Science. He was director of the Center from 1984 to 1999. He served as president of the American Physical Society (1994), and the International Union of Pure and Applied Physics (1999–2002). He was a member of the National Academy of Sciences, the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, and the American Philosophical Society. Richter shared the 1976 Nobel Prize in physics with Samuel Ting of MIT for their discovery in 1974 – each working independently – of a new subatomic particle, called "psi" by Richter and "J" by Ting, three times heavier than the proton and with a life-span some 10,000 times longer than anticipated by theory at that time. This significant contribution in the field of elementary particles provided evidence for a fourth quark.

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[Bracha Rager (2nd ed.)]

RICHTER, ELISE (1865–1943), Austrian professor of Romance languages. Born and raised in Vienna, Elise Richter was among early matriculants when the University of Vienna opened its doors to female students in 1897. Richter passed her doctoral orals in comparative linguistics summa cum laude in 1901, and her post-doctoral dissertation defense for her university teaching credential (*Habilitation*) in Romance philology in 1905. It took two more years before she received her official appointment as the very first *Privatdozentin*, or female unsalaried lecturer, in Austria. In 1921, she was promoted to the rank of untenured associate professor, another first for an Austrian woman. She taught a wide range of courses on various Romance languages and published extensively, especially in the field of historical grammar. Only in 1923, however, did she finally receive a paid university teaching contract, which guaranteed her financial independence. She continued to teach phonetics courses at the University of Vienna until she was seventy-three years old, several years past the normal age of retirement.

Elise Richter participated actively in Austrian political life during the interwar years as a member of the small liberal

Bourgeois-Democratic Workers' Party. Despite her personal reticence, she helped to establish and then chaired the Federation of University Women of Austria from 1922 to 1930. This organization aimed at assisting women to break into previously inaccessible fields within academia.

After the *Anschluss* in March 1938, Elise Richter suffered many humiliations due to her Jewish descent. Not only was she dismissed from her teaching position, but she was also banned from using the university library and prevented from visiting museums and theaters. Her property, including her library, was confiscated and, although she continued her scholarly work until 1941, she could no longer publish in Germany. In October 1942, together with her sister, the English literary specialist Helene Richter, Elise Richter, was deported to Theresienstadt on the last large transport from Vienna; both elderly women became Holocaust victims.

Richter's students and disciples did not forget her, but continued to publish her work posthumously. The Austrian government erected a plaque in her memory as the first woman professor at the University of Vienna.

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[Harriet Pass Freidenreich (2nd ed.)]

RICHTER, HANS (1888–1976), German artist and film maker. Born in Berlin, Richter was one of the first to make abstract feature films. He studied art in Paris and was attracted by the cubist and surrealist schools. In Zurich in 1916 he participated in the Dada movement and later joined Viking Eggeling, a Swedish painter, in making abstract films. His "scroll paintings," inspired by a desire to express Bach's fugues visually, was the forerunner of *Rhythm 21* (1921), which consisted of squares hypnotically regrouping themselves into evolving sets. Later films employed surrealistic glass eyes and bowler hats flying through the air. Richter was forced to flee from Germany, while he was making an anti-Nazi film, and he settled in the United States, where he produced *Dreams that Money Can Buy* (1946), a surrealistic fantasy. Among his other well-known experimental films were *"8 × 8"* (1947) involving squares on a chess board, and *Dadascope* (1961). His book *Dada – Kunst und Antikunst*, published in 1964, became a classic which was followed two years later by an exhibition that toured internationally, *Dada 1916–1966: Documents of the International Dada Movement*. Richter served as head of the Institute of Film Technique at the City College of New York (1943–56) and then specialized in teaching documentary film making.

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[Jihan Radjai-Ordoubadi (2nd ed.)]

RICHTER, RAOUL (1871–1912), German philosopher. Richter, who was born in Berlin, was the son of the non-Jewish painter, Gustav Richter, and Carola, the daughter of the composer Giacomo *Meyerbeer. He grew up in the rich artistic and cultural atmosphere of his parents' circle. He became a teacher at Leipzig, and in 1905 a professor. His first writing was *Zur Loesung des Faustproblems* (1892).

In 1903 he published his important biographical study of Nietzsche, *Friedrich Nietzsche, sein Leben und sein Werk*. His *Der Skeptizismus in der Philosophie und seine Ueberwindung* (2 vols., 1904–08) is a historical and philosophical study of skepticism from ancient times up to Nietzsche. His last book, *Religionsphilosophie* (1912), contains his critique of positive religion, his opposition to theism and atheism, and his advocacy of pantheism. Richter believed God was neither personal nor impersonal, but rather a suprapersonal organism. In 1913 a volume of his *Essays* was published containing works on Faust, Nietzsche, and Pascal.

[Richard H. Popkin]

RICHTMANN, MÓZES (1880–1972), Hungarian scholar, teacher, and Zionist. Richtmann was born in Homonna (now in Slovakia). He completed his studies at the rabbinical seminary and University of Budapest, where he obtained a doctorate in philosophy (1904) and rabbinical diploma (1906). A gifted teacher, Richtmann taught at the Jewish Teachers' Seminary in Budapest over a period of 40 years, starting in 1907; from 1950 he lectured at the rabbinical seminary. Richtmann first attracted attention in Hungarian Jewish academic circles as a philosophy disciple of D. *Kaufmann. His doctoral thesis was "Az arab zsidó neoplatonikusok etikai nézetei" ("The Ethical Views of Arab-Jewish Neoplatonists," 1904). Richtmann also published works in Jewish history: *Landau Ezékiel prágai rabbi és a magyar zsidók* ("Ezekiel Landau Rabbi of Prague and the Jews of Hungary," 1905), and *A régi Magyarorszag zsidósága* ("The Jews of Ancient Hungary," in: *Magyar Zsidó Szemle*, vol. 29, 1912).

Principally, however, Richtmann devoted himself to work on behalf of Zionism, which he considered to be the solution for the spiritual crisis within Hungarian Jewry, especially among its intellectuals, and which would assure the continuity of Jewish vitality. He contributed to the official Zionist organ *Zsidó Szemle* and was its editor for a period during World War I. He was a frequent contributor to the general Jewish press, especially *Zsidó Ujság* (1925–38) and the Orthodox *Zsidó Ujság* (1939–44). After World War I and the ensuing revolutions, Richtmann's assimilationist rivals denounced him before the disciplinary tribunal of government teachers for the crime of "lack of patriotism," i.e., Zionism, but the minister of education annulled the proceedings against him. From then onward he published his articles anonymously. During the fascist regime in Hungary, he was among the few who were active in the resistance, and he published a number of anti-regime pamphlets illegally. Richtmann was elected member of the Pest *bet din* after World War II, and he devoted himself exclusively to research. The works *Orthodoxia és cionizmus* ("Orthodoxy and Zionism," 1920) and *Szombat Almanach* ("Saturday Almanac," 1927) were published under his editorship. In 1955, on the occasion of his 75th birthday, a tribute was published which includes a bibliography of his writings.

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[Baruch Yaron / Alexander Scheiber]

RICIUS, PAULUS (**Rici**, **Rizzi**, also known as *Paulus Israelita*; d. 1541), humanist, translator, and apostate. Probably born in Germany, Ricius was baptized in Italy about 1505 and in the following year met Erasmus at Pavia, where he became professor of philosophy and medicine. Ricius was one of the very few converted Jews of the age who made a serious contribution to Christian Hebraism, although he also wrote a series of works (*Sal Foederis*, 1507, 15142) designed to confirm his new faith and refute Jewish arguments by means of the Kabbalah. From 1514 he was body physician to the Emperor Maximilian in Augsburg; he was elected to the chair of Hebrew at Pavia in 1521; and the favor which he enjoyed at the imperial court led to his being ennobled as Baron von Sparzenstein in 1530. The works which Ricius published include translations of Jewish and Muslim texts and some original writings, mainly on mystical themes. The translations are: part of Joseph *Gikatilla's *Sha'arei Orah*; the sole surviving Latin edition of a medical treatise by the 12th-century Spanish scholar Albucasis; and works by Averroes.

It is, above all, as one of the architects of the Christian Kabbalah that Ricius is now mainly remembered. The *Sha'arei Orah* translation – *Portae lucis* (Augsburg, 1516) – was consulted by Conrad *Pellicanus while it was still in manuscript and inspired many later scholars to tackle similar projects (e.g., the Zohar translations of G. *Postel). Ricius helped to popularize the "prophecy of Elijah" (based on Sanh. 97a) and, like *Pico della Mirandola (whose knowledge of Kabbalah Ricius disparaged), he was able to "discover" the Trinity and other Christian doctrines in Jewish mystical works, which he defended against the attacks of Jacob *Hoogstraaten in his *Apologeticus sermo* (in Pistorius, *Artis Cabbalisticae … Tomus I*, 1587).

Other works by Ricius include the treatises *De anima coeli* (1519) and *Responsio ad interrogationem de nomine Tetragrammato* (1519), and *Statera prudentium* (c. 1532), which led to a controversy with the humanist Girolamo Aleandro because of the author's evident toleration of Protestantism. *De coelesti agricultura libri quattuor* (1541), a collection of Ricius' major works which appeared shortly before his death, contained a preface by his former teacher, the philosopher Pietro Pomponazzi.

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[Godfrey Edmond Silverman]

RICKLES, DON (1926–), U.S. comedian and actor. Born in New York, New York, the comedian started out as a shy child, but by the time he attended Newton High School in Elmhurst, Long Island, Rickles was performing in school plays. During World War II, Rickles served with the U.S. Navy aboard the USS *Cyrene*. Rickles studied drama after his discharge in 1946, and two years later he started working stand-up routines in small clubs. His impressions and jokes were nothing remarkable, but the audience instantly connected with the off-the-cuff remarks he threw back at hecklers, which gave rise to his insult style of comedy. In 1957, Frank Sinatra walked into a Hollywood nightclub where Rickles was performing when the comedian famously told the crooner, "Make yourself at home Frank. Hit somebody." Sinatra found the comic hilarious, and by 1959 Rickles had signed to his first performance at the Sahara in Las Vegas; Rickles continued to headline in the city at different hotels for decades. In 1958, Rickles made his feature film debut with *Run Silent Run Deep* (1958), followed by such films as *The Rat Race* (1960) and *Beach Blanket Bingo*. On October 7, 1965, Rickles made his first of many appearances on Johnny Carson's *Tonight Show*. He recorded his bestselling first album, titled *Hello Dummy!*, for 7 Arts Records in 1967; his follow-up album was titled *Don Rickles Speaks*. Rickles and actor Ernest Borgnine starred in West Coast performances of *The Odd Couple* in 1967, and in 1968 ABC debuted the short-lived variety program *The Don Rickles Show*. Rickles had a starring turn in the World War II feature *Kelly's Heroes* (1970), and from 1971 to 1972 CBS ran a sitcom, the *Don Rickles Show*, which featured the comedian as an advertising executive. From 1977 to 1978 Rickles starred as a Navy chief petty officer in the NBC comedy *C.P.O. Sharkey*. On February 7, 1982, Sinai Temple in West Los Angeles, California, dedicated the Barbara and Don Rickles Gymnasium. In the 1990s, Rickles enjoyed a film comeback with parts in *Innocent Blood* (1992) and *Casino* (1995), and as the voice for Mr. Potato Head in the Disney/Pixar features *Toy Story* (1995) and *Toy Story 2* (1999).

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[Adam Wills (2nd ed.)]

RICKOVER, HYMAN GEORGE (1900–1986), U.S. naval officer; "father" of the atomic-powered submarine. Rickover, born in Russian Poland, was taken by his family to Chicago in 1906, where his father became a tailor. He graduated from the United States Naval Academy in 1922 and was commissioned an ensign in the U.S. Navy.

After sea duty, Rickover studied electrical engineering at the U.S. Naval Academy at Annapolis and Columbia University. He served aboard submarines for three years and then held increasingly important staff and command positions. During World War II Rickover headed the Electrical Section, Bureau of Ships in the Navy Department, and was decorated for his effectiveness in obtaining men and materials to produce electric power and equipment necessary for naval shipbuilding and maintenance. Serving at Oak Ridge in 1946, site of the development of the atomic bomb, and visiting other nuclear research installations, Rickover became convinced of the feasibility of constructing nuclear-powered submarines. Almost alone against considerable opposition, he persuaded the navy to undertake the effort in late 1947. Rickover was soon placed in charge of the project, working with the Atomic Energy Commission, which designed and built the reactors. The "Nautilus," the first atomic-powered submarine in the world, was launched in January 1954. Despite his success, Rickover would have been forced to retire in 1953 if Congressional intervention had not kept him on duty and ensured his subsequent promotions to rear admiral and vice admiral. He made other contributions to nuclear-power developments, was active in the field of education, and received many decorations. In 1973 Rickover was promoted full admiral. In 1979 he was awarded the Harry S. Truman Good Neighbor Award and in the following year the Medal of Freedom by President Carter.

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[Stanley L. Falk]

RIE, DAME LUCIE (1902–1995), British potter. Born in Vienna, the daughter of Benjamin Gomperz, a professor of medicine and a friend of Freud, Lucie Rie became a potter in the mid-1920s. She came to Britain with her husband, Hans Rie, in 1938, but after their divorce lived alone in London and worked at a studio in Bayswater. Her high standards made her one of the most famous potters in Britain and she was created a dame in 1990. Originally specializing in earthenware and jewelry, she later worked in stoneware and porcelain. Much of her later work was done in collaboration with her student and fellow refugee Hans Coper (1920–1981), a leading potter in his own right.

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[William D. Rubinstein (2nd ed.)]

RIEGELMAN, HAROLD (1892–1982), U.S. lawyer and public official. Riegelman, who was born in Des Moines, Iowa, entered private law practice after service in World War I. His public posts included: New York State veteran relief commissioner (1922–32); special assistant New York State attorney general (1929–30); special counsel to the U.S. Treasury Department (1935); delegate to the New York State Constitutional Convention (1938); and special counsel to the New York State Department of Taxation and Finance (1947–48). Riegelman was a pioneer in drafting housing legislation, first in New York and later of the 1937 National Housing Law. In 1953, at President Eisenhower's request, Riegelman served briefly as acting postmaster of New York City and in the same year he was the unsuccessful Republican mayoral candidate. He later served as one of the members of the U.S. delegation to the UN.

Active in Jewish affairs, Riegelman was vice president of the American Jewish Committee (1949–52), a member of its executive committee from 1951, and finance chairman of the American Friends of the Hebrew University. Riegelman, who served in the U.S. Army with the rank of colonel from 1942 to 1945 and was decorated for bravery, wrote three books about his experiences in the two world wars. These are: *War Notes of a Casual* (1931); *There's a Nip in the Air* (1946); and *Caves of Biak* (1955).

RIEGER, ELIEZER (1896–1954), Hebrew educationalist. Born in Gribov, Galicia, Rieger settled in Palestine in 1920. He made notable contributions to methods of instruction in Hebrew, Jewish history, and modern Arabic in Ereẓ Israel and pioneered in the teaching of civics and the social sciences. He was supervisor of Jewish secondary schools in Palestine (1937–38) and professor of education at the Hebrew University (1939–50). He compiled the first Hebrew frequency word list (1935), which served as a basic guide for educators in Israel and the Diaspora. His textbooks on modern Jewish history were widely used, and he wrote comprehensive surveys on Jewish education in Palestine (1940 and 1945). Rieger was among the founders of the Hebrew University's teacher training department and its secondary school. He was one of the chief opponents of the "trend" school system (see Israel, State of: *Education), and as director general of the Ministry of Education and Culture (1951–54) was in charge of its replacement by a system of state education.

[Alexander M. Dushkin]

RIEGER, PAUL (1870–1939), German rabbi, scholar, and historian. Rieger, who was born in Dresden, served as rabbi to the Reform congregations at Potsdam (1896–1902), Hamburg (1902–19), Brunswick, and Stuttgart (1922–39) where he died. He published works on the terminology and technology of handicrafts in the Mishnah, *Versuch einer Technologie und Terminologie der Handwerke in der Mischnah* (1894), and on various aspects of contemporary German-Jewish history. His major work was his participation, in collaboration with his friend Hermann Vogelstein, in a massive work on the history of the Jews in Rome (*Geschichte der Juden in Rom*), as the result of a prize competition sponsored by the Moritz Rapoport Foundation in Vienna in 1890. Rieger wrote the entire second volume (1895), dealing with the period from 1420 to 1870, as well as some parts of the first volume (1896). Notwithstanding the somewhat arid treatment and heavy style, it remains the standard work on the subject and is the basis of the work

Rome, a history of the Jews in Rome, published in English by Vogelstein in 1940.

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[Cecil Roth]

RIEGNER, GERHART (1911–2002), Jewish public figure. Born in Berlin and trained as a lawyer, from 1936 Riegner was associated with the World Jewish Congress: first as legal officer and then as director of the Geneva office (1939–48), as a member of the World Executive and as director of coordination (1959–64), as secretary-general (1965–83), and as cochairman of the Governing Board from 1983. He was directly involved in virtually all major Jewish problems from the middle 1930s on. As international chairman of the World University Service (1949–55) and as president of the conference of nongovernmental organizations in consultative status with the UN (1953–1955) and with UNESCO (1956–1958), he established a wide network of international relations among the international leadership and became a leading specialist in this field. The main features of his activities in the service of the Jewish people include protection of Jewish rights in the League of Nations under the minorities treaties; decisive information and rescue activities during and after World War II, when he was the first to uncover the plan of systematic extermination of the Jews by the Nazi government in August 1942; active involvement in important international conferences, such as the Paris Peace Conference and UN meetings, where he was influential in the shaping of the UN Universal Declaration of Human Rights; a pioneering role in interreligious consultations with the Catholic Church (before, during, and after Vatican Council II), the World Council of Churches, the Lutheran World Federation, the Orthodox churches, and the Anglican Communion; and participation in the foundation of and, from 1982 to 1984, chairmanship of, the International Jewish Committee for Interreligious Consultations (IJCIC), which was created in 1969 as a representative platform of the Jewish community in its relations with official church bodies. In 1992, the Vatican conferred on him a papal knighthood of the Order of St. Gregory.

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[J. Halperin]

RIESMAN, DAVID (1909–2002), U.S. sociologist. Born of Jewish parents in Philadelphia, Riesman became a Unitarian. Graduating from Harvard Law School in 1934, he served as a law clerk to U.S. Supreme Court judge Louis D. *Brandeis (1935–36) and taught at the University of Buffalo Law School (1937–41). He then served as deputy assistant district attorney for New York County (Manhattan) (1942–43).

After World War II Riesman turned to sociology and became a professor at the University of Chicago in 1946. In 1958 he was appointed professor of social sciences at Harvard, where he taught until his retirement in 1980, when he assumed emeritus status.

He became widely known as the principal author (the others were N. Glazer and R. Denney) of *The Lonely Crowd: A Study of the Changing American Character* (1950; 1962^{10}). His description of human types as "tradition-directed," "inner-directed," and "other-directed" have become part of the general vocabulary.

Among his numerous other publications are *Faces in the Crowd* (1952, 1960^2); *Constraint and Variety in American Education* (1956, 1965^3); *Thorstein Veblen: A Critical Evaluation* (1960); *Abundance for What*? (1964); and a collection of his social-critical essays, *Individualism Reconsidered* (1954, 1966^2). Riesman was an active pacifist. In 1958 he published, together with Lazarsfeld and Thielens, *The Academic Mind: Social Scientists in a Time of Crisis*, an analysis of academic attitudes under the impact of the witch-hunt of liberals in the period dominated by Senator Joseph McCarthy. In 1960 he became one of the founders of the Committees of Correspondence, an organization under the auspices of the American Friends Service Committee, which explored moral and political issues regarding nuclear weapons.

Other works by Riesman include *Conversations in Japan* (with E. Riesman, 1967), *The Academic Revolution* (with Christopher Jencks, 1968), *Academic Values and Mass Education* (with J. Gusfield and Z. Gamson, 1971), *Academic Transformation* (1973), *The Perpetual Dream* (with G. Grant, 1978), *On Higher Education* (1980), and *Is My Armor Straight?* (with R. Berendzen, 1986).

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[Werner J. Cahnman / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

RIESS, LUDWIG (1861–1928), German historian. Born in Thuringia, Riess studied at the University of Berlin. Although his doctorate *Geschichte des Wahl rechts zum englischen Parlament* (1885; abridged translation *History of the English Electoral Law in the Middle Ages*; 1940) was widely hailed for its brilliant scholarship, Riess was unable to obtain a university position because he was a Jew. He therefore accepted an appointment at Tokyo Imperial University in 1887, and during the following 15 years was instrumental in furthering the spread of western historical methods, particularly of his mentor, Leopold von Ranke, in Japan. In 1902 he returned to Germany where he served as lecturer, later associate professor, at the University of Berlin.

A prolific writer, he produced many works on European history and a number of studies on Japanese topics. Best known are his *Lectures on English Constitutional History* (1891); *Allerlei aus Japan* (1904); and *Historik* (1912).

[Hyman Kublin]

RIESSER, GABRIEL (1806–1863), pioneer of Jewish emancipation in Germany. Born in Hamburg, Riesser studied law at the universities of Kiel and Heidelberg. After trying in vain to become lecturer in one of the universities, and after being refused permission to practice as a notary in Hamburg because of his faith (1830), Riesser decided to devote his life to the struggle of the Jews to achieve *emancipation. He published in 1831 a pamphlet, *Ueber die Stellung der Bekenner des Mosaischen Glaubens in Deutschland*. Addressed to Germans of all religious persuasions, it marked a turning point in the struggle for emancipation. Riesser demanded emancipation for the Jews in the name of honor and justice. In his view the claim that the Jews must convert in order to obtain full civil rights was evidence of contempt for religion. The Jews themselves must fight for their own rights, and for that purpose they must organize themselves in special associations, since only by a common effort and not as individuals do they have a chance of success. His call struck a responsive chord and the pamphlet soon had to be reprinted.

Riesser and his ideas were severely criticized, especially by the rationalist theologian and professor, H.E.G. Paulus from Heidelberg. Paulus maintained that the adherence of the Jews to their religion made them a different – Jewish – nation, and therefore they did not have the right to be citizens (*Staatsbuerger*). In the controversy with Paulus, Riesser tried to prove that the Jews had ceased to be a nation. He held that their religion was a religious denomination and therefore they were equal to all other Germans, Protestants or Catholics, in a country in which they had lived for many generations. Riesser vigorously rejected Paulus' claim that the Jewish identification with Germany would be delusive. He argued that the long-awaited political union of Germany could be achieved only in a state built on the principles of justice, liberty, and equality, and these principles also necessitated the granting of emancipation to the Jews. He propagated his views in comprehensive essays about the problem of Jewish emancipation in the constitutional debates of his time, which he published in his periodical *Der Jude, Periodische Blaetter fuer Religion und Gewissensfreiheit* (1831–1833). Its very name indicated Riesser's self-consciousness at a time when German Jewry was seeking to substitute the word "Jewish" with "Mosaic." He published in 1838 *Einige Worte ueber Lessing's Denkmal, an die Juden Deutschlands gerichtet*. Riesser expressed the hope, in messianic vein, that the struggle for the sake of human values would be crowned with success, and that love of mankind and tolerance would defeat religious hatred and the suppression of free conscience. At the same time Riesser tried in vain to be naturalized in Hessen and to take part in forming its constitutional regime. In 1840 he was permitted to open a notary's office in Hamburg. In the years preceding the 1848 Revolution, ideological and political strife in Germany intensified and this found expression in his work, *Juedische Briefe, Zur Abwehr und Verstaendigung* (1840–42), in which he entered into polemics with Bruno *Bauer and Wolfgang Menzel, who was a rabid opponent of Heinrich *Heine and Ludwig *Boerne. Riesser had already defended Boerne in 1831 when the latter was attacked because of his *Briefe aus Paris*.

Riesser's aspiration to function simultaneously as a German statesman and as an advocate of Jewish emancipation materialized during the Frankfurter Vorparlament und National Versammlung in 1848–49. Distinguishing himself in the National Assembly as a powerful speaker, he was vice president (for two months) and a member of the constitutional committee. He belonged to the right wing of the center in the National Assembly, expressing his views on "a free, united, great, and strong" Germany in his article, *Ein Wort ueber die Zukunft Deutschlands* (1848). The climax of his activity was the "*Kaiserrede*" (March 29, 1849), which was considered one of the most brilliant speeches delivered in the National Assembly. It contained the summary of the debate on the proposed constitution, and in it Riesser sought to provide justification for offering the imperial German crown to the king of Prussia; he was later one of the members of the delegation to the king, who declined the offer. Riesser proudly fought in the National Assembly for the acknowledgment of the Jews' right to full civil rights. His very status in the National Assembly was a partial expression of emancipation, which was given further expression in his later years. In 1849 not only was he naturalized in Hamburg but he became its representative in the Erfurt parliament (1850). With the formation of a citizens' council (*Buergerschaft*) in Hamburg, Riesser was elected to it and became its vice president (1859), and in 1860 he was appointed a member of the Hamburg High Court, the first German Jew to receive this title. Among his many travels outside Germany, Riesser visited the United States in 1856. He returned from this trip disappointed and shocked by the status of the American Blacks, which he regarded as a grave blow to the principle of equality and freedom, especially in a country whose democracy was theoretically the model for the rest of the world.

Riesser abandoned the observance of all Jewish tradition in his private life, but he insisted that those who wished to observe these traditions should do so of right and not on sufferance. Riesser was one of the leading members of the Hamburg Temple and associated himself generally with the moderate wing of the *Reform movement. He opposed giving up a special Jewish character in order to achieve emancipation. Only from the religious point of view were the Jews a minority, according to Riesser, a minority whose rights should be recognized by the ruling Christian majority.

The Jewish struggle for emancipation was identified with the figure of Riesser, whose sharp intellect and upright personality won him much reverence. Medals were struck in his honor and declarations of gratitude were presented to him during his lifetime. After he died a special association to perpetuate his memory was formed; M. Isler published Riesser's biography and writings under the auspices of this society (*Gabriel Riesser's Gesammelte Schriften*, 1867–68; repr. with an epilogue by J.H. Schoeps, 2001).

[Leni Yahil / Archiv Bibliographia Judaica (2nd ed.)]

His father LAZARUS JACOB (1763–1828) was born in the Bavarian village of Oettingen im Ries (hence his name) to a distinguished rabbinical family (*Katzenellenbogen) and studied Talmud under R. Raphael *Kohen, chief rabbi of *Altona. He subsequently married the latter's daughter, and served as secretary of the *bet din*; he also wrote his father-in-law's biography *Zekher Ẓaddik* (Altona, 1805) in fluent Hebrew. He lost his post in 1799, but later returned to Hamburg (after 1819).

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RIESSER, JACOB (1853–1932), German jurist and banker. A nephew of Gabriel *Riesser, Jacob Riesser was born in Frankfurt. He was baptized in his youth. In 1880 he opened a lawyer's office in his home town. In 1888 he moved to Berlin and served as a director of the Darmstaedter Bank fuer Handel und Gewerbe until 1905, when he became a professor of law at the University of Berlin. His writings on legal aspects of the German capital market decisively influenced stock exchange and banking legislation. It was on his initiative that the Zentralverband des deutschen Bank- und Bankiergewerbes was formed in 1901, and in 1905 he became the editor of *Bankarchiv*, the profession's leading periodical. In 1909 he was a cofounder of the Hansabund, an industrial-commercial organization designed to oppose the government's pro-agricultural policies and attitudes. During 1916–28 he served as deputy in the Reischstag, first with the National Liberals, and from 1918 with the Volkspartei, and as vice president of the German parliament from 1921 to 1928. He was also a member of the 1919 Weimar Constituent Assembly.

His many publications include the standard work *Die deutschen Grossbanken und ihre Konzentration im Zusammenhang mit der Entwicklung der Gesamtwirtschaft in Deutschland* (1905; *The German Great Banks and Their Concentration in Connection with the Economic Development of Germany*, 1911), and *Finanzielle Kriegsbereitschaft und Kriegsfuehrung* ("Financial Preparation for War and for Making War," 1913^2).

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[Joachim O. Ronall]

RIETI (**da Rieti**, **Rietti**, **Arieti** (?)), family of bankers in Italy originating from the town of Rieti, located in the Latium region. First mentioned in the 14th century, some of the family moved from their town of origin to Rome, Florence, Siena, Bologna, and Mantua. One of its leading members was ISAAC RIETI (Maestro Gaio) father of Moses b. Isaac *Rieti. From 1469 to 1473, the physician MICHAEL BEN JUDAH DA RIETI lived in Terni; the family is found in the 15th century in Mantua, Rieti, Perugia, Rome, and Cesena. Around 1480, Moses ben Elchanan da Rieti established himself in Siena as a loan banker; his son LAUDADIO ISHMAEL continued his father's activity, while his brothers went to Bologna. This branch of the Da Rieti had strong family ties with another important family of Jewish bankers, the Da *Pisa. He also founded a small yeshivah, headed by Joseph d'Arles from 1537, followed by Isaac Lattes in 1552; Ismael also hosted Johanan b. Joseph *Treves. He established other loan banks in Tuscany, and probably exercised a certain degree of authority over the other Jewish bankers of the region. Due to the difficult situation in Siena after a popular insurrection, the family obtained the authorization to found a bank in Pisa (1547), until then forbidden to the Jews as in all the Duchy of Florence. Ishmael was on friendly terms with Duke Cosimo Medici and in high favor with Donna Benvenida Abrabanel. He gave hospitality to the pseudo-messiah David *Reuveni (1526), but did not show any enthusiasm for Reuveni's programs and refused to give him financial assistance. He undertook various philanthropic activities, followed in this by his son MOSES DA RIETI. When a hostile movement broke out against the Jews in Empoli (Tuscany), as a result of the prohibition by the Church against Christians engaging in trade with Jews and doing work for them on their Sabbath, Moses gave the money necessary to send a Jewish delegation to Rome and obtain from the pope a bull in favor of the Jews of Empoli. With his brothers, SIMONE and ANGELO, Moses used his influence with Cosimo to prevent the seizure of the Talmud ordered by Paul IV. At that time, SOLOMON MOSES DA RIETI was practicing in Rome as a physician.

An important branch of the family moved from Siena to Bologna where, in 1546, ELHANAN BEN ISAAC ELIAKIM DA RIETI was buried; his tombstone is preserved at the University of Bologna. In this town lived also, in 1556, Moses' nephew, son of Isaac, ASAEL RAPHAEL RIETI, father of ELIJAH ISAAC and HANANIAH ELIAKIM (1561–1623) the pupil of Judah b. Joseph Moscato. He served as rabbi of Mantua (1589) and Luzzara (1604) and was active in establishing the Shomerim la-Boker society in Mantua. Also a *ḥazzan*, he composed prayers and liturgical poems, many of which are included in the *Ayyelet ha-Shaḥar* (Mantua, 1612); others, especially for the morning of Hoshana Rabbah, form the *Mekiẓ Redumim* (Mantua, 1648), published, with an autobiographical foreword, by his son DAVID NAPHTALI; other liturgical poems have been collected in the *Minḥat Ḥananyah*, still in manuscript (Bibl. Oxford). In his compositions Hananiah harmoniously blended the elements from earlier **piyyutim* with those of his time. Other talmudic and ritualistic works (*Peri Megadim*; *Sedeh Levanon; Seder Tappuḥim*) have not yet been published. His wife Malkah studied the laws of *sheḥitah* with R. Solomon ben Samson Basilea who allowed her to practice (1581): as is recorded in various responsa.

The heirs of MORDECAI BEN ISAAC DA RIETI opened one of the five loan banks authorized by the duke of Mantua; other members of the family were in Scandiano, under the house of Este. SIMONE DA RIETI was a member, in 1590, of the Jewish delegation which discussed the placing of the Talmud on the papal index of prohibited books. In the 17th century there lived in Siena JOSEPH BEN SHABBETAI ELHANAN, rabbi and copyist. ELIEZER BEN ISAAC RIETI, a pupil of the yeshivah of *Conegliano, published in Venice in 1612 a *Lu'ah Ma'amarei Ein Yisrael* ("alphabetical index of Ein Yisrael"); another of his works was on the *Kelalei ha-Talmud*. Still in Venice HEZEKIAH BEN GABRIEL RIETI published in the "*Lingua Tosca*" ("Tuscan Language") an Italian translation of the Book of Proverbs dedicated partly to SERENA RIETI of Mantua; the book is preceded by a letter dedicated to Ria and Isaiah Massarani. In this period members of the Rieti family lived also in Padua, where in 1706 AARON VITA DI ANGELO, from the region of Veneto, received a doctorate in medicine and philosophy. In the 19th century, the painter ARTURO RIETI of Trieste was noteworthy. VITTORIO RIETI (1898–1994) was an important composer of ballet scores (*The Ball*, 1929, produced by S. Diaghilev, choreography by G. Balanchine, scenery and costumes by G. De Chirico), opera, and a variety of instrumental combinations in the tonal and neo-classical style; from 1948 to 1964 he was a teacher in American music academies and conservatories. His son FABIO RIETI (1925–) painted murals in Paris and other French cities ("Les piétons des Halles"; Les fenêtres de Beaubourg"). FABIO's son NICKY RIETI (1947–) worked as a stage designer for the major French and Italian theaters (Opéra Bastille; La Scala).

The genealogy of the family, reconstructed by M. Vogelstein and P. Rieger (Vogelstein-Rieger, 74), was completed by U. Cassuto (*Gli Ebrei a Firenze …* (1918), 349, n. 6), S. Simonsohn (*Toledot ha-Yehudim be-Dukkasut Mantovah*; 1964, 544 n. 305), and Y. Boksenboim (*Iggerot Beit Rieti*, 1988).

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[Alfredo Mordechai Rabello / Alessandro Guetta (2nd ed.)]

RIETI, MOSES BEN ISAAC DA (1388–after 1460), Italian scholar, physician, and poet. He was born in Rieti. He devoted himself to medicine and philosophy, practicing as a physician in his home town until the death of his father (1422). Under the papacy of Eugene IV, he went to Rome where he held the position of chief rabbi to the local community, and later became private physician to Pope Pius II. His first literary work is the poem *Iggeret Ya'ar ha-Levanon*, an epic describing the decorations and vessels in the Temple (Parma, de Rossi Ms. 1394/2).

At the age of 24, Rieti wrote his most important work, *Mikdash Me'at*, after the fashion of Dante's *Divine Comedy*, and influenced by the philosophical work of Solomon ibn *Gabirol. Written in a rhetorical rather than poetic style, it is in many ways comparable to Dante's *Paradise*. The work consists of two parts. The first, *Ḥelek ha-Ulam*. is subdivided into five chapters and contains 435 strophes. It opens with the author's prayer resembling Dante's "Invocation", in which he introduces himself and his work. Then, in the form of a parody, he reviews Maimonides' 13 Principles of Faith, and the number of sciences and their ramifications according to Averroes, Avicenna, Ghazali, Alfarabi, and Maimonides, the Isagoge of Porfirio, and the commentary of Averroes, as well as Aristotle's *Book of Categories* with the commentaries of Averroes and Levi b. Gershom. The second part, *Ḥelek ha-Heikhal*, consisting of eight chapters containing 615 strophes, gives a description of the Celestial Court, where the patriarchs, the prophets, and the nation's saints occupy places of honor. In *Me'on ha-Sho'alim* he addresses a personal prayer to Moses, begging for a speedy redemption. *Ir Elohim* ("The City of God") reviews all the biblical figures, while *Oniyyot ha-Nefesh* presents the Mishnah and the Talmud, omitting not a single one of the *tanna'im, amoraim, geonim*, and their pupils' pupils, down to the rabbis of his own time. The thematic variety and harmonious poetic form made these works a treasure of Hebrew literature. The author himself was referred to as the "Hebrew Dante" and "Master of Poets", titles which suited neither the author nor his work. The complete text of *Mikdash Me'at* was published in 1851 by J. Goldenthal, with an introduction in Italian and Hebrew. Rieti lived to see parts of his poetic work sung in the synagogues of Italy. Some parts of *Mikdash Me'at* were even translated into Italian, while *Me'on ha-Sho'alim* was translated by Eliezer Maẓli'aḥ b. Abraham Kohen (Venice, c. 1585), Deborah Ascarelli (Venice, 1601–02), and Samuel de Castel Nuovo (Venice, 1609). At the end of his life, Moses abandoned poetry and devoted himself entirely to philosophy and apologetics. His last poetic work was an elegy in memory of his wife.

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[Yonah David]

RIETI, VITTORIO (1898–1994), composer. Born in Alexandria, Egypt, Rieti studied with Giuseppe Frugatta in Milan and later in Rome with Ottorino Respighi. During the 1920s and 1930s he was part of a group of French composers known as "Les Six" and spent most of his time in Paris, where he composed ballet and theater music in a neoclassical style. After moving to the United States in 1940, he became an instructor at various colleges and concentrated on symphonic and chamber music. Among his compositions are the music for Balanchine's ballets *Barabau* (1925) and *Le Bal* (1929) presented by Diaghilev, the ballet *David Triomphant* (1926), the operas *L'Arca di Noe* (1922), *Orfeo tragedia* (1928–29), *Teresa nel bosco* (1934), *Don Perlimplin* (1952), *Viaggio di Europa* (1954), *The Pet Shop* (1958), *The Clock* (1959–60), *Maryam the Harlot* (1966), oratorios, symphonies, orchestral works, chamber music, songs, and piano pieces.

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[Israela Stein (2nd ed.)]

RIFKIND, SIR MALCOLM (1946–), British Conservative politician. Rifkind was born in Edinburgh, the son of a credit draper of Lithuanian origin. He was educated locally and graduated with a degree in law from Edinburgh University, where he was involved in politics, becoming chairman of the university Conservative Association in 1967. Called to the Bar in 1970 (he was later a Queen's Counsel), in the same year he was elected to Edinburgh Council and unsuccessfully contested the Parliamentary seat of Edinburgh Central. Elected to Parliament for Pentlands in 1974, he was appointed opposition front bench spokesman on Scottish Affairs in 1975. Having served on the Parliamentary committees dealing with foreign affairs, following the Conservative election victory in 1979 he served as minister for home affairs and the environment at the Scottish Office from 1979 to 1982 and Parliamentary undersecretary of state, Foreign and Commonwealth Office, 1983–86. In January 1986 he became the youngest member of the Cabinet and first Jewish secretary of state for Scotland. He held this office until he was appointed secretary of state for transport in 1990. In 1992–95 he was the first postwar Jewish secretary of state for defense since Emanuel *Shinwell. From 1995 to 1997 he served as foreign secretary, the first Jew to hold this post since 1931. Rifkind lost his seat in Parliament in the Labour landslide of 1997 and received a knighthood the same year. Subsequently he worked for the BHP oil company and, in 2004, was selected as the Tory candidate for the safe seat of Kensington and Chelsea. In public life he consistently maintained an interest in the affairs of Israel. He opposed the visit of PLO officials to London in 1975 and was honorary secretary of the Parliamentary group of Conservative Friends of Israel 1976–79. He was also an opponent of the 2003 Iraq war.

[David Cesarani / William D. Rubinstein (2nd ed.)]

RIFKIND, SIMON HIRSCH (1901–1995), U.S. attorney and jurist. Rifkind, who was born in Meretz, Russia, was taken to the United States in 1910. He graduated from the City College of New York in 1922 and received his LL.B. from Columbia Law School in 1925. He worked with Senator Robert F. Wagner as legislative secretary from 1927 to 1933, and from 1930 to 1941 practiced law as a partner in Wagner's law firm, Wagner, Quillinan & Rifkind. In 1941 Rifkind was appointed U.S. district judge of the Southern District of New York, holding this position until 1950, when he resigned to return to private practice with Paul, Weiss, Rifkind, Wharton & Garrison. In 1957 the firm opened a Chicago office with Adlai Stevenson as senior partner. Rifkind returned to judicial service as special master for the U.S. Supreme Court in the Colorado River case during 1955–61.

He served on administrative commissions and on quasi-judicial fact-finding bodies involving sociopolitical questions. He served New York City on the Board of Higher Education (1954–66); as a member of a state commission on city governmental operations (1959–61); in the 1963 teachers strike mediation; and on the commission that investigated the 1968 Columbia University turmoil. He served as chairman of John F. Kennedy's Presidential Railroad Commission in 1961–62. Rifkind represented New York State Democrats in reapportionment litigation in 1965–66, and was cochairman of the Presidential Commission on the Patent System in 1966–67. In the pamphlet *Reflections on Civil Liberties* (1954), Rifkind emphasized the constitution's circumscription of the status and function of congressional committees as lawmaking bodies.

Rifkind served as temporary special adviser on Jewish affairs in the European Theater to General Dwight D. Eisenhower in 1945–46, and in 1946 he testified before the Anglo-American Commission of Inquiry on Palestine that the only resolution of the plight of displaced persons was the opening of Palestine to settlement. He served as vice chairman of the board of directors of the Jewish Theological Seminary from 1947; as chairman of the "committee of five" on United Jewish Appeal allocations from 1949; and as chairman of the administrative board (1953–56) and of the executive board (1956–59) of the American Jewish Committee.

Some of his later landmark cases include the defense of Jacqueline Kennedy Onassis against paparazzi, and Pennzoil Company in its successful fight against Texaco in 1986. His many awards include the Medal of Freedom, presented to him by President Harry S. Truman.

In 1986 the City College of New York established the Simon H. Rifkind Center for the Humanities and the Arts, whose primary goal is to promote cultural activities in the humanities.

Rifkind wrote *The Basic Equities of the Palestine Problem* (1972), *One Man's Word: Selected Works of Simon H. Rifkind* (3 vols., ed. A. Bellow and W. Keens, 1986, 1989), and *At 90, on the 90s: The Journal of Simon H. Rifkind* (1992).

RIGA (Lettish **Riga**), Baltic port, capital of Latvia; under Russian rule from 1710 to 1917, capital of Livonia (Livland); 1944–1991 in the Latvian S.S.R. The first documentary evidence of Jews in Riga – the record of a sale of merchandise to a Jew named Jacob – is dated 1536. During Polish and Swedish rule in Livonia (1561–1621 and 1621–1710, respectively) restrictions were imposed on Jewish residence, but in the course of time a number of Jewish merchants arrived there. By 1645 there was a special Jewish inn in the city where visiting Jewish merchants had to stay. In 1710 the Livonia region was incorporated into Russia and, according to reports by English merchants dating to 1714, Jews and Catholics then enjoyed religious freedom. In 1725 a few privileged Jews were given the right to reside outside the Jewish inn. In that same year they were permitted to bury their dead in Riga, whereas previously they had to be taken to *Courland for burial. Despite requests from the city authorities and the provincial governor, Empress Elizabeth Petrovna's decree of 1742, ordering the expulsion of Jews from *Russia, was also applied to the Jews in Riga. It was not until 1766, under Catherine II, that Jewish merchants were allowed into Riga, although they were restricted to a visit of six weeks and to residence at the Jewish inn; a few privileged Jews were given special permission to stay elsewhere.

Permission was granted for Jews to reside at Sloka (Ger. Schlock), a nearby town, in 1785, where in 1792 they were permitted to open a prayer room. A few managed to settle in Riga, although the official ban was still in force. In 1798 there were seven Jewish families living in Riga, and by 1811, 736 Jews in the city and suburbs including over half in Sloka. As Riga was outside the *Pale of Settlement, it continued to be difficult for Jews to enter the city. However, in 1813 the Jews of Sloka were given the right to settle there. The same year a community is mentioned. In 1822 Jews were permitted to engage in crafts. The "Jewish statute" of 1835 (see *Russia) confirmed the permanent residence rights of part of the population. In 1840 Sloka Jews were allowed to open a school in Riga which became one of the few modern institutions in Russia at that time. Max *Lilienthal was invited to Riga to become principal of the school and rabbi of the "German" synagogue. After he left there, Reuben *Wunderbar became principal of the school.

In 1841 Jews were allowed to register officially as inhabitants of the city, and later were permitted to build synagogues, own real property, and engage in commerce and trade; an organized community was officially founded in 1842 and continued to function until 1893. In 1850 the community asked for permission to buy land for a synagogue, on which building commenced in 1868. The number of Jews increased from 5,254 in 1869 to 22,115 (8 percent of the population) in 1897 and 33,651 (6.5 percent) in 1913. They played an important role in commerce, the export of goods (especially grain, timber, and flax), in industry, banking, and the various crafts. Jews owned timber mills, tanneries, and engaged in clothing and shoe manufacture. Before the outbreak of World War I the majority of dentists and 20 percent of the physicians were Jews, while only a few practiced as lawyers. There were a number of synagogues and ḥasidic prayer rooms, schools, *ḥadarim* both of the traditional and the reformed type, a library, charitable institutions, and various clubs and societies. Zionist activities were organized at the end of the 19th century and a delegate from Riga attended the First Zionist Congress. In 1898 the third branch of the *Society for the Promotion of Culture among the Jews in Russia (after St. Petersburg and Odessa) was formed in Riga. Among the official rabbis (see **kazyonny ravvin*) were two Hebrew authors, A.A. Pomiansky (1873–93) and J.L. *Kantor (1909–15). During the war, in 1915, Riga Jews gave refuge to the Jews from Courland, who had been driven out of their homes by the czarist authorities. During the war and the subsequent changes of regime in the area the Jewish population in Riga decreased.

After the establishment of the independent Latvian Republic, Riga became the capital of the new state; its Jewish population grew from 24,721 (13.6 percent of the total) in 1920 to 39,459 (11.68 percent) in 1925, 42,328 (11.20 percent) in 1930, and 43,672 (11.34 percent) in 1935. In 1935 Riga Jews formed approximately 47 percent of the total of Latvian Jewry. The increase was largely the result of internal migration, especially from the province of Latgale. Riga was the economic, political, cultural, and social center of Latvian Jewry.

Under the democratic regime of the country (1918–34), an autonomous Jewish school system was administered from Riga. A manifold network of Hebrew and Yiddish elementary and secondary schools was established. These included around 12 Hebrew and Yiddish schools, mainly supported by the city council; private secondary schools whose language of instruction was Russian or German; two vocational schools, one of *ORT and one of the Society for the Promotion of Culture among the Jews in Russia; a pedagogical institute; and a Froebel institute for kindergarten teachers where a large number of students were from Lithuania who returned to teach there. There was also a "Jewish university." The yeshivah in Riga was headed by its chief rabbi Menahem Mendel Sack, who was also active in the general communal affairs of Latvian Jewry; he perished in the Holocaust.

Chairman of the community was Mordecai *Dubin, leader of Agudat Israel and its representative in parliament. For a short time Riga was the center of the Lubavitch Ḥasidim where their leader Joseph Isaac *Schneersohn stayed for several years after leaving the Soviet Union. Several charitable institutions, among them Jewish hospitals, were established by contributions of philanthropists. The Yiddish theater of Riga was known even outside the borders of Latvia for its high level of artistic performance. There were also several sports clubs, headed by Maccabi. Two or three Yiddish daily newspapers were published, and newspapers and various periodicals in other languages were published by Jews: the best known was *Frimorgn* (1925–34), edited by J.Z.W. *Latzky-Bertholdi and Jacob *Hellman. The general Russian newspaper *Sevodnya*, which was known among Russian readers outside Latvia, was owned by Jews and devoted considerable space to Jewish affairs. There were a number of Karaites in Riga, among them owners of two cigarette factories. The Jewish share in the commercial, industrial, and banking activities of the city was substantial; the central office of the Association of Latvian Jewish Credit Cooperatives was situated in Riga. Jews sat on the city council, and there were Jews on the teaching staff of Riga University and the state music conservatory.

Holocaust Period

During the first period of Soviet regime in Latvia (from June 1940 to June 1941), Communist rule was introduced: Jewish, especially Zionist, public activity ceased, and Jewish commerce and industry were nationalized. After war broke out between the U.S.S.R. and Germany, Riga was occupied on July 1, 1941, and persecution began of the 40,000 Jews there. Anti-Jewish attacks were organized by the *Einsatzgruppen*, aided by Latvian fascists, resulting in the death of 400 persons; mass arrests of Jews took place and the synagogues were set on fire. In the period September–October 1941 a walled ghetto was established in the Moscow quarter to which 30,000 Jews were confined. On Nov. 30, 1941 (10 Kislev, 5702), approximately 10,600 Jews were shot in a nearby forest by *Einsatzgruppe* A; later similar *Aktionen* took place on December 7–9; a total of 25,000 Jews were killed, about 80 percent of the ghetto population (one of the victims was the historian Simon *Dubnow). The first ghetto (also known as the "large ghetto") was then liquidated, and the 4,000 remaining male Jews were put into a forced labor camp (the "little ghetto"). Women were imprisoned in a separate camp.

At the end of 1941 and the beginning of 1942, Jews deported from Germany, Austria, and Czechoslovakia began arriving in Latvia; most of them were murdered in the forests. About 15,000 of the deportees were put into a special camp in Riga (the "German ghetto") under a special Judenrat whose authority was later imposed on the whole ghetto. Several Jewish labor camps were also established in Riga and the vicinity. On Nov. 2, 1943, an *Aktion* took place in the Riga ghetto, in which the old, the very young, and the sick were murdered. Afterward the ghetto was liquidated, and the surviving Jews taken to the Kaiserwald concentration camp, near Riga. Latvian and other local inhabitants collaborated with the Nazis in the persecution and murder of Jews. In the summer of 1944, as a result of the Soviet offensive in the Baltic area, the Kaiserwald concentration camp was liquidated, and the remaining Jews deported to various camps in Germany; few of them survived. After the war the survivors chose to stay in the camps for *Displaced Persons rather than return to Riga (which was occupied by the Soviet Army on Oct. 13, 1944). Eventually most of them settled in Israel, and some in the United States and other countries.

[Joseph Gar]

Contemporary Period

The 1959 census indicated a Jewish population of 30,267 (out of 600,000 inhabitants of Riga), 14,526 of whom designated Yiddish as their mother tongue. Unofficially the number of Jews in Riga was estimated in the late 1960s at about 38,000, most of whom were originally not Latvian Jews, but had settled there from the Soviet interior after World War II. The Riga Jewish community contained about 80 percent of the Jews in the Latvian S.S.R. Only one synagogue was left in Riga, in the old city. In the 1950s bar mitzvah ceremonies continued to be held in synagogue and religious marriage ceremonies were performed there; but the number of these considerably diminished in the 1960s. After the last rabbi died, he was not replaced. In 1960 the congregation was fined 115,000 rubles for "overcharging" the price of *matzah* baked under its supervision. The following year *matzah* baking was prohibited, and a local paper reported in 1963 that *matzah* were being "smuggled" in from Vilna. Later, *matzah* baking by the congregation was again permitted. In 1964 the Jewish cemetery was declared a "general" cemetery, and non-Jews were subsequently buried there also. A Jewish choir performing Jewish songs was formed in Riga in 1957 within the trade union of commercial employees. In 1960–63 an amateur Jewish drama circle was formed which also performed in Vilna.

As young Jews in Riga began to display increasing and almost open interest in Jewish affairs and their identification with Israel, the town was considered by the Soviet authorities as a "hotbed of Zionism." In the Rumbuli forest, near Riga, where about 130,000 Jews had been massacred during the German occupation, young Jews organized rallies from 1962, and in 1964 collected the scattered remains of the victims, buried them in a mass grave and erected a monument to them. The authorities did not interfere with this action then, but ultimately insisted that a different "official" memorial should be erected there for the "victims of fascism," without mentioning that they were Jews. Eventually, through the efforts of the young Jewish initiators, a decision was reached that the inscription should read not only in Latvian and Russian but also in Yiddish. Mass gatherings in memory of the victims continued to be held there every year. Young Jews demonstrated their pro-Israel feelings on several occasions, as when Israel sports teams visited Riga to compete with local teams, and when the popular singer from Israel, Geulah Gil, performed in Riga. On the last occasion there were clashes between Jewish youth and the police near the concert hall (1965). In 1969–70 scores of Jews and Jewish families in Riga protested against the refusal of the authorities to grant them exit permits to Israel, addressing their protests not only to the Soviet government but also to the United Nations, the Israeli government, Western Communist parties, etc. In December 1970 a group of young Jews from Riga was tried in *Leningrad, and sentenced to severe terms of imprisonment for allegedly planning to hijack a Soviet plane in order to land abroad and eventually reach Israel.

With the mass exodus of Jews of the former Soviet Union in the 1990s, the Jewish population of Riga dropped to around 8,000 in the early years of the 21st century. At the same time Jewish life revived in independent Latvia. Two Jewish day schools, a community center, matzah factory, Jewish newspaper, and Jewish hospital were all in operation in Riga.

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RIGHT AND LEFT (right: Heb. יָמִין; Akk. *imnu, imittu*; Ugaritic, *ymn*; left: Heb. שְׂמֹאל; Akk. *šumēlu*; Ugaritic, (*u*)*šmʾal*; and common Semitic). The biblical usages of "right" and "left" are basically fourfold: right as opposed to left; directions (cardinal points); strength and weakness; merism. As is the case in many cultures, right is favored over left in various contexts. Examples for each of these usages will be presented below, as well as Ancient Near Eastern parallels wherever appropriate.

Right as Opposed to Left

Right and left play an important role in Jacob's final blessing to his grandsons, Ephraim and Manasseh (Gen. 48: 12–20), whom Joseph places at the left and right sides of Jacob, respectively (verse 13), expecting his father to place his right hand on Manasseh (the firstborn) and his left on Ephraim, and then bless them. But Jacob crosses his hands, placing his right hand on Ephraim (verse 14) and his left on Manasseh, despite Joseph's objections (verse 18). Jacob explains his actions by stating that Ephraim will be greater than Manasseh (verse 19). Right and left parts of the body also play an important role in sacrifices as may be seen from the following phrases which occur many times in the Book of Leviticus and elsewhere: "the right thigh" (Ex. 29:22; Lev. 7:32, 33; 8:25, 26; Num. 18:18, etc.); "the right ear and the right thumb [or big toe]" (Ex. 29:20; Lev. 8:23, 24; 14:14, 17, 25, 28, etc.). Two Ancient Near Eastern parallels to this usage in sacrifice have been found at Ugarit. In one (RŠ 24.253; *Ugaritica*, 5 (1955), no. 13), in a sacrificial context, the phrase *žṣb šmʾal dalpm* appears which may be provisionally translated: "the left protuberances [?] of two bulls." In another (RŠ 261.247; not yet published but quoted by C.H. Gordon, *Ugaritic Textbook* (1965), Glossary, nos. 1107, 2393a), the phrase *šq ymn* occurs, which is the same as the Hebrew *shoq ha-yamin*, שׁוֹק הַיָּמִין, "right thigh," quoted above. Finally, the right side (of the throne) is usually the side on which the king's or God's associates sit (I Kings 2:19, the queen; Zech. 3:1, Satan; Ps. 109:6, Satan, etc.). This is paralleled in Ugaritic literature by the following passage: *tʿdb ksu wyṯṯb lymn aliyn Bʿl*, "A throne is placed and he is seated to the right of Puissant Baʾal" (II AB 5:108–10; Pritchard, Texts, 134).

Direction (Cardinal Points)

Because the Hebrews – like others – oriented themselves by the place where the sun rises, in many biblical passages "right" means "south" and "left" means "north." In Abraham's separation from Lot (Gen. 13:9ff.), Abraham says (according to one interpretation): "If [you go] north [הַשְּׂמֹאל], I will go south [וְאֵימִנָה]; And if you go south [הַיָּמִין], I will go north [וְאַשְׂמְאִילָה]." The southern border of Manasseh is described in the Book of Joshua as *ha-gevul ʾel ha-yamin* (הַגְּבוּל אֶל־הַיָּמִין, Josh. 17:7) "the boundary of the right," while "north of Damascus" is expressed as *mi-semoʾl le-Dammeseq* (מִשְּׂמֹאל לְדַמָּשֶׂק), "to the left of Damascus" (Gen. 14:15). Perhaps the most instructive passages for this usage are those which use right and left together with the regular words for the other directions: "North and south [צָפוֹן וְיָמִין] You [God] have created them" (Ps. 89:13); "Then it [the border] turns eastward [מִזְרַח הַשֶּׁמֶשׁ]… and touches… northward [צָפוֹנָה], then it continues northward [מִשְּׂמֹאל; lit. "left"]…" Josh. 19:27). Finally, the tribe *Benjamin (*ben-yamin*, "son of the right") was the most southern tribe in "the House of Joseph" (II Sam. 19:17–21), and this usage has a direct parallel in the Mari letters where both the *DUMU-Iamīna*, "southern tribe," and the *DUMU-Simal*, "northern tribe," are often mentioned (e.g., *Archives royales de Mari*, 1 (1950), 60:9, p. 116). Semantically, *DUMU-Iamīna* (probably to read *mārē-yamīna*) is exactly parallel to Benjamin, though there is no valid evidence for any historical connection between the two.

Strength and Weakness

It is clear from several biblical verses that "right [hand]" was often a symbol for strength. The "right hand of God" was that which overcame Israel's enemies (Ex. 15:6, 12; Isa. 62:8; Ps. 17:7; 44:4, etc.) and which was worthy of the Psalmists' praises (Ps. 98:1; 118:15, 16, etc.). The "right eye" was considered the more valuable (Zech. 11:17) and it was the putting out of "every right eye" which Nahash the Ammonite demanded in return for making a nonaggresion pact with the inhabitants of Jabesh-Gilead (I Sam. 11:2). Conversely, that left-handedness was conceived of as a weakness, even a malady, is seen from the description of Ehud (Judg. 3:15), where the latter is called *ʾish ʾiṭṭer yad yemino* (אִישׁ אִטֵּר יַד יְמִינוֹ), "a man obstructed [in the use of] his right hand." The word used for "obstructed" is of the nominal construction that is usually utilized for physical defects – e.g., "blind" (עִוֵּר), "dumb" (אִלֵּם), and "deaf" (חֵרֵשׁ). Left-handed men are mentioned elsewhere in Judges 20:16, where it is stated that (despite their left-handedness) they never missed the target, and in I Chronicles 12:2, where both right-handed and left-handed men are mentioned. The right side of a man is the side on which God "marches" when assisting him in battle (Isa. 63:12; Ps. 109:31; 110:1, 5) and it is the right hand which God grasps as a symbol of election (Isa. 41:13; 45:1; Ps. 73:23). Finally, the pair "hand//right hand" is often used in synonymous parallelism to evoke the image of the might of God (Ps. 21:9; 74:11; 89:14; 91:7 (emended); 138:7; 139:10), the brave deeds of Israel's war heroes (Judg. 5:26), or God's power of creation (Isa. 48:13). In extra-biblical sources, the Ugaritic parallel pair *yd//ymn*, "hand//right hand," is often found conjuring up the same image of power as its biblical counterpart (e.g., II 76:6–7): *qšthn aḥd bydh wqṣʿth bm ymḥ*, "His bow he has taken in his hand, also his darts in his right hand." The Akkadian creation epic, *Enūma eliš*, yields an interesting parallel to the use of "the right hand of God": *iššīma miṭṭa imnašu ušāḥiz*, "He [Marduk] lifted the mace, grasped it in his right hand" (*Enūma eliš* 4:37; Pritchard, Texts, 66). Finally, the Epilogue of the Code of Hammurapi has a parallel to God's proceeding on the right side when helping someone in battle: *Zababa… āliku imniya ašar tamḥārim kakkīšu lišbir*, "May Zababa … who goes at my right side break his weapons on the battlefield" (27:81–87; Pritchard, Texts, 179; cf. Isa. 63:12). Related to the opposition strengthweakness is the opposition good luck-bad luck, which seems to be represented in Ecclesiastes 10:2; as interpreted in the (Hebrew) commentary of H.L. Ginsberg: "The wise man's mind (tends) to his right (i.e., to what brings him good luck), and the fool's to his left." The belief that omens that appear on the right side are lucky and such as appear on the left unlucky is implied by Ezekiel 21:27. Parallels from other cultures are very numerous. In Arabic, for example, *šimāl* means both "left hand" and "bad omen" (see also the Arabic dictionary on the verbs *šaʾama* and *yamana* and their derivatives).

Merism

Perhaps the most common usage of right and left in the Bible is as a merism meaning "everywhere, in any direction." The phrase "to deviate from the path in any direction" (Num. 20:17; 22:26; Deut. 2:27; 5:29; 17:11; I Sam. 6:12, etc.) is so common that it had probably reached the level of a cliché in early biblical times. Aside from "path," "instructions" (e.g., Josh. 1:7; 23:6), "commandment" (e.g., Deut. 17:20), and "commandments" (e.g., Deut. 28:14) may also be the object of deviation. In the same way, the verbal forms "to go right" and "to go left" are used together meaning "to depart from in any way" (II Sam. 14:19; Isa. 30:21). The meaning "everywhere" is also very common for this merism (I Kings 22:19; Isa. 9:19; Zech. 12:6, etc.). In extra-biblical sources, right and left are often used as a merism which may be seen from the following Akkadian and Ugaritic passages: *panukki Šēdu arkātuk Lamassu imnuk mešrû(!) šumēlukki dumqu*, "Before you is the protective spirit, behind you is the protective goddess, at your right riches, at your left prosperity" (E. Ebeling, *Die akkadische Gebetsserie Šu-ilu "Handerhebung"*… (1953), 60:16–17); *yʿdb uymn ušmal bphm* "[things] are placed in their mouths 'on right and on left'" (C.H. Gordon, *Ugaritic Textbook* (1965), 52:63–64; cf. Isa. 9:19).

[Chayim Cohen]

In Talmudic Literature

Although there does exist some evidence that the left was regarded as "sinister" in the Talmud, the general opinion, both in *halakhah* and *aggadah*, is merely that the right is more important and significant than the left. The word *yad* ("hand"), without qualification, was taken to refer always to the right hand, as the word *eẓba* ("finger") to the index finger of the right hand (Zev. 24a). All religious duties had normally to be performed with the right hand (or foot, see below). The only exception is the laying of *tefillin* which are laid (except in the case of a left-handed person) on the left hand. The reasons given are, firstly, that the plene spelling ידכה ("thy hand") in Exodus 13:16 is taken to indicate יד כהה ("the feeble hand"), and also that since the injunction is "and ye shall bind" (Deut. 6:8) and not "and ye shall place," the essential commandment is the binding, which must therefore be done with the right hand (Men. 36b, 37a). Thus it is stated, "the right hand controls all the precepts except for the *tefillin*" (Mid. Ps. 17). As a result, particularly because "one uses the right hand to point to the cantillation of the Torah," it was not to be used for unclean or unseemly purposes (Ber. 62a). Added to that was the statement, based on Deuteronomy 33:2, that the Torah was given with the right hand of God.

The right was the position of honor. All the turns of the high priest in the Temple as he encircled the altar to perform the sprinkling of the blood had to be to the right (Yoma 15b). It was regarded as a boorish lack of etiquette to walk on the right of one's teacher; but when he was accompanied by two, he walked in the middle and the greater of his companions walked on the right (Yoma 37a).

Left-handedness was not regarded as a disability, but it was naturally assumed that a person was right-handed. Nevertheless, it was regarded as so essential that *ḥaliẓah* be performed on the right foot of the *levir* (Yev. 12:2) it was stated that in the case of a left-footed person the ceremony had to be performed twice, once on each foot, and there is even one opinion that it cannot be performed at all (Sh. Ar., EH 169:25).

Since the **etrog* was regarded as the most important element of the *Four Species, it had to be taken in the right hand and the *lulav* and the other two in the left. Nevertheless, there is one statement to the effect that it is the *lulav* which is to be taken in the right (Yal. Ps. 670).

In rabbinic theology, God's right hand represents the Attribute of Mercy, his left hand, the Attribute of Judgment (MRY, p. 134). Similarly the question of the Midrash on the verse I Kings 22:19, "I saw the Lord sitting on his throne, and all the Host of Heaven standing by him on his right hand and on his left," namely, "Is there then a left on high? Is it not all right there?… (Song. R. to 1:9, no. 1) indicates that in the upper realm there is only mercy, and no judgment. This reflects an abstraction of the identification of right with mercy, even where there is no spatial or physical opposition to any "left." To give more encouragement than discouragement was expressed in the words, "Let thy left hand repulse and thy right attract" (Sot. 47a). Solomon ibn Gabirol says: "A man without a companion is like the left without the right" (*Mivḥar ha-Peninim* 20:11; cf. Meiri to Prov. 17:17).

[Louis Isaac Rabinowitz / Stephen G. Wald (2nd ed.)]

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RIGHTEOUS AMONG THE NATIONS (Heb. חֲסִידֵי אֻמּוֹת הָעוֹלָם, *ḥasidei ummot ha-olam*), term applied to non-Jews who saved Jews from their Nazi persecutors by endangering their own lives. (For earlier use of the term see *Ḥasidei Ummot ha-Olam.) In 1953 the Israeli parliament (Knesset) enacted the "Martyrs' and Heroes' Remembrance (Yad Vashem) Law." By authority of this law, *Yad Vashem was established in Jerusalem, to conduct research into the Holocaust and to document it in every possible aspect. The law also specifically charged Yad Vashem with carrying out the task of perpetuating the names of the Righteous Among the Nations "who risked their lives to save Jews." In the course of the formation and organization of Yad Vashem, a special public committee (Commission for the Designation of the Righteous) was established in 1962, to specify the criteria for the awarding of the Righteous title. Israel Supreme Court justice Moshe *Landau, who presided over the Eichmann trial, was appointed chairman of the commission, which comprised lawyers and jurists, Holocaust historians, public figures, representatives of organizations of former partisans, and Holocaust survivors. At Yad Vashem, a special department was set up to assist the commission in the gathering of material for its deliberations and for carrying out its decisions. In 1970, Moshe Bejski, also a Supreme Court Justice, and a Holocaust survivor thanks to Oskar *Schindler, replaced Justice Landau as chairman of the commission, and in 1995, he was followed by retired Supreme Court Justice Yaakov Maltz. Owing to the large number of applications three sub-committees were organized in 1978, which meet at fixed intervals in Jerusalem, Tel Aviv, and Haifa, each holding separate sessions. The three sub-committees meet together as a plenary commission to decide on problematic cases. Every request for the recognition of a person with the Righteous title is carefully scrutinized on an individual basis. The fundamental criteria established include: personal involvement in help to at least one Jewish person; risk to the safety of the person when extending such aid; no material or other compensation or reward to the rescuer as a precondition for his/her help; the availability of testimony from the side of the rescued person, or other valid documentary material. Although the basic principle of granting individual recognition, whether the rescuer saved one or many persons, has been adhered to in general, the Commission for the Designation of the Righteous has seen fit in certain instances to avoid an overly rigid interpretation of the criteria and has granted recognition in exceptional cases to persons who either risked their life to speak out against the persecution of Jews (such as church bishops) or bent the rules to allow many Jews to emigrate out of Nazi-controlled countries (such as diplomats).

Up to January 1, 2005, some 20,750 persons had been awarded the Righteous title, including men and women from all European countries, as well as persons from other countries who acted to save Jews in Europe during the Holocaust. A person honored with the title of "Righteous Among the Nations," whether living or dead, is entitled to a medal and certificate of honor, as well as inscription of the person's name on honor walls in the Garden of the Righteous Among the Nations. The planting of trees in honor of the Righteous was discontinued in 1989, due to the lack of space, after close to 2,000 trees had been planted representing some 3,000 persons (some trees were for couples and in some cases also their eldest children). The medal was designed by the Jerusalem artist Nathan Karp; depicted on it are two hands holding onto a rescue line woven out of barbed wire. The rescue line is wound around the globe and there is a feeling of movement in its rotation. The globe is surrounded by the rabbinic saying, "Whosoever saves a single life, it is as if he has saved an entire world." The reverse of the medallion has a schematic drawing of the memorial site of Yad Vashem in Jerusalem and the inscription of the honoree's name. The ceremonies at which the title of Righteous Among the Nations is bestowed – at Israeli embassies, or at Yad Vashem – are held with wide media coverage. Of equal importance, Righteous persons in need of financial and medical assistance are helped by two voluntary organizations in the United States and Switzerland. The Jewish Foundation for the Righteous, in New York, assists some 1,700 Righteous, mostly in Eastern Europe, with monthly stipends. The Anne Frank Fonds, in Basel, assists several hundred Righteous with hard-to-get medicine in the Righteous person's country of residence. Finally, at Yad Vashem, the current multivolume *Encyclopaedia of the Righteous Among the Nations* gives a summary of the deeds of the rescuers, who are listed alphabetically and by country.

Forms of Aid

There were four principal types of aid for which the Righteous title may be awarded to rescuers of Jews. These are: sheltering, dissimulating, moving, and help to children.

SHELTERING. This represents the principal form of aid. It consists of finding a secure hiding place for the fleeing Jew, either in the house of the rescuer, or nearby; of a remote and well-hidden space, unobservable to a visitor's eyes; a place where no one would suspect that a living human being was in hiding. Hiding places varied in size and personal comfort. It could be a dark corner in the attic, a space under the rescuer's home, with only mice and insects as close companions, or worse, a pit under the barn or pigsty, with its terrible stench. In several isolated cases, people hid in tombs, after removing the coffins, such as in the Manko Szwierczszak story, where three people lay huddled in a tomb in Buczacz, Poland, for over one-and-a-half years. In less unpalatable circumstances, it could be a dark corner in the rescuer's home, hidden from outside view by a piece of furniture; an unused section of a commercial storeroom, such as was the case with the Anne Frank family in Amsterdam, Holland; or within a large double wall or ceiling; or, again, as in the case of Reverend Gerrit Brillenburg, in Utrecht, Holland, in the garret of a church. All this, for as long as it might take: from a temporary arrangement lasting only days or weeks, to perhaps several months, and in some cases for as long as two-and-a-half years – that is, until the danger had passed and a particular area had been liberated from the Germans. In all these instances, the helpless hidden Jew was at the mercy of his rescuer for basic needs, such as food, washing, and the removal of bodily wastes. All these needs were now the responsibility of the rescuer and his family. In the Netherlands, Victor Kugler and Miep Gies, former business associates of Otto Frank, cared for his and another family, and saw to their daily needs while they remained hidden for two years in an annex of their former business premises. In Warsaw, Poland, the Wolski family hid several dozen Jews, including the famed Polish-Jewish historian Emanuel *Ringelblum, in an underground garden shelter near their home, on the non-Jewish side of the city. Outside Kaunas, Lithuania, Jonas Paulavicius hid a dozen Jews in several shelters outside his home, so that in the event that one was uncovered, the captured persons would not, even under torture, know and disclose the presence of the other hidden persons.

DISSIMULATING. Another major form of aid was helping a fleeing Jew disguise his real identity; that is, assist him in assuming a new and fictional non-Jewish-sounding name, together with a new biography, and help in learning local customs, especially the prevalent religious rites. This implied getting new documents for the rescued person, including birth or baptismal certificates, and a new place of residence. This was easier said than done, for one had to first carefully ascertain whether the Jew had what was considered a Jewish-looking appearance. This was not something one could take lightly, for the slightest error could be fatal. It was, moreover, not sufficient that the Jew did not have pronounced Jewish features, such as curly hair or inquisitive and sad-looking eyes, but he had to be well acquainted with the local customs, proper language inflection, folk mannerism, jokes, and religious beliefs; in short, everything needed to disguise otherness as well as to assume a type of behavior that would not make him or her immediately stand out in a crowd. Anyone wishing to try passing as a non-Jew, and there were thousands of such persons all over Europe, needed other persons to assist him, first in obtaining proper papers, then in moving to a new location, arranging living quarters and a place of work – requirements which were not necessarily accomplished by a single person. Another form of dissimulation was registration as an essential worker in a war-related industry under German supervision. Berthold Beitz employed over 1,000 generally unqualified Jews through the ruse that they were needed to run the oil refinery installations in Drohobycz, Poland. Julius Madritsch and Alfred Rossner did likewise for their many Jewish workers in the military uniform firms in Cracow and Bendin, and Hermann Graebe for his Jewish workers in railroad installations in Zdolbunov, Ukraine. The most celebrated case in this category is of Oskar Schindler, who claimed that his 1,200 Jewish workers were doing vital work in producing ammunition, in his factory in Brunnlitz, Moravia, when in fact very little of military value was produced during the whole eight months of the firm's operation. A third form of deception was that adopted by certain diplomats who claimed that certain groups of people were nationals of a foreign country with which Germany maintained friendly relations, and should therefore not be harmed. Numerous such "protective letters" were issued by the ambassadors of neutral countries in Budapest, in 1944, which were thus able to prevent the deportation of thousands of Jews. Included in this group one may mention Raoul *Wallenberg, of Sweden; Giorgio Perlasca, an Italian who masqueraded as the Spanish charge d'affaires; Carl Lutz, on behalf of Sweden, and Monsignor Angelo Rotta, the papal nuncio. All these diplomats utilized the "protective pass" ruse to try to save in combination tens of thousands of Jews in the Hungarian capital during the most critical phase of the Holocaust in that country.

MOVING. An additional principal form of help was to assist Jews who wished to flee from an endangered place to another location; either within German-controlled areas, or across frontiers to countries not embroiled in the war, such as Switzerland, Sweden, Spain, and Turkey. Even in areas under German spheres of influence, conditions for Jews varied. In France, for instance, it was somewhat easier to survive in the southern Vichy, so-called "free" zone, where antisemitic measures were applied with less severity than in the German-occupied north (including Paris). Conditions were even more favorable in southeastern France, in the provinces under Italian administration, where Jews were not mistreated. Similar conditions prevailed in other regions under Italian rule, up to September 1943, in western Yugoslavia, Albania, and the Italian zone in Greece, which included Athens. In Poland, conditions were bad and dangerous everywhere. At the same time, for people trying to pass as non-Jews it was safer to do so far away from one's own hometown, so as not to be recognized on the streets. Some persons also wished to flee from one to another ghetto, where it was felt life was relatively more tolerable, such as the Warsaw ghetto up to summer 1942, as compared with the Lvov (Lwów) ghetto. In Ukraine, persons close to the Romanian zone of occupation wished to flee there; again, because of the less severe conditions prevailing for Jews after the initial period of widespread pogroms by the Romanian military. In Ukraine and Belarus, one could also try fleeing into the deep forests, to join up with friendly partisans fighting the Nazis. In Greece, after the whole country came under Nazi rule in September 1943, Jews sought to escape into the hills, to enlist with the partisans, or by boat to neutral Turkey, where they were permitted to land. Similarly, in Norway and Denmark, thousands of Jews escaped, either by boat or by negotiating tortuous paths through the hills, to Sweden, where they were welcomed. In France, after the whole country, including the Italian zone, came under direct Nazi control, after September 1943, Jews sought to flee either to Switzerland or to Spain. In all these endeavors, to travel over long distances and tortuous trails and negotiate well-guarded border crossings without being apprehended, help was needed from non-Jews since the use of public transportation and public accommodations was forbidden to Jews by law. Of the many examples in this category, only a few may be mentioned. Tadeusz Soroka helped a group of nine Jews flee from the Grodno ghetto, in Poland, which was about to be liquidated in March 1944, aboard a German military train on its way to the front. Himself a railroad worker, Soroka accompanied them for a long night ride, as they lay huddled on the roofs of the cars. After Vilna, they jumped off, hoping to reach the partisans known to be operating in the vicinity. In Italy, Father Beniamino Schivo constantly moved a Jewish family from one location to another, and past German lines; in one instance hiding them in a monastery dressed as nuns, until he had seen them to safety with the arrival of the allied army. In the Netherlands, Joop *Westerweel arranged and led groups of Jewish youth on a long trek through occupied Belgium and France and up to the Spanish border, high in the Pyrenees. Several diplomats also facilitated the flight of many Jews from German hands. Such as Aristides de Sousa *Mendes, the Portuguese consul-general in Bordeaux, France, who freely issued thousands of Portuguese transit visas to Jewish refugees in the city, on the eve of its surrender to the Germans; Jan Zwartendijk and *Sempo Sugihara, the Dutch and Japanese consuls, respectively, in Kaunas, Lithuania, who likewise issued transit visas to thousands of Jews stranded in that country; finally, Paul Grueninger, the Swiss police border officer in St. Gallen, Switzerland, who issued false entry permits to several thousand fleeing Jews who appeared at his border outpost. Some of these senior government officials disobeyed instructions from their superiors that forbade the issuing of visas to fleeing Jews, or their entry into the country. Such open defiance by senior public servants on a moral issue, which led to the saving of at least several thousand lives, merited them the Righteous honor.

CHILDREN. The fourth and final major category pertains to the rescue of children. One need not belabor the point that saving children presented a special problem. For in most cases, where adult Jewish persons had to fend for themselves, such as in hiding places where silence and strict discipline were of the utmost importance, or circulating freely under an assumed identity, children could hardly be part of this conspiracy of subterfuge. If both parents and especially their children were to have a chance to survive, the two sides had to separate, and perhaps never to see each other again. This meant turning over one's child for an indefinite period for safekeeping and adoption in either a children's home or with a private family. Children old enough to distinguish between their natural and adopted parents had to be "reprogrammed," that is, to erase from their minds the remembrance of their true parents and their own earlier names, forget their Jewish affiliation and religious customs – all this for reasons not fully, if at all, understood by these tender minds – and readapt to totally new filial and group relationships, and new cultural and religious environments. Persons involved in this rescue operation included those who traveled long distances to make the proper arrangements, escorted the children to their new homes, and made routine inspection visits to make sure the children were well cared for. Nor should we overlook the host families who took the frightened children into their homes and showered them with love and affection, and patience, while fabricating stories to neighbors to explain the sudden appearance of a strange child in their household. Rough estimates place the number of children saved through the help of non-Jewish rescuers at several tens of thousands. Also included under this category are persons who led children across great distances and difficult terrain to cross well-guarded frontiers, such as into Switzerland. Of the many examples, one may mention Yvonne *Nevejean, who as head of Belgian's national child care agency opened the agency's doors for hundreds of Jewish children on their way to host families. In the Netherlands, the NV group is the most noteworthy of the several clandestine cells dedicated to rescuing Jewish children by dispersing them with various host families in distant locations. In France, Dr. Rita Breton dispersed several hundred children in the Normandy countryside, while Denise Bergon sheltered children in religious institutions. Rolande Birgy, who worked on behalf of a Catholic youth organization, and the Quaker-affiliated Helga Holbek and Alice Synnestvedt spirited many children across the Swiss border. In Poland, Irena *Sendler spirited children out of the Warsaw ghetto, and with the help of trustworthy aides helped disperse them in private homes and religious institutions. Still in Poland, Sister Matylda Getter is one of several nuns awarded the Righteous title for sheltering many Jewish girls in her religious orphanage.

Risks to the Rescuer

The Nazis, although they did not reveal the exact nature of their murderous intent with regard to the Jews, made it clear that they consigned them to a bitter fate. It also soon became clear to the local population that the Nazis intended to deal harshly with anyone who would place obstacles in their way by offering aid to Jews. To remove any doubts, the Nazis warned the local population of dire punishment, including the death penalty, for any violation of regulations forbidding aid to Jews in distress. In Poland, for instance, large posters appeared on bulletin boards in the major cities threatening the death penalty for various forms of aid to Jews on the run, including sheltering them in one's home, selling them provisions, and moving them from one place to another. Such was the following public warning, one of many, posted in Przemysl, on November 19, 1942, which stated in no unclear terms that: "(1) Every Pole or Ukrainian who admits a Jew in his home, or affords him hospitality, provisions and refuge, will be shot. (2) Every Pole or Ukrainian who assists in whatever way a Jew who is found outside the Jewish quarter, will be shot. (3) Every Pole or Ukrainian who even attempts to carry out items 1 and 2 will be shot." Similar dire warnings were repeated in Warsaw and other major cities in Poland. Some rescuers indeed paid with their lives for helping Jews. Such was the case with the rescuers of the noted Polish-Jewish historian Emmanuel Ringelblum, who was hidden together with a large group of

Jews in an underground shelter on the Aryan side of Warsaw. When the place was discovered, the Germans shot all the bunker's inhabitants, including their rescuers – the Polish Wolski family. Rescuers in other countries fared no less well. In Germany, the farmer Heinrich List was sent to the Dachau camp in 1942, where he died the same year, after being apprehended for sheltering a Jewish acquaintance on his farm. In Italy, Giovanni Palatucci was also sent to Dachau, where he perished, for aiding Jews and other persons sought by the Nazis, in Fiume. In Denmark, Henry Thomsen was arrested and sent to the Neuengamme camp, where he died, for his involvement in ferrying Jews across to Sweden. In France, Father Jacques (Lucien Bunel) was arrested in his Catholic seminary, in Avon, after it was discovered that he was sheltering three Jewish boys. He was sent to a concentration camp, where he died. Suzanne Spaak, deeply immersed in the rescue of Jewish children in the Paris region, was executed by the Nazis on the eve of the liberation of the city, in August 1944. In the Netherlands, Joop Westerweel, Jaap Musch, Joop Woortman, and Albertus Zefat, were executed on Dutch soil for their involvement in the rescue of Jews. Sometimes, not directly aiding but merely showing sympathy with Jews could land the person in a concentration camp. Adelaide Hautval, who complained of the treatment of Jews in a French prison, was dubbed a "Friend of the Jews," and deported to Auschwitz, which she luckily survived. These are but a few of many examples of rescuers who suffered martyrdom, or severe physical damage to their health, for their attempt to help Jews elude the Nazi dragnet. Much as the rescuers feared the Germans, the danger did not only stem from them but also from other quarters as well, such as local collaborators, anti-German partisans units who also attacked Jews and their protectors (especially in Eastern Europe), various antisemitic elements (pro- or anti-Nazi), and plain blackmailers holding to no particular political agenda.

Problematic Issues

Most rescue stories placed before the Commission for the Designation of the Righteous do not present problems, and do not therefore occasion serious divisions of opinion among commission members, insofar as the Righteous title is concerned. However, as with all issues dealing with human behavior during times of extreme stress and tension, from time to time cases of a special and unique character come to the fore which may not accord in all its aspects and contours with the criteria for the Righteous title. Such cases, due to their special and unique character, may require a different approach and judgment. Over the years, the Commission has acted in such specific cases, as follows:

1. The testimony of a rescued person who was an infant at the time is acceptable but not sufficient for the Righteous title, as it may be assumed that it is based on hearsay. What is required is an additional corroborative statement from someone who was at the age of understanding, or supporting documentary material in lieu of eyewitness testimony.

2. The rescuer saved one or more Jews, at the risk of his life, but at the same time was involved in reprehensible acts, inflicting harm on other Jews or members of other nationalities. He is not recognized. Such is the case with police officers who rounded up Jews for deportation but spared some out of personal friendship. A person having antisemitic sentiments is not automatically disqualified, if no acts followed upon such personal feelings. The noted Polish author Zofia Kossak-Szuczka, who made no secret of her antisemitic views, in 1942 issued a manifesto to her underground colleagues to step forward and save Jews from annihilation. She inspired the creation of *Zegota*, the sole Polish clandestine organization dedicated to the rescue of Jews, and herself sheltered a Jewish woman in her home. She was recognized.

3. A person who rescued but also collaborated with the enemy, or belonged to a Nazi or Fascist political movement – this requires a careful study of the person, his standing and influence in the community and the measure of the collaboration. Simply belonging to the Nazi Party does not, as in the case of Oskar Schindler, disqualify the person, if such membership was not coupled with the authority to delineate anti-Jewish policies, and the rescuer otherwise saved Jews at the risk of his life. At the same time, membership in the SS militia has so far automatically disqualified a person from bearing the Righteous title.

4. The rescuer carried out his operation at the behest of a clandestine, or partisan organization. In general, if he did not go beyond merely following orders, he would not be recognized. But if he went above and beyond instructions, and increased the risks to his person in affording aid to Jews, as was for instance the case of the Polish underground leader Henryk Wolinski, he would be recognized.

5. Persons who did not rescue but undertook great risks to themselves to try to stop the Holocaust. The German industrialist Eduard Schulte and the Polish underground courier Jan *Karski were awarded the Righteous title for trying to alert the world to the Final Solution, hoping that the free world would intervene to stop it.

6. Diplomats who saved – if they acted in contravention of instructions from above, coupled with a sizable number of Jews saved – would be awarded the Righteous title. This ruling has allowed the Portuguese diplomat Aristides de Sousa Mendes and the Japanese diplomat Sempo Sugihara – two of a larger group – to earn the Righteous title.

7. Rescue inside monasteries and convents – in general the Father or Mother Superior, in other words, the person with ultimate authority and responsible before the authorities, is recognized and not monks and nuns inside these houses, unless they acted in a special and unique way to save their Jewish wards.

8. The rescuer of his, or her, Jewish spouse would not earn the Righteous title, unless the rescue act also included family members of the Jewish spouse.

9. Baptized Jews who acted either as rescuers or rescued. In general, a Jew who freely and out of inner conviction and

persuasion converted out of Judaism before the advent of Nazism and anti-Jewish laws in his country is considered to have willingly left the Jewish fold, and his, or her, case (be it as rescuer or rescued) is not considered with the framework of the Righteous program. Such a ruling would not apply if the conversion was done to avoid persecution by the Nazis and their allies.

Motivations and Lessons

Several studies have been made to try to explain the motivations of the rescuers. Nechama Tec, in her research on Polish rescuers, concluded that most rescuers in her sample stood out from their immediate surroundings, since they did not identify with the behavioral norms of their neighbors. In short, rescuers tended to be nonconformists and individualists who preferred to draw their own conclusion as to the proper responses to various human issues confronting them. Samuel and Pearl Oliner researched rescuers from many European countries, and found, as opposed to Tec, that most rescuers had so completely internalized the social norms of their society, such as compassion and aid to the less favored, that whereas most others only paid lip service to the values taught in their society, rescuers in fact had taken these teachings so seriously that they became behavioral codes in their day-to-day lives – to a greater degree than non-rescuers and bystanders. Whatever the ultimate reasons for this unique kind of behavior (risking one's life to help strangers), the example of the Righteous Among the Nations suggests that man, left to his own devices, while not a saint – is not necessarily prone solely to evil deeds. When confronted and challenged, ordinary people have the capacity to perform acts of goodness for their own sake. The lessons to be drawn include the following: (a) That it was possible to save Jews at the individual level, even in spite of the risks involved; that the individual, left to his own devices, can decide to act right morally and can make a difference, and thereby serve as an example and role model for the behavior of others. (b) That helping others in distress may be a natural, not coerced, human behavioral mode, and represents man at his best. The French Jewish philosopher Emmanuel *Levinas has stated that a true ethic begins with a turning towards and responding to the Other, since such an encounter makes possible a true dialogue with one's own conscience – the questioning of oneself in light of the Other, who is somehow also present in ourselves, in our consciousness, yet is not of it. (c) An added dimension to the uniqueness of the behavior of the rescuers comes to the fore when one compares their responses with that of the perpetrators. Perpetrators usually say: "I did not do it exactly as described. Besides, I was forced into it, for orders have to be obeyed. Personally, I have nothing against Jews, and I am not responsible for my deeds. I am passing the buck." Rescuers, in contrast, generally say: "Of course I did it, and I would do it again, if called upon. I take full personal responsibility for my deed. I was not coaxed into it, and no one forced me to do it. Besides, it was the most natural thing." Herein lies the abyss separating these two types of moral conduct. (d) The example of the thousands of Righteous who risked their lives to save Jews from the Nazis is testimony to the human spirit as a potent creative force. Primo *Levi has stated this idea best when he reflected on the significance of his rescue by the Italian Lorenzo Perrone in the hell on earth that was Auschwitz: "However little sense there may be in trying to specify why I, rather than thousands of others, managed to survive the test, I believe that it was really due to Lorenzo that I am alive today; and not so much for his material aid, as for his having constantly reminded me by his presence, by his natural and plain manner of being good, that there still existed a just world outside our own, something and someone still pure and whole, not corrupt, not savage, extraneous to hatred and terror; something difficult to define, a remote possibility of good, but for which it was worth surviving… Thanks to Lorenzo, I managed not to forget that I myself was a man." In conclusion, the importance of the saving of even one life is an important Jewish moral principle; again, as it is stated in the Talmud (and etched on the Righteous medal): "Whosoever saves one life is as though he has saved an entire world."

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[Mordecai Paldiel (2nd ed.)]

RIGHTEOUSNESS, the fulfillment of all legal and moral obligations. Righteousness is not an abstract notion but rather consists in doing what is just and right in all relationships; "…keep justice and do righteousness at all times" (Ps. 106:3; cf. Isa. 64:4; Jer. 22:3; Ezek. 18:19–27; Ps. 15:2). Righteous action results in social stability and ultimately in peace: And the work of righteousness shall be peace (Isa. 32:17; cf. Hos. 10:12; Avot 2:7).

In the Bible righteousness bears a distinctly legal character; the righteous man is the innocent party, while the wicked man is the guilty one: "And the judges judge them by justifying the righteous and condemning the wicked" (Deut. 25:1; cf. Ex. 23:7; II Sam. 15:4; Isa. 5:23). Righteousness requires not merely abstention from evil, but a constant pursuit of justice and the performance of positive deeds (Deut. 16:20; Jer. 22:3; cf. Prov. 16:17; Gen. R. 30:9; Jub. 7:20; Tob. 3:2; Kid. 40a). The meaning of righteousness is broadened to include actions beyond the letter of the law in the realms of ethics and ritual (Ezek. 8:5; Tob. 1:10–12; Eccles. 7; Lev. R. 27:1). Paralleling the concept of righteousness is that of wickedness (see *Ẓedaqah and *Rishʿah). Failure to perform obligations leads indirectly to the upsetting of social stability and, ultimately, to the deliberate undermining of the social structure (Isa. 5:23; Hos. 10:13; Amos 5:12; Avot 5:18; Sanh. 101b; RH 17a).

Against the juridical background of righteousness, the paradox of divine justice comes into prominence. A doctrine of exactly balanced rewards and punishments contradicts the reality in which the just man suffers in consequence of his very righteousness (Eccles. 7:15; cf. Gen. 18:23; Jer. 12:1; Hab. 1:13; Mal. 3:15; Ps. 32:10; Job, passim; Wisd. 2–3; Lev. R. 27; Ber. 7a; Shab. 55b; Hor. 10b). This individual problem takes on a national character in Jewish history, throughout which an innocent nation is constantly being persecuted (Wisd. 10:15; IV Ezra 10:22). The paradox becomes even more striking in view of the legal character of the covenant between God and His people: "And I will betroth thee unto Me in righteousness and in justice" (Hos. 2:21).

Attempts to come to grips with this paradox account for the notion that the righteous man suffers for and with his generation, and that his death expiates for their sins (MK 28a; Ex. R. 43:1; cf. Gen R. 34:2; Sanh. 108a). Often, however, man's anger and righteous indignation in the face of overwhelming injustice causes him to invoke that absolute righteousness which rests only with God: "for Thou art righteous" (Neh. 9:8; cf. II Chron. 12:6; lsa. 5:16; 45:22–25; Ps. 89: 16; II Macc. 12:6; Ḥag. 12b).

Because righteousness is not an inherent human characteristic, but rather a learned trait resulting from sustained performance of obligations, man can never attain the peak of righteous perfection: "For there is not a righteous man upon earth that doeth good and sinneth not" (Eccles. 7:20; cf. Ps. 143:2; Job 4:17; 15:14; Dan. 9:18). The impossibility of achieving absolute righteousness, however, does not preclude the constant striving toward this end. The Jew emulates the Patriarchs, conscious that God evaluates even their righteousness in relative terms (Gen. R. 30:9; Shab. 55a; Sanh. 107a; cf. Hab. 2:4; Yoma 38b; RH 16b; Sanh. 93a; Num. R. 3:1; Song R. 3:3; Zohar, Gen. 9). Judaism holds in contempt those who assume a pretense of piety and righteousness: "Be not righteous overmuch neither make thyself overwise" (Eccles. 7:16; cf. Eccles. 7:5; Nid. 30b), while, on the other hand, it exalts the *ẓaddikim nistarim* ("the hidden righteous") of each generation (Suk. 45b; Hul. 92a; Gen. R. 35:2).

The prophets conceive of the ideal society in terms of righteousness (Isa. 28:17; 60:21; Jer. 23:5–7; Hos. 10:12; Zech. 8:8; Ps. 7:10; 18:25; Dan. 9:24). Subsequent attempts to formulate a code for an ideal society rest heavily on practical principles of daily righteous conduct (En. 10:21; 13:10; Ps. of Sol. 17:27; Meg. 17b; cf. the teachings of the "Teacher of Righteousness" in the Dead Sea Scrolls). Eschatologically, righteous action within a righteous society will restore peace in the world and will reestablish Jerusalem as the citadel of righteousness: "And I will restore thy judges… afterward thou shalt be called the city of righteousness" (Isa. 1:26–27; Jer. 31:22).

[Zvi H. Szubin]

In rabbinic literature the term *ẓedakah* means "charity," "almsgiving," "practical benevolence," but does not refer to righteousness in general for which there is no special term. However, the name *ẓaddik*, "righteous man" (pl. *ẓaddikim*), is found throughout rabbinic literature denoting the good man, the man free from sin, the one who carries out his obligation to God and to man by obeying the precepts of the Torah. Occasionally in the literature the term *ẓaddik* denotes the specially pious, the man of extraordinary goodness, the holy man or saint, as when it is said that there are never less than 36 *ẓaddikim* in the world who see the Divine Presence each day (Suk. 45b). But in general the term *ẓaddik* does not necessarily suggest unusual piety, but simply the carrying out of God's will. This can be seen from the division of men (RH 16b) into the thoroughly righteous (*ẓaddikim gemurim*), the thoroughly wicked (*resha'im gemurim*), and the average persons (*beinonim*). In one passage (Ber. 61b) the distinction is made that the *ẓaddikim* are governed by the good inclination, the wicked by the evil inclination, and the average by both inclinations. When *Rabbah commented that he was an average person *Abbaye objected that this would mean that most people are wicked. The term "righteous" is used of women as well as of men (Song. R. 1:17; Sot. 11b). The *ẓaddikim* among the gentiles have a share in the world to come (Tos. Sanh. 13:2).

The *ẓaddikim*, in their humility, promise to do only a little for others but in reality do much (BM 87a). The *ẓaddikim* are so scrupulous in avoiding the slightest taint of theft that their honestly acquired property becomes dearer to them than their own person and they risk their lives to preserve it (Ḥul. 91a). They have a strong social conscience. They rise up early in the morning to attend to the needs of the community (Yalkut, Ex. 264). Even at the time of their death they worry not about their own affairs but about their communal responsibilities (Sifrei, Num. 138).

Even when they are dead the *ẓaddikim* are called "living," unlike the wicked who are called "dead" even while they are still alive (Ber. 18a). When a *ẓaddik* resides in a city, he adorns that city so that when he departs its glory departs with him (Gen. R. 68:6). The very stones of a place quarrel among themselves for the privilege of serving as a pillow for the *ẓaddik* who is obliged to sleep out of doors (Ḥul. 91b). Beauty, strength, riches, honor, wisdom, old age, gray hairs, and children are comely to the *ẓaddikim* and comely to the world (Avot 6:8). But the *ẓaddikim* suffer in this life. Whenever they wish to have a life of comfort Satan complains that they ought to be satisfied with the reward stored up for them in the hereafter and not wish to enjoy, too, the ease of this world (Gen. R. 84:3). God causes the *ẓaddikim* to suffer in this world to purge them of the few sins of which they are guilty, just as when a tree stands in a clean place with its branches overlapping an unclean place the branches are lopped off so that the whole tree can stand in a clean place (Kid. 40b). In another passage, however, it is said that Moses received no answer when he asked God why it is that one *ẓaddik* meets with good fortune in this world while another meets with evil (Ber. 7a).

A man can repent sincerely in his heart of the sins he has committed and by so doing change his status from that of *rasha* ("wicked") to that of *ẓaddik*. Thus if a man who is thoroughly wicked betroths a woman on the understanding that he is a *ẓaddik* the act is valid. Conversely, if a known *ẓaddik* betrothed a woman on the understanding that he is a *rasha* the act is also valid because he may have been guilty of an acceptance of idolatry in his heart and this would change his status (Kid. 49b). A man who has been a perfect *ẓaddik* all his life and is sorry for the good deeds he has done thereby cancels out all those good deeds. Conversely, a complete *rasha* who repents of his evil deeds at the end of his life cancels out thereby all those evil deeds (Kid. 40b). Nevertheless, a good deed is not disqualified by any self-seeking motive. For example, a man who gives charity so that his children may live or that he may have reward for it in the hereafter can still be considered a perfect *ẓaddik* (Pes. 8a–b).

In medieval Jewish thought a definite tendency can be observed to extend the scope of righteousness. Not only is greater inwardness demanded of the *ẓaddik*, but he is expected to observe as the norm rules of conduct which in rabbinic literature are set down as the ideal for the especially pious. The medieval moralistic literature consists mainly of such demands classified and codified as standards to which all should aspire. A typical example is the anonymous work with the revealing title of *Orḥot Ẓaddikim, "The Ways of the Righteous" (tr. S. Cohen (1969)). Thus the saying of R. Yose, who is described (Avot 2:8) as a *ḥasid* ("saint"), that all man's deeds should be for the sake of heaven (Avot 2:12), is formulated in the Codes (Tur, OḤ 231) as the rule for all men. When a man eats and drinks, for example, it should not be in order to enjoy his food and drink but to have strength for God's service. The same applies to his working, sleeping, marital relations, and conversing with others. All should be done for the sake of heaven and not for personal gratification.

In Maimonides' writings, the life of righteousness is made to embrace the Greek ideal of harmony and balance in choosing the middle way. The good man should be neither too prone to anger nor as indifferent to insult as a corpse; neither too ambitious nor too lazy; neither frivolous nor melancholic; neither greedy nor a spendthrift (Yad, Deot 1:4–5). Man is free to choose the way he wishes to follow. It is given to every man to be as great a *ẓaddik* as Moses or as great a *rasha* as Jeroboam (Yad, Teshuvah 5:2). Maimonides defines the *ẓaddik* as the man with more good deeds to his credit than bad. The *rasha* has more bad deeds than good ones, while the average man (*beinoni*) has his good and bad deeds equally balanced. The same assessment is made by God of a country and of the world as a whole. But it is not the mere quantity of the deeds which counts in this assessment. A good deed can be of such quality that it can succeed in outweighing many bad deeds, and the converse is also true (Yad, Teshuvah 3:1–2).

Among the kabbalists the term *ẓaddik* is given, as in a few instances in rabbinic literature, the meaning of "saint." The *ẓaddik* is no longer simply the ordinary good man but a holy man of elevated degree. In the Zohar, *ẓaddik* is the name of one of the **Sefirot – Yesod*, "foundation." This is the creative principle and is symbolized by the phallus. Consequently, the *ẓaddik* on earth is especially careful to avoid any flaw in the "sign of the covenant," i.e., he keeps himself free from all forms of sexual impurity. "One who does not guard the sign of the Covenant as he should cannot be called a *ẓaddik*" (Zohar, Gen. 94a). Among the biblical heroes, the counterpart of *Yesod* is Joseph who refused to yield to the blandishments of Potiphar's wife and who, as a result, is called "Joseph the *ẓaddik*" (Zohar, Ex. 23a). In Ḥasidism, too, the *Ẓaddik* is the miracle-working saint and holy man, the hasidic master. The term *ḥasid* could not have been applied to him since this was the name given to his followers, the ḥasidim. Once the term had been used in this sense the rabbinic references to the *ẓaddik* were interpreted in the Hasidic literature as referring to the holy man. In *Ḥabad* theory the terms *ẓaddik* and *rasha* are acknowledged to be used in the rabbinic literature, in some instances in the loose sense of one who is acquitted in judgment by God and one who is declared guilty. But the true definition of the *ẓaddik* is that he is the man "who has no evil inclination because he has killed it by fasting" (*Likkutei Amarim*, I, 1). The prescriptions for leading the good life found in the classical sources are not for such rare souls who do not need them, but for the "average men" (*beinonim*). The *beinoni* is now, in fact, not "average" at all but the righteous man who struggles against the evil within him in order to do God's will.

The pursuit of righteousness was the aim of the Lithuanian Musar movement but the approach was decidedly non-mystical. In response to the claim of Ḥasidism that the *ẓaddik* is invested with the power to cause harm by his curse, Israel Salanter, the founder of the movement, is said to have retorted that if that were so, the *ẓaddik* can be a danger to others and should be obliged to pay for any harm he may do in this way. The followers of Israel Meir ha-Kohen (the Ḥafeẓ Ḥayyim) used to say that while it was the boast of the *ḥasidim* that their *ẓaddik* decrees and God fulfills, of the Ḥafeẓ Ḥayyim it was rather true that God decrees and the *ẓaddik* fulfills. The righteous man, according to the Musarists, is other-worldly, ascetic, profoundly concerned with his ethical obligations, and devoted to the study of the Torah and the practice of the precepts. The Musar leaders and teachers were frequently referred to as *ha-rav ha-ẓaddik*, "The rabbi, the *ẓaddik*…"

In modern writings on Jewish religious thought, especially those in Western languages, the emphasis is chiefly on the ethical and moral content of righteousness and on its universal application.

[Louis Jacobs]

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RIGHTS, HUMAN. The following article deals with the subject of human rights, their essence and the contents of various fundamental rights as reflected in the sources of Jewish Law. The interpretation of Israel's Basic Laws concerning human rights in accordance with the principles of a Jewish and democratic state, and the principles of the Israeli Declaration of Independence, and the disputes over the method of finding a synthesis between these values are discussed at length in the entries: *Values of a Jewish a Democratic State; *Law and Morality; *Human Dignity and Freedom.

Rights and Obligations

Rights play a central role in contemporary legal systems in general, and in the field of public law in particular. A substantial part of constitutional law deals with various human rights, such as the right to equality, the right to freedom of expression, freedom of occupation, freedom of movement and so forth. This approach is anchored in various philosophical, humanist and liberal theories, such as those of J.S. Mill, Locke, Hobbes and others, which emphasize the central place of man and his right to freedom. The existence of and respect for human rights are also a fundamental principle of democracy, and therefore any discussion of the combination of Judaism and democracy or of the "Jewish and democratic state" (see *Values of a Jewish and Democratic State, and M. Elon, *Kevod ha-Adam ve-Ḥeruto be-Darkei ha-Hoẓa'ah le-Po'al – Arakheha shel Medinah Yehudit ve-Democratit* (Jerusalem 2000); M. Elon, *Ma'amad ha-Ishah –Mishpat ve-Shipput, Masoret u-Temurah, Arakheha shel Medinah Yehudit ve-Democratit* (Tel Aviv 2005); idem, *Ha-Mishpat ha-Ivri* (1988); idem, *Jewish Law* (1994)) must also take into consideration the place of human rights in Jewish law, their origin, their scope and the principles that accompany them.

The basic approach taken by religious legal systems, and in particular of Jewish law to the issues dealt with in the realm of human rights place *God*, rather than *man*, at the center. As a result, man is perceived first and foremost as having *obligations* and not *rights*. It is true that in contemporary legal theory, obligations are accompanied by parallel rights (thus, for example, the prohibition "you shall not kill" as applying to one individual consequently results in the right of another individual to life; the obligation "you shall not steal" implies the right of the other to property; the obligation to return what has been lost [see *Lost Property] implies the property rights of the one who has sustained a loss; and so forth). Nevertheless, the point of departure being from obligations rather than from rights creates a completely different legal system than that existing in modern constitutional law, and the point of balance between rights and obligations changes accordingly (M. Elon, *ibid.;* Rabbi Yitzhak Breuer, *Ẓiyyunei Derekh* (Jerusalem 1982), 57–86; M. Silberg, *Kakh Darko shel Talmud* (Jerusalem 1982), 66; R.M. Cover, "A Jewish Jurisprudence," in: *Journal of Law and Religion,* 5 (1987) 65; H.H. Cohn, *Zekhuyot ha-Adam ba-Mikra u-va-Talmud* (Tel Aviv, 1988); idem, *Ha-Mishpat* (Jerusalem 1992), 512–13; M. Vigoda, *"Bein Zekhuyot Ḥevratiyyot le-Ḥovot Ḥevratiyyot ba-Mishpat ha-Ivri,"* in: *Zekhuyot Kalkaliot ve-Tarbutiyyot be-Yisrael* (2005), 233–96).

An expression of Jewish law's basic approach to man's obligations can already be found in the first book of the Bible, in which Adam is placed in the Garden of Eden and commanded "to tend it and to keep it." Man is first and foremost "commanded," obligated, given duties rather than rights. Under this basic approach of Jewish law, as noted earlier, human rights are often formulated by way of negation, that is, by proscribing infringement of the various rights. Thus, for example, the Torah says "you shall not go around as a talebearer among your people" (Lev. 19:17) as an expression of the right to a good name; "you shall not rule over him with rigor" (Lev. 25:43) as an expression of man's dignity; "you shall not go into his house to fetch his pledge" (Deut. 24:10) as an expression of his liberty and right to privacy (see *Imprisonment for Debt), and so on, with "you shall" implicit in "you shall not."

Together with this, there are cases in which man is required, as a positive commandment, to respect various rights. Thus, regarding the obligation to maintain human dignity and physical integrity: "therefore take good heed unto yourselves" (lit., "your souls," interpreted as "your lives"; Deut 4:15) and, regarding freedom of movement: "proclaim liberty throughout the land unto all the inhabitants thereof" (see below).

Man's right to "self-fulfillment," or self-realization so extolled in the Western, humanist and liberal culture of our times as a central foundation of various rights, is by no means self-evident from the standpoint of Jewish law, because this conception places man in the center, whereas the Jewish religion, like other religions, places God at the center (A. Lichtenstein, "*'Im ke-Vanim, im ka-Avadim' – Zekhuyot ha-Perat le-Or ha-Halahhah,*" in: *Alon Shevut Bogrim,* 12 (1997), 103–110; idem, "*'Aseh Reẓono, Batel Reẓonkha' – Hirhurim al ha-Mifgash bein Halakhah u-Moderniyyut*," in: *Alon Shevut Bogrim,* 13 (1999), 125–33; and see the ruling of Justice Y. Englard, HC 2458/01 *New Family v. The Committee for Approving Agreements to Carry Fetuses*, 57 (1) PD 419).

This basic distinction between "human rights" and "human obligations" is not merely a semantic difference, but also carries moral significance and consequences with regard to the desired balance between conflicting values. Whereas contemporary constitutional law speaks of the realization of *interests*, Jewish law stresses human *responsibility*. Thus, while contemporary theories emphasize man's "self-fulfillment," in Jewish law, notwithstanding that this value exists to a certain degree (see comments below on "Freedom of Expression and Creation"), the focus is on man's obligations and responsibilities towards others.

Another substantive difference between the approach of Jewish law and the basic premises of modern law, relates to the essential nature of human rights and their practical implications. In contemporary legal systems, the various rights afforded to human beings are of significance mainly in relation to other people. The modern theory of human rights holds that society (whether the state or individuals in society) must allow individuals to realize their right to freedom of expression, freedom of occupation and movement, and so forth. The rights are "theirs" – although they are, of course, entitled to waive them. This is not the attitude of Jewish law, where the emphasis is on man's obligations. According to this approach, in many cases people are not allowed to waive their rights, which are in fact obligations. Thus, they may not waive the "right to life" and commit suicide (see *Suicide), nor waive their "human dignity" and remove their clothes in public, even if no one else sees them.

This approach was uniquely expressed in a ruling of the Israel Supreme Court concerning a person who wished to waive his right to dignity and insisted that a police officer carry out a search of his person in the streets of the town. Justice Elon, on the basis of Jewish law, denied the request, stating that the preservation of "human dignity," which results from man being created in God's image, is not only a right but also an obligation imposed on human beings; hence, one is not entitled to waive it (see at length under *Human Dignity and Freedom, Cr. App. 2145/92 *State of Israel v. Guetta,* 46 (5) PD 704).

Terminology: "Right," "Liberty," "Freedom"

Like many other legal terms – such as **ḥazakah* (possession, ownership, acquiring or proving, presumption); **kinyan* (legal rights, act of acquisition); *ones* (Elon, *Ha-Mishpat ha-Ivri*, 71–72; *Jewish Law* (1994), 79) – the various terms used in the theory of human rights in Jewish law also have multiple meanings. Thus, for example, the term *zekhut* as used in Jewish law carries various different meanings depending on the context. At times it is used in the sense of a "right," as in modern legal terminology (thus, for example, M. Ketubbot 4:4: "The father has a right to receive his daughter's betrothal [money]"; Yad, Sekhirut 6:9 "You have no greater right in this house than I do"), but it frequently bears other meanings, whether those related to the world of law or those outside it. Thus, for example, the word *zekhut* may be used in the sense of "permission" (as in the legal term, *zekhut yoẓerim*, "copyright"), or in the sense of "merits" or "good deeds" chalked up to man's credit. The term *zekhut avot* – "ancestral merit" – is used to denote the special treatment a person enjoys because of his parents or his lineage (M. Avot 2:2) Similarly, "Every person has merits (*zekhuyyot*) and sins: one whose merits outweigh his sins is a righteous man; and one whose sins outweigh his merits is evil; half and half – mediocre" (Maim., Yad, Hilkhot Teshuvah 3:1). Another aspect of the term *zekhut* in the legal context relates to arguing on behalf of a person and defending his actions: "All are allowed to argue for acquittal, and not all may argue for conviction" (M. Sanhedrin 4:1); "Always judge a person leniently" (M. Avot 1:6). In yet other sources, the term is used to denote an advantage or benefit: "A slave benefits from gaining his freedom" (BM 19a).

In like fashion, the terms *ḥerut* (liberty) and *ḥofesh* (freedom) bear a number of different meanings in different contexts, which in any case are not identical to the modern term "freedom." On the contrary: according to different sources in Jewish law, man's "freedom" does not express the fact that he is free of all obligations and responsibilities, but rather that he is subject to a system of obligations and precepts. This is clearly evident in the Mishnah, which states that "No one is free but one who studies Torah." In like fashion, Rabbi Judah Halevi, one of the great Jewish poets of medieval Spain, writes in one of his poems that "Slaves of time are under the greatest servitude; only the servant of God alone is free." An echo of this approach is found in the rabbinic dictum that man is not at all free in this world, because he is subject to commandments of "you shall" and "you shall not," and that only in death one becomes free, because when a person is dead, he is free, in the sense of being exempt of the obligation of the commandments (Shab. 30a).

Consideration should be given to the fact that in the Bible itself the word *ḥofesh* does not appear in its modern sense of freedom, except in the phrase *bigdei ḥofesh* ("precious clothes," Ezek. 27:20, where its meaning is not altogether clear), or in the sense of an action or result (e.g., Exod. 21:5, "I will not go out free"; Deut. 15:12–13, 18: "you shall let him go free from you"; Exod. 21:2, 25–27: "He shall go out free… he shall let him go free"). In later sources, the term appears as an expression of freedom and liberty. Thus, for example, in the ancient book of Ben Sira it says: "Treasure an educated slave, do not keep him from freedom" (Sira 7:22).

The term *ḥerut* likewise does not appear at all in the Bible, and is mentioned for the first time in the words of the Sages (thus, for example in the Passover blessing: "You have brought us out from slavery to liberty," *Pesaḥim* 10:5, and from there in the Passover *Hagaddah*). At the same time, another term, *deror*, which in later generations was seen as standing for liberty and freedom, does appear in the Bible. Its first appearance relates to the commandment of the jubilee year, in a verse also inscribed on the Liberty Bell of the United States, commanding Israel: "And you shall hallow the fiftieth year, and proclaim liberty throughout the land unto all the inhabitants thereof" (Lev. 25:10). The Sages noted the special use of the word *deror*, which appears only once in the Torah, here and nowhere else. (In the words of the prophets Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel, this expression appears another six times, expressing the freedom of one who is liberated from slavery. See, for example, Isaiah 61:1: "to proclaim liberty to the captives"; Jeremiah 34:8: "to proclaim liberty unto them"; and *ibid.* 15: "proclaiming liberty every man to his neighbor"; *ibid.* 17: "to proclaim liberty, every man to his brother, and every man to his neighbor; behold I proclaim for you a liberty"; in Ezekiel 46:17: a "year of liberty" is mentioned as a synonym for the jubilee year. It should be noted that the word *deror* as the name of a bird already appears in the book of Psalms (84:4): "Yea, the sparrow hath found a house and the swallow [*deror*] a nest for herself"). According to the Sages, the word *deror* here signifies freedom of movement and the right to live anywhere (with regard to freedom of movement, see below).

Classification of Rights

There is a tendency in contemporary law to distinguish among different kinds of rights. One distinction made is between "human rights," afforded to all human beings as such (as broadly manifested in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations in 1948), and "civil rights," only granted to the citizens of a state per se (such as the right to vote and to stand for election). There is a similar tendency to distinguish between "primary rights," such as a person's right to life, and "political rights" (freedom of expression, freedom of association, freedom to demonstrate, assemble and march, freedom of movement, etc.; see below), whose power and scope is wider, and secondary rights (such as some of the social rights), whose scope is more limited.

A similar, though not identical, distinction exists in Jewish law. Notwithstanding that it is a universal legal system, applying and operating throughout the world and not only within the borders of particular country (as is the case with modern "territorial" legal systems, which only apply within the territory of a given country, within defined borders), Jewish law also recognizes the distinction between what are known today as "human rights," applicable to all human beings as such, and rights with less force and scope, afforded to a more limited group. Thus, for example, the right to vote and stand for election (see below) is not afforded to all residents, but only to those who meet certain conditions of competency.

The Source of the Rights

In Jewish law, man's rights and liberty stem from the fact that he was created in God's image, as described in the book of Genesis (Gen. 1:27). From Adam on, this theory developed and was also introduced into the laws of nations.

Man's uniqueness, and his resultant obligations, are emphasized in the Talmud (Sanhedrin 38a): "Accordingly man was created as an individual, to teach us that whoever destroys a single soul, is as if he destroyed an entire world; and to ensure peace among men, so that no person can say to another, '[My] father is greater than your father!'… and to praise the greatness of the Holy One blessed be He, for when a man mints a number of coins from the same material, they are all identical to one another, whereas the King of Kings, the Holy One blessed be he, created all men in the image of the first man and yet not one of them is identical to another. Therefore each and every one must say 'the world was created for me.'"

Another source of great importance for human rights and the liberty that goes with them is the Exodus from Egypt, which served as the basis for the formation of Jewish culture and Jewish law, particularly with regard to man's freedom (see *Imprisonment; *Imprisonment for Debt, and see R. Hirsch's Commentary on Exodus 22:20, Gateshead (1973), vol. 2, p. 373).

Alongside those rights explicitly mentioned in the Bible, over the centuries, a theory of human rights developed in Jewish law. Scholars of the Mishnah and Talmud, followed by the *geonim* and the earlier and later authorities in all of Israel's Diasporas, developed and cultivated a defense of the different rights, and by means of various legal tools (such as regulation and custom, explication and rulebooks) created a broad system of rules and norms intended to protect human rights. In the sub-sections below examples are given from different places and times, expressing the wonderful creativity of Jewish law in developing a theory of human rights in all its shades.

The law courts in Israel and throughout the world acknowledge that Jewish law is one of the potential sources of human rights. An eloquent expression of this can be seen in the ruling of the Supreme Court, as given by Justice M. Elon: "Our sages taught us 'Beloved is man in that he was created in [God's] image' (Avot 3:14). This fundamental value in the world of Judaism serves as the infrastructure, the very heart of the principle of man's liberty (Justice M. Elon: M. App. 1/87 *Denenashvili et al. v. State of Israel*, 41 (2) PD 289, and Cr. App. 2145/92 *State of Israel v. Guetta*, 46 (5) PD 710–711. See also: M. Elon, "*Le-Zikhro shel Moshe Silberg,*" in: *Shenaton ha-Mishpat ha-Ivri* 2 (5735), p. 4; ALA 184/87 *Attorney General v. Anon. et al.*, 42 (2) PD 676. And cf. the ruling of Justice Elon, CA 506/88 *Yael Shefer, minor, v. State of Israel*, 38 (1) PD 116, under *Medicine and Law). Similarly, the Supreme Court represented by Justice Orr based itself on the principle of the sanctity of life inferred from the creation of man, ruling that dialysis treatment should be given to a minor patient even in contradiction to the parents' wishes (ALA 5587/97 *Attorney General v. Anon*, 51 (4) PD 838–839).

The Supreme Court also invoked the idea of man's creation in the image of God in disqualifying a Knesset election list whose platform contained racist motifs. Sharply criticizing the temerity and sham involved in this list claiming to speak in the name of the Torah of Israel, Justice Elon said, among other things: "A basic foundation of Judaism is the idea that man is created in God's image (Gen. 1:27). This is how the Torah of Israel begins, and it is from this that *halakhah* derives fundamental principles regarding the value of man – all men – their equality and their being beloved [of God]. 'He [i.e., Rabbi Akiva] used to say: Beloved is man, who was created in [God's] image. Even more beloved is he, that it was made known to him that he was created in the Image, as it says (Gen. 9:6) "In the image of God He made man" (Avot 3:18). And thus, in this last verse, the prohibition against the spilling of blood by the sons of Noah is explained, even before the Torah was given" (EA 2/84 *Moshe Naiman v. Chairmen of the Central Elections Committee for the Eleventh Knesset*, 39 (2) PD 298. See also his comments in CA 294/91 *Ḥevra Kadisha Kehillat Yerushalyim v. Kastenbaum*, 46 (2) PD 512; and the comments of Justice M. Cheshin in FH 7325/95 *Yediot Aḥaronot Ltd. et al. v. Kraus* 52 (3) PD 1).

On a number of occasions, the Supreme Court relied on the biblical concept of man being created in God's image, as well as its stringent approach towards murderers who have taken the life of any human being. Thus, in a ruling dealing with the case of a Jew who murdered innocent Arabs, Justice Cheshin wrote:

> A person – any person – is a world in himself. A person – any person – is one, individual and unique. No one is like any other. One who was will not be again, and one who has gone will not return. And our teacher, the Rambam, taught regarding the uniqueness of man (Yad, Sanhedrin 12:3): "Man was created

> alone in the world, to teach us that one who destroys a single soul in the world, is as if he has destroyed the whole world, and one who saves a single soul in the world is as if he has saved the whole world. For all those who come into the world are created in the form of Adam, and the face of no man is the same as that of any other. Accordingly, each and every one can say: the world was created for me." This is man, and this is his uniqueness. Who can dare say such a thing about a book or about a safe? (Cr.A. 1742/91 *Ami Popper v. State of Israel*, 51 (5) PD 305; and cf. Cr.A. 6841/01 *Yosef Biton v. State of Israel*, 56 (6) PD 800; CR.A. 6535/01 *Kusirov v. State of Israel*, 57 (3) PD 565; CR.A. 9804/02 *S.S. v. State of Israel*, 58 (4) PD 462; FTA (Tel Aviv-Jaffa) 1137/02 *State of Israel v. Nasser Mahmoud*, unpublished).

The creation of man in God's image also served as the foundation for a National Labor Court ruling (NLC 265–56/04 *Shimon Ḥassid v. The National Insurance Institute*, unpublished), in which the court accepted the claim of a homeless person that the National Insurance Institute should give positive consideration to awarding an income allowance to him and others like him, giving a broad interpretation to the law intended to ensure that the indigent have the right to live in dignity (see below). Similarly, the biblical description of the creation of man, both male and female, served as the basis by which the Supreme Court, represented by Justice Cheshin, anchored, among other things, the obligation to provide equal opportunities to both sexes when entering the workforce (HC 2671/98 *The Israel Women's Lobby v. Minister of Labor and Social Affairs*, 52 (3) PD the 36), as well as with regard to the terms of retirement from it (HC 6845/00 *Itana Niv et al. v. National Labor Court*, 57 (6) PD 663).

The Various Rights

THE RIGHT TO LIFE. The right to life is a value of prime importance, set down at the beginning of the various bills of rights. As the fundamental approach of Jewish law speaks, not only of man's *rights*, but first and foremost of his *obligations*, it imposes upon the human being an obligation to guard his/her own body, its most important expression being the commandment "Therefore take good heed to yourselves" (Deut. 4:15). Apart from exceptional cases (e.g., the prohibitions of bloodshed, idolatry and adultery), when cardinal values enter into the balance, the obligation to preserve life outweighs all other duties. A person is therefore commanded to desecrate the Sabbath in order to save a life, "for nothing stands in the way of saving life." The Sages expounded the verse "He shall live in them" (Lev. 18:5) – "and not die in them," (Yoma 85b) as meaning that the Torah's commandments have been given to live by and not to die by. According to some of the Sages, even with respect to those transgressions about which it was said that a person must allow himself to be killed rather than commit the transgression, this law only applies in public, in the presence of ten or more people. In private, however, a person must commit the transgression rather than allow himself to be killed. A special problem exists when a balance must be struck between two rights of the same type (see EA 84/2 *Naiman v. Chairman, Central Elections Committee*, PD 39(2) 225, per Justice Elon, and see *Euthanasia in *Medicine and Law). The definition of the State of Israel as a "Jewish and democratic state" finds expression in various ways related to human dignity and freedom. Thus, for example, with the exception of certain crimes of exceptional severity (e.g., crimes against humanity and the Jewish people, and the Nazis and Nazi Collaborators Punishment Law) the Israeli legislator abolished the death penalty that had been administered during the mandatory period. Similarly, corporal punishment was abolished by the Punishment of Whipping (Abolition) Law 5710 – 1950 (see *Values of a Jewish and Democratic State; *Human Dignity and Freedom; *Punishment).

THE RIGHT TO DIGNITY. Unlike contemporary law, Jewish Law views human dignity not only as a *right*, but as an *obligation* imposed upon man, stemming from the fact that he was created in the image of God. For this reason, he is neither permitted nor able to waive his dignity, even if he so desires (see *Human Dignity and Freedom).

THE RIGHT TO EQUALITY AND THE PROHIBITION OF DISCRIMINATION. The right to equality derives from the creation of man, as described in the Torah, as a solitary individual and a free man, from whom all of mankind has descended, such that no man can say to his fellow, "My father is greater than yours" (see above). An echo of this is found in the preamble to the United Nations' Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which recognizes "the inherent dignity and of the equal and inalienable rights of all members of the human family." Various expressions of the value of equality already appear in Scripture. Thus, for example, the Torah commands: "One law shall be to him that is homeborn, and to the stranger that sojourns among you" (Ex. 12:49; and see below, in the section dealing with the equality of nations). Many expressions of the value of equality are to be found in rabbinic literature. Thus, for example, the *tanna* Ben Azzai, maintains that the value of the equality of the sexes – embodied in the verse, "male and female He created them" (Gen. 1:27) – is "the greatest principle in the Torah," as opposed to the position of his colleague Rabbi Akiva, who sees the verse, "you shall love your neighbor as yourself" (Lev. 19:18) as the Torah's greatest principle (TJ Ned. 9:4 (41c)).

The value of equality also finds expression in the words of certain Sages with respect to specific issues. Thus, for example, two contradictory approaches are found in rabbinic literature regarding Torah study. The one is patently non-egalitarian, awarding the right to education exclusively to the children of the intellectual and economic elite (see below, sub-section dealing with the right to education). In contrast, there is an egalitarian approach that opens the gates of the study hall to all: "You might say that only the children of the elders, the children of the distinguished, should study. Therefore, the verse states: 'For if you shall diligently keep' (Deut. 11:22) – teaching that all are equal in Torah. Similarly it says: 'Moses commanded us a Torah, the inheritance of the congregation of Jacob' (Deut. 33:4). It is not written there: 'Priests, Levites and Israelites,' but rather 'Jacob.' Similarly it says: 'You stand this day all of you' (Deut. 22:9)" (*Sifrei*, sec. 48 (ed. Finkelstein, p. 112)).

The obligation of equality applies likewise to legislation enacted by the king, which must be fitting and non-discriminating: "Any law promulgated by the king to apply to everyone and not to one person alone is not deemed robbery. But wherever he takes from one particular person only, not in accordance with a law known to everyone but by doing violence to this person, it is deemed robbery" (Maim., Yad, Gezelah va-Avedah 5:14).

Alongside such statements, Jewish Law contains no small number of laws that appear to violate the principle of equality and seriously discriminate on the basis of sex, race, nationality, age, or some other factor. In many, but not all such cases, the discrimination can be explained as a "permissible distinction" based on the principle that there are no absolute rights, and that even the value of equality is set aside by other values, and that the discrimination is for an "appropriate purpose and to an extent no greater than is required" (Section 8, Basic Law: Human Dignity and Freedom). Thus, for example, the preferred status of the priests and Levites is explained by historical reasons (their non-participation in the sin of the Golden Calf), or by their unique role as officiants in the Temple. Similarly, the disqualification of women for positions of public authority, and the absence in Scripture of their right to inherit (see *Inheritance) can be explained as stemming from the different social role they play from that of men (see at length the entry *Woman). Nevertheless, alongside the attempts, some clearly apologetic, to justify laws that appear to be discriminatory, the Sages of Israel have over the course of the generations made courageous attempts to mitigate the severity of these cases of discrimination to the point of their total abolition. For example, the ruling that prevents a non-Jew from serving in the Israeli Knesset or government, based on the biblical prohibition, "You may not set a stranger over you, who is not your brother" (Deut. 17:15), has effectively been abolished in the State of Israel. Similarly, the prohibition preventing woman serving in the Knesset or in any other public role (see *Woman: The Judicial Perspective) has in practice been abolished. Mechanisms have been established allowing a woman to receive an equal share of an inheritance (see *Inheritance, and see: R. Isaac Herzog, *Teḥukah le-Yisra'el al pi ha-Torah*).

The obligation of equality has ramifications in various circumstances and contexts. Thus for example, it is stated that a master/employer must provide his servant/worker with living conditions similar to his own: "'He shall be with you' – with you in food, with you in drink, with you in clean clothing: you [= the master, employer] may not eat fine bread while he eats coarse bread; you may not drink old wine while he drinks new wine; you may not sleep on cotton-wool while he sleeps on straw" (*Sifra*, *Behar*, sec. 5). Special emphasis was placed on the equal treatment of litigants in court (see *Bet Din), this being a fundamental principle of natural justice. Similarly, the rabbinic authorities have stressed not only the equality of rights, but also the equality of obligations and responsibilities.

In ancient legal systems, the "other" – the blind, the deaf, the crippled, the leper, and the like – was often rejected and subjected to unfavorable discrimination. Some viewed his condition as "a heavenly decree," a punishment for his sins, and hence as a reason to distance him from society. Thus, for example, during the Middle Ages, the term "leper" was applied to all of society's outcasts. Various popular beliefs that adhered to lepers contributed to their being cut off from community life. Testimony to this phenomenon is found in various sources of Jewish Law: for example, in the words of R. *Moses of Coucy, a 13th-century French Tosafist, who wrote in his *Sefer Miẓvot ha-Gadol* that a leper who wishes to enter a synagogue must "construct for himself a high partition four cubits wide, and enter first and exit last" – all this in order not to come into contact with the other members of the community.

As opposed to this approach, some authorities of Jewish Law viewed physical deformities as a "force majeure," which does not constitute grounds for denial of the "other"'s rights or discrimination against him. An example of the caution that must be practiced in this matter may be found in a responsum authored by Rashi (*Resp. Ḥakhmei Ẓarefat ve-Loter*, no. 40; see also A. Grossman, *Ḥakhmei Ẓarefat ha-Rishonim* (Jerusalem 1995), p. 140). In this responsum, Rashi rejects the argument of a man who wished to divorce his wife because she had been stricken with leprosy, and sharply reproaches him for his conduct.

PLURALISM, FREEDOM OF EXPRESSION, AND THE PUBLIC'S RIGHT TO KNOW. In modern constitutional law, pluralism – the multiplicity of views and the freedom to express them – has a most important place among human rights; some see it as the "queen of rights." This finds expression in various constitutions (such as the United Nations' Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the U.S. Constitution) that have established this principle and ascribed it supreme importance. Freedom of expression includes not only the right to express opinions, but also the right to hear them or, as it is usually called, "the public's right to know." The world of Jewish Law contains many expressions of praise for pluralism and multiplicity of views (see *Majority Rule; and see below Pluralism in the World of *Halakhah*). The great principle in this matter is mentioned already in the words of the Sages with respect to the controversy between the school of Shammai and the school of Hillel, who "disagreed for three years, these saying: The law is in accordance with us, and these saying: The law is in accordance with us. A heavenly voice issued forth and said: Both are the words of the living God" (Eruv. 13b). Nevertheless, on the practical level the matter was eventually decided: "And the law is like the school of Hillel" (*ibid.*).

As part of the recognition of pluralism and its importance as a value in its own right, Jewish Law assigns a place of honor to speech and to free speech, speech representing man's preeminence over the beast. This was given pointed expression in Onkelos's translation of the verse in the biblical account of Creation: "And man became a living soul" (Gen. 2:7) – *le-ru'aḥ memalela*, "a talking spirit." Man is speech, and the freedom to speak is the breath of life. However, even though man was given this freedom, he is commanded to use it wisely, for "in the multitude of words, sin is not lacking" (Prov. 10:19), and "too much talk brings sin." If this is true regarding neutral speech, all the more so regarding talk that involves slander and gossip, about which it is stated: "Guard your tongue from evil, your lips from deceitful speech. Depart from evil, and do good" (Ps. 34:14–15; and see above regarding man's right to a good name).

Despite the great similarity in certain matters, Jewish Law's conceptual starting point regarding freedom of speech is different from that generally accepted in our day, and thus its normative ramifications are also different. Modern law tends to justify this right with various principles inherent in it, including: clarifying the truth; strengthening democracy; "letting off steam," which in the absence of freedom of speech is liable to burst out in violent and undesirable channels; and self-realization. An examination of these principles teaches that most if not all of them are compatible with the principles – if not necessarily the particulars – of freedom of expression in Jewish Law. Nevertheless, it should not be inferred from this that the normative rights stemming from them, and especially its scope and application, are identical to those of Jewish Law.

Whereas modern law is occasionally ready to retreat from the truth in order to actualize freedom of expression and allow "freedom of false expression" (HC 6126/94, *Senesh v. Broadcast Authority*, PD 53(3) 817; HC 316/03, *Bakri v. Film Censorship Board*, PD 58(1) 249), Jewish law has sharp reservations about such an approach, and commands a person to distance himself even from that which contains the "dust" of falsehood. The sole allowance for veering from the truth is "for the sake of peace," and even this is strictly limited (Yev. 65b; Maim., Yad, Gezelah va-Avedah 14:13).

In contrast to modern law, which sees freedom of expression as an important component of man's autonomy and ability to achieve self-realization, various approaches in Jewish Law see speech as a necessity that should be limited. It is against this background that one needs to understand the dicta of the Sages in praise of silence (e.g., "a protection of wisdom is silence" (M. Avot 3:13); "a word for a *sela* (Talmudic measure of value), silence for two") (Meg. 18a).

Freedom of expression finds an anchor in Jewish Law in the sharp criticism of the prophets of Israel, who severely reproached both the authorities and private individuals. For example, "Your princes are rebellious, and companions of thieves; everyone loves bribes, and follows after rewards; they judge not the fatherless neither does the cause of the widow reach them" (Isa. 1:26; and see H. Cohn, *Zekhuyot Adam ba-Mikra u-ba-Talmud*; and the words of Justice Elon, EA 2/84 *Naiman v. Chairman, Central Elections Committee*, PD 39(2) 294; *idem*, *Ha-Mishpat ha-Ivri*, 1553–1557; *Jewish Law* (1994), 1846–1850; *Jewish Law* (*Cases and Materials*) (1999), 523–38. Indeed, the words of the prophets frequently stirred up the wrath of the ruling power, which did not always limit itself to a sharp verbal response, but at times adopted severe measures to forcibly suppress this freedom (see, for example, I Kings 18). According to one tradition, King Manasseh killed the prophet Isaiah and the people stoned the prophet Jeremiah for the opinions they voiced, and echoes of this tradition are found in the Talmud (Yev. 49b). It should also be remembered that the words of a prophet do not express full freedom of speech, for he is not free to say what is on his heart, but rather he is obligated to impart the word of God as he received it, without adding or detracting anything. This is exemplified by the attempts of Moses, "father of the prophets" (Exod. 3:11–12; 4:10–17), and the prophet Jeremiah (1:4–9) to avoid fulfilling the mission cast upon them, and their forced compliance. The obligation to proclaim God's word is so severe that the Sages asserted that a prophet who suppresses his prophecy is liable for death at the hand of Heaven. Moreover, the obligation to prophesy is conveyed exclusively to the prophet, and even he is not permitted to realize it whenever he wants, to the point that sometimes he "prophesies without knowing what he is prophesying" (see BB 119b). The prophet is thus frequently limited in his prophecy, and does not enjoy full freedom of expression, as is accepted in modern law. A prophet is also not permitted to say things that contradict the words of the Torah (Deut. 18:20; Shab. 104a).

Many testimonies are found in the responsa literature of attempts to reduce to a minimum infringement upon freedom of expression, even when committed for an "appropriate purpose" cause. This is sometimes accomplished through narrow interpretation of a rabbinic or communal enactment that clashes with freedom of expression, and at times even through the assertion that the enactment is null and void owing to its clash with this freedom. Thus, for example, Maimonides narrowly interpreted a communal enactment that attempted to prevent individuals from mentioning the name of the head of the Babylonian yeshivah (*Resp. Rambam*, no. 329 (ed. Blau, p. 596)). Similarly, R. Samuel de Medina narrowly interpreted a communal enactment that prevented members of the community from hearing the words of a sage who had fallen out of favor in the eyes of those who made the enactment (*Resp. Maharashdam*, vol. 1, no. 16; this responsum only appears in the first edition, and was omitted from later editions). These attempts to limit the freedom of expression of certain sages and silence them lest they compete with the community's leadership are known to us from other places and were not always successful (see, e.g., *Resp. Avkat Rokhel*, nos. 179–181).

Attention should also be paid to the fact that in contrast to the approach of contemporary constitutional law, according to which freedom of expression ensures the right of every individual to say anything, provided that he does not harm the interests of others, Scripture sometimes reflects a different approach, as exemplified by the attempt of Joshua bin Nun, servant of Moses, to silence Eldad and Medad who were "prophesying in the camp" (Num. 11:27) and his request of Moses to restrain them. In contrast, Moses' cold response, "Would that all the Lord's people were prophets" (Num. 11:29), expressed pluralism in "the marketplace of prophecy," and prevented their punishment, though *halakhah* has laid down that even when prophecy existed in Israel, not everyone who so desired was permitted to take the crown of prophecy for himself.

IN ISRAELI COURTS. The issue of freedom of expression in Jewish Law has been raised by the Israeli courts in various contexts, both in connection with libel suits (see *Slander) and in connection with constitutional issues, such as the right to run for office in the Knesset, which is part of the freedom of political expression (see below, subsection dealing with the right to vote and be elected), freedom of expression on gravestones, and other matters.

Two court rulings relate to the issue of freedom of expression on gravestones. The Israeli Supreme Court (per Justice Elon) discussed the issue of freedom of expression in Jewish Law at length, noting that, like other rights, this right is also not absolute and can be set aside if its realization clashes with other values, e.g., *human dignity and the sensitivities of other people (CA 92/1482, *Hager v. Hager*, PD 47(2) 793; CA 294/91. *Ḥevra Kadisha Kehillat Yerushalayim v. Kastenbaum*, PD 46(2) 464). The Supreme Court discussed this issue in another case dealing with the inscription of a date according to the Gregorian calendar on a gravestone. Justice Englard based his minority opinion on sources in Jewish law that ban such inscriptions, and in such circumstances prefer to set aside freedom of expression in favor of other values that conflict with it [CA 97/6024, *Fredrika Shavit v. Ḥevra Kadisha Rishon Le-Zion*, PD 53(3)600]. Another ruling discussed the broadcasting of a film on the Sabbath, where the main figures in the film, who were religiously observant, objected to its broadcasting owing to the Sabbath desecration profanation involved. Justice Dorner (in a minority opinion) sided with the plaintiffs, basing her opinion upon the views of those halakhic authorities who set aside the principles of freedom of expression and the public's right to know because of the Sabbath desecration that the realization of these rights would involve (HC 1514/01 *Ya'akov Gur Aryeh v. Television's and Second Television Authority*, PD 55(4) 282). She reviewed the various opinions on the matter in Jewish Law, and referred to the lenient approach that allows an observant film producer to sell his films to the Broadcasting Authority even when he knows that they will be broadcast on the Sabbath (M. Elon R. David Setav, "*Ẓulam be-Yom Ḥol, Shudar be-Shabbat*," in: *Nekudah*, 211 (1998), 52; and see R. Shlomo Zalman Auerbach, "*Shiddur Radyo Ḥozer be-Shabbat*," in: *Teḥumin*, 17 (1997), 13).

FREEDOM OF CONSCIENCE. Another important aspect of the modern idea of freedom is freedom of conscience, allowing a person to believe whatever his heart desires – not limited to matters of religious faith (see below, sub-section on the freedom of religion and ritual) – and to act in accordance with the demands of his conscience. This freedom is anchored in article 18 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and in the Declaration of the Establishment of the State of Israel, which promises "freedom of religion and conscience" to all its citizens and inhabitants.

As with other rights, Jewish Law does not speak of freedom of conscience, but of duty of conscience: i.e., that a person is not exempt from fulfilling his civic responsibilities because of the call of his conscience. Jewish Law deals with this issue at length in relation to the question of releasing people from their obligation to share the burden of community troubles owing to reasons of conscience. The issue is discussed in particular in the context of the question of the exemption granted to full-time yeshivah students from service in the Israeli army, and the question of conscientious objectors to military service. Many of the halakhic authorities who addressed this issue emphasized the duty falling upon every individual to share the burden of an "obligatory war," which overrides the duty of studying Torah.

Some have relied on the sharp call of Moses to the members of the tribes of Gad and Reuben: "Shall your brothers go to war, and you sit here?" (Num. 32:6; and see Judges 5:23). Others based their view on the biting Talmudic statement: "Who shall say that your blood is redder; perhaps the blood of the other is redder" – i.e., just as you ask your neighbor to risk his life to defend you, so are you obligated to risk your life on his behalf (Pes. 28b).

This issue of conscientious objection and Jewish Law was discussed in the Israeli Supreme Court, with respect to the refusal of a conscientious objector to serve in the Israeli army during the Lebanese war (HC 734/83, *Shein v. Minister of Defense*, PD 38(3) 404). Justice Elon denied the petitioner an exemption from military service, basing his ruling on numerous sources of Jewish law dealing with those seeking an exemption from army duty (e.g., Deut. 20:1–9; Judges 7:3; 1 Macc 3:55; M. Sotah 8:2–7; Tosefta (ed. Zuckermandel), Sot. 7:18–24; *Sifrei, Devarim*, secs. 192–197; Yad, Melakhim, 7; *Sefer ha-Ḥinnukh*, Aseh #502; and others). (See *Military Law.)

THE RIGHT TO VOTE AND TO BE ELECTED. The right to vote and to stand for election is one of the most important of all civil rights, as a clear expression of the democratic process. Because of its importance, in various legal systems, such as American law and Israeli law, this right has been established as an "entrenched section of the law," which can only be changed by a special majority of members of the House of Representatives (the Knesset).

Study of the sources of Jewish law shows that, notwithstanding that the system of governance reflected in many of them is very different from the democratic system in use today, there are many principles to be found in them that are equally valid and applicable today. (See in greater detail: M. Elon, "*Demokratyah, Zekhuyot Yesod u-Minhal Takin be-Pesikatam shel Ḥakhmei ha-Mizraḥ be-Moẓa'ei Gerush*

Sefarad," in: *Shenaton ha-Mishpat ha-Ivri*, 18–19 (5762), 9–63.)

A study of the Bible and of early rabbinic sources reveals that actual "election" processes are hardly to be found, and that the majority of "elected representatives" mentioned there are actually appointed and not elected to their position in a democratic process – nor did the biblical king receive his office through any actual process of election. Despite the fact that from the literal meaning of the verse, "you shall surely set him as king over you" (Deut. 17:15) it might be concluded that there was indeed a democratic process here of election by the people, the rest of the verse – "whom the Lord your God shall choose" – shows that this is not the case. This passage also shows us that the right to be elected was not given to everyone, but was limited only to the children of Israel: "from among your brethren shall you set a king over yourselves, you may not put a foreigner over thee, who is not your brother" (*ibid.*, and see above with regard to equality). Alongside this limitation, a further restriction was added at a later stage, by which "no king may be raised first other than in accordance with a court of 70 elders, and according to a prophet" (Maim., Yad, Melakhim 1:3). This restriction ensured a kind of "judicial review" of the selection process.

Restrictions relating to the right to vote may also be found in the sources of Jewish law. Thus, for example, it states in the Frankfurt Rulebook from 1774 that anyone has who has not paid his taxes that year may not take part in the elections, and the same is true of one regarding whom "at least two years have not passed since his wedding" (Rabbi R.D. Dessler, *Shenot Dor ve-Dor* (Jerusalem 2000), p. 413). A similar restriction existed in the Mantua community in Italy, where only people who had paid all their dues to the congregation and had lived within the city for a long time, at least 25 years, could participate in elections (S. Simonson, *Toledot ha-Yehudim be-Dukhasut Mantova* (Jerusalem 5723), p. 240).

Various restrictions were also placed on the right to stand for election, clearly reflected in the **Takkanot ha-Kahal* (communal enactments). Thus, for example, in a number of towns of Europe there was a regulation preventing a doctor or a broker from standing for election as "trustee" of the congregation, because these occupations were considered to be of low rank and were likely to undermine the public's faith in its leadership (Y. Baer, *Toledot ha-Yehudim be-Sefarad ha-Noẓerit* (Tel Aviv 1965), 256). The regulations of the Frankfurt congregation included a rule stating that a person standing for appointment as a community leader must have been married for at least nine years; for the position of "community dignitary" – at least six years; and for the position of *gabbai* (manager of synagogue affairs)– at least three years (Dessler, *ibid.*, p. 413). Another community rule enacted in Frankfurt states that only a person with considerable financial capital may be elected to the community committee (Y. Heilperin, *Zion*, 21 (1956), 64). This requirement apparently arose from the need to ensure the financial independence of the elected representative: in the absence of a salary for public positions, representatives needed to be of independent means in order to be able to devote their time to the position and to be free of extraneous pressures and considerations. In a number of communities in Christian Spain, a minimum tax payment was set as a condition for realization of the right to stand for election (Y.T. Assis, *Ha-Yehudim be-Malkhut Aragonya ve-Ezorei Ḥasutah*, in *Moreshet Sefarad*, H. Beinart, ed., Jerusalem 1992, p. 62 and note 115).

Restrictions of a different kind were applied to the expenditure permitted in an election campaign. Thus, for example, a rule was enacted in one of the Polish towns under which election expenses were limited to no more than six gold pieces, to prevent the waste of public money on the elections (S. Idelberg, "*Pinkas Schnadau*," in: *Galed,* 3 (1976) 304 #30). A similar provision was introduced in Israeli law, in the Parties Law 5752 – 1992, and the Party Financing Law, 5733 – 1973, which imposed a ceiling on the expenses permitted in an election campaign.

Another form of disqualification from election applied to individuals with a criminal past. In modern legal systems such as the Israeli system, criminals do not lose the right to vote, and a certain time after they complete their sentence they are entitled to stand for election, even if the crime they committed carries moral turpitude. On the other hand, in some Jewish congregations the right to vote and stand for election was taken away permanently from criminals (I.Z. Kahane, "*Sheloshah Kheruzim mi-Pinkas de-Kehillah Kedoshah Tribitsh*," in: *Koveẓ Al Yad* 14 (1948), p. 187). A case came before the Ḥatam Sofer regarding one of the leaders of a congregation whose other community leaders wanted to take away his right to vote or to stand for election for a period of ten years because of a crime he had committed. The Ḥatam Sofer fiercely denounced the faulty procedure they had followed, insisting that disqualifying a person from realizing his right to vote and stand for election only be done after review by the *bet din* and the local rabbi. In this regard, he added that, even if there had been defects in the election procedure, there was no reason to rush to invalidate it if these defects were only discovered after the election was over (Resp. Ḥatam Sofer, Likkutim, YD no.38).

IN THE COURTS. The issue of a criminal's right to vote recently came up in the Israeli Supreme Court regarding the matter of a prisoner who wanted to realize his right to vote. Justice Elon, sitting in judgment, based his decision giving the prisoner the right to vote on the basic principle of Jewish law "once he has been flogged – he is like your brother" (M. Makkot 3:15) (HC 337/84 *Hokama v. Minister of Interior*, 38 (2) PD 826; and see *Imprisonment). The question of the right of women to vote and stand for election was also discussed in depth in the ruling of Justice Elon in the Shakdiel affair (HC 153/87 *Shakdiel v. Minister of Religious Affairs*, 22 (2) PD 221, and see under *Woman: The Judicial Perspective).

Freedom of Demonstration, Assembly, and Procession
Freedom to demonstrate, assemble and march is an aspect of freedom of expression. In a modern, democratic country this freedom is one of the most important expressions of freedom of political expression, which differentiates a totalitarian regime from a democratic regime. A considerable portion of rules of Jewish law originated in entirely different political realities, which did not necessarily operate according to the democratic rules accepted today. But notwithstanding the differences, many democratic principles can be found which are similar, if not always identical, to the generally accepted rules today. Thus, for example, Jewish law provided a real possibility for those in disagreement with the leadership to express their opinions, and even to make use of the public domain for this purpose. Nevertheless, attempts can be seen on several occasions in the sources of Jewish law to silence these protesting voices – attempts which are not always successful. An early manifestation of this can be seen in the figure of the biblical prophet, crying out in public against various injustices, such as the strong words of the prophet Isaiah (1:21–23): "How is the faithful city become a harlot! She that was full of justice, righteousness lodged in her, but now murderers. Your silver is become dross, your wine mixed with water. Your princes are rebellious, and companions of thieves; everyone loves bribes, and followed after rewards; they judge not the fatherless, neither does the cause of the widow come before them."

One of the wonderful expressions of the right of the individual to "demonstrate" and protest against an injustice that has been done is the custom of "delaying [prayer] services" (alternatively referred to as: "canceling prayers," "cancellation of regular prayers," "delaying the public reading of the Torah"). This custom originated in the Jewish congregations of the Middle Ages, and it is used even today as a demonstrative sanction by a person who wishes to protest against an injustice he has suffered. The "delayer" is given permission to stop the prayers or the Torah reading, and will not allow the congregation to continue until his complaint has been heard. The responsa literature has preserved fascinating answers illustrating the considerable power of protest of this custom, often leading to a solution of the dispute that was the cause of the protest. (*Teshuvot Maimuniyyot,* Nashim #25; Maharam of Prague, 249; *Or Zarua*, 1 no.52; and see also: A Grossman, "*Reshito ve-Sodotav shel Minhag Ikuv ha-Tefillah*," in: *Millet*, 1 (1983), 199–219; M. Ben-Sasson, *Ha-Ẓa'akah le-Ẓibbur be-Beit ha-Knesset be-Araẓot ha-Islam bi-Ymei ha-Beinayim*, in: S. Elitzur et al. (eds.), *Knesset Ezra* (Jerusalem, 1994), 327–350; Y. Ta-Shma, *Minhag Ashkenazi ha-Kadum*, 303 and note 13; S. Golden, *Ha-Yiḥud ve-ha-Yaḥad*, 157–61).

FREEDOM OF ASSOCIATION. In contemporary discussion of human rights, the right of association constitutes a fundamental right. Some view it as an independent right, while others see it as a sub-category of freedom of expression. In light of the different legal reality, association in Jewish Law is not established in a formal manner as is common today (by means of the establishment of a corporation, non-profit association, cooperative society, or the like (see *Partnership; *Legal Person), but principles relating to the right of association are already found in various contexts within Jewish Law. Thus, for example, already in the tannaitic period (first and second centuries C.E.) enactments were made recognizing the right of members of a particular profession to join together to organize work relations between them – enactments reminiscent of those ordained by the members of the medieval guilds: "The wool dealers and dyers may declare: 'We shall be partners in all merchandise that comes into the town.'… The donkey drivers may declare: 'We will provide another donkey to anyone whose donkey dies.'… The boatmen may declare: 'We will provide another boat whenever anyone's boat is lost" (Tosefta, BM, 11:24–26). Similar ordinances were established in the modern period. Thus, for example, R. Moses Feinstein ruled that workers are permitted to organize in trade unions and to enact ordinances that are binding upon all of their members (*Resp. Iggerot Moshe*, vol. 2, ḤM, no. 58).

Responsa literature contains many testimonies to attempts to reduce infringement upon the freedom of association. This is sometimes accomplished through narrow interpretation of a rabbinic or communal enactment that clashes with freedom of association, and at times even through the nullification of the enactment owing to its clash with that freedom. Thus, for example, communal enactments that attempted to prevent individuals from establishing their own synagogues, that would give expression to their special customs, were reduced to a minimum. Such enactments were particularly common in the lands of the Ottoman Empire, following the expulsion of Jews from Spain and Portugal, when they established new "congregations" in many cities. The native residents saw the expansion of these "congregations" as posing a threat of the establishment of unbridled opposition and a breakdown of the social structure that had enormous economic importance. On the other hand, sweeping prohibitions limiting the right of association violated the freedom of the residents, and therefore they were interpreted narrowly, out of a desire to prevent such violation to the extent possible, unless it was done for "a worthy cause." Thus, for example, R. Samuel de Medina narrowly interpreted a communal enactment that indiscriminately prohibited the establishment of new synagogues in Salonika (*Resp. Maharashdam*, YD, no. 152).

FREEDOM OF MOVEMENT: In modern law, freedom of movement is perceived as among the most basic of all human rights. Man's liberty is manifested, among other things, in his ability to move freely from place to place, to live wherever he chooses, to leave the country and to enter it. In the modern discussion of rights, this right is an additional expression of the autonomy and liberty of the individual. Like other rights, this right is not absolute and must be balanced against such other fundamental rights as security of the state, public order, property rights etc.

Limitations on freedom of movement are divided into many stages: the most severe restriction of freedom of movement and the right to liberty is locking a man in prison, under an arrest warrant or detention order, and restricting him to movement within the prison walls. Of lesser severity is restricting freedom of movement to a particular place of residence, an alternative to imprisonment making the accused's release contingent upon his remaining at a particular address, known as "house arrest." A less severe measure is the restriction of his movement to a particular city, and even less severe is the restriction of freedom of movement by prohibiting a person from leaving the country, or prohibiting an accused from leaving the country, or curtailing the freedom of movement of a debtor which conflicts with the desire of society and the legislator to protect the property rights of his creditor and to enable him to collect the debt. An even less severe measure is a prohibition against a person from entering a certain country, such as prohibiting visits to an enemy state. In addition to the general restrictions mentioned above, there may at times be restrictions on freedom of movement in specific cases, both by force of legislation or by force of a court decision. Thus, for example, in the case of a demonstration or visit by a state personage, there may be restrictions on movement in certain areas for a limited time period in order to maintain public order and ensure the safety of the participants. Needless to say, the freedom of movement of an individual in the public domain is restricted by virtue of the wish to maintain public order and security. In certain cases (such as closing roads to traffic on the Sabbath), freedom of movement is set aside in favor of freedom of religion or the wish to avoid harming "religious sensibilities."

Jewish law rejects limiting freedom of movement and justifies it only for an appropriate purpose and insofar as it does not exceed the minimum required. The emphasis on freedom of movement as a significant component and basic principle of human freedom is expressed in the verse relating to the precept of the Jubilee year (also inscribed on the American Liberty Bell): "And you shall hallow the fiftieth year, and proclaim liberty throughout the land unto all the inhabitants thereof" (Lev. 25:10). The Sages took note of the special use of the word *deror* (liberty), which only appears this one time in the Torah and not in other places, where the word used is usually *ḥofesh* [freedom]. They interpreted this as referring specifically to freedom of movement and the right to live anywhere, and said that "liberty [*deror*] is the language of freedom [*ḥerut*]… like a person who lives everywhere and carries his merchandise to every country" (Rosh Hashanah 9b). Rashi adds (*ad loc.*) "one who lives wherever he wants, and is not subject to others."

On the other hand, even in the Bible there are already a number of restrictions on freedom of movement of a person or a group of people in various circumstances. Thus, for example, freedom of movement in or around holy places was restricted. At the time the Torah was given, the children of Israel were forbidden to even approach Mount Sinai (Exod. 19:12). There were special commandments with regard to the Tabernacle (and later, the Temple), whereby people who were unclean for various reasons, lepers, those with gonorrhea and those contaminated by the dead were not allowed to come near. On the other hand, the High Priest was proscribed from leaving the confines of the Temple during mourning: "neither shall he go out of the sanctuary, nor profane the sanctuary of his God" (Lev. 21:12). Another restriction on freedom of movement is given with regard to the tribes of Israel on the Sabbath: "see that the Lord has given you the Sabbath; therefore he gives you on the sixth day bread for two days; abide ye every man in his place, let no man go out of his place on the seventh day" (Exod. 16:29). This restriction was the source for the prohibition against going beyond "the Sabbath boundary," a concept developed in the Oral Law. Further restriction on freedom of movement is found in the institution of cities of refuge. A person who has committed murder by mistake or mishap is commanded to flee to one of the cities of refuge, and is forbidden to leave "until the death of the High Priest." (Num. 35:25) This restriction, however, is voluntary and not mandatory, and is intended to protect the killer from being avenged by the "blood avenger."

An extensive review of the limitations on freedom of movement can be found in the literature of the Sages and in post-talmudic halakhic literature. Thus, for example, a person is prohibited from leaving the land of Israel and going abroad unnecessarily. Similarly, there is mention of a prohibition against Jews traveling to Egypt or living there, based on the verse: "You shall not see them again any more forever" (Exod. 14:13; TJ Sukkah 5:1 (55b)). In later generations, there were those who sought to impose a similar "boycott of movement" on Jews returning to Spain (following the expulsion from Spain) or to Germany (following the Holocaust), but these prohibitions never took root in practice.

In different communities, where the number of Jewish residents was very limited, members of the congregation were prohibited from leaving the area because it was likely to result in it being impossible to find a *minyan* (prayer quorum of ten) for prayer on the Sabbath and festivals. An echo of this already appears in early responsa from Ashkenaz (Franco-Germany), as well as in the later period. Another regulation found in the sources of Jewish law restricts the freedom of movement of young people of the congregation to travel outside the town, lest this lead to "acts of immorality" (R. Joseph Caro, *Resp. Avkat Rokhel,* no. 206). Other examples of restrictions on freedom of movement imposed for "an appropriate purpose" appear in the community rulebooks. Thus, for example, the Lithuanian rulebook (p. 9 #39) mentions a prohibition against the leaders of the congregation going to Warsaw without the authorization of the State Council, lest they participate in the Polish Sejm assembly and contribute to decisions taken against the interests of the community as a whole. The regulation ends with the imposition of severe sanctions against anyone breaching this prohibition, stating that the infringer will be punished with "corporal punishment and financial punishment." Another restriction was imposed in Lithuania on the freedom of movement of wandering beggars. As it appears from this regulation, the increasing number of itinerant beggars wandering from town to town harmed the local poor and opened the way to acts of fraud. Accordingly, the Lithuanian rulebook (p. 17, #88) states that it is prohibited to allow indigents from other cities "to set foot in the towns / cities of Lithuania and Russia" unless they have relatives in town. Similarly, a woman can prevent her husband leaving for another country if there is a suspicion that he will not return and will leave her as an abandoned woman (see *Agunah). In such a case, the "appropriate purpose" of preventing a woman's abandonment takes precedence over his freedom of movement. This restriction is also anchored in Regulation 96(d) of the Rules of Procedure for the Rabbinical Courts: "the Court may discuss an application to prevent a man from leaving the country on the grounds of fear of abandonment." At the same time, if the man deposits a *get* (religious divorce papers), or even a conditional *get* (one that comes into force only if he does not return within the stated period of time), the appropriate purpose of preventing the woman's abandonment is achieved, and in this case the man may realize his freedom of movement (Sh. Ar., EH 154:8). The same holds true if there is a ruling that does not impose the obligation of a *get* on the man: in that case, the woman is not "entitled" to a divorce and the man's freedom of movement takes precedence. Consequently, if the man deposits a guarantee ensuring his return, there is no reason for denying him the freedom of movement. The Supreme Court in Israel has adopted this, among its other considerations, as a possible basis for refusing to extradite a criminal abroad if this is likely to leave his wife in a state of abandonment (see *Extradition).

A prohibition in principle against denying a woman's freedom of movement, alongside a recommendation severely limiting her freedom for reasons of modesty (apparently under the influence of Islam) is mentioned by Maimonides (Yad, Ishut 13:11):

> Every woman is allowed to go out to visit her father, or to go to the house of mourning or to a house of celebration to do kindness to her friends and relatives, so that they will also visit her. For she is not in prison, so that she can never come and go. Nevertheless, it is a disgrace if a woman is constantly going about, at times outside and at times in the street. And her husband is to prevent this, and not let her go out more than once or twice a month as is needed. For there is nothing more fitting for a woman than to sit in the corner of her home, as is written, "All the glory of the king's daughter is within" (Psalms 45:14).

At the same time, as we can see from contemporary historical sources, as well as in later periods, this "suggestion" to restrict women's freedom of movement was almost certainly influenced by what was customary in the surrounding Muslim society, and was not upheld in practice: "One who imposes a vow upon his wife that she not go to the house of mourning or to the house of feasting, must give her a divorce and pay her *ketubbah* money, for he locks her in; but if he does so because of 'another reason' he may do so." That is, restricting the woman's freedom of movement, so to speak "locking her in," is grounds for divorce, unless he claims "another reason" – e.g., that it is known that where she is going there are unruly and licentious people. According to Maimonides, a person who has made a vow denying his wife's freedom of movement must either retract his vow or divorce her, "since it is as if he has imprisoned her and locked her in."

Yet, notwithstanding the restrictions imposed on freedom of movement in certain cases, the halakhic sages imposed strict conditions on their use, limiting it to cases where the "appropriate purpose" was of greater value than denying the person's liberty – and even then they tended to reduce the restriction to the minimum necessary. For that reason, the use of imprisonment in Jewish law was considerably limited. Recognition of man's freedom of movement was also often manifested in rejecting the validity of a stipulation or other charge in an agreement that sought to deny a person this right.

In the State of Israel. The courts in the State of Israel often based freedom of movement on the principles and sources of Jewish law. Thus, for example, in a number of cases applications were made to prevent a husband from leaving the country lest he make his wife an *agunah*. In one case the Supreme Court discussed the case of a criminal suspected of committing a murder in France where extradition was requested. In connection with the question of extradition, Justice Elon discussed the source of Jewish law on this subject (see in greater detail *Extradition).

FREEDOM OF OCCUPATION. In modern law, freedom of occupation means man's *right* "to engage in any occupation, profession or trade" (Section. 3, Basic Law: Freedom of Occupation). According to the democratic understanding, this right is intended to allow a person autonomy in choosing his occupation, and assist him in fulfilling himself, but it does not obligate him to engage in any particular occupation, nor indeed to work at all, but leaves the decision to his individual judgment.

Following from Jewish Law's fundamental approach (see above), occupation is understood by Jewish Law not only as a right or a freedom, but also as an *obligation and duty*. Whereas modern law allows a person to engage in any profession, but does not obligate or command him to do so, Jewish Law commands a person to work and toil in some occupation that contributes to the promotion of civilization. Like any other right in law in general, and in Jewish Law in particular, freedom of occupation is not an absolute right. Over the course of the generations, various limitations were imposed upon it, some of which stemming from religious laws, others from public interests, and yet others from private interests. The various limitations set upon freedom of occupation may be divided into sub-groups: absolute limitations on certain occupations (e.g., commerce in articles connected to idolatry, lending at interest); conditional limitations that restricted the right to engage in a particular occupation to those who had received a license or authorization (e.g., ritual slaughter); limitations imposed upon members of a certain class (e.g., limitations imposed upon a Torah scholar or a judge not to engage in occupations deemed demeaning in the eyes of the public (or in order to free to study Torah and fulfill the commandment, "And you shall meditate therein day and night" (Josh. 1:7)); limitations on the times of certain occupations (e.g., on the Sabbath and festivals, during the *sabbatical and *jubilee years, and during a period of mourning); and limitations dependent upon time, place, and circumstances (e.g., the prohibition of monopolies and encroachment).

Some of these limitations were imposed through **takkanot* (enactments) or **takkanot ha-kahal* (communal enactments). Thus, for example, the Talmud records "enactments legislated by Joshua and his court," one of which relates to freedom of occupation with respect to fishing in "the lake of Tiberias." Anyone may catch fish in that lake, provided he uses "only a fish-hook," so as not to interfere with the movement of boats. But only members of the tribe of Naphtali, in whose territory the lake is located, may catch fish by spreading a net or keep a boat there (BK 80b; Maim., Yad, Nizkei Mammon 5:3; and cf. M. Elon, *Ha-Mishpat ha-Ivri*, 1452; *Jewish Law*, vol. 2, p. 552). Similarly, limitations were imposed upon merchants who wished to compete unfairly with their colleagues or in cases where they were liable to deprive them of their livelihood (see *Hassagat Gevul). So too, a prohibition was imposed upon the formation of a *ma'arufyah* (a form of private monopoly), cartel, or monopoly that would be injurious to the public interest (*Or Zaru'a*, BM 10a, no. 28; *Resp. Ge'onim Kadmonim*, and elsewhere). Limitations were also placed on freedom of occupation for the purpose of preventing profiteering (see *Hafka'at She'arim).

Various testimonies may be found in the sources of Jewish Law regarding agreements that were reached to limit the freedom of occupation of members of a particular group of people, such as those who engaged in a particular occupation. Thus, for example, the Talmud tells of an arrangement made by an association of butchers, dividing the work days among its members, and imposing a penalty upon those who violated the agreement (BB 9a; and see M. Elon, *Ha-Mishpat ha-Ivri,* 1:608; *Jewish Law*, vol. 2, p. 752). In the case under discussion, the agreement had been reached by way of an enactment of all "the townspeople," and nothing may be inferred from it regarding the law applicable to parties who reach a similar arrangement as individuals. Various testimonies regarding similar arrangements that were made as part of an agreement between individuals are found in the responsa literature, where the arrangements are called "restraints of trade" (*ketav issur*). The halakhic authorities issued various rulings regarding the validity of such arrangements (see, for example, *Resp. Divrei Malki'el*, vol. 3, no. 153; *Resp. Maharsham*, vol. 2, no. 22; *Resp. Ḥavalim ba-Ne'imim*, vol. 3, *YD*, no. 38). Such stipulations were prevalent in employment contracts, where the employer wished to prevent his employee from exploiting knowledge gained during his employ for his own future advantage or for the advantage of some other employer. The validity of such a stipulation is in doubt, because according to Jewish Law there is a difficulty entailed in acquiring ownership of something not yet in existence or having no substance (see *Acquisition). The problem was resolved, however, by way of an *obligation* that a person accepted upon himself to perform a certain act in the future, which is valid (*Haggahot Maimuniyyot*, *Shutafin* 4:2; *Ḥiddushei Ramban* to BB 9a; *Resp. Rashba*, vol. 3, no. 65; *Sefer ha-Terumot*, Section 64, Sect. 2:1; Tur, ḤM 60:10).

Alongside the problem of creating the obligation, a doubt exists as to the validity of a stipulation that seeks to violate a person's freedom of occupation. In this regard, it was established that when a limitation benefits none of the parties, but is intended only to restrain one of them, it reflects the trait of Sodom. This term was interpreted by most of the *Rishonim* as "inordinate privatism, that leaves one preoccupied with personal concerns to the neglect of others, or a degree of selfishness so intense that it denies the others at no expense to oneself." (See A. Lichtenstein, "Does Jewish Tradition Recognize an Ethic Independent of Halakhah?" in: M. Fox (ed.), *Modern Jewish Ethics*, 1975.) As such there are grounds for the nullification of stipulation reflecting those traits. On the other hand, when the stipulation is intended to prevent economic damage or is based on some other relevant consideration, it is not to be disqualified (*Ateret Ḥakhamim*, *Hashmatot*, *Resp.* ḤM, no. 21; *Resp. Imrei Yosher*, vol. 1, no. 169).

There is extensive evidence in the responsa literature of attempts to restrict infringement upon the freedom of occupation by narrowly interpreting laws and communal enactments that infringe upon that freedom. Echoes of this tendency are found already in the tannaitic literature. Thus, for example, the command regarding a Hebrew *slave: "And he shall remain his slave for life (*le'olam*, lit. 'forever'" Exod 21:6), was not interpreted in accordance with the plain sense of the text. Since the verse limits the slave's freedom and deprives him of the possibility of emancipation and choosing where to work, the Sages interpreted the term *le-olam*, not as "for life," but "until the jubilee" (i.e., until the next jubilee year) (*Mekhilta*, *Mishpatim*, sec. 2, ed. Horowitz-Rabin, p. 254; *Kiddushin* 21b; Josephus Flavius, *Antiquities of the Jews*, 4, 8:28; and see Elon, *Jewish Law*, vol. 3, p. 1031). In another case, a stipulation limiting freedom of occupation was interpreted narrowly (R. Abraham of Botosani, *Resp. Ḥesed le-Avraham*, second series, YD, no. 7). Another case in which one may void or restrict a stipulation that infringes upon freedom of occupation is when it infringes upon a public interest, leading to reduced competition and inflated prices (Naḥmanides, BB 9a; *Resp. Maharsham*, vol. 2, no. 22).

THE RIGHT OF PROPERTY. The right of property is anchored in various constitutions, its purpose being the protection of a person's property. The Basic Law of Israel states that this value must be interpreted in accordance with "the values of the State of Israel as a Jewish and democratic state" (secs. 1A, 3 of Basic Law: Human Dignity and Freedom).

As with regard to other rights (see above) Jewish Law defines this not as a right, but as an obligation: an obligation is incumbent upon the individual and upon society not to violate the property or proprietary rights of another person. The most striking command on this matter already appears in the Ten Commandments, "You shall not steal" (Exod. 19:13) (see *Theft), alongside of which there are dozens of other rules and commandments, e.g., the prohibition of theft applying to all of mankind (see *Noachide Laws), the prohibition of unlawful encroachment (see *Hassagat Gevul), and many others. Theft and robbery that violate the property rights of an individual are severely forbidden even when the offender intends to restore the property to its lawful owner (Maim., Yad, Genevah 1:2; see also *Theft and Robbery).

Based on the obligation to protect the property of another person, Jewish Law set down an important principle, according to which, in certain situations, even public interest may be set aside by the property rights of an individual. This principle is already anchored in the Talmud, which asks the rhetorical question, "Is the community a band of robbers?" and forbids the community to encroach upon the property of an individual in order to build a road (BB 100a).

Like other human rights, the right of possession is not absolute. In certain situations, permission is granted to violate the property of an individual in punishment for an offense that he had committed, for which purpose it was stated "property declared ownerless by the court is ownerless" (Git. 59b; Git. 36b; TJ Pe'ah 5:1; and see *Hefker). It was similarly established that the king is vested with the power to violate the property of individuals and to expropriate fields and their produce for the needs of his kingdom. This authority is based on the "king's law" found in Scripture (I Sam. 8:11), echoes of which are heard in the story of Naboth and King Ahab (I Kings 21). It is similarly established in the Mishnah that a king may "breach a fence" for the purpose of road-building, even when such action violates the property rights of an individual, and even to build "the king's road that has no measure" (M. Sanh. 2:4). The medieval halakhic authorities disagreed about the scope of this authority. Some, such as Rashi, greatly expanded it, explaining that the king is vested with this authority even in times of peace, and that he may violate the property rights of an individual even for the purpose of his own convenience (e.g., to provide himself with a shorter path to his fields; Rashi, at Yev. 76b). Other commentators severely restricted this authority, limiting it to "an appropriate purpose," where the king has no alternative, and only as "an emergency measure." In addition, an obligation was placed upon the king to compensate the individual for damage caused to his property (*Yad Ramah*, Sanh. 20b; Maim., Yad, Melakhim 4:6).

Regarding the expropriation of private property for public purposes, an obligation was imposed upon the ruling authority (the king, the community) to compensate the titleholder with money or alternative property (see I Kings 21:2). Similarly, the tendency was to limit the cases in which private property may be expropriated (*Tosafot*, Sanh. 20b, s.v *melekh*). These principles served as the basis for the attempts made by later generations of Sages to restrict the authority to violate the property rights of an individual by way of communal enactments or arguments of public interest (*Resp. Ramaz*, no. 37). To illustrate this idea, mention was made of the purchase of the cave of Machpelah by the patriarch Abraham, who paid for the property in full despite the promise that he would inherit the entire land, and the purchase of the Temple Mount by King David from Ornan the Jebusite for the purpose of building the Temple.

In Israeli courts. The principles of Jewish Law forbidding the violation of the property rights of an individual served as guidelines for various laws and judicial rulings in Israel. Thus, emphasis was placed on the obligation falling upon the public authority to compensate the owner of property expropriated for public purposes. The courts interpreted the expropriatory power of the public authority and, based upon the principles of Jewish Law, the courts obligated the public authority to compensate the owners for property expropriated for public purposes. In one case, the Supreme Court ruled that, if the public purpose that served as the basis for the expropriation ceased to exist, the expropriation is liable to be nullified. Justice Cheshin based his ruling, among other things, upon the scriptural account relating to Naboth and the talmudic principle, according to which "the community is not a band of robbers" (HC 96/2390, *Kerasik et al v. the State of Israel*, PD 55(2) 644. See also CA 119/01 *Akunas et al v. the State of Israel*, (unpublished) (Justice M. Naor) AA Tel Aviv-Yafo) 1146/02 *Eitan et al v. National Planning and Building Board* (unpublished) (Justice S. Dotan)). In another case, the Supreme Court, per Justice E. Rubinstein, cited sources of Jewish Law prohibiting the violation of an individual's property rights through expropriation, when it is possible to reduce the violation, whether by desisting from such expropriation, or by offering fitting compensation to that individual (AA 0989/04 *Local Planning and Building Committee of Petah Tikvah et al v. N.M. Zitman and Sons, Inc.* (unpublished)).

SOCIAL RIGHTS. As in the case with respect to other rights, so too regarding social rights, Jewish Law speaks of social obligations, rather than social rights. Thus, Jewish Law obligates almsgiving in order to help another person – every person – to live in dignity; it similarly imposes an obligation upon the individual and upon society to provide children with an education. Jewish Law also recognizes the workers' right to strike in certain situations, though it places greater restrictions on that right than are found in modern law (see *Labor Law). Similarly, Jewish law recognizes a person's right to education, to basic health care (see *Human Dignity and Freedom), to quality of life, to live in dignity, to strike.

Balancing the Various Rights

One of the most important principles regarding human rights is that all of the various rights are *relative*, rather than *absolute*, and that every right must be balanced against other rights and values. Thus, for example, sec. 13 of the Secret Monitoring Law states that, while evidence attained through secret monitoring is generally inadmissible in court owing to the infringement upon privacy that is involved, in exceptional cases, for example, "in a criminal proceeding regarding a serious felony," the court is authorized to rule that the evidence is admissible after having been persuaded, for the special reasons that it spells out, that in the circumstances in question, the need to arrive at a clarification of the truth outweighs the need to protect privacy.

This approach of balancing among the various values is firmly rooted in the world of Jewish Law. Thus, despite the extreme caution that Jewish Law takes regarding a person's right to privacy, this is set aside by the right to protect the health and welfare of the community. For that reason, a physician is permitted to publicly disclose that a certain person is suffering from an infectious illness, when the disease is liable to spread and endanger the health of the community. Similarly, despite a person's right to life and the wholeness of his body, Jewish Law did not refrain from administering corporal punishment and judicial execution. A person's right of property is also set aside by the various monetary penalties that may be imposed upon him (see *Punishment, *Capital Punishment), Similarly, a person's right to freedom of movement does not preclude the use of arrest or imprisonment, provided that these steps are taken for appropriate cause and not in excess of what is necessary (see *Imprisonment). So, too, the right of property may be set aside by the right of the public authority, in certain cases, to expropriate private property for purposes of the public needs.

On the basic level, this balance of interests is evident in all legal systems, but the method of balancing and its operation in specific cases differs from one system to the next. Inasmuch as it is a religious legal system, Jewish Law establishes a balance different from that found in modern legal systems. Thus, for example, in contrast to American and Israeli constitutional law, Jewish law assigns priority to the value of life over that of personal autonomy (Shefer ruling; see also *Medicine and Law; Euthanasia), and in certain cases prefers a person's right to a good name and his right to privacy over the public's right to know and freedom of expression.

[Aviad Hacohen (2nd ed.)]

The Right to Privacy

PROTECTION OF PRIVACY UNDER ISRAELI LAW. The right to privacy is one of the most important human rights (see: Cr.A. 1302/92 *The State of Israel v. Nahmias*, 49(3) PD 309, 353; Cr.M. 2145/92 *The State of Israel v. Viktor Guetta*, 46(5) PD 704; S.D. Warren & L.D. Brandeis, "The Right to Privacy," 4 Harv. L. Rev. (1890) p. 193) a right that extends to "those matters of the individual that, according to social consensus, the individual is entitled to keep to himself without someone else giving them public expression without his consent" (Introduction to the draft bill for the Protection of Privacy Law, 5740 – 1980, *Sefer ha-Ḥukkim* 1453, p. 206). The constitutional right of a person to privacy is derived from his dignity as a human being and from the nature of the State of Israel as a Jewish and democratic state. This right is also an integral part of international law and is anchored in several major international treaties (see, e.g., section 12 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights from 1948; section 17 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights; section 8(1) of the European Convention on Human Rights from 1950). The right to privacy embodies the individual's right not to have his private life disturbed by others, and includes the individual's interest to keep a degree of anonymity and intimacy for himself, such that his private affairs will be protected from another's view. The scope of the right to privacy includes the individual's right to manage his life within his own home without interference. Over the years, the right to privacy has become rooted in the decisions of the Supreme Court of the State of Israel as a basic legal right and has a considerable, although not absolute, degree of force. Its status as a supra-legal constitutional right was established in the Basic Law: Human Dignity and Freedom (*Sefer ha-Ḥukkim* 5792 – 1992, 150), Section 7 of which provides as follows:

7. (a) All persons have the right to privacy and to intimacy.

(b) There shall be no entry into the private premises of a person who has not consented thereto.

(c) No search shall be conducted on the private premises of a person, nor in the body or personal effects.

(d) There shall be no violation of the confidentiality of conversation, or of the writings or records of a person.

The court accorded quasi-constitutional status to the right to privacy even before it was anchored in the Basic Law: Human Dignity and Freedom. Because of its standing as a basic legal right, the governmental authorities ordered that it be respected, and it may not be infringed without express authority from the legislature; however, after being entrenched in the Basic Law, it received additional weight. The right to privacy already received express legal anchoring prior to the enactment of the Basic Law. The technological developments that facilitate invasion of the individual's domain with relative ease while concealing the fact of the invasion, and the apprehension regarding the transformation of personal affairs into public property and the harm that will be caused thereby to the individual's quality of life, to his personal security and to his autonomy, led the legislature to adopt the Secret Monitoring Law 5739 – 1979 (*Sefer ha-Ḥukkim* 5739 – 1979, 118) and the Protection of Privacy Law, 5740 – 1980. Both laws share largely similar goals and means for achieving them: defining actions that constitute an unauthorized intrusion into the private domain as criminal offenses; establishing rules defining those limited circumstances under which infringement of privacy will be permitted, whether in advance or retroactively; and determining that material gathered as a result of an invasion of privacy is inadmissible as evidence in legal proceedings. The exclusionary rule in the Secret Monitoring law may only be deviated from under certain, limited statutory conditions, in those cases where the goal is the thwarting of a serious felony or the promotion of the direct goal of the law – the eradication of secret monitoring by the prosecution of those who engage in it. The Protection of Privacy Law allows the deviation from the exclusionary rule at the request of the injured party or at the discretion of the court.

Protection of Privacy in Jewish Law

Based on the consecutive placement of two verses in the Torah, the Midrash derives the teaching that "…a person shall not enter another's home unless [the other] says to him: 'enter'" (*Midrash Lekaḥ Tov* (*Pesikta Zutra*), *Vayikra*, 1). The Talmud (Pesaḥim 112a) relates that Rabbi Akiva instructed his son Rabbi Joshua as follows: "My son… do not enter your own home suddenly, and all the more so another's home." In other words, there is a moral obligation to safeguard privacy, not only with respect to another person and his domain, but even in one's own home shared with one's own family. This respect of privacy became a binding norm during the period of the Talmud. Regulations were promulgated and prohibitions established to protect a person from the invasion of his privacy by others, with the goal of creating an orderly society in which people would be able to live together (see in detail, Menachem Elon, *Human Dignity and Freedom in the Execution of Court Decisions: The State of Israel's Values as a Jewish and Democratic State* (2000), p. 32 n. 88). We will present examples below of protection of privacy in Jewish Law, which served as a basis for the decisions of the Israel Supreme Court in general, and of the Deputy President, Justice Menachem Elon, in particular.

THE LACK OF SUPERVISION OF THE INDIVIDUAL WITHIN HIS OWN DOMAIN. According to Jewish Law, a person's private deeds and thoughts were not subject to supervision. This area was left to the accounting a person was required to render to his Maker – and to Him alone. In support of this approach, Rabbi Emanuel Rackman cites the words of the Talmud (Ket. 72a): "Rabbi Hinena b. Kahane said, in the name of Samuel: Whence do we learn that a *niddah* [a menstruant woman, who is ritually impure] counts for herself? It is said: 'And she shall count for her' – 'for herself.'" According to the *halakhah,* both men and women may become impure as a result of certain bodily secretions, and are subsequently required to immerse themselves in water; but before doing so they must count seven "clean days." In noting this obligation, the Torah states "and he shall count *for himself*" for a man and "and she shall count *for herself*" for a woman: that is, the counting is personal. There is no supervision or examination of this process to ensure that they do not cheat and thereby expedite the process of "purification." Jewish Law prefers trusting the individual over intrusion into his privacy. Refraining from supervision in these cases does not only stem from pragmatic concerns, such as the difficulties of supervising and absence of resources; the rabbinical courts could have encouraged informants or used inducements to entrap those who did not act as required. Jewish Law recognized such tactics, but only permitted them in one situation: regarding a person who instigated and led others astray to perform idolatry. What characterizes this exceptional situation is the threat to the integrity of Jewish society inextricably entwined in this offense. The inducement is designed, not to reveal the opinions of the criminal for their own sake, but rather to prevent him from leading others astray to follow his path and thereby damage the character of Jewish society (see below).

SLANDER. The duty to protect the individual's rights to dignity, a good name and privacy, are expressed in the legal realm in the laws of slander and gossip. Rabbi S.R. Hirsch (*Horeb* (1965), 253–59) explains the rationale and principles underlying of these laws. He claims that the prohibitions against slander and gossip are meant to protect the image that a person creates for himself in society, an image that is important for his happiness and self-fulfillment. According to Rabbi Hirsch, a society in which there is no protection of the values of human dignity and privacy is one that will bring upon itself "an eternal destruction of human life, and a bane of justice and integrity, happiness and peace" (see above on the right to a good name). In a case involving slander, Jewish Law gives the court authority to order, in addition to the punishment, destruction of the slanderous material or a prohibition on its distribution (see Resp. *Devar Moshe*, Pt, 2, no. 91, and see at length *Slander).

GOSSIP AND THE BAN OF RABBENU GERSHOM. One who reveals another's secret has committed an offense comparable to one who bears tales (Yoma, 4b). The prohibition on revealing secrets gave rise to the rule that "there is a prohibition on asking and searching in the private affairs of another" (Rabbi Jacob Ḥagiz, Resp. *Halakhot Ketannot,* vol. I. no. 276). An important regulation based on this principle was enacted by Rabbenu Gershom, Me'or ha-Golah, cited in the responsa of Maharam of Rottenburg as follows: "Seeing a letter that one has sent to another without his knowledge is forbidden, and if he threw it away it is permitted" (*Takkanot Rabbenu Gershom Me'or ha-Golah*, as quoted in Resp. Maharam b. Rabbi Baruch, printed in Prague, at the end). A number of reasons are given for this regulation in the responsa literature (See: U. Ḥagiz, *Sefer Halakhot Ketannot,* pt. I, no. 276; Rabbi Ḥayyim Palaggi Resp. *Ḥikekei Lev*, YD. Pt. 1. no. 49; Maharhash, *Torat Ḥayyim*, Pt. 3, no. 47). One reason is rooted in the overarching principles applying to all interpersonal behavior: "You should love your neighbor as yourself" and "That which is hateful to you, do not do to your fellow man." The second factor involved is the transgression of the rule "do not go bearing tales among your people" – in other words, there is a prohibition on searching among the hidden things of another. The third is because of theft, insofar as a person owns his personal information and another does not have the right to take it contrary to his wishes and without his knowledge. Regarding the sanction for this prohibition, it is written that "because there has been an increase among those who secretly open letters belonging to others, the court should establish a boundary and punish those who transgress as it sees fit" (Maharhash, *Torat Ḥayyim,* Pt. 3, no. 47, and Resp. Beit David, YD, no. 158). On this basis, Rabbi Sherman, a *dayyan* of the Rabbinical Court of Appeals of the State of Israel concluded that "it is clear that there is a halakhic prohibition on secret monitoring and a boundary must be established and those who transgress should be punished."

MEANS OF COLLECTING A DEBT. The fashioning of means for debt collection in Judaism was influenced by the right to privacy (see in detail *Imprisonment for Debt; *Execution, Civil; and the opinion of Justice M. Elon in HC 5304/92 *Peraḥ 1992 Siu'aḥ le-Nifga'ei Ḥukim ve-Takkanot le-Ma'an Yisrael Aḥeret – Amuta v. The Minister of Justice*, 47(4) PD 715, pp. 734–43; M. Elon, *Kevod ha-Adam ve-Ḥeruto be-Darkhei ha-Hoẓa'ah le-Po'al* (2000). Regarding the relationship between creditor and debtor, Jewish Law establishes a clear and unambiguous position (Deut. 24:10–11): "When you lend your brother anything, you shall not go into his house to fetch his pledge. You shall stand outside, and the man to whom you lent shall bring out the pledge to you." These verses embody the halakhic ideal – honoring the fundamental right of the debtor to privacy and personal freedom. The creditor's right to receive his money and to take the law into his own hands was limited, in that he was prohibited from entering the debtor's house. However, this arrangement did not stand the test of reality in the face of the socio-economic necessity to guarantee the payment of debts. Jewish Law takes the stand that a person's privacy in his own home is a right which deserves to be defended by law; however, it may not be exploited to impinge upon the rights of others and to obstruct the execution of the law. Thus, from the talmudic era, there is a balancing of the biblical injunctions while preserving privacy by means of transferring the authority and discretion to the judicial authority, so that only an emissary of the court may impinge upon an individual's privacy.

VISUAL TRESPASS. The Babylonian Talmud praises the people of Israel for protecting and guarding the privacy of the individual (Baba Batra 60a; for more detail on the subject see under "*Hezek Re'iyah*," in: *Encylopedia Talmudit*, 8:659): "Rabbi Johanan said …'And Bilam lifted up his eyes, and he saw Israel abiding according to their tribes' (Num. 24:2). What did he see? He saw that the openings of their tents were not facing one another. He said: These [people] are worthy of having the *Shekhinah* dwell among them." This custom constituted the moral basis for enactment of the regulation regarding protection from *hezek re'iyah* ("visual trespass"; see *Nuisance) that constitutes an important element in the protection of personal privacy in Jewish Law. According to the Torah law, a person is only liable for compensation to another for damage if he performed a positive action. However, the Sages included within the prohibition of causing injury even that which stems from impingement on one's privacy –"visual trespass"; i.e., the damage caused by one person looking to another person's property. This damage is derived both from common sense and from the tradition, and was renewed by way of the regulation of the Sages. The broadening of the protection of privacy beyond the physical invasion of another's domain to include a prohibition even against looking at it from a distance, even from the property of the one looking, stems from the rule that "you shall do the upright and the good." Various reasons are given in the literature of the *rishonim* for the "visual trespass"; among others, there were those who viewed it as a kind of "*giri dilei*" (lit: throwing arrows). This concept relates to a situation in which a person commits an act on his own property (throwing arrows), as a result of which harm is caused to someone in a different place. From this, some of the *rishonim* argued that visual trespass is damage caused directly from one person observing another. A person is not interested in being exposed to the gaze of another while on his own property, nor in his personal details being known to others. The infringement of a person's privacy occurs, not only when his personal space is physically violated, but also when he is observed on his own property from outside. Moreover, the principle of the "visual trespass" also includes the obligation to avoid the very possibility of such observation which infringes upon the other's right to privacy, inasmuch as the very existence of such a possibility disturbs a person from acting in his home and in the surrounding property as he desires. Hence, one whose privacy has been infringed by the fact that his neighbor has opened a window facing his home and property is entitled, not only to receive an injunction against his neighbor prohibiting him from standing at his window and looking into his property, but the injured party is also entitled to demand that the situation be returned to its original state, in such a way that he will not suffer further injury. (See *Nuisance)

INFRINGEMENT OF PRIVACY IN MARITAL RELATIONS. Jewish law preserves the autonomy and privacy of each spouse in a marital relationship. This is true in the personal as well as in the monetary sphere. Jewish Law recognizes that the wife is entitled to respect, privacy and to autonomy over her body. These rights of the wife are at the basis of the *halakhah*'s prohibition of coerced cohabitation. The Talmud (Eruvin 100b) states: "Rami bar Ḥama said in the name of Rav Assi: 'A man may not force his wife to perform a *mitzvah*…" This opinion is the authoritative position, accepted by all Talmudic authorities as well as by the later halakhic codifiers. From this we learn that, despite the fact that a wife is obligated in the marriage agreement to cohabit with her husband, and despite the fact that non-fulfillment of the obligation may constitute grounds for the husband to breach the agreement and to declare the wife a *moredet* (rebellious wife), none of this serves as license for the husband to perform an act that infringes upon her body, her dignity, her freedom, and her privacy. There is no doubt that married couples are expected to behave openly with one another and to live together with love, harmony and fellowship, but the obligation of openness in the couple's relationship does not allow one party to infringe upon the privacy of the other, even when the obligation of fellowship is breached (see: N. Rakover, "*Yaḥasei Ishut bi-Kefiyyah bein Baal le-Ishto*," in: *Shenaton Ha-Mishpat ha-Ivri*, 6–7 (1979–1980), 295).

The status of the obligation "and they will not hide them …from one another," contained in the prenuptial agreement (*tenaim*) (*Naḥalat Shiva*, no. 10) is a point of disagreement among the halakhic decisors. According to Rabbi Joseph Colon (Resp. Maharik no. 57), this portion of the prenuptial agreement has a normative binding status. On the other hand, Rabbi Shlomo Kluger (Resp. *Tuv Ta'am ve-Da'at* (3rd ed.), No. 181) is of the opinion that this portion of the agreement does not have the status of a normative binding provision, but is rather considered as part of the opening comments. Rabbi Dikhovsky of the Rabbinical Court of Appeals of the State of Israel (S. Dikhovsky, "*Ha'azanot Seter*," in: *Teḥumin*, 11 (1990), 299ff., at 303) expands the applicability of this condition to personal obligations and not just to monetary obligations.

SEARCHING A PERSON'S BODY. The question of conducting a search on a person's body arose in Jewish Law in the context of one who entered the Temple chambers to contribute his *shekalim*. According to one opinion (Tosef. Shekalim 2:2), it was customary to search the body and clothing of one entering the chamber, in order to preempt a claim, in the event that money was found in his possession on his way out, that he had brought his own money with him. According to another opinion (M. Shekalim 3:2), one who enters should not be humiliated by a search of his clothing and his body, and it is sufficient that he take care not to enter the chamber with clothing or possessions that would be likely to cast suspicion upon him. The Tosefta, *supra*, explains this difference of opinion as follows: The opinion that no search of a person's clothing should be made is the opinion of Rabbi Akiva, who states: "'And you shall do that which is right and good in the sight of the Lord' (Deut. 6:18) – good in the eyes of Heaven and right in the eyes of man." In other words, indeed a person has to do what is good in the sight of the Lord and to be clean in the eyes of Israel as well, that is, not to bring suspicion upon himself, but he must also take care to do what is right in the sight of man, and therefore not to be humiliated by a search, because conducting a search on a person's body is not right in the sight of man. (See M. Elon, *Ha-Mishpat ha-Ivri* (1988^3), pp. 512–15; *Jewish Law*, (1994), 624–28, and the notations there.) On the other hand, Rabbi Ishmael follows the first opinion, that "doing what is right refers to what is right in the sight of the Heavens" (Tosefta, *supra*) – in other words, that both the good and the right refer to the good and the right in the sight of Heaven, and what is good and right in the sight of Heaven will be so in any event in the sight of man – and therefore a search should be conducted in order to ascertain that he did not embezzle money belonging to the Chamber. The law was decided according to Rabbi Akiva, that a search not be conducted (Yad., Shekalim, 2. 10; and see *Ha-Mishpat ha-Ivri, supra*, 512–13; *Jewish Law*, 624–25).

The preservation of human dignity and the prohibition against humiliating people is applicable, not only to innocent members of society, but even to those suspected of having committed a crime. Where the Jerusalem Talmud (Sanhedrin 7:8) states that a suspicion based on an unsubstantiated charge that a certain person killed someone is sufficient to arrest the suspect until the charges are clarified, Rabbi Yose questions that statement: Do they apprehend someone in the marketplace and humiliate him? Rather, only where there is *prima facie* evidence regarding the commission of a crime by the suspect may he be placed in detention until his witnesses come (see the decision of Justice Menachem Elon in Cr.M. 71/78, *The State of Israel v. Rivka Abukasis*, 32(2) PD 240, pp. 248–49). The arrest of a person in the marketplace is a humiliation, and it is only permitted in the event that there is a suspicion regarding a serious crime, such as murder, in which case public safety is endangered if the suspect continues to walks about freely.

Jewish law also dealt with searches on and in a person's body. According to the teachings of the Sages, a person's dress is regarded as his dignity and his privacy: "For a person's dignity is his clothing" (Exodus Rabbah 18. 5).

Regarding Rabbi Johanan it was told that he called his clothing "my dignity," because "they dignify their owner" (Shabbat 113a, and Rashi ad loc; Bava Kamma 91b; Sanhedrin 94a). In addition, walking about naked is considered impure and an abomination: "There is nothing more impure and abominable to God than one who walks about naked in the marketplace" (Yevamot 63b). Against this background, Jewish Law specifically discusses the injury to human dignity caused by a person removing his clothes in public.

The Torah states: "You shall not wear a garment of diverse kinds, of wool and linen together" (Deut. 22:11; Yad., Kila'im, 10:1). In the Talmud (Berakhot 19b), the question is asked whether one who discovers mixed wool and linen fabric (*sha'atnez*) in his clothes while walking in the marketplace is required to remove the garment immediately so as not to transgress this prohibition, or only after he arrives home, because disrobing in the marketplace harms his dignity and humiliates him. In this context, the principle is cited: "Great is human dignity for it supersedes a prohibition written in the Torah." According to this principle, one may postpone removing the garment until arriving home. The Babylonian Talmud rules that a distinction must be made between the case in which the garment is of the kind of mixture that is forbidden according to the Torah and that forbidden by rabbinic law alone. In the latter case, the person need not remove the garment in the marketplace, for his dignity takes precedence over a transgression which is not of biblical force (*d'oraitah*); but in the case of *sha'atnez* that is forbidden according to the Torah, it is preferable not to transgress the prohibition, based on another principle: "There is no wisdom or understanding or counsel against the Lord" (Prov. 21:30). According to the passage in the Jerusalem Talmud (Kila'im 9:1), the principle of human dignity even overrides a negative commandment of *de-oraita* force, and not only one of rabbinic force (*de-rabbanan*). The simple reading of this passage is that there is a disagreement between the Jerusalem Talmud and the Babylonian Talmud, as set forth in the commentary of R. Elijah of London, according to which one of the *amoraim* is of the opinion that human dignity supersedes even a prohibition of the Torah (*Perush Rabbenu Eliyahu mi-Londrish*, ed. M.J.L. Zaks (1956), p. 2). A brilliant explication of this is given in the rulings of the Rosh, where it is stated: "Regarding *kilaim* (mixtures) that are prohibited by the Torah – clearly if one finds *kilaim* in his clothes, there is no wisdom or understanding against the Lord and he must remove the garment even in the marketplace. But if a person sees *kilaim* in another's garment, and the one wearing it is unaware, he should not be told in the marketplace until he arrives at his home, and he should be silent for the sake of his dignity and not require him [immediately] to cast off an inadvertent transgression."

PLANTING CONCEALED WITNESSES – ENTRAPMENT. In the view of the *halakhah*, enticing others to idolatry is an extremely serious offense. One who entices others to alien worship (Deut. 13:7–12) subverts the character of the Jewish society. His deed is particularly dangerous, inasmuch as it is done secretly and he entices his friends who are loyal to him and will not be quick to turn him over to the authorities or testify against him in court. Therefore, the rules of procedure regarding one who entices others to idolatry are more lenient in several aspects, one of which is relevant for our purposes. Ordinarily, it is prohibited to conceal witnesses or to use detective devices with the goal of following one who commits an offense and to gather evidence regarding such commission; however, this prohibition does not apply regarding one suspected of enticing others to idolatry. Because the enticer carries out his deeds in the utmost privacy and his offense strikes at the very foundations of the society, the *halakhah* is forced to use extraordinary means to expose him, by creating an artificial situation in order to trap him. In an article dealing with the subject of secret monitoring, Rabbis Dikhovsky and Dasberg disagree as to whether such concealment of witnesses is permitted regarding other offenses as well (see Dikhovsky, "*Ha'azanat Seter*," in: *Teḥumin* 11 (1990), 299, and Dasberg's response at the end of the article). Relying on the Rambam, Rabbi Dikhovsky argues that "…the difference between an enticer and others who commit capital crimes is only that with regard to an enticer there is an *obligation* (*mitzvah*) to entrap him, whereas with regard to others who have committed capital crimes, it is *permitted* to do so." Rabbi Dasberg, on the other hand, argues that "such entrapment is only permitted with regard to an enticer, and only when he cannot be dissuaded from commission of the offense by warnings and by opening a door to repentance. However, concealment of witnesses is forbidden with regard to any other offense, because the one who puts the entrapment in place violates the injunction 'do not place an obstacle before the blind' and disregards the *mitzvah* of reproaching another for his waywardness." The deputy president of the Supreme Court, Justice Menachem Elon, is also of the opinion that it is permissible to carry out entrapment in other exceptional cases, and he argues that under special circumstances secret monitoring is a *mitzvah*, such as in order to create evidence in a case of serious crime (incitement and enticement), and that it is permitted in order to create evidence regarding any criminal activity whatsoever (see Rabbi Joseph Babad, *Minḥat Ḥinukh*, on the *Sefer ha-Ḥinukh* §462). Justice Elon also relies on the *halakhah* that permits opening another person's letter where there is basis for suspecting that the one who wrote the letter intends to defraud the addressee of his money, and that the situation may be clarified by opening and reading the letter (see Rabbi Ḥayyim Palaggi, *Resp. Ḥikekei Lev*, Pt. I, YD 49; Rabbi Joseph Colon, Resp. Maharik, no.110; *Haggahot Rema* to YD 228.33; cf. Justice Menachem Elon's opinion in FH 9/83 *Military Appeals Tribunal v. Vaknin*, 42(3) PD 837, para. 9.).

PROTECTION OF PRIVACY IN DECISIONS OF THE ISRAEL SUPREME COURT. The Israeli Supreme Court dealt with the question of privacy in a number of decisions. These decisions were based *inter alia* on sources in Jewish Law. One of the questions discussed in the *Afangar* case (Cr.A. 360/80, *The State of Israel v. Ya'akov Afangar,* 35(1) PD 228) was the question of the criminal liability of one who was enticed to commit a crime. Justice Elon based the rule set forth in Israeli case law, according to which one who was enticed is not thereby absolved of his criminal liability, on the above-cited sources of Jewish Law. The *Vaknin* case (FH 9/83, *Military Court of Appeals v.Vaknin*, 42 (3) PD 837) involved an incident in which military policemen forced a soldier to drink salt water against his will in order to determine whether he had swallowed a bag containing illegal drugs. The Court again reiterated that the Israeli law did not adopt the American doctrine of "fruit of the poisoned tree" even after the enactment of the Protection of Privacy Law and the Covert Listening Law. Considerations of educating those in positions of authority and protection of a defendant's dignity and his freedom are not sufficient to justify ignoring objective facts when the court must make a ruling regarding the legal truth. In that decision, Justice Elon elaborated on the position of Jewish Law regarding the question of the protection of privacy. He issued a call to the judges that "the material found in Jewish Law regarding protection of privacy, as well as many additional sources, should be used as a source to resolve various dilemmas regarding the protection of privacy." In another case (Cr.A. 2145/92 *The State of Israel v. Victor Goetta*, 46(5) PD 704), the police conducted a search on Victor Goetta, whom they suspected of possessing illegal drugs. It was alleged that the police stripped him and conducted a search of his body parts in order to ascertain if he was concealing drugs in his private parts. In that case, Justice Elon wrote a leading decision regarding body searches, based on sources in Jewish Law. The rules set forth there distinguish between permitted searches on the visible parts of a person's body, as opposed to a search in his internal organs, which is forbidden unless there is an explicit legal provision that permits it. In addition, even a permitted search must be conducted in such a manner that the person's dignity is respected, so that the image of God within him not be debased and humiliated.

The Attitude to Non-Jews

In the *Naiman* case (EA 3, 2/84, *Naiman v. Central Elections Committee, Chairman*; *Avneri v. Central Elections Committee, Chairman*, 39 (2) PD 225), the deputy president of the Israeli Supreme Court, Justice Menachem Elon, stated (at p. 298) that:

> One of the fundamental principles in the world of Judaism is the idea of man's creation in the Divine image (Gen 1:27). This is how the Torah begins, and from it the *halakhah* derives basic principles regarding the value of the human being – every human as such – and the right of every person to equal and loving treatment. "He [R. Akiva] would say: Beloved is man, for he was created in the image [of God]; it was an act of greater love that it was made known to him that he was created in the image [of God] in that it is stated 'In His image did God make man' [Gen. 9:6]" (M. Avot 3:18).
>
> There is a highly instructive dispute between two of the leading *tannaim* regarding the essence of the most fundamental principle in the realm of man's relation to his fellow man: "'You shall love your neighbor as yourself' [Lev 19:18]. Rabbi Akiva said: '*This* is a fundamental rule of the Torah.' Ben Azzai said: 'This is the book of the generations of man [in the day that God *created him in his image*]' [Gen. 5:6]. *This* is even more fundamental *than the former*" (*Sifra*, *Kedoshim* 4:10). According to R. Akiva, the highest value in inter-personal relations is the *love* of man and of one's fellow human being; while according to Ben Azzai, the greatest value is human *equality,* stemming from the creation of *every person* in the image of God.

Justice Elon continues:

> The two values taken together – human equality and love of humanity – became as one in the Hebrew nation, and together they constitute a fundamental principle of Judaism, throughout its generations and eras. The fundamental principle "you shall love your neighbor as yourself" is not only a matter of subjective feeling, an abstract love with no practical requirements, but a way of life in the practical world. It is this principle that is formulated in Hillel's words: "That which is hateful to you, do not do to your fellow man" (Shab. 31a).

Based on this approach, Rabbi Abraham Yitzhak Hacohen Kook wrote that,

> Love of humanity must be alive in one's heart and soul – love for each individual separately, and love for all nations [together with], desire for their advancement for their spiritual and material progress … An inner love from the depths of one's heart and soul, [a longing] to be beneficient to all nations to add to their material wealth, and increase their happiness. (*Middot ha-Re'iyyah*, *Ahavah*, sec. 5).

These basic and fundamental world-views also determined the attitude of Jewish sources to the national minority living under Jewish rule. A whole series of basic commandments of Judaism are explained in the Torah in terms of the historical memory of the people and its suffering as a minority under the rule of others: "for you were strangers in the land of Egypt" (Exod. 23:9; Lev. 19:30; 22:20; 23:9; and passim). Moreover: "You shall not abhor an Egyptian, for you were a stranger in his land" (Deut. 23:8). Racism, which has to this very day claimed so many victims over the course of human history, is unknown in the world of Judaism, and totally rejected thereby.

The Book of Leviticus (19:33–34) states, "and when a stranger dwells among you in your land, you shall not oppress him. Like a sojourner among you shall be the stranger who lives with you, and you shall love him like yourself, for you were strangers in the land of Egypt; I am the Lord your God." In the Book of Exodus (22:20), the prohibition is couched in somewhat different language: "You shall not wrong or oppress a stranger, for you were strangers in the land of Egypt." The prohibition against oppressing the stranger is addressed both to the individual in his relations with others and to governmental authorities and the general public. Rabbi Samson Raphael Hirsch saw the use of the singular as addressed to the state as a body, while those verses phrased in the plural were addressed "to the nation as a whole, also as an aggregate of individuals" (see Rabbi S.R. Hirsch, *Commentary to the Pentateuch*, on Exod. 22:20). The Torah emphasizes the prohibition against oppressing the stranger in order to express the value of equality in society, specifically with regard to members of other religions, and to warn man repeatedly not to surrender to the temptation of exploiting the weakness of those lacking in power or influence, as expressed well by Hirsch in his *Commentary* (*ibid.*, from the English translation of I. Levy (Gateshead, 1973), vol II, p. 373):

> It is not race, not descent, not birth or country or property, altogether nothing external or due to chance, but simply and purely the inner spiritual and moral worth of a human being, which gives him all the rights of a man and of a citizen. This basic principle is further ensured against neglect by the additional motive, [that you were strangers in the land of Egypt] …Your whole misfortune in Egypt was that you were *gerim*, "foreigners," "aliens" there; as such, according to the view of other nations, you had no *right* to be there, had no claims to rights of settlement, home, or property. Accordingly, you had no rights in appeal against unfair or unjust treatment. As aliens you were without any rights in Egypt, out of that grew all your.. slavery and wretchedness. Therefore beware, so runs the warning, from making rights in your own State conditional on anything other than on that simple humanity which every human being as such bears within him. With any limitation of these human rights the gate is opened to the whole horror of Egyptian mishandling of human beings.

Most of the halakhic sources interpreted the oppression of the stranger as referring specifically to the proselyte who was attached to the people of Israel in every respect – i.e., the *ger tzedek*, the righteous proselyte. Yet this interpretation presents a number of difficulties. The first of these is that the Torah prohibits oppressing any person from Israel, "You shall not oppress each man his fellow" (Deut. 25:124), so that the prohibition against the oppression of the proselyte seems superfluous, as they are in any event included within the totality of Israel. The second difficulty relates to the reason given for the prohibition, whether in Exodus, Leviticus, or Deuteronomy: "for you were strangers in the land of Egypt." The Israelites were certainly not "righteous proselytes" in Egypt, for they did not go there to settle permanently, but to reside their temporarily until the famine would pass, as confirmed by the fact that they did not assimilate within the Egyptian people. Hence, there were those who interpret the Torah as prohibiting the oppression of the stranger who lives among us, even if he did not accept Torah and *mitzvot*. And indeed, it was thus that Ibn Ezra interpreted it (in his shorter commentary, to Exod. 22:20): "And the phrase '*you shall not oppress the stranger*' refers to the resident stranger, because there is no one to help him from his own family, and any of the residents can deprive him of his wealth or of his home, and also bring pressure upon him by testimony, as Scripture says, '*you shall not oppress your neighbor*'" (Exod. 20:12).

Who then are these "resident strangers" (*gerei toshav*)? Rav Kook thought that the Muslims living in the Land of Israel fall under the rubric of *ger toshav* (see Resp. *Mishpat Kohen*, no.58), and Rabbi Isaac Halevi Herzog ruled similarly in his wake, emphasizing that "even though they were not formally accepted before a Jewish court, and even though we do not accept a person as a *ger toshav* in this era… an entire nation that took upon itself the seven [Noachide] mitzvot, even today, are subject to the rule of *ger toshav* (Resp. *Heikhal Yizḥak*, EH, Pt 1.12). This rule also applies to the Christian Arabs in Israel (see Rabbi I. Herzog, "Minority Rights According to the Halakhah," in: *Teḥumin*, 2 (1981), 172 (Heb.); on the issue of Christian faith and the seven Noachide commandments, see Rabbi Y. Harlap, "Idolatry through *Shituf* Among Noachides" (Hebrew), *Teḥumin*, 19 (1999), 148). Above and beyond the halakhic discussion regarding the status of the resident stranger – the attitude towards non-Jewish minorities and their freedom of religious practice is established by the principle in Jewish law of "ways of peace." As noted by the Talmud (Gittin 61a): "Our Rabbis taught: One provides sustenance to the poor among the non-Jews together with the poor among the Jews, and one visits the sick of the non-Jews together with the sick of Israel, and one buries the dead of non-Jews together with the dead of Israel, because of ways of peace" (see Rabbi Judah Gershuni, "Minorities and Their Rights in the State of Israel in Light of the Halakhah," in: *Teḥumin*, 2 (1981), 180, 192 (Heb.)). Hence, Jewish law recognizes the option of appointing a non-Jew to public office; this, because, despite the original prohibition against doing so was because of the dominion they might exert over the public. Today, when the power of office derives from the people, it does not present a problem (see Elisha Aviner, "The Status of the Ishmaelites in the State of Israel in Light of the *Halakhah*," in: *Teḥumin*, 8 (1987), 337, 358 (Heb.)).

One should note, vis-à-vis the freedom to practice their own religion on the part of the minorities living in the land, that the Hebrew nation does not engage in "missionizing" in order to add members of other peoples to its own ranks (see Micah 4:5; Yad., Melakhim 8:10). This fact expresses, among other things, the tolerance that Judaism affords to members of minority groups to live according to their own tradition and culture. The practice accepted in the ancient world – and in more recent times as well – was that the majority forcibly assimilates members of minority groups into the majority religion of the state – based on the accepted principle that "Cuius Regio Cuius Religio," i.e., he who rules is the master of religion. This practice led to the persecution of minorities to the extent of forcing them to accept the religion of the dominant majority. This practice was absolutely forbidden in the world of *halakhah*. For that reason, during those periods when Jewry enjoyed power, "the Court did not accept proselytes all the days of David and Solomon. In the days of David – lest they came out of fear; and in the days of Solomon – lest they came because of the kingship and greatness and material good which were then seen in Israel" (Yad, Issurei Bi'ah 13:15). These matters were summarized by Justice Elon in the *Naiman* case as follows (301–2):

> The national minority of a member of another people is defined in the *halakhah* as having the status of a resident alien (*ger toshav*), the only requisite demanded of him is to abide by the "Seven Noachide Laws" – the elementary rules of a legal order which the members of all civilized nations are commanded to observe, and which the Sages saw as a kind of universal natural law (Yad, Issurei Bi'ah 14:7 and cf. Melakhim 8:10–11; Sanhedrin 56a; Ramban, *Commentary on the Torah* to Gen. 34:13; and cf. M. Elon, op cit., 183ff.). The national minority is entitled to all of the civil and political rights of the other inhabitants of the country: "though he be a stranger, or a sojourner; that he may live with thee" (Lev. 25:35). "A *ger toshav* is to be treated with the same respect and kindness accorded a Jew, for we are commanded to let them live… and since one is obligated to let the *ger toshav* live – he must be given medical treatment without charge" (Yad, Melakhim 10:12; *ibid.*, Avodat Kokhavim 10:2). And the Sages further said: "One does not settle a *ger toshav* on the frontier, or in an undesirable dwelling, but in a desirable dwelling in the center of the Land of Israel, where he may practice his trade. As is said, 'He shall dwell in your midst, in a place which he shall choose in one of your gates [settlements] in your midst, wherever he pleases, you must not oppress him' [Deut 23:17]" (Masekhet Gerim 3:4) …Jewish rule and dominion – not in order to rule over the world, nor in order to dominate the Gentiles, but so that Israel will not be subject to any oppressor, but will engage in Torah and wisdom, and the land will be filled of knowledge. In these great words of the leading Sages of Israel are encapsulated the destiny and image of the Hebrew state."

ISRAELI LAW. The law does not explicitly mention the prohibition against oppressing the convert (*ger*), the foreigner or member of a minority group, but he does enjoy special protection under the provisions of a number of laws, such as the regulation that a work contract with a foreign worker must be in a language that is known to him and must include many of the details that are fixed in the law, including the employer's obligation to provide the foreign worker with medical insurance and suitable living accommodations (Section 1C of the Foreign Workers (Illegal Employment and Assuring Suitable Conditions) Law 5751 –1991. For the prohibition against withholding the passport of a foreign worker, see Section 376. of the Penal Law 5737 – 1977, and the remarks of Judge Arad in AA 1459/02, *Butcheman v. Best Yizum u-Benyah* (unpublished)). It also states that information about available positions in the State service, tenders of public bodies, and criteria for receiving subventions from the government budget must be made available to the Arab public, through their publication in Arabic (see: Amendment 15(b) to the Obligation of Tender Regulations 5753 – 1991, sec 6:1, for the procedure for submitting requests for support from the government budget in public institutions and discussion thereof, as amended in Official Publications (*Yalkut Pirsumim*) 5760, 3264). Similar rules were introduced in recent years requiring suitable representation in the government service and in the directorates of government companies and public corporations (sec 15a of State Service (Appointments) Law, 5719 – 1959, and Section 18 (a 1) of the Government Companies Law, 5735 – 1975).

The issue of oppression of the proselyte in Israeli law was discussed in a ruling, when Shoshanah (Susan) Miller, who had immigrated to Israel from the United States after converting to Judaism within the framework of the Reform Judaism, asked to be registered in the population registry as a Jewess. The Minister of the Interior, following legal consultation, ruled that there was no way of avoiding her request, but that hereon in, in similar cases, there would be a notation in the section for religion and nationality on the identity card: "Jew (converted)." The President of the Supreme Court, Justice Shamgar, ruled that the registration official had no power to add anything to the accepted form of registration in the sections of religion and nationality, and therefore accepted Miller's appeal and ordered that she be registered as a Jew without further addition. Justice Elon added the following to his words: (HC 230/86 Miller v. Interior Minister et al, PD 40(4), pp. 447–48):

> In my opinion, this "parenthetical" addition, intended as a completion or "description" in every case of conversion, following the word Jew, *also has absolutely no place or source in terms of the halakhah.* There is no person concerning whom the Torah warns us so frequently – in 36 separate places – as it does regarding the oppression of the proselyte, whether in speech, in action, or by way of halakhic-legal statements and notations… One does not mention to a proselyte his previous status and deeds, one does not treat lightly the respect due to him…. One of the recent halakhic sages said the following: "Every person whose behavior towards the proselyte differs from his behavior to any other Jewish person – violates this positive commandment, as is written: 'He shall be a sojourner among you… and you shall love him as yourself'" (Rabbi Jeroham Fischel Perla's *Commentary* to R. Saadiah Gaon's *Sefer ha-Mitzvot*, no. 82). And there is no doubt that, by adding the word "converted" in parentheses – which is not done regarding a "regular" Jew – we are not behaving in the same manner as we do regarding every other Jew; hence we are prohibited from doing so.

In the wake of the Six-Day War and the liberation of places holy to the three religions, the Israel Knesset passed the Protection of Holy Places Law, 5727 – 1967, Section 1 of which states that: "The holy places will be protected against all desecration and all other harm and anything that might impinge upon the freedom of access of members of all religions to those places holy to them, or their sentiments towards those places." Section 2 states: "One who desecrates the holy place or harms it in any other way is liable to imprisonment of seven years," and that "one who performs an action that is liable to harm the freedom of access of members of religions to places holy to them or their sentiments regarding those places, is subject to five years imprisonment." In view of the legislation of this law, it would appear that the purpose of the law was to ensure the freedom of access and worship in these historical, holy sites, that were just recently liberated, to each one of the religions.

In light of these provisions, Justice Elon ruled, regarding the controversy surrounding the *Kach party (ibid – *Naiman*, p. 302), that:

> The content of the Kach platform and the purpose of its promoters and leaders, as reflected in the material presented to us, stand in blatant contrast to the world of Judaism – its ways and perspectives, to the past of the Jewish nation and its future aspirations. They contradict absolutely the fundamental principles of human and national morality, the Declaration of Independence of the State of Israel, and the very foundations of present-day enlightened democracies. They come to transplant in the Jewish State notions and deeds of the most decadent of nations. This phenomenon should cause grave concern among the people who dwell in Zion. This court is charged with the preservation of the law and its interpretation, and the duty of inculcating the values of Judaism and civilization, of the dignity of man and the equality of all who are created in the divine image, rests primarily upon those whom the legislature and the executive branch have chosen for the task. When, however, such a seriously dangerous phenomenon is brought to our attention, we may not refrain from sounding the alarm against the ruinous effects of its possible spread upon the character, image and future of the Jewish State. The remedy lies, in the first place, in a reassessment of the ways of educators and pupils alike, in all walks of our society

In its judgment, the Court decided not to disqualify the Kach list, for reasons of *lack of judicial authority*, to do so. In relating to this matter, Justice Elon further wrote (*ibid*, 303):

> It was not, therefore, for lack of sensitivity to the gravity of the Kach list phenomenon that we refrained from endorsing its disqualification, but because the legislature has not empowered us or the Central Elections Committee to disqualify a list from participating in elections to the Knesset on ground of the content of its platform….
>
> The consequence of not disqualifying the Kach list is difficult and saddening, considering the content of its platform, but it is right and proper not only in terms of our respect for the rule of law but also because it precludes the drawing of undesirable conclusions in such an important and complex matter.

[Menachem Elon (2nd ed.)]

Pluralism in the World of Halakhah

As opposed to other religions, Judaism always attributed intrinsic importance to a multiplicity of opinions in the religious-halakhic-and philosophical dimension. We related to this phenomenon, to a certain extent in the entry *Majority Rule, and will devote some additional comments in the current context. There seems to be no more apposite expression of this than the statement made by the Sages regarding the controversy between the School of Shammai and the School of Hillel that "these and these are the words of the living God" (Eruvin 13b; TJ Berakhot 1:4; TJ Yevamot 1:6). Despite the fact that, in terms of practice and obligatory norms, the *halakhah* generally follows the School of Hillel, the opinions of the School of Shammai continue to constitute a legitimate and substantive opinion in the world of *halakhah*. This approach was one of the basic features of the *halakhah*. The "rebellious elder," even after the Sanhedrin – the High Court of the nation – had ruled against his opinion, was permitted to adhere to his own view "and to adhere to his own opinion," provided only that he did not rule thus for others in practice (M. Sanhedrin 11:2; TB Sanhedrin 86b). Moreover, the opinion of the minority, which is not followed in practical life, may at some future time have its day and become the accepted view according to which people will behave. R. Judah said: "The [dissenting] opinions of individuals are only mentioned among those of the majority, so that if some day they are needed, they may be relied upon" (Tosef., Eduyyot 1:4 (ed. Zuckermandel)). And the same teaching appears in M. Eduyyot 1:5; as stated in the commentary of R. Samson of Sens, ad loc: "Although the view of a single person is not accepted at first, and many disagree with him, at another time the majority may accept his reasoning and the law be decided accordingly, for the entire Torah was so given to Moses at times to forbid and at times to permit, and when he was asked: "until when shall we deliberate?" he answered: "follow the majority; however both are the living word of God" (cf. M. Elon, *Ha-Mishpat ha-Ivri* (1988), 870–878; *Jewish Law* (1994), 1061–1072). This plurality of views is not a negative phenomenon or defect, but is substantive to the world of the *halakhah*. "There is no instability or shortcoming, such as to say that he causes more than one law to exist, Heaven forbid! On the contrary – such is the way of the Torah, and both are the words of the living God" (R. Ḥayyim ben Bezalel, introduction to *Vikku'aḥ Mayim Ḥayyim* (Prague, 16th century); and see in detail Elon, *Ha-Mishpat ha-Ivri* at 1145–1149; *Jewish Law,* 1375–1379). Moreover, plurality of views and approaches has the power to create harmony and unity out of difference. As the last of the codifiers, R. Jehiel Michal Epstein, said at the beginning of the 20th century (*Arukh ha-Shulḥan, Ḥoshen Mishpat,* Introduction):

> All the disputes of the *tannaim* and the *amoraim*, of the *geonim* and the codifiers, are truly the words of the living God, and all are aspects of the *halakhah*. Indeed that is the glory of our pure and holy Torah, the entire *Torah* is a song, and the glory of a song is when it is sung in different voices. And this is the essence of its pleasantness.

Indeed this basic conception that "both are the words of the living God" has at all times exerted a decisive influence on the mode and substance of halakhic codification as well as decision. I have dealt elsewhere with the subject and need not expand upon it here (Elon, *Ha-Mishpat ha-Ivri* at 870, and the references in *Jewish Law,* 1061 n. 94).

In the *Naiman* case, Justice Elon noted that the plurality of views plays a material and fruitful role generally in the life of a just society. The rabbis even composed a special benediction to fit the secret encompassed in this notable phenomenon of a plurality of views in society: "If one sees a large crowd of people, one should say: Blessed is He who is wise in secrets; for neither their faces nor their thoughts are alike" (Tosefta (Zuckermandel), *Berakhot* 7:5; and see *Berakhot* 58a). This is a blessing for wisdom and creativity: "Just as the nature of creation still renders the countenances of all people different, so also are we to believe that wisdom is still shared by men each differing from the other" (*Vikku'aḥ Mayim Ḥayyim* (introduction)). Such a plurality of views should be respected by our leaders and government, as the following midrashic comments instructively indicate (Numbers Rabbah, *Pinḥas* 21:2; Tanhuma, *Pinḥas* 10):

> Just as the countenances (of people) are not alike, so also their views, and each person has his own opinion …Thus on the point of death Moses begged of God: "Master of the Universe, the views of every one are well known to you and your children's views are not all alike. When I depart from them, I pray, appoint them a leader who will be tolerant of each person's view."

Justice Elon expressed this idea in the *Naiman* case: "That is the lesson of leadership and government in the heritage of Israel – tolerance for every individual and every group, according to their opinions and outlooks. And this is the great secret of tolerance and listening to the other, and the great potency of the right of every individual and every group to express their opinions, that they are not only essential to an orderly and enlightened regime but also vital to its creative power. For in the real world 'two opposing elements converge and fructify; how much more so in the spiritual world' (Rabbi A.I. Kook, *Ha-Nir* (Jerusalem, 1909) 47; *Eder ha-Yakar, 13* ff.)"

True, halakhic Judaism does not recognize the legitimacy of alternative streams that do not accept the binding yoke of *halakahah*. However, Deputy President of the Supreme Court Menachem Elon calls for tolerance in this area and attempts to find a balance between the practice that had developed within halakhic Jewry, the freedom of opinion that is a basic value in Judaism, and the avoidance of injury to the feelings of religious people.

An instructive example of this is his ruling in the matter of the Women of the Wall. In that incident, Justice Elon wrote:

> In the holy places there is no other option – where there is conflict between the freedom of worship of the various worshippers among themselves – but to attempt to find a common denominator among all worshippers, even if as a result the freedom to worship of one group may be realized at the expense of the freedom of worship of the other. The unique solemnity and dignity that adheres to the holy places and their sanctified character re-

> quires that worship be conducted in the holy places with quiet and dignity, without rancor and dispute, so that each person may serve his Creator without harming the worship of his fellow. There is no way of achieving this goal other than by finding the common denominator of all the worshippers.

Thus, regarding that issue, Justice Elon did not allow the Women of the Wall to worship at the Western Wall Plaza, and said the following: "It is obvious and self-evident that the petitioners are entitled to pray in their way in their own communities and synagogues, and no one will prevent them from doing so. The petitioners' freedom of worship remains as it always was. But due to the uniqueness of the Western Wall and the great sensitivity of this holiest place for the Jewish people, prayer must be conducted in this unique and special place according to a common denominator that allows the prayer of every Jew as such; and this means that the custom of the place as it has existed for generations – must be maintained."

[Menachem Elon (2nd ed.)]

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RIGLER, LEO GEORGE (1896–1979), U.S. physician and educator. Born in Minneapolis, Minnesota, Rigler was appointed professor of radiology at the University of Minnesota in 1927. From 1957 to 1963 he was executive director of Cedars of Lebanon and Sinai Hospitals, Los Angeles, and in 1963 was appointed professor of radiology at the University of California at Los Angeles, where in 1970 he founded the Leo G. Rigler research laboratory.

He was the first Jew to be president of the Radiological Society of North America. He was chairman of the Jewish Family Welfare Association, Minneapolis, Minnesota, and national vice president of the American Friends of the Hebrew University. Rigler's works include *Outline of Roentgen Diagnosis* (1938) and *The Chest* (1946). He arranged and edited the second U.S. edition of H.R. Schintz's *Lehrbuch der Roentgendiagnostik* (6 vols., 1928, 1965^6; *Roentgen Diagnosis*, 1968^2).

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RĪḤĀNIYYA, AL-, Circassian-Muslim village in northern Israel, on the Almah Plateau in Upper Galilee. It is one of the two Circassian villages west of the Jordan (the other is *Kafr Kāmā). It was founded by Circassians (Muslims from Caucasus) who left their homeland in the second half of the 19th century when it was annexed to Christian, czarist Russia. The houses of the picturesque village are laid out around a single, large, closed quadrangular courtyard. In 1969 Rīḥāniyya had 415 inhabitants; in 2002, 947.

[Efraim Orni]

RIJEKA (It. **Fiume**), Adriatic port in Croatia, until 1918 in Austro-Hungary; after World War I until 1945 in Italy. There were some Jews in Fiume during the 16th century under Austrian rule. Fiume was declared a free port in 1717 and attracted more Jews. When in 1776 it became attached to Hungary as its port, Jews from Hungary began to settle there, but until the mid-19th century the majority of Jews were Sephardim from *Split and *Dubrovnik, who followed the *minhag Ispalatto* (Spalato, "Split"). After 1848 with the influx of Hungarian, German, Bohemian, and Italian Jews, Italian and German rites were also used. A *ḥevra kaddisha* was founded in 1885; there were three cemeteries and a modern style synagogue was built in 1902. In 1900 there were 2,000 Jews in Rijeka. The congregation remained the only independent Orthodox one in Italy after the 1930 reforms. Children were sent to public schools – German, Hungarian, Italian, or Croatian ones – due to the heterogeneous composition of the population. The sermons were also delivered in German or Italian. In 1920 there were 1,300 Jews in Rijeka and in nearby Abbazia (Opatija), dropping to just 136 on the eve of the war.

Holocaust Period

In 1938 the racial laws of Fascist Italy were promulgated; Jews with Italian citizenship were subject to discrimination, and foreign Jews were to be interned in camps. Giovanni Palatucci, head of the foreigners' section of the Fiuman police, procured "Aryan" papers for Jews and sent many Jews to his uncle, a bishop in southern Italy, and later to institutions for people rendered mentally incompetent by the war. After the conquest of Yugoslavia by the Germans in April 1941, the Italian Second Army occupied Dalmatia and some other parts of the quisling "Independent Croatian State." Some Italian officers collaborated with Palatucci and his group, sending to him some 500 Jewish refugees from Croatia who were thus saved. When Italy capitulated to the Allies in September 1943 and Germans occupied all Italian territories, Palatucci remained at his post, destroyed his files, and warned the Jews of their imminent arrest. Most of them survived. Palatucci was arrested in September 1944 and died in Dachau in 1945.

Contemporary Period

When Rijeka became part of Yugoslavia in 1945, many Italian-speaking Jews left for Trieste and Italy; in 1947 there were some 170 Jews in Rijeka and the surrounding area. The community numbered 99 in 1969. Following the evacuation of Bosnian Jews from the war zone in 1992, around 60 families reconstituted the community, but many subsequently left for Zagreb and other localities in northern Croatia, leaving fewer than 100 Jews in 2004.

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[Zvi Loker (2nd ed.)]

RIKLIS, MESHULAM (1923–), financier. Born in Istanbul, Turkey, Riklis was taken to Palestine as a child. He became a member of a kibbutz, and during World War II served in the British Army. After the war he emigrated to the United States, where he received an MBA from Ohio State University. To pay for his tuition, he worked full time as a teacher of Hebrew and Jewish history. He began his business career working for an investment house in Minneapolis, Minnesota. In 1954, backed by a group of Minneapolis investors, he began to amalgamate corporations into giant conglomerates. McCrory and Glen Alden Corporation, in which Riklis held large interests, belonged to the leading holding companies in the field of manufacturing and distributing consumer goods. Known as the father of the leveraged buyout, Riklis used borrowed money to purchase undervalued companies, then used those assets to provide the leverage for larger takeovers. In the early 1980s he became chairman and CEO of the Riklis Family Corporation, the successor to Rapid-American, a former public company that he had been made private in 1981. Riklis then became chairman of the privately held retail chain McCrory. His other holdings have included companies such as the Riviera Hotel and Casino in Las Vegas. He also owns a large shopping mall in Virginia.

Riklis was married to entertainer Pia Zadora from 1977 to 1993. In 1988 the couple purchased Pickfair, the former Beverly Hills estate of film legends Mary Pickford and Douglas Fairbanks. They generated a wave of criticism when they demolished the Hollywood landmark and rebuilt it to three times its size.

Riklis has been prominent in many Jewish institutions and active in the United Jewish Appeal. He was a generous supporter of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America, Brandeis University and of Martin Luther King's institutions as well as many public institutions in lsrael.

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[Joachim O. Ronall / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

RIMINI (Heb. ארמיני), city on the Adriatic coast of Italy. There is evidence of the existence of a Jewish colony in Rimini from the beginning of the 12th century, which dealt in local commerce and in trade connected with the port. Under the benevolent rule of the Malatesta, Jewish moneylenders appeared there in the 14th century and carried on their business successfully, showing considerable initiative. Accounts of Jewish moneylending in and around the town mention names of bankers from Rimini: one of them, Menahem b. Nathan, left money in 1392 for the repair of the walls of Rome, his native city, and for improvements in the harbor of Rimini. Jewish bankers from Rimini were also active in moneylending in Modena in 1393 and subsequently in Padua. A century later the Franciscan Bernardino da *Siena visited the town and unsuccessfully tried to rouse anti-Jewish feeling there. Between 1521 and 1526 Gershom *Soncino worked in Rimini where he printed eight books. Jewish association with Rimini presumably ended with the expulsion from the Papal States in 1569. In 1587–89, 17 Jewish loan banks were authorized to be set up there in consequence of the tolerant policies of Pope Sixtus V, but the Jews were driven out again by the reactionary bull of 1593. In the first stages of the Italian war of independence, a platoon including about 20 Jewish volunteers fought the Austrians at Rimini (1831).

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[Ariel Toaff]

RIMMON, apparently an epithet used in Damascus for the chief Aramean god, Baal-Hadad. Naaman and his master, the king of Syria, are said to have worshiped in the "Temple of Rimmon" (II Kings 5:18). Akkadian texts equate the Mesopotamian weather god, Adad, with the god Rammanu (perhaps derived from Akkadian *ramāmu*, "to thunder"), and it is thought that the Arameans may have transferred the latter name to their own chief god. The name Rimmon was used as a theophoric element in the names of both Tabrimmon (I Kings 15:18), and Hadadrimmon (Zech. 12:11).

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[Chayim Cohen]

RIMMON-PEREZ (Heb. רִמֹּן פֶּרֶץ), an encampment of the Israelites in the wilderness of Sinai, situated between Rithmah and Libnah (Num. 33:19–20). The location of the camp depends upon the view taken of the route of the *Exodus. Those following the traditional southern route locate Rithmah at Bi'r al-Ratama and Libnah at Bi'r al-Bayḍā' (Ar. Bayḍā' and Heb. Libnah (*livnah*) "white"). Rimmon-Perez would then be situated near a well in the Wadi May'ayn, close to the Naqb al-Biyār, one of the main passages through the eastern mountains of Sinai, about 19 mi. (30 km.) west of Akaba. On the other hand, those who see a northern route look for some site east of Hazeroth ('Ayn Hasra?) near Jebel Halāl.

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[Michael Avi-Yonah]

RIMOCH, ASTRUC (14th–15th century), physician from Fraga, Aragon. Rimoch was close to the circle of poets under Solomon da *Piera. During the anti-Jewish riots of 1391, he was active in collecting funds to ransom the community from the rioters. A letter of encouragement and comfort which he sent to a Jew of Monzón, dating from the same period, is extant. It states that his father and brother converted to Christianity and reveals interesting details on the divisions within many Jewish families as a result of the riots – when some of their members abandoned their religion, while others remained faithful. During the *Tortosa disputation Rimoch converted to Christianity and changed his name to Franciscus de Sant Jordi. After his conversion, he wrote a letter to his friend Shealtiel Bonafos in order to persuade him to convert as well. The poet Solomon *Bonafed, a friend of Bonafos, replied to this sharply.

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RIMON, JACOB (1902–1973), Hebrew writer. Born in Poland, he was taken to Palestine in 1908 by his family. From 1921 he worked for the communal council of Jaffa-Tel Aviv and later became secretary of the social welfare department. He was among the founding members of *Ha-Po'el ha-Mizrachi and the *Torah va-Avodah movement. He published poetry, prose, and children's stories.

His books of poetry are *Hishtappekhut* (1926), *Arẓi* (1928), *Seneh* (1946), *Ke-Leket Shibbolim* (1966), and *Bi-Shevilei he-Amal* (1968). Rimon is one of the few Orthodox Hebrew poets, and his poetry is imbued with a deep religious faith. His novels include *Arẓenu ha-Kedoshah* (1935) and *Ḥulyot be-Sharsheret* (1957). Among his other works are *Yehudei Teiman be-Tel Aviv* ("Yemenite Jews in Tel Aviv," 1933) and *Asher Sipparti le-Nekhdi* (1969), stories for young people.

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[Getzel Kressel]

RIMON (Granat), JOSEPH ẒEVI (1889–1958), Hebrew poet. Born in Poland, he was educated in the yeshivot of Lida and Warsaw and came under the influence of Hillel *Zeitlin. He immigrated to Palestine in 1909, and served as secretary of Kolel Varsha ("the Warsaw community"). As a result of his association with members of the Second Aliyah, especially J.Ḥ. *Brenner and A.S. *Rabinovitz, he worked on the newspapers of the labor movement, Ha-Po'el ha-Ẓa'ir and Ha-Aḥdut. He became a teacher in the religious school Taḥkemoni in Jaffa and worked as a librarian in Haifa. During World War I, he taught in Petaḥ Tikvah. In 1921, after being savagely mutilated by rioting Arabs, he secluded himself in the Ari Synagogue in Safed for many years, delving deeply into the study of the Kabbalah and of the Zohar. In 1939, he returned to Tel Aviv and his family. His first poem appeared in 1908 in *Ha-Peraḥim*, the weekly of Israel Benjamin *Levner. After his immigration to Palestine, he published his poems in most of the Palestinian newspapers. His volumes of poetry include: *Leket Shirim* (1910), *Devir* (1913), *Ba-Maḥazeh* (1916) and *Ketarim* (1944). Rimon's poetry is religious in quality and has established for itself a unique place in modern Hebrew literature. The sole ambition of the poet, apparently, was to know God by the aid of asceticism and abstinence from the world of the senses, and by immersing himself in the depths of his inner being. His book, *Aẓei Ḥayyim*, essays on outstanding Jewish leaders, appeared in two volumes in Jerusalem (1946, 1950).

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[Yonah David]

°**RINDFLEISCH**, German knight, instigator of the massacre of thousands of Jews in 146 localities in southern and central Germany in 1298. The background for the slaughter was a series of *blood libels in *Mainz (1281, 1283), *Munich (1285), Oberwesel (1287), and the accusation of Desecration of the *Host in Paris in 1290. On April 20, 1298, in the small Franconian town of Roettingen, 21 Jews were attacked and massacred by a mob led by Rindfleisch, who urged revenge for alleged Desecration of the Host. Rindfleisch subsequently went from town to town, followed by a plunder-hungry mob, exhorting the burghers to annihilate the Jews. A wave of massacres swept through Franconia, Swabia, *Hesse, *Thuringia, and finally Heilbronn (Oct. 19, 1298). The protector of the Jews, Emperor Albert I of Austria, was preoccupied with warfare, and only after vanquishing his rival, Adolf of Nassau, did he proclaim a *Landfriede* ("peace of the land"), warning against further attacks. This proclamation was barely heeded, and Jews continued to be massacred at *Gotha (1303), Renchen (1301) and Weissensee (1303). The Jewry of *Augsburg was saved through the steadfast protection of the municipality, as was that of *Regensburg. In *Nuremberg, 728 Jews were slaughtered when a mob stormed the castle in which they had sought to defend themselves with the aid of the garrison. Among the victims of Nuremberg were *Mordecai b. Hillel, his wife, and children. The council thereafter banished 20 persons in perpetuity. A number of *kinot* and *seliḥot* were composed in commemoration of the tragedy, which was most fully recorded in S. Salfeld's *Das Martyrologium des Nuernberger Memorbuchs* (1898).

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[Reuven Michael]

RINGEL, MICHAEL (1880–?), Zionist leader in Galicia and Poland. Born in Borislav, Galicia, Ringel began his Zionist activity in high school. He practiced law in Vienna and several Galician towns. In 1908 he settled in Lemberg. Ringel worked on behalf of the Zionist Organization in the election campaigns to the Austrian parliament. He wrote pamphlets and hundreds of articles in Polish-language Zionist journals to foster Zionist ideas in Polish-speaking circles, Jewish and non-Jewish alike. His greatest contribution was to the Zionist daily *Nowy Dziennik* of which he was a founder. He also wrote in the Yiddish press in Galicia. After World War I he was, together with L. *Reich, among the leaders of the Zionist Organization and participated also in the *Comité des Délégations Juives at the peace conference in Paris. In 1922–27 he was a member of the Jewish Club (Kolo Zydowskie) in the Polish senate. A collection of his speeches in the senate concerning the Jewish problems in Poland was published in 1928. He was one of the attorneys for the young Jew who was accused of attempting to kill the president of Poland (see *Steiger Trial). During the Soviet occupation of Lvov in 1939–41, he was deported to the Soviet interior and nothing is known of him thereafter.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: N.M. Gelber, *Toledot ha-Tenu'ah ha-Ẓiyyonit be-Galiẓyah 1875–1918* (1958), index.

[Getzel Kressel]

RINGELBLUM, EMANUEL (**Menahem**; 1900–1944), historian of the Warsaw ghetto. Born in Buczacz, eastern Galicia, Ringelblum graduated from Warsaw University and subsequently taught history at a high school. He published a number of articles, mainly on the history of Warsaw Jewry, in which (influenced by the historian Ignacy Schiper) he stressed social and economic problems. He was a member of *YIVO, and in 1928 a founder of the "Circle of Young Historians" in Warsaw, which published the periodical *Der Yunger Historiker.* Throughout his life, Ringelblum combined public activity with his academic work. He was active in the left-wing Po'alei Zion and participated in the work of the Yiddish schools' association (*Tsentrale Yidishe Shul-Organizatsye*). From 1929 he was editor of *Folkshilf,* the publication of the Jewish cooperative funds. In 1938 the American Jewish *Joint Distribution Committee sent him to the frontier townlet of Zbaszyn, where 17,000 Jews who were Polish nationals living in Germany had been gathered and left destitute after being suddenly deported over the Polish border from their places of residence. They were caught in no man's land unable to enter Poland. Ringelblum directed relief work, collected testimonies from the deportees, and gathered information on events in Nazi Germany.

During the siege and air attacks on Warsaw, Ringelblum was a regular participant in the activities of the coordinating committee of Jewish-aid organizations. Later, when the Juedische Soziale Selbsthilfe (JSS) for self-help was formed out of this committee, Ringelblum headed the department to rally the Jewish population to mutual assistance, including help to the needy and shelter to the deportees and those whose homes had been destroyed. In the course of this work, Ringelblum kept in constant contact with active sources of information in the community at large, from whom he received reports and evidence on events in the capital and provincial towns at a time when there was no press other than the Nazi-approved and -controlled press.

Ringelblum understood that what was happening to Polish Jewry was without precedent and correctly perceived his efforts as providing the basic raw material for future histories of the ghetto and of Polish Jewry during the war. The work that Ringelblum directed is widely regarded as an essential manifestation of spiritual defiance, working against all Nazi efforts to eradicate memory and correctly believing against hope and against all odds that Jews somewhere, if not in Poland, would be able to write their own history of the killings and not rely on German documentation alone.

He recorded this information himself and directed his assistants, whose numbers steadily grew. Thus, a large and diversified enterprise was established for the collection of documents, reports, evidence, summaries, and even research work, memoirs, and literature produced during the period. The secretary of the underground archive reported that "every item, every article, be it long or short, had to pass through Dr. Ringelblum's hands." Most noteworthy is the collection of clandestine newspapers in various languages. The enterprise was given the code name Oneg Shabbat (literally "Enjoyment of the Sabbath") and employed dozens of workers directed and encouraged by Ringelblum. He also made efforts to have this material transmitted to London and through London to the West. His efforts led to the first word of the killings at Chelmno and the deportations of Warsaw Jewry. After the massive deportation of the summer of 1942, Ringelblum became a believer in armed resistance. After the great deportations, he worked with renewed urgency; no longer dealing in details, he sought to grapple with the larger issues of ghetto life in an attempt to comprehend what was happening. He created biographical notes on some of the great figures in the ghetto. Before the ghetto was destroyed, collections of material were put in containers and buried in three – or perhaps more – caches.

Ringelblum left the ghetto with his wife and young son and returned to the ghetto alone during the Uprising. What precisely happened to him is not known but he was arrested and found in the Trawniki camp. Two people arranged for his escape and he was brought to Warsaw, where he was hidden with other Jews.

He worked to the very end. This work even continued in the "Aryan" district after the destruction of the ghetto. In hiding he composed his master work on Polish–Jewish relations during World War II. The Gestapo discovered his hiding place in the "Aryan" district on March 7, 1944, and he and his family were arrested and murdered.

After the war, only two caches were recovered from the ruins, the third never coming to light. The material discovered became the property of the *Jewish Historical Institute in Warsaw (there are photocopies in *Yad Vashem, Jerusalem, and the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum). In the 1990s extensive efforts were made to preserve this documentation and to translate and publish this invaluable material. The Oneg Shabbat material is the main source for research into the history of Polish Jewry under German occupation.

Ringelblum's own notes, summaries, and essays, written during the occupation, were published after the war in *Ksovim fun Geto* (2 vols., 1961–63; *Notes from the Warsaw Ghetto*, ed. and tr. by J. Sloan, 1958). He also wrote *Kapitlen Geshikhte fun Amolikn Yidishn Lebn in Poyln* (1953) and *Di Poylishe Yidn in Oyfshtand fun Kościuszko 1794* (1937).

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[Nathan Eck / Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

RINGER, ALEXANDER L. (1921–2002), U.S. musicologist. Born in Berlin, Ringer was educated in Berlin and Amsterdam. Ringer was interned in the *Bergen-Belsen concentration camp in 1943–44. After World War II he emigrated to the U.S., where he received a Ph.D. from Columbia University in 1955. He held positions at various American universities until he joined the faculty of the University of Illinois, where he was made professor in 1963, and remained until his retirement. In 1964 he was invited by the Hebrew University of Jerusalem to lay the groundwork for the first Department of Musicology in Israel. He was a founder and honorary member of the International Kodaly Society and general editor (together with others) of the collected edition of Schoenberg's writings. Among his diverse research interests was his search for elements of "Jewishness" in the music of well-known Western Jewish musicians, such as *Mahler, *Mendelssohn, *Milhaud, E. *Bloch, *Kirchner, *Rochberg, and, in particular, Kurt *Weill and Arnold *Schoenberg, who received special attention in Ringer's writings. He was also a great believer in music education. The figure who had most influenced his thinking and attitude in this respect was the Hungarian composer Zoltán Kodály, the initiator of a special method of teaching music.

Ringer represented a higher type of intellectual with wide learning and command of major European languages, and a versatile musicologist who was distinguished by a strongly individual character which impressed itself on everything he wrote. His 167 works spanned an incredible range of subjects, including many synthetic studies on historically, culturally, and esthetically important trends and styles, and sociological issues affecting music. Among his major works are *The Early Romantic Era: Between Revolutions, 1789 and 1848* (1990); *A. Schoenberg – the Composer as Jew* (1990); *Musik als Geschichte*; and his last book, published posthumously: *Arnold Schoenberg: Das Leben im Werk* (2002).

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[Amnon Shiloah (2nd ed.)]

RINGL+PIT, German-born photography team consisting of **Ellen Rosenberg Auerbach** (1906–2004) and **Grete Stern** (1904–1999), who achieved fame as an avant-garde pair in the Weimar Republic in the 1930s and later had individual careers of distinction in the United States and Argentina.

Rosenberg, better known by her married name, Auerbach, was born into a liberal Jewish family in Karlsruhe, Germany. After high school, she decided to become an artist and studied sculpture for three years at an art school in Karlsruhe and, in 1928, at the Academy of Art in Stuttgart. While studying there, her uncle gave her a camera and she abandoned sculpture, primarily because she thought she might earn a living as a photographer. She sought out Walter Peterhans, a member of the Bauhaus design movement, in Berlin where he maintained a successful commercial studio, and asked to be his student. He agreed, and for these lessons she was joined by another private student, Stern. The young women quickly became friends. When Peterhans decided to close the studio, they took over the premises and operated as Ringl + Pit, a name that combined their childhood nicknames. Stern was Ringl and Rosenberg was Pit. The name had the advantage of being ambiguous in terms of gender and ethnicity. It was probably the first photographic business of its type founded by women.

To have combined their surnames, Rosenberg said, would have "sounded too much like a firm of Jewish dressmakers."

At the time, the German advertising industry was booming and the team gained a reputation for innovative work. They also came to know – and photograph – leading cultural figures, such as Bertolt Brecht. Despite the commercial nature of their commissions, Ringl+Pit played with form and perspective to demonstrate the influence of Surrealism, as in their use in 1930 of a mannequin with a real hand to sell hair tonic. The firm was widely used by mainstream manufacturers to sell cigarettes and motor oil but in 1933, shortly after one of their still-life collages won first prize at an international photography exhibition in Brussels, they decided to leave Germany. Stern, who had a small inheritance, went to England and lent Auerbach money to go to Palestine. She was accompanied by her future husband, Walter Auerbach, a theater designer. They opened a children's portrait studio in Tel Aviv (a strong image of an Arab boy, snapped in the street in Jaffa, survives from 1934) and she took photographs for the Women's International Zionist Organization. Auerbach soon went to London and set up a studio but was unable to get a work permit. She then went to the United States and Stern to Buenos Aires, Argentina, in 1935. Relatively few examples of Ringl+Pit's work of the period have survived but they have become eagerly sought by museums and collectors. Politically, Walter Auerbach was an active leftist but his wife stayed out of politics, although she socialized with many left-wing artists. One of her more startling images shows Brecht at his typewriter with a light bulb sprouting from the back of his head. The Auerbachs, who had no children, divorced in 1945. Ringl+Pit were separated for ten years by World War II. They never worked together again but they remained lifelong friends.

In the United States, Ellen Auerbach took a number of powerful images of children but she never recaptured her professional status. Her growing interest in children led her to become a therapist, working with learning-disabled children, a career she pursued from 1965 until 1986, when she was 80. The rediscovery of her work was helped in part by the publication of two books of photographs, *Mexican Churches* (1987) and *Mexican Celebrations* (1990), which she had originally taken on a long journey in 1955 with a fellow photographer, Eliot Porter, brother of the artist Fairfield Porter.

In Argentina, Stern brought the idea of modernist photography to the country and was an important influence on the development of photography there. She made a long series of photomontages such as "Niño Flor" (Flower Child) in 1948 and "Made in England" in 1950 to illustrate a number of articles about psychoanalysis and dreams. She was also a portraitist, taking pictures of Brecht and Jorge Luis Borges, as well as documenting Argentine cities and regions.

In 1996 a documentary about Ringl+Pit won a number of awards and was shown in Berlin, Tel Aviv, London, and New York and on public television in the United States. Stern died in Buenos Aires, Auerbach in New York.

[Stewart Kampel (2nd ed.)]

RIO DE JANEIRO, state in the United States of Brazil; capital of the state and capital of the Republic until 1960 (when the capital was transferred to Brasilia); area of the state: 43.696 km^2; population: 14,391,282 (2000); population of the city: 6,094,183 (2005); estimated Jewish population: 30,000 (2000).

New Christians from Portugal immigrated to Rio de Janeiro from the 16th to the 18th centuries, and they played a significant role in the city's social and economic life. The Inquisition accused and prosecuted more than 300 New Christians in the city's region for practicing Judaism. With the proclamation of the independent Brazilian empire (1822) and the promulgation of the Constitution (1824), which espoused relative religious tolerance, some individual European Jewish dealers and immigrants began to appear in Rio de Janeiro, which was the capital and one of the most important harbors of the country. One of the prominent individuals among these first newcomers was Denis de Samuel (1782–1860), a young immigrant from England who gained great success and influence and earned the title of baron from the king of Portugal. Another prominent dealer who had business in Rio de Janeiro was Bernard Wallerstein.

The first attempt at communal organization was made in 1840–50 by Jews originating from Morocco who went to Rio de Janeiro from northern Brazil. The organization União Shel Guemilut Ḥassadim, which still exists, ascribes its origin to this attempt. In 1867 a council of the Alliance Israélite Universelle was established in the city. In 1873, Sociedade União Israelita do Brazil, a society for religious and welfare matters was registered; it continued its activities until 1893. Another institution of the imperial period was Sociedade Israelita do Rito Português (Jewish Society of the Portuguese Rite).

At the time of proclamation of the Republic (1889) the number of Jews in Rio de Janeiro was estimated at 200. In 1900 there were two synagogues, one formed by North African immigrants and the other by West European immigrants. In 1900 a new wave of Jewish immigration began, and by the end of World War I the city's Jewish population was estimated at 2,000.

A great wave of Jewish immigration to Rio de Janeiro occurred after World War I, and as the Jewish community grew, communal life became more diversified. The Jewish community established a well-organized institutional life and reached successful economic, social, and cultural integration into local culture and society.

In 1910 the Centro Israelita do Rio de Janeiro was founded; its principal objective was the establishment of a synagogue and a cemetery. The latter was founded in 1920 in Vila Rosali. The first philanthropic institution was established under the name Achiezer in 1912; its name was changed later (1920) to Sociedade Beneficente Israelita e Amparo aos Imigrantes (Hilfs-Ferein-Relief). The "Relief" was linked to ICA, HIAS, and Emigdirect, and in 1942 founded a Departamento de Seguro Mútuo Social (Department of Mutual Social Insurance), which in fact was a credit cooperative.

Other social institutions founded were: Sociedade das

Damas Israelitas (Jewish Women's Association – Froein Farein, 1923); Lar da Criança Israelita (Jewish Children's Home, 1923); Policlínica Israelita (1937, that later became a hospital); and Lar da Velhice (Old Age Home, 1963), created by Sociedade das Damas Israelitas). Jewish women prostitutes founded in Rio de Janeiro the Associação Beneficente Funerária e Religiosa Israelita (Beneficient, Funeral, and Religious Jewish Association) that functioned from 1906 to 1968.

During World War II the Jewish community was active and founded the Comitê Hebreu-Brasileiro para as Vítimas da Guerra (Jewish Brazilian Committee for War Victims) and the Comitê de Socorro aos Israelitas Vítimas de Guerra (Aid Committee for Jewish War Victims). The writer Stefan *Zweig immigrated to Brazil in 1936, joined the Jewish community, and wrote a famous book about the country: *Brasil, país do futuro.* His suicide in 1942 (together with his wife, Lotte), in the countryside city of Petrópolis, was a notable event in the life of the Jewish community and Brazilian history.

The community had its social and cultural center in the Praça Onze, close to the downtown area and the port, where an atmosphere of "*Yiddishkeit*" was present in daily life until the 1950s, when the Jews moved to other neighborhoods. The writer and Zionist leader Samuel Malamud is the main narrator of the memories from Praça Onze and of Jewish life in Rio de Janeiro. In Praça Onze, also the center of the local Carnaval and a cultural and social meeting point for black people, almost 3,000 Jews frequented the socialist club Cabiras, the parties of the Azul e Branco Club, and other local non-Jewish institutions.

The Zionist movement and the socialist groups were both very active in Rio de Janeiro. The First Zionist Congress in Brazil took place in 1922 with the participation of four different movements, including Tiferet Sion (1919). In 1921 a Brazilian delegate took part in the 12th Zionist Congress in Karlsbad. In 1929 a Brazilian delegate to the 16th Zionist Congress was elected by 1,260 votes. In 1934 the elections drew 2,647 voters. In 1927 the Central Committee of the Po'alei Zion Party was founded and later the Grêmio Hebreu-Brasileiro (Hebrew-Brazilian League).

Many Jewish leftist movements and parties were very active in Rio de Janeiro, among them socialists, communists, and the Bund, in the Biblioteca Israelita Brasileira Scholem Aleichem (Jewish Brazilian Sholem Aleichem Library, 1915), Colégio Israelita Brasileiro Scholem Aleichem (Jewish Brazilian Sholem Aleichem School, 1928), Sociedade Brasileira Pró-Colonização Judaica na União Soviética – Brazkor (Brazilian Society for the Jewish Colonization in the Soviet Union, 1928), and Centro Operário Morris Vinchevsky (Morris Vinchevsky Labor Center, 1928). The last two organizations founded a workers' school (*Arbeter Shule*) and edited the newspaper *Der Onheib.* Other leftist organizations were the União Cultural Israelita Brasileira Ikuf, Clube dos Cabiras (1941–50), the Associação Feminina Israelita Brasileira Vita Kempner, and the Associação Kinderland. In 2005 the Associação Scholem Aleichem (ASA) was an active political and cultural center and edited the *Boletim da* ASA, the sole Jewish leftist publication in Portuguese.

The Yiddish press was very active in Rio de Janeiro with the publication of a few newspapers: *Dos Yidishe Vochenblat*, *Yidishe Presse,* and *Brazilianer Yidishe Tzaytung*. Other important publications in Portuguese were the weekly magazine *Aonde Vamos?*, and *O Reflexo.* Adolf Eizen was a Brazilian pioneer of comics.

Later Developments

The Jewish community of Rio de Janeiro is the second largest Jewish community in Brazil, after São Paulo. The community has a solid network of institutions and a very active religious, social, political, and cultural life and is well integrated in the city's and the state's social and cultural life.

In 2005 there were 80 entities affiliated with the Federação Israelita do Estado do Rio de Janeiro (Jewish Federation of the State of Rio de Janeiro – FIERJ, founded in 1947), among them 30 synagogues, five schools, four other non-formal educational institutions and youth movements, Zionist women's organizations, beneficent and social assistance entities, sport and cultural associations. These institutions include: Organização Sionista, B'nai B'rith, Sociedade Beneficente das Damas, Lar da Criança Israelita, Sociedade Beneficente Israelita Hospital Albert Einstein, Hebraica, Monte Sinai, and Clube Israelita Brasileiro. In 1979 a Jewish industrialist, Israel Klabin, became the mayor of the city of Rio de Janeiro. FIERJ has a weekly TV program and is very active in political issues concerning the Jews in Brazil.

According to official numbers of FIERJ, 3,000 students attended the Jewish day schools: Eliezer Steinberg–Max Nordau, Colégio Israelita Brasileiro A. Liessin–Scholem Aleichem, Bar Ilan (Zionist religious), ORT, and the Machané Or Isreal and Beit Menachem (both non Zionist Orthodox).

Rio de Janeiro has a variety of synagogues, from ultra-Orthodox to Reform-Liberal, Ashkenazi and Sephardi, with imposing edifices and tiny *shtibels*. The Associação Religiosa Israelita (ARI) was founded by German Jewish immigrants in 1942 and follows a Liberal tradition. With a membership of 850 families, ARI supports Lar União – Associação Beneficente Israelita (founded in 1939) and the youth Zionist movement Chazit. ARI is the first synagogue in Brazil to have a woman as a rabbi and is very active in inter-religious dialogue and in cultural events in the city.

Congregação Judaica do Brasil (CJB) is a small Reform synagogue. Under the guidance of Rabbi Nilton Bonder, CJB was the most active Jewish presence at the NGO Global Forum during "Eco-92", the United Nations ecological conference held in Rio de Janeiro in June 1992. Bonder is the author of many books about Judaism that became bestsellers in Brazil. There are programs for Jewish studies and Hebrew in both the Federal University and the State University of Rio de Janeiro.

Jewish Organizations in the Interior of the State of Rio de Janeiro

Niterói has had an organized Jewish community since 1916. Its activities include religious services, with a synagogue and a cemetery, and it maintains a local school and organizes cultural and social activities. Petrópolis is a resort city for the residents of Rio de Janeiro. Its community is small, but it nevertheless established a yeshivah to train rabbinical students. In Nilópolis, situated on the route of the central railway of Brazil, a Jewish community was organized in the 1920s with a Centro Israelita (1936), the Sh. An-Ski complementary school, a synagogue, the Macabi club, Wizo, and a Yiddish theater group. In 1947, when Nilópolis became a city, there were 300 families, but later all the members moved to other cities. In Campos, the Sociedade União Israelita de Campos was established in 1929 by 40–50 families.

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[Roney Cytrynowicz (2nd ed.)]

RISCHIN, MOSES (1925–), U.S. historian. Born in New York City, Rischin received his Ph.D. from Harvard University in 1957. His work was centered on American, intellectual, Jewish, social, immigration, and urban history. He was appointed professor of history at San Francisco State College (later University) in 1964, and was also director of the Western Jewish History Center at Berkeley, California. He became professor emeritus at San Francisco State in 2002 upon his retirement.

Rischin's works include: *Inventory of American Jewish History* (1954); *Our Own Kind: Voting by Race, Creed, or National Origin* (1960); *The Promised City: New York's Jews, 1870–1914* (1962); *The American Gospel of Success* (1965); *Immigration and the American Tradition* (1976); and *Jewish Legacy and the German Conscience* (with R. Asher, 1991). He also edited Hutchins Hapgood's *Spirit of the Ghetto* (1967); Abraham Cahan's *Grandma Never Lived in America* (1985*); The Jews of North America* (1987); and *Jews of the American West* (with J. Livingston, 1991).

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[Samuel J. Hurwitz / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

RISHONIM (Heb. רִאשׁוֹנִים; lit. "the early authorities"), a term with many connotations – chronological, literary, ethical, and halakhic – serving to indicate the standing and authority of preceding scholars in relation to the scholars of the time in the domain of halakhic ruling and interpretation of the Torah. The distinction between "*rishonim*" and contemporaries is already found in the Talmud, which stresses the deterioration in worth of the generations as they progressively become further removed in time from Sinai; e.g., "If the *rishonim* were as angels, we are as men, and if the *rishonim* were as men, we are as donkeys" (Shab. 112b). The natural ambivalence involved in the practical use of this term was first raised in the later geonic literature, which set against this assessment the halakhic rule that "the law is in accordance with the later authority" (*Seder Tanna'im ve-Amora'im*, no. 25), the reason being either because these "were more painstaking than the *rishonim* in clarifying the *halakhah*" (Tos. to Kid. 45b), or because these had already seen and taken into consideration the reasoning of their predecessors and were therefore, in the words of the well-known proverb, like "a dwarf sitting on the back of a giant" (see Zedekiah b. Abraham, introd. to *Shibbolei ha-Leket*, in the name of Isaiah di Trani, S.K. Mirsky, ed. (1966), 107f.). Various limitations were made to this rule in order to reconcile these two contradictory statements (see Rabbinical *Authority). Moses *Alashkar (Responsa nos. 53–54) already grasped the full import of this ambivalence, attempted to draw all the conclusions from it, and limited the application of the rule that the law is in accordance with the later authority to the pre-geonic period, but his was a solitary opinion.

Nevertheless, it is clear that the actual division into "periods" stems from the profound and general recognition that there is indeed a progressive decline in importance and authority with the passage of time. Hence it was also laid down, at least formally, that it is altogether impossible to controvert the early scholars in general and the *geonim* (see **Gaon*) in particular. In this matter, too, contradictory lines of approach have existed side by side throughout the generations. The term "*rishonim*" is now used to indicate a more or less well-defined period in the history of rabbinic literature; namely, the period between that of the *geonim* and the *rabbinate; the latter, called the period of the **aḥaronim*, continues to the present day. The exact dates establishing the limits to these periods are not precise and unchallenged, but neither are they of great practical importance. Historically the period of the *rishonim* commences with the eclipse of the Babylonian academies and the beginning of independent Torah centers throughout the Diaspora, and terminates shortly after the renewal of ordination (**semikhah*) by *Meir b. Baruch ha-Levi, which brought about a great change in Europe in the order of Torah study and its transmission from teacher to pupil. In general, the death of *Hai Gaon is accepted as the close of the geonic period. Accordingly, the period of *rishonim* begins in Spain with *Samuel ha-Nagid, in Germany with Gershom b. *Judah, and in North Africa with *Nissim b. Jacob and *Hananel b. Ḥushi'el. The last scholars who are regarded as *rishonim* are *Nissim b. Reuben and his pupil *Isaac b. Sheshet in Spain, the first members of the *Duran family in North Africa, and in Germany Jacob b. Moses *Moellin and Israel *Isserlein. The period of the *rishonim* thus extends from the middle of the 11th to the middle of the 15th centuries. Unlike the Middle Ages in general history, the intermediate period of the *rishonim* bears no implication of a transition from a period of cultural darkness to one of enlightenment. On the contrary, as stated, the generations are regarded as being on the decline, the spiritual stature of the early scholars being held as greater than that of their successors. The chief significance of the division into periods is psychological, its importance being methodological and chronological and valuable mainly as a conventional nomenclature.

From the point of view of literary history, the period of the *rishonim* is differentiated from that of the *geonim* by a process of subdivision into separate literary genres; i.e., the composition of books with distinctive contents in distinctive literary forms in accordance with their contents, such as *ethics and philosophy, and in the domain of *halakhah, *tosafot, pesakim, *hassagot, *haggahot*, *responsa, novellae (*Ḥiddushim*), biblical exegesis, etc. This process which reached the zenith of its efflorescence in the 11th century, brought in its wake an improvement in the means of expression. In consequence, works belonging to the period of the *rishonim* cover a much wider spectrum than was normal with the *geonim*. They contain more extended discussions, an explicit reliance upon previous scholars, and a marked desire to preserve local traditions and customs. Apart from these general literary aspects, there are no specific phenomena characteristic of the *rishonim*, since there existed great individual differences between the scholars of the east and the west, as well as between those of the west itself, even with regard to such primary problems as the right attitude toward the *geonim*, the degree of authority to be attributed to local regulations, and the authority of great scholars to intervene beyond the borders of their own country.

A list of all the published works of the *rishonim* up to 1959 with subsequent addenda (the last in the Internet journal *Jewish Studies*, vol. 1, 2002, pp. 129–80) was published in *Sarei ha-Elef* (see bibl.).

Additional Publications 1969–1972

From 1969 to 1972, no fewer than about 100 complete halakhic works belonging to the period designated as that of the *rishonim* were published from manuscripts, both critical and partly critical editions, as well as about half as many fragments, both large and small. This remarkable output, equivalent to the appearance of a new work every 10 days, is striking evidence of the flourishing literary activity in this department of rabbinical literature. A new and comprehensive list of all the works of the *rishonim* published since the invention of printing was due to appear in 1973 in a new edition of *Sarei ha-Elef* edited by M. *Kasher. Only the more important of these works and fragments will be surveyed here. Since almost all of them were published since 1970 in Israel (mainly Jerusalem, Tel Aviv, and Bene-Berak, though in many cases this refers only to the actual publishing, the works having been prepared in New York), with a few actually published in New York, the year and place of publication will generally not be given. In the case of fragments, reference is given to the periodicals in which they appeared.

Most of the halakhic works surveyed consist of commentaries on tractates of the Talmud (with a few on Maimonides' *Yad*); about a quarter belong to the field of responsa, biblical exegesis (in halakhic vein), halakhic rulings, halakhic monographs, and the like. This trend represents the publishers' desire to reach the tens of thousands of youths who study in the hundreds of yeshivot in Israel and the free world more than the aim of meeting the need for historical and literary research, in which field the number of scholars engaged is still very limited.

FRANCO-GERMAN SCHOOL. The *Tosafot ha-Rosh* (see *Asher b. Jehiel) to the Talmud has almost been completed with the printing of his commentaries to tractates *Shabbat* (published twice; see below), *Eruvin, Rosh Ha-Shanah, Gittin* (a complete critical text, based on three MSS), *Kiddushin*, and *Sanhedrin* (see also below). Much progress has been made with the *tosafot* of *Perez b. Elijah of Corbeil with the publication of his *tosafot* to *Berakhot, Pesaḥim, Beẓah*, and *Bava Meẓia*. The publication of the **tosafot* of English scholars (*Ḥakhmei Angliyyah*; see Tosafot, 15: 1281), have been virtually completed with the publication of these works on tractates *Pesaḥim, Beẓah, Megillah, Gittin, Kiddushin, Bava Kamma, Sanhedrin, Avodah Zarah*, and *Niddah*. The *tosafot* to the *halakhot* of Isaac *Alfasi by *Moses b. Yom Tov of London on *Kiddushin* have also appeared.

In addition to these actual *tosafot*, important works by the Franco-German tosafists have also appeared. Of great importance is "A Commentary from the School of Rashi on Tractate *Sukkah*" (*Sinai*, 63 (1970)). The *tosafot* of Sens (see *Samson b. Abraham of Sens) to *Makkot, Avodah Zarah* (printed in *Shittat ha-Kadmonim* to *Avodah Zarah*) and *Mishnah Shevi'it*, chapters 1–5 (by K. Cahana in *Ḥeker Ve-Iyyun*) completes the considerable number of these *tosafot* hitherto unpublished. The *Tosafot Yeshanim* to the first chapter of *Yevamot* has now appeared in full (HUCA, 40/41 (1970)) and also to *Rosh Ha-Shanah*. Although in effect they belong to the *tosafot* literature, they are not as comprehensive as the first group.

Among the works of the Franco-German scholars that do not belong to *tosafot* literature, the following may be mentioned: *Piskei R. *Jehiel of Paris* (in serial form, *Moriah* (1970/71)); *Piskei R. *Isaac of Corbeil (Sinai*, 67 (end of 1970)); a new responsum by *Ḥayyim b. Isaac, "Or Zaru'a" (*Sinai*, 66 (1970)); a series of compilations on regulations concerning the writing of Scrolls of the Law, *tefillin*, and *mezuzot* has been published in the important *Koveẓ Sifrei Setam*. This contains *Kitvei Otiyyot Tefillin* by R. *Judah he-Ḥasid, an amended edition of the *Barukh she-Amar* by Samson b. Eliezer, and a fine text of the *Tikkun Tefillin* by Abraham of Sinzheim and the *Alfa Beta* of Yom Tov Lipmann *Muelhausen. The unique project of re-editing the *Aguddah* of Alexander *Suslin from manuscripts continues, and the following have thus far appeared: tractate *Berakhot* and the Mishnah of the other tractates to the order *Zera'im*, all the tractates of *Mo'ed*, and *Bava Kamma* and *Bava Meẓia*. Of special importance are two anonymous early prayer books from the German school, published under the titles *Siddur Rabbenu Shelomo mi-Germeiza* and *Siddur Ḥasidei Ashkenaz*, which include Ashkenazi material that in some small part ante-date Rashi. In addition, the first complete edition from manuscripts and printed sources of *Jacob b. Asher's biblical commentary, *Ba'al ha-Turim*, has appeared. A large new collection of halakhic rulings and responsa by early Franco-German scholars of the 12th and 13th centuries is about to be issued by the *Mekiẓe Nirdamim.

SPANISH SCHOOL. An important achievement is the reissuing of the halakhic works of great Spanish scholars. Although most of the works of *Naḥmanides have long been available, the existing edition is very defective, both as regards mistakes and omissions. About two years ago, Makhon ha-Talmud ha-Yisre'eli ha-Shalem began the comprehensive project of publishing a critical edition of all Naḥmanides' novellae to the Talmud, based on all extant manuscripts and printed editions. Those to the tractates *Makkot, Avodah Zarah*, and *Sanhedrin*, with a monograph on *Dinei de-Garme*, have already appeared. A similar project in respect of the works of *Yom Tov b. Abraham Ishbili, the *Ritba*, is being planned by Mosad ha-Rav Kook. A sample page of *Eruvin* was published in *Sinai*, 67 (1970). Of Naḥmanides' works, the following have been published for the first time: *Tashlum Derashat ha-Rambam* "*Torat ha-Shem Temimah*," the end of which was previously missing (*Tarbiz*, 40 (1971)); supplements to his commentary on the Torah (*Ha-Ma'yan*, 9 (1969)); the hitherto missing fragments from the first 11 pages of *Bava Meẓia (Mattityahu*, Yeshivat Netanyah (1972)); *Kelalei ha-Ramban* by S. *Abramson, published by Mosad ha-Rav Kook, a collection gathered from the works of Naḥmanides, with some notes.

Works by other Spanish scholars published include a new and critical edition, based on an excellent manuscript, of the *Ḥukkot ha-Dayyanim* of Abraham b. Solomon ibn Tazarti, a pupil of Solomon *Adret, the previous edition of which was very faulty (two volumes, the Harry Fischel Institute); the completion of the *siddur* of *Judah b. Yakar, the teacher of Naḥmanides; the commentary of Rabbenu Perez ha-Kohen, the teacher of *Nissim b. Reuben, on the tractate *Nazir*, and to the same tractate by R. Todros b. Isaac of Gerona, early 14th century; the important commentaries of Nissim b. Reuben to tractates *Eruvin* and *Pesaḥim*; the commentary of *Aaron b. Joseph ha-Levi of Barcelona to tractate *Avodah Zarah* and the *Nimmukei Yosef* of Joseph *Ḥabiba to the same (in the *Shitah Mekubbeẓet* to that tractate); *Shitah le-Va'al ha-Ẓerurot* to tractate *Ta'anit* by *Ḥayyim b. Samuel b. David of Tudela; and fragments from the commentary by an anonymous pupil of Naḥmanides to tractates *Yoma* and *Sukkah* (S.K. Mirski Memorial Volume, New York (1971)); worthy of note are the anonymous commentary to *Kiddushin* published under the title *Shitah Kadmonit* and to *Middah*, by an anonymous scholar of the school of Naḥmanides, published under the title *Ḥiddushei ha-Ra*. Of the Bible exegetes from this school, worthy of note are the commentary to Genesis and Exodus attributed to a pupil of Nissim b. Reuben and the continuation of the commentary of Abraham b. Isaac *Tamakh on Proverbs 31 (in the Mirski Volume) and on Lamentations 3 (*Ha-Darom*, 28 (1929)).

PROVENÇAL SCHOOL. In contrast to former years, there has been a decrease in the publication of works from the Provençal school, which continues to be largely *terra incognita*. A great amount of effort has been squandered in the republication of the *Beit ha-Beḥirah* of Menahem b. Solomon *Meiri to about ten tractates based on "manuscripts." Despite the fulsome praise of their editors for the new light they provide, they constitute no improvement of any value over the previous editions printed during the past 30 years and still freely available. Their publication testifies only to the great demand for Meiri's works in yeshivah circles. This superfluous republication borders ethically on an encroachment upon the rights of the authors of the previous editions and is without any justification. An exception, and one of great value, is the publication for the first time of the *Ḥiddushei ha-Meiri* to *Eruvin* (up to the end of chapter 4; the remainder in print) by Mosad ha-Rav Kook. The existence of the manuscript had been known for many years and its publication fills a great need. The hitherto unpublished portion of *Hassagot* on Maimonides' *Yad* by Moses ha-Kohen of Lunel to *Nashim, Kedoshah*, and *Shoftim*, supplementing the previously published portion to *Madda, Ahavah*, and *Zemannim*, has now appeared, and the work is now complete. Of a planned complete and critical edition of the *Sefer ha-Menuḥah* by *Manoah of Narbonne, *Hilkhot Keri'at Shema, Tefillah*, and *Berakhot* have already appeared. Other works of Provençal scholars published are *Ezrat Nashim* by *Jacob b. Moses of Begnols; *Hilkhot Ḥameẓu-Maẓẓah ve-Seder Leil Pesaḥ im Perush ha-Haggadah* by an anonymous Provençal scholar, these being published together with fragments of a sermon for Passover by *Abraham b. David of Posquières, which was not extant in manuscript, but has been collated from a number of sources. First published separately in *Ha-Darom* (1972), they have been published together in *Mi-Toratav shel Ḥakhmei Provens u-Sefarad be-Hilkhot u-ve-Minhagei Pesaḥ*. Important, too, is the recently published commentary by *Jonathan ha-Kohen of Lunel on Alfasi's commentary to *Kiddushin*. Two small fragments hitherto unknown are also worthy of note: a new letter by *Abraham b. Isaac of Narbonne, and the original letter of the scholars of Lunel to Maimonides, in which they asked him to send them "his other scholarly works" (*Tarbiz*, 39 (1970)). Finally, there is a criticism of the New Testament by Joseph b. Nathan *Official, which appeared in the Jubilee Volume for Isaac Kiev, New York (1972), after the *Sefer ha-Mekanne* was published.

ORIENTAL SCHOLARS. Of the works of Oriental scholars, note must first be taken of developments connected with *Maimonides. Seven new responsa have appeared (from a Parma MSS, not as stated from the *Genizah, Tarbiz, 39 (1970)), and a substantial part of his classical works, retranslated into Hebrew as part of a comprehensive project undertaken by Rabbi Y. *Kafah (who makes use of additional Arabic MSS), and most recently the *Sefer ha-Mitzvot* and the *Iggeret Teiman*. Kafaḥ has also published a small work containing a detailed index of all biblical verses in all the Maimonidean literature, titled

Ha-Mikra be-Rambam. It is of exceptional value, and is the first of its kind in comprehensiveness and quality. Of importance for textual research on the works of Maimonides is the reissue of *Ḥasifat Genuzim mi-Teiman* and the facsimile edition (by "Makor") of the unique and important Constantinople (1509) edition of the *Mishneh Torah*. Among the works of other Oriental scholars, note should be taken of the anonymous commentary to *Bava Batra – Perush Kadmon*; of the anonymous *Hilkhot Ereẓ Yisrael min ha-Genizah* (in *Koveẓ al Yad*, 7 (1968)), and of the small fragment of the commentary of *Peraḥyah b. Nissim to Alfasi's commentary on *Shabbat* (in *Seyata di-Shemaya* (1970)). Important is the commentary of *Hananel b. Samuel to the Alfasi on *Kiddushin*, printed in the *Shitat ha-Kadmonim* to this tractate. Ereẓ Israel *halakhot*, dating from the pre-Moslem period, from Genizah sources, which throw considerable light on the specific *halakhah* of Ereẓ Israel and clarify many hitherto obscure passages in the so-called *Sefer ha-Ma'asim* (see p. 330) and including new extracts from it – from the literary legacy of Prof. Mordecai Margaliot, collected by him over 20 years from all available sources – are now in the final stages of publication. Among Bible commentaries, mention may be made of the commentary to Job by Meyuḥas b. Elijah.

NORTH AFRICAN SCHOOL. The *editio princeps* of the *Rif* by Isaac Alfasi has now been published in facsimile by "Makor," with an introduction. Twelve responsa by Isaac Alfasi were published in *Or ha-Mizraḥ*, 20 (1971), and an amended and critical edition of the *Seder Rav Amram Ga'on* (see *Amram b. Sheshna), the first that can by usefully consulted, has appeared; a new edition of the *Halakhot Gedolot* based on very many MSS (Mekiẓe Nirdamim), and also a facsimile edition of the same work from the Paris MSS 1702 and a facsimile edition of the *Halakhot Pesukot*, from MSS Sassoon, both by "Makor." Belonging to a much later period is the commentary of Simeon b. Ẓemaḥ *Duran to *Berakhot*, published for the first time. Ch.D. Chavel has collated and published all extant fragments to the biblical commentary of R. Hananel ben Ḥushi'el.

ITALY. The great project of publishing the *Pesakim* of *Isaiah b. Mali (di) Trani and of his grandson, *Isaiah b. Elijah, continues. The following having been published recently: *Beẓah, Rosh Ha-Shanah, Ta'anit, Megillah, Ḥagigah, Mo'ed Katan*, and the *Halakhot Ketannot*. His Pentateuch commentary from a manuscript which belonged to R. Zedekiah *Anav was published lately with Anav's annotations; new responsa by Joseph *Colon as well as his commentary on the Passover laws of Maimonides and of the *Sefer Mitzvot Gadol*, as well as his commentary on the Pentateuch; the *Arugah ha-Shelishit* (Order of Blessings) of the *Shibbolei ha-Lekket* of Zedekiah Anav, published from the literary remains of S.K. Mirski in his Memorial Volume.

A work of unique value for the period of the *rishonim*, which includes new fragments from every sphere of Jewish culture, is *Ḥasifat Genuzim mi-Teiman*, the individual project of Judah Levi Nahum, an enthusiastic Yemenite who has for decades been collecting copies of Yemenite works from all periods and all subjects as well as pages of incunabula and fragments of old printed works extracted from the bindings of books originating in the Yemen. This work, of which only one part has been published thus far, contains among its 100 fragments very many from the works of *rishonim*, of which a considerable number deal with the work of Maimonides, which was especially popular in the Yemen. It is impossible to deal here with all the relevant fragments, but the commentary of David *Abudarham on *piyyutim* and *hoshanot* may be given as an example. The superiority of this work over the others mentioned above lies in the fact that it gives a facsimile of each fragment. This is especially important since lack of experience has caused a certain lack of precision in the reading of the fragments. It may be assumed that further volumes of this project, which is a kind of wandering *genizah* of Jewish literature, will make their appearance, and no doubt the copying of the fragments will be perfected.

Most of the books have been copied, edited, and published on the initiative and personal predilection of relatively young scholars, some of whom have had previous experience in this work, while others are new to it. Only a few have been published on the initiative of public Torah institutes, which have made long-term plans of great importance. As a result, together with the notable achievements there is a conspicuous and complete lack of coordination both among the editors themselves and between them and the organized institutions. At times, there is even open rivalry, with the result that sometimes the same work is published simultaneously more than once. The *Tosafot ha-Rosh* to *Sanhedrin* was published from the same unique manuscript simultaneously by B. Lipkin (posthumously; with supplements and notes by J. ha-Levi Lipschutz) in Jerusalem (1968) and by S. Ullman of Brooklyn in Tel Aviv (1969). The *Tosafot ha-Rosh* to *Shabbat* was also published twice: by I.S. Lange (of Zurich) in Jerusalem (1969) and by the same S. Ullman in Tel Aviv (1971), though in this case different MSS were used, the former using Parma and London MSS and the latter MSS in the New York Seminary and the Ginsberg collection. The *Tosafot ha-Rosh* to *Yoma* published in New York (1961; the main article in the EJ has 1965 – a typographical error) was republished from the same MSS by Ullman in Tel Aviv (1969), as though it were being published from the manuscript for the first time. Something similar has occurred with the publication of the Meiri (see above) and with the *Hashlamah* of Meshullam b. *Moses. More examples could be given.

Among institutes which have undertaken defined assignments in the period of the *rishonim* is the Makhon ha-Talmud ha-Yisraeli ha-Shalem, whose main projects are: the editing of the *Piskei Rid* and the *Riaz* (see above), following the order of the Talmud (thus far, *Berakhot* and all of *Mo'ed* have appeared); a series *Ginzei Rishonim*, within whose framework works of *rishonim* "that have never been published" are being printed, but there appears to be neither method nor system in the series, the printing of many of the works being interrupted and left uncompleted; a project to issue the complete novellae of Naḥmanides (see above). Mosad ha-Rav Kook has sponsored the main work of Rabbi Y. Kafaḥ, the issuing of new Hebrew translations of all Maimonides' Arabic works, and the editing of many works by *rishonim* of which he possesses single, or unique, manuscripts. It is also about to begin the printing of the series *Ha-Ritba ha-Shalem* on the Talmud (see above). Worthy of note is the project *Sanhedrei Gedolah* of the Harry Fischel Institute, which is reprinting all extant *rishonim* to tractate *Sanhedrin* or those whose subject matter refers mainly to that tractate. Hitherto four volumes have appeared and *Ḥukkot ha-Dayyanim* (see above). All the works published by these institutes have introductions, source references and notes by the editors.

The work of these individual scholars is of equal importance to the planned series. Quite a number of these scholars work according to their own private plan, e.g., Rabbi Ullman, who has published the remainder of the hitherto unpublished *Tosafot ha-Rosh* (without taking into consideration that some other person may be engaged in the identical task), and Rabbi Brizel, who has published the *Aguddah* with notes and source references. It is a cause for satisfaction that editors who were accustomed formerly to embellish their editions with an abundance of mostly superfluous notes have also recently begun to regard their principal work as simply the provision of a reliable text. As a result, the literature of *rishonim* is gradually returning to the original form in which it was always published in the past.

At present the editing of works by *rishonim* is wholly in the hands of yeshivah scholars and students of the Torah who are guided in their choice and in their work by the curriculum current in yeshivot. No work of any significance in this domain is being done in academic circles, although among them too are considerable numbers of rabbinical scholars. Any work needed for research into matters connected with rabbinical literature which does not fall within the curriculum of the yeshivot is still completely dependent on the possibilities (and the preferences) of the Mekiẓe Nirdamim society, and on the very few publications, too fragmentary to have permanent value, in a few periodicals. There exists a great need especially for facsimile editions (either with or without their parallel printed transcription), since these are the foundations of all exact scientific research, relieving the researcher from dependence upon the editors' reading of the photostat of the MSS. Because this task is not regarded as of significance for study in yeshivot, such works are well-nigh nonexistent. A praiseworthy exception is the Makor Publishing Company, which puts out excellent facsimile editions of those manuscripts (see above).

Among the chief workers in the field (of complete works) are: Rabbis Y. Kafaḥ, A. Sofer, M. Herschler, M.J. ha-Kohen Blau and Ch.D. Chavel who are veteran scholars of great experience; also S. Greenbaum, A.D. Pines, A.L. Feldman, I. ha-Levi Lipschutz and S. Ullman. Others, in alphabetical order, are: A. Brizel, S.Z. Broida, K. Cahana, J. Cohen, M. Glazer, M. Hildesheimer, D.Z. Hillman, W. Horowitz, H. Krauser, I.S. Lange, A. Liss, M.M. Meshizahav, I. Reinz, I. Rothstein, H. Segal, A. Shoshana, S. Sofer, and the *Seder Amram Ga'on* by Dr. Goldschmidt. Of publishers of fragments, particular mention may be made of A. Kupfer.

In contrast to the publication of texts, research has proceeded at a very slow pace. Nevertheless, many studies of value for the works of *rishonim* can be enumerated. It should first be noted that there has been a considerable general improvement in the standard of the introductions printed at the beginning of many of these books. Among studies of Maimonides, note must be taken of the *Ein Mitzvot*, a bio-bibliographical lexicon for the study of Maimonides' *Sefer ha-Mitzvot* and its commentators, by I.I. Dienstag (1969); also a list of all complete printed editions of the *Mishneh Torah* (in the Jubilee Volume for Kiev (1972), which, though not the first in this field, is a great improvement over its predecessors; the article "*Sefer Mishneh Torah*… Its Aims…," by I. Twerski, in *Israel National Academy of Sciences*, 5:1 (1972); and "*Mishneh Torah le-ha-Rambam* in the Possession of the Jews of the Yemen," by S.D. Pinḥasi, in the *Ḥasifat Genuzim mi-Teiman* (1971). S.Z. Havlin has published a valuable article on the printed editions of the *Mishneh Torah* (introduction to the above-mentioned Makor facsimile edition). Note should be taken of the article "The Literary Creation of Joseph Ibn Migas," printed in *Kiryat Sefer*, 45/47 (1970–72); the study by I. Spiegel of *Sefer Maggid Mishneh* on the *Mishneh Torah* (*Kiryat Sefer*, 46 (1971)); the article by I. Markus on Isaac ibn Ghayyat (*Sinai*, 67/8 (1970)); of great value is the article "*Tosafot Gornish*" (*Sinai*, 68 (1961)), where not only is the subject illuminated for the first time but the nature of *pilpul* and its developments clarified; finally, the unsatisfactory article by I. Shtzipanski on "Rabbenu Ephraim and the Rif" (*Tarbiz*, 41 (1972)), which is of little value. Not only does it not make use of all available data on the subject but it "reveals" a considerable amount of material long known and fully discussed by scholars. In addition to these articles, several introductions to books have been printed which give all the available biographical material and the authors of the work. Particular note should be taken of Horowitz's introduction to the *Sefer ha-Menuḥah* (see above) and the *Seridei Derashot ha-Rabad*, and to the introductions of I. Lipschutz and S. Feldman. Of particular importance is the article "*Ha-Siddur le-Va'al ha-Semak* with the commentary of the author of the *Maḥkim*," by S.D. Bergmann (in the Mirski Volume, see above), containing information about German scholars of the 13th and 14th centuries. Lastly, note should be made of the article "*Le-Ḥeker he-Arukh*," of *Nathan b. Jehiel of Rome, by S. Abramson in *Leshonenu*, 36 (1972), 100–22.

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[Israel Moses Ta-Shma]

RISHON LE-ZION (Heb. רִאשׁוֹן לְצִיּוֹן, "First in Zion"), city in central Israel, 7 mi. (12 km.) S.E. of Tel Aviv-Jaffa, founded in 1882 by ten pioneers from Russia headed by Z.D. *Levontin. The name Rishon le-Zion is based on Isaiah 41:27.

In acquiring the first 835 acres (3,340 dunams) of land for their village, the settlers were aided by Ḥayyim *Amzalak, then the British vice consul in Jaffa. It was the first settlement established by pioneers from outside Ereẓ Israel. In the first year of its existence, the population grew to 100 when *Bilu pioneers joined the village after receiving some agricultural training at *Mikveh Israel. Their experience, however, was still insufficient and their sparse means were almost totally spent on the cost of the land and on primary investments. They soon faced a grave crisis. A particular difficulty was the lack of water, as attempts to find water in shallow wells had failed and drinking water had to be hauled from Mikveh Israel in a camel-drawn carriage. As a last resource, the settlers in 1883 sent an emissary, Yosef *Feinberg, to enlist the aid of Jewish communities in Europe. He met Baron Edmond de *Rothschild, whose first contribution, F25,000 (francs), was utilized to drill a deep well. Subsequently, Baron Rothschild maintained the settler families and after a review of the village's farming program, introduced fruit growing, especially wine grapes, instead of grain cultivation. He sent agronomists and administrators to Rishon le-Zion, but a fresh crisis arose when the administrators regarded the settlers as hired workers and stifled their initiative. The vine strains brought from southern France proved unsuitable and the grapes had no market. Part of the vineyards were therefore replaced by almond plantations. The situation gradually improved after 1889, when the large Carmel Oriental wine cellars were installed by Baron Rothschild. The world's first Hebrew kindergarten and elementary school were opened here in the 1880s. The moshavah's holdings gradually expanded to 3,225 acres (12,900 dunams) in 1907 with a population of 500 in 1897, and 2,130 in 1917. Immigration from Eastern Europe and *Yemen brought additional Jewish laborers. Citrus groves became the principal farming branch. During World War I, the Turkish governor, in appreciation of the village's achievements in reclaiming formerly barren terrain, ordered an area of 5,000 acres (20,000 dunams) of sand dunes stretching from Rishon le-Zion west to the seashore to be annexed to its boundaries. This transfer was endorsed by the British administration in 1921. Aside from the dunes, the village area grew to 4,250 acres (17,000 dunams) in 1932. In 1922 the moshavah received municipal council status. In the 1930s, industrial enterprises (silicate bricks, beer, and razor blades) were set up. By 1948 Rishon le-Zion had 10,500 inhabitants. Considerable land reserves, a rich groundwater table and the nearby Tel Aviv conurbation favorably influenced Rishon le-Zion's further expansion. In 1950, it was given city status, and its population continued to increase rapidly, attaining 46,500 by 1970. By that time it had one of the country's largest municipal terrains with a total of 17 sq. mi. (44 sq. km.). Industry expanded while farming still played a role in the city's economy. By the mid-1990s, the population of Rishon le-Zion was approximately 154,300 and in 2002 it was 211,600, making it the fourth largest city in Israel, with its land area now increased to 23 sq. mi. (60 sq. km.) as the city expanded to the west and many business areas spread throughout. Most residents found work in the Tel Aviv conurbation. Rishon le-Zion is considered one of the most congested cities in Israel.

WEBSITE: www.rishonlezion.muni.il.

[Tsevi Atsmon / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

RISHON LE-ZION (Heb. רִאשׁוֹן לְצִיּוֹן; "first of Zion"), a title given to the Sephardi head of the rabbis of Israel. His seat is in Jerusalem. The first scholar to be given the title was apparently Moses b. Jonathan *Galante (1620–89) when he and the other scholars of Jerusalem decided that their leader should bear the modest title of *rishon le-Zion*, mentioned in Isaiah (41:27), and not rabbi or *av bet din*. Until 1840 the authority of the **ḥakham bashi* ("chief rabbi") in Constantinople extended over all the communities of the Ottoman Empire, including Ereẓ Israel. From that year until 1920, the *rishon le-Zion* was granted the additional title of *ḥakham bashi* for Ereẓ Israel by the Ottoman government. The first to bear this double title was Ḥayyim Abraham *Gagin. However, the grant of this additional title was not always made immediately on appointment.

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RISHPON (Heb. רִשְׁפּוֹן), moshav in central Israel N. of *Herzliyyah. Rishpon was founded in 1936, in the framework of the Thousand Families Settlement Project (see *Israel, State of: Settlement), by immigrants from Eastern Europe. In 1970 Rishpon had 447 inhabitants, increasing to 540 in the mid-1990s and 794 in 2002 after expansion. Its economy was based on citrus groves, fruit plantations, flowers, vegetables, poultry and horse stables. The name is assumedly historical, and appears in the form "Rishponah" in an inscription of Tiglath Pileser III dating back to the year 732 B.C.E. It may be connected with the Canaanite deity Reshef.

[Efraim Orni]

RISIKOFF, MENAHEM (Mendel) HAKOHEN (1866–1960), rabbi and author. Risikoff, the son of Rabbi Zvi Yosef Hakohen *Resnick, was born in Zhetel (Dyatlovo) and studied in the yeshivot of Volozhin and Vilna, receiving *semikhah* at the age of 17 from some of the outstanding rabbis of the time.

Appointed rabbi of Kazan in 1895, he emigrated to the United States a few years later following pogroms in his community and served as rabbi in a number of Brooklyn synagogues, including Ohev Shalom and Williamsburg's Moore Street Congregation.

Among the many volumes published by him on *halakhah, aggadah*, biblical commentaries, sermons, and responsa may be mentioned: *Shaarei Zevaḥ* (1913), dealing with the laws of *sheḥitah* and *treifah*; *Shaarei Shamayim* (1937), a commentary on the Shulḥan Arukh; and *Torat ha-Kohanim* (1948), an exhaustive study of the laws pertaining to Kohanim.

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RISKIN, SHLOMO (1940–), rabbi. Born in Brooklyn, New York, Riskin entered Yeshiva University in 1956. There he found a mentor in Rabbi Joseph B. *Soloveitchik (the Rav) and was impressed with his unique vision of Judaism, which proposed that *halakhah* (Jewish Law) actually deal with the most fundamental existential problems plaguing modern man.

Upon receiving his rabbinic ordination and graduating as valedictorian in 1960, Riskin was determined to open a new model of synagogue, one based on outreach and learning. This led to the opening of the renowned Lincoln Square Synagogue (LSS), established in a small apartment on the Upper West Side of Manhattan. Attendance grew and a permanent structure was established on Amsterdam Avenue. By the end of the 1970s, LSS had become one of the most vibrant centers for Judaism in New York and America. LSS as well as other educational institutions established by Riskin were the locus of Jewish life for thousands of Jews.

By 1983, however, Riskin decided to move to Israel. Criticized by some congregants for the move, Riskin explained his view that Israel was the only place where a Jew could live his/her life in a complete fashion. The Diaspora, he said, would always be a footnote in Jewish history, while Israel would be the nexus. He felt that the future of Jewish leadership would be based in Israel and he wanted to be a part of it, as well as to participate in what he called "the greatest expression of reclaiming our own destiny since the leaving of Egypt."

In 1983 he moved to the new garden city of *Efrat near Jerusalem, which he founded together with Moshe Moskovitz. Guided by the idea of an open urban community between *Gush Etzyon and Jerusalem, Efrat would serve as a bridge between the bloc of Jewish settlements and Israel's capital.

As chief rabbi of Efrat, Riskin established an educational institution called Ohr Torah Stone (OTS), comprised of yeshivah high schools and rabbinic and leadership training. OTS has grown into an all-encompassing educational organization. Its educational philosophy promotes Riskin's vision of Judaism that is based on the teachings of his childhood and Rabbi Soloveitchik's message of ethical monotheism that the Jew must impart to the world. For Riskin, Judaism presents the most fundamental notions of freedom, universal morality, and a code of ethics to the world. The importance of compassion and sensitivity in the practical application of a religious lifestyle is one of Riskin's major doctrines. God's law and its realization must express that love and compassion, within halakhic parameters.

Riskin was also a pioneer in the field of women's Torah learning and halakhic rights, as reflected both in his writings as well as the make-up of his educational institutions. He holds a master's in Jewish history and was awarded his Ph.D. from New York University's department of Near Eastern languages and literature.

He is also the author of five books: *The Rebellious Wife: Women and Jewish Divorce* (1989); *Yad L'isha* (2004); *The Passover Haggadah* (1983); *Around the Family Table* (2005); and *Torah Lights – Genesis Confronts Life, Love and Family* (2005).

His regular columns and articles appear weekly in the *Jerusalem Post* as well as in dozens of newspapers and magazines throughout the world.

[Edward Jacobs (2nd ed.)]

RITT, MARTIN (1914–1990), U.S. director, producer, actor. Born in Manhattan's Lower East Side, Ritt attended Elon College in North Carolina, where he played football and boxed. He was occasionally teased for being Jewish but had a good sense of humor and joked that the ham served on Fridays was actually turkey. Ritt left Elon after two years and went to St. John's University in Jamaica, N.Y., to study law. He soon befriended director Elia Kazan and left St. John's to act. After serving in World War II, where he acted and directed, Ritt worked in television. Between the 1940s and the early 1950s, Ritt appeared in more than 150 plays and directed 100 TV shows. Then, in the early 1950s, he was blacklisted for prior Communist Party involvement as part of the McCarthy-era "Red Scare." Unable to find television work, Ritt began teaching at the Actor's Workshop in Manhattan. In 1957, producer David *Susskind defied the blacklist and hired Ritt for his directorial debut, *Edge of the City.* Ritt went on to direct 25 more films. He directed and produced *Hud* (1963), starring Paul Newman, which earned Ritt a best director Academy Award nomination. One of Ritt's former Actor's Workshop students, Newman worked together with Ritt many times, including in *Paris Blues* (1961), *Hemingway's Adventures of a Young Man* (1962), and *Hombre* (1967), which Ritt also produced. In 1976, Ritt directed *The Front*, a fictional story of the McCarthy blacklist, that starred Woody Allen. Other Ritt films include *The Sound and the Fury* (1959), *The Molly Maguires* (1970), *Pete 'n' Tillie* (1972), *Norma Rae* (1979), and *Stanley and Iris* (1990).

[Susannah Howland (2nd ed.)]

RITTENBERG, DAVID (1906–1970), U.S. biochemist. Rittenberg, who was born in New York, was a member of the faculty of Columbia University from 1934 onward. He was professor of biochemistry at the university's College of Physicians and Surgeons until 1956 when he became executive officer of the department of biochemistry. In 1965 he was appointed chairman of the department. He was one of the pioneers in the use of isotopes to label molecules and so trace their movements and chemical transformation in metabolism. By this method, he and his co-workers showed that the constituents of the body, including its fat stores, are in a constant state of dynamic change. Rittenberg discovered, with the aid of isotopic labeling, that fatty acids and cholesterol originate in the body from small molecules such as acetate.

Rittenberg was associated with the U.S. Atomic Energy Commission and the Office of Research and Development. He was a member of the National Academy of Sciences and was a governor of the Weizmann Institute of Science in Israel.

[Mordecai L. Gabriel]

RITTER, IMMANUEL HEINRICH (1825–1890), German Reform rabbi. Ritter received an Orthodox education in Ratibor, Prussia, and studied history and philology at Breslau University. Unable to engage in an academic career in these fields, he became a teacher of religion in the Berlin Reform community and the successor of Samuel *Holdheim in his rabbinical post. Ritter established his reputation as defender of Jewish rights against the reactionary Prussian politician Wagener.

He wrote *Geschichte der juedischen Reformation* (4 parts, 1858, 1861, 1865, 1902), a history of the Reform movement which criticized Mendelssohn's lack of historical judgment (part 1, p. 53), as well as the first biographies of David *Friedlaender and Samuel Holdheim and the story of the Berlin Reform community.

RITZ BROTHERS (b. **Joachim**), AL (1903–1965), JIMMY (1905–1985), and HARRY (1908–1986), U.S. vaudeville comedy team. Born in Newark, New Jersey, the Ritz Brothers began public appearances as the Collegians. Their act, which remained fairly constant for decades, was comprised of precision dancing, tongue-twisting song parodies, ethnic humor, and physical comedy. Their slapstick succeeded in several Broadway revues, and their first film was *Sing, Baby, Sing* (1936). Other films were: *Life Begins in College* (1937), *One in a Million* (1937), *On the Avenue* (1937), *You Can't Have Everything* (1937), *The Goldwyn Follies* (1938), *Straight, Place and Show* (1938), *Kentucky Moonshine* (1938), *Pack Up Your Troubles* (1939), *The Gorilla* (1939), *The Three Musketeers* (1939), *Argentine Nights* (1940), *Behind the Eight Ball* (1942), *Never a Dull Moment* (1943), and *Hi 'Ya Chum* (1943). Their humor was better geared to a live audience, however, so they left the film industry and focused their attention on their nightclub appearances.

Harry and Jimmy were among the star-studded cast of *Won Ton Ton, the Dog Who Saved Hollywood* (1976). They all appeared on television.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: George Burns, *All My Best Friends* (1989); J. Robinson, *Teamwork: The Cinema's Greatest Comedy Teams* (1982).

[Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

RIVA (**di Trento**), town on the Lake of Garda, N. Italy. A Jewish community existed there from the 14th century. Though expelled in 1520 as the result of the Simon of Trent blood libel, Jews returned to Riva soon after, but they were compelled to wear the *badge, pay a capitation tax, and were subject to other restrictions. There was a Hebrew printing press in Riva, which was active between 1558 and 1562 and produced about 35 titles.

The press owed its success to the cooperation of three men: Cardinal Cristoforo Madruzzo, bishop of Trent, who had jurisdiction over the town and whose coat-of-arms appears on many of the Riva publications; Joseph b. Nathan *Ottolenghi, rabbi and *rosh yeshivah* at Cremona; and Jacob Marcaria, *dayyan* and physician, also of Cremona, who was the printer and contributed learned prefaces to his productions. The first work issued was Isaac Alfasi's *Halakhot* (1558), followed by other halakhic works, including two editions of Jacob b. Asher's *Turim* (1560 and 1561). With the Talmud banned in Italy, there was a need for these substitutes. The press also produced philosophic works, notably the first printing of Levi b. Gershom's *Milḥamot Adonai* (1560), and ethical literature. The illiberal attitude of Cardinal Madruzzo's nephew and successor must have led to the abrupt end of Marcaria's venture. For about another year he continued to print non-Hebrew books, including some concerned with the Council of Trent (1545–64), though only one of them carried the printer's name. Joseph b. Jacob Shalit of Padua, who had been Marcaria's proofreader, took some of the unfinished works to Venice and had them printed there.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: D.W. Amram, *Makers of Hebrew Books in Italy* (1909), 296–305; J. Bloch, *Hebrew Printing in Riva di Trento* (1933).

RIVERA, JACOB RODRIGUEZ (1717–1789), U.S. merchant and a founder of Yeshuat Israel Congregation in Newport, Rhode Island. Born in Spain, Rivera was naturalized in New York in 1746, but soon moved to Newport. There during the two prerevolutionary decades, Rivera became a distinguished merchant shipper, trading in numerous commodities, including slaves, but his chief – and quite possibly pioneering – interest was the spermaceti candle industry. A charter member in 1761 of the United Company of Spermaceti Chandlers, he led its efforts to regulate competition. His colleagues, mostly non-Jews, esteemed him enough to forgo Saturday meetings on his account. Around 1760, he took as his partner the Newport cultural leader, Henry Collins, a founder of the Redwood Library, which Rivera also supported. Rivera is best known for his association with his enterprising son-in-law, Aaron *Lopez, and shared in many of Lopez' ventures. During the American Revolution, he accompanied Lopez to Leicester, Massachusetts and took up farming there but, following Lopez' untimely death in 1782, Rivera reestablished himself at Newport.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: AJHSP, 27 (1920), index; S.F. Chyet, *Lopez of Newport* (1969); M. Gutstein, *The Story of the Jews of Newport* (1936), index; J.R. Marcus, *Early American Jewry*, 2 (1953), index; idem, *American Jewry. Documents. Eighteenth Century* (1959), index; idem, *Colonial American Jews* (1969); *Commerce of Rhode Island*, 2 vols. (1914–15).

[Stanley F. Chyet]

RIVERS, JOAN (1933–), U.S. comedienne and actress. Born Joan Alexandra Molinsky in Brooklyn, New York, to Russian immigrants, Rivers acted in school productions at Barnard College, graduating Phi Betta Kappa with a bachelor's degree in English in 1954. Post-college jobs included working as a publicist for Lord and Taylor and as a fashion coordinator for Bond Clothing Stores, marrying the owner's son at 21; the marriage was annulled six months later. Rivers returned home and pursued her dream of becoming an actress, mostly working in off-Broadway plays. She soon shifted gears and tried stand-up comedy, at first using the name Pepper January and then performing as Joan Rivers. After working small East Coast clubs for seven years, she spent time in Greenwich Village coffeehouses developing an act that was sexually provocative and self-deprecating. Critics panned Rivers, but comedian Lenny *Bruce encouraged her. From 1961 to 1962, she was a member of the improvisational group Second City, and then wrote material for *Candid Camera* and Phyllis Diller. In 1965 she was booked on the *Tonight Show* and after a successful set was asked back. Rivers soon became a Las Vegas headliner, and was named Las Vegas comedienne of the year in 1976 and 1977. Rivers wrote and starred in the film *Rabbit Test* with Billy Crystal in 1978, and in 1983 she was named Woman of the Year by Hadassah. That same year, the woman known for her trademark line "Can we talk?" parlayed her frequent appearances on the *Tonight Show* into a regular guest host slot. After Carson left the *Tonight Show* in 1986, Rivers started her own talk show, *The Late Show Starring Joan Rivers* (1986–87) and published her first autobiography, *Enter Talking*. Her second husband was suffering from chemical depression due to heart medication at the time; he took the cancellation of his wife's program personally and committed suicide a few months later. Her husband's death tainted Rivers professionally, especially after her agent canceled her contract. Rivers started performing in small clubs again, appeared in Neil Simon's *Broadway Bound* (1986), and then took a regular spot as the center square on the television game show *Hollywood Squares*, which she held until 1989. She hosted her own syndicated talk show, *The Joan Rivers Show*, from 1989 to 1993, and won an Emmy for it in 1990. Rivers returned to Broadway with a play she wrote about Lenny Bruce's mother, *Sally Marr … and Her Escorts* (1994), which earned her a Tony nod for best actress. Rivers and her daughter starred as themselves in an NBC made-for-TV movie *Tears and Laughter: The Joan and Melissa Rivers Story* (1994), and the mother-daughter team has since become known for providing red-carpet commentary during the Oscars and other awards shows.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: "Rivers, Joan," in: *Newsmakers*, Issue 3 (2005); "Rivers, Joan," in: *Contemporary Authors* (Gale, 2005). **WEBSITE:** www.imdb.com/name/nm0001672.

[Adam Wills (2nd ed.)]

RIVERS, LARRY (1924–2002), U.S. painter, printmaker, sculptor, writer, and musician. Born Yitzroch Loiza Grossberg in the Bronx to immigrant parents from the Ukraine, Rivers initially made his reputation as a jazz saxophonist. After a brief stint in the U.S. Army during World War II (1942–43) he studied music theory and composition at the Juilliard School of Music (1944–45). Rivers started painting in 1945, and from 1947–48 he studied at the avant-garde Hans Hofmann School in New York. His initial work shows the influence of Abstract Expressionism.

In the early 1950s, Rivers began to paint autobiographical themes in pictures such as *The Burial* (1951, Fort Wayne Museum of Art, Indiana), a gesturally rendered canvas inspired by the memory of his grandmother's funeral, and *Europe I* (1956, Minneapolis Institute of Arts) and *Europe II* (1956, private collection, New York), the latter based on a formal portrait of Polish relatives. Parody enters his art in these years; in *Washington Crossing the Delaware* (1953, Museum of Modern Art, New York), for example, a canvas mocking the grand heroics of 19th-century American history painting, Rivers appropriates the imagery of Emanuel Leutze's iconic painting of the same name (1851, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York) while also exploring paint application and other formal qualities. The Museum of Modern Art in New York acquired Rivers' version in 1951, his first painting to enter a major public collection.

This mode of parody also pervades *History of Matzah (The Story of the Jews)* (1982–84, private collection, New York), an ambitious project that attempts to tell the nearly four-millennium history of the Jews. Painted on commission, *History of Matzah* appears in a collage-like form with images and stories overlapping on three nine-by-fourteen-foot canvases in Part I, titled *Before the Diaspora*, Part II, *European Jewry*, and Part III, *Immigration to America*, all superimposed on a rendering of matzah. Other works influenced by Rivers' Jewish identity include a large mural, *Fall in the Forest at Birkenau* (1990), hanging in the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum; three posthumous portraits of the Holocaust memoirist Primo *Levi (1987–88, Collection La Stampa, Turin, Italy); and the illustrations for a Limited Editions Club publication of Isaac *Bashevis Singer's short story "The Magician of Lublin" (1984).

The multi-talented Rivers designed sets for the play *Try! Try!* (1951), written by Frank O'Hara, as well as a play by Le Roi Jones (1964) and Stravinsky's *Oedipus Rex* (1966). With O'Hara, Rivers also wrote the play *Kenneth Koch: A Tragedy* (1954). In 1957 he began making welded metal sculpture. Rivers wrote poetry, acted on stage, including a stint as Lyndon Johnson in Kenneth Koch's *The Election* (1960), and continued to perform in jazz bands throughout his life. His 1992 autobiography, titled *What Did I Do?*, chronicles his life in often lurid detail.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: L. Rivers with C. Brightman, *Drawings and Digressions* (1979); H.A. Harrison, *Larry Rivers* (1984); S. Hunter, *Larry Rivers* (1989); L. Rivers and A. Weinstein, *What Did I Do? The Unauthorized Autobiography* (1992); S. Baskind, "Effacing Difference: Larry Rivers' *History of Matzah (The Story of the Jews)*," in: *Athanor* (1999), 87–95; L. Rivers, *Larry Rivers: Art and the Artist* (2002).

[Samantha Baskind (2nd ed.)]

RIVISTA ISRAELITICA, Italian-Jewish scholarly periodical published in Florence between 1904 and 1915. *Rivista Israelitica: Periodico bimestrale per la scienza e la vita del Giudaismo* ("Bi-Monthly for the Science and the Life of Judaism") was founded by Samuel Hirsch *Margulies. It appeared regularly until 1913, and in 1915 a double number marked its last issue. The journal provided a forum for the emerging research on the history and culture of Italian Jewry, which in 1913 was marked by the foundation of a Florence-based Società per la storia degli ebrei in Italia ("Society for the History of the Jews of Italy") edited by Umberto Cassuto. The *Rivista Israelitica* separated, for the first time in the history of the Italian Jewish press, a scientific approach to Judaism from more general educational goals, which S.H. Margulies pursued instead in *La Settimana Israelitica* (published in Siena between 1910 and 1915). The two journals eventually merged with *Il Corriere Israelitico* of Trieste, resulting in the weekly *Israel* (1916–64), from which later stemmed both *Israel dei ragazzi* (1918–38), a monthly for the youth and *La Rassegna Mensile di Israel* (1925–). Many of the studies by the Italian and foreign contributors dealt with the history and culture of Italian Jewry. In 1904–06 an Italian translation of part of Abraham Berliner's *Geschichte der Juden in Rom* ("Storia degli Ebrei in Roma"; "History of the Jews of Rome") appeared in installments as an appendix. Contributors included: Moise Finzi (president of the Collegio Rabbinico Italiano and professor of statistics and political economy at the Istituto Tecnico of Florence), U. Cassuto, Elia Samuele Artom, Raffaele Ottolenghi, Samuele Colombo, G. Calò, G. Jaré, C. Castellani, Aldo Sorani, Edgardo Morpurgo, Giuseppe Levi, Israel Zoller and Aldo Cantone. The journal also attracted distinguished Jewish scholars from other countries. H.P. Chajes and I. Elbogen, who taught at the Collegio Rabbinico Italiano, contributed various studies.

[Tovia Preschel / Francesco Spagnolo (2nd ed.)]

RIVKES, MOSES BEN NAPHTALI HIRSCH (d. c. 1671/72), Lithuanian talmudist. It is not known when Rivkes went to Vilna, but he was one of those expelled from Vilna in 1655 (together with *Shabbetai b. Meir ha-Kohen, Ephraim Cohen, and Aaron Samuel *Koidonover) during the war between Poland and Russia. He reached the Prussian border but was prevented from proceeding further because of the Swedish army which was invading Russia. He then sailed for Amsterdam, where he was well received by the Sephardi community. Although most of the refugees were sent to Frankfurt, Rivkes, through the influence of Saul Levi *Morteira and Isaac *Aboab, remained in Amsterdam. He later returned to Vilna, where he died.

Rivkes' fame rests upon his *Be'er ha-Golah*. At the request of Ephraim *Bueno, "the distinguished doctor," and Jacob Castello, he corrected the edition of the Shulḥan Arukh printed in Amsterdam, adding to it the sources and clarifying the reasons for conflicting opinions. The work (first published in the Amsterdam (1661–66) edition of the Shulḥan Arukh) became an integral part of the Shulḥan Arukh, appearing in all editions. Rivkes also wrote additions to the Shulḥan Arukh and a commentary on the Mishnah, which were never published. In the sphere of Jew-gentile relations, Rivkes favored tolerance and mutual respect, condemning dishonesty toward non-Jews in commercial dealings and stressing the duty of Jews to respect Jews and gentiles alike, since Christians shared with Jews certain religious beliefs based upon the Bible. He was renowned for his personal piety and was called *he-Ḥasid* ("the pious"), an unusual appellation for that time. In his ethical testament he refers to his sons, Pethahiah, Joseph, and Judah, who died in his lifetime, and to his sister's son, David Lida, rabbi of Amsterdam. Rivkes was an ancestor of Elijah Gaon of Vilna, who was supported by a legacy established by him.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: S.J. Fuenn, *Kiryah Ne'emanah* (1912^5), 97–100; I. Klausner, *Toledot ha-Kehillah ha-Ivrit be-Vilna* (1938), 15; Ch. Tchernowitz, *Toledot ha-Posekim*, 3 (1947), 172–5; J. Katz, *Exclusiveness and Tolerance* (1961); *Yahadut Lita*, 1 (1959), 253, and index; 3 (1967), 71, and index.

[Itzhak Alfassi]

RIVKIN, BORUCH (pseudonym of **Boruch Abraham Weinrebe/Weinryb**; 1883–1945), Yiddish literary critic and essayist. Born in Jakobstadt, Courland (Jekabpils, Latvia), the son of a wagon driver, Rivkin became involved in the revolutionary activities of the *Bund, although he was more inclined toward philosophical anarchism. He suffered a year's imprisonment in 1904 and fled to Switzerland, where he was active in anarchist circles and published in Russian. Only after reaching London (1911) did he begin to write in Yiddish. A year later he settled in New York and was invited by the poet A. *Reisen to write for his newly-founded literary weekly *Dos Naye Land*. Rivkin became coeditor of its successor, *Di Literarishe Velt*, and also assisted A. *Liessin in editing *Tsukunft*. He was on the staff of the New York daily *Tog* (1917–19 and 1940–45). In the U.S., Rivkin was associated with Po'alei Zion. He suffered poverty and published only one booklet during his life. After his death, his second wife, Yiddish poet Mina Bordo-Rivkin, collected and published his essays in six volumes, which included: *A Gloybn far Umgloybike* ("A Religion for the Irreligious," 1947); *Yidishe Dikhter in Amerike* ("American Yiddish Poets," 1947); *Grunt-Tendentsn fun der Yidisher Literatur in Amerike* ("Main Trends in American Yiddish Literature," 1948); and *Undzere Prozaiker* ("Our Prose Writers," 1951). Rivkin is primarily a literary critic, who holds that religion and art are identical and that divine truth emanates from imaginative creation. Hence, Torah is art and Jewish holidays are theatrical embodiments of a drama of redemption. The Jewish man of letters can ennoble the Jewish people and direct its energies to messianic goals. Rivkin propagated the idea that Yiddish literature could serve as a spiritual territory for the Jewish people in the Diaspora. Messianism and spiritualism were two of Rivkin's main concerns. He was not a disciplined thinker but rather a passionate, dynamic critic who probed deeply into literary works, occasionally emerging with flashes of original insight.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Rejzen, Leksikon, 4 (1929), 330–3; M. Bordo-Rivkin, *B. Rivkin: Lebn un Shafn* (1953), incl. bibl.; S.D. Singer, *Dikhter* *un Prozaiker* (1959), 291–4; A. Tabachnik, *Dikhter un Dikhtung* (1965), 455–73. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** LNYL, 8 (1981), 448–51.

[Sol Liptzin / Eugene V. Orenstein (2nd ed.)]

RIVKIN, ELLIS (1918–), U.S. historian. Born in Baltimore, Maryland, Rivkin received a doctorate in history from Johns Hopkins University. He taught Jewish history at Gratz College before being appointed professor of Jewish history at the Hebrew Union College–Jewish Institute of Religion, Cincinnati, Ohio. He acquired renown as a perceptive analyst of the interrelationships between Jewish life and that of the surrounding culture as well as for his application of new methodologies to the problems of Jewish historiography. Best known among these approaches are his reconstruction of the problem of the Pharisees (e.g., "Defining the Pharisees: The Tannaitic Sources," in: HUCA, 40–41 (1969–70), 205–49) and his conception of the "unity principle," which he regards as the major constant in Jewish history. He feels that the Jewish people have confronted and comprehended cataclysmic changes and increasingly complex diversity through the ages without loss of their identity or ideals. After retiring from teaching, Rivkin was named professor emeritus of Jewish history at Hebrew Union College.

Rivkin's works include: *Leon da Modena and the Kol Sakhal* (1952); *Dynamics of Jewish History* (1970); *The Shaping of Jewish History: A Radical New Interpretation* (1971); *Hidden Revolution* (1978); and *What Crucified Jesus?* (1984).

ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY: R. Seltzer (ed.), *Judaism: A People and Its History* (1989).

[Martin A. Cohen]

RIVKIND, ISAAC (1895–1968), librarian and scholar. Rivkind was born in Lodz, Poland, and studied at the yeshivot of Volozhin and Ponevezh. During World War I and after he helped organize the Mizrachi movement of Poland. In 1917 he founded the Ẓe'irei Mizrachi in Lodz and in 1919–20 was a member of the Jewish National Council of Poland. In 1920 he was a delegate to the London Zionist Conference and from there proceeded to the U.S. to work on behalf of Mizrachi. In 1923 he began to work in the library of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America, New York, eventually becoming chief of the Hebraica section. He was a co-founder of the U.S. branch of the Yiddish Scientific Institute (YIVO); on the executive of the Hebrew PEN Club of the U.S.A.; and a fellow of the American Academy for Jewish Research. During World War II and in the immediate postwar years he was the national chairman in the U.S. of the League for Religious Labor in Palestine.

Rivkind was the author of significant studies and essays in many fields, notably in Jewish bibliography, ethnography and folklore, Yiddish philology, and Zionism. He contributed to numerous periodicals and publications in Hebrew, Yiddish, and English, including *Kirjath Sepher, Reshumot*, and *Yidishe Shprakh*. He wrote the following works: *Le-Ot u-le-Zikkaron* ("For a Sign and a Reminder," 1942), a study on the history, development, and customs of bar mitzvah; *Der Kamf Kegn Azartshpilen bay Yidn* (1946), on the fight against gambling among Jews, with special reference to Old Yiddish poetry; and *Yidishe Gelt* ("Jewish Money," 1959), a Yiddish lexicological study on money in Jewish folkways, cultural history, and folklore. Other notable studies of his included *Ha-Naẓiv ve-Yiḥuso le-Ḥibbat Ẓiyyon* ("Rabbi Naphtali Ẓevi Yehuda Berlin and the Ḥibbat Zion Movement," 1919), *Elokei Bialik* ("The Religion of Bialik," in *Ein ha-Kor*, 1923), "Moses Provencal on Ball Playing" ("*Teshuvat*…," in *Tarbiz*, 4 (1932/33, 366–76), and "A Responsum of Leon of Modena on Uncovering the Head" (in *Sefer ha-Yovel… L. Ginzberg* (1946), 401–23). He assisted scores of scholars in their research.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: M. Kosover and A. Duker (eds.), *Minḥah le-Yiẓḥak* (1949), with bibl. of Rivkind's works; A. Zeitlin et al. in: *Hadoar*, 44 (1965), 351–8.

[Tovia Preschel]

RIVLIN, distinguished Jerusalem family. The Rivlin family claims descent from Moses *Rivkes (d. 1671), son of Naphtali Hirsch Sofer of the Prague Jewish community, son of Pethaḥiah Sofer of that community, son of the scholarly Joseph, and from Moses b. David *Kramer (d. 1688), who was *av bet din* and head of the yeshivah in Vilna. Elijah Ḥasid (d. 1710), son of Moses Kramer, married the daughter of Pethahiah, son of Moses Rivkes. The original family name, Riveles, derived according to the then prevalent custom from the feminine name Riva, or Rivka. Apparently the name Riveles (= Rivlin) was first used by Solomon Zalman, son of Ẓevi Hirsch, who was the rabbi and head of the community of *Shklov in Belorussia in the middle of the 18th century. He was a grandson of Elijah Ḥasid, son of Moses Kramer. Two of the sons of Solomon Zalman were Elijah and Benjamin Riveles, who were leading Jews in Shklov at the end of the 18th century and the beginning of the 19th. Benjamin was a second cousin and disciple of *Elijah b. Solomon Zalman, Gaon of Vilna, and his descendants formed the branches of the Rivlins who were *Perushim*, or *Mitnaggedim*, and observed the customs of Elijah, Gaon of Vilna. On the other hand, the sons of Elijah Riveles, also known as Elijah Platkes, were followers of *Shneur Zalman of Lyady, and they and their descendants were *Ḥabad Ḥasidim. The descendants of the brothers Elijah and Benjamin Riveles were among the leaders of Lithuanian and Belorussian Jewry, especially in the cities of Shklov, Mohilev and Vilna.

According to family tradition BENJAMIN RIVLIN (Riveles), founded an association called Ḥazon Zion, which had the aim of encouraging immigration to Ereẓ Israel. As a consequence, a group of the Gaon's disciples went to Ereẓ Israel, founded there the *kolel of the *Perushim* and renewed the Ashkenazi community in Jerusalem. Benjamin himself did not succeed in reaching the country, dying on the way in 1812. In addition to being a renowned Torah scholar, he also studied the natural sciences, particularly medicine and pharmacy, and traded in medicaments. Of his numerous works, only the small book *Gevi'i Gevi'a ha-Kesef* (Shklov, 1804) was published. His son HILLEL (1758–1838), born in Shklov, was active in the Ḥazon Zion association. In 1809 he immigrated to Ereẓ Israel at the head of a company of 70 people, among whom were disciples of the Vilna Gaon, and settled in Jerusalem. MOSES (1781–1846), son of Hillel, lived in Shklov, where he officiated as a *Maggid*. After his father immigrated to Ereẓ Israel, he headed the Ḥazon Zion association. He came to Ereẓ Israel himself in 1841 where he was appointed head of the Ashkenazi community in Jerusalem by the rabbis of Russia and Lithuania. Among his writings is *Beit Midrash*, published in Vilna in 1861 by his son ISAAC EISIK (?–1869). When Elijah Joseph Rivlin (1805–1865), grandson of Elijah Platkes, went to Jerusalem in 1847, the members of the Ḥabad branch of the family joined the family and Ḥabad Ḥasidim already in the country in such places as Jerusalem, Hebron, and Tiberias. Members of the family became heads of the *kolelim* and public institutions in Jerusalem and Hebron, such as *talmud torahs*, hospitals, and *gemilut ḥasadim* societies, and were among those who extended the limits of Jewish settlement in Jerusalem and other cities. Other members of the family traveled to Western Europe. There, too, branches of the family evolved, some of whose children moved to Jewish centers in America.

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[Benjamin Rivlin]

RIVLIN, ALICE (**Mitchell**; 1931–), U.S. economist and government official. Born in Philadelphia, Rivlin was raised in Bloomington, Ind., and educated at Bryn Mawr College (B.A. 1952) and Radcliffe College, Harvard University (M.A. 1955; Ph.D. 1958). She had a crowded resume, having served ably in many positions, including several professorships, and numerous leadership positions in various think tanks and in federal government offices.

Rivlin devoted her career to the analysis of public finance and social policy, and particularly to the federal budget. Based mainly at the Brookings Institution, a privately-funded centrist-liberal think tank, her government service began as a consultant to the House Education and Labor Committee in 1961. Rivlin was probably best known as the first director of the Congressional Budget Office (CBO), founded by Congress to provide it with economic information and analysis independent of the executive branch. There she established a tradition of nonpartisan analysis that later earned her criticism from the Reagan administration, but that enabled the CBO to withstand for many years pressures to become a political tool of a congressional majority. During the Clinton administration, as the director of the Office of Management and Budget, Rivlin concentrated largely, and successfully, on reducing the federal deficit. As vice chair of the board of governors at the Federal Reserve, she was involved in monetary policy, and encouraged greater use of electronic processing in the banking system.

Rivlin described her perspective as that of a "fanatical, card-carrying middle-of-the-roader." She articulated her ideas in many articles, mainly in professional journals but also in more popular publications; in the early 1970s she wrote a newspaper column for the *Washington Post*. Among her many books are: *The Role of the Federal Government in Financing Higher Education* (1961), *Microanalysis of Socioeconomic Systems: A Simulation Study* (1961, with Guy Orcutt et al.), *Measures of State and Local Fiscal Capacity and Tax Effort* (1962, with Selma J. Mushkin), *Systematic Thinking for Social Action* (1971), *Caring for the Disabled Elderly: Who Will Pay?* (1988, with Joshua M. Wiener), *Reviving the American Dream: The Economy, the States, and the Federal Government* (1992), and *Restoring Fiscal Sanity: How to Balance the Budget* (2004, with Isabel Sawhill).

[Drew Silver (2nd ed.)]

RIVLIN, ELIEZER (1889–1942), historian and journalist in Ereẓ Israel. Rivlin was born in Jerusalem into one of its old established families. He went into business and then became the secretary of the United Old Age Home in Jerusalem. As a young man, he became a correspondent for the New York Yiddish paper, *Morning Journal*, and also published studies on the history of Jewish settlement in Ereẓ Israel, Jerusalem in particular, and in neighboring countries. In this field, Rivlin's major achievement was his revised and enlarged edition of Aryeh Leib Frumkin's *Toledot Ḥakhmei Yerushalayim 1490–1870* ("History of Jerusalem Sages, 1490–1870," 3 vols., 1928–30), which he expanded into a history of all Jewish settlement in Ereẓ Israel.

Rivlin also published selections from the Pentateuch commentary by the 16th-century Jerusalem rabbi and physician Raphael Mordecai Malkhi, *Likkutim mi-Perush ha-Torah shel R.M. Malkhi* (2 parts, 1923–24); a biography of Joseph Sundel *Salant (Heb., 1927); a new edition of the 17th-century work on Jerusalem, *Ḥorvot Yerushalayim* (1928); and *Sefer ha-Yaḥas le-Mishpaḥat Rivlin u-Mishpaḥat ha-Gra mi-Vilna* (1935–40; "Genealogy of the Rivlin family and the family of Elijah of Vilna"). His collection of material on Ereẓ Israel in the responsa literature remained unpublished.

[Getzel Kressel]

RIVLIN, HARRY N. (1904–1991), U.S. educator. Born in New York, Rivlin was a schoolteacher before joining the department of education at the City College of New York. In 1939, he organized and headed the department of education at the newly-established Queens College. In 1957 he was appointed dean of teacher education for the newly-established City University of New York. In this post, he served as chief administrative officer of one of the largest teacher education programs in the country. As a coordinator for the Great Cities School Improvement Program, Rivlin studied the ways in which schools were dealing with the educationally and socially disadvantaged. When he was chairman of the Committee on Urban Teaching of the American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education, he was instrumental in setting up a national clearinghouse for research in urban education. He served as acting president of City College during 1961–62. One of America's foremost experts on the problems of education in urban ghettos, Rivlin was chiefly responsible for the plan for training teachers for schools in low socioeconomic areas, which was accepted by the New York City Board of Education in 1966.

He was one of the editors of the *Encyclopedia of Modern Education* (1943), and his published works include: *Educating for Adjustment* (1936); *Teaching Adolescents in Secondary Schools* (1948, 19612) edited with Herman H. Remmers; *Growth and Learning* (1957); *New Teachers for New Immigrants* (1965); *Cultural Pluralism in Education* (with M. Stent and W. Hazard, 1973); *The Control of Urban Schools* (1974); *The College's Responsibility to Its Faculty* (1974); and *In Praise of Diversity* (with M. Gold and C. Grant, 1977).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: The City University of New York, Division of Teacher Education, *Teacher Education News and Notes*, 17 (March–April 1966).

[Ernest Schwarcz]

RIVLIN, JOSEPH JOEL (1889–1971), Israeli educator and scholar of Arabic language and literature. Born in *Jerusalem, Rivlin was the son of Reuven Rivlin, the last secretary of the general council of Keneset Yisrael. His mother, a sister of Avraham *Shapira, died when he was a week old. From 1910 to 1914, he taught at schools in Jerusalem. Rivlin was one of the main protagonists of spoken Hebrew, and he opposed the Hilfsverein and its domination of education in Ereẓ Israel. When the network of national schools was established, he became its secretary in Jerusalem.

At the beginning of World War I, Rivlin was compelled to leave Jerusalem and hide with his mother's relatives in Petaḥ Tikvah. In 1917 he volunteered to teach in Kefar Sava the children of those who had been expelled from Jaffa and Tel Aviv. He was taken prisoner there by the Turkish government and imprisoned in Jerusalem and then in *Damascus. Freed through the efforts of the engineer Gedaliah Wilbushewitz, who managed factories in Damascus for the Turkish army, Rivlin acted as his secretary until the end of the war. He remained there and taught in the Hebrew school for a time.

After the war, he took charge of the Damascus Hebrew girls' school established by the Zionist Organization. He was elected to the communal council of Damascus, together with Yehuda *Burla, who headed the boys' school; they represented the Zionist Organization in the city. In 1922 he returned to Ereẓ Israel, then went to study Arabic language and Islamic literature at the University of Frankfurt. On his return to Jerusalem in 1927, he was appointed to the Institute of Oriental Studies of the Hebrew University, and was eventually promoted to professor. In 1928 he was elected to the central organization of Ereẓ Israel Hebrew teachers and from 1930 to 1941 was its chairman. He was also a member of the Academy for the Hebrew Language. Rivlin participated actively in communal work, and was a founder and leader of many organizations, including the B'nai B'rith

At an early age, Rivlin began publishing stories, essays, criticisms, accounts of the settlement of Ereẓ Israel and its personalities, etc. He translated the *Koran and *A Thousand and One Nights* into Hebrew and wrote on the culture of the Kurdish Jews. He published many articles and various books on Jerusalem and its personalities.

[Benjamin Rivlin]

RIVLIN, SHELOMO ZALMAN (1886–1962), *ḥazzan*, composer, and rabbi, son of Yosef *Rivlin. Rivlin studied liturgical music with A.Z. Idelsohn. For 60 years, he was *ḥazzan* of the Shirat Israel Synagogue in Jerusalem, and founded and directed its school for *ḥazzanim* and Jewish music. He endeavored to produce a unified musical style based equally on the European and Oriental traditions, which he published in *Shirei Shelomo–ha-Shirah ha-Me'uḥedet* (1933). Rivlin's reputation as an outstanding teacher was spread by his students, many of whom became notable *ḥazzanim*. He also trained many of his pupils in homiletics and published the sermons he wrote for them to deliver in the Shirat Israel Synagogue in *Midrash Shelomo* (1953). His compositions and arrangements of traditional melodies were published in *Shirei Shelomo*, 3 vols. (1931–61). He also edited, together with J.C. Epstein, a Hebrew-English-Yiddish dictionary (1924).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Tidhar, 4 (1950), 1743; E. Horowitz, in: *Yedi'ot ha-Makhon ha-Yisre'eli le-Musikah Datit*, 4 (1963/64), 354–60.

[David M.L. Olivestone]

RIVLIN, YOSEF YIẒḤAK (1837–1896), leader of the Jewish community in Jerusalem. Born in Jerusalem, Rivlin was a fourth-generation descendant of Hillel Rivlin (see *Rivlin family), the leader of the disciples of the Vilna Gaon who settled in Ereẓ Israel in the early 19th century. He entered public life at an early age, and from 1863 until his death was secretary – and, in fact, director – of Ha-Va'ad ha-Kelali Keneset Yisrael (General Committee of Keneset Yisrael), the central body of the Ashkenazi community in Jerusalem. As such he was instrumental in unifying the Ashkenazi community. Rivlin initiated the building of the first Jewish quarters in Jerusalem outside the Old City walls, e.g., Naḥalat Shiv'ah (1869), Me'ah She'arim (1874), and other housing centers in the west and northwest of the city. He took an active part in founding the first Jewish agricultural settlement, Petaḥ Tikvah. Rivlin's writings are mostly confined to publicistic commentary. His articles in Hebrew newspapers in Ereẓ Israel and abroad described Jewish life in the Holy Land. He argued with those who criticized the social and economic conditions of the old *yishuv* and especially the *Ḥalukkah* system, for he favored gradual reform, rather than major changes. Rivlin also wrote some poetry about the redemption of Israel and the upbuilding of Jerusalem. A selection of his articles and essays appeared in book form as *Megillat Yosef* (1966), edited with an introduction by N. Katzburg.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: P. Grajewski, *Ha-Rav Yosef Rivlin* (1926); Y. Rivlin, in: H.Z. Hirschberg (ed.), *Yad Yosef Yiẓḥak Rivlin* (1964).

[Nathaniel Katzburg]

RIZAIEH (until the 1930s called **Urmia**), town in N.W. Iran, on the Persian-Turkish frontier. There was a Jewish community in Urmia in early Islamic days; it first came to the fore in the 12th century with the appearance of the pseudo-messiah David *Alroy, who found many adherents in the town. Nothing more is heard of the community until 1828 when *David d'Beth Hillel visited it. In his *Travels* he mentions three synagogues in Urmia and gives a detailed account of the community's suffering as a result of a *blood libel. Further details are provided by Christian missionary sources. Letters published by I. Ben-Zvi and an account by Z. Shazar throw further light on the history of Jews in Urmia in the last century. As attested by a letter preserved in Chorny's *Sefer ha-Massa'ot* (1884; pp. 240–2), they had contacts with the Jews in the Caucasus. The community was severely affected by a famine in 1871. In 1902, about 350 Jewish families lived in 200 houses in Rizaieh, in four separate quarters with a synagogue in each. With the establishment of the State of Israel, most of the Jews in Rizaieh immigrated there and the rest left the town after the 1979 Islamic revolution.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: W.J. Fischel, in: *Sinai*, 5 (1939), 237ff.; idem, in: JSOS, 6 (1944), 195–226; A. Ben-Jacob, *Kehillot Yehudei Kurdistan* (1961), 22–25, 144; Z. Shazar, *Kokhevei Boker* (1961^{6}), 357–73; I. Ben-Zvi, *Meḥkarim u-Mekorot* (1966), index, s.v. *Urmi'ah*. **ADD. BILIOGRAPHY:** A. Netzer, "Jews of Urmia/Rezāiye," in: *Shofar* (Jan. 2001), 22 ff. (in Persian).

[Walter Joseph Fischel / Amnon Netzer (2nd ed.)]

RIZPAH (Heb. רִצְפָּה), daughter of Aiah and concubine of Saul. After Saul's death, Rizpah probably withdrew to the palace of her son *Ish-Bosheth (Ishbaal) at Mahanaim, where *Abner took possession of her (II Sam. 3:7). Abner was reprimanded for this by Ish-Bosheth, whose anger may be explained in light of the custom that the king's harem used to pass on to his successor (cf. II Sam. 16:21), and should have therefore passed on to Ish-Bosheth. Abner's action can also be seen against the background of the Near Eastern custom that the marriage of a former king's wife bestows legitimacy even on an aspirant to the throne who has no sufficient claim (cf. 16:21; I Kings 2:17–22). Abner's action was thus regarded as a step toward claiming the throne.

At a later period in David's reign, a three-year famine broke out which was thought to have been caused by Saul's guilt in slaying the Gibeonites. The Gibeonites demanded the blood of the guilty house of Saul, and David made expiation by handing over seven of Saul's sons, among them the two sons of Rizpah, Armoni and Mephibosheth, to be hanged (II Sam. 21:1–9). The Gibeonites hanged them in the first days of the barley harvest, and brought the bodies to Gibeon to be exposed. Rizpah displayed her devotion by keeping a constant vigil over the bodies to protect them from the birds of prey from the beginning of the barley harvest until the rain finally came (21:10). When David heard of Rizpah's fidelity, he brought her sons' bones to burial (21:13–14).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Bright, Hist, 176; de Vaux, Anc Isr, 116; M. Tsevat, in: JJS, 9 (1958), 273–93.

ROBACK, ABRAHAM AARON (1890–1965), U.S. psychologist and Yiddish scholar. Born in Russia, Roback was taken to the U.S. as a child. He taught at several universities and was associated with the Massachusetts State Department of Education (1926–49). He served as chairman and professor of psychology at Emerson College (1949–1958). Roback's primary importance to psychology was as a historian and systematist. An early opponent of behaviorism, he believed in a broadly humanistic approach to psychology. He was the first to investigate the historical antecedents of American, as opposed to European, sources of psychology. He also stressed the Jewish contribution to the history of psychology. In addition, he devised tests for superior adult intelligence, scientific ingenuity, comprehension, and sense of humor. He wrote on personality and folklore and became interested in the study of linguistics, especially of Yiddish.

Roback was the first to introduce an academic course in Yiddish literature in the U.S., at the Massachusetts University Extension (1929) and organized the Yiddish collection (over 10,000 books) at Harvard University Library (1929). He was editor of *Der Keneder Odler* in Montreal (1908) and first editor of *Canadian Jewish Chronicle* (1914).

Roback's extensive research into the character and literary value of Yiddish also showed the cultural and spiritual impact which this language has made upon Western culture. He showed how Yiddish is permeated by the *folkgeist* of its Jewish speakers and *Weltanschauung* of the shtetl. Roback wrote the *Jewish Influence in Modern Thought* (1929) and *Psychology Through Yiddish Literature* (1931) in which he expressed his belief in the role of Jewish thought in the modern age. Roback was active in many communal and Jewish organizations.

Apart from Yiddish research, he was a prolific writer in his own field. He wrote many articles and over 20 books on psychology. Among the most important were: *The Psychology of Character* (1927, 1952^{4}); *Personality in Theory and Practice* (1949, 1957^{2}); *A History of American Psychology* (1952, 1964^{2}); *History of Psychology and Psychiatry* (1961, 1962^{2}); *Aspects of Applied Psychology and Crime* (1964).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: J. Berger, *The Destiny and Motivation of Dr. A.A. Roback* (1957).

[Menachem M. Brayer]

ROBACK, LEA (1903–2000), Canadian feminist, union organizer, communist, peace activist. Roback was known in the Jewish community but earned her fame among labor activists and feminists in Quebec Francophone society. Born in Montreal to Yiddish-speaking Polish parents, she was raised in Beauport, one of nine children. At home in French society, she went to the University of Grenoble for two years and then to the University of Berlin. Her association with the radical left began in Germany, where she witnessed the rise of Nazism and was herself beaten for her political activism. Returning to Montreal in 1932, she worked at the YWHA and then opened a Marxist bookstore. She became a labor organizer for the ILGWU and organized the Union of Electrical Workers. Given the anti-Marxist government of Duplessis, she continued her work underground when the bookstore was closed. Age did not diminish her enthusiasm or activism as she marched and spoke out for women's rights and against antisemitism, war, and the use of nuclear weapons. Even at age 92, she participated in the March of Bread and Roses. Friends and family set up an ongoing foundation in her honor that would raise money for education. Named to the Order of Quebec and honored by the YWCA and Temple Emanuel-Beth Sholom, Roback was listed as one of the 100 outstanding Quebecers of the 20th century in *L'Actualité*. She was the subject of a 1991 documentary film, *Des Lumières: Dans la grande noirceur*, by Sophie Bissonnette. Roback's papers are at the Jewish Public Library of Montreal. She never married but left a strong legacy that combined a fierce pride in being Jewish with a steadfast commitment to social justice, human rights, and peace. Her life stands as an example of Canadian multiculturalism at its best.

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[Norma Baumel Joseph (2nd ed.)]

ROBBINS, HAROLD (1916–1997), U.S. author. Born in New York City and listed as Francis Kane on his birth certificate but abandoned on the steps of a Roman Catholic orphanage, he was raised in a foster home by a Jewish family named Rubins. He dropped out of high school and worked in a succession of jobs, including inventory clerk in a grocery store. When he was 19, he borrowed $800 and started speculating on crop futures. He later said he was a millionaire by the time he turned 20 but lost it all gambling on the future price of sugar. In 1940, he got a job as a clerk in the New York warehouse of Universal Pictures and rose quickly. By 1942, he became executive director of budget and planning. He remained with Universal as an executive until 1957. He began writing at the age of 30. His first book, *Never Love a Stranger* (1948), drew on his own life as an orphan on the streets of New York and created controversy with its graphic sexuality. The book, later made into a film, was his first bestseller, and by his death he had sold more than 750 million books with more than 25 titles in 32 languages. *The Dream Merchants* (1949) was about Hollywood's film industry, from the first steps to the sound era. In it Robbins blended his own experiences, historical facts, melodrama, sex, and action into a fast-moving story. His 1952 novel, *A Stone for Danny Fisher*, about a sensitive boy growing to manhood while being victimized by circumstances, drew respect from some critics, unlike most of his other writings. The film version (1958) had the setting moved from Chicago to New Orleans; it was renamed *King Creole* and starred Elvis Presley. Among his best-known books was *The Carpetbaggers*, loosely based on the life of Howard Hughes. It took the reader from New York to California, from the aeronautical industry to the glamor of Hollywood. Robbins also wrote *Never Leave Me* (1953), *79 Park Avenue* (1955), *The Betsy* (1971) and *Dreams Die First* (1977). As his bankroll swelled, Robbins began living the sybaritic lifestyle of his characters, luxuriating on his yacht, maintaining villas on the French Riviera, Acapulco, and Beverly Hills, gambling at the world's casinos and marrying at least five times. Robbins said he had experienced all the vices he chronicled in his novels, many of which revolved around disguised versions of the rich and famous, including Aristotle Onassis, Porfirio Rubirosa and Lana Turner.

[Stewart Kampel (2nd ed.)]

ROBBINS (Rabinowitz), JEROME (1918–1998), U.S. dancer, choreographer, director, and producer considered by many the greatest American-born ballet choreographer and the best choreographer on Broadway. Moreover, his works embrace a wide range of styles and moods. Robbins was born in New York, studied ballet and modern dance, had violin and piano lessons, and was interested in marionettes. In 1940, he joined the Ballet Theatre (later the American Ballet Theater) and danced his first important role as Petrouchka in 1942. He subsequently proved an outstanding interpreter of comic and dramatic characters. His first choreographic work *Fancy Free* (1944), in a style based on contemporary movement, was an immediate success and was expanded into a musical, *On the Town*. Robbins choreographed *Interplay* (1945), *Facsimile* (1946), and other works for the Ballet Theatre. In 1948 he joined the New York City Ballet, where he was associate artistic director from 1949 to 1961, and created nine works for its company, including a reworking of Nijinsky's *Afternoon of a Faun* (1953) and *Concert Chopin* (1956). He later choreographed many works for the company, including Bach's *Goldberg Variations* (1971); Stravinsky's *Requiem Canticle*; and Philip Glass's *Glass Pieces* (1983). From 1944 onward, Robbins was also active in the Broadway theater, where his choreographic successes included *West Side Story*, in collaboration with composer Leonard *Bernstein (1957), which made him world famous. From 1958 to 1961, Robbins headed his own company, Ballets U.S.A., which played in Europe and America. In 1964, his direction of the musical *Fiddler on the Roof* was outstandingly successful. In 1952, Robbins assisted in the establishment of the *Inbal dance company in Israel. In 1966, he founded the American Theater Laboratory for the development of new forms in the musical theater.

Robbins was Chevalier de l'ordre des arts et lettres (France, 1964); was awarded an honorary doctorate from the City University of New York (1980); and received the Hans

Christian Andersen award (1988) and the Handel Medallion of the City of New York (1990).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: IED, vol. 5, 358b–368a; *International Dictionary of Ballet*, vol. 2, 1199–203.

[Marcia B. Siegel / Amnon Shiloah (2nd ed.)]

ROBERT (Levin), LUDWIG (1778–1832), German playwright. Born into a prosperous and "enlightened" Berlin family, Robert was the younger brother of Rahel *Varnhagen von Ense. Rejecting a business career to become a writer, he devoted himself mainly to the drama, and was the first Jew to have his plays performed on the German stage. Although he converted to Christianity, he was never allowed to forget his Jewish origin, and his lack of success was partly due to the prejudices of his contemporaries. Neither his adaptation of Molière's *Les Précieuses Ridicules* (staged in Berlin, 1804) nor his verse tragedy *Die Tochter Jephthas* (staged in Prague, 1813) aroused much enthusiasm. His staunch German patriotism during the Napoleonic era found expression in his verse collection, *Kaempfe der Zeit* (1817), whose technique influenced some of the poems of his young friend Heinrich *Heine. Robert's outstanding work, the tragedy *Die Macht der Verhaeltnisse* (1819), reflects the ambiguity of his position as a converted Jew. Based on the controversy between Achim von Arnim and Moritz Itzig that led to a duel in 1811, the play deals with class conflicts and the avenging of insults and was the forerunner of the great social dramas of Hebbel and Ibsen, but was not appreciated in its time. His correspondence with his sister Rahel Varnhagen appeared in 2001, edited by C. Vigliero.

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[Sol Liptzin]

ROBERT OF READING (second half of 13th century), London Dominican friar, an excellent preacher, deeply skilled in Hebrew, who converted to Judaism, was circumcised, and, taking the name Haggai, married a Jewish woman. Summoned before the king and arguing boldly, he was handed to the archbishop of Canterbury for discipline. This entry for 1275 appears in the Worcester chronicle, derived with few additions from a lost Winchcombe chronicle. In his conversion Robert was not unique. Roth (see Bibliography) draws attention to Samuel Usque's reference in his *Consolaçam…* (Ferrara, 1553) to this episode.

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[Joe Hillaby (2nd ed.)]

ROBERTS, TONY (1939–), U.S. actor. Born in New York City, the son of a well-known radio announcer, Roberts studied acting at Northwestern University and then struck out for New York, working in commercials. He got a regular stint on the television soap opera *The Edge of Night* and then began a long-term friendship and professional relationship with the comedian-writer-director Woody *Allen when he was cast as Diane Keaton's husband in Allen's Broadway production *Play It Again, Sam* (1969). Roberts appeared in such Allen works as *Annie Hall* (1977), *Stardust Memories* (1980), *A Midsummer Night's Sex Comedy* (1982), and *Radio Days* (1987). In 1995 Roberts costarred on Broadway with Julie Andrews, playing a flamboyant homosexual cabaret entertainer in the musical version of Andrews' 1981 movie *Victor/Victoria*. He continued in film and on Broadway throughout the early years of the 21st century.

[Stewart Kampel (2nd ed.)]

ROBIN, RÉGINE (1939–), sociologist, essayist, and fiction writer. Robin was born in Paris, France, to working-class immigrants from Poland. Named Rivka Ajzersztejn, she was hidden with her mother in the Paris suburb of Belleville. Both survived the war, as did her father, a French soldier. But some 50 relatives in Poland were killed by the Nazis, as were others from France, following "la grande rafle" (roundup) of Parisian Jews on July 18, 1942. These events left an indelible imprint on the infant Rivka, and would become obsessions for the writer that Robin eventually became. Thus, at the end of her short-story collection, *L'Immense Fatigue des Pierres* (1995), she inserted photos of 50 empty picture-frames to represent her eradicated Polish family. In the same collection, her story "Gratok, langue de vie, langue de mort" depicts the little girl's hiding place and her French babysitter, Juliette, who fraternized with Nazis but never betrayed her. Robin grew up in a home where she imbibed radical ideas and a deep love for Yiddish. She completed a doctorate in history but switched to sociology. She was a university professor in France, then in Montréal after her father and mother died, respectively in 1975 and 1977. Her passion for Yiddish rekindled just as she began to divide her time between her new home and Paris. Nearly all of her writing, some 15 books, contains reflections on Yiddish language and culture. In 1984, she published *Pour l'amour du Yiddish: écriture juive et sentiment de la langue, 1830–1930*. In *Kafka* (1989), she discussed the fascination with Yiddish of the celebrated Czech writer. Her two novels, *Le Cheval Blanc de Lénine* (1979) and *La Québécoite* (1983), she labeled "autofiction," a combination of family history, imaginary elements and self-reflexive passages on writing. The much-discussed latter book treats imaginatively the narrator's complex search for identity between her Jewish roots, her French experiences and her efforts to integrate into Quebec society. This search resurfaces in *Cyberdémocraties: Traversées Fugitives* (2004). Among Robin's most important studies are *Berlin chantiers: Essai sur les passés fragiles* (2001; Prix littéraire de la Ville de Montréal) and *La Mémoire saturée* (2003). Both deal extensively with the Holocaust in German historiography and memorialization. She won the prestigious Governor-General's Award for

Le Réalisme socialiste: une esthétique impossible (1986). Robin is a fellow of the Royal Society of Canada.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: B.-Z. Shek, "*Pour l'amour du yiddish*. The Literary Itinerary of Régine Robin," in J. Sherman (ed.), *Yiddish After the Holocaust* (2004): 286–299.

[Ben-Zion Shek (2nd ed.)]

°**ROBINSON, EDWARD** (1794–1863), U.S. Orientalist. In 1830, he was appointed professor of theology at Andover, and later taught in Boston and at the New York Theological Seminary. His travels to Egypt and Palestine in 1837 and 1852 resulted in *Biblical Researches in Palestine* (3 vols., 1841); *Later Biblical Researches in Palestine* (1857); and *Physische Geographie des Heiligen Landes*, published posthumously in 1865 (*Physical Geography of the Holy Land*, 1865). Robinson's travels initiated a new period of biblical research. He went straight to the Arab inhabitants of Palestine, noting the names of places and ruins preserved by them, and was thus able to identify correctly hundreds of forgotten biblical locations. As his archaeological training was insufficient, he was unable to identify a site correctly if it lacked an Arabic name. By leaving the beaten track of the pilgrims and examining early traditions, he shed new light on biblical topography. He was also openly critical of the topographical studies of Jerusalem and discovered important remains of the Third Wall. He was greatly aided in his researches by his assistant Eli Smith, a local missionary who was thoroughly acquainted with Arabic. Robinson discovered five of the six ruined cities in the Negev, identified Masada and transformed knowledge of biblical Palestine.

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[Michael Avi-Yonah]

ROBINSON, EDWARD G. (**Emanuel Goldenberg**, 1893–1973), U.S. actor. Born in Bucharest, Romania, Robinson was taken to the U.S. in 1903. He made his first New York appearance in 1913 and came to prominence in the 1920s with the Theatre Guild, appearing on Broadway in such plays as *Samson and Delilah* (1921), *Peer Gynt* (1923), *The Adding Machine* (1923), *Androcles and the Lion* (1925), *The Firebrand* (1925), *The Brothers Karamazov* (1927), and *Kibitzer*, which he co-wrote with Jo Sterling (1929).

In his first starring film role, Robinson played a gangster in *The Racket* (1927), a portrayal that led to his being cast in the title role of *Little Caesar* (1931). His performance as a gang leader became a screen classic. He went on to play many such parts and was widely imitated. His film career continued through five decades. Among his more than 100 films are: *Kid Galahad* (1937), *Dr. Ehrlich's Magic Bullet* (1940), *The Sea Wolf* (1941), *Double Indemnity* (1944), *Our Vines Have Tender Grapes* (1945), *All My Sons* (1948), *Key Largo* (1948), *House of Strangers* (1949), *The Ten Commandments* (1956), *A Hole in the Head* (1959), *The Prize* (1963), *The Cincinnati Kid* (1965), and *Soylent Green* (1973).

Robinson returned to the stage on occasion, notably in *Darkness at Noon* (1951) and in Paddy Chayefsky's *Middle of the Night* (1956), for which he was nominated for a Tony Award.

In 1973 he was awarded, posthumously, an Honorary Academy Award, which is given for exceptional distinction in the making of motion pictures or for outstanding service to the Academy.

He was very active on behalf of various Jewish and Israeli causes. Robinson's autobiography, *All My Yesterdays*, was published in 1975.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: E.G. Robinson, Jr., *My Father My Son* (1958). **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** R. Beck, *The Edward G. Robinson Encyclopedia* (2001); A. Gansberg, *Little Caesar: A Biography of Edward G. Robinson* (1983); F. Hirsch, *Edward G. Robinson* (1975); J. Robinson, *Edward G. Robinson's World of Art* (1975); J Parish and A. Marill, *The Cinema of Edward G. Robinson* (1972).

[Frank Emblen and Stewart Kampel / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

ROBINSON, JACOB (1889–1977), jurist, diplomat, and historian. Born in Serijai (Lithuania – then Russia), Robinson graduated from the law school of the University of Warsaw (1914), served in the Russian army (from 1914), and was for a time in German captivity. He returned to what became independent Lithuania, entered into Jewish public life, and pioneered in the building of a Hebrew school system. For three years, he was director of the Hebrew Gymnasium in Verbalis. In 1922 he was admitted to the bar and in the same year was elected to the Lithuanian parliament, holding office as chairman of the Jewish faction and leader of the minorities bloc until its dissolution in 1926.

With the foundation of the Congress of Nationalities, he became (1925–31) one of the spokesmen for the Jewish cause at international gatherings. He was legal adviser to the Lithuanian Foreign Office (1931–33), and represented Lithuania in the Memel Case before the Permanent Court of International Justice at The Hague (1931), as well as the German-Lithuanian Conciliation Committee.

With the emergence of the Nazi threat to European Jewry, he organized a secret committee for the protection of Jewish rights and used his connections for admission of German Jews to Lithuania. He left Lithuania at the end of May 1940, and later reached New York, where, in 1941, he established the Institute of Jewish Affairs sponsored by the American and the World Jewish Congress. He headed the Institute for seven years, in the course of which he undertook a number of special assignments as special consultant for Jewish affairs to the U.S. chief of counsel, Robert H. Jackson, in the trial of the major war criminals in Nuremberg, and as consultant to the UN Secretariat in the establishment of the Human Rights Commission. When the Palestine question was submitted to the UN, he became legal adviser to the Jewish Agency and later legal adviser to the Israel mission to the UN (1948–57). In 1952, he was in charge of drafting Israel's Reparations Agreement with West Germany.

From 1957, he was adviser to the Conference on Jewish Material Claims Against Germany (subsequently the Memorial Foundation for Jewish Culture) and coordinator of research activities and publications on the Holocaust for *Yad Vashem and *Yivo. He was recognized as a leading authority in this field. Before and during the Eichmann trial, he was special consultant to the attorney general on problems of the history of the Holocaust and of international law.

Robinson was the author of numerous books and articles on international law and organization, and Jewish affairs. These include: *The Metamorphosis of the United Nations* (1958; a course given to the Hague Academy of International Law); *Guide to Jewish History under the Nazi Impact* (a bibliographical work with Philip Friedman, 1960); *And the Crooked Shall be Made Straight* (1965), which was a reply to Hannah *Arendt's *Eichmann in Jerusalem*; and *International Law and Organization* (1967). He also served as consultant editor and adviser to the Holocaust Department of the *Encyclopaedia Judaica*.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Académie de droit international, Recueil des Cours*, 94 (1958), 495–6; *Lithuanian Encyclopedia*, 25 (Boston, 1961), 372–3; *Yahadut Lita*, 3 (1967), 231.

[Maurice L. Perlzweig]

ROBINSON, NEHEMIAH (1898–1964), international lawyer. Born in Vištys, Lithuania, he studied law and political science at the University of Jena, Germany, and from 1927 practiced law in Kovno with his brother Jacob *Robinson. Soon after his arrival in New York (December 1940), he joined the Institute of Jewish Affairs and was appointed its director in 1947, in which post he continued until his death. He published a number of books and numerous articles on contemporary Jewish affairs, the United Nations, prosecution of war criminals, and indemnification of the victims of Nazi persecution. Robinson was International Law Adviser to the *World Jewish Congress. In the negotiations of the *Conference on Jewish Material Claims Against Germany with German authorities at The Hague, Robinson acted as chief adviser in formulating the agreement on indemnification, and later contributed to its legislative and judicial implementation. He also represented Jewish bodies in negotiating agreements on indemnification with the Austrian authorities.

Among his works are: *Indemnification, Reparations, Jewish Aspects* (1944); *Problems of European Reconstruction* (1945); *Ten Years of German Indemnification* (1964, includes biography and bibliography of his works on indemnification); *United Nations and the World Jewish Congress* (1956); *Genocide Convention* (1960); and *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* (1958).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: World Jewish Congress, *Dr. Nehemiah Robinson* (Eng. 1964); N. Goldmann in: *Ten Years of German Indemnification* (1964).

[Maurice L. Perlzweig]

ROBISON, SOPHIA (1888–1969), U.S. sociologist and criminologist. Born in New York, Sophia Robison was a professor at the New York School of Social Work from 1940 until her retirement in 1958. She did significant studies in the field of juvenile delinquency; her major publications in this field are *Can Delinquency Be Measured?* (1936) and *Juvenile Delinquency: Its Nature and Control* (1960). She also did pioneering work in the field of Jewish demography: her *Jewish Population Studies* (1943) present a thorough statistical analysis of a number of Jewish communities in the northeastern United States. Sophia Robison was a member of the Conference on Jewish Relations since its inception; she cooperated closely with the founder of the conference, Morris Raphael *Cohen.

[Werner J. Cahnman]

ROBLES, ANTONIO RODRIGUES (c. 1620–1690), Marrano merchant. Robles, who was born in Fundão, Portugal, of a family which had suffered at the hands of the Inquisition, settled in London as a merchant in the mid-17th century, but played no part in the crypto-Jewish community. When, however, his property was seized as that of an enemy alien after outbreak of war with Spain in 1656, he successfully obtained exemption on the grounds that although uncircumcised he was not a Spaniard but a Portuguese "of the Hebrew nation." The successful outcome of the "Robles Case" established the right of professing Jews to live in England without interference.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Roth, England^3, 164f.; Wolf, in: JHSET, 1 (1893–94), 60–66, 77–86.

[Charles Reznikoff]

ROBSON, WILLIAM ALEXANDER (1895–1980), British political scientist. Born in London, Robson was the son of a pearl dealer and became the manager of one of Britain's first airports. There, he gave George Bernard Shaw his first ride in a plane in 1916, and, at Shaw's suggestion, went to the London School of Economics after he was demobilized from the Royal Air Force at the conclusion of World War I. Robson became a barrister in 1922 and lectured in administrative law at the London School of Economics from 1926 to 1947, when he was made professor of public administration. During World War II he held senior administrative positions in government service, becoming assistant secretary to the Air Ministry in 1943.

Robson's writings were principally concerned with the problem of modernizing English administrative law, the bureaucracy, and local government in the era of the welfare state. He strongly favored the coordination of the academic study of administration and government with the realities of practical politics and was founder and editor (from 1930 to 1975) of the *Political Quarterly*, which was designed to serve this purpose. He was also the author of over 25 books on public administration including *Justice and Administrative Law* (1951^3), *The Development of Local Government* (1954^3), *The Government and Misgovernment of London* (1948^2), *The Civil Service in Britain and France* (1956), and *Nationalized Industry and Public Ownership* (1962^2). From 1952 to 1955 he was president of the International Political Science Organization.

ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY: ODNB online.

[Edwin Emanuel Gutmann]

ROCAMORA, ISAAC DE (1601–1684), Spanish Judaizer. Born into a Marrano family of Valencia, Rocamora became a Dominican friar, known as Vincente de Rocamora. His eloquence and reputation for piety led to his appointment as confessor to Princess Maria of Spain, subsequently the empress of Austria. In 1643, Rocamora disappeared from the Spanish peninsula. He made his way to Amsterdam and proclaimed himself a Jew, circumcising himself and adopting the name Isaac. In Amsterdam, Rocamora studied medicine and embarked on a successful career as a physician. He also played a significant role in the communal and cultural life of Amsterdam Jews. Designated an arbiter in the *Academia de los Sitibundos*, a literary society founded by Manuel de *Belmonte, Rocamora himself wrote Spanish and Latin verse. He provided administrative and medical services for Abi Yetomim, the community orphanage, and for the Maskil el Dal, the immigrant relief society. His son, SOLOMON, was also a physician in Amsterdam.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: C. Roth, *History of the Marranos* (1932), 246, 298, 337; Graetz, Gesch, 10 (1896), 179–80, 183; Graetz, Hist, 5 (1895), 109–10, 113; Kayserling, Bibl. 84; idem, *Sephardim* (Ger., 1859), 291–2.

ROCHBERG, GEORGE (1918–), U.S. composer. Born in Paterson, N.J., Rochberg studied composition with George *Szell, Leopold *Mannes, and Gian Carlo Menotti. In 1948 he joined the faculty of the Curtis Institute, where he remained until 1954. In 1960 he became chairman of the music department of the University of Pennsylvania and after resigning the chair in 1968, he remained at the university as professor of music. In 1979 he was named Annenberg Professor of the Humanities. In 1985 Rochberg was elected to the American Academy and Institute of Arts and Letters. His style evolved from Schoenbergian serialism of the 1950s to the blending of Modernist and Romantic elements in the 1980s and 1990s. Rochberg contributed many articles to professional periodicals; a collection of his writings, *The Aesthetics of Survival: A Composer's View of Twentieth Century Music*, was published in 1984. His compositions include symphonies, piano works, chamber music and songs.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: NG^2; J. Dixon, *George Rochberg: a Bio-Bibliographic Guide to his Life and Works* (1992).

[Yulia Kreinin (2nd ed.)]

ROCHELLE, LA, capital of the department of Charente-Maritime, W. France. The presence of Jews in La Rochelle is mentioned from the first half of the 13th century. The expulsion planned by *Alphonse of Poitiers in 1249 does not appear to have been carried out; in 1251 a Jew, Haquot, who had been banished for personal reasons, was recalled to La Rochelle from Bordeaux. The Jews were definitely expelled from La Rochelle in 1291. The medieval community occupied the Rue des Juifs, later known as Rue de l'Evêché. The apostate Nicholas *Donin, who instigated the campaign against the Talmud, originated from La Rochelle. It was here also that *Manasseh Ben Israel was born, his parents having stayed in the town after fleeing from Portugal. From the beginning of the 18th century, the Lameira family, originally from Portugal, lived in La Rochelle; it maintained connections with the Sephardi community of Bordeaux, whose *mohel* served La Rochelle. During World War II Jewish property was confiscated. The Jewish community in La Rochelle numbered approximately 200 in 1969.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Gross, Gal Jud, 312f.; A. Barbot, *Histoire de La Rochelle*, 1 (1886), 107f.; L. Cardozo de Bethencourt, in: REJ, 20 (1890), 289ff.; Z. Szajkowski, *Analytical Franco-Jewish Gazetteer* (1966), 173.

[Bernhard Blumenkranz]

ROCHESTER, industrial city in New York State.

Early History

Established in 1812 as a mill town at the falls of the Genesee River in western New York, Rochester attracted its first Jewish residents some three decades later. The construction in the early 1820s of the Erie Canal, which crossed the Genesee at Rochester, opened a trade route west from the Hudson River and spurred migration to the area, including a number of Jewish merchants with packs on their backs. These young men, recently arrived from Germany, were located at first in the smaller canal towns of Brockport and Lockport, among others, but the booming settlement at the falls, which secured its first city charter in 1834, prompted several of these men to move there within the next decade.

Among four Jews listed in the city's 1844 directory was Meyer Greentree, generally regarded as Rochester's pioneer Jewish resident. Born in Bavaria in 1819, he had gone to Rochester as a peddler from New York in the early 1840s and soon married a local seamstress. They quickly combined their skills with those of three young newcomers, Joseph and Gabriel Wile and Hirsch Britenstool, in establishing Rochester's first ready-to-wear clothing firm.

As the number of Jewish residents increased, the need for religious services became more urgent, and twelve young men met in 1848 to organize Rochester's first congregation. The B'rith Kodesh Society eventually leased a former Baptist church, which it later purchased and remodeled as a temple. The number of Jews listed in the Rochester directories increased to 39 by 1850. Marcus Tuska became the first resident rabbi in 1851.

Increasing in numbers, the Jews of Rochester organized a Hebrew Benevolent Society which held its first public festival at Palmer's Hall in 1856. A half dozen of their most enterprising merchants had opened ready-to-wear men's clothing stores on the north side of Main Street bridge, a business that was rapidly becoming Rochester's second most important industry. A Hebrew, German and English Institute, also established in 1856, taught the increasing number of Jewish children until their parents decided, after the end of the Civil War, to rely on the public schools. A Harmony club, formed in 1868, assumed leadership in the social life of the Jewish community, which was now centered in the sixth ward on the city's northeast side. In 1865 the first Jewish alderman, Joseph Beir, was elected.

Modernizing tendencies at B'rith Kodesh prompted the withdrawal in the late 1860s of a conservative faction to form a second but short-lived synagogue. The original congregation brought Max Landsberg to Rochester as its rabbi. While Rabbi Landsberg progressively led his congregation, housed after 1876 in a new temple on the east side of town, into fuller conformity during the next decade with the Reform synagogues of Chicago and elsewhere, a group of newly arrived Polish Jews successfully established the more Orthodox Temple Beth Israel in 1879. A split in the old Harmony club produced the Phoenix club in the mid-seventies and the Eureka club a few years later, but while the German Jews who dominated these clubs hesitated to admit the newly arrived Polish and Russian Jews to membership, they quickly formed a committee in 1882 to raise funds for the relief of a new wave of destitute refugees from Eastern Europe. A move for the creation of the Western New York Jewish Orphan Asylum attracted its chief support at Rochester where it opened in 1885 on North St. Paul Street. Some of the sons of the first Jewish settlers joined two years later in establishing the Young Men's Jewish Association to assist newcomers in mastering the English language and adjusting to American ways.

East European Immigration

With the passage of years, as Beth Israel erected a new temple on Park Avenue on the city's more salubrious southeast side, where its members were moving, a new influx of Jews from Eastern Europe took their places in the old Jewish quarter and established several new Orthodox temples and institutions in that crowded district. The division between the several groups was aggravated after the turn of the century because of labor-management difficulties within the clothing industry. Many destitute newcomers, unable to find jobs except in the factories and sweatshops of their more fortunate predecessors, resented the proffered assistance of the United Jewish Charities and other German Jewish agencies and proceeded in 1908 to organize the Associated Hebrew Charities to maintain independent institutions of their own. The Jewish Sheltering Home they established gradually displaced the older Jewish Orphan Asylum and later, as the Jewish Children's Home, served the entire community until the growing demand for adoptions dispensed with the need for such shelters. A Jewish Home for the Aged, founded under Orthodox leadership in 1920, quickly expanded, and called the Jewish Home and Infirmary, maintains an enlarged and modern institution on St. Paul Street (1970). The rivalries among these and other Jewish welfare agencies were overcome and forgotten in 1924 with the establishment of the Rochester Council of Social Agencies, at which time the Community Chest assumed the fund-raising responsibility for all local welfare services.

Post-World War II

Jews of Rochester achieved a stronger unity in the mid-1940s as the struggle for the establishment of a Jewish homeland developed. All supported the State of Israel in 1948, and thereafter. Most Jewish residents were clustered in the southeastern city wards and in adjoining towns where they built many substantial homes and three new synagogues and schools in the sixties. In 1970, the Jewish population was 21,500 (3% of the total population).

Prominent Jews

Numerous Rochester Jews have played active roles in the broader community. In 1892 Max Brickner, a member of one of the city's leading clothing firms, which were nearly all controlled and staffed by Jews, was elected president of the Chamber of Commerce, the first of several Jews in Rochester and elsewhere in America to hold that position. Isaac L. Adler, a leader of the Good Government forces, became acting mayor of Rochester in 1930, and a decade later Samuel B. Dicker held that office for 16 years. Congressman Meyer Jacobstein and Louis Wiley (who left Rochester to become publisher of the New York Times) were Rochester Jews who attained national distinction. Rabbi Philip Bernstein, head of B'rith Kodesh from 1926, was prominent in national and international Jewish causes. He was deeply involved with the post-liberation care of survivors. Rabbi Abraham J. *Karp of Temple Beth-El was an American Jewish historian and bibliophile. Sol Linowitz was a native of Rochester and headed the Xerox Corporation before entering American diplomacy.

[Blake McKelvey]

The Rochester Jewish community of the new millennium continues to thrive. While stable in population – a demographic study sponsored by the Jewish Community Federation of Greater Rochester in 2000 records 22,850 Jewish residents – the community is characterized by a high degree of participation and affiliation in Jewish life.

The Federation, the modern center of Jewish philanthropy and community planning for the area, supports five beneficiary agencies in the Jewish community of Rochester: the Jewish Community Center, Jewish Family Service, the Jewish Home of Rochester, Hillel Community Day School, and Hillel of Rochester Area Colleges.

The JCC of the early 21st century is a modern facility in which a high percentage of Jews in the area hold membership, taking advantage of family programs, summer camps, senior activities, cultural arts, and athletic facilities. The old Jewish Home and Infirmary on St. Paul Street was a precursor to the Jewish Home of Rochester, a state-of-the-art nursing home with rehabilitation facilities, day treatment programs for seniors, and a separate complex for independent living.

There are a total of 12 synagogues in the Rochester area and a comparatively high number of residents (54%) belong to synagogues. This family-oriented community also has a high (20%) number of residents who are 65 or over. The Rochester Jewish community, which comprises about 3% of the Greater

Rochester area of over 1 million, is relatively affluent and gives generously to Jewish and other charitable causes.

The migration from city neighborhoods to Rochester's eastern suburb of Brighton that took place in the 1960s–1970s led to the significant presence of Jewish institutions and synagogues in that area. As of the year 2000, 48% of Jews lived in the community of Brighton, down from 55% in the late 1980s; Jews were dispersing to other eastern suburbs as well as communities in western Monroe county and areas of the city of Rochester.

The Rochester Federation, in addition to funding local Jewish agencies and social and humanitarian programs in Israel and around the world, houses the Center for Holocaust Awareness and Information (CHAI), which supports Holocaust education in the public schools. CHAI also sponsors educational workshops and events commemorating the Holocaust in the community. The Federation has a Jewish Education Services department that provides programming for families, teens, and Jewish adults; area synagogues also sponsor many programs in Jewish education. The Rochester Jewish community is heavily involved in Israel affairs and interfaith initiatives.

Professions among Jewish residents of Rochester are manifold. In addition to contributing to the high tech industries that have a foothold in Rochester (such as Xerox, Kodak, and Bausch & Lomb), Jews are counted among the faculty of several area colleges and universities. Jews in Rochester are well represented in the professions of medicine, law and finance, in addition to real estate.

A professorship at the University of Rochester was named after Rabbi Phillip Bernstein; William Scott Green was named the Phillip S. Bernstein Professor of Judaic Studies in 1991. Joel Seligman, a leading authority on securities law, took on the presidency of the University of Rochester in 2005. Dan Carp set Kodak onto the path of becoming a digital photography powerhouse as CEO of the company from 2000 to 2005.

[Margot Cohen (2nd ed.)]

BIBLIOGRAPHY: S. Rosenberg, *The Jewish Community in Rochester: 1843–1925* (1954); A. Wile, *The Jews of Rochester* (1912); A.J. Karp, *Jewish Experience in America* (1969), 316–34; B. McKelvey, in: ajhsp, 40 (1950/51), 57–73.

ROCHESTER, seaport in S.E. England. Jews are recorded here from 1187 onward and are mentioned as a group in 1231. At the entrance to the cathedral chapter house, there is a fine specimen of the conventional medieval statues representing Church and Synagogue, the latter as a dejected female bearing a broken staff and the Ten Commandments. In modern times, Rochester lost its primacy as a port to adjacent *Chatham. No organized Jewish community remains in Rochester today.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: J. Jacobs, *Jews of Angevin England* (1893), index; Rigg-Jenkinson, Exchequer, index; Edwards, in: JHSET, 18 (1958), 66f. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** P. Skinner (ed.), *The Jews in Medieval Britain* (2003).

[Cecil Roth]

ROCHMAN, LEIB (1918–1978), Yiddish journalist and novelist. Born in Minsk Mazowiecki (Poland), he began his career writing for Warsaw's Yiddish daily, *Varshever Radio.* His diary of the perilous years 1943–44 was published in Paris as *Un in Dayn Blut Zolstu Lebn* ("And You Should Live in Your Blood," 1949). In 1950, he settled in Jerusalem, where he worked on the Yiddish broadcasts of Israel radio and as a correspondent for the New York daily, *Forverts*. His novel *Mit Blinde Trit Iber der Erd* ("With Blind Steps across the Earth," 1969) deals with the wanderings of Jews through Europe before reaching Israel.

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[Sol Liptzin]

ROCKEFELLER MUSEUM, name popularly given to the Palestine Archaeological Museum built in Jerusalem during the British Mandatory Administration from a gift of $1,000,000 by John D. Rockefeller, Jr., who also gave another $1,000,000 as an endowment fund. The building, designed by Austen St. B. Harrison, with stone plaques designed by Eric Gill around the central court, stands in about ten acres of land facing the northeast corner of the Old City walls. In addition to exhibition space, accommodation was provided for study galleries, record offices, a library, auditorium, photographic studio, workrooms, laboratories, storage rooms, and the offices of the Department of Antiquities. An ancient cemetery was discovered on the site, and a number of tombs were excavated, dating from the fifth century B.C.E. to the sixth century C.E. The museum was opened to the public in 1938.

During the Mandatory administration, the building and museum were administered by the Government Department of Antiquities. Before the termination of the mandate in 1948, the building was entrusted to an international board. In November 1966, however, the government of Jordan nationalized the museum and took possession of the building and its contents. After the Six-Day War (June 1967), the Israeli government entrusted the building and its contents to the Israel Department of Antiquities, which invited the Israel Museum to operate the exhibition galleries.

The exhibition is arranged chronologically, starting with the Stone Age, through the historical periods, to the year 1700 C.E. The exhibits include material from all the important excavations before 1948. Some of the highlights are the Galilee Skull, and prehistoric skeletons from the Mt. Carmel caves; the head of a statue in unbaked clay, painted and with inlaid shell eyes, from Jericho: a pottery mold for casting bronze implements and weapons from Sheḥem (Nablus); a decorated ewer with dedicatory inscriptions from a temple of Lachish; ivory carvings from Samaria and Megiddo; the *Lachish ostraca; Phoenician and Persian objects; Roman statues; Jewish ossuaries; and a representative collection of pottery and glass of all periods.

[Avraham Biran]

ROCKER, U.S. family in Cleveland. SAMUEL ROCKER (1864–1936), who was born in Goerlitz, Austria, emigrated to the United States in 1891. Five years later he founded the *Jewish Star*, a Yiddish newspaper, in Cleveland and in 1908 he founded the *Jewish Daily Press* (later *Jewish Daily World*, 1913), serving as editor and publisher of this first successful Yiddish newspaper in Cleveland. The *World*, published until 1943, became a spokesman for the East European Jews in the city. Samuel Rocker wrote *Divrei Ḥakhamim* ("Words of Our Sages," 1920), among other works.

His son, HENRY A. ROCKER (1883–1967), born in Hungary, practiced law with the firm Rocker, Zeller & Kleinman. He served as president of Park Synagogue congregation for more than 20 years beginning in 1929; president of the Jewish Welfare Federation of Cleveland; member of the board of directors, American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee from 1948 to his death; and member of the board of overseers of the Jewish Theological Seminary from 1951 to his death.

°**ROCKER, RUDOLF** (1873–1958), German-Christian anarchist, editor, writer, and translator. Rocker, who was born in Mainz, grew up in a Catholic orphanage, and became a disciple of Prince Peter Kropotkin, the Russian anarchist. In 1895 he went to Liverpool, where he founded and briefly edited the Yiddish monthly of social theory, *Germinal*. In 1898 he settled among the Jewish community of London's East End, and became both editor of the Yiddish anarchist newspaper *Der Arbeter Fraynd* and a leading figure in the Jewish anarchist movement. Rocker edited the paper until the outbreak of World War I, when he was interned as an enemy alien by the British. The paper was suppressed, and the anarchist club closed. After the war Rocker was deported to Germany. He was forced to flee when Hitler took power and subsequently went to the U.S. (1933).

Rocker translated works by Maxim Gorki, Jean Grave, Kropotkin, Friedrich Nietzsche, Fritz Lemmermayer, Johann Most, and Max Nordau into Yiddish for the benefit of his fellow anarchists. He also wrote a three-volume autobiography in Yiddish. A portion of this, dealing with his experiences in the Jewish anarchist movement, was translated into English and published as *The London Years* (1956).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: W.J. Fishman, *Jewish Radicals: From Czarist Stetl to London Ghetto* (1975); P. Wienand, *Der "geborene" Rebell…* (1981); H.M. Becker, in: *Schriften der Erich-Mühsam-Gesellschaft*, 7 (1995), 43–62; M. Graur, *An Anarchist "Rabbi"…* (1997).

ROCKET. The rocket mentioned in the Bible and in rabbinical literature is the garden rocket, *Eruca sativa*, a plant of the Cruciferae family which grows wild in Israel, but is also cultivated as a salad vegetable or for the extraction of a kind of mustard from its seeds. It is the *orot* ("herbs") mentioned in the Bible as the plant which one of Elisha's disciples went to gather during a year of famine; instead he found *pakku'ot* (colocynths) which were poisonous (II Kings 4:39). The Peshitta renders *orot* as *mallows, but the Targum explains that it refers to garden vegetables in general (cf. Kimḥi to Isa. 26:19). It seems R. Meir's identification of *orot* with *gargir*, the mishnaic (and also the Arabic) name for the garden rocket is correct, and Johanan explained that "they were so called because they enlighten the eyes" (*or*, "light"; Yoma 18b). This plant, particularly the species growing wild by the wayside, was considered to be a remedy for eye ailments, and R. Sheshet, who was blind, testified to its efficacy (Shab. 109a). Pliny too notes that eating rocket helps the sight (*Natural History* 20:125). Aphrodisiac qualities were also attributed to it (Yoma 18a–b). The plant is also mentioned by Josephus, who describes the shape of its leaves (Ant. 3:174).

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[Jehuda Feliks]

ROCKLAND COUNTY, New York State county on the Hudson River, 30 miles north of midtown New York City. Rockland County is 174 square miles in area. It has 35,670 acres of parkland and 60 lakes and ponds. The 2003 population projection was 292,989. There are five towns in Rockland: Clarkstown, Haverstraw, Ramapo, Orangetown, and Stony Point. The Jewish population of Rockland was estimated at 92,000. At 31% of the total population, the Jewish community has a major and significant presence in business, cultural, political, religious, and communal life.

Early Jewish settlers came in the late 1890s as peddlers and small retail shopkeepers. Congregation Sons of Israel was established in Nyack in 1891 and was the first synagogue in the county. Congregation Sons of Jacob in Haverstraw was established around the same time. During the 1930s and 1940s the Jewish population expanded as families who spent their summers in Rockland decided to relocate permanently to the suburbs. These people came predominantly from the five boroughs of New York City and Yonkers. A plurality came from the Bronx and kept moving north.

In December 1955, the Tappan Zee Bridge opened. Within the next 20 years, the general population increased from 90,000 people in 1950 to 229,903 in 1970 and approached 290,000 by the end of the 1990s. The Jewish population increased as well. Young families, many of them professionals, moved from the five boroughs of New York City northward to the suburbs. They came in search of affordable housing with large yards for their children, safety and security, and excellent schools.

This growth included Jews of all affiliations. The most significant growth occurred within the Orthodox Community, which expanded from a few hundred families in the early 1960s to over 5,000 families by 2005.

The Community Synagogue, under the leadership of Rabbi Dr. Moshe Tendler, firmly established the "Up the Hill" community of Monsey in the late 1950s. "Down the Hill Monsey" had also grown from its earlier roots in Spring Valley. Yeshiva of Spring Valley, Beth Jacobv of Spring Valley, Ashar, and

Bais Shraga provided private educational opportunities for the growing Orthodox community. By 1983 there were more than 3,000 Orthodox families in Spring Valley, Monsey and its northern neighborhoods. Twenty years later the Orthodox community had nearly tripled its size – from 15,000 people to close to 45,000, some of it attributable to a high birth rate and the rest to the attractiveness of the community for Orthodox Jews. Many new neighborhoods have developed with synagogues in walking distance to large neighborhood population centers. As one example, the Forshay neighborhood grew from 25 families and a single Orthodox synagogue in 1983 to close to 1,000 families and more than a dozen Orthodox houses of worship by 2005. The number of schools rose as well, since virtually all the Orthodox population attend yeshivot or Jewish day schools. In addition to the Modern Orthodox, Agudah, and Chabad Orthodox communities, several ḥasidic villages have been established. These include New Square and Kaiser (Vizhnitz).

The rise in the Orthodox population has created several political changes and challenges including the issue of density/down zoning and affordable housing, and the delicate situation in the East Ramapo school district, in which only 9,200 of the close to 25,000 students attend public schools.

Beyond Monsey's large Orthodox community, there are 14 established Conservative, Reform, and unaffiliated congregations. These exist primarily to the east of Route 45.

The trajectory of the Conservative Jewish population in Rockland reflects that in the country as a whole. During the 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s the movement was large and thriving, sustaining at least eight congregations. Today, there are five. New City Jewish Center, with 900 families, is the largest Conservative congregation in the county. Established in 1958, Rabbi Henry Sosland served the congregation for 43 years, becoming emeritus in 2005. Rabbi Craig Scheff who grew up in Rockland County leads Orangetown Jewish Center.

Reuben Gittelman Hebrew Day School was chartered in 1971 as the Solomon Schechter School of Rockland County. The school was housed in the Jewish Community Center of Spring Valley, a Conservative congregation that subsequently closed. In 1985, it moved to its present location on New Hempstead Road, where it was renamed. The school serves students in preschool through the eighth grade.

Camp Ramah in Nyack, is one of three day camps in the United States affiliated with the Jewish Theological Seminary, the Conservative movement's primary educational institution. The day camp serves children entering kindergarten through eighth grades from Rockland and surrounding counties.

The largest of the Reform congregations include Temple Beth Shalom, Temple Beth El, and Beth Torah Congregation. These synagogues have rich cultural, religious, educational, and social action programs for their congregants and the community at large. Several operate preschool programs in addition to their religious school programs.

The geographic makeup of the Rockland Jewish community has given rise to a new term called "this side, that side, or both sides of 45." Ninety percent of the Orthodox community resides on the west side of Route 45 and at least two-thirds of the non-Orthodox community lives east of Route 45.

At the geographic and philosophical center of the community are the Jewish Federation of Rockland County and its constellation of agencies – the JCC-Y and the Jewish Family Service. Established in 1984 the relatively young Jewish Federation – serves to support the UJC and Israel and overseas agencies nationally and internationally. Additionally the Federation has helped to establish and continues to support local communal agencies and programs. Beyond the JCC-Y and the Jewish Family Service, the Federation has focused locally to create and fund the Center for Jewish Education of Rockland, the Jewish Community Relations Council, and the *Jewish Reporter*, a monthly newspaper, which is distributed to over 15,000 households.

In late 2006, the Rockland Jewish Community Campus is scheduled to relocate to a larger facility in West Nyack. The 15-acre, 135,000-square-foot facility will house the JCC-Y, Jewish Family Service, Jewish Federation and its agencies and programs, Hadassah, and Huvpac.

The Jewish population is heavily represented in most professions in the county.

More than one-third of the physicians and dentists in the county are Jewish as are the attorneys and accountants. About 25% of the Jewish work force works within the county while the remainder of the professionals generally work either in New York City or in Northern New Jersey.

The Rockland Jewish Community prides itself on the concept of *unity* and has established several initiatives that address this subject. In the late 1990s almost 10,000 people participated in a "We Are One" Event at the Rockland Community College. The community comes together annually for a Yom ha-Shoah observance under the umbrella of the Rockland Holocaust Museum and Study Center. Rockland County proudly participates in the annual (June) New York Salute to Israel Parade with a consortium of more than a dozen synagogues and organizations.

By 2010 it is estimated that the Jewish population will surpass 100,000 people and represent 33% or more of the community. Rockland, a rural area before 1955, has now become a major Jewish population center with a large and extremely diverse Jewish population.

[Shimon Pepper (2nd ed.)]

RODAN, MENDI (1929–), Israeli conductor. Born in Romania, he studied the violin and conducting with Silvestri at the Bucharest Academy of Music (1945–7), then took a degree at the Arts Institute there (1947–9). He made his début when he conducted the Romanian Radio Orchestra in 1953. He immigrated to Israel in 1961. He has often conducted the Israel Philharmonic Orchestra and appeared in many countries abroad. From 1963 to 1972, Rodan was chief conductor of the Israeli Broadcasting Orchestra presenting new Israeli works. In 1965 he founded the Jerusalem Chamber Orchestra and, as its permanent conductor until 1969, toured with it in Europe, East Asia, Australia, South Africa, and the United States. In 1962 he began to teach at the Jerusalem Academy of Music and Dance, where he became pedagogic director (1973), and from 1984 to 1993 the head of the academy. From 1977 he took over the musical directorship of the Beersheba orchestra and served as chief conductor of the Belgian National Orchestra in Brussels (1983–89). Between 1993 and 1997, he was also co-conductor of the Israeli PO. Rodan was guest conductor of major orchestras, including Suisse-Romande Orchestra, Oslo Philharmonic, Vienna Symphony Orchestra, Brussels Radio Television Orchestra, Bergen Festival Orchestra, and Berlin Symphony Orchestra. He appeared with soloists such as *Rubinstein, *Barenboim, Rampal, *Perlman, and *du Prè and received the Musician of the Year award from the Israeli Ministry of Education and Culture (1997). He made a series of recordings with the Jerusalem Chamber Orchestra, including a collaboration with the harpsichordist Frank *Pelleg of music by Bach and his sons. In 2006 he won the Israel Prize.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Grove Music Online.

[Israela Stein (2nd ed.)]

RODANIM (Heb. רוֹדָנִים; possibly Rhodians, inhabitants of the island of Rhodes), descendants of Javan (Gen. 10:4). In I Chronicles 1:7 and in the Samaritan, Syriac, and Septuagint versions of Genesis 10:4 they are called Rodanim, while in the Masoretic Text of Genesis 10:4 they are called Dodanim. It is likely that this is the result of an onomastic-ethnographic or epigraphic (between *r* and *d*) confusion. It is possible that the Rodanim should be equated with the Dananians (?) who are mentioned in the *El-Amarna letters (J.A. Knudtzon, *Die El-Amarna Tafeln*, 1 (1907), 151, lines 48–58, letter from Tyre) and in the Karatepe Inscriptions (see Donner and Roellig, in bibl.) or with *Yadnâna*, perhaps Cyprus (cf. *Elishah). However, the most plausible, although not entirely satisfactory, explanation remains that the Rodanim were inhabitants of Rhodes.

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[Pinhas Artzi]

RODA RODA, ALEXANDER (**Sándor Friedrich Rosenfeld**; 1872–1945), Austrian author and humorist. Born in Zdenci, Slavonia, he was the son of a Jewish landowner and of a non-Jewess. From 1892 Roda Roda was an officer in the Imperial Austrian army, but was dishonorably discharged 10 years later because of his unacceptable opinions. He then became a journalist and, as a roving foreign correspondent, traveled through Western Europe, serving on the Austrian front during World War I. He worked in the U.S.S.R. and other countries until 1933, when he severed his connection with the German-language press, and in 1939 emigrated to the U.S., where he remained until his death.

A prolific writer of comedies, satirical novels, and short stories, Roda Roda contributed to humorous magazines such as the *Simplizissimus* of Munich and was an outstanding exponent of the Viennese comic art. He excelled in lampooning the old Hapsburg *Kaiserreich* and is best remembered for *Der Feldherrnhuegel* (1910), a comedy about the Austrian officer caste written in collaboration with Carl *Roessler which was suppressed by government censors. His other works include *Der Schnaps, der Rauchtabak und die verfluchte Liebe* (1908), a best-selling novel; the autobiographical *Roda Rodas Roman* (1925, 1950^2); *Die Panduren* (1935); and *Die rote Weste* (1945). He edited, in collaboration, a six-volume anthology of world humor (1910–11); and a collected edition of his works, in three volumes, appeared in 1932–34.

RODBELL, MARTIN (1925–1998), U.S. biochemist and Nobel laureate. Rodbell was born in Baltimore and received his B.A. at Johns Hopkins University (1949) after his studies were interrupted by Navy service in World War II, and his Ph.D. in biochemistry at the University of Washington, Seattle (1954). His first postdoctoral appointment was in the department of chemistry at the University of Illinois, Urbana. After research in Brussels and Leiden, Rodbell worked at the National Institutes of Health until 1985, apart from a period as professor at the University of Geneva (1981–83). In 1985 he was appointed scientific director of the National Institute of Environmental Health. His main research interest concerned transduction, the process by which cell membrane receptor binding by hormones and other stimuli is converted into an appropriate cell response. He received the Nobel Prize for medicine and physiology in 1994 (jointly with Alfred *Gilman) for delineating the contribution of guanine nucleotides (GTP) and magnesium ions to cell signaling. Rodbell had broad scientific and cultural interests, increased by his European connections.

[Michael Denman (2nd ed.)]

RODE (**Rosenzweig**), **WALTHER** (1876–1934), Austrian jurist. Born in Czernowitz (Chernovtsy), Rode was the son of Leon Rosenzweig, writer and deputy to the Austrian Reichsrat. He became a prominent criminal lawyer and was well known for his vehement attacks on the Austrian judiciary under the nom de plume Pamphilius.

In 1929 he published a collection of essays *Justiz*, and in 1931 *Knoepfe und Voegel*, a book of literary notes on crime, criminals, and penal courts. Rode worked as journalist in Geneva, and wrote *Frieden und Friedensleute* (1931), criticizing the League of Nations, and *Deutschland ist Caliban* (1934).

[Josef J. Lador-Lederer]

RODELL, FRED M. (1907–1980), U.S. legal scholar. Rodell, who was born in Philadelphia, served as a special legal adviser to Governor Gifford Pinchot of Pennsylvania until 1933. From then he taught at Yale Law School (professor, 1939–73) for 41 years. As a teacher, Rodell specialized in constitutional law, labor law, administrative law, federal taxation, and the legal profession.

Rodell is renowned for his cynical assessment of legal articles entitled "Goodbye to Law Reviews," published in 1936 in the *Virginia Law Review.* Not mincing words, he stated: "There are two things wrong with almost all legal writing. One is its style. The other is its content."

That article notwithstanding, Rodell was a prolific contributor to law reviews and general magazines. He also wrote *Fifty-Five Men: The Story of the Constitution* (1936); *Woe Unto You, Lawyers* (1939); and *Nine Men: A Political History of the Supreme Court, 1790–1955* (1955). Regarded as the "bad boy" of American legal academia, Rodell was noted for the ease and clarity of his writing, along with intemperate attacks on those with whom he disagreed. In his highly controversial *Nine Men*, Rodell developed as his central theme that the justices of the U.S. Supreme Court reach their decisions on the basis of essentially political considerations.

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[Julius J. Marcke / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

RODENBERG (Levy), JULIUS (1831–1914), German author and editor. Born into a well-to-do family in Rodenberg, Hessen (a town that inspired his later change of name), he sought complete integration into German life. Rodenberg was educated at several German universities, and after spending a number of years in Paris, London, and Italy, settled in Berlin in 1862. In 1874, he founded the *Deutsche Rundschau* and succeeded in attracting to this literary monthly many distinguished writers. He wrote verse collections, novels, short stories, feuilletons and travel sketches.

A keen observer of city life, Rodenberg described Europe's great capitals in *Pariser Bilderbuch* (1856), *Alltagsleben in London* (1860), *Wiener Sommertage* (1875) and, above all, in the three volumes of *Bilder aus dem Berliner Leben* (1885–88). This last work reflects the early years he spent in Berlin, the disappearance of old landmarks, and Berlin's transformation into a noisy dynamic capital. His autobiographical works include *Erinnerungen aus der Jugendzeit* (2 vols., 1899–1901) and *Aus der Kindh* (1907). For his biblical drama, *Sulamit* (1899), based on the Song of Songs, Anton *Rubinstein wrote a musical setting. His correspondence with Conrad Ferdinand Meyer appeared in 1918, edited by A. Langmesser. His correspondence with Georg Brandes, edited by K. Bohnen, appeared in 1980.

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[Sol Liptzin]

RODENSKY, SHEMUEL (1902–1989), Israeli actor. Born in Poland, Rodensky was an actor with Habimah and played a variety of roles, often Jewish folk types. After playing Tevya in *Fiddler on the Roof* in Israel, he did the same in West Germany to high praises. In 1984 he was awarded the Israel Prize for theater arts.

RODGERS, MARY, U.S. composer and author (1931–). Born in New York, the daughter of the composer Richard *Rodgers, she studied music at the Mannes College of Music in New York and at Wellesley College. She was married in 1951 and had three children before divorcing in 1957. Her 1959 stage musical, *Once Upon a Mattress*, was a huge hit in New York and helped launch the career of Carol Burnett, the comic actress. In 1961 Rodgers married a motion picture executive, Henry Guettel, and had two sons, one of whom, Adam, is a successful composer for the musical theater. Rodgers wrote for both the stage and the movies. Her children's book, *Freaky Friday*, was one of the most successful children's books from the 1950s through the beginning of the 21st century, and Rodgers wrote the screenplay for the film version, which was also a major success. Rodgers also wrote lyrics, music scores and playscripts. Her books for children frequently center on humorous and fantastic plots. Both *Freaky Friday* and *Billions for Boris*, a follow-up, involve adolescents and their relationships with adults. Often, the young people in her books assume more responsibility than the adults and the children have to cope with a parent's benign neglect. Rodgers also compiled the popular album *Free to Be You and Me*.

DOROTHY FEINER RODGERS (1909–1992), the wife of Richard Rodgers and the mother of Mary, came from an upper-middle-class Jewish background. A magazine writer and author of books on home decoration, Dorothy Rodgers had a background in the arts and conceived the permanent exhibition at the Jewish Museum in New York. She invented two basic household items. An avid seamstress, Rodgers sometimes sewed her husband's silk shirts. She found pattern stays made of tissue to be unsatisfactory. So she invented a pattern stay made of plastic that became a commercial success under the name Basic Try-On Dress Patterns. Her more famous invention was the Jonny Mop, a small mop to clean toilets with a disposable sponge at the "business end." Rodgers, considered the financial brains in the family, won a suit for patent infringement against

Johnson and Johnson, which tried to market a similar mop. Rodgers turned over the royalties to her daughters.

[Stewart Kampel (2nd ed.)]

RODGERS, RICHARD (1902–1979), U.S. composer. Born in New York, Rodgers studied at Columbia University and at the Institute of Musical Art. In collaboration with the lyricist Lorenz Hart, he wrote many musical comedies including: *The Girl Friend* (1926), *Babes in Arms* (1936), *The Boys from Syracuse* (1938), and *Pal Joey* (1940, revived 1957). When Hart died, Rodgers began his long-time partnership with Oscar *Hammerstein II, with whom he created, among others, the greatly successful musicals: *Oklahoma* (1943) which won a Pulitzer prize, *Carousel* (1945), *Annie Get Your Gun* (1946), *South Pacific* (1948), *The King and I* (1951), *The Flower Drum Song* (1958), and *The Sound of Music* (1959). The Rodgers and Hammerstein works established a style of music that proved highly influential and popular. Rodgers also composed *No Strings* (1962) and wrote the music for the television documentary for *Victory at Sea* (1952). Rodgers was one of the five recipients of the first award of the Kennedy Center Honors granted in December 1978.

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RODIN, ELISHA (1888–1946), Hebrew poet. Born in Mstislavl, Russia, Rodin became a bookkeeper. Between 1905 and 1907, he was active in the Jewish revolutionary movement in Lithuania and Poland. Excelling in Yiddish composition as a child, he published several collections of Yiddish poems in the Soviet Union in the early 1920s. His Hebrew poems and literary sketches began to appear in Ereẓ Israel in *Davar, Haaretz*, and *Gilyonot* (1929–38), which ultimately caused him to be imprisoned by the Soviet authorities. A book of poems and essays, *Bi-Fe'at Nekhar* ("In a Foreign Corner"), appeared in 1938 and expresses his devotion to the Hebrew language. The book includes "Prison Poems", a poem dedicated to Bialik (Rodin attributes his adoption of Hebrew in the late 1920s to Bialik's influence), and a poem on Elisha b. Avuyah. Rodin's son, to whom he was deeply attached, volunteered for the front in World War II and was killed in 1942. Poems to his son, written before and after his death, were collected in *La-Ben* ("To My Son"), and were published in Ereẓ Israel in 1942–43. After the war he worked briefly as a translator for the Jewish Anti-Fascist *Committee. In 1954 A.Y. *Kariv published all of Rodin's works (together with those of Ḥayyim *Lensky) in *He-Anaf ha-Gadu'a* ("The Severed Branch", 1954). Kariv prefaced the collection with a biographical sketch of Rodin, one of the last poets in the Soviet Union to write in Hebrew.

RODIN, JUDITH (1944–), U.S. psychologist, educator, and administrator. Born in Philadelphia, Rodin earned her bachelor's degree from the University of Pennsylvania in 1966 and her Ph.D. from Columbia University in 1970. She joined the faculty of New York University in 1970 as an assistant professor of psychology. In 1972 she began a 22-year career at Yale, becoming an associate professor in 1975. She was named full professor of psychology in 1979 and professor of medicine and psychiatry in 1985. She served as chair of the department of psychology and dean of the Graduate School of Arts and Sciences before becoming provost in 1992. Rodin's academic work concerns the relationship between psychological and biological processes in human health and behavior. The author of numerous articles for academic journals, she also published several books, including *Body Traps* (1992), which explores the role of physical appearance in women's psychological health.

In 1994 Rodin was appointed as the seventh president of the University of Pennsylvania, the first alumna to be named president. She also held faculty appointments as a professor of psychology in the School of Arts and Sciences and as a professor of medicine and psychiatry in the School of Medicine. As president, Rodin facilitated several international health initiatives, which included a collaboration with the government of Botswana to build a hospital, and projects in Saudi Arabia and India to address women's health issues. At the same time, she chaired an international research network studying health and behavior for the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation. During her tenure, the University of Pennsylvania launched an extensive neighborhood revitalization program and established several interdisciplinary institutes as well as international educational programs and collaborations.

In 2005 Rodin was named president of the Rockefeller Foundation, where it was expected that she would guide extensive efforts to combat global disease and hunger through initiatives that promote economic development, education, and disease prevention. She previously served on President Bill Clinton's Committee of Advisors on Science and Technology, and she chaired the Council of Presidents of the Universities Research Association. She has served on the boards of Electronic Data Systems Corporation, the Brookings Institution, Catalyst, Air Products and Chemicals, and the Greater Philadelphia First Corporation. Rodin was elected to the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, the American Philosophical Society, and the Institute of Medicine of the National Academy of Sciences.

[Dorothy Bauhoff (2nd ed.)]

RODKER, JOHN (1894–1955), English writer and publisher. Rodker was born in Manchester to a recent immigrant who then moved to London's East End. In his youth, Rodker associated with other young Jewish intellectuals in London of similar background, including Isaac *Rosenberg, and, from 1922, became a professional writer. Rodker's poems appeared in *The Egoist, The New Age*, and other periodicals, and in a collection, *Poems* (1914), printed privately. Deeply influenced by the French poets of the late 18th and early 19th centuries, he translated much of their verse. He spent his later years in Paris as a publisher specializing in the avant-garde and then exporting these works to Britain. He became particularly interested in producing translations of works by Freud and his followers. The best known of many publishing houses with which he was associated was the Imago Press.

One of his novels, *Montagnes Russes*, was first published in a French translation in 1923, and his *Collected Poems 1912–1925* appeared in Paris in 1930. After World War I, he devoted himself largely to publishing and in 1920, at his Ovid Press, issued limited editions of poems by T.S. Eliot and Ezra Pound. Under the imprint of the Imago Press, he published the complete works of Sigmund Freud. Rodker's own writings include *The Future of Futurism* (1926). A new edition of his *Poems* and *Adolphe* (a novel he wrote in 1920), with an introduction by Andrew Crozier, was published in Manchester in 1996.

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[William D. Rubinstein (2nd ed.)]

RODKINSON, MICHAEL LEVI (**Frumkin**; 1845–1904), Hebrew writer and editor. Born in Dubrovno, Belorussia, his first books were tales of the Ḥasidim. After a short stay in St. Petersburg he moved to Koenigsberg, Germany, where he began publishing various Hebrew periodicals between 1876 and 1880, including *Ha-Kol* (1877–78), *Kol ha-Am* (in Yiddish), *Asefat Ḥakhamim* (1877–78), and *Ha-Me'assef.* He was a careless editor, but his collaborators, who included E.W. Rabinowitz and M. Vinchevsky, obtained contributions from such Haskalah Hebrew writers as Lilienblum, Kaminer, J.L. Gordon, and others. In 1879 *Ha-Kol* was banned in Russia and soon ceased publication. In the early 1880s Rodkinson published several books advocating religious reforms as a means of solving the "Jewish question." In 1889 he emigrated to the United States, where he attempted to revive his periodicals (*Ha-Kol* (1889) and *Ha-Sanegor* (1890)). In his later years he devoted himself to translating the Talmud into English. The value of this translation, printed in two editions, lies only in the fact that it is a pioneering effort. He was the brother of Israel Dov *Frumkin.

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[Yehuda Slutsky]

RODNEY, RED (**Robert Chudnick**; 1927–1994), U.S. jazz trumpeter. Rodney received his first trumpet as a bar mitzvah gift from an aunt and uncle. He became one of the premier bebop trumpeters, playing alongside Charlie Parker and other giants of the music, but he also was a heroin addict who spent seven years in prison and rehab centers.

The Philadelphia-born Rodney got his first musical training at Mastbaum High, where his classmates included John Coltrane and Buddy DeFranco. Rodney quickly mastered his instrument and was playing professionally with Jimmy Dorsey at age 15. He would be a featured trumpeter with many other dance bands of the 1940s, culminating in a stint with Woody Herman's bop-influenced Second Herd. Then Parker invited him to join his quintet in 1949. It was perhaps the most highly visible trumpet gig in jazz and, although the compulsively modest Rodney tried to turn Parker down, Bird insisted. When the band played the segregated South, Bird passed off the red-haired, freckle-faced Rodney as a "blues singer" named "Albino Red." Although Parker repeatedly warned his young trumpeter not to follow his lead into heroin, Rodney became a drug addict. Rodney supported his habit with steady musical work for a while before turning to non-violent crimes. When he kicked the drug, he enjoyed considerable financial success leading society bands out of Las Vegas, but the pleasure of banking regular checks was outweighed by the boredom of the musical drivel he was forced to play. In the late 1970s he reteamed with longtime collaborator Ira Sullivan, and the two were responsible for several brilliant albums of post-bop jazz in the 1980s.

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[George Robinson (2nd ed.)]

ROD OF AARON, Aaron's staff with which he used to perform signs before Pharaoh in order to convince him that he and Moses were sent by the Lord, the God of the Israelites (Ex. 7:8ff., 19–20; 8:1, 12). On another occasion, God caused a rod inscribed with Aaron's name to blossom and bear almonds in order to demonstrate his choice of Aaron for the priesthood and to quell the mutterings of the Israelites against God in the wilderness (Num 17:16–26).

[Shlomo Balter]

In the Aggadah

The Bible ascribes similar miraculous powers to the rods of Aaron and of Moses. One rabbinic opinion even regards the two as identical (Yal., Num. 763, Ps. 869). This staff bore the Ineffable Name (Num. R. 18:23).

The rod, with its blossoms and fruit, was created in the twilight between the sixth day and the Sabbath of creation (Pes. 54a). It was previously used by Jacob when crossing the Jordan, and it was also the staff which Judah gave to Tamar (Yal., loc. cit.).

Because it bore the Ineffable Name it blossomed overnight and yielded ripe almonds thus validating Aaron's claim to the priesthood (Num. R. 18:23). The almond, which is the first tree to blossom, indicated that God would quickly punish those who venture to usurp the priesthood (*ibid.*, Tanh. Aḥarei 8). This rod, which never lost its blossoms or almonds, was utilized by the kings of Judah until the destruction of the Temple when it disappeared. In the future, Elijah will reveal it and hand it over to the Messiah (Num. R. 18:23).

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ROD OF MOSES, Moses' wonder-working rod. When he drove Jethro's flock into the wilderness of Horeb (Ex. 3:1), the

Lord appeared to Moses and ordered him to cast his staff to the ground, and it became a serpent; then he was ordered to seize the serpent by the tail, and it became a rod again (4:1–5). Moses subsequently repeated this and other signs before the Israelites and then before Pharaoh to convince them that he was sent by the Lord. He manipulated the staff in the performance of various miracles in Egypt (Ex. 7:14ff.; 10:13), as well as the splitting of the Sea of Reeds (Red Sea; 14:16), and the producing of water from a rock in the wilderness (Num. 20:9ff.).

[Shlomo Balter]

In the Aggadah

The rod used by Moses in performing his miracles was created during the twilight of the eve of the first Sabbath of creation (Avot 5:6) from a branch of the tree of knowledge in the Garden of Eden (ARN, ed. Schechter, 157). On it were engraved the letters of the Ineffable Name (PdRK 19:140a, PdRK 42), the ten plagues inflicted upon the Egyptians, and the patriarchs, matriarchs, and twelve tribes (Targum to Ex. 14:21). The people originally thought that the staff could engender only destruction, since through its agency Moses had brought the plagues upon the Egyptians in Egypt and the Red Sea. When, however, Moses used it to smite the rock at Horeb, they learned that the rod could also produce the blessings of water (Ex. R. 26:2). With the rod, Moses smote and killed Sihon and Og (Deut. R. 11:10). He was also able to chastise the Angel of Death with it when the Angel came to take him (Deut. R. *ibid.*). In the next world, Moses was rewarded with the scepter which God had employed in the creation of the world. The rod which Moses used in this world was shaped and engraved in the image of this scepter (*Midrash Petirat Moshe*, in: A. Jellinek, *Beit ha-Midrash*, 1 (1938^2), 121).

One opinion identifies the Rod of Moses with the Rod of *Aaron (Yal., Num. 763, Ps. 869).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Ginzberg, Legends, 7 (1938), 328, index s.v. *Moses, Rod of.*

RODRIGUES, BARTHOLOMEW (**Jacob de Sequeira**; d. 1692), Anglo-Indian merchant, son of the well-known merchant, Gomez Rodrigues (d. 1678). Bartholomew Rodrigues left London in 1683 for Fort St. George (Madras), the center of the diamond trade. Though originally an "interloper," he was admitted as freeman of the East India Company in 1684. His widespread commercial transactions in diamonds, precious stones, amber, and coral, and the extent of his trade with Manila, Pegu (Burma), Bengal, and China are documented in the records of the Madras Company up to 1692. As the representative of the "Hebrew merchant colony" in Madras, he served as alderman of the Madras Corporation in 1688. On his death, he was buried in the garden of his house in Mint Street, Madras. His brother Alphonso Rodrigues (d. 1716) was also a notable East India merchant and diamond importer in London.

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[Walter Joseph Fischel]

RODRIGUES, DIONISIUS (**Diniz**; d. 1541), Marrano physician to the kings Emanuel and John III of Portugal. In 1518 he engaged in a once-famous controversy with the French physician Pierre Brissot on the rival systems of bloodletting of Galen and Hippocrates. Threatened as a Judaizer by the Inquisition (which subsequently burned him in effigy), he fled first to London where he was a member of the crypto-Jewish community under Henry VIII, then to Antwerp, and finally to Ferrara, where he died. He was the father of the eminent medical writer Manuel *Brudo.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: H. Friedenwald, in: *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, 7 (1939), 460–7 (= idem, *Jews and Medicine*, 2 (1944), 460–7); L. Wolf, *Essays in Jewish History* (1934), 78.

[Cecil Roth]

RODZINSKY, ARTUR (1892–1958), conductor. Born in Split, Dalmatia (Yugoslavia), Rodzinsky first conducted the Warsaw Philharmonic and Opera Orchestra, and settled in the United States in 1925. In that year he became assistant conductor to Leopold Stokowski of the Philadelphia Orchestra, and in 1937 he organized the NBC Symphony Orchestra for Toscanini. He was appointed permanent conductor of the New York Philharmonic in 1943 but resigned in 1947. He conducted the Chicago Symphony Orchestra for a year, and after 1948 lived in Rome and toured in Europe and South America.

ROEDELHEIM, former town near Frankfurt on the Main. In 1290 Roedelheim received permission from Rudolf *II to accept six Jews, and in 1371 there is evidence of a Jewish settlement there. From that time until the middle of the 17th century, there is no record of the presence of Jews in the town. Before the end of the 17th century, however, services were conducted in a prayer room. In 1711 refugees from the conflagration at the *Frankfurt ghetto joined the Jews of Roedelheim, and in 1730 a synagogue was built; the community maintained a cemetery and an inn as well. About 1750 the Hebrew printer Karl Reich transferred his press from *Homburg to Roedelheim. In 1799 Wolf *Heidenheim established what was called an "Oriental and Occidental printing house," where he published, among other things, classical editions of liturgical texts. After his death in 1832, his partner Lehrberger printed S. *Baer's famous *Siddur, Avodat Yisrael* (1868) and other liturgical works. The clear Roedelheim texts were still being reproduced more than a hundred years later. In the years 1837–38, a new synagogue was erected in the town. About 400 Jews, mainly livestock merchants, lived there and constituted 33% of the total population. The community subsequently declined to 236 in 1880 (6% of the population) and to 100 in 1932, being later absorbed by the Frankfurt community.

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°**ROEDERER, COUNT PIERRE LOUIS** (1754–1835), French politician and economist, born in Metz. When a member of the Constituent Assembly, Roederer sided with *Clermont-Tonnerre, Robespierre, and others in support of the Jewish claim for political equality (1789–91). He had become familiar with Jewish matters when, as a councilor in the parliament of Metz, he organized the contest sponsored by the Société Royale des Sciences et Arts of Metz, on the theme: "Are there means of rendering the Jews more useful and happier in France?" Roederer expressed his own views on the subject in a private memorandum written for the participants in the contest. "In calling an ancient and considerable people to the service of our society," he wrote, "we cannot flatter ourselves that we are calling it to virtues which are superior to their own." Nevertheless, he advised the participants to consider the "moral causes" of the negative social and political characteristics of the Jews, in order to correct them.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Nouvelle Biographie* Générale, 42 (1863), 492–5; A. Cahen, in: REJ, 1 (1880), 82–96; R. Mahler, *Divrei Yemei Yisrael, Dorot Aḥaronim*, (1952), index; A. Hertzberg, *The French Enlightenment and the Jews* (1968), 332–3; L. Berman, *Histoire des Juifs de France* (1937), 338–43.

[Emmanuel Beeri]

°**ROEHRICHT, REINHOLD** (1842–1905), German scholar, teacher, and researcher into the history of the Crusades. His publications include: *Deutsche Pilgerreisen nach dem heiligen Lande* (1880); *Bibliotheca Geographica Palaestinae* (1890), a standard bibliography of travelers' literature and cartographical sources; *Regesta Regni Hierosolymitani* (1893–1904; *Geschichte des Koenigreichs Jerusalem*, 1898), described on the basis of original documents.

[Michael Avi-Yonah]

ROESSLER, CARL (pseudonym of **Franz Ressner**; 1864–1948), Austrian playwright, author, and actor. Roessler was born in Vienna and joined the Elf Scharfrichter group, which created the "Ueberbrettl" satirical theater, of which the dramatist Frank Wedekind was also a member. For a short while he was a free-lance writer in Munich. Roessler wrote a number of successful plays but is mainly remembered for his comedy, *Die fuenf Frankfurter* (1912), set in the Frankfurt Judengasse. Roessler also wrote two novels, *Die drei Niemandskinder* (1926) and *Wellen des Eros* (1928). After the Austrian *Anschluss* in 1938, Roessler settled in London.

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[Samuel L. Sumberg]

ROEST, MEIJER MARCUS (1821–1889), Amsterdam bibliographer and journalist. Having been trained as a religious teacher in the Haskalah-oriented Nederlandsch Israëlietisch Seminarium in Amsterdam, Roest became one of the first in the Netherlands to embrace the *Wissenschaft des Judentums*. From his early thirties he contributed numerous articles to Dutch and Jewish periodicals. From 1855 till 1870 he was employed by the auctioneer Frederik Muller, for whom he compiled catalogues of, inter alia, the Joseph Almanzi and Jacob Emden libraries (*Beth ha-Sefer*, 1868) and edited the Dutch journal *De Navorscher*. His magnum opus *Catalog der Hebraica und Judaica aus der L. Rosenthal'schen Bibliothek*, whose model of description closely resembled that of Joseph Zedner, was published in 1875. After the collection was presented to the Amsterdam municipality and incorporated in the university library, Roest became its first custodian, a position he continued to fill until his death.

In reaction to current Reformist tendencies, Roest founded (together with the seminary's rector and later chief rabbi J.H. *Dünner) the *Nieuw Israëlietisch Weekblad* (1865) and *Israëlietische Nieuwsbode* (1875), through which they hoped to promote a moderately conservative Judaism, supported by *Wissenschaft des Judentums*. In addition to these weeklies, Roest founded and edited the quarterly *De Israëlietische Letterbode* (1875–86), which served as a platform for international, historical as well as bibliographical, scholarship.

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[Frederik Jacob Hirsch / Irene E. Zwiep (2nd ed.)]

ROGACHEV, city in Gomel district, Belarus. The number of Jews counted as paying the poll tax in 1766 was 200. The community of Rogachev came under Russian domination in 1772. In 1797 there were 888 Jews in Rogachev (approximately 80 percent of the total population). The community was under the influence of *Chabad Ḥasidism. At the close of the 19th century and in the early 20th century, the community grew larger as the result of its commerce in wood. The number of Jews rose in 1897 to 5,047 (55 percent) and it was doubled by the eve of World War I. During the civil war years, the economic situation of Rogachev deteriorated so that by 1926 there were fewer Jews, 5,327 (47.5 percent), declining to 4,601 in 1939 (30.3 percent of the total population). Under the Soviet regime, the public and religious life of the Jews was stifled. A Jewish artisans' union with 150 members conducted its official activities in Yiddish. There were three Jewish kolkhozes. A Yiddish school with 320 pupils functioned there. Germans entered the town on July 3, 1941, and gathered the Jews into a ghetto, where they suffered from overcrowding, hunger, and disease. Between November 1941 and March 1942, 3,500 Jews were executed. The 1959 census gave no indication of Jews living in Rogachev, though their number was estimated at about 750. Rogachev was the native town of Joseph *Rozin, known as "the Rogachover." It was also the birthplace of the painter Tanhum Kaplan and the Yiddish poet Shmuel *Halkin; after Halkin's death in 1960 a street was named after him.

[Yehuda Slutsky / Shmuel Spector (2nd ed.)]

ROGATIN (Pol. **Rohatyn**), city in Ivano-Frankovsk (Stanislavov) district, Ukraine; formerly within Poland, it passed to Austria in 1772, and was incorporated within Stanislawow province, Poland, between the two world wars. One of Poland's oldest cities, Rogatin suffered severely from the depredations of the Tatars. A Jewish community apparently existed there from early times; in the 16th and 17th centuries, Jews from other parts of Poland attended fairs which took place in Rogatin. Within the framework of the Council of Four Lands (see *Councils of the Lands), Rogatin was within the "province of Russia." At the beginning of the 18th century, there were a number of Shabbateans in Rogatin. Jacob *Frank had many adherents there. The town was one of the three towns allocated to the Frankists by King Augustus III. A noted Frankist, Elisha Schoor (*Wolowski) lived in Rogatin. There were 797 Jews living in Rogatin in 1765 and the number increased during Austrian rule (1772–1919): the community numbered 3,192 (48.9 percent of the total population) in 1887; 3,217 (about 46 percent) in 1912; 1,294 (22.6 percent) in 1921; and 3,002 in 1931.

During World War I, the city was in the battle zone and did not recover during the period of the independent Polish republic. The Jews suffered from the discriminatory policy of the Polish government and the economic depression of the 1930s. Jews took part in the social and political life of the city, and their representatives were elected to the city council in 1927 and 1933. In the elections to the community council of 1933, the Zionists gained the most seats.

[Shimshon Leib Kirshenboim]

Holocaust Period

After the outbreak of World War II, during the period of Soviet rule (1939–41), Jewish community institutions were dissolved, political activity was banned, and restrictions were placed on private enterprise. Some Jews were deported to the Soviet interior. During the German campaign against the Soviet Union, Rogatin was captured by the Germans on July 2, 1941. On July 6 Ukrainian police attacked the Jews, and by the end of 1941 a ghetto was established. Its inhabitants suffered from hunger and from a typhus epidemic in which 30 to 40 persons died daily. Shlomo Amarant was head of the Judenrat. On March 20, 1942, 2,000 persons were murdered near the city. On Sept. 21, 1942, some 1,000 persons were deported to the *Belzec death camp. In October Jews from Bukaczowce, Bursztyn, and Bolszowce were brought to the Rogatin ghetto. On Dec. 8, 1942, an *Aktion* took place in which 1,250 persons, including the medical corps and patients from the Jewish hospital, were deported to Belzec. In January 1943 the ghetto area was reduced. The survivors in the community prepared bunkers and hideouts, and it was difficult for the Germans to search them out. On June 6, 1943, the Germans began to liquidate the ghetto. They surrounded it, set houses on fire and threw hand grenades into them. Some Jews were able to escape and reach the forests; the others were murdered and buried in mass graves near the new cemetery.

[Aharon Weiss]

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ROGERS, BERNARD (1893–1968), U.S. composer. Born in New York, Rogers studied with Ernest *Bloch. His symphonic poem *To the Fallen* (1918) won him a Pulitzer traveling scholarship. He became an instructor at the Eastman School of Music, Rochester University, in 1929. Rogers wrote several operas, among them, *The Warrior* (1944), based on the story of *Samson and Delilah; choral works such as *The Exodus* (1932); an oratorio, *The Passion* (1942); and orchestral and film music. His *Art of Orchestration* appeared in 1951.

ROGERS, CLAUDE MAURICE (1907–1979), British painter. Rogers was born in London, the son of a dentist, and lived as a small child in Buenos Aires before returning to London, where he was educated at St. Paul's School and the Slade School of Art. Together with William Coldstream and Victor Pasmore, he founded an art school in London which gave rise to the "Euston Road Group" of painters, an English version of Sensitive Impressionism. After service in World War II, Rogers made a distinguished career as a teacher; from 1949 to 1956 at the Slade School and from 1963 to 1972 as professor of fine art at Reading University. A member of the London Group, of which he was president 1962–1965, he was also a member and vice chairman of the British Section of the UNESCO International Association of Artists. At different periods, he was a member of the Arts Panel of the Arts Council of Great Britain and of the National Council of Diplomas and Design. Rogers is represented in important public collections, including the Tate Gallery and the Victoria and Albert Museum.

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[Charles Samuel Spencer]

ROGERS, ERNESTO (1909–1969), Italian architect and critic. Rogers was born in Trieste. He belonged to BBPR, a partnership of four modern architects who became internationally known for their sanatorium at Legnano (1937–38). The group also designed housing, industrial buildings, and exhibition architecture. Their Torre Velasca, Milan (1957), created a stir by its apparent abandonment of functionalism. Rogers was editor of the architectural journals *Domus* and *Casabella*.

ROGINSKI, SIMON ZALMANOVICH (1900–1970), Russian physical chemist. Roginski taught at the Dnepropetrovsk University's Mining Institute from 1923 to 1928 and from 1925 was also attached to the Ukrainian Institute of Physical Chemistry. From 1928 to 1941, he was at the Leningrad Polytechnic and the Institute of Physical Chemistry of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences in Leningrad, and from 1941 at the corresponding institute in Moscow.

His fields of research were catalysis, including the "theory of super-saturation," kinetics of explosions, isotopes, and free atoms of hydrogen, oxygen, and nitrogen. He wrote *Adsorbtsiya i kataliz na neodnorodnykh poverkhnostyakh* ("Adsorption and Catalysis on Heterogeneous Surfaces," 1948).

[Samuel Aaron Miller]

ROGOFF, HARRY (**Hillel**; 1883–1971), U.S. Yiddish journalist and editor. Born in Berezino, Belorussia, Rogoff immigrated to New York at the age of ten with his parents. In 1906 he became a reporter for the *Forverts*, and except for short absences, remained on its staff (as editor after the death of Abraham *Cahan) until his retirement in 1962. In his journalism and editorial writing, he interpreted and commented on political events and sociological trends in the U.S. His major books, *Civics: Vi Azoy Amerike Vert Regirt* ("Civics: How America Is Governed," 1918), and the highly regarded, five-volume *Geshikhte fun di Fareynigte Shtatn* ("History of the United States," 1928), helped to familiarize his largely immigrant readership with their adopted country. Rogoff wrote abundant literary criticism; a short-lived literary magazine, *East and West*, which he edited in 1915–16 was one of the earliest attempts at introducing Yiddish literature to American readers. His English publications, signed Harry Rogoff, include *An East Side Epic: The Life and Work of Meyer London* (1930), later rewritten in Yiddish, and *Nine Yiddish Writers* (1931), a collection of critical essays.

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[Ruth Wisse]

ROHATYN, FELIX G. (1928–), U.S. financier. Born in Vienna, Austria, Rohatyn and his family fled Austria in 1935 for France and left in 1940, going to Casablanca, Lisbon, and in 1941, Rio de Janeiro, before arriving in the United States in 1942. He received a B.S. in physics from Middlebury College in 1949 and joined the New York office of the investment bank Lazard Freres under Andre Meyer. During the Korean War, he served in the U.S. Army in Germany, attaining the rank of sergeant and returned to Lazard, one of the most influential financial institutions in the world. He was made a partner in 1961 and rose to managing director, the top office in the firm, earning a reputation as a world authority on mergers and acquisitions. During that time he advised many notable financial figures, including Harold Geneen, then head of ITT, and Lew *Wasserman, head of the talent agency MCA. At the same time, from 1968 to 1972, he served on the board of governors of the New York Stock Exchange and on the boards of directors of a number of multinational corporations. He led the Stock Exchange's crisis committee through a period of great instability in the 1970s, working to find financing that kept tottering companies from collapse. New York City, where he lived, was suffering population decline during that period, like many urban centers, and saw an erosion of its industrial base. Race riots in the 1960s had also left their mark and by the 1970s the city had gained a reputation as a crime-ridden relic of history. In 1975, the city government was on the brink of financial collapse. The mayor, Abraham D. *Beame, asked Washington for assistance and was told, in a famous headline in *The Daily News*: "Ford to City: Drop Dead." Rohatyn was summoned to help the city. Through the Municipal Assistance Corporation, which he headed, Rohatyn forced the city to restructure its debt and the city had to accept increased scrutiny of its finances by an agency of New York State called the Financial Control Board. Rohatyn is credited with managing the negotiations with unions that put up their pension funds to back the city's debt as the city issued revenue and tax anticipation notes. The city survived, and the 1980s saw a rebirth of Wall Street with the city reclaiming its role at the center of the worldwide financial industry. Rohatyn headed the agency from 1975 to 1993. In 1997, when he retired from Lazard, Rohatyn was appointed United States ambassador to France by President Bill Clinton. He served until 2000 and was named commander of the French Legion of Honor. He was a member of the Council on Foreign Relations and the American Academy of Arts and Sciences. He also served as vice chairman of Carnegie Hall in New York and was a trustee of the Center for Strategic and International Studies in Washington. He established Rohatyn Associates in 2001 to provide financial advice to corporations. Among the boards he served on were those of LVMH Moet Hennessy Louis Vuitton, Publicis Group, Groupe Lardere, and Rothschild Continuation Holdings.

[Stewart Kampel (2nd ed.)]

RÓHEIM, GÉZA (1891–1953), U.S. psychoanalyst and anthropologist. Born in Budapest, he was for a time affiliated with the ethnological department of the Hungarian National Museum. In Berlin, he worked under F. von *Luschan and studied the theories of *Freud. In 1915, he underwent his first psychoanalysis at the hands of Sándor *Ferenczi and became the first ethnologist employing and advocating a psychoanalytic interpretation of culture, and during the next three years wrote a series of papers on his theories. About this time, he was appointed professor of anthropology at the University of Budapest. His treatise, *Nach dem Tode des Urvaters* (*Imago* (1923), 83–121), adjusted the Freudian theory in the light of anthropological data. In 1925 and 1926, he wrote two books on the psychoanalytic study of Australian totemism.

With Freud's encouragement and assistance, from 1928 to 1931 Róheim did fieldwork in Central Australia, Normanby

(Melanesia), on the Sipupu Island in Somaliland, and among the Yuma Indians in Arizona. On the basis of this research Róheim was enabled to produce a revision of psychoanalytic theory. Some of the products of this study appear in *Animism, Magic, and the Divine King* (1930) as well as various articles in the psychoanalytic journals of the early 1930s. His two books, *Riddle of the Sphinx* (1934) and *The Origin and Function of Culture* (1943), deal with folklore and the interpretation of myths. Between 1932 and 1938, he taught anthropology and psychoanalysis at the Budapest Institute of Psychoanalysis.

In 1938 he left for the United States and became affiliated with the Worcester State Hospital as an analyst. After 1940 he joined the New York Psychoanalytical Institute as a lecturer and engaged in private practice as a psychoanalyst.

In his studies of mythology and magic, he placed primary stress on sexuality but with some deviations from the Freudian doctrine. On the basis of both his fieldwork and his clinical experience, Róheim tended to reject Freud's theory of the primal family and the hypothesis of inherited racial memories as an explanation of totemism and other social data in religion and social structure. He moved toward an ontogenetic theory of culture explaining it on the basis of prolonged dependence of the human infant and child on the mother which results in emotional and social ties.

Róheim also developed a dream theory interpreting various phenomena of anxiety, ambivalence, and aggression as part of the human experience of mother separation. In 1949 he wrote "Technique of Dream Analysis and Field Work in Anthropology" and in 1950 *Psychoanalysis and Anthropology*. In *Magic and Schizophrenia* (1955), Roheim set out his belief that both individuals and societies evolve from a stage of magical symbolic thinking that he related to schizophrenia.

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[Ephraim Fischoff]

°**ROHLING, AUGUST** (1839–1931), antisemitic polemicist. A fanatical ultramontanist priest from the Rhineland, Rohling published in 1871 his *Der Talmudjude* (based on J.A. *Eisenmenger's *Entdecktes Judenthum*), a collection of deliberately corrupted quotations, imaginary statements, and forgeries against the Talmud. The book appeared in successive editions and became very popular. When Franz Holubek, a leader of the Viennese artisan movement, was sued for inciting a crowd against the Jews (April 4, 1882), he pleaded not guilty, claiming that he had obtained his information in good faith from the books of Rohling, a full professor at the German University of Prague. Rohling's academic appointments were obtained through the intercession of high Church dignitaries. Holubek's acquittal was a victory for the growing political antisemitism. Rohling and his works acquired further notoriety through the *Tiszaeszlar blood libel affair, when Rohling volunteered to testify that Jews required Christian blood for their ceremonies. After Franz *Delitzsch, the renowned Protestant Orientalist, had revealed Rohling's ignorance and baseness, Rohling accused Delitzsch of being a Jew and then castigated Adolf *Jellinek and Moritz *Guedemann as cunning knaves for denying Holubek's charges.

Rohling's challenger was Joseph Samuel *Bloch who, after repeated sorties against him, published a series of articles in July 1883 under the title, "An Offer to Commit Perjury," in which he branded Rohling a liar and perjurer. Forced by public opinion to sue Bloch for libel, Rohling enlisted the aid of two antisemites, Brimanus (a Romanian-Jewish renegade who had taught Rohling Hebrew and was author of the scurrilous *Der Judenspiegel* under the pseudonym "Justus") and Ecker (a convicted forger, priest, and professor at an obscure seminary in Paderborn). Neither could attend the trial. Bloch recruited the respected Orientalists Theodor Noeldeke and Karl August Wuensche, who completely demolished all Rohling's academic pretenses. Even Paul *Lagarde condemned Rohling's works. In 1885, shortly before the trial was due to open, Rohling withdrew his suit after Bloch had collected an immense amount of material against him. He paid the costs of the trial, lost his academic chair, and left the public scene, nevertheless continuing to publish antisemitic tracts. Rohling's *Talmudjude* was translated into several European languages; E. *Drumont wrote the introduction to the French edition. The work continued to be published for more than 50 years, and served as a source for Nazi antisemitic doctrines.

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ROITMAN, DAVID (1884–1943), **ḥazzan* and composer. Roitman was born in Dorozhinki, Russia, and studied with several *ḥazzanim*, notably Jacob Samuel *Morogowski (Zeidel Rovner). He was *ḥazzan* in Vilna (1909–12), St. Petersburg (1912–17), and Odessa, before emigrating to the U.S. in 1921. From 1924 until his death, he officiated at Congregation Shaare Zedek in New York. Roitman had a light, flexible, lyric tenor voice with an exceptional falsetto. He was noted for his clarity of rendition and his power of improvisation, while still maintaining an overall simplicity of expression. His compositions *Ashamnu mi-Kol Am* (in: G. Ephros (ed.), *Cantorial Anthology*, 2 (1940), 145–6) and *Raḥel Mevakah al Baneha*, both deeply moving liturgical laments, achieved widespread popularity. In 1961, L. Avery published *Selected Recitatives of Cantor David Roitman*.

ROJAS, FERNANDO DE (c. 1465–1541), Spanish Converso author. Rojas was born in Puebla de Montalbán near Toledo, studied in Salamanca and settled in Talavera de la Reina. In 1517 he was a witness in defense of a man accused of Judaizing and in 1525 the Inquisition objected to his serving as lawyer for his Converso father-in-law, Alvaro de Montalbán, because he was a New Christian. Acclaimed as the "father of the Spanish novel," Rojas is generally recognized as the author of all or most of one of Spain's greatest literary works and the earliest Spanish tragedy, *La Celestina* (first-known ed. Burgos, 1499). Though written completely in dialogue, this is more a novel than a play. The first edition was an anonymous 16-act *Comedia de Calisto y Melibea*. In the third-known edition (Seville, 1501), Rojas hesitantly reveals his authorship in a prefatory letter and in some acrostic verses, stating that he found a fragment of the first act and continued the work. The various editions dated 1502 (although printed later) contain a new prologue and five added acts, as well as numerous textual changes. The title was also changed to *Tragicomedia de Catisto y Melibea*. Rojas himself suggests that the first act may have been by Juan de Mena or Rodrigo de Cota de *Maguaque. He probably wished to obscure his own part in the writing because of the work's anticlericalism. From 1519 the play was known as *La Celestina*. The fact that Rojas was a Converso has been adduced to explain the pessimism of his work, unequaled in any contemporary production. The *Celestina* has probably inspired more studies than any other Spanish book with the exception of *Cervantes' *Don Quixote*, to which alone it is placed second. It has been translated many times into English (first by James Mabbe in 1631).

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[Kenneth R. Scholberg]

ROKACH, ELEAZAR (1854–1914), Ereẓ Israel pioneer and writer. Rokach, the grandson of Israel *Bak, was born in Jerusalem. He also studied there, but moved to Safed after his marriage, whereupon he began contributing articles on Safed Jewry to the Hebrew press abroad (mainly anonymously) and later wrote for *Ḥavaẓẓelet on many issues. He advocated working the land and was among those who initiated the acquisition of the village Gei-Oni (later *Rosh-Pinnah), where he was one of the first settlers. Rokach went abroad in 1880 and lived first in Romania, and then in Galicia, calling upon the Jews to settle in Ereẓ Israel. He was an unusual mixture of romantic and realist – a dreamer yet a fighter for his beliefs – who was unappreciated in his time. From 1901 until the end of his life, he wandered all over Galicia, lecturing and writing. He died in Drohobycz.

Rokach wrote a pamphlet entitled *Maẓẓav ha-Ir ha-Kedoshah Ẓefat ve-Toshaveha ha-Ashkenazim* ("The Conditions of the Holy City of Safed and its Ashkenazi Inhabitants," Jerusalem, no date). He also published several Yiddish and Hebrew newspapers while abroad (*Yisrael*, Jassy-Piatra, 1881; *Talpiyyot*, Jassy, 1898–99; and *Ha-Yarden*, Buczacz, 1906, in which his coeditor was S.Y. Agnon).

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[Getzel Kressel]

ROKACH, SHIMON (1863–1922), leader of the Jaffa Jewish community. Born in Jerusalem, the grandson of Rabbi Israel *Bak, Rokach moved to Jaffa in 1884 to control the travel tax imposed upon travelers from Jaffa to Jerusalem, a post which he and his father had leased from the Turkish authorities. Together with his brother Eleazar *Rokach, he established the Ezrat Israel Society to assist immigrants passing through Jaffa. In 1887 he was founder of the first modern Jewish quarter in Jaffa, Neveh Ẓedek, and among those instrumental in unifying the city's Sephardi and Ashkenazi communities in 1890; he later served as president of the community. One of the pioneers of citriculture in Ereẓ Israel, in 1900 Rokach was a founder of the cooperative citrus-marketing company, Pardes, and served as its director. He utilized his extensive contacts with the Turkish authorities and with Arab notables for the good of the Jewish community. During World War I, he obtained a contract to supply wood for fueling Turkish army trains and employed many Jews to exempt them from Ottoman military service.

[Yehuda Slutsky]

His son, ISRAEL (1896–1959), Israeli public figure and mayor of Tel Aviv. Born in Jaffa, Rokach graduated in Lausanne, Switzerland, as an electrical engineer. He belonged to the non-labor camp of the *yishuv* and dedicated most of his years to the Tel Aviv municipality. He was elected to the first Tel Aviv municipal council in 1922 and served without interruption until 1953 (from 1929 as deputy mayor to *Dizengoff and in 1937–53 as mayor). Under his leadership, Tel Aviv grew from a garden suburb into the principal city of the country. In 1947, Rokach was held for several months in a British detention camp, together with the mayors of Ramat Gan and Netanyah and other *yishuv* leaders, for having aided underground activities against the Mandatory government. Politically he was a leading figure of the General Zionists (B) and from 1949 served as one of their members in the Knesset. In 1953–55 Rokach was minister of interior and in 1957–59 deputy speaker of the Knesset.

Another son, ISAAC (1894–1974), was active in business affairs connected with the citrus industry and was general manager of the Citrus Growers Cooperation society.

[Benjamin Jaffe]

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ROKEAḤ, DAVID (1916–1985), Hebrew poet. Born in Lvov, Rokeaḥ settled in Palestine in 1934, working as an engineer, and first published lyrical poems in 1935.

His books of poetry are: *Be-Gesher ha-Yi'ud* (1939), *Yamim Ashenim* (1941), *Mo'adei Ergah* (1954), *Arar alei Shaham* (1958), *Kinno shel Yam* (1963), *Mi-Kayiẓ el Kayiẓ* (1964), *Shaḥar le-Helekh* (1965), *Einayim la-Sela* (1967), and *Ve-Lo Ba Yom Aḥer* (1969). Many of his poems appeared in German translation by prominent poets such as Paul Celan and Erich Fried, and Rokeah was indeed one of the first Hebrew poets to be published in postwar Germany. For a full listing of Rokeaḥ's works in English translation, see Goell, Bibliography, 1191–207.

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[Getzel Kressel]

ROKEAḤ or **ROKAḤ (Landau), ELAZAR BEN SHMELKE** (1665–1741), rabbi. Rokaḥ was born in Cracow, and after serving as rabbi in Rakov (1705) and Tarnow (1709), he was appointed *av bet din* (c. 1714) and subsequently rabbi of Brody. The Jewish community of Brody flourished greatly during this period. It possessed a *Klaus*, which was composed of kabbalists and talmudic scholars, and during his period of office, the first group of adherents of *Israel Ba'al Shem Tov was established in Brody. At this time also a considerable number of scholars from Brody and the neighborhood, such as R. *Abraham Gershon of Kutow and R. *Pereẓ b. Moses, immigrated to Ereẓ Israel.

In 1735 Rokaḥ accepted a call to Amsterdam, despite the violent controversy which had raged there since the death of the previous incumbent, R. Abraham Judah of Halberstadt. Rokaḥ was very well received, and a medallion was even struck in his honor, which roused the antagonism of R. Jacob *Emden. This was not the only dispute which surrounded him, and as a result, in 1740 he decided to immigrate to Ereẓ Israel. He settled in Safed, where he became the head of the small Ashkenazi community, applying himself to their immediate needs to such an extent that they accorded him the title "the Nasi of Ereẓ Israel," which was given to those who devoted themselves to the support of the *yishuv* in the country.

Rokaḥ was a determined and unwearying opponent of every sign of the Shabbatean heresy. While still in Brody, he violently attacked Moses Ḥayyim *Luzzatto, whom he accused of this heresy, and gave his approval to the banning of his works. In Safed he became so involved in a conflict with a group of Shabbateans there that he thought of emigrating from Ereẓ Israel, but he died suddenly exactly a year after his arrival here.

With his death the position of the Ashkenazi community deteriorated and they appealed for help to the *Council of Four Lands, mentioning the great help which Rokaḥ had obtained for them as a result of his contacts with Poland and Amsterdam.

Among Rokaḥ's works are *Ma'aseh Roke'aḥ* on the composition of the Mishnah (Amsterdam, 1740) and on the Pentateuch (Lemberg, 1850), and *Arba'ah Turei Even* (Lemberg, 1789).

[Jacob Barnai]

ROKISKIS (Heb. and Yid. **Rakishik**), city in Lithuania near the Latvian border. Situated on the Daugavpils-Liepaja railroad, it served as a commercial center for a large rural area and a point for the export of wood, grain, and flax. In 1847 there were 593 Jews in the town and in 1897 2,067 (75% of the total population). During World War I most of the Jews fled to the interior of Russia. The city was reestablished after the war. Jews numbered 2,013 in 1923, and although Rokiskis developed rapidly, its Jews had to contend with harsh competition from the Lithuanians, who were supported by the government. In 1939 there were 3,500 Jews in Rokiskis (40% of the total population). They were mostly *Ḥabad Ḥasidim. During the period of Lithuanian independence (1918–40), there were two Hebrew schools. When the Germans occupied the city in 1941, the Jews were deported to the ghetto of Joniskis and killed there. Rokiskis is the birthplace of the commander of the Soviet Air Force and Hero of the U.S.S.R., Yaakov *Shmushkevich.

[Yehuda Slutsky]

ROLAND-MANUEL (**Roland Alexis Manuel Levy**; 1891–1966), composer and writer. Born in Paris, Roland-Manuel studied with Roussel and Ravel, and in 1947 became professor of aesthetics at the Paris Conservatory. In 1947 he was elected vice president of the International Society for Contemporary Music, and in 1949 president of the International Music Council of UNESCO. His music is a blend of classicism and modernism, avoiding romantic tendencies. His writings include three books on Ravel, and the valuable popularization *Plaisir de la musique* (1947–55) in four volumes.

ROLL, MICHAEL (1946–), British pianist. Roll was born in Leeds to Viennese parents and studied the piano from the age of six with Fanny Waterman. At 12, he made his debut at the Royal Festival Hall, playing the Schumann concerto with Sir Malcolm Sargent. In 1963, the youngest of 88 competitors, Roll won the first Leeds International Piano Competition and thereafter performed with such conductors as Barbirolli, Boulez, Giulini, Gergiev, Haitink, Leinsdorf, Masur, *Previn, and Sawallisch, in many European cities and in Israel. His American debut occurred in 1974 with the Boston Symphony and Sir Colin Davis, appearing in Boston and New

York. He appeared at leading international festivals such as Aldeburgh, Bath, Edinburgh, Granada, Hong Kong, Vienna, and the Klavier-Festival Ruhr. He holds a professorship at the Folkwang Hochschule in Essen. His three CD recordings of the Beethoven Piano Concertos with the Royal Philharmonic Orchestra under Howard Shelley were highly praised by critics.

[Max Loppert / Israela Stein (2nd ed.)]

ROLNICK, JOSEPH (1879–1955), Yiddish poet. Born near Mir (Belorussia) into a miller's family, Rolnick was indelibly marked by the landscape of his youth. He emigrated to New York in 1899, debuted as a Yiddish poet in *Forverts* in 1900, and returned to Europe in 1901, re-emigrating to New York in 1907. Rolnick was one of the first American Yiddish poets to break with the dominant tradition of didactic social poetry, paving the way for impressionism and symbolism. The insurgent literary group Di *Yunge hailed him as a precursor of its ideals and poetic theory and welcomed him into the group. Rolnick avoided complex moods or complicated situations. In simple quatrains he conveyed a single mood or thought with maximum clarity and fidelity. As a mature lyric poet, his resignation was no longer the expression of despair but of a purer and deeper recognition and understanding. The creator of tranquil lyrics whose symbols emerge from village landscape and life, Rolnick has been compared to Robert Frost.

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[Sol Liptzin / Eugene V. Orenstein (2nd ed.)]

ROM, YOSEF (1932–1997), aeonautical engineer. Born in Poland, Rom immigrated with his parents to Ereẓ Israel in 1935. He studied aeronautic engineering and became dean of the Faculty of Aeronautic Engineering of the Technion in Haifa. He served as engineering consultant to many research and development institutions and to the defense industry in Israel, and developed supersonic wind tunnels. Rom was awarded the Israel Prize in 1976 for service to technology and applied engineering. He was elected to the Ninth Knesset in 1977, representing the Likud.

ROMAIN, JONATHAN A. (1954–), British rabbi and historian. A leading Progressive rabbi in Barkingside and in Maidenhead, Berkshire, and director of the Jewish Information and Media Service, Romain is also well-known for his publications on Jewish history and life, including (with Dr. Anne J. Kershen): *Tradition and Change: A History of Reform Judaism in Britain, 1840–1995* (1995), *Faith and Practice: A Guide to Reform Judaism Today* (1991), and *The Jews of England: A Portrait of Anglo-Jewry Through Original Sources and Illustrations* (1985).

[William D. Rubinstein (2nd ed.)]

ROMAN, town in Bacau province, Moldavia, N.E. Romania. According to a popular tradition, the first Jews settled in Roman in the second half of the 15th century. Another source attributes the beginning of the Jewish settlement there to the early 16th century. In 1579 the Jews were expelled, according to this source, by the prince of Moldavia. Jews in Roman are first mentioned in Romanian documents from the beginning of the 18th century, and the oldest Jewish tombstones there date from this period. In 1714 a case of blood *libel occurred in Roman. In 1825 priests demanded that the Jewish cemetery should be closed claiming that it was in the center of the town, but the Moldavian ruler rejected their request. The priests then brought several actions against the community, resulting in 1849 in compulsory closure of the cemetery which was subsequently also desecrated. In 1846 the community acquired land for a new cemetery. At first the "Jewish guild" assumed the community functions; subsequently some of them were taken over by the *ḥevra kaddisha* whose minute book is preserved from 1793. There were 16 prayerhouses, including the Great Synagogue (The Taylor's Synagogue). In 1875 the hostel for travelers (*hekdesh) was converted into a modern hospital and old-age home. The community bath (*mikveh*) also served as a public bath for Christians, being the only one in town.

The Jewish population numbered 288 in 1803, and 1,200 in 1831; it had increased to 6,432 by 1899 (39% of the total population). Persecutions led many Jews to emigrate in 1900 and the following years. The number of the Jews in Roman had decreased to 4,728 by 1910. In 1930 they numbered 5,963 (28% of the total population). At the beginning of the 19th century, the majority of the Jews were occupied in crafts; the number of those engaged in commerce increased by the early 20th century.

In 1865 Jewish educational institutions in Roman included a *talmud torah* and 20 *ḥadarim*, some belonging to the craftsmen, and others to the Ḥasidim. A modern Jewish elementary school, opened on directions of the authorities in 1860, was subsequently closed. In 1893, when Jews were expelled from the public schools, a new modern elementary school was opened with the aid of the Jewish Colonization *Association (ICA), and in 1899 a school for girls was founded. Among rabbis in Roman were David Isaacson, who officiated from 1839 to 1907, and his nephew, Solomon Isaacson (1910–47).

After World War I the community underwent reorganization. From 1926 its board was appointed by the government from among Jews who were members of the ruling party. Jews also served on the local council but as representatives of the Romanian parties. Antisemitism was strong in Roman especially between the two world wars, encouraged by the bishop, Lucian Triteanu, one of the leading antisemites in Romania. In 1910 A. *Cuza, the head of the antisemitic party, was elected deputy in this city, and in 1930 as representative of Roman in the Romanian parliament.

The community was not liquidated in the Holocaust. The Jewish population numbered 7,900 in 1947, and 4,500 in 1950.

Most of them left for Israel and by 1969 there were about 150 Jewish families. Two synagogues were in existence.

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[Theodor Lavi]

ROMAN, JACOB BEN ISAAC (c. 1570–1650), bibliographer and writer; born in Constantinople of Spanish descent. While in Basle, Roman met Johannes *Buxtorf the Younger, who utilized the former's bibliographical knowledge for the appendix to his father's *Bibliotheca Rabbinica*, which he had edited. For a short while the two maintained correspondence, and the two extant letters by Roman were published in the *Revue des Etudes Juives* (8 (1844), 87–94). His plan to reestablish a Hebrew press in Constantinople did not reach fruition.

Roman compiled an Arabic-Turkish and an Arabic-Hebrew dictionary and composed a Hebrew prosody, "*Mozenei Mishkal*." He also translated some of Jonah ibn Janah's works from Arabic into Hebrew: none, however, was published.

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[Victor A. Mirelman]

ROMANELLI, SAMUEL AARON (1757–1817), Italian Hebrew poet and traveler. Born in Mantua, he acquired a knowledge of ten languages including English, French and Spanish. He began his journeys through Europe at an early age. By his late 20s, he reached London where he wrote a Hebrew translation of Pope's *Essay on Man, Massah al ha-Adam*, and a lament on the death of Moses Mendelssohn (1786). On his way back to Italy in 1787, he decided to tour Morocco. While there he took up employment wherever he could find it and at the same time wrote his travelogue, *Massa ba-Arav* (Berlin, 1792; repr. with introd. by H. Schirmann in *Romanelli, Ketavim Nivḥarim*, 1968; Eng. trans. by Schiller-Szinessy, *Romanelli's Travels in Morocco*, 1887). It is for this attractive description of Jewish life in Morocco written in a biblical Hebrew style that he is best known. In 1790 he left for Europe where he eventually settled in Germany. There he befriended the principal "*me'assefim*" (see *Me'assef*), e.g., I. *Euchel and D. *Friedlaender. While there he composed an allegorical play in three acts, *Ha-Kolot Yeḥdalun* (Berlin, 1791), for the marriage of one of the Jaffe Itzig family. The same year, he published his philosophical poem *Ru'aḥ Nakhon*, concerning the existence of the soul and God. In 1793 he worked as a proofreader in Vienna, where he published a play for the marriage of Charlotte Arnstein, *Alot ha-Minḥah*, which appeared with an Italian translation. After the French conquest of northern Italy, Romanelli returned to his homeland and settled in Mantua in 1807. The same year, and in Napoleon's honor, he published *Zimrat Ariẓim, Raccolta di inni ed odi*, Italian translations of poems and prayers composed by members of the Sanhedrin. In 1808 he published *Maḥazeh Shaddai… Illusione felice ossia visione sentimentale*, a metaphysical poem with an Italian translation (Turin, 1808). His latter years he spent in wandering through northern Italy, finally settling in Casale Monferrato where he died. Many of his works are still in manuscript, including his Hebrew translation of the Italian playwright Metastasio's play *Temistocle* under the title *Talmon*.

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ROMAN EMPERORS. It is impossible to make generalizations about the attitude of the Roman emperors toward the Jews. Different attitudes were adopted by different emperors and even the same emperor would change his views, sometimes dependent upon whether it was directed to the Jews in Ereẓ Israel or in other parts of the empire. On the other hand, it is possible to make a sufficiently clear distinction between the attitude of the pagan emperors on the one hand and the Christian on the other.

In general, the pagan emperors were tolerant toward the various foreign religions and even Cicero stated: "*Sua cuique civitati religio est, nostra nobis*" (*Pro Flacco*, 28). Augustus (27 B.C.E.–14 C.E.) continued the favorable policy toward the Jews initiated by *Julius Caesar. Under Tiberius (14–37), as a result of the influence of the powerful Sejanus, the young Jews of Rome were deported to Sardinia to fight brigandage, and a large number of them died there. The Senate decreed that all Jews who would not abjure their faith be banished from Italy and that their articles of religious worship be confiscated. The decree, however, was not put into effect, and in 31, after the death of Sejanus, the protective edicts of Caesar and *Augustus were reconfirmed. Under *Caligula (37–41), Jewish insurrections took place in Ereẓ Israel and Egypt, after the emperor, who desired to be worshiped as a god, had his statue erected in the Temple. The danger was averted due to the efforts of the delegation from the Jews of Alexandria, headed by Philo, and more by the sympathetic legate to Syria, Petronius *Publius. *Claudius (41–54), who did not claim divinity, restored the edict of tolerance to the Jews and extended it to the whole Roman Empire. In 49–50, he decided to expel from Rome the Jews who, perhaps because of conflicts with the Christians, had disturbed the public order (*Iudaeos impulsore Chresto assidue tumultuantis Roma expulit*; Suetonius, *De vita Caesarum*, Claudius, 25); the expulsion, however, was applied to a few individuals only. In 66, during the reign of *Nero (54–68), the disturbances in Palestine became a full-scale war which ended with the destruction of the Temple (70). Nevertheless, according to Josephus, when *Titus became emperor (79–81), he wished to show a benevolent attitude toward the Jews; in Jewish tradition, however, he remains "Titus the Wicked." Vespasian instituted the *fiscus judaicus. It was collected with particular harshness by Domitian (81–96), under whose reign the Jews suffered both in life and property. The meek *Nerva (96–98) started to protect the Jews again, and abolished the stringency of the collection of the *fiscus*. *Trajan (98–117) harshly repressed the Jewish revolt in Palestine, Egypt and Cyrenaica.

The attitude of *Hadrian (117–138) has been the subject of much controversy. Under his reign the *Bar Kokhba Revolt broke out. According to *Dio Cassius, the immediate cause of the revolt was the decision of Hadrian to transform Jerusalem into a Greek city and the Temple into a temple of Jupiter, but, according to Spartianus, it was caused by the prohibition against circumcision. The Midrash (Gen. R. 64:10) attributes it to the breach of promise to reconstruct the Temple, as a result of Samaritan pressure. According to Eusebius, however, the Jews were regarded as responsible for the outbreak of the war, and in consequence anti-Jewish measures were taken. The agitation of the Jews continued also under *Antoninus Pius (138–161), despite his conciliatory attitude which included the repeal of the prohibition against circumcision; as non-Jews were severely punished for circumcision, this signified, in practice, the prohibition of conversion. In fact, conversions were looked upon with disfavor by the emperors and punished with different penalties (for example, the edict of Septimius *Severus in 204). In 212, with the *Constitutio Antoniniana* of Caracalla (211–217), the Jews of the empire also became Roman citizens. Alexander *Severus (222–235) was so favorable in his attitude toward the Jews that a synagogue in Rome was named after him and he was nicknamed the *archisynagogus*. *Diocletian (284–305), the harsh adversary of Christians, Manicheans, and Samaritans, was in contrast friendly toward the Jews, as is affirmed by the Talmud.

With the triumph of Christianity in 313, the empire became ever more intolerant; religious liberty declined. A period of persecutions and juridical and political restrictions began toward the Jews, who were regarded as of a lower degree than pagans and heretics. Theoretically, for example, the destruction of a synagogue was still considered a crime, but in practice the penalties laid down were only partially observed and numerous offenses were perpetrated by the Church. There was an interval of tranquility and a restoration of religious liberty with *Julian the Apostate (361–363), who entertained the idea of rebuilding Jerusalem and the Temple, but with his death there was a religious reaction. In 399 *Honorius tried in vain to sever the bond between the Jews of the Roman Empire in the West and their brethren in Palestine. In vain did *Theodosius I (379–395) declare that it "could not be ascertained that the sect of the Jews was prohibited by any law"; the Church Fathers rebelled against him and the emperor was forced to retract his declaration. As a result of Theodosius' *Novella*, 3 (Jan. 31, 438), ascribed to the emperors Theodosius II and Valentinian, the juridical capacity of the Jews in the public sector was completely exhausted. In their codices, Theodosius II (in 438) and Justinian (between 529 and 533) assembled the decrees of the various Christian emperors with regard to the Jews: Justinian even attempted to intervene in the very internal life of the Jewish community. To a greater or lesser degree, every Christian emperor followed, henceforth, the program of an empire become confessionist, endeavoring to impose the Christian faith on its subjects and repressing all which did not conform to it.

See also individual entries on the emperors and their bibliographies.

[Alfredo Mordechai Rabello]

ROMANIA, country in East-Central and South-East Europe, in the Carpatho-Danubian region, north of the Balkan Peninsula, partly on the littoral of the Black Sea. The territory comprising Romania was known as Dacia in antiquity; Jewish tombstones, other inscriptions with Jewish and Palmyrean names written in Greek or Latin from the Roman period (1st–3rd centuries C.E.) and a coin from the period of Bar Kochba's revolt with an inscription in Hebrew were discovered in the counties of Transylvania and Oltenia. Jewish and Palmyrean names are also present in some Greek inscriptions discovered in the county of Dobrogea, known in antiquity as the Roman province Moesia Inferior. Early Christian missionary activity in Dacia and the Hellenistic towns of Moesia may have been due to the existence of Jewish groups there. Later, the Carpatho-Danubian territory was mentioned in some Hebrew sources from the 10th to 12th centuries. A Jewish presence is attested in the 14th century in the port towns of the Southern Bessarabia county on the Black Sea. In the 15th century, there were Karaite communities in the same towns, one of them, Akkerman (in Romanian: Cetatea Albă; in Russian: Belgorod Dnestrovskij) called in Hebrew *Ha-Ir ha-Levanah* ("the white city"). The Karaite Jews continued to live there until the middle of the 18th century. Occasional temporary presence of Ashkenazi Jewish merchants in Moldavia (called in Romanian: Moldova, principality located in the North-East, between the Oriental Carpathians and the Dniester and the Black Sea, founded at the beginning of the 14th century) occurred in the second half of the 15th century and in the beginning of the 16th century. In the second half of the 16th century, some Sephardi Jews from the Ottoman Empire visited Wallachia (called in Romanian: Ţara Românească, the second Romanian principality, located in the South, between the Southern Carpathians and the Danube, founded at the beginning of the 14th century) as exporters of cattle to the Ottoman Empire, dealers of wine, importers of textiles, and moneylenders. Some of them settled in Bucharest, the capital of Wallachia. Jewish creditors from Constantinople loaned money to candidates to the thrones of the principalities: they needed the money to pay the amount demanded by the Turkish sultan to obtain the princely function, since the principalities had become vassals to the Ottoman Empire in the first half of the 15th century. Some of those Jewish creditors accompanied the new princes to the principalities to make sure that they would repay their debt. Other Sephardi Jews from Turkey and from Italian states served as physicians or diplomats at princes' courts. In 1594–1595 the princes Mihai Viteazul (Michael the Brave) of Wallachia and Aron Tiranul (Aron the Tyran) of Moldavia killed their Jewish and Muslim creditors to avoid paying their debts to them.

As Moldavia was on the trade routes between Poland-Lithuania and the Ottoman Empire many Jewish merchants traveled through it. Some settled there. In the 16th century there were Jewish communities in several Moldavian towns. More intensive waves of Jewish immigration resulted from the Chmielnicki massacres (1648–49). Beginning in the 17th century Moldavian princes granted special charters to Jews; known is a charter given to Jews from Jassy in 1666. The Great Synagogue of Jassy was built about 1670.

In the last decades of the 18th century, more Jews from Galicia began to settle in Moldavia as a result of demographic changes, the partition of Poland, Austrian emperor Joseph II's toleration edicts, and the economic growth of the Romanian principalities after the Kücük-Kainargi Russian-Turkish peace treaty (1774). It was the beginning of a new wave of immigration. Many of them were Ḥasidim. These Jewish craftsmen and merchants obtained special charters. They helped to reestablish war-ravaged towns or to enlarge others. Some of them settled at crossroads and founded commercial centers, the so-called burgs; in this activity they were encouraged by landowners. Many Jews were occupied in buying and selling agricultural products from neighboring villages to towns, and bringing and selling industrial products to peasants. The burgs were founded as a part of the economic development toward a commercial economy and the urbanization process. After the settlement of the Jews, landowners gave them charters including advantages, such as exemption from taxes, land for prayer houses, ritual baths, and cemeteries. When two counties of Moldavia were annexed by their neighbors (Bukovina by Austria in 1775 and Bessarabia by Russia in 1812), some Jews from these counties preferred to move to Romanian Moldavia, where they were not harassed by the authorities and had both family and business connections. Among the Jews occupied in commerce (in towns, but especially in burgs), there were also many craftsmen, such as furriers, tailors, boot makers, tinsmiths, and watchmakers; they settled mainly in the towns. There were also Jewish exporters of agricultural products and importers of industrial and luxury products, and Jewish moneylenders, who later on became bankers. In villages, Jews leased inns and brandy distilleries. The process of urbanization and the immigration of Jews continued in the first half of the 19th century. Many immigrants also arrived from Russia, partly as a result of the forced conscription in the period of Czar Nicholas I. The number of Jews grew in Moldavia as did the number of the so-called "Jewish burgs"; later part of them became insignificant. Jewish immigration into Wallachia was from Moldavia only (a re-emigration) and some Sephardi Jewish immigration from the Ottoman Empire as a result of the political and economic changes in the Balkan part of that empire.

Among the rabbis and Torah scholars present in Moldavia and Wallachia in the period from the 17th to the beginning of the 19th centuries may be mentioned Solomon ibn Aroyo, a kabbalist and also a physicist (Jassy, at the beginning of the 17th century); Nathan Hanover (Jassy, second half of the 17th century); Haim Thierer (present in some towns of Moldavia, second half of the 18th century); Eliezer Papo (Bucharest and Silistra, beginning of the 19th century).

From early on commercial competition was one of the main reasons for anti-Jewish hatred in Romania. In 1579 the sovereign of Moldavia, Petru Schiopul (Peter the Lame), ordered the banishment of the Jews on the grounds that they were ruining the merchants. In the Danube harbors it was the Greek and Bulgarian merchants who incited riots against the Jews, especially during Easter. Anti-Jewish excesses in the neighboring countries often extended to the Romanian principalities. In 1652 and 1653 Cossacks invaded Moldavia, attacking many Jews from Jassy. In 1714, there was a small pogrom in Bucharest and the synagogue (built of stones) was destroyed on the order of the sovereign of Wallachia, Stefan Cantacuzino. Greek Orthodox Christianity also preached intolerance toward Jews and shaped the first code of law: the Church laws of Moldavia and Wallachia in 1640, of Byzantine inspiration. Both proclaimed the Jews as heretics and forbade any relations with them. The state and the Church encouraged the conversion of Jews to Orthodox Christianity and offered economic and social advantages to the converts. With the exception of physicians, Jews were not accepted as witnesses in trials. In the codes of 1746 and 1780 the Jews are scarcely mentioned. On the other hand, the first books of anti-Jewish incitement of a religious character appeared around this time: *Alcatuirea aurita a lui Samuil rabbi jidovul* (The Golden Order of Rabbi Samuel the Jew) and "A Challenge to Jews" (Jassy, 1803). The image of the Jew in Romanian folklore includes satanic aspects: the Jews were satanized under the influence of the church. In the course of the rebellion against the Turks (1821), Greek volunteers crossed Moldavia on their way to the Danube, plundering and slaying Jews as they went (in Jassy, Herta (now Gertsa), Odobesti, Vaslui, Roman, etc.).

The judicial status of the Jews in the principalities was of an ethnical-religious guild (in Romanian: *breasla*, called *breasla jidovilor* in Moldavia, and *breasla ovreiasca* in Wallachia). There were guilds set up according to nationality and religion (e.g., Armenians, Catholic-Kiprovitchian Bulgarians, Jews) and others organized according profession (which included Moldavian or Wallachian Christian-Orthodox craftsmen or merchants from towns). The system was based on the Ottoman system of "isnafs" (in Turkish: *isnaf*). The guild took care of tax collection proportionate to the number of persons organized in it; the Jews (i.e., the Jewish Guild) were obliged to pay a poll-tax for the right to settle. This system, known from 1666 in Jassy (the right to settle was granted by the sovereign through a gold-charter, in Romanian: *hrisov*) may have existed some decades previously in Moldavia. The head of the guild was the "senior" (in Romanian: *staroste*; in Hebrew: *rosh medinah*). The "senior" was responsible for tax collection. The system was based on that existing in Poland: the Ashkenazi Jews, of Polish origin, maintained their tradition. The "senior" was exempted from payment and had some advantages, granted by the sovereign through a special charter. Later the abuses began: the "seniors" were elected from among members of the same family. In the 1830s the tax paid in Moldavia was called – in Romanian – the *crupca* (also a system of Polish origin; in Polish: *korowka*). The sovereigns preferred to put the rabbi in charge of collecting the tax, with him exempted from paying. Later (last decades of the 18th century) his administrative function was called in Turkish *hakham-bashe* and he was named *ḥakham-bashi* (the rabbi, who was the chief of the Jewish guild). Every rabbi, however, had to pay bribes (officially) to be recognized in his function. In Moldavia, the rabbis were from the same family: descendents of Rabbi Naphtali ha-Kohen of Posen, whose son, Bezalel was appointed as rabbi of Jassy community in 1719. In Wallachia the "senior" maintained his administrative and fiscal function, but consulted the rabbi of Jassy for halakhic problems and became his representative in Bucharest. The collective tax, set by the guild in agreement with the tax-collector, was paid from the tax on kosher meat, taxes on religious ceremonies, and contributions from every family head. The expenses of the institutions (*talmud torah, hekdesh*, cemetery) were covered by the remainder. The rabbi's salary was set according to the number of slaughtered cattle, of religious ceremonies, and of boys learning in the *talmud torah*.

The situation changed once again at the end of the 18th–first decades of the 19th centuries. Owing to the competition among the rabbis for this function and to the fact that many Jews considered the *ḥakham bashi* as insufficiently learned in Torah, his prestige was low, and learned rabbis were considered by the Jews as their real spiritual leaders. The growing number of immigrants from Galicia and Russia at the beginning of the 19th century opposed the *ḥakham bashi*, since such an institution was unknown to them and many of them were followers of Ḥasidism and led by *ẓaddikim*. As they were foreign subjects they asked their consuls to intercede, and in 1819 the prince of Moldavia decided that the *ḥakham bashi* should have jurisdiction only over "native" Jews. The Ḥasidim did not buy meat slaughtered by a non-Ḥasidic slaughterer, because his knife was not polished. So, they bought meat from "illegal" slaughterers and did not pay the tax on kosher meat. The collective tax paid by the Jewish guild to the state was smaller. Finally, after agreements with the representatives of the immigrant Jews (Ḥasidim), because of permanent strife among the diverse groups of Jews and their complaints to the authorities, the latter decided in 1834 to abolish the *ḥakham bashi* system and institution in Moldavia. In Wallachia, although the *ḥakham bashi* institution was not abolished, it remained inactive. Jewish communal life and organization were changed. The Ottoman system was changed to the Russian system. The Jewish guild became the Jewish community, called "the Jewish nation" (in Romanian: *natia ovreeasca*). Since the fiscal system could not be changed radically, the method of collective taxation on kosher meat remained in use but was carried out by representatives of the government for a relatively short period. After around a decade it was changed, proving impractical: only the wealthy Jews bought meat, while the poor consumed mainly vegetables. The functions of the community devolved on to the various prayer houses and the artisans' guilds and sometimes on the *ḥevra kaddisha* or the Jewish hospital.

(For the early history of the other regions which later made up Romania see *Bessarabia, *Bukovina, and *Transylvania).

Emerging Romania

The Russian-Turkish peace treaty of Adrianopol (1829) canceled the interdiction of the export of some Moldavian and Wallachian agricultural products from the Ottoman Empire and decreed freedom of commerce. Between 1829 and 1834 Moldavia and Wallachia were occupied by Russia. A nearly similar constitution (the so-called Organic Law) was prepared for both principalities during that period and promulgated in 1832. The constitution was similar to the one already existing in Wallachia and Moldavia. From 1832 to 1856 the two principalities were protectorates of Russia. The Organic Law of Moldavia (together with additions promulgated between 1834 and 1856) also dealt with the position of the Jews. Their communal organization was on the Russian model (*kahal*). Jews were forbidden to own property in the villages. Additions to the laws promulgated in 1839 and 1843 gave the authorities the right to determine which Jews were useful to the country, the others being declared vagrants and expelled. However, the Organic Law of Moldavia stipulated that Jewish children could attend public schools if they dressed like the Christian children. Jews were exempted from military service. The number of Jews increased owing to emigration from Galicia and Russia. The number of Jewish burgs in Moldavia also grew. In Bucharest (Wallachia) the community was fragmented. In the early 1840s the Sephardi Jews of Bucharest left the community and founded their own community with their own traditions. The Ashkenazi Jews of Bucharest who were Austrian and Prussian subjects also left the community and founded a community supported by the Austrian and Prussian consuls, in order not to pay taxes. The "native" and Polish (Russian) Jewish subjects remained as the Ashkenazi community. Later on, these two Ashkenazi communities reunited.

In the 1848 revolutions of Moldavia and Wallachia, directed against the Russian protectorate and against absolutism and serfdom, the revolutionaries appealed to the Jews to participate. They distinguished, however, between useful and non-useful Jews (the latter being nominated for expulsion) and proposed the "emancipation of the Israelites and transformation into useful citizens," proclaiming their civic equality. Some Jews took part in the 1848 revolution of Wallachia (see Davicion *Bally), but the majority of Jews did not participate in the revolutions. However, under the influence of revolution, some "progressive" Jews revolted against the leadership of the Ashkenazi community and took over for a short period. The revolutions were suppressed (in Moldavia immediately by the sovereign, in Wallachia after three months by the Russian and Ottoman armies).

Independent Romania

The peace treaty of Paris (1856), which concluded the Crimean War and granted the principalities a certain autonomy under the suzerainty of the seven European powers, proclaimed inter alia that in the two Danubian principalities all the inhabitants, irrespective of religion, should enjoy religious and civil liberties (the right to own property and to trade) and might occupy political posts. Only those who had foreign citizenship were excluded from political rights. The leaders of the Moldavian and Wallachian Jews addressed themselves both to the Romanian authorities and to the great powers, asking for the abolition of the discriminations against them. However, the opposition of Russia and of the Romanian political leaders hindered this: the special assembly decided that only Christians would obtain citizenship. The two principalities united in 1859; Bucharest became the capital of the new state (United Principalities, and from 1862 Romania); Alexandru Ioan Cuza, who was a member of the 1848 revolutionaries' group and not antisemitic, became their sovereign. The number of Jews was then 130,000 (3% of the total population). In 1864 native Jews were granted suffrage in the local councils ("little naturalization"); but Jews who were foreign subjects still could not acquire landed property. Political rights were granted to non-Christians but only parliament could vote on the naturalization of individual Jews – but not a single Jew was naturalized.

In 1866 Alexandru Ioan Cuza was ousted by anti-liberal forces. A new sovereign, Carol of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen, was elected and a new constitution adopted. Under the pressure of demonstrations organized by the police (during which the Choir Temple in Bucharest was demolished and the Jewish quarter plundered), the seventh article of the constitution, restricting citizenship to the Christian population, was adopted. Even the visit to Bucharest of Adolphe Crémieux, president of the Alliance Israélite Universelle, who delivered a speech in the Romanian parliament, had no effect. In the spring of 1867 the minister of interior, Ion Bratianu, started to expel Jews from the villages and banish noncitizens from the country. In the summer of the same year Sir Moses Montefiore arrived in Bucharest and demanded that Prince Carol put a stop to the persecutions. But these continued in spite of the promises given. Hundreds of families, harassed by humiliating regulations (e.g., a prohibition on building *sukkot*), were forced to leave the villages. Local officials regarded such persecution as an effective method of extorting bribes. Neither the repeated interventions of Great Britain and France nor the condemnatory resolutions in the parliaments of Holland and Germany had any effect. The Romanian government reiterated that the Jewish problem was an internal one, and the great powers limited themselves to protests.

At the Congress of Berlin (1878), which finalized Romanian independence, the great powers made the grant of civil rights to the Jews a condition of that independence in spite of opposition by the Romanian delegates. The Romanian representatives threatened the delegates of the Jewish world organizations, as well as the representatives of the Jews of Romania, by hinting at a worsening of their situation. Indeed, after the Congress of Berlin other antisemitic measures were introduced, and there was incitement in the press and public demonstrations organized by the authorities on the Russian model, in order to prove to the great powers that the people were against Jewish emancipation. Their aim was also to create an antisemitic atmosphere on the eve of the session of parliament which was to decide on the modification of the article in the 1866 constitution concerning Jewish naturalization. Prince Carol, opening parliament, declared that the Jews had a harmful influence on economic life and especially on the peasants. After stormy debates parliament modified the article of the constitution which made citizenship conditional on Christianity, but stated that the naturalization of Jews would be carried out individually, by vote of both chambers of parliament. During the following 38 years 2,000 Jews in all were naturalized by this oppressive procedure; of those, 883 were voted in en bloc, having taken part in the 1877 war against Turkey.

This caused the great powers to refuse for a time to recognize independent Romania. However, they finally followed the example of Germany, which took the first step after having received pecuniary compensation from the Romanian government through the redemption of railway shares belonging to Silesian Junkers and members of the German imperial court – at six times their quoted value. The situation of the Jews continued to grow worse. Up to then they had been considered Romanian subjects but now they were declared to be foreigners. The Romanian government persuaded Austria and Germany to withdraw their citizenship from Jews living in Romania. The Jews were forbidden to be lawyers, teachers in public schools, chemists, stockbrokers, or to sell commodities which were a government monopoly (tobacco, salt, alcohol). They were not accepted as railway officials, in state hospitals, or as officers. Jewish pupils were later expelled from the public schools (1893). Meanwhile political intimidation continued. In 1885 some of the Jewish leaders and journalists who had participated in the struggle for emancipation, among them Moses Gaster and Elias Schwarzfeld, were expelled from Romania. Both major political parties in Romania – the Liberals and the Conservatives – were antisemitic, with only slight differences. In 1910 the first specifically antisemitic party, the National Democratic Party, was founded, under the leadership of the university professors A.C. Cuza and Nicolae Iorga.

Ḥasidism, Haskalah, Religious Reform

The majority of the Jews of Moldavia were Ḥasidim. Most of them followed the *admor* of Ruzhin, Rabbi Israel *Ruzhin Friedmann. Others, especially those of Russian origin, were Ḥasidim of the Chabad movement. In 1809, Rabbi *Abraham Joshua Heshel of Opatow settled in Jassy, having been invited by the local leader and moneylender Rabbi Michel ben Daniel; he left the town in 1813. The next year another Ḥasidic rabbi, Joseph David Ha-Kohen from Zwolew (1750–1828) settled in Jassy. In 1834, at the suggestion of the *admor* Rabbi Israel of Ruzhin, the Ḥasidic Rabbi Joseph Landau was invited to Jassy, where he became the town's rabbi until his death (1853). Owing to the large number of appeals to the rabbinical tribunal, another Ḥasidic rabbi, Aharon Moses *Taubes, was invited to Jassy and settled there; he died in Jassy in 1852. In 1852 the *admor* Menahem Nahum Friedman settled in Stefanesti and founded the Ḥasidic dynasty and "court" of Stefanesti. In 1866, the *admor* Isaac ben Shalom Friedman settled in Buhusi and founded the Ḥasidic dynasty and "court" of the same name, which became the central Ḥasidic court in Romania. Later, *admorim* from the same family founded other Ḥasidic dynasties and "courts" in Romania, such as Pascani, Adjud, and Focsani. Other *admorim* and Ḥasidic rabbis from the Gutman, Halpern, Derbaremdige, Landman, Zilberfarb, Wahrman, Teumim, Drimer, Frenkel, and Sulitzer-Moscovici families also settled in Romania in the 19th–first half of the 20th centuries.

The presence of *maskilim*, many of them having emigrated from Galicia, is also attested from the 1830s. Later they became more active and began to organize. One of them was Michel Alter Finkelstein of Jassy, fighter for cultural integration, modernization, and changing of Jewish East-European manner of dress. An important *maskil* from Bucharest was Judah ben Mordechai (Julius) *Barasch, a physicist and also a writer in the Hebrew, German, and Romanian languages. The first Jewish school functioning with a Haskalah movement curriculum was founded in Bucharest in 1851, in the Jewish community holding Austrian and Prussian citizenship, with Julius Barasch as its principal; in 1852 in Bucharest (in the community of "native" and Polish Jews) Naftaly K. Popper became a Hebrew teacher; in Jassy (1853) Benjamin Schwarzfeld became the principal. A "Society for Israelite Culture" was founded in 1862 in Bucharest, functioning for only one year. At the end of the 1850s and in the 1860s some *maskil* Hebrew writers were active in Moldavia: Matitiahu Simha Rabener (editor of the Hebrew review *Zimrat Ha'aretz*; Mordechai Streslisker (Marvad Sat); Hillel Kahane; Hirsh Mendel Pineles (Ha-Shalash) and others.

Some *maskilim* adopted the idea of also reforming religious worship. They advanced their proposals in the 1850s in Bucharest. After a conflict with *Malbim, the rabbi of Bucharest from 1858, they succeeded in influencing the Romanian government to expel him, maintaining that he was against progress (1864). However the majority of the Jews were Orthodox and remained loyal to him. In 1866, the reformists opened the "Choral Temple" in Bucharest; its first preacher was Antoine Levy. In the same period the Choral Temple "Beth Ya'aqov" was opened in Jassy, founded by the baron Jacob Neuschatz. In 1889 the Sephardi reform temple (Cahal Grande) was founded in Bucharest. However the trend was only of moderate reform: most of the reform rabbis were graduates of the Breslau seminary. This trend continued after World War I in the period of the first chief rabbi, Dr. Jacob Isaac *Niemirower.

At the end of the 19th century, the currents of radical Haskalah, Jewish socialism, and Jewish nationalism also appeared in Romania. Activists for Jewish nationalism were Karpel Lippe, a Hebrew writer; Samuel Pineles; Menahem-Mendel Braunstein (Mibashan), also a Hebrew writer, who later immigrated to Palestine; and Israel Teller. At the end of December–beginning of January 1882, a conference of Ishuv Eretz Israel organizations in Romania took place in the town of Focsani.

Internal Organization

Because of conflicts between Ḥasidim and *maskilim*, and also due to the integrationist trend, Jewish communities ceased to exist or became inactive at the beginning of the 1870s. A new form of organization became necessary. The first general Jewish representative body, after the dissolution of the Jews' Guild and the internal strife in the communities, was the Brotherhood of Zion society, the forerunner of the B'nai B'rith, created in 1872 under the influence of Benjamin Franklin Peixotto, the first American diplomat in Romania. He thus succeeded in shaping a cadre of leaders for the Jewish institutions, but did not see any solution for the masses but emigration. For that purpose he initiated a conference of world Jewish organizations which convened in Brussels (Oct. 29–30, 1872). Under the influence of assimilationist circles, emigration – considered to be unpatriotic – was rejected as a solution of the Jewish problem. The conference suggested to the Jews of Romania that they should fight to acquire political equality. After some years, however, a mass movement started for immigration to Ereẓ Israel.

The political organization founded in 1890, under the name The General Association of Native Israelites, tended to assimilation and strident patriotism, claiming citizenship only for those Jews who had served in the army. Under pressure by a group of Jewish socialists it extended its demands, claiming political rights for all Jews born in the country. In 1897 antisemitic students attacked members of the congress of the association and caused riots in Bucharest. The association ceased its activity, and an attempt at reorganization in 1903 failed. Under the pressure of increasing persecution accompanied by an internal economic crisis, in 1900 a mass emigration of Jews began; they traveled on foot as far as Ham-

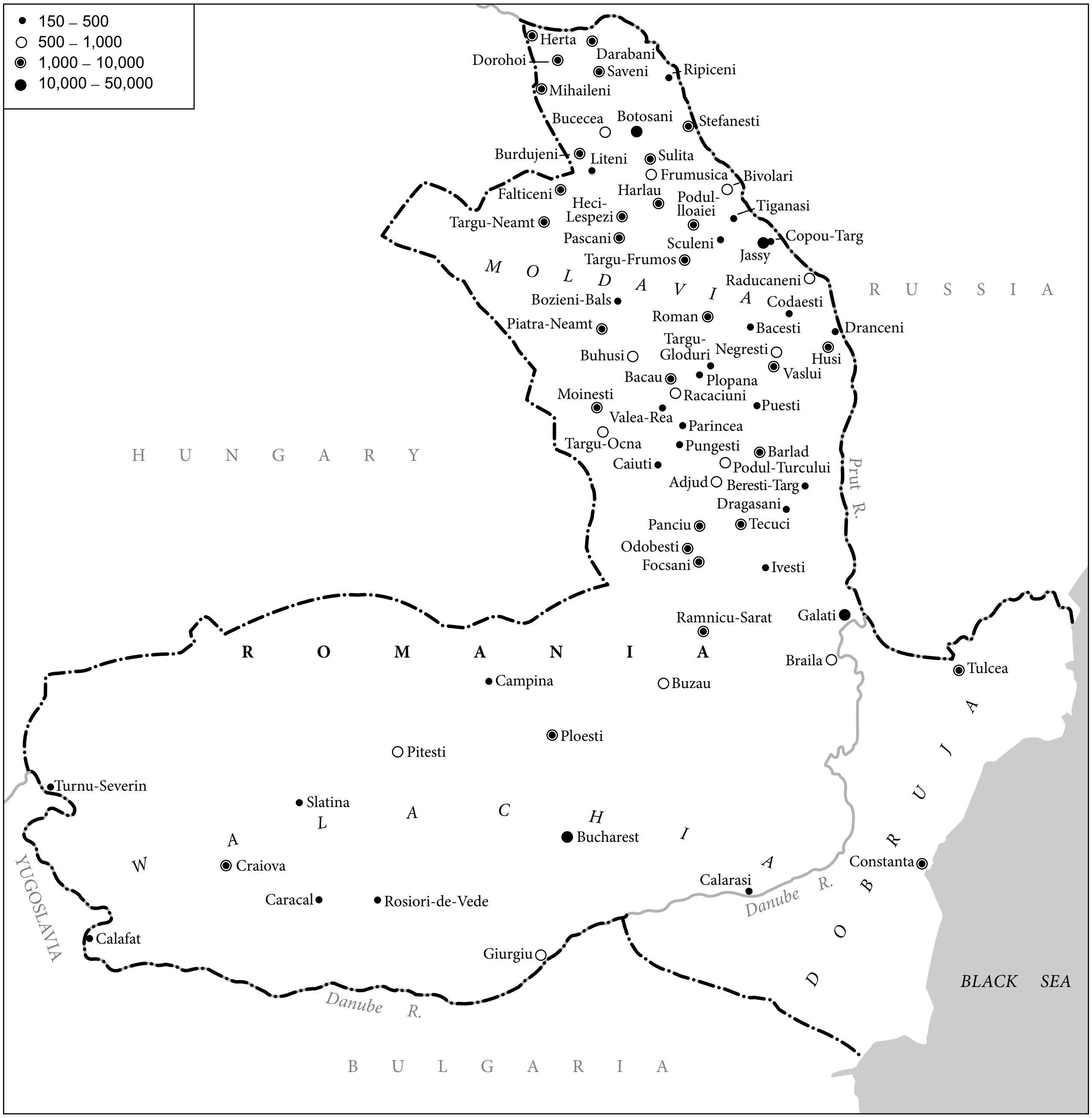
• 150 – 500
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Herta
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Botosani
Stefanesti
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Liteni
Sulita
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Bivolari
Falticeni
Harlau
Heci-Lespezi
Podul-Iloaiei
Tiganasi
Targu-Neamt
Pascani
Sculeni
Copou-Targ
Jassy
Targu-Frumos
MOLDAVIA
Raducaneni
RUSSIA
Bozieni-Bals
Codaesti
Roman
Piatra-Neamt
Bacesti
Dranceni
Targu-Gloduri
Negresti
Husi
Buhusi
Vaslui
Bacau
Plopana
Moinesti
Racaciuni
Puesti
Valea-Rea
Parincea
Targu-Ocna
Pungesti
Barlad
HUNGARY
Caiuti
Podul-Turcului
Adjud
Beresti-Targ
Prut R.
Dragasani
Panciu
Tecuci
Odobesti
Focsani
Ivesti
Ramnicu-Sarat
Galati
ROMANIA
Braila
Tulcea
Campina
Buzau
Ploesti
Pitesti
Turnu-Severin
Slatina
WALACHIA
Bucharest
DOBRUJA
Craiova
Constanta
Calarasi
Caracal
Rosiori-de-Vede
Danube R.
YUGOSLAVIA
Calafat
Giurgiu
BLACK SEA
Danube R.
BULGARIA

Map 1. Jewish communities in Romania on the eve of World War I. Based on Pinkas ha-Kehillot: Rumanyah, *Vol. 1, Jerusalem, 1969. Courtesy Yad Vashem Archives, Jerusalem.*

burg and from there went to the United States, Canada, and Great Britain. Up to World War I about 70,000 Jews left Romania. From 266,652 (4.5% of the total population) in 1899 the Jewish population declined to 239,967 (3.3%) in 1912. The 1907 revolt of the peasants, who at first vented their wrath on the Jews, also contributed to this tendency to emigrate; Jewish houses and shops were pillaged in many villages and cities of Moldavia, 2,280 families being affected. At the same time the persecution of the Jews increased. Their expulsion from the villages assumed such proportions that in some counties of Moldavia (Dorohoi, Jassy, Bacau) none remained except veterans of the 1877 war.

In 1910 the political organization called Uniunea Evreilor Pamanteni (The Union of Native Jews), UEP, was founded to combat anti-Jewish measures and to achieve emancipation. Its first head was Adolphe Stern, former secretary of B.F. Peixotto. The UEP tended toward integration in Romanian society. It operated by intercession with politicians, through petitions to parliament, and by printed propaganda against antisemitism. In a single case it was successful through direct intercession with King Carol I, who held up the passage of a bill discriminating against Jewish craftsmen (1912).

At the end of the 19th century there began the organization of Jewish communities, together with the creation of a Jewish school system as a result of the expulsion of Jews from the public schools (1893). The impoverishment of the Jewish population also created a need for social assistance which could not be provided by the various existing associations. To achieve the legalization of the communities, several congresses of their representatives were organized (April 1896 in Galati, 1902 in Jassy, and 1905 in Focsani), but they could not agree on the proper nature of a community. Some claimed that it should have an exclusively religious character; others wanted a lay organization dealing only with social welfare, hospitals, and schools. The different Jewish institutions (synagogues, religious associations, hospitals) endeavored to preserve their autonomy. There was a struggle for the tax on meat, too, each demanding this income for itself. At the same time assimilationist groups of students and intellectuals launched a drive against the community, which they defined as an isolationist instrument; in this move they were joined by antisemites who called the community a "state within a state," a Jewish conspiracy aiming to establish supremacy over the Romanians. Some proposed putting the communities under the Ministry of the Interior. An attempt in 1897 to introduce into parliament a bill on the Jewish communities, its purpose being defined by the proposer as "to defend the Jewish population against its ignorant religious fanatics," failed because of the opposition of the liberal government of the day. Later the principle of autonomy prevailed at Jewish community congresses, owing to the influence of the Zionists, especially Rabbis J. [Jacob] Nacht and J. Niemirover. Protests were lodged against the interference of the local authorities (mayors, chief commissioners of police, etc.) as well as against the oath *more judaico*. The principle of autonomy finally triumphed, owing to the young Zionists who penetrated the local communities, especially in the country.

The Struggle for Naturalization

Following World War I Romania enlarged her territory with the provinces of Bukovina, Bessarabia, and Transylvania. In each of these the Jews were already citizens, either of long standing like those who had lived in the Austro-Hungarian Empire, or more recent like those from Bessarabia who achieved equality only in 1917. Indeed, the naturalization of the Jews of Romania was under way in accordance with the separate peace treaty concluded with Germany in the spring of 1918. In August 1918 the Romanian parliament passed an act concerning naturalization with many very complicated procedures, the latter being, moreover, sabotaged when they had to be applied by the local authorities. After the defeat of Germany, Prime Minister Ionel Bratianu realized that at the peace conference the naturalization of the Jews would be brought up again, so he tried to resolve the problem in good time by issuing a decree of naturalization on Dec. 28, 1918, proclaiming individual naturalization on the lines adopted after the Congress of Berlin. The decision had to be made by the law courts instead of parliament, on the basis of certain certificates which were very difficult to obtain. Though threatened by the government the Jewish leaders rejected the law, and, following their warning, the Jewish population abstained from putting in applications to the court. Their demand was for citizenship to be granted en bloc by one procedure – after a declaration by every candidate at his municipality that he was born in the country and held no foreign citizenship, the municipality would have to make out the certificate of citizenship.

Although the Romanian government continued to assert that the Jewish problem was an internal one, of national sovereignty, when the delegation led by Ionel Bratianu appeared at the peace conference in Paris (May 1919) Georges Clemenceau reminded him that after the Congress of Berlin Romania had not implemented the provisions concerning the political rights of the Jews. This time the great powers decided to include guarantees in the peace treaty. A Jewish delegation from Romania, composed of UEP, Zionist and Jewish socialist representatives, arrived in Paris. They joined the Jewish delegations participating in the peace conference and claimed that the peace treaty should lay down the kind of obligatory laws concerning naturalization which Romania should pass. To prevent the conference's imposition of naturalization of Jews, Ionel Bratianu wired to Bucharest the text of a law (promulgated as a decree on May 22, 1919), according to which citizenship could now be obtained by a declaration of intent in writing to the law court, the latter being obliged to make out a certificate of confirmation which conferred the exercise of political rights. Those who did not possess foreign citizenship, those who satisfied the requirements of the enlistment law, and those who had served in the war were declared citizens, together with their families.

The peace conference did not, however, fail to include in the treaty the obligation of Romania to legislate the political emancipation of the Jews, which no other measure should abrogate. Bratianu resigned in protest, and only after an ultimatum sent by the peace conference did the new Romanian government led by Alexandru Vaida-Voevod sign the peace treaty. In Bukovina 40,000 Jews were threatened with remaining stateless, on the pretext of their being refugees who had only recently entered the country. A professor of the faculty of law at Jassy published a study in 1921 asserting that this naturalization was anti-constitutional. In 1923 there began a new struggle for the enactment of naturalization in the new constitution. Adolphe Stern, the president of the UEP, was elected as a deputy to parliament and had to fight the law proposed by the Bratianu government which in effect canceled most of the naturalizations already acquired. After hard bargaining, not without renewed threats on the part of the government, the naturalization of the Jews was introduced into the constitution on March 29, 1923, thus also confirming the naturalization of those from the newly annexed territories who would otherwise have been threatened with expulsion. Nevertheless there was a great difference between the laws and the way in which they were implemented. In a regulation published two months after the passing of the constitution, many procedural restrictions on the Jews living in the new provinces were introduced. In practice, the civil service, the magistracy, university chairs, and officers' corps remained closed to Jews. UEP became the Union of Romanian Jews (Uniunea Evreilor Români – UER) and Wilhelm *Filderman became its president.

Increasing Antisemitism

Growing social and political tensions in Romania in the 1920s and 1930s led to a constant increase in antisemitism and in the violence which accompanied it. Antisemitic excesses and demonstrations expressed both popular and student antisemitism and cruelty; they also served to divert social unrest to the Jews and show Western public opinion that intervention on their behalf was bound to miscarry. In December 1922 Christian students at the four universities proclaimed *numerus clausus* as their program; riots followed at the universities and against the Jewish population. As was later revealed in parliament, the student movements were organized and financed by the Ministry of the Interior. The leader of the student movements was Corneliu Zelea Codreanu, the secretary of the League of National Christian Defense which was headed by A.C. Cuza. The students formed terrorist groups on the Fascist model and committed several murders. In 1926 the Jewish student Falic was murdered at Chernovtsy. The assassin was acquitted. In 1927 Codreanu broke away from A.C. Cuza and founded the Archangel Michael League, which in 1929 became the Iron Guard, a paramilitary organization with an extreme antisemitic program.

On Dec. 9, 1927, the students of Codreanu's League carried out a pogrom in Oradea Mare (Transylvania), where they were holding a congress, for which they received a subsidy from the Ministry of the Interior: they were conveyed there in special trains put at their disposal free of charge by the government. Five synagogues were wrecked and the Torah scrolls burned in the public squares. After that the riots spread all over the country: in Cluj eight prayer houses were plundered, and on their way home the participants in the congress continued their excesses against the Jews in the cities of Huedin, Targu-Ocna, and Jassy. At the end of 1933 the liberal prime minister I.G. Duca, one of the opponents of King Carol's dictatorial tendencies, dissolved the Iron Guard and after three weeks was assassinated by its men. The guard was reformed under the slogan, "Everything for the Country." Codreanu's ties with the Nazis in Germany dated from that time. Carol II later aided other political bodies with an antisemitic program in an attempt to curb the Iron Guard. From 1935 Al. Vaida-Voevod led the Romanian Front, and made use in his speeches of such slogans as the blood libel, the parasitism of the Jews, their defrauding the country, their international solidarity, and the Judaization of the press and national literature.

After Hitler came to power in Germany (1933), the large Romanian parties also adopted antisemitic programs. In 1935 the new National Christian Party announced that its program included "the Romanization of the staff of firms and the protection of national labor through preference for [our] ethnic element" – that is to say, the removal of Jews from private firms. Gheorghe Bratianu, leading a dissident liberal party, demanded "nationalization of the cities, proportional representation in public and private posts, in schools and universities, and revocation of Jewish citizenship." In July 1934 the "Law for Employment of Romanian Workers in [Private] Firms" was enacted, and in fact established a *numerus clausus*. The Ministry of Industry and Trade sent all firms special questionnaires which included a clause on "ethnic origin." In 1935 the board of Christian Lawyers' Association, founded that year by members of the bar from Ilfov (Bucharest) gave an impetus to antisemitic professional associations. The movement spread all over the country. Its program was the *numerus nullus*, i.e., revoking the licenses of Jewish lawyers who were already members of the bar and not accepting new registrations. At the universities students of the Iron Guard forcibly prevented their Jewish colleagues from attending lectures and the academic authorities supported the *numerus clausus* program, introducing entrance examinations; in 1935–36 this led to a perceptible decrease in the number of Jewish students, in certain faculties reaching the *numerus nullus*. In other professional corporations no Jews were elected to the board; they were prevented by force from participating in the elections. The great Romanian banks began to reject requests for credits from Jewish banks as well as from Jewish industrial and commercial firms, and the Jewish enterprises were burdened by heavy taxes, imposed with the aim of ruining them. Jewish firms were not granted import quotas for raw materials and goods. Meanwhile Germany financed a series of publications and newspapers aimed at fastening an alliance between the two countries and removing Jews from all branches of the professions and the economy. Many a Jewish merchant and industrialist was compelled to sell his firm at a loss when it became unprofitable under these oppressive measures.

Jewish Political Life

Despite the attempts of the older assimilationist and established Jewish groups, the inclination of Romanian Jewry – thanks largely to the trends among Jews of the newly annexed provinces and to the impact of Zionism – was toward a clearcut Jewish stance in politics. In 1919 the Union of Romanian Jews, led by W. Filderman, recommended that the Jews vote for those Romanian parties which would be favorable to them. As none of the parties formulated an attitude toward the Jewish problem, the Union decided that the Jews should withhold their votes. In the 1920 elections the Union joined the Zionists to form a list which conducted its election campaign under the symbol of the *menorah*. As the elections were rigged, not a single candidate succeeded in entering parliament. The Union managed to send Adolphe Stern to parliament in 1922 through joining with the Peasants' Party. From 1923 the Zionists pressed for a policy of a national minority

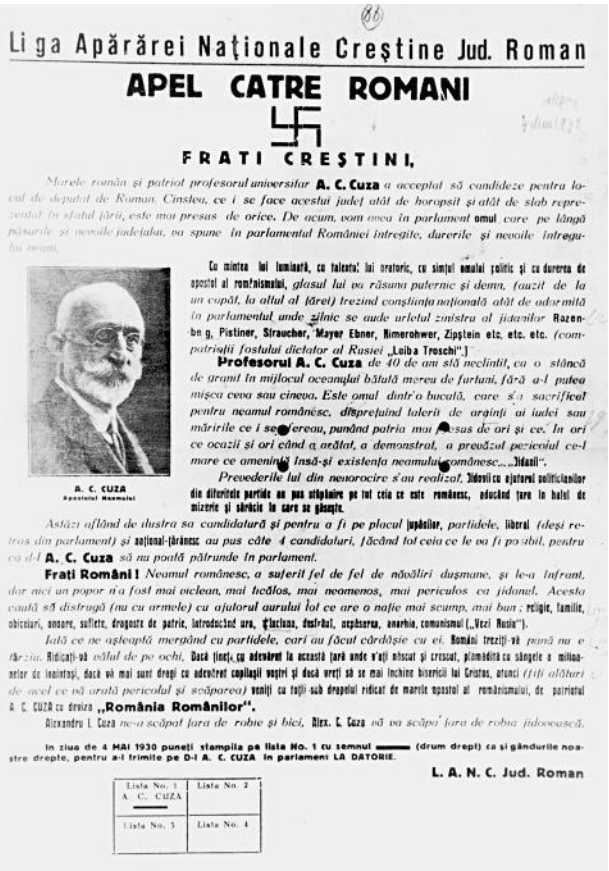

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Liga Apărărei Naționale Creștine Jud. Roman

APEL CATRE ROMANI

FRATI CREȘTINI,

Marele român și patriot profesorul universitar **A. C. Cuza** *a acceptat să candideze pentru locul de deputat de Roman. Cinstea, ce i se face acestui județ atât de horopsit și atât de slab reprezentat în sfatul țării, este mai presus de orice. De acum, vom avea în parlament* **omul** *care pe lângă păsurile și nevoile județului, va spune în parlamentul României întregite, durerile și nevoile întregului neam.*

Cu mintea lui luminată, cu talentul lui oratoric, cu simțul omului politic și cu durerea de apostol al românismului, *glasul lui va răsuna puternic și demn, (auzit de la un capăt, la altul al țărei) trezind conștiința națională atât de adormită în parlamentul unde zilnic se aude urletul sinistru al jidanilor* **Rozenberg, Pistiner, Straucher, Mayer Ebner, Nimerohwer, Zipștein etc. etc. etc.** *(compatrioții fostului dictator al Rusiei* **„Loiba Troschi".)**

Profesorul A. C. Cuza *de 40 de ani stă neclintit, ca o stâncă de granit în mijlocul oceanului bătută mereu de furtuni, fără a-l putea mișca ceva sau cineva. Este omul dintr'o bucată, care s'a sacrificat pentru neamul românesc, disprețuind talerii de arginți ai iudei sau măririle ce i se ofereau, punând patria mai presus de ori și ce. În ori ce ocazii și ori când a arătat, a demonstrat, a prevăzut pericolul cel mare ce amenință însă-și existența neamului românesc...* **„Jidanii".**

A. C. CUZA
Apostolul Neamului

Prevederile lui din nenorocire s'au realizat. **Jidanii cu ajutorul politicianilor din diferitele partide au pus stăpânire pe tot ceia ce este românesc, aducând țara în halul de mizerie și sărăcie în care se găsește.**

Astăzi aflând de ilustra sa candidatură și pentru a fi pe placul **jupânilor**, *partidele,* **liberal** *(deși retras din parlament) și* **național-țărănesc** *au pus câte 4 candidaturi, făcând tot ceia ce le va fi posibil, pentru ca d-l* **A. C. Cuza** *să nu poată pătrunde în parlament.*

Frați Români! *Neamul românesc, a suferit fel de fel de năvăliri dușmane, și le-a înfrânt, dar nici un popor n'a fost mai viclean, mai ticălos, mai neomenos, mai periculos ca jidanul. Acesta caută să distrugă (nu cu armele) cu ajutorul aurului tot ce are o nație mai scump, mai bun;* **religie, familie, obiceiuri, onoare, suflete, dragoste de patrie, introducând ura, [illegible], desfrâul, nepăsarea, anarhia, comunismul („Vezi Rusia").**

Iată ce ne așteaptă mergând cu partidele, cari au făcut cârdășie cu ei. **Români treziți-vă** *până nu e târziu.* **Ridicați-vă** *vălul de pe ochi.* **Dacă țineți cu adevărat la această țară unde v'ați născut și crescut, plămădită cu sângele a milioanelor de înaintași, dacă vă mai sunt dragi cu adevărat copilașii voștri și dacă vreți să se mai închine bisericii lui Cristos, atunci** *(fiți alături de acel ce vă arată pericolul și scăparea)* **veniți cu toții sub drapelul ridicat de marele apostol al românismului, de patriotul A. C. CUZA cu deviza „România Românilor".**

Alexandru I. Cuza *ne-a scăpat țara de robie și bici,* **Alex. C. Cuza** *vă va scăpa țara de robia jidovească.*

In ziua de 4 MAI 1930 puneți stampila pe lista No. 1 cu semnul ▬ (drum drept) ca și gândurile noastre drepte, pentru a-l trimite pe D-l A. C. CUZA în parlament LA DATORIE.

L. A. N. C. Jud. Roman

Lista No. 1 A. C. CUZA ▬	Lista No. 2
Lista No. 3	Lista No. 4

Campaign poster for the Romanian League of National Defense, exhorting Christian citizens to vote for A.C. Cuza, a candidate for the post of minister for Jewish affairs. Cuza is described as a "strong man," who will "fight against infiltration of Jews, who are destroying Romania" (1930). Courtesy Yad Vashem Archives, Jerusalem.

status for the Jews. Their proposal was not accepted by the Union.

In 1926 the first National Jewish deputies and senators were elected from Bukovina, Transylvania, and Bessarabia. As a consequence of these successes the National Jewish Club, in which representatives of the Zionist parties also participated, was founded in Bucharest. Such clubs were established in all the cities of the Old Kingdom. In 1928 four National Jewish deputies were returned to parliament (two from Transylvania, one from Bukovina, and one from Bessarabia). They formed a Jewish parliamentary club. In 1930 the Jewish Party (Partidul Evreesc) was established in the Old Kingdom and on May 4, 1931, it held its general congress. Adolphe Stern joined this party. In the elections to parliament, a month later, the Jewish Party gained five seats, and in the 1932 elections it again obtained five. The situation of the Jewish parliamentarians was far from easy, because they were not only interrupted during their speeches but were often physically attacked by the deputies of the antisemitic parties. After 1933 there were no more Jewish members of parliament, except for J. Niemirower, who in his capacity of chief rabbi was officially a senator.

In 1913, the Ashkenazi Jewish community of Bucharest was founded as a modern association open to all the Ashkenazi Jews in the capital. Similar communities were founded in other towns of the Old Kingdom. In 1921 the Union of the Jewish Communities of the Old Kingdom was founded. Yet the undefined legal status of the Jewish communities in Romania tempted local authorities to meddle more and more in their affairs. A rabbi from Bucharest, Hayyim Schor, proclaimed himself chief rabbi. He demanded recognition of a separate Orthodox community everywhere in Romania, and was willing to be satisfied with the status of a private association for the Jewish community, thus abandoning the demand for its recognition as a public body. The Union and the Zionists opposed him. On May 19, 1921, the congress of Jews from the Old Kingdom met in Bucharest and elected Dr. Jacob Itzhak Niemirower as chief rabbi. In 1922 Jewish representatives demanded that two communities be recognized: the Ashkenazi and the Sephardi (and for Transylvania an Orthodox community too, as was traditional there). Only in 1928 did parliament pass the Law of Religions applying the provisions of the constitution, which recognized Judaism as one of the eight historical religions and the community as a juridical person in public law. On the basis of this law all the property of the religious institutions was transferred to the ownership of the communities. In January 1929 the minister of religions limited the application of this law, instructing that communities become juridical persons only after the approval of their statutes by the ministry; he also permitted communities of "diverse rites," and not only the Ashkenazi or Sephardi, and in Transylvania the Orthodox type, thus accepting the program of Rabbi Schor. Mayors and police commissioners thought that this gave them a legal cover to dissolve the elected boards of the communities and to appoint others to their liking, although the Ministry of Religions issued a circular prohibiting interference by local authorities. Only in 1932 did the communities gain general recognition as juridical persons in public law. In 1936, the unions of Jewish communities from all the provinces of Romania (also the Orthodox and Sephardi unions of communities) founded a representative organization for all the Jews of Romania: the Federation of the Unions of Jewish Communities of Greater Romania.

The certificates of Jewish schools were not recognized and their pupils had to pass state examinations, paying a fee (which was a charge on community budgets as they covered this fee for the poor) until 1925, when the certificates of Jewish schools were recognized if the language of tuition was Romanian. (Although Romania had signed the Minorities Treaty in Paris, it had never implemented it.) All Jewish schools were maintained by the communities; in Bessarabia, Tarbut maintained Hebrew schools. The Ministry of Education contributed only a token subvention. The Jews of annexed Transylvania used the Hungarian language in the Zionist press, even under Romanian rule, those of Bukovina German, while in Bessarabia the language of the Jewish press was Yiddish. Each province kept its traditions, autonomous structure, and cultural life, within the framework of the all-Romanian Federation of Jewish Communities. Culturally, the deeply rooted Jewish life of Bessarabia, with its Hebrew teachers, writers, and journalists, had a great influence, especially in the Old Kingdom.

In 1924 there were 796,056 Jews in enlarged Romania (5% of the total population): 230,000 in the Old Kingdom, 238,000 in Bessarabia, 128,056 in Bukovina, and 200,000 in Transylvania. In 1930 their number was 756,930 (4.2% of the total population): 263,192 in the Old Kingdom, 206,958 in Bessarabia, 92,988 in Bukovina, and 193,000 in Transylvania.

Social Structure

The Jewish population of Old Romania was for the most part an urban one. According to the 1899 census, 79.73% of the Jews lived in cities, forming 32.10% of the whole urban population of the country. Only 20.27% lived in villages, forming 1.1% of the whole rural population. This phenomenon was a result of the ban on Jews dwelling in a rural area. In the Moldavia province, where the Jews were most heavily concentrated, they formed a majority in several towns. In Falticeni they were 57% of the total population; in Dorohoi, 53.6%; in Botosani, 51.8%; in Jassy, 50.8%. In several smaller towns of that region their proportion was greater: in Gertsa, 66.2%; in Mihaileni, 65.6%; in Harlau, 59.6%; in Panciu, 52.4%. The Romanian population was 84.06% farmers, the Jews constituting the middle class. According to 1904 statistics, 21.1% of the total number of merchants were Jews, but in some cities of Moldavia they were a definite majority, such as in Jassy, 75.3%; Botosani, 75.2%; Dorohoi, 72.9%; Tecuci, 65.9%, etc. Jews represented 20.07% of all artisans, and in several branches they were a majority: 81.3% of engravers, 76% of tinsmiths; 75.9% of watchmakers; 74.6% of bookbinders; 64.9% of hatmakers; 64.3% of upholsterers, etc. Industry was not advanced in Romania before World War I. There were 625 industrial firms altogether, 19.5% of them owned by Jews. Jews were 5.3% of the officials and workers in these industrial enterprises. In several branches of industry there were Jewish factory owners: 52.8% of the glass industry; 32.4% of the wood and furniture industry; 32.4% of the clothing industry; 26.5% of the textile industry. Of the liberal professions only medicine was permitted to Jews. They constituted 38% of the total number of doctors. The occupational distribution of the Jews was as follows; agriculture, 2.5%; industry and crafts, 42.5%; trade and banking, 37.9%; liberal professions, 3.2%; various occupations, 13.7%.

There are no detailed statistics of the period between the two world wars. The provinces of Bessarabia, Transylvania, and Bukovina were annexed to Old Romania, increasing the Jewish population threefold. In every province their occupational structure was different as the result of historical development. In the two annexed provinces, Transylvania and Bukovina, the Jews had enjoyed civil rights from the days of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, and were also represented in the liberal professions. On the other hand, their situation in Bessarabia in czarist times was worse than in Old Romania – a fact which also influenced their occupational structure. The few known figures refer to Greater Romania, with all the annexed territories. The only census taken in Bessarabia was in 1930, and according to those figures the occupational distribution of the Jewish population was as follows: industry and crafts, 24.8%; trade and banking, 51.5%; liberal professions, 2.9%; miscellaneous, 8.2%. It should be noted that Jewish bankers (such as the bank of "Marmorosh-Blank") invested money in the developing industry of Greater Romania. Some industrial enterprises, comprising several factories such as the sugar, metal, and textile works, etc., were owned by Jews. In the late 1930s, under the influence of Nazi Germany in Romania, the whole occupational structure of the Jews collapsed because of persecution on the economic level, which preceded political persecution and murder.

Cultural Life

Since most Romanian Jews were of Polish or Russian extraction, their religious and cultural traditions were similar to those of the Jews of Eastern Europe. Their rabbis and teachers, as well as their religious trends came from there. The spoken language of the Ashkenazi Jewish population was Yiddish; Judeo-Spanish was used by Sephardi Jews; Romanian became more widely used among them only in the second half of the 19th century, at the time when the first Romanian universities were established (Jassy in 1860 and Bucharest in 1864). In that period, too, the development of modern Romanian literature began. In 1857 Julius Barasch published the first newspaper in Romanian and French – *Israelitul Român* – whose function was to fight for equal civil rights for Romanian Jewry. In 1854 another two newspapers – *Timpul* (*Di Tsayt*; Bucharest) and *Gazeta Româno-Evreească* (Jassy) – appeared in Romanian and Yiddish, but all three papers ceased publication before the end of a year. Other such attempts met the same fate. Only in 1879 did the weekly *Fraternitatea* begin to appear, lasting until 1885, when it ceased publication upon the expulsion from Romania of its chief editors, Isaac Auerbach and Elias Schwarzfeld, for their stand against persecutions. This paper, which represented the assimilationist trend, was opposed to the incipient pre-Zionist movement which sponsored the establishment of the colonies of Zikhron Ya'akov and Rosh Pinnah in Ereẓ Israel. Then two papers in Romanian also appeared, supporting *aliyah: Apărătorul*, which was published in Bucharest from 1881 to 1884 with A.S. Gold as editor, and the weekly *Stindardul*, which was published in Focsani from 1882 to 1883. The Yiddish paper *Ha-Yo'eẓ* which appeared in Bucharest from 1874 to 1896 also supported *aliyah*. Eleazar Rokeah, an emissary from Erez Israel, published as special organs of the pre-Zionist movement the Hebrew paper *Emek Yizre'el* in Jassy (1882), and the Yiddish *Di Hofnung* in Piatra-Neamt (1882), and *Der Emigrant* in Galati (1882). Of the Jewish press in Romania the weekly *Egalitatea*, edited by Moses Schwarzfeld, survived for half a century. The weekly *Curierul Israelit*, edited by M. Schweig, began to appear in 1906 and continued up to 1948, becoming the mouthpiece of the Uniunea Evreilor Români (Union of Romanian Jews) after World War I. In the time of Herzl several Zionist papers appeared in Romania but did not last long. In 1913 the monthly *Hatikva* in Romanian was issued in Galati under the editorship of Leon Gold who gathered round him the outstanding Jewish authors in Romanian. Apart from original articles they also published translations of a high literary standard from modern Hebrew poetry and classical Yiddish literature. After World War I, from 1919 to 1923, there was published in Bucharest a daily newspaper in Romanian with a Zionist national tendency, *Mântuirea*, edited by A.L. Zissu, with Abraham Feller as chief editor. This paper stood for the idea of a Jewish political party and sharply attacked the tendencies of assimilationist circles. The weekly *Renasterea Noastră* (1923–42, 1944–48), edited by Samuel I. Stern, continued in this direction subsequently. The Zionist Federation published the weekly *Ştiri din Lumea Evreească*, edited by I. Ludo and later by Theoder Loewenstein. Between the two world wars the Zionist students' association published the monthly *Hasmonaea*. The number of Jewish journalists grew between the two wars, some of them even becoming chief editors of the great democratic papers. They included Constantin Graur, B. Branisteanu, Em. Fagure, G. Milian (Bucharest); A. Hefter (Jassy), and S. Schaferman-Pastoresu (Braila). After they had acquired a knowledge of Romanian, several Jewish scholars at the end of the 19th century became distinguished in the field of philology and folklore: Lazar Saineanu (Sainéan), compiler of the first practical dictionary of Romanian (1896); M. Gaster, who did research on early Romanian folklore; Hayman Tiktin, author of a scientific grammar of Romanian in two volumes (1893–94). This tradition continued down to later times. I.A. Candrea also compiled a Romanian dictionary (1931), as did J. Byk and Al. Graur after World War II. A number of these scholars also devoted time to research on the history of Romanian Jewry. The pioneer in this field was J. Psantir, whose two Yiddish volumes contained Hebrew headings: *Divrei ha-Yamim le-Arẓot Rumanye* (Jassy, 1871) and *Korot ha-Yehudim be-Rumanye* (Lemberg, 1877). A society for research into the history of Romanian Jewry was established in 1886 and named for Julius Barasch. Among its active members were J. Psantir, M. Gaster, Lazar Saineanu, Isac David Bally, Elias Schwarzfeld, Moses Schwarzfeld, and others. In the three publications of their bulletin they published source material, memoirs, and bibliographical notes, as well as some combined research and monographs of Jewish communities. Although the society ceased activities after four years the scholars continued their researches. Part of their works appeared in the 19 volumes of the annual *Anuarul pentru Israeliți* and in the weekly *Egalitatea* published by M. Schwarzfeld. Frequently, the articles are apologetic or polemic, their authors being interested in demonstrating the length of the Jewish presence in Romania as an element justifying Emancipation. Between the two world wars Meir A. Halevy published several monographs on the history of the Jews of Romania. The Templul Coral ("Choir Synagogue") then erected in Bucharest a museum, library, and archives for the history of Romanian Jewry. In some bulletins of these institutions and in the annual *Sinai* (1926–32), edited by Meir A. Halevy, there also appeared researches on the history of Romanian Jewry.

The Jewish theater also developed in Romania. The first Judeo-Spanish play written by Moshe Kofinu was presented in Giurgiu and published in Bucharest in 1862. The Yiddish theater was founded in Jassy in 1876, by Avrum Goldfaden, writer, producer and actor.

Holocaust Period

German penetration into the Romanian economy increased as the Nazis moved eastward with the *Anschluss* of Austria (1938), the annexation of Czechoslovakia (1939), and the occupation of western Poland at the outbreak of World War II. A considerable number of Romanian politicians agreed to serve German interests in exchange for directorships in German-Romanian enterprises, and German trade agreements with Romania always demanded the removal of Jews in the branch involved. In this way, Jews were expelled from wood commerce and industry.

In the summer of 1940 Romania succumbed to German and Soviet pressure (after the Molotov-Ribbentrop treaty) and transferred Bessarabia and part of Bukovina to the Soviet Union. Following the Hitler-Mussolini agreement, in September 1940 northern Transylvania was transferred to Hungary, and southern Dobrudja to Bulgaria. On June 30, 1940, 52 Jews were murdered in Dorohoi by a retreating Romanian regiment. Hoping to ensure its borders after the concessions, Romania, which had not been invaded by the German army, became a satellite of Nazi Germany. The first result of this move was the cancellation of Romanian citizenship for Jews, a measure taken by the government, which included members of the Iron Guard, under German pressure in August 1940. On September 6, when King Carol abdicated, Ion Antonescu, who had been minister of defense in the Goga government, came to power. His government included ministers from the ranks of the Iron Guard, and Romania was declared a National-Legionary State (the members of the Iron Guard styled themselves "legionnaires"). There followed a period of antisemitic terrorism that lasted for five months. It began with the confiscation of Jewish-owned shops, together with the posting of signs "Jewish shop" and picketing by the green-shirted "legionary police." The reign of terror reached its height when Jewish industrial and commercial enterprises were handed over to the members of the "Legion" under pressure from the Iron Guard. The owners of the enterprises were arrested and tortured by the "legionary police" until they agreed to sign certificates of transfer. Bands of "legionnaires" entered Jewish homes and "confiscated" any sums of money they found. This resulted in a mortal blow to the Romanian economy and chaos that frightened even the German diplomats. Antonescu tried on several occasions to arrest the wave of terrorism, during which a number of Romanian statesmen opposed to the Iron Guard were killed.

On Jan. 21, 1941, the Iron Guard revolted against Antonescu and attempted to seize power and carry out its antise-

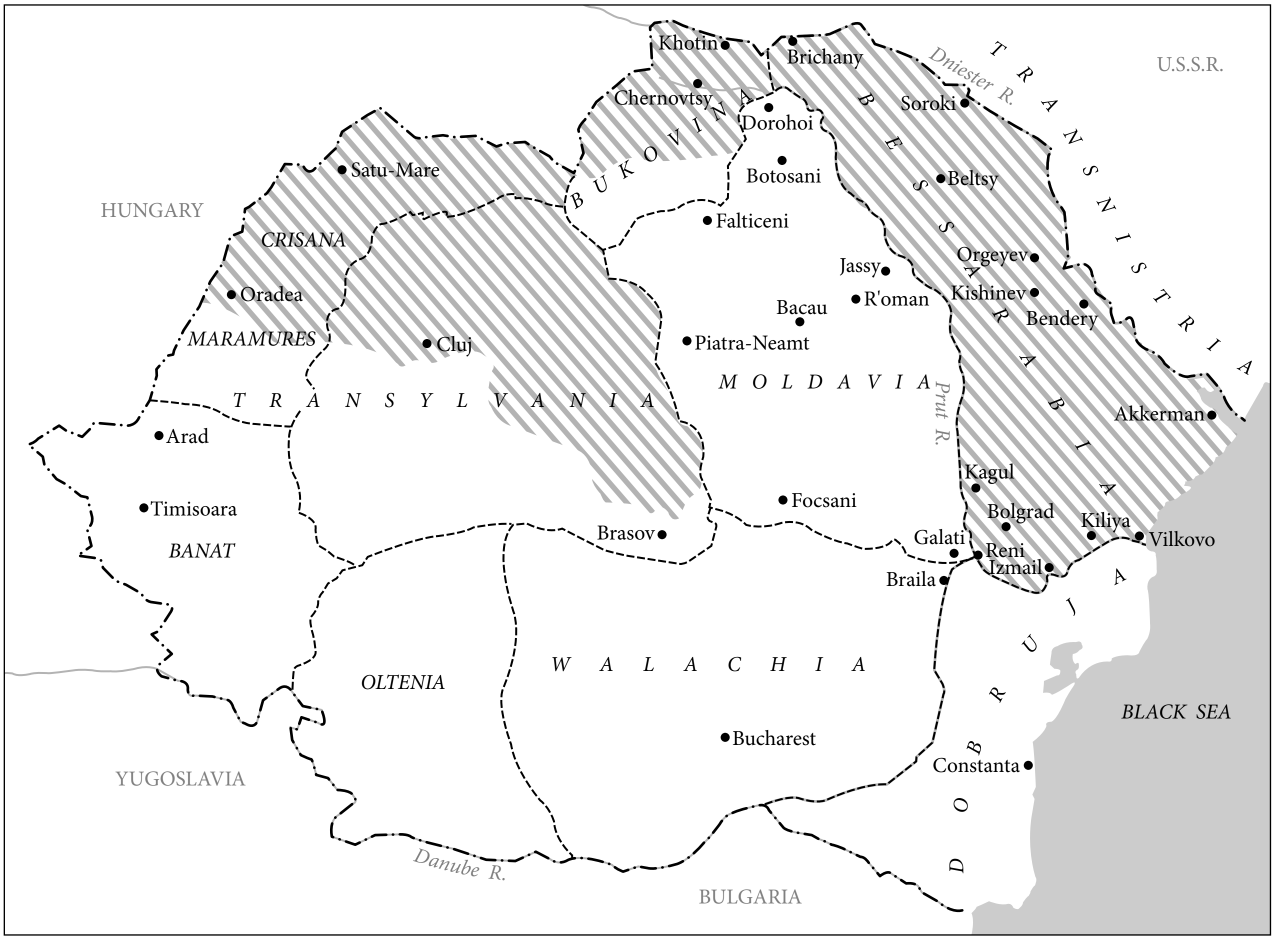
Khotin
Brichany
Dniester R.
TRANSNISTRIA
U.S.S.R.
Chernovtsy
BUKOVINA
Dorohoi
Soroki
BESSARABIA
Satu-Mare
Botosani
Beltsy
HUNGARY
Falticeni
CRISANA
Jassy
Orgeyev
Kishinev
Oradea
R'oman
Bendery
Bacau
MARAMURES
Cluj
Piatra-Neamt
TRANSYLVANIA
MOLDAVIA
Prut R.
Akkerman
Arad
Kagul
Timisoara
Focsani
Bolgrad
Kiliya
Vilkovo
BANAT
Brasov
Galati
Reni
Izmail
Braila
DOBRUJA
WALACHIA
OLTENIA
BLACK SEA
Bucharest
Constanta
YUGOSLAVIA
Danube R.
BULGARIA

Map 2. Jewish communities in Romania showing areas (shaded in) taken away from Romania and ceded to neighboring countries. Based on Pinkas ha-Kehillot: Rumanyah, *Vol. 1, Jerusalem, 1969. Courtesy Yad Vashem Archives, Jerusalem.*

mitic program in full. While part of the "Legion" was fighting the Romanian army for control of government offices and strategic points in the city, the rest carried out a pogrom on Bucharest Jews, aided by local hooligans. Jewish homes were looted, shops burned, and many synagogues desecrated, including two that were razed to the ground (the Great Sephardi Synagogue and the old *bet ha-midrash*). Some of the leaders of the Bucharest community were imprisoned in the community council building, worshipers were ejected from synagogues, the Palestine Office of the Zionist Organization was attacked and its director murdered, and wealthy Bucharest Jews were arrested, according to a previously prepared list. Those arrested were taken to centers of the Iron Guard movement: some were then taken into the forests near Bucharest and shot; others were murdered and their bodies hung on meat hooks in the municipal slaughterhouse, bearing the legend "kosher meat." The pogrom claimed at least 125 Jewish lives. There were no acts of violence in the provinces because the army was in firm control and fully supported Antonescu. This was also Hitler's reason for supporting Antonescu. Romania held an important role in the war contemplated against the Soviet Union, not only as a supply and jumping-off base, but as an active partner in the war.

A period of relative calm followed the Bucharest pogrom and permitted Romanian Jews to gather strength after the shock of the violence. Antonescu, however, was thereafter under constant German pressure, for when their revolt failed, members of the Iron Guard found refuge in Germany, where they constituted a permanent threat to his position, as he now lacked his own party to serve as a counterbalance. In January 1941 Manfred von Killinger, a veteran Nazi known for his antisemitic activities, was appointed German ambassador to Romania. In April he was joined by Gustav Richter, an adviser on Jewish affairs who was attached to Adolf Eichmann's department. Richter's special task was to bring Romanian anti-Jewish legislation into line with its counterpart in Germany.

During the War

On June 22, 1941, when war broke out with the Soviet Union, the Romanian and German armies were scattered along the banks of the Prut River in order to penetrate into Bukovina and Bessarabia. Romania, under the government of Marshal

Antonescu, was an ally of Germany and fought with the Nazi army in the war against the Soviet Union. The declared purpose of Romania's involvement in the war was to retrieve the Romanian territories (Bukovina and Bessarabia). One week after the war started, on June 29 and 30, 1941, the large Jewish community in Jassy was shattered by a pogrom unprecedented in all of Europe. Over 14,000 Jews lost their lives during the massacres in the city, massacres initiated and supervised by the army and the local police. In addition, many perished in the subhuman conditions of the death trains that transported Jews who had been arrested.

The Jewish population of Bessarabia (approximately 200,000) and Bukovina (93,000) was considered hostile, foreign, and destined for "elimination" in the program of "cleansing the land" conceived by Antonescu. This intensely antisemitic propaganda campaign, conducted on all levels of the state hierarchy and especially in the army, portrayed this population – and, by extension, all Jews – as the embodiment of the "Bolshevik danger." The Jews in the reacquired territories were held responsible for mistreating, humiliating, and even killing many Romanian soldiers during the retreat in the summer of 1940.

A completely different fate, though no better, befell the Jews in Transylvania (approximately 200,000, including those in Banat). In northern Transylvania, under Hungarian rule, the Jews shared the fate of Hungary's Jews during the war, most of them being deported and exterminated at Auschwitz. Of the 200,000 Transylvanian Jews, 160,000 (mostly Orthodox) were in the northern part. Until close to the end of the war, the fate of the Jews in southern Transylvania, which was still part of Romania, was similar to that in the other Romanian regions – Moldavia and Wallachia, known as the Regat.

The armies' combined advance through Bessarabia, Bukovina, and the Dorohoi district was accompanied by massacres of the local Jewish population. At the beginning of August 1941 the Romanians began to send deportees from Bukovina and Bessarabia over the Dniester River into a German-occupied area of the U.S.S.R. (later to be known as Transnistria). The Germans refused to accept the deportees, shooting some and returning the rest. Some of these Jews drowned in the river and others were shot by the Romanian gendarmerie on the western bank; of the 25,000 persons who crossed the Dniester near Sampol, only 16,500 were returned by the Germans. Some of these survivors were killed by the Romanians, and some died of weakness and starvation on the way to camps in Bukovina and Bessarabia. Half of the 320,000 Jews living in Bessarabia, Bukovina, and the Dorohoi district (which was in Old Romania) were murdered during the first few months of Romania's involvement in the war, i.e., up to Sept. 1, 1941.

After this period the Jews were concentrated in ghettos (if they lived in cities), in special camps (if they lived in the countryside, or townlets such as Secureni, Yedintsy, Vertyuzhani, etc.). German killing squads or Romanian gendarmes, copying the Germans, habitually entered the ghettos and camps, removing Jews and murdering them. Jews living in villages and townlets in Old Romania (Moldavia, Wallachia, and southern Transylvania) were concentrated into the nearest large town. The Jews of northern Moldavia, which bordered on the battle area, were sent to the west of Romania: men under 60 were sent to the Targu-Jiu camp and the women, children, and aged were sent to towns where the local Jewish population was ordered to care for the deportees (who owned nothing more than the clothing on their backs). The homes and property of these deportees were looted by the local population immediately after they were deported.

On Sept. 16, 1941, those in camps in Bessarabia began to be deported to the region between the Dniester and the Bug rivers called Transnistria, from which the Germans had withdrawn, handing control over to the Romanians under the Tighina agreement (Aug. 30, 1941). The deportations included 118,847 Jews from Bessarabia, Bukovina, and the Dorohoi district. At the intervention of the Union of Jewish Communities in Romania, an order was given to stop the deportations on October 14; they continued however until November 15, leaving all the Jews of Bessarabia and Bukovina (with the exception of 20,000 from Chernovtsy) and 2,316 of the 14,847 Jews from the Dorohoi district concentrated in Transnistria. In two months of deportations 22,000 Jews died: some because they could walk no further, some from disease, but the majority were murdered by the gendarmerie that accompanied them on their journey. All money and valuables were confiscated by representatives of the Romanian National Bank. The Jews then remaining in Old Romania and in southern Transylvania were compelled into forced labor and were subjected to various special taxes. The prohibition against Jews working in certain professions and the "Rumanization of the economy" continued and caused the worsening of the economic situation of the Jewish population.

According to the statistical table on the potential victims of the "Final Solution" introduced at the Wannsee Conference, 342,000 Romanian Jews were destined for this end. The German embassy in Bucharest conducted an intensive propaganda campaign through its journal, *Bukarester Tageblatt*, which announced "an overall European solution to the Jewish problem" and the deportation of Jews from Romania. On July 22, 1942, Richter obtained Vice Premier Mihai Antonescu's agreement to begin the deportation of Jews to the Belzec extermination camp in September. From November 1942, however, it was obvious that the Romanian authorities were delaying this plan. Eventually they abandoned it entirely, owing to pressure both from Allied forces and the Romanian opposition, which was summoned especially by W. *Filderman, the most respected leader of the Romanian Jews. Pressure was also exerted by diplomats from neutral countries, as well as by the papal nuncio, Andreas Cassulo. Nevertheless, Eichmann's Bucharest office, working through the local authorities, succeeded in contriving the deportation of 7,000 Jews from Chernovtsy and Dorohoi and groups from other parts of Romania to Transnistria because they were "suspected of Communism" (they were of

Bessarabian origin and had asked to return to the Soviet Union in 1940), had "broken forced-labor laws," etc.

At the beginning of December 1942 the Romanian government informed the Jewish leadership of a change in its policy toward Jews. Defeat at Stalingrad (where the Romanians had lost 18 divisions) was already anticipated. In 1942–43 the Romanian government began tentatively to consider signing a separate peace treaty with the Allies. Although a plan for large-scale emigration failed because of German opposition and lack of facilities, both small and large boats left Romania carrying "illegal" immigrants to Palestine, some of whom were refugees from Bukovina, Poland, Hungary, and Slovakia. Between 1939 and August 1944 (when Romania withdrew from the war) 13 boats left Romania, carrying 13,000 refugees, and even this limited activity was about to cease, as a result of German pressure exerted through diplomatic missions in Romania, Bulgaria, and Turkey. Two of the boats sank: the *Struma* (on Feb. 23, 1944 with 769 passengers) and the *Mefkure* (on Aug. 5, 1944 with 394 passengers).

Despite German efforts, the Romanian government refused to deport its Jews to the "east." At the beginning of 1943, however, there was a return to the traditional economic pressures against the Jews in order to reduce the Jewish population. This was achieved by forbidding Jews to work in the civilian economy and through the most severe measure of all, forced labor (from which the wealthy managed to obtain an exemption by paying a considerable sum). In addition, various taxes were imposed on the Jewish population in the form of cash, clothing, shoes, or hospital equipment. These measures, particularly the taxes to be remitted in cash – of which the largest was a levy of 4 billion lei (about $27,000,000) imposed in March 1943 – severely pressed Romanian Jewry. The tax collection was made by the "Jewish Center." W. Filderman, chairman of the Council of the Union of Jewish Communities, who opposed the tax and proved that it could never be paid, was deported to Transnistria for two months.

At the end of 1943, as the Red Army drew nearer to Romania, the local Jewish leadership succeeded in obtaining the gradual return of those deported to Transnistria. The Germans tried several times to stop the return and even succeeded in bringing about the arrest of the leadership of the clandestine Zionist pioneering movements in January and February 1944; however, these leaders were released through the intervention of the International Red Cross and the Swiss ambassador in Bucharest, who contended that they were indispensable for organizing the emigration of those returning from Transnistria and refugees who had found temporary shelter in Romania. In March 1944 contacts were made in Ankara between Ira Hirschmann, representative of the U.S. War Refugee Board, and the Romanian ambassador, A. Cretzianu, at which Hirschmann demanded the return of all those deported to Transnistria and the cessation of the persecution of Jews. At the time, the Red Army was defeating the Germans in Transnistria, and there was a danger that the retreating Germans might slaughter the remaining Jews. Salvation came at the last moment, when Antonescu warned the Germans to avoid killing Jews while retreating. Concurrently, negotiations over Romania's withdrawal from the war were being held in Cairo and Stockholm, and thus Antonescu was eager to show goodwill toward the Jews for the sake of his own future. In the spring Soviet forces also conquered part of Old Romania (Moldavia), and they made an all-out attack on August 20. On August 23 King Michael arrested Antonescu and his chief ministers and declared a cease-fire. The Germans could no longer control Romania, for they were dependent on the support of the Romanian army, which had been withdrawn. Eichmann, who had been sent to western Romania to organize the liquidation of Jews in the region, did not reach Romania.

The question of the number of Romanian Jews and of those in the territories under Romania's control who were murdered during the Holocaust is a complex issue, requiring more research. An International Commission on the Holocaust in Romania concluded in 2004 that between 280,000 and 380,000 Romanian and Ukrainian Jews were murdered or died during the Holocaust in Romania and the territories under its control. The Israeli historian Jean Ancel, author of essential studies on the topic, disagreed with this evaluation, and based on his extensive research, estimated that the number is considerably higher, at least 420,000 Jewish victims. These statistics of the Report include more than 45,000 Jews – probably closer to 60,000 – who were killed in Bessarabia and Bukovina by Romanian and German troops in 1941. At least 105,000 – other findings state as many as 120,000 – of the deported Romanian Jews died as a result of the expulsions to Transnistria. At least 130,000 indigenous Jews – or according to other statistics as many as 180,000 – were liquidated in Transnistria (especially in Odessa and the districts of Golta and Berezovka). Sometimes Romanian officials worked with German help, but more often they required no outside guidance. Nazi Germany was also responsible for killing Romanian Jews in Bessarabia, Bukovina, and mass killings in Ukraine and later in Transnistria. The Romanian authorities were accomplices in varying degrees to these murders. The documents do record numerous instances of Romanians – both civilian and military – rescuing Jews. But these initiatives were isolated cases, and in the final analysis were exceptions to the general rule. Of the 150,000 Jews of Northern Transylvania, 135,000 were killed in Nazi concentration camps after being deported by the Hungarian gendarmerie; no Romanian authority was involved in this operation.

Jewish Resistance

PREPARATORY STEPS. As soon as Hitler assumed power in Germany (1933), Jewish leaders in Bucharest decided not to remain passive. In November the congress of the Jewish Party in Romania decided to join the anti-Nazi boycott movement, disregarding the protest raised by the Romanian press and antisemitic groups, but the Union of the Romanian Jews (UER) did not participate in the campaign. The necessity for a united political, as well as economic, struggle soon became obvious. On Jan. 29, 1936, the Central Council of Jews in Romania, composed of representatives of both Jewish trends – the UER and the Jewish Party – was established for "the defense of all Jewish rights and liberties against the organizations and newspapers that openly proclaimed the introduction of the racial regime." At the end of the year the Council succeeded in averting a bill proposed in the parliament by the antisemitic circles suggesting that citizenship be revoked from the Jews. During the same period the Romanian government attempted to suppress the state subvention for Jewish religious needs, as well as the exemption from taxes accorded to Jewish community institutions. The Council could not obtain the maintenance of the subvention, and it was finally reduced to one-sixth of its allotment.

When Goga's antisemitic government came to power, the Council began a struggle against it, gaining support and attention outside Romania. Filderman, president of the Council, left at once for Paris, where he mobilized the world Jewish organizations with headquarters in France and England and informed local political circles and the League of Nations of events in Romania. At the same time the Jews in Romania began an expanded economic boycott, refraining from commercial transactions, withdrawing their deposits from the banks, and delaying tax payments. The outcome was "large-scale paralysis of the economic life," as the German minister of foreign affairs stated in his circular of March 9, 1938. Thus the dismissal of the Goga government after only 40 days was motivated not only by external pressure, but by the effects of the Jewish economic boycott.

THE UNION OF THE JEWISH COMMUNITIES. Following the downfall of the Goga government, King Carol's royal dictatorship abolished all the political parties in Romania, including the Jewish Party and the Union of Romanian Jews. The single body of the Jews in Romania was the Union of the Jewish Communities, whose board was composed of the leaders of both Jewish currents. The Union assumed the task of fighting against the increasing number of anti-Jewish measures promulgated by the Romanian authorities under pressure from local antisemitic circles and the German government. In some cases its interventions were successful; for example, it achieved the nullification of the prohibition against collecting contributions to Zionist funds, and, as a result of its protests, the restrictions against the Jewish physicians and the Jewish industrial schools were abrogated. In the summer of 1940, after Romania ceded Bukovina and Bessarabia to the Soviet Union, the Romanian police tried to eject Jewish refugees from those two provinces. The Union's board succeeded in moving the Ministry of the Interior to annul the measure. When the interdiction of ritual slaughter was decreed, the board obtained an authorization for ritual slaughtering of poultry. The cancellation of the prohibition against Jews peddling in certain cities was also achieved. When the antisemitic newspapers incited against the leaders of the Union, the police began to search their homes.

Ion Antonescu's government, with the participation of the Iron Guard, closed several synagogues (those with less than 400 worshipers in cities and 200 in villages) and transferred the property to Christian churches. The disposition was canceled after three days, however, as a result of an audience between the Union's president, Filderman, and Antonescu; simultaneously the minister of religion, who ordered the measure, was forced to resign. These acts took place during the first period of the new regime, dominated by the Iron Guard, when trespasses were committed against the Jews daily. The Union's board constantly informed Antonescu and the diverse ministries of these acts, pointing out their illegality and arbitrariness. The argument that constantly recurred in the memoranda presented by the Union's board was that the confiscation of Jewish shops and industrial companies caused the disorganization of the country's economic life. Antonescu used the information provided by the board to support his stand against the trespasses. The Iron Guard responded with a terror campaign against the Jewish leaders; some were arrested and tortured by the "legionary police," others were murdered during the revolt against Antonescu.

The Zionist leadership negotiated with Antonescu about organizing the emigration of Romanian Jews (see Zionism in Romania). The minister of finance proposed that the emigration be financed by Romanian assets, which had been frozen in the United States, because Romania had joined the Axis. The transaction had to be accomplished through the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (JDC), whose representative in Romania was also the president of the Union. In every city the Jewish community had to register those who wanted to emigrate and were able to pay the amount demanded by the government. The Union's board utilized this agreement as a leverage for achieving certain concessions, especially after Romania joined Germany in the war against the Soviet Union (June 1941). For example, when the evacuation of Jews from villages and towns began, the Union secured the government's agreement not to send these Jews to concentration camps (as had previously been ordered), but rather to lodge them in the big cities, where they were to be cared for by the local Jewish communities. Another achievement (on Aug. 14, 1941) was the liberation of the rabbis, leaders of communities, and teachers employed in Jewish schools, who had been arrested after the outbreak of war with the U.S.S.R., from the Targu-Jiu concentration camp. The Union raised the argument that the plans concerning the release of the Romanian properties in the United States were dependent upon those local leaders. On Aug. 2, 1941, the board achieved the cancellation of the order that Jews wear the yellow badge and other measures, including the creation of ghettos in the cities and mobilizing women for forced labor, in which Jewish men were already engaged. Richter insisted on the reintroduction of repressive measures, and on September 3 the order to wear the yellow badge was reendorsed. This time, in addition to intervention by the Union's leaders, Chief Rabbi Alexander Safran appealed to the head of the Christian Orthodox Church, Patriarch Nicodem, and on September 8 Antonescu annulled the order. Nevertheless, the yellow badge was maintained in a number of Moldavian cities, as well as in Chernovtsy (Cernauti), the capital of Bukovina, where the German influence was strong.

During this period, when Romania suffered great losses on the front and Germany called for an increase in Romanian participation, the Union's board employed the argument that Romania, being an ally of the Third Reich, and thus a sovereign state, did not have to accept anti-Jewish laws that were applied only to German satellite countries. Hungary and Italy, allies that did not apply such measures at that time, were presented as examples. It is known from von Killinger's reports that Antonescu raised these objections in his dealings with the Nazi government.

After Jews began to be deported from Bessarabia and Bukovina to Transnistria, the board delegated Chief Rabbi Safran to intervene with the queen mother, Patriarch Nicodem, and the archbishop of Bukovina and induce them to intercede with Antonescu to halt the deportations and permit aid to those who had already been transported over the Dniester. Until a decision could be achieved through their intervention, and against the opposition of von Killinger, the 17,000 Jews who remained in Chernovtsy were not deported. However, the steps taken, with permission to provide assistance to those who had already been deported to Transnistria were sabotaged by difficulties raised by lower authorities. The Union also endeavored to gain the support of the U.S. ambassador, who interceded with the Romanian government. Nevertheless, when the ambassadors of Brazil, Switzerland, and Portugal proposed to the U.S. ambassador the initiation of an international protest against the Romanian anti-Jewish excesses, the latter reported to Washington that he did not possess enough exact information. Later on, however, in another report (Nov. 4, 1941), he described in detail the massacres committed in Bessarabia and in Bukovina and the cruelties that were committed during the deportations to Transnistria. The description was based on the information received from the Union. (It was only at the end of 1941 that Romania broke off relations with the United States, under German pressure.) The antisemitic press – financed and inspired by the German embassy – including the German-language *Bukarester Tageblatt*, then intensified the incitement against the Jewish leaders and their constant interventions against anti-Jewish measures.

At the end of 1941 the Union of the Communities was dissolved under pressure from Richter, and the Centrala evreilor (Central Board of the Jews) was set up at his suggestion in January 1942. Its leaders were appointed by Radu Lecca, who was responsible for Jewish affairs in the Romanian government, but they were actually subordinate to Richter. Nearly all of the new leaders were unknown to the Jewish public, with the exception of A. Willman, who shortly before his appointment had published a number of pamphlets proposing a kind of neo-territorialist plan to be accomplished with the aid of Nazi Germany. From the outset, the Jewish population expressed its distrust of the new organ. The former leaders of the Jewish institutions formed a clandestine Jewish Council with Chief Rabbi Alexander Safran as its president. The Council leaders handed memoranda personally to, or interceded individually with, Antonescu or his ministers, who went on to deal with them because the government did not trust the Central Board either.

In the spring of 1942 changes were made in the framework of the Central Board. Willman and some of his followers were removed and replaced by others appointed from among the leadership of the Zionist movement and the Union of the Romanian Jews (UER). Thus the Central Board was prevented from taking any harmful initiatives against the Jewish population. In the summer the Zionist Organization was dissolved at the request of the Germans, and this was a sign that the Germans disagreed with the Romanian policy, which aided Jewish emigration. In order to avoid the Nazi plan of deportation to Belzec, the queen mother was convinced by Safran to intercede with Ion Antonescu. Others were also requested to intercede on behalf of the Jews, such as the papal nuncio, Andreas Cassulo; the Swiss ambassador, René de Weck; and even Antonescu's personal physician. The nuncio's efforts were supported by the Swedish and Turkish ambassadors, and by the delegates of the International Red Cross. At the same time the Jewish Council achieved the annulment of the order to deport to Transnistria 12,000 Jews accused of having committed crimes or breaches of discipline.

THE STRUGGLE TO REPATRIATE DEPORTED JEWS. After overcoming the danger of deportation to the extermination camps in Poland, the Jewish leaders began to request the return of those who had survived the deportations to Transnistria. The dealings with the Romanian government began in November 1942 over the question of a ransom to be paid by Zionist groups outside Romania. Eichmann's unceasing interventions prevented a clear-cut decision until, on April 23, Antonescu – under German pressure – issued the order that not a single deportee should return. The Jewish leaders then initiated the struggle for a "step by step" resolution to the problem, asserting that a series of categories had been deported arbitrarily, without previous investigation. The Romanian government ordered a detailed registration of categories. At the beginning of 1943 an official commission was appointed to classify the deportees. In July Antonescu authorized the return of certain cases (aged persons, widows, World War I invalids, former officers of the Romanian army, etc.). Implementation of the order, however, encountered difficulties raised by the governor of Transnistria, who was under the influence of German advisers. Only at the beginning of December did the deportees begin to return, according to categories: yet it was a struggle against time, as meanwhile the front had reached Transnistria.

From the beginning of 1944 the clandestine Zionist Executive dealt separately with Antonescu on the question of emigration. Its efforts had an influence on the general situation, as the Romanian authorities made the return of the deportees conditional upon their immediate emigration.

THE COMMITTEE OF ASSISTANCE. Whole strata of Romanian Jewry were pauperized because of the anti-Jewish economic measures. The former committee of the JDC continued its activity clandestinely under the control of the Union of the Jewish Communities and afterward of the Jewish Council. In October 1943 it was officially recognized within the framework of the "Jewish Central Board" as the Autonomous Committee of Assistance. Assistance was thus provided to the Jews evacuated from towns and villages who could not be maintained by the local communities. The most important accomplishment, however, was the aid in the form of money, medicines, utensils for craftsmen, coal, oil heaters, window glass, clothing, etc. transmitted to Transnistria. In order to cover the budget, money and clothing were collected in the regions not affected by deportations. These means, however, were far from adequate. Only owing to the important amounts acquired from the JDC, the Jewish Agency, and other world Jewish organizations was the Autonomous Committee of Assistance able to continue its activity.

In addition to all the official difficulties raised by the Romanian central authorities (the compulsory transfer of money through the National Bank at an unfavorable exchange rate, and the obligation of paying customs for the objects sent), the transports were frequently plundered on the way or confiscated by the local authorities in Transnistria. The assistance, however, was in itself an element of resistance. The mere fact that the deportees knew that they had not been abandoned, at least by their fellow Jews, contributed to the maintenance of their morale. The aid in its various forms saved thousands of lives. Through clandestine correspondence, carried by non-Jewish messengers, reports were received concerning the situation of the refugees. This means of providing information was insufficient, however, and the Autonomous Committee of Assistance therefore wanted to review the situation directly on the spot.

As early as January 1942 authorization was obtained from the Ministry of the Interior for a delegation of the committee to go to Transnistria; nevertheless, due to the opposition of the governor of Transnistria, the representatives could not get there until Dec. 31, 1942. The governor received them in audience at Odessa and tried to intimidate them by means of threat, telling them that their behavior would determine whether or not they would return to Romania. He gave them permission to visit only three of the camps in which deported Jews were concentrated. The delegates of the committee responded by requesting a regional conference with representatives of all the camps. During the railway journey to Mogilev, the delegates visited the Zhmerinka camp and received information about the surrounding camps. Upon their arrival at Mogilev (Jan. 8–9, 1943), a regional conference took place with the participation of about 70 delegates. Before the conference opened, the prefect and the commander of the gendarmes warned the delegates not to complain about their situation, adding the threat that complaints might endanger the further receipt of aid. However, the delegates clandestinely submitted a written report concerning the real situation to the representatives of the committee. From Mogilev the delegation left for Balta, where it did not receive a license for a regional conference, but each delegate from the ghettos or camps of the area was authorized to report individually about the situation. Back in Bucharest, after this two-week tour in Transnistria, the delegates presented their report, which was also sent to Jewish organizations abroad.

In December 1943 representatives of the Autonomous Committee of Assistance again left for Transnistria to organize the return of the deportees, taking with them wagons of clothing. One group of representatives left for the north, to Mogilev and its surroundings; another for the south, to Tiraspol. The central administration of Transnistria did not display any goodwill, but the local authorities provided wagons for the transport. On Feb. 15, 1944, two delegations started out to aid the return of the orphans. On March 17, 1944, another two delegations set out for Transnistria, but they could not reach their destination as the area had already become a front area, the northern part occupied by the Red Army.

The delegates installed themselves in Tighina (Bessarabia), whence they made contact with Tiraspol on the eastern bank of the Dniester River and succeeded in saving almost all those concentrated there. The Germans still had the time to organize a last massacre, murdering 1,000 Jews who were in detention in the Tiraspol jail. When Transnistria and Bessarabia were reconquered by the Soviets, the deportees who followed the armies were the last to succeed in returning to Romania, for afterward, at the end of June 1944, the Soviets closed the frontier. It was reopened only in May 1945 for a last group of 7,000 deportees, after prolonged dealings in Bucharest between the Jewish leaders and General Vinogradov, the head of the Soviet armistice commission.

[Theodor Lavi / Lucian-Zeev Herscovici and Leon Volovici (2nd ed.)]

The Early Post-Holocaust Years

When Romania broke with Nazi Germany and entered the war on the side of the Allies (Aug. 23, 1944), Romanian Jewry had been considerably decreased as a result of the Holocaust and it was about to decrease even further through emigration. The struggle for Jewish independence in Palestine influenced Romanian Jews, and the goal of *aliyah*, which had been deep-seated in the community in the past, became a powerful force. The decisive factor in the life of Romanian Jews after World War II, however, was the political regime in Romania, which exercised its authority over the community life of Romanian Jewry, determined the structure of its organization, and limited its aspirations. Government control was prevalent during the first period – from Aug. 23, 1944, until the abolition of the monarchy (Dec. 30, 1947) – and even more so in succeeding periods, through all the internal changes that altered the regime in Romania.

The Communist Period

For a few years after the abolition of the monarchy, Romania closely followed the line dictated from Moscow. This situation continued until the end of the 1950s, when the first signs of an independent Romanian policy began to appear. Until 1965 the pattern of this policy gradually solidified, and from then, with the personal changes after the death of the general secretary Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej, Romania entered with a more independent policy. All the changes in government and policy also left their on Jewish community life. The situation of Romanian Jewry always had a special character. Even in the days of complete dependence on Moscow, when the tools and institutions of national Jewish identity were destroyed and expression of Jewish aspirations was repressed, Romanian Jewry was not compelled to be as alienated from its national and religious identity as were the Jews of the Soviet Union. At the end of the 1960s the Jewish community in Romania found itself in an intermediate position. Its activities displayed indications of free community life as well as the limitations imposed by the government. Variations in the government's policy also reflected the connection between the status of Romanian Jewry and the official attitude of Romania toward Israel. This mutual influence was expressed in all the areas of Jewish life and especially through the central issue of the right to leave the country and settle in Israel.

POPULATION. The characterizing factor of the demography of Romanian Jewry during this period was the constant decrease in the community's size. The only source on the size of the Romanian Jewish community at the end of World War II is a registration (the results of which were published in 1947) that was carried out on the initiative of the World Jewish Congress. According to the registration, there were 428,312 Jews in Romania at the time. This number was the balance after the losses caused by the Holocaust, the annexation of Bessarabia and North Bukovina by the U.S.S.R., and the migration to Palestine during the war. The professional composition of the community at that time (1945) was as follows: 49,000 artisans, 35,000 employees, 34,000 merchants and industrialists, and 9,500 in the free professions. Ten years later the Jewish population had been reduced to about a third. According to the census taken on Feb. 21, 1956, there were 144,236 Jews in Romania, of whom 34,263 spoke Yiddish. But these figures are probably lower than the true numbers, as it is known that in the above-mentioned census members of minority groups were not allowed to identify freely with their national group. The drastic reduction in the size of the Romanian Jewish community was largely a result of mass emigration, especially during the years 1944–47. The means of emigration were dictated by the conditions of the war and its aftermath. At the end of the war thousands of Jews, terrified by the Holocaust, fled Romania through its western border, which was still open, and reached the West by their own means. In addition to this spontaneous migration, 14 refugee boats left Romanian ports carrying 24,000 "illegal" immigrants to Palestine. A portion of Romanian Jewry, including thousands who left Romania of their own volition immediately after the war, was also among those who boarded refugee boats to Palestine in other European ports. From the establishment of the State of Israel (1948) until the end of the 1960s, over 200,000 Romanian Jews settled in the new state. In addition, it should be noted that not all the Jews who emigrated from Romania went to Israel; about 80,000 others were scattered throughout other countries. At the end of the 1960s the Romanian Jewish community numbered no more than 100,000.

THE LIQUIDATION OF JEWISH ORGANIZATIONS. On Aug. 23, 1944, when Romania joined the Allies, the Zionist movement came up from underground to operate legally and openly through all its currents and institutions. The same was true of the Jewish Party, which was reorganized as the representative body of Romanian Jewry and headed by the Zionist leader A.L. Zissu. In 1945 an extension of the Communist Party was established among the Jewish population under the name the Jewish Democratic Committee (Comitetul Democrat Evreesc). For about four years the Zionist movement maintained regular activities in the fields of organization, education, training farms, and Zionist funds, as well as through international ties. In 1948 there were 100,000 members in the movement and 4,000 in He-Halutz, with 95 branches and 12 training farms. The Zionist Organization in Romania participated in the world Zionist Congress in Basle in 1946. A general representation of Romanian Jewry (including delegates from the Jewish Democratic Committee) was present at the Montreux conference (1948) of the World Jewish Congress. These were the last regular contacts of Romanian Jewry with Jewish organizations abroad; afterward the ties were severed for an extended period.

The more the Communist Party strengthened its power, the more Zionist activity in Romania turned from "permitted" to "tolerated," until it was finally outlawed completely. The instrument of this process was the Jewish Democratic Committee, which never succeeded in striking roots among the Jewish population, in spite of the support it received from the authorities. The cue to abolish Zionist activities was given in the decision of the central committee of the Communist Party on June 10–11, 1948, in the midst of Israel's War of Independence. The decision stated that "the party must take a stand on every question concerning the Jews of Romania and fight vigorously against reactionary nationalist Jewish currents." As early as the summer of 1948 the liquidation of Zionist training farms was begun, and the process was completed in the spring of 1949. In November 1948 the activities of the Zionist funds were forbidden. On Nov. 29, 1948, a violent attack on the branch of the Zionist Organization in Bucharest was organized by the Jewish Communists. On Dec. 12, 1948, the party decision was again publicized, including a clear denunciation of Zionism, "which, in all its manifestations, is a reactionary nationalist movement of the Jewish bourgeoisie, supported by American imperialism, that attempts to isolate the masses of Jewish workers from the people among whom they live." This statement was published in the wake of a bitter press campaign against Zionism during November and December 1948.

The persecution of the Zionist movement was also expressed by the imprisonment of *sheliḥim* from Ereẓ Israel. On Dec. 23, 1948, a general consultation of Zionists was held and resulted in the decision to dissolve "voluntarily" the Zionist organizations. Following this decision, the Zionist parties began to halt their activities, with the exception of Mapam, the youth movements, and He-Halutz. The World Jewish Congress also ceased to operate in Romania. Those organizations that did not close down at the time continued to operate formally until the spring of the following year. On March 3, 1949, however, the Ministry of Interior issued an order to liquidate all remnants of the Zionist movement, including youth movements and training farms. With this order the Jewish community in Romania was given over completely to the dominance of the government alone – at first by means of the Jewish Democratic Committee, until it too was gradually dissolved. In April 1949 the youth movement of the Jewish Democratic Committee was disbanded just as the Communist Party Youth (UTM) was organized, and the committee itself was disbanded in March 1953, together with all other national minorities' organizations in Romania. In 1949–50 the activity of the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee in Romania was discontinued by order of the government. The hostile attitude toward the Zionist movement was also expressed in Romania's attitude toward Israel, which gradually hardened and led to the frequent imprisonment of previously active Zionists. The periods of time when emigration was ceased (April 1952 until 1956) were led by violent anti-Zionist campaigns. Zionist organizations were banned as of 1949. Yet the new Communist regime brought about a radical change: a significant number of Jews became prominent in the political and administrative hierarchy of the new regime, among them the long-time Communist militant Ana *Pauker.

There were ups and downs, however, especially in the area of propaganda, until the situation in general began to improve at the beginning of 1967.

COMMUNITY LIFE. With the liquidation of the Zionist Movement and the dissolution of the Jewish Democratic Committee, the religious communities (*kehillot*) were the only organized bodies left in Romanian Jewry. The legal foundations for their activities were laid down even before other Jewish frameworks were destroyed. In 1945 the "Regulations on Nationalities" were passed and declared the formal equality of members of all national minority groups before the law. Regulations of the activities of the recognized religions, including Judaism, were set down in the Aug. 4, 1948, order of the presidium of the Grand National Assembly (which also served as the presidency of the state). The regulations of the Federation of Communities of the Mosaic Religion, which were approved by the Assembly's presidium on June 1, 1949, were based upon this order. Dr. Moshe Rosen became chief rabbi in 1948. He was instrumental in organizing massive Jewish emigration from Romania as well as in establishing a satisfactory community life even within the Communist regime and the threat of fast diminution of Jewish communities.

The Federation's scope of activity was limited to the area of religious worship alone. In the first years of the Communist regime and its complete dependence upon Moscow, Jewish Communists infiltrated into the Federation, but afterward their participation in Jewish religious bodies decreased, although it did not cease altogether. The Federation of Communities was responsible for maintaining synagogues and cemeteries and supplying religious objects, unleavened bread for Passover, kosher food, and the like. It was not authorized to deal in matters of Jewish education, however, although it did have the right (according to a decision of the department of religions on Nov. 13, 1948) to set up seminaries for training rabbis, and for a few years it maintained a yeshivah in Arad (Transylvania). According to the registration of 1960, there were 153 communities throughout Romania that maintained 841 synagogues and *battei midrash* (56 of which were no longer in use), 67 ritual baths, 86 slaughterhouses, and one factory for unleavened bread (in Cluj). From 1956 the Federation also published a tri-language biweekly (in Romanian, Yiddish, and Hebrew) entitled *Revista Cultului Mozaic din R.P.R.* ("Journal of (Romanian) Religious Jewry"). From 1964 the chief rabbi Rosen officiated as the chairman of the Federation and was also a member of the National Assembly. Thus the Federation became the general Jewish representative in the country.

EDUCATION. With the renewal of Jewish life after the war, Jewish education also began to operate again. In 1946 the total number of Jewish schools was 190 with 41,000 students. In 1948 five yeshivot, 50 *talmud torah* schools, 10 Bet Jacob schools, one elementary school of Tarbut, five dormitories for students, 14 dormitories for apprentices, the agricultural training institute (Cultura AgricolD), three vocational schools in Bucharest, and three vocational schools in provincial cities (Huși, Sibiu, Radauti) were supported by the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee. A substantial number of educational institutions were maintained by the various Jewish communities without outside support. The network of Jewish education was destroyed in the autumn of 1948, when all schools in Romania were nationalized. At that time a small number of schools in which the language of instruction was Yiddish were established (in Bucharest and in Jassy) and remained open until the 1960/61 school year. After the nationalization Jewish education remained in the hands of *melammedim*, whose activities were tolerated by the authorities. In 1960 there were 54 *talmud torah* schools, in addition to the yeshivah that was established in Arad in 1956. By the end of the 1960s the number of educational institutions had very considerably decreased.

CULTURE. At the beginning of the period under discussion, the language of Jewish writers and poets, including those who wrote about Jewish subjects, was Romanian. During the first years after World War II the Jewish press was fairly large. The most important newspaper was *Mântuirea*, which began to reappear after Romania joined the Allies and continued to be published until the Zionist movement ceased to exist. In 1945 the press of the pro-Communist "Jewish Democratic Committee" began to appear, and its major newspaper was *Unirea*, in Bucharest, which lasted until 1953. As long as Zionist activity was permitted, the Zionist publishing house Bikkurim and the He-Halutz publishing house, as well as the Yavneh Company for the distribution of books on Jewish history and Hebrew literature, continued to operate. In Jewish contributions to Romanian literature, art, and music, the influence of the memories of the Jewish milieu was sometimes felt. The writers and poets A. Toma, Maria Banus, Veronica Porumbacu, Barbu Lazareanu, and others belonged to this group. Among the writers who wrote in Yiddish were Jacob Groper, Alfred Margul Sperber, and Ludovic Brukstein. The most outstanding Jewish artists were Josif Iser, M.H. Maxy, and Jules Perachim. Well-known Jewish musicians were Matei Socor, Alfred Mendelsohn, and Max Eisikovits. The only Jewish cultural institution was the Jewish theater in Bucharest. It was established as a state institution in 1948. The Jewish theater in Jassy, which was established at the same time, closed down in 1968. During the 20 years of its existence, the theater produced 107 plays including works by A. Goldfaden, Shalom Aleichem, Yiddish playwrights, and others. In 1968 the Bucharest Jewish theater performed on tour in Israel.

Israel-Romania Relations to the End of the 1960s

In September 1948 the first Israel representative to Romania, the painter Reuven Rubin, arrived in Bucharest, but neither he nor his successors succeeded in substantially developing the relations between the two countries for a number of years. Until 1965 the relations were regular but cool, especially because of the attitude of the Soviet Union toward Israel, which was strictly followed by Romanian foreign policy. Every so often the relations between the two countries were shaken by crises that were felt on the level of diplomatic representation (the extended absence of a minister at the head of the mission) or were expressed by the expulsion of Israel diplomats. Cultural ties were not developed during the period, and trade also remained static at a modest level (in the climax year, the mutual trade balance between Israel and Romania reached $4.5 million). These relations improved considerably, however, as Romania grew more independent of the U.S.S.R. in international affairs. From February 1966 a Romanian minister again headed the Romanian mission in Israel. In March 1967 a high-level Romanian economic delegation visited Israel for the first time, and afterward an Israel economic delegation, headed by the finance minister, went to Bucharest; full trade agreements were signed. In 1968 the trade balance between the two countries reached $20,000,000, and subsequently trade increased. Cultural relations also expanded (Israeli musicians, choirs, etc. visited Romania and the countries exchanged art exhibitions), as did tourism from each country to the other. The Six-Day War (1967) served as a decisive test in the relations between Israel and Romania. On June 10, 1967, a consultation of all East European nations, including Yugoslavia, was held in Moscow and resulted in a denunciation of Israel's "aggression." The participating states also decided to sever diplomatic relations with the State of Israel. Romania, however, refused to sign the denunciation and also refused to carry out the conference's decisions. She did not sever diplomatic relations with Israel and refrained from taking part in the anti-Israel Soviet propaganda campaign. Romania repeatedly expressed her stand that the Arab-Israel dispute must be settled by political means, taking into consideration the just rights of both sides. In August 1969 Romania and Israel elevated their diplomatic missions to the rank of embassies.

[Eliezer Palmor]

Contemporary Period

The official census published in June 1977 gave the Jewish population as only 25,600; despite the fact that according to the statistics given by the Federation of Jewish Communities, which based itself on a registry of those in need of the community's services, the number was approximately 45,000, and its files did not include those Jews who had no connection with the communities. If these Jews are included, it would bring the total Jewish population to approximately 70,000. The Jewish community of Romania is an aging one; 25.51% of all Jews in Romania belong to the age category 41–60 and 46.2% to the age category 60–80. The majority of the Jews of Romania are professionals.

The institutions of the community, both local and central, have continued to function. The Federation of Jewish Communities, on which all the communities throughout Romania are represented, was recognized by the authorities and headed by Chief Rabbi Dr. Moshe Rosen who was a member of the Romanian Parliament.

Romania continued to be until the late 1980s the only country within the Soviet sphere of influence whose Jewish community maintained contact with international Jewish organizations and with communities outside Romania; close ties existed with the World Jewish Congress, the Joint Distribution Committee and others, as well as with Jewish communities throughout the world. Representatives of Romanian Jewry participated in the conference of the European branch of the World Jewish Congress which took place in Madrid (Dec. 4–6, 1976), and a delegation of the Federation of Communities, headed by Rabbi Rosen, participated in the Synagogue Federation Conference held in Jerusalem in February 1978. The Jewish State Theater in Bucharest continued to produce plays in Yiddish despite the dwindling of the potential audience. Several books in Yiddish have also been published.

In an earthquake which struck Bucharest on May 4, 1977, the Choral Temple and Malbim synagogue were damaged. During his official visit to Romania on Aug. 1, 1977 (see below), Prime Minister Menahem Begin participated in the Sabbath services in the Choral Temple and addressed the large congregation.

RELIGION AND CULTURE. Synagogues throughout the country (about 150) continued to function. In addition to the chief rabbi, there were two other rabbis, Rabbi Yitzhak Meir Marilus in Bucharest and Dr. Ernest Neumann in Timisoara. Kosher meat was provided by ritual slaughterers who visited the various communities weekly.

In the latter part of December 1977 the Museum for the History of the Jews in Romania was opened in Bucharest, along with a center for documentation and research. In the same year the centenary of the founding of the Jewish theater in Romania was celebrated by a gala performance at which *Tevye der Milchiger* by Shalom Aleichem, *The Dybbuk* by An-ski, and Lessing's *Nathan the Wise* were presented. A history of the Yiddish theater in Romania by Israil Bercovici was published in Yiddish and in Romanian (1976, 1981).

In September 1981 Romania was the site of the convention of the European Rabbinical Conference, the first time a major Jewish gathering had been held in an East European country since World War II. The chief rabbis of England, France, Italy, and Holland were among the participants. The 25th anniversary of the publication of *Revista Cultului Mozaic* was celebrated in September 1981. The state publishing house has published a bibliographical work on the Jewish press in Romania, *Yiddishe Presse in Rumenye* by Wolf Vladimir Tamburu. An annual in Yiddish, *Bukarester Shriftn*, including Yiddish literature and studies on the history of Romanian Jews, was published between 1978 and 1988.

Research in the history of the Jews of Romania has been undertaken by a group of Jewish historians. Their activities center on the Federation of Communities' biweekly and deal especially with the role of the Jews in Romanian history. They also conduct research in municipal archives and the Jewish archives of the Federation. Several significant historical papers and collections of documents were published, edited by experienced historians (Itzik Şvarţ-Kara, Lya Benjamin, Victor Eskenasy).

RELATIONS WITH ISRAEL. Political relations between Israel and Romania were strengthened with statesmen exchanging visits, and particularly visits by Israelis. Romania consistently campaigned for a political settlement of the Near East conflict, for the implementation of the November 1967 Security Council resolution, and for a solution that will guarantee the territorial integrity and independence of all states in the region and lead to the withdrawal of Israeli forces from territories occupied after the Six-Day War. Romania also underscored the need to solve the problem of the Palestinian Arabs in conformity with their national interests. The fact that the Romanian government adopted a policy quite different from that of the U.S.S.R. and the other East European governments and did not brand Israel as an "aggressor" permitted Romania and Israel to maintain normal relations.

In August 1977 Prime Minister Begin paid an official visit to Romania. He held wide-ranging talks with his counterpart Manea Manescu, with Foreign Minister Macovescu, and held two lengthy political talks with the President of Romania, Nicolae Ceausescu. The Begin-Ceausescu meeting played an important role in the decision of the president of Egypt to visit Jerusalem in November 1977, and Romania was the only East European country which expressed open support for the Israeli-Egyptian peace initiative. Two unscheduled meetings were held between the Romanian President and Moshe Dayan, Israeli foreign minister, in April 1978. Economic and trade agreements and an agreement for technical and agricultural cooperation was signed by both countries. The latter agreement, which was renewed in February 1977, is designed particularly to train experts in various agriculture-related fields or to supplement their knowledge. In 1980 Israeli exports to Romania amounted to $35 million, while Israel imported from Romania goods worth $48.5 million.

Post-Communist Period

The central development in Romanian life and especially in the life of the ever-dwindling Jewish community was the overthrow of the Communist regime and the attempts at introducing democracy into the country along Western lines. The change of rule did not bring in its wake any real changes in the life of the few Jews left in the country. Until his death in May 1994, the dominating figure in Jewish life continued to be Chief Rabbi Moses Rosen. The remnants of the Romanian Jewish community welcomed the overthrow of Ceausescu and the community journal published a special issue expressing joy at the change.

In the new spirit of freedom Rabbi Rosen was the object of personal attacks by antisemitic groups, which accused him of close cooperation with the communist regime. Two antisemitic newspapers waged this campaign, which the chief rabbi saw as an attack on the entire community. *Romania Mare* ("Great Romania") and *Europa,* weeklies publishing virulent antisemitic material, aimed their barbs personally at Rabbi Rosen. In order to quash the harsh complaints about active antisemitism, President Ion Iliescu invested effort, internally and externally, to placate Chief Rabbi Rosen. In 1993 he took the rabbi with him to the opening of the Holocaust Museum in Washington, DC, and before that participated in a memorial service for Holocaust victims held in the Bucharest Choral Synagogue, where Iliescu spoke and condemned antisemitism.

Upon the immigration to Israel of Rabbi Pinhas Wasserman of Dorohoi (1989), the home for the aged and the *kasher* restaurant there were closed. Otherwise, all the institutions, restaurants, and homes for the aged were still in operation – 10 restaurants and four homes (two in Bucharest, and two smaller ones in Arad and Timisoara). Needy Jews receive packages of food and clothing. All this activity is financed by the JDC, fighting a rearguard action to maintain the few remaining Romanian Jews. The situation of the elderly has worsened considerably as their pension's value has eroded to nothing because of inflation, and without the Joint's help they would be starving.

Despite the declining number of Jews, the communities run smoothly and without assistance from the Federation, whose central place has been taken under the prevailing circumstances by the Joint. In addition to the Bucharest community, there are organized communities in the Transylvania region, in Cluj, Oradea, Arad, Timisoara. and in eastern Romania in Piatre-Neamt, Botosani, Jassy, Braila, Galati, Constanta, Ploesti, Brasov, Sighet, Satu-Mare, and a number of small communities. 10 *kasher* canteens were still operated by the communities and *kasher* meat was provided by three ritual slaughterers.

Romania lost its special status regarding relations with Israel, since it was no longer the only Eastern bloc country to have diplomatic relations with the Jewish state. Relations continued to be normal and friendly, with efforts at increasing bilateral trade. From the late 1990s Jewish life throughout Romania continued to revolve around the synagogues and the *kasher* restaurants, operated by the Federation of Romanian Jewish Communities and funded by the Joint Distribution Committee.

Since the establishment of the State of Israel some 300,000 Romanian Jews have emigrated there. The more the number of Jews in Romania shrinks, the more difficult it is to obtain reliable current Jewish population figures. The Federation of Communities, whose numbers are used by the Joint, estimate that there is a total of 15,000 Jews, 8,000 of whom are in Bucharest, the capital. Timisoara (in Transylvania) and Jassy each has a community of some 900 people; all the others are scattered among a Romanian populace of 22 million people. The official 1992 government yearbook, citing statistical data from a kind of census, states that there are 9,000 Jews. It may be that not all Jews were counted or admitted to being Jewish, particularly those in mixed marriages. Even though the total number of Jews is small, emigration to Israel continues.

The death of Rabbi Moses Rosen in May 1994 significantly affected the remaining Jews of Romania. The passing at age 83 of the man who for over 40 years had served as chief rabbi and head of the federation of Romanian Jewish communities signified the end of an era which included the collapse of the Communist regime in the country.

The feeling of stagnation which followed the death of the Rabbi Rosen prompted the representatives in Romania of the AJDC, which essentially administers to Jewish life there, to find a new chief rabbi quickly. Among the five candidates, all from Israel, they chose in May 1995 the Romanian-born professor Yehezkel Marek, a lecturer in literature at Bar-Ilan University. After his return to Israel in 1999, Menahem Hacohen became chief rabbi.

Rabbi Rosen's death also put an end to the concentrated centrality of the Federation of communities and allowed for greater freedom to the individual communities. The Federation was no longer headed by the rabbi but by Prof. Nicolae Cajal, a well-known scholar and member of Romanian Academy. After his death in 2004, Dr. Aurel Veiner, an economist, was elected as president of the community.

The community biweekly was revamped and changed its names to *Realitatea evreiască* ("Jewish Reality"). Yiddish is no longer used, and the paper now appears in Romanian, English, and one page in Hebrew, for a total of 12 pages presenting information on the Jewish world with emphasis on Jewish culture and many quotations from Israeli newspapers translated into Romanian. The editor is Dorel Dorian, while the veteran editor, Chaim Riemer, who immigrated to Israel some years ago and then returned to Romania as an emissary of the Joint, was appointed "Honorary Director" and writes the Hebrew page. The Hasefer publishing house, sponsored by the Jewish Federation, is dedicated to topics connected to Judaism, Jewish culture and history, as well as to the study of the Holocaust.

In recent years antisemitism in Romania has been on a back burner, mainly in intellectual circles and, with few exceptions, is not accompanied by violent acts. Its most prominent spokesman was Corneliu Vadim Tudor, editor of the weekly *Romania Mare*. Especially during the 1990s, the journal and the political party of the same name incited against the Jews, against Israel, and also against the democratic forces in post-Ceausescu Romania. The Romanian president Ion Iliescu worked to block any rising antisemitism, especially when considering America's decision regarding the granting of economic concessions as a most favored nation. The Jewish community's attitude, as expressed by Cajal, differs from that held in the past by Rabbi Rosen. Cajal did not declare a general, vocal war on antisemitism, but focuses on providing information to convince the Romanians of the great contribution the Jews made to the Romanian people and to the country. The main important universities (Bucharest, Cluj, Iaşi, Craiova) set up special departments and centers for the study of Judaism, Jewish history, and for teaching Hebrew. However, public discourse was constantly fed by numerous antisemitic publications, which placed a special emphasis on denying crimes committed by the Antonescu regime against the Jewish population. An international commission of historians to study the Holocaust in Romania was set up in 2003 and chaired by Elie Wiesel. The conclusions of the Report issued by the commission were accepted by President Ion Iliescu as well as by his successor, Traian Băsescu. A National Institute for the Study of Holocaust in Romania was inaugurated on October 10, 2005, as one of the first significant implementations of the commission's recommendations. Several expressions of Holocaust commemoration were officially initiated in Romania, especially on October 9, established as official date for commemorating the Holocaust (on which date in 1941 the deportations to Transnistria began).

[Naftali Kraus / Lucian-Zeev Herscovici and Leon Volovici (2nd ed.)]

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ROMANIAN LITERATURE.

Biblical and Hebraic Influences

Unlike the languages of surrounding peoples and cultures in the area, Romanian is of Latin or Romance origin, dating back to Roman colonization of Dacia (present-day Romania and Bessarabia). Although Romania's national movement could not discard the dominant Orthodox Christianity, which was a legacy of Slavic influence in the Balkans, Calvinism was a significant religious factor in the 16th century (as also in neighboring Hungary and the disputed territory of Transylvania), and this had interesting literary repercussions. Under the impact of the Hussite movement and the Reformation, attempts were made to replace Church Slavonic (see *Bulgarian Literature) with services in the vernacular and to translate the Bible into Romanian. Thus some of the earliest extant texts in Romanian are of a religious character. They include two versions of the Psalter: *Psaltirea Scheiana* (1482) and *Psaltirea Voronețeană* (1580), so named after the monasteries in which the manuscripts were discovered.

Early Writings

Of all the books of the Bible the Psalms were especially favored and inspired numerous translations. The first extant Romanian printed texts are the "Psalters of Coresi" (1568, 1578), published by Coresi, a friar-printer of Brașov. The Psalms were generally translated as *Psaltirea Sfîntului Prooroc și Impărat David* ("The Psalter of the Holy Prophet and Emperor David"). Two of the best-known translations were a versified rendering by the Moldavian metropolitan Dosoftei (Uniev 1673) and a version by the erudite metropolitan Antim-Ivireanu (1694). During the 18th century alone, some 30 editions of the Psalter appeared in Transylvania, Moldavia, and Muntenia (Greater Walachia). The *Carte a Profeților* ("Book of the Prophets") was also printed in 1673. The first complete translation of the Bible, *Biblia lui Șerban*, named in honor of its patron, Prince Șerban Cantacuzino, was published in Bucharest in 1688. Written in the Muntenian dialect, this work was based on the Septuagint and not only inspired all subsequent Romanian Bibles, but was also a formative influence on the Romanian language. In this, the Șerban Bible may be compared with the German version of Martin *Luther, the English Authorized Version, and Reformist texts in other lands. Later Romanian Bibles were published by the historian Samuil Micu (1795) and by Ion Eliade Rădulescu (1858). Gala *Galaction and Vasile Radu produced an excellent 20th-century translation (1938).

In the sphere of religious literature there were also several widely distributed works on biblical history and exegesis, such as Veniamin Costache's *Istoria Scripturii Vechiului Testament* ("History of Old Testament Scripture," 1824) and Filaret Scriban's *Istoria Sfîntă a Vechiului Testament* ("Sacred History of the Old Testament," 1872^3). The Bible, particularly the Psalms, was the foundation of Romanian poetry, Dosoftei's verse translation of Psalms being considered its earliest monument, mainly because of the numerous lyrical variations on the original text.

A version of Genesis and Exodus, embellished with legends and known as the *Palia* (Paloea), was published in Romanian translation in 1882. The great Romanian-Jewish folklorist, Moses *Gaster, traced this to the Jewish legends of the *Sefer ha-Yashar* and the *Pirkei Rabbi Eliezer*. In view of the large number of translations, biblical influences on Romanian literature may well have been much stronger. In the earlier, preliterary period, this influence was mainly one of style. The chroniclers of the 17th and 18th centuries often used biblical expressions, drew many of their similes from the Bible, and also quoted biblical maxims. Dimitrie Cantemir (1673–1723), the humanist prince of Moldavia, a brilliant linguist who became a member of the Berlin Academy of Sciences, made constant use of biblical quotations in his philosophical treatise, *Divanul sau gâlceava înțeleptului cu lŭmea* (1698).

Later Influences

Modern Romanian literature came into existence toward the middle of the 19th century, in the era of Romanian national resurgence. Ion Eliade Raˇdulescu (1802–1872), one of the first great literary figures in modern Romania, published a version of the Bible, translated *Byron's *Hebrew Melodies* (in 1834), and

Tasso's *Jerusalem Delivered* (in 1847). He also wrote many religious, philosophical, and political commentaries on biblical texts (*Biblice*…, 1858). Following his example, other writers also turned to the Bible. They include G.G. Filipescu, who published a novel about the *Wandering Jew (1835); J.A. Vaillant, a French professor who settled in Romania, author of *Legenda lui Aman și Mardoheu* ("The Legend of Haman and Mordecai," 1868); and G. Gârbea, who wrote a dramatic poem about Job (1898). Job also inspired Nicolae Davidescu (1888–1954) to produce a verse play (1915), his other works including the poem *Judeea* (1927). Alexandru Macedonski (1854–1920) and Cincinat Pavelescu (1872–1934) collaborated in the tragedy *Saul* (1893), based on the Hebrew king's dramatic conflict with the prophet Samuel. Other works of note on biblical themes are *Eliezer* (1908), a biblical one-act play by Eugen Lovinescu (1881–1943), and reworkings of the Song of Songs by Corneliu Moldovanu (1908) and Marcel Romanescu (1925). The evocation of Divine majesty in the numerous psalms of Tudor Arghezi (1880–1967) elevated Romanian poetry to new artistic heights. The poems of George Călinescu (1899–1965) abound in references to biblical characters and incidents, as well as to the landscape and flora of Canaan, which he described in many poems of great artistry. Another eminent writer, Gala Galaction, was steeped in the Bible, which inspired his mystical prose and several biblical novels, including *Roxana* (1930).

Romanian-Jewish writers did not particularly distinguish themselves in the field of biblical literature. The Zionist poet Enric *Furtuna (1881–1965) wrote the dramatic poem *Abișag* (1963) and other biblical verse, while Camil *Baltazar (1902–1977) published *Biblice* ("Poems from the Bible," 1926), a collection notable for its sensual treatment of figures such as Ruth, Tamar, Esther, and the Shulammite. Two poets inspired by the Songs of Songş were Marcel Breslașu (1903–1966), whose *Cîntarea Cîntărilor* (1938) was staged as an oratorio, and Maria *Banuș.

The Image of the Jew

While Romanian writers presented a positive image of the Hebrews or Jews of Bible times, their treatment of the contemporary Jew was often less favorable and even undisguisedly hostile. In the words of Queen Elizabeth of Romania (1843–1916), known to literature as Carmen Sylva, "all draw from the Bible and persecute the people that gave it." The popular conception of the Jew originated in religious and other works translated from Greek, Latin, and Church Slavonic and disseminated from the second half of the 18th century. In popular tales and anecdotes the Jew was said to be damned for having rejected the Christian savior, and Romanian folklore added antisemitism to theological antipathies by describing Jews as agents of the Devil, covetous of Christian blood, money-grubbing, cowardly, and villainous. Jewish intelligence and inventiveness were acknowledged with an invariable sneer. The roots of Romanian antisemitism were basically those found elsewhere: religious prejudice and intolerance, economic competition, and chauvinistic xenophobia. Only the pretexts varied according to circumstance. Thus it was alleged that the "invasion of Russian and Polish Jews would place Romanian commerce in their hands"; there was resentment of Jewish appeals to Western countries for the ending of persecution; and indignation over the insistence of these nations on the extension of civil and political liberties to the Jews of Romania following the peace treaties of 1878 and 1919. Such "injustices" intensified native antisemitism, which was especially fostered by certain writers. Ironically enough, the most violent anti-Jewish fanatics were often those whose own ethnic origin was least reliably Romanian.

THE CLASSIC STEREOTYPE. For literary antisemites the Jew was responsible for all the ills of the Romanian people. In the case of the eminent nationalist writer Vasile Alecsandri (1821–1890), the titles of some of his plays are significant – *Lipitorile satelor* ("The Village Leeches"), *Herşcu Boccegiul* ("Hershel the Peddler"), and *Năvălirea Jidanilor* ("The Invasion of the Yids"). The poet Mihail Eminescu (1850–1889) viciously attacked the Jews' "anti-national" character; the scholarly Bogdan Petriceicu Hașdeu (1838–1907), who was himself of partly Jewish descent, considered Jews a plague within society; and Costache Negruzzi (1808–1868) even resented their alleged dislike of nature and flowers.

Both before and after World War I the Romanian intelligentsia was poisoned by such anti-Jewish sentiments. Three university professors – A.C. Cuza (1857–1946), Bogdan-Duică (1865–1934), and Nicolae Iorga (1871–1940) – also spread the idea that the Jews of Romania were descendants of the *Khazars, who had once dominated parts of Eastern Europe.

During the 1930s, under the growing influence of Nazism, Romanian antisemitic movements (which included many students) increased their strength. Other writers who succumbed to the doctrines of racism included Nael Ionescu (1890–1940), once a friend of the Jews, and Nicolae Davidescu, the poet steeped in the Song of Songs, who became the antisemitic theoretician of *Vremea*, a review which had formerly published many works by Jewish writers. Ion Alexandru Brătescu-Voinești (1868–1946), who abandoned pacifism for xenophobic nationalism, concluded that all Jewish writings were pornographic and aimed at the destruction of family life. The poet Octavian Goga (1881–1938), who was also prime minister of Romania, injected his anti-Jewish venom into *Mustul care fierbe* ("The Boiling Must," 1927), and another writer, Nichifor Crainic (1889–1972), who was Romania's minister of propaganda during World War II, expressed his hatred of the Jews in religious terms as editor of the review *Gândirea* (1926–44). In his novel *1907* (1937), Cezar Petrescu (1892–1961) blamed the Jews for the peasants' rebellion of that year, while another novelist, Ionel Teodoreanu (1897–1954), created amoral Jews who speak a mutilated Romanian. Even the Socialist Panait Istrati (1884–1935), a disciple of the humanitarian Romain Rolland, who wrote mainly in French, predicted the downfall of the Jews because of their supposed identification with the Communism he had rejected.

OBJECTIVE ATTITUDES. Literary societies did not, however, adopt antisemitism as a policy. Although *Semănătorul*, the review of Nicolae Iorga, received contributions from many antisemites, it remained impartial. So did *Viata Românească*, which reflected the popular-democratic views of writers such as Constantin Stere (1865–1936), Mihail Sadoveanu (1880–1961), and G. Ibraileanu (1861–1936). Political issues were also excluded from *Flacăra, Convorbiri literare, Viața Nouă*, and *Sburătorul Literar*, which were only concerned with aesthetic problems.

Among Romanian writers who showed understanding for the Jew's position were the democratic historian Nicolae Bălcescu (1819–1852), Alexandru Odobescu (1834–1895), and the revolutionary hero Aleco Russo (1819–1859), who wrote in his *Cugetări* ("Reflections," 1856) that "it is not wise to oppress the Children of Israel." *Junimea*, the literary society that created the "New Direction" in modern Romanian literature, did not espouse antisemitism, although most of its members toed the anti-Jewish line. This was due to the firm control of the founder, Titu Liviu Maiorescu (1840–1917), a conservative prime minister and Romania's first great literary critic. He was supported by Petre P. Carp (1837–1918), a translator of Shakespeare, who admired Jewish talent. Ion Luca Caragiale (1852–1912), who scorned antisemitism as a bestial aberration, was the first great Romanian writer to present a Jew's state of mind in a work of literary importance. His masterly short novel, *O făclie de Paști* ("An Easter Candle," 1889), is a psychological study of a Jewish innkeeper, Leiba Zibal, terrorized by his would-be murderer one Easter night.

SYMPATHETIC PORTRAYALS. The outstanding prose writer Mihail Sadoveanu (1880–1961), who was a prominent figure in Romanian cultural life, actively opposed the antisemites. His attitude led to the burning of his works by bands of hooligans who nicknamed him "Jidoveanu" (i.e., the Jew-lover, Sadoveanu). Whole passages of his works deal with the life of Jews whom he had come to know in his native townlet. One of his best stories, "Haia Sanis" (1909), explores the painful state of mind of a Jewish girl in love with a gentile.

Liviu Rebreanu (1885–1944), one of the great Romanian novelists, published the impressive novella *Ițic Strul dezertor* ("Itzik Shtrul the Deserter," 1921), the tale of a Jewish soldier who is driven to commit suicide when his superior officer involves him in a fictitious desertion. However, in 1938, Rebreanu succumbed to Fascist influence and published the novel, *Gorila* ("The Gorilla"), in which one character presents antisemitic prejudice in a very favorable light. On the other hand, the religious writer Gala Galaction published many books and articles about Judaism and in support of Zionism and often described poverty-stricken Jews, endowing them with moral distinction. In his best novel, *Papucii lui Mahmud* ("Mohammed's Slippers," 1932), Galaction was optimistic about the peaceful coexistence in the future of Christians, Muslims, and Jews. This was also the case with Victor Ion Popa (1895–1946) in his play, *Take, Ianke, și Kadír* (1933), Another leading opponent of antisemitism was the critic Eugen Lovinescu, leader of the review and literary group entitled *Sburătorul literar.* Many distinguished Jewish writers received their literary training under this exponent of French culture and modernism.

A particularly courageous stand was taken by George Călinescu (1899–1965), one of the most eminent of modern Romanian writers. In 1939, when antisemitism was reaching its peak, he expressed his opposition in a famous article entitled "Evreii" ("The Jews"), which appeared in his Jassy review, *Jurnalul literar*. Călinescu's vast *Istorie a Literaturii Roâmne* ("History of Romanian Literature," 1941) included details of all the Jewish writers officially removed from the annals of Romanian literature by the fascist Antonescu regime and dealt with their works in an objective spirit. His attitude led to violent demonstrations by antisemitic students and to the public burning of his books. In 1941 a notorious anti-Jewish journalist, Pamfil Şeicaru, denounced his opus as "a national scandal." The Jewish characters in Călinescu's fiction – novels such as *Enigma Otiliei* ("Otilia's Enigma," 1938) and *Scrinul negru* ("The Black Chest," 1960) – have the virtues and vices of people despised and rejected by their host society.

Treatment by Jewish Writers

Apart from their output of polemics against antisemitism, Romania's Jewish writers were also concerned with projecting a favorable image of Jews and Jewish life in works of fiction. Among the poets, Avram Axelrad and Alexandru Dominic stressed the melancholy situation of their people in an alien and hostile environment, a theme especially elaborated by Adolf Rodion *Steuerman, whose volume of collected Jewish verse, *Spini* ("Thorns," 1915), highlighted the spiritual conflicts of the Jewish intellectual. The question of Jewish survival assumed major importance in prose. The most significant work by Moïse *Roman-Ronetti was his play *Manasse* (1900), which dealt with the conflict between the old and the new Jewish generations and between Jews and gentiles. Its performance gave rise to antisemitic student disorders, and moved Adrian Verea to write a sequel to Roman-Ronetti's drama (1915). Henric *Sanielevici used his literary and scientific gifts to combat Nazi race theories with *In slujba Satanei* ("In the Service of the Devil," 1930–35); while Isac Iacovitz *Ludo, a veteran Jewish publicist who made his peace with the Communists after World War II, fiercely satirized leading Romanian antisemites and demolished their portrayal of Jewish types. A positive image was presented by the novelists Ion *Călugăru, whose works constitute a vast fresco of Romanian Jewry, and Isac *Peltz, who wrote pioneering and successful novels about Jewish ghetto life in Bucharest. A few of the latter's works, such as *Calea Vacaresti* (1933) and *Foc în Hanul cu Tei* ("Fire at the Khan Inn," 1934), went through several editions. *De două mii de ani* ("For the Past 2,000 Years," 1934), by Mihail *Sebastian, was a moving description of a Jewish intellectual's antisemitic ordeals and spiritual torment. Although its hero is unable to accept either Zionism or Communism, the book contains some excellent description of pre-World War II Jewish life in Romania. A rare instance of Jewish self-hatred was the novelist Ury Benador (1895–1971), whose Marxist convictions led him to portray Romanian Jewry, in works written after the Holocaust, in a generally hostile manner. On the other hand, Iulia Soare, a writer of the postwar generation, produced an objective study of a middle-class Jewish family during the second decade of the 20th century.

Jewish Contribution to Romanian Literature

In so culturally backward a land as Romania, Jews naturally played an important literary role from the late 19th century, despite the prejudices and restrictions that operated against them. In philology, folklore, and bibliography they were acknowledged pioneers, and many Romanian Jews who later gained distinction as poets, playwrights, and novelists, began their career in journalism. By common admission, Romanian philology was largely the creation of Jewish scholars. Heinrich *Tiktin and Lazăr *Săineanu (L. Săinéan) were experts of international renown, the former producing the first – and to date the most scientific – Romanian grammar, the latter publishing the first comprehensive dictionary of the Romanian language. Denied Romanian citizenship, Tiktin moved to Berlin and Săinéanu to Paris, both men broadening their work to include general philological research. I.A. Candrea Hecht (1872–1950) was also a lexicographer of the first rank. In folklore two outstanding figures were Moses Gaster and Moses *Schwarzfeld. Gaster's many learned works include the pioneering *Literatura populară română* (1883) and *Chrestomația română* (1891). A staunch Jewish nationalist, he antagonized the Romanian government with his protests against antisemitism and in 1885 was expelled and settled in England. E. Schwarzfeld, an eminent historian of Romanian Jewry, was also expelled and settled in Paris. Two other great philologists and linguists were A. Grauer (Brauer; 1900–?) and J. Byck (1897–1964).

LITERARY PIONEERS. Curiously enough, the first significant Jewish contribution to Romanian literature was made by a semiliterate peddler, Moïse *Cilibi (Ephraim Moses b. Sender), whose annual books of folk wisdom, dictated to the printer, enjoyed an extraordinary success from 1858 until his death. Although objective critics stressed the important role of emerging Jewish writers as apostles of avant-garde ideas and techniques, those less sympathetic to Jewish literary aspirations could always find fault with their work. Some claimed that the Jews dealt with Romanian national themes that they could not possibly appreciate, while others maintained that they unjustifiably neglected specifically Jewish questions. While it is undeniable that many Romanian-Jewish writers showed greater concern for Romanian than for Jewish issues, it is worth recalling that Roman-Ronetti's dramatic masterpiece, *Manasse*, which did investigate the problems of Romanian Jewry, was driven off the stage of the Romanian National Theater by antisemitic nationalist demonstrators. During the years preceding World War I, when Titu Maiorescu's aesthetic theories were dominant, Constantin *Gherea-Dobrogeanu, a literary critic and Socialist writer, introduced his own social and materialist conception of art, inaugurating a new school of scientific criticism. The same period saw the emergence of other Jewish literary scholars and critics, notably Ion Trivale, whose brilliant career was cut short by World War I, and Henric Sanielevici, one of Romania's most erudite and incisive polemical critics.

POETS. Among creative writers, Barbu *Nemțeanu introduced a Heinesque note into the poetry of his time, while D. Iacobescu ushered in French symbolism. The few poems printed at that time by Tristan *Tzara and his review, *Simbolul*, already foreshadowed the future rebel and creator of Dadaism; while the verse of Felix *Aderca proclaimed the poetic innovator, though not the great novelist that he was to become between the two world wars. Another remarkable poet of the time was Eugen *Relgis who later inaugurated the intellectual current of humanitarianism in Romania. Other leading poets were Leon Feraru, Enric Furtună, A. Toma, and the versatile Samson Lazar, who settled in Israel. Jewish suffering especially preoccupied two other poets, Avram Axelrad and Adolf Rodion Steuerman.

Immediately after World War I, the economic prosperity which followed Romania's annexation of Transylvania, Bukovina, and Bessarabia was accompanied by an unusual literary boom. The euphoria of a hard-won emancipation also contributed to the increasing activity of Jewish writers. Benjamin *Fondane, known in his earlier Romanian years as Beniamin (Wechsler) Fundoianu, wrote poems about the countryside, but his works were suffused with Jewish inspiration. Even after his emigration to France in 1923, Fondane occasionally published Romanian verse. The collection *Privelişti* ("Landscapes"), one section of which describes life in the Moldavian *shtetl*, was published in 1930. The new lyrical themes and imagery introduced by Camil Baltazar during the 1920s led him to be acknowledged as one of the most gifted poets of his time. He was closely followed by Ilarie *Voronca, whose review, *75 HP*, inaugurated the new integralist trend in 1924. Another avant-garde poet was Saşa *Pană (1902–1981); his highly nonconformist verse appeared in the review *Unu*, whose guiding spirit he was during the years 1928–32. Marcel Breslaşu wrote biblical poetry, while Maria Banuş with her verse collection *Tara fetelor* ("The Maidens' Land," 1937) revealed herself to be Romania's outstanding poetess. By contrast, a forerunner of the absurd in poetry was Alexandru Robot (Alter Rotman, 1916–1943). Classical verse was published during the 1920s and 1930s by Andrei Tudor (1907–1959), and by Virgiliu Monda and Emil *Dorian, both of whom became better known as novelists, as well as by Leon Feraru and Alexandru Dominic, whose poem "Israel" (1920) was hailed by the critics as a masterpiece.

PLAYWRIGHTS AND NOVELISTS. Writers of the period between the world wars include the playwrights B. Luca and Adrian Verea, who also published verse. Isaia Răcăciuni (1900–?) wrote social novels such as *Mâl* ("Swamp," 1934) and *Dați-ni-l înapoi pe Isus* ("Give Us Back Jesus," 1936) and *Paradis uitat* ("Forgotten Paradise," 1937), as did Sergiu *Dan and Cella Serghi. Mihail Sebastian, one of the most prolific and versatile prose writers in Romania, wrote essays, criticism, novels, and plays. His drama *Steaua fără nume* ("The Nameless Star," 1943) was the only work by a Jew staged (albeit under an assumed name) during the era of Nazi persecution. With his novels and poems Marcel *Blecher was a pioneer of surrealism and existentialism, while Ion Călugăru and Isac Peltz portrayed Jewish life in Romania's towns and villages. Abraham Leib *Zissu, a leading Zionist, wrote novels and sketches exclusively on Jewish themes.

THE NAZI ERA AND ITS AFTERMATH. Although Jewish writers in Romania suffered less from the Nazi "Final Solution" than Jews in most other lands under Hitler's domination, their works were suppressed and they had to spend the war years (1941–44) in hiding or anonymous seclusion. The restrictive atmosphere so prevalent in the country already led many Jewish writers to emigrate after World War I and a remarkable number of talented Jewish writers made their way to France, notably Benjamin Fondane, Isidore Isou (1925–), Adolphe Orna (1882–1925), Claude Sernet (1902–1968), Tristan Tzara, and Ilarie Voronca. Fondane, who was murdered in the Birkenau death camp, was the most consciously Jewish among them. Two other Romanian-Jewish writers who emigrated to France were the talented novelist Sorana *Gurian and the critic Aureliu Weiss. Enric Furtună ended his life in Brazil and Eugen Relgis settled in Montevideo in 1947. Three who moved to Israel were Samson Lazar, A.L. Zissu, and the poet Mayer *Rudich (1913–), who resumed his literary and journalistic career in Tel Aviv in 1959.

Several Jewish writers who had risen to eminence before World War II, including Baltazar, Ludo, and Peltz, dutifully conformed to the requirements of Romania's postwar Communist regime. Ludo's attacks on the former royal family and the hostile accounts of the Jewish bourgeoisie published by Ury Benador were devoid of literary value. On the other hand, Maria Banuş and Marcel Breslaşu, though faithful to the party line, maintained a higher ethical and artistic standard in their works, as did Samuel Gregore with his fantastic novel *Dincolo* ("Beyond," 1944). The new writers of the post-World War II era did not, in general, pay much attention to Jewish questions. Many adopted Romanian names, obscuring their Jewish origin. As authors and critics, they made an important contribution to the development of neo-realistic literature. Among the literary historians and critics who held leading posts on the editorial boards of various reviews were Vera Câlin, Paul (Cohn) Cornea (1924–), Ovid Crohmălniceanu, Samuil (Druckman) Damian (1930–), B. (Bernstein) Elvin (1927–), Silvian Iosifescu, Mihail Petroveanu (1923–), Lucian (Leibovici) Raicu (1934–), Nicolae Tertulian, and Henri Zalis (1932–). Elvin published books on Sebastian (1956), Anatole France (1957), and Chekhov (1961) and studies of Ionesco and Camus; Petroveanu in his *Studii literare* (1966) wrote on Fondane; while Zalis wrote on Flaubert (1968). In drama, Aurel *Baranga (1913–1979), Alexandru Mirodan, and Dorel Dorian wrote plays that were highly praised and often performed on the Romanian stage.

Representative prose writers of the period were Radu Cosaşu, Sorana Gurian, Norman Manea (1936–), Ieronim Şerbu, Cella Serghi, Alexandru Sever, Iulia Soare, and Vladimir Colin (1921–1991), a state prize winner, whose stories for children and adolescents were widely appreciated. When the Communist regime relaxed its stringent demands in the 1960s, several Romanian-Jewish poets were able to tackle themes about human relationships with skill and sensitivity. Such writers included Veronica *Porumbacu, Nina Cassian, George Toma Maiorescu, Petre Solomon (1923–1991), Stefan Jures (1931–), and Florin Mugur, who was awarded an international poetry prize at Sarajevo, Yugoslavia, in 1969.

Literature of the Holocaust

In Romania, as in other lands once under Nazi control, a special literature arose reflecting the era of the European Holocaust. Non-Jewish novelists who dealt with this theme included Eusebiu Camilar (1910–1965), who described the mass murder of Jews in *Negura* (1949), and George Calinescu, whose *Scrinul Negru* (1960) dealt with Jewish deportation to and life in the camps of Transnistria. The latter work also contains a powerful description of the massacre of the Jews from Odessa. After their visits to former death camps in Poland, George Bogza (1908–1993) and Eugen Jebeleanu (1911–1991) wrote moving poems about the Nazi atrocities, while Ion Grigorescu's novel, *Obsesia* ("Obsession," 1960), concludes with the suggestion that a new Wailing Wall be erected at Auschwitz.

The Holocaust was the one Jewish theme that inspired a significant number of Jewish writers in postwar Romania. Documentary works were published by Filip Brunea-Fox (1898–1977) who disclosed details of the Bucharest pogrom organized by Romanian Nazi legionaries in his *Oraşul Măcelului* ("City of Slaughter," 1944); by M. Rudich in *La braț cu moartea* ("Hand in Hand with Death," 1945), which described the deportations from Bukovina and Bessarabia; and by Aurel Baranga, who collected data on the most significant acts of terror perpetrated by Romania Nazis in *Ninge peste Ucraina* ("Snow falls over the Ukraine," 1945^1, 1946^2). Other Jewish writers wrote novels and shorter prose works on Nazi war crimes. Emil Dorian's novel *Otrava* ("Poison," 1946) described the early antisemitic outbreaks in Bucharest; while Sergiu Dan in *Unde începe noaptea* ("Where the Night Begins," 1945) and *Roza şi ceilalți* ("Rosa and the Others," 1947), Ieronim Serbu in *Nunta în stepă* ("Wedding on the Steppe," 1955), and Isac Peltz in *Israel îns-îngerat* ("Bloodstained Israel," 1946) reach a climax with detailed descriptions of life in the

Transnistrian camps. Matei Gall's novel *Masacrul* (1957) described the murder of a group of Jewish communists by an SS unit and Arnold Dagani's diary of the deportation, *Groapa este în livada de vişini* (1947), was one of the most impressive accounts of its type. Another survivor, Oliver Lustig, wrote two novels on his experiences in Auschwitz, while Maria Arsene (Arthur Leibowici, 1909–1975) published various works about the Nazi terror in Romania, including the novels *Hotel Ambasador* (1967) and *Los* (1968). Other works on the Holocaust were written by Cella Serghi, G.T. Maiorescu, and Alexandru Jar (1912–1988), whose novel, *Trădarea lunii* ("The Moon's Treason," 1968), is set in Nazi-occupied Vilna. Finally, poems on Jewish suffering at the hands of the Nazis were written by Camil Baltazar, Maria Banuş, Saşa Pană, Veronica Porumbacu, and Mayer Rudich.

Consciously or unconsciously, Jewish writers in Romania revealed their spiritual heritage in such characteristics as their interest in research, their spirit of innovation, their predilection for philosophical reflection, and their ability to grasp the torments of the human soul. Even their inclination toward social revolt has its ethical roots in the Bible. Although they may have drifted far from religious tradition, only a very few Romanian-Jewish writers advocated total assimilation. Most of the non-Zionists merely submerged themselves in the themes and ideals of their era without renouncing their ties with the Jewish people. This is also true of the more recent writers whose lack of specifically Jewish appeal is attributable to the limitations imposed by Romania's Marxist theoreticians rather than to their own free choice and mode of expression. It is significant that, after 1967, Romania's friendly relations with Israel – unique among communist states of Eastern Europe – brought about an upsurge of Jewish consciousness among the country's younger writers.

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[Dora Litani-Littman]

ROMANIN, SAMUELE (1808–1861), Italian historian. Born in Trieste, Romanin went to live in Venice at age 12, living there for the rest of his life. He became famous as the author of *La Storia dei Popoli Europei dalla Decadenza dell'Impero Romano*, and especially *Storia Documentata di Venezia*, a work in 10 volumes written between 1853 and 1861.

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[Massimo Longo Adorno (2nd ed.)]

ROMANIN JACUR, LEONE (1867–1928), Italian politician. He was a leading light of Paduan Jewry. Romanin Jacur was senator of the Kingdom of Italy from 1880 to 1913. He became famous for the attention he paid to the issues related to the modernization of the countryside. He opposed Zionism and on the occasion of Theodor Herzl's visit to Italy refused to arrange for him an audience with Pope Pius X, which had been asked for by Felice Ravenna. Romanin Jacur was on good terms of friendship with Pius X dating back to the times when the future pope was a parish priest in the Padua countryside. Romanin Jacur also held the office of minister of public works from 1894 to 1896 and was undersecretary at the Ministry of the Interior in 1899.

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[Massimo Longo Adorno (2nd ed.)]

ROMANIOTS. The name Romaniots is employed to define the original Jewish population of the territories of the Byzantine Empire, Constantinople, the Balkans, and Asia Minor, and their descendants in all matters relating to their customs, language, and tradition. The family names of the Romaniots were Greek, their synagogues were known by Greek names, and they were considerably influenced by Greek culture and especially the Greek language, which had also been adopted in their synagogue services. In 1547 a translation of the Torah in Greek and Ladino was published in Constantinople. The Greek translation was printed in square characters (see *Judeo-Greek). The customs and special versions of the Romaniots' prayers were collected in the "*Maḥzor Romania*" which includes the New Moon prayer given in Judeo-Greek. For many years, they read the Book of Jonah on the Day of Atonement in Hebrew and in Greek. It was also the custom to read Ruth, Lamentations, the tractate *Avot*, and a commentary to the Song of Songs in Greek. From the 16th century, the Romaniots were on the defensive culturally and socially against the waves of immigrants who arrived from the European countries, notably from *Spain and *Portugal, and who gradually imposed their way of life and customs on the existing population. The number of their synagogues decreased and their Greek dialect became limited to the Greek Jews in the towns of Kastoria, Ioannina, and Chalcis and to the *Karaites of the Haskoy district of Constantinople. The synagogue of the "Gregos Community" continued to exist in Constantinople until 1660, that of *Sofia until 1898, and that of *Adrianople until it was burnt down in 1905. Among the customs and traditions of the Romaniots may be mentioned the seven wedding blessings that are recited at the betrothal (*erusin*) ceremony, whereas the usual custom is to recite it at the actual marriage ceremony. Originally, the husband did not inherit from the wife but later the marriage contract was amended according to which the husband shared the wife's inheritance with her offspring.

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[Simon Marcus]

ROMAN LITERATURE. Although there is information concerning the Jews in Rome as early as 139 B.C.E., the first Latin writers to mention the Jews or Judaism in their writings are *Cicero and Varro, who lived at the end of the republic. It is significant that Cicero does not mention the Jews or Judaism in his philosophical works, but only in his orations – in his speech in defense of Flaccus (*Pro Flacco*) of 59 B.C.E., and in his *De Provinciis Consularibus* of 56 B.C.E. – in both instances his remarks are derogatory. The Jewish religion he defines as a *superstitio*, and the Jews themselves are described as a people born to slavery, but there is no need to draw far-reaching conclusions from his polemical thrusts since they arose from the fact that the Jews were to be found in the opposite camp from the one Cicero was representing. In similar situations, other nations received no more sympathetic treatment at the hands of the great orator. The stereotyped antisemitic complaints of the Hellenistic period are, at any rate, not mentioned by him. In contrast to Cicero, Varro, the foremost scholar in the period of the late republic, treats the Jewish way of life with respect. He praises Jewish religious worship which opposed all pictorial and plastic representation, and compares it with the early Roman practice which similarly rejected them in their worship of the gods.

The growth of the Jewish population in Rome in the time of Augustus is reflected in the mainstream of contemporary Roman literature. The poet Tibullus alludes to the Jewish Sabbath; Horace refers to the missionary fervor of the Jews and to their gullibility; the historian Livy speaks of the Temple of the Jews in Jerusalem and stresses that the worship therein is unique in that it contains no representation or any idol whatsoever of the godhead. Ovid was familiar with the Jewish Sabbath, and Augustus himself mentions it in a letter to Tiberius, although – like many of the Greeks and Romans of those days – he was under the impression that it was customary for the Jews to fast on the Sabbath.

The longest description of Judaism extant from the writers of the age of Augustus is that found in the epitome of *Pompeius Trogus' "Universal History." He relates the history of the Jews, the origin of their religion and their commonwealth, as well as a description of the physical properties of their land, in his description of the Seleucid Empire. He deals with the origin of the nation at length, but only cursorily with its later history. The treaty between Judea and Rome (161 B.C.E.) is considered to have been a decisive step toward the achievement of independence from the Seleucid yoke on the part of the Jews. His description of the beginnings of the Jewish people is a potpourri of information gleaned from the Bible, from a Damascene source, and from the well-known Greco-Egyptian tradition concerning their origin. Trogus, without doubt, utilized sources written in Greek.

Roman literature of the Augustan age does not yet contain ideological antisemitism. This enmity begins to develop somewhat later, and *Seneca would seem to be its first representative. Other protagonists are such famous writers as Quintilian, *Tacitus and *Juvenal. They belong to the period (the end of the first and beginning of the second centuries C.E.) in which the attraction toward Judaism among the gentiles reached its height. At this time, there were many Romans – both men and women – who accepted to a greater or a lesser extent the practices and the beliefs of Judaism. In the eyes of many representatives of the Roman aristocracy, Judaism and its offshoot, Christianity, were undermining the very foundations of Roman society. Most of the Roman writers who attacked Judaism also expressed dissatisfaction with the spread of the Eastern cults and their penetration into Roman society.

Seneca looked upon the Jews as a wicked people, whose customs had spread throughout the entire world and thus "turned the vanquished into the vanquishers." He inveighs against the Jewish Sabbath and against the lighting of lights in honor of the godhead on the Sabbath day, since the gods are in no need of this light. Seneca's younger contemporary, the satirist Persius, saw the practices of Judaism as one of the expressions of the superstition reflected in other rites originating from the East, such as those in Phrygia and in Egypt.

A frontal attack upon Judaism and those who believe in it, and particularly upon its followers and sympathizers among the Romans, may be found in Tacitus' famous description of the Jews at the beginning of Book 5 of his *Historiae*. Tacitus there brings six different explanations concerning the origin of the Jews, but relates at inordinate length the tradition which originated in the rabidly antisemitic Hellenistic circles in Egypt (see *Greek Literature, Ancient). Tacitus does not hide his extremely negative attitude toward Judaism. He describes the Jews as outstanding in their hatred of other peoples while at the same time equally notable for their solidarity among themselves. Those who become proselytes learn the ways of the Jews and become similarly disdainful of the gods and indifferent to the welfare of their former country and families. Tacitus notes the Jewish conception of monotheism, and its opposition to the fashioning of any statue or pictorial representation of God, but does not indicate his reaction to this. He is familiar with the identification of the Jewish religion with the Dionysic rites but rejects it out of hand. Tacitus' geographical description contains nothing very specific and concentrates upon a description of the Dead Sea, its balsam and bitumen. The historical description ignores the early period of independence and pictures the Jews as a people who have usually been subject to foreign domination. According to Tacitus, Antiochus was prevented from extirpating the Jewish superstition because of his involvement in a war with Parthia, and it was the international political constellation which was instrumental in enabling the Jews to found their own polity.

This was of a priestly nature and it nurtured their superstition. He concludes that Judea eventually acquired all the negative characteristics of an Oriental monarchy. However, it should be noted that in his description of Roman rule in Judea, Tacitus does not attribute a particularly rebellious character to the Jews; he blames corrupt Roman procurators, such as Felix and Florus, for the outbreak of the Jewish War (66–70 C.E.), rather than Jewish insubordination.

Tacitus' antipathy – like that of his contemporary, Juvenal – does not confine itself to Judaism but rather encompasses other Eastern religions as well, such as that of Egypt. What does particularly disturb him is the success of the proselytizing movement, which to his eyes was a serious menace to Roman society. He looked upon the threat to the Roman social fabric posed by Jewish religious propaganda as being incomparably more serious than the political or military danger posed by Jewish arms. A similar attitude toward Jews and Judaism is reflected in the works of the Roman satirist Juvenal. In his satires is reflected the impression which the Jewish beggars in Rome made upon him, but they also include the most impressive description found anywhere in Roman literature of the "downward path" toward Judaism taken by the Roman populace, which began with the observance of the Sabbath on the part of the father and ended with the complete proselytizing of the son. The events of Trajan and Hadrian's reigns and the widespread diffusion of Christianity weakened both the proselytizing movement and the sympathy for Judaism. Hence Jewish religious propaganda ceased to be a burning issue, anti-Christian polemic taking its place. Nevertheless, Roman writers still continued to take an interest in Judaism. Some of them persisted in the anti-Jewish attitude of the preceding period, but a more moderate approach can also be discerned. Disdain for Judaism is clearly the stand of the African-born Latin writer Apuleius (d. 160 C.E.), in contrast to the respect which he shows toward other Eastern religions, particularly the Egyptian rites in honor of Isis.

A negative attitude toward the figure of the Jew as such, as well as echoes of Seneca's approach, are also reflected in the works of the representative of the pagan Roman aristocracy of the early fifth century C.E., *Rutilius Namatianus. However, in the *Historia Augusta*, the reaction to the Jewish phenomenon is quite different. This is a historiographical work produced in the Roman aristocratic circles of the very end of the classical period. The ideal emperor described therein – Alexander Severus – is represented as treating the patriarch Abraham with respect and positively emphasizing Jewish sayings and customs. For further details, see the respective individual articles.

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[Menahem Stern]

ROMANO, JUDAH BEN MOSES BEN DANIEL (It. **Leone de Ser Daniel**; 14th century), Italian philosopher and translator. Judah's contemporary, Immanuel of *Rome, wrote a poem and a composition in rhymed prose in his honor (*Maḥbarot*, vol. 1 (1957), no. 12, pp. 217ff.), and also praised him elsewhere in his *maqāmāt* and his biblical commentaries. According to information contained in manuscripts (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Cod. Héb. 1079, and Budapest, Kaufmann Ms. 281), Judah prepared translations for Robert II of Anjou, king of Naples, though this is not altogether certain. Moses *Rieti, who lived in the 15th century, reports that the king studied the Bible in the original Hebrew under Judah's guidance. Judah took pains to spread a knowledge of philosophy among the Jews, and to acquaint them in particular with the works of Christian scholars. He was the first to compare the language of Isaiah with that of Cicero. The Latin works, some of which were translations of Arabic originals, were translated by him into Hebrew for the purpose of making them known to the Jews.

As far as is known, they include the following: Pseudo – Aristotle's *Liber de causis* (*Sefer ha-Illot*; in some manuscripts also entitled *Ha-Tov ha-Gamur* or *Pirkei ha-Elohut*); Averroes' *De substantia orbis* (*Ma'amar be-Eẓem ha-Shamayim*); Thomas Aquinas' *De ideologia* (*Ma'amar ha-Hemshelim*); the treatise ascribed to Boethius, *De unitate et uno* (*Ma'amar ha-Eḥad ve-ha-Aḥdut*); some shorter works of Albertus Magnus, Thomas Aquinas, Aegidius Colonna, Alexander of Alexandria and Angelo of Camerino. Judah often added his own observations and comments to his translations. He also wrote:

(1) a philosophical commentary on the story of creation in Genesis;

(2) explanatory notes on the *Kaddish* and *Kedushah*;

(3) an introduction to the prophetical books, written in a philosophic vein;

(4) *Ben Porat*, a commentary on the first four chapters of Maimonides' *Sefer ha-Madda*;

(5) a Hebrew-Italian glossary of philosophic terms;

(6) explanatory notes to various passages in the Bible. It is possible that he also wrote a commentary on the *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut* of Perez ha-Kohen b. Isaac. Except for some fragments, none of Judah's translations or original works has been published.

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[Umberto (Moses David) Cassuto]

ROMANO, MARCO (1872–1942), Bulgarian Zionist leader and lawyer. Born in Plovdiv (Philippopolis), he participated in the first Zionist convention in Plovdiv (1898) and contested the *Alliance Israélite Universelle concerning the Jewish national character of schools. The controversy resulted in the dismissal of teachers and their replacement by Hebrew teachers. Romano was the representative of Bulgaria's Jews at the Zionist Congresses, even when he lived in Italy. He established and edited the official Zionist weekly in Bulgaria, *Shofar,* which existed intermittently until 1940. In 1927 and 1938, Romano wrote several essays on the political problems of Zionism, Arab-Jewish relations, and the Mandatory government in Palestine (in French). He settled in Palestine in 1937.

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[Getzel Kressel]

ROMANO, SAMUEL (1906–1941), Yugoslav author, editor, and translator. Born in Sarajevo and raised in an observant Sephardi family, Romano studied at the Hochschule fuer die Wissenschaft des Judentums in Berlin. He later became a teacher of religion in the high schools of Zagreb and remained active in the profession until his death, which coincided with the Nazi invasion of Yugoslavia. As a writer and educator, Romano did much to widen the scope of Jewish knowledge and culture, and much of his literary work is concerned with Jewish national themes.

In his youth, he wrote lyric poetry in Serbo-Croatian and hundreds of children's poems, some of which were collected in *Bajke, priče, slike Šemuela čike* ("Tales, Stories, and Pictures of Uncle Samuel," 1938). During the 1920s and 1930s, he also edited the Zagreb children's monthly *Ha-Aviv* and the literary supplement of the Jewish weekly *Židov*, in which many of his outstanding translations of modern Hebrew prose and poetry appeared. His translations of stories by Burla and Hameiri also appeared in book form. Romano was the first to collect and publish the proverbs of the Bosnian Sephardim, and his study of Solomon ibn Gabirol appeared in 1930. He also helped to translate an anthology of modern Hebrew literature by Rabinson and Bistritski (*Antologija novohebrejske književnosti*, 1933).

[Cvi Rotem]

ROMANOS MELODOS (first half of sixth century), hymnographer and composer. Romanos was born of a Jewish family in Emesa (the present Homs), Syria. It is not known whether his parents had already converted to Christianity or whether he did so himself in youth. He became a deacon at Berytus (Beirut) and during the reign of Anastasius I (491–518) went to Constantinople, where he joined the clergy of the Theotokos church. According to legend, he was inspired by a vision of Mary to write, and immediately sing, the work which became his most famous one – "the First Kontakion on the Nativity," thus also creating the poetical-musical form which was to remain the foremost vehicle of Byzantine liturgical poetry until the seventh century. The kontakion (essay) is a long strophic poem, often of 24 equistructural stanzas prefaced by an introduction, the *koukoullion* (lit. "hood"), which furnishes the refrain. About 85 of the hundreds of kontakia ascribed to Romanos have been proved to be by him but his authorship of the most famous hymn of the Byzantine Church, "*Akathistos,*" is still in doubt, nor can it be ascertained whether any of his original melodies have survived in manuscripts or in the traditional repertoire. Romanos' kontakia are elaborately constructed "poetical sermons" on subjects from the New and Old Testament, and were greatly influenced by the forms established by St. Ephraem the Syrian. Links with the contemporary rise of the synagogal *piyyut may well be possible but need further investigation. Romanos, considered by tradition and scholarship alike as the "father of Byzantine hymnology," was canonized and his feast day is October 1st.

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[Bathja Bayer]

ROMAN-RONETTI, MOÏSE (originally **Aharon Blumenfeld**; 1847–1908), Romanian author. Born in Oziran, East Galicia, Roman-Ronetti emigrated to Romania in 1867 (using the identity papers of a dead Romanian peasant named Roman). He earned his living by teaching Hebrew and Jewish studies, but in 1869 some friends helped him to get to Germany, where he was given a scholarship by the Alliance Israélite *Universelle. He studied a variety of subjects, including medicine and philology, before returning to Bucharest in 1874. For a time he was a schoolteacher and then became a translator at the foreign ministry, but in 1882 he left the city and became a farmer. During the peasants' revolt of 1907, he fled with his family to Jassy, where he learned that the peasants had burned his home and destroyed all his property. He never recovered from the shock. Roman-Ronetti had already begun publishing articles on Judaism and Talmud in Hebrew periodicals before he left Oziran, and he continued to contribute to such periodicals as *Ivri Anokhi* (Brody, Ukraine) and *Ha-Maggid* (Lyck, Poland), signing himself Moshe Roman.

His first published work in Romanian was a poem, "Russia," which appeared in the newspaper *Reforma* in 1877. In the same year he put out a pamphlet, *Domnul Kanitverstan* ("Mr. Kanitverstan"), attacking the notorious antisemitic writer V.A. Ureche, in whose school he had been a teacher. In 1898 he attacked the antisemitic policy of the government in the widely read newspaper *Adevarul*. Discussing Jewish survival, he opposed official Romanian policy toward the Jews who, in his opinion, were entitled to a national life of their own. These essays were later collected in *Două măsuri* ("Two Measures", 1898). Roman-Ronetti's most important work was the play *Manasse* (1900), which had a dual theme: the conflict between three generations of Jews and the antagonism between gentiles and Jews. Performed before the Romanian royal family, the play had a warm reception by leading critics, but it provoked serious unrest among antisemitic students, who were opposed to its production at the Bucharest National Theater. *Manasse* was translated into several languages, including Hebrew and Yiddish, and was staged in many countries. The English version is entitled *New Lamps for Old* (1913).

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[Dora Litani-Littman]

°**ROMANUS I LECAPENUS**, Byzantine emperor, 920–944, and co-ruler with *Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus. Romanus decreed that the Jews in the realm should be forcibly baptized, partly to demonstrate that, although he had come to the throne by usurpation, he was following the traditions set by the emperors *Basil I and *Leo VI. Romanus was also exhorted to take this step by the patriarch of Jerusalem in 932. The communities of Otranto and Oria in southern Italy were severely affected by the decree, although it is not mentioned in the Hebrew chronicle *Megillat *Aḥima'aẓ*. This may be because further consequences of Romanus' decree were prevented by the intervention of *Ḥisdai ibn Shaprut, to whom a letter addressed to Helena, wife of the co-emperor Constantine VII, has been attributed. The Arab chronicler al-Masudi states that in 943–944 Jews from all parts of the empire fled to Khazaria whose Jewish king "slew many of the uncircumcised" in a vain attempt to force Romanus to stop the persecution. The statement in the Vision of Daniel (see *Daniel, Vision of) relating that Romanus troubled the Jews by expulsion "not by destruction but mercifully" remains a problem for clarification.

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[Andrew Sharf]

ROMBERG, MORITZ HEINRICH (1795–1873), German neurologist, born in Meiningen. He made fundamental contributions in the field of neuropathology.

His *Lehrbuch der Nervenkrankheiten des Menschen* (1846) is considered to be the first systematic textbook in the field of neurology (English translation, *A Manual of the Nervous Diseases of Man*, 2 vols., 1853). He discovered a pathognomonic sign of locomotor ataxia: the inability of ataxics to stand firm or reach the destination of the intended movement when their eyes are closed (Rombergism). He described facial hemiatrophy or trophoneurosis called "Romberg's disease," and a complex of symptoms caused by dilatation of blood vessels in the splanchnic area. He was the first to describe ciliary neuralgia. In 1838 he became associate professor of internal medicine at the University of Berlin.

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[Suessmann Muntner]

ROMBERG, SIGMUND (1887–1951), composer. Born in Nagykanizsa, Hungary, Romberg began his musical career as a child prodigy. He was commissioned a lieutenant in the Austrian army, and then studied music in Vienna with Victor Heuberger. In 1909 he went to the United States and worked in various restaurant and theater orchestras. In 1911 he wrote his first successful song, "Memories," and then began to compose musical shows and operettas. Romberg composed over 70 operettas, in a tuneful vein indebted equally to the Viennese tradition and to Victor Herbert, the founder of the genre in the U.S. His best-known works include *The Student Prince* (1924), *The Desert Song* (1926), *The New Moon* (1928), and *Up in Central Park* (1945). Many of his operettas were filmed, and Romberg himself also adapted other composers' operettas and even operas for the film. He was president of the Song Writers' Protective Association. A fictionalized biography of Romberg, *Deep in My Heart*, was written by E. Arnold (1949).

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ROME, capital of Italy.

The Classical Period

THE MIDDLE AND LATE REPUBLIC. The earliest record of contact between Jews and the Roman Republic is the embassy sent by *Judah the Maccabee to Rome, headed by Eupolemos ben Joḥanan, and Jason ben Eleazar. The two ambassadors arrived in Rome, and there concluded an alliance with the Roman Republic (I Macc. 7:23–29, Jos., Ant. 12:417–19 and War 1:38). Successive Hasmoneans rulers renewed the treaty. Jonathan sent two envoys to Rome, Numenius son of Antiochos and Antipater son of Jason, to renew the treaty with Rome (I Macc. 12:1–23, and Jos., Ant. 13:164–170). Simon sent another embassy, perhaps headed by the same Numenios, envoy of Jonathan (I Macc. 14:24, Jos., Ant. 13:227). Also John Hyrcanus renewed the alliance in 132 B.C.E. (Jos., Ant. 13:259–66). In the treaty mentioned by Josephus, the Roman Republic recognized the conquests of Simon the Maccabee.

These treaties, however, are not evidence for the presence of Jews and even less so a Jewish community in Rome. However, Valerius Flaccus (I, 3:3) mentions that in 139 B.C.E. the praetor peregrinus G.C. Hispanus expelled Chaldeans, astrologers, and Jews who "attempted to contaminate the morals of the Romans with the worship of Jupiter Sabatius." It is thus clear that according to the Roman author there was a presence of Jews other than the Hasmonean envoys, trying to proselytize.

The first nucleus of a Jewish community probably consisted of Jews arriving at the end of the second century B.C.E. and early first century B.C.E. These were joined by the Jewish prisoners brought in 61 B.C.E. by Pompey after his campaigns in Judea against the Hasmonean state (Philo, *Legatio* 23:155). Aristobulos II, who precipitated the war against Pompey, embellished the Roman warlord's triumph (Plutarch, *Life of Pompey* XLV). When L.V. Flaccus, propraetor of the Province of Asia in 62 B.C.E., was accused of the embezzlement of funds, which included the half-shekel sent by the Jews of Asia to the Temple of Jerusalem, Cicero took his defense. In the oration (*Pro Flacco* 67–68), Cicero mentions that "Jews sent gold also from Italy" to Jerusalem and also notes the "aggressiveness of the Jewish mobs at political gathering." It is probable that by then there existed an organized Jewish community in Rome, which included Jews who had arrived before 63 B.C.E. and of course the Jewish prisoners of Pompey who had been freed. The legal status of the Jews living in Late Republican Rome thus varies from that of citizens, *liberti* (freed slaves possessing Roman citizenship), *peregrines* or foreigners, and of course slaves. The community was organized as a collegium, with a special status. Moreover this community regularly sent the half-shekel tax to the Temple in Jerusalem, like all the other organized Jewish communities in the Diaspora. Last but not least, it is possible that some of the Jews living in Rome took the side of the "*populares*," at least according to Cicero. It seems that Rome's Jews supported Julius Caesar. This is quite possible, as the latter restored in part the glories of the Hasmonean state tarnished by Pompey. In addition, Caesar exempted the Jewish synagogues from the laws he enacted to curb the power of the Roman collegia. It is no surprise then that according to Suetonius (*Julius Caesar* LXXXIV), Jews as a group mourned at Caesar's funeral in the middle of the Roman Forum.

The Early Empire

Only with Augustus is there clear-cut evidence of an organized Jewish community in Rome. By then Judea was firmly under the rule of King Herod, a staunch ally of Rome. Thus Augustus recognized the Jewish community as a *collegium licitum*, with privileges. Jews could send to Jerusalem both the half-shekel and the first fruits. The Roman state assisted poor Jews with the *annona* (free distribution of money or grain). If the distribution was made on the Sabbath, Jews were entitled to get the money or grain the next day (Philo, *Legatio* 156–58). Most of the Jews lived in an area across the Tiber, the Transtiberinum. At least three synagogues can be dated to the Augustan period, the congregations of the Augustienses, of the Agrippienses, and of the Herodians. Jews were quite conspicuous in Augustan Rome. The proselytizing activity of the Jews aroused the interest of the poet Horace (*Saturae* I, 4:140–43).

Under the rule of the Julio-Claudians (14 C.E.–68 C.E.) a number of incidents connected with the Jewish community in Rome are worthy of mention. Thus, under Tiberius, it seems that Sejanus, the *praefectus praetorius* tried to expel the Jews from Rome. The occasion arose when a Roman matrona, Fulvia, wife of the senator Saturninus (Jos., Ant. 18:81–84) was victimized by four Jews. Consequently Tiberius ordered the banishment of the Jews from Rome in 19 C.E., and around 4,000, were to be sent to Sardinia to fight against the bandits (Tacitus, *Annales* II, 85:4). However, it seems that Jews who were Roman citizens were not affected. Thus only foreign Jews were expelled. On the other hand the Jews who were sent to Sardinia had the status of freedmen. With Sejan's execution the ban was probably revoked. Under Claudius, Suetonius records that Claudius expelled "Judaeos impulsore Chraesto" (*Claudius* 25:4). This sentence had been the subject of various interpretations. It seems that only Judeo-Christians were expelled, or those Jews who took part in brawls with Christians. Josephus mentions that under Nero, as member of an embassy from Judea, he was graciously received by the empress Poppaea under the protection of the Jewish actor Alityros, a favorite of Nero (Josephus, *Life* 3).

The Jewish War of 66–70 C.E. deeply affected the Jewish community in Rome. First a great number of Jews arrived in Rome as prisoners. These prisoners, some of them later freed, significantly augmented the Jewish population of Rome. The Jewish leaders *Simon bar Giora and *John of Giscala walked in chains during Titus' triumph (Jos., *War* 7:118–57). Moreover, the gold from the Temple in Jerusalem was used to finance various building projects, the most important being the Flavian amphitheater known as the Colosseum. The new ruler, Vespasian, enacted a law that obliged the Jews living in the Roman Empire to pay a new poll tax, the *fiscus Judaicus*, to the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, instead of the half-shekel paid to the Temple in Jerusalem, now destroyed. The handling of the tax was administered by an official whose title was *procurator ad capitularia Judaeorum*. Vespasian did not enact any other discriminatory law against the Jews, nor did any anti-Jewish rioting occur following the war in Rome, as in other cities of the empire, most notably in Alexandria and Damascus. Domitian the last Flavian ruler, is remembered for his strict and harsh enforcement of the *fiscus Judaicus* (Suetonius, *Domitianus* 12:2). When the emperor discovered in 95 C.E. that Flavius Clemens and his wife, Flavia Domitilla, both members of the imperial family, were probably proselytes to Judaism, he had Flavius executed and his wife exiled. It is not clear if this was a measure directed against Jewish proselytism, or only an episode connected to members of the Imperial family. During Domitian's reign the poet Martial was active in Rome. In his poetry the degraded social condition of some of the Jews then living in Rome is reflected. Martial thus remarks that Jews are begging (XII, 57:13) and writes about his Jewish slave (VII, 35:3–4). It is in this period that the Jewish patriarch Rabban *Gamaliel II, with three scholars, *Joshua ben Ḥananiah, *Eleazar ben Azariah and Rabbi *Akiva visited Rome (Mish., Ma'as. Sh. 5:9, Er. 4:1; TB, Suk. 23a, 41b, Mak. 24a; Sifrei Deut. 43; TJ Er. 1, 19b, Suk. 2:4, 52d; Avot de Rabbi Nathan 1:14, 32a).

After Domitian's murder the new emperor, Cocceius Nerva, abolished all abuse connected with the enforcement of the Jewish tax. Coins bearing the legend *Calumnia Judaica sublata* were minted. Trajan, although he repressed a revolt in Judea, and in the last year of his rule had to face the huge Diaspora revolt of Cyrenaica, Cyprus, and Egypt, did not modify the legal situation of the Jews living in Rome. On the contrary he appears in a positive light as the protagonist of various Midrashim. Hadrian, Trajan's successor, enacted around 131 C.E. a law banning circumcision. Although there is no other data, it is probable that this law also affected the Jewish community living in Rome. During the reigns of Trajan and Hadrian the Roman poet Juvenal was active. His *saturae* reflects the prejudices of the Romans towards the Jews. Thus once again Juvenal gives a picture of Jewish beggars camping near the Egeria grove (3:12–16), asking for alms near synagogues (3:296), or telling fortunes to passersby (6:542–47). Juvenal also despises the Roman proselytes who fear the Sabbath, represented as a day of idleness (14:96–106). However, Juvenal's poetry does not reflect any special anti-Jewish feeling. Like most Romans, Juvenal despised foreigners. His invectives against other ethnic groups coming from the provinces, like Egyptians and Orientals, are even stronger than those against Jews.

THE LATE EMPIRE. For Late Antiquity, classic texts are supplemented by epigraphic and archaeological evidence. Antoninus Pius, the first ruler of the Antonine dynasty, abolished Hadrian's ban on circumcision. However, he enacted harsh decrees forbidding the Jews to proselytize. It seems that Marcus Aurelius and Commodus opened public offices to Jews. According to Callistus, the future pope, he broke into a synagogue to disrupt the Sabbath service. The Roman authorities reacted swiftly, and Callistus was sentenced by the praetor to forced labor in the mines of Sardinia. Under Septimius Severus and his dynasty the government attitude towards the Jews continued to be positive. Thus Septimius Severus renewed Marcus Aurelius' decree to allow Jews to be eligible for public office, and he exempted them from such duties as might interfere with their religious practice (*Digesta* 27, 1.15.6; 50, 2.3.3). However, Septimius Severus once more forbade Jewish proselytism (Spartianus, *Severus* 17:1). His son Antoninus is remembered for his "Constitutio Antoniniana," which granted Roman citizenship to all the free inhabitants of the Roman Empire, including Jews. The Jewish community in Rome was probably affected, because Jews living in Rome under the status of *peregrine* now became Roman citizens. According to Lampridius (*Antoninus Heliogabalus* 3:4–5), Heliogabalus wished to observe both Judaism and Christianity. Alexander Severus was known as the "Syrian archisynagogus" by his enemies (Lampridius, *Alexander Severus* 28:7), stressing a tie, true or imagined, with the Jews. Moreover he had a high regard for both Judaism and Christianity. Rome's Jews probably suffered from the anarchy and the economic situation of the third century C.E. following Alexander Severus' murder. But that affected the other peoples of the Roman Empire as well. In 284 Diocletian became emperor. His reorganization of the Roman Empire did not affect the Jewish community of Rome legally. However, with Constantine, who emerged as the Roman emperor in the West in 313 C.E., the legal situation of the Jews began to change for the worse.

In Late Antiquity there were various synagogues in Rome. To the synagogues of the Augustienses, the Agrippienses, and the Herodians, new synagogues were added, such as the synagogue of the Calcarensians, the Campensians, Elaea, Hebrews, Secenians, Siburensians, Tripolitans, Vernaclensians, Volumnesians, and perhaps of Severus. Synagogue membership thus united the congregations according to various criteria. Hence some congregations were created by clients or liberti of a Roman personality (like the synagogues of the Augustienses, the Agrippienses, the Volumnesians, and of Severus), other congregations were composed of members coming from the same place (like the synagogue of the Tripolitans), and still others perhaps took their names from the profession of most of the congregation's members (like the synagogue of the Calcarensians or lime burners) or from its location in Rome (Campensis from the Campus Martius quarter, Siburensians from the Subura quarter). Other synagogues' names indicated a social group, such as the synagogue of the Vernaclensians, or of Roman-born Jews. The synagogue of the Hebrews probably took its name from the fact that its members were Hebrew-speaking.

It is not certain that the Roman Jewish community had a central body as did, for example, the Jewish community of Alexandria. Most of the scholars do not believe they did. Each synagogue was headed by an *archisynagogus*, assisted by *archontes*. It is possible that some congregations had a *gerousia*, or council of elders. Then the *gerousia* was headed by the gerousiarches. The *grammateus*' office was probably that of secretary of the congregation. The titles Pater Synagogae and Mater Synagogae were honorary and these were given to some of the members of the congregation.

The Roman Jewish community was on the whole Greek-speaking. Very few inscriptions are in Latin, or in Hebrew. The names of Ancient Rome's Jews reflect this situation. Most of the names are characteristic Greek names used by Jews, such as Alexander, Theodoros, Theodothos, and Zosimos. Latin names are translations of Jewish names like Benedicta and Vitalis as well as genuine Roman names like Aurelius and Julius. Sometimes double names are used. Few names are Jewish, like Isaac, Judas, or Sarah. The professions of the Roman Jews are unknown for the more wealthy members. The more humble were painters, actors, lime burners, and even a soldier, a certain Rufinus. In all probably about 10,000 Jews lived in Late Imperial Rome.

Epigraphy also throws light on the existence of spiritual life in Ancient Rome. Thus through epitaphs some "Teachers of the Law" as well as "Students of the Sages" are known. The Talmud indeed mentions a Jewish sage from Rome called Josa Todros (probably *Theodosius). He introduced the *minhag* of including in the meal on Passover eve a roast lamb in commemoration of the paschal lamb sacrificed in Jerusalem (TJ, Pes. 7:1, TB, Ber. 19a). The sages grudgingly accepted the practice.

Roman Jews used *catacombs to bury their dead. Six Jewish catacombs have been excavated around Rome. The Monteverde Catacombs situated between the ancient Via Aurelia and the Via Portuense, the Catacombs of Vigna Cimarra, Vigna Rondanini, and Via Appia Pignatelli (although research shows that it was used by non-Jews), all situated near the Via Appia, the Labicana Catacombs situated near Via Labicana, and the Catacombs of Villa Torlonia situated near the ancient Via Nomentina. These catacombs together contain about 100,000 graves. Approximately 600 inscriptions have been found in Greek, many more in Latin, and formulae in Hebrew. The catacombs consist of a complex of subterranean corridors and chambers with loculi and arcosolia. Some of the catacombs (Vigna Rondanini and Villa Torlonia) are decorated with ceiling paintings combining pagan (Nike, peacocks, dolphins) as well as Jewish symbols (*menorah*). The inscriptions are sometimes decorated with the *menorah*, the Torah ark, the *etrog* and the *lulav*. Some sarcophagi have been found. Again pagan iconography such as the Four Seasons and theater masks are blended with obviously Jewish *menorot*. Clay lamps as well as glass objects decorated with Jewish symbols have been excavated.

The Jews of ancient Rome lived in an environment that even today could be characterized quite open and friendly. Imperial law protected them, although with some limitations (the ban on proselytism). Moreover, with the exception of the *fiscus Judaicus* Jews were not discriminated against. Even in times of tension, such as during the 66–70 war, the imperial government did not revoke any of their privileges. The local population was never physically hostile (as for example in Alexandria), even if sometimes the Jews were seen in a negative light, but only because some of them were foreigners or poor and not because they were Jews. Rome's Jews were thus successful in assimilating many elements of the surrounding Roman-Italic society, both in the organization of the community and in their material culture, but they still held clearly to a separate cultural identity.

[Samuele Rocca (2nd ed.)]

In Talmudic Literature

The relationship between Rome and the Jews living in the Land of Israel was often characterized by periods of strain and war. Thus Pompey's campaigns in the East ended with the conquest of the Hasmonean kingdom. The Roman administration of Judea between 6 C.E. and 66 C.E. was often characterized by cruel and corrupt officials. Moreover the Great Revolt against the Romans (66–74 C.E.), which ended in the destruction of the Temple and Jerusalem, and the Bar Kokhba War (132–135 C.E.), which ended in the destruction of almost all the Jewish settlements in Judea, could only contribute to a totally negative image of Rome. It is not surprising then that Rome is referred to in rabbinic literature by various negative designations – *Edom, Esau (see *Esau, In the *Aggadah*), *Amalek, Seir, *Tyre; the guilty kingdom; the wanton government; the fourth kingdom; and other epithets, mostly denigratory. It is compared, among other things, to the pig and the eagle, both impure animals (both animals appeared on the Vexilla (standards) of the Roman legions based in the Land of Israel).

The first sages, however, who lived between the destruction of the Temple and the Bar Kokhba War, were already divided in their attitude towards Rome. Scholars like *Zechariah b. Avkilus and activists like Akiva as well as R. *Simeon bar Yoḥai took a totally negative view. The attitude of the moderates found expression in *Joḥanan b. Zakkai's dictum not to be hasty "to demolish the high places of gentiles lest they be rebuilt by your hands" (Tanḥ. ed. Hoffman, p. 58; ARN^2 31, 66).

While in the time of the *tannaim*, in the second century, a time of prosperity for the Roman Empire, there were those who argued: "The government takes in abundance and gives in abundance" (Sif. Deut. 354), in the period of the *amoraim*, in the third and fourth centuries, a time of distress for the Roman Empire, they came to deride the hypocrisy of Rome which robs and puts on an appearance of innocence and compassion to the poor (Ex. R. 31:11; Tanḥ. Mishpatim 14; PdRK 95b; Mid. Ps. to 10:6). They were well aware in former times of the extortion practiced by provincial government officials (ARN^{11} 11, 46, 47).

The rabbis were aware of the great wealth of Rome (ARN^1 28, p. 85; Git. 58a) but also of its arrogance and pride (Sif. Num. 131). They said that the Romans' claim that they were brothers to Israel was mere hypocrisy (Pes. 118b).

The Roman emperor, the ruler of the empire, has a place apart in talmudic literature. Many Roman emperors are mentioned, such as *Nero, *Vespasian, *Titus, *Trajan, *Hadrian, *Antoninus, Septimius *Severus, and *Diocletian. Though many of the statements about them are legendary, it is not always so (cf. the story that Trajan's wife gave birth to a son on the Ninth of Av – TJ, Suk. 5:1, 55b – with the statement that his daughter was born on the day the Temple was destroyed – Suetonius, Titus, 5). It is interesting that most emperors, with the obvious exception of Titus and Hadrian, are depicted often in a neutral and even positive way.

It is important to stress that most of the sages lived in a period of quite friendly relations between Rome and the Jews living in the Land of Israel, mainly Galilee, symbolized by the relationship between *Judah ha-Nasi and the legendary Antoniunus. Thus, beginning with the end of the second century C.E., the sages began to enjoin not to anticipate "the end of days," which is concealed (Sanh. 97b; DE, ed. Higger, p. 313); they also said that there was an oath extracted from the Jews not to rebel against the government and that one must even honor the government (Mekh. Pisḥa 13). There were also scholars who actively called for prayers for the welfare of Rome, "since but for the fear of it, men would swallow each other up alive" (Avot 3:2; cf. Av. Zar. 4a). On the other hand stringent criticism was also heard against the *Pax Romana* of "this guilty kingdom," "which is engaged in war the whole time" (Mekh. Be-Shallaḥ 1 (89), Amalek 1 (181)) and which "levies recruits from every nation" (PdRK, Ha-Kodesh ha-Zeh, 7–89–90). These criticisms were leveled against Rome in general and not because of a specific problem between the Roman government and the Jews. In a bold homily, either of praise or of delicate ironic sarcasm, Simeon b. (Resh) Lakish praises the government of the country, saying that it is very good, better than the kingdom of heaven, because it exacts justice for men (Gen. R. 9:13). The criticism of the government of Rome as inferior to that of heaven (cf. Ber. 28b) is probably connected with the fact that from the close of the first century C.E. *emperor worship became official in Rome. They stressed that Israel was not subject to Rome but to the will of God. The sages were divided on the question of the political status of Rome. Some claimed that "this nation has been enthroned by Heaven" (Av. Zar. 18a) and that one should submit to it even at a time of religious persecution.

In everyday life, Rome as such was known to the Jews and the rabbis living in the Land of Israel through its provincial administration. Thus the Romans seen in the Land of Israel were more often than not the governor and the various magistrates responsible for the application of Roman law, officials responsible for taxation, and of course the omnipresent Roman soldiers. For example, Roman court procedure, including methods of investigation, tortures, and punishments, are described at length in rabbinic literature, which also recognizes that in general the Empire was indeed administered according to the law (with its defects) but that in times of persecution the protection of the law was completely removed (Mekh. Shirata 7; cf. Sif. Deut. 24 and 323). Many descriptions have been preserved of the deeds of tyrannical and cruel Roman officials, who on behalf of the government confiscated Jewish lands after the destruction of the Temple and after the Bar Kokhba Revolt (see, e.g., Kil. 7:6; BK 117a; Sif. Deut. 317; 357; BM 101a; Lam. R. 5:4).

Roman taxation, mainly in the difficult third century, is treated at length in talmudic literature. The sources speak of the *baleshet* ("inspectorate") and *balashim* ("inspectors"), who came chiefly in connection with the payment of tolls and taxes (see *Taxation), and of collectors and tax collectors, who were suspected of misappropriating the property of the inhabitants (Tosef., Beẓah 2:6; Toh. 7:6; Tosef., Toh. 8:5). For this reason most *tannaim* held it permissible to avoid payment of tolls and even to swear falsely to the tax collectors (Ned. 3:4; Tosef., Shevu. 2:14; TJ, Ned. 3:4–5, 38a; BK 113a); only on rare occasions during a period of good relations with Rome, is the reverse opinion heard (Pes. 112b). In a still later period the *halakhah* was laid down, out of fear of harsh persecutions, that he who cheats the tax is as though "shedding blood… as if worshiping idols, acting immorally, and desecrating the Sabbath" (Sem. 2:9; cf. Lev. R. 33:6). Instructive descriptions have also been preserved of the methods both of the tax collectors and of those who avoided the tax (see, e.g., Tosef., Kel. 1:1, BM 3:9, BM 7:12, 8:25), and special halakhic arrangements were also made to facilitate the orderly collection of taxes (TJ, Ket. 10:5, 34a, 13:2, 35d). Jewish publicans and inspectors who cooperated with the government were regarded as guilty of grave transgressions and were reckoned as robbers whose repentance was exceptionally difficult.

On the other hand there were different and conflicting views with regard to Jews, including scholars, serving in the Roman service, whether perforce or of choice (see *Eleazar b. Simeon, *Ishmael b. Yose b. Ḥalafta, *Joshua b, Korḥa). Another problem was whether it was permitted to hand over Jews wanted by the Roman authorities (see *Joshua b. Levi; cf. Tosef., Ter. 7:20). Nevertheless, *informers who acted willingly were regarded as exceptionally degenerate and compared with heretics and apostates (Tosef., BM 2:33, Sanh. 13:5).

The influence of the Roman Law is discernible to a considerable degree in the *halakhah* and is reflected in many various and unusual spheres, such as the disqualification of a bill of divorce that has not the proper Roman date (Git. 8:5; cf. Tosef., BB 11:2 and Git. 8 (6):3; Yad. 4:8) "because of peril" (TJ, Git. 8:5, 49c), originally introduced for good relations with the state; or the disqualification of "coin of the revolt" as a substitute for the second tithe (**ma'aser sheni*; Tosef., Ma'as. Sh. 1:5–6: "Coins of Bar Kokhba and coins of Jerusalem may not be substituted…"). Although in these cases the halakhic possibilities were limited by the existence of the Roman government, the reverse is also true.

The Roman legions are viewed sometimes with open admiration, as in a homily in the Pesikta of Rabbi Kahana, where the Ten Plagues are compared to a Roman Legion besieging a city (Pesikta of Rabbi Kahana 7:11). However the deterioration in the quality of the Roman soldiers at the end of the second and the beginning of the third century C.E. was observed. Thus even in the view of *Judah ha-Nasi, the friend of Rome, the Roman legion was of no value (Tanḥ. Va-Yeshev 3).

Roman culture in the Hellenistic East and of course the Land of Israel was not as widespread as in the Latin West.

The Latin language was seldom used in the East, where Greek was commonly used also by the Roman administration. It is significant that Latin words are much less frequent in rabbinic literature than Greek (the proportion being approximately 1 to 8). Most of the sages could not even speak Latin and were naturally ignorant of its literature. In their view the Latin language was good for "war" (i.e., it was merely the language of the army; TJ, Meg. 1:11, 71b; see also S. Krauss, *Lehnwoerter*, 1, xix, xxi).

Characteristic Roman buildings adopted in the Greek East were the bathhouse, the theater (inherited by the Greeks), and the amphitheater. In principle Roman bathhouses were permitted. Thus it was permitted to bathe in a small gentile bathhouse immediately after the Sabbath if there was "a local authority" in the town, since it could be assumed that the heating of the water, was done for the non-Jews (Makhsh. 2:5). However, if the bathhouse served a pagan temple it was forbidden (*avodah zarah*). The sages forbade the Jews to go to the theater or the amphitheater, the former because it was considered a waste of time, the latter because the sages were averse to bloodshed in every form and gladiatorial games were not considered at all in a positive light. However, attending both the theater and amphitheater was permitted for reasons of state or the saving of lives.

After the Constitutio Antoniniana of 212 C.E., the Jewish ruling class in the Land of Israel received Roman citizenship. One of the symbols of this new status was the wearing of the toga. The sages warns against assimilating to the Roman costume: "that thou say not: since they wear the toga, I too will wear it" (Sif. Dent. 81 and cf. *ibid.* 234). It was also forbidden to adopt the Roman tonsure, except for scholars who were "in contact with the government," and for the same reason (Sot. 49b), they were permitted to learn Greek and "to look into a mirror" (TJ, Shab. 6:1, 7d).

The sages particularly warned against the excessive esteem in certain circles toward Roman law and culture: "Perhaps you will say: They have statutes and we do not have statutes?… there is yet place for the evil inclination to reflect and say: Theirs are more suitable than ours!…" (Sifra to Aḥarei Mot 13:9).

In conclusion the sages were divided in their evaluation of Rome and its activities. Judah said "How becoming are the deeds of these people: they built markets, they built bridges, they built bathhouses"; however, Simeon b. Yoḥai replied: "Whatever they built they merely did for themselves; they built markets to settle harlots in, bath houses to delight themselves in, bridges to take tolls" (Shab. 33b; cf. the *aggadah* on Rome in judgment before the Holy One in the time to come – Av. Zar. 2b). In the opinion of Reuben b. Strobilus: "the public buildings and baths and streets which this wicked kingdom makes, were their intentions for the sake of heaven, they would have been worthy to possess the world, but their sole intention is for their own needs" (Mid. Hag. to Gen. 44:24); and according to Gamaliel: "the kingdom feeds on four things – tolls, baths, theaters, and taxes" (ARN[1] 28, 85).

Joshua b. Levi, who visited Rome, there saw "pillars covered with tapestry so that in winter they should not contract and in summer they should not split, but in the market he saw a poor man wrapped in a single mat – others say in half an ass' pack saddle" (Gen. R. 33:1).

In the diversity of their views on Rome the rabbis are no different from their contemporaries, as can be seen by comparison with the evaluations of the Greeks, the Church Fathers, and even the Romans themselves. The dialogues between the sages and eminent Romans preserved in rabbinic literature are instructive since these conversations have an actual historical, political, social, or ideological background. It is immaterial whether they actually took place; what is important is that the subjects of these conversations are not accidental but characteristic of the time and of the speakers.

[Moshe David Herr / Samuele Rocca (2nd ed.)]

The Christian Empire

With the adoption of Christianity by the Roman emperors the position of the Jews changed immediately for the worse. While Judaism remained officially a tolerated religion as before, its actual status deteriorated, and every pressure was brought on the Jews to adopt the now-dominant faith. In 387–388, a Christian mob, after systematically destroying heathen temples, turned its attention to the synagogues and burned one of them to the ground. The same took place later under Theodoric (493–526) when, in consequence of the punishment of some Christian slaves for the murder of their Jewish master, the Jews were attacked, their synagogue burned, and that of the Samaritans confiscated. When Rome was captured by the Vandals in 455, the Jerusalem Temple spoils preserved as trophies in the Temple of Jupiter were carried off to Africa. Thereafter the city ceased to be regarded as capital of the empire, and it lost greatly in importance, prosperity, and population. There is no detailed information of the lot of the Roman Jews at this period, but it must be imagined that they suffered and declined economically with the rest of the inhabitants.

Following the fall of the Roman Empire in the West, the Christian bishop of Rome, the pope, became the dominant force in the former imperial city and the immediate neighborhood, with moral authority recognized, to a greater or lesser degree, over the whole of western Christendom. Hence, over a period of some 1,400 years, the history of the Jews in Rome is in great part the reflection of the papal policies toward the Jews. However, down to the period of the Counter-Reformation in the 16th century, there was a tendency for the papal anti-Jewish pronouncements to be applied less strictly in Rome than by zealous rulers and ecclesiastics abroad, while on the other hand the papal protective policies were on the whole followed more faithfully in Rome itself than elsewhere. The keynote to papal policy was set by *Gregory I (the Great; 590–604), who firmly proclaimed that while the Jews should not be allowed to presume to more than was allowed them by law, the minimal rights accorded them of maintaining their synagogues and performing their religious rites should in no circumstances be infringed. The Roman Jews (who apparently at this time were engaged in foreign trade extending to the south of France) were in a position to approach the pope on behalf of their brethren abroad in case of emergency and to secure his intervention. His policies were presumably followed by succeeding popes.

Scholarship and Literary Activities

It was about this period that the revival of Hebrew studies took place in Italy. The scholars of Rome begin to figure in tenth-century rabbinic sources, which mention with respect talmudic scholarship centered on a local yeshivah Metivta de Mata Romi. The first scholar of note was R. *Kalonymus b. Moses, father of R. *Meshullam b. Kalonymus the Great (second half of the tenth century) who apparently taught in Rome before settling in Lucca; then came R. Jacob "Gaon" of Rome, who headed the yeshivah. Hebrew poetry, following the tradition established in Ereẓ Israel, found one of its principal exponents in *Solomon b. Judah "the Babylonian." Italian-Hebrew learning reached its climax with R. *Nathan b. Jehiel of Rome whose great talmudic dictionary, the *Arukh*, bears testimony to the wide rabbinic learning and linguistic range of educated Roman Jewry at this time. The Roman Jews received their traditions mainly from Ereẓ Israel, passing them on in turn to France and Germany. This was the case, in particular, with the liturgical tradition (see *Liturgy) originally called the *Minhag Romi*, later the Italian rite, which with the expansion of Roman Jewry became widely established in Italy and in one or two places overseas and was the parent of the Ashkenazi rite. The formulation of this is associated with the name of R. *Menaḥem b. Solomon b. Isaac, author of the popular *Midrash Sekhel Tov.*

Learning continued to flourish in Rome in the succeeding centuries, mainly being centered in the ancient Anau (Anav) family, including Zedekiah b. Abraham *Anav (13th century), author of the *Shibbolei ha-Leket*; his brother Benjamin b. Abraham *Anav, physician and talmudist, author of the *Massa Gei Ḥizzayyon*; Jehiel b. Jekuthiel *Anav author of the *Ma'alot ha-Middot*; and several others. *Immanuel of Rome (1260–c. 1328) introduced the complexities of the Spanish tradition of Hebrew poetry to Italy, and was also a prolific writer of verse in Italian – probably by no means the only one.

In 1020 the Jews were said to have caused an earthquake in Rome by mocking a crucifix, and a number were savagely punished, but the details are vague and the story may be legendary. On the other hand, from 1130 to 1138 *Anacletus II, a grandson of the converted Roman Jewish capitalist *Pierleoni, was able to maintain his authority for some time as antipope because of the support of the Roman populace. *Benjamin of Tudela, who spent some time in Rome c. 1159, found there a community of about 200 whom he described as being of high status and paying no special taxes, some of them being in the papal service; he singled out Jehiel, grandson of the author of the *Arukh*, and mentioned, in addition, half a dozen other scholars whom he considered outstanding. Since Benjamin specifically mentioned that one of them lived in Trastevere, it appears that the Jews now resided on both sides of the river. A building still standing on the right bank of the Tiber is believed to be one of the synagogues in use at this period.

Papal Legislation

The anti-Jewish legislation of the Fourth *Lateran Council (1215) inspired by Pope *Innocent III does not seem to have been strictly enforced in the papal capital. Nevertheless, the record of the community was checkered. There is some evidence that copies of the Talmud were burned here after its condemnation in Paris in 1245 (see *Talmud, Burning of). In 1270 the cemetery was desecrated. The wearing of the Jewish *badge was imposed in 1257 and the city statutes of 1360 ordered male Jews to wear a red tabard, and the women a red petticoat. There was brutal horseplay against the Jews in the carnival period, in the Circo Agonale and Monte Testaccio; this abuse was ended in 1312 when the community agreed to make an annual payment, thereby constituting an unfortunate precedent for special humiliatory taxation. In 1295 Pope Boniface VIII set the example abusing the Jewish delegation which went to congratulate him on his accession. In 1298, R. Elijah de' Pomi[s] was judicially murdered by the Holy Office on a trivial charge. From 1305 to 1378 the papacy was transferred to Avignon and Rome was left for a time to its own devices. When Emperor Henry VII came to Rome in 1312, the Jews went to greet him bearing the Scrolls of the Law, thereby setting a precedent which was long followed. In 1320 orders were sent from Avignon for the expulsion of the Jews from Rome, and although a deputation headed by the prolific poet and translator *Kalonymus b. Kalonymus secured the withdrawal of the decree, it appears that before the news was received Roman Jewry en masse was driven temporarily into exile. In 1322 the Talmud was again burned in Rome in obedience to a papal order.

Pope *Boniface IX (1389–1404), who tried to restore papal authority in the Italian possessions of the Holy See, was on the whole exceptionally tolerant. He favored a succession of Jewish physicians, and in 1402 granted a charter of protection to the Roman community in which their rights as citizens were specifically recognized. His immediate successors, exposed to the legislation of the *Church Councils of Constance and Basle and to the pressure of the *Franciscan friars, were ambivalent in their attitudes. *Martin V (1417–31) authorized the Roman community to distribute part of its financial burden among the other communities of the Papal States, employed Elijah b. Shabbetai as his personal physician, and tried to restore peace in the Roman community by appointing the surgeon Leuccio as its responsible head. *Eugenius IV (1431–47) embodied the anti-Jewish legislation of the 19th session of the Council of Constance in a bull of such severity that there seems to have been an exodus of Roman Jews to the marquisate of Mantua. At the moment of crisis the Italian Jewish communities decided to raise an emergency fund in order to back up their efforts to have the bull withdrawn; the community of Rome, however, was ultimately left to shoulder the whole burden, notwithstanding the efforts of its rabbi, the poet-physician Moses da *Rieti. *Nicholas V (1447–55) renewed the former anti-Jewish legislation, and patronized the anti-Jewish activities of John of *Capistrano. In 1450, Capistrano staged a religious disputation in Rome against one Gamaliel, and boasted so overwhelming a victory that he offered the pope a ship in which to transport the remnants of the community overseas. This did not eventualize; but on the accession of Capistrano's pupil *Calixtus III in 1455, a riot took place against the Jewish delegation who, according to custom, came to congratulate him.

The Renaissance Community

The period of the High Renaissance witnessed the heyday of Roman Jewry. The popes were strong enough to resist pressure and more influenced by political motives or cultural interests than by religious preconceptions. Every pope had a Jewish physician in his employment in Rome: outstanding were Samuel Sarfati at the court of Sixtus IV and Bonet de

*Lattes as that of *Leo x. Whereas elsewhere in Italy Jewish loan-bankers were admitted only on a contractual basis, in Rome the number was not limited. However, the majority of the community consisted of craftsmen. A professional census taken in 1527 reveals that 44 Jewish householders out of the 104 whose callings were indicated engaged in various branches of the clothing industry. In 1541 the Jewish and non-Jewish tailors' guilds came to an agreement for the regulation of their activities, so as to avoid competition.

David *Reuveni was magnificently greeted and received when he came to Rome in 1524, even by Pope Clement VII, who was greatly impressed also by Solomon *Molcho and extended barely credible protection to him. In 1524, under the auspices of the same pope, Daniel da *Pisa, a member of the famous Tuscan banking family then living in Rome, drew up a new intercongregational constitution for the Roman Jewish community at large.

Cardinal *Egidio da Viterbo (c. 1465–1532) had a profound interest in the Kabbalah, a considerable knowledge of Hebrew, and maintained Elijah *Levita in his home as his Hebrew tutor. Jacob *Mantino, personal physician to Paul III, was nominated lecturer in medicine in the Sapienza in Rome in 1539 – one of the very few authenticated instances of a Jew holding an academic appointment before the age of Emancipation.

The expulsion from the Spanish dominions in 1492 brought a large body of refugees to Rome who were reluctantly received by the native community, nervous for their own position. Henceforth, by the side of the communities following the indigenous Roman liturgy, there were also synagogues according to the Aragonese, Castilian, Catalonian, and Sicilian liturgical traditions, and for a time also French and Ashkenazi synagogues.

The Counter-Reformation and the Ghetto Period

The entire tenor of Roman Jewish life suddenly changed for the worse with the Counter-Reformation. In 1542 a tribunal of the Holy Office on the Spanish model was set up in Rome and in 1553 Cornelio da Montalcino, a Franciscan friar who had embraced Judaism, was burned alive on the Campo dei Fiori. In 1543 a home for converted Jews (House of *Catechumens), later to be the scene of many tragic episodes, was established, a good part of the burden of upkeep being imposed on the Jews themselves.

On Rosh Ha-Shanah (September 4) 1553 the Talmud with many more Hebrew books was committed to the flames after official condemnation. From now on, notwithstanding occasional periods of relaxation at the outset, talmudic literature as a whole was banned in Rome, with disastrous consequences on Roman Jewish intellectual life. Most of this anti-Jewish action was inspired by Cardinal Caraffa, the embodiment of the spirit of the Counter-Reformation, who became Pope *Paul IV on May 23, 1555. Shortly afterward, he issued his bull *Cum nimis absurdum* (July 12, 1555) which reenacted remorselessly against the Jews all the restrictive ecclesiastical legislation hitherto only intermittently enforced. This comprised the segregation of the Jews in a special quarter, henceforth called the *ghetto; the wearing of the Jewish badge, now specified as a yellow hat in the case of the men, a yellow kerchief in the case of the women; prohibitions on owning real estate, on being called by any title of respect such as signor, on the employment by Christians of Jewish physicians, and on dealing in corn or other necessities of life; and virtual restriction to dealing in old clothes and second-hand goods. This initiated the ghetto period in Rome, and continued to govern the life of Roman Jewry for more than 300 years.

There were periods of relaxation e.g., in the pontificate of Pius IV (1559–65) and of Sixtus V (1585–90). On the other hand, Pius V (1566–72) not only renewed the severity of the system, but by his bull *Hebraeorum gens* of 1569 excluded the Jews from the cities of the Papal States, except Rome and Ancona; a good part of their population took refuge in Rome, where Di Capua, Di Segni, Tivoli, Terracina, Tagliacozzo, Recanati, and so on, commemorating their former places of residence, became characteristic surnames. Similarly, *Gregory XIII (1572–85) renewed and regulated the iniquitous system of the conversionist sermon, henceforth usual in Rome for many generations (see *Sermons to Jews). Whereas before the mid-16th century the Roman Jewish community had probably enjoyed more favorable circumstances than that of almost any other city in Italy and perhaps in Europe, from now on, in the age of the ghetto, the reverse was the case.

The area chosen for the Roman ghetto was a low-lying dank site on the left bank of the Tiber, subject to intermittent flooding and therefore highly insalubrious. The total Jewish population, which at its peak probably exceeded 5,000 – the highest in any city in Italy – was crowded in this circumscribed area. The rapacity of gentile landlords was, however, to some extent mitigated by the development among the Jews of the *jus gazaga* or proprietary right on houses, recognized also by the non-Jewish authorities. Originally the ghetto was supposed to have only a single entrance, but this was found impracticable and ultimately there were several. However, at night, on major Christian holidays, and in the Easter period, from Holy Thursday to the Saturday, the gates were closed and no Jew was allowed out of the quarter. The bull of 1555 permitted the Jews only one synagogue: this was, however, evaded by having five synagogues (or *Scuole*) according to the different rites under a single roof.

Among themselves the Jews, as elsewhere in Italy, spoke a *Judeo-Italian dialect, retaining old local forms and incorporating Hebrew or Spanish terms and written generally in Hebrew characters. The Jewish loan banks were finally suppressed in 1682; henceforth the occupation of the vast majority of Roman Jews was dealing in old clothes and second-hand goods, for which purpose they perambulated amid insults and contempt in all the quarters of the city. There were also a few tailors and petty shop-

Jewish population of Rome

Year/Period	Population
Late Roman	10,000
1159	200
16th cent.	5,000
1682	1,750
18th cent.	6,000
1873	4,880
1886	5,600
1910	10,000
1936	13,000
1943	10,000
1948	11,000
1965	12,928
2005	18,000

keepers and a very small number of better-established merchants.

Occasional raids were made as late as the 18th century on the ghetto to ensure that the Jews did not possess any "forbidden" books – that is, in effect, any literature other than the Bible, liturgy, and carefully expurgated ritual codes. Each Saturday selected members of the community were compelled to go to a neighboring church to listen to conversionist sermons, running the gauntlet of the insults of the populace. In some reactionary interludes, the yellow Jewish hat had to be worn even inside the ghetto. Pressure was placed on the Jews to become converted, and it was forbidden for a Jew to pass under the windows of the House of Catechumens lest he should attempt to communicate with any of the occupants. Kidnapping children for the purpose of baptism was retroactively endorsed as valid, and thereby encouraged. At the carnival season Jews had to participate in a foot race down the Corso, amid the jeering of the crowd. Each new pope was humbly greeted near the Arch of Titus by a delegation of the elders of the community who presented him with a *Sefer Torah*, which he returned to them with contumely. The Jews were not allowed to sing psalms or dirges when they escorted their dead to the traditional burial place on the Aventine hill nor to erect tombstones over their graves. It is not remarkable that in the age of the ghetto there were few scholars or communal leaders of any distinction, the case of the courageous and erudite Tranquillo Vita *Corcos (1660–1730) being exceptional.

The popes, in accordance with their former humane tradition, still indeed protected the Jews against such accusations as the *blood libel, which was virtually unknown in Rome; but in other respects the lot of the Roman Jews was increasingly pitiable. The *Editto sopra gli Ebrei* (1775) of Pope Pius VI reiterated all of the previous restrictions with accumulated humiliations, down to the last detail. When in 1783 two orphans were kidnapped for baptism on the demand of a remote relative who had been converted, there was a veritable revolt in the ghetto, followed by widespread arrests. A petition presented to the pope imploring for some alleviation in conditions, supported by a memorandum presented by 12 courageous Christian advocates, proved fruitless. The leaders of the community now canvassed the possibility of organizing systematic emigration to some less bigoted land such as England.

Freedom, Reaction, and Eventual Emancipation

When the reactions of the French Revolution reached Rome, there were widespread arrests among the Jews, and in January 1793 the ghetto narrowly escaped total sack – a providential deliverance thereafter commemorated by an annual celebration. On Feb. 21, 1798 the occupying French forces proclaimed equality for the Jews, but with the subsequent changes of regime, conditions remained precarious until 1809, when Rome was annexed to the Napoleonic Empire, and a *consistory on the French model was set up in 1811. However, in 1814 the rule of the popes was reestablished and from then on the ghetto and the restrictive practices of the ghetto period were once again enforced, excepting only the enforcement of the wearing of the Jewish badge. With the election of Pope Leo XII in 1823, conditions became grimmer still. Jews who had opened shops outside the ghetto had to close them, attendance at conversionist sermons again became compulsory, Jews were forbidden to employ Christians even to light fires for them on the Sabbath, and enforced baptisms again became common. On the accession of Pius IX in 1846, the gates and walls of the ghetto were removed, but thereafter the once-kindly pope turned reactionary and relentlessly enforced anti-Jewish restrictions until the end. During the Roman Republic of 1849, under Mazzini, Jews participated in public life, and three were elected to the short-lived Constituent Assembly; but within five months the papal reactionary rule was reestablished to last, without any perceptible liberalization, until the capture of Rome by the forces of united Italy in 1870. On October 13 a royal decree abolished all religious disabilities from which citizens of the new capital had formerly suffered, and the Jews of Rome were henceforth on the same legal footing as their fellow Romans.

Released prisoners obviously could not recover overnight from the legacy of the long centuries of ghetto humiliation. Some of the more gifted naturally were now able to find a proper outlet for their talents, and, in addition, the capital of united Italy attracted ambitious Jews from other cities who entered into government service, commerce, and industry. Many of the erstwhile peddlers became shopkeepers and even antique dealers. Thus a new sort of society began to be formed at the apex of the Jewish community, strongly affected, however, as in other cases, by assimilation and indifference. But still the bulk of the Roman Jewish community remained street merchants, familiar figures in the thoroughfares and on the steps of the ancient monuments, as they had been ever since classical times. Hence demographically the Roman Jewish community remained the healthiest in Italy. While other historic Jewish centers diminished through emigration, and those who remained barely maintained their numbers, Rome was increased both by immigration and by the vigorous state of its Jewish proletariat – the only one remaining in Italian Jewry which could be so designated.

Yet in other respects the progress of Roman Jewry was slow, notwithstanding all efforts. The city corporation took the lead in destroying the old ghetto quarter, a magnificent new synagogue with an organ being built on the site in 1900–04 to replace the old *Cinque Scuole* ("Five Synagogues") which were accidentally burned around this time. After a succession of rabbis brought from the Levant (Judah de Leon (Leoni di Leone), 1796–1830; Israel Moses *Ḥazzan, 1847–52) and even vacancies in the office, the Italian-trained Moses Ehrenreich was appointed in 1890; he was succeeded by Ḥayyim *Castiglioni (1903–11), one of the last of the Italian school of Hebrew poets, and he in turn by the courageous Angelo *Sacerdoti (1912–34). In 1887–1904 an unsuccessful attempt was made to reestablish in Rome the once-distinguished rabbinical seminary of Padua (see *Collegio Rabbinico Italiano); it was to return to Rome definitely on a more secure basis in 1930 after a brilliant interlude in Florence. But it was only during the period after World War I, with the remarkable, development of Rome itself, that Roman Jewry may be said to have regained the primacy in Italian Jewish life which it had enjoyed in the remote past.

[Cecil Roth]

Hebrew Printing

In the opinion of most scholars nine or ten *incunabula printed in square type without date or place-name, probably before 1480, should be ascribed to Rome. Among them are the Pentateuch commentaries of Rashi and Naḥmanides, Maimonides' Code *Mishneh Torah* and *Guide of the Perplexed*; Nathan b. Jehiel's *Arukh*, Moses b. Jacob of Coucy's *Sefer Mitzvot Gadol*, Solomon b. Abraham Adret's responsa, Levi b. Gershom's commentary to Daniel, and David Kimḥi's *Shorashim*. Only one Hebrew Press was licensed in Rome in the 16th century, and few Hebrew books were brought out by non-Jewish printing houses. The one Jewish press was run by Elijah Levita who, with the help of the three sons of his kinsman Avigdor Ashkenazi Kaẓav and under a papal privilege, printed here in 1518 three of his grammatical works. Around 1508 a prayer book was produced by J. Mazzochi and perhaps a Hebrew grammar a few years later. Between 1540 and 1547 Samuel Sarfati, Isaac b. Immanuel de Lattes in partnership with Benjamin b. Joseph d'Arignano, and Solomon b. Isaac of Lisbon printed a number of works with Antonio Bladao. Among them were Hebrew grammars by David ibn Yaḥya, then rabbi in Naples, and David Kimḥi: the *Mahalakh*; responsa by Nissim b. Reuben Gerondi, and smaller works. Between 1578 and 1581, Francesco Zanetti, with the help of Levita's baptized grandson Giovanni Battista *Eliano, printed editions of Genesis, the Five Scrolls, and Psalms. Owing to the reactionary atmosphere which henceforth prevailed in Rome in the 17th century, only some missionary tracts in Hebrew were printed in Rome, and in 1773 a Psalter for non-Jewish use with an Italian translation by Ceruti.

Holocaust Period

A few days after the Germans occupied Rome on September 9–10, 1943, SS Chief Heinrich *Himmler ordered immediate preparations for the arrest and deportation of all Jews in Rome and the vicinity – more than 10,000 persons. As a first step, SS Major (soon to be Lieutenant Colonel) Herbert Kappler, the SS commanding officer in Rome, demanded 50 kilograms of gold from the Jewish community on September 26, to be paid within 36 hours. Otherwise, he informed the community, 200 Jews would be arrested and deported to Germany. The Jews collected the gold, with some help from sympathetic non-Jews, and delivered it on time. Nevertheless, a special German police force broke into the offices of the Jewish community on September 29 and looted the ancient and contemporary archives, seizing, among other things, lists of members and contributors. On October 13, the Germans returned to loot the priceless libraries of the community and the rabbinical college.

Most Roman Jews were still not alarmed enough to go into hiding. Many were confident that the presence of the pope in the city would protect them, since the Germans would not dare take anti-Jewish actions under his windows. Moreover, the Jews lacked any precise information about Nazi death camps. Although they listened illegally to the BBC, it did not broadcast any specific news on that subject. The Jews also believed that the ongoing diplomatic discussions of Rome's status as an open city would save them from hostile Nazi actions.

On October 16, 1943, German SS police under Kappler and SS Captain Theodor Dannecker launched a massive roundup of the Jews of Rome. Provided with carefully prepared lists of names and addresses, the police made house-to-house searches throughout the city and arrested all the Jews they could find. Some of the non-Jewish population helped Jews escape, but 1,259 men, women, and children were nevertheless caught and held for two days at the Collegio Militare in Lungara Street. About 252 of them were released because they were the children or spouses of mixed marriages, foreigners from neutral countries, or non-Jews arrested by mistake. The remaining 1,007 Jews were deported to Auschwitz on October 18. Only 17 of them survived.

On the morning of October 16, Pope *Pius XII received Princess Enza Pignatelli, who informed him of the ongoing roundup. He immediately asked the Vatican Secretary of State Cardinal Luigi Maglione to summon the German ambassador to the Holy See, Ernst von Weizsaecker. Maglione met with the ambassador that same day and asked him to stop the arrests of Jews in order that the pope not be obliged to protest. The ambassador replied that for the sake of good relations between Germany and the Holy See, he preferred not to convey Maglione and the pope's threat of a protest to Berlin. Maglione accepted this. Jews continued to be arrested and deported. Pius XII never protested publicly.

Between October 16, 1943, and June 4, 1944, the day of the liberation of Rome, the methodical roundup of Jews hiding in the homes of non-Jewish friends or in Catholic institutions continued. In this latter period, perhaps as many as 1,200 additional Jews were caught and deported to Auschwitz, where most of them died. Another 75 Jews were among the 335 prisoners executed in the Fosse Ardeatine, outside Rome, as a German reprisal measure for an Italian partisan action in the via Rasella on March 23, 1944, in which 33 German soldiers were killed.

Some 4,000 individual Jews are believed to have hidden in Catholic institutions in Rome, including Vatican properties. A small number were sheltered behind the walls of Vatican City itself. There is no evidence that Pius XII or his chief advisors gave instructions for this rescue effort, or even knew its extent.

[Daniel Carpi / Sergio Itzhak Minerbi (2nd ed.)]

Contemporary Period

When the Allies entered Rome on June 5, 1944, the Jewish population numbered 11,000. That same day a solemn prayer that united the Roman Jews who had survived a year of terror and the Jews serving in the U.S. 5th Army, was led by Rabbi David Panzieri in the small synagogue of the Tiberine Island, which had been used clandestinely during the German occupation. An unknown future faced the community. The chief rabbi, Italo *Zolli, who had abandoned his flock during the war to find a haven in the Vatican, converted to Catholicism. Only in 1946 did Rabbi David *Prato take the place of the apostate rabbi. Under his firm leadership the Jewish community of Rome could look to a better future. Moreover, Jewish units from Palestine assisted the community. Rabbi Prato sponsored a moving ceremony the day the State of Israel was proclaimed on May 14, 1948, under the Arch of Titus. From that moment on, for the Jews to pass under the arch that symbolized the Diaspora was no longer a humiliation. In the following years the community grew due mainly to the natural increase. In 1953 Elio Toaff succeeded Prato as chief rabbi of Rome and Italy. From 1956 to 1967, after the *Six-Day War, about 3,000 Jews arrived from Libya. Some of them subsequently immigrated to Israel but the majority was absorbed by the community. In 1965 the Jewish community reached a total of 12,928 (out of a total of 2,500,000 inhabitants).

The geographic distribution of the community is still influenced by the continued existence of the traditional ghetto in the S. Angelo district and adjoining parts of the city, although there is a growing movement to the outlying residential areas. The community of Rome is the only one in Italy that shows a demographic increase, with a fertility rate not far below that of the Italian population as a whole, a fairly high marriage rate, and a limited proportion of mixed marriages. Occupational changes from the traditional fields to new technical specializations and to the free professions were rather slow but by the year 2000 it could be considered accomplished. A very serious episode of antisemitism darkened the life of the community on October 19, 1982, when Palestinian terrorists opened fire on worshipers leaving the Great Synagogue. A child, Stefano Tache, was killed and others were wounded. On April 13, 1986, Pope *John Paul II visited the Great Synagogue, and was welcomed by Chief Rabbi Toaff.

In the early 21st century the community numbered about 18,000 Jews, still tied by strong bonds of affection to Jewish traditions. The chief rabbi of Rome and Italy was Riccardo Di Segni. Apart from the Great Synagogue of Italian rite, the Lungotevere Cenci houses a Sephardi synagogue and the Jewish Museum, and there are another two prayer houses of Italian rite, one on the Tiberine Island, the other, the Oratorio Di Castro, in Via Balbo. An Ashkenazi synagogue is located in the same building. Among the Jewish institutions there is a kindergarten, the Vittorio Polacco elementary school, and a high school. There are many relief organizations, the Pitigliani orphanage, a Jewish hospital, and a home for invalids. Rome is the seat of the chief rabbinate of the Union of the Italian Jewish Communities (UCEI), and of the Italian Rabbinical College. The following Jewish journals are published: *Israel, Shalom, Karnenu, Portico d'Ottavia.*

[Sergio DellaPergola / Samuele Rocca (2nd ed.)]

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ROME, DAVID (1910–1996), Canadian historian. Rome was born in Vilna, Lithuania. From his first experiences in Canada the 11-year-old was, in his words, "thrown into Canadian Jewish history" as, due to a sudden change in Canada's Immigration Law, boatloads of Jewish immigrants in the fall of 1921 were detained in the Halifax immigration sheds. The four members of the Rome family finally arrived in Vancouver in December 1921.

Rome obtained a B.A. in English literature at the University of British Columbia in 1936 while working as editor for the *Jewish Western Bulletin*. After studying literature at the University of Seattle in Washington between 1936 and 1938, he obtained a degree in library science from McGill University (1939) and in English literature from the Université de Montréal (1962).

Upon his initial arrival in Montreal, which he later made his home, Rome was the national director of the Labor Zionist organization from 1939 to 1940. Following a two-year stint in Toronto as editor of the *Daily Hebrew Journal*, Rome returned definitively to Montreal in 1942, joining the Canadian Jewish Congress as press officer and editor of the *Congress Bulletin*. He also served as secretary of the Committee for Jewish-French-Canadian Relations from 1942 to 1953, beginning what became an enduring commitment to English-French and Christian-Jewish dialogue. During his early years at CJC he worked with many of the shapers of the Canadian Jewish community: Samuel *Bronfman and Saul *Hayes, H.M. *Caiserman and Louis *Rosenberg. During those years he became something of a spokesman and representative for the Canadian Jewish community, even ghostwriting for CJC's general secretary H.M. Caiserman and other community figures.

From 1953 to 1972, Rome enjoyed a more public role, for which he is remembered by many, as director of the Montreal Jewish Public Library. During these years, he also lectured in the Department of Religion at the forerunner of the current Concordia University in Montreal. He then returned to CJC in 1973 to become the archivist and later historian of the organization. In his later years, he was officially honored on several occasions, receiving CJC's H.M. Caiserman Award in 1980, being invested as a Knight in the Order of Québec in 1987, followed by the Prix d'excellence award by Government of Quebec Ministry of Cultural Communities and Immigration in April 1991, and an Honorary Doctorate of Laws by Concordia University, in June 1991.

David Rome is the author of *Les Juifs du Québec, bibliographie rétrospective annotée*, with Judith Nefsky and P. Obermeir (1979), co-author with Jacques Langlais of *Les Juifs et les québécois français: 200 ans d'histoire commune* (1986) (Eng., 1991), and *The Stones that Speak/ Les pierres qui parlent* (1992). Between 1974 and 1994, he authored over 60 monographs on Canadian Jewish history, in the *Canadian Jewish Archives, New Series* and *Clouds in the Thirties, On Anti-Semitism in Canada (1929–1939)*. His last years were devoted to the compilation and translation of articles from Canadian Yiddish sources.

From his desk at the National Archives of CJC, David Rome continued until his 1994 retirement, and indeed, despite failing health, until the end of his days, to instruct and to absorb the experience of Canadian Jewish history in a changing society.

[Janice Rosen (2nd ed.)]

ROMM, family of printers and publishers in Vilna. In 1789 BARUCH B. JOSEPH (d. 1803) received permission to establish a press in Grodno. He opened a second plant in Vilna in 1799. After his death, his son MENAHEM MANNES (d. 1841), directed the operation and between 1835 and 1854 published an edition of the Babylonian Talmud. This caused a dispute with a press operated by the Shapiro family of Ḥasidic rabbis in Slavuta and more than a hundred rabbis were involved in the resulting litigation. In 1836 the Russian government closed all but two Jewish printing houses, the Romm plant being the only one left in all of Lithuania and Belorussia. In 1841 the plant burned down. JOSEPH REUBEN and his son DAVID headed the company from 1841 to 1862. After their deaths, David Romm's widow DEBORAH (d. 1903) headed the company, together with her two brothers-in-law. This is the origin of the name of the company, which came to be known as "Defus ha-Almanah ve-ha-Aḥim Romm" (The Press of the Widow and Romm Brothers). The firm prospered from 1867 to 1888 under the leadership of its literary director, the Hebrew writer Samuel Shraga Feiginsohn (known as שפ"ן הסופר). Modern presses were installed, rights to various manuscripts purchased, many reprints were published, and painstaking editorship prevailed. Most of the firm's income came from the publication of religious works in editions of tens of thousands of copies. Among the more important publications was the Babylonian Talmud with over a hundred commentaries and addenda ("The Vilna Shas," first ed., 1880–86). Romm also published popular works in Yiddish, such as the books of I.M. *Dick, *Shomer, and Haskalah works.

After the death of Deborah Romm, the firm declined. The heirs were not interested in running it and Feiginsohn was reinstated as director. He remained with the firm even after it was sold to Baron D. *Guenzburg in 1910 and resold several years later to the firm of Noah Gordon and Ḥaim Cohen. During this period, a complete edition of the Jerusalem Talmud was published. The Romm Press continued in Vilna until 1940. With the Soviet conquest, the plant was confiscated and turned into a Russian-Lithuanian printing house.

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[Yehuda Slutsky]

ROMNY, city in Sumy district, Ukraine. The beginnings of a Jewish community date from the 18th century. In 1803 there were 127 Jews in the town, and in 1847 the Jews numbered 759. The community developed rapidly after the opening of the Romny-Libava railway line (1874), which became one of the important trade arteries of western Russia. From 1863 to 1901, Eliezer Arlosoroff served as the local rabbi. Tensions arising from economic competition between Jews and Christians resulted in pogroms in 1881 and, most seriously, on October 19–20, 1905, when 8 Jews were killed and 30 injured. In 1897 there were 6,378 Jews in Romny (28.3 percent of the total population); on the eve of World War I the number was estimated at 13,400 (43 percent of the total population). During the war, thousands of refugees from the battle areas fled to Romny. In 1919 *Denikin's troops organized a pogrom with loss of Jewish life and property. Under the Soviet regime, Romny declined economically; many Jews went to work in textile factories and on the railway. By 1926 the number of Jews had declined to 8,593 (about 33 percent of the population) and dropped further to 3,834 in 1939 (15 percent of the total population). Jewish public life was stifled. Romny was occupied by the Germans on September 10, 1941. In early November they concentrated the Jews in army barracks, and on November 19 they murdered 3,000 Jews, and by January 1942 they had killed another 700. In 1959 there were about 1,100 Jews (about 3 percent of the total population) living in Romny. Romny was the native town of P. *Rutenberg and Ch. *Arlosoroff. During the Second *Aliyah period, the "Romny Group," associated with Trumpeldor, which figured in the early development of the kibbutz movement in Palestine, was organized in the city.

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[Yehuda Slutsky / Shmuel Spector (2nd ed.)]

RONA, PETER (1871–1945), biochemist. Rona was born in Budapest, Hungary, and from 1906 worked at the City Hospital in Berlin. From 1922 until the coming of the Nazis in 1933, he was professor of medicinal chemistry at the University of Berlin and director of the chemical department of the Pathological Institute, and consultant to the Charité Hospital. In 1935 he went to Budapest. In 1944 he was under the protection of the Swedish Embassy there, but he died in early 1945, probably murdered by the Nazis.

He contributed papers to scientific journals, dealing with blood serum, alkaloids, adsorption, enzymes, poisons, and sugars. From 1920 to 1935 he was the editor of *Berichte ueber die gesamte Physiologie und experimentelle Pharmakologie*, and from 1923 to 1924 of a parallel *Jahresberichte*. He was author of *Praktikum der physiologischen Chemie*, 3 vols. (1929–31), and of *Praktikum der physikalischen Chemie insbesondere der Kolloidchemie fuer Mediziner und Biologen* (1930).

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[Samuel Aaron Miller]

RÓNAI, JÁNOS (1849–1919), first head of the Zionist movement in Hungary. Born in Alba-Iulia, Transylvania, he worked as a lawyer in Fogaras and Balazsfalva. Rónai wrote a book against the antisemitic movement in Hungary, led by the member of parliament G. *Istóczy, entitled *Kosmopolitismus és Nationalismus különös tekintettel a zsidóság jelenkori állására* ("Cosmopolitanism and Nationalism with Special Consideration of the Jewish Situation in Our Time," 1875), in which he justified Jewish national consciousness and the need to preserve it. In 1897, before the First Zionist Congress convened in Basle, he published *Zion und Ungarn*, a polemical book against the opponents of Zionism. He took part in that Congress and spoke there on the situation of the Jews of Hungary, warning against the swelling reaction and antisemitism in spite of the existing liberal regime. He founded

Zionist associations in Hungary and Transylvania and was persecuted by the government, which sought the assimilation of the Jews for political reasons. In the Zionist Conference of Hungary held in 1902 in Pressburg (Bratislava) with Herzl as chairman, Rónai was chosen the first chairman of the Zionist Organization in Hungary and later became its honorary president. He published articles in Die *Welt and in the Hungarian press.

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[Jekutiel-Zwi Zehawi]

RONLY-RIKLIS, SHALOM (1922–1994), Israeli conductor. Born in Tel Aviv, Ronly-Riklis studied piano under Vincze-Kraus at the Rubin Academy of Music at Tel Aviv University. He took conducting courses with Igor Markevich in Salzburg from 1953 to 1956. He played the horn in the orchestra of the Jewish Brigade during World War II and built up the Israel Defense Forces Orchestra which he conducted until 1960. From 1957, he conducted the Gadna Youth Orchestra, taking it on tour to Holland and both Americas. From 1961 to 1971, he was director of the Kol Israeli Orchestra, Jerusalem, and in 1971 became artistic coordinator of the Israel Philharmonic Orchestra. He was sent by the Foreign Ministry to Singapore to form a national symphony orchestra there. Ronly-Riklis conducted many Israeli orchestras as well as others abroad. He again conducted the Jerusalem Symphony Orchestra and the Israel Young Philharmonic Orchestra from 1984 to 1988. From 1970, he was head of the orchestra department at the Rubin Academy of Music at Tel Aviv University. Ronly-Riklis recorded with several orchestras, including the Israel Kibbutz Chamber Orchestra and the Tasmanian Symphony Orchestra.

[Uri (Erich) Toeplitz and Yohanan Boehm / Israela Stein (2nd ed.)]

°**ROOSEVELT, FRANKLIN DELANO** (1882–1945), 32nd president of the United States. As governor of New York (1928–32), Roosevelt's strong advocacy of old-age pensions endeared him to the Jewish community which shared with him an overriding commitment to the welfare state. His election to the presidency in 1932 was followed by a deluge of liberal New Deal legislation. His overwhelming victory in 1936 included the support of the vast majority of Jews. In the elections of 1940 and 1944 Roosevelt lost much of his earlier support from ethnic groups, but American Jews delivered over 90% of their votes to him. Jewish loyalty to the New Deal was reciprocated. Roosevelt maintained close liaison with Rabbi Stephen *Wise. An unprecedented number of Jews were appointed to high positions within his administration. The pejorative epithet "Jew Deal" became popular among antisemitic elements.

The verve characteristic of Roosevelt's early reform program was little in evidence in response to the foreign problems of the 1930s. In October 1937, he attempted to probe isolationist strength by delivering his "quarantine the aggressors" address, but adverse reaction may partly account for his subsequent reluctance to lead public opinion toward a firmer posture against the Axis. The Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor ultimately solved Roosevelt's dilemma. Roosevelt openly detested Nazism and recalled Ambassador Wilson from Germany in protest at the November 1938 pogroms. He felt unable, however, to admit more refugees being restricted by existing law and public opinion. In March 1938 he called a conference on refugees to meet at Evian les Bains (see *Evian Conference) to bring order into the chaos caused by Nazi policy and worldwide immigration restrictions, but he accepted British requests not to discuss Palestine as a haven there or later at the *Bermuda Conference of 1943. During World War II Roosevelt, as the ally of Great Britain which administered Palestine, would not act against British policy there, thus possibly also alienating Arab leaders, on whose neutrality the Allies counted. He unsuccessfully attempted to promote some settlement of the Palestine question favorable to Jews and acceptable to Arab leaders, principally King Ibn Saud of Saudi Arabia. Later he assured the Arabs that they would be consulted before any decision on Palestine was reached. The President also issued various pro-Zionist statements to American Jews, particularly before the 1944 elections.

Roosevelt's response to the Holocaust was similarly cautious, and he used the State Department as a foil against agitation directed toward himself on this subject. In January 1944, after Secretary of the Treasury Henry Morgenthau Jr. presented conclusive evidence that the State Department was sabotaging rescue efforts, he established the War Refugee Board with special powers to quicken rescue work. However, it came on the scene too late to save the major part of European Jewry.

[Henry L. Feingold]

His wife was ANNA ELEANOR (1884–1962), U.S. diplomat, humanitarian, and author. She became active in the Democratic Party in the 1920s and remained politically active until her death. A prominent international figure, Mrs. Roosevelt served as U.S. representative to the United Nations General Assembly from 1945 to 1952 and as a delegate in 1961. In 1946 she was elected chairman of the United Nations Commission on Human Rights, serving until 1953. She defended minority groups against discrimination and received numerous awards for her humanitarianism. An outspoken advocate of a Jewish state in Palestine, she opposed the U.S. embargo of arms shipped to Israel during the 1948 War of Independence and urged the U.S. to support Israel during the 1956 Sinai campaign with defensive arms and diplomatically. Mrs. Roosevelt was a patron of *Youth Aliyah. In her *India and the Awakening East* (1954), she recorded her visit to the Middle East, during which she was impressed with the Israel spirit of dedication and purpose.

[Edward L. Greenstein]

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°ROOSEVELT, THEODORE (1858–1919), 26th president of the United States, 1901–09. During his early career, Roosevelt shared the disdain of his class for the Jewish mass immigration then arriving at Ellis Island. This bias gradually disappeared as Roosevelt came to understand the hardships of ghetto life during his political service in New York as Governor of New York State. His respect for Jewish valor was increased by the performance of 17 Jewish Rough Riders under his command during the Spanish-American War. The president's acquaintance with "uptown" Jews was an intimate one and many of these wealthy Republicans followed his progressive leadership even to the point of supporting Roosevelt's 1912 Bull Moose revolt. During the neutrality period of World War I, Roosevelt denounced "hyphenated Americans," but he understood that Jews retained fewer Old World loyalties than other ethnic groups.

Roosevelt had more personal contact with Jews than any previous president. He appointed the first Jew (Oscar S. *Straus) to the Cabinet, and William Loeb served as his private secretary. In his closing years he supported the *Balfour Declaration despite the fact that this stand aligned him with his political archfoe, President Wilson.

[Selig Adler]

ROPCZYCE (Yid. **Ropshits**), town in Rzeszow province, S.E. Poland; in the period between the two world wars in Cracow province, W. Galicia. Jews settled in the town soon after its foundation. King Sigismund III Vasa (1587–1632), complying with the demands of the townsmen who wanted to remove Jewish competition, prohibited Jews from residing in Ropczyce, excepting those who leased the crown taxes. The prohibition was annulled by King John II Casimir in 1662, and subsequently Jews again settled in Ropczyce, numbering 663 by 1765. During the 19th century the Jewish population increased, by 1909 numbering 1,054 (29.4% of the total population). It decreased during World War I and had dwindled to 311 (10%) in 1921. At the beginning of the 19th century, Ḥasidism had a strong influence in the community. The celebrated *Ẓaddik*, Naphtali Ẓevi (*Ropshitser), established his "court" in Ropczyce. A report of the head of the police in *Lvov (1827) mentions Rabbi Asher of Ropczyce, and also states that the influence of Ḥasidism had diminished.

[Shimshon Leib Kirshenboim]

Holocaust Period

On Sept. 7, 1939, Ropczyce was occupied by the Germans. They immediately set fire to the synagogues including their Torah scrolls, and proceeded to confiscate Jewish property, deny Jews the rights of citizens, and send them to forced labor. In the spring of 1942 some of the Jewish males were transferred to the Pustkow labor camp. On June 22, 1942, a ghetto was established in Ropczyce where the Jews suffered from overcrowding, hunger, and disease. On July 2, 1942, they were deported. The aged and sick were shot near the city, and the others sent to the *Belzec death camp.

[Aharon Weiss]

ROPSHITSER (of **Ropczyce**), **NAPHTALI ẒEVI** (1760–1827), Ḥasidic *Ẓaddik*, and founder of Ḥasidic dynasties. A participant in the "holy company" whose mentor was *Elimelech of Lyzhansk, Naphtali Ẓevi was one of the main leaders of Ḥasidism in Galicia after the death of *Jacob Isaac ha-Ḥozeh (the Seer) of Lublin (1815); he is also considered as a pupil of Israel, the *Maggid* of *Kozienice and Menahem Mendel *Rymanower. Recollections of him were preserved only in folktales and stories which drew as much on imagination as truth. His admirers perceived esoteric and symbolic allusions in his every word and deed. According to Ḥasidic tradition, Naphtali Ẓevi feared that the rise of Napoleon would have bad effects for the Jews of Poland, such as military service, attendance at gentile schools, and the spread of unbelief, while his teacher Menahem Mendel held that Napoleon's victory would bring them deliverance.

His works are *Ohel Naftali* (1910), a collection of his talks and stories about him; *Ayyalah Sheluḥah* (1862), a commentary on Genesis and Exodus; and *Zeta Kodesh* (1868), sermons on the Pentateuch and for the festivals.

His son ELIEZER OF DZIECKOWITZ (Dzikow; d 1861), his disciple and successor, was a colleague of Issachar Baer *Radoshitser and Hirsch *Rymanower. In his last days he cut himself off from almost all contact with his Ḥasidim. Naphtali Ẓevi's other son, JACOB OF MALITSCH (d. 1839), officiated as a rabbi in Kolbuszowa and Malitsch and from 1827 became a *Ẓaddik*. By virtue of the miracles ascribed to him, he was known as the "Little Ba'al Shem Tov."

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[Esther (Zweig) Liebes]

ROSALES, JACOB (first half of 16th century), Portuguese merchant and shipowner who, after the expulsion of the Jews from *Portugal (1497), went to *Morocco. Rosales shipped imported textiles and resins from *India for varnish, mainly to Larache and *Salé-Rabat, the large port of the kingdom of *Fez. His commercial house in *Lisbon was well known. After the expulsion he probably lived in Fez. The court of Fez benefited from Rosales' commercial affairs and he maintained good relations with the court of John III of Portugal. When Moulay Ali ben-Hassan became sultan in May 1526, he invited Rosales to take up his residence in *Meknès. Rosales used his influence to protect his coreligionists and the Megorashim (exiles from the Iberian Peninsula) regarded him as their leader. When, in September 1526, Moulay Ahmad dethroned his uncle Moulay Ali ben-Hassan and assumed the sultanate at Fez, he chose Rosales as his confidant. From then onward, Rosales was entrusted almost exclusively with political relations with the Christian world and was sent officially to Portugal in 1529. Rosales appears to have been the initiator of diplomatic relations between Morocco and *France. Pierre de Piton, the French ambassador, arrived in Morocco with a shipment of Jewish books for the community (such consignments were absolutely prohibited by the Church and this breach was like providing the enemies of Christianity with weapons). In 1534 the sultan entrusted Rosales with opening important negotiations with John III; he was in charge of the negotiations in Portugal for two years; they led to the signing of a peace treaty on May 8, 1538, at Arzila. In the meantime Rosales died, probably in Portugal. His successor as counselor, ambassador, and foreign minister was Jacob (I) *Rote.

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[David Corcos]

ROSALES, JACOB HEBRAEUS (Immanuel Bocarro Frances; c. 1588–c. 1668), Portuguese physician, astronomer, astrologer and poet. Born in Lisbon, Rosales was the son of a Marrano physician (Ferdinand Bocarro) and member of a family that included the poets Jacob *Frances and Joseph Frances. He studied medicine, mathematics and classical languages at Montpellier, after which he returned to Lisbon, where he attained a considerable reputation as a physician. Among the many noble personages he attended was the Archbishop of Braga. In addition to a thriving medical practice, Rosales developed a serious interest in astronomy, publishing in 1619 *Tratado dos Cometas que aparecciao en Novembro de 1618*. Five years later, he published a far more influential astrological work, *Status Astrologicus sive Anacephalaeosis da Monarchia Lusitania* (Lisbon, 1624), written in verse. The work is dedicated to King Phillip III of Spain and praises Portugal's kings and nobility. In 1625, together with other Marranos, Rosales left Lisbon for Rome, possibly out of fear of the Inquisition. In Rome he cultivated a friendship with Galileo, who had a profound influence upon him and inspired him to write *Regnum Astrorum Reformation* (Hamburg, 1644). During the early 1630s, Rosales made his way to Hamburg, where there was a settlement of Marranos. On July 17, 1647, Emperor Ferdinand III bestowed upon him the title of count palatine in recognition of his scientific achievements. Later, in Leghorn, Rosales openly called himself a Jew, having assumed the name Jacob Hebraeus. As a consequence, he was denounced to the Inquisition in Lisbon in 1658 together with other notable Marranos.

Among his other works are *Poculum poeticum*, a poem in honor of his friend, Abraham *Zacuto, printed in the latter's treatise, *De medicorum principum historium* (Amsterdam, 1629–42); *Carmen intelectuale* and *Panegrycus in laudem eximii*, which appears in *Ẓeror ha-Ḥayyim; Menasseh ben Israel de Termino Vitae* (Amsterdam, 1639).

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ROSANES (Rosales), Spanish family originating in the town of Castallvi de Rosanes, near Barcelona. With the expulsion of the Jews from Spain, the members of this family emigrated to Portugal. There they were compelled to convert to Christianity, changing their family name to Rosales. The members of this family were then dispersed in the Oriental countries and those of Eastern and Western Europe. The most prominent members of this family included: JACOB *ROSALES (beginning of the 16th century) in Fez; JACOB HEBRAEUS *ROSALES (17th century); ẒEVI HIRSCH *ROSANES (18th century); and ABRAHAM ABELE ROSANES of Minsk. JACOB ROSANES (19th century), the German mathematician, also belonged to this family.

A large part of the family settled in *Turkey and the Balkan countries. ABRAHAM B. MEIR ROSANES (1635?–1720) was a leading rabbi in Constantinople. He was born there and studied under Yom Tov *Ẓahalon and Solomon ha-Levi ha-Zaken. Between 1659 and 1677, he was rabbi in Adrianople, where he was the leader of the rabbis who issued a *Ḥerem* ("ban") against *Shabbetai Ẓevi. His son-in-law was his nephew JUDAH B. SAMUEL *ROSANES, who mentioned some of the teachings of his father-in-law in his work *Mishneh la-Melekh* on Maimonides' *Mishneh Torah*. At the end of Abraham's life, he managed the press of his father-in-law, R. Samuel Franco, in Constantinople. He wrote notes and novellae as well as criticisms on *Giddulei Terumah* by Azariah *Figo. ISAAC B. DAVID ROSANES (1660?–1749) was a rabbi in Constantinople and settled in Jerusalem in 1733. A number of his responsa were published in the works of contemporary *Ḥakhamim*. ABRAHAM B. ḤAYYIM ROSANES (1665?–1744) was a rabbi and *posek*, the disciple of his uncle, R. Judah Rosanes. In 1718 he became chief rabbi of Constantinople. In 1743 he settled in Jerusalem, where he died. His responsa are scattered in the works of his contemporaries, such as the *Battei Kehunnah* by Isaac ha-Kohen *Rappaport. ABRAHAM B. JOSEPH ROSANES (1686–1757?) was a rabbi and *posek* in Constantinople and fought the Shabbatean movement. His responsa and novellae were published in the works of contemporary *Ḥakhamim*. ISAAC B. ḤAYYIM ROSANES was a wealthy merchant and purveyor to the Turkish army; he was assassinated in 1758 because of a debt which was owed to him by the vizier Valalodin Pasha.

ABRAHAM B. ISRAEL ROSANES also known as Ha-ABIR (from the acronym Ha-Rav Abraham ben Israel Rosanes; 1838–1879), was a *Ḥakham* and merchant. He was born in

Ruschuk (now Ruse), Bulgaria, where he engaged in commerce and established a yeshivah. In 1867 he emigrated to Ereẓ Israel. He sent letters on his impressions of Ereẓ Israel to his friend Menahem Farḥi, which were published in *Ha-Maggid* (11–12 (1867–68)) under the title *Masot he-Ḥakham Ha-Abir* and a second time by A.M. Habermann (see bibliography). In these letters, he describes the towns of Safed, Tiberias, Jerusalem, Hebron, and their surroundings. After a short while he returned to his native town. His brother, MORDECAI ROSANES, financed the paving of the Western Wall area in Jerusalem in 1874. Abraham's son SOLOMON *ROSANES was a scholar and historian of the Jews of the Oriental countries.

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[Abraham David]

ROSANES, JUDAH BEN SAMUEL (1657–1727), Turkish rabbi, *posek* and preacher. Rosanes was born in Constantinople. He studied under R. Solomon ha-Levi the Elder and R. Joseph b. Isaiah Trani (grandson of Joseph b. Moses *Trani). In his youth, he worked in the business of Abraham Rosanes, his uncle and father-in-law, who had business connections with the Turkish army. After his uncle's death, Judah engaged in business with his two brothers, Ḥayyim and Aaron. Later he was appointed to the rabbinate of Constantinople, where he served until his death. He was regarded as one of the greatest Turkish rabbis of his time and was among the rabbis of Constantinople who persecuted the Shabbateans there. In 1714 he was one of the signatories to the ban of excommunication against Nehemiah Ḥiyya *Ḥayon that was circulated to the whole Diaspora. In 1725, however, three Constantinople rabbis, of whom Judah was one, released Ḥayon from the excommunication on condition that he abandon the study of Kabbalah and Shabbatean beliefs. The rescinding of the excommunication angered the other rabbis of the town. Apparently this was the reason for zealots' breaking into his house and destroying his writings. What remained of his writings was collected after his death and prepared for publication by his pupil, Jacob *Culi. His *Mishneh la-Melekh*, novellae and disquisitions on Maimonides' *Mishneh Torah*, was first published in Constantinople in 1731 and later reprinted together with the text and other commentaries. Since then his commentary has been published in most editions of the *Mishneh Torah*. Rosanes' fame rests upon this work, one of the most erudite and penetrating commentaries on the *Mishneh Torah*. Rosanes' second work, published by Culi, was *Parashat Derakhim* (Constantinople, 1728), containing 26 sermons on *halakhah* and *aggadah*, and appended to his *Derekh Mitzvotekha* on the 613 commandments of the Torah according to the enumerations of Maimonides, *Naḥmanides, and *Moses b. Jacob of Coucy. The book also contains his notes and glosses to *Sefer ha-Ḥinnukh*, attributed to Aaron ha-Levi of Barcelona. Excerpts from the *Parashat Derakhim* were published also in the *Mikhlal Yofi* (Frankfurt on the Oder, 1775) of Isaac b. Ben Zion of Apta. Some of his responsa are to be found in the works of his contemporaries. A definite trend toward leniency is discernible in his rulings and commentary. He even regarded apostates as having been compelled to change their religion by *force majeure*.

Rosanes is not to be confused with the Shabbatean Judah Rosanes who lived in the mid-17th century and was one of the Constantinople scholars who excommunicated the two Smyrna rabbis Aaron *Lapapa and *Solomon (Nissim) b. Abraham Algazi I in 1666, after they excommunicated *Shabbetai Ẓevi.

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[Abraham David]

ROSANES, SOLOMON ABRAHAM (1862–1938), historian. He was born in Ruschuk (Ruse), Bulgaria. While still in his teens he began to engage in money changing, and in 1878 he was attacked by robbers and seriously injured. After his recovery, acting upon a vow he had taken, he devoted himself to writing, but had to combine his studies with business as his father died and he had to support his family. During his many business trips, he managed to pursue research in libraries and archives in various localities. During World War I, he settled in Sofia, where he served as librarian of the Jewish community and resided until his death. Rosanes contributed to Hebrew, Ladino, Romanian, and Bulgarian publications, writing chiefly on the history of the Jews in the Balkans. His works include a genealogy of the Rosanes family (French, 1885); *Shekel Yisrael*, a treatise on ancient Jewish coins; and a history of the Jewish community of Ruschuk (Ladino, 1914). His major work was *Korot ha-Yehudim be-Turkyah ve-Arẓot ha-Kedem* ("A History of the Jews in Turkey and in the Orient," 6 vols., 1930–45), of great importance because of the wealth of source material it contains. Part of it appeared under its original title, *Divrei Yemei Yisrael be-Togarmah* (1907–14). Rosanes, who knew many languages, also wrote *Safah Aḥat u-Devarim Aḥadim* (1928–29), a study on the beginnings of human speech, in which he propounded the view that all languages had developed from a pre-biblical Hebrew.

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[Tovia Preschel]

ROSANES, ẒEVI HIRSCH BEN ISSACHAR BERISH (1733–1804), Polish rabbi; grandson of Jacob Joshua *Falk. He was rabbi of Bolechow and in 1787, on the death of Mordecai Ze'ev Ornstein, was appointed rabbi of Lemberg, as his grandfather had been. He was the only rabbi of Lemberg after

Mordecai Ze'ev Ornstein who was not a member of the Ornstein family. Rosanes' considerable influence is shown by the large number of authors who sought his approbation of their works. Of particular interest is his enthusiastic approbation of the *Ahavat David vi-Yhonatan* of David ha-Kohen (Lemberg, 1801). This work, as its title indicates, is a commentary on the novellae of Jonathan *Eybeschuetz, of whom his grandfather was one of the greatest opponents. His *Tesha Shitot* (*ibid.*, 1800), a work distinguished for its acumen and profundity, also contains his father's novellae, entitled *Ḥezkat Ahavati*. His wife Judith was a well-known personality and managed a printing works in Lemberg.

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[Itzhak Alfassi]

ROSARIO, second-largest city in Argentina, comprises the second-largest Jewish community in the country: according to data of Vaad Hakehilot, there were some 1,600 Jewish families out of a total population of about 1,012,000 (2000). The first Jewish families settled in Rosario in 1887. Several years later their number was increased by the arrival of immigrants who had failed to adapt to the conditions in the Jewish agricultural settlement Moiseville, as well as by new immigrants, both Ashkenazim and Sephardim. A group of 28 persons established the Asociación Israelita de Beneficencia on Sept. 6, 1903, to attend to religious and welfare needs. Acquiring the first Jewish cemetery in 1909, the Asociación Israelita gradually became the central organization for both Ashkenazim and Sephardim in Rosario. In 1909 the total number of Jews in Rosario was 3,059. By that time the community already had a Zionist center (founded 1904) as well as a *Talmud Torah* which served as the foundation for the large Ḥayyim Naḥman Bialik School. Both the Sephardim and the Ashkenazim established their own synagogues apart from the one belonging to the Asociación Israelita de Beneficencia. A socialist workers' organization, founded in 1909, opened the Yiddishe Arbeter Bibliotek in the same year. In 1919, during the pogroms in *Buenos Aires (the "Tragic Week," January 7–13; see also *Argentina), the Jews in Rosario were identified with "Russians" and "Bolsheviks," and popular incitement against them reached such intensity that only the timely intervention of the authorities averted serious damage and disorder.

Between the two world wars, Rosario's Jewish community increased in number; in 1943 its population was estimated at 10,000. As a consequence of this growth, new community organizations were formed and the older ones were enlarged; the Po'alei Zion party was founded (1919), as were WIZO (1926) and committees for Keren Hayesod and the Jewish National Fund, while the Zionist movement grew more influential. Welfare organizations and activities also became more diversified. The first women's welfare organization, founded in 1909, was augmented by Hakhnasat Orḥim and Bikkur Ḥolim, which assisted poor immigrants and organized medical services for the needy. In 1924 the library maintained by the left-wing workers, whose organization had become communist, was supplemented by the facilities of the Ateneo Juventud Israelita, an organization for Spanish-speaking youth, and by the athletic facilities of the Maccabi sports club. As a result of Aaron Schallman's initiative, the Yiddish weekly *Rosarier Lebn* began publication in 1924, and it continued to be published in Spanish and Yiddish at least until 1968. It was the only Jewish newspaper in all the cities of the Argentine interior which was published periodically.

During the inter-war period, the Jews were engaged principally as peddlers and businessmen. The Jewish community's tendency toward cooperative organization created important financial institutions, some of them continued to function until the end of 20th century, including the Banco Cooperativo (founded 1926); the Cooperativa Mutual Fraternal (founded 1927), a business cooperative for peddlers; and the Banco Comercial Israelita (founded 1921), which was owned by central community institutions and has become an authorized bank. Amid this institutional diversity, the Asociación Israelita de Beneficencia continued to serve as the central Jewish organization. Although the Sephardim established separately such communal institutions as Eẓ Ḥayyim (1916), for Spanish-speaking Jews from Turkey; Shevet Aḥim (1924), for Syrian Jews; and the Confraternidad Israelita Latina (1924), for Moroccan immigrants, they continued to share the cemetery and the educational facilities with the Asociación Israelita de Beneficencia. During the 1920s and 1930s, the Asociación expanded, built a large central building, and developed communal services with special emphasis on education, but refused to support leftist, anti-religious schools.

In 1971 the Asociación comprised 2,585 families of which only 168 were Sephardim. Its building houses both a large synagogue and the Bialik School. The latter contains a preschool class, a kindergarten, an elementary school, and a secondary school offering both the general curriculum and Hebrew courses. As part of its cultural program, the Asociación maintains a full schedule of conferences, concerts, plays, and celebrations of Jewish holidays. In addition, it supports the activities of youth groups, administers the cemetery, and takes part in such community matters as the fight against antisemitism. Like the *kehillah* in Buenos Aires (*AMIA), but on a much more modest scale, the Asociación Israelita de Beneficencia serves as the central organization of the Jews of Rosario. Nevertheless, there are various other social-cultural organizations such as the Círculo Sefaradí, Hebraica, political organizations, youth movements, and welfare organizations. Social life is also enriched by the Aḥad Ha-Am Library and the Sociedad Hebraica. Many Jewish students attend the Universidad Nacional del Litoral, whose main faculties are located in Rosario.

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WEBSITE: http://www.kehilarosario.com.ar

[Lazaro Schallman]

ROSE (Heb. וֶרֶד, *vered*, mishnaic), the genus *Rosa*. Two species grow wild in Israel, the white rose, *Rosa phoenicea*, which grows on the banks of rivers, in swamps and woods, and the *vered ha-kelev* – *Rosa canina* – which has pink and sometimes white blossoms and grows close to water. These wild roses have five petals and are not particularly beautiful or fragrant. The fragrant rose arrived in Ereẓ Israel from Persia only during the Greco-Persian period. Its Persian name was *varda* whence its mishnaic name *vered* (Aramaic *varda*, Gr. ῥόδον). The rose is not mentioned in the Bible, even though according to tannaitic tradition Jerusalem possessed "a garden of roses [in which fruit trees also grew] that existed from the time of the early prophets" (Ma'as. 2:5; Tosef., Neg. 6:2; BK 82b), though it was otherwise forbidden to plant gardens in Jerusalem. The rose (*rodon*) is mentioned a number of times in the Greek translation of Ben Sira but, in the Hebrew fragments discovered in the *genizah* (Ecclus. 39:13; 50:8), the word *shoshan* ("lily") appears. This substitution of *shoshan* or *shoshannah* for *vered*, even though erroneous (see *Flowers, of the Bible, Lily), already occurs in the Midrash which speaks of "a red *shoshannah*" (i.e., a rose, since the lily is white) and even mentions a "*shoshannah* of a *vered*" (Lev. R. 23:3). The source of this mistaken identification lies chiefly in the explanation of "the *shoshannah* among the thorns" (Song 2:2), which was understood to refer to the thorns on the stalk of the rose. The red rose is mentioned in the Apocrypha (I En. 82:16; 106:2).

In rabbinic literature, the rose is frequently mentioned: the bridegroom wears a crown of roses (Meg. Ta'an. 327) and idolators decorate their shops with them (Av. Zar. 12b). There is an adage that "youth is like a crown of roses" (Shab. 152a). R. Johanan's beauty was compared to a crown of red roses encircling a silver cup containing pomegranate seeds (BM 84a). A white rose is also mentioned (Git. 68b). A handsome man is called *vardina'ah* ("roselike," Nid. 19b and cf. Git. 41a). The main use of roses was in the preparation of an aromatic oil made by soaking the petals in olive oil (Shev. 7:6, et al.). It was apparently also customary to soak rose blossoms in water. The Talmud describes a Persian noble's concept of enjoying life as "sitting up to his neck in roses surrounded by naked harlots" (Av. Zar. 65a; Rashi: "sitting in a bath of roses"). Medieval halakhic literature speaks of "rosewater" as a medicament. Jam made from rose petals was a favorite food (Sh. Ar., OḤ 204:11).

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[Jehuda Feliks]

ROSE, ALEX (**Royz**, **Olesh**; 1898–1976), U.S. trade unionist and politician. Rose, who was born in Warsaw, Poland, was the son of a wealthy tanner. Arriving in the U.S. in 1913, Rose found employment as a millinery operator and became active in the labor union. During World War I, he enlisted in the Jewish Legion and saw service in the Middle East. In 1923, three years after his return, Rose became secretary-treasurer of the United Hat, Cap, and Millinery Workers Union, Local 24. He held this post until 1950, when he became the union's president. Here, he was instrumental in overcoming the incursions of communists and labor racketeers, and in combating the chaotic competition so destructive of labor standards in the garment industries. Rose also became prominent in the field of labor and liberal politics. As New York State secretary of the American Labor Party (1936–44), Rose helped to steer a course away from independent labor and ideological politics toward balance of power and pressure politics. The party provided the margin of victory for New Deal candidates in New York, including Franklin D. Roosevelt, Herbert Lehman and Fiorello La Guardia.

As chief strategist for the Liberal Party from its founding in 1944, Rose came to embody a politics of compromise. The Liberal Party became a minor satellite party, fearful of innovation and excess, despite its position as New York State's leading minor party. During the early 1960s, a period of decline set in but under Rose's leadership the Liberal Party reasserted its decisive position in New York politics by providing the balance of power for John Lindsay's election as New York City's mayor in 1965 and 1969.

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[Kenneth Waltzer]

ROSÉ, ARNOLD JOSEF (**Rosenblum**; 1863–1946), violinist. Born in Jassy, Romania, Rosé became concertmaster of the Vienna Opera and the Vienna Philharmonic at the age of 18, after conversion to Catholicism, and held these posts until 1938. In 1882 he founded the Rosé String Quartet, which won fame in Europe and in the United States. He also taught at the Vienna State Academy of Music until 1924. When the Nazis invaded Austria in 1938 he fled to England. Rosé married Gustav *Mahler's sister, Justine. His brother EDWARD, a cellist, and his daughter ALMA, a violinist, died in a concentration camp.

ROSE, ARNOLD MARSHALL (1918–1968), U.S. sociologist. Born in Chicago, Rose taught at Bennington College and Washington University in St. Louis and from 1952 until his death was professor of sociology at the University of Minnesota. His interest was primarily in the field of social problems, especially those relating to the labor movement and race relations. In the latter field he was considered a leading authority. Rose first entered the complex area of race relations as an assistant to Gunnar Myrdal, the author and editor of *An American Dilemma* (1944). Rose published a condensed edition of this classic entitled *The Negro in America* (1948).

He also wrote *Studies in the Reduction of Prejudice* (1947, 1948^2); *The Negro's Morale* (1949); and *America Divided; Minority Group Relations in the United States* (with C. Rose, 1948, 1949^2). He edited *Race Prejudice and Discrimination* (1951) and *Human Behavior and Social Processes* (1962); and coedited *Minority Problems* (1965). His other works include: *Union Solidarity: The International Cohesion of a Labor Union* (1952); *Theory and Method in the Social Sciences* (1954); and a widely-used text, *Sociology: The Study of Human Relations* (1956, 1965^2). Rose was involved in a lawsuit in 1963–64 after having been denounced as a security risk because of his alleged communist activities. He won the case, which he described in *Libel and Academic Freedom, A Lawsuit against Political Extremists* (1968). One of his last works was *Power Structure; Political Process in American Society* (1967).

[Werner J. Cahnman]

ROSE, BILLY (**William Samuel Rosenberg**; 1899–1966), U.S. showman. Rose was born to a poor family in New York. He acquired an unusual mastery of speed at shorthand, which during World War I won him a job with Bernard *Baruch. After the war, Rose decided that songwriting was a lucrative field and, on studying successful lyrics, established that they either romanticized the commonplace or played on ordinary words. His "Ain't Nature Grand" (1920) became a "hit," and three years later, at 24, Rose was earning $100,000 a year as a songwriter. He wrote lyrics for nearly 400 songs, about 50 of which were popular successes. In 1924 he opened a small nightclub and began to pioneer nightclub-style entertainment for people of moderate means. He also owned the Diamond Horseshoe in New York. In 1929 he married Fanny Brice, the Broadway musical star, the first of his five wives. From 1930, Rose produced shows on Broadway, among them *Jumbo* (1935), *Carmen Jones* (1943), and *Seven Lively Arts* (1944). He bought the Ziegfeld Theater (1954) and the National Theater (1958), which was renamed The Billy Rose Theater. Investing in real estate and stocks after World War II, he became the largest single stockholder in the American Telephone and Telegraph Company. He collected art on a grand scale, and in 1965 donated his sculptures to the *Israel Museum in Jerusalem, including works by Rodin, Jacob Epstein and Daumier, to be housed in the Billy Rose Sculpture Garden. He also donated a collection of paintings that included a Gainsborough, a Reynolds, a Romney and a Turner. His sister, Polly Rose Gottlieb, wrote his biography, *The Nine Lives of Billy Rose* (1968).

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[Lee Healey]

ROSE, ERNESTINE POTOVSKY (1810–1892), U.S. feminist and social activist. Ernestine Potovsky was born in Piotrkow, Poland, the daughter of an Orthodox rabbi. Early in life she rebelled against her traditional upbringing and at the age of 17 she left home and traveled first to Europe and then to England in 1830. In 1832 she met the English social reformer Robert Owen, whose disciple she became; the same year she married another non-Jewish Owenite, William Rose, a jeweler and silversmith by trade. The couple moved to New York City in 1836 and Ernestine Rose traveled throughout the eastern United States giving Owenite lectures on the science of government, religion, free schools, abolition of slavery and women's rights. From 1843 to 1846, she and her husband lived in an Owenite commune near Syracuse, New York, while she continued to lecture. She campaigned especially for the passage of a married women's property rights bill in New York State, which finally passed the legislature in 1848. In 1850 Ernestine Rose helped organize the first National Woman's Rights Convention, which met in Massachusetts. An acquaintance and colleague of such abolitionists and feminists as Ralph Waldo Emerson, William Lloyd Garrison, Lucretia Mott, Elizabeth Stanton and Susan Anthony, she campaigned vigorously in the years to come all over the U.S. on behalf of women's property rights, women's suffrage and reform of divorce laws, especially in New York State. Together with Susan Anthony she was a leader of the more radical wing of the suffrage movement that refused to concede that other social issues, most notably abolition and rights of black Americans, had precedence over feminist questions, and as such she bitterly attacked the 14th and 15th amendments for constitutionally emancipating blacks but not women, and urged their rejection. Along with other militants, she helped found the Women's Suffrage Society in 1869. In the same year she and her husband returned to England where she lived a life of semi-retirement because of bad health, though continuing to speak out on feminist issues. Although she seemed to attach no particular significance to her Jewish background, she did engage in 1863 in a long-published debate with Horace Seaver, the abolitionist editor of the *Boston Investigator*, whom she accused of antisemitic opinions.

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[Hillel Halkin]

ROSE, FRED (**Rosenberg**; 1907–1983), Canadian communist activist, member of Parliament, spy. Rose was born in Lublin, Poland, and moved with his parents to Montreal in 1916. As a young man he found work in a factory and joined the Young Communist League and helped organize unions for the unemployed. Trained as an electrician, in 1929 Rose became national secretary of the Young Communist League and visited Moscow the following year. Back in Montreal, he was closely watched by the RCMP and in 1931 was arrested, charged with sedition, and sentenced to a year in prison. After his release, he became a member of the Communist Party of Canada's covert leadership group and was an active political pamphleteer. He unsuccessfully stood for public office several times, but in 1943, with the Soviet Union a World War II ally of Canada, Rose stood for election to the House of Commons for the Communist Labor Progressive Party from the heavily Jewish Montreal Cartier riding. He won, defeating both David *Lewis and Lazarus *Phillips. Canada's first and only communist Member of Parliament, Rose was reelected in the 1945 federal election. During this campaign, American singer Paul Robeson personally endorsed Rose and sang at his campaign headquarters. However, Rose's parliamentary career was cut short when he was accused by Soviet Embassy defector Igor Gouzenko of spying for the Soviet Union. Following a sensational trial, Rose was found guilty of espionage and served four and a half years of a six-year sentence. Released from prison in 1951, Rose when into exile in Poland. In 1957 the Canadian government revoked his Canadian citizenship. Rose died in Warsaw.

[Gerald Tulchinsky (2nd ed.)]

ROSE, HERMAN (1909–), U.S. painter, watercolorist, and educator. Born in Brooklyn, he studied at the Art Students League and the National Academy of Design and served in the WPA. Although Rose painted subjects in England, Israel, Spain, and Mexico, he is best known for depicting the architecture of New York City and Brooklyn in small cityscapes with a palette of sober colors. An oil painting like *Blake Avenue, Brooklyn* (1940) manages to evoke intimacy while also depicting the Brooklyn street of the title as a dynamic diagonal which plunges the viewer from foreground to background. Rose's work has a picturesque, quietly emotive quality which compares to that of the 18th-century English Romantics. The artist often utilized a painting technique which involved applying small spots of paint to the surface of his work, and then moving warm and cool tones over one another; this resulted in a low level relief in which the paint dabs retained their identity. For instance, the painting *Manhattan Tops*, which the artist painted from his New York rooftop studio, depicts the city skyline dominated by a thickly textured sky. Rose also painted portraits and still-lifes. He carried the nuances of his vision from pale tonal impastos to thinner, more luminous washes throughout the years. His work has been exhibited at many museums and galleries, including the "Fifteen Americans" exhibition of 1952, the Pennsylvania Academy of Art and the Rutgers University Art Gallery. He received a Lee Krasner award in recognition of lifetime achievement. Many major museums and galleries own examples of his work, including the Newark Museum, the Museum of Modern Art, the Norton Museum of Art, and the Whitney Museum.

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[Nancy Buchwald (2nd ed.)]

ROSE, IRWIN (Ernie) (1926–), U.S. biologist and Nobel laureate in chemistry. Born in New York, Rose grew up in Spokane, Washington, where he attended Washington State College before serving as a radio technician in the U.S. Navy in World War II. He graduated with a B.S. (1949) from the University of Chicago, where he also gained his Ph.D. after working on nucleic acid synthesis with Birgit Vennesland (1952). After fellowships at Western Reserve (now Case-Western Reserve) University and New York University, he became a member of the biochemistry faculty at Yale University (1954–63) before joining the division of basic science at the Fox Chase Cancer Center in Philadelphia (1963–95). Since 1997, he has been a researcher in the Department of Physiology and Biophysics at the University of California, Irvine College of Medicine. He was awarded the Nobel Prize in chemistry (2004) jointly with Avram *Hershko and Aaron *Ciechanover for his contributions to characterizing the ubiquitins, the series of enzymes which govern the breakdown of cellular proteins. This research has major implications for understanding cell growth and proliferation in health and disease and for developing novel anticancer drugs. Rose's current research concerns the role of proton transfer in enzyme recycling, especially in carbohydrate synthesis. Rose was elected to the U.S. Academy of Sciences (1979). He is married to the research biochemist Zelda Budenstein Rose.

[Michael Denman (2nd ed.)]

ROSE, LEONARD (1918–1984), U.S. cellist. Born in Washington, D.C., Rose began to study the cello with Walter Grossman at the age of ten. He was awarded a scholarship for further study with Felix Salmond at the Curtis Institute of Music, Philadelphia, where he remained until 1938 and where he was head of the cello department from 1951. At the age of 20, after only three weeks with the orchestra, he became first cellist of the NBC Symphony under Toscanini. He then went to the Cleveland Orchestra for a four-year period, and finally to the New York Philharmonic. He appeared as cello soloist with most of the major orchestras in Europe and America; and the trio which he formed with Isaac *Stern and pianist Eugene Istomin was similarly acclaimed in chamber music concerts. Rose was also on the teaching faculty of the Juilliard School of Music, New York.

[Max Loppert (2nd ed.)]

ROSE, MAURICE (1899–1945), U.S. Army officer. Rose, who was born in Middletown, Connecticut, and whose father was a rabbi, served with the AEF during World War I as a second lieutenant. He advanced through the ranks and was promoted to brigadier general in 1943. From 1942 to 1943, as chief of staff of the 2nd Armored Division, he fought through the North African campaign and negotiated the unconditional surrender of the German forces in Tunisia. He was then assigned to command the 3rd Armored Division and was subsequently given the rank of major general. Rose led the 3rd in fighting through France, Belgium, and into Germany, where he was killed in action. Rose Memorial Hospital in Denver, Colorado, was named for him.

ROSE, MAURICE ("**Mauri**"; 1906–1981), Jewish race car driver, three-time winner of the Indianapolis 500. Rose was born in Ohio and began his career in the late 1920s racing on dirt tracks before moving to California. He finished second in Indianapolis in 1934 in his second outing. Rose's first Indy victory came in 1941 at a speed of 115 mph (185 kph) in the last race run before World War II. His other victories came back-to-back in 1947 and 1948. After his retirement from racing, he invented a device allowing amputees to drive an automobile.

He was named to the International Motorsports Hall of Fame (1994) and the Motorsports Hall of Fame of America (1996).

[Alan D. Abbey (2nd ed.)]

ROSEN (formerly **Rosenzweig**), **ABRAHAM** (1889–1974), Hebrew poet. Born in a village near Dunayevtsy (Podolia province), Rosen taught in various Russian towns from 1908 on, and in Chernovtsy (Bukovina) from 1921 to 1925. Settling in Ereẓ Israel in 1925, he taught there until his retirement in 1957. From 1920, Rosen's poems appeared in Hebrew newspapers and periodicals, both in Israel and other countries.

His books of poetry are: *Im Loven Derakhim* (1933); *Yamim* (1937); *Le-Nir Avot* (1929); *Sheloshah ba-Moledet* (1941); *Shirim* (1950); *Shirim Ḥadashim* (1957); *Shivim va-Ḥamishah Shirim Ḥadashim* (1964). A book of his stories, *Temurot*, appeared in 1968. He was the editor of a volume commemorating the community of Kamenets-Podolski. He translated Pushkin's "Legends" into Hebrew (1947). A collection of poems (*Mivḥar Shirim*) appeared in 1993.

[Getzel Kressel]

ROSEN, ALBERT LEONARD (**Al**; "Flip"; 1924–), U.S. baseball player. Rosen was born to Louis and Rose in Spartanburg, S.C., where his grandfather, a Polish immigrant, ran a department store . The family moved to Miami, where Rosen and his brother, Jerry, were raised by their mother and grandmother after their parents divorced. Rosen learned boxing in order to fight off antisemites in the neighborhood, and despite having his nose broken 11 times, was good enough to win the middleweight championship in a Florida high school tournament. Rosen attended Florida Military Academy, and was a four-sport man, excelling at football, basketball, boxing, and baseball. At 16, he was given a tryout with the Cleveland Indians. He attended the University of Florida and later the University of Miami, where he was an all-round athlete. Rosen spent two years in the Navy during World War II, emerging in 1946 as a lieutenant. He debuted in the Major Leagues on September 10, 1947, and became the Indians' full-time third-baseman in 1950, having an outstanding rookie season: he hit 37 home runs, enough to set an American League rookie record and lead the AL in home runs in 1950, becoming the first AL rookie to win the home run title. Rosen also had 100 walks, 100 runs and 116 RBIs. His 37 HRs was a rookie record that stood until 1987. Rosen drove in 100 or more runs for five consecutive seasons (1950–54), and finished in the top seven in RBIs from 1950 to 1954 and the top seven in walks from 1950 to 1955. In 1953 Rosen failed to achieve by a whisker the exalted Triple Crown. He won the AL home run title with 43 and the RBI crown with 146, but his .336 batting average fell .0011 short of winning the American League batting title, which went to Mickey Vernon, whose teammates conspired to help him win. He was also first in runs (115), total bases (367), slugging (.613), OPS (1.034), runs created (153), extra base hit (75), and times on base (290). He was the first unanimous AL MVP in history. Rosen was elected to appear in the All Star Game from 1952 to 1955, winning MVP honors in 1954 when he hit two HRs and had five RBIs. Rosen's lifetime batting average was .285, with 192 HRs and 717 RBIs in 1,044 games. He also appeared on the cover of *Sports Illustrated* in 1955. "When I was up there in the majors," he once said, "I always knew how I wanted it to be. I wanted it to be, 'Here comes one Jewish kid that every Jew in the world can be proud of.'" Rosen suffered a broken finger in 1954 and had several other nagging injuries that forced him to retire in 1956. He later served as president of the New York Yankees (1978–79), Houston Astros (1980–85), and San Francisco Giants (1985–92), being named Major League Executive of the Year in 1987.

[Elli Wohlgelernter (2nd ed.)]

ROSEN, CARL (1918–1983), U.S. apparel manufacturer. Rosen, a native New Englander, joined a small regional dress firm owned by his father, Arthur, and built it into one of the most successful apparel businesses in the U.S. At the time of Rosen's death, Puritan Fashions Corporation – founded in Boston in the first decade of the 20th century – had become a $300 million-a-year business. Rosen, one of the garment industry's more colorful personalities, also owned thoroughbred horses and was a regular at tracks around the country. He was a benefactor of many institutions, including Brandeis University in Waltham, Mass., where he endowed the Arthur Rosen Chair in economics. He began his lifelong career at Puritan in 1936 when still a teenager, starting in the cutting room as a sweeper. He entered the U.S. Army as a private during World War II, emerging as an artillery captain. He returned to Puritan, became chairman and chief executive officer in 1953, and remained in those posts for the next 30 years. In the 1960s, Rosen foresaw the vast changes that U.S. social customs, dress codes, and retailing concepts were about to undergo. He was one of the first American apparel makers to realize the business potential of the Beatles, the rock group then taking England by storm but still relatively unknown in the U.S. Rosen secured a license to make Beatles T-shirts, knit shirts, and sweatshirts, then managed to sell them to the conservative J.C. Penney Co. chain. They were an instant hit. In 1965, Rosen opened Paraphernalia, a Madison Avenue store modeled after the boutiques then popular in London. Small and trendy, its mod fashions – vinyl miniskirts and neon bikinis, for example – helped launch the careers of such hip new designers as Betsey Johnson and Mary Quant. By 1968 there were 44 Paraphernalia franchises in the U.S., but the name had become diluted because of too-rapid expansion and the last one closed around 1976. In 1977, Rosen made perhaps his most astute move at Puritan, getting the license to produce Calvin *Klein jeans for men and women. Within three years, Puritan was shipping 500,000 pairs of jeans a week. When Rosen died, his son Andrew, then 26, became head of the company. Later that year, Klein and his partner, Barry Schwartz, acquired Puritan, subsequently changed its name and in 1989 Andrew Rosen left to join the Anne *Klein Apparel Group.

[Mort Sheinman (2nd ed.)]

ROSEN, CHARLES (1927–), pianist, author and musicologist. Rosen was born in New York City, where he studied the piano from the age of seven at the Juilliard School of Music, and later with the great virtuoso pianist Moriz Rosenthal. At Princeton University, he studied French literature (with special emphasis on the connections between music and poetry in 16th-century France), graduating with the highest honors. This led to his winning a two-year Fulbright scholarship to study medieval French music in Paris. On his return to the United States in 1953, simultaneously with teaching French literature at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, he began his career as a concert pianist, the ultimate international success of which eventually reduced his teaching activities to a minimum. Rosen won an enviable reputation as a critic, regularly reviewing books on painting, literature and music for the *New York Review of Books*, and also as an author. His *The Classical Style* (1971), a study of the music of Haydn, Mozart, and Beethoven, received universal critical admiration and won the National Book Award for Arts and Letters in 1972. Rosen's deep understanding of the process of composition and personal insights in the music itself is also manifested in his study *Sonata Forms* (1980). His Harvard lectures on Romantic musical thought and composition were published under the title *The Romantic Generation* (1995). Rosen's wide range of musical sympathies as a pianist – from Bach and the classical composers through Liszt and the virtuoso school to the music of *Schoenberg and of modern composers such as Elliott Carter and Pierre Boulez – was complemented by a powerful technique and a profound intellectual grasp of the works he played. All these factors combined to make Rosen one of the most interesting and important performing musicians of his day.

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[Max Loppert / Yulia Kreinin (2nd ed.)]

ROSEN, FRED SAUL (1930–2005), U.S. pediatrician. He was born in Newark, New Jersey, and received his A.B. from Lafayette College (1951) and M.D. from Western Reserve University (1955). He was a member of the department of pediatrics of Harvard Medical School from 1966 where he was James L. Gamble Professor of Pediatrics from 1972 and head of the Boston Children's Hospital's division of immunology (1968–85). Rosen's main research concerned inherited immunodeficiency disorders in infancy and childhood on which he was an acknowledged international authority. He was chairman of WHO's committee on immunodeficiencies. He was an outstanding teacher and clinician. His honors included: the Mead Johnson award for pediatric research of the American Academy of Pediatrics (1970), election to the Institute of Medicine of U.S. National Academy of Sciences, and the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, and recipient of the inaugural Dana Foundation Award in Human Immunodeficiency Research (2005).

[Michael Denman (2nd ed.)]

ROSÉN, HAIIM B. (1922–1999), Israeli linguist. Born in Vienna, Rosén received his Ph.D. from the Hebrew University of Jerusalem in 1948; he taught from then at the university and became professor in 1968. His research interests cover a wide range from general and Indo-European linguistics and the linguistic and philological study of classical languages to the study of Israeli Hebrew. His *Ha-Ivrit Shellanu* (1956) was the first work to examine Israeli Hebrew as the object of modern linguistic analysis and stimulated much academic discussion. He was a member of the Israel Academy of Arts and Sciences and in 1978 was awarded the Israel Prize in the humanities.

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ROSEN, JOSEPH A. (1877–1949), agronomist and social worker. Rosen was born in Moscow. He studied agriculture in Russia and Germany and emigrated to the U.S. in 1903. His discovery, the "Rosen rye," was introduced all over the U.S. In 1921 Rosen went to Russia for the *American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (JDC) on a relief mission for Jews. He initiated a land settlement project in the Ukraine and Crimea in 1924 for poor Jews who had been deprived of Soviet citizenship rights. Heading the Agro-Joint, which was sponsored by the JDC for colonizing activities, he obtained the agreement and financial participation of the Soviet government for the project (1928), through which some 14,000 families were settled on the land by 1934. Artisan cooperatives, trade schools, and health stations were also organized. By 1938 the Agro-Joint was dissolved and its Russian Jewish staff was arrested and disappeared; most of the settlers either left the colonies for urban occupations or were killed by the Germans during the war. In 1939 Rosen was sent by the JDC on an investigation of British Guiana as a place for Jewish settlement. Later he spent some time guiding a JDC-sponsored settlement in the Dominican Republic.

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[Yehuda Bauer]

ROSEN, JOSEPH BEN ISAAC (d. 1885), Russian rabbi and author. Rosen was born in Gorodok, Belorussia. His father intended him for a business career, but he early displayed unusual scholarly abilities and studied for the rabbinate. His first position was in Gorodok near Vitebsk, and in 1864 he was appointed rabbi of Telz (Telsiai). In 1873 he was appointed rabbi of Slonim, succeeding the renowned Joshua Isaac *Shapira, known as "Eisel Ḥarif." The period of his rabbinate at Slonim was exceptionally difficult for him. The *maskilim* of Slonim had begun to organize themselves and made considerable progress. Nevertheless, as a result of his moderation and conciliatory ways, his rabbinic authority remained unimpaired, and he enjoyed the respect of both the Ḥasidim and the *maskilim*. In 1881 a fire broke out in the city, as a result of which about 75% of its Jewish inhabitants were left homeless. Rosen placed himself at the head of an organization to rehabilitate them, and through his organizational ability and moral influence he succeeded in effecting the rebuilding of the homes and the erection of new and modern communal buildings. Rosen's daughter married Isaac Jacob *Reines.

All his works, which display his profound learning, include his name in their titles. They are: *Edut bi-Yhosef* (Vilna, 1866), novellae to the Shulḥan Arukh, *Yoreh De'ah; Porat Yosef* (Warsaw, 1884), responsa and novellae to the Shulḥan Arukh, *Ḥoshen Mishpat*; and *She'erit Yosef* (*ibid.*, 1914), responsa and halakhic clarification.

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[Itzhak Alfassi]

ROSEN, MATHIAS (1804–1865), banker and member of the Polish Council of State. Rosen was born in Warsaw and took over his father's banking business there in 1846. Because of his financial status and close relations with the government, he was appointed head of the Warsaw community in the 1840s. In this capacity he established philanthropic institutions and fostered the influence of *Haskalah in religious education. As a result of the increase of the Jewish population in Warsaw, the leader of the community became the representative of all the Jews in the country. For his services, Rosen was elected a member of the Council of Warsaw in 1862, and in the following year of the Council of State. He was entrusted by Grand Duke Constantine with the commission to study the moral, industrial and agricultural conditions of the Alsatian Jews. Rosen collaborated with the *Encyklopedja Powszechna* of S. Orgelbrand and with the *Biblioteka Warszawska*, being a member of the editorial board from 1849.

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ROSEN, MOSES (1912–1994), chief rabbi of Romania from 1948, when his predecessor, Rabbi Alexander *Safran, left the country, and chairman of the Federation of Jewish Communities of the Socialist Republic of Romania from 1964. Born in Moinesti, Moldavia, where his father, Rabbi Abraham Aryeh had served as rabbi, Rosen was ordained as a rabbi around the beginning of World War II. From 1957 he was a member of the Great National Assembly (the parliament) of Romania, his original constituency being a quarter of Bucharest that at one time had a large Jewish population. He was the editor of the *Journal of Romanian Religious Jewry*, the trilingual (Romanian, Hebrew, Yiddish) biweekly published by the Romanian Jewish community from 1956, the only Hebrew publication in Eastern Europe. Rosen's speeches and sermons were published in this periodical, which also contained items of Jewish news from abroad and articles on the contribution of Romanian Jews to Jewish culture. Rosen's main achievement was the creation of legal conditions for adequate Jewish religious life in Romania.

[Eliezer Palmor]

ROSEN, MOSHE (1933–1999), Israeli physicist. Rosen was born in Czernowitz (Chernovtsy) and immigrated to Israel in 1948. In 1969 he was appointed associate professor of physical metallurgy and head of the Materials Engineering Department of the newly founded University of the Negev (now the Ben-Gurion University of the Negev) and in 1973 full professor. In 1974, he was also appointed rector. From 1968 to 1973 he was scientific coordinator and project engineer at the Research and Development in Physics and Metallurgy, Nuclear Research Center – Negev, Beersheba. In 1971 he became a member of the Subcommittee for Research of the Israel Atomic Energy Commission, Office of the Prime Minister. In 1982 he joined the faculty of Johns Hopkins University. In addition to serving as a department head there (1988–92) he was editor in chief of the scientific journal *Ultrasonics* and president of the Maryland Institute of Metals. In his research Rosen examined phase transformations in solids, elasticity and anelasticity in metals, composites and ceramics, and nondestructive characterization of materials and processes.

ROSEN, NORMA (1925–), U.S. novelist. Born in Manhattan, Norma Rosen grew up in Brooklyn, N.Y. She received a B.A. from Mount Holyoke College in 1946, and an M.A. from Columbia in 1953. In her book *Accidents of Influence* (1992), an essay uniquely describes her family's situation in relation to Judaism. Neither devout nor assimilated, her family "… stood in a proud and terrible place outside the 'two cultures.'" In 1959, she began writing seriously. Her first novel, *Joy to Levine!*, was published in 1962. The book, dealing with parental authority, is slightly sardonic, since it is in part a satire on the American pastime of "getting ahead." Her next book, *Green* (1967), a novella and eight short stories, deals with maturity in relation to the "sellout" of an artist to commercial art in advertising. The novella, according to Stanley Kaufman, demonstrates Rosen's ability to realize men and plunge into sentiment, "confident that genuineness and distillation will keep her from sentimentality."

In the 1960s, Norma Rosen began to confront the psychological damage of the Holocaust. As she later explained in a 1987 essay, the novel deals "with the response of those not involved directly with the Holocaust except through imagination, and examines its impact on them." Rosen's American women of the novel, *Touching Evil* (1969), are obsessed with the testimony of eye witnesses to the Holocaust. As S. Lillian Kremer states in a 2002 article on Norma Rosen, *Touching Evil* "… is distinctive in its deliberation on American Holocaust reaction and a feminine perspective."

Rosen's next long novel, *At the Center* (1982), touches on the theme of abortion and assistance to pregnant women. Robert Miner's review states that although Norma Rosen never supports the "Right to Life" movement, hard questions about abortion still exist. And this is the book's moral strength.

Norma Rosen's novel, *John and Anzia: An American Romance* (1989), re-imagines a brief love affair between a Jewish immigrant, Anzia Yezierska, and the American John Dewey. Helen A. Weinberger reviewed the novel and felt that Norma Rosen wrote a magical novel, "… mixing fact and fiction in a kind of transcendental philosophical poem about the cross between a real early 20th-century America and an always wished-for land."

The author also published *Accidents of Influence: Writing as a Jew and a Woman in America* (1992), a volume of essays, and *Biblical Women Unbound* (1996), a re-staging of Old Testament stories.

[Mark Padnos (2nd ed.)]

ROSEN (Rosenblueth), PINḤAS (Felix) (1887–1978). Zionist and Israeli politician, member of the First to Sixth Knessets. Born in Berlin, Rosen studied Law at the Universities of Freiburg and Berlin, receiving his degree in 1908. In 1905 he became active in the Zionist students' movement *Bund Juedischer Corporationen*, which was later renamed *Kartell Juedischer Verbindungen*. In 1911 he was a cofounder of the Zionist youth movement *Blau-Weiss. Rosen served in the German army in World War I, and reached the rank of officer. In 1920–23 he served as chairman of the Zionist Organization of Germany. He emigrated to Palestine in 1923. In 1926 he became a member of the Zionist Executive in London, as head of the Organization Department, in which capacity he served until 1931, when he returned to Palestine. In Palestine he opened a private law practice and worked as a lawyer until 1948. In 1935 he was elected to the Tel Aviv Municipal Council in which he represented the immigrants from Central Europe, and continued to serve on the municipality until 1950. In 1940–48, he was chairman of the German and Austrian Immigrants' Association. Rosen was active in *General Zionists (A), and was close to *Weizmann in his approach to Zionism. In 1940–41, he was a member of a committee established by the League for Jewish-Arab Rapprochement and Cooperation, that prepared a report for the Jewish Agency on constitutional development in Palestine, better known as the Bentov Report (see Mordechai *Bentov). The Committee's report was based on the premise that Ereẓ Israel would become a binational state (see *Binationalism). In 1942 he was one of the founders of the Aliyah Ḥadashah Party. In the period of the struggle for statehood, he objected to Jewish terrorism, and supported the 1947 UN partition plan. Rosen was elected to Asefat ha-Nivḥarim in 1944, and after the establishment of the state was one of the founders of the Progressive Party. He was elected to the First Knesset in 1949, and remained a member of the Knesset through the Sixth Knesset, on the Progressive list, then on the *Israel Liberal Party list, and finally on the *Independent Liberal Party list, when it broke off from the Liberal Party in 1965. Rosen served as minister of justice from 1948 to 1961, and was instrumental in organizing the judicial and legal system of Israel. He was chairman of the Board of the Israel Philharmonic Orchestra until 1961, and published articles on Zionist themes in German, English, and Hebrew. A chair in constitutional law was established in Rosen's name at Tel Aviv University in 1972. In 1973 he was awarded the Israel Prize for law.

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[Susan Hattis Rolef (2nd ed.)]

ROSEN, SAMUEL (1897–1981), U.S. otologist. Rosen was born in Syracuse, New York, and originally studied law at the Syracuse Law School. He subsequently switched to medicine, however, graduating from the Syracuse Medical School in 1921. He specialized in otology at the Mount Sinai Hospital in New York, where he was consulting otologist and later emeritus clinical professor of otolaryngology.

In 1952 Rosen discovered a new method for restoring hearing to patients suffering from otosclerosis by an operation, the so-called Stapes-Mobilization procedure. As a result, thousands of patients regained their hearing, and Rosen demonstrated the method throughout the world, including Egypt, Israel, and the U.S.S.R. President *Nasser expressed his appreciation to him after he performed surgery at the Cairo Medical School. When Rosen expressed his surprise that Nasser had invited a Jew, he answered: "your work is above race and country." Rosen was also elected a member of the Soviet Medical Academy.

In 1957, he received the Hektoen-Gold Award for "original work in medicine" of the American Medical Association as well as an award by the University of Bologna. In 1964, he was awarded the George-Arents Pioneer Medal for Excellence in Medicine by Syracuse University. He made several trips, with his wife, to a remote area of the Sudan to investigate the remarkable hearing ability of the Mabaan tribe. He was also a member of the first medical team in a quarter of a century to visit China, and lectured extensively on Chinese medicine and acupuncture.

His autobiography, published in 1973, was widely acclaimed.

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[Heinz Hartman]

ROSEN, SHELOMO (1905–1985), Israeli politician. Rosen was born in Moravska-Ostrava, Czechoslovakia and immigrated to Ereẓ Israel in 1926. There, he was a founder of Kibbutz Sarid. While secretary of Ha-Kibbutz ha-Arẓi from 1944, and a member of Mapam's political committee, he was recognized as that movement's foremost economist expert. He maintained that a prosperous settlement cannot be based only on agriculture, and he fostered the development of kibbutz industry. In 1965 he was elected to the Sixth Knesset and was deputy speaker in the Seventh. Chairman of the Knesset's Social Services Committee, he became chairman of the subcommittee of the finance committee which dealt with state comptroller's reports. Appointed deputy minister of absorption in 1972, he became minister in March 1974, and sought to eliminate the confusing overlapping of functions between his ministry and the Jewish Agency. Subsequently he was named minister of housing. He continued to serve until the elections of May 1977.

ROSEN, YEHOSHUA (1918–2002), Israeli basketball coach. Known in Israel as "Mister Basketball" and considered one of the outstanding coaches in the country, Rosen came to Israel with his family from Egypt in the 1920s and immediately began to play basketball. At the age of 14 he was already playing on the Maccabi Tel Aviv senior team, continuing with them into the 1940s. In 1947 he was named coach of Israel's national basketball team and led it to three European tournament finals. In 1953 he became the coach of Maccabi Tel Aviv, running the team 18 years and winning 12 national championships and nine state cups. In 1984 he led Hapoel Tel Aviv to the state cup. Rosen coached for 40 years, until his retirement at the end of the 1980s, mentoring some of Israel's top homegrown players, such as Mickey *Berkowitz and Doron Jamchi. He was awarded the Israel Prize in 1989 for his contribution to Israeli basketball.

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[Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

ROSENAK, LEOPOLD (1869–1923/24), rabbi. Rosenak, who was born in Pozsonynadas, Hungary, was rabbi at Bremen, Germany, from 1896. Here he was especially active in aiding Russian and Polish Jewish refugees who passed through the port of Bremen on their way to the U.S. From 1915 to 1918 Rosenak was chaplain to the German army of occupation in Lithuania (Ober Ost), using his influence with the German authorities to alleviate the sufferings of the Jewish population. The yeshivah of *Slobodka, then in exile in the Ukraine, was reopened with his assistance, as was a Hebrew high school in Kovno. Rosenak died at sea on his return from a visit to the U.S., where he had sought aid for Ukrainian pogrom victims and for the new Bremen synagogue.

His thesis, *Fortschritt der hebraeischen Sprachwissenschaft vom 10.–13. Jahrhundert*, was published in 1898, and his talmudic novellae (*Ma'amar Mordekhai*) were printed in *Festschrift… S. Carlebach* (1915).

ROSENAU, WILLIAM (1865–1943), Reform rabbi. Born in Wollstein, Prussia, the son of a rabbi, he was educated in public school and came to the United States with his family in 1876, first to Boston and then to Philadelphia. Rosenau received his B.A. from the University of Cincinnati (1888) and was ordained a year later from HUC in Cincinnati. He served congregations in Omaha, Nebraska, for three years beginning in 1889 and then went to Baltimore as rabbi of Ohev Shalom where he served for almost half a century until his retirement in 1939. Concurrently he studied at Johns Hopkins University where he received his Ph.D. in 1900 in Semitics and then joined its faculty, where he served until 1932.

Religiously liberal he was also politically a non-Zionist and a member of the American Council for Judaism.

For a time he was expected to be the leading candidate for the presidency of the Hebrew Union College after the retirement of Kaufmann *Kohler in 1921 but that was not to be. He lost in a close vote to Julian *Morgenstein and elected to remain in Baltimore rather than lead a more prominent congregation. He was deeply active in his community, concentrating on areas of general and higher education. He was a member of the Baltimore Board of Education of the Governor's Commission on Higher Education for Negroes. In national Jewish life, he was active in the Central Conference of American Rabbis and served as its president from 1915 to 1917. He was a member of the Associated Jewish Charities, a member of Baltimore's Federation, a founder of the Jewish Welfare Board and the Jewish Chautauqua Society, and edited the revised *Union Prayer Book* and *Union Haggadah*. He was a contributor to the *Jewish Encyclopedia*.

Among his works are *The Rabbi in Action* (1937); *Hebraism in the Authorized Version of the Bible* (1902); and *Semitic Studies in American Colleges* (1906).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: W.F. Rosenblum, *The Life and Work of Rev. Dr. William Rosenau* (1946); K.M. Olitzsky, L.J. Sussman, and M.H. Stern, *Reform Judaism in America: A Biographical Dictionary and Sourcebook* (1993).

[Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

ROSENBACH, ABRAHAM SIMON WOLF (1876–1952), U.S. bibliophile and bookdealer. Rosenbach was born in Philadelphia. His parents, Isabella Polock, the descendant of a distinguished Philadelphia family, and Meier Rosenbach, an immigrant from Germany, were observant Jews. Rosenbach attended the University of Pennsylvania, from which he obtained a doctorate in English literature. In his college days, he became a passionate bibliophile, and when his bookdealer uncle, Moses Polock, died in 1903, he took over the latter's stock and launched the Rosenbach Company, a rare-book concern. Combining erudition with personal charm and the risk-taking instincts of a gambler, Rosenbach soon rose to national prominence in the rare-book field. Dealing primarily in first and early editions of Americana and English literature, he acquired among his steady customers such millionaire collectors as Henry Huntington, Pierpont Morgan, Carl Pforzheimer, Lessing Rosenwald, Harry Widener, Edward S. Harkness, and Henry Folger, to whom he sold a first quarto edition of Shakespeare's plays in 1919 for $128,000, reputedly one of the highest prices ever paid for a rare book up to that time. From the 1920s on, Rosenbach Company was the acknowledged leader in the rare-book trade in the U.S. and hardly a major auction took place in which it did not successfully and often spectacularly bid.

Rosenbach was a man of enigmatic contradictions. An astute businessman, he was also for much of his life a confirmed alcoholic; a person of deep Jewish interests, he lived in a permanent liaison with a Christian woman whom he reputedly refused to marry because she was not Jewish. He himself compiled a pioneer bibliographical study, *An American Jewish Bibliography* (1926), as well as a historical sketch of Congregation Mikveh Israel (1909), to which he and his parents belonged. For many years president of the American Jewish Historical Society, he was also a benefactor of Graetz College in Philadelphia and the Jewish Division of the New York Public Library, as well as a founder and first president of the American Friends of The Hebrew University. Among the several accounts he wrote of his adventures in the book trade were *A Book Hunter's Holiday* (1936) and *Books and Bidders* (1927). After his death, his private collection was installed in a library in Philadelphia under the auspices of the Rosenbach Foundation, which was established by his brother and junior partner Philip Rosenbach (1863–1953).

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[Hillel Halkin]

ROSENBAUM, JONATHAN (1947–), U.S. scholar, administrator and rabbi; president of Gratz College from 1998. A graduate of the University of Michigan where he received his B.A. summa cum laude in 1968 and was elected to Phi Beta Kappa, Rosenbaum then earned rabbinical ordination and an M.A. at the Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute-Jewish Institute of Religion in Cincinnati (1972) and a Ph.D. in Near Eastern Languages and Civilization from Harvard University working with Professor Frank M. Cross, Jr. on "A Typology of Aramaic Lapidary Script from the Seventh to the Fourth Centuries, B.C.E." (1978). He taught in the Department of Religious Studies at the University of Nebraska and then went to the University of Hartford, where he was the Maurice Greenberg Professor of Judaic Studies, professor of history, and director, Maurice Greenberg Center for Judaic Studies, University of Hartford, from 1986 to 1998. He conceived and helped guide the Henry Luce Forum in Abrahamic Religions, a national program jointly sponsored by the University of Hartford and Hartford Seminary that is devoted to advancing scholarship concerning and mutual understanding among American Jews, Christians, and Muslims. In addition, Rosenbaum conceived and oversaw an awards program that recognizes the best teachers of Holocaust studies in New England.

He also taught in the graduate school at the University of Connecticut and at its law school as well as the Hartford Theological Seminary.

A rarity in the contemporary Jewish world, he has served as a rabbi in Reform, Conservative, and Orthodox Congregations. During his student years at HUC, he held a student rabbi position at Congregation Israel (Reform), Galesburg, IL, from 1970 to 1972. While at Harvard he was assistant rabbi, Temple Israel (Conservative), Swampscott, MA, (1972–76), and then a part-time rabbi of Congregation Israel (Conservative), Danville, IL (1976–84). And finally as his commitment to Jewish law deepened he was rabbi (*mara' de-atra*) at Congregation Agudas Achim, a mainstream, century-old Orthodox congregation in West Hartford, CT, from 1994 to 1998.

Among the awards he received were doctor of divinity, *honoris causa*, by Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion, in March 1997, and doctor of Hebrew Letters, *honoris causa*, from the Jewish Theological Seminary in November 1998.

Among his works are *Making a Life, Building a Community*: *A History of the Jews of Hartford* (co-authored with David G. Dalin, 1997) and a special issue of the *Journal of Jewish Communal Service* (78:4, 2002) devoted to Philadelphia Jewry that he co-edited with Dr. Ernest M. Kahn.

From 1995 to 1998 Rosenbaum served as a deputy director of the Ein Gedi Archaeological Expedition in Israel, an excavation co-sponsored by the Hebrew University of Jerusalem and the University of Hartford. At Ein Gedi he oversaw the excavation's academic program including two courses in archaeology and Near Eastern history. He also organized and chaired "Paleographical Studies in the Ancient Near East," a scholarly section of the national meeting sponsored by the Society of Biblical Literature.

An administrator-scholar, at Gratz he instituted new programs, expanded the faculty and staff, renovated the academic plant, and balanced the budget. He renewed a distinguished institute and refashioned its mission in a changing academic climate. Prior to that at the University of Hartford he initiated the Greenberg Center and established a major in Judaic Studies along with a minor. He also expanded the full-time faculty to six and three adjunct faculty. All the while, he continued with his teaching and writing.

[Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

ROSENBAUM, MORRIS (1871–1947), English rabbi and scholar. Rosenbaum, who was born in London, received his early education in the Jewish Orphanage, London. Later he studied at Jews' College and University College, London. After doing communal work in London, Rabbi Rosenbaum became minister of the Jewish congregation of Hanley (Staffordshire), and shortly afterward of the community in Newcastle-on-Tyne. In 1905 he returned to London to become minister-secretary of the Borough Synagogue, a post he held until his retirement 30 years later. Rosenbaum's wide interests included mathematics, and he was a recognized authority on the Jewish calendar and was responsible for the authorized Jewish almanac. His labors in the field of Anglo-Jewish genealogy brought him inquiries from prominent historians. He was also active in freemasonry and held offices in the brotherhood. Rosenbaum, together with A.M. *Silbermann, translated Rashi's commentaries on the Torah into English: *Pentateuch with Targum Onkelos, Haphtaroth and Prayers for Sabbath and Rashi's Commentary* (5 vols., 1929–34).

[Alexander Tobias]

ROSENBAUM, MOSES ḤAYYIM LITS (1864–1943), Hungarian rabbi. Rosenbaum was born in Pressburg, and was ordained by Simḥah Bunim Sofer (see *Sofer family). He served as rabbi of two large communities, in Szilágysomlyó (Simleul Silvaniei), Transylvania, from 1888 to 1897, and from 1898 until his death in Kleinwardein. On the death of R. Koppel Reich in 1929, he was asked to represent Orthodox Jewry in the upper house of the Hungarian parliament but refused, preferring to devote himself to his large community. He was an excellent preacher in Yiddish, German and Hungarian.

He published *Meshiv Devarim* (2 parts, 1900–02), responsa on *Oraḥ Ḥayyim* and *Yoreh De'ah* by his father Gershon, rabbi of Tallya, adding his own notes. He was also the author of *Leḥem Rav* (1921), on the prayer book. The bulk of his writings, however, which fill 15 large volumes, remained in manuscript; among them is a diary, one chapter of which was published by N. Ben-Menahem in *Aresheth*, 1 (1958), that is of considerable interest. Although an extremist in religious matters, Rosenbaum did not ignore the *Haskalah literature, and sent a message of congratulation to Leopold *Zunz, founder of *Wissenschaft, on his 90th birthday. Of his two sons, Samuel, who succeeded him in Kleinwardein, perished in the Holocaust in 1944, and his grandson, Pinḥas Rosenbaum, published his responsa *Elleh Divrei Shemu'el* (1961).

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[Naphtali Ben-Menahem]

ROSENBAUM, SAMUEL (1919–1997), cantor and organizational executive. Rosenbaum was born in New York City and received his B.A. from New York University in 1940. Simultaneously, he studied music and liturgy privately under renowned Cantor Jacob *Beimel. He began his cantorial career at the Queens Jewish Center, Queens Village, New York (1940–42), which was interrupted by military service in the U.S. Army during World War II. In 1946, Rosenbaum became cantor of Temple Beth El in Rochester, New York, where his innovative work in musical programming won him national recognition in the form of awards from the Cantors Assembly and the *United Synagogue (1965). Upon his retirement, he was awarded an honorary doctor of music degree from the *Jewish Theological Seminary in 1985.

Rosenbaum was active in the Cantors Assembly from its founding in 1947, serving as the editor of its journal, *The Cantor's Voice* (1951–66), before being elected president of the association (1956–59). Following his term of office, Rosenbaum was appointed the organization's executive director (1959–97). Under his leadership, the assembly grew to become the world's largest association of cantors and spearheaded the expansion of its members' roles beyond performing at services to becoming involved in congregational and educational programming. Rosenbaum was also a fellow at the Cantors Institute of the *Jewish Theological Seminary (1960), where he assisted in placing graduates. In 1970, he became managing editor of the *Journal of Synagogue Music*, published by the Cantors Assembly.

A prolific composer, Rosenbaum was commissioned by Conservative and Reform congregations to write some 30 solo and choral works. In 1973, his oratorio *Yizkor: In Memory of the Six Million*, written with Sholom *Secunda, was performed on ABC-TV's *Directions* and nominated for an Emmy Award. Rosenbaum also wrote books and narrated several record albums. He developed a new method for teaching biblical cantillation, which he set forth in *A Guide to Haftarah Chanting* (1973). His other books are *Sabbath and Festival Songs for the Young Singer* (1959) and *To Live as a Jew* (1960). He released *Four Holiday Recordings* in 1981. Other major musical compositions include: *Sing a Song of Israel* (with Issachar Miron, 1962); *Oneg Shabbat* (with Sholom Secunda, 1964); *A Singing of Angels* (with Charles Davidson, 1967) and *The Last Judgment* (with Lazar Weiner, 1967).

[Bezalel Gordon (2nd ed.)]

ROSENBAUM, SEMYON (**Shimshon**; 1860–1934), jurist and Zionist. Born in Pinsk, Rosenbaum practiced law there and in Minsk. In 1880s he joined the *Ḥibbat Zion movement, and was a delegate to the Zionist Congresses until World War I. At the Fourth Congress in 1900, he was elected to the Zionist General Council and served as a delegate of the Zionist center to the Minsk district. He organized the *Minsk Conference of Russian Zionists in 1902. Rosenbaum's point of view was close to that of the *Democratic Fraction in the Zionist Organization, and he helped to organize the first *Po'alei Zion groups in the Minsk district in Lithuania. He was among the leaders of Ẓiyyonei Zion, who actively opposed the *Uganda Scheme. At the *Helsingfors Conference in 1906, he was made a member of the Zionist central committee of Russia.

Rosenbaum held a central position in the League for the Attainment of Legal Rights for the Jews in Russia. He was elected to the first Russian *Duma in 1906 and joined the liberal Constitutional-Democratic ("Kadet") faction. When the Duma was dissolved, he was among those Duma members who signed the manifesto calling for civil disobedience and nonpayment of taxes and was sentenced to prison. After his release, he engaged in providing legal assistance to pogrom victims and to Zionists persecuted by the Russian authorities. After the outbreak of World War I, Rosenbaum moved to Vilna and was elected head of the Zionist organization there. He participated in the negotiations with the Turkish government concerning the future of Palestine after the war (1918). He also took part in the establishment of independent Lithuania in 1919. He was deputy minister of foreign affairs in the first Lithuanian government and a member of its delegation to the Versailles Peace Conference. He signed the peace treaty with the Soviet Union on behalf of the Lithuanian Republic. He was a member of the commission that drafted the Lithuanian Republic's constitution, which granted the Jews wide national autonomy. Rosenbaum was the president of the National Council of the Jews in Lithuania and in 1923 became minister of Jewish affairs. In 1924, after the annulment of the Jewish autonomy, he went to Palestine, where he engaged in public activities in *General Zionist circles. He was chairman of the supreme Jewish peace court, and one of the founders of the Tel Aviv School of Law and Economics. He wrote many essays on Zionist and juridical subjects, including his research *Der Souveraenitaetsbegriff* (1932).

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[Yehuda Slutsky]

ROSENBERG, ABRAHAM (1870–1935), U.S. labor leader. Born in Russia, Rosenberg immigrated to the United States in 1883. He worked as a cloakmaker in New York's sweatshops and by 1885 was active in the immigrant labor movement. Because the American Federation of Labor (AFL) neglected semiskilled and unskilled immigrants, Rosenberg joined in organizing a dress and cloakmakers' union as part of the Knights of Labor. Its failure led Rosenberg to help create the International Ladies Garment Workers' Union (ILGWU), the first permanent labor organization in the women's garment industry.

In 1908 Rosenberg was elected president of the ILGWU. He assumed control at a crucial moment. The panic of 1907 and the ensuing depression spread unemployment and decimated the union's ranks. Within three years however, Rosenberg helped to guide the ILGWU to victory in two major strikes, those of the waistmakers in 1909 and the cloakmakers in the following year. The latter strike was settled on the basis of the famous Protocol of Peace – a concept which Rosenberg helped to spread of labor-management bargaining supervised by impartial arbitrators representing the public.

As president of the ILGWU, Rosenberg was overshadowed by his secretary-treasurer John *Dyche. Dyche came into conflict with New York's rank and file cloakmakers, who were anxious to break the protocol outlawing strikes. The 1914 ILGWU convention, dominated by the socialists, deposed both Rosenberg and Dyche for being union conservatives and antisocialist. In fact, while committed to peaceful collective bargaining and moderate union tactics, Rosenberg was a devoted socialist. He played no prominent role in union affairs after 1914. Rosenberg remained a general organizer of the union until his retirement in 1929. In 1920 he wrote his memoirs in Yiddish, *The Cloakmakers and their Union*, which show his direct, warm, and human approach to all the problems he had to deal with.

[Melvyn Dubofsky]

ROSENBERG, ABRAHAM ḤAYYIM (1838–1928), Hebrew writer. Born in Russia, he wrote articles for the Hebrew and Yiddish press. He emigrated to the U.S. in 1891, and operated a Hebrew printing shop.

Rosenberg's main achievement was the biblical encyclopedia in ten volumes, *Oẓar ha-Shemot* (1898–1922). For a brief period of time, in 1897, he coedited (with A.M. Radin) the Hebrew monthly *Ner ha-Ma'aravi*, and between 1900 and 1902 *Ha-Modi'a le-Ḥodashim*, a Hebrew monthly (first together with H. Rosenthal, and in 1902 alone).

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[Eisig Silberschlag]

°**ROSENBERG, ALFRED** (1893–1946), chief Nazi ideologist and head of the Nazi party's foreign policy department. Rosenberg was born in Reval (Tallin), Estonia. There is some doubt about the family's German origin though their name is German. Rosenberg studied architecture at Riga and Moscow and witnessed the Russian Revolution, which he believed to have been "engineered by Jewry." He fled to Germany and settled in Munich at the end of 1918, immediately became active in nationalist, antisemitic circles and published *Die Spur der Juden im Wandel der Zeiten* ("The Track of the Jews Through the Ages," 1920). When the German Workers Party (DAP), the precursor of the NSDAP (Nazi Party), was founded, he joined it even before *Hitler. Later, as a member of Hitler's inner circle, he became editor (1921) and later chief editor (1923) of the party's *Voelkischer Beobachter*. He impressed Hitler with his linkage of the Jews, the Bolsheviks, and the Masons as supposedly engaging in a conspiracy to destroy the foundations of German civilization. Rosenberg published antisemitic pamphlets and introduced the Protocols of the *Elders of Zion in Nazi propaganda. He participated in the 1923 beer hall putsch. In 1930 he published his main work, *Der Mythus des 20. Jahrhunderts*, which appeared in 24 editions by 1934, constituting a hodgepodge of ideas from Nietzsche and various racist theories. The book propounds the doctrine of an "Aryan race" as the creator of all values and culture. The protagonists of this "Aryan race" are the Germanic peoples, while the "Jewish race" had corrupted culture in different forms, one of them being Paulinic Christianity. Bolshevism, he claimed, was a new form of the Jewish quest for world rule, and, to rid themselves of Jewish corruption, the German people were obliged to replace Christianity by a new faith, based on "blood and race." With Hitler's advent to power, Rosenberg achieved renown, became head of all the party indoctrination organizations, and was later appointed by Hitler chief of the Nazi Party's foreign policy office (APA), where he ineffectually dabbled in diplomatic affairs. In fact, his office served only for disseminating antisemitic propaganda. In 1940 Hitler appointed Rosenberg head of the Hohe Schule, the future ideological University of Nazism. On its behalf Rosenberg's emissaries ransacked Jewish libraries all over Europe and concentrated their contents in Frankfurt. He headed a special staff which plundered objects of art and furniture belonging to Jews in occupied Western Europe and French art works from France, which were brought to Germany. At the outbreak of the war against Russia Rosenberg was appointed minister of occupied countries in the East and head of their civil administration (November 1941). He did not object to the annihilation of Jews, but came into conflict with the SS and their collaborators on the policy of murder, starvation, and repression of the non-Russian minorities in the occupied areas of the U.S.S.R., as it appears from correspondence in the so-called "Braune Mappe" (on the status of the local population in the Soviet territories occupied by the Germans, including correspondence with *Eichmann). He preferred more lenient methods in order to set the minority peoples against the Russians. Finally he accepted the harsher methods advocated by leading personalities of the Reich. Rosenberg, unrepentant and immovable at his trial, was hanged by sentence of the International Military Tribunal. *The Memoirs of Alfred Rosenberg* (ed. by S. Lang and E. Schenck) appeared in 1949, and Rosenberg's *Letzte Aufzeichnungen* was published in 1955.

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[Yehuda Reshef /Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

ROSENBERG, ANNA MARIE LEDERER (1902–1983), U.S. assistant secretary of defense; public relations and labor consultant. Born in Budapest, Hungary, the daughter of Albert Lederer and Charlotte Bacskai, Rosenberg moved with her family to New York City in 1912. She married Julius Rosenberg in 1919 and became a naturalized citizen the next year. As she became active in Democratic politics, then New York Governor Franklin Roosevelt sought her advice on labor matters. Rosenberg went on to serve in a number of capacities during the New Deal. She was an assistant to Nathan Straus, Jr., regional director of the National Recovery Administration (NRA) and succeeded him when Straus resigned. After Rosenberg served as New York regional director of the Social Security Board, President Roosevelt asked her to study industrial relations in both Great Britain and Sweden. Throughout her work on the Social Security Board, Rosenberg maintained a consulting firm. In 1942 the U.S. House Appropriations Committee investigated allegations of impropriety in holding two positions, but found Rosenberg to be innocent of any wrongdoing. Still, when she accepted the position of director of the War Manpower Commission for New York State that same year, she put her consulting practice in abeyance for the duration of the war. Her work on the War Manpower Commission included recruiting workers of all races to fill some 20,000 positions for the Pacific Coast Kaiser shipyards. As the war was winding down, Roosevelt sent Rosenberg to Europe to investigate what soldiers wanted after the war. Her report that they wanted to improve themselves through education helped lead to the GI Bill of Rights. President Harry S. Truman also called upon her expertise in evaluating the repatriation and demobilization of the troops. When Anna Rosenberg was appointed assistant secretary of defense, the first woman to hold that position, she had to survive a smear campaign claiming that she was a communist, an allegation that was proved false. Rosenberg worked on increasing the number and use of women in the military and she helped draft the Universal Military Service and Training Act. When President Eisenhower replaced her, she returned to decades of consulting work at Anna M. Rosenberg & Associates. Rosenberg received many honors, including the Medal of Freedom in 1945; in 1947 she became the first woman to receive the Medal for Merit. The Department of Defense recognized her with its Exceptional Civilian Award in 1953, and in 1966 she received the Medallion of the City of New York for her beautification efforts. As early as the 1930s, she was known for her philanthropic work, serving on the National Council of Jewish Women, the ORT Reconstruction fund, and the women's division of the Joint Distribution Committee of Jewish Charities.

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[Sara Alpern (2nd ed.)]

ROSENBERG, ARTHUR (1889–1943), German communist leader and historian. Born in Berlin, Rosenberg lectured in history at Berlin University and joined the German Independent Social Democratic Party (USPD) in 1918. Two years later, he became attached to the German Communist Party (KPD), in which he achieved considerable prominence as communist City Councilor of Berlin, a member of the Party Central Committee, and a member of the Reichstag from 1924 to 1928. Rosenberg joined the extreme left-wing faction but in 1927 left the Communist movement altogether largely in protest at the failure of the Soviet Comintern to deal with the question of China. He withdrew from political life, and devoted himself to scholarly work. After Hitler's seizure of power, Rosenberg left Germany and lived in Liverpool, England, where he was granted a fellowship at the university. He went to New York in 1938 and taught history at Brooklyn College until his death. Rosenberg converted to Christianity in his youth but later was active in Jewish student and academic circles in Germany and England. The fact that he became adviser to the Avukah Zionist Students Federation of America testifies to the radical change in his religious views.

His many publications include: *Geschichte des Bolschewismus von Marx bis zur Gegenwart* (1932; *History of Bolshevism*, 1934); *Demokratie und Sozialismus* (1938; *Democracy and Socialism*, 1939); *Geschichte der deutschen Republik* (1935; *History of the German Republic*, 1936); and *Die Entstehung der deutschen Republik, 1871–1918* (1928; *Birth of the German Republic*, 1931).

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[Noam Zadoff]

ROSENBERG, EUGENE (1907–1990), British architect. Rosenberg was born in Topolcany, Slovakia, went to England in 1939, and from 1944 practiced as an architect. He made an important contribution to postwar building in Britain with his designs for over 50 primary and secondary schools, and a number of university buildings at Warwick, Oxford, Liverpool, Leeds and Rochdale.

His public buildings include the United States Embassy in London (together with Eero Saarinen Associates) and a series of new airports. He also designed hospitals, industrial buildings, department stores, offices, and a number of housing schemes. He designed the new building for Jews' College London, the synagogue in Belfast, and the London offices of the Jewish Welfare Board.

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[Charles Samuel Spencer]

ROSENBERG, HAROLD (1906–1978), U.S. art critic and scholar. Born in New York City, Rosenberg was educated at the City College of New York, and he received an LL.B. degree from St. Lawrence University in 1927. From 1939 to 1942 he worked for the Works Progress Administration in Washington, D.C., as a writer and lecturer, authoring the *American Guide* series. Rosenberg was deputy chief of the domestic radio bureau of the Office of War Information from 1942 to 1945. He directed the Longview Foundation from 1944.

Rosenberg lectured extensively throughout the United States on art and literature. He joined the University of Chicago as a professor of social thought in 1966. From 1967 until his death in 1978 he was art critic for *The New Yorker*, and in that capacity he influenced the critical reception of many of the emerging artists of the time, including Jackson Pollock and Willem de Kooning. Called one of the most provocative critics of his time, Rosenberg rejected the formalistic approach of other leading art theorists, including Clement *Greenberg, placing the value of the work on the act of creation.

From the early 1950s Rosenberg had shown great interest in the work of a group of artists that included Pollock, de Kooning, and Arshile Gorky. Rosenberg coined the term "action painting," now widely used in art history and criticism, to describe their work, which he described as "not a picture but an event." His many reviews and essays were influential in the development of public awareness of the emerging Abstract Expressionist movement, and in the success of many of the Abstract Expressionists, including Mark *Rothko, Hans Hoffman, and Philip *Guston. At the same time, Rosenberg was a detractor of Pop Art and other art trends of the period and, while he rejected formalism, he was equally dismissive of the postmodern critique.

Rosenberg wrote several influential books, including *The Tradition of the New* (1959), *The Anxious Object: Art Today and Its Audience* (1964), *The De-Definition of Art* (1972), *Art on the Edge* (1975), and monographs on Willem de Kooning, Barnett Newman, Arshile Gorky, and Saul Steinberg. His articles appeared in numerous publications, including *Partisan Review*, *Art in America*, *Kenyon Review*, *Tempes Modernes*, and *Art News*.

Rosenberg received numerous awards and honors, including the Frank Jewett Mather Award from the College Art Association of America in 1964 and the Morton Dauwen Zabel Award from the National Institute of Arts and Letters in 1976. He was a member of the International Society of Art Critics and of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences.

[Dorothy Bauhoff (2nd ed.)]

ROSENBERG, ISAAC (1890–1918), English poet and painter, who died on active service during World War I. The son of a peddler, Rosenberg was born in Bristol and brought up in the East End of London, where he was apprenticed to an engraver. In 1911 he went to the Slade School of Fine Arts but he felt that he got, in his own words, "more depth" into writing than into painting. In 1912 he produced the first of three privately printed pamphlets of verse, *Night and Day,* following it with *Youth* (1915) and *Moses* (1916). Although he had weak lungs, Rosenberg enlisted in the British Army on his return from a year in South Africa in 1915, and it was while serving in France that he wrote his so-called "Trench Poems," several versions of his play *The Unicorn*, and many other poems and fragments.

Four years after his death, the first volume of Rosenberg's poems, with an introduction by the poet Laurence Binyon, appeared in print – his first publication apart from some scattered verse in anthologies. In 1937, his *Collected Works* were published with a brief, generous foreword by Siegfried *Sassoon, who wrote of Rosenberg's "fruitful fusion between English and Hebrew culture." Isaac Rosenberg was the first important poet to emerge from Anglo-Jewry and he remains a figure of major significance. Certain images and ideas, such as that of the root, recur throughout his work, giving coherence to his writing. Linguistically he is complex but the sense is controlled by his sensuous feeling. Rosenberg articulates the rootless condition of the Diaspora Jew most clearly in his poem "Chagrin." In his three "God" poems, he moves from the figure of an acceptable and benign Authority to that of a malignant God. "Dead Man's Dump," "Break of Day in the Trenches," and "Daughters of War" are among the most powerful and subtle poems of World War I. Rosenberg is, however, not merely a realist of the trenches: there is in his poetry a streak of romantic lyricism and a love of beauty more reminiscent of Blake than of any 20th-century poet.

Three books about Rosenberg appeared in the summer of 1975. They were *Journey to the Trenches: The Life of Isaac Rosenberg 1890–1918* by Joseph Cohen, *Isaac Rosenberg* by Jean Liddiard, and *Isaac Rosenberg* by Jean Moorcraft Wilson. Cohen's book excels on the literary background and the nature of his Jewishness; Liddiard's on his paintings and drawings; and Wilson uses letters and memoirs extensively. The book by Cohen contains a useful bibliography. Rosenberg's self-portrait is exhibited at the National Portrait Gallery, London, and another was hung in the Tate Gallery in London in 1972. Further biographies and studies of Rosenberg continue to appear.

In January 1978 the trustees of the Imperial War Museum in London accepted 15 of his paintings and some 200 manuscripts, and in 1979 there appeared *The Collected Works of Isaac Rosenberg: Prose, Letters, Paintings and Drawings* (Oxford) in which he is referred to as "the best Jewish poet writing in English that our century has given us." A plaque in Poets' Corner in Westminster Abbey, London, commemorating the notable British writers who died in World War I, includes the name of Isaac Rosenberg, surely the only British Jew officially honored in an Anglican church, and a tribute to his stature and fame.

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[Jon Silkin]

ROSENBERG, ISRAEL (1875–1956), U.S. Orthodox rabbi and communal leader. Rosenberg was born in Poland and attended the most prestigious *yeshivot* in Eastern Europe. Recognized as a prodigy, he was ordained in Russia in 1899 by Jehiel Michel *Epstein. He immigrated to the United States in 1902 and became the rabbi of a series of congregations: Poughkeepsie, N.Y. (1902–05); Bayonne, N.J. (1905–10); Burlington, Vermont (1910–12); Paterson, N.J. (1912–08); and Jersey City, N.J. (1919–20). In each community, he established a *talmud torah* school for young children. A leading authority on the laws of **kashrut*, he was appointed chief *kashrut* supervisor for several leading meat-packing companies.

Rosenberg was passionate about philanthropy. Under the auspices of the Agudat Harabbonim (*Union of Orthodox Rabbis of the United States Canada), he was instrumental in founding the Central Relief Committee (later absorbed by the American Jewish *Joint Distribution Committee) to help the poor. The following year (1915), he formed the Agudat Harabbonim's Ezras Torah Fund, which supports needy Torah scholars and their families throughout the world. He continually solicited contributions for major yeshivot in Europe and Ereẓ Israel (Palestine) and organized a high-level delegation, headed by Rabbi Abraham Isaac *Kook, comprising to conduct a fundraising campaign on their behalf in the United States in 1924.

Also concerned about the need to produce American-born Orthodox rabbis, Rosenberg was an active supporter of Yeshiva University's Rabbi Isaac Elchanan Seminary, serving as its first vice president (1910–12) and as acting dean during a leave of absence taken by Rabbi Bernard *Revel (1922–23).

Throughout his career, Rosenberg held the highest leadership positions in the Union of Orthodox Rabbis of the United States and Canada, serving as its vice president (1910, 1913); chairman of its executive committee (1911–12, 1914–15); a lifetime member of the presidium (1926–28, 1940–56); a two-term president (1928–30, 1940–43); and honorary president (1930–39). He traveled to Europe with a rabbinic delegation in 1919 to organize relief efforts for Jewish communities devastated by World War I and came to the rescue of Jewish refugees in Poland. He also headed the Talmud Publication Society of Agudat Harabbonim, which published a new edition of the Talmud to replace copies destroyed during the war. Years later, he represented Agudat Harabbonim as a member of a five-man commission that met with President Roosevelt in 1942 and received his assurance that Nazis guilty of perpetrating crimes against Jews would be punished.

Rosenberg was an ardent supporter of religious Zionism's aspirations to settle Ereẓ Israel and served as a *Mizrachi delegate to the World Zionist Congresses in London (1920) and Zurich (1929). He also contributed numerous articles on Jewish law to rabbinic journals, as well as essays to the Yiddish press.

[Bezalel Gordon (2nd ed.)]

ROSENBERG, JAMES NAUMBURG (1874–1970), U.S. lawyer, artist, philanthropist and author. Rosenberg, who was born in Allegheny City, Pennsylvania, engaged in private law practice until 1947; he then retired to pursue an art career; his paintings were subsequently hung in several major U.S. museums. Active in public and Jewish affairs, Rosenberg served as chairman of the Joint Distribution Committee in Europe (1921); founded the Society for Jewish Farm Settlements in Russia (1926), directing the population transfer of 30,000 Jews to Birobidzhan; helped found the Central Bank of Cooperative Institutions in Palestine; and founded the Agro-Joint. He was president of the Dominican Republic Settlement association formed to settle the 100,000 refugees that Trujillo's government offered to accept at the 1938 Evian Conference. Rosenberg led the U.S. delegation (1947) that sponsored the Genocide Convention adopted by the UN General Assembly in 1948. An art patron as well as a painter, Rosenberg founded New York's New Gallery which exhibited and sold the works of unknown artists. Rosenberg's written works include: *Corporate Reorganization and the Federal Court* (1924); *On the Steppes* (1972); *Painter's Self-Portrait* (1958); and *Unfinished Business* (1967), including personal papers.

ROSENBERG, LAZAR (1862–1936), painter. Rosenberg was born in Kaunas, Lithuania. At the age of 14, he entered the Vilna Art School, in 1879 he enrolled at the Koenigsberg Art Academy and in 1881 was admitted to the Academy in Berlin. There his painting of a copy of one of *Rembrandt's religious works won him a gold medal and brought him into prominence. In 1890 he moved to Paris and enrolled at the Académie Julian where he was influenced by the work of the Impressionists. An article on his work in the Zionist monthly *Ost und West*, February 1904, written by Julius Levin in Paris, reveals a series of studies of children and old Rembrandtesque Jewish heads. His admiration for the great Dutch painter may have inspired his move to Holland, where he lived from 1910 to 1935, paying annual visits to his family in Lithuania. He gained considerable prominence as a painter and draftsman in Holland, but working outside the main centers of modern art and being of a retiring nature, he has been unfairly neglected. Rosenberg's mature work is largely concerned with Dutch subjects – landscapes, the fishing village of Volendam, fishermen and their wives, interiors of Dutch houses, etc. The influence of Rembrandt remained constant, in the rich, expressive manner of his oil paint; but in the interiors with figures there is evidence of his admiration for older Dutch artists like Vermeer, as well as of Jozef *Israëls in his sympathetic treatment of simple people.

[Charles Samuel Spencer]

ROSENBERG, LOUIS (1893–1987), Canadian demographer, Jewish community worker. Rosenberg was the foremost demographer of Canadian Jewish life and a pioneer in the social scientific study of Canadian Jews. He was born in Poland and raised and educated in Leeds in the United Kingdom. He graduated with a bachelor of arts degree and a teachers certificate from Leeds University in 1914, and moved to Canada in 1915. Throughout his life, Rosenberg shared three strong passions: Zionism, socialism, and the social scientific study of Jewish life.

In Canada Rosenberg settled first in Saskatchewan, where from 1919 to 1940 he was the director of settlements of the Jewish Colonization Association. He believed in the Labor Zionist credo of personal and Jewish redemption through agricultural collective settlement. While in the Canadian west, he also became involved with the Canadian democratic left and the CCF. In 1935 he published the bestselling *Who Owns Canada?* under the pen name of Watt Hugh McCollum. A second edition was released in 1947. The tract critically analyzed Canada's Anglo-Protestant corporate power structure. It was while living in Saskatchewan that Rosenberg also began the research and writing of his classic and pioneering text, *Canada's Jews*, published in 1939 by the Canadian Jewish Congress. This book, in over 400 pages and with 273 tables, presented a comprehensive socio-demographic portrait of the Canadian Jewish community, based largely on data from the 1931 census and other sources, collected by the Dominion Bureau of Statistics, now Statistics Canada. Unmatched in either Jewish or Canadian ethnic demography in terms of its detailed, comprehensive nature, this study was reissued by McGill-Queen's University Press in 1993.

From 1940 to 1945, Rosenberg served as executive director of the western region of the Canadian Jewish Congress. In 1945 he moved to Montreal, where he became national research director of the Bureau of Social and Economic Research of the Canadian Jewish Congress. In fact, Rosenberg was the Bureau and produced a steady stream of research reports on Canadian Jewish demographic, sociological, and economic characteristics. A pioneer in Canadian and Jewish demography, during his lifetime Rosenberg's achievements and commitment to Jewish scientific research were either undervalued or unrecognized in both the Jewish communal world and in the general Canadian scholarly community.

[Morton Weinfeld (2nd ed.)]

ROSENBERG, LUDWIG (1903–1977), German trade union leader. Born in Berlin, Rosenberg was the son of a merchant, and received a commercial education. In 1925 he joined the Clerical Workers' Union and in 1928 became a full-time official of the union. After a course of study at the government school for economics and administration, Rosenberg was appointed head of the commercial section of the union. He went to Britain as a refugee in 1933, where he taught in the Workers' Educational Association and was a freelance journalist. During World War II, Rosenberg headed a section of the British Ministry of Labor. He continued to work for the revival of the German trade union movement and returned to Germany in 1946. In 1949, he became a member of the executive of the trade union movement, and was made the head of its foreign relations department in 1954. In 1959, he became vice president and, in 1962, president of the trade union movement. Rosenberg did much to bring the German trade union movement back into democratic politics, saying that it was not bad politics that affected character but bad character that corrupted politics. He enjoyed a high reputation in Germany and was the first president of the movement who did not come from the working classes. He visited Israel on several occasions and was instrumental in establishing friendly relations between the German trade union movement and the *Histadrut.

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[Monika Halbinger (2nd ed.)]

ROSENBERG, MOISHE (1904–1940). Mexican journalist and Yiddish writer. Born in Yablone, province of Warsaw in Poland. At age 18 he moved to Warsaw, where he took general studies. Together with a group of young people he published a journal in Yiddish. In 1929 Rosenberg immigrated to Mexico and in the next year published the first number of the journal *Der Veg*, which became one of the most important information channels of the Ashkenazi community in Mexico. In the middle of 1932 he failed to transform his weekly publication into a daily newspaper, though after 1937 he did succeed in publishing it three times a week.

In 1929 Rosenberg took part in the organization of the youth Zionist movement *Tzeirei Yehuda*. His Zionist position was very evident in *Der Veg*, but he avoided identification with any political party.

At the end of 1937 he started the translation and publication of *The History of the Jews* by Heinrich *Graetz, and until his death he succeeded to publish nine volumes.

[Efraim Zadoff (2nd ed.)]

ROSENBERG, STUART E. (1922–1990), Canadian rabbi. Arguably the most influential rabbi in Canada in the 1960s, Rosenberg is remembered mostly for the bitter power struggle between him and the officers of Beth Tzedec Synagogue in Toronto, which claimed then to be the largest congregation in the world. It is a harsh fate for a man who inspired thousands and was the driving force behind the creation of several important Toronto Jewish institutions.

Born in Brooklyn, New York, Rosenberg was educated at the Flatbush Yeshiva elementary school, a public high school, Brooklyn College (B.A.), Columbia University (Ph.D. in Jewish history), and the Jewish Theological Seminary (M.H.L. and rabbi). In 1946, he took his first pulpit, Temple Beth El in Rochester, New York, where his dynamism and forceful manner of speaking made an impact in the synagogue and in the community at large. In 1956, he was called to the pulpit of Toronto's Beth Tzedec, formed through the merger of the two upscale inner-city synagogues founded by Jews of Eastern European origin. The new congregation had just erected a cathedral synagogue in a suburban setting, a short distance from the (Reform) Holy Blossom Temple, and its board sought a rabbi who would enable the new synagogue to outdistance its neighbor in prestige and influence. The new rabbi did not disappoint.

In his early years at Beth Tzedec, Rosenberg strengthened the congregational school, established the Prozdor education program for high school and university students, pushed for the establishment of a day school at a time when most Conservative Jews opposed all-day Jewish schools, and spearheaded the drive to bring the Ramah camping movement to Canada. At his prompting, Beth Tzedec established the first Jewish museum in Canada and sponsored an impressive array of adult education programs including hosting Elie *Wiesel and David *Ben-Gurion. On an average Sabbath morning, more than 1,000 people heard Rosenberg speak from the pulpit.

The rabbi also established himself as a community leader by becoming a force in charitable and professional organizations in the Jewish and general communities. In 1967 he became the first rabbi to head Toronto's annual UJA fund drive. Six years earlier, he had journeyed to the Soviet Union. Despite community pressure, he spoke out publicly against the oppression of Soviet Jews and succeeded in bringing the issue to the forefront of the community agenda. Rosenberg supported University of Toronto students in their campaign for a Jewish Studies program and, together with lay leaders, set up the Canadian Foundation for Jewish Culture in 1965 to promote teaching and research in Jewish Studies. He served as president. He wrote a regular column in the Toronto *Star*, published 17 books, and wrote dozens of articles on Judaism, Canadian Jews, theology, Quebec separation, and other topics.

Not all of Rosenberg's initiatives were successful. Notable failures were his attempt to establish a Canadian branch of the Jewish Theological Seminary and his campaign to obtain public funding for Jewish day schools. And, as might be expected, the successes often left hurt and resentful people in their wake.

By the late 1960s, Beth Tzedec congregants inspired by the *ḥavurah* movement and a young, new educational director, Rabbi Ben Hollander, began pressing for a more personal, more traditional, less rabbi-centered synagogue. Rosenberg resisted, and a bruising struggle between his supporters and opponents ensued, including lawsuits and accusations of both impropriety and criminal behavior. The suits were settled out of court. Rosenberg went on to Beth Torah, a small Toronto synagogue, but he never regained his former influence.

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[Michael Brown (2nd ed.)]

ROSENBERG, YEHUDA YUDEL (1859–1935), Canadian rabbi and author. Rosenberg was born in Skaryszew, Poland, and acquired a thorough rabbinic and ḥasidic education. He also was exposed to maskilic literature and became fluent in Russian, earning an official permit to function as a rabbi in Poland. Having failed in business, he turned to rabbinic positions in Tarlow, Lublin, Warsaw and Lodz, where he attempted to create a ḥasidic following as the Tarler Rebbe (1909–13) before immigrating to North America. He arrived in North America in 1913, settling first in Toronto (1913–18), and then in Montreal (1919–35). In both cities he engaged in often heated disputes with other immigrant Orthodox rabbis over the supervision of kosher meat. In Montreal, he was instrumental in the creation of a united Orthodox rabbinate, and became vice president of the rabbinic council (Va'ad ha-Rabbanim) of Montreal's Jewish Community Council (Va'ad ha-'Ir) (1923–35).

Rosenberg was a prolific author in Hebrew and Yiddish in numerous genres. His rabbinic publications included a supercommentary on Tractate *Nedarim*, *Yaddot Nedarim* (1902), and *Me'or ha-Hashmal* (1924) on the halakhic issues surrounding electricity. He published several volumes of homilies, including *Ateret Tiferet* (1931), and *Peri Yehudah* (1935). A volume of responsa remains in page proof. He edited a short-lived rabbinic journal, *Kol Torah* (1908). He is best known for his re-edition and translation of the *Zohar* into Hebrew, entitled *Zohar Torah* (7 vols., 1924–30), and for his stories of the Maharal of Prague (*Nifla'ot Maharal im ha-Golem* (1909), and *Sefer Ḥoshen ha-Mishpat shel ha-Kohen ha-Gadol* (1913)), the first of which served to popularize the story of the Maharal and the Golem in the 20th century. In these works, he did not present himself as the author of the tales but rather as an editor of manuscripts emanating from a nonexistent "Royal Library of Metz." He further published tales of biblical heroes (*Sefer Eliyahu ha-Navi* (1910) and *Sefer Divrei ha-Yamim le-Shelomo ha-Melekh* (1914)) and of ḥasidic leaders (*Tiferet Mahar'el mi-Shpole* (1912); *Der Greiditzer* (1913?)), and a medical book (*Sefer Refa'el ha-Malakh* (1911)) which reflected in part his practice of homeopathic medicine.

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[Ira Robinson (2nd ed.)]

ROSENBERG CASE, U.S. spy case involving Julius Rosenberg (1918–1953), his wife, Ethel (1920–1953), Morton Sobell (1918–), and others. They were charged and convicted of conspiracy to deliver U.S. atomic bomb secrets to Russia (1951). The case was tried in New York before Judge Irving R. *Kaufman, who declared he sought divine guidance before imposing sentence. The principal witnesses, judge, and chief prosecutor were Jews. The Rosenbergs were sentenced to death. There was a worldwide outcry: Some felt that the Rosenbergs were not guilty; others felt they should be permitted to live in case one day they might be persuaded to talk, and finally there were those who were against capital punishment in general or felt that peace-time spying should not be a capital offense. The case was carried to the U.S. Court of Appeals and then the Supreme Court. After executive clemency was denied by President Eisenhower, a further effort was made to secure a Supreme Court review. Justice Douglas granted a stay during the court's summer recess, but the court was summoned into extraordinary session and, by a narrow vote, set aside the stay and permitted the sentence to be carried out. Justice Felix *Frankfurter wrote a dissenting judgment, protesting the unseemly haste and lack of full review. The Rosenbergs were the first civilians convicted as spies to be executed in the U.S. Sobell was not charged with transmission of the bomb secrets but with having agreed to supply national defense data. He was sentenced to 30 years' imprisonment. His wife and mother worked tirelessly on his behalf and enlisted many distinguished persons in his cause. His wife raised and spent $1,000,000 on seven court appeals. Sobell was released by a United States Court of Appeals in 1969 after having served 17 and a half years. The case remained a highly controversial one, the subject of many books and articles by objective students as well as proponents of special causes. The Rosenbergs were executed on a Friday evening, which was regarded by some as evidence of antisemitism in the case; their children were raised under the name of their adoptive parents. Robert and Michael Meeropol have pressed for an opening of some secret records.

After the collapse of the Soviet Union and the opening of its archives, little doubt remains in the scholarly community over Julius' guilt, but the participation of Ethel is seen as marginal at most. Among those who switched positions was Smith College historian Allen Weinstein, who said that under today's circumstances Ethel would probably have not been indicted, let alone executed. She is listed in Soviet archives as Julius' wife but did not have a code name.

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[Elmer Gertz / Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

ROSENBLATT, BERNARD ABRAHAM (1886–1969), U.S. lawyer and Zionist. Rosenblatt, who was born in Gorodok, Galicia, was taken to the U.S. in 1892. Rosenblatt, as a Columbia University student, established in 1905 the first Zionist student organization, the Columbia University Zionist Organization, and was a founder of the Collegiate Zionist League at the end of 1906. From 1911, he served as the secretary of the American Zionist Federation. In 1916 he was an unsuccessful Democratic candidate for Congress and in 1921 he was appointed a New York City magistrate. As founder and first president of the American Zion Commonwealth (1915), a land development firm dedicated to facilitating Jewish settlement in Palestine, he supervised the land acquisition for, and subsequent establishment of, the towns of Herzliyyah, Afulah, Balfouria, and settlement in the Haifa Bay region. In his capacity as the first U.S. delegate to be appointed to the World Zionist Executive (1921), he was responsible for floating the first issue of Palestinian bonds in the U.S., setting the pattern for subsequent Israel bonds sales.

He was chairman of the board of Tiberias Hot Springs, Ltd. (1935–40), president of both the Jewish National Fund (1923–37) and the Keren Hayesod of America (1941–46), and vice president of the Zionist Organization of America (1927–48). Rosenblatt wrote: *Two Generations of Zionism* (1967), his autobiography; *Social Zionism* (1919); *Federated Palestine and the Jewish Commonwealth* (1941); and *The American Bridge to the Israel Commonwealth* (1959).

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ROSENBLATT, H. (pseudonym of **Ḥayyim Royzenblit**; 1878–1956), U.S. Yiddish poet. Born in Rishoshe, Poland, he emigrated to the U.S. in 1892. From the age of 13, he worked in a sweatshop. Having tried 15 different professions, Rosenblatt turned to poetry, with which he had always been preoccupied. From 1900, he published his lyrics in Yiddish periodicals. At first he was under the influence of Morris *Rosenfeld and followed the realistic tradition of the "*Sweatshop Poets," but he also felt the impact of the Yiddish lyric masters S.S. *Frug, Abraham *Reisen, *Yehoash, and of English and American poets. He reproduced in Yiddish verse the rhythms, alliterations, and assonances of Edgar Allen Poe's "The Raven" and Oscar Wilde's "Ballad of Reading Gaol." In symbolism he discovered a more congenial style for his lyrics. The impressionistic literary movement, Di *Yunge, then hailed him as its precursor and ally. In 1916 he edited the Detroit literary weekly *Detroyter Vokhnblat*, obtaining contributions from poets and novelists of Di Yunge. In 1921 he settled in Los Angeles where for more than a third of a century he was a central figure in Yiddish cultural life. The collected poems of his pre-California period appeared in 1915, but his best lyrics, ballads, and contemplative verses were the later works included in the volumes *Odems Kinder* ("Adam's Children," 1944), *Mayn Likhtike Nesiye* ("My Illustrious Journey," 1944), *In Shenstn Tog fun Harbst* ("On the Nicest Day of Autumn," 1953), and *Far-Nakht* ("Evening," 1957). Rosenblatt discovered for Yiddish poetry the American West, especially California's deserts, mountains, and ocean, and versified legends of Native Americans. His poems, set to music by various composers, had a calm, optimistic attitude and a gentle humor.

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[Sol Liptzin]

ROSENBLATT, JOSEF (**Yossele**; 1882–1933), *ḥazzan* and composer. Born in Belaya Tserkov, Russia, Rosenblatt toured Eastern Europe as a child prodigy, conducting synagogue services together with his father. When he was 18 years old he was appointed *ḥazzan* in Mukachevo. He moved to Bratislava in 1901 and to Hamburg five years later. In 1912 he emigrated to the U.S. and became *ḥazzan* of the Ohab Zedek Congregation in New York. Rosenblatt became widely known in the U.S. and Europe through extensive concert tours. In 1918 he refused, on religious grounds, to appear with the Chicago Opera Company in Halevy's *La Juive* at $1,000 per performance, but in 1928 he did allow his voice to be heard in the first full sound film, Al *Jolson's *The Jazz Singer*. The most popular *ḥazzan* of his time, Rosenblatt earned huge salaries and concert fees. Nevertheless, he was almost continually in debt, giving much of his income to charity and to the support of members of his family. Naïve in business matters, he agreed to provide financial backing for a dubious Jewish newspaper venture. In 1925 he was forced to declare bankruptcy but undertook a rigorous schedule of appearances in vaudeville to pay off his debts. Rosenblatt's immense popularity with Jewish and gentile audiences never waned. He died in Jerusalem while working on a Yiddish film. Rosenblatt possessed a tenor voice with the exceptional range of two-and-a-half octaves of full voice combined with a remarkably agile falsetto. He constantly impressed his listeners with his brilliant coloratura coupled with the sweetness and control of his voice and his "sob" in devotional passages. He composed hundreds of liturgical melodies that reflect his Ḥasidic background in their tunefulness; many of these achieved great popularity and a permanent place in the repertoire of the synagogue. Some of his compositions, however, are of little melodic interest, while others demand a vocal range as wide as that of the composer and are therefore rarely sung by other *ḥazzanim*. Some of his best-known pieces appeared in the collection *Tefillot Yosef* (1907; 1927^2). The extent of his popular appeal and his influence on synagogue music may be gauged from the widespread distribution of his numerous recordings, which were repeatedly reissued even many years after his death.

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[David M.L. Olivestone]

ROSENBLATT (Weizel), MORDECAI BEN MENAHEM (d. 1906), Lithuanian and Polish rabbi and author. Rosenblatt was born in Antopol, district of Grodno, and studied in the yeshivot of Semyatich and Pinsk. He occupied himself with Kabbalah and although unconnected with the Ḥasidic movement achieved renown as a *Ẓaddik whose blessings were effective. He served as rabbi in various cities – in Buthen, whence his designation as "the *Ẓaddik* of Buthen," in Korelitz from 1887, in Oshmyany from 1892, and from 1904 until his death in Slonim. Although he wrote many responsa and novellae to the Talmud, only one of his works, *Hadrat Mordekhai* (1899), containing responsa and novellae, has been published.

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ROSENBLATT, SAMUEL (1902–1983), U.S. rabbi and scholar. Rosenblatt, son of the famous *ḥazzan* Josef (Yossele) *Rosenblatt, was born in Bratislava and was taken to the United States in 1912. He was a *cum laude* graduate of City College (1921) and received a rabbinical degree from the Jewish Theological Seminary (1925); he studied in Jerusalem on a fellowship from the American Schools of Oriental Research; and received a Ph.D. from Columbia (1927). In 1926 he served as a rabbi in Trenton and then from 1927 onward Rabbi Rosenblatt served Congregation Beth Tefiloh in Baltimore, Maryland. He headed the Baltimore Board of Rabbis (1952); *Mizrachi (1938–42); and the American Jewish Congress (1942–47). He lectured at Columbia University from 1926 to 1928 and then was associated with Johns Hopkins University from 1930, Rosenblatt taught Jewish literature until 1947, and thereafter Oriental languages.

His writings include: *High Ways to Perfection of Abraham Maimonides* (2 vols., 1927–38); *Interpretation of the Bible in the Mishnah* (1935); a translation of Saadiah Gaon's *Book of Beliefs and Opinions* (1948); and *Yossele Rosenblatt* (1954), as well as volumes of sermons and occasional writings. His memoirs appeared as "The Days of My Years," published in weekly installments in *Baltimore Jewish Times*, 1974 onward, and he was also the author of a weekly column in *Baltimore News-American* (1960), and a contributor to *Jewish Quarterly Review.*

ROSENBLATT, SOL ARIEH (1900–1968), U.S. lawyer. Rosenblatt was born in Omaha, Nebraska. In 1935 he began a private law practice in New York, in the course of which he handled the litigation of many celebrities. In 1934 Rosenblatt was appointed administrator of the National Recovery Administration's division on amusement and transportation codes. Later that year he became national administrator of code compliance and was responsible for setting the first minimum wage for theater performers. In 1940 Rosenblatt was general counsel to the Democratic National Committee, and from 1942 to 1945 he was a colonel in the U.S. Army Air Force. From 1935 to 1940 and from 1947 to 1968, Rosenblatt was impartial chairman of the New York coat and suit industry, responsible for supervising labor conditions.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *New York Times* (May 5, 1968), 87.

[Edward L. Greenstein]

ROSENBLOOM, CARROLL (1907–1979), businessman and U.S. National Football League team owner who ran some of the game's most successful teams from the 1950s to the 1970s, a friend of celebrities and known for gambling on football and horses. He worked in his father's shirt company in Baltimore after attending the University of Pennsylvania, where he was a member of Jewish fraternity ZBT. He was so successful he retired at 33. As World War II began, he returned to business and manufactured material for military work uniforms. In 1953, NFL commissioner Bert Bell, his football coach at Penn, convinced him to organize a group to rescue a failing franchise and create the Baltimore Colts. Rosenbloom's initial personal cash investment for 51 percent ownership was $13,000. Five years later the Colts defeated the New York Giants 23–17 in the NFL championship, an overtime contest sometimes called "The Greatest Game Ever Played." The Colts repeated as NFL champions in 1959, and remained an elite team through the 1960s. The Colts went into Super Bowl III in 1969 against the American Football League's New York Jets as heavy favorites, but were defeated in one of the greatest upsets in U.S. sports history when Joe Namath led the Jets to a 16–7 victory. Rosenbloom and fellow owners Art *Modell (Cleveland Browns), and Art Rooney (Pittsburgh Steelers) facilitated the NFL merger with the AFL by moving to the newly created AFC. The Colts won the first post-merger Super Bowl in 1971, and two years later Rosenbloom traded the Colts to Robert Irsay for the Los Angeles Rams, paying Rosenbloom a reported $3 million on the side to seal the deal. An active owner, Rosenbloom made the Rams a successful team in the 1970s that won six consecutive division titles. Rosenbloom died in a mysterious drowning in 1979. His widow, Georgia, whom he had met at the Palm Beach home of presidential father and businessman Joseph P. Kennedy, became the Rams' majority owner. Rosenbloom, with business associates Morris Mac Schwebel and Lou Chesler, also acquired the film libraries of Warner Brothers and Twentieth Century Fox, major U.S. movie studios launched by Jews. The deals came under U.S. Securities and Exchange Commission scrutiny.

[Alan D. Abbey (2nd ed.)]

ROSENBLOOM, MAX EVERITT ("**Slapsie Maxie**"; 1904–1976), U.S. boxer, light heavyweight champion 1930–34, member of Ring Boxing Hall of Fame and International Boxing Hall of Fame. Rosenbloom was born in Leonard's Bridge, Conn., the son of Russian-Jewish immigrants, His family moved in 1907 to New York's Lower East Side, where Rosenbloom's father worked as a shoemaker, and later to Harlem. He started boxing at the Union Settlement House in Harlem, influenced by an older brother who fought as Leonard Rose, and held various odd jobs, such as elevator operator, railroad laborer, and lifeguard while continuing to box. Rosenbloom first fought professionally at 19 on October 8, 1923, and thereafter he fought often: by the end of 1925 Rosenbloom had fought 48 professional fights with only six losses, and was ranked 10th in the middleweight division in the 1925 annual rankings by *Ring Magazine*. Rosenbloom began his career as a slugger, but because he was not a strong puncher he soon developed an unorthodox hit-and-run style of smacking opponents with open gloves, which led New York sportswriter Damon Runyon to tag Rosenbloom with the nickname "Slapsie."

On October 21, 1929, two months after the massacre of Jews in Hebron, Rosenbloom – along with Ruby *Goldstein and Jackie "Kid" *Berg – fought at a benefit at Madison Square Garden on behalf of the "Palestine Relief Fund." Nearly 20,000 contributors paid $101,000 to attend. On June 25, 1930, Rosenbloom beat Jimmy Slattery in 15 rounds to win the world light heavyweight championship, as recognized by the New York Athletic Commission. He was acclaimed the undisputed champion when he defeated Lou Scozza on July 14, 1932. Rosenbloom disliked training and was considered a playboy outside the ring. Nevertheless, he was the busiest titleholder in boxing history, fighting 109 times while champion – only seven were title defenses – the equivalent of one bout every 15 days. Rosenbloom lost the title on November 16, 1934, to Bob Olin, although many sportswriters at ringside believed Rosenbloom had won. It was the 10th and last title match ever between Jewish boxers. His final record in 299 bouts across 16 years was 210 wins (19 KOs), 38 losses, 26 draws, 23 no decisions, and two no contests. After his retirement from boxing, Rosenbloom parlayed his colorful reputation into a successful acting and night club career, often portraying a punch-drunk fighter. He also ran successful nightclubs, Slapsie Maxie's, in San Francisco and Los Angeles. Rosenbloom was inducted into the Ring Boxing Hall of Fame in 1972 and the International Boxing Hall of Fame in 1993.

[Elli Wohlgelernter (2nd ed.)]

ROSENBLOOM, SOLOMON (1866–1925), U.S. banker and philanthropist. Rosenbloom, born in Grodno, Russia, emigrated to the U.S. in 1889 and eventually settled in Pittsburgh.

Extremely active in Jewish affairs and a vigorous supporter of settlement in Palestine, he endowed Jewish studies at the Hebrew University (1922) and served as treasurer and board member of the Palestine Development Council. Rosenbloom was also a founder and president of the Hebrew Institute of Pittsburgh, as well as a trustee of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America and a member of the United Synagogue of America's executive council.

His wife, CELIA NEUMARK ROSENBLOOM, born in Lyck, Germany, was active with her husband in communal and philanthropic work. She donated the building of the Institute of Jewish Studies at the Hebrew University, on Mt. Scopus, Jerusalem, in her husband's memory. An executive board member of the American Friends of the Hebrew University, she was an organizer and honorary president of the Women's Division of the American Jewish Congress.

Their son CHARLES (1898–1973) was also a prominent financier and active in many Jewish causes. He was chairman of the United Jewish Appeal and president of the Jewish Federation of Charities in Pittsburgh. He was also chairman of commissioners of the housing authority in Pittsburgh.

ROSENBLUM, FRANK (1887–1973), U.S. labor leader. Born in New York, Rosenblum moved with his family to Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, where he learned the trade of cloth cutting and joined Local 110 of the United Garment Workers (UGW). In 1908 he settled in Chicago where, as a member of Cutters Local 61, he was active in organizing the clothing workers. During the 1910 general strike in the industry, Rosenblum was active as a strike leader, serving as secretary of the strike committee. The strike settlement, arrived at four months later, contained a provision for arbitration of disputes and an agreement not to discriminate against workers for union activities. In 1914, a split took place in the UGW and Rosenblum was elected vice president of one of the factions, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America (ACWA), and later director of its Western Organization Department.

During the 1930s, Rosenblum devoted his special organizing abilities to the new Committee for Industrial Organization. He served as a vice president of the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO) from 1940 until 1955, when it merged with the AFL. In 1940, when ACWA general-president Sidney *Hillman took up a position in a government agency, Rosenblum was elected general secretary-treasurer, a post which he held until his retirement in 1972.

Throughout his career, Rosenblum was active in the struggle for world peace. He was one of the first major U.S. labor leaders to speak out against U.S. involvement in the Vietnam War and was a founder of the Labor Leadership Assembly for Peace in 1967 and of Labor for Peace in June 1972, both formed with the aim of bringing the Vietnam -War to an end. In 1963, Rosenblum received the Clarence Darrow Humanitarian Award for services to the Chicago community. He was a staunch supporter of Israel and the *Histadrut.

ROSENBLUM, HERZL (1903–1991), Israeli journalist. Born in Latvia, Rosenblum studied law at the University of Vienna. An associate of Ze'ev *Jabotinsky, he made *aliyah* in 1935, after which he worked as a journalist on the Revisionist newspaper *Ha-Boker.* He was a leading member of the "Jewish State" Party, and as its representative signed the Declaration of Independence (signing with the Hebraized translation of his name, Herzl Vardi). Giving up a promising political career in the Knesset, Rosenblum was appointed editor of **Yedioth Aharonoth*, after the "putsch" in 1948 by its editor, Dr. Azriel *Carlebach, and the founding of the **Maariv* newspaper. With the newspaper's newsgathering carried out by Dov *Yudkovsky, Rosenblum's work comprised writing a signed editorial column which appeared daily until his retirement in 1983. Taking a Revisionist line, the widely read column, with its telegraphic style, also reflected popular Israeli opinion. In *Yedioth Aharonoth*'s tradition of being the "nation's newspaper," Rosenblum ensured that the newspaper's op-ed pages were open to a broad spectrum of political opinion. His son and grandson, Moshe *Vardi and Doron Rosenblum, were also journalists, Vardi becoming editor of *Yedioth*. His memoirs, *Tippot min Ha-Yam* ("Drops from the Ocean"), were published in 1988.

[Yoel Cohen (2nd ed.)]

ROSENBLUM, SIGMUND GEORGIEVICH (known as **Sidney Reilly** and often referred to as "**Reilly, Ace of Spies**"; 1874–1925?), British spy. Born in Bedzin, Russian Poland, as Shlomo ben Hirsh Rozenblum (and a descendant of the Vilna Gaon), Rosenblum came to London around 1895, and from 1899 was known as Sidney George Reilly. His first exploit occurred in 1895, while serving as cook for a party of three British officers, who were exploring the Amazon in Brazil. The officers were attacked by their bearers and guides, and Rosenblum came to their defense. Rosenblum returned with them to London, where he worked for the British Secret Service, especially in the Far East. He also earned a fortune as an armaments contractor. Before World War I, he played an important role in uncovering the secrets of the German armaments program. During the war (in which he received several medals), he was parachuted many times by the Allies into Germany, enlisted in the German Army, deserted when an assignment was completed, and reenlisted under another name. On one occasion, he murdered a German staff colonel for whom he served as a driver, dressed in the former's uniform, and took his place at a meeting where Kaiser William II and Generals Ludendorff and Hindenburg discussed war plans. Rosenblum was involved in an abortive plot to overthrow the Bolsheviks after the Russian Revolution. He also found time for philandering and in 1918 eight Russian women claimed him as their legal husband. His last mission to Russia took place in 1925. Rosenblum made contact with what he believed to be an anticommunist society, fell into a trap set by GPU (Russia's secret police), and was never heard of again. Reacting to a British television series, the Russians said he was executed in 1925. R.

Bruce Lockhart, however, a noted British agent, thought he was still alive in 1932 and cooperating with the Russians. The balance of evidence, however, suggests that he was executed by the Soviets in Moscow in November 1925. In the 1970s, a popular British television series, *Reilly, Ace of Spies*, was made about his life.

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[Morton Mayer Berman]

ROSENBUSCH, KARL HARRY FERDINAND (1836–1914), German geologist. Rosenbusch, who was born at Einbeck, was appointed professor of petrography at Strasbourg University in 1873 and in 1878 became professor of mineralogy and geology at Heidelberg, where he spent the rest of his life. From the 1870s, when he began to publish important works on the subject, until his death, he was one of the great pioneers of petrographic research, and these years were often referred to in the profession as the "Rosenbusch period."

His *Mikroskopische Physiographic der petrographisch wichtigen Mineralen* (1873; with E. Wuefling, 1904^4) identified rocks by studying the morphological, physical and chemical properties of their mineral components. It became a standard textbook on the microscopic investigation of rocks for many generations of students and scholars. No less important was his *Mikroskopische Physiographie der massigen Gesteine* (1877, 1896), which made a fundamental contribution to the development of systematic petrography. Combining microscopic and chemical research with field observations, this book gave a strong impulse to the discussion of genetic problems and the passive or active behavior of the magma in mountain building. Rosenbusch's most widely-used textbook was *Elemente der Gesteinslehre* (1898), which laid great emphasis on rock-chemistry and on the geodynamic processes in the formation of crystalline schists. In this field, he had made a classic contribution as early as 1877 through his study, *Steiger Schriefer und ihre Kontakt-Zone an den Graniten von Barr-Andlau uńd Hohwald.*

[Leo Picard]

ROSENCOF, MAURICIO (1933–), Uruguayan playwright, novelist, and poet. Born in Florida, Uruguay, he became one of the country's leading writers and journalists. He was a leader in the underground National Liberation Movement (Tupamaros), and in 1972 he was detained by the military government and held as a political prisoner in complete isolation for more than 11 years. His memoirs as a detainee are compiled in the three-volume *Memorias del calabozo* (1987–88). Rosencof is a major dramatist in Uruguay. His works *Las ranas* (1961), *La valija* (1965), *El saco de Antonio* (1985), and *… y nuestros caballos serán blancos* (1985) are classics of 20th century Uruguayan theater. His early works almost exclusively consisted of a critical view of Uruguayan society and political processes with particular emphasis on the struggle for social justice. Many of his post-incarceration works may be classified as children's literature, such as *Canciones para alegrar a una niña* (1985), *Leyendas del abuelo de la tarde* (1990), and *Los trabajitos de Dios* (2001). The novel *Las cartas que no llegaron* (2000) represents the author's first effort to write a specifically Jewish-themed text. The novel is an intimate, personal memoir of his time spent imprisoned as a political detainee interwoven with his family's connection to the Holocaust. In doing so, Rosencof joins a number of Latin American Jewish authors who find common ground in the persecution of so-called subversives, tortured and killed in concentration camps by neo-fascist military governments, and Jews murdered under European Nazism.

[Darrell B. Lockhart (2nd ed.)]

ROSENDALE, SIMON WOLFE (1842–1937), U.S. lawyer and public servant. Rosendale, who was born in Albany, New York, received his early education at the school maintained by Rabbi I.M. *Wise. He was admitted to the bar in 1863 and practiced thereafter in his native city. He was recorder of Albany (1868–72) and attorney general of New York State (1892–94). Rosendale was an active worker for the Union of American Hebrew Congregations and B'nai B'rith. He was a founder of the Jewish Publication Society of America and of the American Jewish Historical Society. He served as a vice president of the latter and contributed to its proceedings.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: I. Lewi, in: AJHSP, 35 (1939), 320–2.

[Sefton D. Temkin]

ROSENFARB, CHAVA (1923–), Yiddish writer. Born in Lodz, Rosenfarb began writing at age eight and was educated at the Medem school and then at a Polish high school. In the Lodz ghetto, her poetry brought her to the attention of Simkha-Bunim *Shayevitsh, author of the epic poem "*Lekh Lekho*," who became her mentor and introduced her to the writers' group in the ghetto. Upon liquidation of the ghetto (August 1944), Rosenfarb was deported to Auschwitz, and thence to Sasel and Bergen-Belsen, where she was liberated. In 1950, she immigrated to Montreal. Her literary output after 1947 was prodigious, including four volumes of poetry: *Di Balade fun Nekhtikn Vald* ("The Ballad of Yesterday's Forest," 1947); *Dos Lid fun Yidishn Kelner Avrom* ("The Song of the Jewish Waiter Avrom," 1948); *Geto un Andere Lider* ("Ghetto and Other Poems," 1950), and *Aroys fun Gan-Eydn* ("Out of Paradise," 1965). Her play *Der Foygl fun Geto* ("The Bird of the Ghetto"), about the final days of Vilna Ghetto leader Isaac *Wittenberg, was performed in Hebrew in Israel by Habimah in 1966. Dissatisfied with both poetry and drama as means of expression for Holocaust experience, Rosenfarb turned to fiction, publishing the trilogy *Der Boym fun Lebn* (1972; *The Tree of Life*, 1985), chronicling the destruction of Jewish Lodz in 1939–44; it won the Manger Prize in 1979. It remains one of the very few novels – as opposed to memoirs or diaries – written about the Holocaust by an actual survivor. While Rosenfarb's next novel, *Botshani* (1982), is a prequel to *Der Boym fun Lebn*, the shadow of the Holocaust hovers proleptically over the novel, as is the case in all of Rosenfarb's work (Eng. tr. in 2 vols., *Bociany* and *Of Lodz and Love*, 2000). Rosenfarb's novel *Briv tsu Abrashn* ("Letters to Abrasha," 1992) describes the horrors of the concentration camps. Most of Rosenfarb's essays and stories appeared in *Di Goldene Keyt*; some of the stories appeared in a translated collection, *Survivors: Seven Short Stories* (2004). Rosenfarb also published non-fiction in English, notably "Feminism and Yiddish Literature: A Personal Approach," which problematizes the double marginalization of a woman writer who is also a Yiddish writer. In 1994, she published a pamphlet called *Yiddish Poets in Canada*. Rosenfarb was one of the foremost Yiddish writers of the second half of the 20th century.

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[Goldie Morgentaler (2nd ed.)]

ROSENFELD, ABRAHAM ISAAC JACOB (1914–1980s?), rabbi and *ḥazzan*. Rosenfeld was born in Jerusalem and studied at the Yeshivah Etz Ḥayyim and Merkaz ha-Rav there. He served as both rabbi and *ḥazzan* to the Finchley Synagogue in London (1941–70) and was appointed honorary president of the Cantors' Association of England. He served as an army chaplain and in 1971 was appointed rabbi of the Wellington, New Zealand, congregation, returning to Israel in 1978. His translation into English of the *Seliḥot* service (1956) and the *Kinot* for the Tishah be-Av (1965) received the approbation of the chief rabbi of England, Rabbi Sir Israel *Brodie. He composed a special memorial prayer for the victims of the Holocaust.

[Akiva Zimmerman]

ROSENFELD, AHARON (1846–1916), Hebrew writer. Born in Volhynia, Rosenfeld taught in various places and in his later years served as government rabbi of Bakhmut.

Rosenfeld, who usually signed his pieces "Avner," wrote poetry and stories and was chief assistant and stylist for the first Hebrew daily, *Ha-Yom*. He edited the popular children's reader *Gan Sha'ashu'im* (1880), which opened a new era in the field of children's literature in Hebrew. He also published an epic poem entitled *Hillel ha-Zaken* ("Hillel the Elder," 1881).

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[Getzel Kressel]

ROSENFELD, FANNY (1905–1969), track and field athlete, Olympic gold and silver medal winner, Canada's Female Athlete of the Half Century (1950), and sports journalist. Rosenfeld was born in Russia in 1905 and immigrated with her family to Canada as a child. She grew up in Barrie, Ontario, before moving to Toronto in 1922. By 1925 Rosenfeld, widely known as "Bobby," had won several Canadian titles and set a number of Canadian track and field records. In 1924 she won the Toronto Women's Tennis Championship and was also a member of several championship basketball, softball, and hockey teams, including some sponsored by the YMHA in Toronto.

Rosenfeld represented Canada at the 1928 Olympic Games in Amsterdam, the first time that women's track and field appeared on the Olympic program. She ran for Canada in three events, the 400-meter relay, the 100-meter dash, and the 800-meter race. She won a gold medal in the 400-meter relay and a silver in the 100-meter dash and took fifth place in the 800-meter race. Controversy arose over the finish in the 100-meter dash. Canadian fans were convinced that Rosenfeld actually won even though the medal went to American competitor Elizabeth Robinson. In the 800-meter race, she held back to run beside a faltering teammate in order to offer moral support. She came in fifth in that race when she could easily have won a gold or silver medal. Rosenfeld remains the only Jewish athlete to ever win a gold medal in track and field at the Olympics.

In 1929 Rosenfeld's sporting career was curtailed and finally ended in 1933 as a result of severe arthritis. In 1939 Rosenfeld began a 20-year career writing on sports for Canada's *Globe and Mail* newspaper. Her column, "Feminine Sports Reel," focused on women in sports and sport issues across Canada. In 1950, Rosenfeld was honored as Canada's Woman Athlete of the Half-Century. Public parks in Toronto and Barrie have been named in her honor, and in 1996, Canada Post issued a stamp in her memory. The annual Canadian Female Athlete of the Year awarded is also named in Fanny Rosenfeld's honor and in 2000 the Jewish Women's Archive in the United States named Rosenfeld one of their Women of Valor.

[Avi Hyman and Brenda Cappe (2nd ed.)]

ROSENFELD, ISAAC (1918–1956), U.S writer and critic. Isaac Rosenfeld enters literary history as a footnote to the life and career of Saul Bellow. In the early 1930s, Bellow and Rosenfeld were schoolmates at Tuley High School in the Humboldt Park neighborhood of Chicago. As young men they went to New York together to make their careers. Bellow would emerge as one of the superstars in the American firmament, while Rosenfeld would be recalled in a Jungian way as his shadow.

Rosenfeld began publishing short stories in *Partisan Review* as early as 1944, the year of Bellow's novel *Dangling Man*. His novel, *Passage from Home* appeared in 1946, a year before Bellow's *The Victim*. He was also making a name for himself as a book reviewer for the *New Republic* in 1942, where he would remain for over 10 years, while also writing for *Partisan Review*, *Commentary*, the *Nation*, *Kenyon Review*, and *Harper's*, the major journals of opinion of his day. Those reviews, slashing and acerbic in the New York intellectual manner of their day, belied the more tender and vulnerable spirits that found voice in his fiction, a fiction largely of what his generation referred to as "alienation."

He was the son of one of those embittered and distant Jewish fathers that turn up all over Jewish fiction of his generation. Sam Rosenfeld, whom Isaac referred to as "Ozymandias," Shelley's king of kings, was a severe, dictatorial figure. Since his mother had died when he was just 22 months old, Rosenfeld drew such emotional nourishment as he could from two spinster aunts, who were the mainstays of childhood.

Passage from Home was an auspicious debut for a young writer (just 28 in 1946). A postwar disenchantment novel, typical of its time, it was a public exhibition of his alienation, in which he wrote passionately about his childhood, as if by doing so he could stanch his wounds and cleanse his spirit. The hero, Bernard Miller, a name Americanized as though to universalize him, is Isaac Rosenfeld in all but name, and his struggles with his father are the very same that had driven Rosenfeld from the home of Ozymandias. The Jewish family in *Passage from Home* is a weakened institution, in which the father's tyranny has been divorced from any semblance of religious authority. An American, Chicago born, Bernard Miller has learned – to borrow a formula from Abraham Joshua Heschel – the danger and gloom of this world but not the infinite beauty of heaven or the holy mysteries of piety.

Rosenfeld's essays and some short stories possessed fair amounts of traction and thrust, and much that remains memorable in his career can be found in posthumous collections titled *An Age of Enormity* (essays) and *Alpha and Omega* (stories).

Despite a certain dishevelment that marked his fiction, Rosenfeld was a vivid individual well remembered for his playfulness and his capacity for mimicry and invention. Bellow recalled his prevailing sense of life as one of "hard-headed gemutlichkeit." His writing at its best was saturated with his trademark blend of passion and intelligence. In his stories, essays, and journals, he performed a sort of Reichian character analysis, looking beneath the skin of writing or writers for blockages, symptoms, armor, and open corridors to feeling. He wrote as a physician of the will, and as a result his book reviews tended to be pathograms, CAT scans of malignant tissues.

Rosenfeld died in 1956 of a heart attack at the age of 38. But his legacy was to be memorialized by others, in memoirs by Irving Howe, Alfred Kazin, and William Barrett, in the novel *To An Early Grave* by Wallace Markfield, and, most notably in Bellow's "Zetland" story. Indeed, the character of the ill-fated poet Von Humboldt Fleisher in Bellow's novel *Humboldt's Gift* is thought by some to owe as much to Rosenfeld as to Delmore Schwartz.

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[Mark Shechner (2nd ed.)]

ROSENFELD, JONAH (1880–1944), Yiddish novelist and short story writer. Born in the Ukraine, he was orphaned at 13, when both parents died during a cholera epidemic. He then wandered from town to town before settling in Odessa, where his older brother arranged an apprenticeship for him with a turner. In 1904, encouraged by Ḥ.N. *Bialik and I.L. *Peretz, he wrote his first short story, *Der Lernyingl* ("The Apprentice"), based on his own experiences. His stories soon found an audience in Yiddish periodicals. After 1909, they were reprinted in book form, culminating in a six-volume edition of his *Gezamlte Shriftn* ("Collected Works," 1924), which also included descriptions of his experiences before he left Russia (1920). After his arrival in New York (1921), his story "*Konkurentn*" ("Competitors," in Howe/Greenberg) was dramatized and successfully staged (1922), followed by his comedy *Arayngefaln* ("Lapsed," 1924). His significant later works included *Er un Zi* ("He and She," 1927), "the diary of an ex-writer"; *Eyner Aleyn* ("All Alone," 1940; Heb. 1964), a vivid autobiographical depiction of Rosenfeld's early apprenticeship, highly praised in the Yiddish press. Rosenfeld was a perceptive portrayer of strange characters and their complex psychic states. He viewed himself as a Yiddish Maxim Gorky whose short stories and autobiographical fiction chronicled the inner life of the Jewish working class in Odessa and the Lower East Side tenements. He is one of the most original Yiddish prose writers of his generation.

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[Moshe Starkman / Jan Schwarz (2nd ed.)]

ROSENFELD, MORRIS (1862–1923), Yiddish poet. Born in Suvalk, Poland, Rosenfeld survived a cholera epidemic that claimed the lives of 12 of his siblings. He learned the tailor's trade from his father, which he practiced until he could earn his living by his pen. After several abortive attempts at emigration to Amsterdam and London, he arrived in New York in 1886, where he resided until his death. There he worked in the city's burgeoning garment industry, and the sweatshop became his poetic muse. Rosenfeld lamented the punishing life of the immigrant worker and attracted a wide reading audience with his melodramatic-sentimental portraits of this existence, also composing a great many Zionist poems. Over the course of the next decade, he published: *Di Gloke* ("The Bell," 1888), *Di Blumenkete* ("The Flower Wreath," 1890), *Poeziyen un Lider* ("Poems and Songs," 1893), and *Lider Bukh* ("Book of Poems," 1897). It was this last volume that attracted the attention of Leo *Wiener. The following year Wiener published an English translation of the poet's works entitled *Songs from the Ghetto*, which aroused interest in Rosenfeld outside his already substantial Yiddish audience and catapulted him to international fame. In 1894 he co-edited a humorous, satirical weekly *Der Ashmeday*, and in 1905, the daily *New Yorker Morgenblat*. Rosenfeld's popularity continued to grow as his works were translated into a number of European languages. He contributed to many Yiddish publications, including regularly to the *Forverts* (1908–14). With the rise of Di *Yunge in the second decade of the 20th century, Rosenfeld was displaced from the canon of modern Yiddish poetry, his works dismissed as politically tendentious and sub-poetic. While this view may be accurate concerning his earliest poems, Rosenfeld's contribution to modern Yiddish literature was his engaging, emotional portrayal of the immigrant sweatshop worker, which eschewed politics and focused on the existential struggles of the community represented. Of his 20 published volumes, the most widely read were his collected works in six volumes, *Shriftn* ("Writings," 1908–10), *Gevelte Shriftn* ("Selected Writings," 1912), in three volumes, and *Dos Bukh fun Libe* ("The Book of Love," 1914). He also wrote biographies of Judah Halevi and Heinrich Heine, two poets who had exerted a great influence on his own lyrics. Like other Yiddish writers such as *Sholem Aleichem, Sholem *Asch, and Isaac *Bashevis Singer, Rosenfeld represented the world of the East European Jew to a wide international audience.

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[Moshe Starkman / Marc Miller (2nd ed.)]

ROSENFELD, PAUL (1890–1946), U.S. author and critic. A New Yorker, Rosenfeld was born into a prosperous family originating in Germany. He studied at Yale and Columbia, worked briefly as a reporter, and turned to writing. He became a critic and editor specializing in literature, art, and above all music and co-editing the magazine *Seven Arts* (1916–17). He was among the first to recognize the talents of Ernest *Bloch, Leo *Ornstein, Aaron *Copland, Waldo *Frank and Alfred *Stieglitz.

His first book, *Musical Portraits* (1920), was followed by *Musical Chronicle* (1923), *Port of New York* (1923), *Men Seen* (1925), and *By Way of Art* (1928). He embodied the story of his early life in an autobiographical novel, *The Boy in the Sun* (1928). From 1920 to 1927, he was musical critic for the monthly magazine *The Dial*. In 1927 he joined Alfred Kreymborg and Lewis Mumford in editing *The American Caravan* – a yearbook of American literature – on which he was active from 1927 to 1935. Rosenfeld regarded criticism in the arts, not as a means of displaying academic erudition, or of instructing the artist, but as a way of arousing in the audience an appropriate emotional empathy and discriminating appreciation. His essays on Waldo Frank and Van Wyck Brooks, both old friends, remain notable for their rigor of judgment, penetrating psychological analysis, and timely prophetic forebodings. Conscious of his own Jewish attachments, Rosenfeld was one of the earliest writers to react to the threat of Nazism. Though sometimes identified as a member of the Stieglitz circle, Rosenfeld was in fact, both as critic and patron, the center of a wide circle of his own, a group of varied talents. Although his last twelve years were undermined by the economic depression, the rise of Hitlerism, and World War II, some of his best work was done during this period, notably, *Discoveries of a Music Critic* (1936). Among the editors and critics of his day, it would be hard to pick out another figure who so consistently and selflessly found his own self-expression through serving his fellow writers and artists.

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[Lewis Mumford]

ROSENFELD, SAMUEL (1869–1943), journalist. Born in Russia, he devoted himself to journalistic work on Zionism in Hebrew and in Yiddish. In 1900 Rosenfeld assumed responsibility for the Yiddish edition of the Zionist organ *Die Welt*.

He also published in Hebrew, *Ha-Congress ha-Bazilai ha-Shelishi* (1900), and *Ha-Congress ha-Ẓiyyoni ha-Sheneim Asar* (1922). He edited the Yiddish *Der Fraynd* and the Hebrew **Ha-Ẓefirah*. In 1923 he emigrated to the U.S. and joined the staff of the Yiddish daily The **Jewish Day*. His monograph on Israel Salanter appeared in Yiddish, Russian and Hebrew.

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[Eisig Silberschlag]

ROSENFELD, SHALOM (1914–), Israeli journalist. Rosenfeld was born in Poland and settled in Palestine in 1934. In 1948 he was one of the group of journalists who broke away from **Yedioth Aharonoth* following disagreements with its proprietor to found **Maariv* as a journalistic cooperative. He served as deputy editor (1960–74) and editor-in-chief (1974–79). He then headed the Journalism Studies Program at Tel Aviv University. In 1985 he founded and subsequently directed the Institute for the Study of Jewish Press and Communications, which later became part of the Andrea and Charles Bronfman Center for the Media of the Jewish People at Tel Aviv University. In 1987 he founded the Institute's journal, *Kesher*. In 1986 he received the Israel Prize for political journalism and essays.

ROSENHEAD, LOUIS (1906–1984), British mathematician. Born in Leeds, Rosenhead began his teaching career in 1931 as an assistant lecturer at the University College of Wales. In 1933 he was appointed professor of applied mathematics at Liverpool University, a position he returned to in 1946 after six years' war service at the Ministry of Supply. He was dean of the university's science faculty in 1945–47, a member of its council 1956–65, and pro-vice chancellor 1961–65. He spent the years 1956–60 at the Haifa Technion, Israel. Elected a fellow of the Royal Society in 1946, he was on its council from 1956 to 1958. Rosenhead is best known for his work in the field of fluid mechanics, especially the flow of fluids and the motion of the surface of the earth. He made a significant contribution to the theory of the stability of Karman vortex streams. He was part-author of *Index of Mathematical Tables* (1946) and *A Selection of Tables for Use in Calculations of Compressible Airflow* (1952), and edited *Laminar Boundary Layers* (1963).

[Julian Louis Meltzer]

ROSENHEIM, ARTHUR (1865–1942), German inorganic chemist. Rosenheim was born in New York. He was a professor at the University of Berlin (1921–32). His main fields of research were the complex acids and salts of metals, the complex compounds of phosphorus, and thiocyanates and organic acids containing sulfur.

ROSENHEIM, JACOB (1870–1965), Orthodox leader. Born in Frankfurt on the Main, Rosenheim acquired by his own efforts a wide Jewish and general culture. He was first apprenticed to a bank, and later founded the Hermon Publishing House, which produced a wide range of religious literature. In 1906 he transferred publication of the weekly **Israelit*, which he had recently acquired, from Mainz to Frankfurt. Under his direction, it became the influential organ of German Orthodoxy for 30 years. Apart from taking a leading part in the Israelitische Religionsgesellschaft, the independent Orthodox Frankfurt congregation, Rosenheim revived the Freie Vereinigung fuer die Interessen des orthodoxen Judentums, founded by S.R. *Hirsch in 1886, as a platform for the different elements in German Orthodoxy. In 1906 he founded the Deutsch-Hollaendische Palaestinaverwaltung, which established a network of schools in Palestine before World War I. Rosenheim was one of the founders, ideologists and leaders of *Agudat Israel (Katowice (Kattowitz), 1912), and became its president in 1929. Rosenheim was also instrumental in the setting up of the union of Orthodox communities in Germany, and Prussia in particular. From 1940, he lived in the U.S. and spent his last years in Israel. He was a master of German style and an outstanding orator. The guiding light of Rosenheim's life was the union and organization of world Orthodoxy in order to make it face its tasks in the modern world. Although there were many in the Agudah who opposed any recognition of or cooperation with secular Zionism at the establishment of the State of Israel, Rosenheim's influence was exercised in favor of the Agudah joining the provisional government and becoming one of the parties in the Knesset.

His collected addresses and articles were published in 1930 (*Ausgewaehlte Aufsaetze und Ansprachen*, 2 vols.). Some of his essays were translated into English: *Tent of Jacob* (1957) and *Samson Raphael Hirsch's Cultural Ideals…* (1951). Rosenheim's memoirs were published in Hebrew (*Zikhronot*, 1955), and a *Festschrift* was published on his 60th birthday in 1931. A collection of his memoirs, *Erinnerungen, 1870–1920*, arranged and brought to press by H. Eisenmann and H.N. Kruskal, was published in 1970.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: H. Schwab, *Jacob Rosenheim* (1925); idem, *History of Orthodox Jewry in Germany* (1950), index; I. Grunfeld, *Three Generations* (1959), index.

ROSENHEIM, MAX (Leonard), BARON (1908–1972), medical investigator and educator. Born in England, Rosenheim specialized in the research and treatment of kidney diseases and hypertension. He began his medical career in 1932, holding various hospital posts and traveling fellowships until joining the Royal Army Medical Corps in 1941. In 1950 he became professor of medicine at the University of London and director of the medical unit at University College Hospital Medical School. He was made a life peer in 1970.

Rosenheim became president of the Royal College of Physicians in 1966, and was a member of the World Health Organization's advisory committee on medical research, and of the Hebrew University's board of governors. He contributed articles to various medical journals.

[Julian Louis Meltzer]

ROSENHEIM, OTTO (1871–1955), British biochemist, born in Germany. In 1895 he went to teach at the University of Manchester and in 1901 moved to King's College, London, where he taught physiology. Later he was reader in biochemistry in the University of London until 1920. In 1925 he started 20 years' work at the National Institute for Medical Research in Hampstead.

His published studies deal with the constituents of the brain, spermine phosphate, uric acid, toxicity, putrefaction, the placenta, and particularly sterols (including ergosterol) and vitamins D and A. Tests for detecting vitamin A in cod liver oil and for the determination of total sulfates in urine are named after him.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: King, in: *Nature*, 175 (1955), 1019–20; idem, in: *Journal of the Chemical Society* (1956), 799–801.

[Samuel Aaron Miller]

ROSENMAN, SAMUEL IRVING (1896–1973), jurist and counsel to presidents Franklin D. *Roosevelt and Harry *Truman. Born in San Antonio, Texas, of Russian immigrant parents, he was admitted to the New York State bar in 1920, and established his legal and political career in New York City.

Serving in elective and appointive office with the New York State legislature, his liberal politics and exceptional legal competence led Governor Roosevelt to appoint him counsel and in 1932 to the State Supreme Court. Throughout Rosenman's 11-year judicial career, he continued to assist Roosevelt. Most noted as presidential speechwriter and originator of the political slogan "New Deal," he also organized Roosevelt's Brains Trust. During the U.S. mobilization for World War II, Rosenman was a major force in the creation of national defense agencies, helping mold a bureaucracy able to contend with war emergencies without extensive curtailment of New

Deal legislation. In 1943 he resigned judicial office to become counsel to the president. He edited the 13-volume *Public Papers and Addresses of Franklin D. Roosevelt* (1938–50) and described his years with the president in *Working with Roosevelt* (1952).

After Roosevelt's death, Rosenman was instrumental in assisting President Truman to formulate his domestic program and in preparations for the *War Crime Trials at Nuremberg. In 1946 he resigned as counsel but continued to serve as presidential adviser.

In 1943 Rosenman worked with Chaim *Weizmann in discussions with the State Department on the establishment of a Jewish state. One of Weizmann's voices in the Truman White House, Rosenman secretly brought Weizmann the news in April 1948 that Truman would recognize the Jewish state if partition was not abandoned by the UN General Assembly before establishment. His activities on behalf of Israel independence prompted Weizmann to write that it was "only proper" that the first letter he addressed as Israel's president be to Rosenman, who had "contributed so much of [his] effort and wisdom toward bringing about some of the happy results."

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Hand, in: *Journal of American History*, 55 (1968), 334–48.

[Samuel Hand]

ROSENMANN-TAUB, DAVID (1927–), Chilean poet, musician, and artist. Rosenmann-Taub's parents emigrated from Poland to South America in the early 1900s. From earliest childhood, he evinced gifts for both literature and music that were fostered by his parents. His mother began teaching him piano when he was two, and by nine he was giving lessons himself. From the age of seven, he had been sure of his vocation as a poet and had started to write daily. In his teens, he wrote *El Adolescente* (which would become his first published work), and began *Cortejo y epinicio*, the book that first made his name and in which such poems as "Schabat" and "Elegía y Kadisch" drew on his Jewish background.

He read broadly and thoroughly, acquiring the erudition that has always informed his poetry – especially the knowledge of physics that he considers fundamental to his work. He continued his musical education, studying piano and composition. In 1948 he graduated from the University of Chile with the title of professor of Spanish.

The next year, when he was 22, *Cortejo y epinicio* came out to wide acclaim, with a reputation-making review from the preeminent literary critic of Chile, Hernán Díaz Arrieta.

In the three decades that followed, Rosenmann-Taub published more than 10 volumes of poetry in Chile and Argentina, including *Los Surcos inundados* ("The Flooded Furrows"), for which he received the Premio Municipal de Poesía, one of Chile's highest literary honors. His poetry was admired by various critics and authors, among them Witold Gombrowicz, Victoria Ocampo, and Francis de Miomandre.

While working full time as a private tutor, he wrote each night into the small hours. In the first half of the 1970s, he suffered major blows: his parents' deaths; the theft of more than 5,000 pages of his poetry in manuscript; and the rise of a murderous dictatorship in Chile. During the latter half of the decade, he traveled on a grant in South America and Europe and gave lectures in New York City.

In 1985, he settled in the United States, embarking on a period of prodigious artistic activity. While producing hundreds of new poems and revising past work, he also assembled the drawings done over a lifetime, and continued to make music. Such compositions as *Abecechedario* ("Alphabet") and *Orbe* ("Orb") contain up to six different, precisely interlocking piano parts, played by the composer himself.

Given the fact that Rosenmann-Taub devoted every moment to his work, and none to self-promotion, it was not surprising that for many years his reputation lagged behind his achievement. In 2000, however, LOM Ediciones, in Chile, undertook to progressively issue all of Rosenmann-Taub's poetry. Since 2002, four books have been published: a new edition of *Cortejo y epinicio*; *El Mensajero* ("The Messenger"); *El Cielo en la fuente/La Mañana eterna* ("The Sky in the fountain/the Eternal morning"); and *País más allá* ("Country beyond").

Rosenmann-Taub's poems have appeared in a number of Jewish anthologies, including *Voices within the Ark: The Modern Jewish Poets*, *Jüdische Literatur Lateinamerika*, and *El Gran libro de América Judía*.

[Fred Rosenbaum (2nd ed.)]

°ROSENMUELLER, ERNST FRIEDRICH KARL (1768–1835), Protestant German Bible exegete and Orientalist. His academic career centered at the University of Leipzig where he taught from 1792 (full professor of Semitics, 1813). His Bible commentaries and Arab lexical studies were significant scholarly achievements.

He wrote: *Scholia in Vetus Testamentum* (16 pts., 1788–1817; excerpted in 5 pts., 1828–35); *Handbuch fuer die Litteratur der biblischen Kritik und Exegese* (4 pts., Goettingen, 1797–1800); *Institutienes ad fundamenta linguae arabicae* (Leipzig, 1818), with an Arab-Latin glossary; *Das alte und neue Morgenland, oder Erlaeuterungen der heiligen Schrift aus der natuerlichen Beschaffenheit, den Sagen, Sitten und Gebraeuchen des Morgenlands* (6 vols., 1818–20); *Handbuch der biblischen Alterthumskunde* (4 vols., 1823–31), of which portions concerning the flora, fauna and mineralogy of the Holy Land were translated into English (*Biblical Geography of Asia Minor, Phoenicia, and Arabia*, 1836; *Biblical Geography of Central Asia*, 2 vols., 1836–37; and *Mineralogy and Botany of the Bible*, 1840); and *Analecta Arabica* (1824).

[Zev Garber]

ROSENSAFT, JOSEF (1911–1975), business executive. Rosensaft, who was born in Bedzin, Poland, was active in the Labor Zionist movement from his youth. In the years preceding World War II, he was a scrap metal dealer. In 1943 Rosensaft escaped from an Auschwitz-bound train by diving from it into the Vistula River. Although wounded in his escape, he managed to walk back to the Bendin Ghetto. Soon recaptured by the Germans and tortured in Auschwitz, he was shuttled to several concentration camps before being liberated at Bergen-Belsen in April 1945. Shortly afterward, Rosensaft was chosen by Bergen-Belsen survivors to become chairman of the camp committee representing them. He was also chairman of the Central Committee for Displaced Persons in the British Zone of Germany until the camps were terminated in 1950. In these capacities, he intrepidly furthered Jewish DP (displaced persons) rights and interests against the anti-Zionist British administration. During this period, Rosensaft actively aided the "illegal" movement of Jewish survivors out of Eastern Europe, and the attempt to smuggle Jews into Palestine.

Rosensaft lived in the U.S. and Switzerland after 1950 and was active in various Jewish organizations. He was president of the World Federation of Bergen-Belsen Survivors, a group dedicated to perpetuating the memory of the Holocaust and its victims. Rosensaft assembled a notable art collection.

His son, MENACHEM, who was born in the DP camp of Bergen-Belsen, was a lawyer and the founding chairman of the International Network of Children of Jewish Holocaust Survivors as well as a member of the United States Holocaust Memorial Council.

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ROSENSOHN, ETTA LASKER (1885–1966), U.S. civic and Zionist leader. A member of the *Lasker family, she was born in Galveston, Texas, and began her career as a research worker for the New York Guild of the Jewish Blind. During World War I, Etta Rosensohn was district supervisor of the N.Y. Home Division of the Red Cross, and also began her 25-year career with the National Travelers Aid Society. She was a social and civic worker prominent in many organizations, including the National Council of Jewish Women, Conference of Jewish Relations, and Board of Governors of the Hebrew University. As a Hadassah leader, Etta Rosensohn held important offices for more than three decades, and played an outstanding role shaping Hadassah's health and social welfare program. After serving as Hadassah Medical Organization Chairman (1947–51), she became president of Hadassah (1952–53).

[Gladys Rosen]

ROSENSTOCK, JOSEPH (1895–1985), conductor. Born in Cracow, Rosenstock studied there, later in Vienna with *Schrecker. In 1922 he was appointed conductor, and in 1925 general music director, at the Darmstadt Opera; from 1927 to 1929 he held a similar position at Wiesbaden. He made his debut at the Metropolitan Opera, New York, during the 1929–30 season, and from 1930 to 1933 was music director at Mannheim until he was dismissed by the Nazis. He found work as the music director of the Juedische Kulturbund in Berlin (1933–36). From 1936 to 1941 he was honorary music director of the Nippon Philharmonic, Tokyo, returning there in 1945. He went to the United States in 1946, working with various orchestras until 1948 and conducting at the New York City Opera in 1952–56. After conducting in Cologne in 1958–59, he returned to the Metropolitan in New York in 1961–68, directing 175 performances of 16 operas, chiefly works of Mozart, Strauss, and Wagner.

[Max Loppert / Israela Stein (2nd ed.)]

ROSENSTOCK-HUESSY, EUGEN (1888–1973), German philosopher and theologian. Rosenstock was the son of a banker in Berlin, and grandson of Moritz Rosenstock, the principal of the Jewish school in Wolfenbuettel. At the age of 16 he converted to Christianity. In 1909 he finished his doctoral thesis and was one of the youngest teachers at a German university. In 1912–14 he was lecturer in medieval constitution at the University of Leipzig. In 1914 he married Margrit ("Gritli") Huessy (1893–1959) and added her name to his own. In World War I he served on the French front. After the war was over Rosenstock was asked to draft a constitution for the Republic but decided to devote his life to various projects on labor relations. In 1923 he accepted an appointment at the University of Breslau and in 1933 emigrated to the U.S. because of the Nazis. After a period at Harvard, he became professor at Dartmouth College.

He was a person of rare religious force and believed that the importance of language is in its relationship to authentic human experience and religious life. His importance to Jewish philosophy is his extraordinary influence on Franz *Rosenzweig, who came to him in Leipzig in 1913 when he was also considering conversion. After a memorable discussion in which Rosenzweig took the stand of a relativist and Rosenstock that of a religious thinker, Rosenzweig left Leipzig in July 1913 and promised to convert. However, instead of undergoing baptism he found his way back to Judaism.

In World War I both served in the German army, on different fronts, and an important correspondence developed between them. In these highly interesting letters of 1916 on Christianity and Judaism (*Judaism Despite Christianity*, 1969), Rosenstock attacked Judaism violently and Rosenzweig defended it. They also touched on many current problems. Studies of the correspondence were made by D. Emmet and A. Altmann (included in *Judaism Despite Christianity*).

Rosenzweig's major philosophical work, *Stern der Erloesung* ("The Star of Redemption," 1921), was written while he was still under the influence of Rosenstock. The relation between the two thinkers was existential. Rosenzweig accepted from Rosenstock: (a) the uncompromising necessity to take a religious stand on current questions, while abandoning the attitude of productivity for its own sake; (b) the idea of revelation as "orientation" in life; (c) the importance of language and time in terms of religious philosophy; and (d) the concept of cyclical time in terms of yearly religious events.

As an outcome of their relationship, Rosenzweig attempted to construct a philosophy of history that recognizes two true religions, Judaism and Christianity, which have their unity in Adam and separate historical configuration. After World War I Rosenstock, in the journal *Die Kreatur*, attempted to bring Catholics, Protestants, and Jews together for an exchange of views. On the other hand, he accepted from Rosenzweig the positive evaluation of the French Revolution as the Johanine Age. In his early writings he had a negative attitude to the age of emancipation (*Judaism Despite Christianity*, pp. 143–158).

The philosophy of language that Rosenstock developed in 1916 in a pamphlet for Rosenzweig later called *Angewandte Seelenkunde* (Darmstadt, 1924) was written to explain his theological language theory. In it he took his point of departure in the saying, "God called me therefore I am." Rosenstock's dialogue theory precedes that of Martin *Buber, and in contrast to the I-Thou of Buber, he emphasized the dynamism of the situation which changes from instant to instant. They agree on the fact that the Thou always precedes the I.

In his book *Out of Revolution* (1938) Rosenstock explained European history in accordance with a cyclical calendrical outlook, in which he considered the repetition of events as an important factor. This theory developed in the war letter of 1916 and was accepted by Rosenzweig not in terms of history but in terms of the yearly repetition of the holidays. Both thinkers gave up university careers after World War I in their attempt to reach the common people. Rosenstock became interested in labor camps and adult education, first in Germany and then in the U.S. President Roosevelt invited him to train leaders for the civilian Conservation Corps. Some of his disciples in Germany attempted a resistance movement against Hitler during the war, and died in concentration camps. The interest in his philosophy in Germany has grown considerably since 1945. Rosenstock's other works include: *The Multiformity of Man* (1949); *The Driving Power of Western Civilization* (1950); and the *Christian Future or the Modern Mind* (1966). Rosenstock tried time and again to convince Rosenzweig of the truth of Christianity. In 1913 he almost succeeded in bringing his friend to it but Rosenzweig decided to remain a Jew and with time slowly but enthusiastically discovered the deeper layers of his Jewish existence. In the intensive correspondence of 1916 Rosenzweig explained the relevance of his Jewish existence. Yet, also after this exchange of letters, in which Rosenzweig clearly elucidated his new viewpoint, Rosenstock did not stop his attempts to convert Rosenzweig. Of great importance in this context are Rosenzweig's numerous letters to Gritli Rosenstock-Huessy, whom he met in June of 1917. These "Gritli" letters are an example of the rare possibility of cross-cultural and transcultural understanding. Unfortunately, scholars do not have Gritli's letters to Rosenzweig. However, judging from Rosenzweig's letters to Gritli, with whom he developed a close relationship, Gritli was attentive to Franz's expressions of his Judaism. She accepted his otherness, making it possible for him to express himself freely. In contrast to Eugen, she did not wish to convert him, but was able to support him in his spiritual odyssey that led him to the discovery of important aspects of Jewish life and finally to the acceptance of the Law rooted in the experience of love.

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[Richard Hirsch / Ephraim Meir (2nd ed.)]

ROSENTHAL, A.M. (1922–2006), U.S. journalist. Abraham Michael Rosenthal, who was born in Sault Ste. Marie, Ontario, Canada, went to New York as a child and was educated at the City College of New York. He became editor of a college newspaper, which led to a job as college correspondent for *The New York Times*. He became a reporter there in 1943 in his senior year, beginning a 56-year career at the paper, and quit college but got his degree six years later. In 1945 Rosenthal was assigned to cover the United Nations, where he developed an interest in foreign affairs. At the *Times*, he began to use the initials A.M. in what he described as an effort, common in those days, not to appear too Jewish, at least not to his superiors. In 1954 he was assigned to India, and also roamed about Pakistan, Nepal, Afghanistan and Ceylon. The next assignment was Poland, in 1958. There he produced a memorable article titled "There Is No News from Auschwitz," recounting his visit to the bleak remains of the infamous crematoria. Poland's Communist government at the time was in turmoil, and Rosenthal was expelled after a year and a half for "probing too deeply into the internal affairs" of the country and the Communist Party. In 1960 he won the Pulitzer Prize for his reporting from Poland. He also authored the famous phrase: "Forgive them not, Father, for they knew what they were doing," describing German behavior in the Holocaust.

The death of Orville Dryfoos, publisher of *The Times*, in 1963 ushered in a quiet revolution at the *Times* that led to a shift in power in the newspaper's newsroom. Rosenthal returned from a choice assignment in Tokyo to become metropolitan editor and quickly shifted the focus to more in-depth reporting, interpretation and analysis, and brighter writing. One of the first major stories under his watch involved the murder of a young woman in Kew Gardens, NY in Queens, who cried out for help against her assailant. A reporter found that 37 witnesses had heard her cries and offered no help. The story shook the city and led to a book by Rosenthal about the case. In 1967 Rosenthal moved up to assistant managing editor, beginning a climb to executive editor in 1977. Under one title or another, Rosenthal was in charge of daily news operations at the *Times* for 16 years and daily and Sunday operations for about 10 years. The most important story he oversaw during that period was the publication in 1971 of the Pentagon Papers, a hitherto secret history of the United States involvement in the war in Vietnam. Rosenthal championed publication of the stories on First Amendment grounds and the publisher, Arthur Ochs *Sulzerberger, sided with Rosenthal against the advice of several lawyers. The Nixon administration tried to prevent publication of the papers, which led to a major victory for the press in the United States Supreme Court. In a 6-to-3 ruling, the court said that the government could not stop the press from printing stories and analyses about the Pentagon Papers unless it could prove that national security was at stake. Rosenthal also commissioned a study of the *New York Times* coverage of the Holocaust, which he found woefully inadequate.

During Rosenthal's tenure, the *Times* went through major changes to preserve the character of the paper but also to make it more attractive to its readers. The two-part newspaper became a four-part paper, with a full news report, a magazine with a changing focus every day (Dining, Home, Science, Weekend) and Business Day, a full-fledged financial section. As Rosenthal famously said, "We had a choice to put more water in the soup or to put more tomatoes in. We chose the tomatoes." The venerable newspaper of record found new economic life with the introduction of the new sections. Rosenthal, who was conservative in his approach to changes in American society, resisted calling homosexuals "gays" in the pages of the paper and also resisted using the honorific "Ms," much to the consternation of homosexuals, feminists and others. The *Times* eventually allowed both terms. Rosenthal was also involved in two internal suits at the *Times*, to give women more opportunities in the newsroom, and to hire more black reporters and editors. *The Times* reached settlements with those groups without admitting wrongdoing.

After Rosenthal's retirement, mandatory at age 65, in 1988, he became a columnist for the *Times* and wrote "On My Mind" until 1999. Then he moved to other newspapers, where he championed such causes as the American invasion of Iraq in 2003. He also publicized the war on drugs and championed the rights of young African women against genital mutilation.

[Stewart Kampel (2nd ed.)]

ROSENTHAL, BENJAMIN STANLEY (1923–1983), U.S. politician. Born and raised in New York City, Rosenthal graduated from Stuyvesant High School in 1940, and later from Long Island University and City College. Following service in the U.S. Army during World War II, he attended Brooklyn Law School (LL.B., 1949) and New York University (LL. M., 1952). He was admitted to the New York bar in 1949 and the Supreme Court bar in 1954. On February 20, 1962, he won a special congressional election to succeed U.S. Rep. Lester Holtzman, who resigned. Rosenthal was subsequently elected to 11 succeeding congresses to represent Queens, and died of cancer in Washington, D.C., shortly after being sworn in for his 12th term.

As the senior Jewish member of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, he was the person most of his colleagues turned to for leadership on issues involving Israel. He was the first in the House to challenge the sale of sophisticated weapons to Israel's Arab enemies. He was responsible for drafting and shepherding through the House generous aid programs for Israel. As chairman of the Foreign Affairs Subcommittee on Europe, he held the first congressional hearings on the plight of Soviet Jewry.

His outspoken opposition to the war in Vietnam was unpopular among constituents for many years as well as the leadership of his own party, but he did not waver. He incurred the wrath of President Lyndon B. Johnson in a 1969 House speech accusing the United States of being "virtually a puppet" of the Saigon government. But he stood firm on his principles, winning the respect – and votes – of those who disagreed with him.

Rosenthal was well known for his facile mind, quick wit, and devastating style of questioning – some critics called him abrasive – particularly when it came to deflating the stuffed shirts who appeared before his committees. He was compassionate and had a strong sense of justice but little tolerance for those he considered to be acting against the public interest. The Benjamin S. Rosenthal Library at City University of New York's Queens College was named in his memory as was a street in Queens and a senior center in Flushing.

[Douglas M. Bloomfield (2nd ed.)]

ROSENTHAL, ERICH (1912–1996), U.S. sociologist. Born in Wetzlar, Germany, Rosenthal studied in Germany and the United States. He received his M.A. in 1942 and his Ph.D. in 1948 from the University of Chicago. A student of Louis Wirth, he became a research associate at the University of Chicago; research consultant of Group Work agencies in Chicago; director of research at the Chicago Bureau of War Records; and professor of sociology at Roosevelt and Northwestern universities at Chicago and Evanston, Ill., at the University of Iowa, and from 1951 to 1978 at Queens College in New York.

Rosenthal was an expert in income distribution and acculturation. In particular, his reputation rests with his work in the demography of the Jews in America. Through his work on Jewish assimilation and group identity, he brought to national attention the high intermarriage and low fertility rates among American Jews. His works in this field include: "Acculturation without Assimilation? The Jewish Community of Chicago, Illinois" (*American Journal of Sociology*, 66 (Nov. 1960), 275–88); "Jewish Fertility in the United States" (AJYB, 62 (1961), 3–27); "Studies of Intermarriage in the United States" (AJYB, 64 (1963), 3–53); and "Jewish Intermarriage in Indiana" (AJYB, 68 (1967), 243–64).

[Werner J. Cahnman / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

ROSENTHAL, ERWIN (**Isaac Jacob**; 1904–1991), Orientalist. Rosenthal, born in Heilbronn, Germany, emigrated in 1933 to England, where he became lecturer in Hebrew at University College, London. From 1936 to 1944, he lectured on Semitic languages and literature at Manchester University, and during World War II carried out various educational tasks for the British army and foreign office. Rosenthal taught (from 1948) Oriental studies at Cambridge University. From 1961 to 1991, he was a fellow, and then emeritus fellow, of Pembroke College, Cambridge.

Rosenthal wrote the following works on Arabic political philosophy: his dissertation, *Ibn Khalduns Gedanken ueber den Staat* (1932), *Political Thought in Medieval Islam* (1958), and *Islam in the Modern National State* (1965), and he published a critical edition of Averroës' commentary on Plato's *Republic* (1956). He also wrote *Judaism and Islam* (1961) as well as works on Christian Hebraists. Rosenthal edited the third volume of *Judaism and Christianity* (*Law and Religion*, 1938, repr. 1969). His other works include: a biography, *Don Isaac Abravanel* (1937); *Griechisches Erbe in der juedischen Religionsphilosophie des Mittelalters*, the F. Delitzsch lectures which he gave in 1957; and *Studia Semitica* (2 vols., 1971). He also edited *Saadya Studies* (1943).

ROSENTHAL, FERDINAND (1838–1921), rabbi and scholar. Rosenthal, who was born in Kenese, Hungary, studied with E. Hildesheimer at the Eisenstadt Yeshivah and at Berlin and Leipzig universities. He served as rabbi at Beuthen, Silesia (from 1862) and Breslau (from 1878). He was the first Orthodox rabbi to join the Allgemeiner Deutscher Rabbinerverband, the majority of whose members were Reform. Rosenthal's scholarly interest lay chiefly in early talmudic history.

His published works include: *Erlaesse Caesars und die Senatsconsulte in Josephus* (1879) and *Vier apokryphische Buecher* (1885). Rosenthal edited the responsa of Jacob *Tam (from his *Sefer ha-Yashar,* 1898) and was coeditor of the D. *Kaufmann memorial volume (1900), to which he contributed Kaufmann's biography.

ROSENTHAL, FRANZ (1914–2003), Orientalist. Rosenthal was born in Berlin, where he obtained his doctorate for a thesis on *Die Sprache der palmyrenischen Inschriften* (1936). He was the first winner of the Lidzbarki Medal and Prize of the International Congress of Orientalists, for his book *Die aramaeistische Forschung seit Theodor Noeldekes Veroeffentlichungen* (1938). However, he was not granted the prize money because he was Jewish. In 1940 he became assistant professor at Hebrew Union College in Cincinnati and in 1948 professor at the University of Pennsylvania. In 1956 he was appointed the Louis M. Rabinowitz Professor of Semitic Languages at Yale and became a Sterling Professor in 1967. He resumed his Aramaic studies with his *Aramaic Handbook* (1967), in which such scholars as H. *Ritter and H.J. *Polotsky participated (1967). When he retired from teaching, he was named Sterling Professor Emeritus of Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations at Yale in 1985.

Rosenthal's main interest was the history of scholarship in *Islam. Apart from many papers and editions of smaller texts, he published: *The Technique and Approach of Muslim Scholarship* (1947); *A History of Muslim Historiography* (1952, 1968^2); a fully-annotated translation of Ibn Khaldun's *Muqaddimah (Bollingen Series*, 3 vols., 1958); *Gifts and Bribes: The Muslim View* (1964); and *Knowledge Triumphant* (1970). He also wrote a comprehensive paper of special Jewish interest on "Judeo-Arabic work under Sufic influence" (HUCA, 15, 1940). Together with R. *Walzer, he published and translated into Latin al-*Fārābī's *De Platonis philosophia*, the Arabic original of Shem Tov b. Joseph *Falaquera's account in *Reshit Ḥokhmah (Plato Arabus*, 2, 1943).

His later works include: *The Herb: Hashish vs Medieval Muslim Society* (1971); *Gambling in Islam* (1975); *Muslim Intellectual and Social History* (1990); *The Classical Heritage in Islam* (1994); and *Sweeter Than Hope* (1997).

Among the many organizations he belonged to and the numerous honors he received, Rosenthal served as president of the American Oriental Society and in 1994 was the first recipient of the AOS Medal of Merit.

[Martin Meir Plessner / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

ROSENTHAL, HAROLD (**David**; 1917–1987), English writer, music editor, critic, and historian. Born in London, Rosenthal began to teach after finishing his army service. While still a university student, he had written articles as an opera enthusiast and took the opportunity offered him of collaborating with the Earl of Harewood on the magazine *Ballet and Opera* (1948–49). With Lord Harewood, he launched the magazine *Opera* in 1950; he was the editor from 1953 to 1986 and under his guidance the journal became the most influential publication in the operatic world. Rosenthal was also an archivist at the Royal Opera House, London (1950–56), historian (*Two Centuries of Opera at Covent Garden*, 1958), lecturer, broadcaster, and the author of books such as: *Sopranos of Today* (1956), *A Concise Oxford History of Opera* (with John Warrack, 1964), *Great Singers of Today* (1956), *Covent Garden: A Short History* (1967), and *The Mapleson Memoirs* (annotated ed., 1966). He edited *The Opera Bedside Book* (London, 1965).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Grove Music Online.

[Max Loppert / Israela Stein (2nd ed.)]

ROSENTHAL, HERMAN (1843–1917), writer and pioneer of Jewish settlement in the United States. He was born in Friedrichstadt (Jaunjelgava), in Courland (Latvia), and started to work as a printer in Kremenchug, Ukraine. During the Russo-Turkish War (1877–78), he served with the Red Cross and was decorated. As a result of the pogroms of 1881, Rosenthal reached the conclusion that the solution to the Jewish problem in Eastern Europe lay in emigration from Russia and in agricultural settlement. Organizing a group of 70 people in Yelizavetgrad, he set out for the United States to pave the way for their settlement there. In 1882 he established the first agricultural settlement for Russian Jews on Sicily Island, near New Orleans, Louisiana. After the destruction of the settlement by the Mississippi floods, he attempted to establish a new settlement, named Crémieux, in Dakota, but this was also short-lived. In later years, Rosenthal continued to foster the idea of Jewish settlement. He published the newspaper *Der Yidisher Farmer*, and in 1891 participated in the establishment of the ICA colony of Woodbine, New Jersey. In 1901, together with Abraham Ḥayyim *Rosenberg, he published the monthly *Ha-Modi'a le-Ḥodashim*. From 1898, Rosenthal headed the Slavonic department of the New York public library. He was the editor of the department of Russian Jewry in the *Jewish Encyclopedia* and made an important contribution to its high standard. Rosenthal wrote poems in his mother tongue, German, among them poetic translations of Song of Songs and Ecclesiastes (1893).

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[Yehuda Slutsky]

ROSENTHAL, IDA (1886–1973), businesswoman, dressmaker and inventor of the modern brassiere. Ida Kaganovich was born near Minsk, in Czarist Russia; her father was a Hebrew scholar and her mother ran a small general store. She emigrated to the United States in 1904 at the age of 18, following her boyfriend, William Rosenthal, whom she married in 1907. With a Singer sewing machine purchased on an installment plan, Ida made a living as a seamstress. In the early 1920s, the Rosenthals joined with Enid Bisset to open Enid Frocks, a small custom dress shop in Manhattan. Unhappy with the way their expensive dresses fit around the bosom, the partners designed a brassiere with cups that separated and supported the breasts; they called the bra a "Maiden form." The Enid Manufacturing Company they founded to meet the demand for their new product became the Maiden Form Brassiere Company in 1923 and Maidenform, Inc. in 1960. In 1925 they stopped making dresses and made Maiden Form bras exclusively. Ida Rosenthal managed the sales and traveled nationally and internationally to open new markets. By the end of the 1930s, Maiden Form products, eventually including other kinds of women's lingerie and swimsuits, were sold throughout the world. During World War II, the Rosenthals had no trouble getting rubber for elastic straps because studies showed that working women who wore the bra suffered less fatigue than women who did not wear this garment. The Rosenthals also helped the war effort by producing a "pigeon vest," a cup-shaped cloth that held a courier pigeon. A 1949 advertising campaign built their brand name with racy ads, featuring bra-clad women in various settings, starting with, "I dreamed I went shopping in my Maiden Form bra." The Rosenthals made many philanthropic contributions, including establishing the Ida and William Rosenthal Fellowship in Judaica and Hebraica at New York University. When William died in 1958, Ida Rosenthal became the chief executive officer of the company. In 1963 she was the only female member of an American apparel industry delegation that visited the Soviet Union. Rosenthal went to her office each day until her death from pneumonia at the age of 87; her daughter Beatrice Coleman succeeded her as chief executive.

[Sara Alpern (2nd ed.)]

ROSENTHAL, JUDAH (1904–1976), scholar. Born in Makov, Poland, Rosenthal went to the U.S. in 1939. He served as librarian (1944–65) and professor of biblical exegesis (1944–69) at the College of Jewish Studies, Chicago. In 1969 he settled in Jerusalem. A contributor to various periodicals, scholarly miscellanies and encyclopedias, Rosenthal was the author of numerous studies and essays in Jewish history, literature and religion.

His publications included *Hiwi Al-Balkhi* (1949); *The Talmud on Trial: The Disputation in Paris in the Year 1240* (1956); and *Meḥkarim u-Mekorot* ("Studies and Texts," 2 vols., 1967). On the subject of Jewish-Christian polemics, he published: "Anti-Christian Polemics from Its Beginnings to the End of the 18th Century" (*Aresheth*, 2, 1960) and editions from manuscripts of Jair b. Shabbetai's *Ḥerev Pifiyyot* (1958), Jacob ben Reuben's *Milḥamot ha-Shem* (1963), and Joseph Official's *Yosef ha-Mekanne* (1970).

[Tovia Preschel]

ROSENTHAL, LEON (**Judah Leib**; 1817–1887), Russian financier, *maskil* and philanthropist. Rosenthal was born into a wealthy family in Vilna. His father, Moses, one of the first *maskilim* in Vilna, educated him in the spirit of the *Haskalah. After his marriage, he went to live in Brest-Litovsk. When Moses *Montefiore visited Russia in 1846, Rosenthal submitted to him a memorandum claiming that education and modern schools would solve the problems of Russian Jewry. In the 1850s, Rosenthal settled in St. Petersburg, where he became associated with the *Guenzburg family and was one of the city's leading financiers and bankers. He corresponded with *maskilim* all over Russia, assisting them in their dealings with the government, distributing their literature, and also supporting them financially. In 1863 Rosenthal was among the founders of the *Society for the Promotion of Culture among the Jews of Russia; he served as the society's treasurer, contributed largely to its budget, and participated actively in its work. Advocating the spread of Hebrew language and literature and opposing assimilationist trends, he was influential in the society's support of Hebrew journals and books. In his later years, he began to write the history of the society, *Toledot Ḥevrat Marbei Haskalah be-Yisrael be-Ereẓ Rusyah* (2 vols., 1885–90), which also contains records and documents from the society's archives and is of great value for the history of the Haskalah in Russia. He was also one of the founders of the society for promotion of crafts and agriculture among Jews in Russia, ORT, and was one the main contributors to the society.

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[Yehuda Slutsky]

ROSENTHAL, LESER (**Eliezer**; 1794–1868), bibliophile and bibliographer. Rosenthal, born in Nasnelsk, Plock, Russia, served as teacher at Paderborn (Germany) and later as *Klausrabbiner* at Hanover. He began collecting Hebraica and Judaica by spending his entire dowry on books. At his death, Rosenthal's library contained 32 manuscripts and 6,000 printed volumes, including incunabula and rare books. He himself compiled a catalog of his collection titled *Yode'a Sefer* (Heb. and Ger.), which was edited by M. *Roest and published in 1875 (repr. 1966). Rosenthal's son, BARON GEORG ROSENTHAL, a banker, offered the collection to Bismarck for the Kaiserliche und Koenigliche Bibliothek (Preussische Staatsbibliothek) in Berlin, but the offer was refused. In 1880 descendants living in Holland presented the collection to the city of Amsterdam and it was incorporated in the university library there under the name of Bibliotheka Rosenthaliana (see *Libraries).

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[Jacob H. Copenhagen]

ROSENTHAL, LUDWIG A. (1855–1928), German rabbi and scholar. Rosenthal, who was born in Putzig, Western Prussia, served as rabbi in Koethen, Rogasen, Preussisch Stargard, and Berlin, where he also lectured in the preparatory department of the Hochschule (Lehranstalt) fuer die Wissenschaft des Judentums.

Of importance are his Mishnah studies, in particular his *Ueber den Zusammenhang, Quellen und Entstehung der Mischna* (3 vols., 1918^2). Rosenthal took an active part in the controversy over Friedrich F. *Delitzsch's views (*Babel und Bible*, 1902; *Hammurabi Gesetz*, 1903), and wrote a comparative study on Joel, Nahum, and Habakkuk (1905). He acted as editor of *Rahmer's Juedisches Literaturblatt*, and edited the 10th edition of Kayserling's *Lehrbuch der juedischen Geschichte und Literatur* (1922). He also wrote a biography of Lazarus Geiger (1884). His other articles were published in *Gesammelte Schriften* (1926).

ROSENTHAL, MANUEL (**Emmanuel**; 1904–2003), conductor and composer. Born in Paris, he studied solfège with Mme. Marcou and the violin with Jules Boucherit at the Paris Conservatoire (1918–23). He was also Ravel's student and was among his master's closest disciples, a privileged interpreter and confidant. After conducting Parisian orchestras, he became leader of the National Radio Orchestra in 1934. During World War II, he was a prisoner in Germany and at the end the war he conducted, at the French Radio in Paris, the concert given to mark the liberation (September 28, 1944), which included the first performance of Messiaen's *Chant des déportés* for choir soprano, tenor and orchestra (published in 1945). He became instructor of composition at the College of Puget Sound in Tacoma, Washington, in 1948 and was the conductor of the Seattle Symphony Orchestra from 1949 to 1951. In April 1973, he conducted the first performance to mark the reopening of the Paris Opera. Rosenthal also appeared on many occasions at the Metropolitan Opera in New York, and in 1987 he conducted the Russian première of *Pelléas et Mélisande*. He was professor of conducting at the Paris Conservatoire (1962–74) and made recordings of the music of Debussy and Ravel. As a composer, he rejected the compartmentalized aesthetics of French music in the interwar period and put his individual language into his work. He wrote in almost every musical genre, including opera (such as *Rayon des soieries*, opéra-bouffe, 1926–28), ballet (such as *Un baiser pour rien*, 1928–29) chamber, and orchestral music, as well as choral and sacred music *Cantate pour le temps de la Nativité* (1943–44); and *Missa Deo gratias*, (1953).

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[Israela Stein (2nd ed.)]

ROSENTHAL, MAX (1833–1918), painter, printmaker, and inventor. Born in Turck, Poland, Rosenthal was apprenticed to a Paris lithographer, Martin Thurwanger. When in 1849 his employer went to the U.S. to work for a lithographic firm in Philadelphia, Rosenthal accompanied him as his chief assistant, and studied at the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts. The Rosenthal family, including Max's brothers Morris, Louis, and Simon, organized a lithography business in Philadelphia: Max was the principal artist. Rosenthal was a pioneer of chromolithography in the U.S. and made the plates for the first American book furnished with a set of chromo-illustrations, *Wild Scenes and Wild Hunters*. In 1854 he produced the largest chromolithograph yet made (22 × 25 inches) in the U.S., after his own drawing, *Interior of the Old Masonic Temple in Philadelphia*. During the Civil War, Rosenthal traveled with the Army of the Potomac as official illustrator for the United States Military Commission, and produced the color plates for a medical and surgical history of the war. He made detailed images of every camp until Gettysburg. Rosenthal's chromolithograph *Battle of Antietam* (1865) depicts the Union Army victorious against the forces of General Robert E. Lee. Until 1884, he made a living making lithographs of famous Americans; after that year, he concentrated on etchings of British and American military leaders, illustrations for the poems of Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, and original works such as *Jesus at Prayer*. This altar painting for a Protestant church in Baltimore was found objectionable due to the phylacteries which Rosenthal included on Jesus' forehead and right arm. A Catholic church then offered a substantial sum for the work if the artist would paint in a halo, but Rosenthal refused to do so. A versatile man, Rosenthal also became known for his technical achievements, among them his invention of the sandblast process of engraving glass. Rosenthal portraits are numerous. His mezzotint *Colonel George Washington* displays the future president as a young man, pensive but determined. Another mezzotint *Portrait of General Smallwood* depicts this military leader in dramatic illumination which imparts the sagging face of his sitter with flattering chiaroscuro. His son, ALBERT ROSENTHAL (1863–1939), was his collaborator on many projects. He was a painter and lithographer but was best known for his knowledge of 18th and 19th-century American art, and he often served as an expert both for American museums and for private collections. Rosenthal's works are in the collections of the Albright-Knox Art Gallery, Buffalo, New York; the Fine Arts Museum of San Francisco; the National Portrait Gallery; the Peabody Essex Museum, Salem, Massachusetts; the Smithsonian Institution; and the State Museum of Philadelphia, among other museums.

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[Nancy Buchwald (2nd ed.)]

ROSENTHAL, MORIZ (**Maurycy**, 1862–1946), pianist. Rosenthal was born in Lvov (Lemberg, Galicia), the son of a professor at the Lvov Academy of Music. He began playing the piano at the age of eight, and in 1872 entered the Academy, where he studied with its director, Karol Mikuli, from 1872 to 1874. In the following year, Rosenthal's family moved to Vienna, where he continued his studies with Joseffy and he gave his first recital in 1876. He then began to tour, finishing his studies with Liszt at Weimar, and in Rome. For six years, he abandoned the concert platform, dedicating himself to a study of philosophy. Returning to the concert platform in 1886, he appeared as an artist in whom maturity of feeling and thought was matched by a virtuoso technique of the highest order; his reputation spread rapidly all over Europe and America, and was equaled only by that of *Godowsky. In 1903, he published (with Schytte) the manual, *Schule des hoeheren Klavierspiels.* In 1938, he took up residence in New York City, where one of his last pupils was the American pianist Charles Rosen, to whom he bequeathed the legacy of Liszt's teaching.

[Max Loppert (2nd ed.)]

ROSENTHAL, NAPHTALI (1727–1798), Hungarian talmudist, founder of the Jewish community of Mor. While studying in Berlin at the yeshivah of David Fraenkel, he made the acquaintance of Moses *Mendelssohn; they became friends and maintained the friendship by correspondence after Rosenthal had left Berlin. After staying in Prague, he later settled in Mor, where his house became a center of learning, hospitality and traditional Judaism. An atmosphere of religious study permeated his household: even his wife was acquainted with biblical and talmudic passages in the original. His son-in-law, F. Gomperz, assisted him in the management of the yeshivah of Mor. Rosenthal's public activities were not confined to his own community: he was also the spokesman of the whole of Hungarian Jewry at the court of Vienna under Joseph *II and the two subsequent monarchs.

His son ELIJAH (1758–1833) was a businessman and bibliophile. Between the ages of 13 and 18 he studied at the yeshivah of Pressburg (Bratislava) and became an accomplished talmudic scholar. From 1785 he lived in Komarom (Komarno), Hungary, where he kept an inn. His fellow-citizens wanted to give him the freedom of the town in recognition of his charitable acts and public service, but the authorities would not confirm this. Moving to Pest, he opened a shop for Hebrew books and stationery in 1804. He himself was a book collector and his library was praised by Leopold *Zunz. Following the French Revolution (1789), he became active in the struggle for Jewish civil rights, remembering his own humiliating experience in Komarom. He wrote various memoranda and petitions in pursuit of this aim.

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[Jeno Zsoldos]

ROSENTHAL, PAVEL (**Pinhas**; pseudonyms: **Anman, P. Rol**; 1872–1924), physician and author, a leader of the *Bund. Rosenthal, who was born in Vilna, where his merchant father was both a *maskil* and a religious Jew, joined clandestine socialist circles when at secondary school and at the University of Kharkov, where he became a Marxist. At the university he organized socialist activity among the Jewish Lithuanian students, was arrested, and expelled. He did not complete his studies until 1898. Rosenthal joined the group of Jewish Social Democrats in Vilna. From 1895 he headed the "Jargon Committee" for the publication and propagation of popular scientific literature in Yiddish among the workers. From the autumn of 1899, he practiced medicine in Bialystok, acting also as leader of the local Bund, and as editor of its organ *Bialystoker Arbeter.* He attended the third convention of the Bund (1899) and from 1900 served on its central committee. In conjunction with J. *Portnoy at the Bund's fourth convention (Bialystok, 1901), Rosenthal drafted the resolution on the national question. He was the author of the "Manifesto to the Jewish Intelligentsia," which was published in the name of the Bund in three editions. Again imprisoned, Rosenthal was exiled to Siberia between 1902 and 1905. He played a prominent role in the revolt of the exiles in Yakutsk, the "Romanovka," which he described in his book of the same name (Rus., 1924). A member of the editorial board of *Veker,* the legally authorized organ of the Bund, Rosenthal shared all the vicissitudes of the Bund during the 1905 revolution. He was among the moderates regarding the Bund's return to the Russian Social Democratic Party. During the period of reaction following 1905, he turned his attention to the problems of promoting culture and education for adults. In World War I Rosenthal served at the front. After his discharge at the end of 1917, he was elected to the central committee of the Bund at its eighth convention. Resuming his professional and literary work in Moscow, Kiev, and Petrograd, Rosenthal was authorized to return to Vilna in 1921. Having previously identified with the internationalist wing of the Bund, in Poland he joined the short-lived Polish Social Democratic Bund.

A prolific author, Rosenthal had wide and varied interests. His work on revolutions in Western Europe, *Vi Zaynen Forgekumen Revolutsies in Mayrev Oyropa*, appeared in 1905. In his *Der Kampf far Velthershaft un Velt-Vegn* ("The Struggle for World Domination and World Routes," 1924, first published in Russian, 1923), he included a chapter on the general role of the Jews. His articles on the history of the Bund are included in *Royter Pinkes*, 1 (1921), 45–63; 2 (1924), 5–21.

Rosenthal's wife, ANNA, née Heller (1872–c. 1940), a dentist, was an early member of the Ḥovevei Zion group of Vilna and was later active in both the "Jargon Committee" and the Bund committee. With her husband, she took part in the revolt of the exiles in Yakutsk ("Romanovka"). She later resumed her Bundist activities. During World War I, Anna was active in the OSE and the Red Cross. Between the two world wars, she taught in Vilna in CYSHO institutions, and was active in YIVO. She was a Bundist delegate at the congress of the Socialist International (1931). Her memoirs were published in *YIVO Historishe Shriftn* (vol. 3, 1939). After the occupation of Vilna by the Soviets, she was arrested and died in prison.

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[Moshe Mishkinsky]

ROSENTHAL, PHILIPP (1855–1937), German industrialist and founder of the Rosenthal porcelain works. Born in Werb, Westphalia, Rosenthal entered the porcelain trade as a young man, and left Germany in 1872 to work in the same field in the United States. Upon his return in 1879, he established a porcelain factory in Asch, Bohemia, and subsequently a second in Selb. Together with his brother Max, he developed the enterprise into the largest of its kind in the world. "Rosenthal" became a hallmark for fine china and many of its pieces are regarded as art items. Rosenthal converted to Christianity. In 1933 he came into conflict with the Nazis due to his Jewish origins. Due to his company's reputation, the Nazis did not risk attacking Rosenthal directly; eventually, however, they were able to have him declared legally incapacitated by exploiting quarrels in his family, thus depriving him of his rights.

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[Monika Halbinger (2nd ed.)]

ROSENTHAL, WILLIAM (1920–1974), U.S. sociologist. Rosenthal was born in Newark, New Jersey. He taught at Wagner College and was on the faculties of the Adelphi University School of Social Work and the Cornell University School of Labor and Industrial Relations and was also a field instructor for Wayne State University, New York University and Columbia University. He was associated with the Wurzweiler School of Social Work of Yeshiva University from its foundation in 1957 and was appointed dean in 1973.

Among his many activities in a lifetime devoted to general and Jewish social work and education, Rosenthal served as secretary of the Health and Hospital Division, Essex County Social Agencies; as supervising consultant to the Economic Opportunities Committee, New York City; and as consultant to the Department of Social Services, New York City. He was executive director of the Jewish Community Center, Utica, N.Y., and from 1954 to 1965 executive director of the Jewish Community Center in Staten Island, where he made his home.

Rosenthal edited the Group Work section of the *Journal of Jewish Communal Services*, and *News and Notes* for the National Association of Jewish Center Workers.

ROSENWALD, U.S. family. JULIUS ROSENWALD (1862–1932), merchant and philanthropist, was born in Springfield, Illinois, the son of German Jewish immigrants. From 1879 to 1885, he was in New York City, working first at an uncle's clothing store, then opening his own, and finally starting to manufacture lightweight summer clothing. He moved the business to Chicago in 1885, where, as Rosenwald and Weil, it was fairly successful. In 1895 he bought a one-quarter interest in the recently established mail-order firm of Sears, Roebuck and Company for $37,500 and became its vice president. He became company president in 1909. By 1925 his original investment was worth $150,000,000. Rosenwald was responsible for opening factories that produced much of the firm's merchandise; introduced the famous "money-back-if-not-satisfied" guarantee; and expanded distribution of the firm's mail-order catalog to 40,000,000 copies annually. Rosenwald, who was somewhat paternalistic in employee relationships, stressed recreational facilities and introduced a profit-sharing plan. In 1925 Rosenwald became chairman of the board, and remained in that post until his death.

In the area of philanthropy, Rosenwald heavily subsidized the erection of YMCA buildings for African Americans in 25 cities and the establishment of thousands of rural schools in the southern U.S. from 1910 on. He served continuously from 1912 as a trustee of Tuskegee Institute, and donated $2,700,000 for the construction of model housing for African Americans in Chicago. The Julius Rosenwald Fund, established in 1917 with a capital of $30,000,000, was Rosenwald's chief philanthropic instrument. He directed that the fund's capital and interest be expended within 25 years of his death.

Rosenwald was president of the Associated Jewish Charities of Chicago (1907); contributed substantially to Jewish war relief during World War I and the post-war period; pledged $6,000,000 to promote Jewish agricultural colonization in the Soviet Union; and gave $500,000 each to the Hebrew Union College and Jewish Theological Seminary. Rosenwald opposed Zionism but contributed modestly to educational and agricultural institutions in Palestine. He served for many years as vice president of the American Jewish Committee. Active in general civic affairs, Rosenwald was a trustee of the University of Chicago, to which he donated $5,000,000; he pledged $3,000,000 for the Chicago Museum of Science and Industry; and he served on the Advisory Commission of the Council of National Defense during World War I.

LESSING JULIUS ROSENWALD (1891–1979), the eldest son of Julius Rosenwald, was a merchant, book collector and philanthropist. Rosenwald, who was born in Chicago, Illinois, entered Sears, Roebuck and Company as a shipping clerk in 1911, and worked his way up through the company's ranks. After naval service in World War I, he took charge of the Sears plant in Philadelphia and, upon his father's death in 1932, succeeded him as chairman of the board until 1939. During World War II, Rosenwald served as director of the Bureau of Industrial Conservation. In 1943 he led the foundation of the *American Council for Judaism and was its first president. Rosenwald and the Council campaigned vigorously in the U.S. and before the UN against the establishment of a Jewish national state in Palestine. Rosenwald continued the philanthropic tradition of his family through service and contributions to Jewish and general civic causes. In addition, he was noted as a collector of rare books and prints and contributed generously to the National Gallery of Art and Library of Congress.

WILLIAM ROSENWALD (1903–1996), the second son of Julius Rosenwald, was a philanthropist and financier. Rosenwald, who was born in Chicago, Illinois, served briefly as a director of Sears, Roebuck and Company before concentrating on his own investments. These included the American Securities Corporation and Ametek, Inc. and Western Union. Rosenwald was one of the outstanding figures in American Jewish philanthropic activity from the 1930s. He served as chairman of the national United Jewish Appeal campaign, and vice chairman of the Joint Distribution Committee, American Jewish Committee and United HIAS Service. He also supported Tuskegee Institute, the Chicago Museum of Science and Industry and the New York Philharmonic Symphony Society.

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[Morton Rosenstock]

ROSENWILLER (**Rosenweiler**), town in Alsace in the department of Bas-Rhin, E. France. There is evidence of Jews in Rosenwiller from the middle of the 16th century. Although an expulsion order was issued by the local lord in 1563, it does not seem to have been effectively carried out, but the number of Jews there remained small. The Rosenwiller community was important because its Jewish cemetery, dating from at least 1621, served some 20 Jewish communities in the area. In the second half of the 18th century, almost 100 burials a year took place there.

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[Bernhard Blumenkranz]

ROSENZWEIG, FRANZ (1886–1929), German Jewish philosopher and theologian. Rosenzweig was born in Kassel, Germany, the only son of well-to-do parents. His father Georg financially supported many charity institutions, including the Jewish community, but the family's adherence to Judaism was minimal. In his youth, Franz came under the influence of his great-uncle, Adam Rosenzweig, a bachelor, an artist and a learned Jew, who lived in the Rosenzweig home and spent many hours with Franz. Through him the young boy learned of the Jewish world in an otherwise assimilated milieu. Unlike the rest of his family, Rosenzweig fasted on *Yom Kippur* (the Day of Atonement) and also took private Hebrew lessons. In 1905, he enrolled at the university, where he initially studied medicine, as many a Jewish student did, but then turned to philosophy and history, concentrating on Hegel and German idealism. He wrote his Ph.D. dissertation on "Hegel and the State."

In 1909, Rosenzweig tended towards assimilation, and justified the conversion of his cousin Hans Ehrenberg to Christianity. He did not see the advantage that Judaism could have over Christianity, the dominant culture, which would also help him obtain a teaching position, almost impossible for a Jew to get. Another cousin and friend, Rudolf Ehrenberg was already born a Christian. Eugen *Rosenstock, a Jewish convert to Christianity, became Rosenzweig's closest friend. Rosenstock, who would become an important nonconformist Protestant theologian, repeatedly urged him to abandon what he considered Rosenzweig's merely nominal Judaism and to convert. After months of deep conversations, and especially the catastrophic conversation with Rosenstock during the night of July 7, 1913, Rosenzweig decided to convert. But he then made the condition, to convert not "as a pagan," but "as a Jew." All this led to a crisis and almost to suicide. He left his converted friends for a few years and refrained from having any contact with them. In the same year, on Yom Kippur of 1913, he attended in Berlin the synagogue of Rabbi Petuchowski and felt a profound identification with the praying Jewish community. After a few days he wrote his friends, "I shall remain a Jew." He then reshaped his life, rethought his identity, and devoted his further life to a sincere return to Judaism, moving from the periphery of Jewish life to its center.

He developed a very close relationship with the philosopher Hermann *Cohen, who had retired from the University of Marburg and now taught at the Hochschule fuer die Wissenschaft des Judentums, the institution for adult Jewish education in Berlin. Cohen was of enormous importance for the young returning Jew, who saw in his teacher a great philosopher and someone who represented a source of Jewish tradition. Only in 1916 did Rosenzweig resume his lengthy theological correspondence with Rosenstock, after he had strengthened his renewed Jewish roots; in this correspondence with his friend he explained his new existential position. Although he disliked Rosenstock's continued attempts to convert him, the two remained in close contact. Rosenzweig inherited from his friend the idea of revelation as "orientation" in life, and devoted his first Jewish theological essay (*Atheistische Theologie*) to the idea of revelation, which went beyond what Rosenstock wrote and debated with Buber.

In World War I Rosenzweig served in the German army, and, while stationed in the Balkans, planned the revival of Jewish education. He sent his plan to Hermann Cohen as an open letter called *Zeit ists* (*It is Time*, 1917), a letter that had an enormous influence. Towards the end of the war, in the trenches, with the retreat of the Balkan-troops and in the army hospital he wrote the first draft of his *Stern der Erloesung* (*Star of Redemption*), his main work. At a feverish pace he wrote his major philosophical work, which contains hundreds of pages. New light has now been shed on it by Rosenzweig's correspondence with Gritli Rosenstock, which will be discussed below. The *Star of Redemption* was written from August 23, 1918, to February 16, 1919, and published in 1921.

In his return to Judaism, Rosenzweig was supported primarily by Hermann Cohen, but also by people such as Rabbi Nehemiah Nobel, Martin Buber, Joseph Prager, and Eduard Strauss. In 1920 he married Edith Hahn, and progressively observed the Jewish laws. Their son Raphael was born in September 1922. Realizing that, as a returnee to Judaism, he could play a pivotal role in bringing Jews back to their roots, Rosenzweig became interested in Jewish education, and in 1920 was appointed director of the Freies Juedisches Lehrhaus, an institute of adult Jewish education in Frankfurt on the Main, in which the participants were invited to express their view on Jewish problems and to try to understand their identity. The same year, he turned down an offer by Friedrich Meinecke to become a professional historian. Instead, he desired to free himself from what he called "dead science" and from "mere cognition," so that he could enter into the flow of life, where real questions demand answers. In the Lehrhaus, he used his talents not to write books, but to provide living answers to questions from the public, who were increasingly interested after the war in the return to Jewish faith.

According to Rosenzweig, the uniqueness of the Lehrhaus was in that people took part in conversations through questions and counter-questions. "*Lernen*," which in German means to study, but which, according to Rosenzweig in a 1919 letter to Margrit Rosenstock, in a Jewish context means both to study and to teach, is possible wherever people come together and try to overcome their estrangement from Judaism. The Lehrhaus in Frankfurt was not dependent on rabbis or religious teachers, but on people who knew little, in Rosenzweig's words: "*am ha-arets*" (without Jewish education), but who brought with them a great enthusiasm in their return to Judaism. The teachers were Jews on the periphery who were assimilated and wanted to rediscover their identity. People would be willing to read Jewish texts, such as the Bible, Midrash, Talmud, the *siddur* or *maḥzor*, and discover and build a Jewish life. It was not the books in themselves but rather the actual living encounter with other Jews that would create the opportunity to build Judaism.

In Rosenzweig's day, the dialogical method of learning was something novel, and at the universities it was completely absent. Today this method is more accepted. Practically, teaching now means being in interaction with the audience, certainly in informal adult education. Yet, Rosenzweig rightly understood that when Jews study together, something else happens. *Lernen* is not merely interactive learning, it means creating a community of people who make ancient texts speak again to the present generation, in constant renewal.

Alfred Jospe criticized the Lehrhaus in Frankfurt as being over-intellectualized. In his view, the program addressed itself mainly to the intelligentsia and did not really reach the men and women who had questions but lacked a higher education. Secondly, he felt that the school's accent was more on the transmission of knowledge than on the experiencing and living of Jewish values and ideas. While this criticism may be correct from a certain point of view, Rosenzweig's concept of the Lehrhaus was important and functioned as a model for other houses of study in Europe and America. One of the great advantages of the Lehrhaus was that people, through participating in the programs and projects, could express the profound questions that dwelled within them and cultivate a sense of at-homeness with Judaism and the Jewish community. Rosenzweig had to realize his educational project within a public that was not used to interaction and, on his part, he had to abandon the attitudes that prevented him from being truly dialogical. However, the very concept of a new, permanent, dialogical learning style was revolutionary and remains so today.

In the 1920s, Rosenzweig published a translation of 92 poems by *Judah Halevi with a commentary. Together with Buber he began translating the Bible, reaching Isaiah 52. In their Bible translation, the two wanted to bring the reader into as much contact as possible with the oral origin of the Bible. The translation gained great popularity. They rendered the Tetragrammaton in the pronominal forms "I," "You," and "He," highlighting in this manner the divine presence today. Rosenzweig accepted higher Bible criticism, and believed that there can be no contradiction between Torah and science, but considered the abbreviation "R." not as referring to the final Redactor, but rather to "(*Moshe*) *Rabbenu*," Moses our teacher, and considered the unity of the biblical text as the source of the Jewish faith. Rosenzweig, in opposition to extreme rationalism, appreciated biblical anthropomorphisms as attesting to the living dialogue between God and man, and as a preeminent way of speaking of this relationship.

Rosenzweig's important essay *Die Bauleute* (*The Builders*, 1923) discusses the attitude of the Jew to the commandments. Unlike the orthodox Jew, Rosenzweig did not accept all of the commandments, but distinguished between the subjective "commandment" (*Gebot*), which addresses the individual in the present, and which he readily accepted, and objective Law (*Gesetz*), which he could "not yet" accept. His beautiful introduction to Hermann Cohen's Jewish writings and his other Jewish essays further testify to Rosenzweig's steadily growing interest in Jewish life.

Parallel to his religious evolution, Rosenzweig developed his existential philosophy and subsequently explicated it in a more popular way in *Das neue Denken* (*The New Thinking*, 1925). The essay shows his dissatisfaction with German idealism and describes his kind of "new thinking," which takes into account the importance of dialogue, pluriform reality, language, and time. Instead of a philosophy serving history and politics and knowing nothing about revelation, Rosenzweig posited revelation as leading to a life of community. Eternity (*Ewigkeit*) is to be realized in the everyday life in the community of believers.

In his magnum opus, Rosenzweig conceived of the All collapsing into three separate elements: God, man, and the world. In opposition to pantheism, materialism, and extreme anthropology, he rejected the philosophical attempt to reduce these elements to one, and pointed to their interaction with each other in the relationships of creation, revelation, and redemption. In revelation, God addresses man with the commandment "Thou shalt love," which is the basis of all laws. Judaism and Christianity as collective answers to revelation are two twin communities, which are different, complementary, and critical towards each other. They are partial truth in history, whereas God as the ultimate truth transcends them. Yet, as in Judah Halevi's *Kuzari*, Judaism is given clear priority in the *Star.*

In opposition to the idealistic attempts to find God in history and to make the world into a platform of the developing Absolute Spirit as did Hegel, Rosenzweig's *Star* did not put history in the center, but "revelation" and "eternity," which are a "rupture" of history. Jewish history has no epochs; it transcends time and is eternal. For Rosenzweig, there is a new form of interaction between philosophy and theology: theology talks about revelation as the objective breach of history, whereas philosophy approaches the same revelation from the subjective point of view.

With his revelation-centered philosophy, Rosenzweig criticized idealism, which was current in the German universities of that time and in which he was well versed. In 1917 he had published *Das aelteste Systemprogramm des deutschen Idealismus*, in which he identified as Schelling's a manuscript written in Hegel's hand on a unified system of idealism. (Pöggler now argues that the program fits Hegel and not the early Schelling; the subject is in debate.) In 1920 Rosenzweig published his *Hegel und der Staat* (1920).

However, it was the *Star* that interested Rosenzweig most. In it he developed his anti-idealistic thinking, and he expressed his existential philosophy in ancient Jewish terms. The *Star*, a compendium of Jewish insights, was first of all the result of his deep Jewish development: first through the crisis of 1913 and then through the friendship with Hermann Cohen. After the *Star* he led a Jewish life as a paralyzed, sick man, who worked on translations of Jewish texts and on matters of Jewish adult education. He contracted amyotrophic lateral sclerosis (ALS), a disease that gradually prevented him from performing any motor function except from moving his eyebrows. Rosenzweig died after 7 years of long suffering in 1929, at the age of 43.

Rosenzweig and Buber

Over the years, the possibility of a friendship between Buber and Rosenzweig prior to the publication of Buber's *I and Thou* in 1922 had been considered; surprisingly, through numerous manuscripts and letters it was possible to prove that Buber's theory of dialogue developed out of their dialogue. This research was undertaken by Rivka Horwitz in *Buber's Way to I and Thou* (1978), which throws new light on the intimate personal and intellectual relationship between the two. It shows that an early version of *I and Thou, "Religion als Gegenwart"* (*Religion as Presence*) was presented by Buber in Rosenzweig's Lehrhaus. Additional evidence is found in the correspondence between Rosenzweig and Martin Buber in 1922, while Buber was writing his monumental *Ich und Du*.

Rosenzweig criticized Buber's dialogical philosophy, because it is based not only on the I-You relation, but also on I-It, a notion which Rosenzweig rejected as idealistic. He thought the counterpart to I-You should be He-It, namely "as He said and it became": building it around the human I – the human mind – is an idealistic mistake. Therefore, Rosenzweig preferred concentrating on the divine He, whose world man is searching for. The world is God's world; He is the Creator of the world. There is ample proof that Buber accepted Rosenzweig's criticism with regard to *Ich und Du*, although not immediately, as it would have demanded a drastic change in the book, but in his later writing – not only in the Bible translation where the Tetragrammaton is translated *Er* ("He"), but also in his own philosophy in the coming years. Buber then wrote about the Creator next to the Eternal Thou. The archival evidence thus makes it increasingly clear that Rosenzweig's philosophy played a more important role in the development of Buber's philosophy of dialogue than previously recognized.

Rosenzweig and Margrit Rosenstock

Rosenzweig's voluminous and recently published correspondence with Margrit Rosenstock-Huessy, Eugen's wife, called Gritli, from mid-1917 until late-1925, casts unexpected and lively light on Rosenzweig's *New Thinking*, as well as on his Judaism, his Jewish identity, his problems with his parents, with his friends and cousins, his attachment to uncle Adam, and his attitudes toward Christianity and Germany. They contain numerous philosophical and theological remarks and offer valuable insights into the birth and development of Rosenzweig's masterpiece, the *Star of Redemption*. In June of 1917, Rosenzweig met Gritli in Kassel and he became her lover for some time. Whereas Eugen and his other friends wanted to convert Franz, Franz appreciated the attitude of Gritli, who was tolerant of the expression of his Jewishness. She did not try to convert him, and rather said to him in times of crisis: "Franz ich suche dein jüdisches Herz" ("Franz, I search for your Jewish heart"). The Gritli letters give new impetus for scholarly research into Rosenzweig's philosophy and into the complexity of his life. Reading the Gritli letters, we see that the former tendency to write much about Hegel and Schelling as a source for Rosenzweig does not follow from these letters, whereas little has been written as yet on Eugen Rosenstock, Hans and Rudolf Ehrenberg, or Hermann Cohen's profound influence on Rosenzweig. In the letters, Rosenzweig gave Rosenstock a great deal of credit and he greatly appreciated Cohen, from whom he borrowed the idea of revelation as a new creation.

The documents reveal many details about the *Star,* making it clear that the *Star* led Rosenzweig from thoughts about the exteriority of death and suicide to the positive experience of the life-transforming exteriority of revelation, which nourishes life in the community. In writing the *Star* Rosenzweig freed himself from a paralyzing and dead thinking, as well as from suicidal thoughts. He emphasized that the *Star* only elucidates one concept: that of factuality "*Tatsächlichkeit*": the fact (*die Tatsache, das Faktum*) which stands free from the idea. In the letters Rosenzweig speaks about his anti-idealistic thoughts on language, time, and eternity. He discusses the importance of the name, explained why he appreciated anthropomorphisms and attributed a special place to paganism, namely as the truth in embryonic form, and elucidated his concept of the miracle (*Wunder*) of revelation as "sign" (*Zeichen*), i.e., as predicted in creation. He stressed the Jewish character of the *Star*, wanted a Jewish publisher for the book, and described the *Star* as counterpart of Rosenstock's chief work *Im Kreuz der Wirklichkeit* (*Cross of Reality*).

From these letters, we also learn about many existential problems, about his mother's suicidal tendencies and Eugen's continual attempts to convert him. Most importantly, the letters contain many remarks on Rosenzweig's progress on his way to Judaism. He wrote on the Lehrhaus, on his translations, and on his joy of being of Jew. Noteworthy are his thoughts on the "New Law" (*neues Gesetz*), which is based on the commandment of love, which pertains to the whole of life and is not restricted to religion. This "New Law," being linked to the divine imperative of love, is not characterized by coercive force, but by its possible subjectivization: the objective Law, *Gesetz*, may become a personal commandment, *Gebot*. Just as "New Thinking" was required for philosophy leading "into life" (*ins Leben*), so the "New Law" in Jewish life could make a person alive (*lebendig*), turning him into a lively, responsive, and responsible being.

Rosenzweig's thoughts on the complex relationship between religion and revelation remain crucial for any future Jewish-Christian dialogue. They are an eminent example of dialogue, showing its possibilities and its boundaries. However, the Gritli letters inform us that Rosenzweig changed his view on the relationship between Judaism and Christianity during the year 1919. Whereas in the *Star* he still viewed the twin religions as antipodal, he now became increasingly influenced by Gotthold Ephraim *Lessing's parable of toleration, *Nathan the Wise*, and developed a view of Judaism and Christianity that is less antithetical and more egalitarian than in the *Star*. The emphasis now was on human beings, not Judaism or Christianity. The institutions are not God's bride; they are homes for the children of God, for people. Although Rosenzweig, like Lessing, conceived the truth as still having to be realized, he also remained critical towards Lessing and thought that the view expressed in *Nathan the Wise* is too bloodless and abstract; all persons are essentially different.

Influence

The Gritli letters, which contain more than a thousand pages and were published to a large extent in recent years, aroused renewed interest in Rosenzweig's writings. Interest is also growing from another direction, as a result of the great scholarly interest in the work of French Jewish philosopher Emmanuel *Levinas, who clearly recognized and expressed his debt to Rosenzweig. In May 2005, the Internationale Rosenzweig-Gesellschaft was founded, which organizes scholarly activities in Europe, the U.S., and Israel. Rosenzweig's impact on Jewish-Christian dialogue has been profound. His combination of a dynamic interest in Jewish learning, of vast general culture, and of a non-parochial Judaism has attracted many Jewish intellectuals.

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[Ephraim Meir and Rivka G. Horwitz (2nd ed.)]

ROSENZWEIG, GERSON (1861–1914), U.S. Hebrew writer. Born in Lithuania, he taught Hebrew in Bialystok, and in 1888 he immigrated to the United States. Rosenzweig edited several Hebrew periodicals – *Ha-Ivri* (1891–1902), *Kadimah* (1899–1902), *Ha-Devorah* (1911–12) – they were short-lived and earned him neither fame nor a livelihood. He also edited Hebrew columns in the Yiddish press.

Though he was a versifier rather than a poet, he had a genuine flair for satire and he was known to his contemporaries as the "sweet satirist of Israel" and as a parodist he earned an honorable place in Hebrew literature. His *Talmud Yanka'i* ("Yankee Talmud", 1907, 1909) poured a stream of ill-humored sarcasm on the peddler, the teacher, the rabbi. The pages of that collection of satires resembled the pages of the Talmud: the text in large letters, wreathed by commentary in Rashi script, is divided into six tractates instead of the talmudic six orders. Rosenzweig also denounced the vulgarisms of the country, the worship of money, the religion of success. Epigrammatic neatness was his forte. Example: "What is the difference between a convert and an anarchist? A convert denies what he believes, an anarchist believes what he denies." Using a biblical phrase, he quipped sardonically about his impending death by cancer of the tongue: "Life and death are at the mercy of the tongue" (Prov. 18:21). He published two books of epigrams: *Shirim, Meshalim u-Mikhtamim* (1893) and *Ḥamishah ve-Elef Mikhtamim* (1903; reprinted in Russia).

In the English preface to his Hebrew translations of "America," "The Star-Spangled Banner," and "Columbia, the Gem of the Ocean" which appeared in the booklet *Mi-Zimrat ha-Areẓ* (1898), he ventured to suggest that "the youngest nation is the heir of the oldest, and all that was best in the Jewish nation is now in the possession of the American nation to be developed and cultivated for the benefit of all humanity."

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[Eisig Silberschlag]

ROSETTA (**Rashid**), town in Egypt, situated on the western bank of the western tributary of the Nile. The *Genizah documents point to the economic activity of the Jews in Rosetta, e.g., a letter dated February 16, 1000, from Fustat sent to Yeshua ben Ismail al-Maghrebi in Rosetta. Meshullam of Volterra mentioned the existence of a Jewish community in Rosetta in 1481. When, at the beginning of the 16th century, *Alexandria lost its commercial importance, Rosetta became the most important transit harbor for the maritime trade between *Egypt and *Turkey. Jews in Rosetta did business with Jews from Rhodes. There were Jews in the town during the late Middle Ages, but the Jewish population increased considerably during the 16th century with the arrival of Spanish refugees. Rosetta became a well-organized community headed by learned rabbis. These included: R. Moses ibn Abudraham, R. Judah Meshʿal, R. Abraham b. Sur, and R. Abraham Medina in the 16th century; the great *posek* R. Mordecai ha-Levi (born in Rosetta in 1620); in the first half of the 17th century the great *dayyan* R. David Gershon; R. Abraham b. Nathan (d. 1725); and R. Shabbetai Nauavi, his brother Isaac, and R. Judah Crispin in the 19th century. Abraham ben Ḥayyim Nathan (d. 1725) settled in Rosetta in 1695 and for 30 years dealt in international trade, employing agents in Turkey and *Italy in the 18th century. He contributed money to the Viga Yeshivah in *Jerusalem. Close to the year 1740, there was a debate about his inheritance, whose result was the foundation of the Ḥesed le-Avraham u-Binyan Shelomo Yeshivah in Jerusalem in 1747. In the 17th century Israel Crispin and David Re'uel served also as *dayyanim.* The *Karaite Samuel b. David, who visited Egypt in 1641, relates that there were then two synagogues in Rosetta. Israel Benjamin (*Benjamin II) found 50 families there in the middle of the 19th century. After the opening of the Mahmudiya Canal which connected the Nile with Alexandria, Rosetta lost its importance and the majority of its Jews left, so the community disappeared. The Jews lived earlier in their own quarter. The Jewish translator for the French vice consul in Rosetta at the beginning of the 18th century was Abraham Metinoly. In 1709 there was a Jewish dragoman (translator) who served the French merchants in Rosetta. The scholars of the community had good connections with the Jerusalem community. There were Ottoman Jews, like Joseph Mitinoly who were translators. There were also Jews in the city who were French subjects. Some were also customs officers in the Ottoman period.

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[Eliyahu Ashtor / Leah Bornstein-Makovetsky (2nd ed.)]

ROSEWATER, EDWARD (1841–1906), U.S. journalist, publisher, editor and politician. Rosewater, who was born in Bukoven, Bohemia, went to the U.S. with his family in 1854. He soon became a telegrapher, and as a member of the United States Military Telegraph Corps during the Civil War, he accompanied Union forces and was responsible for transmission of Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation. Rosewater went to Omaha as manager of Edward Creighton's Pacific Telegraph Company and also worked as a newspaper correspondent. He was elected to the Nebraska State Legislature in 1871 and founded the Omaha *Daily Bee* in connection with a campaign to establish an Omaha Board of Education. The rights of the common man and public improvements were constantly championed in the pages of the *Bee*, and though Rosewater gained numerous enemies, he became one of Omaha's best known and most influential citizens. Active in politics, Rosewater served on the Republican National Committee and its advisory board, represented the United States at two Universal Postal Congresses, and served on the Mint Commission. Advocating direct election of U.S. senators, civil service and labor reforms, a postal telegraph system, and postal savings banks, and opposed to trusts and unequal taxation, Rosewater twice unsuccessfully ran for the United States Senate. His son VICTOR ROSEWATER (1871–1940) succeeded him as editor of the *Bee*. He was active in Republican Party politics, chaired Omaha's first home rule charter convention and served on the University of Nebraska Board of Regents, the Omaha Public Library Board, and other public bodies. He was also a founding member of the American Jewish Committee. Rosewater retired from newspaper work in 1920. He was director of publicity for the Sesquicentennial Exposition, and later devoted himself to writing and lecturing. His books include: *Liberty Bell* (1926) and *History of Cooperative News Gathering in the United States* (1930).

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[Carol Gendler]

ROSH HA-AYIN (Heb. רֹאשׁ הָעַיִן), urban settlement in the coastal plain of Israel, 3 mi. (5 km.) east of Petaḥ Tikvah, near the Yarkon, whence the name Rosh ha-Ayin ("Head of the Spring") is derived. Ancient place names of the vicinity, the Hebrew *Aphek and the Greek Pegai (πηγαί, "springs"), also point to the river sources. Since the Middle Bronze period, the site constituted a major road station on the Via Maris leading from Egypt to Mesopotamia. As the area also commands the commodious entrance to the northern Judean Hills, sites of the vicinity were repeatedly fortified in history (Aphek, *Antipatris). The springs (which today are important in Israel's national water planning), and adjacent pumping installations, which provided water to Jerusalem during the British Mandate, were occupied by Israeli forces in July 1948. A large British army camp erected during World War II was converted in 1950 into a *ma'barah* that provided shelter for immigrants from Yemen. In 1951, Rosh ha-Ayin was transformed into a permanent settlement, and in 1955 it received municipal council status. The town was Israel's only large Jewish agglomeration in which nearly all the inhabitants originated in a single country, i.e., Yemen. The population grew through natural increase from 5,880 persons in 1950 to 11,600 in 1970, although hardly any immigrants came after 1951 and a considerable number of inhabitants left for other places in Israel over the years. Most breadwinners were employed outside Rosh ha-Ayin in industrial and other enterprises in Petaḥ Tikvah and other towns in the outer ring of the Tel Aviv conurbation. In the mid-1990s, the population was approximately 17,800, doubling to 35,200 in 2002 as the city absorbed many residents from the Gush Dan area (the Tel Aviv conurbation). In 1994 Rosh ha-Ayin received city status in the presence of late Prime Minister Yitzḥak Rabin. Its municipal area was 11.5 sq. mi. (30 sq. km.), its population heterogeneous, and its new industrial area (Afek) based on high-tech industry, mainly communications.

WEBSITE: www.rosh-haayin.muni.il.

[Shlomo Hasson / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

ROSH HA-SHANAH (Heb. רֹאשׁ הַשָּׁנָה), the Jewish New Year, the autumn festival celebrated on the first and second days of Tishri.

In the Bible

The name Rosh Ha-Shanah as it is used in the Bible (Ezek. 40:1) simply means the beginning of the year, and does not designate the festival. The months of the year were counted from the spring month (Ex. 12:2), later called by the Babylonian name Nisan. The month known by the Babylonian name Tishri is, therefore, called the "seventh month" in the Pentateuch. When the festival on the first of this month is recorded, it is referred to as the festival of the seventh month and as a day of "memorial proclaimed with the blast of horns," or "a day of blowing the horn" (Lev. 23:23–25; Num. 29:1–6). In the Bible, the festival lasts for one day only; the two-day festival arose out of the difficulty of determining when the *new moon actually appeared.

The Babylonian name Tishri seems to derive from the root *seru*, which means "to begin." The ancient Semitic peoples thought of the year as beginning in the autumn, at the time of the late harvest; cf. the expressions *be-ẓet ha-shanah* ("at the end of the year"), and *tekufat ha-shanah* ("(at) the turn of the year"), by which the Feast of Ingathering, or *Sukkot, which is in a sense the popular equivalent of the more priestly Day of Remembrance, is dated in Exodus 23:16 and 34:22 respectively. The *Gezer Calendar in fact begins with two Months of Ingathering. This was the beginning of the economic year, when crops began to be sold. It is plausible, therefore, that the biblical feast originally marked the beginning of the agricultural year. If this is correct, the rabbinic name Rosh Ha-Shanah only makes explicit that which had been implicit in the observance of the day from earliest times. It was on the first day of the seventh month that Ezra the Scribe read the book of the Law before the people (Neh. 8:1–8). The people, conscious of their shortcomings, were distressed to hear the words of the Law; but Nehemiah, Ezra's companion, said to them: "Go your way, eat rich viands, and drink the sweet beverages, and send portions to him who has none prepared; for this day is holy to our Lord; do not be sad; for joy in the Lord is your refuge" (Neh. 8:10). The psalmist is almost certainly referring to this festival when he proclaims: "Blow the horn at the new moon, at the full moon for our feast day. For it is a statute for Israel, an ordinance of the God of Jacob" (Ps. 81:4–5). In the critical view, the Pentateuchal legislation in which the festival appears belongs to the Priestly Code (P) and, therefore, to the post-Exilic period, when the Babylonian influences had become particularly pronounced. The older critical views consider the whole institution to be post-Exilic, pointing out, for instance, that there is no reference to it in the lists of the feasts in Deuteronomy (16:1–17). More recently, however, S. Mowinckel (*The Psalms in Israel's Worship*, 1 (1962), 120ff.) has advanced the suggestion that there existed in pre-Exilic Israel an autumnal New Year festival on which God was "enthroned" as King (analogous to the Babylonian enthronement of *Marduk). He claims to have found marked traces in many of the psalms to substantiate his assertion. Although Mowinckel's thesis has won wide acceptance, it is still the subject of debate.

In Rabbinic Literature

The Mishnah (RH 1:1) speaks of four periods of the year, each known as Rosh Ha-Shanah (see *New Year). One of these is the first of Tishri, and it is to this day that the name generally refers. It is a day when all mankind is judged (RH 1:2). R. Eliezer taught that the world was created in Tishri; R. Joshua that it was created in Nisan (RH 10b–11a). In the Rosh Ha-Shanah liturgy, the reference to the day as the day on which the world was created follows the opinion of R. Eliezer (RH 27a). The motif of Rosh Ha-Shanah as a day of judgment is independent of the theme of creation. R. Naḥman b. Isaac interprets "From the beginning of the year even unto the end of the year" (Deut. 11:12) to mean that God determines at the beginning of the year what is to be at the end of the year (RH 8a). Another opinion has it that on Rosh Ha-Shanah heaven assigns to a person how much he will earn during the coming year (Beẓah 16a). Confidence in God's mercy is expressed when it is said: "It is the custom of men who appear before a court of justice to wear black clothes, to let their beards grow long because the outcome is uncertain. But Israel does not do so. On the day of judgment (Rosh Ha-Shanah), they wear white garments and have their beards shaven and they eat, drink, and rejoice in the conviction that God will perform miracles for them" (TJ, RH 1:3, 57b). The theme of God as King is particularly stressed on Rosh Ha-Shanah because of the day's association with His judgment (Ber. 12b). During the prayers of the day, it is necessary to recite ten biblical texts which have the theme of God as King (**malkhuyyot*); ten which have the theme of God as He Who remembers (**zikhronot*); and ten which have reference to the **shofar* (*shofarot*; RH 4:5–6). These are explained as God saying, "Recite before Me on Rosh Ha-Shanah *malkhuyyot, zikhronot* and *shofarot: Malkhuyyot* so that you may proclaim Me King over you; *zikhronot* so that your remembrance may rise favorably before Me; and through what? Through the *shofar*" (RH 16a). The four names of the festival in Jewish tradition, based on the above, are: Rosh Ha-Shanah, Yom Teru'ah ("Day of Blowing the Horn"), Yom ha-Din ("Judgment Day"), and Yom ha-Zikkaron ("Day of Remembrance").

R. Keruspedai said in the name of R. Johanan: "Three books are opened on Rosh Ha-Shanah, one for the completely righteous, one for the completely wicked and one for the average persons. The completely righteous are immediately inscribed in the book of life. The completely wicked are immediately inscribed in the book of death. The average persons are kept in suspension from Rosh Ha-Shanah to the Day of Atonement. If they deserve well, they are inscribed in the book of life, if they do not deserve well, they are inscribed in the book of death" (RH 16b). The theme of the books of life and death feature prominently in Rosh Ha-Shanah liturgy. The intellectual difficulties in the whole concept were much discussed in the Middle Ages (see e.g. Naḥmanides, "*Torat ha-Adam*," in: H.D. Chavel (ed.), *Kitvei Rabbenu Moshe ben Naḥman*, 2 (1964), 264ff.).

The Shofar

The essential ritual of Rosh Ha-Shanah is the sounding of the *shofar*. The Mishnah (RH 3:2) rules that the horn of any animal (e.g. sheep, goat, antelope), except the cow, may be used as a *shofar* on Rosh Ha-Shanah. One of the reasons why the horn of a cow is not used is its reference to the golden calf and "a prosecuting counsel cannot act for the defense" (RH 26a). At a later period, the ram's horn was preferred in order to recall the binding of Isaac for whom a ram was substituted (RH 16a; see Gen. 22:13). It is considered meritorious to use a curved *shofar*, symbolic of man bowing in submission to God's will (RH 26b). The silence of the Scriptures as to why the horn is blown on this day left room for a wide variety of interpretations among later teachers. There are ten frequently-quoted reasons, which scholars have attributed to *Saadiah Gaon (see *Abudraham ha-Shalem*, ed. S. Krauser (1959), 269–70): (1) Trumpets are sounded at a coronation and God is hailed as King on this day. (2) The *shofar* heralds the beginning of the penitential season (from Rosh Ha-Shanah to the Day of Atonement). (3) The Torah was given on Sinai accompanied by blasts of the *shofar.* (4) The prophets compare their message to the sound of the *shofar.* (5) The conquering armies that destroyed the Temple sounded trumpet blasts. (6) The ram was substituted for Isaac. (7) The prophet asks: "Shall the horn be blown in a city, and the people not tremble?" (Amos 3:6). (8) The prophet Zephaniah speaks of the great "day of the Lord" (Judgment Day) as a "day of the horn and alarm" (Zeph. 1:14, 16). (9) The prophet Isaiah speaks of the great *shofar* which will herald the messianic age (Isa. 27:13). (10) The *shofar* will be sounded at the resurrection.

Maimonides (Yad, Teshuvah 3:4) writes: "Although it is a divine decree that we blow the *shofar* on Rosh Ha-Shanah, a hint of the following idea is contained in the command. It is as if to say: 'Awake from your slumbers, ye who have fallen asleep in life, and reflect on your deeds. Remember your Creator. Be not of those who miss reality in the pursuit of shadows, and waste their years in seeking after vain things which neither profit nor save. Look well to your souls and improve your character. Forsake each of you his evil ways and thoughts.'"

The particular *shofar* sounds blown on Rosh Ha-Shanah have an extended development. "A day of blowing the horn" (Num. 29:1) is, in Hebrew, called *yom teru'ah*, and is rendered by the Targum as *yom yabbava*. The phrase concerning the mother of Sisera who is said to have "looked through the window" (*va-teyabbev*; Judg. 5:28) is interpreted by the Rabbis as "and she wept." Hence the *shofar* blast is said to be a weeping sound. According to rabbinic tradition, however, the *teru'ah-yabbava* sound must always be followed and preceded by an extended, unbroken note, *teki'ah*. Since there are three references to the *teru'ah-yabbava* sound (Lev. 23:24; 25:9; Num. 29:1), it follows that three *teru'ah-yabbava* sounds are required, each preceded and followed by a *teki'ah* (RH 33b, 34a). There are doubts as to whether the weeping sound means three groaning notes (*shevarim*) or a series of nine very short wailing notes (*teru'ah*). Is the biblical *teru'ah-yabbava*, then, a *shevarim* note, or a *teru'ah* note, or both together? In order to eliminate all doubt, the practice arose, and is still followed, of sounding all three notes. The order became:

teki'ah shevarim teru'ah teki'ah (3 times)
teki'ah shevarim teki'ah (3 times)
teki'ah teru'ah teki'ah (3 times).

The final *teki'ah* is especially long and drawnout, and is known as *teki'ah gedolah*, "the great *teki'ah*." This series of 30 notes, first sounded after the reading of the Torah, is again sounded during the repetition of the **Musaf Amidah* (in some rites in the silent *Amidah*), and in many congregations also at the end of the service with an additional ten notes, so as to make a total of 100. The sounding of the *shofar* in the synagogue is an occasion of great solemnity at which God is entreated to show mercy to His creatures. The Midrash remarks: "R. Josiah said: It is written: 'Happy is the people that know the sound of the trumpet' (Ps. 89:16). Do not the nations of the world know how to sound the trumpet? They have numerous horns, sirens and trumpets, and yet it is said: 'Happy is the people that know the sound of the trumpet.' This means that Israel is the people which knows how to win over their Creator with the blasts of the *shofar* so that He rises from His throne of judgment to His throne of mercy and is filled with compassion for them and turns His quality of judgment into the quality of compassion" (Lev. R. 29:4).

The Laws and Customs of Rosh Ha-Shanah

On the first night of Rosh Ha-Shanah it is customary to greet one's friends with: "May you be inscribed (in the book of life) for a good year." The Sephardi version of the greeting is: "May you be inscribed for a good year; may you be worthy of abundant years." At the festive meal, it is customary to dip the piece of bread, over which grace has been recited, into honey as a token of the sweet year it is hoped will come. For the same reason, a piece of apple is dipped in honey and before eating it, the prayer is recited: "May it be Thy will O Lord our God and God of our fathers, to renew unto us a good and sweet year." Nuts should not be eaten on Rosh Ha-Shanah because they produce phlegm, and make it more difficult to recite the prayers of the day; also because the numerical value of the Hebrew for "nut" (*egoz*) is the same as that of "sin" (*Ḥet*). In some communities, the loaves for the festival meal are baked in the form of ladders to symbolize the fortunes of men in the year ahead: some ascending, others descending life's ladder. The custom of sending greeting cards before Rosh Ha-Shanah finds no support in the Jewish tradition, though it is now a widespread practice.

The prophet Micah speaks of God casting the sins of Israel into the depths of the sea. "And Thou wilt cast (*ve-tashlikh*) all their sins into the depths of the sea" (Micah 7:19). On the basis of this verse, the **Tashlikh* ceremony arose in which Jews go to a place where there is running water, the sea, a river, or a well (if neither of the former two are within walking distance) to recite this and other scriptural verses as well as penitential hymns and prayers on the first afternoon of Rosh Ha-Shanah (on the second if the first day falls on a Sabbath). There is no reference to the *Tashlikh* rite in the Talmud. A pagan origin for the custom has been suggested (J.Z. Lauterbach, *Rabbinic Essays* (1951), 299–433); a traditional interpretation has it that the fish in the river, whose eyes never close, are a reminder of the ever-watchful eyes of God, open always to look down on His creatures in mercy.

The scriptural readings in the synagogue on Rosh Ha-Shanah are: On the first day, Genesis 21 and the *haftarah*, I Samuel 1:1–2:10; on the second day, Genesis 22 and the *haftarah*, Jeremiah 31:2–20. The *maftir* on both days is Numbers 29:1–6.

Although Rosh Ha-Shanah as a festival is not more important than the other festivals, greater solemnity has come to be attached to it since it is also considered a day of judgment. *Hallel* is, therefore, not recited. The day is imbued with an aura of awe as expressed in the prayer: "Now, therefore, O Lord our God, impose Thine awe upon all Thy works, and Thy dread upon all that Thou hast created, that all works may revere Thee and all creatures prostrate themselves before Thee, that they may all form a single band to do Thy will with a perfect heart."

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[Louis Jacobs]

ROSH HA-SHANAH (Heb. רֹאשׁ הַשָּׁנָה; "New Year"), eighth tractate in the order of *Mo'ed*; in some earlier Mishnah and Talmud editions it is seventh, and in current Talmud editions it is placed fifth. Although Rosh Ha-Shanah is the rabbinic designation for one of the major festivals of the Jewish calendar, that which falls in "the seventh month, on the first day of the month" (Lev. 23:24), the tractate does not deal exclusively with this New Year. It opens with the statement that there are four days of the calendar, each of which is a New Year for its own specific purpose. Thus the first of Nisan is the New Year for kings and for festivals, and the 15th of Shevat (or the first) the New Year for trees. However, the first day of Tishri, the "New Year for years," i.e., the beginning of the calendar year, became known as the New Year par excellence, and the bulk of the tractate's discussion is elaboration of the laws concerning it, its religious significance, and the details of the sounding of the *shofar*. In mishnaic times, though the authorities were familiar with astronomical calculations, the New Moon was fixed on the basis of observation, which meant that, as a rule, the *bet din* formally proclaimed the New Month only after it had heard evidence of witnesses who had actually seen the new moon.

The tractate is divided into four chapters. Chapter 1 speaks of the various New Years and indicates Rosh Ha-Shanah as the day of judgment for all mankind. It then deals with regulations concerning the fixing of the New Moon, and especially with the qualification of the witnesses to it. Chapter 2 continues with the subject of the determination of the New Moon, and concludes with the dramatic account of how Raban *Gamaliel asserted his patriarchal authority to make R. *Joshua yield to his ruling. Chapter 3 deals mainly with particulars of the *shofar*. The chapter includes a profound homily explaining that it is not the actual sound of the horn but its devotional effect which is important. Chapter 4 first discusses whether the *shofar* is blown on the Sabbath when Rosh Ha-Shanah falls on that day. Ordinances enacted by Johanan b. Zakkai concerning various subjects are recorded. It then deals with the order of benedictions for Rosh Ha-Shanah, which are arranged in the *Musaf* service. The tractate has Tosefta and *Gemara* in both the Babylonian and Jerusalem Talmuds. In the Babylonian *Gemara*, there is a discussion as to whether the world was created in Nisan or in Tishri (10b–12a); the latter view seems to have been accepted in later amoraic times, as reflected in the Rosh Ha-Shanah prayers of those days. Of particular interest is the elaboration on the idea of Rosh Ha-Shanah being the day of judgment for every individual as well as for mankind (16a–18a).

Tractate *Rosh Ha-Shanah* is characterized particularly by two topics. The first is the intercalation of the year and how and when and for what reasons intercalation is effected, and what are the considerations which normally influence the determination of the yearly *calendar. The second is a systematic, philosophical, speculative discussion on everything concerning providence, and reward and punishment in this world and in the next. These topics are much better arranged and edited than others and more systematically than in all other tractates. The talmudic tractate was translated into English by Maurice Simon in the Soncino edition (1938).

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[Arnost Zvi Ehrman]

ROSH PINNAH (Heb. רֹאשׁ פִּנָּה), moshavah in northern Israel, on the slope of Mt. Canaan south of the Ḥuleh Valley. Rosh Pinnah was first founded in 1878 by pious Jews from *Safed who wanted to live by their own means instead of by *Ḥalukkah. They named their settlement Gel Oni ("Valley of My Strength," an adaptation of the name of the nearby Arab village Jāʿūna). The settlers, lacking both funds and farm experience, and harassed by their Arab neighbors, gave up after just over two years. In 1882, however, the settlement was renewed by First *Aliyah pioneers from Romania. The symbolic name "Corner Stone" is taken from Psalms 118:22.

Although Baron Edmond de *Rothschild extended aid to the isolated moshavah, it did not make much headway. The farmers tried to grow tobacco, mulberry trees for silkworms, and other specialties in addition to grain crops. After short periods of apparent prosperity these branches had to be abandoned for lack of markets. The British Mandate authorities maintained a police station and customs office near Rosh Pinnah. In the 1936–39 Arab riots, the moshavah suffered from repeated attacks. During the late 1930s the *Betar movement established a collective group in Rosh Pinnah which maintained itself by working on the local farms. In 1938 three of its members who attacked an Arab bus in retaliation for Arab terrorist acts were caught and tried by a British court. One of them, Shelomo *Ben-Yosef, was hanged in Acre Prison and buried in Rosh Pinnah. A memorial stone was erected at the site near the highway where the episode occurred. After 1948, immigrants were absorbed in the village and in a nearby **ma'barah* (immigrant transit camp) so that Rosh Pinnah's population rose to 1,480 by 1953. Some of the newcomers, however, were later transferred to the nearby development town of *Hazor or elsewhere, with the result that the 1961 population droppped to 702 and in 1970 was just 805. In 1949 Rosh Pinnah received municipal council status.

Grain crops and deciduous fruit orchards were its characteristic farm branches. In the mid-1990s, the population was approximately 1,820, increasing to 2,210 in 2002 on an area of 7 sq. mi. (18 sq. km.). Many of Rosh Pinnah's residents earned their livelihoods in the tourist industry, mainly in the area's guest houses. Some still worked in agriculture.

[Efraim Orni / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

ROSHEIM, small town in the Bas-Rhin department, E. France. The earliest explicit evidence of the presence of Jews dates from 1215, when the Jews of Rosheim are mentioned as being engaged in *moneylending (the pledges consisting of Church vessels). At the time of the *Armleder massacres of 1338 and of those which occurred in 1345 the town protected its Jewish residents On the other hand, during the Black *Death persecutions (1349) the community suffered extensively although it did not cease to exist. After 1447 there was a temporary expulsion of the Jews. During the 16th century the community enjoyed exceptional renown through Joseph b. Gershon of *Rosheim, leader and official representative of the Jews far beyond the boundaries of lower Alsace. At the close of the 17th century there were 18 Jewish families, comprising 94 persons, in Rosheim. Under French rule the town endeavored to obtain at least a partial expulsion of the Jews, but its numerous requests were refused by the royal agent. In 1784 there were 52 Jewish families (268 persons) in Rosheim. The number reached 500 (about 14% of the total population) at the close of the 19th century, but it declined sharply in the 20th century. During World War II, 35 of Rosheim's Jews were deported by the Nazis. In 1970 only a handful of Jews were living in the town.

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[Bernhard Blumenkranz]

ROSIN, DAVID (1823–1894), German educator and scholar. Rosin was born in Rosenberg, Silesia. After having attended the yeshivot of Kempen, Myslowitz, and Prague (he was ordained by S.J. *Rapoport), he wished to receive a regular school education. He went to Breslau, where he entered the *Gymnasium*, and graduated in 1846. Then he studied at the universities of Berlin and Halle (Dr. phil. 1851) and passed his teacher's examination. Returning to Berlin, he taught in various private schools and was, on Michael Sachs' recommendation, appointed head of the newly founded religious school of the Berlin Jewish community in 1854. He also taught at the teachers seminary. In 1867 he succeeded Manuel *Joel as professor of Midrash, Bible exegesis, and homiletics at the Breslau Jewish Theological Seminary.

Rosin's main scholarly work was on *Samuel b. Meir (*R. Samuel b. Meir als Schrifterklaerer*, 1880), whose Pentateuch commentary he published from a complete manuscript (*Perush ha-Torah Asher Katav Rashbam…*, 1881, repr. 1949), which is the only scholarly edition of this work. He also published a volume of Abraham *Ibn Ezra's poetry, vocalized, with a German rhymed translation and with commentary (*Reime und Gedichte des Abraham Ibn Esra…*, 1885–94). Rosin's lectures on Ibn Ezra's philosophy were published by his pupil David *Kaufmann in the *Monatsschrift fuer Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums*, 42–43 (1898–99), to which Rosin occasionally contributed. Among other subjects, Rosin dealt with the *Sefer ha-Ḥinnukh* ascribed to Aaron ha-Levi of Barcelona (*Ein Compendium der juedischen Gesetzeskunde aus dem vierzehnten Jahrhundert*, 1871), and the ethics of Maimonides (*Die Ethik des Maimonides*, 1876). He edited M. Sachs' sermons (*Predigten. Aus dessen schriftlichem Nachlass*, 2 vols., 1868–69). Rosin's son HEINRICH became professor of medicine at Berlin University; a nephew, also called HEINRICH, was a well-known professor of law at Freiburg-im-Breisgau.

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[Archiv Bibliographia Judaica (2nd ed.)]

ROSKIES, DAVID G. (1948–), author, editor, and scholar of Jewish studies. Born in Montreal, Canada, he attended Yiddish secular schools. He was educated at Brandeis University, receiving his bachelor's degree in 1969, his master's degree in 1971, and his doctorate in 1975. He joined the faculty of the Jewish Theological Seminary in 1975, as associate professor; he became the Sol and Evelyn Henkind Chair in Yiddish Literature and Culture and professor of Jewish Literature. An expert in the field of Eastern European Jewry, Roskies wrote and lectured extensively on the subject.

In 1971 Roskies received critical attention for his *Night Words: A Midrash on the Holocaust*, one of the first liturgies on the Holocaust. The work has been translated into Hebrew and has been issued as an audio cassette. In 1975 he coauthored, with Diane Roskies, *The Shtetl Book: An Introduction to East European Jewish Life and Lore*, which became a standard text.

His 1984 work, *Against the Apocalypse: Responses to Catastrophe in Modern Jewish Culture*, won the Ralph Waldo Emerson Prize from Phi Beta Kappa. In this work Roskies traces the evolution of Jewish literature from a passive acceptance of suffering to a stance of advocacy and a refusal to surrender. Awarded a Guggenheim fellowship in 1985, he began a study of the modern Jewish return to folklore and fantasy; he edited *The Dybbuk and Other Writings by S. Ansky* in 1992, and authored *A Bridge of Longing: The Lost Art of Yiddish Storytelling* in 1995. Roskies's 1999 work, *The Jewish Search for a Usable Past*, considers the modern Jewish community's self-image in relationship to the roles and values found in Jewish literature. Examining the promotion of modern goals, such as nationalism and secularism, by Jewish writers, he contends that contemporary Jewish memory has been shaped by literary convention rather than fact.

In 1981 Roskies cofounded, with Alan Mintz, *Prooftexts: A Journal of Jewish Literary History*, published by the University of Indiana Press. From 1998 he served as editor-in-chief of the New Yiddish Library, published by Yale University Press. He also served as a member of the editorial board of the Posen Library of Jewish Culture and Civilization, and he was a member of the Association for Jewish Studies.

[Dorothy Bauhoff (2nd ed.)]

ROSMARYN, HENRYK (1882–1955), lawyer, journalist and political leader in Poland. Rosmaryn, who was born into an assimilated family in eastern Galicia, joined the Zionist organization and while still a law student was elected a member of its central committee. Before World War I, he edited the Zionist weekly in Polish *Wschód*. In 1918 he founded, with G. *Zipper, the Zionist daily in Polish *Chwila, which was published in Lvov, heading the editorial board until 1939.

For many years, he was a member of the Zionist Actions Committee representing the Zionists of eastern Galicia, and president of the Maccabi organization of Poland. From 1922 Rosmaryn was elected three times to the Polish Sejm (parliament) in Warsaw and was an active parliamentarian. Rosmaryn was a member of the presidency of the Jewish Club ("*Kolo Zydowskie*") in the Sejm, and became known for his struggle against the antisemitic policy of the government during the 1930s. With the outbreak of World War II, he fled to Romania, from where he went to Palestine in 1940. Between 1941 and 1945, he represented the Polish government-in-exile of London in Tel Aviv in the capacity of consul-general.

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[Moshe Landau]

ROSOWSKY, SOLOMON (1878–1962), composer and musicologist. Born in Riga, the son of the noted cantor Baruch Leib Rosowsky, he studied at St. Petersburg under Rimsky-Korsakov, Glazunov and Liadov. He was a cofounder of the *Society for Jewish Folk Music in St. Petersburg (1908), where he also served as musical director of the Yiddish Art Theater. In 1920 he founded the first Jewish Conservatory of Music at Riga. Rosowsky immigrated to Ereẓ Israel in 1925, taught music there and did research on biblical cantillation. He attempted, in cooperation with Y.L. *Ne'eman, to present and analyze the "essence" of the East Ashkenazi (Poland-Lithuania) style. This resulted in the voluminous work, *The Cantillation of the Bible* (*The Five Books of Moses)*, published in New York in 1957. Rosowsky composed songs, chamber and orchestral music, and music for the Hebrew theater. In his quest for a modern Hebrew style based on traditional and Oriental elements, he was a pioneer. His latter years were spent in New York, where he taught at the Cantors' Institute of the Jewish Theological Seminary.

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[Mordechai Breuer]

ROSS, BARNEY (**Barnet**, **Dov Ber**, **David "Beryl" Rasofsky**, "The Pride of the Ghetto"; 1909–1967), U.S. boxer, three-time champion as lightweight (1933–35), junior welterweight (1933–35), and welterweight (1934, 1935–38), only Jewish fighter to win two different world championships, member of Boxing Hall of Fame and International Boxing Hall of Fame. Ross was born on the Lower East Side of New York to Sarah and Isadore, religious immigrants from Brest-Litovsk, Russia. The family moved to the Maxwell Street neighborhood of Chicago when Ross was two, where his father, who was also a rabbi, ran Rasofsky's Dairy store. A week before his 14th birthday in December 1924, Ross' father was shot to death during a store robbery. His mother suffered a nervous breakdown and had to be taken care of by relatives; Ross and his older brother, Morrie, moved in with a cousin, and the three younger siblings were placed in an orphanage. In his anger, Ross rejected his Orthodox lifestyle and became obsessed with reuniting his scattered family. He became a petty thief and numbers runner, and worked for Al Capone, who reportedly gave him $20 and advised him to go straight. He turned to the ring, changing his name to Barney Ross so that his mother would not know he was boxing, and fought as often as five times a week, pawning his winning medals for three dollars apiece. In 1929, Ross won the Western and Inter-City Golden Gloves featherweight titles. His first professional fight was on August 31, 1929, and his big break came on June 23, 1933, when he fought Tony Canzoneri in Chicago for the world lightweight and junior welterweight titles, winning by a split decision and becoming the first fighter in the modern era to win two titles simultaneously. "Winning the titles was almost an anti-climax," Ross said later. "My big thrill came a few weeks before the fight. That was when I was able to take the younger kids out of the orphanage asylum and reunite them with Mom." His most famous fights were three welterweight championship bouts against Jimmy McLarnin in 1934 and 1935 – Ross won the first and third, the latter despite breaking his left thumb in the sixth-round – which captured the nation's attention and drew huge gates. Ross became only the third boxer in history to win world titles in three divisions. His last fight was on May 31, 1938, against Henry Armstrong. Referee Arthur Donovan moved to stop the bout in the late rounds and award Armstrong the victory, but Ross pleaded to allow the fight to continue, saying, "I've got to go out like a champion. Let me finish." He lost the title in a 15-round decision and retired after the fight, having never been knocked out in over 300 professional and amateur fights. His record in 81 bouts was 74 wins including two newspaper wins (22 KOs), four losses, and three draws.

In World War II, Ross fought at Guadalcanal, and while on patrol on November 20, 1942, he and three comrades ran into an advance party of Japanese. With the others wounded, Ross defended them through the night while reciting Hebrew prayers from memory. He was awarded a Silver Star and a Presidential Citation. At the military hospital where he was treated for shrapnel in his legs and sides, Ross became addicted to morphine. His habit cost him $500 a week until Ross sought admission to a federal drug treatment facility, where he kicked the habit.

Ross, who was tremendously popular among American Jews, became active in the Emergency Committee to Save the Jewish People of Europe, also known as the Bergson Group. He also was active in another Bergson committee, the American League for a Free Palestine, which sought to rally American support for the creation of a Jewish state. His autobiography, *No Man Stands Alone: The True Story of Barney Ross* (1957) was made into a Hollywood movie, *Monkey on My Back* (1957). He is also the subject of a biography, *Barney Ross,* by Douglas Century (2006). Ross was elected to the Boxing Hall of Fame in 1956 and to the International Boxing Hall of Fame in 1990.

[Elli Wohlgelernter (2nd ed.)]

ROSS, DENNIS (1948–), U.S. diplomat. Ross was born to a Jewish mother and a Catholic father and grew up in Marin County in Northern California. Trained as a political scientist at the University of California, Los Angeles, Ross worked on two presidential campaigns (Robert Kennedy and George McGovern) before settling into a career as a foreign policy professional. His first government assignments were working on U.S.-Soviet relations, arms control, and the Middle East during the presidencies of Jimmy Carter and Ronald Reagan. Ross eschewed dogma and confrontational positions in favor of engagement and problem-solving through intensive, interest-based negotiations. His close relationship with Vice President George H.W. Bush at the end of the Reagan presidency led to his promotion to the senior ranks of American diplomacy following Bush's victory in 1988.

As director of Policy Planning under Secretary of State James Baker, Ross had substantial influence in shaping American policy toward the Soviet Union as the Cold War ended. Ross advocated U.S.-Soviet cooperation in promoting Arab-Israeli peace and was instrumental in organizing the 1991 Madrid peace conference – which led to the first sustained, multilateral peace negotiations between Israel and its Arab neighbors.

Ross' behind-the-scenes approach, together with his widely regarded diplomatic skills, allowed him to make the transition to the Clinton Administration where he was named Special Middle East Coordinator. Following the signing of the 1993 Israeli-Palestinian "Declaration of Principles" (the Oslo agreement), which was reached without American mediation, Ross' stature grew as American involvement in Arab-Israeli peacemaking intensified during the ensuing seven years. Ross did not favor American arbitration, intrusive monitoring, or explicit conditionality between foreign aid and the negotiations, though he advocated a stronger American position at the end of the Oslo process.

When Israeli-Palestinian negotiations reached an impasse, or when violence threatened to derail the process, Ross' involvement often reached a fever pitch. He led marathon negotiations that led to the signing of the Interim Agreement (1995), the Hebron Accord (1997), and the Wye River Agreement (1998). Ross worked closely with President Clinton, who became much more personally involved in the negotiations at the end of his presidency.

Ross believed strongly in the strategic importance of an Israeli-Syrian peace agreement and devoted significant attention to these negotiations, though the talks ultimately collapsed in early 2000. In the last months of the Clinton administration, Ross led an intensive effort to reach an Israeli-Palestinian "final status" agreement. But this final push for peace, which included the abortive Camp David summit in mid-2000, ended in failure as large-scale, sustained Israeli-Palestinian violence displaced the negotiations.

In his best-selling memoir, *Missing Peace* (2004), Ross blamed Palestinian leader Yasser *Arafat for the collapse of the Oslo process. After leaving government service, Ross took a senior position at the Washington Institute for Near East Policy. Ross also became chairman of the Jerusalem-based Jewish People Policy Planning Institute.

Although American Jews had previously served at the highest ranks of the foreign policy and national security establishment, they had generally not been granted overriding authority to manage U.S. diplomacy toward Israel and its neighbors. He was the first to attain such a dominant position and remained at the helm of America's peace process diplomacy under both Republican and Democratic administrations.

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[Scott Lasensky (2nd ed.)]

ROSS, HERBERT (1925–2001), U.S. dancer, choreographer, and film director. Ross began his career as a dancer and choreographer but after 1969 he became known principally as a film director. He directed such films as *Play It Again, Sam* and *The Owl and Pussycat*, and the dance-oriented films *The Turning Point* (1977), collaborating in its making with his wife, the ballerina Nora *Kaye; *Nijinsky* (1980); *Footloose* (1984); *Pennies from Heaven* (1982); and *Dancers* (1987). Ross also became an active dance director in theater and television. With his wife, he founded a short-lived company, the Ballet of Two Worlds, for which he created a full-length dramatic ballet, the *Dybbuk*. Ross created the choreography for various Broadway productions and in Hollywood he directed the musical version of *Good-bye Mr. Chips*.

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[Amnon Shiloah (2nd ed.)]

ROSS, LILLIAN (1928?–), U.S. writer. Born in Syracuse, N.Y., Ross moved to New York City in her youth and worked briefly for the newspaper *PM* before joining the staff of *The New Yorker* in 1945. Notoriously reticent about her age, she is listed in one literary reference work as having been born in 1928, which would have made her 17 when she went to work for the magazine. There she became one of the better-known practitioners of a style of fly-on-the-wall reporting in which the writer never directly imputes motivitation. Nevertheless, her portraits of people like Ernest Hemingway and Adlai Stevenson, among others, were considered to be succinct and revealing. In 1950, her first portrait of Hemingway was published in *The New Yorker.* It was an account of two days Hemingway spent in New York in 1949 on his way from Havana to Europe. Ross captures Hemingway shopping for an elephant gun at Abercrombie & Fitch, aiming an imaginary weapon at the sky while walking along Madison Avenue. To celebrate the centenary of Hemingway's birth, in 1999, Ross wrote a second portrait, detailing the friendship the two struck up after the completion of the first article. Together, the two works provide the definitive sketch of one of America's greatest writers. Ross stayed with the magazine until 1987 and returned in 1993. She was the author of 12 books, including her memoir *Here but Not Here: A Love Story*, about her 40-year relationship as the mistress of William Shawn, the longtime editor of *The New Yorker.*

[Stewart Kampel (2nd ed.)]

ROSS, STEPHEN (1942–), U.S. developer. A native of Detroit, Ross earned a bachelor's degree in accounting from the University of Michigan Business School and a law degree from Wayne State before obtaining a master's in tax law at New York University. He worked for two years as a tax lawyer at the Detroit office of Coopers & Lybrand, then a major accounting concern. He was influenced by the success of his uncle Max *Fisher, who built a business empire in oil and gas, and became one of the nation's leading philanthropists. Ross yearned to work in New York, and he picked up experience at two investment firms, as an assistant vice president in the real estate subsidiary of Laird, Inc. and in the corporate finance department of Bear, Stearns & Co. In 1971 he began to organize deals by which wealthy investors incurred risk-free tax losses in affordable housing to shelter other income. He combined the idea of tax losses for wealthy investors with the procurement of subsidies for affordable properties. In 1972 he founded Related Housing Companies with the goal of building or rehabilitating housing to blend into the community. Throughout the 1970s and 1980s, Ross and his team built on the success to expand into a wider range of developments, starting with Riverwalk, a large, planned mixed-use development along the East River in Manhattan, which was never built. Related built its first office complex, with 880,000 square feet, in Westchester. From these beginnings came diversification into retail, industrial, office and mixed use, and a name change to the Related Companies, which included New York Development, Related Urban Development, Related Lodging Group, Related Retail, Related Apartment Preservation, Related Management Company and Related Urban Management Company. There were offices in Miami, Chicago, and California in addition to New York, and the Related Group of Florida became the largest and most successful developer in the state. In New York, the Related Companies was the developer of the $1.7-billion, 2.8-million-square-foot Time Warner Center on Columbus Circle in Manhattan, which opened in 2004. The company's portfolio, valued in excess of $8 billion, made it one of the leading real-estate developers in the country. In 2004, Ross gave $100 million to the University of Michigan; it was the largest donation to any U.S. business school, and the university trustees promptly renamed the school the Stephen M. Ross School of Business. Ross was also involved in a number of philanthropies. He was active in planning for a major renovation of the Guggenheim Museum, designed by Frank Lloyd Wright, in New York. He was a trustee of the Juvenile Diabetes Research Foundation. Ross and his partners in the Time Warner Center contributed $60 million to build the core and shell of the 100,000-square-foot new home for Jazz at Lincoln Center. Ross was a long-time supporter of the United Jewish Appeal-Federation of New York and was honored by the Jewish Association of Services for the Aged, among other groups.

[Stewart Kampel (2nd ed.)]

ROSSELLI, Italian family distinguished for its patriotic activities in the 19th and 20th centuries. Settling in London in partnership with the *Nathan family, parents of Ernesto *Nathan, later mayor of Rome, they kept open house for Italian conspirators and patriots, especially Giuseppe Mazzini, who thanked God for the friendship of the family. Giannetta Nathan married Pellegrino Rosselli, and with him continued to follow the family tradition; it was in their house in Pisa (now a national monument) that Mazzini died, a fugitive, in 1872. Their descendants included CARLO ROSSELLI (1899–1937), socialist writer and economist, author of *Socialismo liberale* (1930, 1945) and of *Scritti politici ed autobiografici* (1944). Rosselli was one of the foremost opponents of Fascism, and founded for this purpose the movement Giustizia e Libertà with its own publication. He led an eventful life, including a daring escape by speedboat from Fascist confinement at Lipari in 1934 and various commands during the Civil War in Spain, where he served with the International Brigade and was wounded in 1936. His brother NELLO (1900–1937) wrote *Mazzini e Bakunin* (1927), *Carlo Pisacane nel Risorgimento Italiano* (1932), and other works. He shared his brother's views and fought with him in the underground against Fascism. At a Jewish youth movement convention in Leghorn in 1924, he propounded the thesis that Judaism is above all the religion of liberty. The two brothers were murdered in Bagnoles de l'Orne, France, by hired assassins of the Fascist government (June 1937).

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[Giorgio Romano]

ROSSEN, ROBERT (1908–1966), U.S. film writer, producer, director. Born in New York, Rossen was a prizefighter in his early years and worked on the stage before becoming a screenwriter in 1939. He wrote, produced, and directed: *All the King's Men* (Oscar winner for Best Picture and nominated for Best Director and Best Screenplay, 1949), *Alexander the Great* (1956), *The Hustler* (Oscar nominations for Best Picture, Best Director, and Best Screenplay, 1961), and *Lilith* (1964). He wrote and directed *Johnny O'Clock* (1947), *Mambo* (1954), and *They Came to Cordura* (1959). He produced and directed *The Brave Bulls* (1951) and directed *Body and Soul* (1947) and *Island in the Sun* (1957).

Other films for which he wrote and/or co-wrote the screenplay include: *Marked Woman* (1937), *They Won't Forget* (1937), *A Child Is Born* (1939), *The Roaring Twenties* (1939), *The Sea Wolf* (1941), *Out of the Fog* (1941), *Blues in the Night* (1941), *Edge of Darkness* (1943), *A Walk in the Sun* (1945), *The Strange Love of Martha Ivers* (1945), and *Desert Fury* (1947).

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[Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

ROSSENA, DANIEL BEN SAMUEL OF (15th–16th century), Hebrew poet in N. Italy. His principal work (1506) is a Hebrew adaptation in rhymed prose of the Italian romance "*Bernabo e Luciana*," still unpublished (Mss. Bodl. and Turin). Some of his shorter compositions have been published, including his contribution to an interchange of poems in praise and blame of women by contemporary Italian Jewish poets. His first marriage proving barren, he received special authorization to take a second wife.

[Cecil Roth]

ROSSI, AZARIAH (Bonaiuto) BEN MOSES DEI (c. 1511–c. 1578), the greatest scholar of Hebrew letters during the Italian Renaissance. He was born in Mantua to the Min ha-Adummim family, one of the most eminent families in the history of Italian Jewry. According to a legend quoted by Rossi himself, the family was one of the few that the emperor Titus brought to Rome from Jerusalem after the destruction of the Second Temple. From the 13th century, the family produced a line of scholars, polemicists, rabbis, and artists, many of whom became famous in Jewish and Italian culture, especially during the Renaissance. At that time, the family was centered in the court of the Gonzaga princes in the city of Mantua, where the composers Anselmo de' Rossi and his relative Salamone de' *Rossi produced their work. Rossi received both his general and Jewish education in Mantua, but spent most of his life outside his native city. He studied medicine and apparently earned a meager living as a doctor throughout his life. He wandered to several cities in Italy, especially in the Papal States, and lived for some time in Ferrara, Ancona, Bologna, and Sabbioneta. When the pope expelled the Jews from his domains in 1569, Rossi settled again in Ferrara, where he wrote his major work. Toward the end of his life, he returned to Mantua, where he died after supervising the printing of his *Me'or Einayim* ("Enlightenment to the Eyes," 1573–75). Rossi did not publish anything until he was 60 years old. It seems that he did not even intend to publish, though a reading of his major work reveals that there is no doubt that he spent most of his time studying classical and medieval Latin and Italian literature as well as Jewish history and literature. An unusual event caused him to write an important book. In 1571, when he was living in Ferrara, the city was struck by a disastrous earthquake which lasted intermittently for about ten days. Rossi, along with the majority of the survivors, fled to the fields outside the city. The event seemed to him to be a direct intervention of God in the life of the city and in his own life, and in the first chapter of *Me'or Einayim* entitled "*Kol Elohim*" ("The Voice of God"), he describes the phenomenon in great detail, giving a vivid description of each phase of the earthquake and its effect upon the citizens, Jews and non-Jews. He added a learned discourse on the reasons for, and the significance of, earthquakes according to classical and medieval non-Jewish scholars, comparing the natural causes given by the non-Jewish writers with the statements concerning the divine origin of this phenomenon found in the Bible, the Talmud, and the writings of medieval Jewish scholars. While outside the city during the earthquake, Rossi met a Christian scholar who was then studying the Greek pseudepigraphical work, Letter of *Aristeas (see Apocrypha and *Pseudepigrapha). The scholar asked Rossi for the true meaning of some part of the work, assuming that he was familiar with the Hebrew original of the text. When Rossi told him that there was no Hebrew original, and that the work was unknown to the Jews, the Christian scholar was very much surprised. Since the Letter of Aristeas is important to the study of the text and development of the Old Testament (the book describes the translation of the Old Testament from Hebrew into Greek), Rossi decided to translate the work. He entitled his translation *Hadrat Zekenim* ("The Glory of the Elders"), which became the second part of *Me'or Einayim*. The two chapters comprising *Hadrat Zekenim* are quite short, the largest and most important part of *Me'or Einayim* being the third part, *Imrei Binah* ("Words of Wisdom"), which is divided into 60 chapters. This latter part is a revolutionary study of the development of the Bible and of Jewish history, chronology, poetry and culture.

The sources which Rossi used reveal unusual knowledge and erudition, unequaled by any previous Hebrew literary scholar and by few subsequent scholars. Knowing very little Greek, he used Latin and Italian translations of the writings of the Greek philosophers and writers. He was fluent both in classical and medieval Latin, and was a master of medieval and Renaissance Italian literature. More than a hundred non-Jewish scholars are quoted in his work (see the list in D. Cassel's edition of *Me'or Einayim*, 1866), not only the oft-quoted

Greek philosophers, Plato, Aristotle, and Pythagoras, but also Homer, Aesop and Euclid. Classical literature is represented by Virgil, Terence, Tibulus, Seneca, Cicero, Themistius, and others. Because of the nature of his study, he had special interest in classical historians, relying upon such writers as Herodotus, Xenophon, Livy, Suetonius, Plutarch, Caesar, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Diodorus Siculus and Dio Cassius. In the fields of geography and natural history, he cites the works of Pliny and Strabo, and in medicine and law he also refers extensively to classical writers. Rossi paid special attention to the writings of Jewish scholars in the Hellenistic period, especially *Philo (whose name he translated as Jedidiah ha-Alexandroni). In fact, he was responsible for reviving the interest of Jewish writers in Philo after the philosopher had fallen into oblivion for 1,500 years. Intensively studying the works of the philosopher, he proved, among other things, that Philo did not use the Hebrew text of the Bible but the Greek Septuagint translation. He conducted a special search in Italian libraries for remnants of the works of Jewish writers contemporary with Philo who wrote in Greek. The most unexpected of Rossi's sources are the writings of prominent Church Fathers, among them Eusebius, Jerome, Augustine, Justin Martyr and Clement of Alexandria. Employing the works of such writers to solve problems in Jewish history and chronology was inconceivable to other contemporary Jewish scholars. Medieval Latin and Italian literature constitute a significant part of his sources. The works of Thomas Aquinas, Isidore of Seville and Hugo of St. Victor are frequently quoted, and Dante and Petrarch greatly impressed him. He was especially influenced by Pico della Mirandola, among Renaissance writers, not only by the content of his works but also by his methods of scholarly study. Thus Rossi was well equipped to fulfill the prodigious task that he set himself when he began to write *Imrei Binah*.

In *Imrei Binah*, he studied the ancient history of the Jews by comparing the Hebrew sources, especially the Talmud, with the classical sources, Jewish and non-Jewish. His methods, essentially those of the critical history which began to be written in the Renaissance, were not applied to all the Jewish texts. Rossi refrained from using the critical method in the study of the Bible, but he applied it to talmudic legends, which many previous scholars had not accepted as absolute religious truth. The novelty of his approach was that although he was a Jewish scholar, Rossi usually accepted the facts given in the non-Hebrew sources rather than those given in the Talmud. (Occasionally where he failed to use critical methods with Greek and Latin sources, he made errors.) In the study of ancient Jewish history, Rossi discovered a more accurate length of the Persian period, i.e., the period between Ezra and Nehemiah and the conquest by Alexander the Great. Talmudic chronology and its medieval followers considered this period to be very short; Rossi attempted to determine its actual span and its importance in Jewish history. He proved that the *Josippon, regarded by medieval Hebrew scholars and historians as an authoritative source on Jewish history, is a medieval compilation, which, although making use of writings of Josephus, falsified many historical facts and is therefore unreliable. This disclosure came as a shock to traditional scholars, who for many generations accepted the *Josippon* as the main authority on the history of the Jews during the Second Temple period. Another important aspect of *Imrei Binah* is its discussion of the revival of Jewish-Hellenistic literature written in Greek during the period of the Second Temple and after its destruction. Rossi was the first Jewish scholar to make use of these writings in the study of Jewish history, literature, religion and culture (though Christian scholars used them during the Middle Ages because they were included in Greek and Latin translations of the Bible).

Probably the most important part of *Imrei Binah* is that devoted to the study of Jewish chronology. In a very detailed study, Rossi proved that counting the years from the creation and basing a calendar on this count is a relatively recent Jewish usage; none of the ancient sages in the talmudic or geonic period, and certainly not in the Bible, used a calendar reckoned from the creation. Even in the early Middle Ages more ancient calendars were used, especially one based on the conquest of Palestine by Alexander. Thus he exposed the fact that the calendar accepted in his day was not of ancient origin. In addition, he tried to prove that the Bible and the other ancient sources are insufficient for reconstructing the chronology from the creation to the present time. He thereby indicated that the calendar was not only untraditional, but that it also made a false claim. These findings seemed heretical to his traditional contemporaries, and even his friends among the Italian Renaissance scholars could not accept such a radical point of view. In the same critical manner, Rossi dealt with countless other subjects – archaeology, Jewish coins, the development of the Hebrew language and the use of Aramaic by ancient Jews, Hebrew poetics and poetry, etc. Although modern scholarship does not accept many of his conclusions, some are scientifically sound, and, in any case, there is no doubt that Rossi's scholarship was more than 200 years ahead of its time.

The advanced critical spirit and method of *Me'or Einayim* made the work a subject of controversy for a long time. While it was being printed in Mantua, rabbis who heard about its contents raised objections, some of which Rossi answered in the work itself. When the work was published, the traditional rabbis in Italy were shocked, especially by Rossi's attitude toward talmudic and midrashic legends and his denial of the validity of the chronology claiming to date from the creation. Even his friend and associate, Moses b. Abraham *Provençal, fiercely criticized Rossi's attitude toward the calendar, as did Isaac Finzi of Pesaro. In 1574, even before the printing of *Me'or Einayim* was completed, the rabbis of Venice, headed by Samuel Judah *Katzenellenbogen, published a proclamation of *ḥerem* against possessing, reading, or using the book, unless one received special permission from the rabbis of his city. Rossi was not personally attacked, the impeccable conduct of his private life easily meeting Orthodox standards of behavior. The *ḥerem* was followed by similar declarations in such cities as Rome, Ferrara, Padua, Verona and Ancona, in which rabbis warned their congregations against reading the work. The controversy spread to other Jewish communities; in Safed a proclamation of *ḥerem* was prepared for the signature of Joseph b. Ephraim *Caro, the great halakhist, but Caro died before signing it, and the *ḥerem* was published by the other rabbis of Safed. Judah Loew b. *Bezalel of Prague, who defended the absolute truth of the talmudic legends and traditions, dedicated a major part of his work on the oral tradition, *Be'er ha-Golah* (Prague, 1598), to direct attacks against Rossi and his teachings. Even in Mantua, where the author was well known and where the book was printed, persons under 25 were forbidden to read it. Before his death, probably in 1578, Rossi wrote a reply to his critics, *Maẓref la-Kesef* (1845; "The Purification of Silver"), which deals especially with the problem of the calendar and chronology. Later, *Maẓref la-Kesef* was printed together with *Me'or Einayim*. The ban on *Me'or Einayim* persisted for more than a hundred years, during which time few scholars dared to use or even mention the work. Renewed interest in the book was aroused only with the beginning of the Haskalah period late in the 18th century, when *maskilim* found in Rossi's work ideas similar to their own. The first modern printing of the work (after the Mantua edition) was published by the *maskilim* of Berlin in 1794.

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[Joseph Dan]

ROSSI, MADAMA EUROPA DE', highly accomplished professional singer in the court of the Gonzaga family in late 16th and early 17th century Mantua. The sister of the composer and musician Salamone De' *Rossi, she was the daughter of Bonaiuto De' Rossi and the wife of the prominent Jewish community leader David ben Elisha, whose last name was also De' Rossi. Madama Europa had two sons, Bonaiuto (Azaria), who became a prominent Jewish leader and educator, and Angelo (Mordechai), who became a court lutanist in Turin and a banker. Madama Europa's grandsons also served as skilled court musicians and bankers in Turin.

Madama Europa's musical activities in Mantua are known through court salary records and letters from audience attendees. In one document of 1592–93 she is listed as "Europa di Rossi," along with a group of other musicians, including Claudio Monteverdi. The Christian community richly rewarded talented women singers who displayed high levels of skill. Female singing groups were also in fashion, and Europa apparently sang in some of those ensembles. In Renaissance Italy, singers were frequently instrumentalists, and Europa may have played a lute or *chitarrone*. Madama Europa may have derived her stage name from singing "The Rape of Europa," an intermedio written by Giovanni Gastoldi to the lyrics of Gabriello Chiabrera. One such performance took place in 1608 as part of the festivities for the nuptials of Francesco Gonzaga, the crown prince, to the *infanta* Margherita of Savoy. Federico Follino, who may have arranged these events, wrote that Madama Europa "reached the middle of the stage, then in her capacity as a woman most understanding of music, she sang to the listeners' great delight and their greater wonder, in most delicate and sweet voice, the madrigal…. While she sang, with the sweetest harmony, these tearful notes, the listeners were awakened, through pity, to shed tears."

[Judith Pinnolis (2nd ed.)]

ROSSI, SALAMONE DE' (Heb. **Shelomo Min-ha-Adummim**; fl. first third of 17th century), composer from Mantua. Salamone de' Rossi became the leading Jewish composer of the late Italian Renaissance, and a court musician of the Gonzaga rulers of Mantua. Very little is known about his life. He was apparently the son of a certain Bonaiuto (Azariah) de' Rossi; but this Azariah cannot be identical with the well-known philosopher of the same name who expressed regret that he had no sons to survive him. Rossi's published works ranging between the years 1589–1628 are the only direct documentation on his life and work. It has been assumed that he was born about 1570. He entered the service of Duke Vicenzo I in 1587 as a singer and viola player, and soon became the leader of the duke's musical establishment and of an instrumental ensemble composed most probably of Jewish musicians. This group achieved a high reputation and was occasionally loaned to neighboring courts, as in 1612 when Alessandro, duke of Mirandola, invited "the Jew Salamon and his company" to his court. Rossi's name as a violist appears on the ducal payrolls until the year 1622. The death of the last Gonzaga duke and the sack of Mantua by the Austrian (Hapsburg) army (1628–30) put an end to the golden age of Mantuan court music. In that year, many Jews fled to the Venetian ghetto where the Mantuan music circle found a certain measure of continuation in the Jewish musical Accademia degli Impediti under the leadership of Rossi's sponsor, the famed Leone *Modena, although it cannot be ascertained whether Rossi himself was still alive and active in the Accademia. With Salamone de' Rossi, a peak was reached in Jewish contributions to western art music (see *Music). He was perhaps the last, but certainly the most important, of a long and distinguished list of Jewish court musicians (instrumentalists, singers, dancers, players) who were active in Mantua throughout the 16th century, and included Abramo dall' *Arpa (c. 1542–c. 1577), a harpist, and the son of a distinguished harpist; Abramino, his nephew; Isacchino Massarano, flutist, dancer, and dancing master (1583–99); Davit da Civita, madrigalist (published work, 1616); and Allegro Porto, composer (works published 1619, 1625).

At the Mantuan court, Rossi developed his abilities through a constant exchange of views and techniques in composition with the well-known musicians of the court, who included M.A. Ingenieri (his teacher and that of his colleague C. Monteverdi), G.G. Gastoldi, J. de Wert and L. Viadana.

Like the other Mantuan court musicians, Rossi started as a madrigalist but soon tried his creative talents at the new style of ornamental monody, i.e., songs or instrumental pieces with one leading solo voice supported by a fundamental bass. He is considered the pioneer of these new baroque forms which include the trio sonata and suite. As a Jewish musician, his lasting contribution is his *Ha-Shirim Asher li-Shelomo* (published by Pietro and Lorenzo Bragadini, Venice, 1622/23), 33 settings for three to eight voices of Hebrew texts, comprising psalms, hymns, and other religious poems for festive synagogue services. The settings are composed in the then prevailing a cappella style of Palestrina and G. Gabrieli, with intent to regenerate traditional musical liturgy with polyphonic choral settings.

Other musicians of the Rossi family included his sister, known as "Madama *Europa," and her sons Anselmo, Angelo and Bonaiuto. Angelo and his sons Giuseppe and Bonaiuto were musicians at the court of Savoy in Turin between 1608 and 1649.

Rossi's other published works are: *Canzonette a tre voci* (vol. 1, 1589; vol. 2, 1592 (lost); reprint, Venice, 1596?); *Madrigali a cinque voci*, vol. 1 (1596?; Antwerp, 1598?; Venice, 1600; reprints, Venice, 1603, 1607; Antwerp, 1610?; Venice, 1612?; Antwerp, 1618); vol. 2 (Venice, 1599?; Venice, 1602; reprints, Venice, 1605, 1610); vol. 3 (Venice, 1603; reprints, Venice, 1609, 1620); vol. 4 (Venice, 1610; reprint, Venice, 1613); vol. 5 (Venice, 1622); *Madrigali a quattro voci* (vol. 1, Venice, 1610), *Madrigalleti a due voci* (Venice, 1628); "Balletto," in: *Musiche… composte per la Maddalena…*, (Venice, 1617). Instrumental music: *Sinfonie, gagliarde*, etc. (vol. Venice, 1622; reprint: Venice, 1636?; 1642). Modern editions 1, Venice, 1607; vol. 2, Venice, 1608; vol. 3, Venice, 1613; vol. 4, of Rossi's works include: S. *Naumbourg and V. d'Indy (eds.), *Cantiques de Salamon Rossi* (1877; 33 of the 35 pieces in *Ha-Shirim Asher li-Shelomo*, and a selection of madrigals); F. Rikko (ed.), *Ha-Shirim Asher li-Shelomo* (1967; 2 vols. of transcriptions; the 3rd, with facsimiles and translations of the prefatory matter, not yet published, 1971); F. Rikko and Joel Newman (eds.), *Salamon Rossi – Sinfonie, Gagliarde, Canzone 1607–1608*; E. Werner (ed.), Salomone de' Rossi, *Three Hebrew Compositions* (1956); others, including arrangements with organ accompaniment, see Sendrey, Music, index.

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[Edith Gerson-Kiwi]

ROSSIN, SAMUEL (1890–1941), Soviet Yiddish writer. Born in Shumyachi, Smolensk, Rossin began his career with *Bobe Mayses* ("Fairy Tales," 1919), versified fairy tales for children, which were specifically Jewish in atmosphere and imagery. There followed poetry, stories, and a drama. His love poems, *Farlibterhayt* ("In Love," 1938), expressions of individual longing and fulfillment, eschewed social protest. Upbraided for composing melancholy, individualistic works in a collectivist, progressive society, he replied that a poet could not compel his heart to march in step like a soldier. In his last lyrics, *Lider Vegn Tatn* ("Poems about Father," 1939), his father, who died when the poet was thirteen, becomes the symbol of all Jewish fathers: restless, joyless, careworn, wandering with a pack on his back, barely eking out a living. Although past fifty when the Germans invaded Russia, he enlisted in the Soviet army and was among the early war casualties.

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[Sol Liptzin]

ROSTEN, LEO CALVIN (1908–1997), U.S. humorist. Born in Lodz, Poland, Rosten was taken to the U.S. as a child. He received a Ph.D. from the University of Chicago in 1937. He had a distinguished career in the U.S. government as a consultant to the secretary of war and as a social scientist but was best known as a writer. Under the pen name of Leonard Q. Ross, he was the creator of one of the most famous characters in modern American fiction, Hyman Kaplan, a pupil at a night school for immigrants. Kaplan's existence outside this setting is never described and he is nowhere identified specifically as a Jew, but the matter is never in doubt. In his struggles with the English language Kaplan expresses the Jewish immigrant's effort to integrate himself into American society and culture, his aspirations, and his sense of freedom and wonder in a new environment. Such matters are treated hilariously in both *The Education of H*Y*M*A*N K*A*P*L*A*N* (1937) and its sequel, *The Return of H*Y*M*A*N K*A*P*L*A*N* (1959), where Rosten deals with the interesting pupil-teacher relationship. Under his own name, Rosten wrote studies of journalism and Hollywood and a novel about an army psychiatrist, *Captain Newman, M.D.* (1962). In 1968 he published *The Joys of Yiddish*, an amusing and informative survey of the Yiddish language and its influence on everyday speech. In 1976, *O K*A*P*L*A*N! My K*A*P*L*A*N!* was published.

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[Irving Fineman]

ROSTOV, capital city of the Rostov district, Russian Federation. The town was founded in the middle of the 18th century, and Jews started to settle there in the early 19th century; their population reached 5,000 in 1880, in a total population of 100,000. Rostov's development dates from the close of the 19th century, when Jews actively participated in the development of its commerce. In 1887 the town was transferred (together with the town of *Taganrog) to the region of the Don Cossacks and was thus excluded from the *Pale of Settlement. After the plans to expel the Jews (with the exception of merchants and owners of real estate) were nullified, only Jews who had lived there before 1887 were authorized to reside in the city. In 1897 there were 11,838 Jews (about 10 percent of the total population) in Rostov. Jews, particularly the Poliakov brothers, were an important factor in developing Rostov as a transport center. Some Jews were grain wholesalers, others operated banks, and about 80 percent of the city's doctors were Jews. Between 1899 and 1910, Moses Eleazar *Eisenstadt held the position of government-appointed rabbi (*kazyonny ravvin*) in Rostov. He was very active in the strengthening of Judaism and the propagation of Zionism within the community, after Russian assimilation had influenced its members.

In October 1905, pogroms accompanied by looting and the murder of about 150 Jews broke out in the town, lasting three days. During World War I, many refugees from the battle areas arrived in Rostov. These included the *ẓaddik* of Lubavich, R. Shalom Dov Schneersohn (see *Schneersohn family), the leader of Chabad Ḥasidism, who died in Rostov in 1920. Under the Soviet regime the Jewish public life of the town was suppressed, the Chabad followers were brought to trial, and many members of the He-Ḥalutz movement were arrested and tried. There existed a Yiddish elementary school and club, but they were closed in the mid-1930s. In 1926 there were 26,323 Jews (8.5 percent of the population) living there, and their numbers grew to 27,039 in 1939 (5.4 percent of the total population). The town was occupied twice by the Germans: November 21–29, 1941, and from July 24, 1942. On August 11, 1942 about 13,000 Jews were murdered by the Germans near the village of Zmiyevka three miles from town. All Jews discovered later were executed at the Jewish cemetery; altogether about 15,000–18,000 were killed in Rostov and its environs.

According to the 1959 census, about 21,500 Jews were again living in the Rostov oblast (district), 1,395 of them having declared Yiddish as their mother tongue; but the actual number of Jews was probably closer to 30,000. From 1959, *matzah* baking in the synagogue was stopped for reasons of "sanitation"; *matzah* is brought yearly from Tbilisi. In 1970 there was no synagogue, rabbi, or cantor in Rostov.

Though many Jews left during the 1990s, Jewish life already revived in the late 1980s and an active community center was inaugurated, as well as a Jewish day school, yeshivah, kindergarten, and Sunday school. Chief Rabbi Chaim Fridman conducts varied religious activities at the synagogue. In the early 21st century the Jewish population of the city was around 10,000.

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[Yehuda Slutsky / Shmuel Spector (2nd ed.)]

ROSTOW, EUGENE VICTOR DEBS (1913–2002), U.S. lawyer, economist, and government official; brother of Walt Whitman *Rostow. Born in New York City, Rostow graduated from Yale University in 1933. He began teaching law in 1938 at Yale, where in 1944 he was appointed professor of law. During World War II, he worked for the Lend Lease administration. After the war he helped develop the Marshall Plan, which offered U.S. financial aid to foster economic recovery in Europe. In 1964 Rostow became professor of law and public affairs and was dean of the Yale Law School from 1955 to 1965. During his teaching career (1944–84), Rostow served as adviser to the State Department (1942–1944) and was assistant executive secretary of the Economic Commission for Europe (1949–1950). He was also a member of the U.S. attorney general's national committee for the study of anti-trust laws (1954–55); a member of the advisory council of the Peace Corps; and consultant to the undersecretary of state from 1961 to 1966 and undersecretary of state from 1966 to 1969. He was one of President *Johnson's close advisers on U.S. policy toward the Arab-Israeli crisis, and was known in Washington for his firm support of the Israeli position during and after the Six-Day War. He was a leading supporter of U.S. military intervention in Vietnam. With the change in administration in 1969, Rostow returned to teach law at Yale. He returned to public office when he was appointed head of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency (1981–83) by President Ronald Reagan. Rostow was the highest-ranking Democrat to serve in the administration.

Rostow's writings include: *A National Policy for the Oil Industry* (1948), *The Sovereign Prerogative* (1962), *Perspectives on the Court* (with M. Friedman and W.M. Beaney, 1967), *Law, Power, and the Pursuit of Peace* (1968), *Peace in the Balance* (1972), *Middle East: Critical Choices for the U.S.A.* (1977), *Toward Managed Peace* (1993), and *The Ideal in Law* (1995).

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ROSTOW, WALT WHITMAN (1916–2003), U.S. economist; brother of Eugene *Rostow. Born in New York City, Rostow received a Ph.D. in economics from Yale University in 1940. That year, he taught economics at Columbia University. During World War II (1942–45), he served as a major in the Office of Strategic Services (OSS). After serving as assistant chief of the State Department's German-Austrian economic section (1945–46), he went to Oxford, England, as professor of American history (1946–47). In the latter year, he became assistant to the executive secretary of the Economic Commission for Europe, a post he held until 1950 when he was appointed professor of American history at Cambridge University. Later that year, Rostow returned to the United States to teach economic history at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology in Boston. In 1961 he moved to Washington to serve as deputy special assistant to President John F. *Kennedy, and in the same year became counselor of the policy-planning council of the State Department. In 1966 President Lyndon *Johnson named him his Special Assistant for National Security Affairs, and he became known as an advocate of United States military intervention in Vietnam. In the Middle East, Rostow urged a policy of U.S. diplomatic and military support for Israel, particularly after the 1967 Six-Day War. In 1969, with the change in the administration, he returned to teaching economics and history – at the University of Texas. When he retired from teaching, Rostow became the Rex G. Baker, Jr. Professor Emeritus of Political Economy. In 1992, he helped found the Austin Project and served as chairman of the board and task force director from 1992 to 1998.

Among his many honors, Rostow received the Order of the British Empire (honorary, military division, 1945); the Legion of Merit (1945); and the Presidential Medal of Freedom (with distinction, 1969).

Rostow's more than 30 publications include: *The Stages of Economic Growth* (1952), a widely influential work in which Rostow outlined five stages of economic growth through which societies pass; *Dynamics of Soviet Society* (1953); *The United States in the World Arena* (1960); *View from the Seventh Floor* (1964); *Politics and the Stages of Growth* (1971); *How It All Began* (1975); *Why the Poor Get Richer and the Rich Slow Down* (1980); *Theorists of Economic Growth from David Hume to the Present* (1990); *The Great Population Spike and After* (1998); and *Concept and Controversy* (2003).

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[Joachim O. Ronall / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

ROTBAUM, JACOB (1901–), Polish producer. Born in Warsaw, Rotbaum acted with experimental groups and traveled in Europe and in the U.S. Returning to Warsaw, he worked during the 1930s as a professional producer. His first important production was *Roar China* by the Soviet writer S.M. Tretyakov. This was followed by Itzik *Manger's *The Three Hotzmachs* (based on *Goldfaden) for the Yung Theater, and Shalom Aleichem's *Groser Gevins*. He also worked in the Polish theater and produced N.F. Pogodin's *Man with the Gun* (1938). After World War II he again produced on the Polish stage.

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ROTBLAT, SIR JOSEPH (1911–2005), physicist and Nobel Peace Prize laureate. Rotblat was born in Warsaw, Poland, and became a U.K. citizen in 1945. He graduated with an M.A. in physics from the Free University of Poland (1932) and a doctorate in physics from the University of Warsaw (1938). He worked in the Warsaw Radiological Laboratory before joining James Chadwick as an Oliver Lodge Research Fellow at the University of Liverpool (1939). His work helped to establish, firstly, that a sustained fissile chain reaction could follow the bombardment of uranium with neutrons, and secondly, that this reaction produced the transuranic element later named plutonium. Subsequently in 1944, he joined the Manhattan Project in Los Alamos but returned to the U.K. the same year because of moral scruples about producing nuclear weapons once it was clear that the Germans could not do so. He was the only project member who left on moral grounds. He was director of research in nuclear physics at Liverpool University (1945–49) before becoming professor of physics at St. Bartholomew's Hospital Medical College, University of London, and chief physicist at St. Bartholomew's Hospital (1950–76), after which he became emeritus professor. During this period he pursued research on the biological effects of irradiation and the clinical applications of radioisotopes resulting in notable papers on subjects such as the diagnosis of thyroid disease and the deleterious effects of the bone-seeking isotope strontium-90. His concerns over the potential catastrophic effects of nuclear weapons were enhanced by his analysis of the radioactive fallout from hydrogen bomb tests at Bikini Atoll. This led him to sign the Russell-Einstein manifesto of 1955 warning about the consequences of war involving nuclear weapons. In 1957 Rotblat and Bertrand Russell founded the Pugwash Conference on Science and World Affairs, an international organization of scientists and others seeking solutions to global security threats and ultimately to eliminate nuclear weapons. In 1995 he and the Pugwash Conference shared the Nobel Peace Prize. He continued to express his concerns over nuclear and biological warfare after the Cold War ended and continually stressed the social responsibilities of scientists. His honors include the C.B.E. (1985), the Albert Einstein Peace Prize (1992), belated election to the Royal Society (1995), and a knighthood (1998). His wife, the former Tola Gryn, was unable to join him in 1939 and perished in the Nazi occupation of Poland.

[Michael Denman (2nd ed.)]

ROTE (**Roti**, **ar-Reuti**, **Arrueti**, **Aruety**, **Aroti**, **al-Rueti**, **er-Routi**, **Rutty**, **Ruti**, **Rute**), Spanish-Moroccan family which originated either in Rota on the Bay of Cadiz, or in Rueda (At. Rot'a), Aragon. The first person known by this name was R. ISAAC AROTI, a Spanish rabbi whose father settled in *Egypt together with *Maimonides. During the 14th century several members of the Rote family ranked among the leaders of various Jewish communities in Spain. Among them were JACOB BEN SAMUEL AL-RUETI of Pamplona and JUCE (JOSEPH) ARRUETI (d. after 1367) of Saragossa, one of the favorites of King Pedro IV. During the 15th century, HABRAN (ABRAHAM) ARUETY of Pamplona was highly respected. ABRAHAM ROTE (d. after 1525), one of the Spanish-Portuguese refugees settled in Safi, traveled to Lisbon, where he sought a number of privileges from John III and met David *Reuveni.

His son JACOB (I) ROTE was appointed official interpreter of the Portuguese in *Safi in 1523. In 1536 he settled in *Fez, after supplying a considerable quantity of arms to the Wattasid ruler; he also became the latter's counselor. In this capacity he participated in the battle of Oued al-ʿAbid, where the army of the *Wattasids was defeated by the *Sadis. Rote was then called upon to get John III to support the Wattasids. Honors were heaped upon him after this mission and he was named *sheikh al-Yahūd*, or **nagid*, of the Jews of the kingdom of Fez and given extensive powers. The *takkanot* of the *megorashim* (expellees) were drawn up under his aegis. The Christian captives were also under him and he made great efforts to secure their redemption. The pope issued a special safe-conduct pass to enable him to travel in complete security through all the Christian countries.

With his brother MOSES ROTE, he established a powerful firm for maritime trade, particularly the export of cereals, at first in Arzila and later in Tangier. As a result of his economic activities Rote became one of the leading merchants in Morocco. His relations with the *Marranos in Portugal were largely facilitated by his position and he encouraged them to establish themselves in Morocco and return to Judaism. When he was appointed ambassador of Portugal in 1539, he devoted his time to financing the transportation of the Marranos and their establishment in Morocco, where they openly returned to Judaism. The Inquisition was informed of these activities, and as it also sought to promote the affairs of the Christian merchants who were involved in the maritime cereal trade at the Rotes' expense, it ordered Moses Rote's arrest in Tangiers. This incident aroused strong protests on the part of both the king of Fez and the Portuguese ambassador in Morocco; John III personally intervened in the affair and Moses Rote was released in 1542. As a result of the progressive decline of the Wattasids, Jacob Rote was unable to make the alliance with Portugal effective. After the occupation of Fez in 1549 by the Sadis, Rote remained at the head of the community of Fez. The last meeting he presided over took place in 1556.

His son ABRAHAM ROTE (d. after 1603) succeeded him as *nagid*, and several new *takkanot* were formulated under his aegis. His son JACOB(2) ROTE (d. after 1622) was the person through whom the famous Aḥmad al-Manṣur "ruled." He lived in *Marrakesh with this sultan, and in his capacity as "minister of foreign affairs" he favored the English. After the death of the sovereign in 1603, he returned to Fez where he presided over the community through a troubled period. R. ISAAC BEN JACOB ROTE (d. after 1706) headed his family's yeshivah in Fez. Some of his works are extant in manuscript. After the death of his sons ABRAHAM ROTE and JACOB ROTE (d. after 1730), the Rote family ceased to exist. In his epistle to Oliver Cromwell, which sought to obtain the admission of the Jews to England in 1655, Manasseh Ben Israel praised the merits of the "noble family" of the Rotes.

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[David Corcos]

ROTEM, CVI (**Zvi**; **Erich Rothmüller**; 1903–1981), journalist and editor. Born in Slavonia (Croatia), Rotem lived in Zagreb. He received his Ph.D. in philosophy from Wuerzburg, and he studied Judaism in Berlin at the Hochschule fuer Jüdische Wissenschaften; he also completed the Law School of Zagreb University. From his youth on, he occupied leading positions within the Zionist movement and was among the founders of the Radna Palestina (Labor Palestine) organization. He edited various publications, including the "Red Book" of Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir in 1935. That same year he immigrated to Ereẓ Israel. He first worked as the Haifa bureau chief of the Labor daily, *Davar*, later moving to Tel Aviv, becoming head of its economic section. He also edited *Omer*, a vocalized daily journal for new immigrants.

Rotem was among the leaders of Hitaḥdut Olei Yugoslavia (Association of Immigrants from Yugoslavia), editing its *Bilten* and other publications, including *Toledot Yehudei Yugoslavyah.* Simultaneously, he acted as correspondent of the Belgrade daily *Politika*.

Through his extensive writings, Rotem significantly contributed to Yugoslav-Israeli relations. He translated and edited the works of Hinko Gottlieb. He also contributed articles to the first edition of *Encyclopaedia Judaica*.

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[Zvi Loker (2nd ed.)]

ROTENBERG, MATTIE LEVI (1897–1989), first woman and first Jew to receive a Ph.D. in physics from the University of Toronto (1926); founder of Toronto's first Jewish day school; Canadian journalist and award-winning national radio commentator. Born in Toronto, the eldest of 10 children, Rotenberg was a brilliant student who also received a B.A. (1921) and M.A. (1922) from the University of Toronto and was the recipient of several National Research Council Scholarships. Her research focused on photo-electric properties of fluorescent crystals. In 1924, she married Meyer Rotenberg, with whom she had five children between 1925 and 1934. Rotenberg's doctoral thesis, "On the Characteristic X-Rays from Light Elements," was published in the *Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada* (1924). In 1941–42, she was appointed an assistant demonstrator in physics at the University of Toronto at a salary of $1.25 an hour. Rotenberg was a demonstrator from 1947 to 1962 and an instructor from 1962 to 1968. In 1929, committed to her children's being both observant and knowledgeable Jews, she founded Hillcrest Progressive School, despite community resistance from parents who protested against the "segregating" of Jewish children and the study of Hebrew. She was the school's director for several years and remained active until 1944, when her youngest child left the school. From 1930 to 1932, Rotenberg was editor of the women's section of *The Jewish Standard*, published in Toronto and edited by Meyer *Weisgal, the political representative of Chaim *Weizmann in North America. Rotenberg also wrote a weekly column, "As the Woman Sees It," for *The Standard.* From 1939 until 1966, she wrote and broadcast regularly her commentary on the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC), Canada's national radio, on a program devoted to women's issues called "Trans-

Canada Matinee." On April 12, 1943, she gave a detailed report about the Final Solution, condemning the Western nations, including Canada, for their indifference. "Asking themselves the question, 'Am I my brother's keeper?' the democratic nations of the world, our country among them, answered: 'No.'" She concluded her talk: "Some action must be taken at once. If it is not, within a few months six million people will have been murdered, and the nations of the world will not be able to escape the charge of being accomplices to the bleakest crime in history." In 1945, she won the Canadian Women's Press Club Memorial Award for a radio broadcast titled "The Post-War Woman." It was the first time in its 10-year history that the award was given in the field of radio writing. In February 1947, she covered the United Nations Status of Women Commission at the first formal session of the UN at Lake Success, New York. She attended the UN annually for several years, broadcasting for the CBC on the position of women around the world.

[Nessa Rapoport (2nd ed.)]

ROTENBURG, family in Cochin (*Kochi). Probably originating in Frankfurt, the Rotenburgs were one of the leading "White" Jewish families in Cochin throughout the 18th century. The first prominent member of the family was SIMON SAMSON ROTENBURG, whose business trip to Mocha on behalf of his relative Ezekiel *Rahabi became a cause célèbre (1733–40). From 1763 to 1772 JOSEPH ROTENBURG came to the attention of the Dutch East India Company and the rajah of Cochin because of his unauthorized departure from the state. His case led to an investigation of the legal status of the White Jews in relation to the company and the rajah. When Cochin was under British rule, NAPHTALI ROTENBURG was a leading figure in the community and his Hebrew signature is found on many communal documents. He saved the life of Colonel Macauley, British resident of Cochin and Travancore, during a rising of the population in 1808. As a token of gratitude, Colonel Macauley presented the Paradesi Synagogue with a gold and silver crown for the Torah scroll.

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[Walter Joseph Fischel]

ROTENSTREICH, FISCHEL (1882–1938), Zionist leader. Born in Kolomyya, Galicia, Rotenstreich was active in the student Zionist movement in Galicia and later in Vienna. He taught at various government high schools in Galicia. With the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy at the end of World War I and the establishment of the "West Ukrainian State" (1918) in Galicia, Rotenstreich became the chairman of the Jewish National Council. When the district was returned to Polish rule, he was arrested by the Poles. From 1922 to 1927, he was a member of the Polish senate, and from 1927 to 1930 a member in the Polish Sejm. In both of these capacities, he took an interest mainly in economic affairs. At the 18th Zionist Congress (1935), he was elected to the Executive of the Jewish Agency by the *General Zionists (B). In the same year, he settled in Palestine, where he directed the agency's Department of Commerce and Industry until his death. He published many articles in Hebrew, Yiddish and Polish on economic and financial matters.

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[Getzel Kressel]

ROTENSTREICH, NATHAN (1914–1993), Israeli philosopher and author. Born in Sambor, Poland, the second son of Fischel *Rotenstreich, a distinguished leader of Polish Jewry, Nathan Rotenstreich joined the Zionist movement in his early youth. He immigrated to Ereẓ Israel in 1932 and soon became known as an original thinker and prolific writer. In 1951 he joined the faculty of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, where he taught philosophy for close to four decades. From 1958 to 1961 he was dean of the Humanities Faculty and in 1965–69 rector of the university. An academic philosopher, who was intensely engaged in the upbuilding of the Jewish community, the so-called Zionist *yishuv*, in Palestine, and then in the State of Israel, Rotenstreich was a public intellectual par excellence. A prolific scholar, who published some 30 books and 600 scholarly articles (in English, French, German, and Hebrew), he tirelessly wrote political and cultural feuilletons for the Israeli daily press, cultural journals, political forums, and educational bulletins, responding to issues of the day. His committed engagement in the public discourse of the State of Israel was borne by his conviction that philosophical culture has a direct bearing on the task of furthering human dignity in the realm of history and politics. Dedicated to systematic, "conceptual clarification" – a term that, indicatively, recurs frequently in his writings – philosophy should, he held, contribute decisively to heightening the rational understanding required if human beings are to act within history in a judicious and ethically responsible manner.

Accordingly, the historical dimension of human existence determined much of the thematic thrust of both his scholarship and popular writings. He contemplated history not as an account of the past, but as a way of explaining the present, more precisely, the object of his inquiry was historical knowledge as it is bears on the present. This focus took his work in two distinctive but related directions: the epistemology of historical knowledge and the cultural function of historical consciousness, especially within the context of the modern Jewish experience. As a modern historical consciousness took hold of the Jews, Rotenstreich argued, the structure of Jewish life and sensibility was radically transformed. Modern Jewish thought is thus straddled with the twin challenge of historicism – which pits the relativistic conclusions of critical historiography against traditional Jewish memory and self-understanding – and the "return of the Jews to history" as conscious actors in the shaping of their own political destiny. This process, which is one of the hallmarks of secularization, Rotenstreich observed, was set into motion by European Jewry's quest for civic emancipation, a protracted struggle whose dialectic ineluctably led to Zionism and the restoration of Jewish political sovereignty in the Land of Israel.

In contrast with many of the early Zionist thinkers, Rotenstreich deemed the mere renewal of Hebrew as the secular vernacular of the Jewish people to be in and of itself an insufficient basis to ensure that the emerging culture sponsored by Zionism would have the requisite "energy" to engage the minds and souls of contemporary Jews. Although Hebrew is a necessary condition for the development of an intellectually and spiritually compelling Jewish national, that is, secular culture, he argued, it must be supplemented by a well-informed knowledge of the sources of Jewish tradition. A sound grounding in the classical texts of Judaism would also facilitate a desired dialogue between secular Jews and those Jews still bound to the religious beliefs and practices of the tradition. This dialogue, Rotenstreich affirmed, will allow Judaism to remain, even for the secular Jew, the grammar of Jewish imagination and creativity.

In his political activity, Rotenstreich identified himself with *Mapai, the dominant party in the Zionist Labor movement, but in 1961 he joined the break away faction led by Pinḥas *Lavon, Min ha-Yesod, which strongly opposed to David Ben-Gurion's leadership. As a philosopher, he had a deep interest in German idealism and particularly in Kant and neo-Kantianism. Widely regarded as one of the leading contemporary Kantian scholars, Rotenstreich also emerged as a philosopher in his own right, initiating a series of systematic treatises on historical knowledge. He developed an original set of philosophical principles with which he sought to clarify the epistemological and phenomenological character of various human activities, such as, religious and secular faith. Rotenstreich was clearly influenced at this stage by *Husserl's phenomenology. His writings contain vigorous criticism of many philosophical trends, such as existentialism, Marxism, neo-positivism, linguistic philosophy, and even some specific approaches within the phenomenological movement. In 1963 he was awarded the Israel Prize in the humanities. At the time of his death he was the vice president of the Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities and a foreign associate of the U.S. National Academy of Education.

His writings include *Between Past and Present: An Essay on History* (New Haven 1958); *Jewish Philosophy in Modern Times: From Mendelssohn to Rosenzweig* (New York 1968; 2nd ed., Detroit 1994); *Tradition and Reality. The Impact of History on Modern Jewish Thought* (New York 1972); *Essays on Zionism and the Contemporary Jewish Condition* (New York 1980); *Jews and German Philosophy* (New York 1984); *Essays in Jewish Philosophy in the Modern Era*, with an introduction by P. Mendes-Flohr, edited by R. Munk (Amsterdam 1996); *Wege zur Erkennbarkeit der Welt* (Freiburg 1983); *On Faith*, ed. P. Mendes-Flohr (Chicago 1998).

For a comprehensive intellectual biography of Rotenstreich, see A.Z. Bar-On, "Nathan Rotenstreich," in: *Interpreters of Judaism in the Late Twentieth Century*, ed. by Steven T. Katz (Washington, D.C., 1993), pp. 229–48.

[Paul Mendes-Flohr (2nd ed.)]

ROTH, AARON (1894–1944), founder of a ḥasidic dynasty. Born in Ungvar, in his youth Roth attended yeshivot in Galicia and Hungary. He was attracted to Ḥasidism at an early age, and studied under several *Ẓaddikim*, including Issachar Dov of Belz. His main teacher was Ẓevi Elimelech of Blazowa, who instructed him to establish a ḥasidic community, although Roth was not descended from *Ẓaddikim*. The ḥasidic community which gathered around him in *Satu Mare and Beregszász (*Beregovo) bore many of the characteristics of early Ḥasidism. The major points of his system were complete adherence to simple faith, and rejection of any compromise with modern views and ways of life. He demanded of his Ḥasidim that they support themselves by their own labor, and employ the ecstatic mode of praying.

At the end of his life Roth settled in Ereẓ Israel and, although ill, he succeeded in establishing there an enthusiastic and active, though small, ḥasidic community. He regarded the recent sufferings of the Jews, and especially the Holocaust, as a punishment for abandoning simple faith and the traditions of the ancients, and constantly called for repentance. Roth was succeeded by his son-in-law ABRAHAM ISAAC KAHAN, and by his son ABRAHAM ḤAYYIM ROTH.

His writings include *Shulḥan ha-Tahor*, on *kashrut* (1933); his main book *Shomer Emunim* (1942, published in several editions) consists of homilies concerning faith, confidence, individual providence, reward and punishment, and redemption, including at the end *Kunteres Ahavat ha-Bore*, expressing his longings and yearning for God, and songs of devotion and joy.

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[Adin Steinsaltz]

ROTH, CECIL (**Bezalel**; 1899–1970), Jewish historian; editor in chief of the first edition of the *Encyclopaedia Judaica*. Roth, who was born in London, the son of a manufacturer of building supplies, saw active service in the British infantry in 1918 before being educated at the City of London School and at Merton College, Oxford, obtaining his doctorate in 1925. He was trained as a general historian, with a special interest in Italy, his first major work being *The Last Florentine Republic* (1925). A traditional, observant Jew who learned Hebrew from his father and under Jacob *Mann, he was from the first interested in Judaica: as an undergraduate in 1920, he produced a paper identifying the convert Duarte Brandao with the military adventurer Sir Edward Brampton. In that same year, under the influence of Herbert *Loewe, Roth also translated a number of the *Kinot* (liturgical poems for the Ninth of Av), foreshadowing a continuing interest in Jewish liturgy, especially of the more recondite rites. He subsequently devoted himself to Jewish subjects, first as freelance writer and lecturer, and from 1939 to 1964 as reader in Jewish Studies at Oxford.

Roth combined naturally English ways and loyalties with Jewish nationalism. When he retired from his Oxford appointment in 1964, he settled in Jerusalem, taking up a visiting professorship at Bar-Ilan University. Soon after his appointment he was accused of unorthodoxy by a pamphlet which quoted his citation (in the *Short History of the Jewish People*) of doubts expressed by others about the historicity of Moses but omitting Roth's refutations of these doubts. Although supported by the university authorities and other Orthodox spokesmen, Roth, who had suffered a heart attack, resigned from Bar-Ilan. For the rest of his life he divided his time between Jerusalem, where he edited the *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, and New York, where he lectured at Queens College, City University, and at Stern College.

Roth's remarkable facility as a writer is shown by an immense literary output. A bibliography compiled in 1966 by O.K. Rabinowitz lists 572 items, and his total output numbered at least 779 items, including translations into many languages. His lasting influence was as writer, lecturer, and collector, rather than as teacher, for conditions in Anglo-Jewry, where he spent most of his academic life, precluded cultivating disciples, though he was both an inspiring and painstaking teacher. Roth wrote the standard modern histories of: the Jews of England (1964^3) and Italy (1946); a history of the *Marranos (1959^2); a history of the Jews in the Renaissance (1964^2); *The House of Nasi* (2 vols., 1947–48); and popular works such as the *Short History of the Jewish People* (1936) and *The Jewish Contribution to Civilization* (1938). He edited the successful *Standard Jewish Encyclopaedia* (1959, and several later editions), and was from 1966 until his death editor-in-chief of the *Encyclopaedia Judaica*. He had a vivid literary style and a taste for picaresque characters, but this was combined with precise erudition, as in his bibliographical works, such as the *Magna Bibliotheca Anglo-Judaica* (1937); in his studies of Jewish printing; and in detailed monographs such as his *Intellectual Activities of Medieval Anglo-Jewry* (1949). Three volumes of his collected essays appeared: *Gleanings, Essays in Jewish History and Art* (1967), *Essays and Portraits in Anglo-Jewish History* (1962), and *Personalities and Events in Jewish History* (1953).

The *Dead Sea Scrolls controversy led Roth to contribute a historian's approach to the examination of the evidence. His identification, on historical evidence, of the Qumran Sect with the *Zealots, while not accepted by the supporters of the Essene theory, was cogently expounded (*Dead Sea Scrolls*, 1965^2) and, after initial doubts, won the support and collaboration of the Semitic philologist Godfrey *Driver.

Roth's artistic flair led him to Jewish art, including the scientific study of illuminated Passover *Haggadot*. He edited a record number of *Haggadot* and collaborated with the artist Arthur *Szyk on what was probably the most sumptuously illustrated *Haggadah* ever printed (1940). He assembled Jewish art objects, including a remarkable *menorah* collection and rare Hebrew books and manuscripts (of which he published a catalog, in *A. Marx Jubilee Volume*, 1950). His collection of *ketubbot* combined both his literary and artistic interests. These collections formed the setting of his Oxford home, which served as a center of hospitality both for local Jewish undergraduates and visiting scholars. Roth's extensive library and manuscripts were bequeathed to the University of Leeds, England, and his art collection now forms a museum attached to the Beth Tzedec Synagogue, Toronto, Canada.

During his life in Britain, Roth worked devotedly for Jewish culture in the Anglo-Jewish community, although he viewed its future with realistic pessimism. In spite of the warmth and friendship of some of Anglo-Jewry's leading figures, he did not receive the recognition in Britain which he achieved in other countries, where his brilliance as a lecturer won him an enthusiastic reception on several wide-ranging tours. His services to the *Jewish Historical Society of England, which he kept alive during the difficulties of World War II, were recognized by his reelection as president a number of times and the presentation of a festschrift (*Remember the Days*) in 1967. Elected a member of Italian learned societies before 1939, Roth resigned his membership as a protest against Mussolini's anti-Jewish legislation. After 1965 he was reelected a corresponding member of the Accademia Colombaria of Florence, and in 1969 he was appointed a commendatore of the Order of Merit of the Italian Republic for services to Italian culture.

Roth's "meliorist" view of Anglo-Jewish history, implicitly contrasting the liberal evolution of Jewish life in Britain with the horrors of the Continent, won wide acceptance at the time. Recently it has been challenged by younger Anglo-Jewish historians who see more hostility to the Jews than Roth admitted; this view has itself been challenged more recently still. Roth's greatest achievement was unquestionably his editing of the *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, an effort which would have taxed the abilities of a superhuman. That the *Judaica* has been the standard reference work of the entire Jewish world for more than a generation is fitting testimony to his ability.

He was a brother of Leon *Roth, the philosopher. Roth's widow, Irene Roth, wrote a biography, *Cecil Roth: Historian Without Tears* (1982).

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[Vivian David Lipman]

ROTH, DAVID LEE (1954–), flamboyant, cocky frontman and lyricist for hard rock giants Van Halen during their 1978–85 heyday, and successful solo artist in the late 1980s and 1990s. Born in Bloomington, Indiana, Roth spent several years in Massachusetts before moving to Pasadena, California, in 1963. Roth attended Hebrew school, and later said that singing during Sabbath services gave him a feeling of belonging and strengthening his self worth. After his bar mitzvah, his Jewish education took a back seat to a lifelong devotion to karate and to the verbal street poetry he was hearing from people like Wolfman Jack and Cassius Clay. He visited his Uncle Manny Roth in New York who owned the famed Cafe Wha?, which further exposed him to varieties of music. During his senior year of high school in 1972, he joined a covers band, and it was on the party circuit that he met the Van Halen brothers, Eddie and Alex. After briefly studying music theory at Pasadena

State College, Roth and the Van Halens joined forces in late 1974 along with bassist Michael Anthony, and at Roth's urging named the band Van Halen. They released their self-titled debut in 1978, and their metal-meets-melody style and the Jagger-Richards combination of Roth and Eddie Van Halen made their albums instant hard-rock classics. Wearing spandex and strutting around the stage like a rooster, Roth used his fast-talking huckster persona, self-deprecating smile, and athletic pyrotechnics to become one of the most riveting frontmen in rock. One critic wrote that Roth "simply updated vaudeville. He wrapped himself in Hollywood hype, plugged in, turned the volume to 11, and voila, created 'Diamond Dave,' a hedonistic rock & roll character." For Roth, it had more meaning: "Every step I took on that stage was smashing some Jew-hating, lousy punk even deeper in the deck … if you were vaguely antisemitic, you were under my wheels." With tension between Roth and Van Halen mounting, Roth left the band in 1985, just after releasing a successful four-song EP *Crazy from the Heat*, featuring remakes of The Beach Boys' "California Girls" and the vaudeville medley of "Just a Gigolo/I Ain't Got Nobody." His solo career kept him in the limelight through the mid-1990s. In 2004, Roth disclosed that he had trained to become a paramedic and began working on an ambulance in the Bronx. He took over Howard *Stern's national radio talk show in January 2006, but was removed in April due to poor ratings. He is the author of a well-received autobiography, *Crazy from the Heat* (1997).

[David Brinn (2nd ed.)]

ROTH, HENRY (1906–1995), U.S. novelist. Roth was born in Austria-Hungary. When he was 18 months old, his mother brought him to New York, where his father had been working to save money for their passage. In New York, young Roth was close to his mother and alienated from his father. At first the family lived on New York's Lower East Side, where Roth felt a sense of belonging in the Jewish community of the neighborhood that he did not receive at home. Later, the family moved to Harlem, a diverse community with a large Irish population. There Roth suffered considerably because of his Jewish heritage, and began to adapt to his gentile neighborhood. In the mid-1920s, he studied biology at the City College of New York and developed an interest in writing. During this period, Roth also met Ida Lou Walton, a New York University professor, and the two began living together. By 1930, Roth began writing his first novel. Three and a half years later the novel, *Call It Sleep*, was completed. Walton left Roth and eventually married David Mandel, a partner in the Robert O. Ballou publishing company. In early 1935, Ballou published *Call It Sleep*, on Walton's recommendation. This autobiographical work describes a young Jewish immigrant boy's search for belonging in New York City, from age six to nine, in the 1930s. The protagonist, David Schearl, is disturbed by his father's doubts of his paternity, his gentile neighborhood, and the Jewish religion he does not understand. David feels close only to his mother and this Oedipal aspect causes David to pull away from her throughout the novel. Symbolism in the work points to the main theme – redemption. Roth's dialect and ethnic speech patterns reveal the extent of David's isolation. Finally, turning to myth and the Isaiah story for his transfiguration at the end of the novel, David touches a milk ladle to the third rail of the trolley tracks in an attempt at symbolic purification through electrocution. David's survival softens his father's feelings toward him, and there is hope that he will transcend his inner conflict.

The critical reception of Roth's *Call It Sleep* in 1935 was predominantly favorable. Fred T. Marsh believed the novel "… to be the most compelling and moving, the most accurate and profound study of an American slum childhood that has yet appeared in this day…" The reviewer reminds his readers "… that this novel would never have been published if *Ulysses* had not won the decision in our courts. And the law has enlightened public opinion." Roth's language in the novel is seen as "… nothing short of the highest talent. It moves from a kind of transmutation of picturesque, warm, emotional and gentle Yiddish, to the literal English argot of the Ghetto, an ugly, fascinating, and expressive speech." Undoubtedly, any first-novel author would be flattered by Marsh's final judgment: "To discerning readers, I believe, for its profound intensity, its rare virtuosity, its sensitive realism, its sheer weight, its power, circumference and depth, this first novel of this Mr. Roth will be remembered for some time to come. I should like to see *Call It Sleep* win the Pulitzer Prize – which it never will."

Joseph Gollomb, in contrast to Marsh, thought Roth magnified the foulness of life on the Lower East Side instead of accurately portraying it. Although initially praising Roth's "sensitive ear for speech," Gollomb passes final judgment on Roth's literary truthfulness: "… still let me repeat the book in part and as a whole does violence to the truth. Someone once wished that novels of the east side life did not have to be so 'excremental.' *Call It Sleep* is by far the foulest picture of the east side that has yet appeared, in conception and in language. Certainly there was and is foulness down there as in other places. But Mr. Roth treats it not with the discriminating eye of the artist but with a magnifying glass, and if not with a relish, certainly with an effort to see what Emerson saw, with 'even in the mud and scum of things, there always, always something sings.' Whoever omits that something in his picture of east side life omits the very things which kept that life so long a fertile field for the creative writer."

Call It Sleep was republished in the early 1960s. Thus, almost 30 years after its initial publication, Roth's novel was "rediscovered" by Harold Ribalow, who wrote: "It is no wonder, then, that the best novel ever written in the United States should have been 'rediscovered' in 1960. It is *Call It Sleep*, by Henry Roth." Leslie Fiedler and Alfred Kazin both called attention to Roth's novel in articles and lectures. Although the novel may have remained a fond memory in the minds of a few enthusiastic readers, Henry Roth disappeared from the literary scene. Ribalow's correspondence with Roth in 1959 was the beginning of the novel's comeback. Ribalow's view of

Roth's work after the correspondence is summed up in this quote: "If most of us, passing through only once, can leave behind us a work of art comparable to *Call It Sleep*, we would have every reason to be proud of ourselves."

It is crucial to mention here Roth's debt to the early modernists, T.S. Eliot and James Joyce. In one of his last novels, *From Bondage* (1996), Roth reveals this influence: "*Ulysses* … showed … how to address whole slagheaps of squalor, and make them available for … art … the sorcery of language … to fluoresce, to electrify the mood … the Chicago packing houses … used every part of the pig except the squeal. Joyce elucidated ways to use even the squeal."

The republication of *Call It Sleep* resulted in a financial windfall for Roth (the paperback edition in 1964 sold more than one million copies), and rejuvenated his artistic talent in the late 1970s. He began work on a four-volume novel entitled *Mercy of a Rude Stream* in 1979, picking up on the story of David Schearl, renamed Ira Stigman. This last literary project consisted of *A Star Shines Over Mt. Morris Park* (1994), where Ira encounters antisemitism; *A Diving Rock on the Hudson* (1995), which reveals tantalizing glimpses of the wholesome, idealized American boyhood of Ira's non-Jewish friends; and the posthumous volumes *From Bondage* (1996) and *Requiem for Harlem* (1998), where Ira's growing intimacy with Edith (Walton) helps him escape from domestic and sexual tensions.

Sexuality in Roth's fiction is discussed in detail in *Redemption*, Henry Roth's biography by Steven G. Kellman, and a *New Yorker* article by Jonathan Rosen. Both delve into Roth's psyche, revealing the sexual frustrations of Roth's protagonist and of Roth himself. According to Rosen, "Roth's characterization of his Harlem exile as a kind of hell makes more sense when considered alongside the revelation that it was there that he began an incestuous relationship with his sister, Rose." According to Kellman, Roth had been "groping his sister since he was 12 and she was 10; by the time Roth was 16 he was having intercourse with her. When he was 18, he also seduced his 14-year-old first cousin Sylvia, leading her into the basement at a *bris*." Rosen interprets Kellman's *Redemption* in regard to David Schearl's incest as a "dramatic magnification of immigrant insecurity, the newcomer's inability to invest their emotions in anything beyond the reassuring confines of the clan." As a matter of fact, Rosen feels that "… the guilt that Roth felt hung over him like a kind of Biblical curse."

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[Mark Padnos (2nd ed.)]

ROTH, JOEL (1940–), Conservative rabbi. After completing undergraduate studies at Wayne State University in Detroit, Michigan, in 1961, Roth received a master's degree in Hebrew literature at the Jewish Theological Seminary, and in 1968, rabbinic ordination. After completing a Ph.D. in Talmud in 1973, he was appointed to the JTS faculty as associate professor of Talmud. Roth held both academic and administrative positions at JTS. In 1978 he was appointed to the Committee of Jewish Law and Standards, where he served as chairman from 1984 to 1992. Roth served as the dean of the Rabbinical School of JTS, from 1981 to 1984 and in 1992–93. In 1998 he was appointed the Louis Finkelstein Professor of Talmud and Jewish Law, and in 2000 he became the head of the Conservative yeshivah in Jerusalem, an institution founded by the Conservative movement in 1995 to enable men and women to learn traditional Jewish texts in an open, co-educational environment.

Throughout his rabbinic career, Roth has advocated for a Conservative movement ideology and practice rooted in the halakhic (legal) system, whose workings he elaborated upon in his 1986 book, *The Halakhic Process: A Systemic Analysis*. In writings on homosexuality and the ordination of women, among other topics, he has urged the movement to embrace the Conservative movement's doctrine of "tradition and change," but not by circumventing a strict process of legal precedent in service of social trends such as feminism. One of Roth's more prominent responsa has supported the rabbinic ordination of women, among the most important policy decisions of the Conservative movement, and has stated that a woman may exempt the community from its ritual obligations if she accepts upon herself ritual obligations commanded to men. He has also written an extensive series of responsa on the permissibility of organ donation, and on conversion and Sabbath observance, among other topics. Roth drew the ire of many members of the movement when, in 1992, he led the Committee on Law and Standards in its decision against ordaining homosexual rabbis or performing same-sex marriages, citing insurmountable halakhic objections to homosexuality. Roth has come to represent and to anchor the "right-wing" of the Conservative movement, a position that has at times placed him at odds both with the generally less traditionally observant laity of Conservative synagogues in the United States, on the one hand, and with many Orthodox leaders, on the other, who consider his rulings on egalitarianism and the ordination of women to be outside the bounds of *halakhah*.

[Liora R. Halperin (2nd ed.)]

ROTH, JOSEPH (1894–1939), Austrian novelist. Born near Brody in East Galicia, Roth volunteered for service in the Austrian army during World War I. He became an officer and was captured by the Russians. His subsequent career was in journalism and for a decade from 1923 he worked for the *Frankfurter Zeitung*. He fought for a new humanism and was a strenuous opponent of German militarism. Roth left his adopted country when Hitler came to power in 1933. Much of his restless life was spent abroad and he finally sought refuge in

Paris where in a fit of depression he tried to commit suicide and died in a hospital for the poor.

Apart from many newspaper articles and short stories, Roth wrote 14 novels, notable for their lucid style. At first a psychological realist in the tradition of Stendhal and Dostoevsky, Roth was later influenced by the Viennese impressionists such as H. von *Hofmannsthal and A. *Schnitzler. Always affected by the sufferings of others, Roth projected recollections of his own unhappy and impoverished youth into his best-known novel, *Hiob* (1930; *Job*, 1931), which describes the bitter life of an East European Jewish family. Other novels, such as *Die Flucht ohne Ende* (1927) and *Rechts und Links* (1929), depict the social consequences of war and the decomposition of the old order through revolution and inflation. His last novel, *Die Legende vom heiligen Trinker* (1939), is a kind of self-portrait and reflects some of the author's own disappointments. The essays of *Juden auf Wanderschaft* (1927) deal with the social position of East European Jewry. A different atmosphere prevails in Roth's historical novels. The best known of these, *Radetzkymarsch* (1932), nostalgically portrays Austria and the imperial army under Franz Joseph. Three other novels were *Die hundert Tage* (1936), *Die Geschichte von der 1002. Nacht* (1939), and *Der Leviathan* (1940). Years after his death, *Der stumme Prophet*, a work full of forebodings about totalitarianism, appeared in 1966. Roth's collected works were published with an introduction by Hermann *Kesten (3 vols., 1956). Roth gained belated recognition as one of Austria's outstanding novelists.

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[Rudolf Kayser]

ROTH, KLAUS FRIEDRICH (1925–), English mathematician. Born in Breslau, Germany (now Wroclaw, Poland), Roth came to England where he was educated at St. Paul's School, London, before graduating with a B.A. in mathematics from Cambridge University (1945). After teaching at Gordonstoun School in Scotland, he joined the mathematics department of University College, London (1946–66) where he gained his M.A. (1948), Ph.D. (1950) and became professor (1961). He moved to Imperial College of Science and Technology, London as professor of pure mathematics (1966–88) and visiting professor (1988–96) before returning to Scotland. Roth's main interest is the theory of numbers. He solved the major problem of approximating algebraic numbers by rationals (his solution is now known as "Roth's theorem") and published *Rational Approximations to Irrational Numbers* (1962). He made other important contributions to the theory of natural numbers. His achievements have been recognized by many honors including the Fields Medal (1958), election to the Royal Society of London (1960) and the award of the Royal Society's Sylvester Medal (1991).

[Michael Denman (2nd ed.)]

ROTH, LEON (**Ḥayyim Judah**; 1896–1963), philosopher; brother of Cecil *Roth. Roth – a pupil of Samuel *Alexander – devoted his early studies and publications to the rationalist tradition in European thought, especially in the 17th century. He held a lectureship in philosophy in Manchester University from 1923 to 1927, at which time he was named as the first incumbent of the newly-established chair of philosophy at the Hebrew University, Jerusalem. During his tenure of this professorship, Roth served as rector of the university, 1940–43, and as dean of the Faculty of Humanities, 1949–51. In the tensions and internal struggles within the university, Roth was closely allied with Judah L. *Magnes; his views on the direction of Palestinian political life were also close to those of Magnes. In 1948 the establishment of an independent Jewish state and the death of Magnes introduced a new era with which Roth was completely out of sympathy. Accordingly he resigned his professorship in 1951 and returned to England. There Roth concerned himself chiefly with studies of Jewish ethics and biblical subjects. He died suddenly, at Wellington, New Zealand, while on a visit to that country.

As an educator, Roth's major contribution was to establish the school of philosophy in the Hebrew University, a task that was shared by such colleagues as Julius *Guttmann and Samuel Hugo *Bergman. Important to this work was the program of translation of philosophic classics into Hebrew, a program that Roth began. As well as translating, he assumed considerable supervisory and editorial responsibility for the entire series of translations and edited a volume of selections illustrative of post-biblical Jewish ethical and religious thought.

Roth's early preoccupation with 17th-century rationalism, especially as represented by Descartes and Spinoza, remained a central interest of his philosophic studies throughout his later years. In addition, he studied carefully *Maimonides' *Guide of the Perplexed* as his guide to the original and systematic philosophy of Judaism toward which he worked during much of his life. Roth's desire was to explore and understand the inner cohesion of theology, ethics, and biblical hermeneutics in Judaism, and thus to be able to interpret Judaism as a unitary system. He approached this synthesizing statement in his last major work, *Judaism, a Portrait* (1960).

Roth was also a publicist of Judaism in the non-Jewish world. He contributed *Jewish Thought as a Factor in Civilization* to the UNESCO series, "The Race Question and Modern Thought" in 1954. He was elected a Fellow of the British Academy. Roth's major works include *Spinoza, Descartes, and Maimonides* (1924, repr. 1963); *The Science of Morals: An Essay in Method* (1928); and *Spinoza* (1929, repr. 1954).

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[Joseph L. Blau]

ROTH, MARK (1951–), U.S. bowler, member of Pro Bowlers Association (PBA) Hall of Fame. Roth, a native of Brooklyn who lived most of his life in Wall Township, NJ, joined the PBA tour in 1970 as a 19-year-old phenom with an unusual, variegated 5-to-11 step approach, and an aggressive hook which stood out in an era of mostly conservative curve-ball throwers. Despite the raw talent, it took Roth five years to tally his first tournament victory. Thereafter Roth enjoyed a remarkable run of 14 years in which he won 34 PBA titles (third best all-time), was named PBA Bowler of the Year four times (1977–79, 1984), and led the PBA in average six times (1976–79, 1981, 1988). Roth's average for the 1979 season of 221.6 was the first time in PBA history that a player had maintained an average above 220. This record stood until 1993, when averages across the league jumped because of improved ball technology. His eight tournament victories in 1978 are a record that most bowling analysts concur is unlikely to ever be broken. He also shares the record for most consecutive tournament victories (3). Roth is one of only three bowlers in PBA history to have managed to place high enough to win a cash prize in every tournament entered for an entire season. And despite having played when cash prizes were approximately a quarter of the value of current tournament prizes, Roth is still one of the top career money-earners of all time, at over $1.6 million. Roth is considered to be the originator of the fast, sharp hook style which is prevalent throughout the PBA today. He retired from the PBA Tour in 1991, but decided 10 years later to join the Seniors Tour, and promptly won honors as the Senior Rookie of the Year in 2001, and then Senior Player of the Year in 2002, becoming the only bowler in PBA history to win Player of the Year Awards in both the regular and senior circuits. Roth then retired to concentrate on investing and running bowling alleys across the United States. He was Maccabi Union Jewish Athlete of the Year in 1985.

[Robert B. Klein (2nd ed.)]

ROTH, SIR MARTIN (1917–), British psychiatrist. Born in Budapest and educated at the University of London, Roth became professor of psychology at Newcastle University (1956–77) and was subsequently the first professor of psychology at Cambridge University, retiring in 1985. Roth served as the first president of the Royal College of Psychiatrists in 1971–75. His best-known work is probably *The Reality of Mental Illness* (1986), written with Jerome Kroll. Roth also wrote widely on Alzheimer's Disease. He was knighted in 1972.

[William D. Rubinstein (2nd ed.)]

ROTH, PHILIP MILTON (1933–), U.S. novelist. Born in Newark, New Jersey, Roth was educated at Rutgers, Bucknell, and Chicago universities, and taught English at the last from 1955 to 1958. He later took a teaching post in Iowa and was writer-in-residence at Princeton where he specialized in creative writing. He developed his own literary career, publishing stories in various magazines including *The New Yorker, Esquire* and *Commentary.* In the latter he published an essay "Writing about Jews" (36 (1963), 446–52). *Goodbye, Columbus* (1959), a collection of short stories, revealed the stylistic influence of F. Scott Fitzgerald and illustrated Roth's bent for a satirical and incisive portrayal of middle-class American Jews. In his first novel, *Letting Go* (1962), he transferred his attention to Jewish intellectual circles in U.S. universities. Roth's second novel, *When She Was Good* (1967), was not favorably received. It was followed by *Portnoy's Complaint* (1969), a bestseller written in the fashionable vein of "black humor." Here the novelist was brutally satirical in his dissection of the all-devouring Jewish mother. In telling the story of his sexual and other frustrations to his psychoanalyst, the 33-year-old Alexander Portnoy explodes in a cruel, obscene and comic fantasy. As Roth himself predicted, his book aroused a storm of protest in the U.S. but increased his reputation, both at home and abroad.

Roth's fiction also began to develop the character of the novelist Nathan Zuckerman, beginning with *The Ghost Writer* (1979) and continuing with *Zuckerman Unbound* (1981), *Anatomy Lesson* (1983), *Zuckerman Bound* (1985), *The Counterlife* (1987), *American Pastoral* (1997), *I Married A Communist* (1998), and *The Human Stain* (2000).

In the early Zuckerman novels, Nathan is a man of hyperbolic contradictions. He longs for success – but he does not wish to be recognized and hounded by fans once his novels are successful. He behaves as an archetypical good boy to his family, then disobeys his father's orders and publishes fiction which puts his family in a bad light. He craves excitement and he craves quietude; he marries intellectual, stable women and then rejects them because they are intellectual and stable. He pursues sexual adventure, but he bitterly resents critical response to his adventures. He writes ribald novels almost exclusively about Jews and cannot understand why the Jewish establishment reacts to him with vocal outrage.

In *The Counterlife*, Roth finally pulls his protagonist out of "the oepidal swamp" of preoccupation with sex and writing. Within the four parts of the novel, Roth plays with the alternative routes which life-and-art can follow. Areas which Roth has left fallow since the stories in *Goodbye Columbus* are picked up in *The Counterlife*, as Roth explores the meaning of contemporary Jewish experience. He articulates an updated argument between various forms of Diaspora and Israeli Judaism, makes them live and breathe and seem like counterlives indeed.

In the later novels, Zuckerman attains the repose that only pathos brings. He has witnessed the destruction of those he admires. He has been helpless to prevent the catastrophes that engulf them.

Roth's later writing, specifically *An American Pastoral*, *I Married a Communist*, and *The Human Stain* developed a narrative of Jewish acculturation to and recoil from American ideologies that either offered rationales to or promoted the violent self. Intriguingly, this trilogy is reminiscent of the achievement of 19th-century Russian realism, with its focus on the family endowing an individual with political choice and civic culture. In his extraordinary study of modern American life, Roth examined those who were caught up in, or witnesses to, the collision of American myths and a seeming autonomy. The novels move from anti-communist witch hunts to the deadly and childish violence of the 1960s to the rhetoric and power of destructive self-righteousness. Roth's trilogy allows the representatives of such movements to have their voice and, tragically, often to have their way. These works present protagonists whose uneasy lives suggest the compromises they have made – and shall have to make – with contemporary notions of justice, politics, and politically correct rhetoric.

These novels also offer a modern reading of American political tragedy. Roth's protagonists choose what they believe to be a life in the American grain – whether through communism, or through the means of a responsible life, or through adopting an identity that offers security. Nonetheless, their confidence in the achieved present is undermined, if not destroyed, by the consequences of the past. Within these novels, characters discover how Jewishness, the lived social inheritance of Judaism, comports with the American present. With his last novel in this series, *The Human Stain*, a meditation upon chosen identities that are central to America's understanding of itself (witness *The Great Gatsby*), Roth suggests that the Jewish intellectual has become a "type," a configuration of personality traits that can be imitated and lived within. Nonetheless, the comic pathos of Jewish neuroses, found for instance in *Portnoy's Complaint*, is transformed into the tragic destiny of yet another "type": the Jew who cannot elude a chosen self.

A study of contemporary America's affirmation of right-wing ideology retrojected into the past, *The Plot Against America* (2004) presents a study in alternative history. Roth painfully describes an America with Charles Lindbergh as president, and antisemitism as an official matter of state. The novel has its immediate ancestry in Sinclair Lewis' *It Can't Happen Here.* Although *The Plot Against America* ends with relief, Roth's warnings of an American fascism in the making add a dark note to American-Jewish existence.

Clearly, Roth is defining himself as a novelist concerned with the notion of a social good and the good itself. His works swell with implications about the chances for dignity, for compassion, and for justice in contemporary America. The early satire, for example, of *Our Gang*, is now replaced by novels that set the terms for an understanding of American political literature.

Roth's reflections on his own life can be found in *The Facts: A Novelist's Autobiography* (1988) and in his study of his father in *Patrimony: A True Story* (1991).

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[Milton Henry Hindus and Sylvia Barack Fishman / Lewis Fried (2nd ed.)]

ROTHBERG, SAMUEL (1910–), U.S. business executive and Jewish community leader. Rothberg, who was born in Belezekov (near Kiev), Russia, was director of both the American Distilling Co. and the Parvin Dormeyer Co. Rothberg retired in 1965 so that he could devote more time to Jewish affairs, in which he had previously been active. He served from 1955 as national campaign chairman of the Israel Bonds Organization (of which he was a founder); a member of the national campaign cabinet of the United Jewish Appeal; chairman of both the board of governors of the Hebrew University and the board of directors of the American Friends of the Hebrew University; vice president of the American Committee for the Weizmann Institute; and an honorary founder of the Harry S. Truman Institute for the Advancement of Peace. Rothberg was president of the Israel Investors Corp. and founder of Capital for Israel Corp. He was also president of Congregation Agudat Achim in his home city of Peoria, Illinois. In 1970 he was elected a non-party member of the executive of the World Zionist Organization and of the Jewish Agency.

In 1975, in honor of his 65th birthday, the Hebrew University established the annual Samuel Rothberg Prize for Jewish Education. At Bradley University in Peoria, the Samuel Rothberg Professional Excellence Award is presented for distinguished contributions to research or creative productions.

In 1981, the Hebrew University's school for pupils from abroad was officially named the Rothberg School for Overseas Students in honor of Rothberg, who was one of the major forces in the establishment and development of the school. In 1998 the name was changed to the Rothberg International School. He was chairman of the school's International Board of Overseers.

ROTHENBERG, MORRIS (1885–1950), U.S. jurist, communal leader and Zionist. Rothenberg, who was born in Dorpat, Estonia, was taken to the U.S. in 1893. He was admitted to the New York bar in 1905. An expert in labor law, Rothenberg served as an arbiter in numerous labor-management disputes. During World War I, he was a member of a federal bread price-fixing commission. In 1937 New York Mayor La Guardia appointed Rothenberg to a ten-year term as city magistrate, and he was reappointed by Mayor O'Dwyer in 1947.

Extremely active in Jewish affairs from his youth, Rothenberg was a founder and executive committee member of the Jewish Welfare Board, a founder of the Joint Distribution Committee, and an executive committee member of the Council for German Jewry. He was also president of the Zionist Organization of America (1932–35). A founder of the Jewish Agency for Palestine (1929), Rothenberg was cochairman of its international council (1933, 1935).

ROTHENBURG OB DER TAUBER, city in Bavaria, Germany. Individual Jews are mentioned there in 1180. A community is first recorded in 1241, when it paid the small sum of 10 silver marks in taxes. In the mid-13th century *Meir ben Baruch, the acknowledged scholarly authority of his era, settled in Rothenburg, attracting pupils by the score; the town thus became a center of Jewish religious life and the Rothenburg community grew. During the *Rindfleisch persecutions (1298), the community was almost totally annihilated. On June 25, 57 were murdered; on July 18, 32 were massacred and their corpses burned in the cemetery. The survivors (around 380) fled into the castle and after a three-day siege were slaughtered and burned.

A new community was established after a short time. A source of 1346 mentions an old synagogue, therefore a new synagogue must have been built. In 1323 Emperor Louis III of Bavaria assessed the taxes of the community at 200 Haller pounds; in 1342 he levied one gulden from each Jew in Rothenburg (see **Opferpfennig*) and obliged the city elders to swear that they would freely admit and protect the Jews, his subjects. During the *Black Death persecutions (1349), the community was annihilated, and afterward the burghers celebrated August 27 annually in commemoration of the city's salvation from "poisoning by the Jews." In 1352, *Charles IV pardoned the burghers for the extermination of the community and allowed the city to admit Jews. The new community, established under the protection and jurisdiction of the city, suffered heavily from the annulment of debts in 1385 and 1390. A short and partial banishment was decreed in 1397, caused by inflammatory sermons on Good Friday, but the Jews were readmitted to the town seven years later. The 15th-century community was probably not allowed to keep a cemetery, for no tombstones of this period have survived. In 1414 an onerous imperial tax was exacted from the Jewish community; some members attempted to flee, and all were put under arrest until it was arranged that the tax would be paid by 21 members of the community. The burghers of Rothenburg successfully resisted, in 1422, the bishop of Wuerzburg's demand that they imprison the Jews and expropriate their property, turning over to the bishop the debts they owed to the Jews. The city opposed any attempt to deprive it of its jurisdiction over the Jewish community, and the economic benefits it derived from them, but the bishop seems to have been successful in imposing a distinctive *badge on the Jews. Jews wishing to remain in Rothenburg were obliged to present annual declarations to the city, stating their names, occupations, and willingness to pay taxes and obey the laws; the city reciprocated by granting legal protection to individual Jews.

In the early 16th century expulsions of Jews from cities in southern Germany became common. The Rothenburg community in 1517 requested the protection of Emperor *Maximilian I against Claus Wolgemut, a robber baron who applied pressure on the city to extort money from the Jewish inhabitants or expel them. The expulsion, which took place three years later, was meticulously planned by the city council, which was advised by Caspar Mart, legal counselor of the empire, to exploit the death of Maximilian in 1519 by taking immediate steps. The preacher Johannes Teuschlein (an early exponent of the Reformation) agitated, with the approval of the council, for the expulsion of the Jews as a reformatory, "cleansing" measure. The council employed a lawyer to help the Jews liquidate their businesses; the last six Jews left on Feb. 2, 1520. Requests by the nobility for a stay of expulsion on behalf of their Jewish associates were not heeded. The expellees were obliged to state, in writing, that they had not been forced to leave and had no outstanding demands. Throughout these proceedings the word "expulsion" was avoided in official correspondence and replaced by *Beurlauben* ("leave of absence," "dismissal"); the illusion that the Jews had left voluntarily was maintained. Attempts by the refugees to return failed. In 1659 Jews were allowed to attend the city's fairs but not to display their wares in public.

A Jewish community was not reestablished until 1875, totaling 86 persons (1.32% of the total population) in 1880. Their number declined from 100 in 1910 to 44 in 1933, when the community possessed a cemetery and *mikveh*. No Jews returned to Rothenburg after World War II. The medieval Jewish wedding hall was rebuilt.

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[Henry Wasserman]

ROTHENSTEIN, (William) MICHAEL (1908–1993), British printmaker. The son of Sir William *Rothenstein and brother of Sir John Rothenstein, he was educated at art schools in London and set up a private press outside London, becoming one of Britain's most distinguished printmakers, with a wide international reputation. Rothenstein is noted for the powerful imagery of his designs and for the constant search for new and often brilliant technical effects. He was a regular participant in all important international exhibitions of print-making. During World War II, he produced a famous series of watercolors of endangered sites, *Recording Britain*. He was awarded a Gold Medal for Engraving at the Buenos Aires Biennale. He wrote widely on his craft, particularly in two books, *Frontiers of Printmaking* (1966) and *Relief Printing* (1970). His work is to be found in all major public collections of graphic work, including the Tate Gallery, London, the Museum of Modern Art, New York, and the Library of Congress, Washington. Rothenstein was elected to the Royal Academy in 1984.

ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY: ODNB online; M. Gooding, *Rothenstein's Boxes* (1992); Tessa S., *The Prints of Michael Rothenstein* (1993).

[Charles Samuel Spencer]

ROTHENSTEIN, SIR WILLIAM (1872–1945), British painter. Rothenstein was a distinguished English impressionist and an outstanding teacher. Born in Bradford, England, the son of a German-born businessman, Rothenstein was educated at Bradford Grammar School and the Slade School of Art, and then spent a year at a Paris art school, where he met Degas, Pissarro and Whistler. On his return, he spent some time in Oxford, where he produced the series of lithographs, *Oxford Characters* (1893–96). He became a leading personality of the fin de siècle, a friend of Max Beerbohm, Aubrey Beardsley, and Oscar Wilde, and a contributor to the *Yellow Book*.

During World War I, he served as an official war artist and, from 1917 to 1920, held the post of professor of civic art at the University of Sheffield. He attained his greatest prominence, however, as principal of the Royal College of Art, London (1920–35). During World War II, he was attached to the Royal Air Force as an artist. Rothenstein chiefly painted portraits, still lifes and landscapes. Among his work is a group of Jewish subjects and synagogue interiors, such as *The Talmud School* (1904) and *Carrying the Law* (1909). He wrote a number of books, mostly portraits of eminent contemporaries. His two autobiographical works, *Men and Memories* (1931–32) and *Since Fifty* (1934), offer vivid descriptions of artists and events he knew. He was knighted in 1934. Rothenstein helped many impoverished Jewish artists and other artists in need. Volumes of his correspondence with Max Beerbohm and Rabindrinath Tagore were published in 1972 and 1975.

His son SIR JOHN ROTHENSTEIN (1901–1992), who was educated at Bedales and Oxford, was director of the Tate Gallery, London (1938–64). He had no connection with the Jewish community and converted to Christianity. He wrote three volumes of autobiography, published in 1965–70.

A younger brother of William Rothenstein, ALBERT DANIEL (1881–1953), who changed his name to Rutherston during World War I, was also an artist and illustrator who designed an imaginative *Haggadah* (1930). Another son, Michael *Rothenstein (1908–1993), was a prominent printmaker.

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[Charles Samuel Spencer]

ROTHKO, MARK (1903–1970), U.S. painter. Born Marcus Rothkowitz in Dvinsk, Russia, Rothko immigrated to the United States in 1913 with his family, settling in Portland, Oregon. He attended Yale University on a scholarship (1921–23), but after two years he moved to New York and briefly studied at the Art Students League, notably with Max *Weber. In 1928 the former yeshivah student was commissioned to draw maps for Rabbi Lewis Browne's book *The Graphic Bible*. Rothko also supported himself by teaching art to children at the Brooklyn Jewish Center, a position he held from 1929 until 1952. He found success early with expressionistic, painterly, representational canvases, shown in his first group exhibition at the Opportunity Galleries (1928) and his first one-man show at the Contemporary Arts Gallery (1933), both in New York. As a member of The Ten, an artist-group that he co-founded in 1935 with Adolph *Gottlieb and *Ben-Zion, and affiliated with for five years, Rothko exhibited imagery stimulated by aspects of mythology, and at times Christian iconography, such as the crucifixion. He worked as a Works Progress Administration artist from 1936 to 1937.

In the early 1940s Rothko fell under the influence of Surrealism, often making images comprised of organic forms. At the end of the decade Rothko painted fully abstract imagery with an oil technique that approximated his watercolor experimentations in the mid-1940s. Typical of Rothko's signature style is *Green and Tangerine on Red* (1956, Phillips Collection, Washington, D.C.), a large canvas consisting of two flat, rectangular shapes of thin color. Filling the canvas, the nearly translucent hues seem to float on the surface of the composition. Rothko exploited this formula with differing color variations, size of colorfields, and application of the paint to convey an array of sensations, ranging from meditative to ominous. By 1961 Rothko was a celebrated artist who enjoyed a retrospective at the Museum of Modern Art in New York City.

Rothko received several public commissions, including the artwork for an octagonal chapel in Houston, Texas. Decorated with 14 canvases in nuanced shades of black and maroon, the Rothko Chapel was dedicated in February 1971, a year after the artist committed suicide.

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[Samantha Baskind (2nd ed.)]

ROTHMUELLER, AARON MARKO (1908–1993), baritone and composer. Born in Trnjani, Yugoslavia, Rothmueller studied composition with Alban Berg in Vienna. He sang opera in Europe. He lived in England but after World War II moved to the United States and in 1952 was appointed professor of music at the University of Indiana. His compositions include *Four Sephardic Folksongs, Three Palestinian Folksongs, Three Palestinian Love Songs*, a setting of Psalm 15, and *In Memory of C.N. Bialik* for violin, viola and cello. He wrote *Die Musik der Juden* (1951; *The Music of the Jews*, 1953).

ROTHSCHILD, family of financiers and philanthropists, patrons of the arts and sciences who greatly contributed to Jewish causes, particularly to the settlement of Ereẓ Israel and the State of Israel. (See charts: Rothschild Family).Over the years their name became a byword for opulence and munificence, serving both as a positive symbol of Jewish wealth, influence, and philanthropy, among the Jewish masses, particularly in Eastern Europe (see, e.g., in *Shalom Aleichem's stories) and as a negative, sinister symbol in antisemitic literature and propaganda, which used it as tangible "proof" for the existence of an international plutocracy.

The Founding Branch

The family name is derived from a red shield which once hung in front of the house of ISAAC ELHANAN (d. 1585), grandson of URI (d. c. 1500), first recorded member of the family, in Frankfurt; though the grandson of Isaac Elhanan left the house, his descendants continued to bear the surname. Until the birth of MAYER AMSCHEL (1744–1812), son of AMSCHEL MOSES ROTHSCHILD, the Rothschilds were undistinguished merchants and communal servants. Mayer Amschel began trading in antiques and old coins and in money changing and thus in 1764 began doing business with the future Landgrave William IX of Hesse-Kassel, an avid coin collector and heir

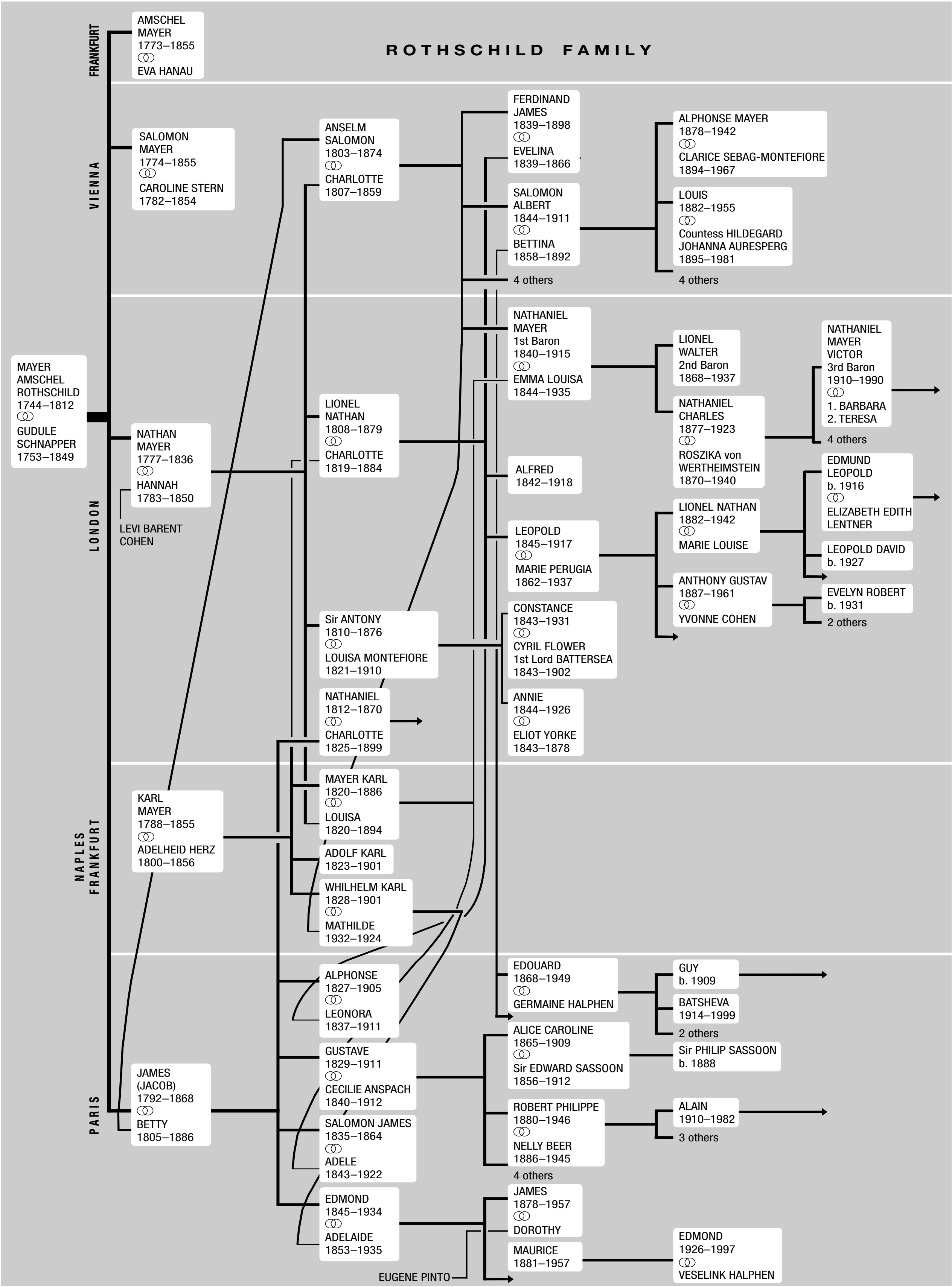
ROTHSCHILD FAMILY
FRANKFURT
VIENNA
LONDON
NAPLES
FRANKFURT
PARIS
MAYER AMSCHEL ROTHSCHILD 1744–1812 ⚭ GUDULE SCHNAPPER 1753–1849
AMSCHEL MAYER 1773–1855 ⚭ EVA HANAU
SALOMON MAYER 1774–1855 ⚭ CAROLINE STERN 1782–1854
NATHAN MAYER 1777–1836 ⚭ HANNAH 1783–1850
LEVI BARENT COHEN
KARL MAYER 1788–1855 ⚭ ADELHEID HERZ 1800–1856
JAMES (JACOB) 1792–1868 ⚭ BETTY 1805–1886
ANSELM SALOMON 1803–1874 ⚭ CHARLOTTE 1807–1859
LIONEL NATHAN 1808–1879 ⚭ CHARLOTTE 1819–1884
Sir ANTONY 1810–1876 ⚭ LOUISA MONTEFIORE 1821–1910
NATHANIEL 1812–1870 ⚭ CHARLOTTE 1825–1899
MAYER KARL 1820–1886 ⚭ LOUISA 1820–1894
ADOLF KARL 1823–1901
WHILHELM KARL 1828–1901 ⚭ MATHILDE 1932–1924
ALPHONSE 1827–1905 ⚭ LEONORA 1837–1911
GUSTAVE 1829–1911 ⚭ CECILIE ANSPACH 1840–1912
SALOMON JAMES 1835–1864 ⚭ ADELE 1843–1922
EDMOND 1845–1934 ⚭ ADELAIDE 1853–1935
EUGENE PINTO
FERDINAND JAMES 1839–1898 ⚭ EVELINA 1839–1866
SALOMON ALBERT 1844–1911 ⚭ BETTINA 1858–1892
4 others
NATHANIEL MAYER 1st Baron 1840–1915 ⚭ EMMA LOUISA 1844–1935
ALFRED 1842–1918
LEOPOLD 1845–1917 ⚭ MARIE PERUGIA 1862–1937
CONSTANCE 1843–1931 ⚭ CYRIL FLOWER 1st Lord BATTERSEA 1843–1902
ANNIE 1844–1926 ⚭ ELIOT YORKE 1843–1878
EDOUARD 1868–1949 ⚭ GERMAINE HALPHEN
ALICE CAROLINE 1865–1909 ⚭ Sir EDWARD SASSOON 1856–1912
ROBERT PHILIPPE 1880–1946 ⚭ NELLY BEER 1886–1945
4 others
JAMES 1878–1957 ⚭ DOROTHY
MAURICE 1881–1957
ALPHONSE MAYER 1878–1942 ⚭ CLARICE SEBAG-MONTEFIORE 1894–1967
LOUIS 1882–1955 ⚭ Countess HILDEGARD JOHANNA AURESPERG 1895–1981
4 others
LIONEL WALTER 2nd Baron 1868–1937
NATHANIEL CHARLES 1877–1923 ⚭ ROSZIKA von WERTHEIMSTEIN 1870–1940
LIONEL NATHAN 1882–1942 ⚭ MARIE LOUISE
ANTHONY GUSTAV 1887–1961 ⚭ YVONNE COHEN
GUY b. 1909
BATSHEVA 1914–1999
2 others
Sir PHILIP SASSOON b. 1888
ALAIN 1910–1982
3 others
EDMOND 1926–1997 ⚭ VESELINK HALPHEN
NATHANIEL MAYER VICTOR 3rd Baron 1910–1990 ⚭ 1. BARBARA 2. TERESA
4 others
EDMUND LEOPOLD b. 1916 ⚭ ELIZABETH EDITH LENTNER
LEOPOLD DAVID b. 1927
EVELYN ROBERT b. 1931
2 others

to the largest fortune in Europe. By c. 1769 Mayer Amschel had received the title of court agent and was supplying William with rare coins and printing his own coin catalogs. When William became landgrave in 1785, Mayer Amschel was only one of a dozen Jewish court agents competing for the favor of doing business for a landgrave who lent large sums to other rulers. Mayer Amschel managed to increase his share of financial transactions very gradually: his close connections with William IX's confidential financial adviser, C.F. Buderus (who eventually became his silent partner), were of inestimable importance in securing the confidence of the landgrave.

The major breakthrough occurred after the Battle of Jena (1806): exiled from his country, William IX entrusted NATHAN MAYER (1777–1836), Mayer Amschel's son in London, with the purchase of huge amounts of British securities. By discreet and brilliant speculation Nathan succeeded in amassing a fortune without damaging the landgrave's interests. Nathan Mayer had originally settled in Manchester in 1798, a commission agent dealing in cotton goods, but he moved to London in 1808. In 1806 he married Hannah, the daughter of Levi Barent *Cohen and sister of Moses *Montefiore's wife. He rapidly became the outstanding figure on the London Stock Exchange. His prime activity was that of helping the government cover the costs of Wellington's army in Spain, including transporting immense sums even through the heart of France. In this endeavor he was helped by his brother James (see below) in Paris, while the father and the elder son, Amschel Mayer (see below), remained in Frankfurt. Another major cooperative undertaking was transmitting the British bullion subsidy to the continental allies in the last stages of the Napoleonic wars. After the Congress of Vienna the Rothschilds were instrumental in transmitting the French war indemnity (£120,000,000) to the allies and participated in the many governmental reconstruction loans and bond issues. By the time of his death Nathan Rothschild was one of the very richest men in Britain, worth an estimated £5 million, and had become a legendary figure in British finance. In this period two Rothschild brothers established themselves in Vienna and Naples.

Carl Mayer (1788–1855), founded the Italian branch in Naples in 1821, in the aftermath of the suppression of an anti-Bourbon uprising by Austrian troops. He loaned large sums to Sardinia, Sicily, and Naples, the Papal States, and other lesser duchies. His four sons all married members of the Rothschild family. ADOLF CARL (1823–1901) succeeded him as head of the Italian branch but returned to Frankfurt upon the unification of Italy. Another son of Mayer Amschel, SALOMON MAYER (1774–1855), moved to Vienna in 1816, where he was soon on very friendly terms with *Metternich (during the 1848 Revolution he was accused of helping Metternich to escape) and was thus able to ignore or overcome the various discriminations to which Jews were subjected in Vienna and Austria (since a Jew was not allowed to purchase a house, he rented a whole hotel); in addition he had to contend with the rivalry of the established banking houses, foremost of which were the *Arnstein and *Eskeles firms. In 1822 he was ennobled. He was soon participating in the floating of government bonds. His main achievement was building Austria's first railroad and establishing the Oesterreichische Kreditanstalt, with which his descendants were closely connected and which later became Austria's state bank. Salomon was succeeded by ANSELM SALOMON (1803–1874), who was appointed to the Austrian House of Lords in 1861 and had married a daughter of Nathan Mayer Rothschild of London. He was succeeded by his son SALOMON ALBERT (1844–1911), noted for his philanthropic and artistic interests. His sons, ALPHONSE MAYER (1878–1942) and LOUIS (1882–1955), were forced to witness the decline of the firm in the political and economic upheavals of the post-World War I era. Two days after the *Anschluss*, Louis was arrested and held hostage for a year until he was finally released through a combination of ransom and informal financial pressure exerted by international banks. After his departure the Austrian Rothschild branch was liquidated. The Wittkowitz coal mines in Czechoslovakia, among the largest in Central Europe, were transferred to British and neutral holdings before the Munich agreement. The Nazis were thus unable to confiscate them, but were able to pressure the Rothschilds into selling the mines for one-third of their value. The sale did not go into effect because of the outbreak of World War II, and after the end of the war the Rothschilds were able to receive partial compensation from the Czech government.

Amschel Mayer (1773–1855), continued to head the paternal Frankfurt branch. He loaned large amounts to many German rulers and took steps to have the **Leibzoll* abolished in Bavaria and other German states. Very pious, he furnished the financial backing for the secessionist Orthodox community of S.R. *Hirsch in Frankfurt. The Frankfurt house was attacked during the *Hep! Hep! disturbances, and again during the 1848 Revolution, when anticapitalist, antisemitic, and democratic feelings coalesced against the Rothschilds. Amschel was succeeded by his nephew MAYER CARL (1820–1886) from Naples, who was elected to the North German Reichstag in 1867, and appointed to the Prussian Upper Chamber shortly thereafter, the first of the only two Jews ever to receive the honor. The conservative Mayer Carl had long been pro-Prussian and had recommended Gerson *Bleichroeder to *Bismarck as his private banker. The Bleichroeder bank continued to maintain close connections with the Rothschilds, often serving as their agents in Berlin. Amschel's other nephew, WILHELM KARL (1828–1901), was sole head after his brother's death. After his death the Frankfurt branch was discontinued.

[Henry Wasserman]

The French Branch

JAMES JACOB ROTHSCHILD (1792–1868), the youngest of the brothers, settled in Paris in 1812 as an agent of Nathan Mayer and founded there the firm of Rothschild Frères. From then on, apart from its banking activities, the Rothschild family took a great interest in the activities of the Jewish community in Paris and later in the whole of France. The Rothschilds were particularly active from 1840 in connection with the *Damascus affair and later in the work of the Jewish *Consistory of Paris, the Central Consistory of the Jews of France, and the Jewish Charity Committee of Paris which later became the Paris Jewish Committee for Social Work. James de Rothschild presented to the community of Paris the Rothschild Hospital, which is still in existence. James, who was financier to both the Bourbon and Orléans kings of France, weathered the 1848 Revolution to serve Napoleon III. A pioneer railroad entrepreneur, he feuded with the rival *Fould and *Pereire brothers for governmental railway concessions. A railway accident released a flood of antisemitic literature, popularizing the slogan "Rothschild Ier, Roi des Juifs." His wife Betty, a noted philanthropist, was friend and patron of Heinrich *Heine. James also maintained close business connections with Leopold I of Belgium. His son ALPHONSE (1827–1905) became head of the French house in 1854 and president of the board of directors of the family's *Chemin de Fer du Nord* in 1869. After the defeat of France in 1870/71 Alphonse led war indemnity negotiations with the Prussians and guaranteed their rapid payment. A syndicate of French bankers, partly motivated by antisemitic sentiments, unsuccessfully sought to challenge the French house in the 1870s. Alphonse's philanthropy, benefiting both Jews and gentiles, was on an immense scale. GUSTAVE (1829–1911), another of James's sons, was president of the Paris Consistory for over 40 years. A third son, Edmond de *Rothschild (1845–1934), gave crucial support to the early settlements in Ereẓ Israel, an expression of his lifelong devotion to Zion and the Jewish people. The son and grandson of Alphonse, EDOUARD (1868–1949) and GUY (b. 1909), and the son and grandson of Gustave, ROBERT PHILIPPE (1880–1946) and ALAIN (1910–1982), were presidents of the Central and Paris Consistories. Alain also became president of the Fonds Social Juif Unifié (FSJU). Guy was president of the Comité de Solidarité avec Israel (1956). Edouard's daughter BETHSABÉE (Batsheva, 1914–1999), founded the *Batsheva Dance Company in Tel Aviv in 1964. In addition to the Bathsheva Dance Company, Bathsheva de Rothschild founded the Bat-Dor Dance Company, which combines classical ballet and modern dance, in 1967. Among her other endeavors were the project to translate ancient literature into Hebrew, a music library in Tel Aviv, and a fund for loans and grants to students, outstanding young Israeli scholars, and immigrant scholars. She received the Israel Prize in 1989 for special contribution in national and social fields. Edmond's eldest son James de *Rothschild (1878–1957) left France to settle in England, where he continued his father's activities, which were later taken over by Dorothy de Rothschild (1895–1988), the widow of James de Rothschild. EDMOND (1926–1997), grandson of the first Edmond, was also president of the Comité de Solidarité avec Israel (1967). The Germans made efforts to capture members of the family in 1940, but all escaped and passed the war in England or the U.S. Guy joined the Free French and was an adjutant to De Gaulle's military governor of Paris at the end of the war.

[Simon R. Schwarzfuchs]

The English Branch

Nathan Mayer's son, LIONEL NATHAN (1808–1879), led the struggle for Jewish emancipation; after having first been elected to parliament in 1847 (as a Liberal), he finally took his seat as the first Jewish member in 1858 after the passing of the Jews' Disabilities Bill. He remained a member of Parliament (with a short break in 1868–69) until 1874. As head of the banking house at New Court, he was responsible for many government loans, including those for the relief of the Irish famine, the Crimean War, and the purchase of the Khedive's Suez Canal shares. The character of Sidonia in Benjamin Disraeli's *Coningsby* is an idealized portrait of him. His wife CHARLOTTE (1819–1884; daughter of Baron CARL MAYER VON ROTHSCHILD of Naples) collaborated in his philanthropic ventures, being particularly concerned with the Jews' Free School (a special interest of the family). He acquired a great mansion at Tring, Hertfordshire, and was a considerable landowner. He left a personal fortune of £2.7 million at his death. His brother SIR ANTHONY (1810–1876), an English baronet as well as an Austrian baron, lived as a country gentleman (all the Rothschilds of the second generation acquired estates on the Buckinghamshire-Bedfordshire borders) but was also active in the Jewish community: he was the first president of the *United Synagogue. He was granted an English baronetcy (a hereditary knighthood) in 1846. His daughters ANNIE (1844–1926) and CONSTANCE (1843–1931) respectively married (after his death) the Hon. Eliot Yorke and the politician Cyril Flower, later Lord Battersea.

Lionel Nathan's eldest son, NATHANIEL (Natty) MAYER, FIRST BARON ROTHSCHILD (1840–1915), succeeded as head of the firm and effective lay head of Anglo-Jewry, holding the presidency of the United Synagogue and many other offices. Created the first Jewish peer in 1885, he was lord-lieutenant of Buckinghamshire. A governor of the Bank of England and director of many companies, he was the only Jewish member of the Royal Commission on Aliens and firmly resisted attempts to limit immigration. He and his brothers, ALFRED (1842–1918), who was interested in the arts, and LEOPOLD (1845–1917), a sportsman and communal worker, were personal friends of the Prince of Wales, later Edward VII. Their cousin FERDINAND JAMES (1839–1898), of the Viennese branch but born in Paris, married the first Lord Rothschild's sister EVELINA (1839–1866), who died in childbirth and was commemorated by her husband in the Evelina Hospital for Sick Children in London and the Evelina de Rothschild School in Jerusalem. Ferdinand, who became a British subject and a member of parliament, was an art collector and connoisseur and builder of the fabulous Waddesdon Manor. He was the first Rothschild to be visited at his home by Queen Victoria. He was active in communal work, including service as a synagogue warden. While the first Lord Rothschild was not sympathetic to Zionism, though impressed by Theodor Herzl's personality, the second baron, LIONEL WALTER (1868–1937), a distinguished naturalist who owned a private zoo, was a Zionist and the recipient in 1917 of the *Balfour Declaration.

Leopold's sons were LIONEL NATHAN (1882–1942), president of the United Synagogue, and ANTHONY GUSTAV (1887–1961), who was prominent in hospital administration. In the next generation, EDMUND LEOPOLD (1916–), nephew of the second baron, succeeded Anthony Gustav as head of the firm and held high communal office. His cousin Nathaniel Mayer Victor *Rothschild (1910–1990), the third baron, was a distinguished biologist. In 1868 HANNAH ROTHSCHILD (1851–1890), the daughter of Baron Mayer de Rothschild, married Archibald Primrose, later fifth Earl of Rosebery (1847–1929), a leading Liberal politician who served as Britain's prime minister in 1894–95. The Jewish community was generally highly critical of the marriage of the leading Rothschild heiress to a prominent gentile. Their son, (ALBERT) HARRY MAYER ARCHIBALD PRIMROSE, sixth Earl of Rosebery (1882–1974) was a leading landowner and racehorse owner who served in the 1945 Conservative Cabinet as secretary of state for Scotland.

Between the world wars, the development of other major banking concerns and high taxation reduced the relative importance of the Rothschilds' financial power. So, too, did a series of political events – the loss of such traditional areas of endeavor as Russia (from 1917) and Germany (from 1933) – and changes in the nature of government finance, with individual merchant banks becoming less prominent than previously, as governments increasingly financed their own projects directly. Before and during World War II the Nazis set special value upon expropriating the Rothschilds. The ownership of their property had, however, often been legally transferred in time to holding companies in neutral or noncombatant countries, or secured by other means. After World War II, however, the Rothschilds adapted themselves to the new opportunities in merchant banking, building modern offices at New Court, running unit trusts, acquiring great interests in Canada, and investing in films and television. In America, where few Rothschild investments were made, their agent in the 1840s was August *Belmont, financier and politician. Belmont warned against any recognition of the Confederacy and the Frankfurt Rothschilds were active in the acquisition and sale of Northern bonds.

In charity and philanthropy, the Rothschilds continued to give unostentatiously to many causes, the third baron, for instance, financing educational television in Israel. James de *Rothschild, son of Baron Edmond de Rothschild, settled in England and became a Liberal MP. He inherited Waddesdon from Ferdinand and left the estate to the nation, as well as a fortune to various causes in Israel. However, members of the family have increasingly married non-Jews and their share in the management of the affairs of the British Jewish community has diminished.

[Vivian David Lipman]

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ROTHSCHILD, BARON EDMOND JAMES DE (1845–1934), philanthropist, patron of Jewish settlement in Ereẓ Israel, and art collector. Rothschild was born in Paris (see *Rothschild family). In contrast to his two older brothers, Edmond was not given to banking, and from his youth was devoted to humanist and cultural matters, especially art. His art collection, which occupied him throughout his life, brought him fame as an art expert, and he was elected to the Institut des Beaux Arts in Paris. He was close to both Jewish and non-Jewish intellectuals in France. In 1877 he married Adelaide the daughter of Wilhelm Carl Rothschild, who was known for his extreme religiosity and his unwillingness to become involved with matters concerning Ereẓ Israel.

"I have always been concerned with the future of Judaism," Rothschild wrote in an autobiographical letter dated 1928. He only began public activity in the Jewish sphere, however, after the pogroms in Russia in the 1880s. He was on the French Committee to Aid the Emigration of Refugees and became involved in affairs concerning Ereẓ Israel only after the founding of the first settlements and the first overtures from settlers and members of Ḥovevei Zion in Europe. It is known that as early as 1873 he was influenced by *La Femme de Claude*, a play by Alexandre Dumas *fils*, which advocated the return of the Jewish people to the Land of Israel; Dumas reiterated this idea in a letter to Rothschild (published in part by Nahum *Sokolow, without revealing the name of the recipient, in *History of Zionism*, 2 (1919), 263–5). When the first settlements in Ereẓ Israel faced a financial crisis serious enough to endanger their existence, the leaders of *Rishon le-Zion turned to Rothschild, together with Samuel *Mohilewer through the mediation of Chief Rabbi Zadoc *Kahn in Paris. The result of these appeals was Rothschild's support for the settlements Rishon le-Zion and Zikhron Ya'akov and afterward the founding of the settlement Ekron. During 1883–84, the first settlements began to be patronized by Rothschild. Due to his desire to remain anonymous in this venture, he was known by a cover name "Ha-Nadiv ha-Yadu'a" ("the Well-Known Benefactor"), and in Ereẓ Israel and the Ḥovevei Zion groups this name became better known than his real one. His aid to the first settlements saved them from collapse, as testified to by Peretz *Smolenskin and Moses *Lilienblum at the time.

Rothschild himself later defined his activities as “not merely philanthropy, but something entirely different.” For decades, including the era of Theodor *Herzl’s activity, Rothschild advocated “quiet” settlement work as the basis for a promising future, and only after World War I did he join the political activity of the Zionist Organization (aiding Chaim *Weizmann and Sokolow in particular).

Rothschild’s patronage was of two types: the first was full (Rishon le-Zion, Zikhron Ya’akov, Rosh Pinnah, and Ekron) and the second was partial (Petaḥ Tikvah and others). He became the major address for all problems in the *yishuv*, large and small alike, to such a degree that he became known as the “Father of the *Yishuv*.” All the agricultural experiments carried out in the settlements by French experts were covered by his funds. His support was implemented by a bureaucracy, mostly staffed by Frenchmen whose mentality was alien to that of the settlers. This caused sharp antagonism that even reached the level of revolt in several settlements. This type of bureaucratic patronage was the greatest problem of the Jewish settlements during a 20-year period and aroused sharp criticism. However, in retrospect it is recognized that Rothschild’s bureaucracy also played a positive role. It introduced new plant species into Jewish agriculture and instructed the first settlers in the agriculture of the country.

Rothschild’s first visits to Ereẓ Israel (1887, 1893, 1899) were devoted to tours of the settlements, investigating the rate of development, and demanding self-labor in the settlements, modest living standards, the speaking of Hebrew, and a concern for religious tradition. In addition, lands were purchased on his orders for new agricultural settlement (in the Golan and Hauran, among other places). In the 1890s Rothschild came into conflict with Herzl and with the Ḥovevei Zion in Russia. Herzl read his “Address to the Rothschild Family” to him, but no common denominator could be found between Rothschild’s settlement methods and the notion of a charter, which symbolized Herzl’s political Zionism. The second conflict was with the Russian Ḥovevei Zion, and particularly *Aḥad Ha-Am, over the patronage system. Aḥad Ha-Am denounced this system of settlement in his famous article “Ha-*Yishuv ve-Apotropsav*” (1902). Before the publication of this article, a delegation of Ḥovevei Zion from Russia, including Aḥad Ha-Am, and representatives of the settlements visited Rothschild (May 14, 1901) and demanded that the patronage system cease. The result of these conflicts was the transfer of Rothschild’s settlements to the supervision of the *Jewish Colonization Association (ICA) in 1900, together with a grant of 14,000,000 francs. The transaction covered about 250,000 dunams (62,500 acres) and a network of 12 settlements, most of which, due to Rothschild’s support, were ready to become self-supporting.

Under ICA the settlements expanded, to a large degree with Rothschild’s direct and indirect support. In 1914, during Rothschild’s fourth visit, he expressed satisfaction with his settlement activities, which had also influenced other settlements, especially those of the Zionist Organization. In addition to his agricultural settlement activity, Rothschild played a major role in the development of the wine industry in Ereẓ Israel (see *Israel, State of: Wine Industry), was a cosponsor of the Palestine Electric Corporation, the founder of smaller industries, and contributed funds to the establishment of the Hebrew University. Against the background of this practical work, Rothschild grew closer to the Zionist Organization after his return from this visit. He told Weizmann, “Without me, the Zionists could have done nothing; but without the Zionists, my work would have been dead” (Ch. Weizmann, *Trial and Error*, p. 165). In turn, Weizmann stated that Rothschild was “far-sighted in his political and national thought.” The road to cooperation between Rothschild and the Zionists was paved during World War I and especially toward its end, with the preparatory work for the *Balfour Declaration. Rothschild softened the objections of the assimilationists in France to the political activity of the Zionist Organization.

Toward the end of World War I, Rothschild’s son James arrived in Ereẓ Israel with the British army and was among the recruiters for the Jewish battalions in the *yishuv.* Rothschild expressed his joy at “seeing his heir carrying on his great work, to which he was completely devoted.” Toward the end of 1923, his work was again reorganized. Rothschild founded the Palestine Jewish Colonization Association (*PICA) headed by his son James, which continued the settlement activity, particularly in Samaria. The first settlement founded in Samaria, Binyamina, bore Rothschild’s Hebrew name (Avraham Binyamin). According to Rothschild’s instructions, the main purpose of PICA was to found new settlements. He visited the country in 1924 and finally in 1925, when he gave a speech in Tel Aviv containing his credo about settlement activity over the decades. He combined economic foundations with cultural, spiritual, and political motivations. Rothschild won the admiration and appreciation of all sectors of the *yishuv* and the Zionist Organization, as expressed in Weizmann’s comment: “In my opinion he was the leading political Zionist of our generation.” David *Ben-Gurion said of him: “Until his appearance in the arena of settlement activity and until this very day [1954], there is no one whose personal role in cultivating and expanding settlement can match with his.”

With the enlargement of the *Jewish Agency (1929), Rothschild was chosen its honorary president, and until his last days he maintained an avid interest in all activities, large and small, in the *yishuv*. Rothschild died in Paris, a year before his wife. He left nearly 500,000 dunams (125,000 acres) and almost 30 settlements in his wake. In 1954 his remains and those of his wife were reinterred in Ramat ha-Nadiv, near Zikhron Ya’akov.

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[Getzel Kressel]

ROTHSCHILD, FRIEDRICH SALOMON (**Sally**; 1899–1995), psychiatrist. Rothschild was born in Giessen near Frankfurt. In 1925 he joined Frieda *Fromm-Reichmann in her psychiatric sanatorium in Heidelberg, where he studied psychoanalysis and was analyzed by Erich *Fromm. From the beginning of his career, Rothschild was concerned with problems of mind-body relations, especially the relation between emotions, perceptions, and thought of man and his central nervous system.

His first paper, written at the age of 23 (published in 1924), was concerned with the dysfunction of the brain in psychotic and neurotic states ("Die primaere Insuffizienz der nervoesen Organe"). He became increasingly dissatisfied with contemporary concepts in psychiatry and neurology, as far as their usefulness to problems of mind-body relations were concerned. Under the influence of Ludwig Klages, creator of modern graphology, Rothschild's study extended to the fields of the science of expression: mime, pantomime, physiognomy and graphology. His book *Symbolik des Hirnbaus* (1935; "The Symbolism of Brain Structure") is built upon these ideas, and a later work, *Das Zentralnervensystem als Symbol des Erlebens* (1958), related these theories to developments in science such as cybernetics, neurophysiology, and communications theory.

Rothschild went to Palestine in 1936. In 1948 he became associated with Lipman *Halpern in the department of neurology at the Hebrew University. In 1955 he was appointed clinical associate professor of psychiatry.

[Louis Miller]

ROTHSCHILD, JACOB M. (1911–1973), U.S. rabbi and civil rights organizer. Rothschild was born in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, and earned his B.A. from the University of Cincinnati in 1932. He was ordained in 1936 at *Hebrew Union College, which also awarded him an honorary D.D. in 1960. His first pulpits were with Temple Emanuel of Davenport, Iowa (1936–67) and Rodef Shalom Congregation in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania (1937–42). In 1942, he entered the United States Army as a chaplain, spending more than a year in the Pacific theatre and seeing infantry combat with the American Division on Guadalcanal. In 1946, he became rabbi of Hebrew Benevolent Congregation (The Temple) in Atlanta, Georgia, where he served until his death.

Rothschild was a courageous voice, championing civil rights during a turbulent era in the South. He and his family received threats of violence, and a bomb exploded at the Temple in 1958. He remained steadfast and was instrumental in convincing the city of Atlanta to honor Martin Luther King, Jr., when he won the Nobel Peace Prize in 1964. Rothschild was also an interfaith activist who served on the executive board of the National Conference of Christians and Jews, established an Institute for the Christian Clergy, and was a founding member of the Atlanta Community Relations Commission, in addition to serving as vice president of the Greater Atlanta Council on Human Relations (1962–26). In the Jewish community, Rothschild served terms as president of both the Atlanta Rabbinical Association and the Atlanta Federation for Jewish Social Services (1954–57). In the Reform movement, he served on the executive board of the *Central Conference of American Rabbis (1953–55) and as chairman of the CCAR's Commission on Justice and Peace (1954–56). Subsequently, he was named to the Board of Governors of Hebrew Union College–Jewish Institute of Religion (1962–64) and to the Board of Trustees of the *Union of American Hebrew Congregations (1966–8). A member of the Advisory Committee of the Religious Action Center of Reform Judaism and of the Advisory Board of the Southeast Region of the Anti-Defamation League, he was honored twice by the ADL, receiving the Citation of Merit Award in 1964 and the Abe Goldstein Human Relations Award in 1968, the same year he was the recipient of Clergyman of the Year Award by the National Conference of Christians and Jews.

[Bezalel Gordon (2nd ed.)]

ROTHSCHILD, JAMES ARMAND DE (1878–1957), British politician, Zionist and philanthropist. Born in Paris, the son of Baron Edmond de *Rothschild, he was taken to England at an early age and became a British subject. Rothschild served with distinction in France during World War I and was then transferred with the rank of major to General *Allenby's staff in the Middle East. He was sent to Palestine to recruit volunteers for the Palestinian battalion of the *Jewish Legion (the Royal Fusiliers). When the *Zionist Commission arrived in Palestine (1918), he was seconded to it as liaison officer, and from that time on his interest in Palestine never flagged. In 1924 he was appointed president for life of the newly-founded Palestine Jewish Colonization Association (*PICA), which was largely financed by his father. He also took an active interest in other enterprises in Palestine, including the Palestine Electric Corporation, the Hebrew University, and excavations at *Hazor, which he sponsored.

In 1929 Rothschild was elected to Parliament (as Liberal member for the Isle of Ely), and he held this seat until 1945. Although he generally did not take a very active part in parliamentary debates, he participated vigorously in the debates on both the Passfield and MacDonald White Papers (see *White Papers). On both occasions, he attacked British policy, accusing it of failing to fulfill the terms of the Mandate. In a speech on the MacDonald White Paper, Rothschild proposed that Palestine be made into a British colony, claiming that this was the only way to preserve the rights of both Jews and Arabs and prevent domination of one part of the population by the other. His effectiveness as a member of Parliament was probably hampered by the fact that he was a Liberal, the party having only a handful of members in Parliament. After his death, his widow informed the Israeli prime minister of the termination of the work of PICA (which was taken over by the Israel government). At the same time, the sum of IL6,000,000 was donated for the construction of a new Knesset building in Jerusalem.

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[Israel Philipp]

ROTHSCHILD, KURT (1920–), Canadian businessman and philanthropist. Rothschild was born into a prominent family in Cologne, Germany, where he attended Jewish schools. In 1938 he escaped Nazi Germany to England. In 1940 he became one of thousands of Germans and Austrians rounded up and detained in Britain after the fall of France as Britain feared a German invasion. Rothschild was transferred by ship to Canada, along with more than 2,200 mostly Jewish refugees, where, as an "enemy alien," he spent more than a year in Canadian internment camps. After his Canadian release, Rothschild attended Queen's University in Kingston, Ontario. He graduated in 1946 with a degree in electrical engineering.

Rothschild founded and was chairman of the State Group, a large multi-trade, construction and management company. Through its involvement in a number of commercial construction projects, the State Group helped reshape the Toronto, Winnipeg, Calgary and Vancouver skylines. The firm was also a major contractor to the automotive, steel and petrochemical industries.

Rothschild retired from business in 1987 to devote himself entirely to community service in Israel, Canada, the United States, South America, and Central and Eastern Europe. A fervent supporter of Jewish education, Rothschild was active on the Boards of Yeshiva University, Bar-Ilan University, Jerusalem College of Technology, Yeshivat Hakotel, and Toronto's Eitz Chaim School. He was also an active member of the Canada-Israel Committee and UJA Federation of Toronto. Rothschild's numerous communal leadership positions include chairman of World Mizrachi, president of Canadian Mizrachi, president of Canadian Zionist Federation, member of the Boards of Jerusalem's Sha'arei Zedek Hospital and Mount Sinai Hospital of Toronto.

[Paula Draper (2nd ed.)]

ROTHSCHILD, NATHANIEL CHARLES JACOB, FOURTH BARON ROTHSCHILD (1936–), banker and public figure. Born in London, Jacob Rothschild was educated at Eton and Oxford. He joined the family bank, N.M. Rothschild, in 1964 and by his dynamism revived its fortunes. He left, however, in 1980, after conflict with its head, his cousin Evelyn de Rothschild, over Jacob's conduct of Rothschild Investment Trust. A series of mergers which he subsequently masterminded led to the creation of the influential financial institution Charterhouse J. Rothschild. From 1971 he was chairman of St. James's Place Capital (formerly J. Rothschild Holdings plc) and from 1980, chairman of Five Arrows Ltd. His activity in public life focused on culture and the arts. From 1985 to 1991, he was chairman of the board of trustees of the National Gallery and in 1992–98 was chairman of the new board of trustees of the National Heritage Memorial Fund. In the House of Lords he sat as an independent. In 1992, the year of the opening of the Israeli Supreme Court building, a gift of Yad Hanadiv, the Rothschild family foundation, he was awarded an honorary Ph.D. from the Hebrew University of Jerusalem (1992) and was made an Honorary Fellow of the City of Jerusalem. In the same year he became president of the Institute of Jewish Affairs.

He succeeded his father as fourth Baron Rothschild in 1990. He was closely involved in the redevelopment of Somerset House, London, as an art gallery, and received several honorary degrees.

[David Cesarani]

ROTHSCHILD, NATHANIEL MAYER VICTOR, LORD (1910–1990), British biologist. A fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge (1935–39), he served in military intelligence during World War II and was awarded the George Medal (1944) and the U.S. Legion of Merit (1946). On his return to civilian life, he pursued research in embryology, particularly on the biochemistry and physiology of the egg and sperm cells. Investigating the reactions leading to fertilization in a series of research projects with M.M. Swann (1949–52), Lord Rothschild showed that fertilization brings about changes in the egg surface which protect the egg against the penetration of additional spermatozoa. His book *Fertilization* (1956) described the fertilization process in invertebrates, vertebrates, and plants. His other publications include *A Classification of Living Animals* (1961, 1965^2). From 1948 to 1958, Lord Rothschild was chairman of the British Agricultural Research Council and from 1950 he was assistant director of research in the department of zoology of Cambridge. In 1965 he became research coordinator of the Royal Dutch Shell Group. Rothschild served as director-general of the Central Policy Review Staff ("Think-Tank") of the British Cabinet Office from 1971 to 1974 and as chairman of the Royal Commission on Gambling from 1976. He was elected a fellow of the Royal Society. Keenly interested in Israel, he was appointed a governor of the Weizmann Institute of Science and of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. He was appointed GBC Knight (Grand Cross of the Order of the British Empire) in 1975. His autobiography *Meditations of a Broomstick* was published in 1977.

See *Rothschild family.

[Mordecai L. Gabriel and Henry Wasserman]

ROTHSCHILD, ROBERT PHINEAS (1914–2000), Canadian soldier. Rothschild was born in the small town of Cochrane, Ontario. He received his secondary education in Montreal before entering the Royal Military College of Canada in Kingston in 1932. Fellow students nicknamed him "the baron" though he was unrelated to the European Rothschilds; he graduated in 1936, then earned a degree at McGill University in mining engineering. In 1938, with war threatening in Europe, he joined the Royal Canadian Horse Artillery as a lieutenant. In June 1940, Rothschild landed in France as part of the First Canadian division and helped cover the British retreat at Dunkirk. He was one of the last Canadian soldiers evacuated from France to Britain five days later. He underwent further training and was promoted to major with the 5th Canadian Armoured division. He landed with the Canadian forces on D-Day, June 6, 1944, and, engaging in heavy fighting, was wounded in action in late July 1944. He returned to the fighting three weeks later, promoted to lieutenant colonel, and participated in the Canadian offensives in northern Europe. Believed to be the highest-ranking Jew in the Canadian Army at the end of World War II, he was twice mentioned in dispatches and was made a Member of the Order of the British Empire; he also was made an Officer of the Order of Orange-Nassau with swords by the Dutch government in 1945.

After the war, Rothschild was appointed director of the Canadian Army Staff College in Kingston, then successfully moved through a series of major staff positions at Canadian military headquarters in Ottawa including quartermaster general of the Canadian Army. He also held several overseas postings. In 1954, he was promoted to the rank of brigadier and later to major general, the first Jewish general in the Canadian Army. He retired from the Army in 1970.

[Gerald Tulchinsky (2nd ed.)]

ROTHSCHILD, WALTER N. (1892–1960), U.S. department-store executive. Rothschild was born in New York City. He began working with his grandfather Abraham *Abraham, a founder of the Brooklyn department store Abraham and Straus. After serving in the Naval Reserve during World War I, he was made general manager of the department store (1925), and under his leadership the store expanded into one of the largest in sales in the city. In 1929 the store came under the holding company Federated Department Stores, Inc., along with *Lazarus of Columbus, Ohio, and Filene's of Boston. Remaining active in the management of Federated and of Abraham and Straus, Rothschild became president of that store in 1937, then chairman (1955), and at his death he was also chairman of Federated Department Stores.

During World War II, Rothschild served as chairman of the Army-Navy Commission of the National Jewish Welfare Board, overseeing activities in England for a time; he was also on the executive commission of the United Service Organization. He served as trustee of the Federation of Jewish Philanthropies, on the executive commission of the American Jewish Committee, and as trustee for several other organizations.

His son WALTER N. ROTHSCHILD JR. (1920–2003) graduated from Harvard in 1942 with a B.A. before enlisting in the U.S. Army in World War II. He served as an army officer in Europe in 1942–46. He joined Abraham and Straus in 1950 and rose to be president (1963–69); in the year he stepped down from that position to pursue a civic career, the store was accounted the third largest in New York City, with annual sales estimated at $250 million. During his presidency at A&S, Rothschild was active as liaison agent between the store and the Brooklyn community, in work for a cleaner urban environment, and in improving the quality of merchandise provided by manufacturers.

He served as trustee of the Federation of Jewish Philanthropies and on several hospital boards, and was a member of the Second Regional Planning Commission. In 1970 he was appointed New York chairman of the Urban Coalition, the national agency devoted to improving urban life (1970–73). He then served as chairman of the National Urban Coalition (1973–77). Rothschild's longstanding interest in providing vocational opportunities for minorities in America was instrumental in the creation of the Ventures Scholars Program, a national nonprofit program designed to promote access to higher learning for young adults interested in pursuing math- and science-based careers.

ROTH-SHACHAMOROV, ESTHER (1952–), Israeli track and field star. Roth was born in Tel Aviv and became the first Israeli athlete to reach an Olympic final. By the ninth grade she had already broken the Israeli hurdles record. At the 1970 Asian Games she won gold medals in the 100m hurdles and pentathlon and silver in the long jump. In 1971 she was sportswoman of the year in Israel and Asia. In 1972 she took part in the Olympic Games in Munich. After she reached the 100m semifinals, her coach, Amitzur Shapira, predicted she would win a medal, but the dream was shattered when he and another 10 Israeli sportsmen were kidnapped and murdered by Palestinian terrorists. Recovering from the tragedy she returned to competition a year later, winning three gold medals at the Ninth Maccabiah Games in 1973 though three months pregnant. Though recovering from a Caesarian delivery she won three more gold medals at the 1974 Asian Games, this time in the 200m dash, the 100m hurdles, and the 100m sprint. In 1976, at the Montreal Olympics, she reached the finals in the 100m hurdles, finishing sixth. This was her last major competition, as Israel was expelled from the Asian Federation for political reasons and then joined the boycott of the 1980 Moscow Olympics. Retiring officially in 1980, she became a track and field coach. In 1999 she was awarded the Israel Prize for her contribution to sports.

[Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

ROTHSTEIN, ARNOLD ("A.R.," "The Brain," "The Fixer"; 1882–1928), U.S. gangster and criminal mastermind, credited with developing the "numbers" racket, centralizing illegal racetrack bookmaking, fixing the 1919 baseball World Series, and developing 20th-century U.S. organized crime during the Prohibition Era. Rothstein was the second of five children born in Manhattan to Esther and Abraham. Abraham, known as "Abe the Just," was a board member of a major Jewish hospital, and was often asked to mediate community and business disputes. Rothstein was jealous of older brother Harry – a pious young man who wanted to become a rabbi – and rejected Jewish tradition in opposition to him. Rothstein began gambling, shooting pool, and lending money illegally at usurious interest rates ("loan-sharking") in his teens. When Rothstein married a Catholic showgirl in Saratoga, New York, his father sat *shiva* for him, and later forbade him to go to synagogue with his brothers to pray for their dying mother. Nonetheless, Rothstein was aware of his Jewishness, used it during his criminal career, and was buried in a Jewish cemetery. Rothstein was heavily involved as a financier or organizer of virtually every U.S. major criminal activity of the early 20th century: gambling, stock market swindles, "rum running" during Prohibition, and illegal drugs. He was a liaison between the crooked Tammany Hall organization that controlled New York City politics for more than a generation and the criminal community. He was a partner of the first generation of U.S. Jewish gangsters, including Irving Wexler (Waxey Gordon), and mentored a generation of future gangsters, including Meyer *Lansky, Charles Lucania (Lucky Luciano), and Louis (Lepke) *Buchalter. Rothstein was involved in but never convicted of fixing the results of the 1919 World Series, as was his alleged bag man, Abe *Attell. Rothstein died of a gunshot wound in 1928 in a shooting that may have been motivated by an unpaid gambling debt but has never been fully explained, and no one was ever convicted for the murder. Rothstein was the inspiration for Meyer Wolfsheim in *The Great Gatsby* and Nathan Detroit in *Guys and Dolls*.

[Alan D. Abbey (2nd ed.)]

ROTHSTEIN, IRMA (1906–1971), U.S. sculptor. Rothstein was born in Rostov, Russia, lived in Vienna, and immigrated to the United States in 1938. Her media included wood, cast stone, terracotta, and bronze. Her sculptures often featured expressive heads and torsos of women. Rothstein's style varied, from references to ancient Greek and Roman sculpture, to a compact, muscular terracotta of a sleeping nude evocative of Gauguin, to a bronze with an exaggerated, elongated neck and slightly tilted head, her haughty stare rendered with an Expressionist economy of means. Her well-known busts include George Bernard Shaw, Ernest Hemingway, and the conductor Dimitri Mitropoulos. She exhibited in New York art galleries, including the Galerie St. Etienne, as well as the American Artists Professional League, the Metropolitan Museum of Art, the Museum of Modern Art, the New School for Social Research, and the Pennsylvania Academy of Art. She belonged to the American Artists Professional League and the National Association of Women Artists. Her work is in the collections of the Beinecke Library, Yale University, the George Walter Smith Museum, Springfield, Massachusetts, and the Newark Museum, New Jersey, among other institutions.

[Nancy Buchwald (2nd ed.)]

ROTTEMBOURG, HENRI (1769–1836), French army officer. Born in Phalsbourg, Moselle, Rottembourg enlisted in the French army in 1784 and fought against Austria from 1792 to 1797. Rottembourg became an officer in Napoleon's Imperial Guard, and fought in Prussia and Poland. He was wounded at the battle of Wagram (1809) but later recovered to serve in Spain and was promoted to major general. He later became inspector general of infantry. After the fall of Napoleon in 1815, Rottembourg was appointed president of the Committee for Infantry by the Bourbon regime. He received numerous honors from both the Napoleonic and Bourbon governments and his name is engraved on the north side of the Arc de Triomphe in Paris.

ROTTOVÁ (Mirovská), INNA (1935–), Czech writer, publicist, and translator. Born in Leningrad (St. Petersburg), U.S.S.R., into a Polish-Czech-Jewish family, she grew up in the Soviet Union (she experienced the siege of Leningrad), where she completed her studies in engineering, although her main interest was music. She married a Czech, studied the Czech language in Prague, and began to write in 1974. She published many stories in numerous literary magazines. After 1989 at least 25 books, collections of stories, short stories, and non-fiction sketches appeared, some of them as detective stories. There are many Jewish themes, characters, and topics in her works, especially in the documentary report *A jiný glóbus nemáte?* ("Don't You Have Another Globe?" 1998) or in *Utajená svatba* ("A Secret Wedding," 2000) and *Tajemný cizinec a jiné židovské pověsti* (1999; French, *Legendes juives*, 1999; German, *Juedische Legenden*, 1999). She was awarded the František Langer Prize and the Society of Agatha Christie Prize. Rottová lived in Prague.

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[Milos Pojar (2nd ed.)]

ROUDNICE NAD LABEM (Ger. **Raudnitz an der Elbe**), town in N. Central Bohemia, Czech Republic. The pogrom of 1541 is the earliest record of Jewish settlement in Roudnice. Twenty-three families lived there in 1570; 14 families in 1592. In 1595 the Jews were granted a charter and owned 16 houses. Thus the town belonged to the four oldest Jewish communities in Bohemia, known as Carvin. In 1610 both the houses and the cemetery had to be abandoned to make way for a monastery that was built there. (Tombstones from the cemetery dated 1610 still existed in 1970.) In 1631, 25 families (90 people) lived in Roudnice. That year, the Jewish community saved the town from being destroyed by the Saxons by paying a large sum of money. Nevertheless, the Saxon army burned down the ghetto. In 1651, there were 218 Jews living in 23 houses. One-third of the Jewish population died during the 1713 plague; but the following year's record stated that 100 Jewish families lived in the town. Yet four years later, another record noted 51 houses. In connection with the expulsion of the Prague community (1744), Roudnice was the scene of the murder of a number of Jews. The eastern part of the ghetto was abolished in 1727–28. Only 45 houses are recorded in 1785 and 63 in 1840. Until 1872 Roudnice was the seat of the district rabbinate. A new synagogue was built in 1853, and the third cemetery was established in 1896. It was closed down in 1885. In the mid-19th century, 176 families lived in the city. In 1893 the community numbered 79 families, according to one source;

according to another, in 1902 the community numbered 448 in 17 localities. In 1910 there were 320 Jews in Roudnice (3.5% of the total population); in 1921 there were 194 (2.2%); and in 1930, 166 (1.7%). When the community was liquidated by the Nazis in 1942, the contents of the synagogue were sent to the Central Jewish Museum in Prague (see *Museums). No congregation was reestablished after World War II. Richard *Feder served as rabbi of Roudnice. In 1953 the 17th-century synagogue was converted into a boarding house.

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[Jan Herman / Yeshayahu Jelinek (2nd ed.)]

ROUEN, former capital of Normandy, capital of the department of Seine-Maritime, northern France. The presence of Jews in Rouen goes back to at least the early 11th century. Under Richard, duke of Normandy, Rouen Jewry suffered from the persecutions that affected the Jews of France in general beginning in 1007 or 1009. A notable of the town, Jacob b. Jekuthiel, interceded with Pope John XVIII, who called for a cessation of the persecutions throughout France. With the exception of Metz, Rouen was the only locality in what is today France where several Jews were put to death and others forced to accept baptism at the time of the First Crusade. At that time, Rouen, like the rest of Normandy, was under the dominion of the English crown. It was probably to these Jews that the English king William II (*Rufus*) granted the legal right to practice their faith. Archaeological discoveries in the 1970s and the study of manuscripts have revealed that, owing to the wrong identification of places mentioned in these manuscripts, many of them relating to Rouen (the capital of Normandy in the Middle Ages) were ascribed to other cities. The ancient Latin name Rothomagus was shortened in the Middle Ages to Rothoma or Rodom and the latter name was then variously transcribed as רודם, רדום and רודום; those names were thereafter often wrongly copied as דרום ("south"), רודם, and דרוס. As a result, many documents and scholars belonging to Rouen were associated with such places as Rhodez in Languedoc and *Dreux, southwest of Paris. Thus, for example, Solomon b. Judah "the Saint" mentioned in the first edition of the Judaica as being at Dreux was actually of Rouen. As a result, Rouen is now known to have been the seat of a much more important Jewish community than was previously assumed. During the 12th century, the Jews of Rouen were placed under the authority of a local bailiff rather than under the commissioner of the Jews of Normandy, who may have been *Peter of Cluny mentioned in a number of documents as the "Jewish king of Rouen." A number of Jews from London owned houses in the Jewish quarter of Rouen, while some Jews of Rouen had debtors in England. Nevertheless, Rouen's Jews were engaged in moneylending to a lesser extent than the Jews of England. The Jewish quarter, the "Rue as Gyeus," became the modern Rue des Juifs. One house at the beginning of the street is said to have served as a synagogue and another as the school. The cemetery, situated outside the town, was referred to as Mont-aux-Juifs.

Rouen's return to French sovereignty in the 12th century appears to have been followed by a decline in the Jewish community, as evidenced by its modest contribution to the poll tax levied on the Jews of Normandy. A new and even smaller community was reestablished in Rouen after 1359. (Its existence is confirmed at the latest in about 1380.) After the "final" expulsion of Jews from France in 1394, there were no Jews in the city until the arrival of some *Marranos at the close of the 16th century. The fate of the community remained uncertain throughout the 17th and 18th centuries. In 1605, 40 *Marrano Jews were living in Rouen, but by 1609 they had dispersed. A few years later a new wave of Marranos followed them. In the new community the family of Gonçalo Pinto Delgado (father of the poet Joâo Pinto *Delgado) played a principal role. In addition to merchants, the community also included several physicians. Although outwardly practicing Christian observances, the Jewish community of Rouen owned its own cemetery. From 1632, however, the so-called "Portuguese merchants" were accused of "Judaizing." In spite of several severe judgments against them, other Marranos continued to arrive in Rouen. In 1648 alone 20 new families settled in the city. Few Jews arriving in Rouen in the 17th century remained there, however. Those who came at the beginning of the 17th century eventually emigrated to Amsterdam, Antwerp, and Hamburg; while those arriving in the second half of the century left to join the new Jewish community in London. By the early 18th century the Marrano community had all but disappeared. In its place, a new Jewish community was established in mid-century, composed almost entirely of Alsatian Jews, who owned a cemetery from at least 1786. Another community was formed immediately after the French Revolution.

[Bernhard Blumenkranz and Norman Golb /
David Weinberg (2nd ed.)]

The Rouen synagogue, destroyed during the bombardment in 1940, was rebuilt by the small community in 1950. The community grew to 500 members in 1960 and, after the influx of Jews from North Africa, numbered around 1,000 in 1971. In 1987, it was estimated that there were 1,200 Jews in the city. Rouen is the seat of a rabbinate.

[Georges Levitte]

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ceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research (1980), 100–1; B. Blumenkranz, *Comptes Rendus de l'Academie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres* (1976), 663–7. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** *Guide du judaïsme français* (1987), 39.

ROUFFACH (Ger. **Rufach**), town in the Haut-Rhin department, E. France. The earliest indication of the presence of Jews in Rouffach dates from 1288. Accused by the townsmen of having expressed support for Emperor Adolf of Nassau, against whom they were at war, the Jews were massacred at the beginning of 1298. By 1308 Jews were again living in the town. Many lost their lives in the *Armleder persecutions of 1338. Having returned to the town at the latest in 1340, they were all massacred at the time of the *Black Death (1349). Since then, there has been neither a Jewish community nor even individual Jews in Rouffach. The *Judenhof* ("Jewish courtyard") mentioned in 1338 possibly refers to the area of the synagogue, which was built in about 1300 and was still in existence in 1970, after having been rediscovered in 1905. The former Judengasse (Jewish Street) is now known as the Hassengasse.

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[Bernhard Blumenkranz]

ROULEAU, ERIC (**Elie Rafoul**; 1926–), journalist and diplomat. Rouleau was born in Cairo. From 1953 to 1960 he was an editor for the Middle East service of the Agence France Presse and from 1956 a reporter for *Le Monde*, writing a column on the Near and Middle East from 1960. In the 1970s he spent some time in the United States; in 1974 he was a research associate at the University of California and in 1978–79 a research associate for the Council of Foreign Affairs in New York and a lecturer at Princeton University. In 1983 he became an adviser to the Television Française 1.

Rouleau is a noted journalist whose recognized expertise is in the areas of the Arab world and Middle Eastern subjects. He has links to excellent sources in Arab countries, particularly in the radical ones. During the course of his career he has interviewed almost all leaders in the Middle East since the 1950s. In 1985 French president Mitterrand appointed him ambassador to Tunisia, but he was forced to resign after a little over a year's service because of opposition to him by the Tunisian government, which considered him to be associated with the opposition and the PLO. In 1988–92 he was ambassador to Turkey and from 1994 Middle East correspondent of *Le Monde*. He published: *Le Troisième combat* (1967), in collaboration with J. Lacouture and O.F. Held, *Biographie de Kurt Waldheim* (1977), *Entretien avec Abu Iyad* (1979), and *Etude sur les Palestiniens* (1984).

[Gideon Kouts]

°**ROUSSEAU, JEAN JACQUES** (1712–1778), French author and philosopher, born in Geneva. The international influence that Rousseau exerted on his contemporaries and on posterity was unequaled in European history until the impact of Karl Marx a century later.

The political ideas of Jean Jacques Rousseau have contributed in large measure to the emancipation of the Jews, at first in France and later in other Western European countries. His educational theories had a direct effect on the *Haskalah movement which developed in Jewish circles during the following century. Rousseau not only demanded equal civic rights for the Jews; he also, uniquely among French writers of the Enlightenment, expressed the hope that they would be restored to a country of their own: "I do not think I have ever heard the arguments of the Jews as to why they should not have a free state, schools, and universities where they can speak and argue without danger. Then alone can we know what they have to say" (*Emile*, Book 4, tr. B. Foxely (1911; repr. 1966), 268). In a page unpublished in his lifetime, Rousseau expressed his admiration for the national qualities of the "eternal people":

"The Jews present us with an outstanding spectacle: the laws of Numa, Lycurgus, and Solon are dead; the far more ancient ones of Moses are still alive. Athens, Sparta, and Rome have perished and all their people have vanished from the earth; though destroyed, Zion has not lost her children. They mingle with all nations but are never lost among them; they no longer have leaders, yet they are still a nation; they no longer have a country and yet they are still citizens…"

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[Leon Poliakov]

ROUSSILLON, region and former province in S. France, corresponding to the present department of Pyrénées-Orientales. In 1172 the county of Roussillon passed to the kings of Aragon and did not become a French possession again until 1642. Names of places such as the Iudegas quarter (territory of Clayra, township of Rivesaltes) or a Villa Iudaicas (near Sainte-Hippolyte), whose existence is confirmed from the 11th century, indicate that there were at that time some Jews in Roussillon. The first documentary evidence of the presence of Jews there, however, dates only from 1185 and concerns a Jew in *Perpignan. Jews lived in Elne, Collioure, Arles-sur-Tech, Banyuls-sur-Mer, Thuir, Céret, Salces, Ille-sur-Tet, Prades, Millas, and *Villefranche-de-Conflent. In 1243 a Jewish quarter, the Call, was set aside in Perpignan, and from 1251 Jews were compelled to live there. The communities of Thuir, Ille, and Céret (perhaps others too) had their own cemeteries, like **aljama* of Perpignan. In 1276 the county of Roussillon was awarded to the king of Majorca, who exercised his authority over the Jews of Roussillon through the intermediary of the count. Subsequently the royal procurator was responsible for civil and criminal jurisdiction over the Jews of Roussillon. Until 1314, when the wearing of the *badge was imposed, the Jews wore a cape as a distinctive garment. Pedro IV of Aragon, who annexed the kingdom of Majorca (1344), authorized the

Jews of Roussillon to travel to France for business purposes. In addition to engaging in such occupations as commerce (including peddling) and moneylending, Jews of Roussillon worked as bookbinders, tailors, goldsmiths, and especially as dyers. The anti-Jewish persecutions of 1391 in Spain reached the Jews of Roussillon in 1392. There was a similar delay of one year a century later at the time of the expulsion from Spain (1492), when a number of Jews from there sought refuge in Roussillon, only to be expelled in 1493, along with the Jews of Roussillon.

[Bernhard Blumenkranz]

Cultural History

The Jews of Roussillon produced scholars who distinguished themselves through their mastery of many different branches of learning, both secular and Jewish. Most notable were the Jewish physicians who served in the towns and villages of the province, such as Bernard de Jorena in Perpignan in 1226, Solomon Moses de Villemanya̅ in Elne in 1327, and Jacob de Guanges in Elne in 1380. Jacob Bonjuhes functioned in a similar capacity in Ille in 1407 and Thuir in 1410. Many Jews of Roussillon studied science and medicine at the University of Montpellier in the 14th century, a period when Perpignan flourished as a center of learning. There was much literary interest as well; poets included Jehoseph *Ezobi and *Phinehas b. Joseph ha-Levi. The study of Bible flourished; an intense polemic developed at the beginning of the 14th century between the partisans and opponents of the study of philosophy. At the center of the controversy was Levi b. Abraham of Villefranche-de-Conflent, probably the grandfather of *Levi b. Gershom, who brought down upon himself the ire of the Orthodox of his time, including Solomon b. Abraham *Adret, for his support of philosophic studies; he also studied astronomy. By the end of the 14th century, Perpignan had become a center for the study of astronomy. Rabbinic studies also were not lacking. The most prominent scholars of Roussillon were Menahem b. Solomon *Meiri (1249–1306), Abraham b. Isaac *Bedersi, and Isaac b. Judah de Lattes. Prominent in an earlier generation was Abraham b. David de Roussillon, Meiri's grandfather. Among the Hebrew manuscripts at the University of Bologna is a *maḥzor* with glosses by a R. Judah Roussillon (REJ, 120, 124). Jews continued to pursue their intellectual and cultural interests until their expulsion in 1493.

[Alexander Shapiro]

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ROUTTENBERG, MAX JONAH (1909–1987), U.S. Conservative rabbi and organizational executive. Routtenberg was born in Montreal, Quebec, and received a B.S. from New York University in 1930. In 1932, he was ordained at the *Jewish Theological Seminary, where he earned a D.H.L. in 1949. He became rabbi of Kesher Zion Synagogue in Reading, Pennsylvania (1932–48), where he created an educational center that helped establish Conservative Judaism in eastern Pennsylvania. He took a leave of absence during World War II to serve as a senior chaplain in the U.S, Army in Europe.

In 1949, Routtenberg was appointed executive vice president of the *Rabbinical Assembly, where he worked to fill the growing demand for pulpit rabbis. From 1951 to 1954, he served as executive vice president of the Jewish Theological Seminary, as well as dean of the Cantors Institute and the Seminary College of Jewish Music. He also lectured on synagogue administration at the JTS Teachers Institute (1950–52). In 1954, Routtenberg returned to the congregational rabbinate to serve Temple B'nai Sholom of Rockville Center, Long Island, where he remained until his retirement in 1972. At the same time, he was appointed chairman of the National Academy of Adult Jewish Studies (1955–60). Under his leadership, B'nai Sholom became a model synagogue center, complete with its own Institute of Adult Jewish Studies, Women's Institute, Judaica library and Lecture Forum.

In 1964, Routtenberg was elected president of the Rabbinical Assembly and led the Conservative movement's rabbinical association into the *Conference of Presidents of Major Jewish Organizations. Following his term of office (1964–66), he chaired the RA's Committee on Chaplaincy during the turbulent years of the Vietnam War, when JTS students voted to reject the system of compulsory procurement of chaplains for the U.S. armed forces. In 1970, he was tapped to chair the Special Committee on Revitalization of the Law Committee, established in the wake of the resignation of most of the committee's members. Subsequently, he chaired the RA's Publications Committee (1972–82), the committee that revised the Rabbinical Assembly constitution in 1977 and the Liturgical Committee as it oversaw the issuance of a new *siddur* for Sabbath and Festivals, as well as Conservative Judaism's amended *ketubbah*. He was also program director for two television programs that depicted Judaism to the outside world: *The Eternal Light*, produced by the JTS for NBC, and ABC TV's *Directions*.

He also served on the Commission on the Jewish Chaplaincy of the *National Jewish Welfare Board, the Delegates Council of the *Synagogue Council of America, and the Internal Affairs Commission of the New York Board of Rabbis. Routtenberg wrote *Seedtime and Harvest* (1969), *Decades of Decision* (1973), and *One in a Minyan and Other Stories* (1977), a collection of short stories. His final work, undertaken with Max Gelb, was the English translation of Abraham Joshua Heschel's *Torah Min ha-Shamayim be-Aspeklarya shel ha-Dorot* (*Heavenly Torah As Refracted Through the Generation*) and was completed by Gordon Tucker and published in 2004.

[Bezalel Gordon (2nd ed.)]

ROVIGO, capital of Rovigo province, N. Italy, Veneto, and of Polesine, agricultural district coextensive with the province. The presence of Jews in Rovigo from the latter part of the 13th century is attested in the municipal statutes (1227–1429) against "fornicatione inter Judaeum et Christianam." Their numbers increased as the local agricultural economy developed commercial and industrial activity. In 1386 a group of

Jews are mentioned at Lendinara, who were placed in charge of collecting the municipal taxes. The Rovigo municipality invited Salomon, son of Musetto of Judaea, and the brothers Alvicio and Emanuele, sons of Musetto of Bologna to open a loan bank in the town in 1391 with the authorization of the Este, the Dukes of Ferrara. A Jew named Consiglio, possibly an ancestor of the prominent Consiglio family of Rovigo, is mentioned at Badia Polesine in 1425.

The position of the Jews did not change after Rovigo was annexed by Venice in 1484. The loan bank at Rovigo became the property of the Consiglio family with which the Venetian republic renewed the contract every five years. Other members of the community, who had at first been largely connected with the loan bank, later engaged in other activities. The bank, however, retained its supremacy in both the economic and communal spheres of community life. Even when in 1508 the first *Monte di Pieta' was opened, the banking activities continued. A celebrated controversy arose in Rovigo in 1594 in connection with the local *mikveh*. The rabbi was then Avtaylon Consiglio. In 1594 Jekuthiel Consiglio built a *mikveh* in his house the ritual validity of which was questioned. The problem was submitted to various rabbis both in Italy and abroad, entire volumes being devoted to their discussions. Officially, the Jews were restricted to dealing in secondhand clothing. A report by the mayor to the Venetian senate in 1572 indicates the impoverished state of the local Jews which had also led to a split in the community; the rich members were anxious to monopolize the leadership while the poor members wanted a representative system irrespective of economic status.

Orders to set up a ghetto in Rovigo were issued in 1612, and implemented in 1615, only the loan bankers and their families being permitted to reside outside it. There were 17 Jewish families living in Rovigo in 1617. The destruction of a synagogue was ordered in 1629 because it was situated in the vicinity of a church.

In the 18th century the Jews played an important part in developing the wool industry in the Polesine region. At least three Jewish firms were engaged in this industry in Rovigo in the middle of the 18th century, owned by Moise' Luzzatto, Marco Consigli, and Moise' D'Ancona. Frequent attempts to oust them were made by Christian competitors, mainly from Padua. There were about 230 Jewish residents in 1785. The congregation celebrated a local Purim (Purim Katan), or Purim of the Fire, in memory of escape from fire in the 18th century and a fast to commemorate the desecration of the synagogue and pillaging of Jewish houses by hooligans in 1809.

With the French occupation in 1797, the Jews received equal civil rights. However, under French and Austrian rule the economic situation throughout the Polesine was poor. The Jewish population of Rovigo increased in 1823, when Jews immigrated to Rovigo from the Papal States, after Leo XIII's new restrictions. Reactionary tendencies persisted and in 1857 a *blood libel charge was brought against a Jew, Calimano Ravenna at Badia Polesine. Rovigo Jews took an important part in the Italian Risorgimento's wars. From 1848 to 1849 six Jews volunteered. In 1859 22 Jews volunteered to serve in the Piedmontese Army, the largest number from all the Italian communities, including the Kingdom of Sardinia! Giacomo Levi Civita fought with Garibaldi in 1866, and later he was appointed senator in the Italian Parliament. The Jewish population reached its peak in 1870, when 430 Jews lived in Rovigo. Around 450 Jews lived in Rovigo and Polesine together in 1886. The community had four charitable associations: Gemilut Ḥasadim, Shomer la-Boker, Malbish Arumim, and Le-Hasi Betulah.

By 1930, the numbers had dwindled to 100 and it was amalgamated with the *Padua community. The same year, in a rebuilding project for the town center, work was begun on demolition of the ghetto and the synagogue, which had been restored in 1858. The Ark, the floors, and marble were used for a new synagogue. With the German occupation in 1943, most of the members of the Jewish community managed to find safe haven; however two community members were deported.

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[Alfredo Mordechai Rabello / Samuele Rocca (2nd ed.)]

ROVIGO, ABRAHAM BEN MICHAEL (c. 1650–1713), Italian kabbalist and Shabbatean. Born in Modena, Rovigo studied in Venice, where he became one of the leading pupils of Moses *Zacuto in Kabbalah and formed a lifelong close friendship with *Benjamin b. Eliezer ha-Kohen Vitale, who shared his inclinations and convictions. Since he belonged to a wealthy family, Rovigo was able to devote himself exclusively to his studies; he became widely known as a supporter of pious enterprises and later also of Shabbatean activities. As a young man, he was swept up in the wave of messianic enthusiasm and retained his belief in the messianic mission of *Shabbetai Ẓevi for many decades, probably until his death. Becoming one of the main supporters of the moderate wing of Shabbateanism, he gathered around him many secret followers of the movement who used to visit him when they were in Italy. Thus he invited to Modena Issacher Behr *Perlhefter and *Mordecai (Mokhi'aḥ) ben Ḥayyim (between 1677 and 1682) and Mordecai Ashkenazi (1695–1702). He corresponded with many of the movement's leaders, beginning as early as 1675 with an enthusiastic letter to *Nathan of Gaza (then in Kastoria), accepting him as a true prophet. As well as collecting information about Shabbetai Ẓevi and others active in the movement and assembling their writings, he encouraged or invited claimants to heavenly revelations. But he kept all these activities a closely guarded secret and cross-examined people carefully before he divulged his Shabbatean convictions. At times in association with his friend Benjamin b. Eliezer ha-Kohen, he prepared to emigrate to Jerusalem, but he was always held up in the final stages. In 1700–01 he spent a whole year seeing through the press the Zoharic commentaries of Mordecai Ashkenazi, in Fuerth, a place that seemed more sympathetic to secret Shabbateans than Mantua or Venice. Finally, in 1702 he traveled to the Holy Land, accompanied by his family and a group of scholars, and founded a yeshivah in Jerusalem, most of whose members were supporters of Shabbateanism. A description of this journey by one of his company has been published by Jacob Mann (see bibl.). Considered a man of great influence and independent means, he was prevailed upon by the rabbis of Jerusalem to serve as an emissary to Europe, first in 1704–07, and a second (and perhaps third) time in 1710–13. He traveled through many countries – Poland, Germany, Holland, and Italy – and died on his last mission while passing through Mantua. Important sections of his extant papers remained unknown to collectors and libraries until the 1920s; these have proved very valuable sources for the history of Shabbateanism.

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[Gershom Scholem]

ROVINA, HANNA (1889–1980), Israeli actress. She was born in Berezino, Minsk district, Russia, and trained as a kindergarten teacher. During World War I, she took charge of an institute for refugee children at Saratov. In 1917 she joined the Hebrew theatrical studio being organized by Nahum *Zemach in Moscow and became one of the founder-members of the *Habimah Theater Company. She achieved success and fame with her portrayal of Leah in the Hebrew translation of Anski's *Dybbuk*, the Habimah's first important production (1922), and as the mother of the Messiah in David Pinsky's *The Eternal Jew*. She played both these parts in Leningrad in 1925, in Riga in 1926, and on Habimah's subsequent tours in Western Europe and the U.S. Arriving with the company in Palestine in 1928, she was soon acknowledged as the country's leading actress and henceforth her career was identified with Habimah. Endowed with beauty and dignity, she was able to give authority and distinction to such varied heroines as Gordin's *Mirele Efros*, Euripides' *Medea*, and Shakespeare's *Cordelia*, later excelling in mother types, as in Capek's *The Mother* and Brecht's *Mother Courage*.

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[Mendel Kohansky]

ROVINSKY, SAMUEL (1932–), Costa Rican playwright and author. The son of Polish Jewish immigrants, Rovinsky is a central figure in his country's theater and also involved in experimental dramatic innovations; his works have been included in school curriculies. Together with his main interest in Central American reality, Rovinsky contributed Jewish themes to the national and regional scene. His dramas also contain social satire, parody, and humor. His plays include *Las fisgonas de Paso Ancho* ("The Busybodies of Paso Ancho," 1971); *Un modelo para Rosaura* ("A Model for Rosaura," 1974); *El martirio del pastor* ("The Martyrdom of the Pastor," 1983); *La víspera del sábado* ("Sabbath Eve," 1985); *El laberinto* ("The Labyrinth," 1985); *Gulliver dormido* ("Sleeping Gulliver," 1985); *Los pregoneros* ("The Town Criers," 1990). He published the short story volumes *Cuentos judíos de mi tierra* ("Jewish Tales from My Land," 1982) and *El embudo de Pandora* ("Pandora's Funnel," 1991); and the novel *Ceremonia de Casta* ("Caste Ceremony," 1979). Rovinsky also wrote essays on theater, play writing, and Costa Rican culture.

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[Florinda F. Goldberg (2nd ed.)]

ROVNO (Pol. **Równe**), capital of Rovno district, Ukraine; under Poland until the First Partition (1793) and between the world wars. A Jew is first mentioned as hailing from Rovno in 1566, and Jewish creditors from the town are recorded in 1571. When the town passed to the princes of the house of Lubomirski in 1723, they tried to develop it by various means, including attempts to attract Jews there. On July 13, 1749, Prince Stanislaw Lubomirski granted a charter establishing a full-fledged community with all institutions. Prince Józef Lubomirski confirmed and renewed these rights on April 21, 1789. The *kahal* of Rovno is mentioned in 1739–40 in a decision at *Radom on the distribution of Jewish taxes in the Volhynia region of the *Council of the Lands. In 1765 there were 1,186 Jews in Rovno community (890 in the town itself and 296 in villages subject to the *kahal*); there were 2,147 Jews in the town in 1801; 3,788 in 1847; 13,780 (56 percent of the total population) in 1897; 21,702 (71 percent) in 1921; 22,737 in 1931; and about 28,000 in 1939. Under czarist Russia, Rovno became a border town not far from the frontier of Austria (at Brody), and developed into a commercial center dealing in military supplies. With the completion of the Kiev-Warsaw railroad and later with the Vilna-Rovno line (1885) it also became an important railroad center for all eastern Volhynia. Since it had become a supply center, various local light industries were also set up in the area under Polish rule.

The short-lived period of Ukrainian independence (1918–20) was a time of trepidation for Rovno Jewry. In the spring of 1919, the soldiers of *Petlyura carried out several *pogroms; later the town was conquered by the Red Army, and in the spring of 1920 it returned to Polish rule, which lasted until 1939.

A *Ḥibbat Zion group was formed in Rovno in 1884. Later various Zionist parties were established, with members participating in all the Zionist congresses. During Ukrainian rule Rovno's central Zionist office coordinated activities throughout Volhynia and Podolia. A *Bund group was formed in 1903. As in all Jewish communities in Poland, the *Haskalah was the forerunner of modern Jewish education in Rovno, and Zionism brought with it a revival of Hebrew. At first it was taught in the *ḥeder metukkan* (see *Education) and in private Hebrew schools. In 1911 a branch of the Ḥovevei Sefat Ever ("Lovers of the Hebrew Language") was formed. A branch of the *Tarbut organization, established in 1919, soon became the central branch for all Volhynia. That same year the Tarbut secondary school was established, and shortly after, three Tarbut elementary schools, several Hebrew kindergartens, a Tarbut Polish-language high school and a business high school. There was also a *talmud torah*, and for a short period (until 1921) there were two Yiddish schools. The Tarbut secondary school attracted Jewish pupils from all the villages of Volhynia. From 1924 to 1939 the Yiddish weekly, *Vohliner Lebn* ("Volhynian Life"), was published in Rovno.

[Shmuel Spector]

Holocaust Period

Under Soviet rule (1939–41), Jewish organizations ceased to function, Bund and Zionist leaders were imprisoned, Jewish businessmen were discriminated against, and Hebrew schools were closed down. Many Jewish refugees from western Poland found shelter in Rovno, which soon became one of the important centers of underground Zionist activity, helping Jews to escape to *Vilna and southward to the Romanian and Hungarian borders. With the outbreak of the Soviet-German war (June 22, 1941), young Jews joined the Soviet army. Rovno fell to the Germans on June 29, and on the same day 300 Jews were slaughtered. Murder and torture were rampant. Between October and November 1941, the number of Jews killed exceeded 1,000. A Judenrat was set up by the former director of one of the Jewish secondary schools, Dr. Bergman. With the introduction of the German policy of extermination, a Judenrat member, Leon Sucharczuk, committed suicide. Murder on the largest scale was committed on Nov. 6, 1941, when some 18,000 Jews from Rovno were machine-gunned in a pine grove in Sosenki. After this *Aktion*, a ghetto was established for the remaining Jews. Starvation and disease claimed many victims despite mutual help and attempts to reduce epidemics. On July 12, 1942 the 5,000 surviving Jews were brought to the vicinity of Kostopol and murdered there in a forest. Rovno Jews joined the partisan groups operating in the district and helped to liberate Rovno from the Nazis in February 1944.

Contemporary Period

After the war about 1,200 Jews were living in an area around the Great Synagogue. Only 100 were survivors from the original Rovno community. A search was made to find Jewish children among the peasants in the nearby villages and to mark the sites of the mass graves of Jews murdered by the Nazis. Gradually, like many others, the Rovno community dissolved through emigration. In 1957 the Jewish cemetery was divided into two sites, for a park and a grazing ground. The last remaining synagogue, consisting of only one room, was closed down by authorities in 1959, and Torah scrolls were confiscated. The former large synagogue was converted into a sports gymnasium. There was no monument on the mass graves of Jews murdered by the Nazis. In the late 1960s the Jewish population in Rovno was estimated at about 600. Only in the 1990s was a memorial erected in Sosenki for the Jews murdered by the Nazis.

[Aharon Weiss]

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ROWE, LEO STANTON (1871–1946), U.S. political scientist. Rowe grew up in Philadelphia and from 1895 taught political science at the University of Pennsylvania, becoming professor in 1904. Appointed to a commission to revise the laws of Puerto Rico in 1900, Rowe became interested in Latin American affairs, to which he devoted almost his whole life's work. In 1917 he became the assistant secretary of the U.S. Treasury, and in 1919–20 he headed the Latin American section of the State Department. Rowe was president of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences (1902–30) and wrote many works including: *The United States and Puerto Rico* (1904); *Problems of City Government* (1908); and *The Federal Systems of the Argentine Republic* (1921).

°**ROWLEY, HAROLD HENRY** (1890–1969), English Protestant theologian and Bible scholar. Rowley was associate professor of biblical literature at the Shantung Christian University (1924–29); assistant lecturer in Semitic languages at University College of South Wales and Monmouthshire, Cardiff (1930–34); professor of Semitic languages, University College of North Wales, Bangor (1935–45), and lecturer in the history of religions (1940–45); vice principal (1940–45) and dean of Bangor School of Theology (1936–45); and professor of Semitic languages and literatures at the University of Manchester (from 1945). He was, among other things, president of the Baptist Union of Great Britain and Ireland (1957–58).

Rowley wrote a number of works on the unity, importance, and relevance of the Bible. He argued that the pure monotheism of the prophets is rooted in the Mosaic period. He maintained that Deutero-*Isaiah's understanding of the Servant of the *Lord underwent a development from the symbolic suffering of the people of Israel to the vicarious death of an individual. He staunchly maintained that the Book of *Daniel, apart from secondary additions, was the work of a single author writing in the years of Antiochus *Epiphanes' persecution of Judaism, and held that the reform of Josiah rooted in Deuteronomy was at first welcomed by Jeremiah and then rejected by the prophet because of its dangerous implications. He commented upon every major problem of biblical history from Moses to Qumran, including the problems of the Exodus, the Samaritans, sacrifice, and the Qumran sectarians. His only full-length biblical commentary was on Job, and was published posthumously.

In addition to semi-popular dictionaries on biblical names and themes (1968), he wrote: *From Joseph to Joshua* (1950); *The Servant of the Lord* (1952); *Prophecy and Religion in Ancient China and Israel* (1956; Jordan Lectures, 1954); *The Faith of Israel* (1956); *The Zadokite Documents and the Dead Sea Scrolls* (1952); *The Aramaic of the Old Testament* (1929); *Darius the Mede and the Four World Empires in the Book of Daniel* (1935, 1959^2); *Teach Yourself Bible Atlas* (1960); and *Men of God* (1963). He was also editor of: *Studies in Old Testament Prophecy* (*T.H. Robinson Festschrift*, 1950); *The Old Testament and Modern Study* (1951, 1961^5); *Journal of Semitic Studies* (1956–1960); *Peake's Commentary on the Bible* (with Martin Black, 1962); M.A. Beek's *Atlas of Mesopotamia* (1962); *Hastings' Dictionary of the Bible* (1963^2 with F.C. Grant); *Companion to the Bible* (1963); *The Century Bible* (1967); and the series "Recent Foreign Theology," in: *Expository Times*, 58–81 (1946–70).

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[Zev Garber]

ROZDOL (Pol. **Rozdół**; in Jewish sources ראזלו), town in E. Drogobych district, Ukraine; formerly in E. Galicia within Austria and independent Poland. For many years the owner of the town, Rzewuski, waged a struggle against the province of Bratslav, which claimed the right to collect taxes from the Jews of Rozdol. In 1751 the tax tribunal in Radom decided in favor of Rzewuski and the Jews were ordered to pay their taxes to him. In the 17th century, a large number of the Jews in the town became followers of Shabbateanism (see *Shabbetai *Zevi), influenced by Rabbi Fishel, who claimed he was the *Messiah descended from Joseph, and that Jonathan *Eybeschuetz was the Messiah descended from David. After appeals to the civic authorities, R. Fishel was expelled on the ground that he was insane. According to an inadequately based theory, the founder of Ḥasidism, *Israel b. Eliezer Ba'al Shem Tov, was the rabbi of Rozdol who participated in the disputation against the *Frankists held in *Lvov in 1759.

On the eve of the partition of Poland and its incorporation into Austria in 1772, there were 639 Jews in Rozdol (1765). The Jewish population increased during the 19th century and by 1912 numbered 2,262 (about 50 percent of the total population). During World War I it declined, and in 1921 numbered 1,725 (about 45 percent). After World War I Jewish public activity expanded in the town which was known for its party conflicts, mostly between Ḥasidim and Zionists. The Germans occupied Rozdol on June 23, 1941. Most of the community was deported to Belzec death camp on September 4–5, 1942. The remaining Jews, who worked for German enterprises, were sent on September 30 to Stryi, where they were probably killed with others on February 3, 1943.

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[Shimshon Leib Kirshenboim]

ROZENMACHER, GERMÁN (1936–1971), Argentine playwright and short-story writer. He was born to a religious family in Buenos Aires, where his father was a *ḥazzan* and *mohel*. He graduated from the University of Buenos Aires and went on to work as a teacher of Hebrew, a journalist, a theater critic, and a playwright for television. Rozenmacher was considered to be one of the foremost Argentine writers to emerge in the 1960s, first earning recognition for his short stories and later for his plays. He was killed in an automobile accident in August 1971.

Rozenmacher achieved fame with his collection of stories *Cabecita negra* (1962), which examines the influence of Peronism on Argentine society in a variety of innovative and interesting settings. While the majority of the stories speak to the general Argentine population by depicting the solitude, despair, poverty, and frustration occasioned by social injustice, three of the stories deal specifically with the often difficult Jewish experience in Buenos Aires.

Rozenmacher gained permanent renown for his four dramatic works, which have become classics of Argentine theater. His first play, *Requiem para un viernes a la noche* was presented in 1964 at the *Yiddishes Folks Teater* IFT (Jewish Popular Theater) in Buenos Aires. It played for two years and continues to be produced. It has been studied mainly as a play about generational conflict, cultural identity, and assimilation. It is clear that the play reflects many aspects of his own life: he married a Catholic woman, and he dedicated the play to both his parents and his wife. Rozenmacher offers no solution to the problems presented in the play. Indeed, the work seems to signal the fact that there is no reconciliation possible between the opposing stances represented by father and son in the play and therein lays the tragedy. His play *El Lazarillo de Tormes* presented in 1971 was based on the 16th-century Spanish picaresque novel of the same title. Jewish themes are present only obliquely in the play, mainly when the topic of the Inquisition arises. *Simón Brumelstein, el caballero de Indias* was written in 1971, but not performed until 1982 and finally published in 1987. It is often considered to be his most ambitious and accomplished play. Simón, the main character, lives in a fantasy world and struggles with his deep desire to assimilate wholly into Argentine society and shed his Jewishness. However, he is constantly reminded that he will never be permitted to be completely Argentine. Ultimately, *Simón Brumelstein* is about the clash of cultures, assimilation, antisemitism, and crises of identity. His works have stood the test of time and found their place in the Argentine literary canon of the 20th century.

[Darrell B. Lockhart (2nd ed.)]

RÓŻEWICZ, TADEUSZ (1921–), Polish poet and dramatist. Born in Radomsko, Różewicz studied art history at the

Jagiellonian University in Cracow. The terrors of the Nazi occupation dominate Różewicz' earlier verse collections, such as *Niepokój* ("Anxiety," 1947). Influenced by Ionesco and Beckett as a dramatist, he also produced 15 highly acclaimed plays along with a dozen books of poetry in the modernist manner as well as stories and satires. Among his works translated into English are *The Card Index, & Other Plays* (1969), *Faces of Anxiety: Poems* (1969); *The Witnesses & Other Plays* (1970), *The Survivor and Other Poems* (1976), *Conversation with the Prince: and Other Poems* (1982); *Mariage Blanc and the Hunger Artist Departs: Two Plays* (1983), *Forms in Relief and Other Works* (1994), *Reading the Apocalypse in Bed: Selected Plays and Short Pieces* (1998), and *Recycling* (2001).

ROZIN (Rosen), JOSEPH (1858–1936), Polish talmudic genius, called "the Rogachover" after his birthplace (Rogachov). His erudition and profundity were phenomenal. It is said that when he was eight years old, the local scholars felt incompetent to teach him, for he knew the whole of the talmudic order of *Nezikin* with its commentaries. When he was 13, his father took him to Slutsk where J.B. *Soloveichik taught him together with his own son Ḥayyim. From there he went to Shklov, where he frequented the court of the ḥasidic rabbi of Kapost, of the Chabad sect. He spent the next eight years studying in Warsaw. In 1889 he was appointed rabbi of the ḥasidic community of Dvinsk. During World War I, as the German army drew near, he fled to St. Petersburg [later Leningrad], where he remained as rabbi of the ḥasidic community for ten years, thereafter returning to Dvinsk.

A man of penetrating intelligence, Rozin possessed a phenomenal encyclopedic knowledge and great powers of industry. He knew the Babylonian and the Jerusalem Talmuds, all the known tannaitic and amoraic literature, and most early books without needing to consult them. He visited Rogachov each year on the anniversary of his father's death, on one occasion remarking that he had studied half of the Talmud during his journey there and would finish it on the return journey. He saw a subject as a whole and in its detail, analyzing it carefully and getting to the core of the *halakhah*. He would show by comparison with other passages which basic concepts were involved, give relevant rules and definitions, and make the subject clear. He frequently explained the Talmud in a way fundamentally different from that of the standard commentators. This is especially noticeable in his treatment of the Jerusalem Talmud which has no early commentary: Rozin's work contains thousands of new explanations. In speaking he was fluent and lucid; his writing, however, is obscure. He refers to his sources by a mere "*vide* so and so," making tens of references but neither quoting the passage nor explaining its relevance. Despite his difficult style, he was a prolific correspondent who enjoyed writing, and he encouraged correspondents to send him their problems. He answered without any effort all who wrote to him on any topic, and thousands of his letters are to be found throughout the world. His ability to find sources in the Talmud was extraordinary. He often quoted a passage from a subject apparently completely unrelated to the matter under discussion, and inferred from it a persuasive proposition which answered the question. For Rozin, the Talmud was decisive. When he found a source for a custom in the Talmud he practiced it, but not otherwise. He traced to the Talmud the philosophical ideas of Maimonides and the latest discoveries of science. Because of this, great scientists enjoyed conversing with him. His remarkable knowledge of philosophy and science is revealed in his commentary on the Pentateuch. He possessed a keen critical sense and when what purported to be the lost text of the Jerusalem Talmud on *Kodashim* appeared, his insight recognized it for the forgery it proved to be.

Rozin's imposing and majestic appearance made a deep impression on all who saw him. Though one of the greatest scholars of any age, he was essentially a humble man. He was courteous, striving to see things from the other man's point of view. He bore the physical pain of his closing years stoically, though grudging the time it took him from learning, and continued to answer all who consulted him, whether in writing or in person.

During his lifetime, Rozin published a commentary on Maimonides' *Mishneh Torah* in five volumes (1903–08) and two volumes of responsa. Four further volumes of responsa were published in 1935–38. During World War II, one of his students, I.A. Sufran-Fuchs, photographed all the manuscripts he could collect and sent the films to a relative in the U.S. There they remained in a box until they were shown to R. Menaḥem *Kasher in the 1950s. He appreciated their true value, and they have subsequently been in the process of publication. All his works appear under the title *Ẓafenat Pa'ne'aḥ.* A number of volumes of the novellae and the commentary on the Pentateuch have appeared (5 vols., 1960–65). Rozin died in Vienna and his remains were buried in Dvinsk.

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[Ernest Hamburger]

ROZOVSKI, PINḤAS (1843–1904), rabbi and Zionist. Born in the Minsk district, Rozovski studied at the Yeshivah of Volozhin. From 1867 he was rabbi of Lipkany, near Slonim, until he succeeded Isaac J. *Reines as the rabbi of Svencioneliai (Yid. Shventsian), Lithuania, in 1887. He knew a number of languages, ancient and modern, including Arabic, and was learned in ancient and modern history and philosophy. Yet he lived meagerly, devoting his attention entirely to literature and the Torah. He wrote many books on biblical, philological, talmudic, and midrashic issues, as well as responsa and commentaries. Since Rozovski had no financial means, none of these books was published. Some of his articles, however, were published in various periodicals. He was attracted to Zionism and sought to give the national renaissance movement a religious ideology. He took part in the founding conference of

Ha-*Mizrachi in Vilna (1902), as well as in the Second and Sixth Zionist Congresses, and the *Minsk Conference of Russian Zionists (1902). In the educational controversy between religious and secular Zionists, he supported the proposal to establish two separate educational communities within the Zionist Organization, so as to enable each to conduct its own policy in matters of culture and education.

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[Yitzchak Raphael]

RÓZSAVÖLGYI, MÁRK (**Mark Mordecai Rosenthal**; 1789–1848), composer and violinist. Born in Balassagyarmat, Hungary, Rózsavölgyi studied the violin in Prague and became a violinist in various theatrical ensembles. After 1813 he lived for some time in Baja, but undertook numerous concert tours, and from 1833 to his death lived in Pest. He began to publish his works in 1817 – from 1824 onward mostly under the name of Rózsavölgyi, although the official change of name was granted to him only in 1846.

Rózsavölgyi composed over 100 pieces in the popular style of the Hungarian *Verbunkós* ("Recruiter's dance") and czardas, some suite-like collections of Hungarian dances, and two stage works. His works, especially the czardas pieces and the dance suites, are of major importance for the development of the form. Three of Franz Liszt's Hungarian rhapsodies are indebted to compositions by Rózsavölgyi: the allegretto of the 8th, the introduction of the 12th, and the vivace of the 13th. The authorship of the "Rakoczi March" was erroneously attributed to Rózsavölgyi by the musicologist Fetis, and in spite of later research this has been persistently repeated in a number of books. Rózsavölgyi's autobiography, written in 1834, has been preserved in manuscript in the Ráday Library in Budapest.

His son GYULA (1822–1861), together with Norbert Grinzweil, founded the important music publisher's firm of Rózsavölgyi és Társa in 1850. The firm existed, with various changes of proprietorship, until 1949, when it was nationalized.

[Bathja Bayer]

ROZWADOW, town in Rzeszow province, S.E. Poland. In 1727 there were a synagogue and 30 houses owned by Jews in Rozwadow. According to the 1765 census, there were 333 Jewish poll-tax payers and a further 35 in the surrounding villages. The Jewish population increased rapidly during the second half of the 19th century following the construction of the railway which linked the town with Cracow and Lemberg. In 1880, 1,628 Jews (76% of the total population) lived in the town. The wealthiest among them (known as the Danzig merchants) exported timber by raft to Germany and mobilized peasants of the district for agricultural work in Prussia. The majority of the Jews of Rozwadow earned their livelihood in small trade and crafts such as carpentry, tailoring, shoemaking, the manufacture of soap, and the making of shirts for the peasants. From the middle of the 19th century the rabbis of Rozwadow were descendants of the *Ẓaddik* Naphtali Hurowic of Ropczyce. In 1910 there were 2,372 Jews (70%) in the town. The president of the Jewish community, Dov Ber Reich, also held the office of mayor (1907–40). From 1900 to 1914, a school founded by the *Baron de Hirsch functioned in the town. On the eve of Shavuot 1915, the Russian army expelled the Jews who had remained in the town and many of them were exiled to Siberia. In the fall of 1918, a Jewish national council headed by Jacob Schreiber was formed in Rozwadow. During the transition period and the first weeks of Polish rule, a Jewish youth group was organized to protect the Jews from rioters. In 1921 the Jewish community numbered 1,790 (66% of the total population). Between the two worlds wars the Zionist movement in Rozwadow gained in strength, and a Hebrew school, a Hebrew library, and the sport clubs "Maccabi," "Judah," and "Trumpeldor" were established.

[Arthur Cygielman]

Holocaust Period

In 1939 the Jewish population of Rozwadow numbered more than 2,000. On Sept. 24, 1939, the town was captured by the Germans and on October 2 they ordered it to be evacuated within 24 hours. The Jews were deported across the San River into the Soviet-held area of Poland. The deportees dispersed in the Soviet-occupied zone. In the summer of 1940, many were exiled to the Soviet interior. Later Jews were permitted to return to Rozwadow. In September 1940, 400 Jews lived there legally. The first head of the Judenrat was Eliezer Perlman, the second was B. Gorfinkiel. In the summer of 1941, the community had to provide workers for the labor camp at Pustkow.

The final expulsion took place on July 21, 1942. All the Jews in Rozwadow were assembled in the market square; many were killed on the spot, others were placed into railroad cars and taken to Debica, where Jews from the entire vicinity were concentrated. Some were killed in a nearby forest; others were deported to camps at Tarnobrzeg, Pustkow, Rzeszow, Mielec, Stalowa Wola, and other localities. A labor camp was established in Rozwadow. On Sept. 1, 1942, 80 Jews were brought there from Sieniawa, Lezajsk, and the vicinity. As the rate of expulsion of Jews from the vicinity grew, 600 male Jews, mostly from Wieliczka, were brought to the camp. On Sept. 15, 1942, 450 Jews from Wolbrom arrived. Late in 1942, there were more than 1,200 prisoners, including Jews from Przemysl and Rzeszow. The prisoners worked in the steel factories of Stalowa Wola. Working conditions were hard and anyone who could not withstand the physical strain was shot. More than 1,000 Jews died in the camp.

[Aharon Weiss]

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ROZWÓJ, antisemitic Polish nationalist organization. Rozwój was founded in 1913 as the propaganda wing of the Polish National-Democratic Party (*Endecja), bearing the official name "Organization for the Support of Polish Trade and Industry." Its rise was due to Polish-Jewish tensions in Warsaw after the elections to the Fourth *Duma in 1912, which reached a climax in the announcement of an anti-Jewish boycott (see Róman *Dmowski). The goal of Rozwój was to assure the nationalists' influence on the Polish petite bourgeoisie by means of demagogical propaganda slogans, emphasizing the liberation of the Polish homeland from Jewish and other foreign influences. Apart from the economic areas, the organization was active in publishing tendentious literature and propaganda, such as *Rozwój* (1918–19) and *Gazeta Niedzielna* (1924–25). Party membership increased markedly after 1917, and in 1923 reached 80,000. Since it was believed that the assassination of G. Narutowicz, Poland's first president, was partly due to anti-Jewish agitation and popular demonstrations, the government of W. Sikorski ordered a temporary ban on Rozwój's activities at the beginning of 1923. As a result, the party's influence declined somewhat but eventually Rozwój was successful in constantly assuming new forms and remaining a pressure group, largely through urging an anti-Jewish boycott.

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[Moshe Landau]

RSHA (abbr. of Ger. **Reichssicherheitshauptamt**, i.e., Reich Security Main Office). The precursors of the RSHA were the SD and the *SS surveillance and intelligence units, which were established by Himmler before the Nazis came to power and became state functions. The second element of the RSHA was the *Gestapo, originally the political police of Prussia. By 1936 all the political police of the German states were unified and the Gestapo became the core of Nazi control employing surveillance, denunciation, and torture, and having the power to imprison. The third element was the Criminal Police (Kripo). In 1936 Kripo and the Gestapo were reorganized as SIPO under Heydrich's control. On September 22, 1939, the RSHA became one of the 12 main offices of the SS as the umbrella authority over the different Nazi secret police and intelligence organizations, with the exception of military intelligence (*Abwehr*). It was set up under *Himmler's orders to unify the *Sipo* (*Sicherheitspolizei* – "security police") and SD (*Sicherheitsdienst* – "security service"). Reinhard *Heydrich, who had been head of both services, continued as chief of the RSHA. The RSHA was originally divided into six offices (*Aemter*), later into seven, which were subdivided into departments (*Abteilungen* – later *Gruppen*), the latter further broken down into sections (*Referate*). Among the heads of the various divisions were Dr. Otto Ohlendorf, who dealt with economic matters, culture, and ethnic Germans. He commanded *Einsatzgruppe D*. Heinrich *Mueller was the head of the Gestapo. Werner Best and Dr. Neckmann were in charge of organization and law. In April 1944 the *Abwehr,* which was suspect, was taken over and became the *Amt Mil* ("military office") of the RSHA, headed by Walter *Schellenberg.

With the German conquests, the RSHA sent representatives to all the occupied countries to run foreign branches on the model of the headquarters in Berlin. But neither in Germany nor abroad were services fused on a local level. Abroad the RSHA acted through *Einsatzgruppen* ("mobile killing units"), which functioned in the rear of the army. With the end of combat operations the *Einsatzgruppen* became local branches of the RSHA. Heydrich remained chief of the RSHA even after he was appointed protector of Bohemia and Moravia. Following Heydrich's death, Himmler provisionally headed the RSHA, but the actual direction was left to Heinrich Mueller and Schellenberg. Ernst *Kaltenbrunner was appointed chief in January 1943, and served until the end of the war.

The RSHA assumed the powers of its parent organization over the Jews, became the supervising authority over the *Reichsvereinigung, and took over the *Zentralstelle* ("emigration center"). At its outset, the RSHA handled "Jewish affairs," its Section IIB4 dealt with research, and Section IVB3 dealt with "Jewish enemies." Section IVB4 was set up at the end of 1939 under Adolf *Eichmann, who was already head of the *Zentralstelle* and had achieved notable success in the forced emigration of Jews from Vienna. With the onset of the War, Eichmann's section organized evacuations following the decision to drive the Jews and Poles out of the western provinces of Poland. At the same time, the *Einsatzgruppen* killed tens of thousands of Jews and Poles. The RSHA helped in the ghettoization of Jews in the East and was instrumental in the promulgation of anti-Jewish legislation. RSHA delegations in the occupied countries had Jewish sections and dispatched special commandos, e.g., to *Salonika (1943) and to *Hungary (1944). The *Einsatzgruppen* murdered more than 1,000,000 Jews in Russia. Under Heydrich the RSHA became the instrument of the "Final Solution," i.e., the murder of European Jewry. The headquarters of the "Final Solution" was Section IVB4, which later became IVA4b. The local branches of the RSHA rounded up the Jews, confiscated their property, and deported them to death camps. The RSHA sought more efficient killing methods. It invented the gas vans and serviced them in its own vehicle section. Through its *Zentralstelle* in Prague, the RSHA ran the *Theresienstadt ghetto. It decided the fate of every transport, which was dispatched to the East. After the war the International Military Tribunal declared the *Gestapo and the SD components of the RSHA criminal organizations.

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[Yehuda Reshef / Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

RU'AḤ HA-KODESH (Heb. רוּחַ הַקֹּדֶשׁ; lit. "the Holy Spirit"). Although the phrase *Ru'aḥ ha-Kodesh* occurs in the Bible (cf. Ps. 51:13; Isa 63:10), its specific connotation as divine inspiration is wholly post-biblical. In rabbinic thought it is the spirit of prophecy which comes from God, a divine inspiration giving man an insight into the future and into the will of God. Traditionally the Pentateuch was given directly by God to Moses, but the other canonical writings were all produced under the inspiration of *Ru'aḥ ha-Kodesh*. Thus the determination of what should be included as canonical scripture turns on whether or not a given work was composed with the aid of the Holy Spirit (see Tosef., Yad. 2:14; Song R. 1:1, no. 5). This power of the spirit was given to the prophets in unequal measure (Lev. R. 15:2), and could be passed on to a disciple, Joshua inheriting it from Moses, and Elisha from Elijah (Deut. 34:9; II Kings 2:9–10). There are a number of references to the cessation of the *Ru'ah ha-Kodesh* from Israel, some dating it from the end of the First, some from the end of the Second Temple (cf. Yoma 21b). The most significant passage for the central use of the term as prophetic inspiration is "When the last of the prophets, Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi, died, the Holy Spirit ceased from Israel" (Yoma 9b).

Apart from its function as prophetic inspiration the Holy Spirit also rests on charismatic or exceptionally holy individuals, who are not prophets in the accepted sense (cf. SER, 10:48). They are thus possessed of an ability to divine the future (Er. 64b). When the rabbis were gathered in Jericho a divine voice announced to them that there were two among them who were worthy of *Ru'aḥ ha-Kodesh* (TJ, Hor. 3:7; 48c). The Holy Spirit is also promised to other categories, e.g., those who teach Torah in public (Song R. 1:1 no. 8), those who study from pure motives (*li-shemah*; SEZ, 1), and those who perform even one *mitzvah* in complete faith (Mekh. Be-Shallaḥ, 2:6). The Midrash says: "All that the righteous do, they do with the power of *Ru'aḥ ha-Kodesh*" (Tanḥ. Va-Yeḥi 13). *Ru'ah ha-Kodesh* may be attained by the saintly man, and the spiritual stages toward its attainment are found in the Mishnah: "Phinehas b. Jair says: 'Heedfulness leads to cleanliness, and cleanliness leads to purity, and purity leads to abstinence, and abstinence leads to holiness, and holiness leads to humility, and humility leads to the fear of sin, and the fear of sin leads to saintliness, and saintliness leads to [the gift of] *Ru'aḥ ha-Kodesh*'" (Sot. 9:15 end; see also Av. Zar. 20b and TJ, Shab. 1:3, 3c for different versions).

A connection between the possession of *Ru'aḥ ha-Kodesh* and ecstasy, or religious joy, is found in the ceremony of water drawing, Simḥat Bet ha-Sho'evah, on the festival of Sukkot. The Mishnah said that he who had never seen this ceremony, which was accompanied by dancing, singing, and music (Suk. 5:4), had never seen true joy (Suk. 5:1). Yet this was also considered a ceremony in which the participants, as it were, drew inspiration from the Holy Spirit itself, which can only be possessed by those whose hearts are full of religious joy (TJ, Suk. 5:1, 55a). The people of Israel as a whole were in some way guided by the power of *Ru'aḥ ha-Kodesh*. Thus when the problem arose among the rabbis as to whether the paschal offering should be brought on the Sabbath, it was to how the ordinary people would act concerning the Sabbath restrictions that the rabbis turned for a decision. Hillel declared: "Leave it to them, for the Holy Spirit is on them. If they are not in themselves prophets, they are the sons of prophets" (Tosef., Pes. 4:2).

A more problematical use of the term *Ru'aḥ ha-Kodesh* is when it is in some way hypostatized, or used as a synonym for God. This tendency toward hypostatization is already apparent in such expressions as "*Ru'aḥ ha-Kodesh* resting" on a person or a place, or someone "receiving *Ru'aḥ ha-Kodesh*." But it is pronounced in descriptions of the *Ru'aḥ ha-Kodesh* speaking (Pes. 117a), or acting as defense counsel on Israel's behalf (Lev. R. 6:1), or leaving Israel and returning to God (Eccles. R. 12:7). This hypostatization is essentially the product of free play of imagery, and does not have the connotations of *Ru'aḥ ha-Kodesh* as an entity separate from God. Neither are there any overtones of the *Ru'aḥ ha-Kodesh* somehow forming part of the Godhead, as is found in the Christian concept of the Holy Ghost, which was a translation of *Ru'aḥ ha-Kodesh*. The problems centering on this use of the term *Ru'aḥ ha-Kodesh* are the product of its different uses shading into one another. Sometimes it is used merely as a synonym for God, and at others it refers to the power of prophecy through divine inspiration. In order to maintain a perspective on the matter, the monotheistic background and the image character of rabbinic thinking must always be kept in mind.

There are a number of texts in which the two terms *Ru'aḥ ha-Kodesh* and **Shekhinah* are found interchanged in different versions (cf. Pes. 117b; Shab. 30b; and TJ, Suk. 5:1, 55a; see also Tosef., Sot. 13:3f.; Sot. 48b; Sanh. 11a). This interchange may be due to the fact that though *Ru'aḥ ha-Kodesh* and *Shekhinah* are conceptually distinct, they are identical over a certain range and are both sometimes used as straight synonyms for God. G.F. Moore, however, considers the exchange of terms to be mainly the result of copyists' errors (*Judaism*, 1 (1927), 437). *Ru'aḥ ha-Kodesh* must also be distinguished from the **bat kol*, or heavenly voice. Both are, in some sense, a revelation of the divine, but their mode of action and relative importance differ. The *bat kol* is an artificial element, pictured literally as a heavenly voice, and not always accepted as halakhically determinative (see BM 59a, where the pronouncements of a *bat kol* are rejected). *Ru'aḥ ha-Kodesh*, on the other hand, works through man as divine inspiration, and is theologically incontrovertible.

[Alan Unterman]

In Jewish Philosophy

PHILO. To *Philo also the Divine Spirit is that which inspires the prophet to prophecy. In *De Specialibus Legibus* (4:49) he writes that: "no pronouncement of a prophet is ever his own; he is an interpreter prompted by Another in all his utterances, when knowing not what he does he is filled with inspiration, as the reason withdraws and surrenders the citadel of the soul to a new visitor and tenant, the Divine Spirit (τõυ θείου πνεύματος) which plays upon the vocal organism and dictates words which clearly impress its prophetic message." Influenced by Plato's notion of divine inspiration or frenzy, Philo interprets Abraham's "deep sleep" (Gen. 15:12) as a form of ecstasy which the prophet experiences: "This is what regularly befalls the prophets. The mind is evicted at the arrival of the Divine Spirit, but when that departs the mind returns to its tenancy" (Her. 265). According to Philo, the Divine Spirit "comes upon" man, "fills" him, visits him, or speaks to him only occasionally. But in an exceptional case, such as that of Moses, the Divine Spirit remains continuously in man's soul.

Philo maintains that the Divine Spirit is a separate spiritual entity – a "unique corporeal soul" whose function is to act as an "intermediary of divine communications to man" (H.A. Wolfson, *Philo*, 2 (1948), 32). While unique, it is of the same nature as the incorporeal soul of man or as the angels, which are unembodied souls. Although Philo does not apply the term *Logos to the Divine Spirit, he does refer to it as Wisdom, which he identifies with the Logos.

Philo however uses the term Divine Spirit in several other senses as well: in the sense of the rational soul, as in *De Specialibus Legibus* (4:123), where he identifies the Divine Spirit with the "breath of life breathed upon the first man" – which is the rational soul (see H.A. Wolfson, *Philo*, 1 (1948), 395); in the sense of air, the third element, as in Genesis 1:2: "the spirit of God was moving above the water" (Gig. 22); and in the sense of the "pure knowledge in which every wise man naturally shares." Philo bases this last sense of the term on Exodus 31:2 in which Bezalel is said to have been filled by God "…with the Divine Spirit, with wisdom, understanding, and knowledge to devise in every work" (Gig. 23).

The concept of the Divine Spirit in the Dead Sea Scrolls is similar to that of Philo, insofar as it is regarded as a spirit that "comes upon" man or "speaks" to him. In the scrolls, man, as a result of purification from carnal pollution (connected with baptism) is reborn and receives a new spirit. While there are many Platonic and Gnostic elements in the conception of Divine Spirit found in the Dead Sea Scrolls, D. Flusser maintains that the origin of the concept is Jewish (*Scripta Hierosolymitana*, (1958), 252ff.). The influence that the Dead Sea Scrolls exercised upon the Christian concept of the Holy Ghost is well known.

[Rivka G. Horwitz]

Medieval Jewish Philosophy

The concept of Holy Spirit (*Ruaḥ Ha-Kodesh*) is intrinsically connected to medieval Jewish philosophical approaches to prophecy. Essentially one can find two different yet related usages of this concept, as can already be seen by Philo. It may refer to a separate entity which is the source of prophecy, as well as other forms of divine providence; it also may refer to that which is received by choice individuals. In the latter case, some thinkers distinguished this reception from prophecy proper.

SAADIAH GAON. *Saadiah Gaon deals with the Holy Spirit in his *Commentary on the Book of Creation*. In this treatise he insists that it is not a hypostasis or divine intermediary, as it is conceived by the Christians. At the same time he ascribes to it many of the characteristics that are reminiscent of the *Logos, particularly as this notion was conceived in the Arabic-speaking world. The author of the *Book of Creation* terms the first of the *Sefirot* "the Spirit of the Living God" [*Ru'aḥ Elohim Ḥayyim*] which he also identifies as the Holy Spirit (4:1). Saadiah interprets the Holy Spirit as a reference to the divine will, but goes on to maintain that God's will is not a distinct entity. Rather it signifies that God creates everything without engaging in physical activity. He offers an analogy of God's relation to the world, comparing it to the relation of the animate force to living creatures. God is, figuratively speaking, the animate force of the world, or better yet, the intellect of the world: "The volition of the Creator – that is, His power – spreads in the air, which is simple and subtle. It exists in it [the world] and moves it, as the animate force moves the body. The Creator is found in all of this and governs it, just as the intellect is found in the animate force and governs it" (J. Kafih (ed.), *Sefer Yeẓirah im Perush ha-Gaon Rabbenu Sa'adya b. R. Yosef Fayyumi* [1972], 106). The continuation of Saadiah's remarks, however, suggests a different picture. He describes the Spirit as the most subtle entity created by God and it fills the entire world. This entity is known also as the "Glory" (*kavod*) and the "Indwelling" (*shekhinah*); in it is produced the speech heard by the prophets. Moreover, not only the visible and audible manifestations of prophecy originate in this entity, but also exceptional wisdom and the power of valor that God bestows upon choice individuals (108–9). The rabbinic *bat kol* is treated by Saadiah as yet another manifestation of the Holy Spirit.

In his subsequent treatise, *Book of Beliefs and Opinions*, Saadiah attacks the Christians for treating both the Spirit of God and the Word of God as divine beings (2:5–6). While he does not deal explicitly with the notion of Holy Spirit, he describes the Glory or *Shekhinah* as possessing the purest substance of God's created entities. The only task, however, that he ascribes to it is to provide visible proof to the prophet of the truth of the divine communication (2:10; 3:5). The Speech heard by the prophets is treated simply as sounds created by God and conveyed through the air (2:12). In Saadiah's *Haggadah* for Passover there is an explicit and unique reference the notion that God did not redeem Israel from Egypt by means of the Speech (*Dibber*), a clear rejection of the *Logos* idea. One can detect in his approach a desire to counter the danger posed to strict monotheism by ascribing to the Holy Spirit too active a role in the divine governance of the affairs of the world.

JUDAH HALEVI. The early 12th-century philosopher *Judah Halevi refers to the Holy Spirit in several passages of the *Kuzari*. He presents in the name of the Aristotelian philosophers the view that the Holy Spirit is identical to the Active Intellect, the source of the emanation of prophecy. Halevi rejects this approach, maintaining that prophecy comes directly from God and not any intermediary (1:87). In explaining the visible manifestations of prophecy Halevi utilizes Saadiah's discussion in the *Commentary to the Book of Creation*, though he draws a distinction between the Holy Spirit and the Glory. Halevi writes: "The air and all the bodies act by His will … From the subtle spiritual body called the Holy Spirit were shaped the spiritual forms called the Holy Glory, figuratively called God" (2:4). The Holy Spirit and Glory assume here the role of passive intermediaries. As in the case of Saadiah, Halevi at times speaks also of non-visible manifestations of the Holy Spirit. In a passage in which Halevi presents his own commentary on the *Book of Creation* he adds that the angels are created from the Holy Spirit and souls conjoin with it (4:25). The Spirit is also described by him as "enwrapping the prophet" (4:15) resulting in the individual's reception of prophecy, or in his being aided and strengthened in a given matter. The same phenomenon occurs during the anointing of a nazirite, the anointing of the king, and when the High Priest consults the *Urim and Thummim in order to divine the future. One passage in the *Kuzari* alludes to a strong connection between the Holy Spirit and the *Amr Ilahi* (Divine Matter or Command), a notion whose definition has been a source of controversy among scholars. Halevi illustrates divine speech by "the speech of the prophets when they are enwrapped by the Holy Spirit. The Divine Matter directs all their words. The prophet exercises absolutely no volition in his speech (5:20)." Visible and non-visible manifestations also are true of the *Shekhinah* (2:62; 3:19; 5:23), which Halevi at times treats interchangeably with the Holy Spirit.

One may also interpret the notion of being "enwrapped by the Holy Spirit" in a less literal manner and see in it a figurative image for the reception of a special type of knowledge or ability. In the presentation of the philosophers' worldview in the last part of the *Kuzari*, based on a short treatise by Avicenna, Halevi writes: "In some individuals, the rational faculty succeeds in conjoining with the Universal Intellect. It is thereby elevated above the use of syllogism and deliberation, or the toil of learning, by means of inspiration (*ilham*) and revelation (*wahy*). Its special trait is termed "sanctity" and the "holy spirit" (512)." In 4:15 Halevi indicates that the prophet is enwrapped by the Holy Spirit after his soul "conjoins with the angels."

MAIMONIDES. *Maimonides does not use the Holy Spirit to refer to a spiritual entity but confines his usage to the emanation received by the prophets or other special individuals, such as the High Priest when he consults the Urim and Thummim. In *Eight Chapters* 7 and in *Laws of the Principles of the Torah* 7:1, 6 he appears to use the term as synonymous with prophecy (though in 7:1 the term may refer to the acquired intellect). In his discussion of the levels of prophecy in the *Guide of the Perplexed* (2:45), on the other hand, he counts the reception of the Holy Spirit as the two lowest degrees of prophecy and distinguishes them from prophecy proper. The first of these degrees consists of divine help that moves an individual to perform a great and righteous action. The next degree consists of a situation in which "an individual finds that a certain thing has descended upon him and that another force has come upon him and has made him speak; so that he talks in wise sayings, in words of praise, in useful admonitory dicta, or concerning governmental or divine matter – and all this while he is awake and his senses function as usual." Saadiah in his *Commentary on the Book of Creation* also speaks of these two manifestations of the Holy Spirit as discrete from prophecy proper, though he is less interested than Maimonides in drawing a sharp distinction between the two phenomena. By means of this distinction Maimonides ascribes an inferior standing to the books of the Bible that belong to the Hagiographa, treating their authors as non-prophets. The distinction also enables Maimonides to ascribe a non-prophetic status to Balaam, who received the Holy Spirit but did not possess the requisite perfection to attain prophecy in his view. The same is true of the High Priest when consulting the Urim and Thummim

Maimonides' distinction between prophecy and the Holy Spirit, as well as his confining the use of Holy Spirit to refer to a certain type of reception and not to a spiritual entity, influenced subsequent Jewish philosophers. Even Ḥasdai *Crescas and Joseph *Albo who broke with Maimonides on many points of his philosophy continued to accept his approach on this issue.

[Howard Kreisel (2nd ed.)]

The Modern Period

The concept of the Holy Spirit is of central importance in Hermann *Cohen's last book *Die Religion der Vernunft aus den Quellen des Judentums* (1929, pp. 116–30). Objecting to Philo's conception of the Logos as an independent being intermediate between God and man, he maintains that the Holy Spirit characterizes the correlation between God and man. He relates the Holy Spirit to ethical purification on the basis of Leviticus 22:32, and claims that it finds expression in active ethical behavior rather than the passive receptivity of grace. Through ethical purification man attains a new spirit. The Holy Spirit can neither be alone with God nor alone with man, but is present only in correlation.

For the liberal thinker K. Kohler the Holy Spirit is the gift of reason given by God to man (*Jewish Theology* (1918), 200ff.). While the rabbis believed that the first man was endowed with the most perfected reason and was familiar with "every branch of knowledge," in the modern period it is believed that man's knowledge has increased through the ages. Thus Kohler believed that the Holy Spirit should be seen as dynamic. It is the spirit that manifests itself most clearly in the development and evolution of all areas of life – social, intellectual, moral, and spiritual – "toward the highest of goals" (*ibid.*, 230).

[Rivka G. Horwitz]

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RUBENOVITZ, HERMAN H. (1883–1966), U.S. rabbi and Zionist. Rubenovitz, born in Kovno, Lithuania, was taken to the United States in about 1890 and lived in Pittsburgh. In 1908, he graduated from the Jewish Theological Seminary and took his first pulpit in Louisville, Kentucky. There Rubenovitz initiated the idea of an association of Conservative synagogues, which eventually took the form of the *United Synagogue of America. In 1910 he became rabbi of Congregation Mishkan Tefila, Boston, which, over the years, he succeeded in making Conservative in outlook and in style of worship. Rubenovitz was among the rabbis who, with Mordecai *Kaplan, developed the Society of the Jewish Renascence in 1920, which later became the *Reconstructionist movement.

He also was among the founders of the Boston Rabbinical Association, serving as its president for 15 years. He was active in Jewish education in the Boston area and initiated the plan for a training school for Jewish teachers. Rubenovitz presided over the Zionist Council in Boston and was chairman of the New England Board of the Jewish National Fund for four years. His wife, MIGNON RUBENOVITZ, was an active leader in Hadassah Women's Organization, in the National Council of Jewish Women, and in the National Women's League of the United Synagogue of America. They published memoirs and letters in *The Waking Heart* (1967), and Mignon Rubenovitz published other works under her own name.

RUBENS, ALFRED (1903–1998), English collector and historian. A London surveyor and estate agent by profession, he began early in life to collect engravings of Jewish interest and his *Anglo-Jewish Portraits* (1935) was based on his collections. This was followed by a similar work of wider scope, *A Jewish Iconography* (1954; rev. ed. 1981) extending to engravings of scenes of Jewish life and to continental engraved portraits. A logical outcome was his *History of Jewish Costume* (1967). Rubens was chairman of the London Jewish Museum for many years and was president of the Jewish Historical Society of England (1956–58).

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[Cecil Roth]

RUBENS, BERNICE (1927–2004), British novelist, film writer and director. Born in Cardiff, Rubens was educated at University College, South Wales. She taught English and from 1950 worked as a documentary film writer and director. Her first novel, *Set on Edge*, was published in 1960. She also published two plays, *Third Party* (1972) and *I Sent a Letter to My Love* (1979), which is based on her novel of the same title.

Rubens' first novels, *Set on Edge* (1960), *Madame Sousatzka* (1962), *Mate in Three* (1965), and *The Elected Member* (1969), are all extreme fictional versions of the author's Cardiff Jewish childhood. She has been described as a "chronicler of the frayed edge of middle-class Jewish life." In particular, the question of destructive familial expectations is a central motif in Rubens' early fiction. *Spring Sonata* (1979) addresses this theme from the startling viewpoint of an unborn child and *I Sent a Letter to My Love* (1975) is a Welsh version of this theme.

Rubens' fiction is concerned with marginal characters whose personality is often on the point of breakdown. Representative examples of this preoccupation are *The Elected Member,* her Booker Prize-winning novel; *A Five Year Sentence* (1978); *Sunday Best* (1980), the journal of a transvestite; and *Mr. Wakefield's Crusade* (1985). For the most part, Rubens avoids a gloomy pessimism – inherent in her subject matter – by dotting her fiction with welcome black humor. In later years, she reverted to an exclusively Jewish environment with the publication of *Brothers* (1983), an ambitious Jewish family saga. Above all, Rubens' fiction evoked with considerable power the dark underside of what passes for normal human behavior. In this way, she has challenged the cozy reality of mainstream Anglo-Jewish fiction.

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[Bryan Cheyette]

RUBENS, PAUL ALFRED (1875–1917), playwright and composer. Born in London, the son of a stockbroker, Rubens was educated at Winchester and Oxford. He wrote lyrics and librettos, for which he often composed musical settings. His stage successes, mainly written in collaboration, include *Lady Madcap* (1904), *Miss Hook of Holland* (1907), *The Balkan Princess* (1910), and *The Girl from Utah* (1913). From 1912 until his death, he was the principal composer for London's Gaiety Theatre. He died of tuberculosis at the age of only 41.

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RUBENSON, ROBERT (1829–1902), Swedish meteorologist. Born in Stockholm, he attended the University of Uppsala, where he taught mathematics until 1859. For three years, Rubenson carried out meteorological research work in Germany, France and Italy. In Rome he completed an extensive investigation on the polarization of the atmosphere, which he published in book form (Uppsala, 1864). In 1873 he organized at Uppsala a network of meteorological observations. He was appointed director of the Swedish Central Meteorological Institute, a professor at the University of Stockholm, and a member of the Swedish Academy of Sciences. He is considered the founder of modern Swedish meteorology.

[Arthur Beer]

RUBENSTEIN, LOUIS (1861–1931), Canadian ice-skating champion, community activist and municipal politician. Rubenstein was born in Montreal in 1861. Widely regarded the father of figure skating in North America, at various times between 1882 and 1891 he was figure skating champion of Canada, the United States, North America and the world. Rubenstein won his first title, the Montreal Championship, in 1878. In 1885 he captured the North American title and defended it successfully for the next four years. In 1890 Rubenstein also won at the world figure skating championships in St. Petersburg, Russia, the first North American figure skater to compete abroad. The championships in St. Petersburg proved to be very problematic for Rubenstein. Due to widespread Russian antisemitism of the day, the Canadian Jewish skater expected he would be unwelcome to compete and came forearmed with a letter of introduction from Canada's governor-general Lord Stanley. In spite of police harassment, Rubenstein was allowed to remain in Russia for the competition, and his performance was so outstanding that not even obviously biased judging could deny him the gold medal.

In 1891, at the top of his career, Rubenstein retired from skating. He remained, however, active in the sports world. He founded the Canadian Figure Skating Association with the objective of standardizing judging in skating competitions. He also served as president of several different Canadian sports organizations including bowling, lifesaving, skating, tobogganing, bicycling and curling.

Rubenstein was also active in the larger community. While active in his family's silver plating business, he was elected a Montreal alderman, a position he held for 17 years until his death. For many years he was also president of the Montreal YMHA. In 1981 Rubenstein joined Fanny Rosenfeld as the first Canadians inducted into the International Jewish Sports Hall of Fame in Israel and in 2004 Rubenstein became the subject of a film produced by the National Film Board of Canada.

[Avi Hyman and Brenda Cappe (2nd ed.)]

RUBENSTEIN, RICHARD LOWELL (1924–), U.S. rabbi and theologian. Rubenstein was born in New York City; his parents were non-observant Jews and he did not have a bar-mitzvah. He was tempted to enter the ministry but was told that he would have to change his name. Instead, he embraced his own tradition. He entered Hebrew Union College to study for the rabbinate, simultaneously attending the University of Cincinnati (BA 1946). He was at HUC during the Holocaust years when the reality of Jewish life clashed with the optimistic liberalism of Reform Judaism. Becoming more observant, he switched to JTS when Abraham Joshua Heschel left HUC to join the Seminary faculty. He also studied at Yeshiva Torah Vodaath. He was ordained at the Seminary and received his MHL in 1952. While serving as rabbi in Brockton (1952–54) and in Natick (1954–56), Massachusetts, and as interim director of the Hillel Foundation at Harvard (1956–58), he studied at Harvard Divinity School where he received his STM (1955) and at the graduate school where he received his Ph.D. in 1960.

In 1958 he became director of Hillel and chaplain to Jewish students at the University of Pittsburgh (1958). In 1969 he was appointed adjunct professor of humanities at the University of Pittsburgh. Given the controversy of his writings and what he defined as "bureaucratic excommunication," Rubenstein's career in the rabbinate was stymied but academic positions in religion were becoming open to Jewish scholars. From 1971 to 1995, he was a professor of religion at Florida State University. In February 2001 the university created a professorship in his name. In 1987 the JTS conferred the degree of Doctor of Hebrew Letters, *honoris causa*, upon him. Many years later, Rubenstein became president of the University of Bridgeport.

There is general agreement among theologians that Rubenstein's first book, *After Auschwitz* (1966), initiated the contemporary debate on the meaning of the Holocaust in religious thought, both Jewish and Christian. In it he argued that after Auschwitz the belief in a redeeming God who is active in history and who will redeem mankind from its vicissitudes is no longer possible. Belief in such a God and an allegiance to the rabbinic theodicy that attempted to justify Him would imply that Hitler was part of a divine plan and that Israel was being punished for her sins. His rejection of God, however, does not entail an end to religion or an end to Judaism, for in a meaningless world human community becomes all the more important. Consequently, Rubenstein emphasizes the importance of rituals, rites of passage, and religious community over doctrine and ethics.

Rubenstein's next work was *The Religious Imagination,* a psychological study of Midrash, which was followed by an autobiography, *Power Struggle*. In 1972 he published a slim but influential work entitled *The Cunning of History*, which argued that the Holocaust is an expression in the extreme of what was common to the mainstream of Western civilization. Rubenstein viewed the Holocaust as manifestation of major political, demographic, economic, and bureaucratic trends in contemporary civilization and therefore of importance far beyond the Jewish community. Rubenstein's later book, *La Perfidie de l'Histoire* (2005), deals with the challenge of Islamic extremism to Western civilization.

Among his other books are *The Age of Triage* (1983), and *Approaches to Auschwitz* (2003), co-authored with John K. Roth. Always a strong supporter of Israel, a life-long student of genocide and of antisemitism, Rubenstein spent the opening years of the 2000s seeking to understand the phenomenon of Islamic antisemitism as manifested particularly in Europe.

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[Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

RUBIN, EDGAR (1886–1951), Danish psychologist. He was professor of psychology at the university of his native Copenhagen. When the Germans overran Denmark during World War II Rubin sought refuge in Sweden. He returned to Denmark after the war, but died after protracted illness, brought on, in part, by the hardships suffered in his flight to Sweden. Rubin's work ranged widely and included studies of perceived movement, tactual and auditory senses, temperature, and gustation. He discovered paradoxical cold – the fact that cool stimuli 0.1–1.5° C below skin temperature arouse faint sensations of warmth. His best known discovery involved the finding that visual perception is normally divided into two parts, figure and ground.

Rubin's laws governing the selection of the figure were phenomenological in the tradition of *Husserl. They did not explain why a figure was selected but merely stated the conditions under which one structure among possible alternatives was selected. Although not a Gestalt psychologist himself, Rubin's ideas were quickly incorporated into Gestalt theory. Rubin did not approve of theories and schools of psychology. His position, as stated in his address to the Ninth International Congress of Psychology at New Haven, Connecticut, in 1929, was to let the facts speak for themselves.

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[Helmut E. Adler]

RUBIN, GAIL (1939–1978), U.S. photographer. The only child of a prominent New York family, Rubin graduated from Finch College and worked as a photographer in advertising and as an editor at several publishing houses before moving to Israel in 1971. She began her photographic career in Israel as a press photographer and served as a war photographer. She was one of the first civilians to cross into Egypt with Israeli troops during the 1973 war.

Rubin turned her attention to nature photography and a collection of her wildlife photographs was exhibited at the Jewish Museum in New York in 1977. In March of 1978, Rubin was shooting the nesting habits of storks and pelicans in a bird sanctuary when she was shot to death by Palestinian terrorists who had infiltrated a remote beach north of Tel Aviv.

Her legacy is a book called *Psalmist with a Camera*, published in 1979. Rubin's descriptions and photographs are rooted in biblical phrases; she had resolved to show the birds, beasts, and other aspects of nature mentioned in the Bible. In the Ḥuleh Nature Reserve, for example, she photographed water buffalo, pelicans, and doves. The book also contains impressionistic images of the bark of eucalyptus trees at different seasons.

[Stewart Kampel (2nd ed.)]

RUBIN, HADASSAH (1912–2003), Yiddish poet. Born in Yampol, Ukraine, Rubin moved with her family to Zbarazh, Galicia (now Ukraine) at the age of nine, and later to Kremenets (Krzemieniec). She graduated from a Polish secondary school. From 1935 she was a member of the illegal Polish Communist Party and was arrested several times. After spending World War II in Kyrgyzstan, she returned to Poland and became chairman of the *Yidisher Kultur-Gezelshaftlekher Farband* in Stettin (Szczecin) from 1948 to 1952, and a staff member of the magazine *Yidishe Shriftn* in Warsaw from 1956 to 1959. In 1960 she immigrated to Israel. Her poems were first published in 1931 in the *Kremenitser Shtime* and the *Vilner Tog*, then in various other Yiddish publications. Her poetry, which is characterized by original imagery, deals with social problems, the Holocaust, the joys of love and motherhood, the lost illusions and life in Israel. It was collected in the volumes: *Mayn Gas iz in Fener* ("My Street Is Full with Banners," 1953); *Veytik un Freyd* ("Pain and Joy," 1955); *Trit in der Nakht* ("Steps in the Night," 1957); *Fun Mentsh tsu Mentsh* ("From Person to Person," 1964); *In Tsugvint* ("In a Whirlwind," 1981); *Eyder Tog* ("Before Dawn," 1988); and *Rays Nisht op di Blum* ("Don't Pluck the Flower," 1995).

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[Arieh Pilowsky]

RUBIN, MORTON JOSEPH (1917–1972), U.S. meteorologist. Born in Philadelphia, Rubin was supervising meteorologist of Pan American Airlines (1942–49) before joining the Federal Weather Bureau. In 1952 he was one of the heads of a project for weather forecast charts of the southern hemisphere and did research on circulation in that area. During the Third International Geophysical Year (1955), Rubin was appointed to the Antarctic Weather Research Center and was entrusted with the development of analysis methods for its project. During 1957–59, he was special assistant to Harry Wexler, and liaison meteorologist with the Soviet Mirnyy station in the Antarctic on problems concerning research into and analysis of the upper strata of the atmosphere. Rubin later directed the polar meteorology research project of the Federal Weather Bureau (1959–62) and combined research projects on meteorological, oceanographical and glaciological problems of the Antarctic. From 1965 he was a senior scientist in the Environmental Science Services Administration (ESSA) and shared responsibility for research planning.

[Dov Ashbel]

RUBIN, REUVEN (1893–1974), Israeli painter. Born in Galats, Romania, the son of Feiga and Joel Zelicovici, Rubin drew from the time he was a young *ḥeder* pupil. At 14 he had already published his drawings in local illustrated journals and books. In 1912 Rubin traveled to Jerusalem intending to study in the Bezalel School of Art and Design. A year later he moved to Paris to study at the Ecole des Beaux Arts and at the Academie Colarossi. Rubin returned to Tel Aviv only in 1923 but continued to travel and to exhibit all over the world. Pictures by Rubin were acquired by the world's main museums, such as the Musée National d'Art Modern in Paris (*Goldfish Vendor*, 1955) and the Museum of Modern Art in New York (*The Flute Player*, 1940). In Israel his art works appeared in national institutes, such as the painting *The Glory of Galilee* (1965–66) located in the Knesset in Jerusalem and the stained glass windows in the Residence of the President of Israel in Jerusalem (1969). Rubin participated in the Venice Biennale more than once. He was the first Israeli minister plenipotentiary to Romania (1949–50).

Rubin was awarded the Israel Prize in 1973. In 1974 Rubin signed a contract with Tel Aviv's mayor in which he turned his house over to the city. This building, which stands on Bialik

Street near the Bialik House as well as close to the old municipality building, became the Rubin House Museum.

Most of Rubin's pictures expressed the local environment of Ereẓ Israel. The views reflect the landscapes, the flora, the fauna, and the variety of types of people he saw in the country, all painted in a unique way combining naïve and simplified styles.

The naïve image was created mainly by the distortion of proportions. The lack of shadows, the existence of contour lines, and the strange perspective were part of the naïve style of the 1930s and expressed Rubin's impression regarding the significance of the location. In a self-portrait he showed himself as a dark-skinned person with a half-open shirt, seated on a simple stool. The view that appeared through the window was mostly a view of Jaffa with Arabic figures and houses (*Self Portrait*, 1925, Paris).

During the 1940s he described the olive fields of the Galilee. The figures he dealt with were the biblical figures that he had felt especially close to since he had been a child and even more so when he was situated in Israel. His picture series *Jerusalem the Golden* combined the real landscape of the Judean Mountains and the imaginary temple set in its supposed original place. Later in the windows of the President's Residence he combined fragments from his art works with the biblical scenes of *Jacob Wrestling with the Angel, King David Enters Jerusalem* and *Elijah Ascending to Heaven*. Although it was a huge project using a new technique, Rubin, then approaching his 76th year, accepted the assignment with delight. He declared the windows his gift to the nation.

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[Ronit Steinberg (2nd ed.)]

RUBIN, ROBERT E. (1938–), U.S. financier, 70th secretary of the U.S. Treasury. Born in New York City, Rubin graduated summa cum laude from Harvard in 1960. He attended the London School of Economics and received an LL.B. from Yale Law School in 1964. He entered private practice with the law firm of Cleary, Gottlieb, Steen, and Hamilton in New York. In 1966 he joined Goldman Sachs as an associate in the risk arbitrage division, and his brilliance there earned him a general partnership in 1971. In 1980 Rubin became a member of the management committee, then vice chairman and co-chief operating officer in 1987. He served as co-senior partner and co-chairman at Goldman Sachs from 1990 to 1992.

When Bill Clinton took office as U.S. president in January 1993, Rubin joined the White House as assistant to the president for economic policy, directing Clinton's newly created National Economic Council. The passage of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) in 1993, an early success for Clinton, was also considered a victory for Rubin and an endorsement of the new "Rubinomics." In 1995 Rubin succeeded Lloyd Bentsen as Treasury secretary, serving until 1999. This period saw one of the highest levels of economic growth in U.S. history, for which Rubin is generally credited. It was also the first time when virtually every leading position in the Clinton economic team was held by a Jew.

As Treasury secretary, Rubin's economic policies included measures for a steep deficit reduction, which ultimately resulted in a federal budget surplus; at the same time, the U.S. economy experienced both vigorous growth and very low levels of national unemployment. Internationally, Rubin urged the support of developing economies, including Mexico and Argentina, orchestrating a substantial loan guarantee for Mexico. With his deputy secretary Lawrence Summers (Rubin's eventual successor) and Alan Greenspan, Rubin coordinated the U.S. response to the Asian financial crisis of the late 1990s.

In 1999 Rubin resigned as secretary and joined Citigroup, where he served as chairman of the executive committee. He has served on the board of trustees of the Carnegie Corporation of New York, Mt. Sinai Hospital and Medical School, the Securities and Exchange Commission Market Oversight and Financial Services Advisory Committee, the Mayor of New York's Council of Economic Advisors, and the Governor's Council on Fiscal and Economic Priorities for the State of New York. He has written, with journalist Jacob Weisberg, *In an Uncertain World: Tough Choices from Wall Street to Washington* (2003), a memoir documenting his years in the Clinton administration.

[Dorothy Bauhoff (2nd ed.)]

RUBIN, RUTH (1906–2000), singer, folk-music collector, and author. Born in Khotin, Bessarabia, she was taken to Canada at the age of four, and was educated in English, French, and Yiddish. At an early age she showed a deep love for music and studied Yiddish folksong. She recorded Yiddish songs in Montreal and Toronto, Canada, and New York City between 1947 and 1964, as well as in London, Tel Aviv, and elsewhere. She published the songs she collected and learned, performed, and recorded them. Her research was published in *A Treasury of Jewish Folksong* (1950), *Voices of a People* (1963), and *Jewish Folk Songs* (1965); in these collections, the songs are discussed in their historical settings. She also recorded herself singing these songs and her records were published. A selection of her recordings was donated to the Haifa Music Museum and Library (approx. 20 hrs); the majority of her recordings were donated to the Archive of Folk Cultures of the Library of Congress in Washington (approx. 66 hrs.). Some of her papers and recordings were donated to YIVO archives for Yiddish research and culture in New York.

[Gila Flam (2nd ed.)]

RUBIN, SAMUEL (1901–1978), U.S. philanthrophist. Rubin was born in Bialystok, Poland, but was brought to the U.S. by his parents at the age of four. He studied at the City College of New York, but entered business and in 1937 founded the firm of Faberge, importers of French perfumes, which he sold in 1963 for $25 million.

Rubin was an outstanding philanthropist for both United States and Israeli causes. He was one of the founders of the

New York Bellevue Medical Center, and the Fordham University Medical Library, and endowed the chair of anthropology at Brandeis University, in addition to supporting numerous other medical and cultural institutions. In 1955 he donated $250,000 for the establishment of a chain of community cultural centers in Israeli development areas; he founded a cancer detection clinic at the Rambam Hospital, Haifa. In 1957 the Rubin Foundation, which he founded, provided the funds to acquire a building to house the Jerusalem Conservatoire of Music, to which he donated $325,000 through the American-Israel Cultural Foundation, and it was given the name of the Rubin Academy of Music.

On the 20th anniversary of the Rubin Academy of Music in 1977, he donated a laboratory for electronic music.

RUBIN, SOLOMON (1823–1910), Hebrew writer. Born in Dolina, Galicia, Rubin was one of the most prolific writers of the Haskalah period; his main subjects were general and Jewish folklore, customs, superstitions, and the like. Rubin's work was for the most part devoted to the study of thought and of popular beliefs accepted as sacred. His sympathy for the victims of intellectual censorship induced him to translate K. Gutzkow's *Uriel Acosta* (1857; see Uriel da *Costa) from German to Hebrew, and this led him to an interest in Spinoza, whose writings preoccupied him for an extended period.

He published *Moreh Nevukhim he-Ḥadash* (2 vols., 1857), a synopsis of Spinoza's two books on the basis of the French adaptation of Emile Laisset, and, when this resulted in attacks upon him and Spinoza by Samuel David *Luzzatto, he countered with *Teshuvah Niẓẓaḥat* (1859). A book on Spinoza and Maimonides (in German, 1869) earned him his doctorate at the University of Goettingen. He also wrote on Spinoza in *Ha-Shaḥar,* and published two additional works on the philosopher: *Hegyonei Spinoza* (1897), on divinity, the universe, and the soul of man, and *Barukh Spinoza* (1910). He also translated Spinoza's "Ethics" into Hebrew (*Ḥeker Eloha im Torat ha-Adam*; 1885) and his grammar (*Dikduk Sefat Ever*; 1905), in the introduction to which Rubin discusses the Sephardi pronunciation, which formed the basis of Spinoza's Hebrew grammar. Rubin also wrote *Tehillat ha-Kesilim* (1888), a parody in the style of Erasmus' *In Praise of Folly,* the only book of its kind in Hebrew.

[Getzel Kressel]

RUBINER, LUDWIG (1881–1920), German poet and essayist. Rubiner, a native of Berlin, was a social revolutionary who campaigned passionately for peace and social justice. A member of no political party, he expounded his ideology in a series of essays collected in the volume *Der Mensch in der Mitte* (1917). In his poetry, as in his prose, he was an expressionist.

His own verse included *Die indischen Opale* (1911) and *Das himmlische Licht* (1916). He also edited an anthology, *Kameraden der Menschheit, Dichtungen zur Weltrevolution* (1919). This was a collection of manifestos "for the fight against the old world and for the advancement toward a true humanity," and in it he called on the poets to side with the rebellious masses. For a short time, Rubiner edited the expressionist journal *Zeit-Echo* (1918). He edited a selection of Tolstoy's diaries, *Tagebuch 1895–1899* (1918), and also translated some of the works of Voltaire, *Die Romane und Erzaehlungen*, 2 vols. (1919).

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[Rudolf Kayser]

RUBINGER, DAVID (1924–), Israeli photojournalist. Born in 1924 in Vienna, Rubinger emigrated to Palestine in 1939, where he later joined the British Army. He worked as a photographer for *Ha-Olam ha-Zeh* (1951–53), and *Yedioth Aharonoth* (1953–54). In 1954 he covered the *Kasztner trial for *Time,* and in 1956 the Suez Campaign for *Life*. In addition to working for *The Jerusalem Post,* including as its picture editor, most of his work since was for *Time* magazine, where he became a contracted photographer. He covered the early story of *aliyah* and Israel's wars. His approach was the human angle such as the *ma'barot* (shanty camps) for immigrants. Rubinger is most remembered for the photograph, shot lying on his back, of three paratroopers at the Western Wall immediately after its capture in the Six-Day War of 1967. Another famous photograph was of the IDF chief military chaplain, Rabbi Shlomo *Goren, blowing the *shofar* at the liberated wall. Informal shots of political leaders like David *Ben-Gurion, Golda *Meir, Menaḥem *Begin, and Yitzchak *Rabin showed the subject's human and informal side. In 1997 he was awarded the Israel Prize in photography.

[Yoel Cohen (2nd ed.)]

RUBINOW, ISAAC MAX (1875–1936), U.S. economist and social worker. Rubinow was born in Grodno, Russia and arrived in New York City in 1893. He qualified at New York Medical College in 1898 but abandoned medical practice in favor of statistics and social work. During service with several U.S. government agencies, Rubinow concentrated on social insurance. Rubinow's efforts on behalf of social insurance brought about his appointment as executive secretary of the Social Insurance Commission of the American Medical Association (AMA) in 1916. However, his efforts to commit the AMA to state health insurance failed.

Rubinow believed that social insurance, national in scope, covering health, unemployment, accidents, and old age, and providing adequate benefits, should replace charity and other forms of voluntary relief. He held that it should provide assistance as a right and thus take care of human needs "without injury to the man's ego and self-respect and that of his family." In addition, Rubinow insisted on a compulsory state system because "the class which needs social insurance cannot afford it, and the class that can afford it does not need it." He prepared the report of the Ohio Social Security Commission in 1933, and President Franklin D. Roosevelt appointed him as a consultant to the committee that drafted the social security legislation of 1935.

Rubinow was also active in Jewish welfare work. From 1923 to 1928, he was director of the Jewish Welfare Society of Philadelphia, and from 1927 to 1932 he served as vice president of the National Conference of Jewish Social Service. He made it clear that poverty among Jews must not be isolated from conditions in America generally, calling for Jewish participation in national progressive social movements.

Rubinow was an active Zionist, and his medical training and administrative skills aided him from 1918 to 1922, when he directed the Hadassah Medical Unit in Palestine. Modern health services were established for the first time, malaria was reduced, and the care of children was stressed. Rubinow later served as executive director of the Zionist Organization of America (1928). From 1929 to 1936, he was secretary of B'nai B'rith and, after Hitler came to power, he was a leader in the movement to aid German Jews.

Rubinow's works include: *Social Insurance* (1913); *The Quest for Security* (1934); and "The Jewish Question in New York City," a paper published in AJHSP, 49 (1959), 90–136.

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[Irwin Yellowitz]

RUBINSTEIN, AKIVA (1882–1961), Polish chess master. Rubinstein studied at various yeshivot and he took up chess at the age of 17. He became a player of genius, and was as prolific a producer of chess masterpieces as his younger contemporary, Capablanca. Rubinstein had a phenomenal memory and an original comprehensive grasp of all aspects of the game. He also achieved an objective, selfless attitude in play which earned him the description of "the Spinoza of chess."

Most of Rubinstein's victories were gained before World War I. In 1912 he shared first honors with Emanuel *Lasker at Vilna, and won many tournaments.

Until 1914 his career qualified him as the likely challenger for the world championship. Conditions arising from World War I and its aftermath, however, made it impossible for him to participate in any contenders' matches from 1914 to 1920, and the challenge was left to Capablanca. Between 1918 and 1930, he won many of the leading European tournaments, but deteriorating health forced him to retire to a nursing home in Belgium. It is believed that a Nazi devotee of chess was instrumental in saving his life during the German occupation and he was eventually able to leave the home a few years before he died.

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[Gerald Abrahams]

RUBINSTEIN, AMNON (1931–), constitutional law professor and politician, member of the Ninth to Fifteenth Knessets. Rubinstein was born in Tel Aviv. He served as an officer in the artillery corps. He received a bachelor's degree in economics and international relations (1955) and in 1963 a master's degree in law at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. He received his doctorate in law from the University of London in 1966. Rubinstein was a member of the *Haaretz* editorial board, and in 1969–75 taught law at Tel Aviv University, serving as dean of the law faculty (1969–74).

After the Yom Kippur War, in 1974 he established a protest movement called Shinui ("Change"), and two years later joined the Democratic Movement for Change with other members of his movement. He was elected to the Ninth Knesset on the DMC list but in 1978 broke away from it due to his opposition to the role that the DMC was playing in the Begin government, and formed a parliamentary group by the name of Shinui, which had five members at the end of the term of the Ninth Knesset. In 1976 he was appointed one of the deputy chairmen of the Liberal International, continuing to serve in this position until 1999.

In the elections to the Tenth to Twelfth Knessets, Rubinstein ran at the head of the Shinui party, which in March 1992 joined with the Civil Rights Movement and *Mapam to form the *Meretz parliamentary group. Rubinstein ran in the elections to the Thirteenth to Fifteenth Knessets within the framework of Meretz, which became a single party in February 1997. In the National Unity government formed in 1984, he served as minister of communications but resigned in May 1987 after the inner Cabinet did not approve the London Agreement signed by Minister for Foreign Affairs Shimon *Peres with King Hussein of Jordan, and due to an agreement signed by Prime Minister Yitzhak *Shamir to bring *Shas back into the government. In 1989 he was responsible for an amendment in the laws that enabled the opening of private academic institutions for the teaching of law, which opened the door to the establishment of numerous colleges that are not financed from public funds. In the course of the Twelfth Knesset, he was one of the four Knesset Members who initiated the passing of the law for the direct election of the prime minister. In the government formed by Yitzhak *Rabin in July 1992, he was first appointed minister of energy and infrastructures, but after Shulamit *Aloni was forced to resign from the Ministry of Education, Culture and Sports in May 1994, he replaced her. In the Fourteenth Knesset, Rubinstein served as chairman of the Knesset Economics Committee, and in the Fifteenth, first as chairman of the Constitution, Law and Justice Committee, and then as chairman of the State Control Committee. Rubinstein resigned from the Fifteenth Knesset on October 31, 2002. He returned to academic life, being appointed dean of the law school at the Interdisciplinary Center in Herzliyyah. In 2004 he was appointed to head a public committee to examine parliamentary supervision over the defense establishment, and ways of improving it – a committee that submitted its report in January 2005.

Among his writings are *Ha-Mishpat ha-Konstituẓiyyoni shel Medinat Yisrael* (1996^5); *Da'at Yaḥid: Devarim Bikhtav u-Be'al Peh – 1960–2001* (2001).

In 2006 Rubinstein was awarded the Israel Prize as "the father of constitutional law in Israel," citing his seminal work *Constitutional Law of the State of Israel*.

[Susan Hattis Rolef (2nd ed.)]

RUBINSTEIN, ANTON GRIGORYEVICH (1829–1894), Russian virtuoso pianist and composer. Born in Vykhvatinetz, Podolia, Rubinstein, whose parents abandoned Judaism soon after his birth, had his first piano lessons from his mother and appeared as a prodigy in Moscow in 1839, then in Paris and London. He won the approval of Liszt, was influenced by *Mendelssohn whom he met in London, and by the time he was 24 had had two operas performed. In 1858 the grand duchess Helena Pavlovna of Russia appointed him court pianist. With her help, he founded the St. Petersburg Conservatory in 1862, becoming its director. Resuming his tours, he was repeatedly acclaimed as a concert pianist in Europe and the U.S., and also gained renown for his own compositions. In 1890 he established the Rubinstein Prize, an international competition for young pianists and composers. Some of his compositions reflected the influence of his Jewish background, such as the operas *The Demon* (1871), *The Maccabees* (1875), *Nero* (1879), and *Sulamith* (1883); the oratorios *Paradise Lost* (1855), *The Tower of Babel* (1870), concertos for piano, violin, and cello, string quartets, trios, and *Moses* (1887). His works also included ten symphonies, sonatas, piano works, and over 100 vocal pieces. Little of his music, however, has remained in the concert repertoire. An English version of Anton Rubinstein's autobiography appeared in 1903. Anton's younger brother, NIKOLAY GRIGORYEVICH (1835–1881), was also an outstanding pianist, conductor and teacher. He founded the Moscow Conservatory (1866), which he headed until his death, and actively promoted the music of Tchaikovsky, who dedicated a piano trio to his memory.

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[Michael Goldstein]

RUBINSTEIN, ARTUR (1886–1982), virtuoso pianist. He started to play the piano at the age of three, in Lodz, Poland, where he was born, and made his first appearance as soloist in Berlin in 1897, with Joseph *Joachim conducting. Two years later he played in Warsaw under the baton of Emil Mlinarsky (who later became his father-in-law) and fame followed quickly. He appeared with the Philadelphia Orchestra in 1906. At the outbreak of World War I, he offered his services to the Polish Embassy in London and gave concerts for the Allied Forces. On seeing the results of German brutality among civilians, he decided never to appear again in Germany. He toured Spain and Latin America and after the war he moved to New York. Until then, he had been considered a great performer of Chopin but his interpretative range widened to include Beethoven, Schumann and others. During the ensuing years, Rubinstein developed into a master pianist of deep insight, whose periodic recitals drew both the general public and the connoisseurs. At one period, he was giving 150 concerts a year, many of them for charity. He changed his domicile several times. When playing in Europe, he lived in Paris. In 1937 he moved to Los Angeles but after World War II lived again in Paris while appearing for seasons on the Continent, in London, New York and Israel. He also played chamber music with *Heifetz, with Feuermann, and with *Piatigorsky, making memorable recordings. His later seasons in his 70s and 80s almost had the character of Rubinstein festivals. He raised his voice against injustice – for Israel before the Six-Day War, against Poland's anti-Jewish campaign, and against the Russian invasion of Czechoslovakia. In 1963 the Artur Rubinstein Chair of Musicology was established at the Hebrew University by the Israel Philharmonic Orchestra on the proceeds of his concerts in Israel, for which he always refused payment. In April 1976 Rubinstein was awarded an honorary doctorate by the Weizmann Institute at a special ceremony held in Tel Aviv, and in April 1977 he was honored as a Yakir Yerushalayim ("distinguished citizen of Jerusalem") at a ceremony closing the Master Piano Competition. In December 1978 he was one of the five recipients of the newly-instituted annual Kennedy Center Honors. Rubinstein was also the subject of a film, *L'Amour de la vie* (1969). The first volume of Rubinstein's autobiography, *My Young Years,* was published in 1973. The Rubinstein International Piano Master Competition, established in his name, was first held in Israel in 1974 and has become a regular triennial event. The second volume of his autobiography, *My Many Years*, appeared in 1980.

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[Uri (Erich) Toeplitz / Max Loppert (2nd ed.)]

RUBINSTEIN, HAROLD FREDERICK (1891–1975), English solicitor and playwright. Rubinstein was the founder of the well-known London law firm of Rubinstein, Nash & Co. (now known as Rubinstein, Callingham, Polden & Gale) which has specialized in literary cases. His defense of Radclyffe Hall's novel, *The Well of Loneliness*, in 1928 led to his appointment as legal adviser to various publishing houses. He wrote the plays: *The Dickens of Gray's Inn* (1931), *Israel Set Free* (1936), *Unearthly Gentleman* (1965), and *Shylock's End* (1970). He also edited *Four Jewish Plays* (1948). His son MICHAEL RUBINSTEIN (1920–2001) continued in his father's footsteps as probably the best-known solicitor defending authors and publishers in England, acting for Penguin Books in the famous prosecution of D.H. Lawrence's *Lady Chatterley's Lover* for obscenity in 1960, and in many libel cases. Another son, HILARY HAROLD RUBINSTEIN (1926–), is also a well-known London solicitor and author, whose works include *The Complete Insomniac* (1974).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: ODNB online for Michael Rubinstein.

RUBINSTEIN, HELENA (1871–1965), cosmetician. Born in Cracow, Poland, Rubinstein studied medicine for a short while and then immigrated to Australia. Observing that many Australian women suffered from dry, flaky skin because of the harsh, hot climate, she began selling a cold cream made according to a formula of her mother's. Within three years, she had made $100,000. In 1894 she moved to Britain, opening a fashionable salon in London in 1908 and one in Paris in 1912. During the next 20 years, she established herself as Europe's leading cosmetician. Arriving in New York in 1914, she remarked that American women had purple noses, gray lips, and chalk-white faces from "terrible powder" and said, "I recognized that the U.S. could be my life's work." She opened a salon in New York in 1914, and over the next several years salons appeared in Chicago, Boston, Los Angeles, and other American cities. She was so successful that when she died half a century later, her estate was estimated at $100 million, and her company's annual sales exceeded $60 million.

Rubinstein was the first cosmetician to send saleswomen on the road to demonstrate the right makeup for the average woman, and she was responsible for such beauty items as waterproof mascara and medicated face creams. She had a famous collection of art and jewelry. Her son, Roy Titus, succeeded her as head of the Rubinstein complex.

Rubinstein built a factory in Israel and, as an art collector, took a great interest in the country's museums. She donated the pavilion bearing her name to the Tel Aviv Art Museum. This pavilion of contemporary art also contains her unique collection of 15 miniature period rooms. In 1953 she established the Helena Rubinstein Foundation to coordinate her philanthropic endeavors, which included gifts to museums, colleges, and institutions for the needy, particularly women and children. The Foundation also established annual scholarships for young Israeli artists.

She wrote several books on beauty and health, including *The Art of Feminine Beauty* (1930), *This Way to Beauty* (1936), and *Food for Beauty* (1938). Her autobiography, *My Life for Beauty*, appeared in 1966.

Rubinstein has been quoted as saying, "There are no ugly women – only lazy ones."

BIBLIOGRAPHY: P.O. Higgins, *Madame: An Intimate Biography of Helena Rubinstein* (1971). **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** M. Fabe, *Beauty Millionaire: The Life of Helena Rubinstein* (1972).

[Isadore Barmash / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

RUBINSTEIN, IDA (1885–1960), Russian actress-dancer who won fame with Diaghilev's Russian Ballet. Born into a wealthy St. Petersburg family, she studied dance with the choreographer Michel Fokine. In the initial seasons of the Diaghilev Ballet in Paris, she created the leading roles in Fokine's *Cléopâtre* (1909) and *Schéhérazade* (1910), characterizations distinguished by her beauty and talent in mime. In 1915 she formed her own company for which she commissioned work from choreographers, writers and musicians. She also turned to serious drama and starred in new productions of the French classics. She commissioned and appeared in *Boléro* and *La Valse*, for which the music was written by the French composer Maurice Ravel. Becoming personally involved with the Italian poet-patriot Gabriele D'Annunzio, she presented his play *Le Martyre de St. Sébastien*, with incidental music by Debussy, in Paris and took it to other cities, including London (1931). Her last major appearance was in the premiere of the Arthur Honegger-Paul Claudel oratorio *Jeanne d'Arc au B-cher*, in Basle (1938).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: A.L. Haskelland and M. Clarke (eds.), *Ballet Annual 1901–1962* (1962), 120.

[Ravelle Brickman / Marcia B. Siegel]

RUBINSTEIN, ISAAC (1880–1945), rabbi, leader of Mizrachi and of Polish Jewry. Born in Dotnuva, Lithuania, Rubinstein was ordained a rabbi and also graduated from the faculty of law at Moscow University. He officiated as a rabbi in Genichesk, Ukraine (from 1906) and from 1910 was the government-appointed rabbi of Vilna. In 1919 he was elected to the Vilna rabbinate by the Orthodox, and in 1929 was elected as a Zionist and Mizrachi representative. From the date of his arrival in Vilna, Rubinstein engaged in activities in all spheres of Jewish life, especially during World War I, when he remained in Vilna and became one of the leading representatives of Vilna Jewry vis-à-vis the various occupying powers. During the Lithuanian regime in Vilna (1920), he was minister of Jewish affairs, and when Vilna returned to Polish rule he continued to be officially recognized as one of the heads of the community. From 1922 to 1939, he was a member of the Polish senate. He defended Jewish rights vigorously and his speeches made a great impression on Polish government circles. At the same time he was a leading member of Mizrachi and active in various capacities in the World Zionist Organization. After the 21st Zionist Congress (1939), he returned to Poland and remained with the community during the initial period of German and Soviet occupation. He made his way to the United States in 1941 and continued his work on behalf of Polish Jewry. He taught at the Yeshiva University in New York until his death.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: S. Kerstein, in: *Jewish Outlook*, 5 (March, 1941), 8–9; A. Werner, in: *The New Palestine*, 32 (April 24, 1942), 12; J. Cohen, *Vilna* (Eng., 1943), index; H. Abramovich, *Farshvundene Geshtaltn* (1958), 163–70.

[Getzel Kressel]

RUBINSTEIN, JOSEPH (1905–1978), Yiddish poet. Born in Skidel, Poland, Rubinstein published his first book of verse, *Modeln* ("Models") in Warsaw in 1939. His experiences as a war refugee in Alma-Ata, Kazakhstan, from 1941 until his return to Poland in 1946 were recorded in his epic *Megilas Rusland* ("The Scroll of Russia," 1960), the first volume of a poetic trilogy, *Der Driter Khurbn* ("The Third Catastrophe"), which chronicles the tragedy of Soviet Jewry and their undying devotion to their historic and religious heritage. In *Khurbn Poyln* ("The Destruction of Poland," 1964), the second volume of the trilogy, he dealt with his unsuccessful effort to rehabilitate himself in postwar Poland. In *Yetsias Eyrope* ("Exodus From Europe," 1969), he described his travails before reaching the U.S. *Nakht oyf Nalevkes* ("Night on Nalefkes," 1949), the first of his books to be published in the U.S., consisted of lyrics written during a decade of wandering, as well as a reprint of *Modeln*, the original edition of which had been destroyed in Warsaw.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: M. Ravitch, *Mayn Leksikon*, 1 (1945), 249–51; Sh. Bickel, *Shrayber fun Mayn Dor,* 2 (1965), 150–59; Y. Bronshteyn, *In Pardes fun Yidish* (1965), 63–69. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** Sh. Bickel, *Shrayber fun Mayn Dor,* 3 (1970), 60–66; J. Glatstein, *Af Greyte Temes* (1967), 130 ff.; Y. Yanasovitch, *Penimer un Nemen*, 1 (1971), 351–56; LNYL, 8 (1981), 418–20.

[Sol Liptzin]

RUBINSTEIN, SERGEY LEONIDOVICH (1889–1960), Russian psychologist, educator and author. Rubinstein was director of the Institute of Psychology in Moscow from 1943 to 1945. His major work, *Osnovy obshchey psikhologii* ("Foundations of General Psychology," 1946^2), earned him the Stalin Prize in 1941. Rubinstein played a leading role in the efforts of the Soviet regime to construct an adequate body of psychological knowledge and theory based on Marxist materialism. While remaining faithful to Marx and following the physiological findings of Pavlov, he nevertheless came quite close to the theoretical interpretations of human behavior developed by European and American psychologists but met increasing criticism for relying too much on Western theories of psychology. In 1950 he was forced to resign in the wake of the "Pavlovianization" of Soviet psychology. Nevertheless his influence continued and he was greatly concerned with the place of psychology among the other sciences.

In his article "Voprosy psikhologicheskoi teorii" ("Questions of Psychological Theory," in: B. Simon (ed.), *Psychology in the Soviet Union* (1957), 264–78), he advocated a public debate in the press to decide whether psychology was a natural or social science or whether it had a special position as one of the humanities. He also gave impetus to the development of educational psychology, being sharply critical of the "two factor" or age and environment theory prevailing in the West. Soviet psychologists, influenced by Rubinstein, refused to accept the passive role assigned to the child in this interpretation of its development. According to Rubinstein, education and environment do not influence mental development automatically: their action is dependent on such other factors as the child's level of development, his relation to his environment, and the aims of his activity. Rubinstein's books include *Bytiye i soznaniye* ("Being and Consciousness," 1957), and *Printsipy i puti razvitiya psikhologii* ("Principles and Directions of Development in Psychology," 1959).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: E.T. Chernakov, in: *Voprosy Filosofii*, 3 (1948), 301–15.

[Ernest Schwarcz]

RUBINSTEIN, WILLIAM D. (1946–), Australian-British historian. Born and educated in the United States, Rubinstein taught for many years at Deakin University in Victoria, Australia, and subsequently at the University of Wales-Aberystwyth, where he is professor of history. He wrote widely on the history of the Jews in Britain and Australia, and on the Holocaust, in such works as *A History of the Jews in the English-Speaking World: Great Britain* (1996) and *The Myth of Rescue* (1997). His works have emphasized the distinctiveness of the English-speaking world from continental Europe in its treatment of the Jews. He also wrote widely on British history and other topics. In 2002–4 he was president of the Jewish Historical Society of England. His wife, HILARY L. RUBINSTEIN (1946–), also wrote widely on Australian Jewish history, in such works as *Chosen* (1987) and *The Jews in Victoria, 1835–1985* (1986), and on philo-semitism and other subjects. The Rubinsteins also produced a two-volume history of Australian Jewry, *The Jews in Australia: A Thematic History* (1991).

RUBIO, MORDECAI (18th century), *ḥakham* in Hebron. Rubio spent his childhood in Jerusalem, where his aptitude for scholarly work was already evident. He acquired his Torah education in the *bet ha-midrash* of R. Isaac ha-Kohen, a prominent Jerusalem *ḥakham* of that period. After Rubio had moved to Hebron, R. Isaac ha-Kohen received a difficult query from Turkey on the subject of *hetter agunah* (permission to remarry for a wife whose husband has disappeared). He had it transferred to Rubio in order to hear the latter's opinion on the matter. R. Isaac wrote an enthusiastic approval to Rubio's responsum and referred to his disciple as "the friend of my soul, the perfect *ḥakham*" (Responsa, *Shemen ha-Mor* (1793), "*Even ha-Ezer*," 31).

Rubio also distinguished himself as a communal worker, and in 1742 he traveled to the Oriental countries as the emissary of Hebron in order to raise financial support. In the late 1760s he set out on a second mission. His communal work and Torah erudition secured him a leading position among the *ḥakhamim* of Hebron. He was one of the leading *ḥakhamim* of the Keneset Yisrael yeshivah and was appointed head of the Ḥesed le-Avraham Emet le-Ya'akov yeshivah. In 1774 Rubio was appointed rabbi of Hebron. During the following years, his signature appears on important documents of the community, including Ḥ.J.D. Azulai's credentials as an emissary (1775), those of R. Ḥayyim Abraham Israel Ze'evi (1774), and various *haskamot* ("letters of approval"). His work of responsa, *Shemen ha-Mor* ("Oil of the Myrrh"), was published in 1793 after his death by his son, Abraham, who was Hebron's emissary in Leghorn.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: M. Rubio, *Shemen ha-Mor* (1793), introd.; Yaari, Sheluḥei, index; M. Benayahu, *Rabbi Ḥayyim Yosef David Azulai…*, 2 vols. (Heb., 1959), index.

[Moshe Shapira]

RUBY, JACK (**Jacob Rubenstein**; 1911–1967), slayer of Lee Harvey Oswald, the alleged murderer of U.S. President John F. Kennedy. Ruby was born in Chicago. The shooting of Oswald on November 24, 1963, took place in the basement of the Dallas, Texas, police headquarters in full view of television cameras and millions of viewers. Ruby, a nightclub operator, was subsequently tried, convicted of murder and sentenced to death. The case was carried through various courts, and finally on October 5, 1966, the Texas Court of Criminal Appeals reversed the murder conviction on the grounds that the trial should have been removed from Dallas because of the prejudice there, and because certain police statements were improperly admitted into evidence. While preparations for a retrial were going on, Ruby died.

Prior to his involvement in the Oswald killing, Ruby ran nightclubs and dance halls during the 16 years he spent in Dallas. In regard to Oswald, the controversy continues as to whether Ruby acted alone and spontaneously as a loyal U.S. citizen outraged that his president had been assassinated or whether he was part of a larger conspiracy, assigned to silence Oswald – and then perhaps silenced himself.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Warren Commission Report on the Assassination of President John F. Kennedy* (1964), index; M.M. Belli, *Dallas Justice: The Real Story of Jack Ruby and His Trial* (1964); J. Kaplan and J.R. Waltz, *The Trial of Jack Ruby* (1965); M. Lane, *Rush to Judgment* (1966); E. Gertz, *Moment of Madness* (1968); G. Wills and O. Demaris, *Jack Ruby: The Man Who Killed the Man Who Killed Kennedy* (1968). **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** D. Hunter and A. Anderson, *Jack Ruby's Girls* (1970); R. Pabst, *Plodding toward Terror* (1974); R. Hartogs and L. Freeman, *The Two Assassins* (1976); S. Kantor, *Who Was Jack Ruby?* (1978); A. Adelson, *The Ruby-Oswald Affair* (1988); B. Oliver and C. Buchanan, *Nightmare in Dallas: The Babushka Lady* (1994).

[Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

RUDAVSKY, DAVID (1903–1993), U.S. educator and professor of Hebraic studies. Rudavsky was born in Bialystok, Poland, and was taken to New York in 1910. From 1932 to 1942, Rudavsky was principal of the Florence Marshall Hebrew High School in New York. He then worked with the Jewish Education Committee (1942–48), and the Jewish Education Association of Essex County, New Jersey, as executive director (1948–56). A frequent contributor to the journal *Jewish Education*, he was its managing editor in 1944–46 and associate editor in 1946–48. From 1954 to 1957, he was active with the National Council for Jewish Education as vice president and then as president.

Rudavsky began teaching at New York University in 1945. He became program director of the university's School of Education in 1964, and in 1966 he became acting director of the Institute of Hebraic Studies in the university's graduate division of arts and sciences.

He also served as president of the National Association of Professors of Hebrew (1960–63) and co-edited that organization's publication, *Doron: Hebraic Studies* (1965), a collection of essays on Hebraic studies in universities. His articles in Jewish and general periodicals reflect Rudavsky's concern for Jewish education in the United States. In 1967 he published *Emancipation and Adjustment*, in which he discusses the origins and development of contemporary Jewish movements and thought.

Other works by Rudavsky include *Israel through the Eyes of Its Leaders* (with I. Naamani and A. Katsh, 1971). He also edited *Hebraic Studies: Essays in Honor of Professor Abraham I. Katsh* (with I. Naamani and C. Ehle, 1965) and *Israel: Its Politics and Philosophy* (with I. Naamani and A. Katsh, 1974).

RUDEL, JULIUS (1921–), U.S. conductor and music administrator of Austrian birth. Rudel studied at the Vienna Academy of Music from 1936 to 1938, when he immigrated with his family to the United States. A further period of study followed at the Mannes School of Music in New York City. In 1943 he joined the New York City Opera Company and made his conducting début there in *The Gypsy Baron* (1944). From 1957 to 1979, he was the company's musical director and developed it into one of the best companies in the United States. Rudel championed the cause of American opera, presenting the first performances of new stage works by American composers; he also presented the first American performances of many other contemporary operas, including Albert Ginastera's *Don Rodrigo Bomarzo* and *Beatrix Cenci*, and Hans Werner Henze's *The Young Lord*. From 1971 he was musical director of the Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts, Washington, D.C., and of the Caramoor Festival at Katonah, N.Y. He also appeared as guest conductor with leading American symphony orchestras (including the Buffalo PO, 1981–83) and other American opera companies; at the Vienna Volksoper (where he conducted a very successful German version of *Kiss Me, Kate* in 1956); in Israel; and at the Spoleto Festival in Italy. He made his debut at the Paris Opera in 1973. Rudel received numerous awards from American cultural organizations, and in 1961 the Austrian government bestowed on him honorary insignia for the arts and sciences. An award for young conductors was established in his honor in 1969. His recordings include Handel's *Giulio Cesare* with the New York City Opera, versions of Boito's *Mefistofele* and Massenet's *Thaïs* and *Cendrillon*.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Grove Music Online.

[Max Loppert / Israela Stein (2nd ed.)]

RUDERMAN, DAVID B. (1944–), U.S. Reform rabbi, academician. Ruderman was born in New York City and received his B.A. from City College (1966) and his M.A. from Columbia University in 1968. He was ordained at *Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion in 1971 and earned a Ph.D. in Jewish history from the Hebrew University of Jerusalem in 1975. HUC-JIR awarded him an honorary D.D. in 1996. While studying for the rabbinate, he taught Jewish history and thought at HUC-JIR's School of Education in New York; and while pursuing graduate work in Israel, he taught the same subjects to American students studying in Jerusalem. Although ordained as a rabbi, Ruderman chose a career in academia – beginning at the University of Maryland in College Park, Maryland, where he held the Louis L. Kaplan Chair of

Jewish Historical Studies (1974–83). As chairman of the Judaic Studies Committee, he was instrumental in establishing the Judaic Studies program at the University of Maryland, where he also won the Distinguished Scholar-Teacher Award in 1982.

In 1983, he was appointed professor of Religious Studies at Yale University in New Haven, Connecticut, and subsequently to the university's Frederick P. Rose Chair of Jewish History (1983–94). As chairman of the Advisory Committee on Judaic Studies (1990, 1993), he played a major role in organizing Yale's Program in Judaic Studies. During his tenure at Yale, he was also a visiting professor at the Jewish Theological Seminary (1986) and a Fellow at the Institute for Advanced Studies at Hebrew University (1987). In addition, he began an association as visiting professor (1991–98) at the annual Summer School in Jewish Studies at Hebrew University's Institute for Advanced Studies, where he became director of the annual Victor Rothschild Symposium in Jewish Studies, also held every summer (1998–2002). In 1994, Ruderman was appointed Joseph Meyerhoff Professor of Modern Jewish History and director of the Center for Advanced Judaic Studies (formerly, Annenberg Research Institute) at the University of Pennsylvania in Philadelphia, becoming Ella Darivoff Director of the Center for Advanced Judaic Studies in 2004.

Ruderman was the author of numerous articles on the history of Jewish intellectual thought and wrote several books in the field, including: *The World of a Renaissance Jew: The Life and Thought of Abraham B. Mordecai Farissol* (1981); *Heritage: Civilization and the Jews, Study Guide and Source Reader* (with William W. Hallo and Michael Stanislawski, 1984); *Kabbalah, Magic, and Science: The Cultural Universe of a Sixteenth-Century Jewish Physician* (1988); *Jewish Thought and Scientific Discovery in Early Modern Europe* (1995, rev. 2001; trans. Italian, 1999; trans. Hebrew, 2002); and *Jewish Enlightenment in an English Key: Anglo-Jewry's Construction of Modern Jewish Thought* (2000). Three out of his five books were singled out for awards: *The World of a Renaissance Jew* won the Jewish Welfare Board National Jewish Book Award for Jewish History in 1982; *Kabbalah, Magic, and Science* was a finalist for the National Jewish Book Award for Jewish Scholarship in 1988; and *Jewish Enlightenment in an English Key* won the Koret Book Award in Jewish History in 2001, as well as being a finalist for the National Jewish Book Award that same year. In addition, Ruderman is the co-author of several more books: *A Valley of Vision: The Heavenly Journey of Abraham ben Hananiah Yagel* (1990), which he translated from the Hebrew and for which he wrote the introduction and commentary; *Essential Papers on Jewish Culture in Renaissance and Baroque Italy* (1992), editor and author of introduction and two chapters; and *Preachers of the Italian Ghetto* (1992), editor and author of introduction and one chapter; *The Jewish Past Revisited: Reflections on Modern Jewish Historians* (1998), co-editor and contributor; and *Cultural Intermediaries: Jewish Intellectuals in Early Modern Italy* (2004), co-editor and author of the introduction.

In addition to his teaching and writing, Ruderman also served as a member of the board of directors of the *Central Conference of American Rabbis (1987–89), as well as chairman of the CCAR's task force for Continuing Rabbinic Education (1989–92); president of the Association for Jewish Studies (1980–83); president of the American Academy for Jewish Research (2000–4); a member of the Academy Advisory Committee of Hebrew University's Mandel Center of Judaic Studies (2002–6); and a member of the editorial boards of many scholarly journals. In 2001, the National Foundation for Jewish Culture honored him with its lifetime achievement award for his work in Jewish history; in 2002, he was named one of the Top 100 teaching professors in the United States by the Teaching Company, which offers his audiotaped and videotaped courses for sale to the general public.

[Bezalel Gordon (2nd ed.)]

RUDERMAN, JACOB ISAAC (1901–1987), U.S. *rosh yeshivah*. Ruderman was born in Dologinovo (Delhinov), Russia, and in his youth was known as the "Delhinov *illui*." He studied under the rabbis Moses Epstein and Nathan Ẓevi Finkel in Slobodka, and was ordained in 1926. In 1930 he arrived in the United States, and joined the faculty of the yeshivah previously established by his father-in-law, R. Sheftel Kramer, in New Haven, which soon moved to Cleveland. In 1933, Ruderman became rabbi of Congregation Tifereth Israel in Baltimore, where he organized the Ner Israel Rabbinical College. Unexpectedly, at least for outsiders, he succeeded in establishing a European-style yeshivah in the United States, one in which secular studies were not pursued but religious texts alone were studied. Under his guidance it became one of the leading yeshivot of America. In 1961 he established a branch of the yeshivah in Toronto, which was later headed by his son-in-law, R. Jacob Weinberg. Ruderman participated in the formation of *Torah Umesorah in 1944, and subsequently served as chairman of its rabbinical advisory board. He also was a member of the Mo'eẓet Gedolei ha-Torah of Agudat Israel. Ruderman's novellae to Maimonides on the talmudic orders of *Kodashim* and *Tohorot* were published under the title *Avodat Levi* in 1930. His son-in-law became his successor.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: O. Rand (ed.), *Toledot Anshei Shem* (1950), 129.

[Aaron Rothkoff]

RUDICH, MAYER (1913–), Romanian poet and journalist. Rudich's first poems appeared in 1930 in the literary review Cumpăna, published in his native town, Buzău, by Eliahu *Meitus. After settling in Bucharest, he worked on the Zionist papers *Știri din lumea evreească* and *Renașterea Noastră*.

In 1945 Rudich published *La braț cu moartea* ("Hand in Hand with Death"), a documentary account of the expulsion of Romanian Jews to Transnistria during the Nazi period. In 1951 under the dominant Stalinist regime, Rudich was imprisoned together with other Romanian Zionist leaders. Though released in 1955, he was only allowed to leave for Israel in 1959. Thereafter he worked as an editor of the Tel Aviv Romanian-language daily, *Viața Noastră*.

In 1965 he published *Muntele Amintirilor* ("The Mountain of Memories"; Hebrew, *Har ha-Zikhronot*, 1969), a collection which includes both new poems written in Israel and some of his previous work. This reveals a significant change from the sad tone of his Diaspora verse to the brighter note of his writing in Israel. The book contains verse describing the landscape of Israel and his joy at its beauty. One section consists of poems expressing Rudich's revulsion at the crimes of the Nazis.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Al ha-Mishmar* (May 14, 1965 and Feb. 7, 1969); *Viața Noastră* (March 12, 1965), 7.

[Dora Litani-Littman]

RUDIN, family of U.S. real estate developers. LOUIS RUDINSKY, an immigrant from Poland, went to the Lower East Side of Manhattan in 1883 with nothing more than the change in his pocket. He became a grocer and in the 1920s his lawyer suggested he invest in real estate on 54th Street in midtown Manhattan. He bought the property sight-unseen because he had heard that John D. Rockefeller owned property on that block. His son, SAMUEL, built his first apartment house, a six-story tenement in the Bronx. By the time he died in 1975, Sam Rudin and his sons had developed some of the premier properties in Manhattan, including 345 Park Avenue, where the Rudin Management Company had its headquarters.

LEWIS (1927–2001) concentrated in building management and leasing while his brother JACK (1924–) handled construction and development. They were subsequently joined by Lewis's son WILLIAM (1955–), who became president of Rudin Management in 1994. The Rudins presided over 40 buildings valued at $2 billion, including more than 3,500 apartments in 22 Manhattan buildings. Their holdings also embraced 16 office towers. The family almost never let go of a property once it was in their portfolio, and rarely ventured outside New York for real-estate projects. It became intimately involved in trying to improve New York City as a place to live. Sam Rudin is remembered each year with the New York Marathon Samuel Rudin Trophy. The family has been a major supporter of the event since the mid-1970s; Sam was a marathon runner himself. To popularize the marathon, which became one of the most famous in the world, having grown from 127 runners in 1970 to more than 30,000 by 2005, Lewis Rudin enlisted corporate executives and labor leaders. He also rallied them to help New York City during its darkest moments, helped move the United States Open tennis championship to Flushing, Queens, and helped gain landing rights in New York for the Concorde jet. When New York faced possible bankruptcy in 1975, Lewis Rudin persuaded other developers and corporate leaders to prepay $600 million in property taxes, enabling the city to avoid a fiscal disaster. Lewis's friends spanned a broad stretch of New York figures, and his annual break-the-fast party at the Regency Hotel at the end of Yom Kippur drew hundreds of relatives and friends. He had become a major force in the civic arena in 1971 when he formed the Association for a Better New York with Howard J. Rubenstein, Preston Robert *Tisch, and others. The Rudins were major philanthropists, giving to medical, educational, and religious-based charities. They set up scholarships and internships, professorships and lecture series. They aided Memorial Sloan-Kettering Cancer Center, the George C. Marshall Foundation, the Boy Scouts of America, the New York City Commission on the Homeless, and the Hereditary Disease Foundation. The Rudin buildings were individually owned, and the next generation, including Eric Rudin, Beth Rudin DeWoody, Max Rudin Johnson and Madeleine Rudin, were on the executive committee.

[Stewart Kampel (2nd ed.)]

RUDIN, A. JAMES (1934–), U.S. rabbi and interreligious leader. Rabbi Rudin, a native of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, grew up in Alexandria, Virginia. He attended Wesleyan University and received his B.A. degree with academic distinction from George Washington University (1955). Rudin received his master's degree and rabbinical ordination from Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion (1960) and did graduate studies in American history at the University of Illinois. He received two honorary doctorates, one from HUC-JIR (1985) and the other from Saint Leo University in Florida where he was Distinguished Visiting Professor (2000).

Upon ordination, Rabbi Rudin served congregations in the U.S. Air Force as a chaplain in Japan and Korea. He then was USAF Chaplain Japan & Korea, 1960–62.

He was assistant rabbi of Congregation B'nai Jehudah, Kansas City, MO (1962–64) and rabbi of Sinai Temple, Champaign, Illinois (1964–68). In 1964 he participated in an interreligious, interracial voting rights drive in Hattiesburg, Mississippi.

He was a member of the AJ Committee's staff for 32 years retiring in 2000. He was first assistant interreligious affairs director of the American Jewish Committee (1968–1983) working with Marc Tannenbaum, a pioneer in the field of interreligious relationship, and then as his successor as National Interreligious Affairs (1983–2000). Under his leadership, the AJC became the internationally acknowledged leader in Christian-Jewish and Muslim-Jewish relations He was responsible for developing the American Jewish Committee's work with Evangelicals and with Roman Catholics as well as mainline Protestant churches and later with Islam. He was also an expert on cults. Rudin was a founder of both the National Interreligious Task Force on Soviet Jewry and the National Interreligious Task Force on Black-Jewish Relations.

He continued his involvement with AJC as its senior interreligious advisor and as a member of the organization's board of governors.

He was chairman of the International Jewish Committee for Interreligious Consultations and participated in ten meetings with Pope John Paul II. Rudin also participated in historic meetings with the World Council of Churches in Geneva and with Eastern Orthodox Christian leaders in Greece. In 1997 the Polish Council of Christians and Jews presented Rudin with its "Person of Reconciliation Award" at a ceremony in Warsaw. In 2003, he received the Golden Medallion Award from the International Council of Christians and Jews.

He worked in close consultation with leaders of the well-known Oberammergau Passion Play that is presented every ten years in Germany. It was his leadership efforts that resulted in many positive changes in the portrayal of Jews and Judaism at Oberammergau in 1990 and again in 2000.

Rudin is the author or editor of eight books: *Twenty Years of Catholic-Jewish Relations* (1986); *Evangelicals and Jews in Conversation,* (1978); *A Time to Speak: The Evangelical-Jewish Encounter* (1987); *Evangelicals and Jews in an Age of Pluralism* (1989); *Prison or Paradise: The New Religious Cults* (1980); *Why Me? Why Anyone?* (1986); *and Israel for Christians: Understanding Modern Israel* (1983); and *The Baptizing of America: The Religious Right's Plan for the Rest of US* (2005).

In 2006 he served as a member of the New York State Task Force on Life and the Law, an interdisciplinary group that focuses on bioethical legislation and issues. Rudin was also a member of the Camp David/Presidential Retreat Interfaith Chapel Committee and the Martin Luther King, Jr. Federal Holiday Commission.

From 1991 he penned weekly commentaries for the Religion News Service (RNS)/Newhouse Syndicate.

Rudin's wife, the former Marcia Kaplan, wrote with her husband. One of their two daughters, Rabbi Eve Rudin, is a senior staff member of the Union for Reform Judaism in New York City.

[Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

RUDIN, JACOB PHILIP (1902–1982), U.S. Reform rabbi. Rudin was born in Malden, Massachusetts, and received his B.A. from of Harvard College in 1924. In 1928, he was ordained at the *Jewish Institute of Religion, which awarded him an honorary D.D. in 1981. After ordination, he served as assistant rabbi under Stephen S. *Wise at the Free Synagogue in New York as well as an assistant to the president of the Jewish Institute of Religion (1928–30). In 1930, he became rabbi of Temple Beth-El in Great Neck, New York, where he was to remain for the rest of his life (emeritus from 1971). He enlisted in the United States Navy Chaplains' Corps and saw duty in the Pacific and in the Aleutians during World War II. A brilliant orator, his preaching attracted large audiences; under his guidance, Temple Beth-El grew to more than a thousand members.

As one of the leading rabbis on Long Island, Rudin played a prominent role in the affairs of the Jewish community of the region, creating an interfaith group of local clergy and serving as president of the New York Metropolitan Association of Reform Rabbis and a member of the executive board of the New York Board of Rabbis. He quickly emerged as a leader on the national scene as well: in the Reform movement, he was a member of the board of governors of HUC-JIR, as well as president of its alumni association and a member of the executive board of the *Union of American Hebrew Congregations. He also served on the executive board of the *Central Conference of American Rabbis before being elected president of the CCAR in 1957. As president – much as he had done previously, when warning against Nazism as early as 1933 and attacking McCarthyism in the 1950s – he took a strong stand against segregation and in favor of the process of school integration that was beginning in the South. He was also instrumental in keeping the New York City campus of HUC-JIR open and functioning, in spite of pressures to move it to Cincinnati.

In 1967, he became president of the Synagogue Council of America, in which capacity Rudin – an outspoken critic of the Vietnam War – was appointed by President Lyndon Johnson to an observer team for the Vietnamese elections. He also represented American Jewry at the funeral of Martin Luther King, Jr., in 1968.

An editor of the *Jewish Institute Quarterly*, Rudin wrote *So You Like Puzzles* (1934), *A Children's Haggadah* (1936), and a collection of his sermons, *Very Truly Yours* (1971, edited by Jack *Stern).

[Bezalel Gordon (2nd ed.)]

RUDIN, SCOTT (1958–), U.S. producer. Born in New York City, Rudin began working at 15 for theater producer Kermit *Bloomgarden and later for Robert Whitehead and Emanuel *Azenberg. Rather than attending college, Rudin served as a casting director for such shows as: *Pippin* (1972); *Annie* (1977); *Stages* (1978); and *Working* (1978); and for the New York-based films *King of the Gypsies* (1978); *The Wanderers* (1979); *Simon* (1980); and *Resurrection* (1980). Rudin moved to Los Angeles in 1980 to work for Edgar J. Scherick, producing the films *I'm Dancing as Fast as I Ca*n (1982), *Mrs. Soffel* (1984), and *Reckless* (1984). In 1983, he founded Scott Rudin Productions. Rudin entered 20th Century Fox as a producer in 1984, and by 1986 he was president of the company. He left the studio at 29, becoming the producer of a string of hits, including: *Regarding Henry* (1991); *Little Man Tate* (1991); *The Addams Family* (1991); *Sister Act* (1992); *The Firm* (1993); and *Addams Family Values* (1993). In the early 1990s, Rudin returned to Broadway. His first production, *Face Value* (1993), never officially opened, but his second theatrical effort, the musical *Passion* (1994), earned him a Tony Award and a Drama Desk Award. While Rudin's feature comedy *Clueless* (1995) achieved critical and box-office success for Paramount, his remake of *Sabrina* failed. Other successful Rudin productions at Paramount included: *Mother* (1996); *In & Out* (1997); *The Truman Show* (1998); and *The Hours* (2002) – a joint effort of Paramount and Miramax. Rudin continued to produce shows for Broadway, including the revival of: *A Funny Thing Happened on the Way to the Forum* (1996–98); *The Chairs* (1998); *Closer* (1999) – a 2000 film adaptation by Rudin received a Golden Globe nod – and *Copenhagen* (2000), which earned Rudin a second Tony Award. Rudin also worked with Disney, producing such films as: *Ransom* (1996), *A Civil Action* (1998), and the Wes Anderson film *The Royal Tenenbaums* (2001), which

Paramount passed on. In 2005, after Harvey and Bob *Weinstein left Disney-owned Miramax Films, Rudin announced he was leaving Paramount for Disney.

[Adam Wills (2nd ed.)]

RUDINOW, MOSHE (1891–1953), *ḥazzan*. Born in Lyubich, Ukraine, Rudinov became a *meshorer* in Chernigov and in 1905 alto soloist at the Brodski Synagogue in Kiev, under the leadership of conductor A.I. Dzimitrowski. He also appeared in Kiev as soloist in the first concert of Joel Engel's music. Rudinow became a member of the Odessa Opera and conductor of the Ha-Zamir Society in Odessa and Kherson. In 1917 he married the singer Ruth Leviash with whom he gave joint recitals in Russia and Poland (1920–25) and Palestine (1925–27). In 1927 he moved to the United States and joined the musical staff of Temple Emanuel in New York under the leadership of Lazare Saminsky. After six months as choir soloist, he was appointed cantor. Rudinow also appeared in recitals and operatic concerts with Leopold Stokowski.

RUDMAN, WARREN (1930–), U.S. senator. Rudman was a native of Nashua, New Hampshire, where he was educated in its public schools and where he became an Eagle Scout in 1945 before going to Valley Forge Military School for high school (1948). He attended Syracuse University for his B.A. (1952) and Boston College Law School (1960). He was then admitted to the New Hampshire Bar. He served as attorney general of New Hampshire from 1970 to 1976 and as president of the National Association of Attorney Generals for 1975–76. Elected to the Senate in 1980 after emerging as the moderate in a crowded New Hampshire race of 11 Republican primary candidates, he was a member of the Senate Appropriations Committee where he became a budget hawk, seeking a balanced budget and caps on spending. He is best remembered for the Gramm-Rudman-Hollings Act, which he authored together with the Republican senator from Texas and the Democrat from South Carolina, that called for a pay as you go budget and set the climate for a balanced budget that was achieved during the latter part of the Clinton administration. He was deeply involved in the Iran-Contra hearings, an investigation as to whether the Reagan administration had traded arms for hostages and illegally funneled funds to the Contras contrary to an explicit act of Congress. Despite considerable popularity, Rudman left the Senate in 1992, declining to run for a third term. In private practice he was a member of the Concord Coalition, a bi-partisan citizen group interested in pushing budget reform. He was also appointed by President Bill Clinton a member of the Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board, its acting chairman in 1995–96 and chairman in 1997–2001. He was on the board of the influential Council on Foreign Relations and spoke out often on issues of foreign and economic policy, especially in the areas of intelligence.

[Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

RUDNER, RITA (1956–), U.S. comedian, stage and screen actress, and author. Rudner was born in Miami, Florida, the daughter of Abe (an attorney) and Frances (a homemaker). Rudner dreamed of show business as a child, and after she lost her mother to cancer at 13, she graduated high school at 15, giving her father this ultimatum: "Let me go to New York or I'll run away." Within three months, Rudner got a job dancing in the road company of *Zorba the Greek*. She worked in other Broadway shows and did commercials for 10 years. In 1980, she was cast in the Broadway production of *Annie*, and also did her first stand-up act at the comedy club Catch a Rising Star, "because there weren't too many female comedians." Rudner dressed in evening gowns and cultivated a quiet, minimalist presentation of funny stories. She was called demure. In 1986, British theatrical producer Martin Bergman brought her to the U.K. They married in 1988. That same year, Rudner made her film debut (*The Wrong Guys*) and co-hosted a TV program *Funny People* (with Leeza Gibbons, produced by *Rowan and Martin's Laugh-In* creator George Schlatter). Rudner wrote *Naked Beneath My Clothes* (1992), short, amusing meditations on love, family, food, and fashion (and won that year's Emmy for the audio version). In 1994, *Rita Rudner's Guide to Men* was published. She turned to fiction with *Tickled Pink* (2001), a semi-autobiographical novel about two women trying to make it in the show business in the 1980s. She also cowrote the film *Peter's Friends* with her husband in 1992 and wrote the teleplay to the U.S.A. Network cable movie *A Weekend in the Country* (1996). Rudner's many TV appearances include the Carson, Leno, and Letterman shows, as well as several HBO specials and a syndicated show, *Ask Rita*; she has also written for the Academy Awards show. In 2002 she began a long-term engagement performing at the New York-New York Casino in Las Vegas, where a new theater was built for her and where she sold her 500,000th ticket in 2005.

[Amy Handelsman (2nd ed.)]

RUDNICKI, ADOLF (1912–1980), Polish novelist and author. Originally a Warsaw bank clerk, Rudnicki began his literary career at the age of 20, when he published the psychological novel *Szczury* ("Rats," 1932). His second work, *Żołnierze* ("Soldiers," 1933), a penetrating description of Polish society and its conflicting ethnic groups between the world wars, roused a storm of protest from the Fascist and reactionary circles which the author had singled out for attack. Three subsequent works were *Niekochana* ("The Unloved," 1936), *Lato* ("Summer," 1938), and *Doświadczenia* ("Experiences," 1939). After the collapse of the Polish army in 1939, Rudnicki managed to escape to Lvov in Soviet-occupied Poland, where he remained during 1940–41, contributing to the periodical *Nowe Horyzonty.* He later fought in the 1944 Warsaw uprising and after the war wrote for the weeklies *Kuźnica* and *Swiat*, moving from Lodz to Warsaw in 1950. Rudnicki's postwar works analyzed the problems and tragic aspects of the Nazi occupation. A second edition of *Doświadczenia*, titled *Profile i drobiazgi żołnierskie* ("Profiles and Soldiers' Trifles"), appeared in 1946. The Nazi nightmare, antisemitism, and the fate of Polish Jewry dominate many of his later works, which include the cycle *Epoka pieców* ("Time of the Gas Chambers," 1949) and collections of short stories such as *Żywe i martwe morze* (1952, 1955²; "The Dead and the Living Sea," 1957), *Szekspir* ("Shakespeare," 1948), and *Młode cierpienia* ("Young Suffering," 1954).

Among Rudnicki's other works was the drama *Manfred* (1954), and he edited a volume on Auschwitz entitled *Wieczna pamięć* 1955; "Lest We Forget," 1955). In his column "Niebieskie kartki" ("Blue Cards") which he published regularly in *Świat* until 1968, the writer dealt with a wide range of subjects. Three collections of these columns were *Ślepe lustro tych lat* ("The Blind Mirror of These Years," 1956), *Prześwity* ("Afterglows," 1957), and *Wspólne zdjęcie* ("The Group Photograph, 1967). The suppression of Rudnicki's "Blue Cards" followed the mounting anti-intellectual and antisemite campaign in Poland after the Six-Day War of 1967.

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[Stanislaw Wygodzki]

°**RUDOLF I** (**of Hapsburg**), king of Germany and Holy Roman emperor, 1273–91. In 1275 Rudolf confirmed a papal bull against *blood libels, adding that Christian and Jewish witnesses were necessary for sentencing a Jew. In 1286 Rudolph supported the archbishop of *Mainz against the tumultuous burghers who opposed any investigation of a blood libel. Nevertheless, such accusations as well as Rudolf's oppressive taxation influenced the Jews of the Rhineland to leave in large numbers for the Holy Land, under the leadership of *Meir b. Baruch of Rothenburg. Rudolf decreed, in accordance with the concept of **servi camerae regis*, the immediate confiscation of the property of Jews who had left. When the burghers of Mainz refused to give up such property, Rudolf compensated the archbishop of Mainz by granting him jurisdiction over the Jews of *Thuringia, Ostmark, and *Meissen. R. Meir was arrested and imprisoned in Ensisheim by Rudolf and an exorbitant ransom was posted for his release. Rudolf was offered 20,000 marks for Meir's release and for the punishment of the instigators of blood-libel pogroms in Oberwesel and *Boppard. Rudolf accepted the money, guaranteeing the life and property of Jews in the two communities, but he did not release R. Meir, who died in confinement.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Graetz, Hist, 3 (1894), 611, 634–40; Germ Jud, 2 (1968), index; Baron, Social², 9 (1965), 152–5.

°**RUDOLF II** (**of Hapsburg**; 1552–1612), Holy Roman emperor and king of Bohemia from 1576. His reign was a period of growth for the Jewry of his dominions, particularly the community of *Prague (where he resided most of the time). He was in constant touch with Mordecai *Meisel, who served him both as banker and as supplier of objects for his art collections. Rudolf was noted for his patronage of the arts and crafts and in 1577 he granted the Jewish goldsmith Joseph de Cerui the privilege of working at his craft in various districts of Prague. In 1586 he granted a similar privilege to Jacob Goldscheider, covering not only Prague but also the royal cities open to Jewish residence. In 1592 he received *Judah Loew b. Bezalel (Maharal) in audience and in 1598 renewed the permit for a Jewish printing house (*Kohen) in Prague. In the same year, he allowed Elias *Halfanus to practice medicine in Vienna. In 1593 he mediated a conflict between the Jewish and the gentile furriers of Prague. Rudolf created the category of the *Hofbefreiter Jude* (1582), Jews attached to the court and enjoying such privileges as exemption from taxes and from wearing the Jewish *badge. Such Jews were under the jurisdiction of the court's chief marshall (*Oberhofmarschall*) and had the right to live wherever the imperial court sojourned. From them the institution of the *Court Jew developed, which led to the de facto reestablishment of communities in Vienna and in Regensburg. In 1583 Rudolf II granted his support to the apostate *Elhanan (Paulus Pragensis) to publish a Hebrew translation of the New Testament. The mentally unstable emperor fell under the influence of his valet, Philipp Lang von Langenfels (d. 1610), a Jew from Tyrol who had been baptized in his youth, and thereafter dukes and ambassadors had to secure von Langenfels' support in order to influence Rudolf. When he was imprisoned in 1608, von Langenfels was in possession of 300,000 florins. The Jewish Prague of Rudolf's time is mirrored in Leo *Perutz' novel, *Nacht unter der steinernen Bruecke*, 1953.

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[Meir Lamed]

RUDOLF, MAX (1902–1995), U.S. conductor of German birth. Born in Frankfurt on the Main, Rudolf attended the university there and later graduated from the Hoch-Conservatorium fuer Musik. After serving as a coach at the Freiburg Opera (1922–23), he became conductor at Darmstadt at the early age of 25 (from 1923 to 1929). From 1929 to 1935, he made Prague his base as an opera and symphonic conductor at the German Theatre. In 1935 he went to Sweden, until 1940, when he immigrated to the United States, and joined the staff of the Metropolitan Opera Company, of which he became artistic administrator in 1950. He remained at the Metropolitan for 13 seasons. In 1958, Rudolf became chief conductor of the Cincinnati Symphony Orchestra, a post he retained until 1970, when he joined the Curtis Institute of Music, Philadelphia (1970–73). He published *The Grammar of Conducting* in 1950. His recordings include *Hänsel und Gretel* (in English) and *Don Giovanni*.

[Max Loppert / Israela Stein (2nd ed.)]

°**RUDOLPH** (12th century), monk of French origin, preacher of the Second *Crusade in Germany, mainly in the Rhineland. His activity is recorded in the chronicle of *Ephraim b. Jacob of Bonn and the letters of *Bernard of Clairvaux. When recruiting the crusaders in 1146, Rudolph incited them to persecute the Jews by telling them: "Let us first avenge the crime of the crucifixion on the enemies amongst us and then wage war on the Jerusalemites [Muslims]." Intervening with letters to protect the Jews, Bernard of Clairvaux even traveled in person to Germany, declaring: "Whoever makes an attempt on the life of a Jew sins as if he had attacked Jesus himself." He also emphasized Rudolph's canonically irregular status since he had fled from his monastery and was not authorized to preach. Finally, he recalled the example of Peter the Hermit in the First Crusade: he too had instigated persecutions of the Jews but all who had marched with him to the Orient had perished miserably. It was to be feared, said Bernard, that the Christians who followed Rudolph on this occasion were marching toward a similar catastrophe.

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[Bernhard Blumenkranz]

RUDOLPH, MARVIN ("**Mendy**"; 1928–1979), NBA referee from 1953 to 1975. Born to Harry, a noted referee who later became commissioner of the semi-professional Eastern Basketball League, Rudolph began his career officiating at the JCC in his hometown of Wilkes-Barre, Pa. In 1946 he became a licensed referee, and began officiating in the EBL. By 1952, the senior Rudolph sensed that his son needed to be more independent, and encouraged him to switch leagues. Rudolph joined the NBA in 1953 and was to set a new standard of durability, officiating at over 90 games per season. However, it was the quality of Rudolph's officiating that won him the respect of league officials, coaches, and players alike. In 1969, Rudolph was appointed the league's chief of referees. In a game at Washington in April 1975, Rudolph collapsed and had to be carried off the court. Doctors discovered a blood clot and advised him of the dangers of continuing to referee games. On November 9, 1975, Rudolph announced his retirement, but continued working as a sportscaster, serving as expert commentator for CBS's *Game of the Week*. Rudolph officiated at a then-record 2,113 games over 23 seasons, a record only surpassed by Hall of Fame referee Earl Strom, who worked for 30 seasons in the NBA. Strom, another Jewish Pennsylvanian, described Rudolph as "simply the greatest referee of all time." Before his death in 1994, Strom petitioned the Basketball Hall of Fame to induct Rudolph, but to no avail. Nevertheless, Rudolph is remembered in the basketball world as one of the most astute and fair referees to work the game. Rudolph, who died of a pulmonary aneurism at age 53, was a recipient of the Maurice Stokes Memorial Award in 1975.

[Robert B. Klein (2nd ed.)]

RUEBNER, TUVIA (1924–), Hebrew poet and translator. Born in Bratislava, Slovakia, Ruebner settled in Ereẓ Israel in 1941, where he became a member of Kibbutz Merḥavyah, working as shepherd, teacher, and librarian. While his early writings were in German, he published Hebrew poems from 1953, first in *Al ha-Mishmar* and then in literary supplements and journals.

Eight volumes of his poetry have appeared: *Ha-Esh ba-Even* ("The Fire in the Stone," 1957); *Shirim Limẓo Et* ("Poems to Find Time," 1961); *Kol Od* ("As Long As," 1967); *Ein Lehashiv* ("Unreturnable," 1971); *Shemesh Ḥaẓot* ("Midnight Sun," 1977); *Pesel u-Masekhah* ("A Graven and Molten Image," 1982); and *Ve-el Mekomo Sho'ef* ("And Hastens to His Place," 1990). A selection of his poems appeared in 1970, and 2000 saw the publication of *Shirim Meuḥarim* ("Late Poems"). Ruebner's poetic language blends together contemporary Hebrew and classical Hebrew, while interweaving vivid images, word play, and ironic twists. Though nature and landscape are often the poetic scenery, Ruebner has always remained an outsider in his new home. Echoes of European, particularly German literature, and longings for past or lost regions mark his writing. Dan Pagis maintained that Ruebner's work "exhibits what amounts to an obsession with time and with the need for retaining values in a world of crumbling security." In 1974 Ruebner was appointed professor of Comparative Literature at Haifa University. Since 1990 a number of poetry collections in German appeared, including: *Wuestenginster* (1990*)*, *Granatapfel* (1995), and *Zypressenlicht* (2000). Reubner wrote a book on Lea Goldberg, translated Agnon's novel *Shirah* into German, and edited A.L. Strauss's *Be-Darkhei ha-Sifrut* (1959). A collection of poems he wrote over 50 years (1957–2005) appeared in 2005 under the title *Ikkevot Yamim*. He received the Swiss D. Steinberg Prize (1981) and the German Christian-Wagner-Prize. Upon the initiative of his German publisher, Ruebner wrote down his life story in German, *Ein kurzes langes Leben: Von Pressburg nach Merchavia* (2004).

A list of his works in English translation appears in Goell, Bibliography and further information is available at the ITHL website at www.ithl.org.il.

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[Getzel Kressel / Anat Feinberg (2nd ed.)]

RUEDENBERG, REINHOLD (1883–1961), German electrical engineer. Born in Hanover, Ruedenberg was the chief electrical engineer of a leading German company. From 1917 to 1927, he was a professor at the Technische Hochschule of Berlin-Charlottenburg. After the Nazis came to power, he went first to London, and then in 1939 to Harvard University in the U.S. His many books include: *Energie der Wirbelstroeme* (1906), *Theorie der Kommutation* (1907), and *Elektrische Schaltvorgaenge* (1923).

°**RUEDIGER** (**Hutzmann**), bishop of *Speyer, Germany, from 1073 to 1090. Ruediger enlarged and fortified the city, encouraging Jewish refugees to settle and augment its prosperity and prestige by granting them a charter of privileges (Sept. 13, 1084), one of the earliest and most magnanimous of medieval charters. A contemporary Jewish source emphasizes Ruediger's fatherly and benevolent attitude. In 1090 he took steps to have the rights of the Jews confirmed by his ally, *Henry IV. His successor saved most of the Speyer Jewish community from massacre during the First Crusade (1096).

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RUEF, ABRAHAM (1864–1936), U.S. politician. Ruef, who was born in San Francisco, was a precocious student at the University of California, graduating at 18 with high honors and gaining admission to the bar three years later. A brilliant attorney, he first entered city politics as an idealistic young Republican reformer, but he soon lost faith in the possibilities of reform. In 1901, when the Union Labor Party of San Francisco was created, Ruef opportunistically took control of it and secured the election of his friend Eugene E. Schmitz as its candidate for mayor. Four years later, he also secured the election of the entire Union Labor ticket for the board of supervisors, which had authority over both city and county, and thus gained almost complete control of the government. The San Francisco Graft Prosecution revealed that Ruef had received huge attorney's fees from public utility corporations and had bribed most of the supervisors with part of the money. He was convicted of bribery in 1908 and served a sentence in San Quentin penitentiary from 1911 to 1915. Released partly through the efforts of Fremont Older, the newspaper editor who had helped initiate the investigation, Ruef amassed a fortune in real estate; it was swept away in the depression of the 1930s.

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[Walton Bean]

RUEFF, JACQUES (1896–1978), French economist. Born in Paris, during World War I he served with the French liaison team for the American Expeditionary Force. In 1923 he qualified as an inspector of finance and in 1926 joined the personal staff of Raymond Poincaré, who was both prime minister and finance minister. In 1927 he went to the League of Nations where he worked on monetary reform for Greece, Bulgaria, and Portugal, and then moved to London as financial attaché of the French embassy. In 1934 Rueff returned to the Finance Ministry again, concerned with the stabilization of the French currency. At the outbreak of World War II, Rueff was vice governor of the Bank of France, but resigned a year later to rejoin the government finance inspection service. After World War II, he was concerned with reparations, first for France, and then as head of the Inter-Allied Reparations Agency in Brussels. From 1958 to 1962, he sat on the Court of European Communities in Luxemburg, for the second half of the period as its chief justice. Informally he was the financial counselor to De Gaulle and was instrumental in designing France's successful 1958 reform. In 1964 Rueff was elected to the Académie Française, one of the few economists so honored. Over the years, his major concern was the advocacy of monetary discipline, and advising France and other countries to return to the gold standard to prevent depreciation and inflation.

Rueff was a prolific author. His major publications include: *Des Sciences physiques aux sciences morales* (1922); *From the Physical to the Social Sciences* (1929); *Sur une théorie de l'inflation* (2 vols., 1925); *L'Ordre social* (1945); *Epître aux dirigistes* (1949); *La régulation monétaire et le problème institutionnel de la monnaie* (1953); *Discours sur le crédit* (1962, 1967^3); *L'Age de l'inflation* (1963; *The Age of Inflation*, 1964); and *Les Dieux et les rois* (1967).

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[Joachim O. Ronall]

°**RUEHS, CHRISTIAN FRIEDRICH** (1781–1820), nationalist professor of history and Scandinavian studies in Berlin. After the Congress of *Vienna, he opposed Jewish emancipation in a pamphlet entitled *Ueber die Ansprueche der Juden an das deutsche Buergerrecht*, which was answered by Michael *Hess, Saul *Ascher, and others. In this work, Ruehs maintains that Jewry already constitutes a nation complete with laws and aristocracy (rabbis) and therefore cannot be granted citizenship in a Christian state. An unbridgeable gap exists between Germans and Jews, stemming from their inherently opposing natures. Jews may be tolerated only as a subject nation and the medieval restrictions must be reapplied. The basic characteristics of Judaism being arrogance, authoritarianism, and abhorrence of work, only full conversion makes a Jew fit for equality. While Ruehs believed himself to be objective and free of prejudice, he took pride in never having had any social contact whatsoever with Jews. J.F. *Fries published a favorable review of his work.

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RUELF, ISAAC (1831–1902), rabbi, early advocate of *Ḥibbat Zion and political Zionism. Born in Rauisch-Holzhausen, a village in Hesse, Ruelf worked as a teacher until his rabbinical ordination in 1857. In 1865 he received his academic degree from the University of Rostock. In the same year, he became the rabbi of Memel and continued in this capacity until his retirement. He spent his last years with his family in Bonn. As the rabbi of Memel, he began a new page in the history of the rabbinate of Western Europe. He took an interest in the East European Jews who lived on the other side of the German-Russian border and organized relief projects for them, especially during the years of famine at the end of the 1860s. He made two trips to Russian Lithuania, the first in order to acquaint himself with the lives of East European Jews and the second after the outbreak of pogroms against Russian Jewry at the beginning of the 1880s. He published his impressions of these two trips in *Meine Reise nach Kowno* (1869), and *Drei Tage im juedischen Russland* (1882). In these works he writes with great sympathy and affection of rooted Jewish life in the East, which he compares favorably with the rootlessness of Jewish life in the West. His name became so intimately associated with various relief projects undertaken on behalf of Russian and Lithuanian Jews that he became known as "Doktor Huelf" (meaning "help").

Ruelf was profoundly influenced by *Pinsker's *Autoemanzipation* (1882) and in 1883 published a book in German with the Hebrew title of *Aruchas Bas Ami* (*Aruḥat Bat Ami*), in which he discusses the Jewish problem in Europe and the ways of solving it. Ruelf's book is distinguished by its clear designation of Ereẓ Israel as the location for the solution, and by its insistence on the value of speaking Hebrew in the future Jewish state, which is explicitly mentioned. Pinsker acknowledged that Ruelf's book complemented his own. After this Ruelf became active in the Ḥibbat Zion movement, and with the appearance of *Herzl, he became one of his greatest admirers. With the emergence of the rabbinical protest in Germany against the holding of the First Zionist Congress in Munich (see *Protestrabbiner), Ruelf was one of the few Western rabbis to come out strongly against the anti-Zionist rabbis. He was also one of the first to clarify the question of "dual loyalty," i.e., of the relation between German citizenship and Zionism. He was active in the affairs of the World Zionist Organization and the German Zionist Federation until the end of his life.

Ruelf published a number of philosophical works, including: *Wissenschaft des Weltgedankens und der Gedankenwelt* (2 vols., 1888); *Wissenschaft der Krafteinheit* (1895); *Wissenschaft der Geisteseinheit* (1898); and *Wissenschaft der Gotteseinheit* (1888–1903). He also acted as the editor of the daily newspaper *Memeler Dampfboote. Aruchas Bas Ami* was published in a Hebrew translation with the addition of correspondence, a monograph, and a bibliography by A. Levinson (1946).

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[Getzel Kressel]

RUFEISEN, JOSEPH (1887–1949), Czechoslovakian Zionist leader. Born in Ostrava, at the age of 14 Rufeisen founded a Zionist society among the secondary school pupils of his town. He studied law in Vienna, where he became one of the leaders of the movement of Zionist students and a founder of the Ha-Koaḥ sports society. On completing his studies in 1910, he settled in his native town as an advocate. When the Czechoslovak Republic was established in 1918 Rufeisen was among the founders of the Jewish National Council and was elected president of the Zionist District Committee of Moravia and Silesia. In 1921 he was elected president of the Zionist Organization of Czechoslovakia, whereupon the headquarters of the movement were transferred from Prague to Ostrava. He held this position until the spring of 1938 when he left for Palestine. He attended all the Zionist Congresses from 1921 on and was a member of the Zionist Actions Committee and the central judicial and economic institutions of the World Zionist Organization. In Palestine he settled in Tel Aviv and was alternately president and vice president of the Association of General Zionists, as well as president of the Association of Czechoslovak Immigrants.

Rufeisen was convinced that the future of the Jewish people was linked to the future of Ereẓ Israel, and he therefore considered the rapid development of the land to be its principal task. He was involved in most of the national economic enterprises while at the same time he turned his attention to the human element required for the realization of Zionism – and especially to the pioneering movement. Rufeisen was among the leaders of General Zionists and maintained an alliance with the Zionist-Socialist camp. In political matters, he was among the active supporters of *Weizmann. Although he was in favor of "work in the present" (see *Helsingfors Program) in the Diaspora, because he believed that a strong Diaspora would serve as a safeguard and support for the rapid and secure development of Ereẓ Israel, he himself concentrated on working for Ereẓ Israel. He gathered around himself a group of Zionist activists which became the leadership and executive arm of the Zionist movement in Czechoslovakia.

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[Chaim Yahil]

RUFUS OF SAMARIA (c. 100 C.E.), earliest Jewish physician and writer on medicine whose name has been preserved. Recent studies indicate that Rufus was the first Jew to write commentaries in Greek on the works of Hippocrates. According to the German scholar Pfaff, Rufus of Samaria was a learned and wealthy Jewish physician who emigrated to Rome from Samaria. It is possible that he changed his original Hebrew name to the Latin name Rufus because of its similarity in sound to *rofe*, the Hebrew word for physician. He learned Greek, wrote medical books in that language, and collected an extensive library of commentaries on Hippocrates, to which he added several of his own. Although *Josephus mentions several contemporaries named Rufus, it is not possible to identify the physician Rufus with any of them. The second-century Greek physician *Galen was careful to distinguish between Rufus of Samaria and his contemporary, the better known Rufus of Ephesus. That Rufus of Samaria was an eminent medical authority is clear from the fact that Galen mentions him in such detail, although the latter was no great friend of the Jews. Galen maintained that whereas Jews (including Rufus) "believed," he (Galen) was "convinced." And, although Galen used Rufus' writings as source material, he felt that Rufus as a Jew, was incapable of appreciating the spirit of the Greek Hippocrates and was therefore unable to produce appropriate commentaries.

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[Suessmann Muntner]

RUḤAMAH (Heb. רוּחָמָה), kibbutz in the southern coastal Plain of Israel, 7 mi. (12 km.) E. of Sederot, affiliated with Kibbutz Arẓi ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir. The land for Ruḥamah was acquired in 1913 by the Palestine Land Development Company (PLDC) for a Zionist settlers group in Moscow, She'erit Yisrael, whose members, however, failed to reach Palestine. A workers' group was afterward entrusted with occupying the remote site, then the southernmost Jewish outpost. The workers persevered there until 1917, when the Turks demanded that they evacuate the area toward which the Allied forces under General Allenby were advancing. In 1920 another group of Jewish workers came to work at the site, planting olives, almond trees, and vines. The place was abandoned in the 1929 Arab riots and resettled in 1932, but again given up when the 1936–39 Arab riots broke out. In 1944, when efforts were made to enlarge the Jewish settlement network in the south and the Negev, the present kibbutz, whose founders originated from Romania, settled there. Their primary task was reclamation of the loess soil, where deep desert ravines had created badlands. In the Israeli *War of Independence (1948), Ruḥamah repeatedly came under attack, first by Arab irregulars, and then by the invading Egyptian Army. The kibbutz held out and, in the later stages of the war, contributed to the final expulsion of the Egyptians in Operation Ten Plagues. In 1970 the kibbutz had 510 inhabitants, dropping to 384 in 2002. Farming was based on field crops, poultry, citrus groves, and dairy cattle (in partnership with Kibbutz *Dorot). It also had a large brush factory and an electronics plant. The name "Ruḥamah" derives from Hosea 2:3.

[Efraim Orni]

RUKEYSER, MERRYLE STANLEY (1897–1988), U.S. financial journalist and author. Born in Chicago, Rukeyser was educated at Columbia University. He was financial editor of the *New York Tribune* (1920–23) and the New York *Evening Journal* (1923–26). He taught at Columbia University's graduate school of journalism from 1918 to 1935. He wrote a financial column for the Hearst newspapers (1927–58) and thereafter a nationally syndicated column, "Everybody's Money." He also lectured extensively in the United States and Europe.

Rukeyser's books include *Common Sense of Money and Investments* (1924), *Financial Security in a Changing World* (1940), *The Attack on Our Free Choice* (1963), *The Kennedy Recession* (1963), and *Collective Bargaining* (1969).

Regarded as one of the most respected market observers in America, he was a frequent guest in the 1980s on the television program hosted by his son LOUIS, *Wall Street Week with Louis Rukeyser*. Another son, WILLIAM, was the first managing editor of *Money* magazine and later became managing editor of *Fortune*.

[Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

RUKEYSER, MURIEL (1913–1980), U.S. poet and author. A prominent left-wing writer, Rukeyser published verse collections notable for their concern with social problems and the individual. These include *Theory of Flight* (1935), *A Turning Wind* (1939), *The Beast in View* (1944), *Orpheus* (1949), and *Waterlily Fire* (1962). She also wrote books for children; *The Soul and Body of John Brown* (1940), a poem; *Willard Gibbs: American Genius* (1942), a biography; *One Life* (1957), on Wendell Wilkie; and *The Orgy* (1965), an Irish fantasy.

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RUMA or **ARUMAH** (Heb. רוּמָה, אֲרוּמָה).

(1). Town in the neighborhood of Shechem, where Abimelech established his residence (Judg. 9:41; corrupted to Tormah in Judg. 9:31). It is identified with Khirbat al-ʿUrma, 8¾ mi. (14 km.) S.E. of Shechem, a large mound with traces of walls, where remains of the Canaanite and Israelite periods were found.

(2). Town in Lower Galilee, identified by some scholars with Rumah, the birthplace of Zebudah, the daughter of Pedaiah, mother of Jehoiakim, king of Judah (II Kings 23:36). It appears in the annals of Tiglath-Pileser III among the Galilean cities whose inhabitants were exiled in 733/2 B.C.E. It is perhaps identical with the Rumah mentioned in the Talmud and by Josephus (Tosef., Er. 4:17; Er. 51b; TJ, *ibid.*, 4:1, 22a; Jos., Wars, 3:233). It is the present-day Khirbat al-Rūma in the plain of Bet Netophah.

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[Michael Avi-Yonah]

RUMKOWSKI, CHAIM MORDECHAI (1877–1944), "Elder of the Jews" in Lodz ghetto. Born in Ilino, Russia, Rumkowski settled in Lodz at the turn of the century. In the period between the two world wars, he was engaged in social and welfare activities, running several Jewish orphanages. He was a member of the *General Zionist Party and represented it on the council, and later on the committee, of the Jewish community in Lodz. Before World War II, when the Zionists left the committee, Rumkowski, contrary to his party's decision, remained in his position. After the Germans captured Lodz they nominated him (in October 1939) to the position of "Elder of the Jews" (*Judenaeltester*), a position he held for nearly five years, until the liquidation of the Lodz ghetto in August 1944. At the same time, he was ordered to create a Council of

Elders (*Beirat*) and organize the machinery of the Jewish "self-administration." In August 1944 the ghetto was liquidated, and Rumkowski and his family voluntarily joined the last transport of Jews to Auschwitz and were murdered there.

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[Danuta Dombrowska]

RUMPLER, EDUARD (1872–1940), German pioneer aircraft manufacturer. Rumpler, who was born in Vienna, began in 1908 to make his *Rumplertaube*, an observation plane capable of flying at what was then the great height of 25,000 feet. He built several types of plane. His planes made the first long-distance land flights in Germany, and were used by the Germans in World War I. After the war, he conceived plans for 150-seater transatlantic airplanes. However, a German aircraft industry was prohibited under the terms of the Versailles Treaty. Rumpler had also worked in the Daimler and Adler works on automobiles, and so he concentrated his postwar work in this field. In 1919 he introduced the Rumplertropfenauto, and in 1926 he brought out the first car with front axle drive. He was forced to retire by the Nazis in 1933.

[Samuel Aaron Miller]

RUNITSCH, OSSIP (1889–1947), Russian actor. Born in St. Petersburg of an assimilated family from Vitebsk, Runitsch acted for five years on the Russian stage, appeared in the first Russian film version of Tolstoy's *War and Peace*, and became a popular screen star known throughout Russia. After the Revolution, he went to Germany, acted for the Ufa company, toured Central Europe, then turned to the Yiddish stage in Riga. He emigrated to South Africa in 1939, acted in Yiddish plays, and for several years directed productions for Johannesburg City Opera seasons.

RUNKEL, SOLOMON ZALMAN (d. before 1426), rabbi and kabbalist. Runkel served as rabbi in Mainz and later in Worms. He was the teacher of Jacob *Moellin and the author of *Ḥatan Damim* (Prague, 1605), a kabbalistic commentary on the Pentateuch based on *gematria and *notarikon.

The work was left unfinished and was completed by Isaac ha-Kohen, the son-in-law of *Judah Loew b. Bezalel (the Maharal) of Prague. Some, however, attribute this work to his great-grandson Solomon Zalman Runkel (d. 1562), who was rabbi in Cracow and the son-in-law of Meir *Katzenellenbogen. It is also doubtful which S.Z. Runkel wrote a responsum mentioned in the responsa of R. Meir Katzenellenbogen. David *Oppenheim had in his library a manuscript of Runkel's *Meliẓot be-Riv be'ad Aniyyei Ammenu.*

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[Abraham David]

RUPPIN, ARTHUR (1876–1943), Zionist, economist, and sociologist; originator of the study of the sociology of the Jews and "father of Zionist settlement" in Ereẓ Israel. Ruppin was responsible for paving the way from political Zionism, which was to many people more declarative than substantial, to pragmatic Zionism, in which settlement work and political efforts were only different facets and names for the same project: the building of the land and the people. Born in Rawitsch (Rawicz), Posen district (then in Prussia), Ruppin was the son of an affluent family that had become impoverished and moved from a traditional Jewish community on the border between Poland and Silesia to Magdeburg, Prussian Saxony, in 1887. His experiences as a youth undoubtedly had an influence upon his life and his way of thought and are probably the source of his understanding of both East and West European Jewry, his support of basic social changes, and perhaps even his tendency toward planning and computing as exactly as possible in his personal, academic, and public life. Ruppin was forced to leave high school at the age of 15 because of his family's financial situation, and worked from 1891 to 1899 in the grain trade. He passed the examinations for a high school diploma as an external student and from 1899 studied law and economics at the Univerity of Berlin and the University of Halle; he also spent time on the natural sciences, especially biology. From 1902 to 1907, he served in a court and, in the same period (1903–07), he directed the Bureau for Jewish Statistics and Demography, which was founded in Berlin by A. *Nossig. In 1903 he received the Haeckel Prize for his research work *Darwinismus und Sozialwissenschaft*, and in 1904 he published *Die Juden der Gegenwart*, in which he laid the foundations for the descriptive sociology of the Jews.

This work, which was published in a number of editions and languages, based its discussion of the position of the Jews upon a demographic and statistical analysis, instead of the propaganda and rhetoric ideology that governed such discussions at the time. Ruppin corrected and brought the book up to date in each new edition and expanded it into *Soziologie der Juden*, published in two volumes in Berlin (1930–31) and in four parts in Hebrew (1932–34). The book appeared in English under the titles *The Jews in the Modern World* (1934) and *Jewish Fate and Future* (1940).

When the first edition of *Die Juden der Gegenwart* (1904) was published, Ruppin was not yet a Zionist (although he supported the Zionist idea), but the book brought him closer to the Zionist movement and to its goal of solving the Jewish problem by founding a Jewish society and a state in Ereẓ Israel based upon systematic urban and rural settlement. In 1907 the young sociologist traveled to Ereẓ Israel on behalf of the Zionist Organization to study the situation there and probe the possibilities for the Zionist Organization's work in the country. This trip brought about Ruppin's connection with the Zionist Organization. The Zionist Executive, headed by David *Wolffsohn, appointed him head of its Palestine Office, which he established in Jaffa in 1908. From then until his death – with periodic intermissions devoted to scientific work or travels – Ruppin was responsible for the work of Zionist settlement in Ereẓ Israel. In 1916 he was forced by Jamal Pasha to leave the country and move to Constantinople, where he directed the activities to aid the *yishuv* both by distributing information on what was happening in Ereẓ Israel and by organizing the transfer of capital to the country. In 1920 he returned to Jerusalem, and in 1920–21 was a member of the Zionist Commission, from 1921 to 1927 and again from 1929 to 1931 he was a member of the Zionist Executive, and from 1933 to 1935 a member of the *Jewish Agency Executive. From 1933 he was head of the Jewish Agency Department for the Settlement of German Immigrants and from 1935 he directed the Institute for Economic Research in Ereẓ Israel, which he founded. He also served, from 1926, as lecturer and later professor of the sociology of the Jews in the Hebrew University.

His greatest achievements outside the field of the sociology of the Jews were in that of settlement. Ruppin's work can be divided into four periods: in the first (1908–14) he laid the foundations for Zionist settlement; in the second (1914–18) he participated in the struggle to save the *yishuv* from destruction; in the third (1920–33) he took part in the systematic expansion of settlement in the cities and rural areas and of the country's economy, throughout political and economic crises; and in the last period (1933–42), when he was a recognized expert on the economy of the country and the sociology of the Jews, he filled a central role in the absorption of the Fifth Aliyah, which brought tens of thousands of immigrants from Germany and refugees from Nazi-occupied Europe, and in solving the problems that resulted from their migration. The greatest importance (in Ruppin's estimation as well) is placed upon the first period, in which he paved the way for the Zionist Organization's systematic settlement work, in cooperation with the pioneers of the Second Aliyah, who had begun to stream into the country in 1905. His activity saved from failure both the Zionist Organization and the members of the Second Aliyah, who were seeking the proper road and were without appropriate financial means, and laid the foundations for all that followed. His success brought about the recognition of the fact that the most important factor in settlement work was the settler and that the settler and the settlement agency must work together as equal partners in every enterprise. In this way Ruppin created the proper conditions for the pioneers' activities and transformed their enthusiasm into a driving force for the settlement of Ereẓ Israel.

This basic outlook also aided in the creation of new forms of settlements – the kevuẓah and the kibbutz, the moshav ovedim, and the moshav shittufi, middle-class villages, etc. (see *Israel, State of: Settlement) – and defended them against all their opponents. From the outset of his work, Ruppin aspired to purchase contiguous tracts of land for agricultural settlement and to create a self-governing population. He encouraged and enabled the acquisition of large tracts of land in the Jezreel Valley (on behalf of the Palestine Land Development Corporation, which he established in 1908, and the *Jewish National Fund) and in other regions. He was also instrumental in the establishment of Tel Aviv and the purchase of land in Haifa on Mount Carmel and its slopes (Hadar ha-Karmel) and from the Greek Patriarch in Jerusalem (on which Reḥavyah and other quarters were established). He was very concerned with the problem of Arab-Jewish cooperation, and in order to study this problem and its consequences, together with a small group of men, he established *Berit Shalom in 1925 and headed it until 1929, working for the establishment of a binational state in Palestine. In view of the Arab riots and uprisings in 1929, 1936, and thereafter, however, he came to the conclusion that the time was not yet ripe for fruitful Arab-Jewish negotiations, in which each nation would receive its due. He therefore believed it necessary to strengthen the Jewish position in the country economically and politically in order to create a situation in which both sides would be willing to cooperate to their mutual benefit.

His collection of essays, *Three Decades of Palestine*, was published in English in 1936. His autobiography in Hebrew, *Pirkei Ḥayyai*, edited by A. Bein, appeared posthumously (3 vols., 1968, 1970). *Memoirs, Diaries, Letters* appeared in English in 1971. Kefar Ruppin in the Beth-Shean Valley, an agricultural school in Emek Ḥefer, and a botanical garden in Deganyah Alef are named after him.

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[Alexander Bein]

RUSE (**Russe, Rustchuk**), port city on the Danube in N.E. Bulgaria. The Turkish traveler Evlyia Chelebi (17th century) relates that Jewish merchants visited the town briefly. When the Austrians besieged Belgrade in 1788, several of its Jews escaped to Ruse. They were the founders of the Jewish community and were later joined by Jews from other towns. In 1797 the first synagogue was built. During the Russo-Turkish War (1828), the Jews fled to Walachia and although they did not all return after the war, the community nevertheless continued to grow. The merchants imported goods from Austria and Saxony and exported those of the country. The first rabbi of the community was Abraham Graciani (1806–14), the author of She'erit Ya'akov. In 1826 a new synagogue was built and in 1852 the Giron synagogue was founded and was followed by the Shalom synagogue in 1858. There was also an Ashkenazi community and Zionist newspapers and periodicals were published there. In 1905 there were 4,028 Jews in Ruse and in 1938, 3,000. In 1943 many Jews from Sofia were deported to Ruse. With the establishment of the State of Israel, most of the Jews emigrated. In 2004 there were around 200 Jews in

Ruse, affiliated with the local branch of the nationwide Shalom organization. (For further information on the Holocaust Period, see *Bulgaria.)

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[Simon Marcus / Emil Kalo (2nd ed.)]

RUSSELL (originally **Levy**)**, HENRY** (1813–1900), English composer and singer. Born at Sheerness, Russell was a prodigy who performed as a child before King George IV. He studied music at Bologna and in his thirties spent many years touring the U.S. and Canada. After his return to England, he was chorus master at Her Majesty's Theatre, London. Russell wrote nearly 800 songs; among the most successful are "There's a Good Time Coming Boys" and "Cheer! Boys, Cheer!" His "A Life on the Ocean Wave" became the regimental march of the Royal Marines.

By his first wife, who was not Jewish, Henry Russell had two sons: William Clark Russell (1844–1911), novelist and biographer, and Henry Russell (1871–1937), manager of the Royal Opera House, Covent Garden, and founder and first manager of the Boston Opera House in the U.S.

His son by his second wife, a Jewess, was SIR LANDON RONALD (1873–1938), British orchestral conductor. Born in London, Ronald conducted opera at Covent Garden in 1894, accompanied the singer Melba on her American tour, and appeared before Queen Victoria in 1897 and 1898. After a period of conducting in musical comedy, he became known in the cities of Britain and the Continent principally as a symphony conductor. Ronald specialized in the interpretation of Elgar, composed songs and incidental music for the theater, and was principal of the Guildhall School of Music, London, 1910–37. He was knighted in 1922.

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RUSSIA, former empire in Eastern Europe; from 1918 the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic (R.S.F.S.R.), from 1923 the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (U.S.S.R.); from 1990 the Russian Federation.

Until 1772

ORIGINS. The penetration of Jews into the territories now incorporated within the Union began in the border regions beyond the Caucasus Mountains and the shores of the Black Sea. Traditions and legends connect the arrival of the Jews in *Armenia and *Georgia with the *Ten Lost Tribes (c. 721 B.C.E.) or with the Babylonian *Exile (586 B.C.E.). Clearer information on the settlement of the Jews in these regions has come down from the Hellenistic period. Ruins, recordings, and inscriptions on tombstones testify to the existence of important Jewish communities in the Greek colonies on the Black Sea shores, Chersonesus near *Sevastopol, *Kerch, and other places. Religious persecutions in the *Byzantine Empire caused many Jews to emigrate to these communities. At the time of the wars between the Muslims and Persians during the seventh century many Jews emigrated to the Caucasus and beyond, where they established communities which during subsequent generations maintained relations with the centers of Jewish learning in Babylonia and Persia. From the early Middle Ages, Jewish merchants, referred to in Hebrew as *holkhei Rusyah*, regularly traveled through the Slavonic and Khazar lands on their way to India and China. They traded in slaves, textiles, hides, spices and arms. It was during this period that the accepted term in Hebrew literature for those lands – *Ereẓ Kena'an* ("Land of Canaan") – appeared (originating in the etymological interpretation of the name "Slavs"), and the merchants were said to be familiar with the "language of Canaan" (Slavonic). It is clear that the conversion to Judaism of the kingdom of the *Khazars during the first half of the eighth century was to a certain degree due to the existence of the many Jewish communities in this region. Jews from the Christian and Muslim countries which bordered upon the Khazar realm were later attracted to the Jewish kingdom. Possibly refugees who escaped from this kingdom formed one of the elements of Russian Jewry in later generations, though their proportion in the composition of this Jewry is still under discussion.

The kingdom of the Jewish Khazars is referred to in ancient Russian literature as the "Land of the Jews," and warriors of the Russian epic poetry wage war against the Jewish warrior, the "*zhidovin*." According to one tradition, Prince Vladimir of Kiev conversed with Jews on religion before accepting Orthodox Christianity. At the same time, there were Jews living in Kiev. Ancient Russian sources mention the "Gate of the Jews" in Kiev. The Jews lived in the town under the protection of the prince, and when the inhabitants of the town rebelled against Prince Vladimir II Monomachus (1117) they also attacked the houses of the Jews. Extracts of religious *disputations held in Kiev between monks and clergy and Jews have been preserved in the early Russian religious literature. There were also Jewish settlements in *Chernigov and Vladimir-Volynski. The Jews of Kiev also communicated with their coreligionists in Babylonia and Western Europe on religious questions. During the 12th century, there is mention of R. *Moses of Kiev who corresponded with Rabbenu Jacob b. Meir *Tam and with the Gaon *Samuel b. Ali of Baghdad.

The invasion of the Mongols (1237) and their rule brought much suffering to the Jews of Russia. An important community – *Rabbanites as well as *Karaites – subsequently developed in Theodosia (*Feodosiya, Crimea) and its surroundings, first under Genoese rule (1260–1475) and later under the Tatar khans of Crimea.

FROM THE 14TH CENTURY. From the beginning of the 14th century, the Lithuanians gained control over western Russia. Under Lithuania the first extensive privileges were granted to Jewish communities in the region at the end of the 14th century. Under Poland-Lithuania the wave of Jewish emigration and large-scale settlement from Poland to the *Ukraine, *Volhynia, and *Podolia from the middle of the 16th century laid the foundations at the close of this century for most of the Jewish communities of the Ukraine and Belorussia, and their Polish-Jewish culture and autonomy (see *Great Poland; *Councils of the Lands). In 1648–49 the *Chmielnicki massacres devastated the Jews of the Ukraine, and some years later the Muscovite armies annihilated the Jews in the cities of Belorussia and Lithuania that they had captured. During the 18th century, the Jews suffered severely during the revolts of the *Haidamacks. With the partitions of Poland at the end of the 18th century, most of the Jews of Lithuania and the Ukraine, and at the beginning of the 19th century also those of Poland, found themselves under Russian rule. During the 19th and 20th centuries Russian Jewry was, however, essentially an organic continuity of the Jewry of Poland and Lithuania in the ethnic as well as cultural respects.

PRINCIPALITY OF MOSCOW. In the principality of Moscow, the nucleus of the future Russian Empire, Jews were not tolerated. This negative attitude toward Jews was connected with the negative attitude to foreigners in general, who were considered heretics and agents of the enemies of the state. During the 15th century, Jews arrived within the borders of the principality of Moscow in the wake of their trade from both the Tatar kingdom of Crimea and Poland-Lithuania. During the 1470s, the religious sect known in Russian history as the "*Judaizers" (*Zhidovstvuyushchiye*) was discovered in the large commercial city of *Novgorod and at the court in Moscow. The Jews were accused of having influenced and initiated the establishment of the sect. When Czar Ivan IV Vasilievich ("the Terrible"; 1530–84) temporarily annexed the town of Pskov to his territory, he ordered that all Jews who refused to convert to Christianity should be drowned in the river. During the following two centuries, Jews entered Russia either illegally or with authorization from Poland and Lithuania on trade, and they occasionally settled in border towns. Repeated decrees issued by the Russian rulers prohibiting the entry of Jewish merchants within their territories, and explicit articles included in the treaties between Poland and Russia emphasizing these prohibitions, testify that this penetration was a regular occurrence. Small Jewish communities existed during the early 19th century in the region of *Smolensk. In 1738 the Jew, Baruch b. Leib, was arrested and accused of having converted the officer Alexander *Voznitsyn to Judaism. Both were burned at the stake in St. Petersburg. In 1742 Czarina Elizabeth Petrovna ordered the expulsion of the few Jews living in her kingdom. When the senate attempted to obtain cancellation of the expulsion order by pointing out the economic loss which would be suffered by the Russian merchants and the state, the czarina retorted: "I do not want any benefit from the enemies of Christ."

At the beginning of the reign of Catherine II, the question of authorizing the entry of Jews for trading purposes again arose. The czarina, who was inclined toward authorizing their admission, was compelled to reverse her decision in the face of hostile public opinion. Some Jews nevertheless penetrated into Russia during this period, while the authorities did not disturb those living in the territories conquered from Turkey in 1768 (Crimea and the Black Sea shore) and even unofficially encouraged the settlement of additional Jews in these territories. The question of the presence of Jews within the borders of the empire was however decided by historical circumstances, when at the close of the 18th century hundreds of thousands of Jews were placed under the dominion of the czars as a result of the three partitions of Poland (1772, 1793 and 1795).

Within the Russian Empire: First Phase (1772–1881)

The Jews who lived in the regions annexed by Russia (the "Western Region" and the "Vistula Region" in the terms of the Russian administration) formed a distinct social class. In continuation of their economic functions in Poland-Lithuania, they essentially formed the middle class between the aristocracy and the landowners on the one hand, and the masses of enslaved peasants on the other. Many of them earned their livelihood from the lease of villages, flour mills, forests, inns and taverns. Others were merchants, shopkeepers or hawkers. The remainder were craftsmen who worked for both landowner and peasant. Some of them lived in townlets which had mostly been founded on the initiative of the landowners and served as centers for the merchants and the craftsmen, while others lived in villages or at junctions of routes. It is estimated that the occupational structure of the Jews at the beginning of the 19th century was as shown in Table: 19th-Century Jewish Occupations, Russia.

19th-Century Jewish Occupations, Russia

Occupation	%
Innkeeping and leases	30
Trade and brokerage	30
Crafts	15
Agriculture	1
No fixed occupation	21
Religious officials	3

The economic position of the Jews steadily deteriorated with their confinement to the *Pale of Settlement (see below), their rapid growth in numbers, and consequent gradual proletarianization and increasing pauperization. The autonomy of the Jewish community was at first recognized. The Jews maintained their traditional educational network.

When they came under Russian rule, many of the communities had become heavily indebted. Economic difficulties, the burden of taxes – in particular the meat tax (see **korobka*) – and social tensions drove many Jews to abandon the townlets and settle in villages or on the estates of noblemen. During the period of their transfer to Russian domination, the Jews of the "Western Region" were involved in a grave conflict between the **Ḥasidim* and the **Mitnaggedim*. Once the Russian government gained control of this region, it became involved in this conflict. Complaints and slander even resulted in the arrest of *Shneur Zalman of Lyady in 1798 and his transfer to St. Petersburg for interrogation. The various ḥasidic "courts" (the most important of which were those of *Lubavichi-Lyady, *Stolin, Talnoye, *Gora-Kalwaria, *Aleksandrow), as well as the yeshivot of the mitnaggedic type in Lithuania (the most important in the townlets of *Volozhin, founded in 1803, *Mir, *Telz (Telsiai), Eishishki (Eisiskes), and *Slobodka; see also *Maggid*; *Musar movement) combined to form a flourishing and variegated Jewish culture.

CRYSTALLIZATION OF RUSSIAN POLICY TOWARD THE JEWS. From the beginning of its annexation of the Polish territories, the Russian government adopted the attitude of viewing the Jews there as the "Jewish Problem," to be solved ultimately by their *assimilation or expulsion. During the first 50 years after incorporation within the borders of the empire, the general tendency of the government was to maintain the status of the Jews as it had been under Polish rule, while adapting it to the Russian requirements. A decree of 1791 confirmed the right of residence of the Jews in the territories annexed from Poland and permitted their settlement in the uninhabited steppes of the Black Sea shore, conquered from Turkey at the close of the 18th century, and in the provinces to the east of the R. Dnieper (*Chernigov and *Poltava) only. Thus crystallized the Pale of Settlement, which took its final form with the annexation of Bessarabia in 1812, and the "Kingdom of Poland" in 1815, extending from the Baltic Sea to the Black Sea and including 25 provinces with an area of nearly 1,000,000 sq. km. (286,000 sq. mi.). The Jews formed one ninth of the total population of the area. Jewish residence was also authorized in *Courland and, at a later date, in the Caucasus and Russian Central Asia to Jews who had lived in these regions before the Russian conquest.

In the regions annexed from Poland, the Jews were caught up in the dilemma facing czarist rule there. The regime, whose power rested on the nobility, refrained from throwing the responsibility for the miserable plight of the mainly Orthodox peasants onto the Christian landowners, mainly of the Polish Catholic nobility, preferring to blame the Jews in the villages; it accepted the claim of the local nobility and officials allied to it that the Jews were causing the exploitation of the peasants (see G.R. *Derzhavin). The Jewish autonomy and independent culture added to this antagonism, as being alien to the Russian centralist regime and Christian-feudal culture.

These concerns animated the first "Jewish Statute" promulgated in 1804. Its first article authorized the admission of the Jews to all the elementary, secondary and higher schools in Russia. Jews were also authorized to establish their own schools, provided that the language of instruction was Russian, Polish or German. The most important of the economic articles of the statute was the prohibition of the residence of Jews in the villages, of all leasing activity in the villages, and of the sale of alcoholic beverages (see *Wine and Liquor Trade) to the peasants. This struck at the source of livelihood of thousands of Jewish families. The legislation therefore declared that Jews would be allowed to settle as peasants on their lands or on the lands which would be allocated to them by the government. Government support was also promised to factories which would employ Jewish workers and to craftsmen.

In 1817 Alexander I outlawed the *blood libel which had caused terror and suffering to the Jewish communities in the 18th century.

A short while after the publication of the "Jewish Statute," the expulsion of the Jews from the villages began, as did their settlement in southern Russia. It was, however, soon evident that agricultural settlement (see *agriculture) could not rapidly absorb the thousands of Jewish families who had been removed from their livelihoods. The expulsion order was therefore delayed, this being also due to the political and military situation in Russia during the war against Napoleon. Only in 1822 was the systematic expulsion of the Jews from the villages, especially in the provinces of Belorussia, resumed. An unsuccessful attempt was also made to induce the Jews to convert to Christianity by promises of *emancipation and government support for their settlement on the land.

UNDER NICHOLAS I. The reign of *Nicholas I (1825–55) forms a somber chapter in the history of Russian Jewry. This czar, notorious in Russian history for his cruelty, sought to solve the "Jewish Problem" by suppression and coercion. In 1827 he ordered the conscription of Jewish youths into the army under the iniquitous *Cantonists system which conscripted youths aged from 12 to 25 years into military service; those aged under 18 were sent to special military schools also attended by the children of soldiers. This law caused profound demoralization within the communities of Lithuania and the Ukraine (it did not apply to the Jews of the "Polish" provinces). Nobody wished to serve in the army in the prevailing inhuman conditions and the "trustees" responsible on behalf of the communities for filling the quotas of conscripts were compelled to employ "snatchers" ("*khapers*") to seize the youngsters. The military obligations of the Jews in Russia brought no alleviation of their condition in other spheres, and the expulsions of Jews from the villages continued with regularity. The Jews were also expelled from Kiev, and any new settlement of Jews in the towns and townlets within a distance of 50 versts of the country's borders was prohibited in 1843. On the other hand, the government encouraged agricultural settlement among Jews. The settlers were exempted from military service. Many Jewish settlements were established on government and privately owned lands in southern Russia and other regions of the Pale of Settlement.

During the 1840s, the government began to concern itself with the education of the Jews. Since the Jews had not made use of the opportunity which had been given to them in 1804 to study in the general schools, the government decided to establish a network of special schools for them. The maintenance of these schools would be provided for by a special tax (the "*candle tax") which would be imposed on them. In order to pave the way for this activity, the government sent Max *Lilienthal, a German Jew employed as teacher in the school established in Riga by the local *maskilim*, on a reconnaissance trip through the Pale of Settlement. During 1841–42 Lilienthal visited the large communities of the Pale of Settlement – Vilna, Minsk, Berdichev, Odessa, and Kiev. He was received with suspicion by the Jewish masses, who regarded the project to establish government schools for Jews as a medium for the estrangement of their children from their religion. In 1844 a decree was issued ordering the establishment of these schools, whose teachers would be both Christians and Jews. In secret instructions which accompanied the decree, it was declared that "the purpose of the education of the Jews is to bring them nearer to the Christians and to uproot their harmful beliefs which are influenced by the Talmud." Lilienthal became aware of the government's intentions and fled from Russia. The government established this network of schools which depended for instruction upon a handful of *maskilim* and at the head of which were the seminaries for rabbis and teachers of Vilna and *Zhitomir. These institutions, to which the Jewish masses shrank from sending their children, served as the cradle for a class of Russian-speaking *maskilim* which was to play an important role in the lives of the Jews during the following generations.

In 1844 the government abolished the Polish-style communities but was nevertheless compelled to recognize a limited communal organization whose function it was to watch over the conscription into the army and the collection of the special taxes – the *korobka* and "candle tax." The community was also responsible for the election of the **kazyonny ravvin* ("government-appointed rabbi"), whose function it was to register births, marriages, and deaths and to deliver sermons on official holidays extolling the government. A law was also issued prohibiting Jews from growing *pe'ot* ("sidelocks") and wearing their traditional clothes.

The next stage of the program of Nicholas I was the division of the Jews of his country into two groups: "useful" and "non-useful." Among the "useful" ranked the wealthy merchants, craftsmen, and agriculturalists. All the other Jews, the small tradesmen and the poorer classes, constituted the "non-useful" and were threatened with general conscription into the army, where they would be trained in crafts or agriculture. This project encountered the opposition of Russian statesmen and aroused the intervention of the Jews of Western Europe on behalf of their coreligionists. In 1846 Sir Moses *Montefiore traveled from England to Russia for this purpose. The order to classify the Jews according to these categories was nevertheless issued in 1851. The Crimean War delayed its application but amplified the tragedy of military conscription. The quota was increased threefold and the "snatchers" were given a free hand to seize children and travelers who did not possess documents, and hand them over to the army. The reign of Nicholas I came to an end with the memory of those days of intensified kidnapping.

UNDER ALEXANDER II. The reign of *Alexander II (1855–81) is connected with great reforms in the Russian regime, the most important of which was the emancipation of the peasants in 1861 from their servitude to the landowners. Toward the Jews, Alexander II adopted a milder policy with the same objective as that of his predecessor of achieving the assimilation of the Jews to Russian society. He repealed the severest of his father's decrees (including the Cantonists system) and gave a different interpretation to the classification system by granting various rights – in the first place the right of residence throughout Russia – to selected groups of "useful" Jews, which included wealthy merchants (1859), university graduates (1861), certified craftsmen (1865), as well as medical staff of every category (medical orderlies and midwives). The Jewish communities outside the Pale of Settlement rapidly expanded, especially those of St. Petersburg and Moscow whose influence on the way of life of Russian Jewry became important.

In 1874 a general draft into the army was introduced in Russia. Thousands of young Jews were now called upon to serve in the army of the czar for four years. Important alleviations were granted to those having a Russian secondary-school education. This encouraged the stream of Jews toward the Russian schools. At the same time, Jews were not admitted to officers' ranks.

The general atmosphere the new laws engendered was of no less importance than the laws themselves. The administration relaxed its pressure on the Jews and there was a feeling among them that the government was slowly but surely proceeding toward the emancipation of the Jews. Jews began to take part in the intellectual and cultural life of Russia in journalism, literature, law, the theater and the arts; the number of professionals was then very small in Russia, and Jews soon became prominent among their ranks in quantity and quality. Some Jews distinguished themselves, such as the composer Anton *Rubinstein (baptized in childhood), the sculptor Mark *Antokolski and the painter Isaac *Levitan.

This appearance of Jews in economic, political and cultural life immediately aroused a sharp reaction in Russian society. The leading opponents of the Jews included several of the country's most prominent intellectuals, such as the authors Ivan Aksakov and Fyodor Dostoyevski. The attitude of the liberal and revolutionary elements in Russia toward the Jews was also lukewarm. The Jews were accused of maintaining "a state within a state" (the enemies of the Jews found support for this opinion in the work of the apostate J. *Brafman, *The Book of the Kahal*, published in 1869), and of "exploiting" the Russian masses; even the blood libel was renewed by agitators (as that of Kutais in 1878). However, the principal argument of the hatemongers was that the Jews were an alien element invading the areas of Russian life, gaining control of economic and cultural positions, and a most destructive influence. Many newspapers, led by the influential *Novoye Vremya*, engaged in anti-Jewish agitation. The anti-Jewish movement gained in strength especially after the Balkan War (1877–78), when a wave of Slavophile nationalism swept through Russian society.

POPULATION GROWTH. One of the factors which influenced the position of the Jews was their high natural increase, due to the high birthrate and the relatively low mortality among children – the result of the devoted care of Jewish mothers as well as of medical progress. The number of Jews in Russia, which in 1850 had been estimated at 2,350,000, rose to over 5,000,000 at the close of the 19th century, notwithstanding a considerable emigration abroad. Governmental commissions appointed to deal with the "Jewish Problem" received instructions to seek methods for the reduction of the number of Jews in the country.

ECONOMIC POSITION. The natural growth resulted in increased competition in the traditionally Jewish occupations. The numbers of small shopkeepers, peddlers and brokers rose steadily. Many joined the craftsmen's class, a step which in those days was considered a fall in social status. A Jewish proletariat began to develop; it included workshop and factory workers, daily workers, male and female domestics, and porters. At the same time there also emerged a small but influential class of wealthy Jews who succeeded in adapting to the requirements of the Russian Empire and established contacts with government circles. The first members of this class were contractors engaged by the government in the building of roads and fortresses, or purveyors to army offices and units. During the reign of Nicholas I, many Jews engaged in leasing the sale of alcoholic beverages which had become a government monopoly. From the 1860s, Jews played an important role in the construction of railroads and the development of mines, industry (especially the foodstuff and textile industries), and export trade (timber; grain). They were among the leading founders of the banking network of Russia. This class of Jews was prominent in St. Petersburg, Moscow, Odessa, Kiev and Warsaw. This upper bourgeoisie, headed by the *Guenzburg and *Polyakov families, considered themselves the leaders of Russian Jewry. They were closely connected with Jews who had acquired a higher education and had penetrated the Russian intelligentsia and the liberal professions (lawyers, physicians, architects, newspaper editors, scientists and writers). The wealth and the status of this small class was however unable to alleviate the suffering of the destitute masses. After the emancipation of the serfs in 1861, the serious lack of land for the Russian peasants themselves became evident and the government ceased to encourage Jewish settlement on the land. Emigration became the only outlet. Until the 1870s, the migration was mainly an internal one, from Lithuania and Belorussia in the direction of southern Russia. While in 1847, only 2.5 percent of Russian Jews lived in the southern provinces, the proportion had increased to 13.8 percent in 1897. Important new communities appeared in this region: Odessa (about 140,000 Jews), Yekaterinoslav (*Dnepropetrovsk), Yelizavetgrad (*Kirovograd), *Kremenchug, etc. The famine in Lithuania at the end of the 1870s encouraged emigration toward Western Europe and the United States.

HASKALAH IN RUSSIA. From the middle of the 19th century, *Haskalah became influential among Russian Jewry. Its first manifestations, combined with signs of assimilation, appeared in the large commercial cities (Warsaw, Odessa, Riga). Among the Russian adherents of Haskalah, there was a trend to preserve Judaism and its values; hence they tended to seek changes based mainly on a thread of continuity. Although there were also circles which stood for complete assimilation and absorption in Eastern Europe (the "Poles of the Mosaic Faith" of Poland, nihilist and socialist circles in Russia), the majority of the *maskilim* sought a path which would preserve the national or national-religious identity of the Jews, while some of them even developed an indubitable nationalist ideology (Pereẓ *Smolenskin). The herald of the Haskalah in Russia was the author Isaac Dov (Baer) *Levinsohn. In his *Te'udah be-Yisrael* (Vilna, 1828), he formulated an educational and productivization program. The most distinguished pioneers of Haskalah in Russia were the author Abraham *Mapu, the father of the Hebrew novel, and the poet Judah Leib *Gordon. Even though the *maskilim* were at first opposed to Yiddish, which they sought to replace by the language of the country, some of them later created a secular Yiddish literature (I.M. *Dick; Shalom Yankev *Abramovitsh (Mendele Mokher Seforim); and others). At the initiative of the *maskilim*, there also emerged a Jewish press in Hebrew (*Ha-*Maggid*, founded in 1856; **Ha-Meliẓ*); in Yiddish (**Kol Mevasser*); and in Russian (**Razsvet*, founded in 1860; *Den*). The Ḥevrat Mefiẓei Haskalah ("*Society for the Promotion of Culture among the Jews of Russia"), founded in 1863 by a group of wealthy Jews and intellectuals of St. Petersburg, was an important factor in spreading Haskalah and the Russian language among Jews.

These books and newspapers infiltrated into the *batteimidrash* and the yeshivot, influencing students to leave them. Severe ideological disputes broke out in many communities, often between father and son, rabbi and disciples. The government assisted the spread of Haskalah as long as its adherents supported loyalty to the czarist regime (as expressed by J.L. Gordon – "to your king a serf") and cooperated in promoting educational and productivization programs, as well as in its opposition to the traditional leadership. By the 1870s, the activity of the *maskilim* began to bear fruit. The mass of Jewish youth streamed to the Russian-Jewish and general Russian schools. The general conscription law of 1874 encouraged this process, and thus began the estrangement of the intellectual youth from its people and Jewish affairs – to the despair of the nationalist wing of the Haskalah which resigned itself to this situation. However, the rise of the antisemitic movement within Russian society during the late 1870s (see above) resulted in a nationalist awakening among this youth. This was expressed in the development of a Jewish-Russian press and literature dealing with the problems of the Jews and Judaism *(Razsvet; Russki Yevrey; *Voskhod*).

Within the Russian Empire: Second Phase (1881–1917)

The year 1881 was a turning point in the history of the Jews of Russia. In March 1881 revolutionaries assassinated Alexander II. Confusion reigned throughout the country. The revolutionaries called on the people to rebel. The regime was compelled to protect itself, and the Russian government found a scapegoat: the notion was encouraged that the Jews were responsible for the misfortunes of the nation. Anti-Jewish riots (*pogroms) broke out in a number of towns and townlets of southern Russia including Yelizavetgrad (Kirovograd) and Kiev. These disorders consisted of looting, while there were few acts of murder or rape. Similar pogroms were repeated in 1882 (*Balta, etc.); in 1883 (Yekaterinoslav, now Dnepropetrovsk, *Krivoi Rog, Novo-Moskovsk, etc.); and in 1884 (Nizhni-Novgorod, now *Gorki). The indifference to – and at times even sympathy for – the rioters on the part of the Russian intellectuals shocked many Jews, especially the *maskilim* among them. Revolutionary circles which hoped to transform these disorders into a revolt against the landowners and government also supported the rioters. The new czar, *Alexander III (1881–94), and his cabinet underlined these trends in their policy toward the Jews. Provincial commissions were appointed in the wake of the pogroms to investigate their causes. In the main, these commissions stated that "Jewish exploitation" had caused the pogroms. Based on this finding, the "Temporary Laws" were published in May 1882 (see *May Laws). These prohibited the Jews from living in villages and restricted the limits of their residence to the towns and townlets. In an attempt to halt the flood of Jews now seeking entry to secondary schools and universities, and their competition with the non-Jewish element, the number of Jewish students in the secondary and higher schools was limited by law in 1886 to 10 percent in the Pale of Settlement and to 3–5 percent outside it. This *numerus clausus did much to accomplish the radicalization of Jewish youth in Russia. Many went to study abroad; others were able to enter Russian schools only if showing outstanding ability. All became embittered and disillusioned with the existing Russian society. In 1891 the systematic expulsion of most of the Jews from Moscow began. The pogroms were indeed halted in 1884 but instead administrative harassment of Jews became worse. The police strictly applied the discriminatory laws, and the expulsion of Jews from towns and villages where they had lived peacefully during the reign of Alexander II was effected, either under the law or with the help of bribery, to become a daily occurrence. The press (which was subjected to severe censorship) conducted a campaign of unbridled antisemitic propaganda. K. *Pobedonostsev, the head of the "Holy Synod" (the governing body of the Russian Orthodox Church), formulated the objectives of the government when he expressed the hope that "one third of the Jews will convert, one third will die, and one third will flee the country."

This policy was also continued under *Nicholas II (1894–1918). In reaction to the growth of the revolutionary movement, in which the radicalized Jewish youth took an increasing part, the government gave free rein to the antisemitic press and agitation. During Passover in 1903, a pogrom broke out in *Kishinev in which many Jews lost their lives. From then on pogroms became a part of government policy. They gained in violence in 1904 (in Zhitomir) and reached their climax in October 1905, immediately after the czar had been compelled to proclaim the granting of a constitution to his people. In these pogroms, the police and the army openly supported the rioters and protected them against the Jewish self-defense organizations (see below). Pogroms accompanied by bloodshed in which the army actively participated occurred in *Bialystok (June 1906) and *Siedlce (September 1906). The establishment of the Imperial Duma brought no change to the situation of the Jews. There was indeed a limited Jewish representation in the Duma (12 delegates in the first Duma of 1906 and two to four delegates in the second, third and fourth Dumas), but this representation was faced by a powerful Rightist party – the *Union of the Russian People – and related parties, whose principal weapon in the political struggle against the liberal and radical elements was a savage antisemitism which overtly called for the elimination of the Jews from Russia.

It was these circles which produced the "Protocols of the *Elders of Zion" which served, and still serve, as fuel for antisemitism throughout the world. In this atmosphere, a proposal for a debate in the Duma on the abolition of the Pale of Settlement was shelved, while a suggestion to exclude the Jews from military service was not accepted for the sole reason that the government could not dispense with the service of about 40,000 Jewish soldiers. Characteristic of this period was the law issued in 1912 which prohibited the appointment as officers not only of apostates from Judaism, but also of their children and grandchildren. In 1913 the government held a blood libel trial in Kiev involving Mendel *Beilis: the antisemitic propaganda was intensified and the government mobilized its police and judicial cadres to obtain his conviction. A strong defense was mustered, including the Jews O. *Grusenberg and Rabbi J. *Mazeh, which succeeded in disproving the libel: the jury, consisting of 12 Russian peasants, acquitted the accused.

The pogroms, restrictive decrees and administrative pressure caused a mass emigration of Jews from Russia, especially to the United States. During 1881 to 1914 about 2,000,000 Jews left Russia. This emigration did not result in a decrease in the Jewish population of the country as the high birthrate recompensed the losses through emigration. The economic situation improved, however, because the pressure on the sources of livelihood did not grow at its former pace and also because the emigrants rapidly began to send financial assistance to their relatives in Russia. Several attempts were made to organize and regulate this continual emigration, the most important by the Jewish philanthropist Baron Maurice de *Hirsch who reached an agreement in 1891 with the Russian government on the transfer of 3,000,000 Jews within 25 years to Argentina. For this purpose, the *Jewish Colonization Association (ICA) was established. Even though the project was not realized, ICA was very active in promoting Jewish agricultural settlement both in the lands of emigration and in Russia itself.

JEWISH POPULATION AT THE CLOSE OF THE 19TH CENTURY. The comprehensive population census of 1897 provides a general picture of the demographic and economic condition of Russian Jewry at the close of the 19th century. In the census 5,189,400 Jews were counted; they constituted 4.13 percent of the total Russian population and about one-half of world Jewry. Their distribution over the Russian Empire appears in Table: Russian Jewish Population, 1897.

Russian Jewish Population, 1897 Census

Region	Number of Jews	% of total population
Ukraine, Bessarabia	2,148,059	9.3
Lithuania, Belorussia	1,410,001	14.1
Russian Poland	1,316,576	14.1
Total in Pale of Settlement	4,874,636	11.5[1]
Interior of Russia, Finland	208,353	0.34
Caucasus	58,471	0.63
Siberia, Russian Central Asia	47,941	0.35[2]
Total Russian Jewish Population	5,189,401	4.13

[1] 93.9% of the Jews of Russia.

[2] Excluding the Jews of Bukhara.

In certain provinces of the Pale of Settlement, the percentage of Jews rose above their general proportion (18.12 percent in the province of Warsaw; 17.28 percent in the province of Grodno). The overwhelming majority of the Jews in the Pale lived in towns (48.84 percent) and townlets (33.05 percent). Only 18.11 percent lived in villages. The Jews of the villages nevertheless numbered about 890,000. A decisive factor in the social pattern of Russian Jewry was its concentration in the towns and townlets. The townlet (see *shtetl) – a legacy of the social structure of ancient Poland – was a center of commerce and crafts for the neighboring villagers and its population was mostly Jewish. There Jewish tradition, cohesion, and folkways were well preserved, serving as the basis and starting point for both the conservative and innovative forces in Jewish culture. In the larger cities, the majority of the Jews also resided in the same locality and led their own social life.

The largest Jewish communities in Russia in 1897 appear in Table: Jewish Communities in Russia, 1897.

Largest Jewish Communities in Russia, 1897

City	Number of Jews	% of total population
Warsaw	219,128	32.5
Odessa	138,935	34.4
Lodz	98,676	31.8
Vilna	63,831	41.5
Kishinev	50,237	46.5
Minsk	47,617	52.3
Bialystok	41,903	63.4
Berdichev	41,617	78.0
Yekaterinoslav (Dnepropetrovsk)	40,937	36.3
Vitebsk	34,420	52.4

There were also many medium-sized towns in which the majority of the population was Jewish.

ECONOMIC STRUCTURE. This concentration of the Jews, and their intensive and variegated cultural life, made them a clearly distinct nation living in the Pale of Settlement. Their occupations and professional structure also gave a specific character to their society. In 1897 the Jews of Russia could be divided according to their sources of livelihood as shown in Table: Jews' Sources of Livelihood, Russia, 1897.

Jews' Sources of Livelihood, Russia, 1897

Occupation	%
Commerce	38.65
Crafts and industry	35.43
Domestics and daily workers	6.61
Liberal professions and administration	5.22
Transport	3.98
Agriculture	3.55
Army	1.07
Without regular source of livelihood	5.49
Total	100.00

In the Pale of Settlement Jews formed 72.8 percent of those engaged in commerce, 31.4 percent of those engaged in crafts and industry, and 20.9 percent of those engaged in transportation. At the close of the 19th century, the Jewish proletariat increased and numbered some 600,000. Approximately half of them were apprentices and workers employed by craftsmen, about 100,000 were salesmen, about 70,000 were factory workers, and the remainder daily workers, porters, and domestics. The desire of this proletariat to improve its material and social status, and its contacts with the revolutionary Jewish intelligentsia during the generation which preceded the 1917 Revolution, became an important factor in the lives of the Jews of Russia.

IDEOLOGICAL TRENDS. The last 20 years of the czarist regime were a time of tension and renaissance for the Jews, especially within the younger circles. This awakening essentially stemmed from conscious resistance to, and rejection of, the oppressive regime, the degraded status of the Jew in the country, and the search for methods for change. One response to the oppressive policy of the czarist government was to join one of the trends of the Russian revolutionary movement. The radical Jewish youth joined clandestine organizations in the towns of Russia and abroad. Many Jews ranked among the leaders of the revolutionaries. The leaders of the Social Democrats included J. *Martov and L. *Trotsky, while Ch. *Zhitlowski and G.A. *Gershuni figured among the founders of the Socialist Revolutionary Party of Russia. With the growth of national consciousness in revolutionary circles at the close of the 19th century, a Jewish workers' revolutionary movement was formed. Workers' unions which had been founded through the initiative of Jewish intellectuals united and established the *Bund in 1897. The Bund played an important role in the Russian revolutionary movement in the Pale of Settlement. It regarded itself as part of the all-Russian Social Democratic Party but gradually came to insist upon certain national demands such as: the right to cultural autonomy for the Jewish masses, recognition of Yiddish as the national language of the Jews, the establishment of schools in this language, and the development of the press and literature. The Bund was particularly successful in Lithuania and Poland, where after a short time it raised the social status of the worker and the apprentice, and implanted in them the courage to stand up to their employers and the authorities.

Another response of the Jews to their oppression in Russia found expression in the Zionist movement. Zionism originated in the *Ḥibbat Zion movement which came into being after the pogroms of 1881–83 (see also Leon *Pinsker). A few of the hundreds of thousands of Jews who left for overseas turned toward Ereẓ Israel and established the first settlements there. Ḥovevei Zion societies in Russia propagated the idea of this settlement and raised funds for its maintenance. The movement gained great impetus with the appearance of Theodor *Herzl, the convention of the First Zionist Congress in Basle, and the founding of the World Zionist Organization (1897). Because of the political regime of Russia, the central institutions of the Zionist Organization were established in Western Europe, even though the mass of its members and influence came from Russian Jewry. Zionism won adherence among all Jewish groups: the Orthodox and *maskilim*, the middle class and proletariat, the youth and intelligentsia. It encouraged national thought and culture among the masses. The Zionist press (**Haolam; Razsvet*, etc.) and Zionist literature in three languages – Hebrew, Yiddish and Russian – gained wide popularity. The movement was illegal and the attitude of the government ranged from one of reserve, seeing that the movement could divert the Jewish youth from active participation in the revolutionary movement, to one of hostility. Zionist congresses and meetings were held openly (Minsk, 1902) and clandestinely. The failure of Herzl to obtain a charter from the Turkish sultan and the debate over the Uganda *project resulted in a grave crisis within the Zionist movement in Russia. Herzl largely based his case for accepting the Uganda project on the urgent need for a "*Nachtasyl*" for the suffering Russian Jews, but it was the majority of the Russian Zionists, led by M. *Ussishkin and J. *Tschlenow, who on principle opposed the Uganda proposal. Some of the proposal's supporters later resigned from the Zionist movement and founded territorialist organizations (see *Territorialism), the most important of which was the *Zionist Socialist Workers' Party (SS). Immigrants and pioneers from Russia formed the greater part of the Second Aliyah and it was from their ranks that the founders of the labor movement in Ereẓ Israel emerged.

Within a relatively short period, the revolutionary movement and the Zionist movement brought a tremendous change among Jewish youth. The *battei-midrash* and yeshivot were abandoned, and dynamism of Jewish society now became concentrated within the new political trends.

When the new wave of pogroms broke out in Russia in 1903, Jewish youth reacted by a widespread organization of self-defense. Defense societies of the Bund, the Zionists, and the Zionist-Socialists were formed in every town and townlet. The attackers encountered armed resistance. The authorities, who secretly supported the pogroms, were compelled to appear openly as the protectors of the rioters. The principal motives for the self-defense movement were not only the will to protect life and property but also the desire to assert the honor of the Jewish nation.

CULTURAL DEVELOPMENTS. The nationalist awakening was also expressed by an astonishing development of Jewish literature in Hebrew, Yiddish and Russian. A continuation of the Haskalah literature, it reached its peak during the generation which preceded the 1917 Revolution. The most outstanding authors of that period were: *Aḥad Ha-Am, M.J. *Berdyczewski, M.Z. *Feuerberg, the Hebrew poets Ḥ.N. *Bialik, Saul *Tchernichowsky, Z. *Shneour, and others, as well as the Jewish Russian poet S.S. *Frug, and the Yiddish writers *Shalom Aleichem, I.L. *Peretz, and Sholem *Asch. There also arose a generation of researchers and historians, the most important of whom was S. *Dubnow, who wrote his *History of the Jews* and based his historical and world view on *Autonomism. Systematic research into Jewish folklore was started upon (S. *An-Ski). A Jewish encyclopedia in Russian was published (*Yevreyskaya Entsiklopediya*; 1906–13). The existing and new societies – Ḥevrat Mefiẓei Haskalah, *ORT, *OZE, ICA – became frameworks for the activity of members of the Jewish intelligentsia who sought to extend the scope of these societies as far as possible. Jewish newspapers circulated in hundreds of thousands of copies. The mass of Jews read the daily press in Yiddish (*Der Fraynd*; **Haynt; Der *Moment*; etc.); Hebrew readers turned to the Hebrew press (**Ha-Ẓefirah*; **Ha-Ẓofeh; Ha-Zeman)*; others read the Russian-Jewish press. In St. Petersburg the foundations were laid for a Higher School of Jewish Studies by Baron D. *Guenzburg, and in Grodno a teachers' seminary, which trained teachers for the Jewish national schools, was opened under the patronage of the Ḥevrat Mefiẓei Haskalah.

An important point at issue that developed between the Zionists and their opponents was the character of Jewish culture. The Bund and Autonomist circles considered that the future of the Jews lay as a nation among the other nations of Russia; they sought to liberate it from religious tradition and to develop a secular culture and national schools in the language of the masses – Yiddish. The Zionists and their supporters stressed the continuity and the unity of the Jewish nation throughout the world and regarded Hebrew as the national language of the Jewish people. They considered the deepening of Jewish national consciousness and attachment to the historical past and homeland – Ereẓ Israel – to be the primary aim and mainstay of Jewish culture. This controversy grew acute after the Yiddishists had proclaimed Yiddish to be a national language of the Jewish people at the *Czernowitz

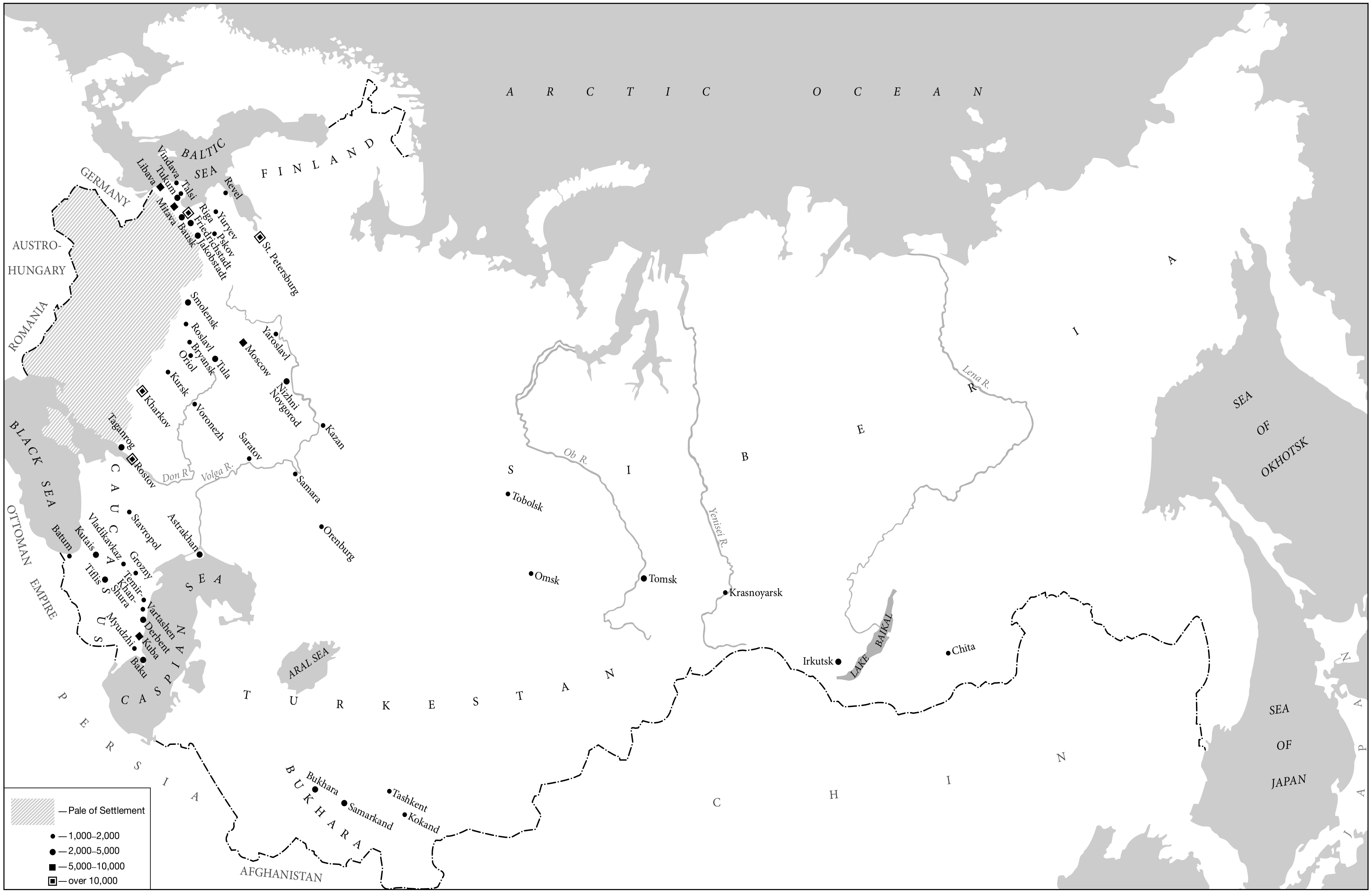
ARCTIC OCEAN
SEA OF OKHOTSK
SEA OF JAPAN
JAPAN
SIBERIA
CHINA
TURKESTAN
BUKHARA
AFGHANISTAN
PERSIA
CASPIAN SEA
CAUCASUS
ARAL SEA
LAKE BAIKAL
BLACK SEA
BALTIC SEA
FINLAND
GERMANY
AUSTRO-HUNGARY
ROMANIA
OTTOMAN EMPIRE
Lena R.
Yenisei R.
Ob R.
Volga R.
Don R.
St. Petersburg
Revel
Yuryev
Pskov
Riga
Friedrichstadt
Jakobstadt
Bausk
Mitava
Tukum
Talsi
Vindava
Libava
Smolensk
Roslavl
Bryansk
Oriol
Tula
Moscow
Yaroslavl
Nizhni Novgorod
Kazan
Kursk
Kharkov
Voronezh
Saratov
Samara
Orenburg
Taganrog
Rostov
Stavropol
Astrakhan
Vladikavkaz
Grozny
Kutais
Batum
Tiflis
Temir-Khan-Shura
Vartashen
Derbent
Kuba
Myudzhi
Baku
Tobolsk
Omsk
Tomsk
Krasnoyarsk
Irkutsk
Chita
Bukhara
Samarkand
Tashkent
Kokand
— Pale of Settlement
• — 1,000–2,000
● — 2,000–5,000
■ — 5,000–10,000
▣ — over 10,000

Map 1. Main Jewish communities in Russia outside the Pale of Settlement. Population figures according to official census of 1897.

Yiddish Language Conference in 1908. The "language dispute" was fought with bitter animosity and caused a split within the Jewish intelligentsia of Eastern Europe.

WORLD WAR I. Russian Jewry, while regarding World War I with some fear, felt that their participation in the defense of Russia would bring about the abolition of their second-class status. The course of events did not, however, justify this anticipation. The mobilization affected about 400,000 Jews of whom approximately 80,000 served at the front. The battle lines passed through the Pale of Settlement in which millions of Russian Jews lived. In the region of the Russian front and its nearby hinterland, there was a military regime under the control of a group of antisemitic generals (Prince Nikolai Nikolayevich; Januszkiewicz). With the first defeats of the Russian army, the supreme command found it expedient to impute responsibility for their reversals to the Jews, who were accused of treason and spying for the Germans. Espionage trials were held and hostages were taken and sent to the interior of Russia. This was followed by mass expulsions of Jews from towns and townlets near the front line. These reached their height with the general expulsion of the Jews from northern Lithuania and Courland in June 1915.

In July 1915 the use of Hebrew characters in printing and writing was prohibited. The Hebrew and Yiddish press and literature were thus silenced. The attacks on the Jews aroused public opinion in Europe and America against the Russian government whose serious military and financial situation compelled it to take Western opinion into account, as this was hindering Russia from obtaining loans in the Western countries. In the summer of 1915, most of the restrictions on Jewish residence were abolished de facto, though not de jure, and thousands of Jewish refugees from Poland and Lithuania streamed toward the interior of Russia. From the outset of the war, Jewish communal workers established a relief organization for Jewish war victims known as *YEKOPO. In conjunction with the existing Jewish societies, it assisted the refugees by providing shelter, food, and employment for them and by the establishment of schools for their children. Communal workers of every class participated in this activity, which awakened the feeling of national unity within the masses. The suffering and persecutions led Jews to attempt to evade military service and desert from the hostile army, and in the difficult conditions caused by the mass of refugees and defeat, speculation in food and other commodities became rife among Jews. The non-Jewish population and the army reacted by intensified hatred toward them.

The extensive conquests of Germany and Austria in 1915 brought approximately 2,260,000 Jews (40% of Russian Jewry) under the military rule of the advancing armies, thus freeing them from czarist oppression while separating them from the Jews who remained under the czar. In 1917 there were 3,440,000 Jews in the region which remained under Russian control; of these, about 700,000 lived outside the former Pale of Settlement. These upheavals brought about cultural and social changes. The conscription of great numbers of Jewish youths into the Russian army and the suppression of the Jewish press and the literature accelerated the process of Russification among the Jews there. In contrast, the Jewish masses of Poland, Lithuania, the eastern Ukraine, and Belorussia, which formed the most deep-rooted element, as well as the great Jewish cultural centers of Warsaw and Vilna, were torn from Russian Jewry. This also affected the greater part of the Ḥasidim.

THE FEBRUARY REVOLUTION (1917). The nine months following the February Revolution of 1917 constituted a brief springtime in the history of Russian Jewry. The Provisional Government abolished all the restrictions affecting the Jews on March 16, 1917, as one of its first measures. Jews were immediately given the chance to hold office in the government administration, to practice at the bar, and rise in the army ranks. All at once opportunity opened up to them for free development in every sphere of life, both as citizens of the state and as a national group. The hatred of the Jews, which had served as a political weapon in the hands of the ancient regime, became incompatible with the Revolution and was forced underground.

Naturally the Jews supported the Revolution and participated in the active political life which began to flourish in the country. There were Jews in all the democratic and socialist parties at all levels, from the leadership to the rank and file. The leaders of the Constitutional Democratic Party (Kadets) included the jurist M. *Vinawer; among the Socialist Revolutionaries there was O. *Minor, who was elected mayor of Moscow, and I.N. *Steinberg, who later became commissar for justice in the first Soviet government headed by *Lenin. Other leaders included, among the Mensheviks, J. *Martov, and F.I. *Dan; and among the Bolsheviks, L. Trotsky, Y.M. Sverdlov, L.B. *Kamenev, and G. *Zinoviev. Many Jews led the revolutionaries in the provinces, which were poor in intellectual forces. Despite their numbers in the general revolutionary movement, these revolutionaries were only a minute section of the vast numbers of Russian Jews who remained attached to their national and religious culture and society. This adhesion was expressed by the tremendous progress made by the Zionist movement in 1917. In May 1917 the seventh conference of the Zionists of Russia, representing 140,000 members, was held in Petrograd. Youth groups under the name of *He-Ḥalutz, who prepared themselves to settle in Ereẓ Israel, were formed in many towns and townlets. The Zionists also promoted an intensive cultural activity. The Ḥovevei Sefat Ever ("Lovers of the Hebrew Language") society founded under the czarist regime, became the *Tarbut society. In Moscow a Hebrew daily, *Ha-Am*, was published and Hebrew publishing houses financed by the wealthy arts patrons Stybel (Stybel Publishing) and Zlatopolsky-Persitz (Omanut Publishing) were established. Training colleges for teachers and kindergarten teachers were founded, as well as elementary and secondary schools. The first steps were taken for the establishment of a Hebrew theater, *Habimah. In all the elections which were held during that year by the general and Jewish institutions, the Zionists and related groups headed the Jewish lists, leaving the Bund and other Jewish parties far behind.

In November 1917 information on the *Balfour Declaration reached Russia and it was acclaimed with immense enthusiasm by the Jews throughout the country. Large-scale Zionist demonstrations and meetings were held in Odessa, Kiev, Moscow, and other communities. All the Jewish parties united in joint activity to prepare the All-Russian Jewish Convention, which was to establish a political-cultural autonomous organization and central representation of all the Jews in Russia. A powerful national awakening was manifested among the hundreds of thousands of Jewish soldiers who served in the Russian army. Thousands of them enrolled in the military colleges and obtained officers' rank. At meetings and conventions of soldiers, debates were held on the establishment of a Union of Jewish Soldiers, one of whose principal objectives would be the organization of self-defense on a military basis, to prevent and suppress pogroms. This union was headed by Joseph *Trumpeldor. Indeed, as the Provisional Government weakened and anarchy became widespread, antisemitism lifted up its head, and here and there pogroms characterized by looting and assaults on Jews were perpetrated by undisciplined soldiers and mobs. The necessity for an organization which could stand in the breach was felt.

The Jews of the Ukraine, where in 1917 about 60 percent of all the Jews living under Russian rule were to be found, faced in the summer of this year the tendency toward separatism that began to manifest itself there. A Central Ukrainian Council (Rada) was formed which at first demanded autonomy for the Ukraine and later (in January 1918) complete independence. The Jewish masses in the Ukraine did not regard Ukrainian separatism with favor. They felt no affinity with Ukrainian culture and retained in mind the tradition of hatred toward the Jews and the massacres of the 17th century (Chmielnicki) and the 18th (the Uman massacre) by Ukrainians. The Jews there regarded themselves as an integral part of Russian Jewry. The Jewish parties, Zionist and socialist, were, however, inclined to collaborate with the Ukrainians, both because of the doctrinal principle of supporting non-Russian nationalism and out of political considerations. The Ukrainians on their side were most anxious to acquire the support of the large Jewish minority which lived with them. Extensive internal national autonomy was promised to the Jews. A National Jewish Council was established, and at the end of 1917 an undersecretary for Jewish affairs (M. *Silberfarb) was appointed in the Provisional Government of the Ukraine. He became minister after the proclamation of Ukrainian independence.

THE CIVIL WAR. After the Bolshevik Revolution of October 1917, the whole of Russia was plunged into a civil war which lasted until the beginning of 1921. The Jews of the Ukraine were especially affected by this war. Various armies were clashing in the area: the Ukrainian army under the command of S. *Petlyura and the bands of peasants connected with him; the Red Army, which came from the north but which organized and incorporated within its ranks many Ukrainian units; the counterrevolutionary "volunteers' army" (the "White Army") under the command of A. *Denikin; and independent units headed by local leaders (Grigoryev; Makhno; and others). These armies were composed mostly of soldiers who had fought on the battlefields of World War I and in general formed a wild mob mainly seeking after loot and bloodshed. As they passed through the towns and settlements, they abused and assaulted defenseless Jews. At times they contented themselves with the imposition of a "contribution" of money, clothes, and food, or with looting and murder on a limited scale. On other occasions, however, especially when in retreat, these armies and bands perpetrated general pillage and massacre among the Jews.

The first acts of bloodshed against the Jews were carried out by units of the Red Army during their retreat before the Germans in the northern Ukraine during the spring of 1918. However, the Red Army command had already adopted a clear policy of suppression of antisemitism within the army ranks. Systematic propaganda against antisemitism was conducted and the rare army units or individual soldiers who attacked the Jews were severely punished. Even though units of the Soviet army also later erupted into violence against the Jews (especially at the time of the retreat of the Red Army before the Poles in 1920), the Jews nevertheless came to regard the Soviet regime and the Red Army as their protectors. On the other hand, manifest antisemitism reigned within the units of the Ukrainian army and the peasant bands affiliated to it. At the beginning of 1919, during the retreat of the Ukrainian army before the Red Army, the regular army units systematically massacred the Jews with bestial savagery in Berdichev, Zhitomir, *Proskurov (leaving about 1,700 dead within a few hours), and other places. The Jewish autonomous organs in the Ukraine and the Jewish minister in the Ukrainian government could not obtain the punishment of the army commanders responsible for these pogroms. This convincingly proved to all the regular and irregular units of the Ukrainian army that lawlessness was licensed in regard to Jews. The policy of grain confiscation from the peasants adopted by the Soviets in those years encouraged anti-Soviet movements among the peasants. The Jews, inhabitants of the towns and townlets, were identified with Soviet rule, and the bands of peasants occasionally perpetrated systematic massacres of Jews when they gained control, often for a very short while, of the localities where Jews were living (Trostyanets, Tetiyev, etc.). During the summer of 1919, the White Army began to advance from the Don region toward Moscow. This army, which was composed of battalions of officers and Cossacks, was saturated with antisemitism and one of its slogans was the old slogan of czarist antisemites: "Strike at the Jews and save Russia!" Its way northward became a succession of pillage, rape, brutality, and slaughter which reached its climax in the massacre of the Jews at Fastov (with 1,500 dead). Their attacks on the Jews were even more severe at the time of their disorderly retreat southward at the end of 1919. It is difficult to assess the losses suffered by Ukrainian Jewry in these pogroms. S. Dubnow estimated that 530 communities had been attacked. More than 1,000 pogroms were perpetrated in these communities. There were more than 60,000 dead and several times this number of wounded. In the western Ukraine and Belorussia, the suffering of the Jews was caused mainly by the Polish army. Although pogroms did not take place, the Jews were terrorized and hundreds were executed without trial as "suspects" of Communist affiliation (Pinsk 1919, etc.). The Ukrainian and Russian "volunteer" units (under General Balachowicz-Bulak) which fought with the Poles also attacked the Jews.

During those years, Jewish self-defense units were formed in many places in the Ukraine. These efforts were, however, local. They were successful in several large towns and in a few townlets only. At the beginning of the civil war, a "Jewish Fighting Battalion" led by a nucleus of demobilized soldiers and officers was formed in Odessa. This battalion obtained many arms and saved the Jews of Odessa from pogroms. The defense units of the small towns managed to protect the Jews from small local bands, but were powerless when confronted by army units or large bands of peasants. Occasionally the attackers took cruel vengeance against the inhabitants for the resistance offered by their youth when they entered the locality (the *Pogrebishche massacre). During the last two years of the civil war, as Soviet rule strengthened, these self-defense organizations at first received political and military support. However, since nationalist and Zionist elements prevailed in them, they were disbanded later during the suppression of non-Bolshevik elements in 1921–22.

Under the Soviet Regime

By 1920 the borders of Soviet Russia took shape. A considerable number of Jews who had formerly been included within the borders of the Russian Empire remained in the states which had broken away from it (Poland, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, and Bessarabia, incorporated into Romania). Only about 2,500,000 Jews remained within the limits of Soviet Russia. The fate of the Jews within the borders of Soviet Russia was to a large extent determined by the theory and practice of the Communist Party. Its outlook was defined and crystallized during the 20 years which preceded the Revolution. Like all the other socialist and liberal parties, the Bolshevik Party repudiated antisemitism, while the civic emancipation of the Jews, as that of the other Russian peoples, formed part of its program. It took some time until the party recognized Jews as a nationality. Under the influence of assimilated Jews, who carried weight in the circles of the socialist leadership of Europe and Russia, the Bolsheviks were inclined to regard integration and assimilation as the only "progressive" solution of the Jewish problem. This outlook was sharpened during the bitter discussion at the beginning of the century between the Bolsheviks and the Bund. Leaning upon Marx, K. Kautsky, and O. *Bauer, Lenin declared that "there is no basis for a separate Jewish nation," and in regard to a "national Jewish culture – the slogan of the rabbis and the bourgeoisie – this is the slogan of our enemies."

Stalin declared in his pamphlet, *Marksizm i natsionalny vopros* (*Marxism and the National Question*, 1913), that a nation is a "stable community of men, which came into being by historic process and has developed on a basis of common language, territory, and economic life"; since the Jews lack this common basis they are only a "nation on paper," and the evolution of human society must necessarily lead toward their assimilation within the surrounding nations. These theories of the fathers of Communism increasingly influenced Soviet policy toward the Jews, though in the beginning the Soviets were compelled by the actual conditions to deviate from their theories and to allow the existence of Jewish political and cultural institutions (the *Yevsektsiya (see below); Yiddish schools and publications, etc.). These deviations, however, proved in the long run to be of a temporary character, after which the line – of imposed assimilation of the Jews – was implemented with even more energy and firmness.

By its war on antisemitism and pogroms, the new regime gained the sympathy of the Jewish masses whose lives depended on its victory. Jewish youth enthusiastically joined the Red Army and took part in its organization. Many Jews reached the higher military ranks and played an important role in the formation of the Red Army. Leon Trotsky, who organized the military coup of the October Revolution of 1917, was the creator of the Red Army, which included among its prominent commanders a number of Jews (of whom the most celebrated were General Jonah *Yakir and Jan Gamarnik). In the Soviet air force there was General Y. *Shmushkevich. In 1926, 4.4 percent of the officers of the Red Army were Jews (two and a half times higher than their ratio to the general population). Jews took an important part in the restoration of the country's administration, which had collapsed after a large section of the Russian intelligentsia and former officialdom emigrated from Soviet Russia or refused to serve in it.

However, the new regime brought complete economic ruin to the Jewish masses, most of whom belonged to the "petty bourgeoisie" of the towns and townlets. The abrogation of private commerce, confiscation of property and goods, and liquidation of the status of the townlet as the intermediary between the peasants and the large towns – all these deprived hundreds of thousands of Jewish families of their livelihoods. About 300,000 Jews succeeded in leaving the Soviet-controlled territories for Lithuania, Latvia, Poland and Romania. The declaration of Lenin on the failure of the economic policy of the period of "war Communism," the introduction of the New Economic Policy (NEP), together with the conclusion of the civil war and the restoration of order in the country, brought some relief to the Jews, but their economic situation was broken and hopeless.

With economic ruin, the new regime also brought spiritual ruin to the Jews. When the Bolsheviks seized power, they were compelled to recognize the fact, even if as a temporary phenomenon, of the existence of millions of Jews who were attached to their language and their national tradition. A Jewish commissariat headed by the veteran Bolshevik S. *Dimanstein was established between 1918 and 1923 to deal with Jewish affairs. "Jewish Sections" (Yevsektsiya) were also set up in the branches of the Communist Party. Jewish members of the party who were prepared to work among their fellow Jews were organized in these sections. The function of the Yevsektsiya was to "impose the proletarian dictatorship among the Jewish masses." The older Jewish members of the Communist Party were mostly assimilationists who did not want any contact with their people. However, as the success of the Bolsheviks and the efficiency of their terror measures became increasingly evident, they were joined by sections of Jewish socialist parties (the Bund, the *United Jewish Socialist Workers' Party, the *Po'alei Zion) as well as by individual Jews. These brought with them ideas on the fostering of a secular Jewish culture in Yiddish and envenomed hatred toward the Jewish religion, the Hebrew language, the Bible, and the Zionist movement. The Communist Party put them in control of the Jewish population centers, at the same time stressing that their activity was only a temporary measure for as long as it would be required.

The first activity of the Yevsektsiya was the liquidation of the religious and national organizations of the Jews of Russia. In August 1919 the Jewish communities were dissolved and their properties confiscated. The general antireligious policy took the form, in relation to the Jews, of persecution of traditional Jewish culture and education, of prohibiting the religious instruction of children, the closure of *ḥadarim* and yeshivot, and the seizure of synagogues which were converted into clubs, workshops, or warehouses. A violent campaign against the Jewish religion and its leaders was conducted and heavy taxes were imposed on the rabbis and other religious officials in order to compel them to resign from their positions. In these activities the Yevsektsiya encountered the opposition of the religious masses, who based themselves on the promise of freedom of religious worship, which was officially proclaimed and later included in the Soviet constitution, and struggled for their right to pursue their way of life by legal or illegal methods (through "underground" *ḥadarim*, yeshivot, etc.). The imprisonment and expulsion from the Soviet Union of Rabbi J. *Schneersohn, the leader of Chabad Ḥasidism, in 1927 marked one phase in the suppression of Jewish religion. Even after this, "underground" religious activity continued, and its influence was manifested when hundreds of ḥasidic families left the Soviet Union and went to Ereẓ Israel after World War II.

War was also proclaimed against Hebrew; its study was prohibited, and the publication of books in Hebrew was suspended (though until 1928 it was still possible to print religious books and Jewish calendars). In June 1921 a group of Hebrew authors led by Ḥ.N. Bialik and S. Tchernichowsky left Russia. Several years later, the Hebrew theater Habimah left the Soviet Union. It had attained a high artistic standard and for several years had been protected from the Yevsektsiya by several of the greatest Russian cultural personalities, led by M. Gorki. The remaining Hebrew authors (Abraham Friman, Ḥayyim *Lenski, Elisha *Rodin, and others) were cruelly persecuted and many of them sent to forced labor camps.

The Zionist movement revealed great vitality. The Soviets viewed Zionism as a threefold danger. It strengthened the vitality of Jewish nationalism. It diverted the Jewish intelligentsia, whose talents the regime required, toward activities beyond the borders of the Soviet Union. It maintained relations with the World Zionist Organization, then an ally of Britain, which ranked among the countries hostile to the Soviet Union. The Zionist movement went underground. Most of its members were youths and boys who were active in the Zionist parties (Ẓe'irei Zion; ZS), youth movements (*Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir; Kadimah; and others) and within the framework of He-Ḥalutz which trained its members for *aliyah*. Many Zionists were imprisoned, sent to labor camps, or exiled to outlying places in Soviet Asia. For several years, the Soviets authorized the existence of He-Ḥalutz in certain regions of the country, but this authorization was abrogated in 1928. Thus organized Zionism was silenced by the end of the 1920s.

The independent societies and publishing houses (Ḥevrat Mefiẓei Haskalah, the Historical and Ethnographic Society, and others) continued to exist until the late 1920s. Some of their activists succeeded in leaving the Soviet Union (S. *Dubnow; S. *Ginsburg). Individuals remained in the Soviet Union (I. *Zinberg). In 1930 the Yevsektsiya was also disbanded. The first stage in the liquidation of the national life of the Jews in the Soviet Union had been completed.

"JEWISH PROLETARIAN CULTURE." To replace the Jewish culture which had been destroyed, the Jewish Communists attempted to develop a "Jewish proletarian culture," which was to be, according to Stalin's slogan, "national in form and socialist in content." This culture was based on the promotion of the Yiddish language and its literature, while the writing of Hebrew words in Yiddish was changed to phonetic transcription, so as to cut the link with Hebrew (examples: כאווײרים instead of חברים; עמעס instead of אמת). A Yiddish press was established, with three leading newspapers; *Der Emes* (1920–38) in Moscow, *Shtern* (1925–41) in the Ukraine, and *Oktiabar* (1925–41) in Belorussia. Numerous literary and philological periodicals, youth newspapers, and a trades unions press were published every year. A Yiddish theater network was established. It was headed by the Jewish State Theater under the direction of A. *Granovski (until 1929) and afterward the actor S. *Mikhoels. These presented adaptations of Jewish classics, by authors such as Mendele Mokher Seforim, Shalom Aleichem, and I.L. Peretz, as well as Yiddish translations of Soviet propaganda pieces and plays. In Minsk and Kiev, "Faculties of Jewish Culture" were established in the universities. They essentially promoted research into the Yiddish language and its literature, Jewish folklore, and Marxist historiography of the history of the Jews in Russia and of the Jewish labor movements. The works of these institutes, as well as the whole of Jewish literature, were subject to the supervision of the Yevsektsiya, headed by M. *Litvakov, who kept watch to prevent "nationalist and rightist deviations." During the short period from the middle 1920s to the middle 1930s when this Soviet Yiddish culture flourished, it appeared to many adherents of Yiddish in the world that with the assistance of a great power a new Yiddish literature would emerge in the Soviet Union. Jewish authors and scholars who had left the country during the first years after the Revolution, as well as Jews from other countries, began to arrive in Moscow, Kiev, and Minsk (among them the authors: D. *Bergelson, P. *Markish, M. *Kulbak, and the scholars: N. *Shtif, M. *Erik, and Meir *Wiener).

Yiddish was also given an official status by the establishment of governmental tribunals in which proceedings were held in Yiddish. The greatest efforts were, however, invested in the development of a network of Yiddish schools. Many such schools were opened in the towns and townlets of the Ukraine and Belorussia. During the first years, an attempt was even made to compel Jewish parents to send their children to these schools. Secondary schools and training colleges for teachers were also established. At the height of this period, in 1932, 160,000 Jewish children (over one third of the Jewish children of elementary school age) attended these institutions. From this year, however, a decline set in. Jewish parents refused to send their children to schools whose Jewish character, apart from the language of instruction (which was the de-Hebraized Soviet Yiddish), was limited to the study of a few chapters of Yiddish literature, with even these interpreted in a manner that offended the religious and national values of the Jewish people. A further cause for the decline of this network of schools was the small number of Yiddish secondary schools and the lack of Yiddish higher educational institutions. By the late 1930s, these schools began to disappear until they were liquidated, largely of their own accord, in almost every corner of the Soviet Union.

Cultural assimilation gradually gained in momentum among the Jews as they became integrated within the life of the new Soviet society. The majority of the Jewish children attended Russian schools. Jewish youth was attracted to the larger cities where the Yiddish language was nonexistent. Even the Jewish-Russian press, which served as an obstacle to assimilation, and the Jewish societies and organizations were absent there. Mixed marriages became a frequent occurrence. In 1935 over 60,000 Jews studied at the higher schools (over 10 percent of the country's students). An expression of the assimilation of the Jews and their activity in Soviet literature could be seen from their large participation in the first conference of Soviet writers in 1934, at which there were 124 delegates of Jewish nationality (about 20 percent of the delegates). Only 24 of them wrote in Yiddish; the others mainly in Russian. These included some of the most prominent authors of Soviet Russian literature, such as: I. *Ehrenburg, B.L. *Pasternak, I. *Babel, and S. *Marshak. The Jews also played a central role in the development of other spheres of Soviet culture, especially the cinema (S. *Eisenstein; M. Romm).

ECONOMIC RESHUFFLE. The most decisive factor in the history of the Jews of the Soviet Union was the economic reshuffle which took place in their midst during the 1920s and 1930s. The brief NEP period (1921–27) aroused vain hopes among the Jews, who occupied a place of considerable importance in the urban economic class of shopkeepers and independent craftsmen ("nepmen"). However, when the success of the NEP period was at its height, severe supervision was imposed on this class, and the burden of taxation brought its impoverishment and destruction. The situation was especially difficult in Jewish townlets whose former economic basis had been destroyed. A widespread class of the destitute and unemployed was created; its members were also deprived of civic rights (*lishentsy* in Soviet terminology), such as the right to employment, public medical care, and the right of their children to study in secondary and higher schools. With the liquidation of the NEP and the introduction of the first Five-Year Plan (1927–32), the situation of these masses deteriorated even further. Thousands of families subsisted on the meager assistance which they received from Western Jewry, through public organizations (the American Jewish *Joint Distribution Committee (JDC), ORT, ICA), through organizations of emigrants from towns or townlets (*Landsmannschaften), or individual relatives. Notorious in this period was the "Extortion of Dollars" campaign of the Soviet secret police, with the use of coercion and torture against Jews suspected of "hoarding dollars." During the late 1920s, according to official statistics, about one third of the Jews belonged to the economic classes which were destined to disappear and were deprived of the above-mentioned rights. The authorities sought to solve this problem in three ways: by agricultural settlement; by migration to the interior regions of Russia, which had been closed to the Jews under the czarist regime; and by concentration in the large towns and industrial regions of the Ukraine and Belorussia, where new classes of government officialdom and industrial enterprises had developed.

AGRICULTURAL PROJECTS. During the 1920s, many of the leaders of the Soviet government came to regard agricultural settlement as the high road to the solution of the Jewish problem. A steady movement toward agricultural settlement of Jews had already started near the Jewish townlets during the period of war Communism in the years of the civil war, when occupation in agriculture at least promised a piece of dry bread. In 1924 the government created the Commission for Jewish Settlement (Komzet) and a year later a Society for the Promotion of Jewish Settlement (Ozet) was founded. Several Soviet leaders, led by M. Kalinin and Y. *Larin, viewed this settlement not only as an economic solution for the Jews but also as a means of assuring their national existence. Some members of the Yevsektsiya accepted these projects with enthusiasm and devoted themselves to their realization. These circles aimed to establish Jewish settlement in successive blocs which would form autonomous national areas and would eventually find their place among the national units of which the Soviet Union was composed. As a basis for such a concentration, the regions of prerevolutionary Jewish settlement in southern Russia were chosen, where 40,000 Jewish farmers already lived, as well as the Crimean peninsula, in the northern parts of which there were still areas available for settlement. Over a number of years five autonomous Jewish agricultural regions were established: *Kalinindorf (Kalininskoye) in 1927, Nay Zlatopol in 1929, Stalindorf (Stalinskoye) in 1930, in the Ukraine; Fraydorf in 1931, and Larindorf in 1935, in the Crimea. Jewish settlement organizations of the West, especially ICA and the JDC, were associated in these activities. Ozet became the legal focus for Jewish activities, and in its newspaper *Tribuna* (Russian, 1927–37) the problems of the "productivization" of the Jews and their agricultural settlement were discussed. Communists of Russia and abroad considered this activity to be, among others, the Soviet alternative to Zionism.

It soon became evident that there was not sufficient space in the Ukraine and Crimea for Jewish settlement on a large scale. In 1928 the government decided to direct this settlement to a distant and sparsely populated region in the Far East – the region of *Birobidzhan, on the banks of the Amur River on the Chinese border. In order to encourage settlement in Birobidzhan, a political as well as an international Jewish character was given to this enterprise. Jews throughout the world were called upon to lend a hand in the establishment of a Jewish territorial unit within the framework of the Soviet Union. On May 7, 1934, the district of Birobidzhan was proclaimed a Jewish Autonomous Region which was to cover an area of 36,000 sq. km., whose official language would be Yiddish. Settlement in Birobidzhan took place in difficult pioneering conditions. In August 1936, the government announced that "the Jewish Autonomous Region was from now on to become the cultural center of Soviet Jewry for all the working Jewish population." This proclamation aroused opposition within the circles of Jewish activists in the European part of the Soviet Union. It appears that misgivings were also felt in government circles toward the outspoken national character which the settlement of Birobidzhan received. In August 1936, a drastic change occurred in the attitude of the government toward Birobidzhan. The leadership of the region, which was in the hands of former members of the Jewish socialist parties, was liquidated. From then, the Jewish aspect of the region began to wane. Officially Birobidzhan retained its name and status of a Jewish autonomous region, and the only newspaper still published in Yiddish in the Soviet Union is the *Birobidzhaner Shtern*. At present, however, Birobidzhan has only symbolic importance in the lives of the Jews of Russia. Its number of Jewish inhabitants, which in 1936 rose to 18,000 (about 24 percent of the total population of the region), declined to 14,169 in the census of 1959, forming 8.8 percent of the region's population and about 0.66 percent of the Jewish population of the Soviet Union. Less than 40 percent of them declared Yiddish to be their mother tongue.

By the late 1930s, the hopes which many Jews in Russia and abroad had pinned on agricultural settlement evaporated. The collectivization of farming during the early 1930s, which was frequently bound up with a policy of "internationalization" (i.e., the inclusion of non-Jewish peasants in Jewish kolkhozes), resulted in the departure of many Jewish settlers. The industrialization and development of the towns attracted many members of the settlements to the large towns. With the German invasion, all the Jewish settlements of the Ukraine and Crimea were destroyed and they did not recover after the war.

The Jewish Population of Birobidzhan, 1928–1959

	Numbers	Immigration into the region
1928	400	900
1929	1,200	1,000
1930	2,600	1,500
1931	3,500	3,250
1932	7,000	9,000
1933	6,000	3,000
1934	8,000	5,250
1935	14,000	8,350
1936	18,000	8,000
1937	19,000	3,000
1945	20,000	1,750
1948	30,000	10,000
1959	14,269	–

ABSORPTION INTO THE SOVIET STRUCTURE. In practice, the problem of Jewish integration within the economic structure of the Soviet Union was solved by many Jews moving to the interior of Russia and their absorption in Soviet officialdom and industry. Migration toward the interior of Russia, which had already begun as a result of the expulsions from the war zones in 1915 and with the outbreak of the Revolution of 1917, continued uninterruptedly, as indicated by the general censuses which were held in the Soviet Union in 1926 and 1939 (see Table: Migration toward the Interior of Russia, 1926 and 1939).

Migration toward the Interior of Russia, 1926 and 1939

	1926		1939	
Region	Number of Jews (thousands)	% of total population	Number of Jews (thousands)	% of total population
Russian S.F.S.R.	599.0	22.4	948	31.4
Ukraine	1,574.5	59.0	1,533	50.8
Belorussia	407.0	15.2	375	12.4
Caucasus	51.5	1.9	84	2.8
Soviet Central Asia	40.0	1.5	80	2.6
Total	2,672	100.0	3,020	100.0

The movement of Jews to Moscow and Leningrad was most evident (see Table: Movement of Jews to Moscow and Leningrad).

Movement of Jews to Moscow and Leningrad

	Number of Jews		
Town	1897	1926	1940 (approx.)
Moscow	8,473	131,000	400,000
Leningrad	17,251	84,412	175,000

Hundreds of thousands of Jews took up employment as factory workers or were absorbed in administrative occupations (especially as clerks in consumers' cooperatives and in accountancy). The division of the Jews' social status in 1939, according to official sources, appears in Table: Jews According to Social Status, Russia, 1939.

Jews According to Social Status, Russia, 1939

Occupation	%
Clerks	40.6
Workers	30.6
Cooperative craftsmen	16.1
Individual craftsmen	4.0
Peasants in kolkhozes	5.8
Others	2.9
Total	100.0

Jews were heavily represented in the Soviet intellectual class. At the close of the 1930s, 364,000 Jews (of whom 125,000 were accountants) belonged to this class. Thus, in Soviet society, the Jews also remained an exceptional element in their social composition. Commerce, which had held the central place in the lives of the Jews before the Revolution, was replaced by administrative occupations and professions in technology and sciences. In Stalin's purges of the late 1930s, which were directed against the members of the old Communist guard, many members of the Yevsektsiya were liquidated and the main Jewish newspaper and the Ozet society were closed down. Apart from this, however, these purges did not bear an anti-Jewish character and were a part of the general policy of the party. At the end of the 1930s, Jews still played an important role in administration, science, and Soviet art. However, no Jewish national or communal organization existed whatsoever. Assimilation took giant strides. Mixed marriages became commonplace. Yiddish-Communist culture was gradually disappearing, but there was still a class of Jewish activists, authors and teachers who held their ground in this atmosphere of extinction, and proclaimed, in accordance with the optimistic official line in the Soviet Union, the great "success" achieved by Marxist-Leninist policy in the solution of the Jewish problem and the "renovated Jewish people" (*dos banayte folk*) which had emerged in the Soviet Union.

During World War II (1939–1945)

On June 22, 1941, the German army invaded Soviet territory. The 22 months preceding the invasion witnessed a steady decline of the remnants of national Jewish life: Jewish institutions and newspapers which had survived the purge of the late 1930s functioned in an atmosphere of fear and oppression, and Jewish educational institutions closed down, often at their own initiative. Among the younger generation the process of assimilation was accelerated. (In June 1942 the Jewish commander of the Soviet air force, Lieutenant General Yaacov Shmushkevich, twice a Hero of the Soviet Union, was arrested and eventually executed, but this must be regarded as part of Stalin's general purges rather than an attack upon the Jews.)

SOVIET ANNEXATION OF TERRITORIES: 1939–40. The most significant event of this period, in Jewish terms, was the addition of over two million Jews, residents of the territories that had been annexed by or incorporated into the Soviet Union (see Table: Distribution of Jewish Population in the Soviet-Annexed Territories).

Distribution of Jewish Population in the Soviet-Annexed Territories

Area	Date of Annexation	Number of Jews	Location of Large Communities
Eastern Galicia and western Belorussia	Sept. 1939	1,220,000	Bialystok, Pinsk, Grodno, Rovno, Lvov
Refugees from western Poland	Sept. 1939	300,000	
Lithuania and the Vilna area	June 1940	250,000	Vilna, Kovno
Latvia and Estonia	June 1940	100,000	Riga
Bessarabia, northern Bukovina	July 1940	300,000	Kishinev, Chernovtsy
Total		2,170,000	

As a result of the annexations, the Jewish population of the Soviet Union totaled approximately 5,250,000. There were areas in the new territories which had a dense Jewish population – especially the cities – and Jews accounted for 5–10 percent of the total population. Most of these Jews spoke Yiddish and they were imbued with a high degree of national Jewish consciousness. The Zionist movement was strong and well entrenched, and a large part of the youth actively prepared itself to settle in Palestine; the socialist Bund also wielded considerable influence. The Jews had their own educational systems – traditional and secular schools, and also the great yeshivot – which taught Hebrew and Yiddish to many thousands of students. A multilingual Jewish press and literature existed whose ranks of Jewish writers and men of letters were augmented by refugees from Warsaw and the towns in western Poland.

Deeply shocked by the swift capitulation of Poland and the fall of its Jews into Nazi hands, most Jews of the newly-annexed territories welcomed the new Soviet regime, regarding it above all as providing assurance of their physical survival. They accepted the new economic and social order in spite of the great hardship that it caused them – confiscation of factories and businesses and the imposition of heavy taxes on shopkeepers and artisans. Jews were now able to enter government service, and found it possible to function in the Soviet economic system in cooperative and state-run workshops and commercial enterprises. The Jewish communities themselves were disbanded and the status of religion and religious institutions – synagogues, yeshivot and religious schools – underwent a sharp decline. The Hebrew-language schools had to adopt Yiddish as the medium of instruction and introduce the Soviet curriculum, with teachers from the old part of the U.S.S.R. put on their staff. Jewish youth organizations were either disbanded or went underground and many of the young people joined the Communist youth movement (Komsomol). The young Zionists and yeshivah students, for the most part, moved to Vilna, which was a Polish city and then became the capital of Lithuania, but was not occupied by the Soviets until June 1940, and from there many succeeded in reaching either Palestine or the United States. There was also a minor revival of Yiddish cultural life. The old Soviet Yiddish writers, who had almost given up all hope of saving Yiddish culture from obliteration, now saw a new sphere of activities opening up. They established contact with writers in such Jewish centers as Vilna, Kaunas, Riga, Lvov, Bialystok, and Chernovtsy, founded newspapers and theaters, and began to publish their books. A chair for Yiddish language and literature, headed by Noah *Prylucki, was created at Vilna University. This development soon met with the disapproval of the Soviet authorities, and by the end of 1940 there was no doubt that Jewish institutions in the new territories were also being systematically liquidated. This was especially true of Jewish schools, where teachers and parents were "persuaded" to replace Yiddish by Russian. A few attempts at protesting this policy were firmly suppressed, as, for example, the arrest and later execution of the Soviet Yiddish writer Selik *Axelrod in Minsk. Many of the refugees from western Poland were arrested in the early months of the Soviet occupation and deported to camps in the Soviet interior. In the spring of 1941, mass arrests took place among Jews and non-Jews alike, primarily former businessmen, industrialists, and religious functionaries, as well as socialists, Zionists and Bundists. They were sent into exile or labor camps in northern Russia, where many of them died; for others, deportation turned out to be the means of survival, while the families they had left behind soon became the victims of the Nazi slaughter. It was clear that Soviet policy was designed to equate the social and cultural standard of the new areas, as quickly as possible, with that of the rest of the country. Any remaining contact between Soviet Jewry and the Jewish world beyond the borders was broken off. The Soviet press reported very little of the atrocities committed by its Nazi treaty partner, and made no mention at all of the persecution of the Jews. As a result, the Jews of the Soviet Union knew practically nothing of the fate of their brethren in the countries occupied by the Germans, and when the Soviet Union was invaded, they were mostly unprepared for what was to happen.

GERMAN INVASION: 1941. In the first few weeks following June 22, 1941, the German invaders occupied most of the areas annexed by the Soviet Union in 1939 and 1940, including all of Belorussia and the greater part of the western Ukraine (as eastern Galicia had become). Vilna was taken on June 25, Minsk on June 28, Riga on July 1, Vitebsk and Zhitomir on July 9, and Kishinev on July 16. From most of the towns, the Jews attempted to flee to the Soviet interior, but were prevented from doing so either by the advancing German troops or by Soviet security forces who did not permit the crossing of the pre-1939 borders of the U.S.S.R. The Jews in the areas that were occupied by the Germans at a later date, such as Kiev (September 19) and Odessa (October 16), did in large measure succeed in escaping in time, either individually or within the organized evacuation of government employees, of functionaries of institutions, and of workers in factories. In the more remote areas occupied by the Germans, the majority of the Jewish inhabitants also managed to get away in time. The total Jewish population in the areas occupied by the Germans had been four million (spring 1941). Of these, about three million were murdered. The rest were saved in a variety of ways including prior deportation and evacuation together with non-Jews; drafting into the Red Army; and flight to the forests and joining the partisan units. Almost none of the Jews who remained in the cities and towns of the German-occupied territory survived the war. By the time of the German invasion of the U.S.S.R., the Nazi plan for the "*Final Solution" had been worked out. Here the Nazis felt none of the restraint which they had imposed upon themselves in Western Europe, since they were unconcerned by local reaction. The annihilation of the Jews proceeded at a rapid pace. The ghettos that were established proved to be only temporary collection points for the utilization of Jewish labor prior to destruction.

ANNIHILATION OF THE JEWS. The task of the systematic murder of the Jews was put in the hands of four specially created units called *Einsatzgruppen*, made up of 3,000 killers recruited from the *SS, the SD and the Gestapo. These units were assigned the job of following the German troops as they advanced into the Soviet Union, and ridding the occupied areas of all undesirable elements – political commissars, active Communists, and, above all, the Jews. Their task was explained to them in special training courses: to destroy the *Ostjuden* (Jews of Eastern Europe) who represented the "biological base" of the Jewish people all over the world and constituted the breeding ground of world Communism. Each unit was allotted a certain area of activity, and on completion of its task in one area, it was transferred to another. The units were commanded by high-ranking officers of the Gestapo, many of them well-educated men who had chosen the assignment because of its absence of personal danger and its high reward – a better salary, plus the valuables taken from the victims. Among these officers, there were some of the "finest" products of Nazi Germany. Nevertheless, they could not have carried out their task without assistance from various sources, foremost among them the German army, which supplied the *Einsatzgruppen* with personnel, transport and weapons. An order issued by Field Marshal Reichenau on Oct. 10, 1941, on the "Conduct of the Armed Forces in the Eastern Theater of Operations," explicitly called upon German troops to assist in the murder of Jews. Hitler described it as an "excellent" (*ausgezeichnet*) order and instructed all army commanders on the Soviet front to follow Reichenau's example.

Local antisemitic elements, too, participated in the slaughter of Jews, first by means of pogroms initiated of their own accord, especially in the Baltic states and later as members of special police units made up of Ukrainians, Belorussians, Latvians, Lithuanians, and Tatars, who collaborated in the extermination campaign. The Germans had a special interest in gaining the cooperation of the local populations, so that they became accomplices in the crimes being committed. One means by which they achieved this end was the distribution of Jewish houses and portions of Jewish property among gentile neighbors. The attitude of the local population to the Jews differed from one place to another. In the Baltic states and the Crimea, home of the Tatars, there were local elements who participated in the annihilation of Jews as effectively as the Nazis. In the Ukraine the number of Nazi collaborators, led by Ukrainian nationalists, was particularly large. On the other hand, the Belorussian and Russian population in the Nazi-occupied areas hated the Germans and were on the whole opposed to the mass murder of Jews. In a very few instances attempts were made to save Jews. One such effort was the work of the Metropolitan Sheptitski, head of the Uniate Church in the western Ukraine, who, with the help of monks belonging to his church, organized a network for saving Jews by hiding them in monasteries. A similar network of Polish and Lithuanian intellectuals and clerics operated in Vilna. However, prevailing conditions severely limited the scope of these efforts. The method by which the annihilation of the Jews was carried out by the Nazis differed from one place to another. In many instances the murders took place in the very beginning of the occupation. This was true of many cities and towns in the Baltic states, where local nationalists accused the Jews of having welcomed and supported the Soviet annexation. Often the Nazis used the murder of Jews to set an example for the local population and to intimidate them, or in revenge for operations carried out by the partisans. In Kiev 33,779 Jewish men, women, and children were murdered within two days (Sept. 29–30, 1941) in the *Babi Yar Valley, near the local Jewish cemetery, in response to the blowing up of German headquarters in the city. In Odessa, German and Romanian forces reacted similarly to the destruction of Romanian headquarters in the city, and 26,000 Jews were put to death during Oct. 23–26, 1941, many by hanging or burning. The killing in Odessa continued until the middle of the winter. In the Ukraine and Belorussia, the Nazis celebrated the anniversary of the Russian Revolution on Nov. 7, 1941, by mass killings of Jews. In the Soviet Union, the Nazis tried out new ways of murdering Jews. One such method was the use of closed vans, in which Jews were ostensibly being transported from one place to another, while in fact poison gas was forced into the vans, causing the immediate death of all the passengers. The most common method was to drive the Jews to the outskirts of the city and fire on them by rifles or machine guns in front of previously prepared ditches, pushing the victims into the ditches and covering the ditches with earth. Sometimes some of the victims were not dead, and were thus buried alive. In many instances, they had to remove their clothes before going to their deaths. Nazi leaders, among them A. *Eichmann, were frequent witnesses of these spectacles. Where the slaughter was not completed in the early days of the occupation, the Nazis established ghettos for the survivors, situated, as a rule, in the slum quarters of the town, where the Jews were concentrated in the worst conditions possible. A *Judenrat and a ghetto police force were appointed by the Nazis to run the ghetto. Some of those appointed showed courage and fortitude in carrying out the task that a bitter fate had decreed for them. In the majority of cases, however, working under the Nazis resulted in moral degeneration.

The Jews were forced to wear the yellow *badge and were not permitted to leave the confines of the ghetto, unless they were working for the Nazis outside. From time to time, the Nazis staged *Aktionen* designed to weed out the "useless" elements – invalids, old people and children. Those whose turn for death had not yet come were forced to work in German army workshops, road building and fortifications. Surviving Jews in places that were declared **judenrein* were transferred to central ghettos, which also contained large numbers of Jews from Western Europe. The largest of these ghettos existed in Vilna, Bialystok, Kaunas, Riga, and Minsk (only the last belonging to the pre-1939 Soviet territory), and they remained in existence for almost the entire period of German occupation.

Most of the Jews from Bessarabia and northern Bukovina were deported to *Transnistria, the area beyond the Dniester that had been occupied by the Romanian army, where they suffered from starvation and disease and were put into forced labor. The enormity of the Nazi crimes was revealed while the war was still going on, as soon as the Soviet army began its westward advance, liberating occupied territories. Several of the Nazi murderers who fell into Soviet hands, and their collaborators among the local population, were put on trial. While at the start no attempt was made to conceal the Jewish identity of the victims, after a while the Soviet authorities and information media refrained from mentioning the anti-Jewish character of the crimes and described the victims as "Soviet citizens."

JEWISH RESISTANCE. Jewish resistance to the Nazi regime was manifested in two ways: the revolt in the ghettos, and participation in the partisan movement (see *Partisans).

There was a decided difference between the behavior of the Jews in the pre-1939 territory of the Soviet Union and the Jews in the recently incorporated areas. The former had been deprived by the Soviet regime of any form of Jewish organization and lacked any semblance of coherence as a national group. In their case the process of annihilation was swift and thorough and, with few exceptions (Minsk, Kopyls), these ghettos existed only for a few months or even weeks. In the newly annexed areas, such as the Baltic states, former eastern Poland, northern Bukovina, etc., the tradition of Jewish organization and self-contained Jewish life was still strong, and it took the Nazis much longer to wipe out the ghettos. The Jews maintained clandestine institutions for mutual help, and rendered assistance not only to the local Jewish population but also to the deportees who had been brought in from other places. In these ghettos, there were underground libraries, choirs, orchestras, and theater companies, as well as schools and synagogues. An underground press informed the ghetto population of developments on the front and events concerning Jews, and served to keep up morale. These activities were organized largely by the youth and by the few surviving intellectuals. A leading role was played by Zionist youth groups, who hoped for a future life in Ereẓ Israel, and by the Communists, who hoped for the victory of the Soviet army. In many of the ghettos, fighting organizations were created which collected arms in preparation for a ghetto revolt or for escape to join the partisans. The underground fighting groups in the large ghettos managed to maintain communications with each other and send messengers to the ghetto resistance movement headquarters in Warsaw. A major dilemma confronting the fighting ghetto youth was the choice between remaining in the ghetto to carry on the hopeless struggle there, or escaping to the woods to join the partisans. Generally, the policy of the ghetto leadership was to stay in the ghetto and carry on their miserable existence there, in the hope of "surviving them" (*iberlebn zay*); an open revolt would lead to drastic punishment and the immediate murder of large numbers of ghetto inmates. However, the resistance movements arrived at the conclusion that the Nazis aimed at the total extermination of all Jews. In their leaflets (in Vilna, Bialystok, and elsewhere) the resistance called on the Jews not to go "like sheep to the slaughter" but to defend themselves and take up weapons. The only recourse for the underground resistance movement was to stage a revolt of the ghetto as a whole just as it was about to be liquidated. An earlier flight to the woods meant abandoning the ghetto, and the families of the escapees, to their bitter fate.

Usually, however, the problem was resolved by the conditions created by the Nazis. In the summer of 1942, the Germans began the systematic liquidation of the ghettos in the provincial towns. In some of them revolts broke out, the ghetto inmates resisting their deportation, setting the ghetto houses on fire and making mass attempts to escape to the forests. *Nesvizh, *Mir, *Lachva, *Kletsk and *Kremenets were some of the places where ghetto revolts occurred. In August 1943, when the Nazis embarked upon the final liquidation of the *Bialystok ghetto, a revolt broke out there. There were no revolts in *Vilna and *Kaunas, but the Jewish underground encouraged the young people to flee to the forests and join the partisans. In Minsk the ghetto underground maintained close contact with the partisan units in the vicinity.

PARTICIPATION IN THE PARTISAN MOVEMENT. Jewish participation in the partisan movement, which encompassed large areas under German occupation, especially in Belorussia, Lithuania and Ukraine, was relatively small. The partisan movement was based in the forests and the villages in the forest area, consisting primarily of local people, such as peasants and shepherds. There was widespread antisemitism among the partisans, with many instances of partisans attacking Jews, robbing them of their goods, and even murdering them. The time factor was also against wide Jewish participation. The Soviet partisan movement gained its strength after June 1942 (date of the establishment of the central partisan headquarters), a period when most of Soviet Jews in the German-occupied territories had already been murdered. The non-Jewish partisan, as a rule, was an able-bodied person who had chosen to fight the Germans. Most of the Jews, however, who had fled to the forests, had no other choice, and brought with them a large number of old people, women, and children who were incapable of joining the fighting and whose security and sustenance were a heavy burden which the non-Jewish partisans were unwilling to bear. In general, Jews were received coolly by the partisans and frequently had to prove their ability and readiness to fight, as well as obtain their own weapons, before they were permitted to join the partisan ranks. Many Jews, especially in the Soviet interior, assumed non-Jewish names and posed as gentiles in order to join the partisans. The presence of antisemitic elements both in the partisan command and in the rank and file manifested itself in frequent executions of Jewish partisans for minor misdemeanors, for which their non-Jewish comrades were given a light punishment only. A change for the better occurred in the fall of 1942, when a partisan supreme headquarters was created in Moscow and political instructors sent to the partisan units to form them into a regular organized movement.

Groups of Jews, members of resistance movements or others who fled to the woods, tried to establish Jewish partisan units. Often they did not find any other partisans in the area when they arrived. Some of them formed "family camps" which housed complete families, as well as fighting units whose task it was to defend the camps against both the Germans and the non-Jewish partisan units. Examples of such family camps were the one headed by Tuvyah Belski, in the vicinity of *Novogrudok, where over 1,000 persons found refuge, most of whom were able to survive the war; a camp in the forests near Minsk, created by Shimon Zorin, which sheltered families and also served as a base for several fighting units; and various camps in the forests of western Belorussia, Lithuania, and Volhynia, among them the fighting unit headed by Jechezkiel *Atlas in the Slonim area, the "Jewish Unit" headed by M. Gildenman in the Volhynian forests, and the 51st Company of the Shchors Battalion in Polesie. When the Soviet command took over the partisan movement, it pressed for the disbandment of the Jewish units and the distribution of its members among the various other national partisan units. This policy was based on the territorial principle which called for the partisan units to symbolize the organic connection between the population of the district in which the partisan units were active and the Soviet Union. Jewish commanders were replaced and non-Jewish partisans were incorporated into the Jewish units, so that the units soon lost their Jewish character. Thus, there were units termed Ukrainian, Belorussian, and Lithuanian, even in cases when a substantial part of the unit strength was made up of Russians or, sometimes, of Jews (e.g., in Lithuania). Estimates of the number of Jews who were active in the partisan movement range from 10,000 to 20,000. About one third fell in the fighting with the Germans. When the areas in which they were active were liberated by the Soviet army, most of the Jewish partisans were drafted and joined the Soviet forces in their drive to Berlin. A substantial number of these erstwhile partisans made their way to Palestine when the war was over.

JEWS IN THE SOVIET ARMY. Jewish soldiers played a leading role in the fighting units in those areas of the Soviet Union which were not occupied by the Germans. There was no question of where their loyalty lay: they were fighting for their lives, and for them, unlike Russians such as Vlasov and Ukrainians such as Bandera, treason was out of the question. It was known that Jewish soldiers in the Soviet army who were taken prisoner were executed at once by the Germans. About 500,000 Jews served in the Soviet army during the war, and approximately 200,000 fell in battle. In the Brest-Litovsk fortress, one of the organizers of the heroic resistance was a Jewish officer, Chaim Fomin. A similar role was played by another Jew, Arseni Arkin, who was the commissar of the Hango garrison, the advance position in the Gulf of Finland. The first Soviet squadron to bomb Berlin (August 1941) was commanded by Michael Plotkin, a Jew. In the battle for Moscow at the end of 1941, a Jewish brigadier (later general), Jacob *Kreiser, took a leading role. Many Jews were awarded the title of Hero of the Soviet Union during that battle. Many Jews took part in the battle for Stalingrad, among them Kreiser; Lieutenant General Israel Baskin, an artillery commander; and the commander of the 62nd Armored Corps, M. Weinrub. At the fall of Stalingrad, Field Marshal von Paulus surrendered his pistol to a Jewish brigadier, Leonid Vinokur. A large proportion of Jews were also among the troops that spearheaded the Soviet drive into Germany. Among the 900 soldiers who were decorated Heroes of the Soviet Union for their part in the crossing of the Dnieper, 27 were Jews. Similarly, in the battle for Berlin many Jews took part in the fighting, among them Major General Hirsh Plaskov, artillery commander, and Lieutenant General Shimon Krivoshein, commander of the armored corps. Jews were heavily represented in the artillery units, armored corps, army engineers, and the air force. Their numbers were also particularly great in the medical corps, among them the surgeon general of the Soviet army, Major General M. Vofsi, later to be among the accused in the antisemitic "*Doctor's Plot" eight years after the war (see also below). Among many Jews serving in the navy were Rear Admiral Paul Trainin, who commanded the Kerch naval base, and submarine captains Israel Fisanovich and Shimon Bograd. A Jewish major general of the cavalry, Dovator, was among those who fell in the defense of Moscow. A total of 160,000 Jewish soldiers in the Soviet forces were decorated during the war, with the Jews thus taking fifth place among Soviet nationalities. The highest award, Hero of the Soviet Union, was granted to 145 Jews, among them David Dragunski, who was awarded it twice. Jewish women distinguished themselves as nurses, medical orderlies, radio operators, and even as snipers and pilots. Among the latter were Polina Gelman and Raisa Aronova, who became Heroes of the Soviet Union. A considerable number of Jewish writers took part in the fighting, and among those who fell in battle were S.N. *Godiner, A. *Gurshtein and Meir Wiener. Jews who were taken prisoner could save their lives only if they succeeded in hiding their Jewish identity. A Soviet prisoner-of-war underground movement in Germany, organized in 1943, was discovered by the Nazis and its members were executed. At the head of the movement was an officer named George Pasenko, whose real name, it later transpired, had been Joseph Feldman. The tendency among Jewish soldiers to hide their true identity also existed in the Soviet army itself, because of antisemitic elements. This situation facilitated the work of the antisemitic propagandists, especially in the rear, who argued that the Jews were not taking part in the war effort, and in the postwar years antisemitic groups continued to belittle the Jewish role in the defeat of Germany.

In the story of Jewish participation in the Soviet war effort, the Lithuanian division and Latvian units represent a special chapter. The Soviet government had a special interest in creating national Lithuanian and Latvian units in order to demonstrate that these countries had become an integral part of the U.S.S.R. The Lithuanian division was created in the northern Volga region in December 1941, but because the number of Lithuanians available was too small to fill its ranks, Russian-born Lithuanians and Lithuanian-born Russians were also drafted into the unit. But in its initial stage Jews comprised a majority in the division. Jews also accounted for a large part of the Latvian national units. When the Lithuanian division finally reached Lithuanian soil, the proportion of Jews had been reduced to one fifth. Four of the Jewish soldiers serving in this division were awarded the title of Hero of the Soviet Union. After the war, a considerable number of former members of the Lithuanian division managed to reach Palestine.

POSITION OF JEWS BEHIND THE FRONT. Jews living behind the front underwent great suffering during the war. In addition to sharing the general fate of the population, many of them suffered special hardship, for the number of refugees among them was disproportionately large, and they lived under severe conditions in the towns and kolkhozes beyond the Volga and in Soviet Central Asia. A few refugees were allowed to join the Polish army under General Anders and were thus able to leave the Soviet Union. The Soviet authorities were suspicious of the Jewish refugees, especially the former Polish citizens among them. Even those who had formally become Soviet citizens, were, at the beginning, drafted into labor battalions only. A tragic example of this attitude was the execution by the Soviets of two former Polish Bund leaders, H. *Erlich and V. *Alter, in December 1941.

Latent antisemitism among the Soviet masses manifested itself overtly throughout the war. Its principal victims were the Jewish refugees, whom the local population regarded as competitors for the scarce food and shelter available. When in 1943–44 the Soviet army liberated the occupied areas, not only was the Holocaust of the Jewish communities revealed, but also the hatred of the Jews that the Nazis had successfully aroused and encouraged among the local population. This hatred was further intensified by the attempts of the few returning Jews to regain their houses and positions. In numerous instances, Jews who had survived the war and tried to reestablish themselves in their old homes were murdered by their erstwhile neighbors. Liberated Kiev was the scene of a pogrom in which a number of Jews lost their lives.

FURTHER INFORMATION ON THE HOLOCAUST IN RUSSIA. New archival material from the *Zentralestelle der Landesjustizverwaltungen at Ludwigsburg, which was previously not available, now makes it possible to give an account of the extermination of the Jews in the Nazi-occupied territory of the U.S.S.R.

The Jewish population of the U.S.S.R., within the frontiers of Sept. 17, 1939, was, according to the census of January 1939, 3,028,358, with the following breakdown: Ukraine 1,532,776, Belorussia 375,092; Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic 956,599; all other territories 200,000. Eighty percent of these Jews lived in the large industrial cities or in small towns which served as industrial and commercial centers for the surrounding villages.

The Nazi onslaught on June 22, 1941, and the rapid progress of the German army, took the Jews completely by surprise, as was the case with the Red Army command. As a result of the confusion and lost sense of direction, and because of transportation failures, heavy shelling, and the swift advance of German units (on June 26 they approached *Minsk and, by the middle of July, almost the whole of Belorussia and the greater part of the western Ukraine, with *Zhitomir, were occupied), it was practically impossible for Jews inhabiting Belorussia and the western Ukraine (on the right bank of the Dnieper) to escape. The number of Jews evacuated in an organized manner from the eastern Ukraine and the Russian Republic was, according to S. Schwartz, about 50 percent; according to reports by Einsatzgruppen, between 70 and 90 percent of the Jews escaped from some towns. They were evacuated with their plants and offices. There was practically no evacuation of Jews as such. Many of the Jews who had sought refuge in the *Crimea and the *Caucasus were subsequently murdered by the advancing Germans.

Many Jewish families did not even attempt to leave, as no one anticipated the Jewish extermination policy of the Nazis, since the Soviet press had adopted a friendly policy toward Nazi Germany, especially after the signing of the nonaggression pact, and it refrained from mentioning the persecution of Jews in occupied Europe.

At the outbreak of the war between Germany and the Soviet Union, the Nazi Government already had a carefully elaborated plan for the liquidation of Russian Jewry, and had prepared the material basis for implementing it. In March 1941, the organization of special units, the so-called Einsatzgruppen, began, with the aim of exterminating all Jews and Communists within the occupied territory of the U.S.S.R. Einsatzgruppen A, B, and C were directly subordinated to the *RSHA commander. Each of them operated in the territory of one of the three fronts (Heeresgruppe), while Einsatzgruppe D operated in the territory of Manstein's 11th Army to the south. The Einsatzgruppen immediately followed the front-line units, made inquiries, and, in cooperation with auxiliary police troops (mainly Lithuanian and Ukrainian), carried out the first mass slaughter of the Jews.

To quote only one example, Einsatzgruppe C entered Zhitomir together with the first German tanks and, on September 19, 1941, the 4a Einsatzkommando of the same Einsatzgruppe C arrived in *Kiev; here, ten days later, along with troops led by a senior SS officer and the Sued ("South") police units, it organized the massacre of more than 33,000 Jews at *Babi Yar.

The *SS and senior police officers (Hoehere SS und Polizeifuehrer – HSSPF) with their subordinated units were another organized force who, almost from the first day of the occupation, engaged in the liquidation of Jews under the guise of fighting the partisans. There were three such officers in the U.S.S.R.: Obergruppenfuehrer Hans Pruetzmann and Obergruppenfuehrer Franz Jeckeln, who alternately supervised the territories of the Baltic states and the northern part of the Russian Republic as HSSPF-Nord and the Ukraine as HSSPF-Sued, and HSSPF-Mitte Obergruppenfuehrer Erich von dem Bach-Zelewski, who operated mainly in Belorussia.

The total number of Jews killed by the Einsatzgruppen and the troops of the HSSPFs during the first period of the occupation (mainly in July and August 1941) is still unknown. Incomplete evidence shows that in August 1941 alone the HSSPF-Sued units executed 44,125 people, most of them Jews, while the SS Kavallerie-Regiment 2, subordinated to the HSSPF-Mitte, killed 6,526 Jews in the period between July 27 and August 11, 1941. A comment by the commander of the aforementioned unit, SS Sturmbannfuehrer Magill, bears witness to the German soldiers' bestiality. He reported that the operation had in general been carried out satisfactorily, despite the fact that the marshes were not deep enough to drown the women and children.

There was close cooperation between the German army and those who organized the extermination of the Jews. The Einsatzgruppen received supplies from military sources and were assisted by regular army units in liquidating the Jews.

The army often asked the SD to exterminate Jewish communities in the territory within their control (Priluki, *Gadyach), or took a direct part in such operations. In the report of Einsatzgruppe A for the period between Oct. 16, 1941 and Jan. 31, 1942, for example, it is stated that "up to January 1942, about 19,000 partisans and criminals, primarily Jews, were killed by the Wehrmacht."

Following this first wave of massacres, which took place immediately after the entry of the German army, there was a period of organized liquidation. The preparatory stage was similar to that elsewhere in Nazi-occupied Europe and included legal discrimination, the tattooing of numbers, registration, humiliating forced labor, and concentration in camps and ghettos. One notable difference, however, was that in Russia this stage took only a short time – from a few weeks to a few months. Usually, the Jews were forbidden freedom of movement from the outset, or not allowed to associate with non-Jews or benefit from public services. The quantity and quality of goods sold to Jews were usually minimal, as were the hours of sale; in many cases, all shopping was made impossible for the Jews. They were ordered to wear distinguishing badges: in Belorussia it was usually a yellow circle or a yellow *magen David* ("shield of David") on the chest and back, and in the Ukraine, a yellow armband. The so-called "Jewish Committees" were established during that period, whose task it was to supply the Germans with manpower, collect contributions, and – mainly in the Ukraine – register the Jews as a first step toward their extermination.

The next step was the systematic slaughter of most young men of Jewish origin. In the large cities, those capable of military service were interned during the first days of the occupation; Jews were usually separated from the rest, and, as a rule, executed soon afterward (Minsk, Kiev). In the smaller towns, Jewish men were rounded up – ostensibly for forced labor, but in reality to be put to death. Jewish prisoners of war were as a rule shot immediately. There is eyewitness evidence of the mass slaughter of Jewish intellectuals at that time (Minsk, *Vitebsk, Vinnitsa).

In the majority of cases during the second month of the occupation closed ghettos were established in large Jewish communities and in district centers for the concentration of Jews in the whole area. It also happened that, where there were few Jews (as in Novo-Moskovsk or Baran), no ghettos were established, and the Jews were allowed to remain in their places of residence until they were exterminated.

Ghettos were usually located in those suburbs which had been most badly damaged, and in buildings unfit for human habitation – factories, barracks or warehouses (*Kharkov, Vitebsk). Those deported to the ghetto were permitted to take only hand luggage.

Since these ghettos were simply concentrations of Jews to be liquidated, they were often merely open areas surrounded by barbed wire (Smolevichi, *Gorodok, *Polotsk, Smolyany, Kletnya). Such ghetto-camps usually existed from several weeks to a few months. The Jews in the ghettos received no food as a rule, and the mortality rate there was very high, particularly during the severe winter of 1941.

The liquidation of the newly-established ghettos began as early as the autumn of 1941. Of the 18 known ghettos in Belorussia, nine were liquidated by the end of 1941, six of them in October. In the Ukraine, too, most of the Jews had been put to death by the end of 1941. Out of the 70 known Jewish communities in the Ukraine (including the Crimea), 43 were liquidated by the end of 1941, and the remainder were also rendered *judenrein* by mid-1942. For the Germans themselves, the "Jewish question" in the Ostland (including the Baltic states and Belorussia) had virtually found a solution. In the Ukraine, the "Jewish question" ceased to exist by August 1942.

In 1943, Jews were still to be found only in a few ghettos (those of Minsk, *Slutsk, and *Khmelnik) and a very few labor camps, but they were liquidated by the end of the year. In the Crimea and the Caucasus, and probably also in the southeastern Ukraine, practically no ghettos were set up. Jews were liquidated there almost immediately after the occupation of the region, and the German orders followed one after another; first, the establishment of the Jewish Committee, then registration, badges, and finally "evacuation," which meant death. Such was the fate of the Jews of *Simferopol, *Yevpatoriya, *Feodosiya, *Kerch, *Rostov, *Krasnodar, Kislovodsk, and other towns. As a rule, the Ashkenazi Jews were liquidated first, and then the Crimean Jews (Krimchaks).

The executions were usually organized by the Einsatzgruppen. The ghetto was surrounded by the German police, assisted by auxiliary forces of the local police and frequently by the Wehrmacht. The Jews, who believed they were being evacuated, were rounded up in public squares and taken in trucks or driven on foot to the place of execution. In front of the graves, prepared beforehand, by the local population or, more often, by Soviet prisoners of war, the victims were ordered to strip naked or remain in their underwear, stood in groups at the edge of the graves, or pushed inside them and told to lie down, after which they were machine-gunned. The executions were carried out by both Germans and their local assistants. Fresh victims were laid on the corpses and the process continued until the grave was full. To make their work easier, the executioners sometimes rendered their victims unconscious by hitting them on the head. During an operation in Vitebsk in October 1941, Jews were reportedly shot on the bridge over the Dvina, and their bodies thrown into the river. At *Artemovsk, some of the Jews were shot dead, and others immured alive in the marbleworks. In some cases, Jews were made to run over a minefield or killed with grenades (Kharkov, *Mogilev). In the Crimea, the method most widely adopted was to shoot Jews over wells into which their bodies were subsequently thrown. In certain communities (Minsk, Kharkov, Krasnodar), Jews were killed in special gas trucks. The Germans and their associates treated children with particular barbarity: their backs were broken, or they were poisoned or stabbed to death, or their heads were smashed against stones. Many children were thrown into graves or wells while still alive.

Executions of Jews usually took place in forests, ravines or isolated places near their places of residence. It can be said that almost every town in the territory in question had its own "Babi Yar." To mention but a few, at Mogilev it was Polikovichi; at Vitebsk, Ilovskiy Yar; at Pskov, Solotopki; at *Smolensk, Mogalenshchina.

In June 1942, *Himmler had already given orders that all traces of the activity of Einsatzgruppen in the East be removed. Paul Blobel, head of the Sonderkommando 4a, was charged with the task, He organized Kommando 1005 to unearth the corpses from the mass graves and burn them. It seems, however, that this obliteration of the traces did not become a mass operation before the autumn of 1942.

It is difficult to estimate how many Jews were massacred by the Nazis in the U.S.S.R. Only fragmentary data are extant, mostly according to the documentation of the Zentrale Stelle der Landesjustizverwaltungen at Ludwigsburg, which give the number of Jews killed as 573,000, This figure, however, applies only to those put to death in the later period of German occupation (approximately after September 1941), and does not take account of the very large number of massacres in July and August of that year. Moreover, that figure applies only to a small number of townships and settlements, of which there were about 130 in occupied Soviet territory within Russia's 1939 frontiers. Nothing is known of the fate of Jews inhabiting the provinces as a whole; some data are available concerning individual communities, such as the districts of *Cherkassy, Sumy and Voroshilovgrad. There is also information to the effect that 6,150 Jews were killed in the *Nikolayev and *Kherson regions. Even where the number of victims from certain communities is known, the evidence tends to be incomplete or inaccurate, since it is either confined to limited periods or else gives the total number of Jewish and non-Jewish victims together.

It can be assumed, however, that the actual number of Jewish victims in the occupied territory of the U.S.S.R. was at least twice the figure cited above, i.e., more than 1,000,000.

[Vila Orbach]

DESTRUCTION OF YIDDISH CULTURE. Soviet Yiddish culture, itself a pale reflection of genuine Jewish culture which had suffered serious setbacks in the prewar purges, was totally jeopardized when the war broke out. The Yiddish press and Yiddish literature, based primarily in the Ukraine, Belorussia, and Lithuania, ceased to exist. The annihilation of the Jewish population was accompanied by the destruction of the remaining Jewish schools, libraries, and other cultural institutions. While in 1940 some 360 Yiddish books were published in the Soviet Union, by 1942 the number had dwindled to one. There was some improvement in 1943, after the Emes publishing house had moved to Kuibyshev, issuing 43 Yiddish books that year. The creation of the Jewish *Anti-Fascist Committee also had a favorable effect upon the modest revival of Yiddish publications. In June 1942 the committee embarked upon the publication of its own organ, **Eynikayt*, which attracted a group of Soviet Yiddish writers, led by David *Bergelson and Itzik *Fefer. Although the main purpose of the committee was to solicit political and financial support among world Jewry for the Soviet war against the Germans, it also became, unofficially, a representative body of Soviet Jewry until its dissolution in 1948. It soon became clear, however, that the Soviet Union had no intention of permitting a postwar revival of Yiddish schools and the Yiddish press. The millions of Jews for whom Yiddish had been their mother tongue – in the Ukraine, Belorussia, Lithuania, and Bessarabia – were no longer alive. The majority of the surviving Jews spoke Russian. There were over two million of them, and the Soviet authorities sought to bring about their complete assimilation.

Contemporary Period

With the close of the war, Jews of Polish citizenship, including many previous inhabitants of territories annexed by the Soviet Union between 1939 and 1940, began to leave the Soviet Union. Groups of Soviet Jews, including Chabad Ḥasidim, who had preserved their religious distinctiveness throughout the years of the Soviet regime, succeeded in leaving and large numbers of these emigrants found their way to Palestine. During the early postwar period, those active in Soviet-Jewish culture attempted to effect a revival. The Jewish Anti-Fascist Committee (see above) continued to serve as a center for Soviet Jewry and as a liaison with Jews in other countries. Large-scale publication of Yiddish books was initiated, the Jewish State Theater expanded its activity, and three other theaters functioned in Minsk, Odessa, and Chernovtsy. Rumors of the impending settlement of survivors of the Holocaust in the Crimea, and the conversion of the peninsula into a "Jewish Republic," spread among the Jews. The Jewish endeavor in Birobidzhan was also renewed, and many Jews tried to settle there. News of the establishment of the state of Israel, with Soviet endorsement and support, infused new life into wide sectors of Soviet Jewry. *Eynikayt* referred to a world Jewish conference in which Soviet Jews would also be represented.

STALIN'S PERSECUTIONS. Suddenly, however, the climate reversed completely and nightmarish days filled with fear overtook Soviet Jewry. In January 1948 S. Mikhoels was reported killed in an "accident" in Minsk, but was actually assassinated by the secret police; in November 1948 the Jewish Anti-Fascist Committee was dissolved and those associated with it were arrested; Soviet newspapers conducted a vicious campaign against *"cosmopolitans" that was directed primarily at the Jewish intelligentsia. Twenty-five leaders of the Jewish Anti-Fascist Committee, including some of the outstanding Jewish writers, were accused of maintaining ties with Zionism and with American "imperialism." The "Crimea project" was leveled against them as an "imperialist plot" to detach the Crimea from the U.S.S.R. and they were executed secretly on Aug. 12, 1952. On Jan. 13, 1953, the government announced the arrest of a group of prominent doctors, the majority of them Jews, who were accused of, and who purportedly admitted to, having deliberately killed government leaders and conspired to kill still others by incorrect medical treatment. A wave of antisemitism spread through the country. Jews were ousted from their positions, and rumors of an impending mass deportation of Jews to distant regions in the eastern Soviet Union began to circulate. This nightmare persisted for about five years until March 1953, when Stalin's death brought some relief.

AFTER STALIN'S DEATH. The "thaw" that followed Stalin's death, however, did not noticeably affect the fundamental conditions of Soviet Jewish life. Although the Jewish doctors were released from prison and the campaign against "cosmopolitans" ceased, Jewish institutional life, destroyed between 1948 and 1953, was not restored. Two new factors now began to affect the fate of Soviet Jews. First, in the wake of the post-Stalin thaw, postal communication with relatives in the West and in Israel was revived, and there was a stream of Jewish visitors from abroad to the Soviet Union. Direct contact with world Jewry was renewed to a degree, and Jewish public opinion in the West began to demand the restoration of rights to the Jews as a national and religious minority. Even Jewish Communists in Western Europe and the United States protested the obliteration of Jewish culture in the U.S.S.R., and the Soviet government was compelled to make several concessions to this public pressure. The second factor was the establishment of the State of Israel, which reawakened Jewish national sentiment that found expression in spontaneous mass demonstrations on occasions such as the arrival of Golda *Meir, Israel's first diplomatic representative to the Soviet Union, in Moscow, and the visit of an Israeli youth delegation to the Democratic Youth Festival in Moscow in the summer of 1957. National sentiment was also manifested by increasing mass gatherings of young, mostly nonreligious, Jews in and around the synagogues in Moscow and other large cities on *Simḥat Torah and on the High Holidays.

In 1970 Soviet Jews were still denied the right to organize in any way or to express freely their thoughts and feelings as Jews. For many years, sources attesting the situation of Soviet Jewry consisted of incidental items of information interspersed in the Soviet press and world news agencies and of stories brought back by diplomats, visitors and tourists. More information became available in the mid-1960s and the years 1968–71, when a number of Soviet Jews arrived in Israel in the framework of the reunification of families.

THE CENSUSES OF 1959 AND 1970. In the Soviet population census of 1959, 2,267,814 persons were registered as of "Jewish nationality" (the census takers did not demand to see any personal document and were instructed to register the oral declarations given by citizens). According to the census, the Jewish population constituted 1.09 percent of the total population of the country and was eleventh among over 100 Soviet nationalities. The 5,727 Karaites in the Soviet Union were counted separately. (See Table: Jewish Population of the Soviet Union by Republics, 1959.)

Soviet Jewry was revealed as distinctly urban: in 1959, 2,159,702 Jews registered in cities and constituted 2.16 percent of the total population. Only 108,112 Jews (4.7 percent of the total Jewish population) lived in villages. Detailed Jewish population figures were published only in respect to the capitals of the republics (for more correct estimates, see articles on individual cities).

Jewish Population of the Soviet Union by Republics, 1959

Republic	Jews	Percent distribution of Jews	Percent of Jews among general population
Total	2,267,800	100.0	1.09
Russia	875,300	38.7	0.74
Ukraine	840,300	37.0	2.01
Belorussia	150,100	6.6	1.86
Lithuania	24,700	1.1	0.91
Latvia	36,600	1.6	1.75
Estonia	5,400	0.2	0.46
Moldavia	95,100	4.2	3.30
Georgia	51,600	2.3	1.28
Armenia	1,000	0.0	0.06
Azerbaijan	40,200	1.8	1.09
Kazakhstan	28,000	1.2	0.30
Turkmenia	4,100	0.2	0.27
Uzbekistan	94,300	4.2	1.16
Tadzhikistan	12,400	0.5	0.63
Kirghizia	8,600	0.4	0.42

Large Jewish communities of 10,000 persons and over existed in such cities as Odessa (well over 100,000), Kharkov (about 80,000), Dnepropetrovsk (about 35,000), Lvov, Chernovtsy, Zhitomir, Gomel, Vinnitsa, Rostov, Gorki, Kuibyshev, Sverdlovsk, Chelyabinsk, Vitebsk, Bobruisk, and Mogilev. According to other estimates, approximately 60 cities in the Soviet Union had a Jewish population exceeding 10,000. (See Table: Jewish Population in Capitals of the Republics in 1959.) Like the general demographic situation in the Soviet Union, as a result of the high proportion of wartime male fatalities, Jewish women outnumbered men with about 120 women per 100 men (a total of 206,556 more women than men).

Jewish Population in Capitals of the Republics in 1959[1]

	Number of Jews	% of total population
Moscow	239,246	4.7
Leningrad	162,344	5.6
Kiev	153,466	13.9
Tashkent	50,455	5.5
Kishinev	42,934	20.0
Minsk	38,842	7.6
Riga	30,263	5.0
Baku	26,263	4.1
Tbilisi (Tiflis)	17,311	2.5
Vilna	16,354	6.9

[1] In all other republics, the number of Jews was included under "other nationalities" in the census figures published in April 1971.

According to the 1959 census, a total of 1,733,183 Jews (76.4 percent) declared Russian as their mother tongue; 46,845 declared other foreign languages (half of this number declared Ukrainian); 403,900 (about 18 percent) declared Yiddish; 35,673 Georgian (Georgian Jews); 25,225 Jewish Tat (*Mountain Jews); and 20,763 Tajiki (Bukharan Jews). It may well be assumed that a considerable number of Jews whose real mother tongue was Yiddish declared Russian as their national language; at the same time there were Jews who declared Yiddish as their mother tongue without really knowing it, in order to demonstrate their identification with the Jewish people. The highest percentage of Yiddish-speaking Jews was found in Lithuania (69 percent), Moldavia (50.3 percent), and Latvia (48 percent).

The census data indicate several facts: hundreds of thousands of Soviet Jews declared themselves to be of non-Jewish nationalities; the majority of Russian-speaking Jews declared their attachment to the Jewish people ("nationality"), among them certainly the vast majority of its younger generation; Yiddish-speaking Jews, of whom there were approximately 500,000, were mostly members of the older generation and inhabitants of the western regions of the Soviet Union (Lithuania, Latvia, Moldavia, the districts of Chernovtsy, Lvov, Volhynia, western Belorussia); there were Oriental (i.e., non-Ashkenazi) Jews, who, according to the census, numbered about 100,000, belonging to the Georgian, Tat, and Bukharan communities. The latter preserved their Jewish way of life, maintained traditional family life and ties with the Jewish community and synagogues, and observed the dietary laws and the Sabbath to a far greater extent than did Ashkenazi Jews.

On April 17, 1971, the Soviet press published the first summaries of the population census taken on Jan. 15, 1970. According to the figures quoted, the Jewish population had fallen from eleventh (1959) to twelfth in size and the overall number of Jews had declined from about 2,268,000 (January 1959) to 2,151,000. Whereas in the previous census, 21.5 percent of the Jews declared a Jewish language (almost exclusively Yiddish) to be their native tongue, in 1970 only 17.7 percent declared this to be so, and in respect to declaring their national language as their native tongue, the Jews were last in the rank of nationalities. In this census, for the first time, the subjects were asked whether they were fluent in another one of the languages spoken in the Soviet Union; 16.3 percent of the Jews indicated Russian as their second fluent language, and 28.8 percent indicated another Soviet language as their second fluent language. (According to the summary of the census, about 13,000,000 non-Russians declared Russian as their native tongue and 41,900,000 as the second language in which they were fluent.)

The Jews were the only major nationality in the U.S.S.R. whose overall size had diminished since 1959. In the U.S.S.R. the status of the Jew as such (as of each member of any nationality group) is indicated on his identity card (referred to in Russian as a "passport"). However, since the census figures were gathered through the subject's personal declaration, without checking of official documents, a differentiation is made by experts between "passport Jews" and "census Jews," whereby it is generally assumed that the number of passport Jews is much greater than the number of Jews reflected in the census because many Jews may have declared themselves to be members of another nationality to the census taker. Whether the decline in the number of census Jews in 1970 also indicates an equal or concomitant number of passport Jews in the U.S.S.R. was unknown.

Jewish Population Changes in the U.S.S.R., by Republic, 1959–1991

	1959		1970		1979	1991[1]
	Jewish Population	% of general population	Jewish Population	% of general population	Jewish Population	Jewish Population
Russian Republic (RSFSR)	875,300	0.7	808,000	0.6	700,700	430,000
Ukrainian Republic	840,300	2.0	777,000	1.6	634,200	325,000
Belorussian Republic	150,100	1.9	148,000	1.6	135,400	58,000
Uzbek Republic	94,300	1.2	103,000	0.9	99,900	55,500
Georgian Republic	51,600	1.3	55,000	1.2	28,300	20,700
Lithuanian Republic	24,700	0.9	24,000	0.8	14,700	7,300
Moldavian Republic	95,100	3.3	98,000	2.7	80,100	28,500
Latvian Republic	36,600	1.7	37,000	1.6	28,300	15,800
Estonian Republic	5,400	0.5	5,300	0.4	5,000	3,500
Armenian Republic	1,000	0.06	–	–	1,000	300
Azerbaijan Republic	40,200	1.1	41,300	0.8	35,500	16,000
Turkmenian Republic	4,100	0.2	5,400[2]	0.12	2,800	2,000
Kazakhstan Republic	28,000	0.3	27,600	0.2	23,500	15,300
Kirghizian Republic	8,600	0.4	7,700	0.3	6,900	3,900
Tadzhikistan Republic	12,400	0.6	14,600	0.5	14,700	8,200

[1] Estimate for year end

[2] Includes Armenian Republic

The 1959 census showed that Jews played a negligible role in Soviet agriculture. Most of the 100,000 Jews living in rural areas were officials or experts and belonged to the officialdom of the sovkhozes and the kolkhozes. Few Jews were counted in the villages of the areas previously settled by Jewish farmers: 2,765 in the Crimean district; 881 in Kherson; and 2,292 in Birobidzhan. On the other hand, Jews occupied prominent positions among the Soviet intelligentsia. In the 1960–61 academic year, 77,177 Jewish high school students were accounted for (3.22 percent of the general student body and three times their proportion to the general population, although not exceeding their proportion to the urban population). Among "those with a secondary and higher education" (a term which encompasses doctors, officials, bookkeepers, engineers, and so on), there were 427,000 Jews at the end of 1960, i.e., 4.9 percent of this entire class. This was the predominant class among Soviet Jews. They held a notable place also among "scientific workers" (36,173 in 1961, 9 percent of the total number). This group enjoys numerous privileges and shares in the awards and marks of distinction customarily granted to such categories under Soviet rule. In 1962 the Jewish physicist Lev *Landau was awarded the Nobel Prize. Similarly, Jews constitute about 10 percent of Soviet writers and represent a higher proportion in the other arts.

The Jewish role in the state commercial establishment was considerable. In the early 1960s, during the regime of Nikita Khrushchev, when the government initiated a fierce campaign against widespread illegal economic practices, including illegal production and marketing of scarce consumer goods as well as bribery and embezzlement, Jews were deliberately singled out for punishment. The campaign was entrusted to the secret police according to new, very harsh decrees, including the death penalty. Jews constituted such a high proportion of those sentenced to death or long periods of imprisonment that disinterested investigations (such as that of the International Commission of Jurists in Geneva) affirmed that Jews served as scapegoats to deter the rest of the population, probably because the latter might have rebelled and reacted strongly to direct attack by the authorities.

It is safe to assume that many Jews were engaged in work in cooperatives and government projects. Similarly, a limited class of Jewish industrial workers existed. On the whole, however, Jewish youth turned to the ranks of the intelligentsia and the educated officialdom, a phenomenon serving to intensify antisemitic tendencies among the masses and in sectors of the intelligentsia as well. Increasingly prevalent complaints about Jewish "evasion of manual labor," or their obligation to make room for members of other national groups in the professions, were being heard every so often even from members of the government.

REPRESSION OF JEWISH CULTURE. Soviet policy was intent on accelerating the process of Jewish assimilation, and manifestations of religious culture on the part of Jews were suppressed or, under optimum conditions, barely tolerated. The pressure exerted upon other religions was in no way comparable to the persecution directed against Judaism. Synagogues were increasingly shut down (according to Soviet sources, between 1956 and 1963 the number of synagogues decreased from 450 to 96). There was no countrywide Jewish religious organization parallel to those of other religions. Jewish religious books were not printed (the 3,000-copy photostat edition of a prayer book, *Siddur ha-Shalom*, in 1957, was a much-publicized exception; although a new edition of it was published at the end of the 1960s, there were no indications that it was circulated). The baking of *matzah* was gradually proscribed in the 1960s, but was later permitted on a limited scale through the synagogues; attempts by Jews outside the U.S.S.R. to send *matzah* to their coreligionists were for the most part thwarted by the authorities. A crude campaign of slander was waged in books, pamphlets, and periodicals against the Jewish religion, and its adherents were not permitted to answer those who abused it.

Ostensibly, the distinctive suppression of the Jewish religion was due to its unique national character and its ties with Israel. The effect of the establishment of the State of Israel and its progress and achievements, together with Jewish national awakening, disturbed the Soviet government. Official propaganda frequently presented horrifying descriptions of conditions in Israel. A delegation of Jewish propaganda agents posing as Jewish "tourists" was sent to Israel in 1959; upon its return to the U.S.S.R. it maligned Israel before the Soviet public and the Jewish community. Propaganda of this type, however, did not attain its objectives. News of Israel and Jewish life abroad steadily reached Soviet Jewry in various ways, including broadcasts from Israel and other countries, and the antisemitism which infiltrated many parts of Soviet society awakened in the younger Jewish generation an increased Jewish national consciousness and a strong desire to settle in Israel and to strengthen their ties with the Jewish people and the Jewish state.

During the period of "thaw" and destalinization, Soviet Jewish culture was not allowed to revive. Yiddish schools did not exist. In the wake of public pressure outside the U.S.S.R., a token gesture was made by publishing some works in Yiddish, mostly by classical Yiddish writers. In the summer of 1961, a literary bimonthly (later a monthly), **Sovetish Heymland*, began to appear; it became a sort of "official address" of Soviet Jewry. In addition, works by Jewish writers were published in Russian and other translations and a commemorative stamp was issued on the centennial of Shalom Aleichem's birth. Concerts of Yiddish folklore, music, and song, and even theater performances by amateur groups, attracted masses of Jews and kindled enthusiasm within the culture-thirsty Jewish community.

MANIFESTATIONS OF ANTISEMITISM. Antisemitism remained officially proscribed in the Soviet Union, but hatred of Jews existed and expressed itself de facto in most levels of society and administration. From time to time, it found ex-

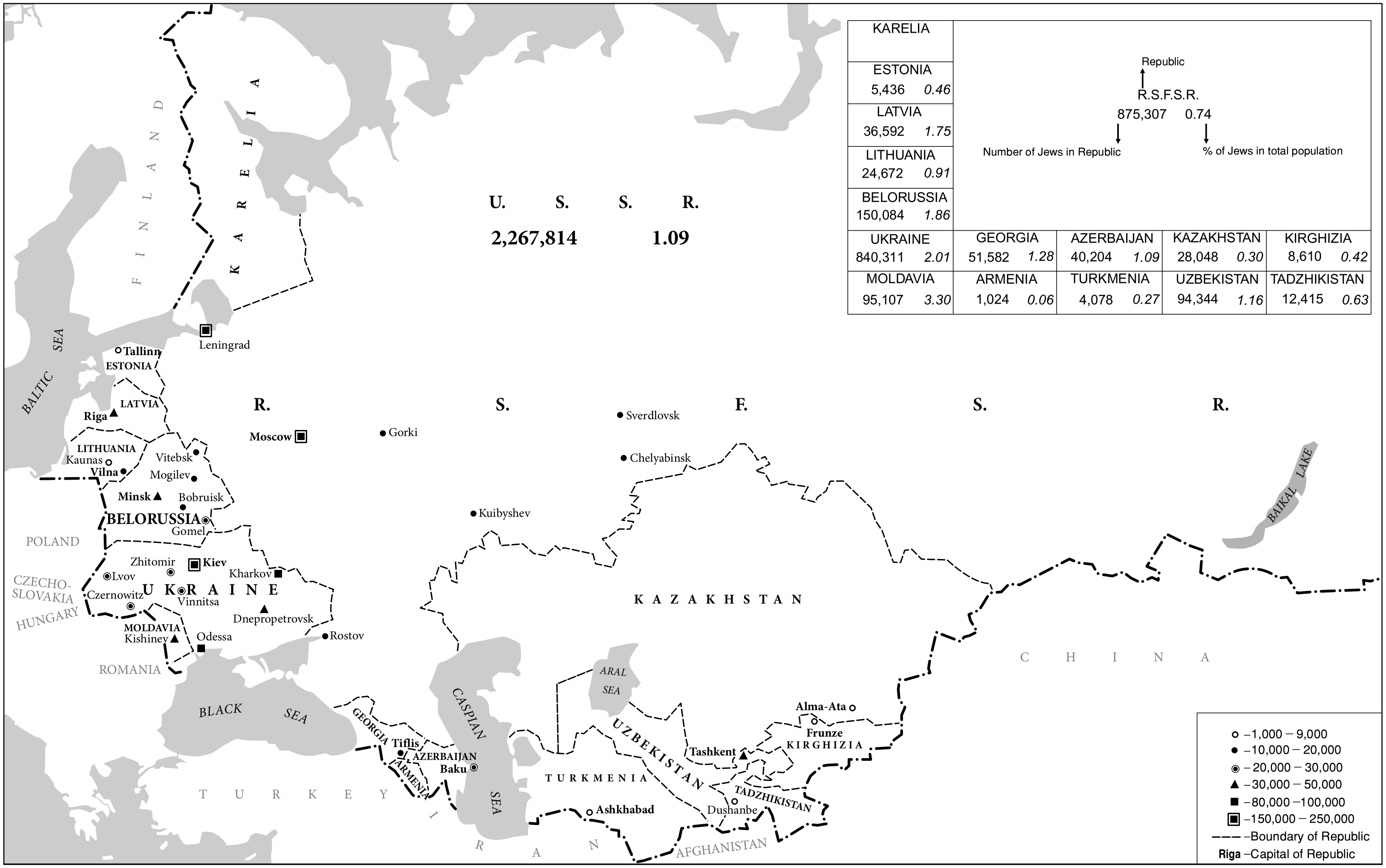
KARELIA
ESTONIA 5,436 0.46
LATVIA 36,592 1.75
LITHUANIA 24,672 0.91
BELORUSSIA 150,084 1.86
UKRAINE 840,311 2.01
MOLDAVIA 95,107 3.30
Republic
R.S.F.S.R.
875,307 0.74
Number of Jews in Republic
% of Jews in total population
GEORGIA 51,582 1.28
AZERBAIJAN 40,204 1.09
KAZAKHSTAN 28,048 0.30
KIRGHIZIA 8,610 0.42
ARMENIA 1,024 0.06
TURKMENIA 4,078 0.27
UZBEKISTAN 94,344 1.16
TADZHIKISTAN 12,415 0.63
U. S. S. R.
2,267,814 1.09
R. S. F. S. R.
FINLAND
KARELIA
BALTIC SEA
Leningrad
Tallinn
ESTONIA
LATVIA
Riga
LITHUANIA
Kaunas
Vilna
Vitebsk
Mogilev
Minsk
Bobruisk
BELORUSSIA
Gomel
Moscow
Gorki
Sverdlovsk
Chelyabinsk
Kuibyshev
POLAND
CZECHO-SLOVAKIA
HUNGARY
Zhitomir
Kiev
Kharkov
Lvov
Czernowitz
UKRAINE
Vinnitsa
Dnepropetrovsk
MOLDAVIA
Kishinev
Odessa
Rostov
ROMANIA
BLACK SEA
TURKEY
GEORGIA
Tiflis
AZERBAIJAN
ARMENIA
Baku
CASPIAN SEA
IRAN
KAZAKHSTAN
ARAL SEA
UZBEKISTAN
TURKMENIA
Ashkhabad
Tashkent
Dushanbe
TADZHIKISTAN
AFGHANISTAN
Alma-Ata
Frunze
KIRGHIZIA
CHINA
BAIKAL LAKE
–1,000 – 9,000
–10,000 – 20,000
– 20,000 – 30,000
–30,000 – 50,000
–80,000 –100,000
–150,000 – 250,000
–Boundary of Republic
Riga –Capital of Republic

Map 2. Jewish population of U.S.S.R. in 1959, showing major centers of settlement and distribution among Republics.

pression in violent outbursts (such as the riots in Malakhovka in October 1959 and the blood libels in Tashkent, Vilna, etc.), literary controversies (such as the reaction to Yevgeni *Yevtushenko's poem "Babi Yar"), antisemitic articles in the press (the pinnacle was reached with a blood libel article in August 1960 in the newspaper *Kommunist* of the city of Buinaksk in Dagestan), and journals and books (such as *Judaism without Embellishment* by T.K. Kichko, published by the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, 1963). A deep distrust of the Jews pervaded the atmosphere in the Soviet Union. Jews were considered an alien element bound by family, historical, and spiritual bonds to the state of Israel and to Jews in the United States and other countries. They were strictly barred from the higher echelons of the ruling Communist Party, from the foreign service and senior military command; similarly, their proportion among elected representatives to the central and local Soviets has diminished, and clandestine police supervision has been imposed on the synagogues and on individuals meeting with visiting Jews from abroad.

In 1965 a slight shift was noted in Soviet policy on Jewish emigration within the framework of "reunification of families" and several hundred Jewish families were allowed to emigrate to Israel. The *Six-Day War (June 1967), however, and the subsequent severing of diplomatic relations between the Soviet Union and Israel, brought this emigration to a standstill, though it was to a certain extent renewed at the end of 1968. After that, a frenzied wave of anti-Israel and anti-Zionist incitement, unparalleled in the depth and extent of its hatred, was unleashed in the press, in other mass media, and in all diplomatic and propaganda channels, evolving almost into a blatant campaign of hatred against the Jewish people and the State of Israel. It found expression in the publication of thousands of articles and scores of books. Israel was labeled a "Nazi" state and Zionism defined as the "worst enemy of mankind," a kind of powerful, secret international Mafia which had unlimited funds at its disposal and carried on subversive activities throughout the world, primarily in Communist-bloc countries.

This unbridled incitement served to intensify, both directly and indirectly, the anti-Jewish sentiments of the masses. On the other hand, it greatly stimulated and strengthened national Jewish consciousness among many Soviet Jewish youth, as well as whole communities. Jews of Georgia, for example, felt the need to give practical expression to their national feelings by waging an active struggle to emigrate to Israel.

PRESSURE FOR IMMIGRATION TO ISRAEL. Tens of thousands of Jews applied for exit permits to go to Israel, but only a few of them achieved their aim. In consequence, hundreds of Jews, many of them of the younger generation and in the large cities, began to voice their protests against being denied the right to emigrate to Israel by sending letters and petitions addressed to the Soviet leaders, the UN secretary-general and its Human Rights Commission, the government of Israel, and even to the Communist parties in the West. Young Jews organized themselves to study Hebrew, calling these courses *ulpanim*, and many of them openly celebrated Israel's Day of Independence. There were some reports that young Jews were increasingly refraining from marrying gentiles, because "mixed marriages" were often an obstacle to leaving the U.S.S.R. for Israel. Various measures of the Soviet authorities to curb the mass revival of these "neo-Zionist" feelings, as, for example, imposing exorbitant fees on exit permits, depriving those leaving for Israel of Soviet citizenship, and even arresting groups of so-called "Zionist activists" (1970), did not deter the mounting Israel-oriented movement among Soviet Jews.

A particularly dramatic episode was the December 1970 trial of a group of Jews (mostly from Riga) in a Leningrad court, accused of having plotted to hijack a Soviet airplane in order to leave the U.S.S.R. and reach Israel. The very harsh sentences imposed on them, including two death sentences, aroused a worldwide outcry of protest in most non-Communist countries, from Jews and non-Jews alike, including heads of state, governments, members of parliament, men of letters, scientists, and left-wing intellectuals. The death sentences were quickly commuted and the other sentences reduced. Shortly thereafter groups of Soviet Jews staged protest demonstrations, demanding permission to go to Israel, in the offices of the Supreme Soviet, the Communist Party headquarters, and the Ministry of the Interior in Moscow.

Also worthy of mention was the prominent role played by members of the Jewish intelligentsia in the struggle of the so-called "democratic movement," headed by a small number of Soviet scientists and writers, to preserve adherence to the letter and spirit of the law and the safeguarding of human rights.

See also "The Struggle for Soviet Jewry," below; *Antisemitism: In the Soviet Bloc; *Assimilation: In the Soviet Union.

[Yehuda Slutsky]

Relations with Israel

SOVIET SUPPORT (1947). The first public announcement of Soviet support for the establishment of a Jewish state in Palestine was made by Andrei Gromyko, deputy foreign minister and head of the Soviet delegation to the United Nations, on May 14, 1947, at the First Special Session of the General Assembly. He dwelt on the urgency of the Palestine problem, on the sufferings of the Jewish people during the war, and the hundreds of thousands of survivors who were wandering about in various countries of Europe. Dismissing any unilateral solution as unjust, Gromyko expressed his government's preference for the establishment of "an independent, dual, democratic, Arab-Jewish State." If this plan proved impracticable, because of the deterioration in relations between the Jews and the Arabs, it would be necessary to consider "the partition of Palestine into two independent states, one Jewish and one Arab."

There was an earlier intimation of a possible change in the traditional negative Soviet attitude toward Zionism, when, on May 3, 1947, the Soviet delegation supported the Jewish Agency's demand to be heard at the Assembly as the representative of the Jewish population of Palestine. Nevertheless, the above-mentioned speech came as a complete surprise, and was regarded as a decisive turning point in Soviet policy.

This had been preceded by contacts established between Zionist leaders and Soviet representatives in various capitals after the U.S.S.R.'s entry into the war against Germany in 1941. During the war there were also visits of Soviet diplomats to Palestine, during which they expressed appreciation for the achievements of the *yishuv*. In March 1945, Zionist leaders were informed by the White House that Stalin, *Roosevelt, and *Churchill had agreed to hand over Palestine to the Jews. These developments, however, had not been widely known, and were followed, and seemingly contradicted, by over two years of evasiveness on the Palestine issue accompanied by a number of pronouncements opposing the Zionist position on Palestine's political future. The U.S.S.R. was vitally interested in the British withdrawal from Palestine and, indeed, the entire Middle East, and apparently believed this could be achieved by the establishment of a Jewish state. It was therefore in the Soviet interest to support the idea of partitioning the country. At the regular session of the General Assembly in the fall of 1947, the Soviet Union joined forces with the United States, and the two great powers voted for partition on Nov. 29, 1947.

[Yaacov Ro'i]

SOVIET POLICY IN THE MIDDLE EAST. However, apart from the favorable attitude displayed by the U.S.S.R. at the 1947–48 debates and votes at the UN, and its initial friendliness to the emerging state, relations between the two countries steadily deteriorated. Support for the Jewish state, as expressed by Gromyko in 1947, underwent a gradual, yet drastic, transformation which in June 1967 (at the end of the Six-Day War) resulted in the complete rupture of diplomatic ties and an all-out Soviet diplomatic and propaganda campaign against Israel. The reasons for this deterioration are to be found in Soviet foreign and domestic aims and the tactics employed to achieve them.

Soviet policy in the Middle East was based on a combination of three factors. The first was the traditional Russian objective (initiated by the czars) of achieving a position of power in the Middle East by gaining a foothold in the area, dislodging its great-power adversaries and then establishing broad, if not exclusive, influence there. The second, an "ideological" factor, was the role played by the U.S.S.R. as the leader of the Communist world and as protagonist in the "anti-imperialist," anti-Western, struggle. Finally, there was the "Jewish problem" within the U.S.S.R. and Soviet opposition to the idea that Israel might provide a possible solution. In spite of the glaring contradiction between the Soviet attitude in 1947 and the policy pursued in 1967, the basic aims did not alter. In 1947 the Soviet Union sought to further its ends by support of Israel; in 1967 it resorted to outright hostility toward Israel in order to achieve its purpose.

The development of Soviet-Israel relations falls into six distinct periods.

1947–BEGINNING OF 1949. In the "honeymoon" period of Soviet-Israel relations between 1947 and the beginning of 1949, the U.S.S.R. campaigned at the UN for the establishment of a Jewish state in a part of Palestine and cooperated with the Jewish Agency and the *yishuv* in order to achieve this goal. Official Soviet spokesmen and the Soviet press supported the armed struggle of the *yishuv* and branded Arab armed resistance to the establishment of the state as a function of British imperialism. When the establishment of the state was declared, the Soviet Union was the first to accord it de jure recognition and to appoint a minister to Israel. It provided Israel with arms (by way of Czechoslovakia) and economic assistance (by way of Poland), and permitted large-scale emigration of Jews to Israel from all countries of Eastern Europe, except from the Soviet Union itself. The fact that the military and economic assistance was supplied indirectly, rather than directly from the Soviet Union, was not, at the time, regarded as having any negative connotation. It should be borne in mind that even at this stage when Arab nationalism derived its main support from Britain, the Soviet Union's principal adversary in the area, the U.S.S.R. emphasized its intention to become a source of support and protection to the Arabs. Thus, in a speech made on Nov. 26, 1947 – only three days before the partition resolution was to be passed – Gromyko assured the Arabs that the Soviet Union would continue to support their efforts "to rid themselves of the last fetters of colonial dependence," and expressed his conviction that in spite of their momentary misgivings, the Arabs and the Arab states "will still, on more than one occasion, be looking toward Moscow."

The purpose of Soviet pro-Israel policy at this time was clearly outlined in *The Palestine Problem*, a booklet by J.A. Genin, published in Moscow in October 1948. Stressing the importance of Palestine for British economic interests, the author states that "the loss of Palestine will be a terrible blow to the British oil magnates. British departure from Palestine will be a severe defeat for British colonial interests, and its effects will not be confined to the Middle East. Britain will lose an important link in the chain of Middle Eastern countries dependent upon her, and her route from the Mediterranean to the Persian Gulf will be cut off." The Soviet Union also found it necessary to dispel at once any illusion that many Soviet Jews may have had about their future relations with Israel. Some Jews had asked for permission to go to Israel and join the ranks of the Israeli army, and a mass demonstration outside the Great Synagogue in Moscow had welcomed Golda Meir, the first Israeli minister to the Soviet Union. This was not to be tolerated. An article by Ilya *Ehrenburg, published in *Pravda* on Sept. 21, 1948, made it clear that Soviet Jews should have nothing to do with Israel, a foreign and remote capitalist state: "Soviet Jews do not look to the Near East; they look to the future."

1949–1953. Between 1949 and 1953, when the Cold War was at its height and Stalin sought to make the Soviet Union impregnable to any influence from without, relations with Israel took a turn for the worse. There was open antisemitism in the Soviet bloc culminating, in the last days of Stalin, in the "Doctors' Plot," and the *Slansky trial in Prague, where the Israel minister was declared persona non grata. At the UN, the Soviet Union no longer gave Israel its support. When Israel complained to the Security Council about the Egyptian blockade of the Suez Canal, the Soviet Union abstained on the resolution put before the council. The Soviet Union refused an Israeli request for technical aid, and emigration to Israel from all countries of Eastern Europe came to an end. Only economic ties were not seriously affected. Finally, in February 1953, about a month before Stalin's death, a bomb that exploded in the courtyard of the Soviet embassy in Tel Aviv served the U.S.S.R. as a pretext for breaking off diplomatic relations with Israel.

1953–1956. In July 1953 diplomatic ties between the two countries were resumed and there was a slight improvement in the tone of diplomatic exchanges and of Soviet press commentary on Israel. In essence, however, there was no real halt to the deterioration of the Soviet attitude on Israel. On Jan. 22, 1954, the U.S.S.R. cast its first anti-Israel veto at the UN Security Council. On Jan. 9, 1956, the Soviet delegation even took the initiative of proposing an anti-Israel resolution at the Security Council.

1956–1963. Subsequently the U.S.S.R. adopted a policy of open and one-sided support of Arab bellicosity against Israel. In the fall of 1955 the Soviet Union concluded an arms agreement with Egypt (officially it was Czechoslovakia that supplied the arms). Relations with Israel reached a new low in 1956 when, in the wake of the *Sinai Campaign, the Soviet Union unilaterally abrogated the commercial agreement between the two countries. Until 1955 there had been a promising development in the exchange of goods. In 1954 the trade amounted to over $3,000,000; but in the following year it was little over half that sum, and a further reduction took place in 1956.

During the Sinai Campaign (1956), Soviet policy was decidedly pro-Egyptian and anti-Israel. Threatening notes were sent from Moscow to the Israeli government demanding unconditional withdrawal from the occupied Sinai Peninsula. In the United Nations, the Soviet and U.S. governments exerted concerted pressure on Israel.

1963–1967. From 1963 to 1967, there was a slight improvement in Israel's relations with some of the Eastern bloc countries, and for a while there was some indication that relations with the Soviet Union would also improve. Some informal cultural exchange took place. In addition, an agreement was reached in 1964 on the purchase, by the government of Israel, of real property in Israel owned by the Russian Orthodox Church. But hopes that this agreement would result in the resumption of bilateral trade were not realized. A further deterioration took place in the spring of 1966, after a group of officers belonging to the left wing of the Baath Party seized power in Syria and stepped up aggression against Israel (including terror acts by the newly created Al-Fatḥ). Israel, on its part, made continuous efforts to arrive at a fruitful dialogue with the Soviet Union, persisting in these efforts up to the eve of the Six-Day War.

AFTER 1967. On the last day of the Six-Day War, June 10, 1967, the Soviet Union severed diplomatic relations with Israel, and the rest of the East European countries, with the exception of Romania, followed its lead. In the period of tension that preceded the war, the Soviet Union displayed an extreme anti-Israel attitude, which, in fact, played a decisive role in fomenting the crisis and precipitating the war. It was the Soviet Union which spread the canard that Israel had concentrated troops on its northern border for an imminent attack on Syria; and it was the Soviet Union that urged Egypt to take countermeasures against this alleged threat to Syria. The U.S.S.R. encouraged Egypt in its aggressive steps, i.e., the demand for the removal of UNEF, the concentration of huge forces in the Sinai Peninsula, the closing of the Tiran Straits, and the military pact with Jordan. Perhaps the Soviet Union had not wanted Egypt to engage in actual war and had hoped that the Arabs and the U.S.S.R. would achieve an easy prestige victory. At any rate, Israel's lightning victory over the Arabs frustrated such expectations. To make up for this tremendous setback, the Soviet Union speedily rearmed and rehabilitated the Egyptian and Syrian forces, and gave unrestrained support, by diplomacy and propaganda, to Arab pressure for Israel's withdrawal from the occupied areas without peace negotiations. The U.S.S.R. utilized Arab hostility toward Israel to strengthen Arab anti-American and anti-Western attitudes and to increase Arab dependence on the Soviet Union. The slogans "Soviet-Arab alliance" and "Israel, the present-day Nazis," as well as the anti-Israel campaign in the Soviet press with its antisemitic overtones, characterized Soviet propaganda and policy on the Middle East after 1967.

[Eliezer Palmor]

The Struggle for Soviet Jewry

The problems of Russian Jewry had exercised Jewish and world opinion for many years before the overthrow of czarism and were the subject of relief and resettlement projects, international protests, and interventions. In the first years after the October Revolution of 1917, when Zionist delegations from Russia were still able to attend world Zionist conferences and congresses (as in 1920 in London and 1921 in Carlsbad), attention was given to the turmoil that the civil war and revolutionary changes were causing to the large and vital Jewish community in Soviet Russia, and Zionist congresses adopted resolutions against the suppression of Zionism and Hebrew by the Soviet regime.

The problem of Soviet Jewry found a place on the agenda of the founding assembly of the *World Jewish Congress (WJC) in 1936, but the contemporary widespread sympathy for the anti-Nazi stance of the Soviet Union and the belief that the U.S.S.R. had tried to eradicate antisemitism and accord national minority rights to its Jewish population muted discussion of the question. It was only in 1948, with the first indications of official antisemitism in the U.S.S.R. (see *Antisemitism: In the Soviet Bloc), that interest in the problem began to revive. In spite of Soviet support for the establishment of a Jewish state in Palestine, the gloom of impending developments in the situation of Soviet Jews could already be felt; and although East European delegations attended the WJC assembly in 1948, misgivings about Soviet Jews were tactfully mentioned in the assembly's report. In general, however, until the events of the "Black Years" (1948–53), little news of which reached the outside world, it was assumed that no acute Soviet Jewish problem existed and that the difficulties confronting Jews in the U.S.S.R. were intrinsically the same as those afflicting the general Soviet population. When the campaign against "rootless cosmopolitans" began to sweep the U.S.S.R. and Eastern Europe, however, culminating in the "Doctors' Plot," a special world Jewish conference on the situation of Soviet Jews was contemplated. The WJC assembly meeting in Montreux early in 1953 prepared a document on the developments; the Zionist movement held discussions; and other Jewish organizations anxiously considered what steps might be taken if, as was feared, the *Doctors' Plot trial was used as an instrument for wholesale repression of Soviet Jews. The death of Stalin in March 1953 and the revocation of the charges against the doctors ended this tense phase.

1956–1969. In 1956, after the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, international opinion again began to stir on behalf of Soviet Jews. Protests in the Warsaw Yiddish Communist newspaper *Folkshtime* in April 1956 that the persecution of Soviet Jews had been passed over in silence in Khrushchev's speech at the 20th Congress, and the details *Folkshtime* released about the extent and virulence of Stalin's anti-Jewish terror campaign, made the world realize that the Jewish problem was still acute after almost 40 years of Soviet rule. This came as a shock particularly to Jewish and also non-Jewish Communists. Delegations from Western Communist parties went to the U.S.S.R. to investigate the truth. J.B. Salsberg, a leading Canadian Communist, returned from such a visit appalled; he published a series of articles on the subject in the American and Canadian Communist press, including details of a meeting with the Soviet leadership in which Khrushchev's antisemitic bias was revealed, and left the party with a group of old-time Communists. Hyman *Levy, a founder of the British Communist Party, prepared a confidential report about his visit in Moscow; the party executive regarded it as so shocking that only a strictly censored version was released for publication. Levy then published a pamphlet in 1958, *Jews and the National Question*, criticizing Soviet policy toward Jews in careful terms, and he was expelled from the party. In New York the Communist *Daily Worker* was closed down by the party and was transformed into a weekly called the *Worker*, because its editors continued to criticize the U.S.S.R.'s treatment of Jews. Two pamphlets published in Yiddish in Tel Aviv in 1958 reproduced articles and statements of Jewish Communists in the West and in Poland.

Individual Jews and organizations in Western countries began to pay more serious attention to Soviet Jews. A principal problem was the paucity of reliable information. To meet this need the newsletter *Jews in Eastern Europe* was founded in 1958 in London, edited by E. *Litvinoff; it subsequently appeared three or four times a year and became a major source of factual information about Soviet Jews. At about the same time, the Contemporary Jewish Library was founded in London to collect and disseminate in photostats source materials in Russian and other Soviet languages relating to Jews in the U.S.S.R. under the title *Yevrei i Yevreyskiy Narod* ("Jews and the Jewish People"). A branch of the Contemporary Jewish Library opened in Paris published *Les Juifs en Europe de l'Est* and a monthly bulletin, *Les Juifs en Union Soviétique*. The Biblioteca Judía Contemporanea in Buenos Aires published *Allà en la U.R.S.R.*, and similar pamphlets were published in Italy. In New York, Jewish Minorities Research, directed by Moshe Decter, published monographs, pamphlets, reprints, and other relevant materials on Soviet Jews, including Decter's *Status of the Jews in the Soviet Union*, originally published as an article in the journal *Foreign Affairs* in 1963. Over the years, many scholarly studies of the situation of Soviet Jews have appeared in various countries, including: *The Jews in the Soviet Union* by Solomon M. Schwarz (1951); *The Jewish Problem in the Soviet Union* by B.Z. Goldberg (1961); *Jews in the Soviet Union Census*, 1959, edited by Mordecai Altshuler (Jerusalem, 1963); a study by the International Commission of Jurists in Geneva (see below); "*Soixante ans du problème juif dans la théorie et la pratique du bolchevisme*," by Marc Jarblum with a preface by Daniel *Mayer (in *Revue Socialiste*, October 1964); *Soviet Jewry and Human Rights* by Isi Leibler (Human Rights Research Publication, Victoria, Australia, March 1965); two reports of the Socialist International (see below). Particular popularity was achieved by the two eyewitness accounts, Ben-Ami's (Arieh L. Eliav) *Between Hammer and Sickle* (Heb. 1965; Eng. 1967) and Elie Wiesel's *The Jews of Silence* (1966), which appeared in several languages and editions. Interesting light was shed on Communist attitudes to the Jewish problem in the U.S.S.R. by a series of polemical exchanges in *Political Affairs*, the ideological organ of the U.S. Communist Party, in January 1965, October 1966, and December 1966.

During the 1960s the problem of Soviet Jewry – the discrimination against Jews in matters of language, education, and religion; the dissemination of anti-Jewish literature; the persecution of individual Jews, e.g., for "economic crimes" or for Jewish communal activity; and the denial to Jews of the right of emigration, particularly to Israel, and the reunification of shattered families – became a major issue in world Jewish and international discussion. Almost every Jewish organization, Zionist and non-Zionist alike, raised the problem as one of utmost importance to the Jewish people, "second only to the existence and security of Israel." Intellectuals on the left, Jews and non-Jews, held special conferences to investigate the facts and issue appeals to the Soviet government.

The first such conference took place in Paris in 1960 and was attended by about 50 scholars, writers, academicians, and parliamentarians from 16 Western and African countries. Its opening session was addressed by Naḥum *Goldmann and Martin *Buber, and it received messages of support from Albert Schweitzer, François Mauriac, Bertrand Russell, former French president Vincent Auriol, Richard Crossman, former Dutch premier Drees, Reinhold Niebuhr, Supreme Court Justice William O. Douglas, Thurgood Marshall, Daniel Mayer, and many others. Subsequent conferences of this kind were held over the years in Latin American countries, France, Scandinavia, Britain, and Italy. They were attended and supported by intellectual and moral authorities, including leading writers, poets, and prominent fighters for human rights.

Of particular significance was the Conference on the Status of Soviet Jews in 1963, founded in New York by a meeting of leading liberals, under the sponsorship of Justice Douglas, Martin Luther King, former Senator Herbert H. *Lehman, Bishop James Pike, Walter Reuther, Norman Thomas, and Robert Penn Warren, which issued an "appeal to conscience" and published many documents containing factual material. At the same time the Jewish community in the United States established the American Jewish Conference on Soviet Jewry, which encompassed all the major Jewish organizations in the country (including the *American Jewish Committee, which generally did not participate in comprehensive Jewish frameworks). This body sponsored mass rallies, press conferences, and meetings with the White House and State Department and also published factual information on the current situation of the Jews in the U.S.S.R. Similar activities were undertaken by central Jewish bodies in their respective countries, such as the Conseil Représentatif des Juifs de France, the Executive Committee of Australian Jewry, etc. In 1967 an Academic Committee on Soviet Jewry was formed in the United States; its sponsors included: Hans *Morgenthau, Daniel *Bell, Saul *Bellow, Lewis S. *Feuer, Nathan *Glazer, Irving *Howe, Alfred *Kazin, Max *Lerner, and Lionel *Trilling. The committee became an important source of information and has issued, among other publications, a booklet entitled *Soviet Jewry: 1969*, consisting of papers read at a symposium by leading Soviet experts.

The moral struggle on behalf of Soviet Jews was given considerable impetus by the interest shown in the problem by the philosopher Bertrand Russell. His involvement began early in 1962, when he sent a cable to Khrushchev, signed jointly with François Mauriac and Martin *Buber, appealing for the full restitution of equal rights to Soviet Jews. He also sponsored the publication of a statement on Soviet Jewry signed by leading Nobel Prize laureates from different countries. A private exchange of letters between Russell and Khrushchev on this question followed until, to general surprise, the Soviet authorities sought Russell's permission to release part of the correspondence to the Soviet press and agreed to his condition that he should similarly release it to the Western press. It was published in Britain on Feb. 25, 1963, and in the U.S.S.R. on February 28, when it appeared simultaneously in *Pravda* and *Izvestiya* and was broadcast by Radio Moscow. Khrushchev had defined Russell's appeals as part of a campaign of "vicious slander" against the Soviet Union. On April 6, 1963, Russell replied at length repudiating this insinuation and describing as "gravely disturbing" the fact that some 60 percent of those executed for "economic offenses" in the U.S.S.R. were Jews. Although the Soviet premier did not reply to this letter, Russell continued his interventions on behalf of individual Soviet Jews and the community as a whole until age caused him to discontinue his public activities in 1968.

The problem began to be reflected at the United Nations, in parliaments, and in international bodies throughout the world. The first discussion at the UN took place in 1961 at the Subcommission on the Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities, and continued to be a feature of UN debates. The matter was raised in 1962 at the General Assembly's Social Committee by the Australian delegate, the first time it was directly taken up by a member government other than Israel. This development followed a report by a delegation to the U.S.S.R. of the World Council of Churches, which testified that Judaism experienced severe persecution in that country. In 1964, before a visit by Khrushchev to Sweden, Denmark, and Norway was due to take place, the problem of Soviet Jews was featured by the leading newspapers in all three countries, and the Soviet premier's visit was "postponed." The Council of Europe at Strasbourg, consisting of parliamentary representatives from all democratic countries in Europe and of official observers from Israel's Knesset, several times debated the issue and established an investigating committee to report on it. Its report served as the basis for the council's appeal to all European parliaments to raise their voice on behalf of Soviet Jewry. In the parliaments of Britain, Ireland, the Netherlands, Sweden, and many other countries, motions were signed by many members (in Britain over 400 out of 630), and governments were urged to appeal to the Soviet Union on this matter. Both houses of the U.S. Congress also debated the issue and several times adopted almost unanimous resolutions on it. Leading statesmen, such as President Eisenhower, President Kennedy, and the British and Belgian premiers, as well as leaders of socialist and other opposition parties in the West, took up the issue in their encounters with Soviet statesmen and public figures. In 1964 the International Commission of Jurists in Geneva published a special study entitled *Economic Crimes in the Soviet Union*, which proved the anti-Jewish character of Soviet policy in this matter.

Gradually the current situation of the Jews in the Soviet Union began to be prominently featured in the world press. Such topics as the anti-Jewish riot at Malakhovka, near Moscow, the mass gatherings of Jewish youth on Simḥat Torah at the synagogues of Moscow and Leningrad, the ban on *matzah* in the U.S.S.R., the virtual dissolution of the Moscow yeshivah, the blood libel in the newspaper *Kommunist* at Buinaksk, Dagestan, Yevtushenko's poem "Babi Yar," and antisemitic publications such as Kichko's *Judaism Without Embellishment* were extensively reported and commented upon in the principal newspapers the world over and were the subject of sharp debates with Soviet representatives in various bodies of the UN and other international forums. National and international writers' congresses, as well as PEN Club meetings, adopted resolutions against the suppression of Jewish culture in the U.S.S.R. Some Communist and pro-Soviet circles and press organs, particularly in Italy, Canada, Britain, the United States, Austria, Switzerland, Sweden, and Australia, openly criticized Soviet discrimination against Jews. In the late 1960s Jewish student groups for the struggle for Soviet Jewry sprang up in the United States, mainly on the east and west coasts, and in Great Britain, where demonstrations were staged, particularly at Soviet diplomatic missions. The World Union of Jewish Students (WUJS) organized a mobile exhibition illustrating the plight of Soviet Jewry, and mass petitions were signed by many thousands of Jewish and non-Jewish students.

PARTICIPATION OF ISRAEL. Israel representatives were in the forefront of initiating discussions on the problem in various UN bodies, the Socialist International (which published two reports, in 1964 and in 1969, called *The Situation of Jews in the U.S.S.R.* and *Anti-Semitism in Eastern Europe*), the Council of Europe, etc. In 1965 the first motion on Soviet Jewry was discussed in the Knesset. Later the Knesset devoted several special sessions to the situation of Soviet Jewry and made an appeal to other parliaments to take up the issue. The problem was repeatedly dealt with by the Israeli press and broadcasting service and in official and unofficial encounters by Israel's leaders and diplomatic representatives with Soviet diplomats and other personalities.

In Israel the Hebrew writings of Soviet Jews, most of them brought out clandestinely from the U.S.S.R., were published as early as the 1950s and served as a powerful means of reviving feelings of solidarity with Soviet Jewry. A collection of the Hebrew poetry of Ḥayyim *Lenski and Elisha *Rodin appeared in 1954 under the title *He-Anaf ha-Gaddu'a* ("The Cut-off Branch"). In 1957 the first anonymous Hebrew manuscript from the Soviet Union, called *El Aḥi bi-Medinat Yisrael* ("To My Brother in the State of Israel"), which was written in an old-fashioned *maskil* style, and contained a diary on the "Black Years," was published, first in the newspaper *Davar* and then in book form. (Only after the author's death in Kiev in 1968, was his name, Barukh Mordekhai Weissman, revealed.) Under the pen name Sh. Sh. Ron, a Soviet Hebrew writer described his own and his fellow Jews' experience in a concentration camp in a smuggled-out booklet, *Me-Ever mi-Sham* ("From Over There," 1959). Unknown and unpublished poems by Ḥ. Lenski, some of which were written in a concentration camp in Siberia, somehow reached Israel and were published posthumously in 1960 under the title *Me-Ever li-Nehar ha-Lethe* ("From the Other Shore of the Lethe River"), together with an introduction and postscripts by the poet's friends in Israel. A collection of Zionist poetry in its Russian original with Hebrew translations, *Ha-Lo Tishali* (its Russian title "My Spring Will Come") by an anonymous Soviet Jew, with an introduction by Y. Nadav (describing how the poems were written by a member of a clandestine Zionist group in a labor camp), appeared in 1962. A strong impact was made by Esther Feldman's autobiographical *Kele Beli Sugar* ("Prison Without Bars," 1964), the story of a Jewish woman in the Soviet Union whose husband (Joseph Berger-Barzilai) was imprisoned for over 20 years as an "enemy of the people" and then "rehabilitated." Soviet Hebrew fiction published in Israel included a novel about World War II, *Esh ha-Tamid* ("The Eternal Fire," 1966), written by a writer who hid his identity under the pen name A. Tsefoni, smuggled out of the U.S.S.R., and Abraham Friman's monumental novel, *1919*, about the revolutionary years (1968); its first two parts had been published in the 1930s and received the Bialik prize.

Educational work to convey deeper knowledge of the history and the current situation of Soviet Jewry was conducted over the years in Israel's schools and army units in various forms, including lectures, classes, a mobile exhibition, etc. The Hebrew magazine *He-Avar* and various publications of the Israel section of the World Jewish Congress have devoted themselves to research on Soviet Jewish affairs.

1969–1971. A turning point in the struggle for Soviet Jewry was Prime Minister Golda Meir's dramatic broadcast in Israel (in November 1969) of a letter sent to her by 18 Jewish families in the Soviet Georgian Republic who asked the Israeli government to convey to the UN their protest against the Soviet authorities for denying them the right to settle in their historic homeland, Israel. This letter inaugurated a new phase in the struggle for Soviet Jewry. For the first time Soviet Jews themselves, in growing numbers and from all parts of the Soviet Union, began to voice their demands, centered almost exclusively on their ardent desire to settle in Israel. They appealed openly to the highest Soviet authorities, as well as to the UN, the Israeli government, and international public opinion. These appeals, which were widely publicized in the world press, finally disproved the monotonously repeated contention of Soviet spokesmen that Soviet Jews were completely and finally integrated and no longer identified themselves with the Jewish people abroad and Israel. When the Soviet authorities staged a press conference of prominent Soviet Jews in Moscow in 1970, and also initiated a spate of letters from Jews to the Soviet newspapers accusing Israel of aggression and repudiating the demand for exit permits to Israel, many scores of Jews in various Soviet cities signed collective statements that sharply denounced this anti-Israel drive as unrepresentative of Soviet Jewish opinion and the result of police pressure. Hundreds of signatures of Soviet Jews, on pro-Israel statements, complete with personal data and addresses, were published in the West. Their number was proportionately much higher than the number of names signed in the U.S.S.R. on general liberal and democratic protests, which became a feature of Soviet life in the late 1960s. This courageously open Israel-oriented movement of Soviet Jews, mainly of the younger generation, became increasingly the focus of the struggle of world Jewry, the Israeli government, and international public opinion for Jewish survival in the U.S.S.R.

At the end of 1970, with the Leningrad trial and its worldwide repercussions (see above), a favorable atmosphere was created for an impressive Jewish world conference devoted exclusively to the problem of Soviet Jewry. It took place in Brussels in February 1971 with about 750 delegates from 36 countries. The conference, convened by a coordinating committee of the principal Jewish bodies in the Diaspora and in Israel, became, even before it assembled, the subject of feverish Soviet diplomatic and propaganda moves directed at preventing the conference from taking place, or at least undermining its moral authority in advance. A delegation of several Soviet Jews who arrived in Brussels on the eve of the conference held a press conference, in which they denied all charges about discrimination against Jews in the U.S.S.R. and the urge of the Jewish masses to leave the Soviet Union and settle in Israel. The conference itself adopted a "Brussels Program" for Soviet Jewry, pledging the Jewish people to an unremitting struggle for the right of Soviet Jews to go to Israel and transmit the Jewish cultural and religious heritage to their children, and against the antisemitic campaign of the U.S.S.R., disguised as "anti-Israel" or as an "unmasking" of "international Zionism."

Among the participants at the conference were: David *Ben-Gurion, Menahem *Begin, Arieh Eliav, Herschel *Schachter, William Wechsler, Chief Rabbi Jacob *Kaplan, Lord *Janner, and other Jewish parliamentarians, intellectuals, and men of letters (including: Gershom *Scholem, Abraham *Shlonsky, A. *Kovner, S. *Yizhar, Hans Joachim *Morgenthau, Paddy *Chayefsky, and Otto *Preminger).

[Emanuel Litvinoff / Binyamin Eliav]

Developments in the 1970s

JEWISH CULTURE. In the Soviet Union there were two clearly distinguishable realms of Jewish culture. One was Jewish cultural activity, usually conducted in Yiddish, promoted by the Soviet government; the other was outside the framework of official institutions, whose principal proponents are the "refuseniks." Contact between these two realms was, for all intents and purposes, nonexistent.

The attitude of "*aliyah* activists," especially "refuseniks," toward the issue of the development of Jewish culture in the Soviet Union underwent a change over the 1970s. Until the end of 1973 most Jewish activists in the Soviet Union argued that all efforts must be directed toward the immediate emigration of Jews from the Soviet Union, and that any cultural activity with long-term goals would inevitably deleteriously affect the struggle for emigration. The year 1974, however, marked the beginning of a decline in Jewish emigration from the Soviet Union. The number of "dropouts" was growing steadily (see later) and some "refuseniks" became increasingly aware of the rapid pace of assimilation within the Jewish community. In view of these developments many of the activists realized that in addition to the campaign for emigration, there was a need to expand Jewish cultural activity outside the boundaries of the official Soviet framework. This cultural activity took on several forms: (A) *ulpanim* for the study of Hebrew; (B) seminars on Jewish themes; (C) publications; (D) Jewish art and folklore; and (E) commemoration of events related to Jewish history and tradition.

(A) *Ulpanim for the Study of Hebrew.* According to Soviet law, private instruction of a language recognized by the Soviet Union was permitted. On the basis of this law four individuals (V. Prestin, S. Gurvitz, V. Polski, and P. Abramovich) obtained permission to teach Hebrew. In 1972, however, pressure to cease the instruction of Hebrew grew. The cases of Pavel Abramovich of Moscow and Lev Furman of Leningrad serve as examples. Abramovich had been teaching Hebrew since May 1971 on a legal basis and accordingly paid income tax. However in February 1972, he received a notice from Moscow's Pervomaysky Region Finance Department instructing him to stop teaching Hebrew since this language was not recognized by the Soviet Union, nor was it taught in any of its institutions. Abramovich thereupon applied to the Ministry of Higher Education and asked whether Hebrew was taught anywhere in the Soviet Union. The ministry replied that Hebrew was taught at the Institute of Asian and African Peoples within the University of Moscow, at the Moscow Institute of International Relations, at the University of Leningrad, as well as at the Military Institute of Foreign Languages. Though the Hebrew classes were attended by a minimal number of students at all these institutions, and Jews were not permitted to register, the very fact of their existence served as a pretext for the *ulpan* organizers to renew their request for the recognition of the private instruction of Hebrew. The authorities insisted that Abramovich lacked the necessary certificate qualifying him as a Hebrew instructor, and although he presented a teacher's certificate issued by the World Association for Hebrew, the tax authorities adamantly refused to register him as a private instructor of Hebrew. In 1976 an attempt was made to publicize the existence of Hebrew classes and a notice to this effect was presented to the Moscow Bureau of Advertising for publication. When the bureau refused to advertise the notice, Pavel Abramovich brought charges against them in court, as a result of which the bureau was compelled to publish a notice announcing Abramovich's Hebrew lessons. This incident clearly demonstrated that Hebrew instruction in Russia is legal and the authorities had therefore resorted to harassing the teachers in their attempt to prevent Hebrew classes from taking place. In keeping with this line of approach, Abramovich's apartment was searched and all Hebrew material confiscated. Moreover he was threatened by the KGB and told in no uncertain terms that he was to desist from holding Hebrew classes. A similar case was that of Lev Furman. In September 1976 the Finance Department in Leningrad granted Furman a license to teach Hebrew privately. On the basis of this license, Furman organized a Hebrew teacher-training seminar in April 1977 in which five students registered. In July of that year, KGB agents burst into his apartment during a session, arrested Furman and held him for five days on the charge of "disobedience." In October 1977, the Soviet authorities ordered Furman to cease giving Hebrew lessons immediately, on grounds that he lacked the necessary certificate qualifying him to teach Hebrew.

The authorities were trying *prima facie* to respect the existing laws of the state to some degree, and were therefore compelled to turn a blind eye to the Hebrew classes, while at the same time they threatened and harassed Hebrew teachers, accusing them of "parasitism" and "anti-Soviet propaganda" and the like. This contradiction in Soviet policy made possible the existence of a number of Hebrew *ulpanim* in several cities in the Soviet Union. The number of students who participated in those *ulpanim* at the end of the 1970s was estimated to be about 2,000, including those who did not plan to emigrate in the near future. Both the teachers and most of the students wished to leave the Soviet Union and therefore these groups were by nature fluid, with participants leaving and new ones joining all the time. The program of studies and the intensity in which the language was studied were not constant in all *ulpanim*, rather they were dependent on the ability of the teachers as well as the frequency of the sessions. Thus the language competency of those who "graduated" from the *ulpanim* ranged from basic knowledge of the Hebrew alphabet to acquisition of a limited vocabulary and perhaps even proficiency in simple conversational Hebrew. The value and significance, however, of these *ulpanim* extended well beyond the realm of acquisition of language skills; they constituted a focal point for Jewish cultural activity.

(B) *Seminars on Jewish Themes*. The *raison d'être* of the scientific seminar organized in Moscow in April 1972 was, in its early stages, to provide "refusenik scientists" who had been dismissed from their places of employment with an opportunity to meet and discuss matters pertaining to their scientific pursuits. However the seminar participants were not content to deal with professional matters only and after a while began to include in their discussions themes related to Jewish culture, history, and problems of Jewish existence in the Soviet Union. During the years of the existence of the seminar many of the original participants left the Soviet Union and were replaced by others. Following a short recess during the summer of 1977, the seminar reconvened with Victor Brailovsky as chairman, and some 20 individuals participating on a more or less regular basis. Seminars of this nature, where discussions covered both scientific and cultural themes, were organized in several other cities. In September 1977, a similar seminar organized in Riga opened its first session with a lecture on *Rosh Ha-Shanah* and the teachings of the Hebrew prophets. Between 20 and 40 people participated in this seminar and even individuals connected to the Soviet establishment were invited. Most of the discussions in a seminar organized in Kishinev at the end of 1976 were devoted to such cultural themes as Hebrew poetry in medieval Spain, the period of the Judges and its place in Jewish history, and related themes. A group which began meeting in the home of Naum Salansky in Vilna at the beginning of 1977 devoted all its sessions to the study of Jewish history. In Leningrad 15 Jews participated on a more or less regular basis in a seminar which dealt with topics related to Jewish culture. In September 1977 a special seminar was organized for young Jews in Riga, in which between 30 and 60 Jews participated, some of whom had not yet decided to emigrate. The seminar included lectures dealing with selected chapters of Jewish history, the history of Hebrew poetry, and themes related to Jewish holidays. Some of the young people began to meet for special "Erev Shabbat" evenings where they sang Hebrew songs and read Hebrew poetry in translation. In the second half of the 1970s, a second seminar was organized in Moscow whose declared aim was the dissemination of Jewish culture and history. The leader of this seminar was Arkadii May and about 80–100 people participated in it. At the same time, a similar seminar was organized in Minsk; most of the participants did not intend to emigrate from the Soviet Union. An attempt was made in Kiev to organize a seminar concerning Jewish culture, but in this instance the KGB acted with particular viciousness and the attempt failed.

The seminar groups in the various cities maintained contact with each other and lecturers of one seminar often appeared as guest lecturers in others. Their existence was most certainly known to the authorities, who attempted relentlessly to disturb the meetings by arresting the organizers, carrying out searches at meeting places, and confiscating material. Despite these harassments, the seminars continued to constitute a center of Jewish cultural activity in the Soviet Union.

(C) *Publications*. "Jewish *samizdat*," as publications not under Soviet censorship were generally called, consisted basically of two kinds: publications of material written and edited by Soviet Jews, and translations and distribution of material either written before the revolution or originally published outside the Soviet Union. A literary publicistic journal called *Jews in the U.S.S.R.* was founded in Moscow in October 1974, and continued to appear for several years. According to its editors, the motive for its publication was the search for identity, for an answer to the question "Who am I?" and any material included in this journal had to conform to the following criteria: "The writer of any article must be sufficiently knowledgeable with respect to his theme, the material should not be of a political nature, nor should it contain any untruths or personal slander whatsoever."

And indeed, the journal contained the writings of Jews and non-Jews on a variety of themes including emigration, assimilation, Jewish culture and history, as well as essays on philosophy and religion, and short stories and poetry. A journal in the Russian language, *Tarbut*, appeared in 1975. Seven issues of *Tarbut* appeared in 1976, the size of each an average of 60 typewritten pages. The purpose of the journal was to impart knowledge of the Jewish cultural heritage. *Tarbut* contained material depicting the role of the Jews in the war against the Nazis, as well as selections of the writings of Frug, Bialik, Judah *Halevi, Aḥad Ha'am, *Jabotinsky, *Scholem, and others, translations of which in some instances were in existence before the revolution, while others were prepared especially for publication in the journal. *Tarbut* was issued in tens and sometimes hundreds of copies and there is reason to believe that it passed through the hands of thousands of readers, not all of whom were involved in the Jewish national movement but nevertheless sought to expand their knowledge of Jewish cultural and historical heritage. In Riga in 1979, a few issues of a journal called *Jewish Thought* were published; they dealt with the development of Jewish thought from the days of the Bible to present times. The same year a journal called *Law and Reality* began to be published in Moscow. It published Soviet laws and orders concerning emigration, the teaching of languages, cultural activities, and documented examples of the authorities avoiding compliance with these laws. The main purpose of this journal was to draw the attention of world opinion to breaching of Russian laws by state authorities and to make Russian Jews aware of the fact that their activities are legal in accordance with the laws of the state.

In addition to these journals, "Jewish *samizdat*" included the publication and distribution of entire books, or excerpts thereof, as well as newspaper articles originating in the West. These publications appeared in the form of photocopied, stenciled, and typewritten copies, and were widely distributed among young Jews who sought to become acquainted with their people. The circulation of these books in Russia continued, though on an irregular basis and in the face of many obstacles. A Russian translation of Cecil *Roth's *Short History of the Jewish People*, after circulating in stenciled form, was printed, probably outside the U.S.S.R., and achieved wide circulation. Thus the interest in Jewish culture among Soviet Jews grew more widespread and even found expression in the great interest shown by Soviet Jews at the Israeli book stall at the International Book Fair held in Moscow.

JEWISH ART AND FOLKLORE. Through the 1970s, there was a marked tendency among some Jewish artists in the Soviet Union to have recourse to Jewish themes in their avant garde style in painting and sculpture. While private exhibitions of nonconformist art became a rather widespread phenomenon, the group of Jewish artists which organized them in 1975 expressly stated that in its desire to develop a modernist style, it sought to cultivate Jewish themes in art. This group, with a membership of 12 artists, and calling itself "Aleph," organized two exhibitions in Moscow and Leningrad. The Moscow exhibition, housed in a private apartment, was visited by some 4,000 people. The more interesting Leningrad exhibition was dominated by the works of A. Abezgauz whose paintings depict the life of the Jews in the Russian Pale of Settlement and the life of the refuseniks. Among the works exhibited by S. Ostrowsky was a painting entitled *The Patriarchs of Israel*. Paintings by 26-year-old T. Kornfeld, the youngest participant, carried titles such as *The Lover* and *The Jew*. Plastic arts were represented by Iu. Kalendarev whose wood sculptures entitled *Hanukkah Lamp* and *Mezuzah* attracted many spectators. The artists who participated in both these exhibitions each had his own particular artistic style, while that which set them apart as a group was their Jewishness, which found expression in their preoccupation with Jewish themes or in their particular world view.

Jewish folklore was likewise increasingly incorporated into Jewish cultural activity in the Soviet Union. Jewish songs, ḥasidic as well as Israeli, were often sung at meetings of Jewish activists. A. Vinkovetski even edited an anthology of Jewish folklore which he was unable to publish due to the refusal of Soviet publishers to print the book.

COMMEMORATION OF EVENTS RELATED TO JEWISH HISTORY AND TRADITION. Among the concrete expressions of Jewish cultural activity in the Soviet Union were the celebration of Jewish holidays and festivals and commemoration of Jewish historical events. Two landmarks in contemporary Jewish history – the Holocaust and the establishment of the state of Israel – served for many Soviet Jews as the focal points in their public manifestation of Jewish national identity. Immortalization of the memory of the victims of World War II was a common feature in Soviet society. Statues and monuments were erected in thousands of settlements in the memory of the victims of the Nazi occupation, and were frequented by Soviet schoolchildren and members of the Communist youth movement. Yet in all these places, the methodical and clearly intentional disregard of the Jewish victims is conspicuous. Jewish activists, therefore, saw it as their duty to dwell on the Holocaust and its uniqueness. As a result, in 1976 and 1977, as in previous years, a group of 50 Jewish activists decided to hold a memorial service in the Moscow synagogue on Remembrance Day of the Holocaust. However, the *gabbai* of the synagogue, apparently on the instructions from the authorities, prevented them from holding the service as planned, and they consequently adjourned to a private home. In the 1970s, Jews of several cities tried to hold a memorial service at Babi Yar, in Kiev. The organizers sought to lay a wreath at the foot of the monument in memory of those Jews who were the principal victims at Babi Yar and about whose fate the inscription on the monument is silent, as well as to hold a religious service. The Soviet security forces prevented them from carrying out their plan, and even arrested some activists who tried to make their way from Moscow to Kiev to participate in the service.

On Israel Independence Day, hundreds of activists held parties in their homes, while some chose to celebrate the event in parks on the outskirts of the city. At these gatherings, Hebrew songs were sung and at some speeches were delivered about the State of Israel.

The annual gatherings outside synagogues on *Simḥat Torah* became a well-entrenched tradition among Soviet Jews, with some 5,000–8,000 Jews assembling each Simḥat Torah outside the Moscow synagogue.

SYMPOSIUM ON JEWISH CULTURE. The goal of the symposium on the subject "Jewish Culture in the Soviet Union – Present and Future" was threefold: an assessment of what existed and what was lacking in Jewish culture in the Soviet Union, the establishment of guidelines for future development, and drawing the attention of world public opinion to the restrictions on Jewish cultural activity in the Soviet Union.

In March 1976 an organizing committee of 13 individuals, with Professor B. Fain as chairman, was set up in Moscow, for the purpose of convening an international symposium to discuss Jewish culture in the Soviet Union. The organizing committee prepared a memorandum defining these goals. The memorandum, which in effect served as an invitation, was sent to hundreds of Jewish scholars and intellectuals throughout the world as well as to a number of Soviet institutions. The organizing committee eventually grew to include 30 persons (13 from Moscow, 4 from Riga, 2 from Vilna, 2 from Kiev, 2 from Vinnitsa, 2 from Leningrad, 2 from Tiflis, and 1 each from Tallinn, Minsk and Kishinev). On Oct. 23, 1976, the organizing committee convened and approved 27 papers to be presented at the symposium, half of which were contributed by foreign lecturers. On Nov. 17, 1976, the organizers called a press conference inviting foreign as well as Soviet correspondents. In the context of preparations for the symposium, the organizers met with official and semiofficial Soviet representatives. On Sept. 27, 1976 E. Liberman, one of the organizers, met with General Shekhovtsev, director of the Institute of Military History. When Liberman pointed out to the general that most of Soviet society is led to believe that the Jews did not take an active part in the war against Hitler, Shekhovtsev admitted the truth of the allegation, but was quick to argue that the history of World War II was not studied in its national ramifications but from a more encompassing point of view as the war of the Soviet people as a whole. This argument was clearly unfounded in view of the hundreds of books in the form of memoirs, historical studies, and literature published in the Soviet Union which depicted the contributions of various nationalities to the war effort against Nazi Germany. On Dec. 8, five members of the organizing committee met with the Soviet Deputy Minister of Culture, V. Popov. He admitted having received an invitation, though he argued that since their perception of Jewish culture was contrary to the Soviet perception, their very activity constituted provocation. On Dec. 14, the organizers of the symposium met with the members of the editorial board of the Yiddish journal *Sovetish Heymland*. A. Vergelis, the editor, rejected the possibility of the existence of Jewish culture in any language other than Yiddish and argued that any literary creation in the Russian language *ipso facto* belonged to Russian culture, regardless of whether its theme or author were Jewish. He did, however, admit that there was no institution in existence in the Soviet Union where Yiddish might be studied, and noted that it would be commendable to do something about the dissemination of a knowledge of Jewish history according to a Marxist approach. Nonetheless Vergelis unequivocally opposed the symposium which, in his view, sought to halt the process of assimilation which, according to him, was a positive phenomenon. Furthermore, he stressed that the very organization of a symposium would endanger Soviet cultural activity in Yiddish.

An article which appeared in *Izvestia* on Nov. 22, under the evocative heading "The Formula for Treason," implicitly affirmed the KGB's decision to prevent the symposium from taking place. And so, between Nov. 23 and 25, searches were carried out in the apartments of many of the organizers and much of the material prepared for the symposium was confiscated. On Nov. 24 the news agency TASS "revealed" that the material confiscated proved that contact had been established with Zionist organizations and that their activity was aimed at stirring hatred among the peoples of the Soviet Union. On Nov. 29, the organizers made a fervent appeal to public figures and heads of state in the West, calling on them to demonstrate their support for this Jewish cultural undertaking. The Soviet press at the same time launched an extensive and widespread campaign against the organizers which continued into December. On the one hand, the campaign was aimed at branding the organizers of the symposium as agents of anti-Soviet political forces, and on the other, at proving that Jewish culture on a wide scale in fact exists in the Soviet Union. Concomitantly, the KGB systematically called in the organizers of the symposium for questioning on charges of "dissemination of lies with the intent to harm the government and Soviet society." Initially these investigations were limited to symposium organizers in Moscow, but it was not long before they spread into other cities where most of the members of the organizing committee, lecturers, and indeed any person who appeared to the authorities as having a hand in the convening of the symposium were arrested and taken in for questioning. As the opening date of the symposium drew near (Dec. 21), arrests and harassment of the organizers and participants accelerated. By Dec. 21, not one of the participants had succeeded in reaching Moscow. According to plan, the participants in the symposium were to assemble outside the Moscow synagogue at 10 A.M. and were to proceed to a private apartment for the opening session. However, on the way to the designated meeting place, the majority of the organizers, lecturers, and participants were arrested. Nonetheless, nearly 100 people, among them Western correspondents as well as the renowned freedom-fighter Andrei Sakharov, assembled at the synagogue at the designated hour. They adjourned to a private apartment where a symbolic opening of the symposium was held, all under the careful scrutiny of KGB agents. The participants, who heard a number of papers which the KGB had not succeeded in confiscating, sent a letter to the Central Committee of the Communist Party protesting the arrest of their colleagues. These events marked the end of another stage in the struggle for Jewish cultural activity in the Soviet Union. Although the symposium did not take place as intended, its very organization and the events surrounding it drew the attention of world public opinion to the plight of Soviet Jewry and its desire to maintain its particular cultural life. Moreover, there is reason to believe that the incident roused many Jews into Jewish cultural activity, among these many who did not intend emigrating from the Soviet Union.

JEWISH CULTURAL ACTIVITY OF THE ESTABLISHMENT. Institutionalized and legitimate Jewish cultural activity whose main vehicle was Yiddish found expression in publications and in the area of the performing arts. In 1977 four books were published in Yiddish while several were translated from Yiddish. Most of the Yiddish writers living in the Soviet Union published their work in the monthly literary-social journal *Sovetish Heymland.* This journal was largely designed for foreign consumption and was forever in difficulties for lack of contributors as well as readers. Yiddish literature in the Soviet Union had not been able to recover from the severe blow it suffered during the last years of Stalinist rule, when its foremost writers were removed. Many of the writers who managed to return from the detention camps and prisons remained emotionally and spiritually broken, many passed away over the previous 20 years, and some Yiddish writers left the Soviet Union during the 1970s for Israel. As a result, the number of writers who participated in *Sovetish Heymland* grew increasingly and effectively smaller. In 1977, 40 writers and literary critics published their work in the journal. Most of the contributors were well advanced in age, only five being between the ages of 51 and 60, 21 between 61 and 70, 11 between 71 and 80, and three writers from 81 to 90. No Yiddish schools had existed in the Soviet Union since the end of World War II, and there was thus no possibility of replenishing the cadres of Yiddish writers. To overcome the lack of material, contributions were accepted in the section of the journal containing reportage and stories by amateurs, so that most of the literary creations which appeared in *Sovetish Heymland* were of poor literary quality and of shallow Jewish content. Even more distressing than the difficulty of procuring material was the lack of readers, and to deal with it the journal included from 1969 a section on individual study of Yiddish. At a special meeting of the editorial board in June 1977, called to discuss the publication of a textbook for the study of Yiddish, Hirsh Remenik stressed that since there were no Yiddish schools or qualified teachers, the textbook would have to be designed for individual study. It was decided to proceed with the preparation of a text for the study of Yiddish geared towards Russian speakers. In order to draw the interest of readers both in the Soviet Union and abroad who knew no Yiddish, the journal began to include, as of September 1977, abstracts in Russian and English. In 1979 Yiddish was introduced as an optional subject in several Birobidzhan schools, but only some 10,000 Jews lived in this region.

In 1977 there were two Yiddish "folk theaters" in the Soviet Union – one in Birobidzhan and the other in Vilna. The "folk theater" was comprised of a group of amateurs who received financial government support. Both groups presented skits as well as evenings of songs and folklore.

As a result of the aforementioned symposium on Jewish culture the government announced, at the end of 1977, the establishment of a professional Yiddish theater in Moscow. In Dec. 1978 the Jewish musical chamber theater began its activities by showing "Black Bridle for a White Horse" by Yu. Sherling, and in 1979 it performed a musical review, "Let's All Do It Together." In the same year, Georgian television produced a program of medieval Jewish poetry recited by local actors.

RELIGION. Religious activity in Russia centered on the synagogue. In mid-1977, as far as could be ascertained, there were 69 synagogues in the Soviet Union; 17 in R.S.F.S.R., 14 in Georgia, 12 in the Ukraine, nine in Uzbekistan, three each in Azerbaijan and Belorussia, two each in Moldavia, Lithuania, Estonia and Kazakhstan, and one each in the republics of Latvia, Tadzhikistan, and Kirghizia. In addition special *minyanim* were organized for prayer on the High Holidays in many centers. The synagogues had no countrywide organization, though Rabbi Y.L. Fishman of the Great Synagogue in Moscow was given prominence over others. There was an acute shortage of rabbis. The Moscow yeshivah, which trained religious functionaries, had only ten students, three of whom were sent to Hungary to complete their studies. The synagogues also suffered from an acute shortage of prayer books and other religious articles.

Many of the synagogues had facilities for kosher slaughtering, and several are equipped with facilities for baking *matzah* for Passover.

The Department of Religion and the security forces maintained stringent supervision over the synagogues, and religious functionaries were often exploited for propaganda purposes in the attacks by the authorities against Zionism and its proponents in the Soviet Union. As a natural result *aliyah* activists avoided the synagogues, which were mainly frequented by elderly people.

EDUCATION, EMPLOYMENT AND DEMOGRAPHY. During the academic year 1976–77, 66, 900 Jews, comprising 1.4 percent of the total registration, were enrolled in institutions of higher learning. Of these, 2,850 were studying for a candidate degree. (The title of candidate is comparable to the Ph.D. degree in the West.) The 33,300 Jewish students enrolled in post-high-school vocational institutions comprised 0.7 percent of the student body. Since the 1974–75 academic year, the number of Jewish students in institutions of higher learning had dropped by 12 percent and in the vocational schools by 6 percent. In November 1975, 181,000 Jews who had completed vocational training were employed in the Soviet economy, comprising 1.4 percent of the total, while 385,000 Jews who had graduated from institutions of higher learning were employed in the Soviet economy, constituting 4.1 percent of the total. The number of graduates of institutions of higher learning who were integrated into the Soviet work force grew by 8 percent during the years 1970 to 1975, while the number of Jews in the same category continued to drop steadily. At the end of 1975, there were 69,000 Jews working in scientific fields (5.7 percent of the total), 8 percent more than in 1970. At the end of 1973 there were 28,000 employed Jewish scientists bearing the titles of candidate or higher, comprising 8.8 percent of the total. Thus the percentage of Jews grew as the educational level of the category rose, though in view of the shrinking numbers of Jewish enrollment, it was doubtful if they could maintain such a level. However, despite the restrictions and difficulties, the Jewish community as a whole turned towards academic pursuits and most young Jews in 1977 were enrolled in institutions of higher learning, though perhaps not always in the institutions or fields of their choice.

In January 1979 a population census, the third since World War II, was conducted in the U.S.S.R. The final tabulation listed 1,810,876 people as Jews distributed among the republics, as seen in the Table: Jewish Population, U.S.S.R.

In the nine years from the census of January 1970 and the one in 1979, the Jewish population decreased by about 340,000 (in 1970 there were 2,151,000 Jews), of whom 177,000 emigrated from the Soviet Union during that interval. This means that in the period under discussion the Jewish population decreased as a result of demographic factors and assimilation by about 163,000. The average yearly decrease in the Jewish population, for reasons other than emigration, was during the 1970s 0.87 percent. Of those declaring themselves as Jews in the latest census, 19.6 percent stated that the Yiddish language is their mother tongue or their second language, as compared to 25.5 percent in the 1970 census.

SOVIET POLICY. Soviet policy toward the Jews and Judaism found expression in propaganda and suppression of *aliyah* activists and proponents of nonestablishment Jewish culture, the two methods being closely interrelated. On Jan. 22, 1977, a film shown on several television stations in the Soviet Union portrayed *aliyah* activists as a group of corrupt individuals who received funds from Zionist sources abroad, and who directed its actions against the state. The local and national Soviet press published hundreds of articles depicting Judaism as cultivating hatred among peoples, and Zionism and the state of Israel as being in the forefront of imperialism and following in the footsteps of the Nazis. In reportage and stories, the Jew was portrayed as an individual bearing negative qualities and untrustworthy. The campaign against Judaism, Zionism, and *aliyah* activities gained momentum during the second quarter of 1977. On Feb. 5, 1977, the president of the United States wrote a letter to the renowned advocate of human rights in the Soviet Union, Andrei Sakharov. As an indirect response to the letter, the official Soviet government newspaper *Izvestia* printed an unsigned article in which nine Jewish activists (two of whom had already left the Soviet Union) were accused of having supplied information to the American intelligence service. The seven who were still living in the Soviet Union were Valdimir Slepak, a radio engineer, age 51, who had applied for an exit permit to Israel in 1974; Ida *Nudel, an economist, age 46, who had first applied for an exit permit in 1971; Dina Beilin, engineer, age 38, who had first applied for an exit permit in 1971; Mikhail Kremen, radio engineer, age 40; Boris Tchernobilsky, radio engineer, age 31; Professor Alexander Lerner; and Anatoly *Shcharansky. They considered filing suit against *Izvestia* but abandoned their plan when Anatoly Shcharansky was arrested on Mar. 15. Shcharansky had applied for an exit permit to Israel in 1975 and when it was refused, he became one of the chief spokesmen of the *aliyah* activists, meeting with U.S. senators, Western correspondents, and tourists. Following his arrest, the Soviet authorities announced that Shcharansky would be charged with treason, espionage on behalf of the United States, and anti-Soviet propaganda. On June 30, the president of the United States made an exceptional gesture and announced at a press conference that Anatoly Shcharansky had never had any contact with American intelligence agencies and consequently never passed on any information. The Soviet security forces nonetheless proceeded with their task. In various cities of the Soviet Union, dozens of *aliyah* activists who had at some time met with Shcharansky were called in for questioning. It soon became apparent to the *aliyah* activists that the Soviet authorities were in the process of preparing a show trial which was aimed not only at harming Shcharansky, but ultimately at branding activists involved in the struggle for emigration and Jewish culture in the Soviet Union as enemies of the state and agents of foreign intelligence services. On July 14, 1978 Anatoly Shcharansky was sentenced to 13 years hard labor. The campaign for the release of Anatoly Shcharansky thus became the focal point of activity in the free world on behalf of Jews in the Soviet Union.

In June 1978 Ida *Nudel was sentenced to four years in exile and recently one of the editors of the journal *Jews in the Soviet Union*, Viktor Brailovski, was arrested.

The Struggle Continues

The struggle on behalf of Soviet Jewry was adopted by most Jewish communities all over the world. In most countries, the campaign was coordinated by a central body such as the National Conference of Soviet Jewry in the United States, the Canadian Committee for Soviet Jewry in Canada, the International Coordination Office for Regional Organizations in Defense of Soviet Jewry in Europe, and in Israel, the Israel Public Council for Soviet Jewry. These organizations and others all had representatives on the executive committee of the Brussels Conference on Behalf of Soviet Jewry. The activities of these groups were aimed at bringing the persecution of Soviet Jewry to the attention of the wide public via the mass media on national and international levels. Local committees on behalf of Soviet Jews, as well as professional and ideological groups, existed in almost every country, such as groups of students, professors, clergymen, and the like. They also appealed to their respective governments and members of parliament. The activities in which Jews and non-Jews alike participated were focused on three main issues: (1) the release of prisoners of Zion; (2) a campaign against antisemitism; and (3) protest against the sabotage of the Symposium on Jewish Culture.

(1) *The Release of Prisoners of Zion*. Hundreds of demonstrations of organizations and individuals took place all over

the world demanding the release of prisoners of Zion and in defense of Anatoly Shcharansky and Ida Nudel. Many prominent figures appealed to the Soviet authorities, calling for the release of prisoners of Zion on humanitarian grounds, as well as the release of Shcharansky. The demonstrations were generally held outside Soviet institutions in the West and wherever Soviet diplomats and artists appeared.

(2) *Campaign against Antisemitism*. The main efforts were directed towards drawing the attention of world public opinion to the antisemitic literature recently published in the Soviet Union. It was stressed that this contradicted the international commitments of the Soviet Union.

(3) *Protest against the Sabotage of the Symposium on Jewish Culture*. The attention of world public opinion was drawn to the plight of Jewish culture and religion in the Soviet Union. In many countries conferences were organized to demonstrate solidarity with the Symposium. During the days that the Symposium was to have been held in Moscow, symposia of scholars and scientists were organized in many cities in Europe, the United States and Israel in which the state of Jewish culture and religion in the Soviet Union was discussed. The Soviet Union was warned that it could not expect Western cooperation as long as it ignored its commitments according to Basket III of the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, known as the Helsinki Agreement. In the wake of this agreement, private bodies and parliamentary groups were set up to monitor the fulfillment of Soviet obligations in the protection of human rights. Similarly, the executive committee of the Brussels Conference on Behalf of Soviet Jewry set up a group to monitor the fulfillment of Soviet obligations according to the Helsinki Agreement with respect to its treatment of Soviet Jews. This group prepared a document to be presented at the Belgrade Conference of representatives of countries that signed the Final Act. This document, known as the "Blue Book," described in detail thousands of instances where the Soviet government violated the agreement. This extensive material was presented to delegations of 30 countries participating in the Belgrade Conference so that they might raise the issue before the Soviet delegation. The problem of Soviet Jewry thus became a matter of public and political concern in countries of the free world, thereby compelling the Soviet Union to take heed, to some extent, of world public opinion in every measure it took against Soviet Jewry.

EMIGRATION. Emigration was one of the most important events of Jewish life in the Soviet Union during the 1970s. Of the 246,000 Jews who left the Soviet Union between 1970 and 1981, some 19,000 left during the years 1977–78. The ethnic composition of those Jews who emigrated in the years 1977–83, according to Soviet republics, is shown in Table: Soviet Jews who Emigrated to Israel (*Olim*) According to Ethnic Composition, 1970–1979.

Soviet emigration procedures were complicated and often rather lengthy. The first step involved obtaining an affidavit from Israel. At times such affidavits did not reach their destination, while in some cases the applicants themselves, due to personal and other considerations, decided not to approach the Soviet authorities with requests for exit permits even after receiving their affidavits. Consequently, the number of affidavits sent from Israel did not reflect the exact number of requests for exit permits processed by Soviet authorities. Nonetheless, the request for an affidavit from Israel did indicate that the applicant at some stage considered leaving the Soviet Union. Thus, although as stated 246,000 Jews emigrated from the Soviet Union between 1968 and Jan. 1, 1981, 350,000 new affidavits were sent to Jews in Soviet Union, meaning that 16 percent of Soviet Jews had at least considered emigration. There was generally a correlation between the number of emigrants and the number of new affidavits sent from Israel, the number of new affidavits sent from Israel being between 1.7 and 3.5 times the average rate of emigration for any one year between 1972 and 1981, as shown in Table: Monthly Rate of Emigration from the Former Soviet Union; New Affidavits from Israel, 1968–1980.

Soviet Jews Who Emigrated to Israel (*Olim*) according to Ethnic Composition, 1970–1979

Ethnic group	Number	Percentage	Relative percentage within Sov. Jewish pop.
Ashkenazi Jews	98,500	64.3	93.5
Georgian Jews	29,600	19.4	2.3
Mountain Jews	9,800	6.4	2.3
Bukharan Jews	15,100	9.9	1.9
Total	153,000	100.0	100.0

Monthly Rate of Emigration from the Former Soviet Union; New Affidavits from Israel, 1968–1980

Years	Average monthly rate of emigration	Monthly average of new affidavits
1968–71	466	1,992
1972	2,623	5,658
1973	2,910	4,851
1974	1,682	3,570
1975	1,095	2,845
1976	1,178	3,008
1977	1,430	3,589
1978	2,550	8,934
1979	4,278	10,616
1980 (Jan–June)	2,515	3,765

It may therefore be said that every Jewish family emigrating from the Soviet Union acted as a catalyst urging one or two other families to consider the possibility of emigration. Consequently the increase in Jewish emigration in 1979 as compared to 1978 brought in its wake an increase of approximately 19 percent in the number of new affidavits sent from Israel as compared to the previous year. It was therefore not surprising to find the greatest number of applicants for affidavits in those Soviet republics where emigration figures are highest.

Whereas of the 246,000 Jews who left the Soviet Union between 1970 and 1980, 157,000 emigrated to Israel while the remaining 89,000 (36 percent) proceeded to other countries, especially the United States, the figures for 1979–80 show that out of 73,000 emigrants only 24,700 or 34 percent settled in Israel.

Furthermore, there existed a disproportion between the ethnic composition of those emigrating to Israel and the corresponding ethnic composition within Soviet Jewish society as a whole, as demonstrated in the Table: Emigration: *Olim* and "Dropouts" from Russia, 1980–1986.

Emigration: *Olim* and "Dropouts" from Russia, 1980–1986

Year	Exited Russia	Immigrated to Israel	"Dropped Out"[1] in Vienna	Percentage "Drop-outs"
1981	9,481	1,806	7,675	81.2
1982	2,708	756	1,952	72.8
1983	1,320	390	930	70.5
1984	896	350	546	60.9
1985	1,137	344	793	69.7
1986 (1–7)	381	92	289	75.8
Total	15,923	3,738	12,185	76.5

[1] Chose another country instead of Israel.

These figures therefore indicate that the percentage of non-Ashkenazi Jews among those who proceeded on to Israel was greater than the percentage they comprise within Soviet Jewish society as a whole.

This disparity may be attributed to two factors: (a) the percentage of non-Ashkenazi Jews who left the Soviet Union in this period was greater than the percentage of Ashkenazi Jews who emigrated; and (b) the percentage of "dropouts" among non-Ashkenazi Jews was significantly smaller than the percentage of dropouts among Ashkenazi Jews.

As in previous years, in 1977–78 the dropout phenomenon was predominant among Jews originating from certain cities.

The rate of dropouts is thus seen to be linked to the geographic origin of the emigrants: Jews of the first six cities being of Ashkenazi origin, those from Tashkent and Tiflis being Ashkenazi, Georgian, and Bukharan Jews, while Mukachevo, Kishinev, and Chernovtsy were annexed to the Soviet Union on the eve of World War II. The average level of education among dropouts was higher than that of those who emigrated to Israel. The number of members of the family of working age is likewise higher among dropouts. Furthermore, the frequency of mixed marriages is higher among dropouts.

Approximately 46 percent of the work force among Soviet Jewish emigrants comprised skilled workers and/or those who had attained a high level of education.

THE REFUSENIKS. The leading protagonists in the struggle for the right to emigrate from the Soviet Union were those known as "refuseniks," individuals who applied for exit permits but whose applications were turned down. Refuseniks were alienated from the surrounding society and constituted a separate social group "stronger than a community" according to Vladimir Lazaris. "Their bodies are still fettered, but their souls are free." Many refuseniks were dismissed from their places of work as soon as they applied for exit permits, and for some the sole source of income was small monetary contributions they received from abroad. They lived under the constant threat of being charged with "parasitism." One such instance is that of Josif Begun who was employed as an economist in a Soviet research institute. In 1972, he applied for an exit permit and was subsequently dismissed. His attempt to persuade the Soviet authorities to recognize his work as a Hebrew instructor as a legitimate source of income failed in May 1977, and he was tried under the charge of parasitism and sentenced to two years of exile. Though his sentence, based on the charge of parasitism, was exceptionally severe in 1977, it served as a warning to other refuseniks, and the harsh attitude of the Soviet regime toward them rendered them the most active element within Soviet Jewry, and their voices were often heard abroad.

In January 1977 there were 2,001 refuseniks in the Soviet Union, some of whom had been waiting for exit permits for three or more years. Between January and September 430 refuseniks received exit permits and subsequently left the Soviet Union. However, during that same period the Soviet authorities turned down an additional 694 requests. Consequently in October 1977, there were 2,265 refuseniks, an increase of 13 percent as compared to the beginning of that year. The activities of the refuseniks centered on (a) the struggle for the right to emigrate and (b) cultural activity outside the framework of Soviet institutions (see above).

As part of the struggle for the right to emigrate, some 30 Jews demonstrated in October 1976 in front of the offices of the Supreme Soviet, and a delegation of the demonstrators was received by the minister of internal affairs who promised to reexamine their cases. On Feb. 21, 1977, 62 refuseniks staged a sit-in at the Supreme Soviet and in June six young Jews declared a hunger strike. During that period, seven Jews of Kiev publicly renounced their Soviet citizenship as a sign of protest against the emigration policy of the Soviet Union. In 1977, as in previous years, refuseniks appealed to countless international conferences, foreign governments, and world public opinion, calling for unremitting action for the cause of the right of Jews to leave the Soviet Union.

[Mordechai Altschuler]

The 1980s

DEMOGRAPHY. In the 1980s the annual decrease in the population among Soviet Jewry reached 2.2 percent. The Soviet census of January 1989 recorded 1,450,511 people who identified themselves as Jews; this was a decline of 19.9 percent from the figure of 1,810,876 in 1979. The Jewish population declined sharply in all of the union republics (see Table: Jewish Population Changes in the U.S.S.R., by Republic, 1959–1991, above, p. 555); in Moscow from 223,100 to 175,700. Overall, the percentage of Jews in the Soviet population declined from 0.69

percent in 1979 to 0.5 percent in 1989, when 41.5 percent of Soviet Jewry were residents of Moscow, Leningrad, or the capitals of the union republics.

Soviet Jewry represents an extreme example of an aging, demographically dying, assimilating community. In 1988–89 the birthrate of Jewish mothers was 7.3 per 1,000 Jews (6.3 in the R.S.F.S.R.). The birthrate in homogenous Jewish families (i.e., where both parents were Jewish) was 4.3 per 1,000 Jews (2.6 in the R.S.F.S.R.). Fertility of Jewish women in the U.S.S.R. did not exceed 1.6 children per woman. At the same time mortality was high, with 21.3 deaths per 1,000 Jews (the corresponding figure for the R.S.F.S.R. was 24.4).

The median age of Jews in the U.S.S.R. in 1989 was 49.7 and in Russia it was 52.3. (For comparison, in 1990 the median age of Jews in Israel was 28.4, of Jews in the United States 37.3, and of the total Soviet population in 1989 30.7.) The percentage of aged people (60+) among the Jews of Moscow in 1989 was 39.6 percent, while that of aged people among the general population in the city was 18.2 percent. Children up to age 5 made up only 3 percent of the Jewish population of Moscow while the same age group made up 8 percent of the general population.

The percentage of mixed marriages among all marriages involving Soviet Jews in 1988 was 58.3 percent for Jewish men and 47.6 percent for Jewish women. The same indicators for the RSFSR were 73.2 and 62.8 percent, respectively. The vast majority of children of mixed marriage who were under 18 were not registered as Jews in the 1979 census. In the U.S.S.R. this involved 90.9 percent of those children with a Jewish father and a non-Jewish mother; 95.3 percent of the children with a Jewish mother and a non-Jewish father (for Russia the percentages were 93.9 and 95.5, respectively). The mass emigration of the 1970s (see "Emigration and *Aliyah*") only accelerated the already advanced process of the erosion of Soviet Jewry. (See Tables above.)

The smaller subethnic Jewish groups largely maintained their knowledge of their native languages. The percentage of Ashkenazi Jews with a knowledge of Yiddish may well be even lower than the official 11.1 percent since the declaration by a Soviet Jew of a Jewish language as his native tongue is often a demonstration of national feelings rather than an indication of a real command of the language.

With the breakup of the U.S.S.R. toward the end of 1991, Soviet Jewry as such disappeared. At the end of that year the number of Jews living in territory of the former Soviet Union was estimated as 990,000, of whom the majority (430,000) lived in Russia. Russian Jewry now no longer constitutes the third largest Jewish community in the world. As of 1992 over half a million Russian-speaking Jews lived in Israel.

THE LAST YEARS OF STAGNATION, 1983–1986. *Official Policy.* A sharp change in Soviet emigration policy in the period 1979–1981 led to the formation of a large group of refuseniks (see above), i.e., people who were refused permission to emigrate. Reasons given for refusal were often far-fetched pretexts of local OVIR (visa) offices caught between a flood of requests for exit visas and a sharply reduced quota of permits allowed by Moscow. No judicial procedure existed for appealing OVIR decisions. In the early 1980s, the number of refuseniks in the whole country numbered tens of thousands. Besides many had their emigration documents rejected even for consideration by OVIR while others who had an invitation from Israel did not submit their applications due to their conviction that such an attempt would be useless. A whole generation of Soviet Jews grew up "in refusal," including thousands of highly qualified professionals whose careers were irretrievably harmed when they were banned from working in their fields after applying to emigrate. By 1987 refuseniks had become a dominant factor in Soviet Jewish life, a major force for unity among international Jewish organizations, and an important element in Soviet-Western relations.

The Soviet authorities proclaimed that "neither antisemitism nor Zionism" would be allowed, suggesting that Soviet Jews forget about emigration and return to "normal" Soviet life. Sometimes refuseniks were even promised that they would be given back their former posts in return for a written statement that they would abandon any idea of emigrating. In fact, antisemitism did not decrease; discrimination was manifested against the Jews, as a potentially disloyal part of the population, in regard to acceptance into institutions of higher education, job promotion, and the awarding of prestigious positions, in awarding scientific degrees, etc. In 1980–1981, 3 percent of Soviet Jews had been studying in institutions of higher education; in 1984–1985 the percentage dropped to 2.6. Between 1982 and 1987, the number of Jews among scientific workers declined from 63,000 to 58,600 and among those with Candidate of Science degrees from 25,800 to 25,200. In the 1980s, in general, there was a relative decline of the status of Jews in Soviet society.

At the same time, a campaign gathered momentum against everything connected with Israel, Zionism, Jewish history, Judaism, and Jewish culture. On April 21, 1983, the Soviet Public Anti-Zionist Committee, an ostensibly voluntary organization headed by General David Dragunskii, was established. A group of privileged writers who made a specialty of "anti-Zionism" emerged at this time; they included: Iurii Ivanov, Lev Korneev, Caesar Solodar, Lionel Dadiani, Evgenii Evseev, and Vladimir Begun. Their works were circulated throughout the country in hundred of thousands of copies. An overtly racist approach characterized the "anti-Zionist" ideology. Soon there was a revival of the notorious myths and libels propagated in the past against the Jews by the Czarist Black Hundreds and by Nazi propaganda: the myth of the "Judeo-Masonic conspiracy," *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, and even the blood libel.

Public criticism of this "anti-Zionism" was not permitted. Thus, the attempt of the Leningrad philologist Ivan Martynov to sue Korneev for libel was turned into judicial persecution of Martynov himself. In the summer of 1986 the book *On the Class Essence of Zionism*, which purported to be a historiographic survey of "anti-Zionist" literature in the previous two decades, was published. Its author, Alexander Romanenko, denied the very existence of the Jewish nation, of any Jewish language (either Hebrew or Yiddish), and of Jewish culture. He justified the prerevolutionary pogroms as a manifestation of the class struggle against the Jewish bourgeoisie. The Zionists were also blamed for the Holocaust! According to Romanenko, the Zionists were more dangerous than the Nazis since they had succeeded in defeating the latter and then proceeded, by blackmail and threats, in totally bankrupting the Federal Republic of Germany by forcing it to pay reparations to Israel. This fantastic ideology was regularly foisted off on the Soviet population at Party and trade union meetings, on television, and in the press.

The Jews were also being assigned a demonic role in Russian history, for example, in the vulgar historical novels of Valentin Pikul. A special place in this demonology was reserved for Leon Trotsky, who was depicted (for example, in the novel *Petrograd-Brest* [-Litovsk] by I. Shamiakin) as a symbol of Russia's enemies and described in terms of an anti-Jewish caricature.

One of the aims of the anti-Zionist campaign was to discredit the idea of emigration and to intimidate activists in the growing Jewish national movement in the country. However, despite the jamming of foreign radio stations, a relatively realistic picture of life beyond the "iron curtain" reached Soviet Jews via letters from the thousands of relatives and friends who had already emigrated. This encouraged them to continue the struggle to emigrate.

In an effort to put an end to the refusenik phenomenon, the authorities initially allowed some of the leaders to emigrate. This tactic backfired by increasing the number of activists. Then repression became the order of the day. Special KGB groups were assigned to monitor Jewish activity. They bugged telephone conversations, opened letters, infiltrated informers among the refuseniks, intimidated activists and their families, arranged for some people to be fired from their jobs and for others to be beaten up, and so on. All forms of independent Jewish cultural and public activity were persecuted, including the teaching of Hebrew, the publishing of *samizdat* journals, the organization of kindergartens, the performance of *purimshpils* (often satirical Purim plays) in private apartments, or public meetings to commemorate the Holocaust. There were frequent searches of apartments and jailings of activists on fabricated charges of anti-Soviet activity and propaganda, slander of the Soviet state, and on trumped-up criminal charges, such as possession of narcotics. Sometimes the people arrested were beaten. Occasionally, activists were placed in special psychiatric hospitals. Yet there was a limit to the persecution: mass arrests were not resorted to. The number of Jewish activists imprisoned at any one time between 1983 and 1986 amounted to about 15, probably representing the quota decided upon by the central authorities. It appeared that the government wanted to maintain a certain low level of Jewish activity with an eye toward negotiations with the West while the KGB was interested in the continuity of such activity in order to justify the existence of their "anti-Zionist" cadres.

In response to the continued accusations from abroad that they were persecuting Jewish culture in the U.S.S.R., the Soviet authorities did sponsor some Jewish cultural enterprises of their choice. A number of these took place far from the large Jewish population centers, in the so-called Jewish autonomous Oblast (province) of Birobidzhan, the 50th anniversary of which was celebrated in 1984. In 1982 a Yiddish textbook was published there in a minuscule print run and permission was granted for an optional course in Yiddish at one of the schools in the province. At the same time, several propaganda booklets were published describing the alleged flourishing of Jewish culture in Birobidzhan. In Lithuania several prose works of Grigorii Kanovich were published on Jewish themes. In 1984 a Russian-Jewish [Yiddish] dictionary was published in Moscow and an evening celebrating the 125th anniversary of the birth of Shalom Aleichem was held at the Union of Soviet Writers.

In March 1985, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union Mikhail Gorbachev proclaimed *perestroika*, which originally did not envision any change in official Jewish policy. As late as October 1986 Soviet jails still held 13 Jewish activists, five of whom (Roald Zelichenok, Leonid [Arye] Volvovskii, Evgenii Koifman, Vladimir Lifshits, and Aleksei Magarik) were arrested under Gorbachev. However, to succeed in their intended reforms, the Soviet leadership came to realize that they desperately needed foreign policy successes and economic aid from the West, which increasingly were seen to depend on a liberalization of their policy toward Soviet Jewry.

The Refusenik Community. From the early 1980s, Soviet Jews found themselves in a hopeless situation. Their social status continued to decline; antisemitism prevented them from fully assimilating; almost all expressions of Jewish life were banned; and at the same time permission to emigrate was denied. The response to this situation was the growth of illegal, independent Jewish cultural activity, which was almost completely centered around the refuseniks. The first stirrings of public and cultural activity were felt among the *aliyah* activists in the 1970s. However, only the long period of hiatus in emigration allowed the Jewish movement the opportunity to attain an unprecedented breadth, stability, and continuity of leadership. Often, the veteran refuseniks best known in the West, particularly those who had been imprisoned, ceased playing a leading role but became symbols of the struggle and spokesmen of the movement to the foreign media. New less-known enthusiasts assumed an active role in the organizational, political, and cultural spheres. Veteran leaders, who returned to an active role after being released from prison, could be rearrested. Thus, in November 1982, Iosif Begun was imprisoned for the third time.

During their years of "refusal," activists gained experience and knowledge, proved their mettle in confrontations with the authorities, and established contacts with comrades in other communities. They also amassed an unprecedented amount of Jewish cultural material such as books, textbooks, and religious objects. Interested Jews were able to attend underground classes in Hebrew, Jewish culture, history, and religion, and to enjoy Jewish dramatic productions in private homes. There were activities for children as well. Channels were established for exchanges of information with Israel and the organizations for the rights of Soviet Jewry operating in the West. Thus, any persecution of refuseniks soon became known throughout the world. Those who were arrested (and their families) gained effective legal, medical, and material aid, as well as moral support. Jailed *aliyah* activists, referred to as "prisoners of Zion," knew that they were not abandoned; this often gave them the strength to avoid mental breakdowns and public recantations. Their sense of community helped refuseniks to compensate for the infringement of their rights and their pariah status.

Hebrew teaching occupied a key role in the Jewish movement. Moscow was the center of Hebrew instruction where long-range programs were elaborated, accelerated teacher training organized for teachers from other locations, and teaching materials reproduced and disseminated. Iulii Kosharovskii was one of the main organizers of the teaching network. Teachers of Hebrew, who received special support for their efforts from Israel, became a main target for persecution; they constituted about half the prisoners of Zion. In Moscow alone, the Hebrew teachers Alexander Kholmianskii, Iulii Edelshtein, Leonid Volvovskii, and Aleksei Magarik were arrested between 1984 and 1986.

In Leningrad, starting in late 1979, the center for the Jewish movement was the historical and cultural seminars headed by Grigorii Kanovich (not to be confused with the Lithuanian writer) and Lev Utevskii. In an attempt to halt the seminars, the authorities gave permission for both leaders to emigrate. At the same time a series of roundups of participants in the seminars took place. Activist Evgenii Lein was arrested in May 1981. After a year-long struggle to maintain the seminars, which had been open to all interested parties, the seminars succumbed. However, a group made up of amateur Jewish historians survived for five more years. Works by members of this group were published in *Leningradskii evreiskii almanakh* (see "The Jewish Press"). An attempt in 1985 to renew popular lectures on Jewish culture in Leningrad ended with the arrest of the organizers, Roald Zelichenok and Vladimir Lifshits.

In contrast to Leningrad, where Jewish history was practically exclusively the domain of refuseniks, Moscow was the site of some permitted Jewish scholarship headed by the professional ethnographers Mikhail Chlenov and Igor Krupnik. In January 1982 there was an announcement of the formation, in conjunction with the journal *Sovetish Heymland*, of a Jewish Historical and Ethnographic Commission. The members of the commission hoped to be able to publish their research without interference. However, the ban on almost everything Jewish often compelled the scholars to restrict themselves to peripheral topics of little social relevance, such as the derivation of Jewish family names and descriptions of small subethnic Jewish groups in the Soviet Union.

The celebration of traditional Jewish holidays and Israel's Independence Day became a widespread expression of national solidarity. In a number of cities, Purim was the occasion for the private performance of *purimshpils*, where sharp criticism of the authorities was often presented in disguised form. It is not surprising that the latter activity was particularly subject to government repression.

Another indicator of the growth of national consciousness among Soviet Jews was the public meetings commemorating the mass murder of Jews during World War II. Such meetings were held in Riga at Rumbula forest, in Vilnius at Ponari, in Kiev at Babi Yar, and in Leningrad at the Jewish Preobrazhenskii Cemetery.

The 1980s saw an increased interest in Orthodox Judaism, which had been among the most slandered and persecuted of all the religions in the U.S.S.R. In the course of previous decades, Jewish religious education had suffered particularly. There was only a handful of rabbis, *mohalim* (circumcisors), and *shoḥetim* (ritual slaughterers who provided *kasher* meat) in the whole U.S.S.R. There was no way, either legally or practically, that such knowledgeable Jews could be replaced. Simple Jews who know how to pray were a dying breed. Often Jewish intellectuals who were God-seekers turned to the Russian Orthodox religion due to their lack of familiarity with their own roots.

In the 1980s in Moscow, Leningrad, and subsequently in other places, informal groups of young people who wanted to study Torah and Jewish tradition were established. Some of the participants became *ḥozrim bi-teshuvah* or "returners to religion." The original impetus for this religious revival was Zionist activity among the refuseniks, which first brought Jews together and provided them with basic knowledge, particularly of Hebrew, without which a mastery of the tradition is hardly possible. The Jewish religious awakening was made possible materially due to the fact that some of the aid from abroad to refuseniks included religious literature, religious objects, and *kasher* food. In the mid-1980s, there were up to 2,000 newly-observant Orthodox Jews, half of whom resided in Moscow and one fifth in Leningrad. Despite its relatively small core, the religious community had some impact on a broader range of Jews and even led to the conversion to Judaism of some non-Jews, a unique phenomenon in Soviet history. The religious stream within the total Jewish movement among Soviet Jewry was diminished in 1986–1987 with the emigration of a large segment of the newly religious Jews, including their young leadership.

The religious groups were basically divided into Chabad, Agudat Israel, and religious Zionists. In Moscow religious activity originally centered around Vladimir Shakhnovskii, Mikhail Nudler, and Eliahu Essas (Agudat Israel), Mikhail Shnaider and Grigorii Rozenshtein (Chabad), and Vladislav Dasheskii, Pinkhas Polonskii, Mikhail Karaevano, and Kholmianskii (the religious Zionists). Leningrad with the religious leaders Itzhak Kogan (Chabad) and Grigorii Vasserman (Agudat Israel) lacked the religious Zionist orientation.

Although the Jewish movement in the 1980s included in its ranks only several thousand people, in the atmosphere of fear that dominated the Soviet Union at that time, it was virtually the only mass opposition movement in the country. It was not exclusively Zionist. Participation in illegal Jewish activity during their years of refusal, however, increased activists' national consciousness and instilled in many the desire to go straight to Israel as soon as they were free to leave. Many activists after their emigration joined Jewish organizations in Israel and the West (especially in the U.S.), and continued to study and teach Jewish history, Hebrew, and the Jewish religion. A number of books written in refusal have now been published (mostly in Israel). Among them are *Ivrit* ("Hebrew") by Leonid Zeilinger; *Sinagoga-razgromlennaia no nepokorennaia* ("The Synagogue – shattered but unconquered") by Semen Iantovskii (book appeared under the pseudonym of Israel Taiar); *Evrei v Peterburge* (*The Jews of St. Petersburg* [published in Russian and in English]) by Mikhail Beizer; *Delo Dreifusa* ("The Dreyfus Case") by Leonid Praisman; and *Ani Maamin* (*Ia veriu*) ("I Believe") by Mikhail Shnaider and Grigorii Rozenshtein.

Soviet Jewry and the West. The Soviet Jewry movement would never have become an international issue had it not been for support from abroad. The following factors were involved in the struggle in the West: Israel's interest in mass immigration, which reflected both Zionist ideology and Israel's demographic problem; the desire of Western, especially American, Jewish leaders to rally Diaspora Jewry around a goal of importance for the whole Jewish people; the tendency of the American administration to utilize "human rights" and, particularly, the struggle of Soviet Jews for the right to emigrate, as a basic weapon in its ideological confrontation with Communism.

Special organizations were established in the West for the struggle for Soviet Jewry. These included the National Conference on Soviet Jewry, the Student Struggle for Soviet Jewry, the Union of Councils for Soviet Jewry, in the United States, and in Britain the Committee of 35. The organizing center in Israel was the Liaison Bureau for Soviet Jewry of the Foreign Ministry. The Bureau collected information about Soviet Jews, sent them literature and material aid, organized support from the Jewish and international press, and, on occasion, coordinated international protest campaigns in defense of prisoners of Zion and the right of emigration for Soviet Jews. Most aid from the Bureau was given to those refuseniks, especially teachers of Hebrew, who aspired to *aliyah*. Israel regularly provided up-to-date information about emigration statistics, the level of state antisemitism, persecution of Hebrew, and the suffering of prisoners of Zion to both Jewish and non-Jewish organizations active in the struggle, as well as to political and social figures. Hundreds of foreign tourists who visited Moscow, Leningrad, and other open cities in the U.S.S.R. were in fact voluntary emissaries of international Jewish organizations or, sometimes, Israeli citizens with dual nationality sent by the Liaison Bureau, to bring in books, *kasher* food, clothing, and other goods, to provide moral support, to give lectures on Jewish history, to share Sabbaths and holidays with their fellow Jews, and to bring back to the West fresh information, texts of protests and appeals, along with various requests for the refuseniks.

The tourists who made contact with Soviet Jewry were often halted by the authorities, searched, subjected to harassment and intimidation, and expelled from the country before the end of their visit; sometimes they were beaten by KGB agents. The Soviet authorities prevented former Israel president Ephraim Katzir, who was visiting the U.S.S.R. as part of a scientific delegation, from meeting with refuseniks. However, even during the most difficult times, the flow of visitors did not cease.

The Public Council for Soviet Jewry (headed by Avraham Harman) supported by the Israeli government was founded in 1970. In the 1980s, a kind of rival to the council, the Soviet Jewry Education and Information Center (headed by the former refusenik and prisoner of Zion Yosef Mendelevich), was established in affiliation with the American Union of Councils. It favored a strategy of public protest while the more moderate National Conference and the Israeli Liaison Bureau pursued a policy of quiet diplomacy.

Due to the efforts of Jewish organizations, the question of the rights of Soviet Jewry gained exposure in parliamentary discussions and in election campaigns in Western democracies. The issue was increasingly raised during intergovernmental contacts with the Soviet government and in the mid-1980s became a focus of demands made on the Soviet Union. In the American congress speeches were often to be heard about refuseniks and prisoners of Zion such as Anatoly Shcharansky, Iosif Begun, and Ida Nudel. When visiting the U.S.S.R., many senators and congressmen met with Jewish activists. U.S. president Reagan and British prime minister Thatcher spoke out in support of the struggle for Soviet Jewry and the issue was also raised in the European Parliament. The International Association of Lawyers encouraged legal experts to provide aid to persecuted and arrested Jews. The situation of individual Soviet Jews was taken up by professional associations in the West, particularly the international scientists' committee which took up the cause of refusenik scientists, including Victor Brailovskii, Alexander Paritskii, and Yurii Tarnopolskii. In New York mass marches and public meetings, which attracted up to 100,000 people, began in 1982.

The well-known British historian Martin Gilbert visited Moscow and Leningrad in 1983 and interviewed a number of leading refuseniks. Although some of the material he collected was confiscated by customs authorities when he was leaving, one year later he published The *Jews of Hope*, which due to his fresh eyewitness point of view and the author's reputation, had considerable influence in mobilizing public support for Soviet Jewry in English-speaking countries and Israel (where the book appeared in Hebrew).

A key event in the struggle was the Third World Conference for Soviet Jewry held in March 1983. The preceding conferences were held in Brussels in 1971 and 1976. The choice of Jerusalem as the location for the third one signified the central role of Israel in the struggle.

Originally the Israeli government had preferred to remain in the background so that the issue of Soviet Jewry would be seen not as a parochial problem but as a universal issue of the violation of human rights. Not wishing to complicate the already difficult position of Jewish activists in the U.S.S.R., Israel avoided criticizing the Soviet Union on issues unconnected with Jewish concerns. Tourists sent to the U.S.S.R. by the Liaison Bureau were forbidden to say that they were from Israel and told to travel on second passports. Although following these instructions made the visits less dangerous for the emissaries, this practice gave some Soviet Jewish activists the false impression that they were of more concern to their Western brothers than to the Israelis.

The inclusion of the issue of Soviet Jewry in the agenda of the American-Soviet summit conference in Reykjavik in October 1986 was a considerable achievement. The Soviet delegation there was presented with a list, compiled in Israel, of the names, addresses, and dates of refusal of the many members of the Jewish refusenik community in the U.S.S.R.

The continuing struggle harmed the international reputation of the U.S.S.R., especially after it signed the Helsinki Accords on human rights. On the other hand, the Soviet Union did gain from the international furor. It allowed the Soviets to raise the price on its "merchandise" of Jewish hostages, for example allowing them to exchange individual Jews for Soviet spies caught by the West (as it happened with Anatoly Shcharansky in February 1986) and to use the issue of Soviet Jewry – in terms of a possible concession on the Soviet side in return for American concessions – in its negotiations with the U.S. on limiting strategic and nuclear weapons.

PERESTROIKA AND GLASNOST. *Changes in Official Policy and in the Social Status of Soviet Jewry.* The primary goal of the policy of *perestroika* was originally to help the Soviet Union emerge from its economic crisis by allowing a degree of democratization, permitting the holding of small private and cooperative property, the weakening of centralization and Party control in the periphery, and the broad encouragement of initiative on the part of the Soviet population. The latter were to be mobilized by granting them a number of civil rights entailing freedom of speech, public organization, and freedom of cultural life (*glasnost*). Owing to the difficulties of overcoming social inertia and to the opposition of the entrenched bureaucracy, *perestroika* only began to be felt by the public in early 1987. By late 1989 the changes assumed a character unforeseen by the architects of the policy.

Despite the authorities' intentions, *glasnost* was utilized by the peoples of the U.S.S.R. to promote their national aspirations. With the unprecedented burgeoning of national movements that threatened the Soviet Union itself, the issue of the right of Soviet Jews to free emigration and national cultural expression – which had been a major concern of Western public opinion in the 1980s – was no longer so major. At this time of domestic turmoil the Soviet government decided to make concessions on Soviet Jews within the framework of the broadening of civil rights and in exchange for political and economic support from the West.

In January 1987 a new government decree came into effect that regulated entrance into and exit from the U.S.S.R. The decree granted the right to emigrate only for family reunification with close relatives abroad. Still it was an advance, since Soviet emigration procedures were now embodied in law rather than secret government directives. The number of exit visas granted increased each month and in May OVIR began accepting applications to emigrate from people who did not have close relatives abroad. The same year saw applications also accepted for reunification with relatives in countries other than Israel. This change in policy raised the problem of "dropouts" or those Jewish emigrants who, from the Israeli perspective, denied their tie to the Jewish homeland and chose other destinations.

An indication of a new policy toward emigration was the uncharacteristically mild reaction to the March 1987 demonstration of seven refuseniks in Leningrad. As a result of the demonstration one participant received permission to emigrate while a photograph of the whole group appeared in a local Leningrad newspaper.

Early in the same year several Jewish activists were released from prison before serving their full terms.

The curtailment of the Party's anti-Zionist campaign, a major turnabout, was first signaled by criticism in the journal *Voprosy istorii KPSS* (No. 1, 1987) of Romanenko's *On the Class Essence of Zionism* (see above).

The end came to the ban on importation of Jewish religious literature, Hebrew textbooks, and books on Judaism. The long-standing Soviet domestic policy of proscribing national cultural activity outside the borders of officially designated national regions was rejected in July 1988 when the 19th CPSU Congress passed a resolution granting ethnic groups the right to satisfy their cultural and religious needs throughout the Soviet Union. This change of policy was particularly important for the Jews, almost all of whom live outside their supposed national region, the so-called Jewish Autonomous Oblast in Birobidzhan. One consequence of this new policy was the appearance of many independent Jewish culture associations in all parts of the country. With the simultaneous removal of the ban on discussion in the media of all issues relating to Jews, the number of publications and broadcasts on Jewish topics increased astronomically. The majority of them dealt with domestic concerns rather than the previously common condemnations of Israel. Furthermore, events in the Middle East began to be treated by Soviet journalists in a more objective manner, with Soviet coverage occasionally appearing to be more pro-Israeli than that in the West.

In 1988–1989 almost all remaining veteran refuseniks were given permission to emigrate and the emigration process itself was considerably simplified. The authorities practically ceased persecuting, or even condemning, those who wished to emigrate. Former Soviet citizens living in Israel and the United States, including former Jewish activists, were allowed the possibility of visiting their former homeland without hindrance. Previously minuscule, permitted tourism of Soviet Jews abroad, including to Israel, began to develop. The 1991 law on entrance to and exit from the U.S.S.R. not only guaranteed the right of all Soviet citizens to travel abroad but also allowed people to emigrate permanently without losing their Soviet passports (as was previously the case with emigrants who "repatriated" to Israel). It also specified timetables and procedures for handling emigration documents so that Soviet emigration legislation finally corresponded with international norms.

Cultural ties between the Soviet Union and Israel began to flourish and, soon thereafter, economic cooperation as well. A series of bilateral diplomatic contacts led in December 1990 to the exchange of consular delegations and one year later to the establishment of full diplomatic relations. The Soviet ambassador to Israel, Alexander Bovin, was the last emissary named by Gorbachev before the formal liquidation of the U.S.S.R. and he remained as the Russian ambassador.

Changes occurred also in the social status and employment profile of Soviet Jewry. Secret restrictions on the acceptance of Jews into institutions of higher education, graduate study, prestigious work, and so on were withdrawn. Jews increasingly appeared among Soviet scientists and cultural figures visiting the West and Israel. Although their numbers hardly increased in the top echelons of Soviet power – the Central Committee of the Communist Party, the government, the army high command, and the diplomatic corps – the number of Jews in secondary positions rose, for example, among government advisers.

There was a perceptible increase in the activity of Jews in social and political life, where a majority of such activists belonged to the liberal democratic forces. Fifteen Jews were elected to the national congress of People's Deputies of the U.S.S.R. in 1989. The following year 15 Jews passed the first round of elections in the RSFSR, and 9 of them actually became deputies to the Russian Congress of People's Deputies. Some Jews, especially in the Russian hinterland, were elected to local city and all-Russian government councils. Jews actively participated in the fights for the general democratization of the Soviet Union, the rights of national minorities, liberalization of the economy, and protection of the environment. There were many Jews among the radically oriented journalists. However, in rare cases, Jews such as the secretary of the board of the Writers' Union of Russia, Anatolii Salutskii, supported Russian nationalist trends.

Jewish Life. During the period of *glasnost,* Jewish social and cultural life came to involve many people throughout Russia and the other Soviet republics. This activity was influenced both by the increase of national consciousness among other peoples in the U.S.S.R. and by the growing contacts between Soviet Jews and Israel.

On May 21–22, 1989, a meeting of 120 people representing approximately 50 Jewish social and cultural organizations from 34 Soviet cities took place in Riga. The final document adopted by participants expressed their determination to defend the rights of Soviet Jews to free emigration to Israel and to cultural autonomy within the Soviet Union. The delegates called for the establishment of diplomatic relations between the U.S.S.R. and Israel and the repeal of UN Resolution 3379 which equated Zionism with racism. In the same year 490 delegates took part in a congress of Lithuanian Jews, which elected a Council of Jewish Communities of the republic.

A congress of Jewish community organizations from all over the country took place in Moscow in December 1989. Delegates from approximately 200 bodies and many guests from abroad, including the chairman of the Jewish Agency, Simcha Dinitz, were present. A national umbrella organization – the Council of Jewish Culture Associations of the U.S.S.R. (Vaad) – was established with three co-chairmen, Mikhail Chlenov (Moscow), Yosef Zisels (Chernovtsy), and Samuil Zilberg (Riga). After the dissolution of the U.S.S.R., a Russian Vaad was established at a congress in Nizhni Novgorod in April 1992.

Official, i.e., state-promoted, Jewish figures who, before *perestroika*, had exercised a legal monopoly in representing Soviet Jewry found themselves forced to compete with independent Jewish organizations. One example of the ill-fated effort by these court Jews to sustain their influence took place in early 1989 when a group of people close to the editor of *Sovetish Heymland* founded the short-lived Association of Activists and Friends of Jewish Culture.

Both the leaders of Vaad and the "official" Jewish spokesmen became involved in efforts to resolve the Middle East conflict. With this aim in April 1990 Mikhail Chlenov met with PLO executive committee member, Abu Mazen, while in July former members of the Soviet Public Anti-Zionist Committee announced the establishment of a Peace Today committee (ostensibly on the model of the Israeli Peace Now organization), with its stated goal of facilitating Jewish-Arab dialogue. The second congress of Vaad in January 1991 condemned contacts between the Soviet government and the PLO.

During the August 1991 crisis, Vaad chairman Chlenov did not openly criticize the coup leaders but restricted himself to an expression of concern about the future of Jewish organizations, the possible curtailment of emigration, and the danger of antisemitism.

In contrast to Vaad, the opposing wing of Jewish public life is composed of those who consider any Jewish activity in the country either unnecessary or actually harmful unless it is directed toward preparing Soviet Jewry for immigration to Israel. In August 1989 the Hebrew teacher Lev Gorodetskii announced the founding in Moscow of the Zionist Organization in the Soviet Union, which soon opened branches in Leningrad, Riga, Vilnius, Kiev, and Kharkov. Many Zionist youths groups, such as Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir, Dror, Betar, Maccabi, and Rabim, also began functioning.

A significant feature in Jewish life was the commemoration of the Jewish victims of the Holocaust on the territory of the Soviet Union. This involved groups of Jewish veterans of World War II and concentration camp survivors. In Riga, Vilnius, Leningrad, Minsk, and many other sites, on the anniversaries of mass executions of Jews there, and even in cities which the Nazis did not occupy, increasing numbers of Soviet Jews had been gathering for memorial meetings on Holocaust and Heroism Day (the anniversary of the Warsaw Ghetto uprising). In September 1989 official permission was granted for the first time for such a meeting at *Babi Yar, organized by the Kiev Jewish community. Among the participants were local Party and government officials, leaders of the Ukrainian national movement, and the Church. Finally, after many years, an inscription was placed on the monument indicating, in Russian and in Yiddish, that Jews were the main victims at Babi Yar.

By late 1989, there were almost 200 Jewish associations, clubs, and culture centers in, among other places: Tallinn, Riga, Vilnius, Leningrad, Cheliabinsk, Tashkent, Donetsk, Baku, Kharkov, Lvov, Chernovtsy, Kiev, Kishinev, Odessa, Minsk, Bobruisk, and Krasnoyarsk. Kiev in late 1989 had 12 different Jewish organizations, including cultural, religious, and even musical groups. In Kishinev the Menora cooperative was established in April 1989; there hundreds of people have studied Hebrew and the fundamentals of Judaism. Tbilisi even granted official recognition to the Aviv association whose goal was to prepare Jews for *aliyah*. Riga Jews have (since July 1988) a culture association, a Yiddish school, and a society for Latvian-Israeli friendship while Vilnius has its own culture association and branches of Betar, B'nai B'rith, and Maccabi.

The greatest number of Jewish culture organizations were concentrated in Moscow. These included: *Iggud morim* (the Association of Teachers of Hebrew, founded 1988), the Association for Friendship and Cultural Ties with Israel (abbreviated ODISKI, summer 1988), the Moscow Jewish Culture and Education Association (MEKPO, September 1987), the Jewish Culture Association, the Gesher youth association, and the Youth Center for Studying and Developing Jewish Culture (abbreviated MTS-IRK, 1988). Early 1988 saw the opening of the Solomon Mikhoels Jewish Culture Center and the Shalom Jewish Culture Center.

Efforts were undertaken to encourage the teaching and study of Jewish studies in the Soviet Union and, after 1991, in its successor, the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS). Seminars and conferences on Jewish history with the participation of foreign scholars were inaugurated in Moscow and elsewhere.

Jewish religious life ceased to be persecuted. In February 1989, at the initiative of the Israeli rabbi and scholar Adin Steinsaltz, a yeshivah, under the official name of the Center for the Study of Judaism, was established with the Academy of Sciences of the U.S.S.R. Other yeshivot and Torah-study groups sprang up in a number of cities. Among the teachers were a number of Lubavitch Ḥasidim from Israel, who had formerly been Soviet citizens.

Owing to the lack of trained rabbis, except in Moscow and Leningrad/St. Petersburg, some American rabbis began serving as the spiritual leaders of the main republic synagogues. The national-religious stream in Judaism was represented by Maḥanaim (Hebrew for "two camps"), which had centers in Moscow and Jerusalem. The Bnei Akiva Orthodox Jewish youth movement became active in several localities, and in April 1990, for the first time, a progressive (Reform) group, Ineni (Hebrew *Hineni* or "here I am") was registered in Moscow. Camp Ramah, of the Conservative movement, also began to operate. In 1990–1991 Jewish religious holidays were celebrated in public places, including the Palace of Congresses in the Kremlin! Starting in 1992, Russian television began broadcasting programs on basic tenets of Judaism. A number of synagogues confiscated under Stalin were returned to their communities. Nonetheless, it would still be premature to speak of a real religious revival. The majority of newly-observant Jews have been emigrating and the Jewish communities do not have the means to either refurbish or maintain their recently regained synagogues.

In connection with the emigration of many nationally oriented Jews, by early 1990 there had been a decline of interest in Jewish culture in the U.S.S.R. A number of Jewish periodicals had ceased appearing and fewer people attended lectures on Jewish history. Interest not only waned in the recently established libraries of the culture centers and synagogues, but those books in demand were increasingly limited to Hebrew study guides and material on *aliyah* and absorption in Israel. The growth in the number of Jewish organizations was accompanied by a decrease in the membership of each of them. At the same time the Jewish elite intelligentsia remained uninvolved in Jewish life.

Israeli and Western Jewish organizations initiated and supported local Jewish institutions and associations. Consequently, the period of amateurs passed – to be replaced by the growth of a significant group of professional Jewish activists directly or indirectly subsidized from abroad. In this environment of support from abroad organizations proliferated, sometimes duplicating existing ones and occasionally being even basically fictitious. In Moscow alone, in 1992 there were several hundred groups. Soviet Jewry, which lacked the experience of autonomous and self-supporting community life, was not able to support its own institutions on the basis of voluntary contributions. This factor lent a somewhat unstable character to the considerable activity that was indeed taking place.

At the same time, some Jewish organizations in Russia and the republics, first of all Vaad, were attempting to chart an independent course while simultaneously trying to gain influence in the international Jewish bodies which provide some of their financing. In May 1991 Vaad became a member of the World Jewish Congress and also had representatives at the Memorial Foundation for Jewish Culture based in New York. In June 1992 at the 32nd World Zionist Congress in Jerusalem, a Vaad delegation and the Zionist Federation of Russia demanded to be represented in all key bodies of the World Zionist Organization, which did not agree. There was also a conflict between Vaad and the Jewish Agency since the latter's goal for Soviet Jewry is maximum *aliyah*; Vaad was mainly interested in Jewish revival in Russia and would also have liked Jews who emigrate to be viewed as part of a Russian-Jewish cultural community rather than have them seen only as part of their new host communities, e.g., Israel and American Jewry.

EMIGRATION AND ALIYAH. The number of emigrants fell from 51,300 in 1979 to 1,320 in 1983. Then until 1986 the annual number of exit visas granted hovered around 1,000. Already in the banner year 1979 it was obvious that approximately two thirds of the emigrants preferred the United States to Israel as their destination. America automatically granted them the status of refugees persecuted on ethnic or religious grounds. The greater part of those who went directly to the U.S. without trying Israel came from the more assimilated regions of the RSFSR and the Ukraine; a small proportion came from the territories annexed by the Soviet Union during World War II and from non-Ashkenazi Jewish communities. Between 1983 and 1986 the proportion of those who went to the U.S. rather than Israel fluctuated between 59 and 78 percent. This situation was viewed with alarm by those Jewish activists within the Soviet Union who had fought for emigration under the banner of "repatriation" to Israel. The refusenik circles in Moscow and Leningrad then succeeded in somewhat lowering these two cities' proportion of "dropouts," as they were called by Israelis and Israel-oriented activists, in contrast to other centers of assimilation where pressure to consider *aliyah* was less effective.

In 1987 the number of Soviet Jews emigrating was nine times that of the previous year. In 1988 almost 17,000 Soviet Jews took advantage of the increased opportunity to emigrate directly to the U.S., Canada, Australia, and elsewhere rather than Israel.

Processes that increased under *perestroika*, such as the lack of basic commodities, environmental dangers, and the increase of overt antisemitism, encouraged almost everyone to consider emigration. The fact that the gates of emigration were open, combined with the fear that they might close again at any time, moved thousands of Jews from all over the country to leave. The number who emigrated between 1988 and 1990 rose dramatically. The vast majority chose to make their new homes elsewhere than in Israel. In this situation Israel demanded that those Jews who were leaving the Soviet Union on Israeli invitations go only to Israel and that the American government cease granting the status of refugees to Jews who were leaving the U.S.S.R. under the status of repatriates to Israel. After long negotiations on this issue, in October 1989 the American government introduced a quota on immigrants from the U.S.S.R. and ceased automatically granting refugee status to Israeli invitation holders. One result was the closing of the Italian transit camp at Ladispoli, the way station to the U.S. of a large number of Jews from the U.S.S.R. Another was the fundamental redirection of Soviet Jewish emigration. A more objective picture of Israel in the Soviet media and enthusiastic reports about Israel from Soviet tourists who visited that country also led to a sharp increase in the number of Jews emigrating to Israel. In 1990 over 185,000 Soviet Jewish emigrants went to Israel, establishing a record annual rate for immigration to Israel from a single country.

In late 1989 the rate of emigration had been limited by the capacity of Soviet OVIR offices, customs, and transportation facilities and by the rate of dispatch of visas from Israel. Bucharest and Budapest served as transit points. By the summer of 1990, the pressure somewhat declined as the process of sending Israeli visas was speeded up and additional routes to Israel were established via Poland, Czechoslovakia, Finland, and other European countries. These emergency measures considerably increased the flow despite attempts by the Palestine Liberation Organization to sabotage the Hungarian and Polish airlines and the refusal of the Soviet Union to allow direct flights to Israel. However, this last obstacle was removed with the normalization of diplomatic relations between Israel and the U.S.S.R. Direct flights were then inaugurated from Moscow, Leningrad, and some republic capitals to Israel.

In 1991–1992 word of the difficulties of absorption into Israeli life and the growing percentage of non-Jews included in the Jewish emigration as parts of mixed families once again turned a not insignificant proportion of the emigration toward the U.S., Germany, and other countries.

Among the immigrants to Israel, the median age increased annually while the number of children per family decreased. The percentage of non-Jews also increased. These features reflect demographic processes in the country of emigration. Serious problems in the absorption of these immigrants in Israel stem from two basic problems: the gap between their professional profiles and the needs of the Israel economy; the lack of Jewish traditions and knowledge among most of the immigrants.

[Michael Beizer]

In the Russian Federation

Russian Jewry faced a new reality after the breakup of the U.S.S.R. at the end of 1991 and the creation of the Russian Federation, where most of the Jews who remained in the former Soviet Union after the years of mass emigration would continue to live. From the outset, the policy of the Russian government became even more liberal. Direct flights were begun from Moscow and St. Petersburg (the former Leningrad) to Israel. The Russian government even agreed to allow the Jewish Agency to operate in the Soviet Union. In 1992 the vice president of Russia, Alexander Rutskoi, the chairman of the Russian parliament, Ruslan Khasbulatov, and former president of the Soviet Union, Mikhail Gorbachev, all visited Israel.

The 1993–94 period in Russia was characterized by a protracted economic crisis, rampant inflation, decreasing living standards, rising crime rate and political instability. The growing confrontation between the presidency and the conservative legislature led in October 1993 to President Yeltsin's order to dissolve parliament. The armed rebellion by supporters of the parliament was suppressed by forces loyal to the president; about 150 people were killed in the clashes. In the wake of the Parliament insurrection, 15 conservative and radical-right press organs were temporarily suspended by Yeltsin's order.

The parliamentary elections which were held in December 1993 unexpectedly brought an impressive victory to V. Zhirinovsky's Liberal Democratic Party of Russia. In 1991, Zhirinovsky, an aggressive nationalist and chauvinist, who had not been conspicuous before, obtained several million votes and finished third in the presidential election in which Yeltsin triumphed. In 1993 his LDPR captured the second-largest number of seats in the Duma, the lower house. The other big faction in the Duma comprised the Communists and the pro-Communist Agrarian Party. The victory of the hardliners marked a turn to a more conservative approach in government policy, both domestic and foreign.

In December 1994 Russian troops launched an offensive against rebel forces in the breakaway autonomous republic of Chechnya, in the northern Caucasus.

RELATIONS BETWEEN RUSSIA AND ISRAEL. After the dissolution of the U.S.S.R., Russia succeeded the Soviet Union in many matters concerning the Middle East. The former embassy of the U.S.S.R. in Israel, with Alexandr Bovin as ambassador, became the embassy of the Russian Federation.

Normal relations continued between the two countries during the 1992–93 period. Russian authorities did not hinder activities of Israeli organizations, nor of the Jewish Agency in Russia. Economic and scientific cooperation developed between Russia and Israel. Israeli Aircraft Industries and the Aerospace Design Office of Russia launched the joint project of the Galaxy plane. In December 1994, the first meeting of the Joint Russian-Israeli Commission on Scientific and Technical Cooperation took place in Moscow; a number of other joint projects were discussed, e.g., in such areas as telecommunication systems, medical technology, and environment protection.

In April 1994, Israel Prime Minister Yiẓḥak Rabin visited Moscow officially, and in the following years relations between the two countries remained friendly, with Prime Minister Ehud Barak visiting Moscow in 2000 and President Vladimir Putin visiting Israel in 2005. With Russia embroiled in largely Muslim Chechnya, its standing in the Arab world declined and it found itself aligned with Israel in the war against Arab terrorism. At the same time, Russian missile sales to Syria and aid to Iran's nuclear program were sources of friction between the two countries. Not insignificant in the close relations between the two countries was the existence of a kind of Russian diaspora of a million Russian Jews in Israel. Israeli exports to the Russian Federation were $319 million in 2004 while imports stood at $688 million (two thirds of this was in diamonds).

DEMOGRAPHY. The mass emigration begun in 1989 continued throughout the 1990s, only tailing off in 2002. Estimates based on the last three census returns for the area of the Russian Federation (see Tolts, 2004) show a decline in the "core" (self-declared) Jewish population from 570,000 in 1989 to 409,000 in 1994, and 254,000 in 2002. The figure further dropped to around 243,000 in 2004 (out of a total 395,000 for the former Soviet Union as a whole). In 2002, about half lived in the provinces, a third in Moscow, and a sixth in St. Petersburg. The overwhelming majority of Jews emigrating from the Russian Federation, as well as from the former Soviet Union as a whole, arrived in Israel, though the proportion of actual Jews among Russian emigrants to Israel dropped from 82 percent in 1992 to 43 percent in 2002, largely reflecting mixed marriages. By 2004 about half the "core" Jewish population of the former Soviet Union was living in Israel, a quarter in the FSU, and a quarter in other countries, mostly the United States and Germany.

THE REVIVAL OF JEWISH LIFE. For the Jews who remained behind, in the Russian Federation as well as in the former Soviet Union as a whole, the post-Communist period was one of organizational growth and diversification of Jewish life. The conception of Jewish life broadened; in a legal form, it started in 1989–91 as a cluster of "Jewish Culture Associations" and "Societies for Jewish Culture" in various cities throughout the U.S.S.R.; their aim was limited to the study and preservation of Jewish culture and history. By 1993–94 the network of the primary Jewish organizations in Russia included such bodies as: religious communities, social relief organizations, educational institutes, unions of Jewish war veterans and of the survivors of the Holocaust, research groups, Zionist organizations, branches of the Maccabi organizations, etc. There were, for example, 60 Jewish organizations in St. Petersburg alone in 1994, including: three religious communities – mainstream Orthodox, Chabad and Reform; the Jewish Association of St. Petersburg (JASP, playing the role of an umbrella organization); the Holocaust Research Group, affiliated to the JASP; the Ḥesed Avraham Welfare Center for the elderly; the Eva charity fund; the Children's Fund; local branches of Bnei Akiva, Maccabi and the International Association of Jewish businessmen; the Union of Jewish War Veterans; five day schools, four Sunday schools, four kindergartens and a Jewish university. The question of coordinating their activities was urgent.

There continued to be a cleavage between the organizations aiming to revive diversified Jewish community life in Russia, and the *aliyah*-oriented organizations, which regarded reviving the non-Zionist community as useless and even harmful. The first type of organization was supported by the Joint Distribution Committee (JDC) and, organizationally, by the World Jewish Congress (WJC); the latter by the World Zionist Organization (WZO). The majority of the Jewish organizations set up in Russia in the 1990s have been nonreligious. The head of the Moscow Jewish Religious Community, Vladimir Fedorovsky, complained in an interview to *Mezhdunarodnaia evreiskaia gazeta* in 1993 that the synagogue had ceased to be the center of Jewish life; Jews of Moscow preferred organizations oriented toward Israel and *aliyah*.

The leading body of Russian Jewry was the Council of Jewish Cultural Organizations (Vaad), which was established in April 1992, after the dissolution of the Soviet Union, to succeed the Vaad of the U.S.S.R. Mikhail Chlenov, the former head of the all-Union Vaad, became its chairman, with Roman Spektor as deputy. The Vaad was recognized by the World Jewish Congress; in 1993 its delegation participated in the meeting of the Congress in Washington, together with the representatives of the Ukraine, Belarus, Moldova, Georgia and Uzbekistan; it was the first case in which Russian Jewry and the Jewries of other former Soviet republics were represented at such an assembly. The Eurasian section of the WJC, embracing the Jewish organizations of the CIS, was formed, and Chlenov became its chairman.

Another umbrella organization was set up in February 1993 at the first Congress of Jewish Communities and Organizations in Russia whose purpose was to unite communities of different directions, both Orthodox and liberal. The newly formed body was named the Congress of Jewish Religious Communities and Organizations in Russia (KEROOR; in 1994 its name was shortened to the Congress of Jewish Communities in Russia) and Vladimir Fedorovsky became its president.

An internal split in the Vaad emerged in 1993 and became open in 1994. The conflict flared up over the issue of the structure of the Vaad – whether it should be a federation of Jewish organizations throughout Russia, or of regional federations of Jewish organizations which should be set up, whose supreme coordinating organ would be the Vaad. The roots of the conflict were in fact much deeper; it marked a discontent between the old leadership which depended financially and organizationally on the support of Israel and Western Jewish organizations, and new leaders, businessmen, who partially subsidized Jewish activities in Russia and wanted to influence the Vaad. Besides, unlike the old leaders, who had been political dissidents in the Soviet period and based the Vaad on the pre-1990s underground Jewish network, some of these new leaders had had some administrative experience, and some had even been nominees of the Soviet authorities of 1989–91, and hence had better relations with the authorities in 1993–94.

At the beginning of 1993, there were 32 Jewish communities in Russia. Restitution of synagogues confiscated by the authorities in the Soviet period continued. The network of Jewish education in Russia also grew; seminars and courses for teachers were conducted in Moscow, St. Petersburg, and elsewhere. By the early 21st century, Russia had 17 Jewish day schools, 11 preschools, and 81 supplementary schools with about 7,000 students, as well as four Jewish universities (see below). Chabad had stepped up its presence and made a significant contribution to rebuilding Jewish religious life. In 1998 Russia became part of the newly established Federation of Jewish Communities uniting 15 countries of the former Soviet Union and aiming to revitalize Jewish life, culture, and religion. Berel Lazar of Chabad was chief rabbi of Russia and chairman of the Rabbinical Alliance, founded in 1992 to spearhead religious life in the former Soviet Union. Chabad also founded the Association of Jewish Public Organizations in 2002 as a rival to the Conference of Leaders of Jewish Organizations, affiliated with the Russian Jewish Congress.

THE JEWISH PRESS. At the beginning of the 1980s, the total legal Jewish press in the U.S.S.R. amounted to two publications in Yiddish: the Moscow Jewish monthly journal *Sovetish Heymland* and the Birobidzhan newspaper *Birobidzhaner Shtern*, plus an annual in the Judeo-Tat language, *Vata Sovetimu*. Issued in languages not understood by the majority of Soviet Jews and consisting largely of propaganda, the existence of these publications was intended to demonstrate that "Jewish culture" was permitted in the Soviet Union.

Attempts in refusenik circles to establish illegal publications were strictly repressed and led to the gradual curtailment of all Jewish *samizdat* publishing. *Evrei v SSSR* ("Jews in the U.S.S.R.," Moscow) ceased publication in 1979, *Nash ivrit* ("Our Hebrew," Moscow) in 1980, *Din umetsiiut* ("Justice and Reality," Riga) in 1980, *Evrei sovremennon mire* ("Jews in the Contemporary World," Moscow) in 1981. The Riga journal *Chaim*, which appeared irregularly starting in 1979, could not fill the vacuum due to its minuscule print run and its distance from the main Jewish centers. An exception was *Leningradskii evreiskii almanakh* ("Leningrad Jewish Almanac," abbreviated LEA) which first came out in late 1982, at the height of the repressions, and succeeded in appearing regularly from 1984 to 1989. This publication focused on cultural and historical articles written by Leningrad refuseniks. Due to the size of its print run (up to 200, which was large for a *samizdat* publication) and its effective system of distribution, LEA succeeded in reaching distant corners of the country and in demonstrating the need for an independent Jewish press.

Change came with the beginning of the general liberalization in the country. In 1987–1988 several Moscow *samizdat* journals appeared. There were *Evreiskii istoricheskii almankah* ("Jewish Historical Almanac") and *Shalom* with their cultural orientation, and several publications dealing with such topics as *aliyah* and absorption in Israel: *Informatsionnyi biulleten po problemam repatriatsii i evreiskoi kultury* ("Information Bulletin of Problems of Repatriation and Jewish Culture"), *Paneninu le-Israel* ("Looking towards Israel"), and *Problemy otkaza v vyezde iz strany* ("Problems of Refusal Regarding Exit from the Country").

There was also a revolution in terms of the technology of publication. While the first illegal publications were typed in multiple copies (occasionally copies were made via photography), the *samizdat* publications of the transitional period were produced on personal computers from abroad and photocopied so that print runs were dramatically increased. Several publications were printed in Israel and sent back to the Soviet Union for distribution. In December 1988 the first legally permitted independent Jewish newspaper, *Khash-akhar*, was issued in Tallinn by the local Jewish culture association. This publication was typeset and appeared not only in Estonian, but also in Russian, which made it accessible to almost all of Soviet Jewry. Its print run was over 1,000 and it soon gained a reputation throughout the country.

In Moscow in April 1989 the authorities launched the semiofficial *Vestnkik evreiskoi sovetskoi kultury* ("Herald of Soviet Jewish Culture," abbreviated VESK) in an attempt to compete with the independent Jewish press. After a year which saw a change of editor and of name – to *Evreiskaia gazeta* ("Jewish Newspaper") – this publication gained more of an independent status.

In Riga in March 1990, there appeared *Vestnik evreiskoi kultury* ("Herald of Jewish Culture," VEK). In 1990 Jewish newspapers in Russian with real Jewish content began to appear in Kiev (*Vozrozhdenie*, "Revival"), Leningrad (*Narod moi*, "My People"), Kishinev (*Nash golos*, "Our Voice"), Tashkent (*Mizrakh*, "Orient"), Moscow (*Menora*), Vilnius (*Litovskii Ierusalim*, "Jerusalem of Lithuania"), and elsewhere. These newspapers all gained legal status while those which were issued without permission ceased being persecuted. Thus the distinction between *samizdat* and permitted publications was erased.

Sovetish Heymland softened its hard-line policy and began to publish more cultural and historical material. In 1990–1991 the former editor of *Birobidzhaner Shtern*, Leonid Shkolnik, began the independent newspaper *Vzgliad* ("View"), which included many items of Jewish interest.

The geographical distribution and sharply increased print runs, the increased scope of topics treated, and the widely understood Russian language of the majority of publications have made the new Jewish press a significant factor in the formation of Jewish national consciousness and a source of elementary Jewish knowledge for many thousands of people. The press has also become a source of information about emigration and *aliyah*, and both a mirror and monitor of Jewish life in the country. The very fact of the legalization of the Jewish press has made a deep impression on the average Jews who saw that it was no longer necessary to fear public expression of Jewish life.

However, there is also a negative side to the picture. A number of Jewish periodicals ceased publication after their first issues. Few managed to appear more frequently than once a month and the promised periodicity was often not maintained. The professional level of the Jewish press was frequently low. Articles on Jewish culture and history were often reprints or translations from abroad. Factual errors reflecting a lack of basic knowledge of Jewish traditions, Jewish history, and Hebrew among both authors and editors appeared in many articles. These problems stemmed from the lack of publishing experience of those involved, the lack of qualified authors with some Jewish expertise, the difficulties of publication in the Soviet Union, and the considerable turnover of staff as active members of Jewish culture associations often emigrated.

In 1989 the Jewish press consisted of at least 30 publications; more than half of these appeared in Russia, the majority of them in Moscow. Over the following three years, due to the growing role of the Jewish press in the Ukraine, the undisputed dominance of Russia declined while Moscow continued to dominate the scene in Russia. Late 1991 saw the demise of *Sovetish Heymland.* In the same year, at least 50 Jewish newspapers and journals appeared, with at least one in practically every republic and some in cities in the hinterland. The Jewish press of the CIS represents a whole range of religious and political orientations, with Israeli and Western organizations sometimes supporting publications which favor their policies. This latter factor suggests some doubts not only about the spontaneity of the Jewish publication boom as well as its actual scope but also about its future.

By 1990–91 there were 47 periodicals published in Russia (among them, 26 in Moscow). In 1992–93 their number shrank to 28 (17 in Moscow). This decline may be attributed to the large-scale emigration of Russian Jews, and to growing economic hardships accompanied by a sharp rise in publishing costs. Only those publications had a chance to survive which received financial support from abroad – either from Israel, or from Diaspora, mainly North American, Jewish organizations.

The most influential and widely circulating Jewish newspaper in Russia was *Mezhdunarodnaia evreiskaia gazeta* ("The International Jewish Newspaper"), the successor of VESK (see above), which made efforts to mirror not only Russian-Jewish life, but also Jewish life in the entire area of the former Soviet Union. The paper was published in Moscow, twice a month, by Tankred Golenpolskii and Eliezer Feldman. The most popular Jewish newspaper in St. Petersburg continued to be *Narod moi – Ami*, published by the Jewish Association of St. Petersburg, also twice a month. In the northern Caucasus region, the most conspicuous newspaper was *Vatan-Rodina* ("The Homeland"), published twice a week by Mikhail Gavrielov in Derbent, Daghestan, in Judeo-Tat (the language of the Mountain Jews) and Russian. Among other relatively widely circulating newspapers were: *Tarbut* ("Culture," in Samara, formerly Kuibyshev), *Stern-Zvezda* ("The Star," in Ekaterinburg, formerly Sverdlovsk), and from July 1993 on, *Gazeta evreev Severnovo Kavkaza* ("The Newspaper of the Jews in the North Caucasus," Nalchik, Karbardino-Balkaria). The *Birobidzhaner Shtern* ("The Birobidzhan Star") continued to be published in Yiddish and Russian in the Jewish Autonomous Region. The magazine *Sovetish Heymland* in 1993 changed its title to *Di Yiddishe Gass* ("The Jewish Street") and continued to appear in Russian and Yiddish. Papers were published by Jewish organizations abroad e.g., *Rodnik* ("The

Spring," or "Source," by the World Union of Progressive Judaism), *Lekhaim* ("To Life," by the international Jewish organization Chabad-Lubavitch), and several papers, by the Jewish Agency. Jewish newspapers were also issued in Briansk, Novosibirsk, and Perm. Two academic Jewish journals were published: *Vestnik Evreiskovo Universiteta v Moskve* ("Herald of the Moscow Jewish University"), from 1992 on, and *Vreiskaia Shkola* ("Jewish School"), issued by the St. Petersburg University, both supported by the JDC.

ACADEMIC LIFE. One of the most remarkable developments in Russia (as well as in some other countries of the CIS) in the field of Jewish life was the emerging and broadening of Jewish higher education and Jewish studies.The Moscow Jewish University has been functioning since 1991; in 1993 it gained official status, i.e., the right to give officially recognized university degrees to its graduates. In 1990, the St. Petersburg Jewish University was established; in 1994 it gained the right to give degrees in philology. Departments of Jewish Studies were opened in some old established universities: courses in Judaic studies were established at Moscow State University in 1993; the School for the Comparative Study of Religions, including Judaism, was set up in the Russian State Humanitarian University in Moscow.

ANTISEMITISM AND THE JEWISH QUESTION. During the years of *perestroika,* covert but effective state and bureaucratic antisemitism gradually declined while there was a rise in grass-roots anti-Jewish trends. The protracted economic crisis and weakening of the central authority produced populist spokesmen who found it easier to cast blame for all the failures of the country, past and present, on various ethnic groups, especially the Jews, than to offer practical solutions for the dire straits of the country. One factor feeding antisemitism was envy stemming from the reality that Jews could emigrate while for Russians this way out was basically barred. Further oil on the flame was the fact that Jews could now visit relatives abroad and receive material aid from them.

With *glasnost* Soviet Jewry began encountering overt antisemitism in the press and on television, in the pamphlets of political parties, in conversations at work places, on the street and on public transport. Antisemitic parties and organizations sprang up like mushrooms. These included: Pamiat (Memory), Rossy (the [Original] Russians), Patriot, Rodina (Homeland), Otechestvo (Fatherland), Nationalnodemokraticheskaia partiia (National Democratic Party), Russkii nationalno-patrioticheskii tsentr (the Russian National Patriotic Center), Soius russikh ofitserov (the Union of Russian Officers), and Republikanskaia narodnaia partiia Rossii (the Republic People's Party of Russia). The year 1989 saw the establishment of the neo-Communist movement Obediennyi front trudiashchikhsia R.S.F.S.R. (the United Front of the Workers of the R.S.F.S.R.) and in 1991 its spinoff, Rossiiskaia kommunisticheskaia rabochaia partiia (the Russian Communist Workers' Party), which espoused antisemitism as an organic part of their ideology. About this time Vladimir Zhirinovskii became leader of the rightist populist group which called itself Liberalno-demokraticheskaia partiia Rossii (the Liberal Democratic Party of Russia).

The Pamiat Association, originally a conservative movement concerned about the preservation of Russia's past and its environment, became more nationalistic in 1984 when its leadership was taken over by photographer Dmitrii Vasilev. The movement gained notoriety when it blamed Jews for the destruction of Russian churches, and for the serious problem of alcoholism in the country. Originally the authorities did not object to Pamiat's activities and even supported them. In May 1987 Boris Yeltsin, then first secretary of the Moscow city committee of the CPSU, received representatives of Pamiat after a demonstration it staged on Manezh Square. On May 31, 1988, Vasilev announced the transformation of the association into Nationalno-patrioticheskii front "Pamiat" (Pamiat: the National Patriotic Front), i.e., a political organization in opposition to the Communist Party. Between 1989 and the early 1990s, Pamiat split into several groups, the most extreme of which, Pravoslavnyi nationalnopatrioticheskii front "Pamiat" (Pamiat Orthodox National Patriotic Front), headed by A. Kulakov, espoused restoration of the monarchy while simultaneously expounding the necessity of continuing Stalin's antisemitic policy.

Antisemitism has not been confined to words. Acts of vandalism have been directed against Jewish targets. In April 1987 the Leningrad Jewish cemetery was desecrated and in the following two years approximately 30 such incidents were recorded in the U.S.S.R. In Moscow attacks were carried out against a Jewish cafe and the editorial offices of *Sovetish Heymland* and arson was committed at the synagogue by the cemetery in Malakhovka. In 1992 a swastika was painted on the Moscow Lubavitch Ḥasidic synagogue and a firebomb was thrown into the building.

Leningrad, the home of a number of antisemitic organizations, became the center of antisemitism in 1988–1990. It was a teacher at the Leningrad Technological Institute, Nina Andreeva who, evidently on orders from the central Committee of the CPSU, on March 13, 1988, published a letter, "I Can Not Yield My Principles," calling for the rehabilitation of Stalin and the restoration of the kind of law and order that existed before *perestroika.* In her letter Andreeva attacked the Jews as "cosmopolitans" and a "counterrevolutionary people," who were pushing the Russian people toward a rejection of socialism. In the summer of 1988 Leningrad's Ruminatsev Park was the daily site of Pamiat rallies. The city also regularly heard calls to expel Jews from Russian scientific, cultural, and educational institutions.

In nationalist journals such as *Molodaia gvardiia* ("Young Guard") and *Nash sovremennik* ("Our Contemporary"), a group of Moscow writers and journalists, the neo-Slavophiles Valentin Rasputin, Vasillii Belov, Victor Astafev, and Vadim Kozhinov, utilized the traditionally high status of the writer in Russian society to protest ostensibly harmful Jewish influence on Russian culture. For example, they condemned the 1989 publication in the journal *Oktober* of the novella *Vse techet* ("All Is Flowing") by the late writer of Jewish origin Vasili *Grossman, in which the Russian people is allegedly described as having a slave mentality. The January 1990 issue of *Molodaia gvardiia* contained praise of a painting, *The Warning* by Igor Borodin, which the journal claims shows an image of the biblical queen Esther who "after gaining power of the king in his bedroom, and also by clever machinations…urged [King] Artarxerxes to commit the bloody slaughter of 75,000 totally innocent people when there was no threat at all to the Jewish people." The painting (reproduced in the journal) shows Esther on her knees before the czar while under the throne are visible bloodied heads of famous figures of Russian and world culture and history. In 1992 *Evreiskaia gazaeta* reported the existence of 47 antisemitic newspapers and 9 such journals in Russia alone.

Some scientists also denigrated the Jews. Writing appeared denying Jewish contributions to science. A particular target was Albert Einstein, whose discoveries were consistently attributed to others, as in the 1988 monograph of Prof. A. Logunov about Henri Poincaré. The mathematician Igor Shafarevich published a book *Rusofobia* ("Russophobia"), in which a "small people" (for which read "the Jews") was blamed for all the troubles of a "great people," the Russians. In 1992 antisemitism among scientists was revealed in elections to the Russian Academy of Sciences. None of the Jews nominated to become members of the academy was elected, in contrast to the election of a number of Jews during the pre-Gorbachev "period of stagnation."

A significant indication of antisemitic attitudes between 1988 and 1990 was the repeated circulation of rumors about impending pogroms. The first such large-scale pogrom was predicted for June 1988 to coincide with the thousandth anniversary of the baptism of Russia. There were similar rumors in Dnepropetrovsk and other cities in the Ukraine before Easter 1989 and in Leningrad on the eve of elections to local and republic soviets on February 25, 1990. There were rumors of another pogrom set for May 5, 1990, the day of St. George, the patron saint for many nationalists. In that same month a Muslim mob burned and looted dozens of Armenian and Jewish homes in the Uzbek city of Andizhan. Although no exclusively Jewish pogrom took place, the number of reported attacks on individual Jews grew. Soviet Jews lacked confidence in the ability of the authorities to defend them in the face of failures to prevent or halt interethnic conflict in the republics or to halt the rise in crime in Russia itself.

At the same time that the Jewish population of the country was decreasing due to emigration, the Jewish question increasingly became an issue in the internal Soviet power struggle. In pre-election campaigns, the democratic press often indicated its sympathy for the Jews and stressed the antisemitism of their political opponents while Russian nationalists often branded as "Jews" anyone who advocated radical reform, the introduction of a market economy, or civil rights. These "Jews" in fact included such non-Jews as Politburo member Alexander Yakovlev; radical opposition leader in the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R., Yurii Afanasev; editor of the *perestroika-oriented* journal *Ogonek*, Vitalii Korotych; and even Boris Yeltsin.

Lithuanian, Ukrainian, and other nationalists saw the Jews in their republics as possible allies in their fight for self-determination against the central authorities and their local Jewish culture movements as forces opposing Russification. On May 28, 1989, a conference of the national movements of Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia adopted a resolution condemning Soviet antisemitism in the past and present and calling for opposition to it. A similar resolution was adopted at its founding meeting in September 1989 by Rukh, the democratic national movement in the Ukraine.

The growing antisemitism disturbed the liberal part of the Russian intelligentsia, which saw in it a threat to the overall process of democratization in the country. The "pogromlike" atmosphere was first protested in an open letter by a group of Moscow intellectuals led by the philologist Sergei Lyosov and the physicist Sergei Tishchenko. Almost simultaneously (on June 7) the Leningrad historian Natalia Iukhneva spoke out in public about increasing antisemitism in Russian society. She associated this growth with the unequal position of Jews and Jewish culture in the U.S.S.R. and rejected as false and unjust the attempt to condemn Zionism along with antisemitism. Gradually articles against antisemitism began to be featured in many *perestroika-oriented* journals and newspapers. Some publications even took a positive rather than defensive approach to Jewish topics. For example, the Moscow journal *Znamia* in 1990–1991 published a whole series of articles on Jewish topics, including a translation of the story "Unto Death" by the Israeli writer Amos Oz. Public opinion also had the opportunity to be influenced by the first objective film on Israel shot *in situ* by Evgenii Kiselev and shown on Soviet television between August and October 1989. Due to the cessation of government funding for "anti-Zionist" works, a number of their authors, such as Dadiani, Vladimir Nosenko, Victor Magidson, and Adolf Eidelman, switched camps and became opponents of antisemitism, perhaps with the hope of support from Israeli and Western Jewish institutions.

The victory of democratic forces in the elections of local soviets in March 1990 led to the mobilization of law enforcement agencies against antisemitic agitation. For the first time in decades, the state prosecutor's office prosecuted antisemitic actions under article 174 of the Criminal Court of the RFSFR, which deals with the incitement of ethnic strife. The sentencing to a jail term of Pamiat leader Smirnov-Ostashvili (who committed suicide in prison) was viewed as a victory for democracy in the country. Public opinion was favorably influenced toward the Jews in August 1991 when one of the three victims killed defending democracy against the attempted coup turned out to be the young Jew Ilya Krichevskii. The fall 1991 repeal (supported by the Soviet Union) of the UN resolution equating Zionism with racism also was a factor in deflating antisemitic propaganda.

In November 1992, almost a year after the dissolution of the Soviet Union, the committee on human rights of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation inaugurated hearings on the problem of antisemitism in Russia. The committee concluded that there was a decline in antisemitic attitudes in Russian society in 1991–1992 and that antisemitic activity was basically restricted to extremist groups and parties. At the same time, legislative measures were discussed which, without infringing upon freedom of speech and the press, would stipulate punishment for arousing ethnic hatred. Antisemitism was increasingly being treated in Russia as not only a Jewish problem.

Though official, state antisemitism had virtually disappeared in post-Soviet Russia, it was adopted by numerous radical right parties and organizations, the greatest and most influential of which had now become the LDPR. Its leader, Vladimir Zhirinovsky, who allegedly had a Jewish father and in 1989, for a short time, was a legal advisor of the Jewish Cultural Association Shalom (allegations he denied in the 1990s), claimed he was not an antisemite. Nevertheless, after the December election of 1993 he made a number of harshly antisemitic statements, some of them in a characteristically anti-Zionist guise. On March 4, 1994, he told *Die Zeit*: "Why are the Zionists so bad? … Because they weaken Russia. The American Jews make America strong but the Russian Jews make Russia weak. They do this so that they can leave for Israel … Our greatest problems are the Americans and the Zionists." In November, during a visit to the United States, Zhirinovsky told the UN Correspondents' Association that "the majority of journalists who welcomed the [collapse of the Soviet Union] joyously are of Jewish nationality"and that new businesses in Russia were "headed by Jews and a lot of the population understand that most of the money in these banks and structures is dirty money." On October 21 he said in a speech to the parliament: "I tell the whole world: It is you from Tel Aviv and Washington who are doing everything bad that is happening to us."

Besides this big party, there are many small antisemitic parties and movements filling a spectrum between Russian-Orthodox conservative to neopagan, and from National Communist groups to Nazis. According to various estimates, there were c. 80–100 such organizations at the end of 1993. Some of them, e.g., the neo-Nazi Russian National Unity led by Aleksandr Barkashov (its members wear black uniforms with the swastika emblem), sought contacts and cooperation with similar neo-Nazi groups in Germany and other western countries. The specter of a "red-brown" alliance, i.e., between hardline communists and neo-Nazis, with viciously antisemitic slogans and aims, began to appear.

The most conspicuous antisemitic parties and organizations, apart from the LDPR and Barkashov's RNU, continued to be Pamiat, led by Dmitrii Vasiliev (see above), the imperialist National Salvation Front, the Russian National Council, led by the former KGB general Alexandr Sterligov, the St. Petersburg-based National Republican Party of Russia, led by Nikolai Lysenko, the neo-Communist Working Russia, led by Viktor Anpilov, and the quasi-Communist National Bolshevik Union, led by the writer Eduard Limonov.

The radical right and conservative press thrived. Some of the former Soviet official newspapers, such as *Pravda, Sovetskaia Rossiia* and *Literaturnaia Rossiia*, turned into conservative nationalist papers; the latter two devote considerable place to antisemitic articles, including the so-called "Zionist conspiracy against Russia." However, in May 1993, *Pravda* also published an article entitled "The satanic tribe – who is hiding behind the murder of novices?" which claimed that a Russian Orthodox priest and two novices who were killed during the Easter holiday had been the victims of a ritual murder. The article was denounced by the pro-Yeltsin newspaper *Izvestiia* and condemned by both the Russian and the U.S. governments; *Pravda* published an apology blaming the author of the article for inaccuracies.

In addition to these old established, relatively mass-circulation newspapers, numerous fringe newspapers, small with small circulations, but some with considerable ones, appeared. They are more openly antisemitic. Among the most prominent, *Den/Zavtra* may be mentioned. The paper was founded in 1992 under the title *Den* and edited by the novelist Aleksandr Prokhanov, one of the leaders of the National Salvation Front; in 1993, after it was banned by Yeltsin, in the wake of the Parliament insurrection, it changed its name to *Zavtra*. The second conspicuous antisemitic paper was *Al-Quds*, established in 1992 by a Palestinian businessman and self-proclaimed head of the "Palestinian Government in Exile," Shaaban Khafez Shaaban. *Al-Quds* specialized in publishing materials alleging a Zionist conspiracy against Russia and the Palestinian people. In late 1994 the paper was closed down by the authorities.

Following the Parliament insurrection in 1993, there were a number of anti-Yeltsin demonstrations and rallies, many of them with overtly antisemitic slogans. On November 7, 1994, in Moscow, on the 77th anniversary of the Russian October Revolution, a 15,000-strong rally of Communists was held in Lubyanka Square; some of the anti-government banners contained slogans attacking Jews, Zionists and the "Kike-Masonic conspiracy." On October 3, on the anniversary of the events of 1993, there was also a demonstration in St. Petersburg, at which anti-Jewish banners were displayed.

Russian antisemites did not limit themselves to rallies and demonstrations. There were numerous antisemitic incidents; e.g., in May 1993 Jewish cemeteries in St. Petersburg and Nizhni Novgorod were desecrated; in June, windows were broken and swastikas and anti-Jewish slogans daubed on the Moscow Choral Synagogue; in July the attack on the synagogue was repeated. In December the synagogue in Marina Roshcha district in Moscow was badly damaged in a fire. In 1994, Jewish cemeteries were desecrated in St. Petersburg (where 160 gravestones were desecrated), in Novosibirsk, Krasnoyarsk, Smolensk, Kazan, Klintsy, Briansk region, and Nizhni Novgorod. Several cases of racially motivated attacks on Jews were registered. On February 16, 1994, a firebomb was thrown into the office of the Committee for Repatriation to Israel in Novosibirsk; the office and adjoining library were badly damaged in the ensuing fire. In February, following the massacre of Muslims by a Jewish settler in a Hebron mosque, threats were made against the Jewish community and against the Derbent synagogue, in Daghestan. Also, there was street violence in Makhachkala, and on the local television the sheikh of Daghestan called for a jihad against the Jews. Numerous books of antisemitic content were published and an opinion survey of 1993 carried out by Robert Brym with the assistance of the All-Russian Center for Public Opinion Research (VTSIOM), and covering also Ukraine and Belarus, revealed antisemitic perceptions, strong by North American standards. In Moscow, negative attitudes toward Jews were more widespread among older people, low-income earners and non-Russians. Eighteen percent of Muscovites believed that there existed a global "Zionist conspiracy" against Russia, and another 20 percent were undecided.

An added ingredient in the continued antisemitism that remained part of Russian life was the emergence of the so-called oligarchs, who divided up Russia's wealth and gained control of its media after the breakup of the Soviet Union. The Jews among them, most prominently Mikhail *Khodorkovsky, Roman *Abramovitch, Vladimir *Gusinsky, Boris *Berezovsky, and Leonid *Nevzlin, are perceived as having been targeted by the Russian authorities for prosecution for various economic crimes against the background of their Jewish origins.

[Michael Beizer / Daniel Romanowski (2nd ed.)]

For information on the countries of the Former Soviet Union, see entries for individual countries.

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RUSSIAN LITERATURE.

Biblical and Hebraic Influences

The Jewish impact on Russian literature may be traced back 900 years to the period when that body of writing was still the common patrimony of a people that was to emerge later as three distinct East Slavic ethnic groups: the Russians, the Ukrainians, and the Belorussians, each with its separate language and, ultimately, its own literature. The 11th-century "Primary Chronicle," of which 13th-century transcriptions are extant, begins with an account of the biblical story of the Tower of Babel. Equally ancient is the 11th-century translation of *Josephus' *Jewish War* into East Slavic, although the original translation was later supplemented by newer versions. Not only was Josephus' work extremely popular in Russia throughout the Middle Ages, but for several centuries his style and imagery continued to exert a powerful influence on original Russian literary works, particularly martial tales. In 1106–08 the abbot Daniel made a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, and his account of the journey, extant in 15th-century transcriptions, contains a number of interesting descriptions of Jerusalem and its surroundings.

Polemical attacks on Judaism as a creed antedate the appearance in Russia of any sizable Jewish population. Thus the metropolitan Ilarion, in his *Slovo o zakone i blagodati* ("Sermon on Law and Grace," written 1037–50), attacks Judaism for its alleged lack of Divine grace, a stock claim of Christian theologians over the centuries. It is likely that the metropolitan's attack was prompted by fear of the *Khazars, then Kiev's neighbors and rivals, among whose ruling class Judaism was widely professed. In a popular 12th-century tale, "The Virgin's Road Through Torments," Mary intercedes on behalf of various sinners whom she encounters on her journey through Hell. Only for the Jews can she find no compassion, since they are the alleged murderers of her son. In this doctrine, too, Russian Orthodoxy did not differ from Western European Christianity.

Judaism's theological threat to Russian Christianity became somewhat more real in the 15th century, with the appearance in the cities of Novgorod and Moscow of a heresy whose adherents were dubbed "*Judaizers" (*Zhidovstvuyushchiye*). Because most of their works were destroyed by the Church, little is known about these heretics other than their skepticism with regard to several articles of Christian faith, including the Trinity and Virgin Birth, and their high regard for the Old Testament, the importance of which Russian Orthodoxy has traditionally minimized. Russia's "Judaizers" translated anew from Hebrew sources (and not, as had been customary, from existing Greek translations) a number of biblical texts, particularly the Psalms and the books of Daniel and Esther. They were also the first to translate a treatise on logic by *Maimonides. Some Russian church historians maintain rather unconvincingly that these translations were made by Jews such as Feodor the Jew for coreligionists who no longer knew Hebrew. Among the best-known works of apocryphal literature was the "Tale of the Centaur," extant in a 15th-century text, which was based on an ancient Jewish story about Solomon building the Temple without recourse to iron.

During the 16th century certain Western European anti-Jewish philippics were translated from Latin into Russian, notably works by *Nicholas de Lyre and by an apostate known as Samuel the Jew. In the following century Old Testament authority and biblical imagery were frequently invoked by opponents of the official Church. An outstanding example was the archpriest Avvakuma (1621–1682), founder of the Old Believers' sect, whose autobiography, *Zhitiye protopopa Avvakuma* (written 1672–75) is a milestone in the development of the modern Russian literary language.

BIBLICAL DRAMA AND POETRY. The first Russian theatrical performance, which took place in Moscow in 1672, was a German stage adaptation of the Book of Esther. Early plays on biblical themes for the Moscow repertories were written by Semyon Polotski and a German Lutheran pastor, Johann Gottfried Grigori, the author of a morality play on Adam and Eve, and there were also adaptations of the stories of Judith, Daniel, and David and Goliath. Conventional imagery and allusions drawn from the Bible are as characteristic of later Russian literature as they are of other literatures, and biblical motifs regularly occurred in the works of Russian authors of the 19th century. Such was the case with the magnificent statement of the poet's mission in "Prorok" ("The Prophet," 1826) by Alexander Pushkin (1799–1837). Among later, prerevolutionary writers, Leonid Nikolayevich Andreyev (1871–1919) wrote a drama about Samson (*Samson v okovakh*, 1925; *Samson in Chains*, 1923), and Alexander Ivanovich Kuprin (1870–1938) published *Sulamif* (1908; Eng. tr. *Sulamith*, 1923), a stylized romance about Solomon. Their Jewish contemporary, Akim Lvovich *Volynski, wrote a critical study of the Bible in Russian poetry.

The last prerevolutionary decade was marked by an upsurge of interest in both biblical and modern Hebrew literature. Interest in the latter was heightened by the fact that many of the founding fathers of the new Hebrew writing, preeminently *Bialik, were Russian Jews then still living in Russia. V. *Jabotinsky translated Bialik into Russian, and Bialik thus gained wide appreciation both among writers (e.g., Gorki) and among the public. Among the translators and popularizers of modern Hebrew verse at the turn of the century were such eminent Russian symbolist poets as Valeri Bryusov (1873–1924) and Feodor Sologub (1863–1927); of a slightly later vintage was the émigré poet, the half-Jew Vladislav *Khodasevich. A journey to Palestine inspired some poetry by another émigré, Ivan Bunin (1870–1953).

After the Bolshevik Revolution biblical works naturally fell into disfavor, but it is significant that two Jewish writers of the post-Stalin era turned to the Bible for themes expressive of their spirit of protest. Semyon Isaakovich *Kirsanov, who had published a poem entitled "*Edem*" ("Paradise") in the late 1940s, wrote "*Sem dney nedeli*" ("Seven Days of the Week," 1957), an anti-materialist narrative poem based on the Creation story; while Yosif *Brodski, a prime target of Soviet antisemitism, also wrote a long narrative poem entitled "*Isaak i Avraam*" ("Isaac and Abraham"), which, like his other original works, had to be published in the West (in *Stikhotvoreniya i poemy*, 1965).

The Image of the Jew

Although one of the stock characters of the *Vertep* puppet show – Russia's oldest form of theater – was a grotesque caricature of a greedy and cowardly Jew, there were very few Jewish motifs in Russian literature during the 18th century. One reason for this may be the fact that the Jews lived in areas to the west with which Russian writers, mostly from central Russia, were unfamiliar. Another is that Russian writing of the period rarely featured anyone who was not an aristocrat. To a lesser extent this was also true of Russian literature of the first half of the 19th century, despite the sudden increase in Russia's Jewish population after the annexation of former Polish territories following that country's partitions at the end of the 18th century.

THE ANTISEMITIC STEREOTYPE. Biblical portraits gradually gave way to a stylized, romantic portrayal of the Jew reminiscent of the Jews in Sir Walter Scott's *Ivanhoe*, but familiar since *Shakespeare's *Merchant of Venice*. An antisemitic stereotype tempered by courtly gallantry, the Russian figure was normally an incongruous combination of an ugly and repugnant Jewish father (more often than not a greedy usurer and hater of Christians) and his beautiful daughter. A noteworthy example may be found in *Ispantsy* ("The Spaniards," 1830), an early drama by Russia's foremost Byronic poet, Mikhail Lermontov (1814–1841), which portrays hapless lovers against the background of the Inquisition. Ivan Turgenev (1818–1883) was no romantic, but his realistic short story *Zhid* (1847; *The Jew…*, 1899) exudes the familiar blend of human compassion and aristocratic disgust with a Jew about to be executed on suspicion of espionage. Turgenev's portrayal of the Jew, which sharply contrasts with his humane understanding of the plight of the Russian peasant, is not unlike that found in *Taras Bulba* (1842), a novella by Nikolai Gogol (1809–1852), who both as a man and a writer was otherwise very different from the Westernized and liberal Turgenev. In Gogol's short novel, set during the 17th-century Polish-Cossack wars, a Jewish innkeeper, also suspected of espionage, is described as shifty, mercenary, and treacherous, in many respects far more despicable than the Polish enemy. Curiously enough, this motif of a Jew suspected of spying for the Poles (who are themselves shown to be antisemitic) reappeared nearly a century later in a short story by the Soviet-Jewish writer Isaac *Babel ("Berestechko," in *Red Cavalry*, 1926), in which a Communist soldier calmly slits the throat of an old Jew.

Hostile portrayals of Jews are scattered throughout the writings of Fyodor Dostoyevski (1821–1881). A noteworthy instance is the criminal who remains faithful to the practices of Judaism in *Zapiski iz mertvogo doma* ("Memoirs from the House of the Dead," 1861–62). The works of Leo Tolstoy (1828–1910) display an ambivalence characteristic of his attitude toward other ethnic minorities, such as the Poles. On the one hand Tolstoy, particularly in his later years, condemned antisemitism as inconsistent with the commandment to love one's neighbor; on the other, he showed in his own few literary references to Jews the disdainful attitude of a haughty seigneur toward pitiful but despicable creatures.

In the mid-19th century the unfriendly depiction of the Jew underwent yet another shift. Aristocratic contempt for the Jew had largely disappeared, but it was replaced by the hostile references of plebeian writers. Some of these, driven by chauvinism and religious intolerance, accused the Jews of plotting against Russia's traditional values and institutions, identifying them with revolutionary terrorists. Representative of this tendency were Vsevolod Krestovski's (1840–1895) *Tma Yegipetskaya* ("Egyptian Darkness," 1889) and the "anti-Nihilist" writings of Alexey Pisemski (1821–1881). Simultaneously, however, anti-Jewish notes could be discerned in the works of such Populists and radical sympathizers as the poet Nikolai Nekrasov (1821–1878), the novelist Feodor Reshetnikov (1841–1871), and Russia's foremost satirist, Mikhail Saltykov-Shchedrin (1826–1889). The latter's attitude toward the Jews was, however, like Tolstoy's, inconsistent and contradictory. In the works of these writers (as in the pronouncements of some revolutionary parties of the period, notably Narodnaya Volya) the Jew was often abused as the merciless exploiter of Russia's downtrodden and impoverished masses.

OBJECTIVE PORTRAYALS. During the second half of the 19th century other writers began to defend the Jews from their numerous enemies and to attack all forms of antisemitic persecution and discrimination. Some of these champions of the Jews were politically and religiously moderate conservatives. Outstanding among these was Nikolay *Leskov, some of whose tales contain traditional antisemitic stereotypes, but whose overall output constitutes a clever attack on Russian antisemitism. Leskov, a prolific writer on the Jewish question, also published anonymously a pamphlet entitled *Yevrei v Rossii* ("The Jews in Russia," 1884), undoubtedly the most impassioned defense of Russian Jews ever written by a Russian author. Most of their defenders were, however, moderates, liberals, and leftists. There are sympathetic portrayals in works by Anton Chekhov (1860–1904), such as in the short story *Skripka Rotshilda* ("Rothschild's Violin," 1894), and *Ivanov* (1887), one of his early serious plays. In this, a Jewish woman forsakes her faith and her family in order to marry the man she loves, but he ultimately insults her by calling her a despicable Jewess. Chekhov also distinguished himself as an ardent defender of Alfred *Dreyfus, losing many of his friends as a result. Alexander Kuprin portrayed a Jewish fiddler in his short story *Gambrinus* (1907, Eng. tr., 1925) while in his whimsical tale *Obida* (1906; "An Insult," in *The Bracelet of Garnets*…, 1917), a delegation of thieves indignantly protests the "slanderous" insinuations of a newspaper that anti-Jewish pogroms are the work of underworld elements. Yevgeni Chirikov's (1864–1936) play *Yevrei* (1904; *Die Juden*, 1904) was also an attack on antisemitism, as were the numerous short stories and newspaper articles by Vladimir *Korolenko and Maxim *Gorki, who warmly championed Russia's Jews, particularly the poor ones.

During the latter part of the 19th century Jews themselves began to write on Jewish themes. Before 1917, however, they were never fully accepted as Russian writers and none of them achieved literary stature. Russian Jewry was, in any case, only superficially secularized and its artistic energies were canalized into the literary realms of Hebrew and Yiddish. Three pioneer authors were Osip *Rabinovich, Grigori Bogrov, and Lev *Levanda, whose descriptions of Jewish life were intended to demonstrate the brutal oppression of an inoffensive minority, and to gain the sympathy of all decent and fair-minded Russian Christians. A more militant note was sounded in the poetry of Shimon Shmuel (Semyon) *Frug, who at first linked his hopes for the salvation of Russia's Jews with the triumph of the revolutionary cause, but who later became more attracted to Zionism. Two writers whose reputation has proved more lasting were Andrey *Sobol and Semyon *Yushkevich. In his novel *Pyl* ("Dust," 1915), Sobol expressed the Jewish revolutionary's disenchantment with socialism as a solution of the Jewish problem, a feeling reflected in another semi-autobiographical work, *Oblomki* ("The Wreckage," 1923), a collection of stories published after the Bolshevik triumph.

The Soviet Position

The distinction between portrayals of Jews in Russian literature by writers who were themselves Jews and those who were not loses much of its validity during the Soviet period. In the first place, Jewish writers in the U.S.S.R. were, for the most part, culturally assimilated; many of them wrote under Slavic-sounding names which concealed their origin. Secondly, the everpresent threat of an accusation of "Jewish nationalism" caused many of them – either out of genuine Communist conviction or from ordinary fear – to shy away from excessive preoccupation with Jewish subjects. And last but not least, the many levels of ideological control over Soviet literature, operative from the early days of the regime, have to a greater or lesser extent – depending on the period – prevented the appearance of works too much at variance with the official party position on the subject; and these controls have been roughly applicable to all Soviet writers, regardless of their ethnic background. The periodical shifts in the portrayal of Jews in Soviet literature have thus been more closely tied to fluctuations in official policy and to the stringency of literary censorship than to the preferences of the authors themselves or, more important still, to the social conditions which their works purported to reflect in a realistic manner.

The official Soviet position may be reduced to the following essentials. The Jews, like all other ethnic groups, are really divided, as Lenin stated, into two warring nations in one – the exploiters and the exploited. The exploited and the poor of all nations are natural allies, as are the rich exploiters of the various ethnic groups. The former are to be portrayed with compassion and sympathy, and the latter are to be shown as their villainous foes. There can be no recognition of an ethnic group that might transcend class antagonisms. This article of faith was to be observed with particular stringency in Soviet literature's treatment of Jewish themes, and it has resulted in some grotesque descriptions of manifestations of antisemitism and other phenomena which, in one way or another, affect all Jews, regardless of their religious ties, economic status, or political allegiance.

In the distorting mirror of Soviet literature, where ideology takes precedence over historical or artistic truth, there are few exceptions to the rule that only the Jewish poor are shown to be victims of antisemitism, whereas the bourgeoisie are somehow unaffected by it. In fact, Jewish capitalists – who, as a rule, are also portrayed as the only Jews infected with the dual poison of religious faith and Zionism – are shown making common cause with antisemites, provided that the latter are their class allies – fellow capitalists and enemies of the working class. This tendency can be discerned in Soviet literature from the earliest years of the Soviet regime and is not, as is commonly thought, a phenomenon of Stalin's last years. However, since antisemitism as such was condemned during the early years of Soviet rule, and because antisemitic policies were in the 1920s associated with the *ancien régime*, Soviet books describing poor Jews in czarist Russia portrayed them in a sympathetic light as victims of persecution.

A documentary of unusual interest and importance that was unearthed some 45 years after its publication is the poem "*Yevrey*" ("The Jew") by the otherwise conformist Soviet writer Vladimir Mayakovski, a leader of the Futurist movement. Here Mayakovski, a friend of Bialik (to whom he dedicated another of his poems), vigorously attacked Russian antisemitism and championed the victims of its constant slanders. The poem, first read to a meeting in favor of Jewish economic rehabilitation which he had himself helped to organize in November 1926, subsequently appeared in *Izvestiya*; but it has been carefully omitted from Mayakovski's collected works. Another poem, "*Zhid*" ("Jew"), written in May 1928 as a protest against the resurgence of antisemitism, appeared in *Komsomolskaya Pravda* (June 15, 1928).

Subsequently, in the 1930s, as glorification of Russia's past became more fashionable, czarist antisemitism tended to be avoided, although the familiar attitude continued to be maintained in works describing Jews still living in capitalist countries. This, too, became muted in the early 1940s and was almost entirely suppressed after World War II, perhaps in order to avoid undesirable parallels with the Soviet Union's own brand of antisemitism, which began in the late 1940s with Stalin's virulently antisemitic purges of *"cosmopolitans." These culminated in the closure of all Soviet Yiddish cultural institutions in 1948 and the execution of Soviet Yiddish writers in 1952. By then, nearly all discussion of antisemitism, past and present, Russian or foreign, or of any other Jewish themes, had become practically taboo. The worldwide sensation created by the appearance in 1961 of a brief poem, "Babi Yar," by Yevgeni *Yevtushenko, condemning Nazi and prerevolutionary antisemitism, and the mutilation by Soviet censorship of *Babi Yar* (1966; Eng. 1967, revised 1970), a documentary novel by Anatoli Kuznetsov (1929–1979) about the Nazi massacre of Soviet Jews in a ravine near Kiev, demonstrate that, in contrast to other areas of Soviet life, there was no real thaw in Soviet literature's treatment of Jewish themes.

THE JEW THROUGH SOVIET EYES. Early Soviet literature portrayed two types of "sympathetic" Jews: the victims of prerevolutionary persecution, and the fighters for the Communist cause and, occasionally, the passive victims who were transformed into active fighters. It is interesting that the victims were usually endowed with various ethnic traits, such as observance of Jewish tradition, attachment to Jewish culture, and even loyalty to the Yiddish language; but these they would discard in the process of transformation into good Communists. At the same time, Jewish villains, usually "class enemies" from the past such as rich merchants and rabbis, were depicted as "socially alien elements" who had somehow succeeded in worming their way into the Communist Party. The fact that Jewish heroes outnumbered Jewish villains in early Soviet fiction reflects Soviet literature's general predilection for "positive" characters as well as the undeniable fact that the impoverished Jewish masses were sympathetic to the Bolshevik cause, many Jews having fought in the civil war on the Communist side.

The most celebrated portraits of "positive" fighting Jews are to be found in works such as Alexander Fadeyev's (1901–1956) novel *Razgrom* (1927; *The Nineteen*, 1929) and Eduard *Bagritski's *Duma pro Opanasa* ("The Lay of Opanas," 1926). A middle-class Jew who hates the Soviet regime is depicted in Yuri *Libedinski's *Nedelya* (1923; *A Week*, 1923), while an obnoxious, pushy young Jew nicknamed "little Trotsky" appears in Sergey Malashkin's (1890–?) collection of stories *Luna s pravoy storony* ("The Moon on the Right," 1927). Small-town Jews, reminiscent of those found in Yiddish literature, were portrayed in scores of works, including Ilya *Ehrenburg's *Burnaya zhizn Lazika Roytshvantsa* (1928; *The Stormy Life of Lasik Roitschwantz*, 1960). Joseph *Utkin described the sudden metamorphosis of a humble tailor steeped in Jewish tradition into an emancipated and internationalist Bolshevik in his *Povest o ryzhem Motele…* ("The Tale of Motele the Redhead…," 1926). The fullest and most sophisticated portrait of Russian Jewry during the last decade of czarist Russia, at the time of the Revolution and the civil war, and in its first years under Soviet rule is found in the works of Isaac *Babel.

During the 1930s the manner in which Jews were portrayed in Soviet fiction, poetry, and drama underwent a significant change. Not only heroes, but also villains and even marginal characters were no longer, as a rule, described as Jews – persons with specifically Jewish problems, hopes, and aspirations – but rather as Soviet men and women whose Jewish origin could only be guessed from their names, or from fleeting references to their family backgrounds. This can only partly reflect the changes that actually took place in Soviet Jewry. Much of the explanation must be sought in the already stringent political controls imposed on Soviet literature. Two examples of such literary characterization are the enthusiastic engineer Margulis in Valentin Katayev's (1897–1986) "production novel" *Vremya, vperyod!* ("Time, Forward!," 1932), and Davydov, the organizer of a collective farm, in *Podnyataya tselina* ("Virgin Soil Upturned," 1932–59) by the Nobel Prize-winning novelist Mikhail Sholokhov (1905–1984). The latter case is particularly noteworthy in view of the fact that, in the novel, Davydov's Jewish background is almost imperceptible, despite the fact that he was partly modeled on a real-life Jewish Communist.

The artificiality and insincerity in Soviet literature's portrayal of Jews during the 1940s is particularly striking in works dealing with World War II. At a time when the Nazi extermination of Jewish civilians and prisoners of war must already have been common knowledge, these continued to portray Soviet people of Jewish birth as almost completely unaware of their Jewishness. This fact, and the enforced tendency to avoid Jewish subjects altogether, is corroborated by the memoirs of Ehrenburg, which were published during the relatively liberal years following Stalin's death. The contrived nature of the portrayal of Jews in Soviet literature during the late 1940s and early 1950s is further evident from the fact that the few "positive" Jewish heroes found in Soviet writings of the period – such as the engineers Liberman and Zalkind in Vasili Azhayev's (1915–1968) novel *Daleko ot Moskvy* ("Far from Moscow," 1948) – display no awareness of the existence of antisemitism in the U.S.S.R. itself. Confirmation of this assumption may again be found in the memoirs of Soviet writers, notably Ehrenburg and Samuel *Marshak.

The most important distortion, however, took the innocuous form of silence. At a time when Jewish and non-Jewish writers throughout the world were shaken and inspired by the two most important events in the past 2,000 years of Jewish history – the Nazi massacre of 6,000,000 Jews and the reestablishment of an independent Jewish state – Soviet literature affected a pose of indifference and apathy. Nor, understandably, was there any reaction in Soviet literature to the wave of officially inspired antisemitism then sweeping the U.S.S.R. Very muted echoes of this can be found in Soviet writing of the post-Stalin era, such as Ehrenburg's novella *Ottepel* (1954; *The Thaw*, 1955) and Yevtushenko's poetry. By 1970, problems such as Soviet antisemitism and Jewish identity were dealt with only in underground literature circulating illegally in the U.S.S.R., much of it actually published in the West. The most notable writer in this category was the non-Jew Andrey Sinyavski (1915–1997), whose works appeared under the Jewish-sounding pseudonym Abram Tertz. Particularly interesting are his *Fantasticheskiye povesti* (1961; *Fantastic Stories*, 1967), and the novels *Sud idyot* ("The Trial Begins," 1959) and *Lyubimov* (1964; Eng. tr., *The Makepeace Experiment*, 1965). Other "underground" writers included Yuli *Daniel, whose works appeared under the pseudonym Nikolay Arzhak, and Yosif *Brodski. Sinyavski, Daniel, and Brodski were all sentenced to varying terms of forced labor.

The Jewish Contribution

Since the late 19th century, hundreds of Jews have played an active, and often major role in Russian literary affairs. As in Germany, there was at first a tendency for Russian Jewish writers to accelerate their assimilation through baptism: the poet and essayist Nikolai *Minski and his brother-in-law, the literary scholar Semyon *Wengeroff, were two such converts. The feuilletonist Miron (Meyer) Davidovich Ryvkin (1869–1915), who wrote for Jewish and liberal journals, successfully conveyed the atmosphere of the *shtetl. His historical novel *Navet* (1912; Yid. tr., *Der Velizher Blut-Bilbl*, 1913) dealt with a blood libel. After the Bolshevik Revolution a number of Jewish writers left Russia. They included the critic Yuli *Aikhenvald (who was expelled in 1922); the novelist Mark *Aldanov; the poets Sasha *Cherni and V.F. Khodasevich; and the playwright Lev Natanovich *Lunts. Another émigré, Mikhail Osipovich Zetlin (1882–1945), was the author of *Dekabristy – Sudba odnogo pokoleniya* (1933; *The Decembrists*, 1958) on the 1825 insurrection. Among those who remained in the U.S.S.R. were David *Aizman; Mikhail *Gershenzon, who promoted Hebrew culture but fought Zionism; and Ilya Ehrenburg.

Despite the pressures of Soviet life, Russian Jewish writers were as active in the "liberal" camp as among the conformists. Rejection of or indifference to the Jewish heritage characterized the first post-revolutionary generation of Jewish authors, which included the Komsomol poet Alexander Bezymenski (1898–1973); the humorist Ilya *Ilf; the eminent poet Osip *Mandelshtam, who had an obsessive dislike of everything Jewish; the Nobel Prize-winning poet and novelist Boris *Pasternak, author of *Doctor Zhivago* (1957; Eng, tr., 1959); the half-Jewish author and critic Victor Shklovski (1893–1984); and the novelist and literary scholar Yuri *Tynyanov. The critic Abram Zakharovich Lezhnev (1893–1938) wrote *Sovremenniki* ("Contemporaries," 1927), which contains three chapters on Babel, Pasternak, Selvinski, and Utkin, and *Proza Pushkina* (1937). The philosophy of Jewish assimilation under the Soviet regime suffered a setback with the great purges of the 1930s, when Leopold *Averbach and Vladimir *Kirshon disappeared, and many other Jewish writers, notably the poet Joseph Utkin, were exposed to severe criticism. The problem of reconciling their Jewish identity with their Soviet allegiances preoccupied Isaac Babel (who was liquidated by the regime), Ilya Ehrenburg, Ilya Selvinski, and Mikhail *Svetlov. Like Ehrenburg, Emmanuil *Kazakevich, a former Yiddish writer from Birobidzhan, escaped the antisemitic excesses of the Stalin era and was a prominent "liberal" during the post-Stalin thaw; while Samuel Marshak, the poet and translator, also survived, despite his evident "cosmopolitanism." A decade or more after Stalin's death many Jewish writers in the U.S.S.R. still felt the weight of Soviet oppression. Vladimir *Admoni was a defense witness at the 1964 Brodski trial; Vasili *Grossman courageously attempted to document Nazi crimes against the Jews in the face of official displeasure; Lev Kopelev (1912–1997), an ally of Alexander Solzhenitsyn (1918–), was a dissident literary scholar.

There are relatively few translations from Hebrew literature into Russian, although translations from Yiddish literature are quite numerous, some of them – above all those of *Shalom Aleichem – among the most effective in any language. This is due partly to the traditional excellence of the art of literary translation in Russia, and partly to the fact that the Yiddish language lends itself well to translation into Russian, since both have two distinct lexical components: the lofty with religious overtones (Hebraisms in Yiddish and Church Slavonicisms in Russian), and the informal vernacular (Germanic in Yiddish, and common speech in Russian). There are numerous successful translations of Russian literature into Hebrew. The most noteworthy are *Shlonsky's poetic version of Pushkin's *Eugene Onegin* (1937, 1953^4) and Lea *Goldberg's translations from several Russian authors.

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[Maurice Friedberg]

RUTENBERG, PINḤAS (**Piotr**; 1879–1942), prominent figure in the revolutionary movement in Russia, *yishuv* leader, and pioneer of modern industry in Ereẓ Israel. Born in Romny, Ukraine, Rutenberg graduated from St. Petersburg Technological Institute and was first employed at the large Putilov metallurgical works. As a student he became active in the revolutionary movement (first as a Social Democrat and then a Social Revolutionary) and was imprisoned several times. He marched with Father Gapon on "Bloody Sunday," which ushered in the 1905 Revolution, and helped Gapon flee from Russia. A year later, when the Social Revolutionaries came to the conclusion that the priest was serving as a police agent, Rutenberg was instructed by the party to organize Gapon's execution. He spent the years 1907–15 in Italy, working as an engineer and specializing in irrigation. During the latter part of this period, he became interested in Jewish affairs, and after the outbreak of World War I he went to London to urge Zionist leaders to raise Jewish military units for the liberation of Palestine. When he learned of Vladimir *Jabotinsky's interest in the matter, Rutenberg contacted him to assure joint action and went to the U.S. in 1915 to propagate the idea. There Rutenberg became involved in the campaign for the creation of the first American Jewish Congress, which was to formulate Jewish proposals to be brought before the Peace Conference at the conclusion of war. While in America, he drew up a comprehensive irrigation plan for Palestine. He also published a Yiddish translation of a pamphlet he had written in Italy under the title *The National Revival of the Jewish People* and signed "Pinḥas Ben–Ammi."

With the overthrow of czarist rule in Russia at the beginning of 1917, Rutenberg left the U.S. for Petrograd, where Kerensky appointed him deputy governor of the capital in charge of civilian affairs. During the Bolshevik coup, on Nov. 7, Rutenberg, was among the last defenders of the site of the provisional government in the Petrograd Winter Palace. Some six months of imprisonment followed, after which he went to Moscow to work for the Center of the Russian Cooperative Organizations, and soon escaped to Kiev, capital of the temporarily independent Ukraine. At the end of 1918, he left for Odessa, where he joined a French-sponsored "White" Russian government that did not last long. By the middle of 1919, Rutenburg left Russia forever. When he came to the conclusion that there was antisemitism even in revolutionary movements, he went to Palestine (November 1919).

With some aid from the Zionist Organization, Rutenberg organized a survey of the country's water resources, mainly of the Jordan River, as a prerequisite to obtaining a government concession to develop the potential of these resources and supply the country with power. For practical reasons, stress was laid on the hydroelectric aspects of his planning, and the proposal was then brought before the first postwar Zionist Conference in London (1920). Together with Jabotinsky, Rutenberg organized the self-defense in Jerusalem at the time of the Arab riots in 1920; in 1921 he became head of Haganah in Tel Aviv and also served as adviser to the Anglo-French commission for the delimitation of Palestine's northern boundaries.

After he overcame great financial and political difficulties, Rutenberg established the Palestine Electric Company (1923), which was subsequently granted a concession to use the waters of the Jordan and Yarmuk rivers for the supply of energy (see Israel, State of: *Economic Affairs (Energy Sources). Initial successes enabled him to secure the services of outstanding personalities as heads of the company's board: Lord Melchett, Lord Hirst, Lord *Samuel, and Lord *Reading. Preoccupied with company affairs, Rutenberg could no more than follow, and indirectly influence, internal affairs of the *yishuv*, but in the crisis year 1929 he was called upon to head the Va'ad Le'ummi and use his considerable influence with the Mandatory administration. He left the Va'ad Le'ummi after the crisis had passed, but joined it again in 1939. In the 1930s he cooperated with a number of other Jewish personalities (including Judah L. *Magnes, M. *Novomeysky, Moshe *Smilansky, G. *Frumkin) in search of a program for Arab-Jewish understanding. Though he had the ear of King *Abdullah of Transjordan, nothing came of his efforts. Domestically, Rutenberg sought to remove the acute friction between the *Histadrut and the *Revisionists. Through his good offices, David *Ben-Gurion and Jabotinsky negotiated an agreement in 1934 which failed, however, to be ratified by the Histadrut. At the beginning of World War II, he again became president of the Va'ad Le'ummi but his health soon failed, and he died in Jerusalem. Before his death, Rutenberg addressed a special call for national unity to Jewish youth and willed his possessions to the Rutenberg Foundation for youth activities; his house on Mount Carmel subsequently became a large and active youth center.

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[Moshe Medzini]

RUTH, BOOK OF (Heb. מְגִלַּת רוּת), one of the five scrolls incorporated in the *Ketuvim* (Hagiographa) section of the traditional Hebrew Bible. In the Septuagint, followed by Christian Bibles, Ruth is found immediately after Judges.

Contents

In the days of the Judges, Elimelech, of Beth-Lehem in Judah, immigrated with his wife Naomi and his two sons Mahlon and Chilion to Moab on account of famine. He died there and so did his two sons, who had married Moabite women, Orpah and Ruth. Left without either husband or sons, and having no grandchildren, Naomi decided to return to Beth-Lehem. The two daughters-in-law wanted to move to Judah with her, but she bade them stay in their homeland. Orpah obeyed but Ruth vowed that she would share the fortunes of her mother-in-law. Arriving in Beth-Lehem at the beginning of the grain harvest, Ruth took advantage of the privilege of gleaning which custom accorded the poor. The field she came to glean in belonged to a prosperous farmer by the name of Boaz. When Naomi learned that Boaz had shown Ruth special kindness out of appreciation for her devotion to her mother-in-law, she was doubly delighted because Boaz was a kinsman of Elimelech, and hence of Ruth's dead husband Mahlon, and the old woman could see a prospect of a levirate marriage for Ruth. The levirate marriage with Ruth involved the redemption of the land of the dead husband, which Naomi had sold. Boaz consented to marry Ruth and to redeem the land. Thus he fulfilled the ancient patriarchal duty of "establishing the name of the dead upon his inheritance" (Ruth 4:5; cf. Deut. 25:6). Through this marriage Boaz became the ancestor of King David.

Aim of the Book

The book concludes with the genealogy of David (4:17–22), which was highly significant to the author. One aim of his was to present in an idyllic way the origin of the great king David. A similar, though less idyllic, account is found in the story about Judah and Tamar (Gen. 38), the parents of Perez, an even earlier ancestor within the Davidic genealogy. The circumstances of the birth of Perez in that story are similar to those of the birth of Obed, the grandfather of David, in the story of Ruth. Perez was born by a levirate marriage and so was Obed; in both cases it was not the proper levir – Latin for "brother-in-law," or the nearest relative (Ruth 3:12) – who performed his duty of levirate marriage (cf. Deut. 25:1–10), but another kinsman. Both stories concern a woman of foreign stock (Tamar – Canaanite; Ruth – Moabite) and in both of them the woman waiting for levirate espousal resorts to a stratagem in order to obtain it. Tamar sits on the crossroads disguised as a prostitute in order to allure Judah (Gen. 38:14), while Ruth, at night, lies down at the feet of Boaz who is sleeping on the threshing floor (3:1ff.). The author of the story of Ruth bears this analogy in mind and finds an opportunity to recall the older story by having the people and the elders of the town bless Boaz: "Let your house be like the house of Perez whom Tamar bore to Judah" (4:12). The provenance of the house of Perez and of the House of David is thus recounted in a similar way.

Furthermore, from the literary point of view the stories of Judah and Boaz contain the motif that also underlies the stories of the Patriarchs: the obstacles put in the way of the emergence of an important family in the history of the nation. The stories of the Patriarchs especially reflect the difficulties that lay in the way of the continuation of the line of the chosen people. The stories about the births of Isaac and Jacob exemplify how much was at stake when the national heroes were about to be born. One cannot avoid mentioning in this context the similarity in circumstance between the birth of Jacob and Esau on one hand and Perez and Zerah on the other. In both instances the favored son, Jacob in one case and Perez in the other, was actually not the first born, but attained his primogeniture through force or cunning. The rejected sons, Esau and Zerah, are both affiliated with Edom (for Zerah cf. Gen. 36:17; I Chron. 1:37), the harsh enemy of David (I Kings 11:15–16). Both stories have certain identical stylistic formulations (cf. Gen. 25:24 with 38:27).

The connection between the Davidic and the patriarchal genealogies becomes more salient when the two following facts are taken into account: (1) The superscription of the genealogical line *toledot* (תולדות), outside of the Pentateuch (the Priestly strand), is found only in Ruth 4:18. (2) Malamat (JAOS, 88 (1968), 163ff.) has shown that royal genealogies in the Ancient Near East were constructed according to the following lines: (a) the genealogical stock, whose formulation is mostly artificial, referring to some common ancestors of various ethnic groups, which is parallel to the genealogical list in Genesis 11:10–26; (b) the determinative line which delineates the specific descent of the dynasty or the people, as Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob in Israel; (c) the actual pedigree of the king involved (as Ruth 4:18–22). The first and third listings usually comprise ten generations, whereas the second is a short list usually of two or three generations. The linkage of the third to the second list in this case has been shown above, and in the light of the fact that the Pentateuchal sources were certainly not crystallized before David, it stands to reason that, as in Mesopotamia, so also in Israel the genealogy of the first type is also to be considered an organic part of the royal genealogy ending with David. Thus there is no justification for the view that the genealogy does not form an integral part of the book and that it is an addition to the book.

The Davidic genealogy is especially significant because it bolsters the book's subtle but forceful protest against the Ezra-Nehemiah attitude toward foreign women (Ezra 9–10; Neh. 13:23–29); had Boaz not married the Moabite woman Ruth, the line of Perez would have ended and David would never have been born.

Theology

As is true in some of the stories of Genesis and the succession narratives of David, so also in the Book of Ruth the events occur in the human realm. Miracles and angelic figures are absent, and God works behind the scenes. The occurrences, which look like a chain of natural happenings evolving one from the other, reveal themselves in the end as the outcome of God's plan. So, for example, in the story of Joseph the events are moved and motivated by purely human impulses. However, the narrator reveals in two brief sentences (Gen. 45:7; 50:20) that all these complex events are none other than the realization of God's plan. There is no chance happening in this world; whatever happens is caused by God (cf. II Sam. 16:10–11). The events in David's court also seem to be caused by purely human motivation: Conflicts in connection with the struggle for the crown. However, for the author these stories come to demonstrate the way of the realization of God's plan to establish David's throne through the enthronement of Solomon.

The Book of Ruth, which also recounts a natural story in which everything moves by human agents and, as it were, without divine interference, actually serves as a testimony to the wondrous ways in which God leads human destiny. Ruth "happens" to choose, as if at random, the field of Boaz (2:3) but that choice turns out to be the decisive act for the birth of David, the illustrious king of Israel. Naomi indeed attributes her success in this coincidence to God, "who did not withhold His kindness from the living and the dead" (2:20). This is reminiscent of Abraham's servant who asks God "to make it happen today" (Gen. 24:12), i.e., to enable a proper choice, and indeed after it becomes clear to him that his wish has been realized, he proclaims: "Blessed be the Lord who has not withheld His steadfast kindness from my master. For I have been guided on my way by the Lord" (24:27). The phrase "[God] who did not withhold His kindness" is found in the Bible only in these two instances, which is not without significance.

Date of Composition

The Book of Ruth was written not before the period of the Monarchy, which is clear from the genealogy at the end of the book, terminating with David. The opening verse of the book, "In the days when the judges ruled," also attests to the fact that the book was written at a time when the period of the

Judges belonged to the historical past. From one statement in the book one may even get the impression that at least a few generations have passed since the occurrence of the events: "This was formerly done in Israel in cases of redemption and exchange: to validate any transaction one man would take off his sandal and hand it to the other" (4:7). Temporal distance made it necessary for the author to explain this forgotten practice to the audience.

The atmosphere of the Book of Ruth, set in the period of the judges, is idyllic. The good characters, Orpah and the anonymous kinsman, are contrasted with the superlative characters, Ruth, Boaz, and Naomi. Judges, although set in the same period, is full of violence, murder, pillage, and rape. Nevertheless, Judges and Ruth have in common their depiction of women who manage to get what they want within the limitations of an ancient society dominated by men. Given the dominance of female characters in Ruth and the presence (at least attempted) of a female point of view, and the fact that there were literate women in the ancient world, a female author for Ruth is not an impossibility.

STYLISTIC-LITERARY EVIDENCE. The late author of Ruth was familiar with many of the earlier writings that make up the Hebrew Bible, and used them in the construction of his own book. Sometimes the references are direct, at other times allusive. The love of Naomi and Ruth is reminiscent of the love of David and Jonathan. As Jonathan pledges love and loyalty to David (I Sam. 18:1–3; 20:12–13, 17) so does Ruth to Naomi (1:16–17), and in both cases a common formula of imprecation is used: "Thus and more may the Lord do to me" (1:17; cf. I Sam. 20:13), which is found only in the Books of Samuel and in the North-Israelite narratives of the Books of Kings. The contents of the imprecation, "if (even) death part me from you" (Ruth and Naomi will be buried in the same place), are reminiscent of the words of David in his elegy over Saul and Jonathan that they were not parted in life or death (II Sam. 1:23).

The book provides an archaic flavor by using expressions of gracious manners characteristic of the patriarchal narratives and the Books of Samuel. The meeting of Boaz and Ruth concludes with the prostration of Ruth (2:10) and words of praise and appreciation by Boaz (2:11–12), which is similar to the encounter of David with Abigail in I Samuel 25:23ff. Abigail "prostrates with her face to the ground," like Ruth, and David, like Boaz, praises Abigail for her courage and good qualities. At the second meeting with Ruth, Boaz exclaims: "Be blessed to the Lord" (3:10), a formula also found at the meeting of David and Abigail (I Sam. 25:32–33) and in the narratives of the Book of Genesis (24:31; 14:19), and elsewhere in the Books of Samuel (I Sam. 15:23; II Sam. 2:5). The manner in which thankfulness is expressed in the Book of Ruth is also very instructive. Reacting to the praise of Boaz, Ruth says: "I am grateful to you [אמצא חן בעיניך] my lord, for comforting me and speaking kindly to your maidservant" (2:13). The usage of אמצא חן בעיניך for expressing gratitude is common in the books of Genesis and Samuel (Gen. 33:9; 47:25; I Sam. 1:18; II Sam. 16:4). Bidding farewell in Ruth is expressed by "kissing" (and also "weeping," 1:9, 14) which is similar to farewell expressions found in Genesis (31:28; 32:1; 50:1), Samuel (II Sam. 19:40), and the North-Israelite narratives of Kings (I Kings 19:20).

Other clichés in the Book of Ruth that draw on earlier Israelite literature worthy of mention are: 1:1: "he and his wife" (cf. Gen. 13:1); 1:2: "The man's name… his wife's name" (cf. I Sam. 25:3); 1:4: "The name of the one… and the name of the other" (cf. Gen. 4:19; I Sam. 1:2); 1:9, 14: "to lift up the voice and weep" (i.e., to weep aloud; cf. Gen. 21:16; 27:38; 29:11; cf. 45:2; I Sam. 24:17; 30:4; II Sam. 3:32; 13:36; Job 2:12 – on the patriarchal atmosphere of Job cf. Sarna, in JBL, 76 (1957), 13–25); 1:16–17 (cf. Judges 17:8–9); 1:19: "The whole city buzzed with excitement" (cf. I Kings 1:41); 2:5: "Whose" (למי; cf. Gen. 32:18; I Sam. 30:13); 2:8: "here" (כה; cf. Gen. 22:5; 31:37; Ex. 2:12; Num. 11:31; 23:15; II Sam. 18:30); 2:12: "reward" (משכרתך; cf. Gen. 29:15; 31:7, 41); 2:14: "come here" (גשי הלם; cf. I Sam. 14:38); 2:20: "who did not withhold his kindness" (cf. Gen. 24:7); 2:21: "until they finish" (עד אם כלו; cf. Gen. 24:19); 3:7: "eat and drink and be in cheerful mood" (cf. Judg. 19:6 [9]; I Kings 21:7); 3:7: "come in stealthily" (cf. Judg. 4:21); 3:8:"[it was] in the middle of the night" (cf. Ex. 12:29); 3:16: "How is it with you?" (מי את; cf. Judg. 18:8; and see S. Loewenstamm, in: *Leshonenu*, 23 (1959), 74); 4:1:"so and so" (פלוני אלמוני; cf. I Sam. 21:3; II Kings 6:8 as against Dan. 8:13); 4:4: "tell" (גלה אזן; cf. I Sam. 9:15; 20:2, 12, 13; 22:8, 17; II Sam 2:27); 4:7: "formerly done in Israel" (לפנים בישראל; cf. I Sam. 9:9); 4:9: "You are witnesses today" (cf. Josh. 24:22); 4:15: "better to you than seven sons" (cf. I Sam. 1:8). All these phrases and expressions are found in settings no later than the ninth or early eighth century B.C.E. But setting must be distinguished from time of composition. There are numerous Aramaisms and late linguistic traits in Ruth, such as: לקים דבר (4:7) instead of להקים דבר ("to confirm a promise/pact/deal"; cf. Num. 23:19; Deut. 9:5; I Sam. 3:12; *ʿgn*, (Ruth 1:13) not known elsewhere in the Bible, but well-known in rabbinic *agunah*, "bound woman"; *qnh lʾšh*, "take as wife," is very close to Mishnaic Hebrew usage. Most important though for purposes of dating is the fact that the author knows most of the Bible, including late sources such as Leviticus and Job, and makes use of it for his own purposes. (For examples of borrowings see Zakovitch, 24–32.) During the Persian period of Jewish history (539–331) when Ruth was written, the question of personal status had become acute. Late books of the Bible that stem from this period reflect differing attitudes about the possibility of a non-Jew becoming a Jew. In contrast to Ezra-Nehemiah, according to which there are no means for those not born to the "holy seed" (Ezra 9:3, legal midrash on Isa. 6:13) to become Jews, the author of Ruth makes it possible for a foreigner to find protection under the wings of YHWH (Ruth 2:12). Ruth's author effectively repeals the exclusion of Moabites (Deut 23:4) enforced in Nehemiah 13:23–27, which appeals to the precedent of how Solomon strayed by taking foreign wives. Instead, the Book of Ruth points to the precedent of the ancient worthies who built up the house of Israel by ignoring the letter of the law when the growth of the house of Israel was at stake. Thus, Jacob's marriage to the two sisters Rachel and Leah (Ruth 4:11) violated Leviticus 18:18, and Tamar's union with Judah (Ruth 4:12) violated Leviticus 18:15. As such, one need not worry about the restriction of Deuteronomy 23:4. The qualities of a foreigner are more important than her origins. Ruth, whose foreign origin is repeatedly emphasized (1:22; 2:2, 6, 8, 21; 4:5, 10), is an *eshet ḥayil* (Ruth 3:11) "virtuous woman," worthy of Boaz the *gibbor ḥayil* "virtuous hero" (Ruth 2:1). Incidentally, the author of Ruth may have been influenced by the fact that the *eshet ḥayil* of Proverbs 31 has a husband "known in the gates when he sits among the elders" (Prov. 31:23; cf. Ruth 4:1–13).

The Place of the Book in the Canon

Talmudic tradition ascribes the book to the Hagiographa (BB 14b), but this is based on the opinion that the Canon contains 24 books. A variant tradition (Jos., Apion, 1:39) speaks only of 22 books in the Bible. According to this system, Ruth is attached to the Book of Judges and Lamentations to Jeremiah, an arrangement adopted by the Septuagint. According to the order of the Five *Scrolls in modern Hebrew Bibles, Ruth is the second scroll after Song of Songs, because the latter is to be recited on Passover whereas Ruth is to be read on Shavuot. The order in the talmudic source quoted above is different: Ruth opens the Hagiographa preceding the Psalms. Here the sequence is a historical one. Ruth relates to the period of the Judges while Psalms is attributed to David, who is later.

The Book of Ruth was one of the first biblical books to be examined through the lenses of "the Bible as literature" approach (Rauber).

[Moshe Weinfeld / S. David Sperling (2nd ed.)]

In the Aggadah

Ruth was a daughter of the king of Moab (Ruth R. 2:9). After the death of Mahlon, Naomi attempted to dissuade her from returning to Ereẓ Israel lest she be treated contemptuously as a foreigner (*Midrash Zuta* to Ruth 1:8). Ruth is regarded as the prototype of the righteous convert. Naomi could not discourage her from taking this step although she told her of the stringencies of Jewish law and that its transgression would entail corporal and capital punishments from which she was hitherto exempt (Ruth R. 2:24). When Naomi told her that Jewish daughters do not frequent theaters and circuses, she replied, "Whither thou goest, I will go"; when informed that Jewish daughters only dwell in houses sanctified by *mezuzot*, she responded: "where thou lodgest, I will lodge"; "thy people will be my people" implied "I will destroy all idolatry within me"; and "thy God shall be my God" to repay me the reward of my deeds (Ruth 1:16; Ruth R. 2:22, 23). They arrived on the day that the wife of *Boaz was buried (BB 91a). Ruth's piety impressed Boaz when he noticed that she did not glean the fields if the reapers let more than two ears fall since the gleanings assigned to the poor by the law refer only to two ears inadvertently dropped at one time. He also admired her grace, decorum, and modest demeanor (Ruth R. 4:6; *Midrash Zuta* to Ruth 2:3). After Naomi made her a party to her plan to force Boaz into a decisive step, Ruth strictly adhered to her directions except that she did not wash, anoint, and finely clothe herself until after she reached her destination, since she feared to attract the attention of the lustful (Shab. 113b). The next day she was taken in marriage by Boaz, who was 80 years of age. Ruth herself was barren and 40 years old at the time, and it was against all expectations that this union should be blessed with issue (Ruth R. 7:14). Possibly because she retained her original name even after her conversion, it is interpreted as meaning that she was the ancestress of *David, "who saturated ("רוה") the Holy One, blessed be He, with songs and hymns" (Ber. 7b). Another explanation is that she considered well (*ra'atah*) the words of her mother-in-law (Ruth R. 2:9).

See also *David and *Ammonites and *Moabites in *halakhah*.

[Aaron Rothkoff]

In the Arts

Despite the grandeur of Ruth's story and the romantic appeal of her religious identification and the dynastic link with King David, she has inspired surprisingly few important works in the arts. The subject was muted in literature of the Middle Ages, first appearing significantly in the 17th century with three works in Spanish: João Pinto *Delgado's poem *Ruth* (1627), Tirso de Molina's drama, *La mejor espigadera* (1634), and an *auto sacramentale* by Pedro Calderón de la Barca. The new literary movements of the 19th century directed fresh attention to the potentialities of the subject. Karl Streckfuss wrote the German epic *Ruth* (1805) and there were a number of dramas, including two in French, both entitled *La Moabite*, by Henri Bornier (1880) and the patriotic writer Paul Déroulede (1881). One of the most memorable evocations of the theme occurs in the English poet John Keat's "Ode to a Nightingale" (1819) with the lines: "Perhaps the self-same song that found a path/Through the sad heart of Ruth, when, sick for home,/She stood in tears amid the alien corn…" Perhaps the outstanding 19th-century treatment was, however, "Booz endormi," one of the "petites épopées" included in Victor Hugo's *La Légende des siècles* (1859), which is generally regarded as among Hugo's finest poems. The theme was not neglected by Jewish writers of the period: In Germany Isaac Jojade Cohn published a three-act Hebrew play, *Bo'az ve-Rut* (1834); Emanuel Baumgarten wrote the poem, *Rut, MeliẒah*… (1885); and Solomon Rosenzweig was the author of another Hebrew play, *Rut Torat Ḥesed* (1893).

Twentieth-century works about Ruth have covered a wider range of languages, beginning with Siegmund Werner's *Ruth, und andere Gedichte* (1903). Many appeared between the world wars, such as Pilar Millán Astray's three-act Spanish play *Ruth la Israelita* (1923); and Emanuil Pop Dimitrov's Bulgarian *Rut*; and *Boass un Rute* (1926), a Lettish play by Aspazija (Elza Rozenberga). The subject also attracted the attention of Yiddish writers: Victor Spritzer's *Rut; Dramatishe Poeme* appeared at Buenos Aires in 1933, and Saul Saphire wrote *Rut; Biblisher Roman fun der Tsayt fun di Shoftim* (1936). Modern interest in and reinterpretation of the Ruth theme acquired new significance both during and after the Nazi era. Poems were written by Else *Lasker-Schueler ("Boas") and Yvan *Goll ("Noémi"); and the works which appeared after World War II included a novel, *Ruth*, by the U.S. author Irving *Fineman (1949) and Frank G. Slaughter's *The Song of Ruth. A Love Story from the Old Testament* (1954).

In art, Ruth appears in medieval manuscripts from the 12th century onward, including the 12th-century *Admont Bible* (State Library, Vienna), a late 13th-century Franco-German **maḥzor* (British Museum, additional 22413), in which a harvesting scene depicting Ruth and the gleaners illustrates the prayers for Shavuot; and the 14th-century *Queen Mary Psalter* (British Museum) and *Bible of Jean de Papeleu* (Arsenal Library, Paris). The subjects treated are Ruth gleaning and, more rarely, Boaz taking Ruth to wife. In the 17th century, the magnificent painting of Summer by Nicolas Poussin in the Louvre, one of four illustrating the seasons, also shows Ruth among the gleaners. This study of the abundance of nature is full of memories of the classical world. The English poet and painter William *Blake executed a stark watercolor painting (Victoria and Albert Museum, London) of Naomi, Ruth, and Orpah in the land of Moab. The modern Israel artist Jakob *Steinhardt illustrated the Book of Ruth with woodcuts (1957).

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RUTH RABBAH (Heb. רוּת רַבָּה), aggadic Midrash on the Book of *Ruth, the product of Palestinian *amoraim*.

The Name

The *editio princeps* was called *Midrash Ruth*, the title *Ruth Rabbah* being derived from later editions (from that published in Venice, 1545, and onward) in which the work was printed together with Midrashim on the other Scrolls (Song of Songs, Lamentations, Ecclesiastes, Esther) and with five on the Pentateuch, the whole commencing with Genesis *Rabbah. Hence, the general designation of *Rabbah* applied to all these Midrashim (see *Midrash).

The Structure

Ruth Rabbah is an exegetical Midrash which expounds the Book of Ruth chapter by chapter, verse by verse, and, sometimes, word by word. It is a compilation, made by the redactor, of various expositions. In the printed versions, the Midrash is divided into eight sections with introductory poems. Actually there are only four sections, each introduced by a poem or poems, the division being as follows:

(a) from the beginning of the proems to the end of section 3;
(b) sections 4–5;
(c) sections 5–7;
(d) section 8.

The work has apparently a total of ten proems, these being of the classical type found in amoraic Midrashim, in that they commence with an extraneous verse, taken usually from the Hagiographa, which is expounded and then connected with the one treated at the beginning of the section. While some of the proems are anonymous, others are stated in the name of a sage. The first original section concludes with an assurance and consolation (in the printed versions, at the end of section 3).

The Language

Ruth Rabbah is written mainly in mishnaic Hebrew, and, to a certain extent (particularly the narrative parts), in Galilean *Aramaic, like the Jerusalem Talmud. It also contains many Greek words.

The Redaction

The redaction drew upon tannaitic literature, the Jerusalem Talmud, *Genesis Rabbah, Leviticus *Rabbah, Lamentations *Rabbah*, and Pesikta de-Rav *Kahana. Zunz's assertion that the Babylonian Talmud was used as well has been disproved by *Albeck. The sages mentioned in the Midrash flourished not later than the end of the fourth century C.E. It seems, therefore, that the work was redacted in Ereẓ Israel and belongs to the early amoraic aggadic Midrashim. Since, however, it drew on *Pesikta de-Rav Kahana*, it is difficult to assign the compilation of *Ruth Rabbah* to a date prior to the sixth century C.E.

Editions

Ruth Rabbah, first published at Pesaro in 1519 together with the four Midrashim on the other Scrolls (to which it bears no relation), has often been reprinted on the basis of this *editio princeps*. The printed versions are quite defective.

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[Moshe David Herr]

°**RUTILIUS NAMATIANUS**, holder of a civic post in Rome in 416 C.E. In a poem commemorating his return to his native Gaul, he describes how, at Faleria (Falesia) on the Tyrrhenian coast (near present-day Piombino), his party met the Jewish keeper of a fishpond. The inhospitality of the Jew prompted Rutilius to condemn the Jews as a disgusting and overly influential race whose presence in Rome was to be regretted. He speaks contemptuously of their dietary laws, circumcision and Sabbath, and voices the familiar Roman anti-Jewish sentiments.

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[Jacob Petroff]

°**RUTLAND, SUZANNE** (1946–), Australian historian. Probably the first academic historian to write on Australian Jewish history, Sydney-born Suzanne Rutland was the author of one of the first modern accounts of the Jews in Australia, *Edge of the Diaspora* (1988), and a history of the Jewish press in Australia, *Pages of History* (1970; 1995^2), as well as other works in this field. She taught at the University of New South Wales and was the editor of the Sydney edition of *The Australian Jewish Historical Society Journal.*

[William D. Rubinstein (2nd ed.)]

RUWANDIZ (**Rawanduz**, **Rowanduz**), district town in the province of Irbil in Iraqi *Kurdistan. In Ruwandiz there was an ancient Jewish community which suffered a great deal at the hands of cruel governors. During the 17th century the two *paytanim*, R. Isaac b. Moses Ḥariri and his son R. Phinehas (Pinḥas), who wrote several *piyyutim* and kabbalistic works, lived there. The situation of the Jews improved to some extent at the beginning of the 19th century with the Turkish occupation. In 1848 *Benjamin II found a number of wealthy Jews led by the *nasi* Muʿallim Nissim, who owned fields and vineyards. The Jews were engaged in agriculture and they spoke Jebel ("mountain") Aramaic. In 1881 there were about 50 to 60 Jewish families; from 1884 to 1906, 120 Jews; in 1910, 40 families; and in 1914, 100 Jews. The penetration of the Russians into Kurdistan in 1915 liquidated this community. The synagogue was destroyed together with its *Sifrei Torah*. The community was renewed after World War I. According to the official census of 1930, there were 17,787 inhabitants in the whole district of Ruwandiz, of whom 250 were Jews. In 1932 there were 20 Jewish families with a synagogue. All emigrated to the State of Israel.

[Abraham Ben-Yaacob]

RUZHANY (Pol. **Różana**; Yid. **Rozhanoy** or **Rozhinoy**), town in Brest district, Belarus; within Poland-Lithuania until the partitions of Poland and between the two world wars. The community of Ruzhany, which was placed under the jurisdiction of the community of Brest-Litovsk by the Lithuanian Council in 1623 (see *Councils of the Lands), existed before that date. From 1662 it is mentioned as an independent community. Following a *blood libel in Ruzhany in 1657, attacks on the Jews by the Christian populace were prevented by the owner of the town. However, agitators demanded that two of the community's notables be handed over to them, and as a result R. Israel b. Shalom and R. Tobias b. Joseph were executed on the second day of Rosh Ha-Shanah. A special *seliḥah* in their memory was written by the son of R. Israel, and it was read every year during the *ne'ilah* prayer of the Day of Atonement.

The Jews of Ruzhany suffered during the Polish civil war and the Russian-Swedish War (1700–10). In 1721 the Ruzhany community paid 1,100 zlotys in poll tax, the same amount as the Vilna community and only slightly less than Minsk. However, by 1766 their number had declined to 326 in the town and district (c. 154 in the town itself). By 1847 the Jewish population of the town had risen to 1,467; it numbered 3,599 (71.7% of the total population) in 1897; and 3,718 (66.2%) in 1921. Jews earned their livelihood from trade and crafts, mainly connected with the local fairs, industry and agriculture. Industries were established in Ruzhany from the beginning of the 19th century: there were six textile mills and a number of spinning mills employing about 2,000 Jewish workers, tanneries, and flour mills. Many families engaged in vegetable growing and cultivating orchards which they leased. In 1850 two Jewish agricultural villages were established near Ruzhany; some of their inhabitants were later among the founders of the moshavah *Ekron in Ereẓ Israel. Jews from Ruzhany were among the first to join the Ḥovevei Zion, sending a delegate to the *Kattowitz conference in 1884. In 1904 a Jewish *self-defense group was organized which prevented pogroms. In 1905 revolutionary activities were organized by members of various parties.

During World War I Jewish-owned factories in Ruzhany were burned down and the Jews were robbed by the retreating Cossacks. In 1918, after the withdrawal of the German occupation forces, Polish "legionaries," with the help of the local population, attacked the Jews; several died and many houses were looted. After the war Jewish trade and crafts were severely affected by the Polish government's antisemitic restrictions. The local Gemilut Ḥasidim society was expanded into a cooperative people's bank. In this period many Jews left.

In 1923 a Yiddish secular school was established (later directed by the Central Yiddish School Organization, CYSHO). There were also a Hebrew *Tarbut school, a private elementary school, a Hebrew and Yiddish public library named after Peretz, and a theatrical company. Zionist groups were active.

Ruzhany was a center of Jewish learning. There existed a *ḥeder*, a *talmud torah*, and a yeshivah. Notable rabbis of Ruzhany included R. Jonathan b. Joseph, author of *Yeshu'ah be-Yisrael* (Frankfurt, 1720), a work on astronomy; Avigdor b. Samuel ("Ḥarif") in the 18th century; R. Isaac Ḥaver, a leading Lithuanian rabbi (officiated 1819–1833); and Moredecai-Gimpel *Jaffe. Other Ruzhany personalities included the Zionist pioneer and author Jehiel Michael *Pines; I.T. Eisenstadt (d. 1893), author of *Da'at Kedoshim* (1897–98); A. *Luboshitzki (1874–1942), Hebrew author and poet; J. Krinski, pedagogue and author of educational textbooks; and Zelig Sher (Shereshevski), journalist active in the Jewish labor party in the United States.

[Dov Rabin]

Holocaust Period

There were about 3,500 Jews living in Ruzhany in 1939. During the period of Soviet rule (1939–41), Jewish community activities ceased. In April 1940 Jewish youth were drafted into the Red Army, and when the German-Soviet war broke out (June 1941) fought against Nazi Germany. Ruzhany was captured by the Germans on June 24, 1941. Twelve of the Jewish intelligentsia in Ruzhany were executed on July 12, and on July 14 another 18 Jews suspected of being Communists were killed.

An open ghetto was established in August of 1941. On Nov. 2, 1942, the entire Jewish population of Ruzhany was deported to Volkovysk; about 500 stragglers were shot by guards on the way. There they were concentrated in a camp of underground bunkers for the Jewish population of the entire area. On November 28, 1942 they were deported to the *Treblinka death camp. Jewish life in Ruzhany was not reconstituted after the war.

[Aharon Weiss]

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RUZHIN, ISRAEL (**Friedmann**; 1797–1850), ḥasidic leader. Israel was a great-grandson of Dov Baer, the Maggid of *Mezhirech. Ḥasidim claimed to recognize his outstanding qualities almost from birth. His uncle Mordecai of Chernobyl declared that the baby had the soul of the Ba'al Shem Tov. At the age of six Israel lost his father. At the age of 13 he married and moved to Botosani.

When Israel was 16 years old his brother Abraham died, and he was appointed to succeed him as the leader of the Ḥasidim. Possessed of great organizing ability, he rapidly established a large Ḥasidic center attracting thousands of followers. He then moved to Ruzhin where he set up a splendid "court" and like his father, Shalom Shakhna, lived in great luxury and unusual splendor. His dwelling place was that of a noble with all its opulence. He rode in a splendid carriage with silver handles, harnessed to four galloping horses, and surrounded by many servants. The ideological explanation given by Israel himself for his mode of behavior was that Satan is already involved in all the behavior of the Ḥasidic *Ẓaddikim*, although he is unaware that within the external extravagance and wealth a precious stone is concealed.

In 1838 Israel was accused of having given the order to put to death two Jewish informers – Isaac Ochsman and Samuel Schwartzman – who had been engaging in illegal exploitation and informing. When their activities began to endanger the Jews and their communities, the lay communal leaders decided to put them to death. One was put into the boiler of the ritual bath and the other was drowned. For a long time the Ḥasidim and members of the community succeeded in hiding the affair, and even after the body was found in the river the cause of death remained a secret until revealed by a third informer. An extensive investigation was then initiated, and the case was transferred to a higher authority. Hundreds of persons were imprisoned and subjected to severe tortures. Eighty of them were brought before a military court in a trial that lasted a year and a half. Six lay leaders were sentenced to hard labor for life and flogging, from which most of them died. Israel was imprisoned for 22 months, during the whole period of the investigation. He was placed in solitary confinement in prison in Kiev, but was permitted to receive food in his own utensils.

On the conclusion of the investigation in 1840, in which the defendants did everything in their power to exonerate Israel from the accusation leveled against him, he was released, but was placed under continual surveillance as he was also suspected of an ambition to become ruler of the Jews. Policemen went in and out of his room while he was praying. He moved to Kishinev where the provincial governor was better disposed toward the Jews. However, when his followers learned that their leader was to be exiled to a distant place, they speedily obtained a travel permit to Moldavia for him, promising that he would return if required to do so. He then settled in Jassy in Romania. The Russian governor who provided the permit, in fear of his superiors, hastened to send emissaries in secret to Jassy to have Israel extradited. However, the Ḥasidim anticipated this and removed him to Shatsk in Bukovina, which belonged to Austria. He moved from town to town including Kompling, and Skola, until after many efforts, described in numerous Ḥasidic legends, he was authorized by the Austrian emperor Ferdinand I (Dec. 20, 1845) to live in Sadgora in Bukovina. Israel's Ḥasidim purchased an estate for their leader called Zolotoi-Potok near Sadgora.

At Sadgora thousands of Ḥasidim streamed to him, and he built himself a splendid palace there, continuing the same life of opulence that he had led in Ruzhin. Israel had a great influence upon the numerous Ḥasidim and *Ẓaddikim*, especially the Romanian Ḥasidim.

On the death of the rabbi of *Apta, Israel was also appointed head of the Volhynia Kolel in Ereẓ Israel, and did much on behalf of the Jews in Ereẓ Israel. The splendid synagogue Tiferet Yisrael in Jerusalem (destroyed by the Jordanians after 1948), also called the Nisan Bak synagogue, was named after Israel of Ruzhin because he provided the funds for buying the ground and building the synagogue.

The impressions of contemporaries who knew him are interesting. Dr. S. Rubin describes him as follows "He spoke little, confining his remarks to the absolute essential. All his movements were deliberate… He sat upon his throne dressed in immaculate and expensive garments, like one of the Russian nobles, and on his head a hat embroidered in gold. From the tips of his toes to his head, there was an elegance about his expensive clothes." Dr. Mayer, who visited him in 1826, was filled with enthusiasm for Israel's personality: "When I visited him in his home, I found there Field-Marshal Witgenstein who honored him in every possible manner and wanted to present him with one of the most beautiful of his palaces, in a neighboring town, so that he should take up residence there… in truth he deserves all this honor. Although not particularly educated, he has a preeminently naturally keen mind. With his sharp eye and keen intellect he immediately penetrates to the heart of any difficulty brought to him, however obscure and complicated, and arrives at a decision. His imposing presence and his stature make a pleasing impression upon the onlooker. He is noble and refined: He has no beard, only a moustache. His eyes exercise a hypnotic charm so that even his greatest opponent is compelled to submit to him."

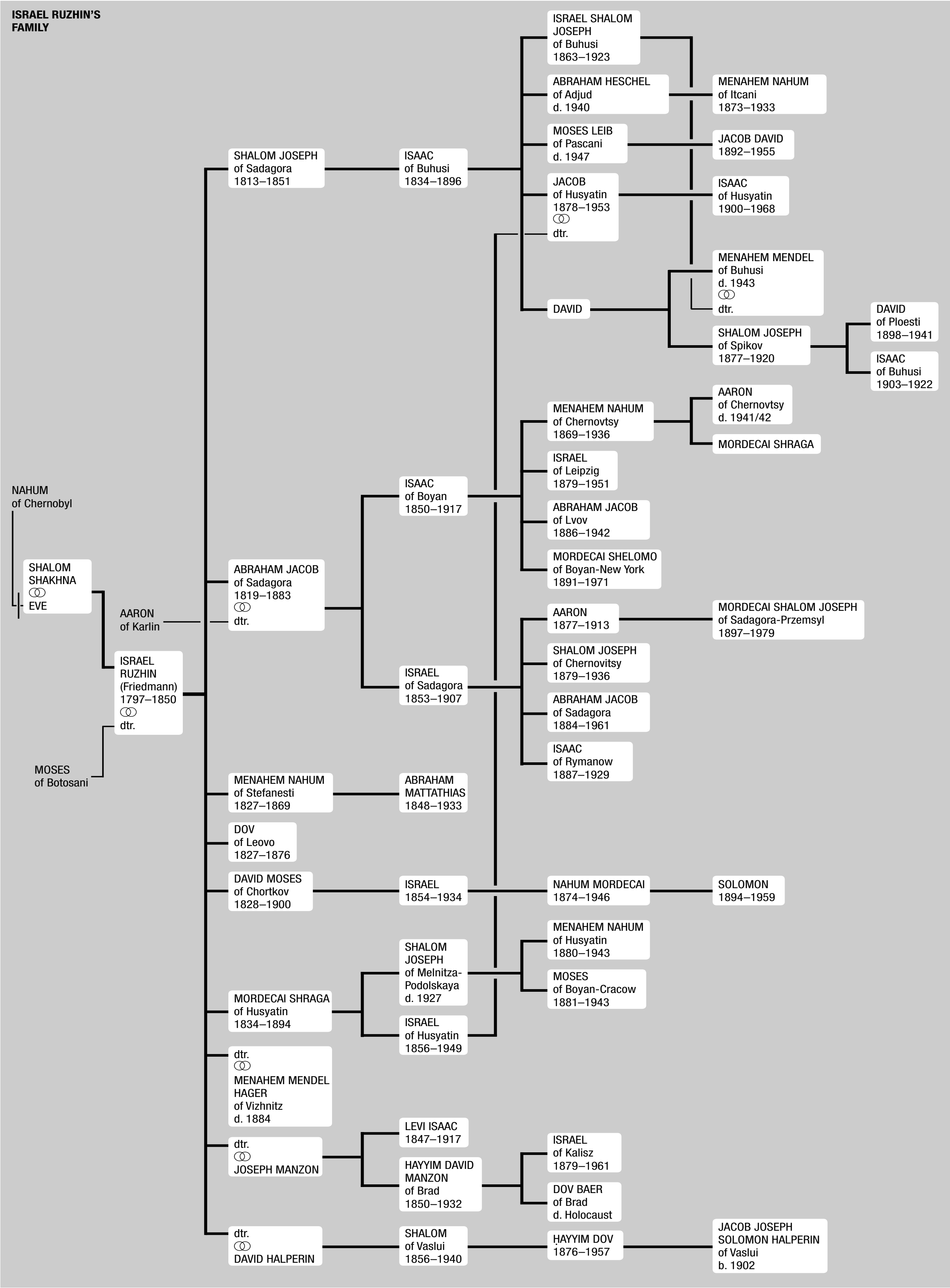

ISRAEL RUZHIN'S FAMILY

NAHUM of Chernobyl
SHALOM SHAKHNA ⚭ EVE
MOSES of Botosani
AARON of Karlin
ISRAEL RUZHIN (Friedmann) 1797–1850 ⚭ dtr.
SHALOM JOSEPH of Sadagora 1813–1851
ABRAHAM JACOB of Sadagora 1819–1883 ⚭ dtr.
MENAHEM NAHUM of Stefanesti 1827–1869
DOV of Leovo 1827–1876
DAVID MOSES of Chortkov 1828–1900
MORDECAI SHRAGA of Husyatin 1834–1894
dtr. ⚭ MENAHEM MENDEL HAGER of Vizhnitz d. 1884
dtr. ⚭ JOSEPH MANZON
dtr. ⚭ DAVID HALPERIN
ISAAC of Buhusi 1834–1896
ISAAC of Boyan 1850–1917
ISRAEL of Sadagora 1853–1907
ABRAHAM MATTATHIAS 1848–1933
ISRAEL 1854–1934
SHALOM JOSEPH of Melnitza-Podolskaya d. 1927
ISRAEL of Husyatin 1856–1949
LEVI ISAAC 1847–1917
HAYYIM DAVID MANZON of Brad 1850–1932
SHALOM of Vaslui 1856–1940
ISRAEL SHALOM JOSEPH of Buhusi 1863–1923
ABRAHAM HESCHEL of Adjud d. 1940
MOSES LEIB of Pascani d. 1947
JACOB of Husyatin 1878–1953 ⚭ dtr.
DAVID
MENAHEM NAHUM of Chernovtsy 1869–1936
ISRAEL of Leipzig 1879–1951
ABRAHAM JACOB of Lvov 1886–1942
MORDECAI SHELOMO of Boyan-New York 1891–1971
AARON 1877–1913
SHALOM JOSEPH of Chernovitsy 1879–1936
ABRAHAM JACOB of Sadagora 1884–1961
ISAAC of Rymanow 1887–1929
NAHUM MORDECAI 1874–1946
MENAHEM NAHUM of Husyatin 1880–1943
MOSES of Boyan-Cracow 1881–1943
ISRAEL of Kalisz 1879–1961
DOV BAER of Brad d. Holocaust
ḤAYYIM DOV 1876–1957
MENAHEM NAHUM of Itcani 1873–1933
JACOB DAVID 1892–1955
ISAAC of Husyatin 1900–1968
MENAHEM MENDEL of Buhusi d. 1943 ⚭ dtr.
SHALOM JOSEPH of Spikov 1877–1920
AARON of Chernovtsy d. 1941/42
MORDECAI SHRAGA
MORDECAI SHALOM JOSEPH of Sadagora-Przemsyl 1897–1979
SOLOMON 1894–1959
JACOB JOSEPH SOLOMON HALPERIN of Vaslui b. 1902
DAVID of Ploesti 1898–1941
ISAAC of Buhusi 1903–1922

Israel of Ruzhin wrote no books. His teachings are collected in *Irin Kedishin, Beit Yisrael, Tiferet Yisrael, Keneset Yisrael, Pe'er Yisrael*, etc.

Six sons of Israel of Ruzhin established Ḥasidic dynasties which attracted large numbers of followers.

The eldest SHALOM JOSEPH (1813–1851) made Sadagora his center, and died in Leipzig ten months after the death of his father. His son ISAAC (1834–1896) was the founder of the Buhusi dynasty and was the main propagator of Ḥasidism in Romania. Isaac's sons dispersed throughout the country, ISRAEL SHALOM JOSEPH (1863–1923) in Buhusi, and ABRAHAM HESCHEL (d. 1940) in Adjud, MOSES LEIB (d. 1947) in Pascani, while the fourth son, JACOB (1878–1953), was appointed to succeed his father-in-law Israel of Husyatin, the author of *Oholei Ya'akov*. Other descendants were his grandson SHALOM JOSEPH OF MELNITSA-PODOLSKAYA (d. 1927), who also made Lemberg (Lvov) his center. MENAHEM NAHUM OF ITCANI (1873–1933), the son of Abraham Heschel of Adjud, was a scholar and kabbalist who wrote works on philosophy. ISAAC B. JACOB OF HUSYATIN, the last head of this dynasty (1900–1968), was chosen as leader in Ereẓ Israel. David, the son of Isaac of Buhusi, had two sons, MENAHEM MENDEL OF BUHUSI (d. 1943) who was the son-in-law of Israel Shalom Joseph, and SHALOM JOSEPH OF SPIKOV (1877–1920). JACOB DAVID (1892–1955), the son of Moses Leib of Pascani, died in Jaffa.

The last survivor of this dynasty, ISAAC OF BUHUSI (1903–1992), the son of Shalom Joseph of Spikov, settled in Tel Aviv. A devoted Zionist, he was active on behalf of the Jews in Romania during the Holocaust. His brother, DAVID OF PLOESTI (1898–1941), perished in the Holocaust.

The second son of Israel of Ruzhin, ABRAHAM JACOB (1819–1883), was the principal successor of his father and retained his residence in Sadagora. He married the daughter of Aaron of *Karlin. As a result of calumny, he was arrested in 1856 and remained in prison for 15 months. He was succeeded as head of the dynasty of Sadagora by his son ISRAEL (1853–1907), whose elder brother ISAAC (1850–1917) founded the important dynasty of Boyan in Bukovina.

Of the sons of Israel of Sadagora, AARON (1877–1913), the author of *Kedushat Aharon*, had considerable musical accomplishment; SHALOM JOSEPH (1879–1936) was head of the dynasty of Chernovtsy (Czernowitz); ABRAHAM JACOB (1884–1961) of Sadagora, a leader of the Agudat *Israel, settled in Ereẓ Israel in 1938; and ISAAC OF RYMANOW (1887–1929). The last head of the Sadagora dynasty was MORDECAI SHALOM JOSEPH (1897–1979) who, after serving as *admor* in Sadagora and Przemzyl, settled in Tel Aviv in 1939. He was the author of *Keneset Mordekhai*.

The Boyan dynasty spread to an even greater extent. Of the sons of Isaac, the founder of this dynasty, MENAHEM NAHUM (1869–1936), the author of *Devarim Niḥumim* and *Zeh Yenaḥamenu*, had his seat in Chernovtsy. ISRAEL (1879–1951) lived in Leipzig, but settled in Ereẓ Israel in 1939. ABRAHAM JACOB (1886–1942) lived in Lemberg (Lvov) and perished in the Holocaust. MORDECAI SHELOMO (1891–1971) was the last head of the dynasty. After residing in Vienna for 20 years he emigrated to New York. His remains were interred in Ereẓ Israel. The dynasty was continued by the sons of Menahem Nahum; AARON OF CHERNOVTSY, who perished in the Holocaust in 1941–42, and MORDECAI SHRAGA.

The third son of Israel of Ruzhin, MENAHEM NAHUM OF STEFAN-ESTI in Romania (1827–1869), left an only son ABRAHAM MAT-TATHIAS (1848–1933). With his death the Stefanesti dynasty came to the end.

The fourth son of Israel of Ruzhin, DOV OF LEOVO (1827–1876), was a tragic figure. An *admor* in Husi in Romania, he was successively in Seuleni, in Ukraine, and lastly in Leovo in Romania. In 1869 he published a manifesto attacking Ḥasidism, left his home, and moved to Chernovtsy, where he took up residence with one of the local *maskilim*. The incident caused a storm in the Jewish world, and gave rise to a particularly fierce controversy between the Ḥasidic dynasty of Zanz (see *Halberstamm) and that of Sadagora, which led to a burning hatred between them, bringing in its wake excommunications and recriminations. This controversy, known as the Zanz-Sadagora conflict, produced a vast polemical literature. Dov later repented and returned to Sadagora, but he no longer received any of his followers. This did not, however, put an end to the controversy, which continued until the death of Ḥayyim Halberstamm, the *admor* of Zanz. Dov left no children.

The fifth son of Israel of Ruzhin, DAVID MOSES (1828–1900), author of *Divrei David*, was one of the greatest *Ẓaddikim* of his time. His center was first in Potek, but in 1859 he moved to Chortkov. His followers were the aristocracy of the Ḥasidim of Poland. He was succeeded by his son ISRAEL (1854–1934), the author of *Tiferet Yisrael*, an outstanding leader of the Agudat Israel. After World War I he moved to Vienna. Israel was succeeded in his turn by his son NAHUM MORDECAI (1874–1946) who settled in Ereẓ Israel in 1939 where he became a member of the Mo'eẓet Gedolei ha-Torah of the Agudat Israel. The last leader of the dynasty was his son SOLOMON (1894–1959).

The sixth and last son of Israel of Ruzhin was MORDECAI SHRAGA OF HUSYATIN (1834–1894). His followers were the outstanding Ḥasidim of Galicia. He was succeeded by his son ISRAEL (1856–1949). A noble character, he was one of the first members of the Ḥovevei Zion movement. After World War I he moved to Vienna, and in 1937 emigrated to Ereẓ Israel. Both MOSES OF CRACOW (1881–1943), author of *Darkhei Moshe*, the spiritual head of the Yeshivat Ḥakhmei Lublin, and his brother MENAHEM NAHUM OF HUSYATIN (1880–1943), who had his center in Lemberg (Lvov), were the grandsons of Mordecai Shraga, the sons of his son Shalom Joseph, and both perished in the Holocaust. There was no successor to this dynasty.

Israel of Ruzhin had three sons-in-law: MENAHEM MENDEL HAGER OF *VIZHNITZ, a noted Ḥasidic leader, and Joseph Manzon and David Halperin, who belonged to wealthy families. Joseph Manzon's son ḤAYYIM DAVID (1850–1932), the *admor* of Brod, was severely persecuted by the local *maskilim*, while another son, LEVI ISAAC (1847–1917), author of *Bekha Yevorakh Yisrael*, had his center in Vienna. Two sons of Ḥayyim David acted as *admorim*, DOV BAER in Brad, who perished in the Holocaust, and ISRAEL (1879–1961) in Kalisz, who emigrated to the United States in 1939. SHALOM (1856–1940) the son of David Halperin was *admor* in Vaslui in Romania; he had a phenomenal memory, and had an extensive knowledge of secular subjects. He was succeeded by his son ḤAYYIM DOV (1876–1957), who after residing in Vaslui and Bucharest emigrated to Ereẓ Israel in 1956. The last leader of the Vaslui dynasty was JACOB JOSEPH SOLOMON (b. 1902), who settled in Tel Aviv.

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[Itzhak Alfassi]

RYBACK, ISSACHAR (1897–1935), Russian-French artist. Ryback was born in the Ukrainian town of Elisavetgrad (now Kirovo) and studied at the Academy in Kiev. After the Revolution of 1917, the central committee of the Jewish Cultural League in Kiev appointed him as drawing teacher. Ryback visited the Jewish farm colonies that had sprung up in the Ukraine under the new regime. The fruit of this journey was a portfolio, *On the Jewish Fields of the Ukraine* (1926), with reproductions of drawings and paintings. He showed strong sunburned men and women as opposed to the pale and wan Jews he had known in Kirovo. In 1926 he went to Paris, where he became a success, and in 1935, Wildenstein, the art dealer, planned a large retrospective exhibition of his work. On the eve of the opening Ryback died suddenly.

Ryback learned a great deal from the French cubists as well as from the German expressionists. Most of his work, however, is devoted to themes remembered from his youth. The murder of his father by Cossack bands in a pogrom became a kind of obsession. Ryback drew and painted much the same subjects favored by Chagall, with whom his talent bears comparison. His manner, however, was more somber and more tragic. In addition to drawings, paintings, and prints, he left a series of delightful small ceramic figures, representing folk types of the *shtetl*. Ryback House, displaying the finest examples of the artist's work, was opened in 1962 at Ramat Yosef in Israel. The collection was donated by his widow, Sonia, who became the director of this small, but important, museum.

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[Alfred Werner]

RYDER, WINONA (**Winona Horowitz**, 1971–), U.S. film actress. Born in Winona, Minnesota, Ryder grew up on a commune in California. When she was 10, her parents enrolled her in acting classes at the American Conservatory Theater in San Francisco. She appeared in such popular films as: *Beetlejuice* (1988), *Heathers* (1989), *Edward Scissorhands* (1990), *Mermaids* (1990), and *Night on Earth* (1991). At age 22, Ryder achieved the status of one of Hollywood's most sought-after actresses, with starring roles in Francis Ford Coppola's *Dracula* (1992) and Martin Scorsese's *Age of Innocence* (1993), for which she received an Oscar nomination for Best Supporting Actress. Ryder went on to act in such films as: *The House of Spirits* (1993), *Reality Bites* (1994), *Little Women* (Oscar nomination for Best Actress, 1994), *How to Make an American Quilt.* (1995), *The Crucible* (1996), *Alien: Resurrection* (1997), *Celebrity* (1998), *Girl, Interrupted* (1999), *Autumn in New York* (2000), *Mr. Deeds* (2002), *S1mone* (2002), and *The Darwin Awards* (2005). She also produced and narrated the 2003 documentary *The Day My God Died* about the child sex slave trade in India.

In 1996 she was nominated for a Grammy for her reading of the audio book of *The Diary of Anne Frank*. In 1997 Ryder was named one of the 50 Most Beautiful People in the World by *People* magazine.

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[Jonathan Licht / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

RYMANOW, town in Rzeszow province, S.E. Poland. It is assumed that the town developed out of a colony of prisoners of war who settled there in the 15th century. The Jewish community was formed soon after the town was founded. Most of the Jews were merchants of wines imported from Hungary. About 1594 the Council of Four Lands (see *Councils of the Lands) debated the matter, and as a result, the community was warned by Meir b. Gedaliah of *Lublin to be careful about libation wine. At first the council intended to forbid the Jews entirely to deal in such wine, but since it was their main occupation a decision was made finally to issue just a warning. In connection with their commerce the Jews of Rymanow had to visit Krasno, a town in the same province, which had the privilege of excluding Jews (*de non tolerandis Judaeis*). This led to tensions between them and the townsmen of Krasno. In the 17th and 18th centuries the municipality of Krasno allowed its townsmen to rob and even put to death any Jew from Rymanow who attended the fair at Krasno. At the beginning of the 17th century, the Jews of Rymanow were prosecuted by the bishop of Przemysl for the alleged profaning of Christian festivals; the bishop won the suit. In 1765 there were 1,015 Jews in Rymanow (42.8% of the total population). At the beginning of the 19th century, as a result of the activity of R. Hirsch Mesharet, mentioned in 1838 by the head of the police in Lvov as having great influence on the Jews of Galicia, Rymanow became an important Ḥasidic center. It was the seat of the *Ẓaddikim* Menahem Mendel *Rymanower and his disciple Ẓevi Hirsch *Rymanower. The dwelling of the Ḥasidic rabbi, and the synagogue, erected in the 16th or 17th century, were the finest buildings in the town. At the end of the 19th century, Jewish communal life in Rymanow expanded.

This continued when Rymanow reverted to independent Poland after World War I. Controversies arose, however, especially between *Agudat Israel and the Zionists. In the 1930s Agudat Israel gained the majority within the community council, whereas in the elections to the municipal council in early 1939 the Zionists won three out of the five places reserved for Jews. Because of the anti-Jewish *boycott in the 1930s, the Jews suffered economically; in 1938 Jews were not permitted to deal in tobacco, a state-owned monopoly in Poland. The Jewish population numbered 1,391 (42.8% of the total) in 1865, and 1,412 (39.9%) in 1921.

[Shimshon Leib Kirshenboim]

Holocaust Period

After the outbreak of World War II, when the Germans occupied Rymanow at the end of September 1939, they issued an order for almost all the Jews in Rymanow to move within 24 hours to the Soviet-occupied area on the east bank of the River San. Only a small number were permitted to remain in the city. Many of those who went to the Soviet area were deported in the summer of 1940 to the Soviet interior. Those remaining in Rymanow were compelled by the Germans to pay fines, and subjected to confiscation of property and forced labor. On Aug. 1, 1942, all Jewish males aged 14 to 35 were deported to the Plaszow labor camp, where many met their deaths. On Aug. 13, 1942, the remainder of the Jewish community was deported to the *Belzec death camp.

[Aharon Weiss]

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Yad Vashem Archives.

RYMANOWER (of Rymanow), MENAHEM MENDEL (d. 1815), *ḥasidic ẓaddik*. A pupil of *Elimelech of Lyzhansk, he was born in Przytyk but spent most of his life in Rymanow. Ḥasidic tradition relates that in his youth he attended various yeshivot, finally settling at that of Shmelke of Nikolsburg (Mikulov). Legends about Menahem Mendel are included in stories concerning his pupil, Naphtali Ẓevi *Ropshitser. An ascetic, he became known for his regulations dealing with women's dress; he also instituted regulations concerning weights and measures. According to legend, he saw the Napoleonic wars as the battles of Gog and Magog which will precede redemption and the coming of the Messiah and he prayed for Napoleon's victory. Menahem Mendel appears in *David of Makow's list (1798–1800) of the cursed *ẓaddikim* of the generation (*Shever Poshe'im*, in M. Wilensky's *Ḥasidim u-Mitnaggedim*, 2 (1970), 102).

Menahem Mendel's works are *Ilana de-Ḥayyei* (1908), a commentary on the Pentateuch; *Menaḥem Ẓiyyon* (1851), sermons for Sabbath and festivals, collected by his pupil Ezekiel *Panet; *Divrei Menaḥem* (1863), sermons for Sabbath; *Ateret Menaḥem* (1910), practical talks and interpretations of the law; and *Torat Menaḥem* (1876), sermons on the weekly portions.

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[Esther (Zweig) Liebes]

RYMANOWER, ẒEVI HIRSH (1778–1847), Ḥasidic leader known as "Hirsh Mesharet" ("Hirsh the Attendant"). He was born in Dombrowa and learned tailoring as a boy. Under the influence of Moses of Przeworsk he became a Ḥasid and disciple of Mendel Rymanower. After the latter's death he stayed with Naphtali Ẓevi *Ropshitser for about 12 years, was recognized as his successor in 1827, and became known as a miracle-worker. His only son, Joseph ha-Kohen Rymanower (d. 1913), was his successor. *Be'erot ha-Mayim* (1894), edited by A.A. Kanarvogel, contains Ẓevi Hirsh's sermons on the daily portions of the Torah and those for Sabbath and festivals. Between the sermons, the editor included tales about Ẓevi Hirsh, adding at the end of the book a collection of sermons called *Yikkavu ha-Mayim* by Ẓevi Hirsh and some other Ḥasidic leaders.

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[Esther (Zweig) Liebes]

RYPIN, town in Budgoszcz province, N. central Poland; from 1815 until World War I within Russia. In 1799 the Jews of Rypin were granted civic rights and freedoms by the municipal council, which sought to improve the economic situation of the town with their assistance. Henceforward the Jewish population increased, numbering 517 (35% of the total population) in 1827; 1,024 (47.8%) in 1856; 1,706 (38.6%) in 1897; and 2,791 (38.6%) in 1921. The Jews developed commerce and crafts in the town. After World War I, 300 Jewish families (about 60% of the total Jewish population) were engaged in commerce, and 25% in the crafts. In the 1930s their economic situation was undermined, however, as a result of a campaign launched by antisemites.

The community was organized on democratic principles after World War I. In the first elections to the council held in 1924, as well as in those of 1931 and 1936, the Zionists obtained a majority, although the Ḥasidim had considerable influence within the Jewish population. Noteworthy of the community's rabbis were Nahum Manasseh Guttentag-Tavyomi, who appears to have participated in the Polish uprising of 1863, and Asher Gershon Luria, rabbi of the town for 40 years (d. 1932). There was a network of Jewish schools and cultural institutions of various kinds. Modern social and cultural activity began under the German occupation of World War I.

[Shimshon Leib Kirshenboim]

Holocaust Period

During the Nazi occupation, Rypin was part of Reichsgau Danzig-Westpreussen by Hitler's decree of Oct. 26, 1939. Before the outbreak of World War II, Rypin had nearly 2,500 Jews. Before the Germans entered on September 8, many Jews escaped, but trickled back afterward. Some 100–150 refugees who returned were probably shot on the outskirts of town. In September and October 1939, several Jews were arrested and some leading persons were murdered. The Germans set the main synagogue and *bet midrash* on fire. The Germans arrested the president of the community, Shimeon Kron (or Kran), for starting the fire, and the community was obliged to pay a high "contribution" (or fine). A large number of Jews, especially youth, escaped to the Soviet-occupied territories. The remaining Jews, ordered by the German authorities to leave the town in the middle of November 1939, became dispersed in various towns – *Mlawa, *Ciechanow, *Plonsk, Szrensk, and others. Some went to Warsaw. After this exodus, the Germans destroyed the two Jewish cemeteries. About 280 Jews from Rypin survived the Holocaust, including 180 who eventually returned from the Soviet Union, and 65 who survived in labor and concentration camps. The remainder had "Aryan" documents or were hidden by Christians. A number of the survivors returned to Rypin in 1945–46 but remained only a short time. Most of them emigrated.

[Danuta Dombrowska]

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RYSHKANY (formerly **Ryshkanovca**, Rom. **Râşcani**), town in N. Moldova. Ryshkany developed into an urban community during the 19th century as a result of the large Jewish settlement in Bessarabia at that time. In 1897 there were 2,247 Jews (69% of the total population) in the town, and in 1930 there were 2,055 (66% of the total). In the 1930s the communal institutions included a kindergarten and an elementary school, both maintained by the *Tarbut organization. The community was destroyed when the Germans and Romanians entered Bessarabia in July 1941. In 1970 the Jewish population was estimated at about 150 families.

[Eliyahu Feldman]

°**RYSSEL, VICTOR** (1849–1905), German Protestant Bible critic who taught at the University of Leipzig. The fruit of his activity as teacher appeared in writings on exegesis, hermeneutics, theology, and particularly in commentaries on the Bible and the Apocrypha.

For "*Kurzgefasstes exegetisches Handbuch zum Alten Testament*," he revised A. *Dillmann's *Exodus-Leviticus* (1897^3) and E. Bertheau's *Esra, Nechemia und Esther* (1887^2). His studies of the Prayer of Manasseh, the Additions to Esther, Ecclesiasticus, the Syriac Apocalypse of Baruch, and the Greek Apocalypse of Baruch, all of which appear in E. Kautzsch, *Die Apokryphen und Pseudepigraphen des Alten Testaments* (1900; 1921), represent the classic German investigation of this literature.

[Zev Garber]

RYVEL (pseudonym of **Raphael Lévy**; 1898–1972), Tunisian author and educator. He was born in *Tunis and received pedagogical training at the Ecole Normale Israélite Orientale (ENIO), the teachers' school of the *Alliance Israélite Universelle (AIU). After completing his training, Ryvel returned to *Tunisia where he taught at the AIU primary school in Sousse. He was later recruited to teach at the AIU boys' schools in *Casablanca and Tunis. In the latter city, he served as the school's principal. Ryvel belonged to a small nucleus of AIU teachers that often opposed that organization's hostility or indifference to Zionism. He was instrumental in promoting aspects of modern Hebrew studies at the Tunis school. During this time he published more than a dozen books of stories, poems, and plays on Tunisian daily Jewish life, many of which were performed. His most representative works are *La hara conte* (1920), a compilation of essays dealing with life in the Jewish ghetto, *Terre d'Israël* (1927), and *L'enfant de l'Oukala,* also on Jewish quarter folklore, for which he received the important *Prix de Carthage* in 1931.

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[Michael M. Laskier (2nd ed.)]

RZESZOW (Pol. **Rzeszow**; Heb. **Risha**), capital of Rzeszow province, S.E. Poland. Until the 18th century Rzeszow was a private city; its last owners, the Lubomirsky family, ruled the city until the Austrian annexation in 1772. The Jewish community of Rzeszow dates back to the 15th century. Jewish settlement there was authorized by King Stephen Bathory. The community was heavily taxed and was subject to various restrictions on commerce and crafts. In the 17th century, a synagogue was erected (later known as the "old" synagogue) and a cemetery was opened. Within the framework of the *Councils of the Lands, Rzeszow belonged to the Land of "Russia." At the beginning of the 18th century, a controversy broke out between the Rzeszow and *Przemysl communities over R. Ezekiel Joshua Feivel Fraenkel-Teomim, who was first rabbi of Przemysl and subsequently moved to Rzeszow. The Przemysl community then deprived him of his office as rabbi of the province (*galil*) and elected Samuel Mendelowicz of Lvov rabbi of the Przemysl community and the province. The controversy was debated at a convention of the provincial council of Przemysl in 1715 and at a convention of the Land of "Russia" at Jaroslav. Following the dispute, the Rzeszow community broke away from the provincial council and constituted itself an independent entity in relation to the Council of the Four Lands. The amount of tax which the Rzeszow community paid the Council in 1715–19 shows that it was then a large community. In the middle of the 18th century, the budget of the community amounted to 17,000 zlotys. At that time most of the city's shops were Jewish-owned. Cloth trade and goldsmithing were exclusively Jewish occupations, and the high quality of their products was known throughout Europe. "Rzeszow gold" was noted at fairs. The Jewish seal engravers there also became celebrated and they supplied the courts at Stockholm and St. Petersburg. A non-Jewish traveler in Rzeszow in the middle of the 19th century referred to Rzeszow as the "little Jerusalem." Various economic and political restrictions remained in force until the Austrian revolution in 1848. By the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th centuries, the Jews of Rzeszow enjoyed equal rights and participated in municipal and parliamentary elections.

The Jewish population numbered 1,202 in 1765; 3,375 (c. 75% of the total) in 1800; 7,000 (38.2%) in 1900; 8,000 (36.3%) in 1910; and 11,228 in 1931.

The *Haskalah movement was particularly influential there. Its early *maskilim* included Wilhelm Turteltaub. Prominent in Hebrew literature were Moses David Geschwind (1846–1905), a translator of the Polish poet J. Slowacki into Hebrew, and Abraham Abba Appelbaum (1861–1933), an early member of the Ḥovevei Zion in Galicia and founder of the first Hebrew school in the city, who wrote historical essays in the field of Jewish history in Italy.

Ḥasidism began to spread in Rzeszow in the 19th century. A large synagogue was built in the 19th century, as well as a hospital, old age home, and charitable and cultural institutions. The rabbis of the community included Samuel Ha-Levi (d. 1729), son-in-law of R. *Isaac b. Eliakim of Poznan (Posen), and Jacob *Reischer, head of the yeshivah and author of *Shevut Ya'akov*, who also served as rabbi in *Worms. The later rabbis include Aaron b. Nathan *Lewin, who was a representative of *Agudat Israel in the Polish Sejm. In the 20th century there was large-scale Zionist activity and Zionists were members of the community council, replacing the assimilationists. Hebrew was taught in the kindergartens, and a Hebrew school established in the Bet ha-Am. The latter became a center for young Zionist pioneers. Zionist organizations were established, such as Shulamit, a Zionist women's organization.

[Klara Maayan]

Holocaust Period

On the outbreak of World War II, there were about 14,000 Jews in Rzeszow. The German army entered the city on Sept. 10, 1939, and the anti-Jewish reign of terror began. In December 1941 a closed ghetto was established in Rzeszow. On July 7–13, 1942, the first mass deportation took place: about 14,000 Jews from the entire district of Rzeszow were concentrated in the ghetto and immediately deported together with some 8,000 Jews from the city to the *Belzec death camp. At the time of the deportation, 238 Jews were shot for offering passive resistance, while another 1,000 were taken to the nearby Rudna Forest and executed there. On Aug. 8, 1942, about 1,000 women and children were deported from the ghetto to the Peikinia concentration camp, where all of them were exterminated shortly afterward. In November 1942 only about 3,000 Jews still remained in the ghetto, which was transformed into a forced-labor camp and divided into two isolated parts: "A" for slave laborers, and "B" for members of their families. In September 1943 part A was transferred to the forced-labor camp of Szebnia, where the majority of the inmates met their death; part B was liquidated in November 1943, when all the inmates were deported to *Auschwitz and exterminated. Only about 600 Jews remained in a local forced-labor camp until July 1944. Some of them succeeded in escaping and hiding themselves in the nearby forests; others were deported to Germany. Jewish life was not reconstituted in Rzeszow after the war.

[Stefan Krakowski]

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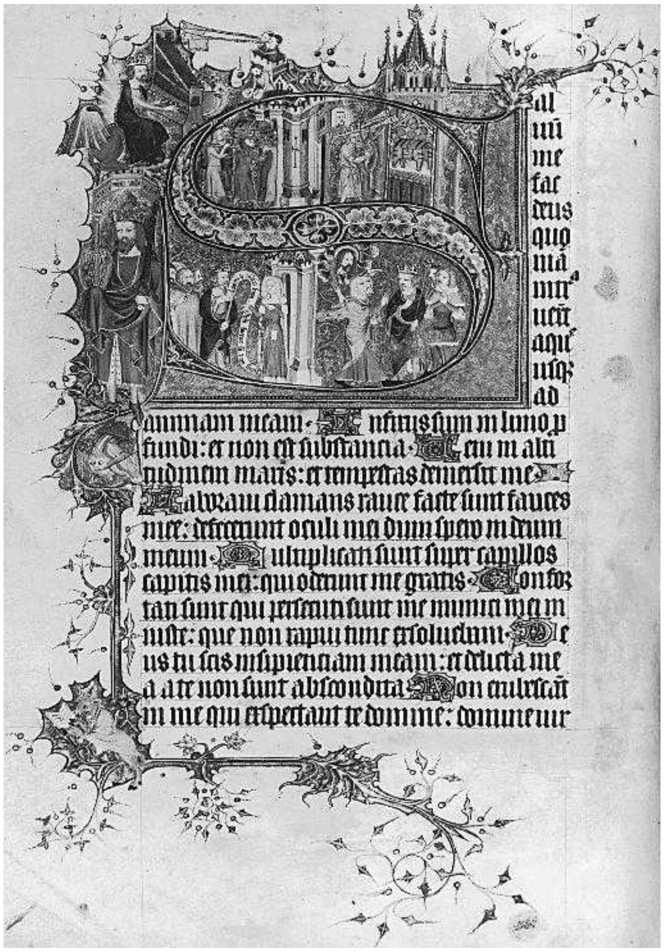

Illuminated initial letter "S" of the word Salvus *at the opening of Psalm 68 (Vulgate; 69 according to the Masoretic text) in the* Bohun Psalter, *14th century. The four scenes from the story of David are, top left, the Ark being carried up to Jerusalem (II Sam. 6:1–15); right, Michal watches David dancing before the Ark (*ibid., *16); bottom left, David reproves Michal for her criticism of him (*ibid., *20–23); right, the prophet Nathan assures David of the endurance of his kingdom (II Sam. 16). London, British Museum, EG 3277, fol. 46v.*

SAA-SAM

SA'AD (Heb. סַעַד; "Buttress"), kibbutz in southern Israel, on the border of the Negev, 4 mi. (6 km.) southeast of Gaza, affiliated with Ha-Kibbutz ha-Dati. Sa'ad was founded in 1947 by *Youth Aliyah graduates from Germany and Austria. The settlers were joined by Israeli-born youth and immigrants from various countries. In the *War of Independence Sa'ad was completely leveled in long and bitter battles with the invading Egyptian army. The settlers held out in underground dugouts. After the war they built the village anew about 1 mi. (2 km.) further east. Sa'ad then developed intensive farming with irrigation from the Yarkon-Negev line and, later, from the National Water Carrier. The economy was based on livestock, field crops, citrus and other fruit, poultry, and dairy cattle. The kibbutz also had plants manufacturing plastic shrinkwrap film for packaging, as well as popcorn products and pet food. Other enterprises were a fashion outlet, a handmade jewelry workshop, and an auto service center. In 1970 there were 530 inhabitants; in 2002, 582.

WEBSITE: www.saad.org.il.

[Efraim Orni / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

ṢAʿADĪ, JUDAH BEN SOLOMON (c. 1665–1740), *av bet din* in *Sanʿa after the return of the Jews from exile in *Mawzaʿ. During Ṣaʿadī's lifetime the dispute over the version of prayers to be adopted in *Yemen broke out. He and R. Yaḥyā Ṣāliḥ (Maharis) fought for the original Yemenite version (*baladī*), and against the Sephardi version (*shāmī*), which had spread with the introduction of printed *siddurim*. Some opinions have attributed to him the work *Dofi ha-Zeman* ("Fault of the Times"), a history of Yemenite Jewry during the years 1717–26 (see *Saadi, Said b. Solomon).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Tikhlal, Eẓ Ḥayyim*, 1 (1894), introd.

[Yehuda Ratzaby]

SAADIAH (Saʿid; c. 16th century), poet. Saadiah ranks among the group of early Yemenite poets. His poetry is distinguished for its motifs, style, and form, which later, during the Mashtā period (17th century), became the principal elements of Yemenite poetry.

The subjects of his poetry are the Sabbath, the festivals, exile and redemption, friendship, and *Kabbalah. His poetry is mostly written in Hebrew. His poem *La-Ner ve-li-Vesamim*, a *Havdalah* for the conclusion of the Sabbath, is still recited in the homes of Yemenite Jews.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: A.Z. Idelsohn and H. Torczyner (eds.), *Shirei Teiman* (1930), 34–41.

[Yehuda Ratzaby]

SAADIAH BEN JOSEPH HA-LEVI (16th century), Yemenite rabbi, poet, and *paytan*. Saadiah was one of the leading scholars of his time in *Sanʿa (and later in Jiblah). He composed *piyyutim* and poems.

Several of his *piyyutim*, including one on the *Akedah* (the binding of Isaac), were published or mentioned by H. Brody, D. Sassoon, and A.Z. Idelsohn (see bibliography). *Zechariah al-Dahiri composed a panegyric in his honor, published in the *Sefer ha-Musar*, in which he notes that Saadiah lived in Sanʿa at the time of the persecutions of 1568 and describes the latter's greatness in Torah. He may possibly be the Saadiah b. Joseph whose *piyyut* was published in the *Aleppo prayer book of 1527.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: H. Brody, in: *Kobez al Jad*, 6 (1894), 12–14, 27–29; D. Sassoon, in: KS, 2 (1925/26), 258–64; 3 (1926/27), 168–71; A.Z. Idelsohn and H. Torczyner (eds.), *Shirei Teiman* (1930), 256–62; Zechariah al-Ḍāhirī, *Sefer ha-Musar*, ed. by Y. Ratzaby (1965), index.

SAADIAH (Ben Joseph) GAON (882–942), greatest scholar and author of the geonic period and important leader of Babylonian Jewry. Saadiah was born in Pithom (Abu Suweir), in the Faiyum district in Egypt. Little is known about his family except that his opponents slandered his father because he was not a scholar and earned his living from manual labor. Perhaps there is some truth to his opponents' claim that his father was banished from Egypt and died in Jaffa, but no reason for this expulsion is given. It is noteworthy that Sherira Gaon refers to Saadiah's father with respect (*Iggeret Rav Sherira Ga'on*, ed. by B.M. Lewin (1921), 112). The information given on the members of his family, apart from his wife and children, is mere speculation. While there is no doubt that in his youth he already displayed outstanding talents both as an author and in communal activity, there is scant information about his teachers, whether in Jewish studies or in Greco-Arabic philosophy. The Arab writer Mas'udi states that when Saadiah was in Ereẓ Israel, he studied under Abu Kathir Yaḥya b. Zechariah al-Katib of Tiberias. However, earlier than that, when he still lived in Egypt, he had already written two books (see below) and corresponded with R. Isaac b. Solomon *Israeli of Kairouan. It is therefore certain that when he left Egypt he was already a learned scholar of Torah and secular sciences, and had left behind many disciples. There is no information about him between the years 905, when he wrote his responsum to Anan (see below), and 921; nor are the reasons for his departure from Egypt clear. From a fragment of a letter written in the summer of that year it is known that he was then in Aleppo, from where he proceeded to Baghdad, and, as stated above, it is known that he had been in Ereẓ Israel.

From 921 Saadiah appears as the leading protagonist in an ongoing bitter struggle between Aaron *Ben Meir, head of the Jerusalem academy, and the leaders of the Jewish communities in Babylonia. In 922 (4682) Ben Meir announced that Passover that year would fall on Sunday, and not on Tuesday as accepted according to the Babylonian calendar, and therefore that Rosh Ha-Shanah would fall on Tuesday and not Thursday. These changes would also affect the fixing of the days of the other holidays during the year 923/4 (see *Calendar). Ben Meir also deviated from accepted practice of midday as the deciding line for the declaration of the new moon. Scholars agree that the head of the Jerusalem academy did not deviate from the norm willingly. It is not clear on what or whose authority he based this deviation and he upheld a tradition that recognized the sole right of Ereẓ Israel to declare new moons and holidays. Ben Meir sincerely believed in the halakhic rightness of his acts. In his demand that the Babylonian authorities accept his view, he claimed the prerogative both of *halakhah* and of Ereẓ Israel; perhaps he hoped to magnify the importance of the academy which he headed. Saadiah and his followers, however, denied the validity of Ben Meir's arguments. Possibly while he was still in Ereẓ Israel, Saadiah became aware that he and Ben Meir differed with regard to the calendar and he consequently wrote to Yehudai b. Naḥman Gaon regarding the fixing of the calendar.

While Saadiah was still in Aleppo, he was informed by some students who came from Baghdad of Ben Meir's intentions, and he attempted to dissuade him from implementing it. Ben Meir, however, did not heed his advice. He considered his intended act as being of supreme importance and refused to heed demands that he abandon it. On the contrary, he felt obliged at all costs to defend the sole right of Jerusalem to establish the new moon and fix the calendar; he thus demanded that Babylonian Jewry act in accordance with his instructions, as all previous generations had depended on Jerusalem for the necessary information on this matter. The Babylonian authorities had in fact acknowledged the authority of the Jerusalem academy in this matter in 855 (Mann, Egypt, 1 (1920), 52–53; 2 (1922), 41–47). On his instructions his son declared from the Mount of Olives that in 4682 (921) Rosh Ha-Shanah would fall on Thursday, and Passover on Sunday. The leaders of the Jewish community in Babylonia were shaken by the danger of an impending schism in the Jewish community. In spite of their previous differences, the exilarch and the *geonim* agreed that Ben Meir must be prevented from carrying out his plan. Saadiah, who had returned to Babylonia, sent letters to Ben Meir and his colleagues, which at first were couched in conciliatory language, but to no avail. In a letter full of bitterness Ben Meir accused his former supporters of abandoning him to submit to the Babylonian authorities, and stated that under no circumstances would he change his mind. The controversy continued and the schism materialized. From a statement by the Karaite *Sahl b. Maẓli'aḥ, who gleefully recorded the occasion, and by a Christian who mentions it in passing, it is known that the Jews in Ereẓ Israel observed Rosh Ha-Shanah in 4683 (922) on Tuesday, and the Jews in Babylonia, on Thursday, and it can be assumed that in both countries there were those who adhered to different days. The controversy grew in bitterness and invective and Ben Meir lost ground. The action of the Babylonian scholars in defending their tradition prevented people from following the head of the Palestinian academy, and caused some who had previously followed him to desert him. Saadiah was requested to compose a detailed account on the event which would serve as a reminder to Jews, and accordingly wrote *Sefer ha-Zikkaron*, which was read in public in Elul 922. The duration of the schism after 923 and the manner in which it was resolved cannot be determined. Ben Meir continued as head of the academy but Saadiah and the Babylonian leaders had achieved victory, and he was considered one of the greatest authorities in the field of fixing the calendar. He wrote *Sefer ha-Mo'adim*, which gives a complete account of the dispute.

It would appear that immediately on his arrival in Babylonia in 922, Saadiah was appointed to the yeshivah of Pumbedita, as from that year his letters bear his signature along with the title **resh* ("head of") *kallah* or **alluf.* After the Ben Meir controversy had subsided, Saadiah found time for literary work and several of his works were written in the 920s. His talents and personality attracted many, and some of the important leaders in Baghdad were his colleagues and aides, among them Sahl b. Netira, a wealthy merchant esteemed by the authorities. When the question of the continuation of the academy of Sura was under discussion, Saadiah's name was proposed. The famous academy had been through a difficult period. The honor in which it had been held had declined. His predecessor, R. Yom Tov Kahana b. Mar Rav Jacob, who headed it for ten years, was a weaver by calling, and after his death it was suggested that the academy be closed down completely and the students transferred to Pumbedita. The exilarch *David b. Zakkai, however, decided to maintain the Sura academy. At first, however, R. Nathan the son of Yehudai Gaon was appointed *alluf,* but he died before he could take up the office (*Iggeret Ray Sherira Ga'on*, 112). The exilarch then wished to appoint Saadiah. According to *Nathan ha-Bavli, there were other candidates, and perhaps there is a historical basis to the report that the exilarch had to decide whether to appoint R. Ẓemaḥ b. Shahin ("because he was wellborn and learned") or Saadiah (Neubauer, Chronicles, 2 (1895), 80). The family connections of the former certainly were taken into consideration. Most of the *geonim* came from a limited number of families and it was not easy to deviate from this tradition. Saadiah was a stranger, apparently not well connected. Although it was conceded that Saadiah was the greater scholar, it was difficult to ignore the characteristics enumerated by *Nissi b. Berechiah al-Nahrwani which appear in Nathan ha-Bavli's report: "Although he [Saadiah] is a great man and a profound scholar, he is not afraid of any man and does not show favor to anyone because of his great knowledge, eloquence, and piety" (*ibid.*). Saadiah's virtues, however, determined the exilarch's decision.

His conflict with Ben Meir and his writings against heretics such as *Ḥiwi al-Balkhi and against the Karaites had proved his fearlessness, his dedication to the Torah, and his loyalty to the exilarch. It could certainly be hoped that under Saadiah's leadership the academy of Sura would be revived. His standing and his firmness would counterbalance *Kohen Ẓedek b. Joseph, the *gaon* of Pumbedita. David b. Zakkai thereupon appointed Saadiah head of the Sura academy in the spring of 928. As a precaution, the exilarch administered the oath to the new *gaon* "that he do not disobey me, or plot against me, or regard anyone but me as exilarch, or associate with any of my opponents" (A.E. Harkavy, *Zikkaron la-Rishonim*, 1 pt. 5 (1832), 232).

Saadiah immediately embarked upon his administrative work with energy and dedication. He set himself two tasks: to increase the number of students in the academy, and to secure the financial needs of the institution. To achieve the latter, he employed the methods of his predecessors (and to an even greater extent of his successors), of requesting aid from the Jewish communities far and near. Abraham *Ibn Daud reports in the name of R. Meir ibn Bibas that Saadiah sent a letter to Spain, "to the communities of Cordoba, Elvira, Lucena… and all the Jewish communities in its vicinity" (*Sefer ha-Qabbalah* (G.D. Cohen, ed., 1967), 79). Of special significance are the two successive requests he sent to Egypt, "to the Jewish communities in the city of Fostat" (B.M. Lewin, in: *Ginzei Kedem*, 2 (1963) 34, 35), the first containing the greetings of the head of the academy, his son She'erit, and the *allufim*, as well as the rest of the scholars of the academy and the "important and esteemed burghers of Baghdad." He further says that the aforesaid "burghers," "the sons of Mar Rav Netira and Mar Rav Aaron," will help him in obtaining any request from the government. Saadiah also urged the Jews in Egypt to maintain contact with him, in order that he could regard himself as the acknowledged leader of all Jewry. The second letter refers with satisfaction to his early leadership of the academy; it is composed entirely of admonitions and moral instruction to the people (every verse begins with the phrase "the children of Israel") and is written in a tone of authority. Saadiah openly requested support for the academy in both letters. He also gathered the members of the academy who had left or had moved to Pumbedita during Sura's decline and restored it to its former glory. Saadiah's character aided him in his energetic fulfillment of his task. Whatever one thinks of the grave accusations against him leveled by David b. Zakkai, it must be conceded that while Saadiah was *Gaon* he was not intimidated by those in power and did not show favoritism.

His ways and deeds probably stimulated envy and complaints on the part of the exilarch. Only on the assumption that there already existed tension between Saadiah and the exilarch prior to their final quarrel is it possible to understand how a single incident could have provoked a bitter and difficult dispute. According to Nathan ha-Bavli (Neubauer, *ibid.*, 80–81), Saadiah refused to confirm the terms of settlement of a will which would greatly benefit the exilarch. At first Saadiah was evasive and requested that Kohen Ẓedek, the head of the Pumbedita academy, should first append his signature, anticipating that he would not sign. When, however, Kohen Ẓedek did sign, Saadiah announced his refusal to confirm the inheritance. There is no doubt that Saadiah acted in accordance with the law; his answer to the son of the exilarch, "ye shall not respect persons in judgment" (Deut. 1.17), showed that he was conscious of his high office as an impartial judge. On the other hand, from the fact that Kohen Ẓedek confirmed the decision, it may be assumed that there was no definite miscarriage of justice, but that it was a controversial issue, which was difficult to decide. David b. Zakkai's anger at Saadiah was boundless and the quarrel came out in the open. He deposed Saadiah, appointing *Joseph b. Jacob bar Satia as *Gaon*. Saadiah in his turn appointed another exilarch, Josiah Hasan, the brother of David b. Zakkai. Apparently, when the quarrel started, the *gaon* was certain of his victory. Close to the wealthy classes in the city, he hoped that with their influence he would prevail in his dispute with the exilarch. Nonetheless, it seems that those interested in the quarrel, i.e., the members of the academy and the elite of the community, were divided into two camps. Nathan ha-Bavli's statement that "all the wealthy in Babylonia, the academy students, and prominent members of the community were on Saadiah's side," assisting him financially in presenting his case to the caliph, his officers, and advisors (Neubauer, *ibid.*, 80) is probably exaggerated. He himself states earlier that Khalaf b. Sarjado (*Aaron b. Joseph Sargado; Sarjado) had assisted the exilarch and that the head of the Pumbedita academy supported him. Until 932, Saadiah was in a strong, if not a dominant, position. At that time he wrote the first version of *Sefer ha-Galui* in flowery Hebrew. The work exudes self-confidence. In a letter attacking Saadiah (Harkavy, *ibid.*, 227), the *gaon's* conduct during those years is criticized. However, when the caliph al-Kahir (932–934) assumed the throne, his fortune changed. The caliph needed money badly and Aaron Sarjado's contribution decided the issue. The sons of Netira and the sons of Aaron did not wish to become involved in the issue, as their influence had waned, especially after Aaron Sarjado appeared as the leading antagonist of the *gaon*. The reasons for his deep hatred of the *gaon* are not known. It is possible that it stemmed from his own ambitions to become *gaon*, which he did not attain until 943, or he was hurt by Saadiah's arrogance. In any case, he became Saadiah's inveterate enemy, and his invective and insults were harsher than those of David b. Zakkai and Kohen Ẓedek. Aaron Sarjado's open support of David b. Zakkai and the fact that the other wealthy members of the community were either unable or unwilling to become involved, resulted in Josiah Hasan's banishment to Khurasan, where, apparently, he died shortly afterward. Saadiah was forced to relinquish the gaonate and take refuge from the wrath of his opponents. It was a blessing in disguise, since as a result Saadiah was free to pursue his creative work. During this period he wrote his philosophic work, *Emunot ve-De'ot* ("Beliefs and Opinions"), and a second version of *Sefer ha-Galui*, with a long introduction in Arabic and an Arabic commentary on the original.

According to Nathan ha-Bavli (Neubauer, *ibid.*, 81–82), the opponents were reconciled in 937 when Bishr b. Aaron b. Amram, the father-in-law of Aaron Sarjado, was persuaded to intervene in this matter and make peace between the two sides. Bishr undoubtedly found the entire quarrel tiresome, and complied. He had supported Saadiah, as the *Gaon* testifies, and the differences between himself and his son-in-law did not please him. The disputants were also weary of the quarrel and were prepared for reconciliation. Saadiah again headed the academy in Sura, despite the fact that David b. Zakkai's candidate, Joseph b. Mar Rav Jacob, continued to receive a salary. Sarjado's stand regarding this change is not known. He apparently acquiesced in the face of a situation which he could not prevent. In the meantime he was busy with his own affairs. R. Kohen Ẓedek died early in 936; and Aaron Sarjado, to his dismay, was not appointed his successor. It was only in 943 that he succeeded to the position; according to Sherira Gaon, he took it by force. Saadiah's last years were peaceful. The exilarch died in 942, while he was on good terms with the *gaon*. It is exemplified by the fact that when David's son Judah died shortly after his father, Saadiah took Judah's son into his home and brought him up.

[Abraham Solomon Halkin]

As Halakhist

Saadiah's halakhic works are still largely in manuscript, particularly in thousands of scattered *Genizah* fragments, and although not even a small part has so far been assembled and investigated, the general picture nevertheless is gradually becoming clearer. From the little that has been published, as well as from the various evidences of Saadiah himself and of other *geonim*, the dimensions of his halakhic work can be reconstructed. It is clear that the largest and most important part of it consists of monographs on halakhic decisions, which covered most of what is at present included in the *Ḥoshen Mishpat* of the Shulḥan Arukh, as well as books on Ritual Purity and Impurity (*Niddah, Sheḥitah, Terefot*), Incest, Festivals, and the proclamation of the new month. Saadiah was one of the creators of rabbinic literature, if not the actual pioneer in this field, and the first to write "books" in the modern sense of the word. He was also the first to give his halakhic works the form of monographs, assigning a separate one to each topic of Hebrew law: a book on the Laws of Gifts, another on the Laws of Commercial Transactions, and so on. He was likewise the first to set a standard pattern for his books of halakhic decisions by dividing each one into sections and subsections. Every subject begins with a brief definition of the topic under discussion, followed by various details and talmudic proofs of them. Saadiah goes into the fullest details of every halakhic topic he touches on, but he frequently omits entire *halakhot* which have a direct bearing on the subject at issue, either because he thought of dealing with them within the context of some other halakhic monograph, or because he regarded them as too unimportant to be included in the discussion. Saadiah's halakhic books are thus distinguished by their systematic structure and logical order and by a lengthy detailed introduction which he prefaced to each book of halakhic decisions. One exception to all this is his Book of Inheritance, which omits the talmudic proofs of the *halakhot* mentioned in it. This gave rise to the conjecture among scholars that at first Saadiah's procedure was not to state the sources but that after complaints from rabbis he changed his method. There is, however, no support for this supposition. It is more probable that the extant Book of Inheritance is an abbreviated version of the original work, which contained the sources. Saadiah's books of halakhic decisions represent a complete revolution when compared to other similar lengthy works that preceded it, **Halakhot Gedolot* and **Halakhot Pesukot*, which, following the pattern of talmudic themes, lack the structure of a code. Saadiah was the first to write halakhic works in Arabic, which had in his days replaced Aramaic as the principal language spoken by the Jews in Babylonia. This constituted something of a revolution. Following him, various *geonim* also wrote extensively in this language. Saadiah's halakhic writings exercised a great influence on succeeding *geonim*, although this is not superficially apparent since the *geonim* seldom quoted the names of their geonic predecessors.

Several of Saadiah's halakhic works were collected and edited by J. Mueller and published in Paris in 1897. These consist of The Book of Inheritance; The Book of the 613 Commandments; An Interpretation of the Thirteen Hermeneutic Rules; collected responsa; and statements in his name collected from various sources. The Book of the 613 Commandments was republished with a very extensive commentary by Jeroham Fischel *Perla. The collected responsa ascribed to Saadiah require to be examined to authenticate their authorship. Extracts from *Sefer ha-Shetarot*, his book on documents and deeds, which had a unique structure and arrangement, were published by S. Assaf in: J.L. Fishman (ed.), *Rav Sa'adyah Gaon* (1957; see bibliography); further extracts appeared in *Tarbiz*, 9 (1938). The commentary on *Berakhot*, published by S.A. Wertheimer (1908) and attributed to Saadiah, is not by him. In addition, many of Saadiah's halakhic statements have been preserved in his *siddur* (see below). He also wrote on the methodology of the Talmud, apparently in a general introduction to it, of which a few extracts were quoted in a similar work of Bezalel *Ashkenazi that was published by A. Marx in *Festschrift… David Hoffmann* (1914) and in other writings of this scholar.

[Israel Moses Ta-Shma]

Saadiah's Philosophy

Although Saadiah was not the first medieval Jewish philosopher, in light of his public standing, the scope of his philosophical oeuvre, and the influence it had on subsequent generations, he can be considered the founding father of medieval Jewish philosophy.

Saadiah's major philosophic work, written in Arabic, *Kitāb al-Amānāt wa-al-Iʿtiqādāt* (ed. by S. Landauer, 1880; tr. by S. Rosenblatt, *The Book of Beliefs and Opinions*, 1948; abridged version, tr. by A. Altmann, in: *Three Jewish Philosophers*, 1965), is the earliest Jewish philosophic work from medieval times to have survived intact. It was translated into Hebrew by Judah ibn *Tibbon in 1186 under the title *Sefer ha-Emunot ve-ha-De'ot* (Constantinople, 1562), and in this version exercised a profound influence on Jewish thought. A new Hebrew translation was prepared by Y. Kafiḥ and published together with the Arabic original (1970).

There exist several manuscripts of an earlier anonymous Hebrew paraphrase of the work, *Pitron Sefer ha-Emunah*, which was probably written by an author who lived within the boundaries of Byzantine culture in the 11–12th century (critical edition: Hebrew paraphrase of Saadiah Gaon's *Kitāb al-Amānāt wa-al-Iʿtiqādāt*, ed. R.C. Kiener, Ph.D. thesis, University of Pennsylvania (1984); idem, in: *AJS Review*, 11:1 (1986), 1–25). Saadiah also wrote an Arabic commentary on the *Sefer Yeẓirah* ("The Book of Creation"), titled *Tafsīr Kitāb al-Mabādi* (ed. and tr. into French under the title *Commentaire sur le Sefer Yesira par le Gaon Saadya*, by M. Lambert, 1891), which was translated into Hebrew by Moses b. Joseph of Lucena, probably sometime during the 12th century (Ms. Munich, no. 92). A new Hebrew translation was prepared by Y. Kafiḥ and published together with the Arabic original (1972). References to other Hebrew translations of this work are found in the commentary on *Sefer Yeẓirah* by *Judah ben Barzillai al-Bargeloni (ed. by S.J. Halberstam, 1885), and in Berechiah ha-Nakdan's *Meẓaref* (ed. by Gollancz, 1902). Saadiah's philosophical views are also contained in some of his introductions to the Pentateuch (see Y. Kafiḥ, *Perushei Rabbenu Sa'adyah Ga'on al ha-Torah*, 1963). Exegetical works, especially introductions to commentaries, also served as a vehicle for Saadiah to expound his philosophical system, e.g., in the introduction to Job he discusses at length divine justice and the suffering of the righteous, in the introduction to Daniel he refutes the validity of divination in general, and astrology in particular, to forecast the future, as opposed to prophecy, which is the only true source for knowing future events (notably the ultimate redemption), because of its divine origin.

Saadiah was close to the school of the Muʿtazilites (see **Kalām*), but it is evident that he was also influenced by Aristotelianism, Platonism, and Stoicism. He, in turn, influenced Jewish Neoplatonists, such as *Baḥya ibn Paquda, Moses *Ibn Ezra, and *Abraham ibn Ezra. Jewish Aristotelians such as Abraham *Ibn Daud also borrowed some of his ideas. The influence of Saadiah declined with the appearance of the *Guide of the Perplexed*, in which Maimonides attacks *Kalām* philosophy, alluding to Saadiah, although never mentioning him by name. However, in the 14th and 15th centuries, Maimonides' philosophical opponents drew upon Saadiah's work, and *Sefer ha-Emunot ve-ha-De'ot* was influential until the *Haskalah period.

In line with Muʿtazilite thought, Saadiah in *Sefer ha-Emunot ve-ha-De'ot* did not attempt to establish a complete philosophical system resting upon an independent foundation, but rather set out to find a rational basis for the dogmas of the Oral and Written Law. Saadiah explains that he wrote this work in order to provide his fellow Jews with spiritual guidance in the face of the confusion which the multiple sects and religious disputes of the tenth century had created among the people, and to combat heretical views, such as those of Ḥiwi al-Balkhi. The *Emunot ve-De'ot* (as it is usually referred to) is a polemical work, in which Saadiah, in addition to clarifying and expounding his own views, devoted much space to disproving opposing theories. Saadiah believed that it was a religious obligation to provide a rational basis for the Law and the Jewish faith, in order to dispel doubts and refute views at variance with those which he accepts. Saadiah's importance lies in his being the first medieval Jewish philosopher to attempt to reconcile the Bible and rabbinic tradition with philosophy, reason with revelation and tradition. Unlike his predecessor *Al-Muqammis, Saadiah related his system of religious thought directly to the Jewish sources, and he did it with the authority of his position as *gaon*.

Saadiah was one of the earliest thinkers (though not the first) to establish a list of normative beliefs ("articles of faith," ten in number). Although he did not include this list in any halakhic work, and so did not give them any legally binding status, it seems that they had some influence, and may have paved the way for Maimonides in establishing his 13 articles of faith.

THEORY OF KNOWLEDGE. In the introduction to the *Emunot ve-De'ot*, in an attempt to refute the skeptics and to show that one can achieve a knowledge of the truth by means of speculation, Saadiah presents a psychological and epistemological account of the reasons for doubt, and explains why men in their search for the truth become involved in error. He identifies three sources of knowledge: (1) sense perception; (2) self-evident principles, such as the approval of telling the truth and the disapproval of lying, and (3) inferential knowledge gained by syllogistic reasoning.

He attacks the claim of the skeptics that these sources of knowledge are not to be relied upon, but at the same time discusses the errors that one may make in utilizing them, and the steps that one must take in order to insure their reliability. There is, in addition, a fourth source of knowledge, reliable tradition, i.e., confidence in the truth of the reports of others, which is indispensable for the functioning of human society. In Judaism reliable tradition has special significance in that it refers to the transmission, through Scripture and the oral tradition, of God's revelation to the prophets, and subsequently to the sages. Saadiah maintains that while one can arrive at a knowledge of the truth by means of speculation, revelation is necessary in order to impart the truth to those who are incapable of rational investigation, as well as to provide guidance for those who are involved in speculation. In the division between the three sources of rational knowledge and the reliable tradition Saadiah is part of the Muʿtazilite tradition. This division in turn is the basis for the distinction between rational laws and revealed ones. Even while engaged in speculation one must not set aside the doctrines contained in Scripture.

Saadiah believes that there is a correspondence between reason and revelation, and that one cannot refute the other. Therefore, one must reject the validity of any prophet whose teachings contradict reason, even if he accompanies his teachings with miracles. Those biblical statements which appear to contradict the results of rational investigation (e.g., anthropomorphic descriptions of God) must be interpreted metaphorically. The establishment of a systematic exegetical methodology is for Saadiah an essential means for the correct rational interpretation of the Bible. Saadiah points out that in interpreting anthropomorphic expressions metaphorically he is not subordinating revelation to reason, but is actually following revelation, which teaches that God is incorporeal.

CREATION. In typical Muʿtazilite fashion, Saadiah opens the body of his work with a discussion of creation. He maintains that the world was created in time, that its creator was other than itself, and that it was created *ex nihilo*. He presents four proofs for creation, the first based indirectly (probably through an Arabic version of the writings of John Philoponus) on Aristotelian premises, the other three drawn from the *Kalām*. In the first proof, invoking the principles that the world is finite in its dimension, and that a finite body cannot possess an infinite force, Saadiah concludes that the force preserving the world is finite and consequently that the world itself must be finite, i.e., must have a beginning and an end. In the second proof, on the basis of the fact that whatever is composed must have been put together at some point in time, Saadiah argues that the world, which is composed of various elements, must have been created at some point in time. In the third proof Saadiah argues that the world is composed of various substances all of which are the bearers of accidents. Since accidents originate in time, and since substances cannot exist actually without accidents, the world itself must have originated in time. The fourth argument is taken from the nature of time. Were the world uncreated, time would be infinite. But infinite time cannot be traversed, and hence the present (or any other finite) moment could never have come to be. But the present clearly exists, and hence time cannot be infinite. It follows that the world must have had a beginning.

Following these four proofs for creation, thus refuting the eternity of the world, Saadiah adduces three arguments that prove that the world did not create itself, i.e., that it has a creator who is other than the world itself. Another set of five (unnumbered) arguments is then brought forward by Saadiah to prove that the Creator of the world made it out of nothing (*ex nihilo*). This set establishes the important principle that while the Creator is eternal everything else is generated in time.

Having advanced these three sets of proofs for creation in time by the Creator, Saadiah proceeds to refute 12 other cosmogonic theories which differ from his own. These range from theories which, while accepting the principle that a creator created the world in time, deny that it was created out of nothing, through that which upholds the eternity of the world, to theories which are skeptical about the possibility of human knowledge and hence about demonstrating either the creation or eternity of the world (*Emunot ve-De'ot*, 1:3).

NATURE OF GOD. Saadiah's concept of the nature of God is based upon his view of God as creator. God is the cause of all corporeal existence, He cannot Himself be corporeal, for if He were corporeal, there would have to be something beyond Him which was the cause of His existence. Since God is incorporeal, He cannot be subject to the corporeal attributes of quantity and number (or any other property which may be defined by Aristotle's Categories, *Emunot ve-De'ot*, 2:9–12), and hence cannot be more than one. Turning to the question of divine attributes, Saadiah demonstrates that an analysis of the concept of God as creator leads to distinguishing three attributes of essence in Him: life, power, and wisdom. The attribution of these qualities to God does not imply a plurality in God. In reality all these qualities are united in Him, but we are forced to speak of them as separate because of the limitation of human language (*Emunot ve-De'ot*, ch. 2). Other scriptural descriptions of God have to be interpreted as referring to his actions, or otherwise to his revelations (*Shekhinah*) or messengers (notably angels). All Jewish thinkers who followed the system of Kalām accepted the distinction between attributes of the essence of God and attributes of His actions, which was typical of that system. Similarly to the Muʿtazilite position, the question thus turns into a linguistic-exegetical one rather than an ontological one. The creation of the world was not the result of a need or compulsion on the part of God, but an act of free will. In creating the world God wished to benefit His creatures by giving them the opportunity of serving Him through the observance of His commandments, by means of which they could attain true happiness (*Emunot ve-De'ot* 1:4).

CLASSIFICATION OF COMMANDMENTS. The laws given by God to Israel may be divided into two categories: the rational laws (*mitzvot sikhliyyot*), which have their basis in reason and which man would have discovered by means of reason even if they had not been revealed, because God planted them in the minds of human beings from their birth, and the traditional laws (*mitzvot shimiyyot*), ritual and ceremonial laws, such as the dietary laws, which do not have their basis in reason. This classification, which results from Saadiah's theory of knowledge (inspired by the Muʿtazila and which crystallized in Muʿtazilite thought about a generation before Saadiah), had a deep and enduring influence on Jewish philosophy in the Middle Ages. The acts to which the traditional laws refer are neither good nor evil from the point of view of reason, but are made so by the fact that they are commanded or prohibited by God. All the rational laws can be subsumed under three basic rational principles: First, reason demands that one express gratitude to one's benefactor. Hence, it is reasonable that God should demand that man render thanks to Him through worship. Second, reason demands that a wise person not permit himself to be insulted. Hence, it is reasonable that God should prohibit man from insulting Him, i.e., should prohibit man from taking His name in vain, or from describing Him in human terms. Third, reason demands that creatures should not harm one another. Hence, it is reasonable that God prohibit men from stealing, murdering, and committing adultery, and harming one another in various other ways. While the individual traditional laws do not have their basis in reason, these laws as a class can also be subsumed under a principle of reason. It is reasonable for a wise man to give unnecessary employment to a poor man merely in order to be able to pay him and thereby confer a benefit upon him. Thus, it is reasonable that God should present man with various ceremonial laws in order to be able to reward man for observing them. While the basis of the traditional laws is the fact that they are commanded by God, it is possible upon careful examination to discern even in these laws a certain intrinsic value and rationality, or rather usefulness, which is termed by Saadiah as God's wisdom (Ar. *ḥikma*). For example, the commandment to refrain from work on the Sabbath provides man with an opportunity to devote himself to spiritual matters. Revelation is obviously necessary in order for man to arrive at the knowledge of the traditional laws. It is also necessary in the case of the rational laws, for reason grasps only abstract principles and general norms. The details necessary for the concrete application of these principles are communicated by means of revelation (*Emunot ve-De'ot*, ch. 3).

NATURE OF MAN AND DIVINE JUSTICE. Saadiah views man as a composite of body and soul. The soul is made of very fine material (comparable to the material of which the celestial spheres are made, and even finer than they are), and has three essential faculties: appetite, which controls growth and reproduction; spirit, which controls the emotions; and reason, which controls knowledge, and is ideally supposed to govern the other two faculties. The soul cannot act on its own, and is therefore placed in the body, which serves as its instrument. By means of his actions, i.e., by means of the performance of the divine commandments, man can attain true happiness. One may ask why God does not reward man without his having to undergo hardship and suffering in this world. Saadiah explains that the only real reward is that which man wins for himself through actions for which he is responsible. It is precisely the quality of infinite goodness in God which demands that man be given the opportunity to win his own reward (*Emunot ve-De'ot* 6:4). It follows that man must have freedom of choice, for if he did not, he would not be responsible for his actions, and God's rewarding and punishing him would be unjust. A further indication that man possesses freedom of choice is the fact that he feels that he is free to act, and does not feel anything preventing him from acting. Saadiah attempts to reconcile the paradox of free choice with God's foreknowledge by stating simply that God's knowledge is not a cause of man's actions, and hence does not restrict his freedom of choice. God merely knows what the outcome of man's deliberation will be (*Emunot ve-De'ot* 4:3, 4). The problem which troubles Saadiah more is the question of theodicy – why the evil prosper and the good suffer. The solution, according to Saadiah, lies in the balance between suffering in this world and the reward in the next. The righteous who suffer in this world will be rewarded in the **olam ha-ba*. In the latter part of *Emunot ve-De'ot* Saadiah discusses extensively problems of Jewish eschatology such as resurrection of the dead, the Messiah, and redemption. He concludes with a long ethical treatise describing how man should conduct himself in this world in order to achieve true happiness. The Golden Mean is a leading principle in this treatise.

As Grammarian

Saadiah devoted much attention to the Hebrew language. In addition to many linguistic annotations in his biblical commentary he wrote three separate works on the subject. His first work on the Hebrew language was *Sefer ha-Agron* (ed. by N. Allony, 1969), which he wrote at the age of 20, in vocalized, accented, and flowery Hebrew. After several years he issued a second edition with an introduction in Arabic, as well as an Arabic translation of the Hebrew text. His purpose was to provide a dictionary of a large part of the Hebrew language and in particular to help poets in writing Hebrew poetry by giving a rhyming dictionary of word-endings. In his work he also sought to teach the principles of grammar. In its Hebrew preface, of which only a fragment has survived, he explained the differences between the root letters and the affixes, enumerating the letters used as the latter. In the second edition he added a discussion, with examples, of some of the characteristic features of a poem. In the Arabic introduction he explicitly stated that he was prompted to compose the work through the influence of an Arab writer, but following in his footsteps he aimed only at what would promote the Hebrew language, a brief historical survey of which he embodied in the Hebrew preface to the book. Only fragments have been published.

His second linguistic work, *Pitron Shiv`im Millim*, ed. by Dukes in ZKM, 5 (1844) 115–36 and subsequent editions, contains an incomplete list of the **hapax legomena* in the Bible, which are explained from the language of the Mishnah. The form of the work, as extant in manuscripts and in printed versions, gives the impression of being a fragment of a much larger book from which it was detached to constitute a separate treatise. The aim of the work was polemical, in that it set out to prove that the Oral Law is indispensable, since it is impossible to comprehend these biblical words without the help of the Mishnah. Saadiah explicitly said: "They [that is, the *Karaites] are unaware of the fact that they have come to know the sense of these words only from what I have adduced as proof and thus revealed their meaning from the Mishnah." For their part, the Karaites accused him of distorting the truth so as to invent proof of the indispensability of the Mishnah.

Saadiah's third work, *Sefer Ẓaḥut ha-Lashon ha-Ivrit*, deals with Hebrew grammar; only fragments of it were discovered in recent times. The work is divided into 12 sections, each of which treats of a grammatical problem. From these fragments it would appear that he replied to questions, and in doing so dealt with the letters and the vowels and their combinations, the inflection of the noun and of the verb, the formative letters, the *dagesh* and the *rafeh*, the rules of the *sheva*, and metathesis. He established the conjugation in Hebrew and illustrated it by *kal* and *hifil*. Like all his other writings, Saadiah's work on grammar attests to his extensive knowledge and the great vigor with which he applied himself to whatever task he undertook. His detailed knowledge of the Hebrew language as preserved in the masorah, extending even to the vowels, is astonishingly precise. It is still more astonishing to read his "*Shir shel ha-Otiyyot*," which he wrote on each letter of the Hebrew alphabet, including the final letters. On each he composed two couplets which, by words and biblical allusions, give the number of times that particular letter occurs in the Bible. Each poem, in addition to giving the precise figure, conveys an idea. The lines written on *alef* will serve as an illustration:

אהל מכון בניני ששם עלו זקני הקהל עשו קרבני ולזבח תודה באו בני

… the meaning of which is as follows: "The Temple, the foundation of all buildings, To which the elders of Israel went on pilgrimage, And where the people offered sacrifices, And the children of Israel came to sacrifice a thanksgiving offering." The number of times the letter *alef* (אֹהל) occurs in the Bible corresponds to the numerical value of the initial letters of the words following **אהל**, that is, מ״ב (אלף) שע״ז (= 42,377), the mnemonics for which are **הקהל** (Neh. 7:66, "The whole congregation [הקהל] together was forty and two thousand three hundred and three score") and **ולזבח** (Num. 7:17, "And for the sacrifice [ולזבח] of peace-offerings, two oxen, five rams, five he-goats, five he-lambs of the first year," making a total of 42,360+17.

[Abraham Solomon Halkin / Haggai Ben-Shammai (2nd ed.)]

Saadiah's Translation of the Bible

All Saadiah's grammatical work was ancillary to his activity as an exegete, and his most enduring and comprehensive work in the field of exegesis is his Arabic translation of, and partial commentary to, the Bible. This was the first translation of the Bible from Hebrew into Arabic, and has remained the standard Bible for Arabic-speaking Jews. He first prepared a translation, probably of all books of the Bible with an extensive commentary designed for learned readers, and then proceeded to write a popular translation which, as its name *Tafsir* (commentary) indicates, was both translation and commentary. In order to make it accessible and intelligible to the ordinary reader, he did not confine himself to a literal translation, but translated freely, sometimes disregarding syntax or paraphrasing the whole chapter. The *Tafsir* is rational, and Saadiah goes out of his way to eliminate all anthropomorphisms. One of the peculiarities is that he follows the Pseudo-Jonathan Targum (not, as would appear from Malter, the Targum Onkelos) in translating the proper names in the Bible, for which he was severely taken to task by Abraham ibn Ezra (to Gen. 2:21). Ibn Ezra, however, excuses him on the grounds that he probably did so in order to avoid criticism by those Muslims who might read the work that the Jews did not know the meaning of many words in their own Scriptures. Unlike many other Jewish scholars who wrote in Arabic, he used the Arabic and not the Hebrew alphabet (see also *Bible, Translations, Arabic).

As Liturgist and Paytan

Saadiah devoted considerable attention to all matters appertaining to liturgy. Since in his time there did not yet exist a methodically arranged prayer book, he made a systematic compilation in Arabic of the prayers for the whole year. Titled *Kitāb Jamʿī al-Ṣalawāt wa al-Tasabīh* ("Collection of All Prayers and Praises"), the book was very well known in Egypt and in other countries where Arabic was the vernacular. With the passage of time, however, it was forgotten and was published only in recent times by I. Davidson, S. Assaf, and B.I. Joel under the name of *Siddur Rav Sa'adyah Ga'on* (1941) in the Arabic original, with a Hebrew translation, and with many additional *piyyutim*.

Saddiah was a great innovator in the sphere of **piyyut*, in language, form, and content. His **bakkashot* received high praise from Abraham ibn Ezra; in his commentary to Ecclesiastes (5:1) he said of them "that no author had composed their like." Maimonides was asked whether it was necessary to stand when reciting the *bakkashot* of the *Gaon* (Responsa Maimonides, ed. by Blau, no. 14). Because of their importance and interest, they were translated into Arabic and circulated in many communities. In addition to the *bakkashot*, scholars through the generations also mention Saadiah's **azharot* and his **hoshanot*. (His "*Shir shel ha-Otiyyot*," "The Poems of the Letters," belongs rather to grammar than to liturgy, and is dealt with in the appropriate section above.) Many of his *piyyutim* were found in the Cairo **Genizah* and edited by Menahem *Zulay; they reveal Saadiah as a prolific writer of *piyyutim*, deft in the use of language and the devices of the *piyyut* form. Today it is known that besides the *piyyutim* already mentioned, Saadiah composed **kerovot, *seliḥot, *kinot* and philosophical poems. In his *tokheḥah* (poem of reproof) "*Im Lefi Beḥirkha*" ("If by your Choice"), Saadiah gave expression to many of the philosophical ideas which are also found in his *Emunot ve-De'ot*. There are similar ideas in some of his *bakkashot*, and also in his hymn for the Day of Atonement *Barekhi Nafshi* ("Let My Soul Bless") and there is no doubt that he was the first to compose philosophical *piyyutim*. These were later to serve as a model for such Spanish *paytanim* as Solomon ibn *Gabirol and *Judah Halevi.

[Abraham Meir Habermann]

Saadiah's Influence

Saadiah is one of the dominant figures in the development of Judaism and its literature. Although he had predecessors in some of the branches of that literature in which he engaged, he was the first to weld these numerous and diverse studies into a complete system. He provided a powerful impetus to all those who followed in his footsteps in the various branches of that literature, and there is hardly one of the outstanding figures in them who does not pay generous and laudatory tribute to his pioneering work. In philology, *Menahem b. Jacob ibn Saruq speaks of "the accuracy of his interpretations and the comprehensiveness of his linguistics"; the renowned grammarian Jonah *Ibn Janaḥ praises his great work in that field; the mathematician and astronomer Isaac b. Baruch ibn Abbatio states that "he was greater in science than I am"; to Abraham ibn Ezra in his biblical commentary he is "the *Gaon*" par excellence, and in his devastating criticism of the *paytanim* (to Eccles. 5:1), he singles out Saadiah as an exception. Maimonides disagreed with his philosophical views in many fundamental points, but states "were it not for Saadiah the Torah would have well-nigh disappeared from the midst of Israel" (*Iggeret Teiman*). His halakhic works penetrated to the Franco-German center and to the tosafists. He is the most authoritative geonic source, a fact which incidentally is evidence that his Arabic works were early translated into Hebrew, in versions which are no longer extant. "Taken all in all" says Malter, "Saadiah must be considered a remarkable milestone on the long road of Israel's development as a 'people of the book.'"

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SAALSCHUETZ, JOSEPH LEWIN (1801–1863), German rabbi and archaeologist. Saalschuetz was born at Koenigsberg, where he served the Jewish community as preacher and teacher from 1835. In 1847 he was admitted to Koenigsberg University as lecturer in Hebrew archaeology, although he was denied a professorship, despite his undoubted capabilities, because of his Jewishness.

Among Saalschuetz's published works are *Von der Form der hebraeischen Poesie* (1825); *Archaeologie der Hebraeer* (2pts., 1855/56), a pioneering work describing the dress, science, customs, and government of the Jews, which includes the earlier *Geschichte und Wuerdigung der Musik bei den Hebraeern* (1829); and, of special importance, *Das mosaische Recht, mir Beruecksichtigung des spaeteren juedischen* (2 pts., 1846–48), *Das mosaische Recht, nebst den vervollstaendigenden thalmudisch-rabbinischen Bestimmungen* (1853^2). This work, dealing in its first part with public laws, and the second with private (civil) law, has retained its value as a source book for the study of Jewish law. Saalschuetz was among the contributors to the early volumes of the *Monatsschrift*.

His son, LOUIS SAALSCHUETZ (1835–1913), was a noted mathematician, who taught at Koenigsberg University.

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[Max Wurmbrand]

SAARBRUECKEN, city in Germany, capital of the Saar. Jews were probably present in the city in 1321 when Duke John I granted the city its charter and reserved jurisdiction over the Jews. It is certain, however, that there were Jews in the adjacent villages of St. Wendel, Sarrebourg, and Sarreguemines at the time. There are no further sources mentioning the presence of Jews until 1732 when a *Judenordnung* ("Jewry regulation") was issued for the Saarbruecken community by the Count of Usingen-Nassau. During the French occupation (1792–1813) equality was granted and a Saarbruecken arrondissement was established with a Jewish population of 71. The Saarbruecken community grew from 10 families in 1837 to 376 persons in 1885 and 1,103 in 1910. Between 1920 and 1935 the Saar region was administered by the *League of Nations. The Saarbruecken community grew to 2,650, with another 1,700 Jews dispersed in 23 rural communities. At the time of the 1935 plebiscite on the future of the region, the Jews were accused of disloyalty and subjected to intensive harassment. Large numbers of Jews chose French and Belgian citizenship, and many emigrated with special "Nansen" passports. The Saarbruecken synagogue was burned down on Nov. 9/10, 1938, and by the summer of 1939 only 175 Jews were left. The Jews of the Saar were deported, together with Baden Jewry, to *Gurs in 1940. After the war a new community was founded, which grew from 180 in 1945/6 to 224 in 1948 and 350 in January 1970. A new synagogue was built in 1951. The Jewish community numbered 700 in 1960; 236 in 1989; and 1,110 in 2004. The increase is due to the immigration of Jews from the former Soviet Union.

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SAATCHI, CHARLES (1943–), British advertising agent and art collector. Born in Baghdad, the Saatchis fled to Britain in 1948 due to antisemitic pogroms by the Iraqis at the time of the creation of Israel. Charles Saatchi left school at 17 and founded the famous advertising agency Saatchi & Saatchi with his brother in the early 1970s. By the 1980s it had become one of the biggest advertising agencies in the world, and it is seen as an important factor in Margaret Thatcher's electoral victory in 1979, producing the famous poster "Labour Isn't Working." The Saatchis were ousted from their firm in a boardroom coup in 1994 and established a new agency, M & C Saatchi. Charles Saatchi is best known as one of the most important and controversial collectors and patrons of contemporary art in the world, giving a start to such artists as Damien Hirst. In 1985 he founded the Saatchi Gallery of Contemporary Art at the London County Hall site, and he has one of the most valuable private collections of contemporary art in the world. His brother BARON MAURICE SAATCHI (1946–) was also born in Baghdad and, following his career as an advertising agent, became an important force in the British Conservative Party. He was awarded a life peerage in 1996 and served as a Shadow spokesman in the House of Lords before becoming joint chairman of the Conservative Party in 2003.

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[William D. Rubinstein (2nd ed.)]

SABA, ABRAHAM BEN JACOB (d. c. 1508), Spanish exegete, preacher, and kabbalist. On the expulsion of the Jews from *Spain, Abraham settled in Oporto (Portugal), where he wrote commentaries on the Pentateuch, the Five Scrolls, and on *Avot*. When the forced conversion of the Jews was decreed in Portugal in 1497, his two young sons were baptized and his extensive library plundered. He left Oporto, taking his writings with him, but when near Lisbon he was warned by the local Jews of the danger of entering the city with Hebrew books in his possession, which was a capital offense. He thereupon buried his manuscripts under an olive tree. In Lisbon he was arrested and imprisoned together with other scholars, pressure being exerted on them to accept baptism. After nearly six months he succeeded in escaping to Fez in Morocco, where he fell ill. When he recovered, he began to rewrite his lost works from memory. He succeeded in completing only his commentaries on the Pentateuch, Ruth, and Esther. He remained in Fez for ten years, and in 1508 he was in Tlemcen in Algeria, and, it is thought, later in Italy.

Ḥ.J.D. Azulai tells an anecdote relating to Abraham. On a sea voyage to Verona, Saba became dangerously ill and, during a heavy storm, exacted a promise from his fellow travelers that, should he die, he would be given Jewish burial on dry land. As a result of his prayers the storm abated. He died on the eve of the Day of Atonement and the captain saw to it that the local Jews carried out his request. According to another account, however, he died in Fez. In Spain, Portugal, and Morocco Saba preached in the synagogues, urging the congregations to fulfill the principles of Judaism. He attributed their misfortunes to that, in their pride and arrogance, they had forgotten their ancestral land, building themselves palatial residences in alien countries, neglecting the Torah, and desecrating the Sabbath.

Abraham's works included *Ẓeror ha-Mor* (Venice, 1522), a commentary on the Pentateuch: a Latin translation of this by Conrad Pellicanus is extant in manuscript in the city library of Zurich; *Eshkol ha-Kofer*, commentaries on the Five Scrolls (the commentary on Esther published in 1904, on Ruth published in 1908); *Perush Eser Sefirot*, on the ten *Sefirot*, extant in manuscript, which he wrote in Tlemcen. His lost works include commentaries on Job; on the commandments, *Ẓeror ha-Kesef*, which he wrote in his youth; *Ẓeror ha-Ḥayyim*, on tractate *Avot*; on Psalms; and a kabbalistic commentary on the daily prayers.

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[Shmuel Ashkenazi]

SABA, UMBERTO (pseudonym of **Umberto Poli**; 1883–1957), Italian poet. Saba's mother, a niece of S.D. *Luzzatto, was abandoned by her Catholic husband before the birth of her son, and some scholars have argued that he adopted the Hebrew surname Saba ("grandfather") as a tribute to Luzzatto; but more likely the surname was chosen by him for its assonance to his Slovenian nurse's name, Saber. In his youth, Saba struggled with hardship and poverty and, after abandoning commercial studies, joined the mercantile marine and later the army, enlisting in an infantry regiment in 1908. His early *Versi militari* date back to those years and were later collected, with others, in *Coi miei occhi* (1912), the book which first brought him renown. Saba opened a secondhand bookshop in Trieste, his birthplace, which became a rendezvous for poets and writers. For almost 30 years he continued to publish poetry, but, despite its favorable reception by critics, he remained a literary outsider. Antisemitic persecution did not spare Saba: aware of the conflict between the two worlds to which he belonged, he chose to share the fate of the Jews. He immigrated to Paris, but returned to Italy in 1943, and remained in hiding until the end of World War II. Sick and exhausted, he then returned to Trieste.

Saba is considered one of the major contemporary Italian poets. His themes include Trieste, its sailors and people, his troubled youth, his wife, daughter, and friends, human suffering, animals, and nature. His verse is tinged with melancholy and pessimism, and enriched with a deep feeling for the world's misery, and eagerness for warm human contacts. With his lucid style, and a language that is almost prosaic in its use of everyday words and expressions, Saba achieves a musical and deeply poetic effect. His works include *Il Canzoniere* (1921), *Autobiografia* (1924), *Figure e canti* (1926), *Tre Composizioni* (1933), and *Parole* (1934). Poems of the years 1900–54 appear in a second *Canzoniere* (1963), while a complete edition of his poems has been published in a dozen volumes.

In order to explain the inner development of his poetry, Saba wrote a detailed self-critical and autobiographical essay in *Storia e cronistoria del Canzoniere* (1948). Autobiographic details also appear in two other prose works, *Scorciatoie e raccontini* (1946) and *Ricordi-Racconti* (1956). In the latter, some chapters collected under the title "Gli Ebrei" ("Jews," pp. 22–87, with a preamble by Carlo *Levi) give sketches of the life of the Jewish community of Trieste in the author's boyhood years. Among these sketches there is a description of an episode in the life of the young Luzzatto. Notes at the end of each narrative show that Saba had some knowledge of Hebrew and of the vernacular of Trieste's Jews. In his introduction to "Gli Ebrei" Saba emphasizes, somehow apologetically, that these tales, describing Jewish life in Trieste in an ironical and not always sympathetic way, were written at the beginning of the 20th century, far before the explosion of antisemitism in Europe and the tragedy of the Holocaust. Also in his poetry Saba shows ambivalence towards his Jewish roots, sometimes identifying himself with his Jewish ancestors and relatives, and sometimes criticizing them. Many of his poems have been translated into other languages.

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[Giorgio Romano]

SABAN, HAIM (1944–), American-Israeli media executive. A native of Alexandria, Egypt, Saban and his parents fled to

Tel Aviv following the Suez War of 1956. He attended agricultural school and served in the Israel Defense Forces. After establishing a leading tour business, he relocated to France in 1975 and built a record company that became a major European label, selling over 18 million albums in eight years. In 1983, Saban moved to Los Angeles, where he launched a chain of recording studios that became one of the leading suppliers of music for television. He formed Saban Entertainment in 1988, an international television, production, distribution, and merchandising company, best known for creating the Mighty Morphin Power Rangers, to this day the No. 1-selling toy for boys in the United States. In 1995, Saban merged his company with Rupert Murdoch's Fox Kids Network and acquired the Fox Family Channel (restructured as Fox Family Worldwide) in 1997. He sold it to the Walt Disney Co. in 2001 and became founder and CEO of Saban Capital Group, Inc. Saban supported many charities, including the Israel Cancer Research Fund, the John Wayne Cancer Institute, the Children's Hospital of Los Angeles, and the Milken Community High School. He also founded the Saban Institute for the Study of the American Political System at the University of Tel Aviv and the Saban Center for Middle East Policy at the Brookings Institute in Washington, D.C. In 2002, Governor Gray Davis appointed Saban to the University of California Board of Regents, the governing body of the University of California. Saban resigned from this post in 2004 after being publicly criticized for not attending meetings.

[Amy Handelsman (2nd ed.)]

SABATH, ADOLF JOACHIM (1866–1952), U.S. congressman. Sabath, who was born in Zabori, Bohemia, went to the U.S. at the age of 15 and settled in Chicago. He subsequently began practicing law in 1893 and became a justice of the peace in 1895. As a police magistrate from 1897 to 1907, Sabath was instrumental in the abolition of the fee system, the establishment of the juvenile court, and the implementation of a parole system. Elected to the U.S. Congress as a Democrat from Chicago's Fifth District in 1906, Sabath served in the House for 23 consecutive terms until his death, the second longest continuous service of any congressman. Representing a reform-minded immigrant constituency, he was a vigorous liberal who used his seniority and influence fully on behalf of New Deal and Fair Deal legislation.

In contrast to the prevailing climate of opinion during the 1930s, Sabath was a strong supporter of military preparedness and subsequently voted for the Lend-Lease Act. Sabath unsuccessfully sought the abolition of the House Un-American Activities Committee, which he considered detrimental to civil liberties in the U.S. From 1939 to 1947, and from 1949 to 1952, he was chairman of the powerful House Rules Committee.

SABBATH (Heb. שַׁבָּת; *Shabbat*; related to the verb *shavat*, "cease, desist, rest"), the seventh day of the week, the day of rest and abstention from work.

In the Bible

The etiology of the Sabbath is given in Genesis 1:1–2:3, although the name of the day does not appear there: God worked six days at creating the world; on the seventh he ceased working (*shavat mi-kol mela'khto*), blessed the day, and declared it holy (see 2:1–3). The special status of the seventh day and its name were disclosed to Israel in the episode of the manna. God supplied each day's need of manna for five days; on the sixth, a double portion was provided to last through the seventh day, on which no manna appeared. Correspondingly, the Israelites were commanded to go out, collect, and prepare each day's portion for the first five days; on the sixth, they were to prepare for two days; on the seventh they were not to go out at all but were to remain at home. Thus they learned that the seventh day was "a Sabbath of the Lord," which they must honor by desisting from their daily food-gathering labor (Ex. 16:22). The fourth "word" of the *Decalogue generalizes the lesson of the manna. All work (*mela'khah*) is banned on the Sabbath, which here for the first time is given a rationale, drawn directly from the formulation of Genesis 2:1–3 and expressly identifying the Sabbath with the seventh day of creation (Ex. 20:8–11). The meaning of the "blessedness" and "sanctity" of the day is inferrable from the manna experience.

According to Exodus 23:12 and 34:21, work is to cease on the seventh day in order to give slaves and draft animals rest; this must be observed even during the critical seasons of plowing and harvest. Deuteronomy's version of the Decalogue embodies this humanitarian motive in its divergent rationale of the Sabbath rest; Israel is to keep the Sabbath so that its slaves might rest, and because God, who liberated it from Egyptian bondage, so commanded (Deut. 5:14–15). God's instructions concerning the building of the Tabernacle end, and Moses' conveyance of them to the people begins, with an admonition to keep the Sabbath, indicating its precedence even over the duty of building the Sanctuary. The Sabbath is called a sign both of God's consecration of Israel, and of His six-day creation. The rulings are applied in the exemplary tale of Numbers 15:32ff. A man was found collecting wood (to make a fire) on the Sabbath. Apprehended by witnesses and brought before Moses, he was sentenced to death by stoning at the hands of the whole community. Besides the daily sacrificial offering, an additional one, amounting to the total offering of a weekday, was prescribed for the Sabbath (Num. 28:9–10; cf. Num. 28:3–8). Admonitions to observe the Sabbath are coupled once with reverence toward parents (Lev. 19:3; cf. the juxtaposition in the Decalogue), and twice with reverence toward the Sanctuary (Lev. 19:30; 26:2). As a time marker, the Sabbath terminated the week. Thus in the Tabernacle cult, the weekly replacement of shewbread occurred on the Sabbath (Lev. 24:8; I Chron. 9:32).

Only scraps of evidence are available concerning the nature of the Sabbath during the monarchy. In the Northern Kingdom during the ninth and eighth centuries, Sabbath and New Moon are mentioned together as days when business activity was halted (Amos 8:5), and people paid visits to men of God (II Kings 4:23). From Hosea 2:13 it appears that the Sabbath, like the New Moon and the festival mentioned before it, was among "all the joys" of the North that were under God's doom; this is a precious attestation of the joyous character of the day. In eighth-century Judah, too, Sabbath and New Moon were popularly celebrated in sacred convocations held in the Jerusalem Temple (Isa. 1:13; cf. Lam. 2:6 for later times). Again, as a time marker, the Sabbath was the day on which the palace guard was changed weekly (II Kings 11:5–9). Esteem of the Sabbath rose just before, during, and after the Exile. Jeremiah 17:19–27 berates the rulers and populace of Judah for condoning the hauling of burdens (market wares) into and within Jerusalem on the Sabbath. In an unprecedented prophecy, the fate of the dynasty and the city is made to depend upon the observance of the Sabbath. Ezekiel contains similar prophecies. Chapter 20:12ff. lays stress on the Sabbath as a sign of Israel's consecration to God; its significance is shown by juxtaposition with all the rest of the divine laws, the Sabbath alone being singled out by name. In catalogs of sins for which Jerusalem was doomed, desecration of the Sabbath occurs repeatedly. As part of his program for a reconstituted Israel, the prophet innovates the priestly duty of seeing that the Sabbath is kept holy (44:24). Noteworthy too is the increase in the number of animals prescribed for the Sabbath sacrifice from double that of the weekday to the befitting number seven (Ezek. 46:4). The Exilic "Isaiah" also singles out the observance of the Sabbath, juxtaposing it to all the rest of the covenant obligations as the precondition of individual and national restoration (56:2, 4, 6; 58:13: "If you call the Sabbath a delight/That which the Lord has sanctified – a day to be honored"). This prophet looks to an eventual universalization of the Sabbath among all nations (66: 23).

The prophets' estimate of the fateful importance of Sabbath observance was taken to heart in the fifth-century community of restored Jerusalem. The public confession of Nehemiah 9:14 once again singles out the Sabbath from all the "commandments, laws, and teachings" given to Israel through Moses. A special clause in the covenant subscribed to by the community's representatives forbids commerce with outsiders on Sabbaths and holy days (Neh. 10:32). Nehemiah enforced this clause rigorously as governor of Judah, reminding the indifferent aristocrats that for desecrating the Sabbath their ancestors had been visited with catastrophe (13:15–22).

HISTORICAL AND LITERARY-HISTORICAL CONSIDERATIONS. Evidence that in the period of the monarchy the Sabbath was a popular, joyous holy day, marked by cessation of business and celebrated publicly and by the individual, in the Sanctuary and outside it, accords with the pentateuchal traditions that it was among the chief stipulations of the Mosaic covenant. The antiquity and interrelation of the various rationales given in the Pentateuch for the Sabbath are, however, problematic. Such rationales appear in both versions of the Decalogue. That of Exodus, associating the Sabbath with the Creation, is theocentric and sacramental. The sanctity of the day is grounded in an event in the life of God – His cessation from work, His rest, His blessing and consecration. Israel's observance of the day is imitative and out of respect for God's authority. The revelation of the day's sanctity exclusively to Israel – with the attendant obligation to keep it – is a sign of Israel's consecration to God. This rationale is worked out in the creation story, the Exodus Decalogue, and the two admonitions connected with the building of the Tabernacle. Critical analysis assigns all these passages to the Priestly Source (P); their interrelation is, in any event, beyond dispute. The Deuteronomic version of the Decalogue grounds the Sabbath, ambiguously, on the liberation of Israel from slavery. On the one hand, the humane concern of Exodus 23 over the welfare of slaves is involved, on the other, the authority of God to give such laws by virtue of His having redeemed Israel. Since none of these rationales is reflected in the meager extra-pentateuchal passages on the Sabbath, speculation on their age and interrelationship can be based only on internal evidence. Even if conceptual or literary development can be shown, absolute dating is impossible – all the more so when it is borne in mind that presently interrelated ideas may have arisen independently and contemporaneously, and in either case, before their literary embodiment. The compassionate ground of Exodus 23:12 is conceptually simpler than the historical-humanistic one of Deuteronomy. On the other hand, Deuteronomy's is tangential to the essence of the Sabbath day – its holiness. That is accounted for only by the cosmic-sacramental rationale associated with the Exodus Decalogue. But if the rationale in Exodus is the best developed, it is not necessarily the latest. Deuteronomy's seems to have been substituted for it, as more in accord with the spirit of that work, in its version of the Sabbath commandment. Critics consider the sacramental (probably priestly) rationale an Exilic conception, since its esteem of the Sabbath as a sign of Israel's consecration agrees with the Exilic views of the importance of the day. But is a historical explanation really needed for the priestly esteem of a holy day whose centrality in Israel's life is vouched for by its inclusion in the Decalogue – the only holy day so honored? Distinctively Exilic is the appreciation of the Sabbath as a decisive factor in national destiny, and that is lacking in the priestly material as elsewhere in the Pentateuch. Warnings of doom for violation of the covenant laws single out idolatry (Ex. 23:24; Deut. 4:25ff.) as the fatal national sin; Leviticus 26:34–35, 43 – of priestly provenance – adds neglect of the Sabbatical (fallow) Year to the causes of national doom. But violation of the Sabbath day is nowhere held to be a factor in Israel's downfall, nor is its observance a warrant of national well-being – as in Jeremiah, Ezekiel, the Exilic Isaiah, and Nehemiah. This suggests that the age of Jeremiah is the *terminus ad quem* of the pentateuchal material on the Sabbath. The increased regard for the Sabbath from Jeremiah's time on is to be connected with the danger of assimilation to the gentiles that loomed since the reign of Manasseh (cf. Zeph. 1), and greatly troubled the religious leaders of the Exile (Ezek. 20:32ff). With the Temple destroyed and the Jews dispersed, the distinctively Israelite day of rest, which allowed for public and private expression and which was not essentially bound up with a sacrificial cult, became a chief vehicle of identification with the covenant community. To mark oneself off from the gentiles by observing the peculiar, weekly "sign" of God's consecration of Israel was an act of loyalty which might well be counted the equivalent of the rest of the covenant commandments, while disregard of the Sabbath might well be considered as serious a breach of faith with the God of Israel as the worship of alien gods. Such in fact was the view of Exilic and post-Exilic thinkers who put forward the idea that the breaking of the Sabbath was a cause of the nation's collapse.

Speculation on the origin of the Sabbath has centered on the apparent Babylonian cognate, *šapattu*, the mid-month day of the full moon, called "the day of calming [the god's] heart" – apparently an auspicious day. The biblical combination of "New Moon and Sabbath" has been thought, accordingly, to reflect what were originally two holy days, one at the start, the other in the middle of the month. Another partial analogy to the Sabbath has been found in the "evil days" of the Babylonian month (mostly at seven-day intervals) on which the king's activity was severely restricted. How the *šapattu* might have been combined with the entirely distinct "evil days," become dissociated from the lunar cycle, and finally emerge as the joyous, weekly "Sabbath of the Lord" has not been persuasively explained. Nonetheless an ultimate connection between the biblical and the Babylonian phenomena seems likely. If so, the history of the Sabbath began with a radical severance from the past. The particularity of the biblical day was its positive sanctity – so that abstention from work on it expressed piety, and that sanctity was a divine ordinance – not a matter of lucky and unlucky times. It was perhaps first grounded on God's compassion toward workers, later brought into relation with the Creation, and later still with the Exodus.

[Michael J. Graetz]

In the Apocrypha

According to the Book of Maccabees, the Sabbath was at one time observed so strictly that on one occasion during the Maccabean revolt, the Jews allowed themselves to be killed rather than resist on the Sabbath (I Macc. 2:31–38). Later, it was decided that the Sabbath may be transgressed in order to save life (I Macc. 2:40–41). The Book of Jubilees (2:17–32 and 50:6–13) is extremely severe on Sabbath desecration, death being the penalty even for such offenses as walking any distance, fasts, or traveling on a ship on the Sabbath. The Book of Jubilees (50:8) also forbids marital relations on the Sabbath, whereas in the rabbinic teaching it is considered meritorious to perform these on the Sabbath (BK 82a, Ket. 62b).

In Rabbinic Literature

The rabbis wax eloquent on the value of Sabbath observance. "If Israel keeps one Sabbath as it should be kept, the Messiah will come. The Sabbath is equal to all the other precepts of the Torah" (Ex. R. 25:12). "God said to Moses: 'Moses, I have a precious gift in My treasury whose name is the Sabbath and I want to give it to Israel. Go and tell them'" (Beẓah 16a). "The Sabbath is one sixtieth of the world to come" (Ber. 57b). "The Sabbath increases Israel's holiness. 'Why does so-and-so close his shop?' 'Because he keeps the Sabbath.' 'Why does so-and-so refrain from work?' 'Because he keeps the Sabbath.' Furthermore, whoever keeps the Sabbath testifies of Him at whose word the world came into being; that He created the world in six days and rested on the seventh" (Mekh. Sb-Y to Ex. 31:14). The juxtaposition of the instructions to build the Sanctuary and the prohibition of Sabbath work caused the rabbis to deduce that it was forbidden on the Sabbath to do any work that was required for the Sanctuary. The rabbinic definition of forbidden Sabbath work is, therefore, that which was needed for the Sanctuary (Mekh. Sb-Y. to Ex. 35:1; Shab. 49b). Any work analogous to those types used for the building of the Sanctuary is classified as being biblically forbidden. There are thus 39 main classes of work ("fathers of work," *avot*) used in the building of the Sanctuary, and many others derived from these ("offspring," *toledot*), with only slight technical differences between "father" and "offspring" (BK 2a). Watering of plants, for instance, is a *toledah* of sowing; weeding, of plowing; adding oil to a burning lamp, of lighting a fire. The Mishnah (Shab. 7:2) gives a list of the 39 main classes of work. (It has been noted that the number 39 is a standard number in rabbinic literature and that these types of work are all of a kind obtaining in the rabbinic period.) The Mishnah (Ḥag. 1:8) also states that the laws of forbidden work on the Sabbath are as mountains hanging by a hair, for there is little on the subject in the Scriptures yet the rules are many. In addition to the biblical prohibitions, there are various rabbinic prohibitions introduced as a "fence to the Torah" (Avot 1:1), such as the handling of tools or money (*mukẓeh*), riding a horse, instructing a gentile to do work. These rabbinic prohibitions are known as *shevut* ("rest"; Beẓah 5:2). One who profanes the Sabbath in public is treated as an idolator (Ḥul. 5a). Conversely, whoever observes the Sabbath as it should be, is forgiven his sins, even if he practiced idolatry (Shab. 118b).

The Sabbath is a festive day and three meals should be eaten on it (Shab. 118a). It was considered meritorious for a man to make some preparations for the Sabbath himself, even if he had servants to do it for him (Kid. 41a). R. Safra used to singe the head of an animal, R. Huna used to light the lamp, R. Papa to plait the wicks, R. Ḥisda to cut up the beets, Rabbah and R. Joseph to chop the wood, R. Zera to kindle the fire (Shab. 119a). R. Ḥanina would say on the eve of the Sabbath: "Come let us go out to meet the Bride, the Queen." R. Yannai used to adorn himself and say: "Come O Bride, come O Bride" (*ibid*., BK 32a–b). Out of respect for the sacred day, it was forbidden to fast on the eve of the Sabbath (Ta'an. 27b). In a well-known passage (Shab. 119b), it is said that on the eve of the Sabbath two ministering angels accompany a man from the synagogue to his home. If, when he arrives home, he finds the lamp burning, the table laid, and the couch covered with a spread, the good angel declares, "May it be thus on another Sabbath too" and the evil angel is obliged to answer "Amen."

But if not, the evil angel declares, “May it be thus on another Sabbath too” and the good angel is obliged to answer “Amen.” At the beginning of the Sabbath, the special sanctification (*Kiddush*) is recited (Pes. 106a), and after the termination of the Sabbath the *Havdalah* (“distinction”) benediction (which signifies the separation of the Sabbath from the weekday) is recited (Ber. 33a), both over a cup of wine. A man should wear special garments in honor of the Sabbath; he should walk differently from the way he does on a weekday, and even his speech should be different (Shab. 11a–b).

In Jewish Thought

From an early period, the Sabbath became a day of spiritual refreshment. Philo (II Mos. 216) and Josephus (Apion, 2:175) refer to the practice of public discourses on the Torah on this day, as do the rabbis (Yal., Ex. 108). Philo (Decal. 96) sees the Sabbath as an opportunity for man to imitate his Creator who rested on the seventh day. Man, too, should rest from his weekday labors in order to devote himself to contemplation and to the improvement of his character. The Midrash (Mekh. Sb-Y to 20:11) similarly states that if God, who exerts no effort, “writes about Himself” that he rested, how much more should man rest of whom it is said that he was born to toil. The benediction for the Sabbath afternoon service sums up the rabbinic attitude to the Sabbath as a precious gift from God, and as a sacred day kept even by the Patriarchs: “Thou art One and Thy Name is One, and who is like Thy people a unique nation upon the earth? Glorious greatness and a crown of salvation, even the day of rest and holiness, Thou hast given unto Thy people – Abraham was glad, Isaac rejoiced, Jacob and his sons rested thereon – a rest granted in love, a true and faithful rest, a rest in peace and tranquility, in quietude and safety, a perfect rest wherein Thou delightest. Let Thy children perceive and know that this their rest is from Thee, and by their rest may they hallow Thy Name.”

The medieval Jewish philosophers tend to dwell on the symbolic nature of the day. For Maimonides (*Guide*, 2, 31), the Sabbath has a twofold significance: It teaches the true opinion that God created the world, and it provides man with physical rest and refreshment. According to Isaac Arama (*Akedat Yiẓḥak*, 55 ed. Bialystok (1849), 285–89), the Sabbath teaches the three fundamental principles of Judaism: belief in *creatio ex nihilo*, in revelation (because the Sabbath is a time when the Torah is studied), and in the world to come (of which the Sabbath is a foretaste). *Judah Halevi looks upon the Sabbath as a God-given opportunity for men to enjoy complete rest of body and soul for a sixth part of their lives, in a way denied even to kings, who know nothing of this precious boon of complete cessation from toil and distraction (*Kuzari*, 3, 10).

Samson Raphael *Hirsch (*Horeb*, section 2:21; tr. by I. Grunfeld, 1 (1962), 61–78) understands the prohibition of creative activity on the Sabbath (the types of forbidden work do not so much involve effort, as they are creative) to be a lesson for man to acknowledge his Creator as Creator of everything there is. Man is allowed to rule over the world for six days by God’s will, but is forbidden on the seventh day to fashion anything for his own purpose. On each Sabbath man restores the world to God, as it were, and thus proclaims that he enjoys only a borrowed authority.

The Laws and Customs of the Sabbath

The mistress of the house kindles at least two candles before the advent of the Sabbath, one corresponding to “remember the Sabbath day” (Ex. 20:8), the other to “observe the Sabbath day” (Deut. 5:12). For each meal two whole loaves of bread are placed on the table, covered by a cloth, to correspond to the double portion of manna for the Sabbath (Ex. 16:22–26). Before the *Kiddush* is recited, the parents bless the children. During the festive meals of the day, special table hymns (*zemirot*) are chanted. Whenever possible, guests should be invited to participate in the Sabbath meals. There is a special order of service for Sabbath in the synagogue. Psalms are recited before the evening service on Friday night, and the morning service includes the weekly readings from the Torah, as well as a *Musaf Amidah*. The afternoon service also includes a Torah reading from the portion to be read on the following Sabbath. When the Sabbath is over, the *Havdalah* benediction is recited, together with a benediction over spices (to restore the soul saddened by the departure of the day), and over light (which could neither be lit nor blessed on the Sabbath). Where there is danger to life (*pikku’aḥ nefesh*), the Sabbath must be set aside and Sabbath profanation in such circumstances is meritorious in the extreme. Unlike the *Karaites, who took the verse “let no man go out of his place on the seventh day” (Ex. 16:29) literally, the rabbis placed no restrictions on freedom of movement within one’s town, but they prohibited any walking outside the town beyond a distance of 2,000 cubits (a little more than half a mile). This boundary is known as the *teḥum shabbat* (Sabbath limit). It is, however, permitted to place, before the Sabbath, sufficient food for two meals at the limits of the 2,000 cubits; then, by a legal fiction known as *eruv*, this place becomes one’s “abode” for the duration of the Sabbath, so that the 2,000 cubits may then be walked from there. It is forbidden to instruct a non-Jew to do any work on the Sabbath which is not permitted to a Jew, unless it is for the sake of health. In cold climes, the heating of the home by a non-Jew falls under the heading “for the sake of health.”

Modern inventions have produced a host of new questions regarding Sabbath observance. Orthodox Judaism forbids travel by automobile on the Sabbath, Reform Judaism permits it. Conservative Judaism has differing views on this question, but generally permits travel by automobile on the Sabbath solely for the purpose of attending synagogue. The basic legal question regarding the switching on of electric lights is whether the noncombustive type of burning produced by electricity falls under the prohibition of making a fire or any of the other prohibitions listed above. Orthodox Jews refrain from the use of electrical appliances on the Sabbath, with the exception of the refrigerator, which may be opened and closed on the grounds that any electrical current produced in the process is incidental and without express intention. It has, however, become the practice for observant Jews to use electrical appliances on the Sabbath which are operated by time switches set before the Sabbath. In Israel, on religious kibbutzim, the same procedure is used to milk the cows on the Sabbath. Israel also has local bylaws forbidding certain activities on the Sabbath. There is, however, no comprehensive law covering the whole country. Thus, whereas public transportation does not operate on the Sabbath in Jerusalem and in Tel Aviv, it does in Haifa. Except for specifically non-Jewish sections of the country, the Sabbath is the official day of rest on which all business and stores must close, but there is some doubt as to what is a business for this law (see *Israel, State of: Religious Life).

[Louis Jacobs]

In Kabbalah

The seven days of the week, reflections of the seven primeval days of creation, symbolize in Kabbalah the seven lower *Sefirot*, from *Ḥesed* to *Malkhut*, which are known as the *Sefirot ha-Binyan* because of their part in "building" creation. According to the kabbalists, the Torah hints at the existence of the two Sabbaths in the system of the *Sefirot* when it says "Ye shall keep My Sabbaths" (Lev. 19:30). Even in the kabbalistic literature, which was influenced by the Zohar to a slight degree or not at all, and which generally avoids stressing erotic elements in divinity, the Sabbath was interpreted as the element of union in the system of the *Sefirot*. Interpreting "And God blessed the seventh day, and hallowed [*va-yekaddesh*] it" (Gen. 2:3), these kabbalists linked *va-yekaddesh* with *kiddushin* ("betrothal") since the "*atarah* [*Malkhut*] is betrothed to *Tiferet*" (*Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut* (Mantua, 1558), 185a). In the same way they interpreted the Sabbath eve prayer: "You hallowed [*kiddashta*] the seventh day" as meaning "you betrothed the seventh day, which is the basis to the *atarah*" (*ibid.*).

Inverting the story in *Genesis Rabbah* 11:8, in which the Sabbath complains to God: "You gave a mate to everyone, while I have none," and was given **Keneset Yisrael* as her mate, the kabbalists regarded *Keneset Yisrael* as the symbol of the *Sefirah Malkhut*, as the feminine mate of the Sabbath, which is the masculine principle in divinity (*Yesod* or *Tiferet*). Since according to the kabbalists the souls are the outcome of the union in the system of *Sefirot*, the idea of the holy union which takes place on the Sabbath is linked to the Sages' belief that on Sabbath additional souls are given. In the Sefer *ha-Bahir this word is expounded in connection with the *Sefirah Yesod*, which "maintains all the souls" and from which the souls fly. Many sayings of the Sages and the different customs they initiated are given a mystical meaning in Kabbalah. The concept of "family peace" (*shelom bayit*), which must be kept especially on the Sabbath, is interpreted in Kabbalah as "peace, which is the *Sefirah Yesod*, is at home [*bayit*] in the *Sefirah Malkhut*" (*ibid.*). The Sabbath candles lit by the wife are symbols of the additional souls emanating from the *Sefirah Malkhut*, which is called *sukkat shalom* ("canopy of peace"). The Zohar treats at length of the Sabbath, the time when the entire arrangement of the order of the worlds is changed. Lights descend like dew from the upper to the lower *Sefirot,* and from there the divine abundance flows to all creatures. The additional souls that descend through the medium of the divine harmony illuminate the faces of the people who enjoy the holiness of the Sabbath. Many passages in the Zohar are poetical descriptions of the position of the worlds on the Sabbath. A typical passage is to be found in the second part of the Zohar, 135a–b. This passage is reproduced in Ḥasidic prayer books and is recited ecstatically on Sabbath eve.

The author of the Zohar and other kabbalists who followed him decided not to recite the part of the *Ma'ariv* prayer beginning "and He is compassionate" on Sabbath eve, for they feared that the mention of sins in the prayer might awaken the forces of the *sitra aḥra*, which, according to the Zohar, do not have any power on the Sabbath.

During the renaissance of Kabbalah in 16th-century Safed, new customs were established which spread to the Diaspora. Two of the main ones were the order of *Kabbalat Shabbat* ("the reception of the Sabbath") and matters concerning the Sabbath meal. It is said that Isaac *Luria and his disciples used to go out of Safed on Friday afternoon to meet the Sabbath, a practice which is described in the *Shulḥan Arukh shel ha-Ari*: "The Sabbath is received in the field: you must stand facing west, preferably in a high place, and there must be an open space behind you." While singing Psalm 92 during the reception of the Sabbath, the kabbalists used to close their eyes to identify themselves with the *Shekhinah, who lost her sight by weeping incessantly for the exile of Israel. There are signs that in Safed itself there was some opposition to this custom of going out into the fields, which is expressed in Moses *Cordovero's commentary on the prayers and in the writings of Isaiah *Horowitz (the Shelah). Some of the kabbalists used to go out into the garden or the courtyard, but eventually the custom of turning westward was adopted. The author of *Ḥemdat Yamim* notes with resentment that he is not able to go out into the fields as was formerly done and states that in his own day (c. 1700?) this was still the custom in Jerusalem. Moses Cordovero's circle adopted the custom of reciting during this service six psalms for the six days of the week, along with Psalm 92 for the Sabbath. This order of the *Kabbalat Shabbat* service, including the hymns *Lekhah Dodi*, written by Solomon Alkabeẓ, and *Bar Yoḥai*, written by Simeon *Labi, is to be found in the books of *Tikkunei Shabbat* which were printed at the beginning of the 17th century.

Concerning the Sabbath meal, these books state that it was the custom to recite *Shalom Aleikhem* and *Eshet Ḥayil* (Prov. 31:10–31), the latter being introduced since it is expounded by the Zohar and various kabbalists as referring to the *Shekhinah*. These books also contain hymns which Isaac Luria wrote for each of the Sabbath meals and the invocation of the divine powers in accordance with one of the ways instituted by the Zohar. Among some kabbalists great importance was attached to the fourth Sabbath meal which takes place at the end of the Sabbath. In the same way as the first three Sabbath meals were related to the Patriarchs, this fourth one was identified with David, the King Messiah. It therefore became particularly significant for the Shabbateans (see *Shabbetai Ẓevi), who often continued it until midnight. The third meal was of special importance for the Ḥasidim; it took place at a "favorable hour," which, according to the kabbalists, was the time of the *Minḥah* prayer on Sabbath.

[Efraim Gottlieb]

In Art

THE SABBATH LIGHT. The commandment of kindling the Sabbath lights has been fulfilled in a myriad of ways over the generations. Rabbinic texts from the Mishnah onwards are concerned with the types of fuel used to light and the material of the wicks, but not with the type of implements that contain the sources of light. Both local custom and the need to provide light throughout the day no doubt influenced the design of lamps for the Sabbath. In the ancient period clay lamps with one or more spouts were used. Later versions were probably made of metal. Archaeological evidence from the Land of Israel after the destruction of the Second Temple shows that ceramic lamps in use by the Jews were decorated with Jewish symbols to distinguish them from the lamps used by the local non-Jewish populace.

European Sabbath Lamps. Hanging Sabbath lamps of the Middle Ages consist of nozzles arranged in a circle at the periphery of an open, flat saucer filled with oil, thus creating their characteristic star shape. These lamps, usually made out of bronze or silver, often were hung at the end of a ratcheted hook which enabled raising and lowering. Certain lamps had bowls underneath for the collection of oil drips, some connected the nozzles to this bowl with attached metal ducts, others had various tools attached to them for trimming and cleaning. More elaborate lamps, made by non-Jewish craftsman, are embellished with figurines, narrative reliefs or other decorations. The Italians deepened the central saucer into a bowl, provided a silver drip pan to catch the excess oil, and hung the lamp by chains which converged at the top in a finial. In central and eastern Europe the central bowl was kept small and the spouts enlarged, the result being a star-shaped lamp called the *Judenstern.* While the form of the lamp was influenced by local design, the term *Judenstern* has been found in a record book of a silversmith from the 16th century, showing the association of this item with Jewish practice. Depictions of such lamps appear in Jewish manuscripts from both Spain and Ashkenaz of the 14th and 15th centuries (for example, the *Sarajevo Haggadah* (Sarajevo, National Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina, fol. 31v), the *Second Nuremburg Haggadah* (Jerusalem, Schocken Ms. 24087, fol. 4v), and the *Ashkenazi Haggadah* (London, British Library, Ms. 14762, fol. 6r)). The Italian rabbi, Leone *Modena (1571–1648), mentions in his *Historia de riti Hebraici* that women would light anywhere from four to six lights, congruent to the six pointed lamps depicted in manuscripts and printed books.

Candles were also used for lighting in the medieval period in Europe, as revealed by both halakhic texts and illuminated manuscripts. The candlesticks depicted in the Rothschild Miscellany (Jerusalem, Israel Museum Ms. 180/51), late 15th century Italy (fols. 55v, 156v), show striking similarity with candlesticks in use in private homes in Europe. Candles in Europe were often made from animal fat and thus not permissible for Jewish use. The 19th-century development of synthetic materials for candles led to their greater diffusion among the Jews. Concomitantly, advances in indoor illumination technology gave the lighting of the Sabbath candles a more symbolic and less practical function, also prompting the move away from oil lamps. In Poland, brass candlesticks with anywhere from three to seven candles, decorated with lions and eagles, often inscribed in Hebrew "to kindle the Sabbath lights," were common in Jewish homes, besides pairs of candlesticks.

North African and Oriental Jewish Communities. The use of oil as the main form of fuel among the North African and Oriental Jewish communities continued until the contemporary era. In Morocco, sheet brass rectangular vessels with wicks in the four corners were traditionally used for lighting. In Persia and Afghanistan, the silver vessel used for lighting resembled the shape of the ancient clay oil lamp, with a deep bowl for the oil and two wick-nozzles. Sometimes there were two separate bowls, one for each light. The base was often decorated with birds or floral motifs and engraved with the woman's name. In Yemen, a simple hanging round stone lamp with notches for multiple wicks was used.

KIDDUSH CUPS. There is speculation that the gold glasses found in the catacombs of Italy were originally used for the blessing on wine. Jewish illuminated *Haggadot* from the late Middle Ages show elaborate goblets, sometimes with lids, sometimes double goblets, such as those depicted in the *Ashkenazi Haggadah* (London, British Library, Ms. 14762, fol.2v) and the *Cincinnati Haggadah* (Cincinnati, Hebrew Union College, Ms. 444, fol. 2v). As with Sabbath candlesticks, these cups were often copies of local types, generally made by non-Jewish craftsmen, and often decorated with vegetal motifs or geometric designs. In certain Oriental Jewish communities, the tradition of the lidded kiddush cup continues to the present time, often decorated with a small bird on the lid.

ḤALLAH COVERS AND KNIVES. Other ritual objects for use on the Sabbath include a special cover for the **ḥallah* and a special knife for cutting the *ḥallah*. Leone Modena mentions a long cloth used to cover the *ḥallah*, as depicted in both the *Ashkenazi* (fol. 6r) and the *Cincinnati* Haggadot (fol. 2v). Extant examples of embroidered *ḥallah* covers from the 19th century from various European communities have survived, as well as such knives.

CONTEMPORARY RITUAL ART. Twentieth-century Jewish artists, such as Ludwig Wolpert and Moshe Zabari, applied their skills to making modern versions of all the Sabbath implements, and contemporary Judaica artists such as Zelig Segal continue this trend for a growing market. The blossoming of contemporary Jewish art makes the list of artists working in this field too numerous to mention.

THE SABBATH IN PAINTING. The earliest printed depiction of a Jewish woman lighting a six-pointed *Judenstern* appears in the *Sefer ha-Minhagim* of Venice from the year 1593. Christian works on the Jews, such as Johann Christoph Georg Bodenschatz' *Kirchliche Verfassung der heutigen Juden sonderlich derer in Deutschland* (Frankfurt and Leipzig: Johannes Friedrich Becker, 1748–49) also show women lighting Sabbath lamps. Sabbath candlesticks as an attribute of the Jewish women appear on Jewish carved gravestones from the 19th century. Moritz *Oppenheim in Germany in his *Bilder aus dem altjüdischen Familienleben* ("Scenes rom Traditional Jewish Family Life," 1866), shows a woman lighting a traditional oil lamp, and devotes several works in the series to the subject of the Sabbath. Jewish artists of the late 19th and early 20th centuries, such as Isidor *Kaufmann, show traditional Jewish women on Sabbath eve with two lit candlesticks on the table. The Scandinavian Jewish artist, Geskel Saloman, shows two women lighting from a four-branched Polish-style candlestick. The subject of the Sabbath appears in the works of Samuel Hirszenberg, Boris *Schatz, Hermann *Struck, Jacob *Steinhardt, Josef *Budko, and Max *Band, among others. The use of the candlesticks to symbolize Jewish tradition and the home can be found in the works of Marc *Chagall, and Naftali *Bezem, while Yossl *Bergner uses the spice box (see **Havdalah*). The subject of the Sabbath in the life of the pioneers was dealt with by Israel artists Yohanan Simon and Joseph Kossonogi.

[Susan Nashman Fraiman (2nd ed.)]

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SABBATHS, SPECIAL, those Sabbaths on which special events are commemorated. They are distinguished from the regular Sabbaths through variations in the liturgy and special customs. Two such Sabbaths, which recur on several occasions throughout the year, are numbers 1 and 2 below.

1) Shabbat Mevorekhin

(Heb. שַׁבַּת מְבָרְכִין), the Sabbath that immediately precedes a new month. In the later Ashkenazi rite a special petition, composed by *Rav "to renew unto us this coming month for good and for blessing," etc. (Bet. 16b), is recited in the synagogue after the reading of the law. The older Ashkenazi rite, and that of Ḥabad, begins with "He who wrought miracles…." The name of the new month and the day on which Rosh Ḥodesh occurs are then announced. In many communities, where women did not usually attend Sabbath services, they went on *Shabbat Mevarekhin* because of the new month petition (see *New Moon, Announcement of).

2) Shabbat Rosh Ḥodesh

(Heb. שַׁבַּת רֹאשׁ חֹדֶשׁ), a Sabbath which coincides with Rosh Ḥodesh. The reading of the Torah for the New Moon is added, and a special *haftarah (Isa. 66:1–24) is read.

The other Sabbaths (listed here chronologically according to the Jewish calendar) are:

3) Shabbat Shuvah

(Heb. שַׁבַּת שׁוּבָה; "Sabbath of Repentance"), also called (erroneosly) *Shabbat Teshuvah* (תְּשׁוּבָה), the Sabbath which occurs during the *Ten Days of Penitence (between Rosh Ha-Shanah and the Day of Atonement). The name is derived from the initial word of the *haftarah* "Return [שׁוּבָה], O Israel, unto the Lord" (Hos. 14:2) read on that Sabbath. One main feature of *Shabbat Shuvah* is the sermons on repentance delivered by the congregational rabbis.

4) Shabbat Ḥol ha-Mo'ed

(Heb. שַׁבַּת חוֹל הַמּוֹעֵד), the Sabbath of the *Passover and *Sukkot intermediary days. The liturgy includes *piyyutim appropriate to the festivals and special Torah readings, instead of the regular weekly Torah portion. *Song of Songs during Passover and *Ecclesiastes during Sukkot are also recited.

5) Shabbat Ḥanukkah

(Heb. שַׁבַּת חֲנֻכָּה), the Sabbath (sometimes two) during *Ḥanukkah. It is marked by an added Torah reading for the festival and, if it coincides with Rosh Ḥodesh *Tevet, also for the New Moon (see above).

6) Shabbat Shirah

(Heb. שַׁבַּת שִׁירָה; "The Sabbath of the Song"), the Sabbath on which the Torah reading is Exodus 14–17. The name is derived from Exodus 15, which includes "The song of Moses and of the children of Israel" at the Red Sea. In some rituals special *piyyutim* are also recited. This Sabbath does not occur on a specific date but depends on when the Torah portion is read.

7) Shabbat Shekalim

(Heb. שַׁבַּת שְׁקָלִים), the first of four special Sabbaths, which are also called *Arba Parashiyyot* ("the four pericopes"), and which occur in spring. *Shabbat Shekalim* is observed on the Sabbath immediately preceding the month of *Adar (in a leap year, the second month of Adar). In addition to the weekly Torah portion, Exodus 30:11–16, whose theme is the duty of donating half a *shekel toward the upkeep of the Temple, is also read. It commemorates the custom according to which on the first of Adar special messengers were dispatched to all Jewish communities to collect these donations (Shek. 1:1). Special *piyyutim* are included in the ritual of the Sabbath.

8) Shabbat Zakhor

(Heb. שַׁבַּת זָכוֹר; "Sabbath of Remembrance"), the second of the four special Sabbaths. It is the Sabbath before Purim. The name derives from the additional Torah portion read from Deuteronomy 25:17–19 whose theme is the duty "to remember" what *Amalek did to Israel. The traditional belief is that *Haman the Agagite was a direct descendant of Agag, the king of the Amalekites (e.g., 1 Sam. 15:9ff.). In some rites special *piyyutim* are recited.

9) Shabbat Parah

(Heb. שַׁבַּת פָּרָה; "Sabbath of the Red Heifer"), the third of the four special Sabbaths. It is the Sabbath preceding *Shabbat ha-Ḥodesh*. An additional portion is read from the Torah (Num. 19:1–22) whose theme is the ritual purification with the ashes of the red heifer. The purification was compulsory in Temple times for all those who had been defiled by contact with a corpse. *Shabbat Parah* commemorates the custom of everyone who would participate in the Passover pilgrimage to Jerusalem having to cleanse himself in due time. Special *piyyutim* are also added to the liturgy in some rites.

10) Shabbat ha-Ḥodesh

(Heb. שַׁבַּת הַחֹדֶשׁ), the last of the four special Sabbaths. It precedes, or falls on the first day of, the month of *Nisan. On it, in addition to the weekly Torah portion, Exodus 12:1–20 is also read. It states that the month of Nisan "shall be the beginning of the months [of the Jewish year]" and includes many details on the ritual laws concerning the Passover sacrifice and the interdiction to eat leavened bread (**ḥamez̧*) on the festival. Special *piyyutim* are also recited in some communities.

11) *Shabbat ha-Gadol

12) Shabbat Ḥazon

(Heb. שַׁבַּת חֲזוֹן; "Sabbath of Vision"), the Sabbath that precedes the Ninth of *Av. The name is derived from the initial word of its *haftarah*. "The vision of Isaiah" (Isa. 1:1–27), in which the afflictions which God will visit on Israel in punishment of its sins are prophesied. The Yemenites call this Sabbath "*Shabbat Eikhah*," and read Isaiah 1:21ff. for the *haftarah* portion. *Shabbat Ḥazon* occurs during the period of mourning (see *Nine Days) for the destruction of the Temple, and the *haftarah* is therefore appropriate since its theme is destruction and possible redemption. The destruction is understood as a punishment for the sins of Israel, and repentance is a prerequisite for the restoration of the Temple. It was customary not to dress in festive garments during that period, including (in a few communities) the Sabbath.

13) Shabbat Nahamu

(Heb. שַׁבַּת נַחֲמוּ), the Sabbath immediately following the Ninth of Av. It is so called after the first word of the *haftarah* "Comfort ye [Naḥamu], Comfort ye My people" (Isa. 40:1).

On most of these special Sabbaths the memorial prayer for the deceased (see *Av ha-Raḥamim) as well as the prayer *Z̧idkatkha* in the *Minḥah service are omitted. In the Reform ritual some of these Sabbaths (e.g., *Zakhor*, *Parah*) are not observed. On the other hand, other special Sabbaths (e.g., "Brotherhood Sabbath," "Sisterhood Sabbath," "United Nations Sabbath") have been innovated.

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SABBATICAL YEAR AND JUBILEE (Heb. שְׁמִטָּה, *shemittah*; יוֹבֵל, *yovel*). According to the Bible, during the seventh year all land had to be fallow and debts were to be remitted (Ex. 23:10–11; Lev. 25:1–7, 18–22; Deut. 15:1–11). The close of seven sabbatical cycles instituted the Jubilee (Lev. 27:16–25; Num. 36:4; whether the Jubilee Year was the 49th or the 50th see below).

A brief statement in the Book of Nehemiah (10:32) records the post-Exilic community's firm agreement to suspend all agricultural work during the seventh year and to forgo all debts as commanded in the "Law of God." The reference is to these three passages in the Torah, each of which dwells on a different aspect of the seventh-year release. The earliest, found in the Book of the Covenant (Ex. 23:10–11), calls on the Israelites to let the land lie fallow and the vineyards and olive groves untouched that the poor people may eat of them, as well as the wild beasts. The second passage (Lev. 25:1–7, 18–22) refers to the fallow year as a "Sabbath of the Lord" and a year of complete rest for the land, promising the divine blessing on the crop of the sixth year to those who suspend their work on the seventh (cf. the double portion of manna on the sixth day; Ex. 16:22ff.). The Deuteronomist (Deut. 15:1–11) commands the Israelites to observe every seventh year as a "year of release," when debts contracted by fellow countrymen are to be remitted. At the same time, they are cautioned not to let the recurrence of the seventh-year release harden their hearts against the distressed who seek loans in the hour of their need. While Deuteronomy does not mention the fallow, the passage is clearly connected with that of Exodus by the use of the common verb *šmṭ* (שמט). D. Hoffmann argued that the remission of debts is entailed by the fallow – that it is precisely because the debtor cannot work his fields during the seventh year that he is unable to make his payments, and the creditor is enjoined not to dun him for them. The same reasoning, according to Hoffmann, explains why the debts of aliens are not remitted – i.e., the fact that their income is not affected by the Sabbatical Year.

Ever since J. Wellhausen, a number of scholars have seen a connection between the surrender of the produce of the seventh year to the poor (Ex. 23:11) and the liberation of the Hebrew slave following the sixth year of his purchase (Ex. 21:2–6; cf. Deut. 15:12–18). Accordingly, they maintain that the Book of the Covenant did not intend the seventh-year fallow to be observed throughout the land on a fixed date any more than the manumission of all of the Hebrew slaves. Each field, vineyard, and olive grove, then, had its own fallow cycle, just as each slave had his own release date. Otherwise, the practice could not possibly have been observed, for there would not have been enough food for all of the inhabitants of the land. Hence, the Deuteronomist, who had to operate within the framework of a fixed, universal, seventh-year release (cf. Deut. 15:9), disregarded the agricultural fallow and called for the remission of debts instead, as well as the release of debtors who had been enslaved (15:12–18). This is why, according to A. Menes, the Deuteronomist also commanded that the Torah be read aloud every year of remission in the hearing of all Israel (31:10ff.). Such an assembly could take place then, after all the Israelite debtors had been set free and were able to appear as equals among their people. The Sabbatical Year, a fixed, universal, seventh-year fallow, as opposed to the year of remission, then, was a later construction of the priestly writers which was never observed in the pre-Exilic period (cf. Lev. 26:34–35, 43; II Chron. 36:21), and is attested for the first time during the Second Temple period, and then only in certain parts of the land (cf. I Macc. 6:49, 53).

Plausible as it has seemed to many scholars, the theory is not supported by the evidence. In the first place, there is no necessary connection between the manumission of the Hebrew slave and the fallow year other than the fact that both involve a seven-year period. Secondly, Wellhausen failed to see that not only the Priestly Code but also the Covenant Code connect the seventh-year fallow with the weekly Sabbath (cf. Ex. 23:12 with 23:10–11). As M. Noth correctly observes, both commandments require that the animals benefit in some way from their observance – a concern that derives not merely from compassion for dumb beasts but from the recognition that they are part of the nature which man must cease to dominate on the Sabbath. Finally, since Wellhausen claims that the demands of the Deuteronomist were utopian in character, the argument that a universally fixed date for the fallow year is impossible because of its impracticality is inapplicable. It is true that, outside the legislative texts of the Bible, there is no reference to the Sabbatical Year in the pre-Exilic sources. But an *argumentum ex silentio* is of dubious value, especially when dealing with ancient historical materials.

A similar problem exists with regard to the Jubilee Year, which is described in detail in Leviticus 25:8–17, 23–55. Among its provisions are: the dating of the recurrent Jubilee Year, the proclamation of its start with the sounding of the *shofar* on the Day of Atonement, the return of all Israelites to their ancestral lands and families, the observance of the fallow, the fixing of prices for the sale of land (except for houses in cities) in relation to the occurrence of the Jubilee, the redemption of the land of next of kin, special land regulations for levites, and the freeing of defaulting debtors and all Israelite slaves. The text justifies these prescriptions in terms of two basic principles: God's ownership of the land (25:23) and His undisputed possession of all Israelites as His slaves (25:55).

Two other passages in the Priestly Code refer to the Jubilee Year (Lev. 27:16–25; Num. 36:4), as does possibly Ezekiel (46:16ff.), but it is not mentioned in any historical texts, not even in post-Exilic ones. Evidently, it was not observed in Second Temple times, as is attested by the conditions in the time of Nehemiah (cf. 5:1–13, where there is no mention of the institution), the obscure description of it in Josephus (Ant. 3:280ff.), and the explicit comment of one of the *tannaim* (Sifra 8:2).

Though the Priestly Code clearly distinguishes between the Jubilee and the Sabbatical Years, many scholars consider the former a post-Exilic theoretical reworking of the latter. Thus, they suggest that the manumission of slaves on the Jubilee replaces the one on the Sabbatical Year, and that the notion of the divine ownership of the land is an extension of the claim that all Israelites belong to God. They concede that the Jubilee law does not require the remission of debts. Still, Leviticus 25:24 may be interpreted, they maintain, as a form of debt release, with the alienated property comparable to a foreclosed mortgage. The Jubilee, then, is "an artificial institution superimposed upon the years of fallow regarded as harvest Sabbaths after the analogy of Pentecost" (Wellhausen). In this way, one can explain the impossible demand for a two-year fallow created by the Jubilee following the Sabbatical Year, as well as the directions for the manumission of slaves, which were inconsistent with the earlier ones of the Covenant Code.

That the matter is not so simple is evidenced by the appearance of ancient terms in Leviticus 25 as well as pre-Israelite usages (see next section).

The etymology of *yovel* (יוֹבֵל) is not clear, with some suggesting that it is derived from the root (יבל) meaning "to bear along [in procession]," hence *yevul* (יבול) signifying "produce" or "that which is borne," and *yuval* (יוּבַל), "transfer" (of properties; cf. Ibn Ezra on Lev. 25:10). More likely, the basic meaning of *yovel* is "ram's horn" (cf. Ex. 19:13; Josh. 6:5; cf. also Phoenician *ybl*, "ram," and the comment of R. Akiva quoted by Bertinoro on RH 3:2). The Jubilee, then, is "the year that is inaugurated by the blowing of the ram's horn" (W.R. Smith). If this is so, then serious consideration must be given to R. North's suggestion that this is an ancient Near Eastern legal requirement for a public proclamation (*Šûdûtu*) "as a sort of registration-formality prerequisite to the exchange of property administration."

Closer inspection of the biblical text, too, proves the arguments of the Wellhausen school to be far from convincing. The assumption that Hebrew slaves were to be released in the Sabbatical Year is, as seen, unwarranted. The Jubilee laws do not refer to mortgaged properties but to those that have actually been sold. And, finally, it is highly doubtful that the belief in the divine ownership of the land arose at a late period in Israel's history. On the contrary, the evidence seems to point in the opposite direction, i.e., both the Sabbatical and Jubilee Years are rooted in ancient traditions, although some of the prescriptions connected with them, such as the restrictions on the redemption of houses in a city (Lev. 25:29ff.) and the remission of debts (Deut. 15:1ff.), were added later. Moreover, the elements basic to both institutions go back to early Israelite, and even pre-Israelite, times. They are the seven- and 50-year cycles, the fallow, the inalienability of ancestral lands (see below), and the maintenance of the integrity of the clan.

As far as the seven-year cycle is concerned, there is reference to it in the Joseph stories (Gen. 41:25ff.) and in the earlier Near Eastern texts. Thus, the land is blighted for a seven-year period because of the death of Aqhat (Pritchard, Texts 153), just as it flourishes for seven years after Baal defeats Mot (*Poems about Baal and Anath*, 5; Pritchard, Texts, 141). Similarly, Anu warns Ishtar that a seven-year drought would follow the slaying of Gilgamesh (*Gilgamesh Epic*, 6, lines 101–106; Pritchard, Texts, 84–85). As for the existence of a 50-year cycle, this is not as clearly attested, though J. Lewy claims to have discovered a primitive agricultural "pentecontad" calendar among the Amorites of Assyria, Babylonia, Syria, and Palestine near the end of the third millennium B.C.E. His interpretation of the relevant texts is, however, open to question, and note should be taken of a recent suggestion that the Jubilee occurred not in the 50th but in the 49th year, coinciding with the seventh Sabbatical Year (cf. Lev. 25:8–9 and M. Noth on 25:10).

The fallow, as described in the Torah, has nothing to do with crop rotation and does not seem to have had any agricultural value, such as that of replenishing the soil; no other crop was planted that year nor were the fields worked, as this was strictly forbidden during the Sabbatical Year. C.H. Gordon suggests that it was originally connected with Canaanite fertility rites. However, even if this is not so, Noth is undoubtedly correct in considering it an example of *restitutio in integrum*, when the land was permitted to return to its undisturbed rest. G. Dalman makes a similar observation with regard to the release of alienated lands during the Jubilee, seeing in it a recognition by the Israelites that they had no right permanently to set aside the lands allotted by God to the tribes and clans at the time of the conquest of Canaan. The release of Israelite slaves, then, and their return to their ancestral lands may also be considered a *restitutio in integrum*, the restoration of the structure of Israelite society as it had been divinely ordained in ancient days.

Accordingly, A. Jirku concludes that the concept of both the Sabbatical and the Jubilee Years originated under simple economic and social conditions, possibly when agriculture was not yet the major source of the food supply of the Israelites. This relates to a time not long after the conquest, which also provides a proper setting for the idea of the Jubilee. At this early date, tribal solidarity was still strong, the consciousness of the common possession of the ground and soil fresh in their minds, and the memory of the patriarchal relationships in the desert vivid.

These arguments, however, are not conclusive, since the ideals of the desert period lived on among the people for many centuries, especially outside the large centers. At any rate, neither the Sabbatical nor the Jubilee Year appears in the Bible as a nascent institution. While they drew on earlier Semitic practice for some of their ideas, in their present form they represent a unique Israelite attempt to combat the social evils that had infected Israelite society and to return to the idyllic period of the desert union when social equality and fraternal concern had prevailed.

[David L. Lieber]

Ancient Near Eastern Legal Background

The background of the legal conceptions embodied in the Sabbatical and Jubilee Years is illuminated by ancient Near Eastern evidence of (a) resistance in principle to the alienation of patrimonial lands; and (b) the institution of periodic royal releases from certain kinds of debt and obligation, in connection with which cognates to terms found in Leviticus 25 appear.

(a) Hurrian custom attested in the *Nuzi tablets banned the sale of patrimonial land. The prohibition seems to have been grounded on a feudal system, in which all land belonged to the king, and was held only as a grant or fief by his subjects. They had possession, but not ownership, of the property entrusted to them. In return, each subject owed some service to the king, but he had no right to dispose of or transfer his property to any person other than a male relative of his immediate family (cf. Laws of Hammurapi 36–39; Pritchard, Texts, 167–8). In order to transfer real estate out of the family, the fiction of adoption was resorted to, by which the seller "adopted" the buyer as his "son," in consideration of the latter's "gift" – the purchase price (Steele, in bibl., 14–15). The conception of possession without ownership, with its concomitant ban on alienation of property, evokes the biblical notion that the land of Israel is God's, and that Israel are merely His tenants ("you are but strangers resident with Me," Lev. 25:23). The time of the Nuzi tablets (mid-second millennium), and the chief region of Hurrian influence (the Khabur River Valley) coincide with the period, and pre-Canaan location, of Israel's ancestors. This is but one of several indications that Hurrian culture left a mark on Israelite ideas and institutions (see bibl.).

Old Babylonian legal writings contain a law (Eshnunna 39; Pritchard, Texts, 163) and a number of contracts showing the right of an owner of real property to redeem it after he had been forced by financial need to sell it. One of the contracts suggests that the right may have existed even when the property was not up for sale (as in Lev. 25:25–32).

(b) In their first full regnal year, Old Babylonian kings were accustomed to issue an edict of "justice" (*mīšarum*) throughout their realm, referred to in date formulas and inscriptions as "establishing the freedom" (*andurarum*, cognate with Heb. *deror* (Lev. 25:10, etc.)) of their subjects. The one extant exemplar – attributed to Ammi-ṣaduqa (second half of the 17th century B.C.E.) – consists mainly of remissions (for a limited period) of specific kinds of debts and obligations, including the release of persons held in debt-bondage. Such edicts were demonstrably enforced, and were issued at intervals of seven or more years – the periodicity being as yet unknown (Finkelstein). Property (real and human) for which the full price had been paid, however, was not subject to the *andurarum*-release (Levy); such property is described in a Ras Shamra (Ugarit) document as *ṣamit ana… ana dariti*, "finally transferred [lit. yoked] to… forever" – compare Leviticus 25:30, *liẓmitut le-X le-dorotaw*. Y. Muffs has suggested that the theory of Leviticus 25 is that the full price of land was never paid: only crop years are bought (25:15–16), hence land could never be finally transferred but was always subject to the release. Similarly, in the case of self-sale of persons, no sale could be final since title to every Israelite is vested solely in God (25:42).

The Sabbatical and Jubilee Years thus adapt, elaborate, and synthesize pre-Israelite elements. In the new creation, the Divine King, having liberated His people and made them free men in His land, provides for the preservation of their liberty through periodic corrections of the economic imbalances that, sundering men from the land, would turn them into slaves again. His authority flows from His ownership of both people and land, and is, in turn, brought to mind through the execution of His decrees.

[Moshe Greenberg]

Post-Biblical

Whereas the Sabbatical Year was in force during the Second Temple period (and is applicable, in theory, to the present day), the Jubilee was no longer observed. The two subjects are therefore treated separately.

Jubilee in the Second Temple Period

HALAKHAH AND DEVELOPMENT. The relevant laws in the literature of the Second Temple period are primarily the interpretation of the biblical precepts of the Sabbatical Year and the Jubilee, and of the law of emancipation of the Hebrew slave whose ear was pierced, since *le-olam* ("forever"; Ex. 21:6) was interpreted to mean "until the Jubilee" (Mekh., Nezikin 2). The laws of the Jubilee were not in practice in the time of the Second Temple (see below), but since the laws of the Jubilee and the calculation of the years of the *shemittah* are linked with the laws of the Sabbatical Year, which were in force, one can find in these *halakhot* something of the life and customs of that period. According to the *halakhah*, all rules applicable to the Sabbatical Year, with regard to the prohibition of land cultivation, the renunciation of ownership of produce, and the obligation of the householder to remove all produce gathered for his needs when that species is not found in the field, apply also to the Jubilee: "What applies to the Sabbatical Year applies equally to the Jubilee" (Sifra, Be-Har 3:2). From the verse, "For it is a Jubilee, it shall be holy to you" (Lev. 25:12), the tannaim derived that the sanctity of the produce of the Sabbatical Year was such that, if the householder sold it and bought meat with the proceeds, the stringencies of the Sabbatical Year applied both to the produce itself and to the meat, i.e., they deduced the laws of the Sabbatical Year from verses dealing with the Jubilee and vice versa. Thus, in the verse applying to the Jubilee, "Ye shall eat the increase cleared out of the field" (*ibid.*), they taught, "As long as you eat from the field you may eat from your house. If what is in the field has been consumed, then you must clear out what is in the house" (Sifra, Be-Har 3:4), applying it to the Sabbatical Year. The *halakhah* also combined the Jubilee with the Sabbatical Year with regard to their applicability during the Second Temple period; the opinion was even expressed that, since the Jubilee does not apply "at the present day," so also the observance of the Sabbatical Year is not a biblical precept, but merely rabbinic (TJ, Shev. 10:3, 39c). This conception probably served Judah II (Nesiah) as a theoretical basis for many of the relaxations in the law which he inaugurated in respect of the Sabbatical Year (TJ, Shev. 6:4; Ḥul. 6b and parallel texts).

Only the law on the remission of debts which comes into force at the end of the Sabbatical Year (Sif. Deut. 111) does not apply to the Jubilee; against this, however, there are, according to the *halakhah*, two precepts of the Jubilee which do not apply to the Sabbatical Year – that land sold returns to its owners during the Jubilee Years (Lev. 25:23, 24) and that slaves go free (Sifra, Be-Har 3:6). The verse, "And in the seventh he shall go out free for nothing" (Ex. 21:2), was interpreted as referring not to the seventh year, which was the Sabbatical Year, but to the seventh year from the date on which he was sold (TJ, Kid. 1:2, 59a); if the Jubilee came in the middle of his six-year term, however, the slave went free then (Kid. 1:2). This law was also applied to the Hebrew bondsmaid, although it is not explicitly mentioned in the Torah, and was apparently an innovation of the *tannaim*. A Hebrew slave sold to a gentile did not go free in the seventh year but only in the Jubilee (Sifra, Be-Har 8:4). In addition, the Hebrew slave who refused to go free in his seventh year went free on the Jubilee (Mekh., Nezikin 2; cf. Jos., Ant. 4:273).

THE CALCULATION OF THE JUBILEE. Both in the tannaitic literature and in the Apocrypha two different systems of calculation for the Jubilee and the Sabbatical Year are found. A *baraita* declares that the Jubilee year is the 50th year, after the completion of the seven sabbatical cycles, the following year being the first of the ensuing *shemittah* (Ned. 61a; TJ, Kid. 1:2, 59a). This cyclical system also occurs in the *Seder Olam in respect of the First Temple period. Judah, however, holds that "the Jubilee year enters into the calculation of the heptad," i.e., the Jubilee Year is the 50th year after the previous Jubilee and thus also the first of the ensuing *shemittah* and Jubilee (Ned. 61a). According to Judah's view there was a widespread tannaitic tradition that, with the exile of the tribes of Reuben, Gad, and the half-tribe of Manasseh, the laws of the Jubilee fell into desuetude. According to the *geonim*, not only were the laws of the Jubilee not in force from the time of the exile of these tribes (see later), but after the destruction of the First Temple the Jubilee Years were not even calculated; only those of the *shemittot* (A. Harkavy, *Teshuvot ha-Ge'onim*, in: *Zikkaron la-Rishonim ve-la-Aḥaronim*, 14 (1887) 20 no. 45; Responsa of Maimonides, ed. J. Blau, 2 (1960), 666 no. 389). Whether in accordance with the view of Judah or with the tradition that the Jubilee was not calculated in the period of the Second Temple, the fact is that only Sabbatical Years were counted from the Second Temple period onward. Whether to chronicle the years or to determine the Sabbatical Year, the author of the Book of Jubilees, which gives the chronology from the creation by Jubilees, counts a Jubilee period as 49 years only; the 127 years of Sarah's life are specifically referred to as "two Jubilees, four heptads, and one year" (19:7), and this applies throughout the book. According to the Book of Maccabees, Simeon the Hasmonean was murdered in the month of Shevat, in the year 177 of the Seleucid era, corresponding to 135 B.C.E. John Hyrcanus sought to avenge his father's murder and besieged the fortress of Dagon in which Ptolemy, the murderer, had shut himself. The siege dragged on, but as a result of famine due to the fact that it was a Sabbatical Year, he was compelled to raise the siege (I Macc. 16: 14ff; Jos., Ant. 13:228–35). The Sabbatical Year nearest to that date was in the year 3724 of the creation, i.e., 37 B.C.E., since Josephus tells that in Herod's conquest of Jerusalem in the summer of that year, the besieged in the city suffered from a food shortage because of the Sabbatical Year (Jos., Ant. 14:475). That the 98 years between those two dates are equivalent to 14 *shemittot* without an intervening Jubilee Year is confirmed from other references. The Samaritans also reckoned only according to *shemittot*, and even where they divided periods into Jubilees, it was a Jubilee of 49 years (see A. Neubauer, *Chronique Samaritaine* (1873), 3, 8ff.).

According to the Talmud, the Jubilee Year did not come into effect automatically, with the advent of the 50th year, but the *bet din* had to see to its implementation and officially proclaim it by sounding the *shofar* (cf. Lev. 25:9). It was the duty of the *bet din* to count the years of the *shemittah* as one counts the days of the *Omer, but whereas the latter was the duty of every individual Jew, the Jubilee Years were counted only by the *bet din* (Sifra, Be-Har 2, 106c). According to the majority of the sages, if land was not returned to its owner, slaves not freed, and the *shofar* not sounded, the sanctity of the Jubilee Year did not obtain. Judah, however, made the sanctity of the Jubilee dependent solely on the emancipation of the slaves, while Yose made it dependent only on the sounding of the *shofar* (TJ, RH 3:5, 58d; RH 9b; Sifra, Be-Har 2, 107a). The *shofar* had to be sounded by every individual, even on the Sabbath (Sifra, Be-Har 106d). Although, according to the Bible (Lev. 25:9), the release of slaves and the return of land took effect on the Day of Atonement, the Jubilee was regarded as starting on Rosh Ha-Shanah (Sifra, *ibid.*). At the beginning of the Jubilee Year, in addition to the sounding of the *shofar*, a special prayer was recited which included **Malkhuyyot*, **Zikhronot*, and **Shofarot*, as on Rosh Ha-Shanah (RH 29a).

THE JUBILEE IN HISTORY, That the Jubilee did not apply during the period of the Second Temple was deduced from the verse "unto all the inhabitants thereof" (Lev. 25:10), with the corollary that "from the time that the tribes of Reuben and Gad and the half-tribe of Manasseh were exiled the Jubilees were discontinued" (Sifra, Be-Har 2:3). The Talmuds, also, in discussing the various problems relating to the observance of the precepts of the Sabbatical Year in the Second Temple period (such as the laws of walled cities and of the Hebrew slave), assume it as a fact that the Jubilee did not apply at that time (TJ, Git. 4:3, 45d; Kid. 69a). It is difficult to determine when this conception had its origin, since a number of precepts which according to tradition depend on the observance of the Jubilee (such as the laws appertaining to the Sabbatical Year, the canceling of debts (TJ, Git. 4:3, 45d), or walled cities), continued to apply throughout the Second Temple period (Ar. 29a). According to this view, all the precepts bound up with the Sabbatical Year and the Jubilee are regarded as a whole, with the result that, where the precepts of the Jubilee cannot be observed, the other precepts do not apply; nevertheless, it is certain that the precepts of the Sabbatical Year, such as the remission of debts at the close of the Sabbatical Year and the redemption of houses, were practiced, as is shown by numerous references in both tannaitic and other sources. However, while there is evidence of the observance of the other precepts and of various regulations made to modify their severity, there is no evidence throughout the whole Temple period of the actual observance of the Jubilee, reflecting the difficulties involved in observing it. The *halakhah* provides, for instance, that only the Sabbatical Year is not to be made a leap year, etc.

From Alexander's conquest and during the period of Roman rule, there is evidence that foreign rulers took into account the problem of tax payments on agricultural produce in the Sabbatical Year, when the Jews did not cultivate their fields. Either they freed them from taxes, as did Alexander the Great and Julius Caesar, or insisted on payment, as did Hadrian after the Bar Kokhba war. There is, however, no echo of the complex problems which would have been raised by the Jubilee in this regard either in the Talmud or in other contemporary documents. Nevertheless, although the Jubilee was not in force for as long as the *shemittah*, the problems which it raised were of greater gravity than those of the Sabbatical Year. The commandment of the Jubilee brought in its train complicated questions concerning the commercial laws of the sale and hiring of land; yet there is hardly an echo of the existence of the Jubilee either in the *halakhah* which deals with it or in any reference in the various passages dealing with practical life, whether in the talmudic literature or in documents revealed by archaeology. Despite this fact the ideas contained in the precepts of the Jubilee were of considerable influence, both on the *halakhah* and on events of the Second Temple period.

In the *halakhah* and in various traditions reflecting ancient custom, there is evidence of the concern over keeping the patrimonial estate in the family, the farmer's concern to safeguard the ownership of his plot of land, and the obligation to redeem land that had been sold. Although the *halakhah* did not forbid the absolute sale of land, it viewed it unfavorably: "One is not permitted to sell his property… unless he become impoverished. If he does sell it, however, the sale is valid" (Tosef., Ar. 5:6). A public ceremony even took place in order to shame a person who sold his patrimony, and he was praised when he redeemed it: "When a man sold his field, his relatives would take jugs filled with roasted grains and nuts and smash them in front of the children, who would gather them and say, 'So and so has cut himself off from his possession.' And when the field returned to him they should do the same and say, 'So and so has returned to his possession'" (TJ, Ket. 2:10, 26d; see *Keẓaẓah*). Similarly the *halakhah* laid down that when a man inherited land from his wife, her relatives paid him for it in order to get it back from him (Tosef., Bek. 6:19). In contrast to the situation prevalent in the Orient, where extensive land belonged to the temples, the Jewish Temple possessed no landed property of its own. Even if one consecrated his land, it would be sold, and it was the duty of the former owner to be first in its redemption (Ar. 8:1). These *halakhot* and practices exercised a decisive influence, which accounts for the fact that in the last generations of the Temple period and for a considerable period afterward, most of the land in the country was not in the hands of large landowners but remained in the possession of smallholders.

THE JUBILEE IN THE AGGADAH. Mention has already been made of the link which the sages saw between the precepts of the Jubilee and those of the Sabbatical Year. It is certain that in every period they saw a link between the laws of the emancipation of slaves, remission of debts, and prohibition of land cultivation in the Sabbatical Year, which are the capstone of these laws, and the precepts of the Jubilee, since the Jubilee involves them all. The sages emphasized the practical and social connections between the various precepts of the Jubilee, as well as the religious and metaphysical connection between them. They reckoned the historical order and the end of time by Sabbatical Years and Jubilees: "Israel counted 17 Jubilees from the time they entered the land to the time they left it" (Ar. 12b). Elijah told Judah, the brother of Sala Ḥasida, "The world will endure not less than 85 Jubilees, and on the last Jubilee the Son of David will come" (Sanh. 97b). The precept of the Jubilee is often regarded as one of the basic precepts of the Torah. "And its seven lamps thereon" (Zech. 4:2) is interpreted as referring to the seven precepts – "offerings, tithes, *shemittot*, Jubilees, circumcision, honor of father and mother, and study of the Torah, which excels them all" (PR 8:4). The continued dwelling in the land was dependent upon the observance of the *shemittah* and the Jubilee (Shab. 33a).

[Shmuel Safrai]

Sabbatical Year in Post-Biblical Times

According to the exposition of the Talmud, the precept of the Sabbatical Year includes three positive commandments and six prohibitions (see *Commandments, The 613). The three positive commands are that in "the seventh year thou shalt let it rest and lie fallow" (Ex. 23:11); "the seventh year shall be a Sabbath of solemn rest for the land" (Lev. 25:4); and "At the end of every seven years thou shalt make a release. And this is the manner of the release: every creditor shall release that which he hath lent unto his neighbor" (Deut. 15:1–2). The six negative precepts are "[1] Thou shalt neither sow thy field [2] nor prune thy vineyard. [3] That which groweth of itself of thy harvest thou shalt not reap, [4] and the grapes of thy undressed vine thou shalt not gather" (Lev. 25:4–5). [5] "He shall not exact it [the loan] of his neighbor" (Deut. 15:2). [6] "Beware that there be not a base thought in thy heart, saying: 'The seventh year, the year of release, is at hand'; and thine eye be evil against thy needy brother, and thou give him nought" (Deut. 15:9).

The laws of the sabbatical remittance of debts are applicable both in Ereẓ Israel and in the Diaspora. However, the obligation to let the land lie fallow is limited to the boundaries of Ereẓ Israel in accordance with the verse that these laws begin only "When ye come into the land which I give you" (Lev. 25:2). Whether the sabbatical laws are still biblically relevant after the destruction of the First Temple, when the Jubilee Year is no longer operative, is disputed in the Talmud. According to Judah II, it is only observed today because of rabbinic enactment to "perpetuate the memory of the Sabbatical Year." However, the rabbis held the operation of the Sabbatical Year nowadays still to be biblical (MK 2b; Git. 36a–b). Later commentaries and codes remained divided on this issue; Maimonides seemingly ruled in accordance with the viewpoint of Judah (Maim. Yad, Shemittah 9:2, 3 and Kesef Mishneh ad loc.; cf. Kesef Mishneh to Shemittah 4:29).

At the time of the Temple, it was also biblically forbidden to work the land during the 30 days prior to the start of the Sabbatical Year. The rabbis extended this pre-sabbatical prohibition until the preceding Shavuot for orchards, and Passover for grain fields. After the destruction of the Temple these additional restrictions were no longer in force, and today it is permissible to work the land until Rosh Ha-Shanah of the Sabbatical Year (MK 3b–4a).

Produce which grows of itself during the Sabbatical Year is considered holy and its usage is restricted. It is forbidden to harvest this growth solely for commercial purposes (Shev. 7:3) or to remove it from Ereẓ Israel (Shev. 6:5). It may only be eaten or utilized in its usual fashion, so that items such as wine and vinegar may only be used for nourishment and not for anointing purposes (Shev. 8:2). The sabbatical produce may only be eaten as long as similar produce is still available in the field for the consumption of animals (Shev. 9:4). Once such produce has been consumed, all remaining sabbatical products of the same species must also be destroyed (Shev. 9:8).

The sabbatical money release was intended to free the poor from their debts and to enable them to attempt again to achieve financial stability. However, when *Hillel later saw that people refrained from lending money before the Sabbatical Year, he instituted the *prosbul (Git. 36a). The following are excluded from cancellation by the Sabbatical Year: wages, merchandise on credit, loans on pledges, a note guaranteed by mortgage, a note turned over to the *bet din* for collection, and the debtor's waiving the cancelation of his debt (Git. 36a–b, 37a–b).

Observance

POST-BIBLICAL PERIOD. Among the commitments which the Jews took upon themselves at the famous assembly described in Nehemiah was a promise to observe the Sabbatical Year (Neh. 10:32). There is evidence that during the whole of the Second Temple period they rigidly adhered to this commitment. When *Alexander the Great reached Jerusalem during his march through Ereẓ Israel, he acceded to the high priest's request that the Jews be exempted from paying tribute during the Sabbatical Year, when they did not work their land (Jos., Ant. 11:338). During the Hasmonean War, the fall of Beth Zur to the forces under Lysias and Eupator was attributed to a famine within the city since it was a Sabbatical Year (I Macc. 6:49, 53–54). Julius Caesar later reaffirmed this privilege of tax exemption during the Sabbatical Year since "they neither take fruit from the trees nor do they sow" (Jos., Ant. 14:202).

Following the destruction of the Temple (70 C.E.), the observance of the sabbatical prohibitions imposed ever-increasing economic hardships upon the agrarian society of ancient Israel. It became a constant source of challenge to the religious tenacity of the farmers. The rabbis constantly exhorted the masses to continue to observe properly the sabbatical restrictions, declaring that exile (Shab. 33a), poverty (Suk. 40b), and pestilence (Avot 5:9) result from the transgression of these laws. Immediately following the destruction, most of the land was left in Jewish hands and the Sabbatical Year was observed. Permissible organized distribution of sabbatical produce was arranged by the rabbis in order to ease the burden of the farmers, although there was some opposition to this procedure (Shev. 4:2; and see S. Safrai in bibl., 312–18). However, after the unsuccessful *Bar Kokhba Revolt (132–135 C.E.), the Roman government abrogated its previous tax exemption (Safrai, 320f.). Many Jews now compromised their observances due to the new economic pressures engendered by the demand for taxes during this year (Mekh., Shabbata 1). Some gathered sabbatical crops in order to pay these taxes, while others even traded in the produce (Sanh. 3:3, 26a). An entire city was described in which all the residents transgressed the sabbatical laws (Tosef., Dem. 3:17). An instance was even recorded where a proselyte retorted to the reproaches of a native Jew by exclaiming, "I will merit divine reward since I have not eaten the fruits of the Sabbatical Year like you" (Bek. 30a; Git. 54a). Nevertheless, even during this period, there were individuals who resolutely observed the sabbatical restrictions. R. Eleazar b. Zadok remarked about such a person, "I have never seen a man walking in the paths of righteousness as this man" (Suk. 44b).

As a consequence of the hardships now encountered in sabbatical observances, the rabbis relaxed many of the prohibitions. Their actions were probably also prompted by the viewpoint of *Judah II that the institution of the Sabbatical Year was only rabbinic during the Second Temple period when the Jubilee was not operative because the land was not fully occupied by Israel (Git. 36a–b; Rashi and Tos. ad loc.; S.J. Zevin, in bibl., 105–12). Areas such as Ashkelon (Tosef., Oho. 18:4), Beth-Shean, Caesarea, Bet Guvrin, and Kefar Ẓemaḥ (TJ, Dem. 2:1, 22c) were exempted from the restrictions of the Sabbatical Year. Judah ha-Nasi also permitted the buying of vegetables immediately after the close of the Sabbatical Year (Shev. 6:4) and the importing of produce from the Diaspora during the Sabbatical Year (TJ, Shev. 6:4, 37a; 7:2, 37b), both transactions which were previously forbidden. Many Jews still transgressed the sabbatical prohibitions which remained in force since they knew that their institution was only rabbinic (TJ, Dem. 2:1, 22d). It was related that an individual disobeyed the sabbatical laws but carefully observed the **ḥallah* rules, since the latter was still a biblical commandment (TJ, Shev. 9:8, 39a).

Rabban *Gamaliel, the son of Judah ha-Nasi, continued his father's policies, and also relaxed sabbatical restrictions. He permitted the previously forbidden actions of tilling the fields until the actual start – Rosh Ha-Shanah – of the Sabbatical Year (MK 3b; Tosef., Shev. 1:1), and the preparation of olives with an olive-crusher during this year (Shev. 8:6; Tosef., Shev. 6:27). During the third century, conditions worsened for the Jewish farmers. Taxes were increased, so that the constantly changing Roman rulers could support their armies and military expeditions. The rabbis therefore permitted the actual sowing of the seeds that produced the necessary food for the foreign armies (Sanh. 26a; TJ, Sanh. 3:6, 21b; Maim. Yad, Shemittah, 1:11). They also extended the time that fruits could be harvested and eaten during the Sabbatical Year (Shev. 9:3; Pes. 53a). Even during this difficult period, individuals continued to be meticulous in their observances. It was related that R. Safra investigated the rules governing his removing a barrel of Ereẓ Israel sabbatical wine to the Diaspora before he did so (Pes. 52b). The rabbis declared that the verse "Ye mighty in strength, that fulfill His word" (Ps. 103:20) refers to those who leave their fields and vineyards untilled for a full year and still do not complain when they pay their taxes to the Roman government (Lev. R. 1:1). The observance of these laws remained sufficiently widespread so that the gentile nations were able to mock the Jews by stating, "The Jews observe the law of the Sabbatical Year and therefore have no vegetables. Consequently, the Jews sadden camels by eating the thorns which otherwise would have been consumed by the camels" (Lam. R., Proem 17).

MODERN PERIOD. For centuries, *shemittah* remained a theoretical problem, discussed solely by talmudic scholars. However, with the dawn of modern Zionism and the subsequent settlement of Ereẓ Israel, it became a practical problem for the settlers. Before the *shemittah* of 1889, the leading rabbis of the generation debated whether it was permissible to enact a formal sale of all the Jewish-owned fields and vineyards to non-Jews in order to permit the working of the land during the Sabbatical Year. R. Isaac Elhanan *Spektor of Kovno issued the following statement permitting this transaction:

> I was asked several months ago to express my opinion concerning Jewish colonists, who live on the produce of the fields and vineyards of our Holy Land, as the *shemittah* year is approaching in 1889. If we do not find a *hetter* it is possible that the land will become desolate and the colonies will turn into wasteland, God forbid. Hundreds of souls will be affected by it. Although I am very much preoccupied and very weak, yet I find it necessary to deal with this important problem and permit the work in the fields, by selling them to the Muslims for a period of two years only. After that period, the vineyard and the fields go back to the owners; and the sale must be to Muslims only and may take place during the coming summer. I prepared, with the help of God, a special brochure dealing with this subject, but in practice I never came out with a *hetter* because I did not want to be the only one in this new matter, as is always my practice in such things.
>
> But now that I received a letter informing me that my good friends, the rabbis: R. Israel Joshua of Kutna, R. Samuel Mohilewer of Bialystok, and R. Samuel Zanwil of Warsaw gave due consideration to this problem and came out with a *hetter,* and wait for my approval, I am greatly pleased to find that I am not alone in this great issue. My opinion is, therefore, to follow my above mentioned suggestion [sell the land to non-Jews]. Furthermore, the work in the fields and vineyards is to be done by non-Jews, but in the case of poor people who cannot afford to engage non-Jewish labor, let them consult the aforementioned honored rabbis; and may the Lord grant us the privilege to come joyously to our land, and observe the mitzvah of *shemittah* as it was originally ordained for us and in accordance with all its rules and regulations.
>
> It must be explicitly stated that this *hetter* is only for the year 5649 (1889) but not for future *shemittot*. Then further meditation will be necessary, and a new *hetter* will he required; and may the Lord help His people so that they should not need any *hetter* and should observe *shemittah* in accordance with the Law, as I have fully explained it in the special brochure, with the help of God (E. Shimoff, Rabbi Isaac Elchanan Spektor (1959), 134f.).

Spektor's lenient decision was opposed by the Ashkenazi *kehillah* of Jerusalem and its rabbis, Moses Joshua Judah Leib *Diskin and Samuel *Salant. Many of the colonists originally refrained from work during the Sabbatical Year in accordance with the stringent ruling. However, with the continued growth of the new settlements, many more farmers abided by the lenient decision during the next *shemittah* of 1896.

Before the Sabbatical Year of 1910, the controversy regarding the sale of the land to Muslims revived. Rabbi Abraham Isaac *Kook, then the chief rabbi of Jaffa, was the leading proponent of the sale, while Rabbi Jacob David *Willowsky of Safed opposed it. During the ensuing *shemittah* years, the chief rabbinate of Ereẓ Israel continued to abide by the lenient ruling, although there was always opposition to its decisions. Most prominent among the opponents has been Rabbi Abraham Isaiah *Karelitz of Bene-Berak. In Kibbutz Ḥafeẓ Ḥayyim attempts to grow vegetables in water (hydroponics) have met with some success as a method of observing the restrictions of the Sabbatical Year. Various Israel institutes devoted to studying agriculture in light of *halakhah* also experiment with methods suitable to growing fruits and vegetables during Sabbatical years.

Sabbatical Years during the second half of the 20th century fell during 5712 (1951/52); 5719 (1958/59); 5726 (1965/66); 5733 (1972/73); 5740 (1979/80); 5747 (1986/87); and 5754 (1993/94).

[Aaron Rothkoff]

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SABBIONETA, town in Lombardy, Italy, in the former duchy of *Mantua. Jewish settlement in Sabbioneta dates from the 15th century. In 1436 the brothers Azariah and Meshullam, the sons of Joab of Pisa, arrived there to found the third bank of the duchy of Mantua. On Feb. 10, 1530, the adventurer David *Reuveni visited the town and stayed in the home of Eleazar *Portaleone. From the 16th century, the Jewish population of Sabbioneta constantly increased. In 1746 the town came under Austrian rule. In 1779, in the reign of Maria *Theresa, the first attempt was made to abolish the judicial autonomy of the Mantuan communities, including Sabbioneta. Rabbis and scholars of Sabbioneta including Azriel b. Solomon *Dienna, Johanan b. Joseph *Treves, and Joseph b. Jacob Padua Ashkenazi.

Printing

Sabbioneta is best known, however, for its Hebrew press, which was founded in 1551 by Joseph b. Jacob Shalit of Padua and Jacob b. Naphtali of Gazzuala, in the house of Tobias b. Eliezer *Foa. In 1553 Foa became sole owner of the press, with Cornelio *Adelkind as the printing expert, and Joshua Boaz Baruch as corrector and setter. After Adelkind converted to Christianity, Foa's sons, Eliezer and Mordecai, took his place; 26 books were issued, including the first printed edition of Isaac Abrabanel's *Mirkevet ha-Mishneh* (1551), before the press was compelled to close down in 1559. A proposed edition of the Talmud did not go beyond one tractate (*Kiddushin*, 1553), and a Mishnah edition with Maimonides' and Bertinoro's commentaries was not printed beyond the order *Zera'im* and part of *Mo'ed* (1558); the rest appeared in Mantua.

In 1567 Vicenzo Conti, the gentile printer of *Cremona, who had served his apprenticeship with Foa at Sabbioneta, left Cremona and in that year printed a number of works at Sabbioneta.

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SABEA (Heb. שְׁבָא, סְבָא – *S(h)eva'*; Ass. *Saba'ai* (Tiglath-Pileser III); Sum. *Sabum/Sabu*? (see Montgomery in bibl.)), state in S. Arabia in the region exposed to the monsoon from Hadhramaut to Yemen, contemporary with the Israelite monarchy. Explorations and excavations conducted by the University of Louvain (1951–52) and the American Foundation for the Study of Man (1950–53) uncovered epigraphic evidence in the area, dating from the beginning of the second millennium B.C.E. to the sixth century C.E., which reflects political development from theocracy, through secular monarchy, to oligarchy.

Sabea, roughly coinciding with Yemen, displayed the greatest durability in the various shifts of power between the Sabean, Minean, and Qatabanian states. Radiocarbon dating indicates that Sabea flourished from around 900 to 450 B.C.E. (for beginnings, see Grohmann in bibl.). Besides engaging in agriculture, which utilized seasonal rainfall and advanced irrigation, these kingdoms, exploiting their proximity to Africa across the Straits of Bab el Mandeb, were essentially trading empires, serving as entrépôts of maritime trade from India and East Africa, and transporting foreign luxuries and their home-produced incense (Jer. 6:20; Ps. 72:15) by camel caravans (Isa. 60:6; Job 6:19 [?]) to Mesopotamia, Syria, and Egypt. A South Arabian clay seal from the ninth century found in debris at Beth-El possibly attests to such trade with the early Israelite monarchy.

The visit of the Queen of *Sheba (I Kings 10) is one of the earliest examples of a trade mission. It was occasioned by Solomon's occupation of the head of the Gulf of Akaba and his enterprise in the Red Sea, which was a threat to South Arabian monopoly of the caravan trade. The alphabetic inscriptions from South Arabia furnish no evidence for women rulers, but Assyrian inscriptions repeatedly mention Arab queens in the north, so that the Queen of Sheba may have been one of these; Northern Sabeans were also doubtless those mentioned in Job 1:15 (cf. Gen. 25:3; I Chron. 1:32) and their name may have survived in the Wadi Shaba northeast of Medina. Both southern and northern Sheba are to be distinguished from Seba (Heb. סְבָא), north Sudan (Isa. 43:3; Ps. 72:10).

By the end of the first century B.C.E. the Sabean state had absorbed the Minean kingdom to the south and Qataban to the north, and soon also the Hadhramaut. This aggrandizement eventually involved Sabea in war with the Abyssinians, but its final decline was due to internal dissensions between Jews and Christians, the latter sponsored by Abyssinia, then a Christian state, and the former identified with Arab nationalism. The last king of Sabea, Yusuf *Dhû-Nuwâs, adopted the Jewish faith. His persecution of the Christians provoked an Abyssinian invasion in 525 C.E. and occupation of the land and the oases on the caravan route to the north. This, together with the development of the Red Sea trade route, brought about the end of the state of Sabea, conventionally associated with the bursting of the great dam at Ma'rib in 542 which is symptomatic of the general neglect of the vital irrigation works after the collapse of the native government. The Abyssinian rule ended by 575 and was succeeded by Persian dominion for just over half a century, whereafter the native Sabeans were finally absorbed in the politico-religious empire of Islam.

The religion of Sabea was as well organized as that of any Semitic state in the Ancient Near East. Temples were well built and endowed with a large and well-organized staff. Inscriptions attest to native polytheism, including many unnamed gods of families and divine local lords (Baals). The chief gods were the moon-god, called A'lmaqah in Sabea; the sun-goddess; and ʿAthtar, the god of the planet Venus, the brightest star in those latitudes, who was the guide of caravans. Unlike the Mesopotamian Venus deity Ishtar, the South Arabian ʿAthtar was not worshipped as a goddess but as a god.

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[John Gray]

SABIN, ALBERT BRUCE (1906–1993), U.S. virologist. Sabin was born in Bialystok, Poland, and emigrated to Paterson, New Jersey, with his family in 1921. He graduated in medicine from New York University and thereafter worked on polio viruses and other infectious agents at the Rockefeller Institute in 1935–39. He joined the University of Cincinnati College of Medicine, where he progressed to professor of research pediatrics and distinguished service professor (1939–69), a period interrupted by World War II service in the U.S. Army Medical Corps, where he studied viral infections such as dengue fever threatening U.S. troops. He developed a live "attenuated" polio virus, which did not cause disease but induced immunity to polio virus infections and was given orally. Its safety and efficacy were established in 1960 after European trials, and it was used extensively in the U.S. between 1962 and 1964, supplanting the *Salk intramuscular killed viral vaccine at least temporarily. The respective merits of the two vaccines caused great general and personal controversy. He also worked on the genetics of antiviral resistance and on a simple test for antibodies to the toxoplasma parasite. After 1969 his services were in great demand as a visiting professor and as a member of expert committees in the U.S. and abroad; he was president of the Weizmann Institute of Science (1970–72). He was elected to the U.S. National Academy of Sciences (1951) and the U.S.S.R. Academy of Medical Sciences, and received the U.S. National Medal of Science in 1970. His contributions were broadly humanitarian as well as scientific. He is buried in the Arlington National Cemetery.

[Michael Denman (2nd ed.)]

SABINUS (end of first century B.C.E.), Roman official. Sabinus, then Augustus' treasurer in Syria, was sent to Judea after Herod's death in 4 B.C.E., to take charge of the latter's estate as procurator. On his arrival he acceded to the request of Varus, governor of Syria, to hand over the custody of the citadels and treasures to Herod's son *Archelaus, pending Caesar's decision concerning Herod's will. However, immediately after the departure of Varus and Archelaus for Antioch and Rome, respectively, he took possession of the royal palace and demanded from the custodians particulars regarding Herod's treasure. Sabinus' conduct caused a revolt on the festival of Shavuot, when many pilgrims had assembled in Jerusalem. Sabinus seized the Tower of Phasael, from which he gave the signal to attack the rebels. As the battle developed, the Romans set fire to the Temple chambers, capturing and plundering the Temple treasury. These acts further enraged the people, and they besieged the royal palace where Sabinus and his followers had fortified themselves. The Jews demanded that the Romans leave the city, offering to spare their lives, but Sabinus would not trust them. Riots continued throughout Judea until Varus hurried back to suppress them. When he reached Jerusalem, Sabinus fled.

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[Lea Roth]

SABSOVICH, H.L. (**Hirsch Loeb**; 1861–1915), U.S. agronomist and a leader of the Am Olam movement. Sabsovich was born in Berdiansk, Russia. As a law student at Odessa University during the 1881 pogroms, he helped to organize Jewish self-defense. After advanced agronomy studies in Switzerland, Sabsovich became manager of an estate in the Rostov region. Immigrating to the United States in 1887, Sabsovich obtained a post as assistant director of the Agricultural Experiment Station in Fort Collins, Colorado. He was then called upon by the Baron de Hirsch Fund to direct the founding of Woodbine, New Jersey (1891), a Jewish farming-industrial community, where he was superintendent for 15 years, followed by another decade as the Fund's general agent in New York. Among his achievements was the pioneering Baron de Hirsch Agricultural School (1894–1919). Sabsovich worked closely with the Jewish Agricultural Society, the Federation of Jewish Farmers, and the Society of Jewish Social Workers of Greater New York (as president).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: J. Brandes, *Immigrants to Freedom* (1971), index.

[Joseph Brandes]

SACERDOTE, DAVID (1550–1625), composer and banker. He came from Rovré or Rovere in the duchy of Piedmont (today Roreto Chisone in the province of Turin) and is known as the author of a single work written in his youth, *Il primo libro di madrigali a sei voci*, published in Venice in 1575. Only one copy, and that of the part-book *quinto* (fifth voice), has been found so far and is in the British Museum. Sacerdote, who at that time lived in Casale Monferrato, dedicated the work to the Marquis Alfonso del Vasto, the son of Isabella Gonzaga, who was governor of the marquisate of Monferrato on behalf of her brother Guglielmo Gonzaga, duke of Mantua.

Sacerdote was also a banker, first at Casale, together with his brother Leone (1576–80), then at Acqui (1580–85), and finally at Cortemilia in Piedmont (from 1585 onward), together with his relative Ventura Bacchi. He was also then the holder of a moneylender's concession at Bologna (from 1587 onward), at the Marchese Del Carreto fiefs in Calizzano and Carcare (1591–1611), and finally, from 1618 onward, at Cengio, which then belonged to another branch of the Del Carretto family.

The musical value and stylistic relationships of the *Madrigali* cannot be discerned from the surviving *quinto* part; neither has it been possible as yet to connect it definitely with the circle of Jewish musicians around Salamone de' *Rossi. The combination of the banker's profession with a musical education is typical of his time and social circumstances.

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[Vittore Colorni]

SACERDOTI, ANGELO-RAPHAEL CHAIM (1886–1935), chief rabbi of Rome and Zionist leader in Italy. Born and educated in Florence, he officiated as the rabbi of Reggio Emilia until 1912, when he was invited to take up the post of chief rabbi of Rome, which he retained until his death. While he was preoccupied with the reorganization of the Rome community, World War I broke out. He volunteered to serve as an army chaplain and organized Jewish chaplains to serve on all the fronts. After the war he began an active campaign to revitalize Italian Jewry, of which he was a leading guide and teacher. When Mussolini assumed power, Sacerdoti held a series of meetings with him in an attempt to protect Jewish interests and ensure that the Jews of Italy would not be harmed by the Fascist regime. He was instrumental in obtaining the passage of a law that required all Italian Jews to belong to one of the 26 united communities, unless they specifically renounced their Judaism. This led to increased participation in Jewish community life. He also transferred the Rabbinical Seminary from Florence to Rome. Sacerdoti was active in the Zionist field, participating in the opening of The Hebrew University (1925) as the representative of the Rome community and the Italian government. Due to his efforts, a political office of the Zionist Organization was established in Rome.

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[Getzel Kressel]

SACHAR, ABRAM LEON (1899–1993), U.S. educator and historian; founding president of *Brandeis University. Sachar was born in New York and brought up in Saint Louis. In 1929 he began to teach history at the University of Illinois. Sachar was one of the organizers of the B'nai B'rith Hillel Foundation and played an important role in its development, establishing Hillel Houses for Jewish students on the campuses of American universities. He himself directed the University of Illinois unit from 1929 to 1933 and then served as national director of the Hillel Foundations from 1933 to 1948. In 1948 he was appointed the first president of Brandeis University and was largely responsible for its rapid development, guiding its academic progress and raising the requisite funds for the construction of its extensive campus. In 1968 Sachar was appointed chancellor of the university and a fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences. His writings include a popular one-volume *A History of the Jews* (1965^5); a history of Jewish life between the two world wars, *Sufferance Is the Badge* (1939); *The Course of Our Times* (1972); *Brandeis University: A Host at Last* (1976); and *The Redemption of the Unwanted: From the Liberation of the Death Camps to the Founding of Israel* (1983).

His son HOWARD MORLEY SACHAR (1928–), historian, was born in St. Louis, Missouri. He taught history at the University of Massachusetts in 1953 and later directed Hillel Foundations at UCLA and Stanford University. In 1961 he became founder-director of Brandeis University's Jacob Hiatt Institute in Israel. From 1965 he taught modern and Middle Eastern history at George Washington University, Washington, D.C. In 2004 he became professor emeritus at the university. Sachar's works include *The Course of Modern Jewish History* (1958); *Aliyah: The Peoples of Israel* (1961); *From the Ends of the Earth: The Peoples of Israel* (1964); *Emergence of the Middle East, 1914–1924* (1969); *Europe Leaves the Middle East, 1936–1954* (1972); a novel, *The Man on the Camel* (1980); *Egypt and Israel* (1983); *Diaspora: An Inquiry into the Contemporary Jewish World* (1985); and *A History of Israel: From the Aftermath of the Yom Kippur War* (1987).

[David Rudavsky / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

SACHER, HARRY (1881–1971), British Zionist and lawyer. Born in London, the son of a tailor, Sacher was educated at London and Oxford Universities (winning a scholarship) and in Europe. He was called to the bar but did not practice. During 1905–09 and 1915–19 he was a member of the editorial board of the *Manchester Guardian* and achieved prominence in the field of political analysis. He belonged to the Manchester Zionist Circle headed by Chaim *Weizmann and was instrumental in winning the *Manchester Guardian* to the Zionist cause during the political efforts preceding the *Balfour Declaration. Sacher was married to the sister of Simon *Marks (later Lord Marks of Broughton), one of the founders of Marks & Spencer and an ardent Zionist and patron of Zionist causes. In 1920 Sacher settled in Palestine, where he practiced law.

At the 15th Zionist Congress (Basle, 1927) Sacher was elected to the Zionist Executive and was reelected to it in 1929 at the 16th Congress (Zurich), serving until 1931. His term began during the days of an economic crisis in the *yishuv*, following the height of the Fourth Aliyah. He channeled the economic policy of the Zionist Organization with a firm hand in an effort to balance its budget, encountering strong opposition on the part of the labor movement. The "Sacher regime" became synonymous with economic efficiency, in contrast to various other – daring – programs, which lacked the means of implementation. The second part of Sacher's term coincided with the Arab riots of 1929, when he defended Zionism against its detractors among Arabs and the British authorities. In his testimony before the Shaw Commission, which set out from London to investigate the causes of the riots, he defined the Zionist aims for Jewish-Arab relations: "We do not wish to rule over others, but we do not wish others to rule over us."

Sacher returned to England in 1930 and became a director of Marks and Spencer, serving until 1962. Throughout the years he remained active in the Zionist movement and, after 1948, in pro-Israel affairs. He edited Anglo-Jewish Zionist journals, such as *The Jewish Review*. His books include *Israel, The Establishment of a State* (1952) and *Zionist Portraits and Other Essays* (1959); he edited the anthology, *Zionism and the Jewish Future* (1916). He also donated the Sacher Building to New College, Oxford, and was one of the greatest benefactors of the college in its history.

His wife, MIRIAM (neé Marks, a sister of Baron *Marks, 1892–1975), was one of the leaders of *WIZO. His son, MICHAEL (1917–1986), was active in fund-raising for Israel in Britain and a governor of the Weizmann Institute of Science. In 1971 he was elected to the Jewish Agency Executive.

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[Getzel Kressel]

SACHS, family of U.S. educators, physicians, and bankers. Joseph Sachs, who immigrated to the United States in 1848, was briefly a rabbi in Baltimore and Boston. His oldest son, Julius *Sachs, was an educator and philologist. Another son, Bernard *Sachs, was a noted neurologist. Two other sons of Joseph Sachs, Samuel and Harry Sachs, were founding members of the banking house of *Goldman, Sachs and Company. Samuel Sachs' son, Walter Edward Sachs (1884–1980), and Harry Sachs' son, Howard Joseph Sachs (1891–1969), succeeded their fathers as partners in the firm. Julius Sachs' son, Ernest Sachs (1879–1958), became a prominent neurosurgeon in St. Louis, Missouri, and Samuel Sachs' son, Paul J. Sachs (1878–1965), was professor of fine arts at Harvard and director of the Fogg Art Museum.

Bibliography: L. Endlich, *Goldman Sachs: The Culture of Success* (1999).

SACHS, ANDREW (1930–), British actor. Born in Berlin, Sachs came to Britain as a child, following his father, who had been arrested and released by the Gestapo a few days before **Kristallnacht*. Sachs was an actor from 1948 and appeared in supporting roles in dozens of films, as well as on television and radio. He became internationally renowned for playing "Manuel," the hapless Spanish waiter, in the BBC's *Fawlty Towers,* produced in two series in 1975 and 1979 and often regarded as the greatest British television comedy ever made. In 2004 Sachs produced a series for BBC radio on the history of the Jews of Britain, *The Jewish Tapestry*.

Bibliography: M. Bright and R. Ross, *Fawlty Towers: Fully Booked* (2001).

[William D. Rubinstein (2nd ed.)]

SACHS, BERNARD (1858–1944), U.S. neurologist. Sachs, who was born in Baltimore, belonged to the *Sachs family of scholars. He studied medicine in Europe and, when he returned to the U.S., became professor of nervous and mental diseases at the New York Polyclinic and professor of clinical neurology at Columbia University. He was president of the First International Neurological Congress which was held in 1931. Sachs, a pioneer in the field of child neurology, is best known for his description of the Tay-Sachs disease in children – a progressive impairment of mental functions, muscles, and vision ending in blindness. He made various studies on nervous disorders in children and published several books on the subject, among them: *A Treatise on the Nervous Diseases of Children* (1895, 1905^2); *The Normal* (1925); and *Puberty and Adolescence* (1936).

Bibliography: S.R. Kagan, *Jewish Medicine* (1952), 384.

[Suessmann Muntner]

SACHS, CURT (1881–1959), German musicologist. Born in Berlin, Sachs became director of the Berlin state collection of instruments in 1919. The same year he began to lecture at the University of Berlin, and from 1933 to 1937 was adviser to the museum of musical instruments at the Musée de Trocadéro in Paris. He supervised the production of two series of historical recordings, *2,000 Jahre Musik* (Berlin) and *L'Anthologie Sonore* (Paris). In 1937 he emigrated to the U.S., where he lectured at New York University until 1957 and at Columbia from 1953. The wide scope of his research included an inquiry into the creative origins and evolution of musical instruments which led him, with E.M. von Hornbostel, to compose a classification system which bears their names. Sachs was a pioneer in the comparative study of musical instruments and embodied his researches on this subject in his *History of Musical Instruments* (1940).

He published *Eine Weltgeschichte des Tanzes* (1933; *A World History of the Dance*, 1937, 1963^2); *The Rise of Music in the Ancient World – East and West* (1943); and *Rhythm and Tempo* (1953), on the relationship of rhythmic expression and musical styles. In *The Commonwealth of Art* (1946) Sachs gave expression to his personal philosophy of the unity of the arts. His other works include *Our Musical Heritage* (1948, 1955^2), a short history of music; and *The Wellsprings of Music* (1962, ed. posthumously by Jaap Kunst).

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[Edith Gerson-Kiwi]

SACHS, HANNS (1881–1947), non-medical psychoanalyst. Sachs was born in Vienna and studied law. In 1904 he read Freud's *Interpretation of Dreams* and in 1909 joined Freud's group, becoming a member of its executive the following year. Sachs was one of the six men closest to Freud, "The Committee," and in 1912 he was appointed coeditor of *Imago* with Otto *Rank. In 1918 he abandoned law and opened a psychoanalytic practice in Zurich. In 1920 he was invited to become a training analyst in Berlin. In 1932 Sachs left Berlin for Boston, where he continued as a training analyst and lectured. He received one of the few non-medical appointments as an instructor at the Harvard Medical School. Sachs was an indefatigable editor and teacher. His early writings are essentially devoted to questions of dream interpretation and everyday terrors. His later works mainly concern the application of psychoanalysis to literature and art.

Together with Karl *Abraham he advised Pabst, the film director of *Secrets of the Soul*. Sachs kept in touch with Pabst and in 1925 wrote *Notes About the Psychology of the Film*. His first major publication, written with Otto Rank, was *The Significance of Psychoanalysis for the Mental Sciences* (1915), which deals with the application of psychoanalysis to civilization, myth, religion, art, and philosophy. Other books include *Psychotherapy and the Pursuit of Happiness* (1941), *The Creative Unconscious* (1942), and *Freud, Master and Friend* (1944). Sachs's literary research was far-reaching. He thought that in writing *The Tempest*, Shakespeare freed himself from guilt at having left his daughter when she was a child (*Der Sturm*, 1912). Sachs wrote three books in his search to understand human beings and how clearly they may know themselves: *Caligula* (1931), *Notes About the Knowledge of Human Beings* (1936; not translated), and his last book, published posthumously and given the title by A.A. Roback, *Masks of Love and Life* (1948); it contains a sketch of Julius Caesar's personality and a chapter about the apostle Paul.

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[Louis Miller]

SACHS, JULIUS (1832–1897), German botanist. Born in Breslau of a poor family, he was encouraged in his studies by the Czech physiologist Johannes Evangelista Purkinje (1787–1869), then at the University of Breslau. When Sachs was 18, Purkinje moved to Prague, and he invited Sachs to come to his institute as an assistant. After obtaining his degree at the University of Prague, Sachs went to Tharandt, where first he taught botany at the forestry school; in 1861 he was appointed professor at the agricultural school at Poppelsdorf, near Bonn. In 1867 Sachs became professor of botany at Wuerzburg, remaining for nearly 30 years.

Sachs held an important place in the history of biology, both as a teacher and as a researcher. His textbooks, *Handbuch der Experimentalphysiologie der Pflanzen* (1865) and the *Lehrbuch der Botanik* (1868; *Textbook of Botany*, 1875), widely influenced the teaching of botany. Sachs's personal influence as a teacher was equally great. Under his genial and enthusiastic leadership, Wuerzburg became an international center for plant physiology, where some of Europe's most eminent botanists were trained.

Sachs has been called the creator of experimental botany. Among Sachs's noteworthy contributions were his demonstration that starch is the first perceptible product of photosynthesis and that it is translocated from the leaf in the form of sugar. Sachs was the first to demonstrate that the chloroplasts are the site of photosynthesis, and it was he who showed that light is necessary for the synthesis of chlorophyll. Sachs also pioneered in studies of the nutritional requirements of plants; he published the first formula for a standard culture solution, a necessary basis for identifying the mineral elements essential for growth. Sachs introduced the auxanometer, an instrument for quantitatively studying plant growth, and the clinostat, a rotating apparatus by means of which he investigated the plant's response to gravity.

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[Mordecai L. Gabriel]

SACHS, JULIUS (1849–1934), U.S. educator. Sachs, who was born in Baltimore, Maryland, was founder and headmaster of the Sachs Collegiate Institute School of Boys in New York City (1871–1904), a school considerably attended by the German-Jewish upper class of that city; and professor of secondary education at Columbia Teachers College (1902–17). Sachs gained national recognition for leadership in raising the standards of secondary school education and improving teacher training. He served as president of the Schoolmasters' Association of New York (1889) and the Headmasters' Association of the United States (1899). In addition to activities and publications concerned with education, Sachs produced several studies in the field of philology and archaeology. He was president of the American Philological Association in 1891. He belonged to the *Sachs family of educators.

[Frederick M. Binder]

SACHS, LEO (1924–), Israeli geneticist. Sachs was born in Leipzig, Germany, and in 1933 immigrated to England with his parents following Hitler's accession to power. He received his doctorate from Cambridge in 1951 and in 1952 came to Israel as a research scientist at the Weizmann Institute of Science, Rehovot. He initiated research on various aspects of biomedical sciences and established the Department of Genetics and Virology. He was appointed associate professor in 1960 and full professor in 1962. His research pioneered new approaches to basic and medically applied aspects of stem cell biology, development, hematology, and oncology, and led to new therapies. His honors include the Israel Prize for natural sciences (1972), the Rothschild Prize in biological sciences (1977), the Wolf Prize in medicine (1980), and the EMET Prize for life sciences, medicine, and genetics (2002). He is a member of the Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities, a foreign associate of the U.S. National Academy of Sciences, and a fellow of the Royal Society, London, since 1997.

[Bracha Rager (2nd ed.)]

SACHS, LEONARD (1909–1990), British actor. Sachs went to England from South Africa in 1930 and acted with repertory companies. In 1936 he and Peter Ridgeway founded the Players' Theatre in London, and apart from three years in the army, Sachs continued to direct there until 1947. In 1951 he launched *Mr. Sachs's Song Saloon* at the Battersea Festival Gardens and took it on tour through Britain. Sachs appeared, generally in supporting roles, in numerous British films and television plays between 1936 and 1976.

SACHS, MAURICE (originally **Jean-Maurice Ettinghausen**; 1906–1945?), French author, critic, and translator. Born in Paris, Sachs was abandoned by his parents and fell prey to alcoholism, homosexuality, and kleptomania. Vainly trying to free himself from moral depravity, he became a Catholic and entered a seminary, but left it and went to the U.S., where he married a Protestant minister's daughter. Returning to France, he became a Nazi collaborator and black marketeer. He is believed to have died in a prison fight in Hamburg toward the end of World War II. Sachs' literary talent revealed itself in novels, essays, and a number of picaresque stories.

These include *La Décade de l'Illusion* (1950), published first in English as *The Decade of Illusion* (1933); *André Gide* (1936); and *Au temps du Boeuf sur le Toit* (1939). *Le Sabbat* (*The*

Day of Wrath, 1953), written in 1939 and published in 1946, is the brutal confession of a lost soul, a brilliantly written, penetrating analysis of bohemian life in Paris. Most of Sachs' works are autobiographical. Those published posthumously include *La Chasse à courre* (1948), *Chronique joyeuse et scandaleuse* (1948), *Tableau des moeurs de ce temps* (1951), *Abracadabra* (1952), and *Le Voile de Véronique* (1958).

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[Moshe Catane]

SACHS, MICHAEL (1808–1864), German rabbi and scholar. Sachs, who was born in Glogau, Silesia, became a preacher in Prague in 1836, succeeding L. Zunz, and from 1844 was a preacher in Berlin, where he also served as *dayyan* at the *bet din*. He declined an invitation to become rabbi to the small but growing Orthodox congregation in Frankfurt, which eventually chose S.R. *Hirsch. A strong traditionalist, Sachs opposed the introduction of the organ – more for historical than halakhic reasons – although he consented to the omission of *piyyutim* from the synagogue service. His middle-of-the-road position earned him the suspicion and antagonism of the old-time Orthodox, while he disappointed the hopes of the Reformers (he threatened to resign when in 1860 the Berlin Jewish community planned to bury the Reform leader S. *Holdheim in the "Rabbis' Row" of the cemetery).

Sachs possessed a wide Jewish and general education, and was familiar with classics and Semitics and their modern philological-historical methodology no less than with Bible, Talmud, and particularly Midrash, as shown by his commentaries on the *piyyutim*. As a scholar, he was one of the leaders in the emerging *Wissenschaft des Judentums. He worked on a German Bible translation with Zunz, contributing 15 books, including Psalms (1835), which appealed to his lyric-poetical nature. Sachs' major work was *Religioese Poesie der Juden in Spanien* (1845, 1901^2), which consisted of renderings of the poetry of the great medieval Spanish-Hebrew poets, as well as a historical survey. This influential work probably inspired Heinrich Heine's *Hebraeische Melodien*.

Of a more philological nature were Sachs' *Beitraege zur Sprach- und Altertumsforschung* (2 vols., 1852–54), in which he treated the relationship between the classical world and that of the Talmud and Midrash. His *Stimmen von Jordan und Euphrat* (2 vols., 1853, 1891^2) is an anthology of *aggadah*. Sachs' edition of the *maḥzor* in both the German and East German (Polish) rites, with translation and notes (9 vols., 1855 and many subsequent editions), was highly popular with German Jewry, as was his edition and translation of the *siddur* (1858 ff.). In an appendix to the *maḥzor* (*Be'er Mikha'el*, published posthumously by A.A. Ehrlich), Sachs occasionally expressed criticism of W. *Heidenheim, his great predecessor in this field. Sachs was an outstanding preacher, and two volumes of his sermons were published posthumously, *Predigten* (1867–69). A memorial volume was published on the 100th anniversary of his birth.

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[Ernst Daniel Goldschmidt]

SACHS, NELLY (**Leonie**; 1891–1970), German poet and Nobel Prize winner. The daughter of a Berlin industrialist, Nelly Sachs grew up in an artistic home where she early imbibed a love of literature. At 17 she began writing neoromantic poetry in traditional, rhymed forms and puppet plays with a fairy-tale flavor. Her first work, *Legenden und Erzaehlungen* (1921), reflected a Christian intellectual world tinged with mysticism. The poet was then rooted in the world of German Romanticism, the Catholic Middle Ages, and the mysticism of Jacob Boehme. After 1933, when Nelly Sachs, like so many other assimilated German Jews, discovered her Jewish heritage, she found ideas akin to Boehme's in the Zohar. Her early work remained largely unknown, and she refused to allow it to be republished. Her reputation is largely based on her output after the end of World War II. In 1940 Nelly Sachs emigrated to Sweden through the good offices of the writer Selma Lagerlöf and the Swedish royal family. At first she made a modest living in Stockholm by translating Swedish poetry into German, but eventually published several successful volumes of her translations.

Throughout the war years, however, Nelly Sachs wrote some of the poetry that was to bring her fame. The motif of flight and pursuit, the symbol of the hunter and his quarry, are at the center of her poetic thought. Her poetry is ecstatic, mystical, and visionary. It is also very much in the German romantic tradition and, as such, has been criticized by some as disingenuous and incompatible with her subject matter. Although her poems were mostly composed in free verse, she wrote with careful craftsmanship, using an exquisite German flavored with the Psalms and filled with mystical imagery of Ḥasidic origin. "If I could not have written, I could not have survived," Nelly Sachs wrote. "Death was my teacher… my metaphors are my sounds." *In den Wohnungen des Todes* (1946), dedicated "to my dead brothers and sisters," includes cycles titled "Prayers for the Dead Fiancé," "Epitaphs Written On Air," and "Choruses After Midnight." *Sternverdunkelung* (1949) contains poems expressing unquenchable faith in the indestructibility of the people of Israel and the importance of its mission. Three subsequent collections were *Und niemand weiss weiter* (1957), *Flucht und Verwandlung* (1958), and *Die Suchende* (1966). On the occasion of her 70th birthday, her collected poetry was issued as *Fahrt ins Staublose* (1961). Her *Spaete Gedichte* (1965) contains the extended poetic sequence "Gluehende Raetsel" (1964) and suggests a mystical border whose language touches silence.

The 14 collected plays of *Zeichen im Sand* (1962) include *Eli, ein Mysterienspiel vom Leiden Israels* (1951). Written in 1943, this deals with the cosmic aftermath of the Holocaust. In 17 loosely connected scenes, the tragedy of an eight-year old Polish shepherd boy, who raises his flute heavenward in anguish and is murdered by a German soldier, is interwoven with the old Jewish legend of the *Lamed Vav Ẓaddikim* (36 Hidden Saints). *Eli* was later presented as a radio play and as an opera. *O the Chimneys*, an English version of selected poems and of *Eli* by Michael Hamburger and other translators, was published in 1967. The 1966 Nobel Prize for literature, which Nelly Sachs shared with S.Y. *Agnon ("Agnon represents the State of Israel. I represent the tragedy of the Jewish people"), was the culmination of several awards honoring her work.

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[Harry Zohn]

SACHS, SENIOR (1815–1892), Hebrew scholar. Born near Kovno, Lithuania, Sachs lived for two years in Brody (1839–40), studying Hebrew scholarly and philosophic literature, and specializing in German and other ancient and modern languages. For two years he taught in Raseiniai, where he befriended the novelist Abraham *Mapu. In 1856, Baron J. *Guenzburg took him to Paris to teach his son and grandson; Sachs remained there until the end of his life. His studies encompassed several aspects of medieval Jewish literature, especially religio-philosophical thought and the Hebrew poetry of Spain. From ancient manuscripts he published many selections, concentrating especially on Solomon ibn *Gabirol. His articles and studies, written only in Hebrew, were published in the Hebrew periodicals from the 1840s on.

Among the pamphlets and journals which he edited were *Kanfei Yonah* (1848); *Ha-Palit* (1850); *Ha-Teḥiyyah* (2 vols., 1850–57), a journal that published old manuscripts with notes; and *Kikayon Yonah* (1860). He also compiled a list of books and manuscripts in the Guenzburg library (unpublished), *Reshimot Sefarim Kitvei Yad* (1866); and *Shir ha-Shirim Asher li-Shelomo Gevirol* (1868). He edited *Kerem Ḥemed from 1854 to 1856.

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[Getzel Kressel]

SACHSENHAUSEN-ORANIENBURG, Nazi concentration camp near Berlin, opened in 1936. It served as the chief concentration camp for Berlin. The first German-Jewish prisoners arrived in Sachsenhausen-Oranienburg in June 1938. The camp was built in the area of the Inspectorate of Concentration Camps on the outskirts of Oranienburg. After the November pogroms known as **Kristallnacht*, *Himmler ordered the deportation of Jewish men age 16–60 to concentration camps and 10,000 Jews from Berlin, Hamburg, Mecklenburg, and Pomerania were interned there. Subsequently, the majority of them were released if they could prove that they were able to leave Germany (i.e., if they possessed emigration papers). At that point the forced emigration of Jews was German policy. At the outbreak of World War II, thousands of political suspects and stateless or Polish Jews were imprisoned in the camp. Conditions worsened. Disease, starvation, exhaustion, exposure, and abuse claimed many lives. During the war prisoners arrived from all over Europe. Twelve hundred Polish prisoners were sent to Sachsenhausen in 1940 from Pawiak prison in Warsaw, among them 60 Polish priests, as an essential part of the German plan to destroy the elite of Polish non-Jewish society and to make the Poles a subservient people. In the fall of 1941, 1,800 Soviet prisoners of war were shot there; afterwards thousands more were either shot or killed by phenol injection. Some 13,000 Soviet POWs were killed in all. A Nazi-directed counterfeiting operation was set up in the camp by an SS man, Bernhard Krueger. He employed 140 Jews in forging British currency as well as stamps, passports, identity documents, secret credentials, false code books, etc. Nearly all these Jews survived, in part because of their unique skills. In October 1942 all the Jewish prisoners, except those employed in the counterfeit operation, were transferred to *Auschwitz. Jewish prisoners were sent back beginning in the summer of 1944. The camp supplied slave labor for the German armament industry and housed several factories. In 1944 after the Warsaw Uprising (not to be confused with the 1943 Warsaw Ghetto Uprising) 3,500 Poles were sent to Sachsenhausen. There was a gas chamber in Sachsenhausen but it was used only under special circumstances. As in other camps, the prisoners also served as human guinea pigs for pseudo-medical experiments. In mid-January 1945 there were 65,000 prisoners, including 13,000 women, in the overpopulated camp. In the latter half of April 1945, the SS evacuated the bulk of the inmates on a death march. Those who endured the march were liberated by the Red Army near Schwerin, Germany. Of the total of 140,000 inmates who were sent to this camp, at least 30,000 died there. The number may actually have been much larger.

A Soviet Military Tribunal tried 16 former SS guards from Sachsenhausen in late October 1947. One year later all were convicted. Fourteen were sentenced to life imprisonment and two received 15-year sentences.

In postwar East Germany, the camp became a hodgepodge of would-be memorials, a virtual lesson in how not to preserve an authentic site. Since the reunification of Germany, efforts have been made to rectify the situation. The task is ongoing and Herculean.

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[Yehuda Reshef / Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

SACK, BENJAMIN G. (1889–1967), Canadian journalist and historian. Born in the Kovno region of Lithuania, in 1905 Sack and members of his family joined his father, already in Montreal. Sack received some traditional education, but was for the most part an autodidact who overcame poverty and muscular dystrophy to learn Russian and English while still in Europe, and French and various secular subjects in Canada. With the encouragement of his older brother, Sack began writing poetry and drama in Hebrew and Yiddish. In 1907 Sack began a 50-year relationship with the Montreal Yiddish daily the *Keneder Adler.* He served as editor-in-chief in 1914–16, and again in 1922–28, and as associate editor from 1929 until his retirement. Sack wrote some 5,000 articles on subjects ranging from local news to literature, published for the most part in the *Adler,* although some of his articles also appeared elsewhere in the Yiddish and English press.

From his early days on the *Adler,* Sack was drawn to Canadian Jewish history, an area that was virtually untouched and in which he would become a pioneer. Drawing on material in archives, discussions and correspondence with informants, occasionally using sources in private hands that no longer survive, as well as consulting the Jewish and non-Jewish press, Sack produced a substantial survey of Canadian Jewish history in A.D. Hart's *The Jew in Canada* (1926). Another noteworthy achievement was the publication of the first volume of what was to be a two-volume study of Canadian Jewish history. It was published first in English in 1945 as *History of the Jews in Canada: From the Earliest Beginnings to the Present Day* and in Yiddish in 1948 as *Geshikhte fun Yidn in Kanade.* He never completed volume two, but the English translation of his unfinished manuscript has been published as *Canadian Jews – Early in this Century* (Montreal, 1975). Sack also served as a contributing editor for the *Universal Jewish Encyclopedia.* In his *History* and other historical writings, Sack could be overenthusiastic in his celebration of certain Jewish heroes, and he certainly wanted to demonstrate to Jews and non-Jews alike the positive contributions of Jews to Canadian history, even reaching back to New France when no Jews lived there. For all their shortcomings, Sack's publications, both his journalism and historical efforts, rank among the most important bodies of work in Canadian Jewish nonfiction.

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[Rebecca Margolis and Richard Menkis (2nd ed.)]

SACKLER, HARRY (1883–1974), U.S. Hebrew and Yiddish author. Born in Bohorodczany (Bogorodchany), Galicia, Sackler emigrated to the United States in 1902. An attorney by profession, he served as secretary of the *Kehillah* in New York City (1917–18); member of the staff of the Zionist Organization of America (1918–23); administrative secretary of the Jewish Education Association (1923–26); executive secretary of the Brooklyn Jewish Community Council (1940–44); and member of the executive staff of the Joint Distribution Committee (1945–55) in whose public relations office he later served. After his retirement in 1955 he devoted himself entirely to his writing.

The most eminent exponent of historicism in Hebrew letters in the United States, Sackler, a prolific writer, endeavored to fathom the mystery of Jewish existence. In story, novel, play, and essay he recreated a panorama of Jewry throughout the ages, and asserted, above all, the strength and the innocence of Judaism's spiritual leaders. His themes are drawn from remote times, e.g., the patriarchal period and the conquest of Jericho, and from recent times, e.g., the lot of the immigrant in the United States. Messianic and Ḥasidic innovations intrigued his imagination. He wrote mainly in Hebrew and Yiddish. *Festival at Meron* (1935), however, his best novel, was published in English. It depicts the period of the *Bar Kokhba revolt and is almost pure fiction, since the primary sources are sparse. Its central figure is the paradoxical and fascinating *Simeon b. Yoḥai.

Sackler's other works include the novels *U-Sefor ha-Kokhavim* (1961), about the patriarch Abraham; *Bein Ereẓ ve-Shamayim* (1964); *Sefer ha-Maḥazot* (1943), and *Masakh u-Masekhot*, various plays (1964); the autobiographical *Sof Pasuk* (1966); and, in Yiddish, *Dramen fun H. Sackler* (4 vols., 1925–28).

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[Eisig Silberschlag]

SACKS, JONATHAN HENRY (1948–), chief rabbi of the British Commonwealth, from 1991. Born in London, Sacks combined brilliant success in secular studies with his Jewish education. He obtained a doctorate in moral philosophy at London University in 1981 and was ordained from both Jews' College and Yeshivat Etz Ḥayyim in London, in 1976. After lecturing in moral philosophy at Middlesex Polytechnic, he taught Jewish philosophy and Talmud at Jews' College from 1973 to 1982 and served as the college's principal from 1984 to 1990. Simultaneously he was rabbi of Golders Green Synagogue, 1978–82, and Marble Arch Synagogue, 1983–90. He edited *Tradition and Transition* (1986) and *Traditional Alternatives* (1989), which stemmed from a major conference on contemporary Judaism that he convened in 1989. It was followed in 1990 by a gathering focused on women in Judaism.

A frequent radio broadcaster, Rabbi Dr. Sacks delivered the prestigious Reith Lectures in 1990, subsequently published to wide acclaim as *The Persistence of Faith* (1991). He also published *Tradition in an Untraditional Age* (1991) and *Covenant and Crisis: Jewish Thought after the Holocaust* (1992). His broadcasts and publications established the new chief rabbi as a popular representative of Judaism, although this has not been matched by uniform acceptance among British Jews. He created controversy in 1985 with a pamphlet on Jewish attitudes to wealth and poverty, issued by the right-wing Social Affairs Unit.

His scope for initiative in office was limited by a financial crisis in the United Synagogue and the polarization of Anglo-

Jewry. He disappointed Progressive Jews by declining to participate in a radio discussion if a Reform rabbi was included. He inaugurated an unprecedented review of the position of women in the United Synagogue, but his decision to permit women's prayer groups only outside the synagogue, and without use of a Scroll of the Law, was considered a conservative compromise. Popular hostility to the recognition of homosexuals within communal life led him to sanction their exclusion from a fund-raising event, dismaying liberal opinion. These controversies overshadowed his achievements in promoting Jewish learning under the banner "Decade of Renewal."

[David Cesarani]

SACKUR, OTTO (1880–1914), German physical chemist, born Breslau. Sackur was professor of physical chemistry, University of Breslau (1911), and departmental head in the Kaiser Wilhelm Institute for Physical Chemistry, Berlin-Dahlem (1914). He died as a result of an explosion in his laboratory. He wrote *Die chemische Affinitaet und ihre Messung* (1908) and *Lehrbuch der Thermochemie und der Thermodynamik* (1912; *Text of Thermochemistry and Thermodynamics*, 1917).

SACRAMENTO, capital of California, 90 miles N.E. of San Francisco in the Central Valley; Jewish population (2005) 25,000. Jewish settlement in Sacramento began in 1849 with the arrival of merchants who catered to the local trade and supplied goods for resale during the Gold Rush. One such merchant, David Lubin, opened a clothing store with his half brother, Harris Weinstock, in 1874, which became the Weinstock-Lubin department store (now all Macy's). By 1851, Orthodox Congregation B'nai Israel, composed of Germans and Poles, owned and occupied the first synagogue building in the state. The early rabbis of the congregation conducted services locally and in interior mining towns. The members of the community founded men's and ladies' Hebrew benevolent societies. The B'nai B'rith Lodge, organized in 1859, is the second oldest in California. In 1895 Congregation B'nai Israel became Reform. In 1916, 150 Jewish families lived in Sacramento. About 1912 East European Jews organized the Mosaic Law Congregation, which became Conservative in about 1947. In 2005 Jews were engaged in all occupations and professions, well integrated into the social, cultural, and political activities in the city. The State Legislature meets annually and has a number of Jewish members; many Jews are employed in the state civil service. The existence of many high tech companies provides jobs for both local Jewry and itinerant Israelis.

Jewish life is organized around the synagogues, which include Reform, Conservative and Orthodox. Each congregation has a religious school, although the Jewish community high school, Yachad, is run by the Jewish Federation of the Sacramento Region. There is one Jewish day school, Shalom School; a Jewish social service agency, Jewish Family Service; and a Hillel for California State University, Sacramento, and the University of California, Davis. For the observant, there is a *mikveh*, a kosher store, and a number of kosher caterers. There is a Jewish cemetery, Home of Peace, in addition to designated areas in other cemeteries. In terms of cultural events, there is a Jewish film festival, Jewish food fair, and community-wide observances of Yom ha-Sho'ah, Hanukkah, Israel Independence Day, and other Jewish holidays. In addition to the Jewish Federation, there are local chapters of many national Jewish organizations.

In 1998, the Sacramento Jewish community experienced a major antisemitic attack when three area synagogues were firebombed in one night. As is customary in the United States, the general community turned out in full force and supported the Jewish community as more than 4,500 people attended a memorial gathering. The perpetrators were convicted and sentenced for their crimes, which included murdering a gay couple in addition to the arsons.

Prominent Jewish elected officials include former Sacramento Mayor Anne Rudin, former Assemblyman Darrell Steinberg, Sacramento City Councilman Steve Cohn, and Sacramento Municipal Utility District members Peter Keat and Bill Slaton.

[Robert E. Levinson / Kathleen Kahrl (2nd ed.)]

SACRIFICE.

IN THE BIBLE

In the Bible various verbs are used to designate the act of sacrifice. Two of them, שחט and טבח, are used for the slaughter of animals for both secular (cf. Gen. 43:16; Num. 11:22) and sacred purposes, while the verbs זבח (hence the name of the talmudic treatise *Zevaḥim*, dealing only with the slaughter of animals for sacrifice, as distinct from *Ḥullin*, which deals with slaughter for food), העלה and הקריב are only used for sacrifice. The last word, as does its cognate noun *korban*, expresses the idea "to bring near."

Although libation of wine and meal offerings played a prominent role in the rituals, the most important sacrifices were those of animals. The surrender of a living thing was a major factor in nearly every kind of sacrificial ritual; that life was being forfeited was signified by the extraction of an animal's blood: "For the life of the flesh is in the blood; and I have given it for you upon the altar to make atonement for your souls; for it is the blood that makes atonement, by reason of the life [that is in it]" (Lev. 17:11). The people were therefore forbidden to eat the blood (Lev. 17:10; also Gen. 9:4; Lev. 3:17; 7:26; Deut. 12:16, 23; 15:23), since life belonged only to God. The offering had to be the property of the person making the sacrifice (Lev. 1:2). Only domesticated animals raised for the purpose of providing food were acceptable, thus excluding both wild animals and work animals (contrast the allusions to slaying an ass at Mari, ARM II No. 37. 11.5–124). The sacrificial animal had to be without physical blemishes, which are defined and summarized in Leviticus 22:17–25 (see *Blemish). An animal could not be offered before it was eight days old (Lev. 22:26–30).

The sacrifices can be divided into various categories: propitiatory and dedicatory offerings, meal offerings, libation offerings, fellowship offerings, thanksgiving offerings, freewill offerings, and ordination offerings.

Propitiatory Offerings

Two sacrifices belong to this category, the sin offering (חַטָּאת, *ḥaṭṭaʾt*) and the guilt offering (אָשָׁם, *ʾasham*).

SIN OFFERINGS. The sin offering was suited to the rank and circumstance of the person offering it. The high priest brought a young bull (Lev. 4:3) as did the congregation (4:14), except, apparently, when a ritual infraction was involved (Num. 15:24). A *nasi* ("ruler") brought a male goat (Lev. 4:23), and a commoner a female goat (Lev. 4:28; Num. 15:27) or a lamb (Lev. 4:32). If he was poor, he could bring two turtledoves or two young pigeons (one of the pair served as a burnt offering; Lev. 5:7), or, in extreme cases, even merely a tenth of an *ephah* of fine flour (Lev. 5:11–13; cf. Heb. 9:22).

The offerer executed the symbolic act of laying his hand on the offering (Lev. 4:4, and passim), thus identifying it with himself. The animal was slain on the north side of the altar (Lev. 4:24, 29; 1:11). The high priest collected the blood of his own, or of the congregation's sacrifice, in order to sprinkle some before the veil and some on the horns of the incense altar there (Lev. 4:5–7, 16–18). On the Day of Atonement he took his and the people's sacrificial blood into the Holy of Holies (Lev. 16:14–15). From all the other animals the blood was applied to the horns of the altar of burnt offering (Lev. 4:18, et al.); that of the birds was sprinkled on the side of the altar (Lev. 5:9). The remaining blood was poured or drained out at the base of the altar (Lev. 4:7, and passim). The choice parts of the entrails – the fatty tissue (חֵלֶב, *ḥelev*) over and on the entrails, the two kidneys and their fat, and the appendage to the liver – were all consumed on the altar (Lev. 4:8–10, and passim). In the case of a bull for the priest or the people, the carcass and the remaining entrails were disposed of by burning outside the camp (Lev. 4:11–12, 21). This rule prevailed for the bull in the ordination rites of Aaron and his sons (Ex. 29:10–14; Lev. 8:14–17). Otherwise the priest received the edible flesh for food; it was to be eaten within the sacred precincts, and very strict rules of ritual purity governed its handling (Lev. 6:25–30; cf. 10:16–20).

A sin offering of one male goat was required at each of the sacred festivals: the New Moon (Num. 28:15), each day of Passover (Num. 25:22–24), Shavuot (Num. 28:30), Rosh Ha-Shanah (Num. 29:5), the Day of Atonement (Num. 29:11; besides the special sin offerings for that day), and each day of Sukkot (29:16, 19, and passim). The high priest brought a bull for himself and then offered one of the two goats on the *Day of Atonement. Rites of purification called for lesser sin offerings, lambs or birds, after childbirth (Lev. 12:6–8), leprosy (Lev. 14:12–14, 19, 22, 31), unclean issues and hemorrhages (Lev. 15:15, 30), or defilement during the period of a Nazirite vow (Num. 6:10–11; for the strictly individual cases requiring sin offerings see below).

GUILT OFFERINGS. The guilt offering (Lev. 5:14; 7:1–7) was a special kind of sin offering (cf. Lev. 5:7) required when someone had been denied his rightful due; in addition to the reparation of the amount defrauded, plus a fine of 20% (Lev. 5:16–24), the guilty person had to bring a guilt offering. The animal prescribed was usually a ram (Lev. 5:15, 18; 19:21); the leper after cleansing and the defiled Nazirite brought a male lamb (Lev. 14:12, 21; Num. 6:12). The offerer's part in the ritual was probably identical to his part in the sin offering, but the priest sprinkled the blood around the altar (Lev. 7:2). The choice entrails were consumed on the altar as usual (Lev. 7:3–5). In the case of the cleansed leper, some of the blood was then applied to the tip of his (the leper's) right ear, thumb, and big toe (Lev. 14:14). As with the sin offering, the animal went to the priest as food (Lev. 7:6–7; 14:13). Ritual infractions, such as eating unlawfully of the "holy things" (Lev. 5:14–19; 22:14), required payment of the sum (or commodity) that had rightfully belonged to God, plus one-fifth of the amount concerned, and the fine was given to the priest (Lev. 5:16; II Kings 12:17). The case of the leper can be assigned to this category, in that the Lord was deprived of the service due from the infected person so long as his disease kept him outside the pale of the ritually clean society (Lev. 14:12–18). Likewise, the Nazirite who became defiled during the course of his period of Nazirite separation had to bring a guilt offering in reparation for what he had pledged and not fulfilled (Num. 6:12).

On the social plane, swearing falsely with regard to violation of property rights through fraud could be atoned for only by the guilt offering and a 20% fine. Such acts included cheating in matters of deposit or security, robbery or oppression, denying the finding of lost property, or failing to testify (Lev. 5:20–25). Seduction of a betrothed slave girl (Lev. 19:20–22) was also a violation of property rights. In every case the guilty party had to confess his sin, make full restitution plus the fine of one-fifth, and offer the guilt offering. If the offended party was no longer alive and there were no surviving kinsmen, the payment went to the priests (Num. 5:5–10).

Dedicatory Offerings

The offerings in this category reflect the more universal idea of offering. The emphasis is on surrender of the gift to God (though only a handful of the meal offering was consumed on the altar). They represented the act of committal that should follow the repentance expressed by the sin and guilt offerings, thus opening the way to the fellowship or communal sacrifices that could follow.

Burnt Offerings

Burnt offerings (Heb. עוֹלָה *ʿolah*, "that which goes up") are referred to in Lev. 1:3–17; 6:1–6). The burnt offering consisted of a bull (Lev. 1:3–5), a sheep or goat (Lev. 1:10), or a bird (Lev. 1:14). The offerer brought the animal, laid his hand on it, and slaughtered it on the north side of the altar (Lev. 1:3–5, 11); the bird was then handed over to the priest (Lev. 1:15). The priest collected the blood, presented it before the Lord, and sprinkled it around the altar (Lev. 4:5, 11). In the case of a bird, he killed it by pinching the back of its neck and drained the blood out on the side of the altar (Lev. 1:15). There was emphasis on the flaying and dissection of the animal, the washing of its unclean parts, and the careful arrangement of all the pieces (except the crop and feathers of the bird) on the altar (Lev. 1:6–9, 12–13). The consumption of the whole was meant as *re'aḥ niḥo'aḥ* ("a pleasing odor") to the Lord. Only the hide was given to the priest (Lev. 7:8). The main administrative concern was for constant maintenance of the fire (thus the need for an uninterrupted supply of fuel) and the proper attire of the officiating priest during the ritual of renewing the fire each morning (Lev. 6:1–6). The burnt offerings were by far the most frequent sacrifices at the Israelite sanctuary.

The continual burnt offering (עוֹלָה, עוֹלַת תָּמִיד, *ʿolah, ʿolat* (*ha-*) *tamid*, or simply *ha-tamid*) was made twice daily – a male lamb morning and evening (Ex. 29:38–42; Num. 28:18, and passim). The entire procedure for the morning sacrifice is vividly described in the Mishnah (*Tamid*; see sacrifices during the Second Temple period below). Two additional lambs were offered each Sabbath (Num.28:9–10). No sin offerings accompanied these sacrifices. On the other hand, a sin offering of one goat was required along with the burnt offerings on the other holy days. On the New Moon, two young bulls, one ram, and seven male lambs were sacrificed (Num. 28:11–14). The same number of animals was required for each day of the Passover (Num. 28:19–24) and again on Shavuot (Num. 28:26–29). For Rosh Ha-Shanah and the Day of Atonement the standard was one bull, one ram, and seven lambs (Num. 29:2–4, 8), besides the special burnt offerings for the atonement ritual itself, which consisted of one ram for the high priest and one for the people (Lev. 16:3, 5, 24). The last of the annual festivals, Sukkot, was marked by a series of elaborate burnt offerings (plus one goat per day as a sin offering). On the first day the regulations called for 13 young bulls, two rams, and 14 male lambs (Num. 29:12–16). Each day thereafter the number of bulls was decreased by one until on the seventh day there were only seven (the number of rams and lambs remained the same; Num. 29:17–34). The eighth day saw a return to the amounts designated for Rosh Ha-Shanah and the Day of Atonement, i.e., one bull, one ram, and seven lambs (Num. 29:35–38; for the associated meal and drink offerings, cf. below). Various purification rituals also called for burnt offerings as well as sin offerings: after childbirth (Lev. 12:6–8), unclean issues (Lev. 15:14–15) and hemorrhages (Lev. 15:29–30), or after defilement during a Nazirite vow (Num. 6:10–11). Meal offerings were offered only for the cleansing from leprosy (Lev. 14:10, 19–20, 22, 31) and the completion of a Nazirite vow (Num. 6:14, 16). The burnt offerings, signifying complete surrender to God, were therefore associated with sin offerings in the process of atonement (as in the purification rites above; cf. also II Chron.).

Meal Offerings (Lev. 2; 6:7–16).

A regular concomitant of the animal sacrifices was the meal offering (מִנְחָה, *minḥah*). Outside the ritual codes the term *minḥah* could refer to any gift or offering, including animals (Gen. 4:3–5; Judg. 6:18; I Sam 2:17), but in prescriptive texts it signifies a concoction of fine flour (*solet*), oil (*shemen*), and frankincense (*levonah*). Its form could be baked loaves (*ḥallot*), wafers (*rekikim*), or morsels (*pittim*); the offerings of firstfruits (*bikkurim*) were to be "crushed new grain from fresh ears" (Lev. 2:14). No leaven or honey was permitted (Lev. 2:11) on the cakes being offered, though those commodities were acceptable as a firstfruits offering (Lev. 2:12), in which case they went to the priests. The offerer was responsible for bringing the prepared loaves or wafers, etc. to the sanctuary. The priest burned one handful on the altar as its "invocation" (*azkarah*; Lev. 2:2 et al.), and the rest was his to eat (Lev. 6:9; 7:9). When the priest offered a meal offering for himself, it was wholly burnt on the altar (Lev. 46:15–16).

The meal offering normally accompanied every burnt offering, especially those in the sacred calendar (Num. 28–29, passim). The quantities were fixed according to the animal being sacrificed: three-tenths of an *ephah* and one-half *hin* of oil for a bull, two-tenths *ephah* and one-third *hin* for a ram, and one-tenth *ephah* plus one-fourth *hin* for a lamb (Num. 15:2–10). Other joyous occasions included the cleansing of a leper (Lev. 14:10, 20, 21, 31) and the successful consummation of a Nazirite vow (Num. 6:15, 19). That no meal offering accompanied the rites for cleansing after childbirth (Lev. 12:6–8), unclean issues (Lev. 15:14–15), or hemorrhages (Lev. 15:29, 30) may be accounted for by the fact that sacrifices of a more somber nature were intentionally made without a meal offering. On the other hand, peace offerings were always accompanied by such offerings (Lev. 7:12–14; Num. 15:4). One of each from the cakes and wafers went to the priest. The rest was to be eaten with the flesh of the sacrificial animal. Wheat flour was used for the meal offering, the only exception being the one-tenth of an *ephah* of barley meal required in the jealousy ritual; it was to have no oil or frankincense (Num. 5:15, 18, 25–26). A very poor person could bring one-tenth of an *ephah* of fine flour, also without oil or frankincense, as a sin offering (Lev. 5:11–13).

Libation Offerings (נֶסֶךְ, nesekh)

A libation normally accompanied burnt and peace offerings (Num. 15:1–10); the standard was one-fourth of a *hin* of wine for a lamb, one-third for a ram, and one-half for a bull. The expression "strong drink" (שֵׁכָר; *shekhar*), used with reference to the drink offering (Num. 28:7), is apparently only a synonym for wine (Ex. 29:40). The libation was considered an additional "pleasing odor" offering (Num. 15:7). As with the burnt offering, all was expended and nothing was given to the priest; the entire libation was poured out in the sanctuary (Num. 28:7). Drink offerings are specifically mentioned with the daily offering (Ex. 29:40–41; Num. 28:7) and with the offerings for the Sabbath (Num. 28:9) and the New Moon (Num. 28:14). Likewise, reference is made to them in connection with the days following Shavuot (Num. 29:18, 21, 24, 27, 30, 33, 37). The same may hold true for the Passover, firstfruits, and Rosh Ha-Shanah rituals (Num. 28:16–29: 11; cf. Ezek. 45:17). A libation was specified for the Nazirite's concluding rites (Num. 6:17), but not for the cleansing of the leper (Lev. 14:10–20). It never accompanied a sin or guilt offering alone.

Fellowship Offerings

This category consists of those offerings that expressed a voluntary desire on the part of the offerer. They were not required (except in the case of the Nazirite – Num. 6:17 – and Shavuot – Lev. 23:19–20) by explicit regulations, but were permitted on condition that the offerer had met with the requirements of expiation and consecration. Burnt offerings could accompany these sacrifices as an additional expression of devotion (cf. above).

Peace Offerings

The term "peace offerings" (the singular שֶׁלֶם, *shelem*, occurs only in Amos 5:22, otherwise pl. שְׁלָמִים, *shelamim*; Lev. 3; 7:11–36). This is the basic sacrifice of all communal offerings; the others are simply different types of the peace offering. In terms of "holiness," i.e., restrictedness, they were not so strictly defined as those discussed above. Any domesticated animal from the herd or flock, male or female (Lev. 3:1, 6, 12), was permissible. The usual rules of freedom from blemishes were in force. Unleavened cakes were also stipulated, at least for the thanksgiving (Lev. 7:12–13) and Nazirite offerings (Num. 6:15, 17, 19; see below). The presentation and laying on of the hand were the same as for other offerings, but instead of the animal being slaughtered on the north side of the altar, it was done at the door of the sanctuary, i.e., to the outer court (Lev. 3:1–2, 7–8, 12–13). The priest collected the blood and threw it against the altar as with the burnt offering (Lev. 3:2, 8, 13). The choice entrails were burnt for a "pleasing odor" (Lev. 3:3–5, 6–11 (including the fat tail of the sheep), 14–16 (cf. Lev. 7:22–25); 7:30–31). Certain portions of the offering were allotted to the priest; he was permitted to eat it in any ritually clean place and to share it with his family (Lev. 7:14 and 30–36), whereas the other sacrifices had to be eaten in the sanctuary compound (Num. 18:10–11). He received one of the cakes and the breast as a wave offering (cf. below), and the right thigh as a "contribution" from the offerer. This latter is the so-called heave offering; the technical term used, *terumah* (תְּרוּמָה), though developed from the root signifying "to be high" and meaning "that which is lifted up," did not represent a special type of presentation ceremony (in contrast to the wave offering, below).

Every peace offering culminated in a communal meal. Except for the portions burned on the altar or assigned to the priest, the sacrificial animal was given to the offerer. He used it as food for a communal meal for himself, his family, and also the levite in his community (Deut. 12:12, 18–19). This had to take place at the divinely appointed sanctuary (Deut. 12:6–7, 11–12, 15–19, 26; cf. I Sam 1:3–4), and very strict rules of purity had to be observed by the participants (Lev. 7:19–21). The meat of a thanksgiving offering had to be eaten on the same day as the sacrifice (Lev. 7:15), while that of the votive or freewill offerings could be finished off on the next day (Lev. 7:16–18). Whatever was left over from either kind had to be burned within a specific time. The peace offering was only specified in three instances, i.e., in the celebration of Shavuot (Lev. 23:19–20), in the ritual for completion of a Nazirite vow (Num. 6:17–20), and at the installation of the priesthood (cf. the ordination offering, below). Other public ritual occasions included the inauguration of the Tent of Meeting (Lev. 9:8–21) and of the Temple (I Kings 8:63; II Chron. 7:7). National events that called forth the peace offering were: successful conclusion of a military campaign (I Sam 11:15), cessation of famine or pestilence (II Sam 24:25), acclamation of a candidate for kingship (I Kings 1:9, 19), or a time of national spiritual renewal (II Chron. 29:31–36). At the local level, they were sacrificed for the annual family reunion (I Sam 20:6) or other festive events, such as the harvesting of the firstfruits (I Sam. 9:11–13, 22–24; 16:4–5).

THANKSGIVING OFFERINGS (זֶבַח (הַ)תּוֹדָה, ZEVAḤ (HA-) TODAH). The most frequently mentioned type of peace offering was the thanksgiving offering (Lev. 7:12–13, 15; 22:29) for blessings already bestowed (Ps. 56:13–14; 107:22; 116:17; Jer. 33:11). In many contexts the term thanksgiving offering is used as the virtual synonym for peace offering (e.g., II Chron. 29:31; Jer. 17:26; cf. II Chron. 33:16).

Wave Offerings (תְּנוּפָה, tenufah)

The priest's portion of the peace offering (cf. above) was "waved" before the Lord as a special act signifying that it was His. Then it went to the officiant as his personal share. This is reminiscent of the presentation of the ceremonial food to the Mesopotamian deity, after which it was given to the king. The basic difference seems to be that there the deity was considered to have partaken of the food and added his "radiance" to it, while in Israel the priest ate the divine portion as God's representative, thus showing that the offerer's food was being shared by Him. The same technical term was applied to offerings other than the communal sacrifices: the precious metals given for construction of the sacred artifacts (Ex. 35:22; 38:29), the guilt offering of the cleansed leper (Lev. 14:12, 21, 24), the sheaf of firstfruits (Lev. 23:15), the two loaves at Shavuot (Lev. 23:17, 20), and the levites themselves (Num. 8:11, 13, 15, 21).

Votive Offerings (נֶדֶר, neder)

This was usually a peace offering, and the flesh could be eaten on the second day but not the third (Lev. 7:16–17); but it could also be a burnt offering (Lev. 22:17–20). A specific example was the vow of a Nazirite which was consummated by a peace offering (Num. 6:17–20). In the broadest sense the vow included any kind of offerings or gifts promised to the Lord (Num. 30, passim).

Freewill Offerings (נְדָבָה, nedavah)

The minimum offering that one could bring to the holy convocations that took place on the three Pilgrim Festivals (II Chron. 35:8; Ezra 3:5) was the freewill offering (Lev. 7:16; 22:18, 21, 23; Num. 15:3; 29:39; Deut. 12:6, 17). Like the votive offering, it could be a burnt as well as a peace offering (Lev.

22:17–24; Ezek. 46:12), and if it were the latter, the flesh could be consumed on the second day but had to be burned before the third (Lev. 7:16–17).

Ordination Offerings (מִלּוּאִים, millu'im)

The Septuagint interprets this sacrifice as one of "completion," or "perfection"; however, the same Hebrew term is used with regard to the "settings" of precious stones (Ex. 25:7; 35:9, 27; I Chron. 29:2), so perhaps the modern expression "installation" is more suitable. The ordination offering was intimately related to the concept of "filling the hand" (מִלֵּא יָד; *mille' yad*), which meant consecrating someone, or oneself, to divine service (Ex. 28:41; 29 passim; cf. Ex. 32:29, et al.), and it required a state of ritual purity and spiritual devotion (II Chron. 29:31). The details of the ritual are spelled out in a prescriptive (Ex. 29:19–34) and a narrative-descriptive (Lev. 8:22–32) text. Moses appears in the role of the officiant, since Aaron and his sons were obviously not qualified to serve in their own ordination. He brought the ram of consecration and the priests laid their hands on it. Then Moses slew it and handled the blood in a special manner. It was applied by him to the tip of the right ear, thumb, and big toe of Aaron and of each of his sons; then the rest was thrown about the altar. The waving of this offering was also unique in its execution: the choice entrails, three of the accompanying cakes, and the right thigh were all placed in the hands of the candidates for priesthood and waved before the Lord; then they were all consumed together on the altar as a "pleasing odor." Though Moses did not receive the thigh, he was granted the breast, which he waved himself and took as his portion. Finally, the anointing oil mixed with blood from the altar was sprinkled upon the candidates and their garments. They were thus prepared to eat the remaining flesh of the ordination offering, which they had to boil at the entrance to the sanctuary. Like the votive offering, none was allowed to remain to the following day.

IN BIBLICAL TRADITION AND HISTORY

Age of the Patriarchs

The terminology used with regard to the patriarchal age is that of the Torah as a whole; it is unlikely that the same words in Genesis mean something different in the other Books of Moses. Thus, Cain and Abel each brought a "gift" (*minḥah*; Gen. 4:4f.), which was usually of a cereal nature, as brought by Cain (Lev. 2, et al.), but could also refer to an animal offering (I Sam. 2:17; 26:19). Noah offered up a burnt offering (*ʿolah*; Gen. 8:20ff.) and the pleasing odor of the sacrifice is stressed. Job is also depicted as making burnt offerings periodically (Job 1:5) and for specific purposes (Job 42:7–9). The Patriarchs normally are said to have "called on the name of the Lord," e.g., Abraham (Gen. 12:8, 13–4; 21:33) and Isaac (Gen. 26:25). The association of this phrase with the building of an altar shows that it refers to the approach to God through sacrifice. With Jacob the naming of the specific altar is stressed (Gen. 33:20; 35:7). Once Abraham is said to have offered an *ʿolah* (Gen. 22:13), but Jacob (Gen. 31:54; 46:1) offered *zevaḥim*. The most unusual sacrifices described in Genesis are the covenant ritual with the divided carcasses (Gen. 15:4ff.) and the almost consummated sacrifice of Isaac (Gen. 22; see **Akedah*).

From Moses to Samuel

The covenant sacrifice inaugurating the relationship between the Lord and His people (Ex. 24:3–8) is not paralleled by specific rituals in the Mosaic liturgy. Burnt and peace offerings were first offered, and then the blood from them (not from a sin offering) was thrown half against the altar and half upon the people. In the land of Canaan the Israelites made sacrifices at various places, e.g., at Bochim (Judg. 2:1–5) and Ophrah (Judg. 6:24–26). The human sacrifice of Jephthah's daughter (Judg. 11:30–40) was hardly normative; instead it is pointed out as evidence of Israel's sad spiritual state at that time. The main center for sacrificial ritual was at Shiloh (I Sam 1:3ff.), where faithful Israelites came for an annual festive offering. That the ritual there was highly developed and detailed is proven by the explicit description of malpractice on the part of Eli's sons (I Sam 2:13–17) in taking their portion of the meat before the entrails were burned. However, Shiloh was not the only legitimate place of sacrifice; others included Beth-Shemesh (I Sam 6:14–15), Mizpah (I Sam 7:9), Ramah (I Sam. 7:17; 9:11–24), and Gilgal (I Sam. 10:8; 11:15; 13:9). Family and clan sacrifices were commonplace (I Sam. 16:2–5).

THE MONARCHY. Under Saul the main center of worship was evidently Nob (I Sam. 21:1ff.), though private offerings were made at Shiloh (II Sam. 15:12). Saul and David's families made peace offerings and held family feasts at the time of the New Moon (I Sam. 20:5, 24–25). David inaugurated a new cult center in Jerusalem at the threshing floor of Araunaḥ (Ornan; I Chron. 21:23–26), to which he moved the Ark (II Sam. 6:17–18; I Chron. 16:2, 40). The horned altar had been located at Gibeon (II Chron. 1:3; I Chron. 21:29) but was soon moved to Jerusalem (I Chron. 22:1). David is credited with a complete reorganization of the ritual and the attendant personnel (I Chron. 23:28–31).

With the dedication of Solomon's Temple, Jerusalem became the main focus of sacrificial ritual (I Kings 8:5, 62–65; II Chron. 5:6; 7:4–8). Nevertheless, high places continued in use locally (I Kings 13:2ff.; 18:30–32; II Kings 14:4; 15:4, 35; et al.). Jeroboam I of the northern kingdom established shrines at Dan and Bethel (I Kings 12:28–29); besides these famous sites in Israel, Beer-Sheba may have enjoyed a similar status in Judah (Amos 5:5). Various references show that sacrifices were offered regularly at Jerusalem (II Chron. 13:10–11; 23:18; 24:14; II Kings 12:5–17; 16:13–15). Sacrificing on the high places was also tolerated in Judah (II Chron. 15:17; 20:33); Hezekiah abolished many of them (II Kings 18:4) and seems to have reconstituted the Temple as a sacrificial center (II Chron. 29:21–35; 32:12; cf. above). The high places returned under Manasseh (II Chron. 33:3–4) and were again removed by Josiah (II Chron. 34:3–13).

The Return to Zion

Offerings were reconstituted soon after the return (Ezra 3:2–7), and when Darius authorized the building of the Temple, he ordered that provisions be furnished for the cultus (Ezra 6:9–10). Henceforth, the Second Temple became the sole center for Judean sacrificial ritual (Ezra 6:17; 7:17; 8:35; 10:19; Neh. 10:33–37; 13:5, 9). At Elephantine in Egypt, a colony of Jewish mercenaries had maintained their own temple replete with meal offerings, incense, and burnt offerings. It had been standing long before 525 B.C.E., when Cambyses invaded Egypt, and was destroyed by jealous opponents in 410. In 407 the priest and his colleagues wrote to Bagohi, the governor of Judah, as well as to Helaiah and Shelemiah, the sons of Sanballat, governor of Samaria, asking them to exert their influence toward having the ruined temple rebuilt. Though they yearn for restoration of the entire sacrificial cultus, the reply suggests that they apply to Arsames for resumption of the meal offerings and the incense, which they did (Pritchard, Texts, 492). This tendency to permit worship at local shrines, but without animal sacrifice, may be reflected in the fact that the Jewish temple at Lachish (so-called Solar Shrine) had no altar for burnt offerings, while its pre-Exilic counterpart at Arad did. The Lachish temple was evidently built in the post-Exilic period and refurbished in the Hellenistic period (probably under John Hyrcanus, late second century B.C.E.; see also Temple of *Onias).

The Prophetic and Wisdom Literature

The prophets of the First Temple period often spoke out against sacrificial ritual (Amos 5:21–27; Hos. 6:6; Micah 6:6–8; Isa. 1:11–17; Jer. 6:20; 7:21–22). Righteous and just behavior, along with obedience to the Lord, is contrasted with the conduct of rituals unaccompanied by proper ethical and moral attitudes (Amos 5:24; Micah 6:8; Isa. 1:16–17; Jer. 7:23). It has thus been assumed by many scholars that the prophets condemned all sacrificial rituals. De Vaux has shown the absurdity of such a conclusion since Isaiah 1:15 also condemns prayer. No one holds that the prophets rejected prayer; it was prayer offered without the proper moral commitment that was being denounced; the same holds true for the oracles against formal rituals. Similar allusions in the Psalms, which might be taken as a complete rejection of sacrifice (e.g., 40:7–8; 50:8–15), actually express the same concern for inner attitude as the prophets. The wisdom literature sometimes reflects the same concern for moral and ethical values over empty sacerdotal acts (Prov. 15:8; 21:3, 27).

Certain other statements by Amos (5:25) and Jeremiah (7:22) have been taken to mean that the prophets knew nothing of a ritual practice followed in the wilderness experience of Israel. De Vaux has noted that Jeremiah clearly knew Deuteronomy 12:6–14 and regarded it as the Law of Moses. The prophetic oracles against sacrifice in the desert are really saying that the original Israelite sacrificial system was not meant to be the empty, hypocritical formalism practiced by their contemporaries. The demand by Hosea for "mercy and not sacrifice… knowledge of God more than burnt offerings" (Hos. 6:6; cf. Matt. 9:13; 12:7) is surely to be taken as relative, a statement of priorities (cf. also I Sam. 15:22). The inner attitude was prerequisite to any valid ritual expression (Isa. 29:13). Foreign elements that had penetrated the Israelite sacrificial system were, of course, roundly condemned by the prophets. Such was especially the case with Israel (Amos 4:5; Hos. 2:13–15; 4:11–13; 13:2) but also in Judah (Jer. 7:17–18; Ezek. 8; et al.).

[Anson Rainey]

SECOND TEMPLE PERIOD

During the Second Temple period sacrifices were offered only in the Temple in Jerusalem, with the sole exception of the Temple of Onias in Egypt. The order of the sacrificial service in general followed that of the Bible. The only rigidly significant addition to the sacrificial order given in the Bible was the water libation on Sukkot (see below). After the sacrificial system came to an end with the destruction of the Temple, the rabbis saw in the theoretical study of the sacrifices a substitute for the actual offerings (Ta'an. 27b; Men. 110a) and devoted themselves to that study. Most of the discussion in the Mishnah and Talmud is post-Temple and is therefore largely academic. However, in the Talmud, particularly in tractate *Tamid*, full details of the sacrificial service are preserved. The fifth chapter of tractate *Zevaḥim* gives every detail of the places where the various sacrifices were slaughtered and eaten and the time allotted for their consumption. The rabbis divided the sacrifices into two categories: one was: *kodshei kodashim* (the "most holy"), which are so termed in the Bible (Ex. 30:10); for the others they coined the term *kodashim kalim* ("those of lesser sanctity").

The following is a detailed account of the sacrificial system and order of service. The high points of the sacrificial service were the two daily offerings, the *tamid*, one at daybreak and the other in the afternoon, which began and concluded each day's sacrifices. All other individual and public sacrifices were brought in between them. Although the Pentateuch does not mention any prayers which accompanied the sacrifices, liturgical additions were made during the Second Temple period. These included petitions, blessings, and readings from the Pentateuch. After the incense was offered, the priests recited the *priestly blessing as a single sentence (Tam. 7:2). Daily, the priests recited the **Shema* and its blessings, the Ten Commandments, and the *Avodah* and *Sim Shalom* blessings from the **Amidah*. On the Sabbath they added a blessing for the incoming watch of priests, the outgoing saying to the incoming, "May He who has caused His name to dwell in this house cause to dwell among you love, brotherhood, peace, and friendship" (Tam. 5:1; Ber. 12a). The levites played musical instruments and recited the daily psalm during the service (Tam. 7:4; Maim. Yad, Keli ha-Mikdash, 3:4–5). After the sacrifices, the representative *ma'amad* of Israelites prayed and read from the Pentateuch (see *Mishmarot and Ma'amadot). On the Day of Atonement, the high priest read from the Torah, concluding with eight benedictions (Yoma 7:1). On the Sabbath, festivals, and the New Moon, the additional *Musaf* sacrifice was also offered. There were also specific services for the various holidays such as the *omer* on Passover, the two wave-loaves of Shavuot, and the water-drawing ceremony of Sukkot.

Daily Service

The service began immediately after dawn, when the herald announced that "The priests should prepare for the service, the levites for song, and the Israelites for the *ma'amad*" (TJ, Shek. 5:2, 48d). The first part of the service was the removal of ashes from the altar, since sacrificial meat was consumed on it all night. Those priests desiring to do this rose early and immersed themselves before the superintendent came. He usually came around dawn, and lots were then drawn to choose the priest to remove the ashes (see *Lots). The superintendent then took the key, opened the small door, and went from the Fire Chamber into the Temple court. The priests went in after him, carrying two lighted torches. They divided into two groups, one of which went along the portico to the east, while the other went along it to the west. They made an inspection to see whether all the vessels were in order, finally arriving at the place where the griddle cakes (Lev. 6:12–15) were made. There the two groups met and verified that all was in place. They then appointed the griddle cake maker to make the cakes, and instructed the priest who had won the lottery exactly how he was to clear away the ashes. When he had completed this task, the other priests hastened to wash their hands and feet in the laver. They then went up to the top of the altar, where they rearranged the unconsumed limbs and pieces of fat on special large blocks of wood which were brought up to the altar for that purpose. They then kindled the fire, and descended and went to the Chamber of Hewn Stone (Tam. 1:2–4; 2:1–5).

Lots were then cast to decide which of them should carry out the various duties associated with the sacrifice. A priest stationed on a roof would announce that the first light of dawn had illumined the whole of the sky as far as Hebron. The silver and gold vessels for the day's service were then arranged, and the sacrificial lamb which had been examined on the previous evening was again inspected by torchlight. They to whom it fell to clear the inner incense altar of ashes and to trim the candlesticks now proceeded toward the porch. The priest selected for slaughtering the *tamid* did not commence his duties before he heard the great gate that led to the sanctuary being opened. The priest who cleared the inner altar scooped up the ash in his fists and deposited it inside the ash-bin. He then swept up what was left and departed. The priest who cleaned the candlesticks entered, and if he found the two western lights burning, he trimmed the rest, leaving these two burning. If he found that they had been extinguished, he trimmed them and kindled them from those that were still alight, and then trimmed the rest (but see Maim. Yad, Temidin u-Musafin 3:13 and Rabad ad loc.). Meanwhile the lamb was slaughtered and its blood sprinkled against the altar. The portions of the sacrifice were then prepared for the altar and left on the lower half of the ascent of the altar, together with the fine flour for the meal offering, the griddle cake offering of the high priest, and the wine for the drink offering. The priests then came down to the Chamber of Hewn Stone to recite prayers (Tam. 3:1–9; 4:1–3).

At this point the superintendent told them to pronounce one blessing, either the blessing for light or the *Ahavah Rabbah* (Ber. 11b). It was followed by the Ten Commandments, the three portions of the *Shema*, and three benedictions. These were: "True and Firm," *Avodah*, and the concluding *Sim Shalom* blessing of the *Amidah* (Tam. 5:1). On the Sabbath a fourth blessing was added for the incoming watch of priests. On the completion of the prayers, those who had never yet offered the incense cast lots for this privilege. All the priests were, however, permitted to cast lots for the right to take the sacrificial portions from the ramp (*kevesh*) to the altar. The incense was then placed in the sanctuary by the designated priest, assisted by another priest who brought glowing coals from the outer altar to the inner altar for this offering. Afterward they struck with the *magrefah*, a gong shaped like a shovel, between the porch and the altar. It caused a reverberation so loud "that it drowned conversation in Jerusalem." Priests would thus know that their colleagues were about to prostrate themselves and would rush to join them. Similarly, levites would hasten to join their fellow levites in the singing. All ritually unclean priests were made to stand at the eastern gate to show that it was not out of idleness that they were not serving in the Temple (Tam. 5:1–6; Rosh to 5:6).

Those who had been chosen to clear the inner altar and the candlestick led the procession back to the sanctuary. The ash-bin was removed, and only the westernmost lamp of the candlestick was left burning for the day, since from it all the lights were later kindled in the evening. The coals were then spread on the inner altar and the incense was scattered and burned by the designated priests. As each priest finished his duty, he prostrated himself and left the sanctuary. The high priest next went in and prostrated himself, followed by the other priests (Tam. 6:1–3; 7:1). While the incense was being offered, the *ma'amad* of Israelites present in the Temple also gathered together to pray. Apparently Jews outside the Temple also prayed at this time (cf. Judith 9:1).

All the priests who had completed their allotted tasks came and stood on the steps of the porch. They then pronounced the priestly blessing over the people as a single benediction, enunciating the ineffable Name of God. All apart from the high priest raised their hands above their heads during the blessing. The high priest did not raise his hands above the plate (*ẓiẓ*) on his forehead, since the Name of God was inscribed on it (Tam. 7:2; Sot. 7:6). When those assembled in the Temple heard the Divine Name pronounced, they prostrated themselves (Ecclus. 50:21; for the practice of praying daily in the Temple see Lam. R. to 3:9, no. 3). After this benediction, the limbs were lifted up to the top of the altar and thrown onto its fire, the meal offering was sacrificed, and the wine offering was poured out upon the appropriate places of the altar. Before the libation of the wine, a *teki'ah*, *teru'ah*, and *teki'ah* (see *Shofar) were sounded on the trumpets. During the libation, the cymbals were struck, and the levites chanted the daily psalm. At stated intervals in the psalm, a *teki'ah* was sounded and the public prostrated themselves. With the conclusion of the psalm, the service of the morning *tamid* was completed (Tam. 7:3–4; Suk. 5:5).

The offering of individual sacrifices was completed by half past the eighth hour of daylight, and the sacrifice of the concluding afternoon *tamid* then took place. It was slaughtered and offered up an hour later (Pes. 5:1). The ritual of the afternoon *tamid* resembled that of the morning lamb, except that the wood on the altar was not rearranged and the priestly blessing was not recited. Two new logs of wood were brought up by two priests to reinforce the flames (Yoma 26b). Oil was also added to the candlestick, and all seven lamps were kindled. Following the sacrifice of the afternoon *tamid*, the gates to the sanctuary and to the priestly court were closed. Nonetheless, a few priests still entered the court during the night, so that they could place the limbs from the day's sacrifices on the altar and continue to add wood to its fire (cf. Zev. 9:6; Ber. 1:1).

Sabbath Service

The sacrifices of private individuals were not offered on the Sabbath, but all work connected with the public offerings was permitted. In addition to the two *tamid* offerings, a *Musaf* sacrifice was also brought and the *shewbread set in order. After the *Musaf*, the watches of the priests were changed, although the new watch was already present for the morning *tamid* when it was blessed by the outgoing group of priests (Tosef., Suk. 4:24–25). A section of the Song of *Ha'azinu* (Deut. 32:1–43), which was divided into six portions, was recited while the *Musaf* was brought (RH 31a). The service of the new group of priests began with their arranging the new shewbread. Eight priests entered the sanctuary, two carrying the two rows of shewbread and two the two dishes of frankincense which accompanied the loaves. The other four removed the shewbread and frankincense of the previous week. Those who brought them in stood at the north side facing the south, and those who removed them stood at the south side facing north. They removed them in such a way that always one handbreadth of one overlay a handbreadth of the other, thus fulfilling "Before me always" (Ex. 25:30; Men. 11:7).

The Pilgrim Festivals

On the Pilgrim Festivals, the order of the Temple service was changed to accommodate the vast number of sacrifices which were brought. In addition to the festival's *Musaf* offering, there were also the festival peace offerings and whole offerings of those who made the pilgrimage to Jerusalem (Beẓah 2:4). In contrast to the daily practice of removing the ashes from the outer altar after dawn, this altar was already cleaned before midnight. The gates to the Temple court were opened at midnight, and by dawn the courtyard was filled with Israelites (Yoma 1:8; Jos., Ant., 18:29). The gates and curtains leading to the sanctuary were also left open, so that the pilgrims could see the Temple vessels (Yoma 54a; Jos., Ant., 3:128). For these festivals, priests from all parts of Ereẓ Israel came to the Temple, and they all shared equally in the holiday's sacrifices and in the division of the shewbread (Suk. 5:7).

PASSOVER. The paschal lamb was unique in that it was offered by groups of Israelites rather than individuals. Between ten and twenty persons jointly brought one lamb (Pes. 64b; Jos., Wars, 6:425). To accommodate the large number of paschal sacrifices, the daily afternoon *tamid* on the eve of Passover was slaughtered at half after the seventh hour and offered up an hour later. After this, the Passover offering was brought (Pes. 5:1), and it was slaughtered in three groups. When the first group entered and filled the Temple court, its gates were closed and the *shofar* was sounded. The priests stood in rows and in their hands were basins of silver and gold. The basins were not mixed, each row being wholly silver or wholly gold. The Israelites slaughtered their own offerings and the priests caught the blood. The priest passed the basins filled with blood to fellow priests, each receiving a full basin and giving back an empty one. The priest nearest to the altar tossed the blood in one motion against the base of the altar. When the first group left, the second group came in; and when the second group was finished the third group came in. The rite was repeated for each group, and during the entire time *Hallel* was chanted by the levites (Pes. 5:5–7). After the lamb was roasted, it was eaten after nightfall by the company which brought it as part of the Passover *seder* (Pes. 10:1–9). The size of the throng that participated in this ritual is emphasized by the Talmud, which relates that King Agrippa once took a census of the Jewish people. At his request, the high priest took a kidney from each paschal lamb, and 600,000 pairs of kidneys were counted, despite the fact that those who were unclean and on a distant journey were excluded from participating. Since there was not a single paschal lamb for which a minimum of ten people had not registered, they called it "the Passover of the dense throngs" (Pes. 64b). Josephus estimated from the number of lambs offered on the Passover before the outbreak of the Jewish War (65 C.E.) that more than 3,000,000 Jews gathered in Jerusalem for that Passover festival (Jos., Wars 2:280; cf. Wars 6:425).

The evening after the first day of Passover, preparations began for the bringing of the *Omer* on the next day. This was in accordance with the view of the Pharisees that "from the morrow after the day of rest" (Lev. 23:15) means after the first day of Passover, and not after the Sabbath that falls during Passover as the Sadducees advocated (Men. 65b–66a). The rabbis therefore insisted that the *omer* be reaped with much display to indicate that the Sadducees were mistaken in their interpretation (Men. 10:3). After the barley was reaped that evening, it was placed in baskets and brought to the Temple court. There it was prepared as fine flour, and the next day it was mixed together with oil and frankincense. A handful was removed by the officiating priest and burned on the altar, and the remainder was eaten by the priests. Soon after the *omer* was offered, the markets of Jerusalem were full of meal and parched corn of the new produce, though the sages disapproved (Men. 10:4–5).

SHAVUOT. The two leavened wave-loaves which were brought on Shavuot (Lev. 23:16–20) were divided among all the priests present in the Temple and not confined to those of the weekly watch. The rabbis added six days to the Shavuot celebration during which the Jewish pilgrims could offer their holiday sacrifices (Ḥag. 17a–b). Beginning with this holiday, *first fruits (*bikkurim*) were brought to the Temple. The *bikkurim* procession was led by an ox which was later sacrificed as a peace offering (Bik. 3:3).

SUKKOT. Due to the large number of the Sukkot sacrifices (Num. 29:12–35), this holiday comprised eight of the 12 annual days on which the entire *Hallel* was recited and the flute played before the altar (Ar. 2:3; TJ, Suk. 5:1, 55a). On each of the seven days of the festival, a libation of water was made together with the libation of wine at the morning service (Suk. 4:1). The water was drawn in a golden flagon holding three *logs* from the pool of Siloam. It was carried to the water gate of the Temple where a *teki'ah*, *teru'ah*, and *teki'ah* were sounded on the *shofar*. The officiating priest then took it up the ramp of the altar and turned to his left, where there were two silver bowls. One was for water and the other was for wine, and both libations were poured out simultaneously (Suk. 4:9). Since this water libation is not mentioned in the Bible, the rabbis declared that it was a Mosaic law from Sinai (Zev. 110b) or an institution of the prophets (TJ, Suk. 4:1, 54b), and found homiletical justification for it in the Pentateuch itself (Shab. 103b). The water libation was offered at this time of the year "in order that the new rainy season would be blessed" (RH 16a). The Sadducees strongly opposed this innovation and totally denied its validity. The refusal of King Alexander *Yannai, Sadducean high priest (107–76 B.C.E.), to make the libation caused a bloody riot in the Temple. When he contemptuously poured the water on his feet, all those present in the Temple area pelted him with their *etrogim* (Suk. 48b; Jos., Ant., 13:372). Subsequently, the rabbis required the officiating priest to raise his hand when he poured out the water at the libation, so that it could be observed that he was properly discharging the precept (Suk. 4:9).

The New Year

The sacrifices offered on New Year followed the biblical description (Num. 29:2–6). The special New Year sacrifices were offered in addition to those of the New Moon and the two daily *tamid* sacrifices.

The Day of Atonement

For the Temple ritual on the Day of Atonement, see **Avodah*.

Sacrifices from Non-Jews

Sacrifices could be accepted from gentiles (Lev. 22:25; I Kings 8:41–43), and this became common during the Second Temple period. The rabbis established as the rule that "what is vowed or freely offered is accepted of them, but what is not vowed or freely offered is not accepted of them" (Shek. 1:5). It was also ordained that, if a gentile sent a whole offering from a distant region without sending the accompanying drink offering, the latter was offered at the expense of communal funds (Shek. 7:6). Josephus records numerous instances of non-Jews sacrificing upon the altar (e.g., Jos., Ant., 13:242; 16:14), and declared that this sacred spot was "reverenced by all mankind" (Jos., Wars, 5:17). In addition to the sacrifices sent by gentiles, offerings were also made for the well-being of the non-Jewish rulers (e.g., Ezra 6:10; I Macc. 7:33). Sacrifices were later offered daily for the Roman emperor (Jos., Wars, 2:197), and at times the emperor himself contributed toward the cost of these sacrifices (Philo, *On the Embassy to Gaius*, 157). The destruction of Jerusalem was attributed to the refusal of the rabbis to accept an offering which contained a slight blemish, although it had been sent by the Roman emperor (Git. 56a). The revolt against Rome was signaled by the refusal of those who officiated in the Temple to sacrifice on behalf of the emperor (Jos., Wars, 2:409).

Cessation of Sacrifice

The importance which the Jews attached to sacrifice is evidenced by the fact that they continued to offer the daily *tamid* sacrifice throughout almost the entire period of the siege of Jerusalem. Despite the hardship and privations of this period and the famine which raged, the Temple service continued until the walls of the city were breached by the Romans on the 17th of Tammuz. The *tamid* sacrifice then had to be discontinued due to the lack of lambs and qualified priests within the Temple precincts (Ta'an. 4:6; Jos., Wars, 6:94). Three weeks later, on the Ninth of *Av, the Temple was destroyed by the Romans and the sacrificial system came to an end. (With regard to the question of the possibility of the reintroduction of sacrifice, and particularly the offering of the paschal lamb even after the destruction of the Temple, see *Temple Mount.)

LATER INTERPRETATIONS

Throughout the ages attempts have been made to find a spiritual meaning for the sacrificial system. The proposed explanations can be divided into three categories: the symbolic, juridical, and rational.

Symbolic

Philo devoted a treatise to the subject (De Victimis; see Spec. 1:112–256). He pointed out that only domesticated animals and the most gentle birds were suitable for sacrifice and that they had to be free of blemish, which he took as a symbol that the offerers must also be wholesome in body and soul. The Jew had to approach the altar with his soul purged of its passions and viciousness if the sacrifice was to be acceptable (Spec. 1:166/167, 257). The wicked would be rejected, even if they offered hundreds of sacrifices (Spec. 1:271). The rabbis stated that the sacrificial statutes indicated that God is with the persecuted. The ox is pursued by the lion, the goat by the leopard, and the lamb by the wolf. Therefore God commanded, “Do not offer those that persecute, but rather those that are persecuted” (Lev. R. 27:5). The requirement that fowl be offered with their feathers symbolized that a poor man was not to be despised. Therefore his offering was placed on the altar in its full adornment, despite the nauseating odor normally arising from the burning of feathers (Lev. R. 3:5). Salt, an indispensable ingredient of sacrifice, was symbolic of the moral effect of suffering, which purifies man and causes sins to be forgiven (Ber. 5a). Judah Halevi declared that the fire on the altar was kindled by the will of God, as a sign that the people found favor in His sight and that He was accepting their hospitality and offerings (Kuzari 2:26). Samson Raphael Hirsch explained that the Pentateuch required the person to lay his hands upon the head of the sacrifice to indicate that the “hands” that have become morally weakened “support” themselves on the resolution of the future betterment that is expressed by the offering (his commentary to Lev. 1:4). David Hoffmann declared that sacrifices are symbols of man’s gratitude to God and his dependence on Him, of the absolute devotion man owes to God, as well as of man’s confidence in Him (Introd. to commentary on Lev. (Heb. ed.), 64–67).

Juridical

The juridical approach is put forward by Ibn Ezra (commentary to Lev. 1:1) and to some extent by Naḥmanides (commentary to Lev. 1:9). According to them, the sinner’s life is forfeit to God, but by a gracious provision he is permitted to substitute a faultless victim. His guilt is transferred to the offering by the symbolic act of placing his hands on the victim. When observing the pouring out of the blood and the burning of the sacrifice, the person should acknowledge that, were it not for divine grace, he should be the victim, expiating his sin with his own blood and limbs (Naḥmanides to Lev. 1:9). Many Christian exegetes adopted this explanation and on it built the whole theological foundation of their Church.

Rational

Quite different is the rational view of sacrifice advocated by Maimonides. He rejected the symbolist position which discovered reasons for the details of the various sacrifices. Those who trouble themselves to discover why one offering should be a lamb, while another is a ram, are “void of sense; they do not remove any difficulties, but rather increase them” (Guide, 3:26). Maimonides held that the sacrificial service was not really of Jewish origin. It was the universal custom among all peoples at the time of Moses to worship by means of sacrifices. Since the Israelites had been brought up in this atmosphere, God realized that they could not immediately completely abandon sacrifice. He therefore limited its application by confining it to one place in the world, with the ultimate intention of weaning them from the debased religious rituals of their idolatrous neighbors. The new service stressed the existence and unity of God, “without deterring or confusing the minds of the people by the abolition of the service to which they were accustomed and which alone was familiar to them.” Maimonides cited the experience of Israel, led not by the shorter way, but by the circuitous route through the land of the Philistines (Ex. 13:17). Likewise, through a circuitous road, Israel was to be led gradually and slowly to a deeper perception of religion and divine worship (Guide, 3:32). He gives the added remarkable parallel that it would be equally incomprehensible for anyone in his generation to suggest that prayer could be offered in thought alone, without the recitation of words.

Abrabanel strengthened the arguments for Maimonides’ viewpoint. He explained that only within this framework can it be understood why the Torah limited the sacrificial service to one locality, while prayers may be recited in all places (Introd. to his commentary on Lev., 2d). Abrabanel cites a Midrash which states that the Hebrews had become accustomed to idolatrous sacrifices while in Egypt. To wean them from these idolatrous practices, God commanded, while tolerating the sacrifices, that they be offered in one central sanctuary. This was illustrated by the parable of a king who observed that his son loved to eat forbidden foods. The king then decided to serve him these foods daily, so that he would ultimately lose his desire for them and forego his evil habits (Lev. R. 22:8). D. Hoffmann later proposed a different explanation for this Midrash, declaring that the king insisted that the son was to eat exclusively at his table, so that he would only be served proper food and thus curb his appetite for forbidden foodstuffs (Introd. to commentary on Lev., p. 61).

With the destruction of the Temple and the automatic cessation of the sacrificial system, it was laid down that prayer took the place of the sacrifices. The *Shaḥarit* service was regarded as taking the place of the morning *tamid* and the *Minḥah* service, the afternoon *tamid*. On all occasions when an additional offering was brought, the *Musaf* prayer was introduced (Ber. 4:1, 7; 26b). One of the rabbis later declared that prayer was even more efficacious than offerings (Ber. 32b). Nevertheless, the rabbis never ceased to look forward to the rebuilding of the Temple and the reinstitution of sacrifice during the messianic era. An additional supplication was introduced at the end of the *Amidah* requesting “that the Temple be speedily rebuilt in our days… And there we will serve Thee with awe… Then shall the offering of Judah and Jerusalem be pleasant unto the Lord, as in the days of old, and as in ancient years” (Hertz Prayer Book, 157).

The Reform movement entirely abolished or modified the *Musaf* service and other liturgical references to sacrifice, since Reform Judaism no longer anticipated the restoration of this service. Some Conservative congregations also have rephrased references to the sacrifices, so that they indicate solely past events without implying any hope for the future restoration of sacrifice. Orthodox Jews nevertheless continue to pray for its reinstitution. Joseph *Hertz declared:

> Moderns do not always realize the genuine hold that the sacrificial service had upon the affections of the people in ancient Israel. The Central Sanctuary was the axis round which the national life revolved. The people loved the Temple, its pomp and ceremony, the music and song of the levites and the ministrations of the priests, the high priest as he stood and blessed the

> prostrate worshippers amid profound silence on the Atonement Day (Hertz Prayer Book, 33–34).

The position of Orthodoxy was thus stated by Michael *Friedlaender:

> The revival of the sacrificial service must, likewise, be sanctioned by the divine voice of a prophet. The mere acquisition of the Temple mount or Palestine by Jews, whether by war or political combinations, could not justify the revival. It is only the return of the Jews to Palestine, and the rebuilding of the Temple by divine command and by divine intervention, that will be followed by the restoration of the sacrificial service (*The Jewish Religion* (1913), 417; cf. Maim. Yad, Melakhim, 11:4).

[Aaron Rothkoff]

In the Kabbalah

The kabbalistic interpretation of the sacrifices is usually associated with the esoteric exposition of the tabernacle and the Temple, whose every detail has symbolic significance in the realm of the *Sefirot*, and with the connection between the individual Jew and the Jewish people as a whole and the divine world, both the good powers and the evil. In the Sefer ha-*Bahir, the earliest text of the Kabbalah, the sacrifices are explained as the process which symbolically unites the priest performing the sacrifices with the divine world. The Hebrew term for sacrifice, *korban*, is interpreted as coming from the root *karev* – to bring together, to unite. The ideas of the *Bahir* were explained and details added by *Isaac the Blind and developed by his pupil *Ezra b. Solomon and by *Azriel of Gerona. The mystical conception of the nature and purpose of sacrifice explains the act as a process which brings about the dynamic union of the divine powers, the *Sefirot*, and restores the soul of man and other created elements to their place of origin, that is to the *Sefirah* of which they had formed a part. The most detailed exposition of the symbolic meaning of the sacrifices is to be found in the *Zohar and in the writings of the subsequent kabbalists. It is possible that their detailed treatment of this subject had a polemical purpose – to oppose Maimonides' conception of sacrifice, which denied its intrinsic value and held that the practice originated in pagan customs which God conceded to the Jews after the exodus from Egypt, because they had not reached a high enough religious level to enable them to worship Him in a spiritual manner. The kabbalists, from the *Bahir* to the Zohar and onward, interpreted the sacrifices as spiritual worship of God in which material means are employed as symbols.

In the Zohar the unifying effect of the sacrifice is explained in three ways: it joins the upper and lower worlds, bringing together the believer and God Himself; it unites the *Sefirot Ḥokhmah* and *Binah* (the "father" and "mother"); and, most important, it brings about the union of masculine and feminine principles in the divine world – the *Shekhinah*, that is the *Sefirah Malkhut*, and her husband, the *Sefirah Tiferet*. This symbolic process is interpreted in great detail in the Zohar, especially regarding the sacrifices on the Day of Atonement. The material nature of the sacrifice, the use and slaughter of animals, is explained as a symbolic atonement for material sins. Because the evil powers in man are embedded in his flesh and blood, flesh and blood have to be sacrificed. More than that, the sacrifice frees the spirit of the animal, enabling it to rise to its divine root; the animals are symbolically connected with the animals described by Ezekiel in the throne-chariot, the *Merkabah. According to the Zohar and later kabbalists, the sacrifices are also significant in the cosmic fight between good and evil in the divine world. In one place it is stated that the flesh of the sacrifice is, in fact, intended for Satan, and God receives only the *kavvanah*, the religious intention of the person who gives the sacrifice. Most kabbalists consider that at least part of the sacrifice is given to the evil power, the *sitra aḥra*, to placate it. Other sacrifices are intended solely for the *sitra aḥra*, especially the scapegoat on the Day of Atonement. Its purpose is to drive the evil powers away from the holy union between Israel and God which is achieved on this day; it may also turn the Satan's enmity toward Israel into a more positive attitude and thus help achieve this union.

[Joseph Dan]

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SACRILEGE, the deliberate or inadvertent violation of sacred things. The Torah ordains the punishment of *karet for anyone who deliberately flouts the sanctity of the Temple precincts or deviates in the slightest from any of the rules or rituals connected with its service. Under this heading comes slaughtering, offering, or partaking of the sacrifices outside their appointed time or place, entering the sanctuary, officiating, or eating holy things while ritually unclean or when disqualified by reason of non-priestly status (Lev. 17:1–9; 19:5–8; 22:1–16). The priest profaned his sacred office by officiating, when suffering from a *blemish, when in mourning, or by contracting a forbidden union, such as marrying a divorcée, which disqualified his offspring from the priesthood and from marrying a priest (Lev. 21). To make a replica of any of the utensils or ingredients, such as the incense used in the Temple, is also regarded as sacrilege (Ex. 30:32). The seriousness of the sin of sacrilege is underlined by the biblical stories of Nadab and Abihu, burnt to death for offering "strange fire," and the stoning of Achan for taking the spoils of war dedicated to the sanctuary (Lev. 10:1–2; Josh. 7). The inadvertent use of sacred things, termed *me'ilah*, is also penalized in the Pentateuch (Lev. 5:14ff.). The offender is required to bring a guilt offering and reimburse the Temple treasury to the value of the theft plus one-fifth.

A whole tractate of the Talmud (see **Me'ilah*) is devoted to the offense which became obsolete with the destruction of the Temple. But the principle involved lived on to safeguard the remaining sancta of Jewish life, in a carefully graded order of holiness: the *Sefer Torah*, religious articles such as *tefillin* and *ẓiẓit*, printed holy books, and the synagogue and its appurtenances. The rabbis adopted the formula of *ma'alin bekodesh ve-ein moridin* – "holiness may be increased but not decreased." The Mishnah in *Megillah* (3:1, 2) forbids the sale of a synagogue for a public bath or tannery, a *Sefer Torah* for books of lesser sanctity such as the Prophets. Even a disused synagogue may not be used as a shortcut or for spreading nets or drying fruit. Printed pages of holy books must be buried (see **Genizah*) out of respect for the name of God inscribed therein (see **Shemot*). No benefit may be derived from the dead, including the shroud or the corpse itself, except for the purpose of saving life (see *Autopsies). Cemeteries must be treated with the utmost reverence, and it is not permitted to walk over the graves or pasture cattle there (Sh. Ar., YD 368). The scholar who adopted an irreverent approach to difficult passages in the Torah was guilty of sacrilege too (Maimonides, *Hilkhot Me'ilah*, end).

Under a law promulgated by the State of Israel for safeguarding the holy sites of Judaism and other faiths (1967), there is a penalty of seven years' imprisonment for "profaning a holy place or violating it in any manner" (see *Holy Places). Detailed regulations have been gazetted by the Ministry of Religious Affairs prohibiting sacrilegious behavior at Jewish holy sites (Protection of Holy Places Law, 5727 – 1967, in: *Laws of the State of Israel*, 21 (1966/67), 76). These prohibit ritual slaughter, eating and drinking, smoking, sleeping, hawking, profanation of the Sabbath and festivals, and immodest dress. These regulations have been applied to Jewish holy sites in Jerusalem and other parts of Ereẓ Israel. After the Six-Day War the Israel Chief Rabbinate proclaimed it sacrilegious for a Jew to enter the Temple Mount because of ritual defilement.

[Aryeh Newman]

°SACY, ANTOINE ISAAC SILVESTRE DE (1758–1838), French Orientalist and Hebraist of the Romantic-Catholic school. In 1817, he published a pamphlet entitled *Lettre à M. Le Conseiller de S.M. le Roi de Saxe…* opposing the integration of the Jews within Christian society, written in criticism of C. *Bail's *Des Juifs au 19e siècle* (1816). In the opinion of Sacy, integration of the Jews would be equivalent to a unification of religions or abolition of the specific characteristics of the various religions. This he considered an impossibility:

> The believing Jew cannot doubt that he is a member of the Chosen People of God which has been separated from all other peoples; or that its autonomy, its political existence, its ritual, and its national glory must one day be reestablished. On the other hand, the Christian knows that the Bible has taught him that this people, still awaiting a Messiah who has already come, has been preserved among the nations by Divine Providence as a living witness of heavenly retribution, but at the same time is a precious offspring of promised regeneration.

Sacy's work aroused lively polemics in France and Germany which continued until around 1825.

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[Baruch Mevorah]

SADAGORA (Rom. **Sadagura**; Ger. **Sadagora**), town in Chernovtsy district, Ukraine. From 1775 until World War I Sadagora passed to Austria and between the two world wars was within Romania. The first Jews settled there during the 17th century. In 1775, 45 Jewish families (186 persons) were enumerated among 180 families in the town. There were 100 Jewish families in 1808, and 3,888 Jews (80.3% of the total population) according to the census of 1880. Once the community developed, 16 smaller Jewish communities were affiliated to it. Communal institutions developed from the 18th century. The central synagogue was apparently built about 1770, but there were also numerous additional synagogues and prayer houses. The community had a yeshivah and a Jewish school, established under Austrian rule. The Jews of Sadagora mainly engaged in commerce and crafts, while among the Jews of the vicinity, who in practice belonged to the community of Sadagora, there were also lessees and wealthy landowners. A special occupation of the local Jewish poor was the haulage of water in barrels from distant wells to houses in the town. Between 1883 and 1914, a Jew was town mayor.

In 1914, before the outbreak of World War I, there were 5,060 Jews living in Sadagora and a further 3,000 in the 16 communities affiliated to it. During World War I the town and its surroundings suffered extensively from the fighting there, and many of its Jewish inhabitants left, and the number of Jews had declined to 900 in 1919. After the war a number returned and continued to live there under Romanian rule. There were 1,459 in 1930, declining to 654 in 1941. Zionist organizations were early established in Sadagora and were particularly active in the interwar period under the Romanian rule. Jews also took part in the municipal life, and their parties were well represented in the municipal administration. In June 1940 the town was annexed to the U.S.S.R., and the Soviets exiled many Jewish merchants and artisans to Siberia.

Sadagora was an important center of Hasidism, from the period of Austrian rule over Bukovina until the liquidation of the community. Most of the Jewish inhabitants of the town belonged to the *Ruzhin Ḥasidim. R. Israel Friedmann of Ruzhin arrived in Sadagora after he was released from prison in Russia and established a magnificent "court" there. His royal style of living aroused opposition from the Ḥasidim of Zanz (see *Halberstam). After World War II the center of the Sadagora dynasty was transferred to Ereẓ Israel.

Holocaust and Contemporary Periods

In 1941 the town was restored to Romanian administration, which collaborated with the Germans. During this period 186 Jews lost their lives in attacks made against the Jews. In 1941 almost all of the 1,488 Jews remaining in Sadagora were deported by the Romanian and German authorities to death camps in *Transnistria. A few Jews returned to Sadagora in 1944, but community life was not reorganized after the war.

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[Yehouda Marton]

ṢA'DAH, walled city, capital of north *Yemen. Ṣa'dah was once an iron mining and tanning center and an important station along the Ḥimyar *San'ā-Mecca trade route. Later, Ṣa'dah was chosen as the capital of the Zaydi state and became the center of Zaydi learning in the al-Hādī Mosque. It is still an important institution for education in Zaydism. It is built on a 2,300 m high plateau about 250 km north of San'ā. Evidence for the existence of a Jewish settlement in Ṣa'dah in the first half of the Middle Ages is found in fragments from the Cairo *Genizah*. A *gaon*, whose name is unknown, rebukes Amram b. Johanan of Ṣa'dah for having abandoned the custom of his forefathers by not sending the pledges and contributions from himself and from his town to the yeshivah, sending them instead to another yeshivah. Indeed, many letters from the people of Yemen and Yamāmah to the yeshivah also describe 'Amram's evil deeds. At the end of his *iggeret* ("letter") the *gaon* demands that all pledges and contributions be sent immediately to him by way of the *sar* ("minister") Nethanel in Ṣa'dah. A different document speaks of a Jew from Ṣa'dah who visited Fustat (in 1134) and, when called upon to lead the prayers, added to the *kaddish* a prayer for the head of the academy in *Egypt. The representative of the Babylonian academy was insulted by this, for according to the usual custom only the head of the Babylonian academy was entitled to this honor. In the 14th century one of the rabbis of Ṣa'dah wrote an allegorical commentary on the Pentateuch. He was severely criticized by the rabbis of San'ā, but the rabbis of Ṣa'dah supported him and rejected the criticism.

According to tradition, when the Zaydi imam conquered Ṣa'dah (c. 1200), he destroyed all synagogues because the Jews sold wine to the Muslims. In general, however, the conditions in northern Yemen were more favorable for the Jews, and the restrictions and ordinances of the Covenant of *Omar were not strictly enforced. For example, the Jews' houses were as high as those of the Muslims, and they were permitted to carry daggers and even live ammunition. There is no definite information, however, about the size of the Jewish population. A. Tabib recounts heavy losses suffered by the Jews of the area in the upheavals of 1906. In addition to their traditional livelihoods, the Jews of Ṣa'dah also engaged in wholesale trading. Prior to the immigration to Israel the community numbered about 60 families (280 souls) with three synagogues; most of the Jews were silversmiths, coppersmiths and cobblers.

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[Yosef Tobi (2nd ed.)]

SADAI, YIZḤAK (1935–), Israeli composer and music theorist. Born in Sofia, Bulgaria, Sadai came to Israel at the age of 14 (in 1949). In 1956 he graduated from the Tel Aviv Academy of Music under A.A. *Boskovich and also studied composition with Joseph *Tal (1954) and *Haubenstock-Ramati (1959). His works consist of orchestral and chamber music as well as electronic music, and they have been performed at four international festivals of contemporary music. Sadai founded the electronic music studio at Tel Aviv Univeristy (1974), and from 1960 he was a lecturer at the Rubin Academy of Music in Jerusalem and at the Rubin Academy of Music at Tel Aviv University (since 1966), where in 1980 he was appointed professor. His special interest lies in interdisciplinary research. His early works as a composer show an integration of *maqāmāt* with Bergian expressionism (in the chamber cantata *Ecclesiastes* and in the *Ricercare symphonique*). From 1965 Sadai embarked on a post-Webern Impressionist style (*Interpopulation* for strings and harpsichord; *Nuances* for orchestra; and *Prelude à Jerusalem* for choir, orchestra, and electronic tape). Among his other compositions are three canatatas – *Kohelet, Ha-Ẓevi Yisrael*, and *Psikoanalisah; Serenade* for woodwinds; and *Anamorphoses* (1981–82) for orchestra and electronic tape.

He published a book on methodology of musical theory (1960) as well as *Harmony in Its Systemic and Its Phenomenological Aspects* (1980).

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[Yohanan Boehm and Uri (Erich) Toeplitz / Israela Stein (2nd ed.)]

SA'D AL-DAWLA AL-ṢAFĪ IBN HIBBATALLAH (d. 1291), court physician and vizier in Mongol *Persia. He came from Abhar in the province of Jibāl. The sources refer to him by the honorific title "Sa'd al-Dawla" ("support of the State") or "the Jewish vizier," etc.

In two devastating attacks, the *Mongols succeeded in crushing three important Persian centers of power, namely in Khwārazm, in Alamut, and, finally in *Baghdad, the capital of the Abbasid Caliphate. Thus, in the middle of the 13th century, a new era began in Persia which continued until the end of the Ilkhanid in 1335. Significant changes were introduced in the social, economic, legal, and governmental structures of Persia during this period. These changes influenced numerous intellectual activities, especially those related to art, historiography, prose, and poetry. Because of the religious attitude of the *Mongols, especially that of the first rulers, the Muslims lost some of their privileges as the rulers and governors in the Islamic lands. This change allowed members of religious minorities to occupy high positions under those Mongol rulers who had not yet accepted Islam as their religion. Saʿd al Dawla was a product of this change.

His Hebrew name is unknown. Saʿd al-Dawla is first mentioned in *Mosul. He subsequently moved to Baghdad where he practiced in 1284 as a physician. There he acquired expert knowledge of the financial administration and in 1285 was appointed a member of the *diwan*. His abilities and promotion evidently aroused the enmity of his colleagues, who in 1288 obtained his transfer as physician to the court of Arghūn Khān, in *Tabriz, Azerbaijan. A brilliant scholar and linguist, speaking Persian, Arabic, Turkish, and Mongolian, Saʿd al-Dawla soon won favor with the Mongol ruler, and in 1289 was appointed vizier of the whole Īl-Khān kingdom. According to custom, he immediately removed his opponents and filled the key posts in the administration with dependable Mongols, Christians, or Jews, primarily with members of his own family. He appointed one brother, Fakhr al-Dawla, governor of Baghdad; another brother, Amīn al-Dawla, was put in charge of the districts of Mosul and Diyār Bakr, Diyār Rabīʿa, and Mardin. The Persian and Arabic sources credit him with the establishment of the administration on the basis of law and justice. But the rule of these Jewish officials caused much resentment among the Muslim population. Moreover, Saʿd al-Dawla had personal enemies among Mongol leaders, who were jealous of Arghūn's unlimited confidence in him. When Arghūn became dangerously ill, court circles accused the vizier of having poisoned his benefactor. At a banquet, Saʿd al-Dawla and the majority of his supporters were arrested, a large number were slain at once, and Saʿd al-Dawla was executed the following day. A large-scale persecution of Jews in Tabriz, Baghdad, and other Jewish communities ensued. All his brethren and relatives subsequently met a violent death, described in the Arabic writings of Ibn al-Fūṭi, *Bar-Hebraeus, and others.

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[Walter J. Fischel / Amnon Netzer (2nd ed.)]

SADAN (Stock), DOV (1902–1989), Yiddish and Hebrew writer and scholar. Born in Brody, Eastern Galicia, from his youth Sadan was an ardent Zionist and active in the propagation of the Hebrew language and culture. In the early 1920s he was a leader of the He-Ḥalutz movement in Poland.

After immigrating to Ereẓ Israel in 1925, Sadan worked as an agricultural laborer until 1927, when Berl Katznelson offered him a position on the staff of the newspaper *Davar*. In 1928 he went to Germany on behalf of the He-Ḥalutz movement. There he came in close contact with modern Germanic culture, especially with the new trends of culture history and psychoanalysis. Upon his return he taught in schools in Lower Galilee and in Jerusalem, but in 1933 he resumed his work on *Davar*, where he remained for the next ten years. In 1944 he joined the staff of Am Oved, the publishing house of the Histadrut. Sadan became a faculty member of The Hebrew University, teaching Hebrew composition, and was appointed chairman of the Yiddish department in 1952. From 1965 to 1970 he also taught Hebrew literature at Tel Aviv University. Elected to the Knesset as a member of Mapai in 1965, he resigned before the end of his term. He was an active member on the boards of many literary and cultural institutions, such as the Academy of the Hebrew Language and the board of directors of Mosad Bialik.

Sadan began his prolific literary career at an early age; his more than 50 volumes represent less than half his total output. Although his initial literary efforts were in poetry, he abandoned this medium and, turning to prose, became one of the great masters of modern Hebrew prose. He developed a highly individual style, complex, very "literary," rooted in Jewish sources, and yet graceful and flexible. Throughout his career he experimented with various modes of fiction, ranging from the memoir story (he published two volumes of childhood memories) to the modern surrealistic story (Sadan was the first to translate Kafka into Hebrew). The bulk of his work, however, comprises nonfiction, especially essays and literary and scholarly articles in Judaic studies. His essays cover a wide variety of subjects, such as current events, memoirs, portraits of famous personalities, and essays on problems of Jewish culture. He pursued research in such areas as folklore, humor, idioms, and the Hebrew and Yiddish languages, etc. His literary and scholarly creativity, however, reached its zenith in his studies of Hebrew and Yiddish literature.

Sadan's critical approach to literature and other Jewish studies is based on a broad and novel view of modern Jewish history. He rejects the view which identifies modern Jewish literature only with those Hebrew and Yiddish literary trends that grew out of the modern "secular" Jewish culture, beginning with the Haskalah (18th and 19th centuries) and continuing in the nationalistic literature (end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th centuries). He argues that modern Jewish literature was a major reaction to the crisis in traditional Jewish culture in Central, and especially Eastern, Europe at the end of the long Jewish "Middle Ages" in the 18th century. It developed in three principal directions, and not one, as claimed by the *maskilim*: (1) the new "rabbinic" movement, centered mainly around the Lithuanian Mitnaggedic movement, which was a revitalized continuation of halakhic literature; (2) the mystic-ḥasidic trend which developed a versatile literature consisting of many genres (sermons, parables, allegory, legend, hagiography, mystic-philosophic writings);

(3) the Haskalah trend which aimed at creating a European humanistic literature.

This vast, complex, and intricate body of literary writings, written in several languages (Hebrew, neo-biblical, as well as late Hebrew, Yiddish and European languages), with its different spiritual trends, Sadan sees as one literature, which he terms "the Israel literature," and defines it all as literature written by Jews for a Jewish readership. In this giant network Hebrew literature must be the foundation and principal axis, yet the scholar or the critic should not concentrate exclusively on it. Sadan demands that the literary historian and critic: (1) see modern Jewish literature ("Israel literature") as one multi-faceted unified body and accept the different languages in which it was written; (2) study each of the above areas individually but at the same time try to find ideational, thematic, and linguistic links between them. For instance, it is impossible to give a profound, objective, and critical evaluation of the biting, at times virulent, satirical-parodic anti-ḥasidic Haskalah literature without studying it in relation to ḥasidic literature's "mixed" Hebrew, which was the butt of the Haskalah parody; (3) study the dialectical essence of the relationship between the different areas of the literature. According to Sadan, the antithetical tension between these areas will, in time, be resolved into a harmonious synthesis.

Central to Sadan's Jewish world view is the belief that the modern "secular" Jewish culture which broke away from traditional Judaism is only an antithetical transient ("episodic") stage in the history of Jewish culture. The emerging Jewish culture, however, will not return to its ancient traditional form but, deriving its inspiration from the source of all Jewish culture – religious faith – will be molded into a new cultural synthesis in which the experience gained by the Jewish culture in its temporary secular stage will play a significant role. Sadan finds the first signs of this synthesis in modern Jewish literature at climactic points of development where the Jewish culture reaches the zenith of artistic and aesthetic accomplishment. In Hebrew literature he points to two artistic peaks: Bialik's poetry and Agnon's fiction.

Sadan uses different critical methods to establish the connecting links between the different areas of Jewish culture, which are often contradictory in their literary expression. He most frequently resorts to the study of motifs, idioms, and linguistic combinations, a method founded on Freud's theory of the psychic. The psychoanalytical approach is particularly apparent in his early critical works (especially in his articles on J.Ḥ. Brenner and Ḥ.N. Bialik); later, however, this method is used only indirectly. (Sadan introduced the psychoanalytic approach into Hebrew literary criticism.) He continued, however, to employ freely the method of "investigation" which requires of the critic keen perception and a phenomenal amount of knowledge in all the facets of literature. This method lends a "technical" character to some of his scholarly writings, and Sadan therefore often resorts to the graceful short essay form which gives him an all-embracing and original view of the world of an author and the whole body of his works. Sadan's literary criticism is always sensitive to the canons of good taste.

Sadan translated many volumes from Yiddish, German, and Polish and two large volumes of Jewish jokes (*Ka'arat Egozim*, 1953; *Ka'arat Ẓimmukim*, 1950) which he compiled.

His main collections of Hebrew literary criticism are *Avnei Boḥan* (1951), *Al S.Y. Agnon* (1959), *Avnei Bedek* (1962), *Bein Din le-Ḥeshbon* (1963), *Bein She'ilah le-Kinyan* (1968), and *Avnei Gader* (1970). Late works include *Avnei Sha'ashu'a* (1983) and a collection of essays on Hebrew and Yiddish literature entitled *Ḥadashim Gam Yeshanim* (1987). A bibliography of his works was prepared by Y. Galron-Goldschlager (1987; 1994). His main collection of Yiddish literary criticism is *Avnei Miftan* (vols. 1 and 2 (1961, 1970)).

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[Dan Miron]

SADAT, MUHAMMAD ANWAR AL- (1918–1981), president of the Arab Republic of Egypt, Oct. 1970–Oct. 1981. Sadat was born to poor parents in the Egyptian village of Mit Abu-Kom. He joined the army and during World War II was active in an anti-British underground group (and was arrested in consequence). After the war, still in the army, he joined the "Free Officers" group, led by *Nasser, which carried out the July 1952 Revolution. Overshadowed by Nasser, Sadat managed the new regime's daily, *al-Gumhuriyyah*, served as a cabinet minister for one year and then as speaker of the parliament. Appointed as Nasser's vice president after the 1967 defeat, Sadat was elected president after Nasser's death on September 28, 1970.

Gradually, Sadat asserted himself increasingly as president and introduced a growing measure of economic and political liberalization, which bolstered his increasing popularity. Eager to overcome Egypt's military inferiority versus Israel, he signed a treaty of friendship with the Soviets which, however, failed to deliver the needed hardware for war. Consequently, he expelled them from Egypt in 1972 and started to prepare for war on his own, all the while attempting a political rapprochement with certain European states and the U.S. in order to secure their sympathy for his military moves against Israel.

The October 1973 attack in Sinai, while not leading to an Egyptian victory, gave Egypt the pretext to coopt the U.S. as an honest broker instead of a partisan of Israel. Thus, the Disengagement Treaties of May 1974 and September 1975 with Israel increased Sadat's prestige and started the process towards a settlement with Israel. Sadat's main argument was that such a peace should be achieved in parallel with Israel's renunciation of the so-called "conquered territories." This was the ideological basis of Sadat's visit to Jerusalem in November 1977 and of the Camp David negotiations, sponsored by Jimmy Carter, in September 1978. Israel's agreement to recognize the autonomy of the Palestinians paved the way for the signing of the peace treaty between Egypt and Israel on the lawn of the White House in March 1979. This was the peak of Sadat's achievement, for which he was awarded, together with *Begin, the Nobel Peace Prize.

In subsequent years, Sadat's international prestige grew, but in Egypt, owing to the increasing poverty and unemployment, social criticism of Sadat increased, exploiting the very openness he had encouraged. Some of this nurtured Islamic fundamentalism. Sadat, an orthodox Muslim himself, first attempted to persuade the Islamic leaders to tone down their zeal, then started to arrest them in the thousands during the last months of his life. His assassination, during a festive military review on the eighth anniversary of the Yom Kippur War, ended the plans he had for Egypt.

In his later years, Sadat openly expressed his disappointment with Israel's policies, especially the June 1981 Israeli attack on the Iraqi nuclear reactor and what he considered as Israel's dragging its feet over the granting of Palestinian autonomy. He argued that the return of Sinai was a "natural" act, since this had been Egyptian territory, and he perceived Israel as "ungrateful." U.S. economic assistance, too, could not solve Egypt's numerous social problems, nor appease popular criticism of his regime.

Sadat's assassination was welcomed by many, in contrast with the bitter national mourning following Nasser's death. Nevertheless, Sadat's legacy was both revolutionary and original, the likes of which have not yet been seen in Arab countries. His colorful and dynamic personality, aiming at radical solutions, was expressed in the heat of war and the challenges of peace. His talent for changing direction and undertaking new initiatives was unique. He was criticized by several Arab states for signing a peace with Israel which enabled it – they claimed – to oppress the Palestinians and attack Lebanon. However, Arab and Muslim states which had ostracized him found themselves following his example some 20 years later. Although relations between Egypt and Israel since 1977 have had their ups and downs, the treaty has served as a model for others.

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[Raphael Israeli (2nd ed.)]

SADDUCEES (Heb. צְדוּקִים, *Ẓedukim*), sect of the latter half of the Second Temple period, formed about 200 B.C.E. Active in political and economic life, the Sadducean party was composed largely of the wealthier elements of the population – priests, merchants, and aristocrats. They dominated the Temple worship and its rites and many of them were members of the Sanhedrin (the supreme Jewish council and tribunal of the Second Temple period).

Origin of the Name

According to a talmudic tradition (ARN1[5]), the name derives from Zadok, a disciple of Antigonus of *Sokho who, misunderstanding his teacher's maxim, denied afterlife and resurrection and formed a sect in accordance with those views (see *Boethusians). The most probable explanation of the name, however, is that it is derived from Zadok, the high priest in the days of David (II Sam. 8:17 and 15:24) and Solomon (cf. I Kings 1:34ff. and I Chron. 12:29). Ezekiel (40:46, 43:19 and 44:10–15) selected this family as worthy of being entrusted with the control of the Temple. Descendants of this family constituted the Temple hierarchy down to the second century B.C.E., though not all priests were Sadducees. Hence the name "Sadducees" may best be taken to mean anyone who was a sympathizer with the Zadokites, the priestly descendants of Zadok. In the talmudic literature, the designations Boethusians and Sadducees are used interchangeably to designate the same party or sect. Some scholars believe, however, that the Boethusians were a branch of the Sadducees, deriving their name from their leader Boethus. (See L. Ginzberg, in: JE, 3 (1902), 284–5, and Schuerer, Gesch, 2 (1907[4]), 478–9.)

Beliefs and Doctrines

The Sadducees were the conservative priestly group, holding to the older doctrines, and cherishing the highest regard for the sacrificial cult of the Temple. The party was opposed to the *Pharisees down to the time of the destruction of Jerusalem in 70 C.E. The main difference between the Pharisees and the Sadducees concerned their attitudes toward the Torah. The supremacy of the Torah was acknowledged by both parties. However, the Pharisees assigned to the Oral Law a place of authority side by side with the written Torah, and determined its interpretation accordingly, whereas the Sadducees refused to accept any precept as binding unless it was based directly on the Torah. The theological struggle between the two parties, as J.Z. Lauterbach puts it (*Rabbinic Essays*, 23–162), was actually a struggle between two concepts of God. The Sadducees sought to bring God down to man. Their God was anthropomorphic and the worship offered him was like homage paid a human king or ruler. The Pharisees, on the other hand, sought to raise man to divine heights and to bring him nearer to a spiritual and transcendent God.

The Sadducees therefore rejected the Pharisaic supernatural beliefs, claiming that they had no basis in Mosaic Law. They denied the doctrine of the resurrection of the body (Matt. 22:23; Mark 22:18; Luke 20:27; Acts 23:8), denied the immortality of the soul (Jos., Wars, 2:162f. and Ant., 18:16), and rejected the Pharisaic doctrine regarding the existence of angels and ministering spirits (Acts 23:8). Because of the strict adherence to the letter of the law, the Sadducees acted severely in cases involving the death penalty. The Mosaic principle of *Lex talionis*, for instance (Ex. 21:24), was interpreted literally rather than construed as monetary compensation – the view adopted by the Pharisees. They were opposed to changes and innovations and refused to accept the oral traditions with which the Pharisees supplemented the Written Law. It was never a question of whether certain laws were derived from tradition, but whether those laws that were admittedly derived from tradition were obligatory. Apart from differences between the Pharisees and the Sadducees as to the oral tradition and supernatural beliefs, there were numerous legal ritualistic details upon which these two parties differed, especially those connected with the Temple. On the whole, it can be said that while the Pharisees claimed the authority of piety and learning, the Sadducees claimed that of genealogy and position.

The rivalry between the Pharisees and the Sadducees was, in a sense, the renewal of a conflict between the prophets and priests of pre-Exilic times. Following the restoration of the Temple and its sacrificial cult, the priests were also restored to their former position as religious leaders. Priestly authority was, however, weakened by two factors: the rise of laymen and "scribes" who possessed a knowledge of the law; and the advent of Greek rule – since among the Greeks themselves priests were the servants not the leaders of the community.

Attitude Toward Prayer and Sacrifice

Josephus and the Talmud say little about the Sadducean position on prayer, but the Sadducees would naturally not favor a religious service consisting of prayer and study alone, as would the Pharisees. This would tend to lessen the importance of the sacrificial cult and thereby weaken their own position as priests.

Fate

On the problem of human conduct and activities, the Sadducees seemed to have believed that God is not concerned with man's affairs. As Josephus puts it: "As for the Sadducees they take away fate and say there is no such thing, and that the events of human affairs are not at its disposal, but they suppose that all our actions are in our own power, so that we ourselves are the cause of what is good and receive what is evil from our own folly" (Ant., 13:173). Unfortunately no statement has survived from the Sadducean side on their beliefs and principles. There are controversial references in rabbinical literature with regard to the Sadducean interpretation of the law. The Sadducees have been represented as lax and worldly-minded aristocrats, primarily interested in maintaining their own privileged position, and favoring Greco-Roman culture.

The Sadducees and the New Testament

In the New Testament, John the Baptist jointly condemned the Pharisees and the Sadducees, calling them a "generation of vipers" and challenging them both to "bring forth fruits meet for repentance" (Matt. 3:7ff.). In his denunciation of their doctrines, Jesus, too, grouped Sadducees and Pharisees together (Matt. 16:6ff.) and both parties were said to have posed questions designed to perplex Jesus (Matt. 15:1). According to Acts (4:1ff., 5:17), Peter and John were imprisoned by them. Since many Christian doctrines have more in common with those of the Pharisees than with those of the Sadducees, it is clear why the Apostolic Church, in the first years of its existence, had most to fear from the Sadducees (Acts 4 and 5).

Historically the Sadducees came under the influence of Hellenism and later were in good standing with the Roman rulers, though unpopular with the common people, from whom they kept aloof. The Sadducean hierarchy had its stronghold in the Temple, and it was only during the last two decades of the Temple's existence that the Pharisees finally gained control. Since the whole power and *raison d'être* of the Sadducees were bound up with the Temple cult, the group ceased to exist after the destruction of the Temple in 70 C.E.

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[Menahem Mansoor]

ṢADE (**Ẓadi;** Heb. צ, ץ; צָ׳י, צָ׳ª), the eighteenth letter of the Hebrew alphabet; its numerical value is 90. It is assumed that the earliest form of the *ṣade* was a pictograph of a blossom . In the late second and early first millennia B.C.E., the *ṣade* became . In the Hebrew script, from the eighth century B.C.E. onward, the downstroke was shortened and a hook was added on the letter's right side , which has been preserved in the Samaritan . The Phoenician and Aramaic scripts lengthened the downstroke and thus in the fifth century B.C.E. Aramaic script three forms developed: , , . While from the first form, through the Nabatean , the Arabic *ṣad* evolved, the Jewish script adopted the third form, which was the ancestor of the medial צ and final *ṣade* ץ. See *Alphabet, Hebrew.

[Joseph Naveh]

SADEH, PINḤAS (1929–1994), Israeli writer. Born in Lvov, Sadeh was taken to Palestine in 1934 and lived for a while in Tel Aviv. A radical individualist and autodidact, he then worked as a shepherd in the Jezreel valley, and later as a night watchman in Jerusalem. His first publications were a story in *Ba-Ma'aleh* (1945) and a poem in *Ittim* (1946). The first collection of poems, *Massa Dumah* ("Vision of Dumah"), positioned him in the tradition of Hebrew Expressionistsm and his first novel, *Ha-Ḥayyim ke-Mashal* (1958, 1968; *Life as a Parable*, 1966), foreshadows Expressionistic principles, mainly, the work of art as a cry of protest and an expression of the self. In confessional style, interweaving reflections and meditations on human existence and nature with personal experiences, Sadeh's autobiographical novel rejected the ubiquitous collective experience in favor of far-reaching individualism. The novel echoes perceptions and views which are closer to Christianity and to marginal religious sects in Jewish history (such as Shabbateanism and to the Frankists) than to the norms dear to Zionist society in Israel of the 1950s. With his work distinguished by images taken from his own life, Sadeh writes about love, erotic excitement, and loneliness, contemplates sin and grace, alludes to the New Testament and to Kierkegaard's and Dostoyevsky's oeuvre. Following the success of this unusual novel, Sadeh became, both on account of his writing and his sequestered, self-dramatized way of life, an idol for young Israelis and would-be artists. In 1967 he published *Al Mazzavo shel ha-Adam* ("Notes on Man's Condition") followed by the novella *Mot Avimelekh* ("The Death of Avimelech," 1969). Sadeh published further collections of poetry, in which he extols feminine beauty and women's self-sacrifice and reflects on nature, transience, and mortality. Among these are *Sefer ha-Shirim* ("Book of Poems"), *El Shetei Ne'arot Nikhbadot* ("To Two Honorable Young Ladies," 1977), and *Sefer ha-Agasim ha-Zehubim* (1985). He also wrote essays on Bialik (1985) and books for children (*Ha-Ganav*, "The Thief," 1988), edited a selection of European stories, *Mivḥar ha-Sippur ha-Eiropi* (1959), and anthologized ḥasidic legends (English translation as *Jewish Folktales*, 1989; 1990). Sadeh's *Collected Poems* appeared in 2005. Sadeh, who lived in his later life in Ramat Gan, received the Bialik Prize in 1990. For translations of his work see the ITHL website at www.ithl.org.il.

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[Anat Feinberg (2nd ed.)]

SADEH (Landsberg), YIZḤAK (1890–1952), creator of the *Palmaḥ and its first commander. Born in Lublin, Poland, Sadeh served in the Russian army in World War I and was decorated for bravery. He continued to serve in the Red Army, where he commanded the first company of the first battalion. After the war he enrolled at the University of Simferopol, Crimea, studying philology and philosophy, and became a champion wrestler and weight-lifter. A meeting with Joseph *Trumpeldor, which took place in 1917, had a profound influence on the course of Sadeh's life. In 1920, when news reached him of Trumpeldor's death in action at Tel Ḥai, Sadeh left for Erez Israel, where he became one of the founders of *Gedud ha-Avodah (the Joseph Trumpeldor Labor Battalion) and was elected its head. As such, he divided his time between working as a skilled laborer (he was an expert stone quarrier) and providing the men of the Gedud ha-Avodah with military training. When the Gedud ha-Avodah disintegrated, Sadeh retired for a while from public service, but presented himself again to the *Haganah at the outbreak of the 1936 riots. He was the first to propose to the Haganah the policy of "breaking out of the perimeter," i.e., not to confine itself to static defense behind the barbed wire fence of the settlement, but to attack the Arab terrorist bands in the open. This policy resulted in the formation of the Haganah field companies (*peluggot sadeh*, abbr. "Fosh"), which Sadeh commanded until 1938, when they were replaced by the field corps (*ḥeil sadeh*, abbr. "Ḥish"). Sadeh also became the commander of the new formation and within its framework founded a special commando unit (*peluggah li-fe'ullot meyuḥadot*, abbr. "Pom"), which incorporated a naval platoon and was trained for fighting on land and at sea. Sadeh commanded the operations of this unit in defending the establishment of the strategically placed new settlement *Ḥanitah in western Galilee. In 1941, when the Palmaḥ was founded – largely on Sadeh's initiative – he became staff officer for Palmaḥ affairs at Haganah headquarters and after a short while was appointed commanding officer of the Palmaḥ, which now had become a countrywide formation. He remained at this post until 1945, when he was promoted to acting chief of the Haganah general staff, and as such coordinated the combined resistance activities of the Haganah and the *Irgun Zeva'i Le'ummi and *Loḥamei Ḥerut Israel against the government in the final years of the Mandatory regime.

During the *War of Independence, Sadeh took part in a series of significant operations, the battle for Jerusalem among them. It was he who commanded the successful defense of Mishmar ha-Emek, which turned into a rout of the Arab Liberation Army. Upon his initiative, the Israel army formed its first armored brigade (which eventually became the Eighth Brigade); Sadeh became its commander, with the rank of *alluf*, and as such took part in "Operation Dani," capturing Lydda Airport and other points of strategic importance in the central sector of the front. One of the brigade battalions played a key role in the capture of the town of Lydda. In October 1948 the brigade was transferred to the Southern Command and in "Operation Yo'av" captured the Egyptian-held police fortress of Iraq-Suwaydān. In "Operation Ḥorev" (December 1948–January 1949) he took Nizzanah on the Sinai border and took part in the fighting around Rafi'aḥ (Rafah).

At the end of the war Sadeh retired from the Israel Defense Forces (IDF). Throughout his military career he had had a profound influence on the training, tactics, and strategy employed by the Haganah and the IDF and was both teacher and commander of most of Israel's senior military officers. Reconnaissance, field engineering, naval, and air operations were all innovations first introduced by him.

Sadeh was also a prolific writer of articles, short stories, and particularly plays, only a part of which were published. In the last years of his life, he worked on his memoirs, of which he completed the part dealing with his childhood and adolescence (*Ha-Pinkas Patu'aḥ*, 1952). He also wrote *Mi-Saviv la-*

Medurah (1946) and *Mah Ḥiddesh ha-Palmaḥ* (1950). He was buried at kibbutz Givat Brenner.

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[Yigal Allon]

SA'DĪ, SA'ĪD BEN SHELOMO (late 17th early–18th centuries), Yemenite historian who lived in *San'ā, the author of *Dofi ha-Zeman* ("Fault of the Times"), a chronicle on the history of the Jews in *Yemen between 1717 and 1726. It was the first historical work to be written by a Yemenite scholar, followed by many others into the 20th century. It reflects the severe moral deterioration of the Jewish community of San'ā as a result of the destruction of the communal system after Yemenite Jews returned from their exile in *Mawza'. The authority of the religious and temporal authorities was almost completely lost – there were even Jewish prostitutes in San'ā. So the principal objective of this work, like that of his contemporary R. Yiḥye Ṣaliḥ in his *Peri Ẓaddik*, was to show the moral to be drawn from the misfortunes which befell Yemenite Jewry. It is therefore not surprising that the *tokhaḥot* of the author hold an important place in the work. The above events also left a deep impression on the author himself, because he lost three of his sons at that time.

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[Yosef Tob (2nd ed.)]

SADIE, STANLEY (**John**, 1930–), British music critic, musicologist, author, and editor. Sadie was born in London, where he received his education, as well as at Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge. His dissertation was on "British Chamber Music, 1720–1790" (U. of Cambridge, 1958). He was a teacher at the Trinity College of Music, London (1957–65), a music critic of the London *Times* from 1964 to 1981, and a reviewer for *Gramophone* (1965–). He took over the editorship of the *Musical Times* in 1967 and was the editor in chief of the *New Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (1980) as well as its second edition (London 2000). Sadie served as president of the councils of the Royal Musical Association (1989–94) and The International Musicological Society (1992–97) and on the boards of several journals, including *Music and Letters*, from 1989, and *Journal of Musicology*, from 1982. His publications include *Handel* (1962), *Mozart* (1966, 1981), *Beethoven* (1967), *The Pan Book of Opera/ The Opera Guide* (with Arthur Jacobs, 1964, 1969), and *Handel Organ Concertos* (1972). A frequent contributor to musical journals, Sadie edited much 18th-century music, on which – as on Mozart and Handel – he was considered an expert. Along with his writings Sadie and his wife, the cellist, bass viol player, and musicologist Julie Anne Vertrees, initiated the foundation of the Handel House Museum in London; they are authors of a guide to European composer museums, *Calling on the Composer* (London 2000).

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[Max Loppert / Israela Stein (2nd ed.)]

SA'DIS (**Banū Sa'd**), Arab dynasty of *sharīf*s (descendants of the Prophet *Muhammad) who penetrated *Morocco and ruled it from the mid-16th century to the 1660s. They succeeded the *Wattasids, retained *Fez as their capital, and fought relentlessly against the Spanish and Portuguese occupation of parts of Morocco. At first the Sa'dis appeared to be fanatical religious zealots who were intolerant of non-Muslims. They imposed heavy taxes on the local Jewish community. As they consolidated their authority in the country, however, they gradually evinced greater toleration toward the Jewish minority. Like their Wattasid predecessors, the Sa'di sultans now employed Jews as physicians, diplomatic emissaries, and interpreters. Beginning in 1603, Abraham bin Wach and later Judah Levi served as ministers of the treasury. Members of the Jewish aristocratic Cabessa and Palache families were recruited by the sultan's court as agents and negotiators with European merchants who entered the country. Whereas the authorities increasingly proved to be friendly toward the Jews, the same could hardly be said of the Muslim masses as well as local urban and rural chieftains and governors – the Arabs more than the *Berbers – who from time to time subjected them to harsh humiliations. The Sa'dis were succeeded in 1666 by another branch of their family, the *Alawid dynasty, whose sultans and kings ruled Morocco continuously. The current king of Morocco, Muhammad VI, is a member of this dynasty.

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[Michael M. Laskier (2nd ed.)]

SAFDIE, MOSHE (1938–), architect and urban designer. Safdie was born in Haifa. A youthful Zionist and socialist, he was dismayed when his family relocated to Montreal when he was 15. He graduated in architecture at McGill University in 1961 before moving to Philadelphia, where he apprenticed for two years under Louis I. *Kahn. Safdie returned to Montreal to open his own architectural office. He took charge of the master plan for Expo '67 in Montreal and was able to realize his graduate thesis as "Habitat 67," a cellular housing scheme. Like LEGO, this prefabricated residence complex could be transported and resituated. This innovative design brought Safdie immediate international recognition and project commissions in Puerto Rico and New York.

In 1967 Safdie returned to Israel and a Jerusalem reunified after the Six-Day War. He opened a Jerusalem office in 1970 and contributed significantly to the restoration of the Old City of Jerusalem and to connecting the New and Old Cities of Jerusalem. He also was engaged in developing the city of

Modi'in, the Yad Vashem Holocaust Museum, the Rabin Memorial Center, and the new Ben-Gurion International Airport in Israel.

In 1978, Safdie was appointed Ian Woodner Professor of Architecture and Urban Design at the Harvard Graduate School of Design and established his firm's main office in Somerville, Massachusetts. However, he continued to have a strong Canadian presence. He designed major Canadian public institutions, including the Vancouver Public Library, the Quebec Museum of Civilization, and the National Gallery of Canada. Safdie's institutional, cultural, and educational commissions are also found across the United States, in Israel, and around the world, with projects in Singapore, Iran, Senegal, India, and the Canadian arctic. Many of his commissions have been honored with major national and international awards.

In addition to his headquarters in Somerville, Safdie maintains offices in Toronto and Jerusalem. In 1986 Safdie was made an Officer of the Order of Canada. He is the brother of the artist Sylvia *Safdie.

[Aliza Craimer (2nd ed.)]

SAFDIE, SYLVIA (1942–), artist. The daughter of Leon and Rachel (Essen) Safdie, Sylvia Safdie was born in Aley ('Aleih), near *Beirut, Lebanon, into an artistic and literary family. Her brother Moshe *Safdie (1938–) is a renowned architect. Her brother GABRIEL SAFDIE (1940–) is a poet and teacher of literature. Sylvia Safdie spent her early years in Haifa but immigrated to Montreal with her family in 1953. After graduating from Concordia University in Fine Arts, Safdie earned a national and international reputation as a visual and conceptual artist, with numerous solo and group shows to her credit. She employed a wide variety of media, from traditional drawing, painting, and sculpture to inventories of found objects, installation art, and video. Her work is in permanent collections in Canada, Brazil, Denmark, Switzerland, and the United States. With her trip to Israel in 1978, when she visited desert areas as well as older parts of Haifa, Jaffa, and Jerusalem, Safdie's art embraced her Israeli roots. Other significant art trips took her to Morocco in 1981, Mexico in 1985, and more recently to India. Her pieces are usually developed in specific series, sometimes over many years, often carrying simple Hebrew words as titles: *Be'er* (well), *Ever* (other side), *Glimot* (cloaks), *Keren* (light ray), *Kever* (grave), *Lehav* (eternal flame), *Sefer* (book), *Tzel* (shadow), *Zakhor* (memory). Other series titles include: Bronze/Stone, Earth Marks, Earth Notes, Conjunctions, Feet, Head, Journals, Notations, Source, Steel/Stone, Threshhold. Safdie seems to find her strongest inspiration in natural organic forms, including the human figure, and in cultural artifacts. One of her most interesting pieces is Earth (1977), an ongoing collection and installation of small vessels filled with earth of various colors and textures collected from some 500 places around the world.

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[Bernard Katz (2nd ed.)]

SAFED (Heb. צְפַת), principal town of Upper Galilee, situated on a mountain 2,780 ft. (850 m.) high, 30 mi. (48 km.) east of Acre, 25 mi. (40 km.) north of Tiberias. Not mentioned in the Bible, Safed has sometimes been identified with Sepph (Gr. Σεπφ), the city fortified by Josephus in the Upper Galilee at the time of an expected Roman attack in 66 C.E. (Wars, 2:573); the name is missing in a parallel list (Life, 187–8). In the Jerusalem Talmud (RH 2:1, 58a) Safed is mentioned as one of the mountaintop points from which fire signals were given to announce the New Moon and festivals during the Second Temple period. Two liturgical poems for the Ninth of Av by Eleazar *Kallir, *Eikhah Yashevah* and *Zekhor Eikhah*, refer to Safed as a place where priestly families (Jakim and Pashhur) settled after the destruction of the Temple. The name is repeated in the various *kerovot* (hymns recited before the *Amidah*) by poets who wrote in the sixth, seventh, and eighth centuries.

Between the talmudic period and the Crusades the history of Safed is not known. The town reappears in 1140 under the name Saphet, a "fortress of very great strength between Acre and the Sea of Galilee" built by King Fulk of Anjou. Amalric I, the king of Jerusalem, handed it over in 1168 to the Knights Templar. Twenty years later, after his victory at Ḥittin, *Saladin took Safed (December 1188). His successors, the *Ayyubids, ordered the dismantling of the fortress in 1220; however, in 1240 Safed was recaptured and rebuilt by the Knights Templar. In 1266 it passed from the crusaders to the Mamluk sultan Baybars, who continued to strengthen its fortifications. In Safed, the *Mamluks established the headquarters of a "Mamlakah," a province which extended over Galilee and the Lebanon.

Jewish settlement in Safed is attested by *genizah* documents from the first half of the 11th century. However, Benjamin of Tudela, who visited the city in 1170/71, stated that no Jews lived there. Fifty years later the settlement was revived under Mamluk protection; R. Zadok, head of an academy of the *gaon* Jacob, was its most prominent member. **Genizah* documents confirm that there was a community at Safed in the 13th century; it continued to exist in the time of R. *Estori ha-Parḥi (early 14th century). In 1481 the Jewish community of Safed and of the villages in its vicinity numbered 300 families; it flourished under the protection of the Mamluk governors. Toward the end of Mamluk rule the community was greatly strengthened by an influx of refugees from Spain (1492). In 1495 the Jews of Safed were reported as trading in spices, cheese, oil, vegetables, and fruits. The Sephardi element further increased after the Ottoman conquest in 1516. In 1522 R. Moses *Basola found 300 Jewish families in Safed, composed of Sephardim, Moriscos, and Jews from the Maghreb. Later, three groups emerged among the Jews of Safed: Sephardim, Ashkenazim, and Italians. Among the prominent leaders of the community in the 16th century was R. Jacob (I) *Berab, who tried to reestablish the Sanhedrin and renew rabbinical ordination (*semikhah*). Other prominent rabbis included R. Joseph *Caro, the author of the Shulḥan Arukh, and his contemporary R. Moses *Trani. The leading kabbalist R. Isaac *Luria lived in Safed and his important disciple R. Ḥayyim *Vital resided there for some time. In the 16th century Safed was the center of Jewish mysticism (see *Kabbalah). The spiritual flowering of the town was accompanied by material prosperity. The newcomers established looms, whose products competed with those of *Venice. In addition the Jews of Safed traded in the local produce of Galilee: oil, honey, silk, and spices. They also received both Jewish and gentile pilgrims in their homes.

Turkish statistics of 1548 show Safed as the center of a district of 282 villages. Approximately 1,900 families of taxpayers lived in the town (716 of them Jewish), as well as 251 single taxpayers (only 56 of them Jewish). In 1563 the brothers Ashkenazi set up the first printing press in the town (see below); it was not only the first one in Ereẓ Israel but also the first in the Orient. The Jews of Safed had eight synagogues; they numbered their town among the Four Sacred Cities of the Holy Land, calling it also Beth-El. In addition to the Jewish community, Samaritans also lived there during the 16th century. With the gradual decline in the quality of Turkish rule in the 17th century, the prosperity of the Jewish community also began to drop off. The material decline did not immediately influence the spiritual level of the community. In spite of high taxes and 1,200 poor living on charity, there were 300 rabbinical scholars, 18 schools, 21 synagogues and a large yeshivah with 100 pupils, and 20 teachers at the beginning of the 17th century. The Jewish community at that time split into four congregations: Ashkenazim, Portuguese Jews, Provençal Jews, and Italians. Toward the end of the 17th century the community declined rapidly – in 1695/96 only 20 Jews paid the poll tax. An epidemic decimated the community in 1747 and an earthquake in 1759 killed 2,000, among them 190 Jews. After the disaster the survivors began to leave the town; by 1764 there were only 50 Sephardi families in Safed.

Toward the end of the 18th century the establishment of a more stable government in Galilee (first by the sheikh Dhāhir al Omar and then by Jazzr Pasha) led to an improvement in the position of the community. Moreover, immigration was renewed, with settlers coming from East European countries. In 1778 over 300 Ḥasidim, disciples of R. *Israel b. Eliezer Ba'al Shem Tov, settled in Safed; they were led by R. *Menahem Mendel of Vitebsk. The disciples of Elijah, the Gaon of Vilna, who were opponents of the Ḥasidim, came in 1810, led by R. *Israel b. Samuel of Shklov. Renewed warfare between the Bedouins, and epidemics in 1812–14, caused an exodus of Jews, mainly to Jerusalem and the villages in Galilee.

[Michael Avi-Yonah]

Modern Period

Under the benevolent rule of *Ibrahim Pasha (1831–40) the town at first progressed and became Galilee's commercial center, but toward the end of his rule it suffered from the strife between Arabs and Druzes and the Arab revolt against Ibrahim Pasha. It was particularly stricken in a violent earthquake (1837) which destroyed most of its houses and reportedly caused the death of 5,000 persons, 4,000 of whom were Jews. Many of the surviving rabbinical scholars went to Hebron. The Hebrew printing press of Israel *Bak, which had been founded in 1831, was transferred after the earthquake to Kefar Jarmaq (Mount Meron) and later to *Jerusalem (see below). The Jewish community, which in 1839 had dwindled to 1,500 persons, further decreased to a mere 400 in 1845. However, the country's administration stabilized under the Turkish sultan ʿAbdul Majīd and Safed's situation improved. The former Jewish inhabitants returned and new immigrants settled, bringing the Jewish community to 2,100 persons in 1856, and to 6,620 in 1895 (comprising 4,500 Ashkenazim and 2,120 Sephardim), who then constituted the majority of a total population of 12,820. The Jewish community increased further to 8,000 persons in 1908, and to 11,000 (out of a total population of 25,000) in 1913.

At the end of the 19th century Rabbi M. Taubenhaus founded a weaving shop at Safed to provide employment for Jewish workers, and opened a soup kitchen for the poor. The first Jewish kindergarten was opened on his initiative in 1906 with the support of B'nai B'rith; in 1910 it was enlarged to become a modern elementary school. The initiative for the changeover to productive work in this community influenced groups of Jews from Safed to attempt agricultural settlement at Gei Oni (later *Rosh Pinnah) and at Benei Yehudah on the Golan. Workshops, mostly for local consumption (e.g., bakeries), were opened in the Jewish quarter, but the majority of the community remained dependent on **ḥalukkah* from abroad. In World War I the Safed community was cut off from its sources of support in Europe, and its Jewish population was decimated by hunger and disease. The city's Arab population, whose economy was based on trade, commerce, and auxiliary farming, was less affected. On Sept. 28, 1918, the town was occupied by the British forces under Allenby. In 1922 Safed's population of 8,760 was composed of 5,431 Muslims, 2,986 Jews, and 343 Christians. While good relations between Arabs and Jews had previously been the rule, the Arab population, instigated by the nationalists, assaulted the Jewish quarter in the 1929 riots and killed several of the inhabitants. By 1935 the number of Jews decreased to 2,475, and their percentage in the total population fell to 27%. It shrank further in the 1930s and 1940s when local educational and economic opportunities for the community's youth were limited. In Israel's *War of Independence (1948), less than 2,000 of the 12,000 inhabitants were Jews, living in the narrow quarter on the northern and northwestern slope of Safed Hill. When the British evacuated the town they permitted Arab forces (estimated at 4,000–4,500 men, including detachments of the Iraqi and

Lebanese armies) to occupy the two large police buildings in key positions, thereby sealing off the Jewish quarter. On May 1, 1948, a *Palmaḥ force advanced from positions on Mount Canaan and *Biriyyah, occupied the Arab villages of Biriyyah and Ein Zeitun, and from there entered the Jewish quarter by hidden paths, bringing the number of its defenders from about 60 to 222. On May 10–11, 1948, the defenders launched attacks on the Arab positions and captured them as well as the Meẓudah ("fortress") on top of Safed Hill. The entire Arab population and armed forces fled. Safed became a Jewish town.

After 1948 mainly new immigrants from different countries settled in Safed. Its population numbered 7,900 in 1953 and 13,100 in 1970. The town's economy was based principally on branches of tourism, recreation, and industry. Some of the hotels operated mainly in the summer months. The dry mountain air in summer is noted for its curative quality for respiratory ailments. The hotels were situated both in the town proper and on Mt. Canaan (3,000 ft., 920m., above sea level). A regional hospital with 500 beds was built in 1970. Industry included metal factories (for sewing machines), textile weaving and apparel, food products (notably instant coffee), tobacco, and diamond polishing.

In 2002 the population of Safed was 26,400, occupying an area of 15 sq. mi. (40 sq. km.). Residents were employed in industry, services, and commerce. The picturesque artists' quarter, where scores of painters and sculptors live permanently or seasonally, continued to constitute a tourist attraction. In addition to the individual artists' galleries there was a communal exhibit in the quarter. There were also Bible and Kabbalah museums and a flourishing *baʿalei teshuvah* community as well as thousands of Russian and Ethiopian immigrants. Every summer the city hosts a klezmer festival and pilgrims flock to the graves of Jewish saints on the outskirts of the city, the most famous being the grave of R. *Simeon Bar Yoḥai, where tens of thousands congregate on *Lag ba-Omer.

[Efraim Orni / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)

Historic Buildings and Archaeological Restorations

Safed still contains six old synagogues, including the famous Ari synagogue (of R. Isaac Luria) dating from the 16th century, which belongs to the Sephardi community and consists of two vaulted rooms with a courtyard. Another synagogue of Luria belongs to the Ashkenazim and was renewed after the earthquake of 1837. Other famous synagogues are named after R. Yose ha-Bannai, R. Joseph *Caro, and R. Isaac *Aboab.

Muslim rule in Safed has left numerous monuments, mostly of the Mamluks. These include: the so-called Zāwiyat Banāt Hamīd (built in 1372 with additions in 1449); the Red Mosque (el-Jamiʾ el-Aḥmar; built in 1275–76); the Jamiʾ el-Jukandār (named after a Mamluk ruler of 1309–11, though the building actually is from a later date); the "Cave of the Daughters of Jacob" (*Magharat Banī Yaʿqūb*) and its adjoining mosque (both repaired in 1412); and the Main Mosque (Jamiʾ as-Sūq) of 1901 and another of 1913. Excavations were started under Israeli auspices in the citadel by M. Dothan in 1950 on behalf of the Department of Antiquities. Crusader and Mamluk walls and foundations were uncovered (most of the walls visible above the surface had been dismantled by the Arabs) as were a complicated system of wells and channels underground.

[Michael Avi-Yonah]

Hebrew Printing

In 1573 the well-known Hebrew printer Eliezer b. Isaac Ashkenazi and his son, Isaac of Prague, left Lublin for Ereẓ Israel, taking with them their printing tools, type, and decorations. After three years in *Constantinople, where they printed some books, they proceeded to Safed. There they set up as printers in partnership with Abraham b. Isaac Ashkenazi, a resident of Safed who provided the funds necessary for the enterprise. Between 1577 and 1580 they issued three books. Then Abraham left for *Yemen as an emissary of the Tiberias yeshivah, selling his books at the same time. In 1587 Eliezer printed three more books; like the first three, they were all by Safed authors.

In 1832 the printer Israel Bak of Berdichev settled in Safed and issued four books up to 1834, the year the community was pillaged by Arab villagers. In 1836 printing was resumed with the publication of *Pe'at ha-Shulḥan* by Israel of Shklov. As a result of the earthquake of 1837 Bak went on to Jerusalem. Between 1863 and 1866 Dober b. Samuel Kara, of Skole (Galicia), printed some eight books in Safed. Ten years later Abraham Ẓevi Spiegelmann and his partners began printing, but only three works are known to have appeared up to 1885. In 1913 Barukh Barzel and his partners opened a Hebrew press called "Defus ha-Galil," with some 20 books being printed up to 1926. This press served Hebrew writers who found refuge in Safed during World War I. Later, A. Friedmann took over the press, which printed the Haganah paper *Kol Ẓefat* during the War of Independence.

[Avraham Yaari]

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SAFFRON (Heb. כַּרְכֹּם, *karkom*), the *Crocus sativus*; an aromatic golden dye was extracted from the stigmas of its golden blossoms. It was also dried and used for flavoring foods. In the Bible *karkom* is mentioned once among the various spices that grew in the imaginary spice garden to which the charms of the beloved are compared (Song 4:14). Most of them are enumerated in an early *baraita* as ingredients of the incense used in the Temple (Ker. 6a; v. *Pittum ha-Ketoret*). Since both passages refer to tropical spices brought from distant lands, Immanuel Loew was of the opinion that the *karkom* is a tropical incense plant, the *Curcuma longa*, called by the ancients "Indian saffron," *Crocus indicus*. This belongs to the family of Zingiberaceae from whose rhizome a golden yellow material called Curcumin is extracted and used for dyeing and flavoring food, as well as for dyeing clothes. This identification is doubtful, however, because the substance is not especially aromatic, nor is there any reason to doubt the traditional explanation that biblical *karkom* is indeed identical with saffron (Sanskrit *kurkuma*, Gr. and Lat. *krokos*). It is a tuber which apparently originated in the mountains of the Caspian Sea region. Its name in Aramaic and Arabic is *zafrana*, from which the word saffron is derived. During the mishnaic and talmudic period saffron was widely used in Ereẓ Israel and Babylon. It was planted in fields, and a "field full of saffron" was considered very precious. According to tradition, Joshua the son of Nun had already made regulations with regard to this plant (BK 81a). The verb *nitkarkem* (i.e., "turned yellow," pale) derives from the yellow color of the *karkom* (Gen. R. 99:9 et al.). In the Talmud, Abbaye describes the structure of the stigma from which the saffron was extracted (Nid. 20a). In medieval times saffron was a valuable commodity and Jews traded extensively in it. Since some adulterated saffron by adding fibers of horse meat to it, Solomon b. Abraham *Adret of Barcelona in the 13th century forbade its use in food. The yellow *badge the Jews were compelled to wear – according to the first papal decree instituting it – had to be dyed with saffron (see Singermann in bibl.). The importance of saffron has diminished, although Oriental Jews occasionally use it to color and flavor their food. It is hardly grown at all in Israel. Seven species of crocus, some with very beautiful flowers, grow wild in Israel.

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[Jehuda Feliks]

SAFI, formerly **Asfi**, Atlantic seaport, provincial capital, and province, Tansift region, western *Morocco. It was originally settled by the Canaanites and absorbed such groups as the Carthaginians, who named the city Asfi, Romans, Jews who arrived from Palestine, Goths, and, after 640 C.E., the invading Arab Muslims. The Portuguese conquered and occupied Safi at the beginning of the 16th century and held on to it until 1541, building a citadel around it. Since then Safi was dominated by the Sharifian dynasties – the Sa'dis and Alawites. Safi became a prosperous port serving as a link between vital commercial arteries for parts of southern and western Morocco, and as the port for the export goods of important inland cities like *Marrakesh. The city's prosperity reached its zenith in the first half of the 17th century. Nevertheless, this port is still blessed to this day with burgeoning textile and chemical (phosphate-based) industries. It also conducts major fishing and sardine canning activities.

Safi's Jewish community maintained vital trade relations with Majorca and Portugal during the 14th and 15th centuries. Its Jews were entrusted with overseeing business affairs in the trade conduits between Morocco, Portugal, and Guinea. Numerous exiles (*megorashim*) from the Iberian Peninsula settled there in 1492 and 1497. Even though Portugal expelled its Jews, in Safi and other parts of Morocco, the occupiers – the Portuguese – collaborated with the expellees – the Jewish refugees – in commercial activity.

Under the rule of the Portuguese, the Jews were assured that they would neither be exiled from Safi nor be compelled to accept Christianity. The Portuguese monarchy elevated a number of Jews to prominence, such as interpreters, officials, counselors, and trade negotiators. After the retreat of Portugal and the ascendance of the *Sa'dis (the 1540s), the position of the Jews improved markedly. Moreover, with the penetration of British trade and political influence into Moroccan towns along the Atlantic coast, among them Essaouira (*Mogador) and Safi, beginning in the 17th century, the port of Safi was often leased to Jewish merchants, who gradually cultivated a monopoly of the commercial transactions with Europe and the Americas. Among the noted Jewish families engaged in trade were the *Palaches, Xérès, Corcos, and *Chriqui-Delevante.

On the eve of World War I there were approximately 2,500 Jews in Safi out of no more than 25,000 inhabitants. The community managed to remain large (over 3,600 in 1936 and 4,500 in 1951) throughout the French protectorate era. After Moroccan independence in 1956, its numbers dwindled to 1,434 in 1960 and fewer than 700 in 1968. This was attributed to migration to parts of Europe, Canada, and *aliyah* to Israel.

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[Michael M. Laskier (2nd ed.)]

SAFIRE, WILLIAM (1929–), columnist. Born in New York, he studied at Syracuse University but left after only two years, in 1949. His first job was as a researcher for Tex McCracy, who had a gossip column in the *New York Herald Tribune*. After serving as a correspondent in Europe and the Middle East for WNBC radio and TV, he joined the U.S. Army in 1952, working for the Armed Forces Radio Network for the next two years.

On leaving the service, Safire returned to New York, where he worked for Tex McCracy's public relations firm and helped to produce McCracy's syndicated radio show. In 1959 Safire opened his own public relations firm and traveled to Moscow that year for the American National Exhibition. While there, he met Vice President Richard Nixon and helped to set up the famous "kitchen debate" between Nixon and Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev, in which each leader argued the merits of his country's particular system of government.

During the 1960 presidential campaign, Safire was in charge of special projects for the Nixon-Lodge candidacy and wrote much of the campaign literature. In 1961 he established Safire Public Relations Inc., which handled the campaigns of a number of New York Republican leaders, including Nelson Rockefeller, Jacob Javits, and John Lindsay. His first two books appeared during this period, *The Relations Explosion* (1963) and *Plunging into Politics* (1964).

From 1965 on Safire was immersed in Richard Nixon's campaign for the presidency. He ghostwrote Nixon's syndicated column and, in 1968, authored Nixon's election victory speech. His third book appeared that year entitled *The New Language of Politics*. As a special assistant to President Nixon, Safire wrote major speeches for the president on the Vietnam War and economic policies. On loan to Spiro Agnew in 1972, Safire coined the oft-quoted alliterative phrases "nattering nabobs of negativism" and "hopeless hysterical hypochondriacs of history." His articles for the *New York Times* and *Washington Post* during the campaign ultimately led to the invitation for him to write a regular column in the *New York Times*, which he began in 1974.

Safire wrote his White House memoirs in a non-fiction volume entitled *Before the Fall* (1975) and in a political novel, *Full Disclosure* (1977). He combined the talents of columnist and investigative reporter when in 1977 he broke the story on the financial affairs of Bert Lance, President Jimmy Carter's special assistant and key fundraiser. That investigation led to Safire's winning a Pulitzer Prize in 1978 for "distinguished commentary."

In 1979 he began a regular Sunday column in *The New York Times Magazine* entitled "On Language," which focuses on grammar, usage, and etymology.

An avowed "hawk" on foreign policy, Safire also strongly supported Israel. He especially championed the government of Menachem Begin and Begin's bombing of the nuclear reactor in Iraq.

His other books include *On Language* (1980), *Safire's Washington* (1980), *Leadership* (1991), *Fumblerulers* (1991), *Safire's New Political Dictionary* (1993), *The First Dissident: The Book of Job in Today's Politics* (1992), *No Uncertain Terms* (2003), and the novels *Freedom* (1987), *Sleeper Spy* (1995), and *Scandalmonger* (2000). He also edited *Good Advice* (with L. Safire, 1993) and *Lend Me Your Ears: Great Speeches in History* (1997).

Safire's grandfather was the publisher of one of New York's daily Yiddish newspapers.

[David Geffen / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

SAFRA (first half of fourth century C.E.), Babylonian *amora*. In Babylon, Safra studied under *Abba (Pes. 51b). He paid several visits to Ereẓ Israel but never received permission to teach there. His decisions are not quoted in Palestinian sources, although he is known to have discussed *halakhah* with such Palestinian authorities as *Abbahu (Av. Zar. 4a; Git. 29b). As a result he transmitted to Babylon some of the early traditions followed in Ereẓ Israel (Kid. 30a). *Abbaye states that Safra's reports were often quoted in the Babylonian academies (MK 25a), and Safra also asked Zerika specific questions on Abbaye's behalf (Ḥul. 110b). Among his Babylonian colleagues were *Ḥanina b. Papa (Git. 29b) and Huna b. Ḥanina (Shab. 124a). Like most Babylonian scholars, Safra was more versed in the *halakhah* than in *aggadah*. On one occasion, when the authorities of Caesarea doubted Safra's right to exemption from the payment of tax (a concession to scholars), Abbahu pointed out "He is a scholar of the Talmud, not of the Bible" (Av. Zar. 4a).

Safra was a businessman (BB 144a), a partner of *Issur Giora (BM 31b), and his business honesty was legendary (Mak. 24a). It is related that once, while praying, he was approached by a prospective buyer for his ass. The buyer, interpreting Safra's refusal to interrupt his prayers as a sign of disapproval of the price offered, successively raised his bids. However, when Safra had completed his prayers, he insisted on taking the price first offered (*She'iltot, Parshat Va-Yeḥi*, ed. Minsky, 252). He was also highly praised for his piety and modesty (Pes. 113a–b), and for his courtesy toward his colleagues (Suk. 39a; cf. Ḥul. 94b). Little is known of Safra's private life. His wife died soon after their marriage, and he never remarried (Pes. 113a). His brother Dimi was also a scholar. When Safra died, in Pumbedita, Abbaye instructed his pupils to accord him the highest honors due to a deceased scholar (MK 25a).

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SAFRA, family of bankers. The family's roots in banking go back to the early 19th century, in *Aleppo, Syria. From there the Safra family financed trade and exchanged currencies from several different countries in Asia, Europe, and Africa, as well as precious metals such as silver and gold. In the mid-19th century, the family founded Safra Frères et Cie, the first bank bearing the family's name. The reputation acquired by the bank enabled its expansion to Istanbul, Alexandria, and Beirut, and in the 20th century also to Europe and America.

In the early 20th century, JACOB SAFRA (1891–1963) founded the Jacob Safra Bank in *Beirut. He laid the foundation for modern banking based on improved communication and the growing demand for trade between the Middle

East and North America. In 1951 the Safra family moved beyond the Middle East, first to Italy and then, in 1952, to Brazil. Since then the family banking business has expanded to Europe, the United States, and throughout selected markets in Latin America.

Under the direction of Jacob's sons – ELIE (1922–), EDMOND (1932–1999), MOISE, and JOSEPH (1938–) – the Safra's business expanded. Edmond and Joseph focused primarily on furthering the family's prominence in banking worldwide, particularly private banking.

Edmond Safra founded with his father the Trade Development Bank in 1956, which was sold to American Express in 1983. In 1966, Edmond founded the Republic National Bank of New York, which became one of the most respected banks worldwide. In 1988, he established Safra Republic Holdings S.A., a wealth management firm catering to the European marketplace. Both companies were sold to HSBC in 1999.

Joseph built the Safra Brazilian banking and investment businesses, the most prominent of which were Banco Safra Brazil in 1957; Safra National Bank of New York in 1980; Banque Safra Luxembourg in 1985; Banque Jacob Safra Suisse in 2000. Among other successful global investments are Aracruz in 1985 (pulp factory) and Cellcom Israel (cellular phone company) in 1994, which was sold in 2005.

The Safra family is distinguished for its prolific philanthropy and is particularly generous to Jewish causes. They have undertaken numerous donations to hospitals, schools, universities, and synagogues throughout the world.

[Rachel Mizrahi (2nd ed.)]

SAFRAI, SHMUEL (1919–2003), scholar in the fields of Jewish history, Talmud, and Bible. Safrai was born in Warsaw and arrived in Palestine with his parents in 1922. From 1931 to 1939 he studied at the Merkaz ha-Rav Yeshivah, being ordained there as a rabbi at the age of 20. In 1952 and 1957 he received his M.A. and Ph.D. degrees from The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, becoming a professor there in 1978. With his colleagues David *Flusser and Robert Lindsey, he founded the Jerusalem School of Synoptic Research, dedicated to the historical, linguistic, and critical study of the synoptic gospels. He was also a frequent contributor to *Jerusalem Perspective* magazine. Safrai received the Jerusalem Prize in 1986 and the Israel Prize in 2002 for "his great expertise in the Mishnah and Talmud, in Greek and Latin sources, and in the formation of nascent Christianity." He wrote over 80 articles and 12 books, including *Pilgrimage in the Period of the Second Temple* and *Rabbi Akiva ben Yosef: His Life and Teachings*.

[Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

SAFRAN, ALEXANDER (1910–2006), rabbi. Born in Bacău, Romania, he was elected chief rabbi of Romania in 1940, thereby becoming the only representative of the Jewish community in the Romanian Senate. The Fascist government made Safran their first Jewish hostage, but this did not prevent him from making his home the center of the Jewish underground movement. He repeatedly intervened with Romanian government officials, the Church, diplomatic representatives of neutral countries, and other international bodies to alleviate anti-Jewish measures and in 1942 was able to bring pressure on the government to resist the Nazi demand that the Romanian Jews be deported. On the advent of Communism in 1948, he moved to Switzerland and was appointed chief rabbi of Geneva and lecturer in Jewish thought at Geneva University. Safran was active in many international Jewish organizations and wrote books on Jewish subjects.

SAFRAN, BEZALEL ZE'EV (1866–1930), Romanian rabbi. Safran studied under his grandfather Hanoch Henikh Safran of Pomeran, Galicia, Isaac Aaron Ittinga of Lemberg and Jacob Wiedenfeld of Grimailov. He served as rabbi of the Romanian towns of Secueni from 1887, and of Ştefaneşti from 1899. From 1905 until his death he was rabbi of the Romanian oil town Bacău and district. He was regarded as the most important halakhic authority in Romania and virtually every Romanian rabbi addressed problems to him. In his responsa he discusses topical problems, such as mixed dancing at weddings, and the heating of food in an electric oven activated on the Sabbath by a time switch. In his responsa he makes wide use of the Jerusalem Talmud, which was generally ignored as a source by the authors of responsa. J.J. Weinberg described him as "one of the most erudite scholars of our generation," and "a living library of the vast rabbinic literature."

He wrote *Responsa Rabaz* on the Shulḥan Arukh *Oraḥ Ḥayyim* and *Yoreh De'ah* (1930), and on *Even ha-Ezer* (1962); *Yalkut ha-Ḥinnukhi*, responsa on aggadic matters – an appendix to Part 1 of the *Responsa Rabaz; Doresh le-Ẓiyyon*, on the religious duty of settling in Ereẓ Israel (about which he expresses enthusiasm), also included in the *Minḥat Azkarah* (1933), which contains his biography, and letters appraising his *Responsa Rabaz*; and *Yevakkesh Da'at*, glosses and notes to the *She'elot u-Teshuvot Maharsham* of Shalom Mordecai of Brzeziny. *Yevakkesh Da'at* was originally lost but was recovered among the various works saved from the Holocaust.

Safran left a ramified family, many of whom served in the Romanian rabbinate and were later dispersed throughout the world. They included Hanoch Henikh Safran, rabbi of Bucharest and publisher of his books; Dr. Alexander *Safran, chief rabbi of Romania and then rabbi of Geneva; Dr. Joseph Safran, chief rabbi of Jassy; and Dr. Menahem Safran, rabbi of Ploeşti.

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[Itzhak Alfassi]

SAFRAN, JOSEPH (1911–), rabbi and educator. Safran, the son of Rabbi Bezalel Ze'ev Safran, was born in Bacău, Romania. He studied at the Jewish Theological Seminary in Vienna where, among his teachers were Samuel *Krauss and A. Aptowitzer, receiving his rabbinical diploma from the Seminary in 1936 and his doctorate from the University of Vienna in 1937.

In 1938 he was appointed chief rabbi of Jassy, Romania, where he developed a remarkable educational network which strengthened the Jewish educational system of the community, especially after the mass pogrom of 1941.

In 1944 he immigrated to Ereẓ Israel and served as head of the Marriage Bureau of the Chief Rabbinate of Tel Aviv until 1957, when he emigrated to the United States. In the following year he was appointed to the teaching staff at the Yeshiva University in New York and then professor of Jewish Education at the Ferkauf Graduate School of Humanities and Social Sciences at Yeshiva University.

SAFRIN, ISAAC JUDAH JEHIEL (1806–1874), ḥasidic leader. Safrin was the son of Alexander Sender (d. 1818), author of *Zikhron Devarim* (1871), who served as rabbi in Zhidachov, Zhuravno, and Komarno, and founded the Komarno branch of the *Zhidachov dynasty. Isaac Safrin made his living at various times as a stonecutter and bookkeeper, renting a tavern in a village and collecting tolls. His teachers in Ḥasidism were his father, his uncle Moses of Sambor, his father-in-law Abraham Mordecai of Pinczow, and Isaac Eizik of Zhidachov.

Safrin left a diary, *Megillat Setarim* (1944), a book of visions (*ḥezyonot*) similar to Ḥayyim *Vital's *Sefer ha-Ḥezyonot* (1954). It relates dreams, revelations, and his search for "the root" of individual souls. In it Safrin hints that he is the *Messiah the son of Joseph, using the numerical value of the date of his birth תקס"ו (1806) in a Hebrew letter equation of משיח בן יוסף *Meshi'aḥ Ben Yosef* ("Messiah son of Joseph"), though he considered that his soul was the reincarnation of Simeon bar *Yoḥai, Isaac *Luria, and Israel b. Eliezer Ba'al Shem *Tov. Central to his thought was the necessity to bring about the restoration of the world order (*tikkun olam*), considering himself as one who would bring about the imminent End of Days and the Redemption. Thus his attitude toward Shabbateanism combined both attraction and antagonism. Safrin relates in his diary that "from the age of two until I became five years old, I had marvelous visions. A holy spirit filled me and I spoke words of prophecy… and I indeed saw from one end of the world to the other"(*Megillat Setarim*). He tells about his poverty and asceticism; he ate little and slept only two hours daily. He maintained the idea of constant *devekut* ("devotion to God") which is integrated into the pattern of man's life even in acts performed merely for his survival. According to Safrin, *devekut* is a state of constant dialectic tension between the ego (*Ani*) and the divine mystic nothingness (*Ayin*). While aiming at self-denial and lack of consciousness, at the same time one remains conscious of one's own identity and self. "Every man must be in the aspect of *Ayin*… and there [in the aspect of *Ayin*] at every moment the aspects of *Ayin* and *Ani* become one" (*Noẓer Ḥesed*, 2 (1856)).

Safrin reaches radical conclusions in his doctrine of the sublimation of impure or foreign thoughts (*maḥashavot zarot*). The attempt to banish such thoughts entirely from the consciousness he considers heresy, being the denial of the presence of God at every level of existence. Man is obliged to elevate impure thoughts and abolish the evil that is in them by confronting them without utter rejection, despite the possible moral danger resulting from this involvement with the *sitra aḥra* ("other side"; "evil"; see *Kabbalah). To dismiss impure thoughts means putting out the divine spark (*niẓoẓ*) present in evil. According to this theory, many of the disciples of Dov Baer the Maggid of *Mezhirich and other ḥasidic leaders were heretics.

Safrin's works include *Oẓar Ḥayyim* (1858), a kabbalist commentary on the 613 precepts; *Zohar Ḥai*, on the *Zohar (pt. 1, 1875; pt. 3, 1881); *Noẓer Ḥesed* (1856), on *Avot*, including *Sefer Adam Yashar*, remedies against the plague, according to Lurianic Kabbalah; and *Shulḥan ha-Tahor* (ed. A.A. Zis, 1963–65) on *Oraḥ Ḥayyim* of the Shulḥan Arukh.

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[Esther (Zweig) Liebes]

SAGALOWITZ, BENJAMIN (1901–1970), journalist and historian. Born in Vitebsk, Russia, he graduated in law in Zurich, Switzerland. He wrote for Jewish and non-Jewish papers and from 1938 to 1964 was in charge of the JUNA (Juedische Nachrichtenagentur), the news agency of the representative body of the Jewish communities, the SIG (Schweizerischer Israelitischer Gemeindebund).

In July 1942, a German industrialist, Edward Schulte, approached Sagalowitz about the Nazi plan to exterminate European Jewry. Sagalowitz transmitted this information to Gerhard Riegner, the representative of the WJC in Geneva, who informed the free world. However, the U.S. delayed the official publication for months.

After 1945 he was a correspondent for the influential paper *Neue Zuercher Zeitung* and reported from the Nuremberg Trials and later Nazi trials, and also from the Eichmann trial in Jerusalem.

He built a comprehensive archive about antisemitism and the rise of the Nazi system, but also about Jewish-Christian dialog. He was an active Zionist and supporter of Social Democracy. He received Swiss citizenship after living 39 years in Switzerland.

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[Rafi Siano (2nd ed.)]

SAGAN, CARL EDWARD (1934–1996), astronomer. Sagan was born in New York. He graduated from the University of Chicago in 1954, received his doctorate in 1960, and was appointed astrophysicist at the Smithsonian Astrophysical Observatory in Cambridge, Mass. (1962–68), during which period he was also assistant professor at Harvard. In 1968 he was appointed a member of the faculty of Cornell University, where he was David Duncan Professor of Astronomy and Space Sciences and Director of the Laboratory for Planetary Studies. He played a leading role in the Mariner, Viking and Voyager unmanned missions to the planets, and was from 1968 to 1980 editor-in-chief of *Icarus: The International Journal of Solar System Studies.* Sagan served as chairman of the Division for Planetary Sciences of the American Astronomical Society, as president of the Planetology Section of the American Geophysical Union, and was responsible for the Pioneer 10 and 11 and Voyager 1 and 2 interstellar messages.

He wrote *The Atmospheres of Mars and Venus* (1961), *Planets* (1966), *Intelligent Life in the Universe* (1966), *Planetary Exploration* (1970), *Mars and the Mind of Man* (1973), *The Cosmic Connection* (1973), *Other Worlds* (1975), *The Dragons of Eden* (1977), *Murmurs of Earth: The Voyager Interstellar Record* (1979), *Broca's Brain* (1979), and *Cosmos* (1980).

Sagan was the recipient of numerous awards, including the NASA Medals for Exceptional Scientific Achievement (1972), and for Distinguished Public Service (1977), the Prix Galabert (1973), and the Pulitzer Prize for Literature (1978).

SAGIS, family originally from Spain who settled in Brusa, Turkey. Among its members were:

(1) JOSEPH SAGIS (d. 1572), an eminent Safed rabbi and head of a yeshivah there. According to a tradition, which is not accepted, however, he was one of the four rabbis ordained by *Jacob Berab I. In Safed he was the main teacher of Eleazar *Azikri in Talmud, and his influence is clearly discernible in his works. He was associated with Joseph *Caro and Moses *Trani (the Mabit), and his signature appears together with theirs on many rulings. In 1570 he founded in Safed an association of Yirei Adonai ve-Ḥasidim ("God-fearing pious men") who met in the synagogue every Friday to give an account of their actions during the week.

(2) SOLOMON BEN MOSES SAGIS (d. between 1587 and 1589), Safed rabbi. According to one source he was the son-in-law of Isaac *Luria. Among his pupils were Joseph b. Moses *Trani, Ḥiyya *Rofe, and Tovijah b. Abraham ha-Levi, who quotes some of his teacher's novellae in his *Ḥen Tov* (Venice, 1605).

(3) JONATHAN SAGIS (16th century) was one of the important pupils of Isaac Luria and an associate of Ḥayyim Vital. His son-in-law was Moses *Galante I.

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[Abraham David]

SAHAGÚN, town in Leon province, N.W. Spain. Jewish settlement there originated near the monastery, at the beginning of the tenth century. Jews filled the roles of purveyors and craftsmen for the monastery. Subsequently the Jewish quarter was situated in a locality called Santa Cruz. In 1126 the town's 30 Jewish heads of families were handed over by King Alfonso *VII to the jurisdiction of the superior of the monastery. In 1171, the superior gave the Jews of Sahagún land for a cemetery situated in a district of vines outside the town. In the 13th century Sahagún was one of the thriving communities in the north. In 1255 Alfonso X formulated several of the regulations of the Sahagún community, which was granted the *fuero* (charter) of the community of Carrión de los Condes, and he made the community dependent for its internal affairs on *Burgos, a day's journey distant. Among other matters, the amount of ransom for the killing of a Jew was fixed at a total of 500 solidos payable to the head of the monastery, and in 1268 the king further prescribed a special *oath for the Jews of Sahagún. Few details are known about the Jews of Sahagún during the 14th century, but at its close it contained 30 heads of families occupied in agriculture and work for the monastery, around which the life of the town was concentrated. In 1401 Henry III yielded to the request of the community representatives and ordered the head of the monastery to take no steps against the community and to respect its rights. Despite this, Sahagún did not escape the impoverishment which befell the communities of Castile toward the middle of the 15th century. The last information available about the Jews of Sahagún dates from June 7, 1492, a few weeks after the edict of expulsion. This is an appeal from the Jews of Sahagún to the crown to ensure that debts be reimbursed to them, and that they not be imprisoned for nonpayment of debts. Comparison with other communities shows that in Sahagún, too, the Christian inhabitants declined to discharge their debts to the Jews compelled to leave the kingdom.

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[Haim Beinart]

SAHL, MORT (**Lyon**, **Morton Sahl**; 1927–), U.S. comedian and satirist. Born in Montreal, Canada, Sahl worked in experimental theaters, but his success in a San Francisco nightclub in 1953 led to engagements in nightclubs throughout the U.S., and on radio and television. He excelled in monologue, directing his satire mostly at political figures, appealing to young, liberal, well-educated audiences. He prided himself in speaking his truth and "offending everyone." Once close to the Kennedys, he fell out of favor with the family when he made the new president the target of his wit. With Lenny *Bruce, he represented a new kind of stand-up comic, deflating icons and attacking sacred cows. In 1966 he opened his own nightclub in Los Angeles.

He appeared in the Broadway revue *The Next President* (1958) and in *Mort Sahl on Broadway* (1987) and *Comedy To-*

night (1994). On screen, he appeared in the films *In Love and War* (1958), *All The Young Men* (1960), *Johnny Cool* (1963), *Doctor, You've Got to Be Kidding* (1967), *Don't Make Waves* (1967), the documentary *Lenny Bruce without Tears* (1972), *Nothing Lasts Forever* (1984), and the TV documentaries *The Great Stand-ups* (1984), *Jonathan Winters: On the Ledge* (1987), *Sam Peckinpah: Man of Iron* (1992), and *Inside the Playboy Mansion* (2002). He was the subject of the TV documentary *Mort Sahl: The Loyal Opposition* (1989). Sahl was #40 in the film *Comedy Central Presents: 100 Greatest Stand-Ups of All Time* (2004). His book *Heartland* was published in 1976.

[Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

SAHLĀN BEN ABRAHAM (11th cent.), leader of the Iraqi community in *Cairo. Sahlān was a member of an ancient Egyptian family which originated in the town of *Sunbāṭ. He inherited his position from his father Abraham (Barhūn in Arabic), a spice merchant who had become the leader of the Iraqi community. Sahlān was learned, wealthy, and had good relations with the government. He maintained a regular correspondence with the *gaon* *Solomon b. Judah, the head of the *Jerusalem academy, and supported the Jewish population in Palestine. In times of misfortune, the Jerusalem *gaon* appealed to him to intervene in favor of the scholars of the academy. However, as the community leader of the Jews of Iraqi origin, Sahlān recognized the authority of the *geonim* of Iraq and was referred to by the Iraqi title of **alluf*. R. *Hai Gaon, as well as the exilarch *Hezekiah b. David II, supported him when a controversy broke out within his community in the 1030s. He also wrote some religious poems.

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[Eliyahu Ashtor]

SAHL BEN MAẒLI'AḤ HA-KOHEN ABU AL-SURRĪ (second half of the 10th century), *Karaite propagandist and author. Sahl ben Maẓli'aḥ was a resident, and possibly a native, of Jerusalem, whence he appears to have undertaken periodical missionary journeys abroad in search of converts to Karaism from among the local Rabbanite communities. During one such journey, he came into conflict, presumably in Cairo, with an influential Rabbanite elder, Jacob ben Samuel, who was a zealous follower of *Saadiah Gaon and therefore hostile toward the Karaites. When he heard of Sahl's missionary activity before Rabbanite audiences, Jacob addressed a letter to him in Arabic, accusing him of having come to a peaceful community in order to stir up controversy, and then fish in the troubled waters in order to obtain converts to his cause. In reply to this charge, Sahl indited a series of ten short responsa, followed by a long Epistle, both in Hebrew, in which he not only repudiated Jacob's accusations, but also appealed over his head to the Rabbanite community at large to accept his message.

The Hebrew text of Sahl's Epistle (Sahl himself states that "he may write an Ishmaelite (Arabic) version of this Epistle so that he who does not know the Jewish (Hebrew) language may read it." It is not known whether he did so, no copy of it having been discovered so far.) was edited by a 17th-century Karaite scholar, Elijah b. Baruch "Yerushalmi," who added a short foreword citing two (originally three?) of the responsa. The Epistle is prefaced by a Hebrew poem by Sahl criticizing the main Rabbanite doctrines. The work itself appears to be a composite of two original works, a polemical blast at Jacob ben Samuel personally and a Hebrew version of the standard missionary sermon delivered by Sahl, no doubt in Arabic, before Rabbanite audiences. The contrasting tone of these two components reveals Sahl's consummate skill as a propagandist: when addressing Jacob ben Samuel, his language is harsh and his discourse full of angry and contemptuous denunciations; when addressing the Rabbanite public, he assumes a humble and compassionate pose, commiserating with his audience and shrewdly appealing to them to cast off what he characterizes as the heavy yoke of their rapacious and hypocritical leaders, and to go back to the original and pure Mosaic faith, meaning of course Karaism.

The Epistle is of considerable historical value. It is the earliest preserved complete specimen of practical Karaite propaganda, addressed not to the Rabbanite upper class, from which Sahl could expect no sympathy, but to the ordinary Rabbanite man in the street. It describes a number of popular customs and superstitions prevalent at that time among the lower classes, as well as some of the reprehensible practices indulged in by some representatives of Rabbanite officialdom, and it gives some historical details about early Karaite scholars and their works. Sahl's statements are obviously not free from deliberate exaggeration and bias, however, and must be approached with some caution.

In addition to his Epistle, Sahl also wrote (in Arabic) a code of law (*Sefer ha-Mitzvot* and *Sefer Dinim*, presumably two parts of the same work), of which only the Hebrew introduction has been published (by A. Harkavy. *Me'assef Niddahim*, I, no. 13). A tract against Saadiah, mentioned in the Epistle, has not yet been discovered. Fragments of a commentary on the Pentateuch, in Arabic, are also tentatively ascribed to him.

The Epistle was published by S. Pinsker, in *Likkutei Kadmoniyyot*, 2 (Vienna, 1860), 24–43; an abridged English translation appears in L. Nemoy, *Karaite Anthology* (New Haven, 1952), 109–22, 349–52.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: S. Poznański, *Karaite Literary Opponents of Saadia Gaon* (1908), 30–41; Mann, Texts, 2 (1935), 22–29; L. Nemoy, in: PAAJR, 38/39 (1972), 145–77 (including corrections and emendations to Pinsker's text).

[Leon Nemoy]

SAHL IBN FAḌL (**al-Tustarī**; Heb. **Yashar b. Ḥesed**; late 11th century), *Karaite scholar of Tustar, or Shustar, in *Persia. Of his numerous Arabic writings, fragments have been preserved of a commentary on the Pentateuch; a theologico-philosophical treatise entitled *Al-Talwīḥ alā al-Tawḥīd wa-al-ʿAdl*; a disquisition on the *Metaphysics* of Aristotle; and a treatise on incest. Other works by him are known only by title.

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[Leon Nemoy]

SAHLINS, MARSHALL (1930–), U.S. anthropologist. A native of Chicago, he was educated at the University of Michigan, where he received his bachelor's degree in 1951, and at Columbia University, where he received his Ph.D. in 1954. From 1955 to 1957 Sahlins was a lecturer in anthropology at Columbia University. He then taught at the University of Michigan at Ann Arbor, in 1957 as an assistant professor, and later as a full professor. In 1974 he left Ann Arbor to join the faculty of the University of Chicago as a professor of anthropology; he was later named the Charles F. Grey Distinguished Professor of Anthropology Emeritus.

Considered one of the most prominent American anthropologists of his era, Sahlins is known as an ethnographer and historian of Polynesia. His theories about European contact in Polynesia have sparked major debates, and his long-running scholarly debate with anthropologist Gananath Obeyesekere of Princeton University has apparently fueled several works by both authors. Much of this debate has involved differing interpretations of the reception of Captain James Cook by native Hawaiians in 1779. Sahlins in early works argued that Cook had been initially welcomed as the god Lono; on his return a week later, Cook was killed by the natives because of a cycle of worship that emphasized the warlike god Ku. Obeyesekere responded in his *Apotheosis of Captain Cook* (1992), emphasizing what he considered the erroneous influence of European myth models, and arguing that Sahlins's theory implied a condescending view of the native Hawaiians.

Sahlins's 1995 work, *How "Natives" Think: About Captain Cook, for Example*, continued the debate by challenging Obeyesekere's insistence on a practical rationality, which suggests that he is captive to Western concepts. Sahlins questions whether Western scholars (including Obeyesekere, as a Sri Lankan who works within a Western tradition) can ever really speak for non-Western peoples. Called an "analytical masterpiece," the work was said to challenge the definitions and practices of the postcolonial academic world.

Sahlins was a Guggenheim fellow in 1967–1968. He was a fellow of the British Academy and an honorary fellow of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland and of the Association of Social Anthropologists of Oceania. He was awarded the Laing Prize by the University of Chicago in 1978 and 1996, and he received the Staley Prize from the School of American Research in 1998.

[Dorothy Bauhoff (2nd ed.)]

SAHULA, ISAAC BEN SOLOMON ABI (b. 1244), Hebrew poet, scholar, physician and kabbalist. Sahula, who had relatives in Burgos and in the town of Guadalajara in Castile, was a disciple of the kabbalist Moses of Burgos and was acquainted with *Moses b. Shem-Tov de Leon, his fellow townsman. He was also trained in traditional rabbinic studies and in medicine. He lived during the reign of Alfonso the Wise of Castile, and traveled from one place to another practicing medicine and avowing not to be dependent upon his patrons. In 1281 he was in Egypt, when he decided to consecrate his life to writing with a clearly moral purpose. His major work, *Meshal ha-Kadmoni* (between 1281 and 1284), was a book of fables expressly written to displace, with an original Hebrew work, such light literature as *Kalila and Dimna* and the *Voyages of Sinbad the Sailor*, which were read extensively by Jews in the Middle Ages in Hebrew translations. Hence Ibn Sahula introduced in his book a similar structure and mode of presentation, and even added illustrations to his book, as was prevalent in non-Jewish literature. The manuscripts and all the printed editions of the work are embellished with extremely interesting miniatures or woodcuts. Divided into five chapters, *Meshal ha-Kadmoni* contains a large collection of parables, stories, and tales, all written in *maqāma*-like form with pedagogical purpose. He declares his sorrow for the way his contemporaries use Hebrew. The author's mastery of language and exceptional talent as a storyteller are revealed in this work, obscured, however, by the large amount of popular scientific material woven into the narrative. Each section starts with the words of a Cynic against one of the main virtues (wisdom, penitence, sound counsel, humility) that are conveniently refuted by the Moralist; the fifth section, on "reverence," is a diatribe against astrology and determinism. The book contains three quotations of one of the oldest components of the *Zohar*, the *Midrash ha-Ne'lam*, but it is closer to Maimonides than to the doctrines of the Kabbalah. The *Meshal ha-Kadmoni* enjoyed a wide circulation in the Middle Ages. Some fragments of another *maqāma*, discovered and commented upon by Schirmann, in which the author calls himself "Isaac," could also be by Ibn Sahula.

Meshal ha-Kadmoni was reprinted eight times, first by Soncino in Brescia (c. 1491); in 1953 I. Zamora published it in Tel Aviv with a fully vocalized text and with the woodcut illustrations from the Venice edition (c. 1547); in 2004 Raphael Lowe published it with an English translation. Its Yiddish version (1st, Frankfurt on the Oder, 1693), the editions of which outnumbered the Hebrew (nine are known), also appeared with woodcuts. M. Steinschneider and M.Y. Bin Gorion translated some of the stories into German. In addition, Sahula wrote a commentary on the Song of Songs (still in manuscript) in a kabbalistic vein, and a commentary to some Psalms.

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[Abraham Meir Habermann / Angel Sáenz-Badillos (2nd ed.)]

SAHULA, MEIR BEN SOLOMON ABI (1260?, perhaps 1251–after 1335), Spanish kabbalist, younger brother of Isaac Abi *Sahula. During the 1280s and 1290s, and possibly for a longer period, Sahula lived in *Guadalajara, the center of a group of kabbalists. Halakhic responsa were addressed to him in this city by Solomon b. Abraham Adret (Responsa 1: nos. 270–6, 280–92). His teacher in *Kabbalah was Joshua *Ibn Shuaib, a senior disciple of Solomon b. Abraham Adret. Sahula only began to write kabbalistic works in his later years. It is not clear whether Sahula's commentary (1875) on the esoteric material in *Nahmanides' commentary on the Bible is his own or that of his teacher. Sahula himself re-edited one of the commentaries on the kabbalistic allusions of Naḥmanides, taking to task its author and supplanting the original comments with his own. The book that served as the subject of his criticism was not the commentary of Shuaib, but that of another scholar who was not his teacher. He began writing this commentary in 1320, but by 1325 he had only completed the part on Genesis. During that year he began a commentary on Sefer *Yeẓirah which he completed in 1331, after a delay of some years. The preface to this commentary is a lengthy commentary on *Midrash Shimon ha-Ẓaddik*, a kabbalistic book of the circle of *Sefer ha-Iyyun*. The commentary on *Sefer Yeẓirah* is a severe criticism of Naḥmanides' comments on the first chapter of *Sefer Yeẓirah.* It also contains a long passage on the mystical account of creation.

His approach to Kabbalah differs from that of Naḥmanides, Solomon b. Abraham Adret, and the *Zohar, and is based on his own speculations, which he ascribed to *Midrash Shimon ha-Ẓaddik*. In addition, he concentrated on the sayings of the kabbalists of Gerona and of *Asher b. David. When his commentary on *Sefer Yeẓirah* was completed, he began one on *Sefer ha-*Bahir*; apparently he completed this commentary in 1335, and it was published anonymously in the 1883 edition of *Sefer ha-Bahir* under the title *Or ha-Ganuz*. Perhaps the entire manuscript, or at least a major part of his commentary on *Sefer Yeẓirah* in the Angelica Library of Rome (De Capua 53), is in the author's own handwriting. Sahula also wrote a kabbalistic commentary on *Pirkei de-R. Eli'ezer*, which is lost. His comments on *Sefer Yeẓirah* and *Sefer ha-Bahir* are highly arbitrary, and he attributes views to Naḥmanides which contradict the latter's real opinions. The kabbalists of Salonika in the early 16th century were acquainted with his books. Thus, Solomon *Alkabeẓ accused Sahula of "not aiming at the truth." On the other hand, Meir *Poppers praised his commentary on the *Yeẓirah* and made it a basis for his own commentary, *Or Bahir* (G. Scholem, *Kitvei Yad be-Kabbalah*, (1930), 147).

[Gershom Scholem]

SAʿĪD IBN HASAN (13th–14th cent.), Alexandrian Jew who converted to *Islam in 1298, became a fanatical Muslim, and oppressed his former coreligionists and the Christians. Saʿīd relates that the cause for his apostasy was a severe illness during which, in a dream, he heard a voice which ordered him to convert. After his conversion, he requested that a public disputation be held between him and the Jewish and Christian scholars in the presence of the sultan. He prided himself that he would prove from the Bible the veracity of the Muslim claims against Judaism. Saʿīd did not succeed in holding this disputation and therefore wrote a polemical book in which he presented his opinions. This book, *Maṣāliḥ al-Naẓar fi Nubuwwat Sayyid al-Bashar* ("Methods of Study into the Prophecy of the Lord of All Men"), was written in 1320 in the Great Mosque of *Damascus, where Saʿīd lived at that time. In this book he set out to prove that certain verses of the Bible are allusions to the coming of *Muhammad, and that it is forbidden to tolerate the adoration of the icons in the churches; he also means to reveal the real nature of the philosophers. However, Saʿīd's knowledge of the Bible, Jewish history, and other branches of literature was scanty and his book is of low standard. Generally, Saʿīd condemns the Christians more than the Jews. According to him, they are the worst disbelievers because they deify Jesus. The philosophers are the enemies of God and of the prophets, his messengers, and were the inventors of idol worship. Their greatest sin is their belief in the eternity of the world, which he tries to refute in a special chapter of his book.

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[Eliyahu Ashtor]

ŞAINEANU, LAZAR (Lazar Schein; 1859–1934) philologian and folklorist. Born in Ploieşti, Romania, Şaineanu was appointed without salary to teach Romanian language and literature at the University of Bucharest and made a living teaching Latin in a high school. In spite of becoming well known and respected for his contribution to Romanian studies, as a Jew he always encountered general antagonism. He won prizes from the Romanian Academy and was the most prominent Romanian philologist, but was continuously denied Romanian citizenship even after he embraced Christianity. He finally left the country in 1901, taking up residence in Paris, where he taught Romanian folklore at the Ecole des Hautes Etudes at the Sorbonne. There he took the French form Sainéan as his name. While in Romania he contributed to Jewish publications under pseudonyms, writing Romanian Jewish history as well as Yiddish philology. He compiled a Romanian dictionary in four volumes (1895) which went through 84 editions. He also wrote several linguistic and folkloristic studies, his monumental work being a study on Oriental influences in Romanian culture and language (3 vols., 1900). As both a folklorist and linguist, he was interested in the popular elements of language which, in turn, led to his interest in slang. After settling in France he gained considerable notoriety for his studies on French slang and on Rabelais.

He published many books in these fields including: *L'Argot Ancien 1455–1850* (1907); *Les Sources de l'Argot Ancien* (1912, 2 vols.); *L'Argot des Tranchées (1915); Le Language Parisien au XIXe Siècle* (1920); *La Langue de Rabelais* (1922–23, 2 vols.); *L'Influence et la Réputation de Rabelais* (1930). He collaborated on the great edition of Rabelais by Abel Lefranc (1912–22). His opus magnum on French etymology is his *Les Sources Indigènes de l'Etymologie Française* (3 vols., 1925–30) and *Autour des Sources Indigènes* (1935).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Lettres de L. Sainéan…* (1936), preface by C. Şaineanu.

[Abraham Feller]

SAINT-DENIS (Heb. **דיאוניזאן**), a suburb N. of Paris. In 1111 King Louis VI granted the abbot of Saint-Denis jurisdiction over the five Jewish families who lived there. Jews played a considerable role in the economy of the abbey and contributed toward the development of its estates. A special officer, the "provost of the Jews," was in charge of all Jewish affairs. The tax paid by Jews amounted to 40 pounds in 1302. On the eve of World War II several hundred Jewish families lived in Saint-Denis, and in 1941, 325 Jews were still accounted for. A community was reestablished after the war, and its size increased, especially with the arrival of Jews from North Africa. In 1971 there were about 2,000 Jews in Saint-Denis. In the early 2000s it was the scene of a number of antisemitic attacks.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: A. Grabois, in: *Zion*, 30 (1965), 115–9; G. Lebel, *Histoire… de l'abbaye de Saint-Denis* (1935), 212; Z. Szajkowski, *Analytical Franco-Jewish Gazetteer* (1966), 265; Gross, Gal Jud, 151.

[Bernhard Blumenkranz]

SAINTES, town in the Charente-Maritime department, W. France. The presence of Jews in Saintes is explicitly confirmed from 961. A charter of that date even mentions that they all lived together, probably in the street subsequently called Rue Juive, a name it retained until at least 1629 (it was later known as Rue des Jacobins). In 1236, when the Jews of the whole province of Saintonge, or perhaps only those of Saintes, were attacked by crusaders, Pope Gregory IX called on the bishop of the town to protect them. Although threatened with expulsion by *Alphonse of Poitiers in 1239, Jews were still living in Saintes in 1266. The only scholar of Saintes whose name has survived is a certain R. Isaac who ratified a decision of *Samuel of Evreux. Before 1735 Jewish merchants from *Bordeaux and *Comtat Venaissin were trading in Saintes, with the connivance of an important local personality whose house they used as a warehouse and shop. A few Jews lived in Saintes on the eve of World War II, but in 1970 there was no Jewish community.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Gross, Gal Jud, 659f.; H. See, in: REJ, 80 (1925), 179–81; *Bulletin de la Société des arch, de le Saintonge et de l'Aunis*, 17 (1897), 456f.; P.F. Fournier and P. Guébin (eds.), *Enquêtes Administratives d'Alphonse de Poitiers* (1959), 197f.

[Bernhard Blumenkranz]

SAINT GALL, canton and its capital city in N.E. Switzerland. The first document mentioning Jews in St. Gall is dated in 1268; in 1292 two houses in the town were inhabited by Jews. On Feb. 23, 1349, during the *Black Death, the Jewish inhabitants were burned or driven out. Jews were not allowed to settle in St. Gall again until the 19th century.

The mother community of St. Gall was Hohenems in nearby Vorarlberg. From 1617 Jewish businessmen were present in St. Gall on weekdays. After 1810 there seems to have been a de facto presence in the city, against all official rules. Since the government tried to curb the economic activity of the Jews by introducing costly "patents for Hebrews," the Jews successfully boycotted the city and the fees were reduced.

The first synagogue, in a private home, was founded in 1866, and a permanent Moorish-style synagogue built in 1881, serving as the model for the synagogue of Zurich. In 1870 the Jewish population was 158. St. Gall had a distinctly liberal religious orientation until after the engagement of Rabbi Lothar Rothschild (1943–68). The rabbi of St. Gall also serves the Jewish community of Kreuzlingen (near Constance). Jews played a prominent role in the St. Gall textile industry until 1912, especially in the famous embroidery branch. In 1919 refugees from Eastern Europe settled in St. Gall, forming a separate community. German and Austrian Jewish refugees began crossing the border into the canton in 1938, and a refugee care organization was set up there. From 1939 to 1944 the town was the center for preparing Jewish refugee children for *Youth Aliyah to Palestine. In 1944, 1,350 Jews (mostly Hungarian) from *Bergen-Belsen concentration camp were brought to St. Gall (on the "Kasztner transport"), and a year later 1,200 Jews from *Theresienstadt camp arrived there. Police officer Paul Grueninger, later designated as *Righteous among the Gentiles, helped Jewish refugees after 1938. He was ousted from office, lost his pension, and died in misery. Years after his death, citizens fought successfully for his posthumous rehabilitation. A square in St. Gall is named after him.

In 1952 the two Jewish communities united. In 2004 the community had about 153 members. Its future is uncertain, since many young couples have moved to bigger cities. In 1994 the community received state recognition. For many years, Rabbi Hermann Schmelzer (active from 1968), taught Jewish Studies at the St. Gall University.

The community takes care of the Jewish cemetery in nearby Hohenems (Austria/Vorarlberg). Hohenems is home to a well-organized Jewish museum that displays the history of the region, including eastern Switzerland.

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[Uri Kaufmann (2nd ed.)]

SAINT-GILES, small town W. of Arles, France. The earliest implicit evidence of the presence of Jews in Saint-Giles dates from the beginning of the 12th century, with the polemic representation of an allegorical *Synagoga* on the abbey church (western face, southern door). About 1165 *Benjamin of Tudela found there 100 Jews (or heads of families). The community paid the abbot an annual tenure of 100 sols. In the autumn of 1215, Saint-Giles was the site of a meeting of delegates from communities between *Marseilles and *Narbonne who sought to forestall certain anti-Jewish canons which were being prepared for the Fourth *Lateran Council. After the expulsion of 1306, Jews of the locality took refuge in *Provence, and particularly in Marseilles. Scholars mentioned in Saint-Giles by Benjamin of Tudela are unknown from other sources.

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[Bernhard Blumenkranz]

SAINT JAMES'S CONFERENCE (known also as the London Conference), a round-table conference with Jewish and Arab leaders convened by the British government in February–March 1939. After rejecting the partition plan of the Royal Commission (see *Palestine Partition Plans and *White Papers), the British government decided on a drastic change of policy toward Palestine. The round-table conference with Jewish and Arab leaders was to discuss the entire problem. Jewish leaders and representatives of the Palestinian Arabs and, for the first time, the Arab states were invited and convened on Feb. 7, 1939, in the Palace of St. James. Representatives of Iraq, Saudi Arabia, Egypt, and Transjordan attended the conference, together with the Arab delegation from Palestine, headed by Jamal al-Husseini, the lieutenant and kinsman of Amīn al-Husseini, the fugitive leader of the Arab rebellion of 1936–39. The Jewish delegation consisted of the leaders of the Jewish Agency, the Va'ad Le'ummi, Agudat Israel, and some leaders of the Jewish community in Britain. It was headed by Chaim *Weizmann, David *Ben-Gurion, Moshe *Sharett, and Stephen S. *Wise. The Arabs refused to attend joint meetings with the Jews, and the British conferred with each side separately.

The new British policy was based on the assumption that war with Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy was imminent and that the enmity of the Arab world would be a serious threat to British interests in the Middle East, whereas the Jewish side would have no choice in a conflict with the Nazis. The British thus asked that the Jewish leaders "of their own free will dispose of their rights by offering terms of conciliation," as Lord Halifax, the foreign secretary, put it at a conference meeting on February 14. On March 15 the British government offered its proposals, according to which the "ultimate objective" of the government was "the establishment of an independent Palestine State possibly of a federal nature." The new state would be neither Jewish nor Arab, but both nations would "share in government in such a way as to ensure that the essential interests of each be safeguarded." Both the Jewish and Arab delegations rejected the proposals, and the conference ended in failure on March 17, 1939. Two months later, on May 17, 1939, the British government published its statement of policy known as the White Paper 1939 or the MacDonald White Paper.

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[Daniel Efron]

SAINT-JEAN-DE-LUZ, town in the Basses-Pyrenées department, S.W. France. There is no record of the presence of Jews in Saint-Jean during the Middle Ages; it was only from the 16th century that a number of Marranos settled there. In 1612 an official submitted a report to the Conseil d'Etat, notifying it of the presence of a large colony of Marranos. In 1619 Catherine de Fernandés, a woman who had recently arrived from Portugal, was accused of having spat at the Host when she went to receive communion. In spite of the criminal investigation conducted by the royal prosecutor, the populace seized the accused and burned her at the stake in the town square. At the same time a priest of Portuguese origin was also accused of being a crypto-Jew and of having been chosen as priest by a large number of Portuguese New Christians who, in fact, conducted themselves more like Jews than Christians. All the Portuguese New Christians were expelled from Saint-Jean, apparently fleeing to Biarritz.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: M. Philippson, in: *Archives Israélites*, 29 (1868), 1115–17; H. Prague, in: *Annuaire des Archives Israélites 5663*, 19 (1902), 37–52.

[Bernhard Blumenkranz]

SAINT-LÉON, ARTHUR MICHEL (1815?–1870), dancer and choreographer; creator of famous 19th-century ballets. Saint-Léon came of a theatrical family and in the 1830s toured Europe, appearing from 1840–42 at the Vienna Opera. He married the celebrated ballerina Fanny Cerrito, and, until they separated in 1850, choreographed many ballets for her, including his first ballet, *La Vivandière,* in London in 1844. Among the many ballets and divertissements he did for the Paris Opera were *La Fille de Marbre* (1847), *Le Violon du Diable* (1849), in which he displayed his accomplishments as a violinist, and *Stella or The Smugglers* (1850), in which he introduced a group of Jewish merchants. In 1859 Saint-Léon became ballet master of the Imperial Theatre in St. Petersburg and there staged the first ballet on a Russian theme, *The Humpbacked Horse* (1864). Touring the European capitals as a guest choreographer, he restaged many of his own works under different titles, which made his output seem larger than it actually was. After the failure of his ballet *The Goldfish* (1867), he returned to the Paris Opera and was part author of the ballet *Coppélia*, staged in 1870 shortly before his death. In 1852 Saint-Léon published *La Sténochorégraphie ou l'art d'écrire promptement la danse*, an attempt at a workable system of dance notation.

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[Marcia B. Siegel]

SAINT LOUIS, principal city in the state of Missouri, founded in 1764 as a French outpost in the Louisiana Territory. The area became part of the United States under the Louisiana Purchase in 1804. In 1876, the City of St. Louis formally split from St. Louis County, which itself contains numerous incorporated communities. The Jewish community of Greater St. Louis refers to the combined population of the City of St. Louis and St. Louis County. The professional Jewish Demographic Study, conducted in 1995 by Gary A. Tobin, found that the Jewish population in Greater St. Louis (City and County combined) was 59,400 Jews and related non-Jews living in 24,600 households. The *American Jewish Year Book* (2004) estimates the Jewish population of Greater St. Louis at 54,500. Through the years, formal surveys and *American Jewish Year Book* estimates have been remarkably stable, estimating the Jewish population as between 45,000 and 60,000, with most estimates closer to 55,000. The 2004 United States Census lists the population of the City of St. Louis at 343,279, down from its 1950 peak of 575,238. St. Louis County in 2004 had an overall population of 1,009,235. It is estimated that the Jewish population of Greater St. Louis is roughly 2.1 percent of the total.

Pierre Laclede, a French fur trader, founded St. Louis in 1764. In the 18th century, as in other French territories at the time, no non-Catholics were permitted to settle in St. Louis, a situation which would continue until after the Louisiana Purchase. Jews did make trips during this period in the 1760s from New Orleans and across into the English Illinois country.

According to research by St. Louis Jewish historian Donald I. Makovsky, and follow-up work by historian Dr. Walter Ehrlich, the first Jew definitively known to settle in the city was Joseph Philipson, a Jew of either Polish or German origins, who opened a store in St. Louis in 1807. He had immigrated to Philadelphia around 1800 at the age of 34, with his two brothers; they became involved in merchandising and the lead and fur businesses.

Philipson brought $10,000 worth of goods from Baltimore to St. Louis, where he gradually expanded his enterprises to include ownership of a brewery (later one of the major industries of St. Louis), a distillery, a sawmill, large stockholdings in the city's second bank and substantial real estate. Philipson was active in cultural and community affairs, but there is no hard evidence that he helped start the local Jewish community. Cincinnati, a rival city, had its first Jewish congregation within a few years after the arrival of its first Jew in 1817, while St. Louis had to wait 30 years after Philipson's arrival, for the founding of a fledgling congregation.

Early Jewish Activities

During the late 1830s and early 1840s, St. Louis was on its way to becoming the fourth largest city in the United States by 1900. From 1835 to 1840, the city population jumped from 8,316 to 16,349, including fewer than 100 Jews. This small Jewish community formed numerous institutions between 1837 and 1842. Starting in 1837, High Holy Day *minyanim* were held, starting with services on the Mississippi River front. In 1840, 33 Jews contributed funds to establish the first Jewish cemetery. United Hebrew Congregation, originally Orthodox, and now Reform, was started officially in 1841 by 12 men from Posen (Prussia), Bohemia, and England. In 1842, the Hebrew Benevolent Society was formed to care for needy Jews.

In 1843–44, various religious practices were initiated by the United Hebrew Congregation. Regular Ashkenazi services in the Polish tradition were conducted in a rented room.

By 1850, when the city's total population was 77,680, about 700 Jews comprised the community. Most were merchants; only two physicians and one lawyer are known to have been among the Jewish community during this period. Factors which limited the growth of the St. Louis Jewish community included the St. Louis Fire of May 17, 1849, a cholera epidemic, and the Gold Rush, which lured many to California.

Civil War Period

Nearly the entire Jewish community in St. Louis supported the North during the Civil War. Isidore Bush (1822–1898), a member of the City Council and Board of Education, and an early congregational leader, strongly supported emancipation. Only one St. Louis Jew was known to be a slaveholder. When General Ulysses S. Grant issued his infamous antisemitic Order 11 in 1862, against Jews in Union-occupied territory, Mayer Friede (1821–1888), a jeweler and a B'nai El founder, serving as Missouri's first Jewish representative in the state legislature, denounced the order on the floor of the House. He was one of many influential Jews who persuaded President Lincoln to repudiate the order and the antisemitic sentiments it expressed.

Congregational Growth

A group of United Hebrew members desiring a less traditional ritual observance, founded Congregation Emanu El in 1847, made up largely of German Jews. In 1849, a similar group of Bohemian Jews formed Congregation B'nai B'rith. They merged in 1852 to form B'nai El Congregation. A proposed merger with United Hebrew fell through when B'nai El received a windfall gift of $3,000 for a building from the estate of Jewish philanthropist Judah Touro. Competed in 1855 at Sixth and Cerre Streets, the B'nai El building was the first synagogue structure west of the Mississippi.

REFORM MOVEMENT TAKES ROOT. The 1860s was a period of continued growth of Reform Jewish congregations and institutions in St. Louis. The St. Louis Temple Association was founded in 1865, made up of dissident members of B'nai El. By 1867–68, the group was functioning as a nascent congregation, which was formally chartered in 1869, as Congregation Shaare Emeth, the first Reform synagogue in St. Louis, founded as such and part of the national movement. Dr. Solomon Sonneschein (1839–1908) was Shaare Emeth's first rabbi, but in 1866, the congregation's board split over his radical religious views, which resulted in his termination. Rabbi SonnESchein's supporters went with him to found Temple Israel. B'nai El, Shaare Emeth, and United Hebrew, which became

Reform, continue in the 21st century. Other Reform congregations include Temple Emanuel, Central Reform Congregation, Kol Am, and Kol Hanishama.

ORTHODOX AND CONSERVATIVE MOVEMENTS. In the 1870s, at least three Orthodox synagogues were formed, of which Beth Hamedrosh Hagodol (1879) survives. Other Orthodox congregations as of 2006 include Agudas Israel of St. Louis; Bais Abraham Congregation, Bais Menachem-Chabad, Nusach Ari B'nai Zion, Tpheris Israel, Traditional Congregation and Young Israel of St. Louis. B'nai Amoona was founded in 1881 as an Orthodox synagogue but later became Conservative. Shaare Zedek and Brith Sholom Kneseth Israel also serve the Conservative Jewish community of St. Louis.

RECONSTRUCTIONIST AND JEWISH RENEWAL MOVEMENTS. St. Louis is served by two Reconstructionist congregations, the Reconstructionist Minyan of St. Louis and Shir Hadash Reconstructionist Community. There is one local congregation associated with the Jewish Renewal movement, Neve Shalom.

Philanthropic Institutions

In the mid-to-late 19th century, various institutions were created to coordinate fund-raising to serve the entire Jewish community regardless of denomination. These included the Hebrew Benevolent Association (1842), B'nai B'rith Missouri Lodge 22 (1855), which continues to function; and Ebn Ezra Lodge 47, which later merged into the Missouri Lodge. The Hebrew Relief Association was formed in 1871 in the aftermath of the devastating Chicago Fire, which brought many Jewish refugees to St. Louis who were in desperate need of direct relief support. By 1898, various similar organizations merged into the United Jewish Educational and Charitable Associations, which evolved into the present-day Jewish Family and Children's Service. Other groups came together in 1901 to create the Jewish Educational and Charitable Union in order to better coordinate all Jewish philanthropic campaigns. The JECU later changed its name to the Jewish Federation of St. Louis, which continues to serve as the "central address" for all community-wide fund-raising, planning and budgeting for a family of local, national and overseas beneficiary agencies. The Jewish Federation's annual campaign typically raises in excess of $10 million in its annual campaigns, and has also developed a substantial group of major endowment funds.

Eastern European Immigration

The large waves of Jews from Eastern Europe who came to America's shores from the 1880s through the 1920s, included many who chose St. Louis as their new home. The still-famous 1904 St. Louis World's Fair, formally called the Louisiana Purchase Exposition, celebrated modernism and the status of St. Louis as the fourth largest city in the United States. There was considerable work available for the immigrants in building, maintaining, and later dismantling the elaborate infrastructure for the World's Fair, which took place in the city's Forest Park, a facility larger than New York City's Central Park.

In 1880, the St. Louis Jewish community numbered 10,000 in a city of 350,000. The community was solidly "German," part of the larger wave of German immigrants who came to St. Louis after the Revolution of 1848. These largely acculturated and Reform German Jews, often openly expressed distaste and discomfort over their East European co-religionists, but the very institutions the German Jews helped establish – the Jewish Federation, the Jewish Hospital, the Jewish Family Service, etc. helped the East European Jews adjust to life in the New World. Local Jewish historian Walter Ehrlich, author of the two-volume history of the community, *Zion in the Valley: The Jewish Community of St. Louis*, credits the public school experience of young second-generation Jews at high schools like Soldan and University City High School, for having broken down the barriers between the "German" and "Russian" communities through social contact, dating, and eventual marriage.

Another point of positive contact between the German and Russian communities, which had founded rival country clubs – Westwood for the Germans and Meadowbrook for the Russians – was the Young Men's Hebrew Association (YMHA), founded locally in 1896. The YMHA, which later evolved into the present-day Jewish Community Center (JCC), was initially alien to the East European Orthodox Jewish community. The 1902 YMHA banquet featured an appetizer of Blue Point Oysters. Later, the JCC and other major Jewish organizations would accommodate the *kashrut* needs of the traditional Jewish community.

Other communal institutions were established during this period, which served both the "German" and "Russian" Jewish communities, including the Jewish Hospital (1902), now Barnes-Jewish Hospital. The needs of the elderly were served for many years by two separate institutions, the Jewish Orthodox Old Folks Home and the (Reform) Home for Aged and Infirm Israelites, which were later to merge into the Jewish Center for Aged, now the Cedars at the JCA.

World War I Period

The St. Louis Jewish community strongly supported the American war effort during World War I. The local German population, both Jewish and non-Jewish was especially eager to be seen as being pro-American and not in sympathy with Germany and its war aims. Several prominent members of the Jewish community had leadership roles during this period. Louis Aloe, a member of the Board of Freeholders and later of the Board of Aldermen, became acting mayor of St. Louis, when Mayor Henry Kiel fell ill in 1917. Rachel Stix Michael chaired the instruction committee of the Missouri Women's Committee of National Defense, which trained women to fill jobs vacated by men called to military service. Edwin B. Meissner, Sr. (1884–1956), vice president and later president for 19 years of Congregation Shaare Emeth, and president of the St. Louis Car Company, was commissioned a lieutenant colonel in the Ordinance Reserve in 1918. In addition to railroad and streetcar equipment and cars, his plant produced aircraft, artillery carts and munitions vital to the war effort.

Residential and Occupational Patterns
In 1900, the Jewish population of St. Louis was about 40,000, among the total city population of 575,288. The German segment, now a minority, was English-speaking, upwardly mobile, middle class, Reform in its orientation, and moving west from the city into new suburbs, including University City and Clayton, and in later decades, Ladue, Olivette, Creve Coeur, Chesterfield and throughout the metropolitan region, including St. Charles County, which is served by B'nai Torah, an interdenominational synagogue. Initially, the Eastern Europeans, Orthodox, and largely Yiddish speaking in the first generation, remained in the immigrant sections of the city.

In 1920, when the total city population was 772,897, some 20,000 Jews had moved into the Central West End of the City and into St. Louis County suburbs in increasing numbers. The 30,000 Eastern Europeans were now moving west into the suburbs. Congregations which had been located in the city, which split from St. Louis County in 1876, began to move to suburban locations, starting with Temple Israel. By the 1970s, beginning with the formation of Central Reform Congregation and its Rabbi Susan Talve, the Jewish community in the city has made a dramatic comeback, although the overwhelming majority of St. Louis Jewry continues to reside in St. Louis County.

Other Local Institutions
The Orthodox and Conservative communities in 1924 established the Vaad Hoeir to oversee *kashrut* and personal status issues. The Vaad Hoeir was one of the few North American communities to employ a chief rabbi of the Orthodox Jewish Community, starting with Rabbi Hayim Fischel Epstein (1874–1942). He was succeeded by Rabbi Menachem Zvi Eichenstein (1911–1981), who in turn was succeeded by Rabbi Sholom Rivkin (b. 1926), who served from 1981 until his retirement as chief rabbi emeritus in 2005.

Day Schools
The Rabbi H.F. Epstein Hebrew Academy, formed in 1945, was the first Jewish day school in St. Louis. In addition, the community is also served by the Block Yeshiva High School and Torah Prep (Orthodox), the Solomon Schechter Day School (Conservative) and the Saul Mirowitz–Reform Jewish Day School (Reform). There is also a Central Agency for Jewish Education, formed in 1969, which works with the various congregational schools and day schools, and which sponsors a number of adult educational programs as well as the Jewish Community High School among others.

Community Relations
In 1938, following the infamous *Kristallnacht* in Nazi Germany, the local Jewish Community Relations Council was formed, bringing together under one umbrella a current total of 19 Jewish community relations, defense, and communal groups. Among its founding members were the Jewish Federation, B'nai B'rith, and the local chapters of the American Jewish Committee, the American Jewish Congress, the Anti-Defamation League and Hadassah, among others.

Zionism
Chronicled in detail in the book *The Struggle for Zion's Rebirth* by Zionist leader Moses Joshua Slonim, organized Zionism took root in St. Louis by 1898. The first time the Zionist flag flew over an official building was at the Palace of Nations at the 1904 World's Fair. In 1911, several local Jews, led by Simon Goldman, sponsored a settlement in Palestine near Lake Kinneret, called Poriah. The project fell victim by 1916 to a series of misfortunes, but the village *Poriyyah took form on the site of the ruins of the original St. Louis Zionist enclave.

Over the years, a thriving chapter of the Zionist Organization of America, along with Hadassah and other Zionist groups, including the Pioneer Women (now Na'amat), took root and flourished over the decades. Jewish Federation-sponsored "Missions to Israel" and events sponsored by the local chapters of the American Israel Public Affairs Committee and other groups have also contributed to strong local Jewish support of the Jewish community in Israel. During the 1940s, there was an active chapter of the anti-Zionist American Council for Judaism, but the overwhelming majority of the local Jewish community is strongly pro-Israel.

Writers and Chroniclers
St. Louis Jewry has produced locally and nationally noted writers, novelists and poets through the decades, including Howard Schwartz, author of numerous books of poetry, stories, fables and a major work on Jewish mythology published in 2005. Schwartz and Barbara Raznick, director of the Saul Brodsky Jewish Community Library, have also co-edited several editions of *The Sagarin Review, First Harvest,* and *New Harvest*, collections of literary contributions, short stories, poems and life stories by St. Louis Jewish writers. Other writers of note include Louis Daniel Brodsky, a noted poet; historian Max I. Dimont (*Jews, God and History*), Fannie *Hurst, Stanley *Elkin, Harold Brodkey, Howard *Nemerov, poet Michael Castro, Stephen Schwarzchild, A.E. Hotchner, and Glenn Savan. Mystery writer Michael Kahn has also developed a national following, and Ellen Harris has published two acclaimed "true crime" books, including *Guarding the Secrets,* about a local cell of the Abu Nidal Palestinian terrorist organization.

Local Jewish historians include, notably, Dr. Walter Ehrlich, author of the definitive two-volume *Zion in the Valley: The Jewish Community of St. Louis*; Burton I. Boxerman; Murray Darrish, a leading expert on Jewish genealogy and local Jewish history; and Donald I. Makovsky, author of the definitive monograph on Joseph Philipson and his family, the first known Jews from St. Louis.

The back files of the *St. Louis Jewish Light* (first published in 1947; reorganized in 1963), the local Jewish community weekly newspaper, is also an excellent repository of information about St. Louis Jewry, as is the St. Louis Jewish Archives, located in the Saul Brodsky Jewish Community Library.

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[Robert A. Cohn (2nd ed.)]

SAINT-PAUL-TROIS-CHÂTEAUX, town in the Drôme department, S.E. France. The first evidence of Jews in the town dates from 1206, when a Jew named Benicrescas is mentioned in a document. In 1239 a "Tour des Juifs" is recorded. Using the *blood libel of *Valréas as a pretext, in 1247 the bishop of Saint-Paul had the Jews of his diocese thrown into prison after he had stripped them of their belongings; Pope Innocent IV firmly protested against his action. Even after the Dauphiné – in which Saint-Paul-Trois-Châteaux was situated – had come under the authority of the king of France, Jews continued to live in Saint-Paul. However, in 1486 only three families remained there, and there is no further mention of the Jewish community after that date. A Hebrew inscription in the presbytery hall could still be seen at the close of the 19th century.

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[Bernhard Blumenkranz]

SAINT PETERSBURG, Pinellas County, Florida. Florida's fourth largest city, with 61 square miles, is located on the west coast of Florida in Pinellas County (St. Petersburg, Clearwater, Palm Harbor, Largo, Gulfport and Tarpon Springs). It has 234 miles of coastline, mostly on the Gulf of Mexico, and is known as the "Sunshine City." The first-known Jews were Mr. and Mrs. Henry Schutz, who arrived from Germany in 1901 and opened a dry goods store, the only Jewish merchants for seven years. Their store on Central Avenue, which had a basket on a pulley to carry money to a balcony to make change, later served as a temporary home for St. Petersburg High School. Olga and Leon Manket opened a dry good store in 1908; their daughter Anne was the first-known Jewish child born there. The first-known boy was Julius Lovitz in 1909; the Lovitz family were the first-known Jews in Tarpon Springs, a Greek sponge fishing village. Sam Lovitz was known as "Mr. Jew Sam." That family moved to Clearwater, and another relative, Abe Tarapani, had a store in St. Petersburg in 1911, before also moving to Tarpon Springs. The Ben Haliczers had a gas station and tire store from 1910 and had four children in Florida – two in St. Petersburg. Ben's brother Leon arrived in 1921 and had a watch repair store.

In 1920 St. Petersburg had 14,000 people, streetcars, daily band concerts in the park, unpaved streets, and people who went to the Beach to open businesses were thought "crazy." The pioneer Jewish families' names, in addition to those already mentioned, included Jacobs, Davis, Goldman, Sierkese, Cohen, Katz, Heller, Benjamin, Wittner, Rothblatt, Argintar, Lew, Solomon, and Gilbert. Some of these early families had come from Europe first to Key West, Florida, then migrated to other areas of Florida, including St. Petersburg. The Jews faced the "gentlemen's agreement" and antisemitic signs, lived near Central Avenue and had bicycle, jewelry, and grocery stores. On Sundays and holidays, Jewish families would drive through Pinellas County to pick oranges at the groves for 50 cents a bushel or drive to the waterfront and swim, filling jugs with the water that supposedly had health-giving properties – an early spa. In the evenings, the families would congregate in each other's homes to play poker and pinochle while their children played. They ordered kosher meat from Finman's in Tampa, which was delivered by boat across Tampa Bay; often it arrived spoiled, which discouraged many from keeping kosher. By 1925 a bridge was built and the meat came by bus – a big improvement!

The Jews also went to Tampa for religious services until 1923, when Congregation B'nai Israel was chartered and Conservative services were held in a rented store. The first president was Hymen Jacobs, and daughter Goldie Schuster recalls, "The discrimination and the schools were worse than her native Chicago." The first Jewish women's organization, the Ladies Auxiliary, was organized by Dora Goldberg to help the needy. In 1928 Reform Jews founded Temple Beth-El. The membership outgrew its original small home in downtown St. Petersburg, moving to its present location in 1955, and completing the Religious School addition in 2002 to meet the needs of its 600 member families.

During World War II, many Jewish servicemen enjoyed the hospitality of the small Jewish community for Sabbath dinners and the Passover *seder.* Bunny Rothblatt Katz collected scrap metal for the war effort in 1941 with her slogan "Your scrap will whip the Japs." Her father, David, was a legless veteran who owned Southern Grocery and was active in both civic and Jewish affairs. After the war, the Jewish population grew rapidly to about 1,500 families, and the first Jewish nursery school was opened in 1959. Since 1960 Gulf Coast Jewish Family Services has been helping infants, children, families and elders in serious physical, medical, mental, social and financial crisis, enabling them to remain free and independent with families and loved ones. In 1970 Menorah Manor was built to serve the Jewish aged; it includes a nursing home and assisted living facility. Philip Benjamin Tower is an apartment complex adjacent to Menorah Manor. In the early 21st century plans were being made to build a $16 million North County Campus of Menorah Manor. In 1986 the Jewish Federation of Pinellas County approached Jim Dawkins and Karen Wolfson Dawkins to start and publish their own Jewish community newspaper for Pinellas County, *Jewish Press,* which continues bi-weekly.

Opened in 1992 on the grounds of the former Jewish Community Center of Pinellas County in Madeira Beach, The Florida Holocaust Museum (www.flholocaustmuseum.org) – the fourth largest Holocaust museum in the U.S. – moved in 1998 to the heart of St. Petersburg's museum district. The permanent exhibit includes an original boxcar from Poland once used to transport prisoners during the Holocaust. Traveling art and historical exhibitions change regularly, and the museum is currently the only one of its kind in the country to house a permanent art collection related to the Holocaust. The museum was begun as the vision of St. Petersburg philanthropist and businessman Walter Loebenberg, who escaped Nazi Germany in 1939, together with a group of other business and community leaders.

The Jewish Federation of Pinellas County has the following beneficiary agencies: Gulf Coast Jewish Family Services, Pinellas County Jewish Day School, Golda Meir/Kent Jewish Center in Clearwater, and TOP Jewish Foundation. A Jewish demographic study in Pinellas County in 1993 showed 24,200 Jews who live there year round. Most have come from Michigan, Ohio, New Jersey, New York, and Pennsylvania. The congregational roster for Pinellas County includes five Reform, three Conservative, two Orthodox, and one independent.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Archives of the Jewish Museum of Florida – much of the early history written by Goldie Jacobs Schuster, who settled in St. Petersburg with her family in 1920.

[Marcia Jo Zerivitz (2nd ed.)]

SAINT PETERSBURG (**Petrograd** from 1914 to 1924; **Leningrad** from 1924 to 1992), capital of Russia until 1918, now in the Russian Federation; industrial city and major port on the Baltic Sea. Some apostates or Marranos appeared in St. Petersburg soon after its foundation in 1703. Anton Divier, who was of Portuguese Jewish origin, was appointed the first police minister of the new capital in 1718. "The Portuguese Jew," Jan Dacosta, was one of the jesters at the royal court during the first half of the 18th century. Jewish physicians and financiers held various positions in the city during the 18th century: Lippmann was financial agent of the court during the 1720s. In 1738 the proselyte officer Alexander *Voznitsyn and Baruch Leibov of Dubrovna, who had introduced him to Judaism, were burnt at the stake in St. Petersburg. Because of the intolerant attitude of Czarina Elizabeth (1741–62) the few Jews who lived in St. Petersburg left. *Catherine II, on the other hand, was interested in attracting Jewish contractors, industrialists, and physicians to the city, and issued instructions to the authorities to overlook the presence of those "useful" Jews who lived there with their families and clerks and had the protection of court officials. Toward the end of Catherine's reign, there was a large community in the town; most prominent was the contractor Abraham *Peretz, whose household included Mendel of Satanov and J.L. *Nevakhovich. The latter published the first work of Russian Jewish literature, *Vopl dshcheri iudeyskoy*, in St. Petersburg in 1803.

From the end of the 18th century, when St. Petersburg had become the government center for millions of Jews who were incorporated into the Russian Empire after the partition of Poland, communal workers and *shtadlanim* streamed into the city. Many others arrived as a result of their business activities or in search of a livelihood in the prosperous city. During the years 1798 and 1800–01, Shneur Zalman of Lyady, the leader of the C*habad* Ḥasidim, was imprisoned in St. Petersburg. In 1802 a group of Jews leased a plot of land in the Lutheran cemetery, thus laying the foundations of a permanent community in the city. The situation of the Jews worsened with the accession of Czar Nicholas I. He ordered that all Jews living in the city "without doing anything" be expelled. According to the official estimate, there were 370 Jews living in the city at that time. These included craftsmen, merchants, and various *shtadlanim*; most of them were ordered to leave. Regulations were issued authorizing Jews to stay in St. Petersburg on business for a maximum period of six weeks; by a special permit from the local authorities this could be extended to between six and ten months. Right of residence was granted to a number of physicians (including the czar's dentist and the midwife of the royal court). After 1827 many *Cantonists went to St. Petersburg and some of them brought their families to the city. They maintained a prayer house, and those Jews who had to come to St. Petersburg on business found refuge in their homes. The prohibition on Jewish residence was stringently applied; anyone found living in the city without a permit was liable to be pressed into the army. From time to time the police hunted down Jews living in the city illegally. There was a large and increasing number of apostates, most of whom changed their names and disappeared among the general population.

The situation changed once more with the beginning of the reign of Alexander II, especially after the publication of the laws granting right of residence outside the *Pale of Settlement to merchants of the first guild, intellectuals, and craftsmen. Wealthy Jewish merchants and financiers (the families *Guenzburg, *Polyakov, A. *Varshavski, Friedland, L. *Rosenthal, and others), physicians, advocates, and scientists soon settled in the city. Many Jewish students registered at the university and the other higher schools of the city (326 in 1886 and 848 in 1911). The influence of the wealthy and the *maskilim* was decisive within the community. Jews and apostates played an important role in the life of the city as journalists, publishers, advocates, scientists, artists, and physicians. In 1881 there were 17,253 Jews (c. 2% of the total population) in St. Petersburg. Ten years later, after a period of strict supervision of residence rights under Police Minister Greser, there were 15,331 Jews (1.6%). According to the 1897 census there were 17,254 (including 310 Karaites), forming 1.4% of the population. In fact, the number of Jews in the city was greater at all periods, because many, whose right to reside there was dubious, evaded the census officers.

Despite its small numbers, the St. Petersburg community played an important role in Russian Jewish life, thanks to the riches of individual members and their proximity to and influence at the court. The barons of the Guenzburg family, as well as other rich Jews, were considered as the spokesmen of the whole of Russian Jewry before the central government. From time to time gatherings of rabbis and community representatives were called to St. Petersburg for official and semiofficial meetings, at which vital problems were discussed. From the 1860s an organized community existed in the city. The right of a communal vote depended on payment of 25 rubles tax, thus assuring that the wealthy had control of the community. Several leading personalities held the position of **kazyonny ravvin* ("government appointed rabbi") in St. Petersburg, including A. Neumann, A. *Drabkin, and M. *Eisenstadt. Among the traditional rabbis was Isaac *Blaser, who held office from 1864 to 1878; the last rabbi of the community was David Tevel *Katzenellenbogen (1907–30). The poet J.L. *Gordon was the community secretary from 1872 to 1879. After many endeavors and numerous refusals, a magnificent central synagogue, containing 1,200 seats and built in the Moorish style, was completed in 1893. In spite of prohibitions and unremitting police persecutions, the community continued to grow, numbering 35,000 (1.8% of the population) in 1914. Severe *censorship regulations caused the Jewish press (Hebrew, Russian, and Yiddish) to be centered in St. Petersburg from the 1870s until the 1905 revolution. The newspapers *Ha-Meliz* (1871–73 and 1878–1904), *Ha-Yom* (1886–88), *Dos Yudishes Folksblat* (1881–90), and the first Russian daily newspaper in Yiddish, *Der Fraynd* (1903–08), were all published there. Above all, the city was the center of Russian-Jewish journalism and literature. The periodicals *Yevreyskaya Biblioteka* (1871–80), *Razsvet* (1879–83), and *Voskhod* (1881–1906), the Zionist organ *Razsvet* (1907–18), and many other newspapers, were also published in St. Petersburg. One of the outstanding publications was the Russian-Jewish encyclopedia, *Yevreyskaya Entsiklopediya*.

In addition to local cultural and charitable institutions (such as the Society for the Support of Poor Jews, which was established in 1907 to coordinate the activities of the various charitable societies and was recognized as a legal institution under whose aegis their work could be carried out), many nationwide Jewish organizations had their headquarters in St. Petersburg. Oldest of these organizations was the Society for the Promotion of Culture among the Jews of Russia (founded in 1863). Others included *ORT; the Jewish Colonization Association (ICA); the Hovevei Sefat Ever (called *Tarbut after the 1917 Revolution); the Historical-Ethnographic Society, which published the historical quarterly *Yevreyskaya Starina*; and the Society for Jewish Folk Music. The city's Asian museum housed a valuable Hebrew department, based on the library of the wealthy M. Friedland. The Imperial Public Library (now the State M.E. Saltykov-Shchedrin Public Library) contains one of the world's oldest and most important collections of Hebrew manuscripts. Under the initiative of Baron D. *Guenzburg, courses in Oriental studies were opened in St. Petersburg in 1907. It was intended to develop these into a higher institute of Jewish studies. The concentration of public and cultural institutions in the town attracted Jewish authors and intellectuals (these included A.A. *Harkavy, J.L. *Katzenelson, S. *Dubnow, and M. *Kulisher).

With the outbreak of World War I, *YEKOPO ("Jewish Committee for the Relief of War Victims") was established to concentrate all the relief activities on behalf of hundreds of thousands of Jews who were refugees from the battle regions. After the February Revolution in 1917, all residence restrictions affecting the Jews of Petrograd were abolished, and the city became a center of the organizational activities of all the parties and factions of Russian Jewry. In June 1917, the seventh conference of the Zionist Organization of Russia was held in the town. Large numbers attended, demonstrating the strength of the movement and the loyalty of Russian Jews to the Zionist ideal even after they had been granted full civic emancipation. Preparations were also made to convene a general Jewish assembly in Petrograd. During the troubled days in the latter part of 1917 a Jewish battalion under the command of J. *Trumpeldor was formed, made up of Jewish soldiers of the local garrison. Around this battalion a self-defense unit was organized, which protected Jewish lives and property during the revolution of October 1917. The transfer of the seat of government from Petrograd to Moscow (1918) and the shortages and famine reigning in the city during the Russian civil war severely affected the Jewish community. Many Jews returned to their families in provincial towns. In 1920 there were 25,453 Jews (3.5% of the total population) in Petrograd. With the consolidation of the Soviet regime, the number of Jews rapidly increased, to 52,373 (4.9%) in 1923 and 84,505 (5.2%) in 1926. The 1926 census listed their occupations as: clerks (40.2%), craftsmen (14%), laborers (13.5%), government and municipal employees (10.2%), and liberal professions (2.5%); the remainder was unemployed. Organized Jewish life was liquidated in Leningrad as in all places throughout the Soviet Union. A small group of Russian-Jewish intellectuals attempted to continue its literary-scientific work under the new regime. They maintained their former cultural societies and continued to publish scientific and literary periodicals in Russian. By the end of the 1920s, these projects were also liquidated by the Soviet regime. Some intellectuals then left Russia (including S. *Dubnow and S. *Ginzburg), and others were integrated in Soviet life (I. *Zinberg, Yu. Hessen). In a poem, the Hebrew poet H. *Lenski described the atmosphere of the city during the Soviet period. According to the January 1939 census, there were 201,542 Jews (6.32% of the total population). The percentage of academicians among Jews was much higher than in the general population: 123 vs. 31 per 1,000 persons. Many thousands of Jews were drafted into the Red Army, and tens of thousands evacuated. The city was under German siege for 900 days (September 8, 1941–late January 1944), and about 900,000 inhabitants died from fighting activities and starvation, among them tens of thousands of Jews. Also remaining in the besieged city were Jewish writers such as A. Chakovski and Vera Inber, who documented the time. After the war, during the "Cosmopolitan" hunt, many intellectual Jews suffered.

[Yehuda Slutsky]

In the census of 1959, 162,344 Jews were registered in Leningrad but the real number was probably closer to 200,000; 13,728 of them declared Yiddish as their mother tongue. The city had one large, imposing synagogue, from the prerevolutionary period, a wedding room, a poultry slaughterhouse, and a *mazzah* bakery. Thousands of Jews congregated in the synagogue and its vicinity on the High Holidays. The congregation published a Jewish calendar on the eve of Rosh Ha-Shanah in the 1950s and 1960s. In the 1950s the city's synagogue board had a dynamic chairman, Gedaliah Pecherski, who was not only devoted to the religious needs of his congregation, but also initiated petitions to the Soviet government and the municipal authorities asking to be allowed to organize courses in such subjects as Hebrew and Jewish history. One petition was also signed by scholars, among them the non-Jewish authority on ancient and medieval Hebrew literature, K.B. Starkova. The petitions were rejected out of hand, and Pecherski was arrested in 1961 and sentenced to seven years' imprisonment, ostensibly for having "maintained contact with a foreign [Israel] embassy." The rabbi of the synagogue, Rabbi Lubanov, who had been imprisoned in a forced labor camp during the Stalin era, returned to office and was venerated by the congregation as a scholar and spiritual leader.

The department of Oriental and Hebrew studies at Leningrad University was run mostly by scholars, Jewish and non-Jewish, who studied there before the Revolution and who tried to continue the tradition of independent research and scholarly publication in the field of Jewish history, archaeology, etc. Joseph Davidovich Amusin published a book on the Dead Sea Scrolls which became popular with the Soviet public at large. The Saltykov-Shchedrin Library contains a rich section of Hebrew and Yiddish books (about 40,000 volumes) and also displays a number of Hebrew and Yiddish periodicals from abroad, including Israel. Jews and non-Jews frequented this section, though it was generally assumed that "excessive interest" in Hebrew language and literature was viewed with suspicion by the security officials. In 1962 a Jewish drama circle was established, but it soon stopped functioning because of lack of funds.

In 1962–64, as in other parts of the U.S.S.R., the baking of *mazzah* in the Leningrad synagogue was discontinued by the authorities. In 1962, with the intensification of the antireligious drive, directed mainly against Judaism, several Jews were arrested, some of them charged with "illegally" baking *mazzah*. The same year, on the eve of Simḥat Torah, 25 Jewish youths were arrested while dancing in the street near the synagogue. The local newspaper, *Vecherniy Leningrad*, carried an article (Oct. 27, 1962) condemning the synagogue's activity. In 1963 flour for *mazzah* baking was confiscated in private Jewish homes. From 1963 the authorities prohibited the use of the Jewish cemetery, which was finally closed down in 1969. Jews buried their dead in a section allotted to them in the general cemetery. In 1964, when thousands of Jewish youths danced and sang near the synagogue on Simḥat Torah eve, several of them were arrested. Later the militia put up barriers in the street opposite the synagogue to prevent Jewish youth from congregating and dancing on Simḥat Torah.

After the Six-Day War (1967), Jewish youth displayed more openly its identification with Israel in spite of the official anti-Israel campaign. Many started to study Hebrew in private groups; others protested publicly against the refusal to grant them exit permits for Israel and their protests were published abroad. In June 1970 some of them were arrested in their homes and places of work and their trial has not yet taken place (January 1971). Another group of young Jews, mostly from Riga, together with two non-Jews, were tried in Leningrad in December 1970 for allegedly planning to hijack a Soviet plane in order to land abroad and ultimately to reach Israel. Two were sentenced to death and the others to prison terms of 4–15 years. A worldwide storm of protests, including by Communist parties and newspapers in the West, preceded the appeal of the condemned in the Supreme Court of the Russian Republic in Moscow 1971; the death sentences were commuted to 15 years' hard labor and some of the other sentences were reduced.

Though mass emigration reduced its Jewish population from 107,000 in 1989 to 40,000 in 2002, Saint Petersburg reemerged as a vibrant Jewish community after the fall of Communism, with a full range of religious and educational facilities, including a yeshivah and a Chabad House. Most cultural activities were centered in the Grand Choral Synagogue, which included a home for the poor and an orphanage.

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SAINT-RÉMY-DE-PROVENCE, town in the Bouches-du-Rhône department, S.E. France. The presence of Jews in Saint-Rémy is confirmed from 1305 at the latest; at that time all the metal dealers were Jews. The community increased rapidly, augmented by refugees from the kingdom of France. That the community was important is indicated by the fact that it owned several synagogues, a bakery, a market, a butchery, and a cemetery (the last is still in existence). Until 1339 Jews supplied all the meat sold in Saint-Rémy, and the townsmen complained that the ritually slaughtered meat was tasteless. The community continued to exist until 1501 when the Jews were expelled from Provence. At that time several local Jews accepted baptism. There was no subsequent settlement.

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[Bernhard Blumenkranz]

SAINT-SIMONISM, a 19th-century social reform philosophy and movement, inspired by Claude-Henri de Rouvroy, Comte de Saint-Simon (1760–1825). It had prominent disciples of Jewish descent. Its ultimate goal was a technologically oriented industrial society, under a dictatorship of competent scientist-technicians and property-owning businessmen and bankers, inspired by the bizarre ideology of a "New Christianity" shorn of other-worldliness and asceticism. In a nonviolent fashion, caste privileges would be surrendered, work provided for all, rewards allocated according to merit, inheritance abolished, and equality of both sexes established. Saint-Simonism displayed an elective affinity toward the compassionate social messianism of the Hebraic prophets. Revivalist exaltation – upon which the sect eventually foundered – included the expectation of the woman-messiah "Mother," a Jewess from the Orient, who would formulate the new morality and whom the disciples must go out and find. Saint-Simon's earliest apostle was Benjamin Olinde Rodrigues (1795–1851), who was of Jewish origin. He nominated the two "supreme fathers" of the Saint-Simonian temple, Bazard (1791–1832) and Erefantin (1796–1864), and published Saint-Simon's and the disciples' collected writings. Among those Rodrigues introduced into the fold were his brother, Eugene, and his cousins, Emile and Isaac *Péreire with whom, later, he promoted French railway construction and corporate banking. Other eminent Saint-Simonians were Léon *Halévy, Gustave d'*Eichthal, and Jules *Carvallo. The active presence of the Jewish element sparked the violent reaction of both the Socialist Fourier and Catholic Church spokesmen, who denounced Saint-Simonism as a Jewish plot to subvert civilization. After due consideration it was rejected by Marx and Engels, together with all other pre-Marxist doctrines. However, among the contemporaries who were impressed by the doctrine were the historians Carlyle and Michelet, the sociologist Comte, the composers Berlioz and Liszt, and the author George Sand, in addition to such German Jewish intellectuals as Eduard *Gans, Heinrich *Heine, Rahel *Varnhagen, and Moritz *Veit.

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[Hanns G. Reissner]

SAINT-SYMPHORIEN-D'OZON, village in the Isère department, S.E. France. When the village was ceded to *Dauphiné by *Savoy, there was already an important Jewish community there, which in 1355 was granted advantageous privileges: freedom to bequeath both movable and immovable property; permission to engage in commerce and moneylending; exemption from various tolls; liberty of movement; and protection of the community against judicial irregularities. The numerical and economic importance of the community can be gauged from the fact that it paid almost half of the taxes imposed on the Jews of Dauphiné. In 1408 the municipality asked the dauphin to reduce the rate of interest of Jewish moneylenders from 50% to 25%. In the course of the 15th century the Jewish community ceased to exist.

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[Bernhard Blumenkranz]

SAITOWITZ, STANLEY (1949–), U.S. architect. Saitowitz was born in Johannesburg, South Africa, and became professor of architecture at the University of California. Known in California for a variety of buildings, especially lofts, and home design, as well as the award-winning New England Holocaust Memorial (1995) in Boston, Saitowitz's wide-ranging works also include schools, synagogues, skate parks, a house for the drummer of Metallica, and the San Francisco Embarcadero Promenade. He experimented with fusing elements of modernism with classicism. He was cautious in his use of computer-assisted designs, preferring to maintain the conceptual integrity of his designs. Speaking at Yale University in 2004, Saitowitz described his theory of "expanded architecture" to mean that he tends to focus on air rather than substance in his designs, in order to create a world of what he called "constructed emptiness." His buildings are constructions of bars and rectangles characterized by wide, empty expanses and light. From his early houses in the Transvaal to his recent urban loft structures in the Bay area, he has focused on bringing light into his interiors. His loft buildings seem to squeeze remarkable spaces into densely crowded urban spaces. The Yerba Buena Lofts, south of Market Street in San Francisco, is a 300,000 square foot building containing 196 loft and live-work units, plus ground floor commercial space. His work has been described by Robert A.M. Stern, dean of the Art and Architecture School at Yale, as a "free-wheeling modernism." He is conscious of the environmental effect of his buildings. For example he designed a house in Napa Valley, CA, whose rusted walls were meant to reflect the seasonal changing of the colors of the landscape. Such characteristics suffuse the New England Holocaust Memorial in Boston, which depends on air and light, and their opposite, darkness and shadow, for their dramatic effects. Situated in the very heart of downtown Boston, the Memorial has an open and airy feeling that contrasts sharply with its underground component and its fiery pit. The design features six 54″ high glass towers lit from within. Their sides are etched with six million numbers suggesting the tattoos on the arms of murdered Jews. A black granite path passes under the towers. At the base of each tower, there is a stainless steel grate that covers a six foot deep chamber where the names of the primary Nazi death camps are inscribed. Smoldering coals at the base of each pit illuminate these names. Saitowitz hoped to convey the ungraspable nature of the Holocaust, as well as survival and hope.

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[Betty R. Rubenstein (2nd ed.)]

SAJAROFF, MIGUEL (1873–1958), pioneer of agrarian cooperativism in Argentina. Born in Mariupol, the Crimea (Russia), he earned a degree in agronomical engineering in Wittenberg, Germany. Under the influence of Tolstoyan thought, he aspired to become a farmer and live close to nature. Acquiescing to the request of his brother-in-law, Noah *Yarcho, he went to Argentina in 1899 and settled in the Colonia Leven, Entre Ríos, as an "independent settler," on land granted him by the *Jewish Colonization Association (ICA). He hoped to improve the economy and the cultural life of the settlement by participating in the establishment of the cooperative Fondo Communal in Domínguez in 1904. After assuming its presidency in 1908, he advocated and promoted the development of agricultural cooperatives not only in all the Jewish settlements but also throughout Argentinean life. After his death a town in the province of Entre Ríos was named Ingeniero Miguel Sajaroff.

[Lazaro Schallman]

SAKEL, MANFRED JOSHUA (1900–1957), Austrian psychiatrist. Born in Nadvorna, Galicia (then Austria), Sakel went to Berlin, where he specialized in treating addicts. On an accidental overdosage of the then newly discovered insulin, given to an addict who was diabetic, he observed that the patient lost her craving for narcotics. Sakel then started his experiments with the insulin cure for therapeutic purposes in schizophrenic patients. After the rise of Hitler, Sakel returned to Vienna and continued his work at the University Clinic, the birthplace of Wagner-Jareggs' experimental malaria treatment and a center of therapeutic initiative. It was here that Sakel developed the details of the insulin coma treatment, which for many years was the standard therapy in schizophrenia, especially in its early stages. In 1935 he published his dissertation on insulin therapy; *Neue Behandlungsmethode der Schizophrenie*. In 1936 Sakel emigrated to the U.S. and continued his work at the New York State Mental Health Department. He refused many offers of academic appointments, preferring to remain independent. He died in New York. His two principal works, *Epilepsy* (1958) and *Schizophrenia* (1958), were published posthumously. A Sakel Foundation was established, which arranged two international congresses, one in 1959 and one in 1962, that dealt with the topic of biological therapy and, especially, insulin cure.

Sakel was a fervent Zionist and politically supported the *Irgun Ẓeva'i Le'ummi movement.

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[Heinrich Zwi Winnik]

SAKIAI (**Shakyai** or **Shakyay**; Heb. **Saki**; Ger. **Schaken**; Pol. **Szaki**; Rus. **Shaki**), city in S.W. Lithuania. The first Jewish settlement was in the 18th century, and in 1897 there were 1,678 Jews (74% of the total population) in the town. In 1915 the Russian retreat during World War I brought pogroms against the Jews, who soon emigrated from Sakiai. When the war ended, some Jews returned, and in 1923 there were 1,276 Jews (62% of the total population) in the town. When the town became a district capital, the economic condition of the Jews began to deteriorate. Many immigrated abroad or to the large cities; a 1936 census showed that only 600 (20% of the total population) had remained in Sakiai. With the German invasion of 1941 the community was destroyed. Sakiai was the birthplace of the brothers Dov (Boris) and Isaac Leib *Goldberg.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Yahadut Lita*, 3 (1967), 396.

[Yehuda Slutksy]

SAKOWITZ, BERNARD (1907–1981), U.S. retailer. Sakowitz was born in Galveston, Texas, five years after his father, Tobias, and his uncle Simon co-founded the specialty store that carried the family name in nearby Houston. Under Bernard Sakowitz's leadership, Sakowitz Brothers would not only become a Houston institution but would enjoy national prominence. It would never go public but remained the last of the family-owned major specialty chains in the U.S. Sakowitz left Texas to attend the Wharton School of Commerce at the University of Pennsylvania, earning a B.S. in 1929. Almost immediately, he began his retail career at R.H. Macy & Co. in New York City, but before the year was out he returned to Houston to join the family business. He married the former Ann Baum in 1933. They had two children, ROBERT (1938–), who would eventually head the store, and LYNN, who would marry Oscar Wyatt, a controversial energy tycoon, and become an internationally distinguished hostess. In 1937, Sakowitz was named vice president in charge of merchandising. He served as a captain with the U.S. Army Air Force during World War II, then rejoined the store. In 1957, he was appointed president of the company, which by then had opened four stores in Houston. Two years later, Sakowitz expanded to the suburbs, building a store on Westheimer Road. The move turned that location into a robust retail destination. Neiman-Marcus soon joined Sakowitz there, as did the Galleria shopping mall, and the area became known as Uptown Houston. In the 1960s, Sakowitz opened branches in other cities, including Dallas and Midland, Texas, and Phoenix, Arizona. By the 1970s, the chain had 17 specialty stores in Texas, Arizona, and Oklahoma. Sakowitz, who was named Retailer of the Year by *Esquire* magazine in 1972, became chairman in 1975. He was succeeded as president by his son, who had joined the business in 1963 after graduating from Harvard University. When Sakowitz died in 1981, Robert added the titles of chairman and chief executive officer. Bernard Sakowitz was a prominent member of the Houston community. His interests ranged from the Houston Farm and Ranch Club to the city's Contemporary Music Society. He was on the board of Congregation Beth Israel and was a director of the Texas Medical Center and St. Luke's Episcopal Hospital, leading many fundraising campaigns for cancer research. Within four years after his death, a recession in the oil industry, upon which the Houston area was so dependent, had taken its toll and the store declared Chapter 11 bankruptcy. Hooker Corporation of Australia funded the Chapter 11 petition and took majority control, but to no avail. Sakowitz was put up for sale, but liquidated in 1990 after failing to find a buyer.

[Mort Sheinman (2nd ed.)]

SAKS, GENE (1921–), U.S. director, actor. Trained as an actor at the Dramatic Workshop of the New School for Social Research, a precursor of the Actors Studio, Saks was a cofounder of an acting troupe in the late 1940s. He made his Broadway acting debut in *Juno and the Paycock* (1947). He began directing on Broadway in 1963 with Carl *Reiner's play *Enter Laughing*, and went on to excel in staging comedies and musicals, including *Mame* (1966), which featured his then wife, Beatrice Arthur, and *Same Time, Next Year* (1975). But he became best known for his deft touch with comedic plays by Neil *Simon. He directed Simon's autobiographical trilogy *Brighton Beach Memoirs* (1983), *Biloxi Blues* (1985), and *Broadway Bound* (1986). He also directed several Simon movies, including *Barefoot in the Park* (1967), with Robert Redford and Jane Fonda, *The Odd Couple* (1968), with Jack Lemmon and Walter *Matthau, and *Last of the Red Hot Lovers* (1986). He made his film acting debut in 1965, recreating his stage role as a paranoid kiddie-show host, Chuckles the Chipmunk, in *A Thousand Clowns.*

[Stewart Kampel (2nd ed.)]

°**SALADIN** (**Salah al-Dīn, Yūsuf ibn Ayyūb**; 1138–1193), founder of the dynasty of *Ayyubid sultans, of Kurdish origin. In 1169 he was elevated to the rank of vizier in Egypt, which was then still under the weak dominion of the *Fatimids.

In 1171 he removed the last Fatimid sultan, al-ʿĀḍid, from his throne, thus returning Egypt to the nominal rule of the *Abbasid caliphs by mentioning the name of al-Mustaḍī, the caliph who then ruled in Baghdad, in the Khuṭba (the sermon of the festive Friday prayer), and on coins. For a while, Saladin considered himself to be a vassal of Nūr al-Dīn, the Seljuqid *atabek* (maior domus) and ruler of Syria who lived in Damascus and had established the state which was a serious challenge to the crusaders in Ereẓ Israel and Syria. Immediately after the death of Nūr al-Dīn in 1174, however, Saladin seized control of Syria. In a brilliant and rapid campaign, in 1187, at the head of 12,000 horsemen, Saladin conquered Tiberias, Hattin, and Jerusalem, and almost the whole of Ereẓ Israel fell into his hands. These victories prompted Christian Europe to organize the Third Crusade (1189–92). In the meantime, Saladin's treasury had become empty and his troops were halted before Tyre, where some of them deserted him. The crusaders succeeded in occupying Acre after a siege which lasted two years (1189–91), and Saladin was compelled to sign a peace treaty with the king of England, Richard the Lionhearted, according to which the Ereẓ Israel coastal region from Jaffa to Tyre remained in the hands of the crusaders. Saladin died a short while later.

The attitude of Saladin toward the Jews, the Christians, and even the defeated Christians who lived under his rule, was most tolerant. According to Judah *Al-Ḥarizi, he issued a manifesto in 1190 in which he called upon the Jews to settle in Jerusalem (their presence in the town had been prohibited during its occupation by the Crusaders). Indeed, when Al-Ḥarizi visited Jerusalem in 1216, he found an important community which was composed of immigrants from France, the Maghreb, and former inhabitants of Ashkelon. Ibn Abi Uṣaybiʿa, a friend of *Abraham ben Moses b. Maimon, relates that *Maimonides was the court physician of Saladin and of his son al-Malik al-Afḍal, and that both greatly honored the Jewish physician and scholar. It appears, however, that there is no historical basis to this information.

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[Haïm Z'ew Hirschberg]

SALAMAN, English family. CHARLES KENSINGTON SALAMAN (1814–1901), pianist and composer, was elected a member of the Royal Academy of Music at the age of ten, and made his debut on the concert platform in 1828. After completing his music studies in Paris, he returned to London in 1831 and, besides composing, teaching, and giving recitals, devoted much time to promoting the musical life of the capital. He inaugurated an annual series of orchestral concerts (1833), founded London's first amateur choral society (1849), helped to establish chamber concerts (1853), and was one of the founders of the Musical Society of London (1858).

In 70 years of composing, Charles Salaman produced many works for piano, organ, and orchestra, and a comic opera, *Pickwick* (1889). He was especially prolific as a writer of songs in English, Italian, and Hebrew and of devotional music for the synagogue. An early advocate of Reform Judaism, he composed more than a hundred settings for the service of the West London Synagogue, as well as anthems and settings of psalms. Several of his anthems were used by Anglicans, and his setting of the 84th Psalm was sung at the reopening of Worcester Cathedral. He wrote *Jews as they Are* (1882, 1885²). Four of Charles Salaman's sisters rose to prominence in art and literature. JULIA SALAMAN (1812–1906), who married Louis Goodman, was a well-known portrait artist who exhibited at the Royal Academy from 1838–1901. Her younger sister KATE SALAMAN (1821–1856) was noted for her miniature portraits. RACHEL SALAMAN married Sir John *Simon in 1843, and wrote *Records and Reflections*, selected from her writings during half a century (1894). ANNETTE SALAMAN (d. 1879) assisted in compiling a second edition of *Footsteps in the Way of Life* (1874²), an illustrated guide to the Bible, and the children's story book *Aunt Annette's Stories to Ada* (1876¹; 1879⁵).

Charles Salaman's oldest son, MALCOLM CHARLES SALAMAN (1855–1940), was a drama and art critic. From 1883 to 1894 he was a drama and art critic of the *Sunday Times* and, from 1890 to 1899, was also on the staff of the *Daily Graphic*. In the art world he was regarded as England's outstanding authority on color prints and woodcuts.

His numerous books on prints included *The Old Engravers of England* (1906), *Old English Colour-Prints* (1909), *The Great Painter-Etchers from Rembrandt to Whistler* (1913), and the series *Modern Masters of Etching and Masters of the Colour Print*. From 1923 to 1938 he published an annual review, *Fine Prints of the Year*. He edited the published plays of Sir Arthur Wing Pinero (1891–1900). Three of his own plays were staged – *Deceivers Ever* (1883), *Dimity's Dilemma* (1894), and *A Modern Eve* (1894). He also wrote a large number of song lyrics.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Grove, Dict; MGG; DNB.

[George H. Fried]

SALAMAN, REDCLIFFE NATHAN (1874–1955), pathologist and geneticist. He was director of the Pathological Institute of the London Hospital from 1901 to 1904. His later scientific investigations were devoted chiefly to the genetics and diseases of the potato, and in 1926 he was appointed director of the potato virus research station in Cambridge. One of his major achievements was the initiation of stocks of virus-free seed potatoes. He wrote *Jewish Achievements in Medicine* (1911) and *Racial Origins of Jewish Types* (1922). Two books on his specialty were *Potato Varieties* (1926) and *The History and Social Influence of the Potato* (1949). In 1935 he was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society.

During World War I Redcliffe Salaman served in Palestine and in 1920 published *Palestine Reclaimed*. He had a lifelong commitment to the Jewish community and to Zionism, was a trustee of Jews' College, London, and a governor of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. He also served as president of the Jewish Historical Society of England, the Jewish Health Organization of Great Britain, and the Jewish Commission for Relief Abroad. His first wife, NINA RUTH SALAMAN (née Davis; 1877–1925), was well known as a poet and translator of medieval Hebrew poetry. Her own verse included *Apples and Honey* (1921) and she translated *Judah Halevi's poems (1924). Their son, MYER HEAD SALAMAN (1902–1994), was a bacteriologist and doctor. Engaged in cancer research and pathology in World War II, he joined the Department of Cancer Research, London Hospital Medical College, in 1946, where he became director in 1948.

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[George H. Fried]

SALAMANCA, city in western Spain. The Jewish settlement of Salamanca seems to have been one of the oldest in the kingdom. From its start at the time of Christian rule, the Jewish quarter was close to the old citadel. The first documents mentioning Jews in Salamanca date back to the end of the 12th century. In the *Fuero* granted to the city by Fernando II, the Jews enjoyed judicial equality with the Christians. Following the death of Alfonso IX of León, the Jews of Salamanca were severely attacked but soon recovered, and the community became one of the strongest and most prosperous in the area. In the middle of the 13th century a *barrio de iudeis* is mentioned. Later the quarter was called *iuderia*. In the second half of the 13th century three synagogues are mentioned: the *vieja* (old), the *menor* (small), and the *nueva* (new). At that time many of the streets in the Jewish quarter were well known; one of the synagogues was situated in that leading down to Calle Postigo Ciego, where the Jewish shops and workshops of the Jews were located. At the beginning of the 13th century the city was granted a charter (*fuero*) which included important sections relevant to the local Jews, and full rights of protection and justice equal to those of the other natives of Salamanca, Christians and Moors. At each feast of the nativity the Jews of Salamanca had to pay 15 gold pieces to the crown. The charter also regulated several matters regarding the slaughter of *kasher* meat and its sale in the town and Jewish quarter. In 1285 the community was made to pay 1,800 maravedis as a special war tax. At that time there were some 300 to 500 Jews in Salamanca. The Jews were merchants, moneylenders, physicians, shoemakers, and parchment makers.

From the 14th century several resolutions of the town council regarding the affairs of its Jews are known. In 1335 the council forbade Christians to receive medical aid from Jew or Moor; it was forbidden for Jewish or Moorish wet nurses to tend Christian children; Christians were forbidden to serve in Jewish houses; Jews and Moors were forbidden to rent houses in the neighborhood of the Christian churches and cemeteries. Four years later (1339) *Alfonso XI confirmed the privilege of the Jews of the town, dispensing them from appearing before Christian judges, lay or ecclesiastic, in matters concerning the collection of debts owed them by Christians, though, in principle, they had to be judged by Christian judges in mixed lawsuits. Toward the end of the 14th century R. Menahem b. Ḥayyim he-Arukh (d. 1425) was active as rabbi of the community. He approached *Isaac b. Sheshet Perfet (Responsum 251) in regard to the sentencing of two murderers who attacked a member of the community under orders from the *alcalde* (mayor) of the town. Isaac b. Sheshet permitted him to sentence them to death and execute them, but at the same time pointed out that the whole affair belonged to the jurisdiction of the king. In 1389 the Jews requested permission to erect a new synagogue, as one of their synagogues had been confiscated.

The sparing of the community of Salamanca during the persecutions in 1391 was accomplished by Vicente *Ferrer, who came to the town and preached in its synagogues in 1411–12. He succeeded in persuading many to convert, and one of the synagogues was turned into a school named "The True Cross." In 1413 Juan II conferred upon the University of Salamanca the *bet midrash* with its courts and all that belonged to it, most of the community having left Judaism by then. In place of the *bet midrash*, a hostel for pupils of the university was set up.

It would appear that the community recovered in the course of the 15th century. Yet instead of the yearly tax of 14,740 maravedis in the old coinage, it only paid the sum of 1,200 maravedis in 1439. In 1456 the community was accused of murdering a Christian child (Joseph ha-Kohen, *Emek ha-Bakha* (1895), 93). However, Henry v intervened in time, and the Jews of the town were saved from the danger. Abraham b. Samuel *Zacuto, who was born there, was engaged in 1480 in astronomical work by the bishop of Salamanca. His *Sefer Yuḥasin* is the most important chronicle written by a Jew from Sefarad.

In 1490 the community participated in the sum of 208,600 maravedis toward the redemption of the Jewish captives of *Málaga. When preparing to fulfill the order of expulsion, the community sold its synagogues and cemeteries. But on June 25 the crown forbade the sale or purchase of all congregational property. On July 30 the old synagogue was handed over to the head of the Church in the town, and he converted it into a residence. Abraham *Seneor, together with Luis de Alcalá, received the right to collect the debts which the Jews left behind. There were many Conversos in Salamanca, and there is also knowledge of Conversos who went there in order to revert to Judaism. On Oct. 25, 1490, theologians and jurists gathered there at the instigation of the monk Fernando de Santo Domingo to hold a *consulta de fé* in the matter of the child *La Guardia. Upon the expulsion, the Jews of Salamanca crossed the border to Portugal near Ciudad Real. Even after the expulsion the University of Salamanca continued to be a center for Hebrew studies, and in the 16th century some of the best intellects of Spain were concentrated in it.

The Jewish quarter in Salamanca, which was in the southwest of the city, was not exclusively inhabited by Jews, some of whom lived outside it.

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[Haim Beinart / Yom Tov Assis (2nd ed.)]

SALAMON, ERNO (1912–1943), Hungarian poet. Born in Gyergyószentmiklós, Transylvania (now Gheorghieni, Romania), Salamon joined the clandestine Communist Party at Cluj. As a journalist of the left, he was persecuted for his political activities, first by the Romanians and, after 1940, when northern Transylvania was annexed to Hungary, by the Hungarians. He was also imprisoned several times. In 1942, Salamon was mobilized into a forced labor unit of the Hungarian army and sent to the eastern front. During the Hungarian retreat, he caught spotted typhus and, delirious with fever, ran amok and was shot to death by Italian soldiers. Salamon is considered one of the outstanding modern Hungarian poets. Although his chief subject was the suffering of the exploited workers, Salamon also wrote daringly expressive love poems.

During his lifetime, he published two collections of verse, *Gyönyörú sors* ("A Wonderful Fate," 1937), and *Szegények küszöbén* ("On the Threshold of the Poor," 1938). Others appeared in an anthology published by a group of young Jewish intellectuals, with the support of the Cluj B'nai B'rith, entitled *Kelet és Nyugat között. Zsidó fiatalok antológiája* ("Between East and West – An Anthology of Young Jews," 1937). Salamon contributed verse to the left-wing press, wrote plays, and translated poems from the Romanian. After World War II some of his works appeared in an anthology which also contained poems by two other Transylvanian-Jewish poets who died in the Holocaust, Sándor Korvin and Viktor Brassai; and volumes of Salamon's selected poems were published in Bucharest, "*Dal utódoknak*" (1961, 1967^2); *Összegyüjtött versek* (1966); and in Budapest, *Mindmáig békétlenül* (1966). On the occasion of the 25th anniversary of his death, a statue of Salamon was erected in his birthplace.

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[Yehouda Marton]

SALANT, JOSEPH SUNDEL BEN BENJAMIN BENISH (1786–1866), spiritual father of the *Musar movement. A pupil of Ḥayyim *Volozhiner and of R. Akiva *Eger, he lived in Salant in Lithuania. Despite his great learning, he refused to accept a position as rabbi and barely earned a living as a small merchant, working only a few hours a day and for the rest of the day studying Torah. He conducted himself with extreme modesty, dressing as a humble peasant and never indicating his knowledge of the Torah. In 1831, during the Polish revolution, he was suspected of spying and miraculously saved from hanging. The First of Kislev, the day of his deliverance, was observed by his descendants as a holiday. In 1837 he went to Ereẓ Israel, settling in Jerusalem. While he was still in Vilna, the heads of the Vilna *kolel* in Jerusalem appointed him to be their rabbi. However, when his son-in-law, R. Samuel *Salant, went to Ereẓ Israel he vacated the office in his favor. Nevertheless, many continued to turn to R. Joseph Sundel. He established several institutions in Jerusalem, but occupied no official position in them. In Jerusalem too he refused to support himself from public funds and opened a vinegar factory. His humility and good-heartedness, which became legendary, greatly influenced his student R. Israel *Lipkin (Salanter), founder of the Musar movement, who held up Joseph Sundel as the ideal ethical man. In his will he requested no title of honor. He had two additional distinguished sons-in-law, Uri Shabbetai, a member of the Jerusalem *bet din*, and Nathan Nata Natkin, one of the emissaries of the Holy Land.

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[Itzhak Alfassi]

SALANT, SAMUEL (1816–1909), chief rabbi of *Jerusalem and one of the foremost 19th-century rabbis in Jerusalem. Born near Bialystok (Russia, now Poland), Salant studied at yeshivot in Vilna, Salant, and Volozhin. His second wife was the daughter of Joseph Sundel *Salant, who had inspired the Musar movement, and he continued studying at his father-in-law's house. He set out for Ereẓ Israel in 1840, but was delayed for a few months in Constantinople, where he first met Sir Moses *Montefiore, with whom he established a firm friendship. In 1841 he reached Jerusalem, where the heads of the *kolel Lita* appointed him rabbi of the Ashkenazi community. A leading figure in Jerusalem, he became Ashkenazi chief rabbi in 1878, holding the position until his death. Salant strove to develop the institutions of the Ashkenazi community, which increased from 500 members at his arrival to 30,000 at the time of his death, and succeeded in obtaining for the Ashkenazim the official status previously enjoyed only by the Sephardi community. Between 1848 and 1851, and in 1860, he traveled to several European countries to collect money for religious institutions in Jerusalem. Salant was a founder of the Eẓ Ḥayyim Talmud Torah and Yeshivah, the Bikkur Ḥolim Hospital, and the Keneset Israel General Committee, which united all the *kolelim* under a single administration. He also encouraged the establishment of the Jewish quarters, such as Me'ah She'arim, Keneset Israel, and others, outside the Old City walls. His only son, BEINUSH, was one of the seven founders of the Naḥalat Shivah quarter. Salant's attitude to the Haskalah movement and Zionism was moderate. He favored the introduction of Hebrew and Arabic into the curriculum of the Talmud Torah schools and opposed the excommunications pronounced by zealots on "modernists." He also tried to lessen the friction between the veteran settlement and the new *yishuv*, combated the activities of the mission schools and ameliorated the relations between the Ashkenazi and Sephardi communities.

Salant lived an exemplary life of the utmost frugality. He devoted himself without stint to the needs of his community, even in the last years of his long life when his eyesight was affected. In his method of study he tended toward the plain meaning, eschewing *pilpul*, and followed the *minhag* of *Elijah b. Solomon Zalman, the Gaon of Vilna. He was an outstanding *posek*, distinguishing himself by his power of decision, and showed a definite tendency toward leniency in his decisions.

Some of his novellae have been published in the talmudic journals *Torat Ẓiyyon* and *Torah Or*, and in the *Ha-Tevunah* of Israel Lipkin *(Salanter). They are also found in the works of contemporary rabbis. On his 90th birthday, in 1906, the Keren Shemu'el Fund was launched in Jerusalem.

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[Geulah Bat Yehuda (Raphael)]

SALCHAH (Heb. סַלְכָה), town in Bashan, which marked the farthest limit of the territory of Og, king of Bashan, who was defeated and dispossessed by the Israelites (Deut. 3:10; Josh. 12:5; 13:11). According to I Chronicles 5:11, the tribe of Gad settled there. It is usually identified with modern Salkhad, but some question this identification, as it is doubtful if the area of Gad extended that far to the northeast.

In postbiblical times, the place is mentioned in several Nabatean inscriptions (as Salḥad) and was apparently part of the Nabatean kingdom in the first century C.E. Jewish sources identify it with Seleucia. In Roman times it was called Tricomias and was garrisoned by the Equites promoti Illyriciani (*Notitia Dignitatum* 81:15); it is mentioned as an independent locality in Georgius Cyprius (*Descriptia Orbis Romani*, line 1024). Salchah was an important town in Arab times, and in the 14th century contained a Jewish community. The modern town of Salkhad numbered approximately 15,000 inhabitants in the early 2000s, mainly Druze.

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[Michael Avi-Yonah]

SALE (Heb. מְכִירָה, *mekhirah*). Sale may be defined as the permanent transfer for consideration of existing legal rights from one person to another. The consideration may be in money or in kind. By extension the term "sale" is also used to denote a transfer of rights for a lengthy (but predetermined) period, such as the sale of land for a period of many years (BM 79a; BB 136b; cf. Yad, She'elah, 1:5). When sale is mentioned, however, it primarily refers to the transfer of real or proprietary rights and not to mere personal rights, i.e., obligations or debts, since it was at first legally impossible to transfer such rights (see *Assignment). The *geonim* already laid down that rights in rem applied only to corporeal or tangible things (Hai Gaon, *Sefer ha-Mikkaḥ ve-ha-Mimkar*, ch. 2, introd. i; cf. Resp. Maharashdam, ḤM 271), and therefore anything having neither length, breadth, nor depth – such as the smell of an apple or the taste of honey or the glitter of a precious stone – was incapable of being conveyed (Yad, Mekhirah, 12:14; cf. also TJ, BB 3:1, 13d and *Ha-Ittur*, vol. 1, introd., ch. 2, "*Kinyan*"). This is probably the reason why it is impossible to convey title in something which is not yet in existence – since, being intangible, it cannot be the subject matter of a real right – as also it is impossible to convey to someone who has not yet been born (see below).

In the biblical period the sale of real property was restricted. Thus, fields could only be sold until the Jubilee, in which year they would automatically revert to their owners (Lev. 25:13 ff.), whereas dwelling houses in walled cities – if not redeemed within a year of their sale – would rest irrevocably with their purchasers regardless of the Jubilee (*ibid.*). In Jewish law the term sale does not mean an agreement to sell in the future, but an immediately effective transfer of ownership. Sale, nevertheless, raises many of the problems relating to the creation, interpretation, and execution of contractual obligations. In the Talmud, *mekhirah* is an example used for clarifying these problems, since the laws of sale are an application of the wider principles of property and contract. The transaction of a sale is concluded with the *gemirat ha-da'at* ("firm decision") of the parties to transfer the relevant rights irrevocably from one to the other – at which point neither may resile from the bargain. The parties rely on the sale if there has been a manifestation of their *gemirat ha-da'at* by such a way of speech or conduct as will be understood by most people as an agreement to conclude the transaction – whether or not this is in accordance with the subjective intention of either of the parties. Undisclosed thoughts are of no consequence, and the test of the conclusion of the sale is purely objective; if in the particular circumstances most people would express their intention to conclude the transaction in that particular and manifest manner, the transaction will accordingly be effective, and it is immaterial that either party did not really intend to conclude the transaction in that particular way, or that there was no *consensus ad idem* between one party and the other. A corollary of this test is the principle that the parties need not make up their minds to the identical thing, and there may sometimes be no actual consensus between the parties even if outwardly their conduct is so interpreted. Moreover, when it is manifest that one of the parties had not properly made up his mind to the transaction, he may withdraw from it but not the other party who had done so – as may happen in the case where one party is mistaken as to the quality of the subject sold (Yad, Mekhirah, 17:1), or he has been overcharged in respect of the price (*ibid.*, 12:4).

The Decision of the Parties

The decision of the parties to conclude a sale is finalized by the performance of one of the appropriate acts of *kinyan* ("acquisition") by one of the parties – generally the purchaser – after the other parties have expressed their agreement that this be done (Ned. 44a; BB 54b; see *Acquisition (*Kinyan*)). Ownership thereupon passes, regardless of the question of possession, since possession sometimes accompanies the passing of ownership and sometimes not (see, e.g., BM 46a–b). If the consideration for the sale is a monetary payment, the purchaser, upon the passing of ownership, undertakes to pay the purchase price and it becomes a debt for which he is liable (BM 45b, 78b).

Furthermore, if an act is performed that brings about the *gemirat ha-da'at* of one or all of the parties but is not concluded by one of the customary acts of *kinyan*, any of the parties may withdraw; ownership will not have passed and the seller will remain responsible for the object. Nevertheless, since some of the parties rely upon such a sale and believe that all have made up their minds not to resile from it, any party who does retract is subject to the curse of "He who exacted vengeance from the generation of the flood and the generation of the dispersion will find redress from one who does not stand by his word" (BM 4:2). Hence, if the purchaser pays the consideration money to the seller but does not obtain possession of the object sold (i.e., *meshikhah*), the party who retracts will be subject to the said curse, since the payment of money is not a method of concluding a transaction in movables (BM 44a). Similarly, the fact that the seller has marked the object sold so as to distinguish it as his own will suffice to submit a retracting party to the curse – even though it is not local custom to conclude a transaction by making such a mark (BM 74a) – since there is a presumption that in affixing his mark the party concerned made up his mind to the bargain. Wherever the affixing of a mark is the customary manner of concluding a transaction, however, the sale will be effective and the parties will no longer be able to retract (BM 74a; see **Minhag*). The sages disapprove of a party who retracts, even where the transaction is only concluded verbally, without the performance of any act by any party. If, however, there was a verbal promise which was not relied upon, the promisor may withdraw (BM 49a).

When it is clear that one of the parties has not made his decision to conclude the transaction – i.e., when most people would not do so in the circumstances – he may retract even if it has been agreed that title be effected and the act of *kinyan* performed. This is illustrated in the case of overreaching (see **Ona'ah*), *mistake, certain cases of duress (see **Ones*), the nonfulfillment of a condition of the sale, or when one of the parties lacks understanding, and whenever people for any other reason would not normally rely on the transaction. If a person under duress sells a part of his property, the sale will be effective, since he makes up his mind and agrees to the sale simply to rid himself of the duress. Some scholars, however, express the opinion that if he is under duress to sell a specific field the sale will be void (BB 48a). If, prior to the sale, the seller made a statement before witnesses to the effect that he was selling only because of duress – whether of a physical or monetary nature – and the witnesses know of the duress, it will be manifest that the seller had not made up his mind to the sale and the transaction will be void (BB 40a–b).

This is also the law in the case of mistake as to price, whether due to deceit and intentional or inadvertent, or whether the object was sold for more than its true value and the purchaser overcharged, or sold for less than its true value and the seller thus deceived (BM 51a). If the mistake as to price is within a discrepancy of less than one-sixth, the sale will still be effective, since such comparatively small margins are usually overlooked; if the rate is one-sixth exactly, the sale will be effective, but the difference must be refunded; if the rate exceeds one-sixth, the sale is voidable, and the party standing to lose may retract, since such a large mistake would not usually be tolerated. Refunding the difference or avoiding the transaction is only permitted within a specified period, during which the party at disadvantage could have become aware of his mistake; thereafter it is presumed that he has waived the rights arising from the mistake in favor of the other party and made up his mind to uphold the transaction as it stands (BM 49b; Rashi on the Mishnah, *ibid.*). The rules of mistake as to price apply equally to mistake in respect of any other aspect of the sale. Whenever the property sold or any of the conditions of the sale vary from that which the purchaser relied upon – and the variation is so great that people in similar circumstances would normally be particular enough to look upon the transaction as being something other than the one upon which they relied – it will be a case of a purchase in error (*mikkaḥ ta'ut*) which voids the transaction (see Sh. Ar., ḤM 232:6 and glosses thereto). Generally, if as a result of a variation in the property sold it is unsuited for the use for which the purchaser wanted it, it will be a case of *mikkaḥ ta'ut* (see, e.g., Yad, Mekhirah, 15:12, 13).

If the parties conclude the transaction of a sale and perform an act of *kinyan*, but have failed to determine the price, the purchaser will not have acquired title since there was no reliance on the transaction by the parties, and both of them may retract; if, however, the purchase price was fixed and known, the sale will be effective (Yad, Mekhirah, 4:11–12). Maimonides also expressed the opinion that a person cannot acquire from another something that is undetermined even as to species (Yad, Mekhirah, 21:1–3). Thus a purchaser cannot acquire title to "everything that is in this house, or box or sack, which the owner is selling for so much," even if he has performed an act of *kinyan*, since he does not rely on this transaction; however, when the species is known, e.g., "this heap of wheat or cellar of wine at such and such a price," the sale will be effective even if the actual measure and weight are unknown at that moment.

A sale by a person lacking legal capacity – such as a deaf-mute, idiot, or minor – is void, since he lacks understanding and hence the absence of the element of *gemirat ha-da'at*. The sages prescribed, however, that certain sales by such parties would be valid "for the sake of his sustenance" (Git. 59a), i.e., in order to procure the necessities of life. It was laid down that the minimum required age in the case of a minor would depend on the degree of his understanding (*ibid.*) and this was detailed as follows: a minor aged six years and over, having sufficient understanding to appreciate the nature of the transaction, could sell and purchase movable property; from the age of 13, his sale or purchase would be effective in respect of movables, even if he could not appreciate the nature of the transaction, but ineffective in respect of land unless he could appreciate the nature of the transaction; a minor could not sell land inherited from his ancestors until he reached the age of 20 (Yad, Mekhirah, 29:6ff.). In the post-talmudic period, too, the age of majority was varyingly determined in respect of different legal transactions, depending upon the social and economic circumstances of the time (see Elon, in bibliography).

Sale of a Thing Not Yet in Existence

The Talmud records conflicting opinions as to whether or not a person can transfer title in respect of something not yet in existence. Some scholars answer in the negative, on the ground that the purchaser does not rely on the transaction, or for the reason that there is nothing to which ownership can apply and so ownership cannot be transferred. Another opinion in the Talmud is that a thing not yet in existence may be assigned and that the acquisition will take effect upon the thing's coming into existence, with the result that the parties may not retract. Even according to this opinion, however, only that which will come into existence in the ordinary course of events – such as the fruit of a tree – can be assigned; otherwise all the scholars agree that no transaction can be effected (BM 33b). The scholars who answer this point in the negative expressed the further opinion that a person could not transfer a thing which was not yet his, e.g., if he should say "let this field be acquired by you as of the moment that I shall have taken it for myself" and thus was the *halakhah* decided (Yad, Mekhirah, 22:5). The sages, however, prescribed that the sale by a poor hunter (lacking the necessities of life) of "everything that my hunt will produce to-day," would be effective, as would similar acquisitions in keeping with this rule (Yad, Mekhirah, 22:6). On the other hand, a person can undertake an obligation to transfer a thing not yet in existence (Sh. Ar., ḤM 60:6; see Law of *Obligations; *Contract). He can furthermore transfer a real right in property which is in existence, e.g., by transferring "the body for its fruits," and thereby confer title to a thing not yet in existence, such as a "tree for its fruit" or an "animal for its young" (Yad, Mekhirah, 23:1–2). An opinion is also expressed that if the thing which is sold is available on the market, the sale will be effective even though it is not yet the seller's, and the latter is obliged to deliver it to the purchaser (Yad, Mekhirah, 22:3 and *Kesef Mishneh* thereto).

With regard to a sale to a person as yet unborn, one opinion is that even if a person may transfer something that is not yet in existence, he cannot do so to a person as yet unborn; another opinion is that one can confer title in favor of a person as yet unborn even if he cannot do so with regard to a thing not yet in existence (Git. 13b and Tos. thereto). The *halakhah* was decided to the effect that a person could not confer title on a person as yet unborn, in the same way that he could not do so in respect of a thing not yet in existence (Sh. Ar., ḤM 210:1).

It is the accepted view that a person can neither consecrate nor confer title in respect of a thing which is not in his possession, even though it is his property (BK 70a and Tos. thereto); hence a person cannot do so in respect of property stolen from him, since the thief gains possession thereof (*ibid.*). However, another opinion is that one may consecrate, renounce (see *Hefker*), and confer title even in respect to property which is not in one's possession (BK 68b).

The Conditions of the Sale

The decision of the parties to conclude a transaction is often made subject to various conditions, which must be fulfilled if the transaction is to be effective (see *Conditions). Thus if a person sells a house to another on condition that the latter perform some specific act on a specified day, the purchaser acquires the house if and when he performs the act in the specified manner, but not otherwise; the same applies if property is sold to the purchaser on condition that the latter give it to a third party, or if the seller has stipulated that the property is to be returned after a specified period – in which event the transaction is effective and the property must be returned (Yad, Mekhirah, 11:1). Likewise, the sale will be effective where a person stipulates that if he sells his field, the purchaser shall acquire it as of that moment, at a price to be determined later by three valuers (Yad, Mekhirah, 8:8).

The seller's decision to impose a condition on the sale must be manifest and made clear to all, including the purchaser, in the manner in which people would normally do so. Failing this, the sale may be effective but not the condition, since it will be seen from the seller's conduct that he did not intend to impose a material condition capable of voiding the transaction but a mere condition at large, not seriously intended. Hence, he must phrase his statements in the form of a double condition, i.e., specify what will be if the condition is fulfilled and what if not – since Hebrew-language usage requires both the affirmative and the negative to be specified, and if he does not follow the manner in which Hebrew is spoken, he is apparently not particular about fulfillment of the condition. Some scholars expressed the opinion that the requirement of a double condition applies only in the cases of *marriage and *divorce but not of sale, where a condition is effective whether a double one or not (*Hassagot Rabad*, Zekhiyyah, 3:8). Moreover, the phraseology of the condition requires the affirmative sentence to be included before the negative one, as only thus is it manifest that the party seriously intends to be particular about the fulfillment of the condition (*Beit ha-Beḥirah*, Kid, 61a); he must first state the condition and thereafter the act which is contingent on it, and not vice versa, and the condition must be one which is capable of being fulfilled by the purchaser, lest it appear that it was not seriously intended and the sale be effective without the condition (BM 94a; Kid. 61a).

At times, when it is manifest from the circumstances that the fulfillment of a condition has been relied upon, such condition will be effective even if the above-mentioned phraseology has not been adopted. Moreover, if it is manifest from the circumstances that the seller has relied on a certain condition, the condition will be effective even if he has not given any verbal expression thereto, since everything is dependent upon what people normally imply from the circumstances (Tos. to Kid. 49b). Often the parties do not specify any conditions and may not even be thinking of any, but the presumption is that they intend to sell and purchase in accordance with local custom. Hence local customs relating to purchase and sale are superimposed to supplement the decision of the parties; furthermore, statements of conditions which are not clearly expressed are construed in accordance with local custom (Yad, Mekhirah, 17:6; 26:7–8; 27:11; also *Hassagot Rabad*, Mekhirah 24:12). If the parties wish to exclude the conditions of local custom, they must make express provisions to this effect. Thus a person who transfers ownership to another generally intends it to pass upon the performance of the *kinyan* by the transferee; however, if for example, he says, "perform the *kinyan* and acquire 30 days hereafter," the acquisition will only be complete after 30 days (Ket. 82a).

Of the customary conditions, the most important one is the warranty of authority. Thus, one who purchases something which is later taken from him for reasons connected with the seller – for instance, that the land was not his or that it was mortgaged to his creditor – may hold the seller liable and recover the cost of it from him. This warranty of ownership by the seller is implied in every sale, even if not expressly formulated (Yad, Mekhirah, 19:3). If the seller wishes to be absolved from all or any part of such responsibility, he must do so by express stipulation (*ibid.*, 19:8). Another opinion (BM 14a) is that in an ordinary sale the seller takes no responsibility upon himself unless a specific provision to the contrary is made.

The Mishnah, in listing various categories of sale, clarifies the different (implied) conditions that will be included unless otherwise provided for by the parties and if not contrary to local custom. Thus one who sells a field sells also the stones which serve the land, the unreaped grain, the watchman's booth, and the trees which have no intrinsic value, but not the stones that are not necessary to the land, or the grain that has been severed from the ground, and the like (BB 4:8). So too, one who sells a field for sowing does not include rifts in it or rocks which are more than ten handbreadths high (BB 7:1); one who buys two trees in another's field does not buy any land with them, but one who buys three trees, buys also the land on which they are growing (BB 5:4); one who has sold a wagon has not sold the mules, and if he has sold the mules he has not sold the wagon (BB 5:1); one who has sold the head of a large animal, has not sold its feet also, but in the case of sheep the feet are included in the sale of the head (BB 5:5). Similarly, the Mishnah enumerates that which is included or excluded in the sale of numerous items of property ranging from houses, buildings, and trees to slaves and animals (BB 4–7). Implied conditions also apply with regard to the price. Thus one who has sold wheat to another for a fixed amount of money without specifying the quantity, must deliver wheat according to the market price at the time of the sale (Yad, Mekhirah, 21:4).

In cases where there is difficulty in construing the parties' intention, their ultimate purpose may be arrived at with the aid of the rule that "he who sells, sells in a liberal spirit," i.e., a liberal interpretation of the agreement is made. Thus, one who sells a house but does not include the cistern in the sale must purchase from the buyer a right of way to it, since the terms of the sale are to be interpreted liberally and he did not retain a right of way (BB 64a–b). However, a person who has sold a field but retained two trees for himself will also retain the soil in which they grow, even though the purchaser of only two trees acquires no soil with them (BB 71a). There are conflicting views on the matter, some scholars stating that a restrictive interpretation is also possible, i.e., "one who sells, sells in an illiberal spirit." However, all scholars accept that the maxim of a liberal interpretation is applicable in the case of *gifts (BB 65a).

In the State of Israel

The rules of sale are set out in the Sales Law, 5828/1968, which in general adopts the draft uniform law relating to international sales, submitted at The Hague International Conference in 1964. In certain matters this law takes cognizance of the attitude of Jewish law (see Elon, in bibliography).

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[Shalom Albeck]

SALEM, EMMANUEL RAPHAEL (1859–1940), Greek lawyer. Born in *Salonika, Salem specialized in international law and the law of capitulations, and became legal adviser to foreign consulates in *Turkey. He published several studies on the capitulations and on the conditions of foreign subjects in Turkey in international law periodicals in Paris and Brussels (1888–1900). In 1889 Pope Leo XIII awarded him the knighthood of the order of the Holy See. He served as the legal advisor to La Banque de Salonique (The Bank of Salonika), founded in 1888, which was Jewish run and owned, and the first bank established in Salonika.

Salem was active in the general communal life of Salonika. He donated an orphanage to the Jewish community, and assisted in the modernization of its hospital. With the revolution of the Young Turks of 1908, he went to *Istanbul to play an active part in the work of the Council for Legislative Reforms, which established the legal system of the Turkish republic. He solved many legal problems between the Ottoman and other governments. He also mediated between Turkey and the Vatican. He was frequently called by different governments in connection with diplomatic issues in the Near East. Salem was a member of the Ottoman delegation to the Lausanne Conference of 1922, where he played a considerable part in elaborating those sections dealing with the status of the Dardanelles and with the capitulations regime. In gratitude for his legal services and efforts, he received recognition and honors from the Ottoman sultans Abdul Hamid and Rashid, and the governments of Austria, Italy, France, Greece, Belgium, Bulgaria, and the Vatican. His wife, like wives of other Salonikan Jewish benefactors, dignitaries, and community leaders, received the Ottoman honor Şafakat Level II or III. During the last years of his life, Salem lived in Paris, where he was the president of the Sephardi congregation and a member of the central committee of the Alliance Israélite Universelle.

His son RAPHAEL (1898–1963) was a noted mathematician. He worked in the Bank of Paris until World War II, when he escaped to the U.S. There he taught at Harvard University and the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. In 1955 he became professor of mathematics at the Sorbonne in Paris. His works include *Theorie générale des Séries trigonométriques*; *Séries trigonométriques lacunaires et aléatoires*; *Ensembles parfaits et séries trigonométriques*; and *Algebraic Numbers and Fourier Analysis*. His collected works were published in 1967.

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[Joseph Nehama / Yitzchak Kerem (2nd ed.)]

SALÉ-RABAT, twin towns on the Atlantic coast of *Morocco, separated by the Bou-Regreg River and situated on the site including the Merinid necropolis of Chella. Ancient Sala, ruins of which still exist in Chella, was an important Roman town known as a center for buying gold dust. The existence of a Jewish colony there during the second century C.E. is confirmed in an inscription on the tombstone of a hellenized Jew. The region was subject to Jewish influence over a long period, and the conversion of the country's inhabitants to *Islam in the eighth century gave rise to the heresy of the Berghwata, who were inclined to Judaism. The *Almohads, who liquidated the Berghwata in the 12th century, built the town of Rabat, which did not lose its position of importance to the more ancient town of Salé until the fall of the dynasty in 1269. Abraham ibn Daud mentions the Jewish community of Salé (Sala) in his *Sefer ha-Kabbalah*. The merchant shipowners of the western Mediterranean conducted an active trade in Salé, especially the Jews of Majorca during the 13th–14th centuries. Later, the Genoese gained the monopoly over trade in Salé, and in 1492 the Jewish exiles from *Spain were badly received by them. After 1550 the Jews of Salé were wealthy and numerous. They lived among the Muslims, who were mainly of Andalusian origin. A few Jews settled in Rabat, which at that time was only known by the name New Salé, in contrast to the neighboring town which was Old Salé; the twin towns became one of Morocco's most important trading centers. In Rabat the

Hornacheros, Muslims who had arrived from Spain in 1610, had little sympathy for the Jews; nevertheless, they welcomed them as soon as the privateering against Christendom, especially Spain, gained in intensity, calling for supplies of European arms and rigging, and pouring into the town goods and Christian captives, which the Christian nations hastily redeemed. At that time Rabat and Salé finally constituted themselves into independent republics.

Although the Jews conducted their affairs in Rabat, the majority lived in Salé, where Dutch Jews also settled. Between 1620 and 1660 the leading merchants in the two towns were Samuel b. Sofat, R. Aaron *Siboni, and the Dutchmen Benjamin Cohen and Aaron Querido. Moses Santiago was the counselor of the governor of Rabat, negotiating the truce with the king of *France in 1630. The peace treaty of 1683 with The Netherlands was negotiated by Isaac and Joseph Bueno de *Mesquita, merchants in Salé, the place of residence of Gideon *Mendes, the Dutch consul in 1699. Moreover, until the 1850s several Jews of Salé-Rabat acted as consuls for the European powers. The Shabbatean movement won many followers in the towns, where the *dayyan* of that period, R. Jacob *Sasportas, successfully overcame the resulting unrest. The yeshivot of Salé and Rabat were very active, and graduates included talmudists and legal authorities such as R. Ḥayyim b. Moses *Attar, author of the famous Pentateuch commentary, *Or ha-Ḥayyim*, who after many wanderings immigrated in 1741 to Ereẓ Israel; R. Shem-Tov Attar, R. Samuel de *Avila and his son R. Eliezer, R. Abraham Rodriguez, R. Samuel Caro, R. Solomon Tapiero, R. Judah Anahory, and R. Joseph *Elmaleh. The Jews of Rabat were among the founders of the Jewish communities of *Gibraltar in 1705, *Mogador in 1767, *Lisbon in 1773, and Mazagan in 1825, as well as the community of the Azores which they founded in 1820. A short while later some of their distinguished families – Amzallag, Aburbi, Amiel, Ben-Tobo, and Moyal – settled in *Haifa, *Jaffa, and *Jerusalem, having transferred their assets to these places.

After 1750 the community of Salé was absorbed mainly by that of Rabat, which numbered over 6,000 persons. This population, a very active one, enjoyed considerable affluence, and its wealthiest elements obtained leases on the collection of customs duties, both in Rabat and other ports, later adding numerous other monopolies. In 1790 Governor Bargash saved the Jews of Salé-Rabat from the persecutions of the sultan Moulay Yazīd, but they were nevertheless compelled to pay the large sum of 600,000 gold mithkals to the sovereign. More than one half of the Jewish population of Salé-Rabat perished in the plague of 1799. In 1807 they were confined to two mellahs for the first time. This measure, which was painfully felt, initiated a wave of emigration, especially to South America, while a large number of families whose wealth was of recent acquisition converted to Islam. New elements, mainly from Tlemcen, established themselves in the mellah of Rabat in 1830. Both the old and the new communities were impoverished by the isolationist policy of the sultan Moulay Sliman. The *dahīr*, which Sir Moses *Montefiore obtained in 1864 on behalf of the Jews of Morocco, caused some of the Jews of Rabat to exceed their rights, thus setting off severe disturbances. The rabbis and the authorities only succeeded with difficulty in allaying the agitation. There were massive departures for *Casablanca, where the Zagury, Hayot, Lasry, Benchaya, and Marrache families, as well as others from Rabat, were the most influential in the new community for a long time. Under the French Protectorate (since 1912), various Jewish institutions were established in Rabat, notably the Supreme Rabbinical Tribunal (abolished by the government in 1965) which was headed by Rabbis Raphael Encaoua and Joseph Benatar over a long period.

In 1947 there were 20,000 Jews in the region of Salé-Rabat. Of these, 12,350 lived in Rabat and 3,150 in Salé. Until the mid-1950s there were also branches of the *Jewish National Fund and *WIZO in Rabat. In 1970 Salé had not a single Jewish inhabitant, while about 4,000 Jews still lived in Rabat. The majority of the Jews of Rabat had immigrated to France, the *United States, and *Canada, those of Salé going almost exclusively to Israel. By 2005, only several hundred Jews remained in Rabat. Ya'akov Mellul, chief rabbi of Rabat, noted at the end of the 20th century that, with the exception of the larger community of Casablanca, most other Moroccan Jewries, Rabat included, had no prospects for Jewish continuity. Most of the Jewish schools in Rabat were closed, including the wide network of the *Alliance Israélite Universelle and Oẓar ha-Torah schools and a rabbinical seminary, founded in 1951. There were no rabbis, no infrastructure for community life, and the young left their homes for the West in pursuance of their higher education. Their parents followed the children to the West to preserve the close-knit nature of the family, as well as to protect them from marrying non-Jews.

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[Haim J. Cohen / Michael M. Laskier (2nd ed.)]

SALERNO, city in Campania, S. Italy. A Latin tombstone of the daughter of a rabbi called Abundantius shows that a Jewish settlement existed in Salerno as early as the 3rd or 4th century. In the Middle Ages the town was the seat of a famous medical school founded in about 800. According to tradition, its founders included not only an Arab, a Greek, and a Latin, but also a Jewish teacher. Jews are mentioned in the town from 872, and the Jewish quarter (Judaica) of Salerno in a document of 1005. *Benjamin of Tudela, who visited Salerno around 1159, found there about 600 Jews, including several scholars. As a result of the persecutions in south Italy around 1290–94, 150

Jewish families were converted, but many continued secret allegiance to Judaism. In 1485 R. Obadiah of *Bertinoro was for some months in Salerno and apparently frequented the medical school. With the expulsion of the Jews from the Kingdom of *Naples in 1510, the much-reduced Jewish community of Salerno also ceased to exist.

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[Ariel Toaff / Nadia Zeldes (2nd ed.)]

SALFELD, SIEGMUND (1843–1926), German rabbi and historian. Salfeld, who was born in Stadthagen, Germany, served as rabbi in Dessau from 1870, and in Mainz from 1880. Salfeld received the title professor from the grand duke of Hesse in 1912. His scholarly interest was devoted to the history of German Jewry, and especially of the Mainz community. He described the political and social conditions of German Jews in the Middle Ages, based on research into source material, and his major work in this area was *Bilder aus der Vergangenheit der juedischen Gemeinde Mainz* (1903).

Salfeld's most important work was *Das Martyrologium des Nuernberger Memorbuches* (1898), which connected the *Memorbuch found in Mainz with Nuremberg, a contention disputed by M. Weinberg who assigned it to Mainz (*Die Memorbuecher der juedischen Gemeinden in Bayern* (1937–38), 3–4). Many of Salfeld's studies appeared in learned periodicals and *Festschriften*. In 1879 he published *Das Hohelied Salomo's bei den juedischen Erklaerern des Mittelalters*.

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[Jacob Rothschild]

ṢĀLIḤ, ABRAHAM (c. 1825–1905), *dayyan* and preacher in *Yemen. Ṣāliḥ was the great-grandson of Yaḥya b. Joseph *Ṣāliḥ (Mahriṣ). He acted as *ḥazzan* and communal leader in the synagogue of the Ṣāliḥ family. He held the position of *dayyan* for 38 years. Of an emotional nature, his sermons and *tokhaḥot* deeply moved his audiences. He was referred to as "the prophet Jeremiah," because of the tears to which his listeners were moved.

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[Yehuda Ratzaby]

ṢALIḤ, YAḤYA (Yihye) BEN JOSEPH (Maharis; c. 1715), Yemenite scholar; *av bet din* and rabbi of *Sanʿa. His authority was recognized by all the Yemenite Jewish communities and even by the distant community of *India. Many halakhic questions were addressed to him from all parts of *Yemen. They all received clear and complete replies, the fruits of his meditation and casuistry, in which the legal point was clarified. He would not accept a salary from his rabbinate, and he earned his livelihood with difficulty as a Torah scribe. His work was artistic, and some of it is extant in various manuscripts. J. *Saphir, who visited Yemen in 1859, mentions the esteem and love which Yemenite Jewry accorded him: "his name is renowned throughout Yemen and his decisions are accepted as the law given by Moses at Sinai" (*Ḥadrei Teiman*, Lyell 1866, 101b).

He wrote *Zevaḥ Todah*, novellae and explanations on Shulḥan Arukh *Yoreh De'ah*, the laws of ritual slaughter (1851); *Sha'arei Kedushah*, a summary of *Zevaḥ Todah* in the form of legal decisions which was written to facilitate its study by *shoḥatim* and pupils (1841); *Ḥelek ha-Dikduk* (or *Toẓe'ot Ḥayyim*), biblical masorah, with punctuation and musical cantillation (published in full length by C.D. Ginsberg, *Ha-Masorah*, 3 (1885), 53–105); the section on the Pentateuch and *haftarot* was published in the editions of the Yemenite *Taj* (from 1889), *Sha'arei Tohorah*, the laws of *niddah* – written in Arabic, the prevalent tongue among women and the masses (1894); *Eẓ Ḥayyim*, a commentary on the *Tiklāl* (*siddur* of the prayers of the whole year), according to the plain and esoteric meaning (1894); *Pe'ullat Ẓaddik*, responsa and legal novellae on the four *Turim* (3 vols., 1946–45) – the most important collection of Yemenite Jewry's responsa literature, containing 762 responsa which he dealt with during a period of about 40 years (1764–1803); *Me'il Katan*, a commentary on the *Shenei Luḥot ha-Berit* of R. Isaiah *Horowitz; and *Oraḥ la-Ḥayyim*, a collection of Midrashim and explanations on three *megillot*, in symbolic and esoteric style (in manuscript). He wrote a chronicle of Yemenite Jewry (published by David Sassoon, see bibliography).

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[Yehuda Ratzaby]

ṢALIḤ IBN YAḤYA (Yihye) IBN JOSEPH (17th century), San'a scholar and *paytan*. Ṣāliḥ was the grandfather of R. Yaḥyā ibn Joseph *Ṣāliḥ, who, in his works, makes considerable mention of his grandfather. Two works of his have been preserved: they deal with the laws of ritual slaughter (extant in Ms.). The *piyyutim* which he wrote deal with exile and redemption and echo the cruel exile from *Mawzaʿ which took place during his lifetime (his grandson R. Yaḥyā Ṣāliḥ included ten of these in the Yemenite *maḥzor, Eẓ Ḥayyim*, 3 (1894) 158–65). In two of his *tokhaḥot* which have been preserved, he calls upon his generation to repent. He had a reputation as a miracle worker.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: A. Koraḥ, *Sa'arat Teiman* (1954), 16; Ratzaby, in: KS, 28 (1952/53), 270, nos. 93–94.

[Yehuda Ratzaby]

SALINGER, JEROME DAVID (1919–), U.S. author. Born in New York City, Salinger attended the Valley Forge Military Academy, a preparatory school which resembled the one attended by the hero of his first celebrated novel, *Catcher in the Rye* (1951). After serving in the U.S. Army during World War II, Salinger published *Catcher in the Rye*, which established his reputation as a writer. The novel's hero, Holden Caulfield, has been described as a kind of latter-day Tom Sawyer or Huckleberry Finn. A fashionable as well as a popular author, Salinger contributed stories to leading magazines, including *The Saturday Evening Post, Esquire, Cosmopolitan*, and *The New Yorker*. He wrote *Nine Stories* (1953), *Franny and Zooey* (1961), and *Raise High the Roof Beam, Carpenters* and *Seymour: an Introduction* (both 1963). All of these deal with the adventures of the Glass family of New York, a family of mixed Irish-Jewish origin.

Salinger gave a new and dramatic presentation of estrangement and crises of faith through such characters as Holden and Franny and Seymour Glass. Moreover, he was one of the first American-Jewish writers to draw upon the themes of Zen Buddhism. Salinger had a great impact on the mores of his youthful readers with *The Catcher in the Rye* (the word "prince" became part of a signature vocabulary just as Holden's cap also became part of a younger reader's costume – as far afield as East Germany), and a welcome reception among an older public. Nonetheless, his works had little discernible influence on the major traditions of American-Jewish literature as Jewish writing within America. Although the Glass family is notable, given its mixed heritage and brilliance, crises of faith are often anguishingly felt problems about a transcendent guarantee for meaning. In this sense, the Glass "fictions" make a common front with Isaac *Rosenfeld's *Passage from Home* (1946) and Edgar Lewis *Wallant's *The Pawnbroker* (1961) which weld Christianity, *Yidishkeit*, and American culture together. What is at stake in these works is the capacity to have faith within, and often against, a secularizing, pluralistic America. These works look forward to Hortense *Calisher's sweeping panorama of intermarriage and the commingling of faiths in *Sunday Jews* (2002).

Salinger's deeply reclusive life and decision not to publish further writings have led to various, if not contentious, biographical speculation.

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[Milton Henry Hindus / Lewis Fried (2nd ed.)]

SALISBURY, former capital of Rhodesia (renamed **Harare** and now capital of *Zimbabwe). Organized Jewish life in Salisbury dates from June 2, 1895, when, under the chairmanship of Joseph van Praagh (Salisbury's first Jewish mayor), a meeting of 20 men and two women founded the Salisbury Hebrew Congregation. The first synagogue was built in 1901 and the present one in 1920. The first minister was appointed in 1909. The first Sephardi arrived in Salisbury in 1895, and from 1905 there was a large influx into Rhodesia of Sephardim, mainly from the Aegean island of *Rhodes. They were scattered in all parts of the country, and it was not until 1931 that a separate Sephardi Hebrew Congregation was founded in Salisbury. Its first rabbi was appointed in 1944. There were a few Sephardim in centers outside Salisbury, but most have gravitated to the capital. The Ashkenazi and Sephardi congregations built imposing communal centers, comprising synagogues, schools, halls, and youth centers. A Reform Congregation was started in 1960. Both the Sephardi and Ashkenazi congregations maintained an afternoon Hebrew and religious school with a total enrollment of 220 pupils. A Jewish primary day school opened in 1960. In the decade between 1958 and 1968 the Salisbury Jewish community grew rapidly and eventually outstripped the one in *Bulawayo. Jews have played an active role in the developing Salisbury and the city has had a number of Jewish mayors: J. van Praagh (1900–01), H.L. Lexard (1914–17), H. Pichanick (1955–57), I. Pitch (1961–62, 1967–68), and B. Ponter (1964–65). In 1968 the Jewish population of Salisbury was about 2,500, two-thirds of them Ashkenazim and the rest Sephardim. With the outbreak of civil war in Rhodesia and the transfer of power to the black majority at the end of the 1970s, the Jewish population of the city dropped sharply, reaching barely 350 in 2003.

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[Maurice Wagner]

SALIT, NORMAN (1896–1960), U.S. lawyer, rabbi, and communal leader. Born in Brooklyn, New York, Salit was admitted to the bar in 1920. The previous year he had received his rabbinical degree from the Jewish Theological Seminary of America. Salit became rabbi of Temple Israel in the Bronx in 1920 and served as rabbi of Shaaray Tefila synagogue in Far Rockaway, Queens, from 1924 to 1929. Salit combined his legal and rabbinical professions. He headed the Queens County Bar Association committee on legislation from 1933 to 1937, and in 1947 and 1949 ran, unsuccessfully, as a Democrat for the positions of presiding supervisor of Nassau County and of Children's Court judge, respectively.

During World War II he was executive director of the Wartime Emergency Commission for Conservative Judaism, which aided congregations whose rabbis had entered military service. In 1935–54 he was president of the Synagogue Council. Salit was an active member of many Jewish organizations. He was on the board of overseers of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America and the executive committee of the Zionist Organization of America. *The World of Norman Salit* (1966), edited by Abraham Burstein, contains sermons, essays, reports, comments on the weekly Torah portion, and miscellaneous material written by Salit.

SALITA, DMITRIY ("Star Of David," "The Kosher Knockout"; 1982–), U.S. boxer, NABA junior welterweight champion. Born in Odessa, Ukraine, Dmitriy moved with his family to Brooklyn at the age of nine. He originally started out with karate, but his older brother Michael introduced him to boxing, and he started boxing at 13 at the Starrett City Boxing Club. When his mother, Lyudmila, was diagnosed with breast cancer and then died when Salita was a teenager, he underwent a religious transformation with the help of a Lubavitch rabbi who comforted him through his ordeal. As a result, Salita is a strictly observant Jew who keeps kosher, will not fight on the Sabbath or holidays, and studies daily with a rabbi. He won the 2000 U.S. National Under-19 amateur championship, and on April 5, 2001, won the New York Golden Gloves championship, earning the Sugar Ray Robinson Award as the outstanding boxer in the tournament. He won his first professional fight on June 24, 2001, and claimed the NABA junior welterweight championship August 26, 2005. "He looks Russian, prays Jewish, fights black" said his trainer, Jimmy O'Pharrow. At the end of 2005, Salita was 24–0, with 14 KOs.

[Elli Wohlgelernter (2nd ed.)]

SALITERNIK, ZVI (1897–1993), Israeli physician. Saliternik was born in Proskurov, Ukraine, where he graduated in medicine (1918) and worked in local hospitals before emigrating to Palestine (1920). He specialized in clinical care and research in malaria as inspector at Hadassah Hospital, Jerusalem, from 1921, and as director of the anti-malaria department at the Ministry of Health from 1962, where his efforts led to the eradication of the disease in Israel. He also directed the eradication of the parasitic disease schistosomiasis from the country. He was awarded the Israel Prize for medicine (1962).

[Michael Denman (2nd ed.)]

SALK, JONAS (1914–1995), U.S. virologist. Salk was born in New York City, graduating in medicine from New York University Medical School (1939). Pursuing his commitment as a student to killed antiviral vaccination, he worked on influenza virus vaccines at the University of Michigan with Thomas Francis before moving to the University of Pittsburgh in 1947, where he became director of viral research. Exploiting Enders' 1949 discovery of methods for growing poliomyelitis virus in tissue culture, Salk developed an inactivated anti-polio virus vaccine given by intramuscular injection. Clinical trials of the vaccine in the U.S. and Canada showed a dramatic fall of over 90% in the incidence of the polio virus-induced disease, paralytic poliomyelitis, by 1955. Initial problems of infectious virus persistence in one commercial vaccine preparation were overcome, and vaccination with Salk vaccine was adopted routinely in the U.S. and other countries. Salk refused to profit financially from his vaccine. The efficacy of a killed virus vaccine led to the development of similar vaccines against other viruses. Albert *Sabin's alternative oral live-virus antipolio vaccine, with the prospect of conferring lifelong immunity, supplanted the Salk vaccine in the U.S. and other countries, at least temporarily. The different approaches to antipolio vaccination in 1963 led to intense personal and general controversy. Salk founded the Institute for Biological Sciences named for him in La Jolla, California, where he continued his research, including attempts to develop an anti-HIV virus. His honors included the Lasker award for clinical medical research (1956), the U.S. Order of Merit, and a Congressional Gold Medal.

[Michael Denman (2nd ed.)]

SALKIND, JACOB MEIR (**Zalkind**, **Yankev-Meyer**; 1875–1937), Hebrew and Yiddish writer. Born in Kobrin (Belorussia), Salkind studied at the Volozhin yeshiva and at German and Swiss universities. After the *Kishinev pogroms in 1903, he organized a self-defense group in Bern. Moving to England around 1904, he organized in London a Zionist group, Aḥuzah ("Estate"), on behalf of whose members he went to Palestine in 1913 and obtained land at Karkur, on which they were able to settle in 1921. During World War I, he led the anti-war agitation among the Russian Jews in England and opposed *Jabotinsky's efforts to form a Jewish Legion. For this purpose, he founded and edited *Di Yidishe Shtime* (1916), first as a weekly, then as a daily. After becoming an anarchist, he edited, along with Rudolf *Rocker, the anarchist organ, *Der Arbayter Fraynd* (1920–23). Salkind's literary contributions began in *Ha-Tsefira* in 1900; he knew and published in many languages, chiefly Hebrew and Yiddish. His Hebrew plays for children (1903–22) were often staged in Jewish schools. He translated four tractates of the Talmud into Yiddish: *Berakhot* ("Blessings") from the Babylonian Talmud; *Pe'ah* ("[Field]-Corner"), *Demai* ("Doubtfully Tithed Crops") and *Kilayim* ("Hybrid") from the Jerusalem Talmud (1922–32). He died in Haifa.

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[Jerucham Tolkes / Leonard Prager (2nd ed.)]

SALKINSON, ISAAC EDWARD (**Eliezer**; 1820–1883), Hebrew translator who converted to Christianity and became a missionary. Raised in Belorussia, he trained as a teacher, then studied grammar, Bible, and German, and translated the first act of Schiller's *Kabale und Liebe* into Hebrew. While living in London he converted to Christianity (1849). He became a Presbyterian pastor in 1856, and in 1876 was sent as a missionary to Vienna, where he spent the rest of his life. Despite his conversion Salkinson regarded himself as a Jew. Emotionally and intellectually he had strong ties to the Hebrew language, which he believed should replace Latin as the sacred language of Christianity. His translations reflect his dual motives and fall into two categories: some were intended to bring Jews closer to Christianity; others were done for purely artistic reasons. The first type included *Va-Yegaresh et ha-Adam* (1871), a translation of Milton's *Paradise Lost*; and *Ha-Berit ha-Ḥadashah* (The New Testament), published posthumously in 1883. The second type included translations of *Othello (Ithiel ha-Kushi)* and *Romeo and Juliet (Ram ve-Ya'el*; Vienna, 1874 and 1875). A conscientious craftsman who wrote in lucid, neobiblical style, Salkinson was one of the finest translators of the Haskalah period.

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[Elieser Kagan]

SALMON, family of English caterers. ALFRED SALMON (1868–1928) was the eldest son of Barnett Salmon (1829–1897), partner in the firm of retail tobacconists, Salmon and *Gluckstein. With Joseph *Lyons and the brothers Isidore and Montague Gluckstein, he was a founder of the famous catering establishment, J. Lyons and Company. Alfred Salmon began by selling cigars in his father's concern at the age of 13. After learning the catering business, he started his career in Lyons as manager of the refreshment room at the Imperial Institute, and in 1922 succeeded Montague Gluckstein as chairman of the company, retaining the position until his death. He was also interested in hospital work and closely connected with the development of the London Hospital. His brother, SIR ISIDOR SALMON (1876–1941), began his career as a kitchen apprentice and later served at Olympia, London's great exhibition and entertainments center, where J. Lyons and Company were the catering contractors. He was active in the development of the company and followed his brother as its chairman. In World War I he organized the Army and Navy Canteen Board and revolutionized army catering. He also founded the Westminster Technical School for the training of waiters and cooks. From 1924 to 1941 he was Conservative member of parliament for Harrow and sat on numerous parliamentary committees. He also played an active part in the municipal administration of London and in Jewish communal affairs, being president of the South London Jewish Schools, vice president of the Board of Deputies of British Jews and of the Jewish orphanage, and closely connected with the United Synagogue. Isidore Salmon was knighted in 1933. Another brother, HENRY SALMON (1881–1950), was instrumental in developing the modern wholesale tea industry in Britain. Other members of the family were SIR SAMUEL (ISIDORE) SALMON (1900–1980), chairman of J. Lyons and Company from 1965 to 1968 and an active member of the London County Council; SIR JULIAN SALMON (1903–1978), deputy chairman of Lyons and catering adviser to the Royal Air Force; GEOFFREY ISIDORE HAMILTON SALMON (1908–1990), chairman of Lyons from 1968 and catering adviser to the British Army; and BRIAN SALMON (1921–2000), chairman of the firm from 1972 and the author of the Salmon Report on senior nursing staff structures.

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SALMON, ALEXANDER (1822–1866), English traveler. Salmon was the son of a London banker, and while serving in the South Seas on a whaler, met and married Arii Tamai, 20-year-old chieftainess of the Teva clan on the island of Tahiti. He then became chief adviser to the rulers of Tahiti. Salmon, who was considered by the natives to be impartial, managed to persuade them not to resist the French when they established their rule over the island. In the late 1850s he went to Paris to see Napoleon III with a list of grievances from the natives which had been ignored by the French governor of Tahiti. He was not received and went off to London where, in 1858, he published his letter of complaint, *Lettre concernant l'état actuel de Tahiti*. His wife's memoirs, edited in part by Henry Adams, appeared in 1901. Their daughter Joanna married Maran Taaroa, the last king of Tahiti, and their son Tati became an intimate friend of Robert Louis Stevenson.

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SALMON, CYRIL BARNET, BARON (1903–1991), English judge. Born in London, the son of a member of the *Salmon family who co-owned J. Lyon & Co., and educated at Mill Hill school and Cambridge, Salmon was admitted to the Bar in 1929 and became a King's Counsel in 1945. His first judicial appointment in 1947 was as recorder of Gravesend, and in 1957 he was made a high court judge and knighted. In 1964 Salmon was promoted to lord justice of appeal and two years later he became chairman of the Royal Commission on Tribunals of Inquiry. In 1972 Salmon was appointed a Lord of Appeal in Ordinary in succession to Lord Donovan, and made a life peer as Baron Salmon. From 1974 to 1976 he was chairman of the Royal Commission of Conduct in Public Life. In 1967 he lectured at The Hebrew University on this subject, and his lecture was published as *Tribunals of Inquiry* (1967). Salmon was noted for consistently upholding liberal values.

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[Israel Finestein]

SALMON, KAREL (**Karl Salomon**; 1897–1974), Israeli composer. Born in Heidelberg, Salmon studied composition with Max Reger and in Richard Strauss's "master class." From 1919 to 1933 he was active in Germany as conductor and singer (bass), and in 1933 he settled in Palestine. With the establishment of the Palestine Broadcasting Service (later Kol Israel), he became its musical director and remained at this post until 1958. He then was director of Kol Israel's transcription-exchange service for four years. Salmon also taught at the Academy of Music in Jerusalem and appeared as conductor and singer. Many of his works belong to the "Mediterranean style" period of Israel music and attempt a blending of his European heritage with Near Eastern and Jewish folklore material.

They include *Ali Be'er – Variations on a Hebrew Folksong* for orchestra (1937, the theme song is by Sara Levi-Tannai); four Greek folk dances, for orchestra (c. 1942, ending with a "Horah Stellenica"); *Israel Lives* ("*Am Yisrael Ḥai*"), variation for piano solo or string trio or string orchestra (1947); the "puppet opera" *David and Goliath* in which the composer often sang the part of Goliath; an *Israeli Youth Symphony*, and many other vocal, choral, and instrumental works.

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[Bathja Bayer]

SALMON BEN JEROHAM (**Sulaym ibn Ruhaym**; tenth century), Karaite polemicist and writer, a fervent spokesman for the Mourners of Zion (*Avlei Zion), a native of Ereẓ Israel or Iraq. According to Karaite tradition, he was the teacher of *Saadiah Gaon, an impossibility since Salmon was much the younger man of the two. However, the tradition may possibly reflect some actual personal conflict between them, which could partially explain Salmon's extreme hatred of Saadiah. Salmon's principal work, *Milḥamot Adonai*, written in Hebrew, is a rhymed attack on the Rabbanites and on Saadiah. Even for an age characterized by abusive polemics, the language of the book is unusually vehement, and the author treats Saadiah more as a personal enemy than a theological adversary. In his subject matter, Salmon merely repeats the arguments of older Karaite polemicists, but the violent language and quasi-poetic form are all his own. If the hypothesis that Salmon is the same person as Ibn al-Sākawayh is correct, Saadiah refuted his attacks in a special work, only fragments of which remain. In the 950s Salmon wrote a series of commentaries on the Bible. Complete mss, fragments and quotations identified so far include commentaries on Psalms, the Song of Songs, Lamentations, Ecclesiastes, and Isaiah. Though less violent in tone, they still contain many attacks on Saadiah's views, and on the Rabbanites in general. The commentary on Lamentations is especially interesting because it apparently constitutes the mourning rites and sessions of the Karaite Mourners of Zion. In his commentary on Ecclesiastes he expounds his ethical and intellectual views. Some scholars cast doubts on the authenticity of these two commentaries, because they contain much less anti-rabbinic bias. Salmon condemned all secular studies as ungodly and forbidden.

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[Leon Nemoy / Golda Akhiezer (2nd ed.)]

SALOME. A figure unnamed in the New Testament, but called Salome by Josephus. She was the daughter of Herodias and, through the latter's remarriage, stepdaughter of the tetrarch Herod *Antipas, youngest son of Herod the Great (Jos., Ant., 18, 136). According to Mark (6:17–18): "For Herod [Antipas] himself had sent forth and laid hold upon John [the Baptist], and bound him in prison for the sake of Herodias, his brother Philip's wife: he had married her. For John said unto Herod: It is unlawful for thee to have thy brother's wife" (cf. Matt. 14:3–4; Luke 3:18–20). There is some confusion in Josephus as to when exactly the marriage between Herodias and Herod Antipas occurred and whether it was before or after John's death. The problem was in Herodias having married her two uncles, while both were still alive, a union forbidden by Jewish law. Salome was the child of the first marriage. The point John would have made in his teaching is that such a union was not in keeping with Leviticus (18:6). The Gospels seem to suggest that Antipas had no plans to kill John, but that a set of circumstances led to his execution at the behest of Herodias, who suggested that Salome ask for his head. This occurred on the occasion of a banquet to celebrate Herod's birthday in which he promised Salome anything that she desired because of her exquisite dancing. There are two passages dealing with the story (Matt. 14:1–12; Mark 6:14–29) and a comparison of the two is quite instructive. While the passage in Matthew is very factual in presentation, Mark's account is much more colorful. While in Matthew Salome was "instructed" by her mother beforehand (i.e., Herodias planned the beheading in a premeditated fashion), the story in Mark is that it was the result of a whim, with Salome having to leave the banquet hall to consult her mother: "What shall I ask?"

Salome was a popular name in the Second Temple period: there are 52 recorded instances of the name and its variants (Heb. Shelomit, Shalom) in inscriptions and written sources. In the Gospels she is not mentioned directly by name and she is simply referred to there as "Daughter of Herodias" (Mark 6:22). It is Josephus who provides us with her exact name (Ant., 18:136). The Greek word associated with her in Mark indicates she was a very young girl, perhaps only 12, when she danced in front of Herod. Hence, she was probably born at the earliest in 16 C.E. Later, she is believed to have married Aristobulus, King of Lesser Armenia, but there have been some doubts about this. Jacobus de Voragine (c. 1230–1298) has preserved an apocryphal story about Salome's death, perhaps reflecting the wishful thinking of Christian writers who could not accept the possibility that Salome might have gotten away with it, i.e., there had to be some retribution for her act (*Leg. Aur. Sanct.*). According to the story, she was walking across an icy pond when the ice gave way and she drowned. Another chronicler says that "the earth swallowed her alive."

[Shimon Gibson (2nd ed.)]

In the Arts

In literature, the theme was not popular before the mid-19th century, and most writers have considerably embroidered the stark tale to heighten its dramatic effect. One of the very few Jewish writers attracted by the theme was Judah L. *Landau, whose Hebrew drama, *Dam Taḥat Dam*, appeared in 1897. The outstanding work on the subject was Oscar Wilde's tragedy, *Salomé*, which had a *succès de scandale* following its publication in French in 1893. Wilde made Salome a depraved personality driven on by her baffled lust for the Baptist, a treatment well calculated to outrage contemporary English opinion. An English translation by Lord Alfred Douglas appeared in 1894 and was subsequently published as *Salomé*; *La sainte courtisane*; *A Florentine tragedy* (1911). The play, first performed in Paris in 1896, only reached the English stage in 1931 when tastes had changed and censorship requirements had relaxed. Wilde provided an original dénouement by having the tetrarch order Salome's own execution amid her dreadful triumph. Another late 19th-century treatment of the subject was the German dramatist Hermann Sudermann's five-act tragedy, *Johannes* (1898^2; *John the Baptist*, 1909). The theme retained its popularity in the 20th century, beginning with *Salome* (1908), a Swiss-German tragedy by Richard Zwez. Salome also inspired a poem by the French surrealist Guillaume Apollinaire and a Croatian drama by Miroslav Krleža. Her mother, Herodias, was the heroine of two French works of the 19th century on closely related themes: *Hérodiade* (1869), a verse drama by Stéphane Mallarmé, and "Hérodias," the third of Gustave Flaubert's *Trois Contes* (1877), which imaginatively recreates the atmosphere of Roman-occupied Judea.

In art, there were from the 11th century a number of representations of the feast at which Salome danced. In these Herod presides, wearing a crown or a medieval Jewish conical hat. On a capital from the cloister of St. Etienne (Musée des Augustins, Toulouse) he is shown in the act of tenderly chucking Salome under the chin. In the oldest representations, Salome dances in an upright position with movements of the hips, but in those produced after the 12th century she turns somersaults and stands on her hands in the manner of medieval acrobats. She was known in medieval France as "la danserelle" or "la sauterelle" (the grasshopper) and an acrobatic dance was named after her. In art she is shown performing dances which vary according to the fashion of the period. The dance of Salome appears in medieval carvings, stained-glass windows, the 12th-century bronze doors at St. Zeno, Verona, and in 12th- and 13th-century mosaics at the Florence Baptistery and St. Mark's Cathedral, Venice. It was also a popular subject in the early Italian Renaissance, when it was treated by Giotto (1266/67–1337) in his fresco at St. Croce, Florence; by Donatello (1386–1466) in a bronze bas-relief in the Baptistery of St. Giovanni, Siena; and by Fra Filippo Lippi (1406–1469) in a fresco at Prato Cathedral. The subject later appears in 17th-century Russian frescoes and in a drypoint etching by Picasso in which Salome dances before Herod in the nude. The scene where Salome receives John's head on a charger is usually shown together with that of his prior beheading. Salome's mother, Herodias, who is seated with Herod at the feast, is sometimes shown cutting a slit down the Baptist's forehead or piercing his tongue. Often, however, Herod and his wife cover their faces in horror, whereupon Salome faints. This scene is represented in a number of the sources already mentioned, and in paintings by Luini (Prado) and Lucas Cranach (1472–1553; Wadworth Athenaeum, Hartford, U.S.). In the 19th century, the French symbolist painter Gustave Moreau (1826–1896) painted *The Apparition* (now in the Louvre) – an opulent study of the dancing Salome who sees the head of John the Baptist in a vision. A portfolio of the English artist Aubrey Beardsley's drawings to illustrate Oscar Wilde's play was published in 1920.

In Music

In music, the story has inspired general works, which the fancy of the librettists elaborated far beyond anything that can be found in the sources. Jules Massenet's *Hérodiade* (text by Paul Milliet and Georges Hartmann under the pseudonym of Henri Grémont) was first performed in Brussels in 1881 and has remained in the repertoire. Here, Salome loves John and does not know that she is the daughter of Herodias; Herod falls in love with her and in the final dénouement, Salome kills herself. The most famous universal treatment of the theme is Richard Strauss's opera, *Salome*, written in 1904–05 to a libretto by Hedwig Lachmann based on Oscar Wilde's play. The opera's gruesome theme and the horrors it contained aroused strong opposition wherever it was performed, the sensuousness of the text being faithfully paralleled by the music. The "Dance of the Seven Veils" which forms *Salome's* climax is sometimes performed as a concert piece and, in the early 1920s, it was often presented as a vaudeville attraction. A setting of Wilde's play in the original French version was composed by Antoine Mariotte before 1905, but had its première only in 1908 (at Lyons), and this involved the composer in difficulties with Richard Strauss. Three works on the same subject followed almost immediately. Florent Schmitt's ballet, *La Tragédie de Salomé* (1907), included many Oriental themes which he had collected in 1900 on his travels in the Near East, especially in Palestine ("heard near the Dead Sea"). The same year saw the appearance of Karol Szymanowski's *Salome*, a circle of songs with orchestra (text by J. Kasprovicz; revised orchestration 1912), and Granville Bantock's opera, *The Daughter of Herodias*. Bantock also wrote incidental music for the Wilde play in 1918. Paul Hindemith's *Hérodiade* (1944), for chamber orchestra, was based on the verse drama by Mallarmé; it has also served for a ballet. Among compositions of incidental music for the play is that by Leonard Bernstein (1955).

[Bathja Bayer]

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SALOME ALEXANDRA (Heb. שְׁלוֹמְצִיוֹן, *Shelomẓiyyon*; Gr. **Salina, Salampsio**; 139–67 B.C.E.), queen of Judea and wife of *Aristobulus I and *Alexander Yannai, upon whose death she ascended the throne to reign as sole Jewish monarch during the years 76–67. Josephus first mentions her as an accomplice in the plot to assassinate Antigonus, brother of her husband Aristobulus I, but most historians attribute this accusation to the animosity toward the Hasmonean rulers of those historians whom Josephus saw as his source. Upon the death of Aristobulus (103 B.C.E.), it seems that the widow of the presumably childless king was required to marry his brother Yannai, in accordance with the Jewish law of *levirate marriage. However, Josephus nowhere mentions this explicitly, and this has led some scholars to believe that Yannai in fact married another woman of the same name. It is probable that the first assumption is the more correct. On Aristobulus' death she released his three brothers (including Yannai), who had been imprisoned for some time. There are no reports of Alexandra's political influence during the reign of Yannai, although she seems to have opposed the king's persecution of the Pharisees. It is certain, however, that she won the affection of the Judean populace, thereby convincing her husband before his death that the Jews would bow to her authority as they would to no other. Alexandra's accession in 76 B.C.E. was considered a moral and political victory for the Pharisees, and the close relations between that sect and the queen are referred to in rabbinic traditions. Simeon b. Shetaḥ, leader of the Pharisees (see Ber. 48a; Gen. R. 91:3), was reportedly received by Salome at the palace at the period of her husband's dispute with the Pharisees. After her accession he was recalled from Egypt and appointed joint judicial and religious head of the Sanhedrin with *Judah ben Tabbai. The Pharisees immediately demanded that the Temple ritual be reformed in accordance with their practices, and that the fixing of the calendar and judicial leadership be under their control. Josephus, while admitting that the Pharisees may have used the queen's favor to assume the practical administration of the state, nevertheless stresses that she retained the reins of government with regard to larger matters. The queen was a strict observer of religious traditions, and dismissed any violator of religious law. The Pharisees used their privileged position to settle old scores. In one instance they brought about the execution of Diogenes, one of the advisers of Yannai, who was accused of having incited the king to crucify 800 Pharisees. Alexandra took no reprisals, however, against the Sadducees who had fought under her husband and were at the mercy of their enemies.

Alexandra's foreign connections were extensive, and her influence was felt and respected by neighboring monarchs. By continual recruiting, and by collecting foreign troops, she doubled the size of her army. However, the Pharisees were sufficiently powerful to prevent her from continuing the traditional Hasmonean wars abroad, although a military expedition to Damascus was led by her son Aristobulus. It proved ineffectual, and by means of treaties and gifts she warded off the occupation of her kingdom by Tigranes, king of Armenia, who had invaded Syria and was marching toward Judea (c. 70 B.C.E.). Shortly after this success the queen fell ill, and internal dissension again threw Judea into bitter turmoil. Of the queen's two sons by Yannai, the elder, *Hyrcanus, had been appointed high priest, and was considered sole heir to the throne. His younger brother, *Aristobulus, not content with the secondary role accorded him, courted the support of those elements whose power had diminished under the rule of the Pharisees. Gathering a large mercenary force, Aristobulus took possession of numerous fortresses throughout the country and proclaimed himself king. Before the queen could move against him, she died, leaving the incompetent Hyrcanus to agree to the terms dictated by Aristobulus. Josephus praises Alexandra for keeping the nation at peace. The rabbis relate how Ereẓ Israel was so fertile in her reign that the grains of wheat, oats, and lentils grew to extraordinary sizes and were kept to show to future generations what piety could achieve.

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[Isaiah Gafni]

SALOMON, ALBERT (1891–1966), sociologist. Born in Berlin, Salomon was professor of political sociology at the Deutsche Hochschule fuer Politik in Berlin from 1926 to 1931 and at the Berufspaedagogisches Institut in Cologne from 1931 to 1933. For some years he edited *Gesellschaft*, the journal of the Social-Democratic Party. Forced to emigrate after Hitler's advent to power, Salomon went to New York, where he was a professor of sociology at the graduate faculty of the New School for Social Research from 1935 until his death. Salomon followed the historical and philosophical traditions of French and German classical sociology. He paid attention to the importance of literature in a developing theory of society. His major books were *Autoritaet und Freiheit* (1936) and *Tyranny of Progress* (1955; *Fortschritt als Schicksal und Verhaengnis*, 1957).

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[Werner J. Cahnman]

SALOMON, ALICE (1872–1948), German economist and educator. Born in Berlin of a merchant family that had settled in north Germany in the 18th century, Alice Salomon converted to Protestantism at the beginning of World War I. She was active mainly in the training of women for professional social work and their inclusion in that field. In 1908 she founded in Berlin a school for that purpose, which she directed until 1924. Expelled from Germany in 1937, she went to England and from there to the U.S., where until her death she continued her literary activity in the field of the social education of the woman and the protection of the working woman. Although she was not a suffragette in the political sense, she was active in the women's international movement. She founded and directed the Konferenz sozialer Frauenschulen Deutschlands, the Deutsche Akademie fuer soziale und paedagogische Frauenarbeit, and the Internationales Komitte sozialer Schulen. She was vice president of the International League of Women.

She wrote many books which became classics of social work: *Die Ursachen der ungleichen Entlohnung von Maenner- und Frauenarbeit* (1906); *Einfuehrung in die Volkswirtschaftslehre* (1909, 1921^5); *Die Ausbildung zum sozialen Beruf* (1927); *Leitfaden der Wohlfahrtspflege* (1921, 1928^3). Her autobiography was published many years after her death, first in German translation as *Charakter ist Schicksal* (1983, 1984), and later in the English original, *Character is Destiny* (2004). Salomon's collected works were published in three volumes under the title *Frauenemanzipation und soziale Verantwortung* (1997–2003).

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[Shalom Adler-Rudel / Noam Zadoff (2nd ed.)]

SALOMON, CHARLOTTE (1917–1943), German painter. The daughter of a Berlin physician, Salomon was sixteen when the Nazis came to power. She refused to continue her schooling because of the humiliations to which she was subjected, but in 1935 she was still able to attend the local Academy of Fine Arts. In 1939 she emigrated to France, where she married another refugee, Alexander Nagler. They lived in relative security until the Germans occupied the Riviera in September 1943, five months after their marriage. Then the Gestapo conducted one of the most brutal mass roundups in Western Europe, during which the young couple were dragged out of their home by the Gestapo, and both died in the gas chambers of Auschwitz. While a refugee from Nazi Germany, during 1941 and 1942, Salomon portrayed her life in an autobiography titled *Leben oder Theater? Ein Singspiel* ("Life or Theater? An Operetta"). It takes the unprecedented form of a musical drama in 1,325 gouaches of astonishing vividness and force, painted in flat, cool colors, with an unusual perspective and a great deal of purely decorative detail. "Life or Theater?" is peopled by characters based on her family and friends, ordered by acts and scenes, narrated by dialogues and commentaries, and accompanied by musical cues.

The autobiography makes one family emblematic of its era. Salomon records the creative milieu of Berlin through the experiences of her stepmother, Paula Salomon-Lindberg, a well-known opera singer, and of her mentor and lover, Alfred Wolfsohn, a philosopher of music. The autobiography also registers the impact of Nazism on an assimilated Jewish family: first Charlotte Salomon's grandparents emigrated from Germany, then her stepmother was restricted to performing for Jewish audiences; her father, Dr. Albert Salomon, was deprived of his professorship at the Berlin University Medical School, then imprisoned in Sachsenhausen. Charlotte Salomon was among the handful of Jewish students admitted to the Berlin Academy of Fine Arts, but was expelled in 1938, and left Germany in 1939.

Joining her grandparents in Villefranche on the French Riviera, Salomon witnessed her grandmother's suicide in 1940 and only then learned that her mother's death years earlier was also a suicide. The menace of suicide and the duress of exile forced her to decide, she said, "whether to take her own life or undertake something unheard of and mad" – an autobiography in art. After working more than a year on *Leben oder Theater?*, she gave its paintings and texts to a friend in Villefranche, saying: "Keep this safe. It is my whole life." The paintings often have explanatory captions: one reads, "I cannot bear this life, I cannot bear these times." When a collection of these gouaches was published in 1963 as *Charlotte, A Diary of Pictures*, Charlotte Salomon came to be regarded as the Anne *Frank of painting.

After the war, her father and stepmother brought Life or Theater? to Amsterdam, where it now resides in the Jewish Historical Museum. Exhibitions in Europe, the U.S., and Israel (Beth Hatefutsoth, 1985), as well as published reproductions, a film, and plays, have given Life or Theater? international standing as an artwork, autobiography, and historical document.

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[Alfred Werner and Mary Felsteiner]

SALOMON, ERICH (1886–1944), German photographer. Trained as a lawyer in Berlin, Salomon took up photography as a full-time profession when the 35-millimeter camera appeared in 1925. This small camera allowed a candidness and instantaneousness which had been the aim of documentary photographers since the invention of the camera. Salomon first used this camera for behind-the-scenes glimpses of internationally famous political personalities at League of Nations conferences in the late 1920s. An audacious, ingenious cameraman, his many subterfuges included cutting a hole in his derby hat for a concealed lens; wearing an armsling which hid both camera and the little glass slides he first used; and carrying an impressive leather-bound volume hollowed out to serve the same purpose. Another of his famous tricks was to place the camera in a flowerpot, window sill, or desk, and trigger the shutter by a cable release hidden in flowers, carpet, or wall. Salomon was one of the world's first photo-historians. He covered the League of Nations, diplomatic and other meetings in Geneva, Paris, London, and Washington. Erich Salomon died with his family in the gas chambers of Auschwitz. A son, Peter Hunter-Salomon, survived the Holocaust and published a book on his father, *Portraet einer Epoche* (1963).

[Peter Pollack]

SALOMON, GAVRIEL (1938–), specialist in educational psychology. Salomon was born in Tel Aviv. In 1966 he received his M.A. degree in education and psychology from The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, and in 1968 he received his Ph.D. in educational psychology and communication from Stanford University. From 1969 until 1974 he was a lecturer at The Hebrew University, and in 1975–77 he was head of the educational psychology program there. From 1984 to 1987 he served as head of the computer and education program at Tel Aviv University. He served as editor of *Educational Psychologist* (1991–95) and as president of the Educational, Instructional and School Psychology Division of the International Association of Applied Psychology (IAAP) in 1990–94. Subsequently he became co-director of the Center for Research on Peace Education. In 1992 Salomon became a professor at Haifa University and in 1993–98 was the dean of the Faculty of Education there. His work covers a range of topics: the cognitive effects of media's symbol systems, the expenditure of mental effort, mindfulness and mindlessness, organizational change, the design of intelligent computer tools, the design and systemic study of technology-afforded learning environments, and education for peace. His books include *Interaction of Media, Cognition and Learning Communication and Education* (1981) and *Technology and Education in the Information Age* (Heb.). He also edited *Distributed Cognition* (1993) and *Peace Education: The Concept, Principles, and Practices Around the World* (2002). In addition he published more than 100 empirical, theoretical, and methodological articles. In 2001 he was awarded the Israel Prize for education.

[Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

SALOMON, GESKEL (1821–1901), Swedish artist and art historian. Born and educated in Denmark, he settled in Sweden in 1850 and became professor at the Stockholm Art Academy. Among his books on art history were *Die Statue des Venus von Milo* and *Die Statue des Belvederischen und Vatikanischen Apollo*. He painted historical events, portraits, and genre subjects. These last include Jewish scenes which illustrate religious observances in 19th-century Scandinavia. *Lighting the Sabbath Candles* was painted when the artist was almost 80 years old.

SALOMON (Salomon de la Tour), GOTTFRIED (1892–1964), German sociologist. Salomon's father was Jewish and his mother was of French Protestant descent. Born in Frankfurt, he studied under Georg *Simmel, but later became assistant to Franz *Oppenheimer, an adherent of politico-historical sociology. In 1933 Salomon emigrated to France and in 1941 fled to the U.S., where he taught at the New School for Social Research, Columbia University, Hunter College, and Yeshiva University. In 1958 he returned to Frankfurt.

Salomon's publications (such as *Allgemeine Staatslehre*, 1930) are chiefly concerned with political ideology and the history of sociology and socialism. He became widely known as editor of the *Jahrbuecher fuer Soziologie* and of the works of Ludwig *Gumplowicz, Lorenz von Stein, and Giambattista Vico. His first publication was *Proudhon und der Sozialismus* (1920) and his last *Moderne Staatslehren* (1965).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: W. Bernsdorff (ed.), *Internationales Soziologenlexikon* (1959), s.v., incl. bibl. of his writings.

[Werner J. Cahnman]

SALOMON, GOTTHOLD (1784–1862), German preacher and reformer. After receiving a thoroughly Orthodox education, at the age of 16 Salomon was sent to Dessau, where he was influenced by modern trends. He then became a teacher and preached his first sermon there in 1806. A frequent contributor to *Sulamith*, he also vigorously answered the antisemitic writings of the professors C.F. *Ruehs and J.F. *Fries in 1817 (in 1843 he answered Bruno *Bauer). Two years later he was called to the pulpit of the Hamburg Reform temple, where he collaborated with E. *Kley. His reputation as a preacher had been established by a collection of sermons (*Auswahl mehrerer Predigten*, 1816), the first of a voluminous series. Salomon's sermons, modeled, like those of other preachers, on Protestant examples, were praised by his contemporaries, notably H. *Heine. When in 1841 Isaac *Bernays banned the prayer book he had composed, Salomon defended his position in the subsequent fierce controversy (*Das neue Gebetbuch…*, 1841). He vigorously supported the rabbinical assemblies of the mid-1840s in Brunswick, Frankfurt, and Breslau.

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SALOMON (Solomon), HAYM (1740–1785), early American merchant and Revolutionary War patriot. Salomon, who was born in Lissa, Poland, arrived in New York about 1775 after wandering in Europe and became one of the most prominent 18th-century American Jews. During the Revolutionary War he was a distiller and sutler to the American army, and was captured as a spy by the British. His life was spared, and he served as an interpreter in their commissary department. Continuing to give information to the Americans, he assisted their prisoners to escape British captivity while operating a profitable victualing business in New York City under British occupation. Married to Rachel Franks in 1777, he had to flee a year later to Philadelphia, where he began a brokerage and commission business. In 1781 he became an assistant to Robert Morris, superintendent of the Office of Finance, after serving in a similar capacity as broker and treasurer for the huge expenses of the French army stationed in America. Morris characterized him as "useful to the public interest." Salomon also lent money without charge to impecunious members of the Continental Congress, among them James Madison, who recommended him as "our little friend in Front Street." In 1784 Salomon expanded his business activities to New York, opening a brokerage and auctioneering house there with Jacob Mordecai. A mason, Salomon was a major contributor in 1782 to the Congregation Mikveh Israel building, Philadelphia. He argued against a New Testament oath taken by officeholders in Pennsylvania and worked for political rights of Jews. Though a successful merchant, Salomon invested most of his money in Continental stocks and bonds, and his accounts showed a deficit at the time of his death. The newspaper obituary referred to him as "an eminent broker of this city… remarkable for his skill and integrity in his profession, and for his generous and human deportment." He left four children and a widow, who later married David Hilborn. By 1799 she was living in the Batavian Republic. Benjamin Gomez was appointed guardian of Salomon's son HAYM M. (1785–1858), and Joseph Andrews of his daughter DEBORAH (1783–1808). Exaggerated claims were made for Salomon's services to the American Revolution, largely as a point of Jewish apologetics. Without question, however, he was a vigorous patriot at great personal risk, and a competent financial servant of American independence and of some of its leaders.

[Leo Hershkowitz]

SALOMON, JOEL MOSES (1838–1912), Ereẓ Israel pioneer and founder of Petah Tikvah. Born in Jerusalem, Salomon was a descendant of a pupil of *Elijah the Vilna Gaon and settled in Ereẓ Israel in 1808. His grandfather, Solomon Zalman *Ẓoref, and his father, R. Mordecai Salomon, were leaders of the early Ashkenazi community in Jerusalem. Salomon was educated at yeshivot in Jerusalem and Lithuania. He studied printing at Koenigsberg, East Prussia, and, on his return to Jerusalem, he and several partners established a printing press. In March 1863, they printed the first issues of the first Ereẓ Israel periodical, *Ha-Levanon (spelled by them *Halbanon*), edited by Jehiel *Brill, to which Salomon contributed.

Salomon was active in the Ashkenazi community and strove to obtain for it a status equal to that of the Sephardi community and to make peace between its factions. He joined a group of young community leaders who wished to extend the scope of Jewish settlement in Jerusalem and even engage in agricultural work. Salomon was one of the founders of Jerusalem's Naḥalat Shivah quarter (1869), one of the first to be built outside the walls of the Old City, and participated in the establishment of Me'ah She'arim and other quarters. He took active part in the Yishuv Ereẓ Israel Association, which endeavored to purchase agricultural land for settlement. In 1877–78 he published the paper *Yehudah vi-Yrushalayim* ("Judea and Jerusalem"), in which he advocated plans for agricultural settlement and called for "action and deed." In the autumn of 1878 he was among the founders of Petaḥ Tikvah; after the first settlers were severely affected by malaria, he helped establish the nearby settlement of Yahud and to attract to it scholars, in order to establish a yeshivah there. After living there for seven years, he returned to Jerusalem and took up his public work for the institutions of the old *yishuv*.

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[Yehuda Slutsky]

SALOMON, JULIUS (1853–1922), Danish archivist and historian of 19th-century Danish Jewry. Appointed librarian of Copenhagen's newly established municipal library in 1897, Salomon assembled an outstanding collection of material for scholarly research. From 1907 to 1917 he was assistant secretary to the upper house of the Danish Parliament.

In 1914, to celebrate the centenary of the royal decree which granted Danish Jewry full civil liberties, he published *Mindeskift i Anleding of Hundredaarsdagen for Anordningen of 29 Marts 1814*. Together with J. Fischer, he wrote *Bidrag til dansk-jødisk Historie 1820–1845* ("Contribution to Danish-Jewish History 1820–1845," 1918). He was a cofounder and editor of the Jewish journal *Tidsskrift for Jodisk Historie og Literature*, in which many of his studies of Danish-Jewish history appeared between 1917 and 1922.

[Herbert A. Strauss]

SALOMON-CALVI, WILHELM (1868–1941), German geologist. Salomon-Calvi was a member of the faculty of Heidelberg University from 1897, being appointed professor of geology in 1908. In 1934, despite the fact that he was a convert to Christianity, he left Germany and went to Turkey, where he became head of the geology department of the agriculture faculty at Ankara University.

His main work was connected with the Adamello-Marmolata and Gotthard massifs of the Alps, the tectonics of the rift valley of the Rhine, and the influence of magmatic upheavals on mountain building. Salomon-Calvi discovered thermal springs near Heidelberg and played a part in the groundwater exploration of Turkey. He was for many years editor of the *Geologische Rundschau* and an active member of the Heidelberg Academy.

[Leo Picard]

SALOMONS, SIR DAVID (1797–1873), first Jewish lord mayor of London. David Salomons was born in London, the son of Levi Salomons, a prominent Ashkenazi stockbroker. He became a member of the Stock Exchange in 1823 and a Lloyds underwriter in 1834. As a founder of the London and Westminster Bank in 1832, he was one of the few Jews to participate in the development of joint stock banking in Britain. An ardent fighter for Jewish emancipation, national and municipal, Salomons played a prominent part in the campaign to abolish the last Jewish disabilities. In 1835 he was elected a sheriff of London; after being twice refused, he was finally elected alderman in 1847; on both occasions special legislation was carried through to enable him to take the oath in a form acceptable to him. He became lord mayor of London in 1855 without any attempt being made to debar him. Elected to parliament in 1851, he took his seat in the House of Commons, but was forced to withdraw because he refused to recite the conclusion of the oath, "on the true faith of a Christian." After the amendments to the oath brought about the bill of 1858, he sat in parliament as a Liberal from 1859 until his death. His particular interests were social problems and Jewish welfare.

Salomons was active on the Jewish Board of Deputies (twice replacing Sir Moses *Montefiore temporarily as president) and took an interest in the Westminister Jews' Free School, Jews' Hospital, and the Society for Hebrew Literature. In 1869 he was made a baronet, being succeeded by his nephew SIR DAVID LIONEL SALOMONS (1851–1925), a pioneer of electrical engineering and automobiles.

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[Vivian David Lipman]

SALOMONS, SIR JULIAN EMANUEL (1836–1909), Australian politician and jurist. Born in Birmingham, England, Salomons, the son of a merchant, emigrated to New South Wales in 1853 and worked first for a bookseller and then for a stock jobber. His mother's sister married Sir Saul *Samuel. Salomons became secretary of the Sydney Great Synagogue, and his ability as a public speaker led the synagogue to send him to England in 1858 to study law. In 1861 he returned to Sydney and was admitted to the bar. His keen powers of analysis and gift for submitting evidence rapidly led him to outstanding success. In 1868, he defended the Irish nationalist O'Farrell on a charge of shooting at the Duke of Edinburgh, a son of Queen Victoria. In 1869 Salomons was nominated a member of the New South Wales Legislative Council and in the same year became solicitor-general, representing the government in the Upper House. He resigned in 1870. Salomons was made chief justice of New South Wales in 1886, but resigned before even being sworn in because of the hostility of some members of the court. He was reappointed to the legislative council in 1887 and was vice president of the cabinet until 1889. He served as agent-general for the colony in London from 1889 to 1890 and again from 1899 to 1900. Originally opposing the campaign for federation of the Australian colonies, after the passage of the 1900 Constitution Act he became a strong supporter and took part in working out the compromise federation agreement which was embodied in the Imperial Decree of July 1900. He was knighted in 1891. Salomons always outspokenly defended his Jewish background.

ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY: ADB, 6, 81–83; H.L. Rubinstein, Australia I, 377–79.

[Isidor Solomon / William D. Rubinstein (2nd ed.)]

SALOMONSEN, CARL JULIUS (1849–1924), Danish physician and bacteriologist. Born in Copenhagen, Salomonsen began his bacteriological investigations in 1873 as an assistant at the Copenhagen Municipal Hospital. He studied with Julius Friedrich Cohnheim (1839–84), Robert Koch (1843–1910), and Louis Pasteur (1822–95), and then introduced bacteriology as a scientific discipline into Denmark and was appointed lecturer on bacteriology at the University of Copenhagen. Salomonsen was professor of pathology from 1893 to 1920 and rector magnificus (1919–20). With the introduction of serotherapy and the discovery of diphtheria antitoxin, Salomonsen established a serotherapeutic laboratory in 1895 which became the foundation of the well-known Danish State's Serum Institute. Salomonsen was known as the last polyhistor at the University of Copenhagen. A great number of monographs on various branches of science afford evidence of his extensive knowledge and interests.

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[Julius Margolinsky]

SALONIKA (Thessaloniki), port located in N.E. Greece. Although historical evidence is scarce, it is believed that the Alexandrian Jews who arrived in ca. 140 B.C.E. were among the first Jews to settle in Salonika. Several sources give evidence of the existence and growth of the Jewish community during the Hellenistic and Roman periods. It is known that the apostle Paul preached for three consecutive Sabbaths in the synagogue of Salonika and that afterward he was forced to leave the town. The Romans granted autonomy to the community, whose members lived in a neighborhood near the port; therefore, the Jews had the opportunity to develop strong commercial ties with many parts of the world. The Jews of Salonika during the Roman and Byzantine periods had Greek names and spoke Greek.

Byzantine Period

After the splitting up of the Roman empire in 395 C.E., Salonika became the second most important city – after Constantinople – in the *Byzantine Empire. The Byzantine emperors in their efforts to "Christianize" their subjects were hostile to the Jewish communities in their territory and especially to the Jews of Salonika. Constantine the Great (306–37) and Theodosius II (408–50) enforced anti-Jewish laws. Justinian I

(527–65) and Heraclius (610–42) prohibited public fulfillment of the *mitzvot*. Basil I (866–86), the Macedonian, and Leo III (717–41), the Philosopher, forced the Jews to convert or leave the country. One of the very few emperors who acted favorably toward the Jews was Alexius I Comnenus, who during the First Crusade alleviated the taxes imposed upon them. During the same period, in 1096, the messianic movement that had started in Germany as a result of the persecutions in Mainz and had spread throughout Europe also reached Salonika. In 1169 Benjamin of Tudela visited Salonika and mentions that at that time there were about 500 Jews in the city. The sufferings of the Jews continued during the Latin Empire, which was established by the Crusaders (1204–61), as well as under Theodore Ducas Angelus, the despot of Epirus, who ruled the kingdom of Salonika from 1223 or 1224 to 1230.

During the second half of the 14th century Salonika attracted Jews, among the first being Hungarian Jews in 1376. Refugees from the 1391 riots in the Iberian Peninsula, mostly from Catalonia, found refuge in Salonika. In 1394, Jews migrated to the city from Provence. Like the Ashkenazim, the immigrants from the latter two regions formed their own synagogues. In 1423, Andromachos, the governor of Salonika, sold the city to the Venetians. The Venetians imposed heavy taxes on the Jews, who sent a special delegation to Venice to convince them to alleviate the burden. In spite of the hardships they suffered during the Byzantine period, the Jewish community of Salonika flourished: most of the Jews were merchants, engaging especially in the silk trade. Jews from Sicily, Venice, and other Italian cities migrated to Salonika and formed the synagogues Sicilia Yashan and Italia Yashan. There was also a veteran Romaniot community in the city. It is to be noted that the oldest synagogues of Salonika – Etz ha-Hayyim (which existed until the 1917 fire) and Etz ha-Da'at – date as early as 142 B.C.E., and until the arrival of the Iberian expulsees in 1492, they observed the Romaniot prayer rite and customs. Nevertheless, it is impossible to affirm the continuity of the community.

Turkish Conquest – Sephardi Immigration (15th–16th Centuries)

In 1430 Salonika was occupied by the Turks. At approximately the same time waves of Jewish immigrants started arriving in the town. In 1470 Bavarian Jews arrived in Salonika and formed the Ashkenazi community near the existing Romaniot community. The two communities differed in every aspect: clothing, eating habits, religious rites, prayer books, etc. The Ashkenazi community continued to exist until the beginning of the 20th century and the members were not assimilated into the other Jewish groups in Salonika. During the 15th and 16th centuries many Jewish expellees from Spain, Portugal, Italy, Sicily, and France, and refugees from North Africa, settled in Salonika. The largest numbers came in 1492–3 and 1536. Once in Salonika they founded separate synagogues ("congregations," *kahal kadosh*). These synagogues were named after their native countries or towns: Sicily, Calabria, Majorca, Lisbon, etc. Salonika also received Marranos who were expelled from Portugal. In 1514 the rabbinical triumvirate of Salonika issued a special *haskamah* regarding the Marranos as Jews as far as marriage and divorce were concerned, i.e., they practically regarded the Marranos as Jews in every respect. Additionally, in 1555, when the Marranos from Ancona were persecuted by Pope Paul IV, the Jewish merchants of Salonika decided to boycott Ancona and incited the Jewish merchants all over the *Ottoman Empire to follow them in their act. Nevertheless, as a result of political and economic reasons, the boycott did not succeed. There was some emigration from Salonika, but not to a great extent. The reasons for the emigration were plagues and fires that ravaged the town in 1543, 1545, and 1548. It is estimated that by 1553 there were 20,000 Jews in Salonika: the location of the city and the fact of being a port – constituting a key point on the international trade route between the East and the West – helped attract settlers. Merchandise from the East came to Salonika and from there was transferred to the West and vice versa. The Jewish immigrants maintained their relations with their coreligionists and colleagues in their countries of origin – France, Flanders, Egypt, and especially with the Italian ports, above all Venice. They therefore had a relative advantage in international trade, Salonika's location helping to exploit this advantage to the maximum. Troubles, of course, were not lacking, coming in the form of pirates and highwaymen. The Jews of Salonika also engaged in the crafts, and the city was famous for its Jewish weavers and silk and wool dyers. Nearby there were gold and silver mines in Siderokastro and many of the miners were Jews. Another craft was the manufacture of jewelry.

There were three main concentrations of Jews in Salonika: a quarter next to the city wall at the port, i.e., very close to the main artery of trade; the Francomahalla, i.e., the quarter of the "Francos" (foreigners from Europe), which presumably consisted of the elite of the Jewish inhabitants; and the quarter near the hippodrome, which was primarily Greek. Thus, the Jews did not live near the Turks, the rulers of the town. The organization of Jewish life in Salonika was of a special character. There were about 30 independent congregations who sometimes associated themselves as a voluntary body that took care of the common interests of the congregations. The *takkanot* issued by this body had to be accepted by every congregation to be valid for it. They included women's rights, ethical matters, religious matters, etc. These *takkanot* were based on the *takkanot* of Toledo (1305), Aragon (1335), and Castile (1432). The heads of each community were called *parnasim, memunim, nivrarim*, and *anshei ma'amad*, and were elected by all the members of each congregation. A committee elected by the *parnasim* of each congregation decided what proportion of taxes each congregation had to pay to the Turkish authorities, according to the number of members and their financial state. Women, orphans, and the poor were exempt from taxes. Each congregation had the following communal organizations: *Ḥevra kaddisha*, which was also called *Ḥevrat kevarim; gemilut ḥasadim* ("philanthropic organization"); *bikkur ḥolim* (sick wards); yeshivah; and *bet din*. The religious head of each *kahal kadosh* was the *marbiẓ torah* or *ḥakham shalem*, who was elected for a limited period of time and usually came from the town or country of origin of the *kahal kadosh*. The *marbiẓ torah* taught at the yeshivah of the congregation, was usually also the *dayyan* of the congregation, and delivered sermons on Sabbaths and holidays. Jews were forbidden by the *halakhah* to go to the Turkish authorities for matters pertaining to inheritance and *ketubbot*. The Talmud Torah Hagadol was formed in 1520 as a communal solution to education, since maintaining a school for each of the more than 30 *kahalim* became an insurmountable burden. It was a very large institution of 200 teachers, serving more than 10,000 students, and was not only a school but also had a communal treasury, library, printing press, a fabric industry, and its own prayer congregation. Salonika became a center of Torah learning and attracted many students from abroad. During the 16th century there were numerous important rabbis whose influence spread beyond the borders of Salonika and even the Ottoman Empire. Among the most prominent were: Joseph *Caro, the famous rabbinic decisor who lived in Salonika during the years 1532–34 and continued to work there on his monumental *Bet Yosef*; Solomon *Alkabetz, the author of *Lekhah Dodi*; Isaac *Adarbi, the author of *Divrei Rivot* and *Divrei Shalom*; Moses *Almosnino, the author of many important works including *Regimiento de la Vide* and inventor of an astrolabe; Moses de Boton (d. 1570) and his son Abraham de *Boton (d. 1592), the author of the responsa *Leḥem Rav* and *Leḥem Mishneh*, a commentary on Moses *Maimonides' 12th-century code of Jewish law, *Mishneh Torah*; and Samuel di *Medina ("RaSHdaM"), who left over 1,000 responsa and is considered among those halakhic authorities whose decisions both in *halakhah* and in practice can be relied upon. Salonika was also renowned as a center of Kabbalah. In addition to the rabbinical schools in Salonika in the 16th century, there was a *bet midrash* for *piyyutim* and singing, as well as a *bet midrash* for secular studies where medicine, natural sciences, astronomy, and other subjects were taught. Saadia Longo was a noted local poet, and Israel *Najara of Damascus, who was of Salonikan familial origin, spent time there. The physician *Amatus Lusitanus, who wrote treatises on circulation, taught in that above school of medicine when he settled in Salonika in 1558.

From 1515 the Jewish weavers of Salonika provided the Ottomans with cloth for army uniforms. Later the community could pay the mandatory poll tax (the jizya) as a protected minority religious group through this service. Thus, the Jewish community was recognized as "Musselemlik," recipient of "a freedom letter" which exempted it from other taxes and made it an autonomous administrative body directly under the Sublime Porte.

17th Century

At the beginning of the 17th century the city once again suffered from plagues and fires (1604, 1609, 1610, 1618, 1620, 1630, 1636, 1640, 1648), causing emigration; nevertheless, by the middle of the century there were about 30,000 Jews, or half of the total population of the town. Trade continued to flourish in spite of the drop in Venetian trade, which resulted from the loss of Crete to the Turks in 1669 and the riots caused by the janissaries at the same time. The Jews continued to export grain, cotton, wool, silk, and textiles. Many Jewish women worked in growing tobacco and its industry. At the same time fewer and fewer Jews worked in the crafts. Toward the end of the century a decline in commercial activities took place as a result of the decline of the Ottoman Empire, which had entered a state of continuous war with various countries and peoples. In spite of all these troubles Salonika remained a center of religious studies and *halakhah*. The famous halakhic authority R. Hayyim Shabbetai (1556–1647), author of the *Torat ha-Hayyim* and *Teshuvot Rav Ḥayyim Shabbetai*, lived in the city during the first half of the 17th century; other important religious authorities included Aaron Cohen Perahiyah, the author of *Parah Matteh Aharon*, David *Conforte, author of *Kore ha-Dorot*., Eliya Judah Kovo, *av bet din* from 1670 and author of *Shenei Me'orot ha-Gedolim*, and the great talmudic scholar Aaron Ḥayyim ha-Kohen (1648–1698), author of the two-volume *Matteh Aharon*.

While in theory, the 1568 edict provided Salonikan Jewry protection from the whims of the local authorities, in practice local governors and government officials in the capital often ignored it. Dozens of firmans provide testimony as to how local authorities extorted additional sums from Salonikan Jewry for the poll tax. In 1636 the sultan ordered the execution of Rabbi Judah Covo when he underestimated the amount and quality of the cloth transmitted for tax payment from the Jews of Salonika to the authorities. Frequently, the Jews had to finance the sultan's wars by paying a special tax (avarish), and in 1646 a firman was issued for the rabbinical court judges of Salonika to issue a special tax to finance the war against Crete. The Jews, like other non-Muslims, were also frequently tormented by the Janissaries serving in the city.

The most influential event for the Jewish community in the 17th century was the appearance of the pseudo-messiah *Shabbetai Ẓevi. Expelled from *Izmir ca. 1651–54, he arrived in Salonika sometime afterward. In the beginning he was very well treated, and he preached in the Shalom synagogue; but later, when he married a Torah scroll, he was expelled after a decision made by the most important rabbis of the town. In 1666, after it was declared that he was the true messiah, he was arrested and given the choice by the sultan between death or conversion, he converted to Islam, and seven years after his death, in 1683, a group of believers – some 300 Jewish families – also converted to Islam. This sect was called the *Doenmeh (in Turkish "apostates") and their religious center was in Salonika, from which they spread to Constantinople and other places. *Shabbetai Ẓevi's passage from Salonika and the conversion in 1666 that ensued caused turmoil among the Jews in Salonika; the community consequently felt the need to unite. In 1680 the 30 congregations merged into one, with a supreme council composed of three rabbis and seven dignitaries. The three rabbis were elected for life and could not be replaced unless all three died. The first triumvirate was composed of Moses b. Hayyim Shabbetai, Abraham di Boton, and Elijah Kovo. Another important step was the reorganization of all the rabbinical courts into three bodies along the following lines: matrimonial; rents, possessions (*Ḥazakot*); and ritual matters (*issur ve-hetter*). Each *bet din* was composed of three rabbis who were elected by the triumvirate; they were known for their justness, and many Muslims and Greeks preferred to try the cases they had with Jews in these courts instead of the Turkish ones.

18th–19th Centuries

As the Ottoman Empire declined, the community's financial situation in Salonika worsened, and French merchants began to gain control of business interests. In 1720–30, Portuguese Marranos, called "Francos," immigrated to Salonika. Most of them were well-educated, and among them were merchants and bankers, who had been established in Italy and in particular in Livorno.

They did not pay taxes to the sultan since they were considered as interpreters of the consuls. In the beginning they also refused to pay the relevant taxes to the Jewish community, but after a decision by the central committee of the community, they acceded to the community's demands. The Jewish population at that time was between 25,000 and 30,000. Nevertheless, both religious and secular studies declined, and only study of the *Kabbalah still flourished.

Leading rabbis of the 18th century were Asher Ben Emanuel Salem, author of *Responsa Asher* (1748), Moses ben Solomon Amararillo, who wrote the 3-vol. *Responsa Devar Moshe* (1742, 1743, 1750), and Joseph ben David, author of *Responsa Bet David* (1740).

End of 19th–Beginning of 20th Centuries

Toward the second half of the 19th century the Turkish governors of the city initiated a further expansion of the town. A new port was built in 1889, which helped to develop trade. European culture and technology also began to flow into Salonika, and signs of this "Westernization" became apparent among the Jewish inhabitants as well. In 1873 the *Alliance Israélite Universelle established a school, and additional schools along Western standards were also built. By the end of the 19th century, the Alliance educational system in Salonika and other locations had produced a new generation of European-educated entrepreneurs; prepared students to learn medicine, pharmacy, law, and education; created secular literacy; and enticed its graduates to pursue journalism, theatrical performance, and even the publication of novels, historical works, and short stories. Physicians who had studied in Europe helped to eliminate epidemics.

In 1864, Juda Nehama printed *El Lunar*, the first Judeo-Spanish newspaper in Salonika. Though it was short-lived, it was a new format of communication. He brought to the attention of the public items about science, translations from noted rabbinic works, stories, historical pieces, folkloric stories, commercial issues, and the like.

The main Judeo-Spanish newspaper of Salonika, *La Epoca*, was founded in 1875 by Saadi Halevi Ashkenazi, who was an active publisher in Salonika and was a scion of a family that published many exegeses from Sephardi ḥakhamim in Salonika and elsewhere in the Ottoman Empire. This commercial and literary newspaper appeared twice a week until the summer of 1898, when it appeared also every Friday. The Halevis struggled financially to print the newspaper and keep it running, and it closed in 1912.

Parallel to Yiddish theater in the Ashkenazi world, the Sephardim of the Balkans had an active Judeo-Spanish theater. The Judeo-Spanish theater was the most active in Istanbul in the last quarter of the 19th century, but by the end of the 19th century it would be surpassed by the Salonikan stage. The first plays took place at the time of the opening of the local Alliance schools. The play *Saul* by Vittorio Alfieri was adapted into Judeo-Spanish by Joseph Errera, a local poet and train station manager who coordinated the dramatic productions of the organization. In 1882, *El Tiempo*, a translation of Racine's *Esther,* was also performed in Salonika, and in 1884, David Hassid adapted *L'Avare* of Molière into Judeo-Spanish for the local Salonikan stage. In the 20th century in Salonika, ideological movements like the Socialist Labor Federation, which essentially was a Jewish movement with 6,000 Sephardi Judeo-Spanish speaking members Jews, or Zionist movements and organizations like Betar, B'nai Mizrachi, Maccabi, Tiferet Israel, B'nai Zion, Cercle Max Nordau, and Po'alei Zion organized Judeo-Spanish theatrical productions. In 1914, the drama group of the Socialist Federation produced both Molière's *Garonudo* and the comedy *El hastron*. In 1919 the above group performed Tolstoy's *Resureccion.*

Some of the Judeo-Spanish plays performed by the religious Westernization helped in the development of trade. In Istanbul and Izmir, the Jews could not compete against the Greek-Orthodox and Armenian merchants, as the latter were much more numerous and powerful, but in Salonika, where the Jews were a majority, they attained great wealth, developed the city industrially, and controlled the port, the commerce, banking, the tobacco trade, and the artisan professions. As a result of their European education, Salonikan Jews represented big European firms as maritime, commercial, insurance, and tobacco agents. As Salonika became connected to Mitrovitsa (1871), Belgrade (1880), Vienna (1888), Monastir (1893), and Istanbul (1895) by rail, exports from the city increased greatly, but the local Jews also developed industrial infrastructures, with small factories supplying Macedonia and Ottoman markets with flannel, knitted goods, and wool and cotton products. Nevertheless, the export of cotton, hides, silkworms, and wool continued to represent an important part of its activity. The volume of the Salonikan port rose from one to two million tons between the years 1880 and 1912.

As a result of this Westernization, liberalism became paramount among the Jews of Salonika. Nevertheless, this did not undermine the traditional ways of the community, and many new yeshivot were established. The Ḥevrat Kadimah – for the spreading of the Hebrew language – was founded in 1899, and the well-known teacher Isaac *Epstein was brought to Salonika to teach Hebrew. In 1887 the rabbinical triumvirate was dismissed, and Jacob Kovo was appointed to the post of *ḥ*akham bashi* (chief rabbi). In 1900 there were approximately 80,000 Jews in Salonika (out of a total population of 173,000). In 1908, when the Young Turks rose against the Ottoman sultan Abdul Hamid II, Jews were among their numbers. One of the first actions of the Young Turks when they came to power was the recruiting of all non-Muslims into the Turkish army. As a result, many young Jews left Salonika and emigrated to the U.S. in order to avoid serving in the Turkish army.

The Jews and the Doenmeh in Salonika, in particular, and Jews in other parts of the Ottoman Empire were active in the Young Turk Movement, the Committee for Union and Progress. The religious minorities led by Muslim reformists united, and were optimistic that they could induce change and play a more integral part in the political life of the Ottoman Empire. Some Salonikan Jews like Emmanuel Carasso, Moise Cohen (who was born in Serres and later changed his name to Tekinalp to assert his patriotism to Turkey), the attorney Emmanuel Salem, Nissim Mazliah (initially from Izmir), and Sam Levy were active and were somewhat prominent in CUP, but their influence has been questioned by scholars. During the demonstration in Salonika at Freedom Square ushering in the Young Turk Revolution and declaring a constitution, Carasso was one of the four speakers. In 1908 Carasso was one of four Ottoman Jews elected to the Ottoman Parliament. He refused the appointment of minister of public works in 1910, but was elected to the Senate in 1912 (along with two other Jews).

Since the Jews believed that the new government was more liberal and tolerant than the former one, they openly organized socialist and syndicalist movements. Avraham Benaroya of Plovdiv, an active Bulgarian socialist and former student of Bochor Azaria, moved to Salonika in 1907 to try the challenge of organizing a socialist movement. The Socialist Labor Federation of Salonika became primarily a Jewish socialist movement of some 6,000 workers. Benaroya was ultimately exiled and imprisoned by both the Young Turk government and the Greek authorities after Salonika became part of Greece in 1912.

At the same time, the first Zionist organizations, Agudath Bnei Zion and Maccabee, appeared in Salonika. By the eve of World War II there were more than 20 Zionist organizations. The Young Turk revolution marked a new "golden" era for the Jews of Salonika, and they could be found in every profession: merchants, tobacco workers, lawyers, physicians, teachers, while the Jewish stevedores of Salonika were famous. On Sabbaths the town and the port came to a standstill since the Jews did not work.

When the Greek army entered the town in 1912, King George declared that Jews and all other minorities were to have the same rights as the Greek population. After the Balkan Wars (1912–13), Salonika could no longer be used as the port for the Balkan states. Nevertheless, trade continued to flourish during World War I since Salonika became a center for Allied soldiers. In 1917 a great fire destroyed most of the town, leaving some 55,000 Jews homeless. The Greek government, which followed a policy of Hellenizing the town, was ready to compensate the Jews whose houses had been destroyed, but it refused to let the Jews return to certain parts of the town, causing many of them to leave the country and emigrate to the U.S., France, Italy, and Alexandria. In 1923, a separate electoral college was set up for the Jews of Salonika (as well as for the Muslims in Thrace). While this enabled several Jews to be elected to parliament, they could not participate in national elections for the prime minister. This discriminatory system, which the Salonikan Jews unsuccessfully tried to fight internationally, continued until after the 1933 elections. In 1924 a law (no. 236) was enacted which forced all the inhabitants of Salonika to refrain from working on Sundays, thus causing another wave of emigration. Some went to Palestine, while most immigrated to Paris, where they founded an important community. In the 1931 Campbell riots, which accompanied the elections and were antisemitic in tone, an entire Jewish neighborhood was burned to the ground by hooligans of the EEE (Greek National Front) student movement and Asia Minor refugees, and most of the Jews who lived in the Campbell neighborhood emigrated afterward to Palestine. In the 1930s, 15,000–18,000 Salonikan Jews immigrated to Ereẓ Israel, and some 15,000 emigrated to France, mostly to Paris, but also to Marseilles and Lyons. In 1935 there were nearly 60,000 Jews in Salonika, and in spite of the drop in Jewish population from the turn of the century and all the riots and fires, the Jews continued to maintain their status in the economic activity of the town. The coup d'etat of Metaxas (1936) brought a change for the better in the lives of the Jews of Salonika.

[Jacov Ben-Mayor / Yitzchak Kerem (2nd ed.)]

Holocaust Period

The Salonikan Jewish community, which was the most prolific Sephardi cultural and religious center in the world and which dominated the city as a plurality or majority throughout most of 450 years since the Spanish expulsion, suffered greatly in the Holocaust. Its pre-World War II population of 56,000 was almost totally annihilated in the Holocaust – 98 percent of its Jewish community, 54,000 Sephardi Jews, died in Auschwitz-Birkenau, or during the long, exhausting Death March from January to May 1945. Salonika, the heart of the Sephardi world, was thus destroyed, and everyday Sephardi life in a natural setting would never return. By the time of the Holocaust, whether in Turkey, Jerusalem, the Americas, or elsewhere, Sephardi communities had assimilated into local cultures to such an extent that Judeo-Spanish Sephardi culture had nearly vanished as a vital and dominant force. Only in Salonika, where the community had an active Judeo-Spanish theater, a thriving Judeo-Spanish press, a vast secular and religious literature, and a wide array of Sephardi musical performers, ensembles, and choirs, was the Sephardi Judeo-Spanish culture an all-inclusive and self-perpetuating phenomenon.

World War II began for Greece and Greek Jewry on October 28, 1940, when Greek dictator Metaxas refused to surrender to Mussolini, and Italy attacked Greece from Albania. Greece fought valiantly to push back the Italians but finally capitulated on April 26, 1941. The Jews had a very active role in fighting for the Greek army, with 12,898 Jews conscripted for this special war effort. Four-thousand Jews fought on the front line in the Albanian campaign and in Macedonia, and 513 fought against the Germans. A total of 613 Jews were killed on both fronts, and at least 174 were from Salonika. Other Jewish casualties included 3,743 wounded, 1,412 of them severely. The Greek Macedonian Brigade 50 that fought in Albania was nicknamed the "Cohen Battalion," as it included many Jews from Salonika and other parts of Macedonia.

At first the German rule in Salonika was relatively quiet. The Jewish newspapers were closed, including *El Mesagero*, the last Judeo-Spanish newspaper to be published in traditional script. New pro-Nazi Greek newspapers, *Nea Evropi* and *Apoyevmatini*, appeared and spread vehement antisemitic sentiment. Jews were forced to guard train lines against sabotage by the resistance, and Jews had to give rooms in their homes to German soldiers. There was little terror against the Jews and very few restrictions. As the Germans neglected the Greek economy, there was mass starvation in 1941–42, with as many as 60 Jews dying each day in Salonika. The Rosenberg Commission entered Salonika in mid-June 1941 and confiscated massive amounts of Jewish books, documents, Torah scrolls, and religious artifacts, taking them back to the Nazi Institute for Jewish Research in Frankfurt. In the early 1990s, some of the communal documents from Salonika and Athens appeared as part of confiscated German documents in the Osobyi Archives in Moscow.

On July 11, 1942, the Germans assembled 9,000 Jewish males between the ages of 18 and 45 for forced labor. Waiting on the Sabbath in their holiday clothes, they were compelled to do humiliating calisthenics and many were beaten. Some 4,000 Jews were recruited for grueling road work from August to December 1942. The Jews were released from forced labor after paying an exorbitant ransom, but the Germans ordered the destruction of the 500-year-old Sephardi cemetery with its half-million graves.

From the beginning of German occupation in Salonika on April 9, 1941, until the end of the deportations of Salonikan Jewry to Birkenau from March 15, 1943, to August 1943, as many as 3,000–5,000 Jews fled Salonika, mostly by train, to the temporarily "safe" Italian zone below the Platona line (below Katerini and to the north of Larisa in the Thessaly region) and sought refuge in Athens. While most Salonikan Jewish families hesitated to leave their familiar surroundings and appear not to have known what was happening under German occupation in northern Europe, there were many Jews who were politically astute and succeeded in finding a way to flee.

At least 800 Salonikan Jews went to the mountains of Macedonia in early 1943 to join the ELAS Communist- leaning resistance movement. Some were organized Communists, but most just went to save themselves and became motivated to fight against the Germans. More would have gone if the large nuclear traditional Salonikan Sephardi families would have agreed to split up, and others were hesitant due to the rugged life in the mountains or due to the association of ELAS with the militant Communist movement. While ELAS opened its ranks to Jewish men and women as fighting soldiers or in the services, and harbored entire Jewish families in its village and mountain strongholds, the rightist royalist movement generally did not admit Jews, and there were only four known cases of Jews serving in that movement, which was most active in western Greece in Epirus. The Italian diplomats were lenient in consenting to protect Italian Jewish nationals, those of Italian descent, or others whom they could save by registering their applications to begin the citizenship process. They actively saved some 800 Jews in such a manner and transported them by car or Italian military train to the free Italian zone. They arrived in Athens and remained safe there until the Germans replaced Italian rule in September 1943. The local Spanish diplomats with their status of a neutral country tried to delay deportation for their nationals, but on August 2, 1943, a group of 367 Jews was deported to Bergen-Belsen. They stayed there under preferential conditions until they were transferred in February 1944 to Barcelona, and then on to Morocco and to Ereẓ Israel. Some 144 Jewish Spanish nationals had escaped to Athens.

At the end of January 1943, the Nazis created three distinct neighborhood ghettos where there were large concentrations of Jews: Kalamaria (encompassing almost half the city to the east and where most of the Jews lived), Singrou (west of the White Tower) in the central area of the city, and Vardar/Agia Paraskevi (near the old train station in the western part of the city). Jews living outside these neighborhood ghettos were transferred in, and several families had to occupy a given residence. From these ghettos, Jews were transferred to the Baron Hirsch transit camp, where they arrived at least a day before deportation and often several weeks before, and waited for the transport which took them mainly to Birkenau (Auschwitz II). The crowded and dark cattle cars departing every few days took on anywhere from 1,000 to 4,000 Jews at a time, but most of the trains carried 2,200 to 2,800 Jews. The Salonikan Jewish population was so large that the deportations took several months. One deportation was sent to Treblinka, and there might have been one to Sobibor in view of the presence of a group of Salonikan Jews there.

At least 37,000 Salonikan Jews were gassed upon their arrival in Auschwitz-Birkenau, but the figure may be several thousand higher. There was a large Salonikan contingent of some 2,000 men in Buna (Auschwitz III) who worked in the I.G. Farben factory laying cables and digging. The Salonikan middleweight boxing champion Jacko *Razon organized boxing matches in the camp for Sunday's half-rest day entertainment, and as a boxer worked in the kitchen and daily smuggled out a 25-liter soup barrel, which served as an extra ration at night for fellow Salonikans and other Jewish inmates. In Auschwitz, the Salonikan Jews were a main part of the work force throughout 1943 and 1944 since they numbered some 11,000. Jacko *Maestro, a crafty young Salonikan Sephardi youth who spoke German, became *Arbeitsdienst* coordinator in Auschwitz, assigning the daily work schedule to some 16,000 camp inmates and saving numerous lives by finding easier work places for the weak and the sick.

As a large part of the work force in Birkenau, the Salonikan Jews were also a large part of the **Sonderkommando,* the work group that labored by the gas chambers and pulled out the dead bodies and burned them in the crematorium. Since the prisoners in this *kommando* were witnesses to the German death process, they were executed after working three months in the gas chambers. When a general camp revolt was canceled, the Greek *Sonderkommando* Jews decided to revolt themselves, joined by the French and Hungarian Jews as well as by 19 Russian Jewish soldiers. Isaac Kabelli estimated that 135 Greek Jews participated in the revolt in Crematoria III and IV, which started at about 2:15–2:20 P.M. on October 7, 1944. After attacking two German guards in Crematorium IV and taking their weapons, a group of 25 Greek prisoners ran to Crematorium III. During the furious battle there, numerous German guards were killed when the Germans from outside shot at the prisoners inside. Historian Steven Bowman noted that some 20 guards were killed. Isaac Baruch, a Salonikan Jew of Skopjian familial descent, placed a bomb in the furnace of Crematorium III. The explosion demolished the building. Before the Germans killed all of the prisoners in the crematorium, the prisoners sang a tune from the Greek partisans and finally the Greek national anthem. The *Sonderkommando* in Crematorium II did not revolt, since at the beginning of the uprising the Germans acted quickly and locked up all of them in a crowded room for the day.

Auschwitz Salonikan Jewish prisoners, as foreigners who were unfamiliar with Polish Jewry and Warsaw, were sent to clean up the destroyed Warsaw Ghetto and establish a forced labor camp there. The Salonikan Jews were the first group sent from Auschwitz to Warsaw in August 1943 and physically built the camp. A second group of Salonikans was sent in October 1943. Together, the Salonikan Jews numbered over 1,000, and they were the largest group of any origin in the Genshovka camp. A Salonikan Jew, Shaul Senor, who had previously made aliyah to Ereẓ Israel and returned to Salonika to organize further immigration under the pioneering Heḥalutz movement, tried to escape from Warsaw, was caught, and executed a month later on June 25, 1944, in front of all the Salonikan and other Jewish prisoners. His death inspired his Sephardi brethren not to give up hope and continue their struggle to survive despite the typhus, meager food, and terrible conditions. Most of the Salonikan and other Jewish prisoners were cleared out of Warsaw by foot at the end of July 1944 and headed toward Germany.

The Greek Jews – particularly the Salonikans but not exclusively – were victims of medical experiments in Auschwitz-Birkenau. Of 400 known experiments, the Greek Jews constituted about a quarter of the victims. Pregnant and single women had cancers implanted in their uterus, men had testicles removed, most twins did not survive, and others were frozen or victims of other heinous Nazi war crimes. The pregnant Salonikan Aliza Sarfati Baruch survived her two operations, was assisted in the infamous Auschwitz Bloc 10 by a Jewish doctor named Dr. Shmuel who later mysteriously disappeared, and miraculously bore children in Israel after the war; but most women, if they survived, never were able to conceive.

The deportations in Salonika, protested by Greek Archbishop Damaskinos and heads of national professional unions, signaled to most other Greek Jewish communities that the same terrible fate awaited them.

[Yitzchak Kerem (2nd ed.)]

Contemporary Period

After the war, survivors of the Salonikan community, together with remnants of smaller communities, concentrated in Salonika. As the Jews of the other communities spoke Greek, Ladino has all but disappeared as a spoken language in the community. The number of Jews fell from about 2,000 in 1946 to about 1,500 in 1971 as a result of emigration to Israel and, to a lesser degree, other countries. In 1971 there was an organized community, but only two synagogues were in use. Religious services took place on festivals, and there was a *minyan* for Sabbath services only. The children of the community studied in Greek schools, but provisions were made for Jewish education, which was handled mostly by teachers from Israel. In addition, there was a youth club and the *Maccabi organization. In the 1980s, the population of the community was around 800, but by the early 21st century it had grown to 1,100 due to increased family size. In the 1980s, the synagogue on Irakleon Street was renovated, and a Jewish study center and library was set up on an upper floor of the same office building. In the mid-1990s, Andreas Sephiha became community president and placed emphasis on cultural proliferation, Jewish religious continuity, and education. Rabbi Dayan was brought over from Israel and later replaced by the Athenian-born and Israeli-educated Mordechai Frizis. In 2005 the Jewish community had an active youth center and pedagogical resource staff and center, and employed two full-time rabbis. The elderly were cared for at the Modiano Old Age Home, and the community also ran a nursery school, elementary school with six grades, and a summer camp for all the Jewish youth of Greece. A new Jewish museum was founded at the turn of the century.

The major collections of archival material on the community of Salonika are located in Jerusalem, at the Central Archives of the Jewish People and Ben-Zvi Institute, and in the Instituto Arias Montano in Madrid. Until Greece took over the city in 1912, the great majority of the community's documents were written in Ladino in Oriental script; later, Greek became the language of use.

The Jews of Salonika constituted an important source of *aliyah*, particularly after World War I. They were active among the Sephardi community in Palestine, and played an important role in the construction of Tel Aviv. Among the notable families from Salonika were the Florentin, *Recanati, Molcho, and Uzziel families. Leon Recanati founded the Israel Discount Bank, which later developed into one of the most important banks in the country, and the Florentin quarter of Tel Aviv is a manifestation of the initiative of immigrants from Salonika.

Salonikan Jews made a unique contribution to the penetration of Jews into seamanship in Erez Israel. As early as 1914, Izhak *Ben-Zvi was sent to Salonika to encourage Jewish seamen to settle in Erez Israel, but the outbreak of World War I destroyed the plan. In 1924 a group of more than 40 fishermen immigrated to Palestine. They initially settled in Acre, but the group dispersed after the Arab riots in 1929, principally in Haifa and Tel Aviv. As a result of Abba *Khoushi's visit to Salonika in 1933, 300 seamen, stevedores, and porters and their families immigrated to Palestine and settled in Haifa. It was thanks to them that Jewish labor penetrated into the port of Haifa. Over the years other families from Salonika joined them. In 1936 some of them moved to Tel Aviv and laid the foundations of the port there. A moshav ovedim of Greek settlers, some of them from Salonika, was established at Zur Moshe in the Sharon Plain in 1937.

[Chaim Yahil / Yitzchak Kerem (2nd ed.)]

Hebrew Printing

Early in the 16th century (c. 1512), Don Judah *Gedaliah and his son (Moses) and daughter arrived in Salonika after fleeing from Portugal. Gedaliah had previously managed the printing press of Eliezer Toledano in *Lisbon; he brought at least some of the latter's typographical material with him, and later he had some new types cut. Many of his productions, in the main liturgical works, have been lost, but some important items have survived: a Pentateuch with Onkelos and Rashi (1513); the first edition of Jacob ibn Ḥabib's *Ein Ya'akov* (1515–23); parts of Hagiographa with Rashi (1515); the tractate *Yoma*; Tur, *Orah Ḥayyim*; a Pentateuch with Rashi's and Nahmanides' commentaries (1520); *Yalkut Shimoni* on Prophets and Hagiographa (1521); and Solomon *Molcho's sermons (1529). In 1525, Moses *Soncino left Rimini (Italy) for Salonika, and in 1526 he issued the *Yalkut* on the Pentateuch and a *maḥzor* of the Catalonian rite in 1527. His kinsmen Gershom and Eliezer arrived – also from Rimini – in 1526 and printed David Kimhi's *Sefer ha-Shorashim*, together with Abraham Bedersi's dictionary of biblical synonyms, *Ḥotam Tokhnit* (1527), and a *maḥzor* of the Aragonian rite (1529), before moving on to Constantinople.

The Italian Soncino printing house of Rabbi Gershon Soncino established a branch in Salonika in 1527 and later in Istanbul in 1530. The famous dictionary *Sefer Shoreshim* of Rabbi David Kimḥi was published in Salonika, but due to epidemics and fires, the printing house closed.

Beginning in 1543 with Spanish refugees Solomon and Joseph *Jabez, a great variety of Hebrew books were printed in Salonika, among them a *maḥzor* of the Ashkenazi rite (1551–55). For a time, the enterprise had to be transferred to *Adrianople (1555). Eventually Solomon Jabez went to Constantinople, whereas Joseph returned to Salonika in about 1560 and until about 1572 printed many works, notably a series of Talmud tractates based on the Bomberg and Giustiniani editions; works by Moses *Almosnino; and translations into Judeo-Spanish and Provencal of parts of the Bible and prayer books. When he left, his typographical material was bought by David b. Abraham Azubib, who was active in printing from 1578 to 1588.

Shabbethai Mattathias *Basevi (d. 1601) acquired the Jabez press, and he and his son issued various works until 1605, including a *Midrash Rabbah* (1594), an *Ein Ya'akov*, and a *Shulḥan Arukh Oraḥ Ḥayyim* (1595). The Salonika *talmud torah* administration printed a *maḥzor* of the Catalonian rite in 1695, and some Talmud tractates in 1707. This press passed through various hands in the 18th century when many works were printed. During the time of Sultan Mustafa, the printing house of Raphael Yehuda Kalay and Mordecai Naḥman printed Rabbi David Pardo's *Le-Menaẓe'aḥ le-David* and *Minḥah le-David,* as well as Rabbi Eliyahu Mizraḥi and Rabbi Eliyahu Ben Ḥayyim's *Mayim Amukim* (1805), and more. Between 1814 and 1941, eight more Hebrew printers worked in Salonika, among them the presses of Isaac Jahon; the Gemilut Hasadim Society, which was founded about 1870 and printed selections from the Zohar; and the Etz ha-Ḥayyim Society, which was founded about 1875 and printed *maḥzorim*.

Bezalel Halevi Ashkenazi came from Amsterdam to Salonika (ca. 1738) and continued his family's tradition of printing. In his printing press, he published many books of responsa, derushim, and exegeses in Hebrew and Ladino. His descendants continued his printing activities. Saadi Halevi Ashkenazi (1820–1903) published the Judeo-Spanish newspaper *La Epoca* (1876–1912) in Judeo-Spanish Rashi script, but also coplas (a type of Judeo-Spanish balladry for holidays), and other ballads and *piyyutim* in Judeo-Spanish and Hebrew. The printing house existed until it was destroyed in the 1917 fire.

Leah Bornstein Makovetski noted the existence of 31 works of rabbinic *derashot* published in Salonika between 1750 and 1900. The last known publication of Hebrew rabbinic exegesis in Salonika was Rabbi Jacob Hanania Kovo's *Kokhav me-Ya'akov* in 1935.

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SALONS. For almost two centuries, salons hosted by Jewish women were important sites for cultural performances and discussion of music, art, literature, philosophy, and politics. Until recently, such social gatherings had seemed an isolated moment in Jewish history: Emerging in Berlin in the last decades of the 18th century, they had reached their peak around 1800. The Prussian capital saw at least 17 Jewish homes that consistently welcomed guests to open houses, usually for tea. After the Prussian defeat at the hands of Napoleon in 1806, the importance of these informal institutions was believed to have diminished. But in fact this was not the end of the story. This model of artistic and intellectual conviviality, persistently arising at a site in urban society connected with the feminine and the Semitic and bringing together individuals of diverse ethnic, religious, and social backgrounds, reappeared after 1815 and continued to be influential throughout the 1820s. Its reverberations survived into the late 19th and early 20th centuries with the emergence of comparable Jewish salons in Paris, London, and Rome. Versions of the salons survived World War II in cities as far away from Berlin as New York City and Los Angeles.

A 2005 exhibition at the Jewish Museum in New York City, entitled "Jewish Women and their Salons: The Power of Conversation," represented the entire history of this social and communicative experiment. To the well-known names of early salonnières such as Rahel Levin *Varnhagen and Henriette *Herz of Berlin, Fanny von Arnstein and Caecilie von Eskeles of Vienna, historians now add Geneviève Straus, a friend of Marcel Proust in Paris; Ada Leverson, Oscar Wilde's friend in London; Berta Zuckerkandel of Vienna along with her sister Sophie Clemenceau in Paris; Margherita Sarfatti in Rome; and the American writer Gertrude *Stein who resided most of the time in Paris. In New York City, Florine Stettheimer opened her house to regular cultural gatherings, while in Los Angeles Salka Viertel provided her co-emigrants from Germany and Austria with an environment in which to discuss ideas, creative achievements, and the events of the day. The intellectual, social, artistic, as well as political achievements of these women cannot be overestimated.

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[Barbara Hahn (2nd ed.)]

SALONTA (Hung. **Nagyszalonta**), town in W. Romania: within Hungary until the end of World War I and between 1940 and 1944. The first Jews settled there around 1840, but it was only after the abolition of residence restrictions in 1848 that the Jewish population increased. An organized community was established in 1850, when the first synagogue was also erected. A *ḥevra kaddisha* was established in 1859. A large and magnificent synagogue (still standing) was opened in 1886. The community school functioned between 1869 and 1936; until the end of World War I, the language of instruction was Hungarian. The cultural character and the everyday language of the local Jews was mostly Hungarian, with very little Yiddish being spoken. From 1882 the rabbis of the Great Synagogue preached exclusively in this language, even after Salonta passed to Romania. After the schism within Hungarian Jewry of 1868–69 (see *Hungary), the community joined the Neologist organization. In 1927 a few members founded an Orthodox community. Prominent among the rabbis of Salonta was Abraham Isaac Nébel (1887–1967; d. in Jerusalem), who was appointed rabbi of the town in 1925. The small Orthodox community was headed by Nathan Brisk, who perished in the

Holocaust From 1885 the community also served as the official center for the Jews living in 15 villages in the vicinity. The Jewish-Zionist cultural activity initiated by R. Nébel caused some agitation in this assimilated community; but though it gave rise to ramified Zionist activities, it did not diminish the Jews' Hungarian acculturation and sense of belonging.

The Jewish population numbered 534 (42% of the total) in 1891; 843 in 1910; 740 (4.8%) in 1930; 593 (3.7%) in 1941.

The Jews of Salonta were involved in the processing of the agricultural produce of the entire region, which was then sold throughout the country and even exported. Many Jews were landlords and also involved in agricultural production.

After 1919 the majority of the Jewish population continued to support the Hungarians, even in the face of the conflict between the former rulers, the Hungarians, and the new ones, the Romanians.

Holocaust and Contemporary Periods

Under Hungarian rule, Jewish men were drafted into labor battalions in 1942–43, most of them perishing. In the summer of 1944, the Jews in Salonta were deported via Oradea to *Auschwitz. After the war the survivors returned to the town and reorganized the community. They numbered 190 in 1947. Monuments in memory of those who had perished were erected opposite the synagogue and in the cemetery. The number of Jews in Salonta dwindled to ten families in 1971, as a result of emigration to Israel and other countries, and was further reduced by the turn of the century.

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[Yehouda Marton / Paul Schveiger (2nd ed.)]

SALSBERG, JOSEPH B. (1903–1998), Canadian labor leader, politician, journalist. Born in Lagev, Poland, Salsberg was 11 years old when he arrived in Toronto with his parents in 1913. He had only a few years of elementary education before he left school to help support his family. As a youth, he was associated with the Po'alei Zion movement, but, angered at the working conditions in the clothing manufacturing industry in Toronto, he joined the Communist Party in 1926 and was active in the trade union movement as Canadian vice president of the Hatters' International Union. During the 1930s he was a labor organizer for the Communist-affiliated Workers' Unity League. A skilled orator in both English and Yiddish, in 1938 he was elected alderman in a heavily Jewish inner-city Toronto neighborhood and in 1943 to the Ontario legislature for the Communist Labor Progressive Party. Salsberg was outspoken in his support for human rights and helped pass breakthrough anti-discrimination legislation He was defeated by Conservative Alan *Grossman in the 1955 elections.

In 1956 Salsberg visited the Soviet Union to undertake an investigation of the condition of the Jews in the U.S.S.R. He interviewed major Soviet leaders, including Nikita Khrushchev, and became convinced that there was little hope of recognition of the cultural rights of Soviet Jewry, and that antisemitic views were deeply entrenched through all layers of Soviet leadership. On his return to Canada, he wrote a long series of articles on his Russian visit in the left-wing Canadian Jewish Weekly, *Vokhenblat*. In 1957 Salsberg left the Communist Party and the United Jewish People's Order, which was Communist-inspired, taking a block of former Jewish Communist supporters. He went on to help to set up the left-leaning New Fraternal Jewish Association. A reborn Zionist, Salsberg was active on behalf of Israel and in fostering the Yiddish language. For many years Salsberg wrote a popular column for the weekly *Canadian Jewish News*.

[Ben Kayfetz (2nd ed.)]

SALT. Considered the most common and essential of all condiments, salt plays an essential role in Jewish life, ritual, and symbolism. It was plentiful in Ereẓ Israel, with inexhaustible quantities being found in the area of the Dead Sea. Its first mention in the Bible is in reference to Lot's wife turning into a pillar of salt (Gen. 19: 26).

Salt was an essential requisite for all sacrifices. The possibility that the verse "with all thy sacrifices shalt thou offer salt" (Lev. 2:13) may, in fact, refer only to the meal-offering mentioned in the context, is denied by the Talmud (Men. 20a) which lays it down that the statement applies to all sacrifices. The significance of this injunction seems evident from the prohibition, in the same context, of honey and leaven to be used in sacrifices. Honey and leaven symbolize fermentation and subsequent decay and decomposition; salt is a preservative. The idea of permanence is the basis of the "covenant of salt" mentioned on various occasions in the Bible. The rights of the priests to their share of the offerings is "a due for ever, an everlasting covenant of salt" (Num. 18:19), and Abijah, king of Judah, assures Jeroboam, who had seceded from the House of David, that God has given the kingdom to the House of David by "a covenant of salt" (II Chron. 13: 5). It is in this sense that the passage in Ezra (4:14), in which the enemies of the returned exiles protest their loyalty to the king of Persia "because we eat of the salt of the palace" is to be understood as an expression of abiding loyalty to the palace, and not as the Authorised Version's "maintenance of the palace." The extent to which salt was used in the sacrifices may be seen in the statement in Josephus (Ant. 12: 140) that Antiochus the Great made a gift of 375 medimni (bushels) of salt to the Jews for the Temple service, and there was a special Salt Chamber in the Temple (Mid. 5:3).

The cleansing and hygienic power of salt is reflected in Elisha's act of purifying the bad waters of Jericho by casting salt into the springs (II Kings 2:20, 21), and in the custom of rubbing newly born infants with salt (Ezek. 16:4). On the other hand, it was known that salinity in soil caused aridity (Deut. 29:22; Job 39:6), and when Abimelech captured and destroyed Shechem, he "sowed it with salt" as a sign that it should not be rebuilt (Judg. 9:45).

The importance of salt as a condiment is also stressed in the Bible. Job asks rhetorically whether "that which hath no savor be eaten without salt" (6:6), and Ben Sira includes salt among the nine essentials of life (Ecclus. 39:26). Salt was an essential element of the Jewish table, and it became customary to put salt on the bread over which grace before meals was recited. A Yiddish proverb has it that "no Jewish table should be without salt" which is in accordance with the homily that makes one's table "an altar before the Lord" (cf. Avot 3:4). The ability of salt to absorb blood (Ḥul. 113a) is the basis of the important laws of kashering meat so that all blood be removed (see *Dietary Laws). Salt of Sodom (*Melaḥ Sedomit*) was particularly potent, having an admixture probably of the acrid potassium chloride of the Dead Sea. Its presence in common salt ("one grain in a *kor* of salt"), and the harmful effect it might have on the eyes, caused the custom of *mayim aḥaronim*, the washing of one's hands after a meal, to be instituted, in addition to the statutory washing before meals (Ḥul. 105b). There is a difference of opinion as to whether this washing of the hands is obligatory or merely advisable. *Tosafot* (loc. cit.) lays it down that, since salt of Sodom does not exist in France, the custom of *mayim aḥaronim* did not obtain there. Despite this ruling, the retention of the custom is widespread today. Salt of Sodom was also an ingredient of the incense used in the Temple during the period of the Second Temple (Ker. 6a).

In modern Israel the custom has developed for the mayor of Jerusalem or the elders of the city to greet distinguished visitors with an offering of bread and salt at the entrance of the city, and not with bread and wine as Melchizedek, king of Salem (Jerusalem), greeted Abraham (Gen. 14:18). There is no rabbinic authority for this practice. Philo (Jos. 35: 210), however, states that Joseph invited his brethren to a meal of "bread and salt" (cf. Gen. 43: 16, 31), and among the ancient Arabs it was the custom to seal a covenant with bread and salt.

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[Louis Isaac Rabinowitz]

SALTEN, FELIX (originally **Siegmund Salzmann**; 1869–1945), Austrian novelist, playwright, and critic, creator of "Bambi." Born in Budapest, Salten studied in Vienna, where he became a writer of feuilletons for the *Neue Freie Presse*, continuing the high standard of his friend and predecessor, Theodor *Herzl. As a dramatic critic, he made and unmade literary and stage reputations and his best essays on the theater were collected in *Schauen und Spielen* (1921). However, his own plays, from the anti-militarist *Der Gemeine* (1899) and the comedy *Das staerkere Band* (1912), to *Louise von Koburg* (1932), had no lasting success. Salten's novels were notable for their humor, satire, and eroticism. He also wrote novellas and essays such as *Wiener Adel* (1905), *Das Burgtheater* (1922), and *Geister der Zeit* (1924). His international fame rests on his best-known animal story, *Bambi* (1923), about a deer's life in the forest. This became a juvenile classic and was filmed by Walt Disney. Salten's Jewish interests came to the fore in his novel *Simson* (1928), and in essays about his visit to Palestine, *Neue Menschen auf alter Erde* (1925). In 1938 Salten left Austria for Hollywood but after World War II settled in Zurich, Switzerland.

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[Sol Liptzin]

SALT TRADE AND INDUSTRY. Jews took a considerable part, from at least the tenth century, in the salt trade and its extraction – which were generally state monopolies – in a number of European countries, principally as lessees of the mines. In the main areas of salt extraction on the coast of the Bay of Biscay, for example, as well as in Germany, Poland, and Spain, Jews played a prominent role. Some surmise that in Muslim countries, too, Jews took part in the production and distribution of this commodity. The leasing of a salt mine required technical knowledge as well as financial resources, and was a large-scale enterprise undertaken mostly by wealthy and influential Jews as part of their overall activity. In some places, especially Poland, Jewish lessees were granted jurisdiction over their non-Jewish employees.

The Jewish traveler and geographer of the tenth century, *Ibrahim ibn Yaʿqūb, noted a salt mine operated by Jews near *Halle in Germany, and a little later in the same vicinity one Tidericus Judeus is mentioned as a partner in a salt-producing company. In 1132 Alfonso VII of Castile conferred the locality of Otos, next to the salt-rich Tagus, on the Ibn Zadok brothers (see Solomon *Ibn Zadok). In the 13th century a member of the same family, Isaac ibn Zadok, was known as Don Çag de la Maleha, evidently in reference to the large number of salt concessions he held. Also prominent among Jewish salt contractors in Spain was Judah de Cavalleria, bailiff of Saragossa, who was granted the total crown revenues from salt by the king of Aragon in 1264. In 1280 Abraham of Medinaceli obtained the rights to exploit the extensive salt deposits in the area of Velasco for four years.

In the 14th century the wealthy Cracow Jew, *Lewko, operated a large number of salt mines in *Wieliczka and Bochnia. The number of Jews in the Polish salt trade rose steeply during the 15th century, and a number of salt mines in *Drohobych, Jasienica, *Kolomyya, *Dolina, and *Zhidachow were leased to Jews by the king during this period. At the beginning of the 16th century the minor nobility of Poland embarked on a century-long struggle to wrest this rich source of revenue from the Jews. The nobles succeeded in intimidating the heads of the *Councils of the Lands, who in 1580 prohibited, *inter alia*, the leasing of any "*zupa*" (Pol. "salt mine") from the king or the nobility. The wars which afflicted Poland at the end of the 18th century and led to its partition put an end to the leasing of salt mines to Jews; salt trade by Jews on a lower level continued in the partitioned regions: 3,651 of the 5,450 salt traders in Polish towns in 1823 were Jews. In 1824 local authorities were prohibited from granting any new salt concessions to Jews until the number of Christian salt traders equaled that of the Jewish. The decree was repealed in 1830, though in Warsaw, for example, in 1840 there were 151 Jewish and only 64 Christian salt traders.

Dutch Jews in the 17th century played a prominent part in importing salt to their country. The firm of Curiel, for example, imported salt from Tripoli. Jeronimo Nuñez da Costa imported salt from Portugal where there was a big salt production at *Setubal, and exported it to *Gdansk. In Germany the *Court Jews, purveyors to kings and princes, played an important part in the leasing of salt mines-granted sometimes in lieu of paying their debts, or sometimes for services rendered – from the middle of the 17th and throughout the 18th centuries. Noah Samuel Isaac of Sulzbach, in the 17th century, having furnished the crown prince of Bavaria with one million talers for his wedding celebrations, received the revenues of three Bavarian salt mines. In the same century the Bavarian salt monopoly was leased to Nathan Moyses, the Schwabach Court Jew. He and his partners were known as the "salt Jews." In 1698 the Court Jew of Palatinate, Lemle Moses Reinganum, advanced 120,000 florins for the exclusive rights to trade in salt. Samson *Wertheimer, who was responsible for the prosperity of the salt industry in Transylvania, also organized the salt trade monopoly in Poland, both advancing the necessary capital and supervising the transportation of salt from Wieliczka to Silesia and Hungary. At the end of the 18th and beginning of the 19th century, David Seligman signed a series of contracts for salt production in Bavaria. The part played by Jews in the German salt trade came to an end with the disappearance of the Court Jews from the stage of history.

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[Jacob Kaplan]

SALTZMAN, HARRY (1915–1994), film producer. Harry Saltzman was born in Saint John, New Brunswick. While a child, he moved to the United States but is said by one biographer to have returned to Canada to serve in the Canadian military during World War II. He did not see overseas duty but was attached to a Canadian Air Force supply unit. In the late 1940s he was back in the United States, where he spent several years working in early American and British television. In the 1950s he emerged as one of the pioneers in London's New Wave/Angry Young Man movement. His first major film work was with Woodfall, the company that produced Saltzman's well-received and money-making social dramas *Look Back in Anger* (1959), *Saturday Night and Sunday Morning* (1960), and *The Entertainer* (1960). In the later 1950s he became interested in the James Bond series of novels, and paid writer Ian Fleming $50,000 for a six-month option, but could not interest a major film company until he teamed up with Albert R. "Cubby" Broccoli. They founded EON (Everything Or Nothing) Films and Danjaq, S.A. (an amalgam of their wives' first names, Dana and Jacqueline). After agreeing to a film deal with United Artists in 1961, they jointly produced the Bond thrillers *Dr. No* (1962), *From Russia with Love* (1963), *Goldfinger* (1964), *You Only Live Twice* (1967), *On Her Majesty's Secret Service* (1969), *Diamonds Are Forever* (1971), *Live and Let Die* (1973), and *The Man with the Golden Gun* (1974). Saltzman made other films on his own, including the Harry Palmer spy series (with Michael Caine as Harry Palmer, "the thinking man's James Bond"). In 1975 Saltzman sold his interest in Bond to United Artists. He produced one more film, *Nijinsky* (1980), before he suffered a stroke at the age of 65 and was forced to retire.

[Joel Greenberg (2nd ed.)]

SALTZMAN, MAURICE (1918–1990), U.S. apparel manufacturer, philanthropist. Saltzman was born in Cleveland, Ohio, one of 10 children. Having lost both parents by the time he was four, he was raised in a local orphanage, but went on to become a preeminent maker of moderate-price women's sportswear and a leading philanthropist in the Cleveland area. His company, Bobbie Brooks Inc., was one of the first U.S. clothing manufacturers to reach an annual volume of more than $100 million. Following his graduation from Cleveland Heights High School at the age of 16, Saltzman went to work in the shipping room of Lampl Fashions, a local dress manufacturer. Five years later, in 1939, he and Max Reiter borrowed a couple of thousand dollars and launched Ritmore Manufacturing Co., producing dresses with a label that said Barbara Brooks. A year later, they changed the label to Bobbie Brooks and switched from dresses to junior sportswear, then a relatively new clothing category. In 1953, when Reiter left to go into his own business, Ritmore became Bobbie Brooks Inc., with Saltzman as chairman and chief executive officer. Its concept of coordinated sportswear – pieces that could be purchased separately and worn in various combinations – was highly successful, and the company went public in 1960. In the 1970s, Bobbie Brooks reached $100 million in volume, a mark attained by few apparel firms up to that time, but overexpansion was a problem. By 1977, the company initiated a restructuring program to sell or liquidate its marginal or losing units. It filed for Chapter 11 bankruptcy in 1982 and emerged a year later. In 1986, the company began licensing the Bobbie Brooks label to other manufacturers. After suffering a stroke in 1987, Saltzman retired. He was one of Cleveland's leading philanthropists, donating millions to such institutions as the Jewish Community Federation, Mt. Sinai Medical Center, and Bellefaire/Jewish Children's Home, formerly the Jewish Orphans Home, where he spent 11 years as a child. The campus of that home is now called the Saltzman Campus for Child Care. Saltzman, who was vice president of Cleveland's Temple Emanu-El, also founded the Saltzman-Wuliger Senior Citizens Center in Tel Aviv and a library and museum at the Children's Village of Gan Yavneh in Israel. He received a Humanitarian Medal from B'nai B'rith and a National Human Relations Award from the National Conference of Christians and Jews.

[Mort Sheinman (2nd ed.)]

SALUS, HUGO (1866–1929), Prague poet who wrote in German. A native of Česká Lípa, Salus was a gynecologist by profession, practicing in Prague. Between 1898 and 1928 he published volumes of impressionistic verse and was considered by contemporary critics as the foremost German lyricist.

Outstanding among his works are *Ehefruehling* (1900), *Trostbuechlein fuer Kinderlose* (1909), and *Die Harfe Gottes* (1928). Salus was a militant protagonist of German liberalism and Jewish assimilation. His views on the Jewish question are quoted in J. Moses' *Die Loesung der Judenfrage* (1907). Jewish themes appear in his poems "Ahnenlied" (about his grandfather, a peddler), "Der hohe Rabbi Loew," "Ahasver," "Sulamith," "Simson," and "Talmudische Legende," and in a short story, *Die Beschau* (1920). Salus was influenced by Rainer Maria Rilke and Hugo von *Hofmannsthal and, in his turn, influenced Max *Brod.

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SALUZZO, town in Piedmont, N.W. Italy. From 1142 to 1548 Saluzzo was the capital of the marquisate of the same name, long a bone of contention between France and the house of Savoy. Jews are first mentioned there in the 15th century; they ran 16 loan-banks in 1588, four at Saluzzo, two at Carmagnola, and the others in minor centers like Venesco, Verzuolo, and Piasco. In 1589 Duke Charles Emmanuel I of Savoy confirmed the existing privileges granted to the Jews by the French kings. In 1616 he gave the monopoly of Jewish loan-banking in Saluzzo to Leon Segre, who was murdered a few years later, though it is not known whether his death was caused by Christian reaction or the vengeance of his Jewish competitors. The Jews at Saluzzo formed a community in 1724 and were confined to a ghetto in September of the same year, in spite of attempts by the governor, Count Rovero, and the bishop, Giuseppe Morazzo to prevent this. The Jews in the ghetto, who were required to wear a yellow armband, were excluded from military service and the magistrature, funerary honors were denied them, and they were forbidden to keep Christian servants. Vittorio Amedeo of Sardinia forbade the Jews to pawn at the local loan-bank (*Monte di *Pietà*). A new ghetto was established in a more salubrious area in 1795. In that year the community founded a *talmud torah* and mutual aid institution aimed at propagating the Torah and providing assistance; special care was devoted to Jewish education. There were three Jewish burial grounds; the synagogue, located in the ghetto courtyard, was rebuilt in 1832. When in 1848 the Jews in the independent kingdom of Sardinia were granted a statute by King Charles Albert, those of Saluzzo also became full citizens. The community set up three important communal institutions, the Gemilut Ḥasadim (1865), Ḥevrat Baḥurim, and Ḥevrat Nashim. By a royal decree of September 1931, the community of Saluzzo became part of the larger one in *Turin. Some Jews from Saluzzo distinguished themselves as magistrates or politicians, such as Consul David Segre and Emanuel *Segre, an attorney general in Turin. Noteworthy rabbis included Marco Tedeschi, B. Artom, E.D. Bachi, and R. *Segre. About 100 Jews lived in the marquisate in the middle of the 16th century. There were nine in 1759, 90 in 1767, 210 in 1807, 320 in 1860, and 59 in 1931: 29 of these were victims of the Nazis. There were five Jews in Saluzzo in 1970.

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[Alfredo Mordechai Rabello]

SALVADOR, Sephardi London family that settled in colonial America. JOSEPH (1716–1786) was a wealthy London merchant who immigrated to America. Known in the Sephardi community of London as Joseph Jessurun Rodrigues, he was born into a wealthy family which had gone to England from Holland in the early 17th century. In 1738 he married Rachel, daughter of Isaac Lopes, third Baron Suasso. Salvador enhanced his wealth between 1738 and 1749 in the Spanish and Portuguese trade, working with his father, Francis. He also served as a liaison for the English merchants of Cadiz. Later he imported and exported coral and gems from India. Salvador was the first Jew to be made a director of the Dutch East India Company. He also was a financial adviser to the British government. Active in synagogue and philanthropic affairs, Salvador served as *parnas* of the Bevis Marks Spanish and Portuguese congregation in London. In his later years, Salvador suffered financial setbacks, notably with the failure of the Dutch East India Company. He sold part of a 100,000-acre holding in South Carolina's backcountry to his nephew and son-in-law, Francis (see below), who set up an indigo plantation in an effort to recoup the family losses. Later, Salvador sold most of his land, and in 1784 emigrated to South Carolina, presumably to support himself from remaining lands. He died in Charleston. FRANCIS (1747–1776), Revolutionary patriot; first Jew to serve in a legislative body in America. Francis was born in London and traveled extensively. When the family wealth was lost, young Salvador purchased some 7,000 acres of South Carolina land from Joseph. He emigrated there in 1773, on the eve of the American Revolution. Salvador early identified himself with the Colonial cause, and Carolina leaders, impressed with his education and ability, took him into their councils, despite his being a Jew. He was made a delegate to the Revolutionary Provincial Congresses of South Carolina (1775–76), which rejected British rule and constituted itself as the legislature of the newly independent state of South Carolina. Salvador thus became the first Jew to represent the people in a legislative body in America, and possibly the first Jew in the modern world to hold such public office. When the British attacked Charleston in 1776, Salvador quickly joined the patriot forces defending the frontier where his plantation lay. His detachment was ambushed by Indians near Keowee, S.C., and Salvador was shot and scalped. He was the first Jew to give his life in the struggle for American independence.

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[Thomas J. Tobias]

SALVADOR, JOSEPH (1796–1873), French scholar. Salvador, the descendant of Spanish Jews, was born in Montpellier. He studied medicine there and graduated at the age of 20. His thesis dealt with the "Application of Physiology to Pathology" (1816). Shortly afterward he settled in Paris, where he became known mainly for his scholarly interest in the history of religions. To the study of religion in general and Jesus in particular, he applied the methods of historical criticism and might thus be considered in some respects in advance of German scholarship. His *Jésus-Christ et sa doctrine* (1838) was violently criticized by the *Gazette de France* when it was published, but was favorably reviewed by A.I.S. de *Sacy in the *Journal des Débats* of the same year and by J.E. *Renan in his *Études d'histoire réligieuse* (1857). In *Paris, Rome, Jérusalem, ou la Question réligieuse au 19e Siècle* (1859), Salvador attempted to outline a universal creed, founded on a kind of reformed Judaism, or on the fusion of Judaism and Christianity into one single doctrine of progress. Salvador imagined that the center of the syncretistic religion of which he dreamed would be in Jerusalem, and he saw this ultimate faith as the lineal outgrowth of what he imagined classic Judaism to have been. This emphasis on Jerusalem has led a number of historians of Zionism, beginning with Nahum Sokolow, to regard Salvador as one of the precursors of Zionism, but the Jerusalem of his dreams was a "heavenly Jerusalem," and the society of which it was to be the center was a universal culture and not that of a restored Jewish people. In his search for a general religious synthesis, Salvador might also have been motivated by the urge to solve his own spiritual dilemma, as his mother was a Catholic. Moreover, Salvador's outlook comes close to that of the Saint-Simonians; Benjamin Olinde Rodrigues, one of Saint-Simon's foremost Jewish disciples, seems to have been influenced by Salvador's writings (see *Saint Simonism).

He also wrote *La Loi de Moïse, ou, Système réligieux et politique des Hébreux* (1822); *De quelques faits relatifs au système historique des Evangiles* (1839); and *Histoire de la domination romaine en Judée et de la ruine de Jérusalem* (1846). The Catholic Church put two of Salvador's works, *Jésus-Christ et sa doctrine* and *Paris, Rome, Jérusalem…*, on its official index of forbidden books.

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SALVENDI, ADOLF (1837–1914), rabbi, early adherent of Ḥovevei Zion, and organizer of charitable projects. Born in Waag-Neustadt, Slovakia, Salvendi officiated as a rabbi in Berent, Prussia (from 1864), and from 1865 acted as the district rabbi of more than 30 communities in Frankenthal, Bavaria, while living in Duerkheim. He continued in this capacity until 1910, when he went to live with his daughter in Karlsruhe. He resisted the influence of the extreme Reform movement (whose leaders persecuted him throughout his life) in the communities under his control and did much to further traditional religious education. At the same time Salvendi became well known as an organizer of relief projects for needy Jews. At first he collected money for the Jews of Russia, Persia, and other countries, and from 1877 for Ereẓ Israel. He published the names of donors and the sums collected in special lists, adding information about events in Ereẓ Israel, especially in the new settlements. Over 1,100 such lists were published over a period of 30 years, and this contributed substantially to the strengthening of Ḥibbat Zion in Western Europe, especially in Germany. The articles accompanying the lists were also of outstanding value as informative and propaganda material for Ḥibbat Zion. As a result of these activities, Salvendi was made an honorary member of the central committee of Ḥovevei Zion at the *Kattowitz Conference.

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[Getzel Kressel]

SALZ, ABRAHAM ADOLPH (1864–1941), Zionist leader in Galicia. Born in Tarnow, Salz studied in Vienna and in 1884 joined the Zionist student society *Kadimah there. After he completed his studies, he returned to Tarnow (1887) and began diversified Zionist activities. He succeeded in acquiring the support of the ḥasidic *rebbe* of Czortkow for the Jewish national idea and plans of settlement in Ereẓ Israel. At the first conference of the Zionist societies in Galicia, which took place in Lemberg in 1893, he was elected president of the executive committee and was among the founders of the Polish-Zionist newspaper *Przyszlosc* ("The Future"). Salz successfully combated assimilationist trends among Polish Jews. He also was among the founders of the Ahavat Zion society for the establishment of a settlement of Galician Jews in Ereẓ Israel. Immediately after the appearance of Theodor *Herzl, he joined the Zionist movement, participated in the First Zionist Congress (1897), and was elected its vice president. He participated in all Zionist Congresses until the 11th in 1913. After World War I he concentrated his Zionist activities in Tarnow, where he published his memoirs on his activities from 1884 to 1914 in the Jubilee Book in honor of 50 years of the Zionist movement in Tarnow (Polish, 1934).

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[Max Wurmbrand]

SALZBURG, city and province in W. Austria, formerly archbishopric and duchy. The first mention of Jews in the archbishopric occurred as early as 803 in a letter from Archbishop

Arno (798–821) asking for the settlement of a Jewish physician in his district. A customs list from 905 contains references to Jewish salt merchants, and the term "Judendorf" occurs in sources dating from 1074, 1107, and 1197. The first clear reference to Jewish settlement occurred, however, during the tenure of Archbishop Conrad I (1106–47), who utilized Jews as financial advisers. A Judenstrasse in the market town of Admont is mentioned in a source dating from 1124. The oldest gravestone in the archbishopric, dating from 1240, was discovered in Friesach; 13th–century settlements were noted in Muehldorf, Hallein, and Pettau (Ptuj). The first references to Jews in the city of Salzburg itself dates from 1282. In 1267 the district council prescribed for Jewish males the wearing of a horn-shaped hat (*cornutus pileus*), and forbade their visiting Christian baths and employing Christian domestics. Jews functioned as *moneylenders in the city of Salzburg, including among their customers members of the city administration; in 1285 a Jewish banker, Isaac, is noted among those who lent money to the treasury of the archbishop. Sources early in the 14th century indicate widespread Jewish commercial ventures with the investment of considerable capital. In the city a Jewish gate, Judenstrasse, and synagogue date from the period.

During the course of the *Black Death persecutions of 1349, some 1,200 Jews in the archbishopric lost their lives, despite two unsuccessful efforts on the part of Pope *Clement IV to intervene. Although the city councils prohibited the return of converted Jews to the faith they abandoned during the persecutions, Jews are found again in the archbishopric in 1352. Their return was facilitated by the liberality of Archbishop Ortolph (1344–65). Jews began to appear in large numbers in the city of Salzburg only in the 1370s, partly as a result of the bold economic policies of Archbishop Pilgrim II (1365–96). In 1377 a new place for worship was leased to the community to replace the one formerly used (in 1400 it was bought by three Jewish representatives of the community), and in the same year a cemetery was consecrated. Beginning in 1382 the archbishop began to call Jews to military service. The archbishopric in this period served as a sanctuary for Jews fleeing persecution elsewhere; in 1397, for example, a severe persecution of Jews in *Styria and *Carinthia brought a considerable number of refugees into Salzburg. A Salzburg scholar named Judah wrote a code on *sheḥitah* in this period. Despite the liberality of Salzburg's administration, however, an accusation of desecrating the *Host (1404) was directed against the Jews of Hallein and Salzburg. In Salzburg many Jews were burned at the stake; the rest were driven out of the city and their property confiscated. By 1418 a relatively large number of Jews had once more settled in the city. In the same year the provincial council extended its regulation on the wearing of a distinctive hat for Jewish males to Jewish women as well, ordering that bells also be attached to their garments. From 1429 Archbishop John II followed a particularly enlightened policy toward the Jews, inviting Jewish refugees from Speyer, Zurich, Mainz, and Augsburg. Jews were given considerable freedom, e.g., they were allowed to acquire houses and other real estate. In 1439 a new synagogue was constructed in the city; in 1448 a *mikveh* was built in Hallein, where a synagogue also was in existence. In 1498 Jews were, however, accused of having stolen a sacred object of the church; as a result, the synagogues of both Hallein and Salzburg were destroyed and the Jews were banished in perpetuity from the archbishopric. At that same time, a wooden image of a sow with Jewish children nursing from it was set up in the town hall. Later reproduced in marble, the figures were not removed until 1785. Jewish traveling merchants traded in Salzburg during the 17th and 18th centuries. The **Leibzoll* was repealed in 1790 and two *Court Jews were established in Salzburg by 1800. Nevertheless, until 1867 there was no permanent Jewish settlement in what had been the Austrian duchy of Salzburg for 350 years; in 1867 full equality was granted to the Jews. By 1869 there were 42 Jews in Salzburg, and by 1882 there were 115. In the 1890s an organization was set up to coordinate the religious and cultural needs of the Jews living in the duchy. In 1893 a new synagogue was dedicated in Salzburg and a *ḥevra kaddisha* was formed. For a while, Theodor *Herzl practiced law in Salzburg, leaving the city in 1884. In 1894 a cemetery was consecrated in Aigen.

Adolf Altmann, who acted as rabbi in the community from 1907 to 1914, wrote extensively on the history of Salzburg's Jews. Between the world wars, Salzburg's Jews contributed significantly to the rich musical and literary life of the city. Both Stefan *Zweig and Bruno *Walter were among the many renowned Jewish personalities of the period. After the *Anschluss* almost all Jews were deported; in November 1938 the synagogue was destroyed and the cemetery desecrated; several Jewish enterprises were destroyed and 70 Jews arrested. After World War II Salzburg served as a center for some 200,000 Jewish displaced persons. In 1953 a community was reestablished, and in 1968 the newly rebuilt synagogue was rededicated. The Salzburg university library houses a significant collection of Hebrew manuscripts. Around 100 Jews lived there in 2005.

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[Alexander Shapiro]

SALZMAN, PNINA (1924–), Israeli pianist. Born in Tel Aviv, Salzman began her music studies at the Shulamit Conservatory with Lina Hopenko. Alfred Cortot, on tour in Israel, heard her and immediately recommended that she study in Paris at the Ecole Normale de Musique under his supervision, where she graduated at the age of 12. She then studied at the Conservatoire National de Musique in Paris, and at 14 won a *premier prix.* At 15 she made her concert debut. Bronislaw *Huberman attended one of her concerts and wrote to the Israel Philharmonic Orchestra to engage the brilliant young pianist. Salzman played three concertos with the IPO in one evening and was greatly acclaimed. From then on, she regularly performed with the orchestra in Israel and toured other countries. Salzman is an artist of great versatility, known for her brilliant virtuosity as an orchestral soloist, a recital pianist, and an enthusiastic performer of chamber music. She was considered the first Israeli-born pianist to attain international artistic rank. In 1963 she was the first Israeli invited to perform in the U.S.S.R. Again, in 1994, she was the first Israeli pianist invited to play in China. Professor Salzman was head of the piano department of the Rubin Academy of Music at Tel Aviv University and was constantly invited to give master classes at important music centers abroad. She was frequently requested to act as a jury member at international piano competitions. In 2006 she received the Israel Prize.

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[Naama Ramot (2nd ed.)]

SALZMAN, WILLIAM (1883–1970), U.S. businessman and educator. Born in the Ukraine, Salzman emigrated in 1908 to New York City, where he founded the Standard Bag Corporation. He served as president and later chairman of the board until its merger with another company in 1966.

An amateur scholar of rabbinic and modern Hebrew literature, Salzman helped to found, finance, and maintain a number of important Hebrew educational institutions in New York City, among them the Herzliah Hebrew Teachers College, of which he served for many years as president, and the Institute of Hebrew Studies of New York University. He was an active member of Mordecai *Kaplan's Society for the Advancement of Judaism and chairman of the Israel Matz Foundation, which supports Hebrew writers in the United States and Israel. His Hebrew autobiography, *Netiv Ḥayyai* ("The Path of My Life") was published posthumously (1970).

SAMAEL, from the amoraic period onward the major name of Satan in Judaism. The name first appears in the account of the theory of angels in the Ethiopic Book of Enoch 6, which includes the name, although not in the most important place, in the list of the leaders of the angels who rebelled against God. The Greek versions of the lost Hebrew text contain the forms Σαμμανή (Sammane) and Σεμιέλ (Semiel). The latter form takes the place of the name Samael in the Greek work of the Church Father Irenaeus in his account of the Gnostic sect of the Ophites (see below; ed. Harvey, 1, 236). According to Irenaeus the Ophites gave the snake a double name: *Michael and Samael, which in the Greek work of the Church Father Theodoretus appears as Σαμμανή (Sammane). The Greek version of Enoch used by the Byzantine Syncellus retained the form Σαμιέλ (Samiel). This form still retains the original meaning derived from the word *sami* (סמי), meaning blind, an etymology which was preserved in various Jewish and non-Jewish sources until the Middle Ages. In addition to Samiel, the forms Samael and Sammuel date from antiquity. This third version is preserved in the Greek Apocalypse of Baruch 4:9 (from the tannaitic period), which states that the angel Sammuel planted the vine that caused the fall of Adam, and therefore Sammuel was cursed and became *Satan. The same source relates in chapter 9, in an ancient version of the legend of the shrinking of the moon, that Samael took the form of a snake in order to tempt Adam, an idea which was omitted in later talmudic versions of the legend.

In the apocalyptic work "The Ascension of Isaiah," which contains a mixture of Jewish and early Christian elements, the names Beliar (i.e., Belial) and Samael occur side by side as names or synonyms for Satan. What is recounted of Samael in one passage is stated in another about Beliar. For example, Samael dominated King Manasseh and "embraced him," thus taking on the form of Manasseh (ch. 2). In chapter 7, Samael and his forces are stated to be under the first firmament, a view that does not accord with his position as the chief of the devils. Samael is mentioned among the "angels of judgment" in the Sibylline Oracles 2:215. In the tannaitic and amoraic period, Samael is mentioned as being outside the alignment of the hosts of the *Merkabah. Drawing from Jewish tradition, several Gnostic works refer to Samael as "the blind god" and as identical with Jaldabaoth, who occupied an important place in Gnostic speculations as one of, or the leader of, the forces of evil. This tradition apparently came down through the Ophites ("the worshipers of the snake"), a Jewish syncretistic sect (Theodore Bar Konai, Pagnon ed., 213). Partially ecclesiastical traditions of this period, such as the pseudepigraphic versions of Acts of the Apostles, Acts of Andrew, and Matthew 24, retain the name Samael for Satan, acknowledging his blindness. He is mentioned as head of the devils in the magical Testament of Solomon (*Testamentum Salomonis*), which is essentially a superficial Christian adaptation of a demonological Jewish text from this period (ed. Chester Charlton McCown (1922), 96). Undoubtedly Simyael, "the demon in charge of blindness" mentioned in Mandean works (Ginzā, trans. M. Lidzbarski (1925), 200, and *The Canonical Prayer Book of the Mandaeans*, ed. E.S. Drower (1959), 246), is simply a variant of Samael.

In rabbinic tradition the name first occurs in the statements of Yose (perhaps b. Halafta or the *amora* Yose) that during the exodus from Egypt "Michael and Samael stood before the *Shekhinah*" apparently as prosecutor and defender (Ex. R. 18:5). Their task is similar to that of Samael and *Gabriel in the story of Tamar (Sot. 10b), in the statement of Eleazar b. Pedat. Samael retains the role of prosecutor in the account of Ḥama b. Ḥanina (c. 260 C.E.; Ex. R. 21:7), who was apparently the first to identify Samael with Esau's guardian angel during the struggle between Jacob and the angel. His name, however, does not appear in *Genesis Rabbah* (Theodor ed. (1965), 912), but he is mentioned in the old version of the *Tanḥuma, Va-Yishlaḥ* 8. In the parallel version in *Songs of Songs Rabbah* 3:6, the *amora* has Jacob saying to Esau: "your countenance resembles that of your guardian angel," according to the version of the *Sefer Mattenot Kehunnah* (Theodor ed.). Surprisingly, in the section of the *Midrash Yelammedenu* on Exodus 14:25, Samael fulfills a positive function during the dividing of the Red Sea, pushing back the wheels of the chariots of the Egyptians. In *gematria*, Samael is the numerical equivalent of the word *ofan* ("wheel"; in Ms. British Museum, 752, 136b; and in the *Midrash Ha-Ḥefeẓ ha-Teimani*, which is cited in *Torah Shelemah*, 14 (1941) to this verse).

Mention of Samael as the angel of death first occurs in Targum Jonathan on Genesis 3:6, and this identification frequently appears in late *aggadot*, especially in the legends on the death of Moses at the end of *Deuteronomy Rabbah*, at the end of *Avot de-Rabbi Nathan* (ed. Schecter (1945), 156). In *Deuteronomy Rabbah* 11, Samael is called "Samael the wicked, the head of all the devils." The name "Samael the wicked" is repeated consistently in *Heikhalot Rabbati* (1948), chapter 5, an apocalyptic source. The Hebrew Enoch 14:2, acknowledges him as "chief of the tempters" "greater than all the heavenly kingdoms." This text differentiates between Satan and Samael, the latter being none other than the guardian angel of Rome (*ibid.* 6:26). In traditions concerning the rebellion of the angels in heaven (PdRE 13–14 (1852)), he is the leader of the rebel armies. Prior to his defeat he had 12 wings, and his place was higher than the *ḥayyot* ("holy heavenly creatures") and the seraphim. Several tasks are attributed to him: Samael is in charge of all the nations but has no power over Israel except on the Day of Atonement, when the scapegoat serves as bribe for him (*ibid.* 46). It is he who rode on the snake in the course of the fall of Adam and hid in the golden calf (*ibid.* 45). In *Midrash Avkir* (see *Midrashim, Smaller), Samael and Michael were active at the time of the birth of Jacob and Esau, and even on the way to the **Akedah* of Isaac, Samael intervened as a prosecutor (Gen. R. 56:4). The war between him and Michael, the guardian angel of Israel, will not be completed until the end of days, when Samael will be handed over to Israel in iron shackles (Gen. R., ed. Albeck, 166, following Mak. 12a, and similarly in the messianic chapters (*pirkei mashi'aḥ*) in A. Jellinek, *Beit ha-Midrash* 3 (1938), 66f.).

Particular motifs on Samael in later *aggadah* include the following: Samael does not know the path to the tree of life, even though he flies through the air (Targ. Job 28:7); he has one long hair in his navel, and as long as this remains intact his reign will continue. In the messianic era, however, the hair will bend as a result of the great sound of the *shofar*, and then Samael will also fall (*Midrash Piyyutim*, quoted in a commentary on Ms. Munich 346, 91b). In Jewish astrological sources, which in time influenced those of other groups, Samael was considered the angel in charge of Mars. This idea recurs at first among the Sabans in Haran, who called him Mara Samia (D. Chwolson, *Die Ssabier und der Ssabismus*, 2 (1856); *Picatrix*, ed. H. Ritter (1933), 226) and later in medieval Christian astrological magic literature. He appears as the angel in charge of Tuesday in Sefer *Razi'el (Amsterdam, 1701), 34b; in *Ḥokhmat ha-Kasdim* (ed. M. Gaster, *Studies and Texts*, 1 (1925), 350; in *Judah b. Barzillai's commentary on Sefer *Yeẓirah (1885), 247, and in many other works. In demonological sources known to the brothers *Isaac and *Jacob b. Jacob ha-Kohen, Spanish kabbalists of the mid-13th century, an echo of the ancient etymology is still retained and Samael is called Sar Suma ("blind angel").

In later literature, Samael often appears as the angel who brought the poison of death into the world. These same demonological sources contain the earliest references to Samael and *Lilith as a couple in the kingdom of impurity (Isaac ha-Kohen's essay on *aẓilut, Madda'ei ha-Yahadut*, 2 (1927), 251, 260, 262). These sources are full of contradictory traditions concerning the roles of Samael and the war against *Asmodeus, then regarded as guardian angel of Ishmael. Different systems were constructed of the hierarchy of the leaders of the demons and their consorts (*Tarbiz*, 4 (1932/33), 72). According to one view, Samael had two brides (resp., *Sidrei de-Shimmusha Rabbah, Tarbiz*, 16 (1945), 198–9), an idea which also appears in *Tikkunei Zohar* (Mantua, 1558). The couple Samael and Lilith are mentioned many times in the *Zohar, mostly without specifically mentioning the name Lilith (e.g., "Samael and his spouse"), as the leaders of the *sitra aḥra* ("the other side"; i.e., evil). In *Ammud ha-Semali* by *Moses b. Solomon b. Simeon of Burgos, a contemporary of the author of the Zohar, Samuel and Lilith constitute only the eighth and tenth *Sefirah* of the left (evil) emanation (*Tarbiz*, 4 (1932–33), 217f.). In the Zohar, the snake has become the symbol of Lilith, and Samael rides on her and has sexual intercourse with her. Samael is cross-eyed and dark (*Zohar Ḥadash* 31, 4) and has horns (*Tikkunei Zohar* in *Zohar Ḥadash* 101, 3), perhaps influenced by the Christian idea about the horns of Satan. However, the image of Satan is linked with the goat in Targum Jonathan to Leviticus 9:3. The party, hosts, and chariots of Samael are mentioned in Zohar part 2, 111b; part 3, 29a. Different classes of demons, all called Samael, were known by the writer of *Tikkunei Zohar* (published in the main body of the Zohar 1, 29a). "There is Samael and there is Samael, and they are not all the same."

The conjurations of Samael often appear in magical literature and in practical Kabbalah. In 15th-century Spain a system was developed in which the heads of the demons were Samael, the representative of Edom, and his assistant Amon of No, representing Ishmael. A legend telling of their downfall at the hands of *Joseph della Reina appears in several sources (G. Scholem, in *Zion*, 5 (1933), 124f.). After Isaac *Luria had introduced the practice of not pronouncing the name of Satan, the custom of calling him *Samekh Mem* became widespread (*Sha'ar ha-Mitzvot* (Salonica, 1852), Exodus; *Sha'ar ha-Kavvanot* (Salonica, 1852), *Derushei ha-Laylah* 1).

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[Gershom Scholem]

SAMAMA (Shemama?), NESSIM (1805–1873), Tunisian *qāʾid*; born in *Tunis and died in Leghorn. After a long career as a textile merchant, Samama entered the service of the general Ben Ayad as a paymaster; in 1853 he went on to serve the prime minister Mustafa Khaznadar, quickly taking control of the functions of treasurer and controller of finances. In October 1859 he was appointed *qāʾid* of Tunisian Jewry, and the following year he became director and chief revenue collector for the state. He was raised to the rank of brigadier general. In 1864 Samama left for *Paris on an official mission to negotiate a loan for *Tunisia. He carried 20 million gold francs with him and, without any intention of returning, he settled at first in Paris and then, in 1871, in Leghorn. As a result of the conduct of the Prime Minister Khaznadar, the bey of Tunis was compelled to file a suit challenging the rights of inheritance of Samama's considerable estate. The subsequent suits for and against the validity of the inheritance of the estate gave rise to numerous articles which were published in Arabic, Italian, French, and Hebrew. During his lifetime Samama contributed to the publication of several works of Tunisian and other rabbis, and also to the maintenance of a yeshivah in *Jerusalem which bore his name.

His nephew SALOMON SAMAMA (d. 1886) was also a *qāʾid*, and was chief collector of Tunisian revenues from 1864 to 1866 and 1869 to 1873. When the estate of his uncle was disputed, Samama fled to Corfu, escaping with several million gold francs; a large part of the money was successfully recovered by the Tunisian government. He died in Paris.

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[Robert Attal]

SAMANDAR, *Khazar town N. of the Caucasus, four days from Bāb al-Abwāb and seven or eight days from *Atil on the Volga. As in the case of *Balanjar, Samandar originally seems to have been the group name of the inhabitants. The Zabender (apparently = Samandar) are mentioned by the Greek writer Theophylact Simocatta as emigrating from Asia to Europe in about 598 C.E., while a town M-s-n-d-r (vowels uncertain) in the land of the Huns, north of Darband (Bāb al-Abwāb), occurs in the Armenian geography attributed to Moses of Chorene. According to Masʿūdī (*Murūj*, 2 (1877), 7), in the earliest Arab period Samandar was the Khazar capital; subsequently *Atil on the Volga was made the capital, evidently to be out of reach of Arab attacks. Samandar figures regularly in accounts of the fighting in the second Arab-Khazar war. Al-Iṣṭakhrī, the tenth-century geographer, describes the town as possessing many gardens and thousands of vineyards. There was a considerable Muslim population, but the king was a Jew and related to the king of the Khazars. According to the geographer Ibn Ḥawqal (tenth century, later than Al-Iṣṭakhrī), Samandar was destroyed by the Russians in 968 C.E. (358 A.H.). The exact site of ancient Samandar is unknown, but it is generally agreed to have been somewhere in the region of present-day Qizlar on the Terek, which, like Samandar, is noted for its vineyards. Remains of a large town which may be Samandar have been found deep in the woods along the lower Terek (communication of M.I. Artamonov to D.M. Dunlop, November 1964).

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[Douglas Morton Dunlop]

SAMARIA (Heb. **Shomron**, modern **Sebaste**), city established as the capital of the northern kingdom of Israel during the reign of Omri c. 884 B.C.E. Prior to the Omride period the site appears to have been the center of an extensive wine and oil production area, which may have accounted for its choice as the new capital. Apparently the origin of the name of the site was from Shemer, the eponymous owner of the land that Omri purchased for two talents of silver (I Kings 16:23–24).

The site has been excavated by two archaeological expeditions. The first was the Harvard Expedition, initially directed by G. Schumacher in 1908 and then by G.A. Reisner in 1909 and 1910 with the assistance of architect C.S. Fisher and D.G. Lyon. The second expedition was known as the "Joint Expedition," a consortium of five institutions directed by J.W. Crowfoot between 1931 and 1935, with the assistance of K. Kenyon, E.L. Sukenik, and G.M. Crowfoot. The leading institutions were the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem, the Palestine Exploration Fund, and the Hebrew University. In the 1960s small-scale excavations directed by F. Zayadine were carried out on behalf of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan.

The city is built on the summit of a rocky hill, and the foundations of the monumental buildings from later periods often plowed down through the earlier strata to the bedrock, which was never far below. In modern times the site has been used as farmland by the villagers of neighboring Sebaste; this meant that most of the excavated areas had to be back-filled and returned to agricultural use. These two developments hindered excavation and later analysis of the remains. The earliest remains consist of extensive rock-cut installations, initially thought to date to the Early Bronze Age by Kenyon. These were reevaluated, first by Stager and then by Franklin, and are now recognized to be the remains of an extensive early Iron Age oil and wine industry (designated Building Period 0).

Only the acropolis of Samaria has been extensively excavated down to the bedrock. The palace was excavated solely by the Harvard Expedition and recognized by it as the Palace of Omri (designated Building Period I). The Omride palace was located on an elevated 4-meter-high rock-cut platform that isolated it from its immediate surroundings. Immediately below the palace, cut into the face of the bedrock platform, there are two rock-cut tomb chambers that have only

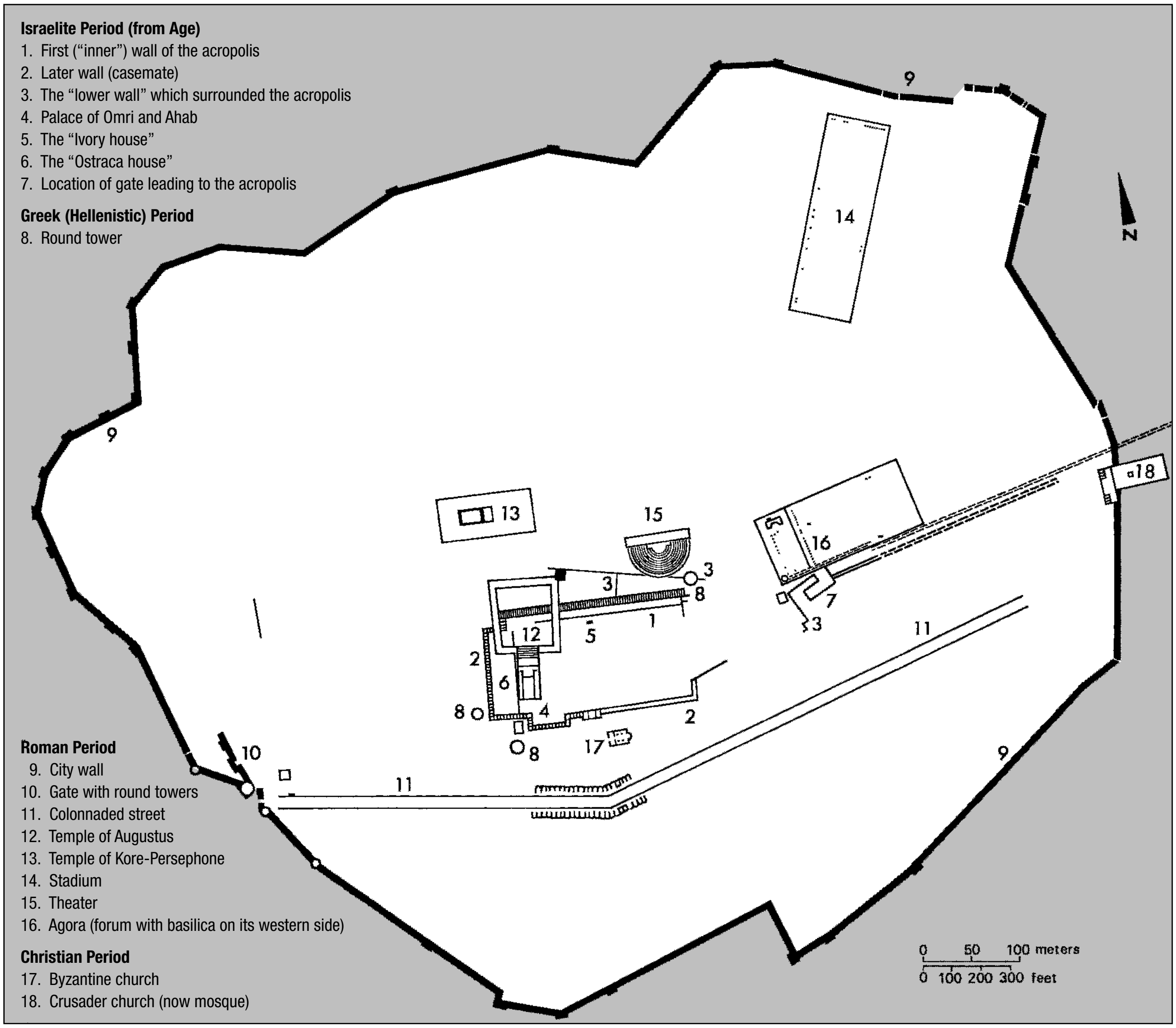
Israelite Period (from Age)
1. First ("inner") wall of the acropolis
2. Later wall (casemate)
3. The "lower wall" which surrounded the acropolis
4. Palace of Omri and Ahab
5. The "Ivory house"
6. The "Ostraca house"
7. Location of gate leading to the acropolis
Greek (Hellenistic) Period
8. Round tower
Roman Period
9. City wall
10. Gate with round towers
11. Colonnaded street
12. Temple of Augustus
13. Temple of Kore-Persephone
14. Stadium
15. Theater
16. Agora (forum with basilica on its western side)
Christian Period
17. Byzantine church
18. Crusader church (now mosque)
N
0 50 100 meters
0 100 200 300 feet

Plan of the site of Samaria. Based on Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land, *Jerusalem, 1970.*

recently been recognized and attributed to Omri and Ahab. West of the palace there are meager remains of other Building Period I buildings, but much of the rock surface has been severely damaged by later buildings. The Omride palace continued in use during the next building phase (designated Building Period II), but it was no longer isolated on an elevated platform. The acropolis area was extended in all directions by the addition of a massive perimeter wall built in the casemate style; the new enlarged rectangular acropolis measured c. 290 ft. (90 m.) from north to south and at least c. 585 ft. (180 m.) from west to east, and the surface was now raised to a uniform elevation by the addition of a massive fill. This phase (Building Period II) was traditionally attributed to Ahab due to the misallocation of Wall 161 that runs parallel to the northern casemates and the identification of a large rock-cut pool near the northern casemate wall as the biblical "Pool of Samaria"; the wall (Wall 161) is now recognized to belong to Building Period II and the "pool" is a rock-cut grape-treading area that originated in Building Period 0 and continued in a reduced form in Building Period I. Consequently the onset of Building Period II can only be relatively fixed. There is neither a biblical anchor nor securely dated pottery to establish the chronological affiliation of Building Period II. The Omride Palace was still in use and the royal tombs were still accessible (now via subterranean rooms) and there was an administrative building, the "Ostraca House" (named for the 63 ostraca retrieved from the floor's make-up) built west of the palace on the newly extended acropolis. The ostraca provide a wealth of data concerning oil and wine supplies, and can possibly be attributed to the period of Jeroboam II c. 785–749, thus providing a probable date for Building Period II. North of the palace a rich cache of Phoenician ivories (furniture ornamentation) was retrieved. This was mixed with later debris, but it was presumed by the excavators (the Joint) that it was in this area that the "Ivory House" that Ahab built for Jezebel (I Kings 22:39) stood. Northeast and below the acropolis a number of Iron Age tombs were found and their location probably delimits the area of the city in that direction. In essence only the acropolis was excavated down to the Iron Age, but it is presumed by the excavators (the Joint) that the city extended down over the northern and southern slopes of the hill. During the reign of the last king of the northern kingdom, Hosea (II Kings 10), the Assyrians invaded in 722/721 B.C.E. (initially under Shalmaneser V and finally under Sargon II), when they established complete control over the capital city and the remainder of the northern kingdom. The fragment of a stela with an Assyrian inscription attributed to Sargon II was found on the eastern slope of the acropolis testifying to their presence. In addition, according to inscriptions from Sargon's palace at Khorsabad, the inhabitants of Samaria were deported to Assyria. The remains of a wall relief in Room 5 of Sargon's palace are thought to depict Samaria and its defeated defenders. New inhabitants were brought in (from Arabia and the Syro-Mesopotamian area, II Kings 17:24) and, together with the remnant not deported, they formed a new Samaritan population. The city together with the neighboring highland area became known as Samerina and was ruled by an Assyrian governor. There are only meager remains from the succeeding Babylonian period and it was only in the Persian period, in the mid-fifth century, that the city reemerged in importance. The tensions between the ruling family of Sanballat and Jerusalem under the governorship of Nehemiah are documented in the Bible (Ezra 4:10, Neh. 2:1–8). Samaria became a Hellenistic town in 332 B.C.E. and thousands of Macedonian soldiers were settled there following a revolt by the Samaritans. Three 13-m.-diameter round towers dating to that period have been excavated (the first two by Harvard, which attributed them to the Israelite period) and a later, massive, fortification wall with square towers. These fortifications were breached during the destruction of the city by John Hyrcanus in 108 B.C.E. Traces of the destruction wrought by *Hyrcanus were found by the excavators, but the city was apparently resettled under *Yannai. In 63 B.C.E. Samaria was annexed to the Roman province of Syria. In 30 B.C.E. the emperor Augustus awarded the city to *Herod, who renamed it Sebaste in honor of Augustus (Gr. Sebastos = Augustus). The outstanding remains from this period are: the Augusteum, consisting of a temple and a large forecourt built over the Omride palace at the summit of the acropolis; a city gate and an east-west colonnaded street; a theater on the northeast slope of the acropolis; a Temple to Kore on a terrace north of the acropolis; and a stadium to the northeast in the valley below. East of the acropolis and in an area that today links the ancient city with the modern village of Sebaste lies the forum, flanked on the west by a partially excavated basilica. Water for Roman Sebaste was provided by an underground aqueduct that led into the area of the forum from springs in the east. The city was encompassed by a city wall 2½ mi. (4 km.) long, with imposing towers that linked the gateways in the west and north. A number of mausoleums with ornate sarcophagi were excavated in the area of the modern village and adjoining fields.

The city was rebuilt without any major changes in the second century C.E. by Septimius Severus, when the city was established as a colony. Samaria has been associated with the burial place of John the Baptist and his tomb, reached by a steep flight of steps, is situated beneath the Crusader cathedral in the village. A small basilica church, first founded in the fifth century, was excavated on the southern slope of the acropolis. The church is traditionally the place of the invention of the head of John the Baptist. A monastery was added to it at a later date. In the 12th century C.E. a Latin cathedral dedicated to John the Baptist and marking the spot of his tomb, was built east of the Roman forum and combined elements of the Roman period city wall. It later became the Sebaste village mosque.

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[Norma Franklin (2nd ed.)]

SAMARITANS. This article is arranged according to the following outline:

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- **The Samaritans in the Time of Nehemiah**
- **The Samaritans in the Second Temple Period**
- **Samaritans in the Graeco-Roman Diaspora**
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IN ISLAM

MUSICAL TRADITION

HISTORY

Samaritanism is related to Judaism in that it accepts the Torah as its holy book. Samaritans consider themselves to be the true followers of the ancient Israelite religious line. The Samaritan temple was on Mt. Gerizim near Shechem (modern Nablus), where dwindling numbers of Samaritans still live and worship today.

Passages in the Hebrew Bible indicate that Mt. Gerizim has a legitimate (albeit obscure) claim to sanctity through its association with those who visited it. Abraham and Joseph both visited Shechem (Gen. 12:6–7, 13:18–20), as did Joseph (Gen. 37:12–14 and Josh. 24:32). In Deuteronomy (11:29 and 27:12), Moses commanded the Israelites to bless Mt. Gerizim when they entered the land of Canaan. When the Israelites crossed the Jordan they built an altar on Mt. Ebal (opposite Mt. Gerizim), and six of the tribes faced Mt. Gerizim while blessing the people of Israel as Moses commanded (Josh.8:30–33). Throughout Samaritan history, Samaritans have lived near Mt. Gerizim (Pummer 1968, 8).

After the fall of Samaria (724 B.C.E.), the Assyrian conquerors sent much of the population into exile to be resettled in various parts in the Assyrian empire. Towards the end of the seventh century B.C.E., Josiah tried to reform the cult in Jerusalem and, from then on, the stories and laws of the five first books of the Bible (the Torah, or Pentateuch) were at the heart of Jewish monotheism.

The Samaritan tradition maintains that its Torah (the *Samaritikon*) dates to the time of Moses and that it was copied by Abiša ben Phineas shortly after the Israelite entered the land of Canaan. However, modern literary analysis and criticism does not support this position. In fact, there are two main versions of the Torah: the Jewish version and the Samaritan version, and they are almost the same, which can only mean that both derive from the same original. While the Torah is a composite of traditions from both northern and southern Israel, the center of literary activity was Judaean, starting with the work of the Yahwists and ending with the editorial work of the Judaean diaspora (Pummer 1968: 93).

Samaritan Origins

There are a number of theories about the origins of the Samaritans, all of which have in common a tradition that originally the cult of YHWH was widespread through the land of Israel. Even so, the origins and early history of the Samaritans are quite problematic because the sources are far removed from the events and because the non-Samaritan sources tend to be hostile.

One tradition is that the Samaritans originated with the northern tribes of Israel because only a small proportion of these tribes was deported during the Assyrian conquests of the late eighth century B.C.E. and that those who remained on the land formed what later became the Samaritans (Mor 1989, 1).

Another Samaritan tradition claims Samaritan origins lie in the pre-exilic period, at the very beginnings of Israelite history, and that the split between Samaritanism and Judaism only arose when the heretical priest Eli stole the Ark of the Covenant and established a rival cult.

Until that time, the Ark of the Covenant had been kept at the sanctuary of YHWH on Mt. Gerizim. According to this tradition, the priest Eli was prevented from rising to the high priesthood because he was of the family of Itamar, not the high priestly family of Eleazar. Nevertheless, he took the Ark of the Covenant from Mt. Gerizim to Shiloh and established a rival cult there. As a result of this, two centers of the priesthood arose. One center was on Mt. Gerizim, at whose head stood the legitimate high priest, Uzzi (a descendant of Phineas and of the family Eleazar). The second (heretical) priesthood was at Shiloh, and the priest Eli, a descendant of Itamar, was at its head.

Thus, according to Samaritan tradition, Samaritanism is a perpetuation of the true Israelite faith, and Judaism only the continuation of Eli's heresy. This is the case, the Samaritan tradition claims, all the way through Samuel, Saul, David, and the Judaean monarchy, with the rival cult of Eli eventually shifting from Shiloh to Jerusalem and continuing up to this day.

A non-Samaritan tradition from the same period claims that the Samaritans originated in the Assyrian post-conquest settlement of populations from Babylon, Cuthah, Avva, Hamath, and Sepharvaim in northern Israel (II Kings 17:24–41), and that they were forced to worship the god of Israel by the native peoples. These immigrant groups brought with them the idols of their native cities, whom they continued to worship in conjunction with the deity of their new home. (II Kings 17:24–41; Ezra 4:2, 10; Mor 1989, 1): "Even while these people were worshipping the Lord, they were serving their idols. To this day their children and grandchildren continue to do as their fathers did" (II Kings 17:41).

Another non-Samaritan tradition is that the Assyrian conquest of Israel was far from total, that significant numbers of Israelites remained on the land, and that the Assyrians settled a separate group of exiles in what used to be the Israelite northern kingdom. These populations eventually intermingled, in time becoming a discrete group of people who later came to be referred to as Cutheans and Samaritans (Jos., Ant. 9:288–391; Mor 1989, 1).

But, unfortunately, even Samaritan historical traditions are not in agreement on either the time or the circumstances of their return. The Samaritan text Chronicle Adler relates the story of two returns, one under the high priest Seraiah in the early seventh century B.C.E. and another under the high priest Abdiel in the late sixth century B.C.E.!

Samaritans in the Time of Nehemiah

The first direct references we have to the Samaritans come from the book of Nehemiah. In 445 B.C.E., when the person we know as the biblical Nehemiah was appointed by the Persian king Artaxerxes I (464–424 B.C.E.) to rebuild the temple at Jerusalem and later (during a second "tour of duty") to be the governor of the province of *Yehud*. During some internecine rivalry surrounding the building of a wall around Jerusalem, Nehemiah named his enemies as Tobiah (the "Ammonite servant"), Geshem (the "Arab"), and *Sanballat (the "Horonite"). Tobiah was a member of an established Jewish family (see *Tobiads) from Transjordan (Neh. 2:10; 2:19; 4:7; 6:1). Geshem led the Arab tribes in the southern part of Judea. Sanballat the Horonite was a Samaritan who was coincidentally the Persian-appointed governor of Samaria, and therefore a direct rival of Nehemiah and a person with whom Nehemiah refused to have any contact (Mor 1989, 2–3).

Sanballat, as the Persian-appointed governor of Samaria, may indeed have been in direct competition with Nehemiah, since Jerusalem was to be refortified, whilst Samaria, a provincial center, was not. Urban wall systems of the mid-fifth century are found only at Lachish and Tel en-Nasbeh and at Jerusalem during the time of Nehemiah (Hoglund 1992, 211).

Another reason for Nehemiah's rejection of the Samarian contingent may have been that Judah had previously been part of the province of Samaria and that the Persian province of Yehud only came into being with the arrival of Nehemiah. This might explain why Sanballat wanted to be involved in the building project. If Samaria had controlled Judah up to this point (and there is a hint of this in the earlier attempts to stop the building program of Ezra), then the hostility towards Nehemiah may have been real. In the same vein, Nehemiah may have felt threatened by Sanballat, feeling that he might be trying to promote integration of Yehud back into the province of Samaria. In either case, there is no proof; only supposition and guesswork.

Nehemiah's program of wall-building can also be seen as an indicator of a reversal in the Persian attitude towards Jerusalem by reference to an earlier and failed attempt to rebuild the fortifications (Ezra 4:7–23). During that earlier attempt, officials in Samaria reported it to the Persian court, and Artaxerxes I ordered that the work be stopped. Samarian officials used imperial military forces to make sure his order was enforced. This lends some support to the idea expressed above that Judea might once have been part of the province of Samaria, hence the rivalry between Sanballat and Nehemiah, both Persian officials.

One of Sanballat's daughters married a son of the Jerusalem high priest Joiadah (Neh. 13:28; Jos, Ant. 11:306–12). Since Nehemiah believed in the "purity" ideology of the returnees, his reaction was to expel the couple from Jerusalem (Mor 1989, 4; Smith-Christopher 1994, 259).

The Samaritans in the Second Temple Period

Until the arrival of Alexander the Great in the near east in 332 B.C.E., there is little information about the Samaritans. Then, at least according to Josephus, they once more come into view in Judea, where Manasseh, the brother of the high priest Jaddus, married Nikaso, a daughter of Sanballat III (a descendant of the Sanballat of the time of Nehemiah) (Jos., Ant 11:302–3; Mor 1989, 4). Josephus reports that this Sanballat, like his ancestor a governor of Samaria, hoped that through the marriage of his daughter to the high priest's brother he could establish ties with the Jewish community in Jerusalem. However, Manasseh was offered two choices by the Jerusalem hierarchy: to stay in Jerusalem and divorce his wife, or to leave the city and take his Samaritan wife with him. Manasseh chose the second option, whereupon his father-in-law promised to build a temple on Mt. Gerizim where Manasseh would be high priest and that, in addition, he would take over civic leadership of Samaria on the death of his father-in-law. According to Josephus, many priests left Jerusalem and followed Manasseh to Samaria (Ant. 11:306–12; Mor 1989, 5).

Sanballat III sent 8,000 soldiers to support Alexander's campaigns and also convinced him that it would be to his advantage to allow the Samaritans to build a temple on Mt. Gerizim, where his son-in-law would be high priest. During this period when the Macedonians were consolidating their hold on the region and the Persians were not yet fully vanquished, the Samaritans quickly built their temple (it took less than nine months). The founding of a temple was not unusual; however, this temple was not far from its Jerusalem rival, and from the establishment of this temple the Samaritans and the Jews grew further apart, and it is from this period onwards that much of the anti-Samaritan polemic in the Hebrew Bible and extra-biblical texts (such as Josephus) originates.

The temple was completed around 332 B.C.E., at the time that Alexander finally took control of Gaza (Mor 1989, 7), and was also contemporary with the establishment of a Macedonian colony in the city of Samaria and the rebuilding and resettling of Shechem (Purvis 1968, 105).

However, Sanballat III died just two months into Alexander's siege of Gaza (Jos., Ant. 11:325) and, according to the historian Quintus Curtius, after the siege of Gaza Alexander left a Greek official named Andromachus in charge of the region. Despite Sanballat III's promise to his son-in-law, and for the first time since the Persian conquest, a Samaritan was not in charge of Samaria (Mor 1989, 9). The Samaritan leadership reacted strongly to this, rebelled against the Macedonians, captured and burned Andromachus alive, and then fled from Shechem to a cave in the Wadi Daliyeh just north of Jericho (Cross 1985, 7–17). The Macedonians retaliated immediately, with Alexander himself said to have left Jerusalem to punish the Samaritans. All of the rebels were killed, all Samaritans were banished from Samaria, and the city of Samaria was settled with Macedonian veterans (Mor 1989, 10).

According to Josephus (Jos., Apion, 2:43), following the post-rebellion massacre, administrative control of the district of Samaria was given to the Jews because of their loyalty to Alexander. The Samaritans who survived the Macedonian massacre, and who had heretofore exercised control and political authority and cultural leadership in Samaria, were now wholly disenfranchised and they could not turn to Jerusalem for help.

From the death of Alexander the Great, nothing much is known about the Samaritans until the rise of the Seleucid empire in around 200 B.C.E. From Josephus (Ant. 12:5–10) we know that a number of Samaritans and Jews settled in Egypt and that relations between them were very strained, with each side demanding that sacrifices be directed to their respective sanctuaries. Any grace or favor to one side was seen as detrimental to the other, and so a tit-for-tat hostility developed.

In Palestine, the first report of open hostility between Shechemites and Jews in Jerusalem is dated to the time of Ptolemy V (Epiphanes) and Antiochus III in around 200 B.C.E. (Jos., Ant. 12:154–56). According to Josephus, the Jews were being harassed by Samaritans through raids on Jewish land and the capture and sale of Jews into slavery, and the Samaritans found themselves under pressure from Antiochus III, because they had allied themselves with pro-Ptolemaic policy, thinking that they would prevail against the Syrians. This was nothing new. This loyalty dated back to the Persian period when Sanballat the Horonite and Tobiah the Ammonite had allied against Nehemiah, the governor of the province of Judaea.

In 168 B.C.E. the two groups grew still further apart when the Seleucid king (Antiochus IV Epiphanes) ordered the Jews and the Samaritans to rededicate their temples to Zeus. In Judea, *Judah Maccabee organized a rebellion which culminated in the ousting of Zeus from the temple and its subsequent repurification. During this period, both Samaritans and Jews were subject to the persecutions of Antiochus IV Epiphanes (175–164 B.C.E.), as is seen in II Maccabees (5:23; 6:2), even though Samaria did not rebel against Antiochus IV.

What had been a religious division now became a political conflict as well. Judea, having fought for its freedom from Seleucid rule, became an independent state, ruled by a line of high priests derived from the Hasmonean dynasty. One of them was John *Hyrcanus (134–104 B.C.E.), whose political program included the expansion of the state along with a campaign of propaganda to advertise itself and, as part of this campaign, Hyrcanus utilized a policy of forced conversion to Judaism. While Antiochus VII (Sidetes) was in the east, John Hyrcanus invaded northern Palestine and Syria.

Among the places he captured were Shechem and Mt. Gerizim. Later in his reign, Hyrcanus laid siege to Samaria and after a year's campaign took it (Jos., Wars 1:64ff; Ant. 13:275ff.). The bustling, cosmopolitan, and mainly non-Israelite city of Samaria was utterly destroyed by Hyrcanus (Isser 1999, 571), and in around 128 B.C.E., the sanctuary and temple on Mt. Gerizim were destroyed (Jos., Wars 1:62f.; Ant. 13:254ff.).

While the Jewish priesthood ceased to function after 70 C.E., the Samaritans continued to have an active priesthood with a high priest even after the temple on Mt. Gerizim was destroyed (Pummer 1998, 26–27), and whereas the inevitable dispersal of the Samaritans had not yet happened, the process was underway, not least because the Samaritans were now under the economic and political control of Jerusalem. However, a core group of Samaritans stayed near Mt. Gerizim in the town of Sychar (which may have replaced Shechem as the center of Samaritan religious authority).

There are very few sources other than Josephus to help outline the history of the Samaritans in the early Roman period, and those that do exist are often very hostile to their subject. Josephus, for instance, did not even consider the Samaritans to be Jews (Ant. 11:341).

Pompey's conquest of Palestine in 63 B.C.E. ended Jewish domination of Samaria (Jos., Wars 1:166). The cities that had been captured by the Hasmoneans were restored to their previous inhabitants. Samaria and other regions were joined to the Roman province of Syria and protected by two full Roman legions. Because so many of the people of Samaria had been killed or were too scattered to bring back together, the Romans repopulated the newly built town of Samaria with new colonists (Jos., Wars 1:169f.; Ant. 14:90f.; Isser 1999, 572).

The proconsul of Syria, Aulus Gabinius (57–54 B.C.E.) had to quell an uprising by another Hasmonean, Alexander, son of Aristobulus, during which Roman soldiers sought refuge and came under siege on Mt. Gerizim. (Jos., Wars 1:175ff.; Ant. 14:100). In 43 B.C.E., with Roman backing, *Herod the Great restored order in Samaria (Jos., Wars 1:229; Ant. 14:284; Isser 1999, 572). At the end of the Roman civil war, Herod declared his loyalty to Octavian, who confirmed him as the Jewish king and conferred on him new territories (Jos., Wars 1:396ff.; Ant. 14:217); among these new territories was Samaria. Herod rebuilt and extended the city of Samaria and added a further 6,000 colonists to its population. He renamed the city Sebaste in honor of Octavian (Jos., Wars 1:403; Ant. 14:295ff.; Isser 1999, 573).

There are numerous reports of acts of hostility against the Jews by Samaritans. How true these are is unknown, but there does seem to be a prevailing tradition of antagonism between the groups. As an example of the sort of thing reported, Josephus records that during the procuratorship of Coponius (6–9 C.E.) it had been the practice to keep the gates of the Jerusalem temple open after midnight at Passover. On one such occasion, a number of Samaritans are said to have secretly entered and scattered human bones throughout the grounds, rendering them unclean (Ant. 18:29f.).

There is another account in Josephus (Ant. 18:85–89) about a massacre of Samaritans during the Procuratorship of Pilate (26–36 C.E.). Josephus reports that a man whom he describes as a rabble-rouser promised to show the Samaritans the sacred vessels of the *mishkan* (the ancient tabernacle) which, according to Samaritan tradition, Moses had buried in a secret place on Mt. Gerizim. This discovery would signal the Age of Divine Favor (the fulfillment of Samaritan eschatological belief involving Moses, the *mishkan* and a person (the "rabble-rouser") who was a sort of messianic figure – the "restorer"). A large group gathered in a nearby village with the intention of climbing Mt. Gerizim, but Pilate interpreted this as the prelude to revolt and so the gathered Samaritans were intercepted by Roman troops and killed or captured. The leaders were executed at Pilate's orders. This was too much for the Samaritan council, who complained to Vitellius, the governor of Syria, who accepted their accusations against Pilate and sent Marcellus to take over in Judea and ordered Pilate to return to Rome for trial before the emperor Tiberius. This Pilate did, but Tiberius had died, and we know nothing further about this episode (Grabbe 1994, 424; Isser 1999, 576).

An even more serious event occurred during the Procuratorship of Cumanus (48–52 C.E.) at a village named Gema (between Samaria and the Plain of Esdraelon to the north). Josephus reports that some Samaritans attacked a group of Galileans who were on their way to Jerusalem for a festival and killed either many or one (War 2:12:3, 232; Ant. 20, 6:1, 118; Tacitus, *Annals* XII, 54). When the Jews appealed to Cumanus he did nothing (allegedly because he had been bribed by the Samaritans). A mob of Jews took matters into their own hands and attacked some Samaritan villages. Cumanus then intervened, and both Jews and Samaritans appealed to the Syrian governor, Quadratus. After a preliminary investigation, Quadratus sent Cumanus, the military tribune Celer, some of the Samaritan notables, the high priests Jonathan and Ananias, and other Jewish leaders to Rome for trial before Claudius. Agrippa II petitioned Claudius on behalf of the Jews and Claudius found in their favor, executing the Samaritan delegation and exiling Cumanus. The tribune Celer was taken back to Jerusalem and executed publicly there (Isser 1999, 574–75).

Acts 8:4ff. reports a successful mission of the preacher Philip among the Samaritans. He performed healings, exorcisms, and baptized many in the name of Jesus. After this, Peter and John came from Jerusalem and bestowed on the new converts the Holy Spirit. Nothing more is mentioned about the Samaritan converts (Isser 1999, 576). In general, however, the Samaritans (as with the Jews) regarded Jesus as a false prophet (Isser 1981, 166ff).

It is clear from Josephus at least that the relation between Samaritanism and Judaism was tense, as is presupposed in the story about the good Samaritan. However, Jesus, especially in the Gospel of Luke, contrasts Samaritan openness with Jewish rigidity (Luke 10:30–37; 17:16; John 4; Acts 8:25).

While Josephus does not say that the Samaritans fought with the Jews during the war of 66–73 C.E., he does note that large numbers of them collected on Mt. Gerizim, ready for war. Even though the Romans faced a steep ascent to join battle with the Samaritans, thirst and desertion among the Samaritans made their work easier and quicker. Despite this, those Samaritans who remained would not surrender and died fighting (Josephus, Wars 3:307–15).

In the wake of the Jewish and Samaritan rebellion, the Emperor Vespasian founded the new town of Flavia Neapolis (Jos., Wars IV, 449; Pliny, *Natural History* V, 13:69) which later came to be called Nablus by the Arabs. This settlement became the new center for the Samaritans and remains so to this day (Isser 1999, 577).

Samaritans in the Graeco-Roman Diaspora

In the Diaspora, when Jews and Samaritans lived in the same communities, they would have had to explain their allegiances to the authorities from whom they requested privileges, and Josephus records difficulties between Jews and Samaritans in Egypt (Ant. 12:10, 74–79). Thus, while Jerusalem exerted its influence on Diaspora Jews, so Gerizim influenced the Diaspora Samaritans (Purvis 1968, 110).

In 1979, two inscriptions were found near the stadium on *Delos by Philippe Fraisse of the Ecole française d'Athènes. Both were found in an unexcavated area just beneath current ground level near the shoreline of the east of the island. Both are dedicated by the "Israelites who offer to Holy Argarizein." The term *Argarizein* is the Greek rendering of the Hebrew *Har Gerizim*, that is, Mt. Gerizim, and these two inscriptions certainly provide evidence of a hitherto unknown community of Samaritans on the island (Matassa 2006; White 1987, 141–42).

The first inscription reads "The Israelites on Delos who make first-fruit offerings to Holy Argarizin crown with a golden crown Sarapion son of Jason of Knossos for his benefactions on their behalf," and has been dated to between 150 and 50 B.C.E. (Bruneau 1982, 469–74; Matassa 2006). It is not clear whether the honoree is himself a Samaritan, Jew, pagan, resident of or visitor to Delos. It does, however, identify the dedicators as "the Israelites on Delos," and there seems little doubt that this refers to a Samaritan community of some sort on this tiny island.

The second inscription reads, "[The] Israelites who make first-fruit offerings to holy Argarizin honor Menippos, son of Artemidoros of Heraclea, himself as well as his descendants to have established and dedicated its expenses, for an offering/prayer [to God], [- – – – – – -] and [- – – – -] and crowned it with a golden crown and [- – –]," and is dated to around 250–175 B.C.E. (Bruneau 1982, 469–74; Matassa 2006).

The inscriptions show that the dedicators (on Delos or elsewhere) were connected to Mt. Gerizim, and it could be that offerings were sent to Mt. Gerizim while the Samaritan temple still stood there or that offerings continued to be made and sent to Samaria after the destruction of the temple. Or, indeed, it could be that the offerings were made on Delos, perhaps in the form of votives, and were dedicated by Samaritan visitors to the island, Samaritan residents of the island, or even friends or business partners of Samaritans elsewhere on their behalf – as the two inscriptions are the only evidence of Samaritans on the island, it is impossible to know. There is certainly no evidence of a synagogue (either Jewish or Samaritan) on the island, but the inscriptions do at least indicate there was a permanent colony of Samaritans on Delos in the Second Temple period (Matassa 2006).

Excavations on Mt. Gerizim

Yitzhak Magen's excavations on Mt. Gerizim uncovered some 480 marble inscriptions and around 13,000 coins. About 90% of the inscriptions were written in ancient Aramaic script, and the remainder in either Hebrew or Greek. The inscriptions were votive offerings brought to the sanctuary and dedicated there. According to Magen, those inscriptions indicate that the sanctuary was there as early as the end of the sixth century B.C.E. (Magen, Tsafania and Misgav 2000(c), 125–32).

The excavations on the top of Mt. Gerizim began in 1983, but only as late as 1998 did the profile of the temple begin to emerge. The temple was found under the remains of a fifth-century Byzantine church (the Church of Mary the Theodokos built by the Emperor Zeno in 484 C.E.). The excavation team uncovered six-foot-thick walls, gates, and altars, and it is thought that the totality of this find could provide the first real indication of what the Jewish temple, destroyed by the Romans in 70 C.E., might have looked like (Magen 2000(a), 74–118; Magen 2000(b), 133).

The Mt. Gerizim excavations show that the temple was surrounded by residential quarters, such as those in Jerusalem. Some 15,000 people lived in a city spread out over 100 acres, which the excavators have taken to indicate that Josephus was correct in saying that the Mt. Gerizim temple was a replica of the temple in Jerusalem. While the exact dimensions of the Jerusalem temple are not known, the foundation of the temple on Mount Gerizim appears to be about 400 × 560 feet (Magen 2000(a), 74–118; Magen 2000(b), 133).

[Lidia Domenica Matassa (2nd ed.)]

Late Roman to Crusader Period

After brief reports of the building of Tiberias and Caesaria in the reigns of Tiberius and Vespasian, the Samaritan Chronicle II narrates the events of Hadrian's time. Both Jews and Samaritans suffered under this emperor (117–38), according to one part of the chronicles, but a later addition tells of the success of the Samaritans in gaining Hadrian's favor by helping him to overcome the defenders of Jerusalem during his siege of the city. This version states that Hadrian was allowed to build a place of worship on Mt. Gerizim and that all Jews living in the area were forcibly removed. Samaritan guards were placed at the emperor's *beit kinshah*, as it was called (see Montgomery, 91, for further details from other sources), but while Hadrian was away in Rome his priests defiled the *beit kinshah* by burning corpses there. The defilement, in Samaritan eyes, resulted in a gathering of people destroying the building and then purifying the place ritually. The outcome was that Hadrian sent an army which attacked and killed many of the Samaritans. At last one clever Samaritan managed to put the blame on the Jews and managed to persuade Hadrian of the Samaritans' innocence, so that the emperor attacked the Jews instead. Throughout the chronicles, statements are made about the loss of Samaritan literature during times of persecution. The worst of these periods seems to have been during the rule of Hadrian (and later of Commodus and Severus), when most of the literature kept in Shechem was destroyed. The high priest lists, however, were probably preserved.

Both Samaritan and Jewish sources tell of the friendship of Antoninus Pius (138–61) for their respective peoples. For the Samaritans, the worst of all persecutions was that of Commodus (180–92). They were forbidden to read the Torah or teach it to their children, synagogues were closed, and many Samaritans suffered crucifixion for minor offenses. The reason for Commodus' persecutions given in Abu-al-Fatḥ and Chronicle II was a dispute between *Alexander of Aphrodisias and a Samaritan called Levi. A philosophical discussion, which was the starting point, led to the anger of the emperor and severe repression of Levi's compatriots, with the consequent destruction of their written documents and scrolls (some of which were hidden and saved). Claudius Gelenus (who died c. 200) is brought into the story, and it is claimed that he persuaded Commodus to force the Samaritans to eat the meat of pigs. Subsequent trials compelled many Samaritans to flee to other regions. At the end of Commodus' reign, 300,000 Samaritans were reported living in the Shechem area.

Nothing is reported of Septimius Severus (193–211), but Alexander Severus (222–35) is reported to have persecuted the Samaritans almost as severely as had Commodus. He enforced the worship of Roman gods, thus bringing about a series of rebellions against his rule, which he put down mercilessly. His reign was also a time of famine and pestilence. Since the Samaritans' great hero *Baba Rabbah is recorded as having lived during Alexander Severus' rule, it may be assumed that there is some confusion in the account (see Montgomery, 96, for an alternative view). Severus' successors are correctly stated to have been Gordianus (238–44), Philip (244–49), and Decius (249–51). This period seems to have been a difficult one for Samaria on the whole, but little more is heard from Samaritan sources until the advent of Muhammad. From the evidence of external sources, it is confirmed that Samaria suffered from the many political and military maneuverings of the era. The next source of trouble and change for Samaria was the Christianization of the empire. The edict of Constantius, which prohibited the marriage of Christian women to Jews (Montgomery, 100), led to social intolerance throughout Palestine. Circumcision, prohibited by Hadrian, seems to have been prohibited again in the time of Bishop Germanus, whose jurisdiction included Nablus.

The story of Baba Rabbah may properly be related to the period of Bishop Germanus. The chief importance of this Samaritan hero was that he revived the Samarian hopes of freedom. He organized Samaria into districts, built synagogues, encouraged literature, and raised a standing army. The Baba Rabbah story, despite some legendary accretions, is not as absurd as Montgomery claims (103), for a great change in Samaritanism undoubtedly took place at about this time (witness the work of *Markah and his family, who gave new shape to religious thinking and gave Samaritan religion a firm base).

During a long period of gradual Christianization in Palestine, the Samaritans fared badly; there were continual attacks by Samaritans on Christians and Christians on Jews and Samaritans, and the holy places of Israel were taken over by the Christians. Under certain rulers, a measure of protection was accorded to both Jews and Samaritans, but the long reign of Theodosius II (408–50) brought in its wake many deprivations, and both Jews and Samaritans became in effect second-class citizens with minimal rights. It was not until the latter part of the fifth century that the full fury of the new order was felt in Samaria, for under Zeno (474–91) Jews and Samaritans suffered terrible massacres, and the Samaritan chronicles tell of many incidents during this period which resulted in increasing repression. For the period of Anastasius (491–518) and Justinian I (527–65), the chronicles have little information, but external sources (see Montgomery, 113 ff.) reveal further devastations of the dwindling Samaritan community. Many small-scale uprisings had taken place almost annually throughout the Christian period, but the greatest seems to have occurred soon after Justinian I became emperor. This was in the year 529, and there are many sources of information about it (Montgomery, 114–6). It is clear that thousands of Samaritans died in the fighting and that they tried to establish their own state. Jews and Samaritans seem to have been treated alike by the Christian victors; sources speak of 50,000 Jewish and Samaritan soldiers being offered by the Samaritans to the Persian king if he would take over Palestine. This attempt, which was foiled, was symptomatic of the state of affairs in Samaria. The people of Samaria became increasingly desperate, and things were to become even worse as more repressive laws were promulgated by Justinian, for a rising number of Samaritans relinquished their faith and embraced Christianity, thus further reducing the number adhering to the ancient faith. Indeed the Samaritans, as a recognizable religious group, had all but been outlawed by Christianity. They lived in territory sacred to the Christians; they were regarded, with the Jews, as eternal enemies of the new faith; and even when they converted, they were not accorded the full rights of other Christians.

According to the chronicles, many Samaritans fled eastward after 634, when the Muslims were victorious at Yarmuk. Throughout the account of Samaritan history, from earliest times, there were frequent emigrations eastward, and contact between the émigrés and *Nablus seems to have been lost frequently until the 13th century, when migrations back to Nablus began. The story of life under the caliphs is one of revolt and suppression. Little information on the basic cause of the troubles is available because Muslim and Samaritan historians hardly refer to the Samaritans in historical terms. During the early part of the reign of Hārūn al-Rashīd (d. 809), plague and famine blighted Samaria, but after these calamities the Samaritans enjoyed peace in his time. The reign of Maʾmūn (813–33) was a period of respite, on the whole, but the reign of his successor, Muʿtaṣim (833–42), brought considerable calamity to Samaria when certain Muslim fanatics demolished many synagogues and all but destroyed Nablus.

As time went on, religious bitterness increased and the Muslims imposed prohibitions on religious practices, especially pilgrimages to Mt. Gerizim. During the tenth century, however, matters improved under the Fatimid caliphs. Samaritan, Islamic, or Christian sources tell little about the period of the Crusades. The Samarian capital was the center of political intrigue and ecclesiastical debate during the early part of the 12th century. In 1137 Nablus seems to have undergone the catastrophe of further devastation and decimation of its inhabitants when the Saracens attacked it. Thereafter, until 1244, Muslims assumed rule of the Samarian capital.

[John Macdonald]

Later History

The final destruction of crusader rule in Palestine by the Mamluks (1291), who established their own hegemony over the country, did not bring about an improvement in the situation of the Samaritans. Instead of the Christian rule that unceasingly pressured the thousands of Samaritans who remained true to their ways came the rule of the Mamluks, who were even more cruel and fanatic about their religion: and in place of forced conversion to Christianity came the conversion out of fear of entire Samaritan families. At the very beginning of their rule, the Mamluks plundered the Samaritan religious center in Shechem (Nablus) and turned it into a mosque, in addition to destroying all the other buildings there.

Muslim pressure created substantial opposition on the part of the Samaritans. It was expressed in the figure of the high priest, Phinehas b. Yūsuf (1308–63), who, together with his sons and other members of the family of high priests, established a religious movement among the Samaritans to reinforce their faith and stand up against the pressure to convert to Islam. In addition to their foremost center in Shechem, the Samaritans also had an important center in Damascus from the 11th century. In the course of the 14th century the two centers achieved the height of their social and religious development, and the contact between them, which sometimes reached the dimension of competition, brought about the strengthening and crystallization of the Samaritan life by the renewed writing of books on religious law, history, and the order of rituals. By the beginning of the Ottoman conquest, however, this movement was no longer intact.

During the same period the Samaritans had centers of secondary importance in Cairo and Gaza. Both these centers, as well as the one in Damascus, observed annual pilgrimages to Mt. Gerizim and the community centered in Shechem. The family of the high priests in Shechem functioned as the supreme institution for all the Samaritan centers. The center in Cairo was influential in the Mamluk court. Its wealth aided the Mamluk authorities in their conquests, but was also a burden to the Samaritans themselves. Of the three sects in Egypt at the end of the 15th century – the Jews, the Karaites, and the Samaritans – the last were forced to pay half the royal taxes that were imposed on the three sects as a whole. The center in Damascus reached the height of its development in the 13th and 14th centuries, and a family of high priests, which was subordinate to that in Shechem and was a scion of Aaron's descendants, was even established there. The community produced important writers, poets, commentators, and grammarians, as well as physicians, some of whom became viziers in Mamluk courts.

With the beginning of the Ottoman conquest, the persecutions suffered by the Samaritans at the hands of their Muslim neighbors and local governors grew in strength and frequency. The beginning of the collapse of the Samaritan center in Damascus is recorded by Samaritan historians as taking place in the middle of the 16th century, with the transfer of the Damascus family of high priests, together with important members of the Damascus community, to Shechem to strengthen the community there. In 1625 the remaining Samaritans in Damascus were massacred, and their spiritual centers were transferred to Muslim hands.

The Samaritans in Egypt were, likewise, plagued by persecutions. The community there, which had been in existence since the age of Alexander the Great, reached the height of its development and wealth at the end of the 16th century, when their affairs with the Mamluks were under the control of the Jewish *nagid*. The Samaritans nonetheless frequently incited the Mamluks against the Jews. With the penetration of Ottoman rule into Egypt, the Samaritans were accused of supporting the Mamluks, and many of them were imprisoned and converted to Islam. The small Samaritan community remained in existence until the beginning of the 18th century, when the surviving members joined the community in Shechem and Samaritan settlement in Egypt came to an end.

The most important event relating to the decrease in the size of the Samaritan community was the disappearance of the line of high priests descending from Aaron. The last high priest of this line, Shalmiah b. Phinehas (1613–24), did not father any sons, and with his death the priesthood passed to the family of levites, the sons of Uzziel b. Kehat, which has filled this office until the present. After the death of Shalmiah, the persecutions by local Muslims against the Samaritans increased: houses and fields were plundered and many families were forced to convert to Islam for fear of their lives. Access to Mt. Gerizim was forbidden to the Samaritans by the Arabs, and they were forced to hold the Passover sacrifice on the eastern slope of the mountain. Beginning with the middle of the 17th century, there was a community of Samaritans in Shechem, a small but strong one in Gaza, and an even smaller one in Jaffa. The levite family descended from Uzziel the uncle of Aaron was also about to die out as a result of internal conflicts, but at the last moment it was saved, due to a compromise when a Samaritan woman from Jaffa was married to the last offspring of the family, Tabia b. Isaac (1751–86).

At the beginning of the 19th century the Samaritans lived in a certain degree of comfort in Shechem, but once again the Muslims interfered and prevented them from ascending to the top of Mt. Gerizim for the Passover sacrifice. This prohibition was in effect until 1820, when the Samaritans were again allowed to go up the mountain due to the intervention of the British consulate with the Turks. During the same period, however, the community in Gaza came to an end as the result of its expulsion by the Muslims.

By the third decade of the 19th century, only the small community of Samaritans in Shechem remained. This community was also on the verge of extinction in 1842. The Arabs of Shechem, incited by their religious teachers, cruelly persecuted the Samaritans and threatened to murder the entire community, claiming that the Samaritans were atheists because the script in which the Samaritan Pentateuch was written was not recognized by the Muslims. After the Samaritans turned to the Jewish community in Jerusalem, they received an authorization from the chief rabbi, Abraham Ḥayyim, that "the Samaritan people is a branch of the Jewish people that confesses to the truth of the Torah." In the same year the Samaritans were again forbidden to sacrifice on the top of Mt. Gerizim, and the prohibition lasted until 1849, when it was again rescinded through the influence of the British consulate.

It can be seen with certainty that the replenishment of the Samaritan community in Shechem by the survivors of other Samaritan centers was the factor that allowed the Samaritans to survive the 400 years of Ottoman rule. The surviving community was led by the high priest Jacob b. Aaron (Hārūn; 1874–1916), who reinforced the religious framework of Samaritan life in the hope of reviving the Samaritans, although scholars and writers of the end of the 19th century had begun to envision certain annihilation for the Samaritans. All the community's lands, riches, and property were taken from it, and the Samaritans remained in a dark ghetto, as it were, on the northern slope of Mt. Gerizim. Their situation deteriorated, both from a personal and economic point of view. The state of their industry and finances was expressed by the fact that most of the Samaritans engaged in copying documents for scholars and tourists who visited Shechem at the beginning of the 20th century. These books were sold for pennies, as it were, and the profit, in many cases, saved the Samaritans from starvation. The number of men was greater than the number of women, at a ratio of about two to one.

The Turkish administration tended to deal with the Samaritans harshly, and the latter were subject to the whims of the Arab families in Shechem, who competed for the local position of leadership at the office of the Turkish pasha in Acre. The Samaritans were often punished on accusations that they had cooperated with the party that lost the competition for the ruling position. A number of Samaritan youth were even forced to join the Turkish army. The plague that broke out in Shechem at the time of the withdrawal of the Turkish army left the community with the smallest population in its history, 146 souls.

With the beginning of the British Mandatory administration in Palestine, the situation of the Samaritans improved. The family of Tsedaka from Shechem had moved to Jaffa and become acquainted with Izhak *Ben-Zvi already in 1907. Throughout his career in Palestine and the State of Israel, Ben-Zvi devoted attention to improving the situation of the Samaritans, from every possible point of view. He convinced the Samaritans, for lack of a viable choice, to cancel their prohibition against marrying women from outside the community, and as a result a number of Samaritans have done so over the decades (beginning in 1923). Ben-Zvi also established friendship leagues between Samaritans and Jews that helped the Samaritans culturally and economically (e.g., a school for Jewish studies was established in Shechem with their aid). He used his position and personal influence to contact important and influential institutions (e.g., the *American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee) and procure aid for the Samaritans.

The Samaritan population doubled within a span of 30 years. With the establishment of the State of Israel (1948), the Samaritan community split into two centers: the first was in Shechem, under the government of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan; the second was in Israel, under the leadership of Japheth b. Abraham Tsedaka. As a result of Tsedaka's activities and Ben-Zvi's influence, in 1949 the Samaritans were recognized as citizens under the Law of Return, a fact that contributed to the reunification of Samaritan families from Shechem and the growth of the Samaritan community scattered throughout Israel. In 1953 the Samaritans were allowed, for the first time, to cross the border to celebrate Passover with their brethren on Mt. Gerizim, and this privilege, attained through an agreement by the Israel-Jordan Mixed Armistice Commission, remained in effect until the Six-Day War (1967), when Shechem came under Israeli rule. In the same year the obligation of Samaritans in Israel to serve in the Israel Defense Forces was officially recognized, although Samaritans had been serving in the IDF since its establishment. In 1954 all the Samaritans scattered throughout the State of Israel relocated in permanent living quarters in Ḥolon, and a unified Samaritan center was created in Israel. In 1963 President Ben-Zvi dedicated the first Samaritan synagogue in Israel.

The center in Shechem continued to exist in complete isolation under Jordanian rule. During the 19 years of Jordanian administration of the area, the Samaritans enjoyed the toleration and even support of the government. On the other hand, this sympathetic attitude also led to blind hatred of the Samaritans on the part of the Muslim inhabitants of Shechem, and every Arab demonstration in Shechem against Hashemite rule found its way into the small Samaritan quarter. Under the leadership of the high priests Abishua b. Phinehas (1941–60) and Amram b. Isaac (1960–1980), however, the Samaritans were able to find a middle road between these two forces. The Six-Day War ended the isolation of the two branches of the Samaritan community.

By 1977 the Samaritan population of Israel, including both Shechem and Holon, had risen to 500, a level that was maintained into the 21st century. A study undertaken by the Samaritan journal *A.B.* in 1977 revealed that the community had been transformed from an aging and dwindling one, numbering only 150 at the end of the 1920s, to the youngest community in the world, 21% being within the age group 1–10 and the same percentage in the age group 11–20; the disproportion between the ratio of females to males is, however, 5:3. The average number of marriages per year increased from 1.23 between 1910 and 1948 to 4.53 during 1967–1974. The attempts of the four clans of the Samaritans, Kohen, Tsedaka, Danfi and Marchiv, to keep their females within their clans was causing genetic problems arising from interbreeding. A study undertaken by an anthropologist, Dr. Joseph Ginat, in 1975 revealed that 58% of the 128 marriages contracted between 1910 and 1974 were within the same clan, and in the same year Dr. Bat-Sheva Bonne, the head of the faculty of genetics of Tel Aviv University, pointed to the frequency of color blindness and to the considerable number who are in need of genetic guidance before marriage in order to avoid the birth of physically handicapped children. The percentage of marriages with Jewesses had increased to 5%.

[Benyamim Tsedaka]

Statistics

An inscription from the period of Sargon II describing the destruction of Samaria tells that 27,290 Samaritans were exiled (721 B.C.E.). It is clear, however, that this number is only a minority of the inhabitants of the northern Kingdom of Israel, which, in the days of Menahem b. Gadi (743 B.C.E.), numbered 60,000 landowners who each paid 50 shekels tax to Tiglath-Pileser III (II Kings 15:19–20). It can therefore be assumed that the Israelite majority, which included an alien minority that was brought by the Assyrian kings, numbered more than 100,000 people at the beginning of the seventh century B.C.E. This community developed and spread into the Assyrian provinces in the center of the country. It is possible to learn of the large number of Samaritans during the period from the expansion of their settlement from Samaria into Gaza and Egypt in the south, and Beth-Shean, Acre, and Sidon in the north.

Clearer figures are known for the first centuries of the Common Era. In the three uprisings against the Byzantines (484, 529, and 579), the Samaritans lost tens of thousands of soldiers. In the largest uprising (in 529), which was a reaction to the Justinian persecutions, the Samaritans lost 100,000 soldiers, according to Procopius, or 20,000, according to the version of Malalas. Theophanes and Malalas related that the Samaritans sent emissaries to the king of Persia suggesting that he conquer the country from the Byzantines and agreeing to place 50,000 Samaritans and Jews at his disposal for this purpose. These sources imply that there were hundreds of thousands of Samaritans in the country. The decisive decrease in this number was a result of the frequent uprisings against the Byzantines.

The massacre of Samaritans continued even after the collapse of Byzantine rule. Tens of thousands were massacred or taken captive at the time of the Arab conquest, which led to the flight of the Samaritans eastward. In 1163 *Benjamin of Tudela found some 1,000 Samaritans outside of Shechem. It is therefore possible to surmise that the total Samaritan population of the country was about 2,000. The Arab writers a-Bīrūnī (1048), Idrīsī (1173), Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī (1125), al-Dimashqī (1300), and others relate that there was a large number of Samaritans in Shechem, and some of them estimated the population at more than 1,000.

In 1480 Meshullam of Volterra found 50 Samaritan clans in Egypt and 700 other Samaritans outside Shechem. According to the testimony of all the above-mentioned writers, and if one takes into account that the census was restricted to adults only, it can be assumed that in Palestine alone there were 5,000–6,000 Samaritans before the beginning of Mamluk rule, and 2,000–2,500 remained by the beginning of Ottoman rule.

The *Defters* (land records of Palestine kept in Constantinople which were published by Bernard Lewis) determined that in 1525–26 there were 25 Samaritan families in Gaza; in 1533 there were 15 families in Gaza and 29 in Shechem; and in 1548 there were 18 families in Gaza and 34 in Shechem. The high priest Shalma b. Tabia notes in his letter to Europe in 1820 that "we number less than 500 souls," and even then he was exaggerating the size of the Samaritan population, which stood at less than 200 people, as Shechem was the only center that remained. According to a letter of the British consul James Finn in 1851, there were 35 tax-paying Samaritans in Shechem, a fact which raises the number of Samaritans to over 150. The traveler M.E. Rogers related, on the basis of testimony from the high priest Amram b. Shalma, that in 1855–59 there were 196 Samaritans in Shechem. According to the census of the British consulate, there were 160 Samaritans in 1881; 196 in 1902; and 162 in 1904. M. Gaster counted 103 in 1905, and P. Kahle 173 in 1909.

With the end of Ottoman rule, a total of 146 Samaritans remained in Shechem, but suddenly their numbers began to grow. One of the causes for this was marriages to Jewish women, so that in 1934 the community numbered 206 (according to the testimony of the high priest published in that year). In 1948 there were 58 Samaritans in the State of Israel and 250 in Shechem. As a result of the unification of families (from Shechem to Ḥolon), in 1954 there were 87 in the State of Israel and 200 in Shechem; in 1963 there were 350 Samaritans in all, and in 1970 there were 430. In 2005 the two communities numbered around 500.

[Benyamim Tsedaka]

RELIGION AND CUSTOMS

The sources of knowledge of the Samaritan religion are the Samaritan Pentateuch and Targum, *Memar Markah*, the liturgy, and various expositions of law and commentaries on the books of the Pentateuch (see Language and Literature). Aside from the Pentateuch, the sources span a period of about 1,400 years. In terms of religious development these may be divided into three broad periods: (1) from the completion of the Pentateuch (date uncertain) to the Roman period, the period of formulation; (2) the third to fourth centuries C.E., the period of consolidation; (3) the 13th–14th centuries, the period of expansion. Religious writing in other centuries, though important in several respects, did not radically change the general nature of Samaritan religion.

It is likely that the Samaritan creed in its earliest form was a simple statement of belief in God and in the Pentateuch. Belief in Moses as the sole prophet of God, so prominent a feature of Samaritanism, probably developed long before the Roman conquest of Palestine, and almost certainly belief in Mt. Gerizim as the one true sanctuary chosen by Israel's God was well established before Alexander the Great (witness the large sacred area on Mt. Gerizim dated to his time). Belief in the resurrection, which is stated in many of the religious writings, certainly was in existence before the fourth century C.E., as it is to be found, but in a less developed form, in *Memar Markah*. As basis for this belief the Samaritan exegetes of all periods provide the "proof-text," Gen. 3:19 (see below), but it seems certain that such "proof-texts" were pegs on which to hang beliefs that came into Samaritan religion at a later time. Belief in the *taheb*, i.e., restorer (or according to some "returner"), as one who would restore all things prior to the last day, the cataclysm, the judgment, and finally paradise, is undoubtedly the latest of the creedal tenets. This tenet probably took hold in Samaritan soil during the time of religious ferment in Palestine around the destruction of Jerusalem in 70 C.E.

The doctrine of God is clear, simple, and mainly biblical. The absolute oneness of God is expressed on every hand. He is wholly "other" in substance and essence, present in all things, all-powerful, without peer, and beyond attribution. His purposes for mankind, especially Israel, were once and for all communicated to the world through Moses. The six beliefs can only be understood in terms of Moses. He was God's "Man," "the son of His house (= world)," almost His vice regent on earth; he it was who "wrote" the five books of the Pentateuch; it was he who authorized Mt. Gerizim as "the place which God chose" (not "will choose" as in Deut. 12:5 in the MT). There is some uncertainty about how Moses came to be associated with the *taheb*. It is in the didactic hymns of the 13th–14th-century part of the liturgy (many of which are to be found in manuscripts in various libraries, but see the long festival hymns in Cowley, *The Samaritan Liturgy*, vol. 2) that Moses is associated with the resurrection and judgment and with the restorer. Samaritan religious development did not quite formalize this association in the way that the other tenets were formalized, but in general it may be said that Samaritanism attributes to Moses every word and action, both for this world and beyond, which relates to the divine will for mankind.

The problem of belief in the resurrection in sectarian Samaritanism is fraught with difficulties. *Dositheanism may or may not have been one large sect. It may have comprised two or more sects stemming from an initial "heresy." Whether or not Dositheanism as a whole, or originally, believed in the resurrection as distinct from the priestly authority, there is no lack of evidence in the mainstream of Samaritan religious writing for such a belief. It is hardly likely that all such literature is "heretical."

The best view of essential Samaritan religion may be gained from a study of what the religious literature claims about Moses in relation to God and Israel. "Lord of all worlds," "the word of living truth," Moses is preeminent in all things; as the word in creation, the light shining on and in men, men's intercessor before God, lawgiver, teacher, priest, savior. All these and many other attributes, which are commonplace from the *Memar Markah* onward, indicate how far Samaritanism is "Mosaism." Almost a christological position is reached when Markah writes: "He who believes in him [= Moses] believes in his Lord" (*Memar Markah*, 4:7). Gnostic elements are prominent in the religious literature. These are elements found in common with the early Jewish and Christian literatures, but their influence on Samaritanism is often terminological rather than doctrinal. However, the emphasis on Moses as the word and the light seems to be best explained by reference to Gnosticism.

A typical Samaritan feature is the prominence of their priesthood in the life of the community. The priests are the interpreters of the law and the keepers of the secret of the calendar, upon which the true observation of their festivals depends. The famous *Baba Rabbah was the firstborn of a high priest.

Since the Samaritans possessed only the Pentateuch as against the threefold Bible of Judaism and had no codified second law corresponding to the Mishnah, the outlines of their beliefs were easier to delineate. Moses was "the prophet" to the Samaritans, and Joshua alone of all the other biblical prophets is held in high esteem, even called king, because he is mentioned in the Pentateuch as the servant of Moses, who was initiated by him to fill his place. This last remark gives the clue to the development of Samaritan doctrine, namely that no concept which had no warrant in the Pentateuch could be regarded as valid. So the resurrection doctrine is bound up with the Samaritan text of Gen. 3:19, "to your dust you shall return." There are many instances of Samaritan and masoretic textual disagreements, mostly insignificant, but a few are of the significance of the example just quoted, where a doctrine is at stake. The Ten Commandments of the masoretic Bible are regarded as nine by the Samaritans, who have a tenth of their own (of considerable length) stipulating the prime sanctity of Mt. Gerizim.

Some of the differentiae of Samaritan and Judaic religion are explained in this way. Other doctrines developed during certain eras, such as the belief in the judgment day. Belief in a day of vengeance and recompense, as it is called, could well have sprung from or given rise to Deuteronomy 32:35, where the Samaritan text reads "on the day of" against the masoretic text's "mine," a difference of two Hebrew letters.

Most of the beliefs about paradise are set in Islamic-type terms, and no doubt many details of the pictures of "the garden" were supplied during the long Islamic period, but as early as the *Memar Markah* there is sufficient evidence of such beliefs. The parallelism with early Jewish and Christian teachings on the subject is often striking, but not surprising if one takes into account the influence of Gnosticism on them.

There is no sign in Samaritan writings of the religious malpractices of which the Samaritan syncretists were condemned in II Kings 17:29ff.; indeed, the religion which emerges from the sources is remarkably pure and free from pagan influences. There is no indication anywhere of dove worship (R. Naḥman ben Isaac, Ḥul. 6a) or the adoration of a "god" called Ashima (Ibn Ezra, introduction, *Commentary on Esther*). This last accusation was based on a misunderstanding, as Ibn Ezra was not cognizant of the Samaritan usage to evade pronunciation of the Tetragrammaton by applying a surname "*Shema*" or "*Ashema*" instead (like *ha-Shem* in Jewish religious practice).

On the practical side of religion, the Samaritans have developed their code of religious practice by direct interpretation of biblical laws. A *halakhah* came into being, though not in the same way as in Judaism. It often differs from the rabbinical *halakhah* by its stricter adherence to the letter of the law, as in the laws of Sabbath and festivals or marriage between close relatives. In other cases it is based on different interpretation, as in the law concerning the levirate marriage (Deut. 25:5–10) or fixing the date of Pentecost, etc. There was no systematic codification of the law, and the few extant Samaritan halakhic compendia are arranged very loosely. Jewish, Karaite and Rabbanite, influence on their legal literature is evident in *Kitāb al-Mīrāth* ("Book of Inheritance"), probably belonging to the 12th century C.E., and in the classification of the 613 commandments of the Pentateuch. Mention of the number 613 is found even earlier in *Kitāb al-Kāfi* (1042 C.E.), but a systematic enumeration and classification is found first in a liturgical poem by Aaron b. Manīr of the 13th–14th century. His system shows striking dependence upon that of Maimonides. These influences are not surprising, as large Samaritan communities in Damascus and Cairo lived close to Jews, Rabbanites and Karaites.

Continuation of the festivals prescribed in the Torah was contingent on the political circumstances of the times, but throughout the vicissitudes of all these, the celebration of the Passover according to the strict regulations of the Torah was and is continued, whenever possible on Mt. Gerizim itself. Two other festivals, Pentecost and Tabernacles, were like Passover, regarded as pilgrimages, according to the Pentateuch (Ex. 23:17; 34:24; Lev. 23; Deut. 16), and to this day these pilgrimages are carried out as such (see M. Gaster, *The Samaritans*, pp. 168, 178 for details).

[John Macdonald]

Holidays and Festivals

THE SABBATH. The seventh day of the week serves as the basic rite for all Samaritan holidays and festivals. On the Sabbath the Samaritans hold four prayers. The first, which is held on the Sabbath eve, lasts for about an hour until the setting of the sun. The second is the Sabbath morning service, which begins, on regular Sabbaths, between three and four o'clock. The third is the afternoon prayer, which is held only on regular Sabbaths and those that fall during the counting of the Omer; it begins at noon and continues for about two hours. The fourth prayer is held at the end of the Sabbath and continues for about half an hour until the setting of the sun.

On Sabbaths and holidays the Samaritans dress in special clothing consisting of a long-sleeved, striped robe. During the prayers a long-sleeved white *tallit* made out of simple cloth is worn over the robe. The Samaritan synagogue is always oriented toward Mt. Gerizim. The worshipers stand on rugs spread out on the floor, and before one enters the synagogue he must remove his shoes. In addition, the worshipers must have a head covering while praying. The portion of the week is read at home by the head of the family, after the service, from *siddurim*.

The Samaritans do not light fires on the Sabbath or travel. They eat hot meals prepared beforehand only on the Sabbath eve, when they also kindle the lights that will remain on throughout the Sabbath; neither do they leave the vicinity of their community. The priests wear white miters on the Sabbath, to distinguish from the red ones worn during the week. They also lead the services and religious rites and open the reading of the weekly portion.

THE FESTIVALS. The Samaritans celebrate seven *mo'adim*, four of which are called *mo'adim* and three *ḥaggim*. The *ḥaggim* are the pilgrimages ordered in the Torah, e.g., Ex. 23:14–19. This special designation seems to have arisen under the influence of the Arabic *hajj,* which means "pilgrimage." The first *mo'ed* is Passover, which falls on the 15th day of the first month. On the eve of the festival, the Samaritans carry out the ceremony of the sacrifice on Mt. Gerizim. The second *mo'ed* is the Festival of the Seventh Month, which is celebrated on the first day of the seventh month and is parallel to the Jewish holiday of Rosh Ha-Shanah, except that it is celebrated for one day only. The third *mo'ed* is the Day of Atonement, which is celebrated on the tenth day of the seventh month from evening to evening. The fourth *mo'ed* is Shemini Aẓeret, which is celebrated on the 22nd day of the seventh month.

The first *ḥag* is Ḥag ha-Maẓẓot ("Feast of Unleavened Bread"), which is celebrated on the 21st day of the first month. The Samaritans make a pilgrimage to the top of Mt. Gerizim for the first time (in their cycle of ḥaggim). The second *ḥag* is the Festival of the Pentecost, which takes place on the day after the seventh Sabbath counted from the first Sabbath following Passover. As a result, it is traditional to celebrate this holiday on a Sunday. At this time the Samaritans make a pilgrimage for the second time. The third *ḥag* is Sukkot, which takes place on the 15th day of the seventh month, and the Samaritans make their third pilgrimage of the annual cycle. The Samaritans do not celebrate Purim or Ḥanukkah, because these holidays are not mentioned in the Pentateuch and were declared after the split between the Samaritans and the Jews. On the other hand, they celebrate the Independence Day of the State of Israel.

It should be noted that the Jews and the Samaritans rarely celebrate their holidays and festivals on the same days, as the determination of the beginning of the month and the intercalation of the years are made according to different calendar systems. Therefore, the differences of time between the Jewish and Samaritan holidays sometimes reach an entire month.

Passover. Passover is the time when the Samaritans celebrate the sacrifice of the paschal lamb on Mt. Gerizim. The ceremony is held 800 meters from the summit of the mountain, near the Samaritan center of 70 homes. At twilight on the 14th day of the first month all the members of the community gather at the site of the altar in two groups: the first carries out the sacrifice and the second, composed of community dignitaries and priests, participate in prayer. The high priest climbs upon a large stone and gives the signal to prepare to slaughter the sheep, while reading the story of the Exodus from Egypt (beginning with Exodus 12). The Samaritans have brought to the spot a number of sheep, corresponding to the number of families in the community, and, following the order of the high priest, the sheep are slaughtered as the congregation raises its voice in prayer. Immediately after the *kashrut* of the slaughter has been checked, the wool of the sheep is plucked with the aid of boiling water from two barrels placed upon the altar. Afterward, the sheep are hung from hooks and their intestines are cleaned and burned on the altar (together with those parts which are forbidden as food, according to the Samaritan Pentateuch).

At the end of cleaning and rinsing, the sheep are salted and laid aside for two hours, until the blood is absorbed by the salt. At about eight o'clock in the evening the sheep are carried on spits and placed into ovens for more than six hours. These ovens are dug into the earth and are sealed by means of shrubs and wet earth. At midnight the Samaritans return with bowls, open the ovens, remove the sheep, and divide the meat into the bowls. Each family takes its portion home, where it quickly eats the sacrifice together with *maẓẓot* and bitter herbs; any remains are returned to the altar and burned. Throughout the entire ceremony, the Samaritans continually sing, pray, and retell the story of the Exodus.

Festival of Pentecost (Shavuot). On this festival, as on Ḥag ha-Mazzot, the Samaritans make a pilgrimage to Mt. Gerizim. The holiday is celebrated on the 50th day of *sefirat ha-Omer*, which is on a Sunday. The Samaritans divide the period of the *sefirah* into seven weeks, and on each of the Sabbaths during the period they devote the service to one of the seven stations the Children of Israel passed on their Exodus from Egypt until they arrived at Mt. Sinai: the (Red) Sea (Exodus 14:26–15:21); the second Sabbath is called *Shabbat Marah* (Exodus 15:22–26); the third Sabbath is called *Shabbat Elim* (Exodus 15:27–16:3); the fourth Sabbath is *Shabbat ha-Man* (Ex. 16:4–36); the fifth is *Shabbat ha-Ẓur ba-Ḥorev* (Ex. 17:1–7); and the seventh *Shabbat Amalek* (Ex. 17:8–17).

On the fourth day after the sixth Sabbath of *sefirat ha-Omer*, the Samaritans celebrate the day of standing at Mt. Sinai. According to their tradition, the Pentateuch was given to the Children of Israel from above Mt. Sinai on this day. They pray and read from the Pentateuch from the middle of the night until the following evening. The seventh Sabbath during *sefirat ha-Omer*, the 49th day of the period, is called the Sabbath of the Ten Commandments (Ex. 19:120:14).

The pilgrimage on the Festival of Pentecost begins early in the morning, and during the processional all the places holy to the Samaritans that are situated on the peak are visited: Givat Olam, on which Moses' tabernacle stood; Isaac's altar, the spot where Abraham bound his son; and the site of the 12 rocks that Joshua placed before erecting Moses' tabernacle, according to Samaritan tradition.

The Festival of the Seventh Month. The Samaritan calendar begins with this festival each year, and it is the beginning of the Days of Awe for the Samaritans. The festival is celebrated one day only, the first day of the seventh month. At the close of this day begin the prayers of the Ten Days of Repentance each evening and each morning until the Day of Atonement.

Day of Atonement. This holiday begins during the late afternoon and the fast continues for 25–26 hours of prayer and continuous reading of the Pentateuch and *piyyutim*. Every member of the community over the age of one year must fast.

Sukkot and Shemini Azeret. On the eve of Sukkot, the Samaritans place palm branches on the net roof of the *sukkah*, put interwoven twigs on the palm branches, hang citrus fruit on string from the net roof of the *sukkah*, and hang willow branches from the roof, which is supported by four poles. The *sukkah* is erected inside the house. The Arab riots that plagued the Samaritans during various periods forced them to build their *sukkot* in their houses, and over hundreds of years this has become a tradition. The eve of Sukkot is devoted to building the *sukkah*, and on the morning of the holiday the Samaritans make the third pilgrimage to the top of Mt. Gerizim.

The periods are of *ḥol ha-mo'ed* Sukkot and also of Passover are devoted to special prayers each morning and evening. The Samaritans sit in the *sukkah* but do not sleep there.

Shemini Aẓeret begins on the 22nd day of the seventh month and is also called Simḥat Torah. After prayers, which begin shortly after midnight and continue for more than ten hours, like the prayers of all holidays and festivals, the priest carries the Torah around the synagogue for one round, while the worshipers clap hands.

Religious Ceremonies

CIRCUMCISION. The Samaritans are obligated to circumcise their sons at the age of eight days, for any male who is not circumcised eight days after birth is not considered an "Israel Samaritan" (Genesis 17:14). Because of the limited number of Samaritans who can perform the circumcision ceremony, this act has been handed over to non-Samaritans. The high priest officiates at the circumcision ceremony, which must take place immediately after morning prayers, at dawn. At the end of the ceremony, the high priest gives his blessing by reciting a poem on the subject ascribed to Markah (fourth century). The father of the infant then honors his guests and pays the high priest.

THE LAWS OF RITUAL IMPURITY AND PURITY. These laws are completely binding within the Samaritan community. During her menstrual period, for seven days, the woman is obliged to remain separated from her family, who must wait upon her and supply all her needs. She is forbidden to touch any household vessels, and anything upon which she sits must be rinsed with water. On the seventh day she bathes in water and becomes clean at sundown. A man who has had a nocturnal emission must wash his body in water and is unclean until nightfall. He sits during prayers in a special place outside the worshipers' hall, is forbidden to raise his voice, and is forbidden to touch holy articles until evening comes. A woman giving birth to a son is unclean for 40 days, and if the child is a daughter she is unclean for 80 days, after which she purifies herself (Lev. 12 and 15). The redemption of the circumcised firstborn son takes place only after the mother is cleansed of impurity of her childbirth. The high priest collects the redemption money.

COMPLETION OF THE TORAH. The completion of the Torah sets the official seal upon the beginning of the Samaritan's way of life in his tradition. In content it is reminiscent of the Jewish *bar mitzvah ceremony, but the difference is fundamental. The Jewish bar mitzvah takes place at the age of 13, while the Samaritan's bar mitzvah is dependent upon his education and ability. Only after he has learned the whole Pentateuch can the ceremony of completing the Pentateuch be arranged for a boy by his father. At the age of four or five, the father takes his son or daughter to the *ḥakham* (scholar) of the community, or to one of the priests, to have them taught Samaritan traditions and the principles of their faith. In an emergency, the father himself teaches his children. The child reads the Pentateuch in the ancient Hebrew script and in the special Samaritan pronunciation, as transmitted from generation to generation, and also learns writing. Able children complete the reading of the Pentateuch at the age of six, but some take as long as until the age of ten. On completing the reading, the child learns the blessing of Moses (Deut. 33–34) by heart. The father gathers all the Samaritans to the place of the rejoicing and the high priest gives the signal. The child, standing in the center upon a high chair, clothed in his best outfit, recites the blessing of Moses, following it by a speech (by heart) prepared for him by his teacher. He then descends from the chair, kisses the hands of the priests and other dignitaries, and receives gifts from them. He is now regarded as one of the quorum needed for community prayers. On the following Sabbath after the prayers he reads a portion of the Pentateuch immediately after the high priest. The Samaritans are then invited to a feast prepared by the parents of the child. The ceremony takes place to the accompaniment of liturgical hymns and poems written by Samaritan **paytanim* of all eras.

KIDDUSHIN. The proposal is the first of three stages in Samaritan marriage: *kiddushin, erusin, nissu'in*. They express the status of the girl in family life. When a Samaritan girl is certain of her choice, she urges him to request his parents to ask her parents for her hand. Occasionally, when a young man is in love he may request his parents to approach the girl's parents even without telling her of it. On being asked, the girl's parents reply: "We will call the damsel and inquire at her mouth" (Gen. 24:57). The girl's wish is now tested. If she desires the man, though her parents are opposed, she may reply affirmatively. She then appoints a guardian to perform the *erusin* (betrothal) ceremony on her behalf. The *kiddushin* ceremony takes place in the girl's home, and even a minor priest can sustain the bond and bless it by "recital of the *Shema*" and similar verses from the Pentateuch. The breaking of the *kiddushin* does not require divorce. Whenever conditions do not permit the continuation of the attachment, the man informs the girl's parents of it in writing or by word of mouth, and he is not liable for damages.

ERUSIN. The betrothal usually takes place a short time after the *kiddushin*. Release from *erusin* requires a divorce. The girl is herself not present, but her representative, her father or her uncle, or, in the event of her father not consenting to the betrothal, the guardian, sits opposite the young man. They clasp right hands together as a sign of the bond. The high priest sitting opposite, places his right hand upon their clasped hands and pronounces the *erusin* blessings over the bond. The high priest then receives a tied handkerchief containing six silver shekels from the young man and hands them to the girl's representative as a symbol of the dowry. When the priest finishes reading, "It is not good that the man should be alone; I will make him a helpmeet for him" (Gen. 2:18–25), the fiancé kisses the hand of the priest and of the notables. The fiancé and his fiancé are now regarded as husband and wife.

NISSU'IN. Marriage is the final stage, the formal act whose purpose is to complete the betrothal. Rejoicing on these occasions is greater than at any joyful Samaritan ceremony. The bridegroom's family proclaims a week of rejoicing to begin the Sabbath before the wedding. This is called the *Shabbat ha-Petiḥah* ("the Opening Sabbath" of the rejoicing). On this Sabbath the weekly portion of the law is read in the house of the groom's father. When the afternoon service is completed, the groom's relatives walk in procession from house to house and invite the guests to take part in the week of rejoicing. On the termination of the Sabbath, the men have a great feast in the house of the groom's father and sing wedding songs. The father of the groom bestows gifts upon the honored guests. On Sunday evening the women arrange their feast in the house of the bride's mother and they, too, indulge in much singing and music. On Monday evening one of the groom's relatives invites the men to a feast prepared in his house, and they again indulge in hymn singing and praises. In the center of the party sit the men, who sing, verse by verse, the account of Rebekah's marriage to Isaac (Gen. 24), each man taking a turn, with the bridegroom completing the reading. The evening of the third day is called "the red night," the night of the rejoicing of the bride. She is clothed in red garments symbolizing the purity of her virginity. The women prepare a splendid feast for her, the high point of which is the dance of the bridegroom's mother holding a parcel decorated with flowers containing the garments of the groom. The wedding takes place on the fourth day when the luminaries, symbolized by the bridegroom and bride, were created. During the day the bridegroom takes a piece of parchment to one of the scholars among the priests and asks him to write the marriage contract (*ketubbah*). He also rewards him for his trouble. In the evening the men assemble in the house of the groom, where they partake of the marriage feast. Afterward the groom's father invites the high priest to the place of rejoicing where the marriage is to take place. The high priest, the bridegroom, and the guests await the coming of the bride. She is accompanied by her relatives, who sing the Song of the Red Sea (the song of the prophetess Miriam) to the music of tambourines and with dancing. On the bride's arrival the priests break out in poetic song and marriage psalms. When the singing is finished, the groom rises, hands the marriage contract to the high priest, and kisses his right hand. The priest reads it slowly, and then details the virtues and rank of the families of the bridegroom and bride and the conditions upon which their marriage is taking place. When the reading ends the contract is handed to the bride's representative, her father, uncle, or guardian, for safekeeping. The groom kisses the hands of the high priest, gives him his fee and receives a wedding gift from him. The groom then turns to the bride, lifts the veil from her head, kisses her, and places a ring upon the finger of her right or left hand (a new custom). Sometimes they strengthen the bond by both drinking wine from the same cup (there is no canopy or breaking of a glass). During the following Sabbath prayers, songs signifying the joy of marriage are added. These are sung by the priest except when the groom is of a priestly family, in which case a lay Samaritan sings them. The groom reads the weekly portion of the law. The meal that takes place after the reading of the portion concludes the week of marriage.

INTERMARRIAGE. Samaritan *halakhah* permits intermarriage with the Jewish community on authorization by the high priest, after he is convinced that the convert will be fit to bear the brunt of observing Samaritan tradition. The attitude of the Samaritans toward Jews is expressed as: the Jews are children of the Jewish people who have deviated from the right path but will return to it "on the day of vengeance and recompense." A Samaritan may marry a Jewess only if she declares herself ready to observe Samaritan tradition. In such cases the Jewess lives in the bridegroom's house for at least six months and learns the customs of the community. The high priest tests her knowledge of what is required of her and only then gives his authorization. A Samaritan girl can be married to a Jew only if he declares his willingness to become a Samaritan.

Such marriages, which Samaritans regard as a sign of a renewed tie between the two sectors of Israel – the Samaritan and the Jewish – are recognized by the Ministry of the Interior, and the marriage certificates are official forms of the ministry, which recognizes the high priest's right to register the marriage. Up to 1970 six such cases had occurred, and in each case Samaritan men married Jewesses. The first case took place in 1923 and the last in 1969, despite the opposition in all cases of the Jewish chief rabbinate, which is not recognized by the Samaritan high priesthood.

DIVORCE. Divorce is very rare in the Samaritan community. In the 20th century, up to 1970, only three cases had taken place, the last being in 1962. Divorce releases from betrothal or marriage. Three causes are recognized by Samaritan *halakhah*:

(1) abominable practices committed by either party, or by both together;

(2) quarreling that makes the life of either party unbearable;

(3) immorality, i.e., rumors or proofs that either party maintains extramarital relations. In each case the cause must be confirmed by two or three witnesses. The high priest imposes upon the applicants a period for appeasement of at least a year, and when all efforts have failed, the man and woman go to the house of the high priest together with a limited number of their relatives. The high priest reads the bill of divorce in the hearing of the couple, tears the marriage contract, and removes the rings from their fingers. The divorced woman may not remarry her husband if either she or he marries another after the divorce. The guilty party must pay damages, as fixed by the high priest.

MOURNING. Samaritans bury their dead in their cemetery on Mount Gerizim. They place the corpse in a coffin with its head pointing in the direction opposite to the peak of Mt. Gerizim in order that his face should be toward the mountain. After the death, they read the Pentateuch all night long. On next morning they wash the corpse. Anyone touching it becomes unclean and is obliged to bathe. They place the body in the coffin and carry it to the cemetery. The high priest eulogizes the person but does not make himself ritually unclean by touching the body (Lev. 21:10–15). When the party returns from the burial, a family unrelated to the dead invites those who were at the funeral to a meal of comfort. Samaritans mourn their dead seven days, as did Joseph his father. They do not stay indoors seven days as do Jews, but satisfy themselves by visiting the grave and delivering memorial addresses every morning and evening. On the seventh day the mourning is over. At the end of 30 days the relatives of the dead invite the Samaritans to a memorial meal, and this officially concludes the mourning ceremonies. They display no external signs of mourning for the dead (Deut. 14:1), they tear no garment nor do they place earth upon the head. On the Sabbath the whole of the Pentateuch is read in the home of the relatives of the dead. This is repeated daily in order to purify the soul of the deceased. For a year after the death, no festivity takes place in the house of the deceased. At the recital of the *piyyutim* of the festivals, special stanzas are said in his memory. On each festival, when the prayers are finished, the high priest recites *Kaddish* for the exaltation of souls of all "the community of Israel who prostrate themselves before the holiest of mountains, Mt. Gerizim."

[Benyamim Tsedaka]

SAMARITAN CHRONOLOGY

No extant Samaritan work explains the Samaritan chronology, and the facts relating to this topic must therefore be gleaned from their writings.

The Samaritan Calendar

Based on a lunisolar system, the Samaritan calendar year (lunar year) has 354 days, divided into 12 months of 29 or 30 days each. The first day of the month is fixed by the conjunction (*ẓimmut* or *kibbuẓ*) of the moon with the sun (not by the appearance of the new moon). If the conjunction occurs at night or in the morning, not later than six hours before noon, that day is considered the first of the new month, which has 30 days; if it occurs later, the first of the new month is counted from the following and the month has 29 days. The civil year and the counting of the *shemittot* begin in the seventh month, Tishri; the religious year begins in Nisan (in their present-day calendars and in their astronomical tables the Samaritans count the *shemittot* from Nisan). In accordance with the Pentateuch, the months had no special names, but were counted as the first, the second, etc., starting with the month of Aviv (Ex. 12:2; Deut 16:1). This system is still practiced. In their historical and halakhic writings, however, one also encounters the later, non-pentateuchal names of Nisan, etc.

In the Pentateuch, Nisan is called "the month of Aviv" (Deut. 16:1), which is explained as the "month of ears of corn," when the barleycorn begins to ripen. This description means that Nisan must always occur in the same season, which is impossible in a strict lunar year. Therefore, the Samaritans (like the Jews) had to bind their lunar year to a solar year and thus arrived at a lunisolar year. This solar year is a mixture of the Persian and the older Julian (or Syrian) year, as evident from the Samaritans' astronomical tables. It has 365¼ days. In order to keep the lunar months in the solar seasons, it was necessary to intercalate one month in each second or third year, seven times in the 19-year moon cycle. In contradistinction to the Jewish calendar, the Samaritan leap years are not bound to a fixed year in this cycle but are decided upon according to need. The intercalated month comes before Nisan. The Samaritan rule for intercalating is as follows: they calculate whether the conjunction of the first month will occur before or after the 12th of Adar (one of the Syrian solar months; March of the Julian calendar). In the latter case, the day of the conjunction is fixed as the first of Nisan; if it occurred on or before the 12th of Adar, the month is intercalated and the new year is a leap year.

The religious duty of intercalation is alluded to in the poems of the fourth-century Samaritan writers Amram Darah, and Markah: "…He [God] gave them feasts that do not shift and bound their names to the [celestial] lights" (Darah, Song 16, Ben-Ḥayyim, III. 2 p. 74). According to Samaritan tradition, the calendar was always based on calculation, not on observation of the new moon. This system, much venerated by them, is called *Ḥeshbān Kishṭah* (True Reckoning) or *Maḥshav Ayyamim* (Reckoning of the Days). The oldest description of it is found in the *Abu-al-Ḥasan of Tyre's compendium of law, *al-Ṭabbākh* (11th century), in which he explains why the Samaritan rite of fixing the first of each month according to the conjunction is the only way of arriving at the true beginning of the new month, as the conjunction signifies a real new occurrence each month, whereas the new moon differs only in degree from its later phases during the month.

A detailed account is given in the *Tolidah* (earliest part, 12th century). The origin of this "True Reckoning" is there attributed to Adam, who received the system from God through the angels and from whom it was passed on to Shem, Eber, Noah, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, and finally Moses, who fixed the month of Nisan as the first month of spring and who taught the system to Phinehas, Aaron's grandson. When the Israelites entered the Promised Land, Phinehas applied this reckoning to the latitude of Mt. Gerizim. This passage explaining the principles of his system is written in Aramaic, showing that it was composed when this language was still used by Samaritan scholars, i.e., around the tenth century. The fixation of this date for the existence of the Samaritan calendar, more or less in its present form, can be corroborated by the external evidence of the tenth-century Karaite scholar Kirkisānī, who polemized vehemently against the Samaritan system of fixing the first of the month by conjunction and reckoning, instead of by observation of the new moon. From Phinehas onward, the duty and privilege of fixing the calendar remained a heritage of the family of high priests. To this day, they issue the calendar twice a year (in the months of Av and Shevat). It is binding on the entire community, and each of its male members is obliged to buy a copy. The principles underlying its calculation are a secret of the family.

At the end of the 16th century, when European scholars came in contact with the Samaritans, they were interested in learning the secret of the calendar, but their questions remained unanswered. Finally, in 1831, S. de Sacy was able to obtain astronomical tables from Nablus and published a specimen, and in 1896 M. Heidenheim followed suit; however, neither could explain the use of the table to compute the calendar. That was accomplished in 1939 by E. Robertson (in BJRI), whose work was supplemented by A.A. Akavyah in 1950 (in *Melilah*), who translated Robertson's paper into Hebrew, annotating it, and adding a short article of his own. Thanks to the efforts of all these scholars, it has become possible to understand a great deal about the calculation of the Samaritan calendar. About 600 tables were composed by Murjān al-Danfi and his two sons, Muslim and Abdallah. They were calculated for 200 Muslim years (1101–1300 A.H. = 1689–1883 C.E.) and their copying was finished in 1712.

The specimen published by Robertson comprises the tables relating to 1101 A.H. They bear the caption: "The year 6128 [after Creation], 3328 [after the settlement of the Israelites in Canaan], the 21st in the [solar] cycle of 28 [years] and the 9th in the [lunar] cycle of 19 [years], excerpt for the Hebrew [= Samaritan] solar year 1058 according to the era of Jezdegerd." The inscription implies that the calculations are based on a solar year, which is counted according to the era of Jezdegerd, the last Persian king of the Sassanid dynasty, who lost his empire to the Arabs. The era, named after him, begins in 632 C.E., the year he ascended the throne. The Persian solar year differs from the older Julian one and was used by the Arabian scholars for their astronomical calculations, which reached greatest perfection in the eighth–ninth centuries. Together with the Arabic astronomical tables, the Samaritans adopted the counting of the solar years according to this era. They did not take over its exact system, however, but kept to the solar year of the older Julian calendar, which they had probably learned (like the Jews) from the Byzantines. This last fact allows the inference to be made that the Samaritan system of calculating the calendar was developed during the time of Byzantine rule and revised later by the advanced system of their Arab overlords.

An interesting feature in the tables is the designation of the Samaritan lunar months by their Muslim names, in addition to their old names, the first, second, etc; the two designations are still applied in their present-day calendar. However, as the Muslim year, being strictly lunar, revolves through all the seasons, there are permanent changes in the coincidence of the Muslim with the original Samaritan names.

Historical Chronology

In the Pentateuch, which is also regarded by the Samaritans as a historical book for Samaritans, no fixed date era is given as the starting point from which years are counted successively; instead, the time of a certain event is given in relation to one preceding or following it. Nonetheless, several eras are mentioned in the Samaritan chronicles and datings of their manuscripts. The main era, to which all the others are related, after the Creation of the World or from Adam, is based on the lifespan of each of the Patriarchs in the Pentateuch, from

Adam to the death of Moses, i.e., until the entry of the Israelites into Canaan. According to the Samaritan Pentateuch, this era extended for 2,794 years. The continuation of this calculation is founded on the lists of Samaritan high priests in their chronicles, especially the *Salsalah* and *Tolidah* (see below, Samaritan Language and Literature), and several other eras are mentioned. The Table: Beginning of Eras in Six Samaritan Chronicles, shows the beginning of some of the more important eras in six Samaritan chronicles.

The date of the entry into Canaan is identical in all six chronicles, except for a slight deviation of two years in the oldest, the *Asatir*. This conformity is a result of computations based upon figures mentioned in the Samaritan Pentateuch. From then on, one must rely on the other five Chronicles – one begun in the 12th century C.E., two from the 14th century, and two from the beginning of the 20th century. The date of the beginning of the divine disfavor is alike in all of them; it is reached by adding 260 years, the reign of six high priests, to the date of the entry into Canaan. The disappearance of the holy Tabernacle, which was the beginning of the divine disfavor, occurred one year before the death of Uzzi, the sixth high priest, when Eli b. Jafni usurped the functions of the high priest. The *Tolidah* and the chronicle from 1908 (edited partly by J. Mac-Donald) postpone this event to the year of Uzzi's death. There are wide discrepancies in dates given for the start of three of the last eras. One of the reasons for the differences is omissions or additions in the lists on which they are based.

Some scholars surmise that all the numbers in the Samaritan chronicles are founded on the theological concept that the world, in its present state, was meant to exist for 6,000 years – 3,000 years of divine favor (*Rahutah*) followed by 3,000 years of divine disfavor (*Fanutah*), after which the Messiah (*Taheb*) would appear, and return the holy Tabernacle and bring redemption and peace to all the world. The date 3054 after creation fits approximately into that theory as marking the end of the period of the divine favor. From then to the appearance of Alexander the Great, about 1,000 years elapsed, i.e., one third of the period of divine disfavor. The date 4600 A.C. for *Baba Rabbah places the salvation he brought his people in the middle of this period of hardship and distress. Another 500 years from then to the rise of Muhammad fix the end of the divine disfavor and the advent of the *Taheb* at around 1,000 years after Muhammad.

Like their Muslim surroundings, the Samaritans began to reckon their dates according to the Muslim era, which they denoted as according to the Kingdom of Ismāʿīl, Ismāʿīliyya (= of Ismāʿīl) or Hijriyya (= of the Flight). The use of this era became dominant and even more widespread than the appellation "after the Creation," which kept its place in the chronicles but served to a lesser degree for dating documents. All dated Samaritan inscriptions mentioned in *Sefer ha-Shomronim* are dated by the Muslim era only. Even in the Samaritan calendar, issued twice a year by the high priest, the dating is by the Muhammadan year, sometimes synchronized to other systems, in addition to the counting of the years of *shemittah*, probably the oldest Samaritan way of dating events by starting from a fixed point.

In the Pentateuch (Lev. 25:8ff.) the Children of Israel are ordered to count Sabbatical (*shemittah*) Years (every seventh year) and Jubilees (every 50th year) after their entry into Canaan. The Samaritan tradition understood this to mean that the first year of their entry into Canaan was a Sabbatical Year, as it was the seventh year after their arrival in Transjordan. The second redactor of the *Tolidah* states that he finished his work in the year 747 A.C., which was the fourth year of the fifth Sabbatical in the 61st Jubilee since the entry of the Israelites into Canaan, the 5778th year A.H. and the 714th of Jezdegerd. Synchronization of several eras was widespread in Muslim writings, its aim being to exclude dating errors by later copyists, after that the writer of the *Tolidah* proceeds to outline the Samaritan system of counting the Jubilees. The first is counted 50 years, after which 49 are added for each following till the end of the fifth (= 246 years). This total is doubled to get the 10th Jubilee (= 492 years). He proceeds in this fashion to the 40th Jubilee (= 1968 years). After that he skips to the 55th (= 2706 years). From then on he adds only one or two at a time until he comes to the 65th Jubilee (= 3196 years), which is more than

Beginning of Eras in Six Samaritan Chronicles

	Asatir c. 11th century C.E.	Tolidah first part 544 A.H.; 1149 C.E.	Samaritan Book of Josua 1362 C.E.	Abu al-Fatḥ 756 A.H.; 1354 C.E.	Chronicle edited by Adler-Seligs 1307 A.H.; 1900 C.E.	Chronicle edited by J. MacDonald 1326 A.H.; 1908 C.E.
Death of Moses; Entry into Canaan	2796*	2794	2794	2794	2794	2794
Disappearance of Holy Tabernacle. Beginning of Divine Disfavor; First Schism between Samaritans and Jews		3055	3054	3054	3054	3055
Alexander the Great, Era of Contracts			3930	4100	3944	3945
Birth of Jesus				4350	c. 4321	4292
Baba Rabbah		4600			c. 4600	4600
Advent of Muhammad. Era of the Flight				5047	4921	4893

* All the years in this table are counted After Creation of the World (A.C.).

four Jubilees after the time of the composition of that part of the *Tolidah* and ten years short of the year 6000 A.C., the time of the expected advent of the *Taheb*.

The antiquity of the system of counting according to Jubilees is borne out by the apocryphal Book of Jubilees (second century B.C.E). It seems to have been used by the Samaritans throughout the ages, alongside younger and more convenient systems. Today they count only the Sabbatical Years, dispensing with the Jubilees. It remains, however, undecided whether this system or the Era of the Contracts was the oldest used by them. It is not known when the Samaritans started to count by their main era, i.e., after Creation, as their oldest extant manuscripts are from the 12th century. As example for its use at that time serves the colophon of one fragmentary manuscript of the Pentateuch: "[Written by]… son of Abraham son of Joseph Zarfataah in the year 5579 A.C., which is the year 544 A.H." Dating by this system was common throughout the Byzantine Empire, in Christian and Jewish circles alike, for documents, tombstones, and manuscripts from the seventh century C.E., and the same probably applies to the Samaritans. The system is first known from fragments of a "Book of Kings," whose author was Demetrius (third century B.C.E.), a Hellenic Jew from Alexandria. Byzantine sources from the seventh century cite fragments of Christian, Syrian, and Alexandrian chronologers from the third and fifth centuries C.E. who built their systems on the era "After the Creation of the World." In Jewish sources, the system is first mentioned in the fifth century C.E. (Av. Zar. 9b). The length of this era differs in Jewish, Samaritan, and Christian tradition, being the longest in the Christian (5492 or 5501 years until the beginning of the Common Era) and the shortest in the Jewish (3761 years), the Samaritans occupying a position in between.

The colophon of the Samaritan chronicle completed in 1900 C.E. (ed. by Adler-Seligsohn) includes the era after Creation (6179 years), that from the Entry into Canaan (3385 years), the Common Era (1900 years), the Muslim era (1317 years), and mention of the Era of Diocletian (1616 years). The latter, also called Era of the Martyrs, was inaugurated in Alexandria in 284 C.E., the year Diocletian ascended the throne. Its importance lay in the introduction of the 19-year moon cycle, which enabled the Christian Church Fathers to calculate more exactly than by their former 8-year cycle the date of Easter, which must fall on a Sunday after the first full moon in the month of spring. The 19-year moon cycle is used by the Samaritans to the present, although it is not known when they began to employ it or when they first dated by the Diocletian era.

LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE

Language

Throughout their history the Samaritans have used four languages: Hebrew, Greek, Aramaic, and Arabic. Apart from the Pentateuch (see Samaritan *Pentateuch), Hebrew was retained as the language of liturgy, revived from the 14th century on. This later Hebrew was mixed with Aramaic words and grammatical forms and developed under the influence of the Samaritan Arabic vernacular. Likewise, Hebrew translations of Aramaic and Arabic works done by 19th- and 20th-century writers for European scholars, notably Moses Gaster, show clear Arabic influence in words, grammar, and syntax. A peculiarity of post-biblical Hebrew is the confusion of the gutturals.

Only scanty literary fragments have survived from the Hellenistic era and they testify to the use of the Greek language among the Samaritans. They are all excerpts from Alexander Polyhistor, a Roman historian (c. 80–40 B.C.E.), which were transmitted by Eusebius in his *Praeparatio Evangelica* (third to fourth century C.E.; for further information see Montgomery, op. cit., pp. 283–6). Fragments of a Greek translation of the Samaritan Pentateuch have been found in Egypt. Origen refers in his Hexapla to a "Samareitikon," which is understood by most scholars to mean a Greek translation of the Samaritan Pentateuch. In 1953 a Greek archaeologist found a Samaritan synagogue inscription in Greek in Thessalonika which might belong to the fourth century C.E. (Kippenberg, p. 148). Samaritan Aramaic, a dialect of Western Aramaic, has been preserved in compositions dating from the early Roman period to the 11th century C.E. (see *Aramaic). Arabic has been used by the Samaritans as a spoken language for many centuries. It is not known exactly when Aramaic fell into disuse, but it seems to have died out as a written language in about the 11th century, and most of the non-Hebrew writings from that time on are in Middle Arabic.

Many manuscripts in Western libraries and in the Samaritan community set out a text in three parallel columns: Hebrew, Aramaic, and Arabic. These include the Pentateuch, *Memar Markah*, and some later exegetical works. There is also a glossary to the Pentateuch called *Ha-Meliẓ*, meaning "dictionary," which sets out in parallel columns the Aramaic and Arabic equivalents of the Hebrew words of the Pentateuch. It was edited for the first time by Z. Ben-Ḥayyim (I, II no. XI). Ben-Ḥayyim showed that it was composed in two stages, the first part being the Hebrew-Aramaic from the 10th to the 11th centuries. Later, when Aramaic began to fall into disuse, another author added the Arabic column, very often translating not the Hebrew word but its Aramaic translation, which he no longer understood properly. This part was added to between the second half of the 11th to the 14th century. The only extant manuscript was copied in 1476. This glossary is today the most important source for knowledge of Samaritan Aramaic.

Literature

Extant Samaritan literature is relatively rare. The earliest work is the Pentateuch, which is the center of Samaritan life. To this day, the Samaritans jealously guard their most precious scroll, known as the Abisha Scroll, which they believe to be the actual copy of the Pentateuch made by Abisha, grandson of Eleazar, in the 13th year of the settlement of the Israelites in Canaan. All scholars agree that it belongs to a later period, but there is no agreement as to the exact time, and opinions vary between the first (M. Gaster) and the 14th century C.E. (P. Kahle). Perez Castro reached the conclusion that the scroll consists of one older part, which belongs to the 12th or 13th century C.E., and of more recent additions from the 14th century. *Abu al-Fatḥ ends his account on *Sefer Avisha* with the encouraging message that after having been lost it had reappeared in his days, "this being a sign of the approaching return of the Divine Favor" (p. 35). Next in order comes the Targum written in the Aramaic type similar to that of the *Defter* and *Memar Markah* (see *Markah). It is a fairly literal translation, but manuscripts exist with interpretive additions. The presence of a number of Greek words suggests a date between the first and fourth centuries C.E., as Greek was probably still in use as a literary medium alongside Aramaic during the early part of that period in Samaria. Apart from some fragments, the oldest manuscript is the Barberini Triglot of 1226 C.E.

The *Defter* (Gr. *diphtera*, book) constitutes the oldest part of the liturgy and was probably composed in the fourth century C.E. (for the text, see A.E. Cowley, I, pp. 1–92; Z. Ben-Ḥayyim, III, 2, pp. 41–274). Additions were made in later times in Aramaic and Hebrew. This part of the liturgy contains some early hymns (e.g., the Hymn of the Angels, the Hymn of Joshua), and these, together with the hymns of Amram Darah, Markah, and Nanah, the son of Markah, may be described as the basic prayer book of the Samaritan community. The *Memar Markah* is of prime importance for the study of Samaritan Aramaic and for the history of Samaritan concepts.

LITURGISTS. Liturgists of a later period who still wrote in Aramaic were Taviya ben Darta of the 10th–11th century C.E., Abu al-Ḥasan al-Ṣurī of the 11th century, al-Dustān before the 13th century, and Av Gillugah of the 12th century. Aaron b. Manīr of Damascus from the 13th to 14th centuries, and Mattanah Hamazri from the Samaritan community in Egypt, wrote in Hebrew, like the high priest of Shechem, Phinehas b. Yusuf, the reviver of the Samaritan *piyyut* in Hebrew (1308–1367 C.E.), and his sons Eleazar and Avisha. Phinehas himself and his son Eleazar occasionally still used Aramaic in attempting to write "verses of Markah," i.e., to imitate the style of "the Samaritan Poet." Avisha, who received the epithet *ba'al ha-mēmar* (i.e., "the writer") and, after Markah, perhaps the most famous and beloved liturgist in the Samaritan community, wrote in the Samaritan Hebrew that began to emerge by then and consisted of a mixture of classical Hebrew and Aramaic forms and words. He was a very prolific writer and his poems were included to a large extent in the Samaritan liturgy. Another famous liturgist was the scholar Ibrāhim b. Yaʿqūb al-Ayya of the 18th century. In the 19th century the outstanding Samaritan scholar Phinehas b. Isaac (d. 1898), who was surnamed Fard Zavnēh ("unique in his time"), composed liturgical poems of great beauty.

CHRONICLES. A number of chronicles are extant.

(1) The earliest is the *Asāṭīr* (see *al-Asāṭīr), a midrashic work written in late Aramaic and probably composed in the tenth or 11th century C.E.

(2) *Al-Tolidah* ("genealogy"), written in Hebrew, except for one Aramaic section dealing with the meridian of Mt. Gerizim, contains mainly genealogical lists from Adam to the entry into Canaan, and from then on lists of the high priestly and other important Samaritan families, interspersed at places by short historical accounts. The chronicle begins with a description of the Samaritan system in fixing their calendar, counting the Jubilees, etc. (see Historical Chronology). This work was composed by Jacob b. Ishmael, himself of high priestly origin, in 1346 C.E. He testifies that he copies the main part from an earlier work written by his ancestor Eleazar b. Amram in 1149 C.E. From then on it was added to by each generation.

(3) The Samaritan *Book of Joshua* (in Arabic) recounts the history of the Samaritan people from the initiation of Joshua by Moses to the days of Baba Rabbah. It contains much legendary material, and the place of origin and name of its author are not mentioned. In the opening sentences the writer states that he translated his work from a Hebrew source, which has not yet been discovered. The Hebrew *Book of Joshua*, which M. Gaster claimed to have found, is actually only one part of another Samaritan chronicle, a late compilation composed in about 1900 by Jacob b. Hārūn, as shown by P. Kahle, D. Yellin, and S. Yahuda. An Arabic *Book of Joshua* is enumerated by Abu al-Fatḥ as one of the sources which he used for the composition of his *Annals*. The oldest manuscript (in the Leiden Library) consists of two parts: the first from 1362 C.E. (chs. 1–46); the second from 1513. The manuscript was sold to J. Scaliger in 1584 by the Samaritan community in Cairo (Juynboll, p. 340).

(4) The *Annals* (*Kitāb al-Ta'rīkh*) by Abu al-Fatḥ were composed in Arabic in 1355 C.E.

(5) *Shalshalah* ("chain") is a genealogy of high priests ascribed to Eleazar b. Phinehas of the 14th century C.E. and added to up to Jacob b. Hārūn (19th–20th century C.E.).

(6) The *New Chronicle* or *Chronicle Adler* (one of the editors) was written in Samaritan Hebrew by Av-Sakhva b. Asad ha-Danfi. It relates from Adam to 1900 C.E., the year of its composition, uses the earlier chronicles, and shows acquaintance with historical books of the Bible.

(7) Another *New Chronicle* in Samaritan Hebrew was written by Taviah b. Phinehas in 1908 (see review to MacDonald's edition of Chronicle II by Z. Ben-Ḥayyim in *Leshonenu*, 30 (1971), 293–302). M. Gaster refers to this chronicle in *The Samaritans* (p. 157), saying that it was first ascribed to Taviah and then to Phinehas. The writer used the earlier Samaritan chronicles, mainly the *Annals* of Abu al-Fatḥ and great parts of the historical books of the Bible. The chronicle ends with the narration of the events in the writer's own time.

HALAKHIC LITERATURE. Several halakhic works have survived, all in Middle Arabic:

(1) *Al-Kāfi* ("the [all] sufficient") composed by Yūsuf al-ʿAskarī in 1042 C.E.

(2) *Kitāb al-Ṭabbākh* of the same period by *Abu al-Ḥasan of Tyre. Abu al-Ḥasan is also said to be the translator of the

Samaritan Pentateuch into Arabic. His translation, however, fell into disuse, because of the many interpolations, which had crept into it from the Rabbanite Arabic translation of Saadiah. It was revised in the 13th century by the Samaritan scholar Abū Saʿid (B.H. I, pp. xxxiv, xxxv).

(3) *Masāʾil al-Khilāf* (the differences between the Samaritan and Jewish communities, Rabbanites and Karaites alike) of the 12th century by Munajja b. Ṣadaqa, the physician of Damascus. He is also said to be the author of a treatise on forbidden degrees of marriage, *Sefer ha-Ervah*; others ascribe this treatise to a certain Baraka of Shechem from the 14th century. The John Rylands Library contains a bilingual manuscript in Arabic and modern Samaritan Hebrew, translated and copied in 1930 by Avisha b. Phinehas from an old Arabic manuscript owned by his father (no. 250). Munajja polemicized against the Jewish scholar Saadiah and the Karaite al-Kirkisānī.

(4) *Kitāb al-Mīrāth* or *Sefer ha-Yerushot* ("The Book of Inheritance") is ascribed to Ibrāhīm b. Iṣḥāq b. Mārūth, surnamed "The Sun of the Learned" (*Shams al-Ḥukamāʾ*) physician to Ṣāliḥ al-Dīn, who lived in Damascus (or Baalbek?) in the 12th century.

(5) *Kitāb al-Farāʾiḍ* ("Book of Laws"), composed by Abu al-Faraj Nafīs al-Dīn-al-Kathār of the 13th or 14th century, is an important halakhic work. In this compendium of religious usage, the author mentions 613 commandments divided into 365 prohibitions (like the days of the year) and 248 orders (like the parts of the human body). The 613 commandments are referred to earlier in *Kitāb al-Kāfi*, but without such division or enumeration.

(6) *Shirat ha-Mitzvot*, a long poem by the 13th–14th-century liturgical poet Aaron b. Manīr of Damascus, enumerates the 613 commandments in accordance with the above-mentioned division. His system shows striking resemblance to that of Maimonides.

(7) The *Ḥillūk* or *Khilāf al-Irshād* ("Differences in Teaching"), a late Samaritan halakhic work, is ascribed by the sons of Phinehas b. Isaac ha-Kohen and of Jacob b. Hārūn to their fathers, respectively. It is divided into ten chapters and contains differences between Jews and Samaritans, based on readings in the Pentateuch. It ends with a section on death, divine punishment, and resurrection. The first chapter contains a brief sketch on Samaritan history, and Samaritan communities such as Aleppo, Damascus, Cairo, and Gaza are mentioned as places where Samaritans continue to live, although these communities disappeared long ago. This shows that the book was compiled from old materials.

None of these works presents a systematic codification of Samaritan oral law; the nearest to attain this aim is *Kitāb al-Farāʾiḍ.* All contain polemics against Karaite and Rabbanite Jews, and even against certain Muslim philosophical teachings and Christian beliefs (e.g., in *Kitāb al-Tabbākh*). Vast sections are commentaries to passages of the Pentateuch.

PENTATEUCH COMMENTARIES. Like the halakhic writings, the Samaritan commentaries to the Pentateuch, still extant, are all from the Arabic period and are written in Middle Arabic. Apart from lexicographical and grammatical material contained in them, they show familiarity with medieval philosophy, astrology, astronomy, and even medicine, as famous Samaritan physicians were among the commentators. The influence of Karaite or Rabbanite writings is discernible in some commentaries.

(1) A commentary on Genesis 1–28:10 by an unknown author (composed in 1053 C.E.), a specimen of which has been published by Neubauer, is of Karaite provenance. It was adapted to the Samaritan pentateuchal text in an external and very perfunctory manner prior to the year 1348, when the single extant manuscript was copied (Loewenstamm, *Perush Kara'i al ha-Torah bi-Levush Shomroni*).

(2) Ṣadaqa b. Munajja al-Ḥakīm (d. 1223 in Haran), physician to Malik al-Ashraf, composed a philosophical treatise *Kitāb al-Tawḥīd* ("Book of [God's] Oneness"), in which he adduces proofs for the absolute oneness of God from verses of the Pentateuch. A commentary to Genesis is ascribed to him (M. Steinschneider, ALJ, 331).

(3) Abu al-Faraj Nafīs al-Dīn (author of *Kitāb al-Farāʾid*) wrote a commentary on Leviticus 26 called *Sharḥ* ("interpretation") "*im be-Ḥukkotai*." In it he cites from a lost Aramaic commentary of al-Dustān, well known as a liturgical poet in the Aramaic language.

(4) Several treatises are ascribed to Ghazzāl or Tabiah b. alDoweik of the 13th–14th century: (a) the Story of Balaam, (b) the Affirmation of the Second Kingdom (Rylands' Catalogue, p. 110, Cod. VIII), and (c) an unfinished commentary to Exodus.

(5) Ibrāhim al-Kabāṣi, noted scholar and liturgist of Damascus (16th century), wrote a book *Sair al-Qalb* ("Conducts of the Heart"), wherein he expounds the need to conduct a life in accordance with divine teachings. He, too, enumerates 613 commandments. His system, like that of Aaron b. Manīr, shows striking resemblance to that of Maimonides. His second book, a commentary to Deuteronomy 32:3, 4 called "Sharḥ Efshem" or "al-Fātiḥa," deals with the power of the divine name. Deuteronomy 32:3, 4, like the first Sura of the Koran, became the basic verses in the Samaritan prayers. This book is of special interest as it shows influence of esoteric teachings.

(6) An important midrashic work from 1537 C.E., *Molad Moshe*, a panegyric to Moses, was composed in Arabic by Yishmael Haramḥi (Ismāʿīl al-Rumyḥī) of Damascus, a disciple of Ibrāhīm al-Kabāṣī, who honored him by writing the introduction to his pupil's work (edited by S.J. Miller, New York, 1949, together with a Samaritan Hebrew version by Phinehas b. Isaac ha-Kohen).

(7) the most comprehensive commentary to Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, and Numbers was composed in the 18th century. Begun by Meshalma or Muslim b. Murjān, of the Danafite family, renowned for its scholars and scribes, it was continued and partly rewritten by his nephew and disciple Ibrāhīm b. Yaʿqūb al-ʿAyya from Genesis 46:28 to the end. Ibrāhīm al-ʿAyya, commentator, liturgist, grammarian, chro-

nologer, and scribe, was one of the most famous Samaritan scholars. He took part in the correspondence between Samaritans and European scholars. Parts of his commentary have been edited as doctoral dissertations.

(8) At about the same time (1753/54), Ghazzāl ibn Abu al-Sarūr al-Ghāzi composed an aggadic commentary called *Kāshifal-Ghayāhib* or *Megalleh Temirin* ("Revealer of Hidden Things").

GRAMMATICAL WORKS. Although the Samaritan Pentateuch is not bound by a masorah, like that of the Jews, there is a fixed pronunciation of the Torah, which is transmitted very carefully by oral teaching from generation to generation. An extant work from the end of the 10th–11th century by the poet Taviya ibn Dartah called "A Canon on the Rules of Reading" deals with the accents used in reading the text of the Pentateuch. The treatise was composed in Arabic, but the Aramaic names of the accents and the Aramaic verse at its close testify to the antiquity of the sources from which it was gleaned. Dealing with the same topic is the "Treatise Concerning the Reading" by Ibrāhīm al-ʿAyya, who wrote several other grammatical treatises, one about the vowel signs, another concerning the articulation of the 22 letters of the Hebrew-Samaritan alphabet, and a third on "Words Similar in Pronunciation." The works of Ibn Dartah and of al-ʿAyya were edited for the first time by Z. Ben-Ḥayyim in *Ivrit ve-Aramit Nosaḥ Shomron* (I, II), together with other Samaritan grammatical and lexicographical writings. Here it may suffice to refer to the earliest Samaritan grammar (Sect. 1), *Kitāb al Tawṭiʿa* ("Book of Introduction") by the physician Abu Isḥāq b. Ibrāhīm b. Faraj. b. Mārūth of Damascus (or Baalbek?) from the 12th century (supposed composer of *Kitāb al-Mīrāth*). Abu Isḥāq does not mention any predecessor, and his work is in accordance with that of Jewish and Arabic grammarians of his time. Like them he accepts the assumption of the three-radical stem of the word (in contradistinction to that adduced in the commentary of the unknown author from 1053 and in the dictionary "*Ha-Meliẓ*)." On this basis, he succeeds in creating his own grammatical system of the Hebrew language according to the pronunciation typical of the Samaritan community. His treatise shows that, from his time until today, only a few minor changes occurred in this pronunciation. His work, however, seems not to have been very popular in the Samaritan community, as shown by the single extant manuscript and by a later abridgment called *Mukhtaṣar al-Tawṭiʿ a* by Eleazar b. Phinehas b. Joseph, high priest of the Samaritan community from 1363 to 1387. This work seems to have enjoyed great popularity, as shown by the many extant manuscripts and the number of different names given to it (Ben-Ḥayyim I, Sect. III).

Some minor grammatical treatises were written by Phinehas b. Isaac Ha-kohen (d. 1898): on the *hifil* perfect and imperfect of hollow verbs (Ben-Ḥayyim I, Sect. VI, a.b.g.). Phinehas stood in high esteem as scholar and liturgist and, in addition to "Fard Zavnēh" ("Unique of his Time"), was surnamed Ḥashov Ḥeshbān Kishṭah" ("Reckoner of the True Reckoning") because of his proficiency in Samaritan chronology and fixing of the calendar. He is said to have encouraged Av-Sakhva to compile his chronicle (i.e., the *New Chronicle*), as the high priest Phinehas b. Yūsuf of the 14th century asked Abu al-Fatḥ to compose his *Annals* (B.Ḥ. I pp. xlvii, xlviii). Another modern chronicle is ascribed to him. Like many contemporaries, among them the high priest Jacob b. Hārūn, he translated Samaritan manuscripts from Arabic into Samaritan Hebrew.

Samaritan literature, only part of which has been dealt with here, is wholly centered around the Pentateuch and the religious life of the community. The liturgical, halakhic, midrashic, grammatical, lexicographical, philosophical, and chronological literature all developed with the same aim: to guide the community to understand the very meaning and intention of the divine book and to teach them to fulfill its commandments. Even the historical literature fits into this system, as it sets out to show that man's welfare depends on his obedience to the laws of "The Book."

[Ayala Loewenstamm]

IN ISLAM

In the Koran, al-Sāmirī is a strange figure. He incited the people of Israel to make the Golden Calf and Aaron's warnings were of no avail. Al-Sāmirī succeeded by using sorcery and was punished by having to proclaim forever: *lā misāsa* ("touch me not!," Sura 20:85–97). The name al-Sāmirī is difficult to explain and usually is interpreted as an allusion to the Samaritans, who according to Muhammad bore some of the responsibility for calf worship in Samaria. Speyer, however, believes that it alludes to the act of Zimri b. Salu, who was killed by Phinehas for his misconduct with a Midianite woman (Num. 25:1–15). This assumption appears to be forced and the tale of the Sāmirī remains a mystery.

[Haïm Z'ew Hirschberg]

MUSICAL TRADITION

The musical tradition of the Samaritans, which is closely linked to their linguistic tradition, is completely devoid of instrumental music; in fact, the Samaritans do not even sound the *shofar*. Moreover, the Samaritans have no formal theoretical system of tones, meter, or rhythm. The two main styles of the Samaritan *melos* are the *kal* ("light") and the *kaved* ("heavy") style. The *kal* style is mainly syllabic. Its rhythm is linked to that of the text and its range is extremely limited. The center tone generally serves as the axis of the melody, with seconds on either side, and only occasional extensions to a third, fourth, and fifth. The *kaved* style is basically nonsyllabic and rich in embellishments. The melodic axis in this style consists of the center tone with the embellishments adjacent to it, but at times the melody projects over larger intervals such as the fifth, sixth, seventh, or even the octave, and then returns to its center. The manner of rendering Samaritan songs is chiefly characterized, in almost every melodic texture and prominently so in the *kaved* style, by strong vibrato, by glissando to the degree that it is difficult to fix the duration of the tone, and especially by the *zaʿak* – the sforzato ejaculation, which is extremely loud and often precedes or succeeds the vibrato or appears on either side of the glissando.

In the vibrating *kaved* style, the pronunciation of the text is often extended by filler-syllables, which stretch and support the melodic line. A word such as *ʾat* may be transformed in the *kaved* cantillation to *ʿa-ta-wa-nu-wa*. An intermediate style called *ḥaẓi kaved* ("half-heavy") is also recognized. The Samaritan Bible cantillation is not based upon a system of *masoretic accents. The present usage is regulated by just four cadential formulas: the half-*rakza* and *rakza* which mark the hemistichs; the *waqfa* at the end of the verse; and the *nāhwa*, placed at the end of the *qiṣṣa* does the melodic impetus quicken and the melodic curve becomes more pronounced. There are distinct melodic schemes for cantillation on various occasions – for certain Sabbaths and feasts, readings by the priests, private study, etc. An old and obscure tradition utilizes a different system: the ten *sidrei mikreta* (pronounced *sedari maqrata*), i.e., "rules" or "principles of reading," effected by signs placed after words or phrases. The signs seem to have had a combined exegetical-syntactical-musical function similar, in principle, to the Jewish accentual system and its cognates in the Near East (especially the Syriac). The signs and their Aramaic names are as follows (pronunciation bracketed):

(ʿenged or ʿnēged).. נגד
(ʾfāsaq or ʿafsaʾ): פסק
(ānʾāʾʾū)° אנחו
(erʾkānu) / ארכנו
(sīyʾyāla) ¨< שאילה
(zāʿeīqa). – זעיקה
(etʾmāʾu) <: אתמחו
(ʿbāʾu) <. בעו
(zāʾʿif):= זעפ
(ʿtūru) |: תורו

The signs are no longer used either in the Samaritan scrolls of the Law or the prayer books, and their precise meaning and application were apparently lost many centuries ago.

The most interesting rendition of the *piyyutim* is the antiphonal performance which the Samaritans call "lower and upper" or "right and left." The congregation divides itself into two groups on either side of the *parokhet*, and simultaneously recite different parts of the hymn, each with its own melody. A polyphony, which is extremely dissonant to the Western ear, is thus created, although the Samaritans execute it most naturally and each member of the congregation is habituated to his "half" of the performance.

The Samaritans do not seem to possess any truly secular songs. However, on special occasions, such as weddings and circumcisions, they sing *piyyutim* in an easy and metrical "light" style.

On the periphery of the Samaritan tradition there are light songs, usually Arabic ditties with overtly secular themes, bearing the imprint of the Arab *melos* and poetical form. But for the Samaritans, a song such as *Sir binā siḥrā nadīmī* is an allegorical song and not one merely of love and desire.

These elements, however, have become an integral part of the musical tradition of the Samaritan community. Some manuscripts of religious poems have headings which indicate, in Arabic, the melody or style in which the poems are to be sung.

A feature often apparent in all genres of Samaritan singing-songs, hymns, and prayers is the phenomenon designated by the musicological-historical term *parallel organum*: the rendition of one melody by a group of singers, adults and/or children, in which each individual or subgroup proceeds on an independent tonal level, thus creating a polyphony of strictly parallel strands. The procedure is entirely unconscious and spontaneous, and the Samaritans themselves do not have a term for it (a very similar usage is also found among the Yemenite Jews and in a few other cultures in various parts of the world).

The characteristics of Samaritan song (which has only begun to be subjected to a thorough musicological analysis) give it a peculiarity which is apparent at first hearing. All the elements – vibrato, glissando, *zaʿaq*, the melodic curve itself, "right and left," and *organum* – combine to make a strongly original style, which has no parallel either in the musical traditions of the Jewish communities or those of any present Near Eastern culture. Samaritan music evinces the survival of archaic elements whose import has yet to be explored.

[Shlomo Hofman]

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SAMARKAND, capital of Samarkand district, Uzbekistan. Jews are mentioned there from hearsay for the first time by *Benjamin of Tudela (12th century) as a large community. It was apparently destroyed when the town was captured by Bab Mehmet Khan in 1598. The Jews later suffered from Muslim oppression. In 1843, at the request of the Jews, a special area was allocated to them for the construction of a Jewish quarter: they were led by a *nasi*, named Kulantur, approved by the emir of *Bukhara. The situation of the Jews improved after the Russian conquest (1868), and in 1887 there were 3,792 Jews in Samarkand, the overwhelming majority of them of the Bukharan community.

Settlement of Ashkenazi Jews from *Russia began with the construction of the railroad to Samarkand in 1888; they played an important role in the commercial development of the city. In 1897 there were 4,307 Jews (c. 8% of the total population). Their number subsequently increased with Jewish immigration from the emirate of Bukhara and from Russia. The Russian authorities were opposed to this immigration, and, in contrast to the local Jews, the "foreign" Jews (from Bukhara) and the Jews of European Russia were subjected to persecutions. In 1907 the Jewish population numbered 5,266.

With the outbreak of the Revolution of 1917, the Zionist movement in Samarkand gained in strength and served as a factor unifying the various communities there. A communal center and Hebrew secondary school were established. Under the Soviet regime a Jewish-Bukharan branch of the Communist Party was formed in Samarkand; for a number of years it carried on a struggle with the *Yevsektsiya over the right of the local Jews to maintain a Hebrew school. The Yevsektsiya took steps to oppose the national and religious traditions of the Jews. By 1933 15 of the synagogues in the Jewish quarter had been closed down. In 1935 "sovietization" of the Jewish Museum (founded in 1922) expurgated its national-religious character and the evidence of the close ties existing between the Jews of Samarkand and Ereẓ Israel. The Jews of the Bukharan community numbered 7,740 in 1926, and 9,832 in 1935 (8% of the total population); of those 8,898 lived in the Jewish quarter, whose name was changed in 1926 to "Eastern Quarter," while 95% of the inhabitants were Jews. According to the census of January 1939 there were 7,593 Jews – 5.57% of the total. The Jewish school, whose language of instruction was Tajiki (or Judeo-Tajiki; the language spoken by the Bukharan Jews), was attended by over 1,400 children. During World War II many Jewish refugees from the western part of the Soviet Union arrived in Samarkand.

Contemporary Period

In the late 1960s the Jewish population was estimated at 15,000 (mainly Bukharan Jews), most of whom resided in the former Jewish quarter. There remained one synagogue in the old part of the city, where the Jewish quarter is located; it included a separate section for the Ashkenazi Jews. Samarkand retained a Jewish cemetery. In 1951 the rabbi Ḥakham Ezekiel was sentenced to 25 years imprisonment for "religious activity," but was released in 1957, having served six years. In March 1964 the community was compelled by the authorities to protest against the sending of matzot from Israel and the baking of matzot was carried on at home. Since Uzbekistan attained independence in 1991 there has been a steady exodus of Jews to Israel and the West (mainly the United States), with around 2,000 remaining in Samarkand in 2005. One of the city's two synagogues is still in use, but often there is no *minyan* for Sabbath services.

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[Yehuda Slutsky]

SAMAU'AL BEN JUDAH IBN 'ABBĀS AL-MAGHRIBĪ, convert to Islam, mathematician, physician, and author of an anti-Jewish manual. He converted to Islam in 1163 and died ca. 1170. He left a polemical attack on the Jews and on Judaism, composed following his conversion, as well as an autobiographical account of his conversion, besides other works on scientific, especially mathematical, subjects. The name "al-Maghribī" indicates a connection with the Islamic west, and he may have been born there, but he spent most of his life in the east, converting to Islam in the city of Maragha (now in Azerbaijan). The son of a well-known father (Judah b. 'Abbās was a poet and a friend of *Judah Halevi), Samau'al refrained from converting for a long time out of respect for his father, but he eventually became a Muslim shortly before his father's death.

The reasons behind his conversion were of two kinds. The Prophet *Muhammad appeared to him in a dream, which he recounts in his work. However, while dreams are known quite often to lead to conversion, Samau'al did not accept religious experience as a legitimate argument for conversion. Only rational argument was acceptable to him. Thus, in his autobiography he describes his conversion as the product of a process of study and intellectual analysis which took place over a considerable period of time (an exchange of letters with an anonymous correspondent, published together with the autobiography, attempting to justify the conversion, wears the appearance of a literary construct).

Samau'al's main surviving work is his *Ifḥām al-Yahud* (*Silencing the Jews*). In this work Samau'al claims that the Bible is merely an invention by Ezra, that its transmission was unreliable, and that it cannot be regarded as authentic divine revelation. Nonetheless, like many a polemicist before and after (e.g., *'Abd al-Ḥaqq al-Islāmī), Samau'al is prepared to recognize the biblical text as authentic when it suits his case: he identifies several examples of biblical texts prophesying the advent of Muhammad (in particular Gen. 17:20 and Deut. 18:15–18) and uses *gematria* to show that Muhammad is referred to in the Bible (in the phrase *bi-me'od me'od*, Gen. 17:20, referring to the descendants of Ishmael, the sum of the numerical values of the letters of the Hebrew words equals the sum of the values of the letters in the name "Muhammad"). Above all, though, Samau'al claims that Judaism is to be rejected because the same arguments that can be made for Moses can also be made for Jesus and Muhammad – either all are to be accepted or all are to be rejected.

The argument of the equivalence of faiths might have led to atheism or to retention of Judaism, but Samau'al uses it to justify acceptance of Islam, on the ground that that faith includes all of the faiths that have preceded it. Acceptance of the faith of the majority thus has an intellectually respectable, as well as a socially pragmatic, aspect.

Samau'al's conversion was one of several at the time: besides Samau'al, we know also of the doctor and philosopher Abū al-Barakāt Ḥibbat Allāh, who converted at the end of his life, and of Isaac the son of Abraham b. Ezra. As all three were acquainted, there have been suggestions that Ḥibbat Allāh may have acted to influence the other two to convert, or that all these converts were part of a circle of intellectuals with shared interests and paths to Islam, but Stroumsa argues persuasively that this supposition is unfounded and that the conversions were independent.

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[David J. Wasserstein (2nd ed.)]

SAMBARI, JOSEPH BEN ISAAC (known by the name **Qātāya**), Egyptian chronicler, who lived in the 17th century, and was apparently a member of the Cairene, Musta'rib congregation (see *Musta'ribs). Sambari wrote two Hebrew chronicles: *Divrei Ḥakhamim*, a historical account from Adam to Rabbanan Savorai (see *Savora), that is not extant, and *Divrei Yosef*, which was completed on January 23, 1673 and is extant in five different manuscripts (= mss.). Two of the mss. contain most of the original written by Sambari, i.e., that of the Alliance Israélite Universelle library (AIU H130A), Paris, and that of the Bodleian (Neubauer Cat., No. 2410), Oxford. An annotated edition of the chronicle was published by Sh. Shtober on the basis of the corpus of the mss. (See *Sefer Divrei Yosef* [= SDY], Jerusalem: the Ben-Zvi Institute, 1994.) Another book written by Sambari is the *Porat Yosef*, in which he deals exclusively with the topics of Massorah and biblical cantillation. This work is extant in a unique manuscript in the Alliance Israélite Universelle library (AIU H41A).

There is no information about Sambari's life in any of the sources, and what is known about him is found in *Divrei Yosef*. He was a pupil of R. Hananiah Barhun, the pupil of R. Abraham Iskandari, and may have been one of the latter's young disciples in *Cairo. According to Sambari's own testimony, Iskandari's rich library aroused in him an intense curiosity in history, and later on he made extensive use of it in writing his works. In the 1660s he earned his livelihood as a clerk or a scribe working for Raphael Joseph, the minister of finance (*sarrafbashi*) of the governor of Ottoman Egypt. Owing to the close contacts of his patron with *Shabbetai Ẓevi, it is most likely that Sambari himself also became one of the adherents of that messianic movement. The collapse of Shabbateanism after the apostasy of the false messiah had made Sambari disillusioned, and this was one of the main drives that brought about the accomplishment of the SDY in 1673. Sambari began this historical work with the emergence of Islam, presenting the figure of *Muhammad, as seen through Jewish eyes. Henceforth he included the history of the Jewish people in the history of the Islamic nations. The full scope of the eastern Islamic dynasties from the earliest, the *Ummayads to the Ottomans, served him as backdrop to the Jewish historical materials. Sambari's uniqueness lies in the fact that he successfully integrated these two histories, connecting them through the chain of cause and effect. His access to the Arabic material enabled him to enrich the Islamic chapters of his book with the essentials found in the Islamic biographical literature (Sira), in *Hadith traditions, and in Muslim historiography. In dealing with the Muslim kingdoms he mainly relied on al-Maqrizi, Ibn Taghri-birdi, and Ibn Zunbul.

The centrality of Egypt in the SDY made Sambari enter into great detail in describing the Jewish settlements that existed in the Nile Valley during the 10th–16th centuries; portraits of their leaders, foremost among them *Maimonides, his descendants and other *negidim* (i.e., heads of the Jews); the persecutions they had undergone there; and even the hydrological regime of the Nile. Indispensable for an understanding of Jewish life in *Fatimid and *Mamluk Egypt are Sambari's details about the various synagogues in Fustat, Cairo, Jizeh, and other places in the region of the Delta.

Sambari's main sources for his history of the Jews were *Yuḥasin* by Abraham Zacuto; *Shevet Yehudah* by Solomon Ibn Virga; *Divrei ha-Yamim* by Joseph ha-Kohen; *Shalshelet ha-Kabbalah* by Gedaliah Ibn Yahya, and *Seder Eliyahu Zuta* by Elijah Capsali, *Kore ha-Dorot* by David Conforti. He also integrated into his work archival documents, excerpts of Responsa (of Maimonides and R. David Ibn Abi Zimra) and bio-bibliographical notes about prominent sages living in Spain and later on in the Eastern provinces of the Ottoman Empire.

As Sambari was imbued with Jewish mysticism, he was fascinated by *Kabbalah, and therefore he depicted outstanding kabbalists who were active in *Safed during the 16th and 17th centuries. Moreover, he includes in his work the complete, most precise, and earliest version of the hagiography of R. Isaac Luria, *Sefer Toledot ha-Ari*. In the wake of his personal involvement in the messianic experience of his generation, Shabbateanism, Sambari incorporated in the SDY the stories of eight messianic and prophetic figures, beginning with David Alroy and concluding with ha-Ari and Shabbetai Ẓevi. It is especially significant that Sambari wrote down "the story of *Nathan of Gaza who prophesied concerning Shabbetai Ẓevi, his prophet," but unfortunately this has been torn out from the manuscripts of the work.

The circulation of the holograph of Sambari's historical work was very limited in the 17th–19th centuries, and only small sections dealing with the Ottoman sultans, messianic figures and kabbalists were published in *Sippur Devarim* (Constantinople, 1728) and in *Me'ora'ot Olam* (Smyrna, 1756). The *edition princeps* of 1728 was translated into Ladino (Constantinople, 1767), named *Sippur Malkhey Otmanlis es declare del Reyno di Otmanjik*.

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[Shimon Shtober (2nd ed.)]

SAMBATYON (also **Sanbatyon** and **Sabbatyon**), a legendary river across which part of the ten tribes were exiled by the Assyrian king, Shalmaneser, and which rested on the Sabbath. The river is mentioned in the Targum Pseudo-Jonathan (Ex. 34:10): "I will take them from there and place them on the other side of the Sambatyon River." The rabbis declared that the ten tribes were exiled three times: once beyond the Sambatyon River, once to Daphne of Antioch, and once when the divine cloud descended upon them and covered them (TJ, Sanh. 10:6, 29c; Lam. R. 2:9; cf. Gen. R. 73:6). The first ascription of miraculous qualities to this river is found in the Talmud. When *Tinneius Rufus asked R. Akiva how he could prove that the Sabbath was divinely ordained as the day of rest, he replied, "Let the River Sambatyon prove it" (Sanh. 65b). It was unnavigable on weekdays because it flowed with strong currents carrying along stones with tremendous force, but it rested on the Sabbath (Gen. R. 11:5). These passages give no indication as to the supposed location of the river or of the origin of its name. The only inference that can be drawn from them is that it was located in Media. The most extensive description of both its name and locality is given by Naḥmanides (to Deut. 32:26). He identified the river with the River Gozan of the Bible (e.g., II Kings 17:6), explaining the name (on the basis of Num. 11:31) as meaning "removed," i.e., the ten tribes were "removed" from the rest of their people. Naḥmanides also held that its name derived from its Sabbath rest, since *Sabbat* was the local word for the Sabbath.

Pliny the Elder (24–79 C.E.) described the river in his *Natural History*, and his observations agree with the rabbinic sources. He also claimed that the river ran rapidly for six days in the week and rested on the Sabbath (31:24). This characteristic of the Sambatyon prevented the ten tribes from leaving their place of exile, since they could not cross the river during the six days of the week, and though it rested on the seventh day, the restrictions on travel on the Sabbath rendered the crossing equally impossible (see *Ten Lost Tribes). Josephus, however, described the periodicity of this river in a different fashion, claiming that it was quiescent on weekdays and flowed only on the Sabbath. He related that when Titus marched from Beirut to the other Syrian cities, displaying the Jewish captives, he observed a unique river. It ran between Arce, at the northern extremity of the Lebanon range, and Raphanea. Josephus adds: "It has an astonishing peculiarity. For, when it flows, it is a copious stream with a current far from sluggish; then all at once its sources fail, and for the space of six days it presents the spectacle of a dry bed; again, as though no change had occurred, it pours forth on the seventh day just as before. And it has always been observed to keep strictly to this order; whence they have called it the Sabbatical river, so naming it after the sacred seventh day of the Jews" (Jos., Wars, 7:96–99). According to this description there is no explanation for the inability of the ten tribes to cross the Sambatyon during the weekdays.

In the post-talmudic period, especially in the apocryphal literature, legends about the Sambatyon increased. The exact date that the ten tribes were to return from their places of exile during the messianic period was recorded in the *Sefer Eliyahu*. Tishrei 25 was designated for the return of those beyond the Sambatyon. Although 17,000 men and women would leave this area, 20 men and 15 women would be killed on the way to the Holy Land (Judah ibn Samuel, *Midreshei Ge'ullah* (1954^2) 31f., 43; cf. Num. R. 16:25). *Eldad ha-Dani claimed that the Sambatyon did not surround the land of the ten tribes but rather that of the children of Moses. These people originated as a result of God's promise to Moses that "I will make of thee a great nation" (Ex. 32:10). Eldad depicted the river as consisting entirely of sand and stones. His description was as follows:

"The children of Moses are surrounded by a river resembling a fortress, which contains no water but rather rolls sand and stones with great force. If it encountered a mountain of iron it could undoubtedly grind it into powder. On Friday, at sunset, a cloud surrounds the river, so that no man is able to cross it. At the close of the Sabbath the river resumes its normal torrent of stones and sand. The general width of the river is 200 ells, but in certain places it is only 60 ells wide, so that we may talk to them, but neither of us can cross to the other one's side" (A. Epstein 5f.).

*Pethahiah of Regensburg, the 12th-century Jewish traveler, claimed that in Jabneh there was a spring which ran six days a week, but ceased to flow on the Sabbath (*Travels of Rabbi Petachia*, ed. by A. Benisch (1865), 56f.). Interest in the Sambatyon legend was revived in the 17th century through the fantastic stories of Gershon b. Eliezer ha-Levi in his *Gelilot Ereẓ Yisrael* and by *Manasseh Ben Israel in his *Mikveh Yisrael*. The former related that, in his journey through India in 1630, he heard the clattering noise of the Sambatyon River, which was a distance of two days' journey from where he was staying. He claimed that the Sambatyon was 17 miles wide and threw stones as high as a house. On the Sabbath it was dry and resembled a lake of snow or of white sand. The river ceased to flow on Friday, two hours before sunset, and during this interval before the start of the Sabbath, the Jews beyond the river raided the neighboring lands. Manasseh Ben Israel, while attempting to prove the existence of the river, claimed that even when its sand is kept in a glass, it is agitated during six days of the week and rests on the Sabbath (*Mikveh Yisrael*, ch. 10, Lemberg, 1847 ed., p. 10a–b). The Sambatyon also figured in kabbalistic works. In 1260 the kabbalist Abraham *Abulafia traveled to Ereẓ Israel, where he started to search for the Sambatyon. He was trying to contact the Ten Lost Tribes. Sambatyon was also associated with *Shabbetai Ẓevi. The students of *Nathan of Gaza circulated a story after Shabbetai Ẓevi's death that he had gone to the Ten Lost Tribes that live on the other side of the Sambatyon. There he married the daughter of Moses. For a similar tale, see the Letter of Nathan of Gaza to Raphael Joseph (1665; published in *Ẓiẓat Novel Ẓevi*, ed. Tishby (1954), 11–12). The students were to wait for Shabbetai Ẓevi to return after the seven-day wedding celebration and to redeem them – if they were worthy of it. If they were not worthy, he would stay beyond the Sambatyon and great troubles would befall Israel (*Zikkaron li-Venei Yisrael* (1676), 68).

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[A.Ro.]

SAMBERG, ISAAC (**Aizik**; 1889–1943), Polish Yiddish actor. Samberg helped to organize the Warsaw Central Theater in 1920 and acted in Sholem Asch's *Motke the Thief* and Gogol's *Inspector-General*. Joining the Vilna Troupe in 1923, he appeared with them in various productions. A relative of the Kaminskis, he also acted with their company in Shalom Aleichem, Peretz, and Shakespeare. He visited the U.S. in 1932, London in 1934, and played in the film version of *Der Dybbuk*, 1937. He and his wife Regina Zukor perished in Maidanek, or possibly in Dachau.

SAMBOR, town in Lvov oblast, Ukraine; annexed by Poland in 1349; from 1772 to 1918 under Austrian rule (eastern Galicia); and from 1918 until 1939 once more under Polish rule. Jews came as settlers to the recently acquired land in the 15th century. Some engaged in trading salt, which was mined in the region of the town, while others were tax-farmers. In 1542 the townsmen of Sambor obtained a royal privilege *de non tolerandis Judaeis* which was ratified by Queen Bona in 1551, and Jews were moved to the suburb of Blich. In the middle of the 17th century the municipal authorities of Sambor prevented Jewish merchants and craftsmen from entering the town and endeavored to expel the Jews from Blich, where there was an organized community under the jurisdiction of that of *Przemysl, but they were allowed to remain on payment of an indemnity, guaranteed by the Przemsyl community (1682). A privilege granted by King Augustus II in 1725 authorized the Jews to reside in the area controlled by the fortress of Sambor and placed them under the jurisdiction of the royal governor. The king also permitted them to trade freely and to maintain a synagogue, a cemetery, and one slaughterhouse. This privilege was ratified by King Augustus III in 1740. Permission to build a synagogue was officially granted in 1763; this magnificent building, which took a number of years to complete, remained standing until World War II. In 1764 the Jewish community numbered 513 persons. At the close of the 18th century there was a Jewish press in Sambor which specialized in printing calendars. In the 1790s the Austrian authorities ordered a reduction in the size of the Jewish quarter. Throughout the 19th century Ḥasidism exerted a powerful influence on the community.

The Jewish population of Sambor numbered 2,129 (42% of the total population) in 1880, rose to 3,072 (48%) in 1900, and 4,073 (38%) in 1910, decreasing slightly to 4,067 (42%) in 1921. The majority earned a livelihood as small craftsmen and shopkeepers, while the wealthy families engaged in the wholesale trade of wood and cereals. At the beginning of the 20th century the municipal council was headed by a Jewish delegate, Dr. Steierman. A Jewish commercial school, which received government recognition, was founded at that time. There was also a Jewish hospital and a hostel for Jewish students of the local high school, where 150 Jewish youths studied in 1910. At the end of 1918, a Jewish national council was established. Between the two world wars *Tarbut and Beth Jacob schools functioned in the town. Zionist parties and organizations played a considerable role in the Jewish public life of Sambor. According to the 1931 census, there were 6,068 Jews in Sambor. Estimates for 1939 put the number of Jews at about 8,000.

[Meir Balaban and Arthur Cygielman]

Holocaust Period

When war broke out, a wave of refugees from further west came to Sambor. During the period of Soviet occupation, which lasted from the end of September 1939 until the end of June 1941, Jewish communal activities were banned, the only exception being the synagogues, which continued to function while paying heavy taxes. In the summer of 1940 hundreds of Jews were deported to the Soviet Union. When war with Germany broke out in June 1941, many young Jews from Sambor joined the Soviet Army. When the city fell to the Germans (July 1, 1941), about 100 Jews were immediately killed by the Ukrainians, with German support. In the winter of 1941–42 the able-bodied Jewish men were sent to labor camps to work on road constructions. Many of them succumbed to the harsh conditions. In March 1942 an open ghetto was established in the suburb of Blich, into which Jews from Sambor district and the vicinity were brought. The Judenrat was headed by Dr. Schneitscher.

The first mass *Aktion* took place on Aug. 4, 1942, when 4,000 Jews were "selected" and sent to *Belzec death camp. On September 4 about 100 aged persons were executed; 2,000 Jews were sent to Belzec, followed by 3,000 on October 17, and more on October 22. On Dec. 1, 1942, the ghetto was closed down. A small number of remaining Jews were sent to the labor camp of Janowska, in Lvov. At the beginning of 1943 there was an attempt to organize a Jewish underground. A group of young Jews, one of whose most active members was Artur Sandauer (d. 1989), acquired firearms, and began training in the area of the Jewish cemetery. A series of *Aktionen* carried out by the Nazis interfered with the preparations for active resistance: on March 14, 1943, the remnants of the Jewish community were brought to the Jewish cemetery. Mothers were ordered to put their children in a central open space, where they were forced to watch them being shot. Nine hundred persons were killed on this day. Two months later 1,200 Jews were murdered. An attempt by some Jews to leave the ghetto through sewage canals was thwarted. By July 1943 the Jewish community of Sambor ceased to exist, and the city was declared "*judenrein*." The last remaining Jews were executed in a forest near Radlowice. In the summer of 1944, 165 Jews in hiding were found and executed. When the Russians occupied the city in August 1944, a handful of Jews were still alive. No Jewish community was reestablished.

[Aharon Weiss]

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SAMBURSKY, DANIEL (1909–1977), composer. Born in Koenigsberg, brother of Samuel *Sambursky, he studied at the Danzig Conservatory and at the University of Berlin, went to Palestine in 1932, and settled in Tel Aviv. In Berlin he had written the music for Shaul (Sally) Levin's Zionist play *Die einzige Loesung* (1931), and in 1933 composed the songs for the Keren *Hayesod film *The Promised Land*. He worked as a music teacher in schools and at teachers' seminaries, and from 1935 to 1950 also led the weekly singing meetings *(shirah be-ẓibbur)* at the Histadrut's Brenner House, and in radio broadcasts. In 1947, together with M. Bronzaft (later Gorali), he edited the three-volume anthology *Sefer Shirim u-Manginot*, one of the standard collections of Israel songs, which went into several editions.

Many of Sambursky's own songs have entered the folk repertoire, such as: *Ba'ah Menuḥah la-Yage'a, Hakh Pattish, Be-Harim Kevar ha-Shemesh Melahetet* (all to works by Nathan *Alterman), for the film *The Promised Land*; the latter taken over from *Die einzige Loesung* and given new words; *Zemer ha-Peluggot* (N. Alterman), for O. Wingate's Special Night Squads (1938); *Ner Dakkik*, children's Ḥanukkah song (Levin *Kipnis; 1935, *Paneinu el ha-Shemesh ha-Olah* (I. Shenhar), also taken over from *Die einzige Loesung* and given new words. *Sisu ve-Simḥu be-Simḥat Ḥag*, which appears in most collections as an anonymous folk melody, and in some as by "Galinka" (an erroneous transliteration from the Hebrew), is actually an adaptation by Sambursky of a polka by Glinka. Sambursky published a short autobiography in *Taẓlil*, 9 (1969), 180–2.

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[Bathja Bayer]

SAMBURSKY, SAMUEL (1900–1990), Israeli scientist and historian. Born in Koenigsberg, Germany, Sambursky studied physics before going to Palestine in 1924. Four years later he joined the physics department of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. His sense of history and his humor made him a particularly successful lecturer. In 1945, in order to harness the country's scientific potential to the development of Palestine, the Mandatory government set up the Board of Scientific and Industrial Research, with Sambursky as its executive secretary. This board was the forerunner of the Research Council of Israel established in 1949, with Sambursky as its architect and first director (1949–56). He remained vice chairman when, in 1957, he returned to full-time academic life as dean of the Hebrew University's faculty of science. In 1959 he became professor of the history and philosophy of science in a new department he helped to create. Sambursky was active in UNESCO, serving for some years as vice chairman of Israel's national committee for the organization. In 1968 he received the Israel Prize for Humanities.

His works include *Ha-Kosmos shel ha-Yevanim* (1954; *The Physical World of the Greeks*, 1956); *Physics of the Stoics* (1959); and *Physical World of Late Antiquity* (1962). A revised edition of these three works appeared in 1965 in one volume under the title *Das Physikalische Weltbild der Antike*. His brother was the composer Daniel *Sambursky.

[Paul G. Werskey]

SAMEGAH, JOSEPH BEN BENJAMIN (d. 1629), Italian rabbi and author. Samegah was born in Salonika where he later became rabbi. Compelled to leave, seemingly because of persecution by his community, he went to Venice, where he served as rabbi and head of a yeshivah. According to Isaac Ḥayyim *Cantarini in his *Paḥad Yiẓḥak*, Samegah headed a yeshivah in Padua. Among his pupils were Ḥayyim *Benveniste and Joseph Solomon *Delmedigo.

Joseph was the author of *Mikra'ei Kodesh* (2 pts., Venice 1586), on the meaning of the precepts of the Torah; *Porat*

Yosef (Pt. 1, Venice, 1590), novellae on the works of Isaac *Alfasi and *Nissim b. Reuben Gerondi to *Ketubbot*, *Ḥullin*, and *Beẓah*, and a few novellae on other tractates of the Talmud; *Perush Derekh Yemin* (*ibid.*, 1606), a criticism of the *Yemin Adonai Romemah* of Menahem Azariah Da *Fano. Joseph's responsum, permitting the use of the *mikveh* of *Rovigo, about the ritual fitness of which arose a great controversy involving many scholars, was published in the *Mashbit Milḥamot* (*ibid.*, 1606). In the introduction to *Mikra'ei Kodesh* he refers to two other works he wrote: *Binyan Olam*, homilies, and *Kevod Elohim*.

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[Abraham David]

SAMEKH, the fifteenth letter of the Hebrew alphabet; its numerical value is 60. The early Proto-Canaanite form of this letter has not yet been attested, but in the tenth century B.C.E. it consisted of three horizontal strokes crossed by a vertical downstroke 𐤎. Later there was a tendency to draw the various strokes continuously; thus in the Hebrew script 𐤎, in the Phoenician 𐤎, while in the Aramaic the *samekh* developed as follows: 𐡎 → 𐡎 → 𐡎 → 𐡎 → 𐡎. Hence the Jewish ס and Nabataen *samekh,* 𐢕, evolved. In the Arabic script the *samekh* has been replaced by س (*sin*), which developed from the Aramaic *shin* (Arabic *shin* = ش). See*Alphabet, Hebrew.

[Joseph Naveh]

SAMFIELD, MAX (1844–1915), Reform rabbi. Samfield was born in Marsksteft, Bavaria. His father was a rabbi. He completed his rabbinical studies and his secular education in Germany before coming to the United States as part of the great migration from Central Europe in 1867.

In the United States he first served as a rabbi of B'nai Zion Congregation, Shreveport, Louisiana, and then went to Temple Israel in 1871 (when it was called Congregation Children of Israel), Memphis, TN, where he served until his death. The advertisement of his position read: "Wanted: A Minister and reader at a salary of $2500 who can preach in English and German." His initial sermon pledged "the vigor of my youth, the faculties of my soul, the energies of my mind, nay my very life, I consecrate to your moral welfare and to the welfare of Judaism and humanity." He was true to his word. By the time he came the synagogue had ceased being Orthodox and affiliated with the nascent Reform movement. Samfield moved it more so toward the Reform camp, asking and receiving permission to remove his hat. From 1875 on worship was hatless during his rabbinate. In 1871 the synagogue was one of 28 congregations that formed the *Union of American Hebrew Congregations and contributed toward the establishment of *Hebrew Union College

Rabbi Samfield was recalled with admiration for his courage during the yellow fever epidemics that afflicted Memphis three times during the 1870s, in 1873, 1878, and 1879. He remained in Memphis and ministered to the sick, helping the orphans and burying the dead regardless of race or conditions. In 1878, 20,000 people fled the city, cutting the population by more than half. Eight in ten of those who remained contracted yellow fever and 5,150 people died, more than one in four. In seven weeks 51 Jews were buried in the synagogue cemetery; nearly twice as many as had died the entire year before. Samfield served all the citizens of the community. He also adopted three orphans whose parents had died during the epidemic, in addition to his four natural children. He was recognized as a scholar and as a leader in public affairs, also taking on public school work. The times required that he be a man of action as well as a visionary in his performance as a speaker relating to matters of public utility.

Samfield's marriage registries show he converted individuals prior to officiating at their marriage. He was also the editor of the *Jewish Spectator*, a weekly newspaper, from October 1885 to his death. By the time he died, the newspaper was being published in New Orleans. It started as the only Jewish weekly in the South since the Jews had first settled in this region of the United States.

Locally, he was one of the founders of The Tennessee Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals and Children, The United Charities of Memphis, The Hebrew Relief Association, and The Young Men's Hebrew Association, Memphis. He was one of the organizers and a member of Board of Memphis Howard Association for the promulgation of Prison Reforms, a group of Memphis doctors and prominent businessmen. He was also a trustee of the New Orleans Orphan Asylum Home and a member of the board of governors of the Hebrew Union College.

Under his leadership the congregation welcomed new immigrants and began construction of its new, prominent downtown building.

He was widely respected throughout the community. At his death local businesses closed their doors; the Memphis Railway Company cut its power and brought every street car to a halt for one full minute.

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[Margerie Kerstine (2nd ed.)]

SAMINSKY, LAZARE (1882–1959), composer. He studied mathematics and philosophy at the University of St. Petersburg, and simultaneously composition with Rimsky-Korsakov at the Conservatory there. In 1908 he was among the founders of the *Society for Jewish Folk Music. In 1913 he went to the Caucasus as a member of Baron *Guenzburg's ethnological expedition In 1923 Saminsky settled in New York. There he was appointed music director of Temple Emanu-El and held the position until his death.

He wrote five symphonies (the last, with chorus, subtitled *Jerusalem, City of Solomon and Christ* (1929–30)), liturgical choruses, and services to Hebrew words. He was active as choral conductor and lecturer. He published several books: *Music of Our Day* (1939^2), *Music of the Ghetto and the Bible* (1934), and *Living Music of the Americas* (1949).

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[Nicolas Slonimsky]

SAMOGITIA (Yid. and Heb. **Zamet** or **Zamut**; Lith. **Žemaitisa**; Pol. **Źmudź**; Rus. **Zhmud**), historical region of W. Lithuania. Jewish settlement in the area dates from the 14th century, and it gained in importance under the grand duke Witold of Lithuania, who granted the Jews a number of significant privileges. In the 16th century, especially after the union of Poland and Lithuania (1569), several Jewish communities were established. The Jews acted as government tax collectors, exporters of raw materials to Germany (timber, grain, etc.), and importers of silver and gold objects and manufactured goods.

Samogitia played an important role in the second half of the 17th century, when Lithuanian Jewry had a semiautonomous organization. This came about because of the growth of the already established communities and the creation of many new ones. The area attracted immigrants from other parts of Lithuania and Poland, and in particular refugees from the *Chmielnicki massacres, from which Samogitia itself had been spared. In the early period of the Lithuanian Council (see *Councils of the Lands; which lasted officially from 1623 to 1764) most of the communities of the Samogitia region belonged to the province of Brest-Litovsk, except for those in the vicinity of the Niemen River, which belonged to the Grodno district. In the third quarter of the 17th century Samogitia became a separate administrative unit, named *Medinat Zamet*, and consisted of three districts: *Kedainiai (in the southwest), *Birzai (in the northwest), and Vyžuonis in the east. At its beginning, the entire Samogitia unit had a single rabbinical court, but in the course of time several of the larger communities appointed their own rabbis.

The Kedainiai district, which was the largest, comprised the communities of *Jurbarkas, *Plunge, *Siauliai, *Raseiniai, *Palanga, *Kelme, Kraziai, *Skuodas, and *Telsiai, the spiritual leaders of the district being the rabbis of the *Katzenellenbogen family. The Birzai district consisted of the communities of Salantai, Pasvalys, Seta, Pumpenai, and Pakrojus. The Vyžuonis district comprised the communities of *Braslav, *Druya, *Kraslava, *Utena, and Anyksciai, and its spiritual leaders were the rabbis of the Ginsburg family. Samogitia continued to maintain administrative links with Brest-Litovsk, and the rabbi of Brest-Litovsk attended the Samogitia district meetings and affixed his signature to their minutes. Samogitia was one of the 11 central districts which came under the jurisdiction of the Lithuanian Council, and its name is frequently mentioned in the protocols of the early meetings of the Council which listed the communities paying the poll tax. (The "Council" was abolished in 1764, but the communal organizations that had been established in Samogitia continued to function for another two decades.) The first census of Lithuanian Jewry, conducted in 1764 and the beginning of 1765, showed a total of 157,250 taxpayers, Samogitia accounting for 15,759, or 10% of the total. In the Third Partition of Poland (1795), Samogitia became a part of the Russian Empire and remained so until 1915, when Lithuania was occupied by German troops. After World War I it became a part of independent Lithuania. At first the main center of the district was Raseiniai and later, Telsiai. During the Nazi occupation (1941–44), Samogitia was a part of Generalbezirk Litauen, and its Jews shared the tragic fate of the rest of Lithuanian Jewry.

As a center of Lithuanian Jewry, Samogitia was also famous as a center of Jewish religious life and learning. There were a number of world-renowned yeshivot in the area, and some of the communities were headed by great rabbis, whose authority extended far beyond their constituencies. When the *Haskalah movement spread in Lithuania, it also found adherents in Samogitia; the influence of German Haskalah was especially strong, due to the geographic proximity of the region to its sources.

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[Joseph Gar]

SAMOILOVICH, RUDOLPH (Reuben) LAZAREVICH (1881–1939), Soviet mining engineer and Arctic explorer. Born in Azov-on-Don, Samoilovich qualified as a mining engineer at Freiberg, Germany, and studied law in St. Petersburg. Twice convicted of revolutionary activities, he was exiled to Archangel in 1908 and to Pinega two years later. During the years 1910–15 he joined three expeditions to Spitsbergen, where he discovered high-quality anthracite, and also worked on the Kola peninsula immediately before the Bolshevik Revolution. In 1918 Samoilovich was a founder of what was to become the Leningrad Institute for Arctic Research, which he later headed. His research work took him to the Arctic islands of Novaya Zemlya in 1925–26. He became an international celebrity, however, when he led a Soviet expedition in 1928 to rescue the survivors of General Umberto Nobile's ill-fated Arctic flight in the dirigible *Italia*. After a voyage of seven weeks Samoilovich, on his icebreaker *Krassin*, managed to rescue Nobile and eight other members of the original Italian crew of 15, who by then were facing certain death on a rapidly melting iceberg. The operation made headlines throughout the world and Samoilovich was awarded the Soviet Red Banner of Labor. His account of the expedition, *S.O.S. v Arktike*, was published in 1930, a year after he became a professor at the University of Leningrad. He later explored Franz Josef Land and in 1931 made a flight over the North Pole in a Soviet airship.

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SAMOKOV, town in Bulgaria. During the 18th century, the Jews of Samokov were not listed in the tax registers and did not pay taxes. They therefore objected to the arrival of coreligionists from other countries, lest this would prejudice their position. Toward the end of the Ottoman rule (which lasted until 1877), the Jews owned mines, muslin factories, and tanneries. In 1874 the Alliance Israélite opened a mixed school from which many *maskilim* graduated; they later played an important role in banking and commerce. In 1873 there were about 600 Jews in the town; in 1919, 1,000; and in 1943, 374. After the establishment of the State of Israel, the Jews of Samokov immigrated there, together with most of the rest of Bulgarian Jewry.

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[Simon Marcus]

SAMOKOVLIJA, ISAK (1889–1955), Yugoslav author. Samokovlija, who was born in Goražde, Bosnia, was a practicing physician. He published his first story in 1927 and wrote nine volumes of short stories, beginning with *Od proljeća do proljeća* ("From Spring to Spring," 1929) and including post-World War II books such as *Nosač Samuel* ("Samuel the Porter," 1946), *Solomunovo slovo* ("Solomon's Letter," 1949), and *Djerdan* ("The Necklace," 1952). Three volumes of Samokovlija's collected tales appeared in 1951–56.

Samokovlija wrote entirely about Jewish life in Bosnia. Although many of his stories deal with the isolated Jewish existence of the Bosnian Sephardim during the 19th century, a few relate the tragic events of the Holocaust era. Samokovlija generally presents the picture of a Sephardi community in some small town, where the Jews live in self-imposed isolation, having much in common with their non-Jewish fellows, but refusing to assimilate. Between the world wars, Samokovlija also wrote plays: *Hanka* (1931), *Plava Jevrejka* ("The Blonde Jewess," 1932), *On je lud* ("He is Crazy," 1935), and *Fuzija* ("Fusion," 1939).

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[Ana Shomlo-Ninic]

SAMPRAS, PETE ("Pistol Pete," "The King of Swing"; 1971–), U.S. tennis player, 1997 U.S. Olympic Committee "Sportsman of the Year." Sampras is considered by many tennis analysts to be the greatest tennis player of all time. He was born in Washington, DC, to a Greek family, though his paternal grandmother was a Sephardi Jew. At the age of seven he began playing tennis, and by the age of 11 was spotted by a tennis enthusiast who correctly identified his talent and arranged for personalized formal training. Sampras turned professional at age 17 and within two years won his first titles, including the 1990 U.S. Open, where he defeated Andre Agassi to become the youngest player ever to win that tournament. Ironically, Sampras' final match before retirement would be another defeat of Agassi for the U.S. Open title, this time making Sampras the oldest player ever to win the Open. As a professional from 1988 to 2002, he won 762 of 984 matches, capturing 64 singles titles, including a record 14 Grand Slam victories, with eight of them won in straight sets. Throughout his career, Sampras was known for his intense concentration, and especially for his highly accurate 130 mph (209 kph) serve – in 1993, he became the first player to serve over 1,000 aces in a season. Amongst Sampras' other records are his six consecutive years finishing as the Association of Tennis Professionals (ATP) No. 1 ranked player in the world (1993–98), 286 consecutive weeks at No. 1 in the ATP, and seven Wimbledon titles (tied with Willie Renshaw).

[Robert Klein (2nd ed.)]

SAMPTER, JESSIE ETHEL (1883–1938), U.S. poet and Zionist writer. Although she grew up in a highly assimilated home, her father being one of the pioneers of *Ethical Culture, Jessie Sampter became a staunch Jewess, partly under the influence of an elder sister of the poet Emma *Lazarus and of Henrietta *Szold. Her first book, *The Great Adventurer* (1908), was dedicated to Josephine Lazarus. Henrietta Szold, whom she first met in about 1912, persuaded her to write educational material for *Hadassah, notably the popular manual, the first edition of which was entitled *A Course in Zionism* (1915, reissued as *A Guide to Zionism*, 1920, and *Modern Palestine*, 1933). Although a childhood attack of infantile paralysis had left her a semi-invalid, Jessie Sampter emigrated to Palestine in 1919 and at first lived in Jerusalem, where she established evening classes for Yemenite working girls, one of whom she adopted. In 1920 she helped to organize the country's first camp for Jewish scouts at Reḥovot. Four years later she herself moved to Reḥovot and continued to do social work among the Yemenite Jews there. Her tour of the Jewish pioneering settlements in the Jezreel Valley inspired a series of 15 prose poems, published in 1927 as *The Emek*. These vivid sketches of kibbutz life had an important influence on U.S. Zionist circles before World War II. In 1933 she joined kibbutz Givat Brenner and used the proceeds of the sale of her Reḥovot house to build a convalescent home at the kibbutz.

Jessie Sampter's writing – which she sometimes published under the pen name Hashunamit – include *Brand Plucked from the Fire* (1937), a collection of poems on her attitude to Judaism and Zionism, which was translated into Hebrew by Pinḥas Lander in a specially vocalized text (*Ud Muẓal me-Esh*, 1944–45). Like *The Emek*, her last poem, "Palestinian Portrait," described the harsh realities of Jewish immigrant life in her day. Her prose works include *The Seekers* (1910); *The Book of the Nations* (1917); and "Testimony," a documentary account of the Arab riots and Hebron massacre of 1929 (published in *The New Palestine*, Sept. 27 / Oct. 4, 1929). She also wrote a volume of poems entitled *The Coming of Peace* (1919); *Around the Year in Rhymes for the Jewish Child* (1920); *Far Over the Sea* (1939), translations of *Bialik's poems for children; and two essays on Ecclesiastes, which appeared posthumously in Hebrew and English. *The Speaking Heart* and *In the Beginning*, two works of autobiography, were not published.

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[Harry Zohn]

SAMRA, DAVID (d. 1960), Iraqi jurist. After practicing law, he was appointed a judge to the *Mosul court of appeals in 1908. The following year he was appointed to a similar post in *Syria. Returning to *Baghdad, he resumed his legal practice, maintaining it until after the British conquest of *Iraq, when he was reappointed to the bench. In 1919 he became a judge on the Baghdad court of appeals and in 1923 deputy president of the court, the highest rank held by an Iraqi (the president of the court being British). From 1921 until his death he also served as a lecturer at the law school in Baghdad.

[Haim J. Cohen]

SAMSON (Heb. שִׁמְשׁוֹן; from *shemesh*, "sun"), son of Manoah, a Danite living in Zorah, a judge in Israel. Samson's heroic exploits are recounted in Judges 13–16.

His father was married to a woman who long remained childless. An angel of the Lord appeared to her to announce that she would give birth and that since the son whom she was carrying was to be a Nazirite from the womb, she herself was forbidden to partake of wine or strong drink or to eat anything unclean; it is possible that her husband was under the same restriction. Once the child was born, she was not to allow his hair to be cut (cf. Num. 6; see also 4Q Sam. 1:23 where Samuel is similarly described as a Nazirite from birth). The angel also announced that this child was destined to "begin to save Israel from the hand of the Philistines." In a second appearance, this time before Manoah as well as his wife, the angel substantially repeated his earlier message and then rose to heaven in the flames of Manoah's burnt offering, to the awe-struck wonder of the couple (Jud. 13:2–25).

All of the incidents recorded from the life of Samson stem from his involvement with three women. The first was a Philistine woman from Timnah (not to be confused with the Judahite town of that name). Samson demanded that his parents arrange his marriage to her. They were reluctant to have their son marry a woman from among the "uncircumcised" Philistines, but they were unaware that this was part of the Lord's plan by means of which an excuse to attack the Philistines would be obtained (14:1–4).

Samson's first heroic adventure took place on his way to Timnah to arrange the marriage. About to be attacked by a lion, he was seized by the spirit of the Lord, and he slew the beast barehanded. He later returned to the scene of this adventure and, finding that a swarm of bees had collected in the carcass of the lion, lustily partook of their honey, even bringing some to his parents, whom he did not inform of its origin (14:5–9).

Arriving at Timnah, Samson held a wedding feast at which he posed a riddle based on his adventure with the lion, and bet with the guests that they would not be able to solve it. The Philistines, unable to solve the riddle, enlisted the help of Samson's bride, who cajoled him into telling her the answer. When the Philistines responded correctly, Samson realized that his secret had been betrayed. He was again infused with the spirit of the Lord and rushed to Ashkelon, where he single-handedly slew 30 men in revenge and then angrily returned to his parents' home, leaving his wife behind to be given to a companion (14:10–20).

When Samson returned to discover the fate of his wife, he vented his rage on the Philistines by tying 300 foxes in pairs by their tails with firebrands inserted between them and letting them run loose through the fields of the Philistines. When the latter took revenge on the family of his Timnaite wife, Samson in turn wreaked terrible vengeance upon them and then withdrew to the rock of Etam in Judah (15:1–8).

When the Philistines then encamped at Lehi, the Judahites, fearful of attack, sent a 3,000-strong delegation to Samson demanding that he surrender himself to the enemy. Samson agreed on a Judahite promise of safe-conduct. He was bound with two new ropes and brought to the Philistine camp where the spirit of the Lord came upon him, enabling him to snap the ropes and to kill 1,000 Philistines with the jawbone (*leḥi*) of an ass. This story is an etiology for the place name. A second etiology explains the name of a spring at Leḥi. This spring is said to have appeared after Samson called upon the Lord to provide water with which to quench his great thirst after the battle. Accordingly the spring was called En-Hakkore, "the spring of him who called" (15:9–20).

The second Philistine woman with whom Samson became involved was a prostitute from Gaza. The Philistines surrounded her house in the hope of seizing Samson when he emerged in the morning, but the plan was foiled when he arose in the middle of the night, uprooted the city gate, and carried it off to a hill in the vicinity of Hebron, about 40 miles away (16:1–3).

The third woman, who caused Samson's ultimate downfall, was *Delilah. Although not specifically identified as a Philistine, she conspired, for a price, with the Philistine rulers to ascertain the source of Samson's strength. After three unsuccessful attempts, she finally induced him to divulge that the secret lay in his unshorn locks of hair. Thereupon, she (see Sasson) shaved off his seven locks while he slept. Deprived of his strength, Samson was seized by the Philistines, who blinded and incarcerated him (16:4–21).

Some time later, the Philistines gathered in their temple for a religious festival and had Samson entertain them there. Samson, whose hair had meanwhile grown again, had his guide place his hands on the temple pillars. Then, uttering a final prayer to the Lord for vengeance, he seized them and brought the building toppling down, killing himself and the

3,000 worshipers (16:22–30). The final note of Samson's burial in his ancestral tomb between Zorah and Eshtaol closes the narrative (16:31).

The Samson stories are significant in that although their present form contains late linguistic features, they paint a picture of life in the Shephelah on the border between Judah, Dan, and Philistia during the late 12th or early 11th century B.C.E., before the Danite migration to the north. At this time, although Philistine pressure was beginning to be felt, as is reflected in the narrative, there was still open intercourse and trade between the Philistine and Israelite populations, a fact attested by the numerous Philistine artifacts found in the excavations of the Israelite settlement at Beth-Shemesh from this period. Since Israel at this time was not engaged in full-scale hostilities with the Philistines, Samson, unlike all the other judges, is never depicted as leading an army in battle or as having "saved" Israel from the Philistines. Rather it is told that he "began to save Israel" from them (13:5). He is the only judge who fell into enemy hands and who died in captivity. He is said to have "judged" Israel for 20 years (15:20; 16:31).

Elaborate theories about the possible mythical nature of the Samson narratives have been widespread, inspired particularly by the fact that the name Samson obviously contains the word for sun (*shemesh*) and that Samson's home was in Zorah which was situated on a mountain ridge north of the Wadi Sorek, directly opposite Beth-Shemesh, a place whose very name means "Temple of the Sun." Further evidence of mythology has been sought in the name Delilah, in which the Hebrew word for night (*laylah*) may be construed to appear. However, although some elements in these narratives may have been inspired by mythological heroic tales, their overall nature with their exuberant earthiness seems to point overwhelmingly to their folk origins as tales of the daring adventures of a superhuman hero against the foreign oppressor.

[Myra J. Siff]

In the Aggadah

Samson's birth is a striking example of the shortsightedness of humans. The judge Ibzan (identified as Boaz) had not invited Samson's parents to any of the 120 feasts in honor of the marriages of his 60 children because he thought that "the sterile she-mule" would never be able to repay his courtesy. However, Samson's parents were blessed with an extraordinary son, while Ibzan's 60 children died during his lifetime (BB 91a).

Samson's strength was superhuman and the dimensions of his body were gigantic. He measured 60 ells between his shoulders, but was maimed in both legs (Sot. 10a). He uprooted two great mountains and rubbed them against each other as though they were pebbles. Whenever the Holy Spirit rested on him he emitted a bell-like sound which could be heard from afar. While the spirit remained with him he could cover the distance between Zorah and Eshtaol in one stride (Lev. R. 8:2; Sot. 9b–10a). Samson's supernatural strength made Jacob think that he would be the Messiah (Gen. R. 98:14). Abraham's covenant of peace with the Philistines was only valid for three generations (Gen. R. 54:2), and for this reason Samson was permitted to wage war with them.

Samson was not without virtues. He was totally unselfish and never asked for the smallest service for himself. When Samson told Delilah that he was a "Nazirite unto God," she was certain that he had divulged the true secret of his strength since she could not imagine that Samson would couple the name of God with an untruth. But he allowed sensual pleasures to dominate him, with the result that "he who went astray after his eyes, lost his eyes" (Sot. 9b). He continued his profligate life in prison, and the Philistine women set aside all consideration of marital bonds in the hopes of gaining offspring who would inherit his strength and stature (Sot. 9b–10a).

Before his death, he entreated God to realize in him the blessing of Jacob (Gen. 27:28) and to endow him with divine strength (Gen. R. 66:3). He expired with these words upon his lips: "O Master of the Universe, vouchsafe unto me in this life recompense for the loss of one eye. For the loss of the other I will wait to be rewarded in the future." So great was the fear he inspired that the Philistines did not attack the Israelites for 20 years after his death (TJ, Sot. 1:8, 17b). Identified with Bedan (I Sam. 12:11), and so called because he belonged to the tribe of Dan, he is regarded as one of the most unworthy of leaders. Nevertheless "Bedan in his generation is as Aaron in his" (RH 25a–b).

[Aaron Rothkoff]

In the Arts

Samson, as one of the classic heroes of the Jewish people, has inspired innumerable writers, artists, and musicians. In the early literature of the Church he was generally seen as a prefiguration of Jesus and this interpretation was particularly evident in Christian works of the Middle Ages, although he was sometimes also equated with Hercules in classical legend. However, Samson was not given special prominence in the medieval mystery plays and only began to figure prominently in the works of Renaissance writers. Among these were Alessandro Roselli's Italian miracle play, *La Rappresentatione di Sansone* (Florence, 1551); the German *Meistersinger* Hans Sachs's tragedy, *Simson* (1556); a Hungarian verse play by Péter Kákonyi (1550–60); and *Samson* (1599), a Danish play by H.J. Ranch of Vibourg. The theme became increasingly popular in the 17th century, particularly among Protestant writers who tended to regard Samson as a symbol of the Reformation's struggle with the tyranny of Rome. In England, *Sam*(*p*)*son*, a biblical drama by the writers Rowley and Jewby, was staged in 1602 and in one scene Samson appeared carrying the town gates on his neck, to the delight of the Elizabethan audience. In Germany the baroque writer Philipp von Zesen turned to a new literary genre with his novel, *Simson* (1679). Interest in the subject was not, however, confined to Protestants. The English Catholic *Stonyhurst Pageants* (c. 1625) include one about Samson, and in Holland Joost van den Vondel, a Protestant convert to Catholicism, published the five-act tragedy

Samson (1660). The Converso writer Juan Pérez de Montalván (1602–1638) wrote *El divino nazareno Sanson* (published in Seville, c. 1720) and, in the Marrano diaspora, the playwright Antonio Enriquez *Gómez published a biblical epic, *El Sansón nazareno* (Rouen, 1656). The outstanding 17th-century treatment of the theme – and, perhaps, the loftiest interpretation in Western literature – was John *Milton's *Samson Agonistes* (1671), a drama in the strict Greek classical tradition that has been more studied than performed. In the blind Hebrew judge Milton clearly saw a representation of his own plight, and echoes of the story reverberate throughout his writings. Milton's Samson is, by comparison with the figure portrayed in the Bible, highly idealized; and his drama has been acclaimed as the zenith of biblical playwrighting in the Protestant tradition, the English of the Puritan Commonwealth representing the "New Israel." In the late 19th century a Hebrew translation of *Samson Agonistes* was published by the Manchester writer J. Massel (*Shimshon ha-Gibbor*, 1890).

Apart from oratorios, a five-act opera by Voltaire (1733) that never reached the stage, some Spanish *Relaciones burlescas* of the 1760s, and a poem by William *Blake (in *Poetical Sketches*, 1783), the only significant treatment of the 18th century was Moses Ḥayyim *Luzzatto's early verse play, *Shimshon ve-ha-Pelishtim*, best known as *Ma'aseh Shimshon* (1724), a product of the Italian Hebrew revival written in a colorful style. However, the political and literary conflicts of the 19th century revived serious interest in the theme. A. Carino's Italian poem, *Nascita, vita, e morte di Sansone* (Naples, c. 1820), was followed by S.S. Raschkow's Hebrew poem, *Ḥayyei Shimshon* (1824) and by another in Hungarian by Mihály Tompa (1863). An unusual interpretation of the biblical story was the French poet Alfred de Vigny's "La Colère de Samson" (in *Les Destinées*, 1864). Here the betrayed and outraged Hebrew expresses Vigny's own stoicism and violent misogyny. There have been many treatments of the subject by writers of the 20th century, notably dramas such as Frank Wedekind's *Simson oder Scham und Eifersucht* (1914); the Albanian Fan S. Noli's *Israilite dhe Filstine* (1907); Sven Lange's Danish *Samson og Dalila* (1909); and a five-act tragedy by the Russian dramatist Leonid Nikolayevich Andreyev (translated by Herman Bernstein as *Samson in Chains*, 1923).

Predictably, the theme has proved especially attractive to modern Jewish writers, who have laid varying interpretations on the character of Samson. Two early 20th-century works, Jaroslav *Vrchlický's dramatic Czech *Trilogie o Simsonovi* (1901) and Hugo *Salus' German biblical poem, "Simson," led the way, to be followed by Samson Zuckermandel's four-act Hebrew drama, *Gevurat Shimshon* (1906), and the more original *Samson* (1907), a French drama by Henri-Leon *Bernstein, in which Delilah, a gold digger, is typical of the writer's unattractive anti-heroines. Most of the later literary treatments by Jews have been in the form of the novel. These include *Simson de Godgewijde* (1927–29) by the Dutch writer Israël *Querido; Vladimir *Jabotinsky's *Samson nazorey* (1927; *Samson the Nazarite*, 1930); Felix *Salten's *Simson, das Schicksal eines Erwaehlten* (1928; *Samson and Delilah*, 1931); and Saul Saphire's Hebrew novel, *Shimshon ha-Gibbor* (1935). Two works on the theme by writers of the post-World War II era were Kazimierz Brandys' Polish novel, *Samson* (1948), which forms part of a tetralogy (*Między wojnami*, 1948–51), and *Ahavat Shimshon* (1951–52) by the Israeli poet Lea *Goldberg.

In art, too, the Samson theme has enjoyed an enduring popularity. The story of Samson is represented in five fourth-century bas-reliefs in marble from the Santa Restitute chapel in Naples Cathedral. It is later found in many manuscripts including scenes in Hebrew manuscripts such as the 13th-century French *British Museum Miscellany* (add. 11639) and the 15th-century *Second Nuremberg Haggadah* (Schocken Collection, Jerusalem). The story was also illustrated in stained glass and in the round. Later the subject held a particular fascination for *Rembrandt, who painted many pictures of Samson. Early works by Rembrandt are his Samson's wedding (Judg. 14:10; Dresden), in which the sprawling giant propounds the riddle to his guests, and Samson threatening his father-in-law (Judg. 15:3; Berlin Museum). In the Middle Ages, Samson was regarded as one of the many prototypes of Jesus. The most popular episode in medieval art was therefore Samson rending the lion (Judg. 14:5–6) because it was understood to represent Jesus triumphing over Satan and breaking the jaws of Hell. It was very common in 12th-century sculpture and enamelwork throughout Western and Central Europe.

Samson and Delilah (Judg. 16:4–20) has been a favorite subject of artists in recent centuries. There is a grisaille painting by Mantegna (1431–1506; National Gallery, London) and a painting by Tintoretto in the collection of the Duke of Devonshire. The subject was particularly popular in northern Europe. In a painting now in the Augsburg Museum, Lucas Cranach showed Samson asleep on Delilah's lap against a mountainous landscape. There are paintings by Rubens (private collection), Van Dyck (1599–1661; Dulwich Gallery, London), and Rembrandt (Berlin Museum). Max *Liebermann painted a violent, sensual, and strangely modern study of Samson and Delilah, with both characters in the nude, and Jacob *Steinhardt made a similarly erotic woodcut of the subject. The capture and the binding of Samson (Judg. 16:21) and the final scene of the story, Samson tearing down the temple of Dagon (Judg. 16:29–30), were often favorite subjects for artists.

A musical dialogue between Samson and Delilah, *Samson dux fortissime*, appears in the Harleian Ms. 978 (13th century) and is something of a historical enigma (cf. G. Reese, *Music in the Middle Ages* (1940), 244). In the second half of the 17th century there were stock Italian oratorios, including *La caduta de' Filistei* by Veracini (1695; libretto only survived) and *Samson vindicatus* by Alessandro Scarlatti (1696; music lost). Voltaire's *Samson* was set by Rameau (1732), but not performed; another setting was made at the beginning of the 19th century by Stanislas Champein, and a third in 1890 by Wekerlin. Milton's *Samson Agonistes* was the basis of Newburgh Hamilton's libretto for Handel's oratorio, *Samson*, which had its première at the Covent Garden Theatre, London, in 1744. Works on the subject composed at the end of the 18th and beginning of 19th century are notable only for the fact that they mark the transfer of the subject to the stage. Camille Saint-Saëns' opera, *Samson et Dalila* (text by Fernand Lemaire), had its first performance at Weimar, in a German translation, in 1877. Delilah's aria, "Softly awakes my heart…" has remained a standby for every mezzo-soprano. Rubin *Goldmark was the composer of a symphonic poem, *Samson* (1913); Nicholas Nabokov wrote incidental music to Milton's *Samson Agonistes* (1938); and Bernard *Rogers devoted a one-act opera, *The Warrior*, to the Samson and Delilah story (1947). At the beginning of the Israel War of Independence Marc *Lavry wrote his *Ẓe'ad Shimshon* (text by Avigdor *Hameiri) for tenor solo, three-part men's choir, and orchestra ("March, Samson, towards Philistia… march, thou regiment of a desperate nation…") as a topical choral piece.

[Bathja Bayer]

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SAMSON, BENJAMIN ABRAHAM (1916–), Indian naval officer. Samson, a member of the *Bene Israel community, was born in Poona. He received a direct commission as lieutenant to the Royal Indian Navy in 1939. After serving in the Royal Navy in the Mediterranean, the Red Sea, and the Bay of Bengal, his was the last vessel out of Rangoon, the capital of Burma, when it fell to Japanese forces. He was commissioned in the Indian Navy when India gained its independence and, in 1948, was appointed naval adviser on the staff of the High Commissioner for India in the United Kingdom. In 1951 he was promoted to rear-admiral, the youngest to hold this rank in the Indian Navy. He served as commandant of the Indian National Defence College and was appointed flag officer of the fleet in 1965. In the following year he received the Vishisht Seva (Distinguished Service) Medal, Class I, for "distinguished service of a most exceptional order." On his retirement in 1968 he became superintendent of the Magazon Naval Dock Yards in Bombay, and in 1972 was promoted to the honorary rank of vice admiral by the president of India, for "loyal and dedicated" service.

SAMSON BEN ABRAHAM OF SENS (late 12th–early 13th century), one of the great French tosafists, known also as *Ha-Sar* ("the prince") of Sens. He was the brother of *Isaac b. Abraham (Riẓba) and grandson of *Samson b. Joseph of Falaise, brother-in-law of Jacob *Tam. In his youth he studied under Tam and Ḥayyim *ha-Kohen, but his main teacher was *Isaac b. Samuel of Dampierre. His authority was widely recognized, even beyond France. During the first *Maimonidean controversy (1202), the French rabbis were requested to express their views in the dispute between Meir *Abulafia, who attacked Maimonides, and *Aaron b. Meshullam of Lunel, who defended him. Samson replied on behalf of the French rabbis in lengthy letters. He sharply criticized the *Mishneh Torah*, describing its defects, and even advising against its study. He particularly opposed Maimonides' view on resurrection. On the other hand, he expressed profound esteem for Maimonides himself, concluding "that the gates of understanding were opened to him, enabling him to see wonders in the divine Torah." However, his attitude did not satisfy the opponents of Maimonides. On a much later occasion (1235), Abraham, the son of Maimonides, referring to an unconfirmed report that Samson had disagreed with his father, vigorously denied that he had excommunicated him.

The extent of Samson's ties with Germany is not known. However, his works circulated and were accepted there. Isaac of Vienna (see *Or Zaru'a*, 3 (1887); BK, no. 436) writes of him, "he was unique in his knowledge and his wisdom." He composed *tosafot*, known as *Tosafot Sens*, on almost the whole of the Talmud (see Urbach, Tosafot, p. 232ff. for detailed list).

Some of those printed in the standard editions of the Talmud are actually from his pen (RH, Suk., Men., Bek.), while others are the work of his disciples and their disciples (Shab., Er., Yev., Ket., BM, BB). Other collections of *tosafot*, such as those of Touques and of Asher b. Jehiel, are based on them. His *tosafot* on *Pesaḥim* were published (1956), others are still in manuscript. His commentary on the *mishnayot* of *Zera'im* (excluding *Berakhot*) and *Tohorot* (excluding *Niddah*) is the most important commentary on these orders, and it was made use of by all later commentators, such as Asher b. Jehiel and Obadiah of Bertinoro. He is known to have written a commentary on *Shekalim, Eduyyot*, and *Kinnim*, which has not come down to us. The one printed as *Tosafot Sens* on *Eduyyot, Makkot*, and *Sotah*, as well as the commentary on the *Sifra*, have been erroneously attributed to him. Jacob of Courson, one of his disciples, collected his responsa and halakhic decisions in a work which has not been preserved. Urbach gives a list of his responsa which are scattered among the works of the halakhic authorities (*Tosafot*, 264).

At the beginning of the 13th century Samson migrated to Ereẓ Israel (Graetz' view that he went with the 300 French rabbis in 1211 is unsupported), and he is therefore sometimes referred to as "of Ereẓ Israel" or "of Jerusalem." Maimonides' son Abraham states that they did not meet because Samson did not pass through Egypt; he would therefore appear to have sailed directly to Acre. He lived in Jerusalem and Acre, where he died, and was buried at the foot of Mount Carmel.

Urbach gives the date of his death as before 1216, but others date it c. 1230.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Frankel, Mishnah, 352–5; Gross, Gal Jud, 165, 168f.; 622; V. Aptowitzer, *Mavo le-Sefer Ravyah* (1938), 24f.; 418–20; Urbach, Tosafot, 226–65, 534; S.H. Kook, *Iyyunim u-Meḥkarim*, 2 (1963), 128f.

[Shlomoh Zalman Havlin]

SAMSON BEN ELIEZER (b.c. 1330), German scribe and authority in his vocation. Samson was born in Saxony. When still a child he was taken to Prague by his parents, who died there when he was eight years old. The community thereupon apparently apprenticed him to a Torah scribe called Issachar. Issachar passed on to Samson many oral traditions and much professional lore, and also gave him an ancient *Tikkun* ("compendium on the laws of writing *tefillin*") compiled by the scribe Abraham b. Moses of Sinzheim, who had been a pupil of Meir b. Baruch of Rothenburg and who had devoted his life to clarifying the regulations concerning the writing of scrolls of the Pentateuch, *tefillin*, and *mezuzot*, in which all the pertinent material was carefully collated. Samson eventually became so proficient in this craft, particularly in the writing of *tefillin*, that his fame spread throughout Germany. He revised Abraham's work and added his own notes, the resulting work being known as *Sefer Barukh she-Amar*. Samson was also known as *Barukh she-Amar* from the melodious manner in which he rendered the prayer beginning with these words whenever he functioned as *ḥazzan*. Samson achieved great importance as a preserver of the German tradition in the sphere of *halakhah*, based as it was primarily upon the authority of Meir of Rothenburg. Samson's work was written after he had emigrated to Ereẓ Israel and had seen the great neglect of his profession in that country. He succeeded in introducing there many improvements in the writing of *tefillin* and was instrumental in the disqualification of scribes whose writing he found unacceptable. Samson is known to have traveled in various places, and to have examined and invalidated *tefillin* with the approval of the local scholars in the district of Lausitz and in Erfurt, Germany.

An incomplete version of *Sefer Barukh she-Amar* was published in Dubnow in 1796, under the title *Dinei Ketivat Tefillin*. The complete version was apparently first published in Shklov in 1804. The published work contains the notes of Yom Tov Lipmann Muelhausen – which can possibly be distinguished from the text of the book since they are devoted exclusively to the laws of the *Sefer Torah*. The *Perush… Al Ẓurot Otiyyot ha-Alef Bet*, which is the second part of the book, is entirely the work of Yom Tov Lipmann – based upon Samson's work. The text in our possession is in a state of considerable disorder, text and notes by many hands being so intermingled as to be practically indistinguishable, though later additions can sometimes be recognized. Similar disorder is to be found in the many manuscripts of the book still in existence. The book was known to all the great *posekim*, among them Jacob *Moellin, Joshua *Soncino, David Blumes, who lived in Ereẓ Israel (cf. Responsa Maharshal, no. 37), and Elijah *Shapira.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: J. Kaufmann, *Yom Tov Lipmann Muelhausen* (1927), 12, 71–75.

[Israel Moses Ta-Shma]

SAMSON BEN ISAAC OF CHINON (14th century), one of the last French tosafists. Samson was nevertheless the first tosafist to write a work on talmudic methodology, *Sefer Keritut*. In it he incorporated the whole of the methodological material embodied in the *tosafot* literature. The first four parts of the book deal with the *hermeneutical rules, with the chronology of the *tannaim* and *amoraim*, and with the principles on which the *halakhah* is decided in cases of difference of opinion. The fifth part, *Leshon Limmudim*, which is also the most comprehensive, deals with the methods of talmudic hermeneutics, and with the methods of the Mishnah, *baraita*, and Talmud. In the course of his presentation Samson enters into detailed discussion, in the manner of the tosafists, maintaining that from such discussion there emerge more principles and methodological rules. Early methodological works, such as *Seder Tanna'im ve-Amora'im* and the letter of Sherira Gaon, served Samson chiefly for the first four chapters, the last chapter, his main work, being based entirely on the tosafists. The work shows little originality, but its main importance lies in the systematic assembly of the material and the manner in which he clarifies it. The *Sefer Keritut* was first published in Constantinople in 1515 and has been frequently republished, together with commentaries by various scholars, among them Jacob *Ḥagiz. In his work Samson speaks of having written *tosafot* on the Talmud, but none of these is extant. In the responsa of *Isaac b. Sheshet (no. 157) Samson is reported, in the name of Perez b. Isaac ha-Kohen, to have opposed Kabbalah and the doctrine of the *Sefirot, saying: "I pray childlike." Isaac b. Sheshet referred to him as the "greatest rabbi of his generation."

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Urbach, Tosafot, index; Renan, Rabbins, 461–4; Samson ben Isaac of Chinon, *Sefer Keritut*, ed. by Y.Z. Roth (1961), 8–10.

[Israel Moses Ta-Shma]

SAMSON BEN JOSEPH OF FALAISE (12th century), French tosafist. Samson was an older contemporary of Jacob Tam, with whom he corresponded and who addressed him with exceptional humility (see *Sefer ha-Yashar*, responsa, nos. 3 and 4). He may have been a pupil of Rashi. His sister Miriam was the second wife of Tam, and after his death she was consulted by scholars as to her husband's customs and observances. Some of Samson's teachings are included in the novellae section of the *Sefer ha-Yashar*, and he is mentioned in the printed *tosafot* to several tractates. The *rishonim* quote from an extensive halakhic work by him which is no longer extant. Samson apparently met a martyr's death and his remains were handed over for burial only six months after his death. The two renowned tosafists, *Isaac b. Abraham and his brother Samson of Sens, were his grandsons. The Eliezer of

Falera mentioned in the *tosafot* to *Bava Batra* (79b) may have been his son-in-law.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Gross, Gal Jud, 477–8; Urbach, Tosafot, index.

[Israel Moses Ta-Shma]

SAMSON BEN SAMSON OF COUCY (called **ha-sar mi-Coucy**; 13th century), French tosafist. Samson, a descendant of Joseph *Bonfils, belonged to a distinguished family of French scholars. Judah of Corbeil was his uncle and *Moses of Coucy his brother-in-law. He was one of the younger pupils of *Isaac b. Samuel of Dampierre, but his main teacher was *Judah b. Isaac, Judah Sir Leon of Paris. His words are quoted frequently in the standard *tosafot* on several tractates, and many citations from his rulings and responsa, as well as remnants of his *tosafot*, have been preserved in the works of *rishonim*. Samson was a teacher of *Isaac b. Moses Or Zaru'a, and also, apparently, of *Hezekiah b. Jacob of Magdeburg.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Gross, Gal Jud, 554–6; Urbach, Tosafot, index.

[Israel Moses Ta-Shma]

SAMSON HA-NAKDAN (13th century), Hebrew grammarian and vocalizer, who lived in Germany. It may be conjectured that Samson lived in Xanten, and he was apparently the grandfather and teacher of *Joseph b. Kalonymus ha-Nakdan of Xanten. He was the author of *Mafte'aḥ ha-Dikduk* (Cat. de-Rossi No. 3891) which Steinschneider believed to be identical with the *Sefer Kelalei ha-Dikduk* (Cat. Berlin no. 29; Vatican No. 296). He also wrote the *Ḥibbur ha-Konim*, which is also called *Sefer ha-Shimshoni*, on the *masorah. In his book he quotes the main medieval grammarians.

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SAMTER, ERNST (1868–1926), German historian of ancient religions. Samter, who was born in Posen, taught in Danzig and Berlin before being appointed professor at the Berlin Gymnasium zum Grauen Kloster in 1925. In 1913 he founded the Institute for the Study of Religions, bringing together theologians, philologists, philosophers, ethnologists, and folklorists for the comparative study of religion.

His works include *Familienfeste der Griechen und Roemer* (1901); *Geburt, Hochzeit und Tod, Beitraege zur vergleichenden Volkskunde* (1911); *Die Religion der Griechen* (1914); *Griechische Sagen* (1925); and *Die Goetter der Griechen* (1926). His interest in education is indicated by several books, including his work on folklore in the teaching of classical languages, *Volkskunde im altsprachlichen Unterricht*, 1 (1923). He also contributed to Jewish history, including studies on antisemitism in ancient Greece and Rome.

[Irwin L. Merker]

SAMUDA, JOSEPH D'AGUILAR (1813–1885), British shipbuilder and railway pioneer. Born in London to Sephardi parents – his father was a broker and overseas merchant – Samuda became an engineer in partnership with his brother JACOB (1811–1844). From 1832 to 1848 Samuda Brothers, their firm, were leading builders of marine engines and, from the early 1840s, leading iron shipbuilders, especially for the Royal Navy, responsible for many engineering innovations. Samuda was vice president of the Institution of Naval Architects and, from 1865 to 1880, served as a Liberal member of Parliament. He is best remembered, however, as a pioneer with his brother of "atmospheric railways," engineless trains propelled by creating a vacuum in front of the train in a pneumatic tube adjacent to the track. The Samuda brothers patented this invention in 1839. Although some examples of "atmospheric railways" were built by the Samudas and others, especially a route they constructed in south Devon in the early 1840s, the technology simply did not exist at the time for these to work on a regular basis, and steam-driven trains remained unchallenged for many decades.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: ODNB online.

[William D. Rubinstein (2nd ed.)]

SAMUEL (Heb. שְׁמוּאֵל), Israelite judge and prophet who lived in the 11th century B.C.E. His name is very close to that of the ancient Babylonian royal ancestor of Hammurapi, Sūmû-la-il, and similar in form to other *Amorite names such as Sūmû-Abum, Sūmû-Samas, and others (HALOT, 1438). Standing at the close of one era and the beginning of another, Samuel was instrumental in the painful, but necessary, transition from a loose confederation of Hebrew tribes to a centralized monarchy. He played a part in events which eventually saw his people completely freed from subjection to the Philistines and from the threat of the utter loss of national life.

The Biblical Account

The record of Samuel's career in I Samuel 1–16, which is intricately interwoven with that of Saul, the first king, involves many baffling questions. It tells a story about the birth of a "child of prayer" to Hannah and Elkanah in an Ephraimite home in Ramathaim-Zophim (1:1) or Ramah (1:19). His mother dedicated him to a Nazirite life in the important sanctuary of Shiloh (1:11, 28; 2:11; 3:1). Here the aged priest *Eli, whose sons were lewd and impious good-for-nothings, officiated (2:12–17, 22–25). A rare divine revelation came to the boy in the night, involving terrible judgment on the house of Eli; and this was the beginning of a career that marked Samuel as a "prophet of YHWH" (3:20). Chapters 4–6 recount the shattering defeat of the Hebrews by the well-equipped Philistines; worst of all, the ark of YHWH was captured, the immediate house of Eli wiped out, and, probably (Jer. 7:12, 14), the vital Shiloh sanctuary was permanently razed.

Samuel is next depicted as a "judge" (I Sam. 7), first in the sense of a charismatic deliverer in a battle of miraculous proportions (verse 13 seems to be highly idealized) and then as an arbiter of disputes, traveling over a considerable area covering Bethel, Gilgal, Mizpah, and Ramah (7:16–17). Samuel was married and had two sons, Joel and Abijah, who acted as judges in Beer-Sheba (8:2; cf. I Chron. 6:13).

Two or more divergent accounts of the founding of the monarchy follow. One (9:1–10:16) is favorable to the kingship regarding it as the answer to the desperate needs of the hour. Another (7:3–8:22; 10:17–19; 12:1–25) reacts, sometimes violently, against such a move. Some think there is a third account (10:20–11:15; see *Samuel, Book of; see below, Critical Evaluation). One cannot be completely certain about Samuel's attitude toward the people's request for a king (cf. 10:1 with 10:19). It is clear, however, that the political crisis demanded a much more closely knit government if the Hebrews were to survive as an entity.

One account has an Ammonite attack on Jabesh-Gilead pushing the handsome Benjaminite Saul into a position where, after an impressive victory, he was publicly acclaimed as king (chapter 11). Another shows Samuel's gift of clairvoyance aiding Saul in locating his father's lost donkeys. Samuel then acted as priest at the local hill shrine and by divine revelation he anointed, the next morning, the surprised Saul as leader or prince (*nāgid*) of Israel to rescue her from her pressing foes. Shortly thereafter, in a public conclave at Mizpah, Samuel cast the sacred lot and Saul was chosen; then the older man delivered an address explaining the rights and responsibilities of a king, and a written record was made. An immediate clash with the Philistines followed; first a small-scale outpost skirmish, then a significant victory. However, in 7:3–8:22; 10:17–19; and 12:1–25, Samuel denounces the idea of monarchy as apostasy, since the Lord has always been the king and savior of Israel. Yet by divine revelation Samuel is directed to give grudging consent (8:22).

Chapter 15, a later account evidently based on earlier tradition, portrays a heartrending break between Samuel and Saul, a permanent and devastating rejection of the king (15:34–35; but cf. 19:24). This had already been foretold (e.g., 13:13–14). It is not clear whether the issue was simply the king's failure to obey the provisions of the **ḥerem* of the holy war, or whether it was that Samuel surmised that Saul was aspiring not only to political but also to religious prerogatives. At any rate, except for his mention as head of a band of ecstatic prophets in 19:18–20, his death notice in 25:1, and a séance in which his ghost was brought back in chapter 28, Samuel permanently leaves the stage.

Critical Evaluation

Scholars (e.g., A. Weiser) have moved somewhat away from seeing completely mutually exclusive (pro-monarchical and anti-monarchical) accounts in I Samuel 1–16. The alternative is a series of varying concepts that developed in different circles, and existed side by side. Such traditions were finally strung together somewhat loosely without an attempt at reconciling them. Moreover I. Mendelsohn showed that the Israelites would have been quite aware of the dangers of oppressive monarchical government from what they saw around them in their own century. Thus Samuel 8:11–17 does not need to be a late reminiscence, as was once claimed. Nonetheless, one must allow for idealization in certain of the traditions. While many questions cannot be answered with certainty, it is clear that Samuel played a powerful part in the formation of the monarchy, and the titles of seer, prophet, judge, and priest are indicative of his influence, perhaps in different circles. As is true of Moses, so many roles are assigned to him that it is difficult to define the historical nucleus of the Samuel traditions. He was later claimed as a levite (I Chron. 6:12–13), as one of the founders, with David, of the system of gatekeepers of the Tent of Meeting (I Chron. 9:22), as a great intercessor comparable to Moses (Jer. 15:1), and as ranking with Moses and Aaron. According to Ps. 99:6, God spoke to Samuel along with Moses and Aaron in the Cloud Pillar. The Bible portrays Samuel as an incorruptible leader (I Sam. 12:3–5), and as the Lord's spokesman in guiding Israel, in critical days, from the old era into the new, and her greatest leader since Moses.

[John H. Scammon / S. David Sperling (2nd ed.)]

In the Aggadah

Even before his birth, "a heavenly voice went forth" and proclaimed the imminent delivery of a righteous man. When people observed his deeds, they were certain that he was this righteous individual (Mid. Sam. 3:4). Shortly before Samuel's novitiate in the sanctuary, Eli succeeded to the three highest offices in the land, those of high priest, president of the Sanhedrin, and ruler over Israel (Tanḥ. Shemini, 2). However, Eli's sons were not worthy to succeed him, but "Before the sun of Eli set, the sun of Samuel rose" (Gen. R. 58:2). The greatness bestowed on Samuel was not granted to any other king or prophet. No one ever challenged his authority and five terms of praise were applied to him: faithful, honored, prophet, seer, and man of God (*Mishnat R. Eliezer*, p. 151). He rebuked the people shortly before his death, refraining from doing so earlier lest people be embarrassed upon meeting their censurer (Sif. Deut. 2). Samuel was an incorruptible judge, who refused compensation even when he was legitimately entitled to it (Ned. 38a). He went on circuit to judge the people in order to spare them the trouble of coming to him. Accordingly, God spoke directly to Samuel, unlike Moses who first had to go into the tabernacle to receive the divine message (Ex. R. 16:4). He refused to enjoy hospitality at public expense, taking his personal requirements with him on his journeys (Ber. 10b). Despite the fact that his sons did not follow in his way, Samuel did have the satisfaction of seeing one of them mend his ways and become the prophet Joel (Mid. Sam. 1:6).

Samuel did not object to the appointment of a king in principle, since it was commanded in the Bible (Deut. 17:15). His objection was to the fact that the people demanded a king "that we may be like other nations" (Sanh. 20b). Samuel's failure to recognize David until he was revealed to him was a punishment for his arrogance in saying to Saul "I am the seer"

(I Sam. 9:19; Sif. Deut. 17). Although Saul should have died immediately after his sin during the Amalekite war, Samuel interceded for him. He prayed that his life be spared at least for the duration of his own life, pleading that his action in anointing Saul be not destroyed before his eyes. God was hesitant to grant this request since the time of David's succession was rapidly approaching. In order to fulfill Samuel's request and to prevent the people from ascribing Samuel's death to his sins, Samuel was made to age rapidly, and though he was only 52 when he died, the people were under the impression that he died as an old man (Mid. Sam. 25:2; Ta'an. 5b). Samuel wrote only part of the book which bears his name. It was completed by Gad the seer and Nathan. He also wrote the books of Judges and Ruth (BB 15a).

[Aaron Rothkoff]

In Islam

In Sura 2:247–9 it is related that the people of Israel requested that the prophet appoint a king to rule them. However, when the prophet informed them that Allah had chosen Ṭālūt (Saul), they refused to crown him as their king. In post-Koranic literature it is said that this reference is to the prophet Samuel (Shamwīl); details are also related about his life and deeds, which are interwoven in the tales of Saul and David. It is noteworthy that the name Shamwīl is no longer used in the Arabic language and only the name of al-Samaw'al is to be found.

[H.Z. Hirschberg]

In the Arts

Treatment of the prophet Samuel in the arts generally involves the two kings of Israel whom he anointed, Saul and David, although Samuel himself does figure independently in some works, particularly in art. Literary interest in the subject has been somewhat restricted. In the English verse epic *Davideis* (1656) by Abraham Cowley, Samuel expresses the writer's own antagonism toward the concept of monarchy during Oliver Cromwell's republican Commonwealth. The theme later inspired Pieter t'Hoen's Dutch novella, *Samuël de Profeet; of De Joodsche regeering hoe langer hoe erger* (1796), but interest thereafter lapsed until the 20th century. Samuel then makes a dramatic appearance in D.H. Lawrence's play *David* (1926), and is denigrated in *Samuel the Kingmaker* (1944), one of the English writer Laurence Housman's fiercely anti-biblical *Old Testament Plays* (1950), which makes the prophet a spiteful, jealous impostor. This treatment finds a contrast in the respectful approach of *Abraham l'hébreu et Samuel le voyant* (1946), a biblical verse epic by the French Jewish writer Emmanuel *Eydoux. A related subject is treated in two 20th-century plays about Eli, Samuel's priestly guardian and mentor: *Beit Eli; o Aron ha-Elohim Nilkeḥah* (1902), a Hebrew drama by Meir Foner, and *Silo is krank…* (1956), a drama in Afrikaans by the South African writer Daniel François Malherbe.

In Christian art, Samuel's attributes are the lamb he offered in sacrifice (I Sam. 7:9) and his horn of unction. Figures of Samuel with the lamb are found on the Gothic cathedrals of Chartres and Rheims; at Chartres he is placed between Moses and David. The presentation of Samuel to Eli by his mother Hannah, who dedicated him to God (I Sam. 1:24–28) is a subject found in the third-century C.E. murals of the synagogue at *Dura-Europos. It also occurs in medieval wall painting and manuscripts, including the 13th-century *St. Louis Psalter*, the 14th-century *Queen Mary Psalter*, and the 15th-century German *Second Nuremberg *Haggadah* (Schocken Library, Jerusalem). There are a number of examples from the 17th-century Dutch school, including a painting by *Rembrandt (Bridgewater Collection, London) and one by his pupil, Barent Fabritius (Art Institute, Chicago). A touching study of Samuel and Eli was painted by the U.S. portraitist John Singleton Copley (Wadsworth Atheneum, Hartford, Connecticut) whose painting of Samuel denouncing Saul is in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts. The English artist Sir Joshua Reynolds painted studies of Samuel as a child and the infant Samuel in prayer (I Sam. 3:4); these are at Dulwich College and in the National Gallery, London. Samuel's slaying of Agag, whom Saul had failed to kill (I Sam. 15:32–33), appears in a 13th-century Hebrew manuscript from France (British Museum Miscellany, add. 11639) and in a mural in the Basle town hall by Hans Holbein (1497?–1543). The anointing of David by Samuel (I Sam. 16:13) appears in the murals of Dura-Europos. This subject has also been popular in Christian art, where David is regarded as the "anointed one" par excellence, the type and ancestor of Jesus. The scene appears in medieval frescoes, carvings from the Gothic cathedrals, and in Byzantine and Western manuscript illumination. Samuel's posthumous appearance before Saul on the latter's visit to the witch of Endor (I Sam. 28:8ff.) was a rare subject in the Middle Ages. It later received melodramatic treatment from the 17th-century painter Salvator Rosa (Louvre); and there is a watercolor by William *Blake in the National Gallery of Art, Washington.

Musical works in which Samuel is the main figure are few; they include Andreas Hammerschmidt's songs to a play by Keimann, *Samuel* (1646); Anton Cajeta Adlgasser's oratorio, *Samuel und Heli* (= Eli; 1763); a Spanish oratorio by José Duran, *Samuel presentado al Templo* (1765); Simon Mayr's oratorio, *Samuele* (1821); an early American oratorio, *Samuel*, by Homer Newton Bartlett (1845–1920); and *Die Jugend Samuel's*, an oratorio by Victor *Hollaender (1866–1940). A recent work is the *Inbal troupe's *The Boy Samuel*.

Tomb of Samuel

Traditionally sited on al-Nabī-Samwīl, the highest mountain overlooking Jerusalem. Theodorus Lector records that the Byzantine emperor, Arcadius, in 406 removed the bones of Samuel to Constantinople where he built a church next to the Hebdomon (Eccles. Hist., 2:63). The 10th-century geographer, al-Muqadasi, mentions a monastery at al-Nabī-Samwīl. Ramah of the Bible was later identified with *Ramleh and consequently Samuel's grave was located there (cf. I Sam. 25:1; 28:3). The Karaites had a synagogue at Ramleh in 1013. Benjamin of Tudela records in 1173 that the crusaders had removed Samuel's remains from there to al-Nabī-

Samwīl (A. Asher, *The Itinerary of Rabbi Benjamin of Tudela* (1927), p. 42).

In 1099 the site was named by the crusaders Montjoie (Mons Gaudii) because it was from there that they caught their first sight of Jerusalem; among the Jews and the Latins al-Nabī-Samwīl was generally called *Shiloh (Silo) through mistaken identity. Baldwin II (1118–31) gave the hill and surrounding land to the Premonstratensian order who built a church on the site in 1157 on the hill al-Burj, south of al-Nabī-Samwīl. In 1187 the church was captured and ruined by Saladin. Muslims and Jews turned the ruins into prayer houses. Jewish pilgrims also identified the site with the graves of Hannah, Elkanah, and his two sons as well as with the *mikveh* of Hannah. On the 28th of Iyyar (the traditional date of Samuel's death) thousands of Jews gathered in medieval times at the shrine from all over the Diaspora and Ereẓ Israel to light lamps there, offer charity, and pray. It was so usual for them to drink wine at these festivities, that owing to excesses a *takkanah* was passed by the Jerusalem rabbi forbidding "those under the influence of drink from going to al-Nabī-Samwīl" (*Zikhron bi-Yrushalayim*, 503). Pantaléo de Aveiro reports that in 1560 Jews went to the grave every eight days to light candles and had obtained the right of residence on the site from the sultan (*Itinerario da Terra Sancta* (1927), 424) and an English traveler in 1601 reported that the Jews cut their hair there (*The Travels of John Sanderson* (1931), 100). From other sources it appears that fathers took their sons there to trim their hair as an offering. The Karaites also spent two days of Passover on the site singing special hymns to Samuel.

In the 18th century Jews used to bring money, clothes, and jewelry there and burn them there as an offering, but about 1730 the Turks closed up the cave, built a mosque and prayer house there, and forbade the Jews to enter. After this few Jews went, and they had to pay for entrance. The land around the shrine was acquired by the group Naḥalat Israel Ramah in 1887 but attempts to settle there failed. The mosque and tower were almost completely destroyed in World War I and later rebuilt. Few Jews pray there now owing to the doubtfulness of the site's authenticity.

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SAMUEL (**Mar** or **Samuel Yarhina'ah**; end of second century to mid-third century), Babylonian *amora*. Samuel was born at Nehardea and studied with his father, *Abba b. Abba ha-Kohen (Zev. 26a) and also with Levi b. Sisi (Shab. 108b), who had emigrated to Babylonia from Ereẓ Israel. His principal teachers, however, are unknown. From the story that Samuel cured Judah ha-Nasi of an eye ailment (BM 85b) some scholars infer that he attended the latter's *bet midrash* in Ereẓ Israel, and that Judah ha-Nasi was his main teacher. This is not conclusive evidence; Samuel could have sent the medicine to Judah ha-Nasi by a messenger. In any event, Samuel quotes no *halakhot* which, it may be asserted, he would have heard from Judah ha-Nasi, nor does he report any custom he saw in the latter's home, although this was a practice of the scholars of both the Babylonian and Jerusalem Talmuds. D. Hoffmann contends that Samuel studied in Ereẓ Israel under Ḥanina b. Ḥama, inasmuch as both used the drawing of a palm branch as their signatures (TJ, Git. 9:9, 50d) and prescribed identical cures. However, there is no conclusive evidence for this assertion, as the same was true of different people living in widely separated areas.

Samuel's sons died in their youth (Shab. 108a; MK 18a), two of his daughters were taken captive and later ransomed in Ereẓ Israel (Ket. 23a), and another daughter married a non-Jew (who was subsequently converted to Judaism: see Rashi, Ber. 16a). His economic circumstances were extremely good, his father having left him fields (Ḥul. 105a) and plantations which were cultivated by tenant-farmers and laborers (BK 92a), and the household chores were attended to by maidservants (Nid. 47a).

Samuel was the head of an important *bet midrash-bet din* at Nehardea in the middle of the third century (Git. 36b). He was the outstanding authority of his day in civil law (Bek. 49b), in which sphere later generations accepted his pronouncements as decisive (*ibid.*). Samuel was the author of the momentous principle that in civil matters "the law of the state is the law [for its Jews]" (BK 113b), which has influenced the entire Diaspora. Other principles of his are: "The obligation of producing proof rests on the claimant" (*ibid.* 46a) and "In pecuniary cases we do not follow the majority" (*ibid.* 46b). His concern for orphans led him to rule that their money may be lent out on interest (contrary to the rule that money was not to be lent to Jews on interest; BM 70a). As a *dayyan* he was on his guard against even the slightest taint of bribery. Thus, he refused to act as a judge in the case of a man who had put out his hand to assist him in fording a river on a board (Ket. 105b). His integrity is revealed in other instances. He refused to take advantage of a seasonal scarcity to obtain higher prices for his products (BB 90b), and he vigorously opposed those who arbitrarily raised prices. When after Passover the merchants, reacting to an increased demand, raised the prices of pots (the Babylonian Jews not using those in which leaven had been cooked before the festival), Samuel warned that, unless they took fair prices, he would permit the use of the old pots (Pes. 30a). Similarly, when those who sold myrtle branches (for the

Four Species in the Festival of Tabernacles) charged exorbitant prices, Samuel warned that, unless they asked a reasonable price, he would declare permissible even such myrtle branches whose tips were broken off (Suk. 34b). The great authority enjoyed by his *bet din* was entirely owing to his prestige; only his *bet din* and that of Rav at Sura were allowed to write a prosbul (a declaration, made in a *bet din*, that the limitation of the Sabbatical Year shall not apply to the loan about to be made; Git. 36b). He held that in certain cases *dayyanim* were entitled to use their discretion in judging (BB 35a, and Tos. to *ibid.*), and he would order lashes (Er. 44b), as well as arrest and detention in prison (Nid. 25b), indicating his great authority.

Samuel had many contacts with his distinguished colleague, Rav, who appreciated his erudition (Ḥul. 59a), showed him every respect (Meg. 22a), and, when on a visit to Nehardea, observed the customs instituted by Samuel (Er. 94a). After Rav's death in 247 C.E., Samuel became the preeminent authority and was recognized as such by all the Babylonian sages (*Iggeret Rav Sherira Ga'on*, ed. by B.M. Lewin (1921), 81), whereas during Rav's lifetime the Jews of Sura and its neighborhood had adopted the usages laid down by Rav, while the Jews of Nehardea and its neighborhood adopted those of Samuel (Ket. 54a).

Samuel was close to the exilarch and his officials (TJ, Ta'an. 4:2, 68a) and would sit in front of Mar Ukva, the exilarch, when the latter judged a case (MK 16b). He was also personally acquainted with Sapor, the king. Samuel's extensive knowledge of medicine and astronomy assisted him in the establishment of various *halakhot*. He discovered a salve, known as "*killurin de-Mar Shemu'el*," for curing eye ailments (Shab. 108b), and asserted that he could cure all maladies except three (BM 113b). He was known as Samuel Yarḥina'ah ("Samuel the Astronomer": BM 85b), and such was his knowledge of *astronomy that he declared: "The paths of heaven are as familiar to me as the streets of Nehardea" (Ber. 58b). Though his knowledge of this science enabled him to fix and draw up a calendar (RH 20b), according to his own testimony he did not devote much time to its study (Deut. R. 8:6). It may have been his knowledge of astronomy which brought him into contact with non-Jewish Babylonian scholars, with one of whom, Avlet, he dined (Av. Zar. 30a) and discussed nature (Shab. 129a, 156b). Samuel also met non-Jewish scholars in the Bei-Avidan (*ibid.* 116a, and Rashi *ibid.*). But because his chief activity centered on his industrious acquisition and dissemination of the knowledge of the Torah, he was called *shoked* (TJ, Ket. 4:2, 28b) or *shakud* (TB, *ibid.* 43b), that is, "the industrious Torah scholar."

He ruled that it was forbidden to deceive non-Jews as well as Jews (Ḥul. 94a), and that whoever puts a slave to shame must compensate him accordingly (Nid. 47a). Samuel made some interesting observations on the past and future of the Jewish people. He traced the ascendancy of Rome and the subsequent destruction of the Temple to Solomon's marriage with Pharaoh's daughter, who introduced idolatry into Jerusalem (Shab. 56b). In his view the Messiah will come only after the Jewish people will have suffered cruel persecutions (Ket. 112b), and he maintained that the only difference between present and messianic times will be freedom from oppression by foreign powers in the latter period (Ber. 34b). Samuel was opposed to a life of mortification (Ta'an. 11a) and declared even those who imposed restrictions upon themselves in fulfillment of a vow to be wicked (Ned. 22a). He favored the enjoyment of the things of this world (Er. 54a), provided that it is preceded by the appropriate blessing (Ber. 35a).

Rav and Samuel were accorded the honorable title of "our rabbis in Babylonia" (Sanh. 17b) or "our rabbis in the Diaspora" (TJ, Shab. 5:4, 7c).

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[Moshe Beer]

SAMUEL, BOOK OF, the eighth book of the Hebrew Bible and the third in the subdivision known as the Former Prophets. Originally a single unit, the Septuagint and the Vulgate divide the book in two, titling the resulting parts First and Second Kingdoms (I and II Samuel), followed by Third and Fourth Kingdoms (I and II Kings). In the later Vulgate tradition "Kingdoms" becomes "Kings." Hebrew manuscripts continued to treat Samuel as one book until the introduction of the printed Bible in the 15th century, when the division into I and II Samuel was accepted. English Bibles follow the same division, I and II Samuel appearing in ninth and tenth positions (Ruth intruding after Judges as in LXX).

Title, Authorship and Text

The title of the book (or books) in the Hebrew canon is Samuel, no doubt because Samuel is the first major personality to appear in it rather than because of any theories of authorship such as we encounter in I Chronicles 29:29 and *Bava Batra* 14b–15a (cf. I Samuel 10:25). In fact, the title of the book has no serious bearing on authorship. It is now generally agreed that the finished form of the book comes from the hand of a Deuteronomic compiler in the sixth century B.C.E. It has often been surmised that one or more of the sources in Samuel were written by a high official(s) in the court of David or Solomon, such as *Abiathar the priest, or *Jehoshaphat the *mazkir*, or Ahimaaz son of Zadok the priest (for Ahimaaz was himself one of Solomon's provincial governors; I Kings 4:15). That a royal official was responsible for the archival materials is certain, and it is plausible that such an official wrote some of the extended narrative sources; but no exact identification is compelling.

The text of Samuel has been badly preserved in the Masoretic Text, apparently because the book fell into neglect in some circles once a more idealized version of the same period was provided by Chronicles. Fortunately the Masoretic Text of Samuel can be frequently corrected with the help of Chronicles and of the Septuagint. The discovery at Qumran of portions of Samuel in a Hebrew text that closely corresponds to the Septuagint enhances the value of the Greek version for textual criticism of Samuel, in that the Septuagint now appears to have relied upon a generally more accurate Hebrew text tradition than has been preserved in the Masoretic Text.

Contents and Major Themes

The narrative of Samuel, chiefly concerned with the rise and succession of rulers in the early united monarchy of Israel, falls into divisions determined by the succession of principals who provide the central action. Complexity is introduced by the fact that the protagonists (Samuel, Saul, David) are involved in intricate relationships or interdependence and rivalry. When David emerges triumphant, the dynamics shift toward the king's relations with his sons. A division based on the principals may be schematized as follows:

(1) I Samuel 1–7 – Samuel.

(2) I Samuel 8–15 – Samuel and Saul.

(3) I Samuel 16–31 – Saul and David.

(4) II Samuel 1–8 – David's rise to power.

(5) II Samuel 9–20 and I Kings 1–2 – Court history or succession story of David.

(6) II Samuel 21–24 – Appendix concerning the reign of David.

Number (6) was inserted before the end of (5) as a dramatic summary of the rule of David. This had the effect of making the deathbed deliberations of David (now I Kings 1–2) an introduction to the reign of Solomon, and the division of the Deuteronomic history into separate books recognized this fact by beginning a new book with it.

The basic narrative tells how the monarchy arose and how the line of kings was maintained in early Israel (see *History). The thematic stresses make it abundantly clear, however, that the chief interest is not in giving an account for future historical reference. Annalistic materials are included in the narrative but the overriding concern of the book is to establish the national-religious significance of the monarchy for Israel. The shaping of the materials themselves and the location of the book within the vast Deuteronomic history as the record of one phase in the history of Israel from Moses to the Exile, indicate that the intent is to assess the national-religious benefits and perils in monarchy, under the curse and blessing of Israel's God. The narrative is finally shaped by a later historical context in which Israel has lost the independent monarchy and, therefore, reads the record of the rise of the monarchy with critical questions in mind: In what way was the monarchy a gift of God? In what way was the monarchy a rejection of God? Can we identify the junctures at which the divinely granted monarchy became an occasion for apostasy? How does God overrule human sin? If Israel is to survive and be renewed as a people, what must be learned from the ambivalent experience of monarchical government?

Within the overarching set of questions posed by the Deuteronomic final stage of Samuel, many proximate thematic emphases emerge in complex sequences and patterns. Among the teeming monarchic sub-themes are the following: the triumph of David's dynastic line over Saul's; the triumph of one of David's sons over his brothers (Solomon over Absalom and Adonijah); the subduing of the enemies of Israel by Saul and David (Philistines, Amalekites, Transjordanian peoples, Arameans); the reward of Jonathan's loyalty to David (in his treatment of Mephibosheth); the giving way of the institution of judgeship to that of monarchy (Samuel both prepares for and loses out to Saul and David); prophecy as support for, and critique of, the king (Nathan and Gad); the securing of the unity of north and south by the establishment of the capital in Jerusalem; the installation of the ark in Jerusalem and the preparation for building of the Temple; the replacement of the line of Eli by the Zadokite priesthood and its immediate rival Abiathar; the expiation of the sins of kings (and of their sons and officials): as punishment for Saul's murder of Gibeonites, famine and the death of seven of his sons; as punishment for David's murder of Uriah, the death of Bath-Sheba's firstborn, the rebellion of Absalom, and the king's passive acceptance of the curse of Shimei; for Amnon's rape of Tamar, his death; for Absalom's rebellion, his death; for David's census, a plague and the building of an altar on the site of the future temple; for Joab's murder of Abner and Amasa, his death.

These sub-themes are joined, on the one hand, in the Deuteronomic Exilic context with its searching existential theological questions about the survival of Israel. They are anchored, on the other, in the immediate historical contexts in which the various single units and sub-blocs of the book emerge. The materials in Samuel, therefore, require examination in the light of the whole range of their traditional-historical development, in terms of the reasons for the preservation and compilation of the traditions and their meaning at each stage of development. They must be seen as the product of the history of Israel's ideas, as a series of widening reflections on the history of this people – particularly of its royal leaders and institutions – extended over more than five centuries from approximately 1000 to 550 B.C.E.

The Basic Building Units

Samuel is not a simple homogeneous composition by a single author, although a single hand shaped its final form. In order to understand the composition of the book, it is necessary to characterize the main kinds of primary literary units employed in it.

NARRATIVES. The majority of the basic units in Samuel are narratives which typically display unity of character, time, and place and a number of compositional features such as fondness for dialogue (sometimes expanded into lengthy disquisitions), repetition of formulas (keywords and refrains), framing by means of similar beginnings and endings (so-called "envelope" or "ring" composition), foreshadowing and retrospection, retardation of action, stylized descriptions of scene and action, and a predilection for certain numbers (notably three and seven).

For the most part, the separate narratives can be distinguished by their highly circumstantial treatment of events. At times, however, the narrative is compressed and abstract, serving to sum up a series of actions of one type or to point forward to subsequent events. The more compressed and abstract narratives are usually signs of an attempt to link up the more episodic narratives. The extent to which the distinguishable narratives form coherent sequences is a critical consideration for determining the existence of pre-Deuteronomic sources in Samuel.

POEMS. Samuel contains poetic compositions which have been introduced into narratives as words attributed to characters in the story (I Sam. 2:1–10; 15:22–23; II Sam. 1:17–27; 3:33–34; 20:1; 22:1–51; 23:1–7). The fact that some of these same poetic pieces appear in other contexts (II Sam. 20:1 in I Kings 12:16; II Sam. 22 in Ps. 18) and are often very general in their references, raises the question in each instance as to whether the composition should indeed be attributed to the speaker or even to his period or circle. The laments over Saul and Jonathan and over Abner are usually attributed by modern scholars to David; the Song of Hannah is usually not attributed to Hannah. The Song of David and David's "last words" probably stem from royal psalmic circles but whether from the time of David, or from David himself, is in doubt. The source of the lament over Saul and Jonathan is said to have been the Book of Jashar (II Sam. 1:18).

ORACLES. Speeches from God in the form of instructions or pronouncements are fairly common in Samuel, sometimes addressed directly to a person (I Sam. 3:11–14; 8:7–9; 9:15–16; 15:10–11; II Sam. 7:4–7; 21:1; 24:11–12), but more often as a prophetic or cultic speech delivered to the addressee by a spokesman for God (I Sam. 2:27–36; 6:3–9; 8:10–18; 10:17–19; 12:6–17, 20–25; 17:45–47; II Sam. 7:3, 8–16; 12:7–14; 24:13). The private and public forms of the oracle are complexly related in some contexts in typical messenger style, the private oracle instructing God's spokesman concerning what he is to say publicly. For the most part the oracles appear as elements within narratives, but, on occasion, they constitute virtually the entire literary unit (e.g., I Sam. 12; II Sam. 7).

LISTS AND ANNALS. Frequently the narrative flow is broken by lists of persons, such as sons and officials of the king, or of foreign peoples and districts and cities in Israel. There are annals or annalistic summaries which catalog military or administrative actions. In their sharpest form the lists and annals stand as separate units (I Sam. 7:13–17; 14:47–52; II Sam. 3:2–5; 5:13–16; 8:15–18; 20:23–26; 21:15–22; 23:20–39). More often they are subordinated stylistically to the narrative or are themselves expanded by narrative detail (I Sam. 13:1–3; 22:2; 30:26–31; II Sam. 2:8–11; 5:4–5, 9, 17–25; 8:1–14; 12:26–31; 23:8–19; 24:5–9). The lists and annals read like materials drawn from official archives, sometimes expanded in a more popular narrative style. Literary devices for working the lists and annals into the narratives are numerous and intricate, as illustrated in II Samuel 23 where a list of the three mighty men of David and a list of the 30 mighty men of David have been worked together with annalistic expansions concerning the three and concerning two of the 30. An inaccurate total of mighty men for the present form of the text is given as 37 (II Sam. 23:39).

MISCELLANEOUS. Other types of basic literary units may be noted. A prayer by David occurs at a climactic point in II Samuel 7:18–29. On two occasions, accounts of alleged crimes requiring adjudication by the king are presented to David in order to serve as quasi-parables by which the king is tricked into condemning himself (II Sam. 12:1–6; 14:4–17). Popular proverbs or rulings are frequent on the lips of figures in the narratives (I Sam. 10:12; 18:7; 19:24; 21:11; 24:13; 29:5; 30:24–25; II Sam. 11:21; 20:18). Occasional explanatory remarks provide background information for understanding terms, situations, or practices which might otherwise be obscure to the reader (I Sam. 2:13–14; 9:9; 13:19–22; 28:3b; II Sam. 13:18; 18:18).

Pre-Deuteronomic Sources

It is widely agreed that the Book of Samuel received its finished form at the hands of the Deuteronomist, who constructed the great sequence of tradition down to Kings. However, the scope and details of the final composition and its relation to the preceding development of the contents are much disputed.

The question is whether the Deuteronomist simply compiled the separate units described above, supplying the necessary arrangement and links, or whether he made use of definite preexistent sub-blocs, or sources, so that his major contribution consisted in the articulation of the sources. Given that such sources existed, the question remains whether they can be delineated and whether they are at all related to the narrative sources which have been identified in Genesis through Numbers and perhaps also in Joshua and Judges (i.e., J and E sources). Another question is whether there was a pre-Deuteronomic edition of Samuel which the D compiler employed, expanding and deleting it in accordance with his purposes. In short, the problem is that of clarifying the process by which the distinguishable units of Samuel were linked up, either in stages or all at once, to form the extant edition.

At one extreme is the claim that the final compiler simply gathered totally separate narratives, poems, oracles, and other units and constructed his book. At the other extreme is the contention that the final compiler used a number of sources, each covering different parts of the story he wanted to tell. By arranging the sources consecutively or interweaving them, the impression of a continuous account was created.

The evidence for sizable pre-existent sources is cumulatively impressive. To be sure, the criteria for distinguishing these sources by their literary, historical, and ideological features cannot be applied with equally convincing results in all cases. Yet it is evident that Samuel is not simply a single compilation of random fragments. The materials cluster together in groupings and the constant features which link the units in the various clusters are not demonstrably Deuteronomic in origin.

Among the pre-Deuteronomic clusters which can be discerned in Samuel are the following:

(1) A story of the boyhood of Samuel (I Sam. 1–3) recites the birth and call of Samuel and the venality and prophesied doom of the priesthood of Eli.

(2) A story of the ark (I Sam. 4:1–7:2) recounts the capture of the ark, the deaths of Hophni, Phinehas, and Eli, the destruction which the captured ark visited on the Philistines, and the return of the ark, first to Beth-Shemesh and then to Kiriath-Jearim. II Samuel 6:1–15 is the logical continuation of this story which the compiler moved to its present position because 20 years had elapsed between the placing of the ark in Kiriath-Jearim and its transfer to Jerusalem by David. Possibly, the original nucleus of II Samuel, which seems to have anticipated how the ark would be placed in a temple, also belonged to the ark source.

(3) A story of Samuel and Saul and the rise of the monarchy associated with Mizpah and Ramah (I Sam. 7:3–12; 8:1–22; 10:17–27; 12:1–25; 15:1–35) is composed of units in which the oracles are dominant and in some cases almost crowd out narrative altogether. Samuel is the deliverer of the people from the Philistines, but, in his old age, the people call for a king rather than face the prospect of his corrupt sons becoming his successors. The kingship is condemned as contrary to God's will, and a description of the oppressive nature of kingship is supplied. Nevertheless, Saul is chosen as king by lot. Samuel gives a "farewell speech" affirming his just leadership, reviews the saving deeds of God in the past, and warns the people not to continue in the rebellion they have exhibited in demanding a king. Finally, when Saul fails to destroy all the Amalekites and their booty in accord with the sacred ban, his rejection by God is announced by Samuel. The farewell speech of chapter 12 is worked and expanded by the D compiler, but its essential structure belongs to the older source. The units 7:3–12 and 15:1–35 are not so clearly of the same source as the other units but there are substantial if not conclusive reasons for including them.

(4) A story of Samuel and Saul and the rise of the monarchy associated with Gilgal (I Sam. 9:1–10:16; 13:1–14:46) is composed of narratives in which the oracular elements are more terse and more effectively subordinated to the narrative than in the Mizpah-Ramah source. Saul is selected by Samuel to be king at the direct initiative of God, the sign of his efficacy as king being his inspired participation in the prophesying of a band of prophets. Samuel sends Saul to Gilgal where he is to wait for seven days for further directions. At Gilgal the Philistine threat mounts, and Saul offers the sacrifices to initiate the war. Samuel arrives to condemn him for this independent sacral action and to announce Saul's rejection as king. Saul's and Jonathan's successes against the Philistines are then related. I Samuel 31 may also belong to this source since it describes the death of Saul with dignity and compassion. Less certain is the inclusion of I Samuel 28 in which Saul's recourse to a medium at En-Dor to raise up the spirit of Samuel is sympathetically presented. The problem in the present form of the story is that it is linked with the Amalek story of I Samuel 15, which may be the compiler's editorial adjustment.

I Samuel 11 is frequently assigned to the Gilgal story, but it is an erratic bloc that does not fit smoothly into either story of the rise of the monarchy. Conceivably, 11:1–11 belonged to the Gilgal source and had as its aim the demonstration of Saul's inspired military prowess against the Ammonites preparatory to his attacks on the more powerful Philistines. However, 11:12–15 can only be understood as yet another version of how Saul was made king, this time at Gilgal. The disruption of the story line is only imperfectly dealt with by the harmonizing reference, "Let us go to Gilgal, and there renew the kingdom" (11:14).

The remaining materials in Samuel may best be approached by demarcating the most obvious source first and then working backward to the less easily demarcated sections.

(5) An expiatory court history or succession story of David (II Sam. 9–20; I Kings 1–2) consists of a series of beautifully proportioned episodes, expertly linked in a virtual novella (comparable to the Joseph story in Genesis), which focuses on the relation between David and his sons and specifically on the issue of which of David's sons will succeed him on the throne. The whole sequence is profoundly affected by the problem of David's expiation for his sin in murdering Uriah in order to possess Bath-Sheba. The death of Bath-Sheba's firstborn, the rape of Tamar and the death of Amnon, and the rebellion of Absalom and his death are connected with the initial sin of David. Joab's sin in killing Abner and Amasa is expiated by his death. The final sign that all David's wrongdoing has been adequately expiated is given in the raising of Solomon, his favorite son by Bath-Sheba, to the throne.

It is curious, however, that this superbly molded source lacks a clear beginning. II Samuel 9 is usually assigned as the start because it introduced Mephibosheth who is integral to the story later on, and II Samuel 10 is included because it accounts for the wars against Ammon in which Uriah perishes. However, II Samuel 9 is not an adequate starting point for the source. Either the beginning has been lost or it is to be found somewhere between I Samuel 16 and II Samuel 8. There are some clues in the court history that it may indeed have begun at an earlier point in David's life. In I Kings 2:5, David urges the death of Joab because he killed Abner, and Shimei's curse of David in II Samuel 16:8 says, "YHWH has avenged on you all the blood of the house of Saul," which seems to make David responsible in his eyes for either the deaths of Saul and Jonathan or the death of Ishbaal, or both. These references may be construed to demonstrate that the court history went back at least to the story of Ishbaal and Abner (II Sam. 3–4). Moreover, the common theme of making a claim to royal power by lying with the king's concubine appears not only in II Samuel 16:20–22 and I Kings 2:13–25 but also in II Samuel 3:6–11.

That parts of the court history may be present in sections of I Samuel 16–31 is hinted at by the way in which David's decision "to show kindness for the sake of Jonathan" to Mephibosheth alludes back to the covenant of David with Jonathan in I Samuel 18:1–4; 20:8, 14–17, 42. The story of David's acquisition of Abigail, wife of Nabal (I Sam. 25), is told in such a way as to constitute a dramatic foil to the manner in which he later acquired Bath-Sheba, wife of Uriah. So the possibility must be entertained that what is known as the court history is the culmination of a larger account of the public life of David which may have begun as early as II Samuel 2 and perhaps even as early as I Samuel 16. If this is the case, the early parts have been excerpted and lack the tight cohesion of II Samuel 9–20 and I Kings 1–2.

At this point it is necessary to consider the remaining materials in Samuel, extending from I Samuel 16 to II Samuel 8. The segment in I Samuel gives an account of the anointing of David as king, by Samuel, his introduction to the court of Saul, his victories over the Philistines, Saul's growing jealousy, David's flight and exile in the Negev both as a freebooter and as a client of Achish of Gath, his marriage to Abigail, and the stroke of fortune by which he was saved having to fight with the Philistines against Saul in the latter's mortal defeat. Typical of these stories is a large number of doublets which repeatedly disturb the continuity: two versions of David's coming to Saul's court, two accounts of David's escape from Saul, two descriptions of David's desertion to the Philistines, two episodes concerning David's sparing of the life of Saul, and two explanations of the death of Saul.

These doublets are commonly seen as reflections of two parallel sources which are in turn linked with the two accounts of the rise of the monarchy and frequently regarded as segments of the J and E sources of the Pentateuch. The case for seeing two continuous sources in I Samuel 16 through all or part of II Samuel is very insecure. The doublets when separated do not form two sources with anything like the cohesion of the two stories of the rise of the monarchy. If these materials were drawn from two continuous sources, they must have been drastically excerpted, and, if they formed the continuations of J and E, their reworking has been so extensive that their original forms are no longer discernible. It is possible, as noted above, that the court history did in fact once begin with the public emergence of David, but its unity prior to II Samuel 9 has been shattered by the D compiler in two primary ways: for the period prior to David's enthronement the court history version of events was extracted and worked in with many other accounts of the same events (largely drawn from the various locales where the actions took place), and for the period of the early reign of David it was worked in with lists and annals, as well as with the end of the ark story transferred to II Samuel 6–7.

The Deuteronomic Compiler

From the foregoing it may be concluded that the D compiler of Samuel had in hand the following major blocs of material: the story of the boyhood of Samuel, the story of the ark, the Mizpah-Ramah story of the rise of the monarchy, the Gilgal story of the rise of the monarchy, and the court history or succession story of David. In addition, he had access to court archives with lists and annals, some unattached poems and oracles, and a number of single (or paired) narratives concerning David which had not been drawn into any of the larger blocs.

There is no firm evidence that these preexistent materials had been arranged in parallel sources analogous to or a continuation of the pentateuchal sources. There is also no need to posit a pre-Deuteronomic linkage of the separate blocs in a larger composition. All the signs of editorial linkage can be explained either as the work of those who shaped each of the original blocs or as the work of the Deuteronomic compiler. Similarly, there is no basis for the claim that II Samuel 21–24 was added by a post-Deuteronomic editor.

The essential method of composition of the compiler was to arrange the blocs in approximate chronological order and then to make adjustments where necessary by transferring units from one place to another in order to produce a better chronology or to associate themes, or by interweaving two accounts of the same chain of events. Thus the conclusion of the ark story in II Samuel 6 (and perhaps the original II Sam. 7) was moved to the proper chronological spot at the beginning of David's reign in Jerusalem. The section of the Mizpah story of the rise of the monarchy that told of Samuel's military exploits (I Sam. 7:3–12) was separated from the rest of the source by a summary of the work of Samuel (I Sam. 7:13–17), and the Mizpah version of the rejection of Saul (I Sam. 15) was placed after a summary of the work of Saul (I Sam. 14:47–52). The two stories of the rise of the monarchy were joined by splicing the Gilgal version into the Mizpah version in an effort to make them continuous. Portions of the Gilgal story were put at later points in the account since they told of the latter days of Saul (I Sam. 28:1–25; 31:1–13).

Into the resulting basic framework composed of the joined, interwoven, and readjusted blocs, the compiler introduced lists, annals, poems, and single or paired narratives at appropriate points. I Samuel 11:12–15 supplied yet a third version of the enthronement of Saul. Several duplicate accounts concerning the early fortunes of David (including some from the probable beginning of the court history) were introduced into an account of David's rise to power, from I Samuel 16 on. Lists of David's officials and sons and annalistic accounts of his wars were inserted into the materials that told of his early reign at Hebron and Jerusalem (II Sam. 2–8).

An impression of unity was given to the resulting account by inserting annalistic summaries of the external and internal accomplishments of the chief leaders at crucial junctures in the overall story: of Samuel, in I Samuel 7:13–17; of Saul, in I Samuel 14:47–52; of David, in II Samuel 8 and again in II Samuel 20:23–26; 21:15–22; 23:8–39. It is noteworthy that in each instance the summary comes long before the leader described actually disappears from the story. These summaries are in fact alerting devices which indicate to the reader that a new phase of the story has been reached in which a different balance in the relationships among the principals is to be expected. After Samuel's "summary," he is important only as the one who prepares for Saul and David. After Saul's "summary," he is important only as the one who decreases as David increases in importance. After David's initial "summary," he is secure on his throne in Jerusalem, and the interest shifts to which of his sons will gain the succession; after David's final "summary," the stage is set for the entrance of Solomon as the new monarch.

Apart from these annalistic summaries, there are a few framework-like notes (in the manner of Judges and Kings) and a few harmonizing additions. By and large, the D compiler refrains from rewriting or inserting extensive interpretations of his own. I Samuel 12 and II Samuel 7 display the fullest rewriting or expansion on the part of D, and even there the extent of the D work is debated. The compiler was largely content to let the edited story speak for itself once it was placed within the comprehensive framework of Deuteronomy through Kings. The materials in II Samuel 21–24 which separate the end of the succession story (I Kings 1–2) from the main body (II Sam. 9–20) are arranged in a chiastic structure as follows:

A. Narrative of the expiation of Saul's murder of Gibeonites.

B. Annalistic report of the battles of David's heroes with Philistines.

C. Song of David.

C^{1}. Last words of David.

B^{1}. Annalistic report of battles with Philistines and lists of David's heroes.

A^{1}. Narrative of the expiation of David's census-taking.

The appendix should be read with the three pairs arranged in the order: C–C^{1}; B–B^{1}; A–A^{1}. The center of the supplement is the innermost pair of poems which extol the virtues of the king as military and judicial leader and which are grouped on formal analogy with the Song of Moses (Deut. 32) and the Blessing of Moses (Deut. 33). From this center the lines radiate outward, both forward and backward, through two paired layers of tradition: exploits of David's heroes, which portrays the king as military leader; and successful expiations of guilt, in one of which David satisfies God by delivering up members of the guilty family and in the other he himself submits humbly to the judgment of God. The resulting thematically radiating chiasm is an impressive dramatic summation which brings the story of David to its effective climax.

Historical and Religious Value

Samuel is a source of incalculable importance for the understanding of the circumstances of the rise and establishment of the monarchy in Israel and for a grasp of the various ethical-religious valuations placed upon that institution by ancient Israel. Clearly there is no simple homogeneous historical account in Samuel nor is there a single undifferentiated religious perspective. Yet there is ample evidence of a firsthand nature to reconstruct the main stages in the evolution from the tribal league to the monarchy and to discern the domestic and foreign policies through which Saul and David established and consolidated power. There is also ample indication of the struggle to understand the monarchy in terms of the religious ideology of Israel. The Mizpah and Gilgal stories of the rise of the monarchy and the oracle of II Samuel 7 are classical texts for this inquiry. The former assumption of scholars that all the pro-monarchical materials in Samuel are early and all the anti-monarchical materials are late (i.e., at least post-Solomonic) is now generally discarded. It is recognized that divergent attitudes toward the monarchy were present from earliest times and that, if anything, the anti-monarchical religious sentiments were more persuasive in the time of Saul than were the pro-monarchical religious sentiments.

Likewise, the D compiler is seen to entertain a highly ambivalent stance toward the monarchy. In fact he reads the whole history of Israel from Saul to the Exile in terms of the paradoxical reality that the God-given monarchs again and again violated the will of God but, thanks to the divine grace, the line of David was continued. D's reading of Israel's history in terms of the divine curse and the divine blessing incorporates the disparate blocs of material in Samuel in such a way that even the apparently "profane" court history of David appears as an instance of the conflict between disobedience and obedience and their active consequences in curse and blessing. The D compiler was able to give this effect largely by periodizing the separate blocs within the total framework of his ethical-theological interpretation of history (notably expressed in the programmatic prospectus of Deuteronomy and in the framework of Judges and Kings). While the developed schematic form of his evaluation can be distinguished from the earlier more naive or one-sided interpretations in his sources, it is evident that the early sources and the circles they stemmed from were already shaped by a troubling mixture of gratitude and praise for the kingship, on the one hand, and of misgiving and tormented conscience toward that same institution, on the other hand. To one degree or another, the historical and religious origins of the monarchy as preserved in Samuel attest the compiler's judgment: Israel's king is both the anointed of God and a man of bloodguilt.

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SAMUEL, EDWIN, **Second Viscount** (1898–1978), public administrator and writer. Samuel served in the British army in Palestine in World War I and on the staff of the Zionist Commission headed by Chaim Weizmann. He joined the British Colonial Service and was appointed a district officer in Palestine, where he was director of broadcasting during the last three years of the Mandate. In 1945 he established the nucleus of what later became Israel's Institute of Public Administration, of which he was principal. He divided his time between Britain and Israel, where he lectured on British institutions and political theory. He was the *Encyclopaedia Judaica* departmental editor for the State of Israel. He published a number of books, among them *Problems of Government in the State of Israel* (1956), *The Theory of Administration* (1947), and *The Social Structure of Israel* (1969). His memoirs, *A Life Time in Jerusalem*, were published in 1970. He also wrote short stories.

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[Vivian David Lipman and Daniel Efron]

SAMUEL, HAROLD (1879–1937), pianist and composer. Born in London, Samuel began his studies at the Royal College of Music at the age of 17, where he later became a professor. The course of his concert career was changed dramatically in 1921 when he appeared before the public in a series of six brilliant recitals, given within one week, in which he played all Bach's keyboard works from memory. He became most famous as an interpreter of J.S. Bach. Samuel frequently toured in the United States and other countries. Samuel's few compositions include music for *As You Like It* (1907), a comic opera, *The Hon'ble Phil*, songs, and piano pieces.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: NG, S.V.

[Israela Stein (2nd ed.)]

SAMUEL, HAROLD, **Baron Samuel of Wych Cross** (1912–1987), British property developer and art collector. A qualified property surveyor who was educated at Mill Hill school and at the College of Estate Management, in 1944 Samuel became chairman of Land Securities, which took over City Centre Properties and other companies, becoming the largest property company in the world. Samuel served as a member of the Covent Garden Market Authority from 1961 to 1974, which had the complex task of relocating the Central London fruit and vegetable market from its Covent Garden site to a new building at Nine Elms. He was active in other public work, including the presidency of the Central London Housing Trust for the Aged and vice presidency of the British Heart Foundation. He was knighted in 1963 and created a life peer in 1972. He was active in support for university education. He was also a noted art collector, bequeathing his collection, and his country house, Wych Cross Place in Sussex, to the Corporation of London. He was a cousin of the property developer and publisher Howard *Samuel.

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[Vivian David Lipman]

SAMUEL, HERBERT LOUIS, **First Viscount** (1870–1963), British statesman and philosopher. Born in Liverpool, the son of Edwin Samuel (elder brother of Samuel *Montagu, the first Lord Swaything), Samuel was raised in London, where his father, who died in 1876, became senior partner in the firm of Samuel and Montagu (later Samuel Montagu and Company), bullion brokers. He was educated at University College School and Balliol College, Oxford, of which he later became visitor. His Jewish background was Orthodox, but he was not a practicing Orthodox Jew, although he retained his membership in the New West End Synagogue in London throughout his life and in later years attended services on festivals and formal occasions. Although raised in a politically conservative home, by the age of 18 Samuel had become an active Liberal, standing for Parliament unsuccessfully in 1895 and 1900. Between graduation and becoming a member of Parliament, he played an active role in the transformation of the Liberals into a party with a program of constructive social reform.

Samuel entered Parliament in 1902 and, after the Liberal victory of 1906, held his first junior ministerial office in the Home Office, promoting the new Workmen's Compensation for Accidents Bill, the establishment of a probation system in England, and the Children's Act, popularly known as the "Children's Charter." Appointed a privy councilor in 1908, he became chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster, with a seat in the cabinet (the first held by a professing Jew) in 1909, postmaster general in 1910, and president of the local government board in 1914. In 1914 he was responsible for the absorption of 250,000 Belgian refugees, most of whom returned to Belgium at the end of the war. In 1915, when Prime Minister Herbert Asquith formed his coalition government, Samuel became postmaster general again, temporarily losing his seat in the cabinet; but early in 1916 he was promoted to home secretary. When Lloyd George succeeded Asquith as prime minister in 1916, however, Samuel remained loyal to Asquith and refused to serve in the new government.

Before 1914 Samuel had taken no part in Zionist activities because he did not regard them as practicable. On the day Great Britain declared war on Turkey, however, he broached the subject of Zionism and the establishment of a Jewish state in Palestine, first with D. *Lloyd George and later with the foreign secretary, Sir E. Grey, and found them most enthusiastic. Later he prepared a special memorandum on the subject, which he circulated among the members of the cabinet in January and March 1915. In his memorandum he advocated a British protectorate under which "facilities would be given to Jewish organizations to purchase land, to found colonies, to establish educational and religious institutions, and to cooperate in the economic development of the country, and that Jewish immigration, carefully regulated, would be given preference, so that in course of time the Jewish inhabitants, grown into a majority and settled in the land, may be conceded such degree of self-government as the conditions might justify." Palestine was a small country "the size of Wales" and, as such, it could not absorb all the Jews, but it could absorb some 3,000,000 people and thus bring some relief to Jews in Russia and elsewhere. But what was more important was the effect upon the Jewish people throughout the world. Therefore, "let a Jewish center be established in Palestine, let it achieve, as it may well achieve, some measure of spiritual and intellectual greatness, and insensibly the character of the individual Jew, wherever he might be, would be raised." Nothing came out of this proposal because of the opposition of Prime Minister Asquith. But in the field of practical politics, Samuel helped Chaim Weizmann, whom he first met in December 1914, in the work that ultimately led to the *Balfour Declaration.

As a result of his close connection with the policy of a Jewish National Home, Samuel was appointed the first high commissioner of Palestine (1920–25), thus being the first Jew to rule the Land of Israel in 2,000 years. His term of office can be roughly divided into two parts: from 1920 to 1922 when British policy was crystallized, and from 1922 to 1925. In the first period Transjordan was excluded from the area destined to become the Jewish National Home, and a new concept about immigration to the country was formulated, namely that of the "economic absorptive capacity." An advisory council consisting of ten British officials, four Muslims, three Christians, and three Jews was established, but it ceased functioning after two years because of Arab refusal to cooperate. As a capable administrator, Samuel laid the foundations of the country's civil administration. During his term of office the Jewish population doubled (from 55,000 in 1919 to 108,000 in 1925), extensive Jewish settlement was carried out, and the number of settlements rose from 44 to 100. Official recognition was given to Jewish representative bodies, local councils were organized, and the chief rabbinate was established. Great improvements were carried through in the legal and judicial system, and education, sanitation, and communications were much improved. The Hebrew language was recognized as one of the three official languages of the country. However, Samuel's efforts to appease Arab anti-Zionism by appointing the young extremist Hajj Amin al-*Husseini as Mufti of Jerusalem, thus investing him with the highest Muslim authority in Palestine, and by stopping, and later restricting, Jewish immigration under Arab pressure, were severely criticized by many Zionists. The sharpest critic of Samuel's policy was Vladimir *Jabotinsky, but also in the Zionist labor movement, and the *yishuv* in general, Samuel's policy eventually caused deep disappointment.

Samuel's interest in the National Home and the development in the Jewish community never diminished. In 1936 he became the chairman of the board of the Palestine Electric Corporation. He was also a constant supporter of The Hebrew University and member of its board of governors. He fought against the anti-Zionist policy adopted in the 1939 White Paper, and after World War II he also attacked the anti-Zionist policy of the British foreign secretary, Ernest *Bevin.

Samuel returned to Liberal politics in England and reentered the House of Commons in 1928. By this time, however, the Liberals were no longer one of the two major parties, having been superseded by the Labour Party. During the government crisis of 1931 he was one of those who advised the king to form a national government to be led by Ramsay MacDonald. In this government he was home secretary, until he resigned over policy differences in 1932. He never held office again, though Neville Chamberlain did invite him to join his government in 1938. He had been knighted in 1920 and in 1937 was made a viscount. He led the Liberal Party in the House of Lords from 1944 to 1955. In 1958 he received the distinction of the Order of Merit to mark 50 years as a privy councilor.

Samuel also wrote considerably on philosophy, succeeding Lord Balfour as president of the British Institute of Philosophy. In his works he mainly developed the ideas of the liberal philosophy. Among his philosophical works are *Liberalism* (1902), *Practical Ethics* (1935), *Belief and Action, an Everyday Philosophy* (1937, 1953^3), *Creative Man* (1949), *Essays in Physics* (1951), and *In Search of Reality* (1957). He played a leading role in the movement to aid German refugees, visiting the United States and various European countries to raise funds and working for the admission of German Jewish children to Britain before World War II broke out. He also played a leading role on important Anglo-Jewish occasions, presiding in 1956 over the Tercentenary of Jewish Resettlement in England. As a minister Samuel was immensely diligent, lucid, and competent, rather than a brilliant front-rank politician. In later life his clarity of expression, aided by his superbly mellow voice, won him wide popularity as a broadcaster. In his last years his integrity and balanced judgment made him perhaps the most respected of British elder statesmen. In 1945 Samuel published his *Memoirs*. Samuel's career lasted for an extraordinarily long period of time. As an undergraduate he met William E. Gladstone; the last entry in his diary concerns the Cuban missile crisis of 1962. He was possibly the leading example of the spirit of "meliorism," the widespread belief long held by many acculturated British Jews that they lived in a country inevitably evolving towards liberalism and tolerance, although Samuel, unlike many of his background, was also a leading Zionist. Bermard Wasserstein's *Herbert Samuel: A Political Life* (1992) is the standard biography. His son was Edwin, Second Viscount *Samuel.

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[Vivian David Lipman and Daniel Efron]

SAMUEL, HOWARD (1914–1961), British property developer and Labour publisher. Born in London, the son of a prominent jeweler, Howard Samuel was the cousin of the property developer Harold *Samuel, Baron Samuel of Wych Cross. Howard Samuel was educated at St. Paul's School and founded his own estate agency with his brother Basil. After 1945 Samuel's firm, Land Securities, emerged as Britain's largest property developer and estate agent. The holding company Samuel formed, Great Portland Estates Ltd., also became nationally known. Although one of the richest men in the country, Samuel was a strong supporter of the Labour Party and was actively involved in financing the left-wing periodicals *Tribune* and the *New Statesman*. He was also a close friend of the radical Labour leader Aneurin Bevan. Samuel died in Greece of a heart attack at the age of only 48, leaving a fortune of £3.8 million, making him probably one of the twenty richest men in Britain at the time.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: ODNB online; O. Marriott, *The Property Boom* (1967).

[William D. Rubinstein (2nd ed.)]

SAMUEL, MAURICE (1895–1972), U.S. author and translator. Born in Macin, *Romania, Samuel spent his boyhood in Manchester, England, migrating to the U.S. in 1914. At home in both Jewish and Anglo-American culture, he tried to maintain an equilibrium between them, but before long saw dangers in this bicultural experience. In provocative volumes beginning with *You Gentiles* (1924) and *I, the Jew* (1927), and continuing with *Jews on Approval* (1931), *The Great Hatred* (1941), and *The Gentleman and the Jew* (1950), he came to the conclusion that Jewish and gentile approaches to ultimate questions were antithetical. Antisemitism was not a Jewish problem, but an affliction of the gentiles to which Jews had to accustom themselves. It was "the great hatred" in the amoral pagan soul in Western man for the Jewish-Christian jailer who had bound it with fetters of moral law. Samuel also contrasted the Jewish with the gentile ideal of man. During the years between the Balfour Declaration of 1917 and the establishment of the Jewish state in 1948, Samuel was a most influential and popular exponent of Zionist ideology. Having spent ten years in Ereẓ Israel, he believed that the Jews would succeed in building a moral commonwealth and gave expression to his faith in *Harvest in the Desert* (1944), calling upon American Jews to assist this venture on their ancient soil. In *Level Sunlight* (1953) Samuel reiterated his faith in the messianic aspects of Zionism, maintaining that the objective of classical Zionism went beyond the mere building of a state. It included the regeneration of the Jewish people in all lands with the help of the Jewish center in Israel, and in this process American Jewry had a vital part to play. Samuel also wrote fiction, including the novels, *Beyond Woman* (1934); *Web of Lucifer* (1947); *The Devil That Failed* (1952); and *The Second Crucifixion* (1960), the story of a Jewish girl in Hadrian's Rome. Among other works of Jewish interest are *On the Rim of the Wilderness* (1931), a study of the Palestine Arabs and the Zionist movement; *The World of Sholom Aleichem* (1943); *Prince of the Ghetto* (1948), on I.L. *Peretz; *Certain People of the Book* (1955), studies of biblical figures and biblical morality; *Little Did I Know* (1963), recollections and reflections on the worthwhileness of being a Jew; *Blood Accusation* (1966), a reexamination of the notorious *Beilis trial; *Light on Israel* (1968); and *In Praise of Yiddish*. Samuel translated novels by Sholem *Asch and Isaac Bashevis *Singer; *Bialik's *Selected Poems* (1926); the Passover *Haggadah* (1942); and works by Peretz and Shemaryahu *Levin. In *The Professor and the Fossil* (1956) he wittily and effectively answered Arnold J. Toynbee's treatment of the Jews in his *Study of History* (1934–54). A brilliant orator and conversationalist, he reached a wide audience through his broadcast discussions on biblical topics with the poet and critic Mark van Doren.

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[Sol Liptzin]

SAMUEL, RALPH E. (1892–1967), U.S. investment banker. Born in Rochester, New York, Samuel joined the family business and served as president of this retail chain until 1932. He then became a partner in a Wall Street brokerage firm, and in 1938 organized and headed his own firm. In 1954 he started one of the first mutual funds in the United States. From the beginning of his career he took an interest in Jewish and general community work. He was a voluntary fund raiser for the Federation of Jewish Philanthropies and served as its president from 1948 to 1951. He was a vice president and chairman of the board of the American Jewish Committee and instrumental in founding its publication, *Commentary.* His other activities included the chairmanship of the American-Jewish Tercentenary Committee (1954–55), and the vice chairmanship of the Board of Trustees of the New York School of Social Work at Columbia University. Despite his conservative financial views and approaches toward business, he supported liberal Democrats such as Franklin D. Roosevelt and Adlai E. Stevenson. He died during a visit to Israel.

[Joachim O. Ronall]

SAMUEL, RAPHAEL (1934–1996), British historian. Samuel was born in London. His father was a solicitor and his mother, Minna (Nerenstein, 1909–1999), was both a left-wing activist and a composer of note, who wrote under the name of Minna Keal. Samuel's interest in history was aroused by his uncle, the well-known historian of Jewish socialism CHIMEN ABRAMSKY (1917–), who was professor of Jewish studies at University College, London. Samuel was educated at Oxford, where he became a dedicated Communist, abandoning his party membership after Khrushchev's famous speech of 1956 detailing Stalin's crimes. Samuel was one of the founders of the *Universities and Left Review,* which, after 1960, became known as the *New Left Review* and was one of the main organs of Britain's intellectual "new left." His academic career was rather unorthodox: he spent almost all of his career as a tutor at Ruskin College, Oxford, a working-man's institution funded by the trade unions, although he was briefly a professor at the University of East London shortly before his death. Samuel originated the "history workshops," and, in 1976, was one of the founders of *History Workshop Journal.* His best-known works include *Village Life and Labour* (1975), an edited three-volume work, *Patriotism* (1989), and *Theatres of Memory* (1996). Samuel's theatrical style of lecturing made him a charismatic figure on the British left and added greatly to his important impact. His autobiographical essay, "The Lost World of British Communism" (*New Left Review,* 154 (1985) and 156 (1987)) sheds much light on the appeal of Communism to some British Jews.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: ODNB online.

[William D. Rubinstein (2nd ed.)]

SAMUEL, SIR SAUL (1820–1900), Australian politician and communal figure. Born in London, Samuel emigrated to Australia with his widowed mother in 1832 to join her brother, a successful Sydney merchant. Samuel became a leading merchant in Sydney and Bathurst and a large-scale pastoralist on the Macquarie River. In 1846 he became the first Jew to be appointed a justice of the peace in Australia. From 1851 he was involved in the search for gold in Victoria. In 1854 he was appointed a member of the Legislative Council of New South Wales, and in 1859 became New South Wales' first elected Jewish member of Parliament. When first taking his seat, he stated that he was happy that no difficulties existed in New South Wales regarding his taking the oath, since it was only one of allegiance and not based, as in England, "upon an exclusive and sectarian prejudice." Samuel sat in Parliament for over 20 years and held numerous ministerial posts. He was three times colonial treasurer and was responsible for the financial arrangements for separating Queensland from the parent colony of New South Wales. As postmaster general he negotiated a postal service to Great Britain in 1872, and as agent-general of New South Wales in London from 1880 was responsible for loans running into millions of pounds. He was knighted in 1882 and created a baronet in 1898. Samuel was a director of numerous companies, especially in mining and insurance. He was prominent in Jewish communal affairs as president of the Sydney Great Synagogue and was active in Jewish education. After 1880 he lived chiefly in London, dying at his South Kensington home.

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[Israel Porush / William D. Rubinstein (2nd ed.)]

SAMUEL, SIGMUND (1867–1962), Canadian industrialist, philanthropist, patron of the arts. Samuel was born in Toronto to Lewis and Bavarian-born Kate, who emigrated to Canada from England in 1855. Sigmund's father, Lewis, and his brother Mark began a successful hardware and scrap metal business that grew into a major steel production enterprise, raising the Samuel family to the first rank of Canada's early industrialists. Unlike some other early Canadian industrialists of Jewish heritage, the Samuel family retained a connection to their traditional roots. Members of the family were founding members of the then Orthodox Holy Blossom Congregation in its new quarters on Richmond Street, where Sigmund was first called to the Torah. Sigmund attended the elite Upper Canada College and the Toronto Model School. Reflecting the Toronto of his day, he notes in his autobiography that, even as a wealthy and acculturated industrialist with entrée to the best social circles, he was subject to antisemitism.

As a young man Samuel entered the family business and helped expand its operations, including the purchase of Algoma Steel in Sault St. Marie, Ontario. In 1930, with Samuel at the helm, the firm was a major producer of hardware items of every type, including steel tubing, pig iron, and flat sheets of steel. Samuel continued to lead the firm until his death, when it was taken over by his grandson, Ernest L. Samuel.

Samuel's legacy is enshrined in two key Toronto institutions. A keen supporter of the arts, he bequeathed money to the Royal Ontario Museum for its Canadiana Gallery of Art (formerly the Sigmund Samuel Collection). In 1954 he also gave the University of Toronto money to build a library for the humanities. Dubbed "Sig Sam" by subsequent generations of University of Toronto students, the library remains a fixture on the university's King's College Circle.

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[Frank Bialystok (2nd ed.)]

SAMUEL, SYDNEY MONTAGU (1848–1884), British journalist. Born in London and educated at London University, a nephew of the first Baron Swaythling, Samuel was active in Jewish social welfare work. A prolific writer, he ranged from poetry to finance and wrote an annual financial survey for the *Times*. In 1878 he acquired part ownership of the *Jewish Chronicle* and wrote for that paper on many subjects. His series of travel articles was published as a book, *Jewish Life in the East* (1881). He was also active in the theater and wrote a comedy, *A Quiet Pipe* (1880). Samuel was a merchant banker in the City of London, dying, it is said, of overwork, at the age of 36.

SAMUEL, WILFRED SAMPSON (1886–1958), British businessman and historian. Born in London, the son of a steel pen manufacturer who died soon after his birth, Samuel was educated in Belgium and Germany. In 1904, with several of his cousins who had been piano manufacturers, he founded the Decca gramophone and record company in London. Samuel served as an officer in World War I. He and his cousins developed Decca into one of the largest recording companies in the world. He then engaged in research on the history of the Sephardi community in London, which resulted in his *The First*

London Synagogue of the Resettlement (1924), placing the story of the beginnings of the London community on a new basis. He subsequently published many papers on the period, and on the history of the Jews in the West Indies, mainly in the *Transactions of the Jewish Historical Society of England*. With Cecil *Roth he founded the Jewish Museum in London in 1932, of which he was chairman until his death. His cousin FRANK SAMUEL (1889–1954), the son of a piano manufacturer, was educated at Clifton and was also one of the founders of Decca. In 1928 he sold his interest in the company at the peak of the boom and, a few years later, became managing director of the United Africa Company, a commodity trading subsidiary of Unilever. Although generally very successful in this venture, he is best remembered for the ill-considered Tanganyika "groundnuts scheme" of 1946–51. Samuel was, nevertheless, a leading figure in the economic development of east Africa. Wilfred's son EDGAR SAMUEL (1929–), who was educated at Clifton and London University, is one of the best-known historians of the early modern period of Jewish, especially Sephardi, settlement in England. He served as director of the Jewish Museum in 1993–95 and was president of the Jewish Historical Society of England in 1988–90. Many of his essays were collected in his *At the Ends of the Earth: Essays on the History of the Jews in England and Portugal* (2004).

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[Cecil Roth / William D. Rubinstein (2nd ed.)]

SAMUEL BEN ALI (**Samuel ha-Levi ben al-Dastur** – "the Aristocrat"; d. 1194), one of the *geonim* of the post-geonic period (which lasted for about 200 years after the geonic period proper). He was the most prominent and important of the 12th-century Babylonian scholars, and the only one of the neo-geonic period whose written work has survived. Samuel was head of the academy in Baghdad for about 30 years. He was also the recognized leader of the neighboring countries, according to the statement of the traveler, Pethahiah of Regensburg: "In the whole of Assyria, in Damascus, in the towns of Persia and Media and in Babylon, they have no *dayyan* except one assigned by Samuel, head of the academy, and he appoints judges and teachers in every town" (ed. by L. Greenhut (1905), 10). Both Benjamin of Tudela and Pethahiah describe in the diaries of their travels the manner of Samuel's influence and his conduct of the academy, which resembled to a certain degree the customs of both the *geonim* and of the exilarchs. Samuel is chiefly known for his polemics with Maimonides both on halakhic matters and on Maimonides' attitude to the resurrection of the dead (*Ma'amar TeḤiyyat ha-Metim*, in: *Kovez Teshuvot ha-Rambam* (1859) pt. 2, 8dff.). Samuel wrote glosses to the *Mishneh Torah* of Maimonides, who replied in a letter to his pupil in Baghdad, Joseph b. Judah (*She'elot u-Teshuvot ha-Rambam*, ed. by J. Blau, 3 (1961), 142 no. 464). In addition to his well-known responsum on the subject of traveling on rivers on the Sabbath (*ibid.*, 2 (1960), 570 no. 309), several of his responsa have been published by Poznański (responsum to Moses of Kiev, a pupil of Jacob Tam; see bibl., 53–56), Aptowitzer (on the minutest quantum of *Ḥamez*), and Mann (a responsum of 1166; HḤY, 6 (1922), 104ff. A large and important collection of letters by Samuel and his contemporaries was published by Assaf in *Tarbiz*, Year I (1930).

Samuel had one daughter who was well versed in the Bible and the Talmud, and she taught Bible through a window of the building in which she sat, the pupils outside below unable to see her (Pethahiah, p. 9f.). There is also a reference to his two sons-in-law, Zechariah b. Berachel of Aleppo, "the *av bet din* of the yeshivah" (letter of Samuel, in: *Tarbiz* 1, no. 2 (1930), 61), who was greatly praised by his father-in-law, and "his beloved son-in-law and pupil… head of the academy, Azariah (Eleazar ha-Bavli, *Diwan*, ed. by H. Brody (1935), no. 10, p. 13). Some (S. Assaf) think that Azariah is a copyist's error (though it occurs twice) for Zechariah, while others hold that Samuel had two daughters married to these two scholars. A third view is that his only daughter was betrothed to Azariah, who died before the marriage, and that she subsequently married Zechariah. There is no sufficient basis to the statement that the daughter died the same day as her father, although it is possible that Azariah died the same day as Samuel.

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[Samuel Abba Horodezky]

SAMUEL BEN AVIGDOR (1720–1793), Lithuanian rabbi. Samuel b. Avigdor was Vilna's last official rabbi. His father, Avigdor b. Samuel (d. 1771) was nicknamed *Ḥarif* ("the sharp one"). Between 1719 and 1746 he served as rabbi of Pruzhany, Zelwa, Volkovysk, and Ruzhany. His approbations are found in many works. He is mentioned in responsa in *Mekom Shemu'el* (Altona, 1738) and *Givat Sha'ul* (Zolkiew, 1774). In his old age he lived with his son.

Samuel was at first a merchant who contracted several business agreements with the Vilna community (1745), but was appointed rabbi of Vilna in 1750, succeeding his influential father-in-law, Judah b. Eliezer (known as *Yesod*). Later Samuel was also appointed rabbi of *Smorgon. As a result of complaints against him that he intended to dominate the community by the infiltration of members of his family into the communal organizations of Vilna, in 1777 the community decided to oust him from the rabbinate. The civil government also intervened in the ensuing battle. That year a temporary compromise was reached whereby the rabbi obtained several posts for the members of his family, he in his turn relinquishing several of his financial demands, but the furore broke out again in 1782. The dispute was brought before several courts, both Jewish and gentile. The resolution of the community on the dismissal of the rabbi from his post that was finally adopted in 1785 was endorsed by the civil court in 1787. In the second stage of the dispute (1782–91), Samuel was supported by merchants and artisans in the town, who represented a new power in the community and demanded that the community alleviate their situation and associate them in the conduct of its affairs. One of the chief opponents of the domination of Vilna by the wealthy was Simeon b. Ze'ev Wolf, who did not refrain even from false allegations and calumny. Although all the reforms were not achieved, some of them were implemented. In the end neither side won a clear victory, but, as a result of the controversy, no one was thereafter officially appointed rabbi of Vilna. Samuel was an opponent of Ḥasidism and was among the first signatories of the Vilna excommunication of Ḥasidim in 1772. Samuel published no writings (his novellae, in pilpulistic style, and *Hadrat Zekenim*, his novellae on the entire Talmud, are still in manuscript), but he is mentioned with great reverence in rabbinic literature.

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[Yehoshua Horowitz]

SAMUEL BEN AZARIAH (13th century), *exilarch in *Baghdad. Samuel b. Azariah was the grandson of *Samuel, the exilarch of Baghdad, and the last exilarch under the *Abbasid dynasty. During the period of his office the *Mongols conquered Baghdad (1258). He retained his position under their rule and was even appointed as adviser to Īl-Khan Hulagu, the Mongolian ruler who conquered Baghdad. It is not known until when Samuel remained in office.

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[Abraham David]

SAMUEL BEN DANIEL ABU RABĪʿA HA-KOHEN (13th century), last *gaon* of *Baghdad, succeeding his father R. Daniel Abu Rabīa. Samuel wrote two letters in 1288 on the controversy over the ban (*ḥerem*) on *Maimonides' *Moreh Nevukhim*. In one of the letters, sent to R. *David Maimuni ha-Nagid and the rabbis of Acre, Samuel states that he has issued a ban against R. Solomon b. Samuel Petit, Maimonides' bitter opponent.

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SAMUEL BEN DAVID (known from his acronym as **Rashbad**; 12th century), Provençal commentator, *posek*, and preacher. Samuel was born in Narbonne and studied under Moses b. Joseph, head of its yeshivah. He later moved to Lunel where he became a member of the group of scholars known as *Ḥavurat Lunel* ("company of Lunel"). He then went to Montpellier where he served as rabbi. Samuel wrote a commentary to the Talmud, but only fragmentary quotations from the orders *Mo'ed, Nashim*, and *Nezikin*, and the tractate *Berakhot*, have survived in the works of Provençal scholars. It therefore seems that his commentary embraced at least these three orders, together with those tractates whose laws are of practical application. In his commentary Samuel mostly follows the Provençal traditions, and, like his teacher, aimed at arriving at the definitive *halakhah*. Samuel was also the author of a book of sermons mentioned by Judah *Lattes. Among his pupils was *Asher of Lunel, author of *Sefer ha-Minhagot*. The high esteem his contemporaries held him in is demonstrated by *Abraham b. David of Posquières. Samuel doubted the ritual fitness of the *mikveh* of the head of the Montpellier community that had been constructed according to the *mikveh* built by Abraham b. David for himself. Abraham b. David adduced a number of arguments to prove the correctness of his views, and he ended his responsum with the words: "and now tell the scholar [Samuel] not to be angry, nor to be jealous because his view has been challenged and his reasoning confuted, for this is one of the matters left to us [by heaven] whereby we may distinguish ourselves." Samuel's influence prevailed in Provence for many generations.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: B.Z. Benedikt, in: KS, 27 (1951), 237–48; idem, *R. Samuel, Rabbi of Montpellier* (Ms.); I. Sonne, in: KS, 28 (1952), 416; J. Twersky, *Rabad of Posquières* (1962), index.

[Binyamin Zeev Benedikt]

SAMUEL BEN DAVID (d. 1673), *Karaite traveler. Samuel set out in 1641 from *Yevpatoriya in the Crimea, journeyed via *Istanbul and *Egypt to Ereẓ Israel, and returned home through *Syria. The account he left of his travels contains valuable information on the Karaite communities in the Near East, as well as his own impressions of the countries and peoples visited. Samuel's account was published by J. Gurland in his *Ginzei Yisrael* (1865) and in A. Yaari's *Masot Ereẓ Yisrael* (1946), 221ff.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Mann, Texts, 2 (1935), 721.

[Leon Nemoy]

SAMUEL BEN DAVID MOSES HA-LEVI (1625?–1681), Polish rabbi. Samuel was born in Poland and studied under *David b. Samuel ha-Levi and Shabbetai *Horowitz. He lived at first in Mezhirech in the district of Poznan. When Mezhirech was destroyed by Czarniecki in 1656, Samuel escaped to Halberstadt, where for three years he lived in great poverty and was assisted by a number of friends he made there. From Halberstadt he went to another town (whose name he refrained from mentioning because of the suffering caused him by its inhabitants), and remained there for a year and a half. In 1660 he was appointed regional chief rabbi of Bamberg, but since the authorities would not permit the rabbi of Bamberg to live in the town itself, his seat was at Zeckendorf, a village about two hours' journey from Bamberg. Samuel based his rulings almost exclusively upon the *halakhah*, without regard to the local customs which originated with the scholars of Germany. As a result, he aroused the opposition of the rabbis and laymen of the district and was compelled to leave Bamberg in 1665. For a time he was without a post, until he was appointed rabbi of Kleinsteinbach, where he remained until his death.

Samuel's fame rests upon his *Naḥalat Shivah*, which he finished in 1664 and the publication of which he personally supervised (Amsterdam, 1667). In 49 sections he deals with the formula of legal deeds of every kind, both in matrimonial and civil law, and clarifies all the relevant laws in accordance with the earlier and later *posekim*. Toward the end of his life Samuel succeeded in publishing the *Mahadura Batra* ["second edition"] *le-Sefer NaḤalat Shivah* (Frankfurt, 1681), which includes corrections and additions, as well as replies to the strictures upon it which appeared after its first publication, especially those of Jair Ḥayyim *Bacharach in his *Ḥut ha-Shani* and those of Aaron Samuel *Koidanover. *Naḥalat Shivah* became very popular among rabbis because of its practical value in the drawing up of documents, particularly *gittin, ketubbot*, and the like. After Samuel's death, his son Abraham republished the book in Fuerth in 1692, adding a second part containing 85 of his own responsa as well as others, including those of Aaron Samuel Koidanover. The importance of the work is evidenced by its frequent reprinting: Frankfurt, 1694; Fuerth, 1724, 1739, 1784: Russia, 1818; Lemberg, 1874, et al.; and as late as 1962 in Jerusalem.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Aaron Samuel Koidanover, *Emunat Shemu'el* (Frankfurt, 1683); Jair Ḥayyim Bacharach, *Ḥut ha-Shani* (*ibid.*, 1679); idem, *Ḥavvot Ya'ir* (*ibid.*, 1699), introduction and section no. 1; Ḥ.N. Dembitzer, *Kelilat Yofi* (1888), 58b; A. Eckstein, *Geschichte der Juden im ehemaligen Fuerstbistum Bamberg* (1898), 160.

[Shlomo Tal]

SAMUEL BEN ELIEZER OF KALWARIA (mid-18th century), preacher and kabbalist. His only extant book is a homiletical work, *Darkhei No'am*, printed in Koenigsberg in 1764 and probably written before 1760. Among the *haskamot* (recommendations) in the foreword to the work is one by the Gaon of Vilna. It is a homiletical exposition of Lurianic Kabbalah, in the form of an interpretation of the *aggadot* of Rabbah b. Bar Ḥana in the Talmud, which he explains by the four methods of *pardes. The book contains some calculations as to the time of the redemption, and it appears that Samuel expected it to begin in the year 1781. Some of his moralistic admonitions seem to be directed against the early groups of the Ḥasidim, which proves that such ḥasidic groups existed in Lithuania before the death of *Israel b. Eliezer Ba'al Shem Tov in 1760.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: I. Tishby, in: *Zion*, 32 (1967), 16–24.

SAMUEL BEN HANANIAH (12th century), **nagid* of Egyptian Jewry. Samuel, who was known by the Arabs as Abu Manṣūr, was descended from a family of scholars. He himself was well versed in Jewish learning. Like his father, he was a physician and was one of the physicians in the court of the *Fatimid caliphs. In 1134, when Caliph al-Ḥāfiẓ requested that he prepare a poison for his son Ḥasan, he refused; a Christian physician agreed to do so. Later, the caliph regretted his action, the Christian physician was put to death, and Samuel was appointed chief court physician. The documents found in the Cairo **Genizah* which mention Samuel as *nagid* are dated between 1142 and 1159. When the poet *Judah Halevi arrived in *Alexandria, Samuel invited him to *Cairo. Judah Halevi then became friendly with him and praised him in several poems. Samuel was supplanted for a short time by *Zuta.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Mann, Egypt, index; Mann, Texts, index; Abramson, in: KS, 29 (1953/54), 133–44; M. Margalioth, *Hilkhot ha-Nagid* (1962), 68–73; Scheiber, in: *Tarbiz*, 36 (1966/67), 156–7.

[Eliyahu Ashtor]

SAMUEL BEN HOPHNI (d. 1013), *gaon* of *Sura; he was a descendant of scholars of the *Pumbedita academy, his grandfather *Kohen Ẓedek was *gaon* of Pumbedita, as was his uncle Nehemiah. His father held the post of *av bet din* at the same academy. Samuel was not appointed to the Pumbedita academy, but became the *gaon* of the Sura academy about the year 997. *Hai, the noted *gaon* of Pumbedita, was his son-in-law.

Samuel was one of the most prolific writers of the geonic period. The scope and pattern of his literary activity followed closely the creations of *Saadiah, his great predecessor in office. His literary works, however, did not share the good fortune of Saadiah's; the greater part of his works is no longer extant and is known mainly through book lists, quotations by subsequent scholars, and other indirect references. But significant fragments are slowly coming to light out of the *Genizah. The works of Samuel range over the following central themes: responsa and talmudic treatises, biblical exegesis, philosophy, theology, and polemical writings.

Samuel possessed an orderly, analytical mind which is reflected in both his talmudic and exegetical works. He shows a special predilection for systematic, numbered classification of subjects under discussion. He was the first to write an introduction to the Talmud, summarizing and classifying its basic principles. This work is mentioned by early scholars and is currently being recovered from the *Genizah*. *Samuel ha-Nagid made use of this work in his *Mavo la-Talmud*. He also wrote a book of precepts – on the commandments. Some 15 other works on various subjects are known; fragments of some of them have been published. Samuel translated and wrote a commentary on the Pentateuch in Arabic. Scholars differ as to whether it covered the whole Pentateuch or merely completed the work begun by Saadiah and *Aaron ibn Sargado (*Gaon* of Pumbedita). The translation and commentary of the last three portions of Genesis (ch. 41–50) were published in Arabic by I. Israelsohn (1886). Other scattered verses of the commentary have been published in various periodicals. His commentary was used widely by authors of note such as Abraham *Ibn Ezra, *Abraham b. Moses b. Maimon and *Baḥya b. Asher. The author of the *Midrash ha-Gadol also made use of his work.

In the Bible commentary he employs the above-mentioned method of classification in elaborating on concepts, on meaning of individual words, and on implied talmudic principles. This frequently led him to digressions far from the subject under immediate discussion. His commentary is basically rooted in talmudic-midrashic tradition. At times he offers explanations different from those mentioned in the above sources. Grammatical treatment of words is infrequent, nor does he show acquaintance with the triliteral theory of Hebrew stems advanced by his contemporary Judah ibn Ḥayyuj. Jonah *Ibn Janaḥ in the 11th century refers to him as a commentator of *peshat* ("literal exegesis").

Of his philosophical works, one is known through references by later authors. He was apparently well acquainted with the classical philosophic writings, and was basically a rationalist. In one connection, his son-in-law Hai speaks disparagingly of him for this reason. Maimonides and his son Abraham refer to his philosophic concepts in support of their own ideas. Samuel makes use of the ideas of the philosophers in his Bible commentary, though he does not quote them directly. There is some uncertainty as to whether Samuel wrote a specific polemical work against the heretics of his time. His books, however, contain direct and indirect refutation of the arguments advanced by numerous skeptical or atheistic groups.

According to revised opinions based on *Genizah* sources, Samuel died in the year 1013. He was not the last *Gaon* of Sura, as has been assumed, being succeeded by Dosa son of Saadiah. Following Dosa's death in 1017, Samuel's own son Israel succeeded to the gaonate, and even after his death in 1034, the Sura academy continued to function. The bibliography of his published works and letters was edited by A. David in the preface to the book *Me'assef Nidaḥim* by A.E. Harkavy (1970), a great part of which was dedicated to Samuel b. Hophni.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: A. Harkavy, *Zikkaron la-Rishonim*, 1 pt. 3 (1880); Mann, Texts, index, s.v.; idem, in: HUCA *Jubilee Volume* (1925), 233–4; S. Assaf, *Tekufat ha-Ge'onim ve-Sifrutah* (1955), 194–7; idem, in: *Tarbiz*, 18 (1946/47), 28–33; A. Greenbaum, in: *L. Jung Jubilee Volume* (1962), 215–39 (Heb. pt.); Bacher, in: REJ, 15 (1887), 277–88; 16 (1888), 106–23; Abramson, in: *Tarbiz*, 17 (1945/46), 138–64; 18 (1946/47), 34–45; M. Zucker, *Al Targum Rav Saadiah Gaon la-Torah* (1959), 22–29; idem, in: *Abraham Weiss Jubilee Volume* (1964), 461–81 (Heb. section); Ibn Daud, Tradition, 60.

[Aaron Greenbaum]

SAMUEL BEN JACOB OF KELMY (1797–1867), rabbi. Samuel came from Neustadt (district of Kovno) and lived in Kelmy (Lithuania). In 1858 he immigrated to Ereẓ Israel, associating in Jerusalem with Meir *Auerbach of Kalisch and Sundel *Salant. In 1860 he went back to Europe but returned to Jerusalem in 1866. Samuel was a brother of Elijah Rogoler.

In 1870 after Samuel's death his son, A.L. *Frumkin, went to Israel, and he called the first edition of his *Toledot Ḥakhmei Yerushalayim, Even Shemu'el* (1874) after his father. At the end of Part 1 of this edition he incorporated *Naḥalat Ya'akov*, containing responsa and Torah novellae by his father and uncle (145–55). Many of Samuel's responsa, his novellae to tractates of the Talmud, and glosses to the *Sha'agot Aryeh* are still in manuscript.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: A.L. Frumkin (ed.), *Seder Rav Amram ha-Shalem* (1912), 478; idem, *Toledot Eliyahu* (1937^2), 5, 65–82; Frumkin-Rivlin, introd. 12, 3 (1929), 249–51.

[Yehoshua Horowitz]

SAMUEL BEN KALONYMUS HE-ḤASID (**"The Pious"**) **OF SPEYER** (12th century), one of the first leaders of the *Ḥasidei Ashkenaz movement and a member of the most important Jewish family in medieval Germany. His father moved from Mainz to Speyer after the persecutions of 1096 and Samuel was born there. Nothing is known of his life, and very few of his writings have survived. It seems that he wrote some exegetical works on the Torah and the Midrash. However, only a few quotations in later works have survived. He undoubtedly studied esoteric theology, and probably even wrote in this field. The titles, "the Pious, the Saint, and the Prophet" by which he was known to later generations, seem to indicate that he was regarded as a mystic. He contributed to the authorship of *Sefer Ḥasidim*. It has been proved that he wrote the first part of the book (in the Parma Ms. version), which deals with the fear of God and the subject of repentance. It is probable that some other sections of that book are his, and were included in it by its main author, his son *Judah he-Ḥasid. Hebrew and Yiddish collections of stories of the 15th and 16th centuries incorporate many tales of his magical powers. According to these, he competed against gentile magicians and used his powers to save Jews from their oppressors. Such stories were also told about his son Judah. Though knowledge of Samuel's work is extremely limited, there is no doubt that he served as a creative link between the oral traditions of the Kalonymus family in the fields of ethics, theology, and mysticism, and the literature of the Ḥasidei Ashkenaz movement which developed in the late 12th and the 13th centuries. The Ḥasidim regarded Samuel as their earliest leader and the movement reached its peak under the leadership of his son Judah he-Ḥasid. Another son, Abraham, was one of the leading halakhic scholars of his generation.

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[Joseph Dan]

SAMUEL BEN MEIR (**Rashbam**; c. 1080–85–c. 1174), commentator on Bible and Talmud. Born in Ramerupt in northern France, Samuel was the son of Meir, one of the first tosafists and a prominent disciple of *Rashi, whose daughter, Jochebed, Meir married. Samuel was the elder brother of Jacob

*Tam and was a colleague of Joseph Kara. In his early youth he studied under his father, but mainly under his grandfather, Rashi, in Troyes. He entered into discussions with Rashi on biblical and talmudic subjects. In some instances Rashi accepted his grandson's opinion and amended his own commentary accordingly.

Samuel b. Meir earned his livelihood from sheep-farming and viticulture. He led a life of extreme piety and modesty, but resolutely holding to his own opinion when he felt it necessary. He used to pray that he might be privileged to know the truth and to love peace. He was well versed in worldly matters and may have had a knowledge of Latin. He participated in disputations with Christians. His scholarly activity was comprehensive. In addition to his commentaries on the Bible and Talmud he devoted himself to *piyyutim* and wrote a grammatical work, *Sefer Daikut*.

Bible Commentary

He apparently wrote a commentary on all the books of the Bible; only his commentary on the Pentateuch, however, has come down almost in its entirety. It was well edited from a manuscript by David Rosin (1881) who also wrote a comprehensive treatise on Samuel as Bible commentator. The edition by A.I. Bromberg (1965) is inaccurate. Of the remainder of Samuel's commentaries only fragments have survived in the works of later commentators, notably in the *Arugat ha-Bosem* of Abraham b. *Azriel (ed. by E.E. Urbach, 4 (1963), index, s.v. Shemuel (Samuel) b. Meir). A. Jellinek published part of the commentary on Esther, Ruth, and Lamentations (1855); he wrongly attributed to Rashbam the commentary on Ecclesiastes and Song of Songs, which he also published (see detailed discussion in Rosin's edition, xviii–xxii).

Samuel's biblical commentaries are characterized by his extreme devotion to the literal meaning (*peshat*). He constantly refers to "the profound literal meaning of the text." He strongly condemns earlier commentaries, including those of his grandfather, Rashi, even referring to some as "nonsense," "lies," and "crooked explanations," without naming their authors; in point of fact he generally refrains from mentioning other commentators by name. This method of literal interpretation he adopted in his youth, and he relates how he argued on the subject with his grandfather, who conceded that "if he had the time, he would have had to write another commentary, more in accordance with the literal approach, then daily gaining ground" (Rashbam, on Gen. 37:2).

On rare occasions he bases his interpretation on halakhic or midrashic interpretations if these seem to him to agree with the literal meaning. At times he even interprets a verse against the *halakhah* (e.g., Gen. 1:5; Ex. 21:6, 10), despite the fact that he considered the *halakhah* as authoritative and "every word and interpretation of our sages are correct and true" (on Gen. 1:1). His uncomplicated faith and spiritual wholeness prevented him and those who followed his method from any feeling of tension or contradiction. In his opinion *peshat* and *derash* belong to different categories. While the former explains Scripture according to the laws of language and logic, the latter bases itself on redundancies in language employing the hermeneutical rules by which the Torah is expounded. He states: "Let every sensible person know and understand that, although they are of primary importance, I have not come to explain the *halakhot* … derived as they are from textual redundancies. They can partly be found in the commentaries of Rabbi Solomon, my maternal grandfather. My aim is to interpret the literal meaning of Scripture" (preface to section "*Mishpatim*").

Samuel was greatly influenced by Rashi, and to a considerable extent regarded his commentary as complementing that of Rashi, especially in those cases where Rashi did not follow the *peshat*. He sometimes remarks that, since Rashi had already commented on a certain matter, there is no need to repeat what he had said. Some of his explanations, however, are completely identical with those of his grandfather.

His exposition is concise and lucid and confined to explanation of the subject matter and language. He does not usually state the difficulties explicitly; but these may be inferred from their solutions in the commentary. Unlike Rashi, he gives one explanation only. In his commentary he takes *cantillation into consideration. Like Rashi he often uses French glosses to explain words, and he often interprets verses in accordance with contemporary custom and usage (e.g., Gen. 49:24). Samuel enters deeply into grammatical questions, generally relying upon Menahem b. *Saruk and Dunash b. *Labrat. In some cases he disagrees with them, demonstrating his own superior scholarship. In contrast to Rashi he insists that biblical Hebrew differs from mishnaic, and the meaning of a biblical word cannot therefore be determined by its meaning in mishnaic Hebrew (on Ex. 12:7). Occasionally, however, when he cannot find a biblical parallel, he deviates from this rule (on Ex. 1:13).

He took pains to find accurate texts of the Bible, especially from Spain, according to them – and sometimes even according to his own opinion – amending the Bible texts before him (Ex. 23:24). Sometimes he quotes biblical verses different from the accepted text (e.g., Gen. l:5, 21; Deut. 32:11). This seems in some cases to be the result of adjusting the text in accordance with his explanation, but in others it is due to the fact that he had a different text before him. He laid down an important rule with regard to biblical poetry (cf. on Ex. 15:6) which was accepted by his grandfather who, accordingly, amended his own commentary. Another principle widely applied by Rashbam is that the details which appear to be redundant are necessary, however, for the elucidation of the events that follow. Targum *Onkelos on the Pentateuch is one of his major sources. He also quotes the Palestine Targum on the Pentateuch once and the Targum to the Hagiographa twice. Twice he quotes the Vulgate but rejects its readings (Gen. 49:10; Ex. 20:13). He was the first Bible commentator to incorporate in his commentaries attacks on christological exposition. In this connection he gives reasons for certain laws, especially those whose validity was challenged by Christians. In some cases his extreme adherence to the literal meaning of the text may be attributed to those controversies with Christians. This emerges from the oft-repeated expression "according to the literal meaning of the text and in answer to sectarians."

His self-confidence in his ability as a commentator emerges clearly from his commentary. That self-confidence may explain his vigorous criticism of other commentators, his limiting himself to single explanations, the complete absence of the admission "I do not understand" (often found in Rashi), and his preparedness to make textual amendments. S.Z. Ashkenazi wrote a supercommentary *Keren Shemu'el* (Frankfurt on the Oder, 1727) on Samuel b. Meir's commentary.

[Avraham Grossman]

As Tosafist

In addition to his importance as a biblical commentator, Samuel b. Meir is also one of the first, and the most important, of the *tosafists. Only part of his halakhic writings have come down to us. The most significant and important are his supplements to Rashi's commentary on the Talmud where Rashi did not manage to complete his final version. Two of these were published instead of Rashi's missing commentary – one on chapter 10 of *Pesaḥim*, and the other on most of *Bava Batra*, from folio 29a. The commentary on *Bava Batra* was written after Rashi's death. Two versions of the commentary which differ considerably exist: that of the Bomberg edition (Venice, 1521), and that of the Pesaro edition (1510). Some scholars ascribe to him the anonymous commentaries on a few of the small tractates of the Talmud, but there is no evidence for this. The commentary to *Bava Batra* was in the hands of Abraham b. Isaac of *Narbonne during Samuel b. Meir's lifetime. His commentaries are characterized by their excessive prolixity, so that at times one of his comments is as long as a whole passage of *tosafot*. In addition to explaining the text, he propounds and answers difficulties, proposes alternative explanations, weighing one against the other, and all within the framework of a running commentary on the Talmud. He also wrote *tosafot* to various tractates; only a number of quotations and a greater number of references have been preserved in the standard *tosafot* and in the works of other *rishonim*. A larger number of fragments occur in the *tosafot* to the third chapter of *Makkot*, from folio 20 onward, which are introduced with the words *perush ha-kunteres*. The commentary to *Alfasi's compendium there ascribed to Rashi is also his. Large sections of his commentary to *Avodah Zarah* have come down in the works of other *rishonim*, when they discuss the themes of this tractate. Many quotations from his commentary to *Avot* are preserved in the anonymous commentary to this tractate in the Maḥzor *Vitry and in that of Isaac b. Solomon of Toledo. Samuel b. Meir was also the first scholar of northern France to make frequent use of Alfasi's compendium, to which he even wrote a kind of *tosafot*. Various manuscripts refer to his commentary on *piyyutim*.

[Israel Moses Ta-Shma]

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SAMUEL BEN MOSES AL-MAGHRIBĪ (ha-Ma'aravi; 15th century), *Karaite physician and author living in *Cairo. In 1434 Samuel completed a code of Karaite law in Arabic entitled *al-Murshid* ("The Guide"), divided into 12 sections. His exposition is orderly and lucid, with infrequent polemics against the *Rabbanites, and he readily adopted Rabbanite customs that seemed to him unobjectionable. Samuel's work is apparently the last Karaite legal code to have been written in Arabic; all the later codes were, so far as is known, written in Hebrew. Although soon superseded by the code of *Bashyaẓi, Hebrew translations of "The Guide" were still current in the 18th century.

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[Leon Nemoy]

SAMUEL BEN NAḤMAN (Naḥamani; late third and early fourth centuries C.E.), Palestinian *amora*. He was one of the most renowned aggadists of his time (TJ, Ber. 9:1, 12d). A native of Lydda in Ereẓ Israel (Lev. R. 35:12), Samuel apparently paid a short visit to Babylon in his youth. On his return, he studied under *Joshua b. Levi (TJ, RH 4:4, 59b) and *Jonathan b. Eleazar (Pes. 24a), in whose name he quotes several sayings (Yoma 9b). Samuel, who may have come into contact with *Judah ha-Nasi in his youth, was on intimate terms with *Judah II. The two went to Tiberias on Diocletian's order (c. 286), and bathed in the hot springs there (TJ, Ter. 8, 110, 46b; Gen. R. 63:8). Among his other colleagues were *Simeon b. Jehoẓadak, *Ammi, Ḥanina b. Papa, and *Ḥelbo. Samuel is known to have made two official visits to Babylon. The first was to determine the intercalation of the calendar, a function which, for political reasons, he could not perform in Ereẓ Israel (TJ, Ber. 2:1, 2d). The second was in his old age, when he petitioned the empress *Zenobia (267–73) to pardon an orphaned youth who had committed a grave political crime (TJ, Ter. 8:10, 46b). His halakhic decisions are recorded in the Babylonian (e.g., Meg. 2a) and Jerusalem Talmuds, and his authority is illustrated by his refusal to allow Ammi to lift a ban on a certain colleague (MK, 17a).

Samuel was considered an authority on the *aggadah* (Pes. 15b). Among his sayings was, "Whoever associates the name of Heaven with his suffering [by blessing God for the evil, or by prayer], his sustenance shall fly to him like a bird, as it says, in Job 22:25, 'And silver shall fly to thee'" (Bet. 63a, JPS "And precious silver unto thee"). His vivid description of the grief of Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, and Rachel over the destruction of the Temple, written in Hebrew and accompanied by dirges in Aramaic (Lam. R. Proem 24), reveals his poetic mind. Among those who transmitted his sayings were Ḥelbo, Levi, and Abbahu (Lev. R. 35:12), and Eleazar b. Pedat.

He was survived by two sons, Naḥman and Hillel; sayings have been preserved from both of them (Gen. R. 10:5, TJ; King. 1:9, 61c).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Bacher, Pal Amor; Hyman, Toledot; Ḥ. Albeck, *Mavo la-Talmudim* (1969), 266–7.

SAMUEL BEN NATRONAI (between 1100 and 1110–before 1175), German scholar. Samuel was the brother-in-law and teacher of *Joel b. Isaac ha-Levi and married the daughter of *Eliezer b. Nathan some time before 1133. His birthplace and the names of his teachers are unknown, but it is known that he studied in Regensburg and that on various occasions he was in Bonn, Mainz, and Cologne. Many of his teachings, which are conspicuous for the sharpness of his style, are contained in the *Sefer Raban* (Prague, 1610) of his father-in-law and in the *Sefer Ravyah* of *Eliezer b. Joel ha-Levi of Bonn, the son of his brother-in-law. His rulings were highly regarded by the great scholars of the time. Samuel is known to have written *tosafot* to several tractates, and a book of his halakhic decisions is quoted by the *rishonim*; he also wrote a *seliḥah* for the Day of Atonement that has survived.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: V. Aptowitzer, *Mavo le-Sefer Ravyah* (1938), 69–75; Urbach, Tosafot, index.

[Israel Moses Ta-Shma]

SAMUEL BEN SAMSON (13th century), Ereẓ Israel settler, who emigrated from France to Ereẓ Israel in 1210 and described his journey in an extant letter. Samuel was one of a large group that emigrated from France and England; he entered the country by way of Egypt together with Jonathan b. David ha-Kohen of Lunel, a Provençal scholar. Samuel then traveled throughout the country with two of the company of immigrants, Saadiah and Tobiah, as well as the exilarch from Mosul who had come to pray at the holy places and the graves of the pious. In his letter to the Diaspora Samuel described his arrival in Jerusalem and its holy places. From there he went to the cave of Machpelah, entering with the help of a dyer of wool, the only Jew there. From Hebron he returned to Jerusalem and went by way of Bethel, Shiloh, and Shechem to Beth-Shean and Tiberias, describing the tombs of the pious in the latter's vicinity. Traveling from there to Safed, he toured its environs. His descriptions include not only the graves of the pious in the Upper Galilee, but also ruins of ancient synagogues he saw, and which he believed to be some of the 24 synagogues erected by Simeon b. Yoḥai. He also visited Kefar Biram, Kefar Nivrata, Gush Ḥalav, Meron, and Almah, and testified that "in all these places there are communities of more than eight *minyanim*" (A. Yaari, *Iggerot…*, (1943), 80, 81), i.e., in each village of Upper Galilee mentioned he found more than 80 Jewish families. This pointed to the remnants of an agricultural settlement in Upper Galilee, even after the conquest of the country by the crusaders. From there he went to Dan and Damascus, later visiting Naveh in Transjordan, where he saw the ruins of the ancient synagogue which has been rediscovered in modern times.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: E. Carmoly, *Itinéraires de la Terre Sainte* (1847), 115–68; A. Berliner, in: MWJ, 3 (1876), 157–60; Heb. section: 35–38; A.M. Luncz, in: *Ha-Me'ammer*, 3 (1920), 26–35; J.D. Eisenstein, *Oẓar ha-Massa'ot* (1926), 62–65; S. Schultz, in: *Ha-Ẓofeh le-Ḥokhmat Yisrael*, 14 (1930), 69–81, 375–8; A.L. Sukenik, in: *Zion Me'assef*, 2 (1927), 108–11; S. Krauss, in: REJ, 82 (1926), 333–52; E.N. Adler, *ibid.*, 85 (1928), 70–71; A. Yaari, *Iggerot Ereẓ-Yisrael* (1943), 75–83, 540–1.

[Avraham Yaari]

SAMUEL BEN SHILAT (first half of third century C.E.), Babylonian *amora*. Samuel was a pupil of Rav, whose sayings he transmitted. He is distinguished in the Talmud, however, as an outstanding pedagogue, utterly devoted to teaching children. Rav recognized his devotion and sincere dedication to his disciples and held him in high esteem, considering Samuel the ideal instructor of the young. Once Rav found him standing in his own garden during school hours and asked him whether he had forsaken his calling. Samuel answered, "For 13 years I have not seen my garden, and even now my thoughts are of pupils." Whereupon Rav applied to him the verse (Dan. 12:3), "they that turn the many to righteousness [shall shine] as the stars for ever and ever" (BB 8b).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Hyman, Toledot, s.v.

SAMUEL BEN SOLOMON OF FALAISE (**Sir Morel**; 13th century), tosafist. All that is known of Samuel's father is that he was a scholar, as was his father-in-law Abraham b. Ḥayyim ha-Kohen, possibly the son of the tosafist *Ḥayyim ha-Kohen. His teachers included *Judah Sir Leon, Solomon of Dreux, and *Baruch b. Isaac of Worms. He wrote a commentary on the **kerovah El Elohei ha-Ruḥot le-Khol Basar* in which he explains all the Passover laws in the *piyyut* according to the traditions of the elders of Falaise and Dreux. Samuel's teachings are incorporated in the *Or Zaru'a* of his colleague, *Isaac b. Moses of Vienna. Samuel was patently apprehensive about rendering halakhic decisions and hesitated to permit what it had been customary to forbid, even when he was certain that the custom was an erroneous one and not a definite tradition. The most eminent of his pupils was *Meir b. Baruch of Rothenburg. The standard *tosafot* mention Samuel only in the *tosafot* to the tractates *Pesaḥim* and *Yoma*, but the standard *tosafot* to *Avodah Zarah* are simply adaptations of his *tosafot* and often quote him verbatim. His biblical exegesis is included in the various collections of the biblical commentaries of the tosafists. He was a participant in the *disputation in Paris with Nicholas *Donin.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Gross, Gal Jud, 478–80; J. Jacobs, *Jews of Angevin England* (1893), 53, 146, 421; Urbach, Tosafot, index.

[Israel Moses Ta-Shma]

SAMUEL BEN URI SHRAGA PHOEBUS (second half of 17th century), Polish rabbi and author of a well-known commentary on the Shulḥan Arukh *Even ha-Ezer* called *Beit Shemu'el*. In his youth, he studied with R. *Joshua Heshel in Cracow. Upon his teacher's death, he continued his studies under R. Heshel's successor, R. Leib Fischeles, whose daughter he married. Samuel first officiated as rabbi in Szydlowiec, Poland, where he wrote the first version of his commentary. In his introduction he states that he was isolated in Szydlowiec and could not benefit from the counsel of students and colleagues. The work was published in 1689 in Dyhernfurth, with the text of the *Even ha-Ezer,* and was the first Hebrew book printed there. In 1691 Samuel was called to the important and lucrative rabbinate of Fuerth, Germany, where he displayed great activity. Together with the students who gathered around him in Fuerth, he reviewed and revised his work, and the second and final version was published there in 1694. This clear and comprehensive work is regarded as one of the best commentaries of its kind and was accepted in all scholarly circles as the standard and authoritative commentary to *Even ha-Ezer.* It has frequently been reprinted, together with the text. Despite his achievements in Fuerth, he was not happy there and longed for his former, smaller rabbinate. In 1694 he received a call to return to Szydlowiec. It appears that he accepted the invitation, since he is mentioned as the rabbi of that town in the approbation to *Ir Binyamin* which appeared in Frankfurt on the Oder in 1698. He also wrote responsa, one of which is published in *Ḥinnukh Beit Yehudah* of R. Enoch b. Judah of Schneitach (Frankfurt, 1708) no. 131.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Ḥ.N. Dembitzer, *Kelilat Yofi*, 1 (1888), 81a–b; 2 (1893), 586f., Ch. Tchernowitz, *Toledot ha-Posekim*, 3 (1947), 161–3; Maimon, in: *Kovez R. Yosef Caro* (1969), 60–62.

SAMUEL COMMISSION, inquiry commission sent in 1919 by the British government to Poland to examine the causes of antisemitic tension and disturbances which had aroused sharp criticism in the West. The Commission arrived after the *Morgenthau Commission had already completed its inquiries there and remained in Poland from September until December 1919. Sir Stuart Samuel, who headed the Commission, was president of the *Board of Deputies of British Jews between 1917 and 1922 (he was a brother of Herbert *Samuel). Also prominent on the Commission was Capt. Peter Wright, who had been influenced by the preconceived ideas prevalent in Poland concerning Jews.

The Commission visited many areas, especially those with evenly mixed populations, such as eastern *Galicia, and gathered reliable testimonies on recent incidents of violence. Meetings were held with the Polish premier I. Paderewski and government ministers. At the conclusion of their journey, Samuel and Wright did not share the same opinions, and the subsequent published report comprised Samuel's account only, a fact which weakened its influence on public opinion. In an effort to ameliorate the tensions between Poles and Jews, Samuel advanced the following 12 proposals:

(1) Implementation of the clauses of the agreement concerning rights of Jewish citizens in Poland
(2) The practice of true equality
(3) Prosecution of criminal acts to persons or property committed out of motives of racism or religious bigotry
(4) Restoration of Jewish civil servants in Galicia to their former posts
(5) Restoration of Jewish railway workers to their positions throughout Poland
(6) Abolition of the *numerus clausus for Jewish university students
(7) Prohibition of discriminatory trade practices
(8) Immediate judicial examination of all those being held in detention camps
(9) Facilitation of the founding of new industries
(10) The guarantee of British government aid in Jewish migration overseas (to Palestine, Canada, South Africa, etc.)
(11) Aid for the establishment of banks in which the Jewish public would have confidence
(12) Attachment of a Yiddish-speaking secretary to the British embassy in Warsaw

Samuel himself intended to establish a bakelite factory in Poland to employ thousands of Jewish workers, but the government disapproved when he requested that Jewish workers be allowed to work on Sunday instead of Saturday. His book, *Mission to Poland*, was published in 1920.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: H.M. Rabinowicz, *Legacy of Polish Jewry* (1965), 41–44. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** S. Samuel, "Report on a Mission to Poland," in: *Bulletin du Comité des Délégation Juives,* No. 16 (Aug. 18, 1920).

[Moshe Landau]

SAMUEL HA-KATAN (early second century C.E.), *tanna*. Some explain that the name *ha-Katan* ("the small") was given him because of his extreme modesty, while others maintain that he was so called because he was only a little inferior to the prophet Samuel (TJ, Sot. 9:13). His modesty and greatness are best illustrated by the following incidents. When the patriarch *Gamaliel II called a conference of seven scholars and eight appeared, he asked the outsider to withdraw. Samuel, not wanting the intruder to be embarrassed, rose and said, "I am the one without invitation." Nevertheless, Gamaliel understood that it could not be he and ordered him to sit, praising him in very high terms (Sanh. 11a). On another occasion, when a heavenly voice proclaimed at an assembly of scholars that "there is one here who is worthy that the *Ru'aḥ ha-Kodesh* [Holy Spirit] should descend upon him," everyone understood that the reference was to Samuel (*ibid.*). Samuel is best known for *Birkat ha-Minim*, which expressed anathema against Judeo-Christians, sectarians, and informers. It was composed at the request of Gamaliel II and incorporated into the daily *Amidah* (Ber. 28b). He explained the verse, "There is a righteous man that perisheth in his righteousness" (Eccles. 7:15) as meaning that the Creator of the world knows that the pious sometimes sin, therefore God says, "I will take him away in his righteousness before he has the opportunity to err" (Eccles. R. 7:15). Samuel was childless, and at his funeral Gamaliel II and Eliezer b. Azariah eulogized him: "For Samuel it is proper to cry and mourn. Kings die and leave their crowns to their sons, wealthy men their riches to their children. Samuel died and took his treasures with him" (Sem. 8). It is told that before his death he prophesied the persecutions of Trajan and the killing of the Ten Martyrs (Sanh. 11a).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Hyman, Toledot; Bacher, Tann; I. Konovitz, *Ma'arekhot Tanna'im*, pt. 4 (1969), 115.

[Elliott Hillel Medlov]

SAMUEL HA-NAGID (Ismail ibn Nagrelʿa; 993–1055 or 1056), vizier of *Granada, statesman, poet, scholar, and military commander. The meteoric rise and political and military career of Samuel ha-Nagid marks the highest achievement of a Jew in medieval Muslim Spain. Samuel was born in Córdoba to a prominent family which originally came from Merida. He received an excellent Jewish and general education, including training in Arabic and the Koran, and studied *halakhah* under *Ḥanokh b. Moses of Cordoba. While a young man, he made his first allusions to his Davidic descent, a belief which inspired his confidence in his rise to power and his career. In 1013 Samuel was among those forced to flee Cordoba in the wake of the Berber conquest. According to the 12th-century historian, Abraham *Ibn Daud, he opened a spice shop in Malaga, and shortly afterward, was approached by a maidservant of Ibn al-ʿArīf, *kātib* (secretary) to the vizier of Granada, who asked him to write letters to her master. The vizier was so favorably impressed by Samuel's Arabic style that he advised King Ḥabbūs, the Berber ruler of Granada, to appoint Samuel to his staff (Ibn Daud, Tradition, 72–73). Samuel advanced from tax collector to *kātib* (after Ibn al-ʿArīf's death) to assistant to the vizier Abu al-ʿAbbas in 1020. Later he himself became vizier. In 1027 the Jews conferred upon him the title *nagid* of Spanish Jewry. In 1038, after Ḥabbūs' death, a struggle for succession between his sons Bādis and Bullugin took place. With Samuel's aid, Bādis eventually won the throne. As a result of this steadfast loyalty, Samuel became the leading influence on Bādis.

Much of Samuel's work as vizier entailed leading the army of Granada, which was occupied in constant warfare with Arab Seville. It was indeed remarkable that a Jew stood at the helm of a Muslim army, which from 1038 to 1056 (the span of Samuel's command) knew only two years of respite from fighting. A major source of information on Samuel's campaigns is his poetry in the *Diwan*, some of which is addressed to his son *Jehoseph ha-Nagid. Samuel is credited as having introduced poetry of war and battle into Hebrew literature. In 1038–39 Samuel fought his first major battle, against the army of Almeria, ruled by Zuhayr, a Slav, and his fanatic Arab vizier Ibn ʿAbbās. Both were killed and Samuel's victory elicited the celebration of a special "Purim" by Granada's Jews. In 1039 a heroic victory over Seville – celebrated in a poem – took place around Carmona; the latter was finally taken in 1043. In 1042 Samuel successfully came to the aid of Lorca in eastern Spain. His difficult campaigns against Abu Nūr of Ronda in 1045 and against Malaga in 1049 resulted in narrow escapes from death. In the 1050s Samuel was constantly on the move throughout Andalusia, fighting against Seville and her allies. His triumphs were viewed by the Jews as national victories. The constant travel weakened him considerably and in 1055–56 he died on a campaign. His position was inherited by his ill-fated son Jehoseph.

In addition to being a poet (see below) Samuel was a halakhist and communal leader. His major work in *halakhah, Sefer Hilkheta Gavrata* (published as *Hilkhot ha-Nagid*, ed. by M. Margaliot, 1962), is a compilation and explanation of *halakhah* based on both Talmuds, the decisions of the *geonim* (sometimes criticized), Midrash, and the *She'iltot* of *Aḥai of Shabḥa. To judge from the surviving fragments, it was written in Aramaic and Hebrew and possibly partly in Arabic. *Hilkheta Gavrata* apparently was completed in 1049, though parts appeared earlier, and directly influenced later Spanish halakhists such as Isaac *Ibn Ghayyat, Isaac *Alfasi, and *Judah al-Bargeloni. Its appearance was viewed by some, including the poet Solomon ibn *Gabirol, as the victory of the Spanish grandee over *Hai Gaon of Pumbedita. Accused of insulting the gaonate, Samuel wrote a poetic apology acknowledging its supremacy. Abraham ibn Daud, however, cites Samuel as one of "the first of the generation of the rabbinate" (Ibn Daud, Tradition, 78) who marked the end of the geonic predominance in talmudic and halakhic scholarship. The Nagid was also the author of criticism of the Koran, which was cited by a contemporary Muslim author. After reading the latter's version of Samuel's critique, the Arab historian-philosopher, Ibn Ḥazm, wrote a bitter polemic against it.

As leader of Spanish Jewry Samuel corresponded with the important contemporary scholars, including R. *Ḥushi'el, R. *Hananel, and R. Nissim of Kairouan, whose daughter married Samuel's son Jehoseph. His relations with the Babylonian gaonate were generally good. While no correspondence between Hai Gaon and the Nagid has been discovered, Hai's successor, the exilarch *Hezekiah b. David, was a friend of Samuel. He also maintained friendly relations with the Palestinian communities, supplying the synagogues in Jerusalem with olive oil (*ibid.*, 75). Samuel was one of the patrons of Solomon ibn Gabirol, who addressed the Nagid as "my father, my rider, my chariot," and dedicated several poems to him.

As Poet

Samuel's poems have come down in three works: *Ben Tehillim, Ben Mishlei*, and *Ben Kohelet*. The poems are refined and reflect profound worldly wisdom, as well as the many facets of his life as Jew, father, intellectual, *nagid*, vizier, and military commander. Samuel's poetry is more developed and diversified than that of his contemporaries, the first generation of Hebrew poets in Spain. His war poems, which evince great skill in creating epics, are unique in Hebrew poetry. The pleasures and vanities of life, which he knew well, stimulated his poetic inspiration. Besides poems devoted to love and wine, he composed poems of praise and glory, friendship and polemic, mourning and holiness, wisdom, morality, and meditation. Just as he wrote of wine and victory, he wrote of the illnesses of his children, and of the death of his brother Isaac. A literary artist of high order, his sure command of language is demonstrated by the great variety of subjects he chose for poetic expression. Despite the success he attained through his poetry, worldly wisdom, and pleasant manners, he was never content: the canker of melancholy continually gnawed at him. Even in his poems of love and wine a note of pessimism is sounded. He saw in the suffering of the Jews in exile his own personal suffering, and the poems reveal his yearning for Zion. At the royal court many secretly envied him and others were openly hostile. In their quest for royal favor these courtiers often acted treacherously, shifting or betraying loyalties without hesitation.

Just as he influenced the poets of his day so too they influenced him. He translated poems from Arabic and also composed in that language. The boasting and self-exaltation traditional to medieval Arabic and Hebrew poetry are recognizable in Samuel's poems, but to a more limited degree than in the work of other poets, such as Solomon ibn Gabirol. As was usual in those times, Samuel's poems were read at gatherings of poets, some of whom found them faulty in grammar and style, while others praised their novelty and inventiveness. Samuel bestowed gifts on his favorite poets, who then praised him in their poems; those from whom he withheld his generosity deprecated his poetry.

In 11th-century Granada no one was considered educated unless he could compose poetry. Children copying the poems of their father also characterized Arabic culture at that time. For these and other reasons Samuel educated his children to value and study poetry. He charged his sons with the copying and arranging of his poems and paid them for each completed work. When they performed their task well he praised them. Samuel had three sons and one daughter. Of the daughter and the son, Judah, nothing is known, but both probably died during their father's lifetime. The most beloved of his children was the first born, Jehoseph, regarded by Samuel as his successor. Jehoseph began to copy his father's poems (*Ben Tehillim*) at the age of eight and a half. Another son, Eliasaf, also copied his father's poems (*Ben Kohelet*), beginning when he was only slightly more than six years old. The children added captions descriptive of the poetry's contents and origins. *Ben-Mishlei*, a book of poems, was dedicated by Samuel to Jehoseph and Eliasaf.

The poems were copied many times during the Middle Ages, and it appears that Samuel himself took pains to ensure that they were circulated among knowledgeable people. The first author to refer to his poems was Moses *Ibn Ezra in *Shirat Yisrael* (66). Samuel's non-sacred poetry, however, came to be known only in the 19th century. The first to publish a substantial number of the poems was A.E. Harkavy (St. Petersburg, 1879). The three volumes of his poetry were published by David S. Sassoon (Oxford, 1934). Only in later editions did these works appear with vocalization and commentaries, as in the *diwan* containing *Ben Tehillim* (1947) published by A.M. Habermann, and in *Ben Mishlei* (1948) and *Ben Kohelet* (1953) issued by S. Abramson. New editions of the "*Shirei ha-Milḥamah*" (1963) and the *diwan* (1966) were published by A.M. Habermann and Dov Yarden respectively.

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[Abraham Meir Habermann]

SAMUEL HA-SHELISHI BEN HOSHANA (d. after 1012), Palestinian liturgical poet. His name is mentioned in many documents of the Cairo *Genizah*, from which it appears that he was a member of the Ereẓ Israel academy in Jerusalem. He progressively rose in importance until he was awarded the title of *Ha-Shelishi* ("third of the company"), that is, the third man in the seating order at the side of the *Gaon* in the academy. For unknown reasons, he went to Egypt and settled in Fostat, where he became friendly with *Shemariah b. Elhanan. His disciples included R. *Nathan b. Abraham (I). On Shevat 3, 4772, at the time of the funeral of Putiel ha-Ḥazzan, he was a witness to and also a victim of the three-day riots perpetrated by the Muslims against the Jews of Fostat. He commemorated these events in a special scroll entitled *Megillat Miẓrayim* ("The Scroll of Egypt"), which has become an important historical source. He also wrote *kerovot* and *seliḥot* in memory of these events. Upon his death in Egypt *Sahlan b. Abraham eulogized him, mentioning among other achievements his erudition in Torah and his wide knowledge of talmudic and midrashic literature.

Samuel was one of the most prominent liturgical poets of his century, but only some of the hundreds of his extant *piyyutim* have been published, by various scholars. Samuel composed many *yoẓerot*, of every category, on all the weekly portions of the Pentateuch. Some of his *piyyutim* are written in a concentrated style and are filled with allusions, while others are written in an easy and colorful style. A few were signed *Shemu'el Yizkeh* or *Shemu'el he-Ḥaver Yizkeh*.

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[Abraham David]

SAMUEL IBN ʿĀDIYĀ (**al-Samawal b. Ghārid Ablaq**; mid-sixth century), poet in *Tayma, Hejaz, N. Arabia. Samuel b. Ādiyā's Arabic poetry ranks with the finest heroic traditional Arabic battle poetry of the pre-Islamic period and shows little trace of Jewish origins and themes. For a time he resided in the citadel of Ablaq near Tayma and was called "King of Tayma" by the local Arabs. His mother was an Arab of the Ghassan tribe. He was Jewish, although Shaikho, the Jesuit who published his diwan, attempted to prove that he was a Christian, or at least belonged to a Judaeo-Christian sect. He lived to be an old man and was known for his loyalty and fulfillment of pledges. When the noble Imruʾal-Qays deposited his arms in Samuel's home, and the castle was besieged by his enemies after he left for Byzantium, Samuel allowed his own son to be killed rather than surrender Imru's arms to the invader. This act earned him lasting fame among Arabs, and he is the subject of several poems by later authors. A popular proverb on the extent of one's loyalty was coined, "more loyal than Samuel" (Ar. *Awfā min al-Samawʾal*). His descendants were landowners in the region of Taima during the Umayyad dynasty and later converted to Islam. Moses Ibn Ezra in his book *Shirat Israel* (Helper edition, 49) notes Samuel as a Jewish poet. One of his sons and a grandson are said to have been poets, too.

Poetry

Nine poems and fragments attributed to Samuel were collected by the philologist Nifṭawayh (d. 935). Most scholars agree that these poems were composed by a Jew but doubt that all were written by Samuel. The first poem is considered an example of classical Arabic poetry. Called *Lāmiyyat al-Samawʾal*, it expounds the virtues of purity of blood, generosity, honor, and strength. The battles of his people and their deaths on the battlefield are extolled, indicating the extent of the cultural assimilation of the Jews to Arab society. The second poem, however, expresses his belief in resurrection and glorifies the kings and prophets of Israel, also mentioning the splitting of the Red Sea. Its philological importance lies in the rhyming of certain stanzas as an aid to exegesis of the *Koran and in the traces of the Arabic dialect of the Jewish tribes. Poem number 6 exalts the fortress of Samuel's father and his loyalty to Imruʾal-Qays. A 26-line poem attributed to Samuel appears in the collection edited by Sheikho, who interpreted the phrase "our prophet came and brought peace to all men" as evidence of the poet's Christian origin. His opinion has been contested, as the poem possesses a koranic style and hence indicates its later composition by a Jew refuting Muslim claims. A fragment from the Cairo **Genizah,* signed Samuel of the *Qurayẓa (al-Quraẓi) tribe, had previously been attributed to Samuel ibn ʿĀdiyā. H.Z. Hirschberg, however, presumes that the author wrote this poem during the period of struggle between the Jews and *Muhammad, and therefore is not Samuel ibn ʿĀdiyā. Hirschberg sees the influence of the Jewish *aggadah* and Midrash in Samuel's poetry, rather than their Koranic adaptations. Schwartzbaum perceives these verses as poetic examples of the *Israiʾliyyāt* and *Qiṣaṣ al-Anbiyāʾ* literature. The Muslim–Arab legends are literature which draws upon Jewish aggadic and midrashic sources, and especially upon the Jewish elements in the Koran.

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[Shmuel Moreh / Leah Bornstein-Makovetsky (2nd ed.)]

SAMUEL OF EVREUX (also called **Ha-Sar mi-Evreux**, "the prince from Evreux," first half of 13th century), talmudist and tosafist of Normandy. He was apparently a pupil of *Isaac b. Abraham and was also in contact with *Jehiel of Paris and *Nethanel of Chinon, to whom he addressed halakhic problems. The sources (see *Orḥot Ḥayyim and *Kol Bo) speak of his pious customs. Samuel, together with his brothers *Moses and *Isaac, headed the yeshivah of Evreux where, except for a brief stay in Chateau-Thierry, he dwelt most of his life. His halakhic methods are incorporated in the works written jointly with his brothers that were known as *Shitat Evreux* ("the school of Evreux"), and the particular contributions of each brother are not always distinguishable. Samuel's pupils included *Jonah Gerondi, *Isaac of Corbeil, *Perez b. Elijah, and *Meir b. Baruch of Rothenburg.

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[Israel Moses Ta-Shma]

SAMUELSON, SIR BERNHARD (1820–1905), British ironmaster and promoter of technical education. Samuelson was born in Hamburg and taken by his father, a merchant, to Hull in England's northeast soon afterwards. By the 1840s he had become a merchant engaged in selling British locomotives and engines in Europe and had acquired considerable engineering knowledge. From 1848 Samuelson was an agricultural implements manufacturer and, after 1853, an ironmaster at Middlesbrough, also in England's northeast. By the end of the 19th century he was one of the largest ironmasters in Britain, and one of the few Jewish entrepreneurs in Britain directly engaged in running a successful heavy industry. Samuelson served as a Liberal member of Parliament in 1859 and from 1865 to 1895. In Parliament he served on many committees and commissions concerned with technical education and did much to advance it in Britain. He was made a baronet (a hereditary knight) in 1884.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: ODNB online; DBB, 5, 46–51.

[William D. Rubinstein (2nd ed.)]

SAMUELSON, PAUL ANTHONY (1915–), U.S. economist. Born in Gary, Indiana, Samuelson received his B.A. from Chicago University in 1935 and his M.A. (1936) and Ph.D. (1941) from Harvard University. He first taught at Harvard (1937) and from 1940 at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, where he was appointed professor in 1960. From 1941 to 1943 he served as consultant to the National Resources Board, from 1945 to the War Production Board, and from 1945 to 1952 to the U.S. Treasury. In 1948 and 1949 he was chairman of the U.S. President's Task Force for Maintaining American Prosperity. His major interests were economic theory, statistics, business cycles, mathematical programming and econometrics.

In 1970 he was the first American to be awarded the Nobel Prize for Economics for his efforts to "raise the level of scientific analysis in economic theory." From 1966 to 1981 he wrote a regular column in *Newsweek*.

After retiring from teaching, he became professor emeritus at MIT.

Among his many published and widely translated works are *Foundations of Economic Analysis* (1947); *Economics – An Introductory Analysis* (1948, 18th edition 2004), the bestselling economics textbook of all time; *Readings in Economics* (1952, third edition 1958); *Linear Programming and Economic Analysis* (with R. Dorfman and R.M. Solow, 1958); *Stability and Growth in the American Economy* (Stockholm, 1963); *International Economic Relations* (1969); *Economics from the Heart* (1983); and *The Collected Scientific Papers of Paul A. Samuelson* (five volumes, 1966–86).

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[Joachim O. Ronall / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

Tashlikh—a ceremony held near a sea or a running stream on the first day of Rosh Ha-Shannah—the name deriving from "You wilt cast [*tashlikh*] all their sins into the depths of the sea" (Micah 7:19). *Photo: Ya'acov Sa'ar, Israel Government Press Office.*

The Jewish holy days and festivals fall into two categories: those commanded by the Pentateuch, such as Sabbath, Rosh Ha-Shanah, Day of Atonement (Yom Kippur), and the Pilgrim Festivals (Passover, Shavuot, and Sukkot), and those added later, such as Purim (1st–2nd century c.e.) and Ḥanukkah (2nd century). All these are observed in various ways by Jews around the world.

SABBATH AND FESTIVALS

The *"ḥalakah"*—first haircut for a three-year-old boy on the Lag Ba-Omer festival at Meron near Zefat. *Photo: Hanan Isachar.*

Bonfire on the Lag Ba-Omer festival in Jerusalem. *Photo: Moshe Milner, Israel Government Press Office.*

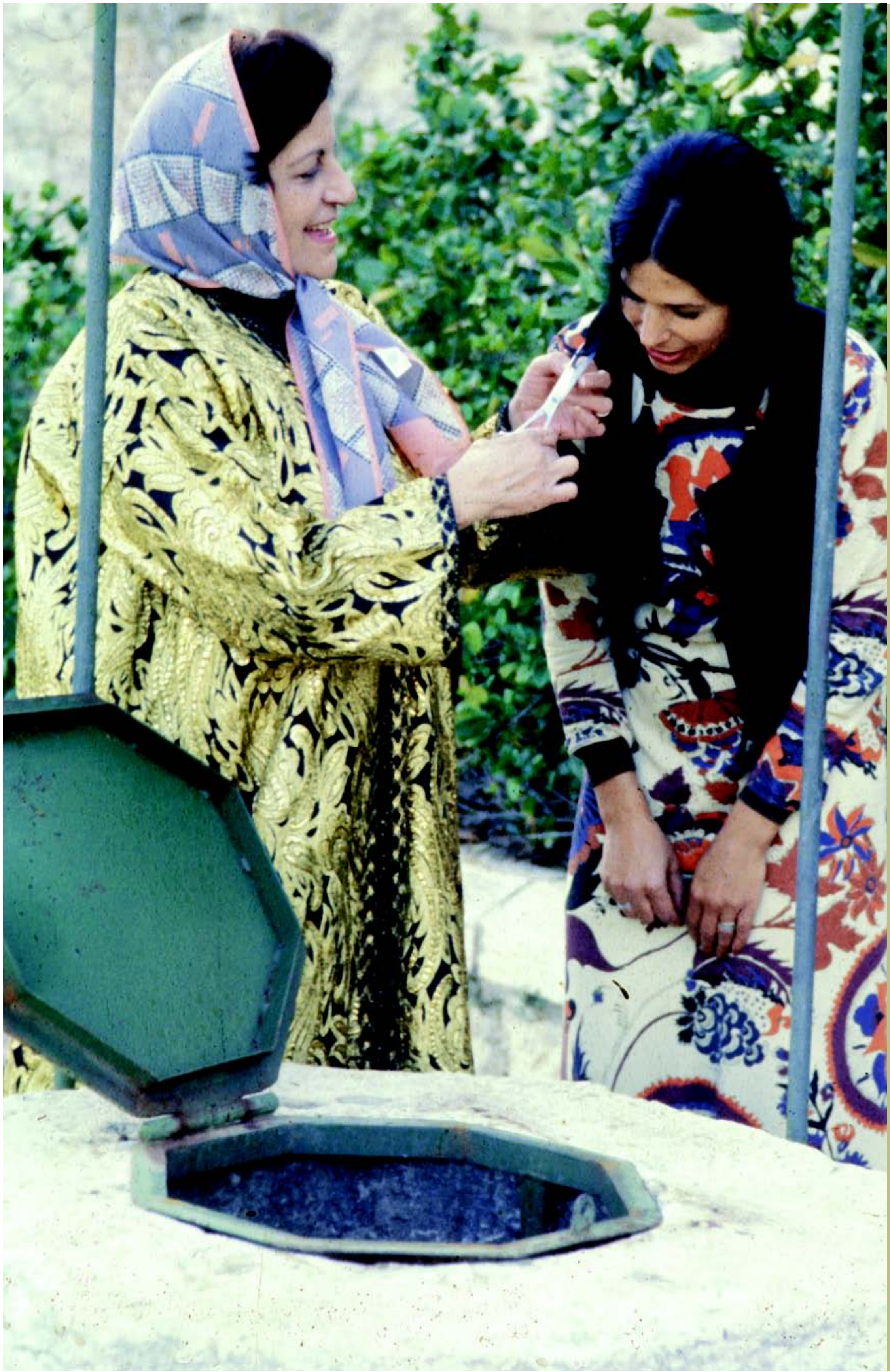

The North African Purim custom of cutting off a girl's curl and throwing it into a well, so the girl will become as pretty as Queen Esther. *Photo: Z. Radovan, Jerusalem.*

A Yemenite Jew blowing a *shofar* at the Western Wall. *Photo: Werner Braun, Jerusalem.*

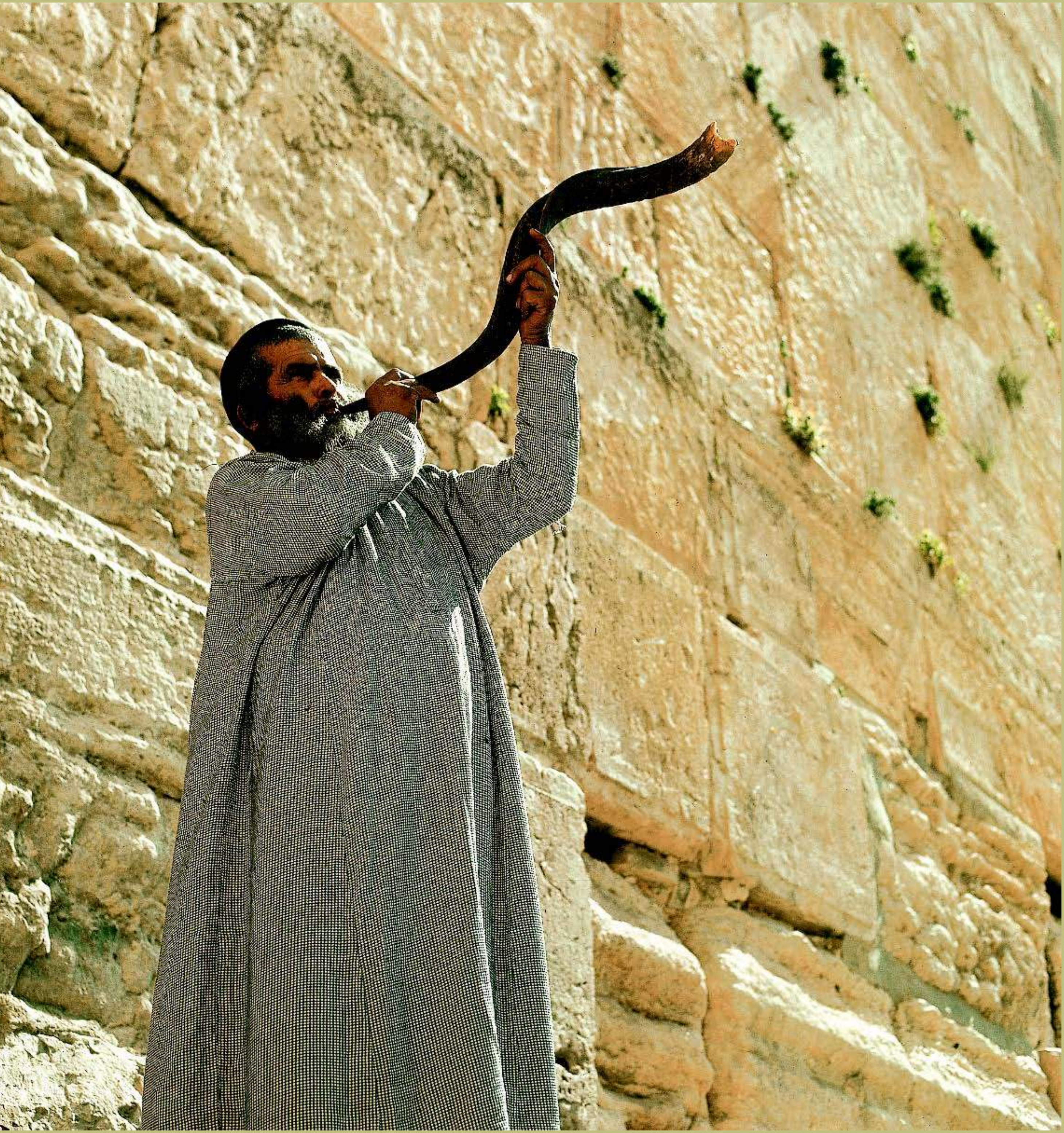

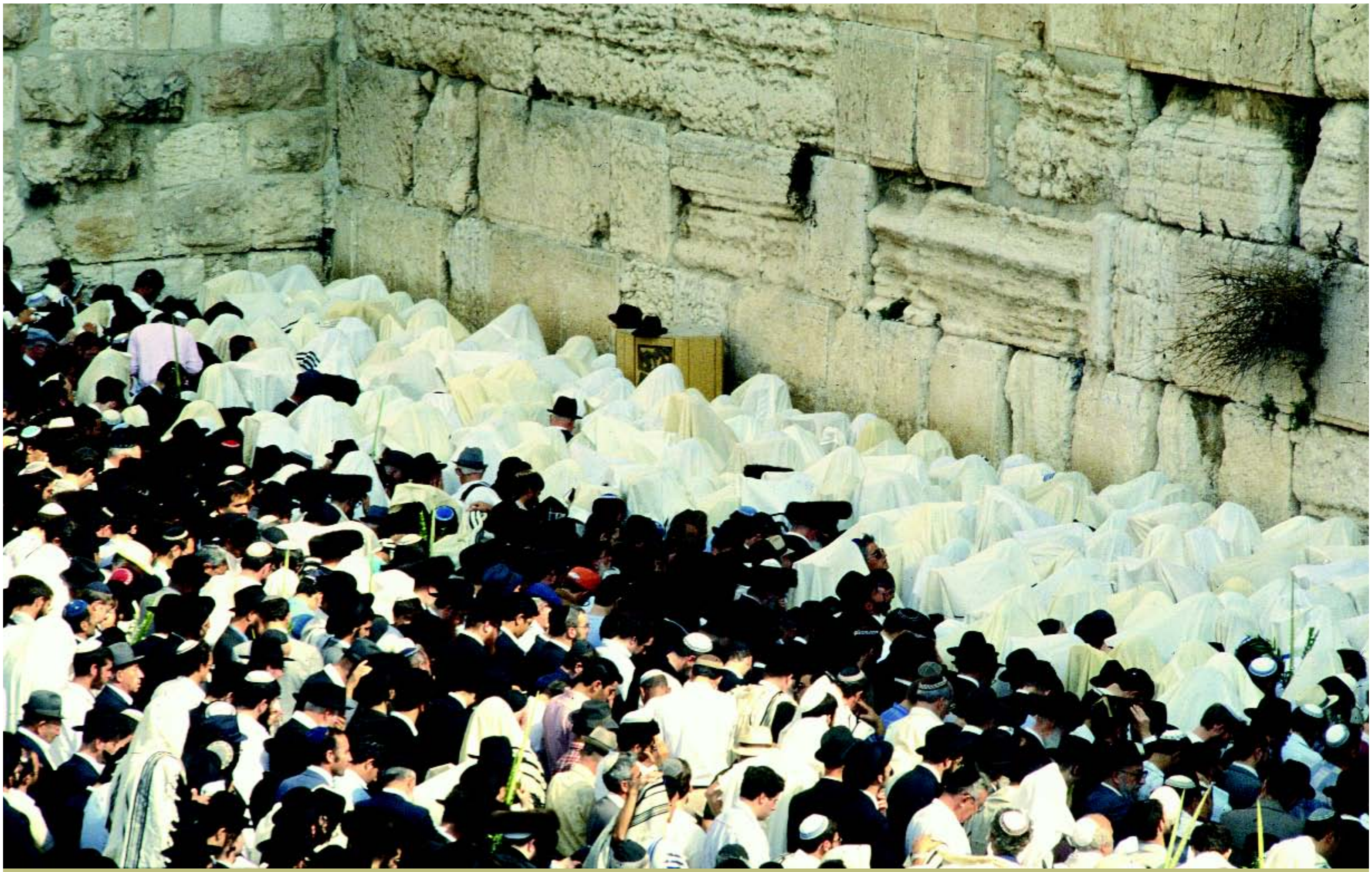

Priestly blessing during the Sukkot festival. In the days when the Temple stood in Jerusalem, it was a pilgrimage site, where people used to come to receive the blessings of the priests (kohanim). Today the ceremony is held at the Western Wall. The men with the white prayer shawls, *tallitot*, are the kohanim blessing the assembled. *Photo: Z. Radovan, Jerusalem.*

A man sits on a mattress and reads from a prayer book late in the evening on Tishah Be-Av, which marks the destruction of the Temple, 2000. *© Reuters/Corbis.*

A young girl pours water into Miriam's cup as her mother and another woman look on during a women's *seder* in New York City, 2001. Traditional *seders* place a cup of wine on the table for the prophet Elijah, but women's *seders* also add a cup of water in honor of Miriam, who was associated with a well of water that miraculously followed the Jews as they wandered in the desert. *AP Images.*

A clown in a *dreidel* costume entertains children at a Ḥanukkah party at the Jewish Museum in New York City, 2005.

© Richard Levine/Alamy.

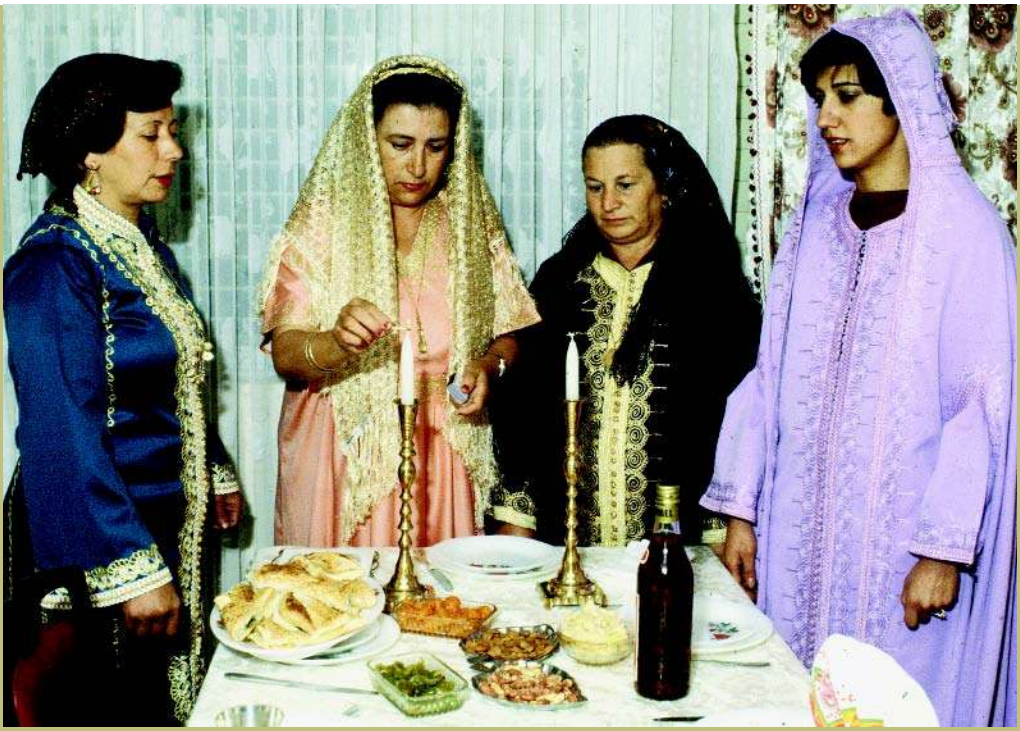

Moroccan Jewish women in traditional dress bless the Sabbath candles, Jerusalem.
Photo: Z. Radovan, Jerusalem.

Lighting the Hanukkah candles in a Jerusalem synagogue. *Photo: Z. Radovan, Jerusalem.*

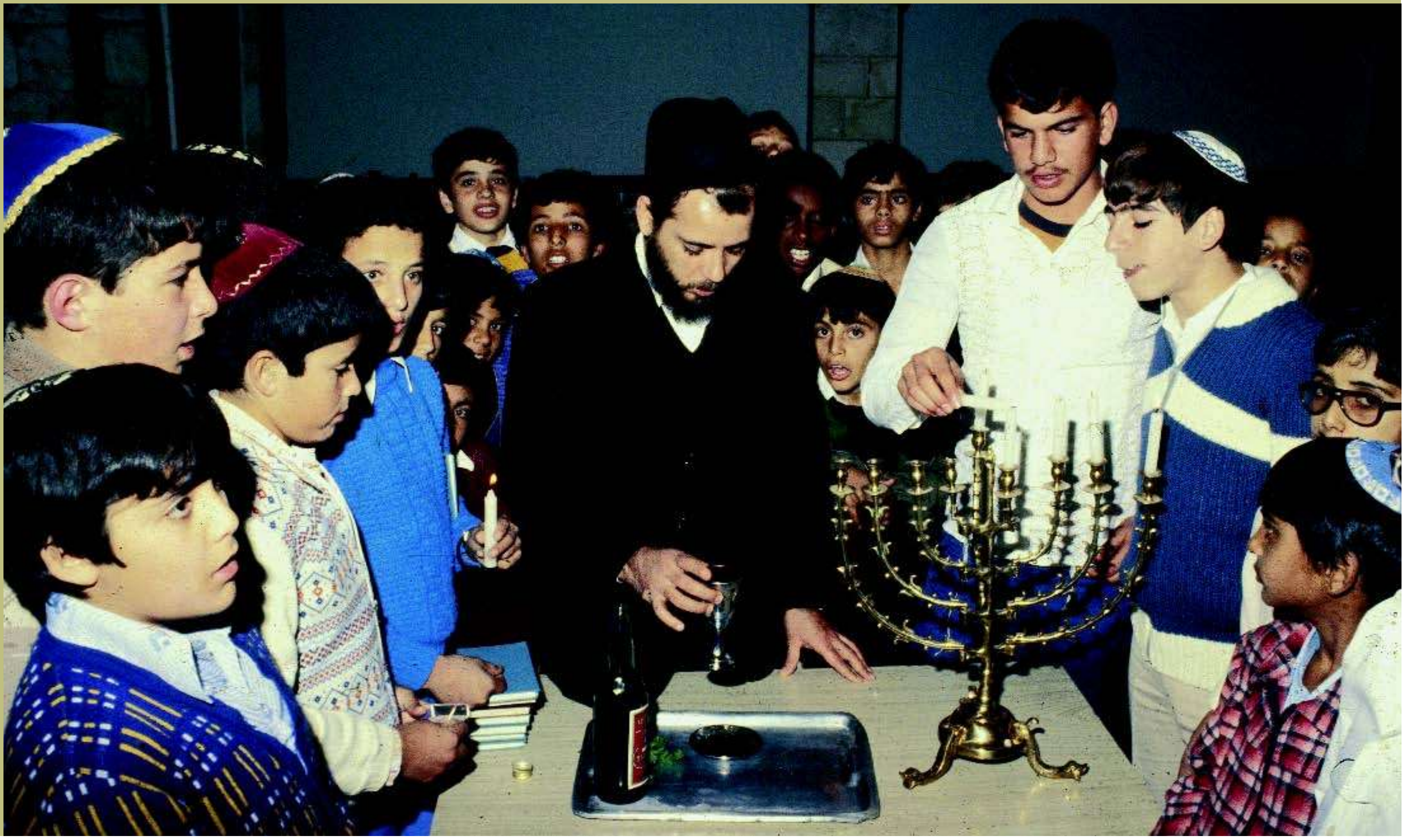

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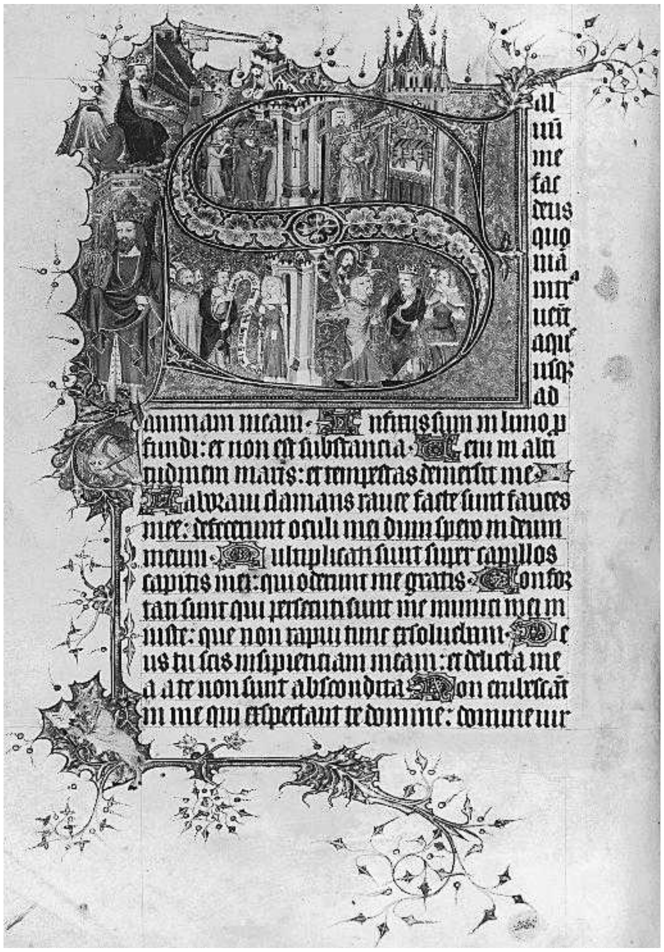

Illuminated initial letter "S" of the word Salvus *at the opening of Psalm 68 (Vulgate; 69 according to the Masoretic text) in the* Bohun Psalter, *14th century. The four scenes from the story of David are, top left, the Ark being carried up to Jerusalem (II Sam. 6:1–15); right, Michal watches David dancing before the Ark (*ibid., *16); bottom left, David reproves Michal for her criticism of him (*ibid., *20–23); right, the prophet Nathan assures David of the endurance of his kingdom (II Sam. 16). London, British Museum, EG 3277, fol. 46v.*

San-Sol

SANʿA (Ar. **Ṣanʿā**), capital of *Yemen with 1.85 million inhabitants (2005 estimate), 100 km from the coast of the Red Sea, on a plateau on the western slope of Jabal (Mount) Nuqūm, at an elevation of 2,200 meters above sea level. Once a small town of not more than 50,000 souls, its speedy development took place after the republican revolution of 1962. For many centuries it has been the chief economic, political, and religious center of the Yemen Highlands. It is one of the oldest continuously inhabited cities, known since the pre-Islamic Sabaean Kingdom. Most of the remains of that period have been destroyed through reuse of building material. The principal Sabaean monument in Sanʿa was the Ghumdn Palace, probably situated north of *al-Jāmiʾ al-Kabīr* (the Grand Mosque), the earliest reference to which is at the beginning of the third century C.E. This palace, according to al-Ḥamdānī 20 stories high, was destroyed under the caliph ʿUthmān (644–56 C.E.). Sanʿā has a very distinct architecture and is considered one of the world's most beautiful cities. Hence, it is high on international organizations preservation list.

The tradition of the Jews of Yemen refers to Sanʿa as *Resh Galūt*, namely one of the first places in Yemen in which they settled when they left Jerusalem 40 years before the destruction of the First Temple (586 B.C.E.), responding to *Jeremiah's prophecies about destruction. According to that tradition, the Jews first settled in Barāsh, at that time a fortified town at the top of Jabal Nuqūm, about another 550 meters above the city. Eduard *Glaser, who visited the place in 1882, found there Jewish inscriptions dated to 589 C.E. Rabbi Joseph Qāfih visited the place in 1937 and found a few vestiges of a synagogue and two ritual baths. Later on the Jews went down the mount to Qaṣr (the Citadel of) Sanʿa, the most ancient and the higher part of the city, adjacent to the quarter of *al-qaʾī*ʾ, after which many Jewish families are called *al-qaʾīʾī*, to give evidence that indeed Jews lived for some time in the Qaṣr, which was known as Qaṣr *Sām ibn Nuḥ*, according to a Jewish-Muslim tradition that it was built by that biblical figure (i.e., Shem). Al-Rāz, a Yemenite Muslim chronographer, writes that in 991 there were 1040 houses in Sanʿa, 35 of them occupied by Jews.

We have some more solid information regarding the next move of the Sanāni Jews from Barāsh and the Qaṣr to their first neighborhood in the city between the walls, in the eastern quarter today known as *al-Fulayī*. All sources attest that Jews were forcefully expelled from the heights of Jabal Nuqūm as part of anti-Jewish discriminatory and humiliating regulations. This did not take place immediately after the Muslim occupation of Yemen in 629, but many years later, probably under the rule of the Egyptian *Ayyubids (1173–1254). *Al-Fulayī* was located at the eastern end of the city, not far from the *Sā'ilah*, the wādī dividing the city from north to south. The Jews first built their new houses south of the gate leading to the close town of Shu'ūb, near the Wādī al-Marbakī. Rabbi Joseph Qāfiḥ informs us that, while he was visiting a Muslim scholar in *al-Fulayī* in the early 1940s, the latter showed him that his house was originally a Jewish one, as attested by the roof of the living room built to be removed for the Feast of Tabernacles. The Jewish origin of many houses in the city and their typical structure was determined as well by the German anthropologist Carl Rathjens, who visited Yemen in the 1920s and the 1930s. It is not known how long the Jews lived in this place, but it seems that for a certain period they still kept their synagogue in the Qaṣr, as attested by remains of a Bible on which it was noted that it belonged to the *Hanīsat al-yahūd fi Hārat al- Qaṣr* (the synagogue of the Jews in the neighborhood of *al-Qaṣr*) and dated to some years after the Jews were expelled from there by the Ayyubids.

For unknown reasons, and in an unknown year, the Jews had again to abandon their houses in the quarter of *al-Fulayī* and to move westward and build new houses on both sides of the *Sā'ilah*. There they suffered from the occasionally drastic floods of the *Sā'ilah*. From different documents one may deduce that this happened between 1615 and 1662, but from a note in a manuscript (see below) we can determine that it happened already in 1457.

The spiritual center of the Jewish Sanani community was the central synagogue, *kanīsat al-'ulamā'* or *Midrash ha-Ḥakhamim* (the Academy of the Scholars), which moved with the Jews from one place to another. It functioned as a Supreme Court of Appeal not only in regard to Jewish courts throughout Yemen, but in regard to the central Jewish court in Sanʿa itself. From a note in a manuscript in the library of Leiden we learn that the old synagogue of Sanʿa was destroyed in 1457 under the rule of Aḥmad ʿAmir, the founder of the Dāhirī dynasty, and that the one located in the *Sā'ilah* was destroyed in 1679. This synagogue was later restored as a mosque – *Masjid al-Jalā'* (the Mosque of the Expulsion).

The destruction of the latter synagogue was part of the big tragic event of *Galut *Mawza'* in which almost all the Jews of Yemen were expelled from their neighborhoods in cities, towns, and villages to the ancient small town in the west of Yemen, not far from the port town of *Mokha. That was a result of the Jewish messianic movement in 1667, when some Jews in Yemen, headed by a Slaymān Jamāl, a Jewish Sanani scholar, followed the messianic Shabbatean movement and tried to seize control of Sanʿa from the Muslim governor in the Qasr. The Jews were aggressively punished and, after a legal-religious debate between Muslim scholars of Yemen, Imām al-Mutawakkil Ismā'īl (1644–1676) accepted the conclusion that the Jews had lost their right to live as **dhimmis* (a protected community) under the Zaydi imamate and ordered his heir al-Mahdī Ahmad ibn al-Hasan (1676–1681) to expel all the Jews. When the expulsion edict was canceled in 1681, the Jews of Sanʿa, like Jews in other localities throughout Yemen, were not allowed to return to their neighborhoods and houses within the walls and had to build for themselves meager new houses outside the city, close to the Muslim garden neighborhood of *Bīr al-'Azab*. This new Jewish neighborhood was called *Qā' al-Yahūd* (the valley of the Jews), which for almost 140 years was completely exposed to assaults of the tribal warriors. Only in 1818 was *Qā' al-Yahūd* annexed to the city by a protecting wall.

The houses in *Qā' al-Yahūd* were small and poor, not more than two stories high in accordance with the humiliating anti-Jewish regulations, and the streets very narrow and unpleasant. During the years of chaos in the 19th century, most of the houses were abandoned by the Jews, who moved to the periphery. But following the Turkish occupation in 1872 the Jewish neighborhood was populated and, in 1876, a new neighborhood, *al-Qaryah al-Jadīda*, was built south of the old one. During the 1930s and the 1940s, under the rule of Imām Yahyā (1904–1948), *Qā ʿal-Yahūd* became very crowded, with at least 10,000 people, by the influx of Jews who left their places in towns and villages on their way to the Land of Israel or to make a better living. But the *aliyah* in the years 1949–1951 completely emptied the city of its Jews. Today nothing is left in Sanʿa to recall its Jewish history.

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[Yosef Tobi (2nd ed.)]

SANANDAJ (**Sinneh**), until 1935 main town in Iranian Kurdistan, N.W. of Hamadan. It was the center of Aramaic-speaking Jewry in Persia, but little is known about it before the 17th century. It is listed as a Jewish community in the Judeo-Persian chronicles of *Babai ibn Lutf and Babai ibn Farhad. The community was visited by disciples of the Shabbatean movement. The 19th-century traveler *David d'Beth Hillel found there two small synagogues and 100 Jewish families, some of them rich merchants (engaged in commerce with Georgia) and artisans. At that time the *nasi* of the Jewish community was also treasurer of the governor of Sinneh. In 1903 the Alliance Israélite Universelle established a school there. At the time about 2,000 Jews lived in the town. The community dwindled considerably as a result of immigration to Israel after the 1979 revolution, and no Jews lived there in 2000.

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[Walter Joseph Fischel / Amnon Netzer (2nd ed.)]

SAN ANTONIO, city in S. central Texas; 2005 population, 1,144,646; Jewish population, 12,000. As early as 1715, three years before the founding of the city, several courageous families from northern Mexico had settled on the banks of the San Antonio River. Among them were members of the Carvajal family, of Jewish descent. Two Jewish patriots of the Texan Army fought the Mexican troops in San Antonio in 1835 – Surgeon Moses Albert Levy, and Edward Israel Johnson. With the advent of Texas statehood and the simultaneous immigration to Texas of Jews from Germany and Alsace-Lorraine, a permanent Jewish community in San Antonio was established around 1850. By 1855 Jews established their own cemetery. In 1856 they had organized the Hebrew Benevolent Society, reorganized in 1885 as the Montefiore Benevolent Society; and in 1870 the Ladies Hebrew Benevolent Society was formed. By 1874 there were enough Jews to found a formal congregation, Temple Beth-El (Reform), although Jews had been gathering for worship in private homes for years.

With the mass immigration of Central and East European Jews from the early 1880s into the 20th century, more Orthodox Jews reached San Antonio. These traditionalists founded their own cemetery in 1885, organized their own congregation, Agudas Achim, in 1889, and established a *talmud torah* in 1909. As Agudas Achim became Conservative, a third synagogue – Orthodox- Rodfei Sholom-B'nai Israel, was created in 1908. Many organizations proliferated: the first B'nai B'rith lodge was chartered in 1874; a chapter of the Zionist Organization of America was formed in 1904; a section of the National Council of Jewish Women began in 1907; and a chapter of Hadassah was organized in 1918.

In 1922 the San Antonio Jewish Social Service Federation (now the Jewish Federation of San Antonio) was created to coordinate the many community groups. During World War I the influx of Jewish military personnel in the South Texas area brought the need for extensive hospitality and services in San Antonio, a major military post. This tradition, supervised by the National Welfare Board, continued throughout the years and four wars.

In the last third of the 20th century, scores of northern Jews moved to the Sun Belt, and the Jewish population of San Antonio nearly doubled during this period. In 1985, emissaries of Chabad Lubavitch established a base in San Antonio. In 1989, a Reconstructionist congregation, Beth Am, was established, and in 2005, Temple Chai, a second Reform congregation was founded. Congregations and rabbis of all wings of Judaism have traditionally enjoyed unusually harmonious and productive relationships.

Jews have been cordially accepted in all phases of industrial, commercial, and professional life in San Antonio. However, social acceptance in its highest ranks was once limited, although today there are no barriers to such acceptance. None of the three predominately Jewish social clubs organized from 1887 onward survived. San Antonio Jews have not sought political office, by and large, but the community has produced leaders in every other phase of civic life: manufacturing, creation of department stores, agriculture, banking, and the professions.

Jews have distinguished themselves in the city's philanthropic and cultural activities. Rabbi David Jacobson, together with the local Roman Catholic archbishop and the Episcopal bishop, is credited with the peaceful racial desegregation of San Antonio in the 1960s. Other prominent leaders have included: Alexander Joske, pioneer merchant and philanthropist; Dan and Anton Oppenheim, pioneer bankers, ranchers, and Confederate officers; Mayer and Sol Halff, pioneer merchants and ranchers; Frederick Oppenheimer and his wife, pioneer art collectors and museum benefactors; Max Reiter, founder of the San Antonio Symphony Orchestra; Rabbi Samuel Stahl, Helen Jacobson, Jocelyn Straus, Richard Goldsmith, Charles Martin Wender, and Michael Beldon, civic workers; Joe and Harry Freeman, agriculturalists and philanthropists; Sylvan Lang, leader in legal education; and Perry Kallison, agriculturalist and local radio personality.

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[Frances R. Kallison / Samuel Stahl (2nd ed.)]

SANBALLAT (Heb. סַנְבַלַּט; Aram. סנאבלט (Cowley, Aramaic, 30:29); Akk. *Sin-uballiṭ*, "Sin has given life"), the name of three personalities who appear as governors of Samaria during the Persian period.

Sanballat I

Designated the Horonite, Sanballat I opposed Nehemiah's efforts to rebuild the walls of Jerusalem (445 B.C.E.). The epithet is of uncertain reference, and scholars have related it to Lower or Upper Beth-Horon on the Samarian border of Benjamin; to the village Ḥuwwāra, 1 km. (⅝ mi.) south of Shechem; or to the Moabite town of Horônaim. The first location is not far from the plain of Ono where Sanballat proposed to meet Nehemiah (Neh. 6:2). The second is in the heart of Samarian territory. The third would imply a Transjordanian origin for Sanballat, parallel to that of Tobiah "the Ammonite servant" (Neh. 2:10, 19). Whatever his origin, Sanballat must have considered himself a worshiper of the God of Israel, for his sons bore the Hebrew theophoric names Delaiah ("The Lord has drawn up, delivered") and Shelemiah ("The Lord has requited"; Cowley, Aramaic, 30:29).

In the memoirs of Nehemiah, Sanballat appears both as "enemy" (Neh. 6:1, 16) and as allied by marriage to the family of the high priest (Neh. 13:28). Nehemiah describes his mission in rebuilding the wall of Jerusalem as proceeding through seven stages, each one punctuated by a futile attempt on the part of Sanballat and his allies to thwart the effort. To Sanballat and Tobiah, Nehemiah's arrival from Susa (Shushan) to seek the welfare of Jerusalem was a bad omen (Neh. 2:10). When Sanballat, Tobiah, and Geshem the Arabian heard of his intention to rebuild the wall, they mocked and scorned and wondered whether Nehemiah was contemplating rebellion. From Nehemiah's complete rejection of their remarks it may be inferred that they had sought, and perhaps even held, some official position in the city (Neh. 2:19–20). As the work proceeded, mockery turned to disbelief and anger (Neh. 3:33–35), to the point where military steps were planned. These too were successfully blocked by Nehemiah (Neh. 4). When the wall was completed and all but the gateways fully repaired, they sought by various means to dispose of Nehemiah personally or to compromise his position within the nation. These efforts likewise failed, and Nehemiah's "enemies" were forced to concede that his task was divinely supported (Neh. 6).

Even though the high priest Eliashib was aligned with Nehemiah in rebuilding the wall (Neh. 3:1), his grandson was married to Sanballat's daughter during Nehemiah's absence from Jerusalem. Upon his return Nehemiah expelled the priest from his presence (Neh. 13:28). A subsequent governor named Bagohi, however, joined with Sanballat's son Delaiah (407 B.C.E.) in supporting the reconstruction of the Elephantine Jewish Temple, with the proviso that animal sacrifices not be offered there (Cowley, Aramaic, 32).

Sanballat II

Sanballat II is known as governor of Samaria in the early fourth century B.C.E. from an Aramaic papyrus and a clay sealing in Paleo-Hebrew discovered in Wadi Dāliya north of Jericho. Both inscriptions are of Sanballat II's elder son, whose name is to be restored as either [Jesh]ua or [Jadd]ua. The latter, also a governor, was apparently succeeded by his brother Hananiah who, in turn, was succeeded by Sanballat III. The practice of papponymy (naming a child for its grandfather) was common in the Persian and Hellenistic periods.

Sanballat III

Appointed "satrap" of Samaria by Darius III, Sanballat III married his daughter Nikaso to Manasseh brother of Jaddua, high priest in Jerusalem. When Jaddua and the Jerusalem elders ordered Manasseh to dissolve the marriage or stay away from the altar, Sanballat offered him the high priesthood in a temple he would build on Mt. Gerizim. Meanwhile, Alexander the Great advanced into Palestine and Sanballat shifted his allegiance. He pressed Alexander for permission to build the new temple by arguing that, not only did Manasseh have the support of many Jews, but that it was to the conqueror's interest to see the Jews divided. He also offered Alexander a contingent of 8,000 soldiers. The offer was accepted and the soldiers subsequently settled in Egypt. Permission to erect the temple was granted and Sanballat died shortly thereafter (Jos., Ant., 11:302–25, 340–45). This incident, recorded by Josephus, is absent from the Samaritan chronicles.

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[Bezalel Porten]

SANBAR (Sandberg), MOSHE (1926–), Israeli economist. Sanbar was born in Hungary, and was imprisoned in German concentration camps during World War II. He immigrated to Israel in 1948, and after studying economics, statistics, and sociology at the Hebrew University, served from 1951 to 1958 as project director and then deputy director of the Israel Institute of Applied Social Research. In 1958 he entered the civil service, serving in the Treasury successively as director of research, deputy director of state revenues, director of the budgets, and economic adviser. In 1968 he was appointed deputy chairman and from 1970 to 1971 chairman of the board of the Israel Development Bank Ltd. as well as chief economic adviser to the minister of finance (1969–71) and acting deputy minister of commerce and industry (1970–71).

In 1971 Sanbar succeeded David *Horowitz as governor of the Bank of Israel, holding the office until 1976. He represented Israel at the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD), International Development Association (IDA), and International Finance Corporation (IFC), and was appointed by the government as chairman of the Economic Development and Refugee Rehabilitation Trust. In later years he served as chairman of the Center of Organizations of Holocaust Survivors in Israel, an umbrella organization for 29 groups and 300,000 survivors founded in 1989.

Sanbar wrote numerous articles and research studies dealing with income policy, taxation, budget policy, and central banking. His book *My Longest Year* (Hebrew and English, 1966), for which he was awarded the Yad Vashem Prize in 1967, describes his experiences during the German occupation of Hungary.

[Dov Genachowski]

SANCHES, FRANCISCO (1550/52–1623), philosopher and physician. He was born in either Braga, Portugal, or Tuy, Spain, to a Spanish New Christian family. His father, the prominent physician, Antonio Sanches, was probably from a Castilian Jewish family that included Gabriel *Sanchez, royal treasurer under Queen Isabella. Antonio and his family fled to Bordeaux around 1564, soon after the Inquisition was established in Galicia. Young Francisco apparently studied at the College de Guyenne (Montaigne, his distant cousin, also went there), in Rome and finally received his medical degree from Montpellier in 1574. He was refused a professorship there and moved to Toulouse, where he became professor of philosophy in 1585, and professor of medicine in 1612.

Sanches wrote on philosophical and medical subjects. His earliest writing is a letter to the mathematician, Father Clavius, in 1574–75, offering a skeptical criticism of the Platonic view of mathematics, and the impossibility of gaining any genuine knowledge of reality through mathematics. He wrote his most famous work, *Quod nihil sequitur* (published in 1581), presenting the best technical exposition of Renaissance philosophical skepticism, and offering the first statement of a limited empirical scientific method as the only positive way of proceeding if genuine knowledge is unattainable.

Sanches apparently coined the term "scientific method." He also wrote against astrology and other forms of Renaissance pseudoscience.

Sanches has been considered by some the first modern philosopher. They have seen him as a precursor of Descartes, because of his thoroughgoing skepticism and his method of doubt, and as a precursor of Francis Bacon because of his emphasis on empirical study. However, Sanches' skepticism is more complete than Descartes'. From an analysis of the human epistemological situation, Sanches concluded that nothing could be known about the nature or causes of reality. Human logic and science were unable to determine the real nature of things. Neither the Aristotelian nor the Platonic theories, he contended, were able to give us any genuine means of gaining knowledge. True science would give immediate, intuitive comprehension of the real features of an object. But only God could possess such knowledge. Our limitations, plus the nature of objects themselves, forever prevent us from gaining genuine knowledge. Since nothing can be known, he contended that we should instead do what we can, that is, carry on patient, careful empirical research, and cautiously judge and evaluate the data. This will not lead to knowledge, but to the best information available about the world.

Sanches saw modern science not as a new metaphysical approach to reality, but as a limited empirical way of proceeding when the quest for certainty has been abandoned. Any further information about the world can only be gained by faith. Sanches influenced the later skeptics, as well as some of the major philosophers in the 17th century. His skepticism led to a tradition of mitigated or constructive skepticism that flourished in the 17th century and has been revived in the modern positivistic and pragmatic interpretations of scientific knowledge.

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[Richard H. Popkin]

SANCHEZ, ANTONIO NUÑES RIBEIRO (1699–1783), Marrano physician. Born in Penamacor, Portugal, Sanchez fled to Holland to escape persecution and studied medicine at the University of Leiden. In 1731, on the recommendation of his teacher, the noted Professor Boerhaave, he became physician to Empress Anna Ivanovna of Russia and eventually to the czar and his family. A gifted physician, and a member of the Imperial Academy of Science, Sanchez is recorded in the *Memoirs* of Empress Catherine II as having cured her of a serious illness. However, in 1747, he was forced to leave St. Petersburg after Czarina Elizabeth Petrovna, an antisemite, discovered Sanchez' Jewish origins. He then went to Paris and resumed his medical practice in the poorer sections of the city. In 1762, when Catherine II came to power, she granted him a life pension of 1,000 rubles annually in belated recognition of his faithful service to the royal court. Sanchez published *Dissertation sur l'origine de la maladie vénérienne* (Paris, 1750) and *De Cura Variolarum Vaporarii Ope apud Russos* (1768), which first informed European physicians of the medical value of Russian vapor baths.

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SÁNCHEZ, GABRIEL (d. 1505), treasurer of the kingdom of Aragon under Ferdinand and Isabella. He was a member of a distinguished family of *Conversos, which traced its origin to the Alazar (see *Eleazar) family of Saragossa; his father, Pedro Sánchez, became converted to Christianity with the rest of his family at the beginning of the 15th century. In 1475 Gabriel Sánchez was appointed assistant to his brother Luis, who served as treasurer of Aragon, and whom he later succeeded. After the murder of the inquisitor Pedro de *Arbués in 1485, Gabriel's brothers Juan de Pedro, Alonso, and Guillén were accused of complicity, and grave charges were brought against Gabriel as well. The Inquisition, however, disregarded these accusations and his position was not affected. His brothers succeeded in fleeing from Aragon. With Luis de *Santangel, Sánchez assisted Christopher *Columbus in collecting funds for his voyages, and Columbus sent him a letter in May 1493 from Portugal similar to that which he sent to Santangel, describing his first voyage.

After Gabriel's death, his son LUIS succeeded to his position, in which he served until his death in 1530, when it was transferred to his other son, GABRIEL. During the 16th century members of the Sánchez family married into several of the prominent families of Spanish aristocracy, such as the Gurrea and Mendoza families.

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SAND, LEONARD B. (1928–), U.S. judge. Sand, a native of the Bronx, NY, who graduated from New York University and Harvard Law School, was admitted to the bar in 1953 and soon became a partner in the law firm of Robinson, Silverman, Pearce, Aronsohn, Sand and Berman. An expert on tax law, he was appointed to be a judge in Federal District Court in Manhattan in 1978. Sand presided over several important cases but two stand out: a two-decade-long case involving a desegregation lawsuit against the public schools of Yonkers, a New York City suburb, and the conviction and imprisonment of four terrorists for conspiring with Osama bin Laden in the 1998 bombings of two American embassies in East Africa. The Yonkers case, over time, stood for several things: race, class, neighborhood, the American dream. The case, brought by the United States Justice Department in 1980, then joined by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored

People, charged that race determined location and quality of education in Yonkers. The plaintiffs stated that the reason the schools were segregated was because the housing of Yonkers was segregated. Sand heard the case himself, without a jury, at the request of both sides. The trial took up most of 1983 and 1984. There were 93 days of testimony from 84 witnesses, 140 depositions, and thousands of exhibits. By the end of the trial, it was clear that Yonkers was segregated. Sand had to decide why. He saw a 40-year pattern, fueled by Yonkers city officials who approved sites for housing. Sand ordered Yonkers to redraw its districts and to move some of its poor minority residents from the poor minority side of town into public housing, to be built just for them, in the white, middle-class side of town. His ruling was appealed but subsequently upheld. In 1986 Sand ordered a federal monitor to oversee the integration of the schools through a host of court-ordered measures still in effect 20 years later, including magnet programs and busing. In the terrorism case, a jury trial, prosecutors called 92 government witnesses and introduced more than 1,300 exhibits in a four-month process. The prosecutors said the conspiracy grew out of a Muslim organization that had centers in Afghanistan and other places, including Brooklyn. Some of the members of the Brooklyn circles were convicted in the bombing of the World Trade Center in 1993 and in a plot to blow up other New York City landmarks. Sand sentenced the four men to life in prison without any chance of parole.

[Stewart Kampel (2nd ed.)]

SANDAK (Heb. סַנְדָּק; in common parlance also **sandek**), designation of the godfather who holds the male child upon his knees during the *circumcision ceremony. The name is derived either from the Greek σύνδικος (cf. Lat. *syndicus*, "patron"), or, more probably, from σύντεκνος ("companion of the father," cf. Fr. *compère*; Ger. *Gevatter*); the form *syndikos* appears in post-mishnaic Midrash literature (Yal., Ps. 723).

The function of the *sandak* probably arose from the necessity of having someone assist the *mohel* by holding the child firmly during the circumcision operation. To act as *sandak* is considered a great honor and as a meritorious religious act which, according to the kabbalists, has atoning qualities. Where a grandfather of the child is still alive, it is customary to bestow the honor of *sandak* upon him. The woman who brings the child to the circumcision and hands it over to the *sandak* is called *sandakit*. The *sandak* is also known by various other names: *ba'al berit* or *ba'al berit milah*; *tofes ha-yeled* ("holder of the child"); *av sheni* ("second father"); or *shali'aḥ* ("messenger"). Jews of European origin also use the term *kvater* (the woman, *kvaterin*), which is the corrupted form of the German *Gevatter* ("godfather"). The question is raised whether a person may be *sandak* more than once in the same family. R. *Elijah b. Solomon Zalman, the Gaon of Vilna, decided in the affirmative (Be'ur ha-Gra to YD 265), notwithstanding reservations against this practice based upon fear of the "evil eye."

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SANDALFON, name of one of the most exalted angels. Ezekiel 1:15 was interpreted in the Babylonian Talmud (Ḥag. 13b) as referring to an angel who stood on the earth with his head reaching up to the living creatures (the *ḥayyot*). This "wheel" is called Sandalfon, who is said to stand so far above his colleague, apparently *Metatron, that a journey between them would take 500 years. His place is behind the *Merkabah, the heavenly chariot, and he fashions crowns for his creator. According to the sources of the Merkabah literature, these crowns are made from Israel's prayers, an idea widely repeated in Jewish literature. Sandalfon is also mentioned as one of the highest angels in the story of Moses' ascension to heaven, and in the Midrash *Konen* he is called a mediator or "translator" between Israel and God, obviously because he transforms the words of prayer into mystical crowns on God's head. The etymology of the name is explained, probably correctly, as *synadelphos* ("confrère" or "colleague"), namely of Metatron. He is mentioned in many hymns, and conjurations regarding him and his mystery are found in Merkabah literature; one such is "The Mystery of Sandalfon" (*Merkavah Shelemah*, 1922, fol. la). Here he has the power to nullify hostile decrees against Israel. In later sources he is frequently defined as the angel set over birds, *sar ha-ofot*, particularly in the writings of the *Ḥasidei Ashkenaz and in the Zohar. Spanish kabbalists of the 13th century interpreted the name as a composition of two elements: *sandal*, meaning in the Talmud a still unformed embryo, and *fon*, understood as a formation of a face *panim*; these two elements therefore represent matter and form, brought together in Sandalfon. Many kabbalists declared that Sandalfon was an angelic transfiguration of the prophet Elijah, just as Metatron was described in earlier sources as the transfiguration of Enoch. Since the word *sandal* has the meaning "shoe," Sandalfon was also thought of as the "shoe" of the *Shekhinah*, that is to say the angel on which the feet of the *Shekhinah* rested. Some kabbalists considered him the teacher of Moses. Later Kabbalah ascribed to him a special sphere of mystical being which was essentially more than a pure angelic host.

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[Gershom Scholem]

SAN DANIELE DEL FRIULI, small town in Udine province, Friuli, N.E. Italy. The presence of Jews is first confirmed in a document dating from 1523 which refers to the management of a bank entrusted to one Simon Nantua and, later, to his sons. There were also Jewish physicians living in San Daniele at least from 1549.

In 1600, two Luzzatto brothers, who had come from Venice, joined the bank; in 1623–1624 the bank passed to the Luzzatto family's control alone. The Luzzattos managed the bank until 1714, when it was suppressed following the opening of a **Monte di Pieta*. Meanwhile the community had grown. The Catholic reaction reached San Daniele in the early 17th century, the Jews being compelled to wear the *badge in 1626.

The 18th century was a period of expansion for the Jewish community, although the Venetian government closed the bank. Aside from the bank, the Jews were engaged in other professions, such as raising silkworms; agriculture (mainly beekeeping); handicrafts, such as goldsmiths; industry, such as the production of bricks; and trade in tobacco. The synagogue was erected between the years 1729 and 1731. In the same period, in 1735, the community purchased an area for the cemetery. The Luzzatto family dominated the life of San Daniele. An important figure was Letizia Luzzatto. San Daniele was the birthplace of the brothers Ephraim and Isaac *Luzzatto, both poets; the latter, who studied medicine at the University of Padua, was a successful physician. He wrote a book of poetry, *Toledot Yiẓḥak*. He also satirized the local life in his parody, *Mishnayot Sandaniel*. In 1777 the Republic of Venice, on whom San Daniele was dependent, decreed the expulsion of the Jews from all places without a ghetto; San Daniele therefore had to be abandoned. It seems that the services of Isaac Luzzatto were so valued by the local population that the local authorities requested the Serenissima to exclude the latter from the decree of expulsion. Some of those expelled sought refuge in Gorizia, but the majority went to Trieste. Among the latter was Ezechia Luzzatto, father of Samuel David *Luzzatto. In the first decades of the 20th century a small community was reestablished in San Daniele, but it was short-lived.

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[Attilio Milano / Samuele Rocca (2nd ed.)]

°**SANDBERG, WILLEM JACOB** (1897–1984), Dutch museum curator and Righteous Among the Nations. Sandberg served as the curator of the Stedelijk (Municipal) Museum in Amsterdam, a position he held from 1938. During the occupation of the Netherlands by the Germans in World War II, Sandberg helped organize an artists' resistance movement. Shocked by the persecution of the Jews, together with several friends he began forging identity cards. His training and expertise as a graphic designer was of help to him in this clandestine endeavor, as well as his contacts in the publishing world. When young Dutch men were called up for forced labor, Sandberg's group produced numerous forged documents for people electing not to report for work in Germany. The Jewish Dorothea Hertz-Loeb was one of those who benefited from Sandberg's aid, to whom, along with three members of her family, he supplied forged identity papers, which were produced in the basement of the museum. When the deportation of Jews began on a massive scale in the summer of 1942, the artists' resistance group decided to blow up the Population Registration Office in Amsterdam. Sandberg participated in the planning of this operation, including the capture of the heavily guarded building and setting fire to the archives. The explosives to be used in this attack were temporarily stored in his home. After much preparation, the attack was carried out on March 27, 1943. Unfortunately, the Germans eventually got wind of the identity of the perpetrators of this attack and most were arrested, with 13 men condemned to death and executed in July 1943. Sandberg luckily escaped arrest. The night when his home was searched, he happened to be in the dunes near the North Sea, where the art treasures of Amsterdam had been hidden. His wife and son, however, were arrested and incarcerated for several months. Sandberg hid in the countryside for the remainder of the occupation, circulating letters to make people believe he had escaped to Switzerland. From his hideout, he sent reports on German troop movements. After the war, Sandberg served until 1963 as director of the Stedelijk Museum, which he turned into an internationally acclaimed museum of contemporary art. In 1964, he accepted the invitation to head the newly established Israel Museum in Jerusalem, a position he held until 1968. That year, Yad Vashem awarded him the title of Righteous Among the Nations.

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[Mordecai Paldiel (2nd ed.)]

SANDERLING, KURT (1912–), conductor. Sanderling was born in East Prussia and began his conducting career at the age of 18, as assistant conductor at the Berlin Staatsoper. Forced to leave Nazi Germany, he was subsequently engaged to conduct the Moscow Radio Orchestra. A guest performance with the Leningrad Philharmonic Orchestra led to his becoming, with Mravinsky, its director (1941–60). In 1960, he moved to East Berlin, where he became chief conductor of the Berlin Symphony Orchestra. Sanderling also directed the Dresden Staatskapelle Orchestra between 1964 and 1967, taking it on European tours.

[Max Loppert (2nd ed.)]

SANDERS, BERNARD (1941–), independent member of Congress (1991–). Sanders was born in Brooklyn, New York, the son of a paint salesman who immigrated to the U.S. as a young man. His mother raised her two sons in a small apartment, while his father earned a steady but limited income. Sanders' family circumstances, in which money was often tight, strongly influenced his understanding of the financial difficulties that face many working class families. Sanders graduated from James Madison High School in Brooklyn and spent one year at Brooklyn College. He then transferred to the University of Chicago, where he graduated in 1964 and then bought land in Middlesex, Vermont.

In 1971 his interest in progressive politics took him to a meeting of the newly formed Liberty Union Party, a third-party alternative to the Democrats and the Republicans. He left that meeting as the party's candidate for the U.S. Senate, and ended up with two percent of the vote. He ran three more races as a Liberty Union candidate – once more for the U.S. Senate, and twice for governor. His highest statewide vote as a Liberty Union candidate was six percent.

In 1981, he ran for mayor of Burlington, the largest city in the state and a university town. His victory was far from overwhelming. He beat the six-term Democratic incumbent by 12 votes. He won reelection three more times. In 1987, he defeated the mayoral candidate that both parties supported. During his tenure, the Progressives won several seats on the City Council. He worked on a people-friendly waterfront and on creating a tax base beyond the property tax. His support came from the working class instead of the business establishment.

Sanders stepped down as mayor of Burlington after four terms, and eight years. He was followed in office by a fellow Progressive. In 1986, he ran for governor of Vermont and came in third with 14 percent of the vote. In 1988, he ran for Vermont's lone seat in the U.S. House of Representatives and lost by only three percentage points. A rematch in 1990 had Sanders a 16-point victor. He served in Congress as an independent, though he caucused with the Democrats and was given seniority by them. He was the first independent to serve in Congress since the 1940s and only the third avowed socialist to be elected to that body.

In Congress he pursued a progressive political agenda and founded the Progressive Coalition, which sought tax reform and single payer health insurance and reduced defense spending. He took on the Administration – Democratic and Republican alike – for a progressive agenda. Through 2005 he had been re-elected seven times. He was the longest-serving independent in the history of the House of Representatives.

Sanders received national recognition by helping to lead the fight to keep lower-income Vermonters and Americans warm in the wintertime, through successful efforts to increase funding for the Low-Income Home Energy Assistance (LIHEAP). He also brought funding into the state for the student-based development of a curriculum on child-labor.

He followed the politically interesting principle "act locally, think globally" and thus led a well-publicized bus trip across the Canadian border with Vermonters to buy prescription drugs. As a result, the nation learned that the pharmaceutical industry sells exactly the same medicine in Canada, and every other country, at far lower prices than they are sold in the United States. Sanders played an active role in working with Vermont IBM employees who experienced a massive cut-back in the pensions they had been promised by that company. In Congress he established the House Progressive Caucus that had grown to 56 members as of 2005. Sanders chaired the caucus for its first eight years. Unlike most of his colleagues, he refused to take PAC money and thus protected his independence. With the retirement of former Republican, and now independent, Senator Jeffords, Sanders was set to become an independent candidate for the Senate in 2006. Representing Vermont on a statewide basis, he begins the race with significant name recognition, and having run in statewide races time and again, since his seat is the only House seat Vermont has in Congress.

[Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

SANDGROUND, JACK HENRY (1899–1976), U.S. parasitologist. Born in Johannesburg, South Africa, he went to the U.S. in the early 1920s. Sandground's research dealt with a wide variety of parasitic problems, especially those involved with the helminths.

His investigations of the worms included their biology and taxonomy, as well as problems concerned with immunity and chemotherapy. He served as a member of many scientific expeditions. Sandground carried out research on the nutrition of protozoa, immunology against poliomyelitis, and the detoxication of arsenicals and other drugs utilized in treating neurosyphilis and various tropical diseases.

[Norman Levin]

SAN DIEGO, combined city-county in S. California; county population 3 million (2005), Jewish population 89,000.

Jewish life in San Diego started in what is called Old Town, near the San Diego River and just below the hill on which the Spanish built the first California mission in 1769. The first Jew arrived at this remote frontier site in 1850, the same year the city received its charter. In this town of 800, there were, perhaps, 25 Jews until the 1860s. Most were very visible for their number, both as businessmen and civic leaders. When, in the 1870s, the center of town moved southeast, to its permanent location, on San Diego Bay, the Jewish population moved also. They set up stores and lived nearby; the first synagogues were in this downtown area. In the 1920s the reform congregation, Beth Israel, moved uptown to the west side of Balboa Park, and by the mid-20th century the Conservative and Orthodox congregations had moved uptown to the north and east sides of the park. The neighborhood of North Park became the center of Jewish life with a kosher butcher, bakery, a Jewish Community Center and the homes and businesses of many of the patrons. By the late 1970s the community had migrated primarily to the east, near San Diego State University, to the South in Chula Vista, and a little to the north. With the coming of the University of California San Diego to La Jolla in the late 1960s, the Jewish community began to move there as well. Prior to that, beginning in the 1940s, the residents of La Jolla had a restrictive covenant against Jews and other minorities in their property deeds, which was enforced by the real estate agents. At the beginning of the 21st century there was no Jewish area, and the population was very spread out. Jews congregate throughout San Diego County, from the Mexican border to the northern boundary, the Marine Base at Camp Pendleton. As a matter of fact, Jews even congregate at Camp Pendleton and south of the border in Tijuana.

Religious Life

Louis Rose, the first Jewish settler, arrived in 1850. A multi-talented entrepreneur, he also held various prominent government positions. He was an early benefactor to the Jewish community, and two locations, Rose Canyon and Roseville are named for him. Rose was joined by Lewis Franklin who held the first recorded Jewish religious observance (Day of Atonement) in Southern California in his home soon after he arrived in 1851. Perhaps this was Franklin's hobby, as he had held the first Jewish service in San Francisco in 1849. The Jewish population increased dramatically with the arrival of Mark Jacobs (aka Jacob Marks), his wife, Hannah, and their 12 children. One daughter, Leah, married Marcus Katz in the first Jewish marriage ceremony in Southern California in 1853; another daughter, Victoria, who married Franklin's brother, Maurice, kept a diary (1856–57), which is an important record of Jewish life at that time.

Marcus Schiller was a businessman, public official, and Jewish community leader for 40 years. During his tenure on the City Board of Trustees, along with his business partner, Joseph Mannasse, 1,400 acres were set aside for Balboa Park, the main park in the city center. In 1861, Schiller organized the first congregation, Adath Jeshurun (Orthodox), the oldest congregation in Southern California, which in 1887 incorporated as Congregation Beth Israel (Reform). The Jewish population at this time was approximately 300. In the midst of planning its synagogue, the congregation hired its first rabbi, Samuel Freuder, in 1888. Within a year he left and became a Christian missionary. Twenty years later, he realized his mistake and wrote a book called *A Missionary's Return in Judaism* (1915). Built of wood in the gothic style, Temple Beth Israel was completed in 1889 and used for 37 years. Moved to a county park in 1978, it is one of the two oldest synagogue structures extant in California. With the Jewish population of San Diego increasing to 2,000, Congregation Beth Israel built its second home, a Byzantine-style synagogue, in 1926, near Balboa Park. Its "Temple Center" became the focal point of Jewish communal life for over 25 years. When the congregation moved to its third home in 2001, its previous building was saved from demolition, because of its eligibility for the National Register of Historic Places. At the beginning of the 21st century, Beth Israel was the only congregation in the American West to have its three synagogues still in use.

In 1905, East European immigrants formed an orthodox congregation, Tifereth Israel Synagogue. When, in 1939, this congregation became Conservative, another Orthodox congregation was formed, Beth Jacob. These three congregations, which were led out of the war years by three influential rabbis – Reform, Morton J. Cohn (1946–61); Conservative, Monroe Levens (1948–74), and Orthodox, Baruch Stern (1947–77) – were the only ones until the 1950s, when the Jewish population increased to 6,000 and new congregations formed. By the beginning of the 21st century, there were over 30 congregations, including the three original ones, covering all the trends in Judaism, from Humanistic to Chabad.

Communal Life

As the Jewish community grew, so did the need for social and communal service. At the beginning, men and women took separate paths to this end.

Forty men, led by Marcus Schiller, formed the first Hebrew Benevolent Society of San Diego in 1871. Twenty-six signatories received the charter for the B'nai B'rith Eduard Lasker Lodge #370 in 1887, with Simon Levi as president. By mid-20th century there were seven men's lodges, some named for prominent citizens such as Samuel I. Fox, Edward Breitbard, and Henry Weinberger. In 1929 Anna Shelley organized the Birdie Stodel B'nai B'rith Women's Chapter which grew by mid-century into five chapters in the county. AZA Fraternity and B'nai B'rith Girls followed in 1930, and Hillel in 1947. In mid-century Zionist groups were also strong, but by the end of the century, most of the organizations, except for Hillel, were in decline.

In 1890, Mrs. Simon Levi organized the Ladies Hebrew Aid Society, with 20 members "to render relief to the sick and needy, to rehabilitate families and to aid the orphan and half-orphan." This group joined with the Jolly Sewing Circle, Hebrew Sisterhood and Junior Charity League in 1918 to form the Federated Jewish Charities. In 1936, the Charities split into two: the Jewish Welfare Society, later to become Jewish Family Service, incorporated, and the United Jewish Fund, predecessor of the United Jewish Federation of San Diego, was formed. The Jolly 16, a women's social and benevolent group, started a ten-bed San Diego Hebrew Home for the Aged which opened in 1944. A much larger facility opened in 1950, in partnership with the Jewish Community Center, and in 1989 the Hebrew Home expanded and moved to northern San Diego County. The first Jewish Community Center opened in 1946 in a storefront in North Park. Within six years a new building with a pool, gymnasium, classrooms and a library opened in the eastern part of the city, which served the community for almost 50 years. A larger facility opened in the La Jolla area in 1985 and was expanded in the late 1990s.

Mrs. Abraham Blochman started formal Jewish education for Beth Israel's children in 1887. Education remained the purview of individual congregations until the 1960s, when the San Diego Hebrew Day School and the Bureau of Jewish Education were created. The Bureau became the independent Agency for Jewish Education in 1986. In 1979 the San Diego Jewish Academy began, and 20 years later it opened as a full-time school at a large campus in northern San Diego.

In 1970, with the Jewish population at 12,000, a Judaic studies program began at San Diego State University. Fifteen years later this program grew into the Lipinsky Institute for Judaic Studies, sponsored by arts patrons Bernard and Dorris Lipinsky. Lawrence Baron, the director of the Institute since 1988, holds the Nasatir Professorship in Modern Jewish History, named for Abraham P. Nasatir, an Orthodox Jew who was the first Jewish professor at the university (1928–1974). When he arrived, most of the students and faculty had never met a Jew before, but by the end of his tenure, Nasatir Hall had been named for him. University of California, San Diego, started its Judaic Studies program in 1977, with an emphasis on biblical scholarship, attracting some of the nation's foremost scholars, such as David Noel Freedman, Richard Elliott Friedman, David Goodblatt, and Thomas Levy.

A group of women, under the direction of Irene Fine, began the Women's Institute for Continuing Jewish Education in 1977. It pioneered the teaching of Torah, Talmud and Midrash by women. *The San Diego Women's Haggadah* (1980), the first women's text for a feminist *seder*, was followed by other publications which led the way for Jewish feminists.

With the Jewish population at 30,000 in 1980, a small group led by historian Henry Schwartz founded the Jewish Historical Society of San Diego. Its archive for local Jewish history was established in 1999 by Stanley and Laurel Schwartz in cooperation with the Lipinsky Institute. The archive's opening in 2000 celebrated 150 years of San Diego Jewry.

The year 1914 saw the first weekly Jewish newspaper, *The Southwest Jewish Press*, which later became the *San Diego Jewish Press Heritage*, concluding its run in 2003. In 2005, there were two Jewish newspapers: the bi-weekly *San Diego Jewish Times*, formerly *Israel Today*, and the monthly *San Diego Jewish Journal*. Rabbi Aaron Gottesman brought the community a Jewish radio program called "Milk and Honey" during the 1980s.

Personalities

The following people are some of those who have made contributions which have had a lasting effect on the community and beyond.

French immigrant Abraham Blochman and his son Lucien started the Blochman Banking Company in 1893. By the late 20th century, it had become Security Pacific National Bank, one of the largest banks in California. The Blochman family took various leadership roles in the Jewish community and in civic and communal affairs. Lucien was a director of the Panama-California Exposition of 1915 which gave Balboa Park its Spanish architecture. He and his sister Mina Blochman Brust helped found the San Diego Chapter of the American Red Cross at the turn of the century, and Mina started the First Aid Program in 1919.

Abraham Klauber, who arrived in 1869, was an early merchant and San Diego booster whose descendants were prominent into the 21st century. Daughter Alice Klauber, an artist, directed the arts pavilion at the 1915 Exposition. A business partner of Abraham Klauber, Sigmund Steiner moved to Escondido in north San Diego County to open a store and became mayor (1894–1906). Under his leadership, the grape growing industry flourished with an annual Grape Day Festival and parade, one of the largest in Southern California. The festival at Grape Day Park was still celebrated at the beginning of the 21st century.

The five Levi brothers, two of whom had long lasting effects in San Diego county and were also business partners of Klauber, came to San Diego in the 1870s. Simon was a civic and religious leader who started the Simon Levi Company, wholesale grocery and liquor. Adolph, whose interests spread from the Pacific Ocean to the easternmost reaches of the county, was in the livery and ranching business. Also a civic and religious leader, his descendants carried on the family's communal spirit into the 21st century.

Samuel I. Fox owned the Lion Clothing Store, which was located next to the Hog and Hominy Store operated by a Mr. Baer on what was known as the "Zoo Block." From 1886 to his death in 1939, he was a civic, communal and religious leader who promoted the business community by helping to secure local control of the port and the water supply. In 1930 he was the first president of the San Diego Community Chest and was one of the organizers of the 1935 Exposition in Balboa Park which helped pull the city out of the depression.

Brothers Henry and Jacob Weinberger were communal and religious leaders. Jacob became the first federal judge in San Diego in 1946 and was the founding president of the United Jewish Fund (1936–45). The restored 1917 federal bankruptcy courthouse is named for him. Judge Edward Schwartz was appointed to the U.S. District Court by President Johnson in 1968, where he remained until his death in 2000. During his term he became chief justice, and in 1995 the U.S. Courthouse was named the Edward J. Schwartz Courthouse and Federal Building.

In the later part of the 20th century, several business people made their mark on the national scene and became local philanthropists. Sol Price, 1976 founder of the first national retail membership warehouse, The Price Club, along with his family, has funded much neighborhood redevelopment and university growth. Pioneering scientists, Irwin Jacobs and Andrew Viterbi, founded LINKABIT, in 1968, a breakthrough company in the development of digital technology. In 1985 they went on to start Qualcomm, the cell phone industry giant. Both men, their families and their companies became major philanthropists, with the Jewish Community Center, synagogues, the San Diego Symphony, Qualcomm Stadium, theaters, public broadcasting and universities as some of the beneficiaries of their gifts.

Jews have participated in the arts with internationally renowned conductor, David Amos, who directs the Jewish Community Orchestra, and Ian Campbell, the San Diego Opera director since 1983. Under his direction the opera commissioned local composer Myron Fink to write the music for *The Conquistador*, the story of a family of secret Jews during the Inquisition in Mexico, which premiered in San Diego in 1997.

Robert Breitbard founded the San Diego Hall of Champions Sports Museum, in 1961. Located in Balboa Park and with Breitbard still its driving force at the beginning of the 21st century, it was the nation's largest multi-sport museum. The Park is also host to the Museum of Photographic Arts, whose founding director, Arthur Ollman, has brought world class exhibitions to the museum since 1983 and into the 21st century.

Jack Gross started the first TV station in San Diego, KFMB, in 1949, and along with his son radio talk-show host and critic, Laurence Gross, Jews have maintained a long and steady presence on local TV news into the 21st century, with newscasters Marty Levine, Susan Taylor, and Gloria Penner.

In the national public sphere, former industrialist, Colonel Irving Salomon came to San Diego County after World War II. In 1953 President Eisenhower appointed him as a delegate to the United Nations General Assembly, for which he worked until his death in 1979. He and his wife Cecile, a classical pianist and composer of Jewish music, entertained notables at their ranch in Valley Center and were benefactors for cultural programs.

Real estate developer M. Larry Lawrence bought and restored the famous 1888 Hotel Del Coronado in 1963. His philanthropy helped create the new Jewish Community Center in 1985 which bears his family name. President Clinton made him ambassador to Switzerland (1994–96).

Jonas Salk, originator of the poliomyelitis vaccine, started the Salk Institute in La Jolla in 1963 and created a haven for world renowned research, while enabling architect Louis Kahn to design one of the world's great buildings.

Though many Jews had served the city government as elected officials, the first Jewish mayor, Susan Golding, was elected in 1992, serving for two terms. Her father, Brage Golding, was president of San Diego State University from 1972 to 1977.

In 1993 two Jews were elected to congress, Robert Filner and Lynn Schenk. Schenk later became chief of staff for Governor Gray Davis, and Filner continued his tenure in congress into the 21st century. In 2000 Susan Davis was elected to congress. In 2005, two out of the five-person county congressional delegation were Jewish.

William Kolender, a career law enforcement professional, served as the chief of the San Diego Police Department for 13 years, beginning in 1975. After a short retirement, in 1995 he was elected sheriff of San Diego County, and he held the post into the 21st century. Together with Rabbi Aaron Gottesman, he started the San Diego Police Department Chaplaincy Program in 1968.

Former U.S. attorney, Alan Bersin, completed a tenure as superintendent of San Diego City Schools in 2005 and was appointed by Governor Arnold Schwarzenegger as secretary of education for California.

At the beginning of the 21st century, as California's population swelled, so did the Jewish population, with newcomers from all parts of the U.S. and other countries such as South Africa, Iran, and especially from Latin and South America. Cousins of first generation eastern European Jewish immigrants, who came to the U.S. at the beginning of the 20th century, found themselves welcomed in Mexico and other Latin countries, and eventually, in San Diego. Proximity to Mexico provided a distinct flavor, as Jewish residents moved back and forth across the border for business, social activities and worship. The migratory inclination of the community was broadened by snowbirds in the winter, "zonies" (Arizonans), refugees from the desert heat, in the summer, a growing retirement community, and a large military presence. Many had strong ties to other places, which sometimes restrained their participation in local community life. Close-knit alliances formed, based on origins, either native or immigrant, as extended families were far away.

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[Stan Schwartz and Laurel Schwartz (2nd ed.)]

SANDLER, ADAM RICHARD (1966–), U.S. actor, screenwriter, musician. Sandler was born in Brooklyn, New York, but spent his childhood and teenage years in Manchester, N.H., where most of his family continued to reside. Sandler was discovered in a New York comedy club by *Saturday Night Live* (*SNL*) member Dennis Miller. He was a *SNL* cast member for five years, creating such notable characters as Opera Man, Canteen Boy, and Cajun Man. In 1996, his "Chanukah Song" became one of the most requested holiday songs on radio. Sandler appeared in over a dozen feature films, specializing in broad, physical comedy, from the early *Coneheads* (1993), to *Billy Madison* (1995) and *Happy Gilmore* (1996), on which he shared screenwriting credit, to the title roles in *The Wedding Singer* (1998), *The Waterboy* (1998), and *Big Daddy* (1999). He turned to dramatic roles with *Punch-Drunk Love* (2002) and in 2005 reprised the role of prison inmate/former pro quarterback Paul Crewe, originally played in 1974 by Burt Reynolds, in *The Longest Yard*. With *Adam Sandler's 8 Crazy Nights*, Sandler created the first feature length animated Chanukah musical (2002). He also appeared in *Anger Management* with Jack Nicholson (2003), James Brooks' *Spanglish* (2004), and *50 First Dates* with Drew Barrymore (2004).

[Amy Handelsman (2nd ed.)]

SANDLER, BORIS (1950–), Yiddish writer, journalist, broadcaster. Born in Beltsy (Moldova), Sandler graduated from the Kishinev Conservatory (1975) and was violinist in the Moldovian Symphony Orchestra. In 1983 he received an advanced degree in creative writing from the Gorky Literary Institute (Moscow). Having first attempted writing in Russian, Sandler soon realized that his native Yiddish was more suitable for his themes and style. Although no formal education in Yiddish existed in the Soviet Union after 1948, he was fortunate to find as a mentor the prominent Bessarabian Yiddish author Yekhiel *Shraybman. He debuted in the Moscow Yiddish monthly *Sovetish Heymland* (1981), whose editorial board he later joined (1986). He was president of the Yiddish Cultural Organization of Moldova, had a Yiddish program on Moldovan State Television, edited *Undzer Kol*, and wrote two film scripts about the fate of Bessarabian Jewry (1989–92). Immigrating to Israel (1992), he worked at The Hebrew University and edited the children's magazine *Kind un Keyt*. From 1998 he was editor-in-chief of the New York weekly *Forverts*. In addition to numerous stories, essays, and articles in periodicals, Sandler published several volumes of fiction: *Treplekh aroyf tsu a Nes: Dertseylungen un Noveln* ("Stairs up to a Miracle: Tales and Short Stories," 1986), *Der Inyen Numer 5390* (*fun di KGB Arkhivn*) ("Case No. 5390, from the KGB Archives," 1992), *Der Alter Brunem: Dertseylungen, Miniatyurn, Roman* ("The Old Well: Tales, Miniatures, Novel," 1994), *Toyern* ("Gates," 1997), and *Ven der Goylem hot Farmakht di Oygn* ("When the Golem Closed his Eyes," 2004). The major theme of Sandler's fiction is the past and present of Bessarabian Jews. His style remains close to the spoken idiom, but is also influenced by recent modes, such as magical realism.

[Mikhail Krutikov (2nd ed.)]

SANDLER, JACOB KOPPEL (d. 1931), composer and music director. Sandler was born in Bielozwekvo and as a child sang in the choir of Cantor Mordecai Minkowsky (the father of Pinhas *Minkowsky). He later became choral director for Cantor Samuel Polishuk. He married and went into business, but subsequently lost his money and in 1888 went to the United States. There he became choral director for several well-known cantors and, at the same time, directed Yiddish theater choruses, first as an assistant to Zelig Mogulescu and then as an independent composer and director. In 1889 Sandler produced Goldfaden's *Dr. Almasad* and in 1896 composed the music for Joseph Lattiner's operetta *Kiddush ha-Shem or the Jewish Minieer*. He also composed for M. Horowitz' operettas *The Hero and Bracha or the Jewish King of Poland for a Night* (1896). In the latter work the song "Eli, Eli" (generally spelled Eili, Eili) with text by Boris Tomashefsky, was featured, and, because of its tremendous effect, the operetta played for many weeks. It became one of the most popular Jewish compositions in the Western world and was performed and recorded by folk and opera singers, as well as cantors. Jossele *Rosenblatt maintained that before "Eili, Eili" appeared in this American operetta, it was heard in Europe as a folksong. He further alleged that the melody was also found among the compositions for *seliḥot* by a cantor of an earlier generation. The controversy has not been resolved. In any case, the appearance of "Eili, Eili" as an anonymous "folk song" in most of the recordings and printed versions (including the publications of the *Society for Jewish Folk Music) cannot be adduced as proof of a folk origin, since all of them postdate the operetta. Sandler served for a time as composer-director of the Arch Street Theatre in Philadelphia and then withdrew from the theater to appear as a synagogue choral director for the High Holy Days.

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[Avraham Soltes]

SANDMEL, SAMUEL (1911–1979), biblical scholar. Sandmel was born in Dayton, Ohio, and graduated from the University of Missouri in 1932 and from the Hebrew Union College in 1937, receiving his doctorate from Yale University in 1949. He served as Hillel Foundation rabbi in North Carolina from 1939 to 1942, and at Yale from 1946 to 1949. He was professor of Jewish Literature and Thought at Vanderbilt University from 1949 to 1952. In 1952 he was appointed professor of Bible and Hellenistic literature at the Hebrew Union College. Among the many honorary degrees bestowed upon him was the President's Fellowship, by Brown University. At the time of his death he was Helen A. Regenstein Professor of Religion of the Chicago Divinity School. He was also an editor of the Oxford Study Edition of the New English Bible. Sandmel was an internationally recognized authority on the relationship between Judaism and the New Testament.

Among his works are *A Jewish Understanding of the New Testament* (1957), *The Genius of Paul* (1958), *The Hebrew Scriptures* (1963), *We Jews and Jesus* (1965), *We Jews and You Christians* (1967), *Herod: Profile of a Tyrant* (1967), *The First Christian Century in Judaism and Christianity* (1969), *The Enjoyment of Scripture* (1972), *Two Living Traditions* (1972), *Judaism and Christian Beginnings* (1978), and *Anti-Semitism in the New Testament* (1978). He also published a novel about Moses, *Atop the Mountain* (1973)

[Heinz Hartman (2nd ed.)]

SANDOMIERZ (Rus. **Sandomir**; in Latin documents of the 12th century Sudomir; in early and Jewish sources **Tsoyzmir** or **Tsuzmir**), town in Kielce province, central Poland. Jews settled there at the beginning of the 13th century, making that community one of the oldest in Poland. In 1367 representatives of the Jewish communities of Sandomierz, *Cracow, and *Lvov requested King *Casimir III (the Great) to confirm the privileges of Polish Jewry. Toward the end of the 15th century the townsmen of Sandomierz waged a stubborn struggle against the local Jewish merchants, who were sometimes compelled to move to other towns. In 1550 there were 40 Jews living in Sandomierz and paying state taxes. At the beginning of the 17th century there existed a street with 16 houses owned by Jews, and the old synagogue was built. During the war with Sweden (1655/56) most of the Jews of the town were slaughtered and the rest expelled. In 1658 (see *Poland-Lithuania) King John II Casimir permitted the Jews to return to Sandomierz and granted them the right to engage in commerce. This privilege was later confirmed by King John III Sobieski (1674) and King Augustus III (1745). The struggle of the townsmen, supported by the local Catholic priests, against the Jews of Sandomierz led to a series of *blood libels at the end of the 17th century and the first half of the 18th. In the first case, which occurred in 1698, the *parnas* of the community, Aaron Berek, was accused of murdering a Christian child (see the pamphlet of the Jew-baiting priest Stefan Żuchowski, *Odgłas processów kryminalnych na Zydów*…, 1700). Considerable harm was done to the Jewish community of Sandomierz as a result of other blood libels in 1710 and 1748. In 1765, 430 Jews paying the poll tax resided in the town; they comprised 90 families (with 14 tailors, 8 hatmakers, 2 goldsmiths, and 5 butchers) owning 30 houses. Another 366 Jews who lived in the surrounding villages also paid the poll tax. During the period of Austrian rule in Sandomierz (1795–1809) the restrictions on Jewish craftsmen were abolished, and a Jewish school with German as the language of instruction was opened. In 1815 Sandomierz was included in Congress Poland. Restrictions on Jewish settlement in the town remained until 1862. In 1827, 799 Jews lived there (23% of the total population), and in 1857, 924 (29%). In the second half of the 19th century the Jewish population of the town increased considerably, reaching 2,164 (34%) in 1897. Their main livelihood was from trading in agricultural produce, leather, timber, tailoring, shoemaking, and transportation. In 1921 there were 2,641 Jews (39%) living in the town.

[Mark Wischnitzer and Arthur Cygielman]

Holocaust Period

At the outbreak of World War II there were about 2,500 Jews living in Sandomierz. The German army entered on Sept. 15, 1939 and immediately organized pogroms, during which Jews were killed. In the first half of 1942 nearly two thousand Jews from the vicinity were expelled to Sandomierz, and the town's Jewish population grew to about 5,200. On Oct. 29, 1942, about 3,200 Jews were deported from Sandomierz to the *Belzec death camp. During deportations which took place in the summer and fall of 1942, thousands of Jews from the whole *Radom district fled into the forest, where they tried to survive in hiding and to organize guerilla units. On Nov. 10, 1942, the Germans published a decree on the establishment of four new ghettos in the region (Sandomierz, *Szydlowiec, *Radomsko, and Ujazd), where Jews were promised security if they left the forests. Thousands of Jews, unable to see the possibility of surviving in the forests during the winter, responded to the German appeal. About 6,000 Jews were concentrated in the ghetto of Sandomierz, which was liquidated on Jan. 10, 1943, when almost all its inmates were deported to the *Treblinka death camp. Only 700 Jews were left; of them 300 were deported to the forced-labor camp in *Skarzysko-Kamienna, and 400 were transferred to the forced-labor camp established in Sandomierz. This camp was liquidated in January 1944 and almost all the inmates were murdered. After the war the Jewish community of Sandomierz was not reconstituted.

[Stefan Krakowski]

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SÁNDOR, PÁL (1860–1936), Hungarian statesman and economist. Born in Hódmezövásárhely, Sándor entered his father's grain business. An active member of the Budapest exchange, he also founded and chaired the Hungarian trade union. In 1912 he was appointed director of the Budapest municipal tramway company. Sándor began his political career as a member of the Budapest municipal council, delegated by the governing Liberal Party. He sat in parliament as a delegate of the same party from 1901 and was a member of the Liberal Party opposition under Horthy's regime. Somewhat defensively and apologetically, Sándor attacked the antisemitic policies of the government and its first discriminatory laws, the *numerus clausus, restricting higher education for Jewish youth. He was an extreme assimilationist and outspoken opponent of Zionism.

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[Baruch Yaron]

SANDROW, EDWARD T. (1906–1975), U.S. Conservative rabbi and communal leader. Sandrow was born in Philadelphia and was ordained at the Jewish Theological Seminary of America (1933). His first rabbinical position was at the Ohavai Shalom synagogue in Portland, Oregon (1933–37). Sandrow then became rabbi at Temple Beth El in Cedarhurst, Long Island. He was a teaching fellow at New York University (1948–52). At the Jewish Theological Seminary he was visiting professor in homiletics (1954–56, 1962–63) and of pastoral psychiatry (1963 onwards). Sandrow's interest in pastoral psychiatry is expressed in some of his articles. He contributed a chapter called "Conscience and Guilt: A Jewish View" to Simon Noveck's (ed.), *Judaism and Psychiatry* (1956).

Sandrow was president of the Rabbinical Assembly of America (1960–62) and of the New York Board of Rabbis (1966–67). In the latter organization he served as chairman of the board of governors (1968–70). He was a member of the board of directors of the American Friends of the Hebrew University (1968–1975), an alternate member of the board of governors of the Hebrew University in Jerusalem, and a member of the boards of directors of the Joint Distribution Committee, the Zionist Organization of America, and the National Jewish Welfare Board. He was also chairman of the commission on Jewish chaplaincy of the latter organization. From 1960 he served as chairman of the board of *Hadoar*. He was coauthor of *Young Faith*, a prayer book with music for children.

SANDZER, ḤAYYIM BEN MENAHEM (d. 1783), talmudist and kabbalist. Ḥayyim, who was born in Sandz but should not be confused with Ḥayyim *Halberstamm of Sandz, became one of the great scholars of Brody. Aside from his great talmudic scholarship, he was considered one of the outstanding kabbalists of his time. In 1744 he was counted with Ezekiel *Landau and Moses Ostrer among the kabbalists of the *Klaus* in Brody, the famous Galician kabbalistic center. It is related that Israel Ba'al Shem Tov said that Ḥayyim's soul was a spark of the soul of *Johanan b. Zakkai, while Jacob, son of Ezekiel Landau, remarked in the preface to his father's *Noda bi-Yhudah* that Ḥayyim was his father's teacher in Kabbalah. In 1752 he condemned Jonathan *Eybeschuetz's amulets as Shabbatean. Although an outspoken adversary of the ḥasidic movement, he was highly respected in ḥasidic circles.

One of his responsa appears in *Noda bi-Yhudah* and others in Israel *Lipschutz's *Or Yisrael*. Most of his novellae and responsa on the *Arba'ah Turim*, however, remained unpublished. Many years after his death Ḥayyim's commentary on *Avot, Ne'dar ba-Kodesh*, was published (1862).

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[Anthony Lincoln Lavine]

SAN FRANCISCO BAY AREA, including San Francisco, a combined city-county in N. California, and surrounding area. In 2001 the San Francisco city population was 776,733, with the Jewish population 49,500; an additional 160,000 Jews lived in the surrounding area.

Following the discovery of gold in Northern California in 1848, thousands of Jews were among the quarter of a million people making the long and arduous trip to one of the most remote regions on the continent. Although a few came overland, most of the Jewish pioneers chose the sea route: The four- or five-month long, 16,000-mile journey "around the Horn" often shortened by a land crossing of malarial swamps at Panama or Nicaragua.

Gold Rush San Francisco was engulfed by peoples from all over the world, and the town's Jewish community was itself highly diverse. The majority was from the German-speaking lands of Central Europe, especially Bavaria and the Prussian province of Posen (seized from Poland in 1793). Others hailed from England or the French provinces of Alsace and Lorraine, and a few were Sephardim from the West Indies or the American South.

In the coarse mining towns of the Mother Lode, along the western foothills of the Sierras, Jews established businesses, burial societies, and synagogues. In the gateway boomtown that was San Francisco, rife with prostitution, gambling, and gunfights, about 30 Jews held High Holiday services in a wood-framed tent as early as 1849.

Despite the frequent fires, sandstorms, and epidemics that ravaged the fledgling city, a number of the pioneer Jews became immensely successful. Antisemitism was less salient than in many other parts of America, and Jews, rarely perceived as interlopers, were well represented among the early political leaders, judges, and sheriffs. Others distinguished themselves in business, amassing fortunes in dry goods, banking and utilities, real estate and insurance, mining and overseas commerce, tobacco and produce. In later generations the extensive philanthropy of these first families – Fleishhacker, Haas, Koshland, Stern, Steinhardt, Dinkelspiel, Zellerbach and others – made their names well-known in Northern California to Jew and non-Jew alike.

The most famous pioneer Jew is the Bavarian Levi Strauss, whose jeans have become one of the most recognizable symbols of America around the world. The brothers-in law Louis Sloss and Lewis Gerstle headed the enormous Alaska Commercial Company, which for decades held a highly lucrative, federally granted concession for the territory's sealskins. Another early arrival, the Westphalian engineer Adolph Sutro, designed and built a four-mile mining tunnel through the Comstock silver lode in Nevada. He invested the profits in San Francisco real estate, became one of the wealthiest men in the state, and was elected mayor in 1892, the first Jewish mayor of a major American city. At the end of the 19th century, Julius Kahn was elected to the House of Representatives from San Francisco and served 12 terms. Following his death in 1924, his wife, Florence Prag *Kahn, was elected to his seat, the first Jewish woman in the U.S. Congress.

Many of the children of the pioneers, Bay Area Jewry's second generation, distinguished themselves in the arts. David Belasco, an innovative playwright and producer, set designer and director, became one of the leading theatrical personalities in the country. Toby Rosenthal, a consummate portraitist and genre painter, was one of a half dozen gifted San Francisco Jewish painters who came of age in the late 19th century. A.L. Gump, as a purveyor and connoisseur of Far Eastern art, jewelry and furnishings, literally changed the taste of San Franciscans, even while an impenetrable social barrier existed between whites and Asians.

The religious expression of this frontier community was decidedly liberal, and the two earliest synagogues, Emanu-El and Sherith Israel, both formed in the first week of April 1851, came to embrace Reform Judaism, the former within a decade of its founding, the latter by the turn of the century. Soon after the Civil War, Emanu-El erected the magnificent Sutter Street Temple, its twin gothic towers a prominent feature of the young city's skyline. In 1925, the congregation moved to the Lake Street location it currently occupies and built another architectural masterpiece, harmoniously blending Byzantine, Moorish, and Spanish mission styles. The domed sanctuary, influenced by the Hagia Sophia in Istanbul, is one of the most noted houses of worship on the West Coast. Sherith Israel constructed its grand synagogue, even more eclectic in style and filled with vivid stained-glass windows, in 1905. It withstood the devastating earthquake and fire of the following year, unlike Emanu-El's temple and most other buildings housing San Francisco's Jewish institutions.

While San Francisco, with a Jewish population of almost 20,000, was the second largest Jewish community in the United States by 1880, Oakland, across the Bay, grew more slowly. But the city of fewer than a thousand Jews produced two extraordinary personalities: the maverick Reform rabbi Judah L. *Magnes, a passionate advocate for social justice in New York and founder and first president of The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, and the irreverent author and avant-garde art critic, Gertrude *Stein. Both attended the Sunday school of the First Hebrew Congregation, today's Temple Sinai. Magnes and Stein lived most of their adult lives abroad, but, by their own admission, their path-breaking careers owed much to their exuberant formative years in the East Bay.

Jews could be found on both sides of the violent class conflict that gripped the Bay Area during the Progressive era and later in the Depression. They included the agrarian reformers David Lubin, his son Simon Lubin, and half-brother Harris Weinstock; the socialist Anna Strunsky; the suffragette Selina Solomons; and labor organizers such as Lou Goldblatt and Rose *Pesotta. At Sherith Israel, Rabbi Jacob Nieto and his successor, the young Jacob *Weinstein, spoke out forcefully on behalf of the disadvantaged. But corporate titans such as I.W. *Hellman, Jr., and the brothers Herbert and Mortimer Fleishhacker were mainstays of the conservative, anti-union forces in the Bay Area.

The turn of the century saw an influx of thousands of Yiddish-speaking immigrants, although for many decades they accounted for a relatively low proportion of the total Jewish population compared with other major American cities. In San Francisco, shanties of East European Jews sprang up in the South of Market area before it was destroyed in the 1906 earthquake and fire. Two newer neighborhoods took its place after the disaster: the outlying San Bruno Avenue quarter, and the more populous Fillmore-MacAllister district, a vibrant Jewish neighborhood in the heart of the city until well after World War II. The Fillmore produced one of the century's greatest child prodigies, the violinist Yehudi *Menuhin, while another violinist destined for worldwide fame, Isaac *Stern, grew up in the nearby Richmond District. In Oakland, a colorful East European Jewish neighborhood arose in the aging Victorian houses west of Broadway, centered on the Orthodox Congregation Beth Jacob on Ninth and Castro Streets.

Most of the city's Jewish immigrants left the ethnic enclaves by the 1940s for more mixed, middle class neighborhoods, such as the Richmond and Sunset Districts in San Francisco and the Grand Lake District in Oakland. Still, a thick social barrier remained between them and the German-Jewish elite, many of whom lived in exclusive Pacific Heights with commanding views of the Bay. The two groups differed on the proper response to the Holocaust and fought bitterly over the merits of Zionism. During World War II, Rabbi Irving Reichert of Emanu-El, along with key lay leaders of his congregation, founded the local chapter of the American Council for Judaism, dedicated to preventing the creation of a Jewish state; it soon became the strongest branch of the ACJ in the country. The forceful young Rabbi, Saul White, a Polish immigrant who served the Conservative synagogue Beth Sholom, which was comprised largely of East Europeans, countered Reichert.

After the birth of Israel in 1948, and American recognition, a community consensus was reached, and nearly all the pioneer families transferred their full support to the Jewish state. The eloquent, new rabbi at Emanu-El, Alvin Fine, advocated Zionism from the pulpit.

Fine and his close friend Benjamin Swig, owner of the historic Fairmont Hotel, helped shift the leadership of Bay Area Jewry into the mainstream of American Judaism. Swig was the son of a Lithuanian immigrant, but two descendants of pioneers were no less active in invigorating Jewish life: Walter Haas and Daniel Koshland, cousins, brothers-in-law and co-owners of Levi Strauss and Company. Meanwhile, thousands of young Jewish newcomers from the East and Midwest, and refugees from the Nazi terror, also infused the community with a new sense of pride and unity with world Jewry. In the 1970s and 1980s, the Bay Area Jewry was especially assertive in the rescue of Jews from Ethiopia and the Soviet Union. Today, many tens of thousands of Jews from the former Soviet Union live in the region, in San Francisco and on the Peninsula in particular, having been aided by the Jewish Community Federation and its agencies.

In the post-World War II period, the Bay Area continued to be a fertile field for audacious Jewish artists such as the "beat" poet Allen *Ginsberg, the comedian Lenny *Bruce, the sculptor Jacques Schnier, and the rock impressario (and Holocaust survivor) Bill *Graham.

The Jewish community became intertwined with both the counter-culture and gay rights movement, which took hold in the Bay Area beginning in the late 1960s. The House of Love and Prayer founded by Rabbi Shlomo *Carlebach, and later the Jewish Renewal Movement of New Age rabbi Zalman *Schachter-Shalomi, drew many spiritually minded young Jews disaffected with traditional synagogue services. Jewish mysticism and mediation have remained common features of Bay Area Jewish life, both within and outside synagogues.

In 1977, one of the first synagogues in the country formed expressly for homosexuals was founded in San Francisco, Congregation Sha'ar Zahav. The following year, a member of the Board of Supervisors, Harvey Milk, a New York-born Jew and the only openly gay officeholder in the country, was assassinated in City Hall (along with Mayor George Moscone) by former supervisor Dan White. The shocking tragedy energized many homosexuals, and since then there has been an increasing number of openly gay rabbis and lay leaders in the Bay Area. The general Jewish community has shown great sensitivity to the AIDS crisis since a pivotal, widely circulated Yom Kippur sermon on the issue was delivered at Emanu-El in 1985 by its senior rabbi, Robert Kirschner.

San Francisco's and the East Bay's Jewish Community Federations and their fast-growing endowment funds, as well as family foundations such as Koret, have tried to meet the rapidly increasing and changing needs of the diverse Bay Area Jewish community. By the mid-1980s the Jewish population numbered around 223,000, 4% of the entire Bay Area. In 2004, it was estimated to have doubled (as had the general population in the past two decades) as a result of huge suburban gains: Contra Costa County, Marin and Sonoma Counties, and the Peninsula. A particularly large and vibrant Jewish community, including many immigrants from the Former Soviet Union as well as Israelis, has emerged on the Sourthern end of the Peninsula, with the city of Palo Alto as its hub. With about 72,000 Jews, the South Peninsula (essentially Santa Clara County) has passed San Francisco and contains the largest Jewish population of any region in the Bay Area. A large percentage of the Bay Area Jewish community is intermarried; a recent demographic study revealed that about a quarter of those living in Jewish households is non-Jewish.

Jews are prominent in almost every phase of the region's robust economic, cultural, and professional life. They are highly represented among the Nobel laureates of UC Berkeley and Stanford; they are leading corporate executives; they are on the cutting edge of bio-medical research and technological innovation in Silicon Valley. In 1992, two Bay Area Jewish women, Dianne *Feinstein and Barbara *Boxer were elected to the United States Senate, and they have both been twice reelected. Since 1995, Michael Tilson *Thomas (grandson of the great Yiddish actor Boris Thomashefsky) has been the music director of the San Francisco Symphony, the third Jew to serve in that capacity.

Recent decades have witnessed a virtual renaissance in Jewish education. Illustrious scholars teach in Jewish studies programs at the Bay Area's many institutions of higher learning – particularly Stanford (Steven Zipperstein and Arnold *Eisen), UC Berkeley (Robert *Alter and Daniel *Boyarin), and nearby UC Davis (David *Biale). The day school movement, moribund until the 1960s, has burgeoned in recent decades and in the early 2000s counts 13 schools in the area. Lehrhaus Judaica, a school for adult Jewish education, spans the entire Bay Area with its offerings. Public intellectuals such as Michael Lerner, founder and editor of the leftwing *Tikkun* magazine, have enlivened the debate in the Jewish community on Israel and other Jewish issues.

The recent growth of cultural and recreational centers has also been impressive. With the Judah L. Magnes Museum and the Contemporary Jewish Museum, A Traveling Jewish Theater, the Jewish Film Festival, and its myriad of new, well-equipped JCCs and residences for seniors, the Bay Area has emerged as one of the most dynamic Jewish communities in North America.

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[Fred S. Rosenbaum (2nd ed.)]

SAN GABRIEL–POMONA VALLEYS, California. The estimated 30,000–40,000 Jews of San Gabriel–Pomona Valley in the early 21st century are spread over a significant distance with a low density of Jews in any given community. Beginning in East Los Angeles, the area covers East Los Angeles south to Whittier, east through the Pomona Valley, west of the borders of Fontanta, and includes Ontario, Alta Loma, and Pasadena. The area spans three counties: Los Angeles County, Western San Bernardino County, and a small slice of northern Orange County (including La Habra and La Puente).

Some older parts of the Los Angeles Jewish community are found within the San Gabriel Valley though the much more numerous Jewish migration from East Los Angeles was to the San Fernando Valley. The most visible Jewish institution in the community is the synagogue, primarily Conservative and Reform. There is no mainstream Orthodox presence, though Chabad is found in Pasadena and in the Inland Empire.

Pasadena is the home of one of the communities' day schools, the Weizmann Day School, which is housed at the Pasadena Jewish Temple and Center, a Conservative Synagogue. The Atid Hebrew Academy is in West Covina and is housed on the grounds of Temple Ami Shalom.

The Pasadena community has a large number of scientists employed by Cal Tech and JPL, which led the space probe to Mars. The Pomona Valley Jewish community has a large number of academics employed at the Claremont Colleges and the universities that ring the valleys. There is no Jewish Community Center, perhaps because of the distances involved and the traffic patterns of Los Angeles, so that the Federation offers programs and services somewhat like a Jewish Community Center without a major community building. Among its activities are the Festival in the Park, a Jewish Counseling Referral Network, two day camps at two locations, and a successful annual Jewish book festival.

Federation activities include the Senior Van program that brings together isolated seniors and senior groups, the Camp Gan Shalom (summer day camp) for area children, community-building programs such as the Jewish Festival, Women's Forum, Women's Business and Professionals' Association, Lunchtime Jewish Learning, and the Jewish Book Festival.

The community offers direct support to Jewish schools through its Jewish Education Consultant, Principal's Council, Special Education Consultant, Teacher In-Service programs, and direct cash grants to area schools. There are a Jewish Family Resource Service, a local counseling referral program, and scholarships for participants in organizational Israel experiences, as well as a Shabbaton program for area children. The

Jewish Community News is a monthly newspaper devoted to local Jewish activity and national and international news of Jewish interest.

There is a Conservative synagogue in Montebello, Temple B'nai Emet, and in Pasadena, Congregation B'nai Torah. Pomona has a Reform synagogue, Temple Beth Israel, that houses a pre-school. Ontario features a Conservative synagogue, Temple Sholom. The Chabad of the Inland is located in Rancho Cucamonga. West Covina also has a Conservative congregation, Temple Ami Shalom, and Whittier has a Conservative synagogue, Temple Beth Shalom. The Reconstructionist Havurah in Whittier pioneered the use of Havurot within the congregation long before they became fashionable in other sections of the country, and they have now sustained themselves and continued for a generation. Congregation Shaarei Torah in Arcadia, a Conservative congregation, also houses a Jewish pre-school called B'nai Simcha. There is also a Reform temple, B'nai David, in Temple City. Temple Beth Israel of Highland Park and Eagle Rock is a Conservative congregation. Sinai Temple of Glendale, a Reform congregation, became affiliated with the San Gabriel-Pomona Valleys Federation. Adat Re'im in the Pomona Valley has just been constituted.

There are a string of hospitals along the foothills of the Valley including *City of Hope, which is now a non-sectarian hospital but well aware of its Jewish roots, and thus the area has attracted Jewish physicians and Jews in allied medical professions. Some parts of the Jewish community are old – at least by California standards – once rooted in the Jewish community of Los Angeles areas such as Monterey Park and Montebello. Others have developed in the post-war migration to California and in the string of Jewish communities throughout Southern California.

Some areas were settled by Jewish chicken farmers; there was an area of egg farming and chicken farming in the valley. Over time the land became more valuable than the farms, and several would-be farmers found themselves prosperous real estate developers.

Because of the vastly increasing cost of housing and the shortage of housing in the Los Angeles area, the Jewish community of Los Angeles is moving westward into the western outreaches of the San Fernando Valley and eastward into the Pomona Valley-San Bernardino area. As young families mature, one suspects that there will be a growing need for Jewish institutions, Jewish education, and synagogues to meet an expanding population.

[Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

SANGUINETTI, AZARIAH ḤAYYIM (early 19th century), Italian preacher. A pupil of *Ishmael b. Abraham ha-Kohen, rabbi of Modena, Sanguinetti was the author of a book of homilies, *Olah Ḥadashah* (Leghorn, 1838). The sermons, which make use of talmudic and midrashic sources, rely especially on the Commentaries of Naḥmanides. Influenced by kabbalistic literature, Sanguinetti frequently quoted from the Zohar and used kabbalistic terms and symbols. Additional material was appended to the work in the supplement, "*Evrei Olah*," which deals mainly with *halakhah*. The introduction to the book indicates that Sanguinetti succeeded his teacher as rabbi of Modena.

SANHEDRIN. Great Sanhedrin usually means the supreme political, religious, and judicial body in Palestine during the Roman period, both before and after the destruction of the Temple, until the abolishment of the patriarchate (c. 425 C.E.). The precise definition of the term Sanhedrin has engaged the attention of historians in the past century, owing to the apparent conflict between the Hellenistic and rabbinic sources as to its nature and functions. While in the Hellenistic sources, in Josephus and the Gospels, it appears as a political and judicial council headed by the ruler, the tannaitic sources depict it chiefly as a legislative body dealing with religious matters, and in rare cases acting as a court – for instance, to try a false prophet or high priest.

The first historical mention of the Sanhedrin is in the statement of Josephus that in 57 B.C.E. *Gabinius divided the country into five *synedria* (Ant., 14:91) or *synodoi* (Wars, 1:170). Most scholars agree that the reference is to a purely political body, as the Romans did not interfere with the religious life of conquered people. Their objective was, as Schalit points out, the prevention of uprisings. The next report describes *Hyrcanus, as ethnarch of Judea, presiding over the Sanhedrin trying Herod, the strategus of the Galilee, for political murder (Ant., 14:168–70). Subsequently, when Herod became king, he had the Sanhedrin condemn Hyrcanus for plotting against him (Ant., 15:173), though according to another account, he did so himself without the Sanhedrin (15:176). Josephus' next reference to a Sanhedrin is to one that consisted of Roman high officials, convened at the suggestion of Augustus in Syria, to try the sons of Herod for rebellion against their father (16:356 ff.); according to Josephus (Wars, 1:537), this Sanhedrin consisted of Herod's "own relatives and the provincial governors." When the Sadducean high priest, Ananus, "convened the judges of the Sanhedrin" (Jos., Ant., 20:200) to condemn James, the brother of Jesus, his opponents, the Pharisees, took great pains to have him removed. Their plea before the Roman governor that Ananus "had no authority to convene the Sanhedrin without his consent" (20:202) was obviously a pretext. Ananus' Sanhedrin was no doubt a Sadducean one, so that in removing Ananus shortly after this, Agrippa II pleased the Pharisees. On the other hand, the Sanhedrin convened by Agrippa II to permit the levitical singers to wear the priestly linen garments – apparently in accord with II Chronicles 5:12 – was a Pharisaic one (Arakh. 11a–b). Josephus' objection to this ruling (Ant., 20:216–18) represents the priestly-Sadducean view. Josephus received his commission as a supreme commander from the Sanhedrin (Life, 62), though he usually refers to it as the *koinon* (*ibid.*, 190, 309) and describes it as the assembly of the leading people of Jerusalem (*ibid.*, 28, see also Wars, 2:562).

The Gospels describe three trials before the Sanhedrin, all of them presided over by the high priest, but apparently in different locations. Jesus was tried on Passover night, or on the preceding night, in the palace of the high priest (Mark 14:53 ff.; John 18:13). His disciples, Peter and John Zebedee, were questioned at "eventide," "in Jerusalem" (Acts, 4:3–6). In the case of Paul, the chief priest "and all their Sanhedrin" were ordered to meet in the chief captain's quarters (Acts, 22:25–30). The tannaitic sources, however, depict the Great Sanhedrin as an assembly of sages permanently situated in the Chamber of Hewn Stone in the Temple, meeting daily, only during the daytime between the hours of the two daily sacrifices (approximately 7:30 A.M.–3:30 P.M.), and never at night, on the Sabbaths or festivals, or on their eves. It was the place "where the Law went forth to all Israel" (Sanh. 11:2; Tosef., Sanh. 7:1) and was the final authority on *halakhah*; the penalty of contravening its decisions on the part of a scholar – *zaken mamre – was death (Sanh. *ibid.*). Settling questions of priestly genealogy was also within the province of the Great Sanhedrin (Mid. 5:4; Tosef., Sanh. loc. cit.). Actual cases are recorded of questions being sent to "the sages in the Chamber of Hewn Stone" (Eduy. 7:4) and of Rabban Gamaliel going to the Chamber and receiving a reply to a question which he put (Pe'ah 2:6).

The competence of the Sanhedrin is listed in tannaitic literature. "A tribe, a false prophet, or the high priest may not be tried save by the court of seventy-one; they may not send forth the people to wage a battle of free choice save by the decision of the court of one and seventy; they may not add to the City [of Jerusalem], or the Courts of the Temple save by the decision of the court of seventy-one; they may not set up sanhedrins for the several tribes save by the decision of the court of one and seventy; and they may not proclaim [any city to be] an *Ir ha-Niddaḥat [cf. Deut. 13:13–19] save by the decision of one and seventy" (Sanh. 1:5). The Tosefta enumerates still other functions: "They may not burn the red heifer save according to the instructions of the court of 71; they may not declare one a *zaken mamre* save the court of 71; they may not set up a king or a high priest save by the decision of the court of 71" (Tos., Sanh. 3:4). Elsewhere the Mishnah rules that the rites of the water of ordeals (see *Sotah; Sot. 1:4) and the *eglah arufah – i.e., the breaking of the heifer's neck in order to atone for the sin of an anonymous murder (cf. Deut. 21: 1–9) – may be performed only under the supervision of the Great *Bet Din* in Jerusalem (Sot. 9:1).

Unlike Buechler (see bibl., pp. 56 ff.) and Zeitlin (see bibl., pp. 70–71) who regard the tannaitic list of the functions of the Great *Bet Din* as merely ideal, Tchernowitz (see bibl., 242 ff.) insists upon its practical reality. Thus, Simeon the Hasmonean was appointed high priest and "Prince of the people of God" (see *Asaramel) by the Great Assembly of priests and heads of the nation (I Macc., 14:27 ff.; cf. Tosef., Sanh. 3:4). Again, "Jonathan, after the war with Demetrius, returned and called the elders of the people together; and took counsel with them to raise the height of the walls of Jerusalem, and to raise a great mound between the citadel and the city" (*ibid.* 12:35–36), things which could only be done, according to the Mishnah, with the consent of the Great Court (Sanh. 1:5; Shevu. 2:2). Yet, in rebuilding the ruins of the city and its walls and carrying on defensive wars, Jonathan did not consult with the Assembly; neither did Simeon take counsel with regard to the fortifying of Judea (I Macc., 13:33). These things did not require the consent of the Sanhedrin (Tchernowitz, op. cit., 243–7). Furthermore, the reference to "tribes," as Alon says, is to sections of the country; or else, the term "tribes," like "false prophet" may put into legal formulation practices current in the biblical period, as Z. Karl suggests.

Another aspect of the conflict between the sources is that, whereas the tannaitic documents represent the Sanhedrin as being composed of Pharisaic scholars, headed by the foremost men of the sect – the *nasi* and *av bet din* – the Hellenistic accounts usually make the high priest, or the king, the president of the body. Thus Samaias and Pollion (that is, probably, Shemaiah and Avtalyon, or Shammai and Hillel) and Simeon b. Gamaliel, who are mentioned in Josephus, and Gamaliel I, who is cited in the Book of Acts, are referred to in these books merely as prominent members of the Sanhedrin, though in the tannaitic documents they are represented as the presidents of that body. In the Book of Acts, moreover, the Sanhedrin is depicted as being "one part Sadducees and the other Pharisees" (Acts, 23:6).

The historians' answers may be classified into three groups. Some scholars maintain that there was a single Sanhedrin, the supreme political, religious and judicial body, but they differ among themselves as to the other aspects of the reconstruction. Schuerer, who dismisses the rabbinic sources, regards the high priest as the presiding officer. Hoffmann held the highest office to belong to the Pharisaic *nasi*, though the secular rulers often usurped the role. Jelski, following a middle course, divides the functions of the presidency between the high priest, upon whom he bestows the title *nasi*, and the Pharisaic *av bet din*. Similarly, G. Alon believes that the Sanhedrin was composed of Pharisees and Sadducees, each dominating it by turns. Chwolson thinks that the Great Sanhedrin of the rabbinic documents was nothing but a committee on religious law appointed by the Sanhedrin (so, too, Dubnow and Klausner). Common to all these theories is the erroneous assumption that there can be only one Sanhedrin in a city. In reality, a Sanhedrin can be the king's or ruler's council, a body of high officials; a congress of allies or confederates, a military war council, etc. (see Liddell-Scott, *Greek-English Lexicon*, s.v. συνέθριον).

Another group of scholars believes that there were in Jerusalem three small Sanhedrins, each of a different composition and task – priestly, Pharisaic, and aristocratic – each consisting of 23 members. A joint meeting of the three Sanhedrins, headed by a *nasi* and *av bet din*, constituted the Great Sanhedrin of 71 (Geiger, Derenbourg, etc.). This imaginary reconstruction flounders on the Tosefta (Ḥag. 2:9 and Sanh. 7:1) and the Jerusalem Talmud (Sanh. 1:7, 19c), according to which, contrary to the Babylonian Talmud (Sanh. 88b), the small Sanhedrin consisted only of three. The third group of scholars is agreed that there were two supreme bodies in Jerusalem, a political and a religious, but disagree on almost everything else. Buechler thinks that the religious body was properly called *Bet Din ha-Gadol she-be-Lishkat ha-Gazit* ("Great *Bet Din* in the Chamber of Hewn Stone"), and the application to it of the term Sanhedrin was a misnomer. Zeitlin points out that there is no evidence that the political Sanhedrin was called "Great," but his view that the division between the political and the religious authorities dates back to Simeon the Hasmonean is questionable. More likely the separation was the result of the fact that the political views of the religious Sanhedrin were not sought by Hyrcanus and Aristobulus, the sons of Salome, nor by Herod, nor by the high priests who were appointed by Romans.

The opponents of the theory of the double Sanhedrin base themselves mainly on three arguments: no proof exists that the *nasi* headed the Sanhedrin in the days of the Temple; the priests' authority to "declare" the law is scripturally prescribed (Deut. 17:9), so that the high priest must have at least formally headed the religious Sanhedrin, as he did among the Qumran sect; and in Judaism there is no division between the religious and the secular. As against these arguments, it has been pointed out: the law concerning the assignment of one's property to the *nasi* (Ned. 5:5), which dates from Temple days, assumes that the *nasi* headed the Sanhedrin, just as he did in the post-destruction era; the Pharisaic exegesis dispensed with the need of priests in issuing legal decisions, the Pharisees basing their ruling on the superfluous words "and to judge" (Deut. 17:9; see Sif., Deut. 153); and the Pharisees did not voluntarily relinquish their right to judge on political matters. The political rulers simply did not consult them. After the destruction of the Temple the religious Sanhedrin was reconvened in *Jabneh, and, under the presidency of the *nasi*, it now became also the supreme political instrument for all the Jews of the Roman Empire. When Judea was destroyed as a result of the failure of Bar Kokhba, the Sanhedrin moved to Galilee. At first it met in Usha, then in nearby Shefaram, subsequently, in Judah ha-Nasi's time, in Bet She'arim and Sepphoris, and in the end in Tiberias. The Romans apparently withdrew their recognition of the Sanhedrin when they dissolved the patriarchate.

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[Hugo Mantel]

SANHEDRIN (Heb. סַנְהֶדְרִין), fourth tractate in the Mishnah order of *Nezikin*. The sequence of the tractates within an order being as a rule determined by the size of the tractates, it should be remembered that the three *Bavot* originally constituted one large tractate of 30 chapters, to which *Sanhedrin*, together with *Makkot which was originally united with it, is second in size. *Sanhedrin, in the context of this tractate, means "court of justice," referring to the great *bet din*, which comprised 71 ordained scholars, and the subordinate courts, composed of 23 judges, functioning in various towns. The general term *bet din* usually referred to minor courts of three members. In general, the tractate deals with the composition and power of the courts of different kinds and degrees, with legal procedure and criminal law.

Chapter 1 defines the various courts and their competence: i.e., the "courts of three" with monetary matters; that of 23 with criminal cases which may involve the death penalty; and that of 71 with exceptional cases, like trying a high priest or a whole city accused of idolatry. Chapter 2 deals with the privileges of the high priest and the king in general. Chapter 3 describes the setting up of ad hoc "courts of three," rules concerning the qualification of judges and witnesses, and questions of judicial procedure. Chapter 4 discusses the differences between criminal and civil procedure, and Chapter 5 gives details on the way witnesses were examined. Chapter 6 gives information as to how the death penalty by stoning was carried out, and Chapter 7 enumerates the four modes of execution: stoning, burning, decapitation, and strangulation, but stoning having been discussed in the previous chapter, it proceeds with the details of the three other modes of execution. The subject of stoning is then taken up again, giving the crimes to which this mode of execution applies. Chapter 8 deals with the "stubborn and rebellious son" (Deut. 21:18–21). Chapter 9 discusses the crimes to which the penalties of burning and decapitation are applicable, and goes in detail into the various aspects of the crime of murder, especially the question of intent (premeditation). Some extraordinary modes of punishment are also discussed here. Chapter 10 opens with the well-known statement that "all Israel have a portion in the world to come," implying that even criminals put to death by order of the court will be resurrected at the end of days, but then it goes on to list certain categories of sinners (specific kinds of heretics and idolaters) to whom the comfort of resurrection is denied. Chapter 11 deals with the crimes to which the penalty of strangulation applies, discussing the case of the **zaken mamre* ("rebellious teacher") and the false prophet, in particular. In the Babylonian Talmud this last chapter is placed tenth, while the mishnaic tenth becomes the concluding chapter. The rabbis go to great lengths (90b–92a) to prove that the belief in the resurrection of the dead was rooted in the Torah. There is *Gemara* to both Babylonian and Jerusalem Talmuds. In the Tosefta, this tractate is divided into 14 chapters.

Incorporated in the Mishnah *Sanhedrin* are ancient *halakhot* and even *mishnayot* from the time of the Second Temple. "The king can neither judge nor be judged" (2:4) is an early enactment dating from the time of Alexander *Yannai, and earlier still is the statement, "when [the king] sits in judgment [the Torah scroll] shall be with him" (*ibid*). Mishnah 4:2, which deals with those who married into the priesthood, also belongs to the time when Jerusalem was at the height of its glory, and the whole order of the four capital cases certainly – by its very nature – dates from Temple times. Chapter 9:6 is connected apparently with the *Hasmonean era, and this is most certainly the case with regard to the Mishnah "Kanna'im [zealots] fall upon one who has intercourse with an Aramean woman" (9:6). The well-known Mishnah at the beginning of chapter 10 is anti-Sadducean, and this testifies to its early origin. Naturally the views of *tannaim* of a very much later period were incorporated in the final arrangement of the Mishnah. Recognizable and particularly conspicuous in *Sanhedrin* are additions from the halakhic Midrashim, most of which are from the school of Akiva. Some of them belong to the school of R. Ishmael and were apparently added by R. Simeon b. Yoḥai, since many anonymous *mishnayot* are in accordance with their view. The English translation of the tractate in the Soncino Talmud (1935) is by J. Shachter and H. Freedman.

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[Arnost Zvi Ehrman]

SANHEDRIN, FRENCH, Jewish assembly of 71 members convened in Paris during February–March 1807, at the request of Napoleon *Bonaparte. The object of this assembly was to convert the "secular" answers given by the Assembly of Jewish *Notables to the questions put to them by the government into doctrinal decisions, which would be binding on the Jews religiously, by drafting them as precepts based on the Bible and *halakhah*. Previously, on Oct. 6, 1806, the Assembly of Jewish Notables sent a manifesto to the Jewish communities in Europe, inviting them – in vague terms – to participate in the activities for "revival" and "freedom" which Napoleon was preparing through the Sanhedrin for the benefit of the Jewish people. The response of European Jewry to this manifesto was exceedingly poor. The Sanhedrin was constituted of two-thirds rabbis and one-third laymen (some of the rabbis and all the laymen had been members of the Assembly of Jewish Notables), all from the French Empire and the "Kingdom of Italy." David *Sinzheim of Strasbourg, one of the eminent halakhic authorities of the day, was appointed president. The nine regulations issued by the Sanhedrin were confirmed in eight solemn and magnificent sessions. The doctrinal preamble to the regulations states that the Jewish religion comprises both religious precepts which are eternal, and political precepts which had no further validity from the time Jewry ceased to be a nation.

The regulations stated that:

(1) polygamy is prohibited among Jews; (2–3) the Jewish bill of divorce or religious marriage has no validity unless it has been preceded by a civil act, and mixed marriages are binding upon Jews civilly (but not religiously); (4–5–6) the Jews of every country must treat its citizens as their own brothers according to the universalist rules of moral conduct, and Jews who have become citizens of a state must regard that country as their fatherland; (7–8–9) Jews must engage in useful professions, and the taking of interest from both Jews and gentiles shall be subject to the laws of the country. At first sight, it would appear that the drafters of the regulations subordinated Jewish law to that of the state, but in reality they did not undermine halakhic principles. It was only in subsequent generations that the declaration of the "separation of the political from the religious in Judaism" became a matter of principle among certain Jewish circles who became assimilated in the modern state.

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[Baruch Mevorah]

SANIELEVICI, HENRIC (1875–1951), Romanian literary critic and biologist. Born in Botoşani, Moldavia, Sanielevici pursued two entirely separate careers, one scientific and the other literary. His polemical gifts revealed themselves in the articles which he contributed – some under the pseudonym Hassan – to leading Romanian periodicals and newspapers. He held that literary works contained two types of phenomena: the sociological and the psychological. The former was to be clarified and coordinated on the basis of materialistic principles of history, the latter on what Sanielevici himself termed "differential psychology" and "the psycho-physiology of race." Sanielevici particularly opposed ultra-nationalistic tendencies in Romanian literary circles and from 1903 published critical essays and studies written in a vigorous and uncompromising spirit. The most important were collected in *Incercări critice* (1903), *Cercetări critice și filosofice* (1916), *Studii critice* (1920), and *Alte cercetări critice și filosofice* (1925).

Sanielevici's work as a biologist eventually led him to the issue of race. In *La vie des mammifères et des hommes fossiles déchiffrée à l'aide de l'anatomie* (1926), he examined and compared the organs of mastication and digestion in man and other mammals in order to explain the development of man and the ethnic diversity of mankind. Within a decade he had entered the fight against Nazi racial theories with his two-volume work *In slujba Satanei* ("In the Service of the Devil", 1930–35). Here he rejected the usual criteria of language and nation, and determined race solely according to anthropological type. He also endeavored to establish psychological constants that would explain national characteristics, thus setting forth a new theory of race and racial psychology. Though originally an advocate of Jewish assimilation, Sanielevici greatly modified his views after World War I.

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[Dora Litani-Littman]

SAN JOSE, city in California, 40 miles S. of San Francisco, with a Jewish population of 40,000 in 2005. San Jose was the first capital of California (1849–51). Ten men organized the Jewish community of San Jose in 1861 as the Bickur Cholim Society. By 1869 the membership, made up primarily of merchants, was 35 from San Jose and the vicinity. The Jewish population in 1880 was 265. Until 1953 Congregation Bickur Cholim, now Temple Emanu-El (after a fire in 1848), was the only synagogue. Although its ritual was Reform, separate services were conducted on the High Holidays to accommodate the Orthodox members.

Congregation Sinai, today conservative, was organized in 1953, while Conservative Congregation Beth David, Saratoga, began in 1962.

In the early 21st century there were over two dozen Jewish organizations in Santa Clara Valley, 16 being synagogues with their own religious schools. There were an additional four synagogues in Monterey County. Nearby there is also Beth Torah in Fremont (Alameda County) and various synagogues along the Peninsula, from Palo Alto to Burlingame, which have a working relationship with the San Francisco Jewish Federation, as does the Hillel at Stanford University. Hillel of Silicon Valley serves San Jose State and Santa Clara Universities plus Evergreen, Mission, San Jose City, De Anza, Foothill, and West Valley Community Colleges.

In 2005 the Jewish Federation of Silicon Valley (the name changed from Jewish Federation of Greater San Jose in September, 2004) celebrated its 75th anniversary and later moved into the new Gloria and Ken Levy Family Campus on August 1, 2005. This facility houses the Yavneh Day School, Jewish Family Service, the Addison Penzak JCC and the San Jose Federation. Some additional key autonomous organizations include the JCRC, Jewish Education Council, *Jewish Community News*, Jewish Community Preschool, the Jewish Community Chaplain Program, and three cemeteries. Also within the immediate vicinity are Jewish educational institutions from preschool through high school.

The presence of national defense contractors and scientific and engineering firms brought many highly educated Jews to the area beginning in 1950. This process has intensified during the high tech boom, which has influenced Jewish existence in Santa Clara Valley in all aspects of life, and many individuals established their own prosperous firms.

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[Robert E. Levinson / Stephen D. Kinsey (2nd ed.)]

SAN MARINO, tiny independent republic near *Rimini surrounded by Italian territory. Jewish loan-banks appeared there as early as 1369, one of them being managed by a woman. In 1442 some of the bankers were accused of conspiracy against the state, and the duke of Urbino intervened with the "regents" of the republic to prevent the Jews being further molested. The activities of Jewish moneylenders continued until the 17th century. Although in modern times any Jewish connection with San Marino was sporadic, the tiny republic obediently enacted racial laws in 1938, in imitation of Italy, against the dozen Jewish families who had drifted there in recent years; they were repealed on the fall of Mussolini in the summer of 1943. The consul general of Israel in Rome serves in the same capacity also in San Marino.

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[Ariel Toaff]

SAN NICANDRO, small town near Bari, S. Italy. San Nicandro became noteworthy when 23 peasant families there adopted Judaism. About 1930 a winegrower, Danato Manduzio, inspired by a dream, began to preach the truth of the Mosaic law and the necessity of conversion to it. A self-educated man and a tenacious apostle of his new mystical beliefs, he and his followers finally adopted Judaism, despite the threats of the local clergy, the hostility of the Fascist authorities, and the dissuasion of the rabbinate in Rome, which feared that they, too, might suffer from the new anti-Jewish policy of the government. It is probable, however, that contact with members of the Jewish Brigade in the region (in Garagano and Foggia) in the 1940s and Zionist ideas reinforced the movement. The conversion of Manduzio and his followers was formally recognized in 1944. In 1948 Manduzio died. The following year the group moved to Israel where they joined the moshav *Almah in Upper Galilee. Not all of them, however, remained there and the group split up. In 1992 few of the remaining inhabitants were still adhering to Judaism and, according to a visitor to the area, it was mainly the women who continued to celebrate certain Jewish holidays in a private house that served as a synagogue (*tempio*). They tended to interpret biblical commandments rather literally, in a way that may be termed as "karaitization." But although they still observed some *kashrut* laws, they had little contact with rabbinical authorities, did not circumcise their sons, and the men declared they could not refrain from working on the Sabbath. In the early 2000s the group was not recognized as Jewish by rabbinical authorities.

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[Giorgio Romano / Nadia Zeldes (2nd ed.)]

SANOK (called **Sonik** by the Jews), town in Rzeszow province, S.E. Poland. From 1772 to 1918 the town was under Austrian rule (central *Galicia). The remains of an ancient Jewish cemetery in the vicinity testify to the existence of a Jewish settlement in the town in the second half of the 14th century, after Sanok had been annexed to Poland by King *Casimir III. The names of some Jewish members appear in a list of the craftsmen's guild of the town in 1514. However, a Jewish community was organized only at the end of the 16th century and was subordinate to that of Lesko. In 1570, 17 of the 200 families residing in the town were Jewish. They earned their living as traders in wine and grain, and as furriers, tailors, and tanners. At the beginning of the 18th century, the Jewish settlement at Sanok grew, receiving privileges from King Augustus II (1720) and King Augustus III (1754). A synagogue was built in the 1720s. There were 467 poll-tax paying Jews in Sanok and its environs in 1765. During the 19th century local trade in lumber, timber, and cloth manufacture was concentrated in Jewish hands. At the end of the 19th century, the Jews of Sanok initiated the development of oil production in the area. From 1868 the representatives of the local Jewish community played an important part in municipal institutions. Under Austrian rule the Jewish population grew quickly: in 1800 it numbered about 1,850 (40% of the total population); in 1880, it numbered 2,129 (42%); and in 1910, 4,073 (38%). Ḥasidism became strong in the community toward the end of the 18th century and, up to the end of the 19th, concentrated around the *kloyzn* of the Ḥasidim of *Belz, Bobob, Nowy Sacz, and *Sadgora. At the beginning of the 20th century, Zionist organizations sprang up. The teacher Ẓevi Abt founded in 1909 a Hebrew school called Safah Berurah which had 77 pupils in 1911. From 1910 to 1914, the weekly *Folksfraynd* was published. In 1921, 4,067 Jews formed 42% of the total population of the town. Between the two world wars the Jews of Sanok occupied key positions in the town economy. From 1919 to 1921, Meir *Shapira served as rabbi of Sanok. Among those born in the town was Benzion *Katz.

[Arthur Cygielman]

Holocaust Period

The number of Jews in Sanok in 1939 was over 5,000. The Germans entered the city on Sept. 8, 1939, and in the first days of the occupation the synagogues were burned. A few hundred Jews were deported to the other side of the San River, which was under Soviet rule. In 1941 the Jews were concentrated in a ghetto, which contained about 8,000 people – including Jews from nearby townlets. There they were subjected to forced labor, including work in the stone quarries of Trepcza. On Sept. 10, 1942, most of the Jews of Sanok were deported to a concentration camp at Zaslaw. Only a few succeeded in escaping. After the Germans concentrated Jews from the entire Sanok area in the Zaslaw camp, 4,000 people were sent to the *Belzec death camp. The sick and aged were shot in the nearby forests. In October 1942 two more transports were sent to Belzec. On Sept. 14, 1942, the Germans announced that those who had escaped would be allowed to return to the ghetto and live there. About 300 Jews returned to the ghetto; they were later executed or transported to concentration camps. A few hundred Sanok Jews survived the Holocaust, most of them having been in the Soviet Union during the war. Some Jews rescued from the Nazis were killed by antisemitic Polish bands.

[Aharon Weiss]

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SAN REMO CONFERENCE, a conference of the Allies in World War I (Great Britain, France, and Italy), held in San Remo, Italy, in April 1920, which confirmed the pledge contained in the *Balfour Declaration concerning the establishment of a Jewish national home in Palestine. The conference was a continuation of a previous meeting between the Allies held in London in February 1920, where it was decided, among other things, to put Palestine under British Mandatory rule. The British delegation to San Remo was headed by Prime Minister David Lloyd George and Lord Curzon, who had replaced Lord *Balfour as foreign minister in 1919. At both meetings the French expressed many reservations about the inclusion of the Balfour Declaration in the peace treaty, and it was only after the exertion of British pressure that they were gradually persuaded to agree to it. The San Remo Conference was attended by Chaim *Weizmann, Nahum *Sokolow, and Herbert *Samuel, who presented a memorandum to the British delegation on the final settlement in the Eastern Mediterranean region. Lord Balfour was called in for consultations. The article concerning Palestine was debated on April 24, and the next day it was finally resolved to incorporate the Balfour Declaration in Britain's mandate in Palestine. Thus Britain was made responsible "for putting into effect the declaration made on the 8th [sic.] November 1917 by the British Government and adopted by the other Allied Powers, in favor of the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people; it being clearly understood that nothing should be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine, or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country." The resolution was celebrated by mass demonstrations throughout the Jewish world.

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[Getzel Kressel]

SANTA COLOMA DE QUERALT, town in Tarragona province, N.E. Spain. Santa Coloma de Queralt's Jewish community was a typical small community in Catalonia. There were many such small communities which were hardly mentioned in the central archive of the Kingdom of Aragon, the Arxiu de la Corona d'Aragó. The information we have on the Jews of Santa Coloma comes from the most extensive notarial protocols kept today in the Archivi Histórico Provincial de Tarragona. In the 13th century 30 Jewish families were allowed to dwell in Santa Coloma, which was under the jurisdiction of the House of Queralt. Santa Coloma de Queralt was a village of 150 houses in the 14th century. The Jews engaged in agriculture, commerce, and crafts, and at the beginning of their settlement they already owned slaves. The richest Jews, constituting less than 10% of the local Jews, were moneylenders whose activities and transactions are fully recorded. The sources offer interesting details about Jewish life and important information about some of the leading members of the community. The notarial acts contain valuable information on the internal life of the Jews, on marriage contracts, education, social welfare, and communal organization. There were two synagogues, one in Carrer Major, called Scola de Judeus, and the other was the Beth Midrash in Carrer dels Jueus. The Jewish quarter was situated in the area today known as Carrer de los Quarteres. In the Baixada de la Presó, the Jews had their *espital,* which served visitors and poor Jews. In 1328 the Jewish population numbered seven families, while by 1347 there were already 30 Jewish families. At some point in the 14th century the Jewish population reached a maximum of 100 families.

In the 1370s and 1380s a Jewish female physician, *Floreta Ca Noga, was known among the inhabitants of the town. She treated the queen in 1381 and was greatly esteemed by the royal court. In Santa Coloma lived the Jewish poet Astruc Bonafeu. Culturally, the community must have been quite developed. Contracts with private teachers and the impressive library of Solomon Samuel Azcarell are good illustrations. The persecutions of 1391 affected the town, and there were subsequent problems connected with conversions, such as the case of an apostate who appeared before a government official in 1391 and accused his wife of refusing to convert and live with him as a Christian. In the records of the local notary additional cases are noted where Jewish women demanded conversion while the husbands remained faithful to Judaism. According to the records of the notary, the couples were separated by agreement. In spite of all this, the community continued to exist until after the *Tortosa Disputation, and it may have continued until the days of the expulsion.

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[Haim Beinart /Yom Tov Assis (2nd ed.)]

SANTA CRUZ, coastal city in Northern California. The county had a population of 240,880 in 2001, including an estimated 6,000 Jews. Louis Schwartz, believed to be the first Jewish settler in Santa Cruz, in 1855 opened a general store with the Brownstone brothers. The Jewish community grew slowly; it initially was comprised of single men, but eventually women came and then families. The first observance of the Jewish New Year, under lay leadership, was in 1869, with meetings in community halls or in churches.

In 1877 Home of Peace Cemetery was consecrated on land that was donated to the Jewish community. Like many Jewish communities, Santa Cruz' Jewish community's first piece of property was a cemetery. A mutual aid society followed, when in 1887 a small group of Jewish families founded a Hebrew Benevolent Society in Santa Cruz. The first known synagogue building was acquired in the early 1930s. In 1954, the still small Jewish community built a modest synagogue on Bay Street, which was named Temple Beth El, incorporated as the Jewish Community Center of Santa Cruz, California, Inc. Rabbi Richard Litvak became the first full-time rabbi of Temple Beth El in 1977. The Temple moved to new facilities in Aptos in 1990.

In the last third of the 20th century and beyond, the Jewish community of Santa Cruz was directly linked to the University of California Santa Cruz with its many Jewish students and faculty. UC Santa Cruz boasts the largest percentage of Jewish students at any Northern California campus (approximately 20% of 15,000 students are Jews: 2,600 undergrads and 250 graduate students). UC Santa Cruz has a Jewish Studies program and a Jewish Studies Research Unit. Among its faculty is Murray Baumgarten, the editor of *Judaism*.

Active in Santa Cruz are three Jewish congregations and a Havurah. Temple Beth El is the oldest and remains a Reform Congregation. Chabad by the Sea is the Orthodox congregation. Congregation Kol Tefilah is Conservative and Hadesh Yamenu is the Havurah grouping.

The Hillel serves some 4,000 Jewish college students in the region, including UC Santa Cruz, Cabrillo College, and CSU Monterey Bay.

Social Justice is a local Jewish focus, much in keeping with the ethos of the university and the community. "Out in Our Faith" is a gay and lesbian, bi-sexual, and transvestite group. There is a local chapter of the Tikkun Community, COEJL: Coalition on the Environment and Jewish Life, Eco-Jew, and Mazon chapter.

The Jewish community of Santa Cruz sponsors an annual Jewish film festival and has published *The Santa Cruz Haggadah*.

[Michael Bernbaum (2nd ed.)]

SANTA FE, the first and one of the most important provinces in *Argentina, opened for the agricultural settlement of immigrants; capital city of the province.

The Province

Jewish population above five years of age, according to the 1960 census, was 14,152 out of a total of 1,865,537. In 2005 it was estimated by the Va'ad ha-Kehilot (see *Argentina) at 2,400 families. Jewish agricultural settlement started in Santa Fe province around the towns of Vieja Monigotes and Moisésville in 1888 and 1889, respectively. Land owned in Santa Fe by the Jewish Colonization Association (ICA) included more than 147,000 hectares, mainly concentrated in Moisésville and the Montefiore colony near Ceres. Today the remaining Jewish settlers in Santa Fe deal more in cattle than in agriculture.

The disintegration of agricultural settlements brought about the creation of Jewish communities in many towns and villages in the province. A survey conducted in 1943 by ICA found 21,833 Jews in the province, of whom only 2,956 lived on the agricultural settlements; 17,422 lived in 11 cities and towns; and another 1,455 lived in 112 villages and hamlets. In the following years, because of increased migration from rural to urban areas, there was a sharp decline in the number of areas with Jewish population, as well as in the number of Jews in the rural areas generally. In 1964, 12 cities and towns had organized Jewish communities affiliated with the Va'ad ha-Kehillot, the principal ones being *Rosario (in 2005 with some 1,600 families), Rafaela, Moisésville, Ceres, Palacios, San Cristóbal, and the capital city, Santa Fe.

The City

The first Jews to reach the city of Santa Fe were immigrants who arrived from Eastern Europe and Morocco in 1888–89. The first communal organization was the Sociedad Israelita Latina del Cementerio, established by Moroccan Jews in 1895. The Ashkenazi Sociedad Unión Israelita de Socorros was founded in 1906. In 1909 there were 547 Jews in the city, most of whom were small businessmen and laborers. By 1943 the Jewish community had increased to an estimated 4,000, of whom 3,600 were Ashkenazim and the rest Sephardim from Morocco, Turkey, and Syria. At that time the Ashkenazim maintained their own *ḥevra kaddisha* which constituted the central communal institution, and over whose control a conflict ensued between the Zionist Sociedad Unión Israelita Sionista and the "progressive" (pro-Communist) Sociedad Cultural I.L. Peretz. Both groups, however, were subsidized by the *ḥevra kaddisha*, conducted separate cultural activities, and maintained their own schools. In later years, the *ḥevra kaddisha* became the Comunidad Israelita, with a membership of 742 families in 1969 that declined to 600 in 2005. In June 2005 the Comunidad Israelita, within the framework of the commemoration of its centenary, inaugurated a Jewish museum – Museo Judío de Santa Fe "*Hinenu*." The community life of the Sephardim continued to center on the common cemetery. Despite the fact that the Sephardim had formed separate synagogues according to countries of origin, in the 1950s, they established a common congregation, Sociedad Hebrea Sefaradí de Socorros Mutuos.

In addition to several welfare and women's organizations, three important financial bodies were established in Santa Fe: two credit cooperatives and a commercial cooperative founded by peddlers. In 1970 the Jewish institutions in Santa Fe comprised two Ashkenazi synagogues – one of them Conservative, one Sephardi synagogue, a *shoḥet*, a *mikveh*, the Club Israelita Macabi, and three Jewish credit institutions. The Ḥ.N. Bialik Jewish kindergarten and day school had in the 1970s an enrollment of 144 pupils. In the early 21st century there was also a Zionist youth movement, Macabi Ẓa'ir, connected with He-Ḥalutz la-Merḥav. The city's branch of *DAIA is the umbrella organization for all groups except the pro-Communists.

[Daniel Benito Rubinstein Novick]

SANTANGEL, LUIS DE (d. 1498), comptroller-general (*Escribano de Ración*) to Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain. Born in Valencia, he was a descendant of a noble Converso family, the Chinillos of Calatayud. One of its members, Azarias Chinillo, became converted to Christianity at the time of the disputation of *Tortosa and adopted the name Luis de Santangel. This Santangel, the protégé of the Catholic monarchs, was the grandson of the first Luis de Santangel, after whom he was named. He began his career as a courtier, and served as a tax collector of the Royal Treasury, until in 1481 he was appointed comptroller-general, a position which he held until his death. He was succeeded by his brother JAIME and his son FERNANDO. In 1486 he became acquainted with Christopher *Columbus and was greatly impressed by his projects. Santangel's influence with the Catholic monarchs was decisive in gaining their acceptance of Columbus' proposals. He lent 1,140,000 maravedis to finance the historic voyage which resulted in the discovery of the American continent. In recognition of this assistance, Columbus wrote his first letter on his impressions of the voyage to Santangel. Written on Feb. 18, 1493, it contains interesting descriptions of his findings. Santangel also used his influence at court to help Conversos caught in the meshes of the Inquisition. He assisted the Jews expelled from Spain in 1492 by contributing toward the hire of vessels to enable them to leave the country. He should not be confused with another Luis de Santangel, a member of the same family, who was accused of complicity in the assassination of the inquisitor Pedro de Arbués, and was burned at the stake.

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SANTARÉM, city in central Portugal. An important Jewish community in the Middle Ages, Santarém was the rabbinical seat for the district of Estremadura. On his capture of the city in 1140, Affonso Henriques, the first king of Portugal, is said to have found a Jewish community and a synagogue there. The charter of Santarém and *Beja conferred by Affonso Henriques contained legislation against the Jews, stipulating among other things that, in litigation between Jews and Christians, only Christian witnesses would be accepted, and that Christians would not be accountable for offenses against Jews. Various Cortes held in Santarém issued discriminatory decrees against the Jews, that of 1461 decreeing that Jews should not wear silk, and of 1468 ordering all Jews to wear an identifying badge and to live within the Jewish quarter. Late in 1490, or early in 1491, the Jews of Santarém fulsomely greeted the Spanish princess, eldest daughter of Queen Isabella, who had been betrothed to the Portuguese prince Affonso, and regaled her with gifts as she stopped in Santarém on the way from Évora. After the forced conversion of 1497, a substantial community of New *Christians lived in Santarém, suffering grievously from the devastating earthquake of Jan. 26, 1531, and its aftermath. Fanatical monks seized on the disaster to denounce the New Christians and their friends, calling the earthquake a divine punishment for the toleration of the New Christians. New Christians were attacked and expelled from their homes, and many were compelled to seek refuge in the mountains. The distinguished dramatist Gil Vicente took up the cudgels on their behalf, and his passionate pleas for sanity and moderation restored calm. There were further disorders against the New Christians of Santarém in 1630.

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[Martin A. Cohen]

SANTOB DE CARRIÓN (**Shem Tov ben Isaac Ardutiel**; 13th–14th century), Hebrew and Spanish poet. Nothing is known of his life, except that he lived in Carrión de los Condes. Samuel *Ibn Sasson, who lived in the same town, exchanged some poems with him between 1330 and 1340, although only those sent by Ibn Sasson are preserved. By that time, Santob was already "famous in the kingdom of Spain." Santob was no longer young when he dedicated to Pedro I of Castile his *Proverbios morales* (known also as the *Consejos y documentos al rey don Pedro*), a series of poems on ethical and intellectual virtues and defects. The work itself was probably written between 1355 and 1360. This exists in five 15th-century manuscripts, one an *aljamiado* text (i.e., Spanish written in Hebrew characters), and another copy of one of them. Modern editions include 725 stanzas. The philosophical ideas in this first example of gnomic literature in Castilian are not highly original – the sources were probably Hebrew and Arabic ethical poetry – but the expression is concise and poetic. Its main themes are the golden mean in human conduct and the relativity of existence in this world. A thread of melancholic pessimism runs through the work, but it does not negate the didactic and moral elevation of the verses. Américo Castro described him as the first one who expressed in the Spanish language the bitterness of someone who considers himself worthy, even if society does not recognize him as such. He presented him as a "refined rationalist," a "good islamicized Hispano-Hebrew." With a completely different perspective, C. Sánchez Albornoz saw in Santob a model of a perfectly Castilianized Jew.

Some of the passages of the book are among the most quoted ones in Spanish literature, such as the comparison of the proverbs written by a Jewish author with the rose born on the thornbush. Taking as a literary model the wisdom sayings of the Book of Proverbs, he addresses a moral message to his contemporaries, including traditional ideas and his own perspective. Santob gives a picture of the Jews of the epoch as "loyal to the law of the land, supportive of universalistic ethical and religious codes, actively engaged in commerce, skeptical of the world and perhaps increasingly of their own social ambience, and, in coded messages, longing for final deliverance" (Perry).

The *Proverbios* enjoyed considerable popularity, both in Jewish and Christian circles. Its maxims were quoted by the kabbalist Abraham ibn Saba and by the Marquis of Santillana, who numbered Santob among the great "trovadores" of his country. *Proverbios Morales* was published several times, and a critical edition from a manuscript in the Hebrew characters of the 15th century was published by Ig. Gonzalez Llubera (1947); other, more recent editions are that of A. García Calvo (1974), S. Shepard (1986) T.A. Perry (1986) and P. Díaz-Mas and C. Mota (1998). The work has been the object of many commentaries and very different interpretations (Zemke, 1997, mentions more than 160 studies). Though other Jewish poets in Spain wrote poetry in Spanish, Santob de Carrión is the only one whose Spanish verses have survived. Although other Spanish works, such as the *Danza de la Muerte*, have been attributed to Santob, there is no basis for such attribution. The fact that a Jew wrote in Spanish was not seen with sympathy in the Jewish communities; Ibn Sasson recommended to Santob to abandon "their language" and to write in Hebrew, "the pure language, close to you."

Santob's Hebrew writings include a liturgical poem (the *viddui gadol* "*Ribbono shel olam, bi-re'oti beḥurotai*") which has been incorporated into the Sephardi ritual for the Day of Atonement. His *bakkashah*, "*Yam Kohelet*," consists of 2,000 words, each beginning with the letter *mem*; it has not yet been conveniently published. Four *pizmonim* have also been attributed to him. His rhymed narrative (*maqāma*-like) called *Milḥemet ha-Et ve-ha-Misparayim* ("The Struggle between the Pen and the Scissors," 1345), contains a debate on the importance of pen and scissors as instruments of writing (*Divrei Ḥakhamim* (Metz, 1649), 47a). A critical edition of this rhymed prose was published by Y. Nini and M. Fruchtman (1980). Santob also translated the poetic composition of Israel ha-Israeli, a disciple of Asher b. Jehiel, from Arabic into Hebrew, under the title *Mitzvot Zemanniyyot*, and wrote an extensive introduction. This work, probably written in Soria, is still in manuscript.

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[Kenneth R. Scholberg and Abraham Meir Habermann / Angel Sáenz-Badillos (2nd ed.)]

SANŪʿ, YAʿQUB OR JAMES (known as **Abu Nazzara**; 1839–1912), Egyptian playwright; one of the first authors of plays in spoken Arabic, and one of the creators of satiric journalism in modern *Egypt. He was born in Egypt and studied in Leghorn. He then returned to Egypt and earned his livelihood by giving private lessons. He began to write as a result of his interest in politics, a rare phenomenon among Egyptian Jews of that time. Sanūʿ joined the ranks of a small group which was to be the nucleus of the Egyptian nationalist movement, and from 1858 began to write articles and, later, mordant plays against the government. For several years he presented plays in spoken Arabic, until this was prohibited in 1872. Thereafter he concentrated his literary and political efforts on publishing newspapers, of which he was printing editor and (from 1876) owner. In these, he mocked the khedive Ismāʿīl and incited his readers against his rule. In 1878 he was compelled to leave Egypt. He continued his journalistic activities in Paris and his periodicals were smuggled into Egypt, each time under a different title. After 1882 he directed his attacks against the British, who had occupied Egypt, and tried to enlist support against them in *France and *Turkey. His failure in this project was the cause of his retirement from political activity a few years before his death.

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[Jacob M. Landau]

SÃO PAULO, the richest and most populated state in the United States of Brazil. Area: 248,209.426 km^2; population (2000): 37,032,403; state capital: São Paulo, the largest and most important city in Brazil, population (2000): 10,434,252. The Jewish population in the state in 2005 was estimated at 45,000, out of which 42,000 lived in the city of São Paulo and 3,000 in various towns in the hinterland of the state. Besides the capital, small Jewish communities are to be found in the following towns: Santos, Campinas, Santo Andre, São Caetano, and very small communities in Ribeirão Preto, Piracicaba, Taubaté, São Carlos, Sorocaba, and São José dos Campos.

The presence of Portuguese New Christians began with the colonization of Brazil, then inhabited by many groups of indigenous peoples. The city of São Paulo was founded in 1554 by Jesuit Catholic colonists. In the colonial period (1500–1822), thousands of New Christian Portuguese came to Brazil. During this period, there was a percentage of New Christians among the inhabitants of the southern "capitanias" (regions under Portuguese governors) and some rose to positions of local influence. Until the proclamation of independence in Brazil, in 1822, Catholicism was the official religion and there was no freedom regarding the practice of other religions.

Two years after Brazil declared its independence from Portugal (1822) it adopted its first constitution. Roman Catholicism remained the state religion, but the constitution proclaimed some tolerance of other religions. When Brazil became a republic (1889), the new constitution (1891) abolished all remnants of religious discrimination and ensured the civil rights of all citizens.

The city of São Paulo began its urban development in the 1860s due to the expansion of coffee plantations and immigration from Europe. Especially after the abolition of slavery (1888), until the 1940s, São Paulo City and the State welcomed a large influx of immigrants from several countries, a total of over 3,000,000 mainly from Italy, Japan, Spain, Portugal, Lebanon, and Syria, who came to work in coffee plantations. São Paulo has since then been an open city that has welcomed immigrants and foreigners, integrating them and assuming traits of each new culture. São Paulo also received Brazilian migrants from all over the country. The cultural and ethnic diversity is present in the history and identity of the city.

Contemporary Jewish presence in São Paulo started in the last quarter of the 19th century, when Jewish immigrants arrived from both Eastern and Central Europe, mainly from the Alsace-Lorraine region. It was not an organized and systematic immigration flow, but one which occurred rather on an individual basis. These first immigrants did not create a Jewish community.

It was only during World War I that a Jewish community began to be organized in the city of São Paulo, initially consisting of immigrants from Eastern Europe (most of them from Russia, Poland, Lithuania, Romania/Bessarabia, and Hungary). Restrictions on immigration to the U.S. and Canada in the 1920s made Brazil a feasible and interesting destination for East European Jewish immigrants. As a new metropolis, in the 1920s São Paulo attracted immigrants, offering freedom of religion and community association, economic, industrial, and commercial opportunities, as well as proper conditions for settlement and social betterment. São Paulo's urbanization and economic expansion rates had a decisive impact on the integration and upward social mobility of significant numbers of immigrants. The city's population grew from 240,000 in 1890 to 580,000 in 1920, reaching approximately 2,000,000 in 1954.

By the 1920s, the Jews in São Paulo had already organized a complete network of institutions, such as schools, welfare entities, synagogues, a cemetery, a burial society, credit cooperatives, political movements, press, and social and sports clubs, which molded a dynamic and well-integrated Jewish-Brazilian community supported by organizations such as JCA, HIAS, and HICEM.

The first organizations to be founded were the Kahal Israel Synagogue (1912); Sociedade Beneficente das Damas Israelitas (Froien Farein, 1915); Sociedade Beneficente Amigos dos Pobres Ezra (1916); the Zionist movement Ahavat Zion (1916); the Knesset Israel Synagogue (1916); Gymnasio Hebraico-Brasileiro Renascença – the first Jewish-Brazilian school to teach the official curricula in São Paulo (1922); the Sociedade Cemitério (1923); the burial association Chevra Kadisha (1924); Macabi (1927); Sociedade Cooperativa de Crédito Popular do Bom Retiro (1928); Policlínica Linath Hatzedek (1929); B'nai Brith (1931); and Ginásio Talmud Torá (1932). A small *talmud torah*, inaugurated in 1916, functioned as a *ḥeder*, but was only open for a short period of time.

Sephardi immigration from Lebanon, Syria, and cities in Ereẓ Israel took place in the 1920s. The Sephardim organized the Comunidade Israelita Sefaradi (1924) and founded three synagogues, Comunidade Sefardim de São Paulo (1929, later known as Sinagoga Israelita Brasileira do Rito Português and Sinagoga da Rua da Abolição) and two in the working class neighborhood of Mooca, in São Paulo – Sinagoga Israelita Brasileira (1930), linked to Jews originating from Sidon, and Sinagoga da União Israelita Paulista (1935).

After 1933, a growing number of immigrants arrived in São Paulo from Germany (and later on from Italy). In 1936 they founded the Congregação Israelita Paulista (CIP), Lar das Crianças (Children's Home), and the scouting movement Avanhandava. CIP consisted of 2,000 member families, and became the largest Jewish center in town.

In the hinterland of the State of São Paulo, small communities were formed in several townships, such as São Caetano, Santo André, São José dos Campos, Mogi das Cruzes, Sorocaba, Jundiaí, Campinas, Ribeirão Preto, and Franca, particularly following the railroad trade routes that served the export of coffee, the main State and Brazilian export product up to the 1920s. In Santos, the harbor where immigrants disembarked, an important Jewish community also flourished.

The main neighborhood of the Jewish minority in São Paulo was the district of Bom Retiro, next to the "Luz" Railroad Station, terminal of the trains coming from Santos, and main route of the export coffee cargoes going to the Santos port. Jewish immigrants used to call Bom Retiro a "little shtetl" and economic activities were basically trade and clothing manufacturing, initially as *clientelchik* (peddlers), and later on as merchants, small manufacturers, and industrialists.

In the 1940s there were Jewish nuclei in several neighborhoods besides Bom Retiro, such as Bras, Cambuci, Lapa, Mooca, and Pinheiros, and each one of them supported a school, a synagogue, and a community center.

In 1915 the Sociedade Beneficente das Damas Israelitas was founded in São Paulo. From then on, women have organized and directed diverse organizations, thus creating a tradition of engagement in Jewish public life. Women were very active in social institutions and also created Lar das Crianças das Damas Israelitas (1939) and Organização Feminina de Assistência Social (Ofidas, 1940). Zionist women's organizations were founded, such as WIZO (1926) and Naamat Pioneiras (1948). As a matter of fact, many women assumed the direction of community organizations, including Federação Israelita do Estado de São Paulo in the 1990s.

In 1940, according to official numbers, the number of Jews in the State of São Paulo reached 20,379 and in 1950 the number was 26,443. In 1941 the Asylo dos Velhos (Old Age Home) was founded, later on called Lar Golda Meir, which currently bears the name Residencial Israelita Albert Einstein – Lar Golda Meir. Between 1936 and 1966, the Sanatório Ezra – Ezra Hospital for Tuberculosis operated in São José dos Campos with 120 beds, also assisting non-Jews. In 1959 the Centro Israelita de Assistência ao Menor (Ciam) for handicapped children was established. In São Paulo, Jewish female prostitutes (exploited from the late 19th century by the Tzvi Migdal women trafficking network, centered in Buenos Aires), founded the Sociedade Feminina Religiosa e Beneficente Israelita (1924–1968, in São Paulo). There were two specific cemeteries where the prostitutes were buried, in São Paulo and in the town of Cubatão, near Santos. The graves of the São Paulo cemetery, which was located in the Santana neighborhood, are now at the Butantã cemetery, one of the three Jewish cemeteries run by Chevra Kadisha. The Cubatão cemetery is preserved next to the city's municipal cemetery. This chapter in its history carries a strong taboo among the members of the community, although it has been the subject of some literary and history works.

In the 1930s, having settled in a few cities and owing to their economic, social, and cultural public activities, the Jews became one of the "most visible" groups of immigrants, in the words of the historian Jeffrey H. Lesser. Thus, they came to be the object of local, national, and international gambling, "pawns of the powerful," especially during the Vargas regime in Brazil, when a "Jewish question" was raised in the country.

Under the Getulio Vargas regime (1930–1945), the semi-fascist Estado-Novo (1937–1945), and during World War II, immigration restrictions (after 1937) and the activities of Ação Integralista Brasileira (a fascist party that existed from 1933 to 1938) generated an environment of nationalism and xenophobia.

Thousands of immigrants from Nazi-dominated Europe were barred, but, nevertheless, Jewish immigration continued individually by a variety of means, mainly through case by case negotiations, but never organized through charitable national or international organizations.

Despite the dictatorship and the climate of nationalistic xenophobia, the Jewish organizations adjusted to the nationalist legislation and learned how to confront the restrictions (against all immigrants, not specifically antisemitic), thus allowing them to continue operating. The schools continued to teach Hebrew and Jewish culture, the synagogues maintained their religious services, radio programs played Jewish music, and innumerable organizations were established during this period, resulting in a very fertile period for the organizations and the unity of the Jewish community. The German Jews became most alarmed, especially after Brazil broke relations with Germany and Italy in August 1942, but their organizations went on as usual during the war years.

There are no records of any coercive closure of Jewish organizations in São Paulo, then the biggest Jewish community in the country, during the Estado-Novo regime and especially in the war years. The antisemitism present in governmental and intellectual circles, among diplomats and the elite, did not result in violent actions against the Jews living in São Paulo in particular or Brazil in general, or against those who managed to breach the immigration barriers. In São Paulo the community took part in campaigns in support of the war effort by Brazil, which followed a policy of alignment with the United States and the Allies. This included the sending of the Força Expedicionária Brasileira (FEB), with 30,000 soldiers, who fought in Italy in 1944 and 1945. With the restriction on imports and the naval blockade, there was important industrial and technical development in the great urban centers to supply goods which had previously been imported. This created new work opportunities for the inhabitants of the cities, among them the Jewish immigrants who had technical, commercial, and industrial abilities.

In the 1940s, intense debates about Zionism took place in São Paulo, particularly about the unified campaigns that led to the foundation of the Zionist-oriented Federação Israelita do Estado de São Paulo. Sectors of German Jews, organized within the CIP, did not initially join the Federation. Some very active Zionist youth movements were founded, such as Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir, Gordonia, Iḥud, Dror, Bnei Akiva, Netzach, Betar, scouting Avanhandava and, in the 1960s, Chazit Hanoar. Although with fewer members and a somewhat weaker ideological stand and Zionist pioneer goal, some of these organizations are still active in the early 21st century.

Leftist Jews were organized from the 1920s, when they ran a small school linked to the Bund. In 1954 the Instituto Cultural Israelita Brasileiro (known as "Casa do Povo") was founded. Together with the Teatro de Arte Israelita Brasileiro (Taib) and Scholem Aleichem school, these organizations represented the left-wing Jews, many of them involved in the Communist Party. They gave public voice to Yiddish culture and language and managed an active press.

Until the 1950s, more than 13 synagogues and six schools were founded. The schools reflected the Jewish diversity in São Paulo, both regarding religion and politics. Renascença, H.N. Bialik, and I.L. Peretz were Hebraist and Zionists; Scholem Aleichem was Yiddishist and leftist, and Talmud Torá and Beit Chinuch were orthodox. As of the 1950s and 1960s, Yiddish, which had so far been the language of the Jewish minority, was replaced by Hebrew as the main language taught in schools.

In the early 21st century the Jews of São Paulo were politically represented by the Federação Israelita do Estado de São Paulo, founded in 1946 to coordinate efforts to assist postwar Jewish immigration. After World War II, a few thousand families from the Displaced Persons' camps in Germany, and, in the 1950s, Jews from Egypt, Hungary, and Israel, settled in São Paulo, the last significant Jewish immigration to it.

In 1954, the Associação Brasileira A Hebraica was founded. With some 25,000 members, it became one of the most important sports and recreational clubs in São Paulo, and is the largest Jewish organization in Brazil. As of 1964 São Paulo was the seat of the Confederação Israelita do Brasil (Conib), founded in 1948 in Rio de Janeiro as the representative umbrella organization of the Jewish communities. The most accurate demographic and sociological survey of the Jews in São Paulo was carried out by the Federação Israelita de São Paulo in 1970 and published by the sociologist Henrique Rattner. In 1971, the Hospital Israelita Albert Einstein opened; it is regarded as one of the best private hospitals in Latin America.

In the 1969 census of the Jewish community, 28,498 people were counted in 9,086 families, with an average of 3.2 persons per family. Since the number of Jewish families is larger than that covered in the census and is about 14,000 families, the number of Jews in the capital, São Paulo, was approximately 45,000 in 1969.

In 1976, the União Brasileiro-Israelita do Bem-Estar Social – Unibes was founded, becoming the largest and most important Jewish welfare organization in São Paulo. Through several health insurance and other programs, it serves hundreds of persons within the Jewish community and the population in general.

In the Early 21st Century

Although it makes up less than 0.01 percent of the total population of the city, the Jewish community has a solid institutional network, a diverse and dynamic Jewish life, and the Jews play an important role in many different fields and activities, including the economy, the culture, the professions, the arts, and intellectual and cultural life, thus forming a minority whose participation and visibility in the city's daily life very much surpasses its minuscule percentage of population. Their integration in public life is demonstrated by the presence of Jews in the city and state governments as well as in NGO's, universities and cultural and educational institutions, public services, courts of law, etc. In the 2003 municipal elections, the Jewish community did not vote together to elect a single Jewish city counselor, despite the various Jewish candidates belonging to several political parties.

In a number of cities of the State of São Paulo – Santos, Santo André, São Caetano and Campinas – there are synagogues and Jewish activities. But the Jewish life in the small towns of São Paulo State is declining, without any regular Jewish school.

All in all, there are approximately 100 organizations; 68 of them affiliated with the Federação Israelita do Estado de São Paulo. The Jewish community in São Paulo is organized around a well-structured institutional and community life, with the A Hebraica club, synagogues, and schools as social nuclei. Some events, such as the Festival de Cinema Judaico and the Festival Carmel of Jewish Folkloric Dance, are important cultural activities taking place in the city.

In the city there are four Jewish restaurants and many shops carrying food and religious products in the neighborhoods of Higienópolis and Bom Retiro, the nucleus of the community, although the Jewish population lives in many parts of the city. Since the 1960s, Sephardi Jews have also come to live in the neighborhood of Higienópolis and founded three new Sephardi synagogues. Currently, the Bom Retiro district has become a Korean immigrant commercial center that in many cases replaced Jewish businesses.

In spite of sporadic slogans painted on walls, occasional declarations or articles in small publications, and antisemitic and Nazi sites and some rare anti-Jewish publications, generally linked to anti-Israeli political campaigns, there are no antisemitic activities that distress or alter the routine of the Jewish community in São Paulo. Although there is strong concern regarding the security of the institutions of the community, especially following the terrorist attacks in Argentina against the Israeli Embassy (1992) and AMIA (1994), Jewish life in São Paulo is entirely free and public. Governmental authorities as well as the Federação Israelita, and organizations such as the B'nai B'rith, have always kept a vigilant attitude.

In São Paulo there is an active Christian-Jewish dialog involving important authorities of both the Catholic and Protestant churches. CIP's Rabbi Henry I. Sobel was an active participant in this dialogue as well as in ecumenical religious and political events, where various religious groups also participate and which have domestic and international resonance. He was also very active in the defense of human rights (even under the Brazilian military dictatorship that ruled the country from 1964 to 1979), thus becoming the most active and renowned Jewish representative both in the city and the nation as a whole.

During the 1990s, due to the sluggish economy, some strata of the Jewish middle class suffered partial impoverishment, which made it necessary to enhance the social assistance services. Unibes, Lar das Crianças ad CIP, Ciam, Ten Yard, Department de Voluntaries do Hospital Israelita Albert Einstein, Oficina Abrigada de Trabalho (OAT), Federação Israelita, plus a series of small initiatives, have assisted the Jewish community and concluded a series of agreements with the São Paulo city and state governments to assist the poor population of the city. The Jewish organizations are regarded as a paradigm of management and assistance, and have been awarded several renowned prizes in Brazil.

In 2004, there were in São Paulo 20 regular Jewish schools, including kindergartens, with approximately 4,000 students. However, the number of students in the Jewish schools has been declining.

There are 30 synagogues in the city, including liberal CIP and Comunidade Shalom, which had the first female Brazilian rabbi. The Beit Chabad movement has grown considerably and Bnei Akiva runs a synagogue.

São Paulo is home to significant publishing activity, the largest publisher being Editora Perspectiva, founded by Jaco Guinsburg, the most important Brazilian translator and publisher of Jewish classic texts and Yiddish and Hebrew literature. Also of note are the publishers Sefer and Mayanot. Moreover, there is in the city a Jewish bookstore, Sefer.

The experience of Jewish immigration to São Paulo has been described in the pages of authors such as Samuel Rawet, J. Guinsburg, Eliezer Levin, Alberto Mograbi, and Meir Kucinsky (who wrote in Yiddish, and was published in Israel and translated into Portuguese).

Within the University of São Paulo there is a graduate course on Hebrew Language and Culture as well as a Jewish Study Center, which offers master's degree and doctoral programs, plus free courses on Jewish and Yiddish cultures. Other universities in the city and the state, such as Universidade Estadual de Campinas, Pontifícia Universidade Católica, and Universidade Presbiteriana Mackenzie, also offer courses on Hebrew and Jewish culture.

The Arquivo Histórico Judaico Brasileiro, founded in 1976, gathers and centralizes documents on Jewish immigration to the city and the nation and functions as an important center for the preservation and dissemination of Jewish memories and history, maintaining the most significant Jewish library in the country, including a Yiddish section.

With no direct link to the Jewish community, the Lasar Segall Museum, sponsored by the Instituto do Patrimônio Histórico e Artístico Nacional (Iphan), hosts the collection of the artist Lasar *Segall, an exponent of Modernism in the arts.

The Jewish communications media include a series of magazines, journals, and bulletins, geared internally to the Jewish community. There are also three TV programs, the oldest and most important being Mosaico, considered the oldest Brazilian TV program in general (not specifically Jewish). Formerly, the Jewish community published a significant number of publications, such as *Crônica Israelita*, *Revista Brasil-Israel*, *Resenha Judaica*, *Encontro*, the *Shalom* magazine plus Yiddish publications. The Jewish press is declining and covers at most social activities.

Local organizations include the Organização Sionista Unificada, the Casa de Cultura de Israel, Centro de Cultura Judaica, Associação Janusz Korczak do Brasil, three different Yiddish language clubs, Fundo Comunitário, Keren Kayemet Leisrael, Sherith Hapleitá (Holocaust survivors Association), and Câmara Brasil-Israel de Comércio e Indústria. In 2004 the Consulate General of Israel was closed in São Paulo, although Israel is a central reference point for the self-identity of Jews in São Paulo.

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[Roney Cytrynowicz (2nd ed.)]

SAPERSTEIN, ABRAHAM M. (**Abe**; 1902–1966), U.S. basketball entrepreneur; creator, promoter, and coach of the Harlem Globetrotters Basketball Team for 39 years; member of the Basketball Hall of Fame. Born in London, Saperstein came to Chicago at six with his nine brothers and sisters. He was active in basketball, baseball, track, and wrestling at Lake View High School, winning 15 letters. He then played semiprofessional baseball and basketball, earning $5 a night, and at age 24 took over the running of an all-black basketball team, the Savoy Big Five, named for Chicago's Savoy Ballroom. Saperstein changed the team's name to the Harlem Globetrotters, to indicate both a black team (Harlem), and a traveling or barnstorming team (Globetrotters). He placed his five players in a battered Model T Ford and took to the road. They played their first game on January 7, 1927, in Hinckley, Ill., before a crowd of 300 with a paycheck of $75. Saperstein, who stood five-foot-three, was the manager, coach, trainer, chauffeur, ball boy – and the team's only substitute. The Globetrotters won 397 games and lost 32 in their first three seasons, but found it difficult locating opponents willing bow to their dominating play. Saperstein then conceived the idea of a comic, razzle-dazzle style, and the team soon became a sought-after attraction on the basketball barnstorming circuit, showing off a superb blend of clowning and basketball wizardry, of vaudeville and solid basketball skill. In 1940 the team won the World Basketball Championship against the Chicago Bruins, and won the International Cup in 1943 and 1944. Over the years, the Globetrotters developed into an international entertainment attraction, meeting popes and kings and playing in bullrings, on stages, and aboard aircraft carriers and in more than 100 countries on five continents, including drawing 75,000 for a game at the Olympic Stadium in Berlin in 1951. The Globetrotters are one of the most famous sports organizations in the world, with Saperstein being called the "Barnum of Basketball" and his team known as "America's No. 1 Goodwill Ambassadors." Indeed, their flashy brand of play and the patriotic red, white, and blue uniforms became the first basketball experience for many spectators in Mexico, Belgium, Portugal, Morocco, Singapore, and Colombia. In March 1961, Saperstein announced the formation of the American Basketball League. Saperstein served as commissioner, though the league only lasted a season and a half. He was elected to the Basketball Hall of Fame in 1970.

[Elli Wohlgelernter (2nd ed.)]

SAPERSTEIN, DAVID N. (1947–), U.S. rabbi. The longtime director of the Reform Jewish Movement's Religious Action Center (RAC) in Washington, D.C., Saperstein was an influential leader in the so-called "Jewish lobby" in Washington for more than three decades. As J.J. Goldberg in his book *Jewish Power* observed: "[led] since 1974 by the savvy, charismatic Rabbi David Saperstein, the RAC has become one of the most powerful Jewish bodies in Washington [second only to AIPAC]." The son of Long Island Reform Rabbi Harold I. Saperstein, Saperstein was ordained in 1973 by the Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion in New York. He then served as assistant rabbi at New York City's Temple Rodeph Sholom until Rabbi Maurice Eisendrath, the president of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations (now the Union for Reform Judaism), and Albert Vorspan, the director of the Commission on Social Action of Reform Judaism, invited him to Washington, D.C., to direct the center.

As coordinator of the Reform Movement's social action advocacy to Congress and the Executive branch, Saperstein became a leading spokesperson in Congressional hearings, the media, and Jewish community organizations, for the mostly liberal views of Reform Jewry. Under Saperstein's tutelage, the center built a wide-reaching social action education program that trains nearly 3,000 Jewish adults, youth, rabbinic and lay leaders each year and which provides extensive legislative and programmatic materials used by Reform synagogues and other Jewish organizations.

Well-known as a skilled coalition builder, he headed several national religious coalitions, including Interfaith Impact, the Interfaith Coalition on Energy, and the Coalition to Preserve Religious Liberty. He served on the boards and executive committees of numerous national public interest organizations, including the NAACP, Common Cause, People for the American Way, the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights, and the National Religious Partnership for the Environment. Saperstein was also credited with helping to forge groundbreaking coalitions with religious right groups, leading to successful passage of legislation on issues including religious freedom, prison rape, human trafficking, and genocide in Sudan. Among the legislation passed through this coalition's efforts was the International Religious Freedom Act of 1998, passed unanimously by Congress. This led, in 1999, to Saperstein being elected as the first chair of the U.S. Commission on International Religious Freedom.

For many years, Saperstein traveled widely, speaking in synagogues, federations, and universities, appearing on television news and talk shows as one of the leading exponents of Reform Judaism's strong views on social justice issues. His books, which have been used widely as sources for Jewish social action studies and activities, include *Jewish Dimensions of Social Justice: Tough Moral Choices of Our Time*; *Tough Choices: Jewish Perspectives on Social Justice*; *Preventing the Nuclear Holocaust: A Jewish Response*; and *Critical Issues Facing Reform Judaism* 1972.

An attorney with a specialty in church-state relations, Saperstein has taught seminars on both First Amendment Church-State Law and Jewish Law at Georgetown University Law School for more than 25 years, with articles published in legal periodicals, including the *Harvard Law Review.*

[Mark Pelavin (2nd ed.)]

SAPERSTEIN, HAROLD I. (1910–2001), a leading congregational rabbi of mid-20th century American Reform Judaism. As an undergraduate at Cornell, Saperstein was influenced by Rabbi Stephen S. *Wise to enter the Jewish Institute of Religion, from which he graduated in 1935. From 1933 (while still a student, replacing his ailing uncle Rabbi Adolph Lasker) until 1980, he served as the Rabbi of Temple Emanu-El of Lynbrook, Long Island. During his tenure, the Lynbrook synagogue grew from some seventy families to nearly one thousand.

As chaplain for the American Army from 1943 to 1946, he served in North Africa, Italy, France, Germany, and Belgium, reaching the rank of major. His report on the young Jews hidden by Father Joseph André of Namur, which appeared in *The New York Times*, was one of the first public reports of Gentiles saving Jews. In Worms, Germany, soon after the American forces entered, he recovered the priceless 13th-century illuminated Worms Mahzor from Dr. Friedrich M. Illert, a German archivist who had hidden it during the war, and facilitated its eventual transfer to the National Library in Jerusalem. (These endeavors were later described in *Rabbis in Uniform* by Louis Barish and *G.I. Jews* by Deborah Dash Moore.)

An inveterate traveler to far-flung Jewish communities, Saperstein attended the World Zionist Congress of 1939, visiting Jews in northern Poland and Palestine in the summer of 1939 (where he was injured by an Arab sniper), Russia, Poland, and Hungary in 1959, India, Ethiopia, and South Africa in 1967, and some 80 other countries on six continents. He served as the North American chair of the World Union for Progressive Judaism. A lifelong Zionist (as was his grandfather, Rabbi Hyman M. Lasker of Troy, New York), who served as chair of the Israel Committee of the Central Conference of American Rabbis, he and his wife Marcia helped pioneer youth and congregational trips to Israel, leading with the first Israel tour sponsored by the National Federation of Temple Youth in 1955.

Outspoken civil rights activists, during the summer of 1965 he and his wife did voter-registration work in Lowndes County, Alabama, with the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee.

During his term as president of the New York Board of Rabbis (1970–1972), he was a frequent public spokesman on behalf of Soviet Jewry, and he was on the cutting edge of the confrontation with the Jewish Defense League.

Despite these public roles, Saperstein thought of himself primarily as a congregational rabbi: as teacher, preacher, and counselor to three generations of Jews. After his formal retirement from Lynbrook he returned to full-time rabbinic service in New York City's Central Synagogue and Rodeph Sholom Congregation, and in the West London Synagogue of British Jews. He and his wife Marcia also traveled on behalf of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations through various regions of the United States, visiting small synagogues to provide rabbinic services and training for their lay leaders.

A selection of his sermons responding to historical events, *Witness from the Pulpit: Topical Sermons 1933–1980*, was edited by his son Marc, a professor of Jewish Studies at Harvard, Washington University in St. Louis, and The George Washington University. His younger son, Rabbi David *Saperstein, has headed the Religious Action Center of Reform Judaism since 1974.

[Mark Pelavin (2nd ed.)]

SAPHIR, JACOB (1822–1885), writer and traveler; born in Oshmiany in the province of *Vilna. Saphir's father, who was the *shoḥet* of the townlet, belonged to the *Perushim* – the disciples of Elijah b. Solomon Zalman, the Gaon of Vilna. In 1832 his parents immigrated to Ereẓ Israel, settling at first in Safed. A year after their arrival his father died, and when the year of mourning was just ending, he lost his mother, too. In 1836 he fled to Jerusalem with many members of the *Perushim* community because of the pogroms which the Jewish population of Safed suffered at the time. Saphir was educated under the system of the disciples of the Gaon of Vilna, which prevailed in Jerusalem at the beginning of the Ashkenazi settlement there. In addition to his religious knowledge and a rhetorical mastery of the Hebrew language, Saphir also acquired a fundamental knowledge of spoken and literary Arabic, read the *Koran, and was familiar with Latin script. He became a teacher at the *Jerusalem *talmud torah* Eẓ Ḥayyim. He later became the scribe of the *ḥevra kaddisha* of the Ashkenazim and of the *Perushim* community. As scribe of the community, it was his task to write poems in honor of important visitors, such as Moses *Montefiore when he visited Jerusalem in 1839. Saphir also wrote pamphlets and many articles, most of which were published in **Ha-Levanon*, edited by his son-in-law, R. Jehiel *Brill. Saphir was the son-in-law of R. Solomon Zalman Hacohen, one of the *Perushim* leaders in Jerusalem. In 1853 he wrote a promotional letter for Ereẓ Israel lemons, and another to R. Saul Zelig Hacohen dealing with the problem of Jerusalem's *Yishuv Yashan.*

In 1857 he traveled to the Oriental countries as the emissary of the *Perushim* community, to raise funds for the construction of the great synagogue in the courtyard of the Ḥurvah of R. Judah Ḥasid and for the *talmud torah*. He at first intended to go to *Egypt and *Aden, and from there by sea to *India, and was among the first to see the treasures of the Fostat **Genizah*, an account of which is found in his works. In Egypt he was defrauded of most of the money which was intended for his journey to India, and his financial plight brought him to *Yemen. Endangering his life, he embarked on a small sailing craft for Jedda, the port of Mecca, and from there continued to Ḥodeyda, the port of *Sanʿa, the capital of Yemen (beginning of 1858). He first thought of proceeding to Aden in order to enter the interior of Yemen by the *Ṭariq al-Yaman* ("Road of the South"), but lacking transport, he entered the interior by the road known as *Tarīq al-Shām* ("Road of the North").

After walking for three days along the desolate coastal plain (Tihāma) to the Ḥarāz mountains, Saphir met the first Yemenite Jews, and when he reached the nearby town of Jirwāh, he was deeply impressed by them and their way of life, which he mentioned in a letter to Jerusalem. From there he went on to Ḥajara, Muḍmar, Manākha, and Yafīd in the Ḥayma mountains. Near Yafīd all his possessions, including his credentials as an emissary, were stolen from him. From Yafīd he went to Qaryat al-Qābil in the vicinity of Sanʿa, where the Jews advised him not to visit Sanʿa because of the severe living conditions for the Jews which prevailed there during that period. In the meantime Saphir visited Shībam, where he celebrated Purim, and from there, by way of Kawkabān, he reached Sanʿa, staying there during the whole of Passover. With Sanʿa as his base, he visited ʿAmrān – spending Shavuot there – Ḥajjah, and Kuḥlān, which was the northernmost place that he reached. To the east of Sanʿa, he visited Saʿwān and Tanʿim. He returned by the road upon which he had come – the eastern road to Hodeyda – which he reached after a journey of eight months through the interior of Yemen. He stayed in Aden for more than a month and celebrated the Day of Atonement and Sukkot, sailing from there to India on Nov. 5, 1859. After traveling to India, Java, Australia, New Zealand, and Ceylon, Saphir once more returned to Aden, three years and four months later. On this occasion Saphir again thought of visiting the interior of Yemen, having become deeply attached to its Jews since his first visit; nonetheless, he refrained from doing this after hearing of the persecution of the Jews by the *imām* al-Mutawakkil. Saphir returned from Aden to Jerusalem by way of Jedda and Egypt (May 1863), after an absence of four years and ten months.

Upon his return to Jerusalem he recorded his travels in *Even Sappir* (2 vols., 1866, 1874, repr. 1969; condensed by A. Yaari and published as *Sefer Massaʿ Teiman* (1944, 1951^2). This work is outstanding for its penetrating observations and lively and fluent style. It contains valuable information on the lives of the Jews and their customs during the 19th century in the Oriental countries, particularly in Yemen. Saphir was the first to discover Yemenite Jewry in its greatness. Saphir's lifelike descriptions depict the innermost parts of the home, the village, the merchant on his business premises, the craftsman in his workshop, the elementary school teacher and his education, the synagogue and the *ḥakham mōri*. He also notes important details on their customs at circumcisions and marriages, and the version of the prayers for weekdays and festivals. He was the first to publish various Yemenite poems, and his details on the Hebrew pronunciation and syntax employed by Yemenite Jews are also of importance.

In 1869 Saphir was again sent to Egypt and the European countries, as emissary of the Bikkur Ḥolim hospital of Jerusalem, and he was once more the emissary of the above institution in 1873 when he went to *Russia. Upon his return to Jerusalem he continued to take an interest in Yemenite Jewry, and when he learned of the impostor who appeared as the pseudo-messiah Shukr *Kuhayl, he wrote an *Iggeret Teiman ha-Shenit* ("Second Epistle to Yemen") in which he warned the Jews of Yemen to beware of him (published Vilna 1873). In 1883–85 he lent his assistance to the publication of *Ḥemdat ha-Yamim* ("The Most Delightful of Days") of R. Shalom *Shabazi, the most prominent of the Yemenite poets, and wrote a foreword to it. Saphir also lived to witness the emigration from Yemen in 1882. In his last years Saphir devoted himself to the settlement of Petaḥ Tikvah. In his letter to R. Judah *Alkalai, Saphir deals with the idea of natural *ge'ulah* (redemption). He also wrote a few poems in honor of Moses *Montefiore. A village in the Judean Hills was named Even Sappir in his honor.

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[Yehiel Nahshon / Leah Bornstein-Makovetsky (2nd ed.)]

SAPHIR, MORITZ (Moses) GOTTLIEB (1795–1858), Austrian satirist and critic. Born into a Yiddish-speaking, Orthodox family in Lovasbereny, near Budapest, Saphir, the son of a merchant, attended the Pressburg (Bratislava) yeshivah, and later the more advanced yeshivah of Rabbi Samuel *Landau in Prague. He then studied literature at Pest, and his subsequent contact with the German language, literature and culture led him to abandon traditional Judaism. Saphir then began to write German verse and Yiddish comedies. In 1823 Adolf Baeuerle, the founder-editor of the *Wiener Theater-Zeitung*, sought his collaboration, but Saphir's satirical and sensational articles were a source of scandal, and in 1825 he left Vienna for Berlin. There, too, he engaged in polemics with the literary élite and found it advisable to take refuge in Munich. From there Saphir was eventually expelled because of a satire on the Bavarian king and, for a brief time, he joined *Heine and *Boerne in Paris. In 1832 Saphir turned his back on liberalism and was baptized as a Lutheran. Five years later he founded his own periodical, *Der Humorist*, in Vienna. Saphir's biting wit, much feared in his time, was no longer directed against Metternich's reactionary policies, but rather against general human foibles and follies. His popularity and influence did not wane until after the Revolution of 1848. Saphir's works include humorous and satirical poems, essays, feuilletons, literary criticism, theater reviews, comedies, short stories, sketches, and short novels. His *Humoristischer-Volkskalender* (1850–66) had an unusually wide vogue and his *Pariser Briefe* *ueber Leben, Kunst, Gesellschaft und Industrie* (1855) was frequently reprinted. Saphir's witticisms circulated throughout the German-speaking world, and his satirical sketches were recited by actors for several decades. In later years he referred to his Jewish origin as a birth deformity, corrected by a baptismal operation. Saphir's collected works appeared from 1887 in 26 volumes. A collection of proverbs and sayings by Saphir – (*Sprichwoerter und Redensarten im Biedermeier. Prosatexte,* ed. W. Mieder) appeared in 1998.

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[Sol Liptzin]

SAPHIRE, SAUL (1895–1974), Yiddish novelist. Born in Vilna and educated at the Lida *yeshivah*, he immigrated to the U.S. via Japan in 1916, settling in New York, where he devoted himself to teaching and journalism. For more than half a century, he enjoyed great popularity among Yiddish readers through his novels, serialized in the New York dailies *Tageblat*, *Morgen-Zhurnal*, and *Forverts*, and reprinted in other Yiddish organs. He is reputed to have written some 100 novels, of which more than 20 were published. His favored genre was the historical romance based on biblical and post-biblical figures, ranging from the Patriarchs, Joseph, Joshua, Deborah, Samson, Jephthah, Ruth, Saul, David, Solomon, and Esther, to the poets of Spain: Maimonides, Elijah the Gaon of Vilna, the Ba'al Shem Tov, and Solomon Maimon. Several of his novels were translated into English, such as *Der Kalif fun Kordova* (1927; *The Caliph of Cordova*, 1929), a romance of Moorish Spain during the Golden Age of 'Abd al-Raḥman II; *Tsivhn Roym un Yerusholayim* (1929; *A Challenge to Caesar*, 1938), dealing with the Jewish revolt against Rome which ended in the destruction of the Second Temple. His novel on Columbus, *Kolombus der Yid* (1934), dealing with the expulsion of the Jews from Spain and the discovery of America, was translated into Hebrew, *Kolumbus ha-Yehudi* (1948). Saphire also co-authored with Donovan Fitzpatrick *Navy Maverick* (1963), a biography in English of the controversial American-Jewish naval officer Uriah Phillips Levy.

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[Sol Liptzin / Jerold C. Frakes (2nd ed.)]

SAPIR, EDWARD (1884–1939), U.S. ethnographer, anthropologist, and linguist. Born in Lauenburg, Germany, Sapir, the son of an Orthodox rabbi, was taken to the U.S. in 1889. He was educated in New York and in Germany. He studied with Franz *Boas, and it was Boas' work in anthropological linguistics that stimulated Sapir to adopt this branch of anthropology as his major professional interest. For 15 years Sapir was chief of the Geological Survey of Canada, engaging in field research, and he became an expert in American-Indian languages. He taught at the universities of Toronto and Chicago, and in 1931 he was appointed professor of anthropology and linguistics at Yale University. He was fascinated by problems of language and its connections with logic, thought, and the total culture of which it was a part. He applied his early training in Indo-European comparative linguistics to the grammars of unwritten languages and their relationships. He concentrated increasingly on linguistics and its establishment as an academic discipline. It was his deep conviction that culture did not completely pattern its communicants, that diverse life experience produced different individuals within the same culture, and that therefore there are as many cultures. He produced some valuable ethnographic studies, among others on the Takelma and Nootka, and published such important essays in anthropological theory as *Time Perspective in Aboriginal American Culture: A Study in Method* (1916) and "Anthropology and Sociology" in: W.F. Ogburn and A. Goldenweiser (eds.), *The Social Sciences and their Interrelations* (1927), 97–113. The shadow of Nazism concerned him deeply, and he lent the weight of his academic prestige and personal involvement to various Jewish defensive efforts. But his primary scholarly achievement was in linguistics where, together with Leonard *Bloomfield, he is to be regarded as a founder of formal descriptive linguistics based on a phonemic theory and distributional method that analyzes the sound and utterance, the morphemes of a language, following a pattern of their environmental distribution. Sapir established in his "Sound Patterns in Language" (*Language*, 1 (1925), 37–51) the principle of structural analysis as fundamental for both anthropology and linguistics. Sapir's work as a researcher, teacher, and theorist has exerted a permanent influence on the study of language and has stimulated new work in sociolinguistics, ethnolinguistics, psycholinguistics, semantics, and semiotics. Sapir did not hesitate to evaluate his own culture. In 1924 in his essay "Culture, Genuine and Spurious" (in: *American Journal of Sociology*, 29 (1924), 401–29) he expressed his profound discontent with contemporary culture.

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[Ephraim Fischoff]

SAPIR, ELIYAHU (1869–1911), Ereẓ Israel pioneer and pedagogue; grandson of Jacob *Saphir. He was born in *Jerusalem and from 1889 taught Arabic and, later, Hebrew in the Petaḥ Tikvah school. He was one of the first to teach Hebrew through the medium of Hebrew and to take the students into the fields, in order to foster love for the Ereẓ Israel landscape. Being the only one in the vicinity to know both Arabic and the legal rules concerning taxes, lands, and inheritance, he gave free assistance not only to Petaḥ Tikvah's settlement committee, but also to Arab neighbors, whose ignorance was exploited by the effendis. In addition, he started evening courses in Hebrew and Arabic in Petaḥ Tikvah. After 11 years he became a clerk in the *Jewish Colonization Association (ICA), where he dealt with registration of land transactions, which was a very complicated task at the time. His greatest success was in setting the borders of and obtaining purchase certificates for the lands of *Sejera. In 1904 he began to work in the Anglo-Palestine Bank in Jaffa, and he was its vice director. He tried to teach people to make use of commercial credit rather than to rely on charity. He was one of the three Jews of Ottoman citizenship in whose name the lands of Tel Aviv were purchased.

He devoted much time to the study of geography. Kippert's German wall map of Palestine, re-edited in Hebrew by Sapir, was the only one used in schools and offices until 1930. His book, *Ha-Areẓ.* published in 1911, was for many years the only comprehensive historical and geographical lexicon of Palestine.

[Abraham J. Brawer]

His son, JOSEPH SAPIR (1902–1972), public worker in Israel, was born in *Jaffa. In 1921 he participated in the defense of Petaḥ Tikvah (to which his family had moved previously). He was a member of the agricultural committee there and founded the cooperative union Ha-Ḥaklai. From 1928 he was active in the Farmers' *Federation of Israel, later becoming a member of its executive, as well as in the Pardes company (the largest cooperative company in Israel marketing citrus fruits), serving as its director in 1921–39. In 1940 he was elected on behalf of the General Zionists as mayor of Petaḥ Tikvah, and he held this post until 1951. He was elected to the first and subsequent Knessets on behalf of the General Zionists and later on behalf of the Liberal Party. In 1952–55 (Second Knesset) he served as minister of transportation. With the establishment of the national coalition government on the eve of the Six-Day War he served as a minister without portfolio (1967–69), and from 1969 to 1970 as minister of commerce and industry. In 1968 he was elected chairman of the Liberal Party and was rotating chairman of the Gaḥal Party.

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SAPIR, JOSEPH (1869–1935), Zionist leader. Born in *Kishinev, Sapir qualified as a doctor. A member of Ḥovevei Zion from his youth, he was one of the most prominent Zionists in Odessa, and he established a publishing house, Di Kopeke Bibliotek, which published Zionist literature in Yiddish and Russian. In 1903 he wrote a book for the general reader on the essence and history of Zionism, which was published in Russian and Hebrew and was an authoritative source for Zionist education. He edited a Russian-language Zionist weekly called *Kadimah* ("Forward," later *Yevreyskai Mysl'*, 1907). After the 1917 Bolshevik revolution, Sapir was elected chairman of the South Russia Zionist Organization and was one of the leaders of the committee that aided victims of pogroms. He left Russia soon thereafter, spending several years in Bessarabia, and reached Palestine in 1925. Sapir was director of a department of the Bikkur Ḥolim hospital in Jerusalem. He also engaged in painting and sculpture and published a book of articles and memoirs, *Ḥalutzei ha-Teḥiyyah* (1930).

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[Yehuda Slutsky]

SAPIR (Koslowsky), PINḤAS (1907–1975), Israeli labor leader, member of the Fourth to Eighth Knessets. Born in Suwalki, Poland, Sapir went to the Tahkemoni religious school and later attended a teachers' seminary in Warsaw. Early in his youth he joined the *He-Halutz movement and served as its treasurer. He emigrated to Palestine in 1929 and settled in Kefar Saba, where he worked at first in citrus groves. At that time he organized several strikes over the issue of Jewish labor and was consequently arrested in 1932. Later on he started working as an accountant and was also instrumental in the founding of the water supply service and a popular credit bank in Kefar Saba. In the years 1937–47 he served as the deputy of Levi *Eshkol in Ḥevrat ha-Mayim, which turned into the *Mekorot Water Company and later became the national water company of the state of Israel. In 1947 he was appointed to the committee in charge of preparing the Negev settlements for the approaching *War of Independence. In February 1948 Sapir was appointed deputy head of the Civil Defense of the *Yishuv*, and was eventually granted the rank of lieutenant colonel. In August 1948 he was sent to Europe to coordinate purchases of military equipment. In 1948–53 he served as director general of the Ministry of Defense, under David *Ben-Gurion. In 1953–55 he served as director general of the Ministry of Finance under Eshkol. Sapir was appointed minister of commerce and industry in 1955 and served in this ministry until 1964. One of his main tasks in this position was to encourage domestic and foreign investment in industries – both private and public – in the new development towns. He was first elected to the Fourth Knesset on the Mapai list in 1959. Sapir was instrumental in revealing many of the facts connected with the *Lavon Affair that finally led to the resignation of Ben-Gurion from the premiership. When Eshkol replaced Ben-Gurion as prime minister in 1963, Sapir succeeded him as minister of finance, serving in this position until 1968. As minister of finance he was responsible for the controversial policy of economic slowdown in the years 1966–67, which was designed to decrease the deficit in the balance of payments, improve the structure of investments and employment, and foster productivity for export. In August 1968, Sapir succeeded Golda *Meir as secretary general of the newly founded *Israel Labor Party, serving in this position until 1970. In 1968–69 he served in the government as minister without portfolio. Following Eshkol's sudden death in February 1969, Sapir was considered as a possible heir, but Meir was chosen by the Labor Party for the post. After the elections to the Seventh Knesset in 1969, he was once again appointed by Meir as minister of finance, and served again as minister of commerce and industry in 1970–72, after Gaḥal left the coalition.

Sapir was reappointed minister of finance in the short-lived government formed by Meir after the elections to the Eighth Knesset. Following her resignation in April, he declined to stand as a candidate for the premiership or to serve in the government formed by Yitzhak *Rabin, whom he himself had nominated. In June 1974 Sapir was unanimously elected as chairman of the World Zionist Organization and the Jewish Agency, following the death of Louis *Pincus.

Sapir was one of the few Labor leaders who was disturbed by Israel's territorial expansion resulting from the Six-Day War, especially for economic reasons, and the social and demographic ramifications. He had reservations about Jewish settlement beyond the Green Line. He also acted to prevent the appointment of Ariel *Sharon as chief of staff.

Sapir's ideological rivals accused him of excessive pragmatism, and betrayal of the socialist ideals of his party. He had the image of a strong man, and the black notebook, in which he was accustomed to jot down notes, turned into a symbol. Nevertheless, there is no doubt that Sapir helped navigate the Israeli economy through stormy seas, and he was personally responsible for many of Israel's economic achievements under Labor rule.

After his death in 1975 the development center named for Pinḥas Sapir was opened at Tel Aviv University, to engage in research in economic, industrial, social, political, cultural and educational development.

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[Susan Hattis Rolef (2nd ed.)]

SAPIRO, AARON (1884–1959), U.S. lawyer. Sapiro, born in San Francisco, California, spent most of his poverty-stricken childhood in an orphan asylum. He went on, however, to graduate from the University of Cincinnati, studied briefly for the rabbinate, and then received his law degree from the University of California. Sapiro's legal practice emphasized labor law, men's compensation, and, especially, farm cooperatives. He was the author of the California Industrial Accident laws and was chiefly responsible for the standard Cooperative Marketing Act in effect in over 40 states. In 1924 Sapiro was attacked by Henry Ford's *Dearborn Independent* in a series of articles alleging a Jewish conspiracy to control U.S. agriculture. He brought a $1,000,000 damage suit against Ford, and when the case came to trial in 1927, Ford denied antisemitic intent, but settled out of court with Sapiro. The Ford-Sapiro case set the stage for the conclusion of the *Dearborn Independent's* anti-Jewish campaign and for Ford's public apology to the Jews.

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[Morton Rosenstock]

SAPIRSTEIN-STONE-WEISS FAMILY, Cleveland, Ohio, business and philanthropic family. JACOB J. SAPIRSTEIN (1884–1987) emigrated from Poland to Cleveland, Ohio, in 1906 and began what would become the second largest greeting card company in the world, American Greetings Corporation, by selling postcards imported from Germany. Sons Irving and Morris worked with their father from a very young age. The company pioneered display stands for greeting cards and began designing and printing its own cards in 1936. In 1940 the sons changed their name to Stone, and in 1960 IRVING I. STONE (1909–2000) succeeded his father as president of the company. MORRY WEISS, married to a granddaughter of the family, joined the company in 1961 and became president in 1978. In 2003 great-grandson ZEV WEISS became chief executive officer of American Greetings.

The family has been a consistent supporter of Orthodox Jewish causes in Cleveland, the United States, and Israel, most notably the Hebrew Academy of Cleveland, the Telshe Yeshiva (Wickliffe, Ohio), Yeshiva University, and Telshe Stone in Israel. Several widely used ArtScroll publications bear the family names, including the Stone *Chumash* and *Tanach* and the Sapirstein *Rashi*. Morry Weiss is on the board of Yeshiva University and is a prime supporter of Edah. The family members' philanthropic efforts have been associated with Orthodox Zionist and modern Orthodox causes, and they have been active participants in the larger Cleveland community, both Jewish and secular.

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SAPORTA (or **Sasporta**), **ḤANOKH** (15th century), scholar. Originally from a noble family in Catalonia, Saporta was rabbi in Adrianople after R. Isaac Ẓarefati. In addition to his Torah learning, he was also versed in the sciences. He apparently participated in an effort at that time made by the Rabbanites to reconcile the Karaites. Because of the Karaites' theological weakness, the Rabbanites sought to introduce talmudic learning among them. This explains the presence of Karaites among his pupils. His principal pupil was Mordecai *Comtino, and Saporta's system of thought and learning can be traced in Comtino's works.

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SAR, SAMUEL L. (**Shmuel Leib**; 1893–1962), educator. Sar was born on Shushan Purim in Ligmiany, in what is now Linkmenys, Lithuania. The eldest of six boys, he began his education at the nearby yeshivah of Vidz, later moving on to Ponevich (*Panevezys) yeshivah and a branch of Telz at Shaduva, where he studied for several years with Rabbi Joseph Bloch. After receiving *semikhah*, Sar was chosen by Rabbi Mayer Tzvi Jung to be trained as a rabbi for communities in the Austro-Hungarian empire and was sent to Vienna to pursue a rigorous program. He later followed Jung to London but ultimately chose to immigrate to the United States, arriving in Baltimore, Maryland, in 1914. His first job was as superintendent of a network of *talmud torahs*. Simultaneously, he began undergraduate studies at Johns Hopkins and Mount Vernon Collegiate Institute and entered law school at the University of Maryland.

In 1919 he was invited by Bernard *Revel to join the staff of the Rabbi Isaac Elchanan Theological Seminary (the forerunner of Yeshiva University) as a lecturer in Talmud and secretary of the administration. Following Revel's death in 1940 and the accession of Dr. *Belkin to the presidency, Sar was appointed dean of men, a position that reflected his multiple tasks on behalf of the student body. In practice, he was the main address for the students and was considered the institution's ultimate problem-solver, earning him the appellation "Mr. Yeshiva."

Besides his devotion to Torah learning and Jewish education, Sar played a prominent role in Jewish communal affairs in the United States, especially in the post-Holocaust relief and rehabilitation efforts sponsored by American Jewry. In fall 1945, he was sent on behalf of the American Jewish Conference to Europe to visit the displaced persons camps in Germany and present a survey of the Jewish Holocaust survivors and recommendations on how best to provide for their immediate needs. Along with Major Alfred Fleischman and Hans Lamm, Sar served as liaison between the survivors and UNRRA as part of the efforts of American Jewry to assist the survivors.

In 1948, Sar returned to Europe, this time as director of the Central Orthodox Committee of the Joint Distribution Committee, which was established in 1947 to unify American Jewry's efforts to care for the religious needs of the Orthodox survivors in Europe. A lifelong Religious Zionist, Sar was one of the leaders of the Mizrachi both in the United States and in world Jewish bodies. He served as acting president and chairman of the Vaad Hapoel of American Mizrachi and represented the movement in the Merkaz Olami (world center). He also played an important role in the creation of Bar-Ilan University in Israel with his good friend Pinchas Churgin. Sar's son, Eli Sar, was director of medical services at Yeshiva College and Stern College for close to 50 years; his daughter, Esther Zuroff, was director of student services at Stern College for three decades; and his son-in-law, Rabbi Abraham Zuroff, was the supervisor of all four YU high schools and the principal of YUHSB for 30 years.

[Efraim Zuroff 2nd ed.)]

SARACHEK, BERNARD ("**Red**"; 1912–2005), innovative U.S. basketball strategist, mentor to basketball greats, longtime Yeshiva College coach. Born in the Bronx, New York, Sarachek began his basketball career as a player at Stuyvesant High School. After playing for New York University, his first coaching job was as an assistant coach at his high school alma mater. He later moved on to a Workman's Circle team which included legendary New York Knicks coach Red *Holzman and prominent NBA referee Norm Drucker. During World War II, he coached in the military at Pearl Harbor, where his Schofield Barracks team won an armed forces title. After the war, he began coaching professionally, initially with the Scranton Miners of the American Basketball League (one of the predecessors of the National Basketball Association), where he made history by breaking the league's discriminatory practices by starting three Afro-Americans at the same time.

Sarachek achieved fame during his longtime tenure as basketball coach and athletic director at Yeshiva University. He began his career there in 1938 after he was approached by several students who sought to hire him privately to coach their team. Although plagued by the lack of a home court, no athletic scholarships, and the students' extremely demanding double schedule of Jewish and secular studies which often ended late at night, he invariably managed to field respectable, well-coached teams (nicknamed the "Mighty Mites") which enjoyed several winning seasons (the 1954–55 team went 16–2). In 39 seasons as coach at YU, his overall record was 202–263, which, given the limited talent available and the enormous problems facing the basketball program, was, to a large extent, a credit to Sarachek's coaching skills.

Despite the fact that Sarachek coached in NCAA Division III (or its equivalent) for most of his career, and his teams did not achieve outstanding success on the court, his knowledge of the game and his innovative offensive and defensive strategies were legendary, and he mentored such outstanding coaches as Lou Carnesecca (St. John's); Red Holzman (New York Knicks); and Jack Donohue (Power Memorial). He is credited with being among the first to emphasize the importance of movement on offense without the ball (going backdoor, "change of direction") and he created new alignments of the zone defense as well as innovative in-bounds plays. After coaching at Yeshiva, he worked as a scout for the Nets (ABA).

While not religiously observant, Sarachek was known for his strong sense of Jewish identity and his profound recognition of the important role sports could play in fostering Jewish pride and combating assimilation. This also explains his deep loyalty to Yeshiva or, in his words, "Yeshiva is special. It's a team for the Jewish people to be able to watch them play and be honored by them, to have pride. When you find a Jewish athlete doing something, you feel proud. That's more important to me than anything else."

Sarachek is a member of the Jewish Sports Hall of Fame in Commack, New York; the New York City Hall of Fame; and the New York City Basketball Hall of Fame. In 1992, Yeshiva University named its annual high school invitational tournament the Red Sarachek Basketball Tournament.

[Efraim Zuroff (2nd ed.)]

SARACHEK, JOSEPH (1892–1953), U.S. Conservative rabbi and scholar. Sarachek, born in New York City, was ordained by the Jewish Theological Seminary of America in 1916. He occupied various pulpits in the New York area, served as chaplain for the New York City Department of Correction, and taught at Yeshiva University. He was president of the New York Board of Rabbis in 1941–42. Sarachek devoted himself principally to research in medieval Jewish literature. He wrote *The Doctrine of the Messiah in Medieval Jewish Literature* (1923), *Faith and Reason: The Conflict Over the Rationalism of Maimonides* (1935; 1970^2); and *Don Isaac Abravanel* (1938). These works are especially useful to students of the intellectual and religious history of medieval Jewry.

[Sefton D. Temkin]

SARAGOSSA (Sp. **Zaragoza**; Heb. סרקסטה, סרקוסטה), city in Aragon, N.E. Spain; capital of the former kingdom of Aragon. Jews were already living in Saragossa during the late Roman and Visigothic periods, for which, however, details are not available.

Muslim Period

There was an important Jewish community in Saragossa during the period of Muslim rule. In addition to commerce, Jews were well represented in various industries, particularly cloth and leather, tanning, and shoe making. The community was apparently influential, as the acceptance of certain Jewish practices by Saragossa Christians elicited a reaction on the part of the Mozarabic priest Evantius in the eighth century (Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 88, 719–22). It is also believed that *Bodo, the Frankish priest, converted to Judaism in 838 in Saragossa. Jews served as advisers in the court of the tolerant Tajib dynasty during the 11th century, among them, Abu Ishaq Jekuthiel b. Isaac of the wealthy *Ibn Hasan family, killed in 1039. A cultural and intellectual center in the 11th century, Saragossa was the residence of the philologist Jonah *Ibn Janaḥ, the physician and philosopher Menahem ibn al-Fawal, the poets Levi b. Jacob *Ibn Altabban and Moses *Ibn Al-Takkana, the poet and linguist Joseph ibn Ḥisdai, the talmudist and *dayyan* *David b. Saadiah, and the philosopher *Baḥya b. Joseph ibn Paquda. E. Ashtor (see bibliography) estimates that the Jews constituted 6.3% of the total population of Saragossa (which was under 20,000) during the 11th century. Saragossa also had a Karaite community.

The Jewish Quarter

From the time of Muslim rule until the eve of the expulsion of the Jews from Spain in 1492, the Jewish quarter in Saragossa continued to be situated within the city walls of the Roman period, in the southeastern section. It was formerly larger than during the final years of the Jewish settlement in Saragossa. The judería no longer exists. Its location was at the back of today's Ramiro I hotel, between the Seminar of San Carlos and Magdalena Place. There was "the enclosed" judería, and there was a second one, the new one, outside the Roman walls. The old Jewish quarter was surrounded by the Roman walls and an inner wall that separated it from the Christian districts. This quarter had six gates. It center was in today's Santo Dominguito street, which led to the Gate of the Judería. The fortress of the Jews, the slaughter-house, the Great Synagogue and the hospital were located there. In the fortress there was a prison for Jews and Muslims. As a result of the growth of the community, by the end of the 13th century a new Jewish quarter was established. This new quarter, situated to the south of the old one, between the Coso and San Miguel streets, has preserved its medieval features more or less. This quarter is known as Barrio Nuevo. The buildings of the community included a series of synagogues: the Great Synagogue (Mayor) in San Carlos place, the Small Synagogue (Menor), the Engravers' Synagogue (which appears to have been known as the Bikkur Ḥolim synagogue), the Synagogue of Cehán, the Synagogue of Bienvenist, and the Synagogue of Hevrat Talmud Torah. The only Jewish building that has remained is that of the Jewish Baths, found in Coso, nos 132–136. The community representatives were accustomed to meet in the Aljaferia fortress situated outside the city when they elected their leaders and officials. During the 14th century the king maintained a zoological garden in one of its wings, and the community was responsible for the feeding of the animals.

After the Christian Reconquest

When Saragossa was conquered by Alfonso I el Batallador in 1118, the Jews were granted various privileges. Alfonso had close relations with a Jew named Eleazar who lived in Saragossa and was employed in the service of the king. In the distribution of properties which followed the conquest, there is also mention of the *alfaquim* Benveniste and his family who received a vineyard in the outskirts of the city. When Alfonso VII of Castile occupied Saragossa for a short while (1134), he ratified the grants to the San Salvador Church in Saragossa previously made by Alfonso I of Aragon from the tithe and customs duties which were paid by the Moors and the Jews. In 1195 Alfonso II granted Maestre Jossep Aben Filca, his brother Rabi Asser, and their heirs after them, an annual income of 300 sólidos which was to be paid to them from the customs duties received from the Jews of Saragossa.

Pedro II continued to grant further personal privileges: in 1212, he granted to the Jew Alazrach, son of Abulfath Abenalazar, the members of his household and his heirs, a series of rights on their property; he exempted them from the reproof section which formed part of the text of the Jewish *oath, from the Jewish ban (*ḥerem*), and from the community's regulations. James I also adopted this policy of granting privileges to the distinguished Jewish families of Saragossa and thus favored the members of the *Alconstantini and de la *Cavallería families. Members of the Alconstantini family (Baḥya and Solomon) accompanied him as interpreters when he set out on his campaign to conquer the Balearic Isles and Valencia. Members of these families, as well as of the Benveniste family, gave their support to the counter-ban issued in 1232 by the communities of Huesca, Monzon, Calatayud, and Lérida against *Solomon b. Abraham of Montpellier and his colleagues because of their ban against those who studied the works of Maimonides and philosophy (see *Maimonidean Controversy).

One of the principal occupations of the Jews of Saragossa was garment making. The *draperos* held an important place in the community, coming directly after the personalities who had influence at court. Their shops were situated in the Jewish quarter and beyond, and they also employed Christians in spinning and weaving. They were followed in rank by craftsmen of every category: tailors, engravers, mantle-makers, furriers, goldsmiths, wool-cleaners, metal workers, blacksmiths, shoemakers, embroiderers, and cobblers, several of whom received special privileges in appreciation of their services to the crown. These craftsmen later organized their own benevolent societies. There were also landowners in the community who owned fields and vineyards outside the city, cultivated by daily workers and slaves. This occupational structure persisted until the expulsion.

The gap between the rich and the poor was very wide. The rich, including the *francos* who were exempt from contributing to the taxes paid by the community and were outside its jurisdiction, had full control of all communal affairs. The lower classes, composed of craftsmen, felt very oppressed. In 1263 they organized an opposition group called Kat ha-Ḥavurah (The People's Faction) and tried to obtain certain rights with the help of the king. This courageous act was the beginning of a social struggle that spread in the Kingdom of Aragon and caused constitutional reform in many communities. This did not always produce satisfactory results, and the members of the lower classes adopted a new method for ameliorating their position. They established many confraternities, *ḥavurot* in Hebrew, which tried to resolve their social, economic, educational, and medical problems that the establishment failed to solve. The leading confraternities were the Rodfei Zedek, Osei Hesed, Malbishe Arumim, Bikur Ḥolim, Shomrei Ḥolim, the confraternities of the craftsmen which included the shoemakers and the tanners, as well as religious groups that included Ashmoret ha-Boker, confraria fr Cefarim, and Talmud Torah.

James I granted additional privileges to the community, including rights of judicial autonomy; the *oath could be taken according to Jewish law; lawsuits between Jews and Christians could take place before a judge of the same religion as the defendant; Jewish prisoners were set free for the Sabbath. The history of the community during his reign was marked by the internal struggle for power between the de la Cavallería and Alconstantini families. Don Judah de la Cavallería, the bailiff of the city, became involved in a dispute with Solomon *Alconstantini. Don Judah remained in office until 1276 and died a short while later. Moses Alconstantini, the *alfaquim* of Pedro III, was appointed in his place. Don Moses was, however, unable to hold his position in Saragossa, and in 1277 became bailiff of Valencia. During the time of Don Judah the first *blood libel on Spanish soil was circulated in Saragossa (1250); the Jews were accused of the murder of a Christian child and the subsequent agitation reached a dangerous pitch. The community of Saragossa was among the largest in the kingdom, not of lesser size than those of Barcelona in Catalonia or Toledo in Castile, at times even surpassing them. The community administration, which was responsible to the crown for the payment of taxes, introduced internal systems of taxation. In addition to the direct tax, it levied an indirect tax on meat, wine, commercial transactions, loans, and real estate, a profit tax, a tax on dowries, and a tax on the daily wage of craftsmen (cf. Solomon b. Abraham Adret, Resp., pt. 5, nos. 279, 281).

In 1294 a rumor spread in Saragossa that some Jews had murdered a Christian child and extracted his heart and liver for magical purposes. The municipal authorities appointed an expert on magic to investigate the matter, while in the meantime the Jews succeeded in finding the "murdered" child in a neighboring city. King James II severely condemned the municipal authorities for the disaster which they had been about to bring upon the community.

In the tax regulations of 1331, the community sought to reorganize both the internal taxation system and the methods of collecting the tax for which it was responsible to the king. Particularly important were the taxes levied on commercial transactions, real estate, and movable property, the *sisa* tax on meat and wine, and the methods of measuring and assessing which were introduced to prevent evasion. In 1333 Alfonso IV issued several edicts in favor of the community connected with the registration procedure for debts and pledges. Pedro IV also issued similar laws, but apparently the community administration, which also had the support of the government, did not succeed in overcoming the irregularities persisting in taxation, its assessment and collection. In 1335 the infante Pedro informed his father Alfonso IV of the degenerate condition of the community and the irregularities found in it. By then the community was almost ruined through the accumulation of debts and the loans which it was compelled to seek in order to pay the levies and fines which the state itself imposed with such frequency. In 1342, on the basis of a privilege granted by Pedro IV, the community of Saragossa proclaimed a *ḥerem* upon anyone who obtained a tax exemption or accepted a position in the community as rabbi, *shoḥet*, scribe, *albedin*, or emissary with the assistance of a royal privilege.

The *Black Death struck a severe blow at the community of Saragossa. Hardly one-fifth of its members survived. On Oct. 27, 1348, King Pedro instructed the procurador-general of Aragon and the other royal officials in Saragossa not to compel the community to pay taxes until the plague ceased and new arrangements for tax payment were agreed upon. Members of the de la Cavallería family, whose position had diminished after the death of Don Judah, once more gained the leadership in the community administration; subsequently they maintained their position until most of them converted to Christianity after the disputation of *Tortosa (see below).

The cultural and general progress of the community in the early 1360s was largely due to the de la Cavallería family. Don Vidal de la Cavallería, one of the kingdom's notables, leased the minting of gold coins in the kingdom in conjunction with a Christian of Saragossa, an agent of the king, and leased the taxes in collaboration with another Christian. He was versed in Jewish learning, and after his death in 1373 his wife Orovida continued to manage her husband's affairs. His brother, Solomon, was also active in his town and community. The most outstanding member of the family, however, was his son and the son-in-law of Vidal: Judah Benveniste de la Cavallería, who, from the late 1370s, was involved in many of the kingdom's affairs and carried on important commerce in Barcelona and other places. His house in Saragossa was a center of Hebrew culture and he signed state documents in Hebrew. Solomon and Benveniste maintained friendly relations with *Nissim b. Reuben Gerondi and apparently supported *Isaac b. Sheshet Perfet, who arrived in Saragossa in about 1372–73 and was active there for 13 years. The responsa left by Isaac b. Sheshet yield much information on the way of life of the Jews of Saragossa.

In the relations between the king and the community of Saragossa there was no change in the attitude of the crown. In 1363 Pedro IV imposed a levy of 5,000 livres in Jaca currency toward the expenses of the war against Castile. From the 1370s the administration of the community was dominated by Solomon Abnarrabi, one of the leading *muqaddimūn*. Apparently, the members of the de la Cavallería family had ceased to take an interest in communal affairs. In the early 1380s, complaints concerning the inefficient administration of the community were submitted to the king's treasurer. It was revealed that the debts of the community amounted to 200,000 sólidos, and the *muqaddimūn* were accused of having exempted their relatives from taxes and granting them benefits.

It was only from 1386 that the community began to repay its debts, and R. Ḥasdai *Crescas, who settled in Saragossa about that time, did much to liquidate the debts and improve the community's condition. In 1387 he was appointed supreme justice in the prosecution of informers throughout the kingdom. He became the leader of the Jews in the kingdom after the anti-Jewish persecutions of 1391.

Saragossa was spared from the persecutions of 1391 because of the presence of the king in the city, which he used as a summer residence. The king and queen did not leave the city until the end of October to punish the rioters. In April 1392, John I thanked the city leaders for protecting the community and encouraged them to maintain this policy.

Activities for the rehabilitation of the communities of the kingdom after the persecutions subsequently centered in Saragossa. Ḥasdai Crescas and Moses b. Samuel Abbas, who had moved from Tudela to Saragossa during the 1370s, devoted themselves to the welfare of their coreligionists. Following the massacres in the peninsula, Ḥasdai Crescas assumed the leadership of the communities and offered financial assistance to those who suffered in the massacres. Crescas made several journeys to Navarre, probably to suggest a haven to the Jews who had suffered from the persecutions. It may be that in this context we have to understand Crescas' famous letter to the community of Avignon.

In 1396, with the consent of the government, Ḥasdai Crescas instituted regulations for the community of Saragossa. They show a pronounced tendency to strengthen the authority of the *muqaddimūn* and enable them to impose their decisions without undue delays. As early as 1399 the queen, however, found it necessary to accept the complaints of the community and change these regulations. According to the decisions of Ḥasdai Crescas, the treasurer was appointed from among the four *muqaddimūn*, while the funds of the community were supervised by one of them, and could not pass from his keeping. The queen allocated an annual sum of 8,000 sólidos to defray outstanding debts, while Ḥasdai Crescas had set no limits to the amounts which could be collected. The queen clearly intended to minimize the authoritative tendencies of his regulations, while maintaining the community in an orderly state. Ḥasdai Crescas died in 1410, Benveniste de la Cavallería in 1411, but worthy successors of these two personalities were still available. The rabbinical position of Ḥasdai Crescas was taken over by *Merahiah b. Isaac ha-Levi (en Ferrer Saladin), who was assisted by *Mattathias ha-Yiẓhari and Moses Abbas, leaders of former days.

[Haim Beinart / Yom Tov Assis (2nd ed.)]

Results of the Disputation of Tortosa

The community of Saragossa, like the other communities of the kingdom, underwent a difficult period at the time of the Disputation of *Tortosa in 1413–14. Its emissaries to the disputation were Zerahiah ha-Levi and Mattathias ha-Yiẓhari; they were accompanied by the interceder Don Vidal, the son of Don Benveniste de la Cavallería.

The consequences of the disputation of Tortosa affected the Saragossa community in the same way as it had the other communities in Spain. Some of its prominent members, including members of the de la Cavallería family, converted to Christianity, among them Benafos, who assumed the name of Fernando, and Vidal, who took the name of Gonzalo and received a position in the kingdom's administration. The conversion of Vidal had wide repercussions. His teacher, R. Solomon da Piera, also converted with him. Two poets of that generation, Solomon *Bonafed and Bonastruc Desmaestre, regarded his renunciation as marking the nation's decline. The government had already realized the undesirability of the Conversos, whose numbers were increasing, continuing to reside in the same quarter as the Jews. The Conversos, at first only a few in number, were requested to leave but refused; a commission was finally set up to assess the value of their houses which the Jews of the quarter were ordered to pay to them. Many families were broken up. In 1415 the Jews of Saragossa faced a threat of further disorders; many attacks were made on them after Vicente *Ferrer had been preaching. Ferdinand ordered that measures be taken to assure their protection. During this period, the community of Saragossa numbered about 200 families. This was also its size at the time of the expulsion in 1492, although it received Jewish refugees throughout this century.

The community nevertheless underwent a lengthy period of decline because there were no notable leaders after the Tortosa disputation; its administration was concentrated in the hands of the craftsmen and simple folk who were incompetent to manage its affairs. Alfonso v was aware of the community's situation and in 1417 ordered the *merino* of Saragossa and Vidal de la Cavalleria to take over the accounts from the appointees, to introduce order into the administration's affairs, and to appoint community leaders, *muqaddimūn*, members of the council, treasurers, and a notary. Alfonso even authorized them to defend the community against the missionary sermons of apostates. He also ordered that the books of the Talmud which had been confiscated were to be returned to the Jews of Saragossa, as they had been returned to the other Jews of the kingdom (1419). Synagogues which had been confiscated were also to be restored. He authorized Jews to take leases from Christians. However, several monks, a Christian jurist, and several apostates were delegated to make a general examination of the books of the Jews. An event that occurred on the 17th of Shevat, 5420 (1420), was subsequently celebrated by the community as the "Purim of Saragossa." The Jews of the city were accused by an informer of carrying empty Torah cases at the reception being held in honor of the king; however, they were found to contain Torah scrolls and the Jews were thus spared punishment. A special scroll describing this miracle was also written.

Despite the efforts at rehabilitation and the support of the crown, the despair which had set in among the Jews continued and there were additional conversions. According to a cautious estimate, about 200 Jews yearly converted to Christianity between 1420 and 1430. To assist the community's recovery, associations were established for the support of the poor, for Torah study, etc. Endeavors to organize relief for the poor and the persecuted brought a certain revival in community life. Saragossa was outstanding for this activity until the expulsion.

In 1438 Alfonso ordered that the community was to be administered by three *muqaddimūn*, a council of nine members, and a treasurer. Throughout this period the community existed side by side with an active group of Conversos, some of whom had abandoned the Jewish faith of their own free will (see below).

In 1457 Alfonso granted the community of Saragossa a series of alleviations: he exempted it from payment of special taxes for ten years, granted a general amnesty, and guaranteed his protection against seizures by Church tribunals and against imprisonment or seizure by officers of the kingdom. The annual tax then amounted to 12,000 sólidos in Jaca currency, as it was in 1460 and in 1482.

When Ferdinand inherited the crown of Aragon in 1479, his policy toward the Jews of Castile was also applied in Aragon. In 1481 he wrote to the prior of the Cathedral of Saragossa and reproached him for having ordered the Jews to return to their quarter and authorizing them to close off the passages to the Christian streets. He also complained that even the prior had issued orders concerning the garb of the Jews and had forbidden several crafts upon the basis of a papal bull. Ferdinand explained that even a papal bull required the consent of the crown if it was to be applied. He ordered the Jews to wear a distinctive *badge and instructed the municipal officials to see that the crown's instructions concerning the Jews were carried out, and to assure their protection, which implied that the city was not to adopt an independent policy in the treatment of the Jews living there.

In 1486 the king granted the request of Torquemada and ordered the expulsion of the Jews from Saragossa and *Albarracin (see also below). After the issue of the edict, Ferdinand, however, wrote to Torquemada and suggested that an extension of six months be given. The edict was presumably not applied because notarial documents (such as testaments and the like) are extant from the year 1491, indicating that there was still a Jewish population in Saragossa, while the general decree of expulsion of the Jews was published there on April 29, 1492.

The Inquisition officials took upon themselves to supervise the preparations for the expulsion. They issued an order prohibiting the purchase of properties from Jews, but the Jews of Saragossa apparently did not heed this prohibition and proceeded with the transfer or sale of their properties. On June 28, the bailiff general convened the municipal leaders for an urgent discussion on the problem of the property of the Jews. It was agreed that a part of the community's debts would be covered by its property, but another part of the properties, especially those in personal possession, would finance the departure of the exiles. The Jewish quarter was transferred to the municipal council. A short while before the expulsion, the Abnarrabi family, whose ancestors had held important functions in the past administration of the community, converted to Christianity. Several members of the family assumed the name of Santa Fé (Joshua Abnarrabi became Juan de Santa Fé); Ishmael Abnarrabi, known as a merchant and banker active during the 1470s, also chose this alternative; so did Vidal Abnarrabi, a renowned physician in the town (as a Christian, he took the name of Alfonso de Eimeric). None of the members of this family was tried by the Inquisition, and they apparently became integrated within Christian society. During the whole of this period, Christian notaries were fully occupied with drawing up inventories of the properties of those who were about to leave; these lists give much information on the situation of the Jews of Saragossa during the last stage of the community's existence. It is assumed that the Jews of Saragossa departed in the direction of the ports of the kingdom, but some of them presumably went to the kingdom of Navarre.

The Conversos in Saragossa

Although there were Jews in Saragossa who deliberately or willingly abandoned Judaism, many after their conversion continued to observe the Jewish precepts and were Jews in every respect. Several of the Conversos in Saragossa became renowned. In 1450 Pedro de la Cavallería completed his apologia for Christianity, *Zelus christi contra Judaeos, Sarracenos et infideles*, in Saragossa, in which he revealed a wide knowledge of Jewish affairs, while his familiarity with the Jewish community is striking. Even so, at trials held by the Inquisition during the 1480s, testimony was brought against him that he was accustomed to eat in Jewish houses, that he participated in the Grace after Meals, and that he had spoken scornfully of Christianity. It was he who brought to Castile the pearl necklace which Ferdinand had sent to his betrothed, Isabella.

At the beginning of May 1484, Torquemada appointed two inquisitors to the tribunal of Saragossa. The tribunal established its seat outside the city in the Aljaferia fortress and, on May 10, the first *auto-da-fé took place and four Conversos were burned at the stake. It nevertheless appears that the tribunal proceeded rather slowly in its task. Leading Conversos of Saragossa were related to the local nobility (including the royal family) by marriage, and in general the Conversos in the city had close social and commercial relations with the Christian population. On Nov. 29, 1484, the Council of the Estates of Aragon, influenced by the Conversos who took part in the local and national administration, sent a delegation to the king and demanded that the new inquisition be abolished because it contradicted the laws of the country, and the appointment of inquisitors by Torquemada was in direct contradiction to the charters issued in the kingdom. The king declared to the emissaries of Aragon that the former inquisitors had neglected their duties and accepted bribery, but loyal Christians had no need to fear the Inquisition because it would not molest them. In practice, the government realized that in Saragossa a cautious policy should be adopted over the Converso problem.

On Sept. 14, 1485, an incident took place in Saragossa which had repercussions throughout Spain. On that day, the inquisitor Pedro de *Arbués was assassinated in the Cathedral of Saragossa while engrossed in his prayers. The Converso community, as well as the Jews, were threatened with total annihilation, but the municipal and royal officials suppressed the riots and began an energetic search for the culprits. In December 1485 the Inquisition tribunal resumed its activities and applied justice according to the strict letter of the law. From then onward, monthly autos-da-fé were held, and many Conversos were burned at the stake. Among those sentenced was Jaime de Montesa, a respected jurist who was the leading conspirator against Pedro de Arbués. With him was sentenced Juan de Pedro Sánchez, the brother of the royal treasurer Gabriel *Sánchez, who fled and was burned in effigy. Luis de *Santangel, the father-in-law of Gabriel Sánchez, who had been raised to knighthood in appreciation of his service, was also accused of complicity in the murder and of adherence to Judaism and burned at the stake. Francisco de Santa Fé, who acted as assessor to the governor of Aragon, the grandson of the well-known apostate Jerónimo de Santa Fé, committed suicide in the Inquisition jail; his body was burned and his ashes were thrown into the R. Ebro. Even Gabriel Sanchez and Alfonso de la Cavallería did not escape suspicion. On April 30, 1492, one day after the publication of the decree of expulsion in Saragossa, R. Levi b. Shem Tov, one of the community's scholars, appeared before the investigators of heresy and testified that in 1490, upon the orders of the Inquisitor, he had called upon the members of the community, and cautioned them under the threat of the *ḥerem* to testify before the Inquisition all that was known to them on the Conversos who observed the Jewish precepts.

Just as the Inquisition sought to extirpate these important personalities, it did not spare the ordinary Conversos who adhered to their former faith and Jewish way of life. The trials of María López, the wife of Pedro de Santa Cruz, and of Francisco de Tarazona, which were held before the expulsion, provide a remarkable example of the lives led by Jews and Conversos. According to a list apparently drawn up during the 17th century, over 600 people were tried up to the beginning of the 16th century. Only a few of the dossiers of those who were sentenced, however, are extant. Most were lost when the last secretary of the Inquisition, Juan Antonio Llorente, transferred them to France at the time of the Peninsular War in the early 19th century; only a few of them have been preserved there.

[Haim Beinart]

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SARAH (**Sarai**; Heb. שָׂרָה, שָׂרַי), the first of the four matriarchs; wife of *Abraham. Sarah is first mentioned in Genesis 11:29. Exceptionally, her genealogy is not given. According to Genesis 20:12, Sarah was Abraham's half-sister, the daughter of his father, but not of his mother. It is difficult, however, to reconcile this information with Genesis 11:31, from a different documentary source, where Sarah is identified as Terah's daughter-in-law. Immediately after Sarah's introduction, mention is made of her infertility (Gen. 11:30). This fact serves to emphasize Abraham's unquestioning faith and obedience to the Lord's command that he leave his native land, predicated as it was on a promise of great progeny (12:1–4).

The first incident in which Sarah figures prominently is the account of her descent to Egypt along with Abraham during a famine in Canaan (12:10–20). Immediately before entering Egypt, Abraham becomes apprehensive lest Sarah's striking beauty, which is especially noteworthy since she was 65 years old at the time (cf. 12:4; 17:17; *Genesis Apocryphon*, 20), inspire the Egyptians to kill him for the sake of acquiring her (Gen. 12:12). Thus, Abraham instructs his wife to claim that she is his sister in order to protect him. Sarah obeys Abraham's wishes, and when her beauty is reported to the pharaoh by his courtiers, she is taken into the royal palace. Abraham is apparently generously rewarded for the hand of his "sister" (12:16). When, however, the royal household is afflicted with plagues, the pharaoh apparently realizes that Sarah is Abraham's wife and that he is being punished for having intercourse with her. He forthwith returns her to Abraham, at the same time ordering them to leave his domain (12:17–20).The entire story foreshadows the plagues of Egypt and Israel's successful departure from there as already seen in the Midrash (Gen. R. (ed. Theodor and Albeck), 385).

It was once thought that this unusual account and its parallel in Genesis 20:1–18 involving the same couple but another monarch, Abimelech of Gerar (cf. also 26:6–11), were illuminated by the *Nuzi documents, which, according to *Speiser, attest to the existence in Hurrian society of a judicial status of wife-sistership, whereby a woman, in addition to becoming a man's wife, was adopted by him as his sister and thereby merited higher social status and greater privileges than an ordinary wife. Speiser's reading though was shown to be wrong (see *Genesis). Sarah's prolonged barrenness prompted her to give her handmaid Hagar to Abraham in order that she might bear him a child in her mistress' place (16:12). This unusual device, found only once again in the Bible (cf. Gen. 30:1–8), is also attested to in the Nuzi documents and elsewhere, where it is stipulated that if a wife is childless, she must provide her husband with a female slave as a concubine. Once Hagar had conceived, her arrogant attitude toward her mistress prompted Sarah to treat her so harshly that she finally fled, only to return in accordance with a divine order (16:4–9). Ultimately, however, after Sarah had given birth to Isaac, she saw to it that Hagar and her son were permanently expelled from Abraham's household (Gen. 21; in Galatians ch. 4 Paul allegorizes this story so that it predicts the displacement of Judaism by Christianity). The extraordinary fact that Sarah would bear a child at 90 years of age was first announced by God to Abraham at the same time that both his and Sarah's names were changed, the latter from Sarai (17:15–17). The promise of offspring was repeated when the angels visited their tent before the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah (18:10). These promises were received with incredulity by the Patriarch and his wife (17:17; 18:12), who "laughed" when they heard the news, thus providing the basis for the name of the son, *Isaac.

Sarah died at the age of 127 in Kiriath-Arba, which, the text explains, is "now Hebron" (23:1–2). She was buried in the cave of *Machpelah, which was purchased by Abraham as a family grave from one of the local citizens, Ephron son of Zofar, in strict accordance with legal regulations for land purchase (23:3–20). Outside Genesis, Sarah is mentioned in the Bible only in Isaiah 51:2 as the progenitrix of the people of Israel.

The usual interpretation of the name Sarah is "princess" or "chieftainness," although it may also be connected with the Akkadian *Šārrat*, one of the designations of the moon-goddess Ishtar. Some scholars have explained that Sarah's original name, שָׂרַי, represents an early specialized feminine form, as is now known from Ugaritic, where the termination of feminine personal names is quite common. Others have pointed out that the name Sari may not be a doublet of Sarah, since the Greek translation has the expected doubling of the *r* in the case of Sarah (*Sarra*), Σάρρα, but not in the case of Sarai. The latter has been connected with the Arabic word *sharā*, "repeated flashing."

[Myra J. Siff / S. David Sperling (2nd ed.)]

In the Aggadah

Sarah is identified with Iscah, the daughter of Abraham's brother, Haran (Gen. 11:29), and thus Abraham's niece. She was called Iscah because all gazed (*sakkah*, "to look") at her beauty (Meg. 14a) which she retained throughout her journeys and even in her old age (Gen. R. 40:4). She was so beautiful that all other people were like monkeys by comparison (BB 58a). Even Abishag the Shunammite, whose beauty is extolled, never achieved half of Sarah's attractiveness (Sanh.

39b). Another interpretation for the name Iscah was that she possessed the gift of prophecy, which enabled her to discern (i.e., to look with the eyes of vision) by means of the Holy Spirit (Meg. 14a). She was one of the seven prophetesses and her prophetic gifts were superior even to those of Abraham (Ex. R. 1:1). While in Haran, Abraham converted the men and Sarah the women. The change of her name from the original Sarai ("a princess to her own people") to Sarah denoted that henceforth she would be "a princess for all mankind" (Gen. R. 47:1). When Abraham journeyed to Egypt, he concealed her in a chest lest she be ravished by the Egyptians. Nonetheless, she was discovered by customs' officials (Gen. R. 40:5). As a token of his love, Pharaoh gave the land of Goshen to her as a hereditary possession. For this reason the Israelites subsequently lived there (PdRE, 36). Sarah prayed to God to deliver her from Pharaoh and an angel was sent to whip the king at her command (Gen. R. 41:2; cf. *Genesis Apocryphon*, ed. by N. Avigad and Y. Yadin (1956) p. 43f.). It was a result of this sign of divine favor that Pharaoh gave her his daughter Hagar as a handmaid (Gen. R. 45:1). For details of the relationship between Sarah and Hagar, see *Hagar, in the *Aggadah*.

Sarah should have reached Abraham's lifespan of 175, but 48 years were taken away because of her readiness to dispute with Abraham over Hagar's misdeeds (RH 16b; Gen. R. 45:5). Sarah was originally barren, but a miracle was performed for her after her name was changed from Sarai and her youth was restored (Gen. R. 47:2). After she had given birth to Isaac, many people claimed that the Patriarch and his wife had adopted a foundling and were pretending that it was their own son. Abraham made a banquet on the day that Isaac was weaned, and Sarah invited many women. They all brought their infants with them, and Sarah suckled them all, thus convincing the guests that she was indeed the mother (BM 87a; Gen. R. 53:9). Others stated that Abimelech was the father, but it was disproved by Isaac's striking resemblance to his father (Gen. R. 53:6; BM 87a). Sarah's behavior toward Ishmael, whom she drove away from Abraham's roof, is justified on the grounds that she saw him commit idolatry, rape, and murder (Tosef., Sot. 6:6; Gen. R. 53:11). During her lifetime, the doors to her house were always hospitably open; her dough miraculously increased; a light burned from Friday evening to Friday evening; and a pillar of the divine cloud rested above her tent (Gen. R. 60:16). Her death was caused by the shock of learning about the **Akedah*. According to one version, Satan appeared to her and told her that Abraham had actually slaughtered, or was about to slaughter, Isaac (*Sefer ha-Yashar, Va-Yera*; PdRE 32). According to another text it was Isaac himself who returned and told her of the event (Lev. R. 20:2). The inhabitants of Hebron closed their places of business out of respect for her memory and as a reward did not die before they participated 38 years later in the obsequies of Abraham (Gen. R. 58:7; 62:3).

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SARAH OF TURNOVO, also known as **Queen Theodora of Bulgaria**, was a 14th-century Jewish woman who lived in the city of Turnovo, then the capital of Bulgaria. Nothing is known about her life until 1346, when, according to a Greek document, Czar Ivan Alexander of Bulgaria "thrust out his former wife who was still living and substituted a Jewess …." The Jewess in question was Sarah, known for her beauty and intelligence. The Greek document makes it clear that the Czar "loved her for her beauty." He arranged for her baptism and she was renamed Theodora.

No document indicates whether Sarah objected to being converted, but there is some evidence that she did not turn her back on the Jewish people. While she was queen, she was believed to have influenced Ivan Alexander to exercise a more liberal policy toward the Jews of their land. As a result, the anti-Jewish legislation that was adopted by the Christian Church in 1352 was never fully implemented in Bulgaria. This fact has led a few historians to conclude that Queen Theodora may have had considerable impact on state affairs. Her influence, if indeed it existed, had no long-lasting effect, however, and ultimately caused a backlash. Several Jews were accused of fostering heresy, and when the czar repealed their death sentence, riots broke out and the accused were subsequently killed by a mob.

Sarah/Theodora and Ivan Alexander had a daughter named Tamar, who was married to Emperor Murad I (1360–89), ruler of the Ottoman Empire. A few generations later, knowledge of Tamar's origins gave rise to rumors of a Jewish woman in the sultan's harem and it was suggested that Mehmed II, son of Murad II, was born of a Jewish mother.

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[Emily Taitz (2nd ed.)]

SARAJEVO (**Serajevo**; Turk. **Bosna-Serai**; Heb. **שראי־בוסנה**), city and capital of Bosnia-Herzegovina. The first Jews came to Sarajevo in the middle of the 16th century, spreading from there to smaller towns of Bosnia, e.g., *Travnik, Bugojno, Zenica, Tuzla, *Banja-Luka, and Mostar, capital of the twin province of Herzegovina. Although some earlier tombstones (in horizontal trunk form) were discovered in the Old Sephardi cemetery at Borak (western periphery of Sarajevo), the first documents attesting Jewish presence date from 1565.

Spanish refugees came from Salonika, but some of them may also have come directly by sea. Despite a different language (Ladino) and divergent customs, the newcomers were quickly accepted as useful city dwellers; they were mostly artisans and some were merchants. Jews were known as the early pharmacists of the region, as well as *hatchims* (from the Arabic-Turkish *Ḥakīm*, "doctor"). Muslim fanatics tried at first to prevent the settlement of Jews, forcing a few families to flee to Dubrovnik and Hungary. However, these were isolated cases which did not interfere with the good relations that developed between Muslims and Jews. There is evidence from the end of the 16th century in the so-called *sijille* (court records) that Jews appeared before the *sharīʿa* (Muslim religious tribunals) in civil cases.

A special Jewish quarter with a synagogue, near the main market of Sarajevo, was erected in 1577, authorization having been obtained from the pasha Siavush. Known to the population as *tchifut-khan*, the Jews themselves called it either *mahalla judia* (Jewish quarters) or *cortijo* (the communal yard). Later, as the community grew, Jews resided elsewhere as there were no legal restrictions. The first synagogue (constructed in 1581) was named, in the Spanish tradition, Il Cal grande, but it was destroyed by fire and restored or rebuilt several times.

Trade Activities

Jewish merchants used both main trade routes: from east to west (Sofia, Serbia, and Sarajevo to Dubrovnik, *Split, Zadar, and/or Venice and Trieste) and from south to north (i.e., Constantinople, Salonika via *Skoplje, Sjenica to Sarajevo, from where a lateral route went to Travnik, Kostajnica, Dalmatia, and Italy). Many Jews worked as blacksmiths, tailors, shoemakers, butchers, and joiners, and later as metal workers; they also operated the first sawmill and traded in iron, wood, and chemicals, in addition to articles such as textiles, furs, glass, and dyes. In Sarajevo, and in Bosnia as a whole, there were many indigent families and a Jewish proletariat.

The general situation of the Jews during the Ottoman era was good. They had their religious and juridical independence in all personal matters and civil cases, and broad autonomy in community affairs. The Ottoman authorities enforced rabbinical court sentences when they were requested to do so. However, the Jews had to pay the poll tax (*kharaj*) and were subject to various extortions and briberies. In the 17th century Ashkenazi families came to Sarajevo, fleeing European persecutions. They founded their own community, which had a separate existence until the Holocaust.

Historical Developments

During the siege and the Austrian conquest of Sarajevo by Prince Eugene of Savoy in 1679, Jews suffered along with the general population, the Jewish quarter, with its synagogue, being destroyed. About that time new settlers came from Rumelia, Bulgaria, and Serbia, as well as from Padua and Venice. The evolution of the community during the 18th century was generally undisturbed and was led by rabbis who organized a *talmud torah* and cared for the spiritual needs of the Jews, whose numbers reached 1,000 by 1800. During the first half of the 19th century further growth occurred, and official recognition of the community was granted by the Ottoman sultan. The rabbi of Sarajevo, Moses Pereira, was named by imperial firman *Ḥakham bashi* for Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1840. Some acts of ransom and discriminatory orders were decreed, but the various revolts against Ottoman rule and the influence of the European powers in Constantinople helped cause the *Tanzimāt* (reforms) program of 1840 and 1856, assuring equality for non-Turks before the law. In the face of occasional defamation, Sarajevo Jewry had to make donations in kind or money. Nevertheless, they largely maintained their cultural and religious life without outside interference, taking on new crafts and professions, as well as adding copper, zinc, glass, and dyes to their exports. By the middle of the 19th century all doctors in Sarajevo and Bosnia were Jews.

The Austrian annexation of the city in 1878 brought a new wave of Ashkenazim, who were officials, experts, and entrepreneurs. The new masters immediately demanded 100,000 ducats from the Jewish community, which was paid in several installments. On the other hand, the Austrians introduced new industries and made capital investments which created new employment and trade opportunities, largely directed toward Vienna, Prague, and Budapest. The earlier rivals – Ragusans and Venetians – were replaced by local and foreign Serbs who gradually became dominant in foreign trade, thus limiting the field of Jewish traders or pushing them out. Some Jews consequently changed their vocation, thereby contributing to the developments and modernization of the country as pioneers in optics, watchmaking, fine mechanics, printing (the first printing press belonged to Daniel Kajon), etc. The Jewish community numbered about 10,000 persons by the end of the 19th century.

After World War I the Yugoslav era began, the Jews enjoying freedom and equal treatment; their diverse economic, religious, cultural, and artistic activities continued unhindered, even though the Jewish population of 14,000 represented less than 1% of the general population of Bosnia. In 1927–31 the Sephardi synagogue, the largest in the Balkans, was constructed, only to be desecrated and plundered by the Croatian Fascists and the Germans not more than ten years later, and after the war it became a theater hall. The old Sephardi synagogue became a Jewish museum.

Rabbis and Jewish Learning

The first rabbis known to have led their community in the 17th century were Zebulun, Maẓli'aḥ Muchacho (earlier of Salonika), Samuel Baruch, Ḥayyim Shabbetai, Judah Lerma, and the famous R. Ẓevi *Ashkenazi, who was from Ofen (Buda) and known as "Ḥakham Ẓevi." The latter lived in Sarajevo from 1686 to 1697 and combated Nehemiah Ḥayon's Shabbatean views. The protocols (*pinkasim*) were kept in Hebrew and a *bet din* was set up. Very few of the documents are extant. Among later rabbis the most prominent was R. David Pardo "Morenu," author of the rabbinical commentaries: *La-Menaẓẓeaḥ le-David, Ḥasdei David*, and *Mizmor le-David*, and responsa. He founded a rabbinical dynasty (an exceptional phenomenon among Yugoslav Jewry), and his son Isaac and grandson Jacob succeeded him in office. Nineteenth century rabbis of note included Moses Danon; Moses Pereira, also known as Musa effendi; Meir Danon; Eliezer Shem Tov Papo; and Isaac Papo, a prolific author who wrote not only in Hebrew but also in Ladino (*Bet Tefillah, Tikkun Moda'ah*). The last rabbi under the Ottomans was Joseph Finzi, whose work *Va-Yelakket Yosef* was printed in Belgrade.

In 1928 a theological seminary was opened in Sarajevo by the federation of the Jewish communities, offering a secondary school education. The seminary's first rector, Rabbi Moritz Levi, author of the first historical study on the Sephardim in Bosnia, died in the Holocaust. Another prominent teacher and translator from Hebrew to Serbo-Croat was Jacob Maestro, who was known as "Morenu."

Jewish Life before the Holocaust

Apart from the religious field, Sarajevo Jewry had a wide range of social and cultural organizations and a thriving Jewish press. Among the institutions the senior was La Benevolencia, a mutual aid society founded in 1894; two bodies, Melacha and Geula, helped artisans and economic activities, and in 1901 a choir, Lyra-sociedad de cantar do los judíos-españoles, was established. There was a Jewish worker's union, La Matatja. The first newspaper published in Sarajevo was *La Alborada* (Aurora), a literary weekly which appeared from 1898 to 1902. The weeklies *Židovska Svijest, Jevrejska Tribuna, Narodna židovska svijest*, and *Jevrejski Glas*, with a section printed in Ladino, were published during 1928–41. Several memorial volumes were also published.

Zionist organizations were active between the two world wars. The youth movement, Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir, was well established and during the Holocaust provided, together with Matatja, a considerable number of partisans, fighters, and leaders of the resistance movement. An organization with Sephardi separatist tendencies was linked to de Picciotto's World Sephardi Union.

Jews in Literature and Arts

Isak (Isaac) Samokovlija (d. 1955), a forceful writer, lived in Sarajevo until his death. He vividly described Bosnian Jewish life, especially the problems of the porters, peddlers, beggars, and artisans. Daniel Ozmo, who did mostly woodcuts, Daniel Kabiljo-Danilus, and Yosif (Joseph) Levi-Monsino, all of whom perished during the Ustashi-Artuković era, were well-known painters. The illuminated Sarajevo Haggadah is kept in the National Museum of Sarajevo; it was acquired by the Museum (then, the Landesmuseum) in 1895 for 100 florins. Its origin, however, was in Spain and has nothing to do with Sarajevo (see *Haggadah).

Jews in Politics

The first European-educated physician in Bosnia, Isaac Shalom, better known as Isaac effendi, was the first (appointed) Jewish member of the provincial Majlis Idaret (assembly). His son Salomon "effendi" Shalom succeeded him. Javer (Xaver) "effendi" Baruch was elected as a deputy to the Ottoman parliament in 1876. During the Austrian and Yugoslav periods Jews generally abstained from active participation in politics. In the 1930s – when the economic situation deteriorated – a number of younger Jews turned to the illegal Communist Party, some of them gaining prominence in the party's ranks during the subsequent struggle against the occupiers and quislings.

Holocaust and After

Between the two world wars Sarajevo was the third-largest Jewish center of Yugoslavia (after Zagreb and Belgrade). In 1935 there were 8,318 Jews; in 1941, 10,500.

The Germans arrived on April 15, 1941, and the following day wrecked the Sephardi synagogue, which was the largest in the Balkans. This was followed by requisitions, expropriations, execution of hostages for acts of sabotage, individual arrests, and mass deportations of Jews. Members of the Jewish community were deported between September and November 1941, mostly to Jasenovac, Loborgrad (women), and Djakovo. Extermination took place in these Ustashi (Croatian) concentration camps. Only a small number of Jews survived the first wave of killings and they were later dispatched to the Auschwitz gas chambers. A limited number of Jews survived either by joining partisan units or by reaching Italy. Several scores of army officers and soldiers mobilized by the Yugoslav army upon the German invasion spent the war years in German POW camps, protected by the Geneva Convention, and thus returned to Sarajevo after the Holocaust. In all, over 9,000 Jews were murdered by the Nazis.

After the Holocaust, the community was reconstituted, but most of the survivors chose to immigrate to Israel in the years 1948–49. Religious services were organized in the Ashkenazi synagogue (which had remained more or less intact) by R. Menahem Romano, and some social and cultural activities were renewed. A monument to "the fighters and martyrs" was erected in the Jewish cemetery at Kovačica, and a celebration of the 400th anniversary of the arrival of the Jews in Bosnia and Herzegovina was held in 1970, with participation of delegates from abroad, including the U.S. and Israel. On this occasion a memorial volume was published. In 1971 the community numbered 1,000.

During the Bosnian War (1992–1994) the old Jewish cemetery was badly damaged. Nine hundred Jews were evacuated in buses to Pirovac, to the former Yugoslav summer camp near *Split, and 150 by air to *Belgrade. In 2002 the centennial of the Ashkenazi synagogue was commemorated with a stamp issued by the government of Bosnia and Herzegovina. In 2004 there were 700 Jews living in Sarajevo, including some refugees who returned home.

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[Zvi Loker]

SARASOHN, KASRIEL HERSCH (1835–1905), Yiddish and Hebrew newspaper publisher. Born in Suwalki province, Russia, he settled in New York in 1871, and in the following year founded a weekly paper, *Di New Yorker Yidishe Tsaytung*, which was unsuccessful. Two years later he founded the first American Yiddish weekly *Di Yidishe Gazeten*, which survived for more than half a century and paved the way for the first Yiddish daily in America, *Yidishes Tageblat*. This traditionally-oriented daily exerted a great influence upon the immigrant generation at the turn of the century and attained a circulation of 70,000 copies. Its editors included the journalist John Paley, *Tashrak and G. *Bublick. Its influence declined after World War I, and in 1928 it merged with the *Morning-Journal*. Sarasohn also founded a Hebrew weekly, *Haivri*, which he maintained from 1891 to 1898, despite annual deficits. In 1882 he organized a society for aiding Jewish immigrants, which in 1890 merged with the *Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society (HIAS).

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[Sol Liptzin]

SARASOTA, city on Florida's west coast. It is a sophisticated arts community and beach resort, ringing Sarasota Bay and the Gulf of Mexico, and offering 35 miles of beaches. During the Civil War, Judah P. Benjamin served as Attorney General, Secretary of War and Secretary of State of the Confederacy and was known as the most prominent 19th century American Jew. Benjamin was President Jefferson Davis' closest confidant and David Levy Yulee's cousin. When General Robert E. Lee surrendered in 1865, Benjamin headed south to Ellenton, FL, and sheltered at the Gamble Mansion, near Sarasota. With this exception, there is no record of Jews in this area until the 20th century. With changes in transportation and the lure of cheap land for sale, a trickle of Jews began migrating to the Sarasota area. Marcus Weinkle left Russia in 1887, was a sheepherder in Palestine, then immigrated to the U. S in 1890 to Moffit, Florida (east of Sarasota), where he ran a 2,000-acre lumber business. He brought a Torah with him and conducted services for Jews in the surrounding area. He kept kosher, married and had two children there; his daughter Charlotte became a winter resident of Sarasota decades later.

Simon Rosin came from Baltimore first to Ocala, FL, then settled in Arcadia in 1905, where he opened a store and later built an arcade, which housed the U.S. Post Office. He and his wife had one son, Aurel, in 1910. Aurel was a lawyer and cattle rancher, and he and his wife Elsie raised four sons in Arcadia, where they had over 4,000 acres for their cattle ranch. Elsie took the boys to Sarasota for religious school and bar mitzvah training; three sons remained in Sarasota.

The first Jew to permanently settle in Sarasota was Philip Levy, who fled the pogroms of Lithuania in 1905. Working for a pants manufacturing firm, he traveled to St. Petersburg, FL, in 1909, where he met and married Cecelia Tarapani. In 1913 Philip and Cecelia Levy settled in Sarasota and opened a womenswear store. They were the only Jews there until 1925. As others settled, the Levys conducted Sabbath and High Holiday services in their home. Joseph Idelson peddled dry goods; he and his wife Rose were attracted by the land boom and moved to Sarasota with their children in 1925. Idelson opened a general merchandise store, invested in banks and real estate, and was one of the founders of the Jewish Community Center (today's Temple Beth Sholom) in 1928. The first synagogue in Sarasota was built on property donated by the city, and they had their first services for Yom Kippur just prior to the hurricane. The congregation acquired a site from the city in 1932 for a Jewish burial ground. After World War II a number of Jewish soldiers who had passed through Sarasota returned to settle. Growth was gradual. By 1950, the community had expanded to 75 families. In 1956 a "break-away" group of members of Temple Beth Sholom established a Reform congregation, Temple Emanu-El. The Jewish Community Council, the forerunner of the Sarasota-Manatee Federation, was founded in 1959; Sidney Adler was the first president.

Many of these pioneers were lovers of the arts and contributed to building Sarasota's cultural infrastructure. The Van Wezel Performing Arts Hall that opened on Sarasota Bay in 1967 is named for Jews who left money for this purpose. The area began to attract Jewish writers, artists, and musicians. Author McKinley Kantor came to Sarasota around 1940; two of his books have a Florida setting: *The Noises of their Wings* (Everglades) and *Beauty Beast* (north Florida). Among other notable talents are Paul Wolfe, musical director and maestro, who served the West Coast Symphony for decades; Syd Solomon, a nationally acclaimed artist who came in 1946; Leo Rogers, a driving force to create the Sarasota Opera Association and the Sarasota Ballet of Florida; Hal Davis who was public relations manager for Benny Goodman and Columbia Records before moving to Sarasota, where, in 1980, he founded the Jazz Club of Sarasota; and Frank Eliscu, the designer of the Heisman Trophy (the highest honor in college football) and the glass panels above the doors of the Library of Congress, as well as works of sculpture for the Van Wezel, Ringling Museum of Art, Temple Emanu-El, and Temple Beth Sholom in Sarasota. Paul Rubenfeld, known to millions as Pee Wee Herman, came to Sarasota in 1960 as a child and graduated from Sarasota High School. Many Jews have contributed largely to the community in education and social services. Harry Sudakoff dedicated the Sudakoff Center at New College. Alex Schoenbaum, former All-American football player, started Shoney's Big Boy restaurant chain. In 1974 Betty and Alex Schoenbaum began spending part of the year in Sarasota and became major supporters of civic and Jewish activities. In 1990 the Schoenbaums contributed funds to help open the City of Sarasota's human services complex, which houses 19 social service agencies. Some Jews who have been involved politically are David Cohen, who served as mayor 1964–66 and played a major role in the establishment of the Florida West Coast Symphony and the Van Wezel Performing Arts Hall, and Lou Ann Rosengarten Palmer, who came to Sarasota in

1948 and was a performer with the Sailor Circus Show. She serves on the Sarasota City Commission where she sat as mayor in 1984 and 1988.

Jewish developers planted citrus groves and opened new residential districts. Jules and Jack Freeman came to Sarasota in 1953 and began planting citrus. From 1968 to 1971 they planted the "world's largest orange grove," which is three times the size of Manhattan, NYC, and has over three million citrus trees. National Geographic magazine published an aerial photo of the 27,000 acres and commented, "The grove was one of the distinguishing landmarks in Florida visible from space." Charles Lavin, sensing the plight of many elderly on fixed incomes, bought the Mira Mar Hotel in Sarasota, the Manatee River Hotel in Bradenton, and the MacArthur Beach Hotel in Venice and turned them into retirement homes. Martin Paver sailed to Sarasota with his family from New York in 1949. He and his sons developed housing subdivisions for the "snowbirds" (residents 3–7 months of the year) migrating south.

In 1979 a group established Beth Israel, a Reform Congregation, on Longboat Key. Bradenton Conservative Jewish families organized as Temple Beth El in 1975. The Jewish Community Center of Venice began in 1983. In 1984 Jewish Family Services (JFS) was granted their charter. The JCC opened the first summer camp in 1989.

The Jewish community has matured in the past three decades and agencies and organizations grew as the sensitivity for local and worldwide Jewish needs was expanded. About 17,500 Jews live in Sarasota-Manatee (2005), consisting primarily of the cities of Sarasota, Longboat Key, Bradenton, and Venice. Most are from the mid-west and the Washington-Boston corridor and are closely bonded by the cultural and Jewish life of the community. The greatest growth has been in Bradenton, and there is a significant cluster of Jews in high-rise condominiums in Longboat Key. The area attracts primarily wealthy Jews of retirement age who are in good health. Only 1% of the adults were born in the area, 32% of households affiliate with a congregation, and 21% are "snowbirds." Eighty-two percent of Jewish children (ages 6–12) are currently enrolled in formal Jewish education. The Federation's agencies include a Jewish Retirement Complex (Kobernick House) and Flanzer Jewish Community Center, and they sponsor a monthly Jewish newspaper, *The Chronicle*. There are 10 congregations of every stripe, and branches representing almost every national and international Jewish organization.

(Some of the demographic analysis comes from Ira Sheskin's 2001 Study for the Sarasota-Manatee Jewish Federation.)

[Marcia Jo Zerivitz (2nd ed.)]

SARATOV, capital of Saratov district, Russia; before the 1917 Revolution, capital of Saratov province on the west bank of the R. Volga. Until 1917 the province of Saratov was outside the bounds of the *Pale of Settlement. Shortly before the middle of the 19th century a small Jewish community was formed by Jewish soldiers stationed in Saratov. A few of these had families and even engaged in trade and crafts. By the middle of the century, there were 44 such Jewish soldiers stationed in the city. Besides these, a few Jews who were not in the army resided in Saratov, despite the restrictions. In the spring of 1853 this tiny community was projected into the forefront of Russian Jewish affairs when three Jews in Saratov, one of them an apostate, were involved in a *blood libel in which it was alleged that they had murdered two Christian children. This incident brought a renewal of the blood libel throughout Russia. When special investigators sent from St. Petersburg failed to prove the guilt of the Jews, the government appointed a legal investigation commission whose task it was not only to investigate the murders, but also to seek information about the "secret dogmas of Jewish religious extremism." This commission, too, was unable to cast guilt upon the Jews. Though its findings were confirmed by the Senate, the State Council, in May 1860, concluded that guilt had been established, even if no motive for the murders could be shown. The three found guilty were sentenced to hard labor. During the course of the investigation a large number of Jewish books were confiscated. In December 1858 a commission of experts, including Daniel *Chwolson, was appointed to examine these books and indicate whether they contained evidence of the ritual use of Christian blood by Jews. The commission concluded that the works contained nothing to support the libel.

During the second half of the century Jews were permitted to live outside the Pale of Settlement in Saratov. By 1897 there were 1,460 Jews in Saratov (1.1% of the total population). The wave of pogroms of October 1905 reached Saratov, where a number of Jews were killed. During World War I many refugees from the battle zone found sanctuary in Saratov. From 1919 to 1921 a group of *He-Ḥalutz members, calling themselves "Mishmar ha-Volga" ("The Volga Guard"), stayed in Saratov while preparing to settle in Ereẓ Israel. In 1926 Saratov had a Jewish population of 6,717 (3.1%), and in 1939 there were 6,982 Jews in the district, most of them in the city. During WWII Saratov was not occupied by the Germans. The baking of *maẓẓot* was prohibited in 1959. In the late 1960s the Jewish population was estimated at 15,000. There was one synagogue. In 2002 around 3,500 Jews remained in the entire district. The city of Saratov had a full range of community services and a chief rabbi.

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[Yehuda Slutsky]

SARAVAL, family of scholars. ABRAHAM BEN JUDAH LEIB, the most noted of them, lived in *Venice during the 16th century and wrote a commentary on *Sefer ha-Ma'amadot*. JACOB BEN LEIB lived in Cologne in the 16th century. His name is mentioned in the responsa *Naḥalat Ya'akov* of Jacob b. Elhanan Heilbronn. Judah Leib *Saraval (d. 1617) was rabbi in

Venice. NEHEMIAH BEN JUDAH LEIB (d. 1649), a rabbinic scholar in Venice, wrote a laudatory introduction to Joseph Solomon Delmedigo's *Elim* (Amsterdam, 1629). His name is mentioned approvingly in the responsa *Mayim Rabbim* of Raphael Meldola (1:11), and *Devar Shemu'el* of Samuel Aboab (no. 19). SOLOMON ḤAI BEN NEHEMIAH was a Venetian scholar of the 17th century, whose name is mentioned approvingly in *Devar Shemu'el* of Samuel Aboab (p. 375), and in *Piskei Recanati ha-Aḥaronim* (p. 24). Jacob Raphael b. Simḥah Judah *Saraval was rabbi in Mantua, author and poet. LEON ḤAI (1771–1851) lived in Trieste. He wrote *Discorsi pronunciati all' apertura degli studi della comunità israelitica di Trieste* (Trieste, 1811). He possessed a library containing many manuscripts and incunabula.

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[Guiseppe Laras]

SARAVAL, JACOB RAPHAEL BEN SIMḤAH JUDAH (1707?–1782), Italian rabbi, man of letters, and musician. Saraval was born in Venice. He was one of the rabbis of Venice who supported Jacob *Emden in his dispute with Jonathan *Eybeschutz. He communicated with the English scholar Kennicott on subjects of biblical philology. In 1752 he was appointed rabbi of Mantua and many of the documents in the communal archives bear his signature. During the 1760s and 1770s he traveled to Holland and England on behalf of his community. When the antisemitic lawyer Giovanni Battista Benedetti of Ferrara published his *Dissertazione della Religione e del Giuramento degli Ebrei* at the beginning of the 1770s, Saraval rejoined with *Lettera apologetica* (Mantua, 1775). He was also known as a preacher, poet, and composer of *piyyutim*, and engaged in various branches of secular culture – arts, literature, and music – in which fields he wrote many works. In addition he translated from various languages. One of his translations, the libretto of Handel's oratorio *Esther* (apparently done at the request of the Jews of England and Holland), is one of the first free verse translations from English to Hebrew without recourse to the traditional meters.

Among his translations from Hebrew to Italian are: *Avot* (Venice, 1729, with Simeon Calimani); *Ḥovot ha-Levavot* of *Baḥya ibn Paquda (*Avvertimenti all'anima*, Venice, 1806); and various *piyyutim* from the Sephardi liturgy. He wrote the *Kinat Sofedim* (Mantua, 1776) to commemorate the earthquake in Mantua which claimed 65 Jewish victims. On returning from his travels in Holland and England, he wrote *Viaggi in Olanda* (Venice, 1807) on his Dutch journey.

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[Abraham David]

SARAVAL, JUDAH LEIB (d. 1617), Venetian rabbi. Saraval was a pupil of Samuel Judah *Katzenellenbogen and a member of the *bet din* of Ben Zion Sarfati, and after the latter's death was appointed chief rabbi of Venice. Taking part in the well-known dispute about the Rovigo *mikveh* (see Moses *Porto-Rafa), he was one of those to permit its use. His decision on the subject is published in the *Mashbit Milḥamot* (Venice, 1606), as well as one prohibiting the playing of tennis on the Sabbath. He was in charge of, and the treasurer for, the monies collected in Italy for Ereẓ Israel. Some of his responsa were published in *Naḥalat Ya'akov* (Padua, 1623), a collection of responsa by his pupil, Jacob b. Elhanan Heilperin, and also in the works of his contemporaries. He was on friendly terms with Leone *Modena. He translated *Saadiah Gaon's commentary to the Song of Songs (Nowydwor, 1777) from the original Arabic, the thorough knowledge of Arabic necessary for such a task being a rare accomplishment for a 17th century Italian rabbi. Saraval died in Padua.

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[Abraham David]

SARDI, SAMUEL BEN ISAAC (1185/90–1255/56), Spanish halakhist. Sardi lived in Barcelona and was well-to-do. Among the deeds written in Barcelona during the years 1073–1328 and published by Millás Vallicrosa are a number dated the beginning of the 13th century which are connected with the letting by Sardi of his lands and properties. Sardi was a pupil and colleague of Naḥmanides and sent him many halakhic queries to which he obtained detailed responsa; some of them, included in the *Sefer Ha-Terumot*, also appear in the works of the *Rishonim* (see Asaf in bibl.). Sardi also corresponded with Nathan b. Meir of Trinquetaille (*Sefer ha-Terumot*, gate 52) and began compiling his important work, *Ha-Terumot*, when he was 30 years old, finishing it in about 1225.

This work deals only with civil and commercial law and is, in fact, the first comprehensive code in Jewish law devoted solely to civil law. It had a considerable influence on Jewish law, chiefly through the *Arba'ah Turim* of *Jacob b. Asher which is often based on it in the section *Ḥoshen Mishpat*. In the introduction, and in the work itself, Sardi mentions another of his works, *Sefer Ha-Zikhronot*, which is not extant. Its scope is unknown, but from his references to it it appears to have consisted of talmudic novellae. *Ha-Terumot* was published in Salonika (1596, 1628), Prague (1608) and Venice (1643), the last with a valuable commentary by Azariah Figo, entitled *Giddulei Terumah* (2nd ed. Zolkiev 1709).

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(1935), 53–55; F. Cantera and J.M. Millás Vallicrosa, *Las inscripciones hebráicas de España* (1956), 346–8.

[Shlomoh Zalman Havlin]

SARDINIA, Mediterranean island belonging to Italy. The first authentic information regarding Jews in Sardinia is that in 19 C.E. Emperor Tiberius deported 4,000 Jewish youths to the island because a Roman Jew had defrauded a proselyte named Fulvia, wife of the senator Saturninus. Jewish inscriptions of the classical period have been found in Sardinia, in particular at San Antioco. The situation of the Jews was presumably similar to that of Jews in the other parts of the Roman Empire but deteriorated with the triumph of Christianity. In 599 a newly baptized Jew named Peter burst into the synagogue at Cagliari on Easter Sunday with a mob at his heels and deposited his baptismal robe, together with a crucifix and an image of the Virgin, in front of the Ark. When the Jews appealed to Pope Gregory I, he ordered reparation to be made. From the seventh century until 1326, when the island came under Aragonese rule, the situation of the Jews was generally good, although anti-Jewish riots occurred in Oristano and in the district of Arborea, which resulted in their expulsion from these localities. The Jewish settlement in Iglesias was prohibited temporarily after 1327.

The Jews continued to prosper during the first century of Aragonese rule and were even granted additional privileges, mainly in *Alghero; Sassari and *Cagliari also had sizable communities. Many Jews from Spain settled in Sardinia. Each community was headed by elected officers who had authority to decide in civil cases between Jews, and on minor claims between Jews and Christians. From 1430 conditions deteriorated. Except in Alghero, the Jews were obliged to wear a special *badge. They were forbidden to wear jewelry and allowed to wear only black shoes. Jews were prohibited from trading on Christian holidays and from employing Christians. No additional Jews were allowed to settle on the island. In 1485 the Jews were declared the property of the king and placed under the jurisdiction of a special royal officer. They were also forbidden to export any property or wares from the island. With the expulsion of the Jews from Spain and the Aragonese dominions in July 1492, the Jews were compelled to leave Sardinia. Many of the Sardinian exiles settled temporarily in the kingdom of Naples, others went to North Africa and to Turkey, especially Constantinople, where the surname Sardaigna is still common. Some, however, remained in Sardinia as converts to Christianity – notably the Caracassonna family, which for a while played a considerable role in Sardinian public life. A tribunal of the Inquisition was established in 1492 and remained sporadically active for some years.

From the close of the Middle Ages, no Jewish community of importance has existed in the island, and it was only in the 19th century that a few individual Jews settled here and there, generally on a temporary basis. By the Italian law regulating Jewish communal organization in 1931, Sardinia was included in the jurisdiction of the Rome community. Some historians consider that, during the tranquil period in the Middle Ages before Aragonese rule, considerable groups of Jews merged into the Christian population, instanced by the relatively small number of Jews found there in the 15th century. The absorption of the Jews into the general population is said to have left its mark on Sardinian life and institutions. Jewish elements may be found, according to some writers, in local folk customs, and in names of persons and places. However, such elements may be the result of the influence of other cultures which had a common source with Judaism or of chance resemblances.

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[Menachem E. Artom]

SARDIS, capital of the ancient kingdom of Lydia some 60 miles (90 km.) from the west coast of Turkey. A world capital under the Mermnad dynasty (c. 680–547 B.C.E.) whose riches culminated under Croesus, Sardis was a Hellenistic royal capital (270?–133 B.C.E.). Rebuilt after a devastating earthquake (17 C.E.), it was a prosperous Roman and Byzantine city until destroyed by Khosrau II of Persia in 616 C.E.

Sardis (Sfard in Lydian and Persian) is most probably the *Sepharad of Obadiah v. 20. If so, its Jewish community goes back to the time of the Persian Empire (547–334 B.C.E.). Although Sardis is not specifically mentioned, the historical situation makes it highly probably that some Jews were settled in the Lydian capital. After Antiochus III first destroyed, then refounded, Sardis (215–213 B.C.E.), his viceroy Zeuxis brought in Jewish settlers from Mesopotamia. A Roman decree cited by Josephus (Ant. 14:259–61) says that the Jewish community at Sardis had a place of assembly "from the beginning"; another decree makes it certain that there was a synagogue not later than the first century B.C.E. The size (probably several thousand in a city of c. 100,000) and the affluence of the Jewish community under the Roman rule have been made evident by the huge synagogue (over 130 yd. [120 m.] long and 20 yd. [18 m.] wide) discovered in 1962. Located on the main avenue of Sardis, behind a row of shops some of which were owned by Jews (Jacob, elder of the synagogue, Sabbatios, Samuel, Theoktistos), the structure formed part of the Roman gymnasium complex planned after 17 C.E. Perhaps the hall was originally intended as a Roman civil basilica but was turned over to the Jewish congregation, which changed and decorated the structure with elegant mosaics and marble revetments. It is conjectured that one of the few Hebrew inscriptions honors the emperor Lucius Verus, who visited Sardis in 166 C.E. Among the 80 inscriptions of the donors in Greek one antedates 212, and many with the family name Aurelius are of the

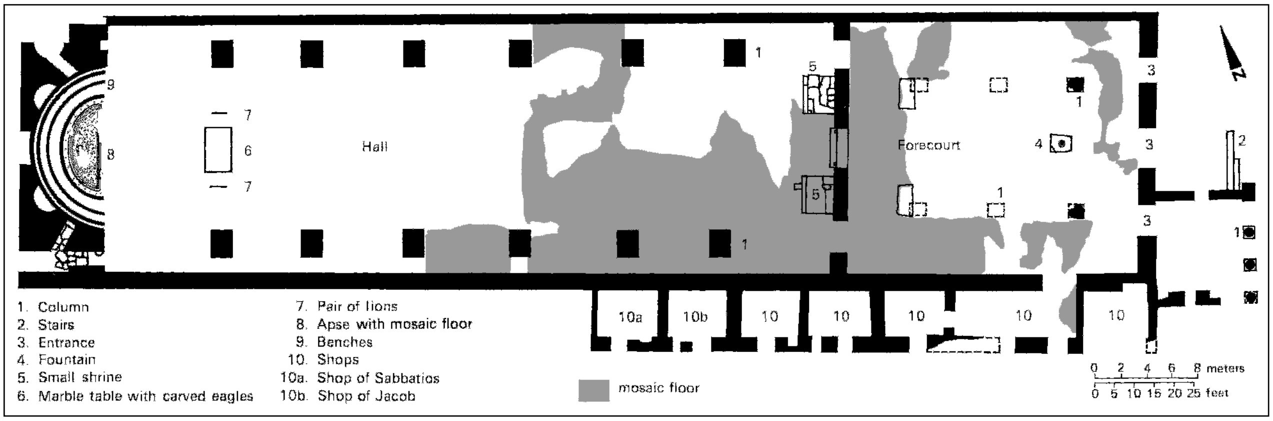

Plan of the synagogue at Sardis, late 2nd–early 3rd century C.E. *Based on D. J. Metten,* The Ancient Synagogue at Sardis, *New York, 1965.*

third century C.E. The building was renovated around 400 C.E. and destroyed in 616.

This, the largest of early synagogues preserved, consists of an entrance colonnade on the east, a peristyle forecourt with a fountain in the form of a marble crater, a prayer hall of basilican plan with six pairs of strong piers, and an apse at the western end with three rows of benches presumably for the elders of the community. Fragments of 18 candelabras (*menorot*) of marble and bronze were found. At the eastern end of the hall, between three gates, are two small shrines. At the western end a mosaic with water of life and two peacocks adorned the apse; in the bay next to the apse was a large marble table flanked by two pairs of lions, perhaps alluding to the tribe of Judah. Another donor describes himself as "of the tribe of Leontii." Traces of a light structure in the center of the hall may come from the **bimah*. A donor's mosaic inscription nearby (of the renewal period) mentions a "priest and teacher of wisdom" (i.e., rabbi?). Behind (west of) the apse two rooms belonged at one time to the synagogue; one had water installations (for the **mikveh*), the other a painted inscription: "Blessing unto the People." The prayer hall, splendidly revetted with marble, is estimated to have held up to a thousand people. The Jewish community apparently dispersed at the fall of the city in 616 C.E.

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SARFATI (Ẓarefati, Sarfatti), name frequently given to Jews originating from *France, e.g., ABRAHAM SARFATI, who emigrated to Catalonia, author of *Tamid ha-Shaḥar*; Joseph ben MOSES SARFATI, mathematician; and ISAAC HA-SHAḤAR who emigrated to the East. The most important family often bearing the additional surname of Sarfati was the *Trabot or Trabotti family, who probably originated from Trévoux (France) and came to Italy in the second half of the 15th century. A *Sarfaty family were rabbis of Fez (Morocco) for several generations (16th–18th centuries).

SAMUEL SARFATI, called Gallo (d. c. 1519), a physician originating from Provence, settled in Rome in 1498. He represented the Jewish community at the coronation of Pope Julius II (1503) and a year later became the personal physician to the pope, who confirmed the privileges granted him by Pope Alexander VI, including permission to attend Christian patients, exemption from wearing the Jewish *badge, and papal protection for him and his family. In 1515 he became physician of Giuliano de' Medici. Samuel's son JOSEPH, called Josiphon, Giosifante, or Giuseppe Gallo (d. 1527), was a physician, philosopher, poet, and mathematician. An accomplished linguist, he had a good knowledge of Hebrew, Aramaic, Arabic, Greek, and Latin. The pope extended to him the privileges that had been accorded to his father; these were confirmed by Pope Leo X and Pope Clement VII in 1524. Joseph translated into Hebrew the Spanish comedy *Celestina*. He survived remarkable adventures, assisted David *Reubeni, and died as the result of his sufferings during the sack of Rome. ISAAC SARFATI was physician to Pope Clement VII (1523–34), who reconfirmed his right to the family's privileges. SAMUEL SARFATI (16th century) was a printer in Rome. JOSEPH SARFATI (16th century), a rabbi of Fez, converted to Christianity. Adopting the name of his godfather Pope Julius III (1550–55), Andrea del Monte, he became a violent anti-Jewish preacher. One of his sermons was heard by Michel de *Montaigne. Sarfati was one of the instigators of the condemnation of the Talmud and its burning in Rome in 1553. JACOB BEN SOLOMON SARFATI (14th century), a physician, was born in northern France. On the expulsion of the Jews, he moved to Avignon in the second half of the 14th century.

He was the author of *Mishkenot Ya'akov* (extant in Ms.), a work divided into three books: *Beit Ya'akov,* allegorical interpretations of some passages of the Pentateuch; *Yeshu'ot Ya'akov,* a discourse on the plagues of Egypt; and *Kehillat Ya'akov,* a theological exposition of the laws given on Mount Sinai. In a supplement, *Evel Rabbati*, he describes the deaths of his three sons who perished in the course of three months during the plague of 1395. He also wrote a medical treatise on migraine.

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[Renato Spiegel]

SARFATTI, GAD B. (1916–), Hebrew scholar and linguist. Born in Pisa, Italy, he studied at the University of Florence (1933–37). He immigrated to Israel in 1939, joined kibbutz Tirat Ẓevi (1940–47), and served in the Israeli army (1948–50). While Sarfatti received his academic training in mathematics in Italy, in Israel he studied Talmud in a yeshivah (1941–43), and Hebrew and linguistics at The Hebrew University of Jerusalem (1952–55). He also studied at the Laboratoire d'analyse lexicographique of the University of Besancon, France (1963). Sarfatti's major fields of research are Medieval Hebrew and Hebrew semantics. Teaching at Bar-Ilan University from 1962, he was appointed full professor in 1978, and emeritus in 1988. He was elected a member of the Hebrew Academy in 1970 and was named its vice president (1981–87). He was visiting professor at various universities in Italy and the U.S. He was awarded the Israel Prize for linguistics in 2000. Among his major publications are *Mathematical Terminology in Hebrew Scientific Literature of the Middle-Ages* (Heb., 1968) and *Hebrew Semantics* (Heb., 1985). A full list of Sarfatti's works and scientific publications appear in *Balshanut Ivrit* ("Hebrew Linguistics"), 33–35 (1992), 9–13.

[Aharon Maman (2nd ed.)]

SARFATY, family of rabbinic scholars in *Fez, *Morocco. According to a family tradition, the Sarfatys are descendants of Rabbenu Tam. R. Solomon, rabbi in Majorca, is mentioned in the responsa of R. Isaac bar Sheshet. A branch of the family settled in Fez. ISAAC (d. c. 1600) was *dayyan* in Fez. Some of his commentaries on biblical verses are quoted by his son Vidal in his works. VIDAL HA-SARFATY (c. 1550–1620) was referred to as "senior" and described as ḥasid ("pious"). He was a disciple of R. Abraham Uzziel.

His commentaries are outstanding for their originality; he quotes the Zohar and appears to have been a kabbalist. Many of the works of Spanish rabbis are cited in his works. Sarfaty's writings included: *Derekh ha-Kodesh*, a commentary to the *Sifra* (1908); *Megillat Sefarim*, on Esther, Ruth, and Lamentations; and *Oẓar Neḥmad*, on Psalms (both works were published in Amsterdam in 1718 under the title *Ẓuf Devash*); *Imrei Yosher* (1874), a commentary on *Midrash Rabbah*; and notes on R. Elijah Mizraḥi which were included in Samuel Sarfaty's *Nimmukei Shemu'el* (Amsterdam, 1718).

ISAAC (d. c. 1660), Vidal's son, was rabbi and *nagid* in Fez. The community backed him as *nagid* and appealed to the king to maintain him in this position. The king, however, appointed another in his place in 1650, nevertheless requesting that he remain in office. Isaac refused and was thereupon penalized by the king. When he secretly fled to Tetuán, he was arrested and imprisoned until he paid a fine. He wrote indexes to the *Midreshei Halakhah* and *Midreshei Aggadah*. He was his brother Abraham's business partner. His son, VIDAL (1631–1703), was *dayyan* together with R. Saadiah ibn Danān and R. Menahem Serero. He wrote decisions which have been lost. R. Jacob b. Ẓur was his son-in-law by a second marriage. His cousin, R. SAMUEL BEN ABRAHAM (1660–1713), was *dayyan* in Fez with R. Judah b. Atar. A sharp-witted talmudist and profound *posek*, he wrote *Divrei Shemu'el* (Amsterdam, 1699), novellae to the Talmud; *Nimmukei Shemu'el* (Amsterdam, 1718), a supercommentary on Rashi and Naḥmanides to the Torah; *Me'ulefet Sappirim*, which was published with *Nimmukei Shemu'el* in 1718; and decisions which are extant in manuscript. His brother, R. AARON (1665–c. 1740), was *dayyan* in Salé. He was a disciple of R. Aaron ha-Sabʿuni who opposed the Shabbateans. He wrote *Misgav ha-Immahot*, which was included in the above-mentioned *Ẓuf Devash*. His cousin, R. ELIJAH BEN JOSEPH BEN ISAAC (1715–1805), was a disciple of R. Judah b. Atar. From 1770 he was the halakhic authority of the Maghreb. R. Jacob b. Ẓur was among the rabbis whom he ordained; he also educated many disciples. Intending to immigrate to Ereẓ Israel during the famine of 1738, he acquired letters of recommendation from the rabbis of Tetuán. From 1790 to 1792 he resided in Sefrou. His son, R. ISRAEL JACOB (1740–c. 1826), was appointed rabbi and *dayyan* during his father's lifetime. A leader of the community and a minister of the king, he greatly assisted the Jewish communites of Morocco. His brother, R. RAPHAEL MENAHEM HA-SARFATY (d. 1843), was one of the king's ministers and *nagid*.

R. VIDAL BEN SOLOMON BEN ISRAEL JACOB (1797–1856) was a rabbi, *dayyan*, and profound talmudist. A number of his decisions were published in the works of Moroccan *Ḥakhamim*. His son, R. ABNER ISRAEL (1827–1884), was rabbi and *dayyan* in Fez. Knowledgeable in philosophy and other sciences, he held disputations with Muslim scholars. A pietist and kabbalist, he was beloved by the masses, who continued to visit his tomb into the 20th century. He was also a bibliophile and a collector of books. He wrote legal decisions and responsa. His most important work is *Yaḥas Fez*, summaries of which have been published in Hebrew and French. His son, R. VIDAL (1862–1921), was rabbi in Fez from 1892. In 1919 he was appointed *av bet din* by the French Protectorate government. His son, R. ABNER ISRAEL (d. 1933), was appointed *dayyan* in Safi in 1932.

R. ẒEMAḤ (1647–1717), of pious character, was one of the most prominent 17th-century Tunisian *Ḥakhamim*. After living in Damascus for many years, he immigrated to Ereẓ Israel in 1656 and settled in Jerusalem. He was well known as a talmudist, and Azulai testifies in *Shem ha-Gedolim* that he saw "pages of the *Gemara* of the holy Midrash [yeshivah] Bet Ya'akov illuminated by his novellae." After Sarfaty's death his disciples held various rabbinic positions in Tunis; they also published his novellae in their works.

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[Haim Bentov]

SARGON II (Heb. סַרְגּוֹן), king of Assyria and Babylonia, (722–705 B.C.E.), successor of Shalmaneser V, and father of *Sennacherib. There are conflicting opinions among scholars as to whether or not he was a son of Tiglath-Pileser III. The circumstances which brought Sargon to the throne are obscure; he may well have been an usurper, or a descendant of a secondary line of the royal house. His name, identical with that of Sargon of Akkad and Sargon I of Assyria, means: "the legitimate king" (see Tadmor, in bibl.). The beginning of his reign was marked by domestic difficulties, which he solved by giving the Assyrians and the settlers of *Haran a charter freeing them from taxes and military service. In 720 Sargon marched against *Merodach-Baladan, who had ascended the Babylonian throne the previous year. Supported by the Elamites, who were the chief opponents in the battle, Merodach-Baladan met Sargon at Dêr and defeated, or at least stopped, him. Engaged on practically all fronts in fighting rebellions – which he was able to suppress – Sargon could not take revenge against the Babylonian king until 710. This time his victory was complete. He entered Babylon, proclaiming himself king. Between 719 and 711 Sargon campaigned against the Medes, Mannai, and Ararat. In the "West" he completed the subjugation and conquest of Israel and Samaria, and, after quelling an Egyptian-sponsored revolt, rebuilt it and made it capital of his new province, Samerīna. Sargon's overall policy was the intermingling of the populations and the resources of the Near East under Assyrian leadership. For this purpose he went on to open the road to Egypt. In 716 he cleared and subjugated the western Sinai area and established an Assyrian *kārum*, a trade settlement, the purpose of this expedition being the opening up of Egyptian and Arabian trade to Assyria.

In approximately 713–712 Sargon conquered and organized Ashdod (Isa. 20:1 alludes to the first steps of this campaign). Then, under the commander in chief the *tartan*, Azuri, the plotting king of Ashdod, was deposed. Ashdod was supported by Egypt and very likely by *Hezekiah king of Judah; but the latter changed his mind after the Assyrian conquest of *Azekah. Remains of a stele of Sargon were discovered in Ashdod.

Near the modern Khorsabad he built a new capital city, Dûr-Sharrukin ("Sargon's fortress"). Sargon was killed in a campaign against the Cimmerians – newcomers in Urarṭu – and his encampment was sacked.

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SARID (Heb. שָׂרִיד).

(1) Town on the border of the territory of Zebulun (Josh. 19:10, 12). The original Hebrew form of the name was evidently Sadod; it appears as Sedud in the Septuagint, and scholars have accordingly located it at Tell Shadūd in the central Jezreel Valley. The pottery on the site dates from the Late Bronze to the Arabic periods, early Iron Age pottery being especially abundant.

[Michael Avi-Yonah]

(2) Kibbutz in northern Israel, in the Jezreel Valley, affiliated with Kibbutz Arẓi ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir. Sarid was founded in 1926 by pioneers from Czechoslovakia, Germany, and East European countries. In 1970 Sarid had 620 inhabitants and maintained a regional high school of Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir. In the mid-1990s the population was approximately 715, dropping to 611 in 2002. The kibbutz raised field crops and fruits, poultry, and dairy cattle and also had a grindstone factory.

[Efraim Orni]

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SARID (Schneider), YOSSI (1940–), Israeli journalist and politician, member of the Knesset since the Eighth Knesset in 1974. Born in Reḥovot, he served in the artillery corps and as a military reporter. In the course of his studies at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem in 1961–64, he worked as a reporter and news editor for the Israel Broadcasting Authority. He received a B.A. in philosophy and literature in 1964. Until 1965 he served as the spokesman of *Mapai, and, after the elections to the Sixth Knesset in 1965, served as advisor to Prime Minister Levi *Eshkol. He received an M.A. in political science and sociology from the New School for Social Research in New York in 1969. After his return to Israel, he was close to Minister of Finance Pinḥas *Sapir.

In 1970–73 Sarid ran the section for academics in the Ministry of Labor. In the elections right after the Yom Kippur War at the end of 1973, he was first elected to the Knesset on the Alignment list. In the course of 1974, after a deadly terrorist attack on Kiryat Shemonah, he moved with his family to the northern town for three years, and, in addition to his position as a Member of Knesset, worked voluntarily as a teacher in one of the local high schools. Sarid was one of the staunchest opponents of Operation Peace for Galilee in 1982, and as a result a rift opened between him and the Labor Party. When, after the elections to the Eleventh Knesset in 1984, the Labor Party decided to join a National Unity Government with the *Likud on the basis of rotation in the premiership, and agreed to Ariel *Sharon being given a ministerial position in the government despite the conclusions of the Kahane Commission, and approved the continued financial and moral support of Jewish settlements in the West Bank and Gaza Strip, Sarid decided to leave the party, and joined the Civil Rights Movement, headed by Shulamit *Aloni. Free of the constraints of membership in a leading party, Sarid became famous for his outspokenness and cynical style, and assumed the role of the "hated left-winger" among right-wing circles. In 1985 Sarid became editor of *Politika*, a left-wing political journal, which he continued to edit for several years.

In 1992, as a member of *Meretz, Sarid was appointed minister of the environment, and joined Minister for Foreign Affairs Shimon *Peres in peace talks after the signing of the Declaration of Principles with the Palestinians in 1993. When Aloni resigned from active politics prior to the elections to the Fourteenth Knesset in 1996, Sarid was elected as leader of the CRM and of Meretz. In the government formed by Ehud *Barak after the elections to the Fifteenth Knesset, Sarid was appointed minister of education and culture, a position he held until June 2000, when he decided to take Meretz out of the government several months before the outbreak of the second Intifada, owing to his dissatisfaction with Barak's attempts to pacify *Shas. In March 2000, Sarid was the first official Israeli who accepted an invitation by the Armenian Church in Jerusalem to participate in a memorial service for the genocide of the Armenians at the hands of the Turks in 1915, even though the official Israeli position was not to anger the Turkish government, which has never accepted responsibility for the event.

Following the major electoral defeat suffered by Meretz in the elections to the Sixteenth Knesset in 2003, when it lost four of its 10 seats, Sarid resigned from his position as leader of the party, but remained in the Knesset. In July 2004 he underwent brain surgery to remove a benign tumor.

In the Knesset, Sarid has served on the Foreign Affairs and Defense Committee, the House Committee, and the Education and Culture Committee.

He wrote books of poetry, *Pegishah be-Makom Aḥer* (1960) and *Shirim 2003–2005*, and *Ze ha-Nitu'aḥ Sheli* (2005), a book about his brain-surgery experience.

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[Susan Hattis Rolef (2nd ed.)]

SARKIL, *Khazar fortress, built on the Don with Byzantine help in 833 C.E. Sarkil's purpose appears to have been to defend Khazaria from enemies approaching from the west – who these were is not specifically stated, but the Pechenegs, Magyars, and Russians have been suggested – and, more particularly, to control the Don-Volga portage. This was the route by which ninth-century Russian merchants (Ibn Khurradādhbih, *Kitāb al-Masālik wa al-Mamālik*, 154) from the Black Sea reached the Volga; in the same century it was called the "Khazarian way." Sarkil is mentioned in the Long Version of the Reply of Joseph king of the *Khazars to *Ḥasdai ibn Shaprut. The name is explained as being from the Turkic (Chuvash) for "white house," hence it has been identified with Bela Vezha in the Russian Chronicle, and somewhat more doubtfully with the Arabic al-Bayḍā', "the white" (usually taken to mean *Atil). M.I. Artamonov fixes the site of Sarkil on the left bank of the lower Don near the village of Tsimlyanskaya, now covered by the waters of a reservoir. The remains on a neighboring site on the right bank of the Don are thought to be those of a forerunner of Sarkil, the name of which – corresponding to the material from which it was built (white limestone) – was transferred to the new fortress (the historic Sarkil was built of brick). Sarkil (Bela Vezha) is said to have been destroyed in the great Russian attack upon Khazaria in 965.

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[Douglas Morton Dunlop]

SARMAD, MUHAMMAD SAʿID (d. 1661), Persian poet. Born into a rabbinical family in Kashan in the early 17th century, Sarmad became a convert to *Islam, though he is always referred to in Persian and European sources as "Sarmad the Jew," "the Hebrew pantheist," or "the Jewish mystic." Migrating to *India, he moved from Tatta to Hyderabad and in 1654 was in Delhi, capital of the Mogul empire, where he led the life of a dervish, a "naked fakir walking through the streets." A popular composer of Sufic poetry, he collaborated with the author of the *Dabistān*, a comprehensive work in Persian on comparative religion. Material for the chapter on Judaism was supplied by Sarmad, who also edited a Persian translation of the Pentateuch of which six chapters of Genesis were included in the *Dabistān*. Sarmad's association with the crown prince of the Mogul dynasty led to his downfall, and he was executed in Delhi. His *Dīwān*, containing over 300 poems, was printed in 1897.

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[Walter Joseph Fischel]

°SARMIENTO, PEDRO (c. 1400–1464), commander of the fortress (*alcaide del alcázar*) of Toledo, responsible for riots against the *Conversos in the town in 1449. Sarmiento came from a family of courtiers and served as chief confectioner (*repostero mayor*) to John II of Castile (1406–54), who appointed him commander of the Toledo fortress in 1445. In 1449 he incited the population of the town to attack the Conversos holding public office there. The pretext for the revolt was a heavy tax imposed by the courtier Alvaro de Luna in the name of the king. As a first step, the rioters set fire to the house of a certain Alonso Cota, of Converso origin, one of the principal tax farmers. Sarmiento took over the powers of the local authorities and arrested all the prominent Conversos. After he had carried out a judicial investigation, and they had confessed their loyalty to Judaism under torture, he condemned them to be burned at the stake.

Sarmiento then published a regulation which laid down, on the strength of an imaginary royal privilege allegedly granted to Toledo by one of the former kings, that New Christians and their issue could not hold public office. It was the first instance of racial discrimination practiced in Castile against the Conversos. A memorandum by Sarmiento's legal adviser, García de Mora, was attached to the regulation. It included severe accusations against the New Christians who, he alleged, were practicing Judaism and plotting against Christianity and the faithful. The disorders in Toledo spread as far as *Ciudad Real, where trials of Conversos were also held. Sarmiento's actions were condemned by the king, who dismissed him from his position. Pope *Nicholas V issued a bull in which he denounced the regulation. In the same year the bishop of Burgos, Alonso de Cartagena (the son of Solomon *ha-Levi who had adopted Christianity), wrote his *Defensorium Unitatis Christiana*, in which he sharply criticized the segregation between Old and New Christians introduced by Sarmiento. In 1452 Sarmiento was pardoned by the king and during the reign of his successor, Henry IV (1454–74), was reinstated in his court functions.

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[Joseph Kaplan]

SARNA, EZEKIEL (1889–1969), *rosh yeshivah* in Israel. Born in Gorodok, Lithuania, Sarna was the son of Jacob Ḥayyim Sarna, the *Maggid* ("preacher") of Slonim and a close associate of Ḥayyim *Soloveitchik. At an early age Ezekiel was accepted in the famous yeshivah of Slobodka, Lithuania, where he became known as the *illui* ("child prodigy") of Gorodok. He was particularly influenced by the method of study and moral inspiration of the heads of the yeshivah – the *Sabba* of Slobodka, Nathan Ẓevi *Finkel, and Moses Mordecai *Epstein. When World War I broke out, the Slobodka yeshivah was transferred from Kovno to Kremenchug in the Ukraine. In this period Sarna studied under *Israel Meir ha-Kohen (Ḥafeẓ-Ḥayyim). His marriage to Epstein's daughter accorded Sarna, already distinguished by his talent and profound acumen, a special status. After the war the yeshivah returned to Slobodka, where Sarna was appointed a lecturer. Following the *Balfour Declaration, the third wave of *aliyah* got under way, and Epstein decided (1924) to transfer the Slobodka yeshivah to Ereẓ Israel. For this purpose he sent Sarna to choose a site. Sarna selected Hebron, where he immediately became one of the heads of the yeshivah and was mainly responsible for its development. About a year later Finkel and Epstein joined the yeshivah. On the death of his father-in-law in 1927, Sarna was appointed *rosh yeshivah*, a position he held until his death. The yeshivah attracted students from all parts of the world and, at the time of its destruction in the pogrom of 1929, had 265 students. Sarna reestablished the yeshivah in Jerusalem as the Hebron Yeshivah. Under Sarna's guidance it again flourished. His talmudic and *musar* discourses achieved a reputation in the yeshivah world, and Hebron Yeshivah developed into one of the largest and most important Torah centers in Israel, continuing the educational and *musar* methods of the great Lithuanian yeshivot. As a leader of the Va'ad ha-Yeshivot, Sarna was mainly preoccupied by his own and other yeshivot, but was also actively interested in national problems. He was a member of the Mo'eẓet Gedolei ha-Torah, the supreme religious institution of *Agudat Israel. He held independent views on political matters, both local and foreign, and on occasion addressed his opinions to the prime minister and members of the Israel government, attempting by virtue of his personality to influence the political, social, and religious life of the state. He was instrumental in obtaining exemption from military service for yeshivah students. Sarna had a unique style in *halakhah* and *musar,* and published a number of books, including commentaries on *Judah Halevi's *Kuzari* (1965), on the *Orḥot Ḥayyim* by *Asher b. Jehiel (1957, 1962), and on *Mesillat Yesharim* (1957, 1965) by Moses Ḥayyim *Luzzatto. He left many manuscripts on *halakhah* and Jewish thought. Despite an illness in his last years, he undertook the establishment of the new yeshivah center, Kiryat Ḥevron, in southern Jerusalem.

[Itzhak Goldshlag]

SARNA, JONATHAN DANIEL (1955–), university professor, author, and scholar of American Jewish history. Born in Philadelphia and raised in New York and Boston, Sarna was the son of the renowned Bible scholar Nahum M. *Sarna and Helen Horowitz, a librarian. Sarna earned degrees from Boston Hebrew College and Brandeis University before matriculating to Yale University where he pursued graduate studies in American history, modern Jewish history, and American religious history. Upon receiving his Ph.D. in 1979, Sarna was awarded a postgraduate fellowship at Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion (HUC-JIR) in Cincinnati, Ohio, by the pioneering American Jewish historian Jacob Rader *Marcus. The following year, he joined HUC-JIR's faculty, and he quickly rose to the rank of professor. In 1990, Sarna became the Joseph H. and Belle R. Braun Professor of American Jewish History at Brandeis University.

Sarna's keen interest in American Jewish history first emerged during his teenage years. He later theorized that his strong interest in the field may have come from the fact that he was the first member of his family born in the United States. He became convinced that by synthesizing American and Jewish history, he could gain a deeper understanding of his own world.

At Yale, Sarna's historical philosophy took shape. He was influenced by many members of the university's history faculty, including Sidney Ahlstrom, the distinguished scholar of American religion. Noting that many historians tended to categorize Jews in America as an ethnic group with little reference to their religious life, Sarna set out to place American Judaism within the larger historical context of religious life in America. His doctoral dissertation was a biographical study of Mordecai Manuel *Noah, one of the first American Jews to gain prominence in both the Jewish and the general community. Sarna used Noah's life to exemplify a central theme in American Jewish history: the ongoing effort to be American and Jewish at the same time. The nature of this tension is summarized in the title of his first book, which grew out of his dissertation: *Jacksonian Jew: The Two Worlds of Mordecai Noah* (1981).

In his second major volume, *JPS, A Cultural History of the Jewish Publication Society* (1989), Sarna similarly examined the ways in which Jews have interacted with American culture. In his magnum opus, *American Judaism* (2004), a full-scale interpretive history of Jewish religious life in America, Sarna broadly demonstrated how evolving trends in American religion as a whole have repeatedly influenced the historical development of Jewish religious life in America.

A prolific author, Sarna wrote, edited, or co-edited dozens of historical publications that have influenced the field of American Jewish history. His volume *People Walk on Their Heads* (1982) illuminates the complicated and difficult nature of Jewish immigrant life in New York. Sarna's interest in the history of Jewish communities impelled him to publish several articles and books on this subject, including *The Jews of Cincinnati* (1989) and *The Jews of Boston* (1995). Many of Sarna's monographs, such as his essay on the development of mixed seating in the American synagogue and his article on the role of great awakenings in American Judaism, have spurred American Jewish historians to explore new avenues of research.

Many of Sarna's historical readers have become useful tools for the teaching of American Jewish history, such as *The American Jewish Experience* (1986, rev. ed. 1997); *Religion and State in the American Jewish Experience* (1997); *Women and American Judaism: Historical Perspectives* (2001); and *Jews and the American Public Square* (2002).

By the dawn of the 21st century, Sarna had become a senior scholar in the field. He served as chair of the Academic Advisory and Editorial Board of The Jacob Rader Marcus Center of the American Jewish Archives, where he also served as consulting scholar. He also became a consulting historian to the National Museum of American Jewish History in Philadelphia. In 2004–2005, Sarna was named chief historian for Celebrate 350, the Jewish community's national organizing committee for commemorating the 350th anniversary of Jewish life in America. He was also a consulting scholar to the congressionally recognized Commission for Commemorating 350 Years of American Jewish History.

Sarna's deep knowledge of the field attracted many scholars and researchers to consult with him and, as a faculty advisor at both HUC-JIR and Brandeis University, he influenced a significant number of graduate students who went on to fill important research and teaching positions in the field.

Sarna is married to Rabbi Ruth Langer, a professor of Jewish Studies at Boston College.

[Gary P. Zola (2nd ed.)]

SARNA, NAHUM M. (1923–2006), biblical scholar. Sarna was born in London into a family that was both traditionally observant and Zionist. After receiving an intensive elementary and secondary Jewish education, he attended Jews' College, then part of the University of London, where he earned his B.A. (1944) and M.A. (1946), studying rabbinics, Bible and Semitic languages. From Jews' College Sarna also received a Minister's Diploma (1949), a degree that certified its holders as pulpit ministers rather than legal decisors (*posekim*). He moved briefly to postwar Israel (1949), but because conditions there were not favorable for serious study, Sarna came to Dropsie College in Philadelphia and completed his Ph.D. (1955) under Cyrus *Gordon. While pursuing his studies, and shortly thereafter, Sarna taught at Gratz College in Philadelphia (1951–57). Between 1957 and 1965 Sarna served at the Jewish Theological Seminary as librarian (1957–63) and as associate professor of Bible. Not receiving promotion at JTS, Sarna moved to Brandeis University as Golding Professor, and served in that chair from 1965 to 1985. Between 1966 and 1981 Sarna was a member of the committee that translated the last section of the Jewish Bible (*Ketuvim*, or Writings) for the *Tanakh: The Holy Scriptures* of the Jewish Publication Society (1982). Sarna successfully employed both ancient Near Eastern material and the traditional Jewish sources to illuminate the Bible. He also pioneered in "inner biblical interpretation," showing how biblical writers often interpreted and reinterpreted each other. In a very active retirement, Sarna held visiting professorships and initiated and edited the JPS Torah Commentary, for which he wrote the volumes *Genesis* (1989), and *Exodus* (1991). Famed as a pedagogue and lecturer, Sarna was highly influential in training many of the current generation of Bible scholars. But Sarna wrote for intelligent laics as well. As Jeffrey Tigay observed, "No scholar has done as much as Sarna to educate English-speaking Jewry about the Bible," as exemplified in *Exploring Exodus* (1986) and in *Songs of the Heart: An Introduction to the Book of Psalms* (1993), and the aforementioned JPS Torah volumes.

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[S. David Sperling (2nd ed.)]

SARNOFF, DAVID (1891–1971), U.S. electronics pioneer and executive. Sarnoff, who was born in Uzlian, Russia, was taken to the U.S. in 1900. A self-taught telegrapher who had joined the Marconi Telegraph Company of America in 1906 as an office boy, Sarnoff was the operator on duty who picked up and relayed the *Titanic's* distress signal in 1912. When the Radio Corporation of America (RCA), formed in 1919, gained control of the Marconi Company, Sarnoff became RCA's commercial manager (1919) and subsequently its president (1930). Foreseeing the enormous growth of the radio medium, and determined to prove the practicality of coast-to-coast broadcasting, he founded the National Broadcasting Company in 1926 as an RCA subsidiary. Later, he directed RCA's efforts toward making television a practical working medium. He developed its potential as an inexpensive instrument providing entertainment and information for a mass audience. His subsequent decision to invest huge sums to develop color television was made in the face of determined opposition within the company. However, the success of color television vindicated his decision. Sarnoff's abilities built RCA into the world's largest electronic complex, doing approximately $2 billion business annually in the late 1960s, in fields ranging from radio and television to computers and earth-orbiting satellites, and employing approximately 100,000 persons in the U.S. and 43 foreign plants.

Active in Jewish affairs, Sarnoff was a member of the board of trustees of the Educational Alliance and the first honorary fellow of the Weizmann Institute of Science. He was associated with the Jewish Theological Seminary for over 25 years and served as a member of both its board of directors and its executive committee. Long active in the U.S. Army Reserve, he was appointed to the rank of brigadier general in 1944.

His son, ROBERT SARNOFF (1918–1997), who was born in New York City, served in the army during World War II. After a period as an executive with Cowles Publications (1945–48), he joined the National Broadcasting Company. Sarnoff subsequently served as that company's president (1955–58) and board chairman (1958–66). In 1966 he was appointed president of RCA and in 1967, chief executive officer. He resigned in 1975. He was married to opera singer Anna Moffo.

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SARNY, town in Rovno district, Ukraine. It may be assumed that the first Jews settled in Sarny in 1901, with the opening of the railroad station there. As Sarny was then a village, Jews had difficulty, under the czarist restrictions on their settlement in villages, in obtaining permission to live there. After Sarny acquired the status of a town in May 1903, its Jewish community developed rapidly. During the Civil War after the end of World War I, the Jews of Sarny did not suffer from the pogroms in Ukraine, and the community aided refugees and orphans from other places. Sarny's economy was largely based on the lumber industry. In independent Poland, after Sarny was made the district capital in 1921, the city developed further. The Jewish population numbered 2,808 in 1921 (47% of the total), 3,414 (45%) in 1931, and 4,950 (45%) in 1937. A *Tarbut school was founded in 1920–21, and an *ORT school in 1923–24. There were also a *talmud torah*, and several *ḥadarim*. At the outbreak of World War II, preparations were under way for opening a Hebrew high school. Until the early 1920s *ẓaddikim* of the *Karlin-Stolin ḥasidic dynasty lived in Sarny, and later continued to visit it.

[Shmuel Spector]

Holocaust Period

After the outbreak of World War II many refugees arrived in Sarny, and by 1941 the number of Jews there had risen to 7,000. During the Soviet occupation (1939–41) the Jewish institutions were disbanded. The 2,000 refugees from German-occupied western Poland were transferred to the Soviet interior. The Germans occupied Sarny on July 5, 1941, and immediately the Ukrainians staged a three-day pogrom. There began persecution of the Jews, indiscriminate murder, seizure of able-bodied people for forced labor, and extortion of large sums of money. On the Day of Atonement (Oct. 1, 1941) they rounded up the Jews in Sarny for a census and ordered them to wear the yellow badge, instead of a white band with a blue Star of David. A ghetto was established in April 1942, packed with 6,000 persons, 15 per room, and a few weeks later the Jewish community was forced to pay a "fine" of 250,000 rubles ($50,000). In June 1942, when information of mass murders reached Sarny, armed groups were organized there. They planned to set a fire and escape into the forest. But when the Germans came, the secretary of the Judenrat convinced the groups not to act. The Germans transferred the ghetto Jews to the "Poleska" camp, where about 15,000 Jews and 1,500 gypsies Jews from near-by settlements were already concentrated. On Aug. 27–28, 1942, the Germans began to "liquidate" the community. A group headed by two Jews, Tendler and Josef Gendelman, cut the wire fence, ordered to set fire to the camp barracks, and called for a mass escape. Thousands tried to flee, many of them were shot, and only a few hundred reached the forests; there some of them joined the Soviet partisan units of Satanovski and Kaplan (both Jews).

Sarny was retaken by the Soviet army on Jan. 11, 1944. A handful of survivors returned from the Soviet interior, and about 20 Jewish partisans, some of whom had fought against the Ukrainian bands led by Stefan Bandera. The remnants of the Sarny community fenced in the local cemetery and restored the tombstones that had been used for pavements. In the late 1960s there were about 100 Jews in Sarny.

[Aharon Weiss / Shmuel Spector (2nd ed.)]

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SARPHATI, SAMUEL (1813–1866), Dutch physician and social reformer. Sarphati was one of the progressive leaders of Amsterdam in the mid-19th century. At the start of his professional career he was employed part time by the Portuguese Jewish community as a physician for the poor. The social dismay he experienced made him engage in numerous social and economic development projects. He initiated the first municipal garbage-collecting service, and was involved in the building of an industrial bakery to provide quality bread for the masses as well as the establishment of the city's first school of trade and commerce. Other endeavors saw public toilets situated throughout the city and the filling in of several polluted and foul-smelling inner-city canals. Sarphati stimulated urban expansion outside the ancient city walls. To facilitate financial investors he was instrumental in establishing the Netherlands Credit and Deposits Bank, a national mortgage bank and building society. Sarphati was also responsible for the founding of the "Paleis voor Volksvlijt," a vast glass-and-steel industrial exhibition hall, and the grand Amstel Hotel to accommodate commercial entrepreneurs.

Sarphati was a co-founder of the Netherlands Pharmaceutical Society. He was a member of the North Holland Provincial Council and was decorated Knight of the Order of the Netherlands Lion. A street, a park, and a quay in Amsterdam are named after him.

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[Henriette Boas / Daniel M. Metz (2nd ed.)]

ṢARRĀF, Arabic money changer, intendant, treasurer; *ṣarrāf bashi*, Arabic-Turkish chief money changer, chief banker. In Islamic countries Muslims were all but forbidden to work in gold and silver, not only as goldsmiths and silversmiths but also as *jahābidha* (Persian; sing. *jahbādh*), i.e., money changers, coin testers, and collectors of taxes and customs dues, who had to be capable of calculating the value of different kinds of coins in accordance with the percentage of precious metal they contained. An order by the caliph al-Muqtadir (908–932) restricted the employment of Jews and Christians in the government to physicians and *jahābidha*. Arab sources report the presence of Jewish wholesale merchants, toll farmers, and bankers at the court of the caliphs in *Baghdad. A Jew, Yaqʿūb ibn Yusūf *Ibn Killis, laid the foundation for a public tax collection system in *Egypt during the reign of al-Muʿizz (969–975), the first *Fāṭimid ruler of that country. *Ḥisdai ibn Shaprut was the chief customs collector and a physician in *Umayyad Spain during the reign of Abd al-Raḥmān III (912–961). These dignitaries indirectly influenced the attitude of the governments toward the Jews. The prominent Jacob *Ibn Jau, a merchant and the official manufacturer and supplier of silk, was appointed tax collector and *nasi* of the Jews in Spain during the rule of al-*Manṣur (977–991).

In the Ottoman Empire many Jews, Armenians, and Copts served as *ṣarrāf* at the courts of the provincial pashas and in the capital. Their positions as tax collectors, toll farmers, cashiers, and bankers, and their influence at court enabled them to act as the natural spokesmen for their communities. The Jewish representatives had titles such as *chelebi* (Turkish: gentleman), *bazirkān* (Persian: *bazargar*, merchant), *mu'allim* (Arabic: teacher). These titles were still in use in the early 19th century in *Istanbul. The Armenian equivalent bore the title *amira*. The *amira*, the banker, and the financial advisers to the viziers and various ministers of the Ottoman government were the highest secular authorities in the Armenian community until regulations for the Armenian *millet were finally drafted and approved in 1863.

A similar development occurred in *Iraq. From the early 18th century, the Jewish *ṣarrāf bashi*, the chief banker and finance minister to the pasha or *wālī* of Baghdad, assumed the position and title of **nasi*. Until the middle of the 19th century the *ṣarrāf bashi* of Baghdad acted as *nasi* of the Baghdad community. His political importance sometimes was exaggerated and compared with that of the *exilarch under the *Abbasids, e.g., in the report of the Jewish convert to Christianity and missionary J. *Wolff (author of *Narrative of a Mission to Bokhara*, 1852), who was introduced to the *nasi* Saul Laniado in 1824. The first *nasi* in Baghdad was the *ṣarrāf bashi* Moses b. Mordecai *Shindookh. One of the last to hold the office of *ṣarrāf bashi* in Baghdad was Ezra b. Joseph Gabbai. His brother Ezekiel attained the position of *ṣarrāf bashi* to the sultan Maḥmūd II (1808–39). Court intrigues and interdenominational rivalry between Jews and Armenians sometimes made the position of *ṣarrāf bashi* a very dangerous one, and the tragic deaths of some are described in various sources.

In Egypt the appointment of Joseph *Cattaui as *ṣarrāf bashi* by the khedive Saʿīd (1854–1863) was not linked with any official function in the Jewish community. The development of tourism necessitated enforcing of controls over the money changers, and this became the main task of the *ṣarrāf bashi*. E.W. Lane (in *The Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians* (1968), 562) wrote: "Many of the Egyptian Jews are *ṣarrāfs* (or bankers and moneylenders), others are *seyrefees* (dialect: money changers), and are esteemed men of strict probity." In 1872 a German traveler also stressed the role of the Jews in the banking (*ṣarrāf*) business: "They tend to be *ṣaraffen* (money changers) and then rise easily to a kind of banker, some indeed becoming great bankers" (M. Luettke, *Aegyptens neue Zeit*, 1 (1873), 98). According to a Christian Arabic source (Ali Mubārak, *Al-Khiṭaṭ al-Jadīda*, 12 (1305 A.H.), 95) in the middle of the 19th century, 21 out of 49 Jews in Suez were money changers.

[Haïm Z'ew Hirschberg]

Jewish Banking (Middle East)

With the growing involvement of Middle Eastern countries in the world economy during the second half of the 19th century, and the expansion of financial operations in these countries, Jewish banking families at the major commercial centers of the Ottoman Empire and Egypt reached the zenith of their economic power. Their influence on financial and economic developments was great. Among these families were the *Sassoons (Baghdad-Bombay-London), the *Camondos (Istanbul-Paris), and the Menashes (Alexandria-Vienna). The big banking families did not confine their activities to the financial sector. They were involved in foreign trade transactions and in commercial agriculture, transportation, and urban development projects. These big banker-entrepreneurs also made substantial contributions to Jewish community institutions. Their support of education was of particular significance. At times the Jewish bankers operated in fierce competition and at other times in cooperation with European banks and with other local big banking families (Greek, Armenian, and also Muslim). In the course of their activity during the last decades of the century, some of the Jewish banking families transferred their business headquarters to European capitals, especially London and Paris. The extreme changes in the political and economic conditions in the Middle East and Europe during the first half of the 20th century brought about the decline of these influential families. In some cases their assets were confiscated or nationalized, in others they were acquired by or merged with large economic concerns or multinational corporations.

[Gad Gilbar (2nd ed.)]

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SARRAUTE (Cherniak), NATHALIE (1900–1999), French novelist. Born in Ivanova-Vosnesensk, Russia, into an assimilated Jewish family, Nathalie Sarraute was taken to France at the age of two. She practiced as a lawyer until the Nazi occupation in 1940, when she joined the French underground. Her literary career began rather late. She had studied philology at the universities of Oxford and Berlin, and in 1938 published *Tropismes* (Eng. tr. 1967), a series of cameos which constituted a criticism of language and a condemnation of subject matter as such in the novel. Her own first novel, however, did not appear until 1944. Entitled *Portrait d'un inconnu*, it attracted much attention. particularly that of Sartre. Nathalie Sarraute is recognized as one of the initiators of the modern school known as "le nouveau roman," which counted Alain Robbe-Grillet and Michel Butor among its best-known younger members. Her novels *Martereau* (1953; Eng. 1967), *Le Planetarium* (1959, 19682), and *Les Fruits d'or* (1963), do not relate any story or describe any events, and in fact represent the trend of the anti-novel. Their aim is to reveal a reality which is both beneath and beyond the everyday, obvious reality of the traditional and existentialist novel. The author stated her views on the novel in a series of essays, *L'Ere du soupçon* (1956; *The Age of Suspicion*, 1967). For a time she abandoned the novel and wrote two radio plays, *Le Silence* and *Le Mensonge* (published in one volume, 1967); but in *Entre la vie et la mort* (1968), using literary circles as a setting, she reverted to her basic form. Later novels included *L'Usage de la parole* (1980) and *Tu ne t'aimes pas* (1989). Her autobiography, *Enfance,* appeared in 1983. Nathalie Sarraute, a liberal leftist, eventually adopted an openly pro-Israel stand and paid a lengthy visit to the country in 1969.

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[Arnold Mandel]

SARREGUEMINES, town in the Moselle department, northeastern France. Jews have lived in Sarreguemines since the 13th century. Expelled in 1477, they reappeared at the latest in 1690 under the French occupation. One family was authorized to settle in the town in 1721, others in 1753, and still others in 1787. The synagogue, erected about 1769, was rebuilt in 1862, and again in 1959, after having been destroyed in 1940. The local rabbinate was established in 1791. Throughout the 19th and early 20th centuries, the Jewish community slowly grew. By 1939, it numbered approximately 395. It is estimated that about 89 of Sarreguemines' Jews died during the Holocaust. In 1971 the Jewish community numbered 250. In 2005, in an act of vandalism, over 60 of the Jewish cemetery's 500 tombstones were toppled and smashed.

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[Gilbert Cahen]

SAR SHALOM BEN BOAZ (d. c. 859 or 864 C.E.), *gaon* of Sura from 838 to 848. Sar Shalom succeeded *Kohen Ẓedek and was succeeded by *Natronai b. Hilai. His personality reflects a kindly individual, profoundly learned, who exercised a benign and understanding authority. His appeal to the Jewry of the time and their admiration for him probably account for the fact that he was the most prolific writer of responsa of his time, and more than 100 of them are extant. A large number deal primarily with matters pertaining to prayer, benedictions, and the reading of the Torah; excerpts of his erudite opinions were later incorporated in the *Seder *Amram Ga'on*. Sar Shalom's responsa reveal a liberal attitude to non-Jews: he explicitly prohibited taking advantage of, or in any way infringing upon, the rights of those who were not coreligionists, even if according to the letter of the law it might be considered permissible. He ruled that even if a woman went through the ceremony of ablution for conversion against her will, she was to be considered fully Jewish, and food, including wine, served by her was permissible for use.

He never assumed an overbearing manner to his subordinates. Indeed, a generous, conciliatory tone is manifested in his epistles to leaders of Jewish communities even from distant countries, who turned to him for religious clarification in different matters. He never adopted a dogmatic view in his decisions; he would generally present both sides of a disputation, explaining the practices followed, and points of view held by the academies of both Sura and Pumbedita, the great centers of learning, and allowing the heads of congregations to make their own choice. Moreover, he admonished the people not to bind themselves with regulations to which it would be difficult to adhere. If he heard that a community had restricted itself by a vow which it later felt unable to comply with, he would use the authority of his office to rescind such an oath. He explains the reasons for his decisions in an amiable tone and often writes in his responsa how much he would prefer to have his correspondents in his presence for thorough elucidation, to make his decision acceptable to the inquirer. In his responsa Sar Shalom also deals with some of the geonic *takkanot*. Although of mild disposition, he severely punished a person who struck another, a man who maltreated his wife, and a wife who was guilty of recalcitrant behavior toward her husband.

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[Meir Havazelet]

SAR SHALOM BEN MOSES HA-LEVI (12th century), the last of the Egyptian *geonim*. Sar Shalom held office in Fostat from 1171 until at least 1195. He had followed his brother, the *Gaon* *Nethanel b. Moses ha-Levi, in the position. Before then, he had held the post of *av bet din* in the Yeshivah shel Ereẓ Israel of Damascus, which, according to *Benjamin of Tudela, was headed by Sar Shalom's brother Azariah. While acting as *gaon*, Sar Shalom signed himself *rosh yeshivat Ereẓ ha-Ẓevi*, or *rosh yeshivat Ge'on Ya'akov* ("Head of the Yeshivah of the Glory of Jacob").

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Mann, Egypt, index; Mann, Texts, 1 (1931), 257f.; idem, in: HUCA, 3 (1926), 295f.; Baneth, in: *Sefer ha-Yovel… A. Marx* (1950), 77; S. Assaf, in: *Tarbiz*, 1 no. 2 (1930), 80f.; S.D. Goitein, *ibid.*, 31 (1962), 369; 33 (1964), 184.

[Abraham David]

SARṬABA (**Alexandrium**), fortress, probably built by Alexander *Yannai and named after him According to Josephus, it was located near Coreae in the Jordan Valley (Ant., 14:49, 83). Situated on the top of a high mountain, it was exceptionally well supplied (Jos., Wars, 1:134). Here *Aristobulus II surrendered to Pompey in 63 B.C.E. It later served as a stronghold of the nationalist opposition to Rome. Gabinus besieged *Alexander, the son of Aristobulus there (*ibid.*, 1:161ff.), after which the fortress was demolished. Pheroras, Herod's brother, refortified it (Jos., Ant., 14:419; Wars, 1:308). Under Herod it served for the safekeeping of his wife Mariamne, who later buried his sons there after they had been executed on Herod's orders (Jos., Ant., 16:394; Wars, 1:551). It apparently also served for the burial of several other members of the Hasmonean dynasty. The place is not mentioned in accounts of the Jewish War against Rome. According to the Mishnah, it was one of the stations for the transmission of signals announcing the new moon and holidays from Jerusalem to Babylonia (RH 2:4; cf. Tosef., 2:2). Alexandrium is identified with Qarn Sarṭaba, a dominating peak overlooking the Jordan Valley, S.E. of Nablus (1,244 ft. – c. 379 m. above sea level; 2,388 ft. – c. 728 m. above the Jordan Valley). The remains include walls of bossed masonry, the style typical of the Hasmonean period, a cistern, and traces of an aqueduct. Excavations at the fortress were conducted at the site by Y. Tsafrir and Y. Magen between 1981 and 1983, with the discovery of the remains of a monumental peristyle hall and other remains, including an inscribed ostraca mentioning a "Pinchas" and a "Levi." The aqueduct leading to the site and other remains in the hinterland of the fortress were investigated by D. Amit.

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[Michael Avi-Yonah / Shimon Gibson (2nd ed.)]

SARUG (**Saruk**), **ISRAEL** (fl. 1590–1610), Egyptian kabbalist. Sarug probably belonged to an Egyptian family of rabbinic scholars with kabbalistic leanings. A manuscript written in 1565 in *Cairo (British Museum 759) was copied for Isaac Sarug; Israel Sarug, whose signature as owner appears on the manuscript, was probably his son. Sarug may have known Isaac *Luria while the latter was in *Egypt and have become acquainted then with some of his early teaching and kabbalistic behavior. Although he was not one of Luria's pupils in Safed, he later claimed to have been one of his main disciples. He had access to some of the writings of Luria's disciples (Ḥayyim *Vital, Moses *Jonah, *Joseph ibn Tabul) and from them constructed his own version of Luria's doctrine, adding important speculations of his own. His whereabouts between 1570 and 1593 are unknown, but he must have spent some time during the 1580s in Safed. Between 1594 and 1600 he disseminated his version of Lurianic Kabbalah in Italy, founding a whole school of kabbalists who accepted his teaching as authentic. Among them were the most distinguished kabbalists of that time, such as Menahem Azariah *Fano, Isaac Fano, and *Aaron Berechiah b. Moses of Modena. Several manuscripts written between 1597 and 1604 contain summaries of his oral teachings and copies of writings which he had brought with him. According to Leone *Modena, Sarug's teachings in Venice were strongly tinged with philosophic ideas; he also claimed that he could recognize the transmigrations of the souls of the people he met. After he left Italy, he taught Abraham *Herrera in Ragusa and spent some time in Salonika (before 1604). It seems improbable that Sarug is identical with the "famous Ḥasid" Israel Saruk who died in Safed in 1602, leaving his manuscripts with his daughter, who several years later became the wife of the immigrant kabbalist from Moravia, Shlimel (Solomon) Dresnitz. There is evidence that Sarug spent some time in Poland after 1600, but later legend put his stay earlier and made him the kabbalistic teacher of Solomon *Luria in Cracow.

Only four of Sarug's works have been printed. The book *Limmudei Aẓilut*, published erroneously under the name of Ḥayyim Vital (1897), contains two of these: an exposition of his version of Luria's teachings on *ẓimẓum*, which differs widely from all other known versions, and his commentary on the portion of the *Zohar called *Sifra di-Ẓeni'uta*. The book also contains a description of the world of *Beri'ah*, the angelological realm next to the world of divine emanation, *Aẓilut*. His traditions concerning specific transmigrations of biblical and talmudic personalities were published in part under the name of Menahem Azariah Fano (Prague, 1688; with a commentary by J.M. Leiner, Lublin, 1907). Sarug's commentary on the three hymns for Sabbath composed by Luria was first published in Nowy Oleksiniec in 1767. In all his writings Sarug refers to Luria as "the master" but never as "my master." Most of the first published presentations of Lurianic Kabbalah were according to Sarug's version, which exerted a profound influence, although it was attacked as inauthentic by *Ḥayyim b. Abraham ha-Kohen of Aleppo and other kabbalists.

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[Gershom Scholem]

SARŪJ (**Suruc**), small town near the southern border of *Turkey. Sarūj was a thriving town during the rule of the *Abbasid caliphs and in the crusader period. For many years a Jewish community existed in Sarūj, and its name appears among the communities of northern *Babylonia and *Syria to which the head of the *Baghdad academy, *Samuel b. Ali, addressed an *iggeret* ("circular letter") in 1197. A letter from the middle of the 12th century gives the name of a Jewish merchant from Saruj who traveled to Sicily on business. Judah Al-Ḥarizi, who visited the town at the beginning of the 13th century, reported on his meeting with R. Eleazar ha-Bavli (Abū Manṣūr Ibn Abī Yāsir), a wealthy and hospitable philanthropist, and noted that the Jewish community was small (*Taḥkemoni*, ed. by A. Kaminka (1899), 367).

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[Eliyahu Ashtor / Leah Bornstein-Makovetsky (2nd ed.)]

SĀRŪM, ABRAHAM (1878–1942), communal worker in Jerusalem. Born in *Yemen, Sārūm emigrated to Palestine in 1893 and became head of the Yemenite community in Jerusalem. After the Yemenites left the Sephardi community in Jerusalem in 1907, he became secretary of the congregation's committee. From then until his death he devoted himself to the members of his community. In 1919 he was elected chairman of the community's committee in Jerusalem. He joined the *Mizrachi movement and was elected member of its central committee in 1919. He was a delegate to the first and second Asefat ha-Nivḥarim and a member of the Va'ad Le'ummi for many years. During the riots on Passover 1921, he was an active member of the Haganah. He was one of the initiators and heads of the Association of Yemenites in Palestine, established in 1924.

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[Yehuda Ratzaby]

SASA (Heb. סָאסָא), kibbutz in Upper Galilee, near the Israel-Lebanese border, 2,550 ft. (850 m.) above sea level, affiliated with Kibbutz Arẓi ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir. A Jewish village existed on the site at least from the Roman period, attested to by tomb caves typical of the time of the *amoraim and by remnants of a synagogue. Ancient Jewish travelers visited the traditional tombs of rabbis Sisi, Levi b. Sisi, and Yose b. Sisi at this place. A fortress stood on the site at the time of Ẓāhir al-Omar. In the *War of Independence, Israeli columns advancing from the west and east in Operation Hiram met near the village Sa'sa', which was then abandoned by its Arab inhabitants (Oct.–Nov. 1948). In 1949 a kibbutz was established there by pioneers from North America who were joined by Israeli-born and other members. Sasa developed hill farming methods after arduous land reclamation. Its deciduous fruit orchards and beef cattle were suited to the cool, rainy climate (40 in. annual average). In addition, it also had field crops, dairy cattle and poultry, and operated factories for plastics and chemicals as well as a guest house. In the mid-1990s the population was approximately 425, dropping to 371 in 2002.

WEBSITE: www.sasa.org.il.

[Efraim Orni]

SASKATCHEWAN, province in W. Canada; part of Canada's Northwest Territories until incorporated as a province in 1905.

Saskatchewan's first Jewish resident was Max Goldstein, a Russian-born tailor who opened a store in Fort Qu'Appelle in 1877. During the Second Riel Rebellion in 1885 he served as quartermaster. In 1882 a Jewish farm project, called New Jerusalem, was started in the Moosomin area, but adverse conditions forced the settlers to give up. Numerous Jews were among those who laid tracks for the Canadian Pacific Railroad in the early 1880s.

After 1888 farm colonies were started which survived several generations. Jewish farm colonies were sometimes utopian ventures directed from above, and sometimes independent initiatives. The first colony was established in 1888, near Wapella. In 1892 the Young Men's Hebrew and Benevolent Society, on behalf of the Jewish Colonization Association (ICA), established the colony of Hirsch (named after Baron De Hirsch) in southern Saskatchewan; its initial group consisted of 47 Russian Jewish families. The first Jews to settle in the Wapella area were John Heppner and Abraham Kleiman. By 1892 there were 20 Jewish families, and young men interested in farming came to Wapella for their training. Hirsch had the oldest Jewish cemetery in the province, and was the site of the province's first synagogue building. The town had public schools, but also a Hebrew school, a *shoḥet,* and a Jewish community structure. Forty Jewish families (a total of 100 people) founded Lipton in 1901 with the help of ICA. They were taught by nearby Indians and Metis how to erect log houses chinked with clay and roofed with sod. In Lipton, too, Jewish teachers were engaged and a cemetery laid out. Edenbridge, also helped in its founding (1906) by ICA, was so named by its settlers. The name was conceived as "Yidn-Bridge" (Jews' Bridge), after a bridge across the Carrot River. The first settlers were 56 Lithuanian Jews who had lived in South Africa. Louis Vickar responded to an advertisement of the Canadian government offering 160 acres of virgin land for ten dollars. Edenbridge also had an active Jewish community. In the Sonnenfeld colony, which was aided in its founding (1906) by ICA, the villages of Oungre and Hoffer sprang up, the latter named after Moses Hoffer, the father of two brothers who were among the founders of the Sonnenfeld colony.

As was the case with others who settled in the west, many Jews did not succeed at farming, and left for the larger Jewish communities of western Canada. In addition to personal hardships, the great drought of the 1930s and the trend to mechanization and urbanization hastened the decline of Jewish farming. Of every 100 gainfully employed Jewish men in Saskatchewan in 1936, 11 were farmers and five were farm laborers. While the great majority of Jewish farmers in Canada in previous years were in Saskatchewan, since World War II the ICA devoted most of its efforts in Canada to Ontario, particularly the Niagara peninsula. The Jewish farm colonies are now mostly alive in memory alone. The Canadian government has placed the beautiful Beth Israel synagogue at Edenbridge on its national register of historic sites.

Regina, the capital of the province, had nine Jews in 1891, but the true beginnings of the present community would have to wait about 20 years. By the time of the 1911 census there were 130 residents. That year a *shoḥet* was hired, and services were held in his home. Two years later the members of the community erected a synagogue, Beth Jacob, with the lieutenant-governor of the province laying the cornerstone. In 1914 a building was rented to serve as a *talmud torah,* and 10 years later a building was erected to house it. In 1926 a central budgeting structure was created, and the Regina Federated Community was established. In 1951 the Beth Jacob Congregation built a new synagogue, with a new annex added four years later to house the school and the community center under one roof. At its height in 1931 there were just over 1,000 Jews. By 1951 the number had fallen to 740 and the 2001 census enumerated 720 Jews in Regina. In 2006 there were two synagogues in Regina. In addition to Beth Jacob, with its Conservative-style service, there was the Reform Temple Beth Tikvah, established in 1990. Because of the relatively high rate of interfaith marriages, some members of the community took the initiative to build a burial ground where Jewish and non-Jewish partners could lie next to each other, separated by a fence deemed halakhically acceptable. It opened in the summer of 2005.

The first known settlers of Saskatoon were William and Fanny Landa, who arrived in 1907 with their two children. The first *minyan* was on Rosh ha-Shanah in 1908.The members of the congregation Agudas Israel built a synagogue in 1912 and a new one was erected in 1919. In 1958 a Jewish community center was built that also served as a house of worship. Saskatoon had a Jewish mayor, Sydney Buckwold, for several terms. Agudas Israel became a Conservative congregation, and in March, 2000 Congregation Shir Chadash, also Conservative, was established. In 1911 the census counted 77 Jews. Since 1931 the number has hovered around 700 Jews, with as many as 793 Jews in 1961. The census of 2001 enumerated 700 Jews exactly, making it roughly the same size as Regina's community.

In addition to the settlements in the farm colonies and in the large urban centers, Jews settled in many of the small towns of rural Saskatchewan in the interwar period. In their time, Jewish general stores, like Chinese cafes, were part of small-town Saskatchewan. In the 1931 census there was at least one Jew in almost 200 cities, towns, villages or hamlets in the province. Sometimes Jews constituted a remarkably high percentage of the total population. Thus, for 1931, the demographer Louis Rosenberg noted that the "urban centre with the largest percentage of Jews in its population is not Montreal, Toronto, or some larger Eastern city, but is the little village of Lipton in Saskatchewan, where the Jewish population of 53 formed 15.01 % of its total population."

In 2002, the Jewish community of Saskatchewan was unexpectedly thrust into the national spotlight. In December of that year, David Ahenakew, former president of both the Federation of Saskatchewan Indian Nations and the Chief of the Canada-wide Assembly of First Nations, gave an interview to the Saskatoon *StarPhoenix* where he explained that the Holocaust was a way of getting over a "disease" and that without the Holocaust "Jews would have owned the goddamned world." Ahenakew was arrested for willfully promoting hatred in June 2003, and was convicted in July 2005. Within days of the conviction, Ahenakew's membership in the prestigious Order of Canada was revoked. As a result of this incident, there have been the attempts to create and strengthen relations between Jews and First Nations groups. The leaders of the organizations that Ahenakew had once dominated were quick to denounce his remarks. In 2003 leaders from the Aboriginal community went to the Yom ha-Shoah ceremonies in Saskatoon and attended a Friday night dinner, and members of the Jewish community participated in ceremonies led by First Nations groups. Canadian Jewish organizations have organized missions to Israel for aboriginal leaders, and have been conducting ongoing meetings.

The Jewish population of Saskatchewan, although quite diverse because of the relatively large rural presence of its past, has never been very large. In 1911 the census counted some 2,060 Jews. At its peak in 1931, there were only 5,047 recorded, and the numbers have been declining ever since. In 1951 there were 3,017, and over the next 10 years the numbers fell to 2,710. The 2001 census enumerated 2,090 Jews in the province. Although this downward trend seemed relentless, it was hoped that an improving economy in the province would attract more Jews in the coming years.

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[Benjamin G. Kayfetz / Richard Menkis (2nd ed.)]

SASLAVSKY, LUIS SIMÓN (pseudonyms: **Simón Fourcade** and **Hugo Espinelli;** 1908–1995), Argentinean film director, author, and producer. Born in Rosario, Province of Santa Fé, Argentina, Saslavsky was drawn into the film world as a reporter for *La Nación* in Hollywood. He returned to Argentina and directed *Crimen a las tres* (1935), *La Fuga* (1937), and *Nace un Amor* (1938). He later sacrificed some of his intellectual quality to popular taste but continued to show some originality, as in *Historia de una Noche* (1941). Saslavsky was compelled to leave Argentina during the Perón government and lived in Europe for 15 years from 1948. He directed *Corona Negra* in Spain in 1951 and other films in both Spain and France, including *Les Louves* (1957) and *Première mai* (1958). Returning to Argentina, he produced *Las Ratas* and *Placeres conyugales* (1963), *La industria del matrimonio* (1964), *Vení conmigo* (1972), and *El Fausto criollo* (1979).

SASOV (Pol. **Sasów**), town in Lvov district, Ukraine; within Poland until 1772, under Austrian rule until 1919, reverted to Poland until 1945. Founded in 1615, the town was granted autonomy by King Sigismund III, who also bestowed many privileges on its merchants and instituted market days. In 1726 the Jews of Sasov were granted a privilege by the owner of the town, Jacob Sobieski, son of King John III Sobieski. Accordingly all Jewish communal institutions were exempted from taxes, Jews were permitted to trade without hindrance and to deal in alcoholic liquor, and the amount of taxes the Jews had to pay was made equal to that paid by the other townsmen. In 1764 there were 223 Jews living in Sasov. Sasov was celebrated among Ḥasidim as the residence of *Moses Leib of Sasov, also called Moses Leib of Brody (d. 1807). The community numbered 1,906 (58% of the total population) in 1880; 1,761 (52.1% of the total) in 1912; and 1,096 (35.4%) in 1921. Jews were occupied mainly with making candles and ornamental strips (*atarot*) for prayer-shawls, for the production of which Sasov was a world center. After World War I the Jews of Sasov suffered from unemployment. Their economic position deteriorated at the end of the 1920s and the beginning of the 1930s. Many starved and had to be helped by Jewish relief societies: Jewish communal life also suffered because of the poverty.

[Shimshon Leib Kirshenboim]

Holocaust Period

Before the outbreak of World War II there were about 1,500 Jews in Sasov. On Sept. 17, 1939, the Red Army entered the city, which was administered by Soviet authorities until the German-Soviet war. The Germans occupied the town on July 2, 1941; during the first two weeks they killed 22 leaders on the pretext of their being communists. Three *Aktionen* took place, the largest on July 15, 1942, when the Jews were deported to *Belzec death camp. The remaining 400 Jews were deported on Nov. 25, 1942, to *Zloczow (Zolochev) and shared the fate of that community. A forced-labor camp, established in March 1942, was liquidated in July 1943, when all its inmates were shot in the nearby woods. After the war the Jewish community of Sasov was not reconstituted.

SASPORTAS, JACOB (c. 1610–1698), rabbi, a fierce opponent of the Shabbatean movement. He was born and educated in Oran (North Africa) and became widely known for his talmudic erudition. After his appointment as rabbi of the Tlemçen community the neighboring communities also recognized his authority. However, when he was 37 years old he was dismissed by the government; he then proceeded to wander throughout Europe, visiting many communities in Germany, Italy, and England (he was offered the position of *haham* of the Sephardi community in London in 1664 but left the next year because of the plague). His main ambition was the rabbinate of Amsterdam, but he did not achieve it until 1693, when he was 83 years old. Personal bitterness deriving from his lack of a congregation which could serve as a base for his activities colored his attitude in many disputes. He was a staunch defender of the rabbinate and the traditional *halakhah* and throughout his life was involved in polemical disputes. Many of his responsa were collected in the book *Ohel Ya'akov* (Amsterdam, 1737), published by his son, Abraham.

Sasportas was largely known, however, for his collection of letters, *Ẓiẓat Novel Ẓevi*, comprising his answers to various Shabbatean letters and pamphlets, as well as the original pamphlets themselves. The work therefore became one of the main sources for the study of the Shabbatean movement during the lifetime of *Shabbetai Ẓevi. At the time of the dispute Sasportas lived in Hamburg, so that most of the material in his collection is mainly concerned with Western Europe and Italy, but he had some success in his efforts to obtain material from the East as well.

Arranged in chronological order, the work covers the years 1666–76. In the main it consists of letters received by Sasportas, his answers to them, some letters which he wrote on his own initiative, and some comments on the development of the Shabbatean movement. Nearly half of it concerns the year 1666, from the first announcements of the appearance of Shabbetai Ẓevi as Messiah until his conversion to Islam at the end of that year. The second part is dedicated to the events following the conversion, 1667–68, and describes the "failure" of the Shabbatean movement. The third part consists of letters written in 1668–69, and is mostly directed against the renewed Shabbatean propaganda, which tried to explain the conversion of the Messiah and to introduce new norms of behavior suitable for the period of messianic fulfillment. The last four pages deal with the period from 1673 to 1676, sketching some of the main events of these years.

Sasportas' bitter denunciation of the Shabbatean movement, its prophet *Nathan of Gaza, and its believers (some of whom were his former friends), is based upon various ideological concepts. First was his adherence to the traditional conception of the messianic age; in great detail he pointed out the differences between what was happening at that time and the traditional ideas concerning the messianic era. He also saw the new movement as a revolution against established institutions and rabbinic norms, fearing that they might be set aside through the influence of Nathan of Gaza and other Shabbatean thinkers who laid claim to the faith of the populace without any appeal to rabbinic tradition. His hatred was also based on his not unfounded suspicion that the new movement contained antinomian elements, revealed in some utterances of Nathan, in the "strange deeds" of Shabbetai Ẓevi, and in the behavior of their followers. He frequently compared the new movement with Christianity and feared that the Shabbateans would follow the ancient example.

Sasportas' book is the fiercest attack upon Shabbateanism written during the early years of the movement. However, I. *Tishby and R. Shatz have proved that the published work does not reflect his attitude during the period before Shabbetai Ẓevi's apostasy. By comparing Sasportas' original copies with the version prepared for publication, they demonstrated that in many instances he falsified his own letters, changing phrases and adding passages to show that his opposition was far more thorough and resolute from the beginning than it really was, and he glossed over his own hesitation and half-belief in Shabbetai Ẓevi during the months in which the movement reached its peak. The full version of *Ẓiẓat Novel Ẓevi* was first published by I. Tishby from the only complete manuscript in 1954. For a long time, however, it was known only in the shortened version (*Kiẓẓur Ẓiẓat Novel Ẓevi*) printed in Amsterdam in 1737, by Jacob Emden in Altona in 1757, and lastly in Odessa in 1867.

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[Joseph Dan]

SASSO, SANDY EISENBERG (1947–), Reconstructionist rabbi and author. Sasso was born and raised in Melrose Park, Penn., a suburb of Philadelphia. She received bachelors' and masters' degrees from Temple University and attended the Reconstructionist Rabbinical College (RRC) in that city. In 1974 Sasso became the first woman to graduate from RRC and the second woman rabbi in the United States. She and her fellow rabbinical student, Dennis Sasso, married in 1970, becoming the first rabbinic couple in history.

From 1974 to 1977, Sasso served as rabbi of the Manhattan Reconstructionist Havurah in New York. In 1977 Sandy and Dennis Sasso jointly accepted positions as rabbis of Congregation Beth-El Zedeck in Indianapolis, a congregation with joint Conservative and Reconstructionist affiliation. She continued in that post in 2005. In 1996, Sasso received a Doctor of Ministry degree from Christian Theological Seminary in Indianapolis. She and her husband were the first rabbinic couple to serve a congregation affiliated with the Conservative movement, and she was the first rabbi to become a mother.

Sasso undertook local and national leadership of Jewish, interfaith, and community organizations. She served as president of the Indianapolis Board of Rabbis, the Reconstructionist Rabbinical Association (1989–91), and the Gleaners Food Bank. She lectured in religion and Judaism at Butler University and Christian Theological Seminary in Indianapolis.

As one of the first female rabbis, she explored the roles of women in Judaism and the rabbinate and offered new perspectives on lifecycle events. Her "B'rit B'not Yisrael" (Covenant for the Daughters of Israel), co-authored with her husband, Dennis Sasso, was among the first of new ceremonies for infant girls paralleling the *brit milah* (circumcision) ceremony for boys. Sasso wrote liturgical poetry on the life cycle and spoke widely on women in the rabbinate and gendered language in prayer.

In writings for both parents and children, Sasso offered liberal approaches to theology and Judaism, drawing on tradition and midrash. She authored a series of award-winning children's books on religious and spiritual themes, including *God's Paintbrush* (1992); *In God's Name* (1994); *But God Remembered: Stories of Women from Creation to the Promised Land* (1995); and *Butterflies under Our Hats* (2006).

She received the 2004 Helen Keating Ott Award for Outstanding Contribution to Children's Literature and the 2005 Sugarman Family Award for Jewish Children's Literature. She co-authored, with Rabbi Jeffery Schein, *Kol Hano'ar* (Voice of the Children; 2005), the Reconstructionist movement's first children's prayer book.

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[Robert P. Tabak (2nd ed.)]

SASSON, AARON BEN JOSEPH (1550/5–1626), rabbinic scholar in the *Ottoman Empire. Aaron was educated in *Salonika, where he lived until 1600, and died in Constantinople. He was a pupil of Mordecai Matalon and a pupil and colleague of his father-in-law, Solomon II of the *Levi (Bet ha-Levi) dynasty. Aaron had charge of a yeshivah and disseminated Torah in Salonika and then in Constantinople. The circumstances under which he left Salonika with all his family are not clear, but seem to have been connected with the death of Solomon II and the subsequent struggle that year to succeed him in the Evora community and its yeshivah. Aaron was active in teaching and the giving of halakhic rulings from c. 1585 until his death. Queries were addressed to him from many, often distant, places. His responsa, which he had already prepared for publication, were published in part after his death and show his keen mind and dialectical ability. He was a distinguished talmudist and halakhic authority. From the very beginning of his activity as a *posek*, the greatest *posekim* of Salonika turned to him for confirmation of their rulings. Aaron bases his rulings upon contemporary scholars – Joseph ibn *Lev, Samuel de *Medina, and Solomon ha-Kohen – and debates sharply with early scholars as well as with the great scholars who closely preceded him, such as Elijah *Mizraḥi, Joseph *Colon, and Joseph Caro. He was sometimes attacked for his attitude toward other scholars.

Aaron seems to have been even more important as a teacher than as a halakhic authority. He educated many students, many of whom were among the greatest scholars of the

Ottoman Empire in the first half of the 17th century, such as *Ḥayyim (b.) Shabbetai, Ḥayyim *Alfandari, Mordecai Kalai, and Shabbetai Jonah. His novellae on the Talmud (on *Ketubbot, Yevamot, Bava Kamma, Bava Meẓia*, and other isolated subjects), which remain in manuscript, mirror the learning in his yeshivah. He bases himself greatly upon the words of Joseph ibn Lev, debating them by use of *pilpul* and explaining at length the *Tosafot Gornish*. In addition he wrote a work on Jacob b. Asher's *Arba'ah Turim* and on Maimonides' *Mishneh Torah*, as well as a short work on the laws of *agunah* and other topics.

Aaron was connected by marriage with the families of the greatest scholars of Salonika. His sister was married to David ibn *Naḥmias, and his son was the brother-in-law of Meir b. Abraham di *Boton. His family was generally on close terms with the Levi dynasty, and after his departure from Salonika, a correspondence ensued between the two families, part of which has been preserved. Aaron's son Joseph saw to the publication of his father's responsa *Torat Emet* (Venice, 1626) and served as rabbi in Venice. Joseph and Aaron's grandson Aaron b. Isaac (b. 1629) were renowned talmudists (see, e.g., the responsa of Joseph of Trani, EH no. 22; the responsa *Penei Moshe*, pt. 2, no. 105). A well-known *dayyan* named JOSEPH B. MOSES SASSON of Salonika, who was active from 1580 to 1600, appears to have been a member of the same family (see the responsa of Samuel de Medina, EH no. 165; *Torat Emet* no. 2).

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[Joseph Hacker]

SASSON, ELIYAHU (1902–1978), Israeli diplomat and expert on Arab affairs. Sasson was born in *Damascus, where, at the age of 18, he was the only Jewish member of the Arab Syrian National Committee and publicly greeted Feisal, the short-tenured king of *Syria, on behalf of the Damascus Jewish community. On Feisal's personal initiative he edited for several months an Arab-language Jewish newspaper to foster understanding between the Jewish and the Arab peoples in the spirit of the *Weizmann-Feisal agreement. In 1920, after Feisal's ousting from Syria by the French, Sasson settled in Palestine and soon became a recognized expert on Arab affairs, at first in various newspapers and later for the Zionist Executive, where he served from 1930 as head of its Arab department. On the Executive's behalf he maintained for years contacts with Arab leaders and traveled widely throughout the Middle East. During World War II he was instrumental in spreading British anti-Nazi propaganda in the Arab countries, and in 1948 he directed the Arab broadcasts of the clandestine *Haganah radio station. On behalf of the nascent Israeli government he negotiated with King Abdullah of Transjordan and corresponded with the secretary general of the Arab League, Azzam Pasha, and other Arab leaders. After World War II he was a member of most Zionist and Israeli delegations which negotiated the political future of Palestine or Israel-Arab relations: in 1946 in London, in 1947–48 at the United Nations, in 1949 in the armistice talks with the Arab governments in Rhodes and at the abortive peace talks at Lausanne. In 1949 he headed Israel's office in Paris which maintained unpublicized contacts with the Arabs. From 1950 to 1952 he was Israeli minister to *Turkey; afterward minister (and from 1957, ambassador) in Rome until 1960. While serving in 1961 as ambassador in Berne, Switzerland, he was recalled to become a member of the Israeli government as minister of posts, becoming minister of police in 1966 (until 1969). Sasson published many articles and political reminiscences in the Hebrew and Arab-language press in Israel, and remained a staunch supporter of the idea that an Israel-Arab understanding is feasible and the enmity between Jews and Arabs a transient phenomenon.

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[Benjamin Jaffe]

SASSOON, family of Jewish merchants, philanthropists, and men of letters, originally from *Baghdad; its members rose to great influence and affluence first in India and then in England and China. The founder of the family was SHEIKH SASSOON B. SĀLAḤ (1750–1830), who was the president (*nasi*) of the Jewish community in Baghdad for almost 40 years and chief treasurer of the Ottoman pashas of Baghdad. Through the building of textile mills and factories in Bombay on a large scale, the Sassoons exerted tremendous power in the commercial arena, and the wide ramifications of their activities earned them the reputation of the merchant-princes of the Orient, "the Rothschilds of the East." His son DAVID S. SASSOON (1792–1864), who had taken on the commercial activities of the family, escaped from the oppression and tyranny of Pasha Daud and fled in 1828 to *Bushire on the Persian Gulf, where he was joined by his father, who died there. David S. Sassoon moved with his large family in 1832 to *Bombay, where he established a business which assumed international scope. The philanthropic activities of David Sassoon and his eight sons greatly benefited Bombay as a whole, and the Jewish community in particular. In 1861 he built in Byculla, Bombay, the synagogue Magen David, and some of the most important cultural and civic institutions, including hospitals, orphanages, libraries, museums, schools, and charitable communal organizations owe their existence to Sassoon's munificence and generosity. David Sassoon was instrumental in publishing the Judeo-Arabic newspaper *Doresh Tov le-Ammo* (1855–66) and supported scholars and scholarly publications. In Poona, where he had his summer residence, he built the David S. Sassoon Hospital, noteworthy for its nonsectarian character, an infirmary and leper asylum, and in 1863 the synagogue Ohel David, whose 90-foot spire is a Poona landmark. His mausoleum, on which there is a long Hebrew inscription in both prose and poetry, is situated in the courtyard of the synagogue. His eldest son,

SASSOON FAMILY

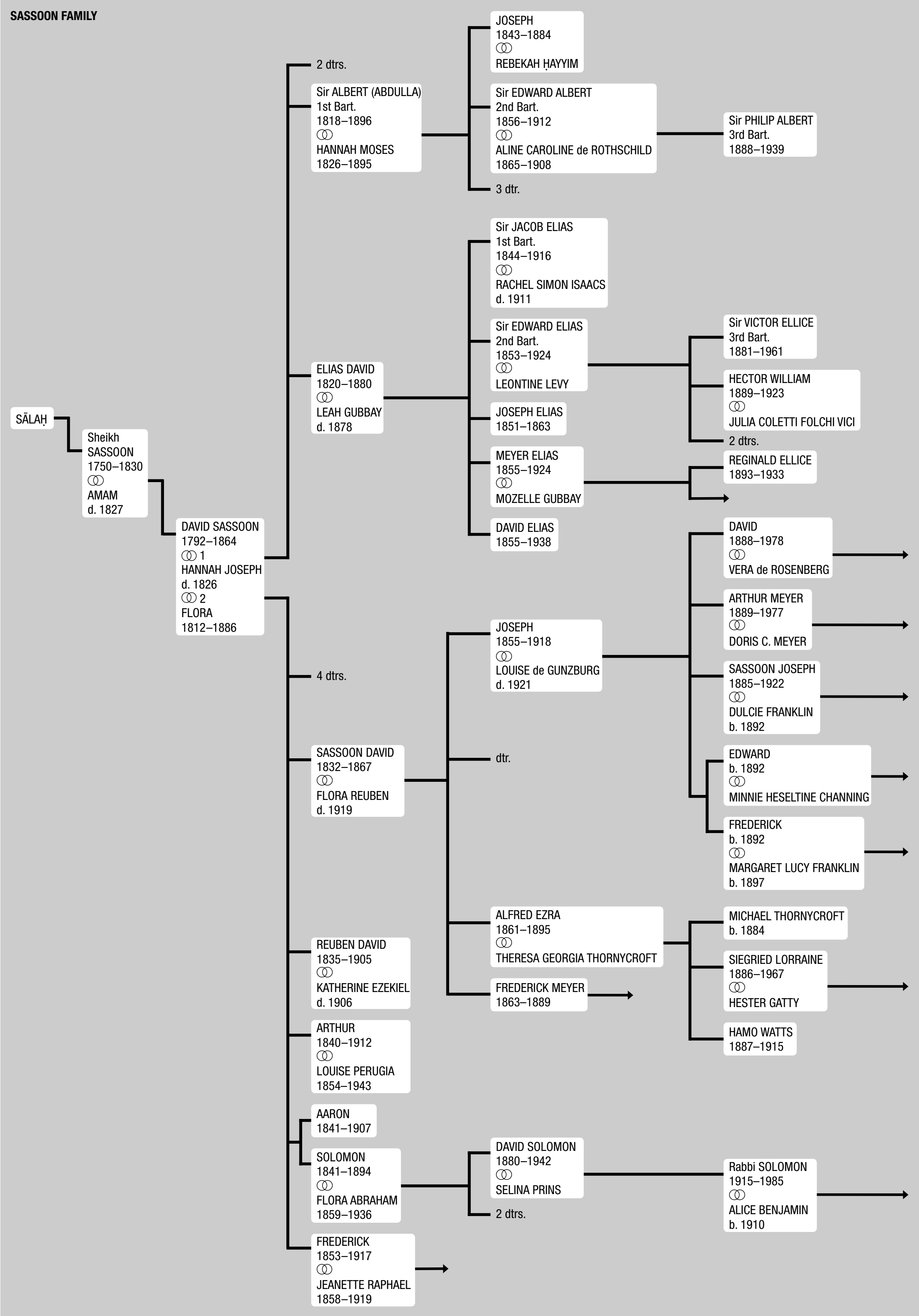
SĀLAḤ
Sheikh SASSOON 1750–1830 ⚭ AMAM d. 1827
DAVID SASSOON 1792–1864 ⚭ 1 HANNAH JOSEPH d. 1826 ⚭ 2 FLORA 1812–1886
2 dtrs.
Sir ALBERT (ABDULLA) 1st Bart. 1818–1896 ⚭ HANNAH MOSES 1826–1895
JOSEPH 1843–1884 ⚭ REBEKAH ḤAYYIM
Sir EDWARD ALBERT 2nd Bart. 1856–1912 ⚭ ALINE CAROLINE de ROTHSCHILD 1865–1908
Sir PHILIP ALBERT 3rd Bart. 1888–1939
3 dtr.
ELIAS DAVID 1820–1880 ⚭ LEAH GUBBAY d. 1878
Sir JACOB ELIAS 1st Bart. 1844–1916 ⚭ RACHEL SIMON ISAACS d. 1911
Sir EDWARD ELIAS 2nd Bart. 1853–1924 ⚭ LEONTINE LEVY
Sir VICTOR ELLICE 3rd Bart. 1881–1961
HECTOR WILLIAM 1889–1923 ⚭ JULIA COLETTI FOLCHI VICI
2 dtrs.
JOSEPH ELIAS 1851–1863
MEYER ELIAS 1855–1924 ⚭ MOZELLE GUBBAY
REGINALD ELLICE 1893–1933
DAVID ELIAS 1855–1938
4 dtrs.
SASSOON DAVID 1832–1867 ⚭ FLORA REUBEN d. 1919
JOSEPH 1855–1918 ⚭ LOUISE de GUNZBURG d. 1921
DAVID 1888–1978 ⚭ VERA de ROSENBERG
ARTHUR MEYER 1889–1977 ⚭ DORIS C. MEYER
SASSOON JOSEPH 1885–1922 ⚭ DULCIE FRANKLIN b. 1892
EDWARD b. 1892 ⚭ MINNIE HESELTINE CHANNING
FREDERICK b. 1892 ⚭ MARGARET LUCY FRANKLIN b. 1897
dtr.
ALFRED EZRA 1861–1895 ⚭ THERESA GEORGIA THORNYCROFT
MICHAEL THORNYCROFT b. 1884
SIEGRIED LORRAINE 1886–1967 ⚭ HESTER GATTY
HAMO WATTS 1887–1915
FREDERICK MEYER 1863–1889
REUBEN DAVID 1835–1905 ⚭ KATHERINE EZEKIEL d. 1906
ARTHUR 1840–1912 ⚭ LOUISE PERUGIA 1854–1943
AARON 1841–1907
SOLOMON 1841–1894 ⚭ FLORA ABRAHAM 1859–1936
DAVID SOLOMON 1880–1942 ⚭ SELINA PRINS
Rabbi SOLOMON 1915–1985 ⚭ ALICE BENJAMIN b. 1910
2 dtrs.
FREDERICK 1853–1917 ⚭ JEANETTE RAPHAEL 1858–1919

SIR ABDULLA (later Albert) SASSOON (1818–1896), was similarly prominent in commerce and philanthropy in Bombay. He established one of the first large-scale textile mills in Bombay, thus extending his father's business to include industry as well as trade. In 1872–75 he constructed the first wharf on the west coast of India, the Sassoon Docks in Kolaba, which employed thousands of local workers and stimulated the Bombay government to build the larger Prince's Dock. In addition to providing the initiative for establishing Bombay as a modern port city, he contributed a new building to the Elphinstone High School, maintained a Jewish school, the David Sassoon Benevolent Institution, and supplied university scholarships. In the mid-1870s Albert settled in London, where the family's business interests were increasingly centered. In recognition of his role in the industrialization of India, he was made a baronet in 1890 and was on terms of personal friendship with the Prince of Wales, later Edward VII. But it was Albert's brothers (by David's second wife), REUBEN D. SASSOON (1835–1905) and ARTHUR SASSOON (1840–1912), who became particularly prominent in the court circle of Edward VII. Reuben, little concerned with the family's business, was a favorite traveling companion of the Prince of Wales. Arthur, a man of learning who spoke Hebrew and knew the Bible well, was a highly praised host during the late Victorian and Edwardian age. His home in Brighton was the scene of lavish entertainments, at which Edward VII was a frequent guest. Participating neither in the firm nor in society was AARON SASSOON (1841–1907), whose life remains obscure. He left most of his fortune to be distributed to the poor, wherever David Sassoon and Company did business. Aaron's twin brother, SOLOMON SASSOON (1841–1894), who remained in the Orient, was at an early age put in charge of the business interests in Shanghai and Hong Kong. The most capable businessman, after Albert, of all the brothers in the family enterprise, he controlled the company from 1877 to 1894. Solomon was a Hebraist and student of the Talmud, but his wife FLORA SASSOON (1859–1936), a great-granddaughter of the original David Sassoon, actually achieved renown as a Hebrew scholar and was often consulted on questions of Jewish law. After her husband's death, Flora managed the firm in Bombay for some years and in 1901 settled in England, where she entertained scholars and public men in a grand style. Strictly Orthodox in her observance of Judaism, she included a *shoḥet* and a *minyan* in her entourage when traveling. In 1924, at Jews' College, London, she delivered a learned discourse on the Talmud, and in 1930 she published an essay on Rashi in the *Jewish Forum*. Solomon and Flora's son DAVID SOLOMON SASSOON (1880–1942), who continued their interest in things Jewish, became an outstanding Hebraist and bibliophile. His important collection of over 1,000 Hebrew and Samaritan manuscripts, including the Farḥi Bible, written in 14th-century Provence, was cataloged in *Ohel Dawid* (2 vols., 1932). His independent publications included his pioneer edition of *Samuel ha-Nagid's *diwan* from a manuscript in his own collection (1934) and his *History of the Jews of Baghdad* (1949).

SOLOMON DAVID SASSOON (1915–1985), son of David Solomon and Selina Sassoon, was ordained as a rabbi in 1936. He lived in Letchworth outside London until 1970, when he settled in Jerusalem. He inherited his father's valuable collection of Hebrew manuscripts and increased the total collection to 1,350 items. He retained his father's scholarly tastes and published *Moshav Zekenim* (1959), a commentary of the tosafists on the Pentateuch from a manuscript in his collection; *Abraham b. Maimon's commentary on Genesis and Exodus, from a Bodleian manuscript (1965); and an elegant facsimile edition of the Mishnah commentary of Maimonides (3 vols., 1956–66), with an introduction, from manuscripts in his collection and in Oxford, which are claimed to be autographs of Maimonides. He wrote *a Critical Study of Electrical Stunning and the Jewish Method of Slaughter* (1955) and *The Spiritual Heritage of the Sephardim* (1957).

Of the original eight brothers, SASSOON DAVID SASSOON (1832–1867), the third eldest and the first to settle in England, was perhaps most active in Jewish communal life in England. In addition to advancing the company's interests there, he was warden of his synagogue, member of the council of the Jews' College, and examiner in Hebrew at the Jews' Free School. His daughter, RACHEL SASSOON *BEER (1858–1927), was the editor of the *Sunday Observer* and the *Sunday Times*. On the death of the paterfamilias David Sassoon, Albert assumed the leadership of the company. ELIAS DAVID SASSOON (1820–1880), disliking his subordinate position, left the family business and founded in 1867 a separate and rival firm, E.D. Sassoon and Company. With interests in the Orient, Africa, Europe, and America, the new company prospered even more than the original one. Elias, following the policy of his father, provided his numerous Jewish employees with schools and synagogues even in the company's remotest outposts. His son, Sir JACOB ELIAS SASSOON (1844–1916), expanded his father's business enterprise in India by building a large textile company, which comprised six mills and the country's first dye works. The company was instrumental in developing the cotton textile industry in western India, and in the peak year of 1916 the Jacob Sassoon Mill, India's largest, employed 15,000 workers. In Bombay his philanthropic activities included building the Central College of Science, a general hospital, and the Keneseth Eliyahu synagogue. SIR EDWARD ALBERT SASSOON (1856–1912), the son of Albert Sassoon, married Aline Caroline de Rothschild. Edward Albert was the first Sassoon to choose politics as his profession. In 1899 he was elected to parliament as a member of the Conservative Party, and held this seat until his death. His son, Sir PHILIP SASSOON (1888–1939), won a seat in parliament as a Conservative in 1912 and remained a member until his death. During World War I he served as military secretary to Field Marshal Douglas Haig, commander in chief of the British armies in France. Although privately horrified by the war, he publicly denounced the pacifistic sentiments of his relative, the poet Siegfried Lorraine *Sassoon. From 1924 to 1929, and from 1931 to 1937, Philip was undersecretary of state for air, in which capacity he expressed his love of aviation and his belief in the importance of air power. In *The Third Route* (1929), he related the story of his 17,000-mile flying tour of British overseas air stations. Philip was also a connoisseur of art of high repute, in recognition of which he was appointed trustee of the National Gallery, the Wallace Collection, and the Tate Gallery, and he was able to display his taste in his last public office as first commissioner (minister) of works, responsible for royal palaces, parks, and ancient monuments. His sister, SYBIL (1894–1989), married Lord Rocksavage, later Marquess of Cholmondeley, alternate hereditary Lord Great Chamberlain. She was a celebrated hostess and deputy director of the Women's Royal Naval Service in World War II. The last important businessman of the dynasty was SIR VICTOR (ELLICE) SASSOON (1881–1961), the son of Sir Edward Elias and Leontine Sassoon. Like his forebears, he contributed to the development of industry in India and served as a leader of British Indian Jewry. Victor Sassoon was an air enthusiast and served during World War I in the Royal Naval Air Service, sustaining permanent injuries from a flying accident. He was a member of the Indian Legislative Assembly in 1922–23 and from 1926 to 1929, and after 1933 worked strenuously to help refugees fleeing from Nazism. In 1931 he transferred the headquarters of the E.D. Sassoon Banking Company to Shanghai. After the interests of the company were overtaken by successive Japanese and Chinese Communist occupations, Sir Victor moved to the Bahamas in 1948 and built up new mercantile, banking, and property interests. A famous racehorse owner, he won the Derby four times. Another successful relative of the Sassoons was SIR SASSOON JACOB DAVID (1849–1926), cotton merchant and chairman of the Bank of India, who was the grandson of Elias David Sassoon. Sir Sassoon's son, SIR PERCIVAL DAVID (1892–1964), was probably the foremost collector of Chinese art of his time and the founder of the Percival David Foundation of Chinese Art, the leading British museum of its kind, in Bloomsbury, London. A noted scholar of the subject, he did much to popularize Chinese art in the West. The Sassoon family was one of the most remarkable examples of upward social mobility in British history. Wearing Oriental dress in Baghdad until the mid-19th century, and not resident in Britain until about 1870, by the Edwardian period they had become baronets, associates of royalty, and Conservative M.P.s in Kent.

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[Walter Joseph Fischel]

SASSOON, SIR EZEKIEL (1860–1932), Iraqi Jewish statesman; born in Baghdad and died in Paris. Sassoon studied in London secondary schools and was a law student in *Vienna. He served as a member of the Ottoman House of Representatives from 1909 to 1918 and as minister of finance in five independent Iraqi governments (1921–25). From 1925 he was elected to several terms in the Iraqi House of Representatives as a delegate of the Jewish community in Baghdad.

[Hayyim J. Cohen]

SASSOON, SIEGFRIED LORRAINE (1886–1967), English poet and novelist. The son of Alfred Ezra Sassoon, of the famous *Sassoon family, and his wife, the daughter of Thomas Thorneycroft, a prominent gentile sculptor, Siegfried Sassoon was educated at Marlborough and Cambridge. He published some poetry for private circulation in 1906–12. He served as an infantry officer throughout World War I, was awarded the Military Cross, and was twice wounded. It was in the hospital in 1917 that he first met the poet Wilfred Owen, an aspect of whose style he helped to revolutionize in the last phase of the younger man's life. After Owen's tragic death at the very end of World War I, Sassoon did much to popularize his work. Sassoon's own book of antiwar poems, *The Old Huntsman*, appeared in 1917. Others followed in quick succession: *Counter-Attack* in 1918 and *War Poems* and *Picture Show* in 1919. His attitude to World War II was to be a less pacifist one. After World War I he flirted with socialism, becoming literary editor of the Labour *Daily Herald* for a brief period in 1919. Sassoon's two most important prose works were the semi-autobiographical novels, *Memoirs of a Fox-Hunting Man* (1928) and *Memoirs of an Infantry Officer* (1930). These, which form part of the trilogy, *The Complete Memoirs of George Sherston* (1936), are written in a more urbane and reflective vein than his poetry. Though it uses approximately traditional forms, Sassoon's verse is filled with a direct, idiomatic language brutally descriptive of the horrors of war and the complacency of civilians. His other writings include *Siegfried's Journey (1916–20)* (1945), a biography, *Meredith* (1948), and *Collected Poems* (1961).

In *The Old Huntsman* Sassoon had written: "Religion beats me. I'm amazed at folk/Drinking the gospels in and never scratching/Their heads for questions…." His ties with Judaism were certainly negligible; raised as an Anglican, he became a convert to Roman Catholicism in 1957. Sassoon's *Diaries*, edited by Rupert Hart-Davis, were published in three volumes in 1983–85.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: G. Keynes, *Bibliography of Siegfried Sassoon* (1962); M. Thorpe, *Siegfried Sassoon, a Critical Study* (1966). **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** ODNB online.

[Jon Silkin]

SASSOON, VIDAL (1928–), British hairdresser and anti-defamation philanthropist. No relation to the famous and wealthy British family of the same name, Vidal Sassoon was born to poverty in London's East End, where he fought Fascist thugs in the street and spent much of his childhood in an orphanage. At 14 he was apprenticed to a Jewish barber in the East End and, after World War II, became one of the leading hairdressers to London's Society ladies in the West End. His innovative hair styling made him famous, and he has been called "the father of modern hairdressing." Sassoon founded a highly successful international chain of hairdressers and hair care products. He fought for Israel in the 1948 War of Independence and, in 1962, founded the Vidal Sassoon International Center for the Study of Antisemitism at The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, which is internationally known for funding research about and monitoring antisemitic activities.

[William D. Rubinstein (2nd ed.)]

SATAN (Heb. שָׂטָן). In the Bible, except perhaps for I Chronicles 21:1 (see below), Satan is not a proper name referring to a particular being and a demoniac one who is the antagonist or rival of God. In its original application, in fact, it is a common noun meaning an adversary who opposes and obstructs. It is applied to human adversaries in I Samuel 29:4; II Samuel 19:23; I Kings 5:18; 11:14, 23, 25, and its related verb is used of prosecution in a law court (Ps. 109:6) and the role of an antagonist in general (Ps. 38:20[21]; 109:4, 20, 29). The angel who was sent to obstruct Balaam (Num. 22:32) was evidently chosen ad hoc, as a satan (*le-saṭan*), and perhaps the consonants *lsṭn* are rather to be read as the infinitive *lisṭon*, "to oppose or obstruct." There is nothing here to indicate that שִׂטְנָה (*siṭnah*) was the permanent function of a particular angel. "The Satan" as the standing appellation of a particular angel first appears around 520 B.C.E. in Zechariah 3 and then in *Job 1–2. In I Chronicles 21:1, which has already been referred to, the article is disposed with, and "Satan" seems to be a real proper name. In Zechariah 3, the Satan acts as prosecutor in the celestial court; in Job 1–2, he questions Job's integrity in the latter's absence and suggests to the Lord that it be tested. He is clearly subordinate to God, a member of His suite (Heb. *bene ha-e'lohim*), who is unable to act without His permission. Nowhere is he in any sense a rival of God. In I Chronicles 21:1, in which Satan is said to have incited David to take a census of Israel which resulted in the death of 70,000 Israelites (21:14), he has obviously been secondarily substituted because of doctrinal consideration for "the Lord," who plays this part.

Post-Biblical

Satan is not prominent in the Apocrypha and Apocalypses, and, where mentioned, he is barely personalized but merely represents the forces of anti-God and of evil. Thus the Martyrdom of Isaiah (2:2) states that "Manasseh forsook the service of the God of his fathers and he served Satan and his angels and his powers." In the Testament of Gad (4:7) the warning is given that "the spirit of hatred worketh together with Satan through hastiness of spirit." Dan is told to "beware of Satan and his spirits" (6:1; cf. also 3:6 and 5:6; for other references see I En. 54:6; Assumption of Moses 10:1). The legend in the Talmud and Midrash that it was Satan who challenged God to put Abraham to the test of the *Akedah* (i.e., the sacrifice of Isaac; see below) appears in Jubilees (17:16) where, however, he is called *Mastema.

References in the tannaitic literature are even more sparse, and, with few exceptions, Satan similarly appears merely as the impersonal force of evil. Thus Tosefta *Shabbat* 17 (18):3 states: "If you see a wicked man setting out on a journey and you wish to go by the same route, anticipate your journey by three days or postpone it for three days, because Satan accompanies the wicked man." The same trend is seen in the injunction "Open not your mouth to Satan" (Ber. 9a; see later), which, though given in the name of an *amora*, is stated "also to have been taught in the name of R. Yose." R. Johanan's statement of Satan persuading God about the *Akedah* is also given in the name of a *tanna*, Yose b. Zimra. The *Sifrei* (to Deut. 218), making the rebellious son the inevitable consequence of the father succumbing to the beauty of a female captive mentioned in the previous passage, declares: "the father of this one lusted after a beautiful woman (captive) and thus brought Satan into his house." R. Joshua states that the verse "the earth is given into the hands of the wicked" (Job 9:24) refers to Satan (BB 16a). The only personification of Satan found in tannaitic literature is the story of R. Meir spending three days to bring about a reconciliation between two inveterate quarrelers, upon which Satan complained, "He has drawn me out of my home" (Git. 52a). Similarly, R. Akiva was tempted by Satan in the form of a woman, but Satan relented.

In the New Testament Satan emerges as the very personification of the spirit of evil, as an independent personality, the Antichrist. He is the author of all evil (Luke 10:19). In Revelation 12:9 there is the fullest description of him: "that old serpent called the devil and Satan which deceived the whole world. He was cast into the earth and his angels were cast out with him." He is the personal tempter of Jesus (Matt. 4), and it is this New Testament conception of Satan which has entered into popular lore. The Jews who would not accept Jesus are referred to as "the synagogue of Satan" (Rev. 2:9, 3:9).

During the amoraic period, however, Satan became much more prominent in the Talmud and Midrash. An interesting example of the development of the idea of Satan in amoraic times can be seen by a comparison between the *Sifrei* and the Midrash. The former, in its comment to Numbers 25:1, says "wherever 'dwellings' is mentioned Satan leaps in!" He is frequently referred to as *Samael, but the references which follow refer to the actual name Satan. He appears sometimes in the same impersonal guise as in the Apocrypha and among the *tannaim*. He is identified with the *yeẓer ha-ra* (the evil inclination in general) and with the angel of death (BB 16a), but in addition he emerges more and more as a distinct identity. The Satan of Job who challenges God to put Job to the test of suffering is made to play the same role with Abraham. He accuses Abraham that despite the boon of being granted a son in his old age, Abraham did not "have one turtle-dove or pigeon to sacrifice before this," and Abraham is ordered to sacrifice Isaac to prove his obedience to God (Sanh. 89b). In this connection an almost sympathetic view is taken of

Satan. His purpose in challenging Job's piety is for a worthy purpose: that God should not forget the greater loyalty of Abraham (BB 16a).

Although he appears as the tempter, he is much more to the fore as the accuser, and the phrase *Satan mekatreg* ("Satan the accuser"; Gen. R. 38:7; TJ, Ber. 1:1, Shab. 2:6) occurs with great frequency. The well-known phrase "open not thy mouth to Satan" is significant in this respect in its context. The Talmud states that when his dead lies before him a mourner should justify the divine judgment by saying: "Sovereign of the Universe, I have sinned before Thee and Thou hast not punished me a thousandth part." To this the objection was raised that he should not say so, since he thereby "gives an opening to Satan" (cf. *Rema*, YD 376:2).

Satan was responsible for all the sins in the Bible: for the fall of man (PdRE 13:1), for the people worshiping the golden calf by telling them that Moses would not return from Mount Sinai (Shab. 89a), and for David's sin with Bath-Sheba (Sanh. 107a). He is associated with the gentile nations in sneering at the *Ḥukkim*, those laws – such as *sha'atnez and the prohibition of the pig – for which no rational reason can be given, and thus weakening the religious loyalties of the Jews (Yoma 67b; for this tempting of the rabbis, see Kid. 81a–b). The purpose of the sounding of the *shofar* on Rosh Ha-Shanah is "in order to confuse Satan" (RH 16b), but on the Day of Atonement he is completely powerless. This is hinted at in the fact that the numerical equivalent of Satan is 364, i.e., there is one day in the year on which he is powerless (Yoma 20a).

References to Satan in the liturgy are few and impersonal. The *Hashkivenu prayer of the evening service includes a plea to "remove from us the enemy, pestilence… and Satan" (the adversary), while the morning blessings preceding the *Pesukei de-Zimra* conclude with R. Judah ha-Nasi's prayer (Ber. 16b) to be spared from "the corrupting Satan." The *reshut of the *ḥazzan* before *Musaf* on the High Holy Days includes the sentence "and rebuke the Satan that he accuse me not," and under the influence of the Kabbalah six biblical verses are recited before the sounding of the *shofar*, the initial letters of which form the acrostic *kera Satan* ("tear Satan"). During the Middle Ages the Church, basing itself on such passages in the New Testament as "Ye are of your father and the devil" (John 8:44), propounded the doctrine that the Jews were the "spawn of Satan," with many of his characteristics. As such they were less than human beings – sorcerers, magicians, and evildoers – and this theory was a determining factor in the denial of rights to, and persecutions of, the Jews.

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[Louis Isaac Rabinowitz]

SATANOV, town in Khmelnitsky district, Ukraine; until 1793 within Poland. A Jewish community was organized there in the second half of the 16th century, after Podolia was incorporated within the kingdom of Poland. The Jews of Satanov engaged in the import of goods from the east, leasing of estates and customs dues, manufacture of alcoholic beverages (see *Wine and Liquor Trade), and goldsmithery. The town and its Jewish community suffered periodically from the incursions of the Tatars and Cossacks, in particular from their combined attacks in 1651 and from the Cossacks in 1703. The magnificent synagogue in Satanov was built in the form of a fortress, so that Jews would be able to defend themselves in such attacks. During the 18th century Satanov was the leading community in Podolia. Its *dayyanim* held a trial of the *Frankists there in 1756. In 1765 there were 1,369 Jews paying the poll tax in Satanov. Until the incorporation of Satanov within Russia in 1793, the Jews there took part in the international commerce, traveling to the fairs of *Leipzig, *Breslau, and *Frankfurt.

The Hebrew writer and *maskil* Isaac *Satanow lived in the town and was active there in the second half of the 18th century, as was Menahem Mendel (Lefin) *Levin (1749–1826), among the pioneers of the *Haskalah in Eastern Europe, and Alexander b. Ẓevi Margaliot (d. 1802), author of *Teshuvot ha-Re'em*, who was rabbi of Satanov. From the end of the 18th century and during the 19th, Satanov was an important center of *Ḥasidism. Until 1862 Jewish settlement there was restricted by the authorities, owing to the proximity of the town to the Austrian border. The Jewish population numbered 2,848 (64% of the total) in 1897. In 1919 the Jews in Satanov suffered from *pogroms at the hands of the Ukrainian nationalists. Satanov probably had 2,359 Jews in 1926, then declining to 1,516 (40% of the total population). A rural Jewish council existed in the Soviet period. The Germans entered Satanov on July 6, 1941. On May 14, 1942, they locked 240 Jews in a cellar, letting them choke to death. Through 1942, 210 Jews were shot to death. Most of the 800 people officially murdered by the Germans were Jews.

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[Shimshon Leib Kirshenboim / Shmuel Spector (2nd ed.)]

SATANOW, ISAAC (1732–1804), Hebrew writer, born in Satanov, Podolia. Satonow settled in Berlin in 1771 or 1772, where he served as the director of the printing press of the Ḥevrat Ḥinnukh Ne'arim ("Society for the Education of the Youth"). Among the most prolific of the early Haskalah writers, he did not restrict himself to any particular literary field, but wrote in most of those genres used by the later Haskalah writers. Although an exponent of the Jewish enlightenment of 18th-century Berlin, he displayed an affinity for Jewish mysticism.

Between 1780 and 1784 he traveled several times to Galicia, where he was involved in printing the kabbalistic book *Eẓ Ḥayyim* (1785), attributed to R. Isaac Luria. Satanow demonstrated a wealth of knowledge of the Hebrew language, ranking as a model stylist throughout the Haskalah period. He ascribed several of his works to earlier writers, and consequently used fictitious names for the authors of the recommendations for his own books and of their forewords. His books include *Sefer ha-Shorashim* or *Hebraeisch-Deutsches Lexicon*, one of his major works, which was a Hebrew-German dictionary and thesaurus in two parts; a number of books of liturgy, *Tefillah mi-Kol ha-Shanah al Pi Kelalei ha-Dikduk* (1785), *Haggadah shel Pesaḥ* (1785); and *Seliḥot* (1785); as well as *Mishlei Asaf* and *Zemirot Asaf* (4 vols., 1789–1802), collections of proverbs in imitation of the Book of Proverbs. (Satanow adopted the pseudonym "Asaf" from the acrostic for "Itzik Satanow.") In the last, his best-known work, the peak of his imitative ability is displayed, and, at the same time, the finest expression of his own sentiments and thoughts. The work, attributed to the biblical Asaph son of Berechiah, is written in the style of Proverbs and Psalms. In his *Zohar Taniana* (1783), *Nevu'at Yeled* (1793), and *Imrei Bina* (1784), he tried to build a bridge between the mystical world of Kabbalah and the rationalistic views of the Haskalah.

Satanow grappled with the problem of the use of biblical and post-biblical Hebrew. In his book *Iggeret Beit Tefillah* (1773), a work on prayers and liturgy, he classified every word that he explained as either "Hebrew" or "talmudic," and proceeded to clarify this question at other opportunities as well. He may have been the first Hebrew writer who sought to break out of the strict framework of biblical style, although he himself was very adept in the biblical style called *meliẓah*. Hence he demanded that new words be coined; in *Iggeret Beit Tefillah* he complains that the vocabulary of biblical Hebrew had not preserved its great lexical range.

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[Getzel Kressel; Noam Zadoff (2nd ed.)]

SATANOWSKI, MARCOS (1893–1957), Argentine jurist. Born in Bahia Blanca, Satanowski graduated from the University of Buenos Aires in 1928 and was appointed professor of commercial law. In 1946, he was dismissed by the Perón regime but was reinstated in 1955 and held the chair until his death. He founded and was the first president of the Sociedad Hebraica Argentinea. He published many books on legal and other subjects including *El actual Regimen Monetario Argentino* (1933) and *El Renovado Pueblo de Israel* (1954). In 1957 he was involved in a trial for the return of the newspaper *La Razón* to its former owner, Ricardo Peralta Ramos, from whom it was expropriated by Perón's regime. He was murdered by three assailants, probably in a mission of the Secretaría de Informaciones del Estado – SIDE (National Intelligence Service), while working in his office.

SATINSKY, SOL (1900–1966), U.S. manufacturer and communal leader. Satinsky was born in Philadelphia. Entering the family business, Frankford Worsted Mills, in 1920, he became its president in 1930, renaming it Frankford Woolen Mills. He was also a partner in Satinsky Brothers Realty Co. Satinsky early became active in welfare and education projects.

He was president of the Jewish Family Service and United Hebrew Schools and helped to create the Federation of Jewish Agencies of Philadelphia, which he served in several capacities. He was also president of the Philadelphia Allied Jewish Appeal and chairman of the National Council of the Joint Distribution Committee. Strongly committed to Jewish scholarship, Satinsky served as chairman of the American Jewish History Center of the Jewish Theological Seminary, president of the Jewish Publication Society, and acting president of Dropsie College. Satinsky was active in the World Affairs Council of Philadelphia; among his other interests was a collection of Lincoln memorabilia which he donated to Cornell University.

[Gladys Rosen]

SATORALJAUJHELY (in Yiddish popularly abridged to **Ujhely**), city in N.E. Hungary. Before World War I it was one of the main Jewish settlements in Hungary, excluding *Subcarpathian Ruthenia and *Transylvania. Jews first arrived there at the beginning of the 18th century, in connection with the nationalist army of F. Rákóczi. An organized community was established in 1771. The first Jewish elementary school was founded in 1836; M. *Heilprin was among its teachers. The first rabbi was S. Weil. He was succeeded by Moses *Teitelbaum (1808–40), founder of the celebrated dynasty of *ẓaddikim*. His grandson was compelled to leave the town as a result of the opposition to the Ḥasidim. Rabbinical office was then held by Jeremiah Loew (1854–73), who took part in the Hungarian General Jewish Congress of 1868–69. He endeavored to prevent a split within the community after the schism within Hungarian Jewry that followed the congress (see *Hungary), but in 1886 his son Eleazar Loew (1873–86) founded a separate Orthodox community. After the separation of the Orthodox sector, the majority of the community remained *status quo ante.

After the term of office of R. Kalman Weiss (1890–1910), a rabbi was not appointed until the arrival of S. Roth (1921–44), the last rabbi. A large synagogue was erected in 1888. The Orthodox community also built a large synagogue and established a higher yeshivah (1922–44). The Jewish population numbered 3,523 in 1869; 5,730 in 1910; 6,445 in 1920; and 4,160 in 1941. They were mainly occupied in commerce, but a number were in professions.

Holocaust and Contemporary Periods

The Jews in the city were affected by the anti-Jewish legislation, unemployment, and other difficulties that faced the rest of the Jews in Hungary in the interwar period. After the German invasion (March 19, 1944), about 4,000 Jews from Satoraljaujhely were confined in a ghetto, joined by another 11,000 from nearby villages, all crowded 20–25 to a room. All were deported to the death camp at *Auschwitz between May 16 and June 3 in four transports. Only 555 survived. There were 204 Jews living in Satoraljaujhely in 1953.

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[Baruch Yaron]

SATRAP (Heb. pl. אֲחַשְׁדַּרְפְּנִים; Aram. אֲחַשְׁדַּרְפְּנַיָּא; Old Persian *xšaçapāvan*, "protector of the province"; Greek σατράπης), an official title during the Persian Empire of varying meaning. According to Herodotus (3:89–94) and contemporary inscriptional material, Darius I divided up his empire for administrative purposes into some 20 districts called satrapies. In the biblical passages where Persian officials are listed in descending order of importance, the satrap almost always comes first (Esth. 3:12; 8:9; Dan. 3:2–3, 27; Ezra 8:36; Esth. 9:3, a literary variation?). The one passage which defines the title, however, speaks of Darius the Mede appointing 120 satraps over his kingdom (Dan. 6:2). Such a division of the realm is reminiscent of the Esther narrative (Esth. 1:1; 8:9) where Ahasuerus (Xerxes, the successor of Darius), is said to have ruled over 127 provinces (Heb. *medinot*).

The flexibility of titles as they are translated from one language to another and transferred from official to literary sources may be seen by a comparison of three sources. The Old Persian Darius Behistun inscription calls Dadarshi "satrap" of Bactria (3:13–14). The fragmentary Aramaic text apparently refers to him as "governor" (*peḥah*; Cowley, Aramaic, p. 252, line 18). Likewise, Tattenai, head of the Trans-Euphrates, apparently a satrapy, was called "governor" (Ezra 5:3, 6; 6:6, 13). Conversely, Greek historians occasionally used "satrap" to designate lower officials.

[Bezalel Porten]

The satrap possessed very extensive authority: he supervised the administration of the districts of his province, including the imposition of taxes. He had the right to mint coins in his name, except for gold coins, the minting of which was the prerogative of the emperor. He was the supreme judge and traveled throughout the province dispensing justice. He was responsible for security inside his province and supervised the highways. He also had an army which he recruited locally, but the garrisons in the citadels and the regular army were under the direct command of the emperor. The *peḥah* was subordinate to the satrap, who in turn was subject to the representative of the emperor, but satraps frequently conducted their own foreign policy. Sometimes more than one province was under the rule of one satrap. The office of satrap at times passed by inheritance, and there were dynasties of satraps which continued for many generations. As a result of the extensive authority bestowed upon the satrap, the Persian Empire in the course of time was a united country only in theory; in practice the forces of schism and disintegration prevailed more and more. From time to time, the great satraps rebelled, and it was only with difficulty that the emperors succeeded in overpowering them. Alexander the Great continued with the division of the country into satrapies; and it was continued by the Seleucids. The satrap of Transjordan held sway also over Samaria and Judea, and when there was a governor in Judea, he was subject to the authority of this satrap.

[Abraham Schalit]

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SATU-MARE (Hung. **Szatmárnémeti** or **Szatmár**, also called **Sakmér**), city in Satu-Mare province, N.W. Romania; until World War I and between 1940 and 1944, part of Hungary. There is sporadic mention of the presence of Jews in or passing through Satu-Mare in the early 18th century. Permission was granted to the Jews to settle in the city because it was hoped by the more powerful local Hungarian landlords that they would bring economic prosperity, which they actually did for a period of centuries. Jews, too, became landlords or lessees. Some became involved in large-scale agriculture; many others contributed to the development of trade and industry.; and still others were employed in Jewish workshops at low wages. There were 11 Jews in the town in 1734 and 19 in 1746. In 1841 several Jews obtained permits to settle in Satu-Mare permanently. A community was formally established in 1849, and a synagogue erected in 1857. Benjamin Ze'ev Mendelbaum became the first rabbi in 1849, officiating until his death in 1896. Through his influence the community defined itself as Orthodox in 1869 (see *Hungary). In 1898 it split up and a *status quo ante community was established. A magnificent synagogue was erected in 1904. The Jewish population rose from 78 in 1850 to 3,427 (16% of the total population) in 1870, 7,194 (20% of the total population) in 1910, and 11,533 (21% of the total population) in 1930. There were then five large synagogues and about 20 smaller ones in the city. The first Jewish printing press was established in 1903.

From the end of the 19th century, there were conflicts among the supporters of Ḥasidism and the *Mitnaggedim*. From 1902 the status quo community was led by a Zionist rabbi, Dr. Samuel Sándor Jordán, who established the first Hebrew kindergarten in Hungary. The first Jewish schools were opened in 1866. Between 1940 and 1944 there was also a secondary school for boys and girls (four classes).

Jews took an active part in the development of industry and commerce in Satu-Mare, were prominent in the liberal professions, and contributed to the local Hungarian press. Between the two world wars, branches of the Zionist movements were active in the community; a B'nai B'rith lodge was established, as well as a branch of the Jewish party and other institutions. The rabbis of the Orthodox community were Judah Gruenwald (until 1920) and Eliezer David Gruenwald. After his death in 1928, a bitter conflict followed within the Orthodox community over the election of a new rabbi. The struggle lasted six years and was concluded in 1934 by the victory of the supporters of Joel *Teitelbaum, whose domineering personality and uncompromising anti-Zionist stand influenced Orthodox Jewry in the whole of Transylvania.

Although the influence of Neologism was extremely weak in this region, many Jewish intellectuals were drawn to the Hungarian language and culture, becoming important figures in Hungarian society. Between the two world wars the influence of the fascist Iron Guard was felt. This was the reason why in 1940 the Jews received the Hungarian Horthiite troups with open arms. They were not aware of the changes post–World War I Hungary had undergone under Admiral Horthy's rule. The first signs of what was to come manifested themselves shortly after the city was occupied by Hungary and "foreign" Jews were deported to Kamenets-Podolski, where they were murdered by Hungarian and German troops. In spring 1944 the rest of the Jews, some 20,000 including refugees, were first ghettoized and then deported to Auschwitz after the majority of men had been sent to forced labor battalions. Less than 15% survived the Holocaust and were able to make their way back to their homes.

After World War II some of the survivors returned from the camps, and about 500 Jews resettled there. They were joined by former residents and Jews from other localities, and by 1947 they numbered approximately 5,000. Subsequently many moved away or immigrated to Ereẓ Israel, and by 1970 there remained some 500 Jews in Satu-Mare, with numbers later declining.

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[Yehouda Marton / Paul Schveiger (2nd ed.)]

SATZ, LUDWIG (1891–1944), Yiddish comedian. Born in Lvov, Poland, Satz joined a troupe of Yiddish actors in 1910 and played in Gordin's *Got, Mentsh und der Taivl*. He appeared in Budapest and London and achieved Broadway success as Abe Potash in *Potash and Perlmutter,* 1913. He also acted with Jacob Adler and Maurice Schwartz, and in Boris Thomashefsky's Yiddish venture on Broadway (1923–24). Later he toured Europe and South America.

SATZ, MARIO (1944–), Argentine poet, author, and essayist. He was born in Coronel Pringles, Argentina. His extensive travels had significant influence on his writing. He lived in Israel for three years and from 1978 he lived in Barcelona, Spain. Satz is a prolific author of poetry, and narrative and nonfiction works that include books about Kabbalah and Jewish history.

His early poetry is intimately connected to the natural world. In volumes such as *Los cuatro elementos* (1964), *Las frutas* (1970), *Canon de polen* (1976), *Los peces, los pájaros, las flores* (1976), and *Las redes cristalinas* (1985) he examines the beauty and power of nature in practically all its earthly manifestations. He is also the author of a vast novelistic series titled *Planetarium*, which consists of five novels that comprise a textual solar system. The novels *Sol* (1976), *Luna* (1977), and *Tierra* (1978) form a trilogy in which the author utilizes the cities of Jerusalem and Cuzco, Peru, as sites for examining Latin American history and culture together with Jewish tradition. The subsequent novels, *Marte* (1980) and *Mercurio* (1990), do not continue the story of the trilogy though they are part of the *Planetarium* project.

His book *Tres cuentos españoles* (1988) takes on a much more focused perspective with the portrayal of multicultural 13th century Spain in which Christian, Muslim, and Jewish cultures existed and thrived side by side. His attention to detail and historical accuracy is remarkable. The novel *Azahar* (1996) continues with the same focus on Iberia, this time with a focus on religious-mystical traditions from Kabbalah to *The Book of the Dead*. The author's nonfiction works reveal his interest in Jewish history and mysticism and are evidence of his capability for profound theological thinking. Representative texts in this vein include *Poética de la Kábala* (1985), *Judaísmo: 4,000 años de cultura* (1982), and *El dador alegre: ensayos de Kábala* (1997).

[Darrell B. Lockhart (2nd ed.)]

°SAUCKEL, FRITZ (**Ernst Friedrich Christoph**; 1894–1946), Nazi official. Born in Hassfurt to a family of minor officials, Sauckel worked in the merchant marines of Norway and Sweden prior to World War I. During World War I he was a prisoner of war. He joined the Nazi Party in 1921 and was appointed *Gauleiter* ("district leader") of the Nazi Party in Thuringia in 1925 and its governor in 1933. On March 21, 1942, he was appointed by *Hitler plenipotentiary (*Generalbevollmaechtigter*) for labor recruitment, and thus he became the most notorious slave driver of Nazi Germany. His self-described task was to make maximum use of the slave labor for the "lowest conceivable expenditure." Up to March 1, 1944, seven and a half million workers were brought on his orders to Germany from all over occupied Europe, of whom only 200,000 came voluntarily. Their working and living conditions were unbearable. Conditions among Jews were the worst. They were literally worked to death. In the fall of 1942 Sauckel, with the aid of the *RSHA, organized the drafting of Polish workers in order to replace Jews working in the armament industry, with the aim of deporting those Jews to concentration and death camps. He was convicted at the trial of major war criminals in Nuremberg and hanged on October 16, 1946.

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[Yehuda Reshef / Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

SAUDI ARABIA, an authoritarian monarchy, whose legal system is based on a strict interpretation of Islamic law, known in the West as Wahhabism, after the spiritual leader of the original Saudi state, Muḥammad ibn ʿAbdul Wahhāb (1703–1792). Modern Saudi Arabia was established in 1932 by King Abdul Aziz ibn Abdul Rahman Āl Saud (1880–1953), who waged a three-decade-long campaign to unify the kingdom and re-claim the patrimony that was one ruled intermittently by his family in the 18th and 19th centuries. He was also known in the West by the name King Ibn Saud. Like the earlier Saudi states, the modern Saudi Kingdom was based on a political partnership between the Āl-Saud family and the Wahhabi clerics, whom the Saudis funded and empowered with control over Saudi ministries. Today Saudi Arabia's land area is 1,960,582 square kilometers. Its longest land boundaries are with *Yemen (1,458 km.), *Iraq (814 km.), and *Jordan (744 km). But it also shares borders with Oman, the United Arab Emirates, Qatar, and Kuwait. The Saudi Kingdom is made up of a number of regions including the Najd plateau, the birthplace of the Saudi royal family, the Hijaz, where the Muslim holy cities of Mecca and *Medina are located, and the Eastern Province, where the Saudi oil fields are situated that contain 25 per cent of the world's proven petroleum reserves. Since 1953, Saudi Arabia has been ruled by the sons of Ibn Saud who were successively: Saud, Faisal, Khaled, and Fahd, and in 2005, King Abdullah, who was born in 1923, acceded to the throne.

To understand Saudi attitudes to the Jewish people and the Jewish state, Israel, it is necessary to examine Wahhabi doctrines towards the monotheistic faiths outside of *Islam. These were far harsher than those adopted under classical Islam, which defined Jews and Christians as *ahl al-kitāb* (people of the book) who were entitled to live their lives under their respective religious codes, albeit as second-class citizens, who had to pay special discriminatory taxes for non-Muslims, such as **jizya* (poll tax) and **kharāj* (land tax). In his main work, the *Kitāb al-Tawḥīd* (The Book of Monotheism) Muḥammad ibn ʿAbdul Wahhāb described Jews and Christians as sorcerers who believed in devil worship. He challenged the assertion that both groups were truly monotheistic, charging that "the ways of the people of the book are condemned as those of the polytheists." Given that there was a negligible presence of either religious group in Central Arabia in the 18th century, these theoretical distinctions would only become relevant after the establishment of the modern Saudi state, when Wahhabi doctrines would influence Saudi attitudes to Israel as well as provide the ideological underpinnings for jihadi movements, like al-Qaeda.

Saudi Arabia was implacably opposed to the creation of the State of Israel. Several years after U.S. oil companies, led by Standard Oil of California, secured oil exploration rights in Saudi Arabia, King Ibn Saud addressed a series of letters to President Franklin Delano Roosevelt, stating his opposition to the creation of a Jewish state in British Palestine, and raised the subject yet again in his historic summit meeting with Roosevelt on the USS *Quincy* in Egypt's Great Bitter Lake. But Ibn Saud's primary concern after Israel's creation came from his Arab rivals – the Hashemite Kingdoms of Transjordan and Iraq – and their British sponsors. Ibn Saud was not prepared to sacrifice his relations with the U.S. and give up on American security guarantees against his potential rivals, despite Washington's backing of the partition of Palestine and its early recognition of the State of Israel. His son, King Faisal, launched an oil embargo against the U.S. during the 1973 Yom Kippur War, but quickly sought to repair his relations with Washington, and agreed to a U.S.-sponsored buildup of Saudi military capabilities against Soviet-backed Arab rivals, from F-15 fighter aircraft to AWACS planes.

Saudi Arabia sent its ambassador in Washington, Prince Bandar, to attend the 1991 Madrid peace conference with Israel, Syria, *Lebanon, and a Jordanian-Palestinian delegation. There was a slight incremental thaw in Israeli-Saudi contacts thereafter. Saudi Arabia attended the 1992 Moscow multilateral negotiations and the various working-groups that it had established. But after the 1993 Oslo Agreements, Saudi Arabia did not follow the examples of Qatar and Oman, which allowed Israel to open quasi-diplomatic trade offices in their capitals. Nor did the Saudis follow the model of Bahrain and UAE (Dubai) which allowed Israelis to attend multilateral conferences on their soil. Saudi Foreign Minister Saud Al-Faisal attended a 1996 counter-terrorism conference in Sharm al-Sheikh, Egypt, with Israeli Prime Minister Shimon *Peres, marking the outer reaches of Saudi readiness for open, high-level contacts. The Saudi religious establishment, represented by the Saudi Grand Mufti, Sheikh Abdul Aziz bin Baz, was not willing to condone the idea of permanent peace with Israel, but was only willing to concede the idea of a *hudna* with the Jewish state, which, he explained in a formal document, was only a temporary truce until the balance of power changes. During the 1990s, despite its demand for religious identification in its visa applications, Saudi Arabia hosted several American Jewish organizations, including the American Jewish Congress and the Anti-Defamation League.

After Yasser *Arafat's Fatah movement became the dominant component of the *Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) in the late 1960s, Saudi Arabia became its largest financial backer. Yet after the PLO allied itself with Saddam Hussein in the 1991 Gulf War, Saudi Arabia increasingly began to provide financial assistance to Hamas, despite its direct involvement in suicide bombings against Israeli civilians, through large Wahhabi charities, such as al-Haramain, the Muslim World League's International Islamic Relief Organization, and the World Assembly for Muslim Youth. The 9/11 attacks by al-Qaeda on New York and Washington brought into focus the Saudi connection to the new escalation of global terrorism, since 15 out of the 19 hijackers were Saudi citizens. Moreover, their overall commander, Osama bin Laden, was born and educated in Saudi Arabia and had worked with Saudi intelligence against the Soviet presence in *Afghanistan. In 1998, he set up the "World Islamic Front Against Crusaders and Jews." He relied heavily on Wahhabi religious scholars, such as Suleiman al-Ulwan or Hamud bin Uqla al-Shuaibi, who justified his use of mass violence against the "infidels," which, from their doctrinal standpoint, included Christians and Jews. Both scholars justified suicide bombings against Israeli civilians on the website of Hamas. Other Saudi scholars, like Nasser bin Hamed al-Fahd and Ali al-Khudeir, put out religious opinions that dovetailed with al-Qaeda strategy, since they advocated the mass murder of infidels by means of weapons of mass destruction. After 2003, Israeli officials, like Defense Minister Shaul *Mofaz, became openly concerned with al-Qaeda's penetration of the Saudi military, including the Saudi Air Force. Israel raised the possibility that Saudi F-15 fighter planes, deployed during the 2003 Iraq War at Tabuk Air Base near Eilat, might be used by al-Qaeda suicide pilots for operations against Israeli buildings in Tel Aviv.

King Abdullah, in his capacity as crown prince, floated a new peace plan between Israel and the Arab world through *New York Times* columnist Thomas Friedman on February 17, 2002. The core of the plan was the idea of exchanging a "full Israeli withdrawal" from the territories Israel captured in the Six-Day War for "full normalization" of relations with Israel. But Abdullah retreated from this formula with the Arab peace initiative that was launched at the Beirut Arab summit on March 28, 2002, when he watered down his original proposal and suggested instead granting Israel "normal relations" – a Syrian diplomatic term that was less than full peace. Given Saudi sensitivities to Western penetration, it is unlikely that Abdullah was really proposing full normalization with tourism, business ties, and cultural exchanges. Behind the scenes of the Saudi peace plan was Adel al-Jubeir, Abdullah's foreign policy advisor, who had been dispatched to Washington to repair Saudi Arabia's tarnished image in the U.S. after 9/11. It is probable that this was the context of the Saudi proposals.

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[Dore Gold (2nd ed.)]

SAUL (Heb. שָׁאוּל; "asked, requested, lent [by the Lord]"), the first king of Israel (c. 1029–1005 B.C.E.); son of Kish from the tribe of Benjamin (I Sam. 9:1, 21). Saul's home was in Gibeah (*ibid.* 10:26), i.e., Gibeath-Benjamin, also known as Gibeath-Shaul (*ibid.* 11:4), which he made his capital. After his death, his bones were buried in the tomb of his father, Kish, in Zela (II Sam. 21:24; cf. Josh. 18:28). Zela would seem to be the name of a place close to Gibeath-Benjamin where the house of Saul had its lands. According to I Chronicles 8:29–30, Saul's family came from Gibeon.

In the days of *Samuel's leadership the Israelites became increasingly aware that the time had come to replace the rule of the *Judges by a central, permanent authority capable of freeing the people from the pressure of the surrounding nations, and, in particular, from the domination of the Philistines (I Sam. 8:20; 9:16). The people therefore demanded of Samuel that he set a king over them, "to govern us like all the nations" (*ibid.* 8:5). The cycle of stories about the enthroning of Saul is made up of various divergent traditions. According to I Samuel 9:1–10: 16, Saul – "a handsome young man, and there was not a man more handsome among the people of Israel; from his shoulders and upward he was taller than all the people" – went out to look for his father's lost asses. Meanwhile the Lord revealed His will to Samuel. "Tomorrow about this time I will send to you a man from the land of Benjamin, and you shall anoint him to be a prince over my people" (9:16). Samuel carried out God's command and poured oil on Saul's head. Saul modestly expressed his amazement at being anointed ruler of Israel. On his way back to his home in Gibeah, he was suddenly seized with the spirit of the Lord and joined a group of prophets "and prophesied [i.e., went into an ecstatic trance] among them" (10:10). In I Samuel 10:17–27, in contrast, it is related that Samuel assembled the people at Mizpah and cast lots before them. The lot fell on Saul, who was acclaimed king, "and all the people shouted 'Long live the king!'" (10:24). In this tradition, too, Saul stands out as a man of modest and humble character who "hid himself among the baggage" (10:22). In chapter 11, again, it is recounted that Saul was proclaimed king in Gilgal after his defeat and rout of the *Ammonites, who were attempting to subject the inhabitants of Jabesh-Gilead, kinsmen of the tribe of Benjamin. In this story Saul appears as a charismatic leader of the same type as the Judges who had arisen to save Israel in time of trouble. His choice to lead the people was determined by his heroism on the battlefield. The interrelation of the above traditions is variously conceived by modern commentators. At all events, all the stories are agreed that Saul was chosen as king by God, and anointed by Samuel with the people's approval.

Most of Saul's years as king were spent in wars against the enemies of Israel: "When Saul had taken the kingship over Israel, he fought against all its enemies on every side, against *Moab, against the Ammonites, against *Edom, against the kings of Zobah, and against the *Philistines" (14:47). In particular, "there was hard fighting against the Philistines all the days of Saul" (14:52). The signal for the start of the struggle with the Philistines was given when *Jonathan, Saul's son, struck down the Philistine governor in Geba (i.e., Gibeah) in Benjamin (13:3). Saul mustered the Israelites at Gilgal, near Jericho, while the Philistines encamped at Michmas (13:15–16). From there troops of Philistine raiders made punitive attacks on Israel (13:17–18). Saul waited at Gilgal for Samuel to come and give the signal for the battle to begin. When Samuel failed to appear and the people were beginning to disperse, Saul of-

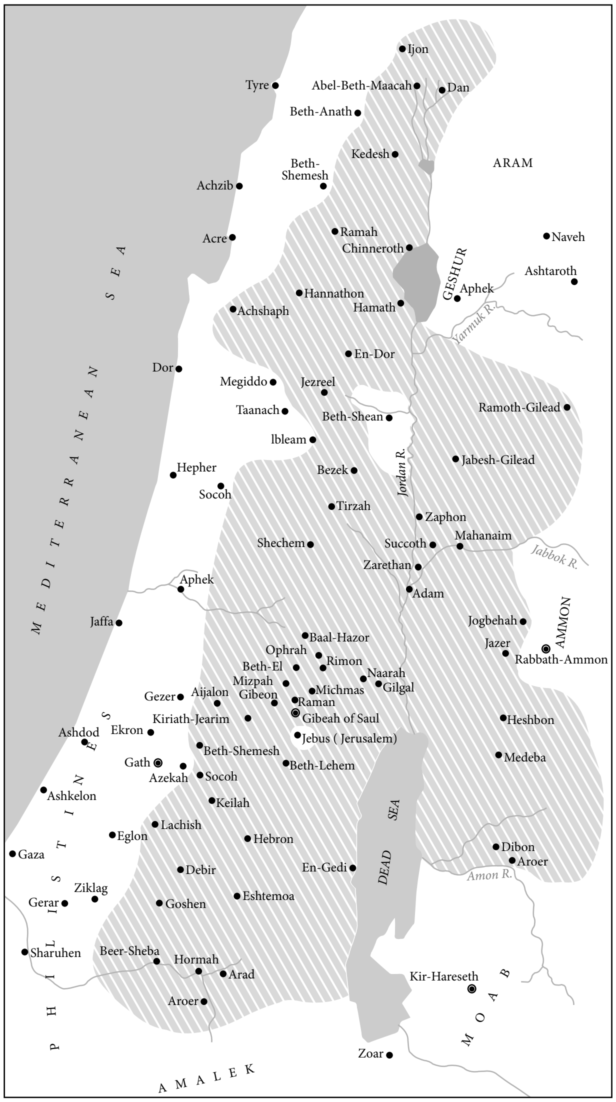
Ijon
Tyre
Abel-Beth-Maacah
Dan
Beth-Anath
Kedesh
ARAM
Beth-Shemesh
Achzib
Acre
Ramah
Chinneroth
Naveh
Ashtaroth
GESHUR
Aphek
Hannathon
Hamath
Achshaph
Yarmuk R.
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
En-Dor
Dor
Megiddo
Jezreel
Taanach
Beth-Shean
Ramoth-Gilead
Ibleam
Jabesh-Gilead
Hepher
Socoh
Bezek
Jordan R.
Tirzah
Zaphon
Shechem
Succoth
Mahanaim
Jabbok R.
Zarethan
Aphek
Adam
Jaffa
Jogbehah
AMMON
Baal-Hazor
Jazer
Rabbath-Ammon
Ophrah
Rimon
Beth-El
Naarah
Mizpah
Michmas
Gilgal
Gezer
Aijalon
Gibeon
Raman
Gibeah of Saul
Kiriath-Jearim
Heshbon
Ashdod
Ekron
Jebus (Jerusalem)
Beth-Shemesh
Medeba
Gath
Azekah
Socoh
Beth-Lehem
Ashkelon
Keilah
PHILISTINES
Lachish
Eglon
Hebron
DEAD SEA
Gaza
Dibon
Aroer
Debir
En-Gedi
Amon R.
Ziklag
Gerar
Eshtemoa
Goshen
Sharuhen
Beer-Sheba
Hormah
Arad
Kir-Hareseth
Aroer
MOAB
Zoar
AMALEK

Limits of Saul's kingdom, end of the 11th century B.C.E. *After Y. Aharoni* Carta's Atlas of the Bible, *Jerusalem, 1964.*

fered up the burnt-offering and moved out to engage the Philistines, advancing on Gibeath-Benjamin with six thousand men. Jonathan took the nearby Philistine garrison by surprise, and the panic-stricken Philistines fled westward through the valley of Aijalon to Philistia (14:31). In this war the Philistines were driven out of the hill country of Ephraim. This was only the beginning of a series of wars against the Philistines. One of the engagements which is described in detail in the Bible is the battle in the Valley of Elah in the territory of Judah (I Sam. 17), in which *David killed the Philistine giant *Goliath. When the Philistines saw their hero felled in single combat by the young David, they fled to their own country. The encounter in the Valley of Elah thus liberated the hill country of Judah from Philistine rule. For his conduct of the wars against the enemies of Israel, Saul did not rely solely on the national levies but also established a regular armed force led by trained commanders, such as his own son Jonathan and *Abner son of Ner (13:2–3; 14:50, 52). Of special historical importance was the war against *Amalek, since it was in this war that the breach between Samuel and Saul first appeared (I Sam. 15). Samuel ordered Saul to smite the Amalekites and destroy them utterly, leaving no survivors (cf. Ex. 17:16). Saul mustered the people at Telaim, which is apparently identical with Telem in the Negev (Josh. 15:24). The war was fought in the southern desert regions "from Havilah as far as Shur, which is east of Egypt." The defeat of the Amalekites brought much needed relief to the people of Judah and Simeon, who had suffered greatly from the nomads' incursions. By his wars against the raiders from the desert (cf. I Chron. 5:10) Saul won the loyal support of the Israelites living in the southern border regions of Ereẓ Israel and Transjordan, since he was fighting to protect the territories on which they were settled. His kingdom then comprised the areas of Israelite settlement in Judah, Ephraim, Galilee, and also in Transjordan (as may be deduced from the extent of the kingdom of his son, Ish-Bosheth (II Sam. 2:8–9). Saul did not try to extend his rule beyond the area of Israelite settlement; nor does he appear to have attacked the non-Israelite families living within that area – apart from the Gibeonites, whom he sought to destroy "in his zeal for the people of Israel and Judah" (II Sam. 21:1ff.), i.e., in order to convert his kingdom into a solid ethnic block uninterrupted by non-Israelite enclaves. Saul does not seem to have made far-reaching changes in the tribal organization of the Israelites, or to have taken any drastic measures to establish a centralized authority, with a royal court and an elaborate bureaucratic machinery. He was thus able to avoid friction with the tribal leaders who exercised their power within the framework of the local tribal institutions.

But Saul did not succeed in remaining on good terms with Samuel. The tangled relations between the two men reflect the difficulties of the transition from the old regime of the Judges to the new monarchal rule. According to one tradition, Samuel opposed the people's demand for a king, since in his view the Lord was the King of Israel and the people's demand was thus tantamount to a rejection of God (see *Gideon). When he was commanded by God to grant the people's request, he demanded of both the people and the king absolute obedience to the Lord and to the prophet that spoke in His name (I Sam. 12:14–15; 15:22), regardless of political, military, or human considerations. This demand explains the deterioration of the relations between Samuel and Saul. The rift between them first appeared at the time of the engagement at Michmas (I Sam. 13), when Saul sacrificed the burnt-offering, instead of waiting patiently for Samuel to come and give the signal for the battle to commence. It may be that Samuel regarded Saul's offering of the sacrifice as an encroachment upon his own priestly authority and as an attempt by Saul to arrogate ritual powers to the king. Samuel declared to Saul that his rule would be short-lived: "But now your kingdom shall not continue" (13:14). The rift between Samuel and Saul became final after Saul's failure to comply with the order given him to exterminate the Amalekites (15:34–35; 28:18). The awareness that the Lord had rejected him gradually penetrated into Saul's mind in the course of his relations with David. As soon as David – who was now Saul's son-in-law – appeared at the court, Saul realized that he was the people's favorite (18:16). David's victories over the Philistines aroused Saul's envy (18:5–9, 12–16), and this envy turned into a blind hatred which drove Saul to try to kill David (18:20–29; 19:1, 4–7, 9–10). The rift between Saul and Samuel, David's growing popularity, and the suspicion that even those closest to him had traitorously joined David in a plot against him (20:30–31; 22:8) – R. Kittel suggested that there may have been a plot to depose him as mentally incompetent and to make Jonathan king in his stead – all undermined Saul's self-confidence and darkened his mind (16:14–23). His destiny now began to run its tragic course as he became more and more given to alternating fits of hatred and love, violence and depression, stubbornness and remorse. His morbid suspiciousness, his uncontrolled outbursts of passion, and his fear of David (18:15) frequently disturbed his mental balance, driving him to violent acts bordering on madness, such as hurling his spear at his son Jonathan (20:33), or killing the priests of Nob for – unless R. Kittel is right – unwittingly helping David (21:2ff.). David was compelled to flee from Saul's service into the Judean desert, where Saul tried to pursue him.

At the same time, Saul continued to bear the heavy burden of the prolonged war against the Philistines, who hoped to exploit the quarrel between Saul and David to reestablish their domination of the Israelites. When the Philistines mustered their forces in the Valley of Jezreel, Saul marched out with his army to meet them and camped near En-Harod at the foot of Mount Gilboa (28:4; 29:1). Greatly alarmed by the size and power of the Philistine army, he sought a sign from the Lord about the outcome of the impending battle, but "the Lord did not answer him, either by dreams, or by Urim, or by prophets" (28:6). In despair, he appealed to a medium to raise the spirit of the dead Samuel for him (she is commonly but inaccurately called the "witch" of *En-Dor), but according to the biblical account Samuel castigated him as before and prophesied a bitter end for him: "And tomorrow you and your sons shall be with me; The Lord will give Israel also with you into the hand of the Philistines" (28:19). Saul bravely led the Israelite host out to meet the Philistines, but in the ensuing engagement the Philistines clearly had the upper hand right from the start and the Israelites broke into flight, leaving many dead behind them on Mount Gilboa. Realizing that there was no escape from the archers pressing in around him, Saul chose to die by his own hand, "lest these uncircumcised come and make sport of me" (31:4; but cf. II Sam. 6:1–10). When the Philistines found his body, "they cut off his head, and stripped off his armor, and sent messengers throughout the land of the Philistines, to carry the good news to their idols and to the people" (31:9). The body itself they nailed to the walls of Beth-Shean. The men of Jabesh-Gilead, who still gratefully remembered how Saul had fought against Nahash the Ammonite when the latter was threatening their city (I Sam. 11), took down his body from the wall and buried his bones in Jabesh-Gilead. The bones were subsequently reinterred in the tomb of Saul's father (II Sam. 21:14). With the Israelite defeat on Mount Gilboa the Philistines were once more the dominant power in Ereẓ Israel and their pressure on the Israelites increased. A zealous Yahwist, Saul is credited with building the first altar to Yahweh (I Sam 14: 31–35) and with ridding the land of necromancers (I Sam. 28:3). K. van der Toorn finds Saul central to the formation of Yahwism as a state religion. Building on Toorn's work, Sperling argues that the historical Saul inspired the creation of the figure Moses.

[Bustanay Oded]

In the *Aggadah*

Saul, the first anointed king (Esth. R., Proem 10) was selected for many reasons:

(1) his military prowess (Mid. Sam. 11:78–79), (2) his unusual handsomeness (Ber. 48b), (3) his modesty (Tosef., Ber. 4:16; Tanḥ. B., Lev. 4), (4) his innocence since he was considered free from sin like "a one-year-old child" (Yoma 22b), and (5) the merits of his ancestors, particularly his grandfather Abiel, who was also named Ner ("candle") because he lit the streets after dark so that people might go to the houses of study (TJ, Shev. 3:10, 34d). He liberally endowed all poor brides (II Sam. 1:24; *Mishnat R. Eliezer*, 186); and during his initial successful war with Nahash, Saul displayed his zeal for the scrupulous observance of the sacrificial ordinances by rebuking his warriors for eating the sacrificial meat before the blood was sprinkled on the altar (Zev. 120a). There is a marked tendency by the rabbis to show the first king of Israel in a favorable light even when the Scriptures deprecate his actions. Even his sin during the Amalekite conflict is explained by Saul's refusal to consider the women, children, and cattle as sinners and worthy of death (Yoma 22b). It is Doeg who induces Saul to spare the Amalek king, Agag, His argument was that the law prohibits the slaying of an animal and its young on the same day; how much less permissible is it to destroy at one time old and young, men and children (Mid. Sam. 18:99–100). Saul had no selfish interest in retaining the Amalekite booty since he was so wealthy that he took a military census by giving one of his own sheep to every one of his soldiers, distributing not less than two hundred thousand sheep (Yoma 22b). His final days were filled with regrets on account of his executing the priests at Nob, and his remorse secured pardon for him (Ber. 12b; Tanḥ. B., Lev. 45).

He was even more worthy than David. David had many wives and concubines while Saul had but one wife. David remained behind, fearing to lose his life in battle with Absalom, while Saul led his troops into his final battle. Saul led the life of a saint in his own house, observing even the priestly laws of purity. God rebuked David for composing a song on the downfall of Saul, stating, "Had you been Saul and he David, I would have annihilated many a David out of regard for him" (MK 16b). David was also punished for having cut off the corner of Saul's mantle, for no amount of clothing would keep him warm (Ber. 62b). Finally, when a great famine fell upon the land during the reign of David, God told him that it had been inflicted because Saul's remains had not been buried with due honor. At that moment a heavenly voice resounded calling Saul "the elect of God" (Ber. 12b). The real reason for his loss of the monarchy was his misplaced meekness in not avenging himself against the "base fellows" who "despised him" (I Sam. 10:27; Yoma 22b). Moreover, his family was of such immaculate nobility that his descendants might have become too arrogant (Yoma 22b). However, his persecution of David was unjustified and it greatly contrasted with the humility he previously displayed. In contrast to his hesitancy in accepting the monarchy, he now sought to slay David rather than surrender his throne (ARN^2, 20, 43). Once, when Saul and his men surrounded David, an angel appeared and summoned him home to repulse the raid of the Philistines upon the land. Saul only gave up the pursuit of David after a majority of his officers had so decided. Some still felt that the seizure of David was even more important than defeating the Philistines (Mid. Ps. to 9:83; 18:138).

The witch of En-Dor realized that it was Saul who was summoning Samuel when he appeared upright before them. In necromancy the rule is that a spirit raised from the dead appears head downward and feet in the air, unless it is summoned by a king (Tanh. B., Lev. 82). Samuel told Saul that if he fled he would save himself; but if he would accept God's judgment and find his death in battle, his sins would be forgiven and he would join Samuel in afterlife (Lev. R. 26:7). After his death, God told the angels of his admiration for Saul's final courageous act in going into war "knowing that he will lose his life, yet he took his sons with him, and cheerfully accepted the punishment ordained" (Tanḥ. B., Lev. 82).

In Islam

The name Ṭālūt, which is given to Saul in the *Koran (2:248), is an allusion to his exceptional height (cf. I Sam. 9:2; 10:23). The form of this name was probably influenced by that of Jālūt (given to *Goliath) or *tābūt* (see below). After Mūsā's (i.e., Moses) death, the people of Israel requested of their prophet (his name is not mentioned, but see *Samuel) that he appoint a king to rule them. However, when Ṭālūt was designated as king, the people of Israel refused to accept him. The prophet then gave them a sign, that the *tābūt* (Ethiopian *tābōt*; Aramaic *tebuta*; "the Holy Ark") would come to them and in it would be *Sakīna* (Heb. *shekhinah*, "Divine Presence"). This would be the sign for believers (cf. Sot. 13a). When Ṭālūt went out to battle with his regiments, he passed by a stream, where he put his men to a trial. Only those who drew water with their hands were found worthy to pursue the campaign against the enemy (cf. the tale in Judg. 7:4–6). In that battle *David defeated Goliath (Jālūt; Sura 2:247–252). *Muhammad stops his narrative at this point. In post-Koranic literature the biblical name of Saul b. Kish is known to the commentators, and the descriptions from the Bible and the *aggadah* are added to the figure of Ṭālūt, in particular those concerning his attitude toward David and his attempts to kill him, as well as the meeting at En-Dor. Ṭālūt died in a holy war (**jihād*), after reigning for 40 years.

In the Arts

Unlike many other major figures of the Old Testament, Saul was accorded no particular significance in medieval Christian typology; and thus his first important appearance in the literature, art, and music of the West really dates from the Renaissance era. Among the earliest literary treatments of the subject were the Spanish dramatist Vasco Diaz Tanco's *Tragedia de Amon y Saul* (1552), which has not survived; *La Coronazione del Re Saul*, one of Giovan Maria Cecchi's realistic biblical plays of the same period; and an anonymous Italian work, *La Rapresentatione della distruttione di Saul…* (Florence, 1559). In Germany, the *Meistersinger* Hans Sachs wrote a *Tragedia Koenig Sauls* (1557). From this time onward the complex and tragic character of Saul attracted countless writers. Two outstanding 16th-century dramas on the theme were written by the French Protestant Jean de la Taille: *Saül le Furieux* (1572) and *La famine ou les Gabéonites* (1573). Interest was maintained in the 17th century, beginning with Claude Billard's *Saül* (1610).

The subject lent itself to more varied treatment in the 18th century. In England, *Tragedy of King Saul* (London, 1703), a verse play in five acts rejected by the censor, has been attributed to both Joseph Trapp and Roger Boyle. French tragedies entitled *Saül* were written by the abbé Nadal (1705) and *Voltaire (1763), the latter's work bearing a characteristic imprint of mockery. An outstanding 18th-century treatment of the subject was the Italian Vittorio Alfieri's tragedy, *Saul* (1782), which was later translated into English (1815) and, as *Aḥarit Sha'ul*, into Hebrew (by M.J. Lebensohn, 1870). An original Hebrew drama published in 1794 was *Melukhat Sha'ul, ha-Melekh ha-Rishon al-Yeshurun* (Vienna, 1794; often reprinted) by Joseph Troplowitz (= Joseph *Ha-Efrati c. 1770–1804). Saul appears as a tragic hero, torn by guilt, fear, and envy. From the era of Romanticism through the various movements of the 19th century, Saul continued to fascinate poets and dramatists. Lord *Byron's "Saul" poems (in: *Hebrew Melodies*, 1815) include the scene in which the king meets the witch of En-Dor and another poem on the theme was written by Robert *Browning (1845). There were two French tragedies – Alphonse de Lamartine's *Saül* (1818) and another of the same title by Alexandre Soumet (1822). There were also several tragedies in German, notably Karl Ferdinand Gutzkow's *Koenig Saul* (1839), Karl *Beck's *Saul* (1841), and Friedrich Rueckert's *Saul und David* (1843). The Cuban writer Gertrudis Gómez de Avellaneda (Peregrina), who lived mostly in Spain, was the author of a powerful drama, *Saúl* (1849), and in Romania Alexandru Macedonski and Cincinat Pavelescu wrote the tragedy, *Saul* (1893).

Literary exploitation of the subject has been heightened in the 20th century by the use of psychological motivation.

Works written before World War I include two poems by Rainer Maria Rilke, "*Saul unter den Propheten*" and "*Samuels Erscheinung vor Saul*." These were followed by dramas by the Japanese Torahiko Khori (1918), the Norwegian Jon Norstog (*Kong Saul*, 1920), and the South African (Afrikaans) writer W. Pienaar (1928). André Gide's *Saül*, a five-act drama written in the 1890s but published nearly 30 years later in 1922, portrays Saul as an old man consumed by the gratification of his lusts. The ill-fated monarch also plays a central part in the English writer D.H. Lawrence's play, *David* (1926), which was originally entitled "*Saul*."

A large proportion of modern works on the subject have, however, been written by Jews, and of these most are dramas. Plays written before World War II include Max Donkhin's Russian *Saul* (1902), dramas by Lion *Feuchtwanger and Karl *Wolfskehl (1905), Israël *Querido's Dutch tragedy, *Saul en David* (1914), and *Tsar Saul* (1937), a drama in Russian by Naum Isaakovich Shimkin. Postwar works include dramas by Abel Jacob *Herzberg (*Sauls dood*, 1959) and Max Zweig (1961), and Charles Israel's novel, *Rizpah* (1961). Some of the most interesting dramatic treatments of the Saul theme have been written in Hebrew and Yiddish. Among those in Yiddish are *Shaul* (1922) by Hirsh Brill of Kovno (1891–1925); *Der Melekh Shaul* (1948), published in Poland by Israel Ashendorf; a dramatic sketch (in *Lider un Poemen*, 1949) by the Mexican Yiddish writer Nahum Pozner; and Leizer Treister's *Der Pastekh-Kenig* ("The Shepherd King," 1955). In Hebrew, there are poems by Tchernikowsky and dramas by M. Lazebnik (1932) and by Max *Brod and Shin *Shalom (*Sha'ul Melekh Yisrael*, 1944), the latter taking the form of a *Schicksalstragoedie* (tragedy of fate).

Saul's noble son Jonathan has also inspired writers from the 17th century onward. Two early Italian tragedies, both entitled *Gionata*, were published by Bartolommeo Tortoletti Veronese (1624) and the Jesuit Saverio Bettinelli (1747); and a "Tragedy of Jonathan" was one of the plays of the 16th-century Spanish author Vasco Diaz Tanco which has been lost. In the 20th century, treatments include "Yonatan," a poem based on I Sam. 14:1–43, by the Hebrew poetess *Rachel; Arthur W. Spaulding's novel, *A Man of Valor* (1908); and S.B. Rosner's German drama, *Jonatan und Tirzah* (1912). Saul's daughter Michal, who became David's wife, has also figured in literary works of the 19th and 20th centuries. Hebrew treatments include J.L. *Gordon's epic *Ahavat David u-Mikhal* (1857) and Aharon *Ashman's three-act drama, *Mikhal Bat Sha'ul* (1941; *Michal the Daughter of Saul*, 1957); and there have also been dramas by the Italian Adolfo Isaia (*Micol*, 1898), the Yiddish writer David *Pinski (*Mikhol*, 1918), and the Dutch author J.D. van Calcar (1937). Morris Raphael *Cohen published *King Saul's Daughter* (1952), a biblical dialogue.

In art, scenes from the life of Saul are found in the third-century wall paintings from the synagogue of Dura *Europos, on the fourth-century door at St. Ambrogio, Milan, and in a variety of Carolingian and medieval manuscript illuminations. Representation of the subject during the Middle Ages was almost entirely confined to illuminated manuscripts. The main episodes to have been treated are Saul anointed by Samuel (I Sam. 10:1), David playing the harp before Saul (I Sam. 16:23), Saul casting a spear at David (I Sam. 19:10), David finding Saul in the cave (I Sam. 24:4, and Saul visiting the witch of En-Dor (I Sam. 28:8). Although David playing the harp before Saul was the subject of a copper engraving by Lucas Van Leyden (1494–1533), it was mainly *Rembrandt who depicted Saul with a degree of pathos and drama. There is an early painting by Rembrandt in the Staedel Institute, Frankfurt, and a later one in the Hague Museum. In the latter work the angry king, moved to tears, hides his face behind a curtain while David is absorbed in his music. There is a modern treatment of the theme by the Dutch artist Jozef *Israëls. In recent times, the lives of David and Saul were treated in a series of 41 lithographs by the Austrian artist Oskar Kokoschka.

In Music

Earlier musical compositions on the theme include a choral work by Heinrich Schuetz, *Saul* (for three choirs and instruments); the second of Kuhnau's "Biblical Sonatas" (1700), *Der von David mittelst der Musik curierte Saul*, for keyboard instrument; and Bononuni's anthem for the funeral of the Duke of Marlborough, *When Saul was King over Israel* (1722). Occasionally Jonathan is the main figure, as in Caldara's oratorio, *Gionata* (1728; libretto by Zeno). Handel's oratorio, *Saul* (text by Charles Jennens), was first performed at the King's Theater, London, in January 1739 and the "Death March in Saul" has entered the repertoire of standard funeral marches. Another English work was Samuel Arnold's *The Cure of Saul* (oratorio, 1767). A. Salieri left an unfinished oratorio, *Saulle*; and other works of the period were operas, oratorios, and melodramas by Seyfried (1798), Rolle (1776), and a pastiche, *Saul*, for which the music was "mixed" by Kalkbrenner and Lachnith from works by Mozart, Haydn, Cimarosa, and Paisiello (Paris, 1803). At the same time, Gossec also composed an oratorio, *Saul*. The Italian Jewish composer Michele *Bolaffi composed an opera, *Saul*, which was not staged. Byron's three poems on Saul (in *Hebrew Melodies*) were first set to music by Isaac *Nathan. There were later settings by many others, including Moussorgsky's *King Saul* (a translation by Kozlov of *Warriors and Chiefs*), song with piano, later arranged for orchestral accompaniment by Glazunov and for tenor or alto, mixed choir, piano or orchestra, trumpet, and side drum by Lazare *Saminsky (1929). Two other 19th-century compositions were Rossini's oratorio, *Saul* (1834), and a successful opera by Antonio Buzzi (1843). Among musical treatments of the late 19th century were Ferdinand Hiller's oratorio, *Saul* (1857); another by Hubert Parry, *King Saul* (1894); and Georges Enesco's cantata, *La vision de Saül* (1896). Works of the 20th century include Carl Nielsen's oratorio-like opera, *Saul og David* (1902); Arthur Honegger's incidental music to André Gide's *Saül* (1922); an orchestral work, *Saul en David* by Johann Wagenaar (1862–1941); and the opera *Saul* by Hermann Reutter, with libretto after A. Lernet-Holenia (1928; revised

1947). For Max Zweig's drama, *Saul*, in a Hebrew translation by J. Horowitz, performed by Habimah in 1949, the incidental music was written by Emanuel *Amiran. Three later compositions are *The Lamentation of Saul* by Norman dello Joio (1954) for baritone and orchestra, based on D.H. Lawrence's play, *David*; Josef *Tal's concert-opera, *Saul at Endor* (première at Ramat Gan, 1955); and Mario *Castelnuovo-Tedesco's opera, *Saul* (1960).

See also: *David in the Arts; *Samuel in the Arts.

[Bathja Bayer]

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SAUL BEN ANAN (c. 800), sectarian leader, son of *Anan b. David. He succeeded his father as head of the sect of Ananites about the end of the eighth century. In *Karaite tradition, which regards Anan as the titular founder of Karaism, Saul is listed second in the hereditary line of Karaite "princes." Nothing is known of his activity, except for his reported interpretation of the Seventh Commandment in the sense that adultery covers all illicit intimacy. He was succeeded in his princely office by his son *Josiah.

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[Leon Nemoy]

°**SAULCY, LOUIS FELICIEN DE JOSEPH CAIGNART** (1807–1880), French numismatist, Orientalist, and archaeologist. Saulcy was born in Lille, France. He traveled in Syria and Palestine in 1850–51, 1863, and 1869, discovering the Shihan Stele and recognizing that the mound of Jericho was the site of an ancient city. In 1863 he cleared the Tombs of the Kings in Jerusalem, mistaking them for the Tombs of the House of David. This was the first archaeological excavation in the Holy Land. Although his archaeological work is now considered somewhat slipshod and amateurish, Saulcy was of some importance as a numismatist: he was the first to catalogue the coins of Palestine, noting many which have since disappeared, and left after him an extensive coin collection.

His works include *Numismatique des Croisades* (1847); *Recherches sur la numismatique judaïque* (1854); *Numismatique de la Terre Sainte* (1874); *Voyage autour de la Mer Morte* (2 vols., 1853); *Voyage en Terre Sainte* (2 vols., 1865; including his account of the excavation of the Tombs of the Kings in vol. 1,345–410; vol. 2, 188–9, 309–11); and *Carnets de voyage en Orient*, ed. by F. Bassan (1955).

[Michael Avi-Yonah]

SAVANNAH, city in Georgia, U.S., third oldest Jewish community in North America. A seaport, the city had a total population of 129,808, according to the 2004 U.S. Census estimates, of whom 3,500 were Jews in 2005.

On July 11, 1733, 41 Jews arrived aboard a ship chartered by London's Sephardi synagogue. Despite objections from London's Georgia trustees, the Jews won the legal right to settle and own property. Original settlers included Dr. Samuel Nunes, who rescued the colonists from an epidemic; his son-in-law Abraham de Lyon, who introduced viticulture; Abraham Minis, who became supplier for the militia of the founder of Georgia, James Edward Oglethorpe; and Benjamin Sheftall, interpreter for German Salzburger settlers. Sheftall and his son Levi kept the community's vital records from 1733 to 1809. In 1740, the Jewish population reached 100, but economic failure in Georgia, coupled with Spanish raids from Florida, gradually dispersed the community until only the Minis and Sheftall families remained.

Although ritual appurtenances had been brought from England, it was not until 1735 that Ashkenazim and Sephardim could agree to organize the congregation Mickve Israel, which conducted worship in a small hut. A ritual bath was opened in 1738. Oglethorpe granted the original settlers a cemetery, but when the town grew around it, Mordecai Sheftall, by deed of August 2, 1773, donated to Mickve Israel a portion of his farm plot for "the use of a burial ground and for erecting a synagogue." The cemetery was used until 1850. The remainder of the property was sold, and the proceeds were used in 1902 to build a school and social center, the Mordecai Sheftall Memorial, which was replaced in 1957. Fluctuation in population occasionally forced the abandonment of public worship. In 1790, Mickve Israel obtained a charter from the governor, but 30 years elapsed before Jacob de la Motta (1789–1845) prevailed upon his coreligionists to build a synagogue, which was dedicated in 1820 and consecrated the following year. In 1829, it burned down (though its Torah – brought to Savannah in 1733 – and ark were saved) and was replaced with a brick edifice that remained in use until 1878, when the present Gothic structure was dedicated. Mickve Israel preserved Sephardi traditions until 1903, when it joined the Reform movement. It is the oldest reform congregation in the United States, using an organ for services in 1820, having mixed seating in 1860, as well as having a mixed choir populated by both sexes and even non-Jews. In 2005, 300 families were members of the congregation.

Prussian-Polish immigrants of the 1850s organized what became the Orthodox Congregation B'nai B'rith Jacob. The

Eastern European immigration to the United States enlarged its membership. Organized under the leadership of Rabbi Jacob Rosenfeld after he was dismissed as rabbi at Mickve Israel over a dispute dealing with *kashrut*, the congregation built its first synagogue on the northeast corner of State and Montgomery Streets in 1866 and held services on Friday evenings and Saturday mornings. A flourishing membership prompted the community to build a new, larger synagogue with a Hebrew school on the same site in 1909; at its peak, the school boasted an enrollment of 200 students. The congregation built a third structure, in 1962, on Abercorn Street and held its first services there on Passover. In 2005, 425 families belonged to the congregation.

Congregation Agudath Achim, formed as an Orthodox group in 1901, was incorporated in 1903 and became Conservative in 1945 with the dedication of its third synagogue. The original congregation numbered 46 families; in 2005, it had 270 families. In the early 1980s, it formed a joint school with Mickve Israel, which was renamed in 1991 as the Shalom School, and in 2005 enrolled 100 students. Shalom School is a supplemental religious school that meets two weekday afternoons and on Sunday. The congregation celebrated its centennial year in 2003 and as part of that celebration, rededicated a Holocaust Torah from Kamenice, Czechoslovakia.

Established in 2002, the Hillel chapter at Savannah College of Art and Design had approximately 25 members in 2005.

The Savannah B'nai Brith was chartered in 1860. Savannah Jewry also developed many charitable societies: Hebrew Benevolent (1851); Ladies Hebrew Benevolent (1853); Harmonie Club (1865); Orphan Aid (1880), affiliated with the B'nai B'rith Atlanta Orphanage; Hebra Gemiluth Hessed (1888); Young Woman's Aid (1906); Women's Circle (1908); Hadassah (1918). A Young Men's Hebrew Association (1874) lasted several generations. These and other agencies came under the aegis of the Jewish Education Alliance (chartered 1912). Designed as an Americanizing center, the Alliance developed into a center of Jewish activities; it moved to larger premises in the 1950s. In 1990, the Alliance founded the Rambam Day School for students aged 2 through eighth grade; 2005 enrollment was 122 students. The Savannah Jewish Council, founded in 1943 and now known as the Savannah Jewish Federation, conducts the annual United Jewish Appeal campaign as well as social and educational programs.

The Savannah Jewish Archives are housed in the Georgia Historical Society in Savannah, Georgia. Established in 1994, they are administered by the Savannah Jewish Federation and are one of two Jewish archives in the state. The second is located in Atlanta.

Jews have always played an active role in all facets of Savannah life, with many holding public office. Most notable was Herman Myers (1847–1909), who served as mayor from 1895 to 1897 and from 1899 to 1907, and Kenneth Sadler, city council member (2003–). Other notable community members include Kenneth Rubin, awarded the Distinguished Service Cross in the Vietnam War in 1967, and William Wexler, international president of B'nai Brith from 1965 to 1971.

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[Malcolm H. Stern / David Weinstock (2nd ed.)]

SAVERNE (Ger. **Zabern**), town in the department of Bas-Rhin, in eastern France. The presence of Jews in Saverne is confirmed from at least 1334. The community suffered during the *Armleder persecutions in 1338. At the time of the *Black Death in 1349 there was only one Jewish family in Saverne, which was compelled to leave the town. By 1622 there were a few Jews again living in Saverne; in 1716, there were seven families and 21 in 1784. The community numbered over 300 persons at the close of the 19th century. It maintained a Jewish primary school (founded in 1857). A new synagogue was opened in 1898. Its population subsequently declined. During World War II, 30 Jews of Saverne died during deportation. The community numbered about 100 in 1970.

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[Bernhard Blumenkranz]

SAVILLE, VICTOR (1897–1979), British film director and producer. Saville was born in Birmingham, the son of an Orthodox fine arts dealer, Gabriel Salberg. He was educated at King Edward VI School in Birmingham and was wounded in World War I. From 1919 Saville was a partner with Michael *Balcon, another leading film producer, in Victory Motion Pictures, and from the late 1920s was one of Britain's leading filmmakers, producing or directing such movies as *South Riding* (1937), *Goodbye Mr. Chips* (1939), *Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde* (1941), and *Green Dolphin Street* (1947). In the 1950s he changed direction, producing several of Mickey Spillane's "hard-boiled" thrillers such as *I, The Jury* (1953). Saville's wife, Phoebe, was the niece of the prominent British film distributor and producer Charles M. Woolf (1879–1942). His son, SIR JOHN WOOLF (1913–1999), was also a major British film producer, responsible for such works as Lawrence Olivier's Shakespearean epic *Henry V* (1944) and, after the war, *Moulin Rouge* (1953), *Richard III* (1955), *Room At the Top* (1959), and the film version of the musical *Oliver!* (1968), which won six Oscars. Woolf was also the cofounder of Anglia Television and was responsible for the series *Tales of the Unexpected* (1979–89) and other drama productions. He was knighted in 1975.

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[William D. Rubinstein (2nd ed.)]

SAVITT, RICHARD (**Dick**; 1927–), U.S. tennis player, the only Jew ever to win Wimbledon, Pete *Sampras excepted; member of the International Tennis Hall of Fame. Born in Bayonne, New Jersey, Savitt taught himself tennis as a 14-year-old, and reached the finals of the New Jersey Boys Championship. In 1944, his family moved to El Paso, Texas, where Savitt was co-captain of his high school basketball team and became an all-Texas player. At the same time, he ranked eighth nationally among junior tennis players and was the 17th ranked amateur overall. Savitt joined the Navy in 1945 and played on its basketball team, completing his tour of duty the following year. Cornell University offered him a basketball scholarship, but Savitt decided, after injuries cut short his hoop career, to concentrate on tennis. In 1947, he was national ranked 26th, and two years later he moved up to 16th. In 1950, Savitt won the Eastern Intercollegiate, East Clay Court, and New York State tournaments, and without the benefit of coaching he reached the semifinals of the U.S. Championship at Forest Hills. He then won the Australian Open, defeating the three top Aussies – John Bromwich, Frank Sedgman, and Ken McGregor – and on July 6, 1951, Savitt won the All-England championship at Wimbledon, defeating McGregor 6–4, 6–4, 6–4. After the tournament, Savitt and Herb Flam were named to the U.S. Davis Cup team, the first time that Jewish players ever made the squad. But inexplicably – and despite his being clearly the best American player at that time, even making the cover of *Time* magazine on August 27, 1951 – Savitt was passed over for the Davis Cup final against the Australian team, a controversial decision that was discussed by sports writers all over the world. The following year, Savitt was so upset at being snubbed that he announced he would retire from competitive tennis following the 1952 U.S. National Indoor Championships, which he won. He returned to tennis on a part-time basis in 1956, and won the 1958 and 1961 U.S. National Indoor Championships, making him the first to win three times. In 1961, Savitt won the singles and doubles (with Mike Franks) gold medals at the Maccabiah Games, which began a lifetime commitment to Israeli tennis. In 1981, he and his son, Robert, won the U.S. father and son doubles title. Savitt was ranked six times in the U.S. Top Ten between 1950 and 1959 (No. 2 in 1951), and four times in the World Top Ten between 1951 and 1957 (No. 2 in 1951). He was elected to the International Tennis Hall of Fame in 1976.

[Elli Wohlgelernter (2nd ed.)]

SAVORA, SAVORAIM (Aram. סָבוֹרָא, סָבוֹרָאִים), Babylonian scholars between the *amoraim and the *geonim. Very little is known of this period, the principal sources being Sherira (*Iggeret Sherira Ga'on*, ed. by B.M. Lewin (1921), 67–71, 95–99), who drew upon early geonic archival material; Abraham ibn Daud (Ibn Daud, Tradition, 43–55); and some additional geonic fragments such as *Seder Tanna'im ve-Amora'im*, etc. Traditionally, the amoraic phase ends with the death of *Ravina (BM 86a) in 499 C.E. According to *Seder Tanna'im ve-Amora'im* (ed. by Grossberg, 105–11) and Sherira, the last of the *savoraim* were Gada (Gazai) and Simuna, who died in 540, while Ibn Daud extends the savoraic period for five generations, from Mar Joseph (502) until the death of Sheshna in 689. It would appear that the transition from one period to another was so gradual that only in retrospect could the *geonim* somewhat arbitrarily fix terminal dates to the savoraic period, and different reckonings were adduced. Sherira, Ibn Daud, and *Seder Tannai'm ve-Amora'im* all give lists of *savoraim*, but the textual state of these lists is poor, and only a few major personalities can be definitely identified, e.g., Abba (Rava) Joseph (Yose), Aḥa b. Huna, Aḥai of Be-Hatim, Geviha of Argiza (Git. 7a), Mordecai, Pappias, Rabbah of Rov, and Samuel b. Abbahu (Rabbah; Ḥul. 59b).

The term *savoraim*, first found in geonic sources, and based on *savora* in the Jerusalem Talmud, *Kiddushin* 2, 63d (where it means a scholar competent to render decisions) implies those who give private subjective judgments rather than authoritative ones. According to Sherira, after Ravina there was no *hora'ah* (independent decision based on interpretation of the Mishnah), but the *savoraim* "rendered decisions similar to *hora'ah*, and gave explanations of all that had been left unsettled." This implies that they added nothing essentially new to the Talmud, merely adding explanations which in some ways were similar to amoraic decisions and coming to practical conclusions on undecided issues (hence the savoraic terminology of *ve-hilkheta* ("and the ruling is"), *pashit* ("he resolved it"), *mistabra* ("it is reasonable"), etc. Sherira adds that a number of savoraic decisions (of Ena and Simuna) and indeed complete arguments (e.g., Kid. 2a–3b) have been included in the Talmud. Analysis of these additions often demonstrates a close similarity in style and argumentation to that of the later *amoraim*, again underscoring the problem of pinpointing the moment of transition between the two periods.

According to (some versions of) *Seder Tanna'im va-Amora'im*, the *savoraim* did no more than "merely determine the arrangement of the Talmud text in all its chapters." Evidently, this represents but one (the earliest?) phase of savoraic activity, during which the redaction of the Talmud, begun in the late amoraic period, was completed. The *savoraim* completed the ordering of the Talmud, clarified certain unsettled halakhic decisions, introduced additional discussions and explanations of existing texts, and inserted brief technical guide phrases to facilitate study of the texts. Recent tendencies have been to increase the extent of their contribution to the Talmud, though this is still a subject of considerable controversy.

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[Daniel Sperber]

SAVOY (Fr. **Savoie**), formerly a county and then a duchy, reunited with France in 1860, includes the present departments of Savoie and Haute-Savoie in S.E. France. A Jewish inscription of 688 from *Narbonne, mentioning a Jew named Sapaudus, may be the first evidence of the presence of Jews in that region. Formal proofs of Jewish settlement in Savoy date only from the second half of the 13th century (the assertion that Jews were in Savoy after the expulsion from France in 1182 has no documentary basis, not even in *Emek ha-Bakha* of *Joseph ha-Kohen). Jews were to be found not only in Chambéry, but particularly in the following places (not including those which belonged to Savoy only temporarily): Aiguebelle, Montmélian, Rumilly, Yenne, Saint-Genix. Noteworthy is the place name "Lac des Juifs" near Chambéry. In almost all these places the Jews suffered bloody persecution in 1348 on the charge of spreading the *Black Death; even those who survived were robbed of all their goods.

The expulsion of the Jews from France in 1394 led to their emigrating into Savoy again. In 1417 the first investigation of Jewish books was entrusted to two converted Jews. Moreover, for many years the dukes had favored proselytizing activities, guaranteeing comfortable subsidies to new Christians. This was probably the persecution that Joseph ha-Kohen noted in 1394 and which he attributed to the preaching of Vicente *Ferrer; in fact, he notes having seen "a book of tattered appearance because it was one of those which the Jews, in those unhappy days, kept hidden at the bottom of wells until their torment was over." There was a fresh investigation into Jewish books in 1426 (this time directed by the inquisitor Ponce Feugerons), which resulted in the Jews pledging to delete the prohibited passages he had listed. The statutes promulgated by Duke Amadeus in 1430 reflect this general hostility by forcing the Jews to reside in a separate quarter ("Judeazimus") and wear a distinctive badge, and forbidding them to mingle with Christians on Christian festivals. There was another investigation of Jewish books in 1466, as well as of a series of other accusations – committing murders, practicing abortions, magic, and sorcery, and publicly insulting the duke. The investigation of books was again entrusted to a converted Jew, the physician Louis of Nice, a man whom the duke had favored for more than 20 years. Criminal proceedings were abandoned, however, despite numerous witnesses for the prosecution, when the Jews paid a very heavy fine.

From then on there is no further evidence of the presence of Jews in Savoy, except at Chambéry; it is therefore probable that their departure – voluntary or forced – resulted from these criminal proceedings. Joseph ha-Kohen dates the banishment of the Jews from Savoy to 1461. The existence of the Jewish community of Chambéry up to the beginning of the 16th century was recorded by the Jewish scholar Gershom *Soncino, who lived there at the time. There were a number of important Jewish doctors, some of them converts.

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[Bernhard Blumenkranz]

SAVRAN (Bendery), ḥasidic dynasty. MOSES ẒEVI SAVRAN (d. 1838), son of R. SIMEON SOLOMON, held rabbinical posts in Berdichev, Savran (in Podolia), and Titshlinik. From boyhood he excluded from his life all activities that might distract him from his studies. Savran strongly opposed the ḥasidic followers of Naḥman of *Bratslav, whom he denounced as "sinners," and warned his followers not to intermarry with them. Azriel Dov, a disciple of Moses Ẓevi, collected the discourses of his master, which were published under the title *Likkutei Shoshanim* (1872). His son SIMEON SOLOMON (d. 1848) and his grandson DAVID (d. 1913), son-in-law of Nahum of *Chernobyl, continued the dynasty. The second son of Simeon Solomon, ARYEH LEIB OF BENDERY (d. 1854) founded a dynasty which produced four ḥasidic leaders, SIMEON SOLOMON (d. 1864), ISAAC (d. 1911), son-in-law of Joseph of Radziwillow, SIMEON SOLOMON (d. 1924), and JOSEPH (b. 1882).

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[Harry Rabinowicz]

SAVYON (Heb. סַבְיוֹן), urban settlement, with municipal council status, in central Israel, south of Petaḥ Tikvah. Founded on the initiative of immigrants from South Africa as a garden suburb, it had a population of 1,430 in 1968 and 2,470 in 2002, occupying an area of 1.1 sq. mi. (2.9 sq. km.). Savyon is an upper middle-class community, with most residents commuting to work in Tel Aviv or elsewhere in the area. The settlement's name is that of the *senecio* plant common in the region.

[Efraim Orni / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

SAWICKI (Reisler), JERZY (1908–1967), Polish lawyer who was a prosecuting counsel at the Polish War Crimes Tribunal and a member of the Polish delegation at the Nuremberg Trials. Born in Skole, Galicia, into an Orthodox Jewish family, Sawicki graduated and practiced as a lawyer. He went into hiding during the Nazi occupation. After the war he rapidly acquired distinction as a prosecutor in war crimes trials and other important cases. Subsequently he became professor of criminal law at Warsaw University and a member of several international institutions concerned with the reform of criminal law.

Sawicki was the author of numerous works on criminal law, genocide, and the trial of Nazi war criminals, including *Prawo norymberskie* ("The Nuremberg Judgment," 1948), with T. Cyprian, and *Przed polskim prokuratorem* ("Before the Polish Prosecutor," 1958). After 1945 he was a founder and an active member of the "Polish Friends of the Hebrew University."

[Israel (Ignacy) Isserles]

SAXON, DAVID STEPHEN (1920–2005), U.S. educator and physicist. Saxon was born in St. Paul, Minnesota. He attended the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and received his B.S. in 1941 and his Ph.D. in 1944. In 1946 he became an associate physicist with Phillips Laboratories in New York and the following year joined the faculty of the University of California at Los Angeles as an assistant professor of physics. At UCLA he became professor of physics in 1957, served as dean of physical sciences (1963–1966), vice chancellor (1968–1972), and executive vice chancellor (1974–1975). In 1975 he was elected the 14th president of the University of California and served until 1983.

Saxon's academic fields were theoretical physics, nuclear physics, quantum mechanics, and electromagnetic theory. In addition to being a renowned scholar, he was an outstanding academic administrator and a distinguished leader. In 1967 the UCLA Alumni Association presented him with the Distinguished Teaching Award. After he retired from teaching, he became professor emeritus of physics and astronomy at UCLA.

Among his publications are *Elementary Quantum Mechanics* (1968), *The Nuclear Independent Particle Model* (with A.E.S. Green and T. Sawada, 1968), *Discontinuities in Wave Guides* (with J. Schwinger, 1968), and *Physics for the Liberal Arts Student* (with W.B. Fretter, 1971).

[Frederick R. Lachman]

SAXONY (Ger. **Sachsen**), state in Germany, formerly an electorate and kingdom. Information about the first Jewish settlers in Saxony dates back to the tenth century. During the rule of the German emperor Otto I (936–973), Jews lived in the towns of *Magdeburg, *Halle, *Erfurt, and *Merseburg, among other places. Up to the end of the 12th century they were able to earn their living, primarily as merchants, without interference. In the 13th century, following persecutions during the Crusades and accusations of ritual murder (see *blood libel), the position of the Jews deteriorated. According to the medieval German law code *Sachsenspiegel* (1220–1235; see *Germany), Jews were not allowed to carry arms, build new synagogues, or keep Christian servants, nor could they hold any public office. They were not allowed to appear as witnesses or call Christian witnesses, and were thus entirely at the court's mercy. However, since the economic activities of the Jews were of interest to the margraves of Saxony, many of these restrictions were abolished as early as the middle of the 13th century and were replaced by more liberal regulations. Jews were allowed to have their tribunals and to be landowners. As may be gathered from the responsa literature and from the medieval chronicles, there was already a busy community life in those early days. The communities were collectively responsible to the authorities. A meeting at Erfurt in 1391 was attended by rabbis and community elders. Among famous talmudic scholars who resided in the communities of Saxony were *Asher b. Jehiel (the "Rosh") and *Isaac b. Moses of Vienna ("Or Zaru'a"). During the *Rindfleisch persecutions (1298), Jews in the southern cities of Saxony were affected. The large-scale persecutions and expulsions from German cities at the time of the *Black Death (1348–50) also affected the communities in Saxony.

Community life in most cities was renewed, but on a diminished scale. Moneylending had become the main occupation of the Jews, who were hard hit by the debt cancellations of Emperor Wenceslaus (1378–1400). The 15th century witnessed the expulsion of Jews from most of the cities – Erfurt (1458), Halle (1493), Aschersleben (1494), and Torgau (1432). The expulsions of *Meissen (1430), and of the 16th century from Merseburg (1514), *Zwickau, Plauen, and *Muehlhausen (1541–43) were more strictly enforced, due to the militant anti-Jewish spirit of the Protestant Reformation in Saxony. However, a few Jews were tolerated – such as Meister Baruch, the physician of the rulers Ernst (1464–85) and Albert III (1485–1500) – who, together with his two sons, received special permission to engage in moneylending. In the 16th century there were complaints about the economic activity of foreign Jews, who were mainly attracted by the Saxon silver mines. The government and the municipal authorities took steps to ensure that the presence of Jews at the Leipzig fairs should be temporary and limited to the duration of the fairs.

The first Jew to receive a *Schutzbrief* (see **Schutzjuden*) in Saxony was Behrend *Lehmann, the *Court Jew of Elector Frederick Augustus I (the Strong; 1694–1733); in 1710 Lehmann preferred to remain in *Halberstadt, while his cousin, Jonas Meyer, and his son settled as his agents in *Dresden, the capital. In 1723 they maintained households, numbering 30 and 40 respectively, to the annoyance of the burghers. The Jewish community of *Leipzig was founded in 1710 by Gerd Levi, court purveyor to the mint.

Frederick Augustus II (1733–63) in the year of his accession abolished the **Leibzoll* for the Jews passing through Saxony on business. His prime minister, Heinrich von Bruehl, was very partial to court Jews fulfilling various economic functions (military contractors, purveyors to the mint, etc.). As Frederick Augustus was, like his father, king of Poland as well, many of the court Jews originated in Poland. The *Kaskel (Kaskele) family, court Jews, bankers, and financiers, originally from Poland, played a central economic role in Saxony in the late 18th and 19th centuries.

Frederick Augustus III (1768–1827), elector and first king of Saxony, promulgated a restrictive *Judenordnung* (regulation concerning Jews) in 1772. Saxon Jewry thus remained numerically static throughout the following decades; an increase during the Napoleonic wars proved to be only temporary. The number of Jews in Dresden in 1800 (1,031) was halved by 1815. In 1832 there were 852 Jews in the kingdom, 712 in Dresden and 140 in Leipzig. The struggle for emancipation was led by Bernhard *Beer and W.T. *Krug. In 1834 Jews were allowed to learn trades and live outside Dresden proper, while Jewish affairs were placed under the supervision of the ministry of religion and education. Further slight improvements were effected in 1837 and 1838. In 1840 the Jewish *oath was amended, partially due to the urging of the **Landrabbiner* Zacharias *Frankel (1836–1854). Full equality was obtained during the 1848 Revolution, only to be repealed in 1851. It was not until 1868 and 1869 that Jews attained full legal equality. The number of Jews increased slowly from 1,022 in 1849 (0.05% of the total population) to 1,555 in 1861 and 3,346 in 1871 (0.13%). After emancipation their number leaped to 6,616 in 1880 (0.22%), 12,378 in 1900, and 17,587 in 1910 (0.53%). This increase, due in large part to immigration from Austria (Galicia) and Russia (Poland) and rapid industrialization in Saxony, had serious repercussions. Antisemites raised a cry against inundation by *Ostjuden*, while there was friction within the Jewish communities too. In 1925 there were 23,200 (0.46%, half the German average), with 5,120 in Leipzig, 5,120 in Dresden, and 2,796 in Chemnitz (*Karl-Marx-Stadt). Rural communities were nonexistent. Anti-Jewish sentiment was expressed in anti-*sheḥitah laws and the exclusion of Jews from the civil service. The only Jew elected to the *Landtag* was Emil *Lehmann, leader of the Dresden community. In October 1938 thousands of Polish Jews were expelled; on November 9–10 the synagogues were burned down, and thousands more Jews emigrated after pogroms and arrests. The remainder were deported to concentration camps. After the war new communities arose in Leipzig, Dresden, and Karl-Marx-Stadt (renamed Chemnitz in 1990). In 1945 the three communities had 563 members. The membership declined continuously. They numbered 214 in 1969; 169 in 1976; and 106 in 1989. After 1990 the membership increased due to the immigration of Jews from the former Soviet Union. In 1992 the Association of Jewish Communities in Saxony was founded as an umbrella organization of the communities in Dresden, Leipzig, and Chemnitz. They numbered 232 in 1994 and 2,314 in 2004. The association employs a rabbi who officiates in the three communities.

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[Reuven Michael / Larissa Daemmig (2nd ed.)]

SCAASI, ARNOLD (1931–), U.S. fashion designer. Scaasi was born Arnold Isaacs in Montreal, Canada, the son of a local furrier. Although he never graduated from high school, he became a celebrated designer whose custom-made tailored suits and glamorous gowns were worn by movie stars, society matrons, and at least five U.S. first ladies. He changed his last name, but he never denied his heritage, often describing himself as "a Jewish kid from Montreal." When he was still a teenager, the family moved to Melbourne, Australia, where Arnold fell under the spell of his aunt Ida Wynn, a prominent fundraiser for the Women's International Zionist Organization, who was equally well known for her chic French wardrobe. His interest in fashion piqued, he returned to Montreal to study design, then moved to Paris and apprenticed to Paquin, a prestigious couture house. He came to New York City in 1953 and began working with Charles James, a brilliant but eccentric designer. Around that time, Isaacs was assigned to create dresses for a series of automobile ads. Someone suggested reversing the spelling of his last name for added glamour and Scaasi was born. As his reputation for bold colors and sculptural shapes spread, he landed a red evening coat on the cover of *Vogue* magazine in December 1955. The following May, he launched a wholesale collection. He won a Coty Fashion Award in 1958 and opened a custom-design business in 1962. His dresses turned up at glittering parties from Manhattan to Los Angeles. In 1969, Barbra *Streisand accepted her Oscar for *Funny Girl* wearing a Scaasi-designed sheer pantsuit that created a sensation. Scaasi's clients have included actresses Elizabeth *Taylor, Lauren *Bacall, and Mary Tyler Moore, soprano Joan Sutherland, sculptor Louise *Nevelson, and social doyennes such as Brooke Astor. After already designing clothing for first ladies Mamie Eisenhower, Jacqueline Kennedy, and Lady Bird Johnson, he created a royal blue velvet and satin gown that Barbara Bush wore to her husband's Inaugural Ball in 1989. It was later donated to the Smithsonian Institution and Mrs. Bush became one of Scaasi's best clients. He has also designed clothes for her daughter-in-law Laura Bush, another first lady. In 1989, Scaasi introduced a women's fragrance. Later, to broaden his reach, he stopped doing runway shows and embarked on a series of licensing ventures for products ranging from lower-price dresses to sunglasses. With writer Bernadine Morris, he produced a book entitled *A Cut Above* in 1996, released to coincide with a retrospective of his work at the New-York Historical Society. In 1997, a decade after the Council of Fashion Designers of America honored him for "creative excellence," he won the group's Lifetime Achievement Award. It was presented by Barbara Bush. In 2001, a major exhibition of Scaasi's work was mounted at Kent State University in Ohio, and the following year, a similar presentation was staged at the Fashion Institute of Technology in New York. A memoir, *Women I Have Dressed (and Undressed)*, was published in 2004.

[Mort Sheinman (2nd ed.)]

°**SCALIGER, JOSEPH JUSTUS** (1540–1609), French scholar and philologist. Scaliger was the tenth child of Julius Caesar Scaliger (Giulio Cesare Della Scala, 1484–1558), who was an outstanding humanist, well known for his controversies with Erasmus and Rabelais. He became a Protestant in 1562, and ten years later fled the Massacre of St. Bartholomew, but returned to France in 1574. From 1593 until his death he was a professor at the University of Leiden, where the prevailing liberal Calvinism was in harmony with his own views. Holding an unusually tolerant and enlightened attitude toward the Jews, he considered them the best teachers of Hebrew, particularly for students of rabbinic literature. Basing himself on the findings of Elijah *Levita, he maintained that the Hebrew vowel points were of masoretic origin and that the Zohar was post-talmudic, a stand that was later challenged by Johannes *Buxtorf (II). Scaliger's library contained a manuscript translation of the Zohar by *Egidio da Viterbo.

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[Godfrey Edmond Silverman]

SCANDINAVIAN LITERATURE. The literary culture of the Scandinavian countries dates back about one millennium, the Danish, Faroese, Icelandic, Norwegian, and Swedish languages having developed on separate paths from the original Germanic root from about the ninth century. With rare exceptions, biblical and other Hebraic influences did not make an appearance in works by Danish, Norwegian, and Swedish writers until the Renaissance, and the contribution of Jewish authors began only very much later, from about the middle of the 19th century.

Danish Literature

BIBLICAL AND HEBRAIC INFLUENCES. Probably the earliest work of biblical inspiration written by a Dane was the *Hexaëmeron*, a 12-part, 8,000-line neo-Latin poem on the Creation by Anders Sunesøn (1164–1228), a Danish archbishop who studied in Oxford, Bologna, and Paris. It was not until the Lutheran Reformation in the early 16th century, however, that the impact of the Bible was felt on Danish language and literature. The first complete translation that has survived, the King Christian III Bible (1550), a literary monument, was continually revised and modernized until 1931 and was long the sole cultural source of the ordinary Dane. Since Christianity was, until the 19th century, the decisive cultural factor in Denmark, the Danish language and outlook were greatly influenced by stories, legends, ideas, and idioms drawn from the Old Testament; more than 300 familiar quotations in the everyday language, as well as about half of the "Christian" names, are of biblical origin. As in several other countries, Latin was the main literary language of the 17th century; several authors dealt with biblical themes in accordance with the ethical approach of Danish Protestantism, although these works were inaccessible to the unlearned majority of the population. Outstanding among these books was another *Hexaëmeron* (1661), composed in Alexandrine verse by Anders Christensen Arrebo, known as the "father of Danish poetry." Arrebo's epic, begun in 1630 and published only years after his death, was written in Danish. It was a free reworking of the French Protestant *Du Bartas' Creation epic, *La Semaine*, muting the more pagan elements of the original, and is generally regarded as the first milestone in the elevation of the Danish language to a vehicle of lofty poetic expression. Arrebo is also remembered as the author of a verse translation of Psalms into Danish (1623).

From the mid-19th century, several writers used biblical themes in drama and fiction. Frederik Paludan-Müller, an eminent poet and bishop, wrote *Abels død* (1844), and his example was followed by other Danish authors. Among later works on biblical subjects were Sven Lange's drama, *Samson og Dalila* (1909), *Jeremias* (1916), a play by Knud Gjørup; Kaj *Munk's drama, *En idealist* (1928; *Herod the King*, 1947), Harald Tandrup's novel *Profeten Jonas privat* (1937; *Jonah and the Voice*, 1937), Poul *Borchsenius' *Stjernesønnen* (1952; *Son of a Star*, 1960), a novel about Bar Kokhba; and a trilogy about Moses by Poul Hoffmann (1961–63).

THE IMAGE OF THE JEW. Perhaps the first writer in Denmark to introduce contemporary Jewish characters in his works was Ludvig Holberg (1684–1754), a pioneer of modern Danish literature. Holberg lived at a time when few Jews resided in Copenhagen, but nevertheless he encountered them during his travels in Germany and Holland. The Jewish types in his comedies are mainly theatrical figures: moneylenders, peddlers, the "Jewish priest" (complete with long beard, caftan, and fur hat); their "Jewish" language was a conglomeration of Danish and German. Nevertheless, Holberg showed a more scientific interest in the Jews, publishing a sympathetic historical study, *Den jødiske historie* (1742). Holger Paulli (b. 1644), who was influenced by pietist expectations, believed in the Jewish return to the Holy Land as a condition for the second coming of Jesus. One of the Christian forerunners of Zionism, he published books calling on the European monarchs to conquer Palestine so that the Jews might regain it as their state. In his novel, *Rigsdaler sedlens Haendelser* ("Events of a Dollar Note," 1789–93), Peter Andreas Heiberg projects a mixed image of the Jew, some being only interested in making money; but in *Kina-Farere* ("The Chinese Clippers," 1792) one Jew is honorable, his virtue promoting the play's dénouement. The poet Jens Immanuel Baggesen visited the Frankfurt ghetto, and in *Labyrinthen* ("The Labyrinth," 1792ff.), a book of travel, he presents a sympathetic picture of Jewish misery in their cramped quarter. Baggesen also wrote a statement warmly supporting Christian Wilhelm von *Dohm's book in favor of Jewish emancipation. In the early 19th century, Adam Gottlob Oehlenschläger, the "father of modern Danish literature," describes in his fairy tale play *Aladdin* (1805) a Jew who covets gold and hates Christians; but his *Sanct Hans Aftenspil* ("Midsummernight's Play," 1802) contains idyllic pictures of an old Jewish juggler and a Jewish boy in a market place.

The year 1813 was that of a notorious Jewish literary feud which began when a hack writer, Thomas Thaarup, translated Friedrich Buchholtz' violently antisemitic German book, "Moses und Jesus." The preface to this work claimed that "selfishness, indolence, and ferocity have been distinctive characteristics of the Jews from their very origin." Its publication gave rise to an uproar, and many writers and public figures in Denmark took sides in the controversy. Significant pleas in favor of the Jews came from poets of note such as Jens Baggensen and Steen Steensen Blicher, the latter maintaining that emancipation might restore dignity to the Jews. Blicher's short story "*Jøderne på Hald*" ("The Jews of the Mason Hald") portrays two sympathetic Jewish brothers named Lima and a young girl named Sulamith.

During the first half of the 19th century, the "Golden Age" of Danish literature, Jewish characters frequently appeared in Danish works. Thomasine Gyllembourg's short story *Jøden* ("The Jew," 1836) presents as its hero a "Nathan the Wise" similar to *Lessing's nobleminded Jew. Her son, Johan Ludvig Heiberg, wrote a successful comedy, *Kong Salomon og Jørgen Hattemager* ("King Solomon and George the Hatter," 1825), in which he wittily portrayed Solomon Goldkalb as a goodnatured, amusing character. Heiberg married a talented actress, Johanne Luise Pätges, whose mother was Jewish. Positive Jewish figures also appeared in the works of Hans Christian Andersen, the author of world-famous children's stories and fairy tales. In his novel *Kun en Spillemand* ("Only a Fiddler," 1837), the Jewess Naomi is the fiery, passionate heroine, and in *Denjødiske Pige* ("The Jewish Girl") Sarah remains loyal to her Jewish faith for the sake of her dead mother. Andersen also wrote a touching poem, "Rabbi Meyer." The *Wandering Jew theme also attracted several Danish poets – Bernhard Severin Ingemann, Frederik Paludan-Müller (*Ahasverus*, 1854), and Jens Christian Hostrup. The liberal Christian author and scholar Nicolai Frederik Severin Grundtvig wrote some 1,500 religious poems and hymns, many biblical in tone, in which he stresses the importance to world history of "the Hebrew people."

[Poul Borchsenius]

By the beginning of the 20th century, the Danish Jew had acquired a large measure of "naturalization" in drama and fiction. Thus the brothers Carl Edvard and Georg *Brandes appeared in Sven Lange's novel, *De første kampe* (1925), which was mainly concerned with the elder, Georg. A work of greater importance was Nobel prizewinner Henrik Pontoppidan's vast eight-volume novel *Lykke-Per* ("Lucky Peter," 1898–1904), which, with extraordinary detail and precision, conveyed the author's pessimistic view of contemporary Danish society through the Salomons, a middle-class Copenhagen family. This novel contains a moving description of the learned Aron Israel, whose "soul was as pure as his coat was dirty," and an admiring portrayal of Georg Brandes. Later, Jews also figured in works by Kaj Munk, Poul Borchsenius, Aage Bertelsen, and Sivert Gunst, whose *Hr. Menachem og Hans Hus* (1950) describes Jewish life in Copenhagen at the beginning of the 19th century. However, most of the 20th-century Danish literature dealing with Jewish themes was produced by Jewish authors.

THE JEWISH CONTRIBUTION. From the mid-19th century, Jews began to play an increasingly important role in Danish literary life. Among the pioneers were the converts Nicolai Abrahams and Henrik *Hertz; the Brandes brothers; and the novelist Meïr Aron *Goldschmidt, who frequently returned to Jewish social themes. These were followed by the playwright and novelist Poul Levin; Henri *Nathansen, who also dealt with the problem of Jewish survival in an alien environment; and Louis Levy. During the first three decades of the 20th century, Simon Koch also gained some distinction as a writer of fiction with novels such as *Digteren* (1907). Writers best known for their journalism included Herman Bing and Edvard Brandes, two of the three co-founders of the leading newspaper *Politiken*; Gottlieb Siesby; Valdemar Koppel; and Peter Nansen, a grandson of Mendel Levin *Nathanson, editor of the *Berlingske Tidende*, all of whose descendants were, however, converts to Christianity.

The Nazi occupation of Denmark, the famous rescue operation across the Øresund conducted by the Danish resistance, and the deportation of most of the Jews who remained behind were events that left their mark on postwar Danish literature. They inspired a number of books by younger authors, such as Hanne Kaufmann and Ralph Oppenhejm, and works by a Polish immigrant writer, Pinhas *Welner, which were translated from Yiddish and enjoyed considerable success in Danish editions.

Swedish Literature

BIBLICAL AND HEBRAIC INFLUENCES. In Sweden, as in other Christian lands, the Reformation inspired the first complete Swedish translation of the Old and New Testaments, which had previously been undertaken only in part, and from the Vulgate. The lead was taken by two Lutheran churchmen, Olaus Petri (1493–1552) and Laurentius Andraeae (c. 1475–1552) who, having no knowledge of Hebrew, based their work on Martin *Luther's German version. With minor stylistic changes this Gustavus I ("Gustaf Vasa") Bible remained Sweden's authorized version until 1917, when a new translation received royal sanction. Olaus Petri was also the reputed author of an early play on an apocryphal theme, *Tobiae Commedia* (1550), the earliest known drama in Swedish to have survived. Another early 16th-century Reformation drama was the anonymous *Holofernes och Judit*. The portion of the Old Testament whose influence is most evident in Swedish culture is the Book of Psalms. Many hymns of the Swedish church are no more than paraphrases of Psalms, retaining much of the Bible's phraseology. The most important poetical work of biblical inspiration written in the 17th century was the epic *Guds Werck och Hwila* ("God's Work and Rest," 1725) by Bishop Haquin Spegel, a gigantic composition using the Creation story as a basis and inspired by the French epic of Du Bartas. Two other biblical epics of the same era were *Bibliske Werlden* ("The Biblical World," ed. by J. Reenstierna, 1687) by Samuel Columbus, a series of biblical tales from the Creation to the Last Judgment; and *Biblisk Quinnospegel* ("The Biblical

Women's Mirror") by Olaf Kolmodin, a succession of monologues by famous women of the Bible. A very different use of the Bible was made by scholars of the patriotic "Gothic" trend, who set out to prove the antiquity and glory of Swedish history. This movement reached its peak in the *Atlantica* of Olaus Rudbeck, who adapted the stories of the Flood and the Tower of Babel to fit his assertions.

The 18th-century Enlightenment in Sweden brought with it skeptical and critical views of the Scriptures. Not daring to attack the New Testament, radical authors chose the Old Testament as their target. The "singing poet" Carl Mikael Bellman wrote a series of drinking songs on biblical themes, more merry than blasphemous, taking care to select the more colorful stories, such as Lot and his daughters, Joseph and Potiphar's wife, Esther and Ahasuerus, and, most famous of all, Noah as the inventor of wine. A favorite episode taken from the Apocrypha was that of Susanna and the Elders, on which Jacob Wallenberg wrote a play (1778). However, the most celebrated Swedish authors of the age did not share this attitude to the Bible. The mystic and visionary Emanuel Swedenborg used biblical material in his construction of the spiritual world; one of his works, *De cultu et amore Dei* (1745), is a very subjective paraphrase of the Genesis and Eden story. Linnaeus (Carl von Linné), the architect of botanical systems and a keen-sighted traveler, was a believer in universal Divine retribution. He expounded his creed in *Nemesis Divina*, in which he elaborated the biblical doctrine that sons are punished for their father's sins, and even quoted a talmudic parable on the theme. Among those who had a sense for the sublime in biblical poetry was the Orientalist Johan Adam Tingstadius, who, in preparation for a complete new edition of the Bible, published translations from the original sources of some lyrical portions (Song of Songs, part of Psalms, etc.). Although his works did not influence the poetess Hedvig Charlotta Nordenflycht's ode based on a passage from Exodus, he may well have inspired Johan Henric Kellgren's *Den nya skapselsen eller inbillningens värld* ("The New Creation, or the World of Imagination," 1789), the first major romantic poem in Swedish. Of the later romantic poets, two were especially inspired by the Bible. Archbishop Johan Olof Wallin was the principal editor of *Svenska psalmboken* (1819) and its major contributor; his hymns won him the nickname of "The Northern Harp of David." Erik Johan Stagnelius created a personal religious mythology from biblical, Platonic, gnostic, and Manichean elements, and was perhaps also influenced by *Milton's *Paradise Lost*, which by then had appeared in Swedish translation. He published a volume of lyrics, *Liljor i Saron* ("Lilies of Sharon," 1821).

Toward the middle of the 19th century, the liberal author Abraham Viktor Rydberg wrote a pamphlet against Lutheran orthodoxy, *Bibelns lära om Kristus* (1862), which shows knowledge of the messianic ideas of the Second Temple period and a profound respect and love for the Scriptures, although he did not accept their sanctity. In his cantata for the Uppsala University Jubilee, the desert wanderings of the Israelites symbolize mankind's striving. An amusing product of amateur Bible research may later be seen in a story about Moses, *Jahves eld* ("Jehovah's Fire," 1918) written by the skeptic Hjalmar Emil Fredrik Söderberg.

The works of the outstanding writer of the naturalist generation, August Strindberg, were steeped in the language of the Bible. He eagerly exploited the Bible to develop his favorite themes: the struggle between the sexes (the Fall, Samson and Delilah); Man's struggle with God, (one part of his *Legender* (1898) is titled "Jacob Wrestles"); and the class struggle (his autobiographical *Tjänsteqvinnans son* ("The Bondwoman's Son," 1886), alludes to the story of Ishmael and Hagar). Toward the end of his life, Strindberg studied Hebrew and speculated about its origin and relationship to other languages. In the late 19th century, the new romantic trend was also attracted to the Old Testament. Gustaf Fröding wrote exquisite poems on biblical themes; others of a naively rustic type, ranging from the humorous to the sublime, were composed by Erik Axel Karlfelt and Selma Lagerlöf, who undertook a cruise to Egypt and Palestine and published *Jerusalem* (2 vols., 1901–02), a novel about a group of Swedish peasants, who, prompted by religious yearnings, emigrate to the Holy Land. Selma Lagerlöf's work had been anticipated by Fredrika Bremer's account of a visit to Palestine in about 1861.

From the early 20th century, fewer biblical themes appeared in Swedish literature and, on the whole, New Testament subjects were preferred. The works of the Nobel prizewinner Pär Fabian Lagerkvist exemplify, in various novels loosely connected with the Christian gospels (*Barabbas*, 1950; *Sibyllan*, 1956, *Mariamne*, 1967), the non-believer's conflict with a faith he cannot share. However, the Book of Job was the inspiration for Karin Boye's unfinished cantata, *De sju dödssynderna* ("The Seven Deadly Sins," 1941), which deals with the problem of theodicy. The figure of Job also attracted the Finno-Swedish poet Rabbe Arnfinn Enckell, author of a poetic dialogue between Job and a star. An interesting work dealing with the same issues was *Kains memoaren* (Eng., *Testament of Cain*, 1967) by Lars Johan Wictor Gyllensten, which displays a knowledge not only of the Bible, but also of some tales of midrashic origin. Another 20th-century work was Olov Hartmann's modern miracle play, *Profet och timmerman* ("Prophet and Timber-Cutter," 1954). Biblical themes come into strong focus in the works of artist Bo Beskow (1906–1989), who in his old age turned his attention from the canvas and instead clothed various biblical scenes in words rather than color. He published *Och vattnet stod på jorden* ("And the Waters Covered the Earth") in 1978, followed in 1980 by *Rösten är Jakobs* ("The Voice of Jacob") and *Isebel* in 1982. His last work, published in 1984, was *Solmannen* ("The Sun Man"), which was a story about Samson.

Marianne Fredriksson (1927–) wrote several novels based on the stories of Genesis: *Evas bok* ("The Book of Eva") in 1980, *Kains bok* ("The Book of Cain") in 1981, and *Noreas saga* ("Norea's Saga") in 1986, all of them showing a remarkable gift for bringing biblical characters to life in contemporary times. Fredriksson also wrote *Simon och ekarna* ("Simon and the Oaks") in 1985, a postwar story set in Göteborg, about an adopted Jewish boy who knows nothing about his origins.

Sven Delblanc (1935–1992) was a highly productive author whose 1983 book *Jerusalems natt* ("A Night in Jerusalem") portrays Josephus Flavius and his thoughts on the situation in Jerusalem during a highly volatile period of the Roman occupation. Torgny Lindgren (1938–) wrote a highly appreciated biblical account of King David's marriage to Batsheva in a book entitled *Bat Seba* (1984).

THE IMAGE OF THE JEW. In older Swedish literature, the figure of the Jew was entirely based on traditional Christian clichés, as, for example, in *Passionstankar*, a poem about the Passion by Jacob Frese (1690–1729). The early Jewish settlers attracted scant notice in Sweden at the end of the 18th century, though an eloquent speech in parliament, favoring their admission, was made by pastor Anders Chydenius. The first important literary portrait of a Jew occurs in *Drottningens juvelsmycke* ("The Queen's Diadem," 1834) by Carl Jonas Love Almqvist, whose romantic novel includes a Jewish character of the traditionally negative type. A very different treatment was given to the Jewish family in Viktor Rydberg's *Den siste atenaren* ("The Last Athenian," 1859), a historical novel set in the era of Julian the Apostate, which violently criticizes the traditional idealization of the early Christians. The characters in this work include a young Jewess who is seduced by a heathen, and a tolerant young rabbi who, by a curious anachronism, is said to be an expert in the Kabbalah. Rydberg was also continually fascinated by the Wandering Jew, who appears in several of his poems (e.g., *Prometeus och Ahasverus*, 1877). Other Swedish authors who developed the same motif were Strindberg, Gustaf Fröding, Oscar Ivar *Levertin, Per Hallström (*Ahasverus*, 1908), Bo Hjalmar Bergman, Sigfrid Lindström, Pär Lagerkvist, (Ahasverus *död*, 1960) and, especially, Gösta Oswald, whose *Christinalegender* ("Legends about Christina") also deals with this theme.

A literary interest in the Jews was reawakened in the 1880s under the impact of rising antisemitism in Germany and of the radical movements of the time. The Jew was seen either as the cynical, rootless radical or as the "herald of a new age." The eminent Danish critic Georg Brandes became the prototype for both. In his play *John Ulfstjerna* (1907), Tor Harald Hedberg portrayed the revolutionary Jew as an intriguer; yet many Jewish intellectuals with more moderate and patriotic views scarcely accorded with this image. Strindberg, as always, was ambivalent, presenting totally contrasting pictures. In his novel *Röda rummet* ("The Red Room," 1879) and the pamphlet *Det nya riket* ("The New Kingdom," 1882) he wittily caricatured unsympathetic Jews; but elsewhere, as in the chronicle play *Gustav Vasa* (1899), he introduced a venerable Jewish patriarch from Lübeck, a complete anachronism in 16th-century Sweden. The playwright and novelist Hjalmar Frederik Elgérus Bergman displayed a great interest in the Jews, having made the acquaintance of Jewish immigrants from eastern Europe while in Berlin. In his masterly play *Patrasket* (1928), the Jew is represented as the man of imagination, and the author's use of comedy conceals the real tragedy.

There have been few aggressive antisemites among Swedish writers of the 20th century, but two of the most prominent were the poet and essayist Vilhelm Ekelung and the novelist Agnes von Krusenstjerna, whose cycle *Fröknarna von Pahlen* ("The Von Pahlen Women," 7 vols., 1930–35), contains some viciously anti-Jewish portraits and diatribes. On the other hand, two conservative authors, pro-German and even sympathetic toward the Hitler regime (though not themselves antisemitic), were among the first Swedes to discuss Zionist pioneering in Ereẓ Israel: the explorer Sven Hedin, author of the travel book *Jerusalem* (1918), and the literary historian Fredrik Böök (1883–1961), who wrote the remarkable *Resa till Jerusalem* ("Journey to Jerusalem," 1925) and attended the opening ceremony of The Hebrew University.

The Nazi persecution of the Jews is reflected in the works of the 1930s and 1940s. Among the poets who expressed anger and grief were Be Bergman and Arvid Mörne; novelists who dealt with the theme included Josef Kjellgren, in *Guldkedjan* ("The Golden Chain," 1940), and Eyvind Johnson in his *Krilon-Trilogie* (1941–43). Most deeply incensed was the half-German anti-Nazi Arvid Brenner (Fritz Helge Heerberger), who took refuge in Sweden. His novel *Kompromiss* (1934) deals with the Nazi rise to power: *Ny vardag* ("A New Weekday," 1936) and *En dag som andra* ("A Day Like Any Other") are concerned with refugee life in Sweden. After World War II, the surviving victims of Hitler's regime became a conventional literary type, and symbolic of the neutral, well-meaning Swede's bad conscience. *Tvärbalk* ("Cross Beam," 1963) by Sivar Arnér concerns a Swede who exchanges his frigid wife for a Jewess whose life was shattered by her treatment in a Nazi concentration camp. A similar theme is developed in *Legionärerna* ("The Legionaries") by Per-Olov Enquist, which also deals with the negative Swedish policies toward Jewish refugees after the war.

Eyvind Johnson (1900–1976) is remarkable for being a non-Jewish Swede with deep and accurate insight into the tribulations faced by the decimated Jewish survivors of Hitler's war of annihilation. His *Molnen over Metapontion* ("The Clouds over Metapontion," 1957) and *Favel, ensam* ("Favel All Alone," 1968) reflect acute understanding of the situation faced by the remnants of Jewish Europe.

Artur Lundkvist (1906–1991) wrote two historical novels, *Tvivla korsfarare* ("Think Again, Crusader," 1972) and *Slavar i Särkland* ("Slaves in Särkland," 1975), featuring many Jewish characters and highlighting the fruitful exchanges between cultures over the ages. Kenne Fant (1923–) wrote *R. En dokumentär roman* ("R.: A Documentary Novel," 1988) about Raoul *Wallenberg. Olle Hedberg (1899–1974) wrote *Ut med blondinerna* ("Out with the Blondes") in 1939, a stinging satire that ridiculed the Nazi race laws of contemporary Germany. Bengt Ek (1917–1990) wrote a novel for teenagers, published in 1981, titled *Hos morfar i Getapulien* ("Life with Grandpa in

Goat-Land"). It is a warm, humorously related story about two Jewish boys from Berlin who are sent by their Swedish mother to their grandfather in Sweden to escape the hardships in the aftermath of World War I. Jan Gehlin (1922–) served for many years as chair of the Swedish Authors' Association. The son of famous artist Esther Henriques, and thus a scion of one of the oldest Jewish families in Scandinavia, Gehlin wrote two partly autobiographical novels, *Enskilt område* ("Private Property," 1949) and *Gränstrakter* ("Borderlands," 1953), to counter the evils of Nazism and persecution of Jews. Paul Andersson (1930–1976) published a collection of poems in 1956 entitled *Judiska motiv* ("Jewish Subjects"), the first Swede after Ragnar Josephson to publish verse on a Jewish theme. Per Ahlmark (1939–), a former member of the Swedish Riksdag or Parliament, also led the Swedish Liberal Party for three years and served as Sweden's deputy prime minister. Fired by a deep interest in Jewish subjects, he published his first collection of poems, *Flykter* ("Escapes") in 1985. In 1991 he worked together with Lilian Edström on the publication of Yehuda *Amichai's Hebrew poems in Swedish, titled *Bombens diameter* ("The Bomb's Diameter"), followed in 1993 by *Det eviga hatet: Om nynazism, anti-semitism och Radio Islam* ("The Eternal Hatred: On Neo-Nazism, Antisemitism and Radio Islam"). Following a host of publications during the 1990s, Per Ahlmark released *Det är demokratin, dumbom!* ("It's Democracy, Stupid!") in 2004, a scathing criticism of the world's indifference to the plight of the Iraqi people under Saddam Hussein and the lessons to be learned from not speaking out for democracy and freedom.

[Viveka Heyman / Ilya Meyer (2nd ed.)]

THE JEWISH CONTRIBUTION. Jews began to play an important part in Sweden's literary life only from the last decades of the 19th century, although after the 1850s Rosa Warrens was active as a poetess and translator. The major creative author was Oskar Ivar Levertin, some of whose verse and prose works dealt with themes of Jewish interest (*Kung Salomo och Morolf*, 1905). His contemporary, the popular novelist Sophie Elkan, accompanied Selma Lagerlöf on her tour of the Near East and published an account entitled *Drömmen om Österlandet* ("The Dream of the Eastern Land," 1904). However, the major Jewish contribution was really in literary history and criticism, a field in which Johan Henrik Emil *Schück, Karl Johan *Warburg, and Martin *Lamm all excelled. An important contribution was also made by members of the eminent *Josephson family, headed by the painter Ernst Abraham *Josephson who published some poems and who appears in a novel by Strindberg. The art historian Ragnar Josephson (1891–1966) was a successful dramatist and, in his early period, published *Judiska dikter* (1916; revised 1943), a collection of poems on Jewish themes. Together with Sweden's chief rabbi Marcus *Ehrenpreis, he also issued translations of modern Hebrew verse. His nephew, the actor Erland Josephson (1923–), starred in plays by the refugee dramatist Peter *Weiss, and wrote a variety of works, in some of which – notably his novel *En Berättelse om herr Silberstein* ("The Tale of Mr. Silberstein," 1957) and the play *Benjamin* (1963) – the problem of antisemitism is analyzed. His preoccupation with this theme had been anticipated by his uncle, Ragnar Josephson, who, during the 1930s, published *Den Dubbla Loyalitaeten* ("The Dual Loyalty"), a booklet describing the predicament of Swedish Jews who were eyewitnesses to the heartless policy of driving hapless Jewish refugees back to certain death in Nazi Germany.

A more authentic note was struck by Jewish authors who were not entirely Swedish by birth or upbringing. Chief Rabbi Ehrenpreis, who had once been prominent in modern Hebrew literature, later wrote books in Swedish on the intellectual history of the Jews, and also published some interesting autobiographical works. Zenia Larsson (1922–), a Polish Jewess who survived the Holocaust and later reached Sweden, wrote three autobiographical novels, which describe the Lodz ghetto, her liberation from a Nazi concentration camp, and her first experiences in her adopted country. Her most famous works are *Skuggor vid träbron* ("Shadows by the Wooden Bridge," 1961), *Lång är gryningen* ("The Long Dawn," 1961), *Livet till motes* ("Accepting Life," 1962), *Åter till Babel* ("A Return to Babel," 1964), and *Vägen hem* ("The Return Home," 1975). Other works on similar subjects were published by two other refugees who nevertheless retained their original links with German culture – the playwright Peter Weiss and the Nobel prizewinning poet Nelly *Sachs. There are contemporary Swedish-born authors who also write in a similar vein, such as Susanne Gottfarb (1948–), Kjell Grape (1939–), and Peter Mosskin (1945–), all of whom turn the spotlight inward and retrace their Jewish heritage, in some cases a heritage that was almost lost through the events of modern European history.

Marianne Ahrne (1940–) went back to her Jewish roots in her novels *Äppelblom och ruiner* ("Apple Blossoms and Ruins," 1980) and *Katarina Horowitz drömmar* ("Katarina Horowitz's Dreams," 1990).

A new generation of Jewish writers has emerged in Sweden. Most, but not all, trace their roots in Sweden back three or four generations, yet their writings often strongly reflect the events of the first half of the last century. Tomas Böhm (1945–) was born in Stockholm to parents who fled there from Austria. Among his many books are novels with a Jewish motif, such as *Fjällturen* ("A Trip in the Swedish Alps," 1980) and *Adamsäpplen och huvudvärk* ("Adam's Apples and Headaches," 1993). Jonathan Freud (1943–) lives in Israel, where he works as a guide, journalist, teacher, and lecturer. He writes books that link history with current events and is often critical of the poor standard of journalism and analysis practiced by reporters based in Jerusalem who, he feels, provide media coverage simply to justify their presence, remarkably devoid of historical reflection or factual basis. His first book, *Från Jerusalem* ("From Jerusalem"), was published in 1986 and was followed a year later by a short novel, *Palestinsk oskuld* ("Palestinian Innocence"). *Judarnas Konung* ("King of the Jews"), which dealt with King Herod, appeared in 1988, and in 1991 he published *En judisk bosättare* ("A Jewish Settler").

Anita Goldman (1953–) is a journalist who lived for a while in Israel. She started her writing career with *Allt genast* ("Everything Right Now," 1978), followed by a number of novels with a feminist theme: *Våra bibliska mödrar* ("Our Biblical Mothers") and *Den sista kvinnan från Ur* ("The Last Woman of Ur"), both published in 1988. *Stenarnas döttrar* ("Daughters of the Stones") appeared in 1989. In 1994 she published *Orden som brändes* ("The Burning Words"), a novel about *Beruryah, represented in the Talmud as a woman of learning and wife of R. *Meir. Marianne Goldman (1951–) is a dramatist whose works have appeared on stage, TV, and on the big screen. Together with Kerstin Klein-Persky, she wrote *Kaos är granne med Finkelstein* ("Chaos Lives Next Door to Finkelstein," 1990), and she also wrote the film script for *Freud flyttar hemifrån* ("Freud Moves Away from Home"). In her *Dansa samba med mig* ("Come Dance the Samba with Me," 1994) she took up several key issues affecting second-generation children – the children of Holocaust survivors.

Salomon Schulman (1947–) focuses largely on Yiddish literature. He has translated the works of Abraham *Sutzkever, publishing his *Grönt akvarium* ("Green Aquarium," 1986). *Garva med Goldstein* ("Laugh with Goldstein," 1988) is a compilation of Jewish humor. His *Natten läser stjärnor, jiddisch-dikter från ett desperat sekel* ("The Night Reads the Stars, Yiddish Poems from a Desperate Century," 1991) is a dark account of the fate that befell so many of Europe's brilliant Yiddish writers and poets.

Another writer with an immense impact who also recounts a dark past is Hedi Fried (1924–). Born in Romania and brought to Sweden as a survivor of Hitler's death camps, she studied at university and graduated as a psychologist. However, it was only later that she finally decided to document her past, with the publication of her English-language memoir *Fragments of Life* (1990), translated later into Swedish as *Skärvor av ett liv*. The sequel, *Livet tillbaka* ("Back to Life," 1995) deals with her personal road back to life in her new country, Sweden.

Nelly *Sachs (1891–1970) was rescued and brought to Sweden through the good offices of Nobel Prize-winning Swedish authoress Selma Lagerlöf. She wrote poetry in German about the terrible fate of her people, and her work was translated into Swedish by a number of famous lyricists. In 1966 she shared the Nobel Prize in literature with Israeli author S.Y. *Agnon. Her play *Eli. Ett Mysteriespel om Israels lidande* ("Eli: A Mystery Play about Israel's Suffering," 1966) has been staged both in German and in Swedish, and she published collections of poems until the year she died.

Leif Silbersky (1938–) traces his ancestry back to the Balkans three generations ago. A renowned defense lawyer with many high-profile cases to his credit, he is also a widely read author. His writing career began with the factual *Porträtt av terrorister: intervjuer med terrorister i israeliska fängelser* ("Portrait of Terrorists: Interviews with Terrorists in Israeli Jails," 1977). He has also written a series of detective novels together with Swedish author Olov Svedelid. The first was *Sista vittnet* ("The Last Witness," 1977, followed by a new book every year until 1985, then a break until 1990 when *En röst för döden* ("A Voice for Death") was published. The main character throughout the series is an old Jewish lawyer named Rosenbaum, a survivor of the Holocaust.

[Ilya Meyer (2nd ed.)]

Norwegian Literature

BIBLICAL INFLUENCES. The first impact of the Bible on Norwegian culture has been traced to the *Stjórn*, a medieval Icelandic paraphrase of parts of the Old Testament. However, after the Reformation, the Danish translation of the Bible held sway well into the 20th century. As elsewhere, biblical terms and phrases enriched the literary Danish (*Riksmål*) spoken in educated circles and the purer Norwegian (*Landsmal*) that only gained ground much later. Although biblical themes have appeared in the works of Norwegian writers, they have been rarer than might have been expected, even in comparison with Denmark and Sweden, perhaps as a result of Norway's greater cultural isolation. In 1881, Karl Herschell, the first Jew in Bergen, wrote a book about the Pentateuch; and, in the 20th century, Haakon B. Mahrt published the novel *Jonas* (1935) and Halldis Moren Vesaas included a poem about Esther in her verse collection *Tung tids tale* ("Talk of Hard Times," 1945). In general, biblical motifs characterize the description of contemporary Jewish figures in works by modern Norwegian writers.

THE IMAGE OF THE JEW. Even before Jews first settled in the country, they provided occasional stereotypes for Norwegian authors, beginning with Ludwig Holberg, born in Bergen, but who made his name in Denmark (see above). A Jewish moneylender appears in *Aktierne eller de Rige* (1788), a play by Claus Fasting, and in one of the early works of the poet Henrik Arnold *Wergeland. One of the articles in the Norwegian Constitution of 1814 prohibited Jewish settlement, a decree which aroused the indignant opposition of several liberal writers, headed by Wergeland who, in his pamphlets and in verse collections such as the epic *Jöden* ("The Jew," 1842) and *Jödinden* ("The Jewess," 1844), was a tireless champion of the proscribed Jews, demanding that they be granted both permission to enter Norway and equal rights with the rest of the population. In this stand Wergeland had been anticipated by Andreas Munch (1811–1884), who wrote the poem *Jöderne* ("The Jews," 1836), and he was followed by the writers of two plays: Adolph Rosenkilde in *En Jöde i Mandal* ("A Jew in Mandal," 1849) and Christian Rasmus Hansson in *Den förste Jöde* ("The First Jew," 1852).

An amendment to the constitution, favoring Jewish admission, was passed in 1852. Later in the 19th century, the same sympathetic approach was displayed by Alexander Lange Kielland in his *Mennesker og dyr* ("Men and Animals," 1891), which describes the Jews of Salonika, and in John Paulsen's *Jödinden* ("The Jewess," 1892), a novel influenced by Wergeland, which deals with the problems of mixed marriage and conversion in Denmark, and which includes some characters who display the effects of political antisemitism in contemporary Germany. In his poem *Juleaftenen* ("Christmas Eve," 1842) Wergeland had portrayed a Jewish peddler in northern Sweden. By the beginning of the 20th century, some Jewish immigrants endeavored to make a living by peddling their wares at railroad and construction sites, at country fairs, and in fishing villages. Jews of this type are referred to by several novelists, notably Johan Bojer in *Den siste viking* (1921; "Last of the Vikings," 1923); Knut Hamsun in *Landstrykere* ("The Vagabonds," 1927); and Nils. A. Ytreberg in *Svarta Björn* ("The Black Bear," 1954). Hamsun had a pathological hatred of the British and Americans and, during World War II, became a prominent quisling. The Jewish peddler also appears in *Hebraerens sön* ("Son of the Hebrew," 1911), a work by Matti Aikio, a writer of Norwegian-Lapp origin. In his novel a Jew, abandoned by his Polish refugee parents, is raised by Christian foster parents in Finmark (northern Norway) and becomes an artist. He is an eyewitness to a Polish pogrom, and Aikio shows how he is torn between the conflicting Jewish and Christian traditions. The same kind of restlessness finally moves a Galician-born Danish Jew to emigrate to Ereẓ Israel in "Efraim ben Ruben," one of the stories in Sigurd Christiansen's collection *Idyllen om Sander* ("The Idyll of Sander," 1928). During the 1930s, Helge Krok showed in her play *Underveis* ("En Route," 1931) how, despite radical views in politics and religion, one of her characters experiences a revival of ancestral Jewish feeling.

A number of Norwegian novels have dealt with the Nazi persecution of Norwegian Jewry and with the deportation of the Jews or their flight to Sweden, and often discuss more general aspects of the Jewish fate and of antisemitism. They include Axel Kielland's *Lev farlig* ("Live Dangerously," 1943); Aimée Sommerfelt's *Ung front* ("Young Front," 1945) and *Miriam* (1950; Eng. 1963); and Odd Bang-Hansen's *Ringer rundt brönnen* ("Rings around the Well," 1946). The last writer also raises the issue of Norwegian-Jewish relations in his *I denne natt* ("On this Night," 1947). The postwar problem of the Jewish refugee figures in the works of several other writers, including Jens Ingvald Bjøorneboe, who deals with the question in *Jonas* (1955) and who also describes former Wehrmacht soldiers on a holiday tour of Italy in his play *Fugleelskerne* ("The Bird Fanciers," 1966). Among those who dealt with Nazi treatment of the German Jews was Ronald August Fangen, in his *En lysets Engel* ("An Angel of Light," 1945). A writer who frequently used Jewish themes was Ragnar Kvam, the author of several articles about Israel, including one about the *Exodus* affair of 1947 and the German camp to which the ship's unfortunate passengers were brutally returned. This last subject also appears in Kvam's novel, *Alle vil hjem* ("Everyone Wants to Go Home," 1950), which depicts antisemitic agitation during the years of World War II, the Nazi deportations, and the unfriendly reception that awaited a survivor when he reached his village, all of which he believed precipitated Jewish immigration to Israel. The problem of antisemitism recurs in Kvam's later novel, *Den store stillheten* ("The Great Silence," 1964), and it also dominates *Kjaerlighetsstien* ("The Path of Love," 1946), by Johan Borgen, who discussed the widespread phenomenon of antisemitism in newspaper articles. A Jewish artist, Miriam, makes several appearances in a trilogy by Borgen (*Lillelord, De mörke skogene, Vi har ham nu*, 1955–57) and a Jewish concentration camp survivor figures in another of his novels, *Blåtind* ("The Blue Peak," 1964). Finn Alnaes also introduces a Jewish war victim in his *Koloss* (1963).

Jewish suffering in Norway during the Nazi occupation also inspired several poems of the postwar era. Such works were written by Inger Hagerup, in *Den Syvende natt* ("The Seventh Night," 1947); Halldis Moren Vesaas; Andreas Graven (*Jöden*, 1945); and Olav Dalgard, in *Gjennom mörket* ("Through the Darkness," 1945). Other Norwegian poems on themes connected with the Holocaust were Leif S. Rode's *Barnemordet i Betlehem* ("The Massacre of the Infants in Bethlehem,"1945); Carl Frederik Prytz's *Ghetto* (1960), on the Warsaw Jewish revolt; and Georg Johannesen's "*Jödisk partisansang*" ("Jewish Partisan Song") from the collection *Nye dikt* ("New Poems," 1966). From 1945 poems about the Jewish plight were published in the Norwegian press, as were others on the State of Israel's battle for survival in May 1948. Though much discussed in Norway, Israel has mainly attracted more popular writers, such as the editor Victor Mogens, author of *Folket som ikke vil dø* (1954), and Kare Holt, who wrote a tale for juveniles, *Römlingen Oskar og Maria fra Hulesjöen* ("Oscar and Maria the Refugees of Lake Ḥuleh," 1959). In 1982 Sigurd Senje published *Ekko fra Skriktjenn* 1942–47 ("Ecco from the Lake of Screams"), a documentary novel based on the "Feldman Case" of 1942–47). The Feldmans were a Jewish couple murdered by Norwegian border runners who were supposed to help them get to Sweden in 1942. The two border runners admitted to the murders in 1947 but were not convicted. This tragic episode was also made into a film. Many of the accounts about Jews in the Holocaust are documentary. Jahn Otto Johansen wrote *Det hendte også her* ("It Also Happened Here," 1984), an account of the Norwegian Holocaust. Per Ole Johansen wrote: *Oss selv nærmest: Norge og jødene 1914–1943* ("Closest to Ourselves: Norway and the Jews 1914–43," 1984), an account of antisemitism in the Norwegian police and courts. Kristian Ottosen, a Norwegian historian, wrote an account of the deportation of Norwegian Jews during World War II: *I slik en natt* ("On a Night Such as This," 1994). Karoline Frogner, a Norwegian film producer and author, published the book and produced the film *Mørketid: kvinners møte med nazismen* ("Time of Darkness: Women's Encounter with Nazism," 1995). There are interviews with several women who survived the Ravensbrueck concentration camp, among them four Jewish women. Ragnar Ulstein wrote *Jødar på flukt* ("Jews on the Run," 1995); Vebjørn Selbekk's *Jødehat på norsk: fra eidsvollsmennene til Boot boys* ("The Norwegian Hatred of Jews: From the Men at Eidsvoll to Boot Boys," 2001), was an account of Norwegian attitudes to the Jews through the ages. The internationally known Norwegian author Lars Saabye Christensen briefly describes a Jewish girl and her family as they are arrested in their home in Oslo in his epic novel *Halvbroren* ("The

Halfbrother," 2001), where he describes life in Oslo during and after the war through four generations.

In 2003 Einhart Lorentz published *Veien mot Holocaust* ("The Road to the Holocaust"), a chronological account of the stages that led to the mass deportations and murder of about six million Jews, and Espen Søby wrote *Kathe, alltid vært I Norge* ("Kathe Always Stayed in Norway), where he follows the fortunes of the 15-year-old Jewish schoolgirl Kathe Lasnik and her family, who were deported and murdered in Auschwitz in 1942.

THE JEWISH CONTRIBUTION. In a country with a Jewish community as small as that in Norway, the number of Jewish writers has naturally been slight. Two authors who wrote books after World War II were Elsa Dickman, whose novel *Korsveien* ("The Crossroad," 1945) first appeared in Sweden, and Eva Scheer, whose *Vi bygger i sand* ("We Build on Sand," 1948) traces the history of a Jewish family from its settlement in Norway until the Nazi deportations. Israel provides the theme for two other books by Eva Scheer: *Vi möttes i Jerusalem* ("We Met in Jerusalem," 1951) and *Israel, dobbelt löftets land* ("Israel, Land of the Twofold Covenant," 1967). Another novelist, Torborg Nedreaas, the great-granddaughter of Karl Herschell, portrays Jewish members of her family in *Musikk fra en blå brŏnn* ("Music from a Blue Well," 1960); in the title story of her collection *Bak skapet står öksen* ("Behind the Cupboard there is an Ax," 1945) she touched on the subject of German antisemitism. An outstanding figure in Norway's postwar cultural life, the refugee publisher and author Max *Tau promoted the translation and publication of works by several Israel writers and displayed his attachment to the Jewish heritage in his novels and autobiography. Øystein Wingaard Wolf (1958–) is one of few Norwegian writers with a Jewish background to have published books in the 1980s. He has written several collections of poems and novels. *Ingen kan forklare ordet "fred"* ("No One Can Explain the Word 'Peace'"), a journey through the East European world in words, music and photographs (1987), is a collection of poems and short stories from eastern Europe translated into Norwegian. The novel *Dodi Ashers død* ('The Death of Dodi Asher," 1986) won a prize.

The author Mona Levin wrote the biography of her father, the Norwegian Jewish pianist Robert Levin: *Med livet i hendene* ("With Life in my Hands," 1983).

Most of the books written by Norwegian Jews are biographies of and by concentration camp survivors written in the 1980s and 1990s; Herman Sachnowitz, *Det angår også deg* ("This Concerns You," 1976); Ernest Arberle, written by Arvid Møller, *Vi må ikke glemme* ("We Must Not Forget," 1980); Robert Savosnik with Hans Melien, *Jeg ville ikke dø* ("I Did Not Want to Die," 1986); Herman Kahan with Knut M. Hansson, *Ilden og lyset* ("The Fire and the Light," 1988); Mendel Szanjfeld with Simon Szajnfeld; *Fortell hva som skjedde med oss; erindringer fra Holocaust* ("Tell What Happened to Us: Recounting the Holocaust," 1993); Kai Feinberg with Arnt Stefansen, *Fange nr 79108 vender tilbake* ("Prisoner No. 79108 Returns," 1995); Vera Komissar with Sverre M. Nyrønning, *På tross av alt: Julius Paltiel – norsk jøde i Auschwitz* ("Despite Everything: Julius Paltiel – Norwegian Jew in Auschwitz," 1995). Vera Kommisar also wrote a book about Norwegian Jews who escaped to Sweden in 1942: *Nådetid: norske jøder på flukt 1942* ("Time of Grace: Norwegian Jews on the Run, 1942," 1992) as well as *Jødiske gleder: en bok om jødedommen, jødiske helligdager og koscher mat* ("Jewish Delights: A Book on Judaism, Jewish Holidays and Kosher Food," 1998). Ove Borøchstein wrote *J – historien om kristiansundsjødene* ("J – the Story of the Jews from Kristiansund," 2001). Abel Abrahamsen, a Norwegian Jew living in the United States, published *Jewish Life and Culture in Norway: Wergeland's Legacy* (2003), an illustrated account of Jewish life in Norway before the war.

[Oskar Mendelsohn / Lynn C. Feinberg (2nd ed.)]

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SCEPTER (Heb. *meḥoqeq*, *maṭṭeh*, *sheveṭ*, *sharviṭ*), a staff symbolic of royal authority, originally conceived as power to strike down enemies (Ezek. 19:14; Ps. 110:2). Thus the Bible calls a king "scepter" (Gen. 49:10) or "scepter-bearer" (Amos 1:5, 8), while God, as king of kings, wields a scepter (Isa. 30:31). The Persian Ahasuerus extends a golden scepter to a *persona grata* (Esth. 4:11). Two main types of scepters are pictured in Near Eastern sculptures and reliefs:

(a) a long staff with an ornamental head (mainly in Egypt and Iran), and

(b) a short-handled battle mace (mainly in Assyria). The latter symbolizes royal military power (cf. Num. 24:17).

[Mayer Irwin Gruber]

SCHAALMAN, HERMAN E. (1916–), Reform rabbi. Schaalman was born in Munich, Germany, where his father – a veteran of World War I, having fought in the Battle of Verdun – was a professor of mathematics and physics and a cantor at an orphanage. His mother came from a rabbinic family. Herman was a graduate of the Maximillian Gymnasium (1935) and was but the second boy in the Liberal Gemeinde to read the entire *sidrah* for his bar mitzvah. He was taught Hebrew privately and entered the Liehranstalt fuer die Wissenschat des Judentums in 1935, when German universities were closed to Jewish students. Along with Alfred Wolfe and Guenther *Plaut and two other students, he was offered a scholarship to Hebrew Union College by its visionary president Julian *Morgenstern, who rescued five students and five scholars from Nazi Germany by bringing them to HUC. Schaalman was a student at Hebrew Union College (1935–41) and was ordained in 1941. He studied at the University of Cincinnati, receiving both his

B.A. and his M.A. (1937). He was also awarded an honorary degree of doctor of divinity from Hebrew Union College–Jewish Institute of Religion in 1966.

He served as rabbi of Temple Judah in Cedar Rapids, Iowa (1941–49), taught at nearby Coe College and Cornell College, and became director of the Chicago Federation of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations between 1949 and 1951. Under his leadership the Olin-Sang Ruby Union Institute was established and he was its first director. Olin-Sang-Ruby is a camp and retreat center that serves children and adults in Oconomowoc, Wisconsin. Despite his desperate need for the $15,000 down payment for a $63,000 purchase, Schaalman returned a $5,000 check he had received from a Chicago area gangster who had been affiliated with Al Capone and who ran a string of brothels. He received the funds elsewhere. As a regional director, he helped found four congregations in the Chicago area in the post-war boom. Schaalman came to Emanuel Congregation of Chicago in 1955. In 2006 it had more than 900 families as members.

Schaalman served on the board of directors of the Jewish Federation of Metropolitan Chicago. He served as chair of the Advisory Committee of the American Jewish Committee and was president of the Central Conference of American Rabbis (1981–83); he also served as chairman of the Ethics Committee, the Committee of Patrilineal Decent, and the Mixed Marriage Committee of the CCAR.

Schaalman was active in Chicago civic and cultural activities and was an early pioneer in interfaith work. The Chicago Archdiocese awarded him a Larueante in Ecumenicisim in 1995.

He published articles primarily in the field of theology in various journals and was co-editor of a book, *Preaching Biblical Texts*. He continued to teach throughout his rabbinate. Schaalman held the Jewish Chautauqua Society resident lectureship at the Garrett Evangelical Theological Seminary, Evanston, and the Chicago Theological Seminary.

In recognition of a career devoted to the service of others, he was cited as one of the outstanding foreign-born citizens of Chicago by the Immigrants' Service League. He was inducted into the Hall of Fame of the Jewish Community Centers.

Schaalman was president of the Chicago Board of Rabbis and of the Jewish Council on Urban Affairs. He was a longtime member of the Education Committee of National Holocaust Council.

As he reached the much honored stage of four score years, the honors for the life he led started pouring in. In September 1999, the Jewish Federation of Metropolitan Chicago bestowed on him its award, the Julius Rosenwald Medallion. In June 2000, the Catholic Theological Union at Chicago conferred on him an honorary doctorate in ministry. In October 2000, the Chicago Theological Seminary selected Rabbi Schaalman to receive their prestigious Graham Taylor Award and announced the establishment of the Rabbi Herman E. Schaalman Chair in Jewish Studies in recognition of his enormous impact on theological students, pastors, rabbis, and academics through over 14 years of teaching in Jewish-Christian Studies. The Spertus Institute of Judaic Studies granted the rabbi an honorary doctorate in October 2001. In May 2002, Schaalman was the recipient of the highest award given by the state of Illinois, the Lincoln Medal.

In May 2004 he received an honorary doctorate from Garrett – Evangelical Theological Institute at Northwestern University in Evanston, Illinois.

In June 2004 he received the Luminary Senior Award from the City of Chicago and he was inducted into the 2004 Chicago Senior Citizens Hall of Fame.

In September 2004 the Chicago City Park District dedicated a park in the rabbi's honor.

[Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

SCHAAP, RICHARD J. (**Dick**; 1934–2001), U.S. sportswriter, sports broadcaster, and author or co-author of 33 books. Schaap was the eldest of three children, born in Flatbush, Brooklyn, to Leah and Maury, a salesman. His paternal grandparents were of Dutch descent, and his maternal grandparents were from Russia. When asked if he was Jewish, Schaap would joke, "Yes, by birth and by appetite." Schaap was raised on Long Island in Freeport, New York, where at age 14 he began writing a sports column for the weekly *Freeport Leader*. He moved the following year to the *Nassau Daily Review-Star* under 20-year-old sports editor and future Pulitzer Prize-winner Jimmy Breslin. Schaap attended Cornell University (1955), where he was the starting goalie for the university's lacrosse team and editor-in-chief of the *Cornell Daily Sun*. Thereafter he attended Columbia University Graduate School of Journalism while working at the *Long Island Press* at night. After graduating in 1956, Schaap worked at *Newsweek* magazine (1956–63), and the *New York Herald Tribune* and the *World Journal Tribune* (1964–66), serving as the paper's city editor and also as a columnist. It was Schaap who coined the term "Fun City" for New York. Schaap began writing sports books, became sports anchor for WNBC-TV in New York City in 1971, and was named editor of *Sport* magazine in 1973. In the 1970s, he was a correspondent for *NBC Nightly News* and the *Today Show*, and then moved to ABC's *World News Tonight* and *20/20* in the 1980s. Schaap won five Emmy Awards, for his profiles of comedian Sid *Caesar (1983) and Olympian Tom Waddell (1988); two for sports reporting; and for writing. He was also a theater critic, leading him to quip that he was the only person ever to vote both for the Tony Awards and for the Heisman Trophy. In 1988 he began hosting *The Sports Reporters* on ESPN, hosted *Schaap One on One* on ESPN Classic, and hosted a syndicated ESPN Radio show called *The Sporting Life with Dick Schaap*, in which he discussed the week's developments in sports with his son Jeremy, who was also an ESPN sportswriter. Among his 33 books are two autobiographies which made *The New York Times* bestseller list: football star Jerry Kramer's *Instant Replay* (1968) and two-sport star Bo Jackson's *Bo Knows Bo*, which was the best-selling sports autobiography ever. He wrote "as told to" biographies of Joe Namath, Hank Aaron, Joe Montana, Tom Seaver, Billy *Crystal, Dave DeBusschere, and others, a biography of Robert F. Kennedy, *RFK*, and co-authored *.44* with Breslin, about Son of Sam serial killer David Berkowicz. Schaap's final book was the autobiographical *Flashing Before My Eyes*, in which he recounts humorous and poignant memories of a career spanning 50 years. Schaap won the Northeastern Award for Excellence in Broadcast Sports Journalism in 1986, the Women's Sports Foundation Award for Excellence in Covering Women's Sports in 1984, and was the 2002 winner of the Associated Press Sports Editors Red Smith Award. He was the first journalist inducted into the True Heroes of Sport Hall of Fame by the Northeastern University Center for Sport and Society.

[Elli Wohlgelernter (2nd ed.)]

SCHACH, FABIUS (1868–1930), one of the first members of the Zionist movement in Germany. Born in Wexna, Lithuania, Schach studied at yeshivot and went to Riga and then Berlin, where he studied at the university. There he made the acquaintance of Max *Bodenheimer, who brought him to Cologne as a Hebrew teacher (1893). Together with Bodenheimer and David Wolffsohn, he founded a Jewish national society that formed the nucleus of the German Zionist Federation. Schach participated in the First Zionist Congress and helped to draw up the *Basle Program. Afterward he fell out with Theodor *Herzl and his associates and spent the following years in Karlsruhe and Berlin. During World War I he worked in Hamburg as the editor of newspapers and journals, including those which opposed Zionism. During his Zionist period he was one of the foremost propagandists of the Zionist cause and a prolific writer, especially in German (but also in Hebrew) on Zionism, Judaism, and the Hebrew and Yiddish languages. Among his works is *Volk-oder Salonjudentum* (1893). His sister MIRIAM (1867–1956) was a pioneer of political Zionism in France. She left her home in Lithuania in 1879, completed her studies at the Sorbonne in Paris, and taught the liberal arts and languages at various high schools in France. She played an important role, together with Max *Nordau, Alexander *Marmorek, and Bernard *Lazar, in putting Zionist ideas across to the French. She also helped to found the French Zionist newspaper, *L'Echo Sioniste* (published from 1900). During the last years of her life, she lived in Haifa. A Hebrew version by K.A. Bertini of her memoirs of the beginnings of the Zionist movement in France, titled *Asher Ittam Hithallakhti*, was published in 1951.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: L. Jaffe (ed.), *Sefer ha-Congress* (1950^2), 201, 391–2; R. Lichtheim, *Toledot ha-Ẓiyyonut be-Germanyah* (1951), index.

[Getzel Kressel]

SCHACH, LEONARD LAZARUS (1918–1996), theatrical director and producer. Schach was born in Cape Town and early on showed an interest in the theater by serving as president of the amateur University Dramatic Society in 1939–42. In 1947–48 he undertook a world survey of national subsidized theater on behalf of the South African Department of Adult Education, resulting in the establishment of the National Theater Organization in 1948.

From 1948 to 1964 he directed over 200 productions in South Africa, including those of his own professional theater company (the Cockpit Players, later Leonard Schach Productions), founded in 1951.

Schach emigrated in 1965 to Israel, where he was invited to join the Cameri Theater as "resident guest director." In addition he directed for Habimah, the Haifa Municipal Theater, Zavit, Bimot, Giora Godick Productions, the Israel Philharmonic Orchestra and the Israel Chamber Ensemble Orchestra. He also directed plays and operas in England, the United States, Italy, and Belgium, and made the film *Cry in the Wind* in Greece.

Schach was the recipient of many awards, including the 1960 Cape Tercentenarian Award of Merit (1960), the Queen of England's Coronation Medal for services to the English theater (1953), the Drama Critics of Brussels award (for *After the Fall*, 1966), Israel's David's Harp award for best director of the year (*Birthday Party*, 1968), and the Breytenbach award of South Africa for best director of the year for his production of *Equus* (1976). He has also been granted the Freedom of the City of Cape Town for his theatrical activity.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Stage by Stage*, a biography by Donald Inskup (1977); Yearbook of National Theater and Art Councils.

[Louis Isaac Rabinowitz]

SCHACHNOWITZ, SELIG (1874–1952), Orthodox journalist and writer. Of Lithuanian origin, Schachnowitz served as cantor of the Swiss-Jewish rural community of Endingen between 1901 and 1908. In 1908 he began his work as editor of the *Israelit*, Germany's leading modern Orthodox newspaper, which appeared in Frankfurt am Main. He also taught at the Breuer yeshivah and was a prolific writer. In the main he depicted famous personalities in Jewish history, such as Don Abarbanel of Spain (1937), the leading figure at the time of the mass exodus (1492), Moses Schreiber of Pressburg (1933), Maimonides (1935), and the mystical rabbi Seckel Loeb Wormser of Michelstadt (1912). He also wrote about Jewish folkways of Galicia (1910), the Khazars (1920), the Falashas (*Beta Israel) (1923), a proselyte to Judaism in Vilna (repr. 1943), retold the Bible, and wrote a sympathetic description of Ereẓ Israel in 1932, thus attenuating the hard-line anti-Zionist approach of Agudat Israel. In 1938 he managed to receive an immigrant permit for Switzerland, where he visited the many Jewish refugees in the camps. He helped give them the steadfastness to endure the hardship of their life. In 1952 his death in Zurich was widely deplored. Some of his books were translated into Yiddish and English. His retelling of the Bible was reprinted by the Zentralrat der Juden in Deutschland (1970).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Kaufmann, Bibliographie, No. 1449.

[Uri Kaufmann (2nd ed.)]

SCHACHT, ALEXANDER (**Al**; "The Clown Prince of Baseball"; 1892–1984), U.S. baseball player and entertainer who performed in a battered top hat and a tattered tuxedo with tails, wielding a catcher's mitt that weighed 25 pounds. Schacht was born on the Lower East Side to Russian immigrants Ida, daughter of a rabbi, and Samuel, son of a prominent farmer and a skilled locksmith, who once made a set of iron doors for the White House for Teddy Roosevelt. Schacht was a pitcher for Commerce High School, but was expelled for accepting $4 to pitch a semi-pro game. He then started his career in 1910 playing for Walton in upstate New York. Schacht played for Cleveland in the outlawed Federal League, and in the International League for Newark and the Jersey City Giants, for whom he pitched 10 shutouts. Schacht was drafted into the army in World War I before making his Major League debut for the Washington Nationals on September 18, 1919, at the age of 26. At spring training the following year, he met Nick Altrock, himself a baseball clown, and the two formed a clowning partnership, though they did not like each other and later in their partnership never spoke to each other. A sore arm curtailed Schacht's career in less than two years, and he retired from playing with a record of 14–10 with a 4.48 ERA in 53 games. He continued as a coach and clown with Altrock, until Schacht left for Boston in 1934, and afterward he performed alone in an act that was part pantomime and part anecdotes. During rain delays he would plop down in a mud puddle with two bats, and pantomime rowing as if he were in a boat. He was also known for staging mock boxing and tennis matches on the field. Schacht performed at 25 World Series and 18 All-Star Games, and by his estimation entertained more than 70 million fans in his nearly five decades as an entertainer. During World War II, Schacht made three trips overseas with the USO, entertaining thousands of troops in Europe, Africa, and Asia. After the war, Schacht gave up touring and opened a restaurant on East 52nd St. in New York. He was the author of *Clowning Through Baseball* (1941); *Al Schacht Dope Book: Diamond Facts, Figures And Fun* (1944); *GI Had Fun* (1945); and *My Own Particular Screwball* (1955).

[Elli Wohlgelernter (2nd ed.)]

SCHACHTEL, HUGO-HILLEL (1876–1949), early Zionist and one of the heads of the *Jewish National Fund (JNF) in Germany. Born in Sulnierschuetz (now Sulmierzyce, Poland), Schachtel later settled in Breslau, where he completed his studies as a dentist. He began his activities in a Breslau Zionist society and offered his services to Theodor *Herzl shortly after the appearance of *Der Judenstaat*. In his reply (dated Nov. 19, 1896), Herzl asked him to set up propaganda societies in Poland. Schachtel spent the following decades active in Zionist affairs, both in the Breslau Zionist society and in the JNF. In 1904 he published a manual of information about Ereẓ Israel and the Zionist movement which ran through several editions (the fifth edition came out in 1924 under the title *Eretz-Israel Merkbuch*). He also compiled an index to the proceedings and a collection of the resolutions of the first seven Zionist Congresses (1905–06). In 1932 he settled in Haifa.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: N. Agmon (Bistritski; ed.), *Megillat ha-Adamah*, 2 (*Demuyot*; 1951), 199–200; G. Herlitz, *Ishim ba-Ẓiyyonut* (1965).

[Getzel Kressel]

SCHACHTER, CARL (1932–), U.S. music theorist; the most important practitioner of Schenkerian theory in his generation. Born in Chicago, Schachter studied piano and conducting in New York and focused on theory following his studies with Felix Salzer. Schachter was a professor in the Mannes School of Music, Queens College, the CUNY Graduate Center, and the Juilliard School of Music, and gave lectures and classes all over North America and Europe. Schachter's profound understanding of theory is best seen in his illuminating commentary on Schenker's *Free Composition* (*Journal of Music Theory,* 1981). He is best known for the textbooks which he coauthored: *Counterpoint in Composition* (with Felix Salzer, 1969) and *Harmony and Voice Leading* (with Edward Aldwell, 1978, 1989^2, 2003^3). Schachter developed a complementary tool to voice-leading graphs: durational graphs, which indicate the normalized time-span of each event (at a given level). His essays focus on analysis of 18th- and 19th-century music. His most important essays were collected in *Unfoldings* (1999).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: J.N. Straus, "Introduction: A Dialogue between Author and Editor," in: *Unfoldings*. (1999).

[Yossi Goldenberg (2nd ed.)]

SCHACHTER, HERSCHEL (1917–), U.S. Orthodox. rabbi. Born in Brooklyn, New York, Schachter was ordained by the Rabbi Isaac Elchanan Theological Seminary in 1941. He served as rabbi of Agudath Shalom, Stamford, Conn., in 1940. During World War II, Schachter was a U.S. army chaplain and was the first Jewish chaplain to aid the survivors of Buchenwald. He arrived there on April 12, 1945, with General George Patton's Third Army.

Going from one barracks to the next, he declared in Yiddish, "*Sholom Alecheim Yidden, ihr zint frei*" (Hello Jews, you are free). He officiated at the first Friday night service after liberation and conducted a *seder* for the survivors. He established a *ḥevra kadisha* (burial society), and acquired a plot of land for a Jewish cemetery, organized a list of Jews in the camp and others who came through, set up a mail service and a package program.

After much discussion, he convinced the military to allow young people in Buchenwald to establish a kibbutz to prepare for life in Palestine. In this he worked with Chaplain Robert Marcus, another Orthodox rabbi. Marcus and Schachter each accompanied transports of Jewish children from Buchenwald to France.

He was appointed rabbi of the Mosholu Jewish Center, New York, in 1946. The neighborhood was amid a large and thriving Jewish community of the Bronx. At its peak more than 1,000 people crowded into the synagogue on the high holidays. His sermons were the topic of discussion. In 1956–57

Schachter was religious adviser to Jews fleeing from Hungary. He served as president of the Religious Zionists of America and chairman of the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish organizations, the first Orthodox rabbi to hold that position. He was able to maintain unity despite vast differences of ideology and politics. One person who worked closely with him, Jerry Goodman of the National Conference on Soviet Jewry, said "he was aware of the power that he had but it never changed him. He never forgot his roots were in the Bronx. And despite his national leadership he stayed in the Bronx and served the Jewish people from that perch." As the neighborhood changed and Jews moved out, Rabbi Schachter stayed. By the mid 1990s the synagogue was almost empty even on the High Holidays. The synagogue closed in 2000, not because it lacked for funds – they could have easily be raised – but because there were no Jews. They had left for Riverdale, for Westchester, they were elsewhere.

Rabbi Schachter's son, Jacob J. *Schachter is a prominent Orthodox rabbi who for many years was the rabbi of the Jewish Center in Manhattan's West Side, a thriving Jewish community.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: A. Grobman, *Battling for Souls* (2004).

[Jeanette Friedman (2nd ed.)]

SCHACHTER, JACOB J. (1950–), U.S. Orthodox rabbi. Schachter was born into a prominent rabbinic family; his father was Rabbi Herschel *Schachter who was among the first to enter Buchenwald after liberation and who served as rabbi of the Moshula Jewish Center and as chairman of the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations. Jacob Schachter graduated from Brooklyn College in 1973, *summa cum laude* and Phi Beta Kappa, winning the Abraham S. Goodhartz Award for Excellence in Judaic Studies. He was ordained at Mesivta Torah Vodaath that same year. He then went to Harvard, where he was a teaching fellow from 1978 to 1980 and from which he received his Ph.D. in Near Eastern Languages in 1981. He became rabbi of the Jewish Center in Manhattan, one of the most prestigious Orthodox congregations in the world, where Rabbis Norman *Lamm and Leo *Jung had served. Mordecai *Kaplan had also been there in the early 20th century during the waning years of his service as an Orthodox rabbi. Under Schachter's leadership, the synagogue grew from almost 200 to nearly 600 families – with close to 1,000 participants in services on Sabbath mornings. Among his other activities while at the Jewish Center, he directed Yeshiva University's Torah u-Madda Project from 1986 to 1997, and was an adjunct assistant professor at the Stern College for Women at Yeshiva University from 1993 to 1999. In 1995, he was awarded the prestigious Daniel Jeremy Silver Fellowship from the department of Near Eastern languages and civilizations, Harvard University. He also served as a member of the faculties of The Wexner Heritage Foundation (from 1992) and The Wexner Foundation (from 1995). He was a member of the editorial boards of the magazines *Tradition* and *Jewish Action*, served on the board of governors of the Orthodox Union, and was the founding president of the Council of Orthodox Jewish Organizations of the Upper West Side (1994–2000).

Perhaps tired of the pulpit and seeking to move closer to academic life, he shocked many when he left the Jewish Center to become dean of the newly founded Rabbi Joseph B. Soloveitchik Institute in Boston in 2000. The institute is dedicated to perpetuating the teachings of Rabbi Soloveitchik as a force within the Orthodox community and as a model for all Jews. Guided by the integrity of *halakhah*, Jewish tradition, and meaningful engagement with general culture, the institute is intended to enhance Jewish study and actively develop Jewish leadership for the contemporary world.

He returned to New York in 2005 to become professor of Jewish History and Thought and Senior Scholar at the Center for the Jewish Future at Yeshiva University. His appointment was seen as a signal by the new president of Yeshiva University that he wanted to reinvigorate the college, and to stress the twin goals of Yeshiva University. As a university professor, Schachter was asked to develop multidisciplinary initiatives in various academic units of the university. The position of Senior Scholar enabled Schachter to play a prominent role in the new center's development and to shape the Orthodox world for contemporary Orthodox Jews who are sophisticated, intelligent, and rooted professionally and culturally in the secular world while living traditional Jewish lives.

He took up the battle for a different type of synthesis within contemporary Orthodoxy. Writing in the student newspaper, Schachter said: "By 'synthesis' we must understand not a co-existence of equals but an integrated system of religious and secular ideas based on the eternal verities of our religion. We begin our career here with the basic postulates of Orthodox Judaism. Then, as we continue our studies, we fit the secular ideas into the religious pattern, thus broadening our understanding and enriching our religious life."

As a scholar, Schachter was the founding editor of The *Torah u-Madda Journal* and editor of *Reverence, Righteousness and Rahamanut: Essays in Memory of Rabbi Dr. Leo Jung* (1992), *Jewish Tradition and the Nontraditional Jew* (1992), and the award-winning *Judaism's Encounter with Other Cultures: Rejection or Integration?* (1997). He was also the co-editor of the Orthodox Union's *Siddur Nechamas Yisrael: The Complete Service for the Period of Bereavement* (1995). He was the co-author, with fellow YU Professor Jeffrey Gurrock, of the award-winning *A Modern Heretic and a Traditional Community: Mordecai M. Kaplan, Orthodoxy, and American Judaism*, which traces Kaplan's disillusionment with Orthodoxy while rabbi at the Jewish Center (1996), and author of close to 50 articles and reviews in Hebrew and English.

[Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

SCHACHTER-SHALOMI, ZALMAN (1924–), U.S. rabbi and leader of the Jewish Renewal. Schachter-Shalomi was born in Zholkiew, Poland, and educated in Vienna, Austria, at the gymnasium Brit Bilu Agudah and Yeshiva Yesod Ha-Torah. In 1938 he and his family fled to Antwerp, Belgium, to avoid

Nazi capture, where he had his first contact with Chabad Hasidim. In April 1940 his family was interned in a labor camp in Vichy, France. In September 1940 they were freed, and he moved to Marseilles, France. In 1947 he received rabbinical ordination from Central Yeshiva Tomchei T'mimim (Chabad) in Brooklyn, New York. In 1962 he and counterculture guru Timothy Leary experimented with LSD at the Vendanta Center in Massachusetts. In 1968 he earned a DHL from Hebrew Union College in Cincinnati, Ohio. Beginning as a Chabad emissary in 1969, he founded B'nei Or (later the alliance for Jewish Renewal) and was promoted to full professor at the University of Manitoba in Saskatchewan, Canada, where he taught from 1969 to 1975, serving both as professor and Hillel director. He taught at Temple University from 1975 to 1987 and then at the Naropa Institute (later Naropa University) from 1995 to 2004.

Reb Zalman, as he became known, was a disciple of the sixth Lubavitcher Rebbe and served as one of the first emissaries of the seventh rebbe (Menachem Mendel *Schneersohn) in the late 1940s. Together with his colleague Rabbi Shlomo *Carlebach, Schachter-Shalomi revolutionized American Jewry by translating ḥasidic spirituality into a counter-cultural language.

Dissatisfied with the insular nature of post-war ḥasidic Judaism yet committed to the ḥasidic vision he gleaned from its texts, he left the formal community of Lubavitch yet transformed ḥasidic outreach into a non-Orthodox post-halakhic Jewish pietism that was at once universal, highly ritualistic, and unabashedly heterodox (some would say heretical). Kabbalistic and ḥasidic Judaism served as the groundwork for his new Judaism that advocated absorbing other spiritual disciplines into itself to enhance a contemplative Judaism for a "new age." He formulated what he called a paradigm shift, drawing from the medieval kabbalistic works of *Sefer Temunah* and *Sefer Ha-Peliah* (and their Shabbatean and ḥasidic interpreters) that presented a model of changing cosmic eons, reflected in historical epochs each of which required a "new Torah."

[Shaul Magid (2nd ed.)]

SCHACHT PLAN, Nazi plan to finance Jewish emigration from Germany, conceived in the wake of the **Kristallnacht* by Hjalmar Schacht, minister of economics and president of the Reichsbank, and Hans Fishboeck, state secretary in the Reich Ministry of Finance. The plan was in consonance with two major goals of German policy prior to the "Final Solution" – the forced emigration of Jews and the expropriation of their property. This plan was not the first suggestion of a policy of mutual interest, beneficial to both the German state and to a significantly lesser extent to the Jews – though the possibility of emigration was of inestimable value the longer the Nazis were in power. In 1933, the *Haavara agreement was struck, enabling Jews to leave Germany and go to Palestine with at least some assets. Under the Schacht plan, those German Jews wishing to emigrate could not take their property with them, for it had been confiscated by the Reich authorities, who compensated them with government bonds at the lowest interest. The planners tried to capitalize on the concern shown by foreign Jewish bodies and international refugee organizations and link the facility of transfer of Jewish assets to the promotion of German exports. They wanted foreign Jewish bodies to raise a loan of RM 1,500,000 in foreign currency (then equivalent to $600,000) to enable the resettlement of emigrants. Other essentials of the plan called for placing 25% of the Jewish property in Germany and Austria in a trust fund. The assets were to be gradually converted into cash and transferred only if Germany's foreign exchange would permit, or sooner in the form of "supplementary" exports. The remaining 75% was to remain at Germany's disposal to be used to maintain Jews before their emigration or those unable to emigrate. This fund was to finance the emigration of 150,000 able-bodied Jews and 250,000 dependents in the course of three years. Schacht claimed that *Hitler and *Goering had assented to his plan. *Ribbentrop opposed it for personal and political reasons and did his best to frustrate it. To implement it, Schacht negotiated with George Rublee, the director of the Intergovernmental Committee of Refugees, who had formerly conceived his own plan for linking emigration to German exports, with the Reich as the debtor of the foreign loan, but agreed to the emigrants being the debtors. Rublee's committee planned to proceed through two committees, one on a governmental level and the second of private individuals. Jewish leaders approached by Rublee opposed the second committee, to give the lie to the Nazi propaganda of a world Jewish financial body. They believed that the whole problem should he considered by governments exclusively. The experts of the governments concerned with Jewish immigration objected to making confiscated Jewish property the basis for increasing German exports. Rublee ran into further difficulty in finding governments that were ready to accept Jewish immigrants in great numbers. Schacht was dismissed at the beginning of 1939, but the Nazis continued the negotiations. Rublee, who sincerely believed in the plan as a means to help the Jews, resigned because of the difficulties he encountered. The negotiations between his successors and the Nazi government dragged on until their disruption with the outbreak of World War II, when emigration became impossible.

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[Yehuda Reshef / Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

SCHAECHTER, JOSEPH (1901–), educator and Hebrew writer. Born in Galicia, he was ordained for the rabbinate and studied at Vienna University. Schaechter immigrated to Ereẓ Israel in 1938, and taught in secondary schools, first in Tel Aviv and then in Haifa. From 1951 he was the supervisor of secondary schools in Haifa. Disturbed by the gap between

Orthodoxy and secularism in Israel society, Schaechter tried to turn Israel non-Orthodox youth back to its Jewish heritage. He sought to achieve this by approaching the Bible and Talmud as a philosophy of life. Schaechter felt that modern man was uprooted and cynical in the technological world, because he had forgotten to invest life with meaning and to look within himself. This inner search was the heritage of Israel. In his *Pirkei Hadrakhah ba-Tanakh* (1960) he showed the failings of both the Orthodox and non-orthodox education systems, the one teaching Bible as a book of *mitzvot*, the other as an archaeological guide book. Besides contributing to various literary periodicals, he wrote books on such varied topics as logic, science and faith, Talmud, and the prayer book.

His books include *Mavo Kaẓar le-Logistikah* (1937), *Sintaksis* (1944), *Mi-Madda le-Emunah* (1953), *Mavo la-Talmud* (1954), *Mishnato shel A.D. Gordon* (1957), *Mavo la-Siddur* (1958), *Oẓar ha-Talmud* (1963), *Mavo la-Tanakh* (1968), and several works on education, including *Limmudei ha-Yahadut ba-Ḥinnukh ha-Al-Yesodi* (1968), a summary of Schaechter's teachings by his students.

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[Getzel Kressel]

SCHAECHTER, MORDKHE (1927–), Yiddish linguist, author, editor, and educator. Born in Cernauti, Romania (now Chernivtsy, Ukraine), Schaechter, who went to the U.S. in 1951, was a leading Yiddishist, both in promoting the maintenance of the language and in adapting it through language planning to modern life and technology. Coeditor of the Territorialist bimonthly *Oyfn Shvel*, published by the Freeland League, he contributed to various other Yiddish publications, and collaborated with M. *Weinreich in the writing of *Yidisher Ortografisher Vegvayzer* (1961). Chief interviewer of *The Language and Culture Atlas of Ashkenazic Jewry* (1992–2000), he also wrote books and articles on Yiddish dialectology, toponymy, terminology, style, and grammar. His *Elyokem Zunzer's Verk* (published by the *YIVO Institute in 1964) has been acclaimed as the best critical edition of a Yiddish writer and his works. Schaechter participated in various institutions and foundations promoting the Yiddish language, and was instrumental in organizing some: he was a prime mover in the creation of the youth movement, Yugntruf – Youth for Yiddish (1963). From 1962 he taught Yiddish at the Jewish Teachers' Seminary and, from 1968, at both Yeshiva University and Columbia University in New York.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: LNYL, vol. 8.

[Leybl Kahn]

SCHAECHTER-GOTTESMAN, BELLA (1920–), artist, Yiddish poet, and songwriter. Schaechter-Gottesman was born Beyle Schaechter in Vienna, the daughter of Lifshe Gottesman, and Benjamin Schaechter. The family moved to Cernauti, Romania (Czernowitz, now part of the Ukraine), when Beyle was 18 months old. She attended school where instruction was in Romanian, also learning French and Latin, spoke Yiddish at home, and German or Ukrainian around town. Home was full of music, as her mother knew a large folk song repertoire and had a wonderful voice. Years later, Lifshe Schaechter-Widman recorded songs in the United States and wrote a memoir, *Durkhgelebt a Velt: Zikhroynes* (1973).

In 1938, Beyle's two years of study at the Vienna art school was cut short when Hitler invaded Austria. Using her Romanian passport, she returned to her family in Cernauti, only to spend the war years in her hometown under dire circumstances. In February 1941, she married Jonas Gottesman, a physician, with whom she ultimately had three children. They wound up in the Cernauti ghetto with the other Jews, but her husband arranged authorization for them to remain in the area, and thus they survived the war. After the war, Beyle and her family settled briefly in Vienna before coming to New York City in 1951.

Schaechter-Gottesman started her theatrical and literary career with works for children, writing musical plays and puppet shows for the Scholem Aleichem Yiddish School in New York. She edited a children's magazine, *Kinder Zhurnal,* from 1972 to 1982, and founded and edited the magazine by children, *Enge Benge*. Her first book of poetry was *Mir Forn* in 1963, followed by *Stezhkes Tsvishn Moyern: Lider* ("Footpaths Amidst Stonewalls: Poems," 1972) and *Sharey Lider* ("Sunrise Poetry," 1980). Another book of poetry, *Lider* (1995), was published in both English and Yiddish. *Perpl Shlengt zikh der veg: Lider* ("Winding Purple Road," 2002) also featured her drawings.

Her outpouring of musical song started to see publication in the 1990s, with *Zumerteg: Tsvantsik Zinglider* ("Summer Days: Twenty Songs," 1990) and *Fli mayn flishlang! Kinderlider mit Musik* ("Fly My Kite!" 1999); recordings of her songs also appeared: *Zumerteg New Yiddish Songs* (1991) and *Af di Gasn Fun Shtot* ("On the Streets of the City," 2003). Her bilingual children's book *Mume blume di Makhsheyfe* ("Aunt Bluma, the Witch," 2000) has been translated into numerous languages. She performed Yiddish folk songs on *Bay Mayn Mames Shtible* ("At My Mother's House," 2004). Schaechter-Gottesman was awarded the People's Hall of Fame Award from the Museum of the City of New York (1998) and the Osher Tshushinsky Award from the Congress for Jewish Culture (1994).

With the rekindled interest in Yiddish culture and klezmer music during the 1970s and 1980s, Schaechter-Gottesman participated in popular cultural festivals and workshops such as the Yiddish Folk Arts Workshop ("Klezkamp"), Buffalo on the Roof, Klezkanada, Ashkenaz Festival, and Weimar Klezmerwochen, spreading the knowledge of her music.

[Judith S. Pinnolis (2nd ed.)]

°**SCHAEFFER, CLAUDE F.A.** (1898–1982), French archaeologist. He was curator of the French National Museums and the Museum of Antiquities (1933); director of research of the Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique (1946); and professor of European prehistory and national archaeology at the Ecole du Louvre (1951) and at the College of France (1954). He directed a number of French archaeological missions in Italy, Turkey, Egypt, and especially at Ras Shamra in Syria and Enkomia-Alasia in Cyprus.

Schaeffer is principally remembered as the excavator of Ras Shamra (see *Ugarit), one of the most remarkable archaeological discoveries of the 20th century bearing directly upon the language and literature of the Hebrew Bible. He examined the importance of Ras Shamra for the understanding of the literature, archaeology, history, and theology of Israel and its surroundings.

The religion of Ras Shamra and the form and quality of Canaanite poetry are compared with the Bible in his 1936 Schweich Lectures of the British Academy, published in 1939 as *The Cuneiform Texts of Ras Shamra-Ugarit*. The authoritative reports directly covering the expeditions at Ras Shamra published under his direction include *La… campagne de fouilles à Ras Shamra-Ugarit* (17 vols. (1929–55); *Ugaritica* (4 vols., 1939–62), and *Le Palais Royal d'Ugarit*, containing the texts from the different literary archives of the royal palace at Ras Shamra (1955).

[Zev Garber]

SCHAEFFER, HANS (1886–1967), German government official. Born in Breslau, Schaeffer began to practice law in 1912. He served with the German armed forces during World War I and, when demobilized early in 1919, was appointed to the German Ministry of Economic Affairs. At first engaged in drafting the economic provisions of the Weimar Constitution, he was promoted in 1923 to undersecretary and shifted to international economic affairs. German reparations became his principal field. In 1929, during the beginnings of the world economic depression, he joined the Ministry of Finance, where he became instrumental in overcoming the German banking crisis and relieving Germany of its war debt. In 1932 he left government service to become president of the *Ullstein publishing house, but in 1933 the Nazi government forced his dismissal. Subsequently he worked together with Allen Dulles and Jean Monnet on the liquidation of the Swedish Kreuger Match Combine, and in 1936 he became the Combine's adviser and moved to Sweden, where he lived until his death. Schaeffer took an interest in Jewish affairs, particularly after Hitler's rise to power. He participated in the formation of the *Reichsvertretung der deutschen Juden and was in contact with the Jewish representatives at the *Evian Conference. Schaeffer kept a diary which represents an important source for German economic history from the 1920s to the 1960s.

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[Joachim O. Ronall]

SCHAFER, STEPHEN (1911–1976), criminologist and sociologist. Born in Hungary, Schafer was professor of criminology at Budapest University (1947–51), chairman of the Hungarian prison commission, and president of the supervising board of delinquency. He left Hungary in 1956 and became a consultant to the British Home Office research unit. In 1961, Schafer immigrated to the U.S. and taught successively at the Florida State, Ohio, and Northeastern universities, and served as a consultant to the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice.

Schafer's principal book in English was *Restitution to Victims of Crime* (1960), a problem on which he became a leading expert. Some of his other works, as a preeminent researcher in the field of victimology, include *The Victim and His Criminal* (1968), *Theories in Criminology* (1969), *Juvenile Delinquency* (1970), *The Political Criminal: The Problem of Morality and Crime* (1974), *Social Problems in a Changing Society* (1975), and *Introduction to Criminology* (1976²).

[Zvi Hermon / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

SCHAFF, ADAM (1913–), Polish philosopher of Jewish origin; the dominant figure in Marxist philosophy in Poland from the assumption of power by the Communist government in 1945. Born in Lvov, he studied in the Soviet Union. He returned to become professor of philosophy at the Warsaw University and director of the Institute of Philosophy at the Polish Academy of Science. At first of orthodox views, he nevertheless engaged in active and mutually respectful debate and development with the eminent Polish school of logic and epistemology (Ajdukiewicz, Kotarbinski, Ingarden, among others), and later also with Marxists influenced by existentialist and other non-Marxist philosophical thought (the most important being Kolakowski). Schaff wrote many works, from initial studies in the theory of truth to later works on semantics, on the nature of historical explanation, on the role of language in cognition, on ethics in private and in social life, and on the still uncompleted tasks of Marxist philosophy, for which his chief work is *Marksyzm i jednostka ludzka* (1965; *Marxism and the Human Individual*, 1970). Other books appearing in English are *Alienation as a Social Phenomenon, Language and Cognition,* and *History and Truth.* Schaff had wide influence within the eastern European countries, and also among American and western European thinkers on sociological and philosophical matters, perhaps most practically through work with UNESCO. During the period of active pressure against Jews in Poland in 1968, Schaff's official positions in the Polish university and academy hierarchy were greatly reduced in scope and authority, and he ceased to be a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Poland. However, through all the upheavals in Poland he managed to maintain his status as an influential thinker.

[Robert S. Cohen]

SCHAFFHAUSEN, canton and its capital city in N. Switzerland. The earliest record of Jews in the canton is dated 1291. The Jews were burned there during the excesses of 1349, and in 1401 all the Jews in the city were condemned to death and 30 were burned. The Jews were expelled from the canton in 1475. Individual Jews who visited the canton during the 16th to 18th centuries were refused the right of residence. Jews of nearby southern German rural communitites (Gailingen, Randegg, Worblingen and Wangen) appeared on weekdays doing business as livestock traders and peddlers. In 1865 the laws restricting Jewish settlement were repealed, and by 1874 full emancipation was granted. However, few Jews settled there. A *minyan* existed in the 1920s.

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[Uri Kaufmann (2nd ed.)]

SCHAKOWSKY, JANICE D. (“**Jan**”; 1944–), member of the U.S. House of Representatives, serving the 9th District of Illinois from 1999. “We need more Jan Schakowskys,” *New York Magazine* declared, noting that the congresswoman from Illinois represents the future of Democratic progressive politics.

Born in Chicago, Schakowsky, a citizen advocate, grassroots organizer, and elected public official, fought throughout her career for economic and social justice and improved quality of life for all; for an end to violence against women; and for a national investment in healthcare, public education, and housing needs.

She carried on the legacy of her predecessor, Sid Yates, representing a district that is incredibly diverse, stretching from the liberal lakefront through some of Chicago’s ethnic neighborhoods, encompassing Devon Avenue and extending to O’Hare International Airport. She picked up his mantle of leadership, especially regarding his support for Israel and the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum.

Schakowsky, who served on the House Democratic Leadership team as chief deputy whip, was a member of the Energy and Commerce Committee, where she was ranking member of the Subcommittee on Commerce, Trade, and Consumer Protection; she also served on the Subcommittee on Environment and Hazardous Materials and the Subcommittee on Oversight and Investigations.

Schakowsky won major legislative victories to increase federal assistance for abused women and children and to protect the rights of battered immigrant women, to reform election laws guaranteeing that no registered voter is turned away at the poll, to expand housing opportunities for low-income people, and to assist small business owners and farmers. Schakowsky worked in Congress to safeguard the rights of victims of identity theft and to protect consumers from predatory lenders. A champion for the nation’s seniors, Schakowsky was actively engaged in the campaign for seniors and persons with disabilities to access affordable prescription drugs. Schakowsky was also working to ensure that seniors receive quality home, hospice, and nursing care.

A graduate of the University of Illinois, Schakowsky was a longtime consumer rights advocate. She was responsible for a 1969 law requiring the printing of freshness dates on groceries. She was program director of Illinois Public Action, Illinois’ largest public interest group, from 1976 to 1985, where she fought for energy reform and stronger protection from toxic chemicals. She then moved to the Illinois State Council of Senior Citizens as executive director, where she organized across the state for lower cost prescription drugs and tax relief for seniors, financial protection for the spouses of nursing home residents, and other benefits for the elderly. She held that position from 1985 until 1990, when she was elected to the Illinois House of Representatives. She served there for four terms until elected to the U.S. House of Representatives in 1998.

[Jill Weinberg (2nd ed.)]

SCHALIT, ABRAHAM CHAIM (1898–1979), historian. Born in Zolochev, Galicia, Schalit studied classics at Vienna University. He settled in Ereẓ Israel in 1929 and worked in various posts. In 1950 he became a lecturer in Jewish history at The Hebrew University, Jerusalem, and professor in 1957. His most important work was *Hordos ha-Melekh* (“King Herod,” 1960) for which he received the Israel Prize for Jewish Studies (1960). The book was translated in an enlarged form into German, *Koenig Herodes* (1969). Not only a comprehensive study of Herod, it is also a brilliant analysis of the structure of Roman rule in Palestine, a subject to which Schalit had previously devoted his *Ha-Mishtar ha-Roma’i be-Ereẓ Yisrael* (“Roman Rule in Ereẓ Israel,” 1937). Schalit’s other important field of research was the writings of Josephus. In numerous articles he dealt with several aspects of the historian’s method and sources; he also wrote an introduction to, and translated into Hebrew, Josephus’ *Antiquities of the Jews* (Books 1–10, 1947; 11–20, 1963), as well as a concordance of all names appearing in Josephus’ works, *Namenwoerterbuch zu Flavius Josephus* (1968). Schalit was divisional editor of the *Encyclopaedia Judaica* for the Second Temple period.

[Isaiah Gafni]

SCHALIT, HEINRICH (1886–1973), composer. Schalit was born in Vienna and studied at the musical conservatory there. He settled in Munich, where he worked as music teacher and as organist at the Great Synagogue. In 1933 he left Germany and was appointed organist at the Great Synagogue in Rome. He later emigrated to the U.S., where he was organist for congregations in Providence, Rhode Island, and Denver, Colorado. Among his sacred compositions are his *Friday Night Liturgy*, his *Hebrew Song of Praise*, and his setting of Psalm 98. He also wrote orchestral, chamber, and piano music, as well as songs.

SCHALIT, ISIDOR (1871–1953), first secretary of the Zionist Office and one of Herzl’s first assistants. Born in Nowosolky, Ukraine, Schalit grew up in Vienna, where he qualified as a dentist. He was raised in an atmosphere of support for Ḥibbat

Zion, joined the student Zionist society *Kadimah in Vienna (1889), and was actively engaged in establishing a network of similar organizations in Austria. He was a member of the academic circle in Vienna that offered Herzl assistance on the publication of *Der Judenstaat*. On Whit Sunday 1896 Herzl wrote in his diary:

> Two fellows from the Kadimah, Schalit and Neuberger, called on me. They told me that a proposal was afoot to recruit a volunteer battalion of one or two thousand and to attempt a landing at Jaffa. Even if some might have to give up their lives in the attempt, Europe would start paying attention to the aspirations of the Jews. I advised them against this fine Garibaldian idea.

Herzl made Schalit a member of the editorial board of *Die Welt*, but shortly afterward, at the outbreak of the Turko-Greek War (1897), Schalit set out at the head of a delegation of five medical student volunteers to provide first aid on the Turkish front, a venture which was intended to gain Turkish sympathy for Herzl's proposals. Afterward Schalit was the main technical organizer of the First Zionist Congress at Basle (1897). He flew the Zionist flag from the Basle Casino and did it again at the 1937 Congress, which celebrated in Basle the 40th anniversary of the First Congress. He also signaled the opening of the First Congress by knocking with a hammer on the table of the chairman, an act which he performed at all subsequent Congresses – down to the first Congress in the State of Israel in 1951. After the First Congress he was appointed secretary of the Zionist Office, a post he filled during Herzl's lifetime. With the transfer of the Zionist center to Cologne, after Herzl's death, he was elected head of the Zionist Organization in Austria. From then on he was active in the Austrian and the World Zionist Organizations. In 1938 he settled in Palestine, where he published memoirs of the beginnings of political Zionism (in *Haolam, Davar*, etc.).

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[Getzel Kressel]

SCHALLY, ANDREW VICTOR (1926–), medical research worker and Nobel laureate. Schally was born in Wilno, Poland (now Vilnius, Lithuania), and became a U.S. citizen in 1962. At the outset of World War II, his father, a professional soldier, left his family to fight with the Allied forces. Schally survived the war in Romania and immigrated to the U.K. in 1945. He was educated at Bridge of Allan School in Scotland and received his B.Sc. in chemistry from London University. After a period at the Medical Research Council's National Institute for Medical Research at Mill Hill, London (1950–52), he moved to Canada where he gained his Ph.D. in chemistry at McGill University under the supervision of Dr. M. Saffran (1952–57). He joined the department of physiology at Baylor University College of Medicine in Houston, Texas (1957–62). In 1962 he moved for the rest of his career to New Orleans as chief of the Endocrine and Polypeptide Laboratories at the Veterans Administration Hospital, where he became a senior medical investigator (1973), and a member of the faculty of medicine at Tulane University, where he became professor of medicine in 1967. Schally's interest in medical research in general began at Mill Hill, and in endocrinology at McGill. He was early convinced that the hypothalamus in the brain produces hormones which regulate the pituitary gland, and hence the production of hormones by the thyroid and adrenal glands, and also the hormones which control growth and reproductive capacity. His initially controversial ideas were vindicated by a long and laborious series of experiments necessary to isolate sufficient material with which to characterize hormones produced by the hypothalamus and to demonstrate their actions. His research established the central role of the brain in controlling the endocrine system through the pituitary gland. It has immense implications for devising new strategies for birth control and suppressing hormone-dependent cancers. Indeed he has been consistently motivated to find clinical applications for his discoveries. In later work he was especially interested in developing novel antitumor peptides. Schally worked with close colleagues for most of his career in New Orleans and collaborated with many scientists and clinicians worldwide, and especially with clinical endocrinologists in the U.K. By 2005 he was an author of 2,200 papers, and he continued to be scientifically productive. He was awarded the Nobel Prize in physiology or medicine jointly with Roger Guillemin and Rosalyn *Yalow (1977). His many other honors include membership of the U.S. National Academy of Sciences, the Gairdner Award (1974), and the Lasker Award in Basic Medical Science (1975). He married Dr. Ana Maria de Medeiros-Comaru (1976), a distinguished Brazilian endocrinologist and his collaborator before her death (2004). Schally had a lifelong passion for soccer and as a young man contemplated a career in this sport.

[Michael Denman (2nd ed.)]

SCHAMA, SIMON (1945–), British-American historian. Schama was educated at Cambridge University, where he taught from 1966 to 1976. He subsequently taught at Oxford and then in the United States, where he became a professor at Harvard and, later, Columbia University. He wrote important works on Dutch history, such as *Patriots and Liberators: Revolution in the Netherlands, 1780–1813* (1977) and *An Embarrassment of Riches: An Interpretation of Dutch Culture in the Golden Age* (1987), as well as a bestselling account of the French Revolution, *Citizens: A Chronicle of the French Revolution* (1989). Schama also wrote widely on art, in such works as *Rembrandt's Eyes* (1999), and was the art critic of *The New Yorker* magazine in 1995–98. He is probably best-known for the 16-part history of Britain he made for the BBC, which was watched by millions of viewers and became a bestselling three-volume work, *A History of Britain* (2000–3). Schama also wrote on Jewish history, *The Rothschilds and the Land of Israel* (1978).

[William D. Rubinstein (2nd ed.)]

SCHAMES, SAMSON (1898–1967), U.S. artist. Born in Frankfurt, Schames studied at the Staedelschule. He designed stage sets for several German theaters, and for the Jewish theater, which was founded in 1933. Although Schames had settled in Britain in 1938 to flee the Nazis, the British government interned him and other perceived potential German threats to national security in 1940 in Huyton Alien Internment Camp, near Liverpool. Other residents of the camp included Martin *Bloch and John *Heartfield. Here, Schames used debris, often grayed from bombardments, to fashion abstract collages and mosaics. In 1948 he immigrated to New York. He exhibited his work in a show in Germany in 1955. In 1989, Schames received a large posthumous exhibition at the Jewish Museum in Frankfurt. An expressionist, he endowed whatever he painted with explosive spontaneity displayed through stark, spiky strokes. He was a nephew of the Frankfurt gallery owner Ludwig Schames (1852–1922), who exhibited the Expressionists. His work has been exhibited internationally, in such institutions as the Bezalel National Museum, Jerusalem; the Leo Baeck Institute, New York; and the Walker Art Gallery, Liverpool, among other places.

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SCHANBERG, SYDNEY H. (1934–), U.S. journalist. Born in Clinton, Massachusetts, Sydney Hillel Schanberg graduated from Harvard University. He joined the staff of *The New York Times* in the late 1950s and covered local news before becoming Albany bureau chief, where he covered the activities of Gov. Nelson A. Rockefeller and the New York State legislature. His first foreign assignment for the *Times* took him to India and Pakistan during the late 1960s and early 1970s, with side trips to cover the Vietnam War. But after the end of the war Schanberg heard about the American bombing of Cambodia, which President Richard M. Nixon and Secretary of State Henry A. *Kissinger denied. In Cambodia, Schanberg covered the emergence of the Khmer Rouge, a secretive revolutionary group that conducted genocide against the Cambodian people, particularly the educated. Schanberg chose to stay in Cambodia in 1975 after the Americans were thrown out of the country, partly to report the story and partly to help his assistant, Dith Pran, and his family survive. Schanberg failed to save Pran, who managed to elude his captors for several years by working in rice fields, but Schanberg finally had to flee. His report of the mass murders committed by the Khmer Rouge for the purpose of cleansing Cambodia provided a chilling story of a death machine. Schanberg's reports earned him the Pulitzer Prize in 1976. The dramatic story, told in the book *The Death and Life of Dith Pran*, and the reunion of Schanberg and Pran were made into a film, *The Killing Fields*, in 1984, that won three Academy Awards. Schanberg returned to the *Times* a year after the Pulitzer and shortly thereafter became metropolitan editor. But he was not an effective administrator and he was replaced, becoming a columnist. After a while, Schanberg became a columnist for *New York Newsday,* commenting on a wide variety of topics, including events in New York City. When that paper folded, Schanberg joined *The Village Voice* in New York, where he wrote the Press Clips column. He was a strong opponent of the Bush administration and its war in Iraq. He also took to task Senator John Kerry in 1993 for his alleged drive to normalize relations with Hanoi.

[Stewart Kampel (2nd ed.)]

SCHANFARBER, TOBIAS (1862–1942), U.S. Reform rabbi. Born in Cleveland, the son of Aaron and Sarah (Newman), he graduated from the University of Cincinnati (B.A.) in 1885 and received rabbinic ordination at the Hebrew Union College in 1886. Following ordination Schanfarber officiated at Shomer Emunim Congregation in Toledo (1886–87), Congregation Achduth Vesholom in Ft. Wayne (1887–88), Har Sinai Congregation in Baltimore (1888–98), and Congregation Sha'arai Shomayim in Mobile (1899–1901), before spending the bulk of his career (1901–26) at Kehilath Anshe Mayriv in Chicago. Upon his retirement he was named rabbi emeritus at KAM. During his tenure in Baltimore, from 1894 to 1898, he did post-graduate study in Semitics at Johns Hopkins University under Professor Paul Haupt. Schanfarber edited or co-edited numerous Jewish newspapers, including the *Mobile Jewish Chronicle, Baltimore Jewish Comment, Chicago Israelite, Sentinel,* and *Reform Advocate.* From 1907 to 1909 he served as corresponding secretary of the Central Conference of American Rabbis. Other organizational posts included being vice president of the Vigilance Association; a trustee of the Jewish People's Institute and the Michael Reese Hospital; and president (and later honorary life president) of the Chicago Rabbinical Association. Schanfarber was a member of the first generation of American trained rabbis and was a disciple of Isaac Mayer *Wise (1819–1900). Early in his career Schanfarber supported a radical form of Reform Judaism, including advocating Sunday instead of Sabbath services. In later years he adopted a more moderate approach to observance while rejecting what he called "secularism": i.e., removing God and Torah from Jewish life. He was called "a cultured gentleman, liberal in thought, though of great strength in his convictions, and a gifted orator on almost any subject which the public man is called upon to deal with." In 1933 he received an honorary Doctor of Hebrew Laws from HUC.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Who's Who in American Jewry, 1938–1939* (1938), 930–31; *The Advocate,* vol. 101, no. 6 (March 13, 1942) 1–4; *Central Conference of American Rabbis Yearbook*, vol. 52 (1942), 269–75.

[Kevin Proffitt (2nd ed.)]

SCHANKER, LOUIS (1903–1981), U.S. painter, printmaker, sculptor, and educator. Schanker's early adulthood experiences were varied: as an adolescent he worked in a circus, on farms in both the U.S. and Canada, and on the Erie Railroad. Between 1919 and 1923, he studied part-time at Cooper Union. Until 1927, he attended classes at the Art School of the Educational Alliance and the Art Students League. Working in the WPA mural division, he created wall panels in 1924 for a Long Island hospital, and exhibited murals at the Hall of Medicine and Public Health at the 1939 World's Fair. In 1931–32, he traveled to and studied in Paris and Mallorca. Between 1940 and 1941, he created woodcuts for the WPA Arts Project. He founded the group "The Ten" in 1935 with Adolph Gottlieb, Ilya Bolotowsky, and Ben-Zion, among others, with which he exhibited until 1939; The Ten concerned itself more with formal and artistic problems than with political tribulations. In 1936, Schanker assisted in the foundation of the American Abstract Artists group. The subjects of Schanker's art, including woodblock and linoleum prints and paintings, ranged among various subjects, especially sports, carnival, and religious subjects, such as St. George and the Dragon. His works of the late 1930s and 1940s, such as *Aerial Act* (1940), often featured graceful lines which coalesced into simple but expressive figures animated with flat, bright, areas of color. While the former composition owes much to Matisse and Miro, the monochromatic woodcut *Forms in Action* of the following year displays angular shapes, one perhaps dancing while another plays a keyboard or bass; this suggestion of speed and rhythm is indebted to the German and Austrian Expressionists, as well as to Japanese woodblock prints. Schanker's work reveals the artist's careful study of a variety of his contemporaries working in both the United States and Europe: Wasily Kandinsky, Arshile Gorky, Picasso, Max Ernst, Paul Klee, and George Rouault, among many others. In the 1960s, Schanker introduced the motif of a circle into his compositions, often combining it with other simple forms, and animating the whole with vibrant color. During this period, he also produced many primitivist wood sculptures influenced by Constantin Brancusi. Critics note that these sculptures were not a departure from his previous printmaking, since Schanker worked on his woodblocks with the tools of both sculptor and carpenter. Schanker taught at the New School for Social Research between 1943 and 1960. Between 1949 and 1964, he taught at Bard College. He made his home in New York City, Stamford, Connecticut, and East Hampton, New York. His art has been widely exhibited: at the Buchholz Gallery (1943), the Puma Gallery (1943), the Guggenheim Museum (1954), the Victoria and Albert Museum (1954–55), the Associated American Artists (1978), and the New York Public Library (2003). Examples of his work are in the collections of the Art Institute of Chicago, the Brooklyn Museum, the Metropolitan Museum of Art, the National Gallery of Art, the Philadelphia Museum of Art, and the Smithsonian American Art Museum.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: E. Genauer, "Quiet Pleasures of Serious Art," in: *New York Herald Tribune* (June 3, 1962), sec. 4, 6A; N. Kleeblatt and S. Chevlowe, *Painting a Place in America* (1991); O.Z. Soltes, *Fixing the World: Jewish American Painters in the Twentieth Century* (2003).

[Nancy Buchwald (2nd ed.)]

SCHANZER, CARLO (1865–1953), Italian politician. Born in Vienna, Schanzer became professor of constitutional law at the University of Rome. From 1912 to 1928 he was division chairman of the Consiglio di Stato – in Italy the main legal, administrative, and judiciary body. He was a member of Parliament and, from 1919, of the Senate. From 1906 to 1909, under the ministry of Giovanni Giolitti, Schanzer held the office of postmaster general, and he was minister of the treasury and finance in 1919 and foreign minister in 1922. From 1920 to 1924 Schanzer was the Italian representative to the League of Nations at Geneva. Between 1921 and 1922 he headed the Italian delegation to the Naval Conference in Washington, D.C., where Italy achieved naval equality with France. He died in Rome.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Enciclopedia Italiana*, vol. 31, 48–49.

[Massimo Longo Adorno (2nd ed.)]

SCHAPERA, ISAAC (1905–2003), South African anthropologist. Born in South Africa, Schapera taught at the London School of Economics as assistant in anthropology (1928–29), served as lecturer at the University of Witwatersrand, Johannesburg (1930), and at the University of Cape Town as senior lecturer and professor (1930–50). In 1950 he was appointed professor of anthropology at the London School of Economics. Schapera conducted several anthropological field expeditions to the Bechuanaland Protectorate between 1929 and 1950. He contributed to the discipline of applied anthropology by his study of labor migration in Bechuanaland – its causes and effects both positive and negative – and so served as a guide for colonial policy. From 1961 to 1963 he was president of the Royal Anthropological Institute.

He wrote *Government and Politics in Tribal Societies* (1956), *Handbook of Tswana Law and Custom* (1938, 1955^2), *Migrant Labour and Tribal Life* (1947), and edited *Bantu-Speaking Tribes of South Africa* (1937), and *David Livingstone's Letters and Journals*.

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[Ephraim Fischoff]

SCHAPIRA, DAVID (1907–1977), Argentine politician. He was born in Carlos Casares at one of the agricultural settlements established in the province of Buenos Aires, Argentina, by the Jewish Colonization Association (ICA), founded by Baron Maurice de *Hirsch. Schapira practiced medicine and also was very active in national political life in the Unión Cívica Radical del Pueblo party. In 1958 he was elected senator in the province of Buenos Aires, serving until 1962. He was chairman of the Senate Public Health Committee. From 1963 to 1967 Schapira sat in the National Chamber of Deputies until the military regime of General Ongania closed the parliament.

SCHAPIRA, HERMANN (**Ẓevi Hirsch**; 1840–1898), one of the first leaders of *Ḥibbat Zion and political Zionism, originator of the ideas of the *Jewish National Fund and The Hebrew University. Born in Erswilken, Lithuania, Schapira displayed outstanding talents from early childhood. He became the rabbi and *rosh yeshivah* in a Lithuanian townlet. In 1866 he moved to Kovno, where he began his scientific and linguistic studies, and thence to Berlin in 1867 in order to pursue them further. After a period of hardship, hunger, and scholarly exertions, he was accepted as a student in a crafts' academy (Gewerbe Akademie), but was later obliged to return to Russia because of lack of means. He worked for a number of years as a clerk in commercial enterprises in Odessa and other cities to save money in order to return to his studies. The substantial sum he earned as a military supplier during the Russo-Turkish War (1877–78) finally made it possible for him to realize his ambition. Schapira went to Heidelberg, where he devoted himself to the study of mathematics and attracted academic notice by his achievements in this field. Among his publications was the mathematical work *Mishnat ha-Middot* in Hebrew ("The Study of Measures") and in German translation in 1880. In 1883 Schapira became university lecturer and in 1887 was appointed associate professor in higher mathematics.

After the pogroms in Russia in 1881, he had joined the Ḥibbat Zion movement, and published articles in *Ha-Meliẓ* in 1882 calling for the establishment of agricultural settlements in Ereẓ Israel, and the founding of a university with departments for training rabbis and secular teachers, as well as teaching theoretical and practical sciences (mathematics, astronomy, etc., and chemistry, agriculture, and industrial crafts). The language of instruction would be German, but Hebrew would be taught as much as possible so that "in the course of time Hebrew might become a spoken language as well." Schapira expressed his willingness to teach at this university and even contacted other Jewish scholars with this end in view. He was one of the founders of Ḥovevei Zion in Odessa, which became the center of all Ḥovevei Zion societies inside Russia and in other countries. In Heidelberg in 1884 he founded the Zion society for the settlement of Ereẓ Israel. The failure of the Ḥibbat Zion movement to awaken a widespread Jewish national movement or to initiate large-scale settlement in Ereẓ Israel caused Schapira to despair, and he withdrew from public and literary activities.

His status as a professor at Heidelberg University was insecure, and he felt isolated from his non-Jewish and even from his Jewish colleagues, the majority of whom were assimilated or even converted. His mathematical studies showed great talents but were unsystematically written and never fully completed. His economic circumstances were poor, and he was obliged to take on various other jobs to support himself, including watchmaking. After a period of doubt, Schapira embraced a religious philosophy and way of life. In Reuben Brainin's periodical *Mi-Mizraḥ u-mi-Ma'arav* ("From East and West") he published in 1894 two fragments from a book in which he tried to synthesize modern science with traditional Judaism. A group of Zionist students in Heidelberg roused Schapira to renewed activity. After initial hesitation he became an enthusiastic supporter of the new Zionist movement founded by *Herzl. To the First Zionist Congress (1897) he brought two proposals: the first was the creation of a "general Jewish fund," to which the whole of world Jewry, poor and rich, would contribute. Two-thirds of the fund would be assigned to purchasing land, and the remaining third would serve for the maintenance and cultivation of the land acquired. The land would not be sold but only leased for a period not exceeding 49 years. The second suggestion was the establishment of a Jewish university in Ereẓ Israel. Schapira's first proposal was accepted only by the Fifth Congress (1901), at which the Jewish National Fund was founded; his second proposal had to wait until the 11th Congress (1913).

Schapira devoted the last years of his life to the dissemination of the Zionist idea among German Jewry. He corresponded with Herzl and was active in the student group Safah Berurah in Heidelberg. In his last article, "*Shalom*," published posthumously, he wished that "God will let him live to teach the sons of His people in the school of Torah, wisdom, and labor which would be built in the Holy Land." His collected writings on Zionism, edited by B. Dinaburg (Dinur), were published in 1925. In 1953 his remains were re-interred on Mount Herzl in Jerusalem.

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[Yehuda Slutsky]

SCHAPIRA, NOAH (1866–1931), Hebrew poet and labor leader in Ereẓ Israel before the Second Aliyah. Born in Kishinev, Schapira was an active member of the Ḥibbat Zion movement there together with Meir *Dizengoff. In 1890 he settled in Ereẓ Israel, where he became an agricultural laborer first in Reḥovot and later in Zikhron Ya'akov. He was the moving spirit behind the organization of Jewish workers that was founded at the end of the 19th century and remained in existence until the members of the Second Aliyah began to organize themselves. On behalf of this federation he negotiated both with employers and with Ḥovevei Zion leaders in Odessa, especially *Aḥad Ha-Am. He spent his last years in Tel Aviv. Schapira published articles on the affairs of the *yishuv* in the Hebrew press and was known especially for his poetry, which was, in effect, the first labor poetry to be written in Ereẓ Israel. His song "*Ya-Ḥai-Li-Li, Hah Amali*" and his Hebrew translation of E. *Zunser's song "*Ha-Maḥareshah*" were popular favorites for two generations. He signed these songs with the pseudonym "Bar-Nash."

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[Getzel Kressel]

SCHAPIRO, ISRAEL (1882–1957), bibliographer, Orientalist, and librarian. Schapiro, born in Sejny, *Poland, was the son of R. Toviyyah Pesah Schapiro (1845–1924), a Hebrew and Yiddish writer and educator in *Russia and the U.S. Israel Schapiro studied at the Telsiai (Telz) Yeshivah, Strasbourg University, and the Hochschule (Lehranstalt) fuer die Wissenschaft des Judentums, Berlin. From 1907 to 1910 he taught at the Jerusalem Teachers' Training College and from 1911 to 1913 in New York, where he also coedited the Hebrew weekly *Ha-Deror.* From 1913 to 1944 he headed the newly created Semitic division of the Library of Congress, Washington, D.C., which he built up into a collection of over 40,000 volumes, including incunabula and other rare editions, and lectured on Semitics at George Washington University (1916–27). In 1950 he settled in Israel. Schapiro wrote extensively on subjects of Jewish history and bibliography for the Hebrew and Yiddish press.

His published work includes *Die haggadischen Elemente im erzaehlenden Teil des Korans* (1907); "Bibliography of Hebrew Translations of English Works" (in: *Studies in Jewish Bibliography in Memory of A.S. Freidus*, 1929); *Bibliography of Hebrew Translations of German Works* (1934); and "Schiller und Goethe im Hebraeischen" (in: *Festschrift fuer A. Freimann zum 60. Geburtstag* (1935)). He also edited his father's *Mashal ha-Kadmoni* (with biography, 1925) and *Pitgamim shel Ḥakhamim* (1927).

SCHAPIRO, JACOB SALWYN (1879–1973), U.S. historian. Born in New York State, Schapiro taught history at City College, N.Y. from 1909 until his retirement in 1947, and rose to the rank of full professor (1922). Schapiro's principal interest was 19th-century European history, with emphasis on intellectual history.

His major works are *Social Reform and the Reformation* (1909); *Condorcet and the Rise of Liberalism* (1934); *Liberalism and the Challenge of Fascism* (1949); and *World in Crisis* (1950), an analysis of political and social movements in the 20th century. He is also author of *Liberalism: Its Meaning and History* (1958), *Movements of Social Dissent in Modern Europe* (1962), and *Anticlericalism* (1967). His *Modern and Contemporary European History* (1918) was one of the first textbooks to treat history as the evolution of civilization, embracing social, economic, intellectual, and literary developments, and it had a marked influence on a generation of college students. Many revised editions have appeared.

[Oscar Isaiah Janowsky]

SCHAPIRO, LEONARD (1908–1983), British political scientist. Schapiro was born in Glasgow but lived in Riga and Petrograd from 1915 to 1921. His father's family had been wealthy and influential figures in Latvia before the Revolution. In 1921 the family settled in London; Schapiro was educated at St. Paul's School and London University. He practiced as a barrister from 1932 until 1955. During World War II he worked as an intelligence monitor and, with his knowledge of many languages and his Russian background, was already regarded as one of Britain's greatest experts on the Soviet Union. Schapiro then taught at the London School of Economics and was professor of political science from 1963 to 1975. His many works on the Soviet Union include *The Origins of Communist Autocracy* (1955); *The Communist Party of the Soviet Union* (1960), generally regarded as the best Western work on this subject; *Rationalism and Nationalism in Russian Nineteenth-Century Political Thought* (1967); and a biography of Turgenev (1978). He was also chairman of the editorial board of the journal *Soviet Jewish Affairs* and did much to support Soviet Jewry.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: ODNB online.

[William D. Rubinstein (2nd ed.)]

SCHAPIRO, MEYER (1904–1996), U.S. historian of art. Schapiro was born in Siauliai, Lithuania, but immigrated to the United States as a child of three. He was first introduced to art history at an evening class at the Hebrew Settlement House in Brownsville, taught by John Sloan. He graduated from Columbia University in 1924 with honors in art history and philosophy, receiving his doctorate in 1929. Schapiro taught in the department of art, history, and archaeology at Columbia from 1928 onwards, teaching at that institution as a University Professor from 1965 to 1975, when he was appointed professor emeritus. He was lecturer of fine arts at New York University from 1932 to 1936, the New School for Social Research from 1936 to 1952, London University from 1947 to 1957, the Hebrew University in 1961, Norton Professor of Fine Arts at Harvard from 1966 to 1967, Oxford University in 1968, and at the College of France in 1974. Schapiro was a Fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences and of the American Philosophical Society, and was elected to the American Institute of Arts and Letters. Columbia University awarded him the Alexander Hamilton Medal for distinguished service in 1975. A professorship in Modern Art and Theory was created at Columbia in his name. He is acknowledged as one of the most distinguished American historians of art. A rigorous observer and theorist, he addressed the relationship among society, artist, and artwork, arguing that social and institutional forces mediated the actions of even the modern artist. In this way, his viewpoint differed from that of Clement Greenberg and Harold Rosenberg, two other Jewish intellectuals who contributed to the shape of modern art history in New York during this period. Schapiro was a masterful and gifted art historian of medieval art, Romanesque sculpture, and 19th and 20th century art, especially that of Cezanne, Courbet, Mondrian, and van Gogh. His friends and former students included Irving Howe, Willem de Kooning, Jacques Lipchitz, Robert Motherwell, and Barnett Newman. He also worked with Max Horkheimer and Herbert Marcuse when they moved the Frankfurt School from Germany to New York. The publisher George Baziller has published four volumes of Schapiro's work, beginning in 1977 with *Selected Papers. Romanesque Art*; the last volume *Theory and Philosophy of Art* was printed in 1994. He published his celebrated works *Van Gogh* in 1950, *Cezanne* in 1952, and *Words and Pictures* in 1973. He also contributed articles to *The Nation* and *Partisan Review.* Schapiro's research and writing continues to be instrumental to contemporary art historians, including Norman Bryson, T.J. Clark, and Linda Nochlin.

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lage Voice," in: *Artforum International*, 34 (June 1996); M. Schapiro, "The Nature of Abstract Art," in: *Modern Art: 19th and 20th Centuries. Selected Papers* (1968).

[Nancy Buchwald (2nd ed.)]

SCHAPPES, MORRIS U. (**Moise ben Haim Shapshilevich**; 1907–2004), historian and social activist. Born in Kamenets-Podolski, Ukraine, he immigrated to the U.S. with his parents in 1914. He received a B.A. from City College and an M.A. from Columbia University (1930). He began his academic career at the City University of New York, where he taught English from 1928 to 1941, when he lost his position in the anti-Communist purges of 1940–41. One of 40 faculty members who were dismissed for refusing to cooperate with the Rapp-Coudert Committee's investigation of alleged subversive activities at the university, Schappes was incarcerated on the charge of perjury, having claimed under oath that he could name only three Communists at the school, two of whom were dead. When a colleague named some 50 names, Schappes was sentenced to 13 months in prison.

In 1946 he founded *Jewish Life* (since 1957, *Jewish Currents*), a socialist, pro-Israel but non-Zionist magazine concerned with literature, political and social commentary, of which he was the editor for four decades. The magazine, which had become an unofficial organ of the Communist Party, gradually broke its ties with the Soviet Union and moved more toward Israel, especially after the Six-Day War of 1967.

In 1981, the faculty senate of City College apologized for firing Schappes and his colleagues. In 1993 he was awarded the Torchbearer Award of the American Jewish Historical Society.

His major publications include *The Letters of Emma Lazarus, 1868–1885* (1949) and two major works on American Jewish history: *A Documentary History of the Jews in the United States, 1654–1875* (1950) and *The Jews in the United States: A Pictorial History, 1654–1954* (1955). He also wrote *Resistance Is the Lesson: The Meaning of the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising* (1947); *Anti-Semitism and Reaction, 1795–1800* (1948); and *The Political Origins of the United Hebrew Trades, 1888* (1977).

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[Jack Nusan Porter / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

SCHARFSTEIN, ẒEVI (1884–1972), U.S. Hebrew educator, journalist, and publisher. Born in the Ukraine, Scharfstein devoted himself to educational work from 1903. After directing a Hebrew school in Tarnow, Galicia (1900–14), he arrived in the United States in 1914 and two years later became instructor at the Teachers Institute of the Jewish Theological Seminary, where he eventually served as professor of Jewish education until his retirement in 1960.

A prodigious contributor to the Hebrew press, his column in the American Hebrew weekly *Hadoar* dealt with political and, especially, with literary events. From 1907 Scharfstein also published educational texts embracing Hebrew literature, Jewish education, Bible, and Hebrew language.

His historical works as a Jewish educator include *Ha-Ḥeder be-Ḥayyei Ammenu* (1943) and *Toledot ha-Ḥinnukh be-Yisrael ba-Dorot ha-Aḥaronim* (5 vols., 1960–66); and his autobiographical works comprise *Arba'im Shanah ba-Amerikah* (1955–56). Among his contributions to Hebrew lexicography is *Oẓar ha-Ra'yonot ve-ha-Pitgamim* (3 vols., 1966). From 1940 Scharfstein was editor of the educational periodical *Shevilei ha-Ḥinnukh*.

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[Eisig Silberschlag]

SCHARY, DORE (**Isidore**; 1905–1980), U.S. film writer and producer. Born in Newark, New Jersey, Schary acquired a reputation as a screenwriter in Hollywood before he was 30. In 1941 he became an executive producer for Metro Goldwyn Mayer (MGM), where his policy of producing scripts with a social message led to such films as *Boys Town* (1938); *Edison, the Man* (1940); *Joe Smith, American* (1942); and *Bataan* (1943). He moved to Vanguard in 1943, and to RKO in 1947, the year in which his *Crossfire* put the issue of antisemitism on the screen for the first time in the United States. In 1947 Schary returned to MGM, of which he became chief production manager in 1951. Among the more than 300 pictures he produced there were such popular successes as *Battleground* (1949); *The Asphalt Jungle* (1950); *King Solomon's Mines* (1950); *Quo Vadis?* (1951); *Lili* (1953); and *Julius Caesar* (1953). Schary was dismissed from his post in 1956 as part of a sweeping reorganization, but remained with MGM as a consultant for the next ten years. Turning to the stage, he wrote the Broadway hit *Sunrise at Campobello* (1958), which dealt with the early career of Franklin D. Roosevelt, and for which he won a Tony Award. He also wrote the successful musical *The Unsinkable Molly Brown* (1960).

Active politically in the liberal wing of the Democratic Party, Schary was also interested in Israel and Jewish affairs and served for many years as national chairman of the Anti-Defamation League of the B'nai B'rith (1963–69). In 1948 he was given the Thomas Jefferson Award by the Council Against Intolerance in America. In 1970 he was appointed New York City's first commissioner of cultural affairs. In 1982 the ADL established the annual Dore Schary Award, presented to student film and video productions on subjects that combat prejudice and promote human rights.

His autobiography, *For Special Occasions*, appeared in 1962. His final autobiography, *Heyday*, was published in 1979.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: J. (Schary) Zimmer, *With a Cast of Thousands: A Hollywood Childhood* (1963); *Current Biography 1948* (1949).

[Stewart Kampel / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

SCHATZ, BORIS (1867–1932), painter and sculptor; founder of the *Bezalel School of Art in Jerusalem. Schatz was born in

Varna, province of Kovno, Lithuania. The son of a *melammed*, he was sent to the yeshivah in Vilna but broke away from his family and religious studies and turned to art. In 1889 he went to Paris and worked under the sculptor *Antokolsky, and the painter Cormon. He was invited in 1895 to Bulgaria where he became court sculptor to Prince Ferdinand and was a founder of the Royal Academy of Art in Sofia. In 1900 he received the gold medal in the Paris Salon for his *Head of Old Woman*. After meeting Theodor Herzl in 1903, he became an enthusiastic Zionist. Schatz first proposed the idea of an art school at the 1905 Zionist Congress and when it was accepted went to Palestine to execute it. Three years later, he settled in Jerusalem, where he established the Bezalel School of Art (1906), to which he soon added a small museum. Schatz arranged exhibitions of the Bezalel crafts in Europe and the U.S. These were the first displays of the products of Ereẓ Israel exhibited abroad. During World War I, the school was closed down, and Schatz was held prisoner for ten months. He succeeded in obtaining funds in the U.S. for the reconstruction of his school and the museum. He died in Denver, Colorado, while on a successful fund-raising mission and was buried on Mount Scopus in Jerusalem. The school was closed on his death, but reestablished the following year with the aid of a government grant. Schatz was both a realist and an idealist, a product of the dying romanticism and the reawakening of national consciousness in Eastern Europe. He took this spirit with him to Palestine, and adapted it to the needs of the country. The Bezalel School gave a young generation of artists and craftsmen the opportunity to study in the country and fostered a national style of arts and crafts, based on European techniques and Near-Eastern art forms. Schatz was a prolific artist, concentrating mainly on sculpture. His work is characterized by a naturalistic romanticism. From 1903, he worked almost exclusively on Jewish themes, representing religious practices, Jewish leaders, and biblical subject. His main works include: *Mattathias*, *Blessing the Candles*, *Havdalah*, *The Scribe*, *Blowing the Shofar*, *Isaiah*, *At the Wailing Wall, Herzl*, *Bialik*, *Ben-Yehudah*, and *Isaac M. Wise*. His son BEZALEL (1912–1978), an expressional abstract artist, illustrated Henry Miller's silk-screen printed *Into the Night Life* and specialized in ceramic murals and metal projects combined with architecture and craft designing (including one of the two gates at the Yad Vashem memorial, Jerusalem). Bezalel's wife, LOUISE, was an artist known for her delicate abstract water colors. Boris' daughter ZAHARA (1916–) created abstract sculpture in plastics and wire. She received the Israel Prize (1954).

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[Yona Fisher]

SCHATZ, ẒEVI (1890–1921), Hebrew writer. Born in Russia, Schatz grew up in non-Jewish surroundings. He corresponded with *Trumpeldor regarding the establishment of a commune in Palestine and later immigrated there. Between 1918 and 1920, he was a soldier in the Jewish Legion and was killed in an Arab riot along with *Brenner. Under the influence of Brenner, who was his mentor and editor, he began to write in Hebrew during the last years of his life. He wrote two novellas, of which *Be-Lo Niv* (originally entitled *Al Gevul ha-Demamah*) was published during his lifetime, and *Batyah*, along with some poetry, appeared posthumously. Schatz was the first to depict the experiences of the individual in the kibbutz in fiction as well as in his letters and conversations. All these were collected by M. Poznansky in *Al Gevul ha-Demamah* (1929; 1967; 1990).

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[Getzel Kressel]

SCHATZ-ANIN, MAX (1885–1975), left-wing Socialist ideologist and author. Born in Friedrichstadt (Jaunjelgava), Latvia, Schatz-Anin studied law at St. Petersburg and joined the *Zionist Socialist Workers' Party (territorialists). He was later arrested and deported abroad, where he contributed to the party press in Russia and Central Europe. Schatz-Anin graduated from Berne university after writing his doctoral thesis "*Zur Nationalitaetenfrage*" (1910). On the eve of the congress of the Socialist International in Copenhagen (1910), he published an essay on "The Jewish Proletariat in the Socialist International," in which he demanded that nationalities be represented at the International. Returning to Russia in 1912, he settled in Riga as a lawyer. After the February Revolution in 1917, Schatz-Anin represented his party in the Petrograd Soviet and was a co-founder of the *United Jewish Socialist Workers' Party, representing it in the executive committee of the Ukrainian *Rada*. Returning to Riga in 1919, he joined the illegal Communist party and founded the left-wing Yiddishist Kultur-Lige. Although he went blind (1928), he continued to deliver lectures and write and was appointed university professor when Latvia became a Soviet Republic.

His philosophical essays and historical works in Yiddish and Russian include *Temporalism* (1919), *Sotsiale Opozitsye in Yidisher Geshikhte* ("Social Opposition in Jewish History," 1927), and *Di Gezelshaftlikhe Bavegungen bay Yidn tsvishn der Ershter un Tsveyter Velt-Milkhome* (1941).

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[Joseph Gar]

SCHAULSON BRODSKY, JORGE (1954–), Chilean politician. He was the son of Jacobo *Schaulson, politician and member of the Chilean Parliament. During the government of Pinochet, he studied law in the United States and graduated in 1980. Upon his return to Chile he began practicing law, maintaining offices in Santiago and in New York. He was one of the founders of the Pro Democracy Party (PPD) and in 2005 was its vice president. Schaulson was elected to Parliament in 1989 and reelected in 1993; he was president of the lower chamber. In 2004 he lost the election for the post of mayor of Santiago.

[Moshe Nes El (2nd ed.)]

SCHAULSON NUMHAUSER, JACOBO (1917–1989), Chilean lawyer and politician. Born in Santiago, he graduated in law in 1941 and was president of the Juventud Radical (Youth of the Radical Party). He practiced law and became legal adviser to the governor of Santiago province. Schaulson Numhauser was made professor of civil law at the University of Santiago in 1953. As an active figure in the Chilean Radical Party, he sat in the Chamber of Deputies from 1949 to 1965. He was secretary and later vice president of his party, president of the Chamber of Deputies (1961–62), and a member of the Constitutional Tribunal. In 1950 he represented Chile at the United Nations. After his retirement he worked as a lawyer.

[Paul Link / Moshe Nes El (2nd ed.)]

SCHAWLOW, ARTHUR L. (1921–1999), U.S. physicist and Nobel laureate. He was born in Mount Vernon, New York, to an immigrant father from Riga and a Canadian mother. When he was aged three, the family moved to Toronto, where he was educated at Vaughan Road Collegiate Institute. He won a scholarship enabling him to graduate in mathematics and physics from the University of Toronto (1941). During World War II he worked in radar development, before returning to the university to earn his Ph.D. (1951) in spectroscopy under the supervision of Malcolm Crawford. He was a postdoctoral research fellow in the physics department of Columbia University, New York, where he worked with Charles H. Townes, and then a physicist at the Bell Telephone Laboratories (1951–61), where he continued to collaborate with Townes. In 1961 he became professor of physics at Stanford University, where he was chairman of the department (1966–70), J.G. Jackson and C.J. Wood Professor of Physics from 1978, and subsequently emeritus professor. Schawlow's main research interest was spectroscopy, and he and Townes conceived the idea for, and in 1957 built, the first laser (light amplification by stimulated emission of radiation). The practical applications of these discoveries are now common knowledge. Schawlow applied these theoretical and technical advances to his research in optics, superconductivity, and fundamental problems of atomic structure. He and Townes did not benefit personally from the patent won by the Bell Telephone Company. Schawlow and Townes won the 1981 Nobel Prize in physics, shared with Kai M. Siegbahn. His many honors included election to the American Academy of Arts and Sciences and the U.S. National Academy of Sciences, the Marconi International Fellowship (1977), and the U.S. National Medal of Science (1991). He was a distinguished teacher, and his book *Microwave Spectroscopy* (1955), coauthored by Townes, was a standard text. Schawlow married Townes' sister Amelia, an outstanding musician, in 1951. She died in a road traffic accident in 1991. Their son Artie was autistic, and his parents organized the nonprofit California Vocations, a group home for autistic individuals, renamed the Arthur Schawlow Center in 1999. They also had two daughters. Schawlow was a clarinetist and jazz expert, with a legendary sense of humor manifest in his social and professional life.

[Michael Denman (2nd ed.)]

SCHAYES, ADOLPH ("**Dolph**"; 1928–), U.S. basketball player and coach, member of the NBA's 25th and 50th Anniversary teams, and member of Basketball Hall of Fame. Schayes, a native New Yorker, was an All-American standout at New York University, where he won the Haggerty Award in his senior year. Initially taken by the New York Knickerbockers in the 1948 draft, Schayes chose to join the recently formed Syracuse Nationals of the NBL. The 6′ 8″ Schayes had an immediate impact, leading the Nats in scoring en route to a much improved 40–23 finish. The following year Schayes proved even more effective, as the Nats, now officially part of the NBA, finished on top of their conference, going 51–13. For the 1950–51 season, the NBA instituted All-Star games, and Schayes, being a consistent top-ten leader in all offensive categories and rebounds, was an NBA All-Star in each of his remaining 12 seasons as a full-time player for Syracuse; in six of those seasons he was First Team All-NBA. Over the course of his 15 seasons with the Nats, Schayes led the team to an overall .572 winning percentage and the 1955 NBA Championship. In 1963, the Nats moved to Philadelphia and became the 76ers, naming Schayes as player-coach. When Schayes ended his playing career in 1964, he was the NBA's all-time leading scorer, with 19,247 points. His career scoring and 18.2 points-per-game average remain top-50 all-time records. Schayes is also one of the top free-throw shooters in NBA history, ranking 6th all-time in free throws made (6,979) and is in the top-50 in lifetime free-throw shooting percentage (84.9%). He is also 16th in rebounds-per-game (12.1) and 23rd all-time in total rebounds (11,256). During his three-year stint as coach of the 76ers, Schayes enjoyed great success as well, guiding them in his third season to a 55–25 record, while being named NBA Coach of the Year in 1966. During the early 1970s, Schayes was supervisor of NBA Officials. In 1977, he coached the U.S. team to a gold medal at the Maccabiah Games, with his son, DANNY SCHAYES (1959–), as the star player. Danny went on to play for Syracuse University and from there to a successful 18-year NBA career.

[Robert B. Klein (2nd ed.)]

SCHECHTER, ABRAHAM ISRAEL (1894–1936), rabbi and scholar. Schechter, who was born in Vizhnitsa, Bukovina, worked as a librarian in Switzerland, and then emigrated to the U.S. in 1922. From 1924 he taught at the Hebrew Theological College, Chicago, and later served as rabbi in Houston, Texas, and Providence, Rhode Island.

Among his published works are *Palaestina, seine Geschichte und Kultur* (1905, which had to be withdrawn after a court order for plagiarism); *Studies in Jewish Liturgy*, on the *Ḥibbur Berakhot* by Menahem b. Solomon (1930) which drew criticism from I. Davidson (JQR, 21, 1930–31), 241–79; Schechter's rejoinder, in: JQR, 22 (1931–32), 147–52); and *Lectures on Jewish Liturgy* (1933). Schechter's collection of Hebraica and Judaica was given to Texas University Library.

His wife EVA wrote *Symbols and Ceremonies of the Jewish Home* (1930).

SCHECHTER, MATHILDE ROTH (1857–1924), founding president of the National Women's League of the United Synagogue of America, now known as the *Women's League for Conservative Judaism. Born in Guttentag, Germany, Mathilde Roth grew up in the Breslau Jewish orphans home. A gifted student, she attended the Breslau Teacher's Seminary. In 1885, she went to England to study and to be a tutor in the home of Michael Friedlaender, principal of Jews College. In the library of that college she met the distinguished scholar Solomon *Schechter. They wed in 1887.

The Schechter home quickly became a center for Jewish intellectual life, largely thanks to Mathilde Schechter's legendary hospitality. That tradition continued in her subsequent homes, in Cambridge, after Solomon Schechter was appointed lecturer at the university, and then, after 1902, in New York, when he became president of the Jewish Theological Seminary. In Cambridge, Mathilde Schechter gave birth to their three children, a son and two daughters. Even as she raised them, she edited the works of local scholars and engaged in other literary pursuits, including translating the German poet Heinrich *Heine. Furthermore, she edited almost everything her famous husband wrote.

In the United States Mathilde Schechter complemented her husband's establishment of Conservative Judaism by laying the foundations for its women's organization in 1918. The National Women's League of the United Synagogue of America subsequently grew to become one of the largest Jewish women's organizations in the United States. Mathilde Schechter believed that the Women's League could help women deepen religious life in their homes, synagogues, and wider communities. She persuaded the Women's League to establish a Students' House in New York City in 1918, which became a home away from home for Jewish students as well as for Jewish servicemen on leave. She also founded and taught at a Jewish vocational school for girls on the Lower East Side and was national chairwoman of education for Hadassah.

Mathilde Roth Schechter extended the domestic ideal of women caring for their home and family, which she lived to the fullest, to women's caring for their synagogues and wider Jewish communities. She thus stands within a coterie of leaders of American Jewish women, who, in the early decades of the 20th century, laid out new avenues for women's activism within Jewish life.

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[Pamela S. Nadell (2nd ed.)]

SCHECHTER, SOLOMON (**Shneur Zalman**; 1847–1915), rabbinic scholar and president of the *Jewish Theological Seminary of America. Schechter was born in Focsani, Romania. His father, a Chabad Ḥasid, was a ritual slaughterer (Ger. *Schaechter*). In his teens he studied with the rabbinic author Joseph Saul Nathanson in Lemberg. From about 1875 to 1879 he attended the Vienna *bet ha-midrash*. He acquired a lifelong devotion to scientific study of the tradition and developed the central notion of the community of Israel as decisive for Jewish living and thinking. He was to call it "Catholic Israel." From 1879 he studied at the Berlin Hochschule fuer die Wissenschaft des Judentums and at the University of Berlin. When, in 1882, a fellow student at the Hochschule, Claude Goldsmid Montefiore, invited him to be his tutor in rabbinics in London, Schechter accepted. In England he rose to prominence as a rabbinic scholar and spokesman for Jewish traditionalism. In 1890 he was appointed lecturer in talmudics and in 1892 reader in rabbinics at Cambridge University. In 1899 he also became professor of Hebrew at University College, London.

Schechter's first substantial work was his edition of *Avot de-Rabbi Nathan* (1887). His fame rests on the scholarly recovery of the Cairo *Genizah. It created a sensation in the world of scholarship, and in its wake Jewish history and the history of Mediterranean society have been rewritten. Over one hundred thousand manuscripts and manuscript fragments were brought to England and presented to Cambridge University by Schechter and Charles Taylor, the master of St. John's College who had made Schechter's trip possible. Together they published the newly discovered fragments of the Hebrew original of Ben *Sira (*The Wisdom of Ben Sira*, 1899).

Late in 1901 Schechter accepted an invitation by a number of leading American Jews, notably his friend, Judge Mayer Sulzberger of Philadelphia, to assume the post of president of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America. He served in this capacity from 1902 until his death. He was able to attract a distinguished faculty, including Louis Ginzberg. Alexander Marx, Israel Friedlaender, Israel Davidson, and Mordecai M. Kaplan. The Seminary became one of the most important centers of Jewish learning and of Jewish intellectual and, indeed, national revival. Schechter's *Studies in Judaism* (3 vols., 1896–1924), his *Some Aspects of Rabbinic Theology* (in book form, 1909; based on essays in the *Jewish Quarterly Review*, 1894–1896), and *Seminary Addresses and Other Papers* (1915) remain indispensable documents of American Jewish religious Conservatism. Steering a course between Orthodoxy and Reform, Schechter combined scholarliness and objectivity with piety, and piety with a measure of flexibility and innovation in doctrine and practice. In 1913 Schechter was instrumental in founding the *United Synagogue of America (his original designation read "Agudath Jeshurun – A Union for Promoting Traditional Judaism in America"), which became a major national institution of Conservative Judaism in the United States. In 1905 he acknowledged Zionism as "the great bulwark against assimilation." He felt close to religious and spiritual Zionism and in 1913 attended the 11th Zionist Congress in Vienna. Over the strenuous objections of Seminary board members Jacob H. Schiff and Louis Marshall, he opened the Seminary to Zionist activity. But he remained, essentially, a builder of religious Judaism in the American diaspora.

Schechter is considered the chief architect of Conservative Judaism in the United States. In his view, this version of Jewish religious life and thought was organically related to the Historical School, founded by Zunz, Frankel, and Graetz. Schechter defined the theological position of the school: "It is not the mere revealed Bible that is of first importance to the Jew but the Bible as it repeats itself in history, in other words, as it is interpreted by Tradition… Since then the interpretation of Scripture or the Secondary Meaning is mainly a product of changing historical influences, it follows that the center of authority is actually removed from the Bible and placed in some living body, which, by reason of its being in touch with the ideal aspirations and the religious needs of the age, is best able to determine the nature of the Secondary Meaning. This living body, however, is not represented by any section of the nation, or any corporate priesthood, or Rabbihood, but by the collective conscience of Catholic Israel, as embodied in the Universal Synagogue" (*Studies in Judaism*, Series One, JPS, 1896, xvii–xviii).

Though a staunch traditionalist, Schechter admitted the possibility of change. However, he felt that changes should not be introduced arbitrarily or deliberately. Rather, "the norm as well as the sanction of Judaism is the practice actually in vogue. Its consecration is the consecration of general use – or, in other words, of Catholic Israel" (*ibid.*, xix). Schechter insisted (*ibid.*, 180ff.) Judaism must be understood as regulating not only our actions but also our thoughts: "It is true that every great religion is a 'concentration of many ideas and ideals' which make this religion able to adapt itself to various modes of thinking and living. But there must always be a point round which all these ideas concentrate themselves. This center is Dogma."

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[Meir Ben-Horon]

SCHECHTER INSTITUTE OF JEWISH STUDIES, THE (**Machon Schechter L'mada'ey Hayahadut**). The institute was founded in Jerusalem in 1984 as the Seminary of Judaic Studies (Bet Hamidrash L'limudey Hayahadut) to train Conservative rabbis for the Masorti Movement in Israel. It was viewed as the spiritual heir of the *Breslau Rabbinical Seminary (1854–1939) and the *Jewish Theological Seminary of America (JTS; 1887ff.). It was founded by JTS under the leadership of Chancellor Gershon *Cohen and Vice Chancellor Simon *Greenberg, and by the Masorti (Conservative) Movement in Israel represented by Prof. Reuven *Hammer, who also served as its first dean (1984–1987). It met initially at the Schocken Institute, a JTS affiliate in Jerusalem, and the founders dreamed that it would eventually have 60 students.

The Seminary grew rapidly under the leadership of Prof. Lee *Levine, who served as dean and later president (1987–94) and rector (1994–96), as the Seminary moved first to the Ma'ayanot building and then to Neve Schechter (1990), which had been a dormitory for JTS rabbinical students. The first class of four rabbinical students was ordained in July 1988, but Levine and his successors felt that it was not enough to ordain Israeli Conservative rabbis. They felt that the most effective way to bring Jewish education in general and Conservative Judaism in particular to Israel was by developing large educational programs for public school children and teachers and for new immigrants. Levine therefore founded the TALI Education Fund (1987) which funds and supervises the TALI school system in Israel, received permission from Israel's Council for Higher Education to grant an M.A. degree in Jewish Studies as a branch of JTS (1989), adopted Midreshet Yerushalayim, which became a program for Russian-speaking and Hungarian Jews (1990), and adopted the one year rabbinical programs of JTS, the *University of Judaism in Los Angeles, and the *Seminario Rabbinico in Buenos Aires (1990).

During Levine's tenure, the TALI Education Fund began to turn the TALI schools into a real school system: many schools were added, a syllabus for grades 1–9 was published, curricula were written, in-service training was developed, and agreements were reached with the Ministry of Education. The M.A. program in Jewish Studies grew rapidly from five students in 1990–91 to over 200 in 1994, and Levine began to hire full-time faculty. Together with Prof. David *Golinkin, the dean, he developed an innovative interdisciplinary M.A. program in Jewish studies for Israeli educators, with specializations such as informal education, family and community studies, and Jewish Women's Studies as well as a D.H.L. program as a branch of JTS.

Midreshet Yerushalayim had been founded in the 1980s as a post-high school yeshivah-style program for Conservative Jews from North America. Transformed under the leadership of Levine and Shmuel Glick, it founded an outreach program for Russian-speaking immigrants in Israel and a TALI school system and Ramah Camps in the former Soviet Union, and it revived the moribund *Rabbinical Seminary in Budapest by adding a Pedagogium for teachers, which eventually became the University of Jewish Studies in Budapest.

During Rabbi Benjamin Segal's tenure as president (1994–99), all of the Seminary's programs continued to grow at a rapid rate and the institution was renamed the Schechter Institute of Jewish Studies in 1998, in honor of Prof. Solomon *Schechter, one of the main founders of Conservative Judaism in North America. Segal more than doubled the budget, adopted sound fiscal and administrative policies, began the accreditation process to turn Schechter into an Israeli institution of higher learning, and endowed the Liebhaber Prize for Religious Tolerance. He founded the Institute of Applied Halakhah together with Golinkin; its goal was to publish halakhic literature in different languages for the worldwide Conservative Movement. He also developed indigenous leadership by hiring three young graduates of Schechter – Alexander Even-Chen as dean of the Graduate School, Eitan Chikli as director of the TALI Education Fund, and Yair Paz as director of Midreshet Yerushalayim in Israel.

Prof. Alice Shalvi, who served as rector (1997–2000) and acting president (1999–2000), laid the groundwork for an M.A. track in Judaism and the Arts and a Center of Jewish Art which developed curricula for the TALI schools and websites. She founded The Center for Women and Jewish Law (1999) together with Golinkin, and helped launch *Nashim: A Journal of Jewish Women's Studies and Gender Issues* (1998), which was co-published with Brandeis University and later with Indiana University Press. Shalvi also hired Gila Katz, who had founded the TALI day school in Czernowitz, as director of Midreshet Yerushalayim in Ukraine.

During Golinkin's tenure (2000ff.), the four major Schechter programs became four separate *amutot* (non-profit organizations) as The Schechter Institute achieved accreditation as an Israeli institution of higher education (2005). Annual fundraising increased dramatically, while endowments and endowed chairs were raised for the first time. The Schechter Institute hired many tenure-track faculty and undertook an ambitious program of publishing academic and popular works in Hebrew, English, Russian, French, and Spanish. The TALI school system expanded rapidly after receiving official recognition from the Ministry of Education in 2003 and began to publish at least four new TALI textbooks per year. Midreshet Yerushalayim expanded to 46 branches in Israel and to 17 schools and camps in Ukraine.

By 2006, the Schechter Rabbinical Seminary had 60 students from Israel and abroad; the Schechter Institute of Jewish Studies graduate school had 450 students and 60 full and part-time faculty; the TALI Education Fund provided enriched Jewish education to 25,000 Israeli children in almost 140 TALI schools and pre-schools; and Midreshet Yerushalayim taught Jewish studies to thousands of Russian immigrants in Israel and to Jews in Ukraine and Hungary. Golinkin stated that his dream was to provide every Israeli and eastern European Jew with a Jewish education.

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[David Golinkin (2nd ed.)]

SCHECHTMAN, JOSEPH B. (1891–1970), Zionist leader, authority on population movements, and author. Schechtman, who was born in Odessa, served in the all-Russian Jewish Congress convened in Petrograd (1917) and the Ukrainian National Assembly convened in Kiev (1918). After leaving Russia in 1921, he became coeditor and later managing editor of *Razsvyet* (1922–32), the organ of the Federation of Russian-Ukrainian Zionists, and subsequently the leading *Revisionist weekly. Schechtman approved *Jabotinsky's resignation from the Actions Committee of the World Zionist Organization in 1923, but disagreed with his concurrent resignation from the Zionist Organization itself. However, this partial support later became total when the two men took the lead in founding the World Union of Zionist Revisionists in Paris in 1925 which elected Jabotinsky its president. Schechtman, in common with Jabotinsky, became steadily disenchanted with the subsequent actions of the Zionist leaders. He opposed the proposed enlargement of the Jewish Agency (1929) to include a 50% proportion of non-Zionists, fearing that such a move would contribute to the dilution of, and possibly betray, the aims of political Zionism. However, he and the other Revisionists were not averse to an Agency that would be elected by universal suffrage. In 1929 Schechtman became chief editor of *Nayer Veg*, a Yiddish-language Revisionist organ.

In 1935, the Revisionists left the Zionist Organization, established the New Zionist Organization in Vienna, and elected Jabotinsky its president. Schechtman continued his work in the Revisionist movement both in Europe and after going to the U.S. in 1941. From 1941 to 1943 he was a research fellow for the Institute of Jewish Affairs. He directed the Research Bureau on Population Movements (1943–44), and from 1944 to 1945 served as a consultant to the Office of Strategic Services (OSS) on population movements. Schechtman was subsequently a member of the World Zionist Organization's Actions Committee; a member of the executive of the World Jewish Congress; and chairman of the World Party Council. At his death, he was president of the United Revisionists of America and chairman of the World Council of the Zionist Revision Movement.

Schechtman's books include: a two-volume autobiography of Vladimir Jabotinsky, his best-known work, entitled *Rebel and Statesman; the Early Years* (1956), and *Fighter and Prophet; the Last Years* (1961); *On Wings of Eagles* (1961); *The United States and the Jewish State Movement* (1966); *Star in Eclipse; Russian Jewry Revisited* (1961); *European Population Transfers*, 1939–1945 (1946); and *Postwar Population Transfers in Europe*, 1945–1955 (1962).

SCHECK, BARRY (1949–), U.S. lawyer. Born in Queens, NY, and raised in Manhattan, Scheck, the son of a television producer and entertainers' representative, graduated from Yale University. He was politically active in the "Dump Johnson" movement of the late 1960s before going to the University of California Boalt Hall School of Law in Berkeley, where he worked for the United Farm Workers Union. Scheck became a lawyer for the Legal Aid Society, New York City's law firm for the poor, in the Bronx. There he met a fellow lawyer, Peter Neufeld, who would become his best friend. After three years with Legal Aid, Scheck joined the faculty of the Benjamin N. Cardozo School of Law, where he and Neufeld in 1992 founded the Innocence Project, a nonprofit legal clinic that seeks the release of wrongly convicted individuals through DNA testing. The Innocence Project relies on students to handle case work under the supervision of a team of lawyers. The lawyers screen cases to determine whether postconviction testing of DNA, the genetic material found in all human cells, can yield conclusive proof of innocence. Although DNA testing of crime scene evidence had been used since the late 1980s, it was not until the end of the 20th century that significant advances in the technology made it possible to examine minute specimens. The Innocence Project, by the early years of the 21st century, had helped to exonerate more than 80 people and was working on hundreds of other cases. Scheck was the DNA expert on the team of lawyers defending O.J. Simpson, the former football star, who was found not guilty of murder in a celebrated trial in the 1990s. Scheck and Neufeld were partners with the late Johnnie Cochran in a small civil rights law firm in Manhattan. The firm represented Abner Louima, a Haitian immigrant who was allegedly sodomized by New York City police officers in 1997. In 2003 the Innocence Project spawned the Life After Exoneration Project, to help the wrongly convicted after they were out of prison. Scheck and Neufeld, with Jim Dwyer, were the authors of *Actual Innocence* (2000), which recounted the stories of some of the people they helped free. Inspired by the Innocence Project, about 30 similar organizations formed around the country at law schools, journalism schools, undergraduate college, and public defenders' offices.

[Stewart Kampel (2nd ed.)]

SCHECKTER, JODY (1950–), race car driver, winner of the 1979 Formula One World Drivers Championship. Scheckter was born in East London, South Africa, but at the age of 20 he moved to England, where he developed his racing skills. In 1972 Scheckter qualified for his first Formula One race at Watkins Glen, finishing in ninth place. The following year Scheckter won the Formula 5000 (5 liter max. engine), while gaining a reputation for his aggressive style. A major setback occurred several months later, when he spun out of control at the end of the first lap of the 1973 British Grand Prix, taking out seven other cars in the process. However, Scheckter got back on track in 1974, finishing in third place in the Formula One standings, a feat he would repeat in 1976, and better in 1977 with a second-place finish. After dropping to seventh place in 1978, Scheckter decided to switch driving teams for the fourth time in his career, this time going with Ferrari. The move proved to be decisive, as Scheckter managed three first-place finishes (the Belgian, Monegasque, and Italian Grand Prix) over the course of the 1979 season, en route to amassing 51 points and winning the Formula One Championship. The following year, Scheckter could not find his form, accumulating only two points, and subsequently decided to retire from auto racing. Not resting on his laurels, that same year Scheckter moved to America and immediately started a business in firearms training simulators, which he sold in 1996 for approximately $100 million. He then moved back to England and began buying up plots of land near Basingstoke, and then ran a "biodynamic farming" business on an estate of over 2,500 acres. One of Scheckter's sons, Tomas, became a successful racing driver in his own right in the Indy Racing League, winning the 2005 Bombardier Learjet 500 and finishing fourth in the 2003 Indianapolis 500.

[Robert B. Klein (2nd ed.)]

SCHEFFLER, ISRAEL (1923–), U.S. philosopher and educator. Scheffler was born in New York City. He received a B.A. and an M.A. in psychology from Brooklyn College, and an M.H.L. from the Jewish Theological Seminary of America. He received his Ph.D. in philosophy from the University of Pennsylvania. Scheffler began his professional career at Harvard in 1952 and became professor of education and philosophy in 1964. His *The Language of Education* (1960) was a pioneering work in the field of linguistic analysis as applied to education. In his work, Scheffler attempted to apply philosophical methods to educational ideas. He developed the logical evaluation of assertion, namely the examination of ideas from the standpoint of clarity and the examination of arguments from the standpoint of validity. Philosophical analysis, of which Scheffler was a leading spokesman, stressed the clarification of basic notions and modes of argument rather than the synthesizing of available beliefs into some total outlook.

After he retired from teaching, he was named Victor S. Thomas Professor of Education and Philosophy, Emeritus, at Harvard University. In 2003 he became the scholar-in-residence at the Mandel Center for Studies in Jewish Education at Brandeis University.

His works include *Philosophy and Education* (1958, 1966^2), *The Anatomy of Inquiry* (1963), *Conditions of Knowledge* (1965), *Science and Subjectivity* (1967), *Beyond the Letter* (1979), *Reason and Teaching* (1988), *Of Human Potential* (1990), *Teachers of My Youth, an American Jewish Experience* (1994*), Symbolic Worlds* (1996), and *Gallery of Scholars* (2005). He co-edited *Visions of Jewish Education* (2003).

[Ernest Schwarcz / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

SCHEFTELOWITZ, ISIDOR (1876–1934), Orientalist and rabbi. Scheftelowitz was born in Sandersleben, duchy of Anhalt, Germany. He studied Sanskrit and Iranian philology and worked for a time at the British Museum and at the Bodleian Library in Oxford. During 1908–26 he served as rabbi and teacher of religion in Cologne. In 1919 he began teaching at the newly founded Cologne University, becoming professor in 1923. When the Nazis seized power, he emigrated to England and taught at Oxford University. Scheftelowitz made a considerable contribution to the study of Sanskrit and Iranian philology and history, as well as to that of comparative religion.

Among his published works are *Arisches im Alten Testament* (2 vols., 1901–03), *Apocrypha der Rigveda* (1906), *Zur Textkritik und Lautlehre der Rigveda* (1907), *Das Fisch-Symbol im Judentum und Christentum* (1911), *Die altpersische Religion und das Judentum* (1920), *Die Entstehung der manichaeischen Religion…* (1922), *Die Bewertung der aramaeischen Urkunden von Assuan und Elephantine fuer die juedische und iranische Geschichte* (Ger. and Heb., 1923), *Is Manicheism an Iranian Religion?* (1924), *Altpalaestinensischer Bauernglaube* (1925), and *Die Zeit als Schicksalsgottheit in der indischen und iranischen Religion* (1929).

SCHEIBER, ALEXANDER (1913–1985), Hungarian rabbi and scholar. Scheiber was ordained at the Landesrabbinerschule in his native Budapest. After serving as rabbi in Dunaföldvár (1940–44), he became a professor at the Landesrabbinerschule in 1945 and its director in 1950. He also joined the faculty of the University of Szeged (1949), teaching Oriental folklore. Scheiber concentrated on the spiritual survival of the remnant of Hungarian Jewry during the postwar period. Under his leadership the traditions of the rabbinical seminary were maintained, and it continued to graduate young rabbis who filled rabbinical positions in Hungary and abroad. He considered it his mission to explore the Hungarian Jewish past and perpetuate its memory, as well as to study and publish the contributions of great Hungarian-Jewish scholars, including W. Bacher, I. Loew, and B. Heller.

As a scholar, Scheiber's fields of specialization were Jewish history – especially the history of Hungarian Jewry – literature, Jewish folklore, and art. Studying and evaluating the Kaufmann *genizah*, he discovered the Rabbanite prayer book mentioned by Kirkisānī (HUCA, 22 (1949), 307–20), part of the chronicle of Obadiah (KS, 30 (1954), 93–98), and fragments of the *She'elot Attikot* (HUCA, 27 (1956), 291–303, and 36 (1965), 227–59). Together with D.S. Loewinger, Scheiber published a volume of texts (*Ginzei Kaufmann*, 1, 1949). In 1957 a facsimile edition of the Kaufman *Haggadah* was published. During several stays in England, mainly at Cambridge, he discovered many important *genizah* fragments.

His contributions to the history of Hungarian Jewry include *Corpus Inscriptionum Hungariae Judaicarum* (Hung. 1960, with Ger. summary), on Jewish inscriptions found in Hungary, and *Hebraeische Kodexueberreste in ungarlaendischen Einbandstafeln* (Hung. 1969, with Ger. summary). Together with Philipp Gruenvald he edited *Monumenta Hungariae Judaica* (vols. 5–7, 1959, and from vol. 8 by Scheiber only). He also wrote the history of Sopron's (Oedenburg's) synagogue, which dates back to the Middle Ages (REJ, 118 (1959/60), 79–93, and Hungarian (1963)). He also published studies in folklore. Scheiber edited the *Jubilee Volume in Honour of Prof. B. Heller* (1941) and *Semitic Studies in Memory of I. Loew* (1947). A complete bibliography of all Scheiber's publications has been published (Budapest, 1976). He edited the *Encyclopaedia Judaica*'s department of the history of the Jews in Hungary.

[Jeno Zsoldos]

SCHEID, ELIE (1841–1922), Jewish historian and administrator. Born in Haguenau, Alsace, he received a traditional Jewish education and studied for the rabbinate. Scheid, who contributed to the Franco-Jewish press, wrote several historical studies which were collected in his book *Histoire des Juifs d'Alsace* (1887). In 1883 Baron Edmond de *Rothschild invited him to Paris to organize the city's Ḥevrat ha-Ẓedakah ("Charitable Society") and at the end of that year he was appointed inspector of the Baron's settlement project in Ereẓ Israel, a post he held until the end of 1899. He dealt with all settlement matters and conducted political negotiations on behalf of the Baron with the Turkish authorities in Constantinople. Scheid disapproved of Herzl's diplomatic activities, regarding them as dangerous to settlement in Ereẓ Israel. On the other hand, he did not succeed in finding a common language with the settlers. They regarded him as far removed from their aspirations and identified him, perhaps more than he deserved, with the negative aspects of the paternalistic regime introduced by the Baron in the settlements and with the corruption which existed among the Baron's officials.

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[Yehuda Slutsky]

SCHEINDLIN, RAYMOND P. (1940–), U.S. Judaic literary scholar. Born in Philadephia and educated at Gratz College, Philadelphia, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, the University of Pennsylvania (B.A. 1961), Jewish Theological Seminary of America (JTSA) (M.H.L. 1963; rabbinical ordination, 1965), and Columbia University (Ph.D. 1971). Scheindlin taught at McGill University, Montreal (1969–72), Cornell University (1972–74), and the Jewish Theological Seminary, New York (from 1974). He was the director of the Shalom Spiegel Institute of Medieval Hebrew Poetry at the JTSA and was a visiting professor at New York and Columbia universities and a fellow of the University of Pennsylvania Center for Judaic Studies (1993), as well as a member of the Columbia Seminar in Islamic Studies and a senior fellow of the Oxford University Centre for Postgraduate Hebrew Studies. Scheindlin was a part-time rabbi of the Kane Street Synagogue, a Conservative congregation in Brooklyn (1979–82). He was a Guggenheim Fellow in 1988 and was chosen as a Cullman Fellow of the New York Public Library for 2005–06 for a work on Judah Halevi. Scheindlin was a member of a number of professional and scholarly organizations, including the Association for Jewish Studies, the Jewish Publication Society of America, and the Society of Judeo-Arabic Studies. In addition he was a member of the editorial boards of *Jewish Quarterly Review*, *Arabic and Middle Eastern Literatures*, *Medieval Iberia*, *Prooftexts*, and *Edebiyat*.

Scheindlin is recognized as a leading authority on the poetry of medieval Spain and the encounter of Hebrew and Arabic traditions that produced it. His principal publications are *Form and Structure in the Poetry of al-Mu'tamid Ibn 'Abbad* (1974), *Wine, Women, and Death: Medieval Hebrew Poems on the Good Life* (edited and translated, 1986), *The Gazelle: Medieval Hebrew Poems on God, Israel, and the Soul* (edited and translated, 1991), *The Book of Job* (a verse translation with notes, 1998), *A Short History of the Jewish People: From Legendary Times to Modern Statehood* (1998), and *The Cambridge History of Arabic Literature: Al-Andalus* (U.S. title: *The Literature of al-Andalus*; 2000, edited with Maria Rosa Menocal and Michael Sells). He was the translator of Ismar *Elbogen's *Jewish Liturgy in Its Historical Development* (1993) and is also the author of a widely used handbook on Arabic grammar, *201 Arabic Verbs* (1978). Scheindlin wrote the libretto for an opera by Lee Goldstein, *Miriam and the Angel of Death*, based on a story by I.L. Peretz (1984), and provided translations of Hebrew texts for songs by Hugo Weisgall (*Love's Wounded*, 1987; *Psalm of the Distant Dove*, based on poems of Judah Halevi, 1995). He published numerous scholarly articles, translations from Yiddish and medieval Hebrew, and contributions to scholarly collections.

[Drew Silver (2nd ed.)]

SCHEINERT, DAVID (1916–1996), Belgian author. Born in Częstochowa, Poland, Scheinert was raised in Brussels, where he founded the *Revue juive de Belgique*. An aggressive style emphasized his sense of fellowship with the oppressed, whether Jews or non-Jews. Scheinert's works include the novels *L'apprentissage inutile* (1948), *Le coup d'état* (1950), and *Un silence provisoire* (1968); verse collections such as *Réquiem au genièvre* (1952), *Et la lumière chanta* (1954), and *Comme je respire* (1960); and literary essays, notably *Ecrivains belges devant la réalité* (1964).

SCHEINFELD, SOLOMON ISAAC (1860–1943), U.S. Orthodox rabbi, Hebraist, and author. Scheinfeld was born in Scaudvil, Lithuania. He was ordained by Rabbi Isaac Elhanan Spektor in 1890, immigrating to the United States the following year. After a year in Milwaukee (1892–93) and almost a decade in Louisville, Kentucky, Scheinfeld returned to Milwaukee's Beth Israel congregation in 1902, remaining there until his death. Acknowledged rabbinic head of Milwaukee's Orthodox community during his tenure, Scheinfeld exerted leadership in all areas – religious, educational, war relief, charity and welfare, and Zionism. His unorthodox views on the revision and reconstruction of the prayer book were expressed in *Ha-Shilo'aḥ* (1921).

His literary works include five volumes of moral and ethical reflections on Judaism: *Ha-Adam ba-Ma'aleh* ("The Superior Man," 1931); *Olam ha-Sheker* (1936); *Divrei Ḥakhamim* (1941); *Ẓiyyunim be-Derekh ha-Ḥayyim* ("Way-marks in the Path of Life," 2 vols., 1922–28). He also wrote articles in the Hebrew encyclopedia, *Oẓar Yisrael*.

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[Louis J. Swichkow]

°SCHELER, MAX FERDINAND (1874–1928), German philosopher and sociologist. Scheler was born in Munich. His father came from an upper middle-class Protestant family and his mother from an Orthodox Jewish family that had lived in Franconia for centuries. Scheler himself converted to Roman Catholicism during World War I.

Scheler studied philosophy at the University of Jena; there his most prominent teacher was the idealist philosopher Rudolf Eucken, whose ideas overshadowed Scheler's early work. He also taught at Jena from 1902 to 1907, when he left to teach at the University of Munich. After moving to Munich Scheler turned to phenomenology, and his subsequent work reflected the influence of Edmund *Husserl and Franz Brentano. In 1910 Scheler went to live in Berlin as an academically unattached writer and formed close friendships with Werner *Sombart and Walther *Rathenau. During World War I he became a fervent nationalist and defended the "German war" with passionate intensity. In 1919 he accepted a chair at the University of Cologne, where he developed his views in the sociology of knowledge and also reconsidered his religious views. As a result of the latter, he left the Roman Catholic Church and elaborated his own doctrine, which asserted a vitalistic pantheism.

Scheler was an eclectic thinker who wove many disparate strands of ideas into the texture of his own work. Moreover, he was always open to new ideas and was not afraid to contradict his own earlier ones. His major theological work, in which he attempted to fuse phenomenological approaches with Catholic doctrine is *Vom Ewigen im Menschen* (1921; *On the Eternal in Man*, 1960). His work in social psychology began with *Ueber Ressentiment und moralisches Werturteil* (1912; *Ressentiment*, 1960) and was further extended in his *Zur Phaenomenologie der Sympathiegefuehle* (1913; *The Nature of Sympathy,* 1954). In his last work Scheler attempted detailed phenomenological descriptions of different feeling states emulating the Pascalian endeavor to outline a "logic of the heart." He opposed his holistic psychology to the scientific and analytic psychological approach that prevailed in his day.

Scheler's major philosophical work, *Der Formalismus in der Ethik und die materiale Wertethik* (2 vols., 1913–16, 1921^2), represents an attempt to build a new ethic on the basis of phenomenology in opposition to Kantian ethical formalism. His major contribution to the sociology of knowledge, *Die Wissensformen und die Gesellschaft* (1926), aims at a reconciliation of the Platonic doctrine of the immutability of the world of values with the relativist approach to values found in many modern doctrines. Scheler argues that, though men in different periods and different social strata elaborate widely different forms and standards of knowledge, this simply means that they all strive, each in historically and socially determined ways, to grasp particular aspects of the eternal and immutable sphere of value essences.

A restless spirit, Scheler had wide appeal, especially to the youth, in the hectic and unsettled days of the Weimar Republic. His work had a major influence on French existentialism and phenomenology after World War II. Only later did it become more widely known in England and America, where it attracted the attention not only of philosophers and sociologists but also of theologians. His writings were collected in *Gesammelte Werke* (10 vols., 1953–60).

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[Lewis A. Coser]

°**SCHELLENBERG, WALTER** (1910–1952) Nazi official. Born in Saarbruck to minor German officials, Schellenberg studied medicine and law and graduated from the University of Bonn. He joined the Nazi Party in May 1933 and the home office of the SD in 1934. He worked on the consolidation of the SD and the security police, and became a trusted adviser of *Himmler and *Heydrich as deputy chief of the foreign intelligence service of the SD. In May 1941 he concluded an agreement with the German Army on the operation of the Einsatzgruppen (mobile killing units) in the Soviet Union. He was head of the united SS and Wehrmacht intelligence. As early as the summer of 1942, he foresaw the impending defeat of Germany and tried to persuade Himmler to seek a separate peace with the West, which necessitated saving certain Jewish lives as leverage for negotiations and even halting the "Final Solution" in order to gain some time. When the Abwehr was dismantled after the attempt in 1944 on Hitler's life, Schellenberg became the head of the combined intelligence services of the SS and the Wehrmacht. His power was only surpassed by Himmler's within the SS. He was tried in the American Zone trials at Nuremberg. He was acquitted on the crime of genocide but found guilty of complicity in the murder of Soviet POWs. Sentenced to six years, he was released in 1951 and moved to Switzerland, where he wrote his memoirs.

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[Yehuda Reshef / Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

°**SCHELLING, FRIEDRICH WILHELM JOSEPH** (1775–1854), German philosopher. Constantly moved by new insights beyond a position before having adequately stated it, Schelling is generally remembered only as a link between the philosophies of Johann Gottlieb *Fichte and Georg Wilhelm Friedrich *Hegel, a view doing justice neither to his profundity nor to his originality.

Schelling embraced absolute idealism (see *Philosophy, Jewish) before Hegel, and *existentialism before Søren Kierkegaard, who attended Schelling's 1841 lectures. His main periods of thought were: philosophy of nature (1797–99), aesthetic idealism (about 1800), absolute idealism (1801–04), philosophy of freedom (about 1809), "positive philosophy of revelation" (after 1815; N. Hartmann's periodization). Schelling believed that nature is an organism independent of experience. No lapse into pre-Kantian realism, this position drives Schelling beyond Fichte's ethical into an aesthetic idealism. Fichte's nature is non-self for the moral self; Schelling's is pre-self prior to and independent of self, an "unconscious artist" becoming self-conscious in art and philosophy.

Schelling believed that realistic philosophy of nature and aesthetic idealism are to be viewed as finite standpoints, to be united in absolute idealism as an absolute standpoint is attained. "The Absolute" becomes problematical, however, as freedom and evil, asserting themselves against it, fall outside it. Gradually the gulf widens between "essence" and "existence," and absolute idealism becomes a mere "negative" philosophy – an idealized system abstracted from existence – the preliminary to a new "positive" philosophy which leaps from the absolute to the existential standpoint, confronting existence and "narrating" the confrontations. Negative philosophy constructs the idea of God. Positive philosophy confronts God Himself in His historical revelations.

Although well-versed in Hebraic studies, Schelling had no room for or contact with Judaism prior to abandoning absolute idealism. This is partly due to his romanticism and pantheism (ways of thought out of sympathy with Judaism), largely because his absolute idealism, unlike Hegel's, tends to dissipate particularity in the Absolute, thus giving scant respect to history. Moreover, even when he deals with history, he divides it into pagan and Christian; Christ is "the peak and end of the world of the ancient gods," the Jewish God presumably included, and, "empiricism" being excluded from speculative theology, any "seed of Christianity… in Judaism" is denied (*Werke*, 1 (1856), 292, 296, 303). In line with his turn toward existentialism, however, Schelling's view of Judaism changed. Christian "neglect" of the Hebrew Bible is "almost indecent," for it is divinely revealed; e.g., the tetragrammaton – a name, not a concept – expresses the "divine substance" which is per se inexpressible, and as such referred to by *Elohim* (*Werke*, 2 (1856), 271–2). To the end Judaism remains, not "mythology," which expresses man's unredeemed condition, but the indispensable, revealed "ground" of the Christian revelation, Israel being its chosen bearer.

Jewish thinkers indebted to Schelling's earlier thought include Solomon *Formstecher who, however, subordinates the aesthetic to the ethical and also rejects absolute thought as "sublimated… gnosticism" (Guttmann). Franz *Rosenzweig's *Stern der Erloesung* (1921) reflects close affinity with Schelling's later thought, especially his *Ages of the World*.

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[Emil Ludwig Fackenheim]

SCHENECTADY, a formerly industrial city situated on the Mohawk River in east central New York State. Of its 61,821 inhabitants (2000) about 5,200 Jews live in the city and suburbs. Jews first settled in Schenectady in the 1840s when Louis Jacobs sold clothing there, and in 1848 Alexander Susholtz settled with his family. Jonathan Levi, a peddler, settled next and would later become one of the major business leaders in the community. Within five years enough Jewish families had moved into the city to begin a congregation, which initially met in the homes of its members. On October 20, 1856, the congregation incorporated as Shaaray Shomayim (later Gates of Heaven). At the same time, Mordecai *Myers, a former State Assemblyman, relocated from Kinderhook in 1848 and was elected mayor in 1851 and 1854. The Jewish community bought land for a cemetery and the first burial took place in 1857. The first religious school was established in 1863. Between 1892 and 1907, Gates of Heaven moved from an Orthodox congregation to Reform. Meanwhile, in the 1870s, Jews from the Russian Empire arrived in Schenectady, and Hungarian Jews moved into the city after 1890, attracted by work available at General Electric. As late as the 1950s at least 30% of employed Jews found work at GE. Jonathan Levi played an instrumental role in attracting the Edison Co., that became GE, to the city. The Jewish community would later become split between permanent residents and professionals who worked at GE before being relocated. In the 19th century Jews worked as peddlers, small businessmen, grocers, tailors, laborers, and craftsmen.

Russian Jews did not want to join the predominantly German Gates of Heaven, and organized the Orthodox Congregation Agudas (later Agudat) Achim in 1890. By the 1920s, second-generation Russian Jews decided to modernize the synagogue, and it officially became Conservative in 1927. Until 1927 Agudas Achim emerged as the leading Orthodox congregation. Ethnic differences led Hungarian Jews to split from Agudas Achim and to found the Orthodox, but Hungarian, Ohab Zedek in 1893. Another split in Agudas Achim led followers of Rabbi Solomon Hinden to organize Adath Israel in 1914. New immigrants formed a separate congregation, Ohab Sholom in 1894. By 1916 the most Orthodox members of the community created a separate congregation, B'nai Abraham. Over time all the Orthodox synagogues merged into one congregation, with the last merger taking place in 1955 when Ohab Zedek merged with Ohab Sholom B'nai Abraham to form Beth Israel, the current Orthodox congregation in Schenectady. The Jewish community numbered 3,000 in 1913 and reached 5,000 in 1918. Later figures by Jewish organizations listed 3,800 in 1943, 2,800 in 1950, 4,200 in 1970, 5,700 in 1984 and 5,200 in the mid-1990s. Prior to 1945, the Jewish community lived primarily within the city limits, but the suburbanization of Jewish residents and institutions mean that the most recent figures suggest that at least half the community lives in suburban towns like Niskayuna.

The diversity of Jewish organizations reached its peak between 1910 and 1930. The first organization not affiliated with a synagogue was the Ladies Benevolent Society formed in 1883. Other charitable institutions included the United Hebrew Charities in 1897, Hebrew Sick and Benevolent Society in 1909, and the Hebrew Sheltering and Aid Society in 1913. Another philanthropic association, Montefiore Society, appeared in the 1880s and reached its peak of effectiveness in the 1890s. Women organized a chapter of the National Council of Jewish Women in March 1916. Jewish fraternal organizations included the Independent Order of Brith Abraham, started in 1900, Free Sons of Judah, 1905–16, Free Sons of Israel (around 1900), and B'nai B'rith, 1921. The first Zionist group, the Moriah Zionist Association began in 1913. By 1917 a chapter of the Socialist Labor Party (Po'alei Zion) was started and, by 1919, a chapter of the Zionist Organization of America. Hadassah started a chapter in 1921. During World War I, local Jews contributed to Jewish war victims in Europe and Palestine and to the Palestine Restoration Fund after the war. Congressman George Lunn of Schenectady, the former Socialist mayor, introduced a resolution in Congress in support of a Jewish homeland in Palestine. In the 1920s and 1930s support for Zionism waned in Schenectady, except for a small dedicated group of men and women. Reform Jewish leaders opposed the idea until after World War II. Between 1945 and 1948, some local Jews in Schenectady, Albany, and Troy helped smuggle bandages, ammunition, and arms to Palestine to defend Jewish settlements, and the community held a mass meeting in May 1948 to celebrate the independence of Israel. In 1967 and 1973, the local community rallied to the embattled Jewish homeland.

Other major Jewish associations were the Workmen's Circle branch, in 1912 and within a year the Jewish Socialist branch formed. A community *talmud torah* was founded in 1911 and chartered in 1912, which became the United Hebrew Community in 1923. Two young people's groups, the Apollo Club and Young Macabees, social and athletic groups, merged in 1916 to form the YMHA, followed by the YWHA a year later. The Ys incorporated in 1921 and merged with the United Hebrew Community to form the Jewish Community Center in 1929. Following the movement of the Jewish population, the JCC, the primary non-congregational organization of the Jewish community, relocated to Niskayuna. The first Jewish self-defense organization was the Jewish Citizens Committee, which began as a protest against Polish pogroms and the Ukrainian massacres, but, due to criticism from local Polish immigrants, the citizens' committee organized in June 1919 to represent all of Schenectady's Jews. Despite its intentions the committee did not last, and in 1938 local Jews, responding to activities of the German-American Bund and antisemitism in Germany, created the Jewish Community Council which was later incorporated in 1948. Both the Anti-Defamation committee of the local B'nai B'rith and the Jewish War Veterans, troubled by the rise in antisemitism, pushed for the creation of the Council. Before and after the war it helped resettle refugees and sent supplies to Jewish survivors in Europe and Palestine after World War II. By 2005, the local representational function had returned to the Jewish Community Center, while the Jewish Federation of Northeastern New York took over the responsibility for speaking for the Jewish communities of the Capital District, and pooling resources for activities that cut across local communities. As elsewhere in the country, synagogues and institutional buildings in downtown urban areas were sold as the Jewish residents moved to residential areas outside of the downtown area and to the suburbs. There is a Jewish Studies program at Union College in Schenectady that has added to the intellectual quality of the Jewish community.

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[Harvey Strum (2nd ed.)]

SCHENIRER, SARAH (1883–1935), educational pioneer, founder of the *Beth Jacob school network. In Orthodox writings, Schenirer's life and work are described in the mythic, legendary terms usually reserved for renowned male rabbinic figures. Born to a ḥasidic family in Cracow, Schenirer received a formal education in Polish public schools until the age of 14, when she took up work as a seamstress to help support her family. In a short autobiographical sketch, she notes that from childhood she was drawn to Jewish learning and was of a pious temperament. As a young woman, she grew alarmed by the situation of her female contemporaries, exposed to the attractions of secular culture and with little Jewish knowledge to help preserve their identity. In Austrian-ruled Galicia, where Jews enjoyed equal rights from the late 1860s and compulsory public education existed, many rabbis and communal leaders had discussed the need for Jewish education for girls, but in the end it was the dedicated amateur, Sarah Schenirer, who made this a reality. By her own account, the impetus for her initiative came during her family's stay as refugees in Vienna after the outbreak of World War I. The evening lectures of Rabbi Dr. Flesch, a disciple of the Neo-Orthodox approach of Samson Raphael *Hirsch, inspired her to return to Poland and translate her ideas about education for girls into practice. Her first school, opened in Cracow in the fall of 1917, gave supplementary religion lessons to young girls after their studies in public school (this would be the nature of most of the later schools as well). By the time of Schenirer's death in 1935, the Beth Jacob school network in Poland had grown to 227 schools with over 27,000 pupils. Schenirer's disciples also would found schools in Austria, Czechoslovakia, Romania, Lithuania, Palestine, and the United States. Schenirer played a major role in the expansion of the network, traveling to dozens of towns throughout Poland and addressing meetings of parents and young girls, convincing them to set up local Beth Jacob schools. Schenirer was aided in her quest by the endorsement of leading rabbinic figures and by the adoption of Beth Jacob by the Agudat Israel movement. Agudah provided Beth Jacob with financial assistance, logistical guidance, and a literary forum, the Yiddish-language *Beys-Yankev Zhurnal*. Schenirer's personal dedication and charisma were supplemented by the organizational professionalism of Dr. Leo Deutschlander and by young, educated women he recruited from Germany to help staff summer training courses and, later on, the central teachers' seminary in Cracow founded by Schenirer. Schenirer cooperated with Deutschlander in the seminary's administration, and was instrumental in the founding of the Benot Agudat Yisrael youth movement for students and graduates of Beth Jacob. She composed curricular materials and wrote plays and articles on the holidays and moralistic themes. Her collected Yiddish writings (*Gezamelte Shriftn*) appeared in 1933 and later in Hebrew translation (see bibliography). Little is known about her personal life. Schenirer was evidently married for a very short time and divorced in her late twenties. Late in her short life she married Rabbi Yitzhak Landau, grandson of the Rebbe of Radomsk. She had no children of her own, but devoted her life to the hundreds of young women she taught and for whom she served as a model of feminine personal piety and learning.

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[Gershon Bacon (2nd ed.)]

SCHENK, FAYE L. (1909–1981), U.S. Zionist leader. Faye Schenk was born in Des Moines, Iowa, daughter of Rabbi H.H. Zeichik, a noted talmudic scholar. In 1933 she married Rabbi Max Schenk, later spiritual leader of Congregation Shaare Zedek in Brooklyn, N.Y. From 1939 to 1949 the Schenks lived in Sydney, Australia, where Faye Schenk was a leader in the Women's International Zionist Organization. Settling in New York in 1949, she became active in *Hadassah, and after serving in numerous leadership capacities became national president in 1968. Mrs. Schenk remained national president of Hadassah until 1972 and in 1973 was elected president of the American Zionist Federation. She became a member of the Executive of the World Zionist Organization in 1977 and settled permanently in Israel. After serving for six months as chairman of the *Keren Hayesod, after the death of Ezra Shapiro, in 1978 she was appointed head of the organization department of the WZO.

[Gladys Rosen]

SCHENKER, HEINRICH (1868–1935), music theorist; the most important 20th century theorist of tonal music. Born in Wisniowczyki, Galicia. Schenker studied law as well as harmony with Bruckner in Vienna. After an early career as a composer, accompanist, editor, and critic (especially for the *Wiener Wochenblatt*), Schenker undertook more serious analytical and theoretical engagement. He developed new analytical procedures for the perception of musical structures. His most important achievements came to fruition in his last book, *Der freie Satz* (1935; *Free Composition*, 1979), the last book in the trilogy *Neue musikalische Theorien und Phantasien*. According to his theory, structural harmonies, which are ultimately derived from the background structure (*Ursatz*) of an upper descending voice (*Urlinie*) against bass arpeggiation of the tonic, are prolonged or composed out (*auskomponiert*) by techniques based on strict counterpoint, such as linear progressions and neighbor motion. Schenker appreciated and analyzed mainly the works of a few great composers from Bach to Brahms. Though originally based only on the works of the 18th and 19th centuries, Schenker's concepts have been applied to earlier and later music as well (cf. F. Salzer, *Structural Hearing*, 1952). Schenker's writings include the trilogy, the first two volumes being *Harmonielehre* (1906; *Harmony*, 1954) and *Kontrapunkt* (2 vols., 1910 and 1922; *Counterpoint*, 1987), and more analytical books, among them *Das Meisterwerk in der Musik* (3 vols., 1925, 1926, 1930; *The Masterwork in Music*, 1994, 1996, 1997) and *Der Tonwille* (1921–24).

Schenker wrote *Ḥasidic Dances*, ultimately published as *Syrian Dances*; his books and diaries include occasional reference to Jewish matters.

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[Roger Kamien / Yossi Goldenberg (2nd ed.)]

SCHENKER, JOEL W. (1904–1985), U.S. theatrical producer and builder. Born in Manhattan, Schenker attended New York University and went into the real-estate business. But he also worked as an actor and co-wrote a play, *This Our House*, which folded after two performances on Broadway in 1935. He swore off the theater for years. In the construction field, he headed the Gregory-Roth-Schenker Construction Corporation and the Webb & Knapp Construction Corporation, building housing for veterans after World War II and then high-rise apartment houses and office buildings. He became prominent as a producer or co-producer of serious theater after he and Cheryl Crawford revived Sean O'Casey's *Shadow of a Gunman* in a widely hailed Actors Studio production. His first commercial hit on Broadway, *A Far Country* (1961), was Henry Denker's drama about Sigmund Freud. He then produced *Seidman and Son* (1963) with Sam Levene, and, in the same year, *A Case of Libel*, again by Denker and inspired by the book *My Life in Court* by Louis *Nizer. Schenker was a mainstay of the American Shakespeare Festival, serving as a trustee and executive producer. He also raised funds and served as an officer of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America and the building division of the United Jewish Appeal.

[Stewart Kampel (2nd ed.)]

SCHERESCHEWSKY, SAMUEL ISAAC JOSEPH (1831–1906), Episcopalian bishop of China. Born of Jewish parentage at Tauroggen (see *Taurage), Lithuania, Schereschewsky went to America in 1854, where he became a Christian in 1855. In 1859 he went to China as a missionary, first in Shanghai and then in Beijing (Peking), where he lived for 13 years (1862–75), and in 1877 was appointed Episcopalian bishop of China. Inspired by a visit of three *Kaifeng Jews to Beijing in March 1867, the missionaries induced Schereschewsky to visit the Kaifeng Jewish community in the middle of that year. He found some 200 or 300 Jewish families in Kaifeng, a fair proportion of them in good circumstances. They had entirely lost their religion, intermarried with the local population, and were scarcely distinguishable from them. After a stay of about 25 days he was driven out of the city by a mob. Schereschewsky spoke 13 languages, among them Hebrew and Chinese. While in Beijing, he began to translate the Pentateuch from Hebrew into Mandarin Chinese. In 1881 he had a stroke, which semi-paralyzed his hands. Using two fingers, he completed his work. His translation is still outstanding, and because of his physical handicap the work is known as the "Two Finger Bible."

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[Rudolf Loewenthal]

SCHERLAG, MARK (1878–1962), Austrian Zionist poet. Born in Chorostkow, Galicia, Scherlag studied law at the University of Vienna and supported himself as a bank clerk there. He joined the Zionist movement with the appearance of Theodor Herzl and developed personal ties with him. He contributed to the Zionist and general press and periodicals in German and Polish. Scherlag published lyric poems on Jewish subjects. He settled in Haifa in 1939, and, in the last years of his life, he recorded his memoirs of the early years of the Zionist movement.

His works include the following collections of poetry in German: *Einsamkeit* (1899), *Heimaterde. Judenlieder* (1922), *In der Fremde. Neue Judenlieder* (1919), and a selection of his poetry from 1900 to 1939 *Aus dem Leben* (n.d.).

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[Getzel Kressel]

SCHERMAN, NOSSON (1935–), U.S. rabbi, publisher of *ArtScroll. Scherman was born in Newark, NJ, where his parents owned a mom-and-pop grocery store, and he was a product of its public school system, studying in the afternoon at a local *talmud torah*. At the age of 10 he entered Yeshivah Torah Vodaath, where he remained through Beit Midrash. In 1953, he was admitted to Beit Medrash Elyon, Torah Vodaath's postgraduate division in Monsey NY, where he studied for 11 years and was ordained. His primary teachers and influences throughout his adult life were Rabbi Yaakov *Kaminetsky and Rabbi Gedaliah Schorr, the roshei yeshivah of Torah Vodaath.

Scherman was a teacher and assistant Hebrew principal and general studies principal at Yeshivah Torah Temimah in Brooklyn for eight years, and then principal of Yeshivah Karlin-Stolin in Brooklyn for six. He was also head counselor of Camp Torah Vodaath from 1967 to 1969. From 1969 to 1990 he was editor of *Olomeinu/Our World*, the children's magazine of Torah Umesorah.

In 1976, Rabbi Meier *Zlotowitz of ArtScroll asked Scherman to edit and contribute an introduction to the Book of Esther. Like Zlotowitz, Scherman gave up his career to develop the ArtScroll Series and its parent company, Mesorah Publications, with Zlotowitz and Sheah Brander.

Early on, Scherman became general editor and was best known as the author of the Overviews, the introductory essays that present the background and perspective of dozens of books of Scripture and liturgy. In 1984, he published his first major work, the translation and commentary of the *siddur*, which was followed by the Rosh Hashanah and Yom Kippur *maḥzorim*. In 1993, he published the Stone Edition of the *Ḥumash*, with translation and commentary.

His "translation" of the *siddur* is not quite a translation – for example, the erotic Hebrew of the Song of Songs is not rendered into English. Instead, the allegory to God and Israel is treated as the *peshat*. The *siddur* appears in two versions. The Rabbinical Council of America, the Centrist Orthodox Rabbinical Movement, has its version with the prayer for the State of Israel and a slightly different introduction.

The success of the ArtScroll/Mesorah series is undeniable. ArtScroll is a fascinating combination of fervently Orthodox Judaism and an American aesthetic that wraps traditional Judaism in a visual idiom acceptable to the American sensibility. Zlotowitz's sense of the visual impact of a book is an indispensable ingredient in its success. Despite what outsiders may think, even the rejectionist Orthodox community that does not embrace modern culture has, perhaps inadvertently, acculturated itself to the offerings and packaging of the American marketplace.

ArtScroll publishes in English and in Hebrew and has brought its own unique styling to the Israeli and American marketplace. In the United States, it represents an important transition between Yiddish and English as the spoken language and the language of Jewish learning for fervently Orthodox Jews in America.

Modern Orthodox scholars have not been uncritical of ArtScroll's success. Its historical studies are wrapped, not in Western scholarship, but in hagiography; it seems as if every fervently Orthodox leader or rabbi is without blemish. Others on the right criticize it for enabling and empowering English rather than Yiddish or Hebrew to be the language of contemporary learning.

The Schottenstein Talmud has allowed many who would have otherwise lacked the skill and talmudic virtuosity to participate in *daf yomi* (studying a page of Talmud a day) programs. It has offered those learning in yeshivah the "English" experience of the Beit Midrash and has far outpaced the more sophisticated and erudite commentary of Adin *Steinsaltz in popularity and use.

Scherman's main project in 2006 was the Rubin edition of the Prophets, of which the Books of Joshua, Judges, and Samuel have been published and the Book of Kings was due to go to press.

For several years Scherman was a columnist for the *Forward* and the *Jewish Week*, and taught Mishnah and the Holocaust in a telephone lecture series.

[Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

SCHEUER, EDMUND (1847–1943), Canadian religious reformer and activist. Considered by many the "father of Reform Judaism in Canada," Scheuer was born in Bernkastel in the Prussian Rhineland and received his education there and across the river in Metz, in France. At the age of 17, he moved to Paris, attracted, according to some accounts, by the greater freedom accorded to Jews in France. There he entered the jewelry export business, acting as agent for a Hamilton, Ontario, firm owned by his brother-in-law, Herman Levy. In Paris, Scheuer was still a Sabbath observer, although he joined the Alliance Israélite Universelle, the organization founded for the purpose, inter alia, of spreading French culture among Jews outside France.

When the Franco-Prussian War interrupted his business, Scheuer emigrated to Canada and joined his brother-in-law's firm. Within months of his arrival in Hamilton in 1871, he was named treasurer of Anshe Sholom Synagogue, one of the very few synagogues in Canada where Jews of German origin predominated, and which was open to the Reform Movement which had swept over similar congregations in the United States. The next year Scheuer organized a Sabbath school, the first in Ontario, which he led until he moved to Toronto in 1886. From 1876 to 1886, he served as president of the congregation, which he nudged steadily in the direction of Reform. He also organized a chapter of the Alliance Israélite Universelle, the only one ever established in Canada. His activities in Hamilton illustrate two of Scheuer's interrelated passions with regard to Jewish life: Jewish education and the acculturation of immigrants.

In Toronto, Scheuer joined Holy Blossom, the still traditional synagogue of the established, acculturating Jews; there, too, he became the most forceful advocate of "American" Reform. And there, too, he organized a Sabbath school, perhaps the first "modern" Jewish school in the city. He served the synagogue in a variety of offices, including, in 1896, treasurer of the building committee for the new temple on Bond Street. In 1939, when the move to suburban Forest Hill was made, Scheuer, the only surviving member of the earlier campaign, was made honorary chair of the building committee.

But Scheuer's activities in Toronto ranged far beyond the temple's precincts. He was one of the organizers of the Federation of Jewish Philanthropies and served as its first president from 1917 to 1921. This, too, was an "Americanizing" move, following the lead of communities in the United States which were amalgamating and professionalizing their charitable efforts in these years. Scheuer also led the Zionist Free School for Girls, which met at an Orthodox synagogue, and worked to counter the influence of missionaries and socialists among Jewish young people.

In Toronto, Scheuer pursued the goal of acculturation in several ways. As school principal, he shaped the curriculum to emphasize ethics rather than Jewish particularity. For 40 years, he served as president of the Toronto chapter of the Anglo-Jewish Association, the British equivalent of the Alliance Israélite Universelle and a more suitable vehicle for Jewish acculturation in English Canada. For decades, he served as a justice of the peace, and he belonged to the Empire and Canadian clubs and the Toronto Board of Trade. In the 1930s, as fascist and Nazi sympathizers grew in numbers in Canada, Scheuer typically urged fellow Jews "to remain calm." Days before a violent riot in Toronto in 1933, he assured them that "Canadian laws – thank God – are just, our police excellent and well able to protect any class of citizens being molested by hoodlums." He was proved wrong, as the police stood by and allowed the violence to proceed.

The rising tide of antisemitism in Canada in the 1930s caused Scheuer to alter course somewhat. He became active in the Canadian Jewish Congress reorganized in 1933 to fight antisemitism and served as an honorary vice president from 1934 to 1939. He ceased writing letters to newspapers in defense of Jews and Judaism, once a civic task to which he devoted much time and energy. Now he preferred "background" meetings with editors and publishers as less likely to inflame.

Scheuer's life stretched almost a century from the liberal revolutions of 1848 through most of World War II, and it is no surprise that he had to adjust some of his early assumptions. But he remained to the end of his life both an advocate of modernization and acculturation in Jewish life and a dedicated and proud Jew. He could at the same time be "the father of Reform Judaism in Canada," at a time when Reform was not popular among Canadian Jews, and still the "grand old man of [all of] Toronto Jewry."

[Michael Brown (2nd ed.)]

SCHEUER, JAMES H. (1920–2005), a 13-term liberal U.S. congressman from New York, part of the post-World War II generation of political reformers. The son of a prosperous New York investor, he was born in Manhattan and received his bachelor's degree from Swarthmore College in 1942, a master's degree from Harvard Business School in 1943, and a law degree from Columbia Law School in 1948. He contracted polio on his honeymoon and spent a year recuperating in Warm Springs, Georgia, where Franklin Delano Roosevelt had also undergone rehabilitation from adult polio. For the rest of his life, Scheuer walked with a cane.

A multimillionaire real estate developer and lawyer, Scheuer was president of the Renewal and Development Corporation of New York City before seeking elected office. He sponsored urban renewal projects and middle-income housing developments in cities including Washington, Cleveland, St. Louis, Sacramento, and San Francisco.

Scheuer made political waves in the 1964 election when he and another reform Democrat, Jonathan B. Bingham, ousted incumbent congressmen who were part of the Bronx political machine, James C. Healey and Charles A. Buckley.

It seemed as if, with each decade's census and New York's diminished population, Scheuer was forced to run in another district and to serve another constituency. He lost re-election in 1972 after serving four terms in the 21st Congressional District, in the Bronx, when redistricting forced him to run against another incumbent congressman. He moved to the 11th district in Queens, where he won the 1974 election and three more, and then, in 1982, finally the redistricted 8th District, which covered part of Queens and Nassau County, where he served his final five terms. He announced his retirement after the 1990 census forced another redistricting. In each district, his agenda remained the same. He fought for the Environmental Protection Agency against Reagan administration attempts to dismantle it, and he fought the auto industry, which opposed his efforts to mandate safety belts and air bags. He was successful in both. Twice defeated for Congress, he kept coming back again and again. An urban and urbane man, he served as president of the National Alliance for Safer Cities (1972–73) and president of the National Housing Conference (1972–74).

An unapologetic, some would say an unrepentant, liberal, Scheuer believed in an activist role for government. His legislative agenda included Head Start for early education, environmental protection, and automotive safety.

He believed keenly in the right to privacy, which in American terms put him on the side of contraception and abortion, issues he believed were and should remain personal. In its obituary for Scheuer, the *New York Times* recalled that "He once had a hundred posters printed up that said, 'Someday the decision to have children will be between you, your spouse and your congressman.' The photograph showed a couple sitting in their bed with Mr. Scheuer, dressed in a suit, sandwiched between them."

After retirement from Congress he was appointed by President Clinton as United States director of the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development, founded to make loans to Eastern European and Asian countries and thus counter Communist influence. Together with his siblings and a family foundation established by his parents, he was deeply involved in support of Jewish philanthropies and development in Israel.

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[Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

SCHIBY, BARUCH (1906–ca. 1976), author and journalist of *Salonika. In 1927 Schiby founded the Zionist "Achdut" club in Salonika. When the Germans attacked Greece, he managed with friends to reach Athens in a small boat. As a student in Athens in World War II, he was involved in EAM resistance activities. In Athens, he received shelter from the Greek cabinet minister Prof. Niko Louvaris, whose contacts also helped him greatly in resistance activities. He was part of a special committee of Jews from this Communist political resistance movement who persuaded Rabbi Eli Barzilai of Athens not to hand over the community lists to the new German commander, Jorgen Stroop, and to flee the community for the mountains. He also wrote about the pro-German activities of Greek intellectuals for the Greek Academy, for which he received payment in order to survive during that difficult time. In late 1944, at the beginning of the Greek Civil War when England controlled the Greek government, he was arrested by the British and sent to the Al-Daba prison camp in *Egypt, and was chosen to represent the prisoners. He returned to Salonika and became director of the Jewish community.

Known mainly for his quarterly *Dhelfika tetradhia*, Schiby was a prominent literary figure and a leading Zionist. His *I fleghomeni vatos* ("The Burning Bush," 1968) discussed the origins of the Jews and various aspects of Judaism. His book *I Evrai* ("The Jews"), published in 1971, depicted ancient Jewish history for his Greek countrymen. He wrote several articles on the history of the Jews of Salonika and the Samaritan presence in Salonika from late antiquity. In the 1960s, he developed relations with the Spanish Academy in its renewed contact with Sephardi philology, language, history, and culture. He also edited a bilingual Greek-Ladino Haggadah for Pessah.

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[Rachel Dalven / Yitzchak Kerem (2nd ed.)]

SCHICK, ABRAHAM BEN ARYEH LOEB (19th century), Lithuanian rabbi and commentator on the Midrash. Schick lived in Slonim during the rabbinate of Isaac Shapira (called Eizel Ḥarif) but held no rabbinical post there. He devoted himself almost entirely to the study of Midrash and *aggadah* and published a number of commentaries on them.

These included *Zera Avraham* (1833), on the *Midrash Proverbs; Me'orei Esh* (1834), with a preface and extensive introduction, on the *Tanna de-Vei Eliyahu; MaḤazeh ha-Shir* (1840), on *Song of Songs Rabbah; Eshed ha-NeḤalim*, in five parts (1843–45), on the *Midrash Rabbah; Ein Avraham* (1848), on Ibn Ḥabib's *Ein Ya'akov*, and also dealing with the commentary to the *aggadot* of the Talmud by Samuel *Edels. Schick edited *Ohel Ya'akov*, the parables to Genesis and Exodus of Jacob Krantz (the Dubner Maggid).

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[Itzhak Alfassi]

SCHICK, BARUCH BEN JACOB (also known as **Baruch Shklover**, from the name of his birthplace, Shklov; 1740?–after 1812), rabbi, physician, and one of the pioneers of *Haskalah of Eastern Europe. Schick was ordained as a rabbi in 1764 and subsequently served as *dayyan* in Minsk. In his youth he was already attracted to the Haskalah and general knowledge. His first scholarly work and his other works were lost in a conflagration. He traveled to London to study medicine and there joined the Freemasons. After qualifying as a doctor he moved to Berlin, where he became acquainted with the *maskilim* of the town, including Moses *Mendelssohn and Naphtali Herz *Wessely. In 1777 Schick published in Berlin Isaac *Israeli's astronomical work *Yesod Olam* from a defective manuscript in the possession of Hirschel b. Aryeh Lob *Levin, and that same year published his *Ammudei Shamayim*, a scientific commentary to Maimonides' *Hilkhot Kiddush ha-Ḥodesh*, adding to it his *Tiferet Adam*, a popular work on anatomy. In 1778, on his way back to Minsk, he visited Vilna and was in the group associated with Elijah b. Solomon (the Gaon of Vilna), in whose name he published a statement on the need for scientific knowledge for an understanding of the Torah. This strengthened Schick's standing in Jewish circles and influenced not only his contemporaries but also subsequent generations. He stated that the Gaon of Vilna advised him to translate scientific works into Hebrew in order to make their contents available to Jews. In the Hague in 1779, he published his *Derekh Yesharah*, on medicine and hygiene, and in 1780 he published from Latin a Hebrew translation of the first part of Euclid's geometry. In 1784 he was in Prague, where he published his *Keneh ha-Middah*, on geometry and trigonometry, which he translated from English (republished by him in Shklov in 1791, together with additional expositions to Maimonides' *Hilkhot Kiddush ha-Ḥodesh*). From Prague he returned to Minsk. After some time he settled in Shklov, and there he belonged to the *maskilim* whose needs were supplied by the wealthy Joshua *Zeitlin of Ustye near Shklov. Toward the end of his life he lived in Slutzk, where he served as *dayyan* and as court physician to Count Radziwill, and where he died. Among the manuscripts he left were a book of medical cures and the translation of the second part of Euclid. Schick devoted his energies to arousing his fellow Jews to the need for studying the arts and sciences. He regarded the neglect of the sciences as caused by the exile. He repeated the accusations of his predecessor, Israel Moses ha-Levi *Zamoscz, against the fanatical rabbis and leaders who persecuted and condemned the *maskilim*. To restore science to its former place of honor, he pleaded for a revival of Hebrew, in which scientific works intended for his people should be written.

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[Abraham David]

SCHICK, BELA (1877–1967), pediatrician. Born in Boglar, Hungary, Schick became an assistant at the Children's Clinic in Vienna and later associate professor of pediatrics at Vienna University. He left Austria for the U.S. and, in 1923, became pediatrician in chief at Mt. Sinai Hospital in New York, and in 1936 clinical professor of pediatrics at Columbia University. Schick was famous for his discovery of a skin test for determining susceptibility to diphtheria, known as the Schick test. This test enabled early diagnosis and treatment and thus made it possible to save thousands of lives. He also made important studies on scarlet fever, tuberculosis, and the nutrition of infants. He described a symptom for tuberculosis of the bronchial glands, known as the Schick sign. His publications include *The Serum Diseases* (with C. Pirquet, 1905), *Scarlet Fever* (with Th. Escherich, 1912), and *Diphtheria* (1931).

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[Suessmann Muntner]

°SCHICK, CONRAD (1822–1901), German resident of Jerusalem, missionary, architect, surveyor, archaeologist, and model-builder. Born in Bitz (near Abingen, Württemberg) Schick was educated as a locksmith-apprentice in Kornthal (near Stuttgart), where he was exposed to the religious atmosphere of pietistic Wuerttemberg. In Basel, he joined Christian Friedrich Spittler's "Pilgrim's Mission" in St. Chrischona. In late summer of 1846 Schick arrived in Jerusalem as one of the first two missionaries sent by Spittler and established the "Bruederhaus" as their missionary center. He left Spittler in 1850 and joined the "London Society for Promoting Christianity among Jews" (London Jews' Society – LJS) as a carpentry teacher in the "House of Industry" educational institution in Jerusalem. In 1857 he became director of the school, serving until 1880. He was also responsible for all LJS assets in Jerusalem and its "house architect and builder." He lived in Jerusalem for 55 years, until his death.

Schick was undoubtedly the most significant and influential scholar among the residents of Jerusalem in the second half of the 19th century, a devoted lover of the city, gifted with a unique "talent for Jerusalem," which derived from his deep-rooted loyalty to the city, the Holy Land, and everything they represent to the devout Christian. In addition, he left his traces on the country's landscape: the monumental buildings he planned and constructed in Jerusalem. Schick engaged in a variety of topics. He is mentioned in most of the research on 19th-century Jerusalem, European and German colonization and settlement in Palestine, the history of Palestine's cartography and archaeology, 19th-century architecture in Jerusalem, and models and relief maps of the city and its monuments.

He took advantage of his ongoing presence, his familiarity with the city and the whole country, and his command of the local as well as European languages. He was involved in almost every study conducted in Jerusalem at the time. His importance reached its peak following the beginning of the organized study of Palestine, marked by the foundation of the PEF and, 12 years later, the German DPV. Schick was for both organizations the best "man in the field," the ideal "research agent." His reports and papers hold an unprecedented treasure of information concerning almost all periods in the history of Jerusalem as well as the present city. Modern researchers, in archaeology as well as history and historical geography, continue to make use of the data in Schick's studies.

He reached his scientific position through diligent work, boundless inquisitiveness, a long process of independent study, and a deep feeling for the country and the city, their history and religious traditions. Schick was an autodidact, combining the describer and reporter, the surveyor, researcher and discoverer. In four decades of scientific work, he published two books, a number of guides to various sites in Jerusalem, and hundreds of articles, reports, maps, and drawings. He participated, in one way or another, in almost all the research conducted in Jerusalem during the last third of the 19th century.

His works concerning the Herodium (Frankenberg), Solomon's Pools, the water aqueducts to Jerusalem, the Siloam inscription, and the subterranean cisterns of the Temple Mount are only some examples of his archaeological involvement and achievements. He was involved in the planning, and sometimes also in the building, of Talitha Kumi, both "Jesus-Hilfe" hospitals for lepers, the LJS sanatorium and the Diaconesses' hospital on Prophets Street, his own residence ("Tabor House") and the "Mahanaim House," the Jewish neighborhood Me'ah She'arim, the Ethiopian Church, and many other monumental buildings. In many of them, he cooperated with Theodor Sandel, an architect who belonged to the Temple Society.

Being one of the heads of the German community in Jerusalem, Schick participated in every local committee. He was a member of a long list of scientific societies. He was decorated by the Austrians and the Germans, and received the title of "royal building consultant" from the King of Württemberg and an honorary doctorate from the University of Tübingen.

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[Haim Goren (2nd ed.)]

SCHICK, MOSES BEN JOSEPH (1807–1879), Hungarian rabbi and *posek*, also known as "Maharam Schick." According to one tradition the name was chosen by the family following the law passed by the Austrian government making it obligatory for Jews to adopt surnames, and it was chosen as forming the initial letters of *Shem Yisrael Kadosh* ("the Jewish name is sacred"). Schick was born in Brezove in the Neutra (Nitra) district of Slovakia. He was orphaned when a child, and at the age of 11 went to study at the yeshivah of his uncle Isaac Frankel in Frauenkirchen. After three years he proceeded to the yeshivah of Moses *Sofer in Pressburg, where he remained for six years. Sofer recommended him as a suitable incumbent for the vacant post at Vergin near Pressburg, and he served there about 24 years. In 1861 he agreed to accept the rabbinate of Khust, where he established a yeshivah and remained until his death. Among his many pupils special mention may be made of Zussman Sofer of Paks, Zalman Spitzer of Vienna, and Wolf Sofer of Budapest, who are frequently mentioned in his responsa.

Schick fought against the Reform movement. Following the Braunschweig conference (1844) and the resolutions adopted there, he wrote in a responsum (YD 331) that the men assembled "are not rabbis but Karaites. They don the cloaks of rabbis in order to deceive and to act like the serpent. Some are not qualified in *halakhah* or as rabbis, but have become rabbis overnight." He protested especially against the resolution permitting mixed marriages. His call for a united front of Orthodox Jewry against the Reform movement was not accepted at that time. Following the publication in Hungary in 1867 of the law granting autonomy to the Jews and the demand of the Reformers to convene a congress to discuss the organization of the communities and education, Schick gave his full support to the plan to found an independent communal organization. In the Budapest congress of 1869, he fought for complete separation from the Reformers. In a lengthy responsum (OḤ 309) he details all the plans and proposals of the Reformers in order to justify his decision. Following the majority decision of the Austrian parliament in favor of the claims of the Orthodox community, the Landes-Organisations Statuten were formulated that were later confirmed in 1871. Schick, in a responsum of 1872, encouraged the acceptance of these statutes and opposed the principle of preserving the status quo (OḤ 307, 310). When the controversy broke out between Samson Raphael *Hirsch of Frankfurt and Seligmann Baer *Bamberger of Wuerzburg on whether to cooperate with the Reformers or form separatist congregations, Bamberger ruling that it was permitted to form one community with them, Schick protested in his responsum (OḤ 306), and under his influence Bamberger's view was rejected and Hirsch's opinion in favor of separation accepted.

Despite all his vigorous opposition to Reform, Schick took a moderate stand in certain matters. Thus he resisted the demand of the Orthodox rabbis for a prohibition against preaching in the vernacular, stating that "in the case of a God-fearing man, who we are certain is a talmudic scholar, and who preaches in the vernacular, and whose sole intention is to extend the border of our holy Torah … I find no reason to forbid him where the Congregation only wishes to listen in the vernacular, or if he does not do so they will appoint another who is unfit" (OḤ 70), and he refused to sign the *takkanah* of the rabbis which was adopted at the instigation of the extremist Hillel Lichtenstein, "that it is forbidden to preach or to listen to a sermon in a non–Jewish tongue." His love for the old *yishuv* in Ereẓ Israel is reflected in his polemic against Graetz's pamphlet *Mikhtav Zikkaron* ("Memorial Letter") which calumniated the organization of the old *yishuv* and protested especially against **ḥalukkah*, the lack of schools, and the paucity of secular knowledge.

Schick was a prolific respondent. Almost 1,000 of his responsa are extant: 345 on *Oraḥ Ḥayyim* (Munkacz, 1880), 410 on *Yoreh De'ah* (1881), 155 on *Even ha-Ezer* (Lemberg, 1884), and 62 on *Ḥoshen Mishpat* (*ibid.*). A new edition in two volumes was published in New York in 1961. He also published glosses to the *Mitzvot ha-Shem* (Pressburg, 1846) of Baruch b. Ẓevi Hirsch Heilprin and expositions and novellae on the 613 commandments, in two parts (Munkacz, 1895–98). The work on the 613 precepts was originally larger, but when Joseph *Babad's *Minḥat Ḥinnukh* (1869) was published first, Schick was distressed, saying that the latter had anticipated half his work, and as a result he abbreviated it. Also published were aggadic novellae on *Avot* (Paks, 1890); *Maharam Schick*, on the Pentateuch (Munkacz, 1905), and on *Ḥullin* (Satmar, undated); and *Derashot* (new edition 1968), including discourses given by him during the years 1839–72. His son, Joseph, published his father's works (OḤ 264) and wrote a short introduction to the *Yoreh De'ah* section of the responsa. Schick's son-in-law was Jacob Prager (OḤ 184; EH 99, 136), whose novellae are quoted at the beginning of Schick's responsa to *Yoreh De'ah*.

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[Yehoshua Horowitz]

°**SCHICKARD, WILHELM** (**Schickhard**, **Schickart**, **Guillielmus Schick(h)ardus**; 1592–1635), German *Hebraist, Orientalist, mathematician, and astronomer. Born in Herrenberg, Wuerttemberg, Schickard initially studied theology and became a Lutheran pastor; but he then began to devote his attention to Oriental languages and the sciences. In 1619 he was appointed professor of Hebrew at the University of Tuebingen, where he broadened his knowledge of Semitics and published several works displaying his profound erudition in Hebrew and rabbinic studies. In 1631 Schickard was appointed to the chair of astronomy at Tuebingen, after which he wrote many scientific treatises, but also continued to lecture on Hebrew until his death of the plague at the age of 43.

In the *Horologium Hebraeum* (Tuebingen, 1614), Schickard provided a highly intensified course in the Hebrew language, and the book was reprinted several times during the following decades. In another work, *BeḤinat ha-Perushim… hoc est examinis commentationum rabbinicarum in Mosen prodromus…* (*ibid.*, 1621), he condemned the practical Kabbalah, and went so far as to berate Johann *Reuchlin for taking it seriously. Schickard, who corresponded with Johannes Buxtorf II, also published *Mishpat ha-Melekh: Jus regium Hebraeorum* (1625); the quaintly entitled *Purim, sive Bacchanalia Judaeorum* (1633); and *Ecologae sacrae Veteris Testamenti Hebraeo-Latinae* (1633), in Latin and Hebrew, which contained extracts from the Bible, the Targum, and the Mishnah. His *Arbor Derivationis Hebraeae*, issued by his son, appeared posthumously in 1698 and his *Nova et plenior Grammatica Hebraica* in Tuebingen in 1731.

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[Godfrey Edmond Silverman / Aya Elyada (2nd ed.)]

SCHIDLOWSKY, LEON (1931–), Israeli composer. Born in Santiago, Chile, Schidlowsky first studied piano and later harmony and composition at the National Conservatory of Music in Santiago. He continued his studies in Germany (1952–55). Returning to Chile, he was active in promoting contemporary music and in 1967 became professor of composition at the University of Chile. He immigrated to Israel in 1969 and was appointed professor of composition at the Rubin Academy of Music at Tel Aviv University. Schidlowsky was in charge of musical education at the Hebrew Institute in Santiago, and a number of his works dating from that time express the recent sufferings of the Jewish people – *Kristallnacht Symphony, Lamentation, Memento, Kaddish*, and others. In Israel he wrote *Babi Yar,* for piano, percussion, and strings (1970); *Serenata*, for chamber orchestra (1970); and *Rabbi Akiva*, for soloists, choir, and orchestra (1972). His work *Dadayamasong*, a dramatic scene for voice, clarinet, alto saxophone, cello, piano, and percussion, received a prize at the UNESCO International Composer's Rostrum (1976). He wrote in a variety of styles, from atonality to aleatory and graphic compositions, and was one of the most dedicated and consistent representatives of the innovative avant-garde in Israel.

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[Uri (Erich) Toeplitz and Yohanan Boehm /
Jehoash Hirshberg (2nd ed.)]

SCHIFF, ADAM (1960–), U.S. lawyer, congressman. Schiff represents California's 29th Congressional District, including the communities of Alhambra, Altadena, Burbank, Glendale, Griffith Park, Monterey Park, Pasadena, San Gabriel, South Pasadena, and Temple City. Born in Framingham, Massachusetts, he is a graduate of Stanford (1982) and Harvard Law School (1985). Schiff served with the U.S. Attorney's Office in Los Angeles for six years (1987–93), most notably prosecuting the first FBI agent ever to be indicted for espionage. He ran for the State Assembly three times and lost to James Rogan twice. First elected to the State Senate in 1996, he was its youngest member. He chaired its Judiciary Committee and the Joint Committee on the Arts. He spearheaded legislative efforts to guarantee up-to-date textbooks in the classroom, overhaul child support, and pass a patient's bill of rights. He also taught political science at a local community college.

In 2000 he ran for Congress, defeating incumbent James Rogan, who had served on the House Judiciary Committee and pushed the impeachment of President Bill Clinton. Much of his initial support came from a backlash against Rogan. At the time, it was the most expensive race in history and one of the very few in which the impeachment was the issue. Hollywood mogul David *Geffen raised millions of dollars to defeat Rogan.

Schiff was a member of the House Judiciary Committee and the House International Relations Committee. He continued his interest in education. He was a self-described moderate and joined the "Blue Dog Democrats." He served on the Judiciary Subcommittee on Crime, Terrorism and Homeland Security and the Subcommittee on the Constitution. As congressman he introduced the Deadly Biological Agent Control Act to bolster the security at labs that stock agents such as anthrax, and the Sky Police Act to increase air security by training local police to serve as air marshals. He also introduced the Air Cargo Security Act to ensure that all air cargo on passenger planes be screened for explosives.

In March 2003, Schiff joined Reps. David Scott and Steve Israel in forming the Democratic Study Group on National Security in an effort to educate, inform, and develop policy on emerging national security issues. The group has hosted a wide range of speakers on topics such as international terrorism, defense, military transformation, shifting alliances, Iraq, homeland security, non-proliferation, Iran, Korea, the United Nations, and missile defense.

He also introduced the Rim of the Valley Corridor Study Act to enlist the National Park Service in protecting open space in Southern California. A member of the bipartisan House Education Caucus comprised of former educators, Congressman Schiff fought to expand opportunities for students. He introduced the Access to Higher Education Act to increase federal aid to students in public colleges, was instrumental in crafting legislation to create federal merit grants for students who excel in math and science, and cosponsored legislation to refocus national education policy on helping states and local school districts raise academic achievement levels. Schiff also supported federal assistance for class-size reduction, music and art education, and after-school programs.

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[Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

SCHIFF, ANDRÁS (1953–), pianist. Born in Budapest, he started piano lessons with Elisabeth Vadasz and made his debut at the age of nine. He continued his musical studies at the Franz Liszt Academy, and later in London with George Malcolm. After winning prizes at the Tchaikovsky Competition in Moscow (1974) and at the Leeds International Competition (1975), Schiff embarked upon an international career. He gained recognition for his insightful and intellectual interpretations of the music of Bach. Recitals and special cycles of Bach, Haydn, Mozart, Beethoven, Schubert, Chopin, Schumann, and Bartók formed an important part of his activities, and he moved easily between solo recitals, concertos, ensemble playing, and the use of singers (notably Peter Schreier) and instrumentalists. He increasingly conducted performances of concertos from the keyboard. Schiff was the founder and the artistic director from 1989 to 1998 of the annual Musiktage Mondsee. In 1999 he created his own chamber orchestra, the Cappella Andrea Barca. His Haydn festival in the Wigmore Hall won the Royal Philharmonic Society/Charles Heidsieck Award for the best concert series of 1988–89, and in 1989 he was awarded the Wiener Flötenuhr, the Mozart Prize of the City of Vienna. He was also awarded the Bartók Prize (1991); the Claudio Arrau Memorial Medal from the Robert Schumann Society (1994); the Kossuth Prize, the highest Hungarian honor (1996); and the Musikfest-Preis Bremen (for outstanding international artistic achievement) in 2003. In 2001 he became a British citizen. Among his publications are "Schubert's Piano Sonatas: Thoughts about Interpretation and Performance," in *Schubert Studies* (1998), 191–208.

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[Naama Ramot (2nd ed.)]

SCHIFF, DAVID TEVELE (d. 1792), rabbi of the Great Synagogue, London, from 1765 until his death. He was born in Frankfurt and served as *Maggid* ("preacher") in Vienna, head of the *bet ha-midrash* in Worms, and *dayyan* in Frankfurt. His rabbinate in London was marked by the continued growth of the Ashkenazi population (symbolized by the enlargement of the Great Synagogue in 1766), and by the progressive (though sometimes reluctant) recognition of the rabbi of the Great Synagogue as head of all English Ashkenazim. When the Hambro' Synagogue appointed Meshullam Zalman (Israel Solomon), grandson of Jacob *Emden, as their rabbi, most provincial Ashkenazim still recognized the authority of Schiff, but in *Portsmouth there was a bitter split on the issue. After Meshullam Zalman left London in 1780, Schiff acted for the Hambro' Synagogue also and the rift ended. Overworked and underpaid, he tried unsuccessfully to obtain appointments at Rotterdam and Wuerzburg. Schiff's responsa *Leshon Zahav* were published posthumously by his son (Offenbach, 1822). Several of his sermons are still extant, but his letters to Lord George *Gordon, refusing to receive him into the synagogue, have not been preserved.

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[Vivian David Lipman]

SCHIFF, DOROTHY (1903–1989), U.S. newspaper publisher. Born in New York City, she was daughter of Jacob *Schiff. Early interest in civic affairs led her to join the Ellis Island Investigating Commission and the Women's Trade Union League of New York. She became a director of the Henry Street Settlement and of Mount Sinai Hospital, and in 1937 was appointed by Mayor Fiorello LaGuardia to the New York City Board of Child Welfare. Her association with the liberal *New York Post* began in 1939. In 1942 she became president and publisher, and later editor in chief. She was the first woman newspaper publisher in New York. Under her direction, the paper grew in circulation and revenue. When, in the 1960s, many metropolitan newspapers in the U.S. were forced to suspend publication, the *New York Post* continued to thrive. Eventually it became the only evening newspaper in New York City. In 1976 she sold the *Post* to publisher Rupert Murdoch but remained a consultant to the paper until 1981. Schiff was married to publisher George Backer, newspaper editor Theodore O. Thackrey, and Zionist leader Rudolph *Sonneborn.

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[Lawrence H. Feigenbaum]

SCHIFF, HUGO (1834–1915), Italian organic chemist. Born in Frankfurt, Schiff was the brother of physiologist Moritz Schiff. He left Germany for political reasons. He was at University of Berne, Switzerland, and then joined his brother in Florence, where he was a professor at the Istituto di Studi Superiori (1863–66). He later worked in Pisa and the University of Turin (1876–79) and then returned to his professorship in Florence (1879). Compounds obtained from an aldehyde or a ketone and a primary amine are still known as "Schiff bases."

SCHIFF, JACOB HENRY (1847–1920), U.S. financier and philanthropist. Born in Frankfurt, Germany, he was the descendant of a distinguished rabbinical family (see *Schiff, Meir b. Jacob). He received a thorough secular and religious education at the local school of the Israelitische Religionsgesellschaft, then followed his father, Moses, who was associated with the Rothschild banking firm, into that occupation. At the age of 18 Schiff immigrated to the United States, entered a brokerage firm in New York, and became a partner in Budge, Schiff and Co. In 1875 he married the daughter of Solomon Loeb, head of the banking firm of Kuhn, Loeb and Co., and entered that firm. Schiff's remarkable financial abilities were recognized when he was named head of Kuhn, Loeb in 1885.

Schiff's firm soon became one of the two most powerful private investment banking houses in the United States, participating actively in fostering the rapid industrialization of the U.S. economy during the late 19th and early 20th century. Such firms as Westinghouse Electric, U.S. Rubber, Armour, and American Telephone and Telegraph were financed to some extent through Kuhn, Loeb's efforts. In addition, Schiff served as director or adviser of numerous banks, insurance companies, and other enterprises. His role in the consolidation and expansion of the American railroad network, the backbone of an industrialized society, was particularly influential. He gave his support to Edward H. Harriman in the reorganization of the Union Pacific Railroad and was a staunch associate of James J. Hill of the Great Northern Railway for many years. Huge sums were obtained by Kuhn, Loeb for the Pennsylvania, Baltimore and Ohio, and other railroad systems.

Schiff was prominently involved in floating loans to the government at home and to foreign nations, the most spectacular being a bond issue of $200,000,000 for Japan at the time of the Russo-Japanese War in 1904–05. Deeply angered by the antisemitic policies of the czarist regime in Russia, he was delighted to support the Japanese war effort. He consistently refused to participate in loans on behalf of Russia and used his influence to prevent other firms from underwriting Russian loans, while providing financial support for Russian Jewish *self-defense groups. Schiff carried this policy into World War I, relenting only after the fall of czarism in 1917. At that time, he undertook to support the Kerensky government with a substantial loan.

It was said of Schiff that "nothing Jewish was alien to his heart." Personally devout, proud of his family and religious heritage, Schiff used his immense personal wealth and influence on behalf of his coreligionists everywhere. His widespread philanthropic activities and communal interests brought him recognition as the foremost figure of his time in American Jewry. Although affiliated with Temple Emanu-El and the Reform movement in the United States, Schiff retained many of the Orthodox habits of his youth. He was especially active in the establishment and development of the Jewish Theological Seminary, viewing it as the fountainhead for a "reasonable Orthodoxy" attractive to the masses of newly arrived immigrants. Other institutions of Jewish learning, including Yeshivath Rabbi Isaac Elchanan (later Yeshiva College and University), as well as Hebrew Union College, received generous support from Schiff. Realizing the need for trained religious teachers, he provided funds for the establishment of Teachers' Institutes at the Jewish Theological Seminary and Hebrew Union College. When the New York Kehillah was organized, Schiff made substantial contributions to its Bureau of Jewish Education and supported the Uptown Talmud Torah in New York and similar schools.

Schiff had a deep interest in Jewish literature and contributed generously to the Jewish Publication Society. He provided funds for a new English translation of the Bible by Jewish scholars and established a fund for the translation and publication of a series of Hebrew classics. His donations aided the publication of the *Jewish Encyclopedia*; the acquisition by the Library of Congress and the Jewish Theological Seminary Library of major collections of rare books and manuscripts; and the establishment of the Jewish Division of the New York Public Library. His philanthropies were accompanied in many cases by intense personal participation. For example, not only was he a major contributor to the Montefiore Hospital in New York, of which he was president for 35 years, but he managed to visit there almost weekly. There were few Jewish institutions in New York or elsewhere. which did not benefit from Schiff's attention and funds. Such agencies as the Hebrew Free Loan Society, Educational Alliance, Home for Aged and Infirm Hebrews, YMHA, United Hebrew Charities, Jewish Protectory and Aid Society, and Hebrew Technical School, were among those receiving his aid. He was a large-scale contributor to the relief of victims of Russian pogroms (1903–05), to the American Jewish Relief Committee during World War I, and to postwar European Jewish relief. Schiff, who had access to American presidents, used his influence with them in urging U.S. support on behalf of Jews victimized in Eastern Europe. In 1906 he joined with other Jewish leaders in the formation of the American Jewish Committee and subsequently took a very active part in its efforts to protect the rights of Jews abroad and in the United States. Offended by Russia's refusal to honor passports held by American Jews, Schiff was prominent in the successful campaign to abrogate the Russo-American Treaty of 1832. During World War I, Schiff and the established American Jewish leadership came under increasing fire from newer, Zionist-oriented Jewish groups. He had strongly opposed the Zionist movement, rejecting it as a secular, nationalistic perversion of the Jewish faith, incompatible with American citizenship. On the other hand, he did aid agricultural projects and the Haifa Technical Institute in Palestine. Recognizing changing world conditions, Schiff announced in 1917 his support of a cultural homeland in Palestine for the Jewish people.

Proud of his Americanism, Schiff contributed generously in time and money to a multitude of civic activities and philanthropies. He donated $1,000,000 to Barnard College; contributed funds to establish the Semitic Museum at Harvard University as well as large sums to other universities; and supported the Henry Street Settlement, the American Red Cross, Tuskegee Institute, and countless others. He served on the New York City Board of Education, was vice president of the Chamber of Commerce, and participated in several special mayoral commissions. Although linked by family and cultural ties to Germany, Schiff patriotically supported the American war effort when the United States entered World War I.

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[Morton Rosenstock]

SCHIFF, MEIR BEN JACOB HA-KOHEN (known as the **MaHaRaM**; **M**orenu **H**a-**R**av **M**eir Schiff; 1605–1641), talmudist and rabbinic author. Born in Frankfurt, where his father was a member of the *bet din* and a communal leader, Schiff was, in his early youth, considered a scholar of unusual ability. While still a boy, he turned to *Meir of Lublin with halakhic problems. At the age of 17, he was appointed rabbi of the important community of Fulda, where he also headed a notable yeshivah. He wrote down the essence of his lectures, novellae, and comments, which extend over the whole Talmud, but most of it was destroyed by fire in 1711. There exists a tradition that he was appointed rabbi of Prague in 1641. However, if the statement of his grandson is to be trusted, namely, that he lived only 36 years, he must have died immediately after his appointment. The novellae *Maharam Schiff* were published in Homburg-vor-der Hoehe (on Beẓah, Ket., Git., BM, and Ḥul., in 1737, and on Shab., BK, BB, Sanh., and Zev., in 1741). They were much sought after by students and were regarded as essential for the study of Talmud. Many editions were published, and they were also incorporated in the standard editions of the Talmud. A new annotated edition of his novellae on *Gittin* was published by S. Schlesinger in 1963.

Schiff avoids the casuistic manner that was prevalent in the yeshivot in his time and strives to arrive at an understanding of the text as its stands. For this reason, he also opposed suggestions that the traditional readings were faulty. In writing of *pilpul*, he complains of "the ink that has been spilled and the pens broken to give pilpulisitc interpretations to passages of the Talmud which I am able to explain according to this plain meaning." His books are distinguished by brevity and clarity of language. He takes special care to stress that he does not wish to give halakhic decisions, referring the reader on each occasion to the relevant halakhic literature. At the end of each tractate he gives an exposition connecting the tractate concluded with the one about to be studied at the yeshivah. In consequence, it is possible to determine the exact dates and order in which he taught. His novellae bear witness to his intellectual integrity. On more than one occasion he writes "I was mistaken," "There is no value in all I have written." He was acquainted with the works of his contemporaries, such as Solomon b. Jehiel *Luria, Samuel *Edels, and Meir of Lublin, and more than once disparages their views, belittling and scorning them with such phrases as "this is fit for children," "empty words," "he extends himself over a few futile difficulties." Because of the large interval between the writing and publication of his work, many errors crept in. Consequently many supercommentaries have been written, the most well known and the best being that of Mordecai Mardush of Poritsk, which is printed in the standard editions of the Talmud.

The many sermons appended to his books reveal that Schiff was a strong personality who did not hesitate to rebuke his community about those matters of which he disapproved. He accuses many of the communal leaders of desecrating the Sabbath, of not studying the Torah, of failing to support scholars, and of other offenses. His style in preaching does not differ from that of his contemporaries. Here he does permit himself the use of *pilpul*, although he eschewed it in the study of the Talmud. He also wrote on kabbalistic themes. The Schiff family of bankers are among his descendants.

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[Itzhak Alfassi]

SCHIFFMAN, LAWRENCE H. (1948–), U.S. Judaic scholar. Born in New York and educated at Brandeis University (B.A., M.A. 1970, Ph.D. 1974), Schiffman taught at the University of

Minnesota (1971–72), Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion, New York (1975–79, 1983, and 1986), and from 1972 at New York University, where he was named Edelman Professor and chairman and director of undergraduate studies of the Skirball Department of Hebrew and Judaic Studies. He was a visiting professor at Yale, Ben-Gurion, Duke, Johns Hopkins, Toronto, and other universities, and lectured widely at universities and other public forums. Schiffman was the program director of NYU's excavations at Tel Dor, in conjunction with The Hebrew University and the Israel Exploration Society (1980–83), and was a fellow of the Institute for Advanced Studies at The Hebrew University of Jerusalem (1989–90). He served on the editorial board of the journal *Dead Sea Discoveries* from 1994. He was a fellow of the Association for Jewish Studies, the American Academy for Jewish Research, the Society for Biblical Literature (Qumran Section), and the Dead Sea Scrolls Foundation, among other scholarly and professional associations. He was a member of the editorial board for the Oxford Dead Sea Scrolls publication project *Discoveries in the Judean Desert* from 1991 until its completion in 2002 and co-edited the *Oxford Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (with J.C. VanderKam, 2000). He was one of the organizers, and a director, of the Friedberg Genizah Project (1999–2002). He was the recipient of numerous grants for his work on the Dead Sea Scrolls and the Cairo Genizah texts.

Schiffman is a leading scholarly authority on early post-biblical Judaism, with a particular interest in the Dead Sea Scrolls. He is known not only to the scholarly community but to the general public, having been featured in several television documentaries on the Qumran discoveries. Schiffman's major work, *Reclaiming the Dead Sea Scrolls* (1994), argues that the Qumran community was founded by a schismatic Sadducean sect, rather than by a (proto-Christian) group of Essenes, and that not all the texts originated at Qumran. Among his other books are *The Halakhah at Qumran* (1975), *Sectarian Law in the Dead Sea Scrolls: Courts, Testimony, and the Penal Code* (1983), *Who Was a Jew? Rabbinic and Halakhic Perspectives on the Jewish-Christian Schism* (1985), *From Text to Tradition: A History of Judaism in Second Temple and Rabbinic Times* (with Michael Swartz, 1989), *The Eschatological Community of the Dead Sea Scrolls: A Study of the Rule of the Congregation* (1989), *Hebrew and Aramaic Incantation Texts from the Cairo Genizah* (1992), *Halakhah, Halikhah U-Meshiḥiyyut bi-Megillot Midbar Yehudah* (*Law, Custom, and Messianism in the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 1993), and *Texts and Traditions: A Source Reader for the Study of Second Temple and Rabbinic Judaism* (1998). He also edited a number of volumes of scholarly papers and essays and published many scholarly articles and reviews.

[Drew Silver (2nd ed.)]

SCHIFRIN, LALO (**Boris**; 1932–), composer, pianist, and conductor of Argentinian birth. He studied music, piano, and harmony in Buenos Aires and later in the Paris Conservatoire (1950), guided by Koechlin and Messiaen. Returning home, he established himself as a composer, arranger, conductor, and pianist who was equally at ease in popular, jazz, and art-music circles. He founded Argentina's first big band and later moved to New York (1958). There he played the piano in Dizzy Gillespie's jazz quintet (1960–62) and recorded with other known jazz artists. From 1962 to the early 1980s Schifrin concentrated on composition. He went to Hollywood (1964) and wrote numerous scores for both television and the cinema, including the memorable themes to *Mission Impossible* and *Dirty Harry*.

His works often involve jazz, funk, and disco elements, as well as a synthesis of contemporary art-music elements. Schifrin wrote many vocal and instrumental works in other fields, including concertos, suites, an oratorio (*The Rise and Fall of the Third Reich*, 1967), ballets and symphonic pieces. Among his later commissions was *Fantasy for Screenplay and Orchestra* (2002–3). Schifrin taught composition at UCLA (1968–71) but, from the 1980s onwards, concentrated on conducting, performing with leading orchestras such as the London Philharmonic and Symphony Orchestras, the Vienna SO, the Los Angeles Philharmonic, and the Israel Philharmonic. He conducted several concerts of the "Three Tenors" and was appointed music director of the Glendale SO (1989–1995). During his illustrious career, Schifrin received four Grammy Awards and six Oscar nominations. Among his other honors were BMI Lifetime Achievement Award (1988), Distinguished Artist Award (1998), and honorary doctorates. He was honored by the Israeli government for his "Contributions to World Understanding through Music" and by the SACEM and Cannes Film Festival in recognition of his significant contribution to music, film and culture.

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[Naama Ramot (2nd ed.)]

SCHILD, EDWIN (1920–), rabbi and community leader. Schild was born in Koeln-Muelheim (Cologne), Germany, and spent his teenage years under Nazi restrictions and persecution. In 1938, while he was attending the Jewish Teacher's Seminary in Wuerzburg, Schild survived *Kristallnacht*, only to be picked up by the Nazis and incarcerated in the Dachau concentration camp. He was released on condition that he emigrate. Early in 1939 Schild was able to arrange passage through the Netherlands to continue his studies at Yeshiva Torath Emeth in London, England, where he remained until May 1940. As the threat of a German invasion of the U.K. loomed and fears grew of covert Nazi agents, Schild was caught up in the mass internments of "enemy aliens." He was one of more than 2,200 mostly Jewish German and Austrian refugees transfered to Canada and incarcerated in detention camps. Although Canadian authorities were soon aware that most of the internees were legitimate refugees, anti-Jewish sentiment within the government kept the refugees locked behind barbed wire. Schild was interned from July 1940 to

February 1942. He was able to continue his studies within the camps and, when released, completed his academic and rabbinical studies in Toronto.

The senior rabbi of Toronto's Conservative Adath Israel Congregation from 1947 to 1989, Rabbi Schild, whose parents perished in the Shoah, devoted his career to promoting cross-cultural and interfaith relations. He chaired the Canadian Division of the Rabbinical Assembly of America and the Canada-Israel Committee, Ontario Region, and was an active board member of the Christian-Jewish Dialogue and honored with the Human Relations Award from the Canadian Council of Christians and Jews. In retirement he remained active as rabbi emeritus and embarked on yearly lecture tours of Germany, where he continued his interfaith efforts. In 2001 Rabbi Schild became a Member of the Order of Canada. He wrote *The Very Narrow Bridge. A Memoir of an Uncertain Passage* (2001).

[Paula Draper (2nd ed.)]

SCHILDER, PAUL FERDINAND (1886–1940), Austrian psychiatrist and psychoanalyst. Schilder was born in Vienna and studied medicine. His involvement with philosophic problems brought him to psychiatry; the year of his graduation he published three papers on neuropathological subjects. In 1914 his study of symbolism in schizophrenia intensified his earlier interest in Freud's work. Schilder combined concepts of the somatopsychic with Freud's idea of body ego and thus arrived at his own formulation of the body image. Along with his increasing interest in psychological and psychoanalytic problems, Schilder retained his deep interest in neuropathology, especially in early perception. The interrelation of the organic and psychological was to characterize Schilder's work for the rest of his life.

He published *Selbstbewusstsein und Persoenlichkeitsbewusstsein* (1914), in which he applied the principles of Edmund *Husserl's phenomenology to the psychiatric problem of depersonalization. After serving in World War I Schilder returned to Vienna to join the staff of Julius von Wagner-Jauregg's psychiatric clinic. He was invited to become a member of the Vienna Psychoanalytic Society, and in 1920 he delivered his first paper, "Identification," before the society. While at the clinic he wrote on the psychogenic aspects of organic conditions of the brain and published *Seele und Leben* (1923); *Medizinische Psychologie* (1923; *Medical Psychology*, 1953); and *Entwurf zu einer Psychiatrie auf psychoanalytischer Grundlage* (1925; *Introduction to a Psychoanalytic Psychiatry*, 1952).

In 1928 Schilder accepted the invitation of Adolf Meyer to go to the Johns Hopkins University Medical School. He was appointed clinical director of psychiatry at Bellevue Hospital and research professor of psychiatry at New York University College of Medicine in 1930. Schilder's later publications include *Brain and Personality* (1951) and *The Image and Appearance of the Human Body* (1935). He continued his teaching and research with various coworkers, especially with Lauretta Bender, whom he married in 1937. He pioneered psychoanalytic group therapy and finally became interested in child psychology, in which field he was critical of many aspects of Freud's conclusions.

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[Louis Miller]

SCHILDKRAUT, RUDOLPH (1862–1930), German actor; a star of the European and American theater. Born in Istanbul, Schildkraut grew up in Romania, and studied in Vienna. He subsequently acted in Vienna, Hamburg, and Berlin and won acclaim on the German stage with his portrayal of Shylock, which remained one of his great roles. Another of his notable characterizations was Jankel Shabshowitz in Sholem *Asch's *God of Vengeance* (1918). For five years he played at the Deutsches Schauspielhaus and then at Max *Reinhardt's theater. Going for a few years to America in 1911, he appeared for a season in the Yiddish theater, after which he resumed playing in German and English. The Yiddish plays in which he starred ranged from *Kreutzer Sonata*, based on Tolstoy, to *Shomer's *Eikele Mazik*. Back in Germany, he performed in movies such as *Der Shylock von Krakau* (1913), *Daemon und Mensch* (1915), and *Schlemihl* (1915), in which he acted alongside his son, Joseph, in the latter's debut. After the family immigrated to America, he appeared in films such as *His People* (1925), *The King of Kings* (1927), *A Ship Comes In* (1928), and *Christina* (1929).

His son, JOSEPH SCHILDKRAUT (1896–1964), grew up in Vienna, spent three years (1910–13) at the Academy of Dramatic Arts in New York during a tour his family made in America, but made his stage debut in Berlin under Max Reinhardt, in 1913. Returning to the United States he acted in *Liliom* (1921–23) and *Peer Gynt* (1923) for Theater Guild, then went to Hollywood and into a film career. He starred in many pictures and for a time managed the Hollywood Playhouse. Among his many roles, he appeared as Alfred Dreyfus in the movie *The Life of Emile Zola* (1937), for which he received the 1938 Academy Award for the Best Supporting Actor, and the heroine's father in *The Diary of Anne Frank* (1959). Schildkraut was an actor of vivid personality and wide range. His autobiography, *My Father and I*, appeared in 1950.

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[Joseph Leftwich / Noam Zadoff (2nd ed.)]

SCHILLER, ARMAND (1857–?), French journalist. Born near Paris, Schiller worked in his father's printing house, studied law, and wrote for various papers. In 1879 he became general secretary of the editorial board of the daily *Le Temps* and held that position for many years. He was a professor at the Ecole du Journalisme, was made a member of the Legion of Honor in 1892, and elected syndic of the Association Professionelle des Journalistes in 1897.

°SCHILLER, FRIEDRICH VON (1759–1805), German poet, playwright, and philosopher, whose works influenced Hebrew literature and the *Haskalah. Schiller had only a few Jewish contacts, although he knew the writings of Moses *Mendelssohn and had a high regard for Solomon *Maimon. Schiller's stage adaptation of 1801 popularized *Lessing's *Nathan der Weise*. In his own writings there are only a few allusions to Jews. Perhaps the most intriguing of these is Moritz Spiegelberg, a character in his early drama *Die Raeuber* (1781). Though not explicitly presented as a Jew, Spiegelberg occasionally lapses into a Judeo-German idiom, speaks of Judaizing, and even refers to a project for the reestablishment of a Jewish state. In this portrayal Schiller may have had in mind the ideas diffused at the time in his native Wuerttemberg by followers of Jacob *Frank. Although Ludwig *Geiger and others denied that the character was a Jew, the Nazis inevitably presented him as one. During the 1920s, Erwin Piscator's Berlin production of *Die Raeuber* presented Spiegelberg in the guise of Leon *Trotsky.

There are echoes of biblical style in Schiller's poems, as in the ode to joy, "*An die Freude*," and in his dramas. While Schiller praised the "Hebrew nation" as important for "universal history" in his treatise *Ueber die Sendung Moses* (1790), he also adopted the hostile Bible interpretation quoted by *Voltaire, claiming that leprosy was the chief cause of the *Exodus from Egypt.

Translations and imitations of Schiller's poems and plays were published by *maskilim* in Galicia, and later in Russian Poland, notably by Abraham Ber *Gottlober, Micah Joseph *Lebensohn, Meir Halevi *Letteris, and Solomon Judah *Rapoport. Between 1817 and 1957 almost 60 Hebrew versions of works by Schiller by more than 80 translators were published. They include *Bialik's translation of the drama *Wilhelm Tell*. Yiddish parodies of Schiller's poems were extremely popular; Orthodox homes which banned other non-religious literature made an exception in the case of his works. German Jews, too, showed admiration for Schiller. *Heine, who parodied "*An die Freude*" in his "*Prinzessin Sabbat*," praised Schiller as the poet of freedom and internationalism. Ludwig August *Frankl and Leopold *Kompert showed their admiration for him in establishing a Schiller Stiftung to propagate his works, and rabbis, including Samson Raphael *Hirsch, eulogized him in their sermons. Jews stressed the poet's quest for a physical and spiritual freedom untrammeled by nationalist dogma, his belief in human equality influenced by *Rousseau, and his idealism. They identified Schiller with Germany and Germany with Europe, seeing in Schiller's writings the bridge to European culture.

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SCHILLER (formerly **Blankenstein**), **SOLOMON** (1879–1925), Hebrew educator and Zionist writer. Born near Bialystok, Schiller moved to Lvov to avoid conscription. His pamphlet in Polish on Jewish nationality and his articles dealt with the ideological basis for Zionism. He participated in the First Zionist Congress in Basle (1897) and laid the foundations for a nationalist Hebrew education in Galicia. In 1910 Schiller emigrated to Ereẓ Israel and settled in Jerusalem, where he was a teacher and later principal of the Jerusalem Reḥavyah Gymnasium. His published articles were collected and edited by Rabbi Binyamin in *Kitvei Shelomo Schiller* (1927).

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[Getzel Kressel]

SCHILLER-SZINESSY, SOLOMON MAYER (1820–1890), rabbi and scholar. Born in Altofen (Budapest), Schiller received a traditional rabbinic education, attending Hungarian and other institutions, notably the Lutheran College at Eperjes (Presov); he graduated from the University of Jena in 1845. At Eperjes Schiller was given a faculty appointment for Hebrew and also became the local rabbi, and the atmosphere of tolerance in the college influenced him permanently. He succeeded markedly in child education, and through his eloquence in the pulpit, he fostered Hungarian patriotism. His rabbinical teachers, who included Aaron *Chorin, were moderates, but in 1845 he vigorously attacked in print the Reform resolutions of the Frankfurt Rabbinical Conference. During the Hungarian revolution, led by Kossuth (1848–49), Schiller added the Magyar "Szinessy" to his name and enlisted; he was wounded and captured but escaped from Temesvár via Trieste to England, where in 1851 he became rabbi of Manchester. While endeavoring to keep traditionalists and would-be reformers together, he became embroiled with the chief rabbi Nathan *Adler by attempting to extend his ecclesiastical jurisdiction over northern England; he was then persuaded by the reformers to join their new dissident synagogue, although his personal practice and outlook remained strongly traditional throughout his life. Schiller resigned his rabbinical post in 1860 and moved in 1863 to Cambridge. His bibliographical erudition earned him the appointment in 1866 as teacher (later reader) of talmudic and rabbinic literature at Cambridge University. He was the first professing Jew formally entrusted by Cambridge with the subject, and he taught and inspired a distinguished list of gentile rabbinical scholars, which included C. Taylor and W.H. Lowe. Schiller's principal scholarly achievement was his prolix *Catalogue of Hebrew Manuscripts Preserved in the Cambridge University Library*, a portion of which was published in 1876. He edited Book One of David *Kimḥi's commentary on the Psalms (1883) and *Romanelli's account of his Moroccan travels (*Massa ba-Arav*, 1885).

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[Raphael Loewe]

SCHILLINGER, JOSEPH (1895–1943), music theorist and composer. Born in Kharkov, Schillinger studied conducting and composition with Nicolai Tcherepnin, among others, at the St. Petersburg Conservatory (1914–18). Until his emigration to New York in 1928, Schillinger pursued a career in the Ukraine as conductor and composer and helped organize the first jazz concert in Russia (1927). In New York, Schillinger continued to compose as well as teaching, but he is mainly remembered for his systematic theory of music composition, in which his mathematical training is evident. Schillinger believed in scientific methods as the basis of artistic creativity in all the arts (as described in *The Mathematical Basis of the Arts*, 1948). His most important book, *The Schillinger System of Musical Composition* (2 vols., 1941, 1946), attempts to explore all possible permutations of every musical parameter, showing them as geometrical forms. This modernist approach might be conceived as a predecessor of set theory, yet Schillinger's actual theory is limited to rather conventional constraints. For example, he presented rhythmic permutations in conventional meters only (see also *Encyclopedia of Rhythms* (1966)), and focused on unusual syncopations. Schillinger's private pupils include Jewish jazz composers George *Gershwin and Vernon Duke, as well as Oscar *Levant and Benny *Goodman, who were probably attracted by Schillinger's approach to rhythmic devices. Among his compositions are *First Airphonic Suite* (orchestra, 1929), *The People and the Prophet* (ballet, 1933), and many songs and piano pieces

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[Yossi Goldenberg (2nd ed.)]

SCHINDLER, ALEXANDER M. (1925–2000), U.S. Reform rabbi, president of Union of American Hebrew Congregations. Alex Schindler was one of the best-known and most admired Jewish leaders in America in the last quarter of the 20th Century. He was born in Munich, Germany, in 1925, the son of a Yiddish poet and a feisty Jewish businesswoman. The family fled Hitlerism and made its way to New York City and then to Lakewood, New Jersey, where they made their living as chicken farmers. He enrolled at CCNY at the age of 16 and enlisted in the army in World War II, joining the ski troopers and winning a Purple Heart and a Bronze Star for bravery in the battles of Italy. After the war, he decided to become a rabbi, graduating from the Hebrew Union College and then serving seven years as assistant rabbi of Temple Emanuel of Worcester, Massachusetts.

He was known as a bold and successful leader of Reform Judaism but also as the preeminent spokesman of the entire Jewish Community in support of the cause of Israel. In the wider American community, Schindler was a well-known advocate of civil rights, economic justice, and improved interfaith relations. Known as a passionate spokesman of Reform Judaism, Schindler managed to gain the respect and affection of leaders of all denominations, bridging the gulfs of denominational and institutional rivalries. An assertive liberal in both religion and politics, he formed lasting friendships and alliances with traditional and conservative Jews in Israel and in America. He was a warm man, whose word could be trusted and thus even those who opposed him on ideological grounds never personalized those differences. He enjoyed a deep personal friendship with the long time leader of Agudath Israel in the United States Rabbi Moshe Sherer, though the two men could not have been further apart ideologically.

Reform Judaism is unique among American religious denominations in that the leader of the movement is the professional president of the congregational body rather than the head of a rabbinical school. As president of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations (now called Union for Reform Judaism), he significantly enlarged the membership of the Union and the scope of its program, lifting the Reform Jewish movement to the largest branch of American Judaism. As leader of the Union, he envisioned and brought into reality a Liberal Torah Commentary, the first such publication in America. He pioneered a revolutionary outreach program, in which congregations reach out to interfaith couples to make the non-Jewish partner comfortable and to encourage that partner to convert. He spearheaded a campaign of gender equality, transforming the American synagogue and the Reform rabbinate. He led a campaign for recognition of gay rights in the movement and in the rabbinate. He broke new and controversial ground – both within and outside the Reform movement – by championing the doctrine of patrilineal descent so that authentic Jewish identity would derive not only from a Jewish mother but equally from a Jewish father. Though differing with *halakhah*, the Reform position was in some ways more stringent than *halakhah* in that the identity was not automatic but had to be acknowledged and affirmed. He championed social justice, demanding economic justice for the weak and the poor even in the face of Reagan social cuts. He strengthened the work of the Religious Action Center in Washington and was a crucial part of efforts to establish a religious action center in Israel as well. He pushed for the creation of a Reform Zionism, leading to the creation of ARZA, the Reform Zionist association and a vital Reform Zionist movement. As an educator, he succeeded in gaining the approval of a pilot project for Reform Jewish day schools, which now includes seventeen full-time Reform day schools in the U.S. and Canada.

He became the best-known American Jewish leader of that era when he was elected chairman of the Presidents Conference of Major Jewish Organizations, the authoritative assembly of American Jewish leadership in support of Israel, during an especially tumultuous time. Becoming chairman in 1976, he was at his post when Menachem *Begin was elected prime minister of Israel. Shattering the long-established partnership between Israel's Labor governments and American Jewry, Begin's election was a shock to American Jewry. Schindler, a lifelong liberal and dove, publicly embraced Begin, a man with whose views he disagreed, as the elected prime minister of Israel's democracy, and demanded that the Jewish establishment give Begin a fair chance and not delegitimize him at the outset. This led to a deep personal friendship, in which Begin consulted with Schindler at many pivotal moments, including on the eve of Camp David and peace with Egypt, honored Schindler in Jerusalem, and brought him as his guest on official visits to Egypt and other countries. Despite this deep personal friendship, which endured until Begin's death, Schindler did not refrain from advocating a two-state partition, condemning Israel's invasion of Lebanon, and demanding equal respect for all branches of Judaism in Israeli life.

In all his life, Schindler prided himself on being, like his father before him, an *ohev yisrael*, a lover of the Jewish people. Although he lifted and strengthened the Reform Jewish movement, he took most pride in knitting together the fractious strands of Jewish life and Jewish unity.

[Albert Vorspan (2nd ed.)]

SCHINDLER, KURT (1882–1935), conductor, composer/arranger, and music editor. Born in Berlin, he studied at the piano conservatory with Friedrich Gernsheim and Carl Ansörge. He later studied musicology at the University of Berlin with Carl Stump and Max Friedländer. The latter introduced him to European folk music, while Gernsheim, in whose choral society he participated, instilled in him an interest in choral music. He made his official debut as composer at the Krefeld Music Festival (June 1902). As an opera conductor, he conducted the Stuttgart Opera (1902) and the Staatstheater in Wuerzburg (1903), and he was assistant to Felix Mottl and Hermann Zumpe at Munich and to Richard Strauss at the Berlin Opera (1904). Invited to join the conducting staff at the Metropolitan Opera, he immigrated to the United States in 1905. In 1909, he established the MacDowell Chorus, which, at Mahler's suggestion, evolved into the Schola Cantorum of New York. Until Schindler's resignation in 1926, the Schola ranked among the most outstanding choral societies in North America, whose programs combined master choral works, interspersed with novel arrangements of European folksongs, mainly Russian and Spanish. For two decades (1907–27), he served concurrently as music editor for the publishers G. Schirmer and Oliver Ditson. From 1912 to 1915 he served as choral director at Temple Emanuel. In 1926, at the point of physical and mental exhaustion, he sought refuge in Spain, where, from 1929 to 1933, he made three trips throughout northern Spain and Portugal which resulted in the posthumously published *Folk Music and Poetry of Spain and Portugal* (New York, 1941; Salamanca, 1991). In 1933, he established the first music department at Bennington College, Vermont, but resigned shortly thereafter due to failing health.

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[Israel J. Katz (2nd ed.)]

°SCHINDLER, OSKAR (1908–1974), one of Israel's *Righteous Among the Nations, made famous by Thomas Keneally's novel and Steven *Spielberg's 1993 film *Schindler's List.* He was a Nazi and a war profiteer and yet essential to saving the lives of more than 1,000 Jews.

Schindler was born in Svitavy (Zwittau) in what after World War I became Czechoslovakia. In the mid-1930s Schindler joined Nazi Germany's military counterintelligence agency, the *Abwehr*, as a spy. He was arrested by the Czechs in 1938 for spying and after his release as part of the 1938 Munich Accord, helped with the invasion of the rest of Czechoslovakia and Poland in 1939. After World War II began, Schindler moved to Cracow, Poland, where he took over a former Jewish enamelware factory, Emalia, with the idea of making as much money as he could. At the instigation of his Jewish factory manager, Abraham Bankier, Schindler began to hire more and more Jews. Over time, he gained a reputation for treating his Jews well and in the fall of 1943 met with Jewish Agency representatives in Budapest, who convinced Schindler to act as a go-between for them in Cracow. Over time, his motivations changed and he became determined to save his Jews. By this time, Schindler had transformed Emalia into a subcamp of the nearby Plaszow camp, commanded by the monstrous Amon Goeth. When ordered by Goeth to close Emalia in the summer of 1944, Schindler instead got permission to move 1,000 Jews and the armaments wing of Emalia to Bruennlitz near his hometown. Though Schindler had nothing physically to do with the writing of the famed Schindler's List, there would have been no lists (one for men, one for women) without his Herculean efforts to transfer these Jewish workers. Between October 1944 and May 1945, another 98 Jews would be taken in by Schindler at Bruennlitz. During this period, he spent almost all of the money he had made in Cracow to save 1,098 Jews.

After the war, he and his wife, Emilie, who was with him at Bruennlitz, fled first to Bavaria and then to Argentina, the latter move with the help of a generous grant from the *American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee. Successful and innovative in wartime, Schindler was never able to duplicate that success or even a measure of it in his postwar life. Schindler returned to Germany in 1957 to apply for reparations for his lost factories from the West German government and never returned to Argentina and Emilie.

He was nominated to be in the first group of Righteous Among the Nations in 1962 though this nomination was withdrawn because of charges that he had stolen property and harmed several Jews during the war. Schindler became particularly close to the large community of Schindler Jews in Israel during this period and spent some of the happiest moments of his life in Israel. After his death in Hildesheim, West Germany, in the fall of 1974, his body was transferred to Israel, where he was buried in the Latin Cemetery on Mt. Zion. He and Emilie were named Righteous Among the Nations by Yad Vashem in 1993.

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[David Crowe (2nd ed.)]

SCHINDLER, RUDOLPH M. (1887–1953), U.S. architect. Born in Vienna, Schindler immigrated to America in 1913, and settled in Chicago. He worked in the office of Frank Lloyd Wright from 1916 to 1921. His Lovell House, Newport Beach (1926), represents a fusion of Wright's style with the international modern style as interpreted in Central Europe. After 1926 he worked with Richard *Neutra in Los Angeles. The buildings they produced were among the earliest examples of the international style in the U.S.

SCHINDLER, SOLOMON (1842–1915), U.S. Reform rabbi and social worker. Schindler, born in Neisser, Silesia, the son of an Orthodox rabbi, was sent to Breslau when he was 13 to train for the rabbinate. After two years he gave up his rabbinical studies, graduating from the gymnasium and eventually qualifying as a teacher. In 1868 he led a small congregation in Westphalia, but his views proved too liberal. A speech attacking Bismarck's conduct in relation to the Franco-Prussian War led to Schindler's departure from Germany, and he settled in the U.S. in 1871. At first he supported his family by peddling shoelaces, but after a short time became rabbi of the Adath Emuno Congregation, Hoboken, N.J. In 1874 Schindler was appointed rabbi of Congregation Adath Israel, Boston (Temple Israel). Until his time it had conformed to Orthodox practice, but under his leadership an organ, family pews, vernacular prayers, and eventually Sunday services were introduced. Schindler's sermons and lectures attracted wide attention in Boston. Influenced by Darwinism and Bible criticism, he adopted a radical and even assimilationist standpoint and was closely associated with Boston's advanced thinkers, particularly Minot J. Savage, a rebel against Christian Orthodoxy who eventually led the New York Community Church. From 1888 to 1894 Schindler was a member of the Boston School Board. Schindler's theological and political radicalism, and apparently his German background, proved unpalatable to his congregation, and he retired from the rabbinate in 1894, becoming superintendent first of the Federation of Jewish Charities and then of the Leopold Morse Home (1899). In a sermon entitled "Mistakes I Have Made" (1911) he withdrew from his earlier radicalism. Among Schindler's publications were *Messianic Expectations and Modern Judaism* (1886), and *Dissolving Views in the History of Judaism* (1888).

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[Sefton D. Temkin]

SCHIPER, IGNACY (Yiẓḥak; 1884–1943), historian and public worker. Schiper was born in Tarnow, Galicia. From his youth he was a member of the Po'alei Zion movement, and from 1922 of the General Zionists (*Al ha-Mishmar*), holding various public positions in the parties and acting as their emissary. During 1922–27 he was a deputy in the Polish Sejm. After the establishment of the Institute of Jewish Sciences in Warsaw in 1928, he lectured on the history of Jewish economy. Schiper died in a German concentration camp near Lublin.

Although his academic education was essentially a legal one, Schiper took an interest in historical research throughout his life. Within the group of Jewish historians which emerged in Galicia in the early 20th century (*Balaban, *Schorr), Schiper distinguished himself in the history of economics and of popular culture (in Yiddish). Whether this was due to his social outlook or to his limited Hebrew education, he thought that the study of the spiritual history of the nation and its leaders had been exhausted; "the Sabbath-Jew with his extra soul" was already well known, and there arose a need, he felt, to become acquainted with the secular aspect of the nation's life. Schiper's first work, in the sphere of Jewish economics, was his original research on the beginnings of capitalism among the Jews of the Western world (*Anfaenge des Kapitalismus bei den abendlaendischen Juden im frueheren Mittelalter*, 1907), which was also translated into Russian and Yiddish. Schiper then turned his attention to research into Jewish economy in Poland, at first during the Middle Ages and then during the modern era also.

His principal works in this sphere are *Studya nad stosunkami gospodarczymi Żydów w Polsce podczas średniowiecza* (1911, Yid. tr. 1926), and *Dzieje handlu żydowskiego na ziemiach polskich* (1937). Of his studies on the history of culture, two of his works are of note: *Kultur-Geshikhte fun di Yidn in Poyln beysn Mitlalter* (1926), which deals with the way of life of the Jews, and *Geshikhte fun der Yidisher Teater-Kunst un Drame: fun di Eltste Tsaytn bis 1750* (3 vols., 1927–28), which deals with theatrical art and drama. Schiper also occupied himself with other historical questions, such as Jewish autonomy in Poland, but he dealt mainly with Jewry's relationship to the external world, using primarily non-Jewish sources. A historian of great intuition and imagination, he promoted and enriched historical research on Polish Jewry, though he did not always trouble to establish his ideas on a firm historical footing.

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[Israel Halpern]

SCHIRMANN, JEFIM (Ḥayyim; 1904–1981), scholar of medieval Hebrew poetry. Born in Kiev, Schirmann received a doctorate in Berlin for his thesis *Die hebraeische Uebersetzung der Maqamen des Hariri* (Frankfurt 1930). He was one of the first to undertake research in medieval Hebrew poetry at the Schocken Institute for Research (first in Berlin, then in Jerusalem). In 1937 he began teaching medieval Hebrew poetry at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, and subsequently was appointed to the chair in this subject. From 1954 to 1969 he edited **Tarbiz*, a quarterly for Jewish studies. He was a member of the Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities and of the Academy of the Hebrew Language. In 1957 he was awarded the Israel Prize for Jewish Studies.

Schirmann's research spans the entire range of medieval Hebrew poetry. He began his activities by investigating the Hebrew poetry of Spain, both as an independent area of research and also with reference to its links with Arabic literature. At the same time he studied Italian Hebrew poetry. He compiled two large and unique anthologies of the most important existing texts of (1) Hebrew poetry written in Italy between the ninth and 20th centuries, *Mivḥar ha-Shirah ha-Ivrit be-Italyah* (Berlin, 1934); and (2) Hebrew poetry written in Spain and Provence from the 10th to the 15th centuries, *Ha-Shirah ha-Ivrit bi-Sefarad u-vi-Provence* (1961^3). Schirmann laid the foundations for modern research and critical evaluation of secular and sacred Hebrew poetry, as well as of the rhymed tales composed by the Jews of Spain and Italy.

His many works in this field include *"Ha-Meshorerim Benei Doram shel Moshe ibn Ezra vi-Yhudah ha-Levi"* (in: YMḤSI, 3 pts., 2 (1936), 4 (1938), 6 (1945)); *"Ḥayyei Yehudah ha-Levi"* (in: *Tarbiz*, 9 (1938) and 11 (1939)); *"La métrique quantitative dans la poésie hébraïque du Moyen Age"* (in *Sefarad*, 8 (1948)); "Samuel Hannagid, the Man, the Soldier, the Politician" (in JSOS, 13 (1951)); "The Function of the Hebrew Poet in Medieval Spain" (ibid., 16 (1954)); "La poésie hébraïque du Moyen Age en Espagne" (in *Mélanges de philosophie et de littérature juives,* 3–5 (1962)), and "The Beginning of Hebrew Poetry in Italy" (in *The World History of the Jewish People*, Vol. 11: *The Dark Ages*, 1966).

Schirmann's later researches were devoted primarily to early medieval Hebrew poetry. Of particular note is the essay "Hebrew Liturgical Poetry and Christian Hymnology" (JQR 49, 1953, pp. 123–161), *Shirim Ḥadashim min ha-Genizah* ("New Poems from the *Genizah*," 1965), which contains, besides a large collection of unknown texts from different periods, a number of very important critical monographs on poets from various centers of Jewish life (Ereẓ Israel, Babylonia, North Africa, and Spain), and his collected articles in Hebrew, *Studies in the History of Hebrew Poetry and Drama* (1979). His critical edition of the secular poetry of Solomon ibn Gabirol (1974), completing the work initiated by H. Brody, can be seen as one of his most mature contributions to the history of medieval Hebrew poetry.

Several years after Schirmann's death, E. Fleischer published in two large volumes the important notes that he had left on the history of medieval Hebrew poetry with his own observations, updated bibliography, and commentaries: *The History of Hebrew Poetry in Muslim Spain* (1995) and *The History of Hebrew Poetry in Christian Spain and Southern France* (Heb., 1997).

Schirmann's numerous publications and long teaching career led to the creation of a new attitude toward research in medieval Hebrew culture. His approach to the Hebrew intellectual creativity of the Middle Ages was within the wider context of general contemporary culture, and he emphasized its connection with other cultures and literary creativities.

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[Ezra Fleischer / Dan Pagis]

SCHISGAL, MURRAY (1926–), U.S. playwright. Schisgal was born in New York. His initial intention was to become a lawyer, and he did receive an LL.B. from Brooklyn Law School in 1953. Schisgal's first successful stage hit was the double bill *The Typists* and *The Tiger* (1963), which starred Eli Wallach and Anne Jackson. This was followed by his biggest hit comedy, *Luv* (1964), which was nominated for two Tony Awards – Best Play and Best Author. It was later made into a motion picture starring Jack Lemmon and Peter Falk (1967). Schisgal also wrote the play *Jimmy Shine* (1968), which starred Dustin Hoffman. Schisgal's other Broadway plays included *The Chinese and Dr. Fish* (1970*), An American Millionaire* (1974), *All over Town* (1975), and *Twice around the Park* (1983). He also wrote the plays *Ducks and Lovers* (1972), *Popkins* (1984), and *Oatmeal and Kisses* (1990).

With Larry *Gelbart he co-wrote the screenplay for *Tootsie* (1982), for which they received an Oscar nomination. He also produced the films *Boys and Girls* (2000) and *A Walk on the Moon* (1999).

Schisgal was nominated for an Emmy award for his TV productions *The Devil's Arithmetic* (1999) and *A Separate Peace* (2004). Schisgal's novel *Days and Nights of a French Horn Player* was published in 1980.

[Jonathan Licht / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

SCHLAMME, MARTHA HAFTEL (1922–1985), folk-art singer, pianist, and actress. Schlamme was born in Vienna, the only daughter of Meier and Gisa Braten Haftel, who were Orthodox Jews. She and her parents escaped the Nazis in 1938 through France to England, where her parents were interned by the English government on the Isle of Man. Martha chose to leave the Jewish school she attended and joined her parents there. At the camp she met Engel Lund, a singer from Iceland, who inspired her to become an international singer. Martha came to the U.S. in 1948, shortly after marrying Hans Schlamme.

Schlamme began her concert career in the Catskills, singing in Hebrew and Yiddish. Her venues soon included college campuses, concert halls, and nightclubs, as well as radio and television. By 1960, she had performed over a thousand concerts. A supreme interpreter of folk song, Schlamme concertized and recorded in 12 languages. She enthusiastically sang Jewish songs throughout her career. On the Vanguard, Folkways, Columbia, and MGM labels she produced 15 albums including *Martha Schlamme Sings Israeli Folk Songs* (1953); *Martha Schlamme Sings Folk Songs of Many Lands* (1958); and *Martha Schlamme Sings Jewish Folks Songs* (1957, and vol. 2, 1959).

Schlamme's early enthusiasm for Kurt *Weill brought her considerable attention and fame. She performed Weill's songs in Edinburgh at a venue called the Howff. This show grew and eventually came to New York, playing for months. For over 20 years she included Weill's music in her programs and produced the recordings *The World of Kurt Weill in Song* (1962), and *A Kurt Weill Cabaret* (1963). In 1965, she starred in a production of Weill's *Mahoganny* at the Stratford Festival in Ontario and two years later sang at Ravinia Music Festival in *A Kurt Weill Cabaret* with Alvin Epstein. In 1985, she appeared with Epstein at the Israel Festival in Jerusalem.

Schlamme sang on Broadway, playing the role of Golde in *Fiddler on the Roof* in 1968, and that same year appearing in *A Month of Sundays* and *Solitaire, Double Solitaire*. Schlamme became a teacher of song and acting at the Circle in the Square Theater School in New York and H.B. Studio. She was also close to activists in leftist politics, giving numerous benefit concerts. She recorded *German Folk Songs* on the Folkways label with Pete Seeger. In the 1960s, after an annulment of her first marriage, she married Mark Lane, a Democratic politician. Martha Schlamme suffered a stroke onstage at the Chautauqua Festival at age 60 in front of a large audience and died in nearby Jamestown, New York.

[Judith S. Pinnolis (2nd ed.)]

°SCHLEIERMACHER, FRIEDRICH (1766–1834), German theologian and preacher. The young Schleiermacher was an admirer of Henriette *Herz and frequented the salons of Berlin. He answered David *Friedlaender's audacious *Sendschreiben an Probst Teller* (1799) by advocating that Jews, as individuals, be granted complete emancipation in order to save the Church from contamination by insincere converts seeking equality. In his *Reden ueber die Religion* (1799; *On Religion*, 1955), he contended that Judaism was a dead religion, the essence of which lay in God and His chosen people. This historical dialogue, however, had ceased abruptly with the fall of the Jewish state; thus Judaism was not a true religion but rather a political body. Equating revelation with religious experience, he placed the Old Testament in a very subordinate position in relation to the New. On the other hand Schleiermacher, a powerful preacher, exerted a decisive influence on the style of L. *Zunz and other Jewish preachers of the era. Occasionally he attended the synagogue to listen to the young preachers, making comments to them afterward.

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[Andreas Kennecke (2nd ed.)]

SCHLESINGER, family of Austrian *Court Jews. MARX (MORDECAI) SCHLESINGER, son of Moses Margulies (*Margelioth), was active as military purveyor to the Austrian court before the 1670 expulsion of Vienna Jews, as well as financier to the court and supplier of precious metals for the royal mint. A leader of the Vienna community, he participated in the negotiations for the return of the expellees and was murdered in 1683 in Klosterneuburg. His son, BENJAMIN WOLF (d. 1727), settled in Eisenstadt in 1679 and was a large-scale military and coin supplier, particularly in Hungary, where he served the noble Esterhazy family. His business activity was conducted, however, from Vienna.

Another son, ISRAEL, was an ancestor of the renowned *Eger family. MARX (MARKUS) SCHLESINGER (d. 1754) figured prominently in the numerous wars of the period as a large-scale military purveyor, as well as financier to the Austrian court in millions of florins. In 1731 he was nominated imperial court purveyor (*Hoffaktor*) by Emperor Charles VI; he was already purveyor to the courts of electoral Palatinate, electoral Mainz, and ducal Brunswick, as well as court jeweler and purveyor to Charles Alexander of Wuerttemberg as of 1736. Although his forefathers had belonged to the *Oppenheimer and *Wertheimer circles, Marx was himself patron of Isaac *Leidesdorfer and L. *Gomperz. His far-flung activities eventually embroiled him in lawsuits with the government, and he died in extreme poverty, as did most of his children.

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SCHLESINGER, family of music publishers. ADOLF MARTIN SCHLESINGER (1768–1848) was born in Berlin, where in 1810 he founded the firm Schlesinger'sche Buch und Musikalienhandlung, which was one of Beethoven's publishers. His greatest publication was Bach's *St. Matthew Passion* (1829). His two sons were HEINRICH SCHLESINGER (1807–1879) and MORITZ (MAURICE) ADOLF SCHLESINGER (1797–1871). Heinrich maintained the Berlin firm, while in 1834 Moritz established a firm in Paris which published works by Mozart, Chopin, Berlioz, *Meyerbeer, and Donizetti, and the *Gazette* (later *Revue) Musicale*. The German firm passed into other hands in 1864, and the French one in 1846.

SCHLESINGER, AKIVA JOSEPH (1837–1922), one of the first visionaries of modern Zionism. Born in Pressburg, Schlesinger was a graduate of Hungarian yeshivot and a student of Kabbalah. He was one of the spokesmen of the extreme religious elements of the Ḥatam Sofer (see Moses *Sofer) school of thought, which advocated complete separation from the "enlightened" and "neologic" elements. In his book *Lev Ivri* ("Hebrew Heart," 1865), he sharply attacked the "*meshannim*" and "*mitḥaddeshim*" ("innovators" and "reformers"). In 1870 Schlesinger went to Ereẓ Israel out of a conviction that the sole hope for religious Jewry lay in the establishment of a religious Jewish community in the Land of Israel. In 1873 he published the book *Ḥevrat Maḥzirei Atarah le-Yoshnah* or

Kolel ha-Ivrim ("The Society for the Restoration of Things to Their Former Glory" or "The Community of Hebraists"), in which he expounded his plan for the establishment of a worldwide association for the consolidation of religious Jewry. This association would set up a network of schools to educate the young generation in a religious spirit; its center would be in Jerusalem and its aim would be the establishment of a Jewish community living off the fruits of its own labor and in the spirit of the Torah. In his book Schlesinger expressed ideas similar to those which were later adapted by the Zionist movement (collection of contributions and tithes for the upbuilding of the country, renaissance of the Hebrew language, agricultural settlement, organization of self-defense, abolition of the barriers between communities and *kolelim* and their amalgamation into one – *Kolel ha-Ivrim*). Schlesinger was the leader of a group of Jerusalemites who tried to change the **ḥalukkah* system and divert the funds to agricultural settlement. The *ḥalukkah* trustees, who feared Schlesinger's ideas as a threat to their hegemony, boycotted and persecuted him, and he reponded with harsh polemic. In 1878 Schlesinger was one of the founders of Petaḥ Tikvah and, with the establishment of the new settlement, he called on religious Jewry to establish their own settlement movement to encompass truly religious Jews, without "heretical and outside elements."

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[Yehuda Slutsky]

SCHLESINGER, BENJAMIN (1876–1932), U.S. trade union leader and journalist. Born in Krakai, Lithuania, Schlesinger immigrated to Chicago in 1891, working in a sweatshop as a sewing-machine operator. At the end of the 1890s he moved to New York City. In 1903 Schlesinger was elected president of the infant International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union (ILGWU), but within a year a coalition of more conservative trade unionists defeated his bid for reelection. He then managed the New York Cloakmakers' Joint Board of the ILGWU but left in 1907 to become managing editor of New York's *Jewish Daily Forward*. During his seven years with the Yiddish daily, Schlesinger maintained his interest in the ILGWU, influenced union affairs, and prepared himself to return to union office at a more opportune time.

From 1910 to 1914, the radical socialist New York cloakmakers clashed with the more conservative and moderate leaders on the ILGWU's general executive board. The cloakmakers were defeated, but at the 1914 ILGWU convention they succeeded in removing the officeholders and elected Schlesinger president. Though committed to class warfare, he attempted to persuade socialists to abide by contractual agreements with employers. During the 1916 strike in the cloak trade, Schlesinger commanded the loyalty of both union radicals and conservatives, made himself acceptable to employers as a negotiator, and gained the support of local reformers and city officials. With the help of New York City's reform mayor, John Purroy Mitchell, he wrung from the cloak manufacturers an exceptionally favorable agreement, which relieved the union from resorting to independent arbitration and placed greater power in the hands of the trade unionists themselves.

From 1914 to 1923 Schlesinger guided the ILGWU with firmness and perception, until it became one of the largest and most progressive trade unions in the nation. But in 1923, worn down by years of poor health and depressed by the intra-union struggle between communists and anti-communists, Schlesinger resigned and returned to serve the *Forward*. In 1928, with the anti-communists in control, the ILGWU, its treasury depleted and its ranks decimated, turned to Schlesinger. He strove to revive internal unity, but the task, aggravated by the advent of the Depression, proved too much for him. He died shortly after his reelection in 1932.

[Melvyn Dubofsky]

SCHLESINGER, FRANK (1871–1943), U.S. astronomer and pioneer in stellar photography. Born in New York, Schlesinger obtained his doctorate with a thesis on a new type of measurement of a star cluster. He then began to develop his original methods for the determination of stellar parallaxes by means of celestial photography, revolutionizing the subject. In 1905 he was appointed director of the Allegheny Observatory, where he worked on the orbits of spectroscopic binary stars, devising simple methods of reducing spectrograms, and designing a new, sensitive measuring machine. In 1914 he started his ambitious plan of a large-scale parallax program. Within six years the first 365 star distances were determined, parallaxes with an average probable error of less than one hundredth of a second of arc. In 1920 he became director of the Yale University Observatory, and in 1925 he set up a South African station at Johannesburg with a 26-inch telescope of 36 feet focal length. The importance of these "trigonometric parallaxes" lies in the fact that they are the basis of the present distance scale of the universe. With their help, all spectroscopic and other distance determinations are eventually calibrated. In 1940 Schlesinger published his first "Bright Star Catalogue," giving all the essential data for all stars brighter than 6.5 visual magnitude. He did outstanding work on stellar proper motions and star positions obtained with wide-angle cameras, and a long series of these "Zone Catalogues" was published in the Yale Observatory Transactions. Schlesinger was a leading figure in the formation of the International Astronomical Union. He was its president from 1932 to 1935, and many other academic honors were awarded to him.

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[Arthur Beer]

SCHLESINGER, GEORG (1874–1949), German engineer. Born in Berlin, Schlesinger became professor of industrial science at Berlin's Technische Hochschule in 1904, one of the few Jews to hold such a position. A pioneer of industrial psychology, he created the department of psychotechnics. He wrote *Psychotechnik und Betriebswissenschaft* (1919) and edited the journal *Werkstatt-Technik*. He also designed modern factories, especially textile works. Dismissed from the Hochschule in 1933, Schlesinger went to Brussels University (1934–39), then to England, where he directed production engineering research at Loughborough College, Leicestershire.

SCHLESINGER, GUILLERMO (1903–1971), rabbi of the Congregación Israelita de la República Argentina. Born in St. Gallen, Switzerland, son and grandson of rabbis, he graduated from the Theological Seminary of Breslau (then Germany), in 1934 and received a Ph.D. in public economy from the University of Zurich in 1936. He immigrated to Argentina in 1937 and assumed the rabbinical chair of the Congregación Israelita in Buenos Aires. In 1939–1956 he was also the director of the Cursos Religiosos Israelitas (Jewish Religious Courses) of this congregation, which sustained a wide network of Jewish complementary schools, especially in the provinces and some in Buenos Aires. For many decades Rabbi Schlesinger was considered a semi-official chief rabbi of the community, especially among non-Jewish society, but not within Jewish society. In 1956 he participated in the establishment of the Latin American Fraternity of Synagogues. In 1961 Rabbi Schlesinger received an honorary doctorate from the Jewish Theological Seminary of America.

[Efraim Zadoff (2nd ed.)]

SCHLESINGER, ISIDORE WILLIAM (1877–1949), South African financier and entrepreneur. The son of an Austrian-Jewish immigrant in the United States, he went to South Africa in 1894. He built up an extensive financial and industrial empire in a relatively short time, beginning his career in Johannesburg as an insurance agent. In a few years he had established his own insurance and banking companies. In real estate he helped to develop a number of townships in Johannesburg and other cities. In 1914 he opened a chain of theaters and cinemas and for a long time held a virtual monopoly in those fields. He formed the first film production company in South Africa and, at his studios in Johannesburg, made the first regular South African newsreels and the earliest full-length films. He also established a broadcasting service, which was eventually taken over by the state to become the South African Broadcasting Corporation. His citrus-growing estate at Zebedelia (Transvaal) became one of the biggest in the world. He regarded this as his crowning achievement and, at his own wish, was buried there. His interests extended to Rhodesia, Portuguese East Africa, and Tanganyika, and he owned music halls in England. He played little part in public life but headed the Keren Hayesod campaign when Chaim *Weizmann visited South Africa in 1932.

He was succeeded as head of the Schlesinger Organization by his only son, JOHN SAMUEL SCHLESINGER (1923–).

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[Louis Hotz]

SCHLESINGER, JOE (1928–), Canadian journalist, broadcaster. Schlesinger was born in Vienna and raised in Bratislava, Czechoslovakia. On June 30, 1939, only 11 years old, he and his younger brother, Ernie, escaped the Nazis, being among 664 children removed to England by young British stockbroker Nicholas Winton. Schlesinger spent the war years in a boarding school run by the Czech government-in-exile. At the end of the war, the brothers returned to Czechoslovakia in a futile search for their parents. Following a bout of tuberculosis, Schlesinger began work in Prague as a translator for the Associated Press but, escaping the Communist takeover of Czechoslovakia, in 1950 he made his way to Canada.

Schlesinger began his journalism career as editor of the campus newspaper while studying economics at the University of British Columbia. From 1955 to 1962 he was a reporter for the *Vancouver Province*, *Toronto Star,* and United Press International, and then for the *Herald Tribune* in Paris until 1966. He found reporting foreign news a calling, "… interpreting it, clarifying it, demystifying it, and making it interesting and relevant."

Schlesinger returned to Canada to begin a more than 40-year career in television at the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC). He held several key CBC posts, including executive producer of National News, head of TV News, chief political correspondent, and, notably, foreign correspondent. Schlesinger covered major events around the world, including the Arab-Israeli conflict, often from the heart of the action. Twice a refugee from Czechoslovakia, he returned to Prague to witness the Velvet Revolution that overthrew the Communist regime. "It was," Schlesinger recalled, "one of the great moments of my life. I was able to return, and watch that 'era,' that tyranny – the last of it – vanish. It was a kind of a personal vindication."

After retiring from the CBC news service in 1994, Schlesinger continued to produce and host documentaries, and he remains senior correspondent of CBC's flagship news program, CBC News: The National. His journalism was honored by three Gemini Awards and the John Drainie Award for distinguished contribution to broadcasting. He holds several honorary doctorates, and in 1995 he was named to the Order of Canada. He wrote *Time Zones: A Journalist in the World* (1990).

[Paula Draper (2nd ed.)]

SCHLESINGER, JOHN (1926–2003), English director. Schlesinger was born in London. Educated at Oxford, he toured in repertory until 1959 and then directed BBC-TV films. His first feature film was *A Kind of Loving* (1962), followed by *Billy Liar* (1963), *Darling* (Oscar nomination for Best Picture and Best Director, 1965), *Far from the Madding Crowd* (1967), *Midnight Cowboy* (Academy Award winner for Best Picture and Best Director, 1969), *Sunday, Bloody Sunday* (1971), *The*

Day of the Locust (1975), *Marathon Man* (1976), *Yanks* (1979), *The Falcon and the Snowman* (1985), *Madame Sousatzka* (1988), *The Innocent* (1993), and *Cold Comfort Farm* (1995). Schlesinger directed several plays, including *Timon of Athens* for the Royal Shakespeare Company. He was one of the most important British filmmakers of the post-1960 period.

[Jonathan Licht]

SCHLESINGER, KARL (1889–1938), Austrian financier and economist. He introduced methods of mathematical analysis and the calculation by probability of the movements of money and capital. Born in Budapest, Schlesinger lived in Vienna where he was a wealthy board member of many industrial and financial corporations. He was one of the few non-academic economists of reputation who were members of the Vienna Economic Society. Most of his views were expounded among friends during spirited sessions in Viennese coffeehouses. Schlesinger took his own life when the Germans entered Vienna in 1938.

His writings include *Theorie der Geld-und Kreditwirtschaft* (1914); *Veraenderungen des Geldwertes im Kriege* (1916); *Ueber die Produktionsgleichungen der oekonomischen Wertlehre* (1931).

[Joachim O. Ronall]

SCHLESWIG-HOLSTEIN, state of Germany. In the 17th century Danish kings, rulers of the dual duchies of Schleswig and Holstein, invited Sephardi merchants to settle there, and communities were founded in *Glueckstadt, Rendsburg, Friedrichstadt, and *Altona, which became the seat of the rabbinate and the leading community. While the other communities gradually declined economically, Altona prospered and attracted German Jews, who were permitted to settle in these cities and enjoyed special privileges despite the opposition of the Sephardim.

On March 29, 1814, the Jews in Denmark were granted emancipation, but this was abolished at the Congress of *Vienna by a decision which applied to the lands of the German Confederation. Jewish equality was championed by S.L. *Steinheim and Gabriel *Riesser. It was advocated in a series of petitions to the conservative provincial estates, and favored by King Christian VIII. Equality was temporarily obtained during the 1848–49 revolution, proclaimed by the parliament of the revolutionary duchies in which Jews participated; during the revolution Jews first settled in *Kiel. On July 14, 1863, a law granting complete emancipation was enacted. A year later the duchies were detached from Denmark and passed to Prussia in 1866. The Jewish population numbered 3,674 in 1835 (2,014 in Altona; 188 in Glueckstadt; 292 in Rendsburg; and 373 in Friedrichstadt, where they were 17% of the population). The figures were about 6,000 in 1925, with 5,000 in Altona, 600 in the new community of Kiel, and the remainder divided among the other dwindling communities; Altona was incorporated into Hamburg in 1937.

Rudolf Katz (d. 1961) was minister of justice of the state of Schleswig-Holstein in 1960, when there were 107 Jews in Kiel.

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SCHLETTSTADT, SAMUEL BEN AARON (second half of the 14th century), Alsatian rabbi and *rosh yeshivah*. Samuel took his name from Schlettstadt, the town where he was apparently born. *Joseph (Joselmann) b. Gershom of Rosheim (in *Sefer ha-Mikneh*, written in 1546, publ. 1970) describes him as "a pious man, head of the exile," but biographical details about him are scant; however there is some information about a calumny in Strasbourg in which Schlettstadt was involved and which was the cause of his wandering to various countries. The affair is recounted in two sources: by Joseph of Rosheim (*ibid.*, 7f.), and in the documents of excommunication published by N. *Coronel in *Ḥamishah Kunteresim* (1864), 107b ff. Two Jews from Strasbourg were involved in a conspiracy with the knights of Andlau who were in the vicinity of the city. After Samuel issued an unheeded warning to the conspirators, the citizens approached him to pass judgment on them, and he sentenced them to death. The sentence was carried out on one of the informers, but his companion fled to the knights and apostasized. When the knights discovered that the informer had been put to death, they went to war against the men of Strasbourg, and Samuel was compelled to flee the city. He escaped, concealing himself in the fortress of Hohenlandsberg near Strasbourg, and lived there together with the students of his yeshivah for a number of years (1370–76). It seems likely that some of the members of the community had a hand in the incitement against Samuel, who waited in vain for the community leaders to take the steps that would enable him to return (it seems that it was necessary to appease the knights of Andlau with money).

In 1376 Samuel left his hiding place and traveled to the East. On his way he passed through several communities in Germany, where he received letters from various rabbis (including *Meir b. Baruch ha-Levi of Vienna) referring to him in complimentary terms and calling for action on his behalf. After 1381 he arrived in Babylonia, where he obtained a deed of excommunication from the *nesi'im* David (b. Hodaiah?) and Jedidiah (b. Jesse?), apparently directed against those individuals in Strasbourg who were involved in the affair. It laid upon the members of the community the duty of doing everything necessary to enable Samuel to return to Strasbourg and compensate him for his suffering and losses. From Babylonia he proceeded to Jerusalem, where he obtained two documents (published by Coronel) signed by various scholars (among them immigrants from Italy and Germany) supporting the excommunication by the *nesi'im*. As proved by H. Frankel (*Ha-Mikneh*, introd. 17), Joseph of Rosheim relied on this deed in his account of the incident, although there are certain variations between his description of the affair and that retailed in the deed. Equipped with these documents, Samuel made his way back and reached Regensburg. The people of Strasbourg made their peace with him. When he reached the Rhine, the students of the yeshivah came to meet him, accompanied by Samuel's son Abraham, whose boat capsized; he was drowned in the river before his father's eyes. There is a theory that Samuel met his death in the expulsion and massacre of the Jews of Strasbourg in the years 1380–88.

Samuel's best-known work is his *Ha-Mordekhai ha-Katan* (so called by Israel *Bruna in his responsa, Stettin 1860 ed., nos. 163, 170, 181a, 194 p. 72a, 207, 244), also referred to as *Ha-Mordekhai ha-Kaẓar* (Israel Isserlein, *Terumat ha-Deshen, pesakim* no. 192; Jacob Weil, responsa no.88), and *Kiẓẓur Mordekhai* (Azulai, Sh-G s.v.). As its title indicates, it is an abridgment of the *Mordekhai* by *Mordecai b. Hillel (in the Rhenish version). This work is mentioned by Jacob *Moelln (Responsa (Hanau 1610 ed.) nos. 87 and 174), and in *Minhagim, Hilkhot Sukkah* (Warsaw, 1874 ed., 52a) it is referred to as the "*Mordecai* [sic!] compiled by Samuel Schlettstade" and by Jacob *Landau in his *Agur.* From the extensive use made of it, it would appear that it had an independent value. The work has not yet been published, though many manuscripts of it are known. The work was compiled in 1376 (according to information in Ms. Parma, De Rossi no. 397, written in 1391), while Samuel was in the fortress of Hohenlandsberg. The date (1393) given in an Oxford manuscript (Neubauer, Cat., no. 672) is not, as Neubauer thought, the date of composition, but of the copying.

Samuel added notes containing rulings and additions from the work of various *posekim* to the *Mordekhai* which appear as an appendix in the printed editions (since the 1559 edition of Riva di Trento). These notes were written in the margins of the Rhenish version of the *Mordekhai* and included additions which are apparently extracts from the Austrian version (see Kohn, bibl.). Samuel's authorship of these notes, which was established by Zunz (HB, 9 (1869), 135), is clear from the notes to the *Mordekhai, Gittin* 456: "And I Samuel the unworthy," and *Yevamot* 111: "And see there in *Ha-Mordekhai ha-Katan* which I compiled"; it is possible, however, that not all the notes were compiled by him. The question of the author of the minor *halakhot* (*ẓiẓit, mezuzah, Sefer Torah*, and *tefillin*) in the *Mordekhai* is not yet clear. Ḥ.J.D. Azulai pointed out that Mordecai b. Hillel was not their author and that they did not occur in the *Mordekhai*. Zunz's conclusion that the author is Samuel because they are found in *Ha-Mordekhai ha-Katan* is not reliable, because, although it is certain that the minor *halakhot* found their way into the *Mordekhai* from it, it is not indisputable that Samuel was the author. An inscription in the Oxford manuscript (Neubauer, Cat, no. 672) of *Ha-Mordekhai ha-Katan* seems to indicate that Samuel was the author. It states: "The Alfasi and the *Mordekhai* did not compile works on the minor [tractates]. In consequence I, the unworthy, have done so …"; so too in the inscription on another such manuscript (Oxford 673). Nevertheless, the notes on the minor *halakhot* are certainly by Samuel and they contain allusions to his notes on the *Mordekhai* (no. 968) and vice versa (*Mordekhai Haggahah* Shab. 456, end of ch. 2). Jacob Weil (Responsa, 147) mentions a responsum written by Samuel.

Samuel's grandson, Abraham's son, compiled a work called *Shem ha-Gedolim*, containing biographical and bibliographical information (published by I. Benjacob in the collection *Devarim Attikim*, 2 (1846), 7–10).

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[Shlomoh Zalman Havlin]

SCHLIEFER, SOLOMON (1889–1957), rabbi of the Great Synagogue in Moscow. Schliefer was born in Aleksandrovka, Ukraine, where his father, Jeḥiel Mikhel Schliefer, officiated as rabbi. In the yeshivah of Lida he was a disciple of the founder of *Mizrachi, Rabbi Isaac Jacob *Reines, and, after being ordained as rabbi, he married Reines' granddaughter. After his father's death Schliefer became rabbi of Aleksandrovka, where his wife and son died of starvation during the civil war after the 1917 Revolution and his mother and brothers were murdered by Ukrainian nationalists. For a time during the early stages of the Soviet regime, Schliefer made his living as an accountant, but in 1922 he settled in Moscow and became secretary of the Great Synagogue congregation. Eventually he was appointed rabbi and chairman of the congregation and was very skillful in steering his way between the obligatory contacts with the Soviet authorities and his devotion to Judaism, to the congregation, and to the many Jewish refugees who fled to Moscow during World War II from various parts of the country.

Though careful not to serve as a tool of the official propaganda line on Jewish matters, Schliefer could not avoid signing a statement of several prominent Soviet Jews against the "aggression" of Israel during the Sinai Campaign, published in *Izvestiya* (Nov. 29, 1956). At that time he also received permission from the authorities to print – for the first time under the Soviet regime – a Jewish prayer book (3,000 copies). It consisted of photostated pages from pre-revolutionary prayer books, from which any reference to wars and victories (as, e.g., in the Ḥanukkah benedictions) were omitted. Schliefer called it *Siddur ha-Shalom* ("Peace Prayer Book," instead of the customary *Siddur ha-Shalem*, "complete prayer book"). He also printed for members of his congregation a Jewish calendar for the year 5717. Shortly before his death he opened and headed, with official authorization, the only legal yeshivah in the U.S.S.R., under the name Kol Ya'akov, which was located in the synagogue building. Under his successor, Rabbi Judah Leib *Lewin, a small number of ritual slaughterers were trained there, many of them from the Georgian Soviet republic. His son MOSES (by his second wife), who served as an officer in the Soviet army, was killed at the front in 1943.

SCHLOESSINGER, MAX (1877–1944), scholar and Zionist worker. Schloessinger, born in Heidelberg, was educated at the Universities of Berlin and Vienna, at the Israelitische Lehranstalt Vienna, and at the Berlin Hochschule fuer die Wissenschaft des Judentums. In 1903 he moved to New York as office editor of the *Jewish Encyclopaedia*. The following year he was appointed librarian and instructor at Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati, but resigned in 1907 following a dispute over Zionism. Returning to Germany, he began a successful import-export business. Shortly after the outbreak of World War I he moved to Holland for business reasons, and then settled in Palestine.

Schloessinger was active in Zionist work in Holland, serving as director of the Jewish National Fund. His friendship with J.L. *Magnes when both were students in Berlin led him to a close identification with the work of the Hebrew University. Schloessinger served as a member of the university's board of governors from its inception, and at various times acted as deputy to Magnes in the office of chancellor. In recognition of his contributions to the study of Islamic Jewish literature, Schloessinger was made a fellow of the University School of Oriental Studies. Owing to ill health, he moved to New York in 1939.

[Sefton D. Temkin]

SCHLOSSBERG, JOSEPH (1875–1971), U.S. trade union leader and journalist. Born in Koidanovo (now Dzerzhinsk), Belorussia, he went to the U.S. in the 1880s and worked in the sweatshops of the needle trade in New York City. The harsh and degrading working conditions among the immigrants in these places led him to join the radical left wing of the American socialist movement. He challenged Joseph *Barondess for leadership of the garment workers and broke with Morris *Hillquit, Meyer *London, and Abraham *Cahan over socialist policies and tactics. When Hillquit, London, and Cahan left the socialist labor party in 1898 and formed the more moderate socialist party, Schlossberg remained loyal to the revolutionary socialist labor party and edited the party's weekly *Der Arbeyter*. In 1913, during the strike of New York City men's tailors, Schlossberg supported the tailors against their parent organization, the United Garment Workers of America (UGWA), which opposed the strike. As a result of the conflict with the UGWA's national officials, the tailors formed their own local organization, the Brotherhood of Tailors, and elected Schlossberg secretary. In 1914 Schlossberg's supporters seceded from the UGWA convention and founded the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America (ACWA). The new organization elected Sidney *Hillman president and Schlossberg secretary-treasurer, and for the next 25 years they proved an able and successful team. As secretary-treasurer he administered the organization's accounts, edited the union's journal *Advance* and its seven foreign-language journals, and wrote books and pamphlets on the programs of the ACWA, strenuously advocating social reform.

In 1940 Schlossberg resigned from office and devoted his time to community and Zionist affairs. Following the establishment of the State of Israel he worked for the *Histadrut, the Israel General Federation of Labor in the U.S., and became chairman of the American National Committee for Labor Israel. He believed that Israel's labor movement could achieve the socialist community that had eluded him in America.

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[Melvyn Dubofsky]

SCHMELKES, GEDALIAH BEN MORDECAI (1857–1928), Polish talmudist. Schmelkes studied under his uncle Isaac *Schmelkes, rabbi of Lemberg. Although he was ordained rabbi in his youth and considered an outstanding talmudist, he at first refused to accept rabbinic office and engaged in business. When his business failed, however, he was appointed in 1893 rabbi of Przemysl, but the appointment was not officially recognized by the government. In 1898 he was appointed rabbi of Kolomyya, but his experiences there were difficult. In 1904 he returned to Przemysl and this time was recognized as chief rabbi. He was one of the few rabbis in Poland who officially joined the Zionist movement, and he played an active role in Zionist congresses. Schmelkes distinguished himself by his activities in the difficult period through which Galician Jewry passed during World War I. When he was expelled from Przemysl during the war, he refused to leave until the last Jews had departed. For a time he stayed in Vienna, returning to Przemysl in 1917. One of his sons, Moses, died in Siberia. Schmelkes had great influence both in ḥasidic circles and among the *maskilim*.

Most of his works in manuscript were lost, and only a small section of his novellae and sermons entitled *Imrei Regesh* (Piotrkow, 1931) was published. Supplements to them – *Masoret ha-Shas* (Talmud cross-references) – arranged by him were preserved; some of them were published by J.L. Maimon (see bibliography).

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[Itzhak Alfassi.]

SCHMELKES, ISAAC JUDAH (1828–1906), talmudic scholar of Galicia. Schmelkes was born in Lemberg and was the son of Ḥayyim Samuel Schmelkes, claiming descent from Eleazar b. Samuel Schmelke *Rokeaḥ (see introduction to *Beit Yiẓḥak, Oraḥ Ḥayyim*, Przemysl, 1875). A pupil of Joseph Saul ha-Levi *Nathanson, head of the local *bet din*, he was hailed in his youth as a brilliant talmudic student. He served as head of the *bet din* in a number of towns before being appointed in Lemberg, where he remained until his death. His *Beit Yiẓḥak* (6 vols., 1875–1908), on the four parts of the Shulḥan Arukh, was widely acclaimed. His opinion on halakhic questions was sought by many prominent contemporary scholars.

[H.D. Modlinger]

SCHMELZ, USIEL OSCAR (1918–1995), demographer. Born in Vienna, Schmelz settled in Ereẓ Israel in 1939. From 1958 he headed the demographic and social divisions of the Central Bureau of Statistics, and from 1961 was Research Fellow in Jewish Demography at The Hebrew University of Jerusalem. Among his publications are *Jewish Demography and Statistics; 1920–1960* (1961), a bibliography, and *Criminal Statistics in Israel* (1962–64). He was co-editor of *Jewish Population Studies, 1961–1968* (1970), to which he contributed *A Guide to Jewish Population Studies*. He was *Encyclopaedia Judaica* departmental editor for demography of contemporary Jewry.

SCHMERLING, LOUIS (1912–1991), U.S. organic chemist, born in Milwaukee. Schmerling spent his working career with Universal Oil Products Company and did research in the field of hydrocarbon chemistry. He took out over 200 patents relating to catalysts, petroleum conversion, petrochemicals, insecticides, and flameproofing intermediates.

°**SCHMID, ANTON VON** (1765–1855), Christian publisher of Hebrew books in Vienna and patron of Hebrew literature. Apprenticed to the court printer Kurzbeck, Schmid was sent to the Oriental academy to study Hebrew. In accord with the policy of Joseph II to eliminate foreign competition in Hebrew publishing, he was sent to Lvov (Lemberg) to learn typesetting. Schmid showed efficiency and rapidly rose to be manager of the Hebrew department. Thereafter, he established himself as an independent printer of Hebrew books, greatly benefiting from an 1800 ordinance prohibiting the import of Hebrew books by Jews who were themselves excluded from the publishing business. His books, which gained a deservedly high reputation, were bought in the Jewish centers of Galicia and Hungary, as well as abroad. Schmid later began publishing books in other Oriental languages and in 1823 was ennobled. He published the standard works, the Babylonian Talmud and Shulḥan Arukh, as well as halakhic works and Jewish philosophy.

He employed Jewish typesetters and proofreaders, mainly from Galicia, who were granted special residence permits in Vienna. Among them were many luminaries of Haskalah literature: Salomon *Loewensohn, Samson *Bloch, Samuel *Romanelli, Judah Leib ben Ze'ev, Meir Obernik, and others. In 1820 Schmid encouraged Shalom ha-Cohen to publish the first volume of a yearbook, **Bikkurei ha-Ittim* ("First Fruit of the Times"), an important element in the development of the Haskalah movement in Austria. Schmid was also the first to print **Kerem Ḥemed*, the most important scholarly journal of the time. He donated a collection of all the Hebrew books he had published to the Vienna Jewish community (1814), which became the nucleus of the communal library. The firm was continued by his son Franz, who eventually sold it to the father of Isidor *Bush.

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[Henry Wasserman]

SCHMIDT, JOSEPH (1904–1942), singer. Schmidt was born in Davideni, Bukovina. During World War I his family settled in Czernowitz, where he began singing in the synagogue choir and soon embarked on concert appearances. Parallel with these he became cantor in Czernowitz, and later at the Leopoldstadt Synagogue in Vienna and at the Adas Yisroel Synagogue in Berlin. Despite the extraordinary brilliance of his lyrical tenor voice, a stage career proved almost impossible, since Schmidt was only 4 feet 10 inches tall. His impresarios found the means of overcoming this difficulty by building his career on radio concerts, recordings, and operetta films in which his stature was raised by adroit camera work. Schmidt became one of the major European stars in the field of operetta and light music, and his recordings were bestsellers of the period. He also appeared successfully in England, the United States, France, and Belgium, and visited Palestine in 1934. In 1940 he was saved from arrest by gentile friends during the German invasion of Belgium and brought through France to Switzerland. Interned in a refugee camp ("Auffangs-Lager") in Gyrenbad, he contracted a serious throat ailment but was refused special treatment and admission into the regional hospital. He subsequently died in the camp. The quasi-autobiographical film *Ein Lied geht um die Welt*, in which he had starred, was reissued with scant success in 1952.

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[Bathja Bayer]

SCHMIDT, SAMUEL MYER (1883–1965), newspaper editor, medical director, and representative of the Va'ad Hatzalah. Schmidt was born in Kovno, Russia (later Kaunas, Lithuania). His family came to Boston in 1896; Schmidt, one of six children, attended public school for a year, then worked at a variety of odd jobs to help him support the family. In 1899, he was offered a job in a rubber factory. There, he lost his right arm in a grinding accident but was determined not to be defeated by his disability. After trying a number of businesses, he prepared himself to enter MIT in 1907. He majored in biology and public health and graduated in 1911. While in school he volunteered in settlement houses in Boston, teaching Americanization classes to new immigrants. In 1913 Schmidt was appointed as an industrial health inspector and also director of the Boston Evening Center, carrying on his settlement work. Through an acquaintance with Boris *Bogen, (a national social work leader), he came to Cincinnati for one year to serve as superintendent of the Jewish Settlement. He returned to Boston, but the following year, joined the Joint Distribution Committee's (JDC) Zionist Medical Unit in Palestine, assigned especially to the problems of sanitation, cholera, and malaria. In 1919, he returned to the U.S., then accepted the call of the JDC and went to Poland as a member of the first relief unit. From 1921 to 1923, he served as medical director for Poland.

In 1926, he returned to Cincinnati to help organize the Wider Scope Program (later, Hillel). Schmidt published a manual on Jews and Jewish history for students. That same year he decided to establish a newspaper; the *Every Friday* was to serve as "a mirror of Jewish life in Cincinnati," reflecting the whole spectrum of Jewish life and opinion in the city. The paper underwent its vicissitudes with financial problems during the Depression, and competition with another Jewish paper which sought to undermine its circulation, but Schmidt persevered, and the paper continued weekly publication for almost 40 years.

In 1939 an editorial by Schmidt about the uprooting of Talmudic academies in Eastern Europe caught the attention of Rabbi Eliezer *Silver, head of the Union of Orthodox Rabbis and the Orthodox leader of the Cincinnati community. Silver prevailed on Schmidt to go to Lithuania as a representative of the Va'ad Hatzalah, to bring rescue and relief to the rabbis and students of the Eastern European yeshivot who had gathered in Vilna. So honored by this commission and impressed with the piety and purity of the rabbis he met, Schmidt determined to become a "whole Jew" and undertake a serious program of study and practice when he returned to Cincinnati.

When the war ended, Schmidt returned once more to Europe to give comfort and sustenance to the survivors of the Holocaust in the displaced persons camps. He described his reaction to these encounters in articles he sent home to the *Every Friday*. His readers back home were thus made intensely aware of the tragedy of the European Jews. On October 3, 1965, Samuel Schmidt collapsed and died in the presence of 500 friends and family members, at his own testimonial dinner in Cincinnati.

[Nancy Klein (2nd ed.)]

SCHMIEDL, ADOLF ABRAHAM (1821–1914), Austrian rabbi and scholar. Born at Prossnitz (Prostejov), Moravia, Schmiedl served as rabbi in Gewitsch, Moravia (1846–49); then as *Landesrabbiner* at Teschen, Silesia (to 1852) and later at Bielitz (Bielsko), Prosnitz, and Vienna.

Among his published works are *Studien ueber juedische, insbesondere juedisch-arabische Religionsphilosophie* (1869), *Saadia Alfajumi und die negativen Vorzuege seiner Religionsphilosophie* (1870), and *Die Lehre vom Kampf ums Recht im Verhaeltniss zum Judentum und dem aeltesten Christentum* (1875). He also published two volumes of homilies on the Pentateuch (*Sansinim*, 1859, 1885) and *Lekaḥ Tov* (Dutch translation, 1866).

SCHMOLKA, MARIE (1890–1940), Czech leader of the Jewish women's movement and social worker. Marie Schmolka (née Eisner), who was born in Prague, became associated with the Czech democratic movement and alienated herself from Judaism. After the death of her husband, a lawyer in Prague, she toured the Near East, and her visit to Palestine reawakened her attachment to Judaism. Upon her return to Prague, she joined the Zionist Organization, the WIZO, and the Jewish Party, of which she soon was one of the central figures. In the early 1930s she was the moving spirit in the establishment of the relief committee for the Jews of *Subcarpathian Ruthenia. In 1933 she was the initiator and director of the committee assisting Jewish refugees from Germany and later became the director of *HICEM. She subsequently took the central role in the relief campaign for Nazi victims, both Jews and non-Jews, and acted as the chairman of the coordinating committee of all the refugee organizations. She often attended the conferences of international committees in Geneva, Paris, London, and *Evian, as well as Jewish conferences dedicated to social and national causes. Her struggle on behalf of Jewish refugees who were stranded in no-man's-land (the narrow strip between the 1939 German and Czechoslovak borders) attracted worldwide attention. When Hannah *Steiner, the president of the Czech WIZO, was arrested on the day after the German occupation of Prague in March 1939, Marie Schmolka presented herself to the Gestapo and declared that she was responsible for all the activities of the relief committee. She was arrested and imprisoned for about two months in the notorious Pankrác prison. After her release, she resumed her work. In August 1939 she was authorized by the Nazi authorities to travel to Paris and London for negotiations to accelerate Jewish emigration from the Protectorate of Bohemia-Moravia. When World War II broke out, she established herself in London, where she was active on behalf of the Czechoslovak Jewish refugees and exiles. There she died suddenly, in March 1940, and was eulogized by Jan *Masaryk.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Marie Schmolka Society of Women Zionists from Czechoslovakia, *In Memoriam…* (1944); WIZO, *Saga of a Movement; Wizo: 1920–1970* (1970), 236–8; C. Yachil, *Devarim al ha-Ẓiyyonut ha-Czekhoslovakit* (1967).

[Chaim Yahil]

SCHNABEL, ARTUR (1882–1951), pianist and teacher. A prodigy, born in Lipnik, Moravia, Schnabel studied in Vienna with Leschetitzky and from 1925 taught at the Hochschule fuer Musik in Berlin. He appeared as a soloist in the cities of Europe and on U.S. tours and also became widely known as a chamber-music player, especially with the violinist, Carl Flesch. When the Nazis came to power he settled in Switzerland and held, at Lake Como, master classes that acquired international fame. During World War II he lived in the U.S. Schnabel was a noted interpreter of Mozart, Schubert, and Brahms, and his readings of Beethoven were considered the most authoritative of his time. His playing was intellectual and contemplative rather than emotional. He was also a composer in a modernistic, atonal style, his compositions including a symphony, a piano concerto, orchestral and chamber music, and songs. He edited Beethoven's piano sonatas with an unprecedentedly detailed commentary, and also the Beethoven piano-violin sonatas jointly with Flesch. He wrote *Reflections on Music* (1933), *Music and the Line of Most Resistance* (1942), and *My Life and Music* (1961).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: C. Saerchinger, *Artur Schnabel, a Biography* (1957).

SCHNAITTACH, village in Bavaria, Germany. Although a Jew is first mentioned in 1498 at a trial in Schnaittach, some Jews presumably settled there long before that date. In 1505 an organized community is documented which by 1529 maintained a rabbi, a synagogue, and a cemetery (the oldest Jewish tombstone is from 1423). Six to 12 families resided there in the 16th century. During the Thirty Years' War (1618–48) Schnaittach suffered frequent pillage. A number of 18th-century *Court Jews came from Schnaittach, among them Seligman Loew and Anschel Levi. In 1747 there were 49 tax-paying families. A new cemetery was opened in 1833, and the ancient synagogue was restored in 1858 and again in 1932. The Orthodox community reached its peak in 1837, numbering 262 (17.6% of the population) and then declined to 175 in 1867; 53 in 1900; and only 42 in 1933. On Nov. 10, 1938, during Kristallnacht, the synagogue was desecrated (scrolls and other sacred objects were rescued by some SA men), but its historical value saved it from arson. By January 1939 the community no longer existed. The community has continued to maintain three cemeteries, although there were no Jews residing in the village in 1971. From 1985 to 1996 the building complex of the former synagogue, the ritual bath, and the rabbi's and cantor's house were restored. Since then, it has housed a remarkable exhibition on rural Jewish life in south Germany, presented by the Jewish Museum of Franconia (which has sites in Fuerth and Schnaittach).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: FJW, 283; PK Bavaria. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** M. Hildesheimer, *The History of the Kehilat Schnaittach*, vol. 1–3 (1980); W. Tausendpfund and G. Wolf, *Die juedische Gemeinde von Schnaittach* (Mitteilungen. Altnuernberger Landschaft, vol. 30, 3) (1981) ; *Germania Judaica*, vol. 3 (1987), 1327–29; T. Harburger, *Die Inventarisierung juedischer Kunst- und Kulturdenkmaeler in Bayern*, vol. 3 (1998), 677–87; B. Purin, *Juedisches Leben in Schnaittach* (1999); idem, *Judaica aus der Medina Aschpah. Die Sammlung des Juedischen Museums Franken in Schnaittach* (2003). **WEBSITES**: www.alemannia-judaica.de; www.juedisches-museum.org/schnaittach.html.

[Larissa Daemmig (2nd ed.)]

SCHNAPPER, BER (1906–?), Yiddish poet. Born near Lemberg, the son of a poor cobbler, he was associated with the Galician Neo-Romantics whose center was Lemberg. His first book of lyrics *Opshoym* ("Scum," 1927) was influenced by his townsman, the poet M.L. *Halperin. In gray images and pessimistic tones, it depicted the small, decaying villages with their crooked streets and crumbling houses. In his last lyric collections, *Mayn Shtot* ("My City," 1932), *Mayse un Lid* ("Story and Poem," 1934), and *Bloe Verter* ("Blue Words," 1937), the mood was more nostalgic. "Lid tsu a Shtekn" ("Song to a Cane"), written on the eve of World War II, when Polish hooligans were attacking Jews with their canes, is an expression of the Jewish people's protest to heaven that a tree branch designed by God to blossom was being transformed by man into a club with which to split skulls. New poems continued to appear in journals into 1940. It is not clear when and where he died.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: M. Ravitch, *Mayn Leksikon* (1945), 264–6. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** LNYL, 8 (1981), 748

[Melech Ravitch / Jerold C. Frakes (2nd ed.)]

SCHNEEBERGER, HENRY WILLIAM (1848–1916), U.S. rabbi. Born in New York City, Schneeberger obtained his B.A. and M.A. degrees from Columbia College. After receiving his rabbinical degree in 1871 from Rabbi Israel Hildesheimer in Berlin, he returned to New York in 1872 to become rabbi of Congregation Poel Zedek and one of the first native-born rabbis in the U.S. From 1876 until his death he served at Congregation Chizuk Amuno in Baltimore. He was active in local Hebrew education, the American Jewish Committee, and the Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations of the United States and Canada. In addition he helped found the Jewish Theological Seminary in 1886 and translated the Book of Ezekiel for the Jewish Publication Society Bible translation (1917). He was the author of *The Life and Works of Rabbi Yehuda Hanasi* (1870) and contributed articles to the *Jewish Messenger* and the *American Hebrew*.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Goldman, in: AJHSQ, 57 (1967), 153–90.

[Israel M. Goldman]

SCHNEERSOHN, family of ḥasidic leaders; descendants of the *ẓaddik* Shneur Zalman of Lyady, the founder of Chabad Ḥasidism (popularly known as *Lubavitch). (See Chart: Schneersohn Family). For details see *Shneur Zalman of Lyady.

SCHNEERSOHN, ISAAC (1879–1969), communal leader in Russia; founder of the *Centre de Documentation Juive Contemporaine (CDJC) in France. Born in Kamenets-Podolski, Russia, of the *Schneersohn ḥasidic family of Lubavitch rabbis, he completed his studies in 1905, and became **kazyonny ravvin*, first in Gorodnya and then in Chernigov. He was instrumental in the founding of several mutual aid organizations, cooperatives for Jewish artisans, and old-age homes. He also contributed to the improvement of the Jewish school system. In Russia, Schneersohn was a member of the moderate liberal Russian party, the Constitutional Democrats ("Cadets"). From 1916 to 1918 he was a member of the town council, later deputy mayor, of Ryazan. Schneersohn arrived in France in 1920 where he became an industrialist but pursued his Jewish social work as well. During World War II, as a refugee in southern France, he founded the Centre de Documentation Juive Contemporaine (CDJC) within the underground movement in Grenoble (1943). He became its founding chairman and presided over it until his death. After the liberation of France, the CDJC became a vital institute for the research of

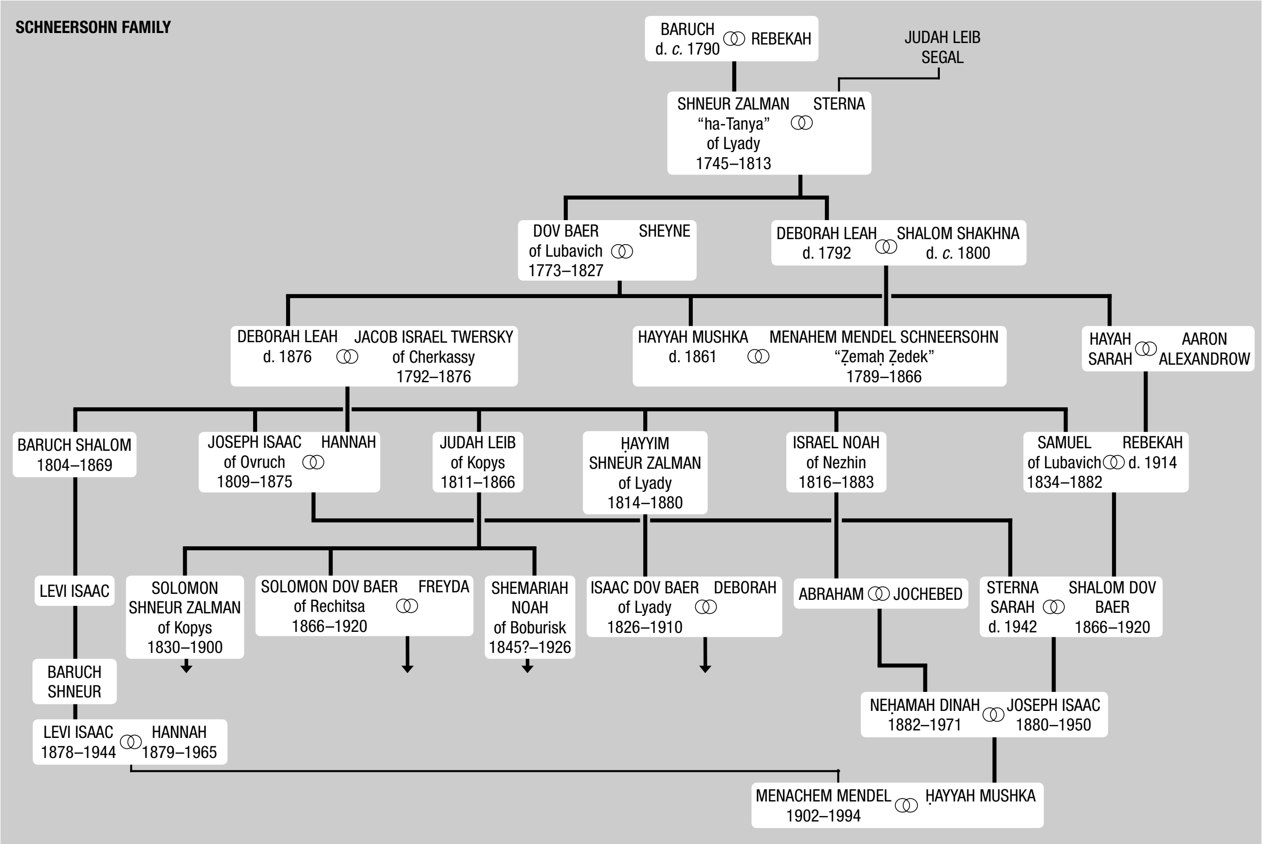
SCHNEERSOHN FAMILY
BARUCH d. *c.* 1790 ⚭ REBEKAH
JUDAH LEIB SEGAL
SHNEUR ZALMAN "ha-Tanya" of Lyady 1745–1813 ⚭ STERNA
DOV BAER of Lubavich 1773–1827 ⚭ SHEYNE
DEBORAH LEAH d. 1792 ⚭ SHALOM SHAKHNA d. *c.* 1800
DEBORAH LEAH d. 1876 ⚭ JACOB ISRAEL TWERSKY of Cherkassy 1792–1876
HAYYAH MUSHKA d. 1861 ⚭ MENAHEM MENDEL SCHNEERSOHN "Ẓemaḥ Ẓedek" 1789–1866
HAYAH SARAH ⚭ AARON ALEXANDROW
BARUCH SHALOM 1804–1869
JOSEPH ISAAC of Ovruch 1809–1875 ⚭ HANNAH
JUDAH LEIB of Kopys 1811–1866
ḤAYYIM SHNEUR ZALMAN of Lyady 1814–1880
ISRAEL NOAH of Nezhin 1816–1883
SAMUEL of Lubavich 1834–1882 ⚭ REBEKAH d. 1914
LEVI ISAAC
SOLOMON SHNEUR ZALMAN of Kopys 1830–1900
SOLOMON DOV BAER of Rechitsa 1866–1920 ⚭ FREYDA
SHEMARIAH NOAH of Boburisk 1845?–1926
ISAAC DOV BAER of Lyady 1826–1910 ⚭ DEBORAH
ABRAHAM ⚭ JOCHEBED
STERNA SARAH d. 1942 ⚭ SHALOM DOV BAER 1866–1920
BARUCH SHNEUR
NEḤAMAH DINAH 1882–1971 ⚭ JOSEPH ISAAC 1880–1950
LEVI ISAAC 1878–1944 ⚭ HANNAH 1879–1965
MENACHEM MENDEL 1902–1994 ⚭ ḤAYYAH MUSHKA

the Holocaust. By 1969, it had published 42 historical volumes, all of which are prefaced by Schneersohn. In 1952, Schneersohn launched the idea of a memorial to the unknown Jewish martyr. Despite many obstacles, this memorial was inaugurated in Paris on Oct. 30, 1956. Schneersohn's memoirs on the Russian period of his life were published in 1967 in Yiddish, under the title *Lebn un Kamf fun Yidn in Tsarishn Rusland 1905–1917, Zikhroynes*.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Le Monde Juif*, 25 no. 54 (1969), 1–11.

[Leon Czertok]

SCHNEERSOHN, MENACHEM MENDEL (1902–1994), ḥasidic rabbi, head of the Chabad-Lubavitch movement and a central figure in the world of Torah, Ḥasidism, and Kabbalah. Schneersohn was the seventh generation, in direct male descent of *Shneur Zalman of Lyady, the founder of the movement and the dynasty.

Schneersohn's main teacher in Jewish studies was his father, R. Levi Isaac Schneersohn, who was rabbi of Yekaterinoslav (now Dnepropetrovsk) in southern Russia, while his mother Hannah, the daughter of R. Meir Solomon Yanovsky, rabbi of Nikolaev, took care of his general education which included Russian, French, and mathematics. In 1924 he became engaged to his relative Ḥayyah Mushka, daughter of R. Joseph Isaac Schneersohn, then leader of Chabad.

Following the intervention of various governments, his future father-in-law was permitted to leave Soviet Russia in 1926, together with all the immediate members of his family, but Menachem Mendel was refused permission. As a result of strenuous efforts by his future father-in-law, however, he was enabled to come to Warsaw in 1929, where the marriage took place. It was already hinted at the wedding that R. Joseph Isaac, who had no sons, had designated Menachem Mendel as his successor, and after the marriage he began to instruct him for his future role, especially in the manuscripts of the previous Chabad leaders, only a few of which had been revealed to the followers of the movement.

Menachem Mendel also continued with his secular studies and in 1936 came to Paris, where he studied philosophy at the Sorbonne and graduated in electrical engineering, after which he returned to Warsaw. In 1940 R. Joseph Isaac succeeded in escaping from war-torn Warsaw, and after an adventurous journey arrived in New York. There he immediately took steps to rescue his son-in-law, who finally arrived in New York in 1941, where he obtained a position as an electrical engineer in the United States Navy.

In 1944 his father-in-law appointed him to head the Kehath Publishing House which began to publish the basic books of the Chabad doctrine. Menachem Mendel embellished the books with a wealth of quotations, explanations, and comments which revealed his comprehensive knowledge, particularly in the field of Kabbalah and Ḥasidism. In 1946 he was appointed head of the Merkos l'Inyonei Chinuch of the Ḥabad movement and, under his direction, there were established throughout the world yeshivot and schools, both for boys and girls, in the spirit of Chabad Ḥasidism.

Immediately after the death of his father-in-law (Jan. 28, 1950 – Shevat 10, 5710) R. Menachem Mendel was appointed his successor. From then on he devoted himself to the development of the Kabbalist philosophy of Chabad Ḥasidism and energetically applied himself to spreading Jewish knowledge throughout the world. From his small office at 770 Eastern Parkway, Brooklyn, he exercised control over hundreds of educational institutions, and to his headquarters there streamed pilgrimages of his admirers and those who sought answers to problems affecting the Jewish world, the State of Israel, or the world of religion as a whole, particularly in the sphere of religious mysticism. The "Rebbe," as he was universally known, laid down clear directives on all subjects.

R. Menachem Mendel displayed an ambivalent attitude towards the State of Israel; on the one hand he supported the doctrine of the right to the whole of the historic territory of the Land of Israel and forcefully objected to the surrender of any part of it, and on the other hand he vigorously criticized the way of life in Israel and negated the system of education prevailing there and even designated the State as part of the Diaspora (*galut*). Nor did he encourage his followers to go on *aliyah*. He waged a constant battle on the question "Who is a Jew?" forcefully insisting that only a person converted according to *halakhah* can be recognized as such. In the sphere of religious observance he demanded the wholehearted and meticulous observance of *halakhah* as well as of all customs sanctified by Jewish tradition. His followers are obliged to devote themselves to "spreading the fountains outside" by demonstrating both on the highways and public places in the large cities, as well as in small and neglected centers, in such details as the donning of phylacteries, the kindling of Sabbath lights, pronouncing the benediction over the *lulav*, the sounding of the *shofar*, the eating of *maṭẓah shemurah*, etc. These activities are organized as "military operations," with a fleet of vehicles which are known as "mitzvah tanks." From the Merkos l'Inyonei Chinuch there emerge streams of books, pamphlets and journals, designed for all age groups, in Hebrew, Yiddish, English, French, Russian, Arabic, German, and Turkish.

The "Rebbe" did not venture abroad and did not visit Israel. A modern, up-to-date communications center was installed at his headquarters, and from it all his talks were broadcast to over 30 communities throughout the world. R. Menachem Mendel vigorously denied the validity of scientific theories on the eternity of the world and published articles in which he denied that in fossils or even in archaeological artifacts there is any evidence to support it. He also adamantly opposed interfaith discussions or compromises in Jewish practice, but maintained that every Jew has to be attracted through love and affection towards observance of Judaism.

[Shmuel Avidor Hacohen]

Although never declaring himself to be the Messiah, the fact that the Rebbe was unequivocally of the opinion that these were messianic times led many in Lubavitch to imagine that the Rebbe himself was the Messiah. By 1990, a cult of personality swelled around the Rebbe. Sidewalk vendors sold postcards, ḥasidic tracts, and every conceivable souvenir imprinted with the Rebbe's face. Some Ḥasidim took the dollars the Rebbe was in the habit of handing out and laminated the Rebbe's face over George Washington's. The messianic excitement was strongest in Crown Heights and Kefar Ḥabad. By distinct contrast, the Rebbe's thousands of emissaries outside Crown Heights almost unanimously tried to distance themselves from the messianism and downplayed its significance.

In 1993, Schneersohn suffered a stroke that left him speechless and increasingly isolated from his Ḥasidim, with rare appearances limited to his wheelchair being perched on a balcony above the synagogue in 770 Eastern Parkway. When he was sighted, his Ḥasidim below the balcony would often erupt into messianic song, and imagined that the speechless Rebbe nodded his head in approval. There were occasional attempts by some Ḥasidim to get the Rebbe to "reveal himself." But one of the Rebbe's closest aides in his secretariat, Rabbi Yehuda Krinsky, always insisted that the Rebbe, while deeply committed to the messianic idea, never encouraged or wanted the speculation that he was the presumptive Messiah.

Schneersohn's death punctured the messianic balloon, though it is estimated that about a quarter of the hard-core believers in Crown Heights and Kefar Ḥabad continued to maintain that Schneersohn might yet be the Messiah, despite his death, a belief that became a lightning rod for criticism from the rest of the Jewish community, including fierce criticism from the Rebbe's emissaries as well.

After the Rebbe's death, the focal point for many of Schneersohn's followers became his grave in Queens, known as the "Ohel," where the Rebbe shared an open-roofed mausoleum in the Lubavitch plot in Old Montifiore Cemetery with his predecessor and father-in-law.

In an atmosphere that evokes the Western Wall, pilgrims to the grave come around the clock to recite Psalms, light candles, and bring letters requesting the Rebbe's intercession in Heaven. Chabad supporters purchased several private homes in the Cambria Heights section of Queens, just yards from Schneersohn's resting place, for a visitors center, a meditation area, study halls, and offices for support staff. Requests for the Rebbe's blessings continue to be sent every day by e-mails or faxes from around the world. On anniversaries special to Chabad, or on the eve of Jewish holidays, the visitors number well into the thousands.

[Jonathan Mark (2nd ed.)]

SCHNEIDER, ALAN (**Abram Leopoldovich Schneider**; 1917–1984), U.S. theatrical director. Born in Kharkov, Russia, Schneider taught drama at Catholic University, Washington, D.C. He staged Saroyan's *Jim Dandy* in 1941, and works by Shakespeare, Molière, Chekhov, and Wilder before becoming artistic director of the Arena Stage in Washington. He produced *Waiting for Godot* in 1956 and, after meeting Edward Albee in 1960, he directed all of Albee's plays, including *Who's Afraid of Virginia Woolf?* (1962), for which he won a Tony Award. He also directed plays by Harold Pinter.

Schneider was nominated for four other Tonys for Best Director: *The Ballad of a Sad Café* (1964); *Tiny Alice* (1965); *A Delicate Balance* (1967); and *You Know I Can't Hear You When the Water's Running* (1968).

Schneider wrote *Theatre Profiles* (1982) and *Entrances: An American Director's Journey*, which was published in 1986.

ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY: H. Maurice, (ed.), *No Author Better Served: The Correspondence of Samuel Beckett and Alan Schneider* (1998).

SCHNEIDER, ALEXANDER (1908–1993), violinist. Born in Vilna, Schneider became leader of the Frankfurt Symphony Orchestra. Immigrating to the United States in 1933, he joined the Budapest Quartet as second violinist until 1944, and again from 1957, and formed several other chamber music ensembles. Together with the cellist Pablo Casals, he established the annual festivals held at Prades in the Pyrenees from 1950 onward and in Puerto Rico from 1957. He conducted at these festivals and also visited Israel for the summer music festivals.

SCHNEIDER, IRVING (1917–), U.S. real estate owner, philanthropist. Schneider graduated from the City College of New York in 1939 and spent all his professional career in real estate. For 50 years, Schneider was with Helmsley-Spear, rising to executive vice president and longtime partner of Harry Helmsley, the real estate magnate, in New York City. When Helmsley died in 1997, Schneider and Alvin Schwartz, who was married to Dorothy Spear, became co-chairman of the firm, which had its heyday in the 1960s and 1970s. But in the early years of the 21st century, the firm still managed 86 buildings, including the Empire State Building. Schneider, with Schwartz and Helmsley, owned a great deal of property in Manhattan's garment district and numerous office buildings. In May 1996 Helmsley-Spear was managing about 28 million square feet in 107 buildings in New York. After her husband's death, Leona Helmsley, who succeeded him, agreed to sell Helmsley-Spear to Schneider and Schwartz, ending a lawsuit they had brought against her, charging that she had tried to strip the company of assets, lowering its potential value to them. Helmsley-Spear's interests included stakes in the Helmsley Park Lane Hotel, the St. Moritz, the Starrett-Lehigh Building, and the Lincoln Building. Schneider and his wife were noted for their philanthropic support of two medical facilities for children, the Schneider Children's Medical Center of Israel in Petaḥ Tikvah, the most advanced pediatric hospital in the Middle East, and the Schneider Children's Hospital in New Hyde Park, N.Y. Schneider was vice chairman of the Association for a Better New York, vice president of the Realty Foundation of New York, an honorary trustee of the City College Fund, a life trustee of the UJA-Federation of New York, a member of the United Hospital Fund's President's Council and a board member of Tel Aviv University. He was a member of the board of governors of the Jewish Agency, a trustee of the Health Insurance Plan and vice chairman of National UJA. In 2004 Schneider gave $15 million to Brandeis University for its Heller School for Social Policy and Management to provide space for the Schneider Institute for Health Policy to expand its education and research agenda.

[Stewart Kampel (2nd ed.)]

SCHNEIDER, MATHIEU (1969–), U.S. hockey player, two-time NHL All-Star, U.S. Olympic team and Team U.S.A. member. Born in Manhattan and raised in New Jersey, Schneider was introduced to hockey at a young age by his father, who was an amateur hockey player and coach. A talented defender with solid offensive skills, Schneider was drafted by the Montreal Canadiens out of high school in the third round of the 1987 draft. After two seasons training in the Ontario Hockey League and being named an OHL First Team All-Star in both 1988 and 1989, Schneider was ready for service in the NHL, quickly becoming one of the Canadiens' top-scoring defensemen and a key component of their 1993 Stanley Cup team. Over the course of his 18-year career with six different teams through 2006, Schneider proved to be one of the most durable hockey players, and is only the eleventh American-born defenseman in NHL history to play in over 1,000 games. On November 26, 2005, Schneider registered a hat trick, becoming the first Detroit defenseman to accomplish the feat in 20 years. His skills on the ice have earned him a number of honors, including being named an All-Star in 1996 and 2003, a member of the U.S. Olympic team in 1998 and 2006, a member of Team U.S.A. in 1996 and 2004, and an alternate captain of the N.Y. Islanders in 1996 and the L.A. Kings in 2001–3.

[Robert B. Klein (2nd ed.)]

SCHNEIDER, MORDECAI BEZALEL (1865–1941), Hebrew grammarian. Schneider was born in Ligum close to Shavli, Lithuania, In addition to his comprehensive knowledge of Bible, Talmud, and Hebrew grammar, he also acquired a broad knowledge of classical literature and engaged in research in the Latin and Greek languages. His main occupation was in the sphere of Hebrew language. From an early age he maintained himself by teaching and from 1896 lived in Vilna, where for many decades he was a leading figure in Zionist activity and education. He began to publish from 1888 (in *Ha-Ẓefirah*) articles on educational topics, and in 1889 he published in Vilna an educational book, *Beit ha-Sefer*, which later appeared in several parts and numerous editions. As a result of this occupation he began linguistic research.

At first he published critical studies of many known grammar books in the periodicals *Ha-Shilo'aḥ, Ha-Tekufah, Ha-Ẓefirah, Ha-Zeman, Tarbut, Haolam* and *Ha-Yom*, and then commenced to publish his magnum opus in which he summarized his life's work in research into the language – *Torat ha-Lashon ha-Ivrit be-Hitpatteḥutah ha-Historit me-*

Reshitah ad ha-Zeman ha-Aḥaron (vol. 1, pt. 1, historical section, 1923, 19282; pt. 2, *Torat ha-Kol* (phonetics), 1924; pt. 3, *Torat ha-Tavnit* (morphology), first half 1924, second half 1925; vol. 2, *Torat Shimmush ha-Lashon* (syntax), pts. 1 and 2, 1939–40; pt. 3 was not published). He edited the periodicals *Li-She'elot ha-Yom* (1919), *Meḥkerei Lashon* 1920), and *Zeramim* (1932).

He continued working on his book in the ghetto of Vilna during World War II. He was killed in Punar.

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[Getzel Kressel]

SCHNEIDERMAN, HARRY (1885–1975), U.S. editor and organization executive. Born in Saven, Poland, he was taken to the U.S. in 1890. From 1909 until his retirement in 1949 he was a member of the staff of the American Jewish Committee and functioned as its chief administrative officer from 1914 to 1928. He also undertook important editorial work, notably as editor of the *American Jewish Year Book* from 1920 to 1948.

In addition to editing numerous periodicals and reference works, he also compiled *The Jews in Nazi Germany* (1933, 1935^2) and was coeditor of the *Contemporary Jewish Record* (1938–45), and chairman of the editorial board of *Who's Who in World Jewry* (1955, 1965^2). Schneiderman was a founder and officer of the Jewish Book Council of America.

[Harry J. Alderman]

SCHNEIDERMAN, ROSE (1882–1972), U.S. labor union organizer and executive; sister of Harry Schneiderman. She was born in Saven, Poland, and taken to New York City in 1890. She soon went to work in a store, and later in a factory, and in 1903 she helped to organize the United Cloth, Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers Union. In 1904 she became its secretary and a member of its national executive board. She also helped organize the White Goods Workers Union and was in charge of its general strike in 1913. From 1914 to 1917 she was a general organizer of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union. Schneiderman was a delegate to the First National Working Women's Congress in Washington in 1918, to the Peace Conference in Paris in 1919, and to the International Congress in Vienna in 1923. Deeply involved in Farm Labor politics, she was that party's candidate for the U.S. Senate from New York in 1920. Schneiderman was president of the Women's Trade Union League from 1918 until her retirement in 1949, serving as labor adviser to several national labor and government agencies. She wrote (with Lucy Goldthwaite) *All for One* (1967), an account of her work in the labor movement.

SCHNIRER, MORITZ TOBIAS (1861–1941), physician and early Zionist. Born in Bucharest, from 1880 Schnirer lived in Vienna, where he qualified as a doctor in 1887. In 1882 he was among the founders of the *Kadimah society, the first nucleus of the Zionist movement in Austria. He joined *Herzl upon the latter's first appearance and assisted in preparations for the First Zionist Congress, the introduction of the *shekel, and the founding of the *Jewish National Fund. He was also the moving spirit behind the drawing up of the first constitution of the Zionist movement. Schnirer accompanied Herzl on his trip to Ereẓ Israel to meet Kaiser William II (1898) and was a member of the Zionist Executive until the Fourth Zionist Congress. The lecture he delivered at the First Congress formulated what was to remain the basic policy of political Zionism on settlement in Ereẓ Israel for many years, i.e., that settlement activities should not be continued until the Zionist movement received a charter for that purpose. Disagreement with Herzl and the demands of his medical practice prevented Schnirer from continuing to play an active role in the movement, although he remained in close contact with the Zionist Organization. He had a very large practice, and his medical textbooks (among others *Encyklopaedie der praktischen Medizin* (1906–09) and *Taschenbuch der Therapie…* (1925) ran into many editions. He also served as the editor of professional journals in German and French for several decades. He committed suicide together with his wife during World War II. Schnirer's reminiscences of his Kadimah days were published by N. Sokolow in Ḥibbat Ẓion (1935).

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[Getzel Kressel]

SCHNITTKE, ALFRED (1934–1998), composer. The son of a German Jewish father and a German mother, Schnittke was born in Soviet Russia. His first music studies between 1946 and 1948 were connected primarily with Vienna, where his father was working after World War II. He then absorbed the Austrian-German culture that marked him for the rest of his life. However, he was also educated in Russia. He studied in 1949–53 at the Choirmaster Department of the October Revolution Musical College, Moscow, now the Schnittke Institute; and in 1953–58 he studied composition at the Moscow Conservatory. After having taught instrumentation at the Moscow Conservatory (1962–72), he became a freelance composer and between 1962 and 1984 wrote 66 film scores as well as concert and theater works. His early compositions, like the oratorio *Nagasaki* (1958), were influenced by the Russian tradition of 19th century music. In the 1960s Schnittke himself studied the Western music of the 20th century that was formerly forbidden in the U.S.S.R. but at that time already tolerated. A great sensation of the 1970s was the 1974 premiere of his First Symphony, a polystylistic work following the traditions of Mahler and Berio in a highly individual way. The symphony was banned immediately after the first performance and remained so until Gorbachev came to power (1985). Being always uncommitted to the official Soviet ideology, Schnittke expressed his Christian religious beliefs in many of his works, including the Second Symphony (1979), which followed the Ordinary of the Roman Catholic Mass. In his Fourth Symphony (1983), Schnittke strove, in his own words, "to find the general in the dissimilar," while using melodic elements from Russian Orthodox, Gregorian, Protestant Lutheran, and synagogue chant and combining them in the final section of the work. From 1990 he lived in Hamburg (Germany), where he taught composition at the Hochschule fuer Musik und Theater. He was the recipient of several honors, including the Russian State Prize (twice, 1986 and 1995) and awards from Austria, Germany, and Japan.

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[Yulia Kreinin (2nd ed.)]

SCHNITZER, ADOLF (1889–1989), Swiss jurist. Born and educated in Berlin, Schnitzer left Germany in 1933. After World War II he was a professor of German law at Geneva University and a consultant on international law. He was an authority on private international law and published numerous books and articles including *Handbuch des Internationalen Privatrechts* (1958^4).

SCHNITZER, SHMUEL (1918–1999), Israeli journalist. Born in The Hague, Schnitzer immigrated to Palestine in 1939. He entered journalism first at *Yedioth Aharonoth,* but left it for *Maariv* in 1948 in the so-called "putsch" led by Dr. Azriel *Carlebach. With their sharp analysis, his polemics attracted a loyal readership. He was appointed editor of *Maariv* in 1980, but his term was marked by a sharp, continuing drop in *Maariv*'s circulation, and in 1985 he was replaced as editor by Iddo Dissentchik but continued to write his column until the day he died. In 1997 the Israel Prize committee canceled its decision to award Schnitzer the prize for journalism after the Press Council ruled that a column Schnitzer had written in 1994 about Ethiopian Jews, which accused the Israeli government of permitting the *aliyah* of "thousands of apostates carrying dangerous diseases," was racist.

[Yoel Cohen (2nd ed.)]

SCHNITZLER, ARTHUR (1862–1931), Austrian playwright and author. Schnitzler's father, Professor Johann Schnitzler (1835–1593), was an eminent Viennese throat specialist. Since his patients included dramatic and operatic stars, young Schnitzler was in constant contact with theatrical life and began writing plays while still a youth. After qualifying as a physician at the University of Vienna, he edited the medical journal *Internationale klinische Rundschau* (1887–94). His own professional articles dealt mainly with psychotherapy, and his friend Sigmund *Freud later paid tribute to his poetic intuition.

In 1893 Schnitzler published a collection of seven short plays titled *Anatol* after the central character, an elegant philanderer. The book had a prologue in verse by Hugo von *Hofmannsthal. His first full-length play, *Das Maerchen* (1894), was a failure, but *Liebelei*, produced in 1895 at the Viennese Burgtheater, proved so successful that Schnitzler decided to devote himself almost entirely to writing. *Reigen* (1900), a series of interconnected dialogues satirizing conventional love affairs, gave rise to a lawsuit in Berlin. (Years later Max Ophuels produced *Liebelei* as a comedy and, after World War II, turned *Reigen* into the internationally successful film, *La Ronde*.)

As Schnitzler grew older, the inconstant bachelor and the single girl ceased to occupy the center of his attention, and he became increasingly interested in relations between husband and wife. In many of his works, especially in the full-length plays *Der einsame Weg* (1904), *Zwischenspiel* (1906), *Der Ruf des Lebens* (1906), and *Das weite Land* (1911), he explored with growing sensitivity the problems of married life. In groping for a satisfactory substitute for the traditional marital relationship and for a morality better adapted to 20th-century psychology, he pursued various, amoral bypaths, but ultimately came to reject all moral systems, old and new alike. In the years before World War I his plays were among those most often performed on the German and Austrian stage. He was also writing some of the novellas which were always a favorite genre and included *Lieutenant Gustl* (1901), *Casanovas Heimfahrt* (1918), and *Fraeulein Else* (1924).

In 1912 Schnitzler dramatized a problem of medical ethics in *Professor Bernhardi*. In this play a physician, who regards it as his duty to relieve the final hours of a dying man, prevents a Catholic priest from administering the last rites, fearing that this might subject his patient to unnecessary suffering. Since the physician is a Jew, he becomes a target for antisemitic attacks. Here, as in the novel *Der Weg ins Freie* (1908), Schnitzler expressed his views on the place of the Jew in modern life. He held that antisemitism was the natural outcome of the Jews' historical position as a minority group in every land, and that no amount of Jewish or Christian sentimentality would eradicate anti-Jewish prejudice. He had a positive outlook on the issue of Jewish survival and derided those Jews who hid their origin. He prophesied that, as the liberals and Pan-Germans had betrayed them, so would the politicians of the left. Schnitzler accepted neither Zionism nor assimilation as a solution, believing that each individual had to make his own adjustment. For himself, he preferred to continue the struggle against his enemies in Vienna, where he felt himself at home.

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[Sol Liptzin]

SCHOCKEN, family active in book publishing, Jewish culture, and newspaper publishing in Israel. The family dynasty was headed by Salman *Schocken (1877–1959), Zionist, art and book collector, and publisher. Born at Margonin, province of Posen (now in Poland), in 1901 Schocken, together with his brother Simon, founded the I. Schocken Soehne at Zwickau, which developed into a prosperous chain of 19 department stores. Passionately interested in Judaism, he used his fortune to collect rare books and manuscripts, and Jewish works of art. In 1929 he founded the Research Institute for Medieval Hebrew Poetry in Berlin, which edited hitherto unknown medieval Hebrew manuscripts that Schocken had acquired.

The Schocken Press

In 1931 Schocken Verlag was established, becoming an important avenue for the publication of Jewish literature in Germany, with the express aim of educating an assimilating community about its Jewish heritage. One of its first authors was S.Y. *Agnon, who was patronized by Salman Schocken from the first stages of his literary career. In 1934 Schocken himself moved from Berlin to Jerusalem, transferring both the Institute for Medieval Jewish Poetry and his library and art collections there. In addition to the works of S.Y. Agnon and Franz *Kafka, to which Schocken possessed the world rights, the press published more than 200 books in Germany, including the works of Martin *Buber, Franz *Rosenzweig, Baruch *Kurtzweill, Leo *Baeck, Hermann *Cohen, and Gershom *Scholem. Schocken was active in Zionist affairs first in Germany and later in Palestine, in the Jewish National Fund, and on The Hebrew University's Executive Council. In 1940 he moved to the United States, and years later moved to Switzerland, where he died. After his death, the Institute for Hebrew Poetry and his library and collections in Jerusalem became the *Schocken Institute for Jewish Research of the *Jewish Theological Seminary of America.

Following its closure by the Nazis in 1938, the Schocken Press was re-established in Tel Aviv. After Salman Schocken's departure for the United States with most of his children, the Schocken Press in Tel Aviv was managed by his son GERSHON "GUSTAV" (1912–1990) until 1970. Gershon, who had studied economics at Heidelberg University and the London School of Economics, continued the press's orientation toward high-quality Jewish and Hebrew literature, including the works of Nathan *Alterman, Saul *Tchernichowsky, and Uri Zevi *Greenberg. In 1962 Dan *Miron, a professor of literature (who was married to Yael, the daughter of Gershon's brother Gideon Schocken, himself an IDF army general), was appointed editor of the Schocken Press, and brought Yehuda *Amichai's works to the publishing house. But Gershon's involvement in the Schocken Press took second place to his main work as editor in chief of the *Haaretz* newspaper, and his seat in the Knesset in 1955–59 for the Progressive Party. In 1972 Gershon's daughter, RAHELI EDELMAN (1942–), a graduate in literature and economics, took over the press. The middle-sized publishing house became eclectic and financially sounder. Edelman branched out to include translations of foreign literature, selective non-fiction (including Shabbetai Teveth's biography of David Ben- Gurion), educational texts, and children's books. Contemporary Israeli literature was shunted aside. She was chairperson of the Book Publishers' Association of Israel in 1983–94.

In 1945, five years after his arrival in New York, Salman Schocken opened the Schocken Press in New York. It became a focus for German Jewish émigrés like Hannah *Arendt and Nahum *Glazer, who became the press's editor in chief. After Salman Schocken's death, his son THEODORE and son-in-law Herzl Rome took over the press with varying degrees of financial success. Among its Jewish authors were Nahum *Sarna, Cecil *Roth, Simon *Wiesenthal, Harold *Kushner, Lucy *Dawidowicz, and Aharon *Appelfeld. The press, which became structurally independent of the Tel Aviv-based Schocken Press, expanded from its focus on Jewish books into such fields as educational publishing, women's studies, history, literary criticism, and the Montessori books as well as cook books, particularly as mainstream U.S. publishers began to discover the Jewish book market. In 1987 the press was bought by Random House, but it remained as a separate imprint, structurally tied to Pantheon Books.

Haaretz

Gershon Schocken was most remembered as the publisher and editor for 51 years of the *Haaretz* newspaper which grew to become an independent quality daily. The financially ailing newspaper had been purchased by his father in 1935. Gershon continued the intellectual tradition which had characterized the paper under Moshe Gluecksohn's editorship. He succeeded in stabilizing the paper financially, ending Gluecksohn's practice of accepting financial support from Zionist institutions.

Notwithstanding the need for socio-economic justice in the young state, *Haaretz* under Schocken's editorship favored free enterprise, criticizing the excesses of collective socialism which characterized the first 30 years of statehood. After the 1967 war, concerned at the demographic threat which the annexation of the West Bank and Gaza posed to the Jewish character of the state, *Haaretz* advocated giving up most of the territories. In supporting the creation of the Jewish state, Gershon Schocken had sought to imbue it with the humanistic values that had influenced him in his youth in Germany. In the 1950s *Haaretz* questioned unlimited Jewish *aliyah* from North Africa, favoring a more selective policy. While cherishing Jewish culture, he opposed theocratic excesses, favoring a separation of state and religion, and Jewish pluralism.

Influenced by the European tradition of quality journalism, Gershon Schocken assiduously adhered to the separation of fact and comment, with the newspaper comprising two independent sections, news and opinion. However, this distinction was blurred somewhat later in the 1980s and 1990s, as *Haaretz*, like other newspapers, sought to carve out a place for itself in an age when television and radio had become the chief providers of breaking news, leaving the newspaper to concentrate on analysis and background. While the newspaper's editorial board reflected a spectrum of liberal and left-wing secular views, Schocken would use his veto as editor-in-chief to determine the line when there were differences of opinion. Socially reclusive, he also distanced himself from political leaders, with the noted exception of Chaim *Weizmann. In the 1940 and 1950s his relations with Ben-Gurion were tense. *Haaretz*, regarded by many as a maverick publication, championed the rule of law and human rights and the exposure of official corruption. Yet the paper was a member of the Editor's Committee – in effect a mechanism enabling Israeli officialdom to win the cooperation of the media on sensitive defense and diplomatic matters – and at times Schocken even served as its chairman. In 1991 Ariel *Sharon unsuccessfully sued the paper and its reporter Uzi Benziman after it accused him of deceiving Prime Minister Menachem *Begin during the 1982 Lebanon war when he was defense minister.

The arts and literature had a respected place in the newspaper, with a weekly Friday literature supplement from 1963, as well as another, more popular mid-week version introduced in 1995. Schocken himself wrote some poetic works under the pseudonym of Robert Pozen. He had attempted unsuccessfully between 1938 and 1942 and in 1948–49 to found evening newspapers – *Ha-Sha'ah* and *Yom-Yom*. *Haaretz* branched out to the local newspaper market with the creation of local newspapers in Jerusalem (*Kol ha-Ir*) and Tel Aviv (*Ha-Ir*) in 1979 and 1980, respectively, successfully tapping local advertising potential. Untypical of local journalism, which was inclined towards sensationalism, editorial content in the Schocken chain of 14 local newspapers was quality upmarket.

From the late 1980s, the newspaper's heavy style was spruced up with the arrival, as deputy editor (and after Gershon Schocken's death, editor), of Hanoch *Marmori, a graphic artist who introduced modern design and oversaw the expansion of the newspaper's size.

Gershon's son, AMOS SCHOCKEN (1944–), a graduate in economics from The Hebrew University and business management from Harvard University, had been appointed by his father as the *Haaretz* chain's managing director. He began a daily newspaper, *Ḥadashot*, in 1983, in an attempt to compete with the two major dailies, *Yedioth Aharonoth* and *Maariv*. Featuring many photos and headlines, the newspaper was decidedly anti-establishment. In 1984 the paper was closed briefly by the military censor, after it broke censorship regulations and printed a photo of an apprehended terrorist in the so-called No. 300 bus affair, who was later killed. *Hadashot* failed to carve out an audience for itself and, facing heavy losses, folded in 1992. With Gershon's death, Amos became *Haaretz* publisher. At the turn of the century, *Haaretz*'s editorial board was split over the Palestinian intifada, with Amos Schocken taking a decidedly left-wing position that justified the refusal of Israeli soldiers to serve in the territories for reasons of conscience. By contrast, Marmori as editor took a centrist position. With the demise of the party political press, *Haaretz* had become the country's only quality daily newspaper, with an important role in influencing the national agenda.

In 1997 Schocken established an English-language edition of *Haaretz*, including a translation of the Hebrew edition, and the local printing of the *International Herald Tribune*. He also began English-language and Hebrew-language internet newspaper websites drawing on *Haaretz*'s newsgathering resources. Both developments strengthened *Haaretz*'s standing, abroad and at home, beyond its narrow, elitist Hebrew audience. But he failed in his bid in the 1990s to branch out into the electronic media.

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[Yoel Cohen (2nd ed.)]

SCHOCKEN, SALMAN (1877–1959), Zionist, art and book collector, and publisher. Born at Margonin, province of Posen (now in Poland), in 1901 Schocken, together with his brother Simon, founded the concern of I. Schocken Soehne at Zwickau, which developed into a prosperous chain of 19 department stores. Passionately interested in Judaism, as well as in all aspects of the mind, he used his fortune to collect rare books and manuscripts and became a Maecenas of general and Hebrew literature. He was patron and publisher of S.Y. *Agnon from the first stages of his literary activity. In 1929 he founded the Research Institute for Medieval Hebrew Poetry (under the direction of Ḥayyim *Brody) in Berlin, transferred to Jerusalem in 1934; it was concerned with editing hitherto unknown medieval Hebrew manuscripts which Schocken had acquired. In the early years of the Nazi rule Schocken Verlag, Berlin (1931–38), as a Jewish concern, was entitled to publish Jewish authors. Later Schocken established publishing houses in Tel Aviv (Hebrew) and New York (English). In 1934 Schocken moved from Berlin to Jerusalem and transferred his library and collections there, but went on to the United States in 1940.

From 1912 to 1945 he was very active in Zionist affairs. He was a director of the Jewish National Fund and a member of other public bodies. From 1934 to 1945 he was chairman of the Executive Council (administration) of The Hebrew University. After his death, the Institute for Hebrew Poetry and his library and collection in Jerusalem became the *Schocken Institute for Jewish Research of the *Jewish Theological Seminary of America. In 1952 a *Festschrift, Alei Ayin*, was published in his honor, containing contributions on biblical and post-biblical Hebrew literature and belles lettres by a circle of his friends, including Martin Buber, Gershom Scholem, and S.Y. Agnon.

His son, GERSHON (1912–1990; see previous entry), was the owner and chief editor of the leading morning daily *Haaretz* (from 1939). He was director of the family publishing house in Israel and was a Knesset member representing the Liberal party (1955–59).

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SCHOCKEN INSTITUTE, scholarly institute in Jerusalem which houses the Schocken Library and the Research Institute for Medieval Hebrew Poetry. The Schocken Library was started in Germany at the beginning of the 20th century by Salman *Schocken and grew into one of the largest and most important collections of early Hebraica in the world. In 1934 the library was moved to Jerusalem, to a building especially constructed for its purposes by Eric *Mendelsohn. The collection includes 60,000 volumes, among them several thousand first and early editions and incunabula (books printed before 1501; the incunabula are held at the Jewish National and University Library).

Starting in the early 1930s, the Research Institute for Hebrew Poetry collected photographs of poetic **Genizah* fragments from the major libraries of the world. Under the direction of Ḥ. *Brody, with A.M. *Habermann, J. *Schirmann and M. *Zulay, the Institute issued publications in the field of medieval Hebrew poetry, and seven volumes of studies (*Yedi'ot ha-Makhon le-Ḥeker ha-Shirah ha-Ivrit*, 1–7 (1933–58)). Of special note are M. Zulay's edition of the *piyyutim* of *Yannai (1938); Ḥ. Brody's edition of Moses *Ibn Ezra's *Diwan* (2 vols., 1935–42); A.M. Habermann's edition of the *piyyutim* of *Simeon b. Isaac (1938); and J. Schirmann's anthology of Italian Hebrew poetry, *Mivḥar ha-Shirah ha-Ivrit be-Italyah* (1934).

In 1961 the Schocken Institute became associated with the *Jewish Theological Seminary of America. In 1964 E.S. Rosenthal became research director of the Institute, and its activities were gradually enlarged. An institute for Talmud was added, which prepares critical editions of talmudic texts and their commentaries. The Institute published a yearbook, *Perakim*. Renewing its activities in the field of medieval poetry under the directorship of J. Schirmann, the Institute published M. Zulay's *Ha-Askolah ha-Payytanit shel Rav Sa'adyah Ga'on* (1964); Sh. Abramson's *Bi-Leshon Kodemim* (1965); and J. Schirmann's *Shemu'el Romanelli* (1969).

Later activities included the acquisition of the Rabbi Moses Nahum Yerushalimsky Collection, consisting of more than 25,000 archival items, including more than 6,000 letters and 4,000 postcards. The archive contains a wealth of raw material on public issues, Jewish education, Jewish law and customs, and numerous communal problems of Russian and Polish Jewry in the late 19th century. The library of Saul Liebermann, one of the leading Jewish scholars of our generation, was brought to Israel in the 1989. It consists of over 10,000 volumes of unique rabbinic and research reference material, including many first editions. Liebermann's notes and glosses are to be found among many of the book leaves.

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[H. Jacob Katzenstein]

SCHOEFFER, NICOLAS (1912–1992), sculptor and painter. Schoeffer was born in Kalosca, Hungary, and after studying at the Academy of Fine Arts, Budapest, he continued at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts, Paris. From 1935 he lived permanently in Paris. He was one of the leading contemporary exponents of kinetic art. While his origins lie in sculpture, his earliest important influence was the abstract painting of Mondrian. Based on the theory of Cubism, Mondrian's work narrowed artistic expression and experience to the interplay of squares and right angles and the intensity of a few primary colors. Schoeffer concentrated entirely on the right angle, from which he developed a theory of "Spatiodynamism." In a lecture at the Sorbonne in 1954, he defined this theory as "the constructive and dynamic integration of space in a plastic work." In practice, the art objects based on this theory are metal constructions whose composition creates or suggests illusory movement. In due course Schoeffer incorporated transparent materials in his work, so that the interplay with solid metals, which in turn dissected space rather than encasing or occupying it, resulted in a greater lightness and diversity of rhythms. One of his most successful essays is the 52-meter-tall "luminodynamic" tower in Bouverie Park, Liège, which incorporates rectangular and highly polished rotating elements to reflect light as well as sound. This tower relates to further theories of "Luminodynamism" and "Chronodynamism"; the first involves polished reflective surfaces and the second synchronized sound effects. Schoeffer made a number of public tower-sculptures to illustrate these theories. Audiovisual experiments occupied him in later years, in particular the "Musiscope," whereby he "played" a keyboard which both makes sounds and projects color formations on a screen. He also produced a series of brilliant mobile sculptures, usually in transparent plastics, which rotate electrically and reflect light.

[Charles Samuel Spencer]

SCHOENBERG, ALEXANDER JULIUS WILHELM (1892–1985), German organic chemist. From 1927 to 1934 he was professor of organic chemistry at the Berlin-Charlottenburg Polytechnicum. Forced to leave Germany, he spent three years in the department of Medical Chemistry of the University of Edinburgh, Scotland, and then was professor of chemistry at the University of Cairo until 1957 and director of its chemical institute. Returning to Berlin, he was made professor emeritus at the Polytechnicum in 1958.

SCHOENBERG, ARNOLD (1874–1951), composer, teacher, and theorist; discoverer of the "method of composition with twelve tones related to one another" as he himself described it. Born to an Orthodox family in Vienna, Schoenberg became converted to Christianity in 1898 under the influence of Gustav *Mahler. He returned to Judaism, however, on July 24, 1933, at a formal religious ceremony in Paris, at which one of the witnesses was Marc *Chagall. Schoenberg was extremely active on behalf of German refugees during the Nazi period. He was a devoted Zionist and in 1951 accepted an invitation to head the Rubin Academy for Music established in Jerusalem, but his state of health prevented him from taking up the appointment.

In music he was self-taught, except for several months of instruction from his friend, the composer Alexander Zemlinsky (1872–1942), who eventually became his brother-in-law. The deepest creative influences in his early years were Brahms and Wagner, as can be seen in his early string quartet in D major (1897), his string sextet *Verklaerte Nacht* (1899), and his gigantic cantata *Gurrelieder* (1900–11).

Schoenberg became increasingly free in his treatment of dissonance until his work transcended tonality. His piano piece Opus 11, no. 1 (1909) is the first composition to dispense completely with "tonal" means of organization. There followed a series of compositions in which extreme emotionality was counterbalanced by extreme brevity. Sometimes, as in *Erwartung* (1909) and *Pierrot Lunaire* (1912), a text helps to provide that unity which "classical" tonal means could no longer furnish. Schoenberg was continually seeking new means of tonal organization. After much experimentation he told Josef Ruler in July 1921: "Today I have discovered something which will assure the supremacy of German music for the next hundred years." It was the method of composition with twelve tones ("dodecaphony"). In this method, a basic row containing the twelve notes of the chromatic scale, in an order predetermined by the composer, serves as the foundation for an entire composition. Schoenberg found this method invaluable for securing unity. He used it for the rest of his life, with occasional returns to tonality, as in the suite for strings in G major (1934).

It was many years before Schoenberg won full acceptance as a composer, but in 1925 he was appointed director of a master school for musical composition at the Prussian Academy of Arts in Berlin. This position was taken from him on "racial" grounds in September 1933, and he responded with a formal return to the Jewish faith, which he had abandoned in his youth. A month later he emigrated to America. After a year in Boston and New York, he taught for many years, first at the University of Southern California, then at the University of California in Los Angeles. In America Schoenberg completed some of his best works. These include his fourth string quartet (1936); *Kol Nidre* (1939); piano concerto (1942); and *A Survivor from Warsaw* (1947). During this period he also wrote four of his theoretical books: *Models for Beginners in Composition* (1943), *Structural Functions of Harmony* (1954), *Preliminary Exercises in Counterpoint* (1963), and *Fundamentals of Musical Composition* (1967). His *Style and Idea* appeared in 1950 and his *Letters*, edited by E. Stein, in 1964. His Jewish loyalties, the Holocaust, and the establishment of the State of Israel are strongly reflected in his musical works, in works such as *Der Biblische Weg*, and the cantatas *Dreimal Tausend Jahre* and *Israel Lives Again.* The texts of these works were written by Schoenberg himself, with the exception of that of *Dreimal Tausend Jahre*, which was written by Rabbi Dagobert Runes. Three of his great works with religious themes, the cantata *Die Jakobsleiter,* the opera *Moses and Aaron*, and the cycle of *Modern Psalms*, were unfinished at his death on July 13, 1951. *Moses and Aaron*, however, has been highly successful in its two-act form, and this dramatic confrontation of priest and prophet may well stand as Schoenberg's strongest work.

Schoenberg's influence on the music of the 20th century was immense. After World War II his technique of composition was studied intensively both in Europe and United States, after the ban on it during Nazi rule. At the same time, some of the postwar avant-garde composers who considered Schoenberg not consistent enough when using his own technique preferred to lean on the work of his famous pupil Webern, who was more strict in following the rules of dodecaphony. However, despite all the debates about Schoenberg's method, he is now considered a brilliant innovative mind and one of the classics of 20th century music.

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[Yulia Kreinin (2nd ed.)]

SCHOENE, LOTTE (née **Charlotte Bodenstein**, 1891–1977), soprano singer. Schoene was born in Vienna, where she studied, making her debut at the Volksoper there in 1912. In 1917 she was engaged at the Vienna Imperial Opera, and sang there until 1925, after which year she moved to Berlin. She also sang regularly at the Salzburg Festival from 1922 to 1934, her pure lyric soprano in Mozart roles winning great admiration. She settled in Paris in 1933, and made appearances at the Opéra and Opéra-Comique, but on the outbreak of World War II she went into hiding in the French Alps. In 1945, Schoene resumed her career as a concert singer, but retired in 1953 to teach singing in Paris.

[Max Loppert (2nd ed.)]

°SCHOENERER, GEORG VON (1842–1921), Austrian antisemitic politician. Schoenerer, the son of a railway entrepreneur and nobleman, was elected to parliament (Reichsrat) in 1873 after making a name for himself as an energetic estate owner who improved the economic and social lot of the peasants. There he joined the left-wing, radical-democrat nationalists and repeatedly shocked the house with his outspoken anticlericalism, anti-Hapsburg views, and demagoguery. In 1878 he began to air opinions about the allegedly harmful Jewish plutocracy and its domination of the press, but his opposition to the admission of Jewish refugees from Russian pogroms in 1882 was unsuccessful. He was supported by Heinrich *Friedjung and Victor *Adler, who helped him draft the popular 11-point Linz program (which combined Prussian-oriented nationalism, social reform, and semi-socialistic measures). Schoenerer added a twelfth point in 1885: "In order to realize these reforms, the removal of Jewish influence from all fields of public life is indispensable." Despite his continuing popularity, Schoenerer was never able to forge a stable party organization and was constantly causing rifts in his ranks. On March 8, 1888, after a drinking bout, he led an assault on the offices of the *Neues Wiener Tageblatt*, which he considered Jewish-owned, for prematurely announcing the decease of Emperor William I of Germany. Despite the support of K. *Lueger and others, he was stripped of his title, deprived of his seat for five years, and imprisoned. He returned to parliament in 1897 with five supporters, and in 1901 his party obtained 21 seats. However, his party soon distintegrated and Austrian antisemites came to prefer Lueger's clerical and pro-Hapsburg *Christian Social Party.

Schoenerer's ambitions were thwarted by his own intransigence, self-glorification, and despotic manner, which left him isolated politically. His long-term significance for the rise of Nazism was decisive. He turned to racism, acclaiming Karl Eugen *Duehring and other racists, and helped spread the "*Voelkische Weltanschauung*." Successful in enlisting the support of various and often conflicting social strata, he gained main adherents from the small-town lower-middle class and was extremely popular with the Burschenschaften (see *Students' Associations, German), who formed his bodyguard, uniting these elements with his vulgar slogan: What the Jew believes is irrelevant, the piggish mess lies in the race. ("*Was der Jude glaubt, ist einerlei, In der Rasse liegt die Schweinerei*").

He was much admired by the Nazis, who, immediately after the *Anschluss*, named a street in the Jewish section of Vienna for him; they also promoted Eduard Pichl's study on him and, in 1942, held a memorial exhibition in Vienna. Schoenerer has importance for historians because he was the first to exploit antisemitism in changing the direction of foreign policy and disrupting the internal structure of the state, techniques later closely copied by Nazism.

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[Henry Wasserman / Evelyn Adunka (2nd ed.)]

SCHOENFELD, JOSEPH (1884–1935), Hungarian Zionist and editor of Hungarian/Zionist periodicals. He was among the founders of Maccabea, the Zionist students' society in Budapest, which was founded on Herzl's initiative in 1903 and prepared Hungarian-speaking Zionist leaders for Hungary, Slovakia, Transylvania, and North Yugoslavia. From 1912 to 1914, and then from 1927 to 1935, he was the editor of the organ of the Hungarian Zionist Federation *Zsidó Szemle* ("Jewish Review"). His articles defended the Zionist movement against opposition, especially by the Jewish weekly *Egyenlöség* ("Equality"), which enjoyed the support of the Budapest Neolog community and advanced an assimilationist line.

Schoenfeld fought for the reunification of Hungarian Jewry, which had split into opposing groups – Orthodox and Neolog – in 1871. He was a gifted orator, employing humor and sarcasm in his speeches. He translated Herzl's *Der Judenstaat* into Hungarian in 1919, and published *Vissza a Gettóba* ("Return to the Ghetto," 1919) and *Harcban a Zsidóságért* ("In the Battle for Israel," 1928), both of which contain a selection of his articles on Jewish problems and Zionism in Hungary and in general.

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[Jekutiel-Zwi Zehawi]

SCHOENHACK, JOSEPH (1812–1870), Hebrew writer and lexicographer. Born in Tiktin, Poland, he wrote one of the first works on natural science in Hebrew – *Toledot ha-Areẓ*, in three volumes (*Toledot ha-Ḥayyim* (1841, with commendatory prefaces by rabbis and *maskilim*), *Toledot ha-Ẓemaḥim*, and *Toledot ha-Muẓakim* (both 1859), treating, respectively, zoology, botany, and mineralogy. The books were schematically presented – the names of the animals, plants, and minerals appeared in Hebrew with a German translation (in Hebrew letters); the text was augmented by many footnotes that examined the names of species mentioned in the Bible and in talmudic literature. He used a German name only when no Hebrew name was available. With the help of Schoenhack, Mendele Mokher Seforim determined the names of animals in his book *Toledot ha-Teva*.

Schoenhack also compiled a dictionary, *Ha-Mashbir he-Ḥadash*, for the language of the Targum, the Talmud, and the Midrash (1859) based on the *Arukh* by *Nathan of Rome, but he noted the origin of each word and translated it into German (in Hebrew letters). In 1869 he added to *Ha-Mashbir* a book called *Sefer ha-Millu'im*, in which he added words not printed in the *Arukh*.

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[Yehuda Slutsky]

SCHOENHEIMER, RUDOLF (1898–1941), German biochemist. Born in Berlin, Schoenheimer worked in the Institutes of Pathology of the universities of Berlin (1922–23) and Leipzig (1923–25). He was a leader in the Blau-Weiss Zionist Youth Movement. In 1926 he became professor of pathological chemistry at the University of Freiburg. With the advent of the Nazi regime, he went to America, as professor of biological chemistry at Columbia University (1933–41). His career ended in suicide during World War II.

Using stable isotopes (particularly deuterium and nitrogen-15) as tracers, he followed the metabolism of cholesterol and of fats through the mammalian body, and his findings led to marked changes in the views then held on metabolism.

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[Samuel Aaron Miller]

SCHOEPS, HANS JOACHIM (1909–1980), professor and scholar of religious history. Schoeps, who was born in Berlin, emigrated to Sweden in 1938, returning to Germany after World War II. In 1947 he began teaching religious and intellectual history at the University of Erlangen and was appointed professor in 1950. From 1947 he edited *Zeitschrift fuer Religions-und Geistesgeschichte*. While his interests have ranged over a wide field, his writings have dealt mainly with earliest Christianity. Schoeps' relationship to the Jewish community has been a clouded one. Beginning with his early publications in the 1930s, Schoeps, a prolific writer, adopted a radical dialectical Jewish theology which excluded all nomistic as well as national-cultural elements, bringing Judaism very close to Christianity but stopping short of baptism. His speculative theological position, influenced by the writings of the 19th-century Jewish philosopher Solomon Ludwig *Steinheim, was, he wrote, acceptable neither to liberals nor Orthodox. More significant, however, was his espousal of an extreme German nationalism, which led, in the decisive year of 1933, to the conviction that it was possible for the "German Jews," as distinguished from the Eastern European Jews then in Germany and the Zionists, to come to terms with the National Socialists.

Among his books are *Theologie und Geschichte des Judenchristentums* (1949); *Aus fruehchristlicher Zeit* (1950); and *Paul* (Ger. 1959; Eng., 1961). The *Jewish Christian Argument* (1965) is a useful description of the view of Christianity in the writings of Jewish authors. In 1956 he published his autobiography, *Die letzten dreissig Jahre*. In it he noted with regret his failure to recognize the true face of Nazism (his own parents died in concentration camps). Of Judaism itself he wrote of a hope for something completely new that in confrontation with the death of the six million might yet emerge.

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[Lou H. Silberman]

SCHOLEM (Shalom), GERSHOM GERHARD (1898–1982), the most important scholar of Jewish mysticism and a towering figure in Jewish intellectual life. Born to an assimilated family in Berlin, he was attracted in his youth to Judaism and Zionism and studied major Hebrew Jewish texts and Kabbalah by himself. After completing a Ph.D. thesis in 1923 on *Sefer ha-Bahir*, he arrived in Israel, and taught at the Hebrew University, becoming the first professor to devote all his studies and teaching to the topic of Jewish mysticism. His achievement in surveying all the major stages and writings belonging to this topic is staggering. In the difficult times of the 1920s and 1930s, he traveled to all the major European libraries and systematically studied all the available manuscripts. In 1939 he delivered a series of lectures in New York, which became the first comprehensive analysis of the historical and phenomenological aspects of the entire range of Jewish mysticism: *Major Trends in Jewish Mysticism,* which is also his most influential and widely read book. One of the chapters of this book, dealing with the Heikhalot literature, was complemented by a collection of studies printed in New York, under the title *Jewish Gnosticism, Merkabah Mysticism, and the Talmudic Tradition*.

Building upon his perusal of manuscripts, he published from the mid-1920s a series of articles in Hebrew in which he identified many anonymous manuscripts, and from 1948, a series of analyses about the beginning of Kabbalah. In its most elaborated form, it appeared in English posthumously as *Origins of the Kabbalah*, translated by A. Arkush and edited by R.Z.J. Werblowsky (1987).

Alongside those studies he identified, published, and analyzed in detail the main documents pertinent to Shabbateanism, and in 1957, he published in Hebrew the most important synthesis of the historical and religious aspects of the Shabbatean movement in the lifetime of *Shabbetai Ẓevi. Sixteen years later, Princeton University Press produced an enlarged English version of this book, *Sabbatai Sevi, the Mystical Messiah*, translated by R.J.Z. Werblowsky.

From 1948, Scholem was a permanent participant in the Eranos encounters in Ascona, Switzerland, where he lectured and interacted with the major scholars of religion of his generation, such as Carl G. Jung, Mircea Eliade, and Henry Corbin. The lectures he delivered there in German were printed in the volumes of *Eranos Jahrbuch* and collected in two German volumes, translated into English by R. Manheim as *On the Kabbalah and Its Symbolism* (1969) and *On the Mystical Shape of the Godhead* (1991), and into Hebrew by Joseph ben Shlomo as *Pirkei Yesod be-Havanat ha-Kabbalah u-Semaleha* (1976). These studies represent the most important articulations of Scholem's phenomenology of Kabbalah, treating seminal matters in Jewish mysticism. In 1972 he formulated his last summary of his understanding of Kabbalah in the various entries he contributed to *Encyclopedia Judaica*, which were collected in the volume *Kabbalah* (1974).

The main themes that represent his thought are the emergence of Kabbalah in Europe in mid-12th century as the result of a synthesis between Gnostic and Neoplatonic elements; the rise of messianic interest among the kabbalists after the expulsion of the Jews from Spain; the reaction to the trauma of the expulsion in the theories of the Safed kabbalists, especially the Lurianic one; the spread of this type of messianic Kabbalah among wider audiences, which prepared the way for the emergence of the Shabbatean movement, and last but not least, the assumption that the wide influence of the Shabbatean movement had an impact on the emergence of three main religious developments since the 18th century: Ḥasidism, Enlightenment, and Reform. Scholem was especially interested in Messianism and dedicated much of his energy to writing seminal studies about the "messianic idea" in Judaism in all its forms: see especially *The Messianic Idea in Judaism* (New York, 1972). A leitmotif in his writing is the importance of antinomian, paradoxical, and dialectical forms of thought in Kabbalah on the one hand, and the absence of mystical union in Jewish mysticism, on the other.

His deep involvement in the intellectual life in Israel and in the Jewish world generated numerous articles, most of which have been collected in three Hebrew volumes edited by Abraham Shapira, and in some English ones.

Scholem established a school of scholars in Jerusalem which he described as historical-critical, and directed a series of doctoral theses by renowned scholars such as Isaiah Tishby, Efraim Gottlieb, Rivka Schatz-Uffenheimer, Meir Benayahu, Joseph ben Shlomo, Amos Perlmutter, Yehuda Liebes, and Amos Goldreich. His impact on a long line of Israeli and American scholars and intellectuals was tremendous. Among them we may enumerate Zalman Shazar, S.Y. Agnon, Isaac Baer, Nathan Rotenstreich, Chaim Wirszubski, and R.J.Z. Werblowsky; and in America, Harold Bloom, Robert Alter, and Cynthia Ozick.

Scholem was widely recognized as the leading scholar in Judaica in the 20th century and was accorded numerous prizes and honorary titles, among them the Israel Prize, the Bialik Prize, and the Rothschild Prize, and served as the head of the Israeli Academy of Science and Humanities.

He wrote an autobiography, *From Berlin to Jerusalem*, and corresponded with many persons, including Walter Benjamin. Several monographs have been dedicated to his life and thought: e.g., David Biale, *Gershom Scholem, Kabbalah and Counter-History* (Cambridge, MA, 1979), and Joseph Dan, *Gershom Scholem and the Mystical Dimension of Jewish History* (New York-London, 1988).

His rich library is indubitably the best one in the field of Jewish mysticism, and it became part of the Jewish National and University Library, serving as a major resource for studies in the field. A catalogue raisonné of his library has been printed in two volumes, edited by Joseph Dan and Esther Liebes, *The Library of Gershom Scholem on Jewish Mysticism* (Jerusalem, 1999).

[Moshe Idel (2nd ed.)]

SCHOLEM, WERNER (1895–1940), communist politician and lawyer. Scholem was the third son of the Berlin printer Arthur Scholem and his wife, Betty, and the elder brother of Gerhard (Gershom) *Scholem. After a short involvement with Zionism, Scholem became a member of the Socialist Party at the age of 18. Being attached to the leftist and pacifistic wing of the SPD, he refused to volunteer for service in World War I. In 1915 he was drafted and was wounded a year later. In 1917, while taking part in an anti-war demonstration in uniform, he was arrested and accused of high treason, yet was released after a few months. Scholem moved to Hannover and married a comrade from the workers' movement, Emmy Wiechelt. After the foundation of the USPD (Independent Social Democratic Party of Germany) he became editor of the Party's paper, *Volksblatt*, in Halle/Saale. In 1921 he became the youngest member of the *Preussischer Landtag* and was appointed to the editorial board of the *Rote Fahne*. He was elected to the *Reichstag* in 1924 and became a leading figure of the KPD (Communist Party of Germany). In 1926 he was expelled from the Communist Party as a prominent protagonist of the so-called "ultra-left" anti-Stalinist opposition. Scholem turned away from politics and resumed his law studies, which he finished in 1931. After the Nazis came to power, Werner and Emmy Scholem were immediately imprisoned, but soon released. In April they were arrested again, this time by the Gestapo, and accused of high treason. With the help of a friend, Emmy was released and managed to escape with the couple's two daughters to London in 1934. In 1935 Scholem was interned in the concentration camp Torgau, and was transferred to Dachau in 1937. On July 17, 1940, Werner Scholem was murdered in the Buchenwald concentration camp.

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[Mirjam Triendl (2nd ed.)]

SCHOLES, MYRON S. (1941–), economist, financier, and educator; joint winner of the 1997 Nobel Prize for economics. Born in Timmins, Ont., Scholes earned his B.A. in economics in 1962 at McMaster University in Hamilton, Ont., where he had lived since the age of 10. He completed his M.B.A. in 1964 and Ph.D. in 1969 at the University of Chicago. While working on his dissertation, he took a position in 1968 as assistant professor in finance at the Sloan School of Management at Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT). In 1973 Scholes returned to the University of Chicago as an associate professor (later promoted to professor) in the Graduate School of Business; a decade later, in 1983, he joined the finance and law faculty at Stanford University's Graduate School of Business and Law School and attained his current status of emeritus in 1996.

Scholes grew up surrounded by family who were involved in business; in particular, his mother directed him toward the field and even assisted him with his first investment account as a teenager. After his mother's death when he was 16, he remained mindful of her vision for his future throughout his academic years. During his graduate studies he developed a passion and dedication for research.

In his 30-plus years of teaching, Scholes wrote a vast collection of articles on economic and finance topics in various business periodicals. However, none were more revolutionary than his and Fischer Black's 1973 "The Pricing of Options and Corporate Liabilities" in the *Journal of Political Economy*, which introduced their equation on stock options pricing. Later that year Robert Merton's similar research culminated in his paper "The Theory of Rational Option Pricing" (in the *Bell Journal of Economics*), and the three collaborated to prove their theory in the live market with their 1976 mutual fund, Money Market/Options Investment, Inc. The successful results caused a dramatic eruption of "derivatives" markets, and its usage has not only endured but also led to Scholes and Merton's selection as co-recipients of the 1997 Nobel Prize in economics. (Black had passed away in 1995.)

Among Scholes' many professional affiliations were managing partner at Oak Hill Capital Management, chairman of Oak Hill Platinum Partners, and the American Finance Association's president in 1990, as well as serving on the board of directors of several corporations. In 1993 Scholes and Merton were two founders of the Greenwich, Conn.-based Long-Term Capital Management (LTCM), a hedge fund that he left not long after its downfall in 1998 (but prior to its liquidation in 2000). He holds honorary doctoral degrees from the University of Paris-Dauphine (1989), McMaster University (1990), and Belgium's Katholieke Universiteit Leuven (1998). In 1991 he co-wrote with Mark A. Wolfson the book *Taxes and Business Strategies: A Planning Approach* (updated second edition, 2001).

[Dawn Des Jardins (2nd ed.)]

SCHOMBERG, English family. MEYER LOEW SCHOMBERG (1690–1761), born in Fetzburg, Germany, was one of the first Jews to be accepted at a German university, receiving a degree in medicine from the University of Giessen (1710). He subsequently settled in London, and became a member of the Royal College of Physicians (1722) and a Fellow of the Royal Society (1726). Appointed physician to the Great Synagogue, he built up a fashionable clientele. He wrote *Emunat Omen* in 1746, criticizing the English Jewish community for its mean outlook and defending his own unorthodox way of life. His sons ceased to be identified with Judaism. ISAAC SCHOMBERG (1714–1780), the eldest, became (after some initial difficulties) censor of the College of Physicians. His twin, RAPHAEL or RALPH SCHOMBERG (1714–1792), was a notary public as well as a physician. He tried his hand at literature and published volumes of poetry and plays which were of poor quality. HENRY SCHOMBERG (c. 1715–1755) rose to the rank of lieutenant colonel in the army. Meyer's youngest son, SIR ALEXANDER SCHOMBERG (1720–1804), commanded the ship which covered Wolfe's landing at Quebec in 1759 during the British conquest of Canada. He served as the model for Hogarth's painting *A Naval Officer* and was knighted in 1777. He was the father of Admiral SIR ALEXANDER WILMOT SCHOMBERG (1774–1850), naval writer, and probably of ISAAC SCHOMBERG (1753–1813), commissioner and deputy comptroller of the navy (1808–13) and editor of *Naval Chronology* (1802). Members of the family continued to be prominent in British life, particularly in the navy and army, until recently. However, they had no Jewish associations. This family was unrelated to another family of British Schombergs, the Dukes of Schomberg and their descendants, who were gentiles from Germany. They were also prominent in British public life and military affairs in the 18th and 19th centuries.

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[Cecil Roth]

SCHON, FRANK, BARON (1912–1995), British industrialist. Schon was born in Vienna and educated at the universities of Prague and Vienna, where he studied law. After settling in England, he founded in West Cumberland the chemical manufacturing firm of Marchon Products in 1939 and Solway Chemicals in 1943; he was chairman and managing director of both until 1967. In 1956 Marchon Products became part of Albright and Wilson, of which Schon was a director from 1958 to 1972; he was a director of Blue Circle Industries (formerly Portland Cement) from 1967 to 1982. Schon took a prominent part in the public and cultural life of the north of England, serving on the council and court of Durham University and Newcastle University. He was chairman of the Cumberland Development Council from 1964 to 1968. From 1969 to 1979 he was chairman of the National Research Development Corporation, a public agency concerned with the promotion of inventions in the national interest. He was knighted in 1966 and created a life peer in 1976.

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[Vivian David Lipman]

SCHONFELD, VICTOR (1880–1930), English rabbi and educator. Schonfeld was born in Hungary. He served as rabbi of the Montefiore Society in Vienna until 1909, when he went to the North London Beth Hamidrash, which became the Adath Yisrael Synagogue in 1911. In 1920 Schonfeld took up an invitation to become head of the Mizrachi schools in Ereẓ Israel; dissatisfied with conditions, he returned to his former post two years later. In 1927 he founded the Union of Orthodox Hebrew Congregations in England, and in 1929 he established the Jewish Secondary Schools Movement. Schonfeld was an outstanding preacher and teacher, wielding great influence beyond the confines of his congregation, partly through the youth society, Ben Zakkai, which he founded. Apart from publishing a number of textbooks for religious schools, a volume of his sermons and essays was published posthumously by his son Solomon (*Judaism as Life's Purpose*, 1930; a shorter edition *Life's Purpose*, 1956).

SOLOMON SCHONFELD (1912–1984) was born in London and succeeded his father in 1933 as rabbi of the Adath Yisrael Synagogue, resigning from this post after 25 years' service; he also took over as presiding rabbi of the Union of Orthodox Hebrew Congregations. Schonfeld became principal of the Jewish Secondary Schools Movement, which he successfully expanded after World War II. Together with his father-in-law, Chief Rabbi Joseph *Hertz, he set up the Chief

Rabbi's Emergency Council, which in 1938–39 brought rabbis and other religious personnel to England from Central Europe and provided them with positions. Through the same organization he saved, both before and after the war – from Poland in particular – many hundreds of children. He was critical of the methods of the Refugee Childrens' Movement in England, which in his opinion failed to assure their religious upbringing.

Among Schonfeld's publications are *Jewish Religious Education* (1943), a handbook with syllabi for teachers and parents; the *Universal Bible* (1955), pentateuchal texts with translation and notes; and *Message to Jewry* (1959), addresses and articles.

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SCHONFIELD, HUGH JOSEPH (1901–1988), British writer and New Testament scholar. Born in London, he entered publishing in 1932, when he produced *A New Hebrew Typography* in which he devised a lower case alphabet for the printing of Hebrew. He first made his name as a biographer with *Richard Burton: Explorer* (1936) and *Ferdinand de Lesseps* (1937). He also published various historical works such as *This Man Was Right: Woodrow Wilson Speaks Again* (1943) and *The Suez Canal in World Affairs* (1952; revised ed. 1969).

Schonfield, however, owed his main reputation to a long series of works, often controversial, in which he dealt with primitive Christianity, whose Jewish roots he first emphasized in *Besorat Mattai: An Old Hebrew Text of St. Matthew's Gospel* (1927) and *According to the Hebrews: A New Translation of the Toldoth Jeshu …* (1937). In his *History of Jewish Christianity from the First to the Twentieth Century* (1936), Schonfield endeavored to revive the cause of the first-century Ebionite or "Nazarene" Church of Jerusalem, long silenced by the triumphant Gentile Church, and proclaimed the establishment of a "Jewish Christian independent religious communion" of Jews who believed in the messiahship of Jesus but remained separate from any Church denomination. To varying extents, the same approach characterizes *Jesus: A Biography* (1939), *The Jew of Tarsus: An Unorthodox Portrait of Paul* (1946), *Saints Against Caesar: The Rise and Reactions of the First Christian Community* (1948), and *Those Incredible Christians: A New Look at the Early Church* (1968).

A noted lecturer and broadcaster, Schonfield continued his research in *The Authentic New Testament* (1955), an original translation from the Greek, together with an introduction and notes relating the text to rabbinic sources, which became a bestseller. In this, as in other of his later works – such as *Judaism and World Order* (1943); *The Song of Songs* (1960), translated from the Hebrew with notes and an introduction; and *A Popular Dictionary of Judaism* (1962) – Schonfield stressed his Jewish identity and apparently retreated from his earlier wholehearted advocacy of Judeo-Christianity. He also wrote *Secrets of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (1956); *A History of Biblical Literature* (1962); *The Passover Plot* (1965), a reappraisal of the messianic initiative of Jesus; and *The Politics of God* (1970). *The Pentecost Revolution* (1974), an account of the "Jesus Party" up to the outbreak of the Jewish War against the Romans in 66 C.E., is a sequel to *The Passover Plot.* Schonfield was one of the most popular and controversial writers on early Christianity in modern Britain.

[Gabriel Sivan]

SCHOOLMAN, BERTHA S. (1897–1974), U.S. Zionist leader. Bertha Schoolman, who was born in New York City, studied at Hunter College and at the Teachers Institute of the Jewish Theological Seminary. From 1919 to 1923 she taught at the Central Jewish Institute, and from 1922 to 1946 she was a director of children's summer camping. Her Zionist activity brought her appointments to the national board of Hadassah in 1935 and the World Zionist Actions Committee from 1937. During over 30 years of Hadassah work, Bertha Schoolman held national offices, including secretary (1940–41), vice president (1941–43), and national chairman of Youth Aliyah (1956–60).

Her husband, ALBERT SCHOOLMAN (1894–1980), educator, was born in Lithuania. He headed the Central Jewish Institute of New York, the first American Jewish community center with an educational focus. In 1919 Schoolman established the Cejwin Camps, the first system of Jewish educational camps in the United States, with which he remained actively associated. Schoolman was president of the National Council for Jewish Education and a founder of the American Association for Jewish Education. Schoolman's educational philosophy was rooted in the Reconstructionist view of Judaism.

[Leon H. Spotts]

SCHOR, ALEXANDER SENDER BEN EPHRAIM ZALMAN (d. 1737), talmudist. Schor, who was probably born in Lvov, married the daughter of Mordecai b. Leibush of Zolkiew, president of the *Council of Four Lands. For a time Schor was rabbi of Hovnov, Belz district, but in 1704 he resigned, not wishing to bear the responsibility of the rabbinate, and went to live in Zolkiew, where he remained for the rest of his life, earning his living as a distiller. In 1733 Schor published *Simlah Ḥadashah*, a digest of the laws of ritual slaughter – *sheḥitah* and *terefot* – with an extensive commentary entitled *Tevu'ot Shor.* An appendix named *Bekhor Shor* contains novellae on both the *halakhah* and *aggadah* to tractate *Ḥullin* and other tractates. The *Tevu'ot Shor* attained great popularity. It has been republished at least 17 times and came to be regarded as the authoritative work on the subject. Schor generally assumes a stringent interpretation of the relevant laws. In practice, a knowledge of *Tevu'ot Shor* was regarded as a prerequisite for a *shoḥet* before he was granted a *kabbalah*, a permit to practice *sheḥitah.* The name of the book became almost a concept: of an expert in the laws of *sheḥitah* it was said that "he is an expert in the *Tevu'ot Shor.*"

Commentaries were written on it, the most important being *Levushei Serad* of D.S. Eybeschuetz (Moghilev, 1812) and the *Tikkunei ha-Zevaḥ* of Isaiah Borochowitz (1883).

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[Itzhak Alfassi]

SCHOR, EPHRAIM SOLOMON (The Elder) BEN NAPHTALI HIRSCH (d. 1633), Polish rabbinical scholar. He was the son-in-law of Saul *Wahl, and legend has it that Saul Wahl married off his young daughter hurriedly to Schor despite the disparity in age to forestall the desire of the king to marry her (*Gedullat Sha'ul*, ed. by H. Edelmann (1854), 4a–b); there is no historical basis for the legend. Schor belonged to a Moravian family. From 1613 to 1624 he was rabbi of Grodno, then Szczebrzeszyn and Brest-Litovsk, and finally Lublin. In 1618 he was one of the rabbis who signed a *takkanah* of the *Council of Four Lands. The esteem in which he was held can be gauged from the fact that his *haskamah* ("approbation") to the *Ikkarim* of Joseph *Albo with the commentary *Eẓ Shatul* (Venice, 1618) appears before that of Meir of *Lublin. Schor's fame rests on his *Tevu'ot Shor* (Lublin, 1615–16), a digest of the *Beit Yosef* to the *Turim* in which he adds and comments upon the sources of the *Tur* of Jacob b. Asher, which are not given in *Beit Yosef* (Lublin, 1605/6). His responsa and decisions are frequently quoted by his contemporaries. In order to distinguish him from his relative, Alexander *Schor, who also wrote a work under the same title, he is occasionally referred to as "The Elder Tevu'ot Shor." His son JACOB, the author of *Beit Ya'akov* (Venice, 1693), novellae to *Sanhedrin*, was, like his father, rabbi of Brest-Litovsk.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: S. Feinstein, *Ir Tehillah* (1885), 24, 153; I.T. Eisenstadt and S. Wiener, *Da'at Kedoshim* (1897/98), 30 (2nd pagination); S.B. Nissenbaum, *Le-Korot ha-Yehudim be-Lublin* (1899), 35f.; H.D. Friedberg, *Toledot-Mishpaḥat Schor* (1901), 9f.; F.H. Wetstein, in: *Sefer ha-Yovel… N. Sokolow* (1904), 289f.; Halpern, Pinkas, 34f.

[Itzhak Alfassi]

SCHOR, ILYA (1904–1961), U.S. metalsmith, painter, and printmaker. Born in Zloczoq, Poland, Schor was the son of a Hasidic painter. Before attending the Academy of Fine Arts in Warsaw, he worked as an apprentice to an engraver and goldsmith. He continued his studies in Paris before coming to New York in 1941. Schor achieved a reputation as a worker in metal. His jewelry and ritual objects, such as *kiddush* cups and Torah crowns, are filled with delicate, detailed, and intricate design. He did a great deal of work for ritual use in synagogues, such as doors for the ark of Temple Beth-El, Great Neck, New York. With artists such as Percival Goodman, Seymour Lipton, Ben Shahn, and Milton Horn, Schor contributed work which reflected the post-World War II Jewish community's renewed interest in the synagogue as both a spiritual and cultural gathering place: original and handcrafted ritual objects, sculpture, painting, and windows emphasized the importance of the synagogue in Jewish community life. Schor's work was reminiscent of pre-Emancipation Jewish craftsmen. His oils and some of the books he illustrated with woodcuts depicted life in the small Jewish communities of his boyhood. His woodcut *Fiddler*, composed of simple, flat shapes with a minimum of detail, recalls a figure of the Eastern European shtetl. He illustrated *The Sabbath: Its Meaning for Modern Man by Abraham Heschel* (1951), *The Earth Is the Lord's': The Inner World of the Jew in Eastern Europe*, also by Heschel. Rather than working in the Abstract Expressionist style of his peers, Schor always remained a narrative, figurative artist who referred to traditional Jewish religious or cultural subject matter, making art in a manner which combined both folk and modernist sensibilities.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: G.C. Grossman, *Jewish Art* (1995); A. Kampf, *Jewish Experience in the Art of the Twentieth* Century (1984).

[Nancy Buchwald (2nd ed.)]

SCHORR, ABRAHAM ḤAYYIM BEN NAPHTALI ẒEVI HIRSCH (d. 1632), Galician rabbi. It has been assumed that Schorr was of German origin since his father signed himself "Hirsch of Alsace," and Moses *Isserles in a responsum (no. 95) wrote to him urging him to remain as a rabbi in Germany. Schorr himself, however, served as rabbi in Galicia, in Satanov, Belz, and possibly Kremenets. His main work was *Torat Ḥayyim,* novellae on *Bava Kamma, Bava Meẓia,* and *Bava Batra* (1624), and on *Eruvin, Sanhedrin, Shavu'ot, Avodah Zarah, Ḥullin,* and *Pesaḥim* (1634), both published together in Prague in 1692. The work was based on the courses which he gave in his yeshivah and was widely used. The main purpose of the work was to establish the *halakhah* between Rashi and the tosafists when they differed, but it also contains aggadic material.

His *Ẓon Kodashim* on the order *Kodashim,* which he wrote together with his friend R. Mordecai Asher of Brzezany, was published posthumously by Schorr's grandson, Ḥayyim b. Ozer of Hildesheim. He is mentioned in the responsa of Benjamin Aaron *Slonik (no. 88) and by Joseph Solomon *Delmedigo in his *Elim* (Odessa ed. 1864, 93–95). According to tradition, Schorr died in Belz and was buried in Lemberg.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Fuenn, *Keneset,* 368; S. Buber, *Anshei Shem,* (1895), 2; H.D. Friedberg, *Toledot Mishpaḥat Schorr* (1901), 6–8; R. Margaliot, in: *Sinai,* 26 (1950), 119–20; Z. Horowitz, *Le-Korot ha-Kehillot be-Polanyah* (1969), 98; E.Z. Margolioth, *Ma'alot ha-Yuḥasin* (1900), 36, 38–40.

SCHORR, BARUCH (1823–1904), cantor and composer. Schorr was born in Lemberg to a ḥasidic family; his musical abilities were recognized early and he served as a *meshorer* ("singer") with well-known cantors. He officiated in various small communities before becoming cantor in Lemberg in 1859. A pious Jew, he was at the same time interested in European culture and musical techniques. He applied these techniques in his compositions, which, however, are firmly based on traditional motifs (especially in the *ahavah rabbah* *shtayger*). Thus his compositions are noteworthy for their ease of rendition and depth of feeling. Schorr composed an opera, *Samson*, which was performed in 1890 in Lemberg's Jewish theater. After the performance he was led onto the stage by the prima donna, in order to receive the audience's ovation. This behavior was considered unseemly by the synagogue authorities, who suspended Schorr from office for four Sabbaths. Offended, he left for the U.S., where he stayed for five years until a delegation was sent from Lemberg to recall him to his post. He remained there until his death, which occurred while he was officiating on the last day of Passover. Schorr also wrote commentaries on the Pentateuch and Ecclesiastes. All six of his sons became cantors, and one of them, Israel, published his father's compositions in *Neginot Baruch Schorr* (1906). Many of these melodies are actually the work of the younger Schorr, who also rearranged some of his father's harmonies. Another relative named ISRAEL SCHORR (1886–1935) was also a celebrated cantor in Europe and the U.S. He was the composer of *She-Yibbaneh Beit ha-Mikdash*, one of the best-loved cantorial compositions of modern times.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: S. Perlmutter, in: Jewish Ministers Cantors' Association of America, *Die Geshikhte fun Khazones* (1924), 89–91; Idelsohn, Music, 286, 290, 309–10; J. Grob, in: *Monatsschrift der juedischen Kantoren* (April–May, 1930), 4–5: H.H. Harris, *Toledot ha-Neginah ve-ha-ḥazzanut be-Yisrael* (1950), 416–8.

[David M.L. Olivestone]

SCHORR, DANIEL (1916–), U.S. journalist. Schorr was born in New York City, the son of Russian immigrants. He began his journalistic career at 12 when he came upon a woman who had jumped or fallen from the roof of his Bronx apartment building. After calling the police, Schorr phoned the *Bronx Home News* and was paid $5 for the tip. In a career of more than six decades, Schorr earned many awards for journalistic excellence, including three Emmys, and decorations from European heads of state. He was also honored by civil liberties groups and professional organizations for his defense of the First Amendment. After serving in Army Intelligence during World War II, Schorr began writing from Western Europe for *The Christian Science Monitor* and later the *New York Times*, witnessing postwar reconstruction, the Marshall Plan, and the creation of the NATO alliance. In 1953 his vivid coverage of a disastrous flood that broke the dikes of the Netherlands brought him to the attention of Edward R. Murrow of the Columbia Broadcasting System. Schorr joined CBS News as its diplomatic correspondent in Washington. In 1955, with the post-Stalin thaw in the Soviet Union, he received accreditation to open a CBS bureau in Moscow. His two-and-a-half-year assignment culminated in the first exclusive television interview with a Soviet leader, Nikita S. Khrushchev, filmed in his Kremlin office in 1957 for CBS's *Face the Nation*. Schorr's repeated defiance of Soviet censorship, however, eventually landed him in trouble with the KGB, the secret police, and, after a brief arrest on trumped-up charges, he was barred from the Soviet Union at the end of 1957. For the next two years, Schorr reported from Washington and the United Nations, covering Khrushchev's tumultuous tour of the United States in 1959, interviewing Fidel Castro in Cuba, and traveling with President Dwight D. Eisenhower to South America, Asia, and Europe. In 1960 Schorr was assigned to Bonn as CBS bureau chief for Germany and Eastern Europe and covered the Berlin crisis and the building of the Berlin Wall. In 1972, while being assigned to Washington, Schorr began a full-time assignment for CBS as its chief correspondent on the Watergate break-in story. Schorr's exclusive reports and on-the-scene coverage of the Senate Watergate hearings earned him three Emmys. He unexpectedly found himself a part of his own story when the hearings turned up a Nixon "enemies list" with his name on it and evidence that the president had ordered that the Federal Bureau of Investigation investigate him. This "abuse of a Federal agency" was one count in the Bill of Impeachment on which Nixon would have been tried had he not resigned in August 1974. That fall, Schorr again became part of his own story. When the House of Representatives voted to suppress the final report of its intelligence investigating committee, Schorr arranged for publication of the advance copy he had obtained. This led to his suspension by CBS and an investigation by the House Ethics Committee, in which Schorr was threatened with jail for contempt of Congress if he did not disclose his source. At a public hearing he refused on First Amendment grounds. The committee voted 6 to 5 against a contempt citation. Schorr resigned from CBS and wrote his account of his stormy experience in a book, *Clearing the Air*. In 1979 Schorr was hired by Ted Turner to help create the Cable News Network, and he served in Washington as senior correspondent until 1985. Subsequently Schorr worked primarily for National Public Radio as senior news analyst, working effectively as he approached 90. In 2002 Schorr was elected to the American Academy of Arts and Sciences. He was the author of *Stay Tuned: A Life in Journalism* (2001) and *Forgive Us Our Press Passes* (1998).

[Stewart Kampel (2nd ed.)]

SCHORR, FRIEDRICH (1888–1953), bass-baritone. Born in Nagyvarád, Hungary, Schorr sang at Graz, Prague, and Cologne, and at the Berlin State Opera (1923–31). In 1938 he emigrated to the United States and sang at the Metropolitan Opera. One of the foremost Wagnerian singers of his time, he excelled as an interpreter of the roles of Hans Sachs and Wotan and often appeared at the Wagner Festivals in Bayreuth.

SCHORR, JOSHUA HESCHEL (commonly known as **Osias Schorr**; 1818–1895), scholar, editor, and second-generation Galician Haskalah leader. Born in Brody, Galicia, to a prominent and affluent family, Schorr became a successful merchant, but devoted much of his time to Jewish scholarship. In his youth he was befriended (through correspondence) by Samuel David *Luzzatto and later financed the publication of a number of Luzzatto's works. In the 1850s Luzzatto broke with Schorr because of the latter's radicalism. Schorr's initial writings were translated from their original Hebrew and published in German Jewish periodicals. The earliest articles centered on social and literary themes and appeared in Ludwig *Philippson's *Die Allgemeine Zeitung des Judenthums*. His first major article appeared in *Jost's *Israelitische Annalen*, and constituted an early attempt to formulate a theoretical basis for reforming Jewish law without denying the principle of authority. In the early 1840s he frequently contributed to *Zion*, a Hebrew periodical which appeared in Germany. Schorr's major writings, however, were published in *He-Ḥalutz, a yearbook which he edited and which appeared intermittently between 1851 and 1887. Intended as the literary organ of a small group of radical *maskilim* who advocated social and religious reforms, *He-Ḥalutz* became devoted almost entirely to scholarly articles after publication of Volume 5 in 1860. Subsequent to the publication of Volume 6 in 1861, the periodical was written exclusively by Schorr. During the years 1879–84 Schorr again became involved in the struggle between Galician *maskilim* and adherents of Orthodoxy, against whom he published many satirical verses in *Ivri Anokhi*, a Hebrew periodical issued in Brody. He corresponded with the leading Jewish scholars of his day, including Abraham Geiger, Abraham Krochmal, Leopold Zunz, Marcus Jost, and Moritz Steinschneider, as well as Bernard Felsenthal, a prominent American Reform rabbi. Schorr's writings advocating religious and social reforms were of two kinds: first, satirical diatribes attacking the alleged ignorance and obscurantism of the Orthodox, and often influenced by the style of his friend, Isaac *Erter; and, second, scholarly polemics seeking to demonstrate that talmudic and rabbinical laws are products of a specific time and are, therefore, without absolute authority. In the polemical articles his technique was to point out errors and contradictions in talmudic and later halakhic literature, and he did not limit his critical approach to post-biblical texts. Schorr was one of the earliest Hebrew scholars to apply critical methods to the Bible, including the Torah itself, which aroused the wrath of his Orthodox opponents. To the Jewish masses of Eastern Europe he became the very symbol of heresy and, as such, appears as a quasi-fictional character in the works of S.Y. *Agnon. Influencing an entire generation of East European *maskilim* – Moses Leib *Lilienblum and Judah Leib *Gordon, for example, acknowledged their debt to him – Schorr also had some effect on a number of American Reform rabbis. Toward the end of the 19th century he became an eccentric recluse. He left his valuable library of manuscripts and early prints and a substantial estate to the Viennese Rabbinical Seminary.

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[Ezra Spicehandler]

SCHORR, MOSES (**Mojżesz**; 1874–1941), Polish rabbi and scholar. Schorr, born in Przemysl, Galicia, studied at the Juedisch-theologische Lehranstalt and the University of Vienna. In 1899 he became lecturer in Jewish religious subjects at the Jewish Teachers' Seminary in Lemberg, where he also engaged in wider educational and social work. In 1904 he was appointed lecturer and in 1915 professor of Semitic languages and history of the ancient Orient at Lemberg University, a chair which he later held in Warsaw. He was called there in 1923 to succeed S. *Posnanski as preacher at the moderately Reform Tłomacka Street synagogue, in which capacity he was also a member of the Warsaw rabbinical council. Schorr was one of the founders in 1928 of the Institute for Jewish Studies, which was the rabbinical seminary of Poland; he served there as lecturer in Bible and Hebrew, and for some years as rector. A member of the Polish Academy of Sciences, from 1935 to 1938 he was a member of the Polish Senate, defending the precarious rights of Polish Jewry against mounting official and unofficial antisemitism. When Germany invaded Poland in September 1939, he fled eastward, but was arrested by the Russians, who moved on Poland from the east. Transported from prison to prison, he ended up in Uzbekistan, where he died.

Among Schorr's many scholarly works, the first treated Joseph *Nasi's correspondence with King Sigismund Augustus of Poland (in MGWJ, 41 (1897), 169–77, 228–37). In 1899 he published *Organizacja Żydów w Polsce… aż do r. 1772*, a history of Polish Jewry's legal status and inner organization from its beginnings to 1772, which became basic to all further research in this field. This was followed by *Żydzi w Przemyclu do końca XVII wieku* ("The Jews of Przemysl to the End of the 18th Century," 1903), and a critical edition (1909) of the privileges granted to the Jews of Cracow by King Stanislaus Augustus in 1765. From Jewish history in Poland Schorr turned to Semitic studies, in particular ancient Babylonian and Assyrian law, becoming one of the leading scholars in this field and making it accessible to legal scholars unfamiliar with cuneiform script. Between 1907 and 1910 he published 184 legal documents with their transcription, translation, and a commentary under the title *Altbabylonische Rechtsurkunden…* (3 vols.). His *Urkunden des altbabylonischen Zivil und Prozessrechts* (1913) has remained an important reference book. A jubilee volume in Hebrew and Polish was published in 1935, on the occasion of his 60th birthday, as well as a memorial volume in Hebrew, *Kovez Madda'i le-Zekher M. Schorr* (1945).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: M. Balaban, in: *Księga jubileuszowa ku czci… Mojżesza Schorra* (1935); M. David, *ibid.*; A. Weiss, in: *Kovez Madda'i le-Zekher Moshe Schorr* (1945), ix–xiii; Y. Gruenbaum (ed.), EG, 1 (1953), 303–4; J. Guzik, in: S.K. Mirsky (ed.), *Ishim u-Demuyyot be-Ḥokhmat Yisrael be-Eiropah ha-Mizraḥit Lifnei Sheki'atah* (1959), 207–22; bibl; 217–22.

SCHORR, NAPHTALI MENDEL (1807–1883), pioneer Galician Hebrew journalist and short-story writer; brother of Joshua Heschel *Schorr.

His publications include a periodical entitled *Ha-Ẓir* (1858), a collection of short stories *Har ha-Mor* (1855–77), a Hebrew translation of *Brahmanische Weisheit* ("Indian parables") under the title *Masat Nefesh* (1867), and a new edition of *Beḥinat ha-Olam* by *Jedaiah ha-Penini with his own commentary (1885). His contributions to newpapers and periodicals were usually signed I.L.R. (Heb. ילר), the last letters of his names.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: N.M. Gelber, in: *Arim ve-Immahot be-Yisrael*, 6 (1955), 218–9.

[Getzel Kressel]

SCHORSCH, GUSTAV (1918–1945), Czech actor and producer. One of the founders of the avant-garde theater "D 99" in Prague, he also worked at the Czech National Theater. After the German occupation in 1939 he was deported to the *Theresienstadt concentration camp. While there, he organized lectures and play readings, and in secret classes and rehearsals conducted at night, under the most difficult conditions, formed a group of actors who gave highly accomplished theatrical performances. Those of the group who survived played an important part in Czech postwar theater life. Schorsch's work came to an end in the autumn of 1944, when he was transferred to *Auschwitz. In January 1945 he was killed by the Nazis.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Frýd, in: *Terezin* (Eng., 1965), 207ff.; Šedová, *ibid.*, 219ff.

[Avigdor Dagan]

SCHORSCH, ISMAR (1935–), Jewish historian and sixth chancellor of the *Jewish Theological Seminary. Born in Germany, Schorsch was three when his family came to the United States in December 1938, a month after *Kristallnacht*. He grew up in Pottstown, Pennsylvania, where his father, Rabbi Emil Schorsch, served as a congregational rabbi. Schorsch was educated at Ursinus College and later at JTS, where he was ordained in 1962. At Columbia University he studied under Salo W. *Baron and Fritz Stern and earned his doctorate in Jewish history in 1969. After serving as a U.S. Army chaplain, he joined the faculty of JTS, rose to the rank of provost during the tenure of his mentor, Gerson D.*Cohen, and was appointed chancellor upon Cohen's retirement in 1986. Schorsch has announced his intention to retire from that post in 2006 and to return to full-time teaching and scholarship.

As an historian, Schorsch has published many works on aspects of modern German-Jewish history. Stressing that Jews are historical actors, not merely victims of persecution, he analyzed the response of German Jewry to antisemitism in the pre-World War I period. The main focus of his scholarship was the intellectual history of modern Jews, especially the German-Jewish *Wissenschaft des Judentums movement. He studied the rise of historical thinking as a source of authority within modern Judaism and delineated both reformist and conservative tendencies within that new trend. Schorsch assumed the presidency of the Leo Baeck Institute, a research institute devoted to German-Jewish history, in 1985.

Having become chancellor of JTS in the midst of an epochal debate over the impact of feminism on Conservative Judaism, Schorsch identified himself as a "militant centrist." He quickly completed the process of opening JTS professional schools to qualified women candidates by bringing the Cantorial School into line with the Rabbinical School, which had begun admitting women late in Cohen's tenure. Under his leadership, JTS expanded its training program for Jewish educators into a Graduate School of Jewish Education. Schorsch also oversaw the growth of the seminary's Jerusalem campus. He has promoted collaborative initiatives with other institutions, notably the 1991 Project Judaica program, which has brought JTS-trained scholars to the Russian State University for the Humanities in Moscow to help revive Jewish learning in Russia. Near the end of his tenure in 2005, JTS had grown significantly, with an enrollment of 700 students in its various programs. With the percentage of American Jews self-identifying as Conservative dropping in recent years, Schorsch has acknowledged that strengthening the center of the Jewish religious spectrum remains a priority for his successor and his movement in the future.

As a spokesperson for Conservative Judaism, Schorsch addressed both his denominational constituency and a broader audience. In October 2005, he completed a twelve-year cycle of weekly Torah commentaries, through which he engaged Conservative Jewry more directly than any of his predecessors. He has been a frequent and outspoken critic of the Israeli Chief Rabbinate, charging it with intransigence and disregard of the broader Jewish community. In national affairs, he has brought Jewish perspectives to contemporary political debates over environmentalism, health care, welfare reform, and separation of church and state.

[Michael Panitz (2nd ed.)]

SCHOTTLAENDER, BENDET (**Benedict Schott**; 1763–1846), German educator and reformer. Schottlaender, who was orphaned at an early age, received a traditional education before coming under the influence of the ideas of the Enlightenment. He supported himself by tutoring until he met Israel *Jacobson, who appointed him teacher and subsequently principal of the *Seesen school. An able administrator and controversial reformer and innovator (concerning confirmation, use of German in the liturgy, music, etc.), he held this post for 33 years. He was also Jacobson's influential aide in the Jewish Consistory of *Westphalia and was partly responsible for its daring and unpopular reforms, which he tried to make acceptable by stressing education as the panacea for the ills of German Jewry. In this vein he contributed to *Ha-Me'assef* and *Sulamith*. In 1806 Schottlaender presented a memorandum on the necessity for improved education for Jews to the Paris *Assembly of Jewish Notables convened by Napoleon. In 1808 he published his pamphlet *Sendschreiben an meine Brueder die Israeliten in Westfalen, die Einrichtung eines juedischen Consistoriums betreffend.*

BIBLIOGRAPHY: J.R. Marcus, in: HUCA, 7 (1930), 537–77.

[Henry Wasserman / Noam Zadoff (2nd ed.)]

SCHOTTLAND, CHARLES IRWIN (1906–1995), U.S. social welfare expert. Born in Chicago, Schottland received a B.A. from UCLA in 1927; he received a social work certificate from the Graduate School of Social Work in the New York School of Social Work in 1929; and he graduated from the University of Southern California Law School in 1933. He was director of the California Relief Administration from 1933 to 1936. During his service as lieutenant-colonel in the U.S. army in World War II, he served as chief of section of the Displaced Persons Branch at Allied Supreme Headquarters, Paris (1944–45), and as the assistant director of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (UNRRA) for Germany (1945). After directing the New York Child Care Association (1946–48), he headed the California State Department of Social Welfare (1950–54). Appointed by President Eisenhower as commissioner of social security in the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (1954–59), he directed the American social security system. In 1959 Schottland became professor and dean of the Graduate School for Advanced Studies in Social Welfare at Brandeis University, and was elected acting president of Brandeis University in 1970. Active in national and international organizations, he was president of the National Conference of Social Welfare, 1953, 1959–60; assistant treasurer-general and vice president of the International Conference of Social Welfare (1962–68); and president of the International Conference in 1968. He was also president of the National Association of Workers (1967–69). He was the principal adviser to the U.S. delegation at the United Nations Social Commission (1955 and 1957). He was chairman of the 1981 Arizona White House conference on aging. He also served as chairman of the Arizona Governor's Council on Aging; president of the National Senior Citizen Law Center; president of the American Society on Aging; and a board member of the Pima Counsel on Aging and the National Council on Aging.

In addition to many articles and papers published in journals and conference proceedings, he was the author of "Poverty and Income Maintenance for the Aged," in M. Gordon (ed.), *Poverty in America* (1965), *The Social Security Program in the United States* (1963), and *New Strategies for Social Development Role of Social Welfare* (1971). He edited *The Welfare State: Selected Essays* (1967).

[Joseph Neipris / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

SCHOTTLANDER, BERNARD (1924–1999), sculptor. Schottlander was born in Mainz, Germany, but emigrated to London in 1939. Initially trained as a metalworker, he first took up art studies in 1946, and continued to administer his own engineering works before devoting himself wholly to sculpture in 1963. The influence of this occupation is fully evident in his monumental, ambitious metal constructions, superbly fabricated and based on simple, near-geometrical forms. His gaunt abstract shapes suggest symbolic undertones, like huge Easter Island idols, but he represents them as forms without literary or religious programs. Schottlander has rapidly achieved considerable prominence both in England and abroad. He was invited to the 1967 Sculpture Symposium in Toronto, Canada, and to many other important international gatherings. He formerly exhibited regularly at the Anely Juda Gallery, London, but to solve the problem of displaying his enormous works, he took to exhibiting them in public spaces. He taught at the St. Martin's School of Art, London.

[Charles Samuel Spencer]

SCHOTZ, BENNO (1891–1984), British sculptor. Schotz was born in Estonia, the son of a watchmaker, and at the age of 20 joined his brother at Glasgow University. He became a naturalized British subject in 1930. In the 1920s he exhibited at the Royal Glasgow Institute of Fine Arts and other venues in Scotland and England. From 1938 to 1960 he was head of the Sculpture Department at Glasgow School of Art. Influenced by Epstein, Schotz established himself with a series of portraits of distinguished Scotsmen. He also made portraits of famous Jews: Herzl, Sholem Asch, Lord Samuel, and Ben-Gurion. Schotz's deep Jewish feelings are reflected in a series of more experimental works, such as *The Prophet* (1957). The Catholic Church in Scotland commissioned from him monumental decorations for new churches.

Schotz is regarded as one of the most important Scottish sculptors of the 20th century and is sometimes known as the "Scottish Epstein." He was buried in Jerusalem. Schotz wrote an autobiography, *Bronze In My Blood: The Memoirs of Benno Schotz* (1981).

ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY: ODNB online.

[Charles Samuel Spencer]

SCHRADER, ABE (1900–2001), U.S. apparel manufacturer. Schrader came to the U.S. in 1921 practically penniless, after feeling the effects of bigotry as a member of the Polish Army, and became the quintessential garment industry success story, an iconic figure whose life spanned the entire 20th century.

His mother had hoped he would become a rabbi, but he joined his uncle's company as a shipping clerk for $10 a week. After learning to cut patterns, he opened his own factory and was a contractor from 1927 to 1952. During World War II, his business prospered when he was contracted to make uniforms for the Women's Auxiliary Army Corps. In the early 1950s, Schrader decided to leave the anonymity of contracting and put his own name on the clothes he made. He briefly went into business with Leonard Arkin but eventually opened his own company, Abe Schrader Corp., building a $70 million business known for tasteful dresses and separates. The company went public in 1969, and in 1984 he sold his business to Interco Inc. of St. Louis for almost $40 million, remaining as chairman. Four years later Interco began to sell off its apparel units and Schrader tried to buy his company back. He could not come to terms, however, and retired in February 1989.

In addition to being a leading dress manufacturer for almost 40 years, Schrader led a campaign to have New York City recognized as "the fashion capital of the world," helped open channels between the industry and the city's government, and led the fight to have part of Seventh Avenue – the heart of the city's garment district – renamed Fashion Avenue. Schrader was also active politically. After becoming a major fundraiser for the 1964 presidential campaign of Lyndon B. Johnson, a man he admired because of his stance on civil rights, Schrader was invited to the White House on numerous occasions. He also led campaigns to raise money for the Federation of Jewish Philanthropies and for Israel Bonds. Schrader was known for his wry wit and intelligence and could quote Sartre, Dostoyevsky, and the Talmud as easily as he could price a dress. Although Schrader was an activist on behalf of his fellow manufacturers, he believed in labor unions and was a long-time confidante of David *Dubinsky, president of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union.

For many of the years he had been in business, Schrader was joined by his son Mort, who became president of Abe Schrader Corp. in 1968. Another son, Steven, was with the company for a short time, but established his own career in publishing. In 1988, the Fashion Institute of Technology in New York named one of its apparel manufacturing labs the Abe Schrader Production Laboratory. Schrader marked his 100th birthday in October 2000 with a party for more than 200 guests at New York's Plaza Hotel. He spent part of the night dancing.

[Mort Sheinman (2nd ed.)]

SCHRAMECK, ABRAHAM (1867–1948), French politician. Schrameck was born in Saint Etienne into a family of Alsatian Jews. His grandfather was a soldier in Napoleon's army. He was made *chef de cabinet* to the Paris chief of police, following the government decision to order a retrial of *Dreyfus. He achieved a considerable reputation as an administrator in preventing serious disorders and was subsequently appointed secretary-general of the Bouches-du-Rhône department which included Marseilles, then harried by criminal gangs. Once more Schrameck carried out his task with distinction and was later made prefect of the Tarn-et-Garonne and Bouches-du-Rhône districts. In 1914 Schrameck was appointed governor general of Madagascar, where he suppressed German plots against the French administration and organized the supply of materials for the Allies from the island. He also introduced economic reforms which increased the loyalty of the natives to France. Schrameck returned to France in 1920 and sat until 1940 as a senator for the Bouches-du-Rhône department. He was twice minister of the interior and was also minister of justice and a member of several Senate committees. A professing Jew, he vigorously defended the Jewish cause.

[Shulamith Catane]

SCHRECKER, PAUL (1889–1963), historian of philosophy. Born in Vienna, he was appointed associate editor of the Prussian Academy of Sciences' project of publishing the complete critical edition of Leibniz's works. The project was suspended in 1933, under the Nazis. Schrecker lost his post and fled to Paris, where he worked in the Centre Nationale de la Recherche Scientifique on the history of philosophy and the history of science. With D. Roustan, he began a critical edition of Malebranche's writings. The first volume appeared in 1938, and the second was under way when the Germans took over Paris. He prepared an edition of some of Leibniz' Latin writings, which he translated into French also. An English translation of some works of Leibniz by Schrecker and his wife appeared posthumously. He immigrated to the United States and was professor at the New School of Social Research, 1941–45, and at Swarthmore, Haverford, and Bryn Mawr colleges near Philadelphia, and from 1950 to 1961 at the University of Pennsylvania. He wrote many articles on themes in the history of philosophy, history of science, and philosophy of history, and a book, *Work and History: An Essay on the Structure of Civilization* (1948).

[Richard H. Popkin]

SCHREINER, MARTIN (**Mordechai**; 1863–1926), scholar in the field of medieval Jewish and Islamic letters. Schreiner was born into a poor family in Nagyvarad, Hungary, and in his youth lost his father, a Hebrew teacher. During 1882–87 he studied at the Rabbinical Seminary and the University of Budapest, where he came under the influence of Ignaz *Goldziher. Schreiner served as rabbi in Csurgo in 1887–92, and during 1892–94 as instructor at the Jewish Teachers' Training Institute in Budapest. From 1894 to 1902 he was a professor at the Lehranstalt fuer die Wissenschaft des Judentums in Berlin. Becoming mentally ill in 1902, he spent the rest of his life, a quarter of a century, in a sanatorium.

Schreiner's contributions to learning appeared in 1884–1902 and were of an increasingly high order, marked by erudition and penetrating analysis of Islamic intellectual development, its impact on medieval Jewish thought, interfaith polemics, Jewish philosophy, and *Karaism. While his scholarly work was published in German or French, he wrote in a more popular vein in Hungarian. He was interested in current communal affairs and exercised a strong influence on his students. His last major publication was *Die juengsten Urteile ueber das Judenthum …* (1902), directed against the academic Jew-baiting of de Lagarde, E.V. Hartmann, E. Meyer, and Houston Chamberlain.

Most of his studies appeared in MGWJ (vols. 34, 35, 40, 42, 43); ZAW (vol. 6); REJ (vols., 12, 29, 31); ZDMG (vols. 42, 45, 48, 52, 53); ZHB (vols. 1, 3); *Bericht der Lehranstalt fuer die Wissenschaft des Judentums*, 13 (1895); 18 (1900); the Acts of the VIII Orientalist Congress; and *Semitic Studies in Memory of G.A. Kohut* (1897), 495–513.

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[Moshe Perlmann]

SCHREKER, FRANZ (1878–1934), composer and conductor. Born in Monaco, after studying in Vienna Schreker became conductor of the Volksoper there (1907) and founded the Vienna Philharmonic Choir (1908). He became head of the State High School for Music, Berlin, and in 1932, professor of composition at the Prussian Academy of Arts. He was dismissed in 1933 when the Nazis rose to power. Schreker was known for his operas, which had rich Wagnerian orchestration, daring harmonies, and somewhat erotic libretti that were written by the composer. Among them were *Der ferne Klang* (1912), *Vom ewigen Leben* (1929), and *Christophorus* (1932).

SCHRENZEL, MOSES (1838–1912), ideologist of Jewish nationalism. Born in Lemberg, Schrenzel was a property owner and, as is apparent from his book on banking problems in Austria (1876), was well informed on economic matters. In 1881 he published a booklet entitled *Die Loesung der Judenfrage* ("The Solution of the Jewish Problem") and in the same year brought out a supplement. The booklets express the writer's disillusionment with Jewish emancipation in Europe, especially in light of the situation of the Jews in the most advanced country in Western Europe, Germany. He saw the only solution to the Jewish problem in the establishment of an independent Jewish state and Jewish engagement in agriculture there. The best locality for the Jewish state, he believed, was North America, since in Ereẓ Israel land was expensive, and once the rulers of Ereẓ Israel, the Turks, discovered Jewish activities there "not only will they expel us, they will also annihilate us." These two pamphlets aroused much opposition, both among those who believed in emancipation and those who favored the settlement of Ereẓ Israel. The similar ideas advanced by Leon *Pinsker in his *Autoemancipation*, which appeared after Schrenzel's pamphlets, lead to the assumption that he had read the pamphlets before publishing his book, besides being aware of the controversy they had aroused in the press. Several years later Schrenzel changed his opinion about Ereẓ Israel and founded a society called Kreuzer Verein ("Penny Society"), the contributions of whose members were intended for the purchase of land in Ereẓ Israel for the purpose of Jewish settlement. The society, whose regulations emphasized national ownership of the land to be purchased, never reached the stage of practical activity.

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[Getzel Kressel]

SCHRIRE, VELVA (1916–1972), South African cardiologist. Schrire was born in Kimberley, South Africa, and after completing his medical studies at the University of Cape Town proceeded to London, where he studied cardiology at the National Heart Hospital. Returning to South Africa, he founded the Cardiac Clinic at the Groote Schuur Hospital in Cape Town in 1951, and under his leadership the clinic achieved an international reputation, with Schrire playing a decisive part as a member of the team under Dr. Christiaan Barnard which performed the first heart transplant in history. In 1964 he was appointed associate professor of medicine at his university, and was promoted to full professor a few weeks before his death. Together with Barnard he published *The Surgery of Common Congenital Cardiac Malformations* (1966) and, in the same year, *Clinical Cardiology.*

SCHUB, MOSHE DAVID (1854–1938), Ereẓ Israel pioneer. Born in Moineşti, *Romania, Schub was a *shoḥet* in his home town. As early as the 1870s he was among the founders of an association for settlement in Ereẓ Israel, which sent him to buy land there in 1882. He acquired the abandoned settlement Jaʿūna near Safed. At the end of that year *Rosh Pinnah was established on this land, Schub was elected head of its committee and obtained permission from the Turkish authorities in *Damascus to build houses there. When the settlement came under the patronage of Baron *Rothschild, Schub refused to cooperate with Rothschild's officials, gave up his land, and became headmaster of the first Hebrew school in the settlement. In 1891 he under took the management of the new settlement *Mishmar ha-Yarden and was later manager of *Ein Zeitim. At the invitation of Ḥovevei Zion he went to Germany in 1896 to run the exhibition of Jewish settlements in the Holy Land held in *Berlin and Cologne. There he met Theodor *Herzl, became one of his ardent supporters, and accompanied him on his visit to Ereẓ Israel in 1898.

He wrote many articles in Hebrew, Yiddish, and German on the problems of Jewish agricultural settlement. His writings include a history of the settlement, *Yesud ha-Maʿalah* (1931), and his memoirs, *Zikhronot le-Veit David* (1937), which is also a valuable source on the early history of Jewish settlement in Ereẓ Israel.

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[Yehuda Slutsky]

°SCHUBERT, KURT (1923–), Austrian scholar. Schubert, a Catholic, was born in Vienna. He was the founder and head of the Institute for Judaic Studies (Judasitik) at Vienna University and chairman of the Austrian Christian-Jewish Friendship League. Schubert initiated the establishment of the Austrian Jewish Museum in Eisenstadt and was appointed to eliminate antisemitic references in Catholic textbooks and passion plays. He edited the periodicals *Kairos* (1959–94/5) and *Studia Judaica Austriaca* (1974–92). Among Schubert's published works are *Die Religion des nachbiblischen Judentums* (1955); *Israel – Staat der Hoffnung* (1957); *Die Gemeinde vom Toten Meer* (1958; Eng. transl. *Dead Sea Community*, 1959); *Die Kultur der Juden* (2 vol., 1970, 1979); *Juedische Geschichte* (1995); and, together with his wife, Ursula, *Juedische Buchkunst* (2 vol., 1983, 1992).

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[Mirjam Triendl-Zadoff (2nd ed.)]

SCHUBERT, LIA (1926–), dancer and choreographer. Schubert was born in Vienna and trained with the Russian ballerinas Preobrazhenska and Egoreva in Paris. During World War II, her family was deported but she escaped. After the war, she worked with Leonid Massine and, in 1950, was a dancer and the choreographer of the Malmö City Theater in Sweden. In 1953, she moved to Stockholm and, in 1957, founded the Ballet Academy at Stockholm University, which she directed until she left for Israel in 1968. In 1969, Schubert and Caj Lottman, known professionally as Caj Selling, the male star of the Royal

Swedish Ballet, founded the Institute for Dance in Haifa. The Institute comprised a children's dance school, a two-year training course for dance teachers, and, in 1971–74, a modern dance company called The Dancers Stage. In 1974, Schubert and Lottman established The Haifa Piccolo Ballet, which performed in the style of classical ballet. In 1976, Selling left the company to become the artistic director of the *Batsheva Dance Company. Although the Institute was highly esteemed, it accumulated debts and, in 1980, Schubert left Israel and returned to Sweden. Most dance teachers in Haifa and the north of Israel, as well as many dancers, were students at the Institute.

[Ruth Eshel (2nd ed.)]

SCHÜCK, JOHAN HENRIK EMIL (1855–1947), Swedish literary historian. Born in Stockholm, Schück was the child of a mixed marriage, his mother being a non-Jewess. From 1898 until 1920 he was professor of literature at the University of Uppsala, where he also served as rector (1905–18). His historical approach to literary research profoundly influenced later Swedish criticism and his gifted teaching produced several outstanding pupils, notably Oskar Ivar *Levertin and Martin *Lamm. In 1918, five years after his election to the Swedish Academy, Schück was honored with the post of president of the Nobel Foundation. After publishing an important study of Shakespeare (1883–84), he planned a large history of world literature, only two parts of which appeared: *Antiken* (1900) and *Den israelitiska litteraturen* (1906). Later, however, he produced a six-volume manual of general literature (1919–26); histories of the Swedish people (1913–15) and of the Swedish Academy (1935–39); and a history of the literatures and academies of antiquity (8 vols., 1932–44). His outstanding achievement was the monumental *Illustrerad svensk litteraturhistoria* (1895–97; 7 vols., 1926–33^2), written in collaboration with Karl Johan *Warburg. Together with R.G. Berg and F. Böök he also published an immense anthology of Swedish literature from 1500 to 1900 (30 vols., 1921–22) and an anthology of world literature in Swedish translation (3 vols., 1932). As a critic, Schück always excelled in clear analysis of genres and literary periods.

°**SCHUDT, JOHANN JAKOB** (1664–1722), German Christian Hebraist, pedagogue, and Orientalist from Frankfurt am Main. The son of a Lutheran priest, Schudt studied theology in Wittenberg, and in 1684 went to Hamburg to study Oriental languages, including Hebrew. In 1689 he returned to Frankfurt, where he served in different positions in the local gymnasium, becoming its rector in 1717.

Schudt devoted himself especially to the fields of Hebrew and Jewish history and antiquities. He became interested in the Jews, their customs and history through his Oriental studies and meetings with Jews in Hamburg and Frankfurt. Another factor accounting for his interest was his desire to convert Jews to Christianity. The writing of what later became his most renowned work, *Juedische Merkwuerdigkeiten* ("Jewish Peculiarities," 1714–18), was motivated by the great fire of the Frankfurt ghetto on Jan. 14, 1711. The work consists of four volumes. The first volume is a detailed account of Jewish communities all over the world. In the second volume, which is devoted to an ethnographic depiction of the Jews of Frankfurt, Schudt provides detailed and mostly first-hand information about their history, ways of life, customs, professions, language, and clothing. The third volume contains Yiddish poems, such as the account of the Vincent *Fettmilch disturbances, a Purim play and comedy, and legislation concerning Frankfurt Jewry. The fourth volume contains supplements to the first three.

Although Schudt stated that his aim was to seek the truth and avoid all preconceived opinion, he drew upon doubtful sources which presented the Jews in an unfavorable light, and often referred to *Eisenmenger's *Entdecktes Judentum*. Thus he transmitted such contemporary prejudices as that Jews were predisposed to usury and cheating, deploring their supposed insolence and pride, and their *foetor Judaens* ("Jewish stench"). However, he was skeptical of the *blood libel and the alleged desecrating of the *Host. When Schudt presents actual reports, especially those dealing with the Jews of Frankfurt, his books are an important historical source for the life and culture of the German Jews in the 17th century. Among his many works one should also note *Compendium historiae judaicae* (1700), *Vita Jephtae* (1701), and *Juedisches Franckfurter und Prager Freuden-Fest* (1716).

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[Reuven Michael / Aya Elyada (2nd ed.)]

SCHUECK, JENÖ (1895–1974), Hungarian rabbi. Schueck was born in Onod, north Hungary, where his father was rabbi. After World War II he was appointed rabbi to one of the districts of Budapest, where he founded and maintained a home for Orthodox Jewish children from the country districts. He was appointed chaplain to the Hungarian armed forces and later Senior Orthodox chaplain. In this capacity he was extremely active in finding solutions to the problems of *agunot*. During this period Schueck played a prominent part in the reconstruction of Orthodox Judaism in Hungary. In 1960 he was appointed rabbi of Miskolc and became president of the Hungarian Council of Orthodox Rabbis. At the request of the Hungarian authorities he joined the World Union of Hungarians, an organization centered in Budapest for the promotion of the Hungarian viewpoint throughout the world. He represented Hungarian Orthodox Jewry at the Conference of European Orthodox Rabbis held in London in 1965.

Among his publications in Hungarian are *As ortodoxia a felszabadulás után* ("Orthodox Judaism after the Liberation," Yearbook, Budapest, 1959); *A két Szofer dinasztia* ("Two Dynasties of the Sofer Family," Yearbook, Budapest, 1960/61); *A miskolci hitközség multijából* ("On the History of the Community of Miskolc," Yearbook, Budapest, 1971/72). He also published an annual *Luaḥ*.

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[Yehouda Marton]

°**SCHUERER, EMIL** (1844–1910), leading Protestant New Testament scholar. Born in Augsburg, Germany, the son of a merchant, Schürer studied theology at the universities of Erlangen, Berlin, and Heidelberg. In Heidelberg he was particularly influenced by Richard Rothe. He received his doctorate at Leipzig in 1868 and taught at the universities of Giessen (from 1878), Kiel (from 1890), and Göttingen (from 1895), where among his colleagues he counted Willamowitz-Möllendorf and Julius Wellhausen. Two achievements of his many-sided scholarship are especially noteworthy: his founding in Leipzig in 1876 of the *Theologische Literaturzeitung*, which he published for many years, thereby wielding an enduring influence on the critico-historical research of his time; and, even more important, his *Geschichte des juedischen Volkes im Zeitalter Jesu Christi* (Leipzig, 1901–09; index volume 1911). These were the third and fourth editions; the first appeared in 1874 under the title *Lehrbuch der neutestamentlichen Zeitgeschichte*, and the second (Leipzig, 1886–1900) also appeared in English under the title, *A History of the Jewish People in the Time of Jesus Christ* (1885–91). In 1888 a partial translation appeared in Dutch. Another partial translation is *A History of the Jewish People in the Time of Jesus*, edited with an introduction by Naḥum N. Glatzer (New York, 1961, 1963).

Schuerer's historiographic concept evolves from a thesis which he formulated in the introduction as follows: "There is not one detail in evangelic history, not one word in Jesus' message, which can be understood without a knowledge of Jewish history and of the Jewish people's world of ideas." An elucidation of New Testament history can therefore in particular be expected from research into post-biblical Judaism of this era. Schuerer's achievement thus differs from that of all his predecessors by excluding from his study the non-Jewish ancient world and, simultaneously, by aspiring to make critical use as comprehensively as possible of all available sources (literary texts, inscriptions, papyri, coins), together with almost all of the so-called secondary literature. That his historical review commenced not with the conquest of Jerusalem by Pompey, but with the Maccabean revolt – because it was here that he detected the origins of later developments in the Jewish people's internal history – also constituted a new approach. Schuerer's encyclopedic work, dry and without stylistic pretensions, does not attempt to put forward daring hypotheses or even historico-theological interpretations. Occasionally, he seems to show a cool reserve with regard to the material, which, in his presentation of the Jewish religion, leads to a conspicuous narrowing of his horizon, as he restricts himself to dealing only with the messianic expectation and with the external fulfillment of the Law. This reserve approaches unconcealed hostility in the chapter "Das Leben unter dem Gesetz" (II, 464–96) in which he deals with the legalistic side of Jewish piety, taking the point of view of the New Testament.

By the 1960s the need was felt for a thorough revision and updating of what was by then considered a minor classic. The new English edition was organized by the late Matthew Black (1908–1994) of the University of St. Andrews, and carried out by three Oxford scholars, Geza Vermes, Fergus Millar, and Martin Goodman, with the late Pamela Vermes as literary editor, under the title *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ* in three volumes (1973, 1979, 1986/87). The editors resolved not to mark additions, corrections, and deletions in the text, but to revise it directly, introducing four types of change: (a) the removal of out-of-date items of bibliography and purely polemical material; (b) the revision of the bibliographies; (c) the correction and modernization of the references to, and quotation of, literary texts, papyri, inscriptions and coin legends in Greek, Latin, Hebrew and Aramaic; and (d) above all, the addition of relevant new archaeological, epigraphic, papyrological and numismatic material. This has meant the introduction not only of fresh data of a type already known to Schuerer, but also of wholly new areas of evidence, such as the Babylonian tablets relative to Seleucid chronology, the Dead Sea Scrolls, and the Bar Kokhba documents.

The revised work has preserved as much as possible of the original Schuerer and has offered a substantially updated compendium for research for the use of late 20th and early 21st-century historians of Judaism in the age of Jesus. The new English Schuerer has subsequently been translated into Spanish (*Historia del pueblo judio en tiempos de Jesus,* 1985) and into Italian (*Storia del popolo giudaico al tempo de Gesù Cristo*, 1985–99).

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[Heinz Schreckenberg / Geza Vermes (2nd ed.)]

SCHUHL, PIERRE-MAXIME (1902–1984), French philosopher. Born in Paris, he received his doctorate there in 1934. He taught at Montpellier and was appointed professor at Toulouse in 1938. In World War II Schuhl was a captain in a motorized division; he was captured and spent 1940–44 at the Colditz camp for officers of various Allied countries. After the war he became a professor at the Sorbonne, and chairman of its philosophy department in 1962. He was also editor of the *Revue philosophique* from 1952, and editor of the series *Bibliothèque de Philosophie contemporaine*. In addition, Schuhl was president of the Société des Etudes Juives (1949–52). His main interest was in Greek philosophy, especially that of Socrates and

Plato. He wrote on these subjects as well as on their influences on later thinkers, ancient and modern.

His books include *Platon et l'art de son temps* (1933, 1952^2); *Essai sur la formation de la pensée grecque* (1934, 1949^2; his thesis); *Machinisme et philosophie* (1938, 1947^2); *Etudes sur la fabulation platonicienne* (1947); *Pour connaître la pensée de Lord Bacon* (1949); he edited, *Trois essais de Montaigne* (1951); *L'Oeuvre de Platon* (1954); *Etudes platoniciennes* (1960), which includes an essay on contacts between Jewish and Greek thinkers; and *Le Dominateur et les possibles* (1960).

[Richard H. Popkin]

SCHULBERG, BUDD WILSON (1914–), U.S. author. Born in New York, Schulberg was for some time, like his father, a Hollywood screenwriter. His first and best-known novel, *What Makes Sammy Run?* (1941), is largely a description of a ruthless Jewish success-hunter in Hollywood during the 1930s, with a sentimental portrayal of Sammy's East Side family. From 1943 to 1946 he served in the U.S. Navy, in the Office of Strategic Services, and was decorated for collecting the photographic evidence used at the Nuremberg Trial (1945–46). Schulberg's subsequent works include *The Harder They Fall* (1947); *The Disenchanted* (1950); *Some Faces in the Crowd* (1953); and the script of the prize-winning film, *On the Waterfront* (1954), which Schulberg turned into a novel, *Waterfront* (1955). During the hearings of the House Un-American Activities, Schulberg was identified as a member of the Communist Party. In 1951, in a telegram to HUAC, as well as in subsequent testimony, Schulberg stated that he had a Communist affiliation from 1937 to 1940 but pointed out that his "opposition to communists and Soviet dictatorship is a matter of record." Among his later works are *From the Ashes: Voices of Watts*, edited by him and published in 1967, and *The Four Seasons of Success* (1972), his understanding of what several writers made of their success and/or failure. His autobiography, *Moving Pictures: Memories of a Hollywood Prince*, was published in 1981.

ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY: N. Beck, *Budd Schulberg: A Bio-Bibliography* (2001); E. Bentley, *Thirty Years of Treason: Excerpts from Hearings before the House Committee on Un-American Activities, 1938–1968* (1971).

SCHULHOF, ISAAC (d. c. 1733), rabbi; chronicler of the siege of Buda (Ofen, see *Budapest) of 1686. Born in Prague, on his mother's side he was a descendent of *Judah Loew b. Bezalel. He married the daughter of Ephraim Cohen, a fugitive from the *Chmielnicki massacres. The family settled in Buda in 1666, where Ephraim was appointed rabbi; he died in a plague, before the siege. After the death of his father-in-law, Schulhof became the leading figure in one of the circles for prayer and study which devoted three nights a week to prayer. In his work *Megillat Ofen* ("Scroll of Ofen"), he describes the capture of the city from the Turks, the desperate defense they put up, and the extreme cruelty of the Austrians, who looted, massacred, and thirsted after Jewish blood. His wife Esther lost her life and his eight-year-old son was taken captive and carried off to Raab (*Györ) in northwestern Hungary, where he died as a result of the torments endured in captivity. Schulhof parted from the prisoners and after many hardships arrived in *Mikulov. He proceeded to Prague, where he was appointed *dayyan* in 1697, remarried, and lived to an old age.

His only work (published by S. *Kohn and D. *Kaufmann in 1895) is an important source not only for the events described therein but also for information on that period and contemporary Jews.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: D. Kaufmann, *Die Erstuermung Ofens…* (1895), introduction; idem, *Gesammelte Schriften…*, 2 (1908–10), 296–327; S. Kohn, *Héber kutforrások és adatok Magyarorszāg történetéhez* (1881).

[Baruch Yaron]

SCHULHOF, MOSHE (1947–), *ḥazzan*. Schulhof was born in New York, and is the son of Rabbi Dov Ber Schulhof, former president of Agudat Israel in Budapest. As a boy he sang in the choir of Seymour Silbermintz. He studied in the Mir and Beth Joseph *yeshivot* in New York, and learned cantorial music with David *Koussevitzky, furthering his musical studies at the Brooklyn Conservatory. At the age of 18 he was appointed cantor to the Adath Jeshurun synagogue in the Bronx, and afterwards served as cantor at the Shaare Torah synagogue in Pittsburgh. He then moved to the Adath Jeshurun synagogue of Montreal in Canada, and later to Shaarei Tefila synagogue in Los Angeles. Subsequently he became cantor of the Aventura Turnberry Beth Jacob Jewish Center in North Miami Beach and a faculty member of the Academy of Jewish Religion in New York. Schulhof is also a recognized authority on *nusaḥ ha-tefillah* as well as a gifted teacher of *ḥazzanut*, having many students who are themselves professional cantors. During his career, Schulhof performed in concerts with the Israeli Philharmonic, was the featured artist at the international Cantors' Convention, and often performed on "Cantorial Cruises." Schulhoff has an extensive discography including *Greeting from Russia*, *Masterpieces of the Synagogue*, *Moshe Schulhof and the Johannesburg Jewish Male Chorus*, and *From Generation to Generation.*

[Akiva Zimmerman / Raymond Goldstein (2nd ed.)]

SCHULHOFF, JULIUS (1825–1898), piano virtuoso and composer. Born in Prague, Schulhoff made his debut in Dresden in 1842. He later moved to Paris and gained the patronage of Chopin, to whom he dedicated his first composition. After a series of recitals and concert tours he devoted himself to teaching in Dresden in 1870, and shortly before his death moved to Berlin. His compositions, all for the piano, include a sonata, études, and waltzes. His light, brilliant pieces such as his *Galop di Bravura* were particularly successful.

His great-grandnephew, ERWIN SCHULHOFF (1894–1942), was also a pianist and composer. He was born in Prague, taught at the Prague Conservatory and from 1935 worked for the Czech radio. He was active in the promotion of contemporary music in his many concert tours and especially at the

Festivals of the International Society for Contemporary Music. In 1942 he was seized by the Nazis and died in the Wuelzburg (Bavaria) concentration camp.

His compositions favor the grotesque and make use of atonal and polytonal devices, jazz-like idioms, and quartertone experiments. They include symphonies; works for voice and orchestra; a ballet, *La Somnambule* (1931); an opera, *Plameny* ("The Flames", 1932); and chamber music. His works with political themes are *Symphony of Freedom* (1941) and his oratorio *The Communist Manifesto*, performed posthumously in Prague in 1962.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Grove, Dict; MGG, s.v. (incl. bibl.).

SCHULLER, GUNTHER (**Alexander**; 1925–), U.S. horn player and composer. Born in New York, Schuller studied and later taught at the Manhattan School of Music. He played the horn in the Cincinnati Symphony Orchestra and at the Metropolitan Opera, New York (1945–59). In 1957 he coined the term "Third Stream" for the combination of jazz improvisations with classical musical forms, and in 1962 directed the first international jazz festival in Washington. His interests as a composer ranged widely over both popular and classical traditions, and he made syntheses of diverse elements and techniques developed by 20th-century composers: Stravinsky's rhythm, Schoenberg's serialism, Webern's orchestration, and Babbitt's principles of "combinatoriality." His compositions include a *Symphony for Brass* (1950); a ballet, *Variants* (1960); a piano concerto (1962); a cello concerto (1945); two operas: *The Visitation* (Hamburg, 1966), which is based on Kafka's novel *The Trial*, and *The Fisherman and His Wife*, a chamber opera for children (Boston, 1970). A collection of his writings can be found in his book *Musings: The Musical Worlds of Gunther Schuller* (1986).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Grove Music Online; L. Larsen: "A Study and Comparison of Samuel Barber's 'Vanessa,' Robert Ward's 'The Crucible,' and Gunther Schuller's 'The Visitation' (diss., U. of Indiana, 1971).

[Israela Stein (2nd ed.)]

SCHULMAN, KALMAN (1819–1899), Hebrew writer of the Haskalah era. Born in Stari Bichov, Belorussia, he studied in his youth in Lithuanian yeshivot but, attracted by the Haskalah, he studied Bible, grammar, and German independently. He settled in Vilna in 1843, where he tutored the sons of affluent families. He joined the circle of *maskilim* in the town and became a close friend of the poet M.J. *Lebensohn. From 1849 to 1861 he taught Hebrew language and literature in the high school attached to the state rabbinical school. After leaving this post he devoted himself to literary work, and was under contract with Romm publishers, who paid him a pittance that scarcely enabled him to support his family. His books, mostly translations, were intended to spread Haskalah among the Hebrew reading public and youth. Schulman was moderate and careful in expressing his ideas, and his books, many of which went through several editions, were also popular in Orthodox circles. His widely read abridged translation of *Mystères de Paris* (1857–60 and five more editions in the next half-century), an adventure novel by the French writer, Eugène Sue, was an innovative experiment in the translation of a contemporary novel into Hebrew; it triggered a dispute, for the conservative circles believed it was sacrilegious to use the Hebrew language for a description of the Paris underworld. This controversy probably deterred Schulman from translating more novels, and he devoted himself to translating and adapting scientific books. *Divrei Yemei Olam*, a history in nine volumes, based on Georg Weber and other German historians, was commissioned by Ḥevrat Mefiẓei Haskalah (*Society for the Promotion of Culture among the Jews of Russia; 1867–84). His translation of Josephus from German into Hebrew, focusing on the *Wars of the Jews* (1861–63), was the first rendition of the Jewish historian into Hebrew. His book on Bar Kokhba's heroism, *Harisot Beitar* (1858), was influential and popular. Schulman, a prolific contributor to the Hebrew press, published a series of books and compilations dealing with the history of Palestine and its environs, *Toledot Ḥakhmei Yisrael* (4 vols., 1873–78). Schulman used a florid biblical Hebrew, and was skillful in the presentation of new terms. His books have been forgotten, but in their time played an important role in developing the Hebrew reading public. Among his other works are *Safah Berurah* (1848) and the geographies, *Mosedei Ereẓ* (1871–77), and *Meḥkerei Ereẓ Rusyah* (1870).

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[Yehuda Slutsky]

SCHULMAN, SAMUEL (1864–1955), U.S. Reform rabbi. Schulman, born in Russia, was taken to the U.S. as a small child. By the age of 13 he had a significant knowledge of Hebrew and of the Talmud. He received his B.A. from the City College of New York in 1885 and then went to the Berlin Hochschule fuer die Wissenschaft des Judentums (1885–89), where he received his ordination. Returning to the U.S., he briefly served as rabbi in New York City and then in Helena, Montana, from 1890 to 1893 and in Kansas City from 1893 to 1899. In 1899 Schulman moved to Temple Beth El in New York City, remaining there until 1927 when it merged with New York's Temple Emanu-El, the wealthiest and most prestigious Reform congregation in the U.S. He retired in 1935. An eloquent orator, Schulman was also one of the most learned figures in Judaism in the U.S. Reform movement, on which he sought to exert a moderating influence. He was president of the Central Conference of American Rabbis from 1911 to 1913 and president of the Association of Reform Rabbis of New York from 1921 to 1926. He was president of the interdenominational Synagogue Council of America from 1934 to 1935 and director and vice president of the YMHA Association of New York. In addition, he served as one of the non-Zionist members chosen to sit on the executive committee of the Jewish Agency for Palestine in 1929. His main activity outside the rabbinate, however, was devoted to the Jewish Publication Society of America; he was a member of its publishing committee for many years and took part in the society's retranslation of the Bible into English that commenced in 1903 and was concluded in 1917. He argued for the greater incorporation of Jewish ritual into Reform Judaism and was a moderating force at the Columbus Platform of 1937, that repudiated the earlier *Pittsburgh Platform.

[Hillel Halkin]

SCHULMANN, ELIEZER (1837–1904), Hebrew writer; researcher into the history of Yiddish language and literature. He was born in Salant, Lithuania, and became treasurer of one of the large enterprises of the *Brodski family in Kiev. Financially independent, he spent his free time doing research and contributed to various Hebrew papers (*Ha-Shaḥar, Ha-Asif, Pardes, Ha-Shilo'aḥ*, etc.). He made his name in Hebrew literature with his richly researched studies of Heine and Ludwig Boerne (*Mi-Mekor Yisrael*, 1877 and 1894), which illuminated these writers' characters, actions, and era. For many years Schulmann pursued research into the Yiddish language and its early literature.

Noteworthy among his essays on this subject is *Imkei ha-Safah* (*Ha-Shilo'aḥ*, 4 (1898)), and a monograph, *Safah Yehudit-Ashkenazit ve-Sifrutah mi-Keẓ ha-Me'ah ha-Tet-Vav ad Keẓ Shenot ha-Me'ah ha-Yod-Ḥet* ("German-Yiddish and its Literature from the Late 15th Century to the Late 18th Century," 1913). His attitude to what he termed a "mixed language" was negative, but he saw in Yiddish "an integral part of us, in which the spirit of our nation is displayed just as in our primal literature, Hebrew." The book is important for its originality and the abundance of citations from manuscripts and old editions.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Rejzen, Leksikon, 4 (1929), 548–52; Klausner, Sifrut, 5 (19572) 275–9; Waxman, Literature, index.

[Yehuda Slutsky]

SCHULSINGER, JOSEPH (d. 1943?), Belgian author. A religious Zionist active in Antwerp Jewish life, Schulsinger contributed to various Jewish periodicals. *La génuflexion d'Alénou* (1932), his historical drama about Jewish persecution in Ferrara, led to an interesting correspondence with the French poet and playwright Paul Claudel (*Cahiers de Paul Claudel*, vol. 7, 1968). He was deported by the Nazis.

°**SCHULTENS, ALBERT** (1686–1756), Dutch Orientalist. Schultens studied theology and Oriental languages in his native city Groningen, where in 1706 he defended his *Dissertatio theologica-philologica de utilitate linguae Arabicae in interpretanda sacra lingua*. In 1707 he studied in Utrecht with Adrian *Reland, whose emphasis on interpreting Hebrew with the help of, inter alia, Persian, strengthened Schultens' conviction of the importance of Oriental cognates for the retrieval of the *primitiva significatio* or *origines* of Hebrew. In 1713 Schultens was appointed ordinary professor in Franeker. In 1729 he left for Leiden, where he was entrusted with the supervision of the Oriental manuscripts. Within three years, he was appointed professor *linguarum orientalium*.

Schultens employed the inductive empirical method characteristic of Dutch enlightened science. His comparative methodology (known as the Dutch School) was based on the theory of the "sisterly relationship" between Hebrew and Arabic, and deeply influenced 18th-century study of Hebrew, both in the Netherlands and abroad.

Schultens published grammatical works, including *Institutiones* (Leiden, 1737) and *Vetus et Regia Via Hebraizandi* (Leiden, 1738), various dissertations on the comparative method (*Oratio de fontibus*, 1713, *Origines Hebraeae*, 1724, *Oratio de linguae Arabicae antiquissima origine*, 1729), and philological commentaries on Job (1737, also translated into English and German) and Proverbs (1748).

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[Irene E. Zwiep (2nd ed.)]

SCHULTZ, DUTCH (**Arthur Simon Flegenheimer**, "The Dutchman"; 1902–1935), U.S. gangster of the 1920s and 1930s, only boss of Murder Incorporated to be killed by Murder Inc. Born in Manhattan to Emma Neu and Herman, Austrian-German immigrants, Schultz was raised in the Bronx after his father abandoned the family when Schultz was young. Leaving school at 14 in order to support himself and his mother, Schultz worked for low-level mobsters at a neighborhood nightclub and robbed crap games before graduating to burglary. On December 12, 1919, he was caught breaking into an apartment in the Bronx and arrested and sentenced to jail, the first of 13 arrests but his only prison sentence. After serving 15 months, he took on the name "Dutch Schultz," the nickname of a notorious young gangster from the late 1800s. Schultz rode shotgun in trucks for mobster kingpin Arnold *Rothstein, and by 1928 was in business for himself working as a bootlegger and extortionist. With a quick temper and a reputation for brutality, Schultz muscled in for complete control in the Bronx of bootlegging, eliminating anyone who crossed him, like Legs Diamond and Vincent Coll, and, some say, Rothstein. With the end of Prohibition, he moved on to the numbers racket, and soon was named by the FBI as Public Enemy #1. On January 25, 1933, the state of New York indicted Schultz for tax evasion in the sum of $92,103.34. Schultz moved to Newark, New Jersey to evade arrest, but on November 28, 1934, he was surrendered in Albany on the tax indictment charges. The case in Syracuse ended in a hung jury on April 29, 1935, and he was acquitted in a second tax trial in Malone, N.Y., on August 2, 1935. Schultz wanted to have Special Prosecutor Thomas E. Dewey assassinated and presented a plan before the heads of the national Syndicate, including Lucky Luciano, Lepke *Buchalter, and Meyer *Lansky. But the Mob worried about the backlash of such a murder, and voted against the plan. Schultz left the meeting saying he would do it himself within 48 hours. As a result, hit men working for Buchalter's Murder, Inc. shot Schultz and three cohorts two days later on October 23, 1935, at the Palace Chop House, which served as Schultz's headquarters in Newark, N.J. The three bodyguards were shot dead, but Schultz was taken to Newark Hospital and held onto life for another day. As time passed, Schultz began talking incoherently and nonsensically, influenced by a high fever and large quantities of morphine. Police assigned a stenographer to write down everything he said right until he died at 8:35 P.M. on October 24, 1935. Schultz received last rites in his hospital room from a Roman Catholic priest at the request of Schultz's 21-year-old wife, Frances, after he had been baptized three months earlier while awaiting trial in Malone. At his funeral in a Catholic cemetery three days later, only his mother, sister, wife, and Father McInerney, who performed a Catholic service, were present. His mother had a Jewish *talit*, or prayer shawl, draped over the coffin.

Schultz's life, and specifically his death-bed confession, became legend, and were used by writers as the basis of numerous novels and feature films, including E.L. *Doctorow's *Billy Bathgate* (1989), which was made into the 1991 movie starring Dustin *Hoffman; William Burroughs' *The Last Words of Dutch Schultz* (1969); and the 1997 film *Hoodlum*. He was also the subject of Paul Sann's *Kill the Dutchman! The Story of Dutch Schultz* (1971).

[Elli Wohlgelernter (2nd ed.)]

SCHULTZ, HOWARD (1953–), U.S. entrepreneur. Born and reared in Brooklyn, N.Y., Schultz won a football scholarship to Northern Michigan University and graduated in 1975 with a major in communications. He had a variety of jobs and in 1981 traveled to Seattle to inspect a coffee bean store called Starbucks that had been buying many of the Hammarplast Swedish drip coffeemakers he was selling. After being hired by Starbucks, he became its director of marketing and operations in 1982. In Italy, Schultz discovered that coffee bars existed on practically every block and served as meeting places. The Starbucks owners resisted Schultz's plans to serve coffee in the stores, so Schultz quit and started his own coffee-bar business. It was an instant success, and a year later Schultz bought Starbucks for $3.8 million. The company began to expand rapidly in the 1990s, and Schultz introduced his customers to espresso drinks, café latte, and the frappuccino. Schultz did not pay his employees much, but he gave them comprehensive health coverage, including benefits for unmarried spouses. These moves increased loyalty. Starbucks went public in 1992 and grew at a rate of 25 to 35 percent a year. By the early 21st century the company had almost 4,000 stores in 25 countries, serving 15 million people a week. In 2000 Schultz bought the Seattle Supersonics professional basketball team, and he also owned the Seattle Storm in the women's professional league. He was also a significant stakeholder in Jamba Juice. Although he was a fervent supporter of Israel, Schultz did not have success with his Starbucks investment in Israel. All six coffeehouses in Tel Aviv closed in 2003.

[Stewart Kampel (2nd ed.)]

SCHULWEIS, HAROLD MAURICE (1925–), U.S. rabbi, theologian, community leader. Born in the Bronx, N.Y., Schulweis was educated at Yeshiva College, Jewish Theological Seminary of America, New York University, and the Pacific School of Religion in Berkeley, Calif. He taught philosophy at City College of New York before taking pulpits in Parkchester, N.Y., Oakland, Calif., and Encino, Calif.

Schulweis is widely regarded as the most successful and influential synagogue leader in his generation. His theology of the American synagogue extended the traditional role of the synagogue to encompass the full cultural life of a living Jewish community. Beginning in 1970, at Valley Beth Shalom in Encino, Schulweis introduced a series of synagogue innovations that spread widely among American congregations. These include: Synagogue-based "Havurot" – small groupings of families sharing learning and celebration in congregants' homes; "Response" – a support and educational organization welcoming gays and lesbians and their families into the synagogue; and "Keruv" – a vigorous outreach to unaffiliated Jews and "unchurched" Christians, offering classes and counseling toward conversion into Judaism.

As a theologian, Schulweis has reconsidered the classical concept of God. He locates God not above but *within* and *between* human beings, not a vertical relationship but communal and internal. The conception of "the God within and between" allows him to argue that revelation is both divine in origin and carried out by human powers of expression. Morality is the expression of conscience, which is a living nexus between the divine and the human in everyday life. Schulweis thought that by defining God as the source of history's dynamic, the conception of the personal God reduces the human being to passivity and subservience. Instead, Schulweis argues for a two-dimensioned conception: Elohim, the amoral God of nature; Adonai, the God of transformation, whose attributes of goodness – Godliness – we make real in bringing the world closer to perfection. Thus, the focus of religious experience and reflection for Schulweis is not God but "Godliness." This "predicate theology" concentrates upon God's attributes of goodness instead of arguing the existence of a personal, "Subject" God. In this way, Schulweis rescues belief from the problem of evil, and simultaneously restores the dignified place of the human being as God's Covenantal partner.

This conception runs aground if there is some circumstance wherein Adonai's attributes of Godliness are totally absent. The Holocaust would seem to present this scenario, prompting some to proclaim that the God of the Bible died at Auschwitz. In response, Schulweis notes that despite the overwhelming evil of the Holocaust, there remained "sparks" of Adonai even in that most benighted moment. In the late 1960s, Schulweis was introduced to a Jewish family rescued and hidden from the Nazis by German Christians. In response he founded The Jewish Foundation for the Righteous as a way of celebrating the heroic goodness of Christians who rescued Jews in German-occupied Europe.

In a similar way, Schulweis argued that action is demanded in all circumstances of moral darkness. He cofounded MAZON, as an answer to poverty in America, and established Jewish World Watch, a coalition of Jewish organizations dedicated to alleviating suffering and raising political awareness of on-going genocide around the world.

Rabbi Schulweis wrote many books, including: *Approaches to the Philosophy of Religion*, *Evil and the Morality of God*, *For Those Who Can't Believe*, *Finding Each Other in Judaism, In God's Mirror*, and two books of original religious poetry and meditation: *From Birth to Immortality* and *Passages in Poetry*.

[Edward Feinstein (2nd ed.)]

SCHULZ, BRUNO (1892–1942), Polish author and painter. Born in Drogobycz, Galicia, Schulz trained as an architect and during the years 1924–39 taught art in the high school of his home town. *Księga Bałwochwalcza*, a volume of his collected pictures, appeared in 1922–24. He first made his mark as a writer with reviews published in 1933 in *Wiadomości Literackie*. The two surviving works of fiction which Schulz produced were *Sklepy cynamonowe* (1934) and *Sanatorium pod klepsydrąá* (1937), both volumes of short stories. He set his tales in a small town, much like his own, though bereft of local color, combining authenticity with fantasy and myth. Like *Kafka, whose novel *The Trial* he translated into Polish (1936), Schulz was a literary pioneer of the magical and absurd and he mingled personal recollections with visionary fantasy. *Mesjasz* ("The Messiah"), a novel which he wrote shortly before World War II, remained unpublished and has been lost. In 1938 Schulz was awarded a prize by the Polish Academy of Literature for his two published works, which were accompanied by his own illustrations. Schultz' two collections were translated into English by Celina Wieniewska and published in the Penguin series "Writers from the Other Europe," edited by Philip Roth. The first collection to appear was *The Street of Crocodiles*, followed by *Sanatorium under the Sign of the Hourglass* (1979) consisting of 13 stories, partly re-creations of childhood memories. Isaac Bashevis Singer called them "the work of one of the most remarkable writers who ever lived." V.S. Pritchett called *The Street of Crocodiles* "a masterpiece of comic writing: grave yet demented, plain yet poetic, exultant and forgiving..." Cynthia Ozick's *Messiah of Stockholm* is an imaginative fable about the search for Schulz's lost manuscript. During the Nazi occupation Schultz was murdered by the S.S.

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[Stanislaw Wygodzki]

°**SCHUMACHER, GOTTLIEB** (1857–1924), architect, cartographer, and archaeologist. Born in Zanesville, Ohio, in his childhood he went to live in the German Templer colony in Haifa. Until 1918 he worked in Haifa as an architect and contractor, building roads, bridges, houses, and also some Jewish settlements. He traveled widely and surveyed the Jaulan (1885) and the Hauran and northern Ajlun (1886) for the Palestine Exploration Fund, and in 1891, the Hauran and Belqa for the Deutscher Palaestinaverein. Every year from 1894 to 1902 he visited parts of Transjordan. He was the first to excavate at Megiddo (1903–05) and worked as well at Baalbek (1903–04) and Samaria (1908).

In 1924 he published a map of Transjordan (*Karte des Ostjordanlandes*). He also published *Tell el-Mutesellim* (Ger., 1908), the report on his excavations at Megiddo; *Jaulân* (Eng., 1888); *Across the Jordan* (1886); and *Northern Ajlûn* (1890). The remainder of his notes on Ajlun were published by C. Steuernagel.

[Michael Avi-Yonah]

SCHUMAN, WILLIAM HOWARD (1910–1985), U.S. composer. Born in New York, Schuman studied at the Malkin conservatory there. After holding various teaching posts, he became director of publications for the music publishing firm of G. Schirmer, Inc. (1945–52). He was head of the Juilliard School of Music (1945–62) and in 1962–1969 became president of the Lincoln Center, New York. He wrote ballets, symphonies, choral works, chamber music, and songs. Among his best-known compositions are *Symphony for Strings* (no. 5; 1945) and the ballet *Undertow* (1945). The emotional intensity of his work and its vigorous rhythms and complexity of contrapuntal structure established him as one of the most prominent American composers of his generation.

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SCHUMANN, MAURICE (1911–1998), French politician and journalist. Born in Paris, Schumann worked for the French news agency, Havas, in London and Paris, and in 1939 became political editor of *L'Aube*. Following the fall of France, Schumann went to London and was head of the French radio service of the BBC from 1940 to 1944. He was a member of the provisional consultative assembly from 1944 to 1945 and was one of the founders of the Mouvement Républicain Populaire (MRP). From 1945 to 1958 Schumann represented the MRP in the Constituent Assembly and the National Assembly and later became head of the party. Subsequently he held office in several coalition cabinets as foreign minister (1951–54) and was a minister of state for scientific research (1967–68) and minister of social affairs (1968–69). In 1969, following the election of Georges Pompidou as president of France, Schumann was once more made minister of foreign affairs (serving until 1973), in which capacity he faithfully carried out his government's pro-Arab policy. In 1974 he was elected to the French Academy. Schumann converted to Christianity in his youth and took no part in Jewish affairs.

His writings include *Le Germanisme en Marche* (1938); *Honneur et patrie* (1945); *Le vrai malaise des intellectuels de* *gauche* (1957); and two novels, *Le Rendez-vous avec quelqu'un* (1962) and *La Voix du couvre-feu* (1964).

SCHUR, ISSAI (**Isaiah**; 1875–1941), mathematician. Schur was born in Mogilev, Ukraine. In 1920 he became professor of mathematics at the University of Berlin. He specialized in the theory of numbers, particularly with regard to finite groups and their representations. He is widely known as the author of "Schur's lemma," which states that the only operators that commute with a unitary irreducible representation are the scalar multiples of the identity operator. Schur is also credited with extending the finite group theory to compact groups and is noted for his work in the representation theory of the rotation group. With the rise of Nazism he emigrated to Ereẓ Israel, where he lived until his death.

[Aaron Lichtenstein]

SCHUR, ZEV WOLF (**William**; 1884–1910), pioneer Hebrew writer and journalist in the United States. Born in Lithuania, he settled in the United States in 1888 and spent most of his life in poverty. A friend of Abraham *Mapu, Schur devoted himself to Hebrew literature, traveled and taught in many countries, including the Far East, and wrote about his voyages in the periodicals *Ha-Meliẓ, Ha-Yom*, and *Ha-Shaḥar*. His travelogues were collected in two books: *Maḥazot ha-Ḥayyim* (1884) and *Masot Shelomo* (1886/7). He was an ardent pioneer of the Hebrew press in America and, later, of political Zionism, participating in the Fourth Zionist Congress. Under his editorship the periodical *Ha-Pisgah* (1889–99), in which *Tchernichowsky made his literary debut, attracted the best Hebrew writers in America and some Hebrew writers from abroad. After it ceased publication, it was continued as *Ha-Teḥiyyah* (1899–1900). Schur wrote several novels in Hebrew. His most important book is *Neẓaḥ Yisrael* (1897), a defense of Judaism against Christian attacks, against Reform Judaism, against socialism and anarchism. It affirms the twin axiom: the eternal existence of Jewry and the eternality of the Torah. Supporting nationalism, it was the first Hebrew work in America to react favorably to political Zionism.

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[Eisig Silberschlag]

SCHUSSHEIM, AARON LEIB (1879–1955), early member of *Po'alei Zion. Born in Radymno, Galicia, Schussheim became a basket weaver when a boy. In 1905 his search for work brought him to Cracow, where he joined the Po'alei Zion movement. After the publication of his first articles in Yiddish, he became the editor of the Po'alei Zion Yiddish newspaper *Der Yidisher Arbeter* in 1906. Schussheim continued to work at his trade at the same time. Years later the previous coeditor S. *Kaplansky said of him: "In the basket weaver of Cracow we found a born journalist," and the period of Schussheim's editorship was indeed the paper's finest era. He educated his readers in the principles of socialism and Judaism and also developed the paper's literary section. Schussheim served in the Austrian army during World War I and after his demobilization continued his journalistic career in Vienna and Galicia. In 1926 he emigrated to Argentina, and was a member of the editorial board of the Yiddish daily *Di Yidishe Tsaytung* in Buenos Aires until his death. He wrote hundreds of articles and essays for the paper, a few of which were published in his book *Fun Klayne un Groyse Zakhen* (1949). He also published a booklet on Menahem *Ussishkin (Yid., 1943).

[Mendel Singer]

SCHUSTER, English family of German origin. The founder of the Frankfurt mercantile family of Schuster was JUDEL JOSEPH SCHUSTER (d. 1782), who started a cotton-goods business in 1750. It was enlarged by his son, SAMUEL JUDAH, who in 1786 established the firm of Gebrueder Schuster. By the time Samuel Judah's eldest son, JOSEPH SAMUEL (1785–1858), became the head of the firm, it was doing a considerable amount of trade with England, and violated the restrictions imposed by Napoleon when he occupied Frankfurt. As a result of the penalties imposed, the Schusters decided to leave Germany. Two of Joseph Samuel's brothers, LEO and SAMUEL, emigrated to England in 1808, while the youngest brother HENRY moved to Brussels, although his son LOUIS followed his uncles to England. Joseph Samuel stayed behind to wind up the business and in the event remained in Frankfurt and carried on Gebrueder Schuster as a banking house. Joseph Samuel's son, FRANCIS JOSEPH SCHUSTER (1823–1906), was a citizen of considerable standing in Frankfurt, where among his activities was directorship of the Municipal Bank. In 1869, not wishing to become a Prussian citizen after the city's annexation, he too decided to emigrate to England. Like his uncles before him, he started his new life in Manchester and then moved to London, where he became a partner in the firm of Schuster, Son and Co., merchants and bankers. Francis Joseph's three sons were ERNEST JOSEPH SCHUSTER (1850–1924), Sir Arthur *Schuster (1851–1934), a noted mathematical physicist, and SIR FELIX SCHUSTER (1854–1936; see below). It is not known if they abandoned Judaism before leaving Germany, but none of them had any connection with the Jewish community in England. Ernest Joseph was a partner in the family firm for many years before becoming a member of the bar. He was an authority on international law and lectured for the Institute of Bankers and the London School of Economics. Felix Schuster, the youngest of Francis Schuster's three sons, became a leading figure in British banking and played an important part in the direction of the country's finances during World War I. He joined the family firm at the age of 19 and was a partner at 24. Part of the business was taken over in 1887 by the Union of London and Smith's Bank, of which he was governor from 1895 until, in 1918, it merged with the National Provincial Bank. Sir Felix – he had been created a baronet in 1906 – became a director and one of the two alternating chairmen of the great new concern. Among the many public offices he held was membership of the Council of India (1906–16). Another member of the family to achieve distinction was CLAUDE SCHUSTER, first BARON SCHUSTER (1869–1956), a grandson of Leo Schuster. A barrister educated at Winchester and Oxford, he was head of the legal branch of the Board of Education and several other governmental bodies, and from 1915 to 1944 was clerk of the crown in Chancery and permanent secretary to the Lord Chancellor. In 1944–47 he was head of the Allied Control Commission in Austria. He was knighted in 1913 and made a peer in 1944. Ernest Schuster's son SIR GEORGE ERNEST SCHUSTER (1881–1982), educated at Charterhouse and Oxford, was a major figure in the British administration in India, serving as finance minister in the Viceroy's Council in 1928–34. From 1938 to 1945 he was a Liberal National member of Parliament. In 1961 he was one of the founders of Voluntary Service Overseas and was later involved in the creation of Atlantic College. His autobiography, *Private Work and Public Causes* (1979), appeared when he was 98.

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SCHUSTER, AARON (1907–), chief rabbi of Amsterdam. Born in Amsterdam to parents who had recently emigrated from Russia, he was trained at the Ashkenazi Rabbinical Seminary of Amsterdam and graduated in classics at Amsterdam University. On ordination in 1941 he was appointed one of the communal rabbis of Amsterdam. In 1943, he was deported with other Dutch rabbis and his wife to Bergen-Belsen, where he was the only Dutch rabbi to survive. In 1955, after the death of Chief Rabbi Justus Tal, he was appointed chief rabbi of Amsterdam, holding the position until the end of 1972, when he resigned in order to settle in Israel. The synagogue which he attended regularly was named in his honor.

Schuster was rector of the Ashkenazi Rabbinical and Teachers' Seminary in Amsterdam from 1948 to 1972, and a member, and later chairman, of the Chief Rabbinate of The Netherlands, a standing conference of all Orthodox rabbis in that country. In this capacity he took the initiative, in 1957, in the establishment of the conference of (Orthodox) European Rabbis. While strictly Orthodox and uncompromisingly opposed to Reform, which during the 1950s and 1960s became active in The Netherlands, he represented, within the Orthodox community, the more tolerant attitude of most prewar Amsterdam rabbis, in contrast to the more extreme one of some of his postwar colleagues. A modest *Liber Amicorum*, with contributions by several Orthodox chief rabbis abroad, was published in his honor in 1971.

[Henriette Boas]

SCHUSTER, SIR ARTHUR (1851–1934), British scientist. Schuster was born in Frankfurt. When in 1866, following the war with Austria, the free city passed to Prussia, his father decided to emigrate and to join the Manchester branch of the family's merchant-banking firm. In 1870, Arthur Schuster entered the business, but soon decided on an academic career. He studied physics and mathematics and did research on the spectrum of nitrogen (he coined the word spectroscopy). He worked in Heidelberg under Gustav Robert Kirchoff and Robert William Bunsen. In 1874 he returned to England, and at the age of 23 took charge of Sir Norman Lockyer's expedition to Siam to study the solar eclipse. There and elsewhere he obtained valuable visual observations and instructive photographs of solar corona. For several years Schuster worked and lectured at Owen's College, Manchester, and also at the Cavendish Laboratory, Cambridge, under James Clerk Maxwell and John William Strutt Rayleigh. From 1881 to 1907 he held a professorship at Manchester. There he became the friend and guide of Chaim *Weizmann.

Schuster is known for his work on the discharge of electricity through gases and in seismology. In addition to working intensively as a research scientist he was an active administrator, taking a leading part in the organization of three universities – Manchester, Liverpool and Leeds. In 1904 he drew up the program of the International Union for Solar Research in collaboration with Hale and Arrhenius. In 1915 he was president of the British Association, and in 1918 he participated in the formation of the International Research Council. He was foreign secretary of the Royal Society from 1920 to 1924.

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[Arthur Beer]

SCHUSTER, MAX LINCOLN (1897–1970), U.S. publisher. Born in Kalusz, Austria, Schuster founded with Richard L. Simon (1899–1962) the book-publishing firm of Simon and Schuster. Established in 1924, the firm attracted immediate attention through its advertising and promotion innovations. In their first year Simon and Schuster published crossword puzzle books, which proved to be very popular and very profitable. They then branched out into publishing literary nonfiction, humor, self-help, and fiction. In 1939 the partners, with Leon Shimkin and Robert F. de Graff, organized Pocket Books, Inc., which became the first mass paperback publisher in the United States. Three years later, Simon and Schuster established Little Golden Books, a successful series of colorful books for young children. In 1957 Simon ended his association with the firm, and in 1967 Schuster sold his interest in the firm to Leon Shimkin (1907–1988), who became president.

In 1988 Simon and Schuster were inducted posthumously into the Publishing Hall of Fame for "a lifelong commitment to book publishing."

Schuster edited the book *A Treasury of the World's Great Letters from Ancient Days to Our Own Time* (1940).

[Israel Soifer / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

SCHUSTERMAN, CHARLES (1935–2000) and **LYNN** (1939–). U.S. business persons and philanthropists, Charles Schusterman was born to Russian immigrants living in Tulsa, Oklahoma. A graduate of the University of Oklahoma with a degree in petroleum engineering, Schusterman became a successful entrepreneur and generous philanthropist, whose charitable efforts helped to revitalize Jewish life in America, the former Soviet Union and Israel.

Lynn Josey Schusterman was born in Kansas City, Missouri. She was raised in Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, and moved to Tulsa after she married Charles in 1962. Lynn served as president and CEO of their eponymous family foundation. Their daughter, Stacy Schusterman, served as a member of the foundation board.

In addition to co-founding and directing the Charles and Lynn Family Foundation (CLSFF), Lynn plays a leadership role in several national and international charitable organizations responsive to her philanthropic and religious goals. In 2006 her positions included president of BBYO, the largest, nondenominational Jewish youth group in North American; co-chair of the International Board of Governors of Hillel: The Foundation for Jewish Campus Life; and president of STAR (Synagogues: Transformation and Renewal), a philanthropic partnership conceived to promote Jewish renewal through the synagogue.

Charles ("Charlie") Schusterman founded Samson Resources Company in 1971. Over the next 30 years, Samson grew to rank among the largest independent energy exploration and production companies in the United States. In 1983, shortly before his 48th birthday, Charlie was diagnosed with chronic myelogenous leukemia (CML). He responded to this disease with characteristic vigor, but later developed a second illness, interstitial lung disease (ILD), from which doctors believe he ultimately died in 2000.

In 1987, during the most trying times of Charlie's battle with CML, he and Lynn established their foundation with an emphasis on education. While not overtly spiritual or religious, the couple also identified strongly with Judaism and their deep affiliation with the Jewish people permeated every aspect of their philanthropic agenda. "In a very short time," Rabbi Irving "Yitz" Greenberg remarked when Charlie died, "The Schustermans established themselves as world leaders on the frontier of philanthropy for Jewish renewal."

Their passion to work on behalf of Judaism and Jewish causes was fueled by their first visit to Israel together in 1977. It was during that experience that Lynn, in her own words, "fell in love with being Jewish." The Schustermans eventually purchased an apartment in Jerusalem and increased their funding of causes vital to the security and economic future of the Jewish state, as well as to organizations that supported the overall social well-being of its citizens, especially children and those most in need.

Since its creation, the CLSFF has pledged and contributed more than $110 million toward the two causes that form its mission: its hometown of Tulsa and Jewish people wherever they may reside. It is known for its tactical and hands-on approach to philanthropy and for challenging its recipients to strive for excellence both in programs and in administration. Experts in the field have described the CLSFF as a model of strategic private philanthropy widely recognized for its professionalism, its ability to act quickly, and its willingness to take risks. The CLSFF also has a reputation for taking the long view in its grant-making; many of the groups it supported in its earliest years continue to receive funding today.

Locally, the CLSFF supports Oklahoma-based, non-sectarian charitable groups that help people help themselves, especially organizations that focus on education, children, and community service. Among its grantees in the early 21st century were the University of Oklahoma-Tulsa, the Tulsa City County Library Commission, the Parent Child Center of Tulsa, and the Community Action Project of Tulsa County, an organization that helps families in economic need achieve self-sufficiency. The foundation also seeks to create links between the programs it funds in Oklahoma and projects with similar missions in Israel.

Nationally and internationally, the CLSFF supports organizations that bring greater vitality and relevance to Jewish life. Its pursues its mission – to help spread the joy of Jewish living, giving, and learning – in communities throughout the world, from Moscow to Minneapolis and from Montevideo to Modi'in. The CLSFF seeks to ensure that a community of proud and educated Jews thrives for generations to come, even as increasing numbers of Jews count themselves among the unaffiliated and the intermarried. The foundation's support for programs that make Judaism more accessible has produced positive results in all of the geographic areas upon which it has chosen to focus: United States, Israel, and the former Soviet Union.

In America, the CLSFF has funded a carefully selected array of programs and organizations including Birthright Israel, which has brought tens of thousands of college-age students to Israel to experience the same sense of connection that Charles and Lynn felt during their first family trip to Israel. The CLSFF also supports the American Israel Education Foundation, The Foundation for Jewish Camping, MyJewishLearning.com, and The Curriculum Initiative, a project designed to provide quality Jewish experiences for Jewish high school students attending boarding or other private schools.

The foundation also supports a diverse and growing number of Israel-based organizations, including the Beit Lynn network, a growing number of facilities designed to treat victims of child abuse and neglect, and the Meitarim network of schools, institutions that educate Jewish children in a religiously pluralistic environment. In the former Soviet Union, the CLSFF promotes Jewish renewal through its contributions and work with Hillel, the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee, the Hebrew Union College, and the World Union of Progressive Judaism.

One of the hallmarks of the foundation's operating philosophy is to engage in coalition-building of philanthropic partnerships, in efforts such as Birthright Israel and the Partnership for Excellence in Jewish Education (PEJE). Such partnerships leverage resources for maximum effect, and reflect the foundation's continued adherence to the Schustermans' leadership model. In particular, the CLSFF encourages unity among Jewish organizations, and stresses that Jews from all denominations, backgrounds, and affiliations should work cooperatively on matters of mutual concern. The CLSFF also places a high priority on the professional development of those working on behalf of the Jewish people and sponsors several conferences each year to assist in that effort.

The CLSFF maintains offices in Tulsa, Washington, D.C., and Jerusalem.

[Alana Hughes (2nd ed.)]

SCHUTZBUND, REPUBLIKANISCHER, Austrian paramilitary organization. The organization was founded in 1922 at the initiative of the Social Democratic Party in opposition to the *Heimwehr, the right-wing paramilitary organization. Its leaders included Julius Deutsch, Rudolf Rafael Loew, Otto *Bauer, and Julius *Braunthal. At its height in the late 1920s it had approximately 40,000 members, including several hundred Jews, mainly in Vienna. It was disbanded by E. *Dollfuss in 1933 but continued to operate as an underground army until it was put down in the February uprising of 1934. Like the Social Democratic Party, the Schutzbund was careful not to be branded as a *Judenschutztruppe* ("Jew-protector troop"). The question whether it should protect Jewish gatherings in the second district of Vienna (Leopoldstadt) from Heimwehr and Nazi attacks often became the subject of intense controversy; Schutzbund units would protect Jewish assemblies, wearing their uniforms but not their badges or service-belts. The organizational forms of the Schutzbund and the related workers' sports movement influenced the *Hapoel and the *Haganah in Palestine. Rudolf Rafael Loew was a member of the Schutzbund's military leadership and its financial officer. He immigrated to Palestine in 1938, where he became a member of the Haganah's general staff and later director of the Israeli military archive.

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[Meir Lamed / Evelyn Adunka (2nd ed.)]

SCHUTZJUDEN (Ger. "protected Jews"), Jews who held letters of protection. In the Holy Roman Empire, from 1236 on, Jews were considered serfs of the chamber (*servi camerae regis*), a special class of the population protected and taxed by the emperor. Later the emperors transferred their rights over the Jews to the free cities and territorial princes, who issued letters of protection for a regular fee to the Jews living within their dominions, thereby making them their subjects. The letter of protection (*Schutzbrief*), either general (to a community) or personal, included articles on commercial privileges, religious rights, freedom of movement, and taxation, and had to be renewed regularly. In the 17th and 18th centuries, when impoverished Jews from Eastern Europe sought rights of trade and residence in the west, the number of protected Jews became restricted and any increase was resolutely opposed by Christian (and sometimes Jewish) merchants. Most of the immigrants were therefore granted only letters of safe-conduct (*Geleitbriefe*) and further entrance rights were restricted, but some managed to obtain the highly coveted status of *Schutzjuden*, while a growing number of Jews were *unvergleitet* ("without letters of safe-conduct") and thus without secure legal status. In the late 18th and early 19th century, through the influence of the Enlightenment, letters of protection were often drawn up containing educational and commercial conditions which the recipient had to fulfill. *Schutzjuden* continued to be a common feature of German Jewry until full emancipation was granted to the Jews.

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SCHWAB, HERMANN (1879–1962), German journalist and historical writer. In his native Frankfurt Schwab joined the school of the Israelitische Religionsgesellschaft (see S.R. *Hirsch). He was employed from 1902 to 1927 in the metal enterprises of Aron Hirsch near Berlin and in Halberstadt. He also worked as a journalist for the *Frankfurter Zeitung*, the *Vossische Zeitung* and other newspapers, was editor of the Juedischer Volksschriftenverlag, and author of Orthodox children's books. A supporter of *Agudat Israel and its founder, Jacob *Rosenheim, Schwab organized its war orphans' fund during World War I, which established a number of orphanages in Poland. From 1927 he ran a press service in Berlin which he continued after emigrating to England in 1934. In London, he became president of the Golders Green Beth Hamidrash.

His main published works are: *Kindertraeume: Ein Maerchenbuch fuer juedische Kinder* (1911; *Dreams of Childhood*, 1945); *Orthodoxie und Zionismus…* (1919); *Aus der Schuetzenstrasse* (1923; *Memories of Frankfurt*, 1955); *A World in Ruins: History, Life and Work of German Jewry* (1946); *The History of Orthodox Jewry in Germany* (1950); *1933: Ein Tagebuch* (1953); *Jewish Rural Communities in Germany* (1956); and *Chachme Ashkenaz* (Eng., 1964).

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[Archiv Bibliographia Judaica]

SCHWAB, JOSEPH J. (1909–1988), U.S. educator, who emphasized the study of the philosophies of education and science in connection with the preparation of school curricula. Born in Columbus, Mississippi, Schwab began to teach at the University of Chicago in 1936 and was appointed professor of natural sciences in 1953. Although his interest was in general education, he was also concerned with Jewish education, as indicated by his paper *The Religiously Oriented School in the United States: Memorandum on Policy* (1964). He served as editor of the first experimental editions of the textbooks of the American Institute of Biological Sciences and as supervisor of its *Teachers' Handbook*. He was on the academic board of the Melton Research Center for Jewish education at the *Jewish Theological Seminary of America and the consulting editor of its Bible project textbooks. In 1938 and in 1965 he was awarded the University of Chicago's Quantrell Award for Excellence in Undergraduate Teaching.

His publications appeared in many professional journals. His books include *Eros and Education* (1958), *The Teaching of Science as Enquiry* (1962), *Education and the Structure of the Disciplines* (1961), *College Curriculum and Student Protest* (1969), and *Science, Curriculum, and Liberal Education: Selected Essays* (1978).

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[Abraham J. Tannenbaum / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

SCHWAB, LÖW (1794–1857), chief rabbi of Pest, Hungary. Born in Kruknau, Moravia, he studied in Nikolsburg (*Mikulov) and Pressburg (*Bratislava) under Mordecai b. Abraham Naphtali *Banet and Moses *Sofer respectively. Having served first as rabbi of Prossnitz (*Prostejov), Schwab was invited to become chief rabbi of Pest in 1836. An outstanding talmudist and orator, Schwab also succeeded in creating an atmosphere of tolerance and conciliation in his congregation. The term of his rabbinate coincided with increasing Magyarization within Hungarian Jewry, which culminated in the struggle for full *emancipation. Schwab encouraged the members of his community to cultivate the use of the Hungarian language, and to engage in agriculture and other productive labor: he was one of the founders of the Society for the Promotion of Handicrafts and Agriculture among Hungarian Jews (MIKÉFE).

In 1844 he submitted a proposal to publish the main tenets and principles of the Jewish religion, in order to prove their compatibility with the requirements of a modern state, to refute slanders by the opponents of Jewish civil rights, and to allay their suspicions. His proposal was rejected by the rabbinic council of *Paks (1844), but in 1846 his own congregation of Pest entrusted him with preparing this publication. It was printed in both Hungarian and German as a compendium of religious instruction for secondary school graduates and went into seven editions.

During the 1848 revolution Schwab voiced his opinions on both religious and secular political matters. Although admitting the need for some moderate and cautious innovations in the religious sphere, Schwab strongly opposed the extreme reformist program of the congregation led by Ignaz *Einhorn. He supported, however, the Hungarian national liberation movement, including the declaration of independence from Hapsburg rule (1849). On the suppression of the revolutionary struggle, Schwab was arrested with his son-in-law, Leopold *Löw.

Schwab's published works include religious poems, in Hebrew and German, and some sermons.

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[Jeno Zsoldos]

SCHWAB, MOÏSE (1839–1918), French scholar. Schwab, born in Paris, attended the *Talmud Torah* of Strasbourg. He served as secretary to Solomon *Munk, the Orientalist, during 1857–66, later writing his biography: *Salomon Munk, sa vie et ses oeuvres* (1900). In 1869 Schwab began a 40-year career with the *Bibliothèque Nationale, first as an assistant and later as associate keeper. His scholarly interests were wide: he translated the Palestinian Talmud into French (*Talmud de Jérusalem*, 11 vols., 1871–90; repr. 1961), and he wrote *Abravanel et son époque* (1865); *Histoire des Israélites* (1866, 1895^2); and *Vocabulaire de l'Angélologie* (1896–99). Schwab also published *Les Incunables orientaux et les impressions orientales au commencement du XVI siécle* (1883). He described the Hebrew manuscripts and incunabula in the library of the Alliance Israélite (1904) and in other French and Swiss libraries.

Schwab contributed many articles to the *Revue des Etudes Juives*, the *Journal Asiatique*, and the bulletins of the Bibliothèque Nationale. Of particular importance is his *Répertoire*, a bibliography of articles published on Jewish subjects in learned journals between 1665 and 1900 (1899, 1914–23). The *Répertoire*, arranged alphabetically according to authors, lists 112 items by Schwab himself. His great erudition was not always matched by equal exactitude, and his work must therefore be checked thoroughly.

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[Colette Sirat]

SCHWAB, SHIMON (1908–1995), German and American Orthodox rabbi. Born in Frankfurt am Main, Germany, Schwab was brought up in the Separatist Orthodox community founded by Samson Raphael *Hirsch. Unlike most German Orthodox rabbis, who received a seminary education, Schwab studied at the traditional Lithuanian yeshivas in Telz and Mir from 1926 to 1931 and received his ordination from three distinguished Lithuanian rabbis, among them Chaim Ozer Grodzinski. Despite his German background and devotion to the customs of German Jewry, Schwab remained under the influence of the Lithuanian yeshiva world for the rest of his life and tried to introduce its ethos into German Jewish life.

After an initial tenure as a rabbi in the large Bavarian rural community of Ichenhausen, Rabbi Schwab immigrated to the United States in about 1936 to serve as rabbi of Congregation Shearith Israel in Baltimore, one of the most strictly Orthodox congregations in the city at the time. In 1958 he accepted the post of assistant rabbi to the 76-year-old Rabbi Joseph *Breuer of Congregation K'hal Adath Jeshurun in Washington Heights (the heir to the Frankfurt Separatist Orthodox community at the northern end of Manhattan). He and Rabbi Breuer were co-rabbis of the congregation until the latter's death in 1980, after which Schwab served as the main rabbi of the congregation.

Rabbi Schwab helped to steer the already strictly Orthodox "Breuer community" to the right, by placing greater emphasis on traditional Torah learning and treating exclusive study of Torah as an equally valid approach to Samson Raphael

Hirsch's philosophy of "*Torah im derekh ereẓ*" (the integration of Torah and secular knowledge). He was a strong leader of his community, exerting his influence through his eloquent English language sermons, articles in the congregational newspaper, and active supervision of the community of some 1,000 families. He expanded the community's educational system to include an adult yeshivah and kollel and a women's teachers seminary, while continuing such other aspects of the community's institutional network as *kashrut* supervision, the ritual bath, and youth organizations. Schwab strongly encouraged his community to remain in Washington Heights despite the growing influx of a Hispanic population into the neighborhood. Under his leadership, the congregation spearheaded a neighborhood patrol and created a neighborhood Jewish communal council to represent the needs of all the Jews of the neighborhood. These efforts were able to slow the exodus of his congregants from the neighborhood.

Schwab was a leader of the Agudath Israel of America, a lifelong advocate of the Hirschian policy of Austritt [non-cooperation with non-Orthodox forms of Judaism], and a fierce anti-Zionist. Besides his commentaries on the Bible, essays on history and Jewish thought (*hashkafah*), Schwab was probably best known for two volumes *Heimkehr ins Judentum* (Frankfurt 1934), which called into question German Orthodoxy's compromises with modern culture and *Elu ve-Elu. These and Those* (New York, 1966) which gave equal weight to religious sources supporting and opposing secular studies.

[Steven Lowenstein (2nd ed.)]

SCHWABACHER, SIMEON ARYEH (1819–1888), rabbi and preacher. Born in Oberndorf, Wuerttemberg, Germany, Schwabacher served as rabbi and preacher in Prague, Hamburg, Landsberg, and Schwerin. Later he went to Lemberg (1856–60) to act as preacher of the "enlightened" congregation, and in 1860 he was invited by the *maskilim* of Odessa, with the support of the governor of the town, Count Stroganov, to act as **kazyonny ravvin*. His sermons in German made him well known; he published several works of homiletics, introduced new practices into the Great Synagogue of the town such as a choir, and concerned himself with the organization of modern relief activities for the poor. He also established the vocational school Trud, a mutual aid society of Jewish shop clerks, a soup kitchen, an orphanage, and an old-age home. His ignorance of Yiddish constituted a barrier between him and the masses and with the rise of a Russian-speaking class of *maskilim* his influence with the Jewish intellegentsia also declined. His opposition to Ḥibbat Zion also caused him to lose popularity within the community, and in 1887 Schwabacher was removed from his rabbinical office. During his 27 years as rabbi he made an important contribution to the shaping of the character of the Odessa community as the first modern community in Russia.

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[Yehuda Slutsky]

SCHWABE, MOSHE (**Max**; 1889–1956), classical scholar. Schwabe studied classical philology first in his native Halle, then in Berlin. His dissertation on Libanius, the fourth-century C.E. rhetorician of Antioch, presaged his interest in the Hellenistic East and in the Jewish history of that period. An ardent Zionist from his youth, Schwabe was among the founders of the first pioneer group (*ḥalutzim*) in Germany. After World War I he headed the department of schools in the Lithuanian Ministry of Jewish Affairs and was deeply involved in the Hebrew and Zionist movements of Lithuania. Settling in Jerusalem in 1925, Schwabe joined the Hebrew University faculty and established the department of classics. He served as dean of the faculty of humanities (1945–47), and later as rector (1950–52).

Schwabe's field of research was Greek-Jewish epigraphy in Ereẓ Israel, and he became the leading interpreter of Greek inscriptions, especially those found in *Bet Alfa, *Caesarea, and *Bet She'arim. His meticulous interpretations of Greco-Jewish inscriptions was an important contribution to the understanding of Ereẓ Israel history and of the Jewish role in the Hellenization of the East. Schwabe's research was published in leading Israeli and foreign periodicals.

He published reports on the excavations at Bet She'arim (together with N. Avigad); contributed to jubilee and memorial volumes, and to the *Sefer ha-Yishuv*; edited the Philo translation by J. Mann, with an introduction and notes (1931); and coedited the memorial volume for Y.H. Lewy (1949) and the Dinaburg (Dinur) jubilee volume (1949). He also edited the classics division of the *Encyclopaedia Hebraica*. The first volume of *Ereẓ Yisrael, Meḥkarim bi-Ydi'ot ha-Areẓ…* (1951) was dedicated to him, and includes a bibliography of his writings.

[Shalom Perlman]

SCHWADRON (**Sharon**), **ABRAHAM** (1878–1957), Israeli folklorist, collector, and Hebrew writer. Born in Zloczow (Zlochev), Galicia, into a well-known ḥasidic family, Schwadron grew up in a Zionist atmosphere. He studied with his uncle Shalom Mordecai Schwadron, the gaon of Berezhany, but also finished high school and studied chemistry at the University of Vienna. In 1927 Schwadron settled in Ereẓ Israel, where he devoted himself to publicist pursuits and to his unique collection of autographs and portraits of great Jews, which he began in his youth and bequeathed to the Jewish National and University Library, Jerusalem.

Schwadron's publications include "*De naturae saltibus*," on philosophy (in *Archiv fuer systematische Philosophie*, 19 no. 1 (1913), 50–64); stories such as *Die banalen Ansichten und der tragische Tod des Ziegenbocks Jaraz* (1924), and *Zikhronot me-Olam ha-Ḥatulim* (1914); translations into German, for example of Bialik's famous poem "*Be-Ir ha-Haregah*" (*Nach dem Pogrom*, 1920); and music, including tunes for the Passover *Haggadah* and for poetry by *Raḥel. However, he was mainly concerned with Zionist polemics and the basic principles of Zionism which he interpreted in the light of his particular point of view. His approach to Zionism, which he termed radical, "cruel," and maximalist, was based on the principle that the complete solution to the Jewish problem was through the settlement of millions of Jews in their homeland. Schwadron's campaign of incessant and aggressive admonition, reflected in *Mauschelpredigt eines Fanatikers* (1916), *Von der Schande eurer Namen* (1920), and *Aus der Zionisten-Predigt eines Fanatikers* (1925), was at first conducted in German and owed much of its style to the influence of Karl *Kraus, with whom he cooperated in *Die Fackel*.

After he had settled in Ereẓ Israel he continued in the same vein in Hebrew, acquiring a pungent polemical style in that language as well. He published hundreds of critical and admonitory articles in almost every Hebrew newspaper, making *Aḥad Ha-Am and his followers, such as those in the *Berit Shalom movement, his main target. He also published some pamphlets, including *Torat ha-Ẓiyyonut ha-Akhzarit* ("The Doctrine of Cruel Zionism," 1944), and began to publish his collected writings, *Mi-Shenei Evrei ha-Sha'ah* ("From Both Sides of the Hour," 1946).

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[Dov Sadan]

SCHWARTZ, ABRAHAM JUDAH HA-KOHEN (1824–1883), Hungarian rabbi. Schwartz was a pupil of Moses Sofer and of Benjamin Wolf Levi. From 1861 to 1881 he served as rabbi of Bergszasz and for a number of years in his native town of Mad. He was an active participant in the rabbinical gathering in Nagymihaly in 1866 and at the congress held in Budapest in 1869. Although his personality was molded by the atmosphere of Pressburg, which was opposed to Ḥasidism, after a visit which he made to the head of the ḥasidic dynasty of Nowy Sacz (Zanz), Ḥayyim Halberstam, he became deeply attached to him and to Ḥasidism. He spent the festival of Shavuot in Zanz for 26 successive years. He also had connections with Isaac Meir Alter, the head of the ḥasidic dynasty of Gur (Gora *Kalwaria). Although he left only one work, responsa *Kol Aryeh* (1904), its influence on the rabbis of Hungary was very great. One of his grandchildren, Dov Beer Spitzer, wrote his biography – *Toledot Kol Aryeh* (1940).

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[Naphtali Ben-Menahem]

SCHWARTZ, ABRAHAM SAMUEL (1876–1957), Hebrew poet. Born in Lithuania, he immigrated to the United States in 1900. He became a physician in New York City in 1906. Schwartz's poetry, written over a period of 50 years and collected in a posthumous volume in 1959, is conservative in form and predominantly lyrical and ethical in coloration. His long poem "Job" is an interesting and even daring conception: Job returns, after all his afflictions, to his original affluence, but he misses the great privilege of contending with God about the order of the world. Other biblical and post-biblical themes on which he wrote poems include Ruth, Jeremiah, R. Johanan b. Zakkai, and Rashi.

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[Eisig Silberschlag]

SCHWARTZ, ANNA JACOBSON (1915–), leading U.S. economist and economic historian. Schwartz was born and educated in New York City, the daughter of Pauline Shainmark Jacobson and Hillel Jacobson, recent immigrants from Eastern Europe. Anna Jacobson received her B.A. from Barnard College in 1934 and her M.A. (1935) and Ph.D. (1964) from Columbia University. In 1935, she married Isaac Schwartz, a controller for an importing firm. She and her husband had four children.

After working briefly for the U.S. Department of Agriculture and the Columbia University Social Science Research Council, Schwartz became a research assistant in the National Bureau of Economic Research in 1941 and was promoted to senior research associate 20 years later. In 1981–82, Anna Schwartz served as staff director of the U.S. Gold Commission and was in charge of writing the Gold Commission Report. She held various part-time academic positions at Brooklyn (1952), Baruch (1959), and Hunter Colleges (1967–69) of the City University of New York as well as at New York University (1969–70), and was appointed adjunct professor of economics at the CUNY Graduate Center in 1986, soon after she became emerita research associate of the NBER.

Schwartz, known for her meticulous attention to detail, was a leading authority on economic statistics, economic history, international monetary systems, and monetary economics. She published numerous articles, reviews, and books, both on her own and in collaboration with other prominent economists such as Walt W. Rostow, Milton Friedman, and Michael D. Bordo. Among her most important publications coauthored with Milton Friedman are *A Monetary History of the United States, 1867–1960* (1963); *Monetary Statistics of the United States* (1970); and *Monetary Trends in the United States and the United Kingdom: Their Relations to Income, Prices, and Interest Rates, 1867–1975* (1982). In 1987–88, Schwartz served as president of the Western Economic Association. She received honorary degrees from the University of Florida (1987), Stonehill College (1989), and Iona College (1992). In 1989, *Money, History, and International Finance: Essays in Honor of Anna J. Schwartz*, edited by Michael D. Bordo, was published in her honor. In 1993, the American Economic Association recognized Schwartz as a Distinguished Fellow.

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[Harriet Pass Freidenreich (2nd ed.)]

SCHWARTZ, DAVID (1897–1985), U.S. apparel manufacturer. Schwartz, a native New Yorker, was raised in Harlem, then a neighborhood of Jewish and Italian immigrants. He went to work as a shipping clerk at 13, spent his life in the garment industry, and built his company, Jonathan Logan Inc., into the biggest independent dress business in the U.S. When Schwartz was 19, he and a friend named William Schwartz (no relation) started their own firm, TruSize Dress Co. They later formed Gladdy Dress Co. and created a new entity, Gladdy TruSize. They remained partners until 1937, when David Schwartz purchased Jonathan Logan Dress Co., then unknown, and began turning it into one of the garment industry's biggest success stories. He added numerous labels and categories to the core Logan line of popularly priced dresses, either through internal growth or acquisition. In 1960 Jonathan Logan Inc. made history by becoming he first company making only women's apparel to be listed on the New York Stock Exchange when it merged with Butte Copper & Zinc Co., a mining company, whose assets were then sold off to Anaconda Copper. Logan subsequently formed a division called Butte Knit, specializing in knitted apparel at a time that classification was just beginning to flourish. It became one of the company's most valuable units. In 1963, Logan recorded more than $100 million in annual sales, the first women's clothing business to reach that milestone. Schwartz guided Logan until 1964, when he appointed his son president and chief operating officer but remained as chairman. RICHARD J. SCHWARTZ was then 25 years old, the youngest president of any business on the New York Stock Exchange. He became chairman in 1977, when his father retired. In 1984, United Merchants & Manufacturers acquired Logan, which had diversified into sportswear and swimwear. Its divisions included Misty Harbor, The Villager, Rose Marie Reid, Modern Juniors, Etienne Aigner, R&K Originals and Alice Stuart. The Schwartz family owned more than 7 percent of the stock, gaining almost $45 million in the deal. Richard Schwartz left the apparel business in 1985, opened his own investment concern and operated the David Schwartz Foundation. In 1999 he was named chairman of the New York State Council on the Arts. David Schwartz was an active fundraiser for United Jewish Appeal, the Jewish Memorial Hospital, Brandeis University, the Albert Einstein College of Medicine at Yeshiva University, New York University Hospital, and Lincoln Center for the Performing Arts.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Women's Wear Daily* (Dec. 31, 1985).

[Mort Sheinman (2nd ed.)]

SCHWARTZ, DELMORE (1913–1966), U.S. poet, author, and critic. Born in Brooklyn, Schwartz was a member during the 1930s and 1940s of the literary-political group centered in the magazines *Partisan Review* (of which he was editor, 1943–55) and *Commentary*. In 1938 he won fame overnight with his first book, *In Dreams Begin Responsibilities*. This combined 35 lyric poems of "experiment and imitation" with other writings, including the short story which gave the book its title. His other works include two volumes of short stories, *The World is a Wedding* (1948) and *Successful Love and Other Stories* (1961); a verse-play, *Shenandoah* (1941); and a collection of lyrics, *Vaudeville for a Princess* (1950). Existence for Schwartz was fraught with terror, frustration, agony, and disappointment, and to him the Jew symbolized alienation. His deep vein of pessimism was expressed by a character in *The World is a Wedding*, who says, "You can't fool me, the world is a funeral." Schwartz found his most profound drama in the East European Jewish dream of America as the land of golden streets, freedom, and boundless opportunity. In his long, ambitious prose poem, *Genesis* (1943), which discussed the American Jew's self-preservation, as well as in various short stories, Schwartz described with biblical grandeur the immigrant's dream of the New World, his early struggles, his successes and failures, his marriages and children, the conflict between parents and children, the pressures of World War I, the ensuing boom, and the depression of the 1930s. During the years 1940–47, Schwartz taught at Harvard and Princeton universities.

Schwartz appears as the eponymous protagonist of Saul Bellow's *Humboldt's Gift* (1975).

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[Maurice Zolotow]

SCHWARTZ, FELICE NIERENBERG (1925–1996), pioneering U.S. advocate for the advancement of women in the workplace. Born in New York City, the daughter of Albert and Rose (Kaplan) Nierenberg, Schwartz was a graduate of Smith College. In 1945, she founded the National Scholarship Service and Fund for Negro Students (NSSFNS), an organization dedicated to increasing opportunities for African-American students in higher education. The wife of a physician and mother of three, Schwartz founded Catalyst in 1962, with the goal of enabling women to rejoin the workforce. Catalyst developed a nationwide network of 250 resource centers and counseled women who wished to combine family duties with part-time employment. Concentrating on placing women in the public sector, the organization pioneered several job-sharing pilot projects. Schwartz co-authored *How to Go to Work When Your Husband Is Against It, Your Children Aren't Old Enough*, and *There's Nothing You Can Do Anyhow* (1972) with colleagues, Margaret H. Schifter and Susan S. Gilotti.

In the 1970s and 1980s, when increasing numbers of women were forced to seek full-time work, Catalyst shifted its focus from the private to the public sector and from counseling to research and advocacy. Catalyst also began promoting the participation of women in corporations and their recruitment on corporate boards. During these years Schwartz became a widely respected expert on work and family issues, and Catalyst increasingly served in an advisory capacity to major companies and firms.

Schwartz's final years at Catalyst were colored by the national controversy ignited over her article "Management

Women and the New Facts of Life" (*Harvard Business Review* (January/February 1989)). A call to action to corporate leaders to remove the barriers to productivity and advancement still facing female managers, the article posited two ends of a spectrum along which corporate women fall: the "career primary" woman and the "career family" woman. As a result of her suggestion that creating policies to accommodate the "career family" woman was good business, she came to be known as the "mommy track author" and was the subject of hundreds of articles on the "mommy track controversy." Ironically, after 27 years dedicated to the advancement of women, the founder of Catalyst was accused of establishing barriers to women's advancement.

Schwartz retired as president of Catalyst in 1993. She died a month after completing her third book, *The Armchair Activist: Simple Yet Powerful Ways to Fight the Radical Right*.

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[Gail Twersky Reimer (2nd ed.)]

SCHWARTZ, FREDERIC (1951–), U.S. architect, founder of Frederic Schwartz Architects. Born in New York, Schwartz worked in the city for over 22 years, won many prizes, and lectured to university audiences all over the world. He earned his A.B. Architecture from the University of California at Berkeley in 1973 and his Master of Architecture from the Harvard School of Design in 1978. Among his many awards were the Rome Prize in Architecture (1995); Deutsch Inc. Decade of Design Competition; and a National Endowment for the Arts Design Fellowship in 1983. His drawings and designs were seen in over 50 exhibitions from the Paris Biennale des Beaux Arts in 1982 to the Venice Biennale in 1992 and were included in the Avery Library, Columbia University permanent collection. Schwartz Architects won the revised contract for the construction of the $315 million Whitehall Ferry Terminal building in New York. Opened in 2005, the terminal was designed to accommodate 70,000 people a day commuting from Staten Island. The plans called for a 200,000-square-foot glass and steel building with an open feeling so that people can feel they are already on the water, and also includes a roof deck for viewing Lower Manhattan, the upper harbor, and Governor's Island. Schwartz was the winner from among over 320 entrants in a competition to design the New Jersey memorial to those who died in the September 11, 2001, attack on the World Trade Center. Outside of New York, New Jersey lost more residents (674) than any other state. The memorial was slated to be erected in Liberty State Park on the banks of the Hudson River, affording a direct view of Lower Manhattan where the Trade Center stood. Named "Empty Sky," the title of a song by New Jersey rock star Bruce Springsteen, the design calls for a pair of brushed stainless steel walls 200 feet long and 30 feet high, the footprint of the vanished towers. The names of the victims are to be etched on the walls in random fashion. A paved bluestone path runs between the walls. Space for visitors to express their grief by leaving items at the base of the walls are meant to personalize sorrow in contrast to the cold steel. The area is to be surrounded by a grove of dogwood trees. Schwartz was a runner-up with architect Rafael Viñoly in the competition to design a master plan for rebuilding the World Trade Center site. As a keynote speaker at a conference on Business Geography and Human Conditions, Schwartz described his vision of the rebuilt World Trade Center as a world cultural center. The towers would be the tallest structures in the world, but not containing offices, with a spectacular outdoor amphitheater 20 floors up.

[Betty R. Rubenstein (2nd ed.)]

SCHWARTZ, GERALD (1940–), Canadian businessman and philanthropist. Schwartz was born in Winnipeg, Manitoba. He received his B.A. and LL.B. degrees from the University of Manitoba and an M.B.A. from Harvard University. In 1977 he co-founded CanWest Capital, which later became CanWest Global Communications, and in 1983 he founded Onex Corporation, a worldwide investment company of which he remains the president and CEO. Schwartz has been active with more than 70 firms, among them Celestica, IBM's former manufacturing arm, and others in such diverse areas as airline catering, electronics manufacturing services, and automotive components manufacturing. His holding company, whose firms include parts manufacturer Dura Automotive and the Loews Cineplex motion picture theater chain, had revenues of $23 billion in 2002.

Schwartz has been generous in support of the Canadian and Canadian Jewish communities. In 1999, for example, he made a multimillion dollar donation to St. Francis Xavier University in Antigonish, Nova Scotia, which was used to establish the Gerald Schwartz School of Business and Information Systems. A long-time Liberal Party supporter, Schwartz was also reportedly the top corporate fundraiser in Prime Minister Paul Martin's successful campaign to lead the Liberal Party of Canada.

Together with his wife, Heather *Reisman, chief executive of Indigo Books and Music, Schwarz founded the Gerald Schwartz/Heather Reisman Centre for Jewish Learning at Holy Blossom Temple in Toronto, where they live. The Centre is designed to engage the members of Holy Blossom more deeply in Judaism and in issues of Jewish responsibility. Schwartz and Reisman have also endowed a lecture series at Holy Blossom – free and open to the public – to which many of the world's major figures have been invited to speak. Schwarz was also deeply involved with the 2004 organization of the Canadian Council for Israel and Jewish Advocacy, which now oversees Canadian Jewish Congress and Canada Israel Committee activities.

In 2003 Gerald Schwartz and Heather Reisman were the first husband and wife team to be honored with the University of Manitoba's International Distinguished Entrepreneur Award.

[Mindy Avrich-Skapinker (2nd ed.)]

SCHWARTZ, ISRAEL JACOB (1885–1971), Yiddish poet and translator. Born in Petroshun, Lithuania, he began his literary career translating some of *Bialik's poems into Yiddish. In 1906 he emigrated to New York and, as soon as he had mastered English, translated poems by Shakespeare, Milton, and Walt Whitman. He participated in the publications of the literary movement Di *Yunge, but dissociated himself from its rebelliously militant members. In 1918 he settled in Lexington, Kentucky, where he found rich material which he incorporated in his verse epic, *Kentoki* ("Kentucky," 1925), translating it himself into Hebrew (1962). It is generally rated as one of the finest achievements of American Yiddish literature. The hero of this narrative is a Jewish peddler who rises from poverty to affluence in the course of decades of hard work and just dealings with his neighbors and becomes a respected, prosperous pillar of Kentucky society. Schwartz's verse autobiography, *Yunge Yorn* ("Young Years," 1952), wove a web of enchantment about his native Lithuanian town along the Nieman River and about the Kovno yeshivah where, together with traditional studies, he became familiar with Bialik's Hebrew, *Reisen's Yiddish, and Herzl's Zionist visions. *Yunge Yorn* ends with his departure from home for the New World. Because of Schwartz's lifelong preoccupation with translating contemporary Hebrew poets, his Yiddish style has a rich Hebraic flavor.

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[Sol Liptzin]

SCHWARTZ, JOSEPH HA-KOHEN (1877–1944), Hungarian rabbi and author. Born in Felsővisó, Hungary (now Viseul-de-Sus in Romania), Schwartz was the son of Naphtali ha-Kohen Schwartz and a pupil of Jacob *Tennenbaum. He edited the periodical *Va-Yelakket Yosef* for 20 years, from 1899 to 1918, in Bonyhad. In 1924 he moved to Grosswardein (Oradea), where he served as rabbi to the Maḥzikei Torah society and published several important books.

The most valuable are: *Ẓafenat Pa'ne'aḥ* (1909), notes on the *Yad Yiẓḥak* of Abraham Isaac Glueck; *Ginzei Yosef* (1930); and *Va-Yiẓbor Yosef* (1936), responsa. A detailed bibliography of his many publications published by Ben-Menahem in his *Mi-Sifrut Yisrael be-Ungaryah* (1958, 330–70), includes his testament, written a few months before his death in the Holocaust, together with a biography of him.

[Naphtali Ben-Menahem]

SCHWARTZ, JOSEPH J. (1899–1975), U.S. communal leader and Semitics scholar. Schwartz was born in Russia and taken to the United States in 1907. He studied at the Rabbi Isaac Elchanan Theological Seminary in New York (1915–21) and at Yale University (1926–28), and he taught at the American University, Cairo, Egypt (1928), and at Long Island University (1930–33). His first work in the community was as director of public information (1929–31) and executive director (1931–38) for the Federation of Jewish Charities in Brooklyn, New York. During World War II, with the approval of the U.S. War Refugee Board and through neutral representatives, he negotiated the rescue of thousands of Jews from Germany and the occupied countries. As chairman of the European executive council of the *American Joint Distribution Committee (JDC; 1940–49), Schwartz supervised relief and welfare programs in 30 countries, involving over one million people. After the war he directed the transfer of over 500,000 Jews to Israel from Europe, North Africa, and the Middle East. He also helped 100,000 Jewish refugees emigrate to the U.S., Canada, and Latin America. In 1945, at President Truman's request, he assisted Earl G. Harrison, the U.S. member of the Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees, in surveying and writing the first report to the U.S. people on the conditions of displaced persons in the camps in the U.S. zones of occupation.

He was director general of JDC (1950–51) and from 1951 to 1955 was vice chairman of the United Jewish Appeal; from 1955 to 1970 he was vice president of the State of Israel Bond Organization. From 1967 he served as president of the Encyclopaedia Judaica Research Foundation. Schwartz achieved general recognition as one of the foremost Jewish social workers. He was also known as one of the most effective and successful large-scale fund raisers. A former editor of *Scripta Mathematica*, he published articles and monographs on Semitics and Jewish affairs.

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SCHWARTZ, LAURENT (1915–2002), French mathematician. Born in Autouillet near Paris, Schwartz received his formative mathematical and political education at the Ecole Normale Supérieure. After military service he eventually completed his mathematical doctoral thesis in 1943 at the University of Clermont-Ferrand in Vichy France, temporarily conjoined with the University of Strasbourg. As a Jew with well-known left-wing political views, he was in increasing danger after the Germans occupied the whole of France in November 1942. He took refuge in St. Pierre-de-Paladru, a small hamlet near Grenoble, where his most influential mathematical ideas began to crystallize despite the constant problems of survival. After a one-year appointment at the University of Grenoble (1944), he became professor of mathematics at the University of Nancy (1945–52) before moving to the Sorbonne in 1952. In 1958 he became a professor at the Ecole Polytechnique (1953–83), where in 1966 he founded the Centre de Mathématique. His major work concerned the concept of distributions leading to the Fourier theory of distribution transforms. His work broadened the scope of calculus and brought Paul Dirac's ideas of "delta functions" in quantum mechanics within the scope of rigorous mathematics. For this work he was awarded the Fields Medal in 1950, the mathematicians' equivalent of the Nobel Prize. He was a brilliant teacher of mathematics for professional and lay audiences and in his sabbaticals did much to establish mathematics teaching in underdeveloped countries. His honors included membership in the Académie des Sciences. He was also an expert on butterflies.

Schwartz was a Trotskyist as a student, but he was eventually disillusioned with political affiliation. He became a passionate supporter of individual freedom and rights and an anticolonialist over French policy in Algeria and U.S. policy in the Vietnam war, even though his views provoked temporarily unfavorable reactions from the French and U.S. governments. He maintained that mathematical discovery is rigorous and subversive, principles to be followed in life in general. An atheist, he was nonetheless committed to Jewish rights and an early advocate of organized anti-Nazi Jewish military action.

[Michael Denman (2nd ed.)]

SCHWARTZ, MANFRED (1909–1970), U.S. painter, illustrator, and educator. Born in Lodz, Poland, he immigrated to New York in 1920 at the age of 11. In Paris, he attended the Sorbonne and the Académie de la Grande Chaumiere; in America, he was educated at the Art Students League, New York, the Cape Cod School of Art, and the National Academy of Design. Prodigiously talented, Schwartz exhibited at the inception of his career with such luminaries as Edward Hopper, Maurice Vlaminck, and Andrew Wyeth. His teachers included the Ashcan School artists John Sloan and Charles Hawthorne. He moved to Paris in 1929, where he studied both classicism and the art of his immediate predecessors, Vincent van Gogh, Paul Cezanne, and Picasso. Schwartz also became active in the School of Paris. He was known first, from the mid 1930s through the 1940s, for a liberated, colorful version of synthetic cubism applied to circus subjects, such as jugglers and acrobats. The oil painting *The Juggler* (1935) demonstrates this period in his art: depicting a figure balanced on her torso with arms upraised as she juggles several balls, the composition is executed in vibrant reds, violets, and black, which flatten the already simplified forms. By 1950, Schwartz had already had several solo shows at prestigious galleries, including the Lilienfeld and Durand-Ruel Galleries. At the urging of Henri Matisse, he traveled to the French town of Étretat on the Normandy Coast in 1950. Having already obtained a reputation among French artists, including Courbet, Monet, and Braque, as an area with unparalleled luminosity, Étretat captured Schwartz's eyes and imagination as well: observing the movement of radiance and shadow on the town's seafront, the artist made paintings and drawings which reflected his new, keener sense of the relationship between color and light. Schwartz returned to Étretat in 1960. Unlike other artists who had visited this Normandy town, Schwartz did not focus on representation of the cliffs, but rather the beach, which he infused with color and light in order to stress the flatness of the canvas or paper. By the 1960s, he gradually restricted his work to a form of pointillism, based on empirical observation, which he mobilized in order to represent light, rather than landscape. Thousands of his cool, graded dots converge or disperse to describe constellations, nebulae, pebbles, and sand. Schwartz also worked in Provincetown, Massachusetts. He was a member of the Federation of Modern Painters and Sculptors and the American Abstract Artists. He has had solo retrospectives at the Brooklyn Museum of Art, the Providence Museum of Art, and the Whitney Museum. His work has been exhibited at the Art Institute of Chicago, the Carnegie Institute, and the Metropolitan Museum of Art. His work is in the collections of the Brooklyn Museum, the Guggenheim Museum, and the Whitney Museum, among other institutions.

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[Nancy Buchwald (2nd ed.)]

SCHWARTZ, MAURICE (1890–1960), U.S. Yiddish actor. Schwartz was the last major figure in the Yiddish theater of New York. He flourished at a time when there were about 20 Yiddish shows on Second Avenue in New York City, and his Jewish Art Theater was among the last to close. He belonged to the older theatrical tradition; he had an impressive figure, he used wide gestures, and though he tended to be flamboyant, like many of his school, he achieved performances of great dignity.

In 1901, Schwartz reached New York with his parents from Sedikov in the Ukraine, and grew up on the Lower East Side. He made his debut with a Yiddish stock company in Baltimore in 1905 and seven years later was engaged by David Kessler for the opening of the Second Avenue Theater. Here he remained until launching the Jewish Art Theater in 1918. During the 40 years that followed, Schwartz became known in almost every corner of the Yiddish-speaking Diaspora. He toured North America, South America, Europe, Israel, and South Africa. His company had a repertoire of 150 plays from Shakespeare, Lope de Vega, Toller, and George Bernard Shaw to Shalom Aleichem. He was known especially for his playing of Reb Malech in Singer's *Yoshe Kalb*, Luka in Gorki's *The Lower Depths*, Oswald in Ibsen's *Ghosts*, Shylock in *The Merchant of Venice*, and the title role in *King Lear*. The Jewish Art Theater became an institution in New York, breeding talent for both the Yiddish and English-speaking stage. Schwartz's vital performances drew the Broadway critics, who found his theater vital and perceptive. The Jewish Art Theater lasted until 1950, when both audiences and companies had moved out of Second Avenue. An attempt to revive it in 1955 met with little success. Schwartz turned to motion pictures, but without success. In 1960 he went to Israel hoping to establish a Yiddish art center. He attracted a number of Israel players to his company and opened in *Yoshe Kalb* but two months later he died.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Z. Zylbercweig, *Leksikon fun Yidishn Teater*, 3 (1959), 2327–68, incl. bibl.

[Richard F. Shepard]

SCHWARTZ, MELVIN (1932–2006), U.S. physicist and businessman, Nobel Prize winner. Born in New York City, Schwartz studied at Columbia University, from which he received his Ph.D. in 1958. He was an associate physicist at Brookhaven National Laboratory from 1956 to 1958 and on the faculty of Columbia University from 1958 to 1966, becoming a professor in 1963. From 1966 to 1983 he was a professor at Stanford University. He was also chief executive officer of Digital Pathways, Inc. in Mountain View, California. In 1991 he became associate director of high-energy and nuclear physics at Brookhaven National Laboratory.

A member of the American National Academy of Sciences and a fellow of the American Physics Society, he was also on the board of governors of the Weizmann Institute in Israel.

In 1962 he and two colleagues, Jack *Steinberger and Leon M. *Lederman, developed a means for utilizing neutrinos, subatomic particles, to aid in determining the structure of other basic particles. In 1988 they were the recipients of the Nobel Prize in physics in recognition of the greater understanding of elementary particles and forces resulting from their work.

SCHWARTZ, PHINEHAS (Pinḥas) SELIG HA-KOHEN (Sigmund; 1877–1944), Hungarian scholar. He was born in Felsővisó and died in the Holocaust. His most important work is *Shem ha-Gedolim me-Ereẓ Hagar* (3 vols., 1913, 1915), a series of biographies of Hungarian rabbis and a bibliographical list of their works. In 1935 and 1941 he published supplements in two pamphlets (all photocopied 1950). Despite its many errors, the book still serves as a biographical source for the rabbis of Hungary.

Between 1932 and 1935, Schwartz published a Torah periodical entitled *Or Torah* and several valuable works on specific topics, including: *Yizraḥ Or* (1925, photocopy 1952), the order of the blessing of the sun; *Givat Pinḥas* (1926), on the laws of the slaughter and examination of animals; *Ateret Paz* (1928), on the laws of the priestly blessing; *Minḥat Omer* (1931, photocopy 1969), on the laws of the counting of the Omer; *Temimei Derekh* (1935, 2nd ed. Szatmar, 1947, photocopy in German, no date), on the laws of the blessing and prayers on going on a journey; *Minḥah Ḥadashah* (1937, photocopy N.Y. 1969), topics connected with Shavuot; *Shulḥan Arukh Yoreh De'ah* (1938), on the laws of the redemption of a firstborn, together with his own novellae on that topic. A detailed list of his works was published by N. Ben-Menahem in *Aresheth*, 4 (1966), 427–35.

[Naphtali Ben-Menahem]

SCHWARTZ, STEPHEN (1948–), U.S. theater composer. Born in New York City, Schwartz studied piano and composition at the Juilliard School of Music while in high school and graduated from Carnegie Mellon University with a degree in drama. He returned to New York and soon began to work in the Broadway theater. His first major credit was the title song for the play *Butterflies Are Free*, which was also used in the movie version. In 1971 he wrote the music and new lyrics for *Godspell,* for which he won several awards including two Grammys. This was followed by the English texts, in collaboration with Leonard *Bernstein, for Bernstein's *Mass,* which was commissioned for the opening of the John F. Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts in Washington, D.C. The following year he wrote the music and lyrics for *Pippin* and two years later, *The Magic Show*. At one point all three shows were running on Broadway simultaneously. After stumbling with *The Baker's Wife,* in 1976, he wrote the musical version of Studs *Terkel's *Working*, which he adapted and directed, winning the Drama Desk Award as best director, and contributed four songs to the score. He also co-directed the television production. Next came songs for a one-act children's musical, *The Trip*, and a children's book, *The Perfect Peach*. His next major triumph was in collaboration with the composer Alan Menken on the score for the animated Disney feature *Pocahontas* (1995), for which he received two Academy Awards and another Grammy, and *The Hunchback of Notre Dame* (1996). He also provided songs for the first animated feature for DreamWorks, *The Prince of Egypt* (1998), for which Schwartz won another Academy Award for the song "When You Believe." In 2003 he returned to Broadway as composer and lyricist of *Wicked,* a prequel to *The Wizard of Oz*, which enjoyed a long run.

[Stewart Kampel (2nd ed.)]

SCHWARTZENBERG, ROGER-GERARD (1943–), French professor of law and politician. Born in Pau, France, Schwartzenberg, a brilliant student and scholar, was appointed professor at the law school of Orleans at the age of 25. While pursuing his university career, he joined the Mouvement des Radicaux de Gauche (MRG), a moderate leftist party traditionally pro-Israel, of which he was elected president in 1981. A long-time supporter of French President Mitterrand, Schwartzenberg was entrusted with the difficult university portfolio, as Secretary of State for University Affairs, in the Socialist government in 1983. His main task was to streamline the cumbersome structure of the French university system while retaining it most positive assets, richness and diversity; its democratic character; and above all, the fact that tuition is completely free. He continued to sit as a deputy in the National Assembly in the 1980s and 1990s, while also serving as mayor of Villeneuve-Saint-Georges (Val-de-Marne) in 1989–95. In 2000–2 he was minister of research.

Schwartzenberg wrote a number of textbooks and political pamphlets: *La campagne présidentielle de 1965* (1967); *La force juridique des décisions administratives* (1968); *Traité de sociologie politique* (1971); and *L'État Spectacle, essai sur et contre le star-system en politique* (1977).

[Gideon Kouts]

SCHWARTZMAN, SYLVAN DAVID (1913–1994) U.S. Reform rabbi, academician, administrator. Schwartzman was born in Baltimore and received his B.A. from the University of Cincinnati in 1936. In 1941, he was ordained at *Hebrew Union College, which awarded him an honorary D.D. in 1981. In addition, he earned a Ph.D. from Vanderbilt University in 1952 and an M.B.A. from the University of Cincinnati in 1970. After ordination, he became rabbi of Congregation Children of Israel in Augusta, Georgia (1941–47), following which he spent a year as director of Field Activities for the *Union of American Hebrew Congregations (1947–48) and two years as rabbi of the Temple in Nashville, Tennessee (1948–50).

In 1950, Schwartzman was appointed professor of Jewish Religious Education at HUC-JIR in Cincinnati, where he remained until his retirement in 1981. While on the faculty, Schwartzman served as chairman of the Academic Senate and as faculty representative to the board of governors. In 1975, he was named dean of the Cincinnati campus of HUC-JIR, but resigned after one year because of what he termed the lack of a "free hand to carry out my responsibilities." For the entire 30 years of his tenure at HUC-JIR, he also served on the Reform movement's Joint Commission on Jewish Education; and for many years he was on the executive committee of the National Association of Temple Educators. Upon his retirement, Schwartzman was elected finance chairman of the *Central Conference of American Rabbis, and in that capacity also served as chairman of the Committee on Budget and Finance and on the executive board of the CCAR (1981–83). He was also elected president of the National Association of Retired Reform Rabbis and was co-chairman of the group's Mitzvah Fund at the time of his death.

Schwartzman is the co-author of two critically acclaimed books, in two very different fields. His *Our Religion and Our Neighbors* (with Milton G. Miller, 1959, rev. 1963, rev. 1971), the first book ever published in Jewish religious education for the teaching of comparative religion, earned him the Emanuel *Gamoran Curriculum Award from the National Association of Temple Educators. His *Elements of Financial Analysis* (with R.E. Ball, 1977, rev. 1984) was selected for the "Investors Book Shelf of the Year" by *Business Week* magazine. He also wrote *Reform Judaism in the Making* (1955); *Rocket to Mars* (1953, rev. 1969); *Reform Judaism Then and Now* (1971); *The Story of Reform Judaism* (1949, rev. 1958); and *The Living Bible* (with J. Spiro, 1962).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: The Nearprint Files of the American Jewish Archives, Cincinnati.

[Bezalel Gordon (2nd ed.)]

SCHWARZ, ADOLF (**Aryeh**; 1846–1931), rabbi and scholar. Born in Hungary, Schwarz studied at the Breslau Juedisch-theologisches Seminar, where he was Z. *Frankel's favorite pupil and intimate friend. From 1875 he was rabbi in Karlsruhe, a post he accepted at Frankel's behest in spite of his misgivings about the use of the organ in the Karlsruhe synagogue. In 1893 he became head of the newly founded Israelitisch-theologische Lehranstalt in Vienna, where he trained several generations of modern rabbis and teachers as leaders of traditional Judaism. Schwarz enjoyed the respect and affection of his pupils and did much to raise the intellectual and moral standards of Viennese Jewry.

His scholarly work was a conscious effort to continue in the paths of his teacher Frankel and was devoted mainly to the understanding of the Talmud and its methodology. His prize-winning essay on the Jewish calendar (1872), written while a student at Breslau, was followed by his studies on the Tosefta (*Tosefta… Shabbat*, 1879; *Eruvin*, 1882, *Tosefta Zera'im*, 1890) in which he examined its relationship to the Mishnah. At the same time he published its text in the order of the Mishnah with a Hebrew commentary, *Hegyon Aryeh*. In later years Schwarz continued this work, issuing editions of the tractates *Ḥullin* (1901), *Bava Kamma* (1912), and *Horayot* (1929). His principal contribution to talmudic scholarship was his *Controversen der Schammaiten und Hilleliten* (1893) which was followed by six monographs on the *hermeneutic rules: *Die hermeneutische Analogie in der talmudischen Literatur* (1897), *Der hermeneutische Syllogismus in der talmudischen Literatur* (1901), *Die hermeneutische Induktion* (1909), *Die hermeneutische Antinomie in der talmudischen Literatur* (1913), *Quantitaetsrelation* (1916), and *Der hermeneutische Kontext* (1921). A summary of these appeared in 1923 (*Hauptergebnisse der wissenschaftlich-hermeneutischen Forschung*, 1923). Schwarz found that a main cause of the halakhic controversies between the schools of Shammai and Hillel, apart from the weakened power of the Sanhedrin and the consequent shift from practice to theory, was a disagreement on the use of the (seven) hermeneutical rules ascribed to Hillel. Schwarz's modern approach provoked some sharp polemics from Orthodox scholars (A. Friedmann, *Penei ha-Dor*, 894–6). He also devoted a major study to Maimonides' Code (*Der Mishneh Torah*, 1905), in which he examined the logical as well as the artistic structure of the *Mishneh Torah*. A great number of his lectures and sermons appeared in print, as well as many articles in periodicals and some polemics against R. *Kittel. On the occasion of his 70th birthday his friends and pupils published a *Festschrift* (1917, with bibliography) as did his pupils ten years later (*Minḥat Bikkurim*, 1926). A memorial volume (*Sefer Zikkaron…*, 1946) commemorated the centenary of his birth.

His son, ARTHUR ZECHARIAH SCHWARZ (1880–1939), was a scholar and bibliographer. Born in Karlsruhe, Schwarz followed his father in Jewish scholarship. Graduating from the Israelitisch-theologische Lehranstalt and the University of Vienna, he was appointed district rabbi and teacher of Jewish religion in that city, but devoted much of his time to scholarship. As a young man he was attracted, in contrast to his father, by Herzl and the Zionist movement and contributed regularly to their official organ, *Die Welt*. When the Nazis invaded and usurped power in Austria, Schwarz was arrested and tortured by the Gestapo. Broken in body and soul, he was able to leave for Ereẓ Israel where he died soon afterward.

His interest in Jewish bibliography and the study of Hebrew manuscripts owed much to the influence of A. Ratti, later Pope Pius *XI, whom he met on a visit to the Ambrosiana Library at Milan. As a model for his bibliographical work he took M. *Steinschneider. The first fruit of his studies was *Die hebraeischen Handschriften der k. und k. Hofbibliothek in Wien* (1914), in which he described those manuscripts not included in the previous and rather unsatisfactory catalogs of Goldenthal, Deutsch, and Kraft. The work was very favorably received and Schwarz was encouraged to publish a comprehensive catalog, which appeared in 1925 (*Die hebraeischen Handschriften der Nationalbibliotek in Wien*). His detailed scholarly description of the 212 manuscript collections and 160 fragments represented a new and exemplary standard of bibliographical scholarship. This was followed by *Die hebraeischen Handschriften in Oesterreich* (vol. 1, 1931), describing 283 manuscript collections, the greater part of which belonged to the Vienna Jewish community library (250), the rest to other Jewish public and private collections as well as to some monasteries. This catalog remained unfinished, though the author had prepared up to no. 302 for press.

Schwarz contributed numerous bibliographical articles and book reviews to learned periodicals. He also published a number of texts discovered in the course of his research, such as Jacob *Sasportas' letters to the Hamburg Jewish community (*Allim*, 2 (1935), 20–23), a letter by Abraham b. Ḥiyya ha-Nasi to Judah b. Barzilai (*Festschrift… A. Schwarz*, 1917), and a supplement to Yomtov b. Abraham Ishbili's (Ritva) *Sefer ha-Zikkaron* (*Ha-Ẓofeh le-Ḥokhmat Yisrael*, 7 (1923), 299–304). The latter was the result of his preparing a manuscript of Naḥmanides' Pentateuch commentary for publication: he had published a sermon by him in 1913. He also prepared Sasportas' anti-Shabbatean *Ẓiẓat Novel Ẓevi* for publication, Schwarz's manuscript serving as basis for Y. Tishbi's edition of 1964. His son BENJAMIN became professor of mathematics at the Technion in Haifa, and his daughter TAMAR married Teddy *Kollek, mayor of Jerusalem.

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SCHWARZ, DAVID (1845–1897), airship inventor. Schwarz, a fairly wealthy timber merchant in Zagreb who taught himself the principles of engineering and mechanics, decided that a rigid airship could be built by using aluminum. The industrial production of this metal had been greatly facilitated by the discovery in 1886 of an electrolytic process. Schwarz gave up his business and began to do research on the properties of aluminum; he showed that it could be soldered and hardened. After some years, he interested General Krieghammer, the Austrian minister of war, in an airship which he began constructing in 1890. However, government financing for actual flight experiments was not forthcoming. Schwarz then went from Vienna to Russia, where he made some successful flights. In 1892 he went to Germany and constructed an improved form of his airship. However, the German government procrastinated in its financing of flight tests until January 1897. When Schwarz received the telegram informing him of the German government's willingness to finance the flight tests, he died of shock. In November 1897 Schwarz's dirigible was flown from Tempelhof Field. It crashed and was destroyed after being flown for four hours. The pilot saved his life by jumping out of the dirigible. Count Zeppelin, who witnessed the flight, bought all Schwarz's plans and designs from his widow, and then rebuilt Schwarz's airship with his own modifications. This rebuilt airship was the famed "Zeppelin."

BIBLIOGRAPHY: E. Heppner, *Juden als Erfinder und Entdecker* (1913), 55–57.

[Samuel Aaron Miller]

SCHWARZ, HARRY HEINZ (1924–), South African politician, lawyer, and Jewish communal leader. Born in Cologne, Germany, Schwarz immigrated to South Africa in 1936 as a refugee from Nazism. He served as a navigator in the S.A. Air Force during World War II, after which he qualified as a lawyer at the University of the Witwatersrand. He practiced as both an advocate and an attorney, amongst other things serving on the defense team of Nelson Mandela and other anti-apartheid activists during the 1963–64 Rivonia Trial. Schwarz's political career commenced with his election to the Johannesburg City Council in 1951. As a member of the opposition United Party, he was leader of the Provincial Opposition from 1963 to 1974. He entered Parliament on the UP ticket in 1974 and was official Opposition spokesman on finance in 1974–75 and 1977–87. He was leader of the breakaway Reform Party in 1975–77, until it merged with other opposition groups to form the Progressive Federal Party. From 1990 to 1994, although still on the opposition benches, he served as South Africa's ambassador to the United States. Schwarz was an outspoken critic of the government's racial policies throughout his parliamentary career and frequently denounced antisemitism. He served on the management committee of the South African Jewish Board of Deputies from 1983 to 2000.

[David Saks (2nd ed.)]

SCHWARZ, LEO WALDER (1906–1967), U.S. author and editor. Born in New York, Schwarz was active in communal and educational work. During World War II he was awarded a battle commission in Normandy by General Patton and stayed in Germany until 1947 as the Joint Distribution Committee's director for displaced persons in Munich. This experience formed the basis of his book, *The Redeemers* (1953), which dealt with the return of Jewish concentration camp survivors to freedom. He was adviser to Jewish students in South African universities (1959–61) and professor of Judaic studies at the Iowa University's School of Religion (1960–62).

Among his publications are an anthology of Jewish memoirs and autobiography, *Memoirs of My People Through a Thou-*

sand Years (1943, 1963^2); *The Root and the Bough* (1949); and several Jewish anthologies, among them *The Jewish Caravan* (1935, 1965^2), *A Golden Treasury of Jewish Literature* (1937), *Feast of Leviathan* (1956), and *The Menorah Treasury* (1964). He also edited *Great Ages and Ideas of the Jewish People* (1956). Together with Louis Linn, Schwarz also wrote *Psychiatry and Religious Experience* (1958).

[Sol Liptzin]

SCHWARZ, RUDOLF (1905–1994), conductor. Born in Vienna, Schwarz joined the Düsseldorf Opera as répéptiteur at the age of 18 and conducted an opera there the following year (1924). From 1927 to 1933 he was at Karlsruhe under Josef Krips. When Hitler came to power, he was forced to resign, and in 1936 was appointed musical director of the *Juedische Kulturbund (Jewish Cultural Organization) in Nazi Germany. In 1941 he was sent to Bergen-Belsen, and after his release in 1945, he settled in England. He directed the city orchestras in Bournemouth (1947–50) and Birmingham (1951–57). From 1957 to 1962 he was chief conductor of the BBC Symphony Orchestra, and then became principal conductor of the Northern Sinfonia Orchestra, Newcastle (1967–1973). He furthered the performance of British music, including new works by Bliss, Gerhard, Hamilton, Rubbra and Tippett; and in 1958 he conducted the première of Britten's Nocturne. Schwarz was generally admired for his perceptive skill in a variety of classical and, especially, contemporary music. He was made a Commander of the Order of the British Empire in 1973.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Grove Music Online.

[Israela Stein (2nd ed.)]

SCHWARZ, SAMUEL (1880–1953), discoverer of 20th century Crypto-Jews. Born in Poland, Schwarz was a mining engineer by profession. In 1915 he moved to Portugal and settled in Lisbon, but his work involved travel through the undeveloped stretches of the country. In 1917, on a surveying trip to remote *Belmonte, on the Spanish border, Schwarz met a group of persons who practiced certain Jewish rituals. They married only among themselves and observed in their own way the Sabbath and the major Jewish festivals. Schwarz identified them as Crypto-Jews or Cristãos-Novos, who were believed to have faded into extinction shortly after the Portuguese *Inquisition was abolished in 1821, but who instead continued to live as *New Christians. Their Jewish observance had suffered considerably from its underground nature and from a lack of formal education and leadership. Schwarz publicized his discovery in the Portuguese review *Arqueologia e história* (4 (1925) 5–115)) and subsequently in the book *Os cristãos-novos em Portugal no século XX* (1925). At about this time Artur Carlos de *Barros Basto, a descendant of New Christians who had achieved importance in Portuguese national life, openly espoused Judaism and vigorously began to organize his fellow New Christians in a return to the Jewish fold. These activities served to underscore the practical aspects of Schwarz's discovery, and considerable interest arose among British Jews toward educating the Portuguese descendants of Crypto-Jews into the mainstream of the faith. Schwarz and Barros Basto did not get along well and mutual antagonism and suspicion characterized their relations.

For a time Schwarz was president of Lisbon's Jewish community. In 1922 he took title to a 15th-century synagogue of *Tomar, opening it as a museum for Portuguese Hebrew inscriptions, called the Museu Luso-Hebráico de Tomar. Schwarz published a study of epitaphs and inscriptions of Portugal's early Jewish inhabitants, *Inscriçôes hebráicas em Portugal* (1923). He was a member of the Portuguese archaeological society, and a leader of the Portuguese association of Polish nationals.

A Hebrew version of his *Os cristãos-novos em Portugal no século XX* came out in Jerusalem in 2005. Stuczynski's introduction is the most extensive study of Samuel Schwarz' career.

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[Aaron Lichtenstein]

SCHWARZ, SOLOMON (1883–1973), Russian Social Democratic politician and historian. Born into an assimilated family in Vilna, Schwarz studied medicine, law, and economics at German and Russian universities. He was repeatedly arrested by the czarist authorities for his socialist and trade union activities. Following the outbreak of the Russian Revolution in February 1917, he was made head of the social insurance department of the Provisional Government's Ministry of Labor. After the Bolshevik seizure of power, Schwarz led the Menshevik opposition to the Bolsheviks until his arrest and imprisonment. He was allowed to leave Russia in 1922 and settled first in Germany, and after 1933, in France. While living in Germany and France he began his research on contemporary Russian history, much of which was published in *Sotsialisticheskiy Vestnik*. In 1940 Schwarz settled in the U.S., where he continued his research. He served as an adviser to the *American Jewish Committee, and the New School for Social Research, and was associated with the Russian Institute of Columbia University. In 1970 he settled in Jerusalem where he became an adviser on Soviet and Soviet-Jewish affairs at the Hebrew University. Schwarz was a recognized authority on social and economic conditions in the U.S.S.R. and the history of Soviet Jewry. He was one of the first to disclose that millions of Soviet citizens were subjected to forced labor in camps and prisons. After the death of Raphael *Abramowitz, Schwarz became the last editor of *Sotsialisticheskiy Vestnik*, but was compelled to cease publication because of a shortage of contributors and readers.

His writings include a number of works on general Russian affairs, among them *Management in Russian Industry and Agriculture* (with G. Bienstock and A. Yugow, 1944) and *Labor in the Soviet Union* (1951). His works on Jewish affairs include *The Jews in the Soviet Union* (1951) and *Yevrei v Sovetskom Soyuze s nachala Vtoroy mirovoy voyny, 1939–1965* ("The Jews in the Soviet Union since the Beginning of World War II," 1966), which became standard works; and *Sovetskiy Soyuz i arabo-izrailskaya voyna 1967 goda* ("The Soviet Union and the Arab-Israel War of 1967," 1969). He also wrote an important article on *Birobidzhan in *Russian Jewry 1917–1967* (ed. by J. Frumkin et al. (1968), 342–95).

SCHWARZ, YEHOSEPH (1804–1865), rabbi and early Ereẓ Israel geographer. Born in Floss, Bavaria, Schwarz studied at the University of Wuerzburg, devoting himself to the understanding of the Bible and the oral tradition. In 1829 he prepared a map of Ereẓ Israel in Hebrew and German that was published in three editions by 1832. He settled in Jerusalem (1833) and lived there until his death, being the first Jew, after *Estori ha-Parḥi, to devote himself to the study of historical topography of the Land of Israel. Schwarz registered the rising and setting of the sun 4,000 times and composed a calendar of the length of each day of the year in Jerusalem, which was published in 1860 by his son-in-law R. Azriel Aharon Yaffe. In 1845 he published *Tevu'ot ha-Areẓ* ("The Produce of the Land") in Jerusalem. It deals with the borders of Ereẓ Israel, its topography, the division of the country according to the Bible and the rabbinic tradition, the genealogy of the peoples (Gen. 10), geographical names in the Bible, Jerusalem, and the Temple Mount. It also includes chapters on the flora and fauna, climate, and the earthquakes of the country and a section devoted to the history of Ereẓ Israel from the destruction of the Second Temple. This book was translated into English by Isaac *Leeser under the title *A Descriptive Geography and Brief Historical Sketch of Palestine* and printed together with a map and illustrations in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, in 1850 (reprint 1970), when Schwarz visited there on behalf of the scholars of Jerusalem. Two years later the book appeared in German, translated by Israel Schwarz, the author's nephew. It is less valuable than contemporary scientific works on the subject (e.g., Edward *Robinson's) because Schwarz ignored the achievements of Christian scholars. However, the book contains about a hundred correct identifications of places based on talmudic literature. Schwarz headed a "*yeshivah ketannah*," i.e., an elementary yeshivah for students before proceeding to an ordinary yeshivah, and published his work on *halakhot* and *aggadah* in *Sarei ha-Me'ah* (Jerusalem, 1861), and *Divrei Yosef* (*ibid*., 1862).

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[Abraham J. Brawer]

SCHWARZBARD, SHOLEM (**Samuel**; 1886–1938), Yiddish poet who assassinated *Petlyura. Born in Izmail (Bessarabia), Schwarzbard, who was active in the revolutionary movement of 1905 and organized Jewish *self-defense during the pogroms, had to escape from Russia in 1906. Ultimately he settled in Paris as a watchmaker. In World War I, he joined the Foreign Legion and was awarded the Croix de Guerre. In 1917 he returned to Russia. In Odessa he joined the Red Guard and fought against the Cossack followers of Simon Petlyura and his henchman Smessenko, who carried out pogroms of unprecedented ferocity in the Ukraine in the winter of 1919. Fifteen of Schwarzbard's own relatives were among the thousands of Jews massacred. In 1920 he published a book of poems in Yiddish (*Troymen un Virklikhkayt*, "Dreams and Reality") and returned to Paris. Petlyura himself settled there in 1921. Schwarzbard shot him dead in May 1926. In the trial which followed, Schwarzbard was acquitted after a moving address by his counsel, Henri Torrès (October 1927). His experiences are recorded in his autobiography *Inem Loyf fun Yoren* ("In the Course of Years," 1934). He died in Cape Town, South Africa.

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SCHWARZ-BART, ANDRÉ (1928–), French novelist. Schwarz-Bart was born in Metz, the son of immigrants from Poland. His childhood and education were disrupted by World War II, and at the age of 15 he joined the Maquis. He was arrested by the Germans, but escaped and served in the French army after the Liberation. Returning home, he learned that his entire family had been murdered in Nazi camps. After several years of hardship he was able to complete his education at the Sorbonne. Schwarz-Bart's first novel, *Le Dernier des justes* (1959; *The Last of the Just*, 1961) sought to reinterpret the old Jewish legend of the **Lamed Vav Ẓaddikim* ("Thirty-Six Hidden Saints") in terms of the martyrdom of European Jewry, from the 12th-century massacre of *York to *Auschwitz. The author's comparative ignorance of Jewish history and culture – the legacy of his tragic boyhood – led him to distort the real tradition by making the *Ẓaddikim* (his "*Justes*") a hereditary clan, rather than three dozen hidden saints whose virtues preserve the Jews in each generation. Paradoxically, therefore, there is a distinctly Christian element in this tale of preordained self-sacrifice, whereby men's sins are atoned for by Schwarz-Bart's *lamedvovniks*. Despite this blemish, *The Last of the Just* remains a powerful indictment of Christendom from the era of until the death of the fictional Ernie Levy, the "last of the just," in the European Holocaust. A kind of Jewish passion play, Schwarz-Bart's novel was awarded the Prix Goncourt in 1959. Schwarz-Bart received the Jerusalem Prize in 1966. A dedicated champion of society's outcasts, Schwarz-Bart later turned to the problems of non-whites, whose emancipation and restoration to dignity he advocated no less than he had that of the Jews. In collaboration with his West Indian wife, Simone, he embarked on a seven-part epic, the first volume of which, *Un Plat de porc aux bananes vertes*, appeared in 1967.

In 1972, he published *La mulatresse Solitude* (*A Woman Named Solitude*, 1973), a novel about an episode of the 1802 revolt against the reinforcement of slavery in the French colonies of the Antilles. André and Simone Schwartz-Bart then published together, in 1989, a seven-volume encyclopedia of black women, *Hommage à la femme noire* (*In Praise of Black*

Women, 2001). The *Museum of Jewish Art and History in Paris organized a one-day symposium with André Schwartz Bart on the May 25, 2003.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: C. Lehrmann, *L'Element juif dans la littérature française*, 2 (1961), 185–91. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** F. Kaufmann: *Pour relire Le dernier des Justes – réflexions sur la Shoah* (1961).

[Claude (André) Vigée / Philippe Boukara (2nd ed.)]

SCHWARZBART, ISAAC IGNACY (1888–1961), Zionist leader in Poland. Born in Chryzanow, Galicia, Schwarzbart completed his legal studies at the University of Cracow (1913). He was active in the academic Zionist society, Ha-Shaḥar, while still a student and was the chief editor of the Polish-language Zionist daily *Nowy Dziennik* (1921–24). He was the chairman of the Zionist Federation in west Galicia and Silesia and wrote its history in the *Cracow Book*. Schwarzbart was among the main founders of the World Movement of *General Zionists, of which he was chairman from its establishment in Cracow in 1931 until the split in 1935, after which he became the chairman of the General Zionists B. He became a member of the Zionist General Council in 1933. In 1938 he led the establishment of a committee to coordinate the activities of all the Zionist groups in western Galicia and Silesia. He was elected to the Polish Sejm in 1938. At the outbreak of World War II he fled to Romania and aided Polish refugees and Polish and Romanian Jews who were making their way to Palestine. He then became a member of the Polish government-in-exile in Paris and London (1940–45). From 1946 Schwarzbart lived in the U.S., where he directed the administrative department of the *World Jewish Congress. He published articles in Polish and Yiddish and also brought out a book on Jewish life in Cracow from 1919 to 1939 entitled *Tsvishn Beyde Velt Milkhomes* ("Between the Two World Wars," 1958), as well as booklets on the Warsaw Ghetto (1953).

[Getzel Kressel]

SCHWARZBERG, SAMUEL BENJAMIN (1865–1929), Hebrew publisher and editor in Poland and the U.S. Schwarzberg, who was born in Russia, published Hebrew books at the close of the 19th century in Warsaw, among them I.L. *Peretz' Hebrew poems, *Ha-Ugav* (1894). Arriving in the United States in 1897, he became editor of the Hebrew monthly *Ner ha-Ma'aravi* which appeared from 1895 to 1897. In 1898 he published a 33-page pamphlet *Tikkatev Zot le-Dor Aḥaron* ("This Shall be Written for the Final Generation"), a scathing attack on the attitude of the Jews toward the new Hebrew literature. He fought Yiddishism and its standard-bearer Chaim *Zhitlowsky. He also published a bibliography of the works of Senior *Sachs.

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[Eisig Silberschlag]

SCHWARZFELD, Romanian family whose members were prominent in literary activity in the 19th and 20th centuries. Its first notable member, BENJAMIN SCHWARZFELD (1822–1897), was born in Galicia, and settled with his family in *Jassy when he was a boy. In his early years he wrote Hebrew poems and translated German poetry into Hebrew which were published in Hebrew periodicals. He also wrote articles on the contemporary situation of the Jews in Moldavia. He was among the pioneers of Haskalah in *Romania, and founded the first modern Jewish school in Jassy (1853–57). In 1860 he was appointed inspector of the Jewish schools in Moldavia. He was active on the board of the modern temple (founded in 1861), was a member of the community council, and of the governing board of the Jewish hospital in Jassy. He was also a banker and founded an insurance business.

Benjamin's sons, Elias, Wilhelm, and Moses (see below), were journalists and historians, and may be regarded as the founders of Jewish historiography in Romania. Benjamin's nephew was the poet Benjamin Fundoianu, known later in France under the name Benjamin *Fondane. The eldest son, ELIAS SCHWARZFELD (1855–1915), historian and novelist, founded *Revista Izraelită* in 1874 in which he published his first Jewish novel. He edited a political weekly, *Fraternitatea* from 1881 to 1885. In 1881 he graduated in law. His main achievement was in the field of history of the Jews in Romania. He published numerous historical studies, mostly in *Anuarul pentru Israeliți* ("Jewish Yearbook"), edited by his brother Moses. As vice president of the Fraternitatea Zion lodge he was instrumental in founding B'nai B'rith lodges in Romania. He was among the Romanian Jewish writers who were expelled in 1885 for attacking the official antisemitic policy. Settling in Paris, he became secretary of the Jewish Colonization *Association (ICA). There Schwarzfeld continued his historical activity, and was coeditor of the *Egalitatea* founded in 1890 in Bucharest by his brother Moses. He wrote *Les Juifs en Roumanie* (1901) combating the assertions of anti-Jewish Romanian historians. His two essays, "The Jews of Romania from the earliest time to the present day" and "The situation of the Jews in Romania since the Berlin Treaty" (1878), were published in the *American Jewish Year Book* for 5662 (1901–02); other essays on the history of the Jews in Romania appeared in *Jewish Quarterly Review* and *Revue des études juives*. In 1914 he published the history of the founding of the Jewish villages in Moldavia. Schwarzfeld also wrote several novels on Jewish themes.

His brother, the third son of Benjamin, MOSES SCHWARZFELD (MOISI, 1857–1943), was also a prolific writer on Jewish subjects. At the age of 20 he edited the first issue of *Anuarul pentru Israeliți* ("Jewish Yearbook"), a collection of studies in Jewish history and folklore which appeared for 19 years, to which the most noted Jewish writers in Romania contributed. His biography of the Romanian Jewish author, Moïse *Cilibi (1883; 1901^{2}), attracted attention, and in 1887–90 he edited three volumes of the proceedings of the Julius *Barasch Historical Society, named after the noted Jewish physician and author (on whom he also wrote a monograph in 1919); he published several historical essays there. The weekly he founded in 1890, *Egalitatea*, dealt widely with Jewish affairs and was Zionist in tendency; it appeared for 45 years. Of no less importance was his work as a recorder of Jewish folklore. He collected more than 10,000 Jewish fables and proverbs.

The second son of Benjamin, WILHELM SCHWARZFELD (1856–1894), researched the tombstone inscriptions in the Jewish cemetery at Jassy, and investigated the history of Jews of Moldavia who had been converted to Christianity. He also took an active part in the development of the Julius Barasch Historical Society, and published a number of historical and philological essays.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: M. Schwarzfeld, in: *Anuarul pentru Israeliți*, 19 (1897–99), 177–87.

[Theodor Lavi]

SCHWARZMAN, ASHER (1890–1919), Yiddish poet. Born in Vilnia, Ukraine, Schwarzman grew up in a rural environment in Kiev province, and early came under the influence of *Bialik, who was a family friend. He composed youthful poems in Hebrew, Russian, Ukrainian, and Yiddish. From 1911 he served in the Russian cavalry. Although he was subjected to humiliations because of his Jewish origin, he was decorated for bravery during World War I and was wounded in action at the front. After the war, he lived in Kiev and participated in the publications of the Kiev Group of Yiddish Communist writers. He was closely connected with his cousin D. *Hofstein, who later edited his poems. After the Kiev pogrom of August 1919, Schwarzman enlisted to fight the counterrevolutionary bands and was killed in battle, leaving a legacy of hardly more than 60 poems, all of very high quality. His heroic death lent an aura to his personality and gave rise to lyric tributes by D. Hofstein, L. *Kvitko, I. *Fefer, A. *Vergelis, A. *Kushnirov, E. *Fininberg and M. Khashtshevatski, his biographer. His *Lider un Briv* ("Poems and Letters," 1935) includes a bibliography.

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[Sol Liptzin]

SCHWARZSCHILD, KARL (1873–1916), German astronomer and mathematician. Born in Frankfurt, Schwarzschild published his first paper, on celestial mechanics, at the age of 15, and worked at the Kuffner Observatory, Vienna, from 1897 to 1899. Schwarzschild taught at the University of Goettingen in 1901 and was elected a member of the Academy of Sciences in 1905. In 1909 he was appointed director of the Astrophysikalisches Observatorium in Potsdam, and in 1913, a member of the Berlin Academy and professor at the university. In 1914 he was involved in war work and contracted the rare infectious disease that was to kill him. His achievements were far ahead of his time; he probed deeply into the field of astronomy, celestial mechanics, stellar motions, the foundations of the new science of astrophysics, and into wide areas of theoretical physics, optics, electricity, and atomic theory. He achieved lasting results of fundamental importance. His great quality was the mathematical insight which enabled him to think about, and work simultaneously on, two or three problems which to other researchers appeared to belong to quite different areas. He was an eminently practical man, devising new instruments and advanced observational methods which remained valid often with only very small modifications. His lectures were prototypes of lucidity, and his success in transmitting the most difficult ideas was unrivaled. Several lectures have become classic, for instance "*Vom Universum*" (Frankfurt, 1908).

His son, MARTIN (1912–), was an astronomer and astrophysicist. Born in Potsdam, Germany, he became a research fellow at the Institute for Theoretical Astronomy in Oslo (1935–36) and then emigrated to the United States. He was appointed professor of astronomy at Princeton University in 1950. His contributions to astronomy cover a wide range, centered mainly around the complex problems of stellar structure and evolution. His publications include a monograph, *Structure and Evolution of the Stars* (1958). He was involved in astronomical space programs. He was awarded the Gold Medal of the Royal Astronomical Society in London in 1968.

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[Arthur Beer]

SCHWARZSCHILD, STEVEN SAMUEL (1924–1989), U.S. rabbi, editor, scholar, and professor of Judaic Studies. Born in Frankfurt, Germany, to a family long established there, Schwarzschild was raised in Berlin and escaped with his family to the U.S. in 1939. He was ordained at the (Reform) Hebrew Union College in Cincinnati. His most important teacher there was the talmudist Samuel Atlas. Schwarzschild's HUC doctoral dissertation was on the philosophy of history in Nachman Krochmal and Hermann Cohen. In 1948 he returned to Berlin to serve as rabbi of the reconstituted Jewish community. This was followed by rabbinical posts in North Dakota and near Boston (where he became close to the late Rabbi Joseph B. *Soloveitchik), and then an academic career at Washington University in St. Louis. A highly influential rabbi, Schwarzschild was editor of *Judaism – A Quarterly Journal* (1961–69); under his stewardship it was one of the few serious journals of scholarship and opinion in the North American Jewish world of that time. Ever-hard to classify, Steven Schwarzschild for a long time was the only rabbi to hold simultaneous membership in Reform and Conservative rabbinical associations, but saw as his rabbinic teacher the Orthodox Rabbi J.B. Soloveitchik and later found much to learn from the Ultra-Orthodox rabbis Isaac Hutner and Joel Teitelbaum (the Satmar Rebbe).

A democratic socialist, Schwarzschild was also a leading Jewish exponent of pacifism and vegetarianism. He followed Hermann Cohen in the latter's resistance to Zionism, although, out of Jewish solidarity, he was very circumspect in his public criticisms of Israel.

Schwarzschild placed *halakhah* at the center of his vision of Judaism, seeing it as an expression of a system of moral ideals making demands upon reality. Schwarzschild adopted Maimonides as an intellectual and Jewish standard, citing him over and over again in his writings, and using him as a hook on which to hang his interpretations of Judaism. For Schwarzschild, Maimonides anticipated the critical idealism of Immanuel Kant as explicated by Hermann Cohen. In Schwarzschild's eyes, both Maimonides and Kant (correctly) understood that much that other thinkers see in reified terms should be seen as regulative concepts.

The author of scores of philosophical, historical, and theological essays, Schwarzschild also edited some of the works of Hermann Cohen and introduced the English speaking world to the thought of Franz Rosenzweig in his *Franz Rosenzweig: A Guide to Reversioners* (London, 1960).

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[Menachem Kellner (2nd ed.)]

SCHWEID, ELIEZER (1929–), Israeli philosopher, scholar of Jewish studies, and educator. Born in Jerusalem to socialist-Zionist parents who made aliyah to Palestine in 1924/5, he was educated in the "worker's-stream" school system established by the Zionist labor movement. He was active first in the Maḥanot ha-Olim youth movement and later in the Tenu'ah ha-Me'uḥedet. In 1947 Schweid joined his youth movement's *hakhsharah*, with which he enlisted in the Palmaḥ and fought in Israel's War of Independence. Upon release from military service in 1949 he became a founding member of kibbutz Ẓor'a.

In 1953, Schweid began his studies at the Hebrew University under such formidable figures as Gershom Scholem, Shlomo Pines, and Yitzhak Baer. He joined the faculty of the university in 1961 and subsequently redesigned the discipline of Jewish Thought as a course of study that includes all intellectual endeavor within Jewish civilization, from biblical literature to the present. His most important contribution to Jewish scholarship, in this regard, was the introduction of Jewish Thought in the modern period as a legitimate focus in both teaching and systematic research. Schweid's scholarly and philosophical works delve into the breadth and depth of modern Jewish Thought, though he also contributed to the research of medieval Jewish philosophy, as well as biblical thought.

Schweid always displayed a deep interest in Jewish education, including his role in establishing (1974) Kerem, the humanistically oriented teachers college in Jerusalem aimed at training teachers in Jewish studies for the non-religious Israeli public schools; his involvement in "the Shenhar Commission" (1995), which formulated a new approach to Jewish studies in the general educational system in Israel; and his teaching at the Schechter Institute of Jewish Studies in Jerusalem. He was awarded the Israel Prize in Jewish Thought in 1994.

As a philosopher of Judaism, Eliezer Schweid is best known for his focus on the concept of Judaism as culture. His particular understanding of Jewish existence may be seen as a combination of the attitude initially held by the eastern European *Haskalah of the 19th century, and that of the western European Liberal Judaism and the *Wissenschaft des Judentums which developed within its environment. The latter contributed to Schweid's interpretation of Judaism from a universal-humanistic perspective and religio-philosophical dimension. The thinkers whose writings had the biggest influence on him are Ḥayyim Naḥman *Bialik, Aharon David *Gordon, and Hermann *Cohen. Bialik's call for a renewal of Jewish culture and religiosity, combining modern secularism with a deep commitment to the continuity of Jewish tradition, reappears in Schweid's work as a call for the general public to take responsibility for Jewish culture in all its aspects (see: *The Jewish Experience of Time: Philosophical Dimensions of the Jewish Holy Days*, trans. by Amnon Hadary, (2000)). A.D. Gordon's philosophy of nature, on the other hand, serves as the basis for Schweid's particular interpretation of Zionism as an extension of Jewish life, and for his ethical-religious vision of a future Jewish society that may be described in terms of prophetic-socialism. In *Masot Gordoniyyot Ḥadashot – Humanism Globalizaẓya, Post-Modernism ve-ha-Am ha-Yehudi* (2005), Schweid uses various insights acquired through his studies of Gordon's writings to delineate the social, cultural, and moral challenges facing the Jewish people in the present period of globalization, and to show how these challenges may be met successfully. Finally, Schweid found in the thought of Hermann Cohen a basis for discussing the religio-ethical value of Judaism as a historical religion. From the beginning, Schweid's understanding of Judaism as culture was of a secularist orientation, in that for him culture is the result of human creativity. And yet, over time, he came to emphasize more and more the religious elements of Judaism as necessary to bring to fruition the social and ethical orientations already emphasized in the socialist-Zionist education he received as a youth.

As an educator and a philosophical observer of Jewish education in its social-cultural context, Schweid's approach may be seen as similar to that of the American Jewish philosopher, Mordecai *Kaplan. The Israeli equivalent to Kaplan's presentation of Judaism as a civilization is Schweid's demand that we understand Judaism as a broad culture in which non-religious Jews must be party to the continued existence of the Jewish heritage and contribute to its current development. Like Kaplan, Eliezer Schweid's philosophical reflection on the problems of Jewish existence is that of a man of faith who nevertheless is deeply rooted in the tenets of modern secularism.

A full bibliography of Schweid's works is in Yehoyada Amir (ed.), *Derekh ha-Ru'aḥ* (*Eliezer Schweid Jubilee Volume*), vol. 1 (Jerusalem, 2005), 451–97.

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[Joseph Turner and Yehoyada Amir (2nd ed.)]

SCHWEINFURT, city in Bavaria. A Jew is first mentioned there in 1212; the community dates from at least 1243. Jews acted as moneylenders to the local aristocracy in 1310. The community suffered during the *Rindfleisch persecutions in 1298 and the *Black Death massacres of 1349. Emperor Charles IV permitted Jews to return to the city in 1368. Both a synagogue and a cemetery are recorded in the 15th century; the oldest tombstone dates from 1432. A *Judengasse* is mentioned in 1437. There were 100 Jews in the city in 1553, but two years later they were expelled. No Jews returned to Schweinfurt until the mid-19th century. There were 27 Jews in the city in 1852, and a community was organized in 1864. Its numbers rose to 490 (3.9% of the total population) in 1880 but subsequently declined to 363 in 1933 and 120 in 1939. A cemetery was consecrated in 1874 and a synagogue in 1877. Schweinfurt was the headquarters of the Union of Orthodox Communities in Bavaria during R. Solomon Stein's tenure (1894–1934). On Nov. 10, 1938, most Jewish homes were ransacked, the synagogue was looted and desecrated, and the community buildings were destroyed. On April 24, 1942, there were 23 persons deported to *Izbica near Lublin, and 54 more were sent to *Theresienstadt on October 9. Three Jews lived in Schweinfurt in 1969. There are memorials at the site of the destroyed synagogue (consecrated in 1973) and at the Jewish cemetery.

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SCHWEITZER, EDUARD VON (1844–1920), Hungarian soldier. In the Austro-Prussian War of 1866, Schweitzer was decorated for gallantry and transferred to the officers' training school. He fought with distinction in the war against Turkey in 1878, receiving a second decoration. He was knighted in the following year and received permission to enter the staff officers' course. Because Schweitzer refused to convert to Christianity, he was refused admission to the general staff. However, he continued to advance as a result of the personal intervention of the emperor Franz Joseph. In 1898 he was given command of a crack infantry regiment. The emperor is reported to have told a minister, who hinted that a Jewish officer should not remain in such an exalted post, that Schweitzer was one of the best commanders in the army. In 1908 he was promoted to lieutenant field marshal. He retired in 1912. For many years Schweitzer was president of Jewish charities in Vienna.

[Mordechai Kaplan]

SCHWERIN-GOETZ, ELIAKIM HA-KOHEN (1760–1852), Hungarian rabbi. Schwerin-Goetz was born in Schwerin (Skwierzyna), Poland, and added the name of the town to his family name of Goetz. While still young he went to study in the yeshivot of Posen (Poznan) and later in Pressburg (now Bratislava). In 1782 he went to Prague, where, in addition to pursuing his talmudic studies, he devoted himself to secular studies, particularly mathematics. In 1796 he settled in Baja in southern Hungary and lived at first with his father-in-law. Already during this period students attracted by his reputation as a scholar gathered around him, and he founded a small yeshivah. He struck up a friendship with Meir *Eisenstadt, the young rabbi of the community. It was not until 1812, when he was 52 years of age, that he first took a position as rabbi of Szabadka in southern Hungary (now Subotica, Vojvodina). When Meir Eisenstadt left Baja, Schwerin-Goetz was appointed to succeed him in 1815. During his period of office the community made great spiritual progress and because of him became the center for all the communities of the region. In 1827 the convention of representatives of the communities of the region elected him district rabbi. In his method of learning he was opposed to *pilpul*. He was also opposed to Ḥasidism and to the study of Kabbalah. Though he criticized the attempts of Aaron *Chorin, rabbi of Arad, to introduce reforms in Judaism, he nevertheless took a decidedly liberal stand, especially in matters of personal status such as marriage and divorce. He participated in the convention of Hungarian rabbis in Paks in 1844 and there opposed the current of religious extremism. His relations with Moses *Sofer, the dominant figure of his time among Hungarian rabbis, were at first friendly but later became strained. In the great controversy concerning Jonathan Alexandersohn, rabbi of Hejöcsaba, which at this time occupied the rabbis of Central Europe, Schwerin-Goetz opposed the stand of Moses Sorer and actively supported the persecuted Alexandersohn, who was also a vehement opponent of Ḥasidism (see also Benjamin Ze'ev *Rapoport). The outcome of this controversy marked the victory of extreme Orthodoxy in Hungary over a more liberal approach. His grandson was Samuel *Kohn (1841–1920), Hungarian Jewish historian who wrote Schwerin-Goetz's biography.

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[Yehouda Marton]

SCHWIEFERT, PETER (1917–1945), author; son of a Jewish mother and non-Jewish father, Fritz Schwiefert, a German dramatist.

Schwiefert left Germany in 1938 and went first to Portugal and then to Athens, where he lived in poverty. His mother, on the other hand, escaped to Bulgaria, where she married a Bulgarian, renounced Judaism, and converted to Christianity. Peter Schwiefert, who was greatly influenced by the Jewish atmosphere of his maternal grandparents' home, determined to live as a loyal Jew. Nevertheless, he remained passionately attached to his mother, and the separation from her, his acute loneliness, and the desire to probe her ways and make her face up to the issues, which she tried to avoid, while clarifying his own position, served as the basis of *L'Oiseau n'a plus d'ailes* ("The Bird No Longer Has Wings"; ed. Claude Lanzmann, 1974) consisting mostly of letters to his mother, and although written in German, they were posthumously published in a French translation. The title is taken from one of these letters – a long and poignant one – written in November 1944, filled with hopes for the future as well as with a thirst for retribution for the terrible German crime, and reached his mother six months after his death. The book constitutes not only a fine literary work but a moving document, a testimony of rare moral integrity. "The proclamation of my Jewish being," he writes, "is the most absolute thing I can imagine and feel for me and in me." Therefore he goes on to say that being Jewish is not, as his mother wanted to believe, a matter of choice or the result of a decision to enter upon a new path.

A sensitive, dreamy, meditative intellectual, Schwiefert chose the hard course of military service against Nazi barbarism. He fought in Syria, Africa, Italy, and France. During that period he came to regard Ereẓ Israel as his home, and though neither religious nor Zionist in the ordinary sense, he studied Torah and observed the Sabbath and festivals. He died in action at the beginning of 1945.

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[Denise R. Goitein]

SCHWIMMER, DAVID (1966–), U.S. actor. Schwimmer was born in Queens, NY, but moved with his parents to Los Angeles as a child. Encouraged by a high school instructor to attend a summer program in acting at Northwestern University in Chicago, he later returned to Northwestern and earned a bachelor's degree in speech and theater. Along with seven other Northwestern graduates, he co-founded Chicago's Lookingglass Theater Company in 1988. Schwimmer tried out for a role in a television pilot, but lost out. The show was not produced, but it was reconceived as a show for singles and was sold to NBC as *Friends* in 1994. Schwimmer was the first of the four major actors to be cast. The show, with Schwimmer playing a perpetually kvetching, neurotic paleontologist named Ross Gellar, was an instant hit and was the cornerstone of the network's economic success for the ten years it ran on Thursday nights. Each of the stars was reportedly earning $750,000 an episode in 1994. By the end of its run, the actors were earning far more and stood to earn even more as the show went into syndicated reruns. Schwimmer directed many episodes of the comedy and earned an Emmy nomination in 1995 as best supporting actor in a comedy series. He branched out to film and later stage, and appeared in *The Pallbearer*, *Breast Men*, *Six Days Seven Nights*, and *Uprising*, a film about the Holocaust. He also appeared in the Steven Spielberg-Tom Hanks television production *Band of Brothers*. Schwimmer spoke out often about antisemitism, recounting incidents as a child, and noted more than once that the slain civil rights workers in Mississippi were two Jews and an African-American. "When it comes to certain prejudice and the hatred that still pervades this country," he said on national television, "I'm a Jew first and not a white person."

[Stewart Kampel (2nd ed.)]

SCHWIMMER, ROSIKA (1877–1948), feminist and world federalist. Rosika Schwimmer, who was born in Budapest, became one of the leaders of the feminist movement in Hungary in the early years of the 20th century. At the outbreak of World War I she went to the United States to urge President Wilson to mediate the conflict. Touring the country and writing numerous articles, she joined Jane Addams and others to form the Women's Peace Party, and was also active in Henry Ford's abortive efforts to bring the war to an end. During the last days of the conflict she returned to Hungary and joined the short-lived government of liberal Count Michael Karolyi. When Admiral Horthy's reactionary regime came to power, she was smuggled out of the country by friends and reentered the United States. Though denied U.S. citizenship because of her pacifist beliefs, a case she appealed to the Supreme Court and lost in 1929, she continued to campaign for world peace and the establishment of a federal world government. In this capacity she served as vice president of the International League for Peace and Freedom, and as president of the International Campaign for World Government, whose headquarters were located in her home in New York City.

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[Judith S. Stein]

SCHWINGER, JULIAN SEYMOUR (1918–1994), U.S. physicist and educator; Nobel laureate. Schwinger, who was born in New York City, entered college at the age of 14 and when only 19 years old received his Ph.D. from Columbia University. He was subsequently research associate at the University of California (1940–41), instructor, then associate professor, at Purdue University (1941–43), staff member of the metallurgical laboratory at the University of Chicago (1943), and associate professor at Harvard (1945–47). In 1947 he was appointed a full professor at Harvard, one of the youngest in its history. Schwinger, Richard Phillips *Feynman, and Shinichiro Tomonaga were awarded the Nobel Prize for physics in 1965 for their work (conducted independently of one another) which laid the foundation for the field of quantum electrodynamics. Schwinger wrote *Particles and Sources* (with D. Saxon, 1969) and *Discontinuities in Wave Guides* (1969). He edited *Selected Papers on Quantum Electrodynamics* (1958).

From 1972 until his death Schwinger worked at the University of California. He was enormously respected, was a highly gifted lecturer, and supervised a succession of outstanding graduate students, 70 in all, of whom three received Nobel Prizes. He also received many honors, including the first Einstein Prize (1951), the National Medal of Science (1964), and the Nature of Light Award of the National Academy of Sciences of the U.S. (1949).

SCHWOB, MARCEL (1867–1905), French scholar, essayist, and biographer. Schwob was born in Chaville, near Paris. He began his career as a journalist, but spent much time on medieval and philological studies. His erudition is evident in all his writing, particularly his studies of François Villon, and most notably in *Spicilège* (1896). His writing is pure, rich, and varied. *Coeur double* (1891) and *Le Roi au masque d'or* (1893) are tales based on legend and history and *La Croisade des enfants* (1896) on medieval narrative. His outstanding *Vies imaginaires* (1896) is a collection of the lives of princesses, poets, pirates, and murderers, based on scholarly texts and bringing history dramatically to life. His philosophic and poetic impact is achieved sometimes by fantasy, sometimes by an ethereal, dreamlike atmosphere. Thus his novel *Le Livre de Monelle* (1894) is full of frail, unhappy little girls, reminiscent of Maeterlinck's *Pelléas et Mélisande* (1892). He was a friend of Oscar Wilde, who dedicated *Salome* to him.

Schwob's other works include *Etude sur l'argot français* (1889); *Mimes* (1894), a book of verse; *La Lampe de Psyché* (1903); and translations from Shakespeare and Defoe. For the last ten years of his life Schwob suffered from an incurable disease. His collected works appeared in ten volumes (1927–30).

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[Denise R. Goitein]

SCIAKI, JOSEPH (**Pepo**; 1917–1998), Greek lawyer and author. Sciaki wrote *Pikres alithies* ("Bitter Truths," 1952), a book of short stories, one of which deals with Jewish life in Athens. He wrote historical articles in *Chronika*, the historical periodical of the Greek Jewish Board of Communities in Athens. He also published a short study on the Athenian/Corfiote Jewish activist and journalist Mois Caimi as representing Greek Jewry; as well as a piece on the ancient history of Chalkidan Jewry. He was born to a Romaniot Greek-speaking family in Chalkis in the Evia Peninsula. He sat for years in the Gennadion Library, the Gennadion Newspaper Reading Room, and the National Library in Athens and recorded references to Greek Jewry throughout the ages. He had a keen interest in Hellenistic Jewry in the late classical period and the Jews in the Greek Peninsula in particular. Unfortunately, he published little and kept most of his knowledge to himself. After his death, his family established an archive of his papers in Athens.

[Rachel Dalven / Yitzchak Kerem (2nd ed.)]

SCIALOM, DAVID DARIO (1880–1966), physician in *Tunis. Scialom was a specialist in tropical diseases and was the personal medical attendant of the bey of Tunis and his court. A man of extraordinary simplicity, he was first and foremost the physician of the lower classes, being called "the ghetto doctor." He published articles on physical characteristics of the Tunisian population (1906); on the 1911 cholera epidemic in Tunisia; on influenza and tuberculosis among Tunisian Jews (1920, 1921); and on Mediterranean fever.

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[Robert Attal]

SCIENCE FICTION AND FANTASY, JEWISH. Fantasy is a genre of literature in which realistic narratives are disrupted by unnatural or unexplainable events. The term "Science Fiction" (SF) emerged during the 1930s as a catchall descriptor for a publishing category with roots traceable to 18th-century Gothic romance, 19th-century scientific romance, and early 20th century pulp fiction. A subset of the fantastic – forms of expression that are not generally realistic – SF focuses on the world as it might have been, may be, or could become, depending on the occurrence, advent, or continuation of a particular set of seemingly possible cultural, social, scientific, or technological developments. As such, it is more realistic in orientation than fantasy, and contains various thematic preoccupations and subgenres, including Space Opera, Time Travel, Utopia/Dystopia, Artificial Intelligence/Robotics, Alternate History, and some offshoots of Horror, or Dark Fantasy.

As a discrete brand of commercial fiction, SF was first discerned, and subsequently marketed, by Hugo Gernsback (1884–1967), a Belgian-Jewish immigrant to the U.S. sometimes referred to as the "Father of Science Fiction" (although Gernsback first referred to the genre as "Scientifiction"). In 1927, Gernsback launched *Amazing Stories*, the first magazine dedicated exclusively to SF. Often blamed (because of his emphasis on technological speculation at the expense of literary proficiency) for SF's literary ghettoization and for its formative reputation as sub-literate, Gernsback nevertheless became the namesake for the Hugo, the genre's premiere achievement award.

Traditional Jewish Attitudes toward the Fantastic

It would overstate matters to describe either fantasy or science fiction as necessarily Jewish, or even as bearing any great degree of Jewish specificity. Indeed, the word "imagination" only made its first appearance in the Hebrew language during the 12th century, in Maimonides' *Guide of the Perplexed*, where it was referred to as the literal *dimyon* or in terms of *ko'aḥ ha-medammeh* (the imaginative faculty). As scholar David Stern observes in *Rabbinic Fantasies: Imaginative Narratives from Classical Hebrew Literature*, normative Judaism regarded even its own non-didactic imaginative literature – "mere stories and profane matter" – with ambivalence or contempt. This is not to say that many of the seminal biblical and post-biblical Jewish texts (most of which embarked upon narrative embellishment either to fill in gaps in the original Torah narrative or to resolve contradictions) were not thoroughly permeated by what we would now call the fantastic. Imaginative works, which included Midrash (exegetic tales, such as the eighth-century *Pirkei de-Rabbi Eliezer* or the 16th-century *Sefer ha-Yashar*) *mashal* (parables and fables), *aggadah* (rabbinic legends, typically found in Talmud or Midrash), medieval apocalyptic literatures (such as *Sefer Zerubbabel*), sacred biographies (like the *Sefer Ḥasidim*), *maqama* (rhymed prose narrative typified by Abraham *Ibn Ezra's 12th-century *Ḥai ben Mekiẓ*, about a journey to the six planets of the medieval solar system and their imaginary inhabitants); Merkabah (mystical theories of creation), and the apocryphal and pseudepigraphical *Heikhalot* texts (describing heavenly journeys), were rarely regarded as inherently imaginative. Indeed, the more imaginative the narrative, the more emphatic the author or redactor's insistence on its veracity. Unabashedly imaginative tales were generally deemed far inferior to legal, philosophical, or even mystical texts elevated to canonical or near-canonical status.

Disdain for the purely imaginative persisted as a hallmark of Hebrew literature even after the 19th century; it remains partly responsible for a resistance to the fantastic that endures to this day among writers and readers of contemporary Hebrew-language fiction. However, Hebrew writers such as S.Y. *Agnon, Benjamin *Tammuz, Ḥayyim Naḥman *Bialik, M.J. *Berdyczewski, Ḥayyim *Hazaz, Yehudah Ya'ari, Yitzhak *Oren, M.Z. *Feierberg, Aharon *Appelfeld, Pinḥas *Sadeh, Yoram *Kaniuk, Yiẓḥak *Orpaz Averbuch, David *Shahar, David *Grossman and, A.B. *Yehoshua, and Yiddishists such as I.L. *Peretz, and I.B. *Singer, have variously embraced biblically and talmudically inspired folk tales, often reformulating the aggadist tradition for modern secular sensibilities.

Other renowned Jewish writers who incorporated strong fantastic elements into their work include Isaac *Babel, Saul *Bellow, Michael *Chabon, Paddy *Chayefsky, Matt Cohen, E.L. *Doctorow, Nathan Englander, Jonathan Safran Foer, Stephen Fry, William *Goldman, Mark Helprin, Joseph *Heller, Franz *Kafka, Arthur *Koestler, Jerzy *Kosinski, Doris *Lessing, Primo *Levi, Bernard *Malamud, Cynthia *Ozick, Ayn *Rand, Mordecai *Richler, Philip *Roth, Art *Spiegelman, *Franz Werfel, and Herman *Wouk.

A Universe of Jewish SF Writers

The contributions of unusually large numbers of Jewish writers, editors, and publishers to the development of American, Russian, and (to a lesser extent) British SF, and the incorporation of themes and devices inspired by biblical and post-biblical rabbinic sources, suggest that SF may, like talmudic Judaism, provide an ideal venue for consideration of the inherent mystical or mysterious. Literary theorist Eric Rabkin regards SF and fantasy in a manner akin to talmudic Judaism: a mode of truth-seeking and reality-testing in which normative concepts of reality can be understood as a collection of perspectives and expectations that we learn to abide by in our daily existence. In Judaism, these perspectives are made to accord with holy writ, whereas in SF and what Rabkin calls "Fabulism," they are arbitrarily and subjectively laid down by the author. Hence, perhaps, critic Leslie Fiedler's observation that, "even in its particulars, the universe of science fiction is Jewish."

Jewish writers and editors associated with the *fantastique* include Forrest J. Ackerman, Isaac *Asimov, Peter S. Beagle, Eluki Bes Shahar, Alfred Bester, Robert Bloch, David Brin, Carol Carr, Howard Chaykin, Jack Dann, Ellen Datlow, Avram Davidson, Corey Doctorow, George Alec Effinger, Max Ehrlich, Neil Gaiman, David Gerrold, Stephen Goldin, Louis Golding, Lisa Goldstein, Phyllis Gotlieb, Martin Harry Greenberg, Isidore Haiblum, Joe W. Haldeman, Russell Hoban, Guy Gavriel Kay, Cyril Kornbluth, Henry Kuttner, Stanislaw Lem, Jacqueline Lichtenberg, Richard Lupoff, Barry N. Malzberg, Judith Merril, Nicholas Meyer, Sam Moskowitz, Mike Resnick, Joanna Russ, Carl *Sagan, Pamela Sargent, Nat Schachner, Robert Sheckley, Robert Silverberg, Curt Siodmak, Norman Spinrad, Arkady and Boris Strugatski, William Tenn (Philip Klass), Sheri S. Tepper, Harry Turtledove, Joan D. Vinge, Stanley Grauman Weinbaum, Donald Wollheim, and Jane Yolen.

Origins in Jewish Myth

While some SF scholarship traces the genre as far back as the Babylonian *Epic of Gilgamesh*, through the subsequent speculations of Johannes Keppler, Jonathan Swift, Thomas More, Rabelais, and Cyrano de Bergerac, one can point to the apocryphal Books of *Enoch (excluded from the Hebrew Bible yet still a canonical text for Ethiopian Jewry) as an antecedent to SF tales – the most famous being British writer Olaf Stapledon's 1937 novel *Star Maker*, in which a human mind embarks through space and time on a quest to unlock the mysteries of creation. The Bible's most formative component – the so-called "J-source" – has been characterized by scholar Harold Bloom as a particularly ironic and deliberate work of fantasy. The Hebrew Bible certainly reconfigured or introduced myths that resonate through the contemporary *fantastique*, most notably Genesis, the Garden of Eden, the sons of God and the daughters of men, the Tower of Babel, the Flood, the decimation of Sodom and Gomorrah, the Abrahamic Covenant, the Exodus, the parting of the Red Sea, the giving of the Torah and, of course, the End Time, or Apocalypse.

"All mythology," observed Karen Armstrong, "speaks of another plane that exists alongside our own world, and that in some sense supports it." Not incidentally, science fiction has sometimes been described as a mythology for the contemporary world. (Some of the more simple-minded SF treatments of biblical myth, however, inspired British writer and SF historian Brian Aldiss to christen these tales "Shaggy God stories.")

While the purpose of science fiction has never been to prophesize so much as to comment on the present, the prophetic traditions of the Bible (many of them established in the

Book of Daniel) certainly accord with science fictional efforts to delineate the general topography of things to come. Yet post-biblical Jewish myths have also resonated, sometimes formatively, often profoundly, within contemporary fantasy and science fiction. One of the most ubiquitous, the *golem (Hebrew for "shapeless form") was first referred to in Psalm 139. Renowned in various 20th-century novels and plays celebrating the kabbalistic skills of Rabbi *Judah Loew (1525–1609), the Maharal (Hebrew acronym for *Morenu ha-Rav Loew* ("Our Teacher Rabbi Loew") of Prague, this soulless homunculus was purportedly fashioned from clay and blessed with supernatural powers, but eventually defied its creator and ran amok. This oft-recounted folk tale is believed to have inspired Mary Shelley's *Frankenstein* (1818), consensually the first identifiable example of modern science fiction. It remains an influential precursor for myriad SF stories featuring robots and androids.

Tales involving dybbuks, wandering souls that attach themselves to living people, have made regular appearances in Jewish folklore since the 16th century, and were popularized on the Yiddish stage in the U.S. in 1920 by S.Y. An-Ski. Such tales helped inspire stories about spirit possession, a mainstay of religious fantasy and gothic horror, and, alternately, about another SF mainstay, rogue artificial intelligence (AI). Some scholars regard the dybbuk as a literary response to the psychological conflicts generated by Jewish emancipation.

The *Lilith myth, a midrashic invention dating back to 1000 C.E. and depicting Adam's second wife as a temptress night-demon who steals men's seed and bears them illegitimate children, has become an icon of the feminist movement and a staple of feminist science fiction. Lilith figures centrally in C.L. (Catherine Lucille) Moore's *Fruit of Knowledge* (1940), in Octavia E. Butler's *Dawn* (1987) and *Lilith's Brood* (2000), in Jack L. Chalker's *Lilith: A Snake in the Grass* (1981), in George Macdonald's *Lilith* (1981), and in *Lilith's Dream: A Tale of the Vampire Life* (2003) by Whitley Strieber.

Christological myths about Jews have also figured in contemporary SF. The *Wandering Jew, a 13th century English apparition that reappeared in 17th-century German pamphlets, fueled a number of best-selling novels in the mid-19th century. The archetype has reappeared in SF novels as disparate as Louis Golding's *This Wanderer* (1935), Wilson Tucker's *The Planet King* (1959), Walter M. Miller's *A Canticle for Leibowitz* (1960), and Dan Simmon's *Hyperion* (1990), and, somewhat more obliquely, as the titular character in David Brin's *The Postman* (1985). The *Left Behind* franchise series launched by Tim F. LaHaye and Jerry B. Jenkins in 1995, meanwhile, envisions the advent of a Revelations-inspired Rapture, which begins with a miraculously thwarted attack on Israel, but results in the mass conversion or decimation of world Jewry following the tumultuous seven-year "Tribulations" preceding the Last Days. Veteran SF editor and historian Brian Stableford published an anthology in 1991 called *Tales of the Wandering Jew*.

Thematic Anthologies and Collections

Jewish themes and characters have been explored in various modern science fiction and fantasy collections, most notably in two anthologies, *Wandering Stars* (1974) and *More Wandering Stars* (1984), both edited by Australia-based American writer Jack Dann, and both largely and sardonically focused on issues pertaining to intermarriage (with aliens, one of them a sentient, ambulatory vegetable), who (or what) is a Jew, and various near and far-future Jewish and Israeli Holocausts. A pair of short novels, *Can Androids Be Jewish?* by Joe Sampliner, and *Miriam's World* by Sol Weiss, appeared in 1996 in *The Stars of David: Jewish Science Fiction*. *Jewish Sci-Fi Stories for Kids* (1999), by Rivka Lisa Perel, contains stories by Stephanie Burgis, Eliot Fintushel, Yaacov Peterseil, Miriam Baskin, Dan Pearlman, and Mark Blackman.

Jews, the Universe, and Everything

L. Borodulin is reputed to have written the first Yiddish science fiction novel, *Af Yener Zayt Sambatyon* ("On the Other Side of Sambatyon River," 1929), about a journalist who encounters a mad scientist in the land of the Red Jews (referring not to Russia, but to lost tribesmen). Other offerings in Yiddish include A. Tanenboym's *Tsvishen himel un vaser: a visenshaftlikher roman* ("Between Sky and Water: A Scientific Romance," 1896), *Doktor und tsoyberer* (1899) and *Di shvartse kunst: a vissenshaftlikher roman* ("The Black Art: A Scientific Novel," 1899); Solomon Bogin's *Der Ferter Internatsyonal, Fantastishe Dertseylung* (The Fourth International," 1929); Leon Kussman's *Narnbund, Fantastishe Trilogye* ("Union of Fools," 1931); Y.L. Goldshtayn, *Tsuzamenbrukh oder iberboy: fantastisher roman in fir teyln* ("A Fantastic Tale in Four Parts," 1934); Velvl Tshernovetski's *Erev der Ferter Velt-Milkhome, Hines-di Kenign Fun Mars* ("On the Eve of World War IV: The Martian Queen," 1959); and Leybl Botvinik's *Di Geheyme Shlihes: Fantastishe Dertseylung* ("The Secret Mission," 1980).

For the most part, however – and despite serious offerings in French, Russian, and even Hebrew – English remains the lingua franca of contemporary SF, Jewish or otherwise. In Walter M. Miller's *A Canticle for Leibowitz* (1960), a post-nuclear holocaust Catholic Order grapples with the meaning of an obscure ancient document that belonged to a beatified Jewish physicist. A Jewish psychotherapist traveled back in time in Michael Moorcock's *Behold the Man* (1967), whence he replaced the historical Yeshua on the cross to ensure the Passion unfolds as described in Gospel. Curt Siodmak preserved the DNA-based memories of a Nazi scientist within a Jewish-American scientist's brain in *Hauser's Memory* (1968); Harry Harrison's *The Daleth Effect* (1970) concerned an Israeli scientist who discovers an anti-gravity device, and subsequently spirits it out to Denmark rather than see his invention used to fight the Cold War. Isidore Haiblum's *The Tsaddik of Seven Wonders* (1971) offered a Yiddish-inflected romp through alternate time tracks, considering, among other outcomes, a world in which the Hasmonean revolt against King Antiochus never occurred, and in which the defenders of Masada had defeated the besieging Romans. In *The Texas-Israeli War: 1999* (1974), Israel emerged from World War III unscathed and overpopulated, and Israeli mercenaries were called in to rescue the kidnapped American president from the renegade state of Texas. Leonard Harris' *The Masada Plan* (1976) involved a weakened Israel about to succumb to a combined Arab attack, and which secures a cease-fire through planetary nuclear blackmail. In Michael J. Halberstam's *The Wanting of Levine* (1978), America's first Jewish president forestalls civil war; Allan Topol's *The Fourth of July War* (1978) envisioned a joint American-Israeli takeover of Saudi oil fields. In *The Divine Invasion* (1980), SF virtuoso Philip K. Dick grappled with the dybbuk of a 14th-century rabbi; in his final novel, *The Transmigration of Timothy Archer* (1982), he retold, through an SF prism laden with kabbalistic speculation, the story of defrocked Episcopalian Bishop James Pike, who in fact died rather bizarrely in the Negev desert in 1969 while searching for pre-Christian artifacts. Phyllis Gotlieb considered the plight of the last Jew in the universe in *Tauf Aleph* (1984). David Brin and Gregory Benford's *Heart of the Comet* (1986) features an Israeli scientist and former kibbutznik in self-imposed exile from a theocratic Jewish state. In *The Devil's Arithmetic* (1988), Jane Yolen sent a 12-year-old American Jewish girl uninterested in her family's Holocaust experiences back to wartime Poland; in *Briar Rose* (1992), Yolen used the Jewish folktale to offer a somewhat different glimpse into the era's horrors. Joel Rosenberg wrote two novels, *Not for Glory* (1988) and *Hero* (1990), set on the Jewish planet of Metzada, which exports Israeli-style mercenaries. In Martin Amis's *Time's Arrow* (1991), an aging Nazi death camp doctor begins living his life backwards, re-experiencing his complicity in Auschwitz redemptively, as gassed Jews return to life and he heads back to the womb of creation. In *Snow Crash* (1992), Neal Stephenson analyzed the talmudic concept of "building a fence around the Torah" in an information-dense "Cyberpunk" (a cultural sub-genre of science fiction that emerged during the 1980s and is typically set in a not-so-distant, dystopian, over-industrialized society setting). In Harry Turtledove's *Worldwar* tetralogy, an alternate history/SF hybrid beginning with *In the Balance: An Alternate History of the Second World War* (1994), Jews, Nazis and other unlikely partners ally against an alien invasion that interrupts the Final Solution. Lisa Goldstein pits a kabbalistic magician against a mystic rabbi during the Holocaust in *The Red Magician* (1995). Mary Doria Russell, a Catholic convert to Judaism, sent a team of Jesuits and a Sephardi Jew in *The Sparrow (1996)* and its sequel, *Children of God* (1998), to a planet of enslaved sentient herbivores in dire need of exposure to liberation theology. Scientist Bart Kosko envisioned an all-out nuclear conflagration consuming Israel and its neighbors in *Nanotime* (1997). *In Days of Cain* (1997) by J.R. Dunn, a group of time travelers confront time guardians who try to prevent them from erasing Auschwitz from the timeline. In *Planet of the Jews* (1999), Philip Graubart explored the growth of a Star Wars-like publishing phenomenon, when a hack writer popularizes a far-fetched intergalactic saga involving remnants of the Jewish people and recounted by a young ḥasidic couple. In *The Cure* (1999) by Sonia Levitin, a non-conformist composer 300 years hence is sent back to France, circa 1348, where a stint as the son of a wealthy Jewish moneylender facing the spread of the Black Plague is intended to purge him of his subversive passion for music. In *Just like Beauty* (2002), Lisa Lerner chronicled the adventures of an adolescent Jewish girl trying to come to terms with her Jewish past in a corporatist future befuddled by mindless sex and violence. Similarly, in *Dante's Equation* (2003), Jane Jensen combined Kabalistic lore and theoretical physics to account for a ḥasidic rabbi who purportedly disappeared from Auschwitz in a flash of light. Robert Zubrin's satiric novel, *The Holy Land* (2003), postulates a race of aliens who stage an impromptu return to their ancestral homeland, located in a small section of the state of Washington. Peaceful and industrious refugees from a distant war, the aliens, obvious stand-ins for Zionists, attract the immediate ire of their fellow Washingtonians and the U.S. government.

A Glut of Golems

In the post-feminist fable, *He, She and It* (1991; U.K. 1992 as *Body of Glass*), Marge Piercy explored the *golem* myth while considering a dystopian future characterized by nuclear fallout and environmental catastrophe. The novel directly concerned the destruction of the Middle East, the emergence, within a Balkanized America, of the freebooting Jewish community of Tikva, and within the shattered former state of Israel, the birth of a Jewish-Palestinian feminist collective reliant on cloning for propagation. In *Kiln People* (2002), David Brin, the son of the late Los Angeles Jewish newspaper editor Herb Brin, used the *golem* myth to explore the prospects of immortality, as people regularly inject their consciousnesses into expendable clay doppelgangers. He also featured a sentient Jewish dolphin in his "Uplift" series. In *The Iron Council* (2004), British author China Miéville grafted weird fantasy with a Trotskyist sensibility to the archetypal western, casting "golem master" Judah Low as a gay rebel who makes a bid for personal and political freedom by absconding with a "perpetual train." Alexander C. Irvine's *The Narrows* (2005) opens in a Detroit factory in an alternate World War II, where workers work under a rabbi to manufacture golems tasked with fighting Hitler's minions.

Golems have cropped up in many other mainstream and genre offerings for at least 50 years, beginning with Roger Zelazny's *This Immortal* (1966) and providing the focus of numerous fanciful stories by Avram Davidson, Isaac Asimov, Ted Chiang, and others. The *golem* has appeared as well in poems by (non-Jewish) Argentinean "magical realist" Jorge Luis Borges; in Gregory Keyes' *A Calculus of Angels* (1999); in Michael Chabon's Pulitzer-winning novel, *The Amazing Adventures of Kavalier & Clay* (2000); in Frances Sherwood *The Book of Splendor* (2002); in Terry Pratchett's humorous *Discworld* novels *Feet of Clay* (1996) and *Going Postal* (2004); in the second book of Jonathan Stroud's Bartimaeus Trilogy, *The Golem's Eye* (2004); in an episode of television's *X-Files*; in several comic books (including DC's *Ragman* (1976) and *Monolith* (2004) as well as Marvel's *The Invaders* (2004), and, most recently, as a brilliant parody of the superhero comic book genre by Israeli artist Uri Fink.

Counterfactual Thought-Experimentation

The Holocaust remains a thematic and philosophical preoccupation for many contemporary Jewish writers. Fantasy, often denigrated as escapist, nevertheless offers an occasionally useful lens through which to consider a human event at once both singular and ineffable, and most often simply beyond the ability of realistic fiction to accurately represent. The challenge of representation becomes exponentially harder for writers who not only did not directly experience the event, but who were not even alive when it transpired. Some fantasists, SF writers, and children's authors outside of Israel have resorted to the familiar SF trope of time travel to confront and either undo, or wreak revenge for, the decimation of European Jewry. Others have adopted a more versatile and, thanks to recent developments in particle physics (which postulates the endless generation of parallel worlds), a more realistic SF device: alternate, or counterfactual, history.

Whether conducted by writers of fiction or historians, alternate histories are usually intended as classical thought experiments that posit different outcomes to historical events due to vital alterations – fictional tweaking of points of divergence – in the sequence of events during critical moments in human development. An offshoot of both conventional historical study and of contemporary science fiction, alternate history tries, whether in fiction, film or essay form, to imagine what the world might look like today, in the recent past, or in the near (and occasionally far) future, had some key variant in the historical timeline taken a pivotal turn toward a different direction. Initially disdained for its subjectivity, alternate history has come increasingly into vogue in recent years, becoming a recognizable, if not yet entirely commonplace, literary and cinematic commodity.

Of the myriad historical events available for imaginative inquiry (most notably a failure of the Protestant Reformation, a Southern victory in the American Civil War, a failed bid for American Independence), not a few have concerned themselves with the vagaries of Jewish history. The earliest known example of what we today would term alternate history is the apocryphal *Sefer Yehudit* (Book of Judith), which depicted a reversal of the Babylonian conquest and a return to Zion by Jewish exiles that never actually happened. Another example is Benjamin *Disraeli's *The Wondrous Tale of Alroy* (aka, *The Prince of the Captivity, A Wondrous Tale* (1833), dramatized in 1907 as a musical by P.P. Grunfeld), about a 12th-century Jewish false messiah who founds a global empire.

No event, however, surpasses the Nazi defeat in 1945 as a focal point for counterfactual speculation. Among devotees and practitioners of alternate history, this variant is known as "Hitler Victorious (HV)." Within this variant of alternate history, Hitler's war against the Jews becomes a central preoccupation, second only, perhaps, to questions about the extent and nature of possible domestic collaboration under a Nazi regime.

Scores of HV and other alternate history stories, novels, film, and TV adaptations and series have appeared in Great Britain, the U.S., and Germany since the 1930s, and in the early 21st century showed few signs of ceasing to enthrall writers, readers, and viewers. Noteworthy recent examples, including those considered outright science fiction, include Philip K. Dick's Hugo-winning novel, *The Man in the High Castle* (1962); *If Israel Lost The War* (1969), by Richard Z. Chesnoff, Edward Klein, and Robert Littell; Norman Spinrad's *The Iron Dream* (1974); Len Deighton's *SS-GB: Nazi-Occupied Britain, 1941* (1978); Robert Harris's *Fatherland* (1993); Harry Turtledove's *In the Presence of Mine Enemies* (2003); Philip Roth's *The Plot Against America* (2004); and Michael Chabon's *The Yiddish Policemen's Union* (2006).

Thematic anthologies include *Hitler Victorious: Eleven Stories of the German Victory in World War Two*, edited by Gregory Benford and Martin Harry Greenberg (1986); *Alternate Histories: Eleven Stories of the World as it Might Have Been*, edited by Charles G. Waugh and Martin Harry Greenberg (1986); *The Way it Wasn't: Great Science Fiction Stories of Alternate History*, edited by Martin Harry Greenberg (1996); *Virtual History: Alternatives and Counterfactuals*, edited by Niall Ferguson (1997); *Roads Not Taken: Tales of Alternate History*, edited by Gardner Dozois and Stanley Schmidt; and *The Best Alternate History Stories of the 20th Century*, edited by Harry Turtledove and Martin H. Greenberg (2001). Noteworthy non-fictional treatments include *What If?: The World's Foremost Military Historians Imagine What Might Have Been*, edited by Robert Cowley (1999), and *What If? 2: Eminent Historians Imagine What Might Have Been* (2001); *Third Reich Victorious: Alternate Decisions of World War II*, edited by Peter Tsouras (2002); *What Might Have Been: Imaginary History from Twelve Leading Historians*, edited by Andrew Roberts (2004); and *The World Hitler Never Made*, by Gavriel D. Rosenfeld (2005).

Antisemitic SF

Many SF writers of the late 19th and early 20th centuries were influenced by, and even propagated, the normative racism of their day, including antisemitism. Unflattering and even malevolent images of Jews (and blacks and Asians) occurred in the writing of Edgar Rice Burroughs, H.P. Lovecraft, M.P. Shiel, Clark Ashton Smith, Louis Tracy, King Wallace, H.G. Wells, and Jules Verne. Gernsback, though nominally Jewish, translated and published supremacist utopian fantasies by the German Otfried von Hanstein in *Amazing Stories*.

A number of writers subsequently found SF useful for disseminating antisemitic agendas. French poet Robert Brasillach published a poem in 1943 about a future visit to the V'mcennes Zoo, where mothers bring their children to attend the death of the world's last living Jew. In *The Turner Diaries* (1982), Andrew MacDonald concocted a thoroughly racist and antisemitic libertarian fantasy chronicling a white Christian insurrection against a Jewish and African-American-controlled U.S government. The book has become a canonical text for American white supremacists, and is believed to have inspired the bombing of the Federal Building in Oklahoma. Another anti-Jewish tract that resorted to apocalyptic SF-tinged scenarios was *Serpent's Walk* (1991), by Randolph D. Caverhall. The book chronicles the rise of a new American fuehrer and an Israeli-created plague that ultimately turns on its makers, decimating world Jewry and the various "mongrel" races Caverhall purports to despise. David Britton's *Lord Horror* (1986) provoked vigorous argument as to whether his novel was in fact antisemitic or a deliberate, if entirely over-the-top, parody of antisemitism. In 1993, a non-Jewish producer of the TV series *Star Trek: Deep Space 9* complained that his fellow producers – both of them Jewish – had peopled the series with thinly veiled antisemitic alien "Shylocks" whose holiest book, "The Rules of Acquisition," malevolently parodied the Talmud. A novel, *The Hand that Signed the Paper* (1995), generated controversy in Australia when it was discovered that its author, Helen Demidenko, was not the daughter of a Ukrainian father victimized by Jewish commissars, as she described herself, but a British immigrant, Helen Darville, who used her book to vent spleen upon Ukranian Jewry and justify Ukranian collaboration with the Nazis.

Israeli Science Fiction and Fantasy

The Jewish state, reconstituted in 1948 as the State of Israel, may be the only country in the world to have been at least partly inspired by a science fiction novel. The work in question was called *Altneuland* (1902; *Old-New Land*), and was written by the Austrian journalist Theodor (Binyamin Ze'ev) *Herzl on the heels of his Zionist manifesto *Der Judenstaat*, (1896; *The Jewish State*). The earlier pamphlet was a *cri de coeur* lamenting the deplorable condition of Jews throughout the European Diaspora and containing the blueprint for the modern Zionist movement that within a half century would achieve sovereignty in parts of the historic Jewish commonwealth in Palestine. The latter publication, a thinly plotted work of fiction, was an attempt to fire up the political imagination.

"If you will it," Herzl declared in an utterance that resounds with a science fiction sensibility, "it is no dream." Fearful lest his own dream be dismissed as a frivolous Romantic fancy, however, Herzl initially sought to dissociate Zionism from the utopian discourse that had returned to vogue during the 19th century with the publication, in 1888, of Edward Bellamy's *Looking Backward, 2000–1887*. At least one other such work, Theodor Hertzka's *Freiland: Ein Sociales Zukunftbild* ("Freeland: An Image of Future Society," 1890) is believed to have directly influenced Herzl's decision to craft *Altneuland* as a conventional utopian novel, quite possibly because of the many editions it had inspired as well as some of the real-world utopian passions it had tapped.

With his otherwise mundane story of a modern, liberal, technocratic, German-speaking Jewish commonwealth, where Jews (with Arab compliance) could engage in the kind of human engineering that would allow them to shed two millennia of disfiguring dispersion and subjugation, Herzl was actually one of literally dozens of Jewish thinkers indulging in the utopian literary and ideological speculation as to what a future Jewish state might look like. One of these, *Massa le-Ereẓ Yisrael bi-Shenat Tat be-Elef ha-Shishi* ("A Trip to the Land of Israel in the 800th Year of the Sixth Millennium"), published in 1892 by the Hebrew writer Elhanan Leib *Lewinsky and envisioning the flowering of Hebrew culture in Palestine, would have been recognizable as a scientific romance to H.G. Wells, who made his genre debut in 1895 with *The Time Machine*. Another such book was Max Austerberg-Verakoff's *Das Reich Judaea im Jahre 6000 (2241)*, published in 1893 and depicting a mass exodus of Jews from Europe, their settlement in Ereẓ Israel, and the founding there of a Jewish state with Hebrew as its official language. *Looking Ahead* (1899), by Henry Pereira Mendes, offered an American response to Herzl's *Der Judenstaat* (and a Zionist response to Bellamy's tome), describing a future Jewish state with Jerusalem as its capital. Isaac Fernhof described a future state called Israel in the aptly named *Shenei Dimyonot* ("Two Imaginings"). Hebrew-Yiddish writer Hillel Zeitlin published another such tract, *In der Medinas Yisroel in Yor 2000* ("In the State of Israel in the Year 2000"), in 1919, following Great Britain's proclamation of its Balfour Declaration. In Mandatory Palestine, Boris *Schatz wrote *Yerushalayim ha-Benuyah* ("Rebuilt Jerusalem"), published in 1924 and concerned with social and labor issues of the period. In 1921, Russian-based Hebrew author Shalom Ben Avram published *Komemiyut* ("Resurgence"), which contained an astute and accurate portrayal of future mass immigration and the challenges and benefits of *aliyah*.

Most of these writings failed to inspire great notice or enthusiasm. Two, however, attained something of *Altneuland's* stature as a constituting document – a text containing some of the basic myths of the new Hebrew society slated to arise in Palestine. These were Abraham *Mapu's *Ahavat Ẓiyyon* ("Love of Zion," 1853), a historical novel set in an idealized Kingdom of Judah during the reigns of Ahaz and Hezekiah, and Yosef Luidor's *Yoash* (1912/13), the *Akedah* (Binding of Isaac) as a Maccabean myth set against the struggle against the Arabs during the Second Aliyah.

Herzl strived mightily to avoid donning the mantle of utopian visionary even as he sought, in *Altneuland*, to use the genre's conventions to stir the imaginations of Jewish and Gentile readers in a manner that would provoke sympathy and support. But the term "utopian," even a half century before *Altneuland*, carried pejorative associations of impracticality, naiveté, and wish fulfillment. The Zionist movement –as well as the new Hebrew republic – would move mountains to avoid being stigmatized for what it was – a modern, unabashedly utopian, thoroughly realistic political movement driven, not by imaginative musings or imperialistic hubris but by desperate circumstances and diminishing options.

It has been argued that the contemporary State of Israel not only grew out of science fiction, but also has quite literally lived it every day of its unlikely existence. In their most desperately fanciful imaginings, neither Herzl nor his fellow

Zionist utopians would have entertained the possibility that a mere century after the first Zionist Congress in 1898, the world would include a Jewish democracy six-million strong with the most powerful economy in the region, a first-rate military able to project devastating force thousands of miles away, seven major research universities, its own satellites and astronaut in orbit, and pride of place as a world-class scientific and technological innovator.

Despite these achievements, and despite a breakneck pace of change that heralds fundamental and continual transformation at nearly every level of Israeli society, the fantastic, in most manifestations outside of the literal, fares almost as poorly now – and is as thoroughly stigmatized as *déclassé* – as during Herzl's heyday.

Reasons for the inordinately low premium still placed by Israeli readers and Israeli letters and arts on most forms of the literary *fantastique* since the founding of the state in 1948 are varied, complex, and contradictory. Despite their talent for hard-nosed realism, Israel's founding pioneers did not, in fact, forsake the strong utopian component of Zionist ideology. Nor did the founding generations restrict their imaginings and activities merely to bringing into being a new Jewish commonwealth. A homeland in and of itself would be insufficient – even unsustainable – unless in recreating theirs, Jews could reclaim their dignity and independence, shattered during 2,000 years of dispersion, through physical labor and martial self-sufficiency.

A human engineering project of such scope and ambition, however, required a clean break with a Jewish past and culture deemed moribund, shameful, or disfiguring. With roots in the Russian Pale, many of the pre-state Yishuv's writers and ideologues, already predisposed to the conventions of Russian literary realism, deliberately cut themselves off from the imaginative reservoir of the Jewish past. The task of the Israeli writer was to grapple with questions of religious, national and personal identity considered through the prism of the Zionist endeavor in the land of Israel. As Israeli literary theorist Ortsion Bartana has argued in his study of the work of Yoram *Kaniuk, Yitzhak *Orpaz Averbuch, and David *Shahar, Israeli writers are invariably bound up in these larger issues and simply cannot create characters who are not in some way involved in the redemptive communal effort or affected by it.

The so-called "Palmaḥ Generation" of the 1950s added social realism to their literary menu, but they, too, consigned centuries of Jewish myths, stories, motifs, images, tropes, commentaries, and super-commentaries to history and literature's dustbin. Some of Israel's leading contemporary writers, most notably David *Grossman, Meir *Shalev, Etgar Keret, and Orly *Castel-Bloom, have, in recent years, acquainted themselves with, and even incorporated, some of the trappings of magical realism. To the extent that they take up the tropes of fantasy, however, it is most often to cast their glance backward, to the formative years of the nation-building effort, and almost never ahead into the foreseeable or distant future. For these writers, as indeed for their predecessors, outright science fiction and fantasy remain, even with the advent of the new millennium and the *fantastique's* growing popularity and accumulating literary gravitas worldwide, at the far margins of Hebrew letters.

Israelis have yet to establish their own national borders. Any consideration of imaginary realms must therefore be seen as frivolous or escapist. With the proverbial day-after-tomorrow almost always fraught with peril, not a few Israelis prefer to avoid long-term speculation of any kind. Indeed, the culture seems almost to fetishize its fascination for the here-and-now. SF is considered a foreign import reflective of normative values far removed from Israel's, where the struggle to consolidate a nation and its territory is ongoing and all consuming.

Whereas most Israeli fiction (and indeed, most modern fiction) concerns itself with the individual's psychological response to the exigencies of a particularistic life, SF and fantasy, almost by definition, consider broader questions of society's place in a changing world and a boundless cosmos. In a country where even the ground under one's feet is not assured, such concerns are considered a luxury bound to distract and weaken. Israel has yet to contend fundamentally and directly with its relationship with its minority populations, and is only beginning to grapple with the exigencies of its relationship with the Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza. Other issues that remain to be resolved include the rift between secular and religious, between Ashkenazim and Sephardim, and between haves and have-nots. Those Israelis oriented toward any future beyond one characterized by perennial strife and insecurity are therefore often dismissed as *astronautim*.

Also, many Israelis mistakenly consider fantasy and science fiction to be a form of children's entertainment. Despite the musings of Bruno Bettelheim and other devotees of the fairy tale, not a few continue to believe that fantasy and fairy tales stir up subconscious fears in children unavoidably saddled from an early age with various forms of existential angst. And indeed, Jewish literature lacks a mythic basis for the kinds of heroic or Arthurian fantasy that might generate a Jewish version of *The Lord of the Rings*, a *Narnia*, or a *Harry Potter*.

Hebrew, moreover, appears to be at a disadvantage compared to the richer, more agile Yiddish language in conveying what fans of SF and fantasy call "a sense of wonder." Indeed, the mere act of settling on a Hebrew term for science fiction initially inspired argument, with some arguing for *mada dimyoni* (imaginary science), with the majority finally favoring *mada bidyoni* (fabricated science).

Perhaps of greatest consequence for prospective and publishing writers, though, is the Israeli literary establishment's continuing disdain for commercial literature of almost any kind as inherently unserious, and its sense that science fiction and fantasy represent the lowest forms of commercial fiction. Israeli aficionados themselves regard indigenous forays into the genre as inherently substandard, and prefer imports or translations. And publishers must contend with the fact that Israel publishes so many books every year that most books – genre or non-genre – do well if they cover their expenses.

Tales of Zion's Fiction

A number of works construable as fantasy and science fiction nevertheless trickled into the Yishuv as early as 1931, when Reuven Grossman translated and published a Hebrew collection of stories by Edgar Allan Poe. Translations of stories and novels by Jules Verne and H.G. Wells soon followed; most were marketed as children's literature. Several immigrants to pre-state Palestine, including the Russian-Hebrew poet Zalman *Shneour, playwright Jacob Cohen, and Austrian novelist Leo *Perutz, indulged an occasional literary penchant for the fantastic. Cohen's *Beluz* (1939) concerned a hidden city of immortals at ideological loggerheads over whether to share their secret. Perutz (1882–1957) wrote a series of baroque phantasms, including *The Marquis de Bolibar*, in which the Wandering Jew defeats a German regiment under Napoleon, and novels such as *The Master of the Day of Judgment* (1929) and *The Virgin's Brand* (1934), in which aspects of human civilization are inspired by viruses, fungi, and other unseen conveyances.

The first identifiably SF novel to be published in Israel in the immediate post-Independence period was *Yisrael be-Shenat 2000* ("Israel in the Year 2000"), published by S. Goldfluss in 1951. The name is believed to have been a pseudonym, but the book proved oddly prescient, even alluding, in metaphoric terms, to the likelihood of future Arab uprisings. American science fiction writer Avram Davidson, an Orthodox Jew, lived in Israel from 1948 to 1953 and served in the Israel Defense Forces during Israel's War of Independence. Polish-born Mordecai Roshwald, who sojourned in Israel and taught at the Hebrew University before leaving for Great Britain, wrote two well-regarded post-nuclear holocaust novels, *Level 7* (1959) and *A Small Armageddon* (1962). Lionel *Davidson, a British-born immigrant, wrote *The Sun Chemist* (1976) about the rediscovery of a lost formula devised by British chemist (and Israel's first president) Chaim *Weizmann that uses sweet potatoes to tap solar energy. Davidson wrote two other genre novels, *The Rose of Tibet* (1962) – a lost world fantasy – and a children's fantasy adventure, *Under Plum Cake* (1980).

During Israel's first decade, local publishers began to publish as many as 30 Hebrew translations of science fiction standards a year, including novels by Robert Heinlein, Poul Anderson, and Frederic Brown as well as Verne, Wells, and Huxley. An early example of this kind of activity was provided by the publishing house Matzpen (Compass), which specialized in a line of translations edited by renowned Israeli SF pioneer and namesake of the nation's top SF prize, Amos Geffen. The early 1950s, however, were marked in Israel by economic hardship, with the country's limited resources earmarked for massive immigrant absorption and defense, and with little cash left for light reading. These publishing ventures failed, but some intrepid local fans proceeded to publish two different SF magazines, both launched in 1958. *Mada Dimyoni* (*Imaginary Science*) ran for 12 issues, *Kosmos: Sipurei Mada Dimyoni* (*Cosmos: Imaginary Science Stories*) folded after four.

At the start of the 1970s, buoyed by the economic gains following the 1967 War, Am Oved launched a series of translations of SF standards that, in fact, continues to this day. Another well-established publisher, Masada, followed suit with a new series of translations edited by Geffen. Their efforts proved successful enough to induce nearly every major commercial Israeli publishing house to launch an SF line of its own, under the respective banners of local SF mavens (and established academics) Adi Tzemach, Emanuel Lottem, and Dorit Landes.

The economy nosedived in the aftermath of the 1973 Yom Kippur War, during which time only one Israeli of literary consequence, poet David *Avidan, expressed any interest in the genre. A respected poet, Avidan was one of a very few writers who not only wrote science fiction but happily embraced the label and its conventions, going so far as to name his own publishing company The 30th Century. Avidan incorporated such standard SF themes as time travel, sentient computers, the destruction of humanity, and telepathic powers into both his poetry and his various stage productions. In 1979, Avidan wrote and directed a short SF film, *Sheder min ha-Atid* ("Broadcast from the Future"), based on one of his poems. Avidan belonged to the Israeli avant-garde, but he was not the only Hebrew poet to have addressed concerns usually the purview of science or science fiction. Others to have dipped their pens in this well included Romanian-born poet Dan *Pagis (1930–1986), scientist Zvi Atzmon (1948–), and writers Shlomo Shoval, Maya *Bejerano, (1949–), and Rahel Chalfi.

The election of the Likud in 1977 spurred growth in the consumer market, creating new demands for entertainment, including popular literature. In 1978, Tel Aviv University students Eli Teneh and Aharon Hauptman launched a glossy SF monthly, *Fantasia 2000*, which ran for 44 issues over four years and became the standard-bearer for local science fiction fandom. The magazine appealed mostly to adolescent males, some of whom emulated their counterparts in the U.S. and the U.K., starting clubs and publishing mimeographed pamphlets and newsletters, called fanzines. The magazine published dozens of stories culled mostly from the New York-based *Magazine of Fantasy and Science Fiction* (F&SF), running ample book and film review sections as well as popular science columns and covers by talented local artists, including Avi Katz, who in 2000 would be commissioned to design an issue of millennial Israeli stamps dedicated to "SF in Israel" and slated to coincide with a major conference in 2001. Another in-house artist was Victor Ostrovsky, who would achieve notoriety in 1991 as a Mossad renegade and best-selling writer of (largely fabricated) exposes.

Apart from being the country's longest-running SF magazine and the source of 400 stories, many now deemed canonical, *Fantasia* had the added distinction of publishing close to 100 original, hitherto unpublished Israeli Hebrew-language SF stories. While few of these proved exceptional, some were competent, and the mere existence of a venue for Hebrew SF spurred many young people to try their hand at writing.

Some of them went on to careers in letters. In this, *Fantasia* mimicked some of the American magazines of the 1930s and 1940s, which also functioned as greenhouses for up-and-coming writers and researchers. The late Israeli astronaut, Col. Ilan *Ramon, claimed to have read the magazine assiduously, saying that while he typically hid it from his peers in the Air Force, SF made him receptive to the possibility, one day, of an Israeli foothold in space.

Israel's forays into Lebanon, however, put a damper on both the economy and on activities deemed frivolous. *Fantasia* folded, and a major international science fiction convention that had been slated to commence in June 1982 in Jerusalem was canceled. Two other magazines that had emerged during the same period as *Fantasia* fell by the wayside as well: *Mada Bidyoni* (by now, the consensual term for Science Fiction), folded after a single issue; a second, a rechristened *Kosmos*, gave up the ghost after six, both victims not so much of the zeitgeist as of poor quality and inadequate resources. A number of fly-by-night publishers that had climbed on the SF bandwagon, some producing poor translations of marginal titles, quickly imploded as well. By 1984, Am Oved, with Dorit Landes at the helm of its SF line, had the genre to itself.

As Israel's Lebanon adventure bogged down, and as the political, religious, and cultural polarization of the Jewish state became more pronounced, various writers, many of them established in the Israeli mainstream, began to make forays into the fantastic, some of them producing undeniable science fiction, though they asserted, for reasons of commerce and prestige, that it was anything but. In fact, at least one Israeli author, I. Hayek, had come down with a bad case of the apocalyptic shudders as early as 1968, when his novel, *The Next War*, contemplated a 40-day-long doomsday battle between Israel and the rest of the world. The 1980s, however, produced what for Israel constituted a veritable deluge of nightmare visions of the imminent future, beginning with Amos *Kenan's *Shoah 2* ("Holocaust 2," 1975), and proceeding through David Yaron's *Ha-Patria* (1981), Moshe Ben David's *Ha-Beriḥah ha-Aḥaronah* ("The Final Escape," 1984), and David Melamed's *Ha-Ḥalom ha-Rivi'i* ("The Fourth Dream," 1986), each offering variations on Israel's impeding destruction.

In September 1982, nearly half a million Israelis gathered in Tel Aviv to demonstrate against the war in Lebanon. In February 1983, a right-wing heckler tossed a grenade at Peace Now protesters in Jerusalem, killing a 33-year-old kibbutznik and paratroop officer. Kach firebrand and Jewish Defense League founder Meir *Kahane, meanwhile, traveled throughout the country calling Arabs "dogs" and promising a day of reckoning. The prospect of destruction from without had always been an integral component of the collective Israeli psyche. But suddenly, internal dissension, which had rendered the erstwhile Jewish republic 2000 years earlier vulnerable to external forces, appeared even more likely to precipitate Israel's eventual undoing.

In 1984, Amos Kenan, a veteran of the War of Independence, responded to this cumulative angst with *Ha-Derekh le-En-Harod* ("The Road to En-Harod"), which postulated a right-wing military putsch and a concurrent attempt to change the distant past, and enhance Jewish fortunes, with a time travel device. The book, which was translated into French, English, and Arabic, won a literary prize from the PLO, and was adapted for film by Israeli director Doron Eran in 1989. In 1996, Kenan would complete his dystopian triptych with *Blok 23: Mikhtavim mi-Nes Ziyyonah* ("Block 23: Letters from Nes Ziyyonah"), depicting the utter destruction of the Jewish state.

Throughout, Kenan vehemently denied having ever written science fiction (except in an interview in *Fantasia 2000*, which of course none of his literary confreres would admit to having read). The stigma attached to the genre, however, did not dissuade other Israeli writers of note from indulging in the form. A favorite theme involved a fundamentalist takeover, à la Iran's Ayatollahs, by ultra-Orthodox Jewish zealots. Examples of sci-fi in *shtreimels* (festive fur hats worn by ḥasidic men) included Binyamin *Tammuz's *Pundako shel Yermiyahu* ("Jeremiah's Inn," 1984), Yitzhak *Ben Ner's *Malakhim Ba'im* ("Angels Are Coming,"1987), Motti Lerner's *Ḥevlei Moshi'aḥ* ("Messianic Pangs," 1988), and Assi *Dayan's *Tokhen ha-Inyanim* ("Table of Contents," 1989) and from a right-wing perspective, Ora Shem Or's *Ha-Karirist* ("The Careerist," 1990).

Variations on this theme ensued during the 1990s, culminating with Michal Peleg's *Ha-Ir ha-Penimit* ("The Inner City," 1998) and Hadi Ben Amar's *Be-Shem Shamayim* ("In the Name of Heaven," 1998). Ironically, a number of books that indulged in various SF trappings appeared during this time that were written for the sensibilities of Orthodox youngsters in Israel and in various enclaves in New York and Los Angeles. Their purpose was purely didactic.

While many of the books and stories appearing during the late 1970s and 1980s reflected the parochial political and social anxieties of the time, a number of Israeli authors turned to science fiction to explore more universal themes. Some of these stories and novels went so far as to feature protagonists with Anglo-Saxon names operating in nondescript or foreign settings. In 1973, A. Kalev published *Groteska* ("Grotesque"), a series of absurdist novellas weighing man's place in the universe. In 1980, David Melamed, a graduate of *Fantasia 2000*, published his first and only collection of SF stories, *Ẓavu'a be-Korundi* ("A Hyena in Corundi"). Though well received within the country's fledgling SF community, the book did not perform well in the marketplace, and after writing his aforementioned novel, *The Fourth Dream*, Melamed deserted the genre entirely.

In 1982, Israeli geneticist Ram Moav published a hard-SF tome, *Zerimat Ḥakhamim* ("A Flow of Wise Men"), and in 1985 followed up with *Luna: Gan Eden Geneti* ("Luna: Genetic Garden of Eden"). Both novels focused on the wider implications of genetic engineering for humanity in general and touched upon Israel more tangentially. Hillel Damron's *Milḥemet ha-Minim* ("War of the Sexes," 1982) left the exigencies of the Arab-Israeli struggle to the pundits, contemplating a future Jewish state riven by gender-based struggles. Israeli literary theorist Ortsion Bartana published two related titles, *Serifot* ("Burnings," 1985) and *Ha-Sha'ot ha-Tovot Hen Sha'ot ha-Laylah* ("The Best Hours Are the Hours of the Night," 1994). Bartana also wrote a related non-fiction treatise, *Ha-Fantaziyyah be-Sipporet Dor ha-Medinah* ("Fantasy in Israeli Literature in the Last Thirty Years," 1989). *Fantasia* veteran Yivsam Azgad published two SF titles, a juvenile, *Avodat Nemalim* ("Ant Work," 1992), and *Ma'of Kelulot* ("Cuticula," 1995), while fellow *Fantazionnaire* Shlomo Shoval published *Be-Medinot ha-Shamayim* ("In the Countries of Heaven") in 1998.

Bibliographer Lavie Tidhar, a former kibbutznik living in South Africa, has established a world-class reputation as a science fiction writer who favors Israeli settings and characters, and works with Jewish and Christological myth in a sub-genre he calls "Hebrewpunk." His novel *An Occupation of Angels* (2005) concerns the murder of archangels that first materialized over the Nazi death camps in 1945. He also published a play, *There Will Be A Tim*e (2005), that purportedly takes place at the cusp of a black hole. Tidhar won the 2003 Clarke Bradbury International Science Fiction Competition sponsored by the European Space Agency.

Ironically, as commercial fiction began to come into its own during the 1990s, with detective novels by Batya *Gur and political thrillers by Ram Oren regularly achieving best-seller status, those inclined to the *fantastique* in Israel began to express a greater interest in outright fantasy than in SF. Reflecting this shift in interest, a number of small publishing houses, including Mitzuv and Opus, began publishing extensive lines of fantasies, as well as role-playing games of the *Dungeons & Dragons* variety, with an occasional SF title thrown in to keep the wells primed.

One development that may bode well for the future of Israeli SF is the immigration, since the fall of the Soviet Union, of more than a million Russians, many of whom had established themselves as professional SF writers, editors, and publishers. Whether they can continue to pursue this interest in Israel, either within the Russian-speaking and -reading community, or once they achieve proficiency in Hebrew, remains to be seen.

Israeli publishing houses now issue some 40 genre-related titles yearly, some 15 percent of them indigenous efforts. *Ḥalomot be-Aspazia* ("Pipe Dreams"), a bimonthly fan magazine created by Ron Yaniv and edited by Geffen Award winner Vered Tochterman, began publishing original local SF stories on a bimonthly basis in 2003. The country boasts several clubs and an organization, including The Israeli Society for Science Fiction and Fantasy (http://www.sf-f.org.il), which organizes yearly lecture series and conventions, awards its annual literary prize – the Geffen Award, and publishes a glossy magazine featuring original stories, *Ha-Meimad ha-Asiri* ("The 10th Dimension"). Israeli *Star Trek* fans have their own society, and publish their own journal, *Starbase 972*.

Other Israels

Although still gun-shy of science fiction and fantasy, Israeli writers have generated dozens of counterfactuals – Alternate Histories – both as fiction and in essays. Notably, relatively few deal directly with the Holocaust, reflecting a deep-seated Israeli taboo against any kind of fanciful consideration of the event, most especially by those who did not experience it outright. Examples of allohistorical fiction include Dan *Almagor's *Ilu Rak* ("If Only," 1990), about Hitler's premature death; Shmuel Argaman's *Takala be-Ḥalal* ("Mishap in Space," 2000), in which the Soviet Union and the Cold War endure; David Avidan's *Et Tu, Brute* (1973), in which Caesar outwits his assassins; Uri *Avnery's *Ha-Telai ha-Shaḥor* ("The Black Patch," 1986), in which Nazi Germany develops along non-antisemitic lines; Eli Bar-Navi's *Suryah ha-Deromit asher le-Ḥofo shel ha-Yam ha-Tikhon* ("Southern Syria, on the Coast of the Mediterranean," 1998), in which Palestine became a part of postwar Syria; Israel Bartal's *Medinah Mizraḥit Ketanah le-Lo Tasbikh* ("A Small, Eastern Nation Without a Complex," 1998), in which the Jews never rebelled against Rome, and hence never went into exile; Dorit Ben-Tovim's *Nad Ned* ("See-Saw," 1997), postulating an Israeli defeat in 1960 and a Jewish Intifada against Palestinian police; Uri Fink and Shadmi Koren's *Profil 107* (1998), a graphic novel about Israeli superheroes emerging from World War II military experiments; Yanai Gose's *Be-Mehoza Yisadeti et Medinat ha-Yehudim*. ("At Mehoza I Founded the Jewish State," 1995), about a pro-Jewish Babylonian empire in 502 C.E. that supports a Yemenite Jewish state against Ethiopia; Yitzhak Laor's *Am, Ma'akhal Melakhim* ("The People, Food Fit for a King," 1993), in which Israeli soldiers refuse to fight in the Six-Day War; Isaac Oren's *Ha-Kongres* ("The Congress," 1968), in which historians use a device that demonstrates alternate historical outcomes; Amiram Pal's *Masa be-Merḥav ha-Zeman* ("Journey in the Dimension of Time," 1980), in which time travelers prevent the fall of Jerusalem in 700 B.C.E.; Doron Rosenblum's *Ḥa'im Yesh Mekhubad ba-Ulam?* ("Is There a Notable in the House?", 2000), in which Albert Einstein agrees to become Israel's first president in 1948; Arye Sivan's *Le-Olam Al Tomar Ilu* ("Never Say If," 2001), a poem imagining a French takeover of Palestine after World War I; Jacob Weinshall's *Ha-Yehudi ha-Aḥaron* ("The Last Jew," 1946), in which victorious Nazis working on a huge space project discover a Jew living in Madagascar; Ivor H. Yarden's *On the Death of Hitler's Assassin*, in which Hitler's murder in 1938 by a Jewish assassin leads to a massive pogrom, causing the assassin to be reviled by world Jewry after his release from prison four decades later; Ben-Dror Yemini's *Lo Matimim le-Ḥalom ha-Ẓiyyoni* ("Not Fit for the Zionist Dream," 1988), in which Sephardi Jews were barred from immigrating to Israel in 1949; and Oren Ziblin's *Ahalan Ḥaver* ("Howdy, Friend," 2000), in which Rabin is spared assassination, and peace with Syria results.

It is a testament to the vigor of Israeli literature that it can sustain itself on a literary tradition dating back less than one century. To be sure, the country is, in per capita terms, a publishing powerhouse and a voracious consumer of books, not a few of which are, and have been, identifiable as science fiction or fantasy. Literary scholar Alan Mintz has observed: "No culture, however thickly substantial, can forgo its past, especially when it extends so far back in time, without running the risk of desultory shallowness … around the margins there are [in Israel] signs of cultural insufficiency that may signal more serious problems if a deeper connection to the past is not made." To which many within the somewhat beleaguered universe of Israeli science fiction might well add, "or to the future."

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[Sheldon Teitelbaum and Eli Herstein (2nd ed.)]

SCLIAR, MOACYR (1937–), Brazilian author and physician. The city of his birth, Porto Alegre, is often the setting of his books. He established a career as one of Brazil's most important contemporary writers and as a successful medical doctor working in public health. Scliar is often compared to North American Jewish authors such as Philip Roth and Mordecai Richler. His novels and short stories are commonly characterized as a unique blend of Jewish humor, Yiddishkeit, and Latin American magical realism. He received some of the most prestigious literary awards of Brazil and Latin America, including the Casa de las Américas prize (1988). Most of his major works have been translated into English and many other languages. As a whole, Scliar's approximately 30 books provide a unique lens through which to view both Brazilian and Jewish culture.

The novel *The Centaur in the Garden* (1980) is one of his most representative and well known. It is the fantastic story of a centaur born to Russian parents who is raised as a Jew in rural Brazil. Guedali, the main character, serves as a metaphor for those who exist at the margins of dominant culture and as a symbol of the cultural hybridism of which he is a product. His life story is an allegory of the search for identity, self-discovery, and ultimately the multiplicity of human existence. The novel *The Strange Nation of Rafael Mendes* (1983) is a mix of fantasy and history; the story is revealed through a Brazilian businessman who discovers his Jewish roots as a descendant of Maimonides. The novel traces the history of the Jewish presence in Brazil and the title character learns he belongs to the "strange nation" of the Jewish people in addition to being Brazilian. In *O ciclo das águas* (1976) Scliar narrates the story of the Jewish white slave trade in Brazil through the voice of a prostitute who was deceived into emigrating from Poland to Brazil in the 1930s. In the novel *A mulher que escreveu a Bíblia* (1999) Scliar utilizes Harold Bloom's *The Book of J* as a point of departure to invent the story of a woman who lived in King Solomon's time and was responsible for writing the Bible. His complete short stories have been published in English as *The Collected Stories of Moacyr Scliar* (1999). Scliar is no doubt one of the most influential of Jewish writers from Latin America.

[Darrell B. Lockhart (2nd ed.)]

SCORPION (Heb. עַקְרָב, *akrav*; pl. *akrabbim*). The scorpion is mentioned once in the Bible as a dangerous creature of the wilderness (Deut. 8:15). The word *akrabbim* is also used for prickly thornbushes (I Kings 12:11; Ezek. 2:6), and Ascent of Akrabbim (*Ma'aleh Akrabbim) in the Negev (Num. 34:4) owes its name either to the scorpions or to the thorns found there. Ten species of scorpion are found in Israel, the most dangerous of which is *Buthus quinquestriatus*. This species is found mainly in deserts, but it occurs also in inhabited regions. When young, the scorpions are yellowish white, later becoming yellow, brown, or black. One of the minor miracles mentioned as occurring in the Second Temple period was that "no serpent or scorpion inflicted injury in Jerusalem" (Avot 5:5).

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[Jehuda Feliks]

SCOTLAND, northern part of Britain. Although there are records of applications by individual Jews for rights of trade and residence in Edinburgh as early as 1691, and there is reason to believe that a short-lived congregation was established there in 1780, the first organized Jewish community in Scotland, that of Edinburgh, was not established until 1816. It was followed shortly by that of Glasgow. The mass immigration from Eastern Europe in the late 19th and early 20th centuries brought many Jewish settlers to Glasgow, but comparatively few to Edinburgh. Of the 15,000 Jews living in Scotland in 1971, all but some 220 resided in Glasgow (13,400) and Edinburgh (1,400). The remainder were distributed in Dundee (84), Ayr (68), Aberdeen (40), and Inverness (12). In the mid-1990s the Jewish population of Glasgow dropped to approximately 6,700 and that of Edinburgh to approximately 500. According to the 2001 British census, there were 4,224 declared Jews by religion in Glasgow, 763 in Edinburgh, 30 in Aberdeen, and 22 in Dundee. There is a Scottish Council of Jewish Communities, and a range of Jewish institutions, especially in Glasgow. Dr. Kenneth Collins has written widely on the history of Scottish Jewry in such works as *Aspects of Scottish Jewry* (1987), which he edited. Relations between Jews and non-Jews in Scotland have always been harmonious.

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°**SCOTT, CHARLES PRESTWICH** (generally known as **C.P. Scott**; 1846–1932), British editor and supporter of the Zionist cause. Born in Bath, Scott was first the editor and later the owner of the great liberal daily, the *Manchester Guardian*. From 1895 to 1906 he was a leading Liberal member of parliament. Scott met Chaim *Weizmann at a private party on Sept. 16, 1914, and became a staunch friend of Weizmann and of Zionism thereafter. He introduced Weizmann to D. *Lloyd George, Herbert *Samuel, and other British statesmen, and thus helped Weizmann and his colleagues in their dealings with the British government that led to the *Balfour Declaration. In a letter to Harry *Sacher he explained his Zionism in the following words: "To make the Jew a whole Jew… to clear him up in his own eyes and the eyes of the world – that seems to me sound, at least as an ideal, and there may be a chance now of moving a long way towards it." After Turkey's entrance into World War I, Scott stressed the importance of Palestine for British interests. Scott also revealed to Weizmann the details of the *Sykes-Picot treaty and thus contributed to its undoing. After Weizmann introduced Vladimir *Jabotinsky to Scott, the *Manchester Guardian* editorially supported the idea of the *Jewish Legion and contributed substantially to its realization. Scott remained a firm supporter of the Zionist movement and the *yishuv* in Palestine throughout his life. Ironically, after 1967 the *Guardian* newspaper (now published from London rather than Manchester) became a venomous critic of Israeli policy, one of the most important disseminators of left-wing anti-Zionism in the British mainstream.

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[Benjamin Jaffe]

°**SCOTT, SIR WALTER** (1771–1832), Scottish poet and novelist. *Ivanhoe* (1819), one of his "Waverley Novels," set in 12th-century England, introduces Isaac of York and his daughter Rebecca. The juxtaposition of these two, as well as many incidental features of the book, recalls the story of Shylock and Jessica in *Shakespeare's *Merchant of Venice*. However, Scott's characters are, in their ethical intention, the opposite of their Shakespearean prototypes. Though a usurer, Isaac is a basically noble character, while Rebecca is the true heroine of the novel. She nurses the eponymous hero back to health and, when she falls into the hands of the villainous Knight Templar Bois-Gilbert, gives expression to the moral virtues of her race and fiercely condemns the false code of honor of medieval chivalry. Rebecca was apparently inspired by Rebecca *Gratz of Philadelphia, of whom Scott had heard from his friend, Washington Irving.

Toward the end of his life, Scott drew another set of Jewish characters in *The Surgeon's Daughter* (1827). These are far less sympathetic than the Jews in *Ivanhoe*. Richard Middlemas, the half-Jewish rogue, is ambitious, violent, and treacherous. The novel ends somewhat theatrically with his being crushed to death by an elephant in India.

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[Harold Harel Fisch]

SCOUTING. The Jewish youth movements which emerged in the first half of the 20th century in central and eastern Europe (e.g., *Blau-Weiss) were influenced more by the German variety (mainly the Wandervögel) than by the British scouting movement founded by Baden-Powell. However, the Zionist youth organization Ha-Shomer (so called after the watchmen's organization in Ereẓ Israel bearing the same name; see *Ha-Shomer), which emerged in western Galicia (then under Austrian rule) before World War I, was a full-fledged scouting movement and employed its usual educational methods and techniques. During World War I (Vienna, 1916) this organization merged with other Zionist youth groups to form the large Zionist youth and pioneering movement *Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir, which preserved in its educational system, particularly for the younger age groups (from 11 to 17), a strong element of scouting (Heb. *ẓofiyyut*). Similar educational techniques were widely used between the two world wars in most other Zionist or Zionist-oriented youth movements in eastern Europe, such as Betar, Ha-Shomer ha-Le'ummi, and Ha-No'ar ha-Ẓiyyoni. In western European countries, particularly Great Britain (see below) and France, Jewish scout troops and similar youth formations emerged, often established for religious reasons or for the purpose of preventing total assimilation, but at first they did not adopt the Zionist program. In the case of France, they played a considerable role in the active resistance against the Nazi occupation (see below). In

Palestine a full-fledged Jewish scout movement was formed in 1919, shortly after the establishment of the British mandatory regime. Gradually it became an important factor in the pioneering settlement effort in the country. After the establishment of the State of Israel (in 1948) it also comprised non-Jewish (Druze and Arab) units (see below). The Israel Scout movement maintains fraternal contacts and exchanges with *Young Judea in the United States, which also incorporates certain scouting methods in its educational system.

In Great Britain

Since England was the original home of Baden-Powell's Boy Scout movement, Jewish youngsters were quickly attracted to scouting and, although no religious stipulations prevented their joining local troops, specifically Jewish groups were founded. This was especially the case in the major centers of Jewish population after World War I. During the 1920s and 1930s Jewish Boy Scout and Girl Guide troops were organized in London, Manchester, and Leeds, and others also flourished in cities such as Birmingham, Glasgow, and Liverpool. Increasing competition from the various Zionist youth movements – which also fostered scouting activities – and the disruption caused by the World War II era and the growth of the Jewish youth clubs combined to reduce the appeal of the Boy Scouts and Girl Guides after 1945. The movement nevertheless retained its popularity in certain areas and in 1970 there were several troops in London and others in Hove, Leeds, Manchester, Glasgow, and other towns. A synagogue at the Boy Scout Center in Gilwell Park, Essex, was consecrated in 1957.

A rival movement in Great Britain was the Jewish Lads' Brigade (JLB), founded in 1895 as a Jewish equivalent to the (Protestant) Boys' Brigade. The JLB, which trains its members "in loyalty, honor, discipline, and self-respect," with the emphasis on good citizenship, is organized on semi-military lines – with officers, NCOs, uniforms, and parades – and has had a fluctuating appeal. However, after a noticeable decline in the postwar years, it underwent a significant revival in the 1960s and by 1970 had about 20 branches in the Greater London area alone; there were also large groups in Glasgow and Liverpool (both of which included girls' sections), and in Birmingham and Manchester. The Glasgow JLB boasted the world's only Jewish bagpipe band. Both the Jewish scouts and the JLB appointed Jewish chaplains, and their members often formed guards of honor for visiting dignitaries at Jewish communal events and memorial services, in conjunction with adult organizations such as the Association of Jewish Ex-Servicemen and Women. It remained a thriving movement into the 21st century, with hundreds participating in summer camps and a full range of year-round programs, including a three-week Israel tour.

In France

The Jewish Scout Movement (Eclaireurs Israélites) was founded in France in 1923 by the electronic engineer Robert Gamzon (known as "Castor") with a dual purpose: to employ the methods of the scouts in order to imbue a Jewish consciousness into French Jewish children threatened by total assimilation, and to encourage the integration of recently arrived young Jewish immigrants within French society. The early development of the movement was slow. In 1935 there were 3,000 members in Paris (the largest group), as well as groups in Strasbourg, Mulhouse, Lyons, and Marseilles, and in Tunis, Algiers, Oran, and Casablanca in North Africa. When Hitler came to power, the arrival of German Jews in France, especially Leo Cohn (a brother of the Israel jurist Haim *Cohn), enabled the movement to intensify its attachment to Judaism; at the same time the Nazi threat brought it closer to Zionist ideology. Gamzon then elaborated the "pluralist" outlook of the movement: the scouts, who declared their adherence to Judaism, were authorized to identify themselves with one of the Zionist trends – Zionist, religious, or liberal – but a "common minimum" of religious observance (Sabbath and *kashrut*) was to prevail in all scouting activities.

From this period the movement was concerned with the problems of young refugees. In 1939 a training farm was established which welcomed young immigrants and older scouts; a carpentry workshop was also opened in Paris in the scout headquarters (the first community center).

During World War II the activities of the movement were modified in important respects and encompassed five spheres:

(1) The maintenance of normal scout groups and the establishment of new groups in all the towns of the Southern Zone (Vichy France), where there were many Jewish refugee families. There was also an enormous expansion in North Africa, where groups were established in more than 50 towns.

(2) The establishment of children's homes for non-French children separated from their parents. At the end of 1943 these homes were closed down for security reasons and the children were entrusted, under false names, to peasants or placed in non-Jewish boarding schools.

(3) The establishment of 13 rural groups throughout the Southern Zone for training in agricultural work and eventual *aliyah* to Palestine. A considerable number of this youth eventually settled in Israel.

(4) The creation of a social service for youth which hid young Jews who were in danger and provided adults with false French identity cards. Over 30,000 such documents were forged and distributed by social workers, who thus risked their lives. About 100 of them were arrested by the Gestapo.

(5) The establishment of an underground combat unit. In 1944, the boys of the rural unit of Lautrec decided to join the resistance movement (Maquis) and fight the Germans. This Jewish Maquis of 70 members was led by Gamzon and Gilbert Bloch and incorporated within the secret army of the Free French. Supplies were parachuted to it on many occasions. Its headquarters were attacked by the German army and seven boys, including Gilbert Bloch, lost their lives. On Aug. 22, 1944, this same group, in conjunction with two others, attacked an armored train between Mazamet and Castres

(Tarn) and put it out of action, thereby liberating these two towns and taking 3,000 prisoners.

After World War II the movement was reorganized on a more normal basis; groups were maintained or reconstituted in most towns, and the movement's total membership was 10,000. In 1946 Gamzon founded the Ecole Gilbert Bloch for training youth leaders for the movement and the Jewish organizations of France and North Africa. Rapidly developing into a center of advanced Jewish learning, the school was subsequently headed by Leon Askenazi (known as "Manitou") for many years. The two leaders of the movement, Shimon Hammel (known as "Chameau") and Gamzon, settled in Israel in 1947 and 1949, the latter at the head of a group of 50 former scouts which settled in Sedeh Eliyahu and then in Nir Eẓyon. In 1971 the movement had around 5,000 members in all the towns of France. Its general orientation was religious but not Orthodox. Its long-standing interest in Israel developed into a definite Zionist orientation in 1970, so that knowledge of Israel became one of its focal points, along with Judaism as such and art, music, and sports. In the early 2000s it had around 4,000 active members in 55 groups and organized 60 summer and winter camps in France and abroad (Israel, Peru, Madagascar, Canada, eastern Europe).

[Denise Gamzon]

In Israel

The first troop of scouts (*ẓofim*) in Palestine was started in 1919 at the *Herzlia gymnasium (high school) in Tel Aviv and, together with groups in Jerusalem and Haifa, founded Histadrut ha-Ẓofim be-Israel (the "Jewish Scouts' Federation"). The federation was dissolved after the secession of some sections in 1930 (see the State of *Israel: Youth Movements) and re-formed in 1936 under the aegis of the Education Department of the Va'ad Le'ummi. As the Jewish scout organization was coeducational, it was not admitted to the world movement and did not participate in international scout meetings during the Mandatory period. In 1938 the *ẓofim* started sending members for agricultural training, and in 1941 the federation adopted pioneering on the land as one of its aims. Its graduates founded *Ma'agan Mikha'el in 1949 and subsequently established 26 other kibbutzim.

In 1951 the federation was accepted into the world movement and in 1953 merged with Muslim, Christian, and Druze scouts in Israel to form Hitaḥadut ha-Ẓofim ve-ha-Ẓofot be-Israel (the Israel Boy and Girl Scout Federation). There is also a separate section for religious scouts (*ẓofim datiyyim*). In 1957 the Girl Scouts (*ẓofot*) were affiliated to the corresponding world movement. The *ẓofim* differ from most organizations of this kind elsewhere in having troops (*shevatim*, or "tribes") comprising all three age groups; 8–10 years, 11–14, and 15–19. In the first two there are separate units for boys and girls, each with its own program; the last comprises both. All the constituent sections, Jewish, Muslim, Christian, and Druze, participate on an equal basis in the jamborees held in Israel and send representatives to international scouting events.

Unlike other youth movements in Israel, the federation is not associated with any party or sectional organization; it operates within the framework of the schools and under the supervision of the Ministry of Education and Culture, which appoints half the members of its governing body. It lays stress on good citizenship and national service, including agricultural pioneering and service in *Naḥal outposts. In the early 2000s it had about 70,000 members: 45,000 in the Federation of Jewish Scouts; 13,000, mostly Muslim, in the Organization of Scouts from Arab Schools; 2,000 in the Muslim Arab Scouts and 2,000 in the Greek Orthodox Arab Scouts; 3,000 in the Organization of Catholic Scouts; and 5,000 in the Organization of Druze Scouts. The Arab movements have separate sections for boys and girls; the Druze scouts are all boys, in keeping with the community's religious traditions.

SCRANTON, city in N.E. Pennsylvania, U.S.; county seat of Lackawanna County. The earliest Jews, who came to Scranton before the Civil War, lived in Wilkes-Barre, where a synagogue existed, and came to Scranton to peddle their wares. Scranton grew because of the large coal fields located nearby. Many immigrants, just after the Civil War, were brought to the area just to become miners. The Jews came to open stores and businesses.

By 1860 there were enough Jews who had settled in the city so that they could form their own congregation, "Anshei Hesed." The synagogue was actually incorporated in 1862. Itinerant rabbis assisted them throughout the war. In 1866 a property was purchased on Linden Street. Just prior to Passover in 1867, on a Friday afternoon, the synagogue building was dedicated with great fanfare in the city. The guest speaker was Rabbi Isaac Meyer Wise, then a rabbi in Cincinnati. A few years later when he founded the Reform movement in America with a rabbinical school, HUC, and a congregational arm, UAHC, "Anshei Hesed" was one of the first congregations to affiliate.

Rabbis served two functions in Scranton – first as the spiritual leader and second as the Jewish educator. At times the rabbi even led a school in German and English, teaching both secular and religious subjects. In 1869 the Amos lodge of B'nai B'rith was founded with 18 members. The lodge still exists and holds two annual events of substance. One honors a local Jewish leader; the second has become most noteworthy as the Americanism Award Dinner. Over the 40 years of its existence until 2005, the award was given to leading citizens of the community, including Governor William Scranton, a Scranton native.

Even before the major Eastern European immigration started, Hungarian Jews began to find their way to Scranton as early as 1877. The first Orthodox synagogue was founded in 1886 by Hungarian Jews and was located in the "Flats," where the immigrant population of Jews, Irish, Italians, and Polish lived. The "Flats" became a major center of the Jewish community until the synagogues, butcher shops, and Hebrew schools were flooded out in 1956.

The second Orthodox synagogue formed was located in downtown Scranton and included Lithuanian and Russian Jews, who prayed differently than their Hungarian brethren. That synagogue was listed in the first volume of the *American Jewish Yearbook* as established in 1895. When the wealthier Reform Jews began to move to the Hill section, they built a new synagogue in that area and became "Temple Hesed." Their original building was sold to a new Orthodox group and was renamed the "Linden Street Synagogue." Several fascinating tales about the building are recorded in a book by A.B. Cohen.

In 1907 a young, brilliant yeshivah graduate got a job in Scranton at the local Montefiore School. His name was Harry Wolfson and he became a legend in America Jewish academia. Within a few months he completed grammar school. By the time he graduated Central High School in Scranton in 1910, he had earned the right to be the valedictorian and had also been awarded a four-year scholarship to Harvard College. Once Wolfson entered Harvard he never left, ultimately being given the Littauer Chair, the first Judaica chair in an American university. Wolfson had a soft spot in his heart for Scranton, maintaining ties with people whom he had met during his three years in the community.

The Jewish community of Scranton grew rapidly before World War I. One noted rabbi who served the "Linden Street Synagogue" was Wolf Gold. After moving to New York, Gold was very active in Mizrachi and became the head of America Mizrachi before making *aliyah* in the 1930s. When Israel became a state on May 14 1948, Gold was in Jerusalem because of the siege. He could not attend the signing of Israel's Declaration of Independence in Tel Aviv, but space was left for him and two others. He and Golda Meir are the only American signatories on that monumental document in Israel's history.

Shortly after World War I, led by M.L. Goodman, a Scranton news baron, a Conservative synagogue, Temple Israel, was founded in 1921. The synagogue benefited from the great interest of the leadership in Jewish education. In 1923 Louis Wolf was hired to be a teacher. The following year Dr. Max Arzt became the rabbi of Temple Israel. Between the two, Temple Israel created one of the most outstanding afternoon Hebrew schools complemented by a Junior Congregation, which became a model for Conservative synagogues throughout the U.S. At Temple Israel Arzt produced an outstanding weekly bulletin, gave excellent sermons on the topics of the day rooted in traditional sources, and made it quite clear what a synagogue-center could accomplish.

In the early 1930s, Scranton Jewry grew to 8,000 and then its numbers began to diminish. With clothing factories, needlework trade and other industrial plants, Scranton Jews made it possible for Scranton itself to have sufficient employment in 1935 for 135,000 people. Arzt left in 1939 to become the vice chancellor of the Jewish Theological Seminary. His students continue to remember him and his talented educator Louis Wolf.

Following World War II, during which 1,200 Scranton Jews served, Temple Israel grew dramatically, with a Hebrew school of 375 at its peak. The rabbi, Simon Shoop, who served from 1949 to 1990, led the congregation to become the most traditional Conservative synagogue in North America. Shoop, who had a doctorate, was one of the first to teach courses on the Holocaust, which he initiated at the University of Scranton and Marywood University, both Catholic schools. Among Shoop's students was Professor Michael Brown, a Jewish historian at York University in Canada, and Professor Mark Harris of the USC film school, who won three Oscars for documentary films, including *The Long Way Home* and *The Kindertransport*.

Another student of the Shoop era, Ralph Levy, has invented many toys including the talking "Furby."

A most fascinating personality arrived in Scranton from Baltimore in 1955. His name was Harry Weinberg, and he had bought all the bonds of the Scranton Transit Company, which had been on strike for over 300 days. Weinberg, without any formal education, was an entrepreneur in the most exciting way. During his decade in Scranton, he bought almost a quarter of million dollars of real estate in the city. His love was for transit companies. He bought the Dallas Transit company and other companies in the West. He also bought the Fifth Avenue Bus Company, even though the mayor of New York said that he would not let Weinberg run it. Within a week in the early 1960s, Weinberg made over a million dollars when he had to sell.

He was actually looking at Hawaii as a real center for financial growth. First, he purchased the Honolulu Transit Company. Once he saw the possibilities in that area, he moved to Hawaii. From 1966 until 1989, Harry Weinberg became the largest landholder in Hawaii. His fortune began to grow and his main interest was in creating a major foundation. By the time of his death in 1991 the Jeanette and Harry Weinberg Foundation was worth almost a billion dollars. Just before his death he promised the University of Scranton 6 million dollars for a new library building and for a Chair of Jewish Studies. The library was completed in 1992 and the Jesuits all call it the Weinberg library. Professor Marc Shapiro holds the Weinberg Judaica chair.

Since 1980 there has been a definite change in Scranton, as Temple Hesed and Temple Israel have grown smaller. The Orthodox community is led by the Lakewood Yeshiva branch in Scranton. Rabbi Moshe Fine, a rabbi in the community for 27 years, has built the Orthodox community through his teaching, his determined leadership, and his pastoral skills. There were about 3,000 Jews in Scranton in 2005; almost half were Orthodox Jews.

In 2002 Rabbi David Geffen of Temple Israel received agreement from Father McShane, president of the University of Scranton, for an exhibit on the history of the Jews of Scranton to be mounted at the university. The exhibit was held in the spring and summer of 2004, curated by Arnine Weiss, a noted educator. Scranton thus participated in the 350-year celebration of the Jews' arrival in New Amsterdam.

[David Geffen (2nd ed.)]

SCRIBE. The Hebrew term for "scribe" is *sofer*, a participle form of the root *spr*, meaning "to count." It is a Canaanite word, appearing in Ugarit (*rb spr*, "chief scribe") as well as a loanword in an Egyptian text – *sofer yodeʿa*, i.e., "wise scribe" (Papyrus Anastasi I; late 13th century B.C.E.). It may be a cognate to Akkadian *šāpiru*, "secretary, official." The first biblical reference to *sofer* is found in the Song of Deborah (Judg. 5:14). Another term used frequently in the Hexateuch is *shoṭer*, which probably meant "recorder." This functionary is associated with food rationing (Num. 11:16; Josh. 1:10; cf. Prov. 6:7), raising the levy (Ex. 5:6, et al.; Deut. 20:5; cf. II Chron. 26:11), and the law courts (Deut. 1:15; 16:18). The root of *shoṭer* is derived from the cognate Akkadian *šatāru*, "to write," and reappears in later Aramaic and Hebrew in *sheṭar*, "a written document" (see also Job 38:33). The common Akkadian word for scribe was *tupšarru* which appears as *ṭi/afsar* in Nahum's prophesy of the destruction of Nineveh (3:17) and Jeremiah's words on Babylon's doom (51:27). The change from *sh* to *s* probably reflects Assyrian pronunciation.

As in neighboring lands, the Israelite scribe learned his profession in family-like guilds (cf. "the families of scribes who inhabited Jabez," I Chron. 2:5). A 15th century B.C.E. text does indicate the existence of scribal schools in Canaan proper. It is a letter written by a teacher to a student's father living in Shechem asking for the long overdue tuition fee that could be paid in kind. The teacher describes his relationship to his students as that of a parent. (For a more detailed description of the scribe studies see *Education.)

W.F. Albright reads this important text:

> Unto Birashshena say:
> Thus Baniti – [Ashirat (?)]:
> From three years (ago) until now thou hast not caused me to be paid –
> is there no grain nor oil nor wine (?)
> which thou canst send?
> What is my offense that thou has not paid [me]?
> The children who are with me continue to learn–
> their father and their mother every [day] alike am I…
> Now [behold] whatever [there is] at the disposal of
> [my lord let him send] unto me, and let him inform me!

During the time of David, a certain Seraiah (II Sam. 8:17; Sheva, II Sam. 20:25; Shisha, I Kings 4:3; Shabsha, I Chron. 18:16) was appointed royal scribe. Both his sons Elihoreph and Ahijah followed him in Solomon's court. R. de Vaux has argued that this post, like most of David's cabinet, was adopted from Egyptian models. Furthermore, A. Cody maintains that the name Shisha etc. is a barbarism of the Egyptian term *ssh*, meaning "scribe." B. Mazar argues for a Canaanite origin for David's officials and derives all the above forms from an original Hurrian name *Šewe-šarri*. Among the returnees to Judah in early Persian times were "the sons of Hassophereth" – perhaps "members of the scribal office" – listed among the descendants of Solomon's servants (Ezra. 2:55 = Neh. 7:57). The Judean monarchy produced a prominent scribal family that influenced the political scene for several generations (II Kings 22:3, 12, 14; 25:22; Jer. 26:24; 36:11, 12):

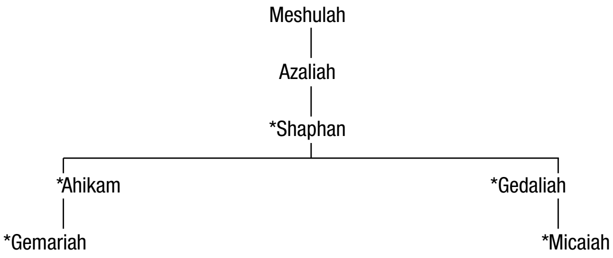

Scribes of various degrees of competence were attached to all government and temple offices. Apparently there were also independent scribes who either served the public or were in the employ of men of means. The highest scribal post was that of royal scribe. It is difficult to determine his exact position among the king's other ministers, even if it is assumed that the various biblical lists follow the principle of order of importance (see II Sam. 8:16–18 = I Chron. 18:15–17; II Sam. 20:23–26; I Kings 4:2–6). In the time of Hezekiah, the royal scribe seems to be of a lower rank than royal chamberlain (*aʾsher ʿal ha-bayit*) but higher than *mazkir* (Isa. 22:15–25; 36:3; II Kings 18:18, 37 and also II Chron. 34:8). Exactly what the duties of the royal scribe were is unknown. Besides fulfilling an advisory capacity (II Kings 18:18ff.; 22:14.; cf. I Chron. 27:32), he seems to have been in charge of financial matters (II Kings 12:11ff.; 22:3ff.). This function may underlie the original meaning of the title, which may have been "accountant." Quite likely, other ministries had their own scribal service. The priesthood definitely needed literati (I Chron. 24:6; II Chron. 34:13) and so did the chief of staff (II Chron. 26:11; II Kings 29:19 = Jer. 52:25). City governments, as well, required lists of prominent landowners for purposes of taxation and army service (Judg. 8:14). The public at large would also turn to a scribe to draw up documents of legal (Deut. 24:1; Isa. 50:1; Jer. 3:8; 32:11) or religious character (Deut. 6:9; 11:20). Wealthy gentry could afford a personal secretary for their business affairs (cf. the inscribed handles from Gibeon, late seventh century). Baruch son of Neriah served Jeremiah in this capacity, though the relationship may be better characterized as that of master and disciple (Jer. 32:12; 36:4, 18; 43:3; 45:1ff.). Several inscribed seals from the Monarchy period bearing the title *sofer* have been discovered in and around Palestine: *ʾmẓ hspr* (אמץ הספר), *lkmshʿm/kmshʾl/hspr*, (לכמשעם כמשאל הספר), *lhwdw sprʾ* (להודו ספרא). They are all probably non-Israelite in origin. The Persian Empire, consisting of many peoples and languages, is noted for its efficient civil service and far-flung system of communication (Esth. 3:12; 8:9). Each governor was assisted by his own scribe (Ezra 4:8, 9, 17, 23). The contemporary Aramaic papyri from Elephantine shed much light on scribal practice of that time. One of the prominent Jewish personalities of the period was Ezra the Scribe (BK 82a; Sanh. 21b). H.H. Schaeder suggested that Ezra's title (Ezra 7:6, 12) probably testifies to his high position in the Persian court, perhaps "secretary for Jewish affairs." During the Second Temple Period the word *soferim* had a special connotation.

[Aaron Demsky]

In Judaism

Later the scribe was a professional expert in the writing of Torah scrolls, **tefillin*, **mezuzot*, and bills of *divorce. Scribes are, therefore, known as *sofer setam* סוֹפֵר סְתָ״ם; *setam* סְתָ״ם being composed of the Hebrew initials of *Sefer Torah, tefillin*, and *mezuzot*. These have to be written with a feather quill in indelible ink, in straight lines, and on specially prepared parchment. It is inferred from the Bible that every Jew should write for himself a Torah scroll (see Deut. 31:19; see Sanh. 21b). Expertness, however, being required in writing a Torah scroll, the commandment can only be fulfilled by ordering it from a scribe. The profession of scribe was indispensable to the Jewish community, and according to the Talmud (Sanh. 17b) a scholar should not dwell in a town where there is no scribe. In the talmudic period, scribes were poorly paid lest they become rich and desert their vocations, leaving the community without their services. The scribe writing a Torah scroll must devote utmost attention and care to the writing; he is forbidden to rely on his memory and has to write from a model copy (Meg. 18b). His guide is the professional compendium for scribes, *Tikkun Soferim*, which contains the traditional text of the Torah, the specific rules concerning the decorative flourishes (*tagin*, "crowns") on certain letters, the regulations as to the spacing of certain Torah sections ("open" or "closed" pericopes), and the rules for writing Torah scrolls in which each column begins with the Hebrew letter *vav* (*vavei ha-ammudim*). Only the Scroll of Esther may be adorned with artistic illustrations but not the Torah scroll, although Alexandrian scribes are said to have gilded the name and appellations of God (Sof. 1:9). When writing a Torah scroll a scribe must especially prepare himself so that he writes the names of the Lord with proper devotion and in ritual purity. It is, therefore, customary that he immerse himself in a ritual bath (*mikveh*) before beginning his work. (The rules for the writing of Torah scrolls and other ritual texts are laid down in Sof. 1–10; Maim. Yad, Tefillin, Mezuzah, 1–10; Sh. Ar., YD 270ff.) Scribes also acted as recording clerks and court secretaries of the *bet din* and were, therefore, also called *lavlar*, from the Latin *libellarius*. They wrote legal documents such as bills of divorce (*get*) and contracts. In *halakhah* there are established rules as to who pays the scribe's fee. The general principle is that the person who receives the greater benefit from a transaction has to pay the scribe, e.g., the buyer of property and the borrower of money. In modern times printed forms are used for most legal transactions and the only document that has to be written by an expert scribe is the bill of divorce.

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SCROLL OF ANTIOCHUS (Heb. מְגִלַּת אַנְטִיוֹכוּס) or Scroll of the Hasmoneans (Heb. מְגִלַּת בֵּית חַשְׁמוֹנַאי), popular account of the wars of the Hasmoneans and of the origin of the festival of *Ḥanukkah. The scroll has been handed down in several Aramaic versions, probably dating from the late talmudic period (its Aramaic language indicates the period between the second and fifth centuries C.E. in Palestine). It is first mentioned in the **Halakhot Gedolot* (ed. by A. Hildesheimer (1890), 615, cf. also the ed. princ. (Venice, 1548), 141d) which describes it as originating in "the oldest schools of Shammai and Hillel"; unlike the Scroll of Esther, it is not read on the holiday with which it is connected and will be elevated to this position only "when there arises a priest with Urim and Thummim."

Saadiah, in his *Sefer ha-Gallui*, deals more fully with the scroll. He calls it "The book of the Sons of the Hasmoneans" (כתאב בני חשמונאי) and quotes a sentence which, with minor variations, is also found in the existing version (v. 23 in ed. Filipowski and Gaster); the scroll which he knew was probably also already punctuated and divided into verses. Nissim of Kairouan assigns the scroll an important position in the literature of the Apocrypha; in the introduction to his *Sefer ha-Ma'asiyyot*, he promises to relate the entire history of the Jews, "with the exception of that contained in the Scroll of Esther, the Scroll of the Hasmoneans (presumably the Scroll of Antiochus) and the 24 books [of the Bible]." Isaiah di Trani reports on the custom of reading the scroll in synagogues on Ḥanukkah (cf. his *tosafot* to *Sukkah* 44b (Lemberg, 1868), 31b).

Contents of the Scroll

King Antiochus, who has already conquered many countries, decides in the 23rd year of his reign to destroy the Jewish people, because it adheres to another law and other customs and secretly dreams of dominating the world. He sends to Jerusalem his commander in chief Nicanor, who instigates a massacre there, sets up an idol in the Temple and defiles the entrance hall with pigs' blood. On the pretext of being willing to submit to Antiochus' commands, *Jonathan, a son of the high priest Mattathias, gains a secret audience with Nicanor, and kills him with a sword concealed under his robe; he then attacks Nicanor's army, which is now without a leader, and only a few of the soldiers succeed in escaping and returning by ship to Antiochus. In commemoration of the victory, Jonathan has a pillar erected in the town, bearing the inscription "The Maccabean has killed strong men." Antiochus then sends to Jerusalem a second commander, Bagris; he metes out a terrible revenge upon the town and upon those Jews who have returned to the faith (here the scroll includes the story related in I Macc. 5:37–40 and II Macc. 6:16 of the devout people in the cave who were killed on the Sabbath because they would not fight to defend themselves). Jonathan and his four brothers defeat Bagris, who escapes and returns to Antiochus. He is equipped with a new army and armored elephants and then makes an attack on Judea. Judah Maccabee now appears in the story for the first time; and Jonathan, the third son of Mattathias, henceforth remains in the background. At the news of Bagris' approach, Judah proclaims a fast and calls for prayers in Mizpah (cf. I Macc. 3:46ff.); the army then goes into battle and wins several victories, though it pays for them with the death of its leader. Now old Mattathias himself assumes command of the Jewish soldiers; the enemy is decisively defeated, and Bagris is taken prisoner and burned. When Antiochus is told the news, he boards a ship and tries to find refuge in some coastal town; but wherever he arrives he is greeted with the scornful cry: "See the runaway!" so that finally he becomes desperate and throws himself into the sea. At this same time, the Jews are reconsecrating their Temple; while searching for pure oil for the lamp, they find a vessel bearing the seal of the high priest and dating back to the time of the prophet Samuel. By a miracle the oil, which is sufficient in quantity for only one day, burns in the lamp for a full eight days; and this is why Ḥanukkah, the festival commemorating the reconsecration of the Temple, is celebrated for eight days.

Author of the Scroll

As can be seen from this summary, the author was totally ignorant of the historical circumstances at the time of the Maccabees and made no use of any reliable sources on the period. The following points must be emphasized in connection with the text:

(1) The statement at the end of the scroll that 206 years elapsed between the beginning of the Hasmonean dynasty and the fall of the Second Temple is entirely correct if the time is reckoned from the first year of John Hyrcanus (135 B.C.E.) until the destruction of Jerusalem. This method of dating from the first year of John's reign, which was still being used in the Hebrew business documents of the later talmudic period (RH 18b), was most probably the sole point of reference which made the author of the scroll give 135 B.C.E. as the first year of the Hasmoneans. This incorrect assumption also seems to have been the basis for the legend about the high priest Jonathan, who according to the scroll led the revolt of the Maccabees.

(2) In view of their form and content, the stories about Nicanor, set as they are in the spirit of a later period, are intended to provide information on the festival of Nicanor's Day (13th Adar) rather than to relate events that actually took place during the time of the Maccabees (Meg. Ta'an. 12; Ta'an. 18b).

(3) The story of the miracle of the oil, which is also found in talmudic writings (Meg. Ta'an. 9, Shab. 21b), could have originated only at a time when Ḥanukkah had already become a festival lasting eight days; and it serves as a reason for the practice of lighting the candles.

Thus the author of the scroll was aware of customs and recollections which the people of his time still cherished in memory of the Hasmonean victory, even though the historically reliable sources were unknown to him. Moreover, the tone of the whole story and the way in which the events of the period are represented are evidence that in his day there was no longer any interest in a political evaluation of the Hasmoneans; all that was important was to explain the origin of certain halakhic prescriptions concerning Ḥanukkah, and the origin of several later customs. Hence it is understandable that the author of the *Halakhot Gedolot*, as stated above, connects *Megillat Ta'anit with the Scroll of Antiochus and ascribes both works to the schools of Shammai and Hillel. In talmudic tradition (Shab. 13b), the editing of *Megillat Ta'anit* is attributed to scholars of earlier generations; discussions on questions of *halakhah* relating to Ḥanukkah are ascribed to the schools of Shammai and Hillel (Shab. 21b), and it was the statements on *halakhah* which were the main source of interest to talmudic scholars editing the two scrolls.

The Language of the Scroll

The language of the original scroll was Western Middle Aramaic. From the language it can be established that the scroll was composed in Ereẓ Israel and was possibly edited from a language point of view in Babylonia (as was the Targum Onkelos). The scroll is written in a historiographical style; it imitates ancient Jewish sources (i.e., biblical Aramaic, *Megillat Ta'anit*) and closely follows the historiographical style of the Bible in the Aramaic versions found in the Targums. The language of the scroll was not the spoken language of its author but rather a literary language; even if the author knew, as seems likely, the Palestinian dialect of Aramaic, he nonetheless uses an Aramaic which was very close to the Targum Onkelos.

Editions of the Scroll

The scroll was first edited by H. Filipowski from a manuscript in the British Museum (*Sefer Mivḥar ha-Peninim u-Megillat Antiochus* (1851), 73–100). Besides the Aramaic version, there is also a Hebrew one; but this is only a late translation of the Aramaic text (published by D. Slutzki, Warsaw, 1863, with an introduction and amendments). Jellinek published a second manuscript (*Beit ha-Midrash*, 6 (1932^2), 4–8), and J. Taprower a third (*Kevod ha-Levanon*, 10, pt. 4 (1874), 17–28). The most complete publication is that of M. Gaster, which is based on six manuscripts (*Transactions of the Ninth International Congress of Orientalists*, 2 (1893), 17–27); S.A. Wertheimer published another manuscript in *Leket Midrashim* (Jerusalem, 1903), 13b–18a; a facsimile edition of a European version by L. Nemoy, *The Scroll of Antiochus* (New Haven, 1952); a critical edition, based upon Yemenite texts provided by super-linear vocalization, by M.Z. Kadari, "The Aramaic Antiochus Scroll," *Bar-Ilan, Sefer ha-Shanah*, 1 (1963), 81–105, *Bar Ilan, Sefer ha-Shanah*, 11 (1964), 178–214; the princ. ed. re-edited by I. Joel, KS 37 (1961/62), 132–6. The version given by J.D. Eisenstein (in *Oẓar Midrashim* (1915), 185–9) is an unaltered reprint of the text by Slutzki. The scroll has been translated into Latin, German, Spanish, Arabic, and Persian.

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[*Encyclopaedia Judaica* (Germany)]

SCROLL OF ESTHER (Heb. מְגִלַּת אֶסְתֵּר, *Megillat Ester*), the festal scroll of *Purim, the only one of the Five Scrolls to bear the title *megillah* as part of its traditional name (see *Scrolls, the Five). The Scroll of Esther tells the story of the salvation of the Jews of the Persian Empire.

Contents

The Persian king *Ahasuerus, in the third year of his reign, climaxes 180 days of banqueting for his officials with an additional feast of seven days for the entire populace of Shushan. On the seventh day of this party, the king, while drunk, orders Queen *Vashti to appear so that all may appreciate her beauty. When the queen refuses, the king, having consulted his advisers, removes Vashti from her position, and a decree is sent to all the husbands of the realm ordering them to dominate their own households (chapter 1).

A contest is held among all the beautiful maidens of the kingdom to find a successor to Vashti. One of the girls taken to the palace is *Esther, or Hadassah, the cousin of *Mordecai the Jew. Esther, concealing her origins, finds favor in the eyes of the king and is chosen to succeed Vashti. Mordecai, who is one of the officials who "sit in the King's Gate," learns of a plot against the king devised by two of his eunuchs. He reveals this to Esther, who in turn informs the king. The eunuchs are executed (chapter 2).

Ahasuerus elevates *Haman the Agagite, a descendant of Agag king of Amalek (I Sam. 15), above his other courtiers, and all the king's courtiers bow to Haman in recognition of his distinguished rank. Mordecai refuses on the grounds that he is Jewish, presumably because there is a perpetual feud between Amalek and the Jews (Ex. 17: 14–16; Deut. 25:17–19). Angered by this snub, Haman resolves to exterminate Mordecai and the entire Jewish people and determines the appropriate day by lot. He then persuades the king that the Jews are a subversive people who should be eliminated, reinforcing this argument with an offer of 10,000 talents of silver. Ahasuerus authorizes Haman to deal with the Jews as he chooses. Haman writes to all the royal governors appointing the 13th of Adar for the slaughter of the Jews (chapter 3).

Learning of the decree, Mordecai appeals to Esther to intercede with the king. In spite of the mortal danger of appearing before the king without being specifically summoned, Esther agrees to spend three days fasting and then to go to the king (chapter 4). On the third day, Esther approaches the king and is spared. She requests that the king and Haman come to a banquet that night. At the banquet, Esther refuses to reveal her true wishes, but merely asks that Ahasuerus and Haman attend a second banquet she will give on the following night. Haman returns home proud of having been so honored. At the advice of his wife and supporters, he prepares a stake 50 cubits high upon which to hang Mordecai (chapter 5).

Since the king cannot sleep that night, he orders that the royal annals be read to him, and thereby discovers that Mordecai had never been properly rewarded for denouncing the two eunuchs. He asks Haman's advice concerning a means of honoring someone whom the king deems worthy of honor. Haman, thinking he is the chosen one, proposes a procession in royal garb upon a royal horse through the streets of the city, with a noble leading the horse and proclaiming: "This is what is done for the man whom the king desires to honor." The king then orders Haman to do this for Mordecai (chapter 6). At the second banquet, Esther denounces Haman as plotting the destruction of her people. When Haman appeals to Esther for mercy, the king, thinking he intends to ravish her, orders him to be hanged on the stake prepared for Mordecai (chapter 7).

Haman's place in the king's favor is taken over by Mordecai, but Haman's decree sealing the fate of the Jews poses a serious problem, since according to the Medo-Persian constitution a royal decree may not be revoked (both the idea of a Medo-Persian partnership and the attribution to it of this law are taken, with other features, from Dan. 6). Mordecai, however, writes to all the satraps, governors, and other important officials of the realm authorizing the Jews to defend themselves and to destroy anyone who may attack them (chapter 8). Mordecai's prestige is sufficient to insure that the royal officials favor the Jews on that fateful day. Instead of being exterminated on that day, the Jews seem to have suffered no casualties at all; instead, they themselves kill 500 of their enemies as well as the ten sons of Haman in Shushan, and 75,000 enemies in the provinces. At Esther's request, the Jews of the capital are also given the following day, the 14th of Adar, to avenge themselves on their foes. The Jews are so feared that many gentiles pretend to be Jews (this and not "are converted to Judaism," is the meaning of *mityahadim*, 8:17).

The days following the battles, the 14th of Adar in the provinces and the 15th in Shushan, are declared by Mordecai and Esther days of feasting and merrymaking forevermore, and they are designed "the days of Purim" in memory of the lots that Haman cast (chapters 9–10). As is pointed out by H.L. Ginsberg, Esther 9:30–31 obliquely justifies the innovation of a new festival with no basis in the Torah, by invoking the authority of the prophet Zechariah (who had flourished in the reign of Ahasuerus' predecessor Darius I) in that they call the ordinance of Mordecai and Esther "an ordinance of 'equity and honesty'" and state that its content was: "These days of Purim shall be observed at their proper time, as Mordecai the Jew – and now Queen Esther – has obligated them to do, and just as they have assumed for themselves and their descendants the obligation of the fast with their lamentations." The reference is to Zechariah 8:19: "Thus said the Lord of Hosts: The fasts of the fourth, fifth, seventh, and tenth months [corresponding to the modern 17th of Tammuz, Ninth of Av, Fast of Gedaliah, and Tenth of Tevet] shall be turned into joy and gladness and happy seasons for the House of Judah; just love honesty and equity." The reference to this verse implies the following midrashic interpretation of it: having adopted those fasts, the House of Judah is bound – as a matter of honesty and equity – to adopt new holidays as well.

Historicity

The Scroll of Esther claims to be a simple historical account of events that actually took place in the fortress of Shushan, or Susa. It is true that there was a Persian king named Ahasuerus; for Ahasuerus is merely a Hebrew form (the consonantal text of the Hebrew is quite close to the way the name is written in Aramaic documents; the vowel points added in medieval times made for distortion) of the Persian name which the Greeks heard as *Xerxes. Xerxes I (for it is he who is meant, since the reign of Xerxes II was ephemeral) reigned from 486 to 465, B.C.E. It is also true that the name Marduka (= Mordecai) is attested as a personal name in documents of the period and as a Jewish name in Ezra 2:2 and Nehemiah 7:7. Finally, the author of Esther is well acquainted with Persian customs and court practices, as is illustrated by Vashti's refusal to degrade herself and appear at the drinking party. A Persian wife left when the drinking began.

Nevertheless, accepting Esther as veritable history involves many chronological and historical difficulties. If Mordecai was exiled from Judea with Jehoiachin (589 B.C.E.), as Esther 2:6 suggests, he would have been over 100 years old at the time of Xerxes I. Herodotus reports that Xerxes' queen was neither Esther nor Vashti, but a Persian general's daughter named Amestris (Hist. 7:114). Herodotus also says that the Persian king could only choose a queen from among seven Persian noble families (3:84). In addition, the entire plot is full of improbabilities; for example, while Mordecai is well known as a royal Jewish courtier (3:4), his cousin and adopted daughter, whom he visits daily (2:11), can successfully conceal her nationality and religion. Finally, the story often seems mockingly serious and suspiciously areligious. Prayers are never addressed to God in the hours of danger and need, and no mention is made of thanksgivings to God after the salvation of the Jews. Indeed, the rabbis of the Talmud had to read references to God into the Scroll of Esther (Meg. 7a). The Greek translation (see below) and the Aramaic targums made the book much more pious. Assuming that Esther is not veritable history, there are innumerable possibilities for the book's origin, date of composition, historical context, meaning, and purpose.

Interpretations

One significant group of scholars considers Esther, much like Daniel, a pseudepigraph, in which the narrative set in Persia is merely a stage setting for the true meaning. Willrich, for example, suggests that Ahasuerus is really Ptolemy Euergetes II (170–164 B.C.E. and 145–117 B.C.E.); Esther, his queen, Cleopatra III, who was friendly to the Jews; and Haman, the anti-Jewish party at the Ptolemaic court. Haupt and Lewy have proposed solutions that understand Esther in relation to the periods of the Maccabees and Herodians, respectively. A detailed examination of one example of these "historical" interpretations of Esther will reveal the difficulties inherent in this approach. R.H. Pfeiffer argues that Esther was written during the Hasmonean era, specifically at the time of John Hyrcanus (135–104 B.C.E.). Haman, Pfeiffer proposes, looks like a caricature of Antiochus Epiphanes. He persecutes the Jews on the grounds that they are different from other peoples (3:8), just as Antiochus ordered that all peculiar national customs be discontinued (I Macc. 1:41). The Jews in Esther have taken matters into their own hands with great success, and, indeed, ultimately force the gentiles to convert to Judaism (8:17), just as they did under the Maccabees. The author of Esther, like that of Maccabees, is militantly nationalistic, more ardent in his patriotism than in his religious zeal. He outwardly conformed to religious practice, but "appears to have made no demands on God and to have expected that God would make none of him." The background of Esther, according to Pfeiffer, is therefore neither the Persian period nor the period of the persecution of Antiochus (168–165 B.C.E.) but rather the reign of John Hyrcanus. Hyrcanus, among his other achievements, forced the conquered Idumeans to accept Judaism by compulsory circumcision. Represented in our book by Mordecai and Esther, Hyrcanus was the author's ideal and hero. These parallels between the events described in Esther and those of the Maccabean period are, however, at best broad and general. Furthermore, the reign of Hyrcanus may not represent the low level of spiritual life essential to Pfeiffer's argument. Finally, if Esther is the product of intense nationalism, why does the author allow his heroine to hide her Jewish origin and enter the harem of a gentile king? Why must the Jews depend on successful intrigues at court and not revolt openly, as Hyrcanus' ancestors had done?

Another school of thought bases its interpretation on the fact that the names of Mordecai and Esther are derived from the names of the Babylonian deities *Marduk and Ishtar. This approach sees the story as an account of the conflicts of these gods or of their worshipers. The most extensive formulation of this approach is that of Lewy. Lewy's analysis of Esther begins with the fact that the Septuagint and II Maccabees preserve different features of the story than the Hebrew text. Thus, according to the Septuagint, the Persian king is Artaxerxes rather than Xerxes. Haman is called Bugaean and not the Agagite, and the name of the holiday is Phrouraia, or Phourdaia, and not Purim. Finally, the holiday is called the "Mardochaic day" in II Maccabees 15:36.

A proper understanding of these divergences, Lewy maintains, can solve the problem of the origin and purpose of Esther and of the feast of the 14th and 15th of Adar which it proclaims. The Phrouraia or Phourdaia suggests the Persian festival of Favardigan which was celebrated from the 11th to the 14th of Adar. The Jews adopted a Babylonianized version of this feast and also accepted the Babylonian legends connected with the festival. The name of the festival in II Maccabees 15:36, the "Mardochaic day," does not mean the day of Mordecai but the day of the Mardukians or worshipers of Marduk. Bugaean suggests a worshiper of Mithra. Combining this information with the clear fact that the name Esther is equivalent to Ishtar, Lewy proposes that it is now possible to reconstruct the Babylonian original behind the last eight chapters of Esther. These chapters recount the threat to the worshipers of Marduk which resulted when *Artaxerxes II (404–358) instituted the cult of Mithra, a threat from which they were saved by the goddess Ishtar. Another legend concerning Ishtar is behind the story in the first two chapters of the book. This legend tells of the elevation of Ishtar-Esther over the Elamite goddess Mashti-Vashti.

While Lewy's interpretation explains many features of Esther, it must be considered more as a hypothesis or conjecture rather than as proof. It seems far too complicated to be true, and accounts for the features of Esther only by disregarding the scientific canon of economy. The same canon of economy would account for the absence of God's name and of prayer and thanksgiving and of dietary and marital restrictions: Esther was produced in non-pious circles in which ethnicity mattered more than religion.

Recent Research

Research on the Scroll of Esther, in particular the contributions of E. Bickerman, has elucidated many aspects of this deceptively simple book. Bickerman has solved many of the problems left unsolved by the other commentators we have considered. He has clearly recognized the literary structure of the book and the fact that, while it may be ultimately based on actual events, Esther contains two originally independent plots derived from Oriental romance: one plot of harem intrigue of which Esther is the heroine, and another of court intrigue of which Mordecai is the hero. Mordecai's story is based on a type of Oriental romance. It is the story of the struggle between the vizier and the dashing new courtier who outwits the vizier and replaces him in the king's favor. Mordecai's refusal to bow to Haman (3:2), which puzzled the later Jewish commentators, is thus comprehensible as an attempt by Mordecai to demonstrate his equality with Haman. Haman is angry, consults his friends and prepares the stake. Meanwhile, the episode of the king's sleepless night occurs, and at its conclusion Haman must honor Mordecai. Finally, Haman is overthrown and Mordecai replaces him in the king's favor.

The second plot is that of the queen who brings about the downfall of the vizier. In Esther, the conflict between Haman and the queen is accidental, as he does not know that she is Jewish. This cannot have been the motive in the original story or stories. Yet the fact that Esther is not the "original story" explains one puzzling feature of the book – the non-Jewish, if not un-Jewish, character of the narrative. The heroes of the original story were not Jewish. These two plots were combined quite effectively. Having heard stories of the struggles of a Jewish courtier and of a Jewish queen against an evil vizier, the author combined them. However, traces of the independent stories can still be seen in several places in the book, as in the two separate epistles at the end (9:20–28 and 9:29–32) or in the unexplained presence of two where one would suffice – the delay being necessary for Mordecai's first triumph over Haman on the night of the king's insomnia. The Scroll of Esther presents Purim as a festival commemorating the victory of the Jews, but it is odd in that it occurs on the day following the victory, unlike other Jewish festivals celebrated on the anniversary of the event itself. It is therefore clear, Bickerman concludes, that the author of Esther invented his story to explain an already existent festival. Purim, Bickerman suggests, was originally a seasonal festival of mock ritual combat between "our side" and "their side" celebrated for two days in the capital and one day in the countryside, followed by a day of pleasure. Similar festivals are well known in the ancient world. On these days, stories such as those which eventually contributed to Esther were told for the pleasure of the celebrants.

This festival, originally a local feast of the Jews of Shushan and Persia (cf. Meg. 7a), received the name Purim after the story of Mordecai and Esther had been elaborated. The name Purim is based on the story of Esther and is properly explained by our author as being derived from the lots (Akkadian *pūrū*; not a Persian word) which Haman cast to determine the date for the annihilation of the Jews (3:7; 9:24).

This analysis of Esther makes it difficult to propose a specific date for its author, since most of the motifs occurring in the book are now explained as belonging to the long tradition of Oriental romance. Nevertheless, a few facts may be established. The author was definitely a Persian Jew, possibly from Shushan. He certainly wrote before 78/77 B.C.E., the date the Greek translation of Esther (see below) was brought to Egypt, and before the composition of II Maccabees 15:36, which mentions the 14th of Adar as the "Day of Mordecai."

Much recent research has been directed to the way in which Esther presents a picture of Persian life quite similar to that drawn by the Greeks (see Berlin, xxviii–xxxii); Persians love luxury and are constantly drinking. Persian emperors are controlled by women. Persians love making laws and finding ways of getting around them. Herodotus' portrayal of the bloodthirsty Amestris is refracted in Esther's request for additional killing (Est. 9:12–14). Another avenue focuses on the ways in which Esther borrows elements from earlier biblical books, which were already Scripture for the author. The virgin search in Esther 2:2 is borrowed from I Kings chapter one; In Esther 8:2 Ahasuerus gives Mordecai the ring off his finger just as Pharaoh does in Genesis 41:42. (Other parallels to the Joseph story were already pointed out over a century ago by Rosenthal.) More significant, the Book of Esther permits the Jews to right ancient sins of omission and commission. In I Samuel 15, Mordecai's ancestor Saul and his troops had disobeyed the divine will by sparing King Agag of Amalek, and by taking Amalek's possessions for themselves in violation of the laws of *ḥerem*. In Esther, the Jews kill Haman and all his sons (9:7–10) along with all their other enemies, but as we are informed three times (9:10, 15, 16), take no plunder for themselves although they had received royal permission to do so (8:11). Feminist scholarship has also been attracted to Esther, as has redaction criticism (see Moore in DBI).

Canonization and the Greek Version

One direct result of the non-Jewish atmosphere which pervades the Scroll of Esther was the refusal of some of the rabbis to admit Esther into the Jewish canon. The Talmud (Meg. 7a) preserves debates on whether Esther was written with the proper divine inspiration (*Ru'aḥ ha-Kodesh*) and whether it "defiles the hands" like other scriptural works. The major objection to including Esther in the canon seems to have been the lack of clear references to God, His providence, or His intervention in the events of our story. The stridently militant and anti-gentile tone of the concluding chapters added to the rabbis' objections. They seem to have been afraid that Esther might arouse the jealousy and hatred of non-Jews. Ultimately, of course, the book was admitted (Meg. 7a and Rashi ad loc.). The Christian reception of Esther was historically cool. The book is never quoted or alluded to in the New Testament. Martin Luther declared his hostility to II Maccabbees and Esther, and famously wished they did not exist "for they judaize too greatly and have much pagan impropriety."

Esther was translated into Greek by Lysimachus son of Ptolemy of Jerusalem. His translation was brought to Egypt in the "fourth year of the reign of Ptolemy and Cleopatra," according to the colophon at the end of the Greek version. Of the three Ptolemies associated with a Cleopatra in the fourth year of their reign, the most probable one in this case is Ptolemy XII Auletos and his sister and wife Cleopatra V. Documents about Ptolemy XII and Cleopatra V are the only ones which illustrate in the same royal style as the colophon. The translation was thus brought to Egypt in the year 78/77 B.C.E.

Lysimachus follows his original fairly closely, although he obviously felt free to adapt and alter the text for the sake of clarity or his own notions of probability. For example, he makes the slaughter of the opponents of the Jews occur on the same day as the festival rather than on the day before, so that Purim will be celebrated on the anniversary of the victory, as were Hellenic and Jewish festivals.

The Greek translation also contains six passages not found at all in the Hebrew text. These passages should not all be understood as entirely new compositions of Lysimachus. The representations of Esther on the walls of the synagogue at *Dura-Europos also contain scenes not in the Hebrew text. This suggests that the author of the Hebrew Esther only utilized part of a larger circle of stories concerning his heroes. Lysimachus' "additions" and the paintings at Dura-Europos may be other elements of this cycle.

The character and purpose of these additions have been much debated. Three purposes, at least, can be discerned. These passages add a religious element, specifically prayer, to the book to help explain how and why the Jews were saved. The additions also adapt the book to the tastes of contemporary readers by introducing documents, namely the decrees of Haman and Mordecai. Finally, a particular interpretation of the conflict between Haman and the Jews is emphasized. Haman's decree, according to the Greek version, charges the Jews with exclusiveness and disloyalty which endanger the state. The Jews, in Mordecai's decree, answer that their God is the ruler of the world who takes and gives away kingdoms. Sovereigns ought to recognize this, as Ahasuerus ultimately does, understanding that those who oppose the Jews are the real traitors who seek to deprive the kingdom of the support of the "chosen people" and of their God. This exchange of charges of disloyalty fits well into the reign of Alexander Yannai, and it may be conjectured that this is when Lysimachus translated the work.

[Albert I. Baumgarten / S. David Sperling (2nd ed.)]

In Art

Since the talmudic period it has been customary to write the Book of Esther on parchment in the form of a scroll, and the rules governing its production and writing are basically the same as those for a traditional Torah scroll. It is not known when and under what circumstances artistic embellishment of Esther scrolls began. The earliest extant illuminated Esther scrolls emanate from 16th-century Italy, commissioned by well-to-do Italian Jews. Cylindrical or polygonal cases were often made to house such scrolls, often provided with a crank handle to roll the parchment through a vertical slot. Cases were made of copper, tin, and wood, but fine silver and some ivory cases have survived as well.

The decoration and illustration of Esther scrolls, mostly by unknown Jewish artists, reached its height during the 17th and 18th centuries, in Italy and other countries in Europe, particularly Holland. The great demand for an illustrated *megillah* led the makers to produce engraved scrolls, printed from copper plates, while the text was still copied by hand, as required by Jewish law. Some of the best-known engraved Dutch *megillot* were produced by the Jewish engraver Shalom *Italia (1619–1664?), born and raised in Italy.

The decorative programs of Esther scrolls usually depict the Esther story in great detail, one episode after the other. The episodes usually refer directly to the text column in the center, but often include midrashic elements. The narrative scenes are often set in exquisite landscapes or contemporary buildings. Other forms of decoration include architectural elements, allegorical representations, nude putti, the signs of the zodiac and the twelve tribes, heavenly Jerusalem, and scenes that reveal the daily life of the Jews of the time, particularly scenes related to the celebration of the festival.

Outside Italy and Holland figurative representations in *megillot* appear among the Ashkenazi communities in Ger-

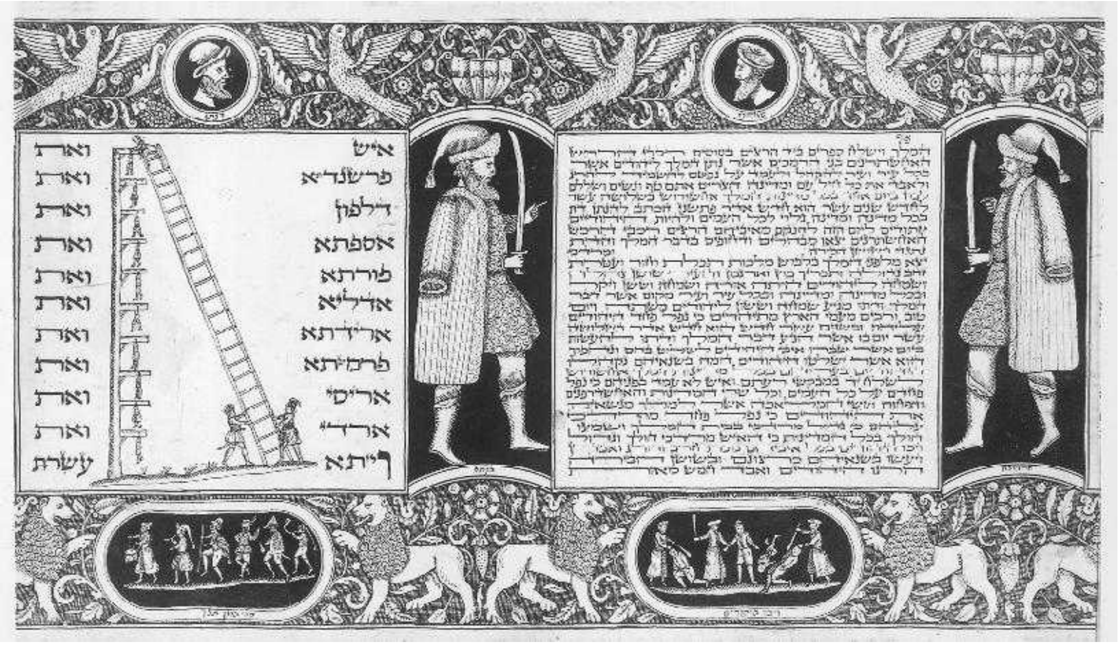
איש ואת
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דלפון ואת
אספתא ואת
פורתא ואת
אדליא ואת
ארידתא ואת
פרמשתא ואת
אריסי ואת
ארידי ואת
ויזתא עשרת

Figure 1. Illuminated Scroll of Esther from southern France, early 16th century. The illustration on the left shows the hanging of Haman's ten sons. Cecil Roth Collection.

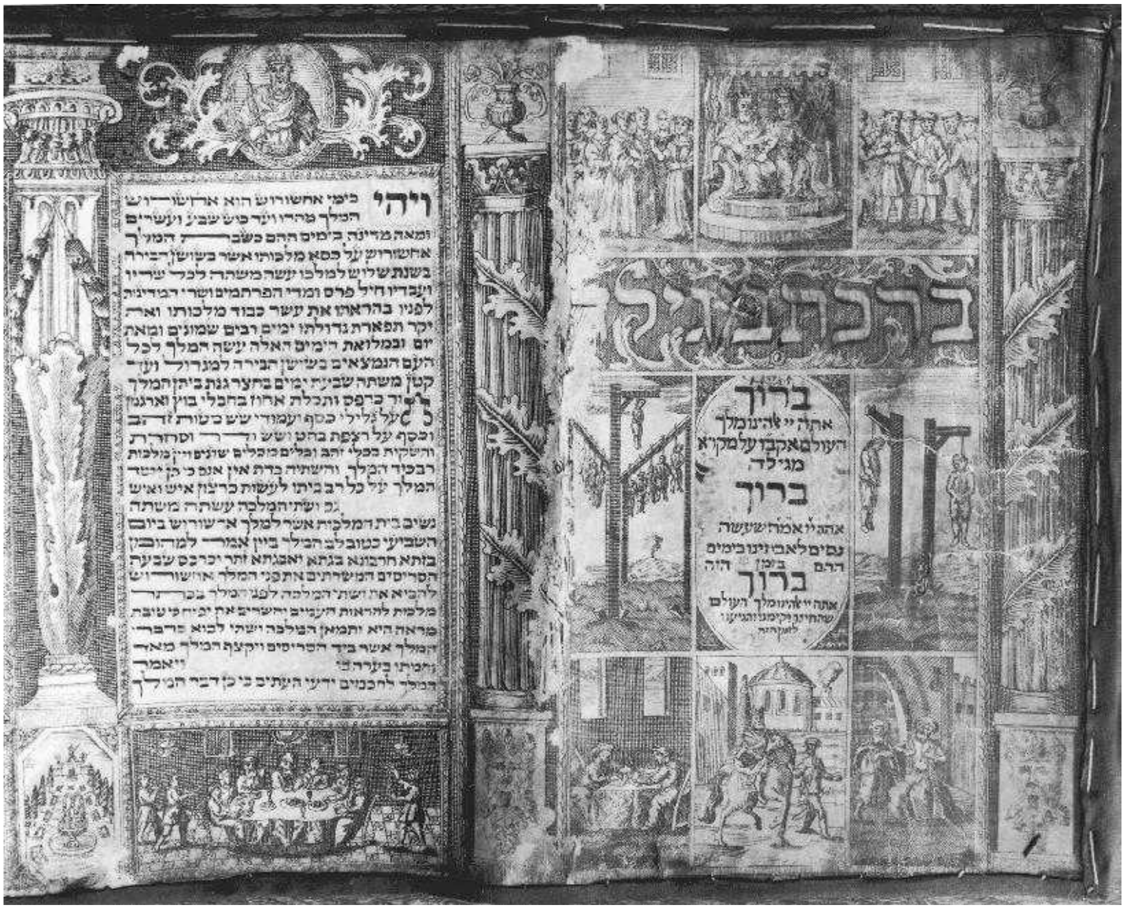

Figure 2. Opening section of an engraved megillah *from Italy or Holland, 17th/18th century. Height 8 in. (20 cm.). Cecil Roth Collection. Photo Werner Braun, Jerusalem.*

man-speaking lands: Germany, Austria, Bohemia, and Moravia. Many of the attractive *megillot* from these lands were produced by the scribe-artists of the so-called "Moravia School" of Hebrew illumination (for example, Aaron Wolf Herlingen of Gewitch or Meshullam Zimmel of Polna). Noteworthy are also the fine silver cases from these lands, at times engraved with the Triumph of Mordecai or other central episodes in the Esther story. Some figurative scrolls are also known from Poland and France (Alsace).

Examples of decorated *megillot* are extant from Turkey, Greece and the Balkans, and Morocco, where they were mainly decorated with floral, architectural, or other decorative designs. *Megillot* from former centers of the Ottoman Empire were often housed in ornamental silver cases – *megillot* from Istanbul in exquisite gold-plated silver cases made in a delicate filigree technique. In other lands of Islam and the East, decorated *megillot* were not as common. Notable are the colorful *megillot* of Baghdad, which feature in large capitals along the upper border a long list with the genealogy of Mordecai (tracing him back to Abraham) and contain Haman's genealogy, upside down, going back to "wicked Esau."

The art of the illustrated scroll, which declined in the 19th century, was revived in the 20th by artists of the *Bezalel School, Ze'ev Raban (1890–1970) in particular, who created *megillot* with images showing the influence of Persian miniatures mixed with Western-Orientalist symbolic elements. Side by side with the new hand-illuminated *megillot,* graphic artists in the Land of Israel joined efforts in issuing colorfully decorated printed Esther scrolls, which were far less expensive and thus popular, especially in the early days of the young state. With the improvement of the conditions of life and renewed interest in Jewish tradition in the late 20th century, young artists, including women, revived the art of the hand-illuminated *megillah.*

[Shalom Sabar (2nd ed.)]

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SCROLLS, THE FIVE (Heb. *ḥamesh megillot*), a designation for the five shortest books of the Hagiographa (Heb. *Ketuvim*): Song of *Songs, *Ruth, *Lamentations, *Ecclesiastes, and Esther. Although in modern printed Hebrew Bibles the Five Scrolls constitute a unit, this was not originally the case. Thus, in an ancient tradition, recorded in *Bava Batra* 14b, in which the order of the books of the Hagiographa are listed, the *megillot* are placed in chronological order among the other books of the *Hagiographa*. The order is given as follows: Ruth, Psalms, Job, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Song of Songs, Lamentations, Daniel, the Scroll of Esther, Ezra, and Chronicles (see *Bible, Canon). In manuscripts of the Hebrew Bible the *megillot* are grouped together. The Leningrad manuscript (1008), on which the *Biblia Hebraica* of Kittel, from the third edition onward, is based, groups the *megillot* together in chronological order. In other printed Hebrew Bibles the *megillot* are grouped according to the order of the festivals on which they are read by the Ashkenazim in the synagogue:

(1) The Song of Songs is read in the Ashkenazi ritual on the intermediate Sabbath of *Passover, or on the seventh day of that festival (eighth in the Diaspora), if the latter coincides with a Sabbath. It is read at the *Shaḥarit* service prior to the reading of the Torah. In the Sephardi ritual it is read before the *Minḥah* service on the afternoon of the seventh day of Passover (eighth day outside Israel). In certain communities, the Song of Songs is also read after concluding the Passover *Haggadah* on *seder* night. The association of the Song of Songs with Passover is thought to be due to the traditional rabbinic exegesis which interprets the Song as an allegory of the love between God and Israel; Passover is the springtime of this love (Song 2:11–13) and the "honeymoon" of God and Israel (Jer. 2:2). In many congregations the Song of Songs is also read on Friday evenings before the Kabbalat *Shabbat service, at which the "bride," the Sabbath, is welcomed.

(2) Ruth is read on *Shavuot, in most rites, at the *Shaḥarit* service prior to the reading of the Torah. In the Diaspora, it is read on the second day of Shavuot. In the Sephardi and Italian rituals, it is divided into two parts and recited on both mornings (or afternoons). The association with Shavuot is based on the seasonal reference to "the beginning of the barley harvest" (Ruth 1:22); on the traditional belief that King David – whose genealogy concludes the book (Ruth 4: 17–22) – was born and died on Shavuot (Tos. to Ḥag. 17a TJ, Beẓah 2:4, 61c); and on

the parallel drawn between Ruth's embracing the Jewish faith and Israel's accepting the Torah at Mount Sinai on Shavuot.

(3) Lamentations, a dirge over the destruction of Jerusalem and the Temple, is read on the Ninth of *Av as part of the synagogue service. It is recited in the evening and in the morning (see Tur, OḤ 559).

(4) Ecclesiastes is recited on the intermediary Sabbath of *Sukkot, or on the eighth day of the festival (Shemini Aẓeret), if the latter coincides with a Sabbath. It is read during the morning service before the reading of the Torah. In some Oriental rites, it is read in the *sukkah*. Ecclesiastes (11:2) has been interpreted by some commentators as an allusion to the duty to rejoice during the eight days of Sukkot (cf. Deut. 16:15). The warning (Eccles. 5:3–4) not to defer the fulfillment of vows (including donations to the poor and to the sanctuary) was also thought to be particularly appropriate at the last festival of the annual cycle. Others have suggested that the somber and pessimistic outlook of Ecclesiastes fits the atmosphere of autumn.

(5) Esther is read as the central rite in the *Purim festival in both the evening and morning services.

The custom of reading the Five Scrolls originated in various periods. The Scroll of Esther was read already in the Second Temple period; the reading of Lamentations is mentioned in *Ta'anit* 30a; and the post-talmudic tractate *Soferim* (14:18) records only the custom of reading Esther, the Song of Songs, and Ruth, although in an order different from the modern practice. The introductory blessing ("who has sanctified us by Thy commandments and commanded us to read…") is recited only before the reading of Esther. Likewise, only the Scroll of Esther must be written on parchment. In Jerusalem, however, the blessing is said prior to the reading of all the scrolls (with the exception of Lamentations), and all are read from a parchment scroll.

Musical Rendition

THE SONG OF SONGS, RUTH, AND ECCLESIASTES. Discussions about the sanctity of Song of Songs are already reflected in Mishnah Yadayim 3:5. In Sanhedrin 101, it is explicitly forbidden to "treat the Song of Songs *ke-min zemer*," i.e., as if it were a (secular) song. The choice and positioning of the masoretic accents in the text of the Song of Songs seem to imply that a definite convention in their musical execution, perhaps in the form of ornate psalmody, was present in the minds of the masoretes. It is difficult to use these data as evidence that the original folk-song tunes of the Song of Songs could still have survived in talmudic times, but it is at least clear that a folksong tradition was still attached to it. The presently observable traditions, however, show that most of the melodic formulas for the rendition of the Song of Songs, Ruth, and Ecclesiastes are late developments, and that they are often indebted to previously existing melodic conventions connected with other books of the Bible or parts of the liturgy. Differences between the melodies or formulas are found not only as regards the various communities but also within many communities for the communal or solo singing of the text, as demonstrated especially in Yemen. The adaptation of secular tunes for the Song of Songs is mentioned as late as 1870 (*Mikra Kodesh* by R. Mordecai Abbadi of Aleppo). In many communities there are common melodies for several of the scrolls, such as one melody for Ecclesiastes and Ruth. In the Polish-Lithuanian tradition there is one melody for the Song of Songs, Ruth, and Ecclesiastes, and this melody shows the clear influence of the masoretic cantillation of the Pentateuch. In some Near Eastern communities such as Aleppo, the *maqāma* tradition of the surrounding area is also reflected clearly (Idelsohn, *Melodien* 4, no. 338 for Ruth and no. 339 for Ecclesiastes).

Esther

The traditional view that Esther should be read "like a letter" has greatly influenced its musical rendition. There is also the traditional practice of changing the motives or the tempo where especially gladdening or sad events come to be narrated. A.Z. *Idelsohn's analysis of the Babylonian melody for Esther showed that it is very near to that used for Ruth, with the addition of motives from the Song of Songs – the borrowing of motives in Ashkenazi tradition is especially developed (*talsha* and *munnaḥ-legarmi* from Lamentations, and *talsha gedolah* and *darga* from the reading of the "21 books," and *kadma veazla*, with certain changes, from the prayer mode of the High Holy Days (see *Cantillations). Idelsohn's division of the Esther melodies by style into two basic areas – Yemen, Persia, Syria, London Sephardi, and Carpentras, as against Iraq, Eastern Sephardi, and Morocco – needs further study. In addition to the melodic relationships between Song of Songs, Ruth, and Ecclesiastes, the following are also to be noted: Song of Songs and Esther (Morocco) and Ruth and Esther (Iraq).

Lamentations

As Idelsohn showed, the scale of the singing of Lamentations is peculiar, and it was his opinion that it had no parallel in the traditional Jewish repertoire. This scale is also found among the Syrian (Maronite and Jacobite) Christians and among the Copts in Egypt: in ascending order it progresses G-sharp, A, B-natural, C, D, E-flat; all the internal cadential movements end on A, and the final endings are on G sharp. In many Jewish traditions there are slight changes in the melody from chapter to chapter, and the last chapter especially has a melody of its own.

The masoretic accents of the scrolls do not always find expression in their melodies. Some readings resemble more the simplest forms of psalmody and do not take the accents into account at all. In others a psalmodic fundament is at least clearly discernible (cf. Song of Songs in Morocco, Idelsohn *Melodien* II, no. 173, p. 56). In Idelsohn's opinion the lyrical atmosphere of some of the scrolls, such as Ruth and Song of Songs, does not permit an emphatic rendition of the text. This would be the reason why the more melodic accents – such as *shalshelet* and *merkha kefulah* – do not appear in the scrolls, and that some others, such as *zarka*, are used very sparsely. Against this, it must be said that the choice of the accents was not dictated by the contents of the text but by its structure.

The Order of the *Megillot* after the Pentateuch

1.	2.	3.	4.	5.
mss. Nos. 1, 2, 3	mss. Nos. 4, 5 ,6	mss. Nos. 7, 8	mss. No. 9	Early Editions
Song of Songs	Esther	Ruth	Ruth	Song of Songs
Ruth	Song of Songs	Song of Songs	Song of Songs	Ruth
Lamentations	Ruth	Ecclesiastes	Lamentations	Lamentations
Ecclesiastes	Lamentations	Lamentations	Ecclesiastes	Ecclesiastes
Esther	Ecclesiastes	Esther	Esther	Esther

The nine mss. collated for this table are the following in the British Museum:

(1) Add. 9400; (2) Add. 9403; (3) Add. 19776; (4) Harley 5706; (5) Add. 9404; (6) Orient. 2786; (7) Harley 5773; (8) Harley 15283; (9) Add. 15282.

The fifth column represents the order adopted in the first, second and third editions of the Hebrew Bible, as well as that of the second and third editions of Bomberg's *Quarto Bible* (Venice 1521, 1525), in all of which the five *Megillot* follow immediately after the Pentateuch

BIBLIOGRAPHY: J.L. Baruch and T. Lewinski, *Sefer ha-Mo'adim*, 2 (1952^{2}), 26; 3 (1953^{2}), 118–29; 4 (1952^{2}), 226–35; 6 (1955), 35–82; 7 (1957^{2}), 170–201; Idelsohn, Melodien, introd.; idem, Music, index; A. Herzog and A. Hajdu, in: *Yuval*, 1 (1968), 194–203.

[Avigdor Herzog]

SCULPTURE.

The Biblical and Talmudic Periods

Within the general context of the problem of representational art among the Jews in antiquity, sculpture, together with *medals and *seals, was in a special category. The Bible (Ex. 20:4) forbade the "graven image" in the most explicit fashion, more categorically and comprehensively than the mere likeness. Hence, while the representation of human or animal figures on a plane surface was condoned or permitted most of the time during the periods in question, greater difficulties were constantly raised with regard to three-dimensional representations on medals and seals, and four-dimensional sculptures in the round. Indeed, in some Orthodox circles, even making an impression with a seal bearing the human or animal form was considered religiously objectionable, since by doing so a man actually "made" a graven image, even though not for worship or veneration. From a very early period, however, this was qualified in practice. The *Cherubim of the Tabernacle and in the Temple of Solomon were representations in the round. A fourth century Jewish scholar states (TJ, Av. Zar, 3:1, 42c) that all manner of images (פרסופים, *parsufim*, mod. Heb. *parẓufim*; i.e., "visages," from the Greek πρόσωπον) were to be found in Jerusalem before its destruction in the year 70 C.E. Even if this information is not quite accurate, it is obvious that this scholar himself had no objection to graven images as such. R. *Gamaliel in the second century C.E. is said to have had a human head engraved on his seal. A statue of the ruling Parthian monarch stood as a patriotic symbol in the synagogue where *Abba Arikha and *Samuel worshiped in Nehardea (RH 24b). The talmudic statement (Av. Zar. 42b) that "all images are permissible except those of human beings" presumably refers to their retention when they were found rather than to their manufacture.

In the Middle Ages

The rabbis of northern France discussed and even permitted the representation of the human form in the round, provided that it was incomplete (Tos. to Av. Zar. 43a). Even *Maimonides (Yad, Avodat Kokhavim 3:10–11), while forbidding the human form in the round, apparently sanctioned three-dimensional animal figures. In the Renaissance period, carved lions flanked the steps leading up to the ark in the synagogue at Ascoli in Italy, although this eventually gave rise to objections. There are traces of Jewish sculptors in Spain in the Middle Ages, including the anonymous Jew who was said to have been responsible for the first recorded statue of Francis of Assisi (1214). There were also a number of metal workers whose work included the making of figures in gold and silver. Jaime Sanchez, the Aragonese court sculptor, was assisted in his work by a certain Samuel of Murcia, who is even designated as rabbi. Some scholars maintain that the eminent German sculptor Veit Stoss (Wit Stwosz, 1447–1542), creator of the altar of the church of St. Mary in the Polish city of Cracow, whose earlier life is wrapped in mystery, was in fact of Marrano birth, and even recorded the fact in Hebrew characters in one of his paintings.

The fashion of commissioning portrait medals was known among Italian Jews of the Renaissance period, such as Gracia *Nasi and members of the *Norsa and *Lattes families. The actual work was done by non-Jewish artists, but one Jew, Moses da *Castelazzo, was employed as a medalist at the court of Ferrara, though none of his productions can be identified. Biblical and other scenes in high relief appear on the tombstones in some of the cemeteries of the Sephardi communities of the Atlantic seaboard, especially Amsterdam. In the Jewish cemetery in Curaçao in the West Indies, the deathbed scene is sometimes shown on the tombstone with the likeness of the deceased in high relief. Nevertheless, there seems to have been some reluctance among the Jews to tolerate sculpture in the complete sense of the term. The earliest bust of a Jew is usually held to be that of Moses Mendelssohn by P.A. Tassaert (1727–88). The bust of Antonio Lopes *Suasso, Baron Avernas le Gras, attributed to Rombout Verhulst (1624–98), is, however, of an earlier date. But as late as the 20th century, there were Orthodox Jewish collectors in western Europe who refused to allow sculptured figures in their homes unless they were either defective or slightly mutilated. In the light of this attitude, Jewish medalists of some reputation came into evidence relatively early, while Jewish sculptors emerged only in the 19th century.

[Cecil Roth]

The 19th and 20th Centuries

Jews entered the field of sculpture about 1850, some years after the first Jewish painters appeared. Few of these 19th-century sculptors are remembered today, although some of their work survives on the facades or in the interior of public buildings, in the squares of large cities, in parks, or in the vaults of museums. Possibly the earliest to achieve a measure of fame was the Hungarian, Jacob *Guttmann, for whom Prince Metternich and Pope Pius IX sat, but whose name is not to be found in any history of modern art. Guttmann shares the fate of scores of non-Jewish sculptors of his time, who were famous in their day, obtained gold medals and held professorships, but fell into oblivion with the emergence of Auguste Rodin (1840–1917), who was to overturn the prevailing notions concerning the function and scope of sculpture.

These men were gifted enough to furnish Victorian society with statues of celebrated statesmen or generals, or with the knickknacks that adorned the tables and mantelpieces of upper-middle-class homes. Most of these pieces were conceived in a style that might be described as "sentimental naturalism." Often, tolerably good likenesses of individuals were created, yet they suffered largely from an excessive preoccupation with detail. Works on literary or religious themes were frequently burdened with an all too obvious and even trite "symbolism." Thus, of 19th-century Jewish sculptors, Samuel Friedrich *Beer is chiefly remembered for his association with Theodor Herzl and the Zionist movement rather than for his own work. Similarly, Boris *Schatz is revered today as the founder of the *Bezalel School of Art and the Bezalel Museum in Jerusalem, while his actual works are no longer held in high esteem.

After 1900, artists discarded the academic formula. Art is imitation of nature, and Jewish sculptors, like their non-Jewish confrères, stressed the emotional or expressionist element, abandoning mechanical accuracy or photographic likenesses. They were encouraged in this by the discovery and evaluation of aboriginal art from Africa and Oceania, which, nonnaturalistic in character, made a strong impact by its daring simplifications and exaggerations of forms. Among the authors of pioneering studies of African sculpture were Carl Einstein (1885–1940) and Paul Westheim (1886–1963). It is remarkable that almost all the Jewish sculptors whose careers began around 1910 came from east European communities, where the taboo against the making of three-dimensional objects was still strong. They included Enrico (Henoch) *Glicenstein; Elie *Nadelman; Chana *Orloff; Anton and Naum Nehemia *Pevsner (d. 1977) who were brothers; Ossip *Zadkine; and Moyse *Kogan. The best known of this group of sculptors is Jacques *Lipchitz, in whose work can be found figures and groups drawn from Jewish and biblical themes. Another well-known sculptor, Sir Jacob *Epstein, born in New York and living most of his life in England, was the son of Polish immigrants. The Italian painter Amadeo *Modigliani first worked as a sculptor and left more than 20 carvings as evidence of an unusual talent.

Although most of the modern sculpture belongs to the category of expressionism, Jews have also been pioneers in post-expressionist trends, among them Làszló Moholy-Nagy (1895–1946), and Naum Nehemia Pevsner. In the United States, two dentists who became sculptors, Herbert *Ferber and Seymour *Lipton, achieved wide acclaim, Ferber with lead and bronze pieces that, while abstract, were imbued with psychological or symbolic meaning, and Lipton with roughly textured metal works that, equally abstract, are vaguely reminiscent of plants or animals. The huge assemblages of scraps of wood of Louise Nevelson (1900–1988) create environments of their own. Of a later generation than these is George *Segal, whose white plaster figures are cast from living models and placed in pseudo-realistic settings such as shops or bedrooms. A naturalized Frenchman, Hungarian-born Nicolas Schoeffer (1912–1992), created complicated constructions making use of light, and even noise. In England, the pioneer of minimal sculpture was Anthony *Caro.

While the synagogue for a long time rejected any decoration in the round, in the 1950s and 1960s more and more Reform temples and, to a lesser degree, Conservative congregations, especially in the United States, commissioned the services of sculptors to fashion large *menorot* and other ritual objects, or to decorate walls with semi-abstract designs of such symbols as the Burning Bush or the Tablets of the Law.

[Alfred Werner]

Sculpture in Ereẓ Israel

In the same way as painting was continuous and intense in Palestine after 1906, sculpture also flourished as the result of the efforts of a few sculptors over a considerable period. Avraham Melnikoff (1892–1960) is known for his famous "Lion" at Tel Ḥai (1926), and Zeev *Ben Zvi, who taught sculpture at the Bezalel School from 1936, had a good knowledge of cubism and left some important works. It was the more academic school of sculpture, represented by Moshe Ziffer (1902–1989), Aharon Priver (1902–1979), and Batya Lishansky (1900–1990), which dominated the field prior to the establishment of the State of Israel. During this time there was hardly any open-air sculpture. In 1938, however, Yitzhak *Danziger executed his "Nimrod," which was in itself an attempt to create a synthesis between Middle Eastern sculpture and the modern concept of the human figure. Danziger's art underwent profound changes after World War II, and he became the leader of the younger generation of sculptors. His style rapidly became more abstract. Not only did he work in new materials, such as iron, but he attacked the double problem of open-air sculpture and its integration into its surroundings and its relation to town planning. Yeḥiel *Shemi, Dov *Feigin, Moshe Sternschus (1905–1992), Kosso Eloul (1920–1995), and David *Palombo followed Danziger in developing abstract styles of their own. They were in turn copied by younger sculptors, such as Ezra Orion (1934–), Menashe Kadishman (1932–), and Buky (Moshe) Schwartz (1932–). Two others who worked on monumental sculptures and integrated them into urban landscapes were Igael *Tumarkin and Shamai *Haber.

[Yona Fischer]

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SEA, SONG OF THE (Heb. שִׁירַת הַיָּם), the name given to the exuberant hymn of triumph and gratitude (Ex. 15:1–18) sung by "Moses and the Children of Israel" after the crossing of the Red Sea. It relates the miracle of the parting of the Red Sea and the drowning of the Egyptians when "the waters returned and covered the chariots and the horsemen, even all the host of Pharaoh" (*ibid.* 14:28).

The Song falls into two natural halves: verses 1–13a, describing the actual destruction of the Egyptian hosts; and 13b to the end, a vivid imaginary picture of the pangs and terror which seized the inhabitants of Canaan and of the neighboring countries (including, anachronistically, Philistia). It concludes with the confident assurance (mentioned already in 13b) that the Children of Israel will enter the Land of Israel and build the sanctuary and with the triumphant declaration of the eternal sovereignty of God.

This division is substantially that given by F.M. Cross and D.N. Freedman. Other modern scholars however detect a more complicated structure. Cassuto sees it divided into three strophes:

(a) verses 1b–6,
(b) verses 7–11,
(c) verses 12–16, with verses 17–18 as an epilogue; whereas Rozelaar proposes four:
(a) verses 2–5,
(b) verses 6–10,
(c) verses 11–13
(d) verses 14–17, with a prologue (verse 1b) and an epilogue (verse 18).

Critical View

Many scholars have seen in the Song of the Sea references to Ancient Near Eastern myths of the war between the ruling deity (Marduk, Baal) and the sea-god with its helpers (Leviathan, Rahab). In the Song of the Sea, however, if there are any such vestiges of the myth, they are mere clichés or figures of speech; the sea is a passive tool of God's will. Some scholars (e.g., A. Bentzen) even regard the Song as part of a hypothetical enthronement festival celebrating YHWH's victory over His primordial enemy, the sea, though there is no cogent evidence whatsoever of the existence of such a festival. Dates suggested for the Song's composition range from the 12th century B.C.E. to the end of the First Temple period. F.M. Cross and D.N. Freedman date it on orthographic and linguistic grounds from the 12th to the 10th centuries B.C.E. Yet the mention of God's sanctuary is probably a reference to Solomon's Temple, and the declaration of God's rule means His rule in Zion. The poem is probably to be dated, therefore, at the end of the united monarchy (S.E. Loewenstamm). The Song of Miriam quoted in verse 21, which is identical with the opening of the Song of the Sea, is either the original kernel of the Song or a refrain from it, indicating that the whole song was sung. The Song of the Sea is basically independent of the JE and P narratives, but it may have served as the primary source of the P narrative, which took literally the phrases about the waters being heaped up like a wall (verse 8) and elaborated upon them. The Song is probably the oldest extant source for the story of the sea crossing, just as the Song of Deborah (Judg. 5) antedates the prose account of the Israelite victory over the Canaanites (Judg. 4).

[Michael V. Fox]

Liturgical Usages

The Song of the Sea has special regulations both in the manner in which it is written in the Torah Scroll, and the manner in which it was chanted. It is written in 30 lines, its outward form resembling "half bricks set over whole bricks" (Meg. 16b), thus:

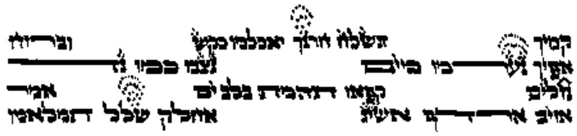

קמיך   תשלח חרנך יאכלמו כקש   וברוח
אפיך נערמו מים   נצבו כמו נד
נזלים   קפאו תהמת בלב ים   אמר
אויב ארדף אשיג   אחלק שלל תמלאמו

It was also chanted in a special fashion. In the Talmud (Sot. 30b) three different methods of rendering it are given, and each obviously reflects different local usages. R. Akiva declared that it was read in the same way as the *Hallel, i.e., the cantor declaimed it, and the congregation responded merely with "heads of chapters," i.e., they made the response "I will sing unto the Lord" after every verse. R. Eliezer the son of R. Yose the Galilean states that the congregation repeated the whole Song after him, while R. Nehemiah said that the cantor and congregation recited the verses alternately (so Elbogen; for a full discussion see his Gottesdienst).

The Song of the Sea occupies a prominent place in the liturgy. It is read in the Sabbath portion on which it occurs (*Be-Shallaḥ*) and that Sabbath is called *Shabbat Shirah*. It is the scriptural reading of the seventh day of Passover; the custom also developed among some ḥasidic sects of chanting it at a special ceremony at midnight of that evening. In Israel, large crowds assemble at the beach in Tel Aviv and Eilat on the seventh day of Passover, where it is ceremonially sung. It is included in the daily **Pesukei de-Zimra*, and in some congregations when the father of a child to be circumcised that day is in synagogue, it is read antiphonally by reader and congregation.

In Jewish Tradition

The fact that Miriam took out the women to sing the Song separately was taken as the authority for the segregation of the sexes in prayer in the synagogue (Mekh. Shirah 10, 44a, Midrash Lekaḥ Tov to Ex. 15:20).

In some communities the custom was observed to distribute food specially to birds, the traditional songsters, on *Shabbat Shirah*, but the custom was disapproved of by some authorities (Magen Avraham to OḤ, 324, 11, subsection 7).

[Louis Isaac Rabinowitz]

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SEAL, SEALS.

In the Ancient Period

The seal was employed from the beginning of the historical era as a method of identifying property, as protection against theft, to mark the clay stoppers of oil and wine jars or the strip with which packaged goods were bound, and for other uses. Gradually seals became invested with magic powers. With the spread of writing in the early days of the Mesopotamian dynasties, seals were used as signatures on clay-tablet inscriptions. In Egypt, seals were used to sign papyrus scrolls. In various regions, including Palestine in the early Canaanite period, earthenware vessels were imprinted with seals before they were fired. Seals were made of a variety of stones which were usually semiprecious. The carving and relief were done by means of a simple drill, an auger, or a stylus. Cylinder seals were usually pierced through their length and threaded on a fastening pin, cord, thread, wire, chain, or – from the second millennium B.C.E. – on a ring. Ancient seals are of great value in the study of ancient art, religion, and mythology, as well as the legal and social structures of ancient societies. Seals found in archaeological excavations are important for chronology, and Hebrew seals are useful in the study of Hebrew paleography and the Hebrew onomasticon.

Four main types of seals, classified according to their shape and function, were used.

(1) Cylinder seals, pierced lengthwise, and between 1 and 2 in. (3 and 5 cm.) in length. They originated in Mesopotamia and spread over the entire Ancient Near East. They were engraved with symbols of worship and mythological and hunting scenes. When they were inscribed with writing, it was in the cuneiform of Western Asia. The cylinder when rolled over the soft clay imparted a long row of impressions. Clay vessels have been found in Palestine bearing impressions of cylinder seals from the early Bronze Age (third millennium B.C.E.), and from the second millennium B.C.E. Some of these seals were imported, from Mesopotamia, but most of them were made in Ereẓ Israel and in adjoining countries, particularly Syria. Syrian-Hittite, Mitanni, and mixed styles can be distinguished among them. Most of them are made of hematite.

(2) Scarab seals, which were small Egyptian seals, oval-shaped, approximately 7⁄10 × 4⁄10 in. (18 × 12 mm.), and generally made of amethyst, carnelian, or faience. They were generally slightly convex and were carved to resemble the sacred scarabaeus beetle of Egypt, often including legs around the perimeter. The base was level and engraved with hieroglyphs representing the names of kings, officials, and individuals; and titles, blessings, and incantations. It was also engraved with the figures of gods, men, animals, and birds; and floral and geometric designs which were imprinted by means of pressure. Many such scarabs were exported to all the countries of the region, but others were made in Palestine and other lands under Egyptian influence. Some unusually large scarab seals imported from Egypt have been found in Ereẓ Israel. Such seals have been discovered in most archaeological excavations of the second millennium B.C.E. They are particularly numerous in the Hyksos period (18th–17th century B.C.E.). During that period and after, Egyptian writing and words were carelessly copied, and the names of Egyptian monarchs – especially of Tuthmosis III and Ramses II – were engraved long after their deaths. Many of these seals were obviously not used functionally but rather as charms or jewelry.

(3) Scaraboid seals. These became widespread during the middle Israelite era (ninth to fifth centuries B.C.E.). They resemble the former category but are not carved with the beetle shape on their backs or legs along the perimeter. They were used mostly for signatures or to mark possessions and were common in Syria, Phoenicia, and Palestine. The base of these seals was generally engraved with an inscription in the Phoenician-Hebrew script, in Hebrew, Phoenician, or Aramaic, and they are commonly known as Hebrew seals. The inscriptions were sometimes combined with decorative designs in the mixed Phoenician style, with mythological subjects, flora and fauna, and geometrical patterns. It would appear that the mythological figures lost some of their religious significance and gradually became common decorative motifs throughout the region. These motifs include the figures of human beings, animals, and winged legendary creatures, such as the griffin or the sphinx, the winged beetle, winged serpent (uraeus), the winged sun, and so on. The chief function of the seal was vested in the name engraved upon it, which was often left undecorated. The name of the owner of the seal was frequently given together with that of his father, sometimes with the word "son" and sometimes without it (e.g., Shebna Ahab, Remaliah son of Neriah, etc.). There were also women's seals (Abigail wife of Asaiah, Aliah handmaiden of Hananel, etc.). While most of the seals were personal, a few contained the name of a "servant" (official) and his monarch (Shema servant of Jeroboam, etc.) or the official's name and title (Jaazaniah servant of the king, Gealiah son of the king, Gedaliah the steward of the palace, etc.). The importance of the seal and its usage in biblical days is evident in various texts, letters, or documents that were sealed with a seal (I Kings 21:8; Isa. 29: 11; Job 38: 14). The king's ring was synonymous with the king's seal, and it symbolized royal power (Esth. 8:8). Ordinary citizens also carried seals (Gen. 38: 18). As a figure of speech the seal represented something precious and cherished (Jer. 22:24; Hag-

gai 2:23; Song 8:6). Scaraboid seals were also used during the Persian era (fifth and sixth centuries B.C.E.).

(4) Conical seals. During the late Babylonian and Persian eras (seventh to fourth centuries B.C.E.), conical seals with round, or octagonal, somewhat convex, bases, usually made of clear chalcedony, were commonly used. They originated in Mesopotamia, and their bases are generally inscribed with ritual motifs. In later periods they also had decorative motifs engraved on their outer surface.

Archaeological excavations in Palestine have yielded many vessels of the second part of the middle Israelite era (eighth to sixth centuries B.C.E.) imprinted with their owners' seals. Some bear the name of a royal official (Elikam, Eliakam steward of Yaukin (= Jehoiakin)). A lump of clay with the seal imprint "Gedaliah steward of the palace," which was used to seal the cord around a papyrus scroll, has also been found. There has been a great deal of interest in vessels bearing upon their handles a royal stamp consisting of the inscription "of the king," together with one of the following names: Hebron, Soco (*swkh*), Ziph, and Mamshith (*mmsht*). The first three are names of towns; there is some dispute concerning the fourth. In any event, these vessels appear to have been used in collecting royal taxes. Similarly, vessels of the Persian and early Hellenic eras were also imprinted with official seals bearing one of the words: Judah, Jerusalem, or Moza. Among the *Yahud* (Judah) imprints, there are some which include the name of a person followed by the Aramaic word *peḥārā* (the potter). Two important Jewish impressions have been found from the late Second Temple period. They are little clay plaques between 1 and 2 in. (3 and 5 cm.) in length. One bears the name of the city of Gezer and the other the name of a type of wine, "tamad," and the name of the vintner, "Hoshea," engraved between the arms of a swastika. Both seals are in the square Hebrew script and were probably used to seal wine jars.

[Nachman Avigad]

Post-Biblical Period

Apart from the biblical חותם, rabbinical literature used the Aramaic words גושפנקא and עזקתא, עזקא (*ibid.*) and the Greek ספרגיס (σφραγίς) as synonyms for seals or signet rings. Seals could be made not only from gems but also from sandalwood and metal (Kel. 13:6; for iron see Ber. 6a). They were engraved with emblems and figures, except the human one, though a halakhic distinction is made between a figure in relief and one engraved (Tos. to Av. Zar. 5:2, 468 and parallels); emblems on the seals of some well-known rabbis are mentioned (Git. 36a). The use of seals was restricted for Jews in the event that the emblem was idolatrous (*ibid.*, cf. TJ, 4:4, 44a for an incident with Bar Kappara), and there are a number of instances in which seals are reported to have been used for magical purposes (Ber. 6a; Shab. 66b; Git. 68a). They were normally used for signing documents, however, though generally the signature of witnesses alone was sufficient. Vessels containing foodstuffs were sealed to assure the ritual fitness of the contents (Av. Zar. 31a). In addition, all sorts of objects, valuable or less valuable, were stamped to mark ownership (Tos. to Av. Zar. 5:1, 468 and parallels). The Mishnah speaks of seals for packing bags as distinct from letter seals (Shab. 8:5). While men may go out with a signet ring on their hand on the Sabbath, women may not as this is not adornment for them (Shab. 6:1; 3). While, by implication, women did not normally wear signet rings, the Talmud mentions the גזברות ("woman treasurer") as an exception (*ibid.* 62a). Seals were also worn hanging from one's neck or garment (Tos. Shab. 5:8, 116; TB, 58a). The Albertinum Museum in Dresden formerly had two seals dating from the second to the third centuries C.E., one of which was an amethyst with a *menorah emblem and the other a cornelian with a seven-branched *menorah* between two pillars. A small bronze seal ring in Isaac Einhorn's collection in Tel Aviv bears a similar seven-branch *menorah* on it. A seal in the Israel Museum (formerly in the Heinrich Feuchtwanger Collection no. 615) bearing the inscription כנשתא דפרג is probably from Babylonia dating from the fifth or sixth century.

After the Arab conquest of Babylonia, the caliph Omar (634–44) prohibited the use of seals by Jews (and Christians), except for the exilarchs, on whose seal a fly was engraved (*Bustanai b. Haninai). This privilege was no doubt granted to the exilarchs and the *geonim*. The *gaon* *Hai b. Sherira (d. 1038) had a seal with a lion as an emblem, signifying Davidic descent. With the revival of the exilarchate in the 12th century, the right to have an official seal was restored as well. Large wooden seals for meat, bread, or cheese are known from the East, mainly from Egypt from the Fatimid period, as for example, Berlin Staats-Museum, cf. Synagoga, Recklingshausen no. A. 32.

In Europe the use of seals spread among the Jews in imitation of the coats of *arms and other heraldic devices prevalent among kings and the nobility, the higher clergy and monasteries, and cities and guilds; later the custom spread to the rising class of burghers. Jewish businessmen and financiers needed seals for the purpose of signing business documents; in the 13th century the seal on a document was regarded as more important than the signature. Not only did individual Jews have their own seals but Jewish communities had them as well (e.g., Augsburg, Cologne, Metz, Regensburg, Ulm). The use of seals met with the opposition of some rabbis, who regarded it as imitating non-Jewish practices. Others, however, such as *Baruch b. Isaac of Regensburg and *Moses of Coucy, defended the use of seals, some even using them themselves, such as the tosafist *Samson b. Samson, Israel *Isserlein, and Jacob *Moellin (Maharil, 14th century), whose seals bore the emblem of a lion. *Meir b. Baruch of Rothenburg permitted the wearing of a signet ring on the Sabbath. In 1906 the gold ring of a certain Abba b. Abba was found in Breslau. Made and ornamented in the Gothic style, it had a seal and the inscription, "This is not in imitation of Amorite (non-Jewish) practices."

In several countries the authorities intervened in the use of seals by Jews. As early as 1206, Philippe II of France decreed that promissory notes should have the special Jews' seal attached to them – which was to remain, however, in the custody of two city notables – while his son Louis VIII prohibited the use of seals by Jews entirely. In Navarre they had to seal their documents with the royal seal. In Portugal, Jews' seals were already in use in the 12th century, and in the 15th, the chief rabbi (*Arraby Moor), as well as the seven provincial *dayyanim*, had their own seals by virtue of royal decree. Later in the century the chief rabbi was entitled to use the royal seal. The earliest Jewish seal mentioned in Central Europe is that of an Austrian official in 1257, while that of a Jewish banker of Regensburg is noted in 1297. In the 14th century reference is made to a decree of Duke William of Austria concerning promissory notes to be sealed by the Jews' judge, to be entered in the *Judenbuch* of the city of Pressburg (Bratislava), and to be signed with seals by a Christian and a Jew. Among the taxes levied on the Jews, "seal taxes" occupied an important place.

From the 13th century onward in Spain and Germany many seals of Jews, mainly of communities, have been preserved. That of Augsburg had the double eagle with the Jews' hat; the Regensburg one had a crescent with a star, an emblem that can be found on contemporary non-Jewish seals as well. Two Jewish seals from Spain are preserved in the British Museum, London, probably dating from the 14th century; one was the seal of the Seville community, the other of Todros b. Samuel ha-Levi. Many promissory notes of Jews, which were deposited with the Exchequer of the Jews in England, had Jews' seals affixed to them, some engraved with figures. A Jewish *sigillificus* (seal maker) is mentioned in Dijon, France, about 1363. The absence of errors in the Hebrew inscriptions is an indication of Jewish craftsmen having been employed, while the cock on the seal of Peter b. Moses of Regensburg (1391) points to a Christian seal maker.

Jewish seals were distinguished from others by their inscription in Hebrew and the absence of the human figure. Apart from Hebrew, some seals had Latin or vernacular inscriptions as well; double seals, in particular, had Hebrew on one side and the other language on the reverse. Such a seal was used by Saul *Wahl, the 16th-century Polish financier. Emblems in use included animals, flowers, cups, hats ("Jews' hat"), the crescent, and stars. Occasionally the figures reflect the name, so-called *armes parlentes* (but also Davidic descent), e.g., a lion for Judah, a bear for Issachar, a bull's head for Joseph – as in the seal of *Josel of Rosheim – a stag as on the seal of Herz (= Hirsch) Wertheimer of Padua (16th century), the rose bush of the Rosalis family in Hamburg, and Spinoza's thorny branch. Men of priestly descent had outspread hands on their seals, levites a water jar. Solomon *Molcho's seal had two mountains (the hills on which he had his vision) and that of *Shabbetai Ẓevi, a serpent (נחש being numerically equivalent to משיח – Messiah). David Portaleone, the physician, had a lion crouching on a gate as his seal in accordance with the family tradition. The handle of his seal, in the Einhorn Collection, depicts the sacrifice of Isaac. Certain families of Frankfurt and Worms used their house signs on their seals as well. Other emblems reflected the occupation of the owner, e.g., the anchor for merchants. The seal used by three brothers had three Jews' hats with their points meeting. Some of these symbols were set in an escutcheon and appeared on the background of a three-cornered shield, a pentagram, or David's shield, as in the seal of Jacob b. Nathaniel-Daniel, treasurer of the archbishop of Trier (1341–47). This was really the privilege of those "born to the shield and helmet," but Jews used the shield only (*écu français*). The name was usually engraved on the periphery of the generally round but also square and parabolic seals.

From the Middle Ages there are also seals of *kashrut*, mainly for meat. A metal seal in the collection of Cecil Roth has the word *kosher* inscribed on it.

From the 16th century the seals of the Jews of Poland were generally crudely made. In Hungary the use of seals by the leaders of the Jewish community was common from the end of the 15th century. These seals showed engraved human figures, animals, and Hebrew monograms in the Renaissance style. In the 16th–17th centuries the use of seals by the Jews in Germany and Austria became more widespread, mainly for business purposes. They reveal a tendency to reproduce the signs of the zodiac, due to a belief in astrology, as well as allegorical designs in the baroque style.

The Prague community, by privilege of Ferdinand II in 1627, had the Shield of David surrounding a Swedish hat; the inscription was *Sigillum Antiquae Communitatis Pragensis Judaeorum*, with the letters מגזדרד (Magistrat) in the corners. In Prague the Jewish butchers' and barbers' guilds also had their own seals, traditionally of great antiquity but certainly not later than the 17th century. The communities of Vienna (1655), Fuerth, and Kremsier (1690) also had the Shield of David on their money. Halberstadt (1661) had a dove with an olive branch over the Holy Ark with the inscription "Gute Hoffnung," and Ofen had the Ark as well. In the mid-18th century the chief rabbi of Swabia at Pfersee had an official seal. Somewhat later (1817) both the Sephardi and Ashkenazi congregations of Amsterdam were granted seals, as was the Sephardi congregation of Hamburg. The Paris *Sanhedrin of 1807 had a seal with the imperial eagle and the two Tablets of the Law; the *consistory of Westphalia bore the arms of the state on its seal, as did the Philanthropin school of Frankfurt. Moses *Mendelssohn's seal had his initials both in Hebrew and German. Seals – generally those of the authors themselves – on printed Hebrew books were intended to prevent forgery and theft; the first known seal of this type dates from 1598. A comparative study of medieval seals throws light on Jewish-Christian relations and on the influence of one community on the other. Much research is still required in this field, particularly relating to Jewish seals in Italy, Spain, and France, as well as in Germany from 1350 onward.

One of the largest Palestine seal collections of the last century in the Israel Museum is mostly from the former Heinrich Feuchtwanger Collection. To a large extent these are seals of institutions and individuals – as well as *kasher* seals – of 19th- and 20th-century Ereẓ Israel. The inscriptions are in Hebrew, Arabic, Latin, and Cyrillic letters, sometimes with dates, both Jewish and secular. The engravings are of the panoramas of the holy cities of Jerusalem, Hebron, Safed, or particular holy places in them such as the Western Wall, the Ḥurvah Synagogue, and the Cave of Machpelah. Other figures used are animals, trees, outspread hands in priestly blessing, etc. While most of these seals belong to the old *yishuv*, there is a seal of *Yesud ha-Ma'alah, one of the early new settlements (founded 1883). The collection also contains a series of 18th- and 19th-century seals of German, Austro-Hungarian, East European, Italian, Turkish, and even Yemenite origin, mostly of communities and their rabbinates, and *kasher* seals. Among them is that of S.J.L. Wormser, the Baal Shem of Michelstadt, and another belonging to a woman.

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SEA OF THE TALMUD, a post-talmudic expression indicating the vastness of the Talmud, the innumerable subjects it deals with, and its all-embracing character. Although it is not found in the Talmud itself, the comparison between the vastness of knowledge and the sea is already found in the Bible: "The earth shall be full of the knowledge of the Lord, as the waters cover the sea" (Isa. 11:9); "Canst thou find out the deep things of God?… The measure thereof is longer than the earth and broader than the sea" (Job 11:9). The same image appears in the Apocrypha: "The first man knew her not perfectly, for her understanding is fuller than the sea, and her counsel is greater than the deep" (Ecclus. 24:28f.). In the Jerusalem Talmud there is a concept which, while not directly comparing the Talmud to the sea, does embody the simile; R. Simeon b. Lakish transmitted: "Just as there are little waves between the great waves of the sea, so are the slightest details, even to the specific teachings of its letters, found in the general laws of the Torah" (TJ, Sot. 8:3, 22d). One of the earliest passages where the expression occurs is in the preface to *Menorat ha-Ma'or* (c. 1300) by Isaac *Aboab: "The precious pearls that lie upon the bed of the sea of the Talmud, the aggadic passages so rich in beauty and sweetness."

[Harry Freedman]

SEASONGOOD, U.S. family prominent in Cincinnati, Ohio, during the second half of the 19th and the 20th centuries. LEWIS SEASONGOOD (1836–1914), who was born in Burgenstadt, Bavaria, immigrated to Cincinnati, Ohio, in 1851. He worked in the dry goods business and subsequently became a partner in the firm of Heidelbach, Seasongood & Co. Long prominent in city and state public life, Seasongood was a founder and treasurer (1872) of the Cincinnati Exposition, served as one of the four U.S. commissioners to the Vienna Exposition (1873), and was a Cincinnati sinking-fund commissioner (1875). He was appointed quartermaster general and commissary general of Ohio (1880). Seasongood was also active in Jewish communal affairs, and was a longtime executive board member of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations.

His brother ALFRED SEASONGOOD (1844–1909), who was also born in Burgenstadt, immigrated to the U.S. in 1860. He also worked in the dry goods firm of Heidelbach, Seasongood & Co. In 1868 he became a full partner in the firm of J. & L. Seasongood. Alfred, who became a staunch anti-slavery Republican soon after his arrival in Cincinnati, reputedly exercised great influence in that party, though he held neither elective nor appointive office.

Lewis' son MURRAY SEASONGOOD (1878–1983), who was born in Cincinnati, Ohio, was a lawyer and mayor of Cincinnati. Seasongood was admitted to the Ohio bar in 1903, and practiced law privately for several years. He was active in the political reform movement, which fought and finally destroyed the power of the Cox machine in Cincinnati and introduced the council-manager form of municipal government, elected by proportional representation, in 1924. Seasongood was elected mayor of Cincinnati by the nine-man council in 1926, serving two terms until 1930. He was a capable, well-respected mayor who expanded numerous services while reducing costs. During this period, he also headed the Cincinnati City Planning Commission. Seasongood's other public posts included chairman of the Ohio Commission for the Blind (1915–25); member of the U.S. Civil Service Commission's Loyalty Review Board (1947–53); and security counsel to the U.S. Atomic Energy Commission's Personnel Clearance Security Board (1954–59). From 1925 to 1959 he lectured in law at the University of Cincinnati. He established the Hamilton County Good Government League and served for many years as national president of the Legal Aid Society. President Herbert Hoover appointed him to a national commission to investigate housing conditions. In 1974 he was named one of the 100 Greatest Ohio Citizens. Seasongood, who lived to be 104, practiced law into his nineties at the law firm of Paxton & Seasongood.

Long active in Jewish affairs, Seasongood served as a member of the Hebrew Union College's board of governors (1913–42); board member of the Joint Distribution Committee; and executive committee member of the American Jewish Committee (1938–47).

His books include *Local Government in the United States, A Challenge and an Opportunity* (1933; 1934^2); *Cases on Municipal Corporations* (1934; third edition (1953) with C.J. Antieau); and *Selections from Speeches: 1900–1959 of Murray Seasongood* (1960).

SEATTLE, city and port in the state of Washington; located in the far N.W. of the United States; Jewish population estimated at 37,000 in the early 21st century. Euro-Americans settled Seattle in 1851. Attracted to Seattle's growing economic success, a temperate climate and abundance of natural resources such as lumber and coal, Jews began arriving in 1868. In 1897, when gold was discovered in Alaska's Klondike region and Seattle became an embarkation point for those going to the gold fields, many more followed to take advantage of the many business opportunities. By the early 1900s, Seattle, the state's largest and most dynamic city, had an active Jewish community made up of people from Central and Eastern Europe and the Mediterranean Basin (Turkey, Marmara, and the island of Rhodes).

B'nai B'rith, established in 1883 was the city's first Jewish organization. As the number of eastern European Jews increased, men formed new lodges, sorting out members by connection with synagogues. A women's auxiliary, Emma Lazarus, chartered in 1916, brought women into the organization. Other voluntary groups that provided money and a proper burial service for the poor quickly followed.

On a more social level, Jewish men in 1910 founded the Young Men's Hebrew Association (YMHA). During World War I, the YMHA provided soldiers on leave from Camp Lewis, an army camp near Tacoma, Washington, with a bed and a place to meet other Jews. Seattle's large Sephardi population formed the Young Men's Sephardic Association (YMSA). The restriction barring Jews from fraternities and sororities at the University of Washington inspired Jewish students to organize a local Menorah Society in 1913.

To help the growing Jewish community and increasingly large immigrant population, Jewish women established several organizations. The earliest, the Seattle Ladies' Hebrew Benevolent Society, began in 1892. Over the years it has evolved to become the Jewish Family Service (JFS), the largest Jewish social service organization in the state. The Seattle Section, National Council of Jewish Women, joined the ranks of Seattle Jewish organizations in 1900 and within a few years established a Settlement House for poor immigrants. The NCJW was followed, in 1913, by the Hebrew Ladies Free Loan, which made interest-free loans. The Caroline Kline Galland Home for Aged opened its doors in 1916 and is now a nationally recognized skilled nursing facility. There are also two retirement homes, Council House and the Summit at First Hill.

Swamped by the increasing arrival of Russian refugees, Washington Jewry in 1915 set up a branch of the Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society (HIAS) and established a shelter house for those who had no sponsors.

In the early 1920s, new groups such as Hadassah, the Jewish Consumptives Relief Society, Mizrachi, the Seattle Sephardic Brotherhood, and the Jewish Federation of Greater Seattle, joined the roster of philanthropic and social groups. The Federation is now the coordinating umbrella organization for local non-congregational Jewish groups. Most of the groups are still active and have been joined by a myriad of others, such as the American Jewish Committee, the Stroum Jewish Community Center of Greater Seattle, and the Holocaust Survivors Assistance Office.

To keep track of the social, organizational, and congregational events and to "enable the Jews of Seattle and the Northwest to become better acquainted with each other," Sol Krems, an active member of the Seattle Jewish community, published *The Jewish Voice* in 1915. After its demise, Herman Horowitz began *The Jewish Transcript* (JT News) in 1924. The newspaper focused on news, people, politics, religion, and education both locally as well as nationally and internationally.

In 1889 Seattle Jews planned their first congregation, Ohaveth Sholum, a quasi-Reform temple, and purchased land for a Jewish cemetery. It survived until 1896. Seattle's Orthodox Bikur Cholim Synagogue, the oldest surviving congregation in the state, began as a benefit and benevolent society in 1889, but within a decade became a religious congregation.

Reform-minded Jewish people organized Temple De Hirsch in 1899. In 1906, Herzl, an Orthodox synagogue attracted members interested in promoting Zionism. It would become Conservative in 1932. Seattle's Sephardi community, which by 1913 had the largest number outside of New York, launched their own religious institutions, Sephardic Bikur Holim, Ahavath Ahim, and Ezra Bessaroth congregations.

Because the Sephardi immigrants spoke Judeo-Spanish (Ladino) not Yiddish, were poor, and unskilled, and ate strange foods, the Ashkenazim at first questioned their Jewishness. Later, Ashkenazi Jews and the larger community grew to know and appreciate their customs and culture and realized that Seattle is fortunate in having such a large Sephardi community. This turn of events began in the 1940s with Rabbi Solomon Maimon, who grew up in Seattle and became the first Sephardi Jew in America to receive ordination. Today Sephardi Studies is a special area in the Jewish Studies Program at the University of Washington. The famed Benaroya Symphony Hall is named to honor the substantial gift of Jack and Rebecca Benaroya, a testament to the Sephardim's success. Although the 2001 demographic study of Jewish Seattle shows that their numbers have declined in proportion to the total number of Jews because new migrants are generally not Sephardi, this vibrant community's culture and resources remain important.

Except for Ohaveth Sholum and Ahavath Ahim, all the early religious institutions are still active. With growth in the Jewish population after World War II, new groups joined the list. In 2005, there were 18 active congregations in the greater Seattle area. Besides the traditional Conservative, Orthodox, and Reform, they embrace a meditation synagogue, a gay and lesbian congregation, a Jewish Renewal movement, and a Lubavitch center.

Before 1913, Seattle youth learned Hebrew in the area's congregational Hebrew schools. After 1913, the community began its support of a Hebrew School. Though Hebrew education floundered over the years, a *talmud torah* eventually opened and had its own school building. In 1945, Rabbi Solomon

Wohlgelernter of Bikur Cholim and Rabbi Solomon Maimon, of Sephardic Bikur Holim launched a Jewish day school (now the Seattle Hebrew Academy). Since that time, Jewish youth have the opportunity to study in several day schools, ranging from preschool to high school. In addition the area congregations have active mid-day and Sunday school programs.

Though Seattle never had an exclusively Jewish neighborhood, in 1910 some 85 percent of Seattle's Jews, both Ashkenazi and Sephardi, lived in Seattle's central area. In the early 21st century, 64% of Seattle's 37,000 Jews lived in the city and its nearby northern suburbs, 26% east of Lake Washington in the towns of Bellevue, Mercer Island, and Redmond, and the rest live in the outlying suburbs such as Kent and Renton. In the 2001 survey, 4 out of 10 Jewish respondents had moved to Seattle within the past 10 years. More than half the Seattle Jews are fourth generation. About one-in-five Jewish households belongs to a religious congregation and these are growing more ethnically diverse because of conversions, adoptions, and intermarriage.

Whether they moved to Seattle from the eastern United States or came from Europe, before World War II most Jewish families earned their living as merchants. With more and more Jews entering college, this changed as Jews entered the professions. Many men and women in Seattle joined the faculty of the University of Washington, opened a medical or legal office, became Boeing engineers, or developed software programs for Microsoft. When they worked in business, it was usually with a large firm and not a small neighborhood store. A few, such as Howard *Shultz, who launched Starbuck's, and Jeff Brotman, creator of Costco, established businesses with national reputations.

The increasing number of Jewish faculty at the University of Washington led to the establishment of a Jewish Studies Program in 1974. Now a part of the Henry M. Jackson School of International Studies, it is the premier institution in the academic study of Jewish history and culture. An annual lecture series established by Samuel and Althea Strom brings in persons with international reputations to the area. It has also led to fine publications. This and many other programs are open to the public and have contributed to an increased awareness of the richness of Jewish life in the United States and throughout the world.

The end of the 20th century and the beginning of the 21st have witnessed a flowering of Seattle's Jewish community. Jewish citizens are leaders in local secular charities and business enterprises. Examples are the Herb Bridge family, which includes a State Supreme Court justice, a physician, an attorney, business leader, and rabbi; and Althea and Samuel Strum, who have funded Jewish Studies programs at the University of Washington and contributed to every Jewish organization in the state.

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[Jacqueline Williams (2nd ed.)]

SEBAG, surname widely used in North Africa, particularly in *Morocco. HANANIAH SEBAG (d. after 1570) was a wealthy merchant in *Fez; the problem of his inheritance preoccupied the *dayyanim* of both the *megorashim* and the *toshavim*. Their legal conclusions became law in the rabbinical tribunals of Morocco. The family subsequently settled in *Meknès, *Marrakesh, and in *Mogador (c. 1770). R. ISAAC BEN ABRAHAM SEBAG (d. after 1725), scholar, poet, and *dayyan* in Meknès, wrote *Shir Yedidut* ("Song of Friendship"), well-known *piyyutim* in Morocco. R. SOLOMON BEN SHALOM SEBAG (d. 1780), *dayyan* in Marrakesh, was well known as a talmudist and legal authority. A number of his decisions were published in the responsa of various Moroccan rabbis. SOLOMON SEBAG (d. before 1790), a leader of the Meknès community, was wealthy and one of the benefactors of his community. The poet David b. Hassine dedicated some of his poems, published in *Tehillah le-David* ("Praise of David," Amsterdam, 1807), to him. SOLOMON BEN MASʿUD BEN ABRAHAM SEBAG (fl. early 19th cent.), born in Mogador, was sent to *London in 1799 to manage the family's business. His success enabled him to publish several works in English and Hebrew by Moroccan authors, among them the above-mentioned *Tehillah le-David* and *An Historical Account of the Ten Tribes* (London, 1836) by Moses *Edrehi. He was also the official secretary to his uncle Meir *Macnin, the Moroccan ambassador. In 1813, Sebag married Sarah, the elder sister of Sir Moses *Montefiore. His son JOSEPH added Montefiore to his own name, thus founding the Sebag-Montefiore family. JUDAH BEN MASʿUD (1832–1923), born in *Lisbon, lived in *Brazil for many years and amassed a considerable fortune there. In about 1890 he settled in Mogador, the place of his family's origin, and became one of its most prominent leaders. He was politically active on behalf of his coreligionists, who benefited from his generosity.

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[David Corcos]

SEBASTIAN, MIHAIL (originally **Josef Hechter**; 1907–1945), Romanian novelist, playwright, and critic. Sebastian, who was born in Brăila, practiced as a lawyer in Bucharest, but from the age of 20 devoted himself mainly to writing. He came to be widely recognized as the most versatile and significant Jewish figure in Romanian literature. Between 1927 and 1940 Sebastian contributed to, among others, *Cuvîntul, Urmia, Rampa, Viața Românească*, and *Revista Fundațiilor Regale*, on which he also worked as an editor; and from 1927 to 1929 he also wrote for the official Romanian Zionist paper, *Ştiri din lumea evreească.* Sebastian's humanity and courage as a critic won him great respect. At his death much of his work remained scattered in the archives of the journals in which it originally appeared.

Sebastian was greatly interested in Marcel *Proust, on whom he published an important study in *Correspondența lui Marcel Proust* (1939). He first achieved success with *Femei* ("Women", 1933), stories analyzing the psychology of seven different women. His sensitive descriptions of physical passion again appeared in his "novel of adolescence," *Orașul cu salcîmi* ("The Town with Acacia Trees," 1935), and *Accidentul* ("The Accident," 1940).

The most representative of Sebastian's novels was *De două mii de ani* ("For the Past 2,000 Years," 1934) which dealt with the problem of the Jew in an alien community. Written in the form of a diary, it portrays the spiritual torment of a Jewish intellectual unable to find a solution to his doubts in either Communism or Zionism. The novel contains a preface by Nae Ionescu who, under the influence of current antisemitism, suggested that the Jews were fated to suffer because they had not accepted Jesus, the Christian messiah. Attacked both by Romanian nationalists and by Zionists, Sebastian replied in a mordant and ironic book, *Cum am devenit huligan* ("How I Became a Hooligan," 1935), which accused Ionescu of moral and intellectual dishonesty, denouncing the preface as a monstrous act of injustice.

It was as a dramatist that Sebastian won fame even beyond Romania. Three of his best plays have for their theme the intellectual's flight from a reality to which he is unable to adjust himself. *Jocul de-a vacanța* ("Let's Play Holiday," 1936, staged 1938); *Steaua fără nume* ("The Nameless Star," 1943, and produced in 1944 under a fictitious name because of Nazi anti-Jewish laws); and *Ultima Oră* ("Last Hour," 1943–44, staged 1946) all show the hand of a master. Sebastian's plays have been translated and performed in many languages, including English, Hebrew, and Chinese. He was killed in a road accident after the liberation of Romania from the Nazis.

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[Dora Litani-Littman]

SEBBA, SHALOM (1897– 1975), Israel painter and designer. Born in Germany, he settled in Palestine in 1936. The strong influence of the theater world is seen in the simplicity of his designs and in his choice of materials. He designed for theaters in Germany, in Stockholm, and in Israel for the Habimah Theater.

SECONDHAND GOODS AND OLD CLOTHES, TRADE IN. In Western and Central Europe and Italy trade in secondhand goods and old clothes was an integral part of *moneylending against pledges, as the pawned and forfeited articles (jewelry, clothing, etc.) had to be sold. As many of the goods had to be refurbished or repaired, dyeing, tailoring, and mending became ancillary occupations. Later it became a separate trade which, until the spread of the industrial and technological revolutions, catered to the needs of large sectors of the population.

The trade in old clothes in Italy, known as *strazzaria* (from *straccio, strazzo*, "rag"), was conducted mainly through *peddling and eventually came to include trade in new garments and cloth as well. From the 16th to the 18th centuries it was the most important Jewish occupation after moneylending. The *strazzaiuoli* often dealt in imported wares, thereby angering the local textile and clothing manufacturers. A 1667 list of 112 Jewish households in Mantua (about one-half of the community) included eight traders in secondhand goods, five tailors, three renovators of clothes, two clothing shops, three scrap-iron traders, and 15 "general" merchants. Fifty years later there were 25 dealers in old clothes and secondhand goods, 19 textile and cloth merchants, and nine traders in scrap iron. *Strazzaria* was a major and characteristic occupation of Roman Jewry even before the issue of Pope *Paul IV's extremely restrictive and discriminatory bull of 1555, *Cum nimis absurdum*, which made it the sole trade permitted to them. In the mid-19th century the historian F. Gregorovius reported:

> If we now enter the streets of the ghetto itself we find Israel before its booths, buried in restless toil and distress. They sit in their doorways or outdoors on the street which affords scarcely more light than their damp and dismal rooms, and tend their ragged merchandise or industriously patch and sew… The daughters of Zion sit upon these rags and stitch anything that can be stitched. They have a reputation for great art in patching, darning, and piecing, and it is said that no rent in any sort of drapery or fabric can be so fearful that these Arachnes cannot make it invisible and untraceable… It was frequently with painful sympathy that I looked upon them, pale and exhausted and stooped, as they diligently plied their needles, men as well as women, girls, and children (*The Ghetto and the Jews of Rome* (1966), 66f.).

Their lot and vocation continued well into the 20th century, though many branched off into the antiques trade and the clothing industry. In 1940 the licenses of the street vendors of old and new clothes were revoked and in the subsequent persecutions they were particularly hard hit.

Elsewhere in Europe Jews frequently traded in old clothes, at first in association with moneylending and later, in conjunction with related crafts, peddling, and textile trading. In the Netherlands and England, as well as other countries with large numbers of Jewish immigrants, Jews were active in the trade in secondhand goods. In Amsterdam poor Ashkenazi Jews were officially designated as "repairers of old clothes." The mended clothes were exported in large quantities to various destinations. One of the richest merchants in Amsterdam was instructed by a Jew in Poland to pay a Polish Jew in Amsterdam a sum of 10,000 to 12,000 guilders for the sale of rags. These may have been utilized for paper production. In London the old clothes trade was situated in the "Rag Fair," in Rosemary Lane (Royal Mint Street), where there were about 500 to 600 Jewish old clothes dealers in 1850 (in 1800 there had been about 1,000). The "old clo" men, as they were called after their traditional call, brought their wares to two exchanges, Isaac's & Simmons and Levy, from where they were resold either to wholesale merchants or to retail dealers for a variety of purposes. The German and Dutch Jews who entered the secondhand-clothing and rag dealers' markets at Houndsditch in the East End in the 18th century, later dominated the trade and thereby fixed the area of future Jewish settlement in London. The rag trade became obsolete with the rise in the standard of living of the masses and the introduction of Isaac Singer's sewing machine and modern methods of mass production of ready-made clothing. In different countries and at various times when traditional Jewish occupations were attacked (as in Prussia in the 18th century) the trade in secondhand goods also came under pressure. In Paris in 1911 there were about 1,500 Jewish old clothes dealers (*brocanteurs*) and 400 ragpickers (*chiffonniers*); in 1941, 2,533 traders in secondhand goods were recorded. Their real number on both dates was probably larger; the majority were impecunious immigrants from Eastern Europe (M. Roblin, *Les Juifs de Paris* (1952), 108).

Both in England and the U.S. some Jews extended their activities from the secondhand goods trade to buying and selling waste products in general. A case study on Detroit by J.S. Fauman (in JSOS, 3 (1941), 41 ff.) revealed that while there had been no Jewish dealers in waste products (such as paper and scrap metal) there until 1870, from 1880 Jews were predominant, and the location of the lots and junkyards moved in relation to the areas of Jewish residence. "The waste industry, low in status, poorly organized, requiring little capital and unattractive to other groups, was easily accessible to Jews." Enterprises of this kind attracted and held Jews because of resemblances to their traditional commercial activities, because of strong familial ties, and because the independence of this type of trade enabled them to close their businesses on the Sabbath and festivals. The Detroit pattern prevailed in many other cities. An economic survey made by *Fortune* magazine ("Jews in America" (1936), 43) estimated that 90% of the scrap-iron and steel industry (worth half a billion dollars in 1929) was Jewish-owned. Through trade in waste materials and particularly in ferrous and nonferrous metals many Jews entered the metal industry, especially in Germany (see *Metals and Mining).

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[Henry Wasserman]

SECTS, MINOR. In addition to the main sects which existed during the period of the Second Temple and after, such as the *Pharisees, the *Sadducees, the *Essenes, the *Therapeutae and the *Dead Sea sects, the sources mention a number of others. As will be noted, some scholars identify some of these sects with those belonging to the above-mentioned categories.

Bana'im

The Bana'im were an Essene-like Jewish sect in Palestine in the second century. The name occurs only in *Mikva'ot* 9:6 where a passage referring to the question of dipping clothing for levitical purification records: "Garments belonging to the Bana'im may not have a mudstain even upon one side, because these people are very particular concerning the cleanliness of their clothing, and any such spot would prevent the purifying water from actually penetrating the garment as it is usually worn; but with a *bor* [an unlearned and uncultured man], it matters not if his clothing contain a red spot at the time of dipping, for such a one is not particular about cleanliness."

Considerable debate centers around the meaning of Bana'im and the activities of the sect in Palestine. Two separate theories have developed on the origin of the name. One group of scholars identifies it with *banah* ("to build") and explains them as "scholars who occupy themselves with the study of the world's construction." Frankel (see bibl.) understands the word *banai* to mean "building master" or "builder" and accordingly concludes that the Bana'im were an Essene order employed with the ax and shovel (cf. Jos., Wars, 2:178).

Other scholars, among them Sachs and Derenbourg, consider Bana'im to be derived from the Greek βάλάνέῖόν ("bath"), and suggests that it means "those who bathe." In this case, the meaning would make the sect similar to the *Tovelei Shaḥarit* or Hemerobaptists. A third suggests that they might be the followers of Bannus, who was apparently an Essene hermit, with an emphasis on the ritualistic pledge. It is more probable that the word means simply "bathers" and refers more to the clothing and its cleanliness at the bath than to a specific sect. If the word *bor* in the passages quoted from *Mikva'ot* is interpreted as "a well" rather than "an uncultured person" then the purity of the garment would be dependent on whether the mud was from a large or small pit, and again it is a question of the garment rather than the type of person.

Hypsistarians

The Hypsistarians were a semi-Jewish sect who worshiped God under the name θεός Υψιστος Παντοκράτωρ ("The most High and Almighty One"). Its members lived on the Bosphorus in the first century C.E. and were found from time to time in Asia Minor until the fourth century. They were Jewish to the extent that they observed the Sabbath and some of the dietary laws, but they deviated from Judaism in that they entertained a certain pagan awe for fire and light, the earth and sun, although no indication is given that they practiced any idolatrous worship or prayer rites. They are probably related to, and may be identical with, either the Mossalians ("Meẓallin"), or the Euchomenoi, or the Euphemitai who are distinguished as "God-worshipers who also worshiped the Almighty God at the blaze of many lights." The Hypistarians may also be related to the *Yirei Shamayim* ("venerators" or "worshipers of heaven"), mentioned in *Codex Theodosianus*, xvi, 5:43 and 8:19. The general view is that they were undoubtedly a remnant of Jewish proselytes who retained a few pagan notions but were regarded as hostile to Christian doctrine.

Hemerobaptists

The Hemerobaptists (Heb. *Tovelei Shaḥarit*; "Morning Bathers") were part of the baptist group for which the baptismal rite of initiation is the single most important feature. Significant of the Hemerobaptists is that this baptismal rite was repeated each day, rather than once and for all. The Hemerobaptists were probably a division of the Essenes who placed particular emphasis on bathing as a ritualistic cleansing before the hour of prayer each morning in order to be able to pronounce the Name of God with a clean body (Tosef., Yad., end). Samson of Sens translates a section of this Tosefta which refers to this cleansing: "The morning bathers said to the Pharisees: 'We charge you with doing wrong in pronouncing the Name without having taken a ritual bath.' Whereupon the Pharisees said: 'We charge you with wrongdoing in pronouncing the Name with a body impure within.'" The sect is also mentioned in the Talmud (Ber. 22a). Hemerobaptist baptism differed from proselyte or synagogal ablutions in that this baptism was both symbol and sacrament.

John the *Baptist was probably a Hemerobaptist, as is suggested in *Clementine Homilies* (2:23). His followers were eventually absorbed into the Christian Church, although a part may have gone to the sect of Mandeans in lower Mesopotamia. A remnant of this group was still active in the third century C.E. Several early Christian authors make mention of the Hemerobaptists. Hegesippus (See Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.*, iv, 22) refers to them as one of the Jewish sects or divisions opposed to Christians; Justin calls them "Baptizers." According to the Christian editor of the *Didascalia* ("Apostolic Constitutions," vi, 6), the Hemerobaptists do not make use of their beds, tables, and dishes until they have cleansed them. This is a misunderstanding of the true purpose of this sect, i.e., bodily cleansing. Another author, Epiphanius, asserts that the Hemerobaptists deny future salvation to persons who do not undergo daily baptism.

Maghāriya.

Maghāriya was a sect that appeared during the first century B.C.E. according to *Kirkisānī. The name is Arabic, meaning "men [people] of the caves" and refers to their practice of keeping their books and sacred writings in caves in the surrounding hills of Palestine. Doctrinal differences with the rest of the Jewish community pivoted around the Maghāriya's transcendental view that God is too sublime to mingle with matter. They therefore rejected the idea that the world was directly created by God, but rather held that an intermediary power, an angel, was responsible for that act and now represents God in the created world. The sect wrote its own peculiar commentaries on the Bible and attributed the Law, all communications, and all anthropomorphic references, not to God, but to this angel. Two writings of importance, the *Alexandrian* and a later work, *Sefer Yadu'a*, were kept; the rest were of little apparent significance.

Some scholars have identified the Maghāriya with the Essenes or the Therapeutae. Harkavy gives as his reasons for such identification:

(1) the name of the sect, which according to him, does not refer to its books but to its followers, who lived in caves or in the desert, this being known to have been the Essene mode of life;

(2) the coincidence in the date of its foundation with that of the Essenes;

(3) Maghāriya theory of the angel which is in keeping with the tenets of the Essenes;

(4) Kirkisānī's omission of the Essenes from his list of the Jewish sects, which would be unaccountable had he not considered the Maghāriya to be identical with the Essenes. Harkavy identifies the *Alexandrian* author with Philo, who underwent the training period for the Essenes, and suggests that the angel in Maghāriya doctrine might be identical with Philo's *Logos*. Harkavy's hypothesis has found wide acceptance. S. Baron states that they are clearly related to the Qumran community and thus distinguishes between the Qumran community and the Essenes. Baron also disagrees with Harkavy's identification of the "Alexandrian" with Philo since he considers it highly unlikely that Arabic or Hebrew translations of Philo's works were known in Kirkisānī's time. (For the modern period see *Subbotniki; *Somrei Sabat.)

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[Menahem Mansoor]

SECUNDA, SHOLOM (1894–1974), composer. Secunda was born in Aleksandia (Kherson region), Ukraine. His family moved to Nikolayev in 1897 and immigrated to New York in 1908. As a child, Secunda had already been a *meshorer* and assistant *ḥazzan*. In New York he began studying music and in 1913 was engaged at the Oden Yiddish Theater as "chorister, composer, and errand-boy." His first musical play, *Yosher* ("Honesty"), written with Solomon Shmulevich, was produced there in 1914. Subsequently he became musical director and composer at most of the Yiddish theaters in New York, Philadelphia, St. Louis, etc. During that time he also continued his musical studies at the Juilliard School, Columbia University, and, for one year, with Ernest *Bloch. From 1950 to 1961 Secunda was musical director of the Brooklyn Jewish Center and from 1967 music lecturer at New York University and Hunter College.

Secunda's compositions include dozens of Yiddish musical plays and operettas; an opera called *Sulamith* (based on *Goldfaden's libretto); songs to texts of *Yehoash, *Reissen, *Frug, and others; various orchestral, chamber, and choral works; and musical liturgical works (two Sabbath services, and High Holy Days and festival services). Among his songs, three became especially popular: "*Dos Yidishe Lid*," "*Dona, Dona*," and "*Bay Mir Bist Du Sheyn*."

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[Bathja Bayer]

SEDAKA, NEIL (1939–), pop composer and performer whose songs appeared on the music charts from the 1950s through the early 21st century; member of the Songwriter's Hall of Fame. Born in Brighton Beach, Brooklyn, Sedaka is the son of Mac, a Turkish Jewish immigrant and cab driver, and Eleanor (Appel), a concert pianist of East European descent. Sedaka's parents bought him a piano before he was 10, and he attended Juilliard School of Music. At his bar mitzvah, his parents were approached to discuss training him to be a cantor. At 16, Arthur *Rubinstein named him one of the finest classical pianists in New York City high schools. Despite the classical training, Sedaka formed a pop music vocal group while at Brooklyn's Lincoln High School and began his recording career shortly after. From 1959 to 1963, songs co-written by Sedaka and Howard Greenfield sold more than 25 million records. The two were among creators of the "Brill Building Sound" in the late 1950s and early 1960s that was dominated by young, primarily Jewish songwriters, including Neil *Diamond, Carole *King, and Paul *Simon. Sedaka's best-known Billboard Hot 100 hits are: "Oh, Carol" (a reference to King, a onetime girlfriend) (#9), "Calendar Girl" (#4) and "Happy Birthday Sweet Sixteen" (#6) in 1961, "Breaking Up Is Hard to Do" (#1) (1962), "Laughter in the Rain" (#1, 1975), and "Bad Blood" (#1, also 1975). Sedaka re-released "Breaking Up Is Hard To Do" as a ballad in 1974 and made music history when it reached #1 on the charts, becoming the first song recorded in different versions by the same artist to reach the Top Ten. "Breaking Up" was later listed by recording industry group BMI as one of the 50 most performed songs of the 20th century. He and Greenfield wrote "Love Will Keep Us Together," a No. 1 hit for The Captain and Tennille and the bestselling record of 1975. In 1980, Sedaka had a Top Ten hit with "Should've Never Let You Go," which he recorded with his daughter, Dara; it was one of the few father-daughter songs ever to make the charts. He continued to reach the charts sporadically in coming years, becoming one of the only performers to reach the pop music charts in six decades, and recorded jazz and pop classical albums, as well. He also recorded an album of Yiddish songs in 2003, and released a Christmas album in 2005. Sedaka was inducted into the Songwriter's Hall of Fame in 2004, had a street named after him in Brooklyn, and was given a star on the Hollywood Walk of Fame. In 2005 he received the Sammy Cahn Lifetime Achievement Award from the National Academy of Popular Music/Songwriters Hall of Fame. The prolific Sedaka had written more than 1,000 songs by 2005. In 2005, a petition was circulated to have Sedaka named to the Rock and Roll Hall of Fame.

[Alan D. Abbey (2nd ed.)]

SEDEH BOKER (Heb. שְׂדֵה בּוֹקֵר; "Cattle Rancher's Field"), kibbutz in the central Negev hills of Israel, 11 mi. (19 km.) S. of Yeroḥam, affiliated with Iḥud ha-Kevuẓot ve-ha-Kibbutzim. Sedeh Boker, founded as a pioneer outpost in 1952, was initially an isolated "farming cooperative" in the middle of the desert, unaffiliated with any nationwide settlement association. The settlers were mostly veteran Israelis of different political affiliations. They began with horse breeding, but later introduced sheep flocks and orchards. They reclaimed the loess soil for farming from the desert by special methods. Irrigation depends on the rare flood waters in the rainy season and sewage water. Farming is based on the orchards as well as vineyards, organic citrus groves, and poultry. Sedeh Boker also operates a cellotape factory. From the end of 1953, David *Ben-Gurion and his wife made their home at the kibbutz. In the mid-1990s the population of Sedeh Boker was approximately 365 and at the end of 2002 it was 471.

[Efraim Orni / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

In 1965 Midreshet Sedeh Boker was founded on the initiative of Ben-Gurion. It comprised a teachers' training seminary, a boarding high school whose students were mostly from Negev towns and settlements, and a school for field studies. The Midrashah, located 3 mi. (5 km.) south of the kibbutz, on the rim of the wild Zin Canyon, provides both general education and vocational training, with emphasis on the natural sciences. It defines itself as an interdisciplinary center for desert studies and hosts elementary schools, high schools, and field schools, offering advanced seminars. The Midrashah includes two academic research centers: the Institute for Desert Research and the Ben-Gurion Heritage Center.

[Yosef Shadur / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

WEBSITE: www.boker.org.il

SEDEH ELIYAHU (Heb. שְׂדֵה אֱלִיָּהוּ), kibbutz in central Israel, in the Beth-Shean Valley, affiliated with Ha-Kibbutz ha-Dati. Sedeh Eliyahu was founded in 1939 by religious pioneers from Germany. In 1970 Sedeh Eliyahu had 375 inhabitants, increasing to 656 in 2002. Farming was intensive and fully irrigated, based on field crops, dates, vineyards, vegetables, organic farming, fish breeding, and dairy cattle. The kibbutz manufactured spices and biological pest control products (Bio-Bee). The name of the kibbutz commemorates Rabbi Elijah *Gutmacher.

WEBSITE: www.seliyahu.org.il.

[Efraim Orni / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

SEDEH NAḤUM (Heb. שְׂדֵה נַחוּם), kibbutz in northern Israel, on the border of the Harod and Beth-Shean valleys, affiliated with Ha-Kibbutz ha-Me'uḥad. Together with *Nir David, Sedeh Naḥum was the first *stockade and tower outpost in the valley. It was founded in 1937 by pioneers from Poland and Austria. In 1970, Sedeh Naḥum had 290 inhabitants, increasing to 335 in 2002. Farming was highly intensive and fully irrigated, including plantations and poultry. The kibbutz ran a plastic factory as well. Its name commemorates the Zionist leader Nahum *Sokolow.

WEBSITE: www.sde-nahum.org.il.

[Efraim Orni]

SEDEH NEḤEMYAH (Heb. שְׂדֵה נְחֶמְיָה), kibbutz in northern Israel, in the Ḥuleh Valley, affiliated with Iḥud ha-Kevuzot ve-ha-Kibbutzim. Sedeh Neḥemyah was founded in 1940 by pioneers from Holland and Czechoslovakia in the vicinity of the then-existing Ḥuleh Swamps. In 1970 Sedeh Neḥemyah had 304 inhabitants, rising to 383 in 2002. Farming was intensive and fully irrigated, based on field crops (in partnership with Kibbutz *Amir and Kibbutz *Shamir), fruit orchards, and citrus groves. The kibbutz also manufactured plastic products. Its name commemorates the Dutch Zionist Nehemiah de *Lieme.

[Efraim Orni / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

SEDEH WARBURG (Heb. שְׂדֵה וַרְבּוּרְג), moshav in the southern Sharon, Israel, near Kefar Sava, affiliated with Ha-Iḥud ha-Ḥakla'i. Sedeh Warburg was founded in 1938 by middle-class immigrants and later joined by other newcomers, mainly from Poland. Farming was highly intensive and fully irrigated. In 1970 Sedeh Warburg had 380 inhabitants, increasing to about 500 in the mid-1990s and 956 in 2002. Its name commemorates the Zionist leader Otto *Warburg.

[Efraim Orni]

SEDEH YA'AKOV (Heb. שְׂדֵה יַעֲקֹב), moshav in northern Israel, southeast of Kiryat Tivon, affiliated with Ha-Po'el ha-Mizrachi Moshavim Association. Sedeh Ya'akov was founded in 1927 by immigrants from Poland, Lithuania, and Hungary. The moshav raised field and garden crops, citrus groves, fruit orchards, dairy cattle, and poultry. In 1970 the moshav, including the religious Youth Aliyah village, Neveh Ammi'el (named for Rabbi Moses A. *Amiel), numbered 500 inhabitants, rising to about 740 In the mid-1990s and 821 in 2002. The name of the moshav commemorates Rabbi I.J. *Reines.

[Efraim Orni]

SEDER (Heb. סֵדֶר; "order," "arrangement"). The word *seder* occurs only once in the Bible, in the plural (Job. 10:22), but it is extensively used in rabbinical literature. The best known of these uses are the following:

(1) The pericopes of the Bible according to the triennial cycle. These divisions are called *sedarim*, hence the Aramaic form *sidra*, popularly but wrongly used, particularly in Yiddish (*sedra*) for the weekly portion (instead of *parashah*).

(2) The six orders into which the Mishnah is divided. See *Shas.

(3) An order of prayers. Although the word usually employed is *siddur,* that of R. Amram is properly called the *seder* of R. Amram.

(4) An order of service and worship. This is the most extensive use of the word. Thus there is reference to the *seder* of the *benedictions (RH 4:5), of the sounding of the **shofar* (RH 4:9), and for fast days (Ta'an. 2:1), while the detailed description of the daily sacrifice concludes "thus was the *seder* of the daily offering in the service of the House of God" (Tam. 7:3). Similarly the service in the Temple is called the *seder *Avodah*. The most common use of the word in this sense is the *seder* of Passover, which, in the *piyyut* on the conclusion of the prose part of the **Haggadah* is called *siddur Pesaḥ* (for a full description see *Passover).

SEDER OLAM (Heb. סֵדֶר עוֹלָם; "The Order of the World"), name of two midrashic, chronological works called respectively *Seder Olam Rabbah* ("The Great *Seder Olam*") and *Seder Olam Zuta* ("The Small *Seder Olam*").

Seder Olam Rabbah

Seder Olam is mentioned in the Talmud (Shab. 88a; Yev. 82b; et al.) and is ascribed by the Palestinian *amora* R. Johanan (third century) to the second-century *tanna* Yose b. *Ḥalafta (Yev. 82b; Nid. 46b). The work is divided into three parts, each consisting of ten chapters. Part one enumerates the dates of major events from the creation of the world until the death of Moses and the crossing of the Jordan by the Israelites under Joshua; part two, from the crossing of the Jordan to the murder of Zechariah, king of Israel; part three, chapters 21–27, from the murder of Zechariah to the destruction of the Temple by Nebuchadnezzar; and chapter 28, from the destruction of the Temple to the conquest of Babylon by Cyrus. Chapter 29 and the first part of chapter 30 cover the Persian period, which is stated to be only 34 years. The larger part of chapter 30 contains a summary of events from the conquest of Persia by Alexander until the Bar Kokhba Revolt. This summary may be an epitome of a large section shortened by some later editor uninterested in post-biblical history. The book is written in a dry but clear Hebrew style. It is embellished with midrashic interpretations of biblical passages which are used as sources for the chronological calculations.

Yose b. Ḥalafta, the presumed author of *Seder Olam Rabbah*, probably had access to old traditions that also underlay the chronological computations of the Jewish Hellenistic chronographer *Demetrius (third century B.C.E.). The most significant confusion in Yose's calculation is the compression of the Persian period, from the rebuilding of the Temple by Zerubbabel in 516 B.C.E. to the conquest of Persia by Alexander, to no more than 34 years. Like other rabbinic scholars, he believed that Zerubbabel (sixth century B.C.E.), Malachi, Ezra, Nehemiah (all fifth century B.C.E.), and Simeon the Just (third century) were all contemporaries. The work in its present form has gone through many hands. Some quotations from it in the Talmud are missing in the extant text (see bibl. Ratner, Mavo, 118ff.). On the other hand, the book contains many later additions (*ibid.*, 134ff.).

Seder Olam Rabbah was the first to establish the era "from the creation of the world" (*ab creatione mundi*, abbreviated A.M. for *anno mundi*). Utilizing the biblical chronology and reconstructing post-biblical history as well as he could, the author arrived at the conclusion that the world was created 3828 years before the destruction of the Second Temple by the Romans. According to this calculation the destruction took place in the year 68, which is in contradiction to the accepted chronology that it took place in the year 70 C.E. An attempt to harmonize the contradiction was made by E. Frank (see bibl.). It was a long time until the reckoning according to the *anno mundi* era took root in Jewish chronology. For many centuries the calculation of the *Seder Olam Rabbah* was of interest only to talmudic students who tried to satisfy their curiosity for historical reconstruction. The usual calculation accepted by Jews in talmudic and even post-talmudic times was that of the Seleucid era, beginning with the year 312 B.C.E., and usually referred to in Jewish literature as *minyan shetarot* ("dating of documents"). Only when the center of Jewish life moved from Babylonia to Europe and the calculation according to the Seleucid era became meaningless was it replaced by that of the *anno mundi* era of the *Seder Olam*.

The first mention of the *anno mundi* date is in the chronological book *Baraita di-Shemu'el* (eighth–ninth centuries; see A. Epstein, *Mi-Kadmoniyyot ha-Yehudim* (1957), 18, 193), on tombstones in Venosa, southern Italy (ninth century; see U.(M.D.) Cassuto, in: *Kedem*, 2 (1945), 99–120), and in the commentary of Shabbetai *Donnolo (tenth century, Italy) on the *Sefer Yeẓirah* (ed. by David Castelli (1880), 3). From the 11th century onward it became dominant in most of the Jewish communities in the world. In the 16th century, Azariah de *Rossi was the first Jewish scholar to doubt the antiquity of the usage of this era (see *Me'or Einayim*, ch. 25). Until the 12th century the book was known only as *Seder Olam*, but the word *rabbah* was then added in order to differentiate it from the chronicle *Seder Olam Zuta*. The first to use the name *Seder Olam Rabbah* was Abraham b. Nathan ha-Yarḥi (see *Sefer ha-Manhig*, 52ab).

The book has gone through many editions and was commented upon by many scholars, among them Jacob *Emden, *Elijah b. Solomon Zalman Gaon of Vilna, and B. Ratner, who devoted to the book a separate large introduction (*mavo*) containing valuable critical references. A Latin translation by G. Genebara of *Seder Olam Rabbah* and *Seder Olam Zuta* appeared in 1577, and another one appeared in 1692. An attempt at a critical edition of the book was made by Alexander Marx, who published the first ten chapters of it with a German translation in 1903.

Seder Olam Zuta

This is an anonymous early medieval chronicle. Written mostly in Hebrew and partly in Aramaic, it consists of ten chapters. The first six chapters deal with the chronology of 50 generations from Adam to Jehoiachin, king of Judah, who was exiled by Nebuchadnezzar to Babylon and according to this chronicle was the first of the Babylonian exilarchs. Chapters 7–10 deal with 39 generations from Jehoiachin until the end of the Babylonian exilarchate under the Sassanid dynasty. The object of the chronicle is presumably to show that the exilarchs were of Davidic descent and that the lineage of these exilarchs had died out in Babylon when Mar Zutra (II) left Babylonia for Ereẓ Israel in 520. A detailed account of Mar Zutra's adventures is given at the end of the book to substantiate this contention. This part, which enumerates the exilarchs of the fourth and fifth centuries, is historically important as it is the only source of information for this period. The Karaites also traced back the descent of their exilarchs through this record.

There is a difference of opinion concerning the time of composition of this chronicle. Many hold that it was written about 804, which corresponds to the date given in the De Rossi manuscript (Parma) published by Schechter (MGWJ, 39 (1895), 23–28). However, this may be a later addition. According to others it was written in the time of the **savoraim* (sixth century), and others claim that it was written when there was considerable doubt about the authenticity of the genealogy of the Babylonian exilarchs (second half of the seventh century; see *Bustanai b. Ḥaninai). For the biblical period the author drew on the *Seder Olam Rabbah* and for the talmudic period, on the chronicles or chronological lists which were composed in the Babylonian academies (*Sifrei Zikhronot le-Veit David, Sifrei Beit David*; see *Iggeret Sherira Ga'on*, ed. Lewin, 96). Abraham Zacuto included the greater part of this chronicle in his *Sefer Yuḥasin* (see *Sefer Yuḥasin ha-Shalem*, ed. by H. Flipowski and A.Ḥ. Freimann, 91–93).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: SEDER OLAM RABBAH: B. Ratner, *Mavo le-Seder Olam Rabba* (1894); idem (ed.), *Seder Olam Rabba* (1897), reprint with introd. by S.K. Mirsky (1966); A. Marx (ed.), *Seder Olam* (1903); E. Frank, *Talmudic and Rabbinical Chronology* (1956), 11ff.; Baron, Social^{2}, 8 (1958), 204–10. SEDER OLAM ZUTA: F. Lazarus, in: *Bruell's Jahrbuecher*, 10 (1890), 157–70; M. Grossberg (ed.), *Seder Olam Zuta* (1910); Ḥ. Tykocinski, in: *Devir*, 1 (1923), 171ff.; A.D. Goode, in: JQR, 31 (1940/41), 149–69; M.J. Weinstock (ed.), *Seder Olam Zuta ha-Shalem* (1957); Dinur, Golah, 1 pt. 1 (1958^{2}), 264f.

[Judah M. Rosenthal]

SEDEROT (Heb. שְׂדֵרוֹת), development town in the southern Coastal Plain of Israel 11 mi. (18 km.) S. of Ashkelon. Sederot's beginnings were in 1951, when immigrants from Kurdistan and Persia were housed in temporary huts near kibbutz *Nir Am and found occasional employment as hired laborers, mainly in farming, in the vicinity. In 1954 the place became *a ma'barah* (transitory immigrant camp), called Ma'barat Gevim-Dorot; it absorbed newcomers from North Africa. In 1956 it was declared a development town and permanent housing schemes were started. In the ensuing years, Sederot continued to suffer from unemployment caused by the lack of local industry, from an exorbitant burden of welfare cases, and consequently, from a large turnover of population. The situation improved in the 1960s when industries were set up in the town and the simultaneous industrialization of the region's kibbutzim provided additional places of work for Sederot residents. Projects were devised to attract skilled labor and professionals from among new immigrants and veteran Israelis, thus also attempting to diversify the town's population – 7,500 in 1970 – the majority of whom originated from North Africa, mainly Morocco. Local industry included enterprises in food packing (citrus, poultry, etc.), as well as metal and textile plants, cotton mills, etc. In the mid-1990s the population was approximately 14,600, rising to 19,400 in 2002 on an area of around 2 sq. mi. (5 sq. km.). In 1996 Sederot received city status. Unemployment reached the 12% mark in the early 2000s. Located barely half a mile (800 m.) from Beit Hanun in the northern Gaza Strip, Sederot came under Kassam rocket attack in the al-Aqsa Intifada, with nearly 100 hitting the town between 2001 and 2004 and four residents killed and dozens injured. Dozens more hit the town after Israel's disengagement from the Gaza Strip in 2005. Sederot is known for its native rock groups (such as Tipex). Since 2001 its cinemateque has hosted the Southern Film Festival in conjunction with nearby Sapir College. It also operates *ḥaredi* and *hesder* yeshivot.

[Efraim Orni / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

SEDOT YAM (Heb. שְׂדוֹת יָם), kibbutz in central Israel on the site of ancient Caesarea, affiliated with Ha-Kibbutz ha-Me'uḥad. Sedot Yam was founded in 1940 by Israel-born youth of the Ha-No'ar ha-Oved movement and by Youth Aliyah graduates from Germany and Hungary (among them Hannah *Szenes). Initially, the kibbutz took on as its principal assignment pioneering in sea fishing, but abandoned this branch in the course of time and developed fruit orchards, irrigated field and fodder crops, etc. The kibbutz also produced quartz surfacing products (CaesarStone) and other surfacing materials (marble, granite, ceramics). It had a small museum containing ancient artifacts uncovered in the area. In 1970 Sedot Yam had 510 inhabitants, increasing to 634 in 2002.

WEBSITE: www.sdot-yam.org.il.

[Efraim Orni / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

SEDRAN (Sedransky), BARNEY (1891–1969), U.S. basketball player. Born in New York, Sedran was considered too small for high school basketball but became a varsity player at the City College of New York (1909–11). He turned professional in 1911, and in 15 seasons his teams won a number of championships.

Only five feet four inches tall and weighing 118 pounds, the smallest regular professional player, he excelled nevertheless in all phases of the game, and in 1913 set an all-time scoring record of 34 points on 17 field goals without the benefit of a backboard. From 1932 to 1946, Sedran coached such teams as the Brooklyn Jewels, Kate Smith Celtics, Wilmington Bombers, and New York Gothams. In 1962 he was elected to the Basketball Hall of Fame.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: B. Postal et al. (eds.), *Encyclopedia of Jews in Sports* (1965), 92–93.

[Jesse Harold Silver]

SEDUVA (or **Sheduva**; Pol. **Szadów**; Rus. **Shadov**), city in N. central Lithuania. The Jewish community in Seduva dates from the 15th century. Seduva was the birthplace of R. Moses of *Kiev. In 1766 there were 508 Jews who paid the poll tax, and in 1897 the Jewish population numbered 2,695 (61% of the total population). During World War I Jews were deported to the interior of Russia, only some of them returning after the war, and in 1923 only 916 (28% of the total population) remained. Subsequent migration abroad and to the large cities reduced the number of Jews even further; in 1939 there were only 200 Jewish families in Seduva. Shortly after the German invasion the community was completely destroyed. The Russian-Jewish historian Pesaḥ (Piotr) *Marek was born in Seduva.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Yahadut Lita*, 3 (1967), 362.

[Yehuda Slutsky]

SÉE, family originally from Lorraine; the name is said to derive from the Seille River. Toward the end of the 16th century, most of the members of the family had settled in *Alsace and Lorraine (in Metz, Bergheim, Rappoltsweiler (Ribeauvillé), and Colmar), but later most of them lived in Paris. During the 19th and 20th centuries, its members included the politician CAMILLE SÉE (1847–1920), the playwright EDMOND *SÉE (1875–1959), the physician GERMAIN SÉE (1818–1896), the soldier Léopold *Sée (1822–1904), and the historian HENRI SÉE (1864–1936), whose works on economic history, *La vie économique et les classes sociales en France au XVIIIe siècle* (1924) and *Histoire économique de la France* (2 vols., 1939–42), are of lasting importance. He also contributed articles on French Jewish history to the *Revue d'études juives*.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Kaufmann, in: REJ, 20 (1890), 309–11; Ginsburger, in: REJ, 50 (1905), 113; idem, in: *Souvenir et Science*, 2 (1931), nos. 2, 3; 3 (1932), no. 2; E. Sitzmann, *Dictionnaire de biographie des hommes célèbres de l' Alsace*, 2 (1910), 766.

SÉE, EDMOND (1875–1959), French playwright. Born in Bayonne, Sée forsook the law to write witty plays analyzing human emotions. Mainly comedies in the 18th-century French classical tradition, these include the highly successful *La brebis* (1896), *L'indiscret* (1903), *L'irrégulière* (1913), *La dépositaire* (1924), and *Charité* (1932). He also wrote two romantic novels, *Un cousin d'Alsace* (1918) and *Notre amour* (1920), and critical works such as *Le théâtre français contemporain* (1928).

SÉE, LÉOPOLD (1822–1904), French general. Born in Bergheim, Alsace, into a distinguished French family, Sée graduated from the military academy at St. Cyr and in 1850 was appointed to one of the famous Zouave regiments with the rank of captain. He was sent to Algeria to fight against insurgent tribes and in 1854 his regiment was transferred to Crimea on the outbreak of war against Russia. Sée fought in the bitter battles of Alma and Inkerman and at the siege of Sebastopol. Twice wounded, he was mentioned in dispatches and received the Legion of Honor. He led a Zouave battalion in the attack on Port Malakoff. By the end of the Crimean War, Sée was a very popular figure in France and was transferred to the Imperial Guard at Versailles. In 1859 he served in the Italian campaign. On the outbreak of the Franco-Prussian War in 1870, Sée commanded his regiment at the siege of Metz. He was wounded and taken prisoner, but was released because of the severity of his wounds. Sée became a lieutenant general in 1880 and commanded various army divisions until his retirement in 1887. Throughout his life, he was active in Jewish affairs and was a member of the French Jewish Consistory.

[Mordechai Kaplan]

SEEKERS AFTER SMOOTH THINGS, or "Givers of Smooth Interpretations" (Heb. דוֹרְשֵׁי חֲלָקוֹת, *doreshei ḥalakot*), a designation given in the *Qumran texts to certain people who followed a different (and presumably less exacting) application of the law than that favored by the Qumran community. At the beginning of the Zadokite Admonition (CD 1:18) those who paid heed to the "man of scoffing," the "spouter of lies," are said to have "given smooth interpretations" (a phrase probably derived from Isa. 30:10, where the rebellious people say to the prophets, "speak unto us smooth things, prophesy delusions" – i.e., tell us what we like to hear). From samples of these "smooth interpretations" given later in the same work (CD 4:19 ff.), with special reference to the marriage laws and the rules of purity, it seems most probable that the people referred to are the Pharisees.

In the *Thanksgiving Psalms the tension between the community and the "seekers after smooth things" finds repeated expression: the psalmist has become "a man of dispute for the interpreters of error… a spirit of jealousy to all who seek after smooth things," (1QH 2:14 ff.) and he praises God for having "redeemed the soul of the poor man (*evyon*) from the seekers after smooth things" (1QH 2:32). Those who were formerly his friends and companions have become "interpreters of falsehood and seers of deceit," who (he says) "have devised plans of Belial against me, to make me exchange Thy law, which Thou hast engraved on my heart, for 'smooth things' to be given to Thy people" (1QH 4:10 ff.). From this it appears that the Qumran community and the "seekers after smooth things" once belonged to the same group, but the parting of the ways came when the *Teacher of Righteousness received his special revelation and organized his *Yaḥad. The teacher may well be the psalmist whose voice is heard in these passages from the Thanksgiving Psalms. In the Nahum Commentary from Cave Four at Qumran, Demetrius, king of Greece, is said to have "attempted to enter Jerusalem by the counsel of the seekers after smooth things" but met with fearful retribution at the hands of the *Lion of Wrath, who "took vengeance on the seekers after smooth things in that he proceeded to hang them up alive." This is best interpreted as pertaining to the rebellion against Alexander *Yannai in 94–88 B.C.E., during which his insurgent subjects (among whom the Pharisees were prominent) tried to enlist the aid of Demetrius III (Eukairos) against him. When the rebellion was put down, he crucified 800 of their leaders. The commentator on Nahum plainly does not approve of the "seekers after smooth things" (otherwise he would not have used such a disapproving designation for them), but still less does he approve of the blasphemous atrocity perpetrated by the Lion of Wrath.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: A. Dupont-Sommer, *Essene Writings from Qumran* (1961), notes on passages cited above; C. Rabin, *Qumran Studies* (1957); Allegro, in: JBL, 75 (1956), 89 ff.; Roth, in: *Revue de Qumran*, 2 (1960), 261 ff.

[Frederick Fyvie Bruce]

SEELIGMANN, ISAC LEO (**Arieh**; 1907–1982), Bible scholar. Born in Amsterdam, he was the son of the bibliographer Sigmund *Seeligmann. Leo Seeligmann studied both at the Netherlands Israelite Seminary and at the Municipal University of Amsterdam (Latin and Greek). From 1936 onwards he taught at the Seminary. Despite deportation to Westerbork and Theresienstadt, he and his family survived World War II. In 1946 he became curator of the Bibliotheca Rosenthaliana, the Judaica and Hebraica Department of the Amsterdam University Library, and worked together with Leo Fuks, who would succeed him in 1950, to fill the gaps and to try to continue the pre-war history of the collection. He combined both his rabbinical training and his philological studies in his Ph.D. dissertation on *The Septuagint Version of Isaiah* (Leiden 1948, re-edited in *The Septuagint Version of Isaiah and Cognate Studies*, 2004). He aimed at understanding the Septuagint as a document of Jewish-Alexandrian theology. In 1950 he joined the Bible Department of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, where he taught as a lecturer and as a professor for 25 years. Shortly before his death he was presented with a three-volume *Festschrift* as a measure of the esteem many scholars held for him.

In addition to his book on the Septuagint, Seeligmann's scholarly contribution was in his lectures at international congresses and his articles in periodicals and *Festschriften*. A selection of these, in German and English, was published in *Gesammelte Studien zur Hebräischen Bibel* (2004), including translations from Hebrew.

In his first lecture for the International Organization of Old Testament Scholars (later: for the Study of the Old Testament) in Copenhagen 1953, he drew attention to the flexibility of biblical stories and literary motives in "Voraussetzungen der Midraschexegese" and later, on the same theme, in "Anfänge der Midraschexegese in der Chronik" (1980).

He became fascinated by the theme of the different stages of writing history in the Hebrew Bible. Among the fruits of his research into biblical historiography are "Hebräische Erzählung und biblische Geschichtsschreibung" (1962), "Von historischer Wirklichkeit zu historiosophischer Konzeption in der Hebräischen Bibel" (1971), and his last congress lecture in Goettingen, "Die Auffassung von der Prophetie in der deuteronomistischen und chronistischen Geschichtsschreibung" (1977).

He demonstrated his interest in philological research in articles such as "Untersuchungen zur Textgeschichte der Hebräischen Bibel" (1956) and "Indications of Editorial Alteration and Adaptation in the Massoretic Text and the Septuagint" (1961). Among his other works are *Phasen uit de geschiedenis van het Joodsch historisch bewustzijn* (1947); *Profetie en profeten in Israel* (1927); and *Tekst-, Litteratuur- en godsdienstgeschiedenis van het Oude Testament* (1935).

His colleague Rudolf Smend (Goettingen) wrote an extensive biographical sketch which highlights the trends of Seeligmann's research.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Isac Leo Seeligmann, The *Septuagint Version of Isaiah and Cognate Studies*, ed. by R. Hanhart and H. Spieckermann (2004); idem, *Gesammelte Studien zur Hebräischen Bibel*. Mit einem Beitrag von R. Smend, ed. by E. Blum (2004), including bibliog.; *Studia Rosenthaliana*, 38 (2005/6) includes an English translation of a long passage of Smend's biographical sketch.

[F.J. Hoogewoud (2nd ed.)]

SEELIGMANN, SIGMUND (1873–1940), bibliographer and historian. Born in Karlsruhe, Germany, Seeligmann came to Amsterdam in 1884, later studying at its rabbinical seminary. Maintaining worldwide contacts with Jewish scholars, he put his rich knowledge and important library at their disposal. Of his many articles and monographs on Jewish bibliography and the history of the Jews in the Netherlands, especially important are "Het geestelijk leven in de Hoogduitsche Joodsche Gemeente te's Gravenhage" ("The Spiritual Life of the Dutch Jewish Community in The Hague," in: D.S. van Zuiden, *De Hoogduitsche Joden in 's Gravenhage* (1913)); and *Bibliographie en Historie; bijdrage tot de geschiedenis der eerste Sephardim in Amsterdam* ("Bibliography and History; Contribution to the History of the First Sephardim in Amsterdam," 1927). Many of his writings are collected in his *Varia* (1935), nos. 1–36, in one volume. His original theories on the settlement of Conversos in The Dutch Republic and his emphasis on the special character of Dutch Jewry (Seeligmann coined the by now legendary phrase *species hollandia judaica*) greatly stimulated the study of this chapter of Jewish history. In 1919 he founded the Genootschap voor Joodsche Wetenschap in Nederland ("Society for the Science of Judaism in the Netherlands"). He was active in many Jewish institutions, including a term as president of the Dutch Zionist Organization.

[Frederik Jacob Hirsch / Irene E. Zwiep (2nd ed.)]

His son, Isac Leo *Seeligmann (Arieh; 1907–1982), biblical scholar, was born in Amsterdam, and served as lecturer in the Netherlands Israelite Seminary from 1936 to 1939. In 1946, after returning from a Nazi concentration camp, he was librarian at the University of Amsterdam. In 1950 he joined the department of Bible at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, becoming professor in 1966.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: L. Hirschel, in: *Ha'Ischa*, 12 (1940); M.H. van Campen, *In Memoriam Sigmund Seeligmann* (1941).

SEESEN, town in Lower Saxony, Germany. Throughout its history the Jewish community of Seesen was small, its numbers never exceeding 200. In 1801 the financier and Court Jew Israel *Jacobson founded and richly endowed the Jacobson Schule in Seesen as a means of implementing his humanistic and reform ideals. Modern subjects and vocational instruction were emphasized. The school began to accept Christian pupils in 1805, and later in the 19th century lost its Jewish character. In 1810 the Seesen synagogue (the controversial Jacobsontempel), featuring for the first time in Germany an organ, choir, and sermons in German, was consecrated as an offshoot of the school. There were 54 Jews in Seesen in 1819; 178 in 1871; and 209 in 1895. In 1852 a nonsectarian orphanage was founded by Jacobson's son Mayer. It was closed in 1923 and reopened in 1929 as a Jewish youth sanatorium. Only 30 Jews lived in Seesen in 1933, when Jewish teachers and pupils were expelled from the school and its foundation funds confiscated. After World War II, a short-lived community of 60 was established, but by 1952 only nine remained. A liberal Jewish community was founded in 1997. It numbered 43 in 2005. All the members are immigrants from the former Soviet Union. They use a room in the original Jacobson school. The community is a member of the Union of Progressive Jews in Germany.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: M. Eliav, *Ha-Ḥinnukh ha-Yehudi be-Germanyah* (1960), index; M. Kreutzberger (ed.), *Bibliothek und Archiv*, 1 (1970), 255; FJW, 416; G. Ballin, in: *Genealogie* (1969). **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** G. Ballin, *Geschichte der Juden in Seesen* (1979); Z. Asaria, *Die Juden in Niedersachsen* (1979), 444–56; *Germania Judaica*, vol. 3 (1987), 1362; M. Berg, *Juedische Schulen in Niedersachsen* (*Beitraege zur historischen Bildungsforschung*, vol. 28) (2003).

[Larissa Daemmig (2nd ed.)]

°SEETZEN, ULRICH JASPER (1767–1811), German explorer. He studied medicine in Goettingen. During his extensive travels in the Near East, he visited Palestine (1802), Mecca and Medina (1810), and Yemen (1811), where he was poisoned. His diaries were edited posthumously by Kruse and Fleischer (1854–59). Seetzen was the first of the scientific explorers of the 19th century. His knowledge of Arabic and his courage enabled him to visit unexplored regions, such as the Dead Sea. He was the first European to note the ruins of Masada (Sabba), although he did not identify the site.

ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY: J.P.J. Olivier, in: M. Weippert and S. Timm (eds.), *Meilenstein* (1995) 164–71; H. Weippert, in: *ibid.*, 324–32; J. Schienerl, *Der Weg in den Orient. Der Forscher Ulrich Jasper Seetzen…* (2000).

[Michael Avi-Yonah]

SEFER HA-ḤAYYIM, an anonymous Ashkenazi-ḥasidic treatise, unique in its combination of mystical esoteric theology with ethical teaching. Whereas all other works of *Ḥasidei Ashkenaz deal with either one area or the other, the author of *Sefer ha-Ḥayyim* attempts first to establish a theological basis – beginning with the essence of God, His holy Names, and His different powers, and concludes with the ethical problems of good and evil tendencies among men, suggesting ways to overcome them. Because some theories in this work closely resemble basic kabbalistic ideas, *Sefer ha-Ḥayyim* is important for the history of Jewish mysticism. R. Moses *Taku attributes the book to R. Abraham *ibn Ezra. There seems to be no basis for this, however, even though the author used Ibn Ezra's exegetical and theological works. In the introduction of *Sefer ha-Ḥayyim* the author numbers 15 chapters, briefly describing their contents; the text, however, does not follow that structure, and entire subjects mentioned in the introduction are either missing or appear in a different order.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Y. Dan, *Torat ha-Sod shel Ḥasidut Ashkenaz* (1968), 143–56, 230–5; G. Scholem, *Ursprung und Anfaenge der Kabbala* (1962), 160f.

[Joseph Dan]

SEFER HA-MA'ASIM LI-VENEI EREẒ YISRAEL, halakhic work written in Ereẓ Israel. In 1930 B.M. *Lewin published two fragments from the *Genizah* collection in Oxford of the *Sefer ha-Ma'asim* with an introduction (*Tarbiz*, 1.1 (1930), 79–101). Since then various additional fragments have been published by J.N. *Epstein and J. *Mann. All these fragments together amount to only 15 pages, but in 1972, Z.M. Rabinowitz published the largest extract yet found, consisting of ten pages. This additional extract makes possible a fuller evaluation of the importance of this work. These fragments confirm the conclusion of Epstein that the work belongs to the end of the Byzantine and the beginning of Arab rule in Ereẓ Israel (end of the 7th century) and the *terminus ad quem* is provided by the fact that the far-reaching geonic enactment, permitting the **ketubbah* of a woman to be levied from movable goods of the orphaned children, enacted in 787 C.E., was unknown.

The word *Ma'asim* refers to the fact that the work consists of practical halakhic discussions, excluding laws which had no practical application. As such it affords interesting glimpses into aspects of the life of the Jews in Ereẓ Israel at the time. Thus it reveals that Jews engaged extensively in agriculture and cattle raising and that they rented land for this purpose from the Arabs.

The importance of the work lies in the fact that unlike other halakhic codes and commentaries which are based mainly upon the Babylonian Talmud, *Sefer ha-Ma'asim* is the first and earliest example of the codification of the *halakhah* according to the Jerusalem Talmud and the *halakhah* observed in Ereẓ Israel until the time of *Yehudai Gaon and his disciples (8th century).

The *Sefer ha-Ma'asim* contains some laws and customs for which there is no other source. Further extracts from the *Sefer ha-Ma'asim*, from the literary legacy of the late Prof. Mordecai Margaliot, have been published.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Z.M. Rabinowitz, in: *Tarbiz* 41:3 (1972).

[Louis Isaac Rabinowitz]

SEFER HA-NEYAR, an anonymous book of halakhic decisions by one of the last French tosafists of the late 13th or early 14th century. Extremely strange and farfetched theories were put forward by Jewish bibliographers and chroniclers about this book, which was known to them only by hearsay. Only after its publication did it become possible to gain an idea of its true nature. The work contains about 40 chapters, embracing all the *halakhot* governing the day-to-day observance of the Jew. The book chiefly relies on the teachings of the great French and German scholars, the tosafists, down to *Isaac of Corbeil and *Perez b. Elijah of Corbeil who are, however, rarely mentioned by name. The author also made use of the works of the great Spanish *posekim*, such as Maimonides and Isaac Alfasi, and the **Halakhot Gedolot*. In its general character, sources, and aims, there is a strong resemblance between *Sefer ha-Neyar* and the **Kol Bo*, another anonymous work. The *Neyar*, however, appears to have been compiled before the *Kol Bo*, since it contains very few references to *Meir b. Baruch of Rothenburg and Pereẓ of Corbeil. The *Sefer ha-Neyar* describes the customs of France and Germany, and contains valuable halakhic, literary, and historical material, for which it is often the sole source. One of its main sources was the work of a certain Baruch Ḥayyim b. Menahem, a scholar not otherwise known. From the quotations themselves it is clear that Baruch was a pupil of *Samson of Sens and of his own father, who was also a pupil of Samson and of the brothers *Moses and *Samuel of Evreux. Anonymous *haggahot* ("glosses") have been added to the text of the book; although they resemble it in content and in use of sources, they seem to be by another scholar who lived a generation later than the author of the work, and may have been his pupil. There are also a number of anonymous *haggahot* of a different type, entitled *Nofekh*; the exact relationship between them and the book itself is not clear. Some consider that the name of the work (apparently not its original name) was derived from the French town Niort (and there are additional indications that the book originated there). Others connect it with the introduction into France of writing paper (*neyar*, "paper") at the end of the 13th century, it being one of the first books written on paper. The book enjoyed a wide circulation and manuscripts of it are extant. Later its popularity declined. The only halakhist to quote the work, in his responsa, was Joseph *Colon. The first part of *Sefer ha-Neyar* (25 chapters) was published in New York in 1960 by G. Appel.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: G. Appel (ed.), *Sefer ha-Neyar* (1960), introd.; idem, in: *Sura*, 2 (1955–56), 356–87 (Heb.); H. Gross, in: REJ, 7 (1883), 74–7.

[Israel Moses Ta-Shma]

SEFER HA-YASHAR (Heb. סֵפֶר הַיָּשָׁר; "The Book of Righteousness"), an anonymous work, probably written in the 13th century, one of the most popular ethical books in the Middle

Ages. The book was published for the first time in Venice, in 1544, and since then has been reprinted many times. It was frequently attributed to R. *Tam, the tosafist, who wrote a book by that name (*Sefer ha-Yashar le-Rabbenu Tam*, Vienna, 1811); his writing, however, is concerned only with halakhic problems. Some manuscripts attribute the book to Zerahiah ha-Yevani, but there is no evidence to bear out the authenticity of such an ascription. Some scholars have suggested that the author might have been R. *Jonah Gerondi, one of the foremost writers in the field of ethics in the 13th century; however, the difference between R. Jonah's known views and those expounded in *Sefer ha-Yashar* would suggest otherwise.

There is also some confusion regarding the nature of the book and the school of ethical concepts to which the author adhered. The style and language conform to contemporaneous philosophical ethical writings and ideas; the author especially made use of Aristotelian terms and concepts. The work, however, is also marked by a tendency to deviate from the central stream of philosophical conventional ethics. This is evidenced in some of the main ideas. The difference is so great that some scholars have concluded that the author might have been a kabbalist who did not want to reveal the full scope of his mystical beliefs. Some ideas in the work also bear great similarity to the ethical concepts of the Ashkenazi ḥasidic movement which reached its peak in the 13th century, and especially to **Sefer ha-Ḥayyim*, which was written by one of the *Ḥasidei Ashkenaz.

Most of the unusual ideas are found in the first part of the work which describes the creation and explains why the wicked were created together with the righteous. The rest of the work is concerned, in a rather conventional way, with the main themes of Jewish ethics: love and fear of God, repentance, prayer, and good deeds. In several editions there are variations in the arrangement of the chapters and even in the content. No critical edition of this work has been published, and until the correct text is ascertained, the problems concerning the authorship and the underlying philosophic thought cannot be solved satisfactorily.

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[Joseph Dan]

SEFER ḤUKKEI HA-TORAH (Heb. סֵפֶר חֻקֵּי הַתּוֹרָה; "The Book of the Laws of the Torah"), one of the earliest and most detailed treatises in Hebrew in the fields of education and educational ethics. This short work, dealing with the problems of education at its various levels, describes the first level, *midrash katan*, a community school, and the later one, *midrash gadol*, a yeshivah, to which, according to the book, every community should send a quota of its children. In the *midrash gadol*, the students, who study and live with their teachers, somewhat monastically, are forbidden to marry or communicate with society until they conclude their studies. *Sefer Ḥukkei ha-Torah* is found in manuscript Bodleiana Neubauer, Cat, 1 (1886), 181, no. 873, 2b. It was first published in Guedemann's *Ha-Torah ve-ha-Ḥayyim* (see bibl.).

The date, provenance, and purpose of this work are not known. Nor is it known whether this system was practiced in any Jewish community, or whether it is simply a utopian suggestion. Any similarity which various scholars have attempted to uncover between practices described in *Sefer Ḥukkei ha-Torah* and those which existed in Babylonia, France, or England has not been satisfactorily proven.

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[Joseph Dan]

SEFER TORAH (Heb. סֵפֶר תּוֹרָה; pl. *Sifrei Torah*; scroll of the law), scroll containing the Five Books of Moses written on parchment according to strict rules and used mainly for reading at public worship (see *Torah Reading). The *Sefer Torah* is normally written by a specialist known as a *sofer* ("scribe").

The Writing of the Scroll

The tools and materials used by the scribe are parchment, quill, ink, stylus and ruler, and *tikkun* ("guide") – a book with the Torah text. The Torah is written on parchment manufactured from specified sections of the hide of a kosher animal. The hide consists of three layers, but only the flesh side of the inner layer and the outer side of the hairy layer may be used for Torah parchment (Shab. 79b). The method of cleaning and softening the hide, which must be of the best quality, has changed throughout the centuries. During talmudic times, salt and barley flour were sprinkled on the skins which were then soaked in the juice of gallnuts (Meg. 19a). There is, however, a reference to the use of dogs' dung for this purpose (Yal. Ex. 187). Nowadays the skins are softened by soaking them in clear water for two days, after which the hair is removed by soaking the hides in limewater for nine days. Finally, the skins are rinsed and dried and the creases ironed out with presses. The processor must make a verbal declaration when soaking the skins that his action is being performed for the holiness of the *Sefer Torah*. Whereas reeds were used as pens in the days of the Talmud, quills are used today, the quill of the turkey feather, which is sturdy and long lasting, being preferred. The *sofer* cuts the point of the feather to give it a flat surface, which is desirable for forming the square letters, and then slits it lengthwise.

The ink must be black, durable, but not indelible. During talmudic times a viscous ink was made by heating a vessel with the flame of olive oil, and the soot thus produced on the sides of the vessel was scraped off and mixed with oil, honey, and gallnuts (Shab. 23a). Ink is now made by boiling a mixture of gallnuts, gum arabic, and copper sulfate crystals. Some scribes also add vinegar and alcohol. To ensure that the letters will be straight and the lines equally spaced, 43 thin lines are drawn across the width of the parchment with a stylus and ruler. Two additional longitudinal lines are drawn at the end of the page to ensure that all the lines end equally. To enhance the appearance of the printing on the parchment a four inch margin is left at the bottom, a three inch margin at the top, and a two inch margin between the columns.

Although there is no law regulating the number of pages or columns a Torah must have, from the beginning of the 19th century a standard pattern of 248 columns of 42 lines each was established. Each column is about five inches wide since by tradition there must be space enough to write the word לְמִשְׁפְּחֹתֵיהֶם (Gen. 8:19), the longest occurring in the Torah, three times.

Before the *sofer* begins his daily work, he performs ritual ablution in a **mikveh*. To avoid mistakes, talmudic *soferim* copied from another scroll, and according to one tradition there was a copy of the Torah kept in the Temple which scribes used as the standard (Rashi to MK 3:4, TJ, Shek. 4:3, 48a). Before commencing, the scribe tests the feather and ink by writing the name "Amalek" and crossing it out (cf. Deut. 25:19). He then makes the declaration, "I am writing the Torah in the name of its sanctity and the name of God in its sanctity." The scribe then looks into the *tikkun*, reads the sentence aloud, and proceeds to write it. Before writing the name of God the *sofer* repeats, "I am writing the name of God for the holiness of His name."

The Torah is written in the square script known as *Ketav Ashuri*, of which there are two different types: the Ashkenazi, which resembles the script described in the Talmud (Shab. 104a), and the Sephardi, which is identical with the printed letters of the Hebrew alphabet currently used in sacred texts. The thickness of the letters vary and it is often necessary for the *sofer* to make several strokes to form a letter. The scribe holds the feather sideways to make thin lines, and flat, so that the entire point writes, to make thick lines. Particular care must be given to those letters that are similar in appearance (e.g., *dalet* and *resh*) so that they can be easily distinguished. Each letter must be complete, with the exception of the "split *vav*" in the word *shalom* in Numbers 25:12. Although Hebrew is read from right to left, each individual letter in the *Sefer Torah* is written from left to right. Six letters are written particularly small (e.g., the *alef* in the first word of Lev. 1:1) and 11 letters are written very large (e.g., the *bet* in the first word of Gen. 1:1). There must be a space between the letters, a greater space between the words, and a nine letter gap between the portions. A four line separation is made between each of the Five Books of Moses.

Seven of the 22 letters of the alphabet have special designs on the upper left hand corner of the letter called *tagin*. Shaped somewhat like the letter *zayin*, three such *tagin* are placed above the letter, touching it lightly. The center *tag* is slightly higher than the two on the ends. The Torah contains no vowels or punctuation marks. However, there are a number of dots over several words (e.g., Deut. 29:28; see *Tikkun Soferim). There are two *shirot* or songs in the Torah which are written in unique fashion. *Shirat ha-Yam* (Ex. 15:1–19) has a nine letter gap in the middle of each sentence, and these gaps are so spaced that they appear like "half bricks set over whole bricks" (Meg. 16b; Shab. 103b). *Shirat Ha'azinu* (Deut. 32:1–43) also contains a nine letter separation in the middle of each sentence, but these blank spaces form a single space down the center of the entire column.

After the copying of the Torah has been completed, the sheets of parchment are sewn together with *giddin*, a special thread made of tendon tissue taken from the foot muscles of a kosher animal. Every four pages are sewn together to form a section or *yeri'ah*. These sections of parchment are sewn on the outer side of the parchment, with one inch left unsewn both at the very top and bottom. To reinforce the *giddin*, thin strips of parchment are pasted on the top and bottom of the page. After connecting the sheets the ends are tied to wooden rollers, called *aẓei ḥayyim*, by inserting the *giddin* in holes in the rollers. The *eẓ ḥayyim* consists of a center pole, with handles of wood and flat circular rollers to support the rolled-up scroll. Besides serving as a means of rolling the scroll, the *aẓei ḥayyim* also prevent people from touching the holy parchment with their hands. In Oriental and some Sephardi communities, the flat rollers are not employed since the Torah scrolls are kept in an ornamental wooden or metal case (*tik*).

[Aaron Rothkoff]

Invalid and Disqualified Scrolls

Mistakes in the Torah scroll can generally be corrected, since the ink can be erased with a knife and pumice stone. However, a mistake in the writing of any of the names of God cannot be corrected since the name of God may not be erased, and such faulty parchments must be discarded. When a mistake is found in a *Sefer Torah*, the wimple is tied round the outside of its mantle as a sign that it should not be used until the mistake has been corrected. According to the Talmud, a *Sefer Torah* which has less than 85 correct letters is to be discarded (Yad. 3:5; Shab. 116a). This number is the number of letters in Numbers 10:35–36, which is sometimes regarded as a separate book (hence the references to seven instead of five books of the Torah: Gen. R. 64:8; Lev. R. 11:3). However, it was later laid down that too extensive corrections rendered the scroll unsightly and therefore invalid (for this and other details see **Haggahot*). If a scroll is beyond repair, it is placed in an earthenware urn and buried in the cemetery.

It was customary to bury such scrolls alongside the resting place of a prominent rabbi (Meg. 26b). The Mishnah (Git. 4:6) permits the purchase of a *Sefer Torah* from a non-Jew at its market value and the Talmud (*ibid.*, 45b) even records that Rabban Simeon b. Gamaliel permitted the purchase of those written by a non-Jew. Another tradition, however, laid it down that a scroll written by a non-Jew must be stored away, while one written by a heretic must be burned since it is feared that he may have maliciously altered the text (*ibid.*).

The Duty to Possess a Sefer Torah

It is regarded as a positive biblical commandment for every Jew to possess a *Sefer Torah*, the word "song" in Deuteronomy 31:19, "now therefore write ye this song for you," being interpreted to apply to the Torah as a whole. Even if he has inherited one from his father he is still obliged to have one of his own (Sanh. 21b). He may write it himself, or have it written on his behalf by a *sofer*, or purchase one, but "he who writes it himself is regarded as though it had been given to him on Mt. Sinai" (Men. 30a).

On the basis of the statement of the Talmud (*ibid.*) to the effect that he who corrects even one letter in a *Sefer Torah* is regarded as though he had himself written it, a custom has developed which both gives every Jew a portion in a *Sefer Torah* and symbolically regards him as having fulfilled the command of writing one. The *sofer* writes only the outlines of the words in the first and last passages of the *Sefer Torah* and they are completed at a ceremony known as *Siyyum ha-Torah* ("the completion of the Torah"). Those present are honored by each being invited to fill in one of the hollow letters, or formally authorize the *sofer* to do so.

Sanctity of the Sefer Torah

The *Sefer Torah* is the most sacred of all Jewish books. A valid *Sefer Torah* must be treated with special sanctity and great reverence (Yad, Sefer Torah 10:2). Its sanctity is higher than that of all other scrolls of the books of the Bible, and therefore, though one *Sefer Torah* may be placed on top of another, or on the scroll of another book, another scroll must not be placed on it (Meg. 27a).

It is obligatory to stand in the presence of a *Sefer Torah* (Mak. 22b; Kid. 33b) both when the ark is opened to reveal the scrolls and when it is being carried, and it is customary to bow reverently or kiss it when it passes. The bare parchment must not be touched with the hand. So insistent were the rabbis on this that they declared "He who touches a naked *Sefer Torah* will be buried naked," although the statement was modified to mean either "naked of good deeds" or "naked of the reward for good deeds" which he would otherwise have had from reading it (Shab. 14a). For this reason the *yad* ("pointer") is used for reading and the Sephardim cover the outside of the parchment with silk for the same reason.

It was forbidden to sell a *Sefer Torah* except to provide the means for marrying, studying (Meg. 27a), and for the *ransom of captives. Should a *Sefer Torah* accidentally fall to the ground, the whole congregation is obliged to fast for that day. It was permitted and even enjoined to disregard the Sabbath in order to save not only the *Sefer Torah* but even its case from destruction (Shab. 16:1), and should it be burnt one had to rend one's garment (MK 25a); if one saw it torn one had to rend the garment twice, "once for the writing and once for the parchment" (*ibid.* 26a, cf. the statement of Hananiah b. Teradyon when he was being burnt at the stake wrapped in a scroll, "I see the parchment burning but the letters soar aloft" (Av. Zar. 18a)). The *Sefer Torah* must not be carried about unless for religious purposes, and even for the purpose of reading from it at services held at a temporary place of worship, such as a **shivah*, it may not be taken there unless it is read on at least three occasions. When it is transferred to a permanent site it is usually done with full ceremonial. The *Sefer Torah* is carried through the streets under a canopy and the procession is accompanied by songs and dances.

Among the Sephardim before the reading of the law, and among the Ashkenazim at its conclusion, the *Sefer Torah* is ceremoniously held aloft (**Hagbahah*), its writing exposed to the congregation, who recite "and this is the Torah which Moses set before the children of Israel (Deut. 4:44), according to the commandment of the Lord by the hand of Moses." One must make every effort to acquire a beautiful *Sefer Torah* (Shab. 133b). Unless it is corrected, a text of the *Sefer Torah* that is in error may be kept only 30 days (Ket. 19b). When it is transferred to a permanent site it is usually done with full ceremonial. The *Sefer Torah* is carried through the streets under a canopy and the procession is accompanied by songs and dances.

Other Uses

In addition to its main use for reading the scriptural portions in synagogue (see Reading of the *Torah), the *Sefer Torah* is used on a large number of ceremonial occasions. According to the Mishnah (Sanh. 2:4) it accompanied the king in battle, and on the occasions of public fasts for drought the ark with the *Sifrei Torah* was taken out into the public square and the supplications and exhortations were recited in front of it (Ta'an. 2:1). It also played a central role in the ceremony of **Hakhel*.

During the Middle Ages the solemnity of taking an oath was enhanced by the vower making it while grasping a *Sefer Torah*. For the same reason three leading members of the congregation stand round the **ḥazzan* while he is reciting **Kol Nidrei* on the eve of the *Day of Atonement.

In modern times it is extensively used. Seven *Sifrei Torah* are taken out for the circuits with the *four species on *Hoshana Rabba, and on the next day (in the Diaspora two days later) the sevenfold circuit of the synagogue with all the *Sifrei Torah* is the central part of the ceremonial of *Simḥat Torah. The custom of the worshippers joyfully dancing with the *Sefer Torah* on this occasion is widespread.

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[Louis Isaac Rabinowitz]

ṢEFIRAH, SAADIAH BEN JOSEPH (middle of the 19th century), Yemenite author of the work *Kesef Ẓaruf* (Jerusalem, 1896), novellae on the Torah. The work includes extracts from ancient and recent biblical commentators, especially from the *Ḥemdat Yamim*, which is attributed to *Shabbazi. A supplement containing *Ma'yan Gannim*, extracts and explanations on the Song of Songs, as well as funeral sermons, is attached to the work. The son of the author, JOSEPH ṢEFIRAH, immigrated to Ereẓ Israel in 1870 and settled in *Jerusalem; he copied his father's work and introduced his own novellae (Jerusalem, 1931).

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[Yehuda Ratzaby]

SEFIROT (Heb. סְפִירוֹת; sing. סְפִירָה, a fundamental term of the *Kabbalah. It was coined by the author of the *Sefer Yeẓirah* who designated by it the ten primordial or ideal "numbers" (from the Hebrew root *safor*, to numerate). From the first sources of kabbalistic literature onward it was used in a much wider sense and denotes the ten stages of emanation that emerged from *Ein-Sof and form the realm of God's manifestation in His various attributes. Every single *Sefirah* points to an aspect of God in His capacity of Creator, forming at the same time a whole world of divine light in the chain of being. The whole of the ten *Sefirot*, forming the "*Sefirot* Tree," is conceived as a dynamic unity in which the activity of God reveals itself. The rhythm of the unfolding *Sefirot* is the fundamental rhythm of all creation and can be detected on each of its different levels. For details on the doctrine concerning the *Sefirot* see *Kabbalah.

[Gershom Scholem]

SEGAL, ARTHUR (1875–1944), German painter. Born at Jassy, Romania, he moved to Berlin in 1892 to study at the Academy of Art. In 1895 he continued his artistic training in Paris and Munich at the private school of Schmid-Reutte and Fehr. Segal began as an impressionist painter and started to create landscapes such as *The Meadow*, *The Field of Wheat,* or *German Landscape* in the period 1896–1903 (private collections) under the influence of the neo-impressionist Giovanni Segantini. In 1903 he married his cousin Ernestine Charas and returned to Berlin, where he exhibited various paintings at the Berliner Secession Gallery in 1907 and 1909, his style of painting now changed to Neo-Expressionism. In 1910 he and 27 other artists, among them Heckel, Tappert, Kirchner, Richter, and Schmidt-Rottluff, founded the organization Neue Sezession, a movement that revolted against German impressionism. Segal chose still life, landscapes or urban views as his motifs to express his new attitude to painting. From 1914 to 1920, deeply shocked and terrified of the brutality of World War I, he lived in Ascona, Switzerland with his family. Back to Berlin, his intellectual approach to painting then caused him to change his style again and to evolve an individual form of cubism, dividing many of his pictures into four equal parts. Most of these paintings stem from the period of 1922 to 1925 and show abstract compositions in cubistic forms with a prism-like scheme of intense colors. One of his most well-known paintings, is *Prismatische Konstruktion* (1923, Petit Palais, Geneva).

When Hitler came to power, he left Germany for the Spanish island of Mallorca and in 1936 settled in London, where he founded "Arthur Segal's Painting School" for professionals and non-professionals, which became a synonym for therapy with the help of the arts. He died during the London "Blitz" in 1944 of heart failure. His books include *The Objective Impersonal Laws of Painting* (1929).

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[Jihan Radjai-Ordoubadi (2nd ed.)]

SEGAL, BERNARD (1907–1984), U.S. Conservative rabbi, administrator. Segal was born in Lipno, Poland, and immigrated to the United States in 1922. He received a B.S. from Columbia University in 1931 and was ordained at the *Jewish Theological Seminary in 1933, earning a D.H.L. there in 1950. He served briefly as rabbi of the Patchogue Jewish Center on Long Island, N.Y. (1933–34), before becoming rabbi of Queens Jewish Center (1934–40). He was the first Jewish chaplain in the United States to be called to active duty in World War II, serving as chairman of the Chaplaincy Availability Board (1943–46) and co-chairing the Conservative movement's Wartime Emergency Commission (1944–45). He was discharged in 1945 with the rank of lieutenant colonel, staying on in the Army reserves as founding president of the Association of Jewish Chaplains of the Army and Navy of the United States (1945–47).

Returning to civilian life, Segal assumed the first of a series of leadership positions in the Conservative movement, becoming the first executive director of the *Rabbinical Assembly (1945–7) as well as director of the Joint Placement Commission of the Rabbinical Assembly and the Jewish Theological Seminary. In 1947, Segal was appointed executive vice president of the Rabbinical Assembly, where he continued to oversee placement of rabbis during the post-war growth years. In 1949, he moved from the Rabbinical Assembly to JTS, first as assistant to the president (1949–51) and then as executive vice president (1951–53). Recognizing the need for Jewish educators, he encouraged graduates to pursue careers in Jewish education. He also directed the National Ramah Commission (1950–54).

In 1953, Segal was appointed executive director (executive vice president from 1970) of the United Synagogue of America, now the United Synagogue of Conservative Judaism, where he spent the next 23 years, until his retirement, supervising the expansion of the organization, creating new departments, and hiring more professionals. He emphasized education, creating programs for synagogue members of all ages, developing curricula for congregational schools, publishing educational materials, establishing Solomon *Shechter day schools in numerous communities, launching the Burning Bush press as the imprint of the National Academy of Adult Jewish Studies, and distributing the *El Am Talmud*. Striving always to foster unity in the Conservative movement, he led the United Synagogue into joining with the Rabbinical Assembly and the National Women's League in forming the Commission on Social Action (1954). In 1957, he was instrumental in founding the World Council of Synagogues and implementing uniform standards for synagogue practices. He also brought the United Synagogue into the membership fold of umbrella organizations of American and world Jewry, such as the *Conference of Presidents of the Major American Jewish organizations and the *World Zionist Organization.

Outside of the Conservative movement, Segal was a member of the Board of Directors of the Committee on Religion in American Life (1954–56), the New York City Mayor's Commission on Housing (1954–58) and the New York Association for Middle Income Housing (1960–68). Following his retirement in 1977, he moved to Jerusalem, Israel.

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[Bezalel Gordon (2nd ed.)]

SEGAL, BERNARD GERARD (1907–1997), U.S. attorney. Born in New York City, Segal grew up in Allentown and Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. After graduating from the University of Pennsylvania Law School, Segal served as deputy to the Pennsylvania attorney general from 1932 to 1935. At age 24, he was the youngest person to ever assume that position. He taught at the American Institute of Banking (1936–39) and at Franklin and Marshall College (1937–38), joining the law firm of Schnader, Harrison, Segal, and Lewis in 1936. A friend of the Kennedy family, Segal was appointed by Attorney General Robert Kennedy, in 1962, to help set up a commission that would dispatch Northern lawyers to handle civil rights cases in the South. He served on several American Bar Association committees from 1952 to 1968 and was the first Jew to be elected president of that organization (1969–70). Later, President Lyndon Johnson selected Segal to head the National Legal Service Program, which established legal services for the poor.

Besides holding many positions on government committees and in various foundations and legal institutes, Segal served as president of the Allied Jewish Appeal of Philadelphia; director of the American Jewish League for Israel; vice president and trustee of the Jewish Publication Society of America; honorary director of the Jewish Family Service; and trustee of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, whose law library is named for him.

Regarded by many as one of the greatest lawyers in recent American history, Segal was known as "the conscience of the bar," who strived to promote individual rights and the rule of law. Among his many honors and awards, Segal received the American Bar Association's Gold Medal; the U.S. Attorney General's National Civil Rights Award; the National Conference of Christians and Jews' National Human Relations Award; the NAACP Legal Defense Fund's Judge William H. Hastie Award; and the World Peace through Law Award as the World's Greatest Lawyer.

Segal wrote *Pennsylvania Banking and Building and Loan Law* (1935).

SEGAL, ERICH (1937–), U.S. novelist. Born in Brooklyn, N.Y., the son of a rabbi, Erich Wolf Segal attended Harvard University, graduating as both the class poet and Latin salutatorian. He also obtained his master's and doctorate from Harvard. While a professor of comparative literature at Yale University in 1967, Segal wrote the screenplay for the Beatles' wildly successful animated feature film *Yellow Submarine*. He collaborated on other screenplays and tried to sell a romantic story he wrote about two students attending Harvard. It failed to sell, but his literary agent suggested he turn the script into a novel. The result was a literary and motion picture phenomenon, *Love Story* (1970), starring Ali McGraw and Ryan O'Neal. It tells the story of two college students: Oliver, the emotionally vacant son of rich parents, and the Italian-American Radcliffe girl he falls in love with, Jenny. The film is considered one of the most romantic of all time. Its catchphrase is "Love means never having to say you're sorry." Another famous quote is "What can you say about a 25-year-old girl who died? That she was beautiful and brilliant. That she loved Mozart and Bach. The Beatles. And me." The book was the leading seller of fiction for 1970 in the United States and was translated into more than 20 languages. The movie of the same name was the No. 1 box-office attraction of 1971 and won Academy Award nominations for best picture, best actor, actress, supporting actor, director, and original screenplay, by Segal. Ironically, its success virtually destroyed Segal's academic credibility with his colleagues. Segal went on to write more novels and screenplays, including a sequel to *Love Story*, called *Oliver's Story* (1977). He also published a number of scholarly works and taught at the college level. His books include *The Comedy of Plautus* (1968), *Doctors* (1988), *The Death of Comedy* (2001), and *Oxford Readings in Greek Tragedy* (2001).

[Stewart Kampel (2nd ed.)]

SEGAL, ESTHER (1895–1974). Yiddish poet; sister of J.I. *Segal. Segal was born in Solobkovits (now Solobkovtsy), Ukraine. Her father, a cantor, died when she was young. In 1910 the family emigrated to Canada to join her mother's siblings. Segal attended a religious school in Montreal, then worked in a factory while studying in the evening. She later attended the Jewish Teachers Seminary in New York. She married poet A. Sh. Shkolnikov.

Segal wrote from a young age, but did not publish any work until 1922, when her work appeared in the collection *Epokhe*, edited by her husband, her brother, and A. Almi. Following this debut her work appeared in many literary journals in Canada, the United States, Lithuania, and Poland. In 1928 her only book, *Lider*, was published by a Toronto branch of the Labor-Zionist Yidish-Natsyonaler Farband. She continued to write poetry for journal publication, including lyrics, children's poems, and poems on topics of social concern. Her husband died in 1962, and in 1965 she moved to a kibbutz in Israel, where she lived until her death.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *LNYL*, 396; *100 Yor Yidishe un Hebreishe Literatur in Kanade*, 180.

[Faith Jones (2nd ed.)]

SEGAL, GEDALIAH BEN ELIEZER (18th century), preacher. He lived in Boskowitz (Boskowice), where his father, Eliezer, was the rabbi, and studied under Phineas of Boskowitz. Gedaliah wrote the ethical work *Ammudei Gavra* (Bruenn, 1756), based upon the statement in the Mishnah (Avot 1:2) that the world is based upon three things: Torah, divine service, and the practice of charity. Segal discusses the various types of charity – visiting the sick, hospitality to wayfarers, support of scholars, etc. The chapter *Ma'aser Ani* ("Poor Man's Tithe") deals with the laws of **terumot and ma'aserot*, making abundant use of talmudic, midrashic, and halakhic sources. The author, influenced by kabbalistic literature, borrows its terminology and quotes from the *Zohar. *Ammudei Gavra* contains three other works on halakhic themes: a work by David Skutsh, a relative of Gedaliah; the novellae of Gedaliah's son, Eliezer, who died aged 18; and the novellae of Abraham Katz Gibitsh, who also died young.

SEGAL, GEORGE (1924–2000), U.S. sculptor and painter. Best known for his stark, plaster sculptural figures placed in real environments, Segal was born in the Bronx to immigrant parents from Eastern Europe. He studied at various schools, including Cooper Union (1941–42); Rutgers University (1942–46; 1961–63); and New York University (1948–49), where Larry *Rivers was a classmate. Initially Segal painted the human form in a gestural, colorful fashion influenced by Abstract Expressionism, but by 1958 he discovered that sculpture was a more effective way for him to convey his interest in the psychology of the figure. Early experimentations were made from burlap, wire, and plaster and executed in a rough, expressive manner akin to his painterly work, but beginning in the summer of 1961 Segal was casting live models from medical bandages saturated with plaster to capture pose and mood. *Butcher Shop* (1965, Art Gallery of Ontario, Toronto), an homage to his father – a kosher butcher in the Bronx during the Great Depression who died six months before the conception of the piece – presents a plaster cast of Segal's mother slaughtering a plaster chicken behind a glass window labeled "Kosher Butcher" in Hebrew. Her impressionist rendering betrays the artist's touch, a technique especially vivid in work completed before 1971 when Segal kept his casts hollow. Indeed, in 1971 Segal began to reproduce negatives of the interior of casts rather than piecing together molds of his models' bodies, thereby creating more lifelike, smoothly rendered, and detailed sculptures.

Segal executed many public commissions, notably *In Memory of May 4, 1970: Kent State – Abraham and Isaac* (1978), cast in bronze as an allegory in commemoration of the four students killed by National Guardsmen at Kent State University when they were protesting the Vietnam War. After the controversial sculpture was rejected by Kent State it was subsequently erected at Princeton University in November 1978. *The Holocaust* (1983), commissioned by the city of San Francisco, overlooks Lincoln Park. The memorial shows several corpses lying on the ground with a lone living figure standing behind a barbed wire fence. The plaster model of the tableau is on display at New York's Jewish Museum.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: M. Friedman and G.W.J. Beal, *George Segal: Sculptures* (1978); J. van der Marck, *George Segal* (1979); P. Tuchman, *George Segal* (1983); S. Hunter and D. Hawthorne, *George Segal* (1989).

[Samantha Baskind (2nd ed.)]

SEGAL, GEORGE (1934–), U.S. actor. Born in New York, Segal graduated from Columbia University in 1955. He began his career on the off-Broadway stage. He moved on to television and Broadway, appearing in the plays *Gideon* (1961); *Rattle of a Simple Man* (1963); and *Art* (1998).

He made his film debut in 1961 in *The Young Doctors*. Segal's stardom was assured with two performances in successive films, *King Rat* (1965) and *Who's Afraid of Virginia Woolf?* (1966), the latter winning him an Oscar nomination for Best Supporting Actor. Segal has starred in more than 50 motion pictures, including *The Quiller Memorandum* (1966); *The St. Valentine's Day Massacre* (1967); *Bye Bye Braverman* (1968); *No Way to Treat a Lady* (1968); *Loving* (1970); *Where's Poppa?* (1970); *The Owl and the Pussycat* (1970); *Born to Win* (1971); *The Hot Rock* (1972*); A Touch of Class* (1973); *Blume in Love* (1973); *California Split* (1974); *The Black Bird* (1975); *Fun with Dick and Jane* (1977); *The Last Married Couple in America* (1980); *Look Who's Talking* (1989); *For the Boys* (1991); *Me, Myself and I* (1992); *Flirting with Disaster* (1996); *The Cable Guy* (1996); and *The Mirror Has Two Faces* (1996).

In addition to his roles in dozens of TV movies, Segal starred in the TV crime series *Murphy's Law* (1988–89) and the sitcom *Just Shoot Me* (1997–2003).

[Jonathan Licht / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

SEGAL, HUGH (1951–), Canadian author, political strategist, educator, and pundit. Segal was born in Montreal into a family of modest means. He attended Jewish parochial school but, unusual in the heavily Liberal Party-supporting English-speaking Jewish community of Montreal, Segal was early drawn to the Conservative Party of John Diefenbaker. In 1962, when Segal only 13, Diefenbaker, then Conservative prime minister, visited Segal's school and so impressed Segal that he campaigned on behalf of his local Conservative Party candidate in the 1962 federal election. The Conservative candidate lost the seat but Segal was hooked on politics and went on to become an influential Conservative Party insider.

In 1972 Segal graduated in history from the University of Ottawa, where, very active in the Young Conservatives, he was elected student union president. Also in 1972 and again in 1974 Segal unsuccessfully sought election in Ottawa for a seat in the House of Commons. While never elected to public office, as a high-profile Red Tory, fiscally conservative but socially liberal, Segal served on the staff of Robert Stanfield, leader of the Opposition, was a senior aide to Ontario premier William Davis, and a close advisor and, for a time, chief of staff to Prime Minister Brian Mulroney. In 1998 he ran unsuccessfully against Joe Clark to lead the Conservative Party of Canada. More recently, Segal unsuccessfully warned against the merger of the federal Conservative Party with the more socially conservative Alliance Party.

From 1999 Segal was president of the Institute on Research on Public Policy and taught in the School of Policy Studies at Queen's University in Kingston, Ontario. He was also a director of various public companies and active in a number of charitable, educational, and community organizations. He was often called upon by the media to comment on Canadian political issues. In 2003 he was honored with the Order of Canada. He wrote *No Surrender: Reflections of a Happy Warrior in the Tory Crusade* (1996) and *In Defence of Civility: Reflections of a Recovering Politician* (2000).

[Harold Troper (2nd ed.)]

SEGAL, JACOB ISAAC (**Yankev Yitshok**; 1896–1954), Yiddish poet. Segal was born in Solobkovtsy, Ukraine, the second youngest of seven children. For most of his childhood Segal lived in Korets, Ukraine, one of the original centers of Ḥasidism and a place idealized in many of his poems. He received a basic religious education in *ḥeder* and *talmud torah*. In 1911, when he was 15, he immigrated to Canada and settled in Montreal, near his sister Esther Segal, later a Yiddish poet in her own right. For a number of years he worked as a tailor in the garment industry and then taught at the Montreal Folks Shule, one of the first Yiddish-language day schools in Canada. Encouraged by Moshe Shmuelson, editor of the Yiddish daily the *Keneder Odler* ("Canadian Eagle"), he began to publish Yiddish poetry in 1915. His first volume of verse, *Fun Mayn Velt* ("From My World"), appeared in 1918. He was immediately recognized by Yiddish literary critics as a gifted poet, notable for strong feeling and natural, idiomatic diction.

Segal assumed a leadership role in the development of Yiddish culture in Canada. He helped to establish a number of journals: *Nyuansn* ("Nuances," 1921), *Epokhe* ("Epoch," 1922), and *Royerd* ("Untilled Soil," 1922–23) and as editor held them to a high literary standard. In 1923, after a short sojourn in Toronto, he and his wife and daughter moved to New York. There he enjoyed the companionship of the new generation of Yiddish poets: *Mani-Leib, Zisha *Landau, M.L. *Halpern, and Jacob *Glatstein. Segal returned to Montreal in 1928 after the death of his young daughter, Tsharnele, whom he often addresses in later poems.

Thereafter Segal continued to teach in Yiddish schools and to write and edit for the *Keneder Odler*. As an essayist, he wrote regularly on literary topics and on educational and cultural issues. From 1941 until his death he was coeditor of the literary pages along with Melech *Ravitch. In addition, he contributed to nearly all the Yiddish literary journals of his day and served as president of the Canadian Yiddish Writers Union. Segal was a prolific poet and the author of 12 volumes of poetry, among them, *Sefer Idish* ("The Book of Yiddish," 1950), the last collection published in his lifetime, and *Letste Lider* ("Last Poems," 1955), published posthumously.

Many of Segal's poems move from the pain and emptiness of the present to an idealized past, embodied in the ḥasidic masters and in shtetl figures. Segal also wrote on entirely different themes, with a different tone and emotional impact. He wrote poems of carefully observed cityscape and season and inward-looking poems, examining his moral worth and his purpose as a poet. He also wrote many times about Yiddish, the instrument and common bond of the culture he attempted to preserve.

Segal's diction is most often simple, but the flow of thought in his poems is complex. He continually plays with meaning, as in the use of religious terms in contexts that have to do with the Yiddish language or his role as a poet. His verse is musically sophisticated. He moves easily from the speaking to the singing voice and uses countable meter as a framework for more open poetic rhythms.

Some of Segal's work has been translated, in: I. Howe and E. Greenberg, *Treasury of Yiddish Poetry* (1969); I. Howe, R. Wisse, and K. Shmeruk, *The Penguin Book of Modern Yiddish Verse* (1987); A. Boyarsky and L. Sarna, *Canadian Yiddish Writings* (1976); and P. Anctil's translation of J. Segal, *Poèmes Yiddish* (Montréal, 1992).

After his death, the annual J.I. Segal Award for Yiddish Literature was established in his honor in Montreal.

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[Seymour Levitan (2nd ed.)]

SEGAL, LOUIS (1894–1964), U.S. labor Zionist leader. Segal, who was born in Lowicz, Poland, and was taken to the United States in 1905, lived in Galveston, Texas, and then in St. Paul, Minnesota. While in his teens, he worked in a cap factory and helped found a Hat, Cap, and Millinery Union local in the city, rising to a vice presidency in that union. At the age of 32, he became general secretary of the Jewish National Workers Alliance (*Farband), which then had about 5,500 members. Under his lifelong leadership it grew to more than 40,000 members, expanding considerably its fraternal benefits. Segal also served on the executives of the World Zionist Organization and the Jewish Agency for Israel.

Some of his Yiddish writings are collected in *Apshetsungen vegn Khaver L. Segal in a Tsol Artiklen fun Khoson Yovel tsu der Gelegenheyt fun Finf un Tsvontsik Yor Fayershaft* (1951; "L. Segal, Review and Articles: Jubilee Volume on the Occasion of Twenty-five Years of Leadership").

SEGAL, MOSES HIRSCH (**Zevi**; 1876–1968), Bible scholar. Segal was born in Lithuania and educated at rabbinical academies and at London and Oxford universities, serving at the latter as tutor in biblical and Semitic studies (1906–09). He served congregations in Newcastle, Swansea, and Bristol. In 1926 he became lecturer in Bible and Semitic languages at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem (full professor: 1939). Segal was an expert in the Hebrew language, and his grammatical lexical studies, *A Grammar of Mishnaic Hebrew* (1927; Heb. ed., *Dikduk Leshon ha-Mishnah*, 1935) and his work on the principles of Hebrew phonetics (*Yesodei ha-Fonetikah ha-Ivrit*, 1928), have remained widely used. He also edited two volumes of E. Ben-Yehuda's *Millon ha-Lashon ha-Ivrit* (vol. 8 (1928); vol. 9 (1929)).

In his writings on the Pentateuch, Segal casts doubt on the validity of the Documentary Theory (see *Pentateuch). His explanation is essentially a modification of the traditional doctrine of Mosaic authorship. In a series of articles elaborated in his last published book, *The Pentateuch, its Composition and its Authorship…* (1967), he maintained that the post-Mosaic sections of the Torah were erroneously associated with Moses by later generations, just as numerous additions to the Oral Law are incorrectly attributed to Moses. The result of his biblical scholarship, reflected throughout his introduction to the Bible (*Mevo ha-Mikra*, 4 vols., 1946–50, 1967^7), is the reaffirmation of the Bible's literary and artistic excellence. His other works include critical studies on the Damascus Covenant and Ben Sira as well as many articles on various books of the Bible and medieval Jewish exegetes. He was awarded the Israel Prize for Jewish Studies in 1954.

His son, SAMUEL, LORD SEGAL (1902–1985), physician and politician, was a Labor member of parliament (1945–50), and was made a life peer in 1964. Another son, JUDAH BEN-ZION SEGAL (1912–2003), was professor of Semitic languages at the School of Oriental Studies, London University.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: J.M. Grintz and J. Liver (ed.), *Sefer M.Z. Segal* (1964), incl. a complete bibliography until 1964; M. Haran, in: *Molad*, 3 (1970), 97–106.

[Zev Garber]

SEGAL, SAMUEL, BARON (1902–1985), British politician and physician. Segal, the son of Prof. M.H. *Segal, was born in London. He qualified as a physician and served from 1939 to 1945 in the Royal Air Force medical service with the rank of squadron leader and subsequently (1951–62) as a regional medical officer of the Ministry of Health. After unsuccessfully contesting parliamentary elections for the Labour Party before World War II, he was elected Labour member of Parliament for Preston in 1945 and served in Parliament till 1950.

In 1964 he was created a life peer and took an active part in discussions in the House of Lords, serving on many parliamentary delegations, and becoming in 1973 a deputy speaker and deputy chairman of committees of the House of Lords (of which the Lord Chancellor is ex officio Speaker). His services to Anglo-Israeli relations were many and varied, including chairmanship of the Anglo-Israel Association and presidency of the Anglo-Israel Archaeological Association. With a home near Oxford, he was identified with the preservation of Oxford's amenities, received the honor of Honorary Fellowship of Jesus College, Oxford, and served as honorary president of the Oxford Jewish congregation. His medical interests were reflected in his chairmanship of the National Society for Mentally Handicapped Children and of the British Association for the Retarded. Though an active politician, his scholarly and courteous approach gained him a reputation as a statesmanlike expert of Middle Eastern and medical subjects.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Who's Who (1978); *Jewish Year Book.*

[Vivian David Lipman]

SEGAL, URI (1944–), Israeli conductor. Born in *Jerusalem, Segal studied the violin and conducted at the Rubin Conservatory in Jerusalem, and then conducting at the Guildhall School of Music in London (1966–69). In 1969, he won first prize in the Dimitri Mitropoulos Conducting Competition in New York, which resulted in his becoming an assistant conductor to *Bernstein with the New York Philharmonic Orchestra. From 1970 he began touring in Europe and America, conducting many of the great orchestras such as the BBC Welsh Orchestra in Cardiff, the English Chamber Orchestra (1971), and the Chicago SO (1972). In 1973 he was appointed as a regular guest conductor with the South German Radio Orchestra in Stuttgart. He was musical director and principal conductor of the Philharmonica Hungarica in Germany (1981–85) and principal conductor of the Bournemouth Symphony Orchestra (1980–83). In 1982 he was appointed principal conductor of the Israel Chamber Orchestra and in 1989 principal conductor of the Osaka Orchestra, Japan. Among his recordings are works by Stravinsky, piano concertos by Mozart and Beethoven, and oboe concertos by Françaix, Honegger, and Ibert.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Grove online, s.v.

[Israel Stein (2nd ed.]

SEGALL, LASAR (1891–1957), Brazilian painter and sculptor. Born in Vilna, Lithuania, to a religious family, Segall studied at the Design Academy of Vilna in 1905 and moved the next year to Berlin, where he studied at the Imperial Superior Academy of Arts until 1910. Segall rebelled against the strict academic discipline and presented his works in an exposition of the "Freie Sezession," one of the precursor movements of expressionism. In 1910 he moved to Dresden, where he joined the Fine Arts Academy as Meisterschueller (student-instructor) with his own atelier and freedom of creation. After being accepted in the German Expressionist movement at the end of 1912, he traveled for the first time to Brazil, and his exhibitions in Campinas and São Paulo were among the first presentations of modern art in Brazil. After eight months he returned to Dresden. In 1919 Segall participated in the foundation of the "Dresdner Sezession, Grupe 1919," and in the next four years he participated in the German Expressionist movement, presenting exhibitions in The Hague, Frankfurt, and Leipzig and publishing two albums: *Bubu* (1921) and *Remembrance from Vilna* (1922).

In 1923 Segall settled in Brazil. He joined the modernist group and held his first exhibition in São Paulo. Afterwards he exhibited the first works of his Brazilian stage in Berlin and

Dresden. In 1927 Segall adopted Brazilian citizenship and in 1928 traveled to Paris for three years, where he began to sculpt. Back in Saõ Paulo (1932) he founded and led the Society for Modern Art. In 1938 he represented Brazil in the International Congress of Independent Artists in Paris. In this period he started to work with socio-political themes and produced a collection related to the experience of immigrants and the war. In the 1940s and the 1950s he presented his works in exhibitions in Brazil and the United States.

The Jewish perspective is present in some of Segall's works. In a number of paintings he included Hebrew letters and he signed a few in Hebrew. Other paintings were focused directly on Jewish themes: *Rabino con alunos* ("Rabbi with Students" – 1931), *Rolo de Tora* ("Torah Scroll" – 1922 and 1933), *Pogrom* (1937), *Navio de Emigrantes* ("Emigrants' Ship" –1939/1941), *Campo de Concentração* ("Concentration Camp" – 1945), *Êxodo* ("Exodus" – 1947), and others that were part of the collection *Visões de Guerra 1940–1943* ("Visions from War 1940–1943").

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *O Museu Lasar Segall* (1991).

[Efraim Zadoff (2nd ed.)]

SEGALOWITCH, ZUSMAN (1884–1949), Yiddish poet, novelist, and journalist. Born in Bialystok, Segalowitch was educated privately, worked in a factory, organized labor strikes, and was frequently arrested. In 1903 Segalowitch published his first poem in Russian, but a year later turned to Yiddish as his language of expression. In his first collection of lyrics, *Shtile Troymen* ("Quiet Dreams," 1909), his strong romantic penchant is clearly revealed, but it was "In Kazmerzh" (1912), a poem in which he describes a village where young men dreamed of freedom in a stifling traditional environment, that brought him early fame. The first poetic product of Segalowitch's Warsaw period was a cycle of love poems, *Tsaytike Troybn* ("Ripe Grapes," 1920); these were followed by popular ballads and sentimental poems. In the poetic drama *Di Vant* ("The Wall," 1915), Segalowitch combined militancy with sentimentalism and advocated Jewish resistance to wrongs inflicted upon them. His novels *Di Vilde Tsilke* ("Wild Tsilke," 1922); *Romantishe Yorn* ("Romantic Years," 1923), an autobiographical trilogy, and *Di Brider Nemzar* ("The Nemzar Brothers," 1929), were very popular and were translated into Polish. In Warsaw Segalowitch wrote lyrics that were put to music and sentimental stories for the dailies *Haynt* and *Moment*. He also presided over the Association of Yiddish Writers and Journalists. In his memoirs, *Tlomatske 13* (1946), he gave a moving though somewhat idealized account of the association, which served as a center of Yiddish culture between the world wars. The Holocaust and its aftermath radically altered every aspect of Segalowitch's writing. During the Nazi invasion of 1939 he escaped from Poland one step ahead of the Nazis, the terror and horror of which he vividly described in *Gebrente Trit* ("Burnt Steps," 1947). *Dortn* ("There," 1946), is a heartrending elegy which he dedicated to Samuel *Zygelbojm, the Bundist leader who committed suicide in London in 1943 to awaken the world's conscience to Jewish suffering. He wrote it upon his arrival in Tel Aviv, where visions of the less fortunate Jews trapped in Europe pursued him relentlessly. The poetic style of his works during this period became one of bitter accusation. In this final period of creativity, Segalowitch eulogized the devastated Polish-Jewish culture and his own destroyed generation.

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[Sol Liptzin]

SEGHERS, ANNA (pseudonym of **Netty Radvanyi**, née **Reiling**; 1900–1983), German novelist. Born in Mainz, she joined the German Communist Party in 1929. In 1933 she fled to Paris and visited Republican Madrid during the Spanish Civil War. In 1941 she moved to Mexico City, but in 1947 returned to Germany, settling in East Berlin. The novels of Anna Seghers combine a highly poetic form with a strong socialist element, describing the living conditions of the lower classes in many countries – fisherman, peasants, and miners. A convinced Communist and an outspoken anti-Fascist, she was active in the fight against Nazism. Her prizewinning first novel, *Der Aufstand der Fischer von Santa Barbara* (1928), was followed by *Die Gefaehrten* (1932); *Der Weg dutch den Februar* (1935), which deals with the uprising of the Viennese workers in 1934; and *Die Rettung* (1937). *Das siebte Kreuz* (1941), written in her Mexican exile, which became a best seller in America as *The Seventh Cross* (1942), was an expression of her faith in the innate decency of human beings. Other works by Anna Seghers were *Transit* (1941; Eng. trans. *Transit Visa*, 1945); *Die Toten bleiben jung* (1949); and *Die Entscheidung* (1959), hailed in East Germany as a masterpiece of Socialist Realism. She received many awards after World War II, including the International Lenin Peace Prize of the U.S.S.R. (1951). Her later works include *Ueber Tolstoi-Ueber Dostojewski* (1963); *Die Kraft der Schwachen* (1965); *Das wirkliche Blau* (1967), and *Das Vertrauen* (1968).

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[Rudolf Kayser]

SEGORBE, city in Valencia, E. *Spain. It appears that many Jews settled in Segorbe after the Christian conquest. In 1270 the taxes of the city were leased by Astruc Jacob Sisson, and in 1274 the community was combined with *Murviedro and Onda *Burriana to form a single district (*collecta*), paying 2,000 solidós in taxes. Several extant details on the community are known from the second half of the 14th century. The financial situation of the community during this period is reflected in a query (Responsum, 282) addressed to R. Isaac b.

Sheshet *Perfet (Ribash). The responsum indicates that the community borrowed money from Muslims in order to redeem a *Sefer Torah* crown which had previously been pledged. Some community leaders did not agree to stand surety for the debt, and the community therefore took it upon itself, under the strength of a ban, to repay the debt within one year. A number of members who had not been present at the proclamation of the ban demanded that it be abrogated because of debts already owed by the community for taxes to the crown. The ban was lifted and R. Isaac b. Sheshet ratified its abrogation. Although it is clear that the community of Segorbe was affected by the persecutions of 1391, the degree to which the community suffered is not known. In 1393 Juan I acquitted Jacob Hassan of Murviedro and his wife of having committed several "offenses," including the accusation that Jacob had given unleavened bread to a *Converso of Segorbe. There is no information on the community during the 15th century, and it is possible that none existed. At some unspecified time the small number of Jews living in Segorbe moved to neighboring Murviedro.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Baer, Spain, 1 (1929), index; Neuman, Spain, 2 (1944), 233.

[Haim Beinart]

SEGOVIA, town in Old Castile, central Spain. The community of Segovia was one of the most important in Castile, and several of the nearby communities were under its jurisdiction. The Jewish quarter was located in the center of the town, on land belonging to the cathedral. The Jewish cemetery was at the place now called Cuesta de los Hoyos. There were many synagogues in Segovia, the biggest of which was confiscated in 1420. It was built in the Mudéjar style, like the Santa María la Blanca synagogue of *Toledo, and was probably erected at the same time (13th century). In 1572 the building became the property of the Franciscan nuns. It caught fire in 1899.

The community of Segovia achieved prosperity in the 13th century, together with other communities in Castile. The earliest sources on the Jews in Segovia are from this century. At the end of this century there were around 300 Jews in Segovia. It was an important center of Kabbalah.

The community was beset by difficulties in the war between Pedro the Cruel and Henry of Trastamara in 1366–69. In the introduction to his *Mekor Ḥayyim*, R. Samuel ibn Seneh *Zarza describes the plight of many communities in Castile. In Segovia itself the Jews were attacked and robbed of the securities and promissory bills which they had in their possession, and King Henry canceled the debts owed by Christians to Jews. In about 1390 there were about 50 Jewish homeowners in Segovia. There were 23 craftsmen in the community, among them weavers, saddlers, tailors, furriers, smiths, potters, and painters, as well as a few merchants, a physician, and a bullfighter. A center for the study of the *Kabbalah was founded in Segovia, which was the reputed burial place of the kabbalist Jacob Gikatilla.

When persecutions broke out in 1391, the king was in the town and from there he issued instructions to deal with the rioters in different cities. In Segovia itself, however, the authorities were unable to protect the Jews, and, as elsewhere, some of them converted to Christianity. The community subsequently recovered, though it never attained its former prosperity. In 1409 John II complied with the *kahal's* request and exempted it from the current *alcabala* tax on meat and wine. In 1412 he granted to the convent of Santa María de la Merced in Segovia the right to lease a synagogue with all its accessories. This was a compensation for lands taken from the convent, on which Jews had been settled due to the segregation enforced between Jews and recent *Conversos. In 1415 the Jews of Segovia were accused of a *Host desecration. According to Alfonso de Espina's work, *Fortalitium Fidei*, Don Meir *Alguades himself was involved, but the author's authority in this matter is unreliable. The community declined from the late 1430s. In the 1480s Segovia became a center of anti-Jewish and anti-Converso activity, inspired by Tomas de *Torquemada. In 1485 Abraham *Seneor – who had been made *alguacil* (an executive officer) of the community's tribunal for life, lodged a complaint with the court against Antonio de la Peña, who incited the masses to violent anti-Jewish feelings. Seneor also acted against the town's *alcalde*, who had vetoed the baking of unleavened bread, and against the apostate José Talavera, who informed against the community and was finally imprisoned. Anti-Jewish activity came to a head at the close of the 1480s, when the inquisitor Fernando de Santo Domingo appeared in Segovia. He wrote an introduction to a book published there against the Talmud. Another book on Jewish customs was published in Segovia at that time by Antonio de Avila, the "specialist" on Jewish affairs in the La *Guardia trial. The town council continued to restrict the Jews of Segovia in acquiring food and shelter, as in other cities of Castile. At the same time the community grew in size, due to the arrival of Jews expelled from Andalusia. Among the wealthy Jews of Segovia several were active as tax farmers, in and outside the town, during the decade of 1480–90, among them R. Meir *Melamed, son-in-law to Abraham Seneor, Don Isaac b. Joseph *Caro, and others. In 1488 two anti-Jewish polemical works were written in Segovia: *Libro de Alborayque* and *Censura contra el Talmud*. The decree of expulsion from Spain was issued in May 1492. Abraham Seneor and Isaac *Abrabanel arranged for Jewish property in Segovia to be sold to the Conversos who remained there. At that time the community of Segovia was the most important one in Castile. The exiles from Segovia probably left for Portugal; with them went the last rabbi of the town, Simeon *Maimi, who died a martyr in Portugal in 1498.

The Jewish quarter has been very well described by J.A. Ruiz Hernando. Until 1412 the Jews lived in the area of San Andrés, where they had two synagogues, and in San Miguel, where they had their Sinagoga Mayor, today the Corpus Cristi. From 1481, the Jewish quarter was enclosed. The Jewish quarter began in Corpus Cristi and continued through the *Judeía vieja* and in the streets beyond as far as the Gate of San Andrés. Until the beginning of the 15th century there were three synagogues in Segovia: Mayor, Vieja or Menor, and the sinagoga de los Burgos. At the time of the expulsion there were two other synagogues: the new Mayor (after the confiscation of the first, turned into Corpus Cristi) and the sinagoga del Campo. The new sinagoga Mayor, in the calle Barrionuevo, is today a girls' school which is run by the Jesuit monastery. Part of the Ark has been discovered. Abraham Seneor had a *bet midrash* in his house.

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[Haim Beinart / Yom Tov Assis (2nd ed.)]

SEGRE (**Segrè**), family in northern Italy, possibly of Spanish origin. The following are among its most important members: JUDAH (14–15th centuries), author of *tosafot* on *Ḥullin* and *Eruvin*; his son NETHANEL (d. 1535), a scholar who lived in Lodi; JACOB BEN ISAAC (c. 1629), rabbi of Casale Monferrato, poet and liturgist, author of a *seliḥah* on the siege of Casale in 1629; ABRAHAM BEN ZERAH (d. 1641), *dayyan* in Alessandria; NETHANEL BEN AARON JACOB (d. 1691), born in Chieri, later of *Cento. A collection of his responsa, entitled *Ezer Ya'akov*, is extant in manuscript. ABRAHAM BEN JUDAH (17th–18th centuries), rabbi, poet, and book collector in Casale Monferrato; ḤAYYIM (17th century), lived in Padua. He was considered a supporter of *Shabbetai Ẓevi and was one of the three delegates sent from Italy to the East in 1666 to study the Shabbatean movement. His work *Binyan Av* on the regulations for blowing the *shofar* is unpublished. His son ELISHA lived in Vercelli and was the father of Joshua Benzion *Segrè (c. 1705–1797). BENJAMIN, grandson of Ḥayyim (18th–19th centuries), a scholar in Vercelli, was the father of Salvatore *Segre (1729–1809). ABRAHAM BEN JUDAH (d. 1772) was born in Turin. At the age of 25 he emigrated to Safed and later lived in Jerusalem. He studied under Israel Ashkenazi and wrote commentaries on the Mishnah and on Maimonides' *Mishneh Torah*, responsa, and sermons. Several times he traveled abroad as a rabbinical emissary. Other noted members of the family were Corrado *Segrè (1863–1924), mathematician; Gino *Segrè (1864–1942), jurist; Roberto *Segrè (1872–1936), general; Arturo *Segrè (1873–1928), historian, and Emilio Gino *Segrè (1905–1989), Italian-American nuclear physicist.

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[Elia Samuele Artom]

SEGRÈ, ARTURO (1873–1928), Italian historian. Segrè was professor of history in the Liceo d'Azeglio of Turin and also lecturer in the university. He specialized in the history of Piedmont and the House of Savoy, particularly in the 16th and 19th centuries. A founder of the series *Collana Storica Sabauda*, he contributed two biographies to it – *Vittorio Emanuele I* (1928) and *Emanuele Filiberto* (1928) – published posthumously. Among his other writings was *Storia del commercio* (2 vols.; 1923). He was also editor of *I diarii di Girolamo Priuli* (1912), one of the most important sources for the history of Venice, for the new edition of Muratori's *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*.

[Donald Weinstein]

SEGRE, BENIAMINO (1903–1977), Italian mathematician. Segre was professor of mathematics at Bologna University until he was dismissed in 1938 under the Fascist anti-Jewish laws. He was then invited to England by the Society for the Protection of Science and Learning and spent the years until 1946 at the Universities of London, Cambridge, and Manchester. He returned to his chair at Bologna in 1946 and moved to Rome in 1950. He was elected president of the Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei in 1968. Segre made important contributions to geometry. His books include *Non-singular Cubic Surfaces* (1942) and *Arithmetical Questions on Algebraic Varieties* (1951).

SEGRÈ, CORRADO (1863–1924), Italian mathematician. Segrè was appointed professor of geometry at Turin in 1888. He was awarded the mathematical prize of the University of Turin in 1883 and shared the Royal Prize of the Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei with Volterra in 1898. Segrè's main work was in the projective geometry of higher dimensions and in projective differential geometry. He contributed the definitive article "Mehrdimensionale Raeume" to the *Encyklopaedie der mathematischen Wissenschaften* (vol. 3 (1912), 769–972).

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[Barry Spain]

SEGRÈ, EMILIO GINO (1905–1989), nuclear physicist and Nobel Prize laureate. Segrè, who was born in Tivoli, Italy, studied at Rome University, where he later assisted Enrico Fermi in research on the use of neutrons as missiles to break up the uranium atom. He conceived the idea that an element having the atomic number 43, which theory had shown must exist, might be produced by neutron bombardment. The discovery of this element had been reported ten years earlier, but not confirmed. During a visit which he paid to the University of California in 1937, Segrè was given a sample of molybdenum (the element with atomic number 42) which had undergone a process shown by J.R. *Oppenheimer to be the equivalent of neutron bombardment. Segrè analyzed this sample when he returned to Italy. He traced what had become of the radioactivity it had already lost and thereby located small quantities of element 43, which he called "technetium." In 1938, when racial legislation was introduced in Italy, Segrè emigrated to the U.S. His work at the University of California led to the synthesis of astatine, another hitherto undiscovered element. After World War II, he participated in the search for an elementary particle known as the "antiproton," whose existence and nature were inferred from very advanced reasoning. In 1955 the team of Segrè and Owen Chamberlain reported on the formation of the antiproton. For this achievement, they shared the Nobel Prize for physics four years later (1959).The antiproton discovery was followed by studies of its properties and interactions, as well as those of the antineutron. He retired in 1972, but remained active, with traveling and writing taking up much of his time.

In the immediate postwar years Segrè edited an influential three-volume handbook on experimental nuclear physics. He served as chairman of the editorial board overseeing the publication of the collected papers of Enrico Fermi. In 1964 he authored a text on nuclei and particles and in 1970 a biography of Fermi. His lectures on the history of physics were made into two accessible books. His autobiography appeared posthumously in 1993. He also served for 20 years (1958–77) as editor of the *Annual Review of Nuclear Science*.

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[J. Edwin Holmstrom / Bracha Rager (2nd ed.)]

SEGRÈ, GINO (1864–1942), Italian jurist. Born in Bozzolo, Mantua, Segrè lectured at the universities of Camerino, Cagliari, Messina and at Parma before being appointed to the chair of Roman law at the University of Turin in 1916. He was a member of the Italian Academy of Sciences, of the Accademia dei Lincei, served on the commission for the reform of Italian civil law, and was the author of many monographs, mainly on Roman public and private law. A staunch liberal and a loyal Jew, Segrè suffered persecution by the Italian Fascists and many of his writings were banned and destroyed. In 1952 his disciple Professor G. Grosso edited Segrè's *Scritti varii di diritto Romano*.

In 1974 another book of his articles appeared, *Dalla radice pandettistica alla maturità romanistica. Scritti di Diritto Romano,* with a preface by his disciple G. Grosso, who also published an article on his work in his memory, "G. Segré a trent'anni dalla morte" (in: *Bullettino Ist. Dir. Rom.* 75 (1972), 1 ff.).

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[Alfredo Mordechai Rabello /
Mordechai-Alfredo Rabello (2nd ed.)]

SEGRÈ, JOSHUA BENZION (**Salvador**; c. 1705–c. 1797), Italian *dayyan* and rabbi. Born probably in Casale Monferrato, Segrè went to Scandiano in 1735 or 1736 as a children's tutor (*melammed tinokot*), but pretended to function as a fully fledged teacher (*moreh hora'ah*), claiming that he had graduated at the Mantua yeshivah. This claim caused him to quarrel with the rabbis of Reggio Emilia under whose jurisdiction he came. At the age of 23 he had already shown his taste for polemics by writing *Asham Talui* against Christianity in which, although not particularly well versed in Latin, he attempted mainly to prove that *Jerome had made many errors in his translation of the Old Testament. G.B. De *Rossi published a synopsis of the work, criticizing it severely.

Segrè also wrote a polemic against Guilio *Morosini's *Derekh ha-Emunah (La Via della Fede)*. As well as writing commentaries on the Bible, Kabbalah, and *halakhah*, he was the author of a commentary on Psalms, *Ẓorer u-Moreh* (a summary of the laws of *terefah*), a booklet on Hebrew grammar, and an Italian translation of the principal prayers, partly in verse. The works were never published. His booklet *Kol Omerim Hodu* (Mantua, 1740) celebrates the inauguration of a reconstructed synagogue in Scandiano, financed by the *Almansi family (in whose house the synagogue was located).

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[Menachem E. Artom]

SEGRÈ, ROBERTO (1872–1939), Italian soldier. Son of an army colonel, Segrè was made an officer at the age of 18 and joined the artillery corps. He was transferred to the general staff in 1902. He served in the Italo-Turkish war (1911–12), and was decorated several times. During World War I Segrè commanded artillery formations in the battle of Gorizia (1916) and in 1917 was made chief of staff of the fifth army corps. After the war he was appointed head of the Italian-Austrian Armistice Commission. Segrè was eventually promoted to lieutenant general and corps commander. He served in this last capacity until the racial laws of 1938 forced him to resign his commission. An outstanding gunnery officer, Segrè was capable of using heavy artillery with devastating effect. He published numerous military studies and books on military history and politics and was awarded several decorations, including the Cross of Savoy.

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[Massimo Longo Adorno]

SEGRE, SALVATORE (**Joshua Benzion**; 1729–1809), Italian rabbi. Segre was born in Vercelli, and was a wealthy property owner. One of the few Italian rabbis who inclined toward Reform, he served in the rabbinate and on the town council of

Vercelli after the occupation by the French revolutionary army. When Napoleon convened the Sanhedrin in Paris in 1806 (see French *Sanhedrin), Segre was one of the North Italian delegates. In a speech delivered in Paris on Aug. 15, 1806, he obsequiously praised the emperor and the following February he was chosen *av bet din* of the Sanhedrin. When the work of the Sanhedrin was finished Segre returned to his rabbinical position in Vercelli. In 1809 he went back to Paris and died during his visit.

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[Menachem E. Artom]

SEIBER, MÁTYÁS GYÖRGY (1905–1960), composer. Seiber was born in Budapest and from 1919 to 1924 studied music at the academy there, mainly with Kodály. He was the most prominent of a group of young composers hailed by Kodály in an influential article as the new hope of Hungarian music. In 1926, after a period of traveling, he became a teacher at the Hoch conservatory in Frankfurt on the Main, where he stayed until 1933. Among his pedagogical innovations was the establishment, against strong objection, of a class for the study of jazz. From 1933 to 1935 he taught in Budapest and then settled in London. In 1960 he was killed in a car accident in South Africa. Kodály dedicated the choral work *Media vita in morte sumus* to his memory.

Seiber's early works rank among the most important of the Hungarian school, and his later ones, with their utilization of both pre-classic and 12-tone techniques, made contributions to the contemporary European musical achievement. They include several stage works, *Transylvanian Rhapsody* for orchestra (1941), three string quartets, songs, study works for jazz percussion and the accordion, incidental music for some 25 films and many plays (including Buechner's *Wozzeck*, and the music for the BBC's bicentenary production of Goethe's *Faust* in its entirety), works for solo instruments and orchestra, and choral works, including the cantata *Ulysses*, based on James Joyce's novel (1948).

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[Bathja Bayer]

SEID, RUTH (1913–1995), U.S. novelist who wrote under the pen name **Jo Sinclair**. Born in Brooklyn, the fifth child of Ida (Kravetsky) and Nathan Seid, she grew up in Cleveland. Although family poverty precluded higher education, Seid was determined to be a writer and read voraciously in Cleveland public libraries. During the depression, she worked as a researcher, editor, and writer for the WPA and wrote fiction and plays in her spare time. In 1938, she befriended Helen Buchman, a married woman with a family, who invited Ruth to live in her home and supported her writing ambitions.

Seid took on her pseudonym in order to publish in magazines such as *Esquire,* which only accepted work written by men. This non-ethnic, androgynous pen name reflected Seid's ambiguous literary identity, which straddled religious, racial, and gender categories. Her first published story, "Noon Lynching," in *New Masses*, 20 (1936), is one of many she wrote that dealt with African American characters. Other early stories addressed poverty, self-hatred, sexuality, and Seid's own experiences in the work world. Critics have identified central Jewish themes in her novels as well as in such short stories as "Second Blood," The Medal," and "The Red Necktie." In 1946, Seid published her first novel, *Wasteland*, which won the prestigious $10,000 Harper Prize. In his *PM* review of the novel, Richard Wright praised its representation of Jewish family life and called it a "monumental psychological study." The novel centers on a self-hating photographer, Jacob Braunstein, who changes his name to John Brown to hide his Jewish identity. Urged by his lesbian sister Debby, Brown consults a psychiatrist to work out his neuroses. The novel is organized around references to Passover and the *seder.* The Holocaust also hovers in the background; at the conclusion of the novel, Jakes embraces his Jewish American identity by enlisting in the army to fight on behalf of America and European Jewry.

After *Wasteland,* Seid published *Sing At My Wake* (1951) and *The Changelings* (1955), a novel dealing with Jewish and Italian responses to African Americans moving into their neighborhood. The novel treats issues of sexuality, as well, and is considered a gay-lesbian classic. Seid's well-received fourth novel, *Anna Teller* (1960), about a Hungarian immigrant Jewish family, headed by a formidable matriarch, has strong Holocaust themes. With the rise of feminist, ethnic, and queer studies in the closing decades of the 20th century, interest in Seid/Sinclair's writing increased. Three of her novels were reissued and an abridged version of her memoir, *The Seasons: Death and Transfiguration* (1993), was published. Sinclair spent her last years in Jenkintown, Penn., with her partner Joan Sofer.

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[Wendy Zierler (2nd ed.)]

SEIGEL, JOSHUA (1846–1910), rabbi. Born in Kitzburg, Poland, Seigel is perhaps best known for his controversial halakhic treatise, *Eruv ve-Hoẓa'ah*, an interpretation of Jewish law that allowed Jews to carry things on the East Side of Manhattan on the Sabbath. He believed that the island of Manhattan was surrounded by a natural **eruv*, a stance rejected by most of his rabbinic peers.

Seigel started out as a Talmud scholar under the direction of Rabbi Leibel Ḥarif of Plotsk and Rabbi Joshua of Kutna, who ordained him as a rabbi. Seigel received another ordination later on from Rabbi Joseph Kara of Vlatzlovak. He inherited his father's pulpit as rabbi of Sierpc, Poland, but not with unanimous consent from the community. Seigel was not a ḥasid, so many of the ḥasidic members of Sierpc resisted his leadership, despite the intervention of Rabbi Joshua of Kutna.

Later known as the "Sherpser Rav," Seigel left Europe in 1884 and immigrated to the United States. In New York, he became rabbi of a poor congregation of families divided between ḥasidic and non-ḥasidic traditions. His Polish ancestry set him apart from the Lithuanian rabbis who came to the United States in the late 19th century. Due to this tension, Seigel declined to join the Agudat Harabbonim, a union of mostly Lithuanian-educated rabbis formed in 1902.

Seigel negotiated a position as *mashgi'aḥ* for several New York slaughterhouses and butcher shops, a good way to earn supplementary income to his modest – inadequate – synagogue-pulpit salary. By 1890 almost 20 Galician congregations relied on Seigel for *kashrut* guidance, and many Galician butchers remained under his rabbinic supervision.

In 1908, Seigel went to Palestine in hopes of living in Jerusalem, but the harsh climate prevented him from taking up permanent residence there. A year later, he returned to New York. Seigel left a a posthumous work of responsa titled *Oznal Yehoshua*.

[Lynne Schreiber (2nd ed.)]

SEINFELD, JERRY (1954–), U.S. comedian and television star. Born in Brooklyn, New York, Seinfeld grew up in the Long Island town of Massapequa. He graduated from Queens College, New York, in 1976, with a double major in theater and communications. He worked at a variety of odd jobs while trying to break into the field of stand-up comedy.

His big break came when he was talent-spotted for Johnny Carson's *Tonight Show* in 1981. His first appearance was a success and the prelude to dozens more on the same program. He also became a regular on David Letterman's *Late Night* show after that program debuted in 1982. In 1987 he enjoyed his first solo television credit with "Jerry Seinfeld: Stand-Up Confidential," while in 1988 he earned an American Comedy Award as Funniest Male Stand-up Comic.

In 1988 Seinfeld and his friend Larry *David developed the idea for the *Seinfeld* show, based upon the daily life of a stand-up comedian and his group of friends. It premiered on NBC in July 1989 and maintained its status as one of the most popular and successful of American television sitcoms (1990–98). Proclaiming itself as being about nothing, the show follows the interactions and involvements of four neurotic and self-centered characters – Jerry Seinfeld as played by himself, Cosmo Kramer (Michael Richards), George Costanza (Jason *Alexander), and Elaine Benes (Julia *Louis-Dreyfus) – surrounded by a cast of no less quirky characters, as they sit around and talk themselves into impossibly complicated situations. The show spares no one, not even the handicapped, cruising along blithely and irreverently with its distinct brand of New York cynicism and its own brand of good-humored callousness.

Nominated nine times for an Emmy, *Seinfeld* – and Seinfeld – took home the award in 1993 for Outstanding Comedy Series. In 1992 and 1993 he won the American Comedy Award for Funniest Male Performer in a TV Series.

In 1998, he wrote and starred in a one-man benefit show entitled *Jerry Seinfeld: Live on Broadway.* Seinfeld wrote the books *Seinlanguage* (1994) and *Sein Off* (1998), and the children's book *Hallowe'en* (2002).

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[Rohan Saxena and Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

SEINI (Hung. **Szinérváralja**), village in Transylvania, N.W. Romania; until the end of World War I and between 1940 and 1944 within Hungary. A geographical-historical description of Hungary published in 1799 mentions Jewish inhabitants among the Catholics and Protestants in Seini. There is also information that speaks about the attempt of Jews to establish themselves in the place during the previous century. A community headed by a rabbi probably existed by the close of the 18th century; from its inception the community was Orthodox. In 1885 the community became the official center for the Jews in the surrounding area. The Jewish population numbered 673 (13% of the total population) in 1930.

The Seini community was important in the history of Transylvanian Jewry because of the Hebrew printing press established there by Jacob Wieder. The first Hebrew work was printed in 1904 and the last in 1943. Between the two world wars the press was among the most important in Transylvania. It printed religious works, religious periodicals, and several works in Yiddish. A member of this family of printers, the son of the founder, Judah Wieder, settled in Haifa in 1932 and established a press there.

Between the two world wars, and especially during the Depression of the early 1930s, many local Jews left the area and moved to larger towns, where they hoped they would be able to support their families.

Holocaust and Contemporary Periods

During World War II, in the summer of 1944, at the time of the deportations of Jews from northern Transylvania, the Hungarian Fascist authorities sent all the Jews in Seini to the death camp at *Auschwitz via the Satu Mare ghetto.

The survivors formed a small community after World War II, numbering 150 in 1947, but after a while their numbers declined as a result of emigration to Israel and other countries. The community organization ceased to exist. The three Jewish families who still remained in Seini in 1971 took care of the large and ancient synagogue, which, though in a state of dilapidation, was still standing.

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[Yehouda Marton / Paul Schveiger (2nd ed.)]

°**SEIPEL, IGNAZ** (1876–1932), Austrian statesman, Catholic prelate, and university professor; leader of the *Christian Social Party and five times chancellor of Austria

(1922–24; 1926–29). Although his party's program demanded the restraining of Jewish influence, he personally was of the opinion that "antisemitism was for the gutter," but he tolerated it in his party, particularly among student groups. While in office his attitude toward Jews was always unprejudiced and even benevolent in matters of religion and conscience. In his bitter struggle against the Social Democratic Party he was confronted by many leaders of Jewish origin, in particular their leader Otto *Bauer. Among his principal advisers were also persons of Jewish descent. His financial adviser was Gottfried Kunwald, his legal counsel Wilhelm Rosenberg, while in foreign affairs he was assisted by Dr. Gruenberger. Seipel came to reject parliamentary democracy and supported a constitution based on occupational estates in the sense of the papal encyclical "*Quadragesimo Anno*." Although not favoring Fascism and dictatorship, he furthered the Fascist *Heimwehr as a temporary counterweight to the Socialists.

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[Hugo Knoepfmacher]

SEIR, MOUNT (Heb. הַר שֵׂעִיר), biblical name for a number of regions, the appellation originally meaning "hairy," i.e., wooded.

(1) The area originally inhabited by the Horites (Gen. 14:6; Deut. 2:4) and later by the Edomites, the children of Esau (Gen. 32:4; 33:14, 16). An archaeological survey of the region south of the Zered River has shown that it was inhabited by an Early Bronze Age population until about the 20th century B.C.E. After a gap, the kingdom of Edom was established in the same area in about 1300 B.C.E. Seir is mentioned in Egyptian sources from the time of *Merneptah. The Israelites were ordered to leave the area in the possession of "their brethren, the children of Esau," who dwelt in Seir (Deut. 2:4, 5, 8; Josh. 24:4). Actually, they were unable to penetrate the strong defenses of the Edomites and were forced either to pass between them and the Moabites or go around Seir. Nevertheless, Balaam prophesied that the region would fall to Israel (Num. 24:18), as it did in the days of David. Part of Seir was later occupied by the Simeonites (I Chron. 4:42). Jehoshaphat and Amaziah, kings of Judah, fought against the people of Seir (II Chron. 20:22–23; 25:11). The prophets Isaiah and Ezekiel use the name as a synonym for Edom (Isa. 21:11; Ezek. 35). The area is now known as Jebel (Ar. al-Jibāl), a mountainous region (highest point: Jebel Hārūn, 1396 m.) which is well watered (up to 400 mm. annual rainfall) and wooded in parts. The name is attributed to parts of the Negev west of the Arabah in Deuteronomy 1:2 and 1:44 and some scholars place the theophany referred to in Deuteronomy 33:2 in this area.

(2) An area on the northern border of the territory of Judah, between Kiriath-Jearim and Chesalon (Josh. 15:10). Most of this mountainous region was evidently wooded until the period of the United Monarchy.

(3) An unidentified locality, the place to which Ehud escaped from Jericho after killing Eglon, the king of Moab (Judg. 3:26; as Seirah).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Abel, Géog, 1 (1933), 389–91; Aharoni, Land, index.

[Michael Avi-Yonah]

SEIXAS, family of prominent U.S. communal leaders. GERSHOM MENDES SEIXAS (1746–1816) was the first nativeborn Jewish minister in the United States and one of the most noted of early American Jews. He was the grandson of ABRAHAM MENDES SEIXAS, a London broker, and the son of ISAAC MENDES SEIXAS (1709–1782), founder of the American branch of the Seixas family, who was at various times a merchant in New York, Connecticut, Rhode Island, and New Jersey. Isaac Seixas married Rachel Levy (1719–1797), daughter of Moses *Levy, in 1740, and Gershom Seixas was one of seven children. He studied with the *ḥazzan* Joseph Pinto and in 1768 was appointed *ḥazzan* of Congregation Shearith Israel in New York. During the turmoil of the American Revolution, Gershom and his family moved first to Connecticut in 1776 and then to Philadelphia in 1780, returning to New York in 1784. While in Philadelphia, Seixas served as minister to Congregation Mikveh Israel, which he helped to organize. Constantly troubled over questions of salary and housing, he served as the community expert on Jewish law and practice, attending to ritual matters concerning birth, marriage, and death, and considerations of synagogue service. He was instrumental in saving the Jewish cemetery at Chatham Square, in New York, from obliteration. In 1793 he organized a Hebrew school and in 1803 taught at the Polonies Talmud Torah School. A year before, he helped establish Hebra Hased Va-Amet and earlier in 1798 the Kalfe Sedeka Matten Besether, both charitable institutions. He was also a self-taught *mohel* and *shoḥet*.

Among Seixas' more noted sermons was one which he delivered in 1798 in a defense of French-American relations, despite bitter opposition in New York to the French Revolution. Other sermons called for relief funds for refugees of Indian attacks on the old northwest frontier (1799) and relief for those made homeless by the British during the war of 1812 (1814). Gershom was invited to President Washington's inauguration in 1789. He served as a trustee of the Humane Society and of Columbia College from 1784 to 1814. In 1784 he was elected by the New York State Legislature to the first Board of Regents of the State University.

Seixas' brothers were: ABRAHAM MENDES (1751–99), an officer in the revolutionary army who fought in the southern colonies; BENJAMIN MENDES (1748–1817), one of the founders of the New York Stock Exchange; and MOSES MENDES (1744–1809), one of the organizers and first cashier of the Bank of Rhode Island and in 1790 president of the Newport congregation. DAVID G. (1788–1865), one of Gershom Seixas' children, established the Deaf and Dumb Institute in Philadelphia. He was among the first to discover ways of burning anthracite coal, and helped to introduce daguerrotypes to the U.S. Seixas manufactured crockery in Philadelphia, and has been credited as the father of this art in the U.S.

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[Leo Hershkowitz]

SEJM, the Polish parliament (from 1922 also the senate as an upper house) During the existence of the Polish republic between the two world wars, there were six terms which varied in length and electoral principles. The first or legislative term (1919–22) produced the 1921 constitution. It operated in a time of emergency, when the young state was being consolidated while at war with external enemies and undergoing an internal ferment caused by alien national groupings. Jewish representation, with 11 seats, was only 3% as against a proportion of 11% for the general population. The delegates elected from the Jewish lists constituted a parliamentary club called the "Free Union of the Delegates of Jewish Nationality in the Sejm," consisting of Zionists, Orthodox, *Folkspartei, and *Po'alei Zion, most of whom had a definite connection with the "National Jewish Council" which was under Zionist influence. The struggle for national and civil rights against the hostility of most of the Sejm required daring, a capacity for suffering, and perseverance. The small number of Jewish members prevented in the beginning a suitable representation in the parliamentary committees and thus limited their possibilities of political action.

The Second Sejm (and Senate) (1922–27) was of particular importance. It provided a background to considerable political changes in the stormy life of the country and in the means adopted by the Jewish representatives in their struggle, their number having reached 35 in the Sejm and 12 in the Senate as a result of their being organized during the election in the framework of the *Minority Bloc. This enabled them to overcome the obstacles in the perverse election regulations. In that situation of party divisions and social struggle in the Sejm and outside, there was an increase in the importance of the Jewish Club (Kolo Zydowskie) which had become consolidated. Its successive presidents were O. *Thon, Yiẓḥak *Gruenbaum, L. *Reich, and M.A. *Hartglas. The Jewish deputies were active in important committees, and in the plenum were outstanding through their speeches on specifically Jewish subjects and even on general questions. The leadership throughout that entire period was in the hands of the Zionist group, which was split by matters of principle into two schools of thought: the radical faction led by Gruenbaum, standing for greater links with the national minorities and a policy of fighting the government, and the Galician Zionists, headed by Reich and Thon, who had reservations about adhering too closely to the minorities alliance and attempted to achieve a rapprochement with the Polish government by means of an "agreement" (*Ugoda).

The last four Sejms marked a reduction in the importance of the legislature following the progressively stronger Fascist tendencies of the Polish government. These were expressed primarily in a sharp struggle between the "*Sanacja*" government and the parliamentary opposition, which began in 1935 as a result of the new constitution which attacked electoral freedom through selective candidature and appointment made by ruling circles. In an atmosphere of political pressure by the regime, the disintegration of the Minority Bloc, and the inclusion of Jewish candidates in the government list (BBWR), there began a most drastic process of contraction in Jewish representation in the Sejm and the Senate, as shown in these figures: Third Sejm (1928) – 22 Jewish seats; Fourth Sejm (1930) – 11 Jewish seats; Fifth Sejm (1935) – 6 Jewish seats; Sixth Sejm (1938) – 7 Jewish seats. Under these conditions of internal disruption among the Jewish representatives and intensified manifestations of antisemitism both among the extreme reactionary parties and in the government camp (*OZON), there was no chance of developing real political activity, apart from a defensive attitude of despair and expressions of protest against the injury to the Jewish population, which was caught up in a process of grave decline.

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[Moshe Landau]

SEKIRYANY (Rom. **Secureni**), village in Bessarabia, E. Chernovtsy oblast, Ukraine. Jews began to settle in Sekiryany at the invitation of the owner of the place, who wished to develop his estate after the Russian annexation of Bessarabia in 1812. As a result of Jewish immigration to Bessarabia which continued until the end of the 19th century, the community grew, numbering 5,042 Jews (56% of the total population) in 1897. Thus for all practical purposes, Sekiryany became an urban community even though it formally held the status of a village and it served as a commercial center for all the villages in the area. Jews marketed agricultural products and supplied farmers with their needs. They also were engaged in crafts and agriculture. After Bessarabia was annexed by Romania in 1918 the community developed an active public life. A network of educational institutions was established, including a kindergarten, elementary and high schools, all maintained by the Tarbut Organization, and a *talmud torah*. In 1920 a Jewish hospital was founded. Jews numbered 4,200 (72.6% of the total population) in 1930.

[Eliyahu Feldman]

Holocaust Period

Following the Nazi-Soviet pact of 1939, Bessarabia passed to the Soviet Union. On July 6, 1941, Sekiryany was captured by German-Romanian forces. These troops killed all the Jews they found in the villages on the way and in Sekiryany itself they killed 90 Jews in the first two days of the occupation. Many Jews committed suicide. The local peasants were incited to attack and rob the Jews, thus setting a three-day pogrom in motion. On the third day the Jews were driven to the cemetery and tortured by the troops. A few days later all the Jews were sent on a month-long death march. They were first led to *Brichany, where they spent eight days in the homes of the local Jewish families; then to Koslov where they were left in the open for three days, without food, water, or sanitary facilities. Whoever lifted his head was shot to death on the spot. The survivors were dispersed in the neighboring villages in groups of 200, to be reassembled a few days later and dispatched to Moghilev, *Transnistria (i.e., Mogilev, Ukraine). From there, still numbering a few thousand at this time, they were transferred to Skazinets, and some returned to their home town. Throughout these wanderings they subsisted on the grass and rotten beets collected along the road. Those unable to carry on were buried alive. The old and the sick were shot to death in a forest near Skazinets, and others succumbed to the cold, hunger, and epidemics. In the woods near Kosouty they underwent a brutal body search, during which a large number were killed. Their next stop was Obodovka, where they were locked in a pigsty and could not leave to bury their dead. The survivors were then taken to the kolkhoz Dubina, and to Bershad. By this time, only a few were still alive. After the expulsion of its native Jews, Sekiryany became a large concentration camp for 30,000 Jews from the entire district. The camp was disbanded on Oct. 3, 1941, and all its inmates deported to Transnistria.

[Jean Ancel]

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SELA, MICHAEL (1924–), Israeli biochemist and immunologist. Born in Poland, Sela was taken to Bucharest as a child and immigrated (1941) to Palestine. He graduated in chemistry from the Hebrew University of Jerusalem (M.Sc. 1947, Ph.D. 1954). He became active in the **Aliyah* movement from Italy and helped many Jewish displaced persons reach Ereẓ Israel. He then spent two years (1948–50) as commercial secretary to the Israel Legation in Prague.

Sela began his scientific career as a biophysicist under Ephraim *Katzir in Reḥovot, and developed a special interest in immunology. He headed the new unit in that science established in 1963, when he was made professor, and in the ensuing years did extensive research and teaching in the subject. He wrote many papers for scientific journals, edited several books, and lectured widely in Israel and at international forums. His work in elucidating the chemical basis of antigenicity won him the Rothschild Prize (1968). Nine years earlier he received the Israel Prize in natural sciences for work on synthetic polypeptides as protein models. In 1966 he undertook a survey of immunological research in Russia and Hungary for the WHO and between 1975 and 1979 served as council chairman of the European Molecular Biology Organisation (EMBO).

Among the posts he held at the Weizmann Institute of Science are dean of biology (1970–75), vice president (1970–71), and president (1975–85). In 1976, Sela was elected a foreign member of the U.S. Academy of Sciences, president of the International Union of Immunological Societies, and a member of the Pontifical Academy of Sciences (in the Vatican). He received several additional prizes, including the Baillet-Latour Prize in Belgium and the Wolf Prize in Israel. His name is linked with the drug against multiple sclerosis which he created at the Weizmann Institute and which was developed by Teva Pharmaceutical Industries under the name Copaxone. He is an institute professor and deputy chairman of the Board of Governors of the Weizmann Institute of Science.

[Julian Louis Meltzer]

SELBSTEMANZIPATION, the first Zionist newspaper in Western Europe, in German. The idea of the newspaper originated in the group centered on the first Zionist student group in Western Europe, *Kadimah, and its name reflected the admiration felt by members of the group for Leo *Pinsker and the influence exerted on them by his book of the same name. The paper first came out in 1885, in Vienna, under the editorship of Nathan *Birnbaum, and with the encouragement of Pinsker. It was the first newspaper in Western Europe to be entirely devoted to advocating the Zionist cause, from its editorials to the notes on local events. The word Zionism itself was used for the first time in its columns (by Birnbaum, in 1890). The moving spirit behind the paper was Birnbaum, whose articles on current affairs and ideological essays on the national character of the Jewish people polemicized both against assimilationism and socialist cosmopolitanism. The paper devoted much of its space to Ereẓ Israel and its resettlement, and became the central organ of the Zionist movement in the West. It experienced great financial difficulties and ceased publication in the middle of 1886 after one and a quarter years of existence. The *Esra society in Germany, then at the height of its activities for the settlement of Ereẓ Israel, renewed publication in September 1886, transferring the paper to Berlin and changing its name to *Serubabel*. Although Birnbaum continued to write for the paper, Willi *Bambus now became its moving spirit. Since Esra was mainly concerned with Ereẓ Israel, the paper devoted most of its space to this cause, as well as to research and information on Ereẓ Israel. The debate with those opposed to the Jewish national idea continued in its columns, and the first attempts were made to bring about a rapprochement between Eastern and Western Jewry. The paper again ceased publication because of financial difficulties (July 1888) and renewed publication on April 1, 1890, under its original name and editor. In its new form, *Selbstemanzipation* constituted a synthesis between its two previous forms. It opposed Baron de *Hirsch's proposed settlement program in Argentina. The paper also involved itself in the elections to the Austrian parliament, supporting I.S. Bloch, the candidate who was closest to the Zionist line. Two of the paper's main opponents in Vienna were the rabbis and scholars M. *Guedemann and A. *Jellinek.

With the arrival of the Hebrew writer Reuben *Brainin in Vienna (1891), ties with Eastern Jewry were further strengthened, and the paper began to devote much of its space to the new Hebrew literature. Birnbaum's Zionist articles continued to feature prominently in the paper (whose subtitle "Jewish National Organ" was replaced in May 1893 with "Zionist Organ") and it played an influential part in the establishment of the united Zionist Federation of Austria and Galicia in 1893. In 1894 the name of the paper was changed to *Juedische Volkszeitung* with the addition of "formerly *Selbstemanzipation*." The paper was transferred to Berlin, but the editorial board remained in Vienna. While there were no policy changes, the addition of a group of young men later to constitute *Herzl's immediate following (S.R. *Landau, M. *Ehrenpreis, O. *Thon, H. *Loewe, etc.) to the paper's contributors made it into the representative organ of the Zionist movement before Herzl. At the beginning of 1895, however, the paper ceased publication.

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[Getzel Kressel]

SELBSTWEHR ("Self-Defense"), Jewish weekly founded in Prague. It was first published in 1907 and appeared regularly until the fall of 1938. After amalgamation with the *Juedisches Volksblatt*, a weekly published in *Ostrava, it was the most widely read Jewish newspaper in Czechoslovakia. Editors of the paper included Siegfried Katznelson, later manager of the publishing house Juedischer Verlag, Berlin; Leo Herrman, later general secretary of the Keren Hayesod, Jerusalem; Felix *Weltsch; and Hans Lichtwitz (Uri Naor; d. 1988), later of the Israel Foreign Ministry, Jerusalem. Among regular contributors were Max *Brod and Martin *Buber. *Selbstwehr* was the official organ of the Czechoslovakian Zionist Movement and the German-language organ of the Juedische Partei, which represented the interests of the Jewish minority in Czechoslovak internal politics. After World War I *Selbstwehr* also published the annual "Jewish Almanac", edited by Felix Weltsch and Friedrich *Thieberger, which dealt mainly with cultural activities in Palestine. The regular monthly supplement, *Die Juedische Frau* ("The Jewish Woman"), edited by Hannah *Steiner, was the official organ of Czechoslovak WIZO. *Selbstwehr* had to cease publication after the Munich agreement.

[Uri Naor]

°**SELDEN, JOHN** (1584–1654), English parliamentarian, lawyer, and antiquarian. Selden was a prominent member of the Antiquarian Society – the important forum for research in the 17th century. He had an exceptional command of Oriental languages, notably of both biblical and rabbinical Hebrew.

His attitude toward Jews and Judaism was marked by contradictions. Thus, in his short *Treatise on the Jews in England* (1617), he gives credence to ritual murder, albeit as past history. On the other hand, in all his works on Jewish subjects he expresses boundless admiration for rabbinical scholarship, which sometimes borders on the grotesque (cf. Ehrman, in: *Papers from the Fourth World Congress of Jewish Studies* 1 (1967), 181–3 (Heb.), 267 (Eng. abstract)). In his famous *Table Talk* he also writes sympathetically about Jews. Selden's amazing familiarity with the intrinsic problems of rabbinical scholarship and his erudite exposition of rabbinical law, which runs into many volumes, form a unique contribution to scholarship. A list of the short titles of his rabbinical writings indicates the extensiveness of his work in this field: *History of Tithes* (1617), leading up to questions on the relations between church and state; *De Jure Naturali et Gentium* (1640), on international law (a work to which particular attention is drawn by Shabtai Rosenne in "The Influence of Judaism on the Development of International Law," *Netherlands International Law Review,* 5 (1958), 128–30); *De Anno Civili* (1644), a work which first refers to the doctrines and practices of the Karaites; *Uxor Ebraica* (1946), on Jewish marriage and divorce laws; *De Synhedriis* (1650), on the constitution of Jewish ecclesiastical courts, drawing attention to relevant parallels with the constitution of the Church as regards the division of authority between clergy and laymen; *De Successionibus* (1631), on Jewish laws of inheritance. In fact all his works, and not just his specific rabbinical writings, make frequent reference to rabbinical sources.

It was probably to explain or justify and also occasionally to protest against specific Christian institutions that Selden had recourse to rabbinical sources. Thus, for instance, when he was writing his *Uxor Ebraica*, his friends assumed that his aim was to throw further light on a topic of Christian interest. R. Cudworth wrote to him from Cambridge (Mss. Seld. 108, Arch. Seld. A, Bodleian Library, Oxford): "I hope in your Worke de Nuptys Hebrays you will bring something to light which the world is yet ignorant of, for the clearing of our Saviour's descent from David's line"; Cudworth then goes on in a scholarly fashion to point to an apparent contradiction between Abrabanel's commentary on Isaiah and an instance in the Talmud, touching as it were on the Christian viewpoint under discussion. As to Selden's treatment of the sources of Jewish law, it is certain that he did not rely merely on secondary sources (e.g., the works of Johannes *Buxtorf, I and II) but read the Talmud (both the Babylonian and the Jerusalem) at least to the extent of looking up references suggested to him in Jewish and non-Jewish post-talmudic works. His library was apparently crowded with different editions of the Talmud as well as the most varied works of the post-talmudic rabbinical literature (Selden Handlist, *Libri Bibl. Seld.*, Bodleian Library, Oxford). It is evident, however, that his main source was Maimonides' Code, which he preferred to the standard codes of

Arba'ah Turim and Shulḥan Arukh. Whatever the shortcomings of Selden's rabbinical writings may have been, the inaccuracies, obscurities, and digressions which were severely exposed by Herzog (in: *Journal of Comparative Legislation*, 13 (1931), 236–45), it is clear that by stimulating interest in rabbinics he greatly contributed to Christian scholarship as well as to modern Judaic studies.

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[Arnost Zvi Ehrman]

SELDES, GEORGE (1890–1995), U.S. journalist and author. Born in Alliance, New Jersey, Seldes was a crusading pamphleteer who wrote exposés of many facets of American life. He started as a reporter, and was night editor of the *Pittsburgh Post* (1910–16). Going to New York, he became managing editor of *Pulitzer's Weekly* (1916). He was a war correspondent during World War I, in Syria 1926–27, and in Spain 1936–37. His candid reporting led to his expulsion from more than one country, such as Russia and Italy. He served as head of the Berlin and Rome bureaus of the *Chicago Tribune* until he resigned in 1928 and returned to New York. From 1940 to 1950 Seldes, as a media critic, published a weekly bulletin of "inside" news called *In Fact*, which attained a circulation of 175,000. In 1941 he began writing about the dangers of tobacco but few newspapers would carry the stories, as many of their advertisers were cigarette companies.

Seldes, who lived to 104, spent his life fighting for a free, fair, and responsible press. In his view, the best formula for the media was "the facts fairly and honestly presented; truth will take care of itself."

In *You Can't Print That* (1929), *The Truth Behind the News* (1929), and *Lords of the Press* (1938), Seldes assailed what he considered the venality of American journalism. *Sawdust Caesar* (1935) was a debunking biography of Mussolini. His other books include *Freedom of the Press* (1935), *Facts and Fascism* (1943), *Our Thousand Americans* (1947), *The People Don't Know* (1949), *Tell the Truth and Run* (1953), *The Great Quotations* (1960), *Never Tire of Protesting* (1968), *Even the Gods Can't Change History* (1976), *The Great Thoughts* (1985), and his autobiography, *Witness to a Century* (1987), which he completed at age 96.

Richard Goldsmith's film *Tell the Truth and Run: George Seldes and the American Press* (1996) was nominated for an Academy Award for Best Documentary.

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[Lawrence H. Feigenbaum / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

SELDES, MARIAN (1928–), U.S. actress. Born in New York City to critic Gilbert and Alice (née Hall) Seldes, as a teenager Seldes studied with the American Ballet from 1941 to 1944, debuting on stage in *Petrouchka* (1942). In her late teens she changed her focus to acting and enrolled in the Neighborhood Playhouse School of the Theatre, making her stage acting debut with the Cambridge Summer Theater in 1945. After graduating at 19, Seldes made her Broadway debut in *Medea* (1947) in a small role as the attendant to the title character. After supporting roles in *Crime and Punishment* (1947), *That Lady* (1949), *The Tower Beyond Tragedy* (1950), and *The High Ground* (1951), Seldes made her silver-screen debut in *The Lonely Night* (1952). Seldes returned to Broadway for *Ondine* (1954) and *The Chalk Garden* (1955) before trying her hand in Hollywood again with the films *The True Story of Jesse James* (1957), *Crime and Punishment* (1959), and *Crime and Passion* (1959). In 1960, she returned to New York for the Broadway play *The Wall* (1960) and then went on to star in original Broadway productions, including Tennessee William's *The Milk Train Doesn't Stop Here Anymore* (1964) and Edward Albee's *Tiny Alice* (1965) and *A Delicate Balance* (1966), which earned her a Tony Award for best actress. In 1968, Seldes began teaching drama at the Julliard School, a position she held for 22 years. After her turn in *Equus* from 1974 to 1976, she starred as the murdered wife of a playwright in *Deathtrap*, a role that lasted from 1978 to 1982. In 1981, she wrote the novel *Time Together.* In 1990, Seldes married writer-director Garson *Kanin. After leaving Julliard, Seldes returned to Hollywood to portray Alice B Toklas in *Gertrude Stein and a Companion* and Charlotte Sandler, the mother to Terri Garr's character in the short-lived sitcom *Good and Evil.* Following more television work, Seldes returned to Broadway for *Ivanov* (1997), which included one-time Seldes student Kevin Kline. Less than two months after the March 13 death of Kanin, Seldes came to the aid of *Ring Round the Moon* (1999) after the actress portraying Madame Desmermor fell ill; the role earned her a Drama Desk and a Tony Award nomination. Other award-nominated turns followed in *The Butterfly Collection* (2001), *The Play about the Baby* (2001), and *Dinner at Eight* (2003).

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[Adam Wills (2nd ed.)]

SELDIN, HARRY M. (1895–1975), U.S. oral surgeon. Born in Russia, Seldin was taken to the U.S. in 1905. From 1919 to 1924 he was an instructor in the dental department of New York University, and headed its department of general anesthesia from 1926–31. He was associate director of the dentistry division of the Department of Hospitals, New York City, from 1928 to 1930, and director from 1930 to 1934. In 1934 he was appointed consulting oral surgeon to the Harlem Hospital in New York and in 1942 to the Peekskill Hospital in Westchester County, New York. Seldin played a leading part in the establishment of the Hebrew University-Hadassah School of Dentistry in Jerusalem founded by the Alpha-Omega Fraternity. He was governor of the Hebrew University and of Tel Aviv University. In 1960 he founded the Harry M. Seldin Center of Oral-Maxillary Surgery at the Rambam Hospital in Haifa.

Seldin was the author of a textbook on oral surgery, and his achievements in this field earned him academic honors and the highest awards of his profession in the United States and abroad.

SELEKMAN, BENJAMIN MORRIS (1893–1962), U.S. labor relations expert. Born in Bethlehem, Pa., Selekman worked in the field of Jewish social work and labor relations. He was executive director of the Associated Jewish Philanthropies of Boston from 1929 to 1945, and was professor of labor relations at the Harvard University School of Business Administration from 1945 to 1962. Though impressed by the degree of goodwill shown by many employers in improving industrial relations and in particular by the efforts of John D. Rockefeller after the bitter Colorado Fuel and Iron Company's Ludlow, Colorado, strike, Selekman regarded social conflict in labor relations as virtually unavoidable. They were part of the process of economic development and the emergence of democratic social stability. Selekman's work leaned heavily upon the relevance of psychoanalytical insight. His numerous writings include *Labor Relations and Human Relations* (1947), *Power and Morality in a Business Society* (1956), and *A Moral Philosophy for Management* (1959).

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[Mark Perlman]

SÈLESTAT (Ger. **Schlettstadt**), town in the department of Bas-Rhin, Alsace, in eastern France. The presence of Jews in Sélestat is confirmed from at least the beginning of the 14th century. While town officials succeeded in protecting Jews from outside attacks, particularly from the *Armleder bands, a number of Selestat's inhabitants attacked them in 1347 and again in 1349, believing that they were responsible for spreading the *Black Death. As a result of these attacks, several Jews were murdered and others fled. Others accepted baptism, but they were soon accused, with the rest of the Jewish population, of spreading the Black Death. The synagogue was confiscated and converted into an indoor market; from the middle of the 16th century it was used as an arsenal. The Jews returned a short while later, but they were again expelled at the beginning of the 16th century. The street which was known at first as "Judenschuel" and later as the Rue des Juifs was inhabited by this second community. From that time onward, Jews visited Sélestat for trading purposes, but they were not allowed to settle there. During the 17th century Jews from neighboring localities acquired a plot of land for use as a cemetery, which still existed in 1971. A new Jewish community was not established in Sélestat until after the French Revolution. It was soon the third largest Jewish settlement in Alsace. The population continued to decline throughout the 19th and early 20th centuries, however. Between the two world wars, the community numbered approximately 250. The synagogue, which was erected in 1890 and sacked by the Germans during World War II, was later rebuilt. The community was reconstituted after the war, and in 1971 numbered 180 persons.

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[Bernhard Blumenkranz]

SELEUCIA, name of two cities.

(1) City in Gaulanitis, S.E. of Lake Ḥuleh. Seleucia was among the numerous cities and fortresses captured by Alexander Yannai during his campaign in Transjordan. With the outbreak of the war against Rome (66 C.E.), Seleucia was fortified by Josephus, who describes the area as having very strong natural defenses. Early in the revolt, however, Seleucia was induced by Agrippa II to come to terms with the Romans (Jos., Wars, 1:105; 2:574; Life, 187, 398). See Schuerer, Hist, 89 f., in connection with the cities of Gadara and Abila.

(2) City on the west bank of the Tigris (south of modern Baghdad), founded by Seleucus I Nicator (312–280 B.C.E.). During the Parthian period the city was inhabited mainly by Greeks and Syrians, and Pliny gives its population as 600,000 (*Natural History,* 6:122). Relations between the two elements were strained, and conditions were exacerbated when, in the first century C.E., a large number of Jews took refuge in Seleucia, after the defeat of the Jewish leader *Anilaeus (c. 35). At first the Jews joined with the Syrians but this alliance was successfully broken up by the Greek party. Subsequently there developed a common enmity toward the Jews, and in a sudden attack upon the community over 50,000 Jews were said to have been slain. The surviving Jews eventually fled to *Nehardea and *Nisibis, both beyond the Seleucid sphere of influence.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Pauly-Wissowa, 2nd series, 3 (1921), 1177 f., s.v. *Seleukeia (am Tigris)*; Neusner, Babylonia, index in every vol., s.v.

[Isaiah Gafni]

SELEUCID ERA, the basis for Jewish reckoning of years during the Second Temple period, and in certain Jewish communities down to the late medieval period and until comparatively modern times. This era, commonly referred to in Hebrew as *minyan shetarot* (see *Calendar), coincides with the founding of the Seleucid monarchy, but there are discrepancies regarding the precise beginning of the cycle. Whereas the return of Seleucus I Nicator to Babylon, following the battle of Gaza (autumn 312 B.C.E.), is officially regarded as the date of the founding of the empire, it appears that certain nations, including possibly the Jews, regarded the following year, 311 B.C.E., as the beginning of that era.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Schuerer, Gesch, 1 (1901^{4}), 32–40; E. Mahles, *Handbuch der juedischen chronologie* (1916), 402; W. Kubitschek, *Grundriss der antiken Zeitrechnung* (1928), 70 ff.; E. Frank, *Talmudic and Rabbinical Chronology* (1956), 30–5; E.J. Bickerman, *Chronology of the Ancient World* (1968), 70–72.

[Isaiah Gafni]

°**SELEUCUS IV PHILOPATOR**, Seleucid monarch 187–176 B.C.E.), son of *Antiochus II the Great. Following the crushing defeat by the Romans at Magnesia (190), the Seleucid Empire found itself in extreme financial difficulties, and these were to have a direct effect in altering the friendly relations cultivated by Antiochus III with the Jews of Palestine. In an attempt to raise funds for the Seleucid treasury, Seleucus dispatched his minister *Heliodorus to Jerusalem. The mission whose purpose was to appropriate funds on deposit in the Temple treasury, was encouraged by Simeon, an official of the Temple. According to the description in II Maccabees (1:1ff.), Heliodorus was miraculously prevented from entering the treasury. Forced to return empty-handed to Seleucus, he was eventually responsible for the assassination of the king. Seleucus IV was succeeded by his younger brother *Antiochus IV Epiphanes.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Schuerer, Gesch, 1 (1901^4), 169; E.R. Bevan, *House of Seleucus*, 2 (1902), 120–5.

[Isaiah Gafni]

SELF-DEFENSE (in modern Jewish history). Jewish efforts against attacking mobs in Russia and in Austria-Hungary from the end of the 19th century until shortly after World War I. The nature of the pogroms in this period (especially in the years 1881–82, 1903–05, and 1917–20) taught Jews that they occurred with the compliance of the governing authorities and at times even at their instigation. The government, therefore, could be no guarantee of protection. A segment of the Jewish community gradually became aware of the necessity for Jews to come to their own defense and to concern themselves with the safety of their brethren and the protection of their property. They should not depend for their security on the forces of law and order of a hostile government, and on occasion they must even oppose those forces directly. This point of view gained strength in the wake of the revolutionary movement throughout Russia and the rise of modern Jewish nationalism (both its Zionist and its socialist-Diaspora manifestations) which reawakened the sense of national honor among Jews. In the *Pale of Settlement in Russia there was an overcrowded Jewish population, and in many of the cities and towns in this area Jews constituted the majority of the local population, or at least a very substantial minority. There was a steady increase in the number of Jewish artisans and workers who were physically fit and knew how to wield a knife or ax. Conscription into the Russian army created, especially among the lower strata of Jewish society, a pool of young men accustomed to military discipline and trained in defense tactics.

During the pogroms of 1881–82, self-defense was organized spontaneously in different places. Equipped mainly with light arms, the defenders relied on the numerical strength of the Jewish masses to try to prevent the rioting mobs from penetrating their streets (especially in *Berdichev and *Kirovograd (Yelizavetgrad), and *Warsaw). In *Balta, the teacher Eliezer Mashbir organized a self-defense unit largely made up of porters, coachmen, and apprentices, and even set up a form of communication through signaling with blasts of the *shofar*. The founders of the self-defense movement in Odessa were M. *Ben-Ammi and W.M. *Haffkine. They had to overcome the opposition of those Jewish revolutionaries who believed that pogroms merely expressed the anger of the awakening Russian proletariat and therefore Jews should not act with the police against the people, even when the people were in the wrong. The first such group of defenders, composed mostly of students and Hebrew teachers, turned to the synagogues and made a special effort "to attract the butchers and coachmen." The wealthy did not take part, nor did their synagogues participate. The equipment of these fighters consisted of "sticks, axes, and iron poles – pistols were rare." During actual pogroms their defense activity had very limited success in itself; it was effective mainly in the poorest quarters, even when the Jews had to stand up to the combined strength of the army and the police. More than 100 of the defenders were arrested, among them Haffkine, who had a revolver in his hand when he was seized. Although those who were captured were mainly simple men, they never revealed at their trial that students were the initiators of the movement. In the succeeding years the youth and workers continued in their efforts to form defense organizations. In the proceedings instituted against 14 Jews in 1897, it became clear that in Minsk that year a group of defenders which had been hastily assembled had been able to strike back with combat weapons against soldiers rioting in the marketplace.

The pogroms of 1903, especially that in *Kishinev, created renewed interest in self-defense. Although even in Kishinev there had been individual examples of courageous defenders, the slaughter there symbolized in the mind of the Jewish community the weakness and shame of their general defenselessness in the face of their attackers. The Russian government had announced its official opposition to organized defense. However, all active nationalist Jewish circles, the youth in particular, whether Zionists or socialists, concluded that their collective defense was a spiritual as well as a physical necessity. In April 1903, two weeks after the Kishinev pogroms, the *Aguddat Soferim Ivrim* ("Hebrew Writers League"), including *Aḥad Ha-Am, Ḥ.N. *Bialik, M. Ben-Ammi, S. *Dubnow, and Y.Ḥ. *Rawnitzki, issued an announcement, composed by Aḥad Ha-Am, stating that "it is degrading for five million people … to stretch out their necks to be slaughtered and to call for help without attempting to protect their property, dignity, and lives with their own hands." They demanded the establishment of a permanent organization to defend against and repel attackers "in all places where we live," and they urged that "a general gathering of the representatives of all major Jewish communities within our land" should be convened for this purpose. This same outlook also gradually became evident within leftist Jewish circles, although for them the decision to act against the masses of the Russian people was a bitter one. In its policy statement of 1903, the *Bund declared "violence must be answered with violence, wherever it comes from." A group of left-wing Zionist students called for "the same healthy, free response made by a man when a wild animal leaps upon him … acquire as many weapons as you possibly can!" This mood found its strongest poetic expression in Bialik's poem "The City of Slaughter," which sharply condemns the shame of the meek acquiescence of the "calves for the slaughter."

In Odessa, collective defense was set up at this time, with Vladimir *Jabotinsky as one of the active participants. They collected money, bought guns by the dozens, and prepared small arms. In proclamations in Yiddish and in Russian they urged the youth to arm itself. However, the various leftist organizations, which had been fairly active in the area of self-defense, did not join forces with Jabotinsky's group, and still less were they prepared to act jointly with bourgeois circles; the Bund in particular was strongly opposed to such cooperation. Between 1903 and 1905 collective defense units were set up in the cities and towns of Belorussia and the Ukraine. In Yekaterinoslav (*Dnepropetrovsk), for instance, the *Po'alei Zion were the organizers: they raised money, acquired guns, and "in the smithies special iron poles were fashioned, with iron spikes on them." To improve their marksmanship, they went out to deserted islands on the River Dnieper for target practice. Two hundred students in *Kiev formed a defensive unit, "each armed with a large stick, a Finnish knife, and pistol." The artisans in the group fashioned hand-combat weapons. The defenders were divided into groups of ten, and whenever the outbreak of a pogrom appeared imminent they took up their arms and mobilized for action in private homes with telephones. They also had spies among the potential attackers, and a number of non-Jewish teachers at the university aided the defenders. Similar organizations were established in *Shklov, *Vilna – where Michael *Helpern was one of the leaders – Warsaw, and *Rostov on the Don. The Minsk experience in setting up defensive units was used as a model for the entire area. The self-defense organization in *Gomel (Homel) developed from the nucleus known as Gibborei Ẓiyyon ("The Heroes of Zion"), the military unit of the Po'alei Zion, and "during the summer of 1903 the entire city was organized, blacksmiths … butchers, and wagon drivers, each separately," and the rest of the citizens along occupational lines. (There was also a separate defense unit of the Bund.) When the army mounted an attack against them in 1903, many fell and numerous others were captured and brought to trial. Seeing that the army was on the point of attacking them, the defenders had tried to arouse the Jewish masses against the pogromists. Even the government-appointed rabbi of *Kremenchug, A.Y. Friedenberg, issued a proclamation in Russian in 1903 calling for collective defense and convening a conference of all the neighboring communities for the purpose of "consulting on the establishment of secret defensive units in various places." Ḥayyim Berlin, the rabbi of Moscow, took part in this convention.

In 1904 the self-defense movement was widespread throughout many cities and towns, but the splintering-off into factions and the growing revolutionary tide among the workers prevented real cooperation and unity. In many cities there were a number of parallel defense groups – affiliated with the Bund, Po'alei Zion, etc. Yet in the face of a pogrom they usually united, and even secured the help of the ordinary "unpolitically minded" Jews. The Bund defense group in Dvinsk (*Daugavpils) successfully repelled its attackers in 1904, and, when its leader, Mendel Daitch, was sentenced to death for an attack on a police officer during what was actually a general revolutionary action, *Meir Simḥah ha-Kohen, the rabbi of Dvinsk, proclaimed a fast and called for the recitation of psalms to mark his righteous act of defending his fellow Jews. Revolutionary circles began to take pride in this central and unifying activity for Jewish self-defense. V. Fabrikant, the left-wing Zionist, described how in 1904 "a defensive unit … was set up. At its center was organized labor, and the rest of the elements both organized and unorganized were on the periphery." He also stated that "every Jew, even one of the higher echelons of the bourgeoisie, is entitled to be defended by us if he is in danger of injury solely because he is a Jew." Defining the goals of self-defense, he said it was a war "for our present … for the possessions of the poor; for the lives of our brethren of Israel who are in distress; for the honor of our sisters; for our national honor … for our future as a nation." He also recommended taking retaliatory action against individuals who stirred up pogroms and against those officials who were lax in their duty to protect Jewish citizens. Even Bundist circles recognized as desirable the continued existence of defense units and of their branching-out into other cities and towns. The Bund claimed the honor of setting up the committees for self-defense. At the initiative of Po'alei Zion, an all-Russian conference on self-defense programs was convened in Odessa on Jan. 6, 1905; Aḥad Ha-Am and S. Dubnow promised to speak there. However, since some letters dealing with conference plans were intercepted and several of the delegates were arrested, the full-scale meeting envisaged did not take place.

When the government turned "the wrath of the masses" against the Jews in 1905, an extensive self-defense movement existed in many Russian cities and towns. The nucleus of the movement came from the Jewish labor parties and their military units, and it had a widespread following among the rest of the people. Although anxious to form countrywide links among its units, the movement was weakened by party and class divisions and suspicion. Organized defense groups are known to have existed in 42 cities; 30 of these went into action, particularly in October of 1905. The most important were in Odessa, Akkerman (*Belgorod-Dnestrovski), *Zhitomir, *Starodub, Yelizavetgrad, Yekaterinoslav, *Chernigov, and Rostov on the Don. Some enlightened Russian non-Jews aided the cause of Jewish self-defense and in Odessa the university assisted the defenders. In the battles of 1905, 132 fighters fell, including four women and a number of Russians. Both the strength and the weakness of the self-defense endeavor were clearly embodied in its activity in Zhitomir, in which three organizations were involved: the Bund, Po'alei Zion, and the "non-labor Zionists." In clashes with rioters and security forces (May 6–7, 1905) all three groups worked together under the command of a young Bundist. The battle lasted for four hours and 13 of the defenders fell. From Berdichev and *Chudnov

Jewish defense groups came to the aid of the Jews of Zhitomir. However, this example of cooperation between cities ended in tragedy; when the Berdichev unit came up against a crowd of rioters at a railway station, the local Jews – fearful of the mob – refused to give them refuge. Ten of the Berdichev group were killed. The dangers inherent in the movement of the Jewish defense units throughout Russia were also revealed in many other incidents, as in October 1905, when 23 fighters belonging to the defenders' group from *Rechitsa perished in Odessa. Other cities also witnessed a wide range of defensive activities, including Poltava, where the head was Izhak *Ben-Zvi. In Yekaterinoslav the fighters succeeded in killing 47 of their attackers.

After 1905 the strength of the self-defense movement waned along with the lessening of revolutionary tensions within Russia. In 1909 the central ammunition storage dump of the Bund was liquidated. However, the circumstances of the civil war in 1917–20 brought new and stronger calls for self-defense and initiated new methods of setting it in motion. In those years pogroms were perpetrated not only by the rioting masses but also by bands of soldiers and even by regular units of the forces of the warring sides. In such conditions of social upheaval and the disintegration of the czarist army, the defense movement was obviously likely to gain greater support than previously through the aid of Jewish soldiers and because of the revolutionary excitement prevailing among the leftist factions. Nevertheless, it was also liable to rapid collapse, for it could not stand alone against attackers who were trained troops of regular or semi-regular armies. Those soldiers of the disintegrating army who had some nationalist consciousness made a great effort to set up a Jewish defense force which would concentrate on guarding the honor, lives, and property of their brethren. Drawing attention to the force of 400,000 Jewish soldiers in the Russian army, they pointed out that various other peoples were attempting to establish units of their own from the fragments of the czarist army. Especially active in the Ukraine in 1917 was the Iggud ha-Ẓeva'i ha-Yehudi ("Jewish Military League"), whose president was Isaac Gogol. In the beginning the leftist factions opposed the separatist goal of the defensive groups, but by the time they had come to the conclusion, in 1918, that Gogol was right, they had missed their opportunity. The Ukrainian army attacked the Iggud and murdered its president.

From then on self-defense became a local matter, at most the concern of a very limited area. Even then there were some Jewish soldiers among the defenders, but their success depended solely on local conditions and the qualities of the local defenders. In spite of these circumstances, there were defense units which enjoyed limited success. In *Golovanevsk, for instance, a township of 1,200 Jewish families, many of whom were artisans, a company of defenders which had repelled pogromists in 1905 was reformed in 1917 under the command of an ex-soldier. They set up a permanent guard of 25 men, who appeared as if they were "in charge of the place" and confiscated or bought arms from deserting soldiers and sailors. They also purchased a cannon and prepared bombs. Several times men of the defense force went to the outskirts of the town and fought in the fields – at times alongside the Red Army and at times on their own – to repel bands of approaching attackers. The defense organization was active there until its leader fell at the end of 1919. In *Bershad too the defenders rallied around a nucleus of soldiers who had just returned from the front. At their head was a capable leader, Moshe Dubrovensky. This defense unit waged bitter battles with roving armed bands and held its position of strength until 1919. On the eve of Purim 5679 (1919), some of the finest of their company, their leader among them, fell in action during a battle with a troop of Cossacks that stormed the city. Similar information has been preserved about defense fighters in other towns.

The value of Jewish self-defense in Russia was not limited to its own time and place alone. The goal which became clearly articulated in the movement – to protect the Jewish community independently of the state authorities – pointed the way for the Jews in Ereẓ Israel under Turkish rule and later in their struggle with the British Mandate authorities. From the ranks of these defenders came many of the methods and leaders of the *Haganah in Ereẓ Israel.

[Haim Hillel Ben-Sasson]

In Austria-Hungary

Jewish soldiers' committees were founded in some major garrisons of Austria-Hungary at the time of the dissolution of the empire (1918). Officers who were members of Zionist students' and youth organizations formed units of Jewish soldiers returning from the front, which were instrumental in protecting Jewish life and property. They wore cockades in the Zionist colors, utilized Hebrew text in their official seal, and were seen by some Jews as presaging the coming of the Messiah. They put themselves at the disposal of the Jewish national councils (see *Nationalrat) then established in Vienna and Prague. Besides Vienna and Prague (where the committee was under the command of Samuel Hugo *Bergman), soldiers' committees were set up in *Brno (Bruenn), *Olomouc (Olmuetz), Terezin (*Theresienstadt), and other towns. A Jewish company effectively protected the Jewish quarter of *Bratislava (Pressburg) while possession of the town was contested between Czechoslovakia and Hungary.

[Meir Lamed]

After World War I

After World War I and its aftermath, no self-defense units of a solidly organized and permanent character are known to have existed. In the 1930s in some universities of Central Europe, which by tradition were closed to the entrance of police, antisemitic and Nazi students sometimes attacked their Jewish colleagues, who then organized themselves for self-defense.

During World War II, under the conditions of the *Holocaust, the struggle of ghetto fighters and the *partisans, as well as the rebellion of some Jews in the extermination *camps themselves, formed a unique chapter of heroism and desperation exceeding the usual definition of self-defense.

After World War II, particularly in Latin American and Arab countries, members of Jewish sports organizations and Zionist youth groups organized self-defense units against antisemitic and neo-Nazi violence (as by the Tacuara in Argentina; see *Neo-Nazism) and aggressive Arab nationalists (in Iraq and in some North African countries).

Jewish Defense League

In 1968 a group under the name Jewish Defense League (JDL) was formed in several sections of Brooklyn, N.Y. At first the group, consisting mostly of Orthodox young people, served as a semi-vigilant unit to protect local Jews from physical attacks, mainly by delinquent blacks and Puerto Ricans. Later the group grew into a quasi-political movement, using the slogan "Never again" (with reference to the Holocaust and citing Vladimir *Jabotinsky extensively). In the contemporary style of "confrontation" and "direct action" engulfing certain sections of U.S. youth, it adopted the "defense" of Soviet Jewry, Israel, and Jews in Arab countries by forceful means in New York and other U.S. cities. Its declared aim was to disrupt commercial and cultural exchanges and tourism between the U.S. and U.S.S.R. The JDL achieved a high degree of publicity and also entered into sharp controversy with the organized Jewish community, to which it refused to adhere. Its leader, Rabbi Meir *Kahane, became a focus of polemics in the U.S. and other countries, as well as in the Jewish and general press (see, e.g., Michael T. Kaufman, "The Complex Past of Meir Kahane," in the *New York Times*, Jan. 24, 1971).

Kahane moved to Israel in 1971 and in 1976 founded *Kach, the Israeli branch of the Jewish Defense League. He was assassinated in New York in 1990. In the meantime the U.S. branch continued to operate (for a chronology of its activities in the ensuing decades see www.adl.org, the Anti-Defamation League website). In 2001, JDL chairman Irv Kugel was charged with conspiracy to commit acts of terrorism. In 2002, while in detention, he fell 18 feet to his death at the Federal Detention Center in Los Angeles. After his death the JDL split into rival factions.

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SELF-HATRED, JEWISH. The phenomenon of self-hatred arises among minority groups forced together by outside pressure and produces a negative attitude on the part of members toward their own group, but the very word is absent from important dictionaries of the English language, and it would appear to have been coined by Theodore Lessing (see below), since in his book dealing with it he gives it in quotation marks.

It was first diagnosed in Central European Jewish social theory and fiction. As expressed by Jews, it is both a group phenomenon and an individual trait. One Jewish group may take a hostile position toward another, e.g., German Jews against East European Jews in Europe; Orthodox Jews against Conservative and Reform Jews in the United States and the State of Israel; and *vice versa*. A Jew who expresses self-hatred, according to Kurt Lewin, "will dislike everything specifically Jewish, for he will see in it that which keeps him away from the majority for which he is longing. He will show dislike for those Jews who are outspokenly so, and will frequently indulge in self-hatred" (Lewin, *Resolving Social Conflicts*. p. 164).

With the decline of positive traits of Judaism and Jewish identification in Western Diaspora communities, both in Europe before World War II and in the United States afterward, self-hatred became endemic. The most important early analysis of the phenomenon among Jews appeared in Berlin, 1930, in Theodor *Lessing's *Juedischer Selbsthass* (Berlin, 1930). To the self-hating Jew, all misfortune derives from the fact that one is Jewish. The Jews, moreover, are held responsible for their own fate and are therefore "to blame for all their misfortunes." Clinical reports by Lessing include Jews who urge the Aryans to exterminate the Jews like vermin, and others who remained childless or even committed suicide so as "to remove the stain of Jewishness from mankind." Lessing therefore describes Jewish self-hatred as an acute pathology of psychosis.

In Western democracies, on the other hand, Jewish self-hatred appears as a chronic malady of neurosis. But, while in Central Europe the self-hating Jew removed himself as far as possible from Jewish associations, in the United States he found himself at the top of Jewish community life. Lewin diagnosed this phenomenon in 1941. "In a minority group, individual members who are economically successful… usually gain a higher degree of acceptance by the majority group. This places them culturally on the periphery of the underprivileged group and makes them more likely to be 'marginal' persons. They frequently have a negative balance and are particularly eager not to have their 'good connections' endangered by too close a contact with those sections of the underprivileged group which are not acceptable to the majority. Nevertheless, they are frequently called on for leadership by the underprivileged group because of their status and power. They themselves are usually eager to accept the leading role in the minority, partly as a substitute for gaining status in the majority, and partly because such leadership enables them to have and maintain additional contact with the majority." This type of person Lewin calls "the leader from the periphery." He uses his position to de-Judaize the Jewish community and remove those traits which make Jews Jewish.

With the renaissance of Jewish pride and self-respect consequent upon the establishment of the State of Israel and its positive impact upon Jewish and world public opinion of the 1950s and 1960s, Jewish self-hatred tended to decline. Indeed, the rise to public prominence of clearly identified Jewish personalities in the Western democracies and of the State of Israel served as a powerful antidote to both public and private self-hatred. Evidence of the development of Jewish self-respect is the dramatic shift in budgets of Jewish community federations and welfare funds, and of public opinion affecting those budgets in favor of positive evidences and programs of Jewish self-identification.

Lewin regarded Jewish self-hatred as a social-psychological phenomenon in that it occurs among entirely normal persons. He therefore concluded: "Jewish self-hatred will die out only when actual equality of status with the non-Jew is achieved. Only then will the enmity against one's own group decrease to the relatively insignificant proportions characteristic of the majority groups. Sound self-criticism will replace it." It is generally maintained, therefore, that through Jewish education feelings of inferiority and fear may be counteracted by positive identification with the Jewish people. For example, Zionism in the Germany of the 1930s was a powerful force in the face of Hitler for hope and Jewish affirmation ("*Jasagen zum Judentum*"). On this subject Lewin further commented: "… there is nothing so important as a clear and fully accepted belonging to a group whose fate has a positive meaning. A long-range view, which includes the past and the future of Jewish life, and links the solution of the minority problem with the problem of the welfare of all human beings, is one of these sources of strength. A strong feeling of being part and parcel of the group and having a positive attitude toward it is … sufficient condition for the avoidance of attitudes based on self-hatred." Since, as noted, Zionism before 1948, and the State of Israel thereafter, provided that locus of unity and long-range view of a past of courage and a future of hope which Jewish self-esteem demands, it is not to be wondered at that the growing impact of Zionist activity in the Western countries as well as among the Jews of the former U.S.S.R. materially limited the formerly commonplace and endemic expressions of this phenomena.

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[Jacob Neusner]

SELIG, ALLAN H. ("**Bud**"; 1934–), U.S. baseball commissioner. Originally a highly successful auto dealer in his hometown of Milwaukee, Selig first became involved in professional baseball in 1963 as the largest stockholder of the publicly owned Milwaukee Braves. Two years later the Braves left for Atlanta, and the disappointed Selig formed an organization dedicated to bringing baseball back to Milwaukee. An exceptional opportunity arose when the expansion Seattle Pilots failed in their maiden 1969 season, and Selig led a consortium of investors in purchasing, and promptly moving, the Pilots to Milwaukee for the 1970 season and renaming them the Brewers. Over the next two decades, the Brewers organization would be given an award seven times for excellence in management. When in September 1992 Commissioner Fay Vincent resigned, fellow baseball owners turned to the now senior Selig to act as interim commissioner via his new role as chairman of the Executive Council. Six years later, Selig was elected by his peers to become the official ninth commissioner of Major League Baseball. During his 14 years as acting and official commissioner through 2005, Selig was involved in a number of turbulent episodes, including a 272-day strike in 1994 and 1995, which saw the cancellation of the 1994 World Series, the early termination of the 2002 extra-inning All-Star Game because of a lack of pitchers, and the steroids controversy which exploded in 2005. Among the major changes implemented by Selig during his tenure were interleague play, revenue sharing between big and small market clubs, the institution of the three-division format in each league, and the creation of wild card berths along with an extra tier of playoffs. In recognition of his efforts on behalf both of baseball and various causes, Selig was the recipient of a plethora of awards and honors, including the 2003 Jewish Foundation for the Righteous Recognition of Goodness Award, the 2001 Sports Torch of Learning Award from the American Friends of the Hebrew University, the 1994 Anti-Defamation League's World of Difference Award, the 1993 Ellis Island Medal of Honor, the 1989 August A. Busch Jr. Award (equivalent to the MVP award), the 1983 U.S. Olympic Committee Sportsman of the Year Award, and the 1981 International B'nai B'rith Sportsman of the Year Award. In July 2001, Selig created an endowment to establish the Allan H. and Suzanne L. Selig Merit Scholarship Fund at the Rothberg International School at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem.

[Robert B. Klein (2nd ed.)]

SELIG, PHINEAS (1856–1941), New Zealand journalist and newspaper proprietor. Born in Melbourne, Australia, Selig was the son of Rev. B.A. Selig (formerly of Penzance), reader and *shoḥet* to the Wellington community, who had emigrated there in 1862. After a career as a reporter and correspondent, he founded (with A.E. Bird) the *New Zealand Referee* (1884) and was manager of the *Christchurch Press* (1901–23). During the 1920s and 1930s he was the outstanding figure in the New Zealand press. For 20 years he was president of the New Zealand Newspaper Proprietors' Association and Canterbury Master Printers' Association. A leading administrator of athletics and boxing, he was president of the New Zealand Trotting Association for 25 years. He played an influential role in the Jewish community and was president of the Canterbury Hebrew Congregation in Christchurch from 1917 to 1941 and supported Jewish and Palestine appeals.

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[Maurice S. Pitt]

SELIGMAN, family of international bankers from Baiersdorf, Bavaria, where they are known from the early 18th century. JOSEPH SELIGMAN (1819–1880) was the oldest son of David, the village weaver and an itinerant trader in woolens. Joseph, after attending university, immigrated in 1837 to the United States, where he was first employed in a small Pennsylvanian mining town. Soon he sent for his brothers, and pooling their resources they peddled in Pennsylvania, then moved to Alabama and Missouri, and in 1846 made New York their headquarters as wholesale clothiers. They also ran a store at Watertown, New York, where they formed a friendship with the then Lieutenant Ulysses S. Grant, the future president of the United States. After the discovery of gold in California, the Seligmans installed themselves in San Francisco in the city's only brick building. The Seligmans benefited from a clothing monopoly and the gold they received was shipped to New York, where it established the firm's credit. Their family's business interests were ultimately concentrated in banking in New York City. After the outbreak of the Civil War Joseph placed more than $200 million of United States Government securities in Europe, mainly in Germany and Holland. In 1864 the present firm of J. & W. Seligman & Company was formed in New York, with branches in London, Paris, Frankfurt, New Orleans, and San Francisco. The London and Paris branches became independent, and were known respectively as Seligman Brothers Limited and Banque Seligman. The branch in Frankfurt operated under the name of Seligman & Stettheimer. The San Francisco office was the forerunner of the Anglo & London-Paris National Bank. During the 1870s the firm assisted the government in connection with the treasury's refunding of the national debt and the resumption of specie payment. The firm became prominent in railroad financing and headed the De Lesseps Panama Canal syndicate; it also entered international underwriting for railroad construction, public utilities, and a wide range of industrial enterprises including General Motors and Republic Iron and Steel. The firm served as fiscal agents of Puerto Rico and as financial advisers to foreign governments. During World War I the firm held major positions in all Allied loan syndicates and invested heavily in United States Government bonds. In recent times the company has operated as an international issuing and underwriting house, securities dealer, and foreign exchange trader, and provides most investors' services. It also heads one of the largest investment trusts in the United States, the Tri-Continental Corporation. Joseph Seligman, the firm's first senior partner, was followed by his brother JESSE (1827–1894) who in turn was succeeded by Joseph's son ISAAC NEWTON (1855–1917). Another of Joseph's sons was EDWIN ROBERT ANDERSON *SELIGMAN. By 1970 there were no more bearers of the name among the firm's partners. The family was prominent in New York's German-Jewish society and members were among the founders and members of the boards of Temple Emanu-El and the Ethical Culture Society and generously contributed to Jewish and general charities.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Family Register of the Descendants of David Seligman* (1913); L. Herz, *Die vierteltausendjaehrige Geschichte der Familie Seligman, 1680–1930* (1935), incl. bibl.; R.L. Muir and C.J. White, *Over the Long Term: the Story of J. and W. Seligman and Co. 1864–1964* (1964); L. Wells, *The Seligman Story* (Ms., 3 vols., 1931); S. Birmingham, *Our Crowd* (1967), index; G.T. Hellman, in: *New Yorker Magazine*, 30 (Oct. 30, 1954), 34–40.

[Joachim O. Ronall]

SELIGMAN, CHARLES GABRIEL (1873–1940), British physician and anthropologist. Born in London and educated at St. Paul's school, Seligman trained as a physician oriented to medical research. He became professionally interested in anthropology as a result of his participation as a medical researcher in the Cambridge Torres Straits Expedition. In 1903 he persuaded Major Cooke Daniels, a wealthy American, to finance an expedition to New Guinea. This research culminated in his work *The Melanesians of British New Guinea* (1910). Seligman served as lecturer and subsequently as professor, holding the first chair of anthropology established at the University of London. His wife, BRENDA ZARA SALAMAN SELIGMAN (1883–1965), became his professional collaborator and was also an important anthropologist. Together the Seligmans undertook a number of other expeditions, to Ceylon to study the Veddahs and to the Sudan. In between the field sorties, Seligman continued his research in pathology; he was elected a fellow of the Royal College of Physicians and a member of the Royal Society. During World War I he served as a medical officer and worked in a psychoneurotic hospital where he saw the clinical value of Freudian psychoanalysis, which he later applied to anthropology. In his fieldwork Seligman regarded himself as a natural historian of ethnology, studying living societies with scientific detachment. He rejected the extreme diffusionist theories and investigated carefully the diffusion and transmission of culture traits. Seligman's research prepared the way for Bronislaw Malinowski's fieldwork in Melanesia.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: E.E. Evans-Pritchard et al. (eds.), *Essays presented to C.G. Seligman* (1934), 381–5. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** ODNB online.

[Ephraim Fischoff]

SELIGMAN, EDWIN ROBERT ANDERSON (1861–1939), U.S. economist. A member of the *Seligman banking family of New York, Seligman began teaching at Columbia in 1885 and held the post of professor of political economy and finance from 1888 to 1931, when he became professor emeritus in residence. His wide-ranging interests and his sense of social responsibility involved him in many academic, public, and civic organizations and institutions. He was instrumental in forming the American Economic Society and served as its president, 1902–04. He also served a term as president of the National Tax Association, and the American Association of University Professors, and chaired its committee which in 1915 published the fundamental report on academic freedom. In his special field, public finance, he was a consultant member of numerous public committees, at the city, state, and federal levels, as well as in international organizations. In 1932, while lecturing at Havana University, he undertook, at the request of President Gerardo Machado, the reorganization of Cuba's fiscal system. His writings on taxation were influential since many of the innovations he advocated were adopted, and the terminology he originated passed into common use.

He published 15 works on taxation and economics generally, including *The Economic Interpretation of History* (1902), a significant contribution to the development of the subject; *Principles of Economics* (1905); *The Economics of Farm Relief* (1929); and *Price Cutting and Price Maintenance* (1932). His wide range of interests enabled him to become the chief promoter and editor in chief of the *Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences* (15 vols., 1930–35), to which he also contributed articles and biographies. He was also editor of the *Columbia Series in History, Economics, and Public Law*, and the *Political Science Quarterly*. A bibliography of his writings was published in 1931 by Columbia University; his correspondence was published by Joseph Dorfman in 1941, and a collection of memorial addresses in 1942.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Family Register of the Descendants of David Seligman* (1913); L. Herz, *Die vierteltausendjaehrige Geschichte der Familie Seligman, 1680–1930* (1935), includes bibliography; L. Wells, *The Seligman Story* (Ms., 3 vols., 1931); G.T. Hellman, in: *New Yorker Magazine*, 30 (Oct. 30, 1954), 34–40.

[Joachim O. Ronall]

SELIGMAN, HERBERT SPENCER (1872–1951), British army officer. Born in London, Seligman attended St. Paul's school and the Royal Military Academy. In 1892 he was commissioned in the Royal Artillery. He fought in the South African war, being awarded the Queen's Medal, and on the outbreak of World War I was sent as commander of a battery to the front in western France. Seligman was given command of an artillery brigade in 1915 and in the following year commanded the artillery of the Seventh Division. Subsequently he was made commanding officer of the Cavalry Corps artillery, and took part in the Allied assault on the German lines in the summer of 1918. Seligman was mentioned in dispatches six times and received numerous decorations. After the war he was promoted to honorary brigadier general and served in the Territorial Army until his retirement in 1935.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: J. Ben Hirsch, *Jewish General Officers* (1967), 88.

[Mordechai Kaplan]

SELIGMANN, CAESAR (1860–1950), leader of Liberal Judaism in Germany. Born in Landau, Seligmann was appointed preacher of the Liberal synagogue (Temple) in Hamburg in 1889, and from 1902 to 1939 he officiated as rabbi in Frankfurt. In 1910 he published for the Liberal synagogue (Western synagogue) a two-volume prayer book (*Israelitisches Gebetbuch*, 2nd ed. 1928) that was even more extreme than any proposed by the German Reform movement to that date. One of the founders of the *Vereinigung fuer das liberale Judentum in 1910, he edited its organ, *Liberales Judentum*, which appeared from 1910 to 1922. In cooperation with I. *Elbogen and H. *Vogelstein, in 1929 he published the "unified prayer book," restoring to the Liberal rite many traditional prayers which had been previously excluded. His other works include a collection of popular lectures, *Judentum und moderne Weltanschauung* (1905), and a history of the Reform movement, *Geschichte der juedischen Reformbewegung von Mendelssohn bis zur Gegenwart* (1922). When addressing the Liberal rabbis in Wiesbaden in 1937, on the occasion of the 100th anniversary of the rabbinical conference convened by A. *Geiger, Seligmann advised his colleagues to become reconciled with Zionism. In 1939 he moved to London, where he lived until his death. His autobiography, *Mein Leben. Erinnerungen eines Grossvaters*, was written in 1941 but only one chapter was published.

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[Jacob Rothschild]

SELIGMANN, KURT (1900–1962), U.S. painter, illustrator, graphic artist, printmaker. Born in Basle, Switzerland, Seligmann studied at the Geneva Academy of Art. He lived in Paris from 1929 to 1938, where he joined the circle of the Surrealists. Seligmann and his wife relocated to the U.S. in 1939, and while living there played a crucial role, with the assistance of Alfred Barr, in facilitating the immigration of a large number of artists and writers fleeing the Nazis, including André Breton and his wife, André Masson, Paul Eluard, and Pierre Mabille. Breton and Eluard included his work in their *Dictionnaire abrégé du surréalisme,* published to accompany the International Exposition of Surrealism in Paris in 1938. Seligmann's imagery characteristically features anthropomorphic figures, sometimes ominous, intertwined in complex convolutions of drapery; he often adorned these heterogenous figures with feathers, helmets, heraldic insignia, and references to alchemy. He also fashioned objects like *Ultra-meuble.* Like many other Surrealist artists, Seligmann's art responded to the development of psychoanalysis and its revelations about the dark and irrational aspects of dreams and the unconscious, a preoccupation understandable during a lifetime which witnessed two world wars. His art also references a much earlier tradition of medieval and 16th century German and Swiss artists, including Albrecht Altdorfer, Hans Holbein, and Matthias Grunewald, artists whose works also possessed an engagement with violence and human suffering. Seligmann exhibited at the Nierendorf, Durlacher, and Ruth White Galleries, as well as designing sets and costumes for ballets choreographed by Hanya Holm and George Balanchine. He participated in the "Artists in Exile" show at the Pierre Matisse Gallery in 1942. In the 1940s, he was a regular contributor to the Surrealist periodicals *View* and *VVV.* He taught at Briarcliff Junior College and Brooklyn College. Towards the end of his life, he spent the preponderance of his time at his farm in Sugar Loaf, N.Y, located an hour away from New York City. In addition to his art, Seligmann's interests included the occult, mysticism and tarot; in fact, he wrote a treatise titled *The Mirror of Magic* (1948). He also developed a passion for Native American art. In addition to producing a large body of etchings, lithographs, and paintings, he illustrated many books. His work has been exhibited at numerous museums, including the Art Institute of Chicago, the Carnegie Institute, the Museum of Modern Art, and the Whitney Museum. His art has been collected by museums and galleries around the world, including the Bibliotheque Nationale, the Guggenheim Museum, the Metropolitan Museum of Art, the Whitney Museum, and the Yale University Art Gallery, among other places.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: S. Barron, *Exiles and Emigrés: The Flight of European Artists from Hitler* (1997); G. Durozoi, *History of the Surrealist Movement*, tr. by A. Anderson (2002); A. Kampf, *Jewish Experience in the Art of the Twentieth Century* (1984).

[Nancy Buchwald (2nd ed.)]

SELIGSBERG, ALICE LILLIE (1873–1940), U.S. Zionist and civic leader. Alice Seligsberg was born in New York City. Although her parents were founders of the Ethical Culture Society, she was to identify herself fully with the Jewish community. She became an active social worker, conducting girls' clubs and working with the Hebrew Sheltering Guardian Society Orphanage. To help place children leaving the orphanage, she founded Fellowship House, serving as president during 1913–18, and was also responsible for other programs to aid orphans. Alice Seligsberg's friendship with Henrietta *Szold led to her involvement with Zionist projects and Hadassah. In 1917 she helped organize the American Zionist Medical Unit and was in charge of its staff of 44 medical and administrative personnel when it embarked secretly for Palestine in June 1918. There Alice Seligsberg laid the foundations for Hadassah's comprehensive medical program in Palestine. In 1919 she became executive director of the Palestine Orphan Committee of the Joint Distribution Committee to help care for displaced and abandoned children. Upon her return to the United States, Alice Seligsberg helped organize Junior Hadassah to aid the war orphans. She served as national president of Hadassah (1920–21) and during 1924–40 was senior adviser to Junior Hadassah. In 1942 Hadassah established the Alice L. Seligsberg Vocational School for girls in Jerusalem in her memory.

[Gladys Rosen]

SELIGSON, ESTHER (1941–), Mexican author. Born in Mexico City, she studied French and Hispanic literature at the Universidad Nacional Autónoma. Seligson was an accomplished translator into Spanish of such authors as Edmond Jabés. Her writing covers a broad spectrum of genres that include poetry, essay, novel, short story, and literary criticism. Her creative work is characterized by a profound introspection, lyrical quality, and relationship to diverse literary traditions. Many of her early works – *Luz de dos* (1978), *Diálogos con el cuerpo* (1981), *Sed de mar* (1987), among others – have been collected in one volume titled *Toda la luz* (2002). Similarly, her novel *La morada en el tiempo* (1981) has been reissued (2004). It is her most well-known work and is a singular example of her style and contribution to Mexican letters. The novel is clearly influenced by the author's own spirituality as well as kabbalism. In general, her narrative fiction can be said to be lacking in traditional plot and character development. Seligson is much more interested in writing narrative that serves as a form of meditation, a way to unravel the mysteries of the human condition through poetics. This is clear from her first book, *Otros son los sueños* (1973), to her later *Simiente* (2004), which is a meditative collage on suicide and is based on a personal experience. As a literary critic Seligson examines the work of authors as diverse as Elena Garro, Virginia Woolf, Clarice Lispector, Marguerite Yourcenar, and Franz Kafka in her book *La fugacidad como método de escritura* (1988). In 2005 Seligson lived in Israel.

[Darrell B. Lockhart (2nd ed.)]

SELIḤOT (Heb. סְלִיחוֹת). The word *seliḥah* means "forgiveness," and in the singular is used to indicate a *piyyut* whose subject is a plea for forgiveness for sins. In the plural, the word is used for a special order of service consisting of non-statutory additional prayers which are recited on all fast days, on occasions of special intercession, and during the Penitential season which begins before *Rosh Ha-Shanah and concludes with the *Day of Atonement.

The Mishnah (Ta'an. 2:1–4) gives the order of service for public fasts, usually proclaimed during periods of drought. It provided, inter alia, for the addition of six blessings to the normal eighteen of the daily **Amidah*, and gives the concluding formula before the actual blessing for each:

> May He Who answered our father Abraham on Mt. Moriah answer you…, may He that answered our fathers at the Red Sea… Joshua in Gilgal… Samuel at Mizpah… Elijah in Carmel… Jonah in the belly of the whale… David and his son Solomon…

The first mention of a distinct order of *Seliḥot* occurs in *Tanna de-Vei Eliyahu Zuta* (23 end):

> David knew that the Temple was destined to be destroyed and that the sacrificial system would be abolished as a result of the iniquities of Israel, and David was distressed for Israel. With what would they effect atonement? And the Holy One blessed be He said, "When troubles come upon Israel because of their iniquities, let them stand together before Me as one band and confess their iniquities before Me and recite before Me the order of Seliḥot and I will answer them"… R. Johanan said, "The Holy One blessed be He revealed this in the verse 'and the Lord passed before him and proclaimed, the Lord, the Lord God, manifest and gracious etc.' (Ex. 34:6 which gives the thirteen divine attributes). This teaches that the Holy One blessed be He descended from the mist like a *sheli'aḥ ẓibbur,* enveloped in his *tallit* and stood before the ark and revealed to Moses the order of *Seliḥot*."

It was not until the ninth century that such an order of *Seliḥot* is found, in the *Seder* of R. Amram, and these two passages, the "May He Who answered" and the scriptural verse quoted

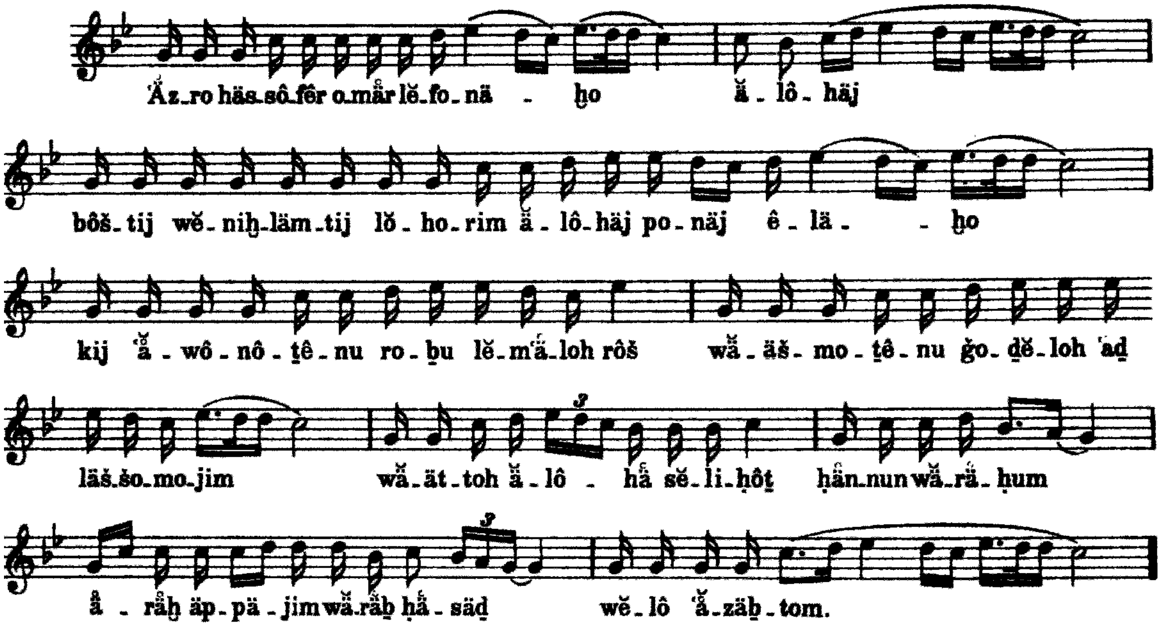
Ăz_ro häs_sô_fêr o_măr lĕ_fo_nä - ḫo ă - lô - häj
bôš_tij wĕ_niḫ_läm_tij lŏ_ho_rim ă_lô_häj po_näj ê - lä - - ḫo
kij 'ă - wô - nô - ṯê - nu ro - ḇu lĕ_m'ă_loh rôš wă - äš - mo - ṯê - nu ğo - dĕ_loh 'ad
läš_šo_mo_jim wă_ät_toh ă - lô - hå sĕ_li_ḥôṯ ḥăn_nun wă_rä_ḥum
å - räḫ äp_pä_jim wä_räḇ ḥå - säd wĕ_lô 'ă_zäḇ_tom.

Ezra ha-Sofer*, as included in the* Seliḥot *in Yemen and sung to one of the two melodic patterns belonging to the traditional* Seliḥot *mode. From Idelsohn,* Melodien*, vol. 1, 1925, no. 80.*

above, together with a number of others, are the essential elements in it, as in all subsequent *Seliḥot*.

During the course of time, however, a considerable number of *piyyutim*, of which the *Seliḥah* is the most important, were added to this basic formula. There are a great number of different rites in many individual communities, as distinct from countries evolving their own order of *Seliḥot. Seliḥot* composed by great personalities such as Saadyah Gaon, Gershom b. Judah, Rashi, Solomon ibn Gabirol, etc. are included in orders of *Seliḥot*. The *Seliḥot* were at first inserted, as indicated by the Mishnah, after the appropriate sixth blessing of the *Amidah* (the prayer for forgiveness for sins), but the Palestinian custom of reciting them after the *Amidah* prevailed (Sh. Ar., OḤ 566:4) and became the almost universal custom. The Italian and Roman rites, however, retain the old custom. Originally *Seliḥot* were recited only on fast days, both statutory and special, proclaimed in times of trouble, their recitation being a form of *ẓidduk ha-din*, the justification of God. Since God was just, the calamities were the result of Israel's sins, and the evil could be averted by confession and praying for forgiveness for those sins. Their extension to what is at the present time the most widespread recital of *Seliḥot*, those of the Penitential days, derived from the custom of fasting on the six days before Rosh Ha-Shanah, when *Seliḥot* were said in connection with the fast, and the custom of saying *Seliḥot* was then extended over the *Ten Days of Penitence (including the Day of Atonement, but not Rosh Ha-Shanah; cf. *Mordekhai*, Yoma, beginning). The Sephardim follow the custom of reciting *Seliḥot* for the 40 days from Rosh Ḥodesh Elul to the Day of Atonement, but the Ashkenazi custom is to commence reciting them on the Sunday before Rosh Ha-Shanah or of the preceding week should Rosh Ha-Shanah fall on Monday or Tuesday. (Sh. Ar., OḤ 581 and Rema in loc.). The *Seliḥot* for the first day are usually recited at midnight and thereafter before the morning service.

In addition to the *Seliḥot* on statutory fast days and the Penitential season, *Seliḥot* have been composed for semiofficial voluntary fasts undertaken by pious individuals. They are "BaHaB" – fasts undertaken on the Monday, Thursday and Monday following the festivals of Passover and Sukkot (*ibid.* 492) and, during a leap year, on the Thursday before the eight Sabbaths during which the scriptural portions from *Shemot* to *Teẓavveh* (called from their initial letters *Shovavim Tat*) are read, and on Yom Kippur Katan. *Seliḥot* are also recited by the members of the *ḥevra kaddisha* at their annual service, and to avert plague affecting children.

A critical edition of the Ashkenazi *Seliḥot* with notes was published by D. Goldschmidt. An edited version of the *Seliḥot* service for the whole year, along with an English translation, was issued by Abraham Rosenfeld of London (1957). For the different kinds of *piyyutim* in the *Seliḥot* see **Tokheḥah*; **Akedah*; **Teḥinnah*; **Bakkashah*.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Idelsohn, Liturgy, 251–3; A. Rosenfeld, *The Authorised Selichot for the Whole Year* (1957), ix–xvi.

[Louis Isaac Rabinowitz]

SELIKOVITCH, GEORGE (Getsl Zelikovitsh; 1855–1926), Yiddish and Hebrew writer and scholar. Born in Rietavas (Riteve), Lithuania (in 1855, as Z. Goldberg clarifies), he studied Semitics and Egyptology at the University of Paris. For a while he worked at the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris and, in 1885, accompanied Lord Kitchener as a translator on his expedition to relieve General Gordon at Khartoum. In 1887, after traveling in Turkey, Greece, Italy, and North Africa, he reached the U.S., where he briefly lectured on Egyptology at the University of Pennsylvania and at the Franklin Institute of Philadelphia. He then settled in New York and became active as a Yiddish journalist. In 1890 he joined the Yiddish *Tageblat*, where be remained with short interruptions until his death, writing scholarly articles and serial fiction. His weekly column "*Literatur un Lomdes*" ("Literature and Learning") reviewed important works of Jewish scholarship. He contributed to the *Jewish Encyclopaedia* and to the Hebrew encyclopedia *Oẓar Yisrael* ("Treasure of Israel"). His most important contributions to Hebrew literature are his *Ẓiyyurey Massa* ("Travel Portraits," 1910), a description of his journey in Ethiopia, and *Torat Budha* ("Buddha's Teaching," 1922), a translation into biblical Hebrew of Buddha's sayings. He also translated into Hebrew part of the Egyptian *Book of the Dead*. Among his publications are *Literarishe Brif* ("Literary Letters," 1909); an Arabic-Yiddish textbook (1918); and *Geklibene Shriftn* ("Collected Writings," 1913), consisting of stories, sketches, poems, and critical essays. He was a pioneer feminist, a satiric feuilletonist, and an author of erotic and sensationalist fiction.

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[Elias Schulman / Leonard Prager (2nd ed.)]

°**SELIM I** (reigned 1512–20), Ottoman sultan. The son of Sultan *Bayazid II, Selim was the ninth Ottoman sultan. Demonstrating military prowess, he was favored by the army over his elder brother Ahmed to succeed his father. He succeeded within a short time to ward off the Safavid (Persian) menace and to destroy the *Mamluk Sultanate, annexing *Syria and *Egypt and the Muslim holy places in Mecca and *Medina to his domains. Through these conquests, the *Ottoman Empire became the leading Muslim power.

Jewish exiles from Spain and Portugal were welcomed by the Ottoman sultans. Joseph *Hamon (d. 1518) became Selim's physician. The sultan displayed a benevolent attitude towards the Jews and permitted the construction of new synagogues. Elijah Mizrachi was the chief *dayyan* of Constantinople and in Selim's time there existed the office of **kahya*, i.e., a liaison officer between the Jewish communities and the government, among whose functions was the collection of taxes.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: S. Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey,* vol.1 (1976), 79–86; M. Rosen, *A History of the Jewish Community in Istanbul*, 1: *The Formative Years, 1453–1566* (2002), index; H. Inalcik, *The Ottoman Empire the Classical Age 1300–1600* (1973), index.

[Butrus Abu-Manneh (2nd ed.)]

°**SELIM II** (reigned 1566–74), Ottoman sultan, the son of Sultan *Suleiman the Magnificent and his favorite wife, Hurrem Sultan (Roxelana). During his reign *Cyprus was conquered from *Venice (1570–71). In the ensuing naval battle of Lepanto (October 1571), a combined fleet of Venice, the Papacy, and *Spain defeated the Ottoman fleet and destroyed it. Prominent Sephardi families such as Dona Gracia and her nephew and son-in-law Don Joesph *Nasi were close to the court during his reign. Other families, such as *Hamon, De Segura, and Ibn Ya'ish, were also influential. Joseph Nasi acquired the leasing of the taxes of Naxos along with the title of Duke, and Dona Gracia that of *Tiberias and its surroundings.

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[Butrus Abu-Manneh (2nd ed.)]

SELJUKS (Arab. *Saljūq*), dynasty of Turkic origin which ruled *Iran and the surrounding countries in the 11th and 12th centuries. The conquest of much of the Middle East by the Seljuks, who founded an empire extending from Central Asia to the Mediterranean, influenced *inter alia* the situation of its Jewish subjects.

The Seljuks adopted and developed various institutions of military and civil administration which became the basis of much of the government structure in many of the states which succeeded them, including the *Ayyubids, the *Mamluk Sultanate, and the *Ottoman Empire; among the most important of these institutions was the military land-tenure system known as *iqṭā'*, which some scholars mistakenly call "Oriental feudalism." No less important, they supported and helped restore the primacy of orthodox *Islam, known as Sunnism. From their crossing of the Oxus to *Khurasan in 1035 at the head of their Turcoman warriors, which resulted in the conquest of Persia (Iran), they saw themselves and projected an image as champions of orthodox Islam and "the friends of the caliph." The 200 years prior to their conquests had seen an increased influence of Shiʿite heretical sects and the establishment of Shiʿite dynasties, such as the *Fatimids in 969 in *Egypt and later in parts of *Syria (including Palestine), and the Buwayhids in *Iraq and western Persia. This latter dynasty even held sway over the *Abbasid caliphs, who had been reduced to virtual puppets. The Seljuks, therefore, had the sympathy of orthodox scholars and notables who facilitated their conquest in many places. In 1055 the Seljuk leader Tughril Bey entered *Baghdad and concluded a solemn treaty with the Abbasid caliph, who recognized him as "king of the East and the West," and granted him the title "sultan." This was the first time this title was officially used in the Islamic world for the *de facto* ruler of the caliph's realm, whose authority now was recognized as mainly *de jure*. Accordingly, the Seljuks made great efforts to stress the Islamic tendency of their policy and to strengthen the hold of orthodox Islam; in fact, in many ways they saw their main enemy as the extreme Shiʿite Fatimids, and not the non-Muslims. This being said, when Seljuk armies invaded Christian countries, there were often massacres of monks, churches were burnt, and nonconformist Muslim groups were required to adapt to orthodox Islam; some of these more extreme measures were apparently the initiative of local commanders or Turcoman tribesmen and did not necessarily always represent the policy of the central government. The Seljuks founded religious colleges (*madrasas*) to educate new generations of theologians in the spirit of orthodox Islam. Their graduates, rigidly orthodox, became the class of scholars from which government officials were recruited, as were the teachers of the new colleges. The result was a strong, loyal, and militant class of Sunni scholars, who in turn influenced the tone and policy of Seljuk rule. The Seljuk official *par excellence* was the wazir Niẓām al-Mulk, who served the sultans Alp Arslan (1063–72) and Malikshah (1072–92) until his assassination. Besides being responsible for the orderly running of the vast empire and the establishment of a network of *madrasas* (called the Niẓāmiyya after him), he wrote a work in the Mirror-for-Princes genre, known as the *Siyaset-Nameh*, which gives tremendous insight into the working of these bureaucrats-*cum*-scholars' minds.

The 1070s and 1080s also saw the conquest by Turcomans, more or less under Seljuk authority, of Syria and Palestine. There is ongoing discussion among scholars about the nature of this rule and the degree of violence which the local population, including the small Jewish communities, suffered. In any event, by the mid-1090s the Fatimids had regained control over Palestine. Seljuk victories in Anatolia and Syria, including the conquest of Jerusalem, had indirectly contributed to the initiative of the first Crusade, which led to the conquest of Jerusalem in 1099 by the Franks. Ironically, by the time the Crusaders arrived in Syria at the end of the 1090s, the Seljuk state had begun to fall apart in this area and even further east, and no concerted resistance to the invaders could be offered. On the other hand, Seljuk authority was maintained in central and east Iran (and in Anatolia under another branch of the family) until the mid-12th century.

The orthodox Seljuks and their client princes considered reenactment of the so-called Covenant of *Omar, i.e., the repressive laws designed to differentiate and humiliate non-Muslims, as an integral part of their policy. Shortly after the conquest of Persia (Iran) and Babylonia (Iraq), a series of decrees were issued, enforcing the old repressive laws on Christians and Jews, and manifestations of intolerance occurred. Ibn al-Jawzī and other chroniclers dwell on the efforts to implement the Covenant of Omar in Babylonia. In 1058 the non-Muslims of Baghdad were forced to wear signs on their dress. Similarly, there were attempts to dismiss them from government positions. In 1062 taverns were closed, depriving Jews and Christians of a major source of revenue. The measures taken in 1085 by the Abbasid caliph al-Muqtadī (1075–94) reinforced the Covenant of Omar in its entirety. (We should remember, however, that the caliph's power was limited, so the extent of these measures may not have extended far beyond Baghdad.) Non-Muslims were required to wear distinctive signs on their turbans; they could not raise their voices when praying, nor build houses higher than those of their Muslim neighbors. Again taverns were closed and wine was poured into the streets. In 1091 the caliph decreed that the **dhimmīs* wear yellow headgear and girdles of various colors, and a sign of lead around their necks as well. Women had to wear shoes of different colors, such as one red and the other black. The Arabic chronicler reports that the promulgation of these laws caused many non-Muslims to embrace Islam, in order to escape the humiliation. In 1105, however, the laws were abolished. In a diploma issued by Sanjar, the last Seljuk ruler of central and eastern Persia, to the *muḥtasib* (inspector of markets and public morals) of Mazandaran, among his many responsibilities, he is called upon to make sure that the *dhimmīs* wear distinguishing clothing to mark their inferiority. As can be seen, the Jews were not selected especially for restrictive measures under the Seljuks, but rather were swept up in general anti-*dhimmī* fervor, which also affected the more numerous Christians

The Arabic historians reveal that the measures of the caliphs and the Seljuks authorities *vis-à-vis* the *dhimmīs*, the aim of which was their humiliation, were not kept consistently. One outstanding example of the selective and far from consistent implementation of the Covenant of Omar was the Jewish tax-farmer Ibn ʿAllān, one of Niẓām al-Mulk's protégés, who was executed by some of the latter's opponents in 1079–80. On the other hand, the *jizya* (poll tax) taken from the non-Muslims was regularly collected, making an important contribution to the revenues of the empire (and representing a real burden to the *dhimmīs*, both as individuals and communities). Large Jewish communities existed in Baghdad and Nishapur, as well as other large cities of the Seljuk empire. *Benjamin of Tudela, writing several years after the end of Seljuk power in central and eastern Persia, notes Jewish communities in Hamadan, Isfahan, Nahavand, and Shiraz. These Jewish inhabitants were probably mostly involved in trade and commerce.

While not always enforced, Seljuk policy towards the *dhimmīs*, like many other Seljuk institutions, served as models for subsequent dynasties. Therefore its importance should not be underestimated.

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[Eliyahu Ashtor / Reuven Amitai (2nd ed.)]

SELLERS, PETER (**Richard Henry**; 1925–1980), British actor. Born in Portsmouth, the son of a non-Jewish pianist and a Jewish mother, Agnes *née* Marks, Peter Sellers was educated at a Catholic school to the age of 14 and was originally a jazz drummer. Joining the RAF in 1943, he discovered his talent for mimicry while entertaining the forces in India. After the war he worked in vaudeville and in 1952, with Spike Milligan and Harry Secombe, began *The Goon Show,* a radio comedy series that became a national favorite. Success took him into television and the London theater. After several small film roles, he appeared with Alec Guinness in *The Ladykillers* (1956). He first won wide notice in the U.S. with *The Mouse That Roared* (1959), in which he played several roles. Though most of his films were comedies, he won the British Film Academy Award for his serious portrayal of a union member in *I'm All Right, Jack*, a 1959 satire on trade unionism. His other films include *Dr. Strangelove* (1963), in which he played three roles; *What's New, Pussycat?* (1965); *The Return of the Pink Panther* (1975); *Murder by Death* (1976); *The Pink Panther Strikes Again* (1976); *Revenge of the Pink Panther* (1978); and *Being There* (1979). Sellers was one of the most famous and memorable British comic actors of his time.

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[Lee Healey / Jonathan Licht]

°**SELLIN, ERNST** (1876–1946), German Bible scholar and archaeologist. Sellin was professor of evangelical theology at various universities. In the field of Bible research, he published *Einleitung in das Alte Testament* (1900, 1950^8) in which he emphasized the literary critical method. His book on the prophets, *Der aelteste Prophetismus* (1912), contains studies on the history of prophecy, the messianic age, and a comparison of the appearance of God in the Bible and the signs of divinity among pre-Hebrew peoples. He also wrote books on Job (1919), Moses (1922), and a commentary on the minor prophets – *Das Zwoelfprophetenbuch* (1922, 1929–302–^{3}). In his introduction to this commentary (p. 8), he sharply attacked Bible criticism of the previous 50 years. Sellin claimed that whatever exponents of that school could not reconcile with their theory they rejected as meaningless additions and, therefore, their approach to the prophetic literature was basically unsound. He also edited a series of 13 volumes of Bible commentaries, *Kommentar zum Alten Testament*, the first of which appeared in 1913. He published studies of the religious background of the biblical period, *Beitraege zur israelitischen und juedischen Religionsgeschichte* (2 vols., 1896–97).

In a history of Israel in the biblical period (*Geschichte des israelitisch-juedischen Volkes*, 2 vols., 1924–32), Sellin points out the relation between Israel's geographic position and the history of its community life. He differentiated between legends and history and emphasized the importance of religion, which he regarded as a decisive fact in the development of Jewish history. Sellin also made important contributions to archaeology. He conducted excavations at Tell-Ta'annek, Jericho (1907–08), and Shechem (1913–14) and published reports of his work. Although his methods are outdated, his discoveries at these sites are of great value.

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[Yehuda Komlosh]

SELTZER, LOUIS BENSON (1897–1980), U.S. newspaper editor. Born in Cleveland, Ohio, Seltzer was the son of Charles Alden Seltzer, who became a successful writer of western stories. Seltzer joined the *Cleveland Press* as a reporter in 1916. In 1928 he became its editor and made it the most widely read daily in Ohio. Using the power of the press to confront and condemn injustice, he tried to thwart it at every opportunity. Also dedicated to making the paper as relevant to the readers' lives as he could, he created departments to deal with almost every major and minor interest of readers as well as a public service bureau that oversaw a wide range of annual projects for the benefit or entertainment of readers. He believed that "If you don't get the flavor of the town into your paper, you've missed the boat." A dynamic personality, Seltzer became a force in American journalism, serving on many national editorial committees and on the Pulitzer Prize committee. He retired as editor in 1966.

Seltzer also served as the national director of the National Conference of Christians and Jews. However, not wanting to relegate himself to any single local group in Cleveland, he spread his time and energy among such diverse positions as a leader of the Boy Scout organization; head of the Welfare Federation; chairman of the United Community Defense Services; president of the Convention and Trade Show Bureau; and director of the YMCA. His autobiography, *The Years Were Good*, appeared in 1956. He also wrote *Six and God* (1966).

[Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

SELVINSKI, ILYA LVOVICH (1899–1968), Soviet Russian poet. The son of a furrier, Selvinski was born in Simferopol. In 1933–34 he was a member of a Soviet polar expedition. Primarily known for his unconventional experimental verse, Selvinski was one of the foremost exponents of constructivism, an offshoot of futurism. Repeatedly attacked over the years for his inability or unwillingness to conform to the norms of orthodox Soviet writing, Selvinski continued to publish prolifically and preach assorted heresies. Thus, in 1947 he dared to propose that "Socialist symbolism" supplant Socialist realism as the official style of Soviet literature. Most of Selvinski's poetry is narrative. His longer works include *Ulyalayevshchina* (1927), a brisk, colorful account of the Civil War, which contains a tale of the exploits of heroic Red guerillas and their picturesque anarchistic adversaries. *Zapiski poeta* ("Notebooks of a Poet," 1928), which contains several effective parodies of Soviet poets, displays Selvinski's satirical gifts. *Pao-Pao* (1932) is a whimsical verse play about the transformation of an ape into a human being. Some of Selvinski's works describe his native Crimea. During World War II he wrote a number of moving poems dealing with the tragic fate of Russian Jewry and three big Russian historical tragedies in verse. After the war he received high decorations for his conduct as an officer and commissar. Shortly before his death Selvinski published *O yunost moya!* (1967), a fictionalized account of his youth which includes some portraits of non-Ashkenazi, Tatar-speaking Jews in the Crimea during the Civil War, and even some references to their Zionist sentiments. *Davayte pomechtayem o bessmertye* ("Let us Dream of Immortality") was published posthumously in 1969.

[Maurice Friedberg]

SELZ, OTTO (1881–1944?), German psychologist. Born in Munich, he first taught in Bonn until, in 1923, he was appointed professor at the Handelshochschule (a business college) at Mannheim. In 1933, when the Nazi regime came to power, he was dismissed and he emigrated to the Netherlands. During World War II he was deported and killed in a concentration camp, probably in 1944.

His work was concerned primarily with thought processes and foreshadowed the modern approach to the psychology of thinking. His theories grew out of the work of the Wuerzburg school, which rejected the notion that thinking could be analyzed by detailed self-observation. He also reacted against G.E. Mueller's constellation theory, which interpreted thinking along purely associative lines. In 1913 and again in 1922 Selz called for a psychology of thinking that dealt primarily with processes rather than content. His theory of productive and reproductive thinking (1924) marked a major turning point as the first attempt to deal with these two processes in a single theoretical framework. In its main elements, his theory anticipated modern theories of thinking and fits in well with some recent work on computer simulation of human problem solving. His major works include *Ueber die Gesetze des geordneten Denkverlaufs* (1913), *Zur Psychologie des produktiven Denkens und des Irrtums* (1922), and *Die Gesetze der produktiven und reproduktiven Geistestaetigkeit* (1924).

[Helmut E. Adler]

SELZNICK, U.S. family in the film industry. LEWIS B. SELZNICK (1872–1933), who was born in Kiev, emigrated to Pittsburgh and started a jewelry business there. Later he moved to New York. In 1910 he joined a film-making company and, becoming general manager, he persuaded the *Shubert brothers, the theatrical producers, to allow him to turn stage shows into films. He thereupon made *Trilby, The Boss*, and *Wildfire*, in which actors who later became famous played. Selznick also helped to start the star system. MYRON SELZNICK (1898–1944), his eldest son, born in Pittsburgh, worked with his father and they formed Select Pictures. During the 1920s the Selznicks controlled a multi-million-dollar business. The family fortune was, however, wiped out in the 1929 crash. Myron then became a press agent in Hollywood. DAVID OLIVER SELZNICK (1902–1965), Lewis' youngest son, also born in Pittsburgh, became a production assistant on Westerns at MGM studios and rapidly rose to the front rank of Hollywood's producers. He worked for Paramount and later RKO, making such films as *A Bill of Divorcement, The Animal Kingdom*, and *King Kong*. Returning to MGM as vice president, he produced major successes such as *Rebecca* (1940), *Dinner at Eight* (1933), *David Copperfield* (1935), *Anna Karenina* (1948), *Duel in the Sun* (1947), and *Gone with the Wind* (1939), then the most expensive and successful film yet made. David Selznick made or discovered many stars and at the height of his career was voted top producer by U.S. exhibitors for ten successive years. His exacting demands, however, led to many disputes with directors and actors, some of whom refused to work with him. Among his later films were *The Prisoner of Zenda* (1952), *A Star is Born* (1954), *A Tale of Two Cities* (1957), and *A Farewell to Arms* (1957).

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[Ellis Nassour]

SEMAḤOT (Heb. שְׂמָחוֹת; also called *Evel*, divided into *Evel Rabbati* and *Evel Zuta*), the classic rabbinic text on death and mourning, one of the minor tractates generally appended to the Babylonian Talmud. Although it is not included in the Codex Munich, the only complete manuscript of the Babylonian Talmud, it does appear in its editio princeps (Venice, 1523) and in many of the later printed editions. The euphemistic title, *Semaḥot* ("Rejoicings"), which is usually applied to it, was already used by the Franco-German scholars in the 11th century. The Babylonian Talmud cites a work bearing the name *Evel Rabbati* as the source for three tannaitic rulings (MK 24a, 26b; Ket. 28a). In response to a query on the nature of this work, the *Gaon* Natronai (head of the academy at Sura 853–58) writes: "*Evel* is a tractate of Mishnah containing most of what is taught in *Ellu Megalleḥin* [the third chapter of MK]; there are two such tractates, one major, the other minor" (Z. Wolfensohn (ed.), *Ḥemdah Genuzah* (1863), 17a; on the identity of the minor tractate, see M. Higger (ed.), *Massekhet Semaḥot* (1931), 59–72, 211–29). Although modern scholars disagree as to whether the tractate on mourning mentioned in the Talmud and described by the *gaon* is to be identified with this text, the medieval commentators apparently took this identity for granted (D. Zlotnick (ed. and trans.), *The Tractate "Mourning,"* 1, n.). Most modern scholars favor a late date for this work, placing the time of final redaction at about the middle of the eighth century. There is nothing in the text, however, pointing clearly to a late date. The latest authorities cited are Judah *ha-Nasi and his contemporaries in the third century. It is written in the language of the Mishnah; its style and structure throughout is that of the *tannaim*. It therefore seems preferable to follow the ancients in suggesting an early date – the end of the third century (D. Zlotnick, *ibid.*, 4–7).

The text, which contains 14 chapters, begins with the legal status of the dying man, asserting that he must be considered the same as a living person in every respect. The second chapter discusses those people who did not die a natural death, e.g., suicides or executed criminals. Although funeral rites were withheld from them (Sem. 2:1, 6; D. Zlotnick, *ibid.*, 100, no. 1), they were never denied a burial. In later chapters, the behavior and activities of the mourners during the seven- and thirty-day mourning periods are treated in detail, and rules of conduct are set down for priests and for close and distant relatives of the deceased. Burial practices not considered elsewhere in rabbinic literature are also found here, such as the custom of inspecting the dead to make certain that death had actually occurred (8:1). Several rites, discontinued in the Diaspora lest the Jews become a cause for derision or be accused of sorcery, are also discussed: e.g., the requirement of the mourner to invert the bed, to cover his mouth and head in the manner of the Arabs, and to bare the arm and shoulder during the funeral procession (D. Zlotnick, *ibid.*, 12–13). What is, perhaps, the most complete martyrology to be found in tannaitic literature is included in this tractate (ch. 8), as is the classic eulogy of R. Akiva for his son (8:13).

The standard Hebrew commentary to this work, the *Naḥalat Ya'akov* by R. Jacob Naumburg, was written during the 18th century and is found in the regular editions of the Babylonian Talmud. A critical edition of the first four chapters with a German translation was published by M. Klotz (1890). The first critical edition of the entire text was published by M. Higger (1931). An English translation including an introduction and notes with an appended Hebrew text edited from manuscripts has been published by Dov Zlotnick (1966).

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[Dov Zlotnick]

SEMAN, PHILIP LOUIS (1881–1957), U.S. educator and organization executive. Seman, who was born in Warsaw, Poland, went to the U.S. in 1892. After holding positions with Jewish organizations in New York and St. Louis and teaching at Washington University's School of Social Economy (1908–10), Seman became director of the Jewish People's Institute of Chicago in 1913. He held this post until 1945, during which time he turned the institute into a vitally important institution in Chicago Jewish life and became recognized as a national leader in Jewish social work. During his tenure in Chicago, he was co-founder of Hillel (1923); president of the National Conference of Jewish Social Service (1931); vice president of the National Conference on Social Work (1932); member of the executive commission of the White House Conference on Child Health and Protection; and chairman of the Chicago Recreation Commission (1934). After retiring from the institute Seman moved to Los Angeles, where he became a member of the board of the Bureau of Jewish Education (from 1947), and of the faculty and board of overseers of the University of Judaism (from 1949).

His works include *Jewish Community Life* (1924); *The Jewish Community Center* (1925); *Problems of the Leisure Hour* (1927); *Training for Leadership* (1928); *Social Orientation* (1930); and *Community Culture in an Era of Depression* (1932).

SEMIKHAH (Heb. סְמִיכָה; "laying," lit. "leaning" of the hands). The word is used in two senses.

Of Sacrifices

The act of *semikhah* constituted the dedication by the owner of animals sacrificed on the altar. The act, which was obligatory whenever sacrifices were offered by individuals (Men. 9:7; Maim. Yad, Ma'aseh ha-Korbanot 3:6), was carried out by the owner laying both his hands with all his might between the horns of the animal immediately before it was dispatched (Lev. 1:4ff.; Sifra 4; Maim. loc. cit. 3:13). The ceremony took place in the courtyard of the Temple, where the animal was slain (Men. 93a, b). It had to be performed with bare hands, so that nothing might interpose between them and the head of the beast (Maim. loc. cit.). It did not apply, with two exceptions, to communal sacrifices (Men. 9:7), nor to birds (Git. 28b). Another requirement was that the act had to be carried out by the owner in person and could not be performed by proxy (Men. 9:8; Maim. loc. cit. 3:8).

Of Judges, Elders, and Rabbis

All Jewish religious leaders had to be ordained before they were permitted to perform certain judicial functions and to decide practical questions in Jewish law. The Bible relates that Moses ordained Joshua by placing his hands on him, thereby transferring a portion of his spirit to Joshua (Num. 27:22, 23; Deut. 34:9). Moses also ordained the 70 elders who assisted him in governing the people (Num. 11:16–17, 24–25). The elders ordained by Moses ordained their successors, who in turn ordained others, so that there existed an unbroken chain of ordination from Moses down to the time of the Second Temple (Maim. Yad, Sanh. 4:2). For some centuries the tradition of ordaining by the laying of the hands was continued, but the rabbis later decided to ordain by merely conferring the title "rabbi" either orally or in writing (*ibid.*, 4:2).

Ordination was required both for membership in the Great Sanhedrin, and the smaller Sanhedrins and regular colleges of judges empowered to decide legal cases. Three rows of scholars always sat before the Sanhedrin, and whenever it became necessary to choose a new member, a scholar from the first row was chosen and ordained (Sanh. 4:4). During the time of Judah ha-Nasi it was decreed that any religio-legal decision, including decisions relating to purely ceremonial law, could only be given by those properly authorized (Sanh. 5b). While any qualified Jewish person could serve as a judge in civil cases, only Jews of pure descent were eligible to adjudicate in criminal matters involving capital punishment (Sanh. 4:2). Ordination was also required to judge in cases involving corporal punishment and fines, to intercalate months and years, to release the firstborn animals for profane use by reason of disqualifying blemishes, to annul vows, and to pass the ban of excommunication (**ḥerem*). Only a transfer of the Divine Spirit which originally rested on Moses empowered the ordained person to make decisions in these crucial areas. Ordination could be limited to only one or some of these various functions. The lowest degree of ordination entitled the rabbi to decide only religious questions, while the highest degree entitled him to inspect firstlings, in addition to deciding religious questions and judging criminal cases (Sanh. 5a; Maim. loc. cit. 4:8). The complete formula of ordination was "*Yoreh Yoreh Yaddin Yaddin. Yattir Yattir*" ("May he decide? He may decide. May he judge? He may judge. May he permit? He may permit"). Rav, the founder of the academy of Sura in Babylonia, was authorized to exercise only the first two of these three functions since it was feared that his excessive knowledge of blemishes might enable him to declare a blemish permanent and the animal thus be permitted for profane use, where to the bystanders it appeared transitory (Sanh. 5b). The privileges of ordination could also be limited to a specific period. R. Johanan only ordained R. Shaman for the duration of his Babylonian visit (*ibid.*).

The ordination itself, which required the presence of three elders, one of whom was himself ordained, was originally performed by every ordained teacher upon his pupils (Sanh. 1:3; TJ, Sanh. 1:3, 19a). Nevertheless, as the influence of the Babylonian exilarch increased, it became necessary for the ordinants to obtain his authorization before serving as judges in Babylonia (Sanh. 5a). In Ereẓ Israel it also became necessary for individual scholars to obtain the consent of the patriarch before ordaining their pupils. On account of the high regard entertained for the patriarchs of the house of Hillel, who were the recognized heads of the Jewish community of the Holy Land during the centuries subsequent to the demise of Rabban Johanan b. Zakkai, no ordination was considered valid without the patriarch's consent. The patriarch himself was at first permitted to confer it without consulting the Sanhedrin. Later the patriarch could only grant the degree in cooperation with the court (TJ, Sanh. 1:3, 19a). The term used in the Holy Land in the days of the Jerusalem Talmud for ordination was *minnui* (literally "appointment" to the office of judge). In Babylonia the designation of *semikhah* (*semikhuta* in Aramaic) was retained (*ibid.*). On the day of ordination, the candidate wore a special garment (Lev. R. 2:4). After the ceremony, the scholars present praised in rhythmic sentences the person ordained. At the ordination of R. Ze'ira it was sung: "No powder, no paint, no waving of the hair, and still a graceful gazelle"; at the ordinations of Ammi and Assi: "Such as these, such as these ordain unto us" (Ket. 17a). After the ceremony, it seems that the ordinand delivered a public discourse on a specific topic (cf. the case of the incompetent teacher, Sanh. 7b). *Semikhah* could only be granted by scholars residing in Ereẓ Israel to scholars present in the Holy Land at the time of their ordination. The ordinand did not have to be present at the ordination; it sufficed if the ordaining teachers sent a message to him, as long as they all were in Ereẓ Israel (Maim. Yad, Sanh. 4:6). It is related that Johanan was grieved because he could not ordain Ḥanina and Oshaya since they did not reside in Palestine (Sanh. 14a). It is also related that there were two sages, Jonathan b. Aknai and Simeon b. Ẓirud, one of whom was ordained because he was in Palestine while the other was not because he left. The appellation of "*rabbi*" is therefore never used for the Babylonian *amoraim* since they did not possess *semikhah*, and they have the title "*rav*." As a result, the Babylonian sages were dependent upon their Palestinian colleagues. "We submit to them" was the Babylonian attitude (Pes. 51a). Nevertheless, to expedite justice, the Babylonian scholars were empowered to adjudicate all monetary cases as the "agents of the judges in Israel" (BK 84b). Once ordained in Palestine, a scholar could exercise his full authority even outside its borders.

After the *Bar Kokhba Revolt (132–35 C.E.), the Roman emperor Hadrian attempted to end the spiritual authority still wielded by the Sanhedrin, which had been shorn of all government support, by forbidding the granting of *semikhah* to new scholars. It was declared that "whoever performed an ordination should be put to death, and whoever received ordination should be put to death, the city in which the ordination took place demolished, and the boundaries wherein it had been performed uprooted" (Sanh. 14a). R. *Judah b. Bava was executed for ordaining several of his pupils in a no-man's-land between Usha and Shefaram. It is not clear when the original *semikhah* with the powers described above was discontinued. Majority opinion favors the latter part of the fourth century during the time of Hillel II. According to Naḥmanides (cf. his notes on Maimonides, *Sefer ha-Mitzvot*, no. 153), this happened before the fixing of the permanent calendar by Hillel in 361 C.E. Some date it with the extinction of the patriarchate at the death of the last patriarch, *Gamaliel VI, in 425 C.E. Others set the time as late as 1062 with the death of Daniel b. Azariah, the *Gaon* of Palestine. Still others cite proof that this traditional ordination continued until the time of Maimonides.

[Aaron Rothkoff]

In Medieval and Modern Times

Due to the changing conditions of Jewish life, which transformed some of the functions of the rabbinate, *semikhah* acquired new connotations. In the geonic period the *rosh golah*, the *exilarch, conferred a license (*reshut*) only "to effect compromises among litigants, to investigate legal disputes, to act as arbitrator, and to execute legal documents." The *geonim* too were authorized to appoint scribes, leaders in public worship, judges (**dayyanim*), and teachers. In the tenth century *Sherira Gaon wrote: "The row [in the academy] takes the place of the Sanhedrin and its head takes the place of Moses our teacher," thus continuing to a certain extent the claim to a kind of sacred order among the academy scholars. The head referred to evidently is the *av bet din*. *Samuel b. Ali, *Gaon* of Baghdad in the 12th century, defined the functions and authority of the *av bet din* when writing of R. *Zerachiah b. Isaac ha-Levi: "We have ordained him *av bet din* of the academy and have empowered him to render decisions in money and ritual matters, to proclaim the firstborn permissible for profane use by reason of blemishes, to preach the Torah in public, to deliver lectures, and to appoint an interpreter." The 12th-century traveler *Benjamin of Tudela wrote that in his day the exilarch had the authority to appoint local clergymen in Persia and in many other countries and that they came to him to secure the right to deliver decisions. *Judah b. Barzilai of Barcelona (11th–12th century) distinguished between a *ketav minnui*, a certificate of appointment as *dayyan* or head of an academy, and a *ketav masmikh*, a certificate of ordination "whereby they ordain one of the students to be called rabbi or *ḥakham*. Cases involving fines are not adjudicated outside Ereẓ Israel and ordination is not effected by the laying on of hands on the head of the ordinand. They merely write a certificate of ordination."

These reformulations and transformations of the ancient *semikhah* tend to show that from the fifth century onward there was both a document of appointment to office and an act conferring powers, which was always of a sacral nature. This was particularly strong in the centralistic and aristocratic regime of the geonic leadership but the sacral element was never present to the same extent as that involved in ancient *semikhah*. Despite this continuity of many elements of the traditional *semikhah*, attempts at its complete restoration were made from time to time. As early as the days of *Elijah ha-Kohen Gaon of Palestine in 1083 such an attempt was made. From the very structure and logic of an autonomous pattern of national leadership and of a cultural scale of values in which learning and the scholar were supreme, it can be deduced that everywhere in Jewish communities – even after the 12th century – there was some formula for conferring judicial function and powers and for attesting to scholarly achievements. Of necessity this would be to some greater or lesser extent of a sacral nature. After the *Black Death, and under the influence of diplomas and titles conferred by Christian universities, the term *semikhah* reappeared in Ashkenaz (Franco-Germany), becoming transformed into a diploma conferred by a teacher on his pupil which affirmed his capacity and right to be judge and teacher. The first waves of the Spanish exiles tended to regard the Ashkenazi *semikhah* as evidence of an improper pride and imitation of Christian ways. Yet various factors – the messianic hopes entertained after the expulsion, the feeling that it was necessary to respond to exile and dispersion by the restoration of a central sacral authority, and the urge for an authority that could grant penance and absolution to people who labored under a sense of guilt for having lived for some time as **anusim* – combined to recall Maimonides' view that in principle *semikhah* could be restored (see above), and on the basis of this to advocate ordaining one man who would renew the sacral chain of ancient *semikhah*, thus later restoring the Sanhedrin and paving the way for repentance and the Messiah.

[Isaac Levitats]

Controversy on the Renewal of the Semikhah

Despite the continuity of the Jewish judiciary even after the loss of the traditional formal *semikhah*, there have been some attempts to reinstitute the original *semikhah*, Maimonides' viewpoint is focal to this concept of renewal for he ruled that "if all the Palestinian sages would unanimously agree to appoint and ordain judges, then these new ordinants would possess the full authority of the original ordained judges" (Yad, Sanh. 4:11). Based on this ruling, an attempt was made in 1538 by R. Jacob *Berab of Safed, at that time the largest community in Ereẓ Israel, to restore the practice of ordaining. At Berab's initiative, 25 rabbis convened, and they ordained Berab as their chief rabbi. Berab then ordained four other rabbis, including Joseph *Caro, the author of the Shulḥan Arukh, and Moses di *Trani. Caro ordained Moses *Alshekh, who later ordained Ḥayyim Vital, the leading disciple of R. Isaac *Luria. Berab hoped that he could thus unify the various Jewish communities by ultimately reestablishing a Sanhedrin. Cases involving fines could now be judged again, and flagellation, which was required by law to atone for the sins of the Conversos, could be ordered by the court. However, Berab had neglected to obtain the consent of the Jerusalem rabbis. The latter felt slighted and rejected Berab when he requested that they recognize his authority. They protested his innovation, and the head of the Jerusalem rabbinate, *Levi ibn Ḥabib, wrote an entire treatise to prove the illegality of Berab's actions (*Kunteres ha-Semikhah*). A caustic controversy arose between Ibn Ḥabib and Berab, and after the latter's death in 1541 the renewed institution of ordination gradually languished into obscurity. Modern scholars have approved Ibn Ḥabib's opposition; it was also felt that he feared that Berab's actions would arouse messianic speculations which could result in a false messianic movement (see B. Revel in bibl.). It may also be that Ibn Ḥabib held that it was not permitted to hasten the advent of the messianic era by reestablishing the Sanhedrin but to wait for Divine initiative (see J. Katz in bibl.).

With the establishment of the State of Israel in 1948, R. Judah Leib *Maimon, Israel's first minister of religious affairs, made a similar plea to restore the Sanhedrin. He was, however, opposed by the overwhelming majority of his colleagues of the non-Orthodox groups as well as by rabbis of the extreme right. Israel's then Ashkenazi chief rabbi, Isaac *Herzog, was also hesitant, and again the attempt came to naught.

"Neo-Semikhah" and Hattarat Hora'ah

The term *semikhah* has also been utilized for ordination other than the formal traditional *semikhah*. It has evolved from the term *hattarat hora'ah* which literally means "authorization to render decisions" in matters permitted or forbidden by Jewish religious law. The infinitive *lehorot*, in the sense of the authoritative interpretation of the law, occurs in connection with the duties of the descendants of Aaron, the priests, who also served as teachers and judges in Leviticus 10:11 (cf. Deut. 17:9ff.). It was also understood in this sense in the Talmud (Ker. 13b). The *hattarat hora'ah* generally was a rabbinical diploma testifying to the fitness of the person to whom it had been issued. It also empowered the recipient to fulfill the functions of a rabbi, which were originally those of acting as a judge for the members of the community that engaged him. At first this document did not resemble the language of the original *semikhah*, it did not state *yoreh yoreh yaddin*, and had none of the far-reaching authority of the original *semikhah*. The earliest form of *hattarat hora'ah* was called *iggeret reshut* ("letter of permission") or *pitka de-dayyanuta* ("writ of jurisdiction"). Such a document, composed in Aramaic in the geonic period of the ninth century, reads:

We have appointed Peloni b. Peloni [i.e., N., son of N.] a justice in the town of… and have invested him with authority to administer the civil laws, and to supervise all matters relating to the Commandments and that which is prohibited and permitted and connected with the fear of God. He has the authority to do that which he thinks is proper to anyone not obeying his verdicts. The miscreant is likewise liable to [the punishment of] Heaven" (A. Harkavy (ed.), *Zikkaron la-Rishonim ve-Gam la-Aḥaronim*, 4 (1887), 80).

Originally, the title "rabbi" was restricted to religious authorities performing the functions of judges ordained with the formal tradition of *semikhah*. As stated, their counterparts in Babylonia were always referred to as "rav" (cf. Sanh. 136f. and BM 85bf). The title "rabbi" appears again in the Middle Ages. It was then bestowed on both Ashkenazi and Sephardi authorities in rabbinic law, although not in the same sense as its previous usage during the talmudic period when the original *semikhah* was still granted. By the 13th century, documents of "neo-*semikhah*" ordination began to resemble the format of the traditional *semikhah*. Recipients were empowered to be *yoreh yoreh* in matters of rituals, while the more advanced student was permitted to be *yaddin yaddin* in all areas of Jewish law. The Sephardim made more discriminate use of this rabbinical epithet than the Ashkenazim by calling the ordinary rabbinic scholar *ḥakham*, and reserving the more honorific designation of "rabbi" for men of outstanding learning (cf. David Messer Leon's *Kevod Ḥakhamim*, ed. by S. Bernfeld (1899), 63). During the second half of the 14th century the title *Morenu* ("our guide and teacher") was introduced as the designation for one who possessed "neo-*semikhah*" in Franco-Germany. Formulas for "neo-*semikhah*" were fixed, as well as the stipulation of well-defined qualifications and privileges for those possessing this degree. Formerly there was no need for all rabbis and scholars to carry a patent of *semikhah* with them since their authority rested on personal, rather than institutional grounds. This changed with the uprooting of yeshivot and communities in the 14th and 15th centuries in Franco-Germany. Formal *semikhah* became a necessity for safeguarding the academic standards of the rabbinate at a time when the dispersal and migration of scholars and yeshivot endangered the continuity of academic traditions. However, as soon as *semikhah* was formalized, a process of institutionalization set in, thus making it possible for lesser types of scholars to attain rabbinical authority and privilege. This was also hastened by the oncoming practice of local rulers to appoint "chief rabbis" for the purpose of tax administration. The social, personal, and academic problems involved in the "Ashkenazi *semikhah*" continued to form a subject for lively discussion among scholars well into the 17th century. It came under heavy attack from Sephardi rabbis after the expulsion from Spain.

Occasionally, *semikhah* became a source of income for rabbis and it was necessary for communities and general councils to promulgate *takkanot* regarding the privileges and qualifications connected with *semikhah*. By the end of the 16th century, the title of *Morenu* had ceased to be of a purely academic character and it was increasingly used as a symbol of social status in the communities (see Breuer in bibl.). The scholar equipped with this "neo-*semikhah*" was only able to exercise his authority with the consent of the community that elected him. His jurisdiction was limited to that community. R. Isaac b. Sheshet rendered a decision (1380) on this point in the case of the French community of Provence, which would not permit the interference of R. *Meir b. Baruch of Rothenburg in its affairs (*Teshuvot ha-Ribash*, nos. 268–73). Meir had ordained and appointed a new chief rabbi for Provence who he felt was worthier than the community's own choice. Nevertheless, his intervention was rejected. Because of his involvement in this type of dispute, some scholars erroneously thought that Meir had attempted to reintroduce the original formal *semikhah*. However, within the confines of his own community the scholar's jurisdiction was supreme. No other rabbi had the right to intervene without his consent (cf. Samuel Archivolti's *Palgei Mayim* (Salonika, 1608), 15a).

It was an established principle, dating from the time of the *tannaim*, that no pupil was to issue a decision in the presence of his teacher (Er. 63a). The age for receiving *semikhah* or the *hattarat hora'ah* was 18. Eleazar b. Azariah was appointed head of the academy at this age (Ber. 27b, 28a) as was Rabbah (Ber. 64a; cf. Yev. 105a) and Hai Gaon. David Messer Leon received his title at 18, at Naples (*Kevod Ḥakhamim*, 64). The question of what degree of learning entitles a scholar to receive the diploma from his teacher is fully discussed by Messer Leon. It is necessary for the student to master the original sources of Bible and Talmud and to possess logical reasoning power. In the 18th and 19th centuries it became customary for aspiring rabbinical students to receive ordination from leading rabbinical figures, in addition to the diplomas they received from their own teachers. They were orally tested by noted rabbis, and if found sufficiently learned and worthy, they were also granted certificates of ordination by these well-known scholars. The following is the text of such a diploma granted by R. Isaac Elhanan *Spektor of Kovno (d. 1896), from whom most Russian rabbis of the second half of the 19th century received their "neo-*semikhah*":

> קושט אמרי אמת ניתן לכתוב על האי גברא יקירא ברב ...יליד ...ופלפלתי עמו הרבה והוא מלא דבר ה׳ בש״ס ובפסוקים וגם הנהו דרשן מפואר נאה דורש ונאה מקיים: ובכן אמר יישר כוחו וחילו לאורייתא, ויורה יורה ידין ידין בד״מ ואו״ה וגו״ח וטוט״ה [בדיני ממונות ואיסור והיתר וגיטין וחליצה וטומאה וטהרה]: ויהא רעוא שישלח לו הרחמן מקום מכובד לפי כבודו כי ראוי והגון הרב הנ״ל לנהל צאן קדשים. ובאתי עה״ח יום...ימים לחדש... לפ״ק: נאם יצחק אלחנן החופ״ק קאוונע:
>
> Verily, these words of truth may be ascribed to that worthy man, rabbi…, a native of…, with whom I have fully discussed the Talmud and codes in which I find him to be filled with the Word of the Lord. He is also an excellent preacher, preaching what is moral and practicing what he preaches. Therefore I say: Let his power and might in the Torah be encouraged. Let him teach and decide in all matters of monetary, dietary, and ritual law, *get* and *ḥaliẓah*, and laws relating to cleanliness and uncleanliness. May it be the will of the Almighty to send him an hon-

> orable position in accordance with his virtues. The said rabbi well deserves and is truly competent to guide a flock. Signed on this date… Isaac Elhanan, who dwells here in the holy congregation of Kovno.

Modern Practice of Ordaining Rabbis

During the 19th century, a drastic change took place with regard to the position, requirements, and training of rabbis. The change originated in Germany, which became the center for the development of Reform Judaism and for the scientific study of Jewish history and the Jewish religion. Knowledge solely of the Talmud and codes was no longer deemed sufficient, and many communities now demanded that their rabbis be versed in the vernacular, secular studies, and auxiliary Judaic subjects. The yeshivot and unsupervised instruction by individual rabbis were found to be increasingly unsatisfactory. The discontent with the traditional rabbinate was further intensified by the rapid spread of Reform Judaism. To meet these new conditions, rabbinical seminaries were organized in rapid succession. With the development of these schools, curricula were evolved which no longer placed the stress on Talmud and codes. The more the particular seminary moved away from Orthodoxy, the less its curriculum emphasized Talmud and related subjects. Bible, homiletics, Jewish history and philosophy, the grammar of Hebrew and of cognate languages, pastoral psychology, and synagogue administration gradually became integral required courses of study for rabbinical students. Many of these seminaries no longer granted the traditional rabbinical degree, but rather certified their graduates as "preachers and teachers in Israel." Some schools granted two different diplomas. Most graduates were simply awarded the "preacher and teacher" degree, while the more advanced students also received the traditional *yoreh yoreh yaddin yaddin* ordination after passing special examinations in Talmud and codes. Some schools continued to include the traditional formula of ordination in the format of its degree, but this formula was now being utilized in the ceremonial sense rather than as an indication of the graduate's knowledge of the codes.

In contemporary Israel, where there are solely traditional yeshivot which ordain rabbis, the traditional method and form of ordination is utilized. In the United States, the Rabbi Isaac Elchanan Theological Seminary of *Yeshiva University also ordains its graduates in the traditional fashion after they complete a course of study which stresses Talmud and codes. The Jewish Theological Seminary does not grant the traditional ordination to its students. The Hebrew Union College includes the traditional formula of *yoreh yoreh yaddin yaddin* in the Hebrew version of its certification, but this is purely in the formal sense. The title "*rabbi*" is therefore no longer an indication, as it was up to the last centuries, that its bearer is thoroughly acquainted with the Talmud and codes, but it is the commonly accepted title for the spiritual leaders of all Jewish denominations, Orthodox, Conservative, Reform, and Reconstructionist.

[Aaron Rothkoff]

Ordination of Women

Female rabbinical ordination began to be seriously pondered in the late 19th century in Germany and the United States as a natural, if uncomfortable, consequence of Reform Judaism's insistence on the equality of men and women. Ordaining women also emerged as part of a larger debate about women's rights and their access to the learned professions. If women wished to become doctors, lawyers, and ministers, professions which then largely excluded them, why should they not also aspire to the rabbinate? However, the ambivalence of Reform Jewish leaders, who struggled to balance their long-stated commitment to the religious emancipation of Jewish women with their own ingrained prejudices about women's proper sphere, and their perceptions of the receptivity of their congregations to female rabbis, delayed a positive commitment to women's ordination for nearly a century, despite a series of challengers. It took the collision of second-wave feminism with American Judaism to propel women into the rabbinate in a sustained and institutionalized way. By the first decade of the 21st century, the presence of hundreds of female rabbis had expanded traditional notions of religious leadership throughout the Jewish world.

The American debate over female rabbis first surfaced publicly in the 1890s as the press ordained the charismatic female Jewish preacher Ray *Frank "the girl rabbi of the golden west." In the decades that followed, a series of individuals challenged the established American rabbinical seminaries, each seeking unsuccessfully to become the first woman ever ordained and hoping to blaze a path for others to follow. These include Martha Neumark (1904–1981), whose request for a High Holiday pulpit, following three years of intensive study at Hebrew Union College, ultimately led to a 1923 vote by the lay board of governors supporting the policy of only ordaining men. The aspirations of other able women of this era were also disappointed, including those of Helen Hadassah Levinthal who was not ordained with her male classmates at the Jewish Institute of Religion in 1939, despite becoming the first American woman to complete a rabbinic curriculum. Apparently, none of these challengers were aware that in 1935, in Germany, Regina *Jonas (1902–1944) had already been privately ordained. She used her rabbinic position to offer solace to her persecuted co-religionists in Nazi Germany, but, because she shared their fate, the news of her breakthrough perished with her.

In the 1950s, the question of women's ordination received new attention when the story of Paula Herskovitz *Ackerman, a *rebbetzin* who succeeded her late husband in the pulpit was considered so newsworthy that her picture appeared in *Time* magazine. Publicity about the growing success of women in the Protestant ministry also prompted Reform rabbis, Jewish journalists, and leaders of the Reform National Federation of Temple Sisterhoods to return to the question of women rabbis. Concurrently, in the 1950s and 1960s, a small group of idealistic and able women students had come to HUC-JIR with hopes that their studies would lead to rabbinic ordination. The question of female ordination gained greater urgency in the 1960s. As many Americans and American Jews embraced a feminist commitment to egalitarianism, female ordination became an important symbol of Judaism's commitment to gender equity.

Sally Jane *Priesand (1946–), a talented and tenacious young woman, became the first woman rabbi in North America in 1972, ordained by the Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion in Cincinnati, Ohio. The decision to ordain Priesand was never a foregone conclusion, but it seems likely that proclaiming a woman rabbi no longer appeared so revolutionary against the backdrop of the dramatic social and political upheavals in American life in this epoch. By acquiescing to women's ordination, Reform leaders were able to portray themselves as continuing their historic project of adapting Judaism to respond to modernity while simultaneously demonstrating Reform Judaism's commitment to women's equality. Two years later the Reconstructionist movement ordained its first female rabbinic student, Sandy Eisenberg *Sasso (1947–), and, in 1985, after a vociferous public debate that lasted slightly over a decade, the Conservative movement followed suit with the ordination of Amy *Eilberg (1955–). Even as the question of the permissibility of women's ordination closed in the liberal movements of American Judaism and the first women were ordained in Great Britain and in Israel, engaged Orthodox Jews began to ask if and when there would be female Orthodox rabbis. In the early 21st century, halakhically knowledgeable women served as rabbinic assistants in some Modern Orthodox congregations in North America, and as expert advocates on legal issues connected with women's status in Israel.

As the struggle for female ordination closed for many, the history of women in the rabbinate has opened. Women rabbinical students and rabbis have had a transformative impact on their seminaries, their congregants, and their male colleagues, and have faced numerous challenges in the effort to reconcile Judaism with women's voices and perspectives. The first generations of female rabbis learned to convince congregations to hire them, to establish their authority in a hitherto exclusively male profession, and to negotiate for benefits such as maternity leave. Moreover, female rabbis have confronted the marginalization of women's voices and views in the sacred texts and liturgy of Jewish tradition and have focused attention on models of female strength, intelligence, and leadership in the Jewish past. Many have joined with other contemporary Jewish women to create new rituals to recognize and sacralize moments of change, joy, and despair in women's lives. They have also extended their feminist critique to include the challenges that face gays and lesbians.

In every context in which they function, on pulpits and in classrooms, under the *ḥuppah* and at the circumcision table, women rabbis have enlightened their congregants, students, and male colleagues about the impact of gender in Judaism and for Jewish women. In doing so, they have reshaped modern Judaism in ways utterly unimaginable a short half century ago.

See also *Rabbis, Rabbinate; *Rabbinical Training, American; Rabbinical Seminaries.

[Pamela S. Nadell (2nd ed.)]

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SEMILIAN, SAVIN SOLOMON (1902–), Romanian journalist and historian of Romanian Jewry. Born in Brăila, Semilian edited the economic columns of various Bucharest papers and wrote for most Romanian literary magazines and Jewish journals until dismissed during the Nazi regime. After World War II he resumed work as economic editor of the daily *Cotidianul, Naţiunea*, and other papers. He also wrote the history of Braila Jewry and on Jewish elements in Romanian folklore. He became librarian of Bucharest's Jewish archives and edited *Revista Cultului Mozaic*, a cultural fortnightly published by the Federation of Jewish Communities.

SÉMINAIRE ISRAÉLITE DE FRANCE, institute of higher education of Jewish and secular learning; also known as École Rabbinique; founded in Metz in 1829 and transferred to Paris in 1859. The Séminaire Israélite de France has trained rabbis, *ḥazzanim*, and Hebrew teachers for France and French-speaking countries. It has followed the motto of *Torah im derekh ereẓ* ("Torah combined with general culture") to meet the needs of modern Judaism. During the German occupation the seminary went to Vichy, Chamallières, Lyons; officially suppressed in 1943, it maintained semi-secret activity until the end of the war. Its directors from 1919 were the chief rabbi J. Bauer (1919–32); M. Liber, the renowned scholar (1932–51); H. Schilli (1951–75); E. Gugenheim (1977); E. Chouchena (1977–91); M. Gugenheim (1992–). Basic studies include: Talmud; Bible, with the ancient rabbinical and more recent commentaries; philosophy; ancient and modern Hebrew literature and Jewish history; homiletics and liturgy. The program of general studies consists of philosophy and French literature. Students can, or are encouraged to, follow a general academic course at the same time. Studies are spread over a period of one to five years according to a student's previous qualifications. During their program of study, students are encouraged to attend a yeshivah in Israel for one year. They undergo various terms of probation, namely as *talmud torah* teachers, at the *bet din*, and in the communities. Formerly a preparatory section, which admitted younger pupils who had not yet obtained the baccalaureate and which was known as the *talmud torah,* had been affiliated with the institution. Another branch, the École de Pédagogie et de Liturgie, previously trained *ḥazzanim* and Hebrew teachers. The central consistory assumes the administrative and financial responsibility of the institute, with increasing financial difficulties moving into the 21st century. The chief rabbi of France is the legal president of the administrative commission, and the institute provides boarding facilities for an average of 15 to 20 students. The final examination includes the preparation of a memorandum ("mémoire") and a rabbinical degree is awarded. Three degrees, on an average, are awarded each year. As the oldest institution of the seminary-type in the world and the last one existing in Western Europe, the SIF has recruited more than 400 students, more than 300 of whom obtained the degree of rabbi, *ḥazzan* or teacher. In the early 21st century it faces the new, contradictory aspirations concerning the role of the rabbis and suffers from a lack of prestige and even from some suspicion among that part of religious Judaism whose references are in the "world of the yeshivot." Its library, with some 60,000 volumes, is unique in Paris despite losses in previous decades; in certain fields it is complementary to that of the *Alliance Israélite Universelle. The library was restored in 2004 and scholars have access to it; its manuscripts are on deposit in the Alliance library.

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[Henri Schilli / Jean-Pierre Rothschild (2nd ed.)]

SEMITES, a term originally referring to those peoples listed in the table of nations (Gen. 10) as descendants of Noah's son Shem (Sem in the LXX and the Vulgate). The derivative "Semitic" was coined as a linguistic term by A.L. Schloezer in 1781 (in J.G. Eichhorn (ed.), *Repertorium fuer biblische und morgen laendische Literatur*, 8 (1781), 161). Shem is given five sons who had 21 descendants, making a total of 26 peoples derived from him. These include the Elamites and the Assyrians, the Lydians (but note Gen. 10:13), the Arameans, and numerous Arab tribes (Gen. 10:21–31). They are spread from Lydia, eastward through Syria and Assyria, to Persia. Their northern boundary is Armenia, and their southern, the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf. Early in the development of modern ethnology it was realized that the list in Genesis combines peoples that sometimes have nothing in common but geographic propinquity. "Semite" was then defined by the supposed physical characteristics of the chief surviving representatives of the list, the Jews and the Arabs: dolichocephalic skulls; curly and abundant hair; slightly wavy or straight strong beard, predominantly black; prominent (straight or aquiline) nose; oval face (DB, s.v.).

The problematic nature and evil results of earlier racial theories have led to a restriction of the terms Semite and Semitic in careful modern usage to linguistic categories. Aside from the biblical referent, the linguistic is the only modern scholarly-scientific use of the term. The combination of peoples under the rubric Semites in Genesis 10 is not justified by the linguistic criterion. The common features of the languages of the Assyrians, Arameans, and Arabs, which suffice to mark them as members of one family, set them apart from the "Semite" Lydians (Lud) and Elamites, whose languages are totally unrelated. These common features comprise the identifying marks of the Semitic *languages, and in current usage the peoples speaking these languages are called Semitic – today mainly the Jews (Hebrew) and Arabs, but in ancient times the Akkadians, the Amorites, the Babylonians, the Phoenicians, and the Canaanites as well. A striking instance of divergence between modern and ancient classification is the case of the Canaanites and Phoenicians. Genesis 10:6 and verses 15–19 represent them as Hamites, perhaps owing to their close relationship with Hamitic Egypt over many centuries. However, the languages of Phoenicia and Canaan – the best known of which is Hebrew (Isa. 19:18) – are Semitic in the modern sense, as are the peoples who spoke them. (The "Hebrews" do not appear at all in the table of nations; however, it is generally supposed that Eber, a descendant of Shem (Gen. 10:21, 25), is their eponym.) For the modern ethnological classification of the "Semites" see the article Theory of *Race; for the political use of the term, see *Antisemitism.

[Moshe Greenberg]

SEMITIC LANGUAGES, the name given by A.L. Schloezer in 1781 to the language family to which Hebrew belongs because the languages then reckoned among this family (except Canaanite) were spoken by peoples included in Genesis 10:21–29 among the sons of Shem.

1. Wider Background

The Semitic family forms part of a wider grouping generally called Hamito-Semitic, but lately also known as Afroasiatic or Afrasian. This includes with certainty:

(a) Ancient Egyptian and its descendant, Coptic;

(b) the Cushitic languages, comprising a large number of mostly little-explored languages spoken in the northeast corner of Africa, the most important ones being Beja (on the Red Sea coast), Galla (in Ethiopia), and Somali;

(c) Berber, with numerous dialects, spread from the Siwa Oasis in Egypt to Morocco, and southward into the Sahara (Tuareg). Less well established is the status within this family of the Chadic languages of West Africa, the chief of which is

Hausa, and of the Central-Saharan group. Genetic relationship has often been claimed between the Semitic languages and the Indo-European family (to which English belongs as one of the Teutonic languages, as well as Latin and its descendants, Greek, Slavonic, Iranian, Sanskrit, Hittite, etc.). Though such a connection is intrinsically probable, no definite proof has been provided.

2. The Semitic Family

About 70 distinct forms of Semitic are known, ranging from important languages with large literatures to language forms used over a limited territory and either entirely unwritten or possessing but few preserved documents. It was usual, until a short time ago, to group all these into five great branches: Canaanite, Aramaic, Akkadian, Arabic, and Ethiopic, each with an important literary language at its center, and the other forms treated as dialects. This division can no longer be maintained because of the discovery of languages that do not fit into any of those branches, and the rise of doubts with regard to the genetic justification of the assumption of such branches as Canaanite, Aramaic, or Arabic. It is, however, still convenient to describe the languages and dialects roughly in the order of the above branches.

3a. Northwest Semitic

This is the grouping to which Hebrew belongs. Starting from the north, there is Ugaritic, on the seacoast in the northwest corner of Syria, documented in the 14th–13th centuries B.C.E. by poetry, mainly epic, and by administrative lists and letters. While quite distinct from Hebrew as a language, it closely resembles Hebrew in its poetical style, and its study has thrown much light on certain aspects of Hebrew literature. South of Ugaritic, along the coast as far as Haifa and even beyond, was the area of Phoenician. The oldest inscriptions have been variously dated to the 17th, 12th, or even ninth century B.C.E. In the Phoenician homeland, inscriptions appear down to the first century B.C.E. Inscriptions in this language are also known from Cyprus, from Cilicia (the inscription of Azatiwada of the eighth (?) century is the longest Phoenician inscription known), and from various places in the Mediterranean as far west as Spain, from Marseille, from Pyrgoi in Italy, etc. In Carthage, a Phoenician colony, the language developed a distinct form, called Punic, and in its latest stage, documented down to the first centuries C.E., Neo-Punic. In Punic there exists the only continuous text which shows what Phoenician sounded like, namely the Punic passages in Latin script inserted in the play *Poenulus* by Plautus (254–184). From these it is also learned that at least second-century Phoenician was more different from Hebrew than can be guessed from the unvocalized Semitic script of the inscriptions.

The earliest attestation of the language of Phoenicia, however, is not in documents written in that language, but is obtained through the mistakes made by scribes in that area in the Babylonian cuneiform text of the Tell el-Amarna *Letters (14th–13th centuries B.C.E.), as well as in a small number of local words used to gloss certain Babylonian words in those letters. These so-called Canaanisms show clearly that already at that time a language was spoken in the area which had typical features of later Phoenician. However, the senders of the Tell el-Amarna Letters were not only local rulers in what later became Phoenicia, but also in the inland of Syria and further south in Palestine. The Canaanisms in letters from all those areas are so similar that a single language was used in that entire region. That there should have been no marked differences of language in such a large, geographically broken-up and politically disunited area is rather strange, and in fact there is evidence of at least one difference, in the development of the sibilants, between Jerusalem and the areas further north, which appears in place names. Therefore the question may be asked whether the Canaanisms in the Tell el-Amarna Letters do not represent a common literary language rather than the actual spoken local forms. This problem, still unsolved, is of great importance to the history of Hebrew, in view of the large-scale Canaanite element in that language. The evidence, however, speaks in any case for the assumption that a language very close to Hebrew was spoken in Palestine in the period preceding the Israelite conquest. Unfortunately there exists no later literary document in the language of the non-Israelite Semitic population of Palestine. All views about the relation between Canaanite and Hebrew are based on extrapolations from what is known of Phoenician and of pre-Israelite Canaanite. Apart from the Tell el-Amarna Letters, there are two other sources of information about the Semitic languages spoken in Palestine. One source is the Semitic loanwords in Ancient Egyptian and the few words in Egyptian texts put into the mouths of Semites. This material is unmistakably Northwest Semitic, but cannot be further defined with any certainty, and there are many items the semantic identification of which is doubtful. Part of it is written in the so-called syllabic hieroglyphic spelling, and according to the reading of this system by W.F. Albright, the Semitic words show *u* in places where Semitic *ā* is represented in Canaanite by *ō*. The other source is a number of inscriptions in an early form of alphabetic writing, which has not yet been satisfactorily deciphered, and some in legible Canaanite script, of which a few may be non-Israelite.

To the south of Canaan a number of inscriptions have been found in the Sinai Peninsula, some superimposed upon datable Egyptian objects. The whole series is variously dated by scholars between 1900 and 1500 B.C.E. Their Semitic character has not been doubted, but the attempts at decipherment have not produced enough agreement even to identify their language with assurance as Northwest Semitic.

Proceeding inland, east of the coastal languages described, from south to north, there is in southern Transjordan evidence of three ancient peoples: the Edomites, the Ammonites, and the Moabites. The few Ammonite and Edomite inscriptions found are insufficient to allow conclusions as to the exact character of those languages. As for Edomite, quite a few scholars have sought evidence concerning the Edomite language in the deviations of the Book of Job from normal biblical Hebrew, some drawing the conclusion that it was a form of Arabic, others, especially N.H. Tur-Sinai, that it was Aramaic. King Mesha of Moab set up a lengthy inscription, of which now two copies are known. Unless the view of Segert is accepted that the inscription is in Hebrew, written by an Israelite, it must be concluded that eighth-century Moabite was very similar to biblical Hebrew, at least as far as its consonantal skeleton was concerned. A plaster text found at Tell Deir Alla (biblical Succoth?) revealed an unknown Northwest Semitic dialect, though some consider the language of the text to be Aramaic.

The linguistic situation in inland Syria is complicated. At Mari and in Mesopotamia, one finds in the second quarter of the second millennium large numbers of personal names of a Northwest Semitic character, and at Mari also a few common nouns apparently belonging to the same language. Historically, these names are connected with the nomad people called Amurrū. Although the bearers of these names ruled Mari and Babylonia, they did not, as far as is known, produce any documents in their own language, but used Akkadian, and the proper names are practically all there is to go on in reconstructing the language they spoke; it shows connections with Ugaritic and Canaanite. It is still a moot point whether the *Emōrī* mentioned in the Bible were Amurrū. Also the connection between the Amurrū and the central Syrian state of Amurru is not clear. Because of the position of the Amorites as a link between Mesopotamia and Syria and Palestine, it is possible – but cannot be proved at present – that the Amorite language had considerable influence upon the rest of Northwest Semitic.

At Zenjirli, in northern Syria, there are, for a short period in the eighth century B.C.E., inscriptions in the local language of a region called Sham'al or Ya'udi. This so-called Samalian stands about halfway between Phoenician and Aramaic. The existence of such an intermediate dialect is of importance for determining the origins of the most widely developed branch of Northwest Semitic, Aramaic. It is widely believed, following the researches of Moscati and Mazar, that Aramaic, used from the early ninth century onward in inscriptions from northern Syria to Damascus, did not come as a separate language with the Aramaic tribes from outside Syria, but rather spread from the region of Damascus as a result of the unification of large parts of Syria under the tenth-century kingdom of Damascus. The presence of certain "Aramaic" phonetic features in the Hebrew of the 11th-century Song of Deborah shows that Northern Hebrew shared these features with the Damascus dialect. As a result of political events, dialects in middle and northern Syria, which originally may have resembled Amorite and/or Ya'udic, became Aramaicized. (For the later fortunes of this language, see *Aramaic.) The great importance of the Aramaic language group for the study of Hebrew is due

(a) to its being the best-preserved member of the Northwest Semitic branch,

(b) to its persistent influence on Hebrew at almost all the stages of the latter's development, and

(c) to the existence of several specific Jewish-Aramaic dialects at various times, beginning with biblical Aramaic and ending with today's colloquials from Iraqi, Turkish, and Iranian Kurdistan.

3b. East Semitic

This is represented by the various branches of the Akkadian language and by Eblaitic. The former is divided into Old Akkadian (c. 2500–1950 B.C.E.), Babylonian (which also was used as a literary language in Assyria), and Assyrian. Akkadian was written in a script that expressed syllables, and hence also indicated the vowels, but on the other hand seems to have been in several respects phonetically imperfect, owing to its having been adapted originally from a non-Semitic language, Sumerian. Documents were written mainly with a stylus on clay tablets (cuneiform), and are thus practically imperishable. The huge number of private letters, contracts, public documents, and literary texts preserved makes Akkadian one of the principal sources for ancient Semitic. Various forms of Akkadian served in the second millennium B.C.E. for purposes of official correspondence in Syria and Palestine. The outstanding case of this is the Tell el-Amarna Letters. This use of Akkadian bears witness to what must have been extensive cultural influence. In its wake, hundreds of Akkadian words entered the Hebrew language, and this number was further increased during the political contacts in the ninth to sixth centuries and once more through indirect loans via Aramaic. It appears that by a gradual process, between the eighth and the sixth centuries, Akkadian died out as a spoken language, and was in its homeland replaced by Aramaic. Its written use, however, continued on a smaller scale after 539, and Akkadian documents so far discovered can be dated as late as 75 C.E. Eblaitic is the language of the Syrian city of Ebla and is attested from the 24th–23rd centuries B.C.E. It too is written in cuneiform, though many features of the language are obscured by the orthography and thus its classification is difficult. Some have argued that it is an early dialect of Akkadian.

3c. South Semitic

The earliest attestation of South Semitic speech are a number of names borne by leaders of the Aribi tribes whom Assurbanipal and Sennacherib fought in the Syrian Desert and in northern Arabia. Their language seems to have belonged to a group of dialects now called Proto-Arabic or Ancient North Arabian. The chief one is Thamudic, attested along the northern and southern edge of Arabia as well as in Transjordan. Others are Dedanite and Liḥyānic in biblical Midian, and Ṣafaitic in an area east of Damascus. The numerous inscriptions consist mainly of names, but give enough information about the language to show that it is related to Arabic. The time of these inscriptions extends from c. 500 B.C.E. to 500 C.E. The Nabatean inscriptions in Transjordan, southern Palestine, and Sinai (c. 150 B.C.E.–300 C.E.), and the Palmyrene inscriptions in the Syrian Desert (first–third centuries C.E.), though in Aramaic, were put up by speakers of Arabic dialects, and provide further information about the earlier history of that language. Later Arab philologists have preserved some data on dialects spoken in the peninsula closer to the seventh century, and there are also a few inscriptions. It is probable that Classical Arabic was formed as an intertribal *lingua franca* before 500 C.E. It is first attested by a fairly large number of poems of the sixth century and by the Koran in the early seventh century. Owing to the Muslim conquests, Arabic became the vehicle of a far-flung and lively culture, with uninterrupted literary use until the present day. From the beginning, much Arabic was written by people who did not speak it, and through the efforts of grammarians and schools it has maintained its grammar and syntax, and much of its vocabulary, almost unchanged. Since the Muslims conquered the entire territory occupied by Semitic languages in Asia, the speakers of such languages gradually gave up their own speech in favor of Arabic, and only small islands of Aramaic and of South Arabian persisted. On the other hand, Arabic absorbed many words from those languages.

A short time after the conquests there is evidence that spoken Arabic differed profoundly from the written form; in part it seems to have continued pre-Classical dialects. In the Middle Ages Christians and Jews often wrote an Arabic that showed influence of the spoken forms. Except for Maltese, no spoken Arabic colloquial achieved official status as a written language, but there was some popular literature in various dialects, and of course many have been recorded and described by mainly western linguists.

At the southern end of Arabia an entirely different group of languages exists. It is attested since about the middle of the first millennium B.C.E. by inscriptions in a number of Ancient South Arabian languages: Sabean, Minean, Ḥaḍramautic, etc. Minean inscriptions have also been found in biblical Midian, probably set up by a trading colony. Owing to the absence of vowels and the rigid style of the texts, these languages are only partly recoverable; but what is known shows some interesting similarities with Northwest Semitic. Ancient South Arabian speech died out probably before 1000 C.E.; inscriptions were set up until just prior to the Islamic period. What is probably a distinct branch of the same language group, spoken in an area outside that in which Ancient South Arabian culture flourished, is at present represented by Mahri (Mehri), Shaḥari (Shkhauri), Harsusi, and Botahari, spoken at the southern tip of the Sultanate of Muscat and Oman, and by Soqotri, spoken on the island of Socotra in the Indian Ocean. These very archaic and, for the comparative study of Semitic, highly interesting languages, are only rather sketchily recorded, mainly by a mission of Austrian scholars in the late 19th century. Eritrea and the adjoining Ethiopian region of Tigre, with its capital Aksum, appear to have been colonized by South Arabians. At first, in the beginning of the Christian Era, Sabean was used on monuments, but by the third century C.E. there are texts written in the local language, Ge’ez (Ethiopic), first in South Arabian characters, then in a special script, which in the fourth century was provided with regular vowel markings by adding short strokes or circles and other alterations in the shape of letters. Until the tenth century, Ge’ez literature consists entirely of translations of Christian religious texts; after the 12th century, when Ge’ez was no longer spoken, it served also for original writing. The present spoken languages of Semitic stock in Ethiopia are undoubtedly related to Ge’ez. Tigrinya, the language of Eritrea, and Tigre in northern Ethiopia and the Sudan, seem to be direct descendants of Ge’ez, while the exact connection with the southern group, consisting of Amharic, Gafat, Argobba, Harari, and Gurage, the latter a cluster of rather divergent dialects, is not clear. Amharic, written since the 14th century, is now the rapidly developing official language of Ethiopia.

4. The Divisions of Semitic

The most widely accepted view is that the first division which Semitic underwent, probably before 3000 B.C.E., was between East Semitic (Akkadian) and all the rest. At a later date, but before 2000 B.C.E., West Semitic divided into a northern and a southern branch. Northwest Semitic then divided into Canaanite and Aramaic; Southwest Semitic into Arabic and South Arabian plus Ethiopic. The units mentioned again broke up into the languages actually attested. Another version of this view associates the theory of the "family tree" with successive "waves" emerging from the original home of the Semites, by most assumed to have been the Arabian Peninsula: first the Akkadians, then the Canaanites, Aramaeans, Ethiopians, and finally the Arabs. The picture here presented has been questioned since the discovery of Ugaritic, Amorite, and Deir Alla, which do not fully fit into the accepted division of Northwest Semitic, and since the realization that Arabia could hardly have supported sufficient population for such large waves of emigration before the domestication of the camel not long before 1000 B.C.E. No alternative theory has yet been generally accepted, either with reference to the original homeland of the Semites – or of the Semitic language family – or to account for its subdivisions. Some scholars have questioned the existence of either a proto-Canaanite or a proto-Aramaic, and suggested that Northwest Semitic was in 2000 B.C.E. still undifferentiated, and the closer similarity of some languages to each other might be due to later influences of one upon the other. Recently many scholars have preferred a classification that divides West Semitic into a South Semitic branch that includes South Arabian and Ethiopian, and a Central Semitic branch consisting of Arabic and the Northwest Semitic languages.

5. Proto-Semitic

SOUNDS. Proto-Semitic probably had the sounds indicated in the following table.

Ordinary plosives:	p	b	t	d	k	g
Fricatives:			th	dh	kh	gh
Nasals:	m		n			
Emphatic sounds:		ṭ	ṣ	ẓ	ḍ	q
Sibilants:		s	z	sh	ś	s̱
Gutturals:		ʿ	ḥ	ʾ	h	
Other consonants:		l	r	w	y	
Vowels:	a	i	u	ā	ī	ū

Recent studies have reconstructed *ṭ*, *ṣ*, and *q* as originally glottalic or ejective; *s*, *ś*, and *sh* as ^{t}s, *ḻ*, and *s* respectively; and *ḍ* as *ḻ*ˀ.

REMARKS ON GRAMMAR. Proto-Semitic nouns had at least three cases: nominative ending in *-u*, genitive in *-i*, and an adverbial accusative case in *-a*. The feminine nouns ended mainly in *-t*, but there were other suffixes. There was no definite article. The plural of nouns seems to have been expressed in a number of different ways. There was also a dual.

The most remarkable feature of the verb in Semitic and Hamitic is the possibility of varying the meaning of the verbal root by prefixes: *sh*, and perhaps also ʾ, to express causation (to make someone else do the action); *t* and *n* (also infixed *t* after the first root letter) for passive and reflexive. The middle or the last root letter could also be doubled or repeated, or part of the root repeated, to express various modifications, such as repetition or an elusive quality called emphasis. Internal vowel changes in the stem expressed intransitivity and the passive voice.

There were three tenses, fully preserved only in Akkadian: the perfect *yaqtul*, the imperfect *yaqattil*, and a form to express state rather than action, *qatil* or *qatala*. The first two were conjugated by a combination of prefixes and suffixes, the last by suffixes only. Moods and certain other variations were indicated by adding vowels or *n* to the first two tenses. These tenses were only partly for the expression of time; it is thought that their main function was aspect: *yaqtul* expressed an action that takes place once and was accomplished, while *yaqattil* indicated that an action goes on for some time. This aspect function is still clearly seen in the biblical Hebrew perfect and imperfect tenses.

The outstanding peculiarity in syntax is the nominal sentence, which corresponds roughly to English sentences containing "is" (though its use is much wider), but contains no words for "is." These sentences are timeless, and it seems that Proto-Semitic did not yet possess the possibility to express the perfect and imperfect moods by a verb meaning "to be", since the verbs for this purpose differ in the various languages. A special type of nominal clause enables the Semitic languages to take any element out of an ordinary verbal or nominal sentence and to place it in front of the sentence, making it the subject, and the rest of the sentence (with a pronoun to represent the word taken out) the predicate. For example, the sentence "The way of God is in storm" is transformed into "God (is) his way is in storm" (cf. Nahum 1:3).

All Semitic languages make use of the same root in different functions within the same sentence, mainly to express emphasis, such as "a killer killed" (= someone killed), "he killed a killing", "she pancaked pancakes" (II Sam. 13:6), "the boy (was) a boy" (I Sam. 1:24).

6. Relation of Hebrew to Other Semitic Languages

If the changes from the Proto-Semitic situation are taken as an index of the genetic relationship between languages it will be found that Hebrew shares important developments with different languages. Thus it shares with Phoenician, considered with Moabite to be closest to Hebrew, the development of original *ā* to *ō*. It appears that Phoenician, like Hebrew, lengthened short vowels under certain circumstances; it pronounced the lengthened *a* as *ō*, and in this agrees with the Ashkenazi and Yemenite, but not the Sephardi pronunciation of Hebrew. The changes of *dh* to *z, th* to *sh*, ẓ and ḍ to ṣ are common to Hebrew, Moabite, Phoenician, and Akkadian, while those of *gh* to ʿ and *kh* to ḥ appear in Hebrew, Moabite, Phoenician, and Aramaic only. Hebrew agrees with Aramaic in changing *ś* to *s* (probably late), while Phoenician and Akkadian changed it into *sh*, as did Ugaritic. Ugaritic changed ḍ to ṣ, but not ẓ. The only sound change that Ugaritic is known to have shared only with Phoenician, Moabite, and Hebrew, is that of initial *w* into *y*. Though the earlier development of the sounds of Aramaic was rather different from the Hebrew, Hebrew underwent two important changes which it shares with later Aramaic:

(a) the ordinary plosives *p, b, t, d, k, g* came to be pronounced as fricatives *f, v, th, dh, kh, gh* when preceded by a vowel, unless they were doubled;

(b) short vowels in unstressed open syllables (unless lengthened) were reduced to an indeterminate vowel *ĕ* (*šĕwa* mobile). This (as also the further reduction, called *šĕwa* medium) continues to turn plosives positioned after it into fricatives. Hebrew, Phoenician, and Aramaic lost at an early stage the ability to pronounce short vowels at the end of a word, and through this gave up the cases of nouns; in Arabic the same change occurred only after 600 C.E.

It should be noted that Ugaritic was almost as close to Proto-Semitic in its sound system as were Ancient South Arabian and Classical Arabic, and therefore quite unlike Hebrew. Neither did it resemble Hebrew closely in its grammar. The main feature common to Ugaritic, Phoenician, and biblical Hebrew was the *-m* ending for the masculine plural, as opposed to *-n* in Moabite, Aramaic, and Arabic, but also in mishnaic Hebrew. However, Ugaritic, like Tell el-Amarna Canaanite, still distinguished a nominative *-ūma* from genitive and accusative *-īma*, while Phoenician and Hebrew have *-īm* only. Hebrew early elided the *t* of the feminine ending *at(u)*, Phoenician only very late, Arabic first in the end of the sentence, and after 600 C.E. throughout (the *t* remains in the construct state). With Phoenician, Moabite, and Ancient North Arabian, Hebrew shares the article *ha-*; with Phoenician, Aramaic, and Classical Arabic the *ha-* or *hā-* before the demonstrative pronoun (Heb. *ha-zeh*).

Biblical Hebrew and Moabite stand alone in preserving the old perfect form *yaqtul* when preceded by *wa-* ("and"), while at the same time using the old stative form, *qatal*, as a perfect when not preceded by "and" (i.e., at the beginning of an utterance, or in the middle of a sentence). Phoenician, Ya'udic, Old Aramaic, and perhaps Ancient North Arabian abandoned the old perfect *yaqtul* altogether much earlier than Hebrew, which did so only during the Second Temple period. Classical Arabic still has some remnants of perfect *yaqtul*. Ancient South Arabian has very rare cases of perfective *wa-*

yaqtul, Ehiopic only perfective *qatala*. Ugaritic poetry usually employs perfective *yaqtul*, but the administrative prose only perfective *qatala*. Hebrew thus was more conservative than neighboring languages in carrying out a change characteristic of the whole of West Semitic.

Characteristic of Tell el-Amarna Canaanite, Hebrew, Moabite, and Phoenician (where it is only attested late) is the ending *-tī* of the first person singular of the perfect (elsewhere *-tu*). The first person singular pronoun *ʿnk* (Heb. *ānōkhī*), as opposed to *ʿn* (Heb. *ănī*), also in Akkadian, Ugaritic, Phoenician, Moabite, and Ya'udic, is an ancient form, found also in Egyptian, Somali (*aniga*), and Berber. It ended in *-i* also in Tell el-Amarna Canaanite and in Phoenician.

The Hebrew *hāyāh* ("to be"), from *hwy*, is also found in Aramaic, Ya'udic, rarely in Akkadian, and according to an ancient lexicon possibly also in Ugaritic, while the ordinary verb for "to be" in Ugaritic is *kwn*, as in Phoenician, Arabic, South Arabian, and Ethiopic. The use of *yesh* ("there is"), from *ʿyth*, is paralleled by Ugaritic, Aramaic, and Akkadian; in Arabic only in the negative. The Hebrew negative *ēyn* ("there is not") is found in Ugaritic, Late Phoenician, Moabite, and Babylonian. Phoenician and Akkadian have *sh*- as relative pronoun and mark of the genitive; this is found in very early Hebrew (the time of the Judges), in the Hebrew of the Second Temple period, and in mishnaic Hebrew. It is not clear what the relation is between this and the Classical Hebrew *ăsher* in the same sense. The Hebrew accusative sign *et* is also found in Moabite, Phoenician (*ʿyt*), Ya'udic (*wt*), and early Aramaic (*yāt*).

A survey of the first 100 Phoenician (not Punic) words in the dictionary shows that 82% have the same meaning in Hebrew. A comparison with Ugaritic on the basis of the basic word list of Morris Swadesh shows 79% with the same meaning as in Hebrew. Comparisons with other languages according to the same list indicate the following percentages of correspondence with Hebrew: 66% for Syriac, 53% for Akkadian, 50% for Arabic, and 47% for Ge'ez (Ethiopic). Calculation of these results according to Swadesh's lexicostatisical method suggests that these differences reflect not only the difference in the date at which these words were recorded, but also different degrees of relationship, corresponding to the accepted "family tree" grouping of the Semitic languages (cf. para. 4). The following examples will give some idea of the forms the same word takes in different Semitic and Hamaitic languages.

(1) "Water": Heb. *mayim*, Ug. *mym*, Syr. *mayyē*, Old Akk. *mū*, Ar. *mā'un*, Eth. *māy,* Egyptian *mw,* Somali *māh*, Berber *aman* (pl.), Chadic *am, yam*.

(2) "Name": Heb. *shēm*, Phoen. *shm*, Ug. *shm*, Syr. *shmā*, Akk. *shumu*, Ar. *ismun*, Ge'ez *sěm*, Beja *sim*, Hausa *sūnā*.

(3) "Three": Heb. *shālōsh* (fem.), Late Punic *salus*, Ug. *thlth*, Syr. *tlāth*, Ar. *thalāthun*, Ge'ez *shalās*.

(4) "Fingernail, claw": Heb. *ṣippōren*, Syr. *ṭephrā*, Akk. *ṣupru*, Ar. *ẓufrun*, Soqotri *ṭifer,* Ge'ez *ṣêfêr,* Cushitic (Agau) *ch'iffer,* Berber (Tuareg) *atfer.*

7. The Origin of Hebrew

The thoroughly "Hebraic" character of Tell el-Amarna Canaanite, as far as it can be discerned from the glosses (cf. para. 3a), demands an answer to the question how the Israelites, who came from outside the country, arrived at speaking a language so closely similar to that which had been spoken in Palestine before the conquest. Since the outstanding similarities (*ō* for *ā*,*-tī* in the first person perfect, *ānōkhī* ("I") with *ī*) are restricted to a well-defined and comparatively small area, it is impossible to claim that they would have appeared already in the speech the patriarchs brought from their home in Mesopotamia. It is generally assumed that the Israelites, either in the patriarchal period or after the conquest, adopted the Canaanite speech. Hans Bauer, G.R. Driver, H. Birkeland, and other scholars, however, saw in Hebrew traces of an admixture of the former language spoken by the Israelites. This *Mischsprache* ("mixed language") theory has been employed to account for certain inconsistencies and doublets in Biblical Hebrew grammar and vocabulary, e.g., for the fact that *ā* did not always become *ō*, and for the coexistence of *wa-yaqtul* and *qātal* to express the perfect (and *wē-qātal* and *yiqtol* for the imperfect).

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[Chaim M. Rabin]

SEMMEL, BERNARD (1928–), U.S. historian. Born in New York City, Semmel taught at Columbia University and at Park College and was appointed professor of history at the State University of New York at Stony Brook. He later became Distinguished Professor of History at the Graduate School, City University of New York

Semmel's historical studies were in modern British history and modern European intellectual history. His works include *Imperialism and Social Reform* (1960), *Jamaican Blood and Victorian Conscience* (1963), *The Rise of Free Trade Imperialism* (1970), *The Methodist Revolution* (1973), *John Stuart Mill and the Pursuit of Virtue* (1984), *The Liberal Ideal and the Demons of Empire* (1993), and *George Eliot and the Politics of National Inheritance* (1994). He edited the *Occasional Papers of T.R. Malthus* (1963).

[Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

SEMON, SIR FELIX (1849–1921), British physician. Semon was born in Danzig, Germany, and settled in London in 1874, where he obtained a position as a clinical assistant at the Throat Hospital. From 1882 to 1897 he was physician for diseases of the throat at St. Thomas' Hospital and from 1894 to 1896 president of the Laryngological Society of London, which he helped to found. When he retired the Semon Lectureship was founded in his honor at the University of London.

Semon counted prominent English and overseas personalities among his patients and attended Queen Victoria and other members of the royal family as well as Gladstone. At the queen's recommendation he became confidential physician to Prince Edward, who made him physician extraordinary to the king after his accession to the throne. He was knighted in 1905.

Semon was vice president of the National Hospital for Epilepsy and Paralysis. His research into the progressive destructive lesion of the motor nerve supplying the laryngeal muscles brought him to the formulation of the Semon-Rosenbach Law. His published a number of works including an autobiography (ed. by H.C. Semon and T.A. McIntyre, 1926).

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SEMON, RICHARD WOLFGANG (1859–1918), German zoologist. Born in Berlin, he was educated at Jena, where in 1891 he was appointed professor extraordinary. In that year Semon undertook an extensive voyage of exploration to Australia and the Malay Archipelago to study the primitive reptile-like mammals and the Australian lungfish, both of which had great interest for students of evolution. The results of this expedition appeared in an extensive series of scientific publications, including Semon's classic monographs on the embryology of the lungfish. Semon wrote an account of his travels in a book *Im australischen Busch* (1896; *In the Australian Bush*, 1899). In 1897 Semon left his professorship at Jena and went to Munich. He then devoted himself to the theoretical problems of evolution.

Semon's theory, set forth in *Die Mneme* (1904; *The Mneme*, 1921), was an attempt to describe a mechanism for the inheritance of acquired characteristics. His thesis was that the organism is permanently affected by its reactions to external stimuli. These reactions produce impressions or "engramms," which modify the development of the progeny through "somatic inductions" that affect the germ cells. The power of the organism thus to accumulate a record or "memory" of past reactions to the environment Semon termed the "mneme." This theory, which was found mystical and lacking in a convincing experimental basis, was rather coldly received by most biologists, and is today of historical interest only.

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[Mordecai L. Gabriel]

SENAAH or **MIGDAL SENAAH** (Heb. סְנָאָה), a name which has been variously interpreted. The children of Senaah are listed after those of Jericho in the enumeration of Jews returning from the Babylonian Exile (Ezra 2:35; Neh. 7:38). In the Persian period, it may have been the second capital of the Jericho district. Eusebius mentions a Magdalsenna 8 mi. (c. 13 km.) north of Jericho (Onom. 154:16) and a watchtower (*migdal*, "tower") is shown in this location on the Madaba Map. It has been identified with Khirbat al-Bayūdāt.

[Michael Avi-Yonah]

SENATOR, DAVID WERNER (1896–1953), Zionist administrator. Born in Berlin, Senator was active in various social welfare bodies in Germany and was secretary-general of the European Office of the *American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee in Berlin from 1925 to 1930. He joined the Jerusalem Executive of the *Jewish Agency as a "non-Zionist" member from 1930 to 1935 and served as treasurer and later head of the Immigration Department and the Department of Settlement of German Jews. Senator then returned to Europe and directed the Central Committee for Aid and Reconstruction of the Reich Representation of German Jews (Zentralausschuss fuer Hilfe und Aufbau der Reichsvertretung). A moderate on the Jewish Agency Executive, he resigned in 1935 as a result of his opposition to the "activist" policy of the Jewish Agency. He became an administrator of the Hebrew University and was the executive vice president of the university from 1949 until his death. Senator supported a policy of Jewish-Arab rapprochement through his membership in *Berit Shalom. He died in Atlanta, Georgia, while on a tour of European and American universities.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Tidhar, 7 (1956), 2909–10.

[Kurt Loewenstein]

SENATOR, HERMANN (1834–1911), German internist. Senator, who was born in Gnesen, province of Posen, became professor of internal medicine at the Augusta Hospital in Berlin. Later, he was appointed a director of the Charité Hospital and professor at the University of Berlin. Senator carried out research and wrote about the treatment of diabetes, on albuminuria and its significance in health and disease, on renal diseases and hemorrhagic disorders of the spleen, on polycythemia and plethora, and on peripharyngeal phlegmon.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: S.R. Kagan, *Jewish Medicine* (1952), 295.

[Suessmann Muntner]

°**SENDLER, IRENA** (1910–), head of the children's section of the Council for Aid to Jews (codenamed Zegota), a Polish underground organization created in the latter part of 1942 and which operated primarily in the Warsaw area; and Righteous Among the Nations. In the early days of the German occupation, Sendler worked to alleviate the suffering of many of her prewar Jewish friends and acquaintances. As a social worker for the Social Welfare Department of the Warsaw municipality, she carried a special permit allowing her to visit the ghetto area, ostensibly for the purpose of combating contagious diseases. This afforded her ample opportunity to learn of the terrible conditions inside the ghetto and try to alleviate the suffering of the people there with additional clothing, medicine, and money. In the summer of 1942, Irena Sendler was invited to join Zegota, which was then in the stages of formation. Readily consenting to this, she had already assembled a group of people dedicated to her charitable work, including her companion Irena Schulz, and she developed a widespread network of contacts inside and outside the ghetto. Under the codename Jolanta, with the help of her coworkers, she arranged for Jewish children to be smuggled out of the ghetto and for sheltering them in secure places either with non-Jewish families or in religious institutions. "I myself had eight or ten flats where Jews were hiding under my care," Irena proudly recalled. The sheltering families received financial support from Zegota for their additional expenses. In October 1943, she was betrayed and arrested by the Gestapo, taken to the infamous Pawiak prison, and brutally tortured. Failing to elicit information from her, her inquisitors condemned her to be shot. However, unbeknownst to her, the Jewish underground operating in the Warsaw region had managed to contact and bribe one of the Gestapo agents, and on the day of her execution she was freed, although she was officially listed among those executed. Forced to stay out of sight for the remainder of the German occupation, Irena carried out her humanitarian activities from her hiding place. Irena Sendler explained that the motivation for her humanitarian work came from lessons learned at home. Her father was a physician, and most of his patients were poor Jews. "I grew up among these people. All my life, I had Jewish friends." She then added, "My family taught me that what matters is whether people are honest or dishonest, not what religion they belong to." In 1965, Irena Sendler was awarded the title of Righteous Among the Nations by Yad Vashem.

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[Mordecai Paldiel (2nd ed.)]

SENDREY, ALFRED (**Szendrei, Aladar**; 1884–1976), musician and writer on music. Born in Budapest, Sendrey became an operatic conductor in Hungary. From 1911 to 1914 he conducted in Chicago and New York, and later in Berlin, Vienna, and Leipzig. He wrote on radio music and conducting, but his most important work was an extensive *Bibliography of Jewish Music* which, completed in 1943, was published in 1951 (reprinted 1969). It was the first work of its kind and became a standard book of reference. From 1945 to 1952 he taught at the Westlake College of Music, Los Angeles, and in 1962 became professor of Jewish music at the University of Judaism in Los Angeles. Sendrey published several works on the history of Jewish music, including *Music in Ancient Israel* (1969). His compositions include an opera, a ballet, and a number of orchestral and choral works.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: A.M. Rothmueller, *Music of the Jews* (1967^2), 283.

°**SENECA THE ELDER** (**Annaeus Seneca**; c. 55 B.C.E.–40 C.E.), Roman rhetorician. He was the father of Seneca the Younger, the philosopher, and the grandfather of the poet Lucan. He mentions a Sosius who had suppressed the Jews (*Suasoria* 2:21). There are grounds for believing that this was the Gaius Sosius who had supported Herod against *Antigonus.

[Jacob Petroff]

°**SENECA THE YOUNGER** (**Lucius Annaeus Seneca**; c. 5 B.C.E.–65 C.E.), Stoic philosopher and adviser to *Nero. He mentions the properties of the *Dead Sea (*Quaestiones Naturales* 3:25) and seems to allude to Jewish abstinence from certain foods (Epistulae, 108:22). He disapproves of the practice of lighting lamps for the Sabbath (Epistulae 95:47). The most extensive comments of Seneca on Jews are cited by Augustine. The Sabbath is blamed for encouraging indolence among the Jews, a criticism echoed by many subsequent Latin authors. Seneca gives evidence that at the time there was widespread sympathy for, and acceptance of, Jewish customs (an acceptance of which he heartily disapproves; *De Civitate Dei*, 6:10).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Reinach, Textes, 262–4.

[Jacob Petroff]

SENED, ALEXANDER (1921–2004), Israeli writer. Born in Poland, Sened studied in a Hebrew secondary school and immigrated to Palestine together with his parents in 1934. A trainee of No'ar Oved ("Labor Youth"), he later became an instructor of pioneer training in Ginnosar and Tel Yosef. In Europe between 1945 and 1948, he helped organize "illegal immigration." In Poland, he met his wife, YONAT (1926–), and returned with her to kibbutz Revivim in the Negev at the outbreak of the War of Independence. His literary work, with his wife as coauthor, began with the publication of a diary (1946). The couple wrote *Adamah le-Lo Ẓel* ("Land Without Shade," 1951), about the conquest of the Negev, and *Bein ha-Metim u-vein ha-Ḥayyim* ("Between the Dead and the Living," 1964), the saga of young Polish Jews before the War who were committed to Zionism and Communism. The novel depicts the spirited youngsters who would later initiate the Jewish uprising in Poland or manage to come as pioneers to Israel. The uprising in the Warsaw Ghetto is also the theme of the novella *Nikra Lo Leon* ("Let's Call Him Leon," 1985). Kibbutz society and the gap between ideal and realization is depicted in *Kevar Ereẓ Noshevet* ("The Land is Already Inhabited," 1981). In other prose works the couple follows experimental narrative venues. Thus, *Tandu* (1974) tells about a couple undertaking a trip to the United States, yet the linear plot is layered with memories of past experiences and recollections of diverse places. The couple's last book, *Armonim, Tavasim u-Petakim mi-Shamayim* ("On Chestnuts, Peacocks and Tokens from Heaven") appeared just a week before Alexander Sened's death. A comic-philisophic picaresque novel, it unfolds the fate of Abrasha and his beloved sister-in-law, Bluma-Rosa, who in a way represents the Diaspora Jew, wandering from one place to another and failing to integrate into the kibbutz society. The couple received many literary awards, including the Brenner and Agnon Prizes. For translations see the ITHL website at www.ithl.org.il.

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[Getzel Kressel / Anat Feinberg (2nd ed.)]

SENEOR, ABRAHAM (c. 1412–c. 1493), one of the most prominent Jewish courtiers in Spain during the expulsion period. During the reign of King Henry IV (1454–74) he acted as chief tax farmer of Castile. In 1468, in appreciation of his numerous services, the king appointed him *albedin* of the Jewish community of *Segovia, where he lived. In 1474, when Spain was united under the Catholic Monarchs, they expressed their gratitude to Abraham Seneor for his numerous services and did not forget his favorable stand in their struggle for power. From 1476 he appears as the rabbi and supreme judge of the Jews of Castile and the assessor of the Jewish taxes throughout the kingdom. He enjoyed the special protection of the kings, who allocated him an income of 150,000 guilders for life (1475) and exempted him from the restrictions on dress which had been imposed on the Jews of Spain (1479). In 1488 he was appointed treasurer of the Hermandad, a military organization which was established to maintain order and security in the country. Since Jews were not admitted to this office, his involvements were registered in the name of one of the Christian courtiers.

Criticisms have been voiced against Abraham Seneor by Jewish scholars and authors of contemporary Hebrew chronicles, claiming that he was an unbeliever and that he had become rabbi of the Jews because of royal patronage without the consent of the Jews. During his period of office, however, he did much to assist the Jewish communities, and in a letter which the Jews of Castile sent to their coreligionists in Rome in 1487 they referred to him as the "exilarch over us." On many occasions he protected the Jews of Spain from violent incitements by monks and the cruel hands of the *Inquisition. After the conquest of *Malaga by *Ferdinand and Isabella in 1487, his efforts were directed toward the redemption of Jewish captives. The authors of Jewish chronicles describe his position and wealth at length: "He rode together with 30 mules," "he rode a mule and wore a golden necklace… all the dignitaries of the kingdom accompanied him."

Pressure by Ferdinand and Isabella that he should convert to Christianity finally prevailed and he decided to abandon Judaism, together with his son-in-law Meir *Melamed and the members of his family. At a public ceremony, which the sovereigns arranged in honor of the event, at *Guadalupe on June 15, 1942, they themselves served as godfathers for the baptism. Seneor then changed his name to Fernando Nuñez Coronel. A few days later he was appointed *regidor* of Segovia, a member of the royal council, and chief financial administrator of the crown prince.

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[Joseph Kaplan]

SENIGALLIA, town on the Adriatic coast of Italy. Jewish loan bankers made their appearance there in the 14th century. As a result of Church pressure, the anti-Jewish decrees imposed in the second half of the 16th century were enforced in Senigallia also, when the town was under the rule of the Della Rovere family. In 1631 the town came under the direct rule of the popes with the rest of the duchy of Urbino; three years later a ghetto was instituted for the 40 families. During the next century and a half, the Jewish population trebled; many Jews also attended Senigallia's famous fair. In 1789 there were about 600 Jews living in the town. Taking advantage of the temporary withdrawal of the French occupying forces in 1799, the populace sacked the ghetto, killed 13 Jews and drove the rest into temporary exile. In 1870 around 300 Jews lived in Senigallia. In 1969 there were 30 Jews living in Senigallia, who were considered a part of the *Ancona community.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Roth, in. HUCA, 10 (1935), 468–71; Milano, Bibliotheca, index.

[Ariel Toaff]

SENIOR, MAX (1862–1939), U.S. businessman and communal leader. Senior, who was born in Cincinnati, Ohio, became the president of Model Homes Company, one of the first companies to construct low-cost housing on a large scale. Active in Jewish affairs, Senior was a founder of the United Jewish Social Agencies, a forerunner of the contemporary community chest. In 1896 he was the prime founder of the United Jewish Charities of Cincinnati, one of the first American Jewish philanthropic federations, and later served as its president. He was elected the first president of the National Conference of Jewish Charities in 1899. During World War I Senior and Boris D. *Bogen, while serving as European representatives for the Joint Distribution Committee in Holland, established a network whereby relief funds and supplies from the U.S. could be funneled to the war-ravaged territories, particularly German-held Poland, through Dutch Jewish intermediaries. Senior was also active on behalf of the Cleveland Jewish Orphan Asylum, headed the Shoemaker Clinic for the Promotion of Negro Health and Welfare in Cincinnati, and served as a member of the Ohio State Tuberculosis Association.

SENIOR, SOLOMON (16th century), Marrano notable. Descended from Abraham *Seneor, the last crown rabbi of Castile, who converted to Christianity, Solomon Senior was born a Marrano under the name Juan Perez and is said to have become governor of Segovia. He later escaped to *Turkey, where he adopted Judaism and entered the service of Joseph *Nasi, duke of Naxos, becoming his principal adviser on political matters. Nasi so relied on his judgment that he was spoken of as the other's right eye. Solomon Senior was the father of Dr. Francisco Coronel (Coronello), who was ostensibly a Catholic; the latter administered the duchy of Naxos for Nasi and defended it when attacked by the Venetian fleet during the War of Cyprus (1571).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: C. Roth, *House of Nasi, Duke of Naxos* (1948), 87.

[Cecil Roth]

°SENKO, YASUE (1888–c. 1950), Japanese "specialist" on Jewish affairs. An army officer in 1927–1928, he traveled in Palestine and Europe to study Jewish problems. On his return, he published *Kakumei Undo wo Abaku* ("Revolutionary Movements Exposed," 1931) and soon became known as one of Japan's leading antisemites. In *Yudaya no Hitobito* ("The Jewish People," 1937) he continued his attacks on the Jews. In 1938 Senko, promoted to colonel, was dispatched to Manchuria to advise the Japanese army on policy toward the Jewish communities but his antisemitism abated in the following years and at times he tried to protect the Jews in *Manchuria and *Shanghai. In 1945 he was captured during the Soviet occupation of Manchuria, and after 1950 nothing further was heard of him.

[Hyman Kublin]

SENLIS, town in the Oise department, N. France. The presence of Jews in Senlis is confirmed from at least 1106, when *Odo of Cambrai stopped in Senlis on his way to Poitiers, and held a religious disputation with a Jew of the town named Léon. In 1208 at the latest, Jews lived in a special quarter, the *Judaria*, a sign of their numerical importance. Later most of them lived on two streets, the Grande Juiverie, which subsequently became the Rue de la Chancellerie, and the Petite Juiverie, which became the Impasse du Courtillet. However, from a comparison of the amounts which the Jews paid, at the close of the 13th century, toward the Jewish *badge tax and their share of the poll tax, it is clear that the financial resources of the community were more significant than its numbers. No renowned Jewish scholar seems to have lived in Senlis. There is no evidence that the Jews returned to Senlis after the expulsion in 1306.

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[Bernhard Blumenkranz]

SENNABRIS, locality in Galilee, 30 furlongs (c. 3½ mi.; 5½ km.) from Tiberias, bordering on the Jordan Valley (Jos., Wars, 3:447; 4:455, as Ginnabris). Vespasian camped there on his way into Galilee in 68 C.E. In 351 C.E. the army of Ursicinus, the general of Gallus Caesar, reached Sennabris and oppressed the inhabitants. An *Umayyad palace of the caliphs located there was in use from the time of Muʿāwiya (661–680) up to the eighth century. The village and the bridge over the

Jordan continued to be of some importance in the Crusader and *Mamluk periods. The exact identification of Sennabris is still debated, with some identifying it with Kinneret near the issue of the Jordan from the Sea of Galilee, a location adjoining Bet Yeraḥ, in agreement with the Jerusalem Talmud (Meg. 1:1, 70a). Another proposed identification is with Senn en Nabra.

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[Michael Avi-Yonah]

°**SENNACHERIB** (Akk. **Sin-aḫ̮ḫ̮ê-eriba**; Heb. סַנְחֵרִב, סַנְחֵרִיב), king of Assyria and Babylonia (705–681 B.C.E.), son of *Sargon II. During his reign the northern and eastern frontiers were relatively calm; however, he had to deal with rebellions in Babylonia and Syro-Palestine. In 702 Sennacherib defeated *Merodach-Baladan, who, upon his return from exile in Elam, had deposed the new Babylonian king. In 689 the Babylonians, supported by Elam, revolted again. Sennacherib met them at Hallulê, on the Tigris, and defeated them but not without heavy losses. To solve the Babylonian problem once and for all, he destroyed Babylon and let the Euphrates flow over it.

In 701 Sennacherib marched against the rebels of Syro-Palestine. He went from victory to victory: Sidon, Ammon, Moab, Edom, Ashkelon, Ekron, and Lachish fell before him. At Elteke he defeated a considerable Egyptian army, which had come to the rescue of Ekron. It was from Lachish that he sent a mission headed by the *Tartan, *Rab-Saris, and *Rab-Shakeh, to *Hezekiah in Jerusalem in order to convince him to surrender (II Kings 18:13–19:37; Isa. 36–37). According to his annals, Sennacherib took 46 fortified cities and "small cities without number" of Judah; he made 200,150 prisoners of war and exacted from Hezekiah a heavy tribute – 30 talents of gold and 800 (300 according to II Kings 18:14) talents of silver. Although he besieged Jerusalem, he was unable to take the city, for "that night the angel of the Lord went forth, and slew 185,000 in the camp of the Assyrians" (II Kings 19:35). Another version tells of a legion of rats that invaded the Assyrian encampment (Herodotus) and a third version tells of a pestilential sickness (Berosus). Whatever happened, the fact remains that Sennacherib was forced to abandon the siege and return to Assyria. Sennacherib is remembered as a great builder; he enlarged and embellished *Nineveh, built and restored various temples and public buildings all over Assyria, and undertook very important hydraulic works.

He was assassinated by one of his own sons in a temple of Nineveh. For further details see *Mesopotamia.

In the Aggadah

After having previously conquered the rest of the world (Meg. 11b), Sennacherib equipped a massive army against Hezekiah, consisting of 45,000 princes, each enthroned in a golden chariot and accompanied by his ladies and courtesans, 80,000 warriors in coat of mail, 60,000 swordsmen, and numerous cavalry (Sanh. 95b). With this vast army Sennacherib marched on Judea in accordance with the disclosures of his astrologers, who warned him that he would fail to capture Jerusalem if he arrived too late. He rested at Nob and from a raised platform observed the Judean capital, which appeared weak and small to him. When his warriors urged him to attack, he bade them rest for one night before storming the city the next day. This delay spared Jerusalem since Saul's sin against the priests at Nob was fully expiated on that very day (Sanh. 95a). That night, which was the eve of Passover, the entire army was annihilated when Hezekiah and the people began to recite the *Hallel* Psalms (Ex. R. 18:5). The death of the Assyrians occurred when the angels permitted them to hear the *ḥayyot* ("celestial beings") sing praises to God (Sanh. 95b). Their souls were burnt, although their garments remained intact (Ex. R. 18:5). Sennacherib and his two sons were among the few survivors. On his return to Assyria, Sennacherib found a plank which was part of Noah's ark and made it an object of worship. He vowed that if he prospered in his next ventures he would sacrifice his sons to it. His sons overheard this vow and put him to death (Sanh. 96a). They fled to Kardu where they released the many Jewish captives there. With them they marched to Jerusalem and became proselytes. The well-known scholars *Shemaiah and *Avtalyon were the descendants of these two sons of Sennacherib (Git. 57b; Targ., II Kings 19:35, 37).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Ginzberg, Legends, 4 (19475), 267–72; 5 (1946^{3}), 361–6.

SENS, town in the Yonne department, N. central France. The mention of an expulsion of the Jews from Sens around 876 in an 11th-century chronicle is seemingly a confusion and probably refers to the expulsion, at the beginning of the 11th century, of Duke Raynaud of Sens, who "Judaized" and called himself the "king of the Jews." However, it is certain that in 1146 King Louis VII officially authorized the settlement of Jews in Sens. According to a local chronicler writing a short while later, he also allowed them to have synagogues and cemeteries. Soon after, Pope Alexander III intervened to protect the Jews of Sens from the Christians who attempted to baptize them by force and disturbed them at worship and during burial services. Even King Philip Augustus is said to have assisted the Jews at the beginning of his reign, despite the zeal of Archbishop Guy of Noyers. According to a local chronicler, it was this archbishop who was responsible for the massacre of the Jews of *Bray-sur-Seine in 1190. Having returned to Sens in 1198 (after their expulsion from the kingdom in 1182), the Jews erected a synagogue in 1208 which Pope Innocent III deemed to be too high. Archbishop Gauthier de Cornut adopted a favorable attitude toward the Jews both in local affairs and in a more general way, such as at the time of the disputation of Paris in 1240. After their expulsion in 1306, there was no further Jewish community in Sens during the Middle Ages. Although there was both a Grande and Petite Juiverie street, only the latter had been inhabited by the Jews. The synagogue, which is said to have contained paintings of religious ceremonies, was demolished about 1750. The most eminent of the scholars of Sens was *Samson b. Abraham, tosafist, legal authority, commentator, and liturgical poet. Other tosafists who lived in Sens were Eliezer (c. 1175), and Moses and Isaac ha-Levi (c. 1250). Nathan b. Joseph *Official and his son Joseph b. Nathan, author of *Yosef ha-Mekanne*, probably lived in Sens.

A small Jewish community existed in Sens before World War II and there were still about 50 Jews there in 1941. A new small community, consisting mainly of Jews from North Africa, was established in the 1960s. In 1970 there were 50 Jews living in the town.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Gross, Gal Jud, 661 f.; idem, in: REJ, 6 (1882), 167–86; 7 (1883), 40–77; H. Bouvier, *Histoire de l'Eglise et de l'Ancien Archidiocèse de Sens*, 3 vols. (1906–11), index; C. Porée, *Histoire des Rues et des Maisons de Sens* (1920), 286, 289 ff.; B. Blumenkranz, *Juifs et Chrétiens dans le Monde Occidental, 430–1096* (1960), 63; idem, *Les Auteurs Chrétiens Latins du Moyen Age* (1963), 253.

[Bernhard Blumenkranz]

SENTA (Hung. **Zenta**), town on the Thissa River, Vojvodina province. Jews arrived there during the 18th century, mostly from Hungary and Moravia. They engaged in trade of cereals and textiles though quite a few were artisans. The first rabbi was Isaac Heilborn, followed by Solomon Klein and Moses Leibowitz. A *ḥevra kaddisha* was founded in 1858. In the wake of the great split that occurred in Hungarian Jewry in 1868/69, the local Jewry separated, too, into *Neolog (Reform) and Orthodox communities. A small group declared itself status quo, as did some of the communities in Hungary which did not join either of two rival groups. This phenomenon was unique as far as Yugoslavia was concerned. Consequently, there were three *kehillot* in Senta. The Orthodox renamed themselves inexplicably "Sephardim." This was probably in imitation of what occurred in the community of *Sighet in Romania, where a dissident group of Orthodox Jews eccentrically adopted the name, also without any Sephardi members. A Neolog synagogue was built in 1873, another in 1929.

A yeshivah was established, headed by Rabbi Eliezer Rausnitz. Michael *Fekete, mathematician and well-known professor at the Hebrew University, was born in Senta.

Among the Senta rabbis, Hermann-Zvi Schweiger was a prominent Hebraist. Neolog community leaders were Armin Graf, Nathan Kramick, and Solomon Ehrenfeld. Armin Fischer was the Zionist leader.

During the Holocaust all the Jews perished. The "Sephardi" rabbi, without a single Sephardi present, was Moses Teitelbaum; he was extricated from a concentration camp, eventually reaching the United States and joining the Satmar congregation in New York. The *kehillot* were not renewed. The great synagogue was demolished and a smaller one serves as a sports club.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Israel-Juedische Wochenschrift* No. 3 (1940); "*Yehudei Vojvodina be-Et ha-Ḥadashah*," in: *Yalkut*, no. 2 (ed. Z. Loker) (1994), 92–93 and 112.

[Zvi Loker (2nd ed.)]

SEPARATION OF POWERS, a fundamental principle of Public Law, which seeks to distinguish between the roles and powers of a number of different public authorities operating in tandem, such as the legislative, executive, and judicial authorities. On the one hand, this principle is meant to prevent too great a concentration of power in the hands of a single authority (such as a king in previous times, or a government or parliament, in our own day); on the other, this model is meant to fashion a system of controls, checks and balances, to ensure the proper and appropriate operation of a public authority. In modern times, this model was developed in the wake of ideas first presented as an appropriate democratic model by Montesquieu in his book, *The Spirit of Laws*. It goes without saying that this principle, as it exists today, did not exist in ancient legal systems such as Jewish Law, based on a central monarchic regime. Nevertheless, one can find more than a few principles in Jewish Law which are consistent with the model of separation of powers, even if not identical to it.

Separation of powers does not find formal expression in Jewish Law, but at times is expressed in the practical realm. Thus, for example, the prophets held prominent status in Biblical times but, being outside the institutionalized system, were free to, and indeed did, criticize the king, and were a balancing factor to his ruling power. In other cases, by contrast, we find the prophet involved in royal affairs, and even in the appointment of judges (I Sam. 8:1–3). Similarly, during the early Biblical period we find the model of "elders" and "princes" working concurrently, each with their own powers. Their concurrent functioning created the requisite balances for a suitable social system. A striking example of the separation between the two branches, the judicial and the executive, is found in the command, "You shall appoint *judges and officers* in all your gates which the Lord your God gives you, according to your tribes; and they shall judge the people with righteous judgment" (Deut. 16:18).

The structure of government during the monarchic period expresses a classic model of centralized authority, in which most of the power is concentrated in the hands of one ruler. Thus, for example, we find that the king of Israel was involved, not only in running his kingdom, but also in legislation (such as laws imposing tax payments). The king (such as Solomon) also served as judge. So strongly identified did these two tasks become that in biblical language the term "judge" (*shofet*) relates not only to court judges who must decide cases between litigants, but also to the king or ruler (see, for example, I Sam. 8:6: "give us a king to judge us").

Maimonides (Yad, Melakhim) also highlights the merging of sovereign functions in the position of the king. In addition to serving as the executive authority, the king functioned simultaneously as both legislator and judge (see, for example, Yad, Melakhim 4:10). In addition, in the Middle Ages members of the public authority (see *Public Authority) were involved on a regular basis in both legislative and judicial activities, such as judicial interpretation and sentencing. The responsa literature attests to hundreds of such cases (see

*Takkanot, *Takkanot ha-Kahal) by *tuvei ha-kahal,* the communal leadership, who were the central executive authority in the Jewish community. This blurring of roles, which clearly goes against contemporary principles of separation of powers, indeed aroused opposition among some of the scholars of Jewish Law, and a number of them regarded this blurring of roles as the reason for the opposition found in Scripture itself to the enthronement of a king over Israel, who would concentrate too much power in his own hands without proper and effective checks and balances (see Meir Ish-Shalom's commentary on Sifre, 105:1, n. 4).

Similarly, the *Sanhedrin, the Great Court of Seventy One, and the local courts in the Jewish communities of the Middle Ages (see *Bet Din) not only engaged in adjudication but, alongside their role as the supreme judicial authority, also dealt with legislation (regarding the passage of communal enactments, see *Takkanot and *Takkanot ha-Kahal) and with law enforcement functions (such as in punishing criminals; see *Punishment).

The Courts in the State of Israel

The model of separation or non-separation of powers, as expressed in the sources of Jewish Law, has been discussed in the Israeli courts on several occasions. In one instance, the Supreme Court (Justice Y. Cohen) highlighted the substantive difference between the modern legal system (which prevents a judge from engaging in execution of the law or in legislation) and Jewish Law, in which the judge is granted the authority to both rule and legislate (FH 39/75, *Israel Port Authority v. Ararat*, 31 (1) PD 545). In two other cases, the Supreme Court (Justice M. Elon) stressed that, unlike the model of the court under Jewish Law, which holds the power to mete out and administer punishment ("The court administers lashes and other punishments not prescribed by the Torah" – Yev. 90b), in modern law, which maintains separation of powers, it is accepted that changes in legislation are made by legislators and not by the courts (App. 22/83 *Kraus v. the State of Israel*, 37 (1) PD 369; Cr.A. 543/79 *Avishai Nagar v. the State of Israel*, PD 35(1) PD 163–170).

This issue of "Separation of Powers" was also discussed by the Supreme Court in connection with the question of whether or not a judge is entitled to deal with political issues. Relying on sources in Jewish Law, the Supreme Court (Justice Goldberg) noted the dual role of the rabbinic judge, who played a central role not only in Jewish judicial authority, but also in communal leadership. He stressed the difference between this approach and that prevalent in our day, in which there is separation of powers between the two roles (HC 732/84 *Tzaban v. the Minister of Religious Affairs*, 40 (4) PD 153). This issue occupied both the civil and rabbinical courts in Israel with respect to the communal status of the Chief Rabbinate of Israel and the ability of its members – both rabbis and *dayyanim* (judges in rabbinical courts) – to participate in activities obviously in the realm of the executive branch. In another case, the question arose of *dayyanim*'s involvement (as part of the judicial branch) in the functioning of the religious councils (being part of the executive branch). The District Court (Judge N. Hendel) relied on sources from Jewish Law to support his decision that it was inappropriate for one branch to impinge on the activities of another branch, and for *dayyanim* to be involved in activities associated with the executive authority (SSA (Beer-Sheba) 276/05 *Shana and Bros. v. Haziza and Bros.* (not published).

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[Aviad Hacohen (2nd ed.)]

SEPHARAD (Heb. סְפָרַד), the site of a colony of exiles from Jerusalem, mentioned in Obadiah 20. It is predicted that the exiles in Sepharad would possess the cities of the south.

Sepharad was identified as *Sardis, the capital of Lydia in Asia Minor, after the publication by E. Littmann of a bilingual Aramaic-Greek inscription found in the excavations of Sardis in which Sepharad is equated with Sardis. This identification is supported by another bilingual inscription, in Lydian and Aramaic, found at Sardis, in which Sepharad is written in the date formula at the opening of the Aramaic part (see bibl. for Donner and Roelling; and Kent).

Targum Jonathan renders Sepharad as Ispamia or Spamia, and the Peshitta, as Ispania, i.e., Spain. From the end of the eighth century C.E., Sepharad became the usual Hebrew appellation for the Iberian Peninsula.

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SEPHARDIM (Heb. סְפָרַדִּים, sing. סְפָרַדִּי, Sephardi), descendants of Jews who lived in Spain or Portugal before the expulsion of 1492. (The term Sephardim is often erroneously used for other Jews of non-Ashkenazi origin.) *Sepharad, mentioned in Obadiah 1:20, was connected fancifully or erroneously with Hispania, the Latin name for Spain.

Legend holds that there were Jews in *Spain as early as Solomon's time. In any case, the settlement is extremely old. Jews suffered persecution there during the period of the Visigoths, which ended when the Arabs conquered the country in 711 C.E. Thus politically and linguistically the Jews of Spain were put in touch with the center of Jewish life in Babylonia-Iraq and carried on the tradition of Babylonian Jewry. The Muslim era in Spain gave rise to the "Golden Age" of Spanish

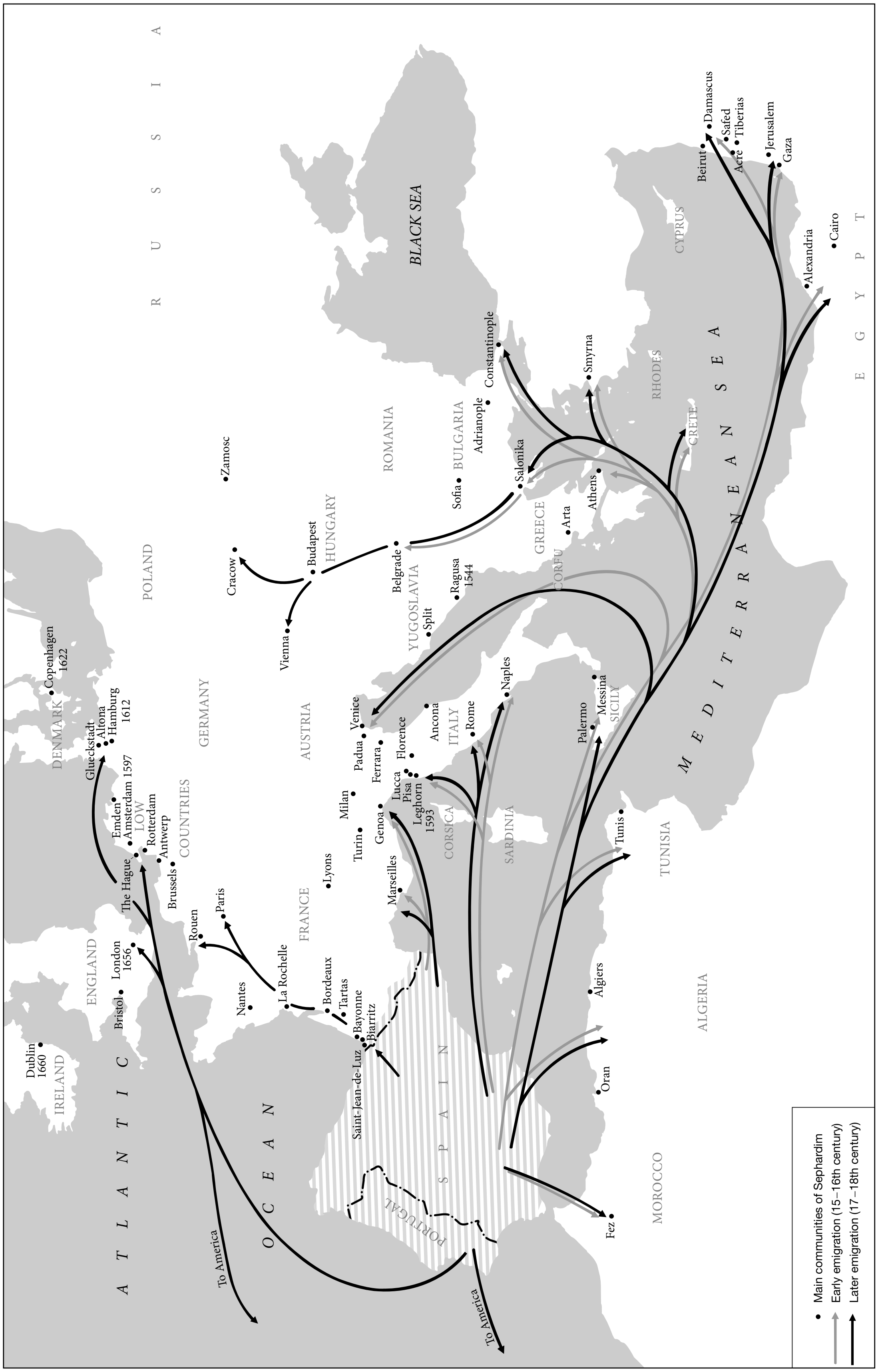
ATLANTIC OCEAN
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HUNGARY
ROMANIA
BULGARIA
YUGOSLAVIA
GREECE
ITALY
SPAIN
PORTUGAL
MOROCCO
ALGERIA
TUNISIA
EGYPT
CORSICA
SARDINIA
SICILY
CORFU
CRETE
RHODES
CYPRUS
Dublin 1660
Bristol
London 1656
Nantes
La Rochelle
Rouen
Paris
Bordeaux
Tartas
Bayonne
Biarritz
Saint-Jean-de-Luz
Brussels
The Hague
Antwerp
Rotterdam
Amsterdam 1597
Emden
Glueckstadt
Altona
Hamburg 1612
Copenhagen 1622
Lyons
Marseilles
Turin
Milan
Genoa
Leghorn 1593
Pisa
Lucca
Florence
Ferrara
Padua
Venice
Ancona
Rome
Naples
Palermo
Messina
Split
Ragusa 1544
Vienna
Budapest
Cracow
Zamosc
Belgrade
Sofia
Salonika
Adrianople
Constantinople
Arta
Athens
Smyrna
Beirut
Damascus
Safed
Acre
Tiberias
Jerusalem
Gaza
Alexandria
Cairo
Fez
Oran
Algiers
Tunis
To America
To America
Main communities of Sephardim
Early emigration (15–16th century)
Later emigration (17–18th century)

Waves of Sephardi emigration from Spain and Portugal after the expulsion of 1492, with dates of establishment of new communities where known. Based on a map drawn by H. Beinart.

Jewry, which produced such figures as the statesman *Ḥisdai ibn Shaprut, the statesman, poet, and halachist *Samuel ha-Nagid, the poet Moses *ibn Ezra, the poets and philosophers Solomon ibn *Gabirol and *Judah Halevi, and above all, the physician, philosopher, and halakhist Moses *Maimonides.

After the Almohad persecutions of 1148, Jewish life in Spain was concentrated in the Christian parts of the country, which, in the course of the *Reconquista*, gradually extended over the entire peninsula. The vigorous and creative Jewish community was disrupted in 1391 by an outbreak of persecutions that led to wholesale insincere conversions to Christianity, creating so-called "New *Christians," or Conversos, many of whom in fact only outwardly professed Christianity but practiced Judaism in secret and taught their children to do likewise. The Inquisition was established to extirpate the scandal of Christians relapsing to a previous "dead" faith, but its work was hampered by the presence of unconverted Jews over whom the Inquisition had no authority. Accordingly, in March 1492 a decree of expulsion was issued against all Jews who refused to accept Christianity, and this edict officially remained in force until 1968. Some accepted conversion; others, perhaps as many as 250,000, moved away to North Africa, Italy, and especially Turkey, where Sultan Bayazid II admitted them gladly. The seaport of *Salonika, in particular, became a great center of Sephardim, with all the important Spanish towns and districts being represented there by congregations that maintained their identity.

Thus was created the Sephardi Diaspora, a dispersion within a dispersion that not only looked back to Ereẓ Israel as its homeland, but had been indelibly impressed by a long sojourn in Spain. The exiles took with them the language and songs of Spain, which they preserved with fidelity; the foods of Spain, so that the Bulgarian or Serbian Jew would eat *pastel* or *pandeleon*; and children's games, so that in the Balkans a game with nuts called *el castillo* was played to the recitation of an old Spanish quatrain; while R. Joseph *Caro, the Sephardi author of the *Shulḥan Arukh (the standard code of Orthodox Judaism) draws on words like *panadas* (a kind of croquette with meat), *pala* (a baker's peel), or *limones* (lemons) to express domestic items for which he found no equivalent in the rabbinic Hebrew of his day. The Sephardim bore Spanish personal and family names, and their world view had been shaped by the customs and conduct of their Spanish neighbors.

A century later the formation of another branch of Sephardi Jewry began – the Marrano *Diaspora. Many *Crypto-Jews had moved to Portugal, where the danger of detection was less. From there they slipped away in increasing numbers to lands where they could cast off their Christian mask and reassume Judaism. The freedom which Holland achieved from Spain at about this time made *Amsterdam the great center of the Marrano Diaspora, which evolved into the Western Sephardi Diaspora or Portuguese *Nacion*. Portuguese Jews moved there in great numbers, especially during the 17th century, often totally ignorant of Jewish practice and the Hebrew language, but anxious to learn. A magnificent synagogue was built, and educational institutions were founded whose students are thus described in 1680 by the much traveled Shabbetai *Bass:

> In my eyes they were as giants on account of their expertise in the Bible text and Hebrew grammar. Moreover they can compose songs and poems, and speak Hebrew fluently… the teachers are paid from community funds according to their merits and do not need to flatter anyone…

Subsequent migrations of Sephardim took place to England and the Americas, as well as to centers of Western Europe such as *Bordeaux, *Bayonne, and *Hamburg. These Sephardim differed from the Sephardim of the East in that their day-to-day language was Portuguese, although they also knew Spanish, which they used for commerce and as a semi-sacred language for Bible translation. They remained in the mainstream of West European culture, frequently writing their vernacular in Roman rather than Hebrew script.

Language

The Spanish language, as it was preserved by the Sephardim, is called *Ladino, Judezmo, or Judeo-Spanish. It has a number of archaic characteristics (e.g., the preservation of original *j* and *sh* sounds, which standard Spanish has lost, as well as peculiar lexical and syntactic features, including loan words from Hebrew, Turkish, and other languages) and makes a quaint and pleasing impression on speakers of the standard language. According to the research of David Bunis, Judeo-Spanish came to contain a great many Hebrew and Aramaic loan words since the 16th century. It was greatly influenced by regional languages like Ottoman-Turkish, Turkish, Greek, Bulgarian, Serbian, and after the mid-19th century French and Italian. In Spanish Morocco, in the communities of Tangiers, Tetuan, Melilla, Ceuta, and elsewhere, the dialect of the language was called *Haketia*. Ladino was formerly written in the rabbinic cursive script called Solitreo (the modern, originally Ashkenazi, Hebrew cursive never having been in use among Sephardim), but with efforts at modernization in Turkey, the Roman alphabet was adapted to Ladino and is now generally used. Ladino is still spoken by Jews in Turkey, Greece, and adjacent countries, as well as by immigrants to Israel, the U.S., Latin America, and elsewhere. It seems probable, however, that the dialect will be extinct within a short time, and efforts are being made in Jerusalem and Madrid to record the language systematically. Portuguese survived as the language of the Marrano Diaspora until the early 19th century; it still survives in some centers in certain fossilized usages, for example in the prayer for the queen in Amsterdam and the announcement of congregational honors and elections in London.

Literature

The literature of the Sephardim may be divided into three categories:

(1) works written in Hebrew;

(2) works written in Spanish (including Ladino) and Portuguese;

(3) anonymous folk literature in Ladino.

The first category, consisting of Bible commentary, polemic literature, poetry, drama, legal texts, and kabbalistic works by such individuals as Isaac *Abrabanel, Joseph Caro, *Manasseh Ben Israel, and David Franco *Mendes, forms part of the mainstream of Hebrew literature of the period and will not be treated here.

The second category includes works written before the expulsion of the Jews. Notable are the *Proverbios Morales* of *Santob de Carrión (based on talmudic sources) and the Bible translation with glosses made by Moses *Arragel at the command of Don Luis de Guzman (1430). Writing subsequent to the expulsion tends to be derivative or polemical, directed mainly toward the edification of those deficient in Hebrew. In consequence, translations or adaptations from the Hebrew form a substantial part of this literature. The famous Ferrara Bible of 1553 was soon adapted to a Ladino version for the benefit of eastern Sephardim. Other parts of the Bible which appeared in Spanish were a Pentateuch paraphrase by Isaac *Aboab da Fonseca (Amsterdam, 1681), a paraphrase of the Psalms by Hamburg-born Leon *Templo, and paraphrases of the Song of Songs, based on the Targum, for liturgical use. The Mishnah was translated into Spanish, as were other monuments of Jewish literature such as Judah Halevi's *Kuzari*, translated by Jacob *Abendana (Amsterdam, 1663), Baḥya ibn Paquda's *Duties of the Heart* (Amsterdam, 1610), of which a Portuguese version by Samuel Abbas appeared in 1670, and later still a Ladino version. Even Ben Sira was translated into Ladino by a Serbian rabbi, Israel Ḥaim (1818).

Leading polemical works include Samuel *Usque's *Consolaçam as Tribulaçõens de Israel* (Ferrara, 1553), a set of dialogues in Portuguese relating Jewish history from earliest times and intended to confirm the Conversos in their faith and display the divine plan for Israel. Manasseh Ben Israel wrote his *Conciliador* ("The Conciliator", 1632), reconciling places in scripture which appear to contradict one another, and his *Experanza de Israel*, on the *Ten Lost Tribes, was translated into Latin, English, Dutch, Hebrew, and German during the 19th century. David *Nieto, rabbi of the London community, wrote the *Matteh Dan* (London, 1714) to demonstrate the authority of the Oral Law. Isaac *Cardozo, who was born in Portugal and reassumed Judaism in Italy, wrote *Las Excelencias y Calunias de los Hebreos* (Amsterdam, 1679), in which he describes at length the ten privileges of the Jewish people and the ten slanders brought against them.

Ethical and inspirational works included Moses *Almosnino's *Regimento de la Vida* (Salonika, 1564) and *Extremos y grandezas de Constantinople* (Madrid, 1638), and Abraham Israel Pereira's *La Certeza del Camino* (Amsterdam, 1666), a treatise on divine providence and the love of God. Preeminent is the *Me-Am Lo'ez, an elaborate commentary on the Bible based on talmudic and midrashic sources which was initiated by the Turkish scholar Jacob *Culi and continued after his death by others. This work rapidly became the vade mecum of the Ladino-speaking Sephardim and achieved the status of a sacred book. Its imaginative character, combined with its religious themes, made it a perfect vehicle of combined entertainment and edification. It derived from a circle of Jewish savants who deliberately aimed at raising the spiritual level of the Jews of the Ottoman Empire, among whom poverty, ignorance, and illiteracy were rife. Other members of this circle included Abraham de Toledo, who wrote *Complas de Yosef* (Constantinople, 1722); Isaac Magrizo; and Abraham Asa.

Original writers include Daniel Levi *Barrios, who was born in Spain, reassumed Judaism in Italy, and from there went to Amsterdam. He wrote sonnets, pastoral romances, and a panegyric on three martyrs burned alive in Cordoba in 1665 entitled *Contra la Verdad no hay Fuerça* (Amsterdam, 1666). Another poem of 550 lines celebrating a martyr burned alive in 1644 was written by Antonio Enríquez *Gómez. The *Poema de la Reyna Esther* (Rouen, 1637) by João Pinto *Delgado can be understood only in the light of its rabbinic background.

The folk literature of the Sephardim consists of an enormous corpus of ballads in Ladino, the *romancero*, which survives in manuscripts and, precariously, in the memories of the older generation of Ladino speakers. Menendez Pelayo published ten ballads he received from Salonika in 1885, and this was followed by Menéndez Pidal's *Catálogo del romancero judío-español* (in *El Romancero*, Madrid, 1927). The work of collection and publication goes on, chiefly in Israel and the U.S.

Religious Practice

While the Sephardim do not differ from the Ashkenazim in the basic tenets of Judaism, with both groups viewing the Babylonian Talmud as their ultimate authority in belief and practice, there are great differences in matters of detail and outlook. Once the trauma of persecution in Spain had worn off, many Sephardim settled in places where they enjoyed a life relatively free of external constraints in the practice of their religion, and they had a fair measure of security of life and property. This may be the reason why many of them displayed a more sympathetic attitude to outside culture, and were ready to see good outside the "four cubits of the law." Sephardim follow the codification of R. Joseph Caro (*Maran* "our master"), the Shulḥan Arukh, in matters of religious law without regard to the strictures of R. Moses b. Israel *Isserles, whom they call *Moram*, which may mean equivocally "our teacher and master R. Moses" or "their teacher" (i.e., of the Ashkenazim). The compilation by R. Joseph Caro represents a more liberal and permissive trend than that approved by the Ashkenazi authorities. For example, Sephardi authorities permit rice to be eaten on Passover, and allow whole eggs found inside a slaughtered chicken or vegetables cooked in a pot previously used for meat to be eaten with milk products. Ashkenazi authorities forbid all such practices, and instances could be multiplied.

Many differences, however, simply reflect a difference in custom or interpretation, with no implication of leniency. Thus, a blessing is recited on the head phylactery only if there has been an interruption after placing that for the hand, and the straps are wound outwards rather than inwards. The festive branch used on the festival of Sukkot is bound together without the holder used by the Ashkenazim and is often decorated with colored ribbons. At the Passover home service, lettuce, rather than horseradish, is used for bitter herbs.

The synagogue service differs considerably from that of the Ashkenazim. The Scroll of the Law is raised before its public reading, rather than after, and the script in which it is written is characteristically different. The synagogue itself has a somewhat different arrangement. The reading desk is at the west end, and all services are conducted from it, unlike Ashkenazi practice where certain prayers are read from the desk at the side of the ark. Their ark is frequently a triple structure, consisting of a large closet in the middle and a smaller one on either side. The text of the prayers differs in detail; the involved synagogue poetry of the *Kallir (sharply criticized by Abraham ibn Ezra in his commentary to Eccles. 5:1) is totally absent, being replaced by compositions of the Spanish poets Judah Halevi, Moses ibn Ezra, and Solomon ibn Gabirol. The synagogue chants are simpler and brighter than those of the Ashkenazim, who nevertheless find them monotonous and lacking in warmth. Sephardim tend to be especially punctilious in their rendition of the sacred scrolls. Sephardi pronunciation of Hebrew is particular to place the tonic accent on the syllable prescribed by grammar, predominantly the ultimate, and distinguishes two complementarily distributed colorations (*a* and *o*) of the vowel *qameṣ*.

Many religious technical terms (e.g., the names of the notes used in the cantillation of the scrolls) are different from those of the Ashkenazim, and these serve as a shibboleth which marks the Ashkenazi as soon as he uses one of his terms. (See Table: Sephardim: Common Terms.)

Sephardim tend to be very insistent on preserving these slight differences, probably because they are conscious of their minority status within the Jewish community, and tend to develop the same rigorous adherence to custom vis-à-vis the Ashkenazi community as the Orthodox Jewish community as a whole does to the outside world. It is not uncommon at the present time for a deep or even fanatical attachment to Sephardi tradition to be coupled with laxity in observance of Jewish law.

[Alan D. Corre]

Patterns of Secularization of the Western Sephardi Diaspora in the 17th Century in Jewish Law

Examined here is the secular direction of the processes of change which took place among the West European Sephardi Diaspora by referring to two separate historical and social meanings which the term "secularization" can have within Jewish society.

One meaning is that of departure or liberation from religious influence in areas of social and cultural activity which had previously been strictly in the domain of religion.

The second meaning is the transfer or translation of religious symbols and values to a secular context. The differentiation between these two meanings is of particular importance for analyzing the processes of change which took place among the Western Sephardi Diaspora in the 17th century in light of the possibility, already discernible, that the Jews would abandon the Torah and the commandments without taking this to be a withdrawal from the content of Jewish life or Jewish society. In order to gain some notion of the secular trend among the group under discussion, it is sufficient to refer to the social and historical significance of the concept *ummah* ("nation"; Spanish: nación; Portuguese: nação) and to the increasing emphasis among this Diaspora on communality of race and blood.

There is no doubt that the term *ummah* denotes first and foremost, in the social and historical context under discussion, communality of fate and social and cultural solidarity among the Marranos (who were forced to convert to Christianity), former Marranos, and at times also "New Christians" (who may or may not have been forced to convert) scattered throughout the "Terras de judesmo" (Lands of Judaism, i.e., where Judaism could be practiced freely) and "Terras de idolatria" (Lands of Idolatry, i.e., countries under the influence of Spain and Portugal), including the Lands of Forced Conversion (*arẓot ha-shemad*) in the Iberian peninsula. Communality of fate is of course problematic from the aspect of Jewish law (*halakhah*), when speaking of "New Christians," and when referring to actual Marranos, who had the opportunity to leave their countries of residence but did not do so. Yet even more important is the term *ummah* itself or the Western Sephardi self-identification as *benei ha-ummah* (members of the nation; Spanish: miembros de la nación; Portuguese: membros da nação). These terms appear frequently in the community registers of the Western Sephardi congregations and were often used by the rabbis of that period as a substitute for *Kehillah Kedoshah* (holy congregation) and as a general appellation for members of the Western Sephardi Diaspora as well as the general Sephardi Diaspora, both eastern and western. Moreover, even though the communality which the term *ummah* denotes was not initially intended to serve a religious value but rather a social, economic, and political one, and despite the fact that this term in the specific context of "trading nation" and in the broader context of "cittadini di un dato paese viventi in paese straniero" ("citizens of a given country living in a foreign country"), which does not refer especially to Jewish society,[6] we see that it becomes intertwined with the ritual sphere. Thus, for instance, rule 39 of the Book of Regulations (*Livro dos Acordos da Nação Ascamot*) of the Amsterdam congregation "Talmud Torah" admonishes against performing a circumcision upon anyone who is not included among *benei ummatenu*, "members of our nation." This is also the case regarding the blurring of the limits of the term "congreção" and the term "nação" as they appear in texts of excommunication (*ḥerem*) warnings as can be seen a number of times, for example, in the *Livro de Memorias* of that same community.

A blurring of the distinction between a situation which can be described as "natural" and between an existence with "holy" religious significance is distinctly noticeable also in the repeated use of the concept "*shimmur*" (Spanish: conservación; Portuguese: conservação) in the community books of the Western Sephardi congregations by its systematic combination precisely with the term *Kahal Kados* ("holy congregation"), and not to the concept of worshiping God. This is so much the case that at times it seems that the "holiness" of the Jewish people or the holiness of a certain community takes the place, as it were, of the "holiness" of the Torah, and that the true destiny of Jewish religion is to serve the needs of man or, alternatively, the needs of the society to which he belongs.

In the same vein is the emphasis placed on communality of blood and race by the former Marrano Isaac *Cardozo in his *Las Excelencias de los Hebreos*, as well as in statements by *Manasseh Ben Israel in his *Iggerert ha-Anavah* concerning nobility and the purity of blood of the Jewish people. This is also true for the former Marrano Isaac *Orobio de Castro, who expresses a skeptical opinion regarding those who join the nation as converts, since "they will never become Israel nor of the seed of Abraham," even "if they are beloved by God," because "Israel is not a spiritual entity, but a nation."

This stringency over lineage in the blood, the nobility in the race, and the biological connection to society, goes beyond the concepts of religious superiority demonstrated by the rabbis of that time, such as for example, Saul Levi *Morteira and Isaac *Aboab da Fonseca. It certainly does not mesh with the position of the majority of the sages of Israel, foremost among them being Moses *Maimonides who feels that this nation is from the beginning of its history a "nation of converts," and that the father of Israel is the father for anyone who follows in the way of Abraham. Yet it is clear that this stringency concerning race and blood reflects a certain development in thought, based on an awareness that Judaism has national content which is not dependent upon accepting the commandments.

A number of historians have noted these phenomena and claimed that this specific development on the issue of "Who is a Jew?" is to be found in the Spanish concepts of *honra* (honor) and *hidalguia* (pedigree) and in the ideological socio-cultural model of purity of blood (*limpieza de sangre) which already existed in Spain in the 15th century. Although this explanation is interesting and even daring in its humanistic perspective, it is not quite correct historically.

If we refer not only to terminology, then the biological belonging to "the seed of Abraham who loves Him," which serves as a barrier against converts in a certain historical context, is that which safeguards and encourages, in a different historical context, the continuation of the connection of the Marranos themselves to the Jewish nation. This can be understood from the testimonies of Profiat Duran of the 14th century, Isaac *Arama of the 15th century, and even from statements of Isaac *Abrabanel who was among the exiles leaving Spain in 1492. The difference between the version of Orobio di Castro and that of Duran, Arama, and Abrabanel is that the latter are not stringent over the purity of origin and blood of someone seeking to take upon himself the obligation of the commandments, but rather to the purity of the origin and blood of one who disengages himself from that obligation.

The skeptical declaration by Orobio di Castro that they who join the Jewish nation as converts, that is, who become observant Jews, "will never be part of Israel and not of the seed of Abraham," leads not only to the past of Di Castro as a Marrano, but also to the distinction in the Book of Numbers between the declaration of Moses, "and do all My commandments, and be holy unto your God" (Num. 15:40), and that of Korah, "seeing all the congregation are holy" (Num. 16:3).

In the dispute between Moses and Korah, Korah was punished for saying things unacceptable to Moses and apparently irritating to God. Yet the concept of "Holy Nation" (*goy kadosh*) in "essence" appears, albeit in a different, secondary status in Judaism, over and over again in traditional Jewish thought. For *Judah Halevi the convert can approach God but cannot become a prophet, because prophecy is the heritage only of descendants of Jacob. According to the Zohar, the soul of the convert is not on the same level as that of the Jew by birth despite the fact that this new soul descends upon him from heaven during the conversion process.

In *Orot Yisrael* by the 20th-century rabbi Abraham Isaac *Kook, the Patriarchs influence the natural side of the Jewish people while Moses influences the studious side (through the Torah, the spiritual base). "In the future," writes Rabbi Kook, "Moses will be completely linked with the Patriarchs and the Messiah will be revealed."

The national, primordial as it were, content of Judaism may be discernible in history and Jewish thought wherever it is not enough to contrast the Jewish people with other nations over the observance of commandments. This is so both whether against the background of deep divisions between societies and peoples, or the background of rapprochement between societies and nations, and the fear of the blurring of the boundaries of the minority society with the majority.

At least Jewish society was still in the process of building its "centers," to use the terminology proposed by the sociologist E. Shils, a society in which a large part of the members were taking their first steps in Judaism, when speaking of observing commandments.

In the same social and historical setting, Rabbi 'Moses Raphael D'*Aguillar stresses the hesitations and difficulties facing those Jews as Jews in the transfer from their places of residence (*neste captiveyro*) in Spain and Portugal to their new places of residence and observance of Judaism, including the objective difficulties of learning the "holy doctrine" (*sagrada doctrina*). Others also describe these problems, among them the former Marrano physician Elijah di Montalto, who lived in Paris, and Immanuel *Aboab.

In Western Sephardi society of the 17th century, the emphasis on the biological-racial foundations, as it were, of Judaism served a certain function, namely, a social need which was one of the expressions of "faith for the sake of the nation".

To be sure, when speaking of Mannaseh ben Israel, his address when he extols the special virtues of the Jewish people, i.e., its nobility and purity of blood, is the English society of the time of the Cromwell protectorate, and not Jewish society. However, neither Di Castro nor Isaac Cardozo discusses these virtues except as a barrier and fortress for Jewish existence in the face of Christianity.

When speaking in Jewish historiography about processes of secularization among the Western Sephardi Diaspora in the 17th century, it is usual to speak of "emancipation" or "emerging from" the influence of religion in the areas of social and cultural activity which had previously been controlled by religion. In the same context, emphasis is placed on the integration of Sephardi Jews into the world of intellectual creativity of Western Europe, their contribution to the European "crisis of conscience" of the 17th century, and their part in the development of capitalist economy in the new centers in northwest Europe, Hamburg, Amsterdam, and London.

However, a question which has not been asked but should be is: What is the social and historical significance of the process of "liberation" and "emancipation"? What was "liberated," and to which social models *within Jewish society* itself did this "emergence" lead in replacing old models?

This question was apparently not relevant in the generation of Rabbi Moses *Hagiz, who in his work *Sefat Emet* did not distinguish between the social aim of integration within the non-Jewish majority society and the goals of change directed toward the Jewish society of origin. He therefore calls both by the term *ḥolelim*, a term which was derived from the Hebrew root *ḥ*, *l*, *l*, which means contempt and derision of the holy by turning it into the profane. However, this question is relevant, because even if there is a historical link between the two aims, a differentiation must be made between one who goes from identifying with one religious national, social, cultural unit to identifying with another, and one who does not accept the authority of halakhic tradition, but stubbornly insists on his historical, ethnic, and social belonging.

This distinction is to be found even when speaking of the extreme heterodox such as Juan de *Prado, on the one hand, and *Spinoza, on the other. Both of them leaned towards Deism and to the rationalism of the early Enlightenment, but their attitude to the Jewish community and to the question of their belonging to that community was completely different. While Prado sought to have the excommunication placed on him repealed and to be readmitted to the Jewish community, Spinoza apparently accepted his banishment from the community without regret.

The fact that within the confines of Western Sephardi society the patterns of community organization and leadership were maintained in their traditional form throughout the 17th century and most of the 18th demands an explanation. A negative explanation, that during this period the historical conditions were not ripe for the development of an "ideology of change intended to lead to a change in the patterns of Jewish society," is inadequate. The weakness of this explanation is that it focuses mainly on the perspective of Jewish-Christian relations, in an attempt to latch onto a historical process at the final point of that historical process (Jewish integration into modern Western civilization) and in its understanding the concept of secularization as denoting the process of emancipation from the yoke of religion. This approach ignores the main characteristic of secularization in this society, that is, the transfer or translation of concepts, symbols, and beliefs from their transcendental-salvational origin to temporal uses, more specifically, to the sphere of society itself as an autonomous entity, distinct from Jewish religion.

To ignore this characteristic of secularization is also to ignore that for the public involved there was clearly a basic element of enjoyment in belonging to the congregation, and not only a feeling of subservience and sacrifice. This is also the case with the upper classes, the big businessmen, who enjoyed the relative freedom in which they could finally live as members of the elite, even when they were among their own people. The fact that during the 18th century there was a relative increase among Sephardi merchants who refused to take upon themselves any role in the community, or to contribute to it financially, is linked both to the process of leaving one world of collective being and joining another and to the gradual economic decline of this social class.

The question is not of the stability of the social system during this period of change, but rather the nature of that stability. What did the conformism to the social order of the *iehidim*, elected community leaders, represent?

Placing the stress on *iehidim* rather than institutions is important, since it has happened in Jewish history that communal organizations continued to exist even in order to serve the social and political needs of the non-Jewish majority society, needs which have nothing to do with religious tradition or even Jewish solidarity. The question is whether the stability of the social system represents the original historical effort at creating a sphere of religious "holiness," where whatever located outside of it becomes secular, or does it represent social needs linked to ensuring the maintenance of the society as a cultural, historical, ethnic unit, with no alternative framework for its existence?

One who succeeded in describing the basic features of the secularization of the society under discussion was Spinoza, who determined – albeit not precisely in relation to Jewish society – that "it is almost impossible to know what a person is, that is, whether he is a Christian, Turk, Jew, or pagan, except… by the fact that he visits this or that house of worship, or finally by the fact that he is devoted to this or that outlook and is accustomed to answering Amen to the words of his teacher."

Spinoza does indeed include among his statements on collective signs of recognition issues of manner and dress, but from the text cited we can see that even those signs of recognition were not important for him.

What would have been significant for him was apparently the fact that the Ma'amad of the congregations of Amsterdam, Hamburg, or London could enact regulations and obligate the *iehidim* to obey them "Em nome del Dio Benditto" ("in the name of blessed God") and "para sevico… de Dio Benditto" (in service to blessed God), even when between this activity and the religious idea of the *kehillah* there was nothing more in common than the public itself and the structural significance of the religious notion.

If we use as an example the *Dotar* of Amsterdam, we find that this institution, which was called "Santa Companhia" (Hebrew: *ḥevrah kedoshah*, "holy society") maintained close connections with Marranos and even with "New Christians," who were still in conflict over their religious identification. The institution in any case considered itself their patron and assisted them.

Albeit as far as Spinoza was concerned, "the reason for this evil" (the devaluation which had taken place with regard to the esteem of religious "holiness") was that the Church "is becoming a mass movement in the guise of religion." Yet, with his aristocratic, overbearing attitude to the "masses," Spinoza ignores the fact that the church is changing not only because of an ostensible lowering of the value of religious "holiness," but also because the "Church" is the body which will take upon itself in situations of social or national crises, the role of the model society (the "good," "true" society) which is embedded in the base of all social organization.

From the point of view of religion itself, one of the indications of the decline of religion is its turning into the servant of society and the social order. An outstanding example of this trend can be taken from the statements of Leone *Modena in his *Magen ve-Ẓinnah* (in referring to D'Acosta's objections to Rabbinical Judaism) that "a basic element of the divine intention in the Torah is that we should all of us observe it and each detail in one manner, and not one this way and one another, for if not so Israel will not be one nation!"

In *Sefat Emet* by Moses Hagiz, the opposite trend emerges whereby "*ammudei ha-Torah*" ("pillars of the Torah") take precedence over the existence of the world and the existence of the Jewish people itself. "For this purpose (being tested and observing commandments)," says Hagiz, "He, God, made us one nation in our land."

One of the most striking institutional manifestations demonstrating that the territory of "religious" holiness (halakhic-institutional, in the term of Y. Leibowitz) was growing ever more restricted in this society, was the historical fact that the Western Sephardi congregations had problems in training rabbis from among themselves, not only in the difficult times of their establishment but also at the end of the 17th and beginning of the 18th centuries. The small number of people looking for a career for themselves as rabbis (most of the young "devote their time exclusively to commerce," according to the statement of Rabbi Judah Leib of Zelichev), while the prestige of the rabbi or of the *talmid ḥakham* was declining, as can be learnt from Rabbi Moses Hagiz or even Rabbi Judah Leib of Zelichev. There was also a significant decline in the power of the sages of the community who served alongside the *parnasim*, the sages who were also called by the title "Ḥaḥam da naçāo" ("sage of the nation").

Even the Amsterdam community, despite its central position in matters of *halakhah* among the Marrano Diaspora of Western Europe, already in the early 17th century had to seek the assistance of the Sephardi centers in the Ottoman Empire, North Africa, and Italy when looking for rabbis. This is also true of the Sha'ar Shomayim congregation in London and the Beth Israel community of Hamburg, which struggled fiercely over issues of the rabbinate. The decline in the status of the *talmid ḥakham* was also attributable to the increased importance of other "wisdom" (*ḥokhmah*) or "knowledge," representing a non-Torah sphere of learning.

It is to this type of knowledge to which Abraham Pereira is referring in his book *Espejo de la Vanidad del Mundo*, where he is careful to differentiate between that side of man's nature with which he searches for truth wherever it may be found and "conducts research," and another side of his character whereby he admires things "because they are new." The latter facet is considered by Pereira to be likely to lead to the disowning of tradition, because "What could be a greater new thing than to turn a sinner towards God?" But this distinction of Pereira's between knowledge and truth depends in effect upon the recognition that Jewish tradition does not ignore the realm of non-Torah knowledge, and does not even oppose it (on condition that it does not contradict the teaching of the Torah).

Maimonides himself mentions in his *Guide for the Perplexed*, "the Spaniards of our people" (i.e., of the 12th century) "who all accept the words of the philosophers and lean toward their interpretations as long as they do not contradict any fundament of the Torah." Long before Maimonides, Midrash Lamentations Rabbah (2:13) stated: "If someone should say to you that there is wisdom among the nations, believe [him]; there is Torah among the nations, do not believe [him]." This shows us that even when dealing with the confrontation of the individual Jew with a culture foreign to him, it does not necessarily follow that there is a conflict with the binding nature of tradition, or alternatively of "social deviation."

The prevailing error among historians on this point generally stems, as J. Katz has shown, "by analogy to the 19th century," to a period in which "the traditional society was no longer a total society, but one with peripheral members who have abandoned tradition," and despite this, or apparently because of this, it is ostensibly more "traditional" than in the traditional period in its own time.

The same is true in the economic sphere. There was nothing improper in the participation of the Jews in the stock exchange of Amsterdam or London, as long as they also reserved for themselves time for Torah study. Yet there was serious fault to be found in Jews going to the stock exchange as described by the Sephardi Jew Joseph Penso de la *Vega in his satirical work, *Confusion de Confusiones,* written in Amsterdam in 1688, because in that stock exchange "whoever steals more earns more." It is not accidental that the book includes no discussion of the halakhic or Jewish significance of dealing in the stock exchange despite the fact that it is directed to Sephardi Jews, not only because Jews like Joseph Penso de la Vega knew how to separate the "holy" from the "profane," but mainly because the book's intention is to "entertain" and "to paint with the brush of truth" the reality of the exchange itself. The statements quoted above with regard to the intellectual and economic spheres apply as well to the area of the arts. Here too *halakhah* recognizes various degrees of approaching the profane.

In terms of institutions, in the same way that the obligation of discipline binding on individuals of the congregation towards the leaders of the community was not derived in Western Sephardi society exclusively from a religious command to "pay heed to the voice of their elders, the makers of fences, and the protectors of the hedges," so the presence of the *iehidim* in the synagogue was not dependent exclusively upon observing the commandments and religious obligations. It is a fact that even the heretics, such as Spinoza, maintained a seat for themselves in the Great Portuguese synagogue in Amsterdam almost up to their excommunications. Perhaps, as J. Katz says – albeit in a different context – because "the most traditional, rooted sub-meaning of the adjective Jew is connected to religion." The regulations and prohibitions on business conversations in the synagogue and the need for emphasizing time and again the biblical commandment "Revere my sanctuaries" (Lev. 26:2) – as for example the emphasis of Pereira on the respect and awe which we are to bring to the Holy Temple" – lead to the assumption that there were mundane conversations during prayer services. Yet, although prayer must come from the heart and "with humility," we would not suggest that in this too one should not see excess criticism of the patterns of behavior of Sephardi Jews in the synagogue.

Regular conversations as well as those concerning livelihood were carried on in the synagogue and even were the subject of conflicts, almost through the entire history of this institution. It was not without reason that a distinction was made between the synagogue as a place of gathering for prayer and study and as a place in which all come together is already found in the Talmud (B. Shab. 32a), "R. Ishmael ben Eleazar said: Because of two sins *ammei ha-areẓ* die – because they call the holy ark (*aron kodesh*) *arana* (a plain cabinet) and because they call the *bet keneset* a meeting hall (*bet ha-am*)."

One should not assume that the *ammei ha-areẓ* about whom the *baraita* is speaking had committed such as grave sin as to deserve death (albeit, divine and not by a court) only because they were not fluent in the language of the sages (*lashon ha-kodesh*, i.e., Hebrew), since they were Aramaic speakers. They were guilty of having blurred the boundaries between the "holy" and the "profane."

At the same time, the threat of secularization does not draw its strength precisely from the secular concepts of the surrounding, non-Jewish society or culture, but from the contrastive parallel which socio-historical reality creates between the synagogue and the holy ark, on the one hand, and the meeting hall and the cabinet, on the other.

This is to be stressed not in order to show that tendencies towards secularization existed in traditional Jewish society many centuries before the meeting with pre-modern or modern secular society, which is an important fact in itself. We emphasize this issue in order to learn of the very possibility of blurring the borders between the "holy" and the "profane" within the boundaries of the synagogue or within the limits of the community itself.

[Ezer Kahanov]

Eclipse of Sephardi Jewry

After the middle of the 17th century a contraction in the importance of the Sephardi element in relation to the rest of the Jewish world took place. During the Middle Ages (from c. 1000 to 1492) the Jews of Spain formed a most numerous and active part of the Jewish people, perhaps at least one half of world Jewry. From the mid-17th century, however, their relative (though not absolute) importance dwindled. Shabbateanism, the movement of the false messiah Shabbetai Ẓevi, which was extremely popular in Salonika and Izmir from the 1650s until his messianic proclamation, arrest, and conversion to Islam in 1666, brought the Ottoman communities to spiritual and economic ruin. The reverberations of the movement were later felt in Amsterdam, Hamburg, Altona, and Poland in the early 17th century. Support and suspicion of Shabbateanism caused division between Sephardi communities in these areas of Northern Europe.

In modern times the Ashkenazi portion of the Jewish people has constituted approximately nine-tenths of the whole. Before the Holocaust, of the approximately 16,500,000 Jews in the world, about 15,000,000 were Ashkenazim and only 1,500,000 Sephardim and other non-Ashkenazi communities. The numerical decline was inevitably accompanied by a contraction in intellectual and cultural productivity, and the energetic Ashkenazi Jews took the lead. Eminent Sephardim in the modern period include Sir Moses *Montefiore and Adolphe *Crémieux; Benjamin *Disraeli also came from a Sephardi family. Among the fathers of the rebirth of the Jewish settlement in Ereẓ Israel were, besides Montefiore, the American Sephardi Judah *Touro, and the Bosnian rabbi Judah *Alkalai.

By the 19th century the celebrated old Sephardi communities in Western Europe and the U.S., established in the 16th and 17th centuries, had been numerically far outnumbered by the Ashkenazi element there. Although contributing less to Jewish culture, the Sephardim preserved their former homogeneity and pride in their historical heritage. The greatest center of this group was still Amsterdam, though the Spanish and Portuguese community in London had attained great significance. In the *Ottoman Empire the Sephardim still preserved their ancestral traditions, and their economic and political position was favorable. They had the same rights as other minorities in the Ottoman Empire (see *Capitulations). *Salonika continued to be the greatest center of Sephardi Jewry in the world. Its Sephardi Jews contributed greatly to the industrialization of the city, the Alliance Israélite Universelle had eight schools in the city, the community had numerous daily newspapers in Judeo-Spanish and French, and an active Judeo-Spanish theater existed from the latter quarter of the 19th century until the Holocaust. It had an elaborate philanthropic structure and an active Zionist movement. The ultra-secular and anti-Zionist Jewish socialist workers movement numbering some 6,000 Jewish Sephardi tobacco workers represented a fourth of the local Jewish community, and laid the foundations for the Greek Communist movement. *Izmir and *Sarajevo were also prolific Sephardi communities with yeshivot, numerous synagogues, and communal mutual aid societies. Izmir had an active Judeo-Spanish press and theater life. Sarajevo had a special rabbinical seminary and strong Sephardi youth and cultural movements. In North Africa the degree of Jewish well-being was proportionate to the extent of European influence. Westernization and the British penetration into Egypt brought considerable amelioration of the condition of the Jews there. In *Algiers the French had conferred full rights of French citizenship on the Jews, though this led to a local antisemitic movement, and an outbreak of anti-Jewish rioting in 1897. The French occupation of *Tunis was also beneficial to the Jews, but in most of *Morocco the old medieval maltreatment and code still prevailed.

After World War I

The hopes that western influences would gradually lead to a marked improvement in the position of the Jews in the Balkans and Middle East did not materialize. After World War I, when large stretches of the former Ottoman Empire passed to the various Balkan powers, large populations were transferred in order to lessen friction between Greece and Turkey by ensuring greater homogeneity. In Salonika, the Jewish population, formerly in the majority, was reduced to about one-fifth of the total, and the Greek authorities began to take steps to replace Jewish economic and cultural influence by Greek. In Turkey, now being reorganized on national lines, the former privileged position of ethnic minorities came to an end. Many Jews emigrated from both Greece and Turkey to Western Europe, America, and especially to Spanish America. Istanbul Jewry underwent Turkification after the founding of the modern Turkish Republic in 1924, became greatly secularized, and Judeo-Spanish was put aside at the expense of modern Turkish. Political Zionism was scorned. As all international movements were banned in Turkey, Zionist activities went underground and dwindled. The 1934 antisemitic riots in Eastern Thrace and in the region of the Dardanelles and Tekirdag, prompted by Armenian, far-right Turkish, and pro-Nazi nationalist elements, was the beginning of the end for the old Sephardi Jewish community of Edirne (Adrianople) and other Sephardic communities in European Turkey and the Dardanelles. Some 12,000 Jews became refugees and moved to Istanbul.

Holocaust

During World War II, the Nazis first tried to sow division by discriminating between Jews of various origins. In Holland, the Sephardim were left until last, but eventually almost all were "liquidated." The small communities came to an end, and the illustrious Spanish and Portuguese community of Amsterdam was reduced to one-tenth of its former number. In Italy, the old Sephardi communities of *Venice, *Ferrara, *Florence, and *Leghorn suffered appallingly. The victimization of the Jews in the Balkans was carried out on a far larger scale, and most were eventually sent to the death camps. In Bulgaria, which had a long tradition of just treatment of the Jews, the government was able to evade the enforcement of the German orders, but most males were sent to forced labor and more than half of the Jews of Sofia were moved to the periphery. That strongly Zionist community survived almost intact to find its way after the war en masse to Ereẓ Israel. The Bulgarian pro-German government deported the Jews of Yugoslavian Macedonia and Greek Thrace to their deaths in Treblinka, and the Bulgarians shot on the shore of the Danube River some 1,100 Jews from Cavalla and Cuomotini, Greece, who were sent by boat from Lom, Bulgaria. The local Croatian, Bosnian, and Serbian Fascists and their German masters in Yugoslavia almost wholly annihilated the Jewish population there. Most of the Jews of the vibrant Sephardi communities in Belgrade and Sarajevo were murdered on Yugoslavian soil in concentration camps and the Jasenovac death camp run by the Croatian Fascist Ustase movement. The traditional Sephardi communities of Monastir and Skopje were deported by the Bulgarian occupier to Treblinka, where all those deported were gassed upon arrival. Although the small Athens community suffered less owing to the aid of the Orthodox patriarch Damascenos, the number of those deported in the rest of Greece rose in some places to 99%, and almost the whole of the Salonika community perished.

The Jews of Turkey suffered from the Varlik Vergisi luxury tax in 1942. Many who could not pay the exorbitant sums were sent to forced labor in camps like Askale. In Izmir, the wealthy industrialist Rabenu Politi paid the equivalent of $46 million to ransom his community members from harsh labor. As a result of this wealth tax, most of Turkish Jewry moved to Israel in the late 1940s and early 1950s, leaving 20,000 Jews mainly in Istanbul and only 1,500 Jews in Izmir.

In Romania, 12,000 Sephardi Jews perished in the Holocaust. The Sephardi communities in Bucharest, Craiova, Braila, Turnu Severin, Timishoara, and elsewhere ceased to exist.

In Holland, 4,000 of the country's 5,000 Sephardim from Amsterdam and The Hague were deported by the Nazis to Sobibor, Auschwitz, and Theresienstadt. The majority of the Sephardim in Vienna and Hamburg were also murdered in the Holocaust.

After World War II

As antisemitism had spread in Europe, the attitudes toward Jews in the countries of North Africa and the Middle East changed for the worse. Ostensibly this was bound up with artificially stimulated opposition to Zionism in the Arab and

Muslim countries. After Israel's *War of Independence (1948), the position of the Jews in this region became increasingly precarious. A mass emigration began, in which many eventually arrived in Israel.

While Sephardi Jewry was almost annihilated in Europe and had largely moved from Asia (except Israel), a new Sephardi Diaspora came into being in circumstances very different from the old. In the interwar years emigrants from the eastern Mediterranean countries augmented the old Sephardi communities of *London, *Paris, and New York (see below). New Sephardi groupings were also founded, including congregations in *Salisbury (Rhodesia) and the Belgian *Congo by emigrants from *Rhodes (whose ancient community was almost annihilated by the Nazis during World War II). Large numbers of emigrants established themselves in Central and South America, where they found themselves linguistically more at home. The rapid growth of the new communities in *Latin America has been one of the most remarkable and significant events in Jewish history of the past generation. In Buenos Aires, the Damascan and Aleppoan Jews had their own synagogues and institutions. The Rhodian and Turkish Jews had their own synagogues in the Buenos Aires area, but they were more secular than the Syrian Jews. There also was a small Moroccan community in Buenos Aires. Since the 1990s, the Sephardim in Mexico City have been a majority of the general Jewish community. The Judeo-Spanish speaking community, and the separate Monte Sinai (Damascan) and Aleppoan communities with their synagogues, schools, and cultural and philanthropic organizations outnumber the Ashkenazim, and are a major part of the future communal trend.

Whereas the majority of Jews in Latin America and North America are of Ashkenazi origin, increasing numbers are speaking Spanish, and an important Jewish-Spanish cultural life is developing. Thus while the antecedents and synagogue rites of these communities are Ashkenazi, their cultural life links up with that of medieval Spain and cannot fail to be influenced by the Spanish intellectual and literary traditions.

[Cecil Roth / Yitzchak Kerem (2nd ed.)]

In the United States

In 1654, 23 Jews fleeing Portuguese reprisals in Brazil found refuge in the Dutch colony of New Amsterdam (see *New York), where they established the Shearith Israel Congregation, popularly known as the Spanish and Portuguese Synagogue of New York City. Other Sephardi congregations followed along the Atlantic coast. The contribution of the Sephardim was greater than their small numbers would suggest. They were prominent in the struggle for civil rights, and as craftsmen, merchants, ship owners, manufacturers, professionals, public servants, and writers they enriched the life of the general American community. They constituted about half of the estimated 2,000 Jews living in the American colonies. Many of the colonial Sephardim migrated to the British colonies from the Sephardi communities in the Caribbean, where there had been Jewish Portuguese settlement since the late 16th century under the British, Dutch, and Danish in *Jamaica, *Curacao, *Barbados, and later in Nevis, St. Eustatius, the *Dominican Republic, St. Croix, Trinidad, Tobago, *St. Thomas, and elsewhere. With the increase in English, German, and Polish Ashkenazim during the 19th century, the Sephardim played a correspondingly lesser role in the life of the U.S. Jewish community. However, the descendants of these "Founding Fathers" continue to hold a very respectable place in U.S. society. They often take the initiative in cultivating Sephardi religious and cultural activities, and take pride in their distinctive "Portuguese *minhag*," a hallmark in dignified Jewish worship. From 1900 onward, marked numbers of Oriental Sephardim immigrated to the U.S. from the Balkans, Asia Minor, and Syria. The exodus was precipitated by natural disasters, the rise of nationalism among the Balkan peoples, and the general economic and political deterioration in the Ottoman Empire. In the period from the Young Turk Revolution in 1908 to the fixing of U.S. immigration quotas in 1924–25, 50,000–60,000 Sephardim arrived in the U.S. After World War II, the U.S. Sephardi community was augmented by several thousands from Morocco, Egypt, Iraq, Syria, Iran, Israel, and some of those who left Cuba after 1959.

The 20th-century arrivals from the Levant were segregated from the mass of Yiddish-speaking East European Ashkenazim by linguistic, social, and cultural barriers, and they also felt estranged from the highborn indigenous Sephardim. Moreover, they further divided themselves into three language groupings: Judeo-Spanish, Greek, and Arabic. Dispersed through the efforts of the Industrial Removal Office, small Sephardi colonies were soon to be found in *Rochester, *Philadelphia, *Cincinnati, *Chicago, *Atlanta, *Montgomery, *Portland (Oregon), *Seattle, and *Los Angeles. More than 30,000 Sephardim, however, settled in New York City and provided the basis for organized Jewish communal life.

Following the pattern of their Ashkenazi brethren, they established mutual aid societies named after their native towns. Several attempts were made to unite the Sephardim. The first, encouraged by the *kehillah* of New York City, was the Federation of Oriental Jews, founded in 1912. All three language groups were represented, but it failed to receive the financial support of its constituent societies and disappeared within a few years. In 1924 the Spanish-speaking societies united to form the Sephardic Jewish Community of New York. The hub of its activities was its center in Harlem. With the decline of Sephardim in the area and the economic depression from 1929, the "Community" fell apart in 1933.

Between 1915 and 1952 mergers took place among the various mutual aid societies to form the most representative self-help organization, the Sephardic Jewish Brotherhood of America. It claims a membership of more than 3,000 families. The Central Sephardic Jewish Community of America, founded in 1941, tried to pattern itself after the old world Sephardi *kehillah* by appointing as its head a chief rabbi to coordinate the religious and educational activities of its constituent institutions. The CSJCA worked with Jewish national organizations in aiding victims of the Holocaust and supporting projects on behalf of Sephardi students in Israel and in Arab countries. One beneficiary was the Sephardic Home for the Aged. The home has a central concern for all Sephardim in the New York area. It served the needs of the Sephardi aged and also as a focus for community-wide functions. A singular loss to the Sephardi community was the discontinuance of the Ladino press. Two publications, *La America* (1910–23) and *La Vara* (1922–49), served as a strong unifying force, at least for those who knew the language. No English periodical emerged to fill the role formerly served by this press.

In 1971 there were some 33 Sephardi synagogues situated in 15 U.S. cities loosely affiliated with each other either through the Union of Sephardic Congregations and/or the World Sephardi Federation. The larger congregations maintain *talmud torahs*, where an attempt is made to transmit Sephardi traditions and the Sephardi *nusaḥ*. Two day schools were sponsored by "Syrian" communities in Brooklyn, the Magen David Yeshivah and Aḥi-Ezer. Sephardi children from Aleppo and Damascus received maximal Hebraic-religious education, which enabled them to pursue advanced Jewish studies. A concerted effort was made by Yeshiva University beginning in 1964 to train leadership through its Sephardic Studies Program. Future rabbis, teachers, and scholars were trained to meet the needs of the Sephardi community. Since the death of Ḥakham Solomon Gaon in 1994 and the resignation of Dr. Mitchel Serrels, the program has floundered and has little effect on the strengthening of Sephardi life in North America. The American Sephardi Federation was founded in 1976 by Prof. Daniel Elazar and strengthened in the 1980s and afterward by the New York-born philanthropist Leon Levy, who was of Turkish familial origin.

[Hyman Joseph Campeas / Yitzchak Kerem (2nd ed.)]

In Ereẓ Israel

The emigration of the Jews from Spain that took place in the 15th and 16th centuries coincided with a relatively liberal Ottoman regime which allowed the Jewish refugees to settle in all parts of the empire, including Ereẓ Israel. The Jewish population of the country consisted at the time of four distinct communities: the Ashkenazi, which then included other immigrants from European countries, e.g., from Italy; the Sephardi, i.e., refugees from Spain; the North African, known as the "Moghrabi"; the "Mustarabs" or "Moriscos," i.e., the autochthonous Jews who had never left the country. After the expulsion from Spain, the Sephardim quickly became the predominant element in the larger towns of the country, and from the 16th century they played a decisive role in transforming *Safed into the spiritual center of world Jewry, particularly by their leading scholars, religious poets, and mystics who settled there. They were able to produce their epoch-making works (e.g., Joseph Caro's Shulḥan Arukh, Solomon Alkabez's religious poetry, Moses Cordovero's and Ḥayyim Vital's mystic philosophy, etc.) while living and working in a relatively free and economically productive and self-supporting Jewish population, in contrast to Jerusalem and other towns in Ereẓ Israel and in most Diaspora countries. In the same period, Don Joseph *Nasi and Doña Gracia Mendes made their bold attempt at settling Jews in the reconstructed town of Tiberias and its neighborhood. The Sephardim also outgrew in numbers and influenced the other Jewish communities in Jerusalem, though the immigration of *Judah Ḥasid and the first waves of ḥasidic immigrants from Eastern Europe in the 18th century tended to change the balance. At first both primary communities, the Sephardi and the Ashkenazi, cooperated in sending emissaries to Diaspora countries for collecting funds and defending Jewish interests vis-à-vis the authorities. But with the introduction of the "*capitulations" for non-Ottoman residents in the 19th century, and the organization of the first separate *kolelim* which later merged into a "general committee" (*va'ad kelali*) of all Ashkenazi groups, the dividing line between Sephardim and Ashkenazim became greatly stressed, particularly when the Sephardi chief rabbi in Jerusalem, bearing the title *rishon le-Zion*, was, from 1842, recognized officially as the **ḥakham bashi*. This process, which culminated during the British Mandatory period in the establishment of a dual Ashkenazi-Sephardi chief rabbinate, caused all non-Ashkenazi "Oriental" communities to affiliate with the Sephardi rabbinical authorities, thus creating the semantic confusion around the term "Sephardim" in both Ereẓ Israel and the Diaspora. In appointing Jews as officials, the British administration in Palestine often preferred members of old Sephardi and other non-Ashkenazi families, born in the country and speaking Arabic as well as Hebrew, to the "newly arrived" Zionist Ashkenazim. However, it did not succeed by this and other methods in politically dividing the Jewish population along the "ethnic" community line, and many Sephardi Jews, born in the country, held important positions in the *Va'ad Le'ummi and all other *yishuv* bodies. The dual chief rabbinate, however, continued to exist under the State of Israel. Only in the Israel army did a quick process of unification of religious services, including a unified prayer book (*nusaḥ aḥid*), take place under the guidance of the army rabbinate. During the mass immigration to Israel of the 1950s and 1960s, the Oriental communities greatly increased, and through their high birthrate, tended to outnumber the Western, mostly Ashkenazi, element in the country. But only a minority of the new non-Ashkenazi immigrants – those from Bulgaria, Greece, Turkey, and some North Africans – are, strictly speaking, Sephardim, i.e., descendants of Spanish and Portuguese Jews whose vernacular was Ladino. Some attempts were made to exploit politically the fact that many of the Oriental Jews from Muslim and other Afro-Asian countries, like India, belong to the lower strata of society, often feel underprivileged, and can only gradually – with considerable difficulties – work their way up into the upper strata of Israel society. But on the whole these attempts failed, mainly because of the general trend of the "merger of exiles" fostered by the organized efforts of the state in the schools, the army, settlement projects, etc. However, in the framework of preserving the vanishing "ethnic" community culture, efforts were made by the Ben Zvi Institute as well as by specialists in the field, to record and publish Sephardi liturgy and songs, often under the auspices of commercial record companies like Hed Artzi and Adama in Israel, Tara in New York, Tecnosaga in Madrid, Spain, and The Jewish Music Research Center of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem at the National Library in Jerusalem. The performance of Sephardi folklore, such as the show *Bustan Sefaradi* by Yiẓḥak Navon (1971) and Sephardi *romanceros*, enjoy much popularity with the Israel public. Ladino radio broadcasting in Jerusalem began in the late 1970s with the musical composer Yitzhak Levy, and was continued by Moshe Shaul, who also edits the Judeo-Spanish Latin-letter Sephardi periodical *Aki Yerushalayim,* which places the emphasis on Judeo-Spanish revival. The Council of the Sephardi Community in Jerusalem in 1971 announced plans to establish a Center for the Study of Sephardi culture under the auspices of the Hebrew University, to be called Misgav Yerushalayim and to be located in the Old City. Since the 1980s, the institute has been housed on the Mount Scopus campus of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. In the late 1990s, the Israeli government promulgated a law to establish national authorities for Yiddish and Ladino. The National Authority for Ladino Culture – established in Jerusalem and with branches in Tel Aviv, Beersheva, and Haifa – has a teacher training program, sponsors courses and scholarships for Ladino studies at Israeli universities, and organizes public seminars and weekend retreats. Ladino is available as an Israeli baccalaureate exam for those who wish to specialize in it, and it is taught at the high school level at the Amalia Religious Girls School in Jerusalem. In the 1990s, Avner Perez founded the Sefarad Institute for research into Ladino literature in Ma'aleh Adumim. Ladino language and literature university programs were started at Bar-Ilan University and Ben-Gurion University. Dr. Shmuel Refael started the discipline at Bar-Ilan University in the early 1990s, and the department was endowed by Naima and Yehoshua Salti of Istanbul. At Ben-Gurion University, Prof. Tamar Alexander chaired the Moshe David Gaon Department for Ladino Culture from 2003, assisted by the scholars Avner Perez and Eliezer Papo. Unfortunately, funding for the Eliashar Center for Sephardi Studies at the same university was cut severely in 2002 by the Israel Ministry of Education, and most of its courses were canceled.

1992: The Quincentennial Year of the Expulsion of the Jews from Spain

CELEBRATIONS, COMMEMORATION, REMEMBRANCE, AND PUBLIC AWARENESS. The 500th anniversary of the expulsion of the Jews from Spain was commemorated throughout the Sephardi world. In the United States, synagogues put Sephardi themes on their cultural agendas. The community of Indianapolis, for example, produced over 20 relevant events during 1992. Laurence Salzmann's exhibition on Turkish Jewry entitled "Anyos Munchos y Buenos" traveled to dozens of cities in the United States and also in Europe. Other traveling exhibitions included "Mosaic: Jewish Life in Florida"; the Beth Hatefutsoth (Diaspora Museum of Tel Aviv) exhibition "In the Footsteps of Columbus: Jews in America in 1654–1880"; "Turkish Jews: 500 Years of Harmony" organized by the Quincentennial Foundation of Istanbul (QFI); and the Anti-Defamation League's "Voyages to Freedom: 500 Years of Jewish Life in Latin America and the Caribbean." At the Yeshiva University Museum in New York, the exhibition "The Sephardic Journey: 1492–1992" was displayed throughout most of the year. The Judeo-Spanish singing groups "Voice of the Turtle" and "Voices of Sepharad" had busy concert schedules in the USA and in Europe.

In addition, various academic conferences were held in the U.S. Arizona and Mexico were centers for activities highlighting the recent revelation of numerous crypto-Jews of Spanish-speaking origin among their population. The University of Tucson has taken an active interest in Sephardi studies and promoted Sephardi scholarship and guest lectures.

In England, Rabbi Abraham Levy of the Spanish and Portuguese Lauderdale Road Synagogue produced and sponsored numerous publications, lectures, and other cultural events. The Jewish community of Brussels and its local "Sepharad '92" group were extremely active. In Thessaloniki, Greece, the Society for the Study of Greek Jewry and the local Jewish community organized numerous lectures. Large academic conferences were held in Istanbul and in Thessaloniki. Thessaloniki also hosted an international Judeo-Spanish song festival and an exhibition. France saw a memorial service at the Salonikan-founded Rue de St. Lazare synagogue and an academic conference, part of which was hosted in Geneva, Switzerland.

In Israel, the Shazar Center organized numerous international academic conferences and historical workshops on the Sephardi experience. The Sephardi Public Council of Jerusalem produced several cultural events, and the Committee of Sephardi and Oriental Communities in Jerusalem hosted several concerts. The Center for Spanish Jewish Studies of Lewinsky College in Ramat Aviv presented a lecture program, and the Museum of Tel Aviv University put on exhibits on the Jewish experience in Spain. Branches of the Turkish Immigrant Association organized evenings of Judeo-Spanish conversation and song.

Several Sephardi families in Israel organized reunions around the quincentennial year, including the Castel, Meyuhas, and Abravanel families. The Abravanel family sponsored a reunion and conference in New York City, while the Toledanos assembled in Spain.

The Public Council for the 500 Year Festivities was headed by former Israeli president Itzhak Navon, who hosted the Israeli Television series "Jerusalem in Spain."

In Spain, the March 31, 1992, ceremony, where King Juan Carlos annulled the expulsion decree, attracted the attention of world Jewry and the media. Spain hosted numerous academic conferences, and Spanish presses published hundreds of scholarly books on Spanish and Sephardi Jewry.

The only major foundation created for the 1992 festivities, which produced results, was the Quincentennial Foundation of Istanbul. It organized two major academic conferences and a gala banquet attended by Israeli President Herzog, Turkish President Ozal, and Turkish Prime Minister Demirel, began restoration of the Ochrid Synagogue, sponsored a photo exhibition, a film, concerts, and planned an educational kit.

In Latin America, major conferences were held in Buenos Aires, Argentina, and in Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo, Brazil. The Asociación Internacional de Escritores Judios En Lengua Hispana y Portuguese and *NOAJ, Revista Literaria* sponsored two monumental conferences; one in Jerusalem and another in Miami. In Mexico City, several cultural events were held and Sephardi books were published.

In England, a lengthy film was made on the liturgical music of the Sephardi Diaspora communities. In New York, the film *Ottoman Salonika* was finished and presented at the end of the year. Several of the films about Columbus' discovery of America mentioned the presence of a Jew in his crew, but none went into depth on this point or related to his alleged Jewish background, which in any case was disproved convincingly by two Mexican Jewish historians and the veteran historical biographer of Columbus, Taviani.

[Yitzhak Kerem]

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SEPHARVAIM (Heb. סְפַרְוַיִם, סְפַרְוָיִם), one of the cities from which the king of Assyria brought settlers to Samaria, after the conquest of the Kingdom of Israel (II Kings 17:24). Sepharvaim is also mentioned among the city-states which, as King Sennacherib of Assyria boasts, were unable to hold out against the king of Assyria (I Kings 18:34; 19:13 = Isa. 36:19; 37:38).

Two principal suggestions have been made for the identification of the city. Some identify it with Sippar, one of Babylonia's leading sacred cities, on the ground that it is mentioned together with Babylon and Cuthah (II Kings 17:24), and indeed the annals of Sennacherib tell of the deportation of inhabitants from both Sippar and Cuthah. The identification of Sippar with Sepharvaim is supported by the forms ספרים (I Kings 17:31) and ספריים (1QIsa^{a} 36:19; 37:13), (Heb. ספרוים) being apparently a scribal error due to the similarity of the letters *vav* and *yod*. The name (Heb. ספרוים) appears to be the dual form, indicating a twin-city, and in fact Sippar consisted of *Si-ip-ar ša Šamaš* and *Si-ip-ar ša A-nu-ni-tum* ("Sippar of the god Shamash" and "Sippar of the goddess Anunitum"). Others identify Sepharvaim with Sibraim (Ezek. 47:16), situated in Syria between Damascus and Hamath. This identification is based on the fact that in II Kings 18:34 Sepharvaim is mentioned together with Hamath and Arpad, and that the Peshitta of Ezekiel 47:16 reads Sepharvaim instead of Sibraim. The gods of Sepharvaim, *Adrammelech and *Anammelech (II Kings 17:31), were worshiped, according to the proponents of the first identification, in Sippar in Babylonia, and according to the proponents of the second, in Sibraim in Syria. It is difficult to decide definitely in favor of one rather than the other identification. The suggestion that the biblical passages are to be explained as referring at times to Sippar and at times to Sibraim is not very probable, since in four of the passages (I Kings 18:34; 19:13; Isa. 36:10; 37:15) the three cities Hamath, Ivvah (Avva), and Sepharvaim are named together, showing that the same Sepharvaim is meant in all of them, and it is difficult to suppose that a different one is intended in I Kings 17:31.

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[Isaac Avishur]

SEPHIHA, HAIM VIDAL (1923–), Judeo-Spanish linguist and activist. Sephiha was born in Brussels to a Sephardi family from Istanbul. During the German occupation of Belgium, he was arrested in 1943 and deported to Auschwitz in September. He survived the death camp, where his father perished. After liberation, he resumed his studies in natural sciences, graduating in 1948 and working as a chemical engineer; however, he eventually decided to study and defend the linguistic and cultural heritage of his community. As a student and assistant teacher of Hispanic linguistics at the Sorbonne in Paris, in 1967 he started to give lectures and workshops on Judeo-Spanish at the National Institute of Oriental Languages (INALCO). His understanding of the language is based on a clear distinction between its two fundamental modalities. Whereas he reserves the term "Ladino" for the old "liturgical language" in which the Sephardi Jews rendered sacred Hebrew texts into a "calqued" Judeo-Castilian, he describes the vernacular as a versatile "language of fusion" built up from different medieval Iberian dialects and integrating elements from Hebrew and the modern linguistic environment. In 1970, Sephiha presented his doctoral thesis, a comparative study of two 16th-century Ladino translations of Deuteronomy and, in 1979, he obtained a professor's degree for his theoretical analysis of the Ladino language. His chair at the University of Paris-VIII, which he has held since 1981, was transformed three years later into an INALCO chair in Judeo-Spanish studies, the first university chair ever dedicated to this subject. Sephiha, who retired in 1991, was instrumental in securing academic acceptance and public support for the "agonizing language" he spoke and taught. Besides his scientific and popular publications, from 1972 he launched several calls for revival of the language and in 1979 founded the "Association *Vidas Largas* for the Defense and Promotion of the Judeo-Spanish Language and Culture," which organizes educational work in Sephardi communities as well as the rescue of literary, musical, and architectural treasures. Judeo-Spanish has since been included among the recognized minority languages of France. In 2003, Sephiha inaugurated at the Auschwitz site a memorial in honor of the 160,000 Judeo-Spanish victims of the Holocaust.

Among his writings are *Le Ladino (judéo-espagnol calque): Deutéronome, versions de Constantinople (1547) et de Ferrare (1553)* (1973), *L'agonie des Judéo-Espagnols* (1977), *Le Ladino (judéo-espagnol calque): Structure et évolution d'une langue liturgique* (1982), and *Le judéo-espagnol* (1986).

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[Carsten Wilke (2nd ed.)]

SEPPHORIS (Heb. *Ẓippori*), ancient city located in the heart of Lower Galilee (map ref. 176/239). The site is situated some 18 mi. (29 km.) from Tiberias to the east and the same distance from the Mediterranean to the west. It lies approximately 4 mi. (6 km.) to the northwest of Nazareth, rising ca. 1,000 ft. (300 m.) from the surrounding valleys: the Netofa Valley to the north and the Nazareth basin to the south. Arab residents of a village called Safuriyye occupied the site until the 1948 war and a moshav was founded there in 1949. The ancient city, consisting of a summit and lower city, underlies much of the medieval ruins, which were associated with the citadel on the summit, a museum of the National Parks Authority since 1995. The Citadel served as a small castle in Crusader times when the site was known as Le Sepphorie; it was renovated in the mid-18th century by the Bedouin governor of Galilee and again in 1889 by the Turkish sultan, who added a second story; it served as a school until 1948.

The first mention of Sepphoris in a literary source occurs in Josephus in connection with the Hasmonean king Alexander *Yannai, who successfully repulsed the attack of Ptolemy Lathyrus of Egypt (Ant., 13:338). The site subsequently became the administrative capital of the Galilee ca. 57 B.C.E. when Gabinius, Pompey's legate to Syria, made it one of his five *synedria*, or councils (Ant., 14:91; War, 1:170). The city was taken by *Herod the Great in 37 B.C.E. (Ant., 17:271) and presumably served as his northern command post for the remainder of his reign. At the death of Herod in 4 B.C.E. a rebellion broke out at the site, the so-called War of Varus, which sought to remove Sepphoris from Herodian rule (War, 2:68; Ant., 17:289). The rebellion was supposedly crushed and the city burned, and many of its inhabitants were taken as slaves. Recent archaeological work at the site has not substantiated Josephus' report on this event.

In the first century C.E., *Herod Antipas, who inherited the site as part of the tetrarchy of Galilee and Peraea (Transjordan), fortified the city and made it the "ornament of all Galilee, and called in Autocratoris" (Ant., 18:27). The precise nature of Antipas' fortification and building and renovation are still not adequately understood, even after considerable work at the site. The city enjoyed autonomous rule under Antipas and served as the capital of Galilee, before he moved it to Tiberias. The role of Sepphoris during the Great Revolt against Rome was pro-Roman, with many of the residents exhibiting "pacific sentiments" (War, 2:30–31); coins minted there under Emperor Nero (66–67 C.E.) refer to the city as Eirenopolis or "City of Peace." After the revolt the city experienced great growth as a result of the many newcomers from the south, and it became the foremost city in Galilee. At the beginning of the reign of Antoninus Pius (138–61) the city became known as Diocaesarea in honor of Zeus and Casear, precisely the time when members of the Sixth Legion were stationed at nearby Leggio. What happened at Sepphoris or nearby during the Second Revolt is unclear. Sepphoris reached its zenith as a Jewish seat of learning and cultural center during the reign of Caracalla (198–217), when the Sanhedrin was moved there and Rabbi *Judah the ha-Nasi lived in the city. Under Rabbi Judah's leadership, the Mishnah was edited and published there and Sepphoris remained a major seat of learning throughout the rabbinic period. Though it suffered greatly from the earthquake of 363 C.E., it was rebuilt soon after and by the sixth century a bishop was head of a major Christian community there. By the Umayyad period the city was identified as Saffuriyya in written sources.

The first major archaeological work was undertaken at Sepphoris in 1931 under the direction of Leroy Waterman of the University of Michigan. His team identified the theater and what they believed to be a church on the western summit along with numerous domestic installations. Eric Meyers and James Strange surveyed the site in the 1970s with the view of excavating there. Meyers subsequently codirected the Duke-Hebrew University Excavations there with Ehud Netzer and Carol Meyers from 1985 to 1989 and Strange directing the South Florida Excavations during that time and into the 1990s. Meyers' new team was reorganized in 1993 after the Hebrew University team went independent under the leadership of Zev Weiss. Another project headed by Z. Tsuk focused on the water system and was sponsored by Tel Aviv University and the National Parks Authority. Sepphoris became "Zippori National Park" in 1992. Major restoration work and numerous historic buildings and structures have since been incorporated into the National Park, including the Citadel Museum, the Dionysos Mansion, the Nile Mosaic Building, and the Synagogue with the zodiac mosaic.

Major discoveries that have illuminated the history of the city include the following: the theater, probably dated to the period after 70 C.E.; a series of private domiciles on the western summit that include more the 20 ritual baths that date to the Roman period; a fort on the western summit dated to the late Hellenistic period; the great Dionysos Villa or Mansion with peristyle courtyard and a mosaic with scenes from the life of Dionysos with Greek labels, dated to the third century C.E.; the lower city with its two great streets intersecting, the east-west *decumanus* and north-south *cardo*, dating from the early Roman period and lasting until the Byzantine period, flanked by colonnaded sidewalks and a series of shops and small houses; a Byzantine church in the lower city; the Nile mosaic building with exquisite mosaics dating to the Byzantine period; the Byzantine-period synagogue with a zodiac mosaic; and the incredible water system with aqueducts, dated to the end of the first century C.E. and operational until the Byzantine era. Lying outside the city and in the moshav Ẓippori are a series of tombs that have been accidentally discovered through the years and the great Crusader Church of St. Anne, which lies within the compound of the Franciscan property to the west of the Citadel.

The recovery of the material culture of Sepphoris from the Hellenistic to the medieval periods has led to an unprecedented reevaluation of the role of the city in the history of the Land of Israel and of Galilee in particular. Its rich heritage of mosaic art and building styles places it squarely in the mainstream of Greco-Roman culture and suggests that its incredible importance as a city of Jewish learning was not unrelated to the fact that by the time of Rabbi Judah's presence there Jewish life was completely at home in the world of Hellenistic culture.

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[Eric M. Meyers (2nd ed.)]

SEPTUAGINT, the oldest Greek translation of the Bible. The designation Septuagint, from the Latin *septuaginta*, "seventy," is based on the legend contained in the apocryphal Letter of *Aristeas, according to which 72 elders of Israel, six from each tribe, translated the Law into Greek, in Alexandria, during the reign of *Ptolemy II Philadelphus (285–246 B.C.E.). On the basis of this legend it can be inferred that the Pentateuch was translated into Greek in Alexandria during the first half of the third century B.C.E.

The designation Septuagint was extended to the rest of the Bible and the noncanonical books that were translated into Greek during the following two centuries. For full details, see *Bible, Translations.

SEPÚLVEDA, town in central Spain, N.E. of Segovia. The Jewish community of Sepúlveda belonged to the bishopric of *Segovia and became prosperous in the 13th century. In a *fuero* ("charter") given by Fernando IV to the town of Sepúlveda in 1305, the Jews there were granted different urban privileges. These included the liberty of trading in the local market and the right to call witnesses from both sides in trials involving Jews and Christians. The Jews were also allowed to have a cemetery within the town boundaries, in exchange for a special tax on pepper. But it was stated in the town's *fuero* that a Christian woman who nursed a Jewish (or Moorish) child should be flogged and driven out of the town. Jews were forbidden to buy meat for three days following Passover, Shavuot, and Christmas, with the exception of goat meat. In 1494, two years after the edict of expulsion from Spain, one Pedro Laínez returned to Sepúlveda, converted to Christianity, and consequently had his property restored.

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[Haim Beinart]

SEQUEYRA, JOHN DE (1712–1795), early American physician. Sequeyra was born in London, scion of a Sephardi family noted for its physicians. He received his medical degree at the University of Leyden, Holland, in 1739 and migrated to Virginia about 1745, spending almost his entire life in Williamsburg. Appointed the first visiting physician to the insane asylum in that town (1773), Sequeyra later was elected to the hospital's court of directors. In 1773 he was called in to treat

Governor Botetourt in his fatal illness. Sequeyra first introduced into Virginia the custom of eating the tomato as a vegetable, formerly considered to be poisonous. He wrote a number of medical essays, including "Diseases in Virginia."

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[Robert Shosteck]

SERAIAH (Heb. שְׂרָיָהוּ, שְׂרָיָה; "YHWH is prince").

(1) Son of Neriah, son of Mahseiah. Seraiah was from a family of high officials who served under *Zedekiah, king of Judah (596–586 B.C.E.). This family apparently had pro-Babylonian sympathies, and Seraiah acted as Zedekiah's emissary to Babylon (Jer. 51:59). At the same time he also served as Jeremiah's emissary, which indicates that he supported the prophet as did *Baruch, who was apparently his brother. His official title was "quartermaster" (Heb. *sar menuḥah*, Jer. 51:59), although the Septuagint and Theodotion describes him as "officer in charge of gifts" (Heb. *sar minḥah* or *sar menaḥot*). If the latter versions are correct, Seraiah son of Neriah is to be identified with the chief priest Seraiah who was exiled to Babylonia (Jer. 52:24).

(2) The chief priest in Jerusalem at the time of the fall of the city (II Kings 25:18 = Jer. 52:24), who was put to death at Riblah by Nebuchadnezzar. He was an ancestor of Ezra (Ezra 7:1; I Esd. 8:1).

(3) A captain of the Judean forces who joined Gedaliah at Mizpah (II Kings 25:23; Jer. 40:8), in the assurance that he would be treated well by the latter.

(4) An officer of King Jehoiakim who was sent by the king to arrest Jeremiah and Baruch (Jer. 36:26). The name Seraiah appears as the name of a woman in a papyrus from Elephantine (Cowley, Aramaic, 22:4, p. 67).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: S. Yeivin, in: *Tarbiz*, 12 (1941), 260.

SERAPH (Heb. שָׂרָף, *saraf*), the term seraph, whose etymology is obscure, appears in the Bible in two distinct contexts. It appears in the singular and plural as the name of a species of serpent (Num. 21:6; Deut. 8:15; Isa. 14:29; 30:6). In Numbers 21 the Lord sends "seraph-snakes" to punish the complaining Israelites (when the people complain the Lord tells Moses to make a "seraph" and place it on a standard, to serve as a homeopathic apotropaic device, whereupon Moses makes a copper *serpent (snake, 21:9)). In Isaiah 14:29 and 30:6, the word *saraf* is qualified by the word *me'ofef*, "flying," so that it appears that the seraph-snake is a purely legendary species.

Seraphim in Isaiah 6:2, 6 must be distinguished from the foregoing. These are depicted as composite semidivine beings with three pairs of wings; they stand, fly, and proclaim God's ineffable holiness before the divine throne. As guardians of a throne they recall the *cherubim in Ezekiel 1, although unlike the latter they do not serve as a divine chariot. Winged figures flank the throne depicted on the sarcophagus of Hiram of Tyre, and have been found on incense altars and ivories. A basalt relief from Tell Ḥalaf shows a composite deity with three pairs of wings, holding a snake in each hand. This figure resembles the seraphim of Isaiah 6, although it might be an apotropaic like the seraph/copper serpent in Numbers 21 and archaeological sources. The apotropaic intercessor function typologically connects the first and second cases of its appearance.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: G.B. Gray, *Numbers* (ICC, 1912), 277; idem, *Isaiah 1–27* (ICC, 1912), 104ff.

[Michael Fishbane]

SERBIN, HYMAN (1914–1995), U.S. aerodynamicist. From 1937 he did research at the Institute for Advanced Studies at Princeton. He was chief aerodynamics engineer of the Fairchild Engine and Aircraft Corporation from 1940 to 1947, when he became professor of aeronautical engineering at Purdue University, Indiana. In 1955 he returned to industry, first as an assistant to the director of scientific research in the Convair division of General Dynamics Corporation and later with the Rand Corporation and Hughes Aircraft Company.

[Samuel Aaron Miller]

SERBU, IERONIM, originally **Aron-Hertz Erich** (1911–1972), Romanian author. Although Serbu published a collection of stories and sketches in 1940, he only attracted attention in 1955 with his novella *Nunta în stepă* ("Wedding on the Steppe"), on life in a Transnistria concentration camp. This was notable for its characterization and documentary value. In other works, such as *Podul amintirilor* ("Bridge of Memories", 1963, 1967^2), he dealt with Romania's postwar social metamorphosis.

SEREKH (Heb. סֶרֶךְ), word appearing in several places in the Talmud (Nid. 67b, passim), with the meaning "example," "habit," or "rule." It appears as almost a technical term in the *Qumran texts to denote the community's "rule" of life or some aspect of it, and is used practically as the title (or part of the title) of some of the community documents. Thus the Manual of *Discipline is "[the book of the ru]le of the community" (*[sefer ser]ekh ha-yaḥad*; 1QS 1:1), the rule of the congregation is "the rule for the whole congregation of Israel in the latter days" (*ha-serekh le-khol adat Yisrael be-aḥarit ha-yamim*; 1QSa 1:1), the *War Scroll is (probably) "[the book of the rule]of war" (*[sefer serekh]ha-milḥamah*). Both the noun and its cognate verb *sarakh* ("set in order") are particularly common in the War Scroll in the sense of military dispositions and the like. The officers are *anshei ha-serekh* (1QM 7:1; 13:1). The use of the term in other texts may be due to the members of the community regarding themselves as continually engaged in a holy war, against spiritual enemies if not against the mortal sons of darkness.

"This is the rule (*serekh*) for the men of the community" (1QS 5:1); "this is the rule (*serekh*) for all the hosts of the congregation" (1QSa 1:6); "this is the rule (*serekh*) for all the judges of the congregation" (CD 10:4); "this is the rule (*serekh*) for the session of the many" (1QS 6:8) – these are samples of the characteristic use of the word.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Y. Yadin, *Scroll of the War of the Sons of Light Against the Sons of Darkness* (1962), 148 ff. See also bibliography under *Discipline, Manual of; *War Scroll; *Yaḥad.

[Frederick Fyvie Bruce]

SERENI, ANGELO PIERO (1908–1967), Italian jurist. Born in Rome, Sereni became professor of international law at the universities of Ferrara and Bologna. After the promulgation of antisemitic legislation in 1938, he left Italy for the United States where he wrote his best known work, *The Italian Conception of International Law* (1943), which became a standard textbook. Sereni returned to Italy after World War II and resumed his chair at Ferrara.

He wrote extensively on international legal disputes and dedicated his major work, *Diritto Internazionale* (5 vols., 1956–65), to "the sacred memory of Angelo Sereni [Sereni's uncle], Teacher of Justice, and Enzo *Sereni, fallen for Freedom." A number of Sereni's important works touched upon matters of special Jewish interest. In "*La situazione giuridica di Gerusalemme*" (in *Foro Italiano*, 83 no. 11–12, 1950), he argued that Israel's sovereignty over West Jerusalem was indisputable since the United Nations resolutions to internationalize Jerusalem were only recommendations that had not been carried out and therefore did not negate Israel's jurisdiction. He also criticized a decision of the Italian Cassation Court in upholding the refusal of the Italian authorities to hand over a Nazi criminal for trial, maintaining that the decision was inconsistent with adherence to the Genocide Convention which recognizes genocide as a political crime.

[Alfredo Mordechai Rabello]

SERENI, ENZO ḤAYYIM (1905–1944), Italian pioneer in Palestine, labor leader, writer, and one of the *Haganah emissaries parachuted into Europe during World War II. Born in Rome, the descendant of the distinguished and assimilated *Sereni family, he "discovered" Zionism after attending the Thirteenth Zionist Congress in Carlsbad (1923). He was one of the first in Italy to promote settlement in Palestine as a social ideal. He was a socialist with religious aspirations, seeking spiritual perfection in the light of modern philosophy. After completing his university studies and being involved in a conflict with the authorities because of his anti-Fascist and pacifist activities, he settled in Palestine in 1927. He first worked in an orange grove in Reḥovot. Later he joined in founding kibbutz Givat *Brenner. He was also active in the *Histadrut, *Mapai, and Ha-Kibbutz ha-Me'uḥad movement. Sensing the approach of war, he went several times as an emissary to Germany and other European countries (1931–34) to train *ḥalutzim*. During the Arab riots in Palestine (1936–39), he stood out as a pacifist, and even in times of tension went unarmed to Arab villages. However, as soon as World War II broke out he joined the British Army, and edited newspapers and radio broadcasts in Italian. His military activities for the Allies in Iraq in 1941 were accompanied by clandestine Zionist educational work among Jewish youth, many of whom he transported across the desert to Palestine.

On his return to Palestine, Sereni devoted himself to the preparation of groups of parachutists to drop behind enemy lines to join partisans and help rescue Jewish survivors (see *Haganah). Despite strong opposition, he insisted on being dropped into that part of Italy which was still under Nazi control. For some unknown reason, he landed in the German lines. He was immediately captured and sent from camp to camp until he was finally shot in *Dachau on Nov. 18, 1944. In 1951 his book *Mekorot ha-Fashizm ha-Italki* ("Sources of Italian Fascism") was published. He also wrote *Arabs and Jews in Palestine* (1936) and *Ha-Aviv ha-Kadosh* ("The Holy Spring," 1947). Kibbutz Neẓer *Sereni was named after him, as was a cultural center in Givat Brenner.

His wife, ADA (b. 1905), shared most of his missions. In the process of searching for her husband, she became a central figure in the organization of "illegal" *immigration to Palestine through Italy. She succeeded in winning the cooperation of the postwar Italian authorities in the Jewish rescue operation in spite of strong British counterpressure. In the 1960s she organized and led the Associazione Italia-Israele in Rome. She subsequently settled in Jerusalem. Ada Sereni was awarded the Israel Prize in 1995. Her book *Sefinot le-lo Degel* ("Ships without a Flag," 1973) is about the "illegal" immigration to Palestine.

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[Calev Castel]

SERERO, family of Spanish scholars who settled in *Fez after the Expulsion, bringing their considerable library with them. There is no available information on the first generation of the Serero family in Morocco. Saul ben David *Serero (1575–1655) was the most prominent *ḥakham* of Fez in his day. He was a signatory to the *takkanot* of 1602. His interest in history resulted in a chronology of the events of his period, *Divrei ha-Yamim* ("Chronicles"), fragments of which are extant. He wrote *Perek ha-Shi'urim* and legal decisions which were published in *Zekhut Avot* (Pisa, 1812), *Urim ve-Tummim*, an index on the Shulḥan Arukh, and sermons and a commentary on Proverbs, and a volume of sermons which reveals him as an original thinker and well versed in contemporary philosophy. Serero's nephew, EMMANUEL BEN MENAHEM (c. 1610–1680), was appointed *dayyan* during his uncle's lifetime. He corresponded with R. Jacob *Sasportas. A number of his responsa were published in the works of Moroccan rabbis. His nephew, MENAHEM BEN DAVID (1628–1701), a fiery preacher, was rabbi in Fez. An outstanding halakhic authority, he was the recipient of numerous queries concerning the *takkanot of the megorashim* (expellees) and their customs.

His son JOSHUA (1670–c. 1740) was a scribe, preacher, and poet. He left a journal of reminiscences on the scribes of the *bet din* of his time, and a number of his *piyyutim* were published in the collection *Yismaḥ Yisrael* (1931) and in *Shir Yedidut* (1927). His son EMANUEL (c. 1705–1775), rabbi, poet, and author, wrote a collection of *piyyutim*, a number of which were published in Sephardi *maḥzorim*, and a commentary on the *Haggadah*.

MATTATHIAS BEN MENAHEM (1718–c. 1788), grandson of Joshua, was one of the five members of the Fez *bet din*. Some of his legal decisions were published in *Zekhut Avot* and in the works of Moroccan *ḥakhamim*. He was survived by seven learned sons: (1) MENAHEM (1744–1780), talmudist and *dayyan*, who wrote *Lekaḥ Tov* when he was only 17. (2) SAUL (1746–1807), rabbi in Fez, was a member of the *bet din* of R. Elijah ha-Sarfati. During the reign of al-Yazid he fled with him to Sefrou, serving as *dayyan* there. A number of his legal decisions were published in the responsa *Avnei Shayish* (1934–35) of Saul Joshua Abitbol. (3) JOSHUA (1748–1819), rabbi and *dayyan*, was a pietist and ascetic. Several of his legal decisions were published in the works of Moroccan rabbis. (4) ḤAYYIM DAVID (1750–1826), rabbi and *dayyan* who wrote novellae on the tractate *Pesaḥim*, letters and proverbs, and legal decisions, some of which were published in the works of Moroccan rabbis. (5) JUDAH (1755–1835), rabbi and *dayyan*, was a talmudist. (6) JACOB (1770–1851), rabbi and *dayyan*, was a pietist and kabbalist. A number of his legal decisions were published in *Shufrei de-Ya'akov* (1910) of R. Jacob Berdugo. (7) NAḤMAN, rabbi and pietist.

JONATHAN BEN HAYYIM DAVID (1775–1833), was *dayyan* in Fez. A poet, some of his poems are recited in Morocco. A number of his legal decisions were published in the works of Moroccan rabbis. His brother MATTATHIAS (1806–1891), who was known as *Mattityah ha-Kadosh* ("the holy Mattathias"), was a rabbi and *dayyan* in Fez. His son JUDAH BENJAMIN (1834–1926), rabbi and *dayyan*, was a research scholar, copyist, grammarian, and expert in the linguistic style of Ibn Ezra. Some of his legal decisions were published in the works of his contemporaries. JOSEPH BEN RAPHAEL JOSHUA ZION (1843–1902), *dayyan*, was a pietist and kabbalist. When the Arabs conducted a pogrom in the mellah of Fez in 1912, they burned a number of houses, including his synagogue and its famous library, which was totally destroyed, together with his writings and legal decisions. His brother MATTATHIAS (d.c. 1935) was appointed head of the *bet din* of Fez in 1929. His son ḤAYYIM DAVID (d.c. 1968) was appointed *dayyan* in Mogador, going from there to Fez, where he was *dayyan* until his death.

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[Haim Bentov]

SERERO, SAUL (1566–1655), Moroccan rabbi. Serero was born in *Fez, where his family had taken up residence after the expulsion of the Jews from *Spain in 1492. In 1602 he was appointed a member of the *ma'amad* of Fez, and in 1621 succeeded Samuel *Abendanan as head of the local *bet din*. He was also head of a yeshivah, where he had in his possession many manuscript works of the rabbis of Spain, inherited from his parents and grandparents. His reputation as a halakhist spread throughout Morocco, and one of the rabbis of Algiers in a responsum refers to him as "unique in his generation, his word was accepted everywhere as law; no contemporary rabbi could be compared to him."

Most of Serero's works have remained in manuscript, including a homiletical work, a commentary on Proverbs, and kabbalistic works. His most important work is *Urim ve-Tummim*, a veritable juridical encyclopedia in two parts, the first an alphabetical index of halakhic themes, the second a kind of biographical-bibliographical dictionary, and including a short treatise on weights and measures (*Perek ha-Shi'urim ve-ha-Middot*).

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[Haim Zafrani]

SERGHI (Marcoff), CELLA (1907–1992), Romanian novelist. Serghi's works, which often ran to several editions, include *Pănza de păianjen* ("The Spider's Web," 1938), *Cîntecul Uzinei* ("Song of the Plant," 1951), and *Fetele lui Barotă* ("Barota's Daughter," 1958). *Cartea Mironei* (1965, 1967^2), which deals with the wars and horrors of the years 1935–1945, contains a fine psychological study of a concentration camp survivor tormented by memories of his lost family.

SERI, DAN BENAYA (1935–), Hebrew writer. Seri was born in Jerusalem. He worked for many years as a civil servant for the Ministry of Agriculture. His first novel, *Ugiyot ha-Melaḥ shel Savta Sultana* ("Grandma Sultana's Salty Biscuits") appeared in 1980 (Italian translation 2004) and tells the story of a second marriage which is overshadowed by prejudices and omens, passions and heated dreams. Seri's prose depicts the world of Sephardi Jews in Jerusalem, drawing on folkloric sources. His second novel, *Mishael* (1993), set in a Bucharan-Jewish neighborhood in Jerusalem, recounts the mysterious pregnancy of middle-aged Mishael following the death of his barren wife. Old traditions and superstitions are interwoven in a prose-fabric full of fantasy and insight. Seri also published two collections of novellas. The first, *Ẓipporei Ẓel* ("Birds of Shade," 1987) includes the story "*Elef Neshotav shel Naftali Siman Tov*," which has been adapted to the screen. The second, *Dagim Metim Be-Yafo* ("Dead Fish in Jaffa," 2003) tells, amongst others, of Aharon Polombo, a widowed tailor, who travels from Izmir in Turkey to Jaffa and on to Jerusalem in order to deliver some letters to a mysterious woman. The bizarre and the groteseque characterize this novella as well as the second story in the volume, "*Se'udah Tunisait*." Individual stories have been translated into various languages, and further information is available at the ITHL website at www.ithl.org.il.

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[Anat Feinberg (2nd ed.)]

°**SERING, MAX** (1857–1939), German agricultural economist. Sering, who was born in Barby, taught in Bonn and, after 1889, in Berlin. He cooperated with Walter *Rathenau in organizing Germany's essential materials policy in World War I. In drafting the German *Siedlungsgesetz* (farmers' settlement law) of 1919, his views prevailed over those of Franz *Oppenheimer, whose emphasis was on agricultural producers' cooperatives. Having opposed racial discrimination in German agricultural legislation after 1933, Sering was vilified by the **Stuermer* on account of his part-Jewish ancestry. One of the relatively few active German resisters of the Nazis, he transferred his research institute's comprehensive library to the International Conference for Agrarian Science, thus protecting it from confiscation. A member of Pastor Niemoeller's Confessional Church, he stood by his Jewish former students.

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[Hanns G. Reissner]

SERKIN, PETER ADOLF (1947–), pianist. Serkin's rich musical heritage extends back several generations: his grandfather was violinist and composer Adolf Busch and his father was pianist Rudolf *Serkin. Peter Serkin was born in New York and studied with his father and with Lee Luvisi and Mieczyslaw Horszowski at the Curtis Institute of Music (1958–64). His other teachers included Karl Ulrich Schnabel and the flautist Marcel Moyse, who exerted vital musical influence on him. In 1959 Serkin made his Marlboro Music Festival and New York City debuts. From then his performances with symphony orchestras, recital appearances, chamber music collaborations, and recordings were acclaimed worldwide. Serkin was noted for his passion, keyboard virtuosity, and individualistic approach. He acquired a distinguished reputation in both traditional and contemporary scores, and from the early 1970s played rock, jazz, and improvisations. In 1973 he formed the Tashi group with the clarinetist Richard Stoltzman, violinist Ida Kavafian, and cellist Fred Sherry. After leaving the group in 1980, he renewed his appearances as recitalist and soloist. In 1983 he became the first pianist to win the prize for outstanding artistic achievement awarded by the Accademia Musicale Chigiana in Siena, and also joined the faculty of Mannes College. He later took up teaching posts at the Juilliard School and Curtis Institute of Music and taught regularly at the Tanglewood Music Center. Among the important world premieres he performed are Lieberson's First and Second Piano Concertos with the Boston Symphony Orchestra and works by Henze, Takemitsu, and Berio.

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[Naama Ramot (2nd ed.)]

SERKIN, RUDOLF (1903–1991), pianist. Born in Eger, Bohemia, Serkin made his first public appearance at the age of 12. He began his concert career in Berlin in 1920, and made his American debut in Washington in 1933 with the violinist Adolf Busch, whose daughter he married, and with whom he had already formed a famous duo in Europe. In 1939 he became head of the pianoforte faculty at the Curtis Institute, Philadelphia. Serkin toured Europe, the United States, and the Orient, and was recognized as one of the master performers of classical repertoire in his generation. His son Peter *Serkin (1947–) was also a concert pianist.

SERL BAS JACOB BEN WOLF KRANZ (18th century), author of *Tkhine imohos min Rosh Hodesh Elul* (*Tkhine* of the Matriarchs from the New Moon of Elul). Serl was the wife of the rabbi and apothecary Mordecai ha-Cohen Rappoport, head of the rabbinical court of Novy Oleksiniec and author of *Imrei Noam* (Oleksiniec: 1767 or 68). Since it is known that Rappoport was the son-in-law of the famed Maggid (Preacher) of Dubno, Jacob ben Wolf Kranz (1740?–1804), it seems likely that Serl's father, named on the title page of her *tkhine* as "the famous Rabbi, our teacher Jacob Segan Levi of Dubno," was the Maggid. The text of the first part of the *tkhine* also contains an authorial acrostic that reads: "Serl, daughter of the rabbi, the great luminary, his honor our teacher Rabbi Jacob."

Tkhine imohos min [or: *fun*] *Rosh Hodesh Elul* was published in several 18th century editions, in various recensions, and under slightly varying titles; among the earliest are Lvov, 1783/4, and Frankfurt-an-der-Oder, 1789/90 (under the title *Tefillas imohos*, an altered text but clearly a variant of the original). There are also numerous undated editions, and, as is usual for Eastern European *tkhines*, the bibliographical history is difficult to establish. The text contain four sections: a *tkhine* on the theme of repentance for sins to be recited every day of the month of Elul; a *tkhine* to be recited on Rosh Ha-Shanah when the Torah scrolls are taken from the ark and the Thirteen Attributes are recited; the "*tkhine* of the Matriarchs for the shofar"; and an addendum containing the prayers for *tashlikh* and *yizkor* with Yiddish translation and interpretation.

There are several notable aspects of this text. The first section of the *tkhine*, in addition to its alphabetical acrostic, alternates between short Hebrew sentences, some of them biblical verses, and paragraphs in Yiddish that expand on their themes, demonstrating Serl's knowledge of Hebrew. The material for the recitation of the Thirteen Attributes expands on the themes of the Torah and *haftarah* portions of Rosh Ha-Shanah. In addition, the Torah scrolls themselves are asked to advocate for the worshiper in her quest for forgiveness and long life, as well as on behalf of redemption for the people of Israel. Finally, and most distinctively, the "*tkhine* of the Matriarchs for the *shofar*" draws on biblical and midrashic themes to characterize the four biblical matriarchs. Moreover, each mother of Israel is requested to act as an intercessor for the worshiper in a manner appropriate to her own life. For example, Rebecca, who had to leave her parents at an early age, is asked to protect the life and health of the worshiper's parents.

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[Chava Weissler (2nd ed.)]

SERLING, ROD (1924–1975), U.S. writer and producer. Born Edward Rodman Serling in Syracuse, N.Y., he spent most of his childhood in Binghamton in upstate New York. After he graduated from high school in 1942, Serling enlisted with the U.S. Army's 11th Airborne Division paratroopers, serving three years in the South Pacific. In 1946, he studied at Antioch College in Ohio, where he was active in the college's radio station, writing, directing, and acting in several on-air productions. During his senior year at Antioch, Serling took second place in a CBS-sponsored script-writing contest. After graduating college in June 1950, Serling took a job as a script writer for WLW radio in Cincinnati, Ohio, and then one as a continuity writer for WKRC-TV. Before long Serling was selling freelance radio scripts, and in 1951 he sold a television script to *Lux Video Theatre*. By the beginning of 1955, he had sold 90 scripts to shows like *Kraft Television Theatre, Studio One,* and *General Electric Theater*, where his script for *Patterns* earned him an Emmy Award; NBC aired the production twice and United Artists adapted it for the screen. In April 1955, Serling signed a deal to write scripts for CBS, which featured the *Playhouse 90* premier *Requiem for a Heavyweight* (1956), which earned him a second Emmy. Disenchanted with censors, Serling conceived a novel way to address social issues: science fiction; he conceived and produced an anthology TV series he called *The Twilight Zone* (1959–64) that featured Serling as host. He wrote 90 of *Twilight Zone*'s 151 episodes, and the show would go on to land three more Emmys for Serling (Serling won more Emmys for writing drama in his lifetime than any other writer). On *The Twilight Zone*, Serling was able to address such issues as civil rights, the Holocaust, lynchings in the South, and the incipient Vietnam War. In 1965, Serling was elected to a two-year term as head of the National Academy of Television Arts and Sciences, the first writer to be so honored. After the end of the series, Serling wrote features, including *Seven Days in May,* and supplied the famous ending for *Planet of the Apes* (1968). In 1970 he co-created the horror anthology series *Night Gallery* (1969–73). He spent the remaining years of his life teaching writing at Ithaca College in New York. Serling, a heavy smoker, had a heart attack in May 1975. After undergoing open-heart surgery, he died one month later. In 2001, a remake of one of Serling's teleplays, *A Storm in Summer* (2000), won a Daytime Emmy for outstanding writing – Serling defeated the other contestants despite having been dead for more than 25 years.

[Adam Wills (2nd ed.)]

SERMONETA, JOSEPH BARUCH (1924–1992), historian. After a short stay in Palestine during World War II he pursued academic studies in humanities at the University of Rome. In 1953 Sermoneta settled in Jerusalem, where he directed the sections devoted to the history and philosophy of the Middle Ages and that of Italian literature in *Ha-Enẓiklopedyah ha-Ivrit* (1953–1963). He was the *Encyclopaedia Judaica* (first edition) departmental editor of Italian literature.

Appointed professor of Jewish Thought and of Italian–Jewish literature and languages (1962) at the Hebrew University, Sermoneta's main academic fields of interest were the close relationship between Christian scholastic philosophy and the writings of Jewish intellectuals such as R. Hillel Ben Samuel of Verona, Judah Romano, Jacob Anatoli, and Moses of Salerno between the 13th and the 15th centuries, and Italian Jewish vernacular language, including Italian-Jewish vernacular translations of the Bible and liturgical texts in the vernacular. In both fields Sermoneta's works were innovative and pathbreaking. He was co-editor with Robert Bonfil of *Italia*, dedicated to the history, literature and thought of Italian Jews.

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[Samuele Rocca (2nd ed.)]

SERMONS TO JEWS. While at all times zealous Christians sought the opportunity of personally propagating their faith among Jews, the first recorded instance of systematic conversionist sermons is apparently from France in the ninth century. Archbishop *Agobard of Lyons in his *Epistola de baptizandis Hebraeis*, written between 816 and 825, indicates that on his instructions the clergy of Lyons went every Saturday to preach in the synagogues, attendance on the part of the Jews presumably being compulsory. This was probably not a unique or localized happening. With the foundation of the *Dominican order (1216) the system was regularized. Conversionist sermons which the Jews had to attend are referred to in 1242 in a law of James I of Aragon, which received papal approval. After the Disputation of *Barcelona in 1263, the king himself actually delivered a conversionist harangue in the synagogue and later issued an order enjoining the Jews and Saracens to listen quietly to the addresses of the preaching friars who had come to convert them – though in 1268 he forbade the preachers to be escorted by more than ten persons. Pablo *Christiani (d. 1274), who was then a leading anti-Jewish propagandist, obtained permission to preach in the synagogues also from the king of France. It was however only in 1278 that the compulsory conversionist sermon received explicit papal authorization in the bull *Vineam soreth* of Pope *Nicholas III (and see papal *bulls); obedience to this was enjoined in England in the following year by Edward I. It was enforced only sporadically however, as for example in the intense anti-Jewish campaign conducted in Spain by the fiery Vicente *Ferrer in the early years of the 15th century. In Sicily, at that time under Aragonese rule, Fra Matteo di Girgenti was appointed *Lettore degli ebrei* ("Reader [i.e., Preacher] to the Jews") in 1428.

With the anti-Jewish reaction which accompanied the Counter-Reformation, the institution of conversionist sermons was placed on a new basis. In a bull, *Vices eius nos* of Sept. 1, 1577, Pope *Gregory XIII ordered the Jews of Rome and other places in the Papal States to send a certain quota of their number on specified occasions to one of the churches to hear a sermon which might open their eyes to the true faith. The same pope's bull, *Sancta mater ecclesia* of exactly seven years later, reverted to the subject and laid down more precise conditions. From then on, the institution was a regular abuse of Jewish life in the Papal States (including *Avignon and the *Comtat Venaissin in France) and in other parts of the Roman Catholic world as well. It was in Rome itself that the abuses were most extreme. Here 100 Jews and 50 Jewesses had to attend the designated church each week in order to listen to these addresses, generally delivered by an apostate from Judaism whose fee was paid by the Jewish community. Beadles armed with rods saw to it that they paid attention, and examined their ears to ensure that they were not plugged. Michel de Montaigne records that when he was in Rome in 1581 he heard a sermon delivered apparently by Andrea del Monte, who is known to have used language of such unmeasured violence that the Jews appealed to the papal Curia for protection. The sermons delivered in the Church of Santa Croce in Florence in 1583 by the apostate Vitale de' Medici (formerly Jehiel da Pesaro) were published. At Ferrara, a special entrance was made from the ghetto to the Church of St. Crispino, where the sermons were delivered, so that the Jews would not be subject to insult when they passed through the street.

In Venice, the authorities forbade the introduction of the conversionist sermon, but it was allowed in neighboring Padua. In 1630 the emperor Ferdinand II instituted conversionist sermons in Vienna, in the auditorium of the university, 200 Jews including at least 40 adolescents having to attend on each occasion. In Prague, the Jesuits initiated conversionist sermons in the same year. Though elsewhere there was some relaxation of the system in the 18th century (in Mantua, for example, where it was abolished in 1699), the institution of the conversionist sermon continued in the Papal States, both in Italy and in France, down to the period of the French Revolution. In Italy it was renewed after the fall of Napoleon and the restoration of papal rule, to be abolished by Pope Pius IX in 1846 during the liberal period at the beginning of his pontificate. The well-known poem by Robert *Browning, "Holy Cross Day," attempts to reflect the state of mind of the Jews on these occasions.

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[Cecil Roth]

SEROR, family of Algerian origin. R. SOLOMON (16th–17th century) was the author of the second part of *Ḥut ha-Meshullash* ("Triple Cord," in Responsa *Tashbaẓ*, Amsterdam, 1838). The brothers JOSEPH and TOBIAS, scholars and wealthy merchants, died in the epidemic which decimated the population of *Algiers in 1625. R. SOLOMON BEN TOBIAS (d. 1664) was chief rabbi of Algiers. R. RAPHAEL JEDIDIAH SOLOMON BEN JOSHUA BEN SOLOMON (1681–1737), the most important member of the family, was born in Algiers, where he was later chief rabbi. He was an expert on the history of the community of Algiers and wrote some highly esteemed religious poems. As a result of his herbal treatments, he became widely known as a skilled physician. His life was marked by misfortunes. He was overcome by sickness, lost several of his children, ruined himself in commercial transactions on land and sea, and finally died in poverty. Seror left many works, his responsa being published under the title *Peri Ẓaddik* ("Fruit of the Righteous," Leghorn, 1748). Among his disciples were R. Abraham Yafil, Joseph Seror, and R. Judah *Ayash, who wrote a poem in his honor and had it printed at the beginning of his work *Beit Yehudah* ("House of Judah"). R. JOSEPH (d. 1755) was a talmudic scholar and *dayyan* in Algiers. He left many responsa, which were published in *Divrei David* ("Words of David") of R. David Mendola of Leghorn and *Beit Yehudah* of R. Judah Ayash.

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[David Corcos]

SEROUSSI, ELÍAS (1896–1983), leader of the Jewish community in Uruguay. Born in Alexandria, Egypt, he immigrated with his family to Uruguay in 1926. He took part in the founding of the Comunidad Israelita Sefaradí (Jewish Sephardi Community) and was its president for many years from 1932. Elías Seroussi was also president of the umbrella organization of Uruguayan Jews, Comité Central Israelita, from 1941 to 1951. He was part of the leadership of B'nai B'rith, Círculo Social Sefaradí, and Comunidad Israelita del Uruguay. He immigrated to Israel in 1974.

His son RAFAEL SEROUSSI (born in Alexandria in 1923) was a Zionist leader in Uruguay and very active in public and social life in Israel. In Uruguay he was secretary of the founding commission of the Federación Juvenil Sionista (Zionist Youth Federation) established in 1944, and its second president (1946–47) and editor of its publication, *Aliá*. Rafael Seroussi immigrated to Israel in July 1948 and fought in the War of Independence. A chemist by profession, he participated in missions of PATWA (Professional and Technical Workers' Aliyah) to promote *aliyah* among professionals in Latin America (1953–55). He was secretary of the Organización de Latinoamericanos en Israel (Organization of Latin Americans *Olim* in Israel) for 15 years and served as its president from 1973 to 1975. Rafael Seroussi was very active in organizations of mutual relations with Latin America, such as the Israel–Costa Rica Friendship League and the Israel–Latin America Chamber of Commerce.

[Efraim Zadoff (2nd ed.)]

SEROV, VALENTIN (1856–1911), Russian painter. Born in Moscow, the son of the composer Alexandre Serov and a Jewish mother, Serov was virtually adopted as a child by the great art patron Sava Mamontov after the death of his father. At Mamontov's Abramtsevo art colony he met the leading artists of the day, including Repin and Mark *Antokolski. He was then sent to study at the St. Petersburg Academy (1880–1885), where a fellow-pupil, Mikhail Vrubel, became a close friend; in turn Serov introduced Vrubel to Mamontov, who encouraged young artists to design for his theater. At the Academy, Serov also befriended the young Léon *Bakst, encouraging his interest in stage design. Serov also became a colleague of Diaghilev and Alexander Benois, and one of the original members of the "World of Art" movement, from which emerged the Ballets Russes. He was a major influence on Diaghilev's "World of Art" movement, which heralded almost all important modern tendencies in Russian art and theater. After a period in Italy, Serov returned to Russia to establish himself as one of the leading Russian artists, painting most of the leading personalities of his time, and in 1897 was appointed official portrait-painter to the czar. His drawing of Pavlova was used for the first poster of the Ballets Russes in 1909; for the season he designed the decor for his father's opera *Judith* presented by Diaghilev in Paris, with costumes by Bakst, and in 1911 he painted a curtain for the ballet *Schéhérazade,* designed by his friend Bakst. Serov's work is mainly in the Russian Museum, Leningrad, and the Tretyakov Gallery, Moscow, including portraits of Mamontov, Ida *Rubinstein, the Jewish painter Isaac *Levitan, and his masterpiece *The Girl With Peaches* (1888), a study of Mamontov's daughter Vera.

[Charles Samuel Spencer]

SERRA, RICHARD (1939–), U.S. sculptor and draftsman. San Francisco-born Serra studied from 1957 to 1961 at the University of California at Berkeley and at Santa Barbara, after which he received a B.S. in English literature. At Yale University (1961–64), where he worked with Josef Albers, Serra earned a B.A., M.A., and M.F.A. His art of the late 1960s emphasized temporality, process, and site specificity, the latter of which has been a continuing value in Serra's art. For *Splashing* (1968), for example, Serra threw molten lead into the angle where the floor and wall meet in a room. The hardened, splattered result recalls paintings by Jackson Pollock, but unlike Pollock's canvases, Serra's work is ephemeral. During this time Serra also experimented with various industrial materials, such as rubber and fiberglass, in non-narrative works designed for interior spaces. Through the late 1960s, Serra explored the effects of gravity on heavy, temporarily installed, abstract sculpture, and on the viewer's confrontation with the weighty, unsecured piece. Two hundred tons of metal, stacked 20-feet high, loomed perilously over the viewer surveying *Stacked Steel Slabs* (*Skullcracker Series*) (1969, Fontana, California, destroyed). In the early 1970s, Serra began making canvas drawings of his sculptures after they had been conceived.

Several sculptures from the early 1980s are enormous, minimalist and geometric in form, and at times controversial. The public sculpture *Tilted Arc* (1981) was made on commission from the United States General Services Administration for New York City's Federal Plaza. Many viewed the 12-foot-tall, 120-foot-long curved, tilted plate of Cor-ten steel as threatening in conception, divisive of pedestrian space, and constrictive of the Plaza's view. After a federal court case during which Serra argued that moving the sculpture would be a violation of his contract and would destroy the site-specificity of the piece, the sculpture was removed in 1989.

From the 1980s Serra worked on several sculptures related to Holocaust remembrance. Installed next to the Berlin Philharmonic, *Berlin Junction* (1987) memorializes those who lost their lives at the hands of the Nazis. *Gravity* (1993), a 10-inch-thick, 10-foot-square standing slab of Cor-ten steel, was made on commission for the Hall of Witnesses at the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum.

In 1987 Serra installed an outdoor sculpture at the Israel Museum in Jerusalem. Serra was honored with his first American retrospective at the Museum of Modern Art in 1986.

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[Samantha Baskind (2nd ed.)]

SERRAI (**Serres**), town in Macedonia, Greece, E.N.E. of *Salonika. There was a Jewish community in Serrai in Byzantine times. There are scant references to Jews in Serres in the 12th and 14th centuries. After the Ottoman conquest of *Istanbul in 1453, Jews were forcefully transferred to the capital in the framework of the *sorgun,* and there they formed Kahal Serron. Jews settled in Serres after the expulsions from Spain (1391), from Bavaria (1470) and from Spain (1492). Italian Jews were also found in Serrai in the 15th century. Expulsees from Spain and Portugal came to Serres in the 16th century. Also former Portuguese *anusim* (Marranos) who had previously settled in Salonika relocated to Serrai for its lucrative commercial opportunities. The Judeo-Greek speaking Romaniots ruled the community at the beginning of the 16th century, but by the end of the century their presence was no longer felt. In the 16th century both a Sephardi and an Ashkenazi synagogue were in existence. The Jews lived in a special quarter in the old city. The community was strengthened in the 16th century by the presence of Rabbi Joseph Taitazak, and afterward by the elder Rabbi Joseph Firman and his son, Rabbi Solomon ha-Serroni. When Firman left in the 1560s to serve in Salonika and elsewhere in the Greek Peninsula, Serrai deteriorated as a Torah center. In the 18th and 19th centuries, several noted rabbinical scholars lived in the town, among them: Ḥayyim Abraham Strumza, the author of *Beit Avraham* and *Yerekh Avraham*; Ḥayyim Abraham b. David, author of *Tiferet Adam*; Mordecai Aseo, author of *Higgid Mordekhai*; and Nissim Muṣeiri, author of *Be'er Mayim Ḥayyim*. During the time of Rabbi Strumza (late 18th–early 19th century), the old synagogue was destroyed and replaced by a newly built synagogue called *Kahal Gadol,* with rooms for a yeshiva, library, and guests. The ground floor contained a small Talmud Torah, and the sanctuary had 2,000 seats for those that came to pray, including an *Ezrat Nashim*, a woman's section. On Yom Kippur during the Kol Nidre evening service, there was a tradition of an *azkara*, a memorial service, for all the communal leaders and rabbis since the 16th century. This tradition continued until the Bulgarians set the city ablaze in 1912.

Ereẓ Israel emissaries, like Rabbi Moshe Halevi (Harma"l) Nazir and Yosef Cohen, visited the Serrai Jewish community from 1668 to 1684. Local Jews from Serrai also went to Ereẓ Israel on pilgrimages. The messianic activities of David *Reuveni and Solomon *Molcho aroused much fervor in Serres. The members of the rabbinic Taitazak family supported the messianic movement and the study and dissemination of Kabbalah. Until the last third of the 19th century, the Hamon, Ovadia, and other families continued local traditions of forming special societies for encouraging the study of Kabbalah.

The Jews of Serrai dealt mostly in wholesale and retail trade: in tobacco, cotton, opium, wheat, barley, and manufactured goods. There were also artisans among them, such as blacksmiths and cobblers. In the 19th century, the Jews dealt mostly in banking and commerce.

The Jews who had moved to the suburbs of the city founded their own synagogue, called Midrash. This caused communal dissension, and Rabbi Raphael Asher Kovo of Salonika in 1873 decided that on the Sabbath and holidays the Jews could only pray at the old synagogue. Violence eventually erupted, and Joseph Salmona was murdered. Echoes of communal division remained for many years.

Until the mid-19th century, the youth of the community learned in a primitive traditional *meldar* (ḥeder). In 1866 a modern Talmud Torah was formed and French was taught. In 1873 a new school was established where Hebrew, Turkish, and French were taught, and Yaakov Azaria of Salonika came from Salonika to be principal. In the early 1880s the school had to close due to financial constraints. In 1895, with help from the Alliance Israélite Universelle and Baron Hirsch, a school was established. Mercado Kovo was the principal from 1895–1901. In 1901 a mixed (coed) Alliance Israélite Universelle school was established with 150 students (103 boys and 47 girls). In 1909–1910 a new modern school that cost 40,000 Francs was built, but it burned down in 1913.

At the end of the 19th century, with the advent of modern education, several educated Jewish personalities emerged in Serrai. The last chief rabbi of Serrai was Samuel Raphael ben Haviv (1813–1887), author of *Amar Shmuel*. He was an important *posek* (halakhic decisor), orator, and poet. Another rabbi, Avraham Strumza, died in 1889. After his death, the community deteriorated spiritually.

At the end of the 19th century, the economic situation took a turn for the worse. The Salonikan-Istanbul railroad did not stop at Serrai, and the city was not on the principal trade routes as it once had been. Jews began migrating to Salonika, Kavalla, Zanthi, and Drama, and the community became poor. At the beginning of the 20th century, the Jewish community consisted of 30–40 affluent families of bankers, merchants, moneylenders, and insurance agents; 100 middle-class families which engaged primarily in petty trade; and 50 poor families which were dependent on financial assistance from the affluent.

During the Balkan Wars (1912–13), the Jewish population numbered approximately 1,300; when the Bulgarian army invaded the town, it burned down the main synagogue, the Jewish school, and 115 of 140 houses. The Jews themselves were saved only upon the intervention of Jews serving with the Bulgarian forces. Some of the Jews took refuge in Bulgaria, while others moved to *Drama and *Kavalla. When the Greeks reoccupied the town after the summer of 1913, the Jewish community was reorganized. The Greeks ruled until early 1916, and were replaced by the Bulgarians for two years.

The Balkan Wars and World War I led to the deterioration of the Jewish community of Serrai, and many of the Jews migrated to other parts of Greece, like Salonika, Drama, and Cavalla, and to Bulgaria. Most of the Jews who left Serrai did not return to the city, but Jewish refugees migrated there from elsewhere. The Jewish community slowly recovered and rebuilt itself. Some of the Jewish houses destroyed by the Bulgarians were rebuilt with the financial assistance of the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee. Most of the local Jews found employment in the workshops of the Austro-Greek Tobacco Company, whose vice president was a local Jew, Joseph Faraggi.

In 1929 there were 90 Jewish families in the city. In 1932 the community numbered 800, with half coming from Salonika, Drama, and Xanthi to work in the tobacco industry. The Jews suffered greatly from the economic depression in the early 1930s. A new Jewish school was built, and by 1932 it had 200 students, 40 of whom were not Jewish, but Greek-Orthodox. With the arrival from Asia Minor of Greek-Orthodox refugees from 1922 onward, relations between the Jews and the Greek-Orthodox deteriorated.

In 1940, the community had a membership of 600. The Bulgarians pressured the Jewish community to collaborate with them against the Greeks, and wanted the Jews to sign statements attesting to the advantages of Bulgarian rule and its preference over Greek rule, but the Jews refused. In February 1942, the Bulgarians issued anti-Jewish regulations forbidding

Jews to work in commerce, and compelling Jews to designate their homes and businesses as Jewish-owned. In 1942, Jews began fleeing the city. In March 1943, around 475 Jews were deported by the Bulgarians for the Nazis to Treblinka via the Gorn Djumaya internment camp in Bulgaria. Bulgarians and Greek-Orthodox collaborators occupied the Jewish homes, stores, and workshops. Valuables were sent away on trains, and the rest of the personal property of the Jews was sold in a public auction. All those deported were gassed in Treblinka. Only three Jews were left in 1948. There were no Jews in Serrai in the 1960s. The Jewish school was used as a Greek school, and Jewish tombs can be found in the old Jewish cemetery or in the municipal museum.

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[Simon Marcus / Yitzchak Kerem (2nd ed.)]

SERRES, village in the Hautes-Alpes department, S.E. France. The presence of Jews was confirmed there, as in the neighboring localities of Dauphiné (such as Aspres-sur-Buëch and Veynes), from at least 1315. The rapid growth of the community can be surmised from the increase in the taxes it paid: 100 gold sous in 1321, six livres in 1322, and 80 livres in 1324. Although 93 Jews of Veynes lost their lives in the *Black Death persecutions in 1348, those of Serres do not appear to have been molested. The epitaph of a certain R. Joseph, son of R. Nathan, was found to the west of the village, on a site where the ancient land registers place the Jewish cemetery. Jews were last mentioned in Serres toward the close of the 15th century.

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[Bernhard Blumenkranz]

SERUSI, family of diplomats in Tripolitania (*Libya) in the 17th, 18th, and 19th centuries. In 1683 NISSIM negotiated between Tripolitania and France. In the second half of the 18th century MOSES was an agent and an interpreter for the French. ABRAHAM (I) was given temporary charge of the French consulate in Tripoli during *Napoleon's invasion of *Egypt in 1799 and later efficiently served Yusuf Pasha, the bey of *Tripoli. The Serusi family were also leaders of the Jewish community. ABRAHAM (II) and ḤAI were among the signatories of the tax requirement for producers of a certain type of silk in 1848. DAVID was vice consul of *Italy in *Mogador in about 1900.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Hirschberg, Afrikah, 2 (1966), 194–9.

SERUYA, Moroccan family. The first known member was R. ISAAC ṢERUYA, a signatory in 1494 to the first *takkanah* of the Spanish expellees in *Fez. The Ṣeruyas, who engaged in maritime trade, were established in *Sale-Rabat. When the sultan Moulay Yazīd seized power in 1790 and persecuted the Jews, they settled in Gibraltar. SOLOMON was a wealthy merchant as well as a pious scholar who contributed to the publication of Hebrew works, including R. Pethahiah Berdugo's *Rosh Mashbir*; it was published in Leghorn in 1840 by Samuel *Levy-Yuly, a former *dayyan* of Gibraltar. JACOB, a wealthy merchant, established himself in Rabat in 1839, where he was appointed consular agent of Great Britain, Spain, the United States, and Portugal. He returned to Gibraltar in 1847 after he had some disputes with the Moroccan government. SOLOMON (1926–), was Gibraltar's minister of ports and tourism (1959–64) and minister of economic development (1965–69).

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[David Corcos]

SERVANT OF THE LORD (Heb. עֶבֶד ה'), the technical term used to designate the Servant mentioned explicitly or implicitly by Deutero-*Isaiah. In 1892 B. Duhm first published his commentary on Isaiah in which he separated four Servant songs from the rest of Deutero-Isaiah and contended that they were not the work of that prophet. From that time both Jewish and Christian exegetes have proposed many candidates to bear the title of the "Servant of the Lord." These interpretations may be divided into two basic categories: collective and individual. Collective interpretations have included collective Israel, ideal Israel, empirical Israel, pious remnant of Israel, prophets, priests, or a selective combination of the above. Individuals who have been suggested to have been the actual Servant or to have served as the prototype for the depiction of the Servant have ranged from Deutero-Isaiah, Trito-Isaiah, and Cyrus to Hezekiah, Jehoiachin, Josiah, Uzziah, Meshullam, Ezekiel, Sheshbazzar, Eleazar, Moses, Job, or an anonymous contemporary of Deutero-Isaiah. Most of these suggestions have no followers today. Other theories have suggested that the personality is corporate, messianic, or mythological. Christian tradition identified the Suffering Servant with Jesus. The pericopes of the Servant songs themselves, first identified as Isaiah 42:1–4; 49:1–6; 50:4–9; 52:13–53:12, are also subject to scholarly question, with many commentators adding verses to the first two sections and others including additional passages from Deutero-Isaiah as parts of songs. Particularly subject to debate are the questions whether the portrait of Servant is consistent throughout, whether or not the Servant described in chapter 53 died, and what was the actual mission or missions of the Servant.

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[Shalom M. Paul]

SERVI, FLAMINIO (**Ephraim**; 1841–1904), Italian rabbi and publicist. Servi, born in Pitigliano, studied at the Collegio Rabbinico and the University of Padua, serving as rabbi in the northwestern communities of Monticelli, Mondovi, and from 1872 Casale Monferrato. In 1874 he founded the monthly *Il Vessilo Israelitico* as a successor to *Educatore Israelitica*; his son FERRUCCIO continued to edit it after his death until 1922. Servi favored the assimilation of Jews into Italian culture and society while remaining loyal to Jewish faith and observance. He was active in promoting a unified organization for Italian Jewry and in relief for the persecuted Jews of East Europe and North Africa. In addition to numerous articles in the Italian Jewish press dealing with the history of Italian Jewish communities and other subjects, he published *Gli Israeliti d'Europa nella civiltá* (1871).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Milano, Bibliotheca, nos. 1417–30; Milano, Italia, 374; *Vessillo Israelitico*, 52 (1904), 49–58.

[Daniel Carpi]

SERVI CAMERAE REGIS (Lat. "servants of the royal chamber"), definition of the status of the Jews in Christian Europe in the Middle Ages, first used in the 13th century. The *Kammerknechtschaft*, as it was termed in German, was explained in the Holy Roman Empire (in effect Germany) as a consequence of the enslavement of the Jewish people to the Roman emperors Vespasian and Titus after their defeat in the war of 66–70 C.E.; other rulers inevitably claimed the same right. In fact, however, the term implied not only an inferiority of status but also royal and imperial protection. The status of the Jews was above that of the serfs, and theoretically they were subject only to royal authority. The ruler had the right to tax them for the benefit of his treasury (*camera regis*), but at the same time he had a duty to protect them when they were in danger from others. The so-called "Laws of Edward the Confessor" (England, 12th century) defined the status implied in the phrase in the clearest terms:

> All Jews, wherever in the realm they are, must be under the king's liege protection and guardianship, nor can any of them put himself under the protection of any powerful person without the king's license, because the Jews themselves and all their chattels are the king's. If, therefore, anyone detain them or their money, the king may claim them, if he so desire and if he is able, as his own.

The phrase *servi camerae regis* was not used after the Middle Ages, but the conception powerfully affected the status of the Jews down to modern times.

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[Cecil Roth]

SERVITUDES (Heb. שִׁעְבּוּדִים, *shi'budim*). Generally a person is prohibited from using his land in such manner as to cause an interference with his neighbor's quiet use or enjoyment of his own land. A man may therefore restrain his neighbor from such use and compel him to remove the cause of the disturbance. However, this right is not always available and the use of land in certain ways – even if disturbing to the neighbor – must sometimes be suffered by him (see *Nuisance). A person may agree with his neighbor to refrain from a particular use of his land, injurious to the latter, even if permitted by law; or to use his land in a manner injurious to his neighbor, even if such use is not permitted by law. In such event a proprietary right over the land is respectively granted to and extracted from the adjoining landowners. This right, called a *shi'bud* in the codes, is comparable to an "easement" in English law and serves to encumber land in favor of an adjacent owner, without the land being in the latter's possession.

Halakhic sources mention two categories of servitudes of this nature:

(1) use of land, which, without involving the use or employment of neighboring land, causes injury to the neighbor, such as the emanation of noise, smoke, noxious odors, moisture, and so on, to the adjacent land, or when the latter is made to vibrate, or when the crops thereon are damaged;

(2) an act which involves an encroachment on and the use or enjoyment of neighboring land, such as erecting projecting brackets on which chattels can be hung, affixing beams onto a neighboring wall, diverting the flow of rainwater onto a neighboring courtyard, or placing a ladder on neighboring premises in order to reach one's own roof (*Sma*, ḤM 153:16 and *Netivot ha-Mishpat, Mishpat ha-Kohanim, ibid.*). These servitudes are distinct in two ways; firstly the encumbered land is not in the possession of the rightholder, and secondly, they may be exploited only by the use of the adjoining land. Hence it may be said that the servitude is one of land to neighboring land. The right may be acquired for a specific period or for good.

The term *Shi'budim* also has a wider meaning including all rights in the property of another (*jura in re aliena*). These include rights which are not specifically tied to the use of or encroachment on neighboring land and which may extend to both movable and immovable property, whether or not the rightholder is in possession of the encumbered property. Such *Shi'budim* are rights to use and enjoyment of the property itself and are a kind of limited form of ownership in the encumbered property, being a kind of *kinyan perot* and not a servitude only (usufruct; see *Ownership). These property rights are governed by laws which are entirely different from those applicable to the above-mentioned servitudes (easements). Instances thereof are: the acquisition of "a tree for its fruit, a dwelling for its occupation, sheep for its wool, a dovecote for the doves that will hatch therein, a hive for the honey that will accumulate there, an animal for its young, a slave for his handwork" (Maim. Yad, Mekhirah, 22:14; 23:2). These rights are a form of *kinyan perot* (usufruct), i.e., acquisition of the right to enjoy the use of the property itself (Maim., *ibid.*, 23:1). After *kinyan perot*, the most important servitude of this class is the right of way over the servient land (BB 99b), whether a private path or public road. It is considered a propriety right in the land and not an encumbrance (see Resp. Rashba, cited in

Beit Yosef; ḤM 153, no. 8; cf. his Nov. BB 23a, 28b). The Talmud discusses the applicable laws in detail – including such matters as the measure of the width of private and public roads, the respective rights of the parties, the modes of acquisition, and the circumstances in which the landowner may change the route of a public road passing over his field.

Easements are acquired in the same way as other legal rights, i.e., by an act of *kinyan* (see Modes of *Acquisition). In the opinion of the *geonim* and the scholars of Spain (Nov. Ramban, BB 59a; ḤM 155:35), they may also be acquired in a tacit manner, by the adverse use of the servient land without protest from its owner, who is aware of such use; but other proprietary rights mentioned above can be acquired in express manner only, like the acquisition of ownership (Nov. Rashba, BB 23a, 28b). The scholars of France differ, holding that all servitudes must be expressly acquired (*Maggid Mishneh*, to Yad, Shekhenim, 11:4; Tur, ḤM 154). Consequently, a servitude exercised for three years, accompanied by the holder's plea that it was acquired from the neighbor, is evidence of title, as in the case of a plea of ownership to land. Other scholars are of the opinion that a servitude may be acquired by exercise of the right for a period of three years, without the need for any such plea (Tos. to BB 23a; s.v. והא; see also *Ḥazakah*). All the scholars agree that easements of a particularly onerous nature are not customarily agreed to in a tacit manner and therefore have to be expressly acquired by purchase or gift with an accompanying *kinyan*. Instances thereof are the encroachment of smoke, noxious odors, etc. onto neighboring land, even if existing for a number of years (Sh. Ar., ḤM 155:36). Some scholars are of the opinion that such servitudes, even when expressly consented to and assigned by way of sale or gift, cannot be validly acquired, and the assigner may withdraw his consent on a plea of mistaken *kinyan*, i.e., the mistaken belief that he would be able to bear the relevant harm (Tos. to BB 23a). Many of the *posekim* are of the opinion that insufferable harm in this context includes any interference with the neighbor's person, but not mere interference with his use of his property (Nov. Ramban, *ibid.* 59a). Easements are terminated in the same manner in which they are created. Thus the obligation may be extinguished if the servient owner repurchases the servitude, or if the dominant owner has ceased to exploit the servitude in a manner indicating his abandonment and waiver of its use, when it cannot be revived by renewed use (Resp. Rashba, vol. 1, no. 1133).

In the State of Israel, servitudes are governed by an original Israel law, the Land Law, 1969, which recognizes all kinds of *jura in re aliena*. Most of them can be acquired, in addition to the usual modes of acquisition, also by prescriptive use followed by registration in the Land Registry.

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[Shalom Albeck]

°SESSA, KARL BORROMAEUS ALEXANDER (1786–1813), Breslau physician and antisemitic author. His first dramatic effort, *Unser Verkehr*, a crude farce ridiculing post-emancipation Jewry, achieved instant and widespread success.

The play was first presented in 1813 and published in 1815 (Breslau). It portrays a shabby young Jewish peddler who entertains ambitions of developing his artistic talents and thus make his way into society. Through an error he finds brief acceptance by a ludicrous nouveau riche Jewish banking family. The play was widely performed in rural southern Germany (it was banned in Austria, Saxony, and Berlin) and inspired numerous imitations. Both the original work and its imitators expressed the resentment and opposition of the population to the emancipation and to the new breed of Jewish "upstarts," which was also the excuse for the *Hep! Hep! disturbances in 1819.

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SESSO, SALAMONE DA (c. 1465), Italian armorer, born at Sesso, northern Italy. He was baptized on entering the service of Ercole d'Este, duke of Ferrara, with whom he remained, and was thenceforth known as Ercole "dei Fideli." Da Sesso also worked for the marquess of Mantua and Pope Julius II. He specialized in the manufacture of elaborate swords and daggers adorned with pagan scenes, classical symbols, and nude figures. His most famous weapon was executed for Cesare Borgia and is known as the "Queen of Swords."

SETER, MORDECAI (**Marc Starominsky**; 1916–1994), Israeli composer. Seter was born in Novorossiysk (Russia) and immigrated to Ereẓ Israel in 1926. In 1932, he studied in Paris with Paul Dukas and Nadia Boulanger and graduated in 1937 from the Ecole Normale de Musique, returning to Ereẓ Israel the same year. In Tel Aviv he taught harmony, form, and counterpoint over the following five decades. In 1951, he joined the faculty of the Israel Conservatory (later renamed the Rubin Academy), Tel Aviv. In 1972 he became a full professor at Tel Aviv University and taught there until his retirement in 1985.

In 1937, composer Joachim *Stutschewsky lent him a volume of *Idelsohn's *Thesaurus* (*Hebräisch-orientalischer Melodienschatz* (Sephardi Jewish tunes), which inspired him and became a source of melodies for his first acclaimed composition *Sabbath Cantata* (choir and orchestra, 1940). Idelsohn's book and his own research into traditional Middle Eastern Jewish tunes, forming his collection *Niggunim,* served as a springboard to Seter's first period of composition in the 1940s, including *Motets* (1940) and *Festive Songs* (1943–49).

Seter's second period, in the 1950s, focused on chamber music. His *Ricercar* (for violin, viola, cello, and string orchestra; string quartet version, 1953–56, both a triple fugue and a variation form) won the International Rostrum of Composers Prize (UNESCO, Paris, 1961). *Ricercar* was also staged as a ballet by the Batsheva Dance Company, the American Ballet Theatre, and the Ballet Rambert. In his third period, which began in the late 1950s, Seter turned to orchestral music. His first orchestral works were *Sinfonietta* (1957) and *Variations* (1960, Israel Philharmonic Orchestra commission).

His signature work, *Midnight Vigil* (1957–61), was written first as a small ballet, commissioned by choreographer Sarah *Levi-Tanai for her Inbal Dance Theater. It was based partly on Yemenite tunes portraying a kabbalistic vision of redemption in Zion. Its fourth version, a 31-minute radiophonic oratorio, won him (with the librettist Mordechai Tabib) the Prix Italia; and the fifth and final version, a 43-minute oratorio for soloist, three choirs and orchestra, brought him the Israel Prize. All versions of *Tikkun Ḥaẓot*, as most of Seter's orchestral works, were premiered by conductor Gary *Bertini, who was one of Seter's composition pupils in the late 1940s. In the early 1960s, American choreographer Martha Graham commissioned Seter to write two ballets: *Judith* and *Part Real Part Dream* (*Fantasia Concertante*). A third ballet, *Jephtah's Daughter,* was commissioned for the Batsheva Dance Company. His last major symphonic-choral work was *Jerusalem* (1966).

Following the national and international successes of the 1960s, Seter surprisingly began refusing any more commissions, reduced his contact with performers, rejected institutional positions and began to write introverted and original chamber music, both in terms of style and technique. From 1970 until his last work in 1987, he wrote approximately half of his oeuvre – mostly unknown works today: 46 paradigmatic late-style compositions, roughly half for the piano and half for small chamber ensembles. Most of these works are based on his own modes (comparable to both Stravinsky's series for his late works and Messiaen's modes), ranging over 12–25 diatonic notes for each mode. His modes create unity and coherence in terms of melody, counterpoint, and harmony, but his notation, rhythms, and forms remain rather conservative. Among his late works are the set *Chamber Music 1970* (including *Intimo, Epigrams, Automn, Requiem*), *Concertante* (piano quartet no. 1, 1973–81), *Events* (1974), and four string quartets (1975–1977). Notable among his works of the 1980s are his *Piano Quartet No. 2* (1982), *Violin and Piano* (1985), and his piano works *Sonata* (1982), *Dialogues* (1983), *Opposites Unified* (1984), and *Presence* (1986), all premiered by Ora Rotem, who recorded two CDs of his piano works of the 1980s, issued before the composer's death.

Seter was perceived as a composer with a highly individual style. He considered renaissance and baroque forms, such as the toccata, motet, cantata, chaconne, and passacaglia, as optimal for the coveted East-West synthesis, believing that these forms could potentially be compatible with the Oriental concept of music. His techniques and style attracted composers to study his work, especially his peers Partos and Boskovich as well as composers of the second generation (*Sheriff, *Orgad, and *Braun). His special status among the founders of Israeli music was symbolically cemented during the Israel Philharmonic Orchestra's millennium concert, programming Seter's *Midnight Vigil* along with Bach's B Minor Mass and Beethoven's Ninth.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: NG and Grove Music Online; P. Landau, *Mordecai Seter* (1995), a 24-page booklet, including a short biography, work list, bibliography, and discography; R. Fleisher, *Twenty Israeli Composers* (1997), 108–19; R. Seter, "Yuvalim be-Israel: Nationalism in Jewish-Israeli Art Music, 1940–2000" (Ph.D. dissertation, Cornell University, 2004), 249–339.

[Ronit Seter (2nd ed.)]

SETH (Heb. שֵׁת), antediluvian patriarch, son of Adam and Eve. The Bible has preserved two different traditions regarding Seth. In one Seth is the third son of Adam and Eve, born to them after the murder of Abel (Gen. 4:25 (J)). His name is said to derive from the fact that God "provided" (*shat*) another son to replace Abel. In the genealogy of Adam, however, Cain and Abel are not mentioned, the implication being according to some exegetes that Seth was Adam's first son (5:3 (P); cf. I Chron. 1:1). This source also furnishes the information that Seth lived to the age of 912 years and that his eldest son was Enosh, who was born when Seth was 105 (Gen. 5:6–8).

In the Aggadah

Seth was born circumcised (ARN^2; Mid. Ps. 9:7), and he inherited the garments which God Himself had made for Adam (Num. R. 4:8). His nature is reflected in the fact that "the generations of man" end with Seth and his son, Enosh (Gen. 4:26). They were the last human beings to be created solely in the image of God; after their death centaurs began to appear (Gen. R. 23:6). Seth is also associated with the messianic era. The future generations of the righteous will be the descendants of Seth (PdRE 22), who will himself be one of the "seven shepherds" counseling the Messiah after the resurrection of the dead (cf. Micah 5:4; Suk. 52b).

In Islam

Seth (Arabic *Shith*) is not mentioned in the *Koran, but he does appear in post-Koranic literature, where the meaning of the name is given as "a present from Allah" (cf. Gen. 4:25). All the survivors of the Flood are his descendants and as a result all the Arab genealogists trace the descent of mankind from him.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: See Commentaries to Genesis, ch. 5. IN THE AGGADAH: Ginzberg, Legends, index; I. Ḥasida, *Ishei ha-Tanakh* (1964), 429–30.

[HaÏm Z' ew Hirschberg]

SETI I (**Menma ʿrē-Sety**; c. 1303–1290 B.C.E.), Egyptian pharaoh. The second ruler of his line, Seti may be regarded as the real founder of the Nineteenth Dynasty (c. 1304–1195 B.C.E.). Under his direction Egypt reasserted her control over Palestine, the Lebanon region, and southern Syria, which had been lost in the chaotic years of the later Amarna period. The new Egyptian Asiatic empire which he founded, unlike the earlier one (which in fact was no more than a "sphere of influence"), was based upon the permanent military occupation of these regions. In addition to his many monuments in the north of Egypt, a small temple which he built near Timna in the Arabah was discovered in 1969 at the site erroneously believed to have been King Solomon's Mines.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: R.O. Faulkner, in: *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, 33 (1947), 34–9; idem, in: CAH², vol. 2 (1966), 23:4–10; A.H. Gardiner, *Egypt of the Pharaohs* (1961), 247–55.

[Alan Richard Schulman]

SETTLEMENT HOUSES. Founded in Europe, North America, and Asia in response to the urban poverty that accompanied industrialization and immigration, the Settlement House movement originated with Toynbee Hall, in London's East End in 1884. Distressed by working class conditions in urban slums, a group of college-educated men and women "settled" into a house among the poor. They hoped to bridge the gap between classes as they gathered data on the impact of poverty and experimented with progressive social programs.

The American Settlement House movement was begun by Stanton Coit, an adherent of the *Ethical Culture Movement, who founded the Neighborhood Guild (later the University Settlement) on Manhattan's Lower East Side in 1886. Three years later, Jane Addams founded Hull House in Chicago. Addams drew other women into the movement, and they formed a strong political network of female reformers who became involved with local, national, and international campaigns for public health and welfare. By 1910, over 400 U.S. Settlement Houses, funded by philanthropists, and often drawing on the Protestant social gospel of good works, offered medical and social welfare programs as well as education and recreation. The majority of American Settlements were staffed by educated women whose efforts lead to social welfare legislation and the professionalization of social work.

The Settlement House movement coincided with the mass emigration of East European Jews and Jews took active roles in all aspects of the Settlement movement, as donors, administrators, resident staff members, and clients. Lillian *Wald one of the few Jews in the early American Settlement movement, directed the Henry Street Settlement in Manhattan from 1893 to 1933. Her funding came largely from Jewish philanthropists, principally Jacob H. *Schiff, and her clientele was largely Jewish immigrants. However, Wald was criticized over the lack of Jewish content in her institutional offerings. In response to this perceived weakness, as well as in reaction to occasional Christian missionary work among Jewish immigrants, middle-class Jews in cities throughout the U.S. and Europe founded specifically Jewish Settlement Houses. In the U.S., these Settlements often grew out of Jewish women's organizations, especially the *National Council for Jewish Women, which aimed to aid and "Americanize" working-class immigrant women and their children. Staff members set up playgrounds and kindergartens, offered classes in art and theater, and established domestic science training programs. Tensions based in differences in social class, political orientations, and religious practice often proved particularly poignant in these institutions, especially in debates between workers and clients on the use of Yiddish and support for Zionism.

The most prominent U.S. Jewish Settlement was the Educational Alliance, founded by Jewish philanthropists in Manhattan in 1889. The Alliance successfully addressed various social problems for those living in the tenements of Manhattan's Lower East Side. While all Settlement Houses tried to "make Americans" out of immigrants, adhering largely to an Anglo-Protestant model, the Alliance tried to "make" American Jews, in line with the tenets of assimilated Reform Judaism. As first-generation East European immigrants came of age in the 1920s, they took leadership positions and changed the culture of Settlement Houses to be more accepting of Yiddish and of Jewish particularisms generally. Countless memoirs attest to early 20th-century Settlements providing Jewish immigrants with their first exposure to a world beyond their immigrant and Orthodox Jewish enclaves. These immigrants chose from the offerings of Settlement Houses and integrated into the American mainstream on their own terms. Serving as Settlement administrators and staff members, hundreds of Jews, especially Jewish women, gained practical and professional training and experience. Many went on to lead social welfare policy initiatives in private and public agencies.

By the 1920s, Settlements overall were in decline. In America, this was due to the reduction in immigration and the targeting of progressive social workers during the Red Scare. In addition, Jewish Settlement Houses contended with changing urban populations, as Jews moved increasingly beyond initial areas of settlement. Some Settlements moved with these populations and became community centers; others, like the Alliance, stayed to offer programs to a new population of (largely non-Jewish) urban dwellers.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: M. Carson, *Settlement Folk: Social Thought and the American Settlement Movement, 1885–1930* (1990); M.N. Feld, "Lillian D. Wald and Mutuality in Twentieth-Century America" (Brandeis University Ph.D. dissertation, 2002); E. Rose, "From Sponge Cake to *Hamentashen*: Jewish Identity in a Jewish Settlement House, 1885–1952," in: *Journal of American Ethnic History*, 13 (1994), 3–23; A. Schwartz, "Americanization and Cultural Preservation in Seattle's Settlement House," in: *Journal of Sociology and Social Welfare*, 26 (1999), 25–45.

[Marjorie N. Feld (2nd ed.)]

SETUBAL, port in S. central Portugal; third largest city of continental Portugal. During the reign of John III (1521–57), Setubal became an important crypto-Jewish center as a result of the activities of the so-called Messiah of Setubal, Luis *Dias. Although poor and uneducated, Dias won the devotion of numerous *Marranos and even Christians. Unlike those of the remote districts, Setubal's Marrano community had become extinct by the 20th century (see *Portugal). A dozen Jewish families settled in Setubal after the liberal realignment of 1910.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Roth, Marranos, 146–8 (bibl.); R. Southey, *Letters Written During a Short Residence in Spain and Portugal* (1799), 320–50; A. Mendes, *O Algarve e Setubal* (1916).

[Aaron Lichtenstein]

SE'UDAH (Heb. סְעוּדָה var. סְעֻדָּה; "meal" or "banquet"; in Yiddish pronounced *sude*), a festive meal. Eating and drinking are considered as pious and sanctifying acts if their purpose is to keep physically fit and healthy and if the prescribed laws and customs are observed. Among these are the washing of hands before a meal at which bread is consumed (see *Ablution); pronouncing the appropriate benedictions over the different foods served at the meal; the recital of *Grace after Meals (Deut. 8:10) or of a shorter benediction (*berakhah aḥaronah*). The religious quality of a meal should be enhanced by being abstemious and avoiding gluttony, and especially by discoursing on the Torah at table. Persons engaging in discussion of Torah during the meal "are as though they had eaten of the table of God"; those who did not, "are as though they had eaten of sacrifices of the dead" (Avot 3:3). The Talmud describes in detail the various customs and good manners to be observed at meals, either when eating in private or in company. They include rules concerning the invitation and seating of guests, the mixing of the wine, the serving of the dishes, etc. (Ber. 7; TJ, Ber. 6:6, 10c–d; Tosef., Ber 4–7; DER 6–9, DEZ 5).

Etiquette demanded that a glass of beverage should not be drunk in one draught (Beẓah 25b); all food, especially *bread, be treated with reverence (Ber. 50b); a person refrain from talking while eating lest the food should go down the wrong way and cause him to suffocate (Ta'an. 5b). Proper chewing of food was advised for good health (Shab. 152a), and the custom of lengthening the dinner was regarded as leading to longevity (Ber. 54b). Eating was strictly to be done in the home, and a person eating in the street was compared to a dog (Kid. 40b).

Babylonian Jews followed the dining customs of the Persians, and wealthy Palestinian Jews those of the Romans. They, too, indulged in sumptuous and boisterous banquets (Philo, Cont. 5–7; Wisd. 2:7–9; et al.), causing rabbis in the Talmud to warn against gluttony (Ḥul. 84a; Avot 2:8, "more flesh, more worms"). They regarded the table as a substitute for the holy altar in the Temple (Ber. 54b–55a), and taught man that he could atone for his sins by inviting the poor to eat with him. As at the altar (Lev. 2:13), there must always be salt on the table (Isserles to Sh. Ar., OḤ 167:5). The master of the house, who himself served the guests, was lauded for imitating the Patriarch Abraham who had himself waited on the three angels (Gen. 18:7–9) and Moses who had waited on the elders of the people (Mekh., Amalek, 3–end). The Talmud discusses whether the master of the house is permitted to renounce the honor otherwise due to him by serving his guests personally. The *nasi* R. Gamaliel, at his son's wedding, served R. Joshua and R. Eliezer; the latter refused to be served by a *nasi* but R. Joshua, however, did not object, stating that R. Gamaliel followed in the footsteps of the Patriarch Abraham (Kid. 32b; Mekh. *ibid.*). According to the Talmud, breakfast should be eaten between the fourth and the sixth hour after sunrise (Pes. 12b). Two meals a day, one in the morning and one in the evening, were regarded as sufficient except on the Sabbath, when a third meal was eaten in honor of the day (see **Se'udah Shelishit*). The main meal was to include meat and should be eaten in the evening, as was counseled by Moses (Yoma 75b).

The Talmud distinguished between two categories of festive meals: (1) feasts of a nonreligious nature, *se'udah shel reshut*, at which students and scholars are advised not to participate (Pes. 49a); and (2) *se'udah shel mitzvah*, banquets held in connection with religious acts, such as weddings, circumcisions, etc., participation in which is regarded as a religious duty. To the latter category belong: (1) the three meals a person is obliged to eat every Sabbath (Shab. 117b) and at which it is customary to sing religious hymns (**zemirot*). The third, taking place on Sabbath afternoon, called *se'udah shelishit*, was invested with importance in *Kabbalism and *Ḥasidism (see Zohar, Ex. 88b); (2) *se'udat *melavveh malkah*, the meal held after the departure of the Sabbath; (3) meals on the holidays and festivals (Sh. Ar., OḤ 529:1); (4) the *Passover meal at the *seder* (Mishnah, Pes. 10); (5) the *Purim dinner (Esth. 9:18; Sh. Ar., OḤ 695:1–2); (6) *se'udah mafseket* (Ber. 8b; Sh. Ar., OḤ 604:1), the meal before the fast of the *Day of Atonement; (7) the Rosh Ḥodesh meal which originated in biblical times (I Sam. 20:24), and was later observed in commemoration of the banquet arranged by the *Sanhedrin after they proclaimed the New Moon (RH 2:5; Sof. 19:9). It was a widespread custom until modern times (Sh. Ar., OḤ 419); (8) the festive meal on *Simḥat Torah, arranged by the "Bridegroom of the Torah" (*ḥatan Torah*; Isserles to Sh. Ar., OḤ 669); (9) the festive banquet on the occasion of completing the study of a Talmud tractate; this occasion called **siyyum* originated in the times of the Babylonian talmudic academies (Shab. 118b–119a; Isserles to Sh. Ar., YD 246:26); (10) the *se'udat siyyum* of which the firstborn partakes on the morning of the eve of Passover. Participation at the *se'udah* supersedes the firstborn fast. The banquet is sometimes called *se'udat bekhorot*; (11) the festive banquet of the burial brotherhood (**ḥevra kaddisha*) on *Adar the Seventh (or in some places on Lag *ba-Omer).

The following banquets at joyous family events are also regarded as *se'udah shel mitzvah* and to participate at them is a meritorious act: (1) the *circumcision banquet (already mentioned in the Talmud (TJ, Ḥag, 2:1, 77b; also PdRE 29), and in the Shulḥan Arukh (YD 265:12) as well as the meals at the vigil ceremony after the birth of a boy and on Sabbath eve prior to his circumcision, called by different names; *shavu'a ha-ben, sholem zokher*, etc. (see *Childbirth Laws and Customs); (2) the meal at a *pidyon ha-ben*, the ceremony of the redemption of the firstborn (Isserles to Sh. Ar., YD 305:10); (3) the festive meal on the occasion of a *bar mitzvah (Gen. R. 53:10); (4) betrothal and wedding meals (*se'udat erusin* and *se'udat nissu'in* or *hillula*; Ket. 8a; Ber. 31a) which in ancient times lasted for seven days (Judg. 14:17) and for which a three-days' preparation was deemed necessary in the time of the Talmud (Ket. 2a); (5) the meal on the occasion of the consecration of a new home (*se'udat ḥanukkat ha-bayit*; Tanh. Bereshit, 2); (6) in many communities, it was also customary to arrange a meal on the occasion when a child started his first Bible lesson, called in Eastern Europe (in Yiddish) *khumesh mahl*; (7) *se'udat havra'ah*, "the meal of comfort" by which mourners are comforted and sustained right after the burial. This custom of consolation dates back to biblical times (II Sam. 3:35; Jer. 16:7) and became a religious duty in talmudic times (Ket. 8b; MK 26b–27b; Sof. 19:12. See also Maim. Yad., Evel, 13:8; Sh. Ar., YD 378).

Aggadic literature makes reference to the *se'udat livyatan*, the eschatological banquet at which God will entertain the righteous in the world-to-come, serving them the meat of the *Leviathan and wine stored since the creation of the world (*yayin ha-meshummar*; BB 74b–75a; see also: Jellinek, *Beit ha-Midrash*, 6 (1938^{2}) 150–1).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Eisenstein, Dinim, 294–5; Ḥ.N. Bialik and Y. Rawnitzki, *Sefer ha-Aggadah* (1952^{4}), 460–4; Sh. Ar., OḤ, 157–212.

[Meir Ydit]

SE'UDAH SHELISHIT (Heb. סְעוּדָה שְׁלִישִׁית; "third meal"), name for the third meal eaten on the Sabbath. The eating of three meals on the Sabbath is considered by the rabbis as a positive commandment based on the repetition of the word "today" in Exodus 16:25: "Eat that [the manna] today, for today is a Sabbath unto the Lord; today ye shall not find it in the field" (Shab. 117b–118a). This commandment is also binding upon women (Sh. Ar., OḤ 291:6). The *se'udah shelishit* is the only Sabbath meal at which *Kiddush is not recited (Tur. OḤ 291), although two loaves are still placed on the table (Sh. Ar, *ibid.*). This meal, eaten in the afternoon of the Sabbath day, must not commence prior to the time for the beginning of the *Minḥah* prayer (Sh. Ar., OḤ 291:2). Ḥasidim especially developed the custom of spending hours at the table listening to their *rebbe*, singing special hymns and wordless melodies. It became customary to chant *zemirot* and Psalm 23 at this meal.

SEVARAH, the legal logic employed by halakhic scholars in their reasoning. This logic is founded on observation of the characteristics of human beings as they are disclosed in their social relations with one another and on a study of the practical realities of daily life. *Sevarah* may serve both as a historical source of law – a source which factually and indirectly leads to the creation of a particular legal rule – and as a legal source of law – a source recognized by the particular legal system as a direct means for the acceptance of a legal rule into that system. (On the different sources of law, see **Mishpat Ivri*.) Logic may also serve as a historical source in the functioning of the other legal sources of Jewish law. Thus, for instance, when a particular legal rule is created by means of the legal source of Midrash (see *Interpretation), the interpretative activity constitutes the direct creative source of that rule; however, the interpreter is guided along his interpretative path by logic and reasoning, which therefore form the historical-factual source of the rule. The same is true of rules created by means of legal sources of legislature, that is **takkanah, *ma'aseh*, and **minhag*, where the rules are naturally created and fashioned as the outcome of certain needs as dictated by logic and practical exigencies. It is as a historical source in the aforementioned sense that *sevarah* is quoted as a basis for the study and understanding of the *halakhah* (see, e.g., Git. 6b; Shab. 63a; Suk. 29a, et al.). On the other hand, *sevarah* functions as a legal source whenever it serves as the direct source of a particular rule, that is whenever such rule is created by virtue of logic and reasoning alone, outside the framework of and without assistance from any other legal source such as *Midrash, minhag*, or *ma'aseh*.

An important place is assigned to *sevarah* as the creative source of halakhic norms in all fields of the *halakhah*, whether in relation to the precepts between man and his Maker or the laws pertaining to relations between man and his fellow man in matters of ritual law or civil law. The high regard in which *sevarah* was held also finds expression in the manner of the laws originating from this legal source. Thus a law having its creative source in *takkanah* or *minhag* is numbered among the category of laws known as *de-rabbanan* (see **Mishpat Ivri*), whereas a law having its direct source in *sevarah* is generally numbered among the category known as *de-oraita* (Chajes, in bibl., and see below). The honorable status thus lent a rule originating from *sevarah* is attributable to the fundamental principle which underlies the whole of the halakhic system, namely, that the Torah was given on the authority (*al da'at*) of the halakhic scholars (see *Authority, Rabbinical); hence every rule founded on the logical reasoning of the halakhic scholars originates, as it were, from the Torah itself, because the logic of the halakhic scholars corresponds with the logic embodied in the Torah.

Sevarah as the Creative Source of General Legal Principles

It is an important principle of Judaism that a person who is told to transgress or else suffer death should transgress rather than be killed (Sanh. 74a), since the laws of the Torah were given so that man should live by them and not die because of them (Yoma 85b; Yad, Yesodei ha-Torah 5:1). However, in three cases a person given the choice between transgression or death should choose the latter; idolatry, incest (including adultery), or murder (Sanh. 74a; Pes. 25a–b; et al.). As regards idolatry and incest the rule was established by way of biblical exegesis (Sanh. 74a), but with regard to murder the rule was derived logically, and not by way of exegesis, as follows: "The *sevarah* is… who shall say that your blood is redder? Perhaps the blood of the other is redder!" (Sanh. 74a); for "as far as the murderer is concerned, since in the end man is anyhow destined to die, why should it be permissible for him to transgress? Who knows that the Creator holds his life to be of greater worth than that of his fellow?" (*Rashi*, ad loc.). Thus the rule in regard to the shedding of blood a person should choose death rather than transgression has its legal source in *sevarah*.

There are a considerable number of general legal principles operating in the field of both ritual and civil law which similarly originate from the legal source of *sevarah*. The rule that the burden of proof is on the claimant is derived from logic on the reasoning that just as the person who has a pain seeks out a doctor and recites his symptoms (and it is not the doctor who runs around to find out who is ill), so too the person who has a claim against another must first bring proof to substantiate his claim, and the defendant need not first prove that he is not liable on such claim (BK 46b). So too a woman's statement that she was married and became divorced – there being no witnesses to the fact that she was married – is believed as regards her becoming divorced, in terms of the rule pertaining to the laws of evidence that "the mouth which has rendered prohibited is the mouth which has rendered permissible"; this rule is derived from the logical reasoning that since she prohibited her own self (to others) she may also permit her own self (Ket. 2:5; Ket. 22a; from this rule there was derived in amoraic times the rule of *miggo*; see *Pleas; *Evidence).

The two aforementioned rules are expressly stated as having their legal source in *sevarah*, and this also appears to be the case with reference to a number of further rules and principles, for instance as regards the principle of *ḥazakah* as a legal presumption – such as the presumption that a person is alive (Git. 3:3), the presumption of legal competence (*ḥezkat kashrut*; BB 31b), the presumption of bodily fitness (Ket. 7:8), and numerous other kinds of presumptions. Logic is also the source of the rule regarding reliance on the majority, even when the majority is not a factual one (such as a majority of the judges hearing a particular case), but is based on surmise alone [Ḥul. 11a; the biblical passages cited there with regard to several kinds of majority and *ḥazakah* are in the nature of **asmakhta* ("mere allusion") alone; see also *Interpretation]. These presumptions have validity in all fields of the *halakhah*, in matters of the civil law as well as matters of ritual prohibitions and permissions, and even in matters which are *de-oraita*: "For matters learned by way of *sevarah* are of the same value as the actual statements of the Torah itself… since the power of observation deriving from experience is of precisely the same value to them [the halakhic scholars] as a matter learned through application of the exegetical *middot*" (see *Interpretation; Chajes, in bibl., 118–30).

Sevarah in the Amoraic Period

A substantial proportion of the laws and principles deriving from *sevarah* are attributable to an early period of the *halakhah*. From talmudic sources it is also possible to conclude that the use of *sevarah* as a legal source of the *halakhah* was particularly resorted to during amoraic times – just as the *amoraim* laid down rational rules with regard to the use of other legal sources and the modes of studying the *halakhah* (see **Takkanot*; **Asmakhta*). Thus in regard to forbidden food and drink R. Johanan laid down that the taking of even half of the determined measure was also forbidden by the pentateuchal law – since one half-measure may combine with another half-measure to constitute a full measure, it follows that he will be eating that which is forbidden (Yoma 74a). The *amoraim* stated that in respect to various laws it may be said that they have their source either in a biblical passage or in *sevarah*, for instance as regards certain matters relating to the laws of evidence (Sanh. 30a), the laws of *ḥaliẓah* (Yev. 35b) and in other fields (see, e.g., Shevu. 22b and Tos. loc. cit.).

In other cases the *amoraim* searched for the legal source of a particular rule and came to the conclusion that such a rule had its origin in the legal source of *sevarah*. An interesting illustration of this is to be found in the discussions of the *amoraim* concerning the legal source of the rule that three years' possession of real property confers presumptive rights of ownership (i.e., upon a claim of lawful acquisition with subsequent loss of the title deed, but with possession for the said period without protest from the former owner; see **ḥazakah*). The *amoraim* confronted difficulties in attributing the source of the rule to Midrash (see *Interpretation) and to Kabbalah (see *Mishpat Ivri*) in turn, and then Rabba determined the legal source of the rule thus: "The first year a person guards his title deed and so he does the second and third years; thereafter he guards it no longer" (BB 28a–29a). That is to say, logic – which is founded on the observation of daily practical life – teaches that a person who purchases property takes care to guard his title deed for a period of three years as proof against any challenge to his right in such property; however, after three years have elapsed without any such challenge, he no longer sees need to guard the material evidence of his ownership since he is already sure that he is fully in possession of the property and does not contemplate the possibility that his right to it will any more be challenged. This *sevarah* was accepted as the legal source of the rule that three years' possession of property suffices to prove the possessor's acquisition thereof according to law, even when the latter cannot produce his title deed or any other proof (for additional substantiation of the rule, see *Ḥazakah).

Sevarah continued to be a creative legal source in the post-talmudic period. However, the halakhic literary sources of this period, unlike those of the talmudic period, do not generally specially emphasize the fact that certain rules have their source in *sevarah*, as is generally done in the case of *minhag, takkanah*, and other legal sources. Hence painstaking research is required in order to distinguish the post-talmudic halakhic literary principles which originate from *sevarah*.

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[Menachem Elon]

SEVASTOPOL, city in Crimea, Ukraine. Jews lived there in the Greek period when the city was called Khersones. Shortly after its foundation in 1784, Jews began to settle in Sevastopol, many of them from Galicia. They engaged in commerce and crafts and some acted as purveyors to the local garrison. The community was severely struck by a plague which broke out in the town in 1825. The development of the community was brought to a sudden halt as a result of the government's decision in 1829 to prohibit residence in the town, which had become the chief Russian naval base on the Black Sea, to all Jews, as constituting a danger to security, with the exception of those who served in the army. Jews already living there were ordered to leave the town within two years, and even temporary residence or visits were restricted. The order did not apply to the *Karaites. The local authorities unsuccessfully attempted to have the order rescinded, pointing out the harm which would be caused to the Jews themselves and to the town generally. The expulsion was halted for three years, after which Sevastopol was closed to Jews. In 1842, even a temporary stay by Jews in Sevastopol was limited to one month. During the Crimean War (1854–56) many Jews took part in the defense of Sevastopol and about 500 fell in battle. A monument was erected to their memory in the city in 1864. From 1859 various categories of Jews (merchants registered in the guilds, with their servants and clerks, and artisans) were authorized to live in Sevastopol; there was also some alleviation in the attitude toward visits and temporary residence of Jews in the town. Thus the Jewish settlement was renewed during the second half of the 19th century, and in 1880 numbered 400. In 1874 a "house of prayer for soldiers" was opened in Sevastopol, and in 1884 the construction of a synagogue was completed. Jews began to play an important role in the foreign trade which passed through the port, especially grain commerce. By 1897 3,910 Jews lived in Sevastopol (7.4% of the total population), including about 70 families of "Krimchaks" (Jews from Crimea itself). About 830 Karaites were also living in the city. In 1907 the authorities again began to expel Jews from various parts of Sevastopol, and by 1910 their numbers had decreased to 3,655. With the revolution of 1917 and abolition of all the anti-Jewish restrictions, many more Jews settled in Sevastopol. By 1926 their numbers reached 5,204 (7%). In 1939 they numbered 5,988 (5.5% of the total population).

Holocaust and Contemporary Periods

Sevastopol was occupied by the Germans on July 12, 1941. They soon collected 4,200 Jews who remained in the city and from its environs, and they murdered them in ditches outside the town and in gas vans. A small synagogue and Jewish cemetery were maintained in the late 1960s.

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[Yehuda Slutsky]

SEVENTY SHEPHERDS, VISION OF, the modern name of the treatise, also known as the "Dream-Visions," included in chapters 83–90 of the Ethiopic Book of *Enoch. Like the whole Book of Enoch, the treatise is extant in an Ethiopic translation from Greek, a fragment of which (Enoch 89:42–49) is preserved in a Vatican manuscript. The treatise dates from the beginnings of the Maccabean period and was known to the author of the Book of Jubilees (cf. 4:19). Chapters 83–84 contain Enoch's prophetic dream about the coming flood and form an introduction to a long dream-vision about the entire history of mankind from Adam to the eschatological salvation. This history appears to Enoch as an allegorical story, in which human actors are represented by animals. The allegory is mostly external and clumsy, but this is why its content can be easily revealed, making the treatise an important document in the Jewish conception of history and eschatology. The author hints at the common motif of the slaying of the prophets (89:51). At the end of the first commonwealth, because of its sins, God gave Israel into the hands of 70 shepherds, i.e., the angelic princes of the gentiles (the 70 nations); he told them how many of the sheep (Israel) they could allow to be destroyed, but they exceeded their orders and slew more than was required of them. This means that before the destruction of the First Temple, the Babylonian exile, and the loss of independence, God's people Israel, which had sinned, was handed over to the powers of the nations to live under the unrightful dominion of their guardian angels. In the last period of history, lambs are born to the white sheep (i.e., Israel) which are no longer blind as all the others before them had been; these are evidently the "Ḥasidim" of the Maccabean revolt. The sheep from which a great horn sprouts (Enoch 90:9) undoubtedly represents Judah Maccabee. The real history, known to the author, finishes with 90:13, and from there he describes what he thinks to be the imminent eschatological future. The great sword given to Israel for their last battle against the gentiles (90:19, 34) occurs also in the *Sibylline Oracles (III, 673, 780–2) and in an apparently Jewish apocalypse included in Lactantius' Institutions. After the final victory God will judge the fallen angels together with the guardian angels of the nations and apostates (90:20–27). The eschatological happy end begins with a prophecy about the New Jerusalem. The old one will be removed and laid in the south of the land. In its place God will bring the New Jerusalem. The idea of the New Jerusalem is not yet connected with the destruction of the one already existing. The dispersed Jews will return and the righteous gentiles convert. Only at the very end of the eschatological drama (90:37–38) do two messianic persons appear: the first is evidently the Davidic Messiah; the description of the second one seems to allude to Deuteronomy 33:17 (the blessing of Joseph). Thus the work is possibly the oldest evidence for the idea of the Messiah son of Joseph. As this treatise was evidently composed in the midst of the wars of Judah Maccabee (d. 160 B.C.E.), and written some years after the Book of Daniel, it is one of the oldest Jewish apocalypses.

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[David Flusser]

SEVER (**Zilberman**), **ALEXANDRU** (1921–), Romanian novelist, author, and playwright. A publisher's editor during the years 1949–1958, he began writing plays such as *Boieri și țărani* ("Boyars and Peasants," 1955), but was best known as a prose writer. His novels include *Cezar Dragoman* (1957), *Uciderea pruncilor* ("The Massacre of the Innocents," 1966), and the technically original *Cercul* ("The Circle," 1968). Sever also published literary studies on Shakespeare and Melville (1964), Sinclair Lewis (1965), and Goethe and Eckermann (1966).

°**SEVERUS** (sometimes called **Serenus**), pseudo-messiah (or in some sources the Messiah's forerunner) in Babylonia about 720 C.E. The cataclysmic series of Muslim victories in the seventh century, culminating in the great Arab siege of Constantinople (717–8), provided the climate for an upsurge of messianic expectation among the Jews. In several Byzantine (both Greek and Syriac) chronicles Severus is described as a Syrian Christian who converted to Judaism. According to these sources, he attracted a large following, mainly of Jews but including some Christians, and gathered their money and assets, allegedly in order to bring them to the Promised Land. The Muslim authorities put him to death during the reign of Hisham (724–43). Severus introduced ritual innovations contrary to talmudic but not to biblical law, such as permission to work on the second days of holidays, modifications of *kashrut* laws, and the abolition of the prevalent marriage and divorce laws. After his death his followers, unlike those of such previous pseudo-messiahs as *Abu ʿIsā al-Iṣfahāni (c. 680s) and the Jew of Pallughta (Pumbedita?; 645), returned to the mainstream of Judaism, perhaps sending an inquiry to *Natronai Gaon (I). Severus was thought to have influenced Byzantine Jews and the risk of their affecting the loyalty of his other subjects may have been a reason for their persecution by Leo III. Because of the impression he made on Christians, Severus continued to be mentioned in Christian sources until the 14th century.

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[Andrew Sharf]

°**SEVERUS, ALEXANDER** (**Marcus Aurelius Alexander Severus**; 208), Roman emperor 222–35 C.E. Relations between the Severi and the Jews were notably favorable, and in this framework one "Severus, the son of Antoninus" mentioned in talmudic literature has been identified with Alexander Severus (Nid. 45a; Av. Zar. 10a; cf. S. Krauss, JE 1, 356). Although this identification is not altogether certain, it has also been suggested that the synagogue in Rome known as the "Synagogue of Severus" (כנשתא דאסוירס; cf. *Bereshit Rabbati*, ed. Albeck, p. 209; Frey, Corpus, 1 (1936), 501, and p. lxxxi) is named after Alexander Severus. These proposals are supported primarily by the biography of Alexander Severus in the *Scriptores Historiae Augustae*, which states that among those images in the private chapel of Severus was also one of Abraham. Although written in the middle of the fourth century, the general impression in this work of a continuation of good relations between the emperor and the Jews is probably a definite one.

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[Isaiah Gafni]

°**SEVERUS, SEPTIMIUS** (**Lucius Septimius Severus**), Roman emperor, 193–211 C.E. Among the rival claimants for the Roman throne whom Severus defeated in the Civil War of 1937 was Pescennius Niger, who had been proclaimed emperor in Syria. In this struggle the Jews of Ereẓ Israel sided with Severus. That they liked him also can be seen from an inscription of the year 197, written in Greek, which was found in Safed. The Samaritans, however, ranged themselves against Severus, and continued to fight until 197. As a punishment, after his victory, the town of Neapolis (Shechem) was deprived of its *ius civitatis* (Spartianus, Severus, 9:5). In 202 the emperor forbade, under the threat of heavy penalties, conversion to both Judaism and Christianity (*ibid.*, 17:1; "*Judaeos fieri sub grave poena vetuit. Idem etiam de Christianis sanxit*"), but he was tolerant toward those who were Jewish by birth. The jurists Ulpian and Modestinus report that Jews could be appointed to high public offices, but would be exempt from those formalities (*Necessitates*) which were contrary to their monotheistic faith (*Corpus Iuris Civilis; Digesta* 50:2, 3; 27:1–15). Although according to J. Juster this exemption was in force even before the time of Severus, S. Lieberman (in: *Annuaire Université Libre de Bruxelles* 7) believed that both Christians and Samaritans could not have enjoyed such exemptions because of the oath that had to be taken on assuming public office. (S.W. Baron is more cautious in his conclusions.)

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[Alfredo Mordechai Rabello]

SEVILLE (Sp. **Sevilla**), leading city of Andalusia, S.W. *Spain. According to a tradition, the Jewish settlement in Seville was of very ancient date; it is related that Jews arrived there at the time of the destruction of the First Temple, and among the families were descendants of the House of David, including the *Abrabanel family. However, it is difficult to adduce evidence for the presence of Jews in this locality during the 11th to 10th centuries B.C.E., unless Seville, or another place within direct proximity of it, is identified with the *Tarshish mentioned in the Bible. There is no doubt that a Jewish settlement existed during the period of Visigothic rule in the peninsula. During the seventh century C.E., *Isidore of Seville wrote anti-Jewish polemics there. When the city was conquered by the Muslims in 712 they formed a Jewish guard for its defense; these soldiers settled in the city and its surroundings.

Muslim Period

Under the *Umayyads, Seville prospered and became an important cultural center. The Jewish community of Seville was one of four major communities in Muslim Spain. *Saadiah b. Joseph Gaon addressed Seville Jewry in the mid-tenth century in his letter to the leading communities in Spain (Abraham ibn Daud, *Sefer ha-Qabbalah, Book of Tradition*, ed. by G. Cohen (1967), 79). The Jews engaged in commerce and medicine and had a virtual monopoly on the profession of *dyeing. Seville served as a refuge for Jews escaping from *Córdoba after the Berber conquest in 1013. Jewish opponents of *Samuel ha-Nagid in Granada fled to Seville, its major opponent. During the 11th century the Jewish population increased as a result of the anti-Jewish riots in *Granada, as well as a large influx of Jews from North Africa seeking economic improvement. Under the Abbasid dynasty (1023–91) prominent Jews served in various capacities at court. During the reign of al-Muʿtaḍid (1024–69) the wealthy scholar Isaac b. Baruch *Albalia served as court astrologer and head of the Jewish community. His son, the scholar Baruch b. Isaac Albalia, uncle of the historian Abraham *Ibn Daud, was born in Seville. Abraham b. Meir ibn Muhajir also served as vizier and head of the Jewish community under the Abbasid king. Important families included the Ibn al-Yatom, Ibn Kamneill, Ibn Mujahir, and the Abrabanel families. Under the Almoravids (11th century), Seville was a major cultural center. Abu Ayub Sulayman ibn Mu'allim of Seville served as court physician and Abu al-Hasan Abraham b. Meir ibn Kamneil as a diplomat under King Ali ibn Uūsuf (1106–43). The poets Abu Sulayman ibn Mujahir and Abul al-Fatḥ Eleazar ibn Azhar and the scholar Meir ibn Migash lived in Seville in the early 12th century. Seville Jewry suffered the same fate as the other Andalusian communities in the wake of the Almohad conquest and was entirely destroyed.

Location of the Jewish Quarter

Under Muslim rule the Jewish quarter was situated in the western part of the city, in the present parishes of Santa Magdalena and San Lorenzo, where the Cal and Cal Maior streets ("Community Street") are still to be found. This was probably the old Jewish quarter (*judería vieja*), which was then also the Moorish quarter. The al-Shawwār Gate, known as the Judería Gate during the Middle Ages and later as the Meat Gate (Puerta de la Carne), was situated within the boundaries of the quarter. The other Jewish quarter, established after the city was conquered by the Christians, extended from the Carmona Gate, through the San Esteban, Las Aguilas, and de Abades streets, to the Cathedral, the Oil Street, and the Alcazar to the city wall. Ballesteros (see bibliography) may, however, have been correct in stating that from the Alcazar the boundary of the quarter passed through Matías Gago Street, Soledad, to San Nicolas and from there to Madre de Dios Street, St. Bartholomé Square, and Vidrio Street to Tintes Street, through the "Rose" alley. The main street of the Jewish quarter was the one that started in the Puerta de la Judería (today de la Carne) and ended at the gate that used to be in front of San Nicolás, in other words the streets that nowadays are called Santa María la Blanca and San José. The busiest part of the quarter was the square that is today called plaza de Santa María la Blanca. Important localities and streets in the Jewish quarter were the Cruces street and the streets of the Levíes and Archeros, where the original doors of the synagogue (now Santa María la Blanca) were and are still preserved but not used. Santa María la Blanca had been a mosque before it was given by Alfonso x in 1252 to the Jews to use as synagogue together with other two mosques. In 1391 this synagogue was converted into the present church. In the Santa Cruz place there was a synagogue, also formerly a mosque, which was converted into a church in 1391. Before its destruction by the French in 1810, it occupied a large part of the Santa Cruz place. The third mosque that was turned into a synagogue used to be where San Bartolomé church stands. In Susona street, according to legend, lived Susona, who was connected with the plot of the Conversos against the Inquisition. At the time of the expulsion of the Jews of Andalusia in 1483 (see also below), the quarter was surrounded by a wall which ran as far as San Esteban. The inner wall had two gates. There were many synagogues in the quarter, including one erected by Samuel b. Meir ha-Levi *Abulafia of Toledo during the 14th century. The archdeacon of Ecija, Ferrant *Martínez (see also below), enumerated 23 synagogues in Seville during the second half of the 14th century, and related that he destroyed them. The origin of such a large number is unknown; he may have included the yeshivot in this number. Some of the synagogues were converted into churches: Santa María la Blanca is particularly well known. After the quarter ceased to exist, it was named "New Quarter" (*Barrionuevo*) but its remains may still be seen in the Santa Cruz quarter.

The Jewish cemetery of Seville was near the Puerta de la Carne, formerly de la Judería, in the Bujaira, where the Colegio de Potacoeli now stands. The Inquisition in Seville sat in Triana castle, after a brief period in the Dominican monastery of San Pablo.

[Haim Beinart / Yom Tov Assis (2nd ed.)]

After the Christian Reconquest

In 1248 Seville was captured by the armies of Ferdinand III (1217–52). The Jews of the city prepared a key for him on which was engraved in Hebrew: "the King of Kings will open, the King of the land shall come" (the key is preserved in the cathedral treasury). The Jewish quarter succeeded in obtaining the three mosques situated within its boundaries, which were converted into synagogues. In the distribution of properties which took place after the Christian conquest, and later during the reign of Alfonso x of Castile, many Jews obtained real estate in the form of houses, arable land, olive groves, and vineyards in the city and its outskirts. Those who received the properties were obliged to settle in Seville and a royal decree stipulated that owners of property in the city would not benefit from any rights unless they lived there permanently. Among these Jews were Don Todros b. Joseph ha-Levi *Abulafia and his son Joseph, who at the time of his death bequeathed many properties to the city (1273); they were confiscated and presented to the local church. Immediately after its capture the Christians succeeded in converting Seville into an international commercial center. Its trade extended to the ports of Spain, Portugal, and North Africa, and many Jews took part in this commerce.

In 1254 Alfonso x inaugurated two annual fairs in Seville. The Jews who attended them or participated in them were granted freedom of trade and an exemption from taxes. In 1256 Alfonso nevertheless ordered each of the elders of the community, its leaders, and the Jews of Seville to pay 30 denarii to the head of the Church, a payment which had also been made by the Jews of Toledo. The Jews of the city also paid tithe and firstfruit taxes to the archbishop of Seville (as also did the Moors there). The rights of the Jews of Seville stipulated, among other articles, that lawsuits between Jews and Christians should be brought before the judges of the town, with the exception of suits pertaining to tax farming. There were also community regulations against adultery and marital offenses. Despite this, there were Jewish women who lived in concubinage with Christians (*barraganas*) and enjoyed defined rights in the city. In Seville, Jewish women acted as mourners for Christians. In practice, the living conditions of the Jews of Seville did not differ from those of the other Jews of the kingdom, with the exception of rights granted to them on the strength of their residence in this border region.

The registers of the office of Sancho iv for 1293–94 show that the annual tax paid by the Jews of Seville amounted to 115,333 maravedis and five sólidos. The community of Seville appears to have numbered 200 families during that period, and it may be assumed that the overwhelming majority were wealthy. During the course of the 14th century, the community succeeded in consolidating itself and in attaining a fair cultural and economic level. The Jews of the community took part in the lease of municipal taxes in the city and the region under its jurisdiction, as well as in economic activities promoted by the government. During the 14th century Jewish physicians were employed as municipal officials – a situation not found, for instance, in Toledo. The physicians of the city were members of the Ibn Zimra family; they also engaged in various financial activities. In 1312 the community succeeded in obtaining the king's permission to hang an *informer then active in Seville; R. *Asher b. Jehiel commended the community for this action. In 1342 King Alfonso xi requested Pope Clement vi to release the synagogue built in Seville by Joseph de Ecija so it could be employed for the purpose for which it was built. In advocating the Jews' case the king stressed their economic and military utility in the war against the Muslims.

Activities of Ferrant Martinez

In 1378 the archdeacon of Ecija, Ferrant Martínez, began anti-Jewish agitation in Seville. He called for the destruction of the 23 beautiful synagogues of the Jews and the closure of their quarter so that they would not come into contact with the Christians. The Jews of the town complained about the hatred which he fomented and the prohibitions which he issued against the residence of Jews in the archbishopric of Seville. In 1382 John i ordered Martínez to cease his activities, but he pursued his campaign. The leaders of the community still complained to the crown about Martínez in 1388, while he claimed that he was acting with the approval of the archbishop of Seville to separate the Jews from the Christians. In 1390 Henry iii ordered the archbishop of Seville to act against Martínez with firmness and restore to the Jews the synagogues which had been confiscated; the head of the Church of Seville was to bear the responsibility if the order was not carried out. Activities such as these were frequent occurrences in Spain as in other countries, when young and fanatical clergymen acted arbitrarily and upon their own initiative against the Jews, and presenting the government and Church with their violence as a *fait accompli*.

Persecutions of 1391

On June 4, 1391, the anti-Jewish disorders which were later to sweep all the towns of the Crowns of Castile and Aragon broke out in Seville. The rioters in Seville, including soldiers and sailors who went by boat from one place to another inciting the population, teaching others from their experience. The community was almost totally destroyed: some of its members died as martyrs, a minority escaped; others converted and left the Jewish fold. The synagogues were turned into churches and the churches acquired substantial real estate in the form of land, charitable trusts, shops, workshops, and houses which had formerly belonged to Jews and the community. Henry iii granted houses to his chief mayordomo, Juan Hurtado de Mendoza, and the chief justice, Diego López de Estúñiga, which had been the property of the community, and the synagogues to the city of Seville.

Decline of the Community

The remaining Jews of Seville were unable to recover from the persecutions of 1391 and their rehabilitation was extremely slow. In 1437 a number of Jews appealed to John ii to regularize the matter of their residence in their quarters. In the Santa Cruz quarter the 75 houses in which Jews lived and worked were rented. In another quarter, near the Santa María la Blanca church (a former synagogue), there were 56 houses. A letter from Pope Nicholas v to the bishop-administrator of Seville records an exceptional action by the Jews of Seville in 1449 when a plague broke out there. After the example of the Christians, who organized a religious procession in the town, the Jews of Seville organized a procession during which they took out the Torah scrolls, scattered branches, and decorated the streets, thus imitating the custom and ritual of the Christians in their processions, as if to insinuate that God had not accepted the plea of the Christians.

Despite several expressions of sympathy on the part of Christian inhabitants, the situation of the community appears to have been serious. In 1474 the community paid an annual tax of only 2,500 maravedis, and this sum was reduced to 2,000 maravedis in 1482. On Dec. 8, 1476, the Jews were ordered to leave their quarter and move to two places; one of them was the Corral de Ferez, the other, the Alcázar Viejo. They were to cover the expenses of repairs to their new places of residence.

On Jan. 1, 1483, the crown acceded to the demand of the *Inquisition and an expulsion order was issued against all the Jews of Andalusia. A period of 30 days was given to the Jews to leave. The actual decree of expulsion is not extant but much information is available on the procedure of its execution. When the general decree of expulsion of the Jews from Spain was issued in March 1492, Seville was a port of embarkation for the exiles, most of whom left for North Africa.

At the beginning of the 20th century, Jewish settlement in Seville began again. Most of the Jewish settlers came from North Africa. In addition to these families, there were also refugees from Germany who arrived there during the early 1930s. The several dozen Jews in Seville were joined in the 1960s by Jewish arrivals from Morocco and Algeria.

Conversos in Seville

Little information is available on the history of the *Conversos in Seville during the first half of the 15th century. Until the expulsion and after it the Conversos in Seville were known for their adherence to Judaism and their loyalty to Jewish law. They maintained extremely close relations with their Jewish brothers, and anyone of whom it was said that he was a Converso of Seville, or that he had stayed there, was considered a Jew in every respect. After the attacks on the Conversos in Córdoba in 1473, many of them fled to Seville. The Conversos in Seville also gradually became aware of the danger which threatened them and large numbers left for North Africa and other places. Others organized guards in their quarter to protect their lives and even hired 300 equestrian knights and 5,000 infantrymen. When acts of hostility broke out against them they were unable to defend themselves, and with the Conversos of Córdoba they tried to establish themselves in *Gibraltar. During that period R. Judah ibn Verga conducted a campaign among them calling on them to return to Judaism and to leave the kingdom before it was too late.

When Ferdinand v and Queen Isabella visited Seville in 1477, the head of the San Pablo Dominican monastery in the city, Alonso de Hojeda, and others pointed out to the monarchs the religious situation in their city and requested the establishment of an Inquisition. The monarchs accepted their demand, and from there addressed themselves to Sixtus iv. In 1480, two years after the authorization was granted, Miguel de Murillo and Juan de San Martín were appointed inquisitors, but it was only on Jan. 1, 1481 that they began their merciless activities. As a first measure they ordered all the noblemen of the surroundings (among them some of the kingdom's highest ranking personalities such as Rodrigo Ponce de Leon) to deliver all fugitive Conversos to them. Documents of the Inquisition tribunal of Seville are not extant, but various state documents and chronicles of those days are filled with descriptions of the activities of the inquisitors and their proceedings against the Conversos. Large numbers of both wealthy and poor folk were arrested, imprisoned, tried, and burned at the stake. Among those tried were members of the Ibn Shoshan, Adoba, and Abulafia families. At first the Conversos sought to defend themselves and began to hoard weapons. A popular tradition relates that the daughter of Diego de Shoshan revealed the project to her Christian lover, who alerted the Inquisition, which struck a hard blow at the Conversos involved in this scheme. In August 1481, when a plague broke out in the city, many Conversos were authorized to leave it after they had deposited their money as a surety, but a large number of them did not redeem their surety and fled (among them the Hebrew printer Juan de Lucena) to North Africa, Portugal, and Italy. The Inquisition also followed the Conversos to the surrounding villages; wherever it arrived, numerous Conversos died as martyrs.

According to a cautious estimate, over 700 men and women were burned at the stake in Seville between 1481 and 1488, while over 5,000 were returned within the fold of the Church. At the end of 1484 a convention of the inquisitors of the kingdom was held in Seville in the presence of *Torquemada. It defined the procedure of the Inquisition and was thus the first conference for the study and improvement of working methods of the Inquisition. In Seville, the Conversos and travelers who arrived in the harbor were spied upon and the Inquisition searched every ship which entered or left. This situation continued until the abolition of the Inquisition during the 19th century.

[Haim Beinart]

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SEVITZKY, FABIEN (1893–1967), conductor. Born in Vichny-Volotchok, Russia, Sevitzky adopted an abridged form of the family name so as not to seem to be imposing on the fame of his uncle, Serge *Koussevitzky. He was a double-bass player in Russian orchestras and toured Russia as a virtuoso. In 1922 he moved to Poland, and then to the United States. He played in the Philadelphia Orchestra and founded the Philadelphia String Sinfonietta in 1925. From 1935 to 1955 he was permanent conductor of the Indianapolis Symphony Orchestra which, under his direction, became one of the leading U.S. orchestras.

SEX. Neither biblical nor talmudic Hebrew possesses a specific term for sex. While classical Jewish literature is replete with references to it, the subject is never treated separately and systematically. The most intimate and frank discussions on sex are featured frequently in the Talmud and have always been a natural part of religious education, unmarred by self-consciousness. Nevertheless, laws concerning forbidden relations should not be expounded in public (Ḥag. 2:1 and 11b), since "there is no guardian against unchasteness" (Ket. 13b). The Jewish attitude to sex, then, shows a certain apparent ambivalence or, more correctly, a balance between extremes. It insists on a stern discipline of moral restraints and yet avoids excessive prudery or asceticism. On the one hand, Judaism regards moderation and self-control in sex as the essence of "holiness" (Lev. 19:2, and commentaries), condemning unchaste conduct as among the most heinous offences against God and society and branding as capital crimes such perversions as sodomy and pederasty (Lev. 20:13, 15–16) as well as adultery (*ibid.*, 10) and incest (*ibid.*, 11ff.). On the other hand, it rejects the notion of considering the sex instinct as intrinsically sinful or shameful. The sex drive should be sublimated rather than suppressed, for "were it not for the evil inclination, no man would build a home and marry" (Gen. R. 9:7). Indeed, to the rabbis, who frowned on *celibacy, it was this instinct which completed the creation of the world and caused God to pronounce His work as "very good" (Gen. R. *ibid.*).

Legislation on sex occupies considerable space in the codes of Jewish law, as do warnings against lewdness in thought, word, or deed in the moralist literature of Judaism. Building on the foundations of the pragmatic laws in the Torah and of the passionate denunciation of pagan licentiousness by the prophets, the rabbis erected a complex structure of regulations to govern every area of sex life. Particularly extensive are the rules of family *purity based on the prohibition of sexual relations with a menstruant woman (Lev. 20:18). Similarly elaborated are the laws on birth *control, *sterilization, and *abortion, as well as the ban on *prostitution (based on Deut. 23:18), and indeed on any sexual relations outside lawful wedlock (Maim., Yad, Ishut 1:1–4). To guard against illicit intimacies, any meetings in private between individuals of opposite sexes are also strictly prohibited (Sh. Ar., EH 22), just as the Bible forbids men or women to wear each other's clothes (Deut. 22:5) to prevent levity and promiscuity (see commentaries). Many additional rabbinic rules seek to curb lewd thought and immodest conduct, even among spouses (Sh. Ar., EH 21–25).

Though far removed from the Freudian concept of sex as the ultimate key to normal and abnormal behavior in childhood as in mature life, the rabbis often asserted the predominance of the sex urge and the effort needed to control it. "Who is mighty? He who subdues his lust" (Avot 4:1), and "for most people there is nothing harder in the entire Torah than to abstain from sex and forbidden relations" (Maim. Yad, Issurei Bi'ah, 22:18) are typical statements. Characteristic, too, is the interpretation given to the rite of *circumcision, the "covenant" between God and Israel and the first law enjoined upon the first Jew, as symbolizing the primacy of hallowing the sex act by an operation "to weaken the organ of generation as far as possible, and thus cause man to be moderate" (Maim., Guide, 3:49).

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[Immanuel Jakobovits]

°SEXTUS EMPIRICUS (late second century C.E.), Greek physician and philosophical writer in whose works on Skepticism (extant) the Jewish abhorrence of pig's flesh is mentioned (*Pyrrhonic Sketches* 3:223).

SEXUAL OFFENSES. Although the technical term for sexual offenses in general is *gillui arayot* (lit. "the uncovering of nakedness"), the term is usually (though not always: cf. Ex. 20:23; Isa. 47:3, et al.) employed to denote carnal knowledge (Lev. 18:6–19). In the present context, however, the term "sexual offenses" includes offenses committed by prohibited sexual intercourse, offenses of unlawful sexual conduct short of intercourse, and related offenses presumably motivated by the sexual urge.

As well as acts of *adultery and *incest, the Bible also prohibits sodomy and homosexuality (18:22), denouncing such acts as "abhorrent" and making them capital offenses (20:13); having carnal relations with any beast is also made a capital offense (18:23; 20:15–16). These offenses were punishable by stoning to death (Sanh. 7:4; Maim Yad, Issurei Bi'ah, 1:4), and the beast with which the offense had been committed was also destroyed (Lev. 20:15–16). A married girl (i.e., *me'orasah*, her legal status after *kiddushin*, but before *ḥuppah*; see *Marriage) who was found not to have been a virgin (though claiming to be one upon her *kiddushin*) is liable to be stoned to death, "for she did a shameful thing in Israel" (Deut. 22:20–21). Both she and her seducer are thus punished if they had intercourse with each other by mutual consent (Deut. 22:23–24); but where the girl did not consent her seducer alone is liable to execution (Deut. 22:25–27).

It is noteworthy that apart from this particular case and cases of adulterous or incestuous intercourse, rape as such is not a criminal offense in Jewish law: the rapist will merely be held liable to pay the girl's father 50 shekels of silver by way of bride-price, "and she shall be his wife, because he has humbled her; and he may not put her away all his days" (Deut. 22:28–29). Under talmudic law, the rapist must also compensate the girl for the physical and psychological damage she sustained (Ket. 42a–43b). But if the girl refuses to marry him, he is not compelled to marry her (Ket. 39b). If a girl was raped by several men, she is given the choice of the one who is to marry her (TJ, Ket. 3:6, 27d; for further details see *Rape).

It is an offense to have intercourse with a woman, including one's wife, "having her sickness," i.e., **niddah* during the period of her menstruation (Lev. 18:19 and 20:18). The penalty is *karet* (see *Divine Punishment): "both of them shall be cut off from among their people" (*ibid.*). If they were warned beforehand and witnesses are available, they are liable to be flogged (Mak. 3:1).

It is an offense, punishable by flogging, to have sexual intercourse with a non-Jew, by way of purported or intended marriage (*ibid.*, 12:1). For other sexual intercourse with a non-Jew (which is not criminal), flogging may be administered by way of rebuke and admonition (*makkat mardut*; *ibid.* 12:2). The biblical story of Phinehas (Num. 25:6–8) gave rise to the rule that where intercourse between Jew and an idolatress takes place in public, any person present may kill them (Sanh. 9:6; Yad, Issurei Bi'ah 12:4). Failing such summary execution, the offender is liable to divine punishment and to be flogged (*ibid.* 12:6).

Marrying a person born of an adulterous or incestuous union (see **Mamzer*) and having sexual intercourse with him or her is a criminal offense punishable by flogging (*ibid.* 15:2). Marrying a person whose testes are crushed or whose member is cut off (Deut. 23:2), and having (or attempting to have) sexual intercourse with him, is also punishable by flogging (Yad, Issurei Bi'ah 16:1) – although the offense was qualified so as to apply only where the infirmity had not existed from birth but was acquired later by human act or accident (*ibid.* 16:9; Yev. 75b). It is similarly an offense punishable by flogging to castrate a person by causing injury to his sexual organs (Shab. 110b) – an offense which was extended even to the castration of animals (Tosef., Mak. 5:6; Yad, Issurei Bi'ah 10); but does not apply to females (*ibid.*) nor to castrations that do not cause injury to sexual organs (*ibid.* 16:11).

Some particular offenses apply to *kohanim* (priests) only: e.g., a *Kohen* who marries a divorcee, a harlot (including a non-Jewess), or a woman born of a prohibited union with a priest (Lev. 21:7), and has sexual intercourse with her, is guilty of an offense and liable to be flogged (*ibid.* 17:2), and so is the woman partner (*ibid.* 17:5). The high priest who had sexual intercourse with a widow (Lev. 21:13–14) was also liable to be flogged (Yad, Issurei Bi'ah 17:3).

The only sexual offense short of intercourse is "approaching" (Lev. 18:6) any person with whom intercourse is prohibited under penalty of death (including divine punishment). Embracing and kissing such persons, and other such precoital activities, are offenses punishable by flogging (Yad, Issurei Bi'ah 21:1). But it is no offense – however reprehensible and "foolish" it may be in some cases – to embrace or kiss one's mother, daughter, sister, or aunt, or such other relatives who do not normally arouse the sexual urge (*ibid.* 21:6; see *Incest). The prohibition against "cult prostitution" (Deut. 23:18) was interpreted as creating the offense of sexual intercourse with a harlot (cf. Lev. 19:29), both she and the man being liable to be flogged (Maim. Yad, Na'arah Betulah, 2:17). But however much *prostitution may be condemned (cf. e.g., Jer. 3:1–3), it appears in biblical times to have been widespread (cf. Gen. 34:31; 38:15; Judg. 11:1; 16:1; Isa. 23:15–16; Prov. 7:9–22; et al.) and not punishable. In post-talmudic times, sexual licentiousness was punished as a matter of course (cf. e.g., *Halakhot Pesukot min ha-Ge'onim*, 94).

There are several prohibited acts which do not amount to punishable offenses, but which may render the perpetrator liable to flogging by way of admonition and rebuke: e.g., indecent gestures or suggestions to women with whom intercourse is prohibited (Yad, Issurei Bi'ah, 21:2); lesbian conduct among women (21:8); sexual intercourse with one's wife in public (21:14); being secluded with a woman with whom intercourse is prohibited – other than one's mother, daughter, or (menstruous) wife, and also except a woman married to another man (because, in the latter case, the flogging might bring her into disrepute; 22:3).

In the State of Israel, rape is punishable with up to 14 years' imprisonment; when committed in the presence of several accessories to the crime, the punishment is up to 20 years' imprisonment (Section 152, Criminal Code Ordinance, 1936, as amended in 1966). Constructive (statutory) rape (sexual intercourse with an infant girl) has been extended up to the girl's age of 17. Proven acts of sodomy (homosexuality), buggery (carnal knowledge *per anum*), and bestiality (carnal knowledge of animals) are felonies. The largest group of sexual offenses comes under the heading of "indecent acts" – for which the penalty may increase in gravity if they are committed by force, or upon children, or in public. The law relating to procuration for purposes of prostitution and the keeping of brothels was restated and made considerably more severe in the Penal Law Amendment (Prostitution Offenses) Law, 5722 – 1962.

[Haim Hermann Cohn]

In the State of Israel

As of 1977, the law regulating sexual offenses is the Penal Law, 5737 – 1977 (hereinafter: "the Law"). In 2005, the basic penalty for rape was 16 years imprisonment and, under aggravated circumstances – such as rape of a minor or rape accompanied by threat to use a weapon – the penalty was 20 years imprisonment (Article 345 of the law). The prohibition on homosexual relations which had previously existed in Article 351(3) of the law was repealed in 1988 (Penal Law (Amendment No. 22) 5748 – 1988, (S.H. 62).

RAPE IN MARITAL RELATIONS. Jewish law absolutely prohibits the wife's rape by her husband. The Supreme Court (CA 353/62, *El Fakir v. Attorney General*, 18(4) PD 200; Judge Binyamin Halevi) criticized the position of English law, which at the time permitted the husband to force his wife to have sexual relations with him: "This outlook is not commensurate with human dignity and the dignity of marriage… A woman who agrees upon marriage to have sexual relations with her husband does not thereby agree to the use of force or the threats of severe physical maiming of her body. A woman is not 'like a prisoner taken by the sword' with her husband, and is entitled to the freedom of her body just as her husband is" (page 219 of the decision).

In this statement Judge Halevi made reference to the Rambam's statement, according to which: "A woman who has prevented her husband from having sexual intercourse is called rebellious, and she is to be asked why she has rebelled. If she says I find him repulsive and cannot have intercourse with him willingly, he is compelled to divorce her, because she is not like a captive who must have intercourse with someone she detests" (Yad., Ishut 14.8; regarding *moredet*, see *Husband and Wife). It should be stressed that, in any case, according to Jewish law it is prohibited to have intercourse by coercion; even if the wife's refusal is not justified, the wife may not be compelled to do so, although in this case she is liable to be considered "rebellious" or to lose the rights conferred to her by the marriage.

In the *Cohen* case (CA 91/80 *Cohen v. the State of Israel*, 35 (3) PD 281; Justice Bechor) the Court discussed the position of Jewish law on this matter in some detail. At the focus of the Cohen affair was the term "unlawful" in Article 345 of the law (as formulated at the time of the Cohen affair), which defines the act of rape as one who "has *unlawful* sexual intercourse with a female, against her will…." The accused claimed – and there was no factual dispute that he had had intercourse with his wife against her will – that the element of "unlawful" required under Article 345 did not exist, because according to Jewish law he had the right, as her husband, to have sexual relations with his wife; therefore, similar to English law, a husband who coerced his wife to have sexual relations with him does not thereby commit an offense of rape under the law, because the coercion of intercourse was "lawful." Justice Bechor rejected the defendant's argument, stating that under Jewish law the husband is prohibited from forcing his wife to have intercourse. He stressed that, according to the Torah, it is the husband's duty toward his wife to have sexual relations with her ("her food, her raiment, and her conjugal rights, he shall not diminish"; Exod. 21:10), while there is no imperative in the Bible or Talmud imposing a parallel obligation on the wife. Her obligation, rather, stems from her commitment in the marital agreement, which imposes an obligation on her part to give herself to her husband (p. 288 of the verdict). Insofar as the source of the wife's commitment is her undertaking at the time of her marriage, it is obvious that the wife did not agree that her husband would have sexual relations with her by rape, and has no such obligation (see: M.Elon "*Ma'amad ha-ishah*" ('Status of Woman'), 218 *et seq.*; N. Rakover "*Yaḥasei Ishut bi-Khefiyyah*," 305). Justice Bechor further cited the statement in the Talmud: "Rabbi Bar Ḥama said in the name of Rav Assi: It is forbidden for a man to coerce his wife to a *devar mitzvah* [i.e., to have sexual relations]" (Eruvin 100b) as well as the statement of the Rabad of Posquières: "As it was stated in tractate *Eruvin* that a person who coerces his wife to a '*devar mitzvah*' is considered evil, because it has been said 'Also, that the soul be without knowledge is not good and he that hasteth with his feet sinneth.' (Prov. 19:2). Accordingly, rape is forbidden even with his wife; rather, if he needs to have that act [i.e., sexual intercourse] he should conciliate his wife and then have sexual relations with her" (Rabad, quoted in Tur, OḤ 240 and in Tur, EH 25; pp. 288–89 of the verdict). Summarizing his verdict, Justice Bechor said:

> The conclusion I have reached accords with the basic principle of the dignity of woman as a free person and not as a slave, who is subject to her owner's good will in such a sensitive and delicate matter – principles which have, regrettably, not been realized in the legislation and adjudication of enlightened and advanced countries in the world. And it is not difficult to imagine how sad the fate of a woman can be in those countries, particularly in light of the fact that, according to the laws of the country or religion concerned, it is not easy and at times difficult or even impossible to arrive at the solution of divorce. It may be that this feeling is what brought about a certain alleviation in England, when it was decided that the wife's duty to have sexual relations against her will and as a result of coercion does not apply if a situation of legal separation exists between the couple, even if they are not divorced. I might add that the Jewish people may be proud of the progressive and liberal approach of its heritage and *halakhah* with respect to such matters since ancient times (p. 291 of the Verdict; *Ma'amad ha-Iishah*, ibid).

RAPE THAT ENDS IN CONSENT. According to Jewish law, a married woman who has had sexual relations with a man who is not her husband is permanently forbidden to her husband; hence, her husband is obliged to divorce her. However, if the woman was raped by the other man, then the woman is not forbidden to her husband, unless he was a *kohen* (member of a hereditary priestly family; see *Marriage, Prohibited). In a case in which the man initially forced himself upon the woman, but during the course of the act she came to consent, it is ruled that the woman is nevertheless not forbidden to her husband: "Rabba stated: Any woman, the outrage against whom began under compulsion, even though it terminated with her consent; and even if she [the raped woman] said, 'Leave him be,' and even if she states that, had he not attacked her, she would have hired him [to have relations with her], is permitted [to her husband]. What is the reason? She came to be overwhelmed by her passion [i.e., that during the course of the act her passion was aroused, so that even this passion that overcame her against her will is considered as rape]" (Ket. 51b; Yad., Ishut 24.19).

The Supreme Court (Cr. A. 115/00, *Teib v. State of Israel* 54 (3) PD 289. 308, (per Justice Yitzhak Englard) ruled in a case in which the defendant charged with rape argued that he had misunderstood the woman's refusal to have sexual relations, because at the end of the act the woman had cooperated, and her physiological and sexual response to his acts had been positive. The Court determined that, similar to the case in Jewish law regarding "initial rape that ends in consent," the woman's response should not be regarded as constituting consent to sexual relations, and one could not say that in such a case the man could have formed the impression that the woman consented to his actions.

SEXUAL DEGRADATION. Section 348 of the law prohibits the perpetration of an indecent act, defined as "any act intended for sexual excitement arousal, gratification or degradation." The Supreme Court discussed a case in which a robber ordered women whom he had robbed to remove all their clothes. The District Court convicted the defendant, in addition to the crime of robbery, with that of performing an indecent act. In an appeal before the Supreme Court, the defendant argued that he ought not to be convicted of the offense of an indecent act, because the purpose of ordering the women to remove their clothes was not to sexually abase them, as required by this law, but in order to determine whether they were concealing money on their bodies; hence, it was incorrect to attribute criminal intent to him with respect to the offense of "sexual abasement." The Supreme Court (Cr. A. 3728/04 *Deviri v. The State of Israel*, per Justice Eliakim Rubinstein) rejected the defendant's argument and ruled that the defendant was well aware of the fact that the act of taking off their clothes would cause the women's sexual degradation. In the matter of coercing nudity on a person as sexual degradation, the court referred to the story about Queen Vashti, of whom we are told (Esther 1:11) that King Ahasuerus commanded that she be brought wearing the royal crown "to show the peoples and the princes her beauty; for she was fair to look on." The Midrash interpreted the command as a demand that she be brought to the banquet wearing only her royal crown, i.e., in the nude (See Megillah 12b, PdRE 48, Esther Rabbah 12). *Midrash Sifri de-Aggadata – Midrash Abba Guryon 1* interprets the words "'…with the royal crown' Rabbi Abba said: that she should be wearing nothing but the crown and she should be nude. Rabbi Shimon Bar Naḥmani said in the name of Rabbi Yonatan: Evil persons are not judged in Hell except in the nude, as has been said, 'O Lord, O Lord, when thou awakest, thou shalt despise *their image*' (Ps. 73:20)" – meaning that very fact of coercing a person to be nude is a degradation (cf. *Ma'amad ha-Ishah*, 223–28).

[Menachem Elon (2nd ed.)]

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SEYMOUR, DAVID (**Chim**; 1911–1956), U.S. photographer. Chim was born in Warsaw, where his father was a pioneer Hebrew and Yiddish publisher. He studied photography and the graphic arts at the Leipzig Academy. In 1931 he moved to Paris, where he shared a studio with Robert *Capa and Henri Cartier-Bresson, and became a free-lance press photographer. At the outbreak of the Spanish Civil War he went to Spain and at the end of the war covered the journey of 1,000 Spanish loyalist refugees to Mexico. At the outbreak of World War II, Chim went to the United States, where he joined the air force and served as a photo intelligence officer. In Paris he rejoined Capa and Cartier-Bresson and together they founded Magnum Photos, one of the foremost international photographic agencies. His first peacetime assignment was a picture story of UNESCO for which he photographed his moving studies of homeless children in war-torn Europe. He befriended children everywhere, helped to support them, and where possible, settled them in private homes. Chim frequently visited Israel and was killed while covering the Sinai Campaign of 1956.

[Peter Pollack]

SEYMOUR, JANE (**Joyce Penelope Wilhelmina Frankenberg**; 1951–), actress. Born in Hayes, England, to a British father and a Dutch mother, she assumed the stage name of Jane Seymour at age 17, after King Henry VIII's third wife. Her film career began in 1969 with an uncredited role in *Oh! What a Lovely War.* Her first major film role was as Lillian Stein, a Jewish woman seeking shelter from the Nazis, in the 1970 war drama *The Only Way.* Other feature films include *Young Winston* (1972); the James Bond movie *Live and Let Die* (1973); *Sinbad and the Eye of the Tiger* (1977); *Somewhere in Time* (1980); *Lassiter* (1984); and *Wedding Crashers* (2005).

Seymour appeared in numerous TV movies and series, most notably as Dr. Michaela Quinn in the TV series and movie *Dr. Quinn, Medicine Woman* (1993–2001), a role that earned her three Emmy nominations. She won a Best Supporting Actress Emmy for her performance in the TV miniseries *Onassis* (1988) and was nominated for Best Actress Emmys for the miniseries *Captains and the Kings* (1976) and *War and Remembrance* (1988).

In 1999 Seymour was named an Officer of the Order of the British Empire (OBE) by Britain's Queen Elizabeth II. She has served as the official spokesperson for UNICEF and the international ambassador for Childhelp U.S.A. In 2005 she became a U.S. citizen.

Seymour was married to theater director Michael Attenborough (1971–73); after two other divorces, she married film director James Keach in 1993. She wrote several books, including *Remarkable Changes* (2003); *Two at a Time: Having Twins* (2001); and *Jane Seymour's Guide to Romantic Living* (1986).

[Ruth Beloff 2nd ed.)]

°**SEYSS-INQUART, ARTHUR** (1892–1946), Austrian Nazi lawyer who prior to the *Anschluss* was active in nationalist circles. He was appointed by the Austrian chancellor Kurt von Scnushnigg to the Council of State in the hope that he would mediate with the extreme Right. In 1938, because of German pressure on Austria, Seyss-Inquart was appointed minister of the interior in the Austrian cabinet, a function in which he executed the coup that led to the Austrian *Anschluss* to Germany that year. He then became chancellor of Austria, and later *Reichsstatthalter* (a high official whose task was to coordinate the activities of various ministries in occupied territories). In October 1939 he became deputy governor general of Poland, where he looked for territory for the Lublin Reservation. On May 19, 1940, he was appointed *Reichskommissar* for Holland, with the hope that he could copy his Austrian performance in Holland. He remained in this post until the German capitulation on May 5, 1945.

Seyss-Inquart was known for his devotion to *National-Socialism and his blind obedience to Hitler. His antisemitism was less extreme than that of many other Nazi leaders, but this did not prevent him from efficiently carrying out the persecution of the Jews in Holland. Only occasionally was he more moderate, probably for political reasons. Still he took an active role in the deportation of Jews in Holland. He wanted to be the initiator of operations and not have outside parties infringing on his area of responsibility. However, he never entered into conflict with Hitler on any policy, so that Hitler, as a token of his esteem, designated Seyss-Inquart foreign minister in his will. Sentenced to death at the Nuremberg trials, Seyss-Inquart was executed by hanging.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: E. Davidson, *Trial of the Germans* (1966), 446–82; G.M. Gilbert, *Nuremberg Diary* (1947), index; IMT, *Trial of the Major War Criminals*, 24 (1949), index; H.J. Neumann, *Arthur Seyss-Inquart* (Dutch, 1967).

[Jozeph Michman (Melkman) / Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

SFARD, DAVID (1905–1981), Yiddish writer and editor. Born in Trisk, Volhynia, he initially received a traditional Jewish education, then attended Hebrew-Polish schools (1919–26) and studied philosophy and participated in the literary circle of I.M. *Weissenberg in Warsaw (1926–28). His first poetic collection, *Shtaplen* ("Steps," 1929) appeared while he was studying in France (1928–31), where he wrote a doctoral dissertation on Hegel. In 1932 he returned to Warsaw and became actively involved in leftist Yiddish literary life, in 1933 becoming a member of the illegal Polish Communist Party. In 1939 he fled to Soviet-occupied territory. Repatriated to Poland in 1946, he occupied a prominent position in Jewish cultural life, especially as editor of the publishing venture Yidish-Bukh, which published more than 200 books. His own writings include the verse collections *Lider* ("Poems," 1957), and *Borvese Trit* ("Barefoot Steps," 1966), literary criticism, short stories, and translations. In 1969 he immigrated to Israel.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: LNYL, 6 (1965), 527–30. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** D. Sfard, *Mit Zikh un mit Andere* (1984).

[Sol Liptzin / Gennady Estraikh (2nd ed.)]

SFORNO, OBADIAH BEN JACOB (c. 1470–c. 1550), Italian biblical commentator and physician. Born in Cesena, Sforno was especially attached to his brother Hananel, who for a time supported him financially. Nothing is known about his father. In Rome Obadiah studied philosophy, mathematics, philology, and, in particular, medicine, which profession he followed; there on Cardinal Grimani's recommendation he taught Hebrew from 1498 to 1500 to the Christian humanist Johannes *Reuchlin. He met David *Reuveni when the latter was in Rome (1524). After staying in various cities, he finally settled at Bologna, where he played an active role in resuscitating a Hebrew printing house and in organizing the community. He established a *bet-midrash* which he conducted until his death. His renown was such that Italian rabbis addressed *halakhic* questions to him, and his decisions were quoted in the responsa of Meir *Katzenelbogen, who referred to him in terms of great esteem (Resp. Maharam of Padua, nos. 48–49).

Obadiah's reputation rests chiefly on his commentary on the Pentateuch, Song of Songs, and Ecclesiastes, which first appeared in Venice in 1567; on Psalms (Venice, 1586), on Job (*Mishpat Ẓedek*, Venice, 1589) and on Jonah, Habakkuk and Zechariah which were published in the Rabbinic Bible, *Kehillot Moshe* (Amsterdam, 1724–28). While generally limiting himself to the literal exegesis of the biblical text and at times going beyond this to give an exposition in keeping with the contemporary scientific outlook (e.g., on the Creation), he avoids mystical and kabbalistic interpretations. He pays comparatively little regard to philology, being on the whole satisfied to elucidate the contents of a passage without entering into a philological analysis. He does not give historical explanations or identify places except in rare instances, availing himself, however, of his medical knowledge in his exegesis, e.g., Genesis 43:27, and in explaining the reasons for the commandments.

In his commentary on the Song of Songs and Ecclesiastes, as well as on the Pentateuch, he employs allegory, e.g., in expounding the reason for the injunction of the red *heifer. Instead of dealing separately with individual difficulties in a verse, he prefers to incorporate the solution in a brief running comment on the passage as a whole. He takes pains to emphasize the inner connection between different parts of a verse and to account for duplications in phraseology, e.g., Genesis 43:28. In many instances he deals with the motives that inspired acts of heroism. His explanation is at times extremely incisive, e.g., Genesis 39:19. While often quoting rabbinical statements in support of his views, he rarely makes use of historical *aggadot*.

He aimed at inculcating a love for mankind in general and not only for fellow Jews, the difference between them being quantitative and not qualitative (Ex. 19:5), and his commentaries contain frequent references to humanistic ideas. In line with this he quoted that "righteous gentiles are undoubtedly dear to Me" i.e., to God (loc. cit.), and "the whole of mankind is Thine own treasure" (Deut. 33:3). At times, however, he introduces his views in a somewhat artificial manner, e.g., Numbers 23:22–24.

His commentary on the Pentateuch is prefaced by an introduction entitled *Kavvanot ha-Torah* ("The inner meaning of the Torah"), in which he deals with the structure of the Pentateuch and the reasons for its precepts, in particular for the sacrifices, on which he dwells at some length. His wide learning is reflected in his other literary productions. Thus he wrote a philosophical work *Or Ammim* (Bologna, 1537), in which he sought to refute the views of Aristotle, which are in conflict with the principles of Judaism, by employing the basic elements of the Greek philosopher's own teachings. He translated the work into Latin, under the title *Lumen Gentium*, dedicating it to King Henry II of France (Bologna, 1548). He wrote a commentary on *Avot* (published in the *Roman Maḥzor*, Bologna, 1540–41), as well as other unpublished works: a translation of Euclid's eight books, a Hebrew grammar, some responsa, and smaller works on various subjects.

[Avie Goldberg]

His pentateuchal commentary was edited after his death by his brother HANANEL, an eminent talmudist. OBADIAH BEN ISRAEL SFORNO, Venetian talmudist, was the publisher of *Yemin Adonai Romemah* (Venice, c. 1600) by Menahem Azariah da *Fano. SOLOMON SHEMAIAH BEN NISSIM SFORNO (d. 1617), rabbi of Asti and then of Venice, was the author of various works, largely unpublished; these include responsa, some of which were included by Jacob *Heilbron in his *Naḥalat Ya'akov* (Padua, 1622), and commentaries to different biblical books. He edited Judah Halevi's *Kuzari* with Judah Moscato's commentary (Venice, 1594).

[Ariel Toaff]

BIBLIOGRAPHY: E. Finkel, *Obadja Sforno als Exeget* (1896); A.Z. Aescoly (ed.), *Sippur David ha-Re'uveni* (1940), 113–4 (first pagination); L.A. Wohlgemuth, in: *Scritti… Sally Mayer* (1956), 120–5 (Heb. section); J. Volk, in: *Sefer Niger* (1959), 277–302 (incl. bibl.); Laras, in: *Sinai*, 62 (1967), 262–7; Fuerst, Bibliotheca, 3 (1863), 319; Mortara, Indice, 61; Colorni, in: RMI, 28 (1962), 78–88; C. Roth, *Jews in the Renaissance* (1959), index.

SHAALBIM or **SHAALABBIN** (Heb. שַׁעַלְבִּים; שַׁעֲלַבִּין).

(1) Town in the territory of the tribe of Dan, together with Aijalon (Josh. 19:42). The place was inhabited by Amorites, who submitted to the tribe of Ephraim (Judg. 1:35). One of David's "mighty men," Eliahba the Shaalbonite, was born there (II Sam. 23:32; I Chron. 11:33). Shaalbim was included with Beth-Shemesh in Solomon's second administrative district (I Kings 4:9). Jerome mentions a village called Selebi to the north of Emmaus (PL, vol. 25, p. 488).

Shaalbim is identified with the village of Salbīt, northwest of the Aijalon Valley. This place was found deserted in the 19th century, but was later resettled by inhabitants of the nearby village of Beit (Bayt) Duqqū. In 1948 it was occupied by the Israel army whose soldiers discovered a mosaic-paved floor with an inscription in old Hebrew script. Excavations by the Hebrew University in 1949 revealed a Samaritan synagogue. The building is rectangular, approximately 50.5 × 26.4 ft. (15.40 × 8.05 m.) and oriented toward the northeast, in the direction of Mt. Gerizim. It contained the remains of two mosaic-paved floors, one above the other, approximately 5.9–11.5 in. (15–28 cm.) apart. The lower floor, the better preserved of the two, is decorated in black, red, and white and contains a rectangular panel 19.7 × 10.4 ft. (6 × 3.20 m.) with a rosette pattern in a crowstep border. In the center is a circle, 4.7 ft. (1.45 m.) in diameter, with a Greek inscription mentioning the *eukterion* (praying place). Below the inscription are two seven-branched candlesticks, and between them is an ornament which has been interpreted as a symbol of Mt. Gerizim. To the north of the panel and close to its border is an inscription in Samaritan script of Exodus 15:18; "The Lord will reign for ever and ever." Another fragmentary Samaritan inscription was found south of the panel. The synagogue apparently dates to the fourth century C.E.; it was probably destroyed in the fifth or sixth century.

[Michael Avi-Yonah]

(2) In 1951 a kibbutz was established at Shaalbim. In 1970 there were 270 inhabitants. Affiliated with Po'alei Agudat Israel, it was founded as a *Naḥal outpost by members of the Ezra movement together with Israel-born youth. Later, immigrants from English-speaking and other countries joined the settlement. Its population was 1,232 in 2004, including a *hesder* yeshivah and other educational facilities. Nearby was the religious rural settlement of Nof Ayalon with a population of 2,377.

[Efraim Orni]

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Abel, Geog, 2 (1938), 438; Sukenik, in: BRF, 1 (1949), 26ff.; *Enẓiklopedyah la-Ḥakirot Arkhe'ologiyyot be-Ereẓ Yisrael* (1970), 548–9. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** Y. Tsafrir, L. Di Segni, and J. Green, *Tabula Imperii Romani. Iudaea – Palaestina. Maps and Gazetteer* (1994): 226, s.v. "Selebi."

SHAANAN, AVRAHAM (1919–1988), Hebrew writer and literary critic. Born in Galicia, Shaanan went to Palestine in 1935. Between 1953 and 1957 he was the London correspondent for the daily *Davar*, and subsequently edited its weekly literary supplement. He lectured in comparative literature at Tel Aviv University (1957–61) and was cultural attaché to the Israel Embassy in Paris from 1963 to 1966, and editor of the literary supplement of **Davar*. His stories and articles first appeared in *Gilyonot* and then in other literary journals in Israel and abroad.

His books include *Ha-Olam shel Mahar* ("The World of Tomorrow," 1952), stories; *Hillel Kawerin* (1955), a novel; *Iyyunim be-Sifrut ha-Haskalah* ("Studies in Haskalah Literature," 1952), dealing with the influence of French literature on Haskalah writers; *Millon ha-Sifrut ha-Ḥadash – ha-Ivrit ve-ha-Kelalit* ("A Dictionary of Modern Hebrew and World Literature," 1959; 1970; 1978) and a study of Shaul Tchernichowsky (1984). His major work is a history of modern Hebrew literature, *Ha-Sifrut ha-Ivrit ha-Ḥadashah li-Zrameha* ("Trends in Modern Hebrew Literature," 4 vols. 1962–67, incomplete). He also published an anthology, *Soferei Olam* ("World Authors," 1966), 21 works by world-famous authors translated into Hebrew, with introductions, biographies, and notes.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Y. Friedlander, *Historiyografiyah shel ha-Sifrut*, in*: Yedioth Aharonoth* (March 31, 1978).

[Getzel Kressel]

SHA'AREI SHEVU'OT (Heb. שַׁעֲרֵי שְׁבוּעוֹת), work on the laws of oaths, consisting of 20 chapters. It is extensively quoted by the early *posekim* such as *Meir of Rothenburg, as well as in the *Ittur* of *Isaac b. Abba Mari and in the *Mordekhai* of *Mordecai b. Hillel. The authorship of this work has been a subject of dispute among scholars. It has been attributed erroneously to Isaac b. Reuben Alfasi. It now appears, however, that Isaac b. Reuben merely wrote an edited translation from the Arabic of David b. Saadiah's *Mishpetei Shevu'ot* and added a short rhymed introduction giving his own name in acrostic. As a result the work was wrongly ascribed to him. As the work is usually published together with the *halakhot* of Alfasi, it is often referred to as "the *She'arim* (lit. "gates," i.e., chapters) of R. Alfasi."

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Michael, Or, no. 1085; I. Friedlaender, in: MGWJ, 55 (1911), 502f.; L. Ginzberg, in: REJ, 67 (1914), 141–3; S. Assaf, in: KS, 3 (1926–27), 296f.

SHA'AREI TIKVAH (Heb. שַׁעֲרֵי תִּקְוָה), urban community in Samaria. The town is located in western Samaria, on the western slopes of the Samarian mountains, northeast of Petaḥ Tikvah. It was established in 1983 and the first settlers arrived in 1985. The founders sought to create an urban community with a mixed religious and secular population. In 1990 Sha'arei Tivkah received municipal council status. In 2002 its population was 3,650. In the town's vicinity are remains from the Second Temple period.

WEBSITES: www.shaarey-tikva.muni.il; www.moetzetyesha.co.il.

[Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

SHA'AR HA-AMAKIM (Heb. שַׁעַר הָעֲמָקִים; "Gateway of the Valleys"), kibbutz in northern Israel, on the ridge separating the Zebulun and Jezreel valleys, 1 mi. (2 km.) W. of Kiryat Tivon, affiliated with Kibbutz Arzi ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir. Sha'ar ha-Amakim was founded in 1935 by pioneers from Yugoslavia. In the 1936–39 Arab riots the settlement came under frequent attack in an attempt to dislodge it from its strategic position. In 1970 the kibbutz had 580 inhabitants, maintaining a stable population into the 21st century. It developed intensive, fully irrigated farming based on field crops, plantations, fishery, and dairy cattle. The kibbutz owned Chromagen Solar Energy Systems, a leader in the field.

WEBSITE: www.sharmakim.org.il.

[Efraim Orni / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

SHA'AR HA-GOLAN (Heb. שַׁעַר הַגּוֹלָן; "Gateway of the Golan"), kibbutz founded in 1937 on the northern bank of the Yarmuk river, central Jordan valley, Israel. Next to the kibbutz is an 8,000-year-old prehistoric settlement. It was first excavated by M. Stekelis in the years 1949–52. He uncovered remains of a previously unknown culture, which he named "Yarmukian Culture" after the nearby river. Pottery appears here for the first time in Israel, gives this cultural stage its name as Pottery Neolithic. In the years 1989–2004 Y. Garfinkel conducted large-scale excavations and uncovered ca. 3,000 sq.m.

The new excavations clarify that Sha'ar ha-Golan is of outstanding importance for a number of reasons. Surveys and excavations have shown that it is some 20 hectares in area, making it one of the largest settlements of its period in the world. The excavations uncovered three large courtyard houses, ranging between 250 and 700 sq.m. in area. Monumental construction on this scale is unknown elsewhere in this period. The houses consist of a central courtyard with several small rooms around it. This is an architectural concept that still exists in traditional Mediterranean societies. The courtyard house makes its first appearance at Sha'ar ha-Golan, giving the site a special importance in architectural history. The houses were separated by streets that constitute evidence of advanced community planning. Three passageways were uncovered, including a central street about 3 m. wide, paved with pebbles set in mud, and a narrow winding alley 1 m. wide. These are the earliest streets discovered in Israel, and among the earliest streets built by man. A well, 4.26 m. deep, was dug into the water table. It is indicative of advanced hydrological knowledge and technological engineering. Exotic objects discovered in the excavations include sea shells from the Mediterranean, polished stone vessels made from alabaster (or marble), and blades made from obsidian (volcanic glass) from Turkey. These point to trade connections extending over 700 km.

About 300 art objects were found at Sha'ar ha-Golan, making it the main center of prehistoric art in Israel and one of the most important in the world. Among the outstanding art objects are figurines in human form made of fired clay or carved on pebbles. The overwhelming majority are female images, interpreted as representing a goddess. The clay figurines are extravagant in their detail, giving them a surrealistic appearance, while the pebble figurines are minimalist and abstract in form. Because of the unique artistic quality of the figurines the Metropolitan Museum of New York and the Louvre Museum in Paris have mounted 10-year exhibits of selected objects. In Israel, figurines are exhibited at the Israel Museum in Jerusalem and in the local museum built in Kibbutz Sha'ar ha-Golan.

[Yosef Garfinkel (2nd ed.)]

The kibbutz is affiliated with Kibbutz Arẓi Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir. It was founded by pioneers from Czechoslovakia as a tower and stockade settlement and soon came under attack in the Arab riots. In the *War of Independence, the kibbutz lay exposed to attack and, on May 18, 1948, it became untenable as the invading Syrian Army, together with Iraqi and Jordanian contingents, took nearby Ẓemaḥ and advanced on Deganyah. The site was recaptured, however, together with the neighboring kibbutz Massadah, two days later. Both villages had been completely destroyed, and although they remained on the front line, the settlers immediately began reconstruction. In the following two decades, and particularly in the period preceding the *Six-Day War (June 1967), the nearby Syrian and Jordanian positions repeatedly harassed the kibbutz. Although the capture of the Golan Heights in June 1967 removed the danger from the Syrian side, the kibbutz, situated on the Jordanian border as well, continued to suffer from frequent shelling. In 1970 Sha'ar ha-Golan had 590 inhabitants, dropping to 503 in 2002. In spite of its security problems, the kibbutz developed a model economy based on subtropical irrigated field crops, bananas, avocados, dates, beehives, poultry, and dairy cattle. It also had a plastics factory, a few stores at the nearby Ẓemaḥ junction, and guest rooms.

[Efraim Orni / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Stekelis, in: IEJ, 1 (1951), 1ff.; 2 (1952), 216–7; E. Anati, *Palestine before the Hebrews* (1963), 263ff. **WEBSITE:** www.shaar-hagolan.co.il.

SHA'AR ḤEFER-BEIT YIẒḤAK (Heb. שַׁעַר חֵפֶר; "Gateway to Ḥefer [plain]"), moshav in central Israel, E. of Netanyah, affiliated with Ha-Mo'eẓah ha-Ḥakla'it. The moshav consists of four separate settlements: Beit Yiẓḥak founded in 1939 by a group of settlers from Germany; Gan Ḥefer, inhabited by second-generation farmers, mostly from Netanyah, belonging to the *Benei Binyamin association founded in 1940; Sha'ar Ḥefer, established by immigrants from Czechoslovakia founded in 1940; and Nirah, established in 1941 by middle-class immigrants from Czechoslovakia. At the beginning, each settlement was independent, but soon after their establishment, it was proposed to unite them. First Gan Ḥefer was united with Sha'ar Ḥefer. Later on, in the 1950s, Sha'ar Ḥefer merged with the adjacent moshav Nirah. In 1970 the combined Sha'ar Ḥefer had 350 inhabitants. In 1972, Sha'ar Ḥefer and Beit Yitzhak were united as a single settlement, Sha'ar Ḥefer-Beit Yiẓḥak. The population of the united settlement was 1,560 inhabitants at the end of 2002, thanks to new housing and the absorption of newcomers. The moshav's economy was based on citrus groves, vegetables, milch cattle, and poultry. Beit Yiẓḥak was known for its natural confiture factory.

WEBSITE: www.beit-yitzhak.org.il

[Efraim Orni / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

SHA'ATNEZ (Heb. שַׁעַטְנֵז; Gr. κίβδηλος, "counterfeit"), cloth combining wool and linen. Leviticus 19:19 and Deuteronomy 22:11 prohibit the wearing of *sha'atnez*, in the former passage explained as *beged kil'ayim*, "cloth made from a mixture of two kinds of material," in the latter passage explained as "wool and linen together." While the meaning of the term is therefore clear, its etymology is obscure, modern speculation ranging from unlikely Hebrew combinations (e.g., *sa'arat-a'nez* supposedly meaning "[sheep's] hair-[flax] stalk") to the no more likely Coptic (*saht*, "woven," *nudj*, "false" [cf. the LXX]), and vulgar Arabic (*shash*, "black gauze," *'atmuz*, "strong") derivations. The word looks foreign.

The clothing of the priests was notably exempt from the prohibition of *sha'atnez*. Exodus 28:6, 8, 15, and 39:29 prescribe that various pieces be made of linen and colored wool interwoven (cf. Kil. 9:1: "Priests wear only wool and linen [i.e. *sha'atnez*] when they serve in the temple"). This suggests that the general prohibition was grounded on the taboo character of such a mixture, pertaining exclusively to the realm of the sacred (cf. Maimonides' view, below).

The rabbis interpret the word *sha'atnez* as being a compound standing for *shu'a* (שׁוּע; each thread smoothed out by the process of carding); *tavui* (טָווּי; each strand spun); and *nuz* (נוז; woven or twisted together). The Torah's prohibition against *sha'atnez* therefore only applies when a strand of wool and one of linen, each carded, spun, and twisted, have been joined together by weaving, sewing, or tying (Kil. 9:8). The rabbis, however, prohibited the wearing of wool and linen even when their threads are simply sewn, tied, or pasted together (Nid. 61b; Rashi to Hor. 11a). The prohibition was extended to include sitting on *sha'atnez* fabrics although the Torah originally only forbade the wearing of mixed garments (Ta'an. 27b). It is, however, permitted to utilize *sha'atnez* shrouds for a corpse (Nid. 61b).

In accordance with the general principle that a positive precept overrides a negative one, it is permitted to attach blue woolen ẓiẓit to a linen garment (Men. 40a). It was likewise permitted for priests to wear garments of mixed texture prescribed by the Torah when performing priestly service in the Sanctuary (Yoma 69a).

Although the prohibition is considered a prime example of a divine statute which has no rational explanation (חוק), Jewish thinkers throughout the ages have attempted to rationalize its intent. Maimonides explained that the wearing of mixed garments was forbidden since heathen priests wore such garments (*Guide of the Perplexed* 3:37). Naḥmanides suggested that the person mixing diverse kinds was guilty of displaying that he was improving upon the species created by God (Commentary to Lev. 19:19) while S.R. Hirsch saw in this commandment a reminder to man that he must guard his assigned purpose and place in the world just as the species must be distinctly preserved (Commentary to Lev. 19:19, tr. by I. Levy (1958), 534f.).

Elaborate chemical and microscopic tests have been developed to check for the presence of *sha'atnez* in clothing. In many cities with large Jewish populations, *sha'atnez* laboratories have been established to check for *sha'atnez* in garments.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: F. Brown, S.R. Driver, and C.A. Briggs, *A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament* (1962), s.v. (etymology); Koehler-Baumgarten, s.v. (etymology); Ben-Yehuda, Millon, s.v. (etymology); D. Feldmann *Shimmushah shel Torah* (1951), 128–36; Eisenstein, Dinim, 429f.

[Aaron Rothkoff]

SHABAD (Szabad), ZEMAḤ (1864–1935), physician, communal leader, and publicist, one of the heads of the Vilna community, known for his cultural and political activities. Born in Vilna, in 1881 Shabad moved with his family to Moscow, where he completed his studies in the faculty of medicine at Moscow University (1884–89). In 1894 Shabad settled in Vilna, devoting himself to work in a hospital, where he became a director and a well-known internist. For many years he was chairman of *YEKOPO. Believing in the principle of "productivization" in Jewish occupations, he promoted the development of *ORT, serving as its chairman until 1925. Shabad was distinguished for his manifold activities in the field of public health, as founder of the Vilna branch of *OZE, which was affiliated to the national organization of *TOZ. In this framework he devoted himself to the central organ of TOZ, *Folksgezund*, in which he published articles dealing with medical research, and formulated many medical terms in Yiddish.

During World War I he worked to save the Jewish masses in the battle areas from epidemics and hunger. In 1919–20 he served as president of the democratically elected community council, and between 1919 and 1927 was a member of the Vilna municipal council. Politically he was close to the Folkist Party (*Folkspartei) in Poland; he cultivated ideological and personal relations with S. *Dubnow before the Russian Revolution and also later when Dubnow left Russia. Following a disagreement with Noah *Prylucki, a split occurred in the party in 1926. Later Shabad, as head of the dissidents whose center was in Vilna, made contact with the *Minority Bloc led by Y. *Gruenbaum, and in 1928 was elected a member of the Polish Senate. There he fought manifestations of antisemitism and discrimination by the government. At the end of his life he became close to the neo-Territorialist (see *Territorialism) movement. Supporting Jewish cultural and national autonomy (see *Autonomism), and as one of the active members of the Central Yiddish School Organization (CYSHO), he struggled for the rights of secular schools with Yiddish as their language of instruction. He was one of the founders of the *YIVO research institute which was established in Vilna.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Z. Rejzen, *Vilne* (1935), 737, 744; Rejzen, Leksikon, 4 (1929), 429–34; M. Shalit (ed.), *Oyf di Khurves fun Milkhomes un Mehumes* (1931), 574–602, 903; *Dr. Zemah Shabad, der Visenschaftler un Publitsist* (1937).

[Moshe Landau]

SHABAZI, SHALEM (fl. 17th century), the greatest of Yemenite Jewish poets. Some 550 of his poems and hymns are extant, written in Hebrew, Aramaic, or Arabic. In all of them, his name appears in acrostic form either at the beginning of the stanzas or in the poem itself. No details are known regarding his life except what can be deduced from his poems. Living in a period of persecutions and messianic anticipations for Yemenite Jewry, Shabazi gave faithful poetic expression to the suffering and yearning of his generation, whose national poet he became. It seems that he wandered in poverty throughout *Yemen. Many legends describe him as a *ẓaddik* and miracle worker; his tomb in *Taiz was considered holy and became a shrine where both Jews and Muslims prayed for relief from sickness and misery. His poetry deals primarily with the religious themes of exile and redemption, the Jewish people and God, wisdom and ethics, Torah, and the life to come. Many of his poems deal with the glorious past of the Jews in their own land, from which the author draws faith and hope for renewed greatness in the future. He wrote poems dedicated to the Sabbath and festivals, marriage, and circumcision. His ethical poems are outstanding for their teaching and gentle moralizing. *Kabbalah and mysticism based on the works of the kabbalists who preceded R. Isaac *Luria play an important role in his poetry. Academic and medieval scientific themes are also a frequent feature. His rare secular poems deal with discussions between concrete and abstract objects. His poems are not confined to any one theme, but combine several subjects in one and the same work. Their style, comparable to that of rabbinical literature, is prosaic and easy, making his poetry readily accessible to the masses. About half the poems in the Yemenite *diwan*, published in many editions, are by him. R. Halevi's edition (1998) includes more than 200 liturgical poems attributed to Shabazi.

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[Yehuda Ratzaby]

SHABBAT (Heb. שַׁבָּת), first tractate in the Mishnah, Tosefta, and the two Talmuds of the order *Mo'ed*, dealing in 24 chapters with the laws relating to Sabbath and its observance. The last four chapters are missing in the Jerusalem Talmud.

Chapter 1 deals with the problems of "domains" (*reshuyyot*, see *Reshut) and with questions concerning what may or may not be done on Friday before sunset. Chapter 2 deals with the kindling of the Sabbath lights. Chapters 3–4 are on keeping food warm or warming it up on the Sabbath. Chapter 5 concerns the injunction that one's domestic animals rest on the Sabbath. Chapter 6 discusses what one may carry as a part of one's apparel and includes an interesting discussion as to whether weapons are to be regarded as apparel. Chapter 7 is notable for its enumeration of the 39 principal categories of works forbidden on the Sabbath. It also discusses the sin-offering due for the inadvertent violation of the Sabbath and the minimal quantities which incur guilt. Chapter 8 continues the question of quantities, chapters 9–15 deal with the definitions of these various labors, and Chapter 16 discusses mainly the problems arising from conflagration. Chapters 17–18 deal with **mukẓeh*, chapter 19 with the problem of circumcision on the Sabbath, and chapters 20–24 with a great variety of questions relating to the Sabbath, such as bathing, casting lots, attending to the dead, and feeding cattle.

The following passages of the Babylonian *Gemara* deserve particular mention: the description of the origin of Ḥanukkah (21b); the discussion on whether the Books of Ezekiel, Ecclesiastes, and Proverbs should be considered canonical (13b, 30b); the humility and leniency of *Hillel in contrast to the stringency of *Shammai (29b–30a); differences in the attitude of the sages toward Rome and the story of Simeon b. *Yoḥai hiding in a cave for 12 years (33b); and on the ministering angels (*malakhei ha-sharet*) accompanying the Jew from the synagogue to his home on the Sabbath eve (119b). The Tosefta to this tractate is divided into 18 chapters. Chapters 6–7 refer to many interesting customs and superstitions, some of which are denounced as idolatrous.

The tractates *Shabbat* and *Eruvin* were originally one tractate. The last chapter of *Eruvin* belongs to *Shabbat* as does that of the Tosefta. The Mishnah of *Shabbat* derives from various sources and different layers can be detected. Most conspicuous is the combination of Mishnah collections. It contains some of the Mishnah of Meir, Judah, Yose, Simeon, and Eleazar. It contains matters that belong together but which are scattered in various places and also conflicting views both in different places and in one and the same Mishnah. Several of the *mishnayot* (1:11; 13:1–3, 6, 8; 14:3; et al.) are clearly of early date. Nevertheless the Mishnah of *Shabbat* in its present form is in the main from the version of Akiva's pupils. From the arrangement of the Tosefta it is clear that it had in front of it mishnaic sources different in arrangement and scope. The whole of the chapter dealing with "the customs of the Amorite" in the Tosefta chapters 6 and 7 (see above) is from the Mishnah of Yose. The talmudic tractate was translated into English by H. Freedman in the Soncino edition (1938).

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[Arnost Zvi Ehrman]

SHABBAT BERESHIT (Heb. שַׁבַּת בְּרֵאשִׁית, "the Sabbath of Genesis"), the first Sabbath after *Sukkot on which the new annual cycle of the Torah reading in synagogue begins (see also *Triennial Cycle), the previous cycle having been completed on *Simḥat Torah. Its name refers to the first word of the Bible "*Bereshit*" – "In the beginning." It is customary on this Sabbath to call to the Torah reading the person who acted on Simḥat Torah as *Ḥatan Bereshit* (see *Bridegrooms of the Law; *Torah, Reading of). The term "Shabbat Bereshit" in the above sense is fairly recent. In ancient sources this term refers to any Sabbath, as against other holidays which were also called "Sabbath." Similarly, the seventh year of *Shemittah* was called "*Shabbat.*"

SHABBAT HA-GADOL (Heb. שַׁבַּת הַגָּדוֹל; "the great Sabbath"), Sabbath preceding *Passover. The name *ha-Gadol* ("the great") derives, according to some opinions, from the declaration in the *haftarah* (Mal. 3:4,24) "Behold, I will send you Elijah the prophet before the coming of the great and terrible day of the Lord" (*ibid.*, 3:23). This *haftarah* was selected in accordance with the popular belief that the messianic redemption of Israel will occur in the same month as its deliverance from the Egyptian bondage (RH 11a). Another opinion on the institution of the "great Sabbath" before Passover is that it was influenced by the Christian concept of the Saturday before Easter. In some ancient rabbinic sources the Sabbaths preceding Passover, Shavuot and Sukkot were also called *Shabbat ha-Gadol* (Elbogen, Gottesdienst, 551). On this Sabbath it is customary to read the greater part of the Passover **Haggadah* during the afternoon service. In traditional synagogues, the rabbi delivers a sermon devoted almost exclusively to the rites and the *dietary laws pertaining to Passover.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Eisenstein, Dinim, 401–2.

SHABBETAI BEN MEIR HA-KOHEN (1621–1662), Lithuanian rabbi, commentator on the Shulḥan Arukh, and *posek*. He was also known as the Sha-Kh from the initials of the title of his book, *Siftei Kohen*. Shabbetai was born in Amstivov near Vilkaviskis. In his youth he studied under his father and later under *Joshua Hoeschel b. Joseph in Tykocin, moving subsequently to the yeshivah of Cracow with his teacher. From there he proceeded to Lublin, where he studied also under *Naphtali b. Isaac ha-Kohen. While still young he returned to Vilna, where he married the daughter of the wealthy Samson Wolf, a grandson of Moses *Isserles. Shabbetai's father-in-law provided for all his material needs and he was able to devote himself wholly to study. His renown soon spread among scholars and he was appointed *dayyan* in the *bet din* of Moses *Lima in Vilna. In Cracow in 1646, Shabbetai published his first work, *Siftei Kohen*, on the Shulḥan Arukh, *Yoreh De'ah*. This work received the approbation of the greatest Polish and Lithuanian scholars and since 1674 has been published in most editions of the *Yoreh De'ah*. That same year also saw the publication of the commentary *Turei Zahav* to the *Yoreh De'ah* by *David b. Samuel ha-Levi, who was already renowned and accepted as a *posek*. Shabbetai thereupon wrote criticisms to *Turei Zahav* entitled *Nekuddot ha-Kesef*. Although it was only published after the death of both Shabbetai and David ha-Levi (Frankfurt on the Oder, 1677), many of the criticisms reached the ears of David ha-Levi during his lifetime and he replied to them. These were published at the end of the commentary *Turei Zahav* with the title *Daf Aḥaron* ("Last Page") and were read by Shabbetai, who replied in his *Kunteres Aḥaron* ("Last Addendum"), published at the end of *Nekuddot ha-Kesef*.

The halakhic dispute between the views of David ha-Levi and Shabbetai, even after their deaths, was continued by other scholars. In most cases the rabbis of Poland and Lithuania ruled in accordance with Shabbetai, while those of Germany accepted the view of David ha-Levi. In contrast to many of the Polish scholars who preceded him and who criticized the author of the Shulḥan Arukh, Joseph *Caro, Shabbetai attempted to justify him fully. In his commentary on the *Yoreh De'ah*, he attempts to explain and clarify Caro's statements and to decide between Caro and the criticisms made by Moses Isserles. Shabbetai also wrote a commentary on the *Ḥoshen Mishpat*, which was published after his death with the text of the Shulḥan Arukh (Amsterdam, 1663). In this work, too, he explains the rulings of Caro but does not refrain from criticizing them; nor did he hesitate to criticize his other predecessors where their ruling did not appeal to him, or where he thought they had erred in their halakhic decisions. His rulings are based not only upon the principles of the Talmud and *posekim* but also upon logic and reason, although he did not abstain from the use of *pilpul*. His work is a classic of its kind and has been accepted to the present day as an authoritative reference work for halakhic authorities.

During the persecutions suffered by Lithuanian Jewry in 1655 (a continuation of the massacres of 1648–49), Shabbetai was compelled to flee from Vilna to Lublin, but only three months later the rioters reached Lublin, and Shabbetai succeeded in escaping to Bohemia. He stayed first in Prague, and then for a time in Dresnitz, Moravia, after which he was appointed rabbi of Holesov, where he died. Shabbetai, who had a polished, elegant, and facile style of writing, also had a historical sense. He portrayed the Chmielnicki persecutions of 1648–49 in his *Megillat Eifah* (Amsterdam, 1651), in which he described the events and the sufferings through which the Jews of Poland passed during that era. This work is an important historical document and has been translated into German and Russian. He also composed *seliḥot* (publ. in Amsterdam, 1651), in which he poured out his bitter complaints. He charged his children and grandchildren always to observe the *takkanot* of the Councils of the Lands and to appoint the 20th of Sivan as a day of fast, on which they should recite the *kinot* he compiled.

During the period he was rabbi in Holesov he became friendly with a Christian scholar. In the library of the academy in Leipzig there is a holograph of a Hebrew letter dated Feb. 3, 1660, which Shabbetai wrote "to him whom I love as myself, the philosopher magister Valentino Wiedreich." Shabbetai informs him that he has sent him the book of Elijah Baḥur and asks him to keep in touch with him (*Bikkurei ha-Ittim*, 10 (1829), 43–44).

His other works are: *He-Arukh* (Berlin, 1767), a commentary on the *Arba'ah Turim, Yoreh De'ah* of Jacob b. Asher; *Tokfo Kohen* (Frankfurt on the Oder, 1677), on the laws of possession and undecided laws (*teiku*); *Gevurat Anashim* (Dessau, 1697), on chapter 154 of the Shulḥan Arukh, *Even ha-Ezer*, to which are appended ten responsa written by his father; and *Po'el Ẓedek* (Jesenice, 1720), on the 613 commandments as enumerated by Maimonides, divided for the seven days of the week.

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[Shlomo Eidelberg]

SHABBETAI BEN ẒEVI HIRSCH OF RASZKOW (?–1757?), widely respected Lurianic kabbalist, a colleague of R. *Israel b. Eliezer Baal Shem Tov (Besht), who possessed expert knowledge of kabbalistic writings. He composed a *siddur* (prayerbook), with *kavvanot* (theurgic meditations) according to Isaac *Luria (completed mid-1750s; published in Korets, 1797 (3 vols.); Lemberg, 1866 (1 vol.), repr. Jerusalem 1980, 2005). This *siddur* also contains eight contemplative practices from the Besht. In addition, it has contemplative instructions of an ecstatic devotional nature not attested to in other East European Lurianic *siddurim*. One important theurgic variant in the *kavvanot* of the Silent Prayer (*Amidah*) found in no other Lurianic *Siddur*, except for those of the Jerusalem kabbalistic school of R. Shalom *Sharabi, may suggest contact between these two schools of Lurianic Kabbalah, perhaps through the agency of R. Gershon of Kutov, the brother-in-law of the Besht, who took up residence in Israel in 1746 and traveled back and forth in the mid-1750s. A manuscript of R. Shabbetai's *siddur* was consulted by R. Asher Margolius when he prepared the Lurianic *Kavvanot siddur* used by the *kloiz* of Brody (Lvov, 1788, repr. Jerusalem 1980, 2005, fol. 3a–b). The Lemberg edition of the Raszkower *siddur* contains glosses from two prominent 19th-century ḥasidic kabbalists: R. Israel of Kozhnitz and R. Ẓevi of Zhidachov. In 1995, a manuscript facsimile of vol. 1 of the Raszkower *siddur* was published. Completed in 1760 by R. Abraham Samson of Raszkow, son of R. *Jacob Joseph of Polonnoye, the primary recorder of the teachings of the Besht, it contained one of the eight aforementioned teachings. The Korets, 1784–5 edition of the classic theurgic Lurianic work, *Pri Eẓ Ḥayyim*, was published from a manuscript with R. Shabbetai's glosses. In addition, R. Shabbetai re-edited a Lurianic work entitled *Seder Kelalut Tikkun ve-Aliyyat ha-Olamot* (Lvov, 1788; previously published in *Sefer ha-Gilgulim,* ed. R. David Gruenhaut; Frankfurt, 1684). Also extant from his hand are five manuscripts of classic Lurianic works such as *Mevo ha-She'arim* and *Eẓ Ḥayyim*. He copied these between 1748 and 1756. The work copied in 1756 was incomplete and was finished by another scribe in 1759. Also, extant is an epistle discussing fine points of scribal law written by R. Gershon of Kutov, and copied in 1755 by R. Shabbetai at the behest of the Besht. It was later published in the rare Responsa, *Mishne Avraham* (Zhitomir, 1868).

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SHABBETAI ẒEVI (1626–1676), the central figure of Shabbateanism, the messianic movement named after him.

Background of the Movement

Shabbateanism was the largest and most momentous *messianic movement in Jewish history subsequent to the destruction of the Temple and the *Bar Kokhba Revolt. The factors giving rise to its extraordinarily widespread and deep-seated appeal are twofold. On the one hand there was the general condition of the Jewish people in exile, and the hopes for political and spiritual redemption fostered by Jewish religious tradition and given great emphasis in Jewish thought, which at all times could provide fertile soil for the blossoming of messianic movements aimed at ushering in redemption. On the other hand there were the specific conditions contributing to the impetus of the movement that began in 1665. Politically and socially, the position of the Jews in the various countries of the Diaspora was still basically the same and, with few exceptions, they pursued their specific way of life apart from the surrounding Christian or Muslim society, facing humiliation and persecution at every turn of political events and in constant awareness of their insecurity. The great wave of anti-Jewish persecution in Poland and Russia which set in with the *Chmielnicki massacres in 1648 deeply affected Ashkenazi Jewry and had wide repercussions, especially through the large number of captives in many countries whose ransom led to lively agitation. Soon after this disaster came the Russian-Swedish War (1655) which also struck those areas of Polish Jewish settlement which had not been shattered by Chmielnicki's attacks. Important as these factors undoubtedly were to the upsurge of messianic hopes in Polish Jewry, they are not sufficient to explain what actually happened, and no doubt local conditions prevailing in various parts of the Diaspora contributed their share. But the political and social events are only one part of the story.

The central and unifying factor behind the Shabbatean movement was of a religious nature, connected with the profound metamorphosis in the religious world of Judaism caused by the spiritual renewal centered in Safed in the 16th century. Its decisive feature was the rise of the *Kabbalah to a dominant position in Jewish life and particularly in those circles which were receptive to new religious impulses and formed the most active sector of the Jewish communities. The new Kabbalah which went out from Safed, especially in its Lurianic forms, wedded striking concepts to messianic ideas. It could be characterized as messianism pervading mysticism, thus introducing a new element of tension into the older Kabbalah, which was of a much more contemplative nature. Lurianic Kabbalah proclaimed an intimate bond between the religious activity of the Jew as he performs the commandments of the law and *meditations for prayer and the messianic message. All being has been in exile since the very beginning of creation and the task of restoring everything to its proper place has been given to the Jewish people, whose historic fate and destiny symbolize the state of the universe at large. The sparks of Divinity are dispersed everywhere, as are the sparks of the original soul of *Adam; but they are held captive by the *kelippah*, the power of evil, and must be redeemed. This final redemption, however, cannot be achieved by one single messianic act, but will be effected through a long chain of activities that prepare the way. What the kabbalists called "restoration" (*tikkun*) implied both the process by which the shattered elements of the world would be restored to harmony – which is the essential task of the Jewish people – and the final result, the state of *redemption announced by the appearance of the *Messiah, who marks the last stage. Political liberation, and all that the national myth connected with it, were seen as no more than external symbols of a cosmic process which in fact takes place in the secret recesses of the universe. No conflict was foreseen between the traditional national and political content of the messianic idea and the new spiritual and mystical note which it acquired in Lurianic Kabbalah. Those susceptible to the kabbalistic theology of Judaism focused their activity on hastening the arrival of the "world of *tikkun*" by an ascetic life which, though in strict accordance with the demands of the law, was permeated with virtual messianism. This messianism, however, was not an abstract hope for a distant future: what made Lurianism a dynamic factor in Jewish history was its proclamation that almost the whole process of restoration had been completed and that the final redemption was just around the corner. Only the last stages had to be passed through and redemption would be at hand.

As they gained ascendancy and dominated religious life, ideas like these became a common catalyst for an acute precipitation of messianic fervor. In fact, Lurianic Kabbalah became a dominant factor only about 1630–40 and the ideology of the Shabbatean movement is closely connected with this development. That the movement had an overwhelming appeal to such different centers of the Diaspora as Yemen and Persia, Turkey and North Africa, Italy and the Ashkenazi communities can be explained only by the fact that the intense propaganda of Lurianism had created a climate favorable to the release of the messianic energies aroused by the victory of

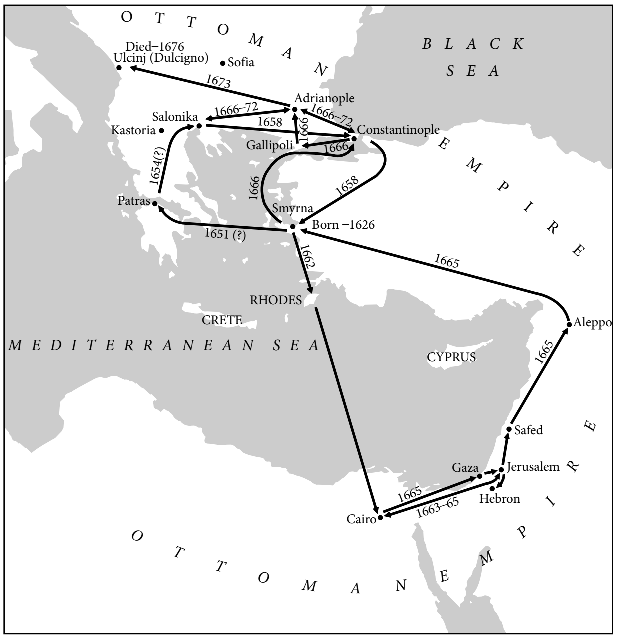

Journeys of Shabbetai Ẓevi.

the new Kabbalah. This is the reason why places like Amsterdam, Leghorn, and Salonika, where the Jews lived relatively free from oppression, nevertheless became crucibles of the movement and centers of Shabbatean activities.

Shabbetai Ẓevi's Early Years and Personality

The figure of the man who occupied the center of the movement is a most unexpected and surprising one. By now, his biography is one of the most completely documented of any Jew who played an important role in Jewish history. Shabbetai Ẓevi was born in Smyrna (Izmir) on the Ninth of Av, 1626 (unless the date was manipulated to conform with the tradition that the Messiah would be born on the anniversary of the destruction of the Temple). His father, Mordecai Ẓevi, came from the Peloponnesus (Patras?), probably from a family of Ashkenazi origin, and as a young man settled in Smyrna, where he first was a modest poultry merchant and later became an agent for Dutch and English traders. The great economic rise of Smyrna in those years made him wealthy and Shabbetai Ẓevi's brothers, Elijah and Joseph, were actually wealthy merchants. Shabbetai Ẓevi received a traditional education. His gifts being early recognized, he was destined by his family to become a *ḥakham*, a member of the rabbinic elite. He studied under Isaac de Alba and later under the most illustrious rabbi of Smyrna at that time, Joseph *Escapa, and seems to have been ordained as a *ḥakham* when he was about 18. He had a thorough talmudic training and even his bitterest detractors never accused him of being an ignoramus. According to one source, he left the yeshivah at the age of 15, beginning a life of abstinence and solitude and studying without the help of teachers. He was emotionally closely attached to his mother and at an early period developed an intense inner life. Starting out on the path of asceticism he was beset by sexual temptations, references to which have survived. In his adolescent years he also embarked on the study of Kabbalah, concentrating mainly on the *Zohar, *Sefer ha-*Kanah*, and *Sefer ha-Peli'ah*. Having acquired considerable proficiency in kabbalistic learning, he attracted other young contemporaries who studied with him.

Between 1642 and 1648 he lived in semi-seclusion. During this period he began to display a character that conforms largely to what handbooks of psychiatry describe as an extreme case of cyclothymia or manic-depressive psychosis. Periods of profound depression and melancholy alternated with spasms of maniacal exaltation and euphoria, separated by intervals of normality. These states, which are richly documented throughout his life, persisted until his death. Later they were described by his followers not in psychopathological but in theological terms as "illumination" and "fall" or "hiding of the face" (the state where God hides his face from him). His mental affliction brought to the fore an essential trait of his character: during his periods of illumination he felt impelled to commit acts which ran counter to religious law, later called *ma'asim zarim* ("strange or paradoxical actions"). Their content changed from time to time but a predilection for strange and bizarre rituals and sudden innovations pervaded them all. One thing was constant to these exalted states – his inclination to pronounce the Ineffable Name of God, the Tetragrammaton (see *God, Names of). In the periods of melancholy, which were of uneven length, he retired from human contact into solitude to wrestle with the demonic powers by which he felt attacked and partly overwhelmed. The exact moment that this illness broke out is not known, but at the latest it took place in 1648 when the news of the Chmielnicki massacres reached Smyrna. Starting to utter the Name of God in public, he possibly also proclaimed himself the Messiah for the first time. Since by then he was known to be mentally afflicted nobody took this seriously and his behavior caused no more than a temporary commotion. It seems that his extravagances aroused more compassion than antagonism. Between 1646 and 1650 he contracted two marriages in Smyrna which, since they were not consummated, ended in divorce. In his home town he was considered partly a lunatic and partly a fool, but since he had a very pleasant appearance and was highly musical, endowed with a particularly fine voice, he made friends, though not adherents of his kabbalistic speculations. In these years he began to speak of a particular "mystery of the Godhead" which had been revealed to him through his spiritual struggles. He used to speak of the "God of his faith" with whom he felt a particularly intimate and close relation. It is not clear whether by this he meant only the *Sefirah Tiferet* (see *Kabbalah), which he saw as the essential manifestation of God, or some supernal power which clothed itself in this *Sefirah*. At any rate, the term *Elohei Yisrael* ("the God of Israel") took on a special mystical meaning in his parlance. His compulsion to violate the law in his illuminated states, which were sometimes accompanied by imagining experiences of levitation, and his repeated claims to be the Messiah, finally led the rabbis, including his teacher Joseph Escapa, to intervene; around 1651–54 they banished him from Smyrna.

For several years Shabbetai Ẓevi wandered through Greece and Thrace, staying for a long time in Salonika, where he made many friends. But this stay also ended in disaster when, during one of his exalted states, he celebrated a ceremonial nuptial service under the canopy with the Torah, and committed other acts which were considered intolerable. Expelled by the rabbis, in 1658 he went to Constantinople, where he spent nine months. There he befriended the famous kabbalist David *Ḥabillo (d. 1661), an emissary of the Jerusalem community. During this period he made a first attempt to rid himself of his demonic obsessions by means of practical Kabbalah. On the other hand, during one of his ecstatic periods he not only celebrated the three festivals of Passover, Shavuot, and Sukkot all in one week, behavior which was bound to arouse hostility, but went so far as to declare the abolition of the commandments and to pronounce a blasphemous benediction to "Him, who allows the forbidden." Expelled once more he returned to Smyrna, where he stayed until 1662, keeping mostly to himself and going through a prolonged period of profound melancholy. In 1662 he decided to settle in Jerusalem and traveled there via Rhodes and Cairo, where he made many contacts. Throughout this period there is no trace of any messianic agitation around him, and his genial and dignified behavior during his normal state of mind and his rabbinic and kabbalistic scholarship made him a respected figure. By the end of 1662 he reached Jerusalem, staying there for about a year, wandering around the holy places and tombs of the saints of old. His parents died about this time (his mother perhaps even earlier). There seems to have been a great deal of talk about his strange character and attacks of offensive behavior, but this was counterbalanced by his ascetic tenor of life. In a sudden emergency, in the fall of 1663, he was sent to Egypt as an emissary for Jerusalem and performed his mission with some success. He stayed in Cairo until the spring of 1665, becoming closely connected with the circle around Raphael Joseph Chelebi, the head of Egyptian Jewry, who was in deep sympathy with ascetic and kabbalistic tendencies.

From time to time Shabbetai Ẓevi's messianic fancies returned and it is probable that in one of these fits of illumination he decided to marry Sarah, an Ashkenazi girl of doubtful reputation who either had arrived by herself from Italy or was brought over on his initiative when he heard rumors about her from Italian visitors. She was an orphan of the 1648 massacres in Podolia and used to tell curious stories about herself and her upbringing by a Polish nobleman. After some years in Amsterdam she had gone to Italy, where she served with families and Jewish institutions in Mantua. Rumors that she was a woman of easy virtue preceded her and were current even later in the intimate circle of Shabbetai Ẓevi's admirers. Possibly influenced by the example of the prophet Hosea who married a whore, Shabbetai Ẓevi married Sarah in Cairo on March 31, 1664. In the winter of 1664–65, however, being troubled about his violations of the law, he tried to exorcise his demons; thus (according to his own testimony in a reliable source) he asked God to take away from him all his abnormal states, and entered an extended period of stability.

The Beginning of the Shabbatean Movement

The peripeteia in Shabbetai Ẓevi's life came with the news that a man of God had appeared in Gaza who disclosed to everyone the secret root of his soul and could give each person the particular formula for the *tikkun* that his soul needed. When the story of *Nathan of Gaza's powers spread, Shabbetai Ẓevi "abandoned his mission and went to Gaza in order to find a *tikkun* and peace for his soul," in the words of the first report that has been preserved about the beginnings of the movement. Around mid-April 1665 he arrived in Gaza to visit the physician of the soul; by then the latter had had (in February 1665) an ecstatic vision of Shabbetai Ẓevi as the Messiah, springing no doubt from the tales about him he had heard in Jerusalem, where Nathan had studied in 1663 under Jacob *Ḥagiz. These tales and the figure of the man whom the 20-year-old Nathan had often seen in the Jewish quarter of Jerusalem had impressed themselves on his mind and crystallized in his new vision when he took up the study of Kabbalah in Gaza. Instead of curing Shabbetai Ẓevi of his malady, Nathan tried to convince him that he was indeed the true Messiah. At first refusing to pay any heed to his importunities, Shabbetai Ẓevi nevertheless accompanied Nathan on a pilgrimage to some of the holy places in Jerusalem and Hebron, during which they discussed their visions and their validity. Nathan, an outstanding young rabbi, was the first man to confirm independently Shabbetai Ẓevi's own messianic dreams and, moreover, to explain the peculiar rank and nature of the Messiah's soul in the kabbalistic scheme of creation. They returned to Gaza in the beginning of Sivan (mid-May). According to one story, they were celebrating the night of Shavuot in Nathan's house along with a group of rabbis, when Nathan fell into a trance and announced Shabbetai Ẓevi's high rank before the assembly; according to another version, this happened in the absence of Shabbetai Ẓevi, who had one of his attacks of melancholy and stayed away. About this time, Nathan produced an apocryphal text attributed to one Abraham he-Ḥasid, a contemporary of the famous Judah he-Ḥasid, who as it were prophesied the appearance of Shabbetai Ẓevi and foretold his early life in apocalyptic terms, proclaiming him the redeemer of Israel. When, some days after Shavuot, Shabbetai Ẓevi entered another period of illumination, he had absorbed all these new events and, now sure of himself and of Nathan's prophetic gifts, returned to his former messianic claims with renewed strength. On the 17th of Sivan (May 31, 1665), in Gaza, he proclaimed himself as the Messiah and swept with him the whole community, including its rabbi, Jacob *Najara, grandson of the celebrated poet, Israel *Najara. Some weeks of frenzied excitement followed. Riding around on horseback in majestic state Shabbetai Ẓevi summoned a group of his followers, appointing them as apostles or representatives of the Twelve Tribes of Israel.

The messianic news spread like wildfire to other communities in Palestine, but encountered strong opposition from some outstanding rabbis of Jerusalem, including Abraham *Amigo, Jacob *Ḥagiz, Nathan's teacher, Samuel *Garmison (Germizan), and Jacob *Ẓemaḥ, the famous kabbalist, who spoke out against Shabbetai Ẓevi. Having been denounced to the qadi of Jerusalem, he traveled to the city in a large company and succeeded in setting the mind of the qadi at rest. What exactly happened in Jerusalem in June 1665 is not clear. In kingly fashion Shabbetai Ẓevi circled Jerusalem seven times on horseback, winning over some of the rabbis like Samuel *Primo, Mattathias *Bloch, Israel *Benjamin, and Moses *Galante (the fact of the latter's adherence to Shabbetai Ẓevi was later suppressed). His conflict with the majority of the rabbis came to a head and they banished him from the town, but, after informing the rabbis of Constantinople of what happened, they apparently took no other active steps against the messianic propaganda, refraining from answering the many letters that were addressed to them about the events and maintaining an enigmatic silence throughout the following year.

Nathan, on the other hand, who now appeared as the prophet and standard-bearer of Shabbetai Ẓevi, and the group around him were very active. He proclaimed the need for a mass movement of repentance to facilitate the transition to the coming redemption, a step which was sure to win many hearts and could scarcely be opposed by the rabbinic authorities. People from the surrounding countries flocked to him to receive individual penance or wrote to him asking to reveal to them the root of their soul and tell them how to "restore it." Excessive fasts and other ascetic exercises became the order of the day, but Nathan proclaimed the abolition of the fast of the 17th of Tammuz which instead was celebrated as a day of joy in Gaza and Hebron. Letters went out, first to Egypt and the circle of Raphael Joseph, telling of the wondrous deeds of the prophet and the Messiah. One of the striking new features in these letters was the announcement that neither the prophet nor the Messiah was obliged to give proof of his mission by performing miracles, but that Israel should believe in Shabbetai Ẓevi's mission without any external proof. The actual history of the subsequent mass movement is characterized by the intrinsic contradiction between this demand for pure faith as a redeeming value and the overwhelming wave of legends and reports of miracles which swept the Diaspora. The first reports that reached Europe were, curiously enough, not about Shabbetai Ẓevi, but about the appearance of the lost Ten Tribes of Israel, who were said to be marching under the command of a prophetic and saintly man of God about whom all sorts of miraculous stories were told. According to some versions they were conquering Mecca, according to others assembling in the Sahara Desert, and in a third version marching into Persia. Rumors of this kind, coming from Morocco, reached Holland, England, and Germany in the summer of 1665, without giving any indication of what actually had happened in Gaza or naming Shabbetai Ẓevi or making any mention of the appearance of a Messiah. By contrast, there was a great deal of commotion in the Oriental Jewish communities, which had more direct communication with Palestine.

In September 1665, fortified by a new revelation, Nathan addressed a long letter to Raphael Joseph, announcing in the first part the changes which had taken place in the hidden worlds with the arrival of redemption and explaining what these changes entailed for the practice of kabbalistic devotions. The *kavvanot* ("meditations") of Isaac *Luria were no longer valid because the inner structure of the universe had changed and no holy sparks were left under the domination of the powers of evil, the *kelippot*. The time of redemption had come, and even though some might oppose it they could not prevent it and would do harm only to themselves. Shabbetai Ẓevi had the power to justify the greatest sinner, even Jesus, and "whoever entertains any doubts about him, though he may be the most righteous man in the world, he [Shabbetai Ẓevi] may punish him with great afflictions." In the second part of the letter Nathan predicts or rather outlines the course of events from the present moment until complete redemption is achieved. Shabbetai Ẓevi would take the crown from the Turkish king, without war, and make the sultan his servant. After four or five years he would proceed to the River Sambatyon to bring back the lost tribes and to marry Rebecca, the 13-year-old daughter of the resuscitated Moses. During this period he would put the Turkish sultan in charge, but the latter would rebel against him in his absence. This would be the period of the "birth pangs of redemption," a time of great tribulation from which only those dwelling in Gaza would be exempt. The whole tenor of this part of the letter is legendary and mythical. Between the present time and the start of the actual messianic events there would be an interval of one year and several months which should be used for doing penance all over the Jewish world. For this purpose Nathan composed liturgies, one set for the general public and another set for the initiate, comprising *kavvanot* and mystical prayers for the extended fasts prescribed by him. These were sent out to Europe and other places along with the first long announcements regarding the advent of the Messiah in the fall of 1665.

Shabbetai Ẓevi in Smyrna and Constantinople

The first reports about Shabbetai Ẓevi reached Europe early in October 1665, and in the following two months detailed accounts, deeply imbued with legendary material, arrived in Italy, Holland, Germany, and Poland. Why all the correspondents from Gaza, Jerusalem, and Egypt who became so eloquent from September 1665 onward kept silent during the three months after the events in Gaza is still unexplained. There is also a considerable gap between the events in Europe after the news finally came through and what happened in those months to Shabbetai Ẓevi himself. When he left Jerusalem under a cloud, probably before the fast of the 17th of Tammuz, he proceeded through Safed to Aleppo, where he arrived on the 8th of Av (July 20, 1665) and left on August 12. Although his fame had preceded him, he refused to appear publicly as the Messiah, but talked to several people in private, including Solomon *Laniado and other members of the rabbinic court who became his enthusiastic supporters. Similarly, when he arrived in Smyrna a short time before Rosh Ha-Shanah (beginning of September 1665) he kept to himself for a long time, staying with his brother Elijah. In the meantime, a great commotion flared up in Aleppo where, in October and November, the first phenomena of Shabbatean prophesying appeared. Not only unlettered people, men and women, were swept up in the excitement, but also rabbis and scholars, such as Moses Galante from Jerusalem who had come as an emissary and was caught up in the general turmoil, also following Shabbetai Ẓevi to Smyrna and Constantinople. From Aleppo there is the first testimony, outside Palestine, about a general revivalist atmosphere in which there were reports of appearances of the prophet Elijah and a common fund was set up to maintain the poor and those who would be affected by the widespread halt in commercial activities.

Although Shabbetai Ẓevi's arrival in Smyrna was preceded by all kinds of letters and rumors which were bound to have precipitated much tension and many expectations, nothing spectacular happened for almost three months. The rabbis of Smyrna had received a letter from the rabbinate of Constantinople about Shabbetai Ẓevi's excommunication in Jerusalem, yet no action was taken against him. It was only when his state of ecstasy returned, in early December, and he became feverishly active in his own way, starting a wild commotion and performing many of his "strange acts," that the rabbis made an attempt to stop him; but by then it was too late. The enthusiasm and excitement he engendered swept Smyrna Jewry off its feet. Within a period of three weeks, the community was thrown into an uproar and the intensity and public character of the proceedings assured them the widest possible echo. There were not only several thousands of Jews but also a considerable merchant colony of English, Dutch, and Italian traders whose reports to their European friends supplemented the news that now began to stream out of Smyrna from Jewish sources. Although Shabbetai Ẓevi was in continuous correspondence with Nathan, he now acted on his own. The stormy events that followed are fully documented in many sources.

Shabbetai Ẓevi used to recite the morning prayers in one of the synagogues "with a very agreeable voice that greatly pleased those who heard him"; he gave alms very liberally; rose at midnight to perform ritual immersions in the sea; and there was nothing bizarre about his ascetic behavior. But on one of the first days of Ḥanukkah he appeared "in royal apparel" in the synagogue and created a great sensation by his ecstatic singing. About the same time a delegation arrived from Aleppo – Moses Galante and Daniel Pinto and two laymen – who had first made a visit to the prophet in Gaza and now wished to greet him officially as the Messiah of Israel. During Ḥanukkah week, Shabbetai Ẓevi "began to do things that seemed strange: he pronounced the Ineffable Name, ate [forbidden] fats, and did other things against the Lord and His Law, even pressing others to do likewise," behavior characteristic of his states of illumination. The infectious presence of believers spurred him on to more radical manifestations. A deep cleft became evident between the majority of "believers" and a minority of "infidels," and *ma'aminim* and *koferim* became the fixed terms for those who adhered to faith in Shabbetai Ẓevi and those who opposed him. Nathan's epistle to Raphael Joseph was widely distributed and contributed to the growing dissension. To a large extent the common people joined the camp of the believers without inhibitions or theological misgivings; the glad tidings conquered their hearts, and the fascination of Shabbetai Ẓevi's personality, with its strange mixture of solemn dignity and unrestrained license, contributed its share. Hundreds of people, largely drawn from the poorer elements of the community, accompanied him wherever he went. But from the beginning many burghers, wealthy merchants, and brokers joined the movement, as well as rabbinic scholars, including some of his former fellow students.

The three members of the rabbinic court who were still opposed to Shabbetai Ẓevi deliberated the wisdom of opening proceedings against him. Proclaiming public prayers in reaction, Shabbetai Ẓevi once more indulged his taste for majestic pomp and behaved with great audacity. On Friday, December 11, the crowd tried to storm the house of Ḥayyim Peña, one of the leading "infidels," and on the following day matters came to a head. After beginning to recite the morning prayers in one of the synagogues, Shabbetai Ẓevi broke off and, accompanied by a large crowd, proceeded to the locked doors of the Portuguese congregation, the headquarters of his opponents. Taking up an ax, he started to smash the doors, whereupon his opponents opened them and let him in. An astonishing scene followed. Shabbetai Ẓevi read the portion of the Torah not from the customary scroll but from a printed copy; ignoring the priests and levites present, he called up to the reading of the Law his brothers and many other men and women, distributing kingdoms to them and demanding that all of them pronounce the Ineffable Name in their blessings. In a furious speech against the unbelieving rabbis, he compared them to the unclean animals mentioned in the Bible. He proclaimed that the Messiah b. Joseph, who according to aggadic tradition must precede the advent of the son of David, was a certain Abraham Zalman, who had died a martyr's death in 1648, and recited the prayer for the dead in his honor. Then he went up to the ark, took a holy scroll in his arms, and sang an ancient Castilian love song about "Meliselda, the emperor's daughter"; into this song, known as his favorite throughout his life, he read many kabbalistic mysteries. After explaining them to the congregation, he ceremonially proclaimed himself the "anointed of the God of Jacob," the redeemer of Israel, fixing the date of redemption for the 15th of Sivan 5426 (June 18, 1666). This was in conformity with a date announced by Nathan in one of his more optimistic moods, when he considered the possibility of an earlier advent than originally predicted. Shabbetai Ẓevi announced that in a short time he would seize the crown of "the great Turk." When Ḥayyim *Benveniste, one of the dissenting rabbis present, asked him for proof of his mission, he flew into a rage and excommunicated him, at the same time calling on some of those present to testify to their faith by uttering the Ineffable Name. The dramatic scene amounted to a public messianic announcement and the substitution of a messianic Judaism for the traditional and imperfect one. There is reliable testimony that, besides other innovations in the law, he promised the women that he would set them free from the curse of Eve. Immediately after this Sabbath he dispatched one of his rabbinical followers to Constantinople to make preparations for his arrival.

In the wave of excitement Benveniste's doubts were carried away and on the following day he joined the camp of the believers. A smoldering conflict between him and one of the other members of the court, Aaron *Lapapa, may have played some part in his conversion. At any rate, on the 5th of Tevet (December 23) Shabbetai Ẓevi engineered the expulsion of Lapapa from his office and the appointment of Benveniste as the sole chief rabbi of Smyrna. Summoned before the qadi once more to explain his behavior, Shabbetai Ẓevi again succeeded in reassuring him. In the next few days all the believers were asked to come and kiss the hand of the messianic king; most of the community did so, including some "infidels" who were afraid of the mounting terrorism of the believers. Immediately after this regal ceremony, Shabbetai Ẓevi decreed the abolition of the fast of the Tenth of Tevet. When this act aroused the opposition of some of the rabbis, the angry crowd wanted to attack them. Solomon *Algazi, a great scholar and famous kabbalist who persisted in his opposition, was forced to flee to Magnesia and his house was plundered. Lapapa hid in the house of one of his colleagues. On the following Sabbath the name of the Turkish sultan was struck out from the prayer for the ruler and a formal prayer for Shabbetai Ẓevi as the messianic king of Israel was instituted, a custom later followed by many communities throughout the Diaspora. Instead of his actual name, the practice began at this time of calling him by the appellation *amirah*, an abbreviation of *Adoneinu Malkenu yarum hodo* ("our Lord and King, may his majesty be exalted") and an allusion to the term emir. The new term was widely used in Shabbatean literature up to the beginning of the 19th century.

A festive atmosphere of joy and enthusiasm marked the succeeding days. Many people from other Turkish communities arrived and joined the movement, among them Abraham *Yakhini, a famous preacher and kabbalist in Constantinople, who had known Shabbetai Ẓevi since 1658 and now became one of his most active propagandists. In a fit of mass hysteria, people from all classes of society started to prophesy about Shabbetai Ẓevi. Men, women, and children fell into a trance, declaiming acknowledgments of Shabbetai Ẓevi as Messiah and biblical passages of a messianic nature. When their senses returned, they remembered nothing. About 150 "prophets" arose in Smyrna, among them Shabbetai Ẓevi's wife and the daughters of some of the "infidels." Some had visions of Shabbetai Ẓevi's crown or saw him sitting on the throne, but most of them produced a mere jumble of phrases and quotations from the Bible and the prayer book, repeated over and over again. Trade and commerce came to a standstill; dancing and festive processions alternated with the penitential exercises prescribed by Nathan. Psalm 21, which had been given a Shabbatean interpretation in Gaza, was recited at each of the three daily services, a custom which spread to many other communities. As well as distributing the kingdoms of the earth among the faithful, Shabbetai Ẓevi appointed counterparts of the ancient Israelite kings from David to Zerubbabel and several of these obtained handwritten patents from the Messiah. The appointees were his main supporters in Smyrna but included some of his devotees from Palestine, Egypt, Aleppo, Constantinople, and Bursa (Brussa). Many other messianic dignitaries were appointed. After this, his last activity in Smyrna, Shabbetai Ẓevi sailed to Constantinople on Dec. 30, 1665, accompanied by some of his "kings." His behavior during this period was as consistent as his unstable mind would allow: he was sure of his calling and believed that some supernatural intervention would bring his messianic mission to fruition. In the meantime the Turkish authorities in the capital had been aroused by the alarming reports. The news from Gaza and Smyrna had already divided the community and the waves of excitement rose high. Letters from places through which Shabbetai Ẓevi had passed combined factual reports with increasingly fanciful stories and raised the messianic fever to an even higher pitch. Even before his arrival a prophet arose in Constantinople, Moses Serviel or Suriel, a young rabbi from Bursa who, unlike the other "prophets," revealed Shabbatean mysteries in the language of the Zohar and was credited with a particular charisma. The Messiah's arrival was considerably delayed by extremely stormy weather and in the meantime the atmosphere in the capital became critical. Some of the heads of the community seem to have warned the government, which had already taken steps to arrest Shabbetai Ẓevi in Smyrna, where the order arrived too late, or on his arrival in Constantinople. The non-Jewish population was caught up in the excitement and satirical songs about the Messiah were sung in the streets, while the Jewish masses, certain that many miracles would take place immediately after his arrival, showed a marked pride before the gentiles.

The policy pursued by the grand vizier, Ahmed Köprülü (Kuprili), one of Turkey's ablest statesmen, is remarkable for its restraint. Revolts were frequent in Turkey and the rebels were generally speedily put to death. That this was not the immediate consequence of Shabbetai Ẓevi's arrest after interception by boat in the Sea of Marmara on Feb. 6, 1666, did much to strengthen the belief of the faithful. Amid great commotion, he was brought ashore in chains on Monday, February 8. By this time the disruption of normal life and commerce had reached a peak. One or two days after his arrest, Shabbetai Ẓevi was brought before the divan, presided over by Köprülü. Since the Turkish archives from this period were destroyed by fire, no official Turkish documents about the movement and the proceedings in this case have survived, and reports from Jewish and Christian sources in Constantinople are conflicting. It is true, however, that the vizier showed surprising leniency and patience, to which Shabbetai Ẓevi's undoubted charm and the fascination of his personality may have contributed. He may have wanted to avoid making a martyr of a Messiah who, after all, had not taken up arms against the sultan and had simply proclaimed an unrealistic mystical takeover of the crown. Shabbetai Ẓevi was put in prison, at first in a "dark dungeon" but later in fairly comfortable quarters, and the high official responsible for the police and the prison, possibly after accepting substantial bribes, permitted him to receive visits from his followers. It was said that he could have obtained his release by a very large bribe which his followers were prepared to pay, but that he refused, thereby greatly enhancing his reputation. He was still self-confident. During this period, he had returned to a normal state, led an ascetic life, preached repentance and claimed no special privileges. The rabbis of the capital who visited him in prison found a dignified scholar who bore his sufferings with an air of nobility, rather than a sinner who set himself above the Law and tradition. The rabbis were divided among themselves, some of the outstanding ones, among them Abraham Al-Nakawa, taking his side. A new set of miracles was reported in the letters written during those months from Constantinople, proving that the enthusiasm continued unabated. When the sultan and the vizier left for the war on Crete, the order was given to transfer Shabbetai Ẓevi to the fortress of Gallipoli, where important political prisoners were detained, on the European side of the Dardanelles. The transfer was made on April 19, the day before Passover. Once more in the grip of a state of illumination, Shabbetai Ẓevi sacrificed a Passover lamb and roasted it with its fat, inducing his companions to eat this forbidden food and blessing it with the now customary blessing of "He who permits the forbidden." By means of bribes, the believers soon converted his detention into honorable confinement, and the fortress became known as *Migdal Oz* ("tower of strength"), with reference to Proverbs 18:10.

The Movement in the Diaspora

The letters arriving in all parts of the Diaspora from Palestine, Egypt, and Aleppo in October and November 1665, and later from Smyrna and Constantinople, produced a tremendous excitement, and the similarity of the reactions everywhere indicates that the causes of the response went far beyond local factors. Messianic fervor took hold of communities that had no immediate experience of persecution and bloodshed as well as those which had. Social and religious factors were no doubt inextricably combined in the outbreak. Poverty and persecution bred Utopian hopes, but the situation of the Jewish people as a whole provided the relevant background. Although the Lurianic doctrine of *tikkun* and redemption expressed a social situation too, its real content was essentially religious. It is this interlocking of the various elements in the historical makeup of the Shabbatean movement which accounts for its dynamics and explosive content. Later the movement was presented in a different light in a strenuous attempt to minimize the part played by the upper strata of Jewish society and the spiritual leaders, and to ascribe the vehemence of the outbreak to the blind enthusiasm of the rabble and the poor, but this is not borne out by contemporary evidence. The response showed none of the uniformity based on class conditions. Many of the rich took a leading part in spreading the messianic propaganda, although there was no lack of those who, as the saying went at the time, "were more interested in great profits than in great prophets."

Five factors contributed to the overwhelming success of the messianic awakening:

(1) The messianic call came from the Holy Land, from the center that stood for pure spirituality at its most intense. A message from there would be received in Persia, Kurdistan, or Yemen with a respect which it could scarcely command had it arrived from Poland or Italy. The tremendous prestige of the new Kabbalah which emanated from Safed also played a part.

(2) The renewal of prophecy with the conspicuous figure of Nathan, the brilliant scholar and severe ascetic turned prophet, helped to obscure the more dubious facets of Shabbetai Ẓevi's personality which, indeed, played little or no role in the consciousness of the mass of the believers.

(3) The efficacy of traditional and popular apocalyptic beliefs, whose elements were not relinquished but reinterpreted, played its part. The old eschatological visions were retained but many new elements were absorbed. The conception of the future was, throughout 1666, thoroughly conservative. At the same time, however, the propaganda was also addressed to a widespread group of kabbalists, to whom it presented a system of ambiguous symbols. Nathan's symbolism satisfied his readers by its traditional terminology, and the apparent continuity enabled the new elements to exist, undetected, under cover of the older kabbalism.

(4) The prophet's call to repentance played a decisive role, appealing to the noblest longings in every Jewish heart. Who, even among the movement's opponents, could condemn the one demand which the prophet and the Messiah made in public?

(5) There was, as yet, no differentiation between the various elements taking part in the movement. Conservative minds, responding to their sense of unbroken continuity, saw in it the promise of fulfillment of traditional expectations. At the same time the message of redemption appealed to the utopianists who longed for a new age and would shed no tears for the passing of the old order. The national character of the movement obscured these contrasts in the emotional makeup of its participants.

Since the main mass outbreaks of the movement occurred in places far removed from the scene of Shabbetai Ẓevi's own activities, and Nathan the prophet never actually left Palestine, during the heyday of the events people were dependent on letters and other means of communication which presented a wild mixture of fact and fancy, the latter no less appealing to emotion and the imagination than the former.

To a large measure the movement developed out of its own momentum, adapting new features to older traditions and conceptions. There is nothing surprising in the similarity of the phenomena in places far distant; they correspond both to the basic similarity of the Jewish situation and the traditional response to it, and to the uniformity of the propaganda that came from the believers in Turkey. Of some importance in Europe were many reports from Christian sources, which of course depended mostly on Jewish informants but added exaggerations and distortions of their own. The many broadsheets and pamphlets that appeared during 1666 in English, Dutch, German, and Italian were avidly read by the Jews and often taken as independent sources confirming their own news. A secondary factor was the sympathy shown to the movement by millenarian circles in England, Holland, and Germany, since it seemed to confirm the belief widespread in these groups that Christ's second coming would occur in 1666. Peter Serrarius in Amsterdam, one of the leading millenarians, did much to spread Shabbatean propaganda to his many Christian correspondents. There are, however, no grounds for the assumption that the outbreak of the movement itself was due to the influence of Christian millenarian merchants on Shabbetai Ẓevi during his years in Smyrna.

While the majority of the people in those communities of which we have firsthand knowledge, and in those influenced by them, joined in the general enthusiasm, led everywhere by a group of devoted and determined believers, there were also many instances of bitter quarrels and differences with the "infidels." A mounting wave of messianic terrorism threatened those who spoke derisively of Shabbetai Ẓevi and refused to take part in the general excitement. A number of influential rabbis, who in their hearts were skeptical about the whole upheaval (like Samuel *Aboab in Venice), were careful not to antagonize their communities, and cases of open rabbinical opposition were somewhat rare. Such stubborn adversaries were Joseph ha-Levi, the preacher of the community at Leghorn, and Jacob *Sasportas, who had no official position at the time, and was staying in Hamburg as a refugee from the plague in London. A highly articulate and learned letter writer, he maintained a vivid correspondence with friends and acquaintances, and even with people unknown to him, to inquire about the truth of the events and to voice carefully worded opposition to the believers, though using words of strong condemnation to those who shared his opinion. Later (in 1669) he assembled (and heavily edited) large parts of this correspondence in *Ẓiẓat Novel Ẓevi*.

Repentance alternating with public manifestations of joy and enthusiasm was the order of the day, and detailed reports from many parts of the Diaspora describe the excessive lengths to which the penitents went. Fasts and repeated ritual baths, mortifications which were frequently of an extreme character, and lavish almsgiving were practiced everywhere. Many people fasted for the whole week; those who could not manage this fasted for two or three consecutive days every week and women and children at least every Monday and Thursday. "The ritual bath was so crowded that it was almost impossible to enter there." The daily devotions for day and night arranged by Nathan were recited, and many editions of them were published in Amsterdam, Frankfurt, Prague, Mantua, and Constantinople. At night people would lie down naked in the snow for half an hour and scourge themselves with thorns and nettles. Commerce came to a standstill everywhere. Many sold their houses and property to provide themselves with money for the journey to the Holy Land, while others made no such preparations, being convinced that they would be transported on clouds. More realistic wealthy believers made arrangements for renting ships to transport the poor to Palestine. Reports from small towns and hamlets in Germany prove that the messianic revival was not limited to the larger centers. From many places delegations left to visit Shabbetai Ẓevi, bearing parchments signed by the leaders of the community which acknowledged him as the Messiah and king of Israel. A new era was inaugurated: letters and even some published books were dated from "the first year of the renewal of the prophecy and the kingdom." Preachers exhorted the people to restore all ill-gotten gains, but no cases where this was actually done are on record. People waited avidly for letters from the Holy Land, Smyrna, and Constantinople which were often read in public, giving rise to great excitement and frequently to violent discussions. There were hardly any differences in the reactions of Ashkenazi, Sephardi, Italian, and Oriental Jewry, and in congregations composed largely of former Marranos – such as the "Portuguese" communities of Amsterdam, Hamburg, and Salonika – the messianic fervor was particularly strong. In North Africa, where the movement struck deep roots, a former Marrano, the physician Abraham Miguel *Cardozo in Tripoli, became one of the most active protagonists. Other active supporters were the rabbis of Morocco, many of whom were well acquainted with *Elisha Ḥayyim b. Jacob Ashkenazi, the father of Nathan the prophet, through his visits to their country as an emissary of Jerusalem. Poems in honor of Shabbetai Ẓevi and Nathan were composed in Yemen, Kurdistan, Constantinople, Salonika, Venice, Ancona, Amsterdam, and many other places, but at the same time one of the outstanding opponents of the movement in Italy, the poet Jacob *Frances in Mantua, with the help of his brother Immanuel, composed a passionate set of verses denouncing the movement, its heroes, and followers (*Ẓevi Muddaḥ*). But these were lone voices in the wilderness; that the Italian communities were generally enraptured is vividly revealed in the notebook of a Jew from Casale who traveled throughout northern Italy at the end of 1665 and the early months of 1666, reflecting in his spontaneous descriptions the atmosphere prevailing there (*Zion*, 10 (1945), 55–56). Moses *Zacuto, the most esteemed kabbalist of Italy, gave somewhat reluctant support to the movement. Some Jews who had settled in the Holy Land sent glowing reports about the awakening to their contemporaries in the Diaspora, but it can be said in general that everyone wrote to everyone else. Even the wife of a poor wretch from Hamburg who lay in prison in Oslo faithfully reported to him in Yiddish on the latest news received in Hamburg. At the other end of the scale Abraham Pereira, said to be the richest Jew in Amsterdam and certainly a deeply devout man, lent his enormous prestige to the cause and, after publishing a comprehensive book of morals for repentant sinners (*La Certeza del Camino*, 1666), left with his entourage for the Levant, although he was held up in Leghorn. In Poland and Russia boundless enthusiasm prevailed. Preachers encouraged the repentance movement, which acquired yet more extravagant modes of expression. No opposition from the rabbinical side is recorded. In public processions of joy the Jews carried portraits of Shabbetai Ẓevi taken from Christian broadsheets, provoking riots in many places such as Pinsk, Vilna, and Lublin, until in early May 1666 the Polish king forbade such demonstrations of Jewish pride. The living memory of the massacres from 1648 to 1655 gave the movement overwhelming popular appeal.

The news of Shabbetai Ẓevi's arrest in Gallipoli in no way diminished the enthusiasm; on the contrary, the fact that he was not executed and seemingly held in an honorable state only tended to confirm his mission. Samuel Primo, whom Shabbetai Ẓevi employed as his secretary (scribe), was a past master of the majestic and bombastic phrase and his letters conveyed an aura of imperial grandeur. Shabbetai Ẓevi signed these pronouncements as the "firstborn son of God," "your father Israel," "the bridegroom of the Torah," and other high-flown titles; even when he started signing some of his letters "I am the Lord your God Shabbetai Ẓevi" only a few of the believers seem to have been shocked. Moses Galante later claimed to have left him because of this. No reliable account of Shabbetai Ẓevi's conduct during the first period of his arrest in Gallipoli has been preserved, but there are indications that he had frequent periods of melancholy. When he entered an elevated state of illumination once more, people flocked to him in great numbers and the prison, with the help of bribes, was converted into a kind of royal court. The "king," who made no bones about his messianic claims, impressed his visitors deeply. An official letter from the rabbis of Constantinople to the rabbinate of Jerusalem, asking them to set up a commission of inquiry consisting of four representatives from Jerusalem, Safed, and Hebron, remained unanswered. When in March 1666 the rabbis of Venice asked for an opinion of the Constantinople rabbinate, they were given a positive answer disguised as a commercial communication about the quality of the goat skins "which Rabbi Israel of Jerusalem has bought." They wrote: "We looked into the matter and examined the merchandise of Rabbi Israel, for his goods are displayed here under our very eyes. We have come to the conclusion that they are very valuable… but we must wait until the day of the great fair comes." Hundreds of prophets arose in the capital and the excitement reached fever pitch. As the fasts of the 17th of Tammuz and the Ninth of Av approached, Shabbetai Ẓevi's euphoria mounted; he not only proclaimed the abolition of the fasts but instituted new festivals in their stead. The 17th of Tammuz became the "day of the revival of Shabbetai Ẓevi's spirit" and, indulging in prescribing in minute detail the liturgy to be recited on this occasion, he turned the Ninth of Av into the festival of his birthday. In Turkey, where the news was quickly spread, almost everybody followed his instructions and the day was celebrated as a high holiday. A delegation from Poland, among whose members were the son and son-in-law of R. David ha-Levi of Lvov, the greatest rabbinic authority of his country, visited him during the week following the 17th of Tammuz and found him in an ecstatic frame of mind. His dignity and majestic deportment conquered their hearts.

Many pilgrims believed the Messiah's imprisonment to be no more than a symbolic, outward show, a belief supported by a kabbalistic tract by Nathan, "A disquisition about the dragons," written during the summer of 1666. In it Shabbetai Ẓevi's particular psychology was explained in terms of a metaphysical biography of the Messiah's soul and its struggles with the demonic powers from the time of creation until his earthly incarnation. These struggles left their mark on him and explain the alternations between the times when he is held a prisoner by the *kelippot* and his periods of illumination, when the supernal light shines upon him. Even in faraway Yemen, where the excitement ran high, the details of Shabbetai Ẓevi's biography (based on a mixture of fact and legend) were expounded in a kabbalistic fashion by the anonymous author of an apocalypse, "The valley of vision," written late in 1666. As early as July the delegates from Poland were handed, under Shabbetai Ẓevi's signature, a kabbalistic tract explaining the events of his life as founded on deep mysteries. Even in Palestine and Egypt, where the letters abolishing the fast of the Ninth of Av could not have been received in time, the initiative for the abolition was taken by Nathan of Gaza and his followers, among whom Mattathias Bloch was very active in Egypt. Nathan himself planned more than once to meet Shabbetai Ẓevi but actually never left Gaza. There was a minority of "infidels" in Egypt too, including some outstanding Palestinian rabbis who had settled there, but in the face of the general enthusiasm they behaved very cautiously. In Algiers and Morocco the movement encountered no serious opposition on the part of the rabbis and leaders of the community.

Shabbetai Ẓevi's Apostasy

The movement reached its climax in July and August 1666 when everyone waited expectantly for great events to unfold. The turning point came in an unforeseen way. A Polish kabbalist, *Nehemiah ha-Kohen from Lvov or its vicinity, came to see Shabbetai Ẓevi, apparently on behalf of some Polish communities. Arriving on September 3 or 4, he spent two or three days with him. The reports about their meeting are conflicting and in part clearly legendary. According to one source, Nehemiah argued less on kabbalistic grounds than as a spokesman of popular apocalyptic tradition, which he interpreted in strictly literal fashion. He failed to see any correspondence between Shabbetai Ẓevi's activities and the predictions of older aggadic writings on the Messiah. Dissatisfied by kabbalistic reinterpretations, he stressed the absence of a visible Messiah b. Joseph who should have preceded Shabbetai Ẓevi. Other sources maintain that the argument was about Nehemiah's own role since he himself claimed to be the Messiah b. Joseph, an assertion rejected by his host. Whatever the fact, the acrimonious debate ended in disaster. Nehemiah suddenly declared, in the presence of the Turkish guards, his willingness to adopt Islam. He was taken to Adrianople, where he denounced Shabbetai Ẓevi for fomenting sedition. No doubt the Jewish masses blamed Nehemiah for subsequent events, and even after his later return to Judaism in Poland he was persecuted for the rest of his life for having surrendered the Messiah to the Turks. However, it is quite possible that Nehemiah's action was simply a pretext and that the Turkish authorities had by then become alarmed by the events taking place in their country. There are indications of several complaints about Shabbetai Ẓevi, including charges of immoral behavior. The bustle and exuberance at Gallipoli came to an end when, on September 12 or 13, messengers arrived from Adrianople, and took the prisoner there on September 15.

On the following day he was brought before the divan, in the presence of the sultan, who watched the proceedings from a latticed alcove. Once more, the accounts of what happened at the court are contradictory. The believers reported that he was in one of his low melancholic states, and, behaving with utter passivity, allowed events to take their course. They depicted his apostasy as an act imposed on him, in which he took no part at all. The facts were certainly different although he may well have been in one of his low states at the time. He was examined by the court or privy council and denied – as he had done before under similar circumstances – ever having made messianic claims. According to some he even made a long speech about this. Finally he was given the choice between being put to death immediately or converting to Islam. According to one source, Kasim Pasha, one of the highest officials and a little later the brother-in-law of the sultan, conducted the decisive talk, "so handling him that he was glad to turn Turk." But all other sources agree that this role was played by the sultan's physician, Mustapha Hayatizadé, an apostate Jew. He convinced Shabbetai Ẓevi to accept the court's offer, which apparently had been decided upon before he himself was brought in. The physician acted mainly as an interpreter, Shabbetai Ẓevi's Turkish being rather poor at the time. Sultan Mehmed IV, a deeply religious man, was likely to sympathize with the possibility that such an outstanding Jewish personality might induce many of his followers to take the same step, and the council's action was certainly also influenced by tactical considerations. Agreeing to apostatize and put on the turban, Shabbetai Ẓevi assumed the name Aziz Mehmed Effendi. Being considered an important convert, he was granted the honorary title of *Kapiči Bashi* ("keeper of the palace gates"). A royal pension of 150 piasters per day was added to the appointment. Several of the believers who had accompanied him followed him into apostasy, as did his wife when she was brought from Gallipoli some time later. The date of the conversion, Sept. 15, 1666, is confirmed by many sources. Shabbetai Ẓevi's state of mind after his apostasy was one of deep dejection, as evidenced by a letter written one week later to his brother Elijah.

After the Apostasy Until Shabbetai Ẓevi's Death

The apostasy produced a profound shock, paralyzing leaders and followers alike. In wide circles it was simply not believed and it took some time until the truth was accepted. The waves of excitement had been high, but deeper feelings were involved: for many believers the experience of the messianic revival had taken on the dimensions of a new spiritual reality. The tremendous upheaval of a whole year had led them to equate their emotional experience with an outward reality which seemed to confirm it. Now they were faced with a cruel dilemma: to admit that their belief had been wholly in vain and that their redeemer was an imposter, or to cling to their belief and inner experience in the face of outward hostile reality and look for an explanation and justification of what had happened. That many accepted the second alternative and refused to give in proves the depth of the movement. Because of this, the movement did not come to an abrupt end with the apostasy, an act which in all other circumstances would have terminated it automatically. Who could have dreamed of a Messiah who would forswear his allegiance to Judaism? On the other hand, the rabbis and communal leaders, particularly in Turkey, acted with great circumspection. Their policy was to hush up the whole affair, to calm the excitement by pretending that little had actually happened, and to restore Jewish life to the "normal" state of exile, for which the best method was to ignore the whole course of events and to let time and oblivion heal the wound. This policy was widely followed in other countries. If it were asked how a whole nation could have been allowed to nourish such high hopes only to be deceived at the end, no discussion of God's inscrutable counsels could be allowed. There was also the apprehension, particularly in Turkey, that the authorities might proceed against the Jewish leaders who had permitted the preparations for a messianic revolt, and it appears that the Turkish authorities desisted from taking such a step only after considerable vacillation. In Italy, the pages in the Jewish community records which bore witness to the events were removed and destroyed on the order of the rabbis. Official silence also descended on the literature published in Hebrew for many years. Only dim echoes of lawsuits connected with it and other hints at the movement of repentance appeared here and there.

The facts, however, were different. Again, Nathan of Gaza played a decisive role although it remains an open question whether the initiative for a "theological" explanation of the apostasy was taken by him or by Shabbetai Ẓevi after he had recovered from his stupor. When Nathan received the news from Shabbetai Ẓevi's circle in early November 1666 he immediately announced that it was all a deep mystery which would resolve itself in due time. He left Gaza with a large entourage in order to arrange a meeting with Shabbetai Ẓevi, who by then had received instruction in the religion of Islam. The rabbis of Constantinople, most of whom had given up their belief, took steps to prevent this. Traveling first to Smyrna, where a considerable group of believers persisted in their faith, Nathan stayed there during March and April; although very reserved in all his relations with outsiders, he began to defend the apostasy and Shabbetai Ẓevi's continued messianic mission to the believers. The central point of his argument was that the apostasy was in reality the fulfillment of a mission to lift up the holy sparks which were dispersed even among the gentiles and concentrated now in Islam. Whereas the task of the Jewish people had been to restore the sparks of their own souls in the process of *tikkun* according to the demands of the Torah, there were sparks which only the Messiah himself could redeem, and for this he had to go down into the realm of the *kelippah*, outwardly to submit to its domination but actually to perform the last and most difficult part of his mission by conquering the *kelippah* from within. In doing this he was acting like a spy sent into the enemy camp. Nathan linked this exposition with his earlier metaphysical explanation of the biography of Shabbetai Ẓevi as a struggle with the realm of evil, to which his "strange actions" bore witness even in his earthly life. The apostasy was nothing but the most extreme case of such strange actions. He had to take upon himself the shame of being called a traitor to his own people as the last step before revealing himself in all his glory on the historical scene. By placing the paradox of an apostate Messiah, a tragic but still legitimate redeemer, at the center of the new, developing Shabbatean theology, Nathan laid the foundation for the ideology of the believers for the next 100 years. He, and many others after him, searched the Bible, Talmud, Midrash, and kabbalistic literature for references to this basic paradox and came up with a rich harvest of daring, audacious, and often outright heretical reinterpretations of the older sacred texts. Once the basic paradox was admitted, everything seemed to fall in line. All the objectionable acts of the biblical heroes, strange tales of the *aggadah* (*aggadot shel dofi*), and enigmatic passages of the Zohar – everything seemed to point, in typological exegesis, to the scandalous behavior of the Messiah. With Shabbetai Ẓevi's acquiescence, these ideas were taken up by the heads of the believers and given wide circulation. The rabbis forbade discussion of these heretical ideas, which would be refuted by their very paradoxicality. In the meantime they simply ignored them.

During 1667–68 the excitement slowly ebbed. When Nathan tried to see Shabbetai Ẓevi in Adrianople, he was met in Ipsala by a delegation of rabbis who forced him to sign a promise that he would give up his design (May 31, 1667). In spite of this he visited Shabbetai Ẓevi and continued to visit him from time to time and to proclaim him as the true Messiah, announcing several dates for the expected final revelation. On Shabbetai Ẓevi's orders he went to Rome for the performance of a secret magic ritual destined to hasten the fall of the representative of Christendom. His appearance in Venice on Passover 1668 created a great sensation. The rabbis published a pamphlet summing up the interrogations in Ipsala and Venice, and claiming that Nathan had denounced his errors. Nathan repudiated all these declarations and was obviously supported by a considerable number of believers. He completed his mission in Rome and returned to the Balkans, where he spent the rest of his life, alternating between Adrianople, Sofia, Kastoria, and Salonika, all places with a strong Shabbatean following.

Shabbetai Ẓevi himself lived in Adrianople and sometimes in Constantinople until 1672, succeeding in being allowed to lead a double life, performing the duties of a Muslim but also observing large parts of Jewish ritual. The Turks expected him to act as a missionary, but the 200 heads of families whom he drew to Islam were all secret believers whom he admonished to remain together as a group of secret fighters against the *kelippah*. Periods of illumination and depression continued to alternate, and during the sometimes lengthy periods of illumination he acted in the same manner as before: he instituted new festivals, confirmed his mystical mission, and persuaded people to follow him into Islam, which by then was called "the Torah of grace," in contradistinction to Judaism, "the Torah of truth." Several reports about his libertinism during "illumination" seem well founded. In one of these periods, in April 1671, he divorced his wife, but took her back when the illumination left him although he had already made arrangements for another marriage. A Hebrew chronicle by one of his visitors describes in detail his extraordinary behavior. Revelations by celestial agents, of which some accounts have been preserved, were frequent in his circle. Primo, Yakhini, and Nathan frequently visited him but were never asked to embrace Islam, and they were accepted by the believers in Turkey as his legitimate spokesmen. Although they were still very strong in the Balkans and Asiatic Turkey, the Shabbateans were gradually driven underground but were not actually excommunicated. The borderline between the apostates and those who remained Jews sometimes became blurred although the latter were generally noted for their extremely pious and ascetic way of life. Shabbetai Ẓevi himself, who enjoyed the sultan's favor, formed connections with some Muslim mystics among the Dervish orders. Letters between his group and the believers in North Africa, Italy, and other places spread the new theology and helped to create an increasingly sectarian spirit. After a denunciation of his double-faced behavior and sexual license by some Jews and Muslims, supported by a large bribe, Shabbetai Ẓevi was arrested in Constantinople in August 1672. The grand vizier wavered between executing or deporting him, but finally decided to exile him, in January 1673, to Dulcigno in Albania, which the Shabbateans called Alkum after Proverbs 30:31. Although allowed relative freedom, he disappeared from public view, but some of his main supporters continued their pilgrimages, apparently disguised as Muslims. In 1674 his wife, Sarah, died and he married Esther (in other sources called Jochebed), the daughter of Joseph Filosof, a respected rabbi of Salonika and one of his chief supporters. From time to time during "illuminations," he still envisioned his return to his former state and considered that the final redemption was near.

During the last ten years of his life, especially in Adrianople, he used to reveal to the elect – frequently before he demanded their submission to "mystical apostasy" – his special version of the "mystery of the Godhead." According to this the "God of Israel" was not the first cause or *Ein-Sof*, but "a second cause, dwelling within the *Sefirah Tiferet*," that is to say manifesting itself through this *Sefirah* without being identical with it. The two main points of this doctrine, which was of crucial importance in the later development of Shabbateanism, were:

(1) The distinction between the first cause and the God of Israel, implying – and this thesis was upheld in different versions by the radicals in the movement – that the first cause has no providence over creation, which is exercised only by the God of Israel who came into being only after the act of *ẓimẓum*: this doctrine aroused particular revulsion in the Orthodox camp and was considered highly dangerous and heretical.

(2) The distinctly Gnostic character of the division, though with the difference that the religious evaluation of the two elements in this dualism is reversed: the second-century Gnostics thought of the hidden God as the true God, considering the "God of the Jews" as an inferior and even detestable being. Shabbetai Ẓevi, Nathan, and Cardozo, however, turned the order of values upside down: the God of Israel, although emanated from the first cause, was the true God of religion, whereas the first cause was essentially irrelevant from the religious point of view. Some time before his death Shabbetai Ẓevi dictated a longer version of this doctrine to one of his scholarly visitors, or at least induced him to write it down. This text, later known as *Raza di-Meheimanuta* ("The Mystery of the True Faith"), instituted a kind of kabbalistic trinity, called in zoharic terms the "three bonds of the faith." It consisted of The Ancient Holy One (*Attika kaddisha*), The Holy King (*Malka kaddisha*), also called The God of Israel, and his *Shekhinah*. No reference was made to the Messiah and his rank, or to his relation to these hypostases. This doctrine differed considerably from the system developed earlier by Nathan of Gaza in his *Sefer Beri'ah* ("Book of Creation"). Both texts had a profound influence on subsequent Shabbatean doctrine and their echoes are audible in the hymns sung by the later sectarians in Salonika which are extant.

A number of letters from Shabbetai Ẓevi's last years testify to his continuing belief in himself, at least during his periods of illumination. His last letter, written about six weeks before his death, asks his friends in the nearby Jewish community of Berat in Albania to send him a prayer book for the New Year and the Day of Atonement. He died quite suddenly two months after his 50th birthday, on the Day of Atonement, Sept. 17, 1676. Nathan propagated the idea that Shabbetai Ẓevi's death was merely an "occultation" and he had actually ascended to and been absorbed into the "supernal lights." Such a theory of apotheosis was in line with Nathan's earlier speculations on the gradual deification of the Messiah, but left open the question of who would then represent the Messiah on earth. Nathan himself died shortly after, on Jan. 11, 1680, in Skoplje in Macedonia. During the preceding year one of his disciples, Israel Ḥazzan of Kastoria, wrote long homilies on some psalms reflecting the state of mind of the circle closest to Shabbetai Ẓevi and the gradual construction of a heretical and sectarian doctrine.

The Shabbatean Kabbalah

As Shabbetai Ẓevi himself was not a systematic thinker and spoke mainly in hints and metaphors, Nathan of Gaza must be considered the main creator of a rather elaborate system which combined a new version of Lurianic Kabbalah with original ideas about the position of the Messiah in this new order. His ideas gained wide currency and their influence can be detected in many seemingly orthodox kabbalistic tracts in the next two generations.

Nathan accepts the Lurianic doctrine of *ẓimẓum* (see *Kabbalah) but adds a new, even deeper layer to his conception of the Godhead. From the beginning there are in *Ein-Sof* two kinds of light or aspects – which could even be called "attributes" in *Spinoza's sense – the "thoughtful light" and "the thoughtless light." The first comprises all that is focused on the purpose of creation. But in the infinite wealth of *Ein-Sof* there are forces or principles which are not aimed at creation and whose sole purpose is to remain what they are and stay where they are. They are "thoughtless" in the sense that they are devoid of any idea directed to creation. The act of *ẓimẓum*, which occurred in order to bring about a cosmos, took place only within the "thoughtful light." By this act the possibility was created for the thoughtful light to realize its thought, to project it into the primordial space, the *tehiru*, and there to erect the structures of creation. But when this light withdrew, there remained in the *tehiru* the thoughtless light, which had taken no part in creation and, by its very nature, resisted all creative change. In the dialectics of creation, it therefore became a positively hostile and destructive power. What is called the power of evil, the *kelippah*, is in the last resort rooted in this noncreative light in God himself. The duality of form and matter takes on a new aspect: both are grounded in *Ein-Sof*. The thoughtless light is not evil in itself but takes on this aspect because it is opposed to the existence of anything but *Ein-Sof* and therefore is set on destroying the structures produced by the thoughtful light. The *tehiru* which is filled with the thoughtless light, mingled with some residue of the thoughtful light which remained even after *ẓimẓum*, is called *golem*, the formless primordial matter. The whole process of creation proceeds therefore through a dialectic between the two lights; in other words, through a dialectic rooted in the very being of *Ein-Sof*.

When, after *ẓimẓum*, the thoughtful light was streaming back in a straight line (*kav ha-yosher*) into the *tehiru*, starting there processes which are very similar to those described in Lurianic Kabbalah, it penetrated only the upper half of the primordial space, as it were overwhelming the thoughtless light and transforming it, thereby building the world of its original thought. But it did not reach the lower half of the *tehiru*, described as "the deep of the great abyss." All the statements of Lurianic ontology and the doctrine of cosmic restoration or *tikkun* which Israel must achieve through the strength of the Torah relate to the upper part of the *tehiru* only. The lower part persists in its unreconstructed and formless condition until the advent of the Messiah, who alone can perfect it, bringing about its penetration and transformation by the thoughtful light. In fact, the thoughtless lights, too, build structures of their own – the demonic worlds of the *kelippot* whose sole intent is to destroy what the thoughtful light has wrought. These forces are called the "serpents dwelling in the great abyss." The satanic powers, called in the Zohar *sitra aḥra* ("the other side"), are none other than the other side of *Ein-Sof* itself insofar as, by its very resistance, it became involved in the process of creation itself. Nathan developed a novel theory about processes which took place in the *tehiru* even before the ray from *Ein-Sof* penetrated there, being brought about by the interaction between the residue of the thoughtful light and the forces of the *golem*. They produced modes of being connected with the first configurations of the letters which were to form the Torah and the cosmic script. Only at a later stage, after the straight line shone forth and penetrated the *tehiru*, were these first structures, called the work of primeval creation (*ma'aseh bereshit*), transformed into the more substantial structures (*ma'aseh merkavah*). All the Lurianic processes connected with the breaking of the vessels and the *tikkun* were now adapted to the dialectics of the two lights.

In this conception of creation the figure of the Messiah plays a central role from the outset. Since *ẓimẓum* the soul of the Messiah had been submerged in the lower half of the *tehiru*; that is, since the beginning of time it stayed in the realm of the *kelippot*, being one of those sparks of the thoughtful light that had remained in the *tehiru* or perhaps having been snatched in some way by the *kelippot*. This soul, invaded by the influx of the thoughtless light and in bondage to its domination, has been struggling since the beginning of the world amid indescribable suffering to free itself and set out on its great task: to open up the lower part of the *tehiru* to the penetration of the thoughtful light and to bring redemption and *tikkun* to the *kelippot*. With their final transformation a utopian equilibrium and unity would be produced between the two aspects of *Ein-Sof*. The "straight line" cannot go forth into the abyss before the Messiah has succeeded in escaping from the domination of the *kelippot*. He is essentially different from all those souls which play their part in the processes of *tikkun*. In fact, he was never under the authority of the Torah, which is the mystical instrument used by the power of the thoughtful light and the souls connected with it. He represents something utterly new, an authority which is not subject to the laws binding in the state of cosmic and historic exile. He cannot be measured by common concepts of good and evil and must act according to his own law, which may become the utopian law of a world redeemed. Both his prehistory and his special task explain his behavior after he had freed himself from the prison of the *kelippah*.

This doctrine enabled Nathan to defend each and every "strange act" of the Messiah, including his apostasy and his antinomian outbreaks. He is the mystical counterpart of the red heifer (Num. 19): he purifies the unclean but in the process becomes as it were impure himself. He is the "holy serpent" which subdues the serpents of the abyss, the numerical value of the Hebrew word *mashi'aḥ* being equal to that of *naḥash*. In a way, every soul is composed of the two lights and by its nature bound predominantly to the thoughtless light which aims at destruction, and the struggle between the two lights is repeated over and over again in every soul. But the holy souls are helped by the law of the Torah, whereas the Messiah is left completely to his own devices. These ideas were developed in the new heretic Kabbalah in great detail and in different versions, disclosing an uncanny sense for formulating paradoxical tenets of belief. They responded precisely to the particular situation of those who believed in the mission of an apostate Messiah, and the considerable dialectical force with which they were presented did not fail to impress susceptible minds. The combination of mythological images and dialectical argument added to the attraction exercised by Nathan's writings.

The Shabbatean Movement, 1680–1700

Outside the circles of the believers Shabbetai Ẓevi's death went unnoticed by the Jewish world. Among the believers it produced much soul-searching; some of his followers seem to have left the camp immediately after his death. Even his brother Elijah, who had joined him in Adrianople and had converted to Islam, returned to Smyrna and Judaism. The activities of the Shabbatean groups were mainly centered in three countries, Turkey, Italy, and Poland (particularly Lithuania), where vigorous leaders and various prophets and claimants to the succession to Shabbetai Ẓevi appeared. Though there were many believers in other parts of the Diaspora, such as Kurdistan and Morocco, these three centers were the most important. The largest groups in Turkey were in Salonika, Smyrna, and Constantinople but in most of the Balkan communities Shabbateanism survived and not infrequently members of the rabbinical courts were secret adherents. In Constantinople, their head was Abraham Yakhini, who died in 1682. A group of rabbis and kabbalists encouraged the more unlettered believers in Smyrna, although the Orthodox regained control there as in most places. From 1674 to 1680 Cardozo occupied the leading place among the Shabbateans in Smyrna after he had been forced to leave Tripoli around 1673, and later also Tunis and Leghorn. In Smyrna he found many followers, the most important of whom were the young rabbi *Elijah b. Solomon Abraham ha-Kohen Ittamari (d. 1727), who became one of the most prolific writers and moral preachers of the next two generations and never seems to have abandoned his basic convictions, and the cantor Daniel b. Israel

*Bonafoux, who claimed the powers of a medium, especially in his later years.

During these years Cardozo began a prolific literary output, composing numerous lesser and larger books and tracts in which he expounded his own brand of Shabbatean theology. Beginning with *Boker Avraham* (1672), he propagated the theory that there is a difference of principle between the first cause, which is the God of the philosophers and the pagans, and the God of Israel who revealed himself to the Patriarchs and to the people of Israel. The confusion between the two is Israel's main failure in the era of exile. The people were particularly misled by the philosophers of Judaism, *Saadiah Gaon, *Maimonides, and all the others. Only the teachers of the Talmud and the kabbalists had kept the flame of the true religion secretly burning. With the approach of redemption, a few elect souls would grasp the true meaning of Israel's belief, that is to say, revelation as against philosophy, and the Messiah (as prophesied by a midrashic saying) would reach the knowledge of the true God, Shabbetai Ẓevi's "mystery of the Godhead," by his own rational efforts. In the meantime, this paradoxical view could be supported by a true interpretation of traditional texts even though the blind rabbis thought it heresy. Cardozo made no use of the novel ideas of Nathan's Kabbalah but constructed a system of his own which had considerable dialectical power. In most of his writings he avoided the question of Shabbetai Ẓevi's mission, though he defended it in several epistles written at different periods of his life. For a considerable number of years, at least, he saw himself as the Messiah b. Joseph who, as revealer of the true faith and sufferer of persecution by the rabbis, must precede the final advent of Shabbetai Ẓevi, after which all the paradoxes of Shabbatean belief would be resolved. Between 1680 and 1697 Cardozo lived in Constantinople, Rodosto, and Adrianople, not only arousing much controversy by his teachings but also causing great unrest through his prophecies about the imminent messianic end, especially in 1682. He was finally forced to leave these parts and spent the last years of his life mainly in Candia (Crete), Chios, and, after vainly trying to settle in Jerusalem, in Egypt. The outstanding supporter of strict adherence to rabbinic tradition in practice as long as Shabbetai Ẓevi had not yet returned, he consistently battled against antinomian tendencies, although he too foresaw a complete change in the manifestation of the Torah and its practice in the time of redemption. Cardozo's influence was second only to Nathan's; his writings were copied in many countries and he maintained close relations with Shabbatean leaders everywhere. Many of his polemics were directed against Samuel Primo on the one hand, and the radical Shabbateans of Salonika on the other. Primo (d. 1708), who later became chief rabbi of Adrianople, opposed any outward Shabbatean activity and disclosed his steadfast belief and heretical ideas only in secret conclaves.

In Salonika the situation was different. The number of believers was still quite large and the family of Shabbetai Ẓevi's last wife, led by her father, Joseph Filosof, and her brother Jacob *Querido, displayed their convictions quite openly. Nathan had important followers among the rabbis, including some highly respected preachers and even halakhic authorities. The continuing state of turmoil, especially after Nathan's death, produced a fresh wave of excitement and new revelations. Visions of Shabbetai Ẓevi were very common in many circles of the believers but here, in 1683, they led to the mass apostasy of about 300 families who considered it their duty to follow in the Messiah's footsteps, in contradistinction to those Shabbateans who maintained, like Cardozo, that it was of the essence of the Messiah that his acts could not be imitated or followed by anyone else. Along with the first apostates among Shabbetai Ẓevi's contemporaries, the new group, led by Filosof and Solomon Florentin, formed the sect of the *Doenmeh, voluntary Marranos, who professed and practiced Islam in public but adhered to a mixture of traditional and heretical Judaism in secret. Marrying only among themselves, they were soon identified as a separate group by both Turks and Jews and developed along their own lines, forming three subsects. A certain amount of *antinomianism was common to all their groups, but this tendency was given preeminence by the subsect under the leadership of Baruchiah Russo (Osman Baba) who, in the first years of the 18th century, created another schism by teaching that the new spiritual or messianic Torah (*Torah de-Aẓilut*) entailed a complete reversal of values, symbolized by the change of the 36 prohibitions of the Torah called *keritot* (meaning punishable by uprooting the soul and annihilating it) into positive commands. This included all the prohibited sexual unions and incest. It seems that this group also developed the doctrine of the divinity of Shabbetai Ẓevi and later of Baruchiah himself, who died in 1721. This doctrine of incarnation was later wrongly ascribed to all Shabbateans and created much confusion in the reports about them. Baruchiah's group became the most radical wing of the Shabbatean underground. Most of the believers, however, did not follow the example of the Doenmeh and stayed within the Jewish fold, even in Salonika, where they disappeared only after a considerable time. Several well known rabbis of Salonika and Smyrna in the 18th century such as Joseph b. David, Abraham Miranda, and Meir *Bikayam, were still in secret sympathy with Shabbatean teachings and beliefs. Scholars who studied with Nathan or his pupils in Salonika, like Solomon *Ayllon and Elijah Mojajon, who later became rabbis of important communities such as Amsterdam, London, and Ancona, spread the teachings of the moderate wing of Shabbateanism which adhered to Judaism and even tended to excessive pietism. Between 1680 and 1740 a considerable number of the emissaries from Palestine, especially from Hebron and Safed, were "tainted" with Shabbateanism and apparently also served as links between the various groups of believers in the Diaspora.

The second center existed in Italy, first in Leghorn, where Moses *Pinheiro, Meir Rofe, Samuel de Paz, and Judah Sharaf (at the end of his life) were active, and later in Modena. Abraham *Rovigo in Modena was passionately devoted to Shabbateanism of a distinctly pietistic character and, being a widely reputed scholar and kabbalist as well as a member of a very rich family, became the man to whom all "believers" turned, particularly visitors passing through Italy from the Land of Israel, Poland, and the Balkans. His convictions were shared by his intimate friend *Benjamin b. Eliezer ha-Kohen, the rabbi of Reggio, Ḥayyim Segré of Vercelli, and others. They watched for every sign of a new impulse and reported to each other the news they received from their visitors and correspondents. Revelations of heavenly *maggidim*, who confirmed Shabbetai Ẓevi's supernal rank and the legitimacy of his mission and also added new interpretations of the Zohar and other kabbalistic matters, were then common. Rovigo's papers, many of which have survived, show the wide distribution of Shabbatean propaganda between 1680 and 1700. Benjamin Kohen – a rabbi who displayed a portrait of Shabbetai Ẓevi in his house! – even dared to publish a commentary on Lamentations which took up in detail Nathan's aphorism that in the messianic era this biblical book would be read as a collection of hymns of joy (*Allon Bakhut*, Venice, 1712). Baruch of Arezzo, one of Rovigo's group, composed in 1682–85, probably in Modena, a hagiography of Shabbetai Ẓevi, *Zikhron le-Veit Yisrael*, the oldest biography of this kind that has survived. Nathan's writings were copied and ardently studied in these circles, and illuminates who claimed heavenly inspiration such as Issachar Baer *Perlhefter and Mordecai (Mokhi'aḥ) *Eisenstadt from Prague (between 1677 and 1681), and later (1696–1701) Mordecai Ashkenazi from Zholkva (Zolkiev), were received with open arms and supported by Rovigo. When Rovigo realized his plan for settling in Jerusalem in 1701, the majority of the members of the yeshivah he founded there consisted of Shabbateans. Before leaving Europe, Rovigo went with his disciple Mordecai Ashkenazi to Fuerth, where he saw through press a voluminous folio, *Eshel Avraham*, written by the latter and based on the new reading of the Zohar he had received from heaven. Being devoted followers of rabbinic tradition, people of Rovigo's brand of Shabbateanism deviated from halakhic practice only by secretly celebrating the Ninth of Av as a festival. Even this practice was sometimes abandoned. In general, outside the rather small circle of the Doenmeh, the followers of Shabbetai Ẓevi did not differ from other Jews in their positive attitude to halakhic practice, and the differences between them and "orthodoxy" remained in the realm of theological speculation. The latter, of course, no doubt had far-reaching implications for the Jewish consciousness of the believers which cannot be underrated. The question of the position of the Torah in the messianic age, which was already the object of serious discussion in Shabbetai Ẓevi's own circle and in Cardozo's writings, especially in his *Magen Avraham* (1668), could not remain an abstract one. But there is no indication that before 1700 heretic practices, as opposed to ideas, were characteristic of Shabbateanism.

This also holds true of the movement in Ashkenazi Jewry. Almost immediately after Shabbetai Ẓevi's death it was speculated whether he may have been the suffering Messiah b. Joseph rather than the final redeemer. Taking this position in Prague in 1677 was Mordecai Eisenstadt, an ascetic preacher who attracted a large following during the next five years. Together with his brother, who was probably the later famous rabbi Meir Eisenstadt, he traveled through Bohemia, southern Germany, and northern Italy, exhorting the people not to lose faith in the forthcoming redemption. Learned rabbis like Baer Perlhefter supported his claims although Baer later left his camp and perhaps Shabbateanism altogether. Even where Shabbetai Ẓevi was revered as the true Messiah, as was the case in most groups, there was no lack of claimants for the role of the Messiah b. Joseph who would fill the interregnum between the "first manifestation" of Shabbetai Ẓevi and his second. Even during the latter's exile in Albania, such a claimant had already appeared in the person of Joseph ibn Ẓur in Meknès (Morocco), an ignoramus turned prophet who threw many communities into great agitation by proclaiming the final redemption for Passover 1675. His sudden death put an end to the upheaval, but not to the deep-rooted belief in Shabbetai Ẓevi in Morocco. More lasting was the impression created by another prophet of this type in Vilna, the former silversmith Joshua Heshel b. Joseph, generally called Heshel Ẓoref (1663–1700). Originally an unlettered craftsman, he became "reborn" during the great upheaval of 1666 and for many years was considered the outstanding prophet of the Shabbatean movement in Poland. Over a period of more than 30 years he composed the *Sefer ha-Ẓoref*, divided into five parts and said to represent something like the future Torah of the Messiah. In fact, its thousands of pages, based on mystical and numerological explanations of *Shema Yisrael*, proclaimed him as Messiah b. Joseph and Shabbetai Ẓevi as Messiah b. David. Its attitude toward rabbinical tradition remains completely conservative. Several parts of these revelations are preserved; some of them, curiously enough, came into the hands of *Israel b. Eliezer Ba'al Shem Tov and were held in high esteem by him and his circle. In his last years Heshel Ẓoref moved to Cracow and encouraged the new movement of the Shabbatean Ḥasidim.

Another prophet of this type, a former brandy distiller called Ẓadok, appeared in 1694–96 in Grodno. The stir such men created reverberated as far as Italy, and Rovigo and his friends carefully collected testimonies about these events from Polish visitors. One of these was the Polish Shabbatean Ḥayyim b. Solomon from Kalisz, known as Ḥayyim *Malakh, a very learned man and apparently a powerful personality. In 1691 he studied in Italy those of Nathan's writings which had not yet become available in Poland, and after his return propagated their teachings among the rabbis of Poland. Later he went to Adrianople and, under the influence of Primo, left the moderates and became a spokesman for a more radical branch of the movement. He joined forces with Judah Ḥasid from Shidlov, a famous preacher of repentance and a leader of the moderates. Between 1696 and 1700 they became the moving spirits of the "holy society of Rabbi Judah Ḥasid," a group composed of many hundreds of people, most of them probably Shabbateans, who indulged in extreme ascetism and prepared to emigrate to Palestine, there to await Shabbetai Ẓevi's second manifestation. Groups of them passed through many communities in Poland and Germany, arousing great enthusiasm. Although they never declared themselves openly as Shabbateans, little doubt remains on this score. Several rabbis in large communities who were aware of the true character of these Ḥasidim unsuccessfully tried to stop the propaganda. At the end of 1698, a council of the Shabbatean leaders of the Ḥasidim was held in Mikulov (Nikolsburg; Moravia) and was also attended by Heshel Ẓoref.

Shabbateanism in the 18th Century and Its Disintegration

The *aliyah* of the Ḥasidim to Jerusalem in 1700 represented a peak of Shabbatean activity and expectations, and in the great disappointment of its failure, as after the earlier failure of Shabbetai Ẓevi, several followers embraced Christianity or Islam. Judah Ḥasid died almost immediately after his arrival in Jerusalem in October 1700, and conditions in Jerusalem shattered the movement. Dissension broke out between the moderates, some of whom seem to have buried their Shabbatean convictions altogether, and the more radical elements led by Malakh. He and his faction were expelled but even the moderates could not maintain their foothold in the Holy Land and most of them returned to Germany, Austria, or Poland. One influential Shabbatean who remained was Jacob *Wilna, a kabbalist of great renown. Many believers had proclaimed 1706 as the year of Shabbetai Ẓevi's return and the disappointment weakened a movement that had lost its active drive. It was driven completely underground, a process hastened by the spreading rumors of the extremist antinomian and nihilist teachings of Baruchiah. Increasingly, although wrongly, Shabbateans were identified with this extreme wing whose followers were not satisfied with mystical theories and visionary experience, but drew consequences in their personal adherence to the Law. Malakh went to Salonika, then spread the gospel of secret antinomianism in Podolia, where he found fertile ground especially in the smaller communities. There is insufficient information regarding other parts of Europe to allow a clear differentiation between the various factions in the underground movement. It is obvious, however, that the antinomian slogan propagated by the radical wing that "the nullification of the Torah was its true fulfillment," and that, like the grain that dies in the earth, the deeds of man must become in some way "rotten" in order to bring forth the fruit of redemption, had a strong emotional appeal even to some talmudists and kabbalists, though, essentially, it represented an antirabbinic revolt in Judaism. That it alarmed the rabbinic authorities, who considered the children of these sectarians as bastards and therefore no longer admissible to the fold, was only logical. On the other hand, there is evidence that not a few of the most influential moral preachers and authors of moral literature of a radical ascetic bent were secret Shabbateans of the moderate and ḥasidic wing. Many of the most influential "*musar-books*" of this period belong to this category, such as *Shevet Musar* by Elijah Kohen Ittamari (1712), *Tohorat ha-Kodesh* by an anonymous author writing in the first decade of the century (1717), and *Shem Ya'akov* by Jacob Segal of Zlatova (1716). Some kabbalists who also wrote moral tracts in Yiddish belonged to this camp, such as Ẓevi Hirsch b. Jerahmeel *Chotsh, and Jehiel Michael *Epstein.

Shabbatean propaganda thus polarized around two different centers. The moderates who conformed to traditional practice and even overdid it could produce a literature which, avoiding an open declaration of their messianic faith, reached a wide public unaware of the convictions of the authors. Not a few homiletical, moral, kabbalistic, and liturgical books were published whose authors hinted in devious ways at their secret belief. The radicals, who became particularly active between 1715 and 1725 after Baruchiah had been proclaimed as "Santo Señor" and an incarnation of the Shabbatean version of the "God of Israel," had to be more careful. They worked through emissaries from Salonika and Podolia and circulated manuscripts and letters expounding their "new Kabbalah." The circles in Poland known as Ḥasidim before the advent of Israel Ba'al Shem Tov, which practiced extreme forms of ascetic piety, contained a strong element of Shabbateanism, especially in Podolia. In Moravia Judah b. Jacob, commonly called Loebele *Prossnitz, caused considerable upheaval after his "awakening" as a Shabbatean prophet, traveling through the communities of Moravia and Silesia and finding many followers, some of whom persisted even after his fraudulent "magical" practices were unmasked and he was put under a ban (1703–06). Meir Eisenstadt who, like a number of other outstanding rabbis, had been in sympathy with the movement and was then officiating at Prossnitz left him and turned against him; but Prossnitz remained the seat of a sizable Shabbatean group throughout the 18th century. A little later, 1708–25, another center of Shabbateanism crystallized in Mannheim, where some members of Judah Ḥasid's society, including his son-in-law *Isaiah Ḥasid from Zbarazh, found refuge in the newly established *bet ha-midrash*. About the same time Elijah Taragon, one of Cardozo's pupils, made an unsuccessful attempt to publish his master's *Boker Avraham* in Amsterdam (1712).

While all these developments took place mainly in a twilight atmosphere or underground and received little general attention, a great public scandal broke out when another Shabbatean illuminate, this time a very learned one, succeeded in publishing the only large text of Shabbatean theology printed in the 18th century. Nehemiah Ḥiyya *Ḥayon from Sarajevo had been educated in Jerusalem, served as a rabbi in his home town, and was in contact with the sectarians in Salonika and with Cardozo's circle before he returned to Ereẓ Israel. There he composed a highly elaborate double commentary on *Raza di-Meheimanuta*, Shabbetai Ẓevi's last exposition of the mystery of the Godhead, which Ḥayon now claimed to have received from an angel or, on other occasions, to have found in a copy of the Zohar. Forced to leave Ereẓ Israel because of his Shabbatean activities, he stayed for several years in Turkey, where he made enemies and friends alike and, about 1710, arrived in Venice, either on his own initiative or as an emissary. With the support of some secret sympathizers, but in general posing as an orthodox kabbalist, he succeeded in obtaining the approbation of rabbinical authorities to publish his three books: *Raza di-Yhuda* (Venice, 1711), *Oz le-Elohim* (Berlin, 1713) and *Divrei Neḥemyah (ibid.*, 1713). Of these *Oz le-Elohim* was the main work, containing his aforementioned commentaries on Shabbetai Ẓevi's text, whose title he changed to *Meheimanuta de-Kholla*. Amid polemics against Cardozo, he expounded his own version of the doctrine regarding the "three bonds of faith," the Shabbatean trinity of *Ein-Sof*, the God of Israel, and the *Shekhinah*. He carefully avoided linking this in any way with Shabbetai Ẓevi, whose name is never mentioned in any of these books, although *Divrei Neḥemyah* contains an extremely ambiguous homily attacking and at the same time defending those who apostatized for the sake of the God of Israel, that is the Doenmeh. It was only when he came to Amsterdam at the end of 1713, where he enjoyed the protection of Solomon Ayllon, himself a former secret adherent of Shabbateanism, that the heretical character of his books and especially of *Oz le-Elohim* was recognized by Ẓevi Hirsch *Ashkenazi, the rabbi of the Ashkenazi community in Amsterdam. In the ensuing violent quarrel between the Amsterdam Sephardi and Ashkenazi rabbis, which produced a lively polemical literature, Shabbatean theology was for the first time discussed in public, being attacked by rabbis like David *Nieto, Joseph *Ergas, and Moses *Ḥagiz, and a host of other participants in the fight against the heresy. Ḥayon vigorously defended his "kabbalistic" doctrine, stoutly but vainly denying its Shabbatean character. About 120 letters concerning this controversy were published in various sources. Several rabbis who were suspected of secret Shabbateanism refused to join in the bans pronounced against Ḥayon who, by the end of 1715, was forced to leave Europe. In his attempt at vindication by the rabbis of Turkey he received only halfhearted support.

When he returned to Europe in 1725, his arrival coincided with another Shabbatean scandal and brought his efforts to naught. This latter upheaval was connected with the increasing propaganda of the extremist followers of Baruchiah who had gained a strong foothold in Podolia, Moravia, and especially in the yeshivah of Prague, where the young and already famous Jonathan *Eybeschuetz was widely considered their most important supporter. From 1724 onward several manuscripts were circulated from Prague which contained kabbalistic explanations couched in ambiguous and obscure language but whose gist was a defense of the doctrine of the "God of Israel," his indwelling in *Tiferet*, and his intimate connection with the Messiah, without explicitly mentioning, however, his character as a divine incarnation. The testimony pointing to Eybeschuetz as the author, particularly of the kabbalistic but doubtless heretical manuscript *Va-Avo ha-Yom el ha-Ayin*, is overwhelming. When this and many other Shabbatean writings from Baruchiah's sect were discovered, in Frankfurt in 1725, among the luggage of Moses Meir of Kamenka (Kamionka), a Shabbatean emissary to Mannheim from Podolia, a great scandal ensued. A whole network of propaganda and connections between the several groups was uncovered, but Eybeschuetz' considerable reputation as a genius in rabbinic learning prevented action against him, particularly as he placed himself at the head of those who publicly condemned Shabbetai Ẓevi and its sectarians in a proclamation of excommunication dated Sept. 16, 1725. In many other Polish, German, and Austrian communities similar proclamations were published in print, also demanding that all who heard them should denounce secret Shabbateans to the rabbinical authorities. The atmosphere of persecution which then prevailed led the remaining Shabbateans to go completely underground for the next 30 years, especially in Poland.

After these events the figure of Jonathan Eybeschuetz remained in twilight, and indeed he poses a difficult psychological problem if (as may be evidenced through a study of the pertinent texts and documents) he must in fact be considered the author of the aforementioned manuscript. When, after his glorious career as a great teacher, preacher, and rabbinic authority in Prague, Metz, and Hamburg, it was discovered in 1751 that a considerable number of amulets he had given in Metz and Hamburg/Altona were in fact of a Shabbatean character, another great uproar followed, engulfing many people in Germany, Austria, and Poland in a heated controversy. His main opponent was Jacob *Emden, the son of Ḥayon's foe in Amsterdam and an indefatigable fighter against all surviving Shabbatean groups and personalities. His many polemical writings published between 1752 and 1769 often widely overshot their mark, as in the case of Moses Ḥayyim *Luzzatto, but they contain much valuable information about Shabbateanism in the 18th century. Eybeschuetz' defense of the amulets was particularly weak and largely self-defeating. He argued that the text of the amulets consisted only of mystical Holy Names which had their root in kabbalistic books and could not be deciphered as a continuous text. Comparison of the amulets, however, proves the contrary. The cryptograms used differed from one item to the other, but they always contained an assertion of the messianic mission of Shabbetai Ẓevi and a reference to Shabbatean views on the "God of Israel."

The secret Shabbateans in central Europe saw Eybeschuetz as their most prominent figure, whereas the orthodox were deeply shocked by the possibility that an outstanding representative of rabbinic and kabbalistic spirituality might have leanings toward heretical ideas. Many of them refused to entertain such a possibility and stood by him. The confusion even in the camp of orthodox kabbalists was considerable and they, too, were divided. The issue under discussion was greatly complicated by personal and irrelevant factors, but the conflict demonstrated how deeply rooted were apprehensions regarding the entrenchment of the Shabbateans in many communities. This is also borne out by numerous testimonies from many sources recorded between 1708 and 1750, even before the controversy between Eybeschuetz and Emden took place. Nathan of Gaza's writings were still studied not only in Turkey, but in Morocco, Italy, and among the

Ashkenazim. Several authors describe the method of Shabbatean propaganda among those who had only a modest talmudic learning or none at all but were drawn to the study of *aggadah* which the sectarians knew how to use and explain along their own lines. This method of attracting people and then slowly initiating them into the tenets of the sectarians was persistently used for over more than 80 years in Poland, Moravia, Bohemia, and Germany. Much ambiguity was permitted by the widespread heretical principle that the true believer must not appear to be what he really was and that dissimulation was legitimate in a period where redemption had taken place in the secret heart of the world but not yet in the realm of nature and history. People were allowed to deny their true belief in public in order to conceal their conservation of the "holy faith." This went so far that a work presenting a summary of Shabbatean theology, like Jacob Koppel Lifshitz' "Gates of Paradise," written in the early years of the 18th century in Volhynia, was preceded by a preface vehemently denouncing the Shabbatean heresy! This double-faced behavior came to be seen as a characteristic trait of the sectarians who, from the beginning of the 18th century, became known in Yiddish as *Shebsel* or *Shabsazviniks*, with the connotation of "hypocrites." There is full proof that a fair number of men of great talmudic learning, and even officiating rabbis, joined these groups and found it possible to live in a state of high tension between outward orthodoxy and inward antinomianism that perforce destroyed the unity of their Jewish identity. In places like Prague a number of highly respected families formed a nucleus of secret believers, and there is evidence that in some places influential Court Jews protected the sectarians or belonged to them. Many of the Moravian Shabbateans held positions of economic power. There is also evidence about the secret rituals performed in these groups, especially in Podolia, where the followers of Baruchiah were concentrated in places such as Buchach, Busk, Glinyany, Gorodenka, Zolkiew, Nadvornaya, Podgaitsy (Podhajce), Rogatin (Rohatyn), and Satanov. The eating of forbidden fat (*ḥelev*) or severe transgressions of sexual prohibitions were considered as initiation rites. Kabbalists and *Ba'alei Shem* (see *Ba'al Shem) from Podhajce who became known in Germany and England between 1748 and 1780, such as Samuel Jacob Ḥayyim *Falk, the "Ba'al Shem of London," and Moses David Podheizer, a close associate of Eybeschuetz in Hamburg, came from these circles.

The heated controversy about the revelations of Moses Ḥayyim Luzzatto in Padua, which began in 1727, and the messianic tendencies of his group engaged much attention in the following ten years. Although even in their secret writings Luzzatto, Moses David *Valle, and their companions repudiated the claims of Shabbetai Ẓevi and his followers, they were without doubt deeply influenced by some of the paradoxical teachings of Shabbatean Kabbalah, especially those concerning the metaphysical prehistory of the Messiah's soul in the realm of the *kelippot*. Luzzatto formulated these ideas in a manner which removed the obviously heretical elements but still reflected, even in his polemics against the Shabbateans, much of their spiritual universe. He even tried to find a place for Shabbetai Ẓevi, though not a messianic one, in his scheme of things. The idea of an apostate Messiah was utterly unacceptable to him as were the antinomian consequences drawn by the Doenmeh and their sympathizers, but his claims to heavenly inspiration and novel kabbalistic revelations, coming as they did immediately after the excommunication of the sectarians in 1725 and 1726, aroused grave apprehensions in Italy and some places in Germany that had special experiences with Shabbateanism. Similarly, a generation later the first antagonists of latter-day Polish Ḥasidism suspected it to be nothing but a new branch of Shabbateanism. In both cases the suspicions were wrong but they had some foundation in the teaching and behavior of the newcomers. More complicated is the case of the voluminous work *Ḥemdat Yamim*, first published in Smyrna in 1731 and later several times in Zolkiew and twice in Italy. This anonymous work described in detail Jewish life and ritual from the point of view of Lurianic Kabbalah but was permeated with the spirit of strictly ascetic Shabbateanism as it was promoted in Jerusalem and Smyrna by kabbalists like Jacob Wilna and Meir Bikayam. Adopting several Shabbatean innovations, it included even hymns written by Nathan of Gaza and a whole ritual for the eve of the new moon whose Shabbatean character is obvious. Though feigning an earlier origin, it was probably composed between 1710 and 1730, allegedly in Jerusalem but probably somewhere else. Its very attractive style and rich content secured it a wide public, and in Turkey it was accepted as a classic, a position it maintained. However, not long after its publication in Podolia in 1742, the work was denounced by Jacob Emden as composed by Nathan of Gaza (wrongly) and propagating Shabbatean views (rightly). This opposition notwithstanding, it was still frequently quoted but withdrawn from public circulation in Poland and Germany.

Independently of the Eybeschuetz affair, a momentous explosion of Shabbateanism in its last stage occurred in 1756 in Podolia with the appearance of Jacob Frank (1726–91) as the new leader of the extremist wing. Imbued with the main ideas of Baruchiah's sectarians in Salonika, he returned to his native milieu after spending many years mainly during his childhood and adolescence in Turkey. He was already then reputed as a new leader, prophet, and reincarnation of Shabbetai Ẓevi. (For details of the movement he instigated see *Jacob Frank and the Frankists.) In the stormy years between 1756 and 1760 a large part of Frank's followers converted to Catholicism, constituting a kind of Doenmeh in Poland, only in Catholic disguise. These events and especially the willingness of the Frankists to serve the interests of the Catholic clergy by publicly defending the blood libel in the disputation at Lvov (1759) deeply stirred and aroused the Jewish community in Poland and had wide repercussions even outside Poland. The majority of the Shabbateans, even of Frank's own sectarians, did not follow him into the Church and groups of Frankists remained within the Jewish fold in Poland, Hungary, Moravia, Bohemia, and Germany. Frank's main contribution was threefold.

(1) He divested Shabbateanism of its kabbalistic theology and the abstruse metaphysical speculations and terms in which it was clothed, substituting instead a much more popular and colorful version, couched in mythological images. The unknown and as yet inaccessible "Good God," the "Big Brother" (also called "He Who stands before God"), and the matron or virgin or plain "she" – an amalgam of the *Shekhinah* and the Virgin Mary – constitute the Frankist trinity. Frank saw Shabbetai Ẓevi, Baruchiah, and finally himself as emissaries and somehow incarnations of the "Big Brother," whose mission would be completed by the appearance of an incarnation of the feminine element of this trinity. Frank's tendency to throw away the "old books" contrasted sharply with the continuous predilection of his followers to study them, especially those who remained Jews.

(2) His version of Shabbateanism took on an unabashedly nihilistic character. Under the "burden of silence" the true believer, who has God in his secret heart, should go through all religions, rites, and established orders without accepting any and indeed annihilating all from within and thereby establishing true freedom. Organized religion is only a cloak to be put on and be thrown away on the way to the "sacred knowledge," the gnosis of the place where all traditional values are destroyed in the stream of "life."

(3) He propagated this nihilistic religion as the "way to Esau" or "Edom," encouraging assimilation without really believing in it, hoping for a miraculous revival of a messianic and nihilistic Judaism through the birth pangs of a universal upheaval. This conception opened the way to an amalgamation between this last stage of Shabbatean messianism and mysticism on the one hand and contemporary enlightenment and secular and anticlerical tendencies on the other. Freemasonry, liberalism, and even Jacobinism could be seen as equally valuable means to such final ends. It is small wonder that wherever such groups existed the Jewish communities fought them vehemently even though only rather vague rumors of Frank's secret teachings reached them.

Frankists in central Europe joined forces with the older Shabbatean groups, including the admirers of Eybeschuetz, and some of Eybeschuetz' own sons and grandchildren joined the Frankist camp. In the 1760s there was still active Shabbatean propaganda in the yeshivot of Altona and Pressburg. An emissary, Aaron b. Moses *Teomim from Gorodenka, propagated Shabbateanism in northern and southern Germany and, in 1767, tried to enlist the help of Christian sympathizers, claiming to have set out on his mission on behalf of the Polish prince Radziwill, a well-known protector of the Frankists. The Jewish and apostate Frankists remained in close touch, particularly through their meetings at Frank's "court" in Brno and later in Offenbach. Although they were deeply impressed by Frank's sayings and epistles, their own activities never equaled the ferocity of his subversive and nihilist visions. During the first decades of the 19th century Shabbateanism disintegrated even as a loosely organized sect and, apart from those who reverted to traditional Judaism, disappeared into the camp of Jewish liberalism and, in many cases, indifference. The sectarian groups of the Doenmeh in Turkey and the Catholic Frankists in Poland, especially in Warsaw, survived much longer. While those in Warsaw broke up probably after 1860, to this day there are some still extant in Turkey.

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[Gershom Scholem]

SHABTAI, AHARON (1939–), Israeli poet and translator. Shabtai was born in Tel Aviv and studied ancient Greek literature at the Hebrew University. He taught at Tel Aviv University and was well known as a translator of Greek drama into Hebrew. Shabtai published his first collection of poems, *Ḥadar Morim* ("Teacher's Room") in 1966. More than a dozen collections followed, among them *Ha-Po'emah ha-Beitit* ("The Domestic Poem," 1976), *Sefer ha-Kelum* ("The Book of Nothing," 1981), *Begin* (1986), *Gerushin* ("Divorce," 1990), *Zivah* ("Ziva," 1990) and *Ḥodesh Mai ha-Nifla* ("The Beautiful Month of May," 1997) and *Shemesh, Shemesh* ("Sun, Sun," 2005). Shabtai addresses political issues while vehemently criticizing the Israeli Occupation and the corrosion of moral values. Other poems dramatize Shabtai's personal experiences, focusing on love and sexuality while deliberately offending good taste and decorum. Two collections have appeared in French translation (1987; 1990) and two volumes were published in English: *Love and Selected Poems* (1997; 1999) and *Selected Poems* (2003).

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[Anat Feinberg]

SHABTAI, YAAKOV (1934–1981), Israeli writer. Despite his untimely demise, Shabtai had established himself as a master of several genres: sketches, plays, poems, stories, and novels. Even though only one of his novels was completed, with another not finally edited, it is in the field of the Hebrew novel that Shabtai made his most significant contribution to Israeli literature. He combined a bleak, realistic outlook with a humor unusual on the Israeli literary landscape, bringing a touch of Yiddish irony and fluency to the archetypically local scene. From the outset, in his first volume of short stories, *Ha-Dod Peretz Mamri* (1972), he imprinted this scene with an elegiac tone, mourning the loss of a vanishing world embodied in the death of the narrator's grandmother. It is not just an individual who is passing, but a generation, and, with that generation, a way of life and an earlier, now departed civilization.

His most remarkable and permanent work is the completed novel, *Zikhron Devarim* (1977; *Past Continuous*, 1985). It is primarily a portrait of three individuals, three middle-aged Israeli men whose lives in Tel Aviv over a nine-month period, are presented in the context of two events in the "life" of one of them. The two events which frame the narrative are the death of Goldman's father, which sets the scene, with the tragic and hilarious funeral, and then Goldman's own demise, precisely nine months later. This time frame, as noted by one of the other characters, Caesar, precisely fits the period of gestation. And it remains as an ironic comment that the time required for the creation of a life is signaled here by two points of life's closure. The innovation, for the Hebrew novel, lies in the manner of its telling. The whole is presented as a single paragraph. Although the narrative is broken up into separate sentences, there is no separation into chapters. Its is a single sequence, as it were, to be read in one breath, clearly an impossible demand made upon the reader by a work of 280 pages. The English translation dispenses with this typological requirement.

This work is a *roman fleuve*, although in this particular rendering of the genre, all is compressed in one volume. Here the consciousness of the three heroes, presented through the objective, omniscient eye of a third person narrator, is passed from one to the other over the period described. But there is a seemingly seamless shift in place, time, and person that allows the reorientation of the narrative. Although we are presented with an ongoing narrative, that sequence also comprises flashbacks and memories, as well as projections forward. Thus there is a comprehensive portrait here of the human frame, albeit offered through a specific lens. The three characters also constitute a microcosm of attitudes, as well as a society in miniature. Goldman, through his father's and his own death, acts as an anchor. Clearly, he cannot comment on the latter event, so Caesar, who cannot believe that good things can come to an end, acts as a necessary foil. The third character, Yisrael, the youngest of the three, is a rather undefined figure, living in the shadow of the other two, and taking his posture from them. Caesar charges around, blustering, protesting, womanizing, gourmandizing. Goldman experiments with philosophies and interpretations of life. Yisrael, quietly and rather ill-naturedly, observes from the sidelines.

Here, there is no single hero. But there is a force that shapes their lives, as well as the pulse of the society that encases it. That force is the movement of time. In the second novel, which was later edited by the author's widow together with the critic Dan Miron and published posthumously under the title *Sof Davar* (1984; *Past Perfect*, 1987), a different stance and literary technique are adopted. The single paragraph technique is abandoned, and instead we have a narrative in four parts with a single hero. But each section adopts a different standpoint, culminating in the finale which explicitly surrenders any presumption of naturalism. An omniscient narrator comments on the central character, Meir, who is on the way to death, and beyond ("*sof davar*," a quotation from Ecclesiastes, means "the end of the matter").

The prominent element in Shabtai's work is the tragic sense of life, and its impending end. However, this is presented with a vibrant and original brio. Shabtai's plays include: *The Life of Caligula* (1975); *The Chosen* (1976); *Don Juan and His Friend Shipel* (1978); *The Spotted Tiger* (1985); *Crowned Head and Other Plays* (1995); and *Eating* (1999).

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[Leon I. Yudkin (2nd ed.)]

SHACHAR, ARIE (1935–2006), Israeli geographer specializing in urban geography and planning. Shachar was born in Haifa. He attended The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, receiving his Ph.D. in 1965 and joining the Department of Geography there (professor from 1979). He was visiting professor in the School of Architecture and Urban Planning of the University of California several times (1970, 1976, 1980, 1982, 1986, and 1988). In 1980–83 he was head of the department of geography at The Hebrew University and in 1982–97 he was chairman of the National Committee of Geography in the Israel Education Ministry. He also served as a planning consultant in Panama and Ecuador as well as to the UN and in, 1972–92 was chairman of the General Program Committee of Hebrew University in charge of planning the new Mt. Scopus Campus. Shachar was chief editor of the *City and Region* journal and chairman of the editorial board of *The Atlas of Israel* (1985–95), as well as a member of the international board of the *Progress in Planning* journal (1994–97). He also wrote dozens of articles and reports. In 1999 he was awarded the Israel Prize in geography.

[Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

SHADKHAN (Heb. שַׁדְּכָן), marriage broker or matchmaker. In return for a financial consideration, the *shadkhan* arranges and assists a union between two people, taking into consideration not only the compatibility of the couple but also the suitability of their families. Although the Bible does not describe in detail how marriages were arranged, Genesis 24:1–67 tells how Abraham's servant chose a wife, Rebekah, for Isaac. The story implies that the servant had the authority to use his discretion in making the choice. However, Isaac's son, Jacob, chose his own wife. During the talmudic period marriages were arranged by the heads of the two families, with no broker involved (Shab. 150a). Sometimes, however, marriages were arranged by the couples themselves (Kid. 13a). Arranged marriages were considered so essential that "Rav punished any man… who betrothed a woman without previous *shiddukhin*" since he regarded this as licentious behavior (Kid. 12b).

The term *shadkhan* in its present meaning first appears in rabbinic literature in the 13th century. *Mordecai (b. Hillel) discusses whether the broker should receive his fee even if the marriage does not take place (BK 172). In Austria the *shadkhan* was not paid until after the marriage had taken place, while in the Rhenish countries he was paid as soon as the parties reached an understanding (Responsa Meir of Rothenburg, ed. Prague no. 498; A. Berliner, *Aus dem Leben der deutschen Juden im Mittelalter* (1900, 43)).

The *shadkhan* was entitled to a higher fee than that awarded to the business *sarsur* or broker. The latter was only given one-half to one per cent of the business transactions he negotiated while the *shadkhan* received two per cent of the dowry involved. When the contracting parties lived more than ten miles apart, the marriage broker received three per cent of the dowry for his efforts (S. Buber, *Anshei Shem*, 1 (1895), 25).

The matchmaking profession was originally highly esteemed, and famous rabbis such as Jacob *Moellin and Jacob *Margolioth earned their livelihoods from this occupation. A 17th-century writer cautioned matchmakers, "When you are arranging a marriage between two parties, never exaggerate, and always tell the truth." He added that "in earlier times, none but scholars were *shadkhanim*" (idem, in: JQR, 3 (1891), 480). Rabbis and scholars were the natural go-betweens in the Middle Ages when fathers were anxious to obtain learned and pious sons-in-law.

In time, the traditional integrity of the marriage broker began to decline. A principal reason was the fact that men with unstable backgrounds and occupations were tempted into the profession's uncertain undertakings. The peculiar persuasive and social talents required for this profession stimulated the development of a unique type of personality. Generally, the *shadkhan* could be relied upon to be a perpetual chatterbox, lively, good-natured, and even impudent. Amid the raillery and guilelessness, however, an element of maliciousness could be detected. A classic type in Jewish folklore and fiction, the *shadkhan* is portrayed in all the bright plumage of his loquaciousness. His genius for euphemistically glossing over the physical and character defects of his clients is legend.

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SHADMOT DEVORAH (Heb. שְׁדְמוֹת דְּבוֹרָה), moshav in northern Israel, northeast of Kefar Tavor, affiliated with Tenu'at ha-Moshavim. It was founded in May 1939, a few weeks after the publication of the anti-Zionist White Paper by the British government. The founders, originally from Germany, had first settled in a moshav shittuffi, *Moledet, but left to establish the moshav, Shadmot Devorah. In 1970 the moshav had 166 inhabitants; in 2002, 367. Its economy was based on field crops, fruit orchards, and dairy cattle. Devorat ha-Tavor, a silk- and honey-production visitors center is located in the moshav. Shadmot Devorah ("fields of Devorah") is named for Dorothy (d. 1988; Devorah), wife of James de *Rothschild.

[Efram Orni / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

SHADRACH, MESHACH, ABED-NEGO (Heb. שַׁדְרַךְ, מֵישַׁךְ, עֲבֵד נְגוֹ), three young men of aristocratic Judahite stock whose Hebrew names were respectively Hananiah ("The Lord was gracious"), Mishael (perhaps "Who is what God is?"), and Azariah ("The Lord helped"). Together with Daniel they were taken into the Babylonian court of *Nebuchadnezzar because of their handsome appearance, wisdom, and ability to learn. In accordance with known practice they were assigned Babylonian names and taught the language and literature of the Chaldeans (probably Akkadian). Refusing to be defiled by eating pagan food, the youths providentially throve on a diet of grains and greatly surpassed the wisdom of all the king's magicians (Dan. 1). They quickly rose in rank, Daniel attaining the position in the "King's Gate" and the other three being put in charge of the "administration" of the province of Babylon (Dan. 2:49). The three refused to worship the pagan image erected by Nebuchadnezzar, were cast into a fiery furnace, and miraculously emerged alive. Nebuchadnezzar acknowledged the greatness of their God and confirmed their rule in Babylonia (Dan. 3). "The Three Children" thus became a paradigm of faithfulness to God (cf. I Macc. 2:59).

[Bezalel Porton]

In the ancient Greek and Latin versions of Daniel there is an addition inserted between 3:23 and 3:24. This addition consists of 68 verses and may have been composed in either Hebrew or Aramaic. In the Apocrypha it appears as "The Prayer of Azariah and The Song of the Three Young Men." It is possible that Hananiah-Shadrach (Gr. Sedrach) is the Sedrach to whom the Christian *Apocalypse of Sedrach* was attributed (M.R. James, *Apocrypha Anecdota* (1893), 127–37).

The Hebrew names of the three companions are quite common in the period of the Second Temple and occur both in biblical and post-biblical sources. There is no certain etymology for the Babylonian names Shadrach and Meshach but it has been suggested that Abed-Nego is a variation of Abed-Nebo ("Servant of Nab").

[Michael E. Stone]

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SHAFFER, SIR PETER (1926–), English playwright. Born in Liverpool, Shaffer was educated at Cambridge, where he edited the university magazine *Granta*. He became a music and theater critic and wrote several plays for broadcasting but made his name with the stage play *Five-Finger Exercise* (1958). On the surface a conventional domestic comedy, this study of a middle-class English family vying for the affections of a young German tutor dealt with relationships which other playwrights of the time either ignored or evaded. In 1962 Shaffer scored another success with *The Private Ear and the Public Eye*, two one-act studies of the gap between reality and appearance, in which the apparently conventional situation was again treated in psychological depth. His later plays are more ambitious: *The Royal Hunt of the Sun* (1964), a spectacular chronicle play, depicts the incursion of Cortez into the Peru of the Incas; *Black Comedy* (1965) attempted to extend the currently fashionable "sick joke" into a full-length theatrical performance.

[Philip D. Hobsbaum]

Shaffer achieved an outstanding success with his *Equus* which was first performed on Broadway in 1974. A psychological thriller about a boy who blinded six horses, based upon an actual incident which occurred in England in 1972, Shaffer worked on it for over two years. In it, he delves into the sexual and other motivations for this outrage which are revealed in long dialogues between the boy and a psychiatrist. His play *Amadeus* (1979), about the alleged murder of Mozart by Antonio Salieri, was made into a famous film (1984) which won the Academy Award for Best Picture. He was knighted in 2000. His twin brother, ANTHONY SHAFFER (1926–2001), was educated at Cambridge and became a barrister. He was also a noted playwright, especially of mysteries. He was the author of the long-running *Sleuth* (1970), made into a film in 1977, *Frenzy* (1973), one of Alfred Hitchcock's last films, and dramatizations of several of Agatha Christie's works. The two brothers sometimes collaborated, using the pseudonym "Peter Anthony."

ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY: ODNB online for Anthony Shaffer; G.A. Plunka, *Peter Shaffer* (1988); M.K. MacMurraugh-Kavanagh, *Peter Shaffer: Theatre and Drama* (1998).

SHAG (Zwebner), ABRAHAM (1801–1876), Hungarian rabbi. Shag was born in Galgóc and studied under Moses Sofer. He first served as rabbi in the small town of Czeszté and then in Kobelsdorf, one of the "seven communities" in Hungary. He was distinguished both for his keen intellect and his firm and upright character. He was a member of the Jewish Congress of 1869. He left behind many works, but only his *Ohel Avraham* (1881) responsa, and his *Derashot ha-Rosh* (1904) have been published. Shag was one of the rabbis in Hungary who raised his voice against the communal schism and published a proclamation on the subject in *Ha-Maggid* (1868). His followers did not like it and it was largely ignored. In 1873 Shag immigrated to Ereẓ Israel, undoubtedly influenced by his teacher Moses Sofer. In 1846, when the *Toleranz* tax was abolished, he justified its original imposition on the grounds that unlike other settlers whose intention it was to become permanent citizens and enjoy citizens' rights, the Jew regards himself only as a temporary resident, since he is enjoined by his religion to await the coming of the Messiah, and hence should pay for his stay in the country. Moreover, the paying of the tax indicates the depth of his faith and his expectation of the imminent advent of the Messiah and it is fitting that he should pay for the right of residence.

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[Naphtali Ben-Menahem]

SHAHAL (Fatal), MOSHE (1934–), Israeli politician and attorney, member of the Seventh to Fourteenth Knessets. Born in Baghdad, Shahal grew up in a traditional middle class family and attended an English school. At the age of 12 he first read Karl Marx's *Capital*, which greatly influenced his way of thinking. In 1950 he immigrated to Israel with his family, which lived at first in transit camps (*ma'barot*) in Beit Lid and Ashkelon. He settled in Haifa in the late 1950s. As a member of the ruling *Mapai, Shahal was involved in efforts to quell the Wadi Salib riots, organized by militants of Oriental origin against the background of claims of discrimination that broke out in July 1959. Shahal was a member of the Haifa Labor Council in 1959–71, and a member of its secretariat in 1964–71. He was a member of the Haifa Municipal Council in 1965–69.

In 1964 he studied economics, sociology, and political science at Haifa University, and then continued his studies for a law degree at Tel Aviv University, which he received in 1969. In 1970 he became a partner in the Ben-Israel & Shahal law firm, in which he remained until 1983, then joining the Solomon & Lifshitz firm where he remained for a year.

Shahal entered the Seventh Knesset in 1971, and soon turned into an expert on the Knesset Rules of Procedure. He became a member of numerous Knesset Committees, but was especially active in the Constitution, Law and Justice Committee, and the Finance Committee. In 1974–76, during the term of the Eighth Knesset, he served as chairman of the Israeli Consumers Council, and was a member of the Knesset delegation to the Council of Europe. In the Ninth and Tenth Knessets he was chairman of the Alignment parliamentary group, and a member of the Knesset delegation to the Inter-Parliamentary Union. In the Tenth Knesset he served as deputy speaker.

Shahal was one of the chief negotiators of the coalition agreement between the *Israel Labor Party and the *Likud in 1984, which culminated in the establishment of a National Unity Government based on parity and with rotation in the premiership. He was then one of the initiators of the Arrangements Law that accompanied the Economic Stabilization Plan of 1985, which was designed to save the Israeli economy from a catastrophe. In the National Unity Governments of 1984–90 Shahal served as minister of energy and infrastructure, playing an active role in numerous ministerial committees, as he was to continue to do in future governments of which he was a member. In 1987 he met with the Iraqi ambassador in Washington in an effort to open a channel of communication with Iraq. In 1988–90 Shahal acted as liaison minister between the government and the Knesset. After Peres failed to form a government following Labor's departure from the National Unity Government in March 1990, he joined the Zadok, Stricks, Shahal & Co. law firm in Tel Aviv, but left the partnership after the Labor electoral victory in the elections to the Thirteenth Knesset. In the beginning of 1992, before the elections, Shahal considered contesting the Labor leadership, but finally decided not to participate in the contest that was won by Yitzhak *Rabin. In the government formed by Rabin after the elections, Shahal was first appointed minister of communications, but then returned to the ministry of energy and infrastructure, and also served as minister of police. In 1994 he once again became the liaison minister between the government and the Knesset. Shahal was a member of the ministerial teams that dealt both with the Palestinian and the Syrian issues. Though he was never considered a dove, he was known for his pragmatic approach. Already in 1995 he raised the idea that Israel should defend itself against Palestinian terrorist attacks by constructing a fence between itself and the territories handed over to the Palestinians. In the field of energy he supported cooperation with Israel's neighbors – especially Egypt and Jordan. In the government formed by Shimon*Peres after Rabin's assassination in November 1995 he was appointed minister of internal security.

In the course of the Fourteenth Knesset Shahal participated in a meeting with the Follow-Up Committee of Israeli Arabs, to discuss ways of saving the peace process following the Likud victory in the elections to the Fourteenth Knesset. He resigned from the Knesset in March 1998, and opened his own law firm in Tel Aviv but continued to play an active role in the Israel Labor Party. One of the subjects he continued to deal with in his professional capacity as an attorney was the Israeli energy market, which he had helped to reshape as minister of energy and infrastructure.

[Susan Hattis Rolef (2nd ed.)]

SHAHAM, GIL (1971–), Israeli violinist born in the U.S. In 1973 he moved with his parents to Israel, where at the age of seven he studied with Samuel Bernstein at the Rubin Academy. While studying with Haim Taub, he made his orchestral debut with the Jerusalem Symphony Orchestra (1981).The following year he played with the Israel Philharmonic under Mehta and begun his studies with Dorothy DeLay and Jens Ellerman at Aspen. In 1982, after taking first prize in Israel's Claremont Competition, Shaham became a scholarship student at Juilliard, where he worked with DeLay and Hyo Kang. In 1989 he began his studies at Columbia University, New York. His subsequent solo career brought him engagements with the New York Philharmonic Orchestra, the Philadelphia Orchestra, the Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra and the Frankfurt RSO, among others. In 1989 he caused a sensation when he replaced *Perlman playing the Bruch and Sibelius concertos at the Royal Festival Hall, London. In 1990 he made his London recital debut at Wigmore Hall. A further highlight in his career was his debut recital at Carnegie Hall, New York, in 1992. Shaham performs regularly with leading orchestras and conductors throughout Europe, Japan, and the U.S. as well as in recitals and ensemble appearances on the great concert stages and at the most prestigious festivals. He has appeared with the IPO in many concerts in Israel and abroad. He is noted for his mature musicianship, mesmerizing technique, and rich, colorful tone. He also has the intellect and dramatic flair to transcend routine interpretations. His wide repertoire includes recordings of works by Mendelssohn, Tchaikovsky, Korngold, Prokofiev Vivaldi, Bartok, and Arvo Pärt. Among his awards are the Avery Fisher Career Grant (1990) and Premio Internazionale of the Accademia Chigiana in Siena (1992).

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[Naama Ramot (2nd ed.)]

SHAḤAM, NATHAN (1925–), Hebrew writer, son of Eliezer *Steinman and brother of writer David Shaḥam. Born in Tel Aviv, Shaḥam served in the *Palmaḥ and on the southern front during the *War of Independence and later joined kibbutz Bet Alfa. He began publishing in 1944 and wrote fiction, plays, and stories for children. Shaḥam served as Israel's cultural attaché in New York (1977–80) and was vice chairman of the Israel Broadcasting Authority and chief editor of Sifriat Po'alim Publishing House. Many of his works, written in a traditional realistic style, were fueled by an unmistakable ideological concern, dealing with crucial issues of Israeli life, such as war, kibbutz life, immigration and, not least, disillusionment. His early novel *Even al Pi ha-Be'er* (1956) presents the committed pioneer, Eliyahu Weisman. Young, engaged Palmaḥ members are depicted in *Dagan ve-Oferet* (1948), *Ha-Elim Aẓelim* (1949), and *Tamid Anaḥnu* (1952). *Shikkun Vatikim* (1958) deals with the norms and life-style of the kibbutz while *Ḥokhmat ha-Misken* (1960) describes the immigration of the Polish, previously Communist Jews to Palestine. The world of the German-Jewish immigrants, the so-called Yekkes, is depicted in *Guf Rishon Rabbim* (1968), whereas the charms of Europe prevail in *Halokh va-Shov* (1972). Other works include the plays *Hem Yaggi'u Maḥar* (1949); *Kera Li Siomka* (1950); and *Yoḥanan bar Ḥama* (1952), and novels such as *Eẓem el Aẓmo* (1981; *Bone to the Bone*, 1993), *Sidrah* (1992), and *Lev Tel Aviv* (1996). No doubt one of Shaḥam's finest works is the novel *Revi'iyat Rosendorf* (1987; *The Rosendorf Quartet*, 1991; German, 1990), the portrait of four members of a string quartet in pre-state Israel. Only one of them, Friedman, feels committed to the Zionist project and in fact suffers from guilt feelings for not being a good enough pioneer. The others feel alienated, strangers in a place supposed to be their home. Moreover, viola-player Eva von Staubenfeld hates the country, which, in her opinion, is nothing but a place of exile: She criticizes the ugliness of the place and the petit bourgeois mentality. The fifth figure in the novel, observer of and loyal listener to the quartet as well as the narrator of its story, is the German writer Egon Loewenthal, who reflects upon the difficulties of writing in a new language, so different from his mother-tongue, and provides the reader with a kind of "diary of exile." For Nathan Shaḥam, himself a viola player, music becomes a complex metaphor for a universal language which rejects nationalism and transcends the pettiness of mundane life. In a subsequent novel, *Ẓilo shel Rosendrof* (2001), Shaḥam sends his protagonist to Germany to find out what has happened to the musicians and to the narrator. *Pa'amon be-Kijongdzu* ("A Bell in Ch'ongiu," 2005) is Joseph Schneider's belated confrontation with his harrowing experiences as a passenger of a plane hijacked by Palestinian terrorists, in which Shaḥam reflects on moral and political issues. Shaḥam received the Bilaik Prize and the American National Jewish Book Award for Fiction. His story "Coming Home" is included in James A. Michener (ed.), *Firstfruits* (1973), "Speak to the Wind" in G. Abramson (ed.), *The Oxford Book of Hebrew Short Stories* (1996). For further information concering translations, see the ITHL website at www.ithl.org. il.

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[Anat Feinberg (2nd ed.)]

SHAḤAR, DAVID (1926–1997), Hebrew writer. Shaḥar was born in Jerusalem, being the fifth generation of a Jerusalemite family. He studied at the Hebrew University and published his first book, a collection of stories *Al Ha-Ḥalomot* ("Concerning Dreams"), depicting a wide range of Jerusalemite characters, in 1955. This was followed by novels, stories, and books for children (*Sodo shel Riki*, 1961; rpt. 1988). Shaḥar's major work is *Heikhal ha-Kelim ha-Shevurim* ("The Palace of Shattered Vessels"), a work he wrote over 30 years, comprising eight volumes. Among these are *Kayiẓ bi-Reḥov ha-Neviim* (*Summer in the Street of the Prophets,* 1973), *Ha-Masa le-Ur Kasdim* (*A Voyage to Ur of the Chaldees*, 1978), *Yom* *ha-Rozenet* ("The Day of the Countess," French translation 1981), *Ningal* (French: 1985), *Yom ha-Refaim* ("The Day of the Ghosts," French: 1988) and *Ḥalom shel Tammuz* ("A Tammuz Night's Dream," French: 1989). This monumental work, one of the finest examples of the modern Hebrew picaresque, traces the changes in Israeli society and the transformations of the Zionist dream, focusing on a variety of figures living in Jerusalem, in the vicinity of Hanevi'im Street and the Geulah neighborhood, from the Ottoman period up to the 1970s. While the so-called Palmaḥ-Generation favored the realistic style and the writers of the 1960s advanced a symbolic-allegoric prose, Shaḥar deployed a narrative technique embracing satirical elements, dream-like scenes, comic episodes, reminiscences and kabbalistic allusions, creating an original poetic of mnemonics. Small wonder then that Shaḥar's work has been compared to Marcel Proust's *Remembrance of Things Past*. Indeed, Shaḥar's writings enjoyed tremendous success in France. He was awarded the French Prix Médicis Etranger and was appointed Commandeur dans L'Ordre des Arts et des Lettres by the French government. A former chairman of the Hebrew Writers Association, he was honored in Israel with various prizes, including the Bialik and Agnon prizes. The last work of Shaḥar, who died in France, is the fragment *El Har ha-Zeitim* ("To the Mount of Olives," 1998). Shaḥar's prose has been translated into many languages, and information about translations is available at the ITHL website at www.ithl.org.il.

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[Anat Feinberg (2nd ed.)]

SHAHAR, SHULAMIT (1928–), historian specializing in the Middle Ages. Shahar's work is considered groundbreaking. Her studies on women, children, and the aged – social groups that had not been studied before in the medieval period – became milestones in the study of social history. Shahar was born in Latvia and immigrated to Palestine in 1933. In 1965 she received her B.A. degree in history and English literature and in 1961 she received an M.A. degree in general and Jewish history from the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. In 1965 she received her Ph.D. from the Sorbonne. In 1967 she began to work in the history department of Tel Aviv University and in 1990 she was made professor. In 1986–89 she was head of the department. In 1990–93 she was head of general studies at Tel Aviv University. She was also a visiting professor at Cambridge and Oxford Universities. Shahar wrote many articles and books, including *The Fourth Estate* (1983), *Childhood in the Middle Ages* (1990), *Growing Old in the Middle Ages* (1997), and *Women in a Medieval Heretical Sect* (2000). In 2003 she was awarded the Israel Prize in history.

[Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

SHAḤARIT (Heb. שַׁחֲרִית; "dawn prayer"), the daily morning service and the most elaborate of the three prescribed daily prayers. Its institution is traditionally attributed to the patriarch Abraham (on the basis of Gen. 19:27), and the rabbis later made its recitation obligatory to replace the daily morning sacrifice (*Tamid*) performed in the Temple (Ber. 26b).

Shaḥarit consists of the following components: (1) *Morning Benedictions; (2) **Pesukei de-zimra*; (3) reading of the **Shema* and its benedictions; (4) **Amidah;* (5) **Taḥanun*, on days when it is recited; (6) *Torah reading, on mornings when it is required; (7) **Ashrei*, Psalm 20 and a collection of biblical quotations; (8) **Aleinu le-Shabbe'ah*. There are no basic variations in the text of the prayers recited each morning with the exception of the text of the *Amidah*, additions to the *pesukei de-zimra* on Sabbaths and festivals, and the addition of **Hallel* on festivals and the *New Moon. In some rites, **piyyutim* are also inserted during the morning prayers on certain Sabbaths and festivals. In most Israeli cities, the priestly blessing is recited each morning in the framework of the *Amidah*.

The time for the morning service is governed by the laws which determine the period for the recitation of the *Shema* and the *Amidah*. The start of the period in which the *Shema* should be recited begins with daybreak and concludes after a quarter of the day has passed (Ber. 1:2; Sh. Ar., OḤ 58:1). The time for reciting the *Amidah* begins with sunrise and ends after a third of the day has passed (Ber. 4:1; Sh. Ar., OḤ 89:1; and see *Day and Night). Extremely pious people (*vatikin*) were therefore careful to begin their prayers with daybreak so they could complete the recitation of the *Shema* by sunrise and recite the *Amidah* immediately afterward (Ber. 26a). If the morning prayers are delayed past their proper time for recitation, they may still be said until midday (Ber. 4:1; Sh. Ar., OḤ 89:1). If, by accident, the morning *Amidah* was not recited, an extra *Amidah* is added at the *Minḥah* service.

During daily morning services, the **tallit* and **tefillin* are worn for the duration of the prayers. On Sabbath and festivals, only the *tallit* is worn. On the Ninth of *Av, it is customary according to many rites to wear neither *tallit* nor *tefillin* for *Shaḥarit*, but to wear them for the **Minḥah* prayers. Once the blessing preceding the *pesukei de-zimra*, **Barukh she-Amar*, is recited, the supplicants are forbidden to speak or to interrupt the prayers until the conclusion of the *Amidah* (Sh. Ar., OḤ 51:4).

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SHĀHIN, Judeo-Persian poet. Though a few short fragments of Judeo-Persian poems were found in the Cairo **Genizah*, Shāhin is regarded the first and greatest Judeo-Persian poet who flourished during the 14th century. Most probably Shāhin, meaning "falcon," is the pen name of the poet that appears in many places in his poetic productions; his real name and personal life are unknown. Scholars who briefly mentioned Shāhin's works claimed that he was from *Shiraz, but internal evidence shows beyond any doubt that he was not from Shiraz or any place in the southern or central parts of Iran. He may have belonged to the Greater *Khorāsān, probably the city of Merv. Shāhin is as great to the Persian Jews as the composer of Shāh-Nāmeh, Firdowsi, is to the Iranians.

Shāhin's first poetic work is a paraphrase of the four last books of the Pentateuch which has to do with the life and deeds of Moses and the children of Israel, hence it was named "Musā-Nāmeh" by Simon *Ḥakham of Bukhara and Wilhelm Bacher of Budapest (see bibl.) who showed interest in the works of Shāhin. The poet himself titled this work *Sharḥ-i Torah* ("Exegesis of the Torah"). It is indeed a rather free interpretation which makes use of Midrashim and even Muslim sources. Musā-Nāmeh, which contains about ten thousand verses, was completed in 1327 C.E.

Shāhin's second poetic work is *Tafsir Megillat Ester* ("Interpretation of the Book of Esther"), which is known to scholars by the name of *Ardashir-Nāmeh*. Ardashir (ruled 465–425 B.C.E.), according to Shahin, is Ahasuerus, though most scholars consider Xerxes (in Persian Khashāyār, ruled 486–465 B.C.E.) to be the king who married Esther. Ardashir-Nāmeh consists of three separate but interwoven stories: (1) that of the Book of Esther; (2) a love story related to the Shiruyeh, the son of Vashti, and a Chinese princess, Mahzād; (3) a brief narration of the life and deeds of Cyrus the Great, mostly based on the Book of Ezra, hence this part is sometimes known as Ezrā-Nāmeh. Here Shāhin talks about Cyrus the son of Esther the Queen, a belief held also by some Muslim historians such as Ṭabarī. The depiction of nature, hunting, and battle is superb. Ardashir-Nāmeh contains about six thousand verses and was completed in 1333 C.E.

Shāhin's third poetic work is a paraphrased versification of the first book of the Pentateuch, the Book of Genesis, which was named by the poet *Sharḥ-i Torah, Sefer Bereshit*, and by scholars *Bereshit-Nāmeh*. The major part of this work narrates the story of Joseph and Potiphar's wife, hence it is also known as "Yosef va Zolaikhā." *Bereshit-Nāmeh* makes extensive use of Midrashim and especially Muslim sources known as *Qiṣaṣ al-Anbiyā*ʾ (the stories of the prophets). As the poet's last work, it displays maturity of mind, great erudition, and profound knowledge of the Persian language with all its rhetorical devices. *Bereshit-Nāmeh*, which contains about ten thousand verses, was completed in 1359 C.E.

Simon Ḥakham published all of Shāhin's works in Jerusalem.

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[Amnon Netzer (2nd ed.)]

SHAHN, BEN (1898–1969), U.S. painter and printmaker. Born in Kaunas (Kovno), Lithuania, he was taken to the United States at the age of eight. He studied lithography and for many years supported himself and his family by means of commercial lithography. A liberal in outlook, Shahn attracted attention through his gouache paintings on the Sacco-Vanzetti case and the case of labor leader Tom Mooney. The Mexican artist Diego Rivera, also a liberal, hired Shahn as his assistant in painting the fresco *Man at the Crossroads*, for the RCA Building in Rockefeller Center, New York. This controversial fresco was finally removed to Mexico City. During the Depression Shahn was commissioned by the government to paint several murals for public buildings. He helped form the Artists' Union and the American Artists' Congress. During World War II, Shahn designed posters for the Office of War Information. He taught at several universities and museum art schools, had many one-man shows, and was represented at international shows such as the biennial exhibitions at Venice and São Paulo. In the winter of 1956–57 he gave a series of lectures at Harvard University, published under the title *The Shape of Content* (1957). Shahn often dealt with Jewish subject matter. He made drawings for the production of a play, *The World of Sholom Aleichem* (1953), and designed windows for Temple Beth Zion in Buffalo, New York (1965). As a calligrapher, he repeatedly made use of the Hebrew alphabet, especially in the books *Alphabet of Creation* (1954) and *Love and Joy about Letters* (1963; for which he also wrote texts), and in a series of de luxe editions of the *Haggadah* (1965). Drawings of the *Haggadah* had been executed about 1930 and all but one of these were bought for the Jewish Museum, New York, and are now one of its most prized possessions. The Oriental touch in some of these drawings is due to Shahn's acquaintance with the Jews of *Djerba, where he spent almost a year. When he was seventy, several retrospective exhibitions of his works were held. Shahn raised the aesthetic level of graphic art in the United States. As a draftsman, he was often a commentator on the social scene, always outraged at injustice, but also amused by humanity's foibles and weakness.

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[Alfred Werner]

SHAḤOR (**Czerny**, **Schwartz**), family of pioneers in Hebrew printing in Central Europe. ḤAYYIM joined the first printing group in *Prague (see *Kohen family) in or before 1514. After 1522, when the group disbanded, he joined Meir Michtam in issuing two works of prayer, in 1525 and 1526. During most of 1526 he evidently prepared almost all the woodcut illustrations for the Passover *Haggadah* of Gershom Kohen. Some have doubted that Shaḥor made almost all the woodcuts for the *Haggadah* as he is not mentioned in the colophon; however, four illustrations contain a small letter *shin* and it was the practice of non-Jewish woodcut artists to mark their work with their initials. Moreover, one of the four represents King David, and David was also his father's name. The *shin* similarly appears near a lion in the *Haggadah's* third full border (ornamenting the verse *shefokh ḥamatekha*); Shaḥor could have considered the lion a suitable "family crest," for it is a royal symbol, and his father's personal name was synonymous with royalty in ancient Israel and in Jewish tradition. Furthermore, in his Pentateuch of Augsburg (1533) the first page of every book is ornamented with two small figures: one, a crab, is probably a zodiacal sign of his birth month; the other, a lion, was evidently retained as a "family crest." To adorn the opening page of his Pentateuch of Ichenhausen (1544), he copied onto a new woodcut the complete third border of Gershom Kohen's *Haggadah* with the lion (Kohen retained and reused the original), and he used it again for the opening page of his *seder seliḥot* of Heddernheim, 1545. It might be noted, too, that in the 1518 Pentateuch of Prague's pioneer printers, Shaḥor is listed second (after Gershom Kohen) in the colophon to part 1 (end of Exodus), which part contains two full borders; in the colophon to part 2, which has no new woodcut ornamentation, he is listed last. This indicates that he made those two borders as well.

In April 1527 a royal privilege made Gershom Kohen the sole Hebrew printer in Bohemia and Shaḥor had to leave Prague. Taking with him a good amount of type and equipment, he became an itinerant printer, comparable only to Gershom *Soncino (although his output was much smaller). About 1529 he settled in Oels, Silesia (near Breslau), where he printed a Pentateuch with a partner. A storm destroyed the printing shop, however, and Shaḥor left Silesia. In 1531 he reached Augsburg, a center of humanism, where he apparently used the press of August Wind, a Christian printer who issued some Hebrew texts for the clergy. Until 1540 he produced nine works of quality (including a modest but handsome Passover *Haggadah* in 1534), evidently helped by his son ISAAC and son-in-law Joseph b. Yakar, who were listed in the colophon of their edition of Jacob b. Asher's *Turim* (1540). In this period (1531–40) Shaḥor traveled about, too, in an attempt to sell his stock. Conditions worsened, though, and in the final years in Augsburg the family could not issue its planned volumes. At his request the influential apostate Paulus Emilius went to Ferrara, Italy, in 1541–42 to explore possibilities for the Shaḥor family to settle there, but nothing came of it. In 1543 the family moved to Ichenhausen, Bavaria, where it issued a prayer book with Judeo-German translation as well as a Pentateuch. Political unrest and local war made them move on, however, to Heddernheim, near Frankfurt on the Main, where they resumed printing in 1545.

Evidently, though, the family finally concluded that there was little hope for a stable future in Germany, for it soon left for *Lublin, perhaps by 1547. An official permit for printing could not be obtained until 1550, by which time Shaḥor had died and his son-in-law Joseph b. Yakar had left to try his luck in Italy. With *Giustiniani he produced a Pentateuch in Venice (1548), but then rejoined the family. Until 1554 he and Ḥayyim's son Isaac Shaḥor ran the press jointly, producing a notable Polish *maḥzor* in 1550. By 1557 Shaḥor had died, leaving a small son; his brother-in-law might also have died, as his name no longer appears in the press's output. The family craft was carried on by Kalonymus b. Mordecai Jaffe, the husband of Ḥayyim Shaḥor's granddaughter (i.e., Joseph b. Yakar's son-in-law), together with two partners, one of whom may have been an elder son of Ḥayyim Shaḥor's son Isaac. The family's printing privilege of 1550 was renewed in 1559, and under Kalonymos and his sons the press continued in Lublin for many years.

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[Charles Wengrov]

SHAKED, GERSHON (1929–2006), one of the most prominent scholars and the foremost historian of Modern Hebrew narrative fiction in the second half of the 20th century. His research and criticism have touched on nearly every author and literary phenomenon in modern Hebrew literature from the 1850s onward, in monographs on individual authors and studies of literary schools. Although he has devoted most of his work to Hebrew fiction, Shaked has also made significant contributions to the study of modern Hebrew drama and poetry and of Jewish literature by central European authors writing in German (Kafka, Joseph Roth, Stefan Zweig) and by American-Jewish authors (such as Saul Bellow and Philip Roth). Shaked's significant influence as a scholar of culture and literature can be discerned from concepts and terms he coined and which have become an integral part of Hebrew critical discourse, such as: "The New Wave" (the name he gave to the group of authors also known as "The State Generation": Amos *Oz, Aharon *Appelfeld, Yehuda *Amichai, A.B. *Yehoshua, Amalia *Kahana-Carmon); "Genre" and "Anti-Genre" (following Y.H. *Brenner's critical writing); the terms "naïve literature" and "ironic literature" (which he used to delineate two different directions in early 20th century literature, representing conflicting world views and poetics); "Homo-Economicus" (a characterization that marked Mendele's poetics); and "a literature against all odds" and " there is no other place" (phrases that stem from Brenner's oeuvre, reflecting Shaked's ideological stance which affirms Zionism despite its errors and flaws).

Shaked was born in Vienna as Gerhard Mandel. In 1939, following the "Anschluss" and the imprisonment and release of his father from Buchenwald, he was sent to Palestine, later to be joined by his parents. Shaked was educated at an Israeli boarding school and later graduated from the Herzliya Gymnasium. After his military service, he studied Hebrew literature, the Bible, and history at the Hebrew University. In 1964 he earned his Ph.D. with a thesis about Hebrew historical drama during the period of "Revival" (1880–1948).

He went on to study in Switzerland and in 1959 began teaching at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, where he eventually became professor and chair of the department of Hebrew literature and taught until his retirement. Shaked was guest professor at various universities worldwide and was awarded the Bialik Prize (1986) and the Israel Prize (1993).

In the opening remarks to his early book *Bein Ẓeḥok le-Dema* (1965), Shaked questions the critical tradition that evaluated Mendele by the degree of accuracy of his description of reality. Shaked asks: "What has the account of reality got to do with the force of a creative literary heritage?" Later on, under the influence of the so-called "Reception Theory," he wrote social historical essays on Israeli culture. In *Sifrut Az, Ka'an ve-Akhshav* (1993), he focuses on the "relationships between the different social models and literature." In *Gal Ḥadash ba-Sifrut ha-Ivrit* he wrote: "The underlying assumption is that literature mirrors culture (note: culture – not reality!), and cultural self-awareness is one of the important contributions literary criticism can make." Shaked labored on the refinement of such self-awareness throughout his long career.

Shaked's early work was influenced by Anglo-American "New Criticism," but he never adopted its teachings completely. In his remarks to *Omanut ha-Sippur shel Agnon* (1976), Shaked admits: "I have tried to learn from different researchers; but I have not practiced theories and have not leaned on doctrines. The author and his work have stood at the center of my study (…). It is no secret that of all the various approaches the one closest to me is that which positions 'the craft of narrative fiction' itself at the center of the critical or interpretative discussion."

Shaked identified himself as a skeptical New Critic and structuralist, but in 1971 he moved in the opposite direction in his book *Im Tishkaḥ Ei Pa'am*. The book's title is a phrase borrowed from Bernard Malamud: "Nathan, she said, if you ever forgot you are a Jew, a Goy will remind you." In his study of Jewish American literature, Shaked's underlying assumption is that Jews writing in different languages and different literatures share a common ground. This inter-Jewish relation may be characterized through mentality, themes, and motifs.

Before embarking on his monumental five-volume history of Hebrew narrative prose, Shaked had already formed the conviction that sociology, ethnicity, and personal biography or identity must be an integral part of literary debate. Shaked's *Gal Ḥadash ba-Sipporet ha-Ivrit* (1970) turned out to be the book which canonized Yehoshua, Oz, Applefeld, and Kahana-Carmon. Years later, Shaked re-formulated his observation, as the assumptions which underlined his early study of *Gal Ḥadash* now seemed inaccurate to him: "The premises that the literature of the New Wave distanced itself from collective social questions and focused on individual issues was wrong. This generation was involved from the outset in collective questions, but expressed its concern for the collective in ways different from those of the previous generation."

Early in his brilliant career Shaked began to think about a monumental history of modern Hebrew narrative fiction. A retrospective scrutiny of his writings reveals the seeds Shaked had sown in preparation for this project and the ways in which he prepared himself for it.

The preliminary process included two slim volumes: *Al Arba'a Sippurim* (1963) and *Al Sheloshah Maḥazot* (1968). In these textbooks, Shaked introduced the tools of close readings of drama and fiction. These tools allowed Shaked to practice one of the convictions he adopted from his teacher Emile Stieger, a conviction he later tried to pass on to his own students: "you must grasp that which grabs us" about a literary text. Shaked established the historiosophical grounds for his work in two other early works: *Bein Ẓeḥok le-Dema* and *Ha-Maḥazeh ha-Ivri bi-Tekufat ha-Teḥiyyah*. With regard to the first, the question may arise, why did Shaked choose to focus on Mendele in his early scholarly work? One of the answers, according to Shaked's own testimony, is Mendele's central position in the Hebrew canon that compelled the young scholar to stage a "new internal debate" between previous generations of scholars and himself. That new internal debate, with Mendele acting as mediator, is a fundamental aspect of Shaked's historio-literary research. Shaked crowned Mendele (that is, Sholem Yankev *Abramovitsh, or "Mendele Mokher Seforim") the founder of modern Hebrew literature. His late book, *Mendele, Lefanav ve-Aḥarav* (2005), goes back to Mendele, recapitulating Mendele's revolutionary influence on Hebrew literature in a re-reading of *Sefer ha-Kabẓanim* and in relation to Smolenskin, Charles Dickens, Agnon, Bashevis Singer, and others.

According to Shaked, Mendele is the leading figure of a new position marked by the disillusionment and disappointment with the universalist premises of the *Haskalah* on the one hand and a recognition of the dramatic rise of a nationalist Jewish movement on the other hand.

In the first volume of *Ha-Sipporet ha-Ivrit,* Shaked notes that there are some who consider the pogroms of 1881 as the turning point in Hebrew literature. According to him, the social, thematic, and artistic changes in the "book and bookmakers market" took place only in the 1890s, with Mendele focusing primarily on Hebrew, instead of mostly Yiddish writing. This tradition paved the way for the dominance of the "literature of revival," or – in Shaked's terminology – "the Zionist master-plot" (also: "the Zionist master narrative").

The second principle emerging from Shaked's internal debate with previous scholars concerns the innovation he recognized in Mendele's conception of humankind. Prior to Mendele, *Haskalah* authors saw people first and foremost as idea-centered beings. A person was homo sapiens, or rather homo ideologicus. Other characteristics including primal needs such as sex, food, physical security, and emotional connection were ignored. Mendele reversed the order, as did Shaked. The conceptual human was of little interest to him. Instead, he considered the economical being, homo economicus, and the sexual being in their corporeal physical as well as psychological aspects.

The reciprocal ties between ideological, biological, physical, sociological, and psychological components in the balance that Mendele created are valuable to Shaked for mainly two reasons. First, because he is unwilling to ignore the ideological level yet prefers works which challenge it, armed with irony. Shaked has always praised authors who burst hot ideological balloons and ridicule ideological characters. Correspondingly, Shaked has been critical of authors who "conform," those who serve as a voice for dominant ideological stands. Second, Shaked has a distinct preference for the comical mode, according to Northrop Frye: the comical in its various shadings is consistently based – especially in Mendele's writing – on a "lowering" depiction and on observing people from their stomachs and below.

Bein Ẓeḥok le-Dema marks the point of departure for a great historical research. *Ha-Maḥazeh ha-Ivri ha-Histori bi-Tekufat ha-Teḥiyyah* heralds some of the compositional characteristics of Shaked's monumental project of Hebrew narrative prose. Like the five-volume *Ha-Sipporet ha-Ivrit (1880–1980)*, this book focuses on a genre or a master-genre. In the drama project the time frame is explicit: the period of "revival." In the book on narrative fiction the limits are not as clear cut, but rather implied. The fiction studied here frames one hundred years of Zionism. The most essential common denominator of these two projects is their teleological goal. In both, the author views the past in order to better understand it but also in order to understand the present. In his introduction to *Ha-Maḥazeh ha-Ivri*, Shaked distinguishes between an "archeological" method that does not import the past into the present and a "current events" method that touches the past as "material the playwright-interpreter interprets without reviving the material itself." It seems that already in this early work Shaked found his golden mean between the historical and the historiosophical. This path served him in many of his research projects and reached its peak in the history of modern Hebrew narrative fiction. The closer Shaked comes to his own time, the more he takes on the role of historical interpreter alongside that of a literary historian. His discussions of the Sinai war, the Lavon affair, and the Eichmann trial in the fifth volume illustrate this. Shaked's biography has developed into a crucial interpretative tool as well, as can be seen in the chapter on Ruth *Almog in the fifth volume.

There are distinct differences between the early *Ha-Maḥazeh ha-Ivri* and the late *Ha-Sipporet ha-Ivrit* which need to be mentioned. In the early book, Shaked studies the work of several dramatists without attempting to group his portraits into a comprehensive dramatic story. As he says in the introduction to the book, it "follows the history of topics, structures, characterization and dialogue, and attempts to paint a synoptic picture of different angles" – not an evolving developmental structure that would proceed as a plot of a story or a play might. In his comprehensive history of modern Hebrew narrative fiction on the other hand, Shaked created a compositional structure that is committed to analytical "objective" categories; at the same time it adheres to an internal plot and rationale. In other words, in this book Shaked appears as researcher and dramatist. Indeed, this monumental study is a vast performance that includes dozens of main characters and hundreds of marginal ones, attempting not only to delineate them as they were, but also as who they might have been. For this purpose Shaked constructs plots and counter-plots which are motivated by ideological, socio-historical, and psychological tensions, and by purely artistic tensions as well.

Literary research is the heart of Shaked's work, but he has not detached himself from contemporary literature. He has closely followed the literature written in the last fifty years, reviewing individual works and tracing wider literary trends and directions which he marked, named, characterized in great detail, and evaluated according to clear aesthetic and thematic criteria. In the 1950s he was a part of the "*Likrat*" group (together with Nathan *Zach, Benjamin *Harshav, Aryeh *Sivan, Moshe *Dor, and others), that introduced a poetics and cultural agenda.

Shaked stood by the cradle of the "New Wave" authors, read some of their works in manuscript, and encouraged the poetic direction their works took. In his numerous literary reviews he repeatedly demanded "literary realization" of the authors, that is, a full and detailed depiction of social and human situations.

In 2001 Shaked published his first novel, *Mehagerim*, a story of immigration based on his own experience. The book was translated into German (2006). His influence on Israeli fiction made its way into various fictionalized portraits that authors such as R. Almog and A.B. Yehoshua painted of him in their prose.

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[Yigal Schwartz (2nd ed.)]

°**SHAKESPEARE, WILLIAM** (1564–1616), English playwright and poet. *The Merchant of Venice* (1596) has been claimed as the play in which Shakespeare found himself "in the fullest sense." As with other major comedies of his so-called second period, the main emphasis was to have been on the romantic plot. It is, however, Shylock and the bond story, originally intended as a comic subplot, which has proved to be the actual focus of interest down to the present day. Bassanio requests that his friend Antonio, a merchant, provide him with money for his expedition to Belmont. In order to raise the necessary sum, Antonio takes a loan from the Jewish usurer, Shylock. The latter, instead of demanding interest, suggests a "merry bond," according to which, if Antonio should default, Shylock would be entitled to a pound of flesh nearest to Antonio's heart. Not only does Antonio default but, when the day of payment comes, Shylock's daughter Jessica is found to have eloped with Lorenzo, a friend of Antonio, taking with her a large part of her father's money. Embittered by this double blow – "My ducats and my daughter!" – Shylock demands the "penalty and forfeit" of the bond from Antonio. However, Portia, the Lady of Belmont, disguised as a lawyer, saves the situation, pointing out that the bond does not entitle Shylock to a single drop of blood. Antonio's life is saved, and Shylock himself becomes liable to the confiscation of his whole estate through having sought the life of a citizen of Venice. This penalty is "mercifully" reduced to half, but only on condition that he embraces Christianity.

The mainstream view is that Shylock is the type of the monstrous, bloodthirsty usurer of medieval legend. Gobbo, his comic servant, tells us that his master is "the very devil incarnation," and later, when Shylock appears, one of the characters remarks that the devil "comes in the likeness of a Jew." From time to time Shylock is "demythologized," especially in his famous speech, beginning "I am a Jew. Hath not a Jew eyes? Hath not a Jew hands, organs, dimensions, senses, affections, passions?" Many modern critics believe that Shakespeare's depiction of Shylock is much more ambiguous than was previously held, and must be contrasted with the two-dimensional portrayals of Jews in English drama up to that time. Shylock is seen as marking a stage in Shakespeare's evolution as a writer. *The Merchant of Venice* was probably written three or four years after *Richard III*, with its unquestionably evil protagonist, and paved the way for the more ambiguous depictions in Shakespeare's later works. Much about *The Merchant of Venice* poses as yet unanswerable questions: how and where did Shakespeare meet any Jews, since they were legally barred from living in England? Did he visit Venice, which the play describes with the apparent knowledge of an eyewitness? From what source did the name "Shylock," unknown in Jewish usage, derive?

It is generally believed that the trial and execution in 1594 of Queen Elizabeth's *Marrano physician, Rodrigo *Lopez, suggested some features of the Shylock story. This episode provoked a good deal of antisemitic feeling in England at the time.

In England, Edmund Kean's portrayal of Shylock in 1814 was notable for its tragic intensity, while Sir Henry Irving in 1879 acted the part in a radically idealized form, muting the evil qualities of Shylock. The play has often been translated into Hebrew and has been performed in Israel several times. *The Merchant of Venice*, and Shakespeare's views of Jews, have attracted a wide range of comment and analysis, which have certainly not diminished in recent years. Recent studies of these topics include Martin D. Yaffe, *Shylock and the Jewish Question* (1997), and James Shapiro, *Shakespeare and the Jews* (1997). For better or worse, Shylock probably remains the most famous depiction of a Jew in English literature.

[Harold Harel Fisch / William D. Rubinstein (2nd ed.)]

In Hebrew

Since there is as yet no great dramatic literature in Modern Hebrew literature, there can be no significant discussion of Shakespeare's impact upon it. Scattered traces of Shakespeare's influence, usually through German translations, can be found in the poetry of the Haskalah. Joseph *Ha-Efrati's play about King Saul, *Melukhath Sha'ul* (Vienna, 1794), shows, in structure and imagery, that its author must have read *Macbeth, Hamlet*, and *King Lear*. In *Meliẓat Yeshurun* (Vienna, 1816), an analysis of the forms of biblical poetry, Solomon Levisohn quotes some lines from *Henry IV*, *Part II*, in his own rich, though very inaccurate, prose rendering. The tone, and sometimes the same words, of Lady Macbeth's soliloquy ("Come you spirits that tend on mortal thoughts" etc.) are reproduced in Yael's monologue in Micah Joseph *Lebensohn's epic poem, *Ya'el ve-Sisera*, written about the middle of the 19th century.

The first translations of Shakespeare into Hebrew, *Othello* (1874) and *Romeo and Juliet* (1878), were by Isaac Edward *Salkinson, and remained unsurpassed for at least two generations. Salkinson's translations were done at the insistence of Pereẓ *Smolenskin, the Hebrew novelist and essayist, then editor of the monthly *Ha-Shaḥar*, published in Vienna. In his foreword to Salkinson's translation of *Othello*, Smolenskin wrote: "Shakespeare's plays in the Holy Tongue! If all Israel had known and loved the language of their forefathers, and if all those who understand and love Hebrew could comprehend what great prize the translator of these plays has brought into the treasure-house of our language, then indeed would the day on which the first play by Shakespeare appeared in Hebrew become a victory celebration!" Salkinson rendered Shakespeare into strong, lucid, biblical Hebrew writing in free verse of 13 to 16–17 syllables) which did justice to the poetry and dramatic power of the original. Salkinson's isolated achievement appears the greater when set against the background of the florid, padded, imprecise Hebrew style prevailing in Hebrew letters at the time.

In his introduction to *Romeo and Juliet*, Salkinson identified the vulgar speech of the uneducated and the clever, facetious, sometimes multilingual, prattle of the well-born, as the major pitfalls which faced him as a translator. To this day, these remain among the major difficulties in translating Shakespeare into Hebrew. In the two decades that followed the publication of Salkinson's work, only three translations appeared: L. Barb's very weak rendering of *Macbeth* (1883), done from Schiller's free and at times distorted German translation; Z. Elkind's translation of *The Taming of the Shrew* (1893), and S.L. *Gordon's translation of *King Lear* (1899). A quarter of a century elapsed before David *Frischmann's translation of *Coriolanus* (1924) appeared. Frischmann, a most gifted translator, rendered the play entirely within the frame of biblical syntax and idiom. Following the same tradition is H.J. Bornstein's translation of *Hamlet* (1926), which first appeared in serial in the newspaper *Ha-Ẓefirah* in 1900. The use of biblical Hebrew in rendering Shakespeare reached perhaps its peak in Ḥ.N. *Bialik's translation of the first act of *Julius Caesar* (1929). Done from a Russian translation while containing most of the merits of that tradition, it falls short of an adequate rendering of the Shakespearean idiom. Marking the transition toward a freer idiom, where spoken Hebrew is reflected in a predominantly biblical syntax, are Simon *Halkin's translation of *The Merchant of Venice* (1929), the first Shakespeare translation by an American Hebrew poet, and Saul *Tchernichowsky's translation of *Twelfth Night*, which was in Habimah's repertoire when it came to Tel Aviv from Moscow in 1931. In the succeeding years, American Hebrew poets produced a number of translations: E. *Lisitzky translated *Julius Caesar* (1933) and *The Tempest* (1941); B.N. *Silkiner, *Macbeth* (1939); Israel Ephros, *Hamlet* (1944), *Timon of Athens* (1953), and *Coriolanus* (1959); Simon Halkin, *King John* (1947); and Hillel *Bavli, *Antony and Cleopatra* (1948). Translators with an American background who settled in Palestine included: R. *Avinoam (Grossman), who translated *King Lear* (1944), *Antony and Cleopatra* (1947), and *Romeo and Juliet* (1959); and Harry (Zvi) Davidovich, who translated *Hamlet* (1942), *A Midsummer Night's Dream* (1943), *The Winter's Tale* (1945), and *Macbeth* (1946). Although these men had a better knowledge of English than their predecessors (with the sole exception of Salkinson), most of them suffered from a lack of contact with the sound of spoken Hebrew, and from the fact that they wrote in the old penultimate syllable meter. A few of these translators scanned in accordance with the accent of spoken Hebrew, but most of their efforts were of inferior quality.

It became obvious that more accurate and idiomatic translations would be produced only by writers who were in contact with the Hebrew-speaking community in Ereẓ Israel, and who were responsive to the increasing demands of the Hebrew theater. Several translations done in the 1940s and 1950s, though highly flawed (some were done from Russian and German translations, or by writers with an incomplete knowledge of English), achieved considerable success in blending classical Hebrew diction with the sound of everyday speech. At their best, they combined the poetical, the idiomatic, and the vulgar without offending the historic character of the language. The pioneers in this endeavor were Abraham *Shlonsky, *Hamlet* (1945) and *King Lear* (1955), and Nathan *Alterman, *Merry Wives of Windsor* (1946), *Othello* (1950), *Julius Caesar* (1958), and *Anthony and Cleopatra* (1965). They were followed by Raphael Eliaz, *The Taming of the Shrew* (1954), *Romeo and Juliet* (1957), *Twelfth Night* (1960), *Richard the Third*, and *Henry the Fourth* (1961); Lea *Goldberg, *As You Like It* (1957); and T. Carmi, *A Midsummer Night's Dream* (1964). Ephraim *Broido's translation of *Macbeth* appeared in 1954, followed by translations of *The Tempest, Much Ado about Nothing, A Midsummer Night's Dream* (all in 1964), and *Comedy of Errors* (1965). In 1971 he completed his translation of Shakespeare's sonnets. The sonnets had been previously translated by Shin *Shalom in 1943. I.J. Schwarz had published ten of the sonnets in *Ha-Tekufah* (XVIII) in 1923.

[Ephraim Broido]

In Yiddish

The earliest attempt to render Shakespeare into Yiddish appears to be Bezalel Vishnepolsky's naive prose version of *Julius Caesar* (1886). In the 1890s, the American Yiddish theater, influenced by English-language Broadway productions of Shakespeare's great tragedies, staged a number of his plays in incompetent translations, generally from the German. It was Jacob *Gordin who, with his highly effective melodrama *Der Yidisher Kenig Lir* ("The Jewish King Lear," 1892), permanently linked the Yiddish repertoire to Shakespeare, thus initiating a stream of adaptations and borrowings from the great playwright's plots. Gordin's play, essentially very Jewish, is on the theme of generational conflict; similarly, child-parent conflict is the substance of Gordin's *Mirele Efros* (1898), whose original subtitle was "The Jewish Queen Lear." The Shakespearean element in these plays is slight, as is also the case with the Romeo and Juliet echoes in Gordin's *Di Litvishe Brider Lurye* ("The Lithuanian Luria Brothers," 1894), Isidor Zolotorevsky's *Der Yeshive Bokher oder Der Yidisher Martirer* ("The Seminarian or The Jewish Martyr," 1899) and Leon *Kobrin's *Der Blinder Muzikant oder Yidisher Otelo* ("The Blind Musician or Jewish Othello," first staged 1903). Maurice *Schwartz provided a Judaized version of *The Merchant of Venice* in his 1947 dramatization of Ari ibn Zahav's Hebrew novel, *Shaylok ha-Sokher mi-Venetsia* ("Shylock, the Merchant of Venice").

During the first two decades of the 20th century, Shakespeare's plays were frequently acted on the Yiddish stage in both Europe and the U.S. By and large the productions suffered from inept translations, bombastic delivery, and general artistic immaturity. With the development of the Yiddish art theater movement, this situation altered radically. In 1929, in the U.S., Maurice *Schwartz produced *Othello* in Mark Shweid's translation, and in the same year in Poland, Michael *Weichert directed an impressive *Merchant of Venice*, translated by the poet Israel Stern. In 1938 the Polish director L. Schiller staged *The Tempest* in Aaron *Zeitlin's translation, with the noted A. *Morewsky playing Prospero. The greatest of all Shakespeare productions in Yiddish was the Moscow Jewish State Theater's *King Lear* of 1935, with the translation by the poet Shmuel *Halkin. The leading role was played by Solomon *Mikhoels, and the fool's role by the great comic actor, Benjamin Zuskin.

Good translations made serious Yiddish productions of Shakespeare possible in the 1930s. The first "literary" translation of Shakespeare into Yiddish was the work of the young anarchist poet Joseph *Bovshover, whose *Merchant of Venice* (1899) marks an advance. The poet I.J. *Schwartz was more successful with his *Hamlet* and *Julius Caesar* (1918), and, in the Soviet Union, I. *Goldberg produced nine workmanlike translations (1933–38). Ber *Lapin's translation of the *Sonnets* (1953) also merits mention. It is in the theatrical rather than the literary realm that Shakespeare in Yiddish has enjoyed a full and varied life. Joel Berkowitz has shown that "[t]he ways in which Yiddish playwrights and actors in the United States re-imagined Shakespeare's plays had far-reaching implications for the American Yiddish theater." And that theater was important to immigrant American Jews.

The unlikely conjunction "Shakespeare" and "Yiddish" crops up in unsuspected places. Steve Suissa's film *Le Grand Role* (2004) gave central plot significance to a planned Yiddish adaptation of *The Merchant of Venice*. Concerning Michael Radford's film, *The Merchant of Venice* (2004), Sam Sokolove wrote: "Al Pacino… gives us a fully Yiddish Shylock" (*San Diego City Beat*, Apr. 27, 2005); Richard von Busack (*Metroactive Movies*, Jan. 12, 2005) also saw Pacino's Shylock as Yiddish-flavored. Anniversary occasions surrounding the almost legendary Solomon Mikhoels inevitably stimulate references to his famed *King Lear* production in the Moscow Yiddish Art Theater in 1935.

[Leonard Prager]

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SHAKI, ISAAC (1852–1940), Turkish rabbi. Born in a village near *Istanbul, he was a student of R. Solomon Kimḥi. Shaki first became a merchant, and it was not until middle age that he devoted himself to Torah study and research. He was *av bet din* and a member of the *bet din ha-gadol* in Istanbul, writing several books in Ladino in order to provide the masses of the people with religious literature in a language with which they were familiar.

His main work was *Historia Universal Judia* (1898–1927), a 16-volume survey of Jewish history. Other works by Shaki were *Millei de Avot* ("Words of the Fathers," in Ladino *Tresoro del Judaismo*) 3 pts. (1907–08), an extensive commentary on *Avot, and *Binah le-Ittim* (1897), dealing with the Jewish calendar. Some of his works are extant in manuscript.

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[Abraham Haim]

SHALEM (Heb. שָׁלֵם)

(1) A place whose king *Melchizedek was visited by Abraham (Gen. 14:18). It is generally agreed that the name refers to Jerusalem, especially in view of Psalms 76:3, in which Shalem is equated with Zion; this is also the view of Josephus (Ant., 1:180).

(2) A town in the Jordan Valley close to Aenon (Gk. for "many waters") where *John was reported to have been baptizing (John 3:23). Later Christian writers, such as Eusebius (Onom. 40:1) and Jerome in his Latin edition of the *Onomasticon (Liber de Situ et Nominibus* 266c; though he later changed his mind), identified it with a locality in the Jordan Valley 8 mi. (c. 13 km.) south of Scythopolis (Beth-Shean). Christian pilgrims, such as Egeria (c. 384 C.E.), visited the site, then called Sedima (Solyma?), near which was a spring or pool. The area is indicated by a row of greenish mosaics on the *Madaba Map (mid-6th century). It may be identical with the Salem mentioned in the Book of Judith (4:4), in which the villages were alerted at the approach of Holofernes, i.e. on the outskirts of the mountains of Samaria. A possible identification is with Tell al-Radgah (present-day Tell Shalem), c. 8 mi. (12 km.) south of Beth-Shean (Scythopolis). This location has numerous springs: 13 in an area of 4 × 4 kilometers; Ambrose in his writings (II, 1432) claimed there were 12 springs at "Ennon." On the north side is Tell Shalem. Since Egeria was told that Aenon was situated 200 yards (= 183 m) away, Aenon might very well be situated to the northwest of the ancient mound at ʿAin Ibrahim which has a sheikh's tomb.

(3) The Shalem Rabta ("Great Shalem") of Samaritan sources, called Sanim by Eusebius (Onom. 160:13), which is identified with the village of Sālim, approximately 4 mi. (6 km.) east of Nablus. According to Samaritan tradition, a synagogue was built there in the fourth century by their hero Bavah Rabbah.

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[Michael Avi-Yonah / Shimon Gibson (2nd ed.)]

SHALEM, SAMUEL (d. 1760), scholar and emissary. Born in *Salonika, Shalem was a pupil of R. Abraham Gategno. In 1745 he went to Constantinople, emigrating from there to *Tiberias. During his time in Salonika he spoke with Ereẓ Israel emissaries, and in his writings he quoted several Torah novellae that he heard from Hebron and Safed emissaries. From 1755 he traveled for about five years as an emissary from Tiberias to *Turkey, *Italy, *France, and *Germany. The letter concerning his mission – written by the *ḥakhamim* of Tiberias and describing the troubles of Tiberias in the wake of the wars between the sons of the sheikh Ḍāhir el-Omar, ruler of Tiberias – is extant. The collection of his responsa includes many of his halakhic replies to problems raised in the communities of *Izmir, Turin, Avignon, Ferrara, Verona, Leghorn, Trier, Metz, Hamburg, etc. He died in Izmir on his return journey. His responsa and halakhic novellae were collected and published as *Melekh Shalem* (Salonika, 1769).

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[Avraham Yaari]

SHALEV, AVNER (1939–), chairman of Israel's *Yad Vashem directorate. Born in Jerusalem, Shalev served in the Israel Defense Forces between 1956 and 1980, reaching the rank of brigadier general. Shalev was wounded in action on the Egyptian front during the Six-Day War. Between 1972 and 1974 he served as bureau chief for chief of staff David *Elazar. Other army positions included head of the Information and Instruction Division of the General Staff; education officer at the IDF Officers School; chief education officer and head of the Education Corps, where he was editor-in-chief of the IDF Radio Station and the IDF weekly magazine; and senior lecturer at the IDF National Security College.

After retiring from military service, Shalev served as director general of the Culture Authority in the Ministry of Education and Culture and chairman of the National Culture and Art Council. He was also a member of the directorate for various national museums and cultural institutions in Israel. In these positions he was responsible for devising and directing national culture policy and encouraging, supporting, and overseeing the funding of all types of cultural and artistic activity in Israel. Shalev also introduced policies to raise the standards of Israel's leading cultural institutions and advanced and promoted new cultural programs, such as art and culture festivals throughout the country, in order to increase cultural awareness and involvement. Another achievement in this period was to transform the Antiquities Division of the Ministry of Education into a national authority. Shalev was also instrumental in enhancing educational opportunities in regional areas by promoting the accreditation of educational institutions there and enabling their students to obtain recognized degrees.

From 1993 Shalev served as chairman of the directorate of Yad Vashem, the Holocaust Martyrs' and Heroes' Remembrance Authority in Jerusalem, where he initiated a multi-year development plan aimed at equipping Yad Vashem with the necessary tools to address the challenges of Holocaust remembrance in the 21st century. As part of this plan Shalev placed education as a high priority at Yad Vashem and spearheaded the establishment of the International School for Holocaust Studies as well as a new Museum Complex, and served as the chief curator of the new Yad Vashem Holocaust History Museum, which opened in March 2005. During his tenure he also brought about the uploading of Yad Vashem's Database of Holocaust Victims' Names onto the Internet, harnessing modern technology in the service of Holocaust remembrance and education.

Shalev studied modern history of the Middle East and geography and graduated from the IDF Command and Staff College and National Security College. Among his publications are *To Bear Witness – Holocaust Remembrance at Yad Vashem* (2005).

SHALEV, MEIR (1948–), Hebrew writer. Shalev, son of poet Yitzhak *Shalev, was born in *Nahalal. He grew up in that much acclaimed agricultural cooperative and later in Jerusalem, and studied psychology at the Hebrew University. For many years he produced and hosted radio and television programs and is also known for his journalistic contribution to various newspapers. His first publications were books for children and the volume *Tanakh Akhshav* ("Bible Now," 1985), a personal, modern look at diverse biblical episodes. His first novel for adult readers *Roman Rusi* (1988; *The Blue Mountain*, 1991; 2001) was an outstanding success among Israeli readers and turned Shalev overnight into one of the most popular contemporary Hebrew prose-writers. The novel recounts the chronicle of pioneering settlers in the Jezreel valley. The narrative point of view is that of a grandson who is brought up on myths and legendary stories of days gone-by. *Esav* (1991; *Esau* 1993) unfolds the story of a baker's family against the backdrop of Jerusalem and the Galilee from the beginning of the 20th century up to the 1970s, highlighting the complex relations between fathers and sons and the pivotal role played by women and mothers. *Be-Veito ba-Midbar* (1998; "His House in the Desert," German, 2000) is the story of 52-year-old Rafael Meyer, whose development was shaped by four men and six women, including his grandmother, his aunts, and his ex-wife. Indeed, the power of women to mold and dictate the lives of men is a recurrent theme in Shalev's writing. Shalev interweaves in his rich and multi-layered narrative biblical associations with mythic materials and archetypal patterns, underscoring memory and sensual experience. Fantasy and humor are essential elements in his fiction. Other books include the novels *Ke-Yamim Aḥadim* (1994; *As a Few Days*, 1999) and *Fontanella* ("Fontanelle," 2002). Among Shalev's books for children are *Ha-Yeled Ḥayyim ve-ha-Miflezet* (1982; *Ḥayyim and the Monster of Jerusalem*, 1990), *Gumot ha-Ḥen shel Zohar* (*Zohar's Dimples*, 1987; German: 1995), *Aba Ose Bushot* (1988; *My Father Always Embarrasses Me*, 1990) and *Ha-Traktor be-Argaz ha-Ḥol* ("The Tractor in the Sandbox," German, 1999). His books have been translated into many languages, and information is available at the ITHL website at www.ithl.org.il.

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[Anat Feinberg (2nd ed.)]

SHALEV, YITZḤAK (1919–1992), Hebrew poet and novelist. Born in Tiberias, he became a teacher in Jerusalem. His first poems were published in *Moznayim* and *Davar*, and subsequently appeared in a large number of newspapers and literary journals.

Among his volumes of poetry are *Oḥezet Anaf ha-Shaked* (1951), *Kolot Enosh Ḥammim* (1954), *Kol Annot* (1955), *Elohei ha-Noshek Loḥamim* (1957), *Shirei Yerushalayim* (1968), and *Na'ar Shav min ha-Ẓava* (1970). He also wrote a novel about the Jewish defense activities during the riots in Palestine in 1936, *Parashat Gavri'el Tirosh*. In 1969 he wrote the novel *Dam va-Ru'aḥ*. He is the father of writer Meir *Shalev.

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[Getzel Kressel]

SHALEV, ZERUYA (1959–), Hebrew writer. Shalev, born on Kibbutz Kinneret, studied Biblical Studies at the Hebrew University, and published a collection of poems in 1989. Six years later her first novel, *Rakadeti, Amadeti* ("Dancing, Standing Still," 1993) came out, the story of a woman whose marriage is disintegrating, confronting her with suppressed anxieties and dormant passions. It was, however, Shalev's second novel, *Ḥayyei Ahava* (1997; *Love Life*, 2000), which made the author famous worldwide. The novel, an outstanding bestseller in Israel, describes the stormy relationship between Ya'arah, a married woman who is trying to complete her dissertation on legends describing the destruction of the Temple, and the much older Aryeh, a married man, who, as it turns out, was once her mother's lover. The relationship between the two is characterized by obsessive intensity, sado-masochistic sexuality, infatuation, yearning, and revulsion. Shalev, one of the most successful contemporary Hebrew writers, was awarded the Book Publishers' Associations' Golden and Platinum Book Prizes for this novel as well as for her third novel, *Ba'al ve-Ishah* (2000; *Husband and Wife*, 2002). The latter focuses on the crisis in the marriage of Na'amah and Udi, after the husband has undergone a Kafkaesque metamorphosis and is unable to live a normal life. In 2005 Shalev published the third novel in her family-trilogy: *Tera* ("Late Family") is the story of 36-year-old archeologist Ella Miller, who sets out to explore the freedom and joys of a new love relationship, leaving behind her family. Shalev's language is rich and captivating, her descriptions bold and vivid. Love, sexuality and betrayal, motherhood, family life and commitment are the major themes in her prose. Shalev also wrote a book for children "Mama's Best Boy" (2000). Shalev won the German Corine Book Award (2001) and the French Amphi Award.

For translations of her prose, see the ITHL website at www.ithl.org.il.

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[Anat Feinberg (2nd ed.)]

SHALISH (Heb. שָׁלִישׁ), one with whom an article or money is deposited and who has authority to dispose of it according to law or in accordance with stipulated conditions.

Types of Deposit

The deposit can be effected by a single person who deposits something with the *shalish* to give to another person or to buy some article, or by two people who have greater trust in a third party than in one another, as, for instance, where there is a difference of opinion between them and they deposit an object with the *shalish* until it is established who is entitled to it, or where a debtor has paid his creditor only part of the debt and they deposit the bill of debt with a *shalish* until the balance is paid (Ket. 5:8, 6:7; BB 10:5; Tosef., BM 1:10; cf. *Rema*, ḤM 56:2).

The conditions to which the *shalish* is subject may at times be affected by the defect of *asmakhta*, as in the following example: If a debtor repays part of his debt and gives his bond to a *shalish* saying: "If I do not give you [the balance] by such at date, give the creditor his bond, so that he can again claim that part of the debt is already paid" (BB 10:5); the *tannaim* disagree on whether the *shalish* must act in accordance with this condition, and the Talmud explains that the dispute stems from the argument that the condition is defective because of *asmakhta* (BB 168a). The *halakhah* established that the condition is void and the *shalish* need not return the bond to the creditor, unless the appropriate procedure has been followed, such as an act of *acquisition in the presence of an important (*ḥashuv*) *bet din* in order to rectify the defect of *asmakhta* (Sh. Ar., ḤM 55:1).

The status of *shalish* can arise without any specific act. For example, if a wife has been administering her husband's property, or an administrator has been appointed over a person's property in circumstances where the owner has given the administrator absolute authority over all his possessions and trusted him completely, and the owner then dies, the administrator has the credibility of a *shalish* (Sh. Ar., ḤM 56:7, and *Siftei Kohen* thereto, n. 34).

The Credibility of the Shalish

A *shalish* is, in general, accorded greater credibility than a single witness. "The admission of a litigant is as good as a hundred witnesses, but the *shalish* is believed more than both. If one [litigant] says one thing, the other [litigant] another, and the *shalish* something else, the *shalish* is believed" (Tosef., BM 1:10). The reason for this special credibility of the *shalish* is that the depositor has reposed confidence in him (Git. 64a; and see in detail PDR 1:294–5). For this reason it has been concluded that even a *shalish* who is a relative also merits credibility, despite the fact that a relative is disqualified from giving evidence (Sh. Ar., ḤM 56:1). The *shalish*, is believed in preference to the debtor or creditor. If two witnesses contradict him, however, he is not believed (Sh. Ar., ḤM 56:2, *Sma* and *Siftei Kohen* thereto).

If someone has in his possession another's property and claims that its owner handed it to him as a *shalish* and the owner denies this, one opinion is that the one possessing the property is believed (Sh. Ar., ḤM 56:1): "Even if the owner claims: You robbed me of it, and the other retorts: It is not so, but you appointed me a *shalish* between you and so and so, the other is believed" (*Sma*, ḤM 56:1 n. 7). On the other hand, some *posekim* argue that if this were so, anyone could seize his fellow's property and enter into a collusive agreement with another and say, I am a *shalish*. Accordingly, they hold that the *shalish* is not believed unless the depositor admits that the property was deposited with him as a *shalish* (*Siftei Kohen*, ḤM 56:1 n. 5).

The *shalish* is believed without an oath, since he is not a litigant and is backed by the presumption: "A man does not sin when he personally gains nothing by it" (Hai Gaon, in *Oẓar ha-Ge'onim*, ed. by B.M. Lewin, 10 (1941), 143, no. 352; Sh. Ar., ḤM 56:1). If the date fixed for the return of the deposit passes and the *shalish* has not returned it, he is still a *shalish* and is still believed (Sh. Ar. *ibid.*). The unique credibility of the *shalish* continues only as long as the deposit is still in his possession (Tosef., BM 1:10; Sh. Ar., ḤM 56:1; *Divrei Ge'onim*, 107:7). It is thus considered a sensible precaution to return the deposit in the presence of the *bet din* and clarify the facts in its presence, lest a dispute should arise between the parties, and, if the *shalish* has already parted with the deposit, he would not be believed (Sh. Ar., ḤM 56:3). One opinion is that it is possible to restore the deposit to the *shalish* so that he would again have credibility (*Siftei Kohen*, ḤM 56, no. 20; *Divrei Ge'onim*, 107, no. 6).

Liability of a Shalish

A *shalish* who acts contrary to the conditions made with him may become liable to compensate for any loss caused by his action. If he returns to the creditor a bond deposited with him, contrary to what was stipulated, he is subjected to a ban until he undertakes to compensate the debtor for any loss sustained as a result of the return of the bond. If the *shalish* does not undertake to compensate, and the creditor obtains payment unjustly by means of the bond returned to him, the *shalish* does not have to compensate the debtor, since this is only a case of damage caused indirectly by **gerama* and the rule is that there is no liability for damages caused by *gerama* (*Rema* ḤM 55:1; *Divrei Ge'onim*, 107, no. 10). If, on the other hand, contrary to the stipulation, the *shalish* returns the bond to the debtor, the *shalish* must compensate the creditor, for this is a case of *garmi* (as opposed to *gerama*), when the tort-feaser is liable to pay (*Siftei Kohen*, ḤM 56, no. 4; *Divrei Ge'onim* 107, nos. 11 and 12).

The *shalish* is at liberty to retract and restore the deposit to the parties. If the parties do not want to take it back, he can hand it over to the *bet din*. A *shalish* who is paid for his services, however, cannot retract (*Arukh ha-Shulḥan*, ḤM 56:17).

"The claimant pays the expenses of the *shalish* (*Rema*, ḤM 56:1), for it is always the one for whose benefit and advantage something is effected who has to pay the cost" (*Sma*, ḤM 56 n. 13; *Arukh ha-Shulḥan*, ḤM 56:23). It is customary to write a deed when something is deposited with a *shalish* (for the wording of such a deed, see *Sefer ha-Shetarot* no. 65, and see **Shomerim*).

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[Nahum Rakover]

SHALKOVICH, ABRAHAM LEIB (pen name **Ben-Avigdor**; 1867–1921), Russian Hebrew author and pioneer of modern Hebrew publishing. Born in Zheludok province of Grodno, Shalkovich settled in Warsaw in 1891. In 1889 he wrote a sharp criticism of the **ḥalukkah* system in *Ha-Meliẓ* (nos. 82–83), and his first story, "*Elyakim ha-Meshugga*" ("Eliakim the Insane"). In 1891 he began publishing the "*Sifrei Agorah*" series, offering Hebrew literature in an attractive and reasonably priced booklet form. The series served as the medium of the "new wave" which sought to revitalize Hebrew literature and to introduce the realism then current in Europe. The success of the "*Agorah*" books prompted Shalkovich to set up the Aḥi'asaf publishing house in Warsaw (1893), and he edited the first three volumes of the *Lu'aḥ Aḥi'asaf* annual (1894–96). He also contributed to *Ha-Pardes*, and to *Ha-Zeman*, published by Ezra *Goldin. In 1896 he left Aḥi'asaf and set up Tushiyyah, a new company which published translations from foreign languages. In 1901 Shalkovich founded a children's weekly called *Olam Katan*, and in 1904 renewed the publication of the daily *Ha-Zeman*.

His work as a publisher demanded his entire energy and curtailed his own writing. In 1913 he founded the Aḥisefer publishing house, which also issued the miscellany *Netivot* (1913) in the editing of which he had a share. In *Netivot* he published a long article, "*Aḥad Ha-Am u-Venei Moshe*" (pp. 238–90), on Aḥad Ha-Am whom he had previously supported and admired. Shalkovich died suddenly in Carlsbad, while attending the Twelfth Zionist Congress.

Shalkovich was among the first of the modern Hebrew writers to stress the problems of the individual Jew rather than those of the Jewish people. In his story "*Menaḥem ha-Sofer*" (1893) he called for a true portrayal of the Jewish scene in a simple realistic vein. But Shalkovich did not always remain loyal to his own views. The novel *Lifnei Arba Me'ot Shanah* (1892) was written in a florid and sentimental style. While Shalkovich's stories have little literary merit, he deserves respect as an innovator in Hebrew literature and a pioneer in modern Hebrew publishing.

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[Gedalyah Elkoshi]

SHALLON, DAVID (1950–2000), Israeli conductor. Born in Tel Aviv, Shallon studied violin, viola, and French horn at the Tel Aviv Academy of Music. In 1974, after service in the Israel Army Band, he studied in Vienna and completed the conducting class with Hans Swarowsky. From 1974 to 1979 he was assistant to Leonard *Bernstein for Europe. From 1980, he conducted leading orchestras as the Berlin PO, the London SO, the Israel PO, and the San Francisco SO; he also appeared at many of the major European festivals and conducted at leading opera houses, including Vienna, Frankfurt, Duesseldorf, and the New Israeli Opera. He was musical director of the Duesseldorf SO (1987–93), the Jerusalem SO from 1992 to 2000, and the Luxembourg PO in 1997. Several Israeli composers, among them Noam *Sheriff, dedicated works to him. Among his recordings are viola concertos by Bartók, Hindemith, Schnittke, and Mark *Kopytman.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Grove online, s.v.

[Israela Stein (2nd ed.)]

SHALLUM (Heb. שַׁלּוּם, שַׁלֻּם; probably a hypocorism of a name like שֶׁלֶמְיָהוּ – "Yahweh has preserved or requited"), son of Jabesh, one of the last kings of Israel. Shallum came to the throne in the 39th year of the reign of *Uzziah in Judah, after killing *Zechariah son of Jeroboam II and thus putting an end to the dynasty of Jeroboam (II Kings 15:10). Shallum ruled Israel from Samaria for one month (15:13), apparently between Elul and Tishri, 747 B.C.E. The throne was taken from him by *Menahem son of Gadi, who formed a conspiracy against him and killed him (15:14). Some scholars interpret the designation "son of Jabesh" as a reference to the city of *Jabesh (-Gilead) and take it as indicating that Shallum was from this city.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Bright, Hist, 253; Tadmor, in: A. Malamat (ed.), *Bi-Ymei Bayit Rishon* (1962), 180ff.; J.A. Montgomery, *The Book of Kings* (ICC, 1951), 449; J. Gray, *I and II Kings, A Commentary* (1963), 562ff.

[Josef Segal]

°**SHALMANESER III** (**Shulmānu-asharid** ("Shulmanu is leader") III), ruler of Assyria 859–824 B.C.E. Shalmaneser inherited from his father, the cruel Ashurnasirpal II (883–859 B.C.E.), a well–equipped army and the desire to extend his rule over Syria and Phoenicia. Over a period of some 20 years (858–838 B.C.E.), he succeeded in subduing most of the small kingdoms from the Euphrates in the north to the Jordan in the south. He was the first Assyrian king to come into direct contact with an Israelite monarch and probably the first to traverse Israelite territory.

The main sources for the history of Shalmaneser's reign are the royal annals, which were "edited" some five times during his lifetime. The texts have been compiled and translated by E. Michel in *Die Welt des Orients* 1 (1947) and following volumes. In addition to these and other inscriptions, there are also many reliefs from the reigns of Ashurnasirpal and Shalmaneser which clearly indicate their military innovations as well as their contacts with foreign countries. Of particular interest is the Black Obelisk, one of whose registers depicts an Israelite delegation from King *Jehu presenting gifts to Shalmaneser (c. 841 B.C.E.).

Shalmaneser's western campaigns began in his first regnal year when he defeated the league of north Syrian states, including *Beth-Eden, *Carchemish, Kummukh (i.e.,*Commagene), Samal, Hattina, and *Cilicia. A direct result of this was the formation of an even stronger south-Syrian league which succeeded in holding off the Assyrian advance for over a decade.

In 853 B.C.E., Shalmaneser crossed the Euphrates for the second time and proceeded to the city of Pethor (see Numbers 22:5), where he received tribute from the north-Syrian kingdoms. He continued on to Halab, the center of the cult of Hadad, where he met the combined forces of 12 states in one of the great battles of antiquity. Opposing the Assyrians was the triumvirate of Hadadezer (*Ben-Hadad II) of Damascus, Irhuleni of Hamath, and *Ahab the Israelite: they were accompanied by smaller contingents from the Phoenician coast-Byblos (!), Arqanta, Arvad, Sianu (see Genesis 10:17–18), and Usanta in addition to troops from Egypt, the south Syrian Amanah (or perhaps the Ammorites), and an Arabian tribe. According to the Syrian text, this army totaled 3,940 chariots, 1,900 cavalry, over 62,000 infantry, and 1,000 camel riders. Judging from the fact that Shalmaneser did not press on beyond Karkar nor resume his successive campaigns against the league for another four years in 849, and then again in 848 and 845 B.C.E., it seems that at best the battle ended in a military deadlock, if not in an Assyrian defeat. Of note is the large force under Ahab's command, which may indicate, as Malamat suggests, a minor league including Ahab's vassals, Moab, and possibly Ammon, in addition to Jehoshaphat king of Judah with his vassals Edom and possibly Philistia (see I Kings 22:4; II Kings 3:4ff.). Certainly, this text sheds much light on Ahab's stature in the international theater, a fact only hinted at in the Bible (I Kings 18:10, see also Meg. lla).

It was only in Shalmaneser's 18th year (841 B.C.E.) that he succeeded in breaking through the south-Syrian front. To a great extent this was made possible by internal changes among the allies. *Hazael had usurped the throne after killing Ben Hadad II, probably to be identified with Hadadezer mentioned in the annals. While he continued the anti-Assyrian policy of his predecessors, Hazael renewed the border wars against

Israel with greater vigor (II Kings 8:12). This new source of tension was one of the factors that precipitated the overthrow of the dynasty of Omri by the military officer Jehu Ben Nimshi (II Kings 9:1ff.). The latter may have made overtures to Shalmaneser, thereby disengaging the Israelite army from the south-Syrian camp, which ultimately led to its dissolution.

Shalmaneser first met Hazael's troops in the mountain passes of the anti-Lebanon (Sirion). Hazael retreated to his capital *Damascus, where he withstood the siege. Shalmaneser, after burning the outskirts of Damascus, continued into the Hauran, "the bread basket" of Syria and Israel, probably destroying many settlements in his wake. Some scholars would see a later historic reference to this march in Hosea's mention of the spoiling of Beth Arbel in Transjordan by a certain Shalman (10:14). From there Shalmaneser crossed Israel to the mountains of Ba'li-ra'si, which is on the Mediterranean coast. There he received tribute from Jehu "the son of Omri" and from Baalimanzeri the king of Tyre. Quite plausibly, this mountain should be identified with Mount Carmel, which traditionally served as the boundary between Israel and Phoenicia.

Shalmaneser returned only once more, in 838 B.C.E., in a punitive expedition against Hazael, who subsequently became the dominant power in the area. During his later years, Shalmaneser was occupied with campaigns in northern Syria and with rebellion in Assyria proper against his heir Shamshi-Adad V.

[Aaron Demsky]

°SHALMANESER V (727–722 B.C.E.), son of *Tiglath-Pileser III. He reigned in Babylonia under the name of Ubulai. None of his royal inscriptions, if indeed he composed any, have survived, with the result that knowledge of the period is indirect. From the 7th century B.C.E. Aramean ostraca found at *Assur, it seems that he took captives from Beth-Eden. Josephus quoting Menander of Tyre (*Antiquities* 9:284) notes that Σέλαῃμψας had for several years unsuccessfully besieged Ussu, the older, mainland district of Tyre. This last campaign was related to a wide range of insurrections in the area. At this time, *Hoshea ben Elah conspired with the Egyptian king of Sais (!) in the delta. Shalmaneser took Hoshea captive and laid siege to *Samaria (II Kings 17:3ff.). The Babylonian Chronicle ascribes the destruction of Shamarain, i.e., Samaria (cf. the Aramaic pronunciation in Ezra 4:10) to Shalmaneser, though the final capture of the city was probably carried out by his famous successor *Sargon II in 722/21 B.C.E.

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[Aaron Demsky]

SHALOM, ABRAHAM (d. 1557?), rabbi, also known as **Ha-Rosh** (from the initials of R. Shalom). Abraham Shalom was born in Salonika to a family of rabbis, possibly the grandson of Abraham b. Isaac *Shalom (d. 1492). He studied with his friend Solomon ha-Levi *Alkabez under Joseph *Taitaẓak in Salonika, and later became a teacher there. In about 1530 he settled in Safed, where he became the disciple and colleague of *Jacob Berab I; he was one of the four scholars who received **semikhah* (rabbinical ordination) from Berab. Shalom, the colleague of Joseph *Caro and Moses of *Trani, served as *dayyan* and head of a yeshivah. His grandson Abraham b. Eliezer Shalom was one of the most important rabbis of Safed.

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[Abraham David]

SHALOM, ABRAHAM BEN ISAAC BEN JUDAH BEN SAMUEL (d. 1492), Catalonian (Spain) philosopher and translator of philosophical writings. Shalom is known to have translated two works from Latin into Hebrew: a compendium of the physical sciences by Albertus *Magnus, *Philosophia Pauperum*, under the title *Ha-Pilosofyah ha-Tivit* ("Natural Philosophy"), extant in manuscript form (Hamburg Ms. 266); and a discussion of certain problems in Aristotle's *Organon* by Marsilius of Inghen, under the title *She'elot u-Teshuvot* ("Questions and Answers," see S. Pinsker, *Likkutei Kadmoniyyot* (1860), 152, second page). Shalom's preface to the latter, in which he polemicizes against the opponents of secular-scientific studies, together with the index of the questions, was published by A. Jellinek under the title *Marsilius ab Inghen* (1859). Shalom's major work, *Neveh Shalom* (Constantinople, 1539; Venice, 1574), gives evidence of the author's thorough command of the fields of knowledge of his time, and is rich in quotations from Greek and Arabic philosophical literature. In its external form, *Neveh Shalom* is a series of homilies on various aggadic passages drawn from the talmudic tractate *Berakhot*. Into this framework Shalom weaves a number of philosophic discussions in which he undertakes to review the philosophic statements of his predecessors, to consider just those views which are in harmony with Scripture, to decide which among them is correct, and, especially, to prove that "Moses *Maimonides is true and his teaching is true" (see *Neveh Shalom*, author's introduction; see also 1:14, 21a). In other words, he undertakes to defend Maimonides' philosophy with its particular equilibrium between Greek philosophy and scriptural teachings. Shalom's defense is directed both against the more radical position of *Levi b. Gershom, who felt that Maimonides had compromised philosophy, and also against the more conservative position of Ḥasdai *Crescas, who felt that Maimonides had compromised scriptural religion. His assumption that Maimonides' authority is supreme in all questions sometimes led Shalom into difficulty in his attempts at harmonization of different authorities. There were, in fact, cases where he felt that religious considerations demanded a different position from that which Maimonides had apparently held. His solution to the dilemma consisted in showing that Maimonides' statements, in such cases, should not be taken in their obvious sense. Thus, he himself frequently leaned toward Crescas' views on religious questions, but, on the other hand, he refuted many of Crescas' criticisms of Maimonides by stating that Maimonides had really intended to say, or implied, just what Crescas criticized him for not saying.

Shalom's discussions reveal a careful study of Maimonides, Levi b. Gershom and Crescas, as well as other Jewish writers and non-Jewish philosophers, especially *Averroes. His own method does not display any great originality. He sometimes expounds, in different passages, inconsistent positions on the same question. This imprecision is due to the fact that Shalom did not attach importance to all the topics which he discussed. There are just a few subjects which were fundamentally significant for him because of their religious implications, and, when dealing with those he was careful to state a definitive and consistent position. However, the various technical philosophic problems upon which he touched concerned him less, and he did not always exercise the same care with them. In general, the philosophical sections of *Neveh Shalom* have a strong apologetic motif. They are designed less to discover new truths than to defend, first the doctrines of the Jewish religion, as Shalom understood them, and then, the philosophical positions of Maimonides. His methods of argumentation in these sections are appropriate to that end.

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[Herbert Davidson]

SHALOM, ISAAC I. (1886–1968), U.S. businessman and philanthropist. Born in *Aleppo, *Syria, Shalom immigrated in 1910 to the United States, where he settled in New York City. There he started a small textile business, and in 1921 he established the handkerchief firm of I. Shalom & Co., which developed into one of the leading manufacturers in its field in the U.S. A lifelong supporter of Orthodox Jewish educational institutions, Shalom was instrumental in 1945 in founding *Oẓar Hatorah, an organization that provided Hebrew education for tens of thousands of Jewish children in the Arab countries of North Africa and the Middle East. Shalom was also an active Zionist who established many enterprises in Israel and was one of the leaders of the Sephardi and Syrian communities in New York City.

[Hillel Halkin]

SHALOM, SHIN (pseudonym of **Shalom Joseph Shapira**; 1904–1990), Hebrew poet and author. Born in Parczew, Poland, Shalom was a descendant of distinguished ḥasidic rabbis. He received a religious and secular education at his grandfather's "court," which moved to Vienna in the wake of World War I. Here he began to write poetry, at first in German and later solely in Hebrew. His grandfather, R. Ḥayyim Meir Jehiel Shapira, spent many years preparing the family for immigration to Palestine; in 1922 some 30 members of the family immigrated to Jerusalem, where Shalom attended a teachers' seminary. In 1926 he joined those rabbis in his family who founded Kefar Ḥasidim in the Valley of Jezreel, and taught Hebrew in this settlement. In 1928 he moved to Rosh Pinnah in the Galilee. Shalom described this period in his book *Yoman ba-Galil*. From 1930 to 1931 Shalom studied philosophy at the University of Erlangen (Germany). He returned in 1932 to teach in Jerusalem; later he moved to Reḥovot and finally settled in Haifa (1954). In 1968 Shalom was elected chairman of the Hebrew Writers' Association of Israel. His works won varied literary awards and his collected works were published in eight volumes (1966–68). The lyrical and dramatic tension in Shalom's poetry is created between the "I" of the universe (whom he sometimes calls "Him") and the personal "I." He envisages the life of man and of the world as a constant ascent, accompanied by falls, a Jacob's ladder touching the ground with its top rung in the sky; an ascent from the personal "I" to the infinite "I," from the life of the moment to eternal life. This journey from "I" to "I" finds its strongest expression in Shalom's two main books of poetry, *Panim el Panim* ("Face to Face," 1941) and *Sefer Ḥai Ro'i* (1963). In the former it is a magical journey within the inner soul; in the latter the journey is made real through living characters and plastic portrayal of sights and situations. Shalom's two novels – *Yoman be-Galil* ("Galilee Diary," 1932) and *Ha-Ner Lo Kavah* ("The Candle Was Not Extinguished," 1942) – are useful for deciphering his poetry. The former is a first-person narrative concerning the love of a Jewish teacher for an Arab girl. *Ha-Ner Lo Kavah* focuses upon the life of a poet whose private struggle to ensure that "the candle does not go out" corresponds with the nation's struggle for independence and strength. Shalom's verse dramas also depict the struggle and confrontation between the two "I"s, between time and eternity. The drama, *Shabbat ha-Olam* ("The World's Sabbath," 1945) is based on the tragic antinomy between the *tanna*, Elisha b. Avuyah, who abandoned religious practice and his disciple, R. Meir, who remained steadfast in his belief. Elisha's desecration of the Sabbath constitutes, in a way, a revolutionary call for the casting off of the yoke of the law and, on the other hand, the observance of the Sabbath by R. Meir and his wife, Beruryah, is aimed at preserving tradition. Only in the cave of the mystic Simeon b. Yoḥai is the secret of the affinity between the "Sabbath of the country" and the "Sabbath of the world" revealed. "The Cave of Josephus" was based on the life of Josephus. In connection with his poetical philosophy, Shalom also gave strong expression to the revival of Israel.

The close friendship between Shalom and Max *Brod prompted joint literary efforts, such as the historical play *Sha'ul Melekh Yisrael* ("Saul, King of Israel," 1944); Brod also wrote the libretto for the first Hebrew opera (music by Marc *Lavry) based on Shalom's play *Dan ha-Shomer* (1945) – a story inspired by the foundation of kibbutz *Ḥanitah – and composed several musical works on Shalom's poems, of which the most important is *Requiem Ivri* ("Hebrew Requiem") for solo voice and orchestra. Other Israeli composers, including

Paul Ben-Ḥaim, Zeira, and Nardi have also set poems by Shalom to music. A list of his works translated into English appears in Goell, Bibliography, index, s.v. *Shin Shalom*.

[Gideon Katznelson]

In 1971 Shin Shalom published the volume of poetry *Maḥteret ha-Shir*, the ninth volume of his collected works, and in 1972 *Kokhav ha-Tekumah*, an epic of the rebirth of Israel, in which he gives expression to his faith in the meaning of the world and the mission of a man, an affirmation which stands in opposition to the depiction of violence and the absurd which characterizes much of contemporary poetry.

In 1973 he was awarded the Israel Prize, and simultaneously there appeared a special volume comprising 48 reviews of his poems during his half-century of activity.

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SHALOM, SILVAN (1958–), Israeli politician, member of the Knesset since the Thirteenth Knesset. Shalom was born in Gebs, Tunis, and was brought by his parents to Israel the following year. As a student at Ben-Gurion University, he served as chairman of the Students Association there on behalf of the Likud and as deputy chairman of the National Students Association. He graduated from Ben-Gurion University in economics and accounting in 1983, and worked for a period as a journalist. He received an M.A. in Public Administration in 1991 and a law degree in 1996, both from Tel Aviv University.

Shalom served as director general of the ministry of energy and infrastructure in 1989–90, when Moshe *Shaḥal of the Labor Party was minister, and as chairman of the board of directors of the Electricity Corporation in 1990–92.

Shalom was first elected to the Thirteenth Knesset on the Likud list in 1992, serving on numerous Knesset Committees. In the Fourteenth Knesset he served as chairman of the coalition in the Finance Committee, was chairman of the lobby for the advancement of soccer and of the lobby for encouraging industry in Samaria. From July 1997 to July 1998 he served as deputy minister of defense, under Yitzhak Mordechai. In July 1998 he was appointed by Prime Minister Binyamin *Netanyahu as minister of science and technology. In the government formed by Ariel *Sharon in 2001 Shalom was appointed deputy prime minister and minister of finance. When Sharon formed his second government after the elections to the Sixteenth Knesset in 2003, the Ministry of Finance was given to Binyamin Netanyahu and Shalom was appointed deputy prime minister and minister for foreign affairs. Shalom objected to Sharon's plan for disengagement from the Gaza Strip and Northern Samaria, but accepted the position of the majority, and supported it.

In December 2005 he ran for the chairmanship of the Likud after Sharon left it to form the Kadimah Party, and came in second to Netanyahu.

[Susan Hattis Rolef (2nd ed.)]

SHALOM ALEICHEM (**Sholem Aleykhem**; narrative persona and subsequent pseudonym of **Sholem Rabinovitsh** (**Rabinovitz**); 1859–1916), Yiddish prose writer and humorist born on February 18, 1859 (old style; March 2, new style), in Pereyaslav (today: Pereyaslav-Khmelnitski) on the left bank of the Dnieper (Dnipro), downstream from Kiev, as the third child of Menakhem-Nokhem Rabinovitsh, a wealthy timber and grain merchant and Khave-Ester, née Zeldin. Together with Sholem Yankev *Abramovitsh (often misidentified as his fictional narrator, Mendele Moykher Sforim) and I.L. *Peretz, Shalom Aleichem is regarded as one of the three major classical writers of Yiddish literature. He rapidly achieved widespread popularity with the reading public, though it took him longer to achieve lasting critical acclaim. By canonizing Abramovitsh as the "grandfather" of Yiddish literature and castigating the facile and highly popular pulp-fiction of *Shomer, he brought aesthetic criteria to bear on Yiddish literature and became the first to see himself as occupying a position within a Yiddish literary tradition. In fact, he was barely 24 years younger than Abramovitsh, but this difference was crucial, since the political turmoil and the pogroms of the 1880s had discredited the *Haskalah or Jewish Enlightenment movement, making for an altogether more resigned, milder, and less didactic tone in Shalom Aleichem's work. He was distrustful of all ideology and could offer only aesthetic solutions to the problems of Jewish existence. It is true that he manifested considerable enthusiasm for the Zionist cause, but he does not seem to have been very sanguine about its chances of success. He promoted his vision of Yiddish writing capable of standing comparison with other literatures in the two volumes of his lavishly produced *Di Yidishe Folksbibliotek* ("The Jewish Popular Library," 1888–89) in which inter alia he published works by Abramovitsh, Peretz, and Isaac Joel *Linetsky as well as early versions of his own novels, *Stempenyu* (1889; *Stempenyu,* 1948) and *Yosele Solovey* (1890; "The Nightingale: Or the Saga of Yosele Solovey the Cantor," 1913). These novels are both restrained, tragic love stories in which self-fulfillment is sacrificed to traditional concepts of modesty; the author was not entirely successful in reconciling form and content. The *Folksbibliotek*-project was abandoned in 1890 when Shalom Aleichem lost his fortune on the stock exchange. However, his reputation owes less to his novels than to his epistolary satire, *Menakhem-Mendl* (begun in 1892; "Menakhem Mendel and Sheyne Sheyndl," 1948) and his loosely structured series of monologues, *Tevye der Milkhiker* (begun in 1895; *Tevye the Dairyman*, 1987). It was in these series that Shalom Aleichem found the style most suited to his genius, and he continued working on them almost up to the time of his death, creating personae whose voices enabled him to express his ironic view of a traditional society in crisis.

Most of his fiction, which also included the stories he wrote for Jewish holidays and his many children's stories, appeared in the first instance as feuilletons in various newspapers, being collected in book-form usually at a much later date. The ability that Shalom Aleichem had shown in these tales to capture scenes from a child's perspective found its most virtuoso expression in *Motl Peyse dem Khazns* (serialized between 1907 and 1916; *The Adventures of Mottel, the Cantor's Son*, 1953). In this cycle of stories he created a brilliantly ironic account of the misfortunes of a widow and her children and their later peregrinations from the Ukrainian market town to New York, as seen through the eyes of the youngest carefree son, Motl. Shalom Aleichem also wrote critical reviews and poems and tried writing for the stage, but without great success. In the theatre, it was dramatizations of his stories by other hands that achieved lasting fame, most notably the Tevye stories which eventually became the well-known musical drama, *Fiddler on the Roof* (1964). Shalom Aleichem was still at work on his lightly fictionalized autobiography, *Funem Yarid* (1916–17; *From the Fair: The Autobiography of Sholom Aleichem*, 1985) and the continuation of *Motl Peyse* at the time of his death. His multifarious oeuvre constitutes a Jewish *comédie humaine*, portraying the transition from the old order of traditional life to modern times. Through it runs the recurrent theme of unrealizable aspiration, followed by catastrophe and renewed hope, epitomizing courage in adversity and survival against all odds both in the Old World and the New. The tragic is constantly interwoven with the comic, while his characters and perspectives embody powers of regeneration in the face of adversity.

In 1861 his family had moved to Voronkov (Voronka), somewhat closer to Kiev, where he attended *ḥeder.* Voronkov was later to be satirized in his works as the archetypal *shtetl*, Kasrilevke. However, 10 years later Menakhem-Nokhem Rabinovitsh was defrauded and the family returned to Pereyaslav where the 12-year-old boy helped his father run a modest inn. The following year his mother died of cholera, and his father remarried. The death of his mother had a particularly traumatic effect on the young Rabinovitsh which is indirectly, almost unconsciously, reflected in a number of his works. In 1873–36, he attended the Russian secondary school (gymnasium) in Pereyaslav on a scholarship. It was during these years that he composed his first literary creation in the form of a glossary of his stepmother's curses (unpublished), thus early revealing his ability to face adversity with humor. He also began writing Hebrew biblical romances in the manner of Abraham *Mapu, his father's favorite author. After graduating with distinction from the gymnasium Rabinovitsh became a private tutor in Russian, Hebrew, and other subjects in and around Pereyaslav. The following year, as the result of a stroke of good fortune, he was offered the position of private tutor to the daughter of the wealthy merchant, Elimelech Loyev. Rabinovitsh and his teenage pupil, Olga/Hodl read Hebrew and European literature together and fell in love. Some two to three years later, becoming aware of the tender feelings between tutor and pupil, Loyev dismissed Rabinovitsh. It was at about this time that his earliest Hebrew pieces were published in the popular maskilic Warsaw newspaper, *Ha-Ẓefirah.*

Rabinovitsh now secured the office of *obshchestvenny ravvin* or government rabbi in Lubny. During the years in Lubny he contributed further pieces in Hebrew not only to *Ha-Ẓefirah* but also to *Ha-Meliẓ* on social and educational issues. In 1883 Olga came across an article by Rabinovitsh and was able to locate him through the publisher. On May 12 (old style; Lag ba-Omer) of the same year, their marriage took place in Kiev against her father's wishes. However, Loyev was soon reconciled, insisted that Rabinovitsh give up the post of *ravvin,* and invited him back to the estate at Sofiyevka, where he was able to pursue his literary activities free from financial worries.

With the appearance from 1881 onwards of Alexander *Zederbaum's (Tsederboym) St. Petersburg weekly *Dos Yidishe Folksblat*, at that time still the only Yiddish periodical, Rabinovitsh felt encouraged to pursue his enthusiasm for Yiddish literature and wrote his first Yiddish story, "*Tsvey Shteyner*" ("Two Stones," 1883) which was serialized in this periodical. This piece was dedicated to O[lga]-E[limelekhovna Loyeva]. The action is a tragic version of the romance between himself and Olga/Hodl in which the heroine commits suicide and the hero becomes deranged (thus anticipating the underlying themes of *Yosele Solovey*). Rabinovitsh later became dissatisfied with this story, hence its omission from collected volumes throughout his lifetime.

A further story, "*Di Vibores*" (1883; "The Election," 1994) was published in *Dos Yidishe Folksblat* and was signed for the first time "Shalom Aleichem." Rabinovitsh resorted to a pseudonym since this satire attacks the affluent leaders of a Jewish community, named in the story as *Fintsternish* ("darkness"), though clearly Lubny was meant. The *nom de plume*, initially intended as a temporary stratagem, became a narrative persona. Feeling that his talents lay primarily in the realm of Yiddish humor, he adopted the name permanently, and, indeed, it was eventually destined to become the appellation by which he was universally known. In *Funem Yarid* he also explains that the pseudonym was in part adopted for the sake of his family who shared the prejudices against Yiddish at that time prevalent in intellectual circles. Like "*Tsvey Shteyner*," this story was never reprinted in Shalom Aleichem's lifetime.

In November 1883 the young couple moved to Belaya Tserkov (Bila Tserkva), south of Kiev, where Shalom Aleichem at first worked as inspector of sugar estates for the Kiev Jewish millionaire, Israel *Brodsky, whose name together with that of *Rothschild was to become emblematic of fabulous wealth in Shalom Aleichem's fiction. After leaving Brodski's employ, Shalom Aleichem and Olga remained in Belaya Tserkov, financially supported by Loyev. In the early 1880s Shalom Aleichem published a number of further slight sketches, epistolary skits, and stories in *Dos Yidishe Folksblat*. Whereas in these years Shalom Aleichem's aspirations lay in the direction of the novel and he attached little importance to his feuilletonistic work, it was in these short pieces that he developed his abilities as a writer of monologues and epistolary sketches, and it was these skills that were later to avail him in the masterpieces, *Menakhem-Mendl*, *Tevye,* and *Motl Peyse.* As time went by, he further honed the feuilleton style which he learnt inter alia from Gogol and which became his real forte. It was precisely these monologues and sketches that earned him his popularity and in which he was able to give free rein to his ironic fantasies.

During these years in Belaya Tserkov, Shalom Aleichem and Olga began spending the summer months in a *dacha* in the village of Boyarka not far from Kiev, as they continued to do until he left Russia in 1905. This village later served as the model for the fictional village of Boyberik in the Tevye stories and other works. In 1884 their daughter Ernestine/Khaya-Ester was born, the first of six children (four daughters and two sons). In 1885 Loyev died. Shalom Aleichem inherited a very considerable fortune and ventured into business speculations in Kiev.

In 1886 the first of his stock exchange stories was published in *Dos Yidishe Folksblat* adumbrating the virtuosity of the *Menakhem-Mendl* letters. In this same year appeared *Di Veltrayze* ("Journey round the World," 1886), his first independent publication, while over the winter 1886–87 further feuilleton sketches were serialized in *Dos Yidishe Folksblat* anticipating the Kasrilevke stories.

A major landmark in Shalom Aleichem's literary career was the appearance in 1887 of "*Dos Meserl*" (1886; "The Pocket-Knife," 1920). This story attracted a particularly favorable review by Simon *Dubnow in the influential St. Petersburg Russian-Jewish journal *Voskhod*, which represented the beginning of critical acclaim for Shalom Aleichem, but it was not until considerably later that his genius was widely appreciated. The story relates the terror of a young boy unable to resist the temptation to steal a penknife from an amiable *maskil* or freethinker who lodges with his parents. The story concludes on an edifying note attributable to the waning influence of the Haskalah on Shalom Aleichem's early career. "*Dos Meserl*" epitomizes the style of Shalom Aleichem's many children's and holiday tales which revolve around minor domestic problems and their resolution seen through the eyes of child protagonists or deal with crises in the preparation for a Jewish festival that have a happy outcome. These stories were some of Shalom Aleichem's most popular works, appearing in the holiday issues of periodicals and widely enjoyed in the family circle, making Shalom Aleichem's name truly a household word. "*Dos Meserl*" and "*Tsvey Shteyner*" were translated into Russian and came to the favorable attention of Leo Tolstoy and Maxim Gorki.

That same year Shalom Aleichem wrote "*Legboymer*" ("Lag ba-Omer," 1887) in memory of that festival in 1883 when it fell on May 12, i.e., his wedding day. The story relates how a group of *kheyder* lads escape their *rebbe*'s birch for a day and sally forth into the countryside on Lag ba-Omer only to be assailed by a gang of Ukrainian youths and so badly beaten that their leader, Zyame, altogether eludes any further flogging by the *rebbe*, since after three weeks in bed he dies. This was also the year in which Shalom Aleichem moved with his family to Kiev, the model for his fictional Yehupets, to deal on the stock exchange.

In 1888 Shalom Aleichem began his life-long campaign for higher standards in Yiddish literature with two publications. *Shomers Mishpet* ("The Trial of Shomer," 1888) constituted a savage attack on pulp-fiction, especially that of Nokhem-Meyer Shaykevitsh, known as Shomer, at the time by far the most popular of Yiddish authors, a prolific writer of sentimental pulp fiction whose plots were usually lifted from the works of Charles Paul de Kock, Alexandre Dumas père, or their like. Shalom Aleichem accuses Shomer of corrupting the Jewish people with escapist and morally dubious fantasies which bear no relation to the realities of Jewish life. In "*Der Yidisher Dales in di Beste Verk fun Undzere Folks-Shriftshteler*" ("Jewish Poverty in the Best Works of Our National Writers," 1888) he distinguished between such trashy romantic *shund* and realistic works such as *Fishke der Krumer* (1869; *Fishke the Lame*, 1920) by Abramovitsh, whom he dubs the *zeyde* ("grandfather") of Yiddish literature. A number of other writers are similarly singled out for praise on account of the realism of their works including Isaac Meir *Dik, Linetsky, Abraham *Goldfaden, and Mordecai *Spector. It is Shalom Aleichem's view that events portrayed in serious literature must be realistic and plausible within the framework of Jewish society. His novel, published the same year, *Sender Blank un Zayn Gezindl* ("Sender Blank and His Household," 1887) with its flights into the world of pure fantasy is a parody of the *shund*-novel, but at the same time it is severely critical of the vulgar insensitivities of the Jewish plutocracy, thus anticipating a theme which was to reappear frequently in his works.

However, by far his most significant achievement at this time was his editing of *Di Yidishe Folksbibliotek*. The publication of this annual or anthology of the best of earlier and contemporary writing in Yiddish was made possible by the considerable financial resources which Shalom Aleichem had inherited from his father-in-law. Before its collapse, *Di Yidishe Folksbibliotek* appeared in two volumes published in Kiev in 1888–89. The first volume comprised items by authors such as Linetsky and Abramovitsh, as well as pseudonymous pieces by himself, including "*Lider funem Kheyder: Vinter*" (1888; "Song of the Kheyder," 1994), signed Shlumiel. "Grandfather" Mendele (Abramovitsh) was encouraged to return to writing in Yiddish and was represented by the revised and expanded prologue and first part of his "*Dos Vintshfingerl*" (1888; *The*

Wishing Ring, 2003). In addition, Shalom Aleichem had persuaded Peretz, who had previously published only in Hebrew and Polish, to contribute his extraordinary narrative poem "*Monish*" (1888; "Monish," 1939) for which Shalom Aleichem paid him the unprecedented fee of 300 rubles. It is interesting to observe that in the process of editing Peretz's text, Shalom Aleichem found it necessary to remove the author's frequent Polonisms in the interest of a wider readership. Peretz resented Shalom Aleichem's having done so without consultation, and for a number of years relations between the two men were soured. There were also contributions from David *Frishman and Simon Samuel *Frug, who had hitherto written exclusively in Hebrew and Russian respectively and who had both had their Yiddish literary debuts only a few months earlier in *Dos Yidishe Folksblat*. The first volume concludes with a short essay, "*Etlekhe Verter vegn Zhargon Oysleyg*" ("A Few Words concerning Yiddish Spelling," 1888) in which Shalom Aleichem calls for a standard orthography and a grammar of the Yiddish language, while advocating that homophones should be differentiated by their spelling and that the orthography of words from the Germanic component should be approximated to the German spelling. In the *baylage* ("supplement") appeared Shalom Aleichem's novel *Stempenyu*. Though in some ways resembling *Sender Blank*, this was Shalom Aleichem's first consciously Jewish romance, and it appeared with a prefatory letter to *zeyde* Mendele whose counsels had inspired it.

When his father died in that same year, Shalom Aleichem gave literary expression to his mourning in *A Bintl Blumen* ("A Bouquet of Flowers," 1888), a literary bouquet laid on his father's grave, subsequently shortened and revised as "*Blumen*" ("Flowers," 1903). This pamphlet comprised 18 stories, including "*Koysl Marovi*" ("The Western Wall"). His father had been a lover of Hebrew literature and had nurtured ambitions for his son in this direction. The death of his father did have the incidental effect of relieving Shalom Aleichem from the pretense of not being a Yiddish writer.

The second volume of *Di Yidishe Folksbibliotek* comprised Shalom Aleichem's comedy "*Di Asife*" ("The Assembly," 1889), signed Shulamis, whose protagonist is a *ravvin*, as until recently he had been himself, and "*A Briv tsu a Gutn Fraynd*" ("A Letter to a Good Friend," 1889) in which he replies to criticism that had been made of "*Stempenyu*": "It is necessary to observe," he writes, "that a young Jewish woman is unlike other women in the world." Gentile heroism may well consist in giving free reign to the passions; Jewish heroism consists in controlling one's feelings. Furthermore, fictional characters must be figures with whom the common people can identify. Formerly authors had protagonists who were either angels or demons, but modern readers demand characters whom are closer to psychological reality. This volume contains the second part of Abramovitsh's "*Dos Vintshfingerl*," further items by Peretz and Linetsky as well as contributions by Frug, Abraham Ber *Gottlober, Goldfaden, *Ben-Ami and Mikhl *Gordon.

In a supplement to the second volume of *Di Yidishe Folksbibliotek*, the novel *Yosele Solovey* appeared. As in the case of *Stempenyu*, this is a restrained, unconsummated Jewish love story in which self-fulfillment is sacrificed to customary concepts of modesty, and the traditional Jewish woman pines for her outsider hero, in this case a highly talented itinerant cantor. It ends with the death of the heroine and the madness of the hero. There are some thematic similarities with his "*Tsvey Shteyner*." At the same time a host of caricatured figures provide comic relief. The judicious fusion of comedy and pathos is in some ways reminiscent of Dickens. It is instructive to compare Shalom Aleichem's delicacy and apprehensions concerning the credibility of a Jewish love story with the uninhibited sexuality of the play *Yankl der Shmid* ("Yankl the Blacksmith," performed 1906) written less than 20 years later by David *Pinski.

The consistently high quality of the *Folksbibliotek* aroused considerable interest, and it was recognized by many as representing a turning point in the development of Yiddish literature. But the reactions were far from universally favorable. In 1889 Judah Leib *Gordon wrote in Russian to Shalom Aleichem, sharply censoring his intention to raise the status of *zhargon*-literature. At most, Gordon claimed, Yiddish might be tolerated as means of enlightening the ignorant masses, but otherwise he regarded it as the curse of the Diaspora.

In October of 1890 Shalom Aleichem was preparing to edit a third volume of *Di Yidishe Folksbibliotek* when the stock market crashed and he lost his entire fortune. He moved his family to Odessa and traveled to Czernowitz, Vienna, and Paris to escape his creditors, while his mother-in-law attempted to pay off his debts. In 1891 he returned to Russia and, with help from his mother-in-law, once again began trading on the stock exchange. The collapse of the *Folksbibliotek* in the same year as that in which *Dos Yidishe Folksblat* ceased publication deprived Shalom Aleichem of publishing outlets for Yiddish works, and in consequence he wrote nothing in Yiddish throughout 1891 and returned for a while to writing in Russian. It was during this period, inspired very largely by Nikolai Gogol's oral-style or *skaz*-monologues (as they are called by Bakhtin and the Russian Formalists), that Shalom Aleichem found the style most suited to his genius.

In 1892 Shalom Aleichem made further preparations for a third volume of the *Folksbibliotek* but lacked the financial means to bring this project to fruition. Instead he contented himself by putting everything he published in Yiddish that year into his *Kol Mevaser tsu der Yidisher Folksbibliotek* ("Advertiser for the Jewish Popular Library"), this time without contributions by others, though in a number of cases he again signed his own pieces with pseudonyms (such as Shulamis and Dr. Solomonis Rabinus). Here he published "*London*," an earlier version of "*London*" (1909), the first series of his Menakhem-Mendl letters, concerning the comic vicissitudes of an archetypal *luftmentsh* and unsuccessful speculator. Shalom Aleichem continued to extend his epistolary Menakhem-Mendl series until 1913. *Kol Mevaser*… also included the "folksong" "*Shlof, Mayn Kind*" ("Sleep My Child"), which soon became so popular that when in 1901 the major Yiddish song collection by Saul *Ginzburg and Pesach [Piotr] *Marek appeared in St. Petersburg, "*Shlof, Mayn Kind*" was listed as being anonymous.

The mid 1890s were a period of comparative literary inactivity. In May 1893 Shalom Aleichem and his family moved to Kiev, where he continued to speculate on the stock exchange and attempted to act as a commodity broker. Meanwhile he and his family continued to spend their summers in the *dacha* at Boyarka, and in the summer of 1894 a chance encounter with a vivacious dairyman delivering butter and cheese to families vacationing in the vicinity became a formative experience, since this figure would serve as the model for the series of Tevye stories which he soon began to write and on which he continued working sporadically for most of the rest of his life. Later that year he wrote *Yakneho"z, oder dos Groyse Berznshpil* ("Hocus-Pocus: Or the Great Stock-Exchange Gamble"). This was his first complete play, a satire in the style of Pushkin on the life of the speculators and nouveaux riches of Kiev in which he had been so deeply involved.

In August 1897 Shalom Aleichem attended the First Zionist Congress in Basel recording his impressions in *Der Yidisher Kongres in Bazl* (1897; "The Jewish Congress in Basel," 1984). In fact, Shalom Aleichem's interest in the Zionist cause had already begun in 1888 when he had joined the Ḥovevei Zion movement and the following year he had invited one of their most prominent leaders, Abraham Menahem Mendel *Ussishkin, to report on the welfare of the colonists in Palestine in the second volume of the *Folksbibliotek*. He turned these interests to literary account in "*Oyf Yishev Erts-Yisroel: Zelik Mekhanik*" (1890; "Selig Mechanic," 1984), a story with a propagandistic Zionist message. Immediately after attending the Basel conference, he wrote the essay "*Oyf Vos Badarfn Yidn a Land*" (1898; "Why Do the Jews Need a Land of Their Own?" 1984). It is a popular but cogently argued statement of the Zionist case: antisemitism will only be overcome when Jews have a state in Palestine. The same year, while living in Berdichev, he incorporated some of these ideas into *Meshiekhs Tsaytn: A Tsienistisher Roman* ("Messianic Times: A Zionist Novel," 1890).

In 1900 Shalom Aleichem wrote "*Der Zeyger*" (1900; "The Clock That Struck Thirteen," 1900), one of his "stories for Jewish children," a slight monologue told by an anonymous narrator and inhabitant of Kasrilevke about his grandfather's pendulum clock that had been in the family for generations and was his pride and joy. It served the whole town as its time-piece, despite the *maskil*'s hair-splitting attempts to prove it a minute or two fast, until, that is, the day it struck thirteen. More and more hopeless attempts are made to repair the clock, but finally, just in the middle of an exciting story, it collapses under the weight of the heavy objects that have been attached to the pendulum to try and keep it going. Everybody was understandably distressed, and the narrator, still a child, had nightmares about the clock. The prevailing atmosphere is one of melancholy recognition of the obsolescence of tradition. It has even been asserted that the story embodies a subliminal reference to the death of his mother when the young Rabinovitsh was still only 13.

That same year Shalom Aleichem wrote his famous satire *Der Farkishefter Shnayder* (1900; "The Haunted Tailor," 1979). This, the most Gogolian of Shalom Aleichem's stories is typical of his genre of fantastic tales. The narration is in the macaronic style of an old *pinkes* or chronicle and tells the story of a henpecked yet opinionated and self-important tailor, Shimen-Elye Shma Koleynu, who is persuaded by his wife to go to the neighboring *shtetl* to buy a goat so that his numerous hungry children may have an ample supply of milk. Halfway between the two villages he stops at an inn belonging to his cousin Dodi to whose lack of learning he tactlessly alludes. Returning with the goat he has purchased he spends the night at the inn. When he arrives home the next day, the goat is unmilkable. Yet, when he attempts to return the goat, the *melamed*'s wife, from whom he bought it, milks it in front of the rabbi's court. Back at home the story repeats itself and the tailor is taken ill, accepting the innkeeper's story that the goat is bewitched. It is left to the reader to draw the conclusion that the innkeeper took his revenge by switching the female goat with a male goat (and vice versa) each time the tailor passed through. The characterization is largely achieved through the formulaic words of the characters. In addition to the humor that arises from Shimen-Elye's solecisms and his conflations of Aramaic and Ukrainian, an element of irony is introduced in that the theme of duplicitous substitution is suggested to the mind of the reader by the references to Rachel and Laban.

In the early years of the new century Shalom Aleichem was already supporting himself and his large family almost entirely by writing, especially for the St. Petersburg and Warsaw daily papers. By 1903, in fact, he felt able to abandon business activities altogether. It was during this period that he wrote many of the stories in his Kasrilevke series, including among others "*Kasrilevker Tramvay*," "*Kasrilevker Hoteln*," "*Kasrilevker Restoranen*," "*Kasrilevker Vayn un Kasrilevker Shikirim*," "*Kasrilevker Teater*," "*Kasrilevker Sreyfes,*" and "*Kasrilevker Banditn*" (1901; "Transportation," "Hotels," "Restaurants," "Liquor," "Theater," "Fires," "Bandits," collected in English as *A Guide to Kasrilevke*, 1973). Most of the Kasrilevke stories satirize *shetl* life in Voronkov and Berdichev. Over the years, while revising his works, Shalom Aleichem gradually brought more stories into this cycle by inserting the name Kasrilevke where previously he had written Berditshev, Mazepevke, or some other toponym. The ethos of these stories may be exemplified by "*Dreyfus in Kasrilevke*" (1902; "Dreyfus in Kasrilevke," 1979). Zeydl is the only person in Kasrilevke who subscribes to a newspaper, and it is through him that the inhabitants of Kasrilevke anxiously follow the second Dreyfus trial, which took place in 1899. When once more a guilty verdict is pronounced, they simply cannot believe it. "*Se kon nit zayn*!" ("It is impossible") shout the outraged inhabitants of Kasrilevke, and it is not the judges or false witnesses in Paris whom they blame but Zeydl. “Idiots,” replies Zeydl and thrusts the newspaper into their faces, but they just refuse to understand. “Who was right?” asks the narrator in conclusion. The well-known story “*Ven Ikh Bin Roytshild*” (1902; “If I Were Rothschild,” 1979) was also written in 1902 and also belongs to the same cycle. This is the monologue of a Kasrilevke *melamed* whose wife is pestering him for money for the coming Sabbath. If he were rich, he muses, not only would he make sure that his wife had enough so that he could pursue his teaching in peace, he would not only provide for the sick and the poor in Kasrilevke, but he would endow yeshivot and ensure that even the Gentiles had no need to go to war. In fact, he might even abolish money altogether which is surely the root of every evil inclination, but then how would he provide for the Sabbath right now? The story combines realistic observation of the crushing poverty of the *shtetl* with a touching portrayal of the unworldly aspirations of many of its inhabitants. A further Kasrilevke story written at this time was “*Oysgetreyselt*” (1902; “A Yom Kippur Scandal,” 1979) which was subsequently included in the “*Kleyne Mentshelekh mit Kleyne Hasoges*” series. This famous tale takes the form of an anonymous narration of the scandal that was reported to have arisen when a Litvak visitor was apparently robbed of 1,800 rubles in the Kasrilevke synagogue during the Yom Kippur service. The rabbi immediately ordered the doors to be locked and for everyone’s pockets to be turned out. All comply with the exception of Leyzer-Yosl, the much-lauded son-in-law of the local magnate, who makes all manner of excuses to avoid being searched. When finally his pockets are examined, gnawed chicken bones are found, to his own shame and to the mortification of the rabbi, but to the huge amusement of the townsfolk. “‘Well,’ we all asked with one voice, ‘and what about the money?’ – ‘What money?’ asked the man innocently, watching the smoke he had exhaled. – ‘What do you mean – what money? The 1,800 rubles!’ – ‘Oh,’ he drawled. ‘The 1,800. They were gone.’ – ‘Gone?’ – ‘Gone for ever.’” There is masterly irony in the laconic pacing of this dénouement.

At this time Shalom Aleichem also revised four volumes of his works which the Folksbildung publishing house in Warsaw issued as *Ale Verk fun Shalom Aleichem* (“The Complete Works of Shalom Aleichem,” 1903). This was the first of several collected works published during his lifetime and subsequently, and was an important milestone in his literary career. This title was, however, a misnomer. Neither this collected works edition nor any of its successors was ever even remotely comprehensive. Then in August 1904, Shalom Aleichem edited *Hilf: a Zaml-Bukh fir Literatur un Kunst* (“Help: An Anthology for Literature and Art”) and himself translated three stories submitted by Tolstoy as well as contributions by other prominent Russian writers in aid of the victims of the Kishinev pogrom.

In 1904 Shalom Aleichem was still living with his family in Kiev in a degree of comfort and tranquility that he had seldom experienced before and was at work on feuilletons, monologues, Kasrilevke and Tevye stories for *Der Fraynd* (St. Petersburg), *Der Veg* (Warsaw) and other papers, but this comparative calm was soon to be shattered by political events. An adumbration of the turmoil to come is to be found in Shalom Aleichem’s story “*Yoysef*” (1905; “Joseph,” 2004) which appeared in *Der Veg*. This is the monologue of a conceited but not altogether despicable young fop who confesses “in confidence” to the writer how he is besotted by a girl who waits at table in her mother’s restaurant. She, however, adores Yoysef, a Bundist conspirator, so the narrator ingratiates himself with the Bundists, talks about Karl Marx and August Bebel and attends a clandestine meeting in the forest at which Yoysef speaks. He observes that the earnest young men at the meeting are dressed in Gorki-style black blouses (a style that Shalom Aleichem himself affected from time to time). When the *dzhentlmen*, as the conspirators call him, finally asks Yoysef for his advice, he simply recommends speaking to the girl directly, since he has no time for such trifles. The conspiracy is discovered and Yoysef is arrested. Returning from a business trip the *dzhentlmen* finds that the restaurant has disappeared.

Literary reflections of political ferment were soon followed by all too real historical events. In October Shalom Aleichem and his family lived through the three days of the Kiev pogrom associated with the failed 1905 revolution. As angry mobs surged through the streets, the family sought refuge in the Hotel Imperial. After these experiences Shalom Aleichem resolved to leave and moved via Radziłłow and Brody to Lemberg (today: Lvov) in Austrian Galicia. Whereas others had lost faith in Russian liberalism two years earlier in the aftermath of the Kishinev pogrom, for Shalom Aleichem 1905 was the turning point. A further motive for leaving Russia may have been his apprehension that his political satires could have unpleasant consequences. What little financial security there had been in the Kiev years disappeared and, although he was by now the most famous of Yiddish writers, whose works were enjoyed by a vast readership, he was now cut off from his publishers. He began a reading tour that took him to many points in Galicia and Romania. Leaving his family in Geneva, where Abramovitsh was at the time, he continued his reading tour to Paris and London. From this time on Shalom Aleichem became increasingly dependent financially on enervating but hugely successful lecture tours, and it was only on such tours that he ever again returned to Russia.

In 1906 Shalom Aleichem made his first visit to the United States, arriving on October 20 in New York, where he was given an exhilarating welcome in both the Yiddish and English-language press. Two plays were commissioned from him, and the Hearst Press offered him a lucrative contract. Shalom Aleichem remained in the Bronx for some months and on February 8, 1907, a dramatization of *Stempenyu*, produced by Boris Tomashevski, was staged at the People’s Theater, while on the same night “*Der Oysvorf: oder Shmuel Pasternak*” (“The Outcast: Or Shmuel Pasternak”), a version of *Yakneho*”*z* which Shalom Aleichem had specially adapted for Jacob Adler, was performed at the Grand Theater. Both plays were excessively sentimentalized for the New York theater audience, and both were box-office disasters. Meanwhile Hearst's *Jewish American* collapsed and Shalom Aleichem was unable to interest the Yiddish press in his *Motl*. In the early summer he returned to Geneva via The Hague, a disappointed man.

In August Shalom Aleichem attended the 8th Zionist Congress in The Hague as the delegate of New York Federation of American Zionists. It was here that he met Ḥayyim-Naḥman *Bialik for the first time and formed a close friendship with him. His impressions of this event are recorded in "*Ayndrukn fun Tsionistishn Kongres*" (1907; "Impressions from a Zionist Congress," 1984). In the early autumn he went on holiday in the Alps near Geneva and invited Bialik to visit him there. They were joined by Abramovitsh and Ben-Ami as well. It was at this time that the four of them posed in a photographer's studio for the famous comic portrait showing them in a boat with Shalom Aleichem standing behind holding an upright oar. He describes this meeting in "*Fir Zenen Mir Gezesn*" (1908; "Once There Were Four," 1979). It was at this time that Shalom Aleichem was diagnosed with tuberculosis.

Shalom Aleichem's continued preoccupation with the Kiev pogroms of 1905 and their aftermath were reflected in his novel *Der Mabl* ("The Flood") which was serialized 1907–8 in *Vorhayt*. In 1918 the novel appeared in book-form under the title *In Shturem* (*In the Storm*, 1984). This novel reflects the reactions of progressive Jewish youth to the pogroms to which Shalom Aleichem and his family had come all too close. Embodied in the lives of the protagonists, we see the tensions that existed between universal and national solutions to Jewish social problems. The original title implied that a "flood" would sweep away cruelty and violence. The change in title indicates a subsequently less sanguine view of social progress.

In 1908 Shalom Aleichem was once again compelled by financial constraints to undertake a reading tour in Russia. He had by now become famous for his recitations, and the tour went well until in early August in Baranovichi, some distance north of Pinsk, he suffered a severe recurrence of tuberculosis and was diagnosed as having open pulmonary tuberculosis. After two months of rest in Baranovichi itself, he moved to the resort of Nervi on the Ligurian coast for further recuperation. This setback was to some extent offset by the celebration of his 50th birthday and 25 years of literary creativity in 1909. A committee of authors secured the rights to his works and returned them to him, thus ensuring him a permanent income. During this period some of Shalom Aleichem's works began to appear in Russian translation and met with much critical acclaim.

In Nervi, perhaps realizing that his health prognosis was not very favorable, Shalom Aleichem made a first start on his autobiography *Funem Yarid*. However, he soon set it aside in order to work on other projects including his *Ayznban-Geshikhtn* (*Railroad Stories*, Engl. 1987), which were written and published over a period stretching from 1902 to 1911, although of the 20 stories that eventually constituted this series, as many as nine were written in various sanatoria during this period of convalescence in 1909. In these stories Shalom Aleichem skillfully exploits a situational framework of fleeting encounters, such as he must often have experienced when traveling between venues on his frequent and grueling reading tours and paints a picaresque composite picture of the precarious economic circumstances of Jews living in those western parts of the Russian Empire in which they were permitted to reside. Dan Miron shrewdly observes that it is a token of the increasing modernity of Shalom Aleichem's work that his narrators become progressively less severe in their critique of social reality. The traveling salesman is a "caricature of the maskilic 'watchman' or the Mendelean sarcastic commentator" [*Image*, p. 334].

Two of these *Railroad Stories*, both written in 1909, may serve to characterize this important cycle in Shalom Aleichem's oeuvre. "*Stantsye Baranovitsh*" (1909; "Station Baranovich," 1979) is named after the very station at which Shalom Aleichem himself had almost died the year before. The narrator heard the story from his father who had it from his own father. It happened in the days of Nikolai I. Kive, a Jew who had permitted himself a number of injudicious remarks, was condemned to run the gauntlet. Reb Nisl, the narrator's grandfather arranges a simulated funeral and then slips Kive over the border into Austrian Galicia. From then on Kive sends begging letters, threatening to return and confess. Finally he threatens to send Reb Nisl's letters to the police. At that point the train arrives in Baranovichi. The narrator hurriedly alights and the story is never finished. "May Station Baranovichi burn to the ground!" This is almost a shaggy-dog story in which much of the ironic humor lies in the ploys with which the narrator plays his audience much as Shalom Aleichem does his. What, after all, would the devoted readers of Shalom Aleichem's *Ayznban-Geshikhtn* have done had Shalom Aleichem really died? "*A Khasene on Klezmer*" (1909; "The Wedding That Came without Its Band," 1979) is a story told to the narrator one hot afternoon in a railway compartment by a merchant with a penchant for euphemistic irony who relates the humorous side of the 1905 pogroms. On this occasion the arrival of the drunken pogromists was delayed just long enough by the blessed inefficiency of the railway for the Cossacks summoned by the police superintendent to arrive and establish order. That salvation should take the form of a regiment of mounted Cossacks is in itself highly ironic.

Shalom Aleichem's unhappy experiences with the New York Yiddish theater found expression in the serialization between 1909 and 1911 of *Blondzhende Shtern* (*Wandering Star* (sic), 1952). The themes bear comparison with those of *Stempenyu* and *Yosele Solovey*, and the novel takes the form of a complex and picaresque story in which two Jewish artists make their way from the *shtetl* to Second Avenue. The hero is a brilliant star on the Yiddish stage who degenerates both as artist and human being in the New World, unlike the heroine, a singer, who ventures outside the narrowly Jewish world and preserves her integrity. The affinity with Charles Dickens, who was much admired by Shalom Aleichem, is particularly clear in the Whitechapel scenes.

Between 1909 and 1913 Shalom Aleichem and his family moved between health resorts in Nervi and the French Riviera, in the winter, and Switzerland and St. Blasien in the Black Forest, in the summer. Despite ill health and feverish literary activity, this was once more a relatively tranquil and secure interlude in Shalom Aleichem's life. This was also the period in which the "Jubilee" edition of his works in 16 volumes *Ale Verk: Yubileum Oysgabe* ("Complete Works, Jubilee Edition," 1909–15) was prepared for publication. This edition, which was interrupted owing to difficulties during World War I, did much to establish Shalom Aleichem's literary reputation which had earlier been belittled in some quarters.

The fourth volume of the *Yubileum Oysgabe* (1910) comprises *Menakhem-Mendl* (1910; *The Letters of Menakhem-Mendl and Sheyne-Sheyndl*, 2002). This is the so-called "canonized version" of the Menakhem-Mendl letters that were further, but somewhat unsatisfactorily, expanded as *Menakhem-Mendl: Nyu-York-Varshe-Vin-Yehupets* (1913; *The Further Adventures of Menachem-Mendl: New York – Warsaw – Vienna – Yehupetz*, 2001). Taken together these series of letters somewhat loosely constitute an epistolary novel, in part inspired by Abramovitsh's *Kitser Masoes Binyomin Hashlishi* (1878; *The Travels and Adventures of Benjamin the Third*, 1949). The textual history is somewhat complex, but the 1910 version is the most artistically cohesive. To some extent a self-portrait, though Shalom Aleichem sought to minimize this perception in his introduction to this second edition, Menakhem-Mendl travels from place to place naïvely confident in the imminence of prosperity, meanwhile corresponding with his down-to-earth and skeptical wife, Sheyne-Sheyndl. She urges him to forget his harebrained schemes and hurry home. Her attitude, which is initially somewhat credulous, becomes increasingly skeptical and eventually downright contemptuous, though in the revised versions her tone becomes less abrasive and her common sense is more sympathetically portrayed. Menakhem-Mendl is the quintessence of the *luftmentsh* trying his hand at all manner of activities, including the stock exchange and the commodity market. He acts as insurance agent, marriage broker, and journalist and eventually goes to New York, though this last episode was dropped in the final version. In the interaction between husband and wife, as Ruth Wisse has shrewdly observed, we see transferred into two characters Tevye's ironic alternation between optimism and tragic resignation. Miron refers to Menakhem-Mendl and Sheyne-Sheyndl as Don Quixote and Sancho Panza-like archetypes. Marxist critics such as Max Erik have sought to stress Shalom Aleichem's presentation of the hopelessness of Menakhem-Mendl's schemes as an implied critique of capitalism. It would be more accurate to say that Menakhem-Mendl's misfortunes are symptomatic of the arbitrary restrictions placed by the czarist regime on Jewish enterprise, but this is too narrow a perspective. Menakhem-Mendl's willingness to believe that at any moment he will make his fortune and finally free himself and his family from material worries is an ironic reflection of the theme of utopian and eschatological hope that runs through much of Jewish literature.

The fifth volume of the *Yubileum Oysgabe* comprises *Motl Peyse dem Khazns* (1911; *The Adventures of Mottel, the Cantor's Son*, 1953). Shalom Aleichem was at work on *Motl Peyse* from 1907 right up to a few days before his death. It is a fragmentary novel whose first-person narrator is initially almost nine years-old and may be about 11 by the end of the second part, though his putative age has been the subject of some controversy. After the death of his father and the forced sale of the family's household goods, Motl immigrates with his mother to the U.S. in what Seth Wolitz perceptively describes as a carnivalesque Exodus or secular burlesque of the *Haggadah*, with the flight from the slavery under the czar across the European wilderness and the Atlantic to the promised city. The critical irony results from the discrepancy between Motl's carefree perception of what are for him wonderful adventures and the perils endured by his mother and indeed the whole community of Russian Jews constantly threatened by pogroms. Meanwhile Motl, rather like Huckleberry Finn, is preoccupied with his blithe pranks or with helping his elder brother in comically vain efforts to make money by selling ink or *kvas*. The omission of chapters 5 and 16 from volume 5 was occasioned by the publisher's wish to promote the volume as being suitable for children. For the complete text see either vols. 18 & 19 of the Folksfond edition of *Ale Verk fun Shalom Aleichem* ("Complete Works of Shalom Aleichem," 1920) or Khone Shmeruk's exemplary edition which follows the 1913 Progres text.

The seventh volume of the *Yubileum Oysgabe* (1911) comprises the *Tevye der Milkhiker* cycle which by this point was almost complete. The full cycle consists of the following episodes: 1. "*Kotoynti*" (1903; "I Am Not Worthy," 1994), which had been included in 1895, is omitted from the *Yubileum Oysgabe* and was advisedly not reprinted until after the author's death. In this prefatory letter, the reader is introduced to the eponymous hero for the first time. Tevye is overawed by Shalom Aleichem's condescending to put him "in a book" and is ashamed of his supposed lack of learning. However, "*Kotoynti*" and "*Vakhalaklakoys*" (1918; "Tevye Reads the Psalms," 1969), far from adding anything, detract somewhat from the poignancy of the stories concerning Tevye's daughters; 2. "*Dos Groyse Gevins*" (1903; the revised version of the story originally entitled "*Tevye der Milkhiker*," 1895; "Tevye Strikes It Rich," 1979) and relates how Tevye, a country Jew, who struggles to improve his knowledge of scripture, became a dairyman as a result of the generosity of two Yehupets ladies to whom he had given a lift after they had lost their way in the forest; 3. The sequel is "*A Boydem*" (1899; "The Bubble Bursts," 1949) which relates how Tevye entrusts his savings to his distant relative, Menakhem-Mendl, who loses everything on the Yehupets stock-exchange; 4. In "*Hayntike Kinder*" (1899; "Modern Children," 1949) it is related how Tevye's eldest daughter, Tseytl, chooses to marry the sickly young tailor, Motl Kamzoyl, rather than the rich elderly butcher, Leyzer-Volf; 5. "*Hodl*" (1904; "Hodel," 1946) was written just one year before the outbreak of the 1905 revolution. Tevye is offered a financially attractive match for Hodl, his second daughter, but it transpires that she is secretly betrothed to Pertshik, a revolutionary whom Tevye had invited to tutor his daughters, an ironic allusion perhaps to Shalom Aleichem's own romance with Olga/Hodl some quarter of a century earlier. After a hasty wedding, Pertshik departs on a secret mission, is arrested and exiled. As Hodl leaves to join her husband in Siberia, Tevye, who prides himself on his manly stoicism, weeps bitter tears; 6. "*Khave*" (1906: "Chaveh," 1948) is the story of Tevye's third daughter who elopes with an autodidact Ukrainian clerk whom she regards as a "second Gorki." Tevye attempts to intervene with the village priest but is rebuffed. In accordance with halakhic requirement and despite the promptings of his heart, Tevye performs ritual mourning for his daughter as though she were dead and rejects her when she accosts him in the forest. There is considerable irony in the fact that the threat of assimilation is associated with the name of Gorki, a writer much admired by Shalom Aleichem; 7. "*Shprintse*" (1907; "Shprintze," 1995) relates how, after the political upheavals of 1905, many wealthy Jews fled from the cities to the countryside, and Tevye had good business delivering diary products to their *dachas*. The feckless son of a rich widow woos Shprintse, Tevye's fourth daughter. At first Tevye is apprehensive but gradually warms to the idea, beginning once again to dream of the acts of charity he would be able to perform as the father of a millionairess. Suddenly, however, Tevye is summoned by the widow's brother who treats Tevye as a wily schemer and offers him money as compensation for breach of promise. Tevye is so shocked that he simply turns on his heels. Shprintse drowns herself; 8. In "*Tevye Fort keyn Erts-Yisroel*" (1909; "Tevye Goes to Palestine," 1995), Shalom Aleichem meets a well-dressed Tevye traveling on a train. In the meantime his wife, Golde, has died and his youngest daughter, Beylke, in order to ease her father's misfortunes, has married the proverbially rich Pedahtsur, a parvenu who had made a fortune during the Russo-Japanese war. By now Tevye realizes that even Hodl had done better with her exiled revolutionary idealist. In Pedahtsur's ostentatious mansion, Tevye is a silent witness to his daughter's misery. Embarrassed by Tevye's humble profession, Pedahtsur is ready to pay for him to go to Palestine. Tevye, who has always dreamed of visiting Rachel's tomb and the Western Wall, accepts the offer, expecting never to see his children again. In 1911 Shalom Aleichem saw Tevye's departure for Palestine as the culmination of the cycle. However, three years later, he added one more story together with an epilogue; 9. In "*Lekh-Lekho*" (1914; "Get Thee Out," 1949) after an interval of many years Shalom Aleichem encounters Tevye once more. The planned journey to the Holy Land had been abandoned when Pedahtsur had gone bankrupt and Motl Kamzoyl had died leaving Tevye responsible for his daughter, Tseytl, and her children. In 1905 pogroms had begun in the large towns and became widespread. The peasants, with whom Tevye had lived in the village in peace for decades, come to his house explaining that, though they have nothing against him personally, they have no choice but at the very least to break a window or two. But this is nothing compared to what happens at the time of the trial of Menahem Nendel *Beilis, when he is driven out of his village. At the moment of departure, Khave returns to share her family's misfortunes. Tevye asks Shalom Aleichem whether he was right to be forgiving, but Tevye, whose grandchildren are waiting, has to leave before Shalom Aleichem has time to answer.

"*Vakhalaklakoys*" is the sequel to "*Lekh-Lekho*." It was first published posthumously at the time of the editing of the Folksfond edition. Shalom Aleichem once again meets Tevye on a train and Tevye takes the opportunity to elaborate further on how it was back in 1905, when the *hromada* or rural assembly had decreed that the Jews be made to feel the wrath of the general community. Tevye had quick-wittedly devised a test to determine whether God truly wanted him to suffer or not, in which the peasants had to attempt to repeat tongue-twisters such as "*vakhalaklakoys*" and "*memaymakim*." The choice of these words is, of course, not determined solely by their refractory phonetic qualities, but represents yet another level of Tevye's (and the author's) irony: "Let them be confounded and put to shame that seek after my soul: let them be turned back and brought to confusion that devise my hurt… Let their way be dark *and slippery*: and let the angel of the Lord persecute them" (Ps. 35:4–6); "*Out of the depths* have I cried unto thee, O Lord. Lord hear my voice: let thine ears be attentive to the voice of my supplications" (Ps.130:1–2). It is sometimes held that Tevye has a shaky grasp of scripture and that his supposedly clumsy misquotations are an element in Shalom Aleichem's humor. Roback for example speaks of "malapropisms" and much the same view is taken by Butwin. More accurate assessments are offered by Michael Stern, Hillel Halkin, and Joseph Sherman: the truth is that Tevye is always in control of his quotations, and whether he cites literally, in modified form or, as he occasionally does when addressing a Pedahtsur or a Leyzer-Volf, in deliberate doggerel, it is always to appropriate ironic effect. When considering Tevye and his quotations – which serve also to anchor the narrative within the context on Jewish literary tradition – it is well to bear in mind that they represent a kind of mythopoeia, a use of language to transcend an unsatisfactory environment, and as such Tevye is a correlative of Shalom Aleichem, and of the artist in general.

The peasants meanwhile not surprisingly fail Tevye's test and in recognition of the fact that Tevye has lived peaceably among them for so many decades and that he is "a Jew, certainly, but not a bad man," they allow him to break a couple of his own windows *pro forma*. Tevye concludes by bemoaning the insecurity of the Diaspora, but emphasizes by contrast the naturally superior intelligence of Jews which imposes upon them higher moral obligations. Tevye's final word is that should the Messiah not come in the meantime, then perhaps he and Shalom Aleichem may meet again in Yehupets, Odessa, Warsaw, or even America, but in the meantime Shalom Aleichem should give his greetings to the Jews he meets, tell them not to worry and say that "our ancient God lives." Although supposedly related, Menakhem-Mendl and Tevye are very different characters, but they have in common that each episode takes them to a new crisis or catastrophe from which they "bounce back," as Miron puts it, by the power of their fortitude.

The figure of Tevye was based in part on the real-life model encountered in Boyarka but was at the same time inspired by Abramovitsh's itinerant hero, Mendele, a fact to which Shalom Aleichem makes a veiled allusion, as Ken Frieden has noted, in "Hayntike Kinder." Tevye sees himself as a modern Job and alternates between restrained altercations with the inscrutable deity and total resignation. Though he loses his home, his wife, and his daughters, his outlook remains one of self-ironizing good humor. In the revised versions, the narration is entirely in Tevye's voice, enlivened by polyphonic embedding of the disparate voices that Tevye constantly cites. Indeed, it may be said that one of Shalom Aleichem's most characteristic strengths is his ear for distinctive, idiosyncratic discourse, as is also seen clearly in the monologues and the railroad stories.

Though Shalom Aleichem gently mocks would-be social reformers, social tensions nevertheless form an important part of the thematic structure of his Tevye-cycle and of his works in general. An important theme is the contrast between grinding rural penury and the affluence of Jewish urban bourgeoisie of Yehupets (i.e., Kiev). Inequalities of wealth, generational conflict and the contrast between the genders are seen as a microcosm of the strains in Jewish social life in late 19th-century Russia. The political disillusionment that sets in after the collapse of the 1905 revolution is echoed in the contrast between Hodl's idealism and Beylke's resigned pragmatism. Also much in evidence is the dichotomy between Tevye's frequently asserted faith that God will provide and the acerbic skepticism that he applies to the dilemmas of daily life.

The celebration of the beauty of nature in the Ukrainian landscape re-echoes similar passages in Abramovitsh, while the topic of animal welfare is reflected in the story "*Tsar-Balekhayim*" ("Pity for Living Creatures," 1968) and elsewhere.

In 1914 Shalom Aleichem wrote four film screenplays in Russian that were never produced or published, but which included an adaptation of *Tevye* which was utilized in part by Charles Davenport in 1919 when he directed his silent film *Khave*. In 1915 Shalom Aleichem also wrote a dramatized version of the Tevye stories "*Khave*" and "*Lekh-lekho*," entitled "*Tevye der Milkhiker: A Familyen-Bild in Fir Aktn*" ("Tevye the Dairyman: A Family Portrait in Four Acts," 1923), which the famous actor and director Maurice *Shwartz staged in Vienna in 1924. In 1939 Shwartz filmed *Tevye der Milkhiker* which became one of the most successful of all Yiddish movies. In 1925 *Menakhem-Mendl* was adapted for the cinema under the direction of Alexander *Granovsky as *Yidishe Glikn* ("Jewish Luck") with inter-titles by Isaak *Babel and with Solomon *Mikhoels in the role of Menakhem-Mendl. The most celebrated transformation of Shalom Aleichem's Tevye stories was the musical, *Fiddler on the Roof* (1964), with a score by Sheldon Harnick and Jerry Bock.

The 12th volume of the *Yubileum-Oysgabe* (1912) comprises "Marienbad" (1911; *Marienbad*, 1982), an epistolary novel. Shalom Aleichem returns here to social milieux comparable to those depicted in *Yakneho"z*, creating a comedy of manners in which the vain pretensions of the superficial nouveau-riche Jewish bourgeoisie of Warsaw is exposed to biting satire, tempered by Shalom Aleichem's compassionate understanding of the all-too-human folly which drives their actions. The work consists of a polyphony of epistolary voices exemplifying a wide range of Yiddish registers from the *Galitsyaner* to the *Litvak*, from the Russified speech of Odessa to the semi-illiterate writing of the lottery winner, or to the pretentious Hebrew of pompous fools. Equally interesting from the socio-linguistic point of view is the high status accorded to German, which various characters attempt to employ with varying degrees of accuracy. The complex plot of *Marienbad* involves numerous wealthy Jews and their wives mainly from Nalewki Street in Warsaw, but also from Kishinev, Bialystok, Odessa, etc., whose spouses are in Marienbad nominally in order to take the waters, but who are in reality more concerned with flirting, playing cards, or securing matches for their daughters. "The world has changed," as the main female protagonist, Beltshi Kurlender, writes to her husband in Warsaw, and these characters, whose ancestors had for centuries lived the traditional life of the *shtetl*, have seen their world transformed by wealth and are themselves often amazed at the changes their lives have undergone. Not so far, perhaps as to permit anything particularly reprehensible to occur, but through misunderstandings, gossip, and the malice born of blind jealousy, severe matrimonial strife and at least one divorce result. Bourgeois Jewish Warsaw and Tevye are, of course, worlds apart, but the Yamaytshikhe and Tevye have in common the problem of finding matches for numerous daughters. The action is datable to the summer of 1911 on account of the mention of the visit of the *shadkhn*, Svirski, to the 10th Zionist Conference, which Shalom Aleichem himself attended in Basel in August. Note also the irony with which Khayim Soroker, for example, laments his failings as a writer, while his wife, Ester, compares his letters to a feuilleton.

In 1911 Shalom Aleichem's works began to appear in the Hebrew translation of his son-in-law, the Yiddish and Hebrew writer Y.D. Berkovitz, *Kitvei Shalom-Aleikhem* ("Works of Shalom-Aleichem," 3 vols., Warsaw, 1911–13). In fact, Shalom Aleichem had been participating in the preparation of this edition from 1905 onwards. The relationship of Shalom Aleichem's Russian and Hebrew works to his Yiddish oeuvre has still to be adequately investigated, but it may be said that, in a manner which is similar to the gestation of many of Mendele's works and anticipates the relationship between the Yiddish and English versions of the works of Isaac *Bashevis Singer, Shalom Aleichem worked together with Berkovitsh and made changes to the text, especially the endings, during the process of translation, and these emendations were in turn adopted in subsequent Yiddish editions.

The 16th volume of the *Yubileum-Oysgabe* (1915) comprises an incomplete version of the novel *Blutiker Shpas* (the complete text is only to be found in the 1923 two-volume edition; *The Bloody Hoax*, 1991). This novel was later dramatized and popularized as *Shver tsu Zayn a Yid* ("It's Hard to Be a Jew," 1948). It explores the complexities of Jewish-gentile relations and narrates the romantic complications arising in the household of Dovid Shapiro as the result of the exchange of identities between the talented Jewish student, Hershl Shneyerson, who lacks a *pravozhitel'stvo* or residency permit and is unable to secure a university place, and his friend, Ivan Ivanov, the privileged son of a Russian general.

In 1913 Shalom Aleichem commenced work on a truly comprehensive edition of his works that was planned to comprise 40 volumes. In fact, only 28 volumes appeared posthumously (1917–23).

In the spring of 1914 he set out on a reading tour of Russia which was to take him to 20 cities including Warsaw, where he visited Peretz (see: "*A Vokh mit Y.L. Perets*" ("A Week with I.L. Peretz," 1915). At the beginning of World War I, Shalom Aleichem was taking a holiday on the Baltic coast of Germany following the conclusion of his Russian tour. As an "enemy alien" he was obliged to leave Germany and managed to reach Copenhagen, where he remained for several months in ill health and without financial support until he was able to embark for the U.S., where he arrived with his family (except for his eldest son, Misha) in December. In New York he was once again given an enthusiastic welcome and a reception was organized for him in Carnegie Hall, but serious support was not forthcoming. Cut off from his income in Europe, he was obliged to undertake further reading tours and wrote for the New York Yiddish press. He was diagnosed as having incipient diabetes, but was not in a financial position to spend the winter in the south as his doctors advised.

In 1915 Shalom Aleichem's autobiography, *Funem Yarid*, was serialized in *Der Tog*. In the past he had made several attempts to begin this work, but it was not until 1913, while living in Switzerland, that he began writing *Funem Yarid* in earnest. He lived to write two and a half of the projected 10 parts. In its incomplete form, the story covers the author's childhood and his romance with Olga Loyeva up to the moment at which they are about to be parted. It is noticeable that the cyclical structure of this work is comparable to that of *Tevye*, *Menakhem-Mendl* and other works with their ever recurring *peripeteiai* of the stroke of luck followed by catastrophe.

On September 19, 1915, while living in Lenox Avenue in Harlem, Shalom Aleichem was deeply shocked to hear of the death of Misha, from tuberculosis in a sanatorium in Copenhagen. On receiving this shattering news, Shalom Aleichem decided to rewrite his "*Tsavoe*" (1923; "The Last Will and Testament of Shalom Aleichem," 1994).

Despite failing health, financial difficulties compelled him to undertake yet another reading tour in 1916. One of his last stories, "*A Mayse mit a Grinhorn*" (1916; "Business with a Greenhorn," 2004), was published in *Di Vorhayt* in January. This monologue is told directly to the reader, without the need for Shalom Aleichem to act as addressee, in the voice of Mr. Baraban, a Jewish-American businessman, full of complacent contempt for the "greenhorn," potentiated by ugly sexual jealousy. This is a portrait of sheer meanness in the ruthless commercial atmosphere of New York City and is further evidence of Shalom Aleichem's growing disillusionment with the purported advantages of the New World. The story is so interlarded with Anglicisms that Berkovitz found it necessary to append a glossary, and it is evidence of Shalom Aleichem's uncannily accurate ear for language that after a comparatively brief acquaintance with the U.S. he was able to make virtuoso, satirical use of this register. In this context it is interesting to note that in a high proportion of the surviving portraits of Shalom Aleichem, he is depicted with his pocket notebook in his hand and it was undoubtedly to his habit of constantly noting down the turns of phrase that he heard around him that much of the accuracy of his narrative voices may be attributed.

On May 13, 1916, shortly after moving to Kelly Street in the Bronx and while still at work on the last unfinished chapter of *Motl Peyse dem Khazns*, Shalom Aleichem died of tuberculosis. Vast crowds attended his funeral, and he was mourned throughout the Jewish world. He was buried in the "Honor Row" of the Arbeter Ring section of the Mount Carmel Cemetery in Queens, New York.

After his death his popularity continued to increase not only with the Yiddish readership, but also in translation, especially in Russian, English, and Hebrew. In the 1920s and 1930s Shalom Aleichem's reputation grew steadily as the result of positive evaluation by such critics as *Baal-Makhshoves, M. *Wiener, Maks *Erik, Elye Spivak and I.J. *Trunk.

Works and Correspondence

The most complete edition of Shalom Aleichem's works to date is the *Folksfond* edition in 28 vols., 1917–25, reprinted several times. Valuable for its critical introductions is the 16–vol. edition of the *Oysgeveylte Verk* ("Selected Works," Moscow, 1935–41). In 1948 a critical edition of Shalom Aleichem's collected works was initiated in Moscow by N. Oyslender and A. Frumkin. Only the first three volumes (of a projected 20) appeared. These include the complete Yiddish belletristic writings of the years 1883–90, most of which are unavailable elsewhere. The editorial work of Oyslender and Frumkin together with Kh. Shmeruk's editing of *Dos Meserl* (1983) and *Motl Peyse* (1997) serve as models for a complete critical edition of Shalom Aleichem's works, which remains an as yet unrealized desideratum.

Much of Shalom Aleichem's correspondence remains unpublished. Selections are to be found in Y.D. Berkowitz (ed.), *Dos Shalom Aleichem Bukh* (1926, 1958); *Oysgeveylte Verk* 16 (1941); A. Lis (ed.), *Briv fun Shalom Aleichem, 1879–1916* (1995). For a list of published letters to individuals see U. Weinreich, in: *Field of Yiddish* (1954), 280–1.

Selective List of Works in English Translation

Stempenyu, tr. H. Berman (1913); *Inside Kasrilevke*, tr. I. Goldstick (1945, 1973); *The Old Country*, tr. J. & F. Butwin (1946, 1973); *Sholom Aleichem Panorama*, ed. M.W. Grafstein, 1948; *Tevye's Daughters*, tr. F. Butwin (1949, 1999); *Wandering Star*, tr. F. Butwin (1952); *The Adventures of Mottel, the Cantor's Son*, tr. T. Kahana (1953, 1999); *The Bewitched Tailor*, tr. B. Isaacs (1956, 1999); *Selected Stories*, ed. A. Kazin (1956); *Stories and Satires*, tr. C. Leviant (1959, 1999); *The Tevye Stories and Others*, tr. J. & F. Butwin (1965); *Old Country Tales*, tr. C. Leviant (1966, 1999); *Some Laughter, Some Tears*, tr. C. Leviant (1968, 1979); *The Adventures of Menahem Mendl*, tr. T. Kahana (1969, 1999); *Holiday Tales of Sholom Aleichem*, tr. A. Shevrin (1979, 1985); *The Best of Sholom Aleichem*, ed. I. Howe & R. Wisse (1979, 1982); *Marienbad*, tr. A. Shevrin (1982); *Why Do the Jews Need a Land of Their Own?* tr. J. Leftwich & M. Chertoff (1984); *In the Storm*, tr. A Shevrin (1984); *From the Fair: The Autobiography of Sholom Aleichem*, tr. C. Leviant (1985, 1986); *The Nightingale: Or the Saga of Yosele Solovey the Cantor*, tr. A Shevrin (1985, 1987); *Tevye the Dairyman and the Railroad Stories*, tr. H. Halkin (1987); *Tevye the Dairyman and Other Stories*, tr. M. Katz (1988); *The Jackpot*, tr. K. Weitzner & B. Zumoff (1989); *The Bloody Hoax*, tr. A. Shevrin (1991); *Selected Works of Shalom Aleichem*, ed. M.S. Zuckerman & M. Herbst (1995); *Song of Songs*, tr. Curt Leviant (1996); *A Treasury of Sholom Aleichem Children's Stories*, tr. A. Shevrin (1996); *Nineteen to the Dozen: Monologues and Bits and Bobs of Other Things*, tr. T. Gorelick (1998); *The Further Adventures of Menachem-Mendl*, tr. A. Shevrin (2001); *The Letters of Menakhem-Mendl & Sheyne-Sheyndl and Motl, the Cantor's Son*, tr. H. Halkin (2002). Many further translations have been published in anthologies, journals and collections including *Classic Yiddish Stories of S.Y. Abramovitsh, Sholem Aleichem, and I.L. Peretz*, ed. K. Frieden (2004).

Biography

No critical biography of Shalom Aleichem has yet been written, but there is a rich memoir literature: Y.D. Berkovitsh, *Ha-Rishonim ki-Vnei Adam: Sippurei Zikhronot al Shalom-Aleikhem uVnei-Doro* (1938–43, 1959, 1976^{3}), tr. as *Undzere Rishoynim* (1966); Y.D. Berkovitsh, "Memories of Sholem Aleichem," tr. K. Frieden (from *Dos Shalom Aleichem Bukh*), in K. Frieden (ed.), *Classic Yiddish Stories* (2004), 207–40; V. Rabinovitsh, *Mayn Bruder, Shalom Aleichem: Zikhroynes* (1939); M. Waife-Goldberg, *My Father, Sholom Aleichem* (1968, 1971). Attempts at objective biography are to be found in U. Finkl, *Shalom Aleichem, 1859–1939* (1939); U. Finkl, *Shalom Aleichem: Monografye* (1959).

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[Hugh Denman (2nd ed.)]

SHALOM ALEIKHEM (Heb. שָׁלוֹם עֲלֵיכֶם; "peace be upon you").

(1) A form of greeting common among Jews. The reply to the greeting is *aleikhem shalom* (Heb. עֲלֵיכֶם שָׁלוֹם; lit. "upon you be peace"). The greeting is mentioned, in the singular form in the Talmud: "A teacher should be greeted with 'Peace to thee, my master,' and should be answered (if he makes the first greeting) with, 'Peace be with thee, my master and teacher'" (Ber. 27b, and Rashi ad loc.; see also Sh. Ar., YD 242: 16). In modern Hebrew, the greeting is often shortened to *shalom* (see Form of *Greetings).

(2) Opening words of hymn welcoming Sabbath angels to the home. It is recited by the head of the family upon re-

turning from the synagogue on the Sabbath eve. The hymn, which is of late composition, is known only in the Ashkenazi rite. It is based on the talmudic statement (Shab. 119b) that on the Sabbath eve two ministering angels accompany every Jew from the synagogue to his home.

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SHALOM BEN YIZ̤ḤAK OF NEUSTADT (c. 1350–c. 1413), talmudist, teacher of Jacob *Moellin, in whose works there is much information on him. Shalom apparently lived for a time in Vienna and is therefore sometimes referred to as "Maharash of Vienna," but moved to Neustadt. His teachers were his father, whose interpretations of *halakhah*, kabbalah, and the Torah he quotes, Israel of Krems, and other Austrian rabbis. He established a yeshivah at Neustadt, later known as the yeshivah of Israel Isserlin, which was one of the most important in Austria.

His two sons – Yonah and Yudel – served as rabbis in Vienna and in Neustadt, respectively, and are mentioned several times in his book of sermons. Yonah died a martyr's death, following the edict of 1420 in Austria.

The responsa of Shalom are scattered throughout the rabbinical works of his contemporaries and of his disciples, and constitute reliable source material for the history of the Austrian Jews. S.Y. Spitzer has published *Hilkhot u-Minhagei R. Shalom (Derashot Maharash)* (1977), containing 546 items dealing with various laws of the Shulḥan Arukh, which is also valuable source material for the customs of Ashkenazic Jews of his time, the organizational and economic conditions of the Jewish communities, and the relations between Jews and non-Jews. His works reflect the harsh conditions under which the Jews of Central Europe lived at the end of the 14th century.

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[Yehoshua Horowitz]

SHALOM SHAKHNA BEN JOSEPH (d. 1558), founder of talmudic scholarship in Poland. He came from an affluent family and was a pupil of Jacob *Pollak. At an early age he was appointed rabbi and *rosh yeshivah* in Lublin. His letter of appointment as chief rabbi of Lesser Poland by the government in 1541 is still in existence. It even included the right of capital punishment. His yeshivah soon became known as a great center of study to which students flocked from all over Europe, and his rabbinical court attained countrywide prominence. From that time on Lublin was a center for Talmud study and one of the important communities, where from time to time the *Council of Four Lands held its meetings. His mode of study closely adhered to the casuistic method of **pilpul*. None of his works is extant; our knowledge of him is derived from the statements of his son, Israel, and those of his distinguished disciples, such as Moses *Isserles, his son-in-law, who refers to him in terms of great esteem (responsa 41, 61), *Ḥayyim b. Bezalel, and Benjamin Aaron Solnik (cf. also the letter of his son Israel to Isserles, *ibid.* 25), David Gans, *Ẓemaḥ David*, 1 (1592), 314, and the preface of Ḥayyim Bezalel to his *Vikku'aḥ Mayim Ḥayyim* (1712). These statements, mostly in Isserles' responsa, reveal his logical and sound common sense, avoidance of dogmatism, and due consideration for contemporary circumstances and needs. As a result, he was reluctant to have his decisions be accepted as final, and for the same reason refused to write any halakhic work. Nevertheless, some of his written responsa have been found and printed. He showed considerable independence and firmness (responsa, Solomon *Luria (16); Meir of Lublin (138) and *Masat Binyamin* (16) of Benjamin Aaron Slonik).

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[Shlomo Eidelberg]

SHALON (Friedland), RAḤEL (1904–1988), Israeli engineer. Born in Poland, Raḥel Shalon went to Palestine in 1925. She served in the *Haganah (1925–48), and was a major in the Israel Defense Forces. She became professor of civil engineering at the Haifa Technion in 1952; dean of the School of Graduate Studies, 1958–62; and senior vice president in charge of research in 1963. She wrote "Cement and Concrete" (1939) and "Cementitious Materials" (1964), and edited the monthly *In the Field of Building* from 1952. Shalon was chairwoman of international research committees on building in hot climates.

SHALTIEL, DAVID (1903–1969), Israeli soldier and diplomat. Born in Hamburg of a Sephardi family, Shaltiel went to Palestine in 1923 and served in the French Foreign Legion from 1926 to 1931. In 1932 he returned to Palestine and joined the *Haganah, for which he became an arms purchasing agent in Europe. Arrested by the Nazis in 1936, he was freed through Haganah efforts in 1939. In 1940 he established Haganah counterintelligence and was chief of Haganah intelligence (1941–42, 1946–48). He was the commander of Jerusalem during the *War of Independence, and received the rank of *alluf*. In 1950 Shaltiel was appointed Israel military attaché in France, Benelux, and Italy. He was minister to Brazil and Venezuela (1952–56), minister (then ambassador) to Mexico and the Caribbean Islands (1956–59), and from 1963 to 1966 ambassador to Holland.

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[Netanel Lorch]

SHAMGAR (Heb. שַׁמְגַּר), son of Anath, deliverer of Israel who flourished in the period of the Judges. According to Judges 3:31, he saved Israel by slaying 600 Philistines with an oxgoad. The Song of Deborah describes the times in which Shamgar lived as so dangerous that the highways were unused, travelers preferring to walk through the safer byways (Judg. 5:6). The reports about Shamgar are unusual in that no information of a personal or family nature is given about his tribal affiliation, the exact time at which he lived, or the duration of his influence. It is not said that he judged Israel, nor are his death or burial recorded. It is only known that he lived after *Ehud and before *Deborah. The name Shamgar appears to be of Hurrian origin and may well be *Šimig-ar*(*i*), "[the god] Shimike gave." "Anath" was the name of a Canaanite goddess. It may have a mythological association or it may refer to the birthplace of the hero, a Canaanite town in Galilee. There is no certainty, therefore, that Shamgar was an Israelite. The connection between his exploits against the Philistines and the report of Judges 5:6 is also unclear. It is not likely that he attempted to clear the roads of marauding Philistine bands, since at the time of Deborah (c. 1125 B.C.E.) the Philistines did not yet constitute a threat to Israel. Some scholars believe that Shamgar was a foreign oppressor who, like Sisera later on, may have brought northern Palestine under his control and oppressed the Israelites. The author of the late reference in Judges 3:31 would thus have derived Shamgar, the Israelite judge, from the older Song of Deborah (5:6), a misappropriation which transformed a foreign oppressor into an Israelite judge. This view is also highly unlikely since the Song of Deborah parallels Shamgar with Jael, who is clearly pro-Israelite. It has been observed that Shamgar's adventure bears striking resemblance to those of *Samson, who also used the jawbone of an ass to slay the Philistines (Judg. 15:15–16). In fact, he may have belonged to the time of Samson.

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[Nahum M. Sarna]

SHAMGAR, MEIR (1925–), Israel jurist. Born in Danzig, Shamgar arrived in Palestine in 1939. Arrested for underground activities in the Irgun Ẓevai Le'ummi, he was held under administrative detention by the Mandatory authorities from 1944 until 1948. Later, as a colonel of the Israel Defense Forces, he was Military Advocate-General from 1961 until 1968. Appointed Israel's attorney-general in 1968, he appeared for the government in the dramatic Shalit "Who is a Jew?" case and in the Sussman Inquiry Commission into the El Aksa fire. In 1971 he led an investigation into crime and from 1972 devoted most of his time to various economic offenses and gained a reputation for hard but fair investigating and prosecuting. As a member of Prime Minister Rabin's "think tank," he took an active part in the drafting of the legal formulation of the Israel-Egypt disengagement agreement after the Yom Kippur War. He was appointed to the Supreme Court in 1975 and in 1983 he became president of the Supreme Court, a position he held until 1995, when he retired. As a justice Shamgar was a staunch defender of freedom of expression, ruling in favor of the media when their democratic rights were challenged. As president of the Supreme Court, he worked to improve the administrative systems of the courts, introducing methods of supervision, reporting, and control. He also oversaw the move to the new Supreme Court building. In 1996 he headed the commission investigating Yiẓḥak Rabin's assassination. In 2005 he received the Democracy Award for his contribution to Israeli democracy.

[Alexander Zvielli / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

SHAMI, YITZḤAK (1888–1949), Hebrew writer. Born in Hebron, he taught in Ekron, Damascus, and Philippopolis (Plovdiv), Bulgaria. In 1919, he returned to Hebron where he served as a teacher and was active in the Jewish community. He moved to Tiberias in 1926, and finally settled in Haifa in 1930.

His first short story, "*Ha-Akarah*," set in the Sephardi community, was published in *Ha-Omer* (1907). Subsequently his stories dealing with the Sephardi and Arabic milieu of Palestine appeared in various literary journals in Palestine and abroad (including *Ha-Tekufah, Ha-Shilo'ah*). His collected stories, with an introduction by Asher Barash, were published posthumously (*Sippurei Yitzḥak Shami*, 1951). A new edition of *Nikmat ha-Avot* with an introduction by G. Shaked appeared in 1975. *Hebron Stories*, a collection in English translation with an introduction by Arnold J. Band, appeared in 2000. For English translations of his works, see Goell, Bibliography, p. 75.

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[Getzel Kressel]

SHAMIR (Heb. שָׁמִיר), kibbutz in northern Israel on the Golan slope and the eastern rim of the Ḥuleh Valley, 8 mi. (12 km.) S.E. of Kiryat Shemonah, affiliated with Kibbutz Arẓi ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir. Shamir was founded in 1944 by a group from Romania who previously maintained a temporary camp near Ramat Yoḥanan. Until the *Six-Day War (1967) the kibbutz was a border settlement, exposed to Syrian artillery. It struggled to reclaim for agriculture its hilly land, covered with basalt boulders. Shamir's economy improved when it was allocated land in the Ḥuleh Valley, particularly after the completion of the drainage project there. In 1968, Shamir had 430 inhabitants, increasing to 546 in 2002. It raised irrigated field crops (in partnership with Kibbutz *Amir and Kibbutz *Sedeh Neḥemya), deciduous fruit orchards, beehives, cattle, and poultry. The kibbutz specialized in honey production and operated optical and nonwoven fabric plants. The name Shamir, meaning "sharp stone" or "corundum," hints also at the Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir movement.

WEBSITE: www.shamir.org.il.

[Efraim Orni / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

SHAMIR, MOSHE (1921–2004), Hebrew author. Shamir was born in Safed and raised in Tel Aviv. He was a member of the *Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir movement and held a position on its national board. From 1941 to 1947 he was a member of kibbutz Mishmar ha-Emek, and in 1944 joined the Palmaḥ. He founded and edited the literary magazines *Yalkut ha-Re'im, Daf Ḥadash*, and *Massa*, and edited *Ba-Maḥaneh*, the underground weekly of the *Haganah and later the official weekly of the Israel Defense Forces. From 1969 until 1971 he headed the Jewish Agency Aliyah Department in London.

In the initial stage of his career Shamir was interested predominantly in the human aspect of social, class, and national problems. In *Yalkut ha-Re'im* he published several stories which were highly critical of kibbutz life and were not included in later collections of his works. This attitude is reflected even in some of his stories for children. In his short stories for adults, the moral is less obvious, although he is still concerned with problems of class and social structure ("*Nashim Meḥakkot ba-Ḥuẓ*," "*Yihyeh Ḥam Yihyeh*"), human problems in the kibbutz ("*Ḥut ha-Zemer ha-Niẓḥi*," "*Ad Or ha-Boker*"), and problems of immigration and the Holocaust ("*Em ha-Hardofim*").

Many of Shamir's articles and stories are devoted to Israel's struggle before and during the War of Independence, especially in the stories included in *Ad Eilat* (1950). These works are general emotional apotheoses of the goals and achievements of the *yishuv*. The native-born Israel hero who is committed to the ideals and goals of his country and whose life and personality are shaped by them attains its romantic crystallization in the novel *Hu Halakh ba-Sadot* (1947). The hero, Uri, the young Israeli, grows up amid family entanglements in his kibbutz home and reveals his traits of courage, ruggedness, hidden sensibility, cruelty, and honesty by his dedication to his family, to Mikah (his refugee girlfriend), to his comrades in the Palmaḥ, and in his military activities. Uri became the central figure in Shamir's works and appears in various guises in two main variations: first, as the born leader capable of stirring groups to action, exemplified by Alik in his stories for youth: "*Eḥad Efes le-Tovatenu*" (1951) and "*Alik ve-ha-Kallaniyyot*," whose early chapters resemble the above stories. Other evolutions of this central character are Ami in the play *Kilometer 56* (1949) and the slum children in "*Shekediyyot Yafot*" and "*Aggadot Lod*"(1958; in *Nashim Meḥakkot ba-Ḥuẓ*). A more complex and obscure variant appears as Moshe, first in *Taḥat ha-Shemesh* and in its sequel *Ki Eirom Attah* (1951).

Shamir's historical novels show a turning-point in his work. The central character did not change, but the author's attitude toward him underwent a severe crisis. The earlier unrestrained apotheosis disappeared, and instead the hero's motives were criticized. By placing him in a different historical context (Alexander Yannai of the Hasmonean era), Shamir reveals how the positive qualities of his hero – leadership and determination –lead in a dialectic manner to negative results. Alexander Yannai, himself a victor over oppression, evolves into a cruel tyrant until his brother Absalom, who had idolized him, revolts against him. Shamir also turns his attention to the psychological make-up of the ruler whose ends justify his means in the historical-biblical novel *Kivsat ha-Rash* (1956). Here, and in even a sharper manner in his play *Milḥemet Benei-Or* (1955), Shamir reaches an utter negation of hero worship, in the character of King David, who crushes Uriah in order to achieve his egotistical aims. In *Ki Eirom Attah*, a novel, his theme is the intellectual and erotic revolt of youth against the collectivist values Shamir once lauded. He sets the novel in the 1930s and takes up several problems which concerned Israel's intellectual world in the 1950s. The hero who rebels against the values of his movement reflects the Shamir of the 1950s, questioning the validity of the *sancta* of his youth.

Shamir's novel *Ha-Gevul* (1966) deals with the condition of Israeli society in the 1960s. One of the heroes of this society, Rafi Orlan, becomes tired of his style of life and finds his way into the no-man's land between Jewish and Arab Jerusalem. The novel attempts to describe the Israeli "decline" in the 1960s, the feeling of being under siege, the UN soldiers, the *nouveau riche*. Those who live on the border provide the background of the work.

Positive social themes likewise dominate Shamir's plays. Despite his questioning of the nationalist-pioneer values of his youth, in the end he reaffirms them (*Beit Hillel*, 1951; *Leil Sufah, Sof ha-Olam*, 1954; *Gam Zo le-Tovah*, 1958; *Shettei Shabbatot, Ad Or ha-Boker*). Only in two later plays, *Me-Aggadot Lod* and *Ha-Ramkol*, does he deviate from this position, both in his artistic presentation (atmospheric lyricism in lieu of naturalism) and in his ideological point of view. In two plays, *Ha-Layla la-Ish* and *Ha-Yoresh*, Shamir deals with social criticism, as he did in the novel *Ha-Gevul*.

Shamir is a romantic capable of writing on many subjects. His best works are those novels written in the naturalist genre. He depicts his stories against broad and rich backgrounds, has a keen sense of structure, and utilizes complex narrative techniques. Mythological motifs play a role in *Ki Eirom Attah*, and a vast architectural scope surrounds *Melekh Basar va-Dam* (1951). Likewise he tried his hand at epistolary technique in *Ha-Gevul*, a novel in which he also varies the narrative point of view.

Shamir began to write in a high literary style filled with pathos; his descriptions are elaborate and his dialogues contain a mixture of Arabisms and slang. *Sof ha-Olam* is also written in the dialect of Israel's various ethnic communities. In *Melekh Basar va-Dam*, he attempted to imitate the language of the Mishnah, but in *Kivsat ha-Rash* he decided against the attempt to imitate the biblical language. His dramatic abilities fall short of his narrative talents. Most of his plays are staged stories (see below) whose dramatic adaptations prevent an adequate characterization. In the two plays *Ha-Layla la-Ish* and *Ha-Yoresh* he tried to introduce modern techniques (flashbacks taken from the style of Arthur Miller and the epic sense of Berthold Brecht) without allowing these techniques to distort the subject of the drama. After the Six-Day War, Shamir turned to political endeavors through his identification with the "Greater Israel" movement. He served in the Ninth Knesset (1977–1981) as a representative of the Likud. His works, *Ḥayyai Im Ishma'el* (1968) and *Nes Lo Karah Lanu* (1968), are to be understood against this background. After the Camp David Agreement, Shamir left the Likud and was a founder of the nationalist Teḥiyyah party. In 1988 he was awarded the Israel Prize for Hebrew fiction.

His works comprise the following – Novels: *Hu Halakh ba-Sadot* (1947, appeared in four editions, and was later dramatized and performed), *Taḥat ha-Shemesh* (1950, revised edition 1956), *Bemo Yadav* (1951, five editions), *Melekh Basar va-Dam* (1954, ten editions; *The King of Flesh and Blood*, 1958), *Kivsat ha-Rash* (1957, four editions, translated into English), *Ki Eirom Attah* (1959), *Ha-Galgal ha-Ḥamishi* (1961; *The Fifth Wheel*, 1961), *Ha-Gevul* (1966); a saga of a pioneering Israel family entitled *Raḥok Mi-Peninim* – part one, *Yonah mi-Ḥaẓer Zarah* (1973), part two, *Hinomet ha-Kallah* (1984), part three, *Ad ha-Sof* (1991); plays: *Hu Halakh ba-Sadot* (1948, performed by the Cameri Theater), *Kilometer 56* (1949, performed by Orot Theater), *Beit Hillel* (1951, performed by Habimah Theater), *Sof ha-Olam* (1954, performed by Ohel Theater), *Milḥemet Benei Or* (1955, performed by the Cameri Theater), *Gam Zo le-Tovah* (1958, performed by Ohel Theater), *Ḥamishah Ma'arekhonim* (1959, performed by several groups), *Ha-Yoresh*; children's Stories: "*Yedidav ha-Gedolim shel Gadi*" (1947), "*Eḥad Efes le-Tovatenu*" (1951), "*Kullam be-Yaḥad*" (1959); miscellaneous: "*Poreẓei ha-Derekh li-Yrushalayim*" (1948), *Ad Eilat* (1950, short stories and sketches), *Nashim Meḥakkot ba-Ḥuẓ* (1952, stories), *Ha-Ḥut ha-Meshullash* (1956, stories, 3 editions), *Be-Kulmos Mahir* (1960, articles, essays, literary sketches). The 1990s saw the publication of Shamir's poems (*Kim'at Kol ha-Shirim*, 1991), collections of essays, such as *Protokol shel Mappolet* (1991), and the biography of Reuben Hecht (1994). Shamir's last work was the biographical novel titled *Yair* (2001), the life story of Avraham "Yair" Stern, the leading figure of the Leḥi underground movement, who in a way represented Shamir's historical and national world view. Translations into English include the story *Until Daybreak*, which is included in the anthology bearing this title (ed. by Amos Oz, 1984), and the play *He Walked through the Fields*, which is available also in Herbert S. Joseph (ed.), *Modern Israeli Drama* (1983).For other works in English see Goell, Bibliography, index as well as the ITHL website at www.ithl.org.il.

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[Gershon Shaked]

SHAMIR (Yazernitzki), YITZHAK (1915–), pre-state underground leader and Israeli prime minister, member of the Eighth to Thirteenth Knesset. Born in Ruzinoy, in Eastern Poland, Shamir studied at a Hebrew gymnasium in Bialystok, and was a member of the *Betar youth movement. He studied law in Warsaw, but immigrated to Palestine in 1935 before completing his studies and enrolled at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. In 1937 he joined the Irgun Ẓva'i Le'ummi (IẒL), but in 1940 was one if the members who broke away from the IẒL and joined Loḥamei Ḥerut Yisrael (Leḥi), of which he was one of the founders. The following year he was arrested by the British, but managed to escape. Following the murder of the Leḥi commander, Ya'ir *Stern in 1942, Shamir became a member of the triumvirate that led the movement, and coordinated its organizational and operational activities. As one of the leaders of Leḥi, Shamir was believed to have been connected to the decision by the organization to assassinate the British Colonial Secretary, Lord Moyne, in Cairo in November 1944 – a decision executed by two members of the Leḥi. He was arrested by the British a second time in 1946, and was sent to Eritrea, but once again managed to escape, and was granted political asylum in France. He returned to Israel upon the establishment of the State, and until 1955 engaged in trade. In 1955 he was appointed to a senior post in the Mossad, in which he served until 1965, when he returned to engage in business, and played an active role in the struggle for Soviet Jewry. In 1970 Shamir joined the Ḥerut Movement, and was elected to its executive, running the party's Immigrants Department and later its Organizational Department. In 1975 he was elected chairman of the Ḥerut Executive.

Shamir was elected to the Eighth Knesset in December 1973, and was a member of the Foreign Affairs and Defense Committee and the State Control Committee. After the elections to the Ninth Knesset in May 1977, he was elected speaker of the Knesset – the first speaker from the Likud. After the resignation of Moshe *Dayan from the government in March 1980 Shamir was appointed minister for foreign affairs in his place. He continued to serve as minister for foreign affairs in Menaḥem *Begin's second government, in the Tenth Knesset, and following Begin's resignation at the end of August 1983 was chosen as the Likud's candidate to succeed him. Shamir became prime minister in October 1983, and continued to serve simultaneously as foreign minister until September 1984. Shamir led the Likud in the elections to the Eleventh Knesset in 1984, but the election results created a stalemate between the two main parties, and a National Unity Government was established with an agreement regarding a rotation in the premiership. Thus, Labor leader Shimon *Peres served as prime minister for the first two years, with Shamir serving as vice premier and foreign minister, and from 1986 to 1988 the two switched positions. In March 1987 Shamir was formally elected as leader of the Ḥerut Movement. In May, he initiated the rejection by the government of the London Agreement, concerning the calling of an international conference on peace in the Middle East, signed between Foreign Minister Peres and King Hussein of Jordan.

Shamir led the Likud in the 1988 elections to the Twelfth Knesset, and even though he had the option to establish a narrow right-wing–religious government, preferred to establish another National Unity Government. In May 1989 – a year and a half after the outbreak of the first Intifada, he joined Minister of Defense Yitzhak *Rabin in initiating a four-part plan that included a proposal to hold elections in the West Bank and Gaza Strip, for a local Palestinian leadership with which Israel could negotiate a settlement. However, when opposition to the plan within the Likud mounted, his position hardened, and in March 1990 the Labor Party left the government and initiated a vote on a motion of no-confidence in the government that resulted in his government falling. After Peres failed to form an alternative government, Shamir formed a narrow government in June 1990. In October 1991, Shamir participated in the Madrid Conference sponsored by the U.S. and Soviet governments. However, the Conference led to the disintegration of his government, and in the elections to the Thirteenth Knesset held in 1992 the Likud, once again led by Shamir, lost. Shamir did not resign from the Knesset, but in March 1993 Binyamin *Netanyahu was elected as chairman of the Likud. Shamir did not run in the elections to the Fourteenth Knesset, and became increasingly critical of Netanyhu's leadership and his having signed the Hebron and Wye River Agreements with the Palestinians.

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[Susan Hattis Rolef (2nd ed.)]

SHAMMAH (Heb. שַׁמָּה; alternatively, שִׁמְעָא, שִׁמְעִי, שִׁמְעָה), the name of a number of biblical figures.

(1) An Edomite chief, the son of Reuel, and the grandson of Esau (Gen. 36:13, 17; I Chron. 1:37).

(2) The third son of Jesse (I Sam. 16:9; 17:13). He is referred to as Shimeah in II Samuel 13:3, where he is identified as the father of Jonadab, and as Shimei in II Samuel 21:21, where he is identified as the father of Jonathan, David's giant-killing warrior. I Chronicles 2:13 and 20:7 refer to him as Shimea. In the latter verse he is identified again as the father of Jonathan.

(3) The son of Agee, Hararite, one of the three mighty men of David who single-handedly defeated the Philistines when they attempted to invade a field of lentils (II Sam. 23:11–12). The parallel passage in I Chronicles 11:12–14 has "barley" for "lentils," and wrongly attributes the feat to Eleazar.

(4) A Harodite, one of the mighty men of David known as the "thirty" (II Sam. 23:25), who is probably identical with the son of Agee, mentioned above.

[Shlomo Balter]

SHAMMAI (**Ha-Zaken**, i.e., **The Elder**; c. 50 B.C.E.–c. 30 C.E.), one of the *Zugot*, the leaders of the Sanhedrin. Hillel's first colleague was *Menahem the Essene and Shammai was appointed to succeed him as **av bet din* when he retired. Nothing is known of the early life of Shammai except for the statement that he was a builder by occupation (Shab. 31a). Shammai was the founder of the great school which, called after him, was known as Bet Shammai. In general Bet Shammai took up a stringent attitude as compared with the lenient one of its counterpart *Bet Hillel. Shammai himself, however, did not always adopt a stringent line, and of some 20 *halakhot* transmitted in his name, he adopts a stringent view in about two-thirds of the cases, while in the other third he takes the lenient view.

Other Halakhot

On five topics, most of which deal with levitical cleanness and uncleanness, Shammai, adopting a more stringent approach, disagreed with both Bet Hillel and Bet Shammai (Eduy. 1, 7–8, 10–11), but in one detail of the *halakhot* of cleanness and uncleanness he took a lenient view contrary to the opinion of Bet Shammai and in accordance with that of Bet Hillel (Or. II, 12). Against the view of the other sages, Shammai held that he who appoints an agent to kill a person is himself liable (Kid. 43a citing in the name of the prophet Haggai, a tradition based on Nathan holding David responsible for the death of Uriah). Shammai wished to insist on his minor son fasting on the Day of Atonement "but they ordered him to feed him with his own hand" (Tosef. Yoma 4 (5):2). He also acted against the view of the sages when, his daughter-in-law having on Sukkot given birth to a male child, "he broke away the roof plastering and put a sukkah-covering over the bed for the sake of the child" (Suk. 2:8). On the other hand he adopted a lenient view on two cases: in his opinion an offensive war and a siege begun three days before the Sabbath were not to be interrupted on that day, and though one was forbidden to set out on a long voyage in the Mediterranean Sea less than three days before the Sabbath, a short one could be undertaken even on the eve of the Sabbath. Shammai wanted to declare that a field improved during the Sabbatical Year was not to be sown in its eighth year, but he did not do so because "the times were not free" (or poor) and "only a *bet din* after him issued a decree about it" (Tosef. Shev. 3, 10). Many of Shammai's *halakhot* appear to be based on the literal interpretation of the biblical text, yet it is difficult to detect a consistent line in his *halakhot*, most of which deal with the laws of levitical cleanness and uncleanness. Despite his reputation for irascibility, Shammai's dictum was "Make your study of the Torah a matter of established regularity, say little and do much, and receive all men with a friendly countenance" (Avot, 1, 15).

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[Moshe David Herr]

SHAMMASH (Heb. שַׁמָּשׁ), salaried beadle or sexton in the community, the synagogue, rabbinical court, or a *ḥevrah*. A *shammash* performed a number of functions varying in accordance with the measure of autonomy or the nature of the religious institutions he served: tax collector, bailiff, process server, secretary, messenger, almoner, all-around handyman, grave digger, or notary. He sometimes acted as *shulklaper*, knocking on window shutters with a mallet to summon Jews to prayer, to announce the arrival of the Sabbath, or to waken people for pre-dawn penitential services. By signing the minutes of the *kahal* or of an association, he testified to their correctness. In Vilna he had to take an oath that he would strictly observe and enforce the communal statutes. He often acted as a diplomat or was sent as an envoy to another community. The *ḥevra kaddisha* of 19th-century Russian communities sometimes employed an *oylem shamash* to run errands. Along with the rabbi and cantor, the *shammash* was one of the three employees who received a regular salary and shared in the income from fees and largesse distributed at weddings or other festive occasions. He also supervised the local institutions, whether synagogue, **hekdesh*, or association. In larger towns there was a variety of specialized functionaries by that name. In the *ḥevra* the term *shammash* was used to denote the period of apprenticeship served by a new member.

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[Isaac Levitats]

SHAMOSH, YIZ̤ḤAK (1912–1968), Syrian author and translator. He practiced law in *Aleppo and *Damascus, edited *Le Commerce du Levant*, and contributed to literary periodicals in *Egypt and the Levant. After settling in Palestine in 1937, he taught Arabic at the Hebrew University and held high posts in Israel's Broadcasting Authority and Ministry of Justice. He was an expert on the modern Arabic short story and the literature of the Arabic diaspora in the U.S.

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[Shmuel Moreh]

SHAMRI, ARIE (1907–1978), Yiddish poet. Born into a pious family in Kaluszyn, Poland, Shamri early came under the influence of the Zionist ideology of *Ha-Shomer ha-Z̤a'ir and immigrated to Palestine in 1929, joining kibbutz *Ein Shemer, from which he derived his new name. Beginning in 1936 his poetry appeared in the Warsaw weekly *Literarishe Bleter* and other Yiddish journals. His first book to be translated was the Hebrew translation (by A. *Shlonsky) of *Lamed-vav Shirim al Lezer Tsipres* ("36 Poems about Leyzer Tsipres," 1939). After the Holocaust Shamri's poetry, filled with love for nature, displays a renewed identification with the ḥasidic world of his Polish childhood. Among the collections of his poems are *In Toyer fun Teg* ("In the Gate of the Days," 1947), *A Shtern in Feld* ("A Star in the Field," 1957), and *Gezangen in Shayer* ("Songs in the Barn," 1970). In 1983 his essays were collected in the volume *Aynzamlung* ("Gathering"). From 1966 he headed the Tel Aviv publishing house Yisroel–Bukh and among others he edited and published there *Vortslen* ("Roots," 1966), an anthology of prose and verse by Israeli Yiddish writers.

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[Sol Liptzin]

SHAMSKY, ARTHUR LOUIS (**Art**; 1941–), U.S. baseball player, member of the 1969 champion New York Mets. Born in St. Louis, Shamsky began his professional career in 1960 by hitting a home run in his first at-bat playing for Geneva in the New York Penn League. He made his Major League debut with Cincinnati on April 17, 1965. An outfielder with a sweet left-handed stroke, Shamsky hit 21 home runs in only 96 games the following season while platooning against right-handed pitchers, with four HRs coming in consecutive at-bats on August 12–14 to tie the record. His bat was sent to Cooperstown. After being traded to the Mets on November 8, 1967, Shamsky became a hero to New York's Jewish community when he hit .300 with 14 HRs and 47 RBIs as the cleanup-hitting fourth outfielder and left-handed pinch hitter for the 1969 championship team. Like other Jewish players before him, Shamsky refused to play in a Yom Kippur doubleheader that season. His seven hits in 13 at-bats led all batters in the NL Championship Series sweep against Atlanta. The following season, Shamsky hit.293 and registered career-highs in games (122), hits (118), runs (48), and RBIs (49). He remained with the Mets until 1972, when he played in a total of 22 games for the Chicago Cubs and Oakland A's before back problems forced his retirement. His lifetime numbers were .253 in 665 games, with 68 HRs, 194 runs, and 233 RBIs. After retiring Shamsky worked as a sports broadcaster on radio and television for eight years, and was a radio & television announcer for the New York Mets from 1979 to 1981. He is the author of *The Magnificent Seasons* (2004).

[Elli Wohlgelernter (2nd ed.)]

SHANDLING, GARRY (1949–), U.S. comedian-actor. Shandling was born in Chicago, Ill., and moved with his family to Tucson, Arizona, for the health of his older brother Barry, who later died from cystic fibrosis. Growing up, Shandling was a fan of comedy, often watching *The Tonight Show* and Woody Allen films. After graduating from Palo Verde High School, Shandling went on to study electrical engineering and then marketing at the University of Arizona. However, he was more interested in writing jokes than taking notes in class. After completing his bachelor's degree, he remained at his alma mater for postgraduate work in creative writing. After meeting George Carlin following a Tucson performance and getting positive feedback from some material he had written, Shandling moved to Los Angeles in 1973. He wrote scripts for *Sanford and Son* (1972–77), *Welcome Back, Kotter* (1975–79) and *Three's Company* (1977–84). In 1977, a freak traffic accident left him with a crushed spleen and other serious injuries. As he recovered, he vowed to become a vegetarian, take up exercise, and try his hand at stand-up comedy. In 1978, he made his first stand-up appearance at a Comedy Store amateur night. He continued to work on his stand-up routine, which featured self-deprecating humor about his appearance and his inadequacies with women. On March 18, 1981, he made his first appearance on Johnny Carson's *Tonight Show*, a major break that aided his stand-up career. In 1984, Shandling wrote and starred in *Garry Shandling Alone in Vegas* for Showtime. Two years later, he had parlayed multiple appearances on *The Tonight Show* into a permanent guest host spot, but later turned it down to focus on his Showtime sitcom spoof, *It's Garry Shandling's Show* (1986–90), which was later rebroadcast on the FOX network. Like his sitcom lampoon, his next series, HBO's popular *The Larry Sanders Show* (1992–98), ridiculed television talk shows. In 1993, Shandling turned down a $5 million offer from NBC to take over *Late Night* from David Letterman, who had moved to CBS. Shandling made his first feature film appearance with a cameo in *The Night We Never Met* (1993), which he followed with a supporting role in *Love Affair* (1994) and a dramatic part as a Hollywood producer in *Hurlyburly* (1998). He co-wrote and starred in the feature comedy *What Planet Are You From?* (2000), and in 2004 he hosted the Primetime Emmy Awards. In 2006, he joined an all-star cast to voice the animated film *Over the Hedge*.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: "Shandling, Garry," in: *Newsmakers*, Issue 4 (1995); "Shandling, Garry," in: *Contemporary Authors* (2003); "What Planet Is Garry Shandling From?" in: *Jewish Journal* (March 3, 2000).

[Adam Wills (2nd ed.)]

SHANGHAI, port in Kiangsu province, E. China. It was opened to foreign trade in 1843. A flourishing foreign community developed there, including Jews of various nationalities. They were mostly Sephardim from Baghdad, Bombay, and Cairo, including such well-known families as *Sassoon, *Kadoorie, Hardoon, *Ezra, Shamoon, and Baroukh. There were three synagogues in Shanghai, and between 1904 and 1939, 12 Jewish magazines in English, German, and Russian were founded there. The leading one was *Israel's Messenger*, a Zionist monthly established in 1904 by N.E.B. Ezra and published until his death in 1936. Before World War I the Jewish population numbered around 700, with 400 Sephardim of Baghdad origin, 250 Europeans, and 50 Americans. Most of them were engaged in commerce, while a few were in the diplomatic service and in medicine or teaching. Their number was substantially increased to around 25,000, first by Jews from Russia fleeing from the 1917 Revolution, then between 1932 and 1940 by refugees from Nazism in Germany and German occupied countries who found out that they could enter the free port of Shanghai without visas. The Japanese closed Shanghai to further immigration and after the outbreak of the Pacific war in December 1941 they deported to Shanghai most of the Jews living in Japan or in transit to other countries. Substantial aid was given locally, especially by Sir Victor Sassoon, Horace Kadoorie, and Paul Komor. Additional funds came from abroad. With the outbreak of the Pacific war, the position of all Jews became desperate. Most of them were kept in semi-internment under miserable conditions in the *Hongkew district, subject to the whim of the Japanese occupation forces. They had great difficulty in finding employment, and most of their property was confiscated under one pretext or another. Almost all of them left Shanghai after World War II, largely with American help, for Israel, the United States, or other parts of the world. A few elderly people remained to live out their days under the Chinese Communists.

Hebrew Printing

Apart from J.J. Sulaiman's *Kunteres Seder ha-Dorot* (1921), the main period of Hebrew printing in Shanghai was during World War II and immediately after (1940–46), when remnants of Lithuanian yeshivot (Mir, Slobodka), as well as Lubavitch Ḥasidim, found refuge in Shanghai and printed – mostly photostatically – rabbinic, ethical, and ḥasidic works in limited editions for their own use. To the 80 items enumerated by Z. Harkavy (in *Ha-Sefer*, no. 9, 1961, 52–3; *Hashlamot le-Mafte'aḥ ha-Mafteḥot* (by S. Shunami, 1966), 3–4) have to be added – at least – the above work by J.J. Sulaiman and S. Elberg's *Akedat Treblinka* (Yid., 1946). Hebrew newspapers were printed in Shanghai as early as 1904.

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[Rudolf Loewenthal]

SHANKER, ALBERT (1928–1997), U.S. labor leader. Shanker, who was born in New York City, taught in the New York City public school system from 1952 to 1959, when he resigned to become a trade union organizer for the city's teachers. Elected president of the 55,000-member United Federation of Teachers (UFT) in 1964, Shanker, as the teachers' legal bargaining agent, led the UFT in winning considerable improvements for teachers and assurances of more effective teaching methods in slum schools.

His most serious problem as UFT head resulted from the partial implementation of a school decentralization plan, which would have placed teachers under the control of 30 elected local school boards. The attempt by the administrator of one black and Puerto Rican "demonstration district" to remove union teachers – all of whom were Jews – from his district precipitated three city-wide school strikes which virtually closed New York City public schools in September and October 1968; the large majority of the teachers in the city system were Jewish. Charges and countercharges of racism and antisemitism and violent tactics by black militants in some areas profoundly disturbed New York City Jews and exacerbated race relations (see *Black-Jewish Relations in the U.S.). The strike settlement was a clear victory for the union, addressing its main points.

From 1974 until his death Shanker served as president of the American Federation of Teachers, and retained his presidency of the UFT until 1986. He was vice president of the AFL-CIO Central Labor Council of New York City, and the Jewish Labor Committee. From 1970 to 1997 he had a column in the *New York Times* entitled "Where We Stand," which dealt with topics relating to education, labor, and current events.

The Albert Shanker Institute in Washington, D.C., established in 1998 in his honor, is a nonprofit organization dedicated to generating ideas and promoting policy proposals relating to children's education; unions as advocates for quality; and freedom of association in the public life of democracies.

ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY: D. Mungazi, *Where He Stands: Albert Shanker of the American Federation of Teachers* (1995); AFT's *American Teacher* (April 1997).

SHANKMAN, JACOB K. (1904–1986), U.S. Reform rabbi. Born in Chelsea, Massachusetts, Shankman, a boy prodigy, entered Harvard University at the age of 14 and graduated by 1923. He received his M.A. in 1925 at the age of 21. He was ordained at Hebrew Union College in 1930. He was then appointed to the Third Street Temple, Troy, New York, and in 1937 to Temple Israel, New Rochelle, where he was awarded life tenure and remained as rabbi until 1974 and then as rabbi emeritus. During 1943–46 he served as a chaplain with the U.S. Navy. Under his leadership the temple flourished and drew many Jews, moved to Westchester County, and became the preeminent Reform Congregation of the county. A new building was erected in the early 1960s. Not content with local leadership alone, Shankman served on the Hebrew Union College board of governors (1952–59) and was president of its alumni association (1958–59). Apart from rabbinic and civic bodies in the New York area, Shankman's principal public activity was with the World Union for Progressive Judaism. He was its American director from 1957 to 1964; chairman of the World Executive Committee from 1959; and president of the organization in 1964–1970

[Sefton D. Temkin / Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

SHANKS, HERSHEL (1930–), U.S. lawyer, author, and editor, particularly of archaeological materials. Shanks was born in Sharon, Pennsylvania, a small town on the Ohio border. He graduated from Haverford College (B.A. in English), Columbia University (M.A. in sociology), and Harvard Law School (LL.B.). He then joined the U.S. Justice Department, where he handled cases in the United States Courts of Appeal and the Supreme Court. Thereafter he practiced law privately in Washington for more than 25 years, often establishing important precedents in the law. He wrote widely in legal journals and published a book on a great American jurist, entitled *The Art and Craft of Judging: The Opinions of Judge Learned Hand*. Although he had never formally studied the Bible or archaeology, he published his first book related to these subjects, *The City of David – A Guide to Biblical Jerusalem*, during a sojourn in Jerusalem in 1972–73. On his return to the United States, while continuing to practice law, Shanks founded *Biblical Archaeology Review* (BAR), which began as a 16-page pamphlet written entirely by himself; in the early 2000s the magazine had over a quarter of a million readers. Almost all major scholars in Bible and archaeology have published articles in BAR, in which they often explore fresh perspectives for a non-scholarly audience. BAR is known especially for exploring controversies in the world of biblical archaeology, with the editor often taking his own strong stand. Shanks founded two other magazines, *Bible Review* in 1985 and *Archaeology Odyssey* in 2000. For over 15 years, beginning in 1987, he also served as editor of *Moment*, a Jewish magazine founded by Elie Wiesel and Leonard Fein, and edited by Fein for 12 years before Shanks became editor.

Shanks is the author of a number of books including *Judaism in Stone – The Story of Ancient Synagogues* (1979), *Jerusalem – An Archaeological Biography* (1995), *The Mystery and Meaning of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (1998), *The Brother of Jesus* (with Ben Witherington III, 2003), and *Solomon's Temple – Myth or Reality? A History of Jerusalem's Temple Mount* (2006). His articles and reviews have appeared in scholarly journals such as the *Israel Exploration Journal*, the *Jewish Quarterly Review*, and the *Harvard Law Review*. Literally hundreds of his articles have appeared in the magazines he has edited. He is also the editor of two widely used textbooks: *Ancient Israel – From Abraham to the Roman Destruction of the Temple* (rev. ed. 1999) and *Christianity and Rabbinic Judaism* (1988). His many newspaper and magazine articles have appeared in the *New York Times*, the *Washington Post*, the *Wall Street Journal*, *Commentary* and *The American Scholar*.

[Shimon Gibson (2nd ed.)]

SHAPERO, HAROLD (**Samuel**; 1920–), U.S. composer and pianist. Born in Lynn, Massachusetts, Shapero studied the piano with Eleanor Kerr and composition with Sergey Slonimsky (1936–37), Ernst Krenek (1937), Walter Piston (1938–41), Paul Hindemith (1940–41), and Nadia Boulanger (1942–3). During the 1940s Shapero had associations with Arthur *Berger, Irving Fine, and Leonard *Bernstein, who conducted the première of his symphony in 1948 and recorded it in 1954. Together with them, he formed Brandeis University's first music department, where Shapero taught for over 30 years, eventually appointed professor of music in 1952 and founding and directing its electronic music studio. Among his students were Joel Spiegelman, Richard *Wernick, David Epstein, and Sheila Silver. Shapero wrote orchestral works, piano, and chamber music, in which traditional forms are combined with dodecaphonic techniques. His works earned a series of awards, including the Prix de Rome (1941) and a Naumburg Fellowship (1942). His compositions include *Symphony for Classical Orchestra* (1948); *Credo* for orchestra (1955); a Hebrew cantata *Until Day and Night Shall Cease* (1954), commissioned by the American Jewish Tercentenary Committee;

and *Three Hebrew Songs* for tenor, piano and string orchestra (1988): *They Who Sow at Night* (S. Shalom), *Eagle! Eagle Over Your Mountains* (S. Tchernikowsky), *Will There Yet Come Days of Forgiveness* (L. Goldberg). As a pianist, he gave the premières of his keyboard and chamber works, also recording a number of them.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Grove Music Online.

[Israela Stein (2nd ed.)]

SHAPERO, NATE S. (1892–1990), U.S. business executive. Shapero's business career in his native Detroit made him one of the leading men in the pharmaceutical industry and a director of the National Bank of Detroit. Shapero served in the U.S. Navy during World War I and as a dollar-a-year-man in the U.S. Treasury Department during World War II. Actively participating in many civic and charitable undertakings in his hometown, he was also intensely interested in Jewish institutions, including Israel's Weizmann Institute, Brandeis University, Sinai Hospital, and Temple Beth El of Detroit. He was president and honorary chairman of the board of Cunningham Drug Stores; chairman of the board of Marshall Drug Company and Broward Drug Company; president of the Michigan Association of Chain Drug Stores and of the Michigan Welfare Commission. He and his wife, Ruth, donated funds to endow the museum at Temple Beth El and the nursing school of Sinai Hospital, which later became a part of Wayne State University.

SHAPHAN (Heb. שָׁפָן; "rock badger, hyrax, coney"), son of Azaliah, Josiah's scribe and the head of one of the most influential and pro-Babylonian families in the last days of Judah (II Kings 22:3). Shaphan was one of the messengers sent by the king to the prophetess Huldah concerning the finding of the new book in the Temple (II Kings 22:14; see *Deuteronomy). Later, his sons were supporters of the prophet Jeremiah. One of them, *Ahikam, used his influence to save *Jeremiah from death when the latter prophesied the destruction of Jerusalem (Jer. 26:24). A second son, *Elasah, one of the men sent to Babylon by Zedekiah, took Jeremiah's letter to the elders in exile (Jer. 29:3). Mention is made of two or more sons of Shaphan, *Jaazaniah and *Gemariah. Jaazaniah is only mentioned among the elders in Jerusalem seen by Ezekiel in a vision in Ezekiel 8:11. The information about Gemariah is more definite. It was in his chamber at the Temple gate that the scribe Baruch read Jeremiah's scroll "to the people" in the reign of Jehoiakim (Jer. 36:10ff.). Shaphan's son Micaiah was present, but he himself was sitting with other officials in conference. Apprised by Micaiah, they warned Baruch to go into hiding with Jeremiah, and they later pleaded with the king not to burn the scroll. The family's sympathy with the prophet was further evidenced by the fact that Jeremiah was put under the guardianship of Shaphan's grandson, Ahikam's son *Gedaliah, who was appointed governor of Judah by the Neo-Babylonian captors of Jerusalem (Jer. 39:14; 40:5).

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[Yuval Kamrat]

SHAPIRA (**Spira**), ḥasidic family known as the Munkacs dynasty; named after the town of Munkacs (Mukachevo), the seat of the dynasty. Its founder, SOLOMON SHAPIRA (1832–1893), was born in Ribatic near Peremyshlyany, Galicia, the son of Eliezer Shapira of Lancut and grandson of Zevi Elimelech *Dynow. A disciple of Ḥayyim *Halberstam of Zanz, he also visited the ḥasidic rabbis of Ropczyce (Ropshits), Rymanow, Ruzhyn, and Belz. He held rabbinical posts at Sasov, Stryzow, Lancut, and Tarnogrod, and in 1881 was appointed rabbi of Munkacs. He was succeeded by his son ẒEVI HIRSCH (1850–1913), who was born at Stryzow and with his father settled in Munkacs. He was a disciple of Ḥayyim Halberstam of Zanz and of Ezekiel of Sieniawa. Until 1893 he headed the *bet din* in Munkacs; from that year, when his father died, he became rabbi of the town. Like his predecessors, he was also a ḥasidic *ẓaddik*. Under him Munkacs became an important center of Ḥasidism. He was an active member of the committee of Orthodox rabbis of Hungary. Toward the end of his life, he opposed the efforts of the German Orthodox sector to associate the Hungarian Orthodox in founding *Agudat Israel, through whose influence the leaders of German Orthodoxy sought to strengthen the religious elements in Germany. Ẓevi Shapira, however, feared that a close collaboration would result in a weakening of Orthodoxy in Hungary. Although he appreciated the efforts of the German Orthodox to strengthen their ranks, he did not wish to see what he regarded as their liberal way of life penetrate to Hungary. He was active in strengthening traditional education and objected to the compulsory attendance by Jewish children in the general schools. He also opposed the special schools which had been established in several communities so that Jewish youth should not have to attend school on Sabbath, and called upon his Ḥasidim not to send their children to them. Ẓevi Hirsch was an authority in both the *halakhah* and mystic spheres.

His most important works are *Darkhei Teshuvah* on the Shulḥan Arukh, *Yoreh De'ah* (1893), *Ẓevi Tiferet* (1912), responsa, and *Be'er Laḥai Ro'i* (1903–21), on the *Tikkunei Zohar*, one of the most noteworthy commentaries on this difficult work. The author attempts to present "the simple meaning of the secrets." Ẓevi Hirsch regarded it as his most notable work, even though his *Darkhei Teshuvah* was acclaimed by the leading rabbinical authorities.

Ẓevi Hirsch was succeeded by his son ḤAYYIM ELEAZAR SHAPIRA (1872–1937), rabbi of Munkacs from 1913 and ḥasidic *ẓaddik*. He succeeded in combining talmudic dialectics with the ability to reach halakhic decisions and a wide knowledge of Kabbalah and ḥasidic learning. He had many admirers and many opponents, and exercised great influence over the rabbis of Hungary even after Munkacs (Mukachevo) had passed to Czechoslovakia. Of lively temperament, he intervened in communal affairs beyond his community, and was even more adamant than his ancestors in opposing all innovation. An extremist opponent of Zionism, *Mizrachi, and *Agudat Israel, he regarded every organization engaged in the colonization of

Ereẓ Israel to be inspired by heresy and atheism. Redemption was to be a miraculous phenomenon, and any natural activity – political or colonizing – was liable to lead to a holocaust. He opposed the *Balfour Declaration. On the other hand, he supported the "old *yishuv*" and was the president of the *Kolel* Munkacs in Jerusalem. In 1930 he visited Palestine, where he met and encouraged the anti-Zionist elements. His Ḥasidim viewed this journey as an apocalyptical act.

After the example of his father, he called for the maintenance of traditional education and for its financial support. He opposed the Hebrew schools which were established in eastern Czechoslovakia between the two world wars, and condemned the Hebrew secondary school of his town. His struggles were not only ideological, and he occasionally became involved in local disputes with rival *ẓaddikim*, waging a campaign of many years with the *ẓaddik* of *Belz, Issachar Dov Roke'aḥ, who lived in Mukachevo from 1918 to 1921. His works include *Minḥat Elazar*, responsa (1–4, 1902–30); *Divrei Kodesh*, sermons (1933); *Ḥamishah Ma'amarot* (1922); and *Sefer Mashmi'a Yeshu'ah* (1919, 1956). Ḥayyim Eleazar's son-in-law JOSHUA JERAHMEEL RABINOWICZ (1913–), son of Rabbi Nathan David of Parczew, became rabbi of Ḥolon in Israel.

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[Efraim Gottlieb]

SHAPIRA, ABRAHAM (1870–1965), one of the first Jewish *Shomerim* ("Watchmen") in Ereẓ Israel. Born in Novaya Mikhailovka, southern Russia, Shapira was taken to Ereẓ Israel at the age of ten; his family lived first in Jerusalem and later in *Petaḥ Tikvah. From his youth he displayed outstanding courage and was held in awe by the local Arabs. In 1890 he was appointed head of the *Shomerim* in Petaḥ Tikvah and enlisted the aid of the local Bedouin and the young Jewish settlers. As part of the general arrests made after the Turkish discovery of *Nili during World War I, Shapira was deported to Damascus to stand military trial, but he was acquitted and drafted into the Turkish army in Istanbul. Afterward, he took part in the defense of Petaḥ Tikvah against Arab attack in May 1921 and was among the initiators of the peace ceremony between the settlement and its Arab neighbors. Shapira often served in the role of negotiator in the quarrels between Jews and their *Shomerim* and served as honorary president of the Association of Jewish *Shomerim*. Shapira, a colorful, romantic figure, was beloved by all who knew him. Chaim Weizmann wrote about him in *Trial and Error*:

> He was a primitive person, spoke better Arabic than Hebrew, and seemed so much a part of the rocks and stony hillsides of the country that it was difficult to believe that he had been born in Russia. Here was a man who in his own lifetime had bridged a gap of thousands of years; who, once in Palestine, had shed his Galuth environment like an old coat….

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[Yehuda Slutsky]

SHAPIRA, AVRAHAM ELKANA KAHANA (1917–), Israeli religious leader and former chief rabbi. Shapira was born in Jerusalem, where he studied at Yeshivat Eẓ Ḥayyim and then at Hevron Yeshivah under Rabbi Moses Mordechai Epstein and Rabbi Ezekiel Sarna. After his marriage, Shapira was invited to teach at the Merkaz ha-Rav Yeshivah, where he remained for over 50 years. In his youth, he was friendly with Avraham Yeshayahu Karelitz (the Ḥazon Ish), Ẓevi Pesaḥ Frank, Isaac Zev Soloveitchik, and Isser Zalman Meltzer. In 1956, he was appointed to the Rabbinic *Bet Din* in Jerusalem. In 1974, he joined the High Rabbinic Court, joining the Rabbinic Council of the Chief Rabbinate in 1980. Three years later he was elected Ashkenazi chief rabbi, serving until the end of his term in 1993.

In 1982, after the death of Rabbi Ẓevi Judah Kook, son of the founder of Merkaz ha-Rav, the venerated Rabbi Abraham Isaac ha-Kohen Kook, a power struggle ensued over the post of *rosh yeshivah*. In the end, Shapira was named the *rosh yeshivah* at Merkaz ha-Rav, as opposed to Rav Ẓevi Tau. The tension between them continued with the appointment of Shapira's son as the executive director of the yeshivah and was further exacerbated by Shapira's emphasis on teaching more Talmud and less Bible and Jewish thought at the yeshivah. The bubble finally burst in 1997, when Shapira decided to allow Merkaz ha-Rav students to attend courses at the yeshivah leading to a teaching certificate. Tau, along with a number of other teachers and a good number of students, broke away from Merkaz ha-Rav and formed his own yeshivah, Har ha-Mor.

During his term as chief rabbi and afterwards as well, Shapira, together with his colleague, Chief Rabbi Mordechai *Eliyahu, became the spiritual leader of the religious Zionist camp in Israel. Thus, for over 20 years, he spoke out on political and social issues of concern to religious Zionism. During the events leading up to the Israeli government's disengagement from Gaza in 2005, Shapira was a vocal opponent of the removal of the Jews from their homes and the uprooting of Jewish communities in Gaza. Shapira even issued a halakhic decision forbidding IDF soldiers from obeying commands to participate in the actual disengagement. Of the hundreds of religious soldiers that participated in the removal of the Jews, fewer than 40 refused to obey their officers' commands.

Shapira's first published work was *Zekher Yiẓḥak*, an edition of the responsa of Isaac Jacob Rabinowitz of Ponevezh (1948). In 1989, his collected lectures on the Talmud, *Shi'urei Maran ha-Gaon Rav Avraham Shapira*, appeared in six volumes. From 1990 to 2003, three volumes of Shapira's essays were published, titled *Minḥat Avraham*. *Morashah*, a further collection of essays, appeared in 2005.

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[David Derovan (2nd ed.)]

SHAPIRA, ELIJAH BEN BENJAMIN WOLF (1660–1712), rabbi, preacher, and halakhist. Elijah studied under his grandfather, Aaron Simeon Shapira, and Abraham Abele *Gombiner. He was the brother-in-law of Jacob *Reischer and of David *Oppenheim. He served as rabbi in Kolin, Bohemia, and from 1702 in Tiktin, resigning this post when he was appointed head of the yeshivah and preacher in his native Prague (though according to some he continued to act as rabbi of Tiktin while in Prague).

Elijah gained renown through his works: *Eliyahu Zuta*, a short commentary on the *Levush* of Mordecai b. Abraham *Jaffe, published with the text (Prague, 1689); *Eliyahu Rabbah*, a more extensive and profound commentary to the same work, published with the Shulḥan Arukh, *Oraḥ Ḥayyim* (Sulzbach, 1757), to which it served as a kind of supplement; *Shishah Shitot me-Ḥiddushei Eliyyah Rabbah* on the tractates *Ketubbot, Kiddushin, Gittin, Bava Kamma. Bava Batra, and Ḥullin*, published in Zurich in 1768. Many of his other works – sermons, novellae, and responsa which had remained in manuscript – were destroyed in the great fire of Prague in 1754.

Shapira died in Prague; his sons were Aryeh Leib, rabbi of Leipen, and Samuel, head of the Prague *bet din*.

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[Itzhak Alfassi]

SHAPIRA, ḤAYYIM MOSHE (1902–1970), Israeli politician; leader of the National Religious Party. Born in Grodno, Belorussia, Shapira from his youth was imbued with a religious Zionist spirit. He was active in organizing the Ẓe'irei ha-Mizrachi movement and did much for the *aliyah* of religious *ḥalutzim* to Ereẓ Israel. After moving to Warsaw he became one of the leaders of the organization. Afterward he went to Berlin and studied at the Hildesheimer Rabbinical Seminary. In Berlin Shapira also became the leader of Ẓe'irei ha-Miẓrachi and was sent as a delegate to the 14th *Zionist Congress (1925). From that time on he attended all Zionist Congresses and was also elected to the Zionist General Council as a representative of *Ha-Po'el ha-Mizrachi. Shapira settled in Palestine in 1925 and became a central figure in his movement and in Mizrachi. In 1935 he was elected as an alternate member and then a full member of the Zionist Executive and served on it until the establishment of the State of Israel as head of the Immigration (*aliyah*) Department.

Shapira made several visits to Jewish centers around the world and in 1938, after the Anschluss of Austria, he went to Vienna on a mission to organize the rescue of Jews and facilitate their migration to Ereẓ Israel. In the 1940s, during the struggle against British policy in Palestine, Shapira played an important role in preventing fratricidal conflicts between the *Haganah and *Irgun Ẓeva'i Le'ummi. In 1948, he was appointed a member of the People's Council (Mo'eẓet ha-Am) and of the Provisional Government of the State of Israel as minister of immigration and of health, in which capacity he organized the mass immigration that began during the *War of Independence. On the eve of the elections to the first *Knesset (1949), Shapira was among the initiators of the "United Religious Front" and was elected on its behalf as a member of the first cabinet. In 1957, when a grenade was thrown in the Knesset, Shapira was seriously wounded. His life was in danger, and he was then given the additional name of Ḥayyim (in accordance with traditional Jewish custom). He served in almost all governments – as minister of immigration, health (1948–49 and 1961–65), the interior (1949–52 and 1959–70), and religious affairs and social welfare (1952–58). On the eve of the *Six-Day War (1967), he played an important role in establishing the government of national unity. At the 21st world conference of the Mizrachi and Ha-Po'el ha-Mizrachi in 1968, Shapira was elected president of its world center.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: D. Lazar, *Rashim be-Yisrael*, 2 (1955), 33–38.

[Itzhak Goldshlag]

SHAPIRA, ḤAYYIM NACHMAN (1895–1943), critic of Hebrew literature. Born in Minsk, Russia, he was a lecturer in Semitic languages at the University of Kovno from 1925 to 1940 and was also an active Zionist. During the Nazi occupation, he furthered cultural activity in the Kovno ghetto, and was killed along with his wife, his mother, and his only child. A student of the German school of aesthetics of the 1920s, he sought to introduce this discipline into the analytical study of Hebrew literature. Shapira published stories and articles, especially in *Gilyonot, Haolam*, and *Moznayim*. During the last years of his life, he worked on his magnum opus, *Toledot ha-Sifrut ha-Ivrit ha-Ḥadashah* ("A History of Modern Hebrew Literature"), which was to consist of 12 volumes. Only one volume was published dealing with the Haskalah in central Germany (1784–1829). In it, he stresses the ideological direction of the beginnings of modern Hebrew literature, viewing it as a product of the secular "this-worldly" attitude of the enlightened. At the same time, he places Hebrew literature within the context of the aesthetic theory of the Enlightenment, offering some fine insights into its artistic aspects. A reprint of this volume appeared in 1967, with the addition of a biographical essay by Benzion Benshalom. The manuscript of the second volume, which dealt with Hebrew literature in Galicia and Lithuania, was destroyed in the ghetto.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Kressel, Leksikon, 2 (1967), 968–9.

[Getzel Kressel]

SHAPIRA, JOSHUA ISAAC BEN JEHIEL (d. 1873), rabbi and talmudist. Known as Eizel Ḥarif ("sharp") because he was one of the keenest intellects and most outstanding pilpulists of his day, he was *av bet din* successively at Kalvarija, Kutno, Tiktin, and, finally, Slonim.

Shapira was the author of (1) *Emek Yehoshua* (1942), in two parts: part 1 – 24 responsa on the Shulḥan Arukh; part 2 – 16 occasional homilies; (2) *Naḥalat Yehoshu'a* (1851), in two parts: part 1 – responsa on several *halakhot* and various subjects in the Babylonian and Jerusalem Talmuds; part 2 – Sabbath and festival homilies, and, at the end, a eulogy on his father; (3) *No'am Yerushalmi*, commentary and glosses on the Jerusalem Talmud – on *Zera'im* (1863), *Mo'ed* (1866), *Nashim* (1868), *Nezikin* (1869); (4) *Ibbei ha-Naḥal* (1855?), homilies; (5) *Sefat ha-Naḥal* (1859), homilies and comments on *aggadot* in the Babylonian and Jerusalem Talmuds; (6) *Aẓat Yehoshu'a* (1868), commentary on the questions asked by the "sages of Athens" (Bek. 8b); (7) *Marbeh Eẓah* (1870), commentary on the aggadic statements of Rabbah bar Ḥana; (8) *Marbeh Tevunah* (1872), on the basic principles of the Babylonian and Jerusalem Talmuds. Shapira was one of the few scholars in his generation who attached as much value to the Jerusalem Talmud as to the Babylonian, a fact amply reflected in his commentaries.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: S.M. Chones, *Toledot ha-Posekim* (1910), 481.

[Samuel Abba Horodezky]

SHAPIRA, KALONYMOUS KALMAN (1889–1943), ḥasidic rebbe of the Warsaw Ghetto. Born in Grodzisk, Shapira was a descendant of the seer of Lublin (*Jacob Isaac ha-Ḥozeh mi-Lublin) and the maggid of Kozienice (Israel ben Shabbetai Hapstein *Kozience). After his father died when he was three, a family member took charge of his education. Married at 15, at the age of 20 he became a rebbe and then the rabbi in Piaseczno, near Warsaw. In 1923 he founded a yeshivah, Daas Moshe, which became an important ḥasidic institute in prewar Poland. His educational goals were ambitious. He wanted nothing less than to create, in the words of his biographer, Nehemia Polen, a "core group" of students of "sublime stature" to revitalize the ḥasidic movement. The goal of education as he envisioned it was that a child must experience the inner life of Torah. He outlined his goals in his first book, *Ḥovat ha-Talmidim* ("The Student's Responsibility") published in 1932, the only work to be published while he was alive. He emphasized joy and renewed vitality for the yeshivah world.

Polen describes him as physically imposing, "handsome and well groomed, distinguished and elegant." An account of his early war experience was published in the *Forward* on March 30, 1940. Refusing to abandon his flock in Warsaw, he saw his son, daughter-in-law, and sister-in-law killed in the first days of the German bombings, and a few weeks later his mother died.

Shapira tended to the religious needs of the community, including its *mikva'ot*, and worked with relief kitchens that served 1,500 people a day assisted by the *American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee. He also continued to teach Torah week in and week out, composing impassioned *derashot* on the weekly portion that related not only to the words of the Torah but to the conditions of ghetto life. They were preserved and published under the name *Esh Kodesh* ("The Holy Fire," 1960).

His one remaining daughter was deported during the great *Aktion* of the summer of 1942. She was murdered in Treblinka. The rebbe remained in the ghetto and lived through the Ghetto Uprising, where he was captured and incarcerated. He died in Trawniki. Of *Esh Kodesh*, Polen concludes: "It is testimony to faith in learning, teaching, human communication, language, and – most of all the redemptive power of compassion."

BIBLIOGRAPHY: N. Polen, *The Holy Fire: The Teachings of Rabbi Kalonymus Kalman Shapira, The Rebbe of the Warsaw Ghetto* (1994); K.K. Shapira, *Sacred Fire: Torah from the Years of Fury 1939–1942*, ed. D. Miller, trans. J.H. Worsch (2000).

[Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

SHAPIRA, MEIR (1887–1934), Polish rabbi, *rosh yeshivah*, educationalist, and communal leader. Shapira received ordination when he was only 15 years old from Isaac *Shmelkes, Meir Arikh, and his teacher, his maternal grandfather, Samuel Isaac Schor. Shapira manifested his future interest in Jewish education as early as 1910, when in his first position as communal rabbi of Gliniany, he founded his first yeshivah in his own home, later transferring it to his next post in Sanok. He rapidly gained a reputation among Polish Jewry, and was elected to the chair of the education committee of Polish *Agudat Israel in 1919 and to the leadership of the whole organization in 1922. Shapira also became a Jewish spokesman in Polish government circles in 1923. He was elected to the Polish Sejm, where he was noted for his forceful speeches and outspoken criticism of antisemitism. Within two years, however, Shapira decided to devote the whole of his life and energy to Jewish education. He thereupon resigned from the Sejm in 1924, accepted the post of rabbi in Piotrkow, and worked for the development of the two enterprises which remain his greatest contribution to Jewish education.

The first enterprise was a program of studies (still in existence) which has passed into Jewish nomenclature as the *daf yomi* ("daily page"). At the 1923 congress of Agudat Israel, Shapira proposed that every Jew undertake to study each day one identical page of the Talmud. The plan envisaged a communal completion of the study of the Talmud every seven years. Shapira himself participated in the completion of the first cycle in 1931. Shapira's second achievement was the establishment of Yeshivat Ḥakhmei Lublin. He first conceived of the idea of this yeshivah in 1922, and two years later, after a highly strenuous fund-raising tour of Europe and North America, laid the foundation stone in the presence of leading Jewish rabbis and dignitaries. This institution was unique in conception, character, and even architecture. Shapira was vigorously opposed to the poor amenities, unattractive surroundings, and penurious atmosphere characteristic of the traditional yeshivot. He set a precedent, now universally followed, by equipping his establishment at Lublin with an excellent library (much of it his own), with spacious living and dining quarters, and with appropriate lecture halls. The academic standards themselves were maintained by a rigorous selection of applicants, including a growing number of ḥasidic youth. Shapira frequently lectured to the students and participated in their daily studies, activities, and even meals.

In 1933 Shapira accepted an invitation to become rabbi of Lodz, on condition that the community honor the yeshivah's debts. The condition was accepted, but Shapira died before assuming the post. Shapira was an enigmatic and colorful personality, in whom a deep understanding of rabbinic lore was combined with a nimble wit and love of life. The former is indicated in his responsa *Or ha-Me'ir* (1926), and in various collections of essays published by his pupils. The latter was revealed in the songs and melodies he composed while dancing with his students. Many of his witty aphorisms are still quoted. The manner of his death was characteristic of his life. Realizing that his end was near, he requested his students to dance in song around his bed; while they were so engaged, he breathed his last breath.

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[Mordechai Hacohen]

SHAPIRA, YESHAYAHU (1891–1945), ḥasidic Ereẓ Israel pioneer and leader of religious labor Zionism. Shapira was born in Grodzisk, Poland, the youngest son of the ḥasidic rabbi Elimelech of Grodzisk, and was educated by his maternal grandfather in a deeply ḥasidic spirit, which included singing and playing the violin as a form of religious service. His education was also permeated with an ardent love of Ereẓ Israel, so much so that as a youngster Shapira took an extraordinary decision for his environment and joined the Zionist movement. In 1914 he even went to Ereẓ Israel, but hastened back to his family because of the outbreak of World War I. In Poland he participated in the foundation of *Mizrachi (1917), and in his Hebrew address at the founding conference he called on all Orthodox Jews to liquidate their businesses in the Diaspora and settle in Ereẓ Israel. Shapira settled in Palestine in 1920 and became the head of the Immigration and Labor Department of the Mizrachi center in Jerusalem. He organized a group of 120 religious workers to build the Rosh-Pinnah–Tabgha road and another of 50 workers, including himself, to clean Solomon's Pool near Jerusalem. He was one of the founders and leaders of Ha-Po'el ha-Mizrachi, the first group of which was formed in his home in Jerusalem. In 1924 he went to Poland as an emissary and influenced young ḥasidic rabbis, such as Yeḥezkel Taub and Israel Eliezer Hofstein, to settle together with their disciples on the land in Palestine. These groups founded the settlements of Naḥlat Ya'akov and Avodat Yisrael, which later merged into *Kefar Ḥasidim, and some of them founded Kefar Ata.

In 1933 Shapira became the manager of the central cooperative bank Zerubavel in Tel Aviv, but ten years later he decided to return to farming by settling in *Kefar Pines, and his house there became a spiritual center for members of Ha-Po'el ha-Mizrachi. He wrote many essays and articles, particularly on economic problems of settlement and cooperation, and was beloved for his devotion and modesty. He died in Jerusalem.

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SHAPIRA FRAGMENTS, portions of a manuscript of Deuteronomy, claimed to be of exceptionally early date, which were offered for sale in Berlin and London by Moses William Shapira (c. 1830–84), a Jewish-born Christian antiquarian from Jerusalem. The fragments consisted of 15 leather strips, brought to Europe in July, 1883. Shapira's story was that they had been found by Arabs some years previously in the Wadi Mujib in Transjordan, and that he had bought them from one of the finders. In 1878 he sent copies to Konstantin Schlottmann of Halle, who pronounced them fabrications. Shapira then placed them in a bank in Jerusalem, but on receiving new encouragement he took them to Leipzig in July, 1883, and submitted them to Hermann Guthe. Guthe in his turn concluded that they were forgeries, and in September of that year published a detailed study of them, entitled *Fragmente einer Lederhandschrift, enthaltend Moses letzte Rede an die Kinder Israel*, in which the complete text of the fragments was compared with the Masoretic Text. From Leipzig Shapira went to Berlin (July 10) and offered the fragments to the Royal Library. An expert committee was convened to examine them, consisting of A. Dillmann, E. Sachau, A. Ermann, and M. Steinschneider, who unanimously (apparently without knowing of Guthe's investigation) concluded that they were forgeries.

From Berlin Shapira went to London (arriving there on July 26) and offered his fragments to the British Museum for £1,000,000. The script on the fragments was closely similar to that on the Moabite Stone (c. 850 B.C.E.), and Shapira and many members of the British public, who were greatly excited by the fragments, were willing to ascribe a Mosaic date to them. Such a date would inflict a mortal blow, they thought, to critical theories of the composition of the Pentateuch; and insofar as these theories were founded on the distribution of divine names in the Pentateuch, it was noteworthy that the fragments, by exhibiting the reading *Elohim* where the Masoretic Text had YHWH, showed the precarious nature of this foundation. The British Museum appointed C.D. Ginsburg to report on the fragments. He too found them to be forgeries. His conclusions were that they were strips cut from the margins of old scrolls, treated with oil to give the impression of antiquity, and incribed with letters imitating those on the Moabite Stone by a northern European Jew in whose pronunciation of Hebrew there was no distinction between *ḥet* and undageshed *kaf*, or between *tet* and *taf*. (Oral tradition in the British Museum adds that the writing had been done with a steel pen.)

This adverse finding was the more bitter for Shapira because it was confirmed by C.S. Clermont-Ganneau, who saw some of the fragments in the museum; it was he in particular who first affirmed that they had been cut from old synagogue scrolls. Clermont-Ganneau, eleven years before, had exposed as fakes pieces of "Moabite" pottery which Shapira had sold to Germany. Suspicions of prejudice on his part can, however, be set aside in view of the unanimity with which other scholars decided against the authenticity of the fragments. Humiliated and discredited, Shapira committed suicide in a Rotterdam hotel on March 9, 1884.

More recently the question of the character of his fragments has been reopened in the light of the Qumran discoveries, particularly by M. Mansoor (see bibliography). It has been suggested that they might be comparable to biblical fragments in the Paleo-Hebrew script found in the caves, and that the textual deviations could be evidence of a paraphrase (such as the "Sayings of Moses" from Qumran Cave 1) rather than a transcript of the biblical text. The detailed internal evidence marshaled by Ginsburg seems conclusive enough, but doubts will probably not be silenced unless it is possible to secure and examine the Shapira fragments themselves, most of which appear to have been bought in 1885 by the bookseller Bernard Quaritch but have not been subsequently located.

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[Frederick Fyvie Bruce]

SHAPIRO, ABBA CONSTANTIN (1839–1900), Hebrew poet. Born in Grodno, Shapiro studied photography, then lived in Vienna and St. Petersburg, where he married a Christian woman and was baptized. His apostasy haunted him throughout his life and is a hidden undercurrent in much of his poetry. He gained fame and fortune in St. Petersburg as an art photographer: he was the personal photographer of prominent Russian officials and of L.N. Tolstoy. From 1877 his poems appeared in most of the Russian and Hebrew literary periodicals. Shapiro's poetry, replete with Jewish and occasionally Zionist themes, was collected by J. *Fichmann in one volume, *Shirim Nivḥarim* (1911). Shapiro also published *Sedom* (1900), a poem on Dreyfus, cast in a biblical setting, and a critical essay on Turgenev's story "The Jew," "*Turgenev ve-Sippuro 'Ha-Yehudi,'*" in *Ha-Meliẓ*, 19 (1883).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Toren, in: *Moznayim*, 17 (1944), 41–54, 143–51 (includes bibliography); J.S. Raisin, *Haskalah Movement in Russia* (1913), 98; Waxman, Literature, 4 (1960^2), 210.

[Getzel Kressel]

SHAPIRO, ALEXANDER M. (1929–1992), U.S. Conservative rabbi. Shapiro was born in Brooklyn, N.Y., and received a B.A. from Brooklyn College as well as a B.H.L. from the *Jewish Theological Seminary, in 1950. He was ordained at JTS in 1955 and earned a Ph.D. from Dropsie University in 1970. From 1955 to 1957, he served as a chaplain in the United States Army. He was director of United Synagogue Youth activities in Philadelphia (1957–59) before becoming rabbi of Temple Beth Tikvah in the Philadelphia suburb of Erdenheim (1957–68). Under his leadership, the congregation won two Solomon Schechter Awards, for its school and library. In the summers, he served as director of *Camp Ramah in the Poconos and then director of Leaders' Training Fellowship at the Ramah camps in Wisconsin, California, and Canada.

Shapiro is credited with organizing and leading – over the objections of the United Synagogue – the first protest by a Jewish group in front of the Soviet embassy in Washington, D.C., on October 6, 1964. His activism ushered in a new era of Jewish picketing and vigils on behalf of Soviet Jewry.

In 1968, Shapiro turned to academia, joining the faculty of Temple University, where he taught in the Department of Religion (1969–70) – although he also served as co-rabbi of Philadelphia's Germantown Jewish Center (1968–69). In 1970, Shapiro moved to Israel, where he lectured at Beersheba's Ben-Gurion University and the David Yellin Teachers' Seminary in Jerusalem as well as for the Overseas Student Programs at Hebrew University. He returned to the United States in 1972 to assume the pulpit of Congregation Oheb Shalom in South Orange, N.J., a synagogue that had been headed previously by two leaders of Conservative Judaism and former presidents of the *Rabbinical Assembly, Charles *Hoffman and Louis *Levitzky. He served on the boards of the Jewish Federation of Metropolitan New Jersey (1972–76), the Solomon Schechter School (1973–81), and Jewish Family Services (1973–76), and was elected president of the New Jersey Region of the Rabbinical Assembly, where he initiated a study of the effects of congregational demands on rabbis and their families.

Shapiro emerged as a national leader of the Rabbinical Assembly when he was elected treasurer of the organization (1980–82), then vice president (1982–84) and ultimately president (1984–86). During his tenure in office, and following years of his lobbying for equal rights for women in the pulpit, the RA voted to amend its constitution and admitted its first women members, JTS graduate Amy *Eilberg, and Beverly Magidson and Jan Kaufman, who had been ordained elsewhere. This step reopened concerns of the more traditional members of the Conservative movement, prompting Shapiro to join with JTS chancellor Gerson *Cohen in establishing a committee to articulate Conservative ideology. As president, Shapiro also participated in a delegation of Jews and Catholics who met in the Vatican to discuss the implementation of *Nostra aetate* with Pope John Paul II.

Shapiro also sought to engage in interdenominational dialogue, becoming the first Conservative rabbi to address the annual convention of the Orthodox *Rabbinical Council of America and taking that opportunity to revive the proposal that a national **bet din* be established to deal with matters of personal status, such as marriage, divorce and conversion. His RCA counterpart, Rabbi Louis *Bernstein, returned the visit and appeared before the RA that year – the first and last time such an exchange took place. While president, he also had the distinction of being arrested during a 1985 demonstration in front of the Soviet consulate in New York City – an act of civil disobedience and courage reminiscent of his participation in a civil rights march in Birmingham, Alabama, with Martin

Luther King, Jr., in 1963: the presence of Shapiro and 18 rabbinical colleagues in *kippot* electrified and inspired a large assembly of southern African-Americans; the hotel in which he stayed was bombed shortly after his departure.

A scholar in the area of medieval responsa, Shapiro contributed articles and essays to numerous academic journals and reference books. He was also the co-editor (with Burton Cohen) of *Studies in Jewish Education and Judaica in Honor of Louis Newman* (1984).

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[Bezalel Gordon (2nd ed.)]

SHAPIRO, ARYEH LEIB BEN ISAAC (1701–1761), scholar and grammarian. Raised in Vilna, Shapiro married a daughter of Mordecai b. Azriel, one of the city's most respected residents. As a young man, he maintained a correspondence with the Karaite scholar Solomon of Troki, the author of *Appiryon*. Shapiro ranged beyond the boundaries of traditional learning, for in addition to his vast knowledge of the Talmud he studied logic and mathematics, and wrote a work on Hebrew grammar, *Kevuẓat Kesef* (Zolkiew, 1741). His other works include a two-part commentary on *Massekhet Soferim* entitled *Naḥalat Ari'el* and *Me'on Arayot*, which were published together with the tractate at Dyhernfurth in 1732. Also extant is a responsum dated 1754, which appears in *Teshuvat Shemu'el* (Vilna, 1859) by R. Samuel of Indura. Shapiro, in his later years, served as a *dayyan* and scribe of the Vilna community.

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SHAPIRO, ASCHER HERMAN (1916–2004), U.S. mechanical engineer. Born in Brooklyn, Shapiro taught at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, where he became professor of engineering (1962), head of the department of mechanical engineering (1965), and an Institute Professor (1975). He was associated with the National Advisory Committee on Aeronautics and the U.S. Atomic Energy Commission. He did research on the aerodynamics of high-speed flight and turbomachinery, on propulsion systems, and on biofluid dynamics of the cardiovascular, pulmonary, and urinary systems. He took out patents on fluid-metering apparatuses, combustion chambers, propulsion systems, turbomolecular vacuum pumps, and industrial centrifuges. Shapiro wrote *Dynamics and Thermodynamics of Compressible Fluid Flow* (2 vols., 1953–54) and *Shape and Flow; the Fluid Dynamics of Drag* (1961).

[Samuel Aaron Miller]

SHAPIRO, BENJAMIN (1913–), Israeli biochemist. Shapiro was born in Germany and immigrated to Ereẓ Israel in 1926. He received his doctorate in science from the Hebrew University in 1940 and was appointed associate professor in 1953 and full professor in 1958. He was awarded the Israel Prize for medicine in 1955.

SHAPIRO, BERNARD (1935–), Canadian educator, administrator, public servant. Bernard Shapiro was born in Montreal. In 1954 he graduated from McGill University with a B.A., after which he and his twin brother, Harold, took over for several years the management of the family's popular restaurant in Montreal, Ruby Foo's. He and his brother left Montreal to pursue higher degrees. Bernard earned a doctorate in education from Harvard in 1967 and was hired by the University of Boston. He was appointed an associate dean at Boston before returning to Canada as dean of education at the University of Western Ontario and later vice president academic and provost. From 1980 to 1986 he was director of the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education in Toronto. In 1985 he headed a provincial Commission on Private Schools in Ontario which, among its recommendations, called for partial provincial funding of Jewish and other religious schools. This recommendation was never implemented.

In 1986 Shapiro was appointed Ontario's deputy minister of education and held several other major deputy minister posts before he retired from the Ontario public service in 1992 to become a professor of education and public policy at the University of Toronto. Shapiro returned to Montreal as principal of McGill University in 1994, a position he held until 2002. He also oversaw the American National Jewish Population Survey (NJPS) review process before its release by the United Jewish Communities. In 2004 Shapiro began a five-year term as ethics commissioner of Canada, responsible for the administration of the code of conduct for members of the House of Commons as well as the prime minister's ethical guidelines for cabinet ministers and other public office holders.

Active in the Montreal Jewish and non-Jewish communities, in 2004 Shapiro and his wife, Phyllis, a professor of education at McGill University, were Montreal's Negev Dinner honorees. In 1999 he was appointed an Officer of the Order of Canada.

[Harold Troper (2nd ed.)]

SHAPIRO, DAVID S. (1909–1989), U.S. Bible scholar and rabbi. Born in Philadelphia, Shapiro studied at the Hebrew Theological College of Chicago and the Illinois Institute of Technology. He served as the rabbi of Orthodox congregations in Savannah, Georgia (1936–38); Erie, Pennsylvania (1938–41); Indianapolis, Indiana (1941–48); and Milwaukee, Wisconsin (1948–1989). Shapiro also taught at the University of Wisconsin and the Graduate School of the Hebrew Theological College.

In 1936 he published *Yesodei ha-Dat ha-Universalit*, an attempt to establish the theory of a universal religion on the basis of rabbinic sources. Shapiro issued *Midrash David* in 1952, consisting of essays on the festivals and halakhic discourses. In 1961, his *Torat Moshe ve-ha-Nevi'im* appeared. It includes biblical studies which attempted to prove the dependence of the prophets on the Mosaic law.

SHAPIRO, ESTHER JUNE (1934–), U.S. producer and screenwriter. A Brooklyn native, Shapiro began her entertainment career writing for television. One of her first jobs was writing a 1966 episode of *The Iron Horse*. She also wrote for *Love of Life* (1969–70) and was executive story consultant for *Love Story* in 1973–74. Shapiro married Richard Shapiro, also a producer and screenwriter, in 1960. In 1975, the pair wrote the screenplay for the NBC movie *Sarah T.: Portrait of a Teenage Alcoholic*. Two years later, they produced and wrote the ABC movie *Intimate Strangers* (1977). The same year, they wrote for the CBS television movie *Minstrel Man*. In 1981, the two collaborated as the creators of *Dynasty*, a prime time soap opera, which the couple also wrote for until 1989. In 1983–84, the Shapiros worked as cocreators and executive producers of *Emerald Point*. Shapiro also wrote for the show. In 1985, the pair created *Dynasty II: The Colbys*, a spin-off of the original series, for which Shapiro also wrote. Shapiro was an executive producer for the ABC television movies *The Three Kings* and *Cracked Up* in 1987. The next year, she became executive producer of the television show *HeartBeat* (1988), which she also wrote. The following year, the couple wrote and were executive producers for the NBC television series *When We Were Young*. In 1991 the pair returned as writers for the television movie *Dynasty: The Reunion*. Other television movies the couple worked on are *Blood Ties* (1991), *The Colony* (1996), *Living the Life* (2000), and *The Motel* (2005).

[Susannah Howland (2nd ed.)]

SHAPIRO, EZRA Z. (1903–1977), Zionist and communal leader. Shapiro, born in Volozhin, Russia, was brought by his family to Cleveland, Ohio, in 1906. Early in his life Shapiro became active in advancing Jewish education and in the Zionist Movement, two causes which he served vigorously on the local, national, and international levels. He became president of the Zionist District of Cleveland in 1924 and ten years later was elected chairman of the national executive committee of the Zionist Organization of America. As president of the Cleveland Hebrew Schools (1939–43) and the Cleveland Bureau of Jewish Education (1953–56), he helped create the system of communal education there. At the 1951 Zionist Congress, Shapiro, as chairman of its committee on fundamental problems, was instrumental in drafting the Jerusalem program redefining Zionist goals for the post-State era. He was a leader of the World Confederation of General Zionists and the American Jewish League for Israel which he helped found in 1957. He was vice president of the American Association for Jewish Education, 1959–66. Other areas of Cleveland public life in which Shapiro was active include his post as city law director (1933–35); member of the Cleveland Community Relations Board from 1963 and vice chairman from 1966; trustee of the Jewish Community Federation from 1934; and president of the Jewish Community Council (1942–45). In 1971 he settled in Jerusalem and became director of the Keren Hayesod-United Israel Appeal.

[Judah Rubinstein]

SHAPIRO, HAROLD (1935–), U.S. scholar and administrator. Born in Montreal, Shapiro held dual American and Canadian citizenship. He earned his bachelor's degree from McGill University in 1956 and his Ph.D. in economics from Princeton in 1964. Shapiro joined the faculty of the University of Ann Arbor in 1964 as an assistant professor, becoming an associate professor in 1967. In 1970 he was named a full professor of economics and became chair of the department of economics in 1977. He served as a research scientist at the Institute of Labor and Industrial Relations and at the Institute of Public Policy Studies. His fields of interest included econometrics, mathematical economics, science policy, the evolution of higher education, and money and banking. Shapiro published numerous articles in academic journals, including the *International Economic Review* and *Journal of Comparative Economics*, and he wrote and edited several books, including *Tradition and Change: Perspectives on Education and Public Policy* (1987).

Shapiro was named vice president for academic affairs of the University of Michigan at Ann Arbor in 1977, and he also served as chairman of the executive board of the University of Michigan hospitals. In 1980 he was elected president of the university and chairman of its board of regents. In 1988 he was named Princeton University's 18th president, the first Jew to serve in that office and he served in that capacity until his retirement in 2001. He also held a faculty appointment as professor of economics and public affairs; he became professor emeritus.

Shapiro served as a member of the Bretton Woods Committee, the American Philosophical Society, the Institute of Medicine of the National Academy of Sciences, and the Government-University-Industry-Research Roundtable of the National Academy of Sciences. He was a member of the presidential Council of Advisors on Science and Technology from 1990 to 1992, and he chaired the Institute of Medicine's Committee on Employer-Based Health Benefits. In 1996 he was appointed by President Bill Clinton to chair the National Bioethics Advisory Commission, which issued the report *Cloning Human Beings* in June 1997.

Shapiro served as a trustee of the Alfred P. Sloan Foundation, the Universities Research Association, the Educational Testing Service, and the University of Pennsylvania Medical Center. He also served on the board of directors of the Dow Chemical Company and the American Council on Education. He was a fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences.

[Dorothy Bauhoff (2nd ed.)]

SHAPIRO, HARRY LIONEL (1902–1990), U.S. anthropologist. Born in Boston, Massachusetts, Shapiro graduated from Harvard University in 1923. The following year, he travelled to Norfolk Island in New Zealand to study the Pitcairn Islanders, who were the descendants of the mutiny that had taken place in 1789 aboard the British naval vessel *Bounty* in the South Pacific. After receiving his Ph.D. from Harvard in 1926, Shapiro served as assistant curator in physical anthropology at the American Museum of Natural History, and rose to become curator and chairman of the department in 1942, in which capacity he remained until he retired in 1970. At the same time, he was also a professor of anthropology at Columbia University (1942–73). An officer of various professional organizations and lecturer at various institutions, he was a founding member of the American Association of Physical Anthropologists (1930) and served as secretary (1935–39) and vice president (1941–42). He served for many years as a member and in 1953–54 as chairman of the division of anthropology and psychiatry of the National Research Council. His expertise was primarily in physical anthropology, human biology, race, and population.

Among his many honors and awards, Shapiro received the Theodore Roosevelt Distinguished Service Medal (1964); a Distinguished Award for Contributions in Science from the New York Academy of Sciences (1977); and the T. Dale Stewart Award for Distinguished Service from the American Academy of Forensic Sciences (1983).

Among his books are *The Heritage of the Bounty* (1936), *Migration and Environment* (1939), *Race Mixture* (1953), *Aspects of Culture* (1956), *The Jewish People: A Biological History* (1960), and *Peking Man* (1974). He also edited *Man, Culture, and Society* (1956).

[Ephraim Fischoff / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

SHAPIRO, IRVING SAUL (1916–2001), U.S. business executive. Born in Minneapolis, the son of immigrants from Lithuania, Shapiro rose to become chairman of the giant DuPont Company and corporate America's lead liaison with Washington in the 1970s. A lawyer trained in litigation – he graduated from the University of Minnesota with a bachelor of law degree in 1941 – he joined DuPont in 1951 as a specialist in antitrust after working in the Office of Price Administration and the Justice Department in Washington. His rise at DuPont was punctuated by high-profile legal landmarks. He became closely acquainted with the company during a lengthy antitrust case that in 1962 led to DuPont's relinquishing its 37 percent stake in General Motors. Winning the trust of the DuPont family, he rose steadily at the company until he was named chairman and chief executive in 1974, the first lawyer to hold that title. Although he had little formal education in business or science, Shapiro said he developed a deep-seated understanding of business and a flair for dealing with customers from his father, who ran a dry-cleaning business in Minneapolis.

Shapiro took charge of DuPont in trying times. There was an energy crisis in the United States, and the costs of raw materials and fuel were soaring for the company, a petrochemical maker, as the economy was sliding into recession. Shapiro pulled DuPont out of numerous unprofitable businesses and put money into the others. He set up DuPont's first energy department, which created conservation programs and partnerships with oil companies and other manufacturers to develop synthetic substitutes for oil and gas. Many of the management and business models he instituted remained in place for decades. At the time, in the 1970s, antibusiness sentiment was running high. Shapiro defended American business, asserting that too much regulation was hampering America's ability to compete with Europe and Japan. Numerous products, including DuPont's Freon, were being accused of contributing to the depletion of the earth's ozone layers, while others were being labeled carcinogens. Many new regulations and restrictions were promulgated, many of which Shapiro believed stemmed from hysteria, not science.

In 1976 Shapiro was elected chairman of the Business Roundtable, an influential group of business executives. He made regulatory reform a cornerstone of his two-year tenure. He also became a personal adviser to President Jimmy Carter, and was intimately involved in drafting the response to the 1977 boycott some Arab countries placed on companies doing business with Israel. Shapiro was active in Jewish community affairs in Wilmington, Del., and at one time headed its Jewish Federation.

[Stewart Kampel (2nd ed.)]

SHAPIRO, KARL JAY (1913–2000), U.S. poet and critic. Born in Baltimore, during World War II Shapiro was a soldier in the Pacific campaign. From 1950 to 1955 he edited the Chicago periodical *Poetry*, and from 1956 he was professor of English at the State University of Nebraska. He wrote forcefully on many kinds of experience and showed a preoccupation with his own attitude toward Judaism. In such early poems as "The Synagogue" and "The Jew" (both 1943), he affirmed that his religion was flexible and easily diluted, and that he tried to write freely, "one day as a Christian, the next as a Jew." In his *Poems of a Jew* (1958), which he called "documents of an obsession," Shapiro asserted that "man is for the world, not for the afterworld"; yet, while rejecting any special Jewish commitment, he declared that mere abandonment of the Jewish religion did not negate Jewish identity, and he even admitted a measure of pride (in the poem "Israel") in the Jewish state's restoration of dignity to the Jewish name. In an interview published in 1981, he said: "In my case, the tradition was the Jew, not Judaism, not the religion, but the existence of the Jew as a person, as a creature, even as a kind of mystical presence."

He believed that Walt Whitman was America's greatest poet. He was also appreciative of Dylan Thomas as well as of William Carlos Williams. He said that "it wasn't until some of the contemporary English poets like Auden and Spender began to publish …[that] I really saw the possibilities of using contemporary English … contemporary twentieth-century English…."

His critical works include an *Essay on Rime* (1945), a critique of poetry in verse; *Beyond Criticism*, lectures (1953), reprinted as *Primer for Poets* (1965); *In Defense of Ignorance* (1960); and *The Bourgeois Poet* (1964), on the poet in society. He also wrote the Pulitzer Prize-winning *V-Letter and Other Poems* (1944); *Trial of a Poet …* (1947); *Poems, 1940–1953* (1953); an anthology *Selected Poems* (1968); *To Abolish Children, and Other Essays* (1968); and *White-haired Lover* (1968), a collection of love poems. His novel *Edsel* appeared in 1971; *Poet: An Autobiography in Three Parts,* in 1988; *The Wild Card: Selected Poems, Early and Late*, edited by Kunitz and Ignatow, in 1998; and *Creative Glut: Selected Essays of Karl Shapiro*, edited by Robert Phillips, in 2004.

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SHAPIRO, (Levi Joshua) LAMED (1878–1948), Yiddish writer. Born in Rzhishchev (near Kiev), Shapiro, his early writings in hand, went to "conquer Warsaw" in 1896, but returned home two years later and supported himself by tutoring. In 1903, again in Warsaw, he published several short stories in local Yiddish periodicals and then began a period of wandering which continued to the very end of his life: to America in 1905, where he contributed stories to *Di Tsukunft* and reported briefly for the *Forverts*; in Warsaw again in 1909, he joined the staff of the daily, *Der Fraynt*, and translated from European literature. In 1910 he published his first collection, *Noveln* ("Stories"). In spite of financial and geographic instability, the decade 1908–18 was the most prolific of his career: he published his most notorious pogrom story, "*Der Tseylem*" ("The Cross"), and a number of other works which were later collected in *Di Yidishe Melukhe* ("The Jewish State," 1919). He began to drink heavily, however, suffered frequent depressions, and wrote ever more sporadically. Hopes of perfecting an invention of color cinematography took Shapiro to Los Angeles in 1921, but he returned to New York after his beloved wife Freydl's death in 1927. In 1931 he published a new story collection, *Nyu-yorkish*, focusing on the confusing life of immigrant Jewish men. A series of further literary projects, including the attempt to edit his magazine, *Studio* (1933), were unsuccessful. After a brief period of working for the Federal Writers Project of the WPA in 1937–38, Shapiro returned for the last time to Los Angeles. In 1945 he published a series of essays on literary themes entitled *Der Shrayber Geyt in Kheyder* ("The Writer Goes to School"). In 1948 he died from the effects of alchoholism. Shapiro's chaotic, restless life stands in sharpest contrast to his carefully controlled, tightly structured, and polished stories. Although many of his works explore violence and human conflict, particularly the wild frenzy of pogroms, the highly visual form of his narration and compression of detail produce a static or classical effect. Shapiro is often called "The master craftsman of the Yiddish short story."

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[Ruth Wisse / Leah Garrett (2nd ed.)]

SHAPIRO, RAMI (1951–), U.S. rabbi. Shapiro was born in 1951 in Springfield, Mass. He received a bachelor's degree from the University of Massachusetts, a master's degree in religious studies from McMaster University, and rabbinic ordination from Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion in 1981. He received a Ph.D. in contemporary Judaism from Union Institute in Cincinnati, and took advanced training in counseling.

Shapiro served as rabbi of Temple Beth Or in Miami from 1981 to 2000, a congregation that affiliated with Reconstructionist Judaism. During this time he led the congregation to explore new and participatory forms of Judaism and spiritual growth, transforming conventional American synagogue patterns. He developed creative interpretations of liturgy, encouraged adult study and daily spiritual practice, and initiated an ethics and spiritual curriculum for teenagers called "What Would a Mentsch Do?"

Rabbi Shapiro took an active role in the Reconstructionist Rabbinical Association and Ohalah, the Jewish Renewal rabbinic network, as well as the Reform movement. From 2000 to 2002 he was rabbi of the Metivta Center for Contemplative Judaism in Los Angeles. From 1994 to 2004 he directed an Internet site for Jewish study and spiritual growth, Virtual Yeshiva (later called SimplyJewish.com.). From 2002 he headed the One River Foundation, an interfaith institute sharing the spiritual insights of Judaism, Christianity, Islam, and other religions, and continued to write and to teach widely.

Shapiro developed guides to death and mourning for non-Orthodox Jews. His creative translations of liturgy were used in many congregations. Shapiro developed an extensive approach to Jewish ritual and spiritual life, challenging liberal Jews to do more. His book *Minyan* (1997) was built around the theme of ten key principles of Jewish life, derived from but not always identical with areas of tradition. He advocated ethical consumption (based on *kashrut*), balancing work and play (Shabbat), and daily acts of kindness (*gemilut ḥasadim*) as well as urging daily spiritual practices such as silence and chanting God's names. Among his writings are creative reinterpretations of a number of classic Jewish texts, including selections from the Bible, *Pirkei Avot*, and ḥasidic tales. He wrote *Wisdom of the Jewish Sages: A Modern Reading of Pirke Avot* (1993); *Minyan: Ten Principles For Living a Life of Integrity* (1997); *The Way of Solomon: Finding Joy and Contentment in the Wisdom of Ecclesiastes* (2000); *Proverbs: The Wisdom of Solomon* (2001); *Hasidic Tales: Annotated and Explained* (2003); *The Prophets: Annotated and Explained* (2004).

[Robert Tabak (2nd ed.)]

SHAPIRO, ROBERT (1942–), U.S. lawyer. Shapiro, who was born in Plainfield, N.J., received his undergraduate education at the University of California at Los Angeles and his law degree from Loyola of Los Angeles. He was admitted to the bar in 1969 and served as a deputy district attorney in Los Angeles from 1969 to 1972. For the next 15 years he was a solo practitioner. Beginning in 1995 he was a partner in Christensen, Miller, Fink, Jacobs, Glaser, Weil & Shapiro, a firm with 120 lawyers and a major litigation practice, as well as corporate, transactions and real-estate practice. Throughout the course of his career, Shapiro defended a number of well-known clients. But none of them, who included the pornographic movie star Linda Lovelace, the television personality Johnny Carson, and the son of the actor Marlon Brando, achieved the notoriety of the case involving O.J. Simpson, who stood trial in 1994 for the murder of his wife and her friend. Shapiro, by then a well-known criminal defense attorney, replaced Simpson's original lawyer on the case, but he was forced to play a secondary role behind others on the defense "dream team" group of lawyers, headed by F. Lee Bailey and Johnnie Cochran. Shapiro bristled at his co-counselors and, when Cochran took over, he often criticized them. Simpson was cleared of the murders in a startling verdict. After the trial, Shapiro told reporters that he viewed with disgust some of the tactics employed by the defense team. "Not only did we play the race card," he said on national television, referring to the defendant, who was black, "we dealt it from the bottom of the deck." He was the author of *The Search for Justice, A Defense Attorney's Brief on the O.J. Simpson* Case (1996).

[Stewart Kampel (2nd ed.)]

SHAPIRO, SAMUEL HARVEY (1907–1987), lawyer, legislator, and governor. Shapiro, who was born in Estonia and grew up in Kankakee, Illinois, became city attorney there in 1933. Elected district attorney of Kankakee County in 1936 on the Democratic ticket, he resigned in 1941 to enlist in the U.S. Navy, in which he served for four years. In 1946 Shapiro was elected to the Illinois House of Representatives, and served 14 years. He became known for his sponsorship of mental health legislation and his exposure of corrupt officials in the state hospital system. In 1960 Shapiro was elected lieutenant governor of Illinois, and was reelected in 1964. During 1967–68 he served as acting governor, and when Governor Otto Kerner resigned in May 1968, Shapiro succeeded him. He was defeated for reelection in 1968. Shapiro was a president of Kankakee's Temple Israel, a founder and president of the Kankakee B'nai B'rith, and a member of the Anti-Defamation League. Shapiro wrote *Messages to the General Assembly of Illinois* (1968).

[Bernard Postal]

SHAPIRO, SAUL BEN DOV (1797–1859), Lithuanian rabbi. Shapiro was brought up in Krakinov by his uncle R. Moses Luria until 1811, after which he went to study in Ponevezh. Eventually he became a teacher under Isaac ha-Levi, the rabbi of Ponovezh, succeeding him in 1839. In 1853 he was appointed rabbi in Seduva, where he died.

Of his many novellae on the Talmud, *Midrash Rabbah, Sifrei, Yalkut Shimoni*, and Maimonides, and his responsa, sermons, and eulogies, only one book has been published: *Ḥemdat Sha'ul*, responsa on the Shulḥan Arukh, *Oraḥ Ḥayyim* and *Yoreh De'ah*, which was published by his son Moses (1903). However, his novellae are included in Moses b. Uriah Rappoport's commentary *Toledot Moshe* (1889), and also as an appendix to Moses Rappoport's *Imrei Moshe on Megillat Esther* (1889).

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[Anthony Lincoln Lavine]

SHAPIRO, YA'AKOV SHIMSHON (1902–1993), Israeli lawyer and politician. Shapiro was born in Russia and studied at the Medical School of Kharkov University. He came to Ereẓ Israel in 1924 and was one of the founders of the kibbutz Givat ha-Sheloshah. Later, Shapiro studied at the Jerusalem Law School and practiced as a lawyer. In 1948–49 he was Israel's first attorney-general. He was a member of the Second Knesset (1951), the Third (1955) and the Seventh (1969). In 1965 he was appointed minister of justice, retaining the office in Golda Meir's cabinet in 1969. In June 1972, however, following a storm over the acquittal of Mordecai Friedman, manager of the Netivei Neft oil company, on charges of irregularity, Shapiro submitted his resignation and it was cited as a rare example of a minister accepting responsibility for the mistakes of his department. On August 30, however, he rejoined the cabinet. In October 1973 he again submitted his resignation, following a controversy over criticism he made of the conduct of the Yom Kippur War by Moshe Dayan, the minister of defense, and the resignation took effect 48 hours later.

SHAPP, MILTON JERROLD (**Shapiro**; 1912–1994), U.S. industrialist and governor of Pennsylvania. Born in Cleveland, Ohio, Shapp moved to Philadelphia in 1935 and worked in the sale of electronic products. To avoid antisemitic sentiment, he changed his name from Shapiro to Shapp but continued to practice Judaism openly. In 1946 he founded Jerrold Electronics Corporation, which pioneered in the development of cable television access. It became a major force in the television industry, making Shapp a multimillionaire. An equal opportunity employer, Shapp hired African-Americans, Hispanics, and other minority groups; and he was one of the first executives to promote women to top management positions. In 1963 the Pennsylvania AFL-CIO named him Man of the Year, the first time a business executive was selected for that honor. In 1967 he sold his interest in the company to the General Instrument Company so that he could concentrate on politics.

In 1960, at the request of President-elect Kennedy, Shapp served as chairman of the New Growth-New Jobs conference in Philadelphia and submitted a report suggesting programs for improving job opportunities in Philadelphia. During the Kennedy administration, he served as consultant to the Peace Corps and to the U.S. Department of Commerce on Area Development problems, and was vice chairman of the National Public Advisory Committee on Area Development. Shapp first ran for the Pennsylvania governorship in 1966 but was defeated.

In 1968 he served as chairman of the Committee for Pennsylvania State Constitutional Revision. In that year he backed Eugene Mc-Carthy for president, losing the support of some labor leaders who had backed him in 1966. As a liberal, and an opponent of the Vietnam War, Shapp had the endorsement of Americans for Democratic Action and of the New Democratic Coalition. He supported state legislation attempting to prevent the sending of Pennsylvania citizens into undeclared wars. Shapp also supported abortion reform. He was elected governor of Pennsylvania in 1970 by a wide margin, becoming the first Jew to hold that office. In 1974 he won a second term by a large margin as well, serving until 1979. He was the first Pennsylvania governor to succeed himself in the 20th century. As governor, he established the Pennsylvania State Lottery, administered by the Department of Aging which his administration created. The lottery was just one of Shapp's successful attempts to restore the state to stable financial footing.

In 1976 he ran for the Democratic nomination for president but did not make it into the primaries.

Shapp served Jewish organizations in many capacities, especially the American Jewish Congress; the Allied Jewish Appeal of Philadelphia; and the Federation of Jewish Agencies of Greater Philadelphia.

He wrote *My Impressions … Israel at Age 25* (1973).

SHAPSHAL (Szapszał) SERAYA BEN MORDECHAI (1873–1961), leader of East European Karaites, Russian Turkologist and diplomat. Born in Bakhchesaray (Crimea), he studied in the Karaite school of Simferopol where his teacher was Samuel *Pigit, but he did not graduate. In 1899 he graduated from the Oriental Department of St. Petersburg University and served as translator at the Russian Foreign Office. In 1901 he was appointed as a personal tutor of the Iranian Crown Prince Mohammad Ali Shah and, after the coronation of the latter, Shapshal became his court minister and adviser and ennobled as "khan." In Iran he acquired the nickname "bloody Shapshal," because he urged the Shah to crush the Iranian Constitutional Movement. Following the revolution in Iran, he was expelled from the country in 1908 as a Russian spy and returned to the Russian Foreign Office, teaching at the same time Turkish and Azeri in St. Petersburg University. Despite his lack of religious education and traditional way of life, in 1911 Shapshal was elected as *ḥakham* of West Russian Karaites, but he declined this office. After the demise of the *ḥakham* S. Pampulov, this office was offered to Shapshal, but he encountered strong opposition among Crimean Karaites, who did not want "bloody Shapshal" as a leader. He again declined this office and was elected only in 1915 as *ḥakham*. He began with religious reforms, which were aimed at severing Karaite religion and tradition from its Hebrew and Jewish roots, and shaping the new Turkic-Khazar identity. One of his innovations was the complete exclusion of Hebrew language and literature from the curriculum of Karaite schools. In this period he established a Karaite library-museum, "Karai Bitiqligi," which included the books and archive of the Karaite Spiritual Council from Crimea and Odessa. This library contained tens of thousands of printed editions and manuscripts in the Hebrew, Arabic, and Karaite languages. Shapshal also established a periodical "The News (Izvestiya) of the Karaite Spiritual Council" in Russia under his own editorship and published nine numbers (1917–19).

In 1919, after the Bolshevik occupation of the Crimea, which caused the deaths of masses of local population, Shapshal escaped to Istanbul and worked there at a Georgian bank. Later he was appointed as a librarian to catalogue the manuscripts in Abdul Hamid II library. In 1928 Shapshal was appointed as *ḥakham* of the Karaites in Poland and Lithuania and changed the name of this title to "gahan" (khan), to obliterate the Hebrew term and to demonstrate the Turkic background of the Karaites. From this period until the end of his life he resided in Troki. After the partition of Poland and Soviet occupation in 1939, Shapshal lost this office and became a Soviet scholar of Orientalism. After the Nazi invasion of Lithuania in 1941, he occupied the office again. He met with German authorities and convinced them of the non-Jewish racial background of the Karaites. The Nazi officials in Vilna arranged the "scientific debate" between Shapshal and the Jewish historian Zelig Kalmanovich (who was in the Vilna Ghetto and was killed by the Nazis) about the origins of the Karaites.

After World War II, following the return of Soviet occupation, Shapshal again lost his office and enrolled in the Karaite kolkhoz at Troki. Later, until the end of his life, he was a senior researcher in the Institute for History and Law of the Academy of Sciences of Soviet Lithuania.

While a student Shapshal published two booklets in Russian about Crimean Karaites: *Karaimy I Chufut Qaleh* (1896) and *Karaimy, zapiski krymskago gornago kluba* (1897). Later he published several books and articles on Turkology.

Shapshal was a spiritual leader of the Karaites, who was not accepted by the majority of the community but whose ideology led to a great extent to the de-Judaization and assimilation of East European Karaites. According to his theories, they originated from Khazars and Polovtsi. Shapshal claimed that Karaism was very close to early Christianity, and that Anan ben David recognized Jesus and Muhammad as prophets, who were sent to the Gentiles but influenced Karaism. As to East European Karaites, he claimed that they had adopted the Mosaic religion secretly keeping Turkic pagan cults, beliefs, and customs, which had a central role in the Karaite legacy.

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[Golda Akhiezer (2nd ed.)]

°**SHAPUR (Shahpuhr)**, the name of three Persian kings of the Sassanid dynasty. The first reigned from 241 to 272 C.E., the second from 309 to 379, and the third and last from 383/4 to 388/9. In rabbinic literature apparently only the first two are mentioned.

SHAPUR I. Samuel, the head of the academy at Nehardea, discussed with Shapur I, with whom he was on friendly terms, religious topics (Sanh. 98a; Suk. 53a), the tense political relations between Persia and Rome (Ber. 56a), and also other subjects. Although aggadic in their extant form, the conversations, in view of their subject matter and contents, are historical. The Jewish community in Babylonia, a large ethnic-religious group recognized by the authorities, was a political and economic factor of considerable importance, and Jewish representatives met the king or other representatives of local authorities to discuss matters of common concern. In the days of Samuel, as during the third century generally, Persia, which included Babylonia, was the scene of a particularly animated religious ferment. There were the sect of Mani and the fanatical priest Kartir who was actively hostile to all non-Mazdean religious minorities. His boast of his ill-treatment of the followers of various religions, the first to be mentioned being the Jews, was found in an inscription. Under such circumstances the Jews appealed to the authorities for protection, these contacts providing an occasion for discussions on religious topics. In any event, talmudic literature records no complaint against Shapur I (see Samuel's reaction in MK 26a).

SHAPUR II. Many statements refer to the contacts and ties between Shapur II, and particularly between his mother Ifra Hormizd, and the Babylonian *amoraim*. While still a baby, Shapur II succeeded to the throne and until his majority the regency consisted of several members of the aristocracy and the queen mother. In his lengthy reign two periods may be distinguished. The first concluded in 363 C.E. with the defeat of the emperor Julian in his campaign against the Persian empire, ushering in the second period during which the political position of the Jews of Persia improved in recognition of their unexpected loyalty to the empire. It had been feared that they would revolt against Shapur II and assist Julian, who had promised the Jews of Ereẓ Israel that he would rebuild the Temple in Jerusalem on his return from the Persian War. While Shapur II, at the instigation of the Mazdean priests, persecuted the Christians in the Persian empire, he did not intentionally harm the Jews, a distinction resulting from Christian hopes of a victory for Christian Byzantium, his mortal enemy, with which they were believed to be in contact. To finance his protracted wars against Rome, Shapur II demanded considerable sums of money from the Jews, of which Rava complained in the '30s and '40s of the fourth century C.E. (Ḥag. 5b). Because of these wars, the Jews, like the rest of the population, were compelled to billet soldiers in their homes (Pes. 5b; Ḥul. 94b), and as a result there were cases of rape (Ket. 3b). Isolated instances of premeditated attacks on the Jews may also have occurred (SOZ, ed. Neubauer, 72), but the evidence is inconclusive, and may refer to Shapur I. A conversation took place between Shapur II and R. Ḥama on a halakhic subject, that of the burial of the dead (Sanh. 46b), for contrary to the *halakhah* the Persians interred a corpse only when all its flesh, which they believed defiled the earth, had been consumed by wild beasts or birds of prey. Aggadic in character but indicative of the good relations that existed between Ifra Hormizd, the queen mother, and the Jews are the talmudic statements that she sent money for charitable purposes to R. Joseph (BB 8a) and also to Rava (BB 10b), and a sacrifice to the latter to be offered in honor of Heaven (Zev. 116b); that she protected Rava from the king's anger (Ta'an. 24b); and that she submitted to him a halakhic problem (Nid. 20b).

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[Moshe Beer]

SHAR'AB, geographic region between Ibb and Tai'zz in southwest *Yemen, most of it a plain plateau, and on its east side the main *San'a-Dhamār-*Yarīm route. There were scores of Jewish communities in the region. Their method of study consisted of the memorization of texts by continued repetition. The main subjects of study were *aggadah* and Midrash on the one hand, and Kabbalah, particularly the Zohar, on the other. The great Yemenite poets of the Mashtā family, Joseph b. Israel and Shalom *Shabazī, were from Shar'ab, as was R. Shalom *Sharabi, the kabbalist. Shabazī has been the most popular personality of Yemenite Jewry throughout all its long existence. There were many religious and kabbalist scholars among them who tended to deal with miraculous deeds. They preserved the correct emphatic pronunciation of the *qof* and had two other linguistic peculiarities: (a) the complete identification of *ṣeri* and *ḥolam*, as was common to the Jews of Babylon and the Jewish communities in the vicinity, but reflecting the ancient Hebrew pronunciation in the land of biblical Judea; (b) the pronunciation of *gimmel* with a *dagesh* as *g*, unlike all other Yemenite Jews who pronounce it *j* (and in Arabic as well). Most of them were weavers, silversmiths, tailors, and shoemakers, but some were also landowners and coffee planters, whose fields were cultivated by Arabs. Their immigration to the Land of Israel commenced in 1911–12, following Sh. Yavne'eli's mission to Yemen. At first they were settled near the Kinneret, but they later moved to Kefar Marmorek. Many of them became residents of the Ha-Tikvah Quarter in Tel Aviv. In the moshavot they worked in agriculture and in the cities as manual laborers.

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[Yosef Tobi (2nd ed.)]

SHARABI, SHALOM (1720–1777), Jerusalem kabbalist. Sharabi was born in *Sana in *Yemen, where the study of *Kabbalah and mysticism was widespread. in his youth, he emigrated to Ereẓ Israel via *Damascus. In Damascus he was involved in a controversy with the local rabbis concerning the meaning of the minimum quantity ("the size of an olive") prescribed for the eating of *matzah* on Passover night. When he arrived in *Jerusalem, he prayed and studied at the kabbalistic yeshivah Bet El, which had been founded in 1737 by the kabbalist Gedaliah Ḥayon. There the prayers were held in accordance with the mystical meditations of Isaac *Luria. Like the Jerusalem kabbalists, he studied only the Lurianic Kabbalah, as transmitted through the works of Ḥayyim *Vital, Luria's outstanding pupil. Soon he became widely known as a man of outstanding piety and as a kabbalist. Sharabi succeeded Gedaliah Ḥayon as head of the yeshivah after the latter's death (1751). During his leadership, he did much for the yeshivah, initiated important regulations, and arranged the order of prayer. He became known as one of the greatest rabbis in Jerusalem and his signature appears on several documents preserved from this period. In 1754 and 1758, he and other rabbis of Jerusalem signed the note binding the association of kabbalists, *Ahavat Shalom*. In 1774 he signed next to the leaders of the community of Jerusalem on a letter for emissaries to Western Europe.

Sharabi's life was embellished by legends even from his youth, and in Ereẓ Israel he was famous as a saint and miracle worker. Popular tradition links his departure from Yemen with a miracle that occurred after a rich Muslim woman tried to seduce him. In Bet El he worked as a servant and hid his learning from others; only miraculously was his deep knowledge of Kabbalah discovered and he became a member of the kabbalistic circle. According to legend, the prophet Elijah appeared to him, and he was an incarnation of Luria. After his death, his name became greatly revered among the Jews of Jerusalem and among the kabbalists of Bet El. His grandson, Solomon Moses Ḥai Gagin, wrote a poem of praise on his expertise in *Eẓ Ḥayyim* and in *Shemonah She'arim* of Ḥayyim Vital. The members of Bet El used to prostrate themselves on his grave on the Mount of Olives on the commemoration of his death. His signature was Shalom Mizraḥi di-Ydi'a Sharabi and his titles Ha-Reshash or Ha-Shemesh (both are Hebrew acronyms of Shalom Mizraḥi Sharabi).

Sharabi's books are on Lurianic Kabbalah. Particularly famous is his prayer book *Nehar Shalom* (Salonika, 1806), which includes in detail the secrets and mystical meditations on prayers and on *mitzvot* for the entire year according to Luria's Kabbalah. It became popular in Ereẓ Israel and North Africa after his death. His contemporary, Ḥ.J.D. *Azulai, attested that Sharabi studied the Lurianic teachings in depth and presented the mystical meditations of Luria clearly and correctly. He annotated corruptions in the texts and elucidated lacunae and contradictions. His glosses and explanations of Luria's writings are an important source for their understanding.

The missing part of the work was published later in an edition of *Eẓ Ḥayyim* (1866–67; 1910). It was published in Jerusalem in two editions (1911–12; 1916). Parts of the prayer book were published under different titles and in many editions from 1911. He also wrote *Reḥovot ha-Nahar*, a commentary on Luria's principles (Salonika, 1806); and *Emet ve-Shalom*, glosses to Ḥayyim Vital's *Eẓ Ḥayyim* (Salonika, 1806), later published in *Eẓ Ḥayyim* (Salonika, 1842; Jerusalem, 1866–67).

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[Yehuda Ratzaby]

SHARANSKY (Shcharansky), NATAN (Anatoly; 1948–), Jewish dissident in the Soviet Union and Israeli politician, member of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Knessets. Born in Donetsk, in Ukraine, Sharansky started studying mathematics and computer sciences in 1966, obtaining his degree from the mathematics and physics institute in Moscow. After the Soviet invasion of Prague in August 1968, he decided to join the struggle for human rights in the Soviet Union. In 1973 he first applied for an exit permit in order to immigrate to Israel, but his request was denied. He proceeded to become an articulate spokesman for Jewish emigration from the Soviet Union to Israel, but refused to cooperate with Israel's efforts vis-à-vis Jews who left the Soviet Union for other destinations. Following the signing of the Helsinki Agreement for Security and Cooperation in Europe in 1975, he joined the Helsinki group in the Soviet Union headed by Andrei Sakharov, and was its contact man with Western journalists reporting on the dissident movement in the Soviet Union. Sharansky convinced Yuri Orlov to lead a small group of Jewish and non-Jewish dissidents to refuse exit visas that the Soviet Union was willing to offer them in order to get rid of them, so that they could continue to monitor the Soviet failure to comply with the Helsinki Accords. Accused in a March 1977 *Izvestia* article of working for the CIA, Sharansky was arrested shortly thereafter on charges of treason and espionage, and sentenced to 13 years imprisonment. Having gained some fame as a dissident before his imprisonment, there was a good deal of international activity to get him released. His wife Avital, whom he had married in 1974 and who had managed to leave for Israel, stood at the head of the campaign for his release. Sharansky was finally released as part of an exchange of prisoners between the United States and the Soviet Union on February 11, 1986, and received a hero's welcome in Israel. Sharansky continued to be active on behalf of Soviet Jewry, and in 1988 was elected head of the Zionist Forum – an umbrella organization engaged in helping in the absorption of immigrants from the former Soviet Union. Following the Declaration of Principles in 1993, he established an organization called "Mabat Lashalom" to follow the agreements between Israel and the Palestinians. In 1996, prior to the elections to the Fourteenth Knesset, he formed a new immigrants' party called Yisrael ba-Aliyah. The new party, which was considered moderately right-wing, gained seven seats and joined the government formed by Binyamin *Netanyahu. Sharansky was appointed minister of industry and trade. In the late 1990s he was accused by former prisoner of Zion Yuli Nudelman of having collaborated with the KGB, but the accusations were never substantiated. In the elections to the Fifteenth Knesset Yisrael ba-Aliyah gained six seats, and joined the government formed by Ehud *Barak. Sharansky was appointed minister of the interior – a ministry that was important for the new immigrants – after the Ministry had been in the hands of *Shas for most of the previous fifteen years. However, Sharansky and his party left the government over Barak's peace policy in July 2000. Sharansky then joined the government established by Ariel *Sharon in 2001, and was appointed deputy prime minister and minister of construction and housing. In the elections to the Sixteenth Knesset Yisrael be-Aliyah gained only two seats, and Sharansky decided to resign his Knesset seat. The two Yisrael be-Aliyah MKs then joined the Likud. In Sharon's new government Sharansky, no longer a member of the Knesset, was appointed minister without portfolio in charge of Jerusalem. In the controversy within the Likud concerning Sharon's disengagement plan Sharansky joined the "rebels," who objected to the plan, and after all the parliamentary efforts to foil the plans failed, resigned from the government in May 2005. His 2004 book, *The Case for Democracy: The Power of Freedom to Overcome Tyranny and Terror,* was warmly praised by U.S. President Bush. Among his other writings are (Anatoly and Avital Shcharansky) *The Journey Home* (1986) and *Fear No Evil* (1988).

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[Susan Hattis Rolef (2nd ed.)]

SHARETT (Shertok), MOSHE (1894–1965). Zionist leader, and prime minister of Israel 1954–55. Member of the First to Fifth Knessets. Sharett was born in Kherson in Ukraine. His parents, who were members of the *Bilu movement, settled in Ereẓ Israel in the early 1880s but returned to Russia. As a child Sharett went to a modern *heder*, and attended a Russian gymnasium in Kherson. At the same time grew up in a Zionist atmosphere and studied Hebrew. In 1906 his family resettled in Palestine, first in the Arab village of ʿAyn Sīniya in Samaria, where Sharett learned Arabic and gained a close insight into the life and customs of the Arab villagers. This experience accompanied him in later life, making him more sensitive to Arab feelings and sensitivities. In 1908 the family moved to Jaffa and Sharett's father, Jacob, was one of the founders of the Aḥuzat Bayit quarter, from which Tel Aviv grew. In the years 1908–13 Sharett attended the Herzliya gymnasium in Tel Aviv. When his father died, he helped support the family by giving private lessons in Hebrew, Turkish, and Arabic. With his classmates Eliyahu *Golomb and Dov *Hos (both of whom married sisters of Sharett's), David *Hacohen, and others, he established close ties with pioneers of the Second Aliyah. After graduating from high school, he went to Constantinople to study law. Upon the outbreak of World War I he volunteered for the Turkish army, and received the rank of officer. He served in Macedonia and in Aleppo, inter alia as an interpreter of the commander of the German Army operating in Turkey.

At the end of the war Shertok returned to Palestine, and in 1919 was among the founders of *Ahdut ha-Avodah, in which he became a close associate of Berl *Katznelson. In 1920 Sharett went to England to study at the London School of Economics, where one of his professors was Harold *Laski. In London he became active in the British Po'alei Zion movement. He returned to Palestine in 1925 and was nominated by Katznelson as deputy editor of the newly founded Histadrut-owned daily *Davar.* Upon the recommendation of Chaim *Arlosoroff in 1931 he was appointed Secretary of the Jewish Agency's Political Department. Following Arlosoroff's assassination in 1933, Shertok was elected by the Eighteenth Zionist Congress as his successor as head of the Political Department, a post he held until the establishment of the State of Israel in 1948. Sharett was responsible for day-to-day contacts with the British Mandatory authorities, the preparation of the Jewish case for presentation to the various British commissions of inquiry on the situation in Palestine, and a wide range of activities in the field of information and public relations. In 1937, and again in 1947, Sharett supported partition, if that would lead to the establishment of a Jewish state. It was on his initiative that the Jewish Supernumerary Police were established in the course of the Arab Revolt of 1936–39. At the outbreak of World War II he was one of the leaders of the recruitment of Jews from Palestine to the British army, playing an important role in the establishment of the *Jewish Brigade. On June 29, 1946 – "Black Saturday" – he was one of the Jewish leaders arrested by the British, and was detained for four months at the Latrun detention camp. In 1947 he played a major role in the diplomatic battle to get the UNSCOP partition plan approved (see *Palestine, Inquiry Commissions, and *Palestine, Partition) by the UN General Assembly. Upon the establishment of the State of Israel he was appointed as its first foreign minister, which is when he officially changed his name from Shertok to Sharett. Sharett was responsible for establishing Israel's highly professional foreign service and opening diplomatic delegations in dozens of countries around the world, paying special attention to Latin America. He was among those who supported contacts with West Germany, and signed the Luxembourg Agreement with Konrad *Adenauer over the issue of *restitution payments to Israel in 1952. Though in later years he was to be criticized for allegedly opting for a totally Western orientation and accused of neglecting Asia, he had in fact made efforts to establish contacts within the framework of the Asian socialist movement, but enjoyed only limited success. While he favored nonalignment, within the objective constraints, including the major role played by Egypt and other Muslim states within the nonaligned bloc, such an option did not exist for Israel. When David *Ben-Gurion temporarily retired to Sedeh Boker in January 1954, Sharett succeeded him as prime minister, retaining the Foreign Affairs portfolio and handing the Defense portfolio to Pinḥas *Lavon. It was in the course of his premiership that the "*esek bish*" (later named the *Lavon Affair) took place, though he himself was not implicated. When Ben-Gurion resumed the post of prime minister in November 1955, Sharett continued to serve as foreign minister, but due to growing differences of opinion between the two men over Ben-Gurion's activism, he resigned in June 1956. He was critical of the *Sinai Campaign, which took place four months after his resignation, viewing it as rash. In 1960 he was elected chairman of the Zionist Organization and Jewish Agency Executive. He continued to support strong links between the State of Israel and the Zionist Organization, and devoted his last years to Zionist endeavors among the Jewish communities abroad. He also continued to be active within Mapai. In the Lavon Affair controversy that continued to bedevil Mapai, Sharett was one of Ben-Gurion's principal opponents. The Affair finally led to the breakup of Mapai in 1965 – the year of his death. In these years Sharett, who was a master of the Hebrew language and engaged in the translation of poetry in foreign languages into Hebrew, also served as chairman of the Am Oved publishing house. He passed away in Jerusalem and was buried in the Old Cemetery in Tel Aviv.

Throughout his political career Sharett was well served by his capacity for clear and systematic thinking, his analytical power, his thoroughness and diligence, and his unusual linguistic talents (he was proficient in eight languages). He never relied on intuition, but examined every question in detail, took pains to acquire a thorough knowledge of the material, and studied the arguments of the other side. In speech and in writing he was a perfectionist in regard to both form and content.

Several educational institutions, a fund for the encouragement of young artists, as well as several neighborhoods and numerous streets throughout Israel bear his name.

Among his writings are *Texts of Addresses Presenting the Position of the Government of Israel on the Future of Jerusalem, During the Fourth Session of the General Assembly of the United Nations, 1949* (1950); *The Challenge of the Land* (1960); and a "political diary," *Yoman Medini* (1968–76).

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[Susan Hattis Rolef (2nd ed.)]

SHARETT (Shertok), YEHUDAH (1901–1979), Israeli composer; brother of Moshe *Sharett. Born in Kherson, Yehudah Sharett was brought to Ereẓ Israel at the age of five and shared in the family's adventurous settlement in the Arab village of ʿAyn Sīniya. After their move to Jaffa he studied violin and music at the institution directed by Shulamith Ruppin (later the "Shulamit Conservatory"). In 1922 he joined kibbutz *En-Harod; there he founded the "Emek Quartet" whose members gave many concerts in agricultural settlements and at the same time continued to fulfill their daily stint of manual labor. In 1926 he joined kibbutz *Yagur. In 1929 he went to Germany to study with the noted music educator Fritz Joede. Upon his return he began to compose intensively for the needs of his kibbutz, from simple children's songs to his crowning achievement – the *Yagur Passover Seder Service*. Between 1937 and 1939 Sharett published eight song collections called *Anot* which principally contained his own songs and compositions. They were the first music publications of the workers' movement and the first of their kind in the country.

No. 2, for *Omer and Passover, already contained the nucleus of the *seder*; no. 4, "for the days of siege and bloodshed" served for ceremonies during the Arab riots; no. 8 included choral works by 16th- and 17th-century European composers, with words adapted by Sharett. Of Sharett's songs and choral pieces, the following became especially popular: *Kumu To'ei Midbar* (words by Bialik; choral setting, edited by Josef *Tal); *Ha-Bonim ba-Ḥomah*; a group of songs by the poet Raḥel, including *Ve-Ulai, Hen Damah be-Dami Zorem; Lo Sharti Lakh Arẓi* (early 1930s); *El Al be-Eyal* (D. Shimoni); and *Ha-Geshem Ḥalaf Halakh Lo* (Song of Songs). The Passover *seder* service (*Seder Pesaḥ Nusaḥ Yagur*, 1951) evolved with the collaboration of the members of Yagur. Its basic text is the "Spring" and "Exodus" passages from the Song of Songs and the Book of Exodus, together with a considerable part of the traditional **Haggadah*. Participation is distributed between the celebrants, an adult's choir, a children's choir (with a small percussion ensemble), adult and child soloists, adult and child speakers, and an "ad hoc" ensemble of available instruments. Almost all nonreligious kibbutzim in Israel adapted Sharett's *seder*, or many parts of it. A few of the melodies (such as Sh. *Postolsky's *Ha Laḥma Anya*) were taken from other composers, but the *seder*, as a whole, is Sharett's creation.

In 1953 Sharett left Yagur and settled in *Neveh Yam. From that time he also worked on the creation of "kibbutz liturgies" for the High Holidays.

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[Bathja Bayer]

SHAREZER (Heb. שַׂרְאֶצֶר), an abbreviated Babylonian name meaning "… [name of deity] protect the king" (cf. Nergal-Sharezer; Jer. 39:3, 13).

1. According to II Kings 19:37 (= Isa. 37:38; cf. II. Chron. 32:21), Sharezer and *Adrammelech murdered their father, King Sennacherib, in the Temple of Nisroch and fled to Ararat.

2. The name in Zechariah 7:2, sometimes read Sharezer, should most likely be combined with the preceding word and read Bethel-Sharezer (see *Regem-Melech).

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[Bezalel Porten]

SHARFMAN, ISAIAH LEO (1886–1969), U.S. economist. Born in the Ukraine, Sharfman was brought to the United States in 1894, and in 1910 began his teaching career at the Imperial Pei-Yang University in Tientsin (China). Returning to the United States in 1912, he became a member of the faculty of the University of Michigan, and was later professor. From 1927 until his retirement in 1955 he served as chairman of the economics department. He was a member of many federal boards and commissions. In 1955 he became a trustee of Brandeis University and was deeply involved in all of its affairs. Sharfman's magnum opus was *The Interstate Commerce Commission* (5 vols., 1931–37).

His other publications dealt mainly with public control of economic activity, especially federal regulation of transportation. His analysis of regulatory problems reflected profound legal knowledge and a sense of social justice. He considered the regulatory process as a means for a democratic society to bring its economic affairs under rational and orderly control.

[Joachim O. Ronall]

SHARGOROD (Pol. **Szarogród**; in Jewish sources **Sharigrad**), town in Vinnitsa district, Ukraine; until 1793 within Poland. An organized Jewish community existed there from the latter half of the 17th century. Both Jewish and gentile inhabitants of Shargorod suffered from continued assaults by the Cossacks. In this period the community erected a magnificent fortified synagogue. When the town was conquered by the Turks toward the end of the 17th century, the building was used as a mosque. During the 18th century the Jews of Shargorod played an important role in the trade with Turkey. In 1765 the community numbered 2,210, and was then the largest in Podolia. At the end of the 17th and the first half of the 18th centuries Shargorod was a center of Shabbateanism. The ḥasidic leaders Naphtali Herz of Shargorod and *Jacob Joseph of Polonnoye were active in the town, the latter holding rabbinical office until 1748. In the 19th century the Jews engaged in the trade of agricultural products, the manufacture and sale of alcoholic beverages, owned most of the 125 town shops, peddling in the villages of the region, and crafts. In 1881–82 the community suffered from pogroms. The Jewish population numbered 3,570 in 1847 and 3,859 (73% of the total) in 1897. By the beginning of the 20th century there existed a Jewish state school for girls and two private schools, apart from *ḥadarim*. In 1926 the community numbered 2,697 (55.9%), and by 1939 the number had dropped to 1,664 (74.6% of the total population). Between the wars there existed a Jewish town council and a Yiddish school. Most of the Jews worked in cooperatives and kolkhozes. Shargorod was occupied by the Germans on July 22, 1941, and annexed by the Romanians to Transnistria in September. A ghetto and a Jewish police were established. In October–November the Romanians added about 5,000 Jews – mainly from Bukovina, but also from Bessarabia – to the 1,800 Jews of the town and its environs. The crowding in the ghetto caused epidemics, and by June 1942 some 1,449 had died of typhus. The Judenrat fought the epidemics by opening a hospital, a pharmacy, and a sanitation station. With the help of the Aid Commitee from Bucharest it organized shops where food, medicine, clothes, and other essentials were produced. An orphanage and school for 186 children was opened. About 1,000 Jews were dispersed on June 30 into 10 nearby villages, and in May 1943 some 175 were sent to a labor camp in Trikhaty (near Nikolayev), where they perished. In September 1943 there were still 2,731 Jews from Bukovina and 240 from Bessarabia in the Shargorod ghetto. In 1979, 800 Jews (23% of the total population) lived there, but there was no synagogue. Most of the Jews left in the 1990s.

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[Shimshon Leib Kirshenboim / Shmuel Spector (2nd ed.)]

SHARLIN, WILLIAM (1920–), U.S. cantor. Born in Brooklyn, he attended the Yeshiva of Harlem and then a yeshivah in the Bronx before attending the Talmudical Academy of Yeshiva University and the Bet Midrash le-Morim at Yeshiva. His parents moved to Jerusalem, Palestine in 1935, where he studied at the Jerusalem Conservatory of Music and the Bet Midrah le-Morim run by Mizrachi. His returned with his parents to New York in 1939 and attended high school at night and then Manhattan School of Music, receiving both his B.A. and M.A. in 1949. His studies were interrupted by war service and he was in the U.S. army between 1942 and 1945. Thus, he was both a learned Jew and a classically trained musician, at home in the synagogue and at home in all facets of music, classic and contemporary.

In 1949 Sharlin entered the School of Sacred Music at HJUC-JIR and then entered its cantorial program while pursuing graduate work at the Cincinnati Conservatory of Music.

He moved to Los Angeles in 1954, combining a part-time position at the newly formed Leo Baeck Temple and teaching at the Hebrew Union College's Los Angeles Campus. He remained at Leo Baeck until his retirement in 1988, introducing many of his compositions in different services and for special education. He had a firm grasp of the seriousness of liturgical movement and was a cantor at a time when many Reform congregations had soloists and choirs. He brought to the synagogue, in the words of its Rabbi Leonard Beerman, a sense of musical vitality and the musically possible. Although a formally trained musician, he was one of the first to introduce the guitar to synagogue service, bringing the liveliness and informality of the camp experience back into the synagogue.

At Hebrew Union College, he was chairman of the Department of Sacred Music. Among the programs he established was a program for cantorial certification and one for synagogue organists. He also continued a long tradition of working with individuals and training them in a mentoring program as cantors. He continued that well into the age of retirement. He was a composer and arranger as well as a cantor. Among his more important works was the service that he composed for the inauguration of Alfred Gottschalk, his former colleague in Los Angeles, as president of Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion in 1971. His collected works have been published.

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[Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

SHARM EL-SHEIKH, TIRĀN ISLAND, AND TIRĀN STRAITS. Sharm el-Sheikh and Sharm al-Mā (Sharm el-Moye) are two small bays on the southeastern coast of the Sinai Peninsula, opening out to the Red Sea. They are situated 10 mi. (16 km.) north of Ra's Muhammad, the southern tip of Sinai, and 15 mi. (24 km.) southwest of the Tirān Straits and the southern end of the Eilat Gulf. The two bays are separated from each other by a narrow headland. The Arabic name of the first is related to the tomb of a Bedouin sheikh on its shore; in 1956, it was given the Hebrew name Mifraẓ \Shelomo ("Solomon's Bay"). Sharm al-Mā means "Water Bay." The local climate is arid-tropical, with summer temperatures in the 95–104° F (35–40° C) range, and precipitation remaining well below the 1 in. (25 mm.) annual average. The shore beyond the bays is hemmed in by coral reefs and mangrove thickets.

Tirān Island, at the southern issue of the Eilat Gulf, is composed of a northern and southern part, with a bay thrusting deeply into its eastern coast. Measuring 23 sq. mi. (59 sq. km.), it is over 7 mi. (12 km.) long and 6.5 mi. (11 km.) wide. Although mostly flat, a mountain 500 meters high rises at its southern end. The island is today uninhabited and has no fresh water supply. East of it lies the smaller Sināfir (Senappir) island (surface 9 sq. mi., 24 sq. km.), which belongs to Saudi Arabia. Between Tiran and the Ra's Nuṣrānī Cape on the Sinai Coast, a 4 mi. (7 km.) wide strait connects the Eilat Gulf with the Red Sea; coral reef isles, however, reduce its width to 2.5 mi. (4 km.), and the width where the water depth permits a secure passage to ocean-going vessels does not exceed 200–300 meters.

In the late Roman and early Byzantine periods, when Jewish centers of Arabia and Ethiopia developed trade with the Red Sea, a community of Jewish merchants was founded on Tiran in the fifth century, which named itself "Yotvat." It was destroyed by Emperor Justinian in 535 C.E. On the Sharm el-Sheikh shore, Bedouin occasionally camped. Paul *Friedmann, who planned to found a Jewish state in Midian to absorb Jewish refugees from czarist Russia, set up a temporary camp in Sharm al-Ma'. The Turks sent a unit of soldiers to Midian to prevent the group's landing there. The episode contributed to exacerbate the Turko-British quarrel over Sinai, and a decade later proved to have a negative influence on Theodor *Herzl's el-Arish project.

After Israel's War of Independence (1948), the Egyptians built camps and fortifications at Sharm el-Sheikh and Ra's Nuṣrānī, with the intention of blocking the Tirān Straits to Israel shipping. To give them a foothold for the purpose, Saudi Arabia ceded Tirān Island to Egypt in 1949. Egypt thus repudiated the international law requiring that such waterways remain open to the shipping of all nations, even when both their sides are under the same political authority. The blockade was broken in the *Sinai Campaign, when Israel forces reached the Sharm el-Sheikh and Tirān area overland on Nov. 3, 1956, blowing up the huge guns at Ra's Nuṣrānī which had dominated the straits. On the basis of the maritime powers' undertaking in the United Nations that free shipping through the Tirān Straits would be guaranteed, Israel evacuated all of Sinai. A UN force was stationed at Sharm el-Sheikh and Ra's Nuṣrānī, guarding the straits and thereby permitting the development of Eilat as Israel's Red Sea port. In May 1967, Egypt demanded the withdrawal of the UN troops from the Sharm el-Sheikh area, a request immediately complied with. Nasser declared the Tirān Straits closed to Israel shipping. This became a principal factor in triggering the *Six-Day War, in which the Sharm el-Sheikh area once again came under Israel's control on June 7, 1967. Subsequently, it was Israel's declared policy that in any peace agreement Sharm el-Sheikh and the Tiran Straits had to remain under Israel control, together with a strip of land to connect it with Eilat. In 1968 the first bathing facilities were installed at Sharm el-Sheikh, and in 1971 a project was announced to build a town there. Early in 1971, the 150 mi. (250 km.) long highway between Sharm el-Sheikh and Eilat was completed. Following the peace treaty between Israel and Egypt, Sharm el-Sheikh was returned to Egypt, but many Israelis (and others) continued to take their vacations there.

[Shlomo Hasson / Efraim Orni]

SHARON (Scheinerman), ARIEL (Arik; 1928–), Israeli soldier and politician, member of the Knesset from the Eighth Knesset. Sharon was born in Kefar Malal and went to highschool in Tel Aviv. He joined the Haganah in 1945, and in 1947 served in the supernumerary police of the Jewish settlements. In the War of Independence he served as a platoon commander in the Alexandroni brigade and was severely wounded in the battle for Latrun. At the beginning of 1949 he was appointed company commander, and in 1951 an intelligence officer in the Central Command. In 1952–53 he studied history and Eastern studies at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, and was then appointed commander of the 101 commando unit, established to carry out reprisal operations against Arab marauder attacks. In 1954 the unit was merged with a paratroop regiment, headed by Sharon, and continued its unconventional activities behind enemy lines. The unit's level of performance was considered high, but it was occasionally criticized for its lack of restraint, such as during the operation in Qibyah, in which women and children were also killed. In the Sinai Campaign of 1956 Sharon fought as commander of a paratroop brigade. However, as a result of the large number of casualties in a battle that took place in the Mitleh Pass, which many viewed as being superfluous, he fell out with Chief of Staff Moshe *Dayan. In 1957 he was sent to the Camberley Staff College in Great Britain, and after his return his advancement in the IDF was frozen by Chiefs of Staff Ḥayyim *Laskov and Ẓevi Ẓur. In 1958–62 he commanded an infantry brigade and the Infantry School, simultaneously attending the Law School at Tel Aviv University.

It was only after the appointment of Yitzhak *Rabin as chief of staff in 1964 that Sharon's military career once again started to advance. Rabin appointed Sharon head of the Northern Command Staff, and in 1966, after he received the rank of major general, as head of the IDF Training Division. In the *Six-Day War he led an armored brigade which broke through Egyptian fortified positions in Um-Kattaf and Abu 'Ageila. After the War he returned to his previous position as head of the Training Division, in which capacity he moved several training bases to the West Bank. In 1969 he was appointed commander of the Southern Command, in which capacity he fortified the Bar-Lev Line and played an active role in the War of Attrition. In this period he was highly critical of Chief of Staff Haim *Bar-Lev. In 1971 he concentrated most of his efforts into fighting against terrorist cells in Gaza and removing the Bedouins from Northern Sinai. The latter activity was criticized by the chief of staff. In this period, though he was still in uniform, Sharon made some proposals of a political nature. In September 1970, in the course of "Black September" in Jordan, he argued (in closed military circles) that Israel should not have helped save King Hussein's skin in his battle against the PLO, but rather aligned itself with the PLO against the king. The background to this idea was Sharon's objection to any Israeli withdrawal from Judea and Samaria, and his belief that an alternative solution would have to be offered the Palestinians. Regarding the Sinai, he proposed that Egypt be allowed to maintain a civil administration there, while the IDF would continue to hold it for a period of 15 years. In the meantime trust would be established between the two sides, to be followed by negotiations toward a settlement. However, his ideas were not taken seriously by the government of Golda *Meir.

In June 1973, after Sharon reached the conclusion that he was unlikely to be appointed chief of staff, he resigned from the IDF and entered the political arena, joining the *Israel Liberal Party. He immediately launched a campaign for the expansion of *Gaḥal through the inclusion of additional parties and groups and played a leading role in the establishment of the Likud. Upon the outbreak of the *Yom Kippur War, however, he returned to active service as commander of an armored division and led his men across the Suez Canal into Egypt proper. Despite the brilliant success of this operation, he was once again severely criticized for disobeying orders and showing disrespect for his superiors.

After demobilization, Sharon ran in the elections to the Eighth Knesset on the Likud list and was elected to the Knesset.

However, feeling ineffective as an ordinary Member of the Knesset in opposition, he resigned from the Knesset in December 1974 and accepted an emergency appointment in the IDF. Half a year later he was appointed by Prime Minister Rabin as his special advisor. A year later he resigned as advisor and formed a new political party, Shlomzion, which gained two seats in the elections to the Ninth Knesset in 1977. After the victory of the Likud in the elections, Shlomzion merged with it, and Sharon was appointed by Menaḥem *Begin as minister of agriculture in his government, and chairman of the Ministerial Committee on Settlement, in which capacities he encouraged the establishment of new settlements in the territories occupied during the Six-Day War. In this period he was considered the patron of *Gush Emunim. After the resignation of Ezer *Weizman from the post of minister of defense in May 1980, Begin refused to appoint Sharon to the post. However, after the elections to the Tenth Knesset in 1981, Begin finally gave way, and Sharon was appointed minister of defense. Not long after his appointment, Sharon started planning a major operation in Lebanon to stop the launching of Katyushas on Northern Israel and to oust the PLO from Beirut and southern Lebanon. He also sought to remove the Syrians from Beirut and install a government in Lebanon that would be willing to sign a peace treaty with Israel. After an attempted assassination of the Israeli ambassador to London, Shlomo Argov, Sharon decided, in June 1982, to embark on Operation Peace for Galilee. However, two months before this, he implemented the very sensitive operation of withdrawal from the Rafa Salient and the removal of the settlers from Yamit and other Jewish settlements in the area.

Regarding Lebanon, the government approved a limited operation, at a depth of 40 kilometers from the border with Israel. Yet Sharon continued the operation into Beirut, while, according to Menaḥem Begin's son Ze'ev Binyamin *Begin, keeping vital information from the prime minister and misleading him. Sharon personally approved the entry of the Christian Phalange troops into the refugee camps of Sabra and Shatilla the day after Lebanon's president-elect, Bashir Jemayel, was assassinated. Following the massacre that occurred in the camps, Sharon was found by the Kahane Committee of Inquiry set up by the Israeli government – after massive popular pressure to investigate the event – to be responsible for not preventing the massacre, and he was forced to resign from the Ministry of Defense, remaining in the government as minister without portfolio. Despite opposition in the *Israel Labor Party, Sharon was appointed minister of industry and trade in the National Unity Government formed in 1984. Soon after entering his new position Sharon traveled to the U.S. to appear in a libel suit that he had brought against *Time* magazine, which had published an article stating that the Kahane Committee Report included a secret appendix, according to which Sharon had encouraged the Jemayel family to take revenge against the Palestinians for Bashir's assassination. Sharon won the suit on the facts but failed to prove malice. Sharon remained in the Ministry of Industry and Trade until February 1990 and continued to support Jewish settlement in the territories, proposing that the Palestinians be given 11 autonomous areas.

Following the government's decision on May 15, 1989, to hold elections in the territories, Sharon headed a group in the Likud, that also included David *Levy and Yitzhak *Modai, which tried to undermine the plan, and went so far as to leave the government in February 1990, after a stormy meeting of the Likud Central Committee. However, after the Labor Party brought the National Unity Government down in March, he rejoined the narrow government formed by Yitzhak *Shamir as minister of construction and housing. In this position Sharon assisted private associations that were engaged in purchasing property in the Old City of Jerusalem and in East Jerusalem for Jewish settlement, and was involved in purchasing tens of thousands of caravans to house the wave of new immigrants from the former Soviet Union that started pouring into Israel after 1989. Sharon opposed Israel's participation in the Madrid Conference in October 1991. In February 1992 he contended for the Likud leadership, but came in third after Shamir and Levy. He did not contend for the Likud leadership in 1993 opposite Binyamin*Netanyahu, after the Likud's electoral defeat in the elections to the Thirteenth Knesset in 1992.

In the government formed by Netanyahu after the elections to the Fourteenth Knesset in 1996, a new Ministry of National Infrastructures was tailor-made for Sharon. Following Netanyahu's defeat in the direct election for prime minister held in 1999, and Netanyahu's decision to leave politics temporarily, Sharon finally assumed the leadership of the Likud. It was Sharon's decision at the end of September 2000 to pay a well-publicized visit the Temple Mount that triggered the outbreak of the second Intifada and led to the final breakdown of Barak's efforts to work out a permanent settlement with the Palestinians.

In the elections for prime minister held in February 2001 Sharon defeated Ehud *Barak. Following the elections, he set up a national unity government. Soon after his victory he cancelled the system of direct election of the prime minister. With the full cooperation of Minister of Defense Binyamin *Ben-Eliezer, who briefly served as chairman of the Labor Party, Sharon used massive force to try to crush the increasingly violent Intifada and, in the end of March 2002, launched Operation Defensive Shield, involving wide-scale incursions into the Palestinian towns in the West Bank, and preventing Yasser *Arafat from leaving his residence in the Mukata'a compound in Ramallah. In November 2002, the Labor Party decided to leave the government, and new elections were held two months later.

In the elections to the Sixteenth Knesset the Likud, under Sharon's leadership, won an impressive victory. Sharon sought to establish another national unity government, but Labor refused, and he established a coalition with Shinui, the NRP, and the National Union. After the elections, Sharon approved the construction of a defensive fence to separate Israel from the West Bank and make it difficult for terrorists to enter Israel, arguing that the location of the fence did not imply the delineation of Israel's future borders. At the beginning of 2004 he introduced a unilateral disengagement plan, involving the dismantlement of all the Jewish settlements in the Gaza Strip, and several in Northern Samaria, as well as full Israeli withdrawal from these areas. This move led to a serious rift within the Likud and the breakup of his coalition. The disengagement took place in August 2005 (see *Gush Katif). In January 2005 he established an alternative coalition with the Labor Party and the Ashkenazi *ḥaredi* parties, and with the help of several opposition parties managed to get the Knesset to approve the implementation of the disengagement plan and the 2005 budget on March 30, 2005. At this point Sharon never specified what his plans were following the disengagement. Despite the very difficult political, military, and economic situation, and serious allegations of financial irregularities raised against him and his two sons, Omri and Gilad, Sharon's popularity soared.

In November 2005, with the Likud Central Committee threatening to depose him as party chairman over his political policies and Likud MKs and cabinet ministers also opposing him, Sharon left the Likud and founded the Kadimah Party, taking with him leading Likud figures, such as Ehud *Olmert, Tzipi *Livni, and Meir *Sheetrit, and joined by disaffected Labor Party leaders such as Shimon *Peres. On January 4, 2006, Sharon suffered a massive stroke which left him incapacitated. Ehud Olmert of Kadimah became acting prime minister and led the party to an election victory in March 2006.

Sharon's eldest son, Omri, was elected to the Sixteenth Knesset on the Likud list.

With David Chanoff, Sharon published *Warrior: the Autobiography of Ariel Sharon* (1989).

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[Susan Hattis Rolef (2nd ed.)]

SHARON, ARYEH (1900–1984), Israeli architect, among the most influential architects in Israel specializing in public buildings. Born in Poland, he went to Palestine in 1920 and joined kibbutz Gan Shemuel, working as a mason. Between 1926 and 1930, he studied architecture at the Bauhaus in Dessau, Germany, and then worked for two years in Berlin. He returned to Ereẓ Israel in 1932 and planned and built many cooperative housing projects in Tel Aviv. He grasped the connection between the social and political views of the Bauhaus to the Zionist ideology of the Yishuv. He also planned the new Beilinson Hospital, the old and new Agricultural Center, the Bet Brenner building in Tel Aviv, the Ichilov Hospital, Tel Aviv, various buildings of the Weizmann Institute in Reḥovot, and of The Hebrew University, Jerusalem. His architecture was known for the relationship between his buildings and their natural surroundings and corresponded to the development of modern architecture over the years. It can be characterized as international and pragmatic. From 1948 to 1953 Sharon was head of the Israel Government Planning Department and as such was responsible for the design of many of the new settlements.

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[Abraham Erlik / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

SHARON, NATHAN (1925–), Israeli biochemist. Sharon was born in Brisk, Poland, and immigrated to Palestine in 1934. He was educated at Tel Aviv High School and earned his M.Sc. (1950) and Ph.D. (1953) in biochemistry from the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. He was a research assistant at the Agricultural Research Station, Reḥovot (1949–53), before joining the staff of the department of biophysics at the Weizmann Institute (1954), where he was appointed professor (1968) and head of department (1973–83 and 1987–90). He was dean of the faculty of biophysics and bioengineering for three periods between 1976 and 1986. He was professor emeritus after 1995. He also carried out postdoctoral research at Harvard Medical School and Massachusetts General Hospital, Boston, and at Brookhaven National Laboratory, Upton, New York (1956–58). Sharon's research initially concerned lectins, the proteins found in plants, microbes, and mammalian cells that combine with carbohydrate-containing proteins, and later extended to the broader field of sugar-containing proteins called glycoproteins and the associated field of glycobiology. These proteins have important roles in the growth and differentiation of normal cells and the changed behavior of cancer cells. Sharon has a particular interest in cell surface molecules in the family called adhesins and their role in permitting invading microbes to attach to and infect cells. He has used his discoveries to suggest simple forms of treatment, such as cranberry juice to prevent urinary tract infections, and to develop longer-term strategies for blocking microbial adherence to host cells. Sharon's achievements have been internationally recognized by many distinguished honors and awards. These include election to the Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities (1992), the Israel Prize in biochemistry and medicine (1994), and foreign membership in the Academia Europaea (1999), the Polish Academy of Sciences (2000), and the American Society for Microbiology (2001). He served as a visiting professor at many leading universities in North America and Europe. Even after attaining emeritus status he continued to contribute original and frequently cited scientific papers and to write authoritative reviews. His books on lectins and complex carbohydrates are highly regarded. His interest in scientific education includes three books of popular science and chairmanship of influential Israeli committees concerned with the advancement of science.

[Michael Denman (2nd ed.)]

SHARONAH (Heb. שָׁרוֹנָה), moshav in northern Israel, in Lower Galilee, 3 mi. (5 km.) W. of Yavne'el, affiliated with Tenu'at ha-Moshavim. The village's land was acquired in 1913 by American Jews and a year later, in World War I, the ground was abandoned. After the land passed over to the Jewish National Fund, moshav Sharonah was founded (1938) by a Gordonia pioneer group from Eastern Europe, as part of an endeavor to reinforce the "settlement bridge" between the Jezreel and Kinnarot valleys. In 1970 Sharonah had 178 inhabitants, increasing to 441 in 2002. Its farming was based on field crops, fruit orchards, and cattle. The name is mentioned by Eusebius (Onom. 162:4, 5).

[Efraim Orni]

SHARP, ISADORE NATANIEL (**Issy**; 1931–), Canadian hotel executive and philanthropist. Founder, chairman, and chief executive officer of Four Seasons Hotel Inc., Sharp was born in Toronto, Ontario. He graduated as an architect from Toronto's Ryerson Institute in 1952 and began in the construction business with his father, Max Sharp. On his first trip to Europe in the late 1950s, Sharp became interested in building luxury hotels and in 1961 opened the Four Seasons Motor Hotel in Toronto. From that first hotel he created a worldwide chain that has set the industry standard for fine travel accommodation. In 2005, Four Seasons Hotels and Resorts had 66 hotels in 29 countries and more than 20 properties under development. In addition to numerous corporate directorships, Issy Sharp also applied his leadership skills to charitable and community causes. He initiated the corporate sponsorship program supporting the Terry Fox Marathon of Hope and is the founder of the annual Terry Fox Run Program, the largest single-day fundraising event for cancer research worldwide. In 1983, in recognition of his work on behalf of the Canadian Cancer Society, Sharp was the first recipient of the Ruth Hartman Frankel Humanitarian Award. He continued to serve as a director of the National Terry Fox Run and the Terry Fox Humanitarian Award Program, as well as a governor of the Canadian Council of Christians and Jews. In 1985 he served as co-chairman of the United Jewish Appeal and in 1989 was named the Negev Dinner honouree by the Jewish National Fund of Canada. Among numerous other business and community honors and awards, Sharp was appointed an Officer of the Order of Canada in 1993.

[Andrea Knight (2nd ed.)]

SHARUHEN (Heb. שָׁרוּחֶן), city in the territory of the tribe of Simeon (Josh. 19:6); in the Septuagint, the name is translated as "their fields" (*sedoteihem*). The parallel passage in Joshua

15:32 has Shilhim, and that in I Chronicles 4:31 has Shaaraim. Opinions are divided between these being variations of the same name or different places. In Egyptian sources, Sharuhen appears as a Hyksos stronghold besieged for three years by the army of Ahmose I after the expulsion of the Hyksos from Egypt. It remained an Egyptian fortress under Thutmosis III. It was evidently the starting point of Shishak's Negev campaign (no. 125 in his list of Canaanite cities). These data have led Albright to identify Sharuhen with Tell al-Fāriʿa (present-day Tel Sharuhen), an ancient mound on the Besor River, about 18½ mi. (30 km.) west of Beer-Sheba. Between 1927–1929 it was excavated by *Petrie, who identified it with Beth-Pelet. Remains include a Hyksos fortification; strata of the Philistine, Israelite, and Persian periods; Hyksos and Philistine tombs; Jewish coins; and a Roman fort.

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[Michael Avi-Yonah]

SHAS (Heb. שׁ״ס), an abbreviation consisting of the initials of *Shishah Sedarim* (Heb. שִׁשָּׁה סְדָרִים), or *Shita Sidra* (Aram. שִׁיתָּא סִידְרָא), the "six orders" into which the Mishnah is divided. The full Aramaic term is found in *Bava Meẓia* 85b, the full Hebrew in *Esther Rabbah* 1:12. The abbreviation does not appear in the manuscripts of the early editions of the Talmud and was first used in the Basle edition (1578–81) because of the objection of the censor to the term Talmud. It appears in *Ḥagigah* 10a and *Shabbat* 63a. In both of these passages the Munich manuscript reads תַּלְמוּדָא (*talmuda*). *Tosafot* to *Sanhedrin* 24a quotes *Avodah Zarah* 19b שְׁלִישׁ בַּשַּׁ״ס (*shelish ba-Shas*; "A third of one's time should be devoted to *Shas*") where the printed editions read בַּתַּלְמוּד (*ba-Talmud*).

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[Harry Freedman]

SHAS (**Sephardi Torah Guardians**), Israeli political party. Shas was established in 1984 before the elections to the Eleventh Knesset, in protest over the small representation of Sephardim in the *ḥaredi* *Agudat Israel, and with the support of Rabbi Eliezer Menaḥem *Shach. Shas' spiritual leader from the very start was former Chief Sephardi Rabbi Ovadiah *Yosef, who established a seven-member Council of Torah Sages. At first the party's political leader was Rabbi Yitzhak Ḥayyim Peretz. True to its slogan of "restoring the pristine splendor" (*Haḥzarat Atarah le-Yoshnah*) Shas established an independent education system called El ha-Ma'ayan, and started to actively engage in bringing members of the Sephardi community back to religion. In the elections to the Eleventh Knesset Shas won four seats, compared to Agudat Israel's two, receiving not only the support of *ḥaredi* voters, but also of many traditional voters. While Shas followed an extreme policy on issues of religion and state, at first it followed a moderate policy on the peace issue, after Yosef had declared that lives were more important than territories.

Shas joined the National Unity Government formed in 1984, and Peretz was appointed minister of the interior. He resigned in January 1987 over the Shoshana (Susan) Miller affair, after the High Court of Justice ruled that Ms. Miller be registered in her ID card as Jewish, even though she has been converted to Judaism by a Reform rabbi. The Ministry of the Interior was now run by the director general of the ministry, Aryeh *Deri. Peretz later returned to the government as minister without portfolio.

In the elections to the Twelfth Knesset in 1988, Shas won six seats, and once again joined the National Unity Government, in which Deri, now officially recognized as the political leader of Shas, was appointed minister of the interior. It was Deri, in collusion with Haim *Ramon of the *Israel Labor Party, who helped Shimon *Peres bring down the government in March 1990, when five of Shas' MKs were absent during a vote on a motion of no-confidence in the government. But after Peres failed to establish a new government, Shas joined the new right-wing–religious government established by Yitzhak *Shamir.

In the elections to the Thirteenth Knesset in 1992 Shas retained its six seats, and despite allegations of mismanagement of funds by the party's educational institutions and charges of corruption against several of its Knesset members, Prime Minister Yitzhak *Rabin included Shas as the only religious party in his government, offering Shas many of the power positions previously held by the *National Religious Party. After a prolonged struggle, Shas managed to bring about the removal of Shulamit *Aloni from the Ministry of Education and Culture. However, external pressures and criminal charges brought against Deri that resulted in demands by the attorney general that he resign, led to its resignation from the government in August 1993, one month before the signing of the Declaration of Principles with the PLO in Washington. Efforts to bring Shas back into the government failed. Nevertheless, it joined Ramon's new list in the *Histadrut elections in May 1994, and was thus a partner to the revolutionary changes in the Histadrut that followed.

In the elections to the Fourteenth Knesset in 1996, Shas, still under Deri's political leadership, but now less dovish than before, garnered 10 Knesset seats and joined the government formed by Binyamin *Netanyahu, even though Deri himself was not given a ministerial post. Deri was, nevertheless, allegedly involved in the attempts to get Ronnie Bar-On appointed attorney general. In the elections to the Fifteenth Knesset in 1999, Shas, now under the political leadership of Rabbi Eliahu (Eli) Yishai, received a record 17 seats. Shas joined the government formed by Ehud *Barak, but left over Barak's willingness to make far-reaching concessions to the Palestinian Authority. It then joined the government formed by Ariel *Sharon after he won in the elections for prime minister held in 2001. In the elections to the Sixteenth Knesset held in 2003, Shas lost six of its seats to the Likud. This was due to the departure of Deri from the political scene, divisions in the Sephardi *ḥaredi* camp, a deterioration in Shas' financial situation, and some embarrassing statements by Rabbi Yosef in the course of his weekly lessons. Shas remained outside the new government formed by Sharon, and despite talks held with the Likud at the end of 2004 and the beginning of 2005 about a possible entry of Shas into the government after the departure of the National Union, the NRP, and Shinui, Shas, believing that early elections lay ahead, chose to remain outside. In the course of the Sixteenth Knesset Shas opposed the government both over Netanyahu's economic policy that greatly reduced social transfer payments, and especially child support benefits, and over Sharon's disengagement policy. In the March 2006 elections to the Seventeenth Knesset, Shas received 12 seats and rejoined the government with four cabinet posts, including Yishai as minister of industry, trade and labor.

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SHASHU, SALIM (1926–), Iraqi poet and journalist. A Baghdad lawyer and teacher, Shashu immigrated to Israel in 1951 and edited the Arabic weekly *al-Manār*, also working for the Arabic section of the Israel Broadcasting Authority. He hailed Israel's military achievements in his nationalist poems. His verse collection *Fī ʿĀlam al-Nūr* ("In the World of Light," 1959) was dedicated to President Ben-Zvi.

[Shmuel Moreh]

SHATNER, WILLIAM (1931–), Canadian actor-writer. Shatner was born in Montreal. His paternal grandfather, Wolf Shattner, had changed the family name after emigrating from the Ukraine. Even before his teen years, Shatner was working professionally for the Canadian Broadcasting Company. He studied business at McGill University and in 1951 acted in the Canadian feature *The Butler's Night Off.* He had planned to go into the clothing business with his father after graduating with a bachelor's degree in 1952, but instead joined the Canadian Repertory Theatre (1952–54) in Ottawa and then the Stratford Shakespeare Festival (1954–56) in Stratford, Ontario. He played Ranger Bob on the children's television series *Howdy Doody* in 1954 and starred in a live adaptation of Herman Melville's *Billy Budd* (1955). In 1956 Shatner made his Broadway debut with *Tamburlaine the Great*. In 1958, he made his U.S. feature film debut in *The Brothers Karamazov* and starred in the Broadway production of *The World of Suzie Wong*, which took the 1959 Theatre World Award. Shatner appeared in the feature *Judgment at Nuremberg* (1961) while working in television programs like *Playhouse 90* and *Studio One*, and then in the Broadway production of *A Shot in the Dark*. In 1962, he starred in the acclaimed film *The Intruder*, which he followed with appearances on *The Twilight Zone* and *77 Sunset Strip*, and a starring role in the short-lived television series *For the People* (1965). In 1966, Shatner was cast as Captain Kirk in *Star Trek*, a part he played until NBC canceled the series on Sept. 2, 1969. After a divorce wiped out his finances he continued to act on television, including an adaptation of the book *Go Ask Alice* (1973), but the role of Kirk had typecast Shatner and he found himself mostly relegated to bit parts in action films. Shatner rejoined the *Star Trek* cast and provided the voice for Kirk in an animated series (1973–75). This was followed by a failed attempt to relaunch a syndicated live *Star Trek* series, which evolved to become a series of films that featured Shatner's Kirk from 1979 to 1994. Shatner found himself back on television as a cop in the series *T.J. Hooker* (1982–86) and then as host of the reality television series *Rescue 911* (1989–95). In 1989, Shatner began publishing his long-running *TekWar* series of science-fiction novels and helped adapt them to television. After serving as a spokesperson for Priceline.com from 1998, he returned to acting in 2003 with guest appearances as Denny Crane on David E. Kelley's *The Practice*, which earned him an Emmy for best guest actor. In 2004, he joined the spin-off series, *Boston Legal*, reprising his role as Crane and earning a Golden Globe and another Emmy. Shatner was a longtime breeder of American quarter horses, and raised money for various charities, including Ahead With Horses and Children's Museum of Los Angeles.

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[Adam Wills (2nd ed.)]

SHATZKES, MOSES (1881–1958), *rosh yeshivah*. Born in Vilna, Shatzkes was raised by his stepfather, Isaac *Blaser, a foremost exponent of the *Musar movement. Shatzkes studied at the *Telz yeshivah where he became a leading disciple of its *rosh yeshivah*, Eliezer Gordon. In 1909 Shatzkes was appointed rabbi of Lipnishki, and in 1915 of Ivo, both in the province of Vilna. After World War I, he was active in guiding Vilna's Jewish relief organization and the Va'ad ha-Yeshivot. In 1930 he was elected to the important position of the rabbi of Lomza, and in this capacity served as one of the leaders of Polish-Lithuanian Jewry until the war forced him to flee to Vilna in 1939. There he was appointed the head of the Grodno yeshivah after the death of its previous *rosh yeshivah*, Rabbi Simeon *Shkop. He immigrated to the United States in 1941, and became a senior member of the faculty of the Rabbi Isaac Elhanan Theological Seminary of the Yeshiva University. Shatzkes' annotations to Blaser's works were published under the title *Anaf Peri* as an appendix to the second volume of the latter's *Peri Yizḥak* (Jerusalem, 1913).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: O.Z. Rand, *Toledot Anshei Shem* (1950), 132.

[Aaron Rothkoff]

SHATZKES, MOSES AARON (1825–1899), Hebrew writer. Born in Karlin, Belorussia, he studied in Lithuanian yeshivot, and then joined the *Haskalah movement. He gained a literary reputation through his book *Ha-Mafte'aḥ* ("The Key," 1869). The book analyzes talmudic legends, starting from the premise that they are merely ethical allegories, not to be taken literally. This theory, acceptable to the moderates of the Haskalah movement, was anathema to Orthodox Jews, who tried to prevent publication of the book, and in some towns even burned copies. Shatzkes wrote articles in the same vein (*Ha-Asif*, 2 (1885), 241–61; *Ha-Sifrut*, 3 (1889/90), 103–18; and others). In Yiddish he published anonymously *Der Yudisher for Pesakh* ("Preparations for Passover," 1881) in which he attacked superstitions associated with the Passover festival. Toward the end of his life, he moved to Kiev, where he became a leading figure in the Haskalah circle, noted for his pungently witty conversation.

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[Yehuda Slutsky]

SHATZKY, JACOB (1893–1956), historian. Born in Warsaw, Shatzky received his doctorate in 1922 for a dissertation on 19th-century Polish-Jewish history. During World War I he served as an officer in the Polish Legion. From 1913 on he wrote Polish articles and reviews on Jewish literary and historical subjects. He came to write mainly in Yiddish after 1922, the year he settled in the U.S., where he was one of the founders of the U.S. section of *YIVO. From 1929 until his death he was librarian of the New York State Psychiatric Institute.

Shatzky's range was extraordinarily wide: Spinoza, psychiatry, theater, music, folklore, literature, language, and other areas. His principal field, however, was Eastern European Jewish history, and his major work was his history of Warsaw Jewry. He was an indefatigable and often querulous reviewer of scholarly works. The quality and accuracy of his own historical scholarship has often been questioned.

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[Leonard Prager]

SHAUL (Shaool), ANWAR (1904–1984), Iraqi poet and journalist. Born in *Baghdad, Shaul was editor (1924–25) of the Arabic-language Iraqi Zionist journal, *al-Miṣbāḥ*. At that time he also wrote poems expressing his Jewish national convictions. He was secretary of the Baghdad Jewish community for three years, but then became estranged from the Jewish community. In 1937 he went so far as to sign an anti-Zionist declaration.

Shaul was the first Iraqi to deal with the life of the masses and to demand the abolition of the veil and an improvement in the status of women. His first stories were published in the anthology *al-Ḥiṣād al-Awwal* ("The First Crop," 1930). He compiled an anthology of translated short stories titled *Qiṣaṣ min al-Gharb* ("Stories from the West," 1937). His other books are *Fī Ziḥām al-Madīna* ("In the Tumult of the City," 1955) and a volume of poems, *Hamasāt al-Zamān* ("Whispers of Time," 1956). Like his colleague Meir Baṣri (1912–), he considered himself an Iraqi Jew, a member of the Arab Iraqi nation; he did not immigrate to Israel with the great majority of Iraqi Jewry in 1951. However he left Iraq in 1971. He was a prolific writer and published in literary periodicals in the Arab world.

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[Hayyim J. Cohen]

SHAVEI ZION (Heb. שָׁבֵי צִיּוֹן; "Those who Return to Zion"), moshav shittufi in northern Israel, in the Acre Plain, 2 mi. (3 km.) S. of Nahariyyah, affiliated with Ha-Iḥud ha-Ḥakla'i. Shavei Zion was founded in 1938 by a group of German-Jewish immigrants who were descended from generations of farmers and cattle merchants in the village of Rexingen, Wuerttemberg. Shavei Zion was one of the first villages to adopt the moshav shittufi form of settlement. Although not strictly Orthodox, the settlers preserve traditional Judaism as part of their social organization. In 1970 the village had 312 inhabitants, rising to 619 in 2002. The moshav economy was based on industry, farming, and tourism, including a plastics factory and a resort and beach.

[Efram Orni / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

SHAVELSON, CLARA LEMLICH (1886–1982), U.S. labor organizer, suffragist, communist, and consumer activist. Born to religiously observant parents in Gorodok, Ukraine, Lemlich was already a committed revolutionary when her family came to the United States in 1903. At 17, she supported her family by working in a Lower East Side shirtwaist (blouse) manufacturing shop.

In 1905, Lemlich began organizing waistmakers into the nascent *International Ladies Garment Workers Union and was a co-founder of ILGWU Local 25. At a time when most of the union consisted of skilled male workers, Lemlich's recruits were largely young immigrant women. She emerged as a leader of a strike at the Leiserson shop in the fall of 1909. Company guards and policemen singled Lemlich out on the picket line, breaking six of her ribs and arresting her 17 times. In November, 1909, Lemlich interrupted a mass meeting called by the ILGWU. Wresting the podium from a roster of speakers that did not include any working women, she called for a general strike. Her oration in Yiddish ignited what became known as the "Uprising of the Twenty Thousand." In subsequent weeks, 30 to 40 thousand garment workers, mostly young Jewish women, walked out of their workplaces.

Following the strike settlement, garment shops in New York would not hire Lemlich. After working part time as a union organizer, she accepted a full time job as a suffrage advocate. Her relationship with the middle-class women who hired her quickly soured, and she was fired within the year. Soon after, Lemlich married Joe Shavelson and moved to Brooklyn. Now a housewife with children, she began mobilizing other women in her own position, insisting that housewives, as the prime consumers for working class families, were as important to the class struggle as wage-earners.

Under the rubric of the Communist Party, which she joined in 1926, Shavelson co-founded the United Council of Working Women. Initially supporting striking workers with food and childcare, the group expanded its scope by leading food boycotts, rent strikes, and demonstrations. In 1935, the group changed its name to the Progressive Women's Councils and continued its consumer protests with other New York women's organizations. Their alliance started the successful meat boycott of 1935 which spread from New York to major urban areas across the nation and reduced the price of meat in hundreds of American cities.

Shavelson remained politically active until the end of her life. Through the 1950s, despite FBI monitoring, she protested the nuclear arms race and the Rosenberg executions. She continued her political work through the 1960s and 1970s, where, at the Jewish Home for the Aged in Los Angeles, she helped the orderlies organize a union.

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[Rachel Kranson (2nd ed.)]

SHAVUOT (Heb. שָׁבוּעוֹת; "weeks," Pentecost, "the 50th day"), the festival celebrated on the sixth of Sivan (and also on the seventh outside Israel). The biblical names for the festival are: "Ḥag Shavuot" ("Feast of Weeks," Ex. 34:22; Deut. 16:10); "Yom ha-Bikkurim" ("The Day of the First-fruits," Num. 28:26), and "Ḥag ha-Kaẓir" ("The Harvest Feast," Ex. 23:16). The rabbinic name is "Aẓeret" (RH 1, 2; Ḥag. 2, 4). This word, of uncertain meaning but generally translated as "solemn assembly," occurs also in connection with the day following the Festival of Sukkot (Lev. 23:36; Num. 29:35). This would seem to suggest that, for the rabbis, Shavuot is an additional one day feast to Passover just as there is an additional one day feast to Tabernacles (see Targ. Onk. to Num. 28:26 and PdRK 192a–93a).

History

This feast, one of the three *pilgrim festivals (Deut. 16:16), marked the end of the barley and the beginning of the wheat harvest. According to the critical view, it was probably a midsummer festival in origin and taken over from the Canaanites. It is stated in Leviticus: "From the day after the Sabbath, the day that you bring the sheaf of wave-offering you shall count (until) seven full weeks have elapsed: you shall count fifty days, until the day after the seventh week; then you shall bring an offering of new grain to the Lord" (Lev. 23:15–16 and to 21). Leviticus 23:11 states that the sheaf was waved on the day after the Sabbath on the festival of Passover. Thus Shavuot falls 50 days after this day. The *Sadducees (and later the *Karaites) understood the term "Sabbath" in these verses literally; hence, for them Shavuot always falls on a Sunday. The *Pharisees, however, interpreted "Sabbath" as the first day of Passover (which was a *Sabbath*, "day of rest") so that for them Shavuot always falls on the 51st day from the first day of Passover (Sifra Emor Perek 12; Men. 65a–66a). The *Beta Israel (Falashas) interpreted "the day after Sabbath" as meaning the day after Passover so that for them Shavuot falls on the 12th of Sivan. The community of *Qumran apparently interpreted "Sabbath" as the Sabbath after the end of the Passover festival, and as they had a fixed solar calendar, this "Sabbath" always fell on the 26th of Nisan so that Shavuot always came out on Sunday the 15th of Sivan.

On this festival in Temple times two loaves (*shetei ha-leḥem*) were "waved before the Lord" (Lev. 23:17–20). These had to be offered only from the finest wheat, from produce grown that year in Ereẓ Israel (Men. 8:1). Shavuot was associated with the bringing of the **bikkurim*, "the first ripe fruits," to the Sanctuary (Ex. 23:19; Deut. 26:1–11). The Mishnah (Bik. 1, 6) states that the period for bringing them was any time from Shavuot to Sukkot. The villagers would first assemble in the large town of the district and would go up together with their first ripe fruits to the Temple, where they would be welcomed with song by the levites (Bik. 3:2–4). In rabbinic times a remarkable transformation of the festival took place. Based on the verse: "In the third month after the children of Israel were gone forth out of the land of Egypt, the same day came they into the wilderness of Sinai" (Ex. 19:1), the festival became the anniversary of the giving of the Torah at Sinai. The description of the feast in the liturgy is "*zeman mattan toratenu*" ("the time of the giving of our Torah"). The transformation was in accord with a process to be observed in the Bible in which the ancient agricultural feasts were transformed into festivals marking the anniversaries of significant historical events in the life of the people. Both Passover and Sukkot are connected with the Exodus; it was natural to link Shavuot with this event.

It is possible that the Pharisees insisted that Shavuot be observed on a fixed day because they wished to affirm that the festival commemorated the Sinaitic theophany which occurred on the 50th day after the Exodus (following the general Pharisaic belief in an oral Torah reaching back to Moses which the Sadducees denied), and because a purely agricultural festival had little meaning for the town dwellers who made up the Pharisaic party (L. Finkelstein, *Pharisees* (1962^3), 115–8, 641–54). If this is correct, the transformation into a historical feast took place before the present era. However, neither Josephus nor Philo refers to Shavuot as "the time of the giving of our Torah," and none of the references in the rabbinic literature to the Torah being given on this day (e.g., Shab. 86b) is earlier than the second century C.E., though there may well have been a tradition far earlier than this. The earliest clear references to Shavuot as the anniversary of the giving of the Torah are from the third century, e.g., the saying of R. Eleazar that all authorities agree that it is necessary to rejoice with good food and wine on Aẓeret because it is the day on which the Torah was given (Pes. 68b).

In some medieval communities it was customary to introduce children to the Hebrew school on Shavuot, the season of the giving of the Torah. At this initiation ceremony the child, at the age of five or thereabouts, was placed on the reading desk in the synagogue and from there was taken to the school where he began to make his first attempts at reading the Hebrew alphabet. He was then given cakes, honey, and sweets "that the Torah might be sweet on his lips." In many modern synagogues, particularly Reform, the confirmation of older children takes place on Shavuot (see *Bar Mitzvah).

The Laws and Customs of Shavuot

Unlike Passover and Sukkot, Shavuot has few special rituals, and those it does have are late. This is entirely explicable in view of the development of the festival mentioned above. The harvest associations no longer had much meaning once the Temple was destroyed, and there are no biblical ceremonies connected with the giving of the Torah since this motif is post-biblical. In modern Israel attempts have been made to revive some of the harvest ceremonies (see *Kibbutz Festivals). In the synagogue it is customary to read the Book of Ruth on Shavuot. Among the reasons given are that the events recorded in Ruth took place at harvest time (Ruth 2:23); that Ruth was the ancestor of David (Ruth 4:17) who, traditionally, died on Shavuot; that Ruth's "conversion" to Judaism is appropriate reading for the festival which commemorates the giving of the Torah; and that Ruth's loyalty is symbolic of Israel's loyalty to the Torah. The portion of the Torah read in the synagogue on the first day is the account of the theophany at Sinai (Ex. 19:1–20:26). In the Ashkenazi rite it is prefaced by chanting the Aramaic *Akdamut* hymn composed by Meir b. Isaac Nehorai of Orleans (11th century) in praise of Israel's faithfulness to the Torah. The *haftarah* for the first day is the vision of Ezekiel (Ezek. 1–2) because of its parallel to the vision of the whole people at Sinai. The *haftarah* for the second day is Habakkuk's prayer (Hab. 3) because it similarly describes a theophany. This, too, is prefaced by an Aramaic hymn in praise of the Torah, "**Yeẓiv Pitgam*," composed by Jacob b. Meir of Troyes (1100–1171). Under the influence of the Kabbalah it became customary to spend the whole of the first night as a vigil in which selected passages from all the Jewish religious classics are read (*tikkun leil Shavuot*). A less observed custom is to recite the whole of the Book of Psalms on the second night because of the association of the festival with David.

The Torah reading for the first day (Ex. 19–20) includes the *Ten Commandments. Although the Mishnah (Tam. 5:1) states that the Ten Commandments were recited each day in the Temple, the rabbis discouraged their recitation outside the Temple to refute the claims of the "sectarians" that only these, and not the whole Torah, were given to Moses at Sinai (Ber. 12a). During the Middle Ages there were some protests against the practice of standing while the Ten Commandments were read on Shavuot. However the custom for the whole congregation to stand is still followed on the grounds that the talmudic objection to any special significance being attached to the Decalogue cannot apply to congregational reading from the Scroll, since the whole of the Torah is written in the Scroll. The account of the revelation on Mount Sinai is usually sung to a specially solemn tune.

It is customary to adorn the synagogue with plants and flowers on Shavuot because, tradition has it, Sinai was a green mountain; and with trees, because Shavuot is judgment day for the fruit of the tree (RH 1:2). Some authorities disapproved of the custom because of its similarity to certain church rites (see **Ḥukkat ha-Goi*). It is a home custom to eat dairy products on Shavuot because the Torah is compared to milk (Song 4:11) and because the law of the first fruits is placed in juxtaposition to a law concerning milk (Ex. 23:19). In some communities it is customary to eat triangular pancakes stuffed with meat or cheese because the Torah is of three parts (Pentateuch, Prophets, and Hagiographa) and was given to a people of three parts (priests, levites, and Israelites) on the third month through Moses who was the third child of his parents.

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[Louis Jacobs]

SHAW, ARTIE (**Arthur Arshawsky**; 1910–2004), jazz clarinetist, bandleader, composer, and arranger. Born in New York, Shaw joined Johnny Cavallaro's dance band in 1925 as an alto saxophonist. From 1926 to 1929 he worked in Cleveland as musical director and arranger for an orchestra led by Austin Wylie. He then toured as a tenor saxophonist with Irving Aaronson's band. From 1931 to 1934 he worked as a freelance studio musician and in 1937 formed a conventional swing band. This group, which included Billie Holiday, marked his breakthrough to public fame and established him as a rival to Benny *Goodman. In the 1940s Shaw formed several bands, among them the Gramercy Five, which became one of the leading exponents of the swing style at that time. He put together his last Gramercy Five in October 1953, then in 1954 went into retirement. Shaw was a public figure whose handsome looks and eight marriages (among others to the film actresses Lana Turner and Ava Gardner) made him a darling of gossip columnists. Among his biggest hits were Cole Porter's "Begin the Beguine" (1938), "Summit Ridge Drive" (1940), "Frenesi," and "Little Jazz" (1945). He published an autobiographical novel, *The Trouble with Cinderella*, in 1952.

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[Israela Stein (2nd ed.)

SHAW, BENJAMIN (1898–1988), U.S. financier. Shaw, who spent virtually his whole life in the garment business, began as a dress manufacturer but became known as "Mr. Seventh Avenue" because of his skill as a financial backer and advisor to a series of highly successful designers. Those in whom he invested included Oscar de la Renta, Halston, Norman Norell, Jane Derby, Donald Brooks, Geoffrey Beene, Giorgio San'

Angelo, and Stephen Burrows. In addition, he introduced at least two Paris designers to the U.S. and helped make Gloria Vanderbilt an iconic jeans label. Shaw backed his designers with his production expertise, his network of retail contacts, and his money.

Born in Kiev as Benjamin Schwartz, he was brought to New York City at the age of three. As a child, he got his first taste of the garment business when he was sent to find buttons and zippers for his mother, Rose, a dressmaker on the Lower East Side. His formal education ended early and he went to work as a messenger. After learning the rudiments of sales and production and changing his name to Shaw because "there were too many Schwartzes in the Manhattan telephone directory," he became a partner in Wieman, Wilkes & Shaw in 1925. Four years later, the stock market collapsed and so did his company. In 1935, Shaw launched a dress house called Elfreda and ran it until 1954, when he retired. Six months later, he was back in business, first importing the apparel collections of French designers Nina Ricci and Pierre Balmain for an American customer. In 1956 he bought into the Jane Derby dress firm, where Oscar de la Renta subsequently became the designer. In 1969, a few years after Derby's death, the company – then named for de la Renta – was sold to publicly owned Richton International. Shaw, his son Gerald, and de la Renta bought it back in 1974. In the interim, Shaw invested in Halston, one of the most popular U.S. designers of the 1970s and early 1980s. When the Halston business was sold in 1973, Shaw said, he "made millions." Other associations with designers followed. Gerald Shaw, who became president of Oscar de la Renta Ltd., said of his father, "He couldn't make a pattern, but he could tell whether a dress worked. He had a talent for spotting talent."

[Mort Sheinman (2nd ed.)]

SHAW, IRWIN (1913–1984), U.S. novelist, playwright, and scriptwriter. Born in Brooklyn, Shaw gained overnight fame with his one-act antiwar drama *Bury the Dead* (1936), dealing with a group of dead soldiers who refuse to be buried. *The Gentle People* (1939), about a group of Brooklyn folk who turn upon a gangster, demonstrated Shaw's gift for seeing a fable in everyday life and was regarded as an anti-Fascist parable. His World War II experiences in the U.S. army inspired a book of short stories, *Act of Faith* (1946), and his first novel, *The Young Lions* (1948). One of the outstanding novels of the war, *The Young Lions* dealt with the problem of antisemitism in the army and dramatically portrayed the careers of one German and two American soldiers and their fateful encounter toward the end of World War II. Shaw's other novels include *The Troubled Air* (1951), about the treatment of actors suspected of being Communists; *Lucy Crown* (1956); *In the Company of Dolphins* (1964); and *Voices of a Summer Day* (1965). As a writer, Shaw was noted for his liberal outlook and masterly technique, evident in short-story collections such as *Sailor off the Bremen* (1939), *Welcome to the City* (1942), *Mixed Company* (1950), and *Tip on a Dead Jockey* (1957, 1959^2). His plays include *Sons and Soldiers* (1944), *Assassin* (1946), and the comedy *Children from Their Games* (a play in two acts, 1963), but in this genre Shaw was generally less successful, although he was prominent as a writer of screen and radio plays. Shaw wrote the text for *Report on Israel* (1950), an album of photographs by Robert *Capa. He also provided the text for Paris/Magnum Photographs, 1935–1981 (1981). Among his later works are *Rich Man, Poor Man* (1970); *Evening in Byzantium* (1973), and *Paris! Paris!* (illustrated by Ronald Searle, 1977). His *Short Stories, Five Decades* appeared in 1978.

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[Joseph Mersand]

SHAWN, DICK (1923–1987), U.S. actor. Originally from Buffalo, NY, Shawn (né Richard Schulefand) began his comedy career during World War II while serving with the Army. He moved to New York City after winning a University of Miami talent show and appearing on the television show *Arthur Godfrey Talent Scouts*. By 1955 Shawn was performing at New York's Palace Theater, had made guest appearances on *The Ed Sullivan Show,* and was performing at Las Vegas nightclubs. He made his film debut in the 1956 movie *The Opposite Sex.* In 1960, he signed on with 20th Century Fox and starred in their film *The Wizard of Baghdad.* In this satire on the Arabian Nights, Shawn played a laidback genie. The same year, he acted with fellow comedian Ernie Kovacs in *Wake Me When It's Over.* Three years later, he had a role in the all-star comedy *It's a Mad, Mad, Mad, Mad World* (1963). Shawn's most famous role was that of a hippie actor named Lorenzo St. DuBois (L.S.D.) who is cast as a singing Adolf Hitler in Mel Brooks' 1968 comedy *The Producers.* In one scene, Shawn is credited for inventing the "high five" when, instead of putting out his hand for fellow actor David Patch to "give him five," he held it up and Patch slapped it. Other Shawn movies include *Way … Way Out* (1966), *Penelope* (1966), *Looking Up* (1977), *Beer* (1985), and *Maid to Order* (1987). Shawn was also highly regarded for his one-man stage show *The Second Greatest Entertainer in the Whole Wide World,* during which he lay motionless on stage during the entire intermission (1985). Shawn's final movie, *Rented Lips* (1988), came out after his death.

[Susannah Howland (2nd ed.)]

SHAYEVITSH, SIMKHA-BUNIM (1907–1944), Yiddish poet and novelist. Born in 1907 in Lenczyce, Poland and interned from 1940 in the Lodz ghetto, Shayevitsh responded to the mass deportations in late 1941 with "*Lekh-Lekho*" ("Go"), a long poem evoking the traditional Jewish past in contrast with the tragic historical present. A second poem on expulsion followed in "*Friling 1942*" ("Spring 1942"), contrasting the promise of spring's arrival with the horrors of ghetto life. In the ghetto he met Chava Rosenfarb, became her mentor, and read more of his poetry to her, all of which has been lost. On August 28, 1944, Shayevitsh was deported to Auschwitz, where he was among the last sent to the gas chamber. The two poems (found in the ghetto's ruins) and two letters were published by the Jewish Historical Commission (1946). His subsequent influence on Yiddish writers was considerable, despite the meagerness of his surviving output.

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[Goldie Morgentaler (2nd ed.)]

SHAZAR (Rubashov), SHNEUR ZALMAN (1889–1974), third president of the State of Israel, scholar and writer, member of the First to Third Knessets. Shazar (acronym for Shneur Zalman Rubashov) was born in the Belorussian town of Mir in the province of Minsk. In 1892, after a disastrous fire in Mir, the family moved to the nearby townlet of Stolbtsy, where Shazar received a *ḥeder* education under the influence of *Chabad, in addition to being influenced by his parents' Zionism. The influence of his Hebrew teacher and the writings of Ber *Borochov brought him to the *Po'alei Zion Movement, and during the 1905 revolution he was active in propagating the movement's ideas and organizing Jewish *self-defense units in Belorussia and the Ukraine. Attending the clandestine Po'alei Zion conference in Minsk in July 1906, he became acquainted with Izhak Ben-Zvi and started to participate in the editorial and publishing activities of the movement. In 1907 he moved to Vilna, where he first met and worked with Borochov, Jacob *Zerubavel, and Raḥel Yanait (see Raḥel *Ben-Zvi), and translated Russian articles written by Borochov and Ben-Zvi into Yiddish for the movement's journal, *Der Proletarisher Gedank*. Arrested along with the other leading members of the movement in the summer of 1907, he was jailed for two months. After his release, he enrolled as a student at the "Academy of Jewish Studies," then newly established in St. Petersburg by Baron David *Guenzburg. The historian Simon *Dubnow and the Hebrew writer and scholar J.L. *Katzenelson ("Buki ben Yogli") were two distinguished faculty members, who particularly influenced the young Shazar. To support himself he edited *Der Yidisher Emigrant*, organ of the *Jewish Colonization Association (ICA), and also wrote for Yiddish papers *Der Fray* in Russia, and *Dos Naye Lebn* in the United States.

In 1911 Shazar spent the summer in Ereẓ Israel working in the *kevuẓah* in Merhavyah, and met Berl *Katznelson and the poetess *Raḥel. He left Russia the following year and attended the universities of Freiburg-im-Breisgau and Strasbourg. While confined to Berlin as an enemy alien during World War I, he continued his studies at the University of Berlin, attending courses with historian Friedrich Meinecke. Shazar's fields of specialization were East European Jewish history, the Shabbatean movement, and biblical criticism. Shazar was also involved in Zionist activity, contributing regularly to the *Juedische Rundschau*. In 1916 he was one of the founders of the Labor Zionist movement, and in 1917 of the *He-Ḥalutz Movement in Germany. At the Po'alei Zion conference held in Stockholm in 1919, he was appointed, along with Nachman *Syrkin, Naḥum *Nir, and Ḥayyim *Fineman, to survey conditions in Palestine and work out a program for cooperative economic development. He helped edit the report prepared in Yiddish by the mission in 1920, and wrote the chapters on Jewish labor and on the *kevuẓot*. In 1920 he married Rachel *Katznelson, whom he had first met in St. Petersburg, in Jerusalem. Shazar participated in the Po'alei Zion Conference in Vienna in 1920, where the movement split on the issue of how to relate to Communism. Shazar emerged as one of the spokesmen of the group that objected to Communism. He opened the founding assembly of the World He-Ḥalutz Organization in 1921, and from 1922 to 1924 lectured on history at the Jewish Pedagogic Institute in Vienna.

Settling in Palestine in 1924, Shazar became a member of the Secretariat of the *Histadrut and joined the editorial staff of its daily *Davar*, becoming the paper's editor-in-chief and head of the Histadrut publishing house, Am Oved, in 1944. He served in these capacities until 1949. All along he carried out numerous missions abroad on behalf of the Histadrut, the World Po'alei Zion, *Mapai, and the Zionist movement. Shazar was a member of the Jewish Agency delegation to the United Nations General Assembly in November 1947, and at that time established contact with the Lubavitcher rebbe Menachem Mendel *Schneersohn, convincing him to establish Kefar Ḥabad in Israel. Ever since his boyhood Shazar had been emotionally and intellectually involved with the Chabad Movement. In later years he regularly visited Kefar Ḥabad. During his two visits to the United States as president, in 1966 and 1971, he called on Schneersohn in Brooklyn.

Shazar was elected to the First Knesset on the Mapai list and served as minister of education and culture from 1949 to 1951, and in this capacity was responsible for passing the Compulsory Education Law of 1949. He served as a member of the Knesset until October 1956, when he resigned. Following the Soviet government's refusal to accept him as Israeli ambassador to Moscow, he became a member of the Jewish Agency Executive in 1952, and headed the Department of Information. In 1954 he was appointed head of the Department of Education and Culture in the Diaspora. From 1956 to 1960 he was acting chairman of the Agency's Jerusalem Executive.

On May 21, 1963, the Knesset elected Shazar as the third president of the State of Israel, and on March 26, 1968, he was reelected for a second five-year term. During his presidency he represented Israel in numerous state visits abroad. During the 1964 visit of Pope *Paul VI, the pope was received on his arrival at Megiddo by President Shazar, who also took leave of him in Jerusalem.

Like his predecessor, Izhak Ben-Zvi, Shazar made his residence a center for Israeli and Jewish scholars, writers, and artists. The Bible Study Group, first established by David *Ben-Gurion, met there regularly, as did the circle for Study of Diaspora Jewry conducted in cooperation with the Hebrew University's Institute of Contemporary Jewry. A year after completing his two terms as president, Shazar passed away.

Shazar's writings span 70 years. His literary work took many forms, from poetry and autobiographical fiction, to scholarly treatises and journalistic articles. He wrote freely in both Yiddish and Hebrew, and was noted for his unique style, that applied both lyricism and biblical influences to contemporary issues. He first produced a "magazine" at the age of ten, and a piece he wrote appeared in *Ha-Meliẓ* of March 17, 1903. His first Yiddish article, a plea for the unification of the Socialist Zionist parties, appeared in America in 1910, and his first Hebrew article – an impression of his visit to the Western Wall – in Jerusalem in 1911.His career as Labor Zionist editor began after World War I in the German *Po'alei Zion*'s *Oyf der Shvel* (1918) and the Viennese *Das Arbeitende Eretz Yisrael* (1921–23). After the Po'alei Zion split of 1920, Shazar sharply attacked the left's decision not to participate in the Zionist Congress. Writing for Aḥdut ha-Avodah's weekly, *Kunteres*, during his participation in the Labor Zionist research mission, he gave notable expression to the reaction evoked by the Arab attacks in Jerusalem in 1920: "Is Jerusalem to be another Kishinev?" From the first issue of *Davar* until the 1970s, he contributed not only hundreds of unsigned editorials, but, under his own name and pseudonyms, essays on numerous topics. From 1930 to 1932, he edited the monthly *Aḥdut ha-Avodah* with Chaim *Arlosoroff, and from 1953 the yearbooks of *Davar*.

As early as his student days, Shazar had been drawn to the study of the Shabbatean movement and to biblical criticism. In the former he was attracted by the passion for national redemption which he sensed as central within the mystic yearning of European Jewry in the dark days of the 17th century. He wrote his first article on the subject in *Ha-Shilo'aḥ* in 1913. His work on the subject of Jewish mysticism was published in the Russian Jewish Encyclopedia and numerous studies. His contribution to the field was acclaimed by Gershom *Scholem.

Shazar played a pioneering role in introducing modern Bible criticism in the Hebrew language. He had himself studied under Professor Novak at Strasbourg, and in 1914 he translated from Russian into Hebrew essays on the subject by Max Soloveichik (*Solieli). Shazar's contribution to Yiddish philology grew out of his study under Dubnow of responsa literature as a source for East European Jewish history of the 15th to the 17th centuries. Coming upon numerous Yiddish phrases in the testimony of witnesses, he collected and analyzed the linguistic material. In his preface to an edition of Eduard Gans's speeches of 1821–23, Shazar cast light on the inner world of early 19th-century German-Jewish assimilationists, and founders of Jewish scholarship. His essays on Marx and Lassalle expressed his interest in the Jewish role in socialism, while his essays on Borochov, Ben-Zvi, Syrkin, and Berl Katznelson illuminate the beginnings of the Socialist Jewish Labor movement. The wide scope of Shazar's cultural knowledge and interests added depth to the many contacts and meetings involved in his activity as president of the state.

His autobiographical sketches, collected in *Kokhevei Boker* (1950; *Morning Stars*, 1967) and reprinted many times, appeared in English, French, Yiddish, and Spanish translations. His biographical evaluations of leaders in Zionism and Jewish culture were assembled in *Or Ishim* (1963). A bibliography of the writings of Shazar from 1903 to 1973, a new edition of *Or Ishim* in three volumes, and an album on Shazar were all published in 1973. Shazar's verse, including much translation, appeared in many journals; his Yiddish translation of a selection of Raḥel's lyrics appeared in 1932. Correspondence between Raḥel and Shazar was published in *Ha-Ḥofim Ha-Shanim: Mikhtavim 1909–1963, Raḥel ve-Zalman Shazar* (1999).

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[Susan Hattis Rolef (2nd ed.)]

SHCHEDRIN, town in Polesie district, Belarus. In 1841 Ḥayyim Golodetz, a timber dealer, established a Jewish colony on the estate of Shchedrin. By the end of the 19th century some of the settlers engaged in general agriculture and some in the timber business of the Golodetz family. In 1897 there were 4,022 Jews in Shchedrin (95% of the total population of the town), about 40% of them engaging in agriculture. A decline in the timber trade in the area and the subsequent departure of the Golodetz family resulted in a general emigration from the town. In 1926 there were 1,759 Jews (91 percent of the population) in Shchedrin. The Soviet government attempted to develop agriculture and in 1930 over half of the 380 remaining Jewish families were engaged in that occupation, about half of them living on the kolkhoz Sotsialistishe Veg. About 30 percent were engaged in crafts. A local Jewish council operated until the 1930s, as did two Yiddish schools, one for the kolkhoz children. The Germans arrived in July 1941, and in March 1942 they murdered the 1,500 Jews living there.

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[Yehuda Slutsky / Shmuel Spector (2nd ed.)]

SHEALTIEL (Heb. שְׁאַלְתִּיאֵל (Haggai 1:1); abridged שַׁלְתִּיאֵל (Haggai 1:12, 14; 2:2)), biblical name meaning "I asked of God," referring either to the request for a son (cf. I Sam. 1:17, 20, 27) or some other personal benefit (cf. Ps. 27:4 – request to reside permanently in the Temple). The name is unique and its bearer was either the first or the second son of King Jehoiachin (I Chron. 3:17), who was exiled from Judah at the age of 18 in 597 B.C.E. (II Kings 24:8). A Babylonian ration tablet of 592 B.C.E. lists Jehoiachin and five sons, so that Shealtiel may have been born prior to his father's exile. His son (nephew according to I Chron. 3:17ff.), given the Babylonian name *Zerubbabel, served as governor of Judah under Darius (Haggai 1:1; cf. Ezra 3:2; Neh. 12:1).

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[Bezalel Porten]

SHEAN, AL (**Schonberg**; 1868–1949), vaudeville actor. Born in Dornum, Germany, and brought up in New York, Shean became well known with the Comedy Four, which he led for 15 years. He then teamed with Ed Gallagher for a time, but subsequently appeared in plays, taking roles like Stonewall Moskewitz in *Betsy* (1926), Father Malachy in *Father Malachy's Miracle* (1937), Von Barwig in *The Music Master* (1941), and Manny Siegelmann in *Meet a Body* (1944). His sister was the mother of the *Marx Brothers.

SHEAR, MURRAY JACOB (1899–1983), U.S. biochemist. Shear was born in New York. After doing research in several hospitals, he worked at the National Cancer Institute, Maryland, becoming chief of Chemical Pharmacology Laboratory from 1947. His research focused on the mechanism of deposition of bone salts, the genesis of tumors by chemical agents, and the chemotherapy and immunology of cancer. He served as chairman on several cancer research societies and was active in Jewish communal affairs.

SHEARER, NORMA (1902–1983), U.S. actress. Born Edith Norma Shearer in Westmount, Quebec, Canada, to lumber/construction company president Andrew Shearer and Edith Mary Fisher, Shearer was schooled in the family's middle-class home until 1912, when she enrolled in the Montreal High School for Girls. In 1914, she transferred to Westmont High School. She had been a child model, and at 14 won a beauty contest. A fan of silent film actress Pearl White, Shearer dreamed of becoming an actress herself. When the family business began to decline and her parents were forced to sell their home in 1919, Shearer quit school and went to work plugging sheet music. Her mother left her father in 1920, taking Shearer and her sister Athole to New York. Florenz Ziegfeld rejected Shearer for his Follies, but she was able to find extra work with her mother and sister in the films *The Flapper* (1920), *Way Down East* (1920), and *The Restless Sex* (1920). During this time Shearer also worked as an art model to help bring in money. After securing Edward Small as an agent, Shearer got roles in *The Stealers* (1920), *The Sign on the Door* (1921), and *The Leather Pushers* (1922). Universal Studios manager Irving *Thalberg tried to sign Shearer, but the studio was unwilling to pay for moving expenses. Thalberg soon quit Universal and went over to the Mayer Company, where he was able to secure a six-month contract and moving expenses for Shearer and her family. Her first films for Mayer were *The Wanters* (1923) and *Pleasure Mad* (1923). After Mayer merged with Metro and Goldwyn to become MGM, Shearer's first film for the new studio was *He Who Gets Slapped* (1924). Following her engagement to Thalberg, Shearer converted to Judaism with the help of Wilshire Boulevard Temple's Rabbi Edgar Magnin. The rising star of such films as *His Secretary* (1925) and *After Midnight* (1927) married Thalberg on Sept. 29, 1927. After her return from a European honeymoon, Shearer starred in MGM's second talkie, *The Trial of Mary Dugan* (1929). In 1930, she won the best actress Oscar for *The Divorcee* and gave birth to her son, Irving Grant Thalberg Jr. In 1932, Shearer became a U.S. citizen. One of the highest-paid actresses of the Depression era, she was dubbed by others in the industry as Queen Norma or Queen of the Lot. In 1935, she gave birth to her daughter, Katherine. Shearer returned to film after a yearlong absence with *Romeo and Juliet* (1936), but three weeks after the film's Aug. 20 New York premier, Thalberg died from a congenital heart defect. After the devastating loss of her husband and fighting off a severe case of pneumonia, Shearer intended to retire but ended up signing a final six-picture contract with MGM, which included *Marie Antoinette* (1938) and *The Women* (1939). She finally retired in 1942. Shearer remained active in Hollywood, presenting the first Irving G. Thalberg Memorial Award in 1945 and helping to establish the careers of Janet Leigh and Robert Evans in the 1950s, but she mostly focused on her family. Her health began failing in the 1970s, and by the 1980s she was moved to the Motion Picture and Television Fund's hospital in Woodland Hills, California, where she died. She is buried next to Thalberg at Forest Lawn in Glendale, California.

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[Adam Wills (2nd ed.)]

SHE'AR YASHUV (Heb. שְׁאָר יָשׁוּב), moshav in the Ḥuleh Valley, affiliated with Ha-Oved ha-Ẓiyyoni. She'ar Yashuv was founded in 1940 by pioneers from Eastern Europe, as the third of the "Ussishkin Fortresses" near the country's northeastern corner. It made little headway and was uninhabited after the War of Independence. In 1949, the village was settled anew by immigrants from Hungary and had 153 inhabitants by 1968, growing to 245 in the mid-1990s and 327 in 2002. Only a small group was still engaged in farming at the turn of the century. In 1997 the moshav was the site of a collision between two IDF helicopters, taking the lives of 73 soldiers. A monument in memory of the dead is located in there. The name, "A Remnant Shall Return," is taken from Isaiah 10:20–22.

[Efram Orni / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

SHEBA (**Schieber** or **Schiber**)**, CHAIM** (1908–1971), Israeli physician and medical educator. Born into a ḥasidic family in a small village in Bukovina, Sheba went to Palestine in 1933. He worked as a sick fund physician until 1936, and then joined the staff of the Beilinson Hospital in Petaḥ Tikvah. After service with the Royal Army Medical Corps in World War II, he became chief medical officer of the *Haganah in 1947, and on the establishment of the state was appointed chief medical officer of the Israel Defense Forces. In 1951 Sheba became director-general of the Ministry of Health, but resigned two years later to take over the direction of Tel Ha-Shomer Hospital, Ramat-Gan, which under his guidance developed into one of the country's leading medical institutions. In addition to being head of this hospital's department of internal medicine he became, in 1965, an associate clinical professor at the Hebrew University-Hadassah Medical School in Jerusalem. In 1966 he was appointed a vice president of Tel Aviv University. Sheba did fieldwork in parasitology with Saul *Adler in the 1930s, and his many scientific publications cover a wide variety of subjects, ranging from amebiasis to population genetics, and from relapsing fever to hemolysis due to enzyme deficiencies. He was awarded the Israel Prize in 1968. After Sheba's death in 1971, the Tel Ha-Shomer Hospital was renamed after him.

[Shabbetai Ginton]

SHEBA BEN BICHRI, a member of the tribe of Benjamin. Sheba ben Bichri belonged to the clan of Becher, whose eponymous ancestor was the second son of Benjamin (Gen. 46:21; I Chron. 7:6).

Playing on the jealousy which was aroused among the tribes of Israel by David's apparent favoritism in arranging to have Judah welcome him back first at the Jordan after the crushing of the revolt of *Absalom in Transjordan, Sheba blew a horn with the cry, "We have no share in David, neither have we any portion in the son of Jesse; every man to his tents, O Israel" (II Sam. 19:41–44; 20:1); and instead of escorting David to Jerusalem, the men of Israel marched ahead after Sheba to their homeland. Had David not taken successful steps to assert his authority over Israel, Sheba would presumably have tried to induce Israel to make him king. But David did assert his authority. David, who in order to woo Judah had sent, while still in Transjordan, a promise to *Amasa to make him army commander in place of *Joab (II Sam. 19:14), assigned to Amasa and the men of Judah the task of pursuing and liquidating Sheba. He gave Amasa three days in which to raise the levies of Judah, but because Amasa was delayed, the king sent out *Abishai with his men and Joab with the rest of the professional fighting units. When Amasa arrived tardily at the rallying point, Joab treacherously, but understandably, murdered his rival. Then he and Abishai marched through Israel all the way to Abel of Beth-Maacah in the north. Though the last five words of II Samuel 20:14 are unclear, it seems that the population of the districts through which Joab's men marched actually joined them. Evidently, whatever knowledge they may have had of the incident at the Jordan did not make them sufficiently anxious to secede from David and to make them want to risk clashing with the troops that had so decisively crushed the rebellion of Absalom. When Joab attacked Abel of Beth-Maacah, "a wise woman" of the town (probably with the approval of the townspeople) stepped onto the wall and asked for a parley with him; on receiving his assurance that he would not hurt the town or any of its inhabitants provided they surrendered Sheba, she went and got the people of the town to toss Sheba's head over the wall to the besiegers.

On the consequences of the rebellion for David's kingdom, army, and chief officers, see *David; *Amasai; *Joab.

[Harold Louis Ginsberg]

In the Aggadah:
The immediate cause of Sheba's rebellion against David was the fact that he saw portents that the kingdom should be divided. His error was that he falsely and vaingloriously interpreted these signs to refer to his own elevation and to the throne (Sanh. 101b). He is also condemned as an idolator (Tanḥ. B. Va-Yera, 12).

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SHEBNAH (Heb. שֶׁבְנָא, שֶׁבְנָה).

(1) The scribe of King Hezekiah, mentioned in connection with the episode which took place during the siege of Jerusalem by Sennacherib king of Assyria (701 B.C.E.; II Kings 18:17–19:37, and in the parallel passage in Isa. 36–37). He was one of the delegation of Hezekiah's three senior officials dispatched to negotiate with the Assyrians. However, their mission having proved of no avail in the face of the Assyrians' demand for complete surrender, they were sent to the prophet Isaiah to seek the advice of God (II Kings 19:1ff. and the parallel passage in Isa. 37).

(2) Shebnah, who bore the titles "steward" and "who is over the household," was the object of Isaiah's rebuke (Isa. 22:15–25). In this passage, which has the character of a personal admonition, Isaiah prophesies that Shebnah will be removed from his position, exiled to "a large country," and replaced by Eliakim (*ibid.* 22:19–23).

The identification of this Shebnah with the one mentioned in II Kings 18–19 is not definite. The main difficulties are:

(a) the difference in the titles; and

(b) in Isaiah's rebuke reference is made to Shebnah's downfall and exile and not to his being reduced to a lower position, and hence his status in II Kings as second in rank to Eliakim, who is there described as "over the household," cannot be interpreted as the fulfillment of Isaiah's prophecy. Those who assume that the reference is to the same person explain these difficulties, as well as the reason for the prophet's sharp rebuke of Shebnah, against the background of Isaiah's advocacy of a policy of nonintervention, and of Shebnah apparently being the leader of the opposing, pro-Egyptian group which called for an uprising against Assyria. According to this view, the rebuke in Isaiah 22 refers to an earlier period than that reflected in II Kings 18–19: in the former, Shebnah still occupied the eminent position of being "over the household," while in the latter, which describes events during Sennacherib's siege, the prophecy had already been fulfilled, Shebnah having been degraded from his exalted station and appointed to the less important position of "scribe." Some ascribe these administrative changes not to politics arising from Judah's policy but to the deplorable personality of Shebnah, who exploited his position to advance his personal interests, as is evident from the literal meaning of the passage in Isaiah: "What have you to do here and whom have you here… you who hew a tomb on the height and carve a habitation for yourself in the rock? [22:16]… and there shall be your splendid chariots" (verse 18b). It is conjectured, on the basis of the first part of verse 16, that the reference here is to a foreigner. On the basis of this verse, as also on paleographical, archaeological, and chronological grounds, it is contended that the sepulcher discovered by Ch. Clermont-Ganneau in the village of Siloam belonged to Shebnah. On its facade is an inscription of three lines ascribing the sepulcher to יהו אשר על הבית…, "…*Yahu* over the household" the name being reconstructed as [שבנ]יהו

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[Nili Schupak]

SHECHEM (Heb. שְׁכֶם), ancient Canaanite and Israelite city situated between Mt. Ebal and Mt. Gerizim in a fertile and well-watered valley in the heart of the central hill country of Ereẓ Israel. Shechem has been identified with the ancient mound known as Tell al-Balāṭa, 1 mi. (2 km.) east of modern *Nablus, also called Shechem in modern Hebrew parlance. The site has been excavated by an Austrian expedition (1913–14), German expeditions (1926–32), and an American expedition from 1957 onward. In the Bible, Shechem is first mentioned in connection with Abraham's arrival in Canaan; he sanctified the place and built an altar there at "Elon [the terebinth] of Moreh" (Gen. 12:6). After leaving Succoth Jacob returned to Shechem, where he bought land and his sons Simeon and Levi destroyed the city following the rape of their sister Dinah (*ibid.*, 33:18ff.). Joseph was later buried in the plot of land purchased by Jacob (Josh. 24:32). Excavations at Shechem have revealed that the town already existed in the Middle Bronze Age II (Patriarchal period). Remains uncovered from this period include a defensive wall, a large beaten-earth platform, and a cylinder seal impression from the time of the Egyptian 12th Dynasty. The first mention of the town in Egyptian documents (in the tomb inscription of Khu-Sebek from the time of Sesostris III, 1878–1843 B.C.E., and in the later Execration Texts) belongs to the same period. The town flourished in the Hyksos period (c. 1750–1650 B.C.E.), when it was strongly fortified by a double defensive wall; another wall enclosed the acropolis and a large building, 66 × 98 ft. (20 × 30 m.), probably a temple, was also built. In the late Hyksos period (1650–1550 B.C.E.) a great temple was erected, 108 × 92 ft. (33 × 28 m.), with massive walls 18 ft. (5½ m.) thick. It contained a beaten-earth altar and an entrance flanked by a pair of *maṣṣevot* ("pillars"). The city gates were of the triple type, made of pairs of parallel limestone blocks. After the Egyptian conquest of Canaan (18th Dynasty), Shechem suffered a decline; the temple was reconstructed on a lesser scale with much weaker walls; a huge *maṣṣevah* stood in front of its entrance. Shechem at this time, however, was still politically important; it was ruled by Labayu, known from the Tell el-Amarna letters as an ally of the Ḥabiru and a rebel against Pharaoh. Shechem is not mentioned among the cities conquered by the Israelites under Joshua but it was the scene of the great covenant for which Joshua assembled the tribes (Josh. 24), and it has thus been suggested that Shechem was

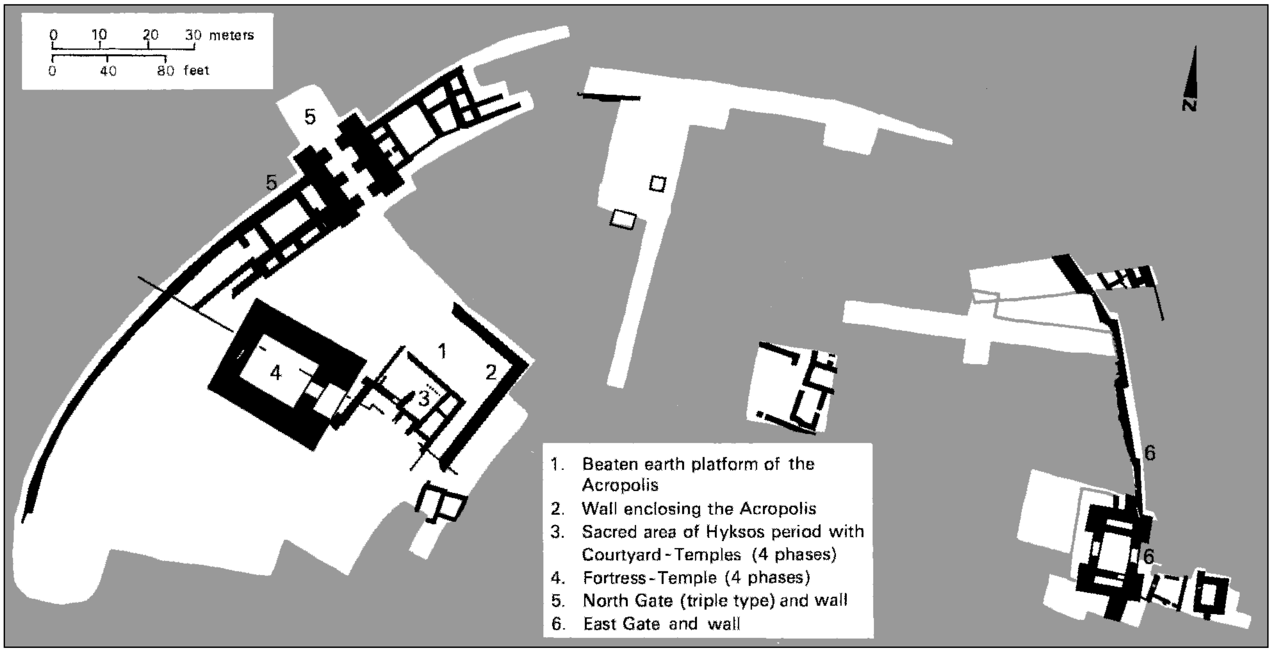
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1. Beaten earth platform of the Acropolis
2. Wall enclosing the Acropolis
3. Sacred area of Hyksos period with Courtyard-Temples (4 phases)
4. Fortress-Temple (4 phases)
5. North Gate (triple type) and wall
6. East Gate and wall

Plan of Tell al-Balāta, identified with Shechem, showing main features and digging areas. Based on G.E. Wright, Shechem, the Biography of a Biblical City, *1965.*

peacefully absorbed by the invading tribes. The archaeological evidence furnishes no proof of a violent destruction of the city as noted at other Canaanite sites, and its transition from the Late Bronze to the Early Iron period was apparently peaceful. In the period of the Judges, Shechem was the center of the kingdom of Abimelech son of Gideon (Jerubbaal) who was "made king by the terebinth of the pillar that was in Shechem," after being supplied with money from the "house of Baal-Berith" ("Lord of the Covenant," Judg. 9). Later, however, the people of Shechem rebelled against Abimelech, who conquered the city and razed its walls. The various localities in the city mentioned in this narrative have been tentatively identified by the excavators: the "Beth-Millo" ("house of Millo") with the above-mentioned Hyksos temple built on a platform (Judg. 9:20); the "terebinth of the pillar" is taken to refer to a sacred tree near the *maṣṣevah* of the Late Bronze Age temple (*ibid.*, 9:6); the city gate with the East Gate, the only one in use from the Late Bronze Age onward (*ibid.*, 9:35, 40, 44). The filling of pits beneath the temple with charcoal and early 12th century B.C.E. pottery may represent evidence of Abimelech's destruction of Shechem. After Solomon's death, his son Rehoboam was repudiated as king by the ten tribes at Shechem (I Kings 12). Jeroboam, crowned king in his place, established his first capital at Shechem (*ibid.*, 12:25). Some archaeological evidence was found for his rebuilding of the East Gate (c. 922 B.C.E.). In the period of the Divided Monarchy, Shechem comprised some well-built quarters, with two-storied houses, and poor sections; its other buildings include large granaries, which recall the role of Shechem reflected in the Samaria ostraca as a center for the collection of taxes in kind. In about 724 B.C.E. the richer quarters of the city were apparently destroyed by the Assyrians. These houses were rebuilt and the new stratum contains a quantity of Assyrian pottery. Further destructions of the city seem to have been connected with Assyrian punitive expeditions in 673 and about 640 B.C.E. Shechem was resettled as a poor town, and this settlement disappeared in the fifth century B.C.E. In the Hellenistic period the town revived as an extensive and powerful city. Its resettlement has been connected with the expulsion of the *Samaritans from Samaria itself after their revolt against Alexander the Great; they established their settlement near Mt. Gerizim, on which their sanctuary stood. The Hellenistic city was destroyed in 129 B.C.E. by John Hyrcanus; great amounts of earth were spread over the remains and the mound was leveled off. The site later contained an insignificant village. Eusebius (Onom. 150:1ff.) and the author of the *Madaba Map still distinguish between the site of Shechem and the city of Nablus (Neapolis) established in 72 B.C.E., but most later writers erroneously equate the two.

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[Michael Avi-Yonah]

SHECHTMAN, DAN (1941–), Israeli materials scientist and crystallographer. He was born in Tel Aviv and graduated from the Technion, Haifa, where he received his B.Sc. in mechanical engineering (1966), M.Sc. (1968), and Ph.D. in materials engineering (1972). After obtaining his Ph.D. he was an NRC fellow at the Aerospace Research Laboratories, Ohio, where he studied the microstructure and physical metallurgy of titanium aluminides. In 1975 he joined the Department of Material Engineering at the Technion, where he became a distinguished professor. In the years 1981–83, he spent a sabbatical at the Johns Hopkins University and NBS where, while studying rapidly solidified aluminum transition metal alloys, he made the discovery of the Icosahedral Phase, which had a profound influence on the course of materials and crystallography research and opened the new field of quasiperiodic crystals. The unexpected paradigm-breaking discovery which initially startled the scientific community has become an established one and is known as the science of quasi-crystals. Following the discovery, the International Union of Crystallography adopted a new definition of a crystal. Shechtman's discovery of the quasi-periodic crystals has revolutionized several sciences and brought the quasiperiodic atomic order to the forefront of physics, chemistry, crystallography, and material sciences, and opened new avenues for novel practical use. Shechtman was elected to the Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities in 1996, to the American National Academy of Engineering in 2000, and to the European Academy of Sciences in 2004. He is a recipient of many prizes and awards, including the Israel Prize in physics (1998), Wolf Prize in physics (1999), the Gregori Aminoff Prize of the Royal Swedish Academy of Sciences (2000), and the EMET Prize in chemistry (2002).

Shechtman was very actively involved in science education in the school system in Israel.

[Bracha Rager (2nd ed.)]

SHEDLOVSKY, THEODORE (1898–1976), U.S. physical chemist. Born in St. Petersburg, Russia, Shedlovsky went to the U.S. in 1908. From 1927 he worked at the Rockefeller Institute for Medical Research (now the Rockefeller University), and became professor there in 1957. He wrote mainly on the electrochemistry of solutions and of biological fluids and was the author of *Electrochemistry in Biology and Medicine* (1955). He became a member of the U.S. National Academy of Sciences.

SHEEP. In the Bible the term *ẓon* indicates both sheep and *goats (Lev. 1:10; 3:6; et al.); only once does it refer to sheep alone, as distinct from *izzim* ("goats"; I Sam. 25:2). In the Mishnah both are referred to as *behemah dakkah* ("small cattle"). The most common strain of sheep in Israel is the broad-tailed sheep *Ovis vignei platyura*, derived from the desert sheep *Ovis vignei (orientalis)*, domesticated during the Middle Stone Age. The bodily construction and way of life of this strain is adapted to the conditions of existence in dry regions such as Ereẓ Israel and its vicinity. The wool, particularly of the lambs, is usually white (Ps. 147:16; Isa. 1:18). The body of most of the sheep native to Ereẓ Israel is white; only the head and feet are brown. Some of the sheep, however, also have brown spots on other parts of the body. These can be born also to parents with white fleeces, and Jacob, when tending Laban's sheep, asked to receive as wages "all the dark ones among the sheep" born from white parents; a modest-seeming request to which Laban agreed (Gen. 30:32–37; see *Biology). In the local breed some are raised for meat and others for wool (cf. II Kings 3:4). The ewe has no horns, while the ram has curved ones (cf. Gen. 22:13). This shape of horn also appears on ancient drawings. From it was fashioned the *shofar of "rounded ram's horns" (RH 3:4). As stated above, the Israel sheep is distinguished by its broad and heavy tail (in the male it can reach a weight of 20 pounds, and is mentioned several times in the Bible (Ex. 29:22; Lev. 3:9; et al.)). The tail fat serves as stock when there is a shortage of pasture, particularly in summer.

The sheep was a main source of meat, hence the expression "sheep for slaughter" often found in the Bible (Isa. 53:7; et al.). Its milk was also of importance (Deut. 32:14), while the wool was a basic necessity of life (Hos. 2:7). Its skin was valuable, being used for shoes, clothing, and hangings (Ex. 25:5). The fertility of the sheep is mentioned as a blessing (Ps. 144:13). The ewes normally gave birth to one lamb, but under favorable conditions they had twins – the "paired" of Song of Songs 6:6. The season of conception depends upon the state of the pasture. With the early ones, the primiparous, it begins in Adar; others conceive later. The early ones are the *mekusharot* ("stronger") of Scripture and the later ones the *atufim* ("feebler," cf. Gen. 30:41–42). The period of gestation of five months is mentioned in the Talmud (RH 8a). The weak and innocent sheep, the potential victims of beasts of prey, symbolize in prophetic parable and allegory the Israelite nation and its fate (Jer. 23:2–3; Ezek. 34:6–22; et al.).

Many terms for sheep occur in the Bible. A male in its first year is called *keves* (Lev. 12:6), the female, *kavsah* (Lev. 14:10), *kivsah* (II Sam. 12:3), or *kisbah* (Lev. 5:6). The adult male is *ayil*, in Aramaic *dekhar* ("male"; Ezra 6:9). *Ayil meshullash* is one three years old (Gen. 15:9). The mature female is *raḥel* (Isa. 53:7; et al.). *Taleh* is used for the young of both sheep and goats (Isa. 40:11); the fully grown sheep is the *seh* (Gen. 30:32; Ex. 12:5). A prime species of sheep for meat was called *karim*. These came chiefly from the unpopulated border regions: Bashan (Deut. 32:14), Kedar (Ezek. 27:21), Moab (II Kings 3:4), Edom (Isa. 34:6), and Amalek (I Sam. 15:9). With the growth of the Jewish population of Israel from the beginning of the period of the kings, the pasture areas gradually diminished, being crowded out by agriculture. During the time of the Mishnah, when agriculture in Israel reached its peak of development, a regulation was enacted that small cattle were not to be reared in the populated part of the country, but only in desert areas and in Syria (BK 7:7), as well as in its forests (BK 81a). During that era the shepherd who was suspected of penetrating into agricultural areas to pasture his flock was treated with contempt (Sanh. 26b). At the close of the talmudic period, after the destruction of Israel's agriculture, the land was once more converted into extensive grazing areas.

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[Jehuda Feliks]

SHE'ERIT HA-ḤAZZAN (12th century), *paytan* and poet in Egypt. There are several *piyyutim* in manuscript signed "She'erit," which does not necessarily mean that all belong to the same author. A *paytan* named She'erit ha-Levi is known, and another named She'erit ha-Ḥazzan the Blind, the son of Japhet. The *paytan* in question here is probably "She'erit ha-Ḥazzan," the Splendor of Ḥazzanim, b. Shemariah, the Glory of Ḥazzanim, who, in 1160, lived near Fostat. This can be deduced from a *Genizah piyyut*, published by *Schirmann (see bibl.). From the style of the *piyyutim*, it appears that he was considerably influenced by the Spanish school. In addition to the *piyyut* "*Shilḥah ve-Have Ẓori le-Ẓirai*" ("Send and bring balm to my pangs"), Schirmann also attributes to him the *seliḥah* "*Shivtei Yeshurun Lekha be-Shir No'amim*" ("The tribes of Yeshurun address themselves to Thee in song"), which is signed only "She'erit."

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SHEETRIT, MEIR (1948–), Israeli politician, member of the Tenth and Eleventh Knesset, and then again from the Thirteenth Knesset. Sheetrit was born in Ksar a-Suk, Morocco, to a family of rabbis. He immigrated to Israel with his family in 1957. At first the family settled in the development town of Netivot, but later moved to Yavneh. He studied at the Givat Washington High School and in Kefar Batyah. He enlisted in the army in 1968, and was discharged from the medical corps with the rank of captain in 1973. Sheetrit had started studying microbiology and biochemistry at Bar-Ilan University in 1964, before his military service. He received his master's degree in public administration from the same university. He joined the Likud and ran on its ticket in the elections for mayor of Yavneh in 1974, after being rejected by the Labor Party. At the age of 25 he was elected as mayor of Yavneh, serving in this position until 1987. In 1986 he received the prestigious Local Government Prize, the Education Prize, and the Quality of

Life Prize from the president of the State. He was first elected to the Tenth Knesset on the Likud list in 1981, serving in a variety of Knesset committees, including the Finance Committee. He was elected treasurer of the Jewish Agency and Zionist Organization, in which capacity he served in 1988–92. In the course of his service as treasurer he was accused of fraud and breach of trust and put on trial, but was completely exonerated. Sheetrit did not serve in the Twelfth Knesset but ran once again in the elections to the Thirteenth Knesset, and after the Likud's bitter defeat in these elections, considered contesting the Likud leadership. However, due to the fatal illness of his daughter he decided to withdraw from the contest. In the Thirteenth Knesset, in addition to chairing the sub-committee for Higher Education in the Education and Culture Committee, he served as chairman of the Knesset computerization committee. In the Fourteenth Knesset he served as chairman of the Likud parliamentary group and chairman of the coalition, and as deputy speaker, until being appointed minister of finance in February 1999, after the resignation of Ya'akov Ne'eman from the post, and three months before the elections to the Fifteenth Knesset. In the Fifteenth Knesset, he was appointed minister of justice in the government formed by Ariel *Sharon in March 2001, even though he had hoped to receive the Education and Culture portfolio. In the government formed by Sharon after the elections to the Sixteenth Knesset he served as minister in the Ministry of Finance, under Binyamin *Netanyahu, and after the resignation of Avigdor Lieberman of the National Union in July 2004, started serving as minister of transportation. In September he was appointed as the liaison minister between the government and the Knesset. He was one of the proponents within the Likud for bringing the *Israel Labor Party into the government, and was a supporter of the disengagement plan. In late 2005 he followed Sharon out of the Likud to form the new Kadimah Party.

He was a member of the board of trustees of the University of Ben-Gurion in Beersheba, and of the Open University, and a member of the Executive of Bar-Ilan University.

SHEFARAM (Heb. שְׁפַרְעָם; Ar. Shefā ʿAmr), town in western Galilee. The earliest mention of Shefaram occurs in talmudic sources (RH 31a–b; Sanh. 13b, 14a; Av. Zar. 8b), which describe it after Usha as a seat of the newly reconstituted Sanhedrin, following the War of Bar-Kokhba and the persecutions of Hadrian. From Shefaram the Jewish authorities moved to Bet She'arim. In the crusader period it was known as Le Safran, a possession of the Templars; churches of St. James and St. John were located there. It was the headquarters of Saladin in 1191, when it was renowned for the woods and vines growing in the vicinity. In 1761 Ẓāhir al-ʿAmr, the Bedouin ruler of Galilee, established his capital there, building a fortified castle and naming the place in Arabic after himself, Shefā ʿAmr. An attempt to settle Jews there in the 16th century had failed, but at the invitation of Zahir al-ʿAmr the Jews successfully renewed their efforts to settle in Shefaram. In 1813, Jews from Safed, fleeing an epidemic, settled in Shefaram. Later, in 1850, Jewish families from North Africa settled there. The community, most of whose members were farmers, maintained itself through the 19th century, although in dwindling numbers: 60 persons in 1856; 13 families in 1895; four families in 1900. The last Jew left the place in 1920, leaving behind a synagogue and a large cemetery. Shefaram's total population in 1881 was 2,500 according to Palestine Exploration Fund data; in the 1922 census it was 2,288; and in 1931 it was 2,824.

When the town was occupied by the Israeli army in June 1948, a number of Muslim inhabitants fled, while other villagers from the vicinity moved in. The population grew from 3,412 in 1948 to 7,225 in 1961 and to 10,000 inhabitants (Christians, Druze and Muslims) in 1968. In 1987 Shefaram received municipal status. The city's area is 8.5 sq. mi. (22 sq. km.). By 2002 the population of Shefaram had increased to 30,300 inhabitants. Among them, 57% are Muslims, 27.5% Christians, and 14.5% Druze. Until modern times the town's built-up area remained within its narrow, ancient nucleus, but when expansion began, the inner quarter remained inhabited by Christians, while Druze inhabited a northwestern quarter and Muslims a northeastern part. After the founding of the state, new suburbs with a mixed population were built, including a housing area for Israeli war veterans from minority groups. Shefaram's position, midway between Haifa and the Christian center of Nazareth, attracted Galilean villagers, as well as non-Jews from other towns of the region, who were seeking relatively cheap housing. Bedouin who have given up nomadic life have also settled at Shefaram. The town supplied administrative and commercial services to non-Jewish villages in the region, among them Sakhnīn, I'billin, and Tamra, and holds a weekly market. Health, welfare, and employment services are also extended to the Bedouin tribes in the vicinity. Approximately 12% of the people work in agriculture, 44% in local commerce and services, and the rest commute to work in Haifa and its industrial zones.

[Michael Avi-Yonah / Shlomo Hasson]

SHEFAYIM (Heb. שְׁפָיִים), kibbutz in central Israel, 2½ mi. (4 km.) N. of Herzliyyah, affiliated with Ha-Kibbutz ha-Me'uḥad. Shefayim was founded in 1931 by pioneers from Poland. Initially the kibbutz members earned a livelihood mostly as hired laborers. In the late 1930s and in the 1940s, Shefayim served as a clandestine landing for *"illegal" immigration. In 1945 it was subjected to severe searches by British forces. In 1970 the kibbutz numbered 550 inhabitants, increasing to 780 in the mid-1990s and 883 in 2002. Farming is highly intensive and fully irrigated. The kibbutz also ran a 168-room hotel and water park. Another mainstay of its economy was a big shopping center kept open on the Sabbath and holidays and attracting people from all over the center of the country. The name is taken from Isaiah 41:18.

[Efraim Orni / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

SHEFFER, HENRY M. (1883–1964), U.S. logician. Born in the Ukraine, Sheffer was taken to the U.S. at the age of 10. After teaching in various institutions, he was appointed to Harvard in 1916 and became a professor there in 1938.

Though Sheffer wrote little, he had many seminal ideas which exerted their influence on the development of symbolic logic through the outstanding logicians whom he trained, including William Van Orman Quine and Susanne K. Langer. His method of working was through a critical exposure of fallacies and then a demonstration of how they could have been avoided. He also stressed the importance of the way the basic postulates of a system are set out, an idea which proved fruitful as much in general philosophy as in logic itself.

In 1913, Sheffer published a paper showing that all Boolean functions could be expressed in one primitive term, the Shefferstroke function. (C.S. Pierce had discovered this but never published it.) Though most of his ideas were only suggested, Bertrand Russell and Alfred North Whitehead were impressed by Sheffer's originality, and in 1925 said his work "would demand a complete rewriting of their *Principia Mathematica*." A volume of essays, *Structure, Method, and Meaning* (New York, 1951) was published in his honor.

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[Richard H. Popkin]

SHEFFIELD, steel manufacturing city in N.E. England. Some Jews may have settled in Sheffield in the 18th century, but the first family of note was the Bright family, many of whose descendants, however, later married non-Jews. There was an incipient community in 1827 centered around the Jacobs family, who maintained a synagogue in their own home and employed a *shoḥet*. A permanent congregation was organized in 1838 and in 1851 was able to buy the premises used as a synagogue and advertise for a minister. During the mass immigration of 1881 to 1914, a number of Russo-Polish refugees settled in Sheffield; by the beginning of the 20th century the Jewish population was 800. However, it was more difficult for Jews to enter steel industries than clothing industries and consequently Sheffield attracted proportionately fewer Jews than many other manufacturing cities in northern England. In 1953 the two synagogues were amalgamated; there were a number of communal and Zionist organizations in the city, as well as a University Jewish Society and Hillel House. In 1969 Sheffield had a Jewish population of 1,600 (out of a total of 490,000). In the mid-1990s the Jewish population dropped to approximately 800. In 2001, the British census found 763 declared Jews in Sheffield. The city has an Orthodox and a Reform synagogue. Armin Krausz's *Sheffield Jewry* (1980) is a sociological study of the community.

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[Vivian David Lipman]

SHEFTALL, U.S. family among the original (1733) Jewish settlers of *Savannah, Georgia. BENJAMIN SHEFTALL (1692–1765), who was born in Prussia, was active in the establishment in 1735 of Congregation Mikveh Israel, which he seems to have served as *shammash* and *shohet*. He had two sons, Mordecai (by his first wife Perla) and Levi (by his second wife Hannah Solomons). Benjamin kept the congregation's vital records, which were continued by his son Levi. Benjamin served as interpreter and supplier to a Georgia community of Lutherans from Salzburg. In 1748 he sent to England for *tefillin* and prayer books for Mordecai's bar mitzvah, the first recorded observance of this rite in America. Two years later, Benjamin was naturalized at Charleston, South Carolina. That same year, he joined a group of Christians in creating Georgia's first philanthropic organization, the St. George (later Union) Society, to assist widows and orphans. Benjamin was a modest landowner and small-time merchant when he died.

MORDECAI SHEFTALL (1735–1797) enlarged his father's mercantile enterprises and land holdings. He aided in the reorganization of Mikveh Israel in 1774 and functioned as a *mohel*. Supporting the American revolutionary cause, he became chairman of his parish committee, which seized British imports and records. He subsequently served as a colonel in the Georgia brigade and as commissary general of purchases and issues to the state militia. He and his son Sheftall were captured, paroled, recaptured, shipped to Antigua, and paroled again, whereupon they made their way to Philadelphia. Mordecai took an active role in the building of that city's synagogue in 1782. He tried privateering, purchasing a ship with the small amounts Congress paid on its indebtedness to him. The end of the war brought him to Savannah, where he remained. One of his sons, SHEFTALL (1762–1847), became an attorney in Savannah, while another, MOSES (1769–1835), was a Savannah physician trained by Benjamin Rush.

LEVI SHEFTALL (1739–1809), second son of Benjamin, became a butcher. He joined his brother Mordecai in the revolutionary cause but was accused of Tory sympathies for carrying on trade in British-occupied Savannah. After living for several years in Charleston, he returned to Savannah and helped reestablish Mikveh Israel. He was its president by 1789, when he wrote a congratulatory letter to George *Washington. He served as U.S. agent, and agent for fortifications, at Savannah until his death.

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[Malcolm H. Stern]

SHEFTEL, MIKHAIL (1858–1922), jurist and communal leader in Russia. Born in Zhitomir, Sheftel became one of the most noted lawyers in Russia. After the pogroms in *Kishinev, he took part in the judicial inquiries aimed at clarifying the circumstances surrounding the pogroms and exposing their political nature to the Russian public. He was a member of the central committee of the League for the Attainment of Equal Rights for the Jewish People in Russia. In 1906 he was elected to the Russian parliament (*Duma) as deputy from Yekaterinoslav (Dnepropetrovsk) and joined the Kadet (Liberal) faction. When the Duma was dissolved, Sheftel was among the signatories to the "Vyborg Manifesto" and in consequence was sentenced to three months' imprisonment. He was active in Jewish communal and scientific associations in Russia and contributed to the *Yevreyskaya Entsiklopediya* and to the Russian-Jewish press. He also took part in the activities of the Jewish Society for War Victims (*YEKOPO), which gave assistance between 1915 and 1919 to Jewish refugees and expellees from areas near the front in Western Russia.

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[Yehuda Slutsky]

SHEḤITAH (Heb. שְׁחִיטָה), the Jewish method of slaughtering permitted animals or birds for food. The underlying principle of the procedure is to kill the animal in the swiftest and most painless way possible by cutting horizontally across the throat, severing the trachea (windpipe), the esophagus, the jugular veins, and the carotid arteries. The knife (see below) is drawn across the throat of the animal in one or more swift, uninterrupted movements. In the case of animals most of the trachea and esophagus must be severed, while with birds it is sufficient to sever the largest part of either one. In the first instance, however, both are severed even in birds. "Then thou shalt kill of thy herd and of thy flock which the Lord hath given thee, as I have commanded thee" (Deut. 12:21) is the Pentateuchal basis of *sheḥitah*. Maimonides lists *sheḥitah* among the 613 commandments (*Sefer ha-Mitzvot*, 146) and rabbinic authorities state (Ḥul. 28a): "Moses was instructed concerning the rules of *sheḥitah*."

The Shoḥet

In early times there were no "professional" *shoḥatim* (sing. **shoḥet*). Any adult versed in the *halakhah* was allowed to perform the act of *sheḥitah*. In medieval times it was resolved that would-be *shoḥatim* in order to obtain a license (*kabbalah*) had to pass an examination (conducted by a rabbi) on the theory and practice of *sheḥitah*. A synod convened in Germany around 1220 resolved that no man could act as a *shoḥet* without such a license.

A *kabbalah* certificate is nowadays issued to an applicant who has successfully passed an oral examination on the laws of *sheḥitah* and *terefah* (see *Dietary Laws) and has correctly performed ritual slaughter, at least three times, in the presence of experts. Only meat of animals slaughtered by a *shoḥet* who possesses a *kabbalah* certificate is fit for consumption according to religious law (i.e., *kasher*, cf. Sh. Ar., YD 1). *Kabbalah* certificates are not issued to minors, women, or to mentally or physically handicapped persons (e.g., a deaf-mute or an idiot), although, if they perform the *sheḥitah* properly, their slaughter is ritually valid (*ibid.*, 1:2, and Ḥul. 1:1). In Yemen there were women ritual slaughterers and it is even recorded that on Jan. 13, 1556, R. Isaac Immanuel de Lattes of Mantua gave a *kabbalah* to a woman.

A rabbi should not issue a *kabbalah* certificate to a person who is his close relative, or irresponsible, or to someone who is lax in the fulfillment of religious duties. Excluded also are persons inclined to drunkenness or those whose "hands are unsteady." In order to retain his status, the *shoḥet* is obliged to rehearse the rules of ritual slaughter every day during the first 30 days of receiving the *kabbalah* certificate, then once a month during the first year, and after that at least once in three months. He is also obliged to inspect, from time to time, the sharpness of his knife (or knives) or to have them inspected, upon request, by rabbinic authorities.

The Knife

In the *sheḥitah* procedure, the knife (known as *ḥalaf*) has to be spotlessly clean and smooth, without a single notch or dent, and it has to be examined before and after *sheḥitah*. The examination is performed by passing the edge of the knife gently back and forth against the tip of the finger and the fingernail; any imperfection in the blade can thus be discovered. The knife must be at least twice as long as the width of the animal's throat and must not be pointed. Usually very high grade steel is used in order to avoid notches. One of the important stages in the training of a *shoḥet* is to learn how to set the knife to exquisite sharpness.

The Act

The act of *sheḥitah* is preceded by a benediction. One authority has ruled that the absence of the benediction renders the meat non-kosher, but the general opinion is that although a benediction should be recited, its omission, *post facto*, does not affect the validity of the act. *Sheḥitah* may not be performed on the Sabbath but, *post facto*, it is valid if so performed. Any one of the following five movements can disqualify the *sheḥitah: shehiyyah* – if the slightest pause or interruption occurs during the *sheḥitah* act; *derasah* – if the knife is pressed into the neck instead of moving firmly back and forth; *ḥaladah* – if the knife gets stuck behind the food pipe; *hagramah* – if the cut is not made in the prescribed section; *ikkur* – if the tissues are torn out rather than cut.

For birds and undomesticated animals (*ḥayyot*) the blood must be covered after the *sheḥitah*. This is done by placing sand or soil underneath, slaughtering, and then spreading more soil over the split blood, at which time a special benediction is pronounced. One of the reasons given for this procedure is that these animals owe nothing to man (as opposed to domesticated animals) and thus their slaughter is more shameful.

Reasons Given for Shehitah

Underlying these minute regulations is the concept of *ẓa'ar ba'alei ḥayyim*, the deep concern not to inflict pain on any living creature. The *sheḥitah* procedure was thus devised to make animal slaughter instantaneous and painless (see *Animals, Cruelty to). Maimonides writes in a similar vein: "The commandment concerning the killing of animals is necessary because the natural food of man consists of vegetables and the meat of animals; the best meat is that of animals permitted to be used as food. No doctor has any doubts about this. Since, therefore, the desire to procure good food necessitates the slaying of animals, the law enjoins that the death of the animal should be as easy and painless as possible" (*Guide of the Perplexed*, pt. 3, 48).

Anti-Shehitah Movements

Though the concept of *sheḥitah* is rooted in humane aspects and the laws are directed to perform the act as swiftly as possible and render the animal insensitive to pain almost instantly, from time to time there have been attempts in the non-Jewish world to ban *sheḥitah*. While some of these were motivated by humanitarian concern, in many cases the agitation was a manifestation of antisemitism.

An anti-*sheḥitah* movement was started in Germany in the middle of the 19th century. The first country to ban *sheḥitah* was *Switzerland, which outlawed it by plebiscite (178,844 votes to 115,931) on Aug. 20, 1893. Later *sheḥitah* was forbidden in Norway (Jan. 1, 1930), Bavaria (May 17, 1930), Nazi Germany (April 21, 1933), Sweden (1937), Fascist Italy (1938). Severe restrictions were imposed on the Jews of Poland in 1936. During World War II *sheḥitah* was banned in the countries under Nazi hegemony.

In the United States, *sheḥitah* is protected in a number of states (in 1915 a law was passed in New York according to which it is an offence to sell as kosher an article that is prohibited for Jewish consumption). Similarly, the Act of Parliament of August 13, 1928, which provides for the humane slaughter of animals in Scotland, makes a special provision for *sheḥitah* (Article 8). Subsequently, an act passed on July 28, 1933, which provides for the humane and scientific slaughter of animals, and the Slaughter of Animals (Consolidation) Act (1958) further safeguarded *sheḥitah* in Britain. They require that in abattoirs cattle and sheep be instantaneously slaughtered or be rendered insensible by stunning until death supervenes, but food intended for Jews and Muslims is exempt from the foregoing provision (a private member's bill to forbid *sheḥitah*, introduced in the British Parliament, was defeated in 1968). There are similar legal safeguards in Finland, the Republic of South Africa, and Ireland. Many slaughterhouses have special large padded casting pens and other similar devices to get the animal into the required position swiftly and painlessly.

In recent years, the anti-*sheḥitah* movement has been revived in a number of countries. Medical and veterinary authorities such as Lister, Virchov, and Vogt and more than 450 of the most eminent physiologists, pathologists, and heads of veterinary colleges in Great Britain have become convinced that the Jewish method is absolutely humane. The British physician Lord Horder stated in 1940: "Careful and critical scrutinising of this method of slaughtering leaves me in no doubt whatever that it is fraught with less risk of pain to the animal than any other method at present practised." Similar sentiments were expressed by Sir William Bayliss, professor of general physiology at the University College of London: "The Jewish use of the knife is a humane method of slaughter which compares favourably with any other process. The result of the cut made by the Jewish expert is to produce immediate insensibility, from which the animal does not recover. The pain, if any, is momentary, and at the worst is but slight."

Stunning

Many of the opponents of *sheḥitah* have advocated electrical stunning before the act which would render the animal unconscious and thus insensitive to pain. The *halakhah* strongly opposes such stunning prior to *sheḥitah*. Stunning often causes a strong jerk of the muscles, which could impair the act of *sheḥitah*. It may also injure the brain and lungs, rendering the animal forbidden. The stunning furthermore causes extravasation of blood so that small blood clots form in the meat, hemorrhages, and severe congestion of muscles.

The laws of *sheḥitah* are codified in Sh. Ar. YD, ch. 1–28.

[Harry Rabinowicz]

Communal Aspects

In many regions and during many periods *sheḥitah* provided a major source of income for the communal leadership. The first signs of organized communal control over *sheḥitah* appeared at the end of the tenth century in Ramleh, Ereẓ Israel, and in Egypt. The old profession of *tabbaḥ*, combining slaughterer and meat seller, was divided into two, when the *kaẓẓav*, the butcher, ceased to act as slaughterer, a function which was acquired by the specialist *shoḥet*. This became the rule, albeit with some exceptions, in the kingdoms of Christian Spain and in the Sephardi Diaspora after 1492. The *shoḥet* was also expected to act as *bodek*, to examine the animal lungs for *kashrut*. Usually the *shoḥet* was granted **ḥazakah* or perpetual tenure; he did not have to stand for reelection and could be dismissed only for transgression. This right was often transmitted to his heirs and sometimes remained in the same family for many generations. In Venice he was called the *sagatino*. In order to pay the *shoḥet's* salary, the community arranged to collect fees for his services. Periodically the *shoḥet's* work in the abattoir was inspected by the local rabbi or *dayyanim*; many communities hired two *shoḥatim*. In smaller settlements the *shoḥet* often combined his work with the office of cantor, teacher, or other paid communal functions. As the *shoḥet* was responsible for many minutiae in the proper exercise of his function, his character and piety were as important to the community as his technical expertise. Some kabbalists, chief among them the anonymous 14th-century Spanish author of *Sefer ha-Kaneh* and *Sefer ha Peli'ah*, attacked the whole conception of meat-eating and cattle-slaughtering as a part of the general life-style. On the other hand, the development of the concept of metempsychosis made *sheḥitah* and the *shoḥet* participants in the right way of liberating the soul from its material environment if both the action and the man were pious and proper (see also *Sacrifices in Kabbalah).

The method of *sheḥitah* and attitude to it of Ashkenazi Jewry developed largely on the same lines. In Ḥasidism the mystical appreciation of *sheḥitah* became an ideological and social mark of the movement. Tales told about *Israel b. Eliezer Ba'al Shem Tov express a deep concern with the personality of the *shoḥet*; miraculously the Ba'al Shem Tov was able to know and disclose the sins of the *shoḥet* in various places. Ḥasidism introduced a different technique for the fine sharpening of the *shoḥet's* knife. As the circle around *Elijah b. Solomon Zalman, the Gaon of Vilna, objected to the introduction of highly polished knives, contending that such instruments were prone to denting, the ḥasidic *sheḥitah* became both a divisive factor in the community and a unifying element among the Ḥasidim. In 1772 a *ḥerem* was proclaimed against the ḥasidic *sheḥitah*, its knives, and its *shoḥatim*, which "are of a certainty blemished with the taint of heresy. Meat [or cattle] slaughtered by these burnished knives is not *kasher.*" As Ḥasidism spread, the close tie between the rabbi and the *shoḥet* made the introduction of ḥasidic *sheḥitah* a tangible sign that the Ḥasidim had taken over the community and the rabbinate.

The *kahal* acquired monopolistic control over all *sheḥitah* and sale of *kasher* meat. Soon the income from *sheḥitah* was employed not merely to defray expenses but also to underwrite educational, charitable, and other communal endeavors. As early as the 12th century in Castile there are references to such a meat tax. Throughout the Sephardi world it was known as *gabela* and in Morocco in modern times it was called *hakdish*. In Poland from the 17th century and in Russia it was called **korobka*. In Berlin the *sheḥitah* tax is first documented in 1723, but it probably existed long before that. Often these taxes became the mainstay of communal income. In modern times various states – often on the initiative of the *maskilim* – used the meat tax as a method of financing their own enterprises, educational and otherwise, among the Jews. As East European Jewry migrated to Western Europe and the New World they instituted the *sheḥitah* tax there too. In New York the *shoḥet* was at first a functionary of the synagogue rather than of the community as a whole. In the 20th century, with the development of canned meat and canning factories and the concentration of great numbers of Jews in a few communities, *sheḥitah* underwent many changes. The *kasher* butchers were supervised by a *mashgi'aḥ* ("supervisor") or as he was called in London a *shomer* ("watchman"). Each properly slaughtered animal or fowl was identified by a *plombe*, a lead disc stamped *kasher* and showing the date of slaughtering. Every can of meat had to be similarly marked. Attempts were made to ensure central supervision over *kashrut* in order to check the many abuses that had appeared. In Palestine the Mandatory government adopted regulations which provided that in each city *sheḥitah* must be under the control of a single board representing the various groupings in the community. In Israel *sheḥitah* has remained under the general supervision of the Mo'aẓot Datiyyot ("religious councils") and the rabbinate.

[Isaac Levitats]

Women and Sheḥitah

Women are tacitly included when the Mishnah states that everybody slaughters, that their slaughtering is acceptable, and that they are not included among those whose slaughtering is unacceptable (Ḥul. 1:1). According to Zevaḥim 3:1, slaughtering, even of the most holy things (*kodshei kodashim*), by women, slaves, and the impure, is acceptable. On the one hand, this statement seems to put women in the category of those who do not usually slaughter while, on the other, it affirms that women could slaughter sacrifices. The only condition is that those who are impure should not come into contact with the meat. According to Zevaḥim 31b, "everybody slaughters" means that women have the authority to do so in the first instance (based on Lev. 1:5, where the commandment to slaughter was not limited to priests); that their slaughtering is "acceptable" means after the fact (Ḥul. 2b). The Jewish traveler *Eldad (ben Mahli) ha-Dani (c. 880) left behind a small code of law, *Hilkhot Ereẓ Yisrael* ("Laws of the Land of Israel"). Beginning with the Tosafists, medieval rabbis rebut arguments purportedly found in *Hikhot Ereẓ Yisrael* against women's slaughtering; these include claims that women are feebleminded, physically weak, and prone to fainting. Instead, they affirm that women may slaughter on their own (e.g. Tos. Ḥul. 2a, d.h. *hakol*; Zev. 31b, kol; Kid. 36a, d.h. Hakabalot; 76b, d.h. *ein bodekin;* Er. 59b, d.h. *ve-tehumin*; MT Sheḥitah 4:4; Commentary on the Mishnah Ḥullin 1:1; Commentary on the Mishnah Zevaḥim 3:1; Meir of Rothenberg, Shut Maharam 4 (Prague), no. 193; Jacob ben Asher, Tur YD 1). *Orḥot Ḥayyim* and *Kolbo* of the 13th–14th centuries deem it acceptable for women to slaughter for themselves, *le-atzman*, but not for others, *lo le-aḥerim* (OḤ Hil. Sheḥitah, no. 3; Kolbo, no. 107). Jacob ben Judah *Landau, 15th century author of *Sefer ha-Agur,* represents a major turning point in the development of rabbinic discourse on the subject. He states that while it is obvious that a woman may slaughter, "It is a custom in all the Jewish diaspora that they do not slaughter and I have never seen the practice of doing so. Therefore, there is no reason to allow them to slaughter because custom cancels, and the custom of our fathers is Torah" (*Sefer ha-Agur,* Hil. Sheḥitah, no. 1062). Joseph *Caro contests Jacob ben Judah Landau's view that the custom is that women do not slaughter; he also asserts that women's slaughtering for themselves means slaughtering by themselves, that is alone (*levadan*) without anybody supervising them (BY YD 1; Kesef Mishnah, Hil. Sheḥitah 4:4). Limitations on women's slaughtering were accepted by Moses *Isserles of Cracow and by Solomon ben Jehiel *Luria of Poznan (Rama, SA YD 1; *Yam shel Shelomo*, Ḥul. 1:1). Luria raised the possibility that fear of their husbands will lead women to hide mistakes; he ruled that because of the many stringencies recently added to the process of slaughtering and of the greater concern that they will faint, women are not allowed to slaughter for others or at all (*Yam shel Shelomo*, Ḥul. 1:2). One relatively late attempt to limit women's slaughtering in Italy reveals what may have been a new or a previously understated argument. In 1728, in an exchange with Abraham Yaḥyah of Modena, Shabbetai Elhanan ben Elisha *del Vecchio accepted all the traditional arguments for women's slaughtering, even for sacrifices, but expressed concern that a women in a state of impurity might touch the animal.

In contrast with efforts by rabbis elsewhere in Christian Europe to limit women's rights to slaughter, licenses appear in early modern Italy for specific women not only to slaughter but also to porge (*nikkur* or *treibern*) animals. Porging, removal of fat, veins, nerves, and sinews after the animal has been ritually slaughtered, is a complex process. The involvement of women in kosher slaughtering and porging has been construed by some as proof of an improvement in the condition of women among Italian Jews. Others have argued that the reason women were allowed to slaughter was not emancipation but so that they could provide food for their families in isolated locations, such as summer houses in the mountains, or in distressed circumstances. Italian Jewish women who demonstrated under supervision that they had sufficient knowledge and expertise to slaughter, to examine, and to porge received permission to slaughter both fowl and cattle unsupervised (*beinah levein atzmah*) for all Jews (*lekhol yisrael*).

[Howard Tzvi Adelman (2nd ed.)]

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SHEIKH, ABRAHAM BEN SHALOM HA-LEVI AL- (c. 1749–1829), community leader, liturgical innovator. Al-Sheikh was born and lived in *San'a. He was the grandson of the **nagid* R. Yiḥye ha-Levi, who headed the Jewish community of San'a after the return from the Exile of *Mawza', when he founded the Al-Sheikh synagogue, the first to be built in the new Jewish walled-off neighborhood (*qā' al-yahūd*). After the fall of the Iraqi family, he was appointed by the imam as supervisor of his mint and as president of the Jews of Yemen. As a wealthy man, he donated much money to the poor and helped orphans marry, built *mikva'ot* and a boys' school for the community from his own funds, and improved his family synagogue, already known for its beautiful traditions and valuable collection of books. He instituted a mixed rite of customs and prayers in the synagogues by introducing several changes and reforms based on Sephardi prayer books and the opinion of R. Joseph Caro (*shāmī*). This provoked the criticism of conservative (*baladī*) scholars. Al-Sheikh wrote a work on the *masorah and the musical notes of the Scriptures, *Ḥelkat Meḥokek* (in manuscript).

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[Yehuda Ratzaby / Yosef Tobi (2nd ed.)]

SHEINDLIN, JUDITH (1942–), U.S. judge. Judith Blum Sheindlin was born in Brooklyn, N.Y., and educated at American University in Washington, D.C., and New York Law School. Beginning in 1972, Sheindlin prosecuted juvenile delinquency cases for ten years, until she was appointed a judge of Family Court in Manhattan. She retired from the bench in 1996 and began a television career as Judge Judy, an irrepressibly outspoken judge constantly admonishing plaintiffs and defendants. For more than ten years, Sheindlin rendered opinions sharply and quickly in a widely syndicated and extremely popular half-hour series. Her husband, GERALD, who graduated from Long Island University and Brooklyn Law School, became a judge in the Bronx and then an acting justice of the State Supreme Court. He retired at 65 to begin a television career as Judge Jerry of *The People's Court*. He had presided over 86 murder trials and published 65 opinions, but his show, frequently aired back to back with his wife's, was not as successful as hers. Nevertheless, the couple's television earnings far eclipsed their salaries on the bench. Judge Judy was the author of several books, including *Don't Pee on My Leg and Tell Me It's Raining* and *Beauty Fades, Dumb Is Forever: The Making of a Happy Woman* (1999).

[Stewart Kampel (2nd ed.)]

SHEINKIN, MENAHEM (1871–1924), Zionist leader in Russia and Ereẓ Israel. Born in Ulla (near Vitebsk), the son of an ḥasidic rabbinical family, Sheinkin studied to become a rabbi. He became attracted to the *Haskalah movement, however, and enrolled at Odessa University. An early Zionist, he was a delegate to the Second Zionist Congress in 1898. In 1900 he visited Ereẓ Israel for the first time and from there went to London as a delegate to the Fourth Zionist Congress. A year later he became the **kazyonny ravvin* in Balta, Podolia. He was a member of the *Democratic Fraction of the Zionist Movement; took part in the activities of the Ẓiyyonei Zion, who opposed the *Uganda scheme at the Seventh Congress (1905); and was then elected a member of the Zionist General Council. He was forced to resign from his post as an officially appointed rabbi when he refused to give up his Zionist activities. In 1906 he went to Ereẓ Israel, where he directed Ḥovevei Zion's information and immigration office in Jaffa and was one of the founders of Tel Aviv (1909). When World War I broke out, he was exiled by the Turks from Ereẓ Israel and went to the United States, where he was among the founders of the Zion Commonwealth Company and organized groups for settlement in Palestine. He returned to Palestine in 1919 and became director of the Zionist Commission's immigration office. In 1924 he went to the United States on behalf of the Zion Commonwealth Company and was killed in a road accident in Chicago. A central street in Tel Aviv and one of the city's suburbs are named after him. His writings were published posthumously as *Ketavim* (1935).

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[Yehuda Slutsky]

SHEINKMAN, JACOB (1926–2004), labor leader and Jewish communal leader. Sheinkman was born in New York City. After serving in the Navy in World War II, he attended Cornell University and was one of the first graduates of the School of Labor and Industrial Relations. He then became an organizer for the International Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers. He joined the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America as a lawyer in 1953. In 1958 he became general counsel of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, AFL-CIO; in 1968 he became a vice president, and in 1973 secretary-treasurer. In 1974 he was elected president of the Jewish Labor Committee, where he served three terms and lobbied for strong U.S.-Israeli ties. He also served as vice president of the AFL-CIO Industrial Union Department, as a member of the executive committee of the American ORT, and as a member of the board of trustees of Cornell University. During the 1980s, as a strong opponent of U.S. policy in Central America, he founded and co-chaired a national committee on labor rights in Central America, which served as an organizing base for union activists opposing U.S. military intervention in El Salvador and Nicaragua. From 1987 to 1995 Sheinkman was president of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union. After negotiating the union's merger with the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, he retired to form the Union of Needletrades, Industrial and Textile Employees (UNITE).

[Milton Ridvas Konvitz / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

SHEKALIM (Heb. שְׁקָלִים), fourth tractate in the order of *Mo'ed, which deals, in eight chapters, with the annual half-shekel tax collected for the maintenance of the Temple and its services and with allied subjects. There is no *Gemara* in the Babylonian Talmud but there is in the Jerusalem Talmud, and this *Gemara* is usually included in the printed editions of the Babylonian Talmud. There is Tosefta, divided into three chapters. The reason for placing this tractate in the order of *Mo'ed*, dealing with festivals, is somewhat problematic. Since *Shekalim* deals principally with matters connected with the Temple, its expected place might have been in the order *Kodashim* ("Holy Things") together with the tractates *Middot* and *Tamid*. It is probable, however, that its inclusion in *Mo'ed* is connected with the opening paragraph of *Shekalim*, which says: "on the first of Adar, announcement is made concerning *shekalim*… on the 15th, the *Megillah* is read in the walled cities…" This formulation associates *shekalim* with the idea of an "appointed time," which is the basic meaning of *mo'ed*. Moreover, the first paragraph of chapter 3 significantly links the periodical allocations from the shekel funds with the festivals of Passover, Shavuot, and Sukkot.

It is also remarkable that the various printed editions and manuscripts of the Mishnah, Tosefta, and the Babylonian and Jerusalem Talmuds differ widely as to the place of *Shekalim* in the sequence of tractates within the order *Mo'ed*. There are a few instances of its being placed ninth, 11th, or 12th, but it is most frequently found as either fourth or fifth. Following the rule that tractates with a higher number of chapters take precedence, *Shabbat* (24), *Pesaḥim* (10), and *Eruvin* (10) took the first three places, while *Shekalim* and *Yoma*, each with eight chapters, vied for the fourth place. But there is evidence, coming from geonic times, that *Shekalim* used to be studied before *Yoma*, and eventually the placing of *Shekalim* as the fourth tractate of *Mo'ed* prevailed.

As to biblical provisions concerning the half-shekel tax, Exodus 30:11–16 sees it as a onetime measure for the purpose of a popular census. But in II Kings 12:5–17, 22:3–7, II Chronicles 24:5–14, 34:8–14, and in Nehemiah 10:33–34 it appears as a permanent institution. It is remarkable that the last mentioned source speaks of a "third part of a shekel," having in mind Persian currency.

The contents of the eight chapters of this tractate are as follows: chapters 1–2 deal with the time and manner of levying this tax. Chapters 3–4 deal with the allocations of the shekel fund, when they were made, and how they were to be used. Chapter 5 lists the various chief officers of the Temple and speaks, in particular, about the administration of the funds. Chapter 6 says first that there were in the Temple 13 "chests" for money donated, two of which were marked for shekel contributions. It then goes on to list other things of which there were 13 in the Temple. Chapter 7 first discusses the use to which lost money found on the Temple premises should be put, and goes on to consider similar questions, e.g., that of meat or cattle picked up in the sanctuary or elsewhere in Jerusalem or in the provinces. Various other questions are also touched upon, e.g., a burnt-offering sent by a heathen from abroad. Chapter 8 discusses a variety of questions which have nothing to do with the subject matter of this tractate, except for the incidental statement that the law of *shekalim* became obsolete with the destruction of the Temple. The following aggadic passages from the Jerusalem Talmud to the tractate are well known: "No monuments need to be put up for the righteous, their deeds are their memorial" (2:7, 47a), and "Whoever settles in Israel, speaks Hebrew, eats his fruit in ritual purity, and reads the *Shema* morning and evening is assured of the world to come" (3:4, 47c).

The tractate *Shekalim* for the most part consists of early material, and there are sections and chapters which have come down in their original form. All the officials mentioned in chapter 5 lived between the time of *Agrippa I and the destruction of the Temple (41–70 C.E.), and some of them are mentioned by name in Josephus, while three others are mentioned also in the Mishnah of **Middot* and **Tamid*, which were arranged at the end of the Temple era. Yose b. Ḥanan played a considerable part in its arrangements, and one may assume with certainty that chapters 3, 5, and 6 are actually by him. The Tosefta contains many variations of and additions to the Mishnah, chiefly in the names of the officials. Hence it is evident that the Tosefta utilized the Mishnah of a different *tanna*. Despite this it is clear that the source of the Tosefta is not later than that on which the Mishnah is based. *Judah I (ha-Nasi) also made use of the *mishnayot* of later *tannaim* who taught this tractate, among whom should be noted Judah b. Ilai, from whom apparently comes the whole of chapter 1; Simeon (ch. 2:1–4 and ch. 7); and Yose, chapter 4 being apparently wholly from him. There is much information about the shekel offering, both in Ereẓ Israel and the Diaspora. The New Testament refers to the "collectors" of the half-shekel in *Capernaum (Kefar Nahum) to whom Peter gave a *sela on his own behalf and on behalf of Jesus (Matt. 17:24–27). Josephus (Ant. 18:311f.) describes the methods whereby the Jews of Nehardea and Nisibis sent their half-shekel, and *shekalim* from Egypt are already referred to in the *Elephantine papyri and by Philo. The Mishnah was translated into English by H. Danby in 1933.

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[Arnost Zvi Ehrman]

SHEKANZIB, town in Babylonia situated on the Tigris River between the settlements of Sikara and Humaniya. The first known reference to the existence of a Jewish settlement in Shekanzib is in the second half of the third century C.E. *Sherira Gaon relates that one of his ancestors, *Rabbah b. Avuha, settled there after the partial destruction of Nehardea by Papa b. Nazer in 259 C.E. (*Iggeret Rav Sherira Ga'on*, ed. by B.M. Lewin (1921), 82). Naḥman of Nehardea paid occasional visits to Shekanzib (Yoma 18b). Concerning the character of the Jews of Shekanzib the Talmud relates: Our holy teacher commanded his children four things (one of which was): Do not live in Shekanzib because its people are frivolous and will affect you with their frivolity (Pes. 112b). "Our holy teacher" usually refers to Judah I ha-Nasi, who died in the year 219 C.E., and if the reading is correct it would show that the inhabitants of Shekanzib already had a bad reputation at the beginning of the third century even in Ereẓ Israel. Some, however, read simply "our teacher" (see Kohut, Arukh, 8 (1926^2), 73 s.v. *Shekanzib*), and the reference may be to Rav or to Rava, who described the funeral customs of Shekanzib (MK 28b).

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[Moshe Beer]

SHEKEL, coin minted in Ereẓ Israel.

Shekel

Originally the shekel was a unit of weight for means of payment in gold and silver. In the third millennium B.C.E. one already finds this unit of weight in Babylonia, weighing there 8.4 grams; it was divided into 24 giru (Heb. *gerah*). 60 Babylonian shekels were a mina (Heb. *maneh*) and 60 mina a biltu (Heb. *kikkar*). This system was introduced in Canaan with some alteration, as the *maneh* generally consisted of 50 shekels only. As the *kikkar* was equivalent to 60 *maneh*, it amounted to 3,000 shekels in Canaan, instead of 3,600 in the Babylonian system. The shekel as a unit of weight for gold is mentioned in Genesis 24:22 and Joshua 7:21 (for the shekel as a unit of weight for silver, see Gen. 23:16; II Sam. 14:26; II Kings 15:20; Zech. 11:12–13).

There were two standards of shekel weights, namely the Babylonian and the Phoenician. Both standards had a heavy and light system: Babylonian – heavy, 22.0–23.0 grs.; light, 11.0–11.5 grs; Phoenician – heavy, 14.5–15.3 grs.; light, 7.3–7.7 grs.

The shekel weight during the First Temple period relates to the light Babylonian system. In the fourth century B.C.E. Phoenician silver coins, such as the Sidonian double shekel and Tyrian stater, circulated in Ereẓ Israel. The former, whose average weight was 26.43 grams, relates to the Phoenician heavy weight, though being somewhat lighter. It may be compared with the Tyrian staters of that period, which are of an average weight of 12.9 grams, two of which would approximate the Sidonian double shekel.

Ptolemy II (285–246 B.C.E.) reformed this coinage by reducing the weight of the tetradrachm from the Attic standard (17.46 g.) to the Phoenician standard (14.30 g.). Thus, the tradition of the Phoenician shekel was kept alive and adopted later by the city of Tyre, which issued shekels from 126 B.C.E. until about 56 C.E. These had an average weight of 14.2 grams and were of good silver. They were therefore recommended by the sages for payment of the Temple tax (Shek. 1:7). During the Jewish War (66–70 C.E.), due partly to a shortage of Tyrian shekels, which had not been issued by then for about ten years, the Jewish authorities issued silver shekels of their own, with the legends *Shekel Yisrael, Ḥaẓi ha-Shekel* ("half-shekel") and *Reva ha-Shekel* ("quarter shekel").

Perutah

The only Jewish coin denomination mentioned in the Mishnah, Talmud, and Midrash besides the shekel is the perutah. Numismatists identify this denomination with the Hasmonean and early Herodian coinage, that of the Roman procurators, and the smaller coins of the Jewish War. The Hasmoneans undoubtedly adjusted their coinage to the Seleucid standard. Their perutah had an average weight of 2 grams and an average size of about 15 mm.; it may be compared to the Seleucid dilepton. The Hasmoneans also had a lepton, or half-perutah, and a trilepton, or 1½ perutah. The perutah of that weight and size was retained until about 30 C.E. From the time of Agrippa I (42 C.E.) onward, the perutah increased in weight and size to an average of 2.55 grams and 17 mm.; this brought it close to the weight and size of the Roman quadrans, which under Nero weighed 3.21 grams and was 17–18 mm. The relation of the perutah to the silver coinage is mentioned in the Talmud (Kid. 2a, 12a) in two variations:

(a) 192 perutah in a dinar, which corresponds to the Seleucid system and therefore refers to the Hasmonean period, and

(b) 144 perutah in a dinar, which reflects the situation after 30 C.E. when the weight and size of the perutah were increased and Ereẓ Israel was under Roman control.

Ḥezi and Revi'a

The only bronze Jewish coins that bear an indication of their denomination are those of the fourth year of the Jewish War (70 C.E.). Ḥezi ("half") appeared on the large bronzes and *revi'a* ("quarter") on the smaller sized coins, but it is not known of what denomination these coins were halves and quarter. All suggestions to solve this problem remain hypothetical.

Other Denominations

The Herodian tetrarchs Antipas and Philip II, as well as the kings Agrippa I and II, adjusted their coin denominations to the city coin system prevailing in Ereẓ Israel and therefore have no Jewish character. The same also applies to the coinage of the Bar Kokhba War (132–35 C.E.), which is overstruck on the money then in circulation, i.e., the Roman silver coinage, both imperial and provincial, and the Ereẓ Israel city coins. The silver tetradrachm, however, was called *sela* by the Jews and the silver denarius *zuz*. The various denominations mentioned in the Mishnah, Talmud, and Midrash refer mainly to Roman coinage (see *Coins, In Talmudic Literature).

[Arie Kindler]

In the Zionist Movement

The biblical name shekel was given by the First Zionist Congress (1897) to the fee and card of Zionist membership. Its price was fixed at 1 franc, 1 mark, 1 Austrian crown, 2 shillings, half a dollar, 40 kopeks, etc. The shekel also served as a voting certificate for elections to the Zionist Congress, and until the 25th Congress (1960) the number of delegates allocated to a certain election area (country) was calculated on the basis of the total of shekels sold there. Ereẓ Israel had the privilege of the "double shekel," being entitled to twice the number of delegates that any other country received for the same number of shekels. The reverse side of the shekel bore the text of the Zionist program and for 25 years, after the 18th Congress (1933), also the "discipline clause," meaning that the discipline of the World Zionist body takes precedence over that of any other Zionist body.

The growth of the World Zionist Organization is reflected in the number of shekel holders: 164,333 in 1907; 584,765 in 1923; 1,042,054 in 1939; 2,159,840 in 1946; and 2,148,029 in 1960. The new constitution of the World Zionist Organization (1960) retained the shekel as a token of Zionist allegiance and voting card, fixing its cost at between 15 and 50 cents or their equivalent, but making the size of congress representation independent of the shekel sales. The 27th Congress (1968), by resolving that each country may itself determine the system of congress elections to be held there, abolished the shekel as an obligatory institution and left it to the countries to decide whether to retain the shekel as a certificate of membership and voting card for the members of the local Zionist Organization concerned.

In 1970 a decision was taken by the Israel Knesset to call the unit of Israel currency "shekel," renamed "new shekel" in 1985 and equal to 1,000 old shekels in the face of runaway inflation.

[Aharon Zwergbaum]

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SHEKHINAH (Heb. שְׁכִינָה; lit. "dwelling," "resting"), or Divine Presence, refers most often in rabbinic literature to the numinous immanence of God in the world. The *Shekhinah* is God viewed in spatio-temporal terms as a presence, particularly in a this-worldly context: when He sanctifies a place, an object, an individual, or a whole people – a revelation of the holy in the midst of the profane. Sometimes, however, it is used simply as an alternative way of referring to God himself, such as "The Holy One Blessed be He," or "The Merciful One." For example, on the verse, "After the Lord your God shall ye walk… "(Deut. 13:5), the Talmud comments: "And is it possible for a man to walk after the *Shekhinah?*… Rather this means that one should follow [emulate] the virtues of the Holy One, Blessed be He" (Sot. 14a). The term, though seemingly hypostatized in certain passages, must be viewed purely figuratively and not as representing a separable aspect of God or as being in any sense a part of the Godhead. The latter notion is totally alien to the strict monotheism of rabbinic Judaism for which the unity of the divine Essence is a basic premise. The references to *Shekhinah* which are open to misinterpretation, e.g., those which talk of God placing His *Shekhinah* in the midst of Israel (cf. Sif. Num. 94), or where the *Shekhinah* is pictured as talking to God (Mid. Prov. to 22:28), are the product of homiletic license. The rabbis themselves were not unaware of the dangers of misinterpretation, and occasionally preface their remarks with *kivyakhol*, "as if it were possible" (Mekh. Pisḥa 12; see also S. Schechter, *Some Aspects of Rabbinic Theology* (1909), 40, n. 1; E.E. Urbach, *Ḥazal* (1969), 33, n. 15; 50).

One of the more prominent images associated with the *Shekhinah* is that of light. Thus, on the verse, "… the earth did shine with His glory" (Ezek. 43:2), the rabbis remark, "This is the face of the *Shekhinah*" (ARN^{1} 2, 13a; see also Ḥul. 59b–60a). Both the angels in heaven and the righteous in *olam ha-ba* ("the world to come") are sustained by the radiance of the *Shekhinah* (Ex. R. 32:4; Ber. 17a; cf. Ex. 34:29–35). This association with light has led to the view that the *Shekhinah* is some kind of luminous material, a being of light created by God. This view is found among certain medieval Jewish philosophers, and was even propounded by a rabbinic scholar in comparatively recent times (J. Abelson, *The Immanence of God in Rabbinical Literature* (1912). For criticism of his views see Urbach, *ibid.*, 32, 35). Nevertheless, the imagery of light, shining glory, radiance, etc., is commonly associated with the numinous in religio-mystical language in general, and does not necessarily have the literalistic connotations of a separate luminous entity. In the case of the *Shekhinah* this is further borne out by a consideration of the ways in which the term is used in the literature.

In the Targums

The term *Shekhinah*, in its Aramaic forms, is frequently found in the Targums, particularly in Targum Onkelos. It is employed together with other "intermediary" terms such as *memra yakara* ("noble word"), to paraphrase certain references to God, thus avoiding the overtly anthropomorphic implications of various biblical expressions. For instance, the verse "the Lord is not in your midst" (Num. 14:42), Onkelos translates "the *Shekhinah* of God is not in your midst" (see also Targum on Num. 14:14, and note the double paraphrasis). The verse "you cannot see My face, for man shall not see Me and live" (Ex. 33:20) is rendered, "You cannot see the face of My *Shekhinah*" (see also Ex. 33:14–15). And "to put His name there" (Deut. 12:5) becomes "to rest His *Shekhinah* there" (see also 12:11).

In Talmud and Midrash

The talmudic and midrashic usage of *Shekhinah* does not have quite the same apologetic overtones which are apparent in the Targums; on the whole it is wider in extension and in texts of different dates it varies considerably in nuance. In origin *Shekhinah* was used to refer to a divine manifestation, particularly to indicate God's presence at a given place. This did not imply a limitation of God's omnipresence, however, since it is said that the *Shekhinah* is in all places (BB 25a), and that just as the sun radiates throughout the world so does the *Shekhinah* (Sanh. 39a). Even those special places and objects which God imbues with an extra holiness by His presence – such as the thorn bush in which He revealed Himself to Moses, or Mount Sinai, or the Tabernacle in the wilderness – in connection with which the term *Shekhinah* is most often used, teach us that no place is devoid of His presence: neither the lowliest of trees, nor the barest of mountains, nor a wooden sanctuary (Shab. 67a; Sot. 5a; Ex. R. 34:1). Though the presence of God is everywhere, the *Shekhinah* rests preeminently on Israel rather than on the gentiles (Ber. 7a; Shab. 22b; Num. R. 7:8), for Israel is a people chosen and sanctified by God to be carriers of His will to the world. Israel's sins led to the destruction of the Temple, where the *Shekhinah* was always present (this is true at least of the First Temple; the Second was thought to have been devoid of the Divine Presence; cf. Yoma 9b). According to one view, the destruction of the Temple caused the departure of the *Shekhinah* to heaven (Shab. 33a; Ex. R. 2:2). In opposition to this, however, we find it said that even while Israel are unclean the *Shekhinah* is with them (Yoma 56b); when they are exiled it goes into exile with them, and when they come to be redeemed the *Shekhinah* will be redeemed too (Meg. 29a).

The *Shekhinah* does not only rest on the people of Israel as a whole, but a wide variety of subgroups are said to influence the *Shekhinah* for good or for ill. On the one hand where ten are gathered for prayer, or even one sits and learns Torah, there the *Shekhinah* is (Ber. 6a). It watches over the sick (Shab. 12b); rests between man and wife if they are worthy (Sot. 17a); he who gives charity is fit to receive it (BB 10a); as is he who is particular in fulfilling the *mitzvah* of *ẓiẓit* (Men. 43b). On the other hand, he who walks with an upright posture (i.e., is proud), as it were, pushes against the feet of the *Shekhinah* (Ber. 43b); so does he who sins in secret (Hag. 16a); it does not rest on those who are sad, lazy, playful, light-headed, or engage in idle conversation, but only on those who perform a *mitzvah* in joy (Shab. 30b); scoffers, flatterers, liars, and slanderers will never be recipients of the *Shekhinah* (Sot. 42a). A righteous judge causes the *Shekhinah* to rest on Israel, but an unrighteous one drives it away (Sanh. 7a). The term also figures in such expressions as "under the wings [i.e., patronage] of the *Shekhinah*." Proselytes are said to be taken in "under the wings of the *Shekhinah*" (Shab. 31a; SER 6:29; see also Tosef., Hor. 2:7, though Zuckermandel has "under the wings of heaven." Moses was taken to his burial place wrapped in the "wings of the *Shekhinah*" (Sot. 13b).

The *Shekhinah* is commonly associated with the charismatic personality and is thought to rest on specific outstanding individuals. "The *Shekhinah* only rests on a wise, rich, and valiant man who is tall of stature" (Shab. 92a; cf. Ned. 38a). Several of the talmudic rabbis were considered to deserve that the Divine Presence rest on them, except that their generation was unworthy (Sot. 48b; Suk. 28a; see also MK 25a). This charismatic association seems to be connected with the idea that certain individuals possess *Ru'aḥ ha-Kodesh*, the Holy Spirit (for a discussion of the interrelationship of *Shekhinah* and the Holy Spirit, see *Ru'aḥ ha-Kodesh*). The use of the term *Shekhinah* would thus seem to range from the numinous revelation of God, as in the theophany at Sinai or the awe-inspiring presence speaking to Moses from the Tabernacle, to the more mundane idea that a religious act, or *mitzvah*, draws man nearer to God. Sometimes the term is simply an alternative for "God," while at others it has overtones of something separate from the Godhead; it may be used in a personalized or depersonalized way. From the point of view of Jewish theology it would be a mistake to overemphasize any given use to the exclusion of the others, and it is important to view it in the perspective of the Jewish monotheistic background as a whole. It is also possible to take a somewhat demythologized view of the rabbinic conception of the *Shekhinah*, for such a view is even expressed in the talmudic literature itself, albeit as the opinion of a single individual: "R: Yose said, 'The *Shekhinah* never came down to the world below, nor did Moses… ascend on high'" (Suk. 5a).

[Alan Unterman]

In Jewish Philosophy

Unlike the rabbinic sages, who generally identified *Shekhinah* with the Presence of God, or even with God Himself, the medieval Jewish philosophers were concerned with avoiding any possible anthropomorphic interpretations of this concept, and therefore went to great lengths to point out that *Shekhinah* refers not to God Himself, nor to any part of His Essence, but rather to an independent entity, created by God. According to Saadiah Gaon, the *Shekhinah* is identical with *kevod ha-Shem* ("the glory of God"), which served as an intermediary between God and man during the prophetic experience. He suggests that the "glory of God" is the biblical term, and *Shekhinah* the talmudic term for the created splendor of light which acts as an intermediary between God and man, and which sometimes takes on human form. Thus, when Moses asked to see the glory of God, he was shown the *Shekhinah*, and when the prophets in their visions saw God in human likeness, what they actually saw was not God Himself but the *Shekhinah* (see Saadiah's interpretation of Ezek. 1:26, I Kings 22:19, and Dan. 7:9, in *Book of Beliefs and Opinions*, 2:10). By emphasizing that the *Shekhinah* is a created being which is separate from God, Saadiah avoids any possible compromising of the divine unity and any hint of anthropomorphism. Judah Halevi follows Saadiah in interpreting the *Shekhinah* as an intermediary between God and man, maintaining that it is the *Shekhinah*, and not God Himself, which appears to prophets in their visions. Unlike Saadiah, however, Judah Halevi does not speak of the *Shekhinah* as being a created light. It seems that he identifies the *Shekhinah* with the Divine Influence (*ha-Inyan ha-Elohi*), about whose meaning there is much disagreement among scholars. According to Judah Halevi, the *Shekhinah* dwelt first in the Tabernacle, then in the Temple. With the destruction of the Temple and the cessation of prophecy, the *Shekhinah* ceased to appear, but will return with the coming of the Messiah (*Kuzari*, 2:20, 23; 3:23). Judah Halevi distinguishes between the visible *Shekhinah* which dwelt in the Temple and was seen by the prophets in their visions and which disappeared with the destruction of the Temple, and the invisible spiritual *Shekhinah* which has not disappeared but is "with every born Israelite of virtuous life, pure heart, and upright mind" (*ibid.*, 5:23).

Maimonides accepts Saadiah's view that the *Shekhinah* is a created light, identified with glory. He too associates the *Shekhinah* with prophecy, explaining that it is the *Shekhinah* which appears to the prophet in his vision (*Guide of the Perplexed*, 1:21). Explaining prophecy as an overflow from God through the intermediation of the active intellect (*ibid.*, 2:36), Maimonides writes that man apprehends God by means of that light which He causes to overflow toward him, as it is written, "in Thy light do we see light." Some interpreters of Maimonides believe that the *Shekhinah* corresponds to the active intellect itself, which is the lowest of the ten intellects (see Intellect), and which communes with the prophets (Yad, Yesodei ha-Torah, 7:1). However, there are also passages in which Maimonides identifies the *Shekhinah* with God Himself rather than with some other being. For example, in his exegesis of Exodus 24:10 (*Guide*, 1:28), Maimonides interprets the "feet" of God as the throne of God on which sat the *Shekhinah* (i.e., God). In the 19th century Nachman Krochmal interpreted *Shekhinah* as pure spiritual power. Krochmal's philosophy of history, which is based on Hegel, asserts that every nation has a spiritual power, and that the Jewish people has the spiritual power in its purest form, which is directly rooted in the Absolute Spirit. This spiritual power of the Jews is called *Shekhinah* (*Moreh Nevukhei ha-Zeman*, ch. 7), and this notion explains the rabbinic sayings that wherever the Jews wandered the *Shekhinah* wandered. In the 20th century Hermann Cohen, following Maimonides in holding that *Shekhinah* must be understood metaphorically, defines it as "absolute rest which is the eternal ground for motion" (*Religion der Vernunft* (1929), 53).

The concept of *Shekhinah* played a very important role in kabbalistic and ḥasidic literature, while its role in Jewish philosophy is relatively minor. However, two modern philosophers, Martin Buber and Franz Rosenzweig, who were influenced to some extent by the kabbalistic tenor, make use of this concept and do not oppose anthropomorphism as did the earlier Jewish philosophers. Buber speaks of God as both immanent and transcendent, employing the kabbalistic terminology of "shells" and "sparks" of God (*On Judaism* (1967), 6, 27). *Shekhinah* is a theophany of the Exile that symbolizes the fact that the Jewish people was never abandoned despite the shame and degradation it suffered. Rosenzweig is much more explicit. He believes that the *Shekhinah* is the bridge between the "God of our fathers" and the "remnant of Israel" (*Der Stern der Erloesung* (1954^3), 192–4). The descent of the *Shekhinah* upon man and its dwelling among man is conceived by Rosenzweig as a separation which occurs in God Himself. God descends and suffers with His people, wandering with them in exile. At the end, it is God who suffers the most, and the remnant of Israel who bears His sorrow. Most important is Rosenzweig's notion that the purpose of the *mitzvot* is to unify God and His *Shekhinah*.

[Rivka G. Horwitz]

In Kabbalah

The basic elements of the kabbalistic concept of the *Shekhinah* are found in the earliest kabbalistic work, *Sefer ha-Bahir*, where the *Shekhinah*, or *Malkhut*, is described as the daughter, the princess, the feminine principle in the world of the divine *Sefirot*. These motifs were developed in kabbalistic circles in the late 12th and 13th centuries and were mingled with philosophical ideas in the works of the Gerona circles and in the writings of Abraham Abulafia; many nuances were added in the works of Isaac the Blind, the Iyyun circle (see Kabbalah), and in the writings of Jacob and Isaac, the sons of Jacob ha-Kohen. Most of these motifs were drawn together by the author of the Zohar and his circle, especially Joseph Gikatilla. From this period, the end of the 13th century, the basic concept of the *Shekhinah* remained constant up to the time of Isaac Luria and his disciples in Safed and persisted into Hasidism, although certain modifications can be found in the works of every single kabbalist. This article deals with the basic elements of the concept common to all.

The *Shekhinah*, or *Malkhut*, is the tenth and last in the hierarchy of the *Sefirot*. In the divine world it represents the feminine principle, while *Tiferet* (the sixth *Sefirah*) and *Yesod* (the ninth) represent the masculine principle. All the elements and characteristics of the other *Sefirot* are represented within the *Shekhinah*. Like the moon, she has no light of her own, but receives the divine light from the other *Sefirot*. The main goal of the realm of the *Sefirot* (and of religious life as a whole) is to restore the true unity of God, the union of the masculine principle (mainly *Tiferet*) and the *Shekhinah*, which was originally constant and undisturbed but was broken by the sins of Israel, by the machinations of the evil power (the *sitra aḥra*), and by the exile. The restoration of the original harmony can be effected by the religious acts of the people of Israel through adhering to the Torah, keeping the commandments, and prayer.

The symbolism describing the *Shekhinah* is the most developed in kabbalistic literature. Most of the many and varied symbols refer to aspects of the *Shekhinah*'s relationship with the other *Sefirot* above her – such as her acceptance of the divine light from them, her relationship to them as a lower aspect of themselves which is nearer to the created world, and her coming close to the masculine element or moving further away from it. In another group of symbols the *Shekhinah* is the battleground between the divine powers of good and evil; because of her femininity and closeness to the created world she is the first and the main target of the satanic power. If the evil powers could fill the *Shekhinah* with their own evil essence, unity of the divine powers would be broken, constituting an enormous victory for the powers of evil. It is therefore the duty of man and the *Sefirot* to protect the *Shekhinah* from the designs of the *sitra aḥra*.

The *Shekhinah* is the divine power closest to the created world, of which it is the source and the sustaining power; the divine light which maintains the created world passes through the *Shekhinah*. The angels and the world of the Merkabah are all her servants. In kabbalistic theology the *Shekhinah* is the divine principle of the people of Israel. Everything that happens to Israel in the earthly world is therefore reflected upon the *Shekhinah* who waxes and wanes with every good deed and every sin of each individual Jew and the people as a whole; on the other hand, everything that happens to the *Shekhinah*, her relationship with *Tiferet* and other *Sefirot* and her battle against the evil powers, is reflected in the status of Israel in the earthly world. Study of the Torah and prayer bring a Jew near the *Shekhinah*, for she is symbolized as the Oral Law. The *Shekhinah* is the divine power usually revealed to the prophets, though sometimes higher divine powers may take part in such a revelation. She is also the first goal of the mystic who tries to achieve *devekut*, communion with the divine powers; though a mystic may reach higher divine powers through *devekut*, the *Shekhinah* is the first and the closest for mystical contact. The idea of the exile of the *Shekhinah*, resulting from the initial cosmic disaster and from Adam's fall, became of great importance in Lurianic Kabbalah. To fulfill every commandment for the purpose of delivering the *Shekhinah* from her lowly state and reuniting her with the Holy One, blessed be He, became the supreme goal. The notion of redeeming the *Shekhinah* from exile acquired new eschatalogical content.

[Joseph Dan]

Shekhinah as Female Symbol

The myth of the feminine Shekhinah evolved out of biblical wisdom literature, rabbinic texts, and early mystical ideas. Proverbs 8 portrays wisdom as God's daughter who serves Him as "a confidante and source of delight in every way" (8:30). Building on the second century B.C.E. Wisdom of *Ben Sira, the rabbis replaced the female hypostatic personified wisdom of Proverbs with the Torah, making the Pentateuch God's firstborn and the archetype for creation (Gen. R. 1:1). This is not to say that feminine imagery is absent in rabbinic literature. Drawing from biblical motifs, the rabbis metaphorically represent Zion, the community of Israel (*Keneset Yisrael*), Torah, and the Sabbath in female terms as God's spouse, daughter, sister, or mother. The *Shekhinah*, however, although grammatically feminine, remains male or at the very least androgynous in early rabbinic literature.

There are allusions to sexual activity in the divine realm in early Jewish mystical ideas recorded in *Heikhalot* writings (*Synopse* 183ff). This literature was mainly preserved by the German pietists of the 12th and 13th centuries, whose theology was strongly influenced by it. The sexual imagery nascent in *Heikhalot* literature was given further expression in a work entitled "Secret of the Nut," in which a student of *Eleazar of Worms describes a bi-sexual Godhead.

The mythic possibilities implicit in the female imagery of the rabbis and the sexual allusions of early Jewish mystics are actualized in the kabbalistic myth of the *Shekhinah*, the female aspect of the male God. The *Shekhinah* is the final *Sefirah*, mediating between heaven and earth and serving as the passive eye or door through which a mystic can achieve divine vision. The popularity of the *Shekhinah* in Kabbalah corresponds to and may have been influenced by the popularity of the cult of the Virgin Mary among contemporaneous Christians. The need for nurturing female images may be a response to similar theological needs and cultural stimuli.

Medieval kabbalists constructed the *Shekhinah* with female physiology and gender specific roles to express both divine processes and human mystical experiences. As mother, the *Shekhinah* may become pregnant and lactate, showering the earth with divine light. As menstruant, she comes under the sway of excessive judgment or the demonic powers (*sitra aḥra*) and metes out judgment to transgressors. As bride and wife, she engages in sexual relations with the male *Sefirot, Tiferet* and *Yesod,* and fosters unity in the cosmos. Because medieval kabbalists believed all liturgical and ritual acts affect both the terrestrial and heavenly realms, halakhically sanctioned physical intercourse between a male mystic and his wife on earth could foster both divine and mystical union, for the act enables both *Tiferet* and the male mystic to unite with the *Shekhinah*. Wives thus became a conduit through which their husbands could attain divine union. Drawing from talmudic tradition, medieval kabbalists deemed Friday night to be the most auspicious time to engage in sexual intercourse.

Sixteenth-century kabbalists in Safed made this myth the foundation of the newly instituted *Kabbalat Shabbat* ceremony and Solomon *Alkabez's *Lekha Dodi*, remains the liturgical manifestation of this kabbalistic ritual. Isaac *Luria further enlarged upon the importance of sexual union with the *Shekhinah* (also known in Lurianic Kabbalah as the *nukba de-zeir*), making the act not only a means to attain *devekut* (divine union), or a way to effect unity in the heaven, but also defining it as a way to repair the world (*tikkun olam*). Moreover, Lurianic kabbalists, who believed that intention was as important as the physical performance of the commandments, meditated upon uniting *Tiferet* with his *Shekhinah* before and during the performance of commandments in their *kavvanot* (lit. intentions)

The symbol of the *Shekhinah* has long been seen as one of the few examples of gender equality in Judaism. However, the inferior position of women in medieval society informed many kabbalistic conceptions of the *Shekhinah*. The *Zohar* describes the *Shekhinah* as a passive vessel lacking any distinct personality (see, inter alia, *Zohar* 1:181a). Consequently, the *Shekhinah* is like a revolving sword with the potential for both good and evil (*Zohar* 1:53b, 221b, 242a; 2:27b; 3:19b). When she is described in positive terms, she is often gendered male, as *Malkhut* or David; when she is under the sway of excessive judgment or the demonic "other side" she remains female.

Recently, some Jewish feminists have reclaimed the symbol of the *Shekhinah* as a means of supplementing what they perceive to be the patriarchal bias of Jewish theology. Judith Plaskow urges that the "long suppressed femaleness of God, acknowledged in the mystical tradition, but even here shaped and articulated by men, must be re-explored and reintegrated into Israel." Toward that goal, some feminist liturgists have reinterpreted mystical themes and emphasize the symbol of the feminine *Shekhinah* in innovative prayer rituals (Gottlieb).

[Sharon Faye Koren (2nd ed.)]

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SHEKHTMAN, ELYE (**Eli Shechtman**; 1908–1996), Yiddish writer. Born in Vaskovichi (Polesie), he had a traditional education, including a year in the Zhitomir yeshivah (1921), studied literature at the Jewish Pedagogical Institute in Odessa (1929–33), and then lived in Kharkov (1933–36) and Kiev (1936–41) until his service as an officer in the Red Army in World War II, during which he was wounded in combat. He was subsequently arrested, imprisoned, and released after Stalin's death. Thereafter he lived in Kiev until his immigration to Israel in 1972. His first stories appeared in 1928. His major work was his epic novel depicting Jewish life in Russia from the early 20th century into the 1970s, *Erev* ("On the Eve"), published first in a censored version (Moscow, 1965), then later in a complete version (Tel Aviv, vols. 1–4, 1974; vols. 5–6, 1979; vol. 7, 1983). Among his other books are *Oyfn Sheydveg* ("At the Crossroads," 1930; stories about post-revolutionary life), *Farakerte Mezhes* ("Plowed-under Borderlands," 1932–36; novel), *Polyeser Velder* ("Polesian Forests," 1940; stories), *Baym Shkie-Aker* ("At the Sunset-Field," 1974); *Ringen oyf der Neshome* ("Links on the Soul," 4 vols. 1981–88), and *Tristia* ("Sadness," 1996). He was the recipient of the Itsik Manger Prize, the Chaim Zhitlowsky Prize, the Fernando Jeno Award (Mexico), and the Congress for Jewish Culture Award. His works have been translated into French, English, and Hebrew.

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[Jerold C. Frakes (2nd ed.)]

SHELA (first half of the third century C.E.), Babylonian *amora* and *resh sidra* ("head of the academy") in Nehardea (*Iggeret R. Sherira Ga'on*, ed. by B.M. Lewin (1921), 78). For a while Shela was the most celebrated religious authority in Babylon, but gradually his importance was overshadowed by *Samuel and later by *Rav, when the latter returned to Babylon. This transition is indicated in the sources. Thus it is related that Rav once came to Shela's academy incognito and was appointed the **amora* (the expounder to the students) of Shela. While Shela was expounding, Rav commented that in the presence of R. *Ḥiyya he had explained a certain detail differently. Shela immediately realized that his *amora* was the distinguished Rav and refused to continue to employ him in a subservient capacity (Yoma 20b; TJ, Shek. 5:2, 48d). Rav's position became of such authority that after listening to an exposition of Shela with which he disagreed, he waited until Shela left and then appointed an *amora* to explain the topic as he understood it. In another case Shela permitted a woman to remarry under questionable circumstances, with the result that Rav considered excommunicating him. Samuel, however, persuaded Rav to consult first with Shela, who later admitted his mistake (Yev. 121a). Shela and Rav disagreed on other occasions (Sanh. 44a).

This change in Shela's status is also illustrated by the following episode. Shela and his disciples were always the first to pay honor to the exilarch, but Shela later granted this privilege to Samuel. When Rav arrived in Babylon, Samuel transferred this honor to him. When Shela's disciples objected to their master thus being the third to be received, Samuel changed places with Shela (TJ, Ta'an. 4:2, 68a). R. Ḥisda referred to Shela as a great authority (Ket. 75a). Shela's learning was studied by the rabbis of Caesarea (TJ, Mak. 2:7, 31d). It seems that the school of Shela continued after his death, since his school and that of Rav are mentioned as disagreeing on a number of halakhic issues (Git. 52b; Kid. 43a; Sot. 42b; RH 23a).

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SHELAH, SAHARON (1945–), Israeli mathematician. Born in Jerusalem, Shelah received his Ph.D. in mathematics from the Hebrew University of Jerusalem (1969). He was simultaneously professor of mathematics at the Hebrew University and Rutgers University, New Jersey. Shelah's main research interests are in the sphere of mathematical logic, and especially model theory and set theory. His classification theory and the idea of proper forcing have applications of fundamental importance to cardinal arithmetic. He also solved many famous and previously intractable problems in algebra and topology. He was a prolific writer of original papers and influential books. His 1994 book, *Cardinal Numbers,* won the Bolyai Prize for the year 2000 of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences for the best mathematical monograph on original research, nominally awarded every five years but the first in modern times. His honors include the Wolf Prize (2001) for his work on mathematical logic and set theory.

[Michael Denman (2nd ed.)]

SHELDON, SIDNEY (1917–), U.S. author. Born in Chicago, Sheldon went to Hollywood at 17 to be a screenwriter. He got a job as a script reader for Universal Studios at $17 a week. In his spare time, Sheldon and a collaborator worked on their own scripts, eventually writing a number of "B" pictures for Republic Studios. He joined the Air Force during World War II and earned pilot's wings. Upon his discharge, he began to write for Broadway. At age 25 he had three musical hits simultaneously on Broadway: *Merry Widow, Jackpot,* and *Dream With Music*. Next came *Alice in Arms*, starring Kirk *Douglas in his first Broadway appearance, and, later, *Redhead* with Gwen Verdon, for which Sheldon won a Tony Award. Returning to Hollywood, Sheldon won an Academy Award for *The Bachelor and the Bobby Soxer*, starring Cary Grant, and wrote a number of memorable and commercially successful films, including *Easter Parade* with Judy Garland and Fred Astaire, *Annie Get Your Gun, Jumbo,* and *Anything Goes*, with Bing Crosby. After leaving Hollywood as a writer/director/producer, he became involved in television when ABC asked him to create a show for a young actress named Patty Duke. Over two years, Sheldon wrote 78 scripts for *The Patty Duke Show*. He then created, wrote, and produced the hit series *I Dream of Jeannie,* which brought Sheldon an Emmy nomination. The show ran for five years. He also created the popular detective series *Hart to Hart*. He wrote his first novel, *The Naked Face* (1970), and it earned the Edgar Allan Poe Award from the Mystery Writers of America for best first novel. Three years later, he produced *The Other Side of Midnight,* which firmly established him as a bestselling author. Each of his successive novels, *A Stranger in the Mirror* (1976), *Bloodline* (1977), and *Rage of Angels* (1980) through *The Sky Is Falling* (2001) and *Are You Afraid of the Dark?* (2004) dominated the bestseller lists. All told, Sheldon wrote over 200 television scripts, 25 major motion pictures, six Broadway plays, 18 novels, which sold more than 300 million copies, and a memoir, *The Other Side of Me.*

[Stewart Kampel (2nd ed.)]

SHELEM (Weiner), MATTITYAHU (1904–1975), Israeli composer. Born in Zamoscz, Poland, Shelem went to Palestine in 1922, worked in agriculture and road building and in 1927 joined kibbutz Bet Alfa. For a time he was a shepherd, and the shepherds' and shearing festival songs which he composed at that time were his first popular works. In 1940 Shelem joined kibbutz *Ramat Yoḥanan. From 1944 onward Shelem was chiefly active as a teacher and *Youth Aliyah instructor in his kibbutz. In 1958 he founded an archive there (Makhon le-Havai u-le-Mo'ed) to collect the documentation on the development of the forms of festival and holiday celebration in the kibbutzim (see *Kibbutz Festivals).

Shelem's songs, to which he always wrote the words, were created for the immediate needs of kibbutz life – from kindergarten to communal celebrations. The following list contains Shelem's best-known songs in approximate chronological order.

BET ALFA PERIOD: "*Hoi At Ereẓ ha-Kaddaḥat*," "*Bi-Meẓiltayim u-ve-Tuppim*," "*Ha-Koremim, ha-Yogevim*," "*Seh u-Gedi*," "*Sisu ve-Simḥu bi-Yhudah*," "*Simhu Na u-Firku ha-Ol*," "*Hinneh Geshem, Geshem Ba*," "*Na'alẓah ve-Nismeḥah*," "*Shir la-Sadnah*," "*Yoḥanan ve-Gavri'el*." RAMAT YOHANAN PERIOD: "*Adarim*," "*Shime'u, Shime'u*," "*Rav Berakhot*," "*Natu Ẓelalim (Shabbat ba-Kefar)*," "*Ez va-Keves Kevar Nigzazu*," Omer ceremony pageant (1943, see below), "*Ve-David Yefeh Einayim*" (the third part of the melody added by Eliyahu Gamliel), "*Ro'eh ve-Ro'ah*," "*Shiru ha-Shir*," "*Havu Lanu Yayin, Yayin*," "*Hen Yeronan*" (c. 1953, addition to the Omer).

Shelem's *Omer, celebrated in Ramat Yoḥanan from 1945 onward and adopted in many other kibbutzim, is one of the two central "new ceremonies" developed by the secular kibbutz movement (the other being Yehudah *Sharett's *seder*). It is a reconstruction of the ancient ceremony, based mainly on the Mishnah, and is made up of recitations, solo and small choir songs, songs for the participating public, dances (created by Lea Bergstein), and the symbolic actions of harvesting and presentation of the first sheaves. Many of the songs have entered the Israel folk repertoire, such as "*Bi-Yhudah u-va-Galil*," "*Shibbolet ba-Sadeh*," and "*Panah ha-Geshem*."

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[Bathja Bayer]

SHELI'AḤ ẒIBBUR (Heb. שְׁלִיחַ צִבּוּר; "envoy or messenger of the community"), designation of a person who in public synagogue worship officiates as reader and cantor (see also **Ḥazzan*). The main function of the *sheli'aḥ ẓibbur* is to lead the congregants in communal worship by repeating aloud the benedictions of certain parts of the prayers or the introductions to them, certain doxologies (e.g., **Barekhu*), and the **Amidah*; by reciting the intermediary **Kaddish* prayers; and by leading the congregants in the recital of responsive readings and hymns. The Shulḥan Arukh (OḤ 53:4–9) lists the qualifications required of a *sheli'aḥ ẓibbur*: (1) humility, (2) acceptability to the congregation, (3) knowledge of the rules of prayer and the proper pronunciation of the Hebrew text, (4) an agreeable voice, (5) proper dress, (6) a beard. The requirement of a beard is, however, waived except for the High Holy Days (*Magen Avraham* to Sh. Ar., OḤ 53:6). Except for the recital of hymns and psalms (e.g., **Pesukei de-Zimra*) only a male after *bar mitzvah age may officiate.

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SHELOMI (Heb. שְׁלֹמִי), town in northern Israel. Shelomi is located on the slopes of Western Galilee, 8 mi. (12 km.) east of Nahariyyah. The town's area is 2.3 sq. mi. (6 sq. km.). It received municipal council status in 1960. In 2002 the population numbered 4,930, among them 22% new immigrants. The town's industry was based on metal and medical equipment plants. The name derives from the biblical figure Achihud ben Shelomi, who lived in the land of Asher.

WEBSITE: www.cityindex.co.il

[Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

SHELOSHET YEMEI HAGBALAH (Heb. שְׁלֹשֶׁת יְמֵי הַגְבָּלָה; "the three days of limitation"), the name given to the three days immediately preceding the festival of Shavuot. The scriptural sources for distinguishing these days are found in Exodus 19:12, where God commands Moses, "And thou shalt set bounds unto the people," and Exodus 19:15, where Moses orders the children of Israel, "Be ready against the third day." (See also the discussion in *Shabbat* 87a as to how many days of "limitation" were ordered by God and how many by Moses.) The original limitations were against touching Mount Sinai (Ex. 19:12) and against having sexual intercourse (*ibid.* 19:15). The people were also commanded to sanctify themselves during these days (ibid. 19:10 and 14). According to the *halakhah*, marriage celebrations and haircuts, otherwise prohibited during most of the period between Passover and Shavuot, are permitted during these three days (Sh. Ar., OḤ 493:3 and *Mishnah Berurah*, ad loc.).

SHELOSHIM (Heb. שְׁלֹשִׁים; "thirty"), designation of 30 days of mourning after the death of close relatives (parents, child, brother, sister, husband, wife) counted from the time of the burial. According to *halakhah*, the bereaved has to observe the following *mourning rites during this period: (1) not to wear new clothes (or even festive clothes on Sabbaths and festivals); (2) not to shave or have a haircut; (3) not to participate at festivities, including weddings, circumcision, and *pidyon ha-ben* (see Redemption of *Firstborn) meals except if it is the birth of his own child; (4) not to marry; (5) to abstain from going to entertainments. It is also customary to change one's permanent seat in the synagogue during the *sheloshim* period. If the 30th day falls on a Sabbath, the mourning period terminates before the entrance of the Sabbath; shaving and haircutting, however, may not be performed until Sunday.

The three *pilgrim festivals and Rosh Ha-Shanah cause the *sheloshim* period to be shortened in the following way: If the mourner observes the mourning rites of **shivah* for at least one hour prior to the commencement of Passover or Shavuot, the *shivah* is waived and the observance of *sheloshim* is reduced to 15 days after the festival. In the case of *Sukkot, the mourner has to observe the *sheloshim* for only eight days after the festival. If the mourner observes at least one hour of *shivah* before the commencement of Rosh Ha-Shanah, the *shivah* is waived and the Day of Atonement annuls the *sheloshim*; if he observes one hour's mourning before the Day of Atonement, *shivah* is waived and the subsequent Sukkot festival annuls the *sheloshim*. The minor festivals of Ḥanukkah and Purim do not shorten the *sheloshim*. Should a person learn of the passing of one of his close relatives within 30 days of his death (*shemu'ah kerovah*), he has to observe the complete mourning rites of *shivah* and *sheloshim*. If, however, the news reaches him more than 30 days after the death (*shemu'ah reḥokah*), the mourning rites of *shivah* and *sheloshim* are observed for only one hour.

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SHELUḤEI EREẒ ISRAEL (Heb. "emissaries of Ereẓ Israel"), the name for messengers from Ereẓ Israel sent abroad as emissaries to raise funds. During the patriarchate after the destruction of the Second Temple, emissaries were sent in groups (TJ, Hor. 3:7, Pes. 4:8); sometimes a father and a son were sent together. The senders of these emissaries were usually the heads of the Ereẓ Israel religious administration, or its communities. During Roman rule the sender was the patriarch. With the cessation of the patriarchate in 429 C.E. the sending of emissaries ceased, but was renewed after the Arab conquest of Ereẓ Israel in the 630s, when the emissaries were sent by the *geonim* and the heads of the academies. In general, emissaries did not act on behalf of two towns at the same time, an exception being Shabbetai Baer, who was sent (1674) from *Jerusalem, *Hebron, and *Safed. Usually a single emissary was dispatched on a mission, but at times two were sent, as in the case of Joseph b. Moses of Trani and Abraham Shalom III who went to Istanbul in 1599, while occasionally two emissaries, an Ashkenazi and a Sephardi, were sent. The *Azulai, *Israel, Navon, and Meyuḥas families perennially provided emissaries.

There were several kinds of deeds and letters that the emissary needed on his journey:

(1) *Iggeret kelalit* ("general letter"), the most important of the emissary's letters, was a lengthy and detailed document written on parchment, mainly in ornate style. It contained a request for financial support with a detailed description of the town's troubles as well as its virtues. The letter was signed by the rabbi, the *dayyanim*, and the other important members of the community. The letter was always written in Hebrew, but from the 18th century some emissaries translated it, or its most important points, into the language of the locality to which they were sent, sometimes even printing it.

(2) *Iggeret li-nedivim* ("letter to philanthropists"), directed to individual philanthropists, being merely an abridgment of the general letter.

(3) *Shetar ko'aḥ harsha'ah mishpati* ("power of attorney"), a widespread custom was that the emissary received power of attorney from his senders, giving legal force to his demands as an accredited agent to collect the contributions.

(4) *Shetar tena'ei ha-sheliḥut* ("deed of terms of the mission"), deed to confirm the conditions stipulated between the emissary and his principals concerning the former's salary and expenses to be deducted from the funds raised. On his return the emissary was required to present an account of the income and expenditures of his mission. From the 17th century it was customary to give the emissary one-third of his income, and in exceptional cases only one-quarter.

(5) *Shetar pitturin* ("bill of nonliability"), deed freeing the emissary from every liability imposed upon him by his senders, with the aim of giving confidence to future emissaries.

(6) *Pinkas ha-sheliḥut* ("account book of the mission"), account book of the mission which every emissary took with him. The heads of the donor communities, as well as individuals, noted in the *pinkas* the amounts they gave. On the one hand the account book served as the emissary's evidence of the contributions he collected in each place, and on the other as propaganda in the places to which he was going. In most cases the communities' leaders briefly repeated the contents of the emissary's letter of appointment in their notes, sometimes stressing that the amount given was the result of a special effort because of their love for Ereẓ Israel. The emissary entered his expenses in the *pinkas*, and on returning home he delivered it to the community which sent him, doing this to attest the veracity of his accounts. The *pinkas* also served as a guide for future emissaries, to help them in arranging matters at the time of their mission. Ereẓ Israel emissaries frequently reached remote communities, despite the numerous dangers surrounding them. Many of the emissaries left written impressions of their missions, only some of which are extant. The *pinkasim* and descriptions of the missions, providing information on the number, occupation, habits, etc. of the members of the communities, are of considerable historical importance, particularly in the case of remote communities where no other records are extant. The most important of such works include Ḥ.J.D. *Azulai's *Ma'gal Tov ha-Shalem* (1934), the diary of his travels during two missions (1753 and 1773) for Hebron, and Jacob *Saphir's *Even Sappir* (1866), on his mission from Jerusalem to Egypt, Yemen, and the Far East in the late 1850s.

From the *Mamluk period until the Turkish conquest in 1517, a few emissaries were sent on behalf of the yeshivot of Ereẓ Israel. From the second half of the 16th century missions were executed in the name of the town or the community, and by the first half of the 17th century a gradual consolidation of a permanent system of missions from the three holy cities, Jerusalem, Hebron, and Safed (referred to as YaḤaẒ), began to take place. Each of the three cities regularly sent its own emissary once every few years to each of the mission regions. The emissary was called *sheli'aḥ kolel*, or *sheli'aḥ kolelot*, the latter designation serving as an indication that he was sent on behalf of the entire population of the town. From 1740 Tiberias – after being rebuilt – also joined this group. At first the heads of the Diaspora communities insisted that emissaries not be sent separately for each Ereẓ Israel community, an exception being made in the case of the Ashkenazi and Italian communities of Safed and the Ashkenazi community of Jerusalem, which were allowed to send their own emissaries to their countries of origin. Special dispensation was given to these communities in order to encourage immigration from their countries of origin. From 1777, authority was given to one Jerusalem institution, the kabbalist yeshivah Bet El, also called the yeshivah or community of the Ḥasidim (the pious), to send emissaries regularly. At times, temporary permission was granted an institution or yeshivah whose economic plight was serious to send its own special emissary. One Jerusalem rabbi, Yom Tov *Algazi, authorized Jerusalem emissaries to collect special contributions in the course of their mission for a personal need, namely, to redeem a child from captivity. Missions of a temporary nature were also common in localities other than the four towns. From the beginning of the 19th century the communities began to act separately, each sending its own emissary to maintain its institutions. This phenomenon eventually brought an end to the missions (see below).

The Karaite community of Jerusalem also sent emissaries to the members of its community in the Diaspora. The first such emissary (from the middle of the 17th century) known by name was David b. Joshua ha-Ḥazzan.

From time to time private emissaries, due to personal poverty and severe economic plight, left Ereẓ Israel to collect contributions. They were provided with letters of recommendation signed by the heads of the *yishuv*, being similar in form, and at times also in content, to those borne by the emissaries, but in them the emissary's troubles were stressed. From the 18th century such individuals who obtained these letters were called *sheliḥim le-aẓmam* ("emissaries on their own behalf"). At first the emissary was sent to a particular country or a group of adjacent countries, but the region of the mission was not restricted; sometimes the emissary was permitted during the course of his journey to determine the extent of the region of his mission, being guided by his desire and the prevailing conditions.

Gradually more precise regions of activity were determined. In the 17th century there were already four mission regions: Turkey, including Syria, the Balkans, and the Mediterranean islands; Frankia, including Italy, France, Germany, and later also Poland and Lithuania; Maghreb, North Africa; and Arbistan, including Persia, Iraq, Kurdistan, Afghanistan, and Bukhara. Emissaries were also sent to Egypt, the Yemen, and India. The duration of the emissary's stay in the locality of his mission was not fixed. In general he used his own discretion, and its length depended upon the needs, possibilities, and prospects of collecting the maximum amount of money. Sometimes its duration was determined by his health, or whether or not he was able to adapt himself to harsh and unpleasant conditions in the country of his mission. In general the mission did not last longer than three or four years, but there were occasional emissaries who stayed ten years and more. Sometimes an emissary was sent two or three times to the same country. During their travels emissaries were exposed to all kinds of hardships that at times endangered their lives. Some died during their mission or in consequence of it. Some were robbed by highwaymen, taken captive, or imprisoned on the charge that they were spies. Of the 850 known emissaries, 85 died during their journey or in the locality of their mission. The ability and greatness of the emissary did not necessarily stem from his own personality but chiefly from his principals, i.e., as a consequence of the authority in Ereẓ Israel in whose name he spoke. The heads of a number of communities were accustomed to receive the emissary with royal splendor, song, and praise. In Oriental countries he stayed in most cases at the home of one of the wealthy members of the community, while in European lands the community hired accommodation for him. Sometimes the heads of the community compiled poems in his honor, as Moses *Zacuto was accustomed to do.

Emissaries who died during their mission received the honor that was their due; they were eulogized fittingly by the rabbis of the communities and *kinot* were recited for them. In Oriental countries it was customary to exaggerate in praise of the emissaries and ascribe miraculous deeds to them. There were messengers who pretended to be emissaries of Ereẓ Israel, particularly in Ashkenazi countries where they did not know the customs of Ereẓ Israel and did not recognize the florid signatures of its scholars. When such deceit was revealed, it gave rise to doubt regarding the motives of many emissaries. An additional occurrence that caused a decline in the honor accorded the emissaries, though indeed unusual, was the rivalry between the emissaries of different towns when they met in one place. At times there were serious frictions between them. Some emissaries, who were not treated with honor because of this, demanded that they be treated properly not for their own sake but for the honor of Ereẓ Israel. As a result there were instances of emissaries who scolded communities where they were not treated in a dignified manner. If they found no other way to gain their ends, they made use of the power of *ḥerem*, which was proclaimed in Jerusalem in front of the Western Wall. *Megillat Ahima'aẓ* (ed. by B. Klar (1944), 18–19) mentions a story from the tenth century about a Jerusalem emissary in Venosa, in southern Italy, where one of the worthies of the community, the well-known *paytan* *Silano, scoffed at the emissary. The latter related the incident to his principals in Jerusalem and they excommunicated Silano.

Historical Survey

After the destruction of the Second Temple Vespasian substituted a fiscal tax for the half-shekel paid by the Jews for Temple sacrifices, which was called **fiscus Judaicus*. In the anarchy of the third century this tax ceased to be collected and world Jewry was prepared to give toward the maintenance of the courts of the patriarch (**nasi*) in Ereẓ Israel. The patriarchs also used these funds to maintain the academies and needy students. Like the half-shekels in former times, these contributions, later called *aurum coronarium*, were collected annually. To collect them the patriarchs on occasion dispatched distinguished emissaries. Equipped with a letter of authorization (*igra di-ykar*; Aramaic, "letter of honor") from the patriarch Judah (c. 230–286), Ḥiyya b. Abba (late third century) visited the communities in Syria and Rome. He was the first recorded professional Jewish fund raiser; his letter read: "We are sending you our emissary, a great man who is to be treated as ourselves" (TJ, Ḥag. 1:8, 76d, Ned. 10:10, 42b). In describing the emissary Joseph of Tiberias, who converted to Christianity, a detailed description of the rank of the emissary and his functions is transmitted by Epiphanius (one of the Church Fathers in the fourth century): "This Joseph is regarded by them as one of the notables, for those who are called emissaries take their places after the patriarch. They sit together with the patriarch and can frequently discuss matters with him both by day and night in order to inquire and obtain counsel from him, and they put before him halakhic words from the Torah … [The patriarch] sent him with letters to Cilicia, and when he arrived there he collected from every town in Cilicia all the tithes and contributions of the Jews of the province … Since he was an emissary, for this office is so called by them, he was very severe … he expelled and removed from their offices many of the members of the synagogue: laymen, priests, elders and readers…" In talmudic sources the collection of money by emissaries is called *migbat ḥakhamim* ("collection of scholars"; TJ, Hor. 3:7). From the second half of the fourth century the Roman emperors became envious of the money of the emissaries, which at times reached enormous sums, and when the office of patriarch was abolished in 429, the sending of emissaries was explicitly prohibited by the emperors Theodosius II and Valentinian. The sending of emissaries was later renewed, and in the eighth century two emissaries of Ereẓ Israel are known to have been active in Venosa in the south of Italy; it is not certain whether they were sent from Jerusalem or Tiberias. The tombstone on a Roman grave found in this city states that the dead maiden was the only child of a distinguished family and that she was eulogized by two emissaries and two rabbis. In the second half of the ninth century an emissary is known to have come to this city from Jerusalem and preached there every Sabbath (*Megillat Aḥima'aẓ*, ed. by B. Klar (1944), 18–19).

In the second half of the tenth century a Jerusalem emissary named R. Jonah ha-Zaken b. R. Judah ha-Sefaradi is mentioned as having been sent to distant lands. He is the first emissary referred to by name after the close of the Talmud. His letter as emissary for 977 or 987 is also extant, and it contains all the components of the letters of the 16th-century emissaries and their successors. In the first half of the 11th century the two sons of the *Gaon* *Solomon b. Judah traveled as emissaries of the Ereẓ Israel yeshivah. During this period emissaries went with two aims: to maintain the central Torah foundation, i.e., the yeshivah and its scholars, and to ease the heavy burden of taxation imposed upon the Jewish community in the country. These funds were not however intended to maintain the poor, who were supported by the local charity of Ereẓ Israel. On the other hand, the emissaries of Tiberias were sent out to raise funds to maintain the poor flowing into the town, who called themselves *meyasserim* ("sufferers"), since a not inconsiderable number of the poor were among the sick who came to bathe in its healing waters.

The first known emissary from the Mamluk period was Jacob, who was sent by the yeshivah in Acre of *Jehiel b. Joseph of Paris in the second half of the 13th century. He took a list of the graves of the *ẓaddikim* (righteous men) in Ereẓ Israel with him as propaganda. There are no other emissaries from the 13th and 14th centuries who are known by name. *Isaac b. Sheshet Perfet (the Ribash) alludes to a Jerusalem emissary to Spain in about 1390 (Responsa, no. 508). In the 15th century the Jewish population in Jerusalem grew through immigration from Italy, Franco-Germany, and Oriental countries, many of whom were poor, and there was need to collect donations on their behalf outside Ereẓ Israel.

From the beginning of the Ottoman period (1517), the sending of emissaries continued to increase and take on a permanent character (more or less along the lines mentioned above). Among the Ereẓ Israel emissaries of this period were those who are generally considered its most distinguished scholars: Bezalel *Ashkenazi, Moses *Alshekh, Joseph of *Trani, Yom Tov *Ẓahalon, Nathan *Spira, *Hezekiah da Silva, and Ḥayyim Joseph David Azulai. At times immigrant scholars, whose influence on the communities of their native countries was great, were sent. A number of scholars are also known to have feared to immigrate to Ereẓ Israel lest they be required to return to their country of origin as emissaries, e.g., *Benjamin ha-Kohen of Reggio. Suitable persons from among the scholars could not always be found to carry out missions, and then men of inferior standard were used. Sometimes this resulted in the choice of unworthy persons who embezzled the funds collected. In 1629 opposition to the emissaries was heard for the first time from the heads of the Italian community of the island of Corfu. In their letter to the heads of the Jerusalem community they informed them that they no longer wanted emissaries to visit as the great expense involved in this swallowed up most of the money; they assured the leaders that they themselves would take care to transmit the contributions to their agent in Venice.

The leaders of the Jews of Amsterdam succeeded in 1824 in abolishing the sending of emissaries not only to their own town but also to all the communities of Western Europe. They further resolved that there should be a permanent center in Amsterdam for the Ereẓ Israel contributions from all the communities in the West. The institution that centralized the contributions was called Ḥevrat Terumat Kodesh ("Society for Holy Contributions"); however, this name was quickly forgotten and it became known as Pekidei u-Mashgiḥei ve-Amarkelei Ereẓ Israel ("Officers, Overseers, and Treasurers of Ereẓ Israel"). Ẓevi Hirsch Lehren was the head of the central fund for many years. Following its establishment, a similar one was founded in New York in 1832, Ḥevrat Terumat ha-Kodesh. The leaders of the Ereẓ Israel *yishuv* accepted this arrangement with pleasure, even though their spiritual independence was restricted as many matters were dictated to them by the Amsterdam center. From time to time an emissary was sent in spite of their express commitment to refrain from doing so. Lehren firmly prevented these emissaries from operating in Western Europe. The Venetian community also followed the lead of Amsterdam, but its center did not succeed in collecting a reasonable sum of money, and in 1863 a pamphlet was printed in Trieste containing letters from the heads of the four holy towns with a request that the new regulation be reexamined and rescinded. The scholars gave assurances that the sending of emissaries would be conducted in an orderly and honorable manner. Thus, the organization of emissaries retained its special character only in Amsterdam.

Activities in the Diaspora

The function of the emissary in the later centuries may be defined as (1) activities for Ereẓ Israel, and (2) for the communities of the Diaspora.

ACTIVITIES FOR EREẒ ISRAEL. *The Collection of the Contributions.* The emissary strove to obtain the maximum contribution from the communal fund. He then turned to the philanthropic members of the community, although not every community permitted him to turn to its members. In some communities, however, the rabbis encouraged individuals to make a separate contribution as distinct from the other contributions of the community. In some communities in Italy and in Amsterdam the rabbis placed at the disposal of the emissary one or two patrons who guided and counseled him, and taught him how to carry out the collection, as well as to whom to turn with requests for separate contributions. In many communities it was customary to collect donations on certain days of the year or on special celebrations. Sometimes this took place during the calling up to the reading of the *Torah. The funds were centralized in the hands of a treasurer called the *gabbai Ereẓ Yisrael* ("Ereẓ Israel collector"), or *pekid Ereẓ Yisrael* ("Ereẓ Israel officer"), from whom the emissary received the money. Every important community had some religious trust (*hekdesh*) on behalf of Ereẓ Israel. In some communities it was customary to impose fines on transgressors for the benefit of Ereẓ Israel. In the important communities there were special funds called *Kuppot* ("Funds") or *Ma'ot* ("Monies") *Ereẓ Yisrael*.

Over the years special funds were added for each of the four holy towns, and even for their different institutions. The Karaites also had funds in their communities, which were called *Im Eshkaḥekh* ("Lest I Forget Thee") or *Zikkaron Im Eshkaḥekh* ("A Reminder Lest I Forget Thee"). The division of the contributions in Ereẓ Israel was made in accordance with a definite system fixed by mutual agreement, as each of the four towns sent emissaries abroad. At the end of the 16th and the beginning of the 17th centuries they divided the funds into 24 parts: Jerusalem took seven, Safed ten, Hebron three, with the other four going to others. At that time Tiberias was in ruins. With the growth of the populations of Jerusalem and Hebron and the decline of Safed's, the share of the former in the division was larger. Thus, in 1670 Jerusalem took 12 parts, Safed eight, and Hebron four. This division lasted until 1740, when Tiberias was resettled and its part in the division was fixed once more. At the beginning of the 19th century the funds were divided into 28 parts: Jerusalem took 11 parts, Safed seven, Hebron six, and Tiberias four. At times, when the situation in Ereẓ Israel was bad and they could not manage with the contributions, the heads of the Diaspora communities put a special tax on their members for the benefit of Ereẓ Israel – in Venice in 1601, in Istanbul in 1727. Similarly, indirect taxes were placed on certain goods in Istanbul in 1763. The half-shekels donated on Purim were also devoted to Ereẓ Israel.

A special collector was appointed in each community whose duty was to supervise the donations. In Oriental countries the supervisors were generally appointed by the emissaries or the heads of the Ereẓ Israel communities. When the mission was completed, the head of the community confirmed in writing the sum of money given to the emissary. The emissary also left proof (in the communal *pinkas*) in the hands of the head of the community that he had received this amount (see below). At times some emissaries also accepted donations from Christians, as did the kabbalist Nathan Spira of Jerusalem in 1656–60, but there were scholars who held that according to the Torah it was forbidden to accept funds from Christians. When asked about this, Moses *Ḥagiz declared it permissible, and a number of emissaries in the 19th century are known to have taken money from Christians. Some of the contributions were transmitted to Ereẓ Israel by way of local centers. From the 17th century such centers existed in Venice, Leghorn, Istanbul, Amsterdam and Lvov (Lemberg). At the beginning of the 19th century one was also established in Vilna. Venice was the center of the funds of Italy in Europe; Leghorn chiefly those of North Africa, but also of Europe; and Amsterdam chiefly those of Western Europe. The funds from Poland which were contributed at the *Council of the Four Lands were centralized in Lvov and transmitted from there by way of Istanbul, which was the most important center as it was the one nearest to Ereẓ Israel and the capital of the Ottoman government. Donations from the Turkish communities and the Balkans, as well as those from Eastern Europe (see above), were transferred to Istanbul. There were also smaller centers in Vienna, Prague, and Frankfurt on the Main.

Propaganda Methods. The emissaries used the general letter (see above) to help raise donations. There were also special letters to philanthropists and homilies in praise of Ereẓ Israel generally, as well as of the town assigned the emissary. The emissary was accustomed to preach on the first Sabbath of his arrival in the community and in practice his work commenced with this. Sometimes he brought with him some soil from the holy land for the communal worthies, drawings of the holy places and the graves of the *ẓaddikim* (pious men), or scrolls of Esther and amulets from Ereẓ Israel. An important medium utilized for publicity was the printing of various books about Ereẓ Israel, whether compiled by themselves or others, in order to awaken the readers' love for Ereẓ Israel and interest in its affairs. The books included descriptions and illustrations of holy places and the graves of *ẓaddikim* in Ereẓ Israel, descriptions of travels to Ereẓ Israel, geographical descriptions of the country, maps, etc. Sometimes the emissaries printed books describing the immediate events which had given rise to their mission, among them *Ḥorvot Yerushalayim* (Venice, 1636), by anonymous authors, describing the difficult conditions of *Jerusalem in 1625; *Zimrat ha-Areẓ* (Mantua, 1745) by Jacob *Berab (III), describing the resettlement of Jews in Tiberias in 1740; and *Korot ha-Ittim* (Vilna, 1840), a detailed description of the riots against the Jews of Safed during the revolt of the fellahin against Ibrahim Pasha in 1834, and of the Safed earthquake in 1837. Similarly, many propaganda books were published describing the virtues and the praise of Ereẓ Israel. Additional propaganda media were poems and *piyyutim* in praise of Ereẓ Israel which the emissaries circularized in the localities of their activities.

ACTIVITIES FOR THE COMMUNITIES OF THE DIASPORA. The emissary's mission to the Diaspora had another side. It also aimed at bringing the Jews of the Diaspora nearer to the affairs of Ereẓ Israel. This found expression in the spiritual influence of the emissaries, who regarded themselves as bound to teach and guide the exiles in spiritual matters. Sometimes the emissaries were asked by the exiles to make decisions in matters of *minhagim* and *halakhah* that they could not decide themselves. The emissaries had already begun to make improvements in the communities and to give halakhic decisions during the era of the patriarchate, when the messengers of the patriarch were accustomed to appoint the heads of communities and the supervisors of communal arrangements. This trend in affairs continued in effect until the missions came to an end. The emissary drew this power not simply from his personality but by virtue of the authority of Ereẓ Israel and of the great Torah scholars who were the signatories of his letter of appointment. For this reason, care was taken in general to dispatch men of stature. As a result the exiles looked upon rabbinical ordination by the Ereẓ Israel rabbis as something grand and superior. Thus, many rabbis of communities were accustomed to request confirmation of ordination for their pupils. Similarly, authors among the exiles who wanted to raise the public stature of their works attempted to win commendations for them from the emissaries. The Torah novellae (*ḥiddushei Torah*) and sermons of the emissaries found attentive listeners, and works by Diaspora scholars include novellae and homilies heard from the emissaries.

Ereẓ Israel Emissaries and Spiritual Movements

From the 15th century Ereẓ Israel emissaries played an important role in Jewish spiritual movements. Their influence in the outbreak of the spiritual storms flowed from their very personalities but their main influence stemmed from their authority as Ereẓ Israel emissaries. The Kabbalah, which developed and was consolidated in Safed in the 16th century, was spread throughout the Diaspora by kabbalist emissaries who circulated and published during their missions their own works and those of others. Thus, for example, Gedaliah *Cordovero, son of the well-known kabbalist Moses *Cordovero, organized the distribution of his father's writings, whose two works were published during Gedaliah's mission to Italy in 1582. Similarly, Abraham *Almosnino, the Jerusalem emissary to Frankfurt on the Main, brought *tikkunim* and *sodot* there in 1592 which he had copied from the manuscript of one of the pupils of R. Isaac *Luria. To a large degree it was the Ereẓ Israel emissaries who circulated reports of the existence of the ten tribes and thereby aroused waves of redemption yearnings and the will to immigrate to Ereẓ Israel. In 1527, the well-known Jerusalem kabbalist Abraham b. Eleazar ha-Levi transmitted information about the ten tribes and about indications of redemption and return in the wars of the *Beta Israel (Falashas) in Ethiopia. Similarly, the 17th-century letter of Baruch Gad concerning the Benei Moshe (sons of Moses) is remarkably like the story of *Eldad ha-Dani (and hence may be regarded as a forgery). The Benei Moshe complain about their bad conditions and desire with all their might to immigrate to Ereẓ Israel. The letter made a great impression on the Jerusalem inhabitants, who wished to restore the city to its former glory, as well as upon the Jews of Eastern Europe, who were severely agitated after the massacres of 1648–49 and were in need of consolation, hope, and salvation. Gad's letter was distributed by Ereẓ Israel emissaries throughout the Diaspora for a period of 250 years and was republished 15 times. A number of the emissaries attempted during their travels to discover traces of the ten tribes, some acting on behalf of their principals and others on their own behalf, e.g., *David D'Beth Hillel, one of the pupils of Elijah Gaon of Vilna.

The Shabbatean movement, which agitated most communities of Europe from the beginning of the second half of the 17th century, was also bound up with the emissaries, who played a decisive role in it. The pseudo-messiah *Shabbetai Ẓevi was sent as an emissary from Jerusalem to Egypt in 1664. *Nathan of Gaza was the son of the emissary Elisha Ḥayyim b. Jacob Ashkenazi. There is no doubt that the latter in the course of his work as an emissary – after Shabbetai Ẓevi had revealed himself – helped to spread the teaching of his son. Moreover, the scribe of Shabbetai Ẓevi, Samuel of Primo, went abroad in 1662 as a Jerusalem emissary. Later, he undoubtedly made use of his contacts with the communities of Turkey in order to spread his belief in Shabbetai Ẓevi. There were also emissaries who opposed Shabbateanism. When Ḥiyya b. Joseph Dayyan was in Italy in 1673 as an emissary, he censured Shabbateanism. Shabbetai Baer acted in a similar manner when he was on a mission in 1674.

The Ereẓ Israel emissaries also took an active part in the Nehemiah Ḥiyya *Ḥayon polemic at the beginning of the 18th century. Solomon *Ayllon, rabbi of Amsterdam who was a Safed emissary, was among his chief supporters, while Moses Ḥagiz, when an emissary of Jerusalem in Europe, was one of his most vigorous opponents. The Ereẓ Israel emissaries also played an important role in the polemic which was stirred up in 1729 around the personality and writings of Moses Ḥayyim *Luzzatto and continued for a number of years, giving rise to a controversy in the Jewish world. The Ereẓ Israel emissaries intervened in the dispute which centered around Jacob *Emden and Jonathan *Eybeschuetz. Abraham Israel, Jerusalem emissary in 1752, defended Eybeschuetz, and the document the latter received from him carried great weight and strengthened his stand. Emden was enraged by the Ereẓ Israel emissaries in particular and by its inhabitants in general, accusing them of Shabbatean tendencies.

The emissaries also played an important part in the Reform polemic which commenced in 1796. It started when in the same year a false report was published in one of the French newspapers that the Jews of Italy were preparing to introduce religious reforms. This grew from a rumor that a large convention of Italian rabbis in Florence had resolved to abrogate various prohibitions. Several Italian communities were stirred that same year to deny this report, and they published a special pamphlet. The moving spirit in all these activities was provided by several Ereẓ Israel emissaries who were then in Italy; among the signatories were Ḥayyim Baruch Saporta, the Safed emissary, and the Hebron emissaries Ephraim *Navon, Judah Leon, and Ḥayyim J.D. Azulai, and others. This pamphlet was also published the same year in Hamburg in German translation. In the Reform controversy only two emissaries, Ḥayyim Judah Ayash and Judah Aaron Takli, sided with the reformers when an organ was introduced into a Hamburg synagogue in 1817. Abraham b. Eleazar ha-Levi, the Jerusalem emissary in 1819, Nathan *Amram in 1842, and Israel Moses *Ḥazzan in 1845 came out against the religious reforms.

The emissaries helped in no small degree in the spread and revival of the Hebrew language, preaching mainly in Hebrew during their missions. In many of the communities the leaders thought of appointing the emissaries as rabbis or *dayyanim*, and many agreed to the proposals, accepting the appointment on completion of their mission. In times of need they used their influence to assist the communities in material matters, generally in isolated communities in the East. In 1750 in Nikopol, Bulgaria, the Safed emissary Ezra Malki helped mobilize financial support from Polish Jews to rebuild the synagogue named after Joseph Caro, which was in ruins. Cruel treatment of the Jews of Irbil, Kurdistan, in 1867 moved the emissaries to approach the Alliance Israélite Universelle to intervene on the community's behalf. In 1871, after the riots of their rebellious Kurdish neighbors, the Jerusalem emissary in Kurdistan, Raḥamim de la Rosa, and the heads of the community signed the emissary's letter requesting financial help. Ereẓ Israel emissaries also helped greatly in freeing the "black" Jews in *Cochin, India, who were regarded by their white brethren as slaves.

Emissaries' Activities on Their Own Behalf

As there was no printing press in Ereẓ Israel from the end of the 16th to the 19th centuries, the emissaries utilized their missions to the Diaspora as Ereẓ Israel emissaries to publish their own works. During their missions they succeeded in distributing their works, thus bringing greater honor upon themselves. In practice, most of the works of Ereẓ Israel scholars were published by their authors during their missions, or during the mission of another emissary. A number of the emissaries compiled their works during their travels, e.g., H.J.D. Azulai compiled his *Shem ha-Gedolim*. Usually the emissary referred to his adventures in the introduction. The distribution of the emissary's works at the time of his mission undoubtedly brought him financial profit, and there were even cases in which the emissary on his return was requested to divide his profits with his principals, as the publication of his works and their distribution was made possible primarily as a result of the mission. While on their missions, some emissaries made frequent visits to libraries to examine expensive and rare books and manuscripts. Some Ereẓ Israel emissaries regarded their missions simply as a means of livelihood and were sent numerous times to various countries.

Historical Importance of the Emissaries

The sending of emissaries played an exceptionally important part in Jewish history in general, and in the history of Jewish settlement in Ereẓ Israel, in particular. It constituted one of the most important chapters in the history of Ereẓ Israel between the destruction of the Second Temple and the birth of Zionism, and in the history of the relations between the inhabitants of Ereẓ Israel and the Jews of the Diaspora. The letters of the emissaries and documents about them are important sources for understanding the events that occurred in their times and the causes that gave rise to their missions. Their importance is also considerable for the histories of the communal institutions in Ereẓ Israel. On the other hand, the account books of the emissaries constitute an important source of the history of the communities in which they worked and of the relations between the communities and Ereẓ Israel. The modern scholar Abraham *Yaari compiled with great diligence and extraordinary erudition everything known (and not known until his research) on this subject in his monumental work *Sheluḥei Ereẓ Israel* (1951).

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SHELUḤOT (Heb. שְׁלוּחוֹת; "shoots," "sprouts"), kibbutz in northern Israel at the foot of Mt. Gilboa, 3 mi. (5 km.) S.W. of *Beth-Shean, affiliated with Ha-Kibbutz ha-Dati. Sheluḥot was founded at the time of the capture of Beth-Shean in the War of

Independence (May 10, 1948) by immigrants from Germany and Hungary. In 1970 Sheluḥot had 340 inhabitants; in 2002, 414. Its farming was based on irrigated field and fodder crops, palm orchards, dairy cattle, poultry, turkeys, and carp ponds. It operated electrical and metal factories and guest rooms.

[Efraim Orni]

SHEM (Heb. שֵׁם), eldest son of Noah, father of the "Semitic" peoples, including the Hebrew people. The meaning of the name is uncertain. It is possibly to be explained as Hebrew, meaning "fame," "name," "appellation." The Akkadian *šumu*, which is the same word, means not only name but also "son." As the eldest son, Shem always appears first in the list of Noah's three sons (Gen. 5:32; 9:18; 10:10; et al.). Together with his brothers and their wives, Shem and his wife accompanied Noah into the ark at the time of the Flood (7:7), and was also present with them during the covenant made with God afterward (9:8). As an individual personality, he appears only in Genesis 9:20–27 in the episode of Noah's drunkenness when the sensitive and modest behavior of Shem and his brother *Japheth contrasts sharply with that of *Ham. For this deed Noah blessed Shem and Japheth, "Blessed be the Lord, the God of Shem; let *Canaan be a slave to them" (verses 26–27). This passage clearly foreshadows the subjection of the Canaanites and implicitly identifies Shem with the future people of Israel. It is of interest that YHWH is here called the "God of Shem" and is not cited in connection with the other two brothers. In the list of nations in Genesis 10, Shem is the father of five sons who had 21 descendants, making a total of 26 peoples derived from him. Few of these had any known connection with Israelite history and the principle of their grouping cannot be determined with any degree of certainty (10:21–31). The genealogy of Shem appears last in the table of nations because of its great importance, the order being climactic. It serves to connect the list with the birth of Abraham by drawing attention to the fact that Shem was the "ancestor of all the descendants of Eber" (verse 21). The detailed genealogy of Shem through the line of Eber is resumed in chapter 11 (verses 10–26) where it concludes with the birth of Abraham, the father of the Hebrew nation. Shem is not again referred to in the Bible other than in the Chronicler's repetition of the Genesis genealogies (I Chron. 1:4, 17, 24).

[Nahum M. Sarna]

In the *Aggadah*

Shem's importance in the *aggadah* is due entirely to his being Israel's ancestor. Noah's blessing of Shem (Gen. 9:26ff.) is accordingly interpreted as a blessing of Israel. Noah's execration of Canaan condemning him to be a slave to his brothers (*ibid.*) was used to justify Israel's conquest of the land of Canaan, for "whatever a slave possesses belongs to his master" (Sanh. 91a). Ever since the time of Hyrcanus I's victorious campaigns in Samaria and Idumea (Jos., Ant. 13:254ff.; Wars, 1:62ff.) the apologetic tendency to defend such conquests against the charges that they were aggressive acts made its appearance; and it was for the same reason that Noah was said to have distributed the world between his three sons in such a manner that Shem received the middle of the earth, including in particular the Land of Israel (Sanh. *ibid.*; Gen. R. 1:2; PdRE 24; Mid. Ḥag. to Gen. 9:27; cf. Jubilees 8:10ff.). Although he is listed as the oldest of the three sons of Noah (Gen. 5:32; 6:10; 10:21), Shem is considered by the rabbis to have been the youngest, but yet the wisest, most important, and most righteous (Sanh. 69b; Gen. R. 26:3; 37:7 et al.). Since the primacy of younger brothers is an established motif in biblical historiography, Shem, too, had to be younger in years, but superior in every other respect. Thus, he was born circumcised (ARN^2, 2, p. 12; Gen. R. 26:3) – a distinction shared with some of the greatest biblical personalities (*ibid.*, Tanḥ. B., Gen. 32; Mid. Ps. 9, 7, ed. Buber, pp. 84f.); and it was he who took the initiative to cover his father's nakedness (cf. Gen. 9:23), for which he was blessed that his (Israelite) descendants should cover themselves with the fringed *tallit* and that the Divine Presence should rest only in Jerusalem (Yoma 10a; Gen. R. 26:3; 36:6, 8; Tanḥ. B., Gen. 49).

Shem was also privileged to have God's name associated with his (Gen. R. 26:3; cf. Gen. 9:26). He was, moreover, endowed with the gift of prophecy, and for 400 years he prophesied to the nations of the world, but to no avail (SER, 141f.). Finally, he was identified with Melchizedek, king of Salem, who served there as high priest in Abraham's time (cf. Gen. 14:18ff.) but was deprived of this privilege in favor of Abraham because he had blessed Abraham before God (Gen. 14:19ff.; Ned. 32b; Gen. R. 26:3; 43:6; Lev. R. 25:6; Num. R. 4:8; ARN op. cit). The real reason, however, was the role played by Melchizedek in Christian literature, where he became a prototype of Jesus (cf. Heb. 5:6f.; 7:15–17; cf. also Ginzberg, Legends, vol. 5, 225f., n. 102). In line with the rabbinic concept of the pre-existence of the Torah and its institutions prior to the revelation at Sinai, Shem's "tents" (Gen. 9:27) were accordingly identified as a *bet midrash* – an academy with which Eber, Shem's great-grandson, subsequently became associated, and which also served as a *bet din* (Mak. 23b; Gen. R. 36:8; 85:12; Targ. Ps.-Jon. to Gen. 9:27 and 25:22). It is said that Israel's Patriarchs studied at the academy of Shem and Eber (Targ. Ps. Jon, to Gen. 24:62 and 25:27; Gen. R. 63:10), and that students of the Law will be privileged to study in the world to come at the heavenly academy of Shem, Eber and other heroes of Israel (Song R. 6:2 no. 6; Eccles. R. 5:11 no. 5).

[Moses Aberbach]

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SHEMA, READING OF, the twice daily recitation of the declaration of God's unity, called the *Shema* ("Hear") after the first word in Deuteronomy 6:4; also called *Keri'at Shema* ("the reading of the *Shema*"). As it had developed by at least as early as the second century C.E., the *Shema* consisted of three portions of the Pentateuch – Deuteronomy 6:4–9; Deuteronomy 11:13–21; and Numbers 15:37–41, in this order – together with the benedictions of the *Shema*, two to be recited before the *Shema* and one after in the morning, and two before and two after in the evening (Ber. 1:1–5, 2:2). The morning benedictions before the *Shema* are: "Who formest light and createst darkness…" (*Yoẓer Or,* Hertz, Prayer, 108–14) and "With abounding love…" (**Ahavah Rabbah, ibid.*, 114–6), and "True and firm…" (*Emet Ve-Yaẓiv, ibid.*, 126–8), after it (see *Shaḥarit). The evening benedictions before the *Shema* are "Who at Thy word bringest on the evening twilight…" (*Ma'ariv Aravim, ibid.*, 304), and "With everlasting love…" (**Ahavat Olam, ibid.*, 306), and "True and trustworthy…" (*Emet ve-Emunah, ibid.*, 310–2), and "Cause us to lie down in peace…" (**Hashkivenu, ibid.*, 312), after the *Shema* (see *Arvit).

Development of the Practice

It is difficult to determine the stages through which this development took place. At a very early period the Deuteronomic injunction "And these words which I command thee this day … and thou shalt talk of them" (6:6–7 and 11:19) were understood as a commandment to read the *Shema*, perhaps in response to the challenge of Zoroastrian dualism, though as late as the third century C.E. some held the view that the duty of reciting the *Shema* is rabbinic and the verses refer not specifically to the *Shema* but to the "words of Torah" in general (Ber. 21a). The *Nash papyrus, dating from the Hasmonean period, contains the Ten Commandments and the first portion of the *Shema*. The Mishnah (Tam. 5:1) records that in the Temple all three portions of the *Shema* were recited together with the Ten Commandments, and explicit reference is made here to the benediction after the *Shema, Emet ve-Yaẓiv*, and to another benediction before the *Shema*, which is identified at a later period (Ber. 11b) with *Ahavah Rabbah*. At a later period, too, there are indications that special significance was attached to the first verse of the *Shema* (Ber. 13b; Suk. 42a). It is not implausible, therefore, to see the successive stages as (1) the reading of the first verse; (2) the reading of the first portion; (3) the reading of all three portions, together with *Emet ve-Yaẓiv* and *Ahavah Rabbah*; (4) the addition of the other benedictions.

In any event, it was a long established practice at the beginning of the present era to read the *Shema* in the evening and morning as can be seen from the fact that the schools of Hillel and Shammai (see *Bet Hillel and Bet Shammai) debated as to how it should be read. The school of Shammai took the words "when you lie down and when you get up" literally, and ruled that the evening *Shema* should be recited while reclining and the morning *Shema* while standing upright. The school of Hillel ruled that "when you lie down…" refers to the times of reading, i.e., in the evening and in the morning, but that no special posture is required. The ruling followed is that of the school of Hillel (Ber. 1:3).

There was much debate in the tannaitic period as to the times of reciting the *Shema*. The eventual ruling is that the evening *Shema* can be recited from nightfall until dawn, though ideally it should be recited before midnight; the morning *Shema* can be recited from the first traces of the dawn until a quarter of the day (Ber. 1:1–2; Ber. 2a–3a, 9b).

INCLUSION OF THE BARUKH SHEM. After the first verse of the *Shema* it has been customary from rabbinic times to recite under the breath the doxology, uttered as a response in the Temple, "Blessed be the name of His glorious Kingdom for ever and ever" (*Barukh Shem*). The midrashic explanation is that this was recited by the patriarch Jacob on his deathbed when his sons declared their loyalty by reciting the *Shema*. Since Jacob said it, we too repeat it, but since Moses did not say it, we recite it *sotto voce* (Pes. 56a). Another midrashic explanation is that when Moses went up on high, he heard the ministering angels saying *Barukh Shem*, and he brought it down for Israel to use. Since it was stolen from the angels, Israel recites it silently, but on the *Day of Atonement, when Israel is pure as the angels, it is recited in a loud voice (Deut. R. 2:36).

Various suggestions have been made to account historically for the insertion of *Barukh Shem*. Thus it may have been introduced by the Pharisaic opponents of Herod and the Sadducean priesthood in order to emphasize the belief in the sole sovereignty of God as against the aristocratic tendency to admit the sovereignty of the caesars (see Abrahams, Companion, iii); or as a response at a time when the *Shema* was read verse by verse led by the reader (Elbogen, Gottesdienst, 26); or as a substitute for the Temple response after the destruction of the Temple (Ḥ. Albeck (ed.), *Shishah Sidrei Mishnah, Zera'im* (1958), 328), which might explain why the later custom is to recite *Barukh Shem* in a loud voice on the Day of Atonement, since this was the day on which it was especially recited in Temple times (Yoma 3:8, 4:1, 6:2).

RECITATION OF SHEMA BEFORE RETIRING. In addition to the twice daily reading of the *Shema* as part of the morning and evening prayers the practice was introduced in the amoraic period of reciting the first section before retiring (*Keri'at Shema al ha-Mittah*). The source in the Talmud (Ber. 4b) is the saying of R. Joshua b. Levi: "Though a man has recited the *Shema* in the synagogue, it is meritorious to recite it again on his bed." The proof text was given as: "Tremble and sin not; commune with your own heart upon your bed, and be still. Selah" (Ps. 4:5). Later on in the same passage (Ber. 5a) the practice is connected with the fear of demons, whom it is said to drive away, but it is uncertain whether this was the true origin of the custom. Maimonides (Yad, Tefillah, 7:2), as usual in such circumstances, makes no mention of the demon motif but simply records the duty of reciting the first paragraph of the *Shema*, and he takes "on the bed" literally.

OTHER RITUAL USES OF THE SHEMA. The first verse of the *Shema* is also recited in the early morning (Hertz, Prayer, 30); when the Torah scroll is taken from the ark on Sabbaths and festivals (*ibid.*, 480); during the *Kedushah* in the *Musaf* on Sabbaths and festivals (*ibid.*, 530, 816, etc.); and on the deathbed (*ibid.*, 1064). The first verse of the *Shema* is recited once, and *Barukh Shem*, three times, at the conclusion of the services on the Day of Atonement. The portions of the *Shema* from Deuteronomy 6:4–9; 11:13–21 are included in the parchments enclosed in the **mezuzah* and **tefillin*. The remains of *tefillin* for the head found in Qumran (XQ Phyl. 1–4) were acquired by Y. Yadin in 1969 and proved to contain, among additional biblical texts, Deuteronomy 6:4–9. It is presumed that the original fourth scroll from these remains, which is now lost, contained Deuteronomy 11:13–21.

The Laws of the Shema

The *Shema* should be recited with full concentration on the meaning of the words; if, however, it was recited without concentration, it is unnecessary to repeat it, provided the first verse was recited with concentration. If the *Shema* is recited while walking, it is necessary to stand still for the recitation of the first verse. It is customary to place the right hand over the eyes while reciting the first verse as an aid to concentration, and, for the same reason, the first verse should be recited in a loud voice. One should not wink or gesticulate while reading the *Shema* but should recite it in fear and trembling. The *Shema* should be recited sufficiently loudly for it to be heard by the ear, since it is said: "Hear, O Israel." Care must be taken to enunciate the words clearly, and this applies especially to two consecutive words, the first of which ends and the second of which begins with the same letter. The *Shema* can be recited in any language, but with the same clarity of enunciation one is expected to use for the Hebrew. If one is in doubt as to whether he has recited the *Shema*, it is necessary to recite it in order to make sure. It is forbidden to interrupt the recitation of the *Shema*. It is forbidden to recite the *Shema* in a place that is not scrupulously clean, or in front of the naked body. Women (who are exempt from carrying out precepts dependent on a given time) and little children have no obligation to recite the *Shema* but may do so if they wish. It is customary for women, nonetheless, to recite the *Shema*.

The total of the words of the *Shema* together with *Barukh Shem* is 245. It is customary for the reader to repeat the last two words of the *Shema* and the first word of the following benediction, thus bringing the total up to 248, corresponding to the limbs of the body and the number of positive precepts. When the *Shema* is recited in private, the total is made up by reciting before the *Shema* the three words *el melekh ne'eman* ("God, faithful King!"). The usual translation of the first verse of the *Shema* is "Hear, O Israel: The Lord our God, the Lord is one." Other translations are "The Lord our God is one Lord" (AV); "The Eternal, the Eternal alone, is our God" (Moffatt); "The Lord is our God, the Lord alone" (new Jewish translation, JPSA (1962), following Ibn Ezra).

The Shema in Jewish Thought

The *Shema* is in Jewish thought the supreme affirmation of the unity of God and is frequently called "the acceptance of the yoke of the Kingdom of Heaven." The original meaning of the first verse may have been that, unlike the pagan gods who have different guises and localities, God is one. At first the main emphasis in the *Shema* was seen to be in opposition to polytheism; there is only one God, not many gods. R. *Akiva is reported to have recited the *Shema* just before his execution by the Romans (Ber. 61b), and generally Jewish martyrs recited it as they went to their deaths. Perhaps from earliest times (see S.R. Driver, *Deuteronony*, ICC (1902), 89–91), but certainly from later, the word *eḥad* ("one") was understood also to mean "unique." God is not only one and not many, but He is totally other than what paganism means by gods. Seen in this light, the *Shema* is not only an affirmation that there are no other gods, but that God is the Supreme Being. God is different from anything in the universe He has created. This was the general view of the medieval Jewish philosophers and kabbalists (see, e.g., Baḥya ibn Paquda, *Ḥovot ha-Levavot*, 1:9–10). In ḥasidic thought, the further idea is read into the *Shema* that there is only God, the whole universe existing in Him, as it were, and only enjoying an independent existence from the human standpoint (panentheism; see Menahem Mendel of Lubavitch, *Derekh Mitzvotekha* (1953^5), 118–24). This doctrine was treated as heresy by opponents of Ḥasidism.

VARIOUS INTERPRETATIONS OF THE FIRST VERSE. Christian exegesis in the Middle Ages interpreted the three divine names in the first verse of the *Shema* as referring to the Trinity (see JE, 12 (1905), 261 and J. Katz, *Exclusiveness and Tolerance* (1961), 19). Jewish commentators were naturally at pains to contradict this, and a current interpretation was that, in fact, the *Shema* asserts the opposite, that there is only one God and no three persons in the Godhead (see, e.g., *Da'at Zekenim* and Baḥa ibn Asher to Deut. 6:4 and Leon de Modena, *Magen va-Ḥerev* (ed. S. Simonsohn (1960), 31–32)). Very curious are the references in the Zohar to the three divine names in the first verse of the *Shema*. These represent the unity of three powers in the Godhead, which are the *Sefirot* of Lovingkindness, Judgment, and Beauty (*Ḥesed, Gevurah, Tiferet*), symbolized by the colors white, red, and green, or the *Sefirot* of Wisdom, Understanding, and Beauty (*Hokhmah, Binah, Tiferet*; Zohar 1:18b; 3:263a). The Zohar is strongly anti-Christian in intent and repeatedly stresses that all the Ten *Sefirot* are a unity with *Ein Sof*, so that it is absurd to read the Christian doctrine into it, as some of the Christian kabbalists have done. The possibility, however, that the formal zoharic interpretation was influenced by Christian exegesis of this verse cannot be ruled out (see I. Tishby, *Mishnat ha-Zohar,* 2 (1961), 278–80).

The word "Israel" (in "Hear, O Israel") is understood by the Midrash as referring to the patriarch Jacob (Deut. R. 2:35). The devout Jew addresses himself to his ancestor to declare that he has kept the faith. Abudraham understands it to mean that each Jew addresses his fellow. In ḥasidic thought (Dov Baer of Lubavitch, *Kunteres ha-Hitpa'alut*, in *Likkutei Be'urim* (1868), 54a), the idea is put forward that each Jew addresses the "Israel" part of his soul, speaking to the highest within him. Abudraham also remarks that the letter *ayin* of the word *Shema* and the letter *dalet* of the *eḥad* are traditionally written larger than the other letters in the Torah scroll so as to form the word *ed* ("witness"): the Jew testifies to God's unity when he recites the *Shema*.

Jewish devotional manuals sometimes advise the worshiper to have in mind while reciting the *Shema* that if he is called upon to suffer martyrdom for the sanctification of God's name, he will do so willingly and with joy (see, e.g., Alexander Suskind of Grodno, *Yesod ve-Shoresh ha-Avodah* (1965^{2}), 97–99). This author also advises the worshiper after he has recited the first verse of the *Shema* to have in mind the following:

> I believe with perfect faith, pure and true, that Thou art one and unique and that Thou has created all worlds, upper and lower, without end, and Thou art in past, present and future. I make Thee King over each of my limbs that it might keep and perform the precepts of Thy holy Torah and I make Thee King over my children and children's children to the end of time. I will, therefore, command my children and grandchildren to accept the yoke of Thy Kingdom, Divinity, and Lordship upon themselves, and I will command them to command their children, in turn, up to the last generation to accept, all of them, the yoke of Thy Kingdom, Divinity, and Lordship.

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[Louis Jacobs]

SHEMAIAH (Heb. שְׁמַעְיָה, שְׁמַעְיָהוּ), a prophet in the days of Solomon's son, Rehoboam king of Judah (I Kings 12:22–24 and the parallel passage in II Chron. 11:2–4; 12:5–8, 15). Shemaiah is associated with two events, one at the beginning of, the other during Rehoboam's reign. In I Kings and in the parallel account in II Chronicles it is related that Shemaiah cautioned Rehoboam not to embark on a war against the tribes of Israel that had rebelled against his authority, and warned him that "this thing is from Me [i.e., God]" (I Kings 12:24; II Chron. 11:4). According to II Chronicles 12:5–8, Shemaiah rebuked Rehoboam and his princes, and blamed them for the invasion of Judah by *Shishak king of Egypt. After Rehoboam and his princes had humbled themselves before the Lord "the word of the Lord came to Shemaiah: 'They have humbled themselves; I will not destroy them, but I will grant them some deliverance, and My wrath shall not be poured out upon Jerusalem by the hand of Shishak'" (II Chron. 12:7). The Chronicler attributes to Shemaiah "the Chronicles of Shemaiah the Prophet and of Iddo the Seer" (*ibid.*, verse 15), which probably means simply the part of the Book of Kings referring to Shemaiah's generation.

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[Nili Schupak]

SHEMAIAH (late first century B.C.E.), the colleague of *Avtalyon (see **Zugot*). In talmudic sources they are usually mentioned together. They are described as having taught in the same *bet midrash* (Yoma 35b), cooperating in an exemplary fashion. Like Avtalyon, Shemaiah was said to have been a convert to Judaism, descended from Sennacherib (Git. 57b; cf. TJ, Mak. 3:1, 81d). Those who identify Avtalyon with Pollio mentioned by Josephus, identify Shemaiah with Samaias, as one of the Pharisee leaders in the time of Herod. Shemaiah's dictum (Avot 1:10), "Love work, hate lordship, and seek no intimacy with the ruling power," probably reflects his attitude to the government of his time, and accords with Josephus' statement about Pollio (see *Avtalyon). Shemaiah and Avtalyon administered the *soṭah* rite, presumably within the framework of the Temple ritual (Eduyot 5:6). In an early discussion of faith and belief in rabbinic literature, Avtalyon expresses the view "that the faith in God of the children of Israel in Egypt sufficed for the Red Sea to be divided for them," while Shemaiah holds that this merit stemmed from Abraham's faith in God (Mekh. 2, 3). The late report that Shemaiah and Avtalyon were *darshanim gedolim* (masters of homiletical exposition) would seem to be anachronistic (Friedman, *Netiot le-David*, 234).

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[Bialik Myron Lerner / Stephen G. Wald (2nd ed.)]

SHEMAIAH OF TROYES (11th century), French scholar. Shemaiah was one of *Rashi's closest pupils and appears to have been the father-in-law of Rashi's grandson, *Samuel b. Meir. Shemaiah helped Rashi edit his responsa and afterward collected and assembled them from the notes of his master. He also wrote up for him some of his halakhic decisions. He also assisted Rashi in editing his commentaries to the Talmud and in particular his commentary to the Bible, which Rashi read with him, correcting as he went along. Traces of Shemaiah's activities are detectable in Rashi's works. Occasionally short additions and notes made by Rashi orally have been added with Shemaiah's signature. Very often the additions have been merged with the text and are identifiable as additions only by comparison with manuscripts. Shemaiah himself, under the direction of Rashi, wrote commentaries to a number of tractates, but only those to *Middot* and *Tamid* have been preserved in two versions, one of which appears in all large editions of the Talmud since the Venice edition of 1522, and another in a work published by A. Berliner from a manuscript (in *Sefer Rashi*, see bibl.). Numerous *rishonim*, however, quote from his commentaries to many other tractates, and there are rulings of his which are known to have been handed to Rashi for his approval and signature. Shemaiah's *Seder Leil Pesaḥ* was published at the end of the *Dikdukei Soferim* to *Pesaḥim* (1874), and there remain in manuscript remnants of his commentaries on *piyyutim*. It is possible that this Shemaiah is identical with Shemaiah ha-Shoshanni, author of the Midrash to the weekly portion *Terumah*, who is known to have written commentaries to the *maḥzor.* Shemaiah served as the main source for knowledge of Rashi's teaching, and his collections were the basis of most of the extant anonymous books of the "school of Rashi," among them *Sefer ha-Pardes, Maḥzor Vitry, Siddur Rashi*, and others. The son of Shemaiah, Moses, was the editor of the halakhic work *Ha-Orah*, which contained much valuable material after the tradition of Rashi, and which was apparently the basis of the extant *Sefer ha-Orah* (1905).

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[Israel Moses Ta-Shma]

SHEMARIAH BEN ELHANAN (d. 1011), scholar in *Egypt. According to the legend of Abraham ibn Daud (G.D. Cohen (ed.), *The Book of Tradition* (1967), 64), Shemariah was one of *Four Captives who were taken prisoner in c. 970 while on a journey to collect contributions for the Babylonian academies, each of whom later established a school in a different country. Documents found in the Cairo **Genizah*, apparently originating from Babylon, state that he studied during the gaonate of *Sherira, with whom and with whose son and successor, *Hai Gaon, he corresponded, after he himself had become the head of the yeshivah at El Fostat. He was head of the local *bet din* and was famous as a preacher. He is referred to as "the *av bet din* of all Israel," possibly the title accorded the highest religious authority in the country. Shemariah wrote a commentary on the Song of Songs, which he dedicated to Judah b. Joseph Alluf of *Kairouan. He was in contact with the prominent rabbis of his day, such as Ḥushi'el of Kairouan and *Dunash ibn Labrat, in *Spain, who composed a laudatory poem in his honor. His son-in-law was *Sahlan b. Abraham, head of the Babylonian community at the beginning of the 11th century.

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[Eliyahu Ashtor]

SHEMARIAH BEN ELIJAH BEN JACOB (**Ikriti**; 1275–1355), philosopher and biblical commentator. Though probably born in Rome, he is known as Ikriti ("the Cretan") because, when he was still a child, his family moved to Crete, where his father had been called as a rabbi; he is also known as *ha-Yevani* ("the Greek"). Shemariah knew Greek, Italian, and Latin, and is noted for being the first medieval Jew to translate Greek literature directly from the original and not from Arabic or Hebrew translations, as had been done previously. Until the age of 30, the only Hebrew literature he knew was the Bible; only later did he study Talmud and philosophy. Invited to the court of Robert, king of Naples, he engaged in biblical studies and wrote philosophical commentaries (until 1328). His manner of interpretation satisfied even the Karaites, and, in the hope of reconciling them with the Rabbanites, he went to Spain in 1352. There, however, certain accusations were leveled against him, including the charge that he regarded himself as a messiah. He died in prison.

In *Ha-Mora* (1346), Shemariah attacked the opinions on creation of the philosophers; in his book *Amaẓyahu* he also attacked philosophy. Other works include *Elef ha-Magen* (a commentary on the tales and legends contained in the tractate *Megillah*, S.M. Schiller-Szenesy, Catalogue Cambridge Ms. 33/2), books on logic and grammar, biblical commentaries, and liturgical and secular poems, some of which were written in honor of David b. Joshua, a descendant of Maimonides.

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[Zvi Avneri]

SHEMER, NAOMI (**Saphir**; 1930–2004), composer, song writer, and performer. Born at kevuẓat Kinneret, she studied at the Tel Aviv and Jerusalem Academies of Music. Among her teachers were Frank *Peleg, Ilona Vinze-Kraus, Joseph *Tal, and Abel *Ehrlich. She returned to kevuẓat Kinneret as a music teacher and there she composed her first songs especially for children. In 1956 she moved to Tel Aviv. Her songs, to most of which she composed both lyrics and music, became very popular and are considered as part of the Israeli song canon. In 1967, after being commissioned by the Israel Broadcasting Authority to write a song for the annual song festival, she wrote *Yerushalayim shel Zahav*, which immediately became popular. It became the theme song of the Six-Day War and achieved international fame. In many Reform movement services and among both Ashkenazi and Sephardi congregations in Israel and the Diaspora, the song was introduced into the liturgy for special occasions, such as Friday evening, the last *hakkafah* on Simhat *Torah, and the synagogue service on Israeli Independence Day. Considered to perfectly express the love of the nation for Jerusalem, the song was proposed in the Knesset as a new Israeli national anthem. By the mid-1980s there was not an Israeli singer or ensemble that had not performed one of Shemer's songs. Nicknamed the "national songwriter," she demonstrated a unique ability to express the national mood. Although her first works were published in the 1950s, her first book of songs, *Kol ha-Shirim* ("Complete Songs"), did not appear until 1967. Later publications included four additional song books (1975, 1982, 1995, 2003), as well as various collections for children. As a singer, she recorded a selection of her own songs. Her honors included the Israel Prize for Israeli song (1982), Jerusalem Prize (1983), and honorary doctorates from the universities of Jerusalem (1994) and Beersheba (1999).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Grove Music Online.

[Gila Flam (2nd ed.)]

SHEMI (Schmidt), MENAHEM (1897–1951), Israeli painter. Shemi was born in Russia and immigrated to Palestine in 1913. In World War II, he served in the British army in Egypt, North Africa, and Italy. Shemi was one of the founders of the artists' colony in Safed (1949). Shemi was principally a landscapist. His palette, originally somber, became bright in his later years; his mystic, dreamlike canvases of Safed are considered his best works.

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[Yona Fischer]

SHEMI, YEHI'EL (1922–2003), Israeli sculptor. Shemi was born to Esther and Moshe Stizberg, who immigrated to Ereẓ Israel in 1923 and settled in Haifa. Until the age of 13 Shemi was educated in a religious manner at home, as well as at the Neẓaḥ Israel school. After he was no longer observant, Shemi studied at the Reali High School and joined the Maḥanot ha-Olim youth organization. Shemi was an autodidact. All his artistic education was limited to a few painting classes under the instruction of Prof. Paul Konrad Hoenich of the Technion.

From 1939 on Shemi lived and worked in kibbutz Kabri. Through the art seminars that he organized in the kibbutz during the 1950s, he came in contact with many Israeli artists. He was one of the members of the New Horizons group, and his first steel sculptures were exhibited there. For a short while Shemi went abroad for a stay in the United States and in Paris. His meetings with world-famous sculptors influenced his own evolution. In 1986 Shemi was awarded the Israel Prize for art. Shemi's artistic style changed over time from figurative to abstract. The sculptures he created in the 1940s were carved in stone; some of them were lost when kibbutz Beit ha-Aravah was abandoned in May 1948. The works usually described human figures, usually monumentally and with rough texture (for example, *Father and Son*, 1954, kibbutz Ḥukkuk).

In the 1950s Shemi turned to working with iron. This transformation was not simply technical but also an open expression of a change in his point of view. The significance deriving from the change was Shemi's entrance into the modern world of sculpture. The impulse to work with additional techniques can be attributed to the modernist spirit in art that expressed swiftness, spontaneity, and an untraditional attitude. Soon afterward his technique changed and Shemi turned to the abstract, which is another modernist characteristic. His first large public assignment was created in this style, namely, the sculpture he erected for the Tenth Anniversary Exhibition in Jerusalem (1958, still standing in front of Binyanei ha-Ummah, Jerusalem). Later Shemi received many invitations from all over the country to create public sculptures, some of them as monuments.

Shemi worked with other types of materials, such as wood, torn iron, and concrete. One of his unique creations integrating art with architecture was his work at the Jerusalem Theater (1971). The geometric forms of the sculpture, as well as the bare concrete, were part of Shemi's art language. The huge size of this project and the fact that it was displayed as sculpture and not as a monument was significant for the artist.

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[Ronit Steinberg (2nd ed.)]

SHEMONEH ESREH (Heb. שְׁמוֹנֶה עֶשְׂרֵה; lit. "eighteen"), popular name for the *Amidah prayer. The name stems from the fact that the weekday *Amidah* originally contained 18 benedictions (although today none of the various *Amidot* recited on different occasions consists of exactly 18 benedictions).

SHEM-TOV, VICTOR (1915–), Israeli politician, member of the Fifth, Sixth, Tenth, and Eleventh Knessets. Shem-Tov was born in the town of Samokov, Bulgaria. As a youth he was a member of the Maccabi ha-Ẓa'ir youth movement. He attended high school in Sofia, and in 1939, before immigrating to Palestine, joined the Socialist League. In 1946 he was elected, on behalf of Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir, to the Jerusalem Workers Council. In 1948–49 he was in charge of *Histadrut absorption programs during the years of mass immigration. In 1949–50 he served as chairman of the Bulgarian Immigrants' Association in Jerusalem, and as a member of *Mapam's Central Committee. He was elected to the Fifth Knesset in 1961, and represented Mapam in the Knesset Finance Committee. In 1961 he also became a member of the Histadrut Executive. In 1969, even though he was not elected to the Seventh Knesset, Shem-Tov became the first Mapam minister that was not a kibbutz member, being appointed as minister without portfolio in the government formed by Golda *Meir after the elections. In July 1970, after the *Likud left the coalition, he was appointed minister of health, in which position he introduced a National Health Insurance Bill that failed to pass. He continued to serve as minister of health in the Eighth Knesset, even though once again he was not an MK. In 1974, together with Minister of Transportation Aharon Yariv, Shem-Tov presented to Golda Meir's government a document containing what came to be known as the Yariv–Shem-Tov formula, that defined the Arab negotiating partners with whom Israel would be willing to negotiate a peace agreement. The document was published by Shem-Tov during a visit to Washington. It stated that the State of Israel would conduct peace negotiations with Jordan and with any Palestinian body that would recognize Israel's right to exist, would be willing to live in peace with it, and would refrain from committing acts of terror. The formula was once again presented in the government of Yitzhak *Rabin but was not brought to the vote, because it was supported by only five ministers. However, the formula was not rejected. In 1979–85 he served as secretary general of Mapam.

Shem-Tov was elected to the Tenth Knesset in 1981 and the Eleventh in 1984, and supported Mapam's decision to leave the Alignment with the *Israel Labor Party after Labor decided to enter a National Unity Government with the Likud.

[Susan Hattis Rolef (2nd ed.)]

SHENHAR (Shenberg), YITZHAK (1902–1957), Hebrew author. He was born in Voltshisk, a small town on the border of Galicia and the Ukraine. During World War I his family moved to Proskurov. An active member of the He-Ḥalutz movement, he started agricultural training before completing his studies. On his arrival in Ereẓ Israel in 1921 he joined the pioneers of the Third *Aliyah and worked as a building laborer, wagoner, railman, and farmer. From his youth he had written Hebrew poetry, and his literary activity, mainly in verse and drama, gained impetus on his arrival in Ereẓ Israel, where he published his first poem in 1924. Shenhar studied European literatures and languages for many years becoming well versed in some of them. From 1931 he devoted himself exclusively to literary activities, becoming a professional writer, a literary adviser to publishing firms, an editor, and a translator. As personal secretary to Salman *Schocken during the 1930s, he accompanied him on his travels in Europe and established connections with the Schocken Publishing House, which from the beginning of the mid-1940s published most of his books and translations. Shenhar worked for the United Jewish Appeal in South America in the early 1950s.

While Shenhar's creativity embraced a wide variety of works including fiction, poetry, plays, travel notes, and children's literature, his position in Hebrew literature and Israel cultural life was established mainly through his fiction and translations. Most of Shenhar's fictional writing comprises short stories and novelettes. It was only toward the end of his life that he ventured on a novel, which he did not complete. He was a master of the lyrical short story characterized by atmosphere and psychological nuances rather than by dramatic tension and plot development. Shenhar's works are within well-defined literary traditions, especially the late 19th-century tradition of the Russian psychological school, as exemplified by the short stories of Chekhov, and the Hebrew psychological novelette of the early 20th century. His style aspired toward an artistic balance and harmony, carefully striving for an equipoise between descriptions of social situations and landscape on the one hand and individual psychological portrayals on the other. He sought to give his subtle descriptions of atmosphere the firm base of a classic Hebrew style, drawing liberally on the ancient sources, especially the Mishnah and Midrash. Shenhar thus evolved a synthesis of style which is in the spirit of the Hebrew literature written by the followers of S.Y. Abramovitsh (Mendele Mokher Seforim). He may be described as a writer who tried to combine the descriptive "plastic" style of Mendele with the lyrical-psychological novella tradition of M.J. *Berdyczewski and U.N. *Gnessin.

Shenhar's stories may be classified according to their socio-historical background: stories about the Ukrainian small town and village against the backdrop of revolution and civil war (mainly in his first collection of stories, *Basar va-Dam*, 1941) to which also belongs the uncompleted novel published posthumously; stories about the tribulations of *ḥalutzim* and the trials of their acclimatization (mainly in *Me-Ereẓ el Ereẓ* 1943); stories on village and city life under the British mandate (in *Yamim Yedabberu*, 1945) and after Israel's independence. In the latter, Shenhar does not confine himself only to the mentality and problems of Russian Jewry and especially of the Russian-born *ḥalutzim* (as he did in his earlier collections). His canvas extends from the German immigrant to the Oriental Jew, and to different parts of the country, in an attempt to give a panoramic view of the multi-faceted new Jewish society. After the establishment of the State of Israel, Shenhar was among the first to turn to the new immigrants from Arab countries as a literary subject. He also wrote several biblical stories (*Me-Az u-mi-Kedem*, 1947) and symbolistic-surrealistic stories which have no socio-historical setting but are suspended in time and place.

Despite the variegated social background of Shenhar's stories he created one world, whose unifying element is a basic paradox: a world of frenzied and at times volatile activity and movement, revolutions, destruction, pioneering efforts and the struggle for national revival which is viewed through the eyes of the outsider who is alienated, passive, and static. The most typical characters of Shenhar's panorama are the pioneers whose fervor has cooled and who now live on the periphery of society. His anti-heroes, out of touch with their milieu, are in the literary trend of the "detached" or alienated heroes of M.J. Berdyczewski, Ḥ. J. *Brenner, U.N. Gnessin, G. *Schofman, and Y.D. *Berkowitz. Central to this trend is the theme of the young intellectual at odds with the traditional Jewish society of Eastern Europe which some of these writers (mainly Brenner) transposed to the ḥalutzic background of Ereẓ Israel. Shenhar's vivid, poignant and penetrating portrayal of the schism between the sensitive individual and the pioneering society makes him one of the main exponents of this trend. Nevertheless he departed from the traditional patterns: (1) his characters' alienation is not rooted in an exaggerated intellectualism (on the contrary, they are mostly non-intellectuals, some of whom are unable to express themselves articulately); (2) his stories are not mainly psychological portrayals of the heroes but fuse the psychological with broad social landscapes; (3) the rootlessness of most of his heroes is not as extreme as that of Gnessin's heroes. Though Shenhar's protagonists are incapable of identifying with the rhythm and intensity of the reality that surrounds them, their relation to it is not negative, even when they openly reject its coarseness and cruelty, or are skeptical about its blatant self-assurance. The hope for compromise or fusion is never absent from his stories. Thus Shenhar's works form one of the main links between the great fiction writers of the beginning of the century, such as Brenner and Gnessin, and some younger Israel-born writers, like S. Yizhar, who also describe the alienated, sensitive hero in the new pioneering society in a more optimistic vein than Brenner for instance.

Aside from his surrealistic writings and some biblical stories, few of Shenhar's narratives ring of despair; yet in most of his works there is a note of melancholy mingled with gentle irony. In this lies the very essence of Shenhar's importance as an Israel writer, i.e., his importance as an artist and intellectual simultaneously involved in the tempo and drive of Zionism yet sufficiently detached to see it objectively. Shenhar's work reflects all of Israel life from an original and individual point of view, throwing light not only on the successes in the revival of the Jewish nation in Israel but also on those who became its victims, on its weaknesses, and on the destruction that it sometimes wrought upon the beautiful, the noble, and the sensitive. While Shenhar always tended toward artistic descriptions, he helped to develop an independent consciousness among the intelligentsia of Ereẓ Israel and consequently to extend its capacity for self-criticism.

Shenhar was the foremost Hebrew translator of belletristic prose in his generation. He also translated poetry – Rilke, François Villon, and Chinese verse – but was most successful in his translations of great Russian literary works of the 19th century (Tolstoy's *Anna Karenina; Dead Souls* and other works by Gogol; works by N. Leskov and A. Chekhov, etc.). His translations were in the classic Hebrew style of his original writings which he used with skill, especially in those works that required linguistic virtuosity and an adherence to stylized archaisms. Shenhar was among those who set the principal norms for the translation of belletristic prose (he translated over 30 books). *Be-Shivah Derakhim* (1954) is a compilation of his travel notes; his collected stories were published posthumously (3 vols., 1960). His sister, Rivka Rochel-Shenhar, recorded her memories in *Beit Yiẓḥak Shenhar* (1986).

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[David Maisel]

SHENKAR, ARIE (1877–1959), pioneer of Ereẓ Israel industry. Born in Spitzinitz, Kiev district, Shenkar moved to Moscow in 1898, worked in a textile factory, and was active in the Russian Zionist movement. He was a member of the board of a Zionist group called Kadimah and was sent on its behalf to Berlin to purchase land in Ereẓ Israel through the *Hilfsverein der deutschen Juden. His house was a center of Zionist activity in Moscow, even during the early Soviet period. Shenkar went to Palestine in 1924 and bought the Lodzia textile factory, making it into a profitable enterprise. He devoted his efforts to the young local industry and was for many years the president of the Manufacturers' Association of Palestine. He interested foreign investors in Ereẓ Israel industry, founded the Palestine Industrial Bank, Ltd., and was its president. Shenkar also participated in many economic enterprises and contributed to educational institutions.

His estate was used to construct the first buildings for the physics and chemistry departments at Tel Aviv University, dormitories at the Hebrew University, Jerusalem, and for a scholarship fund. His house in Tel Aviv has been turned into the history museum of the city. The industrial center Kiryat Aryeh, which covers an area in Petaḥ Tikvah and Bene-Berak, is named in his honor, as is a vocational school for textiles in Ramat Gan. After his death, *Be-Emunah u-ve-Ma'as* (1963) was published, including his biography, his speeches, and his articles, as well as appreciations of him.

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[Abraham Aharoni]

SHEPETOVKA, city in Khmelnitsky district, Ukraine. Its Jewish settlement was founded in the late 17th or early 18th century. In 1765 there were 317 Jewish poll-tax payers in the city. In the late 16th century it was a ḥasidic center, especially in the time of R. Pinhas of Koretz (1726–1791). In 1847, the Jewish population numbered 1,042, increasing to 3,880 (48.5% of the total population) in 1897. In 1926 the Jews numbered 3,916 (26.7%), and in 1939, 4,844 (20% of the total population). A Yiddish school with 300 pupils existed there. The Germans entered Shepetovka on July 5, 1941, and in July–August murdered 4,000 Jews from the town and its environs. In early 1942 a ghetto was established, and in fall 1942 it was liquidated and thousands of it inhabitants were murdered. In the late 1960s there was a Jewish population of about 2,500. Their last synagogue was closed down by the authorities in the early 1960s; most Jews left in the 1990s.

[Yehuda Slutsky / Shmuel Spector (2nd ed.)]

SHEPHATIAH BEN AMITTAI (d. 886 C.E.), *paytan* and spiritual leader. Shephatiah lived in Oria in southern Italy. When *Abu Aaron came to Italy in the mid-ninth century, he passed on to Shephatiah secrets of practical Kabbalah which the latter was to use in performing legendary deeds, as related in the *Chronicle of* *Ahimaaz. In about 856, when the Saracens attacked Oria, Shephatiah was sent to try and buy them off. About 873 Shephatiah traveled to Constantinople to plead for the annulment of anti-Jewish decrees issued by the Byzantine emperor Basil I. At the court he "delivered one of the princesses from the power of a demon" and as a reward Oria and four other communities are said to have been exempted from the edict. Of Shephatiah's many poems, only the *piyyut Yisrael Nosha* is known today. It is included in the *Ne'ilah* service on the Day of Atonement in the Ashkenazi liturgy.

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[Yonah David]

SHEPHELAH (Heb. שְׁפֵלָה), biblical geographical term derived from *shfl* ("low"). The Shephelah is one of the component parts of the Promised Land, together with the mountain, the valley (Arabah), and the Negev (Deut. 1:7; Josh. 9:1; 12:8; and is so referred to in Jer. 17:26; 32:44; 33:13; Zech. 7:7). It refers to an area of hills and valleys, which separates the highlands from the coastal plain. In this sense, the Shephelah can only be regarded as a "lowland" from the point of view of those holding the higher parts of the country, i.e., the Israelites, as against the Canaanites of the plain or the Philistines. In particular, the term refers to the western fringe of the Judean mountains. In this region Joshua smote the Canaanite kings after the battle of Aijalon, defeating them from Jarmuth to Eglon (Josh. 10:40). Later, the tribe of Judah fought against the Canaanites in the Shephelah (Judg. 1:9). A still more precise definition is given in II Chronicles 28:18, which enumerates the cities of the Shephelah occupied by the Philistines in the time of Ahaz: they include Beth-Shemesh, Aijalon, Gederoth, Socoh, Timnah, and Gimzo. The struggle between the inhabitants of the Shephelah and the Philistines on the coast for possession of the region is reflected in Obadiah v. 19. The detailed description of the region in Joshua 15:33ff. reflects the division of Judah in the time of the divided monarchy, under Jehoshaphat or later, when the districts of Socoh, Lachish, and Mareshah (the second to the fourth districts) comprised the area of the Judean Shephelah.

The sycamore tree was characteristic of the region. Solomon made cedars as abundant in Jerusalem as sycamores were in the Shephelah (I Kings 10:27; I Chron. 1:15; 9:27). A special officer of the king was appointed to guard these trees (I Chron. 27:28).

The term is sometimes extended to other similar regions in the country. The Shephelah of Israel (Josh. 11:16) possibly refers to the hills and valleys bordering the mountains of Ephraim on the west. This definition, however, is somewhat artificial, for the western border of the mountains of Ephraim presents no such network of valleys and hills as is found in western Judah. The term appears as well in connection with the battle against Jabin, king of Hazor (Josh. 11:2); the location of this area between Kinneret and Dor suggests that here the term refers to the hilly region in southern Naphtali.

In the Hellenistic period, the area covered by the term Shephelah was extended westward, reaching from Bet Guvrin to Jaffa (I Macc. 12:38; Eusebius, Onom. 162:8). Talmudic sources (in particular Shev. 9:2; Tosef., Shev. 7:10; TJ, Shev. 9:2, 38d; Sif. Deut. 6) generalize the term and apply it to each of the three main districts of the country. In Galilee it refers to the area of Lower Galilee, below Kefar Ḥananyah, where sycamores grow; in Judea the Shephelah of Lydda is included in that of the south; in Transjordan it includes Heshbon, Dibon, Bamoth-Baal, and Beth-Maon. The area of the Judean Shephelah was resettled by Jews from 1882 onward and contains many agricultural settlements.

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[Michael Avi-Yonah]

SHER, SIR ANTHONY (1949–), actor, writer, and artist. Born in Cape Town, South Africa, Sher was educated at the Webber-Douglas Academy of Dramatic Art, London. He established his reputation on the London stage during the 1980s with a number of virtuoso performances. Unheroic in stature but with an intense, vivid personality, he brought enormous dynamism and panache to every part (rehearsals were always accompanied by body-training). His extensive repertoire ranged from appearances in Molière's *Tartuffe* and the most discussed *Richard III* since Laurence Olivier's, to *The Merchant of Venice* and *Singer* for the Royal Shakespeare Company. His roles for the National Theater have included Arturo Ui and Mark Gertler, while his playing of Arnold in *Torch Song Trilogy* was outstanding. He received the Olivier and Evening Standard Awards for best actor in 1985.

Apart from a consuming acting career, Sher was an accomplished artist who exhibited both at London's Barbican and the National Theater and a highly successful author whose novels *Middlepost* and *The Indoor Boy* both received highly enthusiastic reviews. One of the best-known contemporary British actors, Sher received many awards and three honorary degrees. He was knighted in 2000.

[Sally Whyte]

SHER, NEAL (1947–), U.S. lobbyist and government official. Sher joined the U.S. Department of Justice's *Office of Special Investigations (OSI) in 1979, becoming its director from 1983 to 1994. Established in 1979, OSI investigates, denaturalizes, and deports persons who took part in Nazi-sponsored acts of persecution, and excludes from entry into the United States any person listed on its "watch list" of suspected Nazi and Axis persecutors. Under Sher's directorship, 98 individuals who entered the United States under false pretenses by hiding their Nazi past were denaturalized, and many were deported.

Sher spearheaded several high-profile cases, including placing former Austrian president and United Nations Secretary General Kurt Waldheim on the "watch list," based on Waldheim's service in the Wehrmacht while in the Balkans and Greece as Jews were being deported and murdered there. Sher successfully prosecuted Arthur Rudolph, the former project director of NASA's Saturn V moon rocket program, who voluntarily left the country in 1984 when OSI proved he served from 1943 to 1945 as director of the Mittelwerk slave labor V-2 rocket factory. Sher also led the case against Karl Linnas, stripped of his citizenship in 1981 when OSI shed light on his past as commander of the Tartu concentration camp and his personal involvement in the killing of thousands of Jews.

One case under Sher's directorship was particularly controversial, that of John Demjanjuk, a retired Cleveland, Ohio, auto worker. In news attracting international attention, OSI accused Demjanjuk of being "Ivan the Terrible," a notorious Ukrainian guard at Treblinka. In 1982, Demjanjuk was stripped of American citizenship and deported to Israel and convicted of murder, though his conviction was overturned by the Israeli Supreme Court in 1993 for lack of evidence. A U.S. appeals court subsequently ruled that OSI had "acted with a reckless disregard for the truth." Demjanjuk was eventually stripped of his citizenship for his activities in several concentration camps.

From 1994 to 1996, Sher was executive director of the *American Israel Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC), the pro-Israel lobby based in Washington, D.C. He lobbied Congress to increase foreign aid to Israel, to pass anti-terrorism legislation, and to urge the move of the American embassy from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem. Following AIPAC, Sher consulted with the World Jewish Congress and joined a Washington, D.C.-based law firm.

In 1998, Sher became chief of staff of the International Commission on Holocaust Era Insurance Claims (ICHEIC), established to evaluate claims against several European insurance companies and to distribute proceeds from those claims to Holocaust survivors and victims' heirs. Sher's career at ICHEIC was cut short in 2002 when he admitted to improper use of agency funds and improprieties with respect to travel. Sher fully reimbursed ICHEIC but was subsequently disbarred from the D.C. bar. Ambassador Stuart Eizenstat, the senior government official who led efforts on Holocaust-era asset restitution in the Clinton administration, stated "I can only say it's a real tragedy … and an exception to the decades of [Sher's] service to the country and to the Jewish community."

[Ralph Grunewald (2nd ed.)]

SHERF, ZE'EV (1906–1984). Israeli civil servant and politician, member of the Sixth and Seventh Knessets. Born in Izbor, Bukovina, which at the time was part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, Sherf studied in *ḥadarim* and in a primary school, and later studied to be a goldsmith. In his youth he was active in Young *Po'aeli Zion and served as a member of its executive. He was also a member of the executive of the Social Democratic Youth in Romania. He settled in Palestine in 1925, and worked for three years as a clerk in the Fund of the Workers of Ereẓ Israel established by Po'alei Zion, which had joined the Histadrut in 1925. He joined kibbutz Shefayim of which he was a member for two years, and then spent five years on a mission abroad. In the years 1935–40 Sherf was secretary of the Histadrut sports association Hapoel, on behalf of Po'alei Zion. In 1940–44 he served in the administration of the *Haganah. In 1945 he was appointed secretary of the *Jewish Agency Political Department, serving in that capacity until 1947, under Moshe *Sharett. In 1948 he was appointed secretary of the Emergency Committee and the People's Administration, which directed the preparations for the establishment of the Jewish State and its civil service. As the final task of the People's Administration upon the termination of the British Mandate in Palestine, he drafted a proposal for the structure of the administration in the Jewish State – including the ministries and their budgets. Sherf served as the secretary of the Israeli government in 1948–57, and laid down the foundations for the government administration and the civil service. Later he became director of state revenues in the Ministry of Finance, and implemented a reform in the tax system. In the years 1961–63 he served as administrative director of the Weizmann Institute of Science, and in 1964–65 as advisor to Prime Minister Levi *Eshkol. In 1965 he was elected to the Sixth Knesset on behalf of Mapai on the Alignment list, and was appointed minister of commerce and industry, in which capacity he served until 1969. In 1968 he was also appointed minister of finance, after the resignation of Pinhas *Sapir. Sherf was reelected to the Seventh Knesset in 1969, and in the government formed by Golda *Meir after the elections was appointed minister of housing, in which capacity he served until 1974.

He wrote about the immediate days prior to the establishment of the State of Israel, *Sheloshah Yamim, 12–14.5.48*, and *ha-Shelavim ha-Aḥaronim be-Hakamat ha-Medinah* (1959).

[Susan Hattis Rolef (2nd ed.)]

SHERIFF, NOAM (1935–), composer, conductor. Born in Tel Aviv, he studied conducting and piano with Ze'ev Priel, horn with Horst Salomon, and composition (1949–57) with Paul *Ben-Haim. In 1955–59 he studied philosophy at the Hebrew University, Jerusalem. Sheriff pursued his musical training at a conducting course with Igor Markevitch in Salzburg (1955), and studied composition with Boris Blacher at the Berlin Musikhochschule (1959–62). He was music director of the Kibbutz Chamber Orchestra (1972–82), the Israel Symphony Orchestra Rishon le-Zion (1989–95), and the Israel Chamber Orchestra (2002–04) and, from 2004, the Haifa Symphony Orchestra. He taught at the Cologne Musikhochschule (1983–86), at the Rubin Academy of Music in Jerusalem (1986–89) and in Tel Aviv (1990–2000), and as the latter's director (1998–2000). He also served as music advisor to the Israel Festival (1985–88).

In 1957, on the occasion of the inauguration of the Mann Auditorium in Tel Aviv, his work *Festival Preludes* (*Akdamot le-Mo'ed*), which won the Sol Hurok prize, was performed by the Israel Philharmonic Orchestra conducted by Leonard *Bernstein.

Over the years Sheriff wrote many works which refer to specific national subjects and events. His music often displays linkage to various Jewish cultural sources and musical traditions. By fusing Eastern and Western, new and old (sometimes, ancient) musical elements in contexts rooted in the Jewish cultural heritage and openly based upon fundamental compositional models of Western music, Sheriff created a special musical idiom characterized by multiple historical sentimentality.

Sheriff's list of works includes *Israel Suite* for orchestra (1967); *Song of Songs* for flute and orchestra (1981); *Nocturnes*, Six Songs for voice and piano (1982); *Prayers* for string orchestra (1983); *La Folia Variations* for orchestra (1984); *Dodecalogue* (*Trei Assar*) for twelve celli (1984); *Meḥayyei ha-Metim* (*Revival of the Dead*), Symphony for tenor, baritone, boys' choir, men's choir and orchestra (1985); *A Vision of David* for orchestra (1986); *Violin Concerto* (*Dibrot*) (1986); *Cello Concerto* (1987/96); *A Sephardic Passion* for alto, tenor, mixed choir and orchestra (1992); *Scarlattiana*, Concerto for piano and orchestra (1994); *Psalms of Jerusalem* for tenor, bass, four mixed choirs and orchestra (1995); *String Quartet No.2* (*"Rosendorf"*) (1996); *Akedah* (*The Sacrifice of Isaac*) for orchestra (1997); and *Bereshit* (*Genesis*) for soloists, children's choir and orchestra (1998).

Sheriff's awards include the first prize of the Israel Philharmonic Orchestra Conducting Competition (1959); the ACUM Prize for his life's work (1995); and the EMET Prize, sponsored by the AMN Foundation for the Advancement of Science, Art and Culture in Israel, under the auspices of the prime minister of Israel (2003).

[Yuval Shaked (2nd ed.)]

SHERIRA BEN ḤANINA GAON (c. 906–1006), *gaon* of Pumbedita from 968–1006. Sherira belonged to the family of the exilarchs, who claimed descent from David. His teachers were his father R. Ḥanina and his grandfather R. Judah, both of whom he mentions frequently in his responsa and who preceded him as *geonim* in Pumbedita. On the death of Nehemiah Gaon, who had been his opponent, Sherira was appointed to succeed him. This was a critical period for the two academies of Sura and Pumbedita. Financial contributions and the addressing of queries to the academies had practically ceased and the number of students was small. Sherira renewed the academy's ties with the communities, whose leadership he strongly rebuked for their indifference. Sherira's personality and fame as a scholar turned the tide for a while. Despite the great expansion of rabbinic learning in Kairouan in North Africa, in Spain, and in Franco-Germany, students came to Sherira from near and far. Although Sura declined, the leadership of Pumbedita not only regained its former prestige, but claimed supreme authority, and Sherira played a key role in making the Babylonian Talmud the supreme source of authority in the Jewish world.

Sherira was among the most prolific writers of responsa. One inquiry addressed to him by *Jacob b. Nissim b. Shahin in the name of the community of Kairouan led to the writing in 987 of his famous epistle, *Iggeret Rav Sherira Ga'on*, a classic of Jewish historiography. Jacob sought information as to when and how the Mishnah, the Tosefta, the *beraitot*, and the Talmud had been compiled. He inquired "whether the men of the Great Synagogue had really begun the writing of the Mishnah, and the Sages of each generation had written [more] parts of it until Rabbi [Judah] ha-Nasi came and compiled it." Sherira deals with the question in a scholarly manner, revealing himself a practical and accurate historian (with the possible reservation that his opinions on the exilarchs, descended from *Bustanai, from whom he claimed descent, may be colored). He discusses the activity of the *savoraim* in revising and compiling the Talmud, and continues the sequence of tradition to the geonic authorities. Under Sherirah and his son *Hai, the volume of geonic correspondence swelled to unprecedented proportions. Nearly half of the geonic responsa are attributed to them. Through their writings (in large part composed jointly), they greatly influenced the exegetical and judicial work of later ages. They frequently formulate rules which are of the highest importance for the interpretation of the Talmud. The majority of the responsa deal with questions of religious practice but some contain expositions and comments on passages of the Talmud and the Mishnah. Passages from a Bible commentary by Sherira are quoted by Jonah *Ibn Janaḥ and David *Kimḥi. It is unknown whether these encompassed all the books of the Bible. In addition to a glossary on the first and last orders of the Mishnah, Sherira wrote a commentary on several talmudic tractates, including *Berakhot, Shabbat*, and *Bava Batra*. Only a fragment of the last, apparently written in 972, has come to light (in: *Ginzei Kedem*, 5 (1934), 17–23). Sherira was less interested than his son Hai in Arabic literature, though he wrote in Arabic to communities in Muslim countries. Generally, he preferred to use Hebrew or Aramaic. In his decisions Sherira endeavored to decide in strict conformity with the law.

Sherira, who was interested in Kabbalah, believed that the mystical works *Shi'ur Komah* and *Heikhalot* contained ancient traditions, and that the anthropomorphic elements of the former work were to be interpreted symbolically as representations of profound mysteries. He seems to have explained the *aggadah*, however, in a non-mystical manner. Sherira wrote a work, *Megillat Setarim*, which apparently discusses the importance of the *aggadah*, but that part of the work is not extant. Two years before his death, Sherira appointed his son Hai as *Gaon*. He died at the age of 100 (*Sefer ha-Kabbalah* by Abraham Ibn Daud), and on the Sabbath following his death, a special scriptural passage, "Let the Lord, the God of the spirits of all flesh, appoint a man over the congregation" (Num. 27:16) was read, and in the prophetic reading (1 Kings 2:1–12) the last verse was changed to: "and Hai sat on the seat of Sherira, his father, and his kingdom was established greatly."

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[Meir Havazelet]

SHERMAN, ALEXANDER (**"Allie"**; 1923–), U.S. football player and coach, twice named NFL Coach of the Year. Sherman began his career at his hometown school of Brooklyn

College playing quarterback, where he was named team captain in 1941. After graduating in 1943, Sherman was drafted by the Philadelphia Eagles, though in his first season they were the "Steagles" (Steelers + Eagles). Sherman retired from the NFL in 1947, having appeared in 51 games as a reserve quarterback. In 1949, he was named backfield coach for the Giants and was on their staff throughout the 1950s except for 1953–56, when he served as head coach in the Canadian Football League. Sherman was named head coach of the Giants in 1961 and responded by leading the 1961 Giants, who were bolstered by the addition of future Hall of Fame quarterback Y.A. Tittle, to a 10–3-1 record and a first place finish in the Eastern League. In recognition of the turn-around, Sherman was voted NFL Coach of the Year. For the 1962 season, Sherman was given an added gun with the return of receiver Frank Gifford to the lineup. Sherman, now working with three future Hall of Famers – Tittle, Gifford, and veteran linebacker Sam Huff – guided the Giants to a 12–2 record and another first place finish in the Eastern League. Again, Sherman was named NFL Coach of the Year, the first time a coach had won in two consecutive years. The Giants had another banner season in 1963, finishing atop the Eastern League for a third straight time with an 11–3 record. Giant's management rewarded Sherman with a 10-year contract. However, trades, retirements, and injuries took their toll, as the Giants would go 24–43–3 over the next five seasons, and Sherman was released. He would make one more appearance as a head coach, leading the North to a 27–16 victory over the South in the 1969 collegiate Senior Bowl. In later years, Sherman worked as an executive for Time-Warner, and, by appointment of Mayor Rudolph Giuliani, served for two years as the president of the New York City OTB Corporation.

[Robert B. Klein (2nd ed.)]

SHERMAN, ALLAN (1924–1973), U.S. singer, television producer, and writer. Born Allan Copelon in Chicago, Illinois, his parents were divorced when he was six. He never saw his father again, and in time took his mother's maiden name. His grandfather took him to see Yiddish plays, which inspired his love for theater. After he graduated high school, Sherman enrolled in the University of Illinois, where he wrote "The Compus Scout," a humor and gossip column for the school's daily newspaper. He enlisted in the army in December 1942 but was discharged five months later due to asthma. Sherman moved to New York and secured a job in May 1945 writing gags for radio comedian Lew Parker. He wrote jokes for *Cavalcade of Stars* and *The 54th Street Revue*, but his big break came with his co-creation of the game show *I've Got a Secret* (1952–67). The executive producers fired Sherman in 1958, saying that his focus was on too many outside projects. He continued to produce other programs until 1960, when he developed the game show *Your Surprise Package* for CBS and moved to Hollywood. While the program was canceled in 1962, Sherman's parodies had caught the attention of Hollywood's comedy luminaries. Using his connections, Sherman put out his first album on Warner Bros. Records, *My Son, The Folk Singer* (1962), which was followed by *My Son, the Celebrity* (1962), both of which were eventually certified gold. Even President Kennedy could be heard singing Sherman's songs. In 1963, Sherman released *My Son, the Nut*, which included the hit single *Hello Muddah, Hello Faddah*, a summer camp parody sung to Ponchielli's *Dance of the Hours*. Two weeks after the single's release, he served as guest host of *The Tonight Show* for one week, introducing Bill Cosby in his first television appearance. In 1965, he released his autobiography *A Gift of Laughter*, but a failed television special and disappointing sales from five subsequent albums led Warner Bros. to drop Sherman in 1966. Sherman continued working on projects, including providing the voice of Dr. Seuss' Cat in the Hat in *The Cat in the Hat* (1971) and *Dr. Seuss on the Loose* (1973), before his death from emphysema.

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[Adam Wills (2nd ed.)]

SHERMAN, ARCHIE (1911–), British property developer and philanthropist. Sherman was born and educated in Cardiff, S. Wales. In 1939 he moved to London, where he earned a reputation as an expert on shop properties and, after a successful career in real-estate, was invited to join the City Centre Public Property Company as a co-director with Charles Clore and Jack Cotton.

His overriding interest, however, was in supporting worthy causes, and though his Charity Foundation promoted the advancement of medical science at four of Britain's leading teaching hospitals (Guy's, St. Mary's, Barths, and Stoke Manderville) as well as a number of Jewish and general domestic charities.

He took up residence in Tel Aviv and eventually became a citizen of Israel. Over the years, he sponsored some 40 major projects across the expanse of Israel, from hospitals and homes for immigrants, sports centers and schools, university faculties and centers of Torah learning to day centers and kindergartens, several synagogues and *mikva'ot.*

He is only philanthropist to be accorded the distinction of a "double-first", as the First Worthy (*Neeman*) of Jerusalem and the First *Neeman* of Tel Aviv-Jaffa for his contributions to the upbuilding of Israel.

[Morris Unterman]

SHERMAN, JASON (1962–), Canadian playwright. Sherman was born in Montreal, raised in Toronto, and graduated from York University's Creative Writing Program in 1985. He successfully forged a mainstream playwriting career despite his recurring Judaic themes. Many of Sherman's characters wrestle with their Jewish identity, often rejecting religious faith in the face of contemporary society and politics. His plays also ask tough questions about world-changing events like the Holocaust and the Arab-Israeli conflict. The Winnipeg Jewish Theatre commissioned Sherman to write *None Is Too Many*

(1997), a docudrama adaptation of the socio/political text of the same name written by professors Irving Abella and Harold Troper. This text explores the racist Canadian immigration policies set for Jewish refugees before, during, and after World War II. Sherman's latest play *Remnants* (*A Fable*) (2003) once again takes up this shameful history, but this time he frames it within the biblical story of Joseph, son of Jacob.

Sherman also turned his critical attention to Zionism and its place in Jewish Canadian identities. In *League of Nathans* (1992), a trio of childhood friends endures a contentious reunion. Nathan Abramowitz, the play's protagonist, is confused about his Jewish Canadian heritage while Nathan Glass sees it as his duty to settle in Israel and make the land able to sustain a Jewish presence. In *Reading Hebron* (1996), the same Nathan Abramowitz questions his role in the oppression of Palestinians.

Sherman worked with professional companies across Canada and his plays have been produced at the Vancouver Playhouse, Toronto's Tarragon Theatre, and the National Arts Centre in Ottawa. He is an accomplished journalist with articles and essays appearing in *The Globe and Mail*, *Canadian Theatre Review* and *What*, a literary magazine he co-founded and edited between 1985 and 1990.

Sherman received the Governor General's Award in 1995 for *Three in the Back, Two in the Head*, was nominated for two others, and received the Chalmers Canadian Play Award for *League of Nathans* in 1993. Sherman's fluid dramaturgical structure, his high theatricality, and his ability to handle serious material with humor make him a driving force in Canadian theatre.

[Amanda Lockitch (2nd ed.)]

SHERRY, LAWRENCE (**Larry**; 1935–) and **NORMAN BURT** (**Norm**; 1931–), U.S. baseball-playing brothers. A native of Los Angeles, Larry Sherry was born with club feet and underwent operations at the age of six months to correct the deformity, having to wear braces to walk properly until the age of 12. At Fairfax High School, he was converted from an infielder to a pitcher because of his lack of speed. A right-handed pitcher, Larry Sherry made his Major League debut on April 17, 1958, and played for the Los Angeles Dodgers (1958–63), Detroit Tigers (1964–67), Houston Astros (1967), and California Angels (1968). In his 1959 rookie season, Sherry was called up on July 4 and went 7–2 with a 2.19 ERA as a started and reliever – including an almost unbelievable 0.74 ERA in 36.1 innings of relief pitching – to help lead the Los Angeles Dodgers to the World Series. He won the first game of the NL playoff against the Milwaukee Braves, yielding four hits and striking out four in 7.2 innings. In the World Series against the Chicago White Sox, Sherry relieved in all four Dodger wins, recording saves in Games 2 and 3 and wins in Games 4 and 6, while allowing only one run, eight hits, and a 0.71 ERA in 12.2 innings. He was named the World Series MVP, the first relief pitcher ever to win it. The rest of Sherry's career was anticlimactic, though in 1960 he went 14–10 with a 3.79 ERA, and led the NL with 13 relief wins, and in 1966 he registered a career high 20 saves (3rd in the league) for the Tigers. He was released on July 7, 1968, by the Angels with a career record of 53–44, a 3.67 ERA, and 82 saves. He is 6th on the all-time ERA list for Jewish pitchers, 7th in strikeouts, 8th in wins, and 4th in games. Sherry returned to the majors as a pitching coach with the Pittsburgh Pirates in 1977–78 and the California Angels in 1979–80.

Norm, Larry's older brother, was born in New York. A catcher, he made his debut on April 12, 1959, and played for the Los Angeles Dodgers (1959–62) and the New York Mets (1963). In 194 games, he batted .215 with 45 runs and 69 RBIs. Sherry managed the California Angels from July 23, 1976, to July 11, 1977. He is credited with helping Koufax's struggling career by advising him during spring training in 1961 to "just try to throw easier, throw more changeups, just get the ball over." On May 7, 1960, August 30, 1961, and June 28, 1962, Larry and Norm were battery mates, the 13th and last brother battery in MLB history, and the only Jewish brother battery in history. Norm's homer in the 11th inning won the 1960 game for Larry.

[Elli Wohlgelernter (2nd ed.)]

SHESHBAZZAR (Heb. שֵׁשְׁבַּצַּר, שֶׁשְׁבַּצַּר), the prince (*nasi*) of Judah at the beginning of the return to Zion of the Babylonian Exile (538 B.C.E.). According to the Book of Ezra (1:8–11), King Cyrus of Persia delivered the Temple vessels, taken by Nebuchadnezzar from Jerusalem, to Sheshbazzar, the prince of the Jews, who brought them to Jerusalem during the return from Babylon. This is also mentioned in Ezra 5:14, where Sheshbazzar is called governor. Opinions differ on the origin, rank, and role of Sheshbazzar during the return to Zion. Some assumed him to have been a gentile, Persian or Babylonian, governor in the service of the king of Persia; others thought that he was a Jewish officer, not from the House of David, who was appointed over Judah for a short while at the beginning of the return to Zion; and some even held that his role in connection with the return to Zion was to restore the Temple vessels to Jerusalem. However, the title "prince" by which the prophet Ezekiel designates the Davidic ruler (Ezek. 37:25), supports the supposition that Sheshbazzar was the leader of the people of Davidic origin, and was appointed ruler of Judah by the king of Persia. There were also those who attempted to identify Sheshbazzar with *Zerubbabel on the assumption that this was Zerubbabel's Babylonian name. This hypothesis is, however, unlikely if only because both Sheshbazzar and Zerubbabel are Babylonian names. Many scholars have accepted the more probable view, which identifies Sheshbazzar with Shenazzar, son of Jehoiachin, the uncle of Zerubbabel, who is mentioned in I Chronicles 3:18. An examination of the Septuagint transliterations of these two names supports the view of W.F. Albright that both revert to a basic form, Sin-abuṣur, a name common in the cuneiform documents of this era and found in an Aramaic document in the form of Shenabazar. If Sheshbazzar is Shenazzar, the uncle of Zerubbabel, then he quite naturally stood at the head of the returnees, and since he was born close to the time of the exile of Jehoiachin (c. 595 B.C.E.; see *Jehoiachin), he would have been about 60 years old at the time of the return to Zion, and apparently did not live long. Because he apparently stood at the head of the returnees for only a short time, the image of Zerubbabel overshadowed him in the narratives of subsequent generations, and thus Sheshbazzar is mentioned in the Book of Ezra only in connection with the return of the Temple vessels.

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[Jacob Liver]

SHESHET (late third century and the first half of the fourth century C.E.), Babylonian *amora*. Sheshet's main teacher is not definitely known. He attended *Huna's lectures (Yev. 64b; Ket. 69a) and quotes statements in the name of *Jeremiah b. Abba (Eruv. 12a) and *Rav (Yev. 24b). He taught in Nehardea (Meg. 29a) and Maḥoza (Ned. 78a), and later founded an academy at Shilḥe on the Tigris (Letter of Sherira Gaon, ed. by B.M. Lewin (1921), 82). His most constant colleagues were *Naḥman b. Jacob and *Ḥisda. Sheshet suffered from both physical frailty (Pes. 108a) and blindness (Ber. 58a). However, although requiring the aid of a reader (Sanh. 86a), he overcame these difficulties by his great determination (Men. 95b) and an extremely retentive memory (Shev. 41b). It is recorded that Ḥisda's lips trembled in admiration when he saw the ease with which Sheshet quoted *beraitot* (Eruv. 67a).

The distinctive feature of his teaching was his insistence on the authority of precedent. He usually justified a decision by saying, "We have learnt it in the Mishnah or in a *baraita*" (BM 90a; Yoma 48b; Yev. 11b). His favorite question to his pupils was, "What is my source for this?" and his answer would be "For we have learned it in a *baraita*" (Kid. 68a; compare Yev. 35a, 58a; Shab. 123b). He was a keen scholar (Ber. 8a) and used to recapitulate his studies every 30 days (Pes. 68b). It was once said of him, "It is good when one possesses a keen understanding in addition to the inheritance of tradition" (Bek. 52b and Rashi ad loc., see Eccles. 7:11). He was, however, averse to the casuistry of Pumbedita. He once answered one of Amram's quibbling objections with the remark, "Are you not from Pumbedita, where they draw an elephant through the eye of a needle?" (BM 38b). *Naḥman testified that Sheshet taught *halakhot*, **Sifra*, **Sifrei*, *Tosefta, and all of the Talmud (Shevu. 41b). Sheshet himself admitted, however, that in matters of *aggadah*, "I cannot dispute with Huna" (Suk. 52b and Rashi ad loc.). He explained Proverbs 3:16, "Length of days is in her right hand, and in her left hand riches and honor," to mean that whoever studies the Torah with due respect receives as his reward length of days as well as riches and honor. He who does not do so, receives riches and honor, but is denied length of days (Shab. 63a). He was also the author of the maxim, "A borrower is the slave of the lender" (Git. 14a).

The Talmud illustrates his piety by recording that he never took more than four paces without wearing his *tefillin* (Shab. 118b and Rashi ad loc.). It is also related that a sectarian once taunted Sheshet that because of his blindness, he would not be able to know when the king, whom a large crowd was waiting to see, would pass by. Despite the efforts of the sectarian to mislead him, Sheshet nevertheless managed to identify the exact moment of the king's passage. In reply to the enquiry as to how he knew, he replied, "The earthly kingdom is like unto the heavenly, and (in I Kings 19:12–13) God's appearance is announced by a deep silence" (Ber. 58a).

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SHESTAPOL, WOLF (**"Velvele Khersoner"**; c. 1832–1872), *ḥazzan*. Shestapol was born in Odessa and as a youth sang with his father Samuel and with Bezalel *Shulsinger (Odesser). After his appointment as *ḥazzan* in Kherson he studied for some time with Solomon *Sulzer in Vienna. Shestapol derived his inspiration from those aspects of European art music which had become accessible to him in Odessa and Vienna. In his case, the dependence on Italian and French opera was extremely pronounced. His compositions, of a soft and lyrical character, became very popular and some of them were taken over into the Yiddish theater by *Goldfaden and others. They include *Omnam Ken, Musaf-Kaddish* for the Penitential holidays, *Ve-al ha-Medinot*, and *Adonai Zekharanu*.

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[Bathja Bayer]

SHESTOV, LEV (pseud. of **Lev Issakovich Schwarzmann**; 1866–1938), religious philosopher and man of letters, born in Kiev. His father was a wealthy textile manufacturer, and Shestov absorbed an interest in Yiddish and Hebrew literature. Much of his later work is at least congruent with his ḥasidic roots. He is known for his elegant and witty, aphoristic style, the range of his erudition and interests, and the trenchancy of his critique of rational speculation and systematic philosophy as modes of truth. His most outstanding gift as a writer was his ability to characterize thought and style by conveying a sense of the human experience that produced it, and he called his essays "pilgrimages through souls." Although he left no direct disciples, Albert Camus, Nicholas Berdayev, and D.H. Lawrence, among others, testified to his impact. He was close to, and appreciative of, even the philosophers whose efforts at system he set himself most strongly to oppose – Edmund Husserl and Karl Jaspers. His essays on Chekhov, Ibsen, Dostoevsky, and Tolstoy are famous.

Like the Ḥasidim, Shestov cultivated a respect for mystery and paradox that survived the most intensive rationalist training. He cared too much for inwardness, for inner experience as an access to salvation, to rest within what was orthodox in Judaism. At the same time he was too dismayed with the Logos of the Fourth Gospel, too smitten with love for the Old Testament God, with all his arbitrary caprice, to have other than short shrift for conventional or churchly Christianity. Yet Shestov was both a Jew and a Christian; and for him the fundamental antinomies were not between the Old and New Testament, or even between religion and atheism, but rather, as the titles of his last two books clearly state, between, *Speculation and Revelation*, and *Athens and Jerusalem* (1938). Well trained in logic and philosophy, Shestov was against rational speculation only insofar as he felt it attempted to limit human possibilities. He was against what he felt was Husserl's project of turning philosophy into a science, and believed that philosophy should concern itself primarily with questions that could not be answered by reason, but only by the "cries of Job" – i.e., by direct human experience. He believed that rational speculation ("Athens") had infected religion as well as philosophy. Against Philo and St. Thomas, Shestov cited Tertullian, who believed it was absurd; Luther, who grasped that the essence of action and therefore of "good works" was limitation, hence mediocrity, and that salvation could come by faith alone; and those biblical heroes of faith, Abraham and Job.

Trained as a lawyer at Kiev University, Shestov never practiced. Although early committed to radical politics, he never entertained illusions about the Bolshevik Revolution, and emigrated shortly after it occurred. In 1922 he became professor of Russian philosophy at the University of Paris.

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[Sidney Monas]

SHETAR (Heb. שְׁטָר), formal legal document, or deed, derived from the Akkadian *šatāru*, meaning writing.

Early Examples

The term *shetar* is not found in the Bible, where the term *sefer* is used to denote a legal document, such as *sefer keritut* in Deuteronomy 24:1 for bill of divorce, or *sefer ha-miknah* in Jeremiah 32:11 for bill of sale. In tannaitic literature the terms *iggeret, get*, and *shetar* are commonly used to designate various types of legal documents. Subsequently, the word *get* acquired a more limited meaning, restricted to a document expressing legal separation such as divorce or manumission of a slave. In geonic times, the term *ketav* was frequently used to designate a legal document. The only legal document whose execution is elaborately described in the Bible is the one referred to in Jeremiah, which seems to have been written in duplicate, and was subscribed to by witnesses. One copy was sealed; a second copy was left unsealed for ready access. The sealed document is the antecedent of the "tied deed" known as a *Doppelurkunde*. Such documents were in wide use in the Near East during the period of the First and Second Temples.

The earliest known and extant collection of legal documents of Jewish origin is one from the Jewish garrison in Yeb of the fifth century B.C.E., written in Aramaic, known as the *Elephantine Papyri. It is a collection of 33 complete legal documents of various kinds, including a *ketubbah*. They resemble the basic forms of Jewish documents as used in talmudic and post-talmudic times. In the Book of Tobit (probably composed in the second century B.C.E.) 5:3 there is a reference to a deed of deposit as well as to a marriage document. There is sufficient evidence to conclude that forms of legal documents were already standardized during the last two centuries of the Second Temple. Recently there have been discovered, among the *Dead Sea Scrolls, legal documents dating from the first century C.E., which conform to the standards referred to in tannaitic literature. It is noteworthy that despite the large number of references to legal documents in tannaitic and amoraic literature, no complete form of legal contract or bill of indebtedness is recorded in the Talmud. There are, however, references to individual clauses and expressions, and their legal effects. It is evident that formalities were strictly adhered to, and that formularies, i.e., prototype standard forms, were available to the scribes, who would either copy the forms or merely fill in the particular information (Git. 3:2). These formularies related to every area of human relationship. Professional scribes were generally employed, and during the period of the Second Temple bonds of indebtedness were deposited in special archives for safekeeping (Jos., Wars, 2:427).

From the geonic period there is preserved a collection of 28 formularies attributed to Hai Gaon, who died in 1038 C.E. (see bibl.). Many later collections are extant containing different types of forms, some including additional provisions to meet the demands of new exigencies. Asher Gulak edited a thesaurus of such formularies (*Oẓar ha-Shetarot*, 1926), containing 403 different forms, each representing a particular type of deed. Among these forms are private documents, such as family and commercial agreements, as well as judicial and communal *shetarot*.

One of the earliest forms of documents was the "tied deed," *get mekushar*, which is described in the Mishnah (BB 10:2) and Tosefta (BB 11:1). It was a formal legal document wherein the agreement was written on one side and the document was then folded. The parchment was cut at the top in strips which were tied together, and three witnesses then signed between the knots on the reverse side. Such documents have been found among the Dead Sea Scrolls. The Talmud relates that this type of document was instituted by the rabbis to make it more time-consuming and more difficult for priests, who might on impulse divorce their wives and are prohibited from remarrying even their former spouses (*Yad Ramah* to BB 160b; see *Divorce; *Marriage, Prohibited). In contradistinction to the *get mekushar* is the *get pashut*, ("plain deed"), which is not folded and tied and requires only two witnesses. This is the form in use today.

Format of the Shetar

Every *shetar*, as a formal document, requires the signatures of witnesses. It does not require the signature of the obligor. Credence is given, however, to documents either signed or written by the obligor, but unwitnessed, and which otherwise do not comply with the formalities of a *shetar*. Such a document is called *ketav yad* ("his own handwriting"; equivalent to a memorandum), and has the status of an oral understanding with all its legal consequences and without creating a lien on reality (Tur, 69; see *Lien; *Obligations, Law of). The *shetar* is somewhat different from modern western forms of contract which recite the facts of an agreement. The *shetar* records the testimony of the witnesses who state that on a given day the named obligors appeared before them and said such and such. For many centuries documents written in Israel and the countries of the Middle East and Africa would usually refer to the date according to the Seleucid calendar ("Era of the Documents"). Documents written in Europe usually referred to the year since creation ("Era of the Creation").

For the purpose of analysis, a *shetar* may be divided into two parts. The first part is the *tofes* (*typos*, "frame"), which is the general section of the instrument. A stereotyped copy may be used, not prepared specifically for the contract being undertaken. It contains the standard words of the preamble and the close of the document, as well as the words of obligation and additional clauses which protect the obligee in every conceivable way permitted. The *toref* contains the names of the parties, the date, the nature and amount of the obligation. During the centuries in which Jewish civil law governed the internal economic relations between Jews, there developed additional clauses and provisions, which were inserted into *shetarot* mainly for the protection of the obligee. These clauses include the following:

(1) A credence clause (*ne'emanut*) in which the obligor under the agreement asserts that he relieves the claimant of any oath which may be necessary, and that he considers the claimant's testimony that he has not been repaid sufficient to preclude the obligor from raising such a defense. The basis for this clause is to be found in *Shevu'ot* 42a. There are, of course, variants in the wording of such clauses which may strengthen the position of the claimant (Tur, ḤM 61).

(2) The right to collect from the best of the obligor's property (*shefer ereg nekhasin*). Though according to the Talmud a creditor can recover first from the average quality real estate of the debtor, and a woman for her *ketubbah* first from the least desirable land of her husband (see *Execution), this clause, which is found in the usual *ketubbah* and bill of indebtedness, improved the claimant's position, so as to recover from best quality realty.

(3) A clause allowing the claimant to recover costs of litigation (see *Execution).

(4) The obligor must sell his property to pay his obligation, rather than await a court sale (see *Execution).

(5) In some isolated cases there were even incorporated undertakings by the obligor of personal servitude or imprisonment in case of his default (see *Execution; *Imprisonment for Debt).

(6) A common clause allowing the claimant to render the document effective through the use of a non-Jewish court, and in some cases by personal force (see *Mishpat Ivri*). The end of the *shetar* usually included the statement that it was not a mere form but an actual document, and concluded with the words, *sharir ve-kayyam* ("firm and established"). Any provisions added after this phrase (other than corrections) are of no effect.

A legal instrument may not be written on a material which is susceptible to forgery. In the event of a correction, a mark must be made next to the corrected word or clause, and a reference to it must be added at the foot of the document, which must be witnessed (Tur, ḤM 42; see *Forgery).

To enforce a claim based on a *shetar*, the claimant must submit the document to a court of at least three persons to establish the authenticity of the witnesses' signatures. This may be accomplished either by the witnesses themselves identifying their own signatures, or by others testifying that they are familiar with the signatures of the witnesses, or by a handwriting analysis. Once the signatures are authenticated, the court appends a validation certificate, *henpek* (or *hanpek*) or *asharta*, which precludes any future challenge to the validity of the document. This proceeding before the court may take place without the obligor being present and even over his objection. Such certification is referred to in the Talmud (BM 7b) and appears among the Elephantine documents of the fifth century B.C.E.

The language of a document does not affect its validity. Indeed, in addition to Aramaic or Hebrew, legal instruments were written in Persian, Arabic, Latin, Greek, English, Spanish, and all other languages used by Jews. Bills of divorce, however, were subject to special rules.

Shetarot Written before Gentile Courts

The general rule, as stated in the Mishnah, is that all legal instruments written by non-Jewish courts and witnessed by non-Jews are valid, except for bills of divorce and manumissions of slaves (Git. 1:5). Although there existed differences of interpretation and application between various rabbinic authorities on this point, it was generally agreed that, where there was a basis for holding that the non-Jewish court was not totally corrupt, credence would be given to legal instruments such as contracts, deeds, and bills of indebtedness. A distinction is made between documents which evidence a business transaction, or at least state consideration, and which under the rule of **dina de-malkhuta dina* ("the law of the land is the law") required recognition, and deeds of gift which take on different legal incidents (Maim. Yad, Malveh ve-Loveh, 27:1). The medieval rabbis distinguished between deeds written in gentile courts and those written before notaries outside the court. Maimonides ruled the latter invalid, while Naḥmanides upheld their validity.

Types of Document

A review of the various types of documents assembled in Gulak's *Oẓar ha-Shetarot* is sufficient to indicate the wide scope of relationships covered by such documents. These may be divided into the following five categories:

(1) *Family Documents*: These include *betrothal agreements, *marriage contracts (see **ketubbah*), antenuptial agreements, releases between *husband and wife, *divorce documents, *ḥaliẓah* and *yibbum*, (see *Levirate Marriage), wills, deeds of trust (see **Shalish*; *Consecration and Endowment) and guardianship (see *Apotropos), and support contracts. It is evident that these documents cover the entire range of family relationships and evidence a sophisticated legal development. One of the more interesting documents is the *shetar shiddukhin* (see *Betrothal), a contract between two sets of parents in which both parties undertake to betroth their children to each other, and promise to contribute whatever dowry is involved. The difference between this and a *shetar erusin* ("contract of betrothal") is that the latter document deals with promises made to and by the prospective couple, while the *shetar shiddukhin* involves promises exchanged by their parents or guardians. The *get* ("divorce") contains specific formulas which are dealt with elsewhere (see *Divorce).

(2) *Business Documents*: These documents relate to economic relations between Jews and include bills of sale, gifts, leases, partnerships, *Iska* (see *Partnership), mortgages (see *Lien), bonds, receipts, *assignments, letters of *attorney, employment contracts (see *Labor Law), and escrow agreements. Each of these deeds had its own historical development. Thus, there exist many copies of partnership agreements in the Cairo *Genizah* which represent the frequent use of partnership, even on an international scale, during the period between the middle of the tenth to the middle of the 13th century.

(a) *Shetar Ḥov*, bond, bill of indebtedness. This is probably the most frequently used private legal document besides the *ketubbah*. In fact, when the term *shetar* is used without modification it refers to a *shetar ḥov*. It should be noted that a *shetar ḥov* may result from any type of credit or obligation transaction and need not be the result of a loan of money (see *Loans; *Obligations, Law of). A unique and important feature of the *shetar ḥov* (as well as of the *ketubbah*) is the fact that the *shetar ḥov* itself creates a lien on the debtor's real property, *aḥarayut nekhasim* or *shi'bud nekhasim*, which is an effective claim against that property even when it is sold to a third party. In other words, the *shetar ḥov* creates a mortgage on all the real property owned by the debtor on the date of the execution of the document. This provision was inserted into the *ketubbah* by Simeon b. Shetaḥ (Tosef., Ket. 12:1) in the first quarter of the second century B.C.E. The Talmud records a difference of opinion as to whether we do or do not imply the existence of such a lien when the phrase stating it is omitted. The final decision is that we attribute its omission to a scribal error, and assume the intention to create the lien. As a result of the creation of this lien, predated bonds are invalid because they prejudice the rights of other creditors, while postdated bonds are valid. During the geonic period the lien was extended by appropriate clauses in the document to movable property, and even to property to be acquired later than the time of the contract. The rabbinic courts, however, would not enforce the claim of a creditor against the movables sold by a defaulting debtor.

The Torah prohibits the taking of interest for a loan (Ex. 22:24; Lev. 25:36–38; Deut. 23:20–21), and indeed a document which states that interest is to be paid is invalid (see *Usury). The Elephantine documents do, however, contain penalty clauses which become operative if the debt is not repaid when due. Such a clause is prohibited by the majority of rabbinic opinion, but was widely used with approval in medieval England (during the 12th and 13th centuries), when a certain formal clause was included which stated that, on default of repayment, the loan was reloaned to the debtor via a gentile intermediary. This legal fiction permitted the acceptance of the interest. A *shetar ḥov* which does not state when the debt is due is repayable not earlier than 30 days from the date of the loan.

During the Second Temple period assignment of debts by the obligee was permitted. In fact the innovation of *prosbul was predicated on this assumption. In amoraic times, restrictions were placed on this right of assignment by permitting the assigner to forgive the debt after assignment (Kid. 48a). The Talmud also refers to bonds made out to the order of the holder. This type of document would be considered by modern standards as a bearer paper. The question as to whether or not an assignee could claim under such a document is left unresolved in the Talmud. In post-talmudic times, however, it was the custom to insert a phrase in the bond allowing the named creditor or his agent to claim on the bond. Subsequently, there developed a document which named no creditor, but merely evidenced indebtedness to holder *mukaz* (מוכ״ז; *moẓi ketav zeh*). In order to assign a debt from a named creditor to another, it was necessary to write a deed of transfer which, together with the original bond, had to be physically conveyed to the assignee. This procedure is called *ketivah u-mesirah* (see *Acquisition, Modes of). There is some question as to whether this would be effective as against the debtor. Another method employed was to write a letter of attorney, *harsha'ah*, which provided for the transfer of four ells of land together with the indebtedness. From the tenth century on these four ells were the ones theoretically owned by every Jew in Israel (see *Agency, Law of).

(b) *Shetar Iska*, a type of limited partnership agreement wherein the active partner borrows from a passive partner. Half the money is considered loan and half is investment in the business. This enables the active partner to pay a return to the passive partner, usually one third, without its being considered as usury. This type of agreement, which is referred to in the Talmud (BM 104b), was also called *shetar kis* and became very popular in the Middle Ages, when the Jews were very active in the moneylending business and would borrow additional loan capital from fellow Jews. Originally, the passive partner bore part of the risk of loss. Later amendments to the standard text of such a document included undertakings by the active partner which amounted to a guarantee to the passive partner against any loss (see Gulak, Oẓar, nos. 234 and 235). The *shetar iska* resembles the medieval Latin document known as *commenda* (see *Partnership; *Usury).

(c) *Suftaja* or *Diokne*, bills of exchange. This type of document was in use during the geonic period in the countries involved in the Mediterranean trade centering on Egypt. As a rule these documents were drawn on well-known banks in another city or country, which charged a fee for their issue. In this way they facilitated international trade and functioned very much like the modern bill of exchange or check. These documents did not conform to Jewish law, but were, nevertheless, enforceable in rabbinic courts, where the law merchant was applied to protect the businessmen who relied on these documents (A. Harkavy (ed.), *Zikhron Kammah Ge'onim* (1887), no. 232; see *Minhag*).

(d) *Mimram*, also *mimrane*, a note of indebtedness which was widely used among Jews in eastern Europe between the 16th and 19th centuries. The form of the document consisted of the signature of the debtor on one side of the note, and on the reverse side, exactly opposite the signature, a statement as to the amount owed, the terms of payment (date due), and sometimes the place of payment (*Siftei Kohen*, ḤM 48). The origin of the term is not clear. It is probably derived from the Latin, *membrana* ("parchment"). Some suggest that it is a derivative from the document of remembrance referred to in the responsa of *Asher b. Jehiel (Rosh, resp. no. 68:3) and corresponds to the Latin, *in memoriam*. The significant innovation of this document is the omission of the name of the creditor, which results in its being completely negotiable without any further requirements. The Jewish community councils of Poland passed special regulations protecting the holder of such notes, and implying, as a matter of law, waiver of defenses which the defendant may interpose. In fact, the *shetar mimram* does not conform to halakhic principle; nevertheless, it was granted rabbinic sanction as a result of its wide use (Baḥ Yeshanot, resp. no. 351). During the trade fairs in Poland there also developed the practice of having these notes signed in blank. Afterward the sum and terms of payment would be completed. This obviously involved the element of trust on the part of the purchaser (debtor) and a close relationship between the merchants. The use of *mimranot* was so widespread in 17th- and 18th-century Poland that a very substantial trade existed in the discounting and sale of such documents.

(3) *Court Documents*. Each stage of the rabbinic judicial process was recorded, and appropriate legal documents were issued by the court. These included summons (*hazmanah le-din*), decision (*pesak din*), appraisal of the debtor's property (*shuma*), writ of execution against the property (*shetar adrakhta*), and writ of execution against transferred realty (*shetar tirfa*).

(4) *Communal Documents*. From the time of the destruction of the Second Temple to modern times the Jewish community was self-governed as to its internal affairs. Thus it had its own system of taxation and means of enforcing compliance in accordance with the decisions of the rabbinic court and community councils. The decree of *ḥerem* ("excommunication") was its most powerful weapon. Other examples of community documents are ordination (*semikhah*), letters of appointment of rabbis, community loan bonds, right of settlement, and *ḥazakah*.

(5) *Miscellaneous Documents*. There are many other documents extant which cannot be classified under any of the above categories. Some of these are of historical interest. Among them are deeds of manumission of *slaves and bills of sale for slaves. One interesting document recorded by Gulak (*Oẓar* no. 399) is an order for anyone who had a claim against the overlord of Vienna in 1387 to come forward with his claim within 30 days or be forever barred.

[Abraham M. Fuss]

Contemporary Research into Legal Documents 1975–2005

The period 1975–2005 witnessed increased interest in the study of legal documents, and more in-depth study of those documents previously noted.

Y. Muffs, *Studies in Aramaic Legal Papyri from Elphantine*, was reissued with a long Prolegomenon by Baruch Levine (Leiden 2003). The work of Bezalel Porton and Ada Yardeni, *Textbook of Aramaic Documents from Ancient Egypt* (1989), newly copied and translated have expanded the scope of the studies,

Legal documents from the Dead Sea-Qumran discoveries have been published and are the subject of a number of studies which provide insights into the business activities and social lives of people living in the first centuries of the common era. In this category are Hannah M. Cotton and Ada Yardeni, *Aramaic, Hebrew, and Greek Documentary Texts from Nahal Hever and Other Sites* (1997; Discoveries in the Judean desert, vol. 27), and Klaus Beyer, *Die aramaischen Texte vom Toten Meer* (Gutenberg 1984), which has a section dealing with private documents, including both formal and informal legal documents from the Dead Sea area, see pages 304–27.

Gulak's *Das Urkundenwesen im Talmud*, published in 1935, has been translated into Hebrew with supplemental notes by Ranon Katzoff, *Legal Documents in the Talmud, In Light of Greek Papyri and Greek and Roman Law* (Jerusalem 1994).

The first collection of rabbinic formularies is that of *Saadiah Gaon (b. 882). M. Ben Sasson published substantial fragments from Saadiah's *Sefer ha-Edut ve ha-Shetarot* in *Shenaton ha-Mishpat ha-Ivri*, vols. 11–12 (1984–85), pp. 135–278. This is also the best scholarly edition of the early formularies.

The study of the Cairo *Genizah* documents was greatly stimulated by the work of S.D. Goitein and his classic *A Mediterranean Society*. Volume 1, published in 1967, dealt with economic matters. The fifth volume, the last, was published in 1988 shortly after his death. Goitein describes legal instruments, such as partnership contracts and other documents used in business and court proceedings, which have not been published as of 2005. For the legal historian it is necessary to have access to the texts of the documents to determine the nuances in the wording of documents which allow us to learn what problems those nuances are intended to solve. An example of such study is J. Rivlin's *Bills & Contracts From Lucena*, (1020–1025) (Heb., Bar-Ilan University Press, 1994), which consists of 45 original documents emanating from the Cairo *Genizah* which come from southern Spain and were written in Hebrew; the work provides commentary and reference to specific emendations. See also Rivlin's *Inheritance and Wills in Jewish Law* (Heb.; Bar-Ilan University Press, 1999), pp. 307–411, on which appear the texts of wills and gifts in contemplation of death from the Cairo *Genizah*, and his article in HUCA (Hebrew Section), vol. 73, p. 79ff.

There are stills thousands of documents unpublished from the *Genizah*. The Cambridge Taylor-Schechter collection, which is the largest depository of *Genizah* documents, has commenced a program of digitizing documents and putting them on the Internet. Hopefully it will be possible to study the legal documents directly within a few years.

Various collections of medieval *shetarot* which were required to be registered in government archives are still extant. Some of these are now being published. Thus, Elka Klein, *Hebrew Deeds of Catalan Jews – 1171–1316* (Barcelona-Girona 2004), is a welcome addition. The Hebrew documents are also translated into Spanish. Another work of this kind is Ignacio Ferrando, *23 Contratos Comerciales Escritos por Los Judios de Toledo en Los Siglos XIII Y XIV: Edicion Completa y Estudio Linguistico de los Datos Judeo-arabes y Andalusies* (University of Zaragosa 1994). The previously published collections of *shetarot* are listed in M. Elon, *Jewish Law: History, Sources, Principles*, vol. 3, pp. 1529–40; in N. Rakover, *Oẓar ha-Mishpat* (Tel Aviv 1990) and in *The Multi-Language Bibliography of Jewish Law* (Jerusalem 1990), p. 701.

Examples of studies which deal with particular historical aspects of *shetarot* are Edward Fran, *Ideals Face Reality, Jewish Law & Life in Poland 1550–1655* (Cincinnati 1997); A Fuss, *Mishpat Avraham*, (Heb., Jerusalem 2004).

[Abraham M. Fuss (2nd ed.)]

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SHETZER, SIMON (1900–1947), U.S. attorney, merchant, and Zionist leader. Shetzer was born in Detroit, Michigan, and after some years practicing law, he joined his family's wholesale dry goods distribution firm. In the 1930s Shetzer was a leader in Detroit Jewish life, organizing the Detroit Jewish Community Council and serving as its president (1937–41), among other activities. Long active in Zionist affairs, he served the Zionist Organization of America as president of the Michigan and then of the Midwest region. In 1941 he became national executive director of the ZOA, serving until 1943.

SHEVAT (Heb. שְׁבָט), the post-Exilic name of the 11th month of the Jewish year. Occurring in Assyrian and other early Semitic inscriptions, in biblical and apocryphal records (Zech. 1:7; I Macc. 16:14), and frequent in rabbinic literature (e.g., *Megillat Ta'anit*), the name is held to be etymologically connected with the root *sbt* from which terms are derived for instruments used in "beating" and "striking" in Semitic and in some Indo-European languages. The zodiacal sign of Shevat is *Aquarius*. In the present fixed Jewish calendar it invariably consists of 30 days, the 1st of Shevat never falling on Sunday or Friday (see *Calendar). In the 20th century, Shevat in its earliest occurrence extended from January 1st to 30th and in its latest from January 31st to March 1st. Historic days in Shevat are feasts; (1) Second of Shevat, the anniversary of the death of *Alexander Yannai (Meg. Ta'an. 11); (2) 15th of Shevat, the New Year for trees (see *Tu bi-Shevat; RH 1:1); (3) 22nd of Shevat, the anniversary of the assassination of the emperor *Caligula and the abolition of his blasphemous decree to erect his statue in the Temple in Jerusalem (Meg. Ta'an. 11; January 24th, 41 C.E.); (4) 28th of Shevat, the anniversary of the death of *Antiochus IV Epiphanes (Meg. Ta'an., *ibid.*); fasts: 5th (or 8th) and 23rd of Shevat, once observed in memory of the death of righteous men in the generation of Joshua the son of Nun (*ibid.*, 13; Jud. 2:10), and of Israel's battle against Benjamin and the idol of Micah (*ibid.*, 17–21).

[Ephraim Jehudah Wiesenberg]

SHEVELOVE, BURT (1915–1982), U.S. theater writer. Born in Newark, N.J., Shevelove graduated from Brown University and earned a master's degree in theater from Yale. After serving as a volunteer ambulance driver in World War II, he started his theatrical career in 1948 when he co-produced, directed, and wrote material for the revue *Small Wonder.* He directed a revival of *Kiss Me Kate* in 1956, then *Bil and Cora Baird's Marionette Theater,* and later *Hallelujah, Baby!,* which won a Tony Award as best musical in 1967. But as co-author with Larry *Gelbart of *A Funny Thing Happened on the Way to the Forum*, Shevelove scored his biggest triumph. The zany musical, with Zero *Mostel in the starring role, won six Tony awards, including best musical and best book. Based on the works of Plautus, *Funny Thing* had its origins in Shevelove's research on the plots of Plautus when he was a graduate student. In 1971, Shevelove directed a revival of *No, No, Nanette*, which brought Ruby Keeler, the film and stage star, out of retirement to win new fame. Shevelove, who worked with Stephen *Sondheim on *Funny Thing*, collaborated with him again in 1974 on an adaptation of Aristophanes's *The Frogs*, which he directed at Yale. The memorably unconventional production was performed in and around the Yale pool. In theater circles, Shevelove was well known as a play doctor, helping musicals that were in difficulty to reach Broadway. He also produced, directed, and wrote many television shows, for which he won Emmy and Peabody Awards.

[Stewart Kampel (2nd ed.)]

SHEVI'IT (Heb. שְׁבִיעִית; "Seventh Year"), fifth tractate in the Mishnah order *Zera'im*, dealing with the problems of the sabbatical or *shemittah* year. There is *Gemara* in the Jerusalem Talmud but not in the Babylonian.

The contents of the ten chapters of the mishnaic tractate are briefly as follows: Chapters 1–2 deal with the problems of *tosefet shevi'it*, certain agricultural works which had to be stopped, by rabbinical command, already in the sixth year, on the "eve of the seventh." Chapters 3–4 speak of works allowed during the sabbatical year. Chapter 5 deals with the special regulations concerning certain specific products and discusses the attitude toward people suspected of not observing the *shemittah*. Chapter 6 speaks of the differences between the various areas of the Holy Land as to *shemittah* observance. Chapters 7–9 define the plants and products subject to the law of *shemittah*, and discuss the ways and the circumstances in which use may be made of the products grown during the *shemittah* year. Chapter 10 speaks of the release of debts and discusses the institution of *prosbul.

The closing sentence of the tractate affords a good example of equity in Jewish law. Having mentioned that the sages are pleased with him who repays a debt despite the sabbatical year, it concludes that equally praiseworthy is he who keeps an agreement though it is not legally binding. Noteworthy in the same context is the concluding sentence of the tractate in the Jerusalem Talmud, which relates that as a matter of piety (*middat ḥasidut*) *Rav enjoined his household that if they promised a present to somebody they should not retract, even if the promise was not legally binding; he said this despite his known halakhic ruling that a withdrawal from an agreement not legally binding does not involve a formal breach of faith (*meḥussar amana, fidei laesio*: see BM 49a). Attention may be drawn also to the story of Abba b. Zevina, whom a gentile once threatened to kill if he did not eat the forbidden food he offered him; when the rabbi remained steadfast, the gentile declared that, in fact, he had wanted only to test his loyalty to Judaism, and, on the contrary, he would have killed him had he eaten it (TJ, 4:2, 35a–b).

The Tosefta to this tractate is divided into eight chapters. Interesting is the account of how the produce of the *shemittah* year used to be stored in communal granaries, and allocations made to the members of the community, each according to his needs, every Friday (8:1). The Mishnah was translated into English by H. Danby (1933).

For bibliography see the main articles on *Mishnah, *Talmud, and *Tosefta.

[Arnost Zvi Ehrman]

SHEVU'OT (Heb. שְׁבוּעוֹת; "Oaths"), sixth tractate of the order *Nezikin* in the Mishnah, Tosefta, and the Babylonian and Jerusalem Talmuds. It deals with oaths of various kinds but also with some aspects of ritual impurity. A link between these apparently diverse subjects is indicated in Leviticus 5:1–13. The fact that *Shevu'ot*, with eight chapters, follows *Makkot*, with three, seems to contradict the rule that the sequence of tractates within a given order is in the descending order of the number of chapters. However, it is clear from the Talmud (see Shevu. 2b, bottom; also Rashi in loc.) that *Makkot* was once joined to *Sanhedrin*, giving it a total of 14 chapters (see H.L. Strack, *Introduction to the Talmud* (1931), pp.27, 51; Ḥ. Albeck, *Mishnah, Seder Nezikin* (1952–9), p. 3).

The contents of the Mishnah in brief are as follows: chapter 1 opens with the terse statement: "Oaths are two, which are four," i.e., to the two kinds of oath referred to in Leviticus 5:3, called *shevu'ot bittui* ("oaths of utterance"), the Oral Law added two similar ones. Examples of these oaths are given at the beginning of chapter 3, and with them the discussion on oaths actually begins: "(I swear that) I will eat"; "I will not eat"; "I have eaten"; and "I have not eaten." This differentiation helps to establish whether, and what, sacrifices are due in case of their violations. The phrase, "two, which are four," characteristic of the oldest stratum of the Mishnah, is used also with regard to ritual uncleanness and introduces chapter 2. In fact, most of the rest of the first chapter deals with this subject, which is continued in chapter 3. Chapter 3 distinguishes between *shevu'at bittui* and *shevu'at shav* ("vain" or "false oath"). The latter applies when one asserts by oath something contrary to accepted knowledge, or impossible, e.g., swearing that a man is a woman or that one saw a flying camel. Swearing that one will violate a religious precept also belongs to this category. The following four chapters deal with judicial oaths. In fact it is because of the legal significance of the oath that *Shevu'ot* was placed in the order *Nezikin*, which deals predominantly with matters of law and judicial procedure. Chapter 4 deals with *shevu'at edut* ("oath of evidence"); chapter 5 with the *shevu'at ha-pikkadon* ("oath relating to bailments"), in accordance with Leviticus 5:21ff.; chapter 6 with the *shevu'at ha-dayyanim*, i.e., oaths imposed under certain circumstances by the court on the defendant; and chapter 7, having noted that according to Torah law the plaintiff has the privilege of being allowed to take an oath and consequently of receiving judgment in his favor, goes on to discuss instances when by rabbinical enactment the defendant also has the right to take an oath. Chapter 8 deals with the oaths of the four bailees (**shomerim*) in accordance with Exodus 22:6–16.

The Tosefta to this tractate is divided into six chapters. Chapter 1:5–7 and chapter 3 are of a halakhic Midrash (a *Mekhilta*) to Leviticus, which does not fit in with the work and has been inserted in the Tosefta. The terminology and the names of the *tannaim* mentioned in it make it clear that this fragment comes from the school of Ishmael. Tosefta 3:6 sees all crime as a rebellion against God, e.g., if one bears false witness, one commits an injustice not only against one's neighbor, but one also "denies Him who commanded: 'Thou shalt not bear false witness.'" Tosefta 3:7 gives expressions found in magical texts which served as incantations and, having found their way into Israelite folklore, were employed as oath formulas (Lieberman, Greek Hellenism, p. 91).

The *Gemara* of the Babylonian Talmud on this tractate includes a good deal of aggadic material. One discussion lists *mitzvot* which, if fulfilled as a reward, cause one to have male offspring (18b). Another cites a series of courtroom laws which assure fair trial (30b–31a). Thus, if a rabbinical scholar and an uneducated person *(am ha-arez)* come to be sentenced, both of them have the privilege of being seated. There is an interesting discussion of the names of God in 35a and b. The Babylonian Talmud (26a, cf. Tosef. 1:7) also gives the statement that Ishmael, a disciple of Neḥunya b. ha-Kanah who interpreted the whole Torah according to the hermeneutical rule of *kelal* and *perat*, followed the same principle, while Akiva, a disciple of Nahum of Gimzu who interpreted in accordance with *ribbui* and *mi'ut* ("extension and limitation"), construed the Torah like his master (see *Hermeneutics). The Jerusalem Talmud contains very little aggadic material. The major aggadic section discusses various types of atonements (1:9; 33b–c). It also quotes the first verse of the prayer for rain in Greek (3:10, 34d), as it was obviously recited by the common people on occasions of drought (Liebermann, *ibid.*, 8–20). *Shevu'ot* was translated into English in the Soncino edition by A.E. Silverstone (1935). For bibliography see the main articles on *Talmud, *Mishnah, *Tosefta.

[Arnost Zvi Ehrman]

SHEWBREAD or **SHOWBREAD** (Heb. לֶחֶם פָּנִים / הַפָּנִים; JPS, "bread of display"), the bread laid out in the Temple on the golden table (Ex. 25:30; I Sam. 21:7; I Kings 7:48; II Chron. 4:19) which is called "the table of Shewbread" in Numbers 4:7. The shewbread is also referred to as לֶחֶם הַתָּמִיד ("the regular bread"). On the other hand the Hagiographa use the terms לֶחֶם הַמַּעֲרֶכֶת (Neh. 10:34; I Chron. 9:32; 23:29), מַעֲרֶכֶת לֶחֶם (II Chron. 13:11), מַעֲרֶכֶת תָּמִיד (II Chron. 2:3), or simply מַעֲרֶכֶת (I Chron. 28:16; II Chron. 29:18, on the basis of Lev. 24:6–7). It is also called עֵרֶךְ לֶחֶם ("a row of bread": Ex. 40:23; cf. verse 4).

The manner in which the shewbread was prepared is described in Leviticus 24:5–9. Like most meal-offerings, it also was made of semolina. Consisting of 12 loaves, apparently corresponding in number to the tribes of Israel, the shewbread was arranged on the table in two rows of six loaves. Each loaf was made of two-tenths of an ephah, twice the quantity of the usual meal-offering (Num. 15:4, et al.), resembling in this respect only the two waveloaves of the Feast of Weeks (Lev. 23:17). Frankincense was placed on the shewbread (Lev. 24:7), but unlike the prescriptions for other meal-offerings it is here explicitly stated that the frankincense had to be pure, and furthermore that the token (portion אַזְכָּרָה) contained only the frankincense (in contrast to the token portion of a usual meal-offering, which contained some oil and fine flour in addition to the frankincense; Lev. 2:2). Thus no part of this bread was put on the altar, since only the token portion was burned. The talmudic *halakhah* prescribes that these loaves were to be of unleavened bread (Men. 5a; cf. Jos., Ant., 3:255), although this is not explicitly mentioned in the text, which likewise makes no reference to their being seasoned with salt, as was done with other meal-offerings (Lev. 2:13). However, the Septuagint (Lev. 24:7) adds Καῖ "αλας ("and salt"), and according to the *halakhah* the frankincense was to be salted before being burned on the altar (Men. 20a). The loaves were changed every Sabbath. On the basis of the relevant passages it may be presumed that the priest did not have to go into the Holy of Holies especially for this purpose, but would change the loaves when he came there on the Sabbath at the appointed times, that is, either in the morning or at dusk, to attend to the lamps or the incense altar. As in the case of most meal-offerings, the shewbread was eaten by males among the priests in a sacred place.

The evidence concerning the shewbread in the Sanctuary of Nob (I Sam. 21:1–7) does not substantially contradict the instructions contained in Leviticus; there is only a difference in presentation, like that between Priestly Code of laws and historical writings. Here, too, it can be seen that the shewbread consisted not of one but of several loaves (as shown by the plural הַמּוּסָרִים in verse 7); their number is not given, this detail being unnecessary for the narrative. The shewbread is here called לֶחֶם קֹדֶשׁ ("holy bread," verse 5). That given by the priest Ahimelech to David was presumably from the old loaves previously "removed from before the Lord" (verse 7) and as yet uneaten; it was not removed on that day by Ahimelech from the table especially for David and his men. The only point that conflicts with what is stated in Leviticus is the view expressed here that the old loaves could be eaten by non-priests in a state of purity, not specifically by priests in a holy place. This is, however, a general feature of the non-Priestly sources of the Bible, that sometimes permit to non-priests "sanctified" by purity what the Priestly sources (i.e., P and Ezek. 40–48) permit only to males among the priests.

The custom of placing loaves of bread on a table in a sanctuary before the god, coupled with other ritual acts, was prevalent in various places and times. Clear parallels of this custom existed in Babylonia, although not a few differences distinguish these from the specific crystallization in the Israelite style. Some have sought to find in Akkadian sources the special term *akāl pānu*, which corresponds to the biblical shewbread, but the reading has been found to be erroneous.

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[Menahem Haran]

SHIBĀM, situated at the foot of the mountain below the stronghold of Kawkabān, 30 km northwest of *San'a, *Yemen; once the capital of a small independent highland state. Ancient Ḥimyari inscriptions can be found on the stones of the city gate and in other old buildings of the town. It is located on the main route of commerce. It is called Shibām al-Kawkabān (or Shibām al-Ghirās) to distinguish it from the other, more famous Shibām in Ḥaḍramawt. The Jews lived in the neighboring village of Dhafrān; in about 1930 there were approximately 1,000 Jews. Jacob *Saphir stayed there in 1858 and left a vivid description of the Jewish community. Qāʿal-Yahūd (the Jewish Quarter), in which about 60 families lived, was part of the town, but was surrounded by a wall which severely crowded the inhabitants. There was almost no room for courtyards, since the houses and the streets were very narrow. The gates of the town were closed from evening until morning. The community of Shibām, with its three synagogues, was the spiritual center of the neighboring villages and also catered to their religious needs. The Jews were businessmen, silversmiths, ironsmiths, and tanners.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: J. Saphir, *Even Sappir* (1864), 77–78; C. Rathjens, *Jewish Domestic Architecture in Ṣanʿā, Yemen* (1957), 64–67.

[Yosef Tobi (2nd ed.)]

SHI'BUDA DE-RABBI NATHAN (Aram. "Rabbi Nathan's Lien"), a rule of law attributed to R. Nathan, a *tanna* of the second century, and cited in the Babylonian Talmud as follows: "Whence is the rule derived that if one man [A] claims a *maneh* [100 *zuz*] from his neighbor [B], and his neighbor [B] [claims a like sum] from another neighbor [C], that we collect from the one [C] and give it to the other [A]? From the verse, '… and he shall give it unto him to whom he is indebted'" (Num. 5:7 – Pes. 31a). The Bible does not state, "unto him who lent him the money" [B], but rather "unto him to whom he is indebted," i.e., to whom the principal rightfully belongs now [A] (Rashi, ad loc.).

The Substantive Law

In the Shulḥan Arukh the rule reads as follows: Reuben claims 100 from Simeon, and Simeon from Levi; we collect from Levi and give it to Reuben. No distinction is made as to whether Levi was already obligated to Simeon when the latter borrowed from Reuben or whether Levi had become obligated thereafter. Nor is any distinction made between a loan (see *Loans) having documentary attestation and one having only oral attestation (about these definitions see *Obligation, Law of). As long as both debtors acknowledge indebtedness, each to his respective creditor, we collect from Levi and give it to Reuben. This holds true for every type of obligation which Levi incurs toward Simeon, whether it be through loan, *sale, *lease, or hiring (see *Lease and Hire; ḤM 86:1). Indeed, the liabilities may have arisen from *torts, *damages, bailments (see **Shomerim*), and larceny (see *Theft and Robbery) as well. Nor need the two debts, i.e., of Simeon and Levi, have been of the same kind. For example, Simeon's indebtedness to Reuben may have arisen as the result of a loan, whereas Levi's indebtedness to Simeon may have been incurred through purchase. Similarly, Simeon's liability may be according to biblical law and Levi's according to rabbinic law (*Siftei Kohen*, ḤM 86:1). Reuben's ability to collect from Levi is limited to the circumstance that Simeon is insolvent (Sh. Ar., ḤM 86:2), although a dissenting opinion, which considers Levi virtually a debtor of Reuben, would extend the said liability even to those cases where Simeon was solvent (*Siftei Kohen*, ḤM 86:2).

According to most commentators, *Shi'buda de-Rabbi Nathan* differs from an ordinary *lien in being essentially a procedural device for the collection of debts rather than a substantive incumbrance on the property of the debtor. Thus, an ordinary lien attaches only to those properties of the debtor which were in his possession at the time he incurred the debt. Moreover, the indebtedness created through an ordinary lien may be discharged by the payment of money even in the case where the indebtedness arose through the delivery of a deposit or a pledge. R. Nathan's Lien, however, attaches to those properties the debtor acquired after he had incurred the debt as well, and the debtor could be compelled to deliver the object itself to his creditor's creditor. Yet, in the case where a debtor subsequent to his loan sold his property, Rabbi Nathan's Lien is ineffectual, for inasmuch as the debtor himself has no claim against the purchaser, his creditor also may have no claim against the purchaser. Under such circumstances, however, an ordinary lien is effective, and in the case of nonpayment the creditor may seize the property from the purchaser for the satisfaction of his (earlier) claim (*Keẓot ha-Ḥoshen*, ḤM 86).

Legal Analysis

Privity of contract is expressed in talmudic literature in the form of the refusal of a debtor to enter into litigation with his opponent on the ground that *lav ba'al devarim didi at* ("You have no claim against me," or "You are not my plaintiff"). *Shi'buda de-Rabbi Nathan* is a method of *assignment which Jewish law makes available in order to overcome, when necessary, the limitations created by the principle of privity. Rabbi Nathan's Lien differs from the other methods of assigning rights, such as: *ma'amad sheloshtan* (see *Assignment; *Obligation, Law of), which is a kind of assignment by substitution and requires the physical presence of the debtor, the assignor, and the assignee; *mesirat shetarot* (see *Acquisition), which effectuates assignment through the delivery of the bonds or notes of indebtedness to the assignee accompanied by a deed of assignment; and *harsha'ah* (see *Agency, Law of), which creates a power of attorney under the form of assignment. These three methods of assignment depend upon the initiative and consent of the assignor, whereas *Shi'buda de-Rabbi Nathan* creates what is essentially an automatically transferred obligation. In contrast with the other methods, however, *Shi'buda de-Rabbi Nathan* is limited to circumstances in which the assignee is a creditor of or claimant against the assignor. *Shi'buda de-Rabbi Nathan* finds its closest parallel in the statutory proceeding of garnishment in American law (see Herzog, Instit, 2 (1939), 214, n. 2).

Historical Development

Asher Gulak (*Ha-Ḥiyyuv ve-Shi'budav*, bibl.) maintains that *Shi'buda de-Rabbi Nathan* underwent a series of developments in talmudic times whereby it received a progressively wider application. The original statement of R. Nathan is to be found in Sifrei Numbers 3, and merely provides for the right of a creditor to collect his debt from monies which have been awarded to the debtor in court but which the latter has as yet not collected. The text of R. Nathan's statement as it appears in the Babylonian Talmud (e.g., Pes. 31a) represents, according to Gulak, a further development whereby debts owed to the debtor are construed as property of the latter and subject to collection on behalf of his creditor even before they have been awarded to the debtor in court. Thus, at this point the assignment of rights has been created without any reference, however, to lien. The final development of R. Nathan's statement is to be seen in the construction placed upon it by the Babylonian Talmud, namely, that there is a lien that the creditor has on all the properties of his debtor's debtors. This construction is part of the general tendency which Gulak discerns in the Babylonian Talmud, i.e., to incorporate lien into the very concept of obligation.

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[Aaron Kirschenbaum]

SHIFRAH OF BRODY (fl. 1770s), author of a Yiddish **tkhine* (supplicatory prayer) for women. According to the opening page of *Tkhine Imrei Shifre* (*Tkhine* of the Words of Shifrah), she was the daughter of the learned Rabbi Joseph and wife of Rabbi Ephraim Segal, a *dayyan* in *Brody. Quite exceptionally for a Yiddish work by a female author, her work contains something close to a rabbinic approbation (*haskamah*): an unsigned paragraph in Hebrew labeled "*haqdamah*" ["Introduction"] describes Shifrah as a "prominent, learned, and wealthy woman" who is planning to travel to the Holy Land with her husband. This introduction asserts that "several rabbis and sages agree [*maskimim*] that she should publish this *tkhine.*" Residents of Brody were well represented among the approximately 300 Jews who accompanied several ḥasidic leaders to settle in Safed in 1777. Further, Brody, the home of the famed *kloyz* or study-house of mystical pietists, was rich in religious ferment and conflict, some of which is reflected in Shifrah's text.

Like most Eastern European *tkhines* published before 1835, *Tkhine Imrei Shifre* makes no reference to place or date of publication; internal evidence, however, places the text some time after 1770. In the first section Shifrah described the difficult contemporary conditions in the region of Brody. In the other parts of the book, she utilized kabbalistic, pietistic, and possibly Shabbatean/Frankist material to emphasize the significance of women's religious acts. The title of the *tkhine* alludes to the common book title *Imrei Shefer* (from Gen. 49:21, where it probably means "lovely fawn"), usually taken to mean "words of Torah." The four sections of the *tkhine* include a long *tkhine* on exile, repentance, and redemption; a daily *tkhine*, asking for assistance against distractions in prayer, help with livelihood, and protection for women in pregnancy and childbirth; a Sabbath *tkhine* which includes a kabbalistic interpretation of the women's *mitzvah* of candle-lighting; and a "Moral Reproof for the Sabbath," consisting almost entirely of material originating in the Zohar, which addresses proper Sabbath observance. The text is exceptional for its use of kabbalistic concepts, such as the divine *shefa'* (supernal abundance), its reference to the problem of devoted prayer, and its mention of the **Shekhinah* as an object of women's devotion.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: C. Weissler, *Voices of the Matriarchs* (1998), 89–103.

[Chava Weissler (2nd ed.)]

SHIFTAN, ZE'EV (**Ludwig**; 1920–1990), prominent Israeli geologist-hydrologist. Born in Görlitz, Germany, he grew up in Erfurt where his father Max (Moshe) was rabbi of that city's community. Having received a thorough general and Jewish schooling, Shiftan began studies in 1938 at the Breslau Rabbinical Seminary. Following *Kristallnacht he was taken on Nov. 10, 1938, to Buchenwald concentration camp. Freed when a Palestine immigration certificate was obtained for him, he emigrated to Palestine in Feb. 1939 and soon joined the Haganah. Leaning to the natural sciences, he found his way to geology, becoming a student, then assistant, of Professor Leo Picard. He lectured at the Hebrew University and the Haifa Technion. Concentrating on groundwater exploration and exploitation, he worked in the field and wrote papers and books. In 1966 he joined Tahal as consultant to its Hydrological Department and was for a time its head, working in Israel and other countries. The United Nations asked for his service and appointed him consultant in South America and elsewhere. Besides his scientific work he was active in social and cultural matters; he represented Israel in the B'nai B'rith world council and in January 1990 was elected president of its David Yellin Lodge of Jerusalem. On Feb. 4, 1990, he was among the nine killed in the terrorist attack on Israeli tourists in Egypt in which his wife, Yehudit, was also wounded.

[Efraim Orni]

SHIḤIN (Heb. שִׁיחִין) or **ASOCHIS**, Galilean city. The first mention of it is made by Josephus (Ant. 13:337; Wars 1:86), who describes its capture by Ptolemy Lathyrus on a Sabbath in approximately 103 B.C.E. It was obviously a large Jewish city at that time, for 10,000 inhabitants were taken captive. Josephus locates the city in a plain of the same name (plain of Asochis; Life, 207, 233, 384). Situated in the center of Galilee, it served as his headquarters for some time. The city survived the First Jewish War. It is referred to as Shiḥin or Kefar Shiḥin several times in talmudic literature. There it is described as a place where mustard was grown and as the site of a pottery industry, which used the black soil of the area. A fire in one of the kilns drew help from Castra at Sepphoris, from where Shiḥin was visible. The priestly family of Jeshebab (Huzpith) lived them after the war of Bar Kokhba. The identification of Shiḥin with Tell al-Badawiyya (see *Hannaton) is confirmed by the Roman pottery and ruins found on the site.

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[Michael Avi-Yonah]

SHIHOR, SHIHOR-LIBNATH (Heb. שִׁיחוֹר־לִבְנָת, שִׁחוֹר).

(1) Geographical term used in the Bible and derived from the Egyptian *si-hor* ("lake of Horus") which originally referred to the lake in the eastern Delta near the Pelusiac branch of the Nile. It has been identified with the Egyptian Pa-she-Hor, "the Waters of Horus," which are mentioned in a 19th-Dynasty Egyptian text, Papyrus Anastasi III, 2:11–12 (Pritchard, Texts, 471). It marked the westernmost limit of Palestine in the south, extending to the Egyptian border (Josh. 13:3; I Chron. 13:5). The prophets occasionally identify it with the waters of Egypt (Isa. 23:3; Jer. 3:18).

(2) Shihor, with the addition of Libnath ("of the white willows") is used in Joshua 19:26 to indicate the southern boundary of Asher; it is mentioned with Mt. Carmel. Scholars are divided between its identification with the outlet of the Kishon River north of the Carmel and with the Naḥal Tanninim south of the Carmel (Ar. Nahr al-Zarqā or Miyāh al-Tamāsiḥ, "the waters of the crocodiles"), which may explain the associations of the name Shihor with Egypt; cf. the Crocodilopolis of Strabo.

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[Michael Avi-Yonah]

SHILA OF KEFAR TAMARTA (c. second and third centuries C.E.), Palestinian *amora*. The name of his Judean home is always added to his personal name to distinguish him from an older Babylonian *amora* of the same name, and from Shila of Naveh, a contemporary. He was a student of R. Johanan, whose teachings he transmits (TJ, RH 2:9, 58b; TJ, Ḥag. 3:8, 79d). Although he seems to have engaged in *halakhah* (Nid. 26a), Shila is known mainly as an aggadist, and only aggadic statements of his are quoted. That he delivered his aggadic discourses publicly is evidenced by the introductory formula "R. Shila expounded" (*darash*; cf. Meg. 16a–b).

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SHILL, LOUIS (1930–), South African businessman and politician. Born in Witbank, South Africa, he qualified as a chartered accountant through Witwatersrand and Stamford universities. One of the founders of Liberty Life in the late 1950s, he was founder and chief executive of Sage Fund in 1965, which introduced the concept of unit trusts in South Africa. He established Sage Group Limited in 1969. On 1 June 1993, he was appointed minister for national housing and public works, a post he held until May 1994.

[David Saks (2nd ed.)]

SHILOAH, AMNON (1928–), Israeli musicologist of the history and theory of Arabic music. Born in Argentina to Syrian parents, Shiloah settled in Palestine in 1941. He studied Arabic language and literature at the Hebrew University and musicology at the Sorbonne, where he obtained his doctorate in 1963. Shiloah was appointed senior lecturer at the Hebrew University musicology department in 1969 and was its chairman in the years 1971–74. He became full professor in 1978. He served as a board member of the International Musicological Society (1977–81), and won the Jerusalem Prize for research achievements in the study of Oriental Jewish music (1986). Shiloah was provost of the Rothberg School for overseas students (1992–95), and an honorary member for life at the European Seminar in Ethnomusicology (1995). He won the Grand prix de l'Académie Charles Cros: Litterature musicale for the French translation of his book *Music in the World of Islam*. Shiloah is one of the most prolific scholars of both Jewish and Arab traditional music.

Shiloah began his career as a musicologist of Israeli art music in the early 1950s, when he published interviews with 13 founding Israeli composers about national identity in their music (published in *Massa*, 1953). His *Massa* interviews have often been cited as a pioneer work, and his contribution to *Israel Music Institute News* (1990) was an influential contribution to the study of Orientalism in Israeli art music. Shiloah's magnum opus, *The Theory of Music in Arabic Writings (c. 900–1900)* (*Répertoire international des sources musicales*, Henle Verlag, Munich, series B/X, 1979 – a catalogue of manuscripts in libraries of Europe and the U.S.), was the culmination of years of work in European archives. The latter volume of this seminal text (RISM, series B/Xa, 2003, describing manuscripts in Israel, Egypt, Morocco, Tunisia, Russia, and Uzbekistan) was similarly a result of another decade of research. His work was published in *Encyclopedia Britannica* (1974), *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart* (1976, 1994), the *Journal of the American Musicological Society* (1981), and *The New Oxford History of Music* (2001) – to cite a few among many publications (e.g., in *Cahiers de civilisation medievale, Ethnomusicology, Ariel, Acta Musicologica, Pe'amim,* and *Yuval*). His scholarship on Jewish music was summarized in his *Jewish Musical Traditions* (1992). Shiloah's work on Arab music culminated also in his *Music in the World of Islam: A Socio-Cultural Study* (1995; the book also appeared in French, Hebrew, and Arabic).

In the field of ethnomusicology, he established himself as both a pioneer scholar and a leading authority of Arab music and of Jewish traditional music. Shiloah's comprehensive list of publications encompasses over 240 items in four languages (English, French, Hebrew, and Arabic), including 15 books, edited works, records, and articles – a result of 50 years of work in the field of Arabic music, its ethnomusicology, the history of its theory, and its social-cultural history. Shiloah also advanced the fields of Jewish ethnomusicology, especially the study of Jewish-Arab and Sephardi traditions in their countries of origin from Morocco to Iraq, and in Israel. Finally, he has contributed significant writings to the study of Israeli art music.

[Ronit Seter (2nd ed.)]

SHILOAḤ (Zaslani), REUBEN (1909–1959), Zionist political officer and Israel diplomat. Born in Jerusalem, Shiloah possessed expertise on Arab affairs, combined with political imagination and a talent for analysis of international affairs. He was one of the *yishuv's* first emissaries to the Jews in Middle East countries (1931), and upon his return from Baghdad and Kurdistan he was at first active in the political field for the *Histadrut, later transferring to the *Jewish Agency's Political Department (1936). During World War II, he coordinated the *yishuv's* war effort with that of the Allies; he organized the parachuting of members of the *Haganah into enemy territory, initiated intelligence operations against the Axis powers, and was active in rescue missions to save the remnants of European Jewry.

Upon the establishment of the State of Israel (1948), Shiloah formed its political intelligence service and coordinated it with military and security intelligence. In his role as adviser on special affairs to the foreign minister, he established secret contacts with Arab statesmen in an effort to achieve mutual understanding and peace. Shiloah led the Israel delegation that held negotiations over the cease-fire with Transjordan (1949).

After a term of service as minister at the Israel embassy in Washington (1953–57), Shiloah was appointed political adviser to the minister of foreign affairs with ambassadorial rank. His later years were spent in quiet diplomacy for achieving closer ties between Israel and the non-Arab countries of the Middle East and Africa.

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[Katriel Katz]

SHILOAH, SILOAM (Heb. שִׁלֹחַ, שֶׁלַח), name applied to the waters of the Gihon spring in Isaiah 8:6; it is probably derived from the root שלח (*shlḥ*; "to send forth"), which occurs in Psalms 104:10 in connection with springs. The "pool of Shelah" mentioned in Nehemiah 3:15 as "lying by the king's garden" refers to the pool formed by the overflow of water in Hezekiah's tunnel, which led from the Gihon spring into the city. Archaeological researches have shown that this pool actually antedated Hezekiah's tunnel. An older open channel, constructed during the Middle Bronze Age, carried water from the Gihon along the eastern slope of the city of David in order to irrigate the "king's garden" in the "king's valleys," i.e., the Kidron. The overflow was led into the "pool of Shiloah." In later times the name Gihon was forgotten and the name Shiloah included the orifice of the spring itself. As such, it serves as a landmark in Josephus' descriptions of Jerusalem during the siege of Titus, and marked the boundary between the sections defended by John of Gischala and Simeon Bar-Giora (Wars, 5:140, 252).

According to Josephus, the "Old" or "First" Wall, which surrounded the Upper and Lower Cities, passed near the spring and the pool (erroneously called the "pool of Solomon," which in Greek is similar to "pool of Siloam"; Wars 5:145). This pool is already mentioned as a pool adjacent to the city fortifications in Nehemiah (3:15), but the Gospel of John (9:7, 11) clearly indicates its function as a place for ritual immersion in the story of the miracle of the blind man regaining his sight: "…And [Jesus] said unto him [the blind man], Go wash in the Pool of Siloam. He went his way therefore, and washed, and came seeing." In response to the questioning of his querulous neighbors, the blind man repeats his story: "A man that is called Jesus made clay and anointed my eyes, and said unto me, Go to the Pool of Siloam, and wash: and I went and washed, and received sight." In addition, the Mishnah tells us of the practice of filling stone cups (clearly the so-called "measuring cups") with water let down into the Siloam Pool (Par. 3:2). One should also mention an interesting text from Oxyrhynchus in Egypt – a fragment of an uncanonical gospel – which refers to a *mikveh*-like pool close to the Temple area with separate stairs for going in and out. The text refers to Jesus being challenged by a priest about the state of his purity: "He [Jesus] saith unto him, I am clean; for I washed in the Pool of David [probably the Pool of Siloam, i.e., as a reference to the "City of David"], and having descended down one staircase I ascended by another, and I put on white and clean garments, and then I came and looked upon these holy vessels [of the Temple]." Elsewhere, it is said that the Pool of David had "running waters," a reference to the flowing "living" waters that entered the Siloam Pool from the spring of Siloam. The concern for purity in Jerusalem and the use of these two pools is further clarified in the Mishnah in relation to the subject of the *zavim*, men with bodily emissions (semen). The rabbis advocated that following an emission of semen the man "conveys uncleanness to what he lies upon or sits upon, and [therefore] he must bathe in running water" (Zav. 1:1; cf. Mik. 1:8). Later we hear that a man is a *zav* if he has had three emissions during the time it takes to go the distance from "Gad-Yavan [which is perhaps an alternative name for the Bethesda Pool] to [the pool of] Siloam (which is time enough for two immersions and two dryings) …" (Zav. 1:5).

Excavations in 2004 at the junction of the Tyropoeon and Kidron Valleys by Reich and Shukrun brought to light the Siloam Pool of Second Temple times; it was apparently trapezoidal in shape (estimated to be 40–60 × 70 meters) with built steps and landings along at least three of its sides; the fourth (west) side is unexcavated. Their findings indicate that the pool was most likely built in its present form during the Second Temple period, with two stages of construction of which the earliest of these is dated to the late first century B.C.E. or first century C.E based on the plaster type and other features. The pool was fed with water which was channeled directly from the Siloam spring without any holding basin needed, but the excavators have suggested the pool might also have been fed with runoff rainwater from other directions.

The spring failed in 70 C.E. during the siege and the water was sold by the amphora (5:410). The name "ravine of Siloam" was applied to the Kidron; it was overhung by the rock of the Dovecotes (5:505). After the siege the ravine served as a refuge for the rebels (6:401). Talmudic sources refer several times to the Shiloah, particularly to the narrowness of its issue, which was not larger than an Italian issar (Tosef. Ar. 2:6). From the Middle Ages onward, the name Shiloah referred to the village on the eastern slope of the Kidron Valley (Ar. Silwān). The village was a suburb of Jerusalem, and the inhabitants worked the fields on the hill of Ophel. In 1884 Jews from Yemen established themselves in part of the village; in 1936 they were forced to abandon their houses. In 1967, after the *Six-Day War, it was incorporated into the Jerusalem municipal area.

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[Michael Avi-Yonah/ Shimon Gibson (2nd ed.)]

SHILOH (Heb. שִׁלֹה, שִׁלוֹ, שִׁילֹה), the amphictyonic capital of Israel in the time of the Judges, situated north of Beth-El, east of the Beth-El-Shechem highway and south of Lebonah (Judg. 21:19), in the mountains of the territory of Ephraim. Under Joshua, the tabernacle was erected at Shiloh (Josh. 18:1). Here lots were cast for the various tribal areas (Josh. 18) and for the levitical cities (Josh. 21:2) and here Israel assembled to settle its dispute with the tribes beyond the Jordan (Josh. 22:9, 12). Shiloh was the center of Israelite worship. During one religious celebration, the daughters of the city danced in the vineyards, an occasion used by the Benjamites, who could not get wives in any way except by abducting them (Judg. 21). Elkanah and his wife Hannah came there to worship and Hannah vowed her child Samuel to the Lord, whom he served as a servant of the sanctuary at Shiloh (I Sam. 1–2). In this sanctuary, the sons of Eli the priest sinned and the Lord revealed Himself to Samuel (I Sam. 3). When the Ark was taken from the city on its fateful journey to Eben-Ezer, never to return to Shiloh, a Benjamite brought news of the disaster to Eli, causing his death there (I Sam. 4). The destruction of Shiloh is alluded to in Jeremiah (7:12, 14; 26:6, 9; cf. Ps. 78:60). However, its priestly family retained its importance for some time after moving to Nob (I Sam. 21:1–9). Ahijah the son of Ahitub, a priest from Shiloh, appeared with the ephod in the camp of Saul before the battle of Michmas (I Sam. 14:3). The priestly family of the city was finally deposed by Solomon (I Kings 2:27). Ahijah the Shilonite prophesied the future kingship of Jeroboam the son of Nebat (I Kings 11:29–31; 12:15; 15:29; II Chron. 9:29). It was apparently in Shiloh that Jeroboam's wife consulted the prophet and heard the doom of the dynasty (I Kings 14:2–16). Jeremiah refers several times to the destruction of the city as a warning (7:12, 14; Ps. 78:60); his comparison of the fate of Shiloh with that foreseen for the Temple led to his being accused of blasphemy (Jer. 26:6–9). After the destruction of the Temple, the people of Shiloh were among those Ephraimites who came to sacrifice at Jerusalem (Jer. 41:5).

Shiloh is identified with Tell Seilun, 30 mi. (48 km.) north of Jerusalem, south of the ascent of Lebonah. The identification of biblical Shiloh with Saylūn was established by E. *Robinson and is generally accepted; the topographical position, the remains on the mound, and the name all support this identification. However, the position of the sanctuary within the ancient site is still a subject of dispute. Conder and Kitchener in the *Survey of Western Palestine* (1881–83) suggested the terrace north of the mound, a position unsupported by other evidence. The area south of the mound, with its ancient road leading to Turmus Aiya, the sanctuaries of Wali Yetim and Wali Sittīn, was seen by some scholars to be a much more likely spot for an open-air sanctuary around a tabernacle; a pre-Christian sanctuary can be assumed to have been located in a valley in which there are now a number of Muslim holy places and which, in Byzantine times, contained several churches. Nonetheless, it is quite possible that the sanctuary stood inside the city proper (see below). Archaeological excavations there were undertaken by a Danish expedition directed by H. Kjaer (1926, 1929), A. Schmidt (1932), and S. Holm-Neilson and B. Otzen (1963). New excavations were conducted at the site by I. Finkelstein between 1981 and 1984. These excavations exposed eight strata, ranging from MB II–Middle Ages. The MB III city was heavily fortified (the MB II village was unwalled), with a massive wall (3–5.5 m. wide), with remains standing to a height of up to 8 m. Supporting this wall on the precipitous eastern slope was an extensive glacis (25 m. wide), which incorporated a supporting wall (3.2 m. tall) in its structure. Among the remains of the city from this period were storage rooms and cultic vessels, indicating the presence of a shrine. This level was destroyed. The LB I remains consisted primarily of vessels with remains of animals, cast over the wall of the city and then buried. These remains are likely the remnant of cultic offerings. Given that there were no architectural remains discovered at this level, the site may have existed solely as a shrine. Given that the top of the tell has exposed bedrock, the presence of shrines here is based almost entirely on circumstantial evidence.

Iron I remains were attested throughout the site. More than 20 silos were discovered (including one that had carbonized wheat). Pillared public buildings were unearthed in one section of the tell, adjacent to the MB wall. These buildings had two levels, divided by a terrace wall. One building had a paved courtyard. More than 20 collared rim jars were discovered in a number of buildings. It is likely that these buildings were part of the shrine complex. The Iron I structures were destroyed in a conflagration, possibly the work of the Philistines. A village reappears in Iron II. More extensive villages are attested in Roman and Byzantine times (see below).

The evidence for sacred continuity at the site from MB III–Iron I is instructive for the history of Israel. Surveys done by Finkelstein in the region of the central hills established that Shiloh was indeed in the heart of a settlement landscape that had greatly expanded in Iron I. The area surrounding Shiloh was perhaps three times as densely populated as any other region in the hills. Given that the top of the tell was long ago exposed, the nature of the shrine constructed by the Israelites is not ascertainable, whether it was a permanent building (cf. I Sam. 3:15) or a portable shrine (cf. II Sam. 7:6f).

A Roman villa with a bath and a city wall were uncovered in the earlier excavations at the site. In the fifth century (the Byzantine period), a mosaic-paved basilica, measuring 25 × 12 m., was erected south of the tell; further north was a smaller chapel. Shiloh is also known from later sources. Eusebius places it in the toparchy of Acraba, which in his time belonged to Neapolis (Onom. 156:28ff.). Jerome found an altar there (Epistula 108; PG, vol. 25, p. 1953). On the Madaba Map, it appears west of Gilgal, following the tradition recorded by Josephus (Ant., 5:68), with the addition of a historical note: "there once the Ark." The site of Shiloh was well known to talmudic sages; R. Yose b. Karḥa recorded the saying of an elder who visited the place and still inhaled the odor of incense between its walls (Sanh. 103b). Jews continued to visit Shiloh to pray at the Masjad al-Sukayma, the Māʿida ("Stone of the Table") and the tomb of Eli until the 14th century, as is recorded by Eshtori ha-Parḥi. At the wali ("Marabout") known as al-Sittīn or al-Arabʿīn, a lintel, perhaps of a synagogue, is still extant and shows an amphora between two rosettes flanked by two jars. In the last century an ancient sarcophagus, supposedly that of Eli the priest, was being shown there.

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[Michael Avi-Yonah / Shimon Gibson (2nd ed.)]

SHILOH, YIGAL (1937–1987), Israeli archaeologist, expert on Iron Age town-planning and architecture in the Land of Israel. Born in Haifa, he was educated at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, eventually joining the faculty in 1974. Shiloh received his Ph.D. in 1977, and a revised version of his dissertation was published in 1979 as *The Proto-Aeolic Capital and Israelite Ashlar Masonry*. From 1983 to 1986 Shiloh headed the Institute of Archaeology at the Hebrew University and was a visiting professor abroad.

As a student Shiloh participated in numerous excavations in Israel, notably in the Survey of the Judean Desert Caves, Masada, Tell Nagila, Ramat Raḥel, Arad, Megiddo, and Hazor. In addition to these digs, he also participated in an expedition working on a prehistoric site in northern Italy. From 1978 to 1987 Shiloh undertook major archaeological excavations in the area of the "City of David" in Jerusalem. He was the author of numerous articles and research papers. He was also the recipient of the prestigious Jerusalem Prize only one week before he succumbed to cancer at the young age of 50.

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[Shimon Gibson (2nd ed.)]

SHILS, EDWARD ALBERT (1910–1995), U.S. sociologist. Shils was born in Springfield, Massachusetts, to Russian Jewish immigrant parents. His father was a cigar maker in Springfield and then in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. Shils attended Simon Gratz High School. At 17, he began studying the work of German sociologist Max Weber. Shils went on to study foreign languages at the University of Pennsylvania, graduating with a bachelor's degree in 1931. In the midst of the Great Depression, Shils was a supporter of the New Deal and went to work as a social worker. Fascinated with the makeup of societies, Shils' passion led him to take a position as a research assistant in sociology with the University of Chicago in 1934 and then a teaching position in 1938. Shils' early exposure to and translation of the works of European sociologists, such as Karl Mannheim and Weber, enabled him to serve as a bridge between American and European sociological research. During World War II, Shils served with the Office of Strategic Services, a progenitor to the CIA, interviewing captured German soldiers for the British government. In 1945, he collaborated with scientists from the University of Chicago who worked on the Manhattan Project to found the publication *The Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, to alert governments to the dangers posed by nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction. From 1946 to 1950, Shils taught sociology at the London School of Economics; he was named an honorary fellow of the college in 1972. He returned to the University of Chicago, where he became an associate professor in 1947 and then a full professor in the Committee on Social Thought in 1950. In 1949, Harvard sociologist Talcott Parsons invited Shils to co-author a paper, titled *Toward a General Theory of Action* (1951), which sought to understand the interconnectedness of groups and individuals within society in a universal context. In 1952, Shils served as a lecturer at the University of Manchester. He returned to Chicago in 1953 as a professor both on the Committee on Social Thought and the school's sociology department. Shils spent time traveling through India from 1955 to 1956, and each year through to 1967, studying the country's intelligentsia. The growing conservatism of 1950s America and its attack on intellectuals inspired Shils' public challenge to McCarthyism with the publication of his book *Torment of Secrecy* (1956). In 1961, he received his master's degree from Cambridge University and published *The Intellectual Between Tradition and Modernity: The Indian Situation*. In 1962, he founded the quarterly journal *Minerva: A Review of Science, Learning and Policy*, which explores the link between scientific work at universities and public policy. In addition to his work with the University of Chicago, Shils served as a fellow of King's College, Cambridge from 1961 to 1970; a fellow of Peterhouse, Cambridge, from 1970 to 1978; an honorary professor from 1971 to 1977 at the University of London; and a professor at the University of Leiden from 1976 to 1977. Shils delivered the Jefferson Lectures in 1979 and was awarded the Balzan prize in 1983. He taught his last class in Chicago at the age of 84. He died of cancer in Chicago.

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[Adam Wills (2nd ed.)]

SHIMEI (Heb. שִׁמְעִי), son of Gera, a Benjamite and a relative of Saul, who insulted David as the latter fled during the rebellion of Absalom. The road from Jerusalem to the Jordan Valley led past Bahurim, in Benjamin, where Shimei resided. As David and his party marched by, Shimei came toward them, threw stones and earth at them, and called to David, "Filth! Filth! Murderer! Blackguard!" He gloated over David's predicament, saying that it was divine retribution for the blood of the house of Saul that David had shed. *Abishai wanted to kill Shimei on the spot but David restrained him, enduring this humiliation as a form of self-mortification whereby men seek to appease God in times of affliction (II Sam. 16:5–13). When David returned in triumph after Absalom's defeat, Shimei and a thousand Benjamites whom he had persuaded to join him arrived at the Jordan – before any other group of the House of David – and together with the Judahites welcomed him back and begged for clemency (II Sam. 19:17ff.). Clemency was granted, either because David considered Shimei's change of heart a sign of renewed divine favor (Rashi, II Sam. 19:23) or because he believed that a vindictive policy against those who had rebelled would prevent firm reestablishment of his reign (*Meẓudat David*, II Sam. 19:23). Any oath made by David was not binding on his son Solomon. Before his death David instructed Solomon to watch for an opportunity to do away with Shimei (I Kings 2:8–9). Solomon placed Shimei under close observation, and made him promise under pain of death to restrict his movements to within Jerusalem. When Shimei broke his vow in order to recover two runaway slaves, Solomon had him put to death (I Kings 2:36–46).

[Gershon Bacon]

In the Aggadah

Shimei, although a Benjamite (II Sam. 19:17), is called "the first of the house of Joseph" (*ibid.*, 19:21), in order to elaborate his plea for forgiveness from the king. It suggested that David should emulate the example of Joseph, who forgave his brothers (Mid. Ps. 3:3). Another opinion, however, is that "Joseph" is a euphemism for "the house of Israel" (cf. Amos 5:15). It thus paraphrases his plea: "All Israel has dealt ill with thee, and I more so than anyone else. Now all Israel sits waiting for whatever mercy you may show me. If you accept my apology, then all Israel will come forward and make peace with you" (Mid. Ps., *ibid.*). He failed, however, to persuade David to forgive him. The word *Nimreẓet* is used by David to describe Shimei's curse (I Kings 2:8). It is said to be a mnemonic to illustrate that Shimei was an adulterer (*no'ef*); a Moabite (*Mo'avi*); a murderer (*roẓe'aḥ*); and an abomination (*to'evah*; Shab. 105a). Shimei is deprived of any of the credit for having been an ancestor of Mordecai (cf. Esth. 2:5; Meg. 13a). The credit belongs to his wife, who save two righteous men (Jonathan and Ahimaaz) from Absalom (Mid. Sam. 32:4). Shimei's one recorded virtue is that, as long as he lived, Solomon did not marry the daughter of Pharaoh, but took Jewish wives (Ber. 8a). His eventual death was commensurate with his crime. Because he had sinned by word of mouth, Solomon slew him by pronouncing the name of God on him (Zohar, Exodus, 108a).

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SHIM'ON, JOSEPH BEN JUDAH IBN (12th–13th centuries), physician, poet, and philosopher, contemporary of *Maimonides. Born in *Morocco, he was taught by Muslim teachers, and also received a traditional Jewish education, despite the fact that at that time the Jews of Morocco had to live as *anusim* ("forced converts"). He states in his *Ma'amar* *bi-Meḥuyyav Meẓi'ut* (see below) that he studied philosophy with a Muslim teacher. As a young man, he already achieved fame both as a Hebrew poet and as an expert in mathematics and medicine.

He escaped from Morocco to *Egypt, where be could profess his Judaism openly. He lived first in *Alexandria, from where he sent letters and *maqāmāt* to Maimonides, and later in Fostat, where he studied astronomy and philosophy with Maimonides (see his letter in *Iggerot ha-Rambam*, ed. by D.Z. Baneth, (1946), 7ff.). Around 1185 he went to *Syria and settled in *Aleppo, where he engaged in commerce (*ibid.*, 68) and became wealthy through commercial travels which took him as far as Babylon and India. Afterward, he became the court physician of the son of Saladin, Az-Zāhir-Ghāzī, king of Aleppo. He maintained a constant correspondence with Maimonides, and it was the latter's desire to complete the education of his "beloved disciple" that led him to write his *Guide* and to dedicate it to Ibn Shim'on. When he was in *Baghdad, he attempted to mediate between Maimonides and his opponent, *Samuel b. Ali, head of the Baghdad Academy (*ibid.*, 31ff.), and when the Babylonian scholar, *Daniel b. Saadiah, began to attack the doctrines of Maimonides, Ibn Shim'on demanded his excommunication. He wrote a theological-philosophical treatise on the creation of the world (Heb. trans. by M. Loewy, *Ma'amar bi-Meḥuyyav ha-Meẓi'ut in Drei Abhandlungen von Josef b. Jehuda*, 1879; *A Treatise as to Necessary Existence*, ed. and trans. by J.L. Magnes, 1904). Steinschneider mentions one medical work, presumably written by Ibn Shim'on (see bibliography). Medieval historians of science regard Ibn Shim'on as an eminent physician of his time. The identification of Ibn Shim'on with Joseph b. Judah ibn Aknīn has been proven to be incorrect.

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[Eliyahu Ashtor]

SHIMONI (originally **Shimonovitz**), **DAVID** (1886–1956), Hebrew poet. He was born in Bobruisk, district of Minsk, Russia, the son of a learned *maskil*. Shimoni studied with private tutors and read avidly, especially in the impressive library belonging to the father of his childhood friend, Berl *Katznelson. He soon began to write, publishing his first poem, a free translation from the Russian of Simon *Frug, in *Gan Sha'ashu'im*. His first original poem, "*Siḥat Resisim*" (1902), appeared in the children's paper *Olam Katan*, but his career is considered to have begun with the poem "*Bein ha-Shemashot*" (1902), published with *Bialik's encouragement in *Lu'aḥ Aḥi'asaf* (no. 12, 1904). His early lyric poems appeared in the best Hebrew journals such as *Ha-Zeman, Ha-Ẓefirah, Ha-Shilo'aḥ*, and *Ha-Me'orer*. For a short period he was employed in drawing revolutionary posters in Russian (1906), and from that year he also published poems in Yiddish. Because of government restrictions placed on the admission of Jews, he was not admitted to the university, so in 1909 he immigrated to Ereẓ Israel, where he stayed about a year. He worked in orange groves and as a watchman in Reḥovot and Petaḥ Tikvah, becoming particularly friendly with A.D. *Gordon and J.Ḥ. *Brenner. He also spent two months touring the country, and for the rest of his life drew on his impressions of that trip. He first wrote of these travels in *Ha-Zeman*, and later in his poetry. From 1911 to 1914 he studied Oriental philology and philosophy at various German universities. In 1911 his first collection of poems, *Yeshimon*, followed in 1912 by his second, *Sa'ar u-Demamah*, were published in Warsaw. He then began publishing his first idylls ("*Yardenit*" in *Ha-Shilo'aḥ*, "*Ba-Ya'ar be-Ḥaderah*" in *Ha-Po'el ha-Ẓa'ir*, "*Milḥemet Yehudah ve-ha-Galil*" in *Moledet*) and initiated in *Ha-Po'el ha-Ẓa'ir* the series "*Ba-Ḥashai*," which combined poetry, prose, and reflections. On the outbreak of World War I he returned to Russia, and spent the war in his native town and in St. Petersburg. At the beginning of the Revolution he moved to Moscow, where he became secretary to the editorial board of the newspaper *Ha-Am*. He also had original works and translations published by the *Stybel press. Cycles of his poems and his translations of Tolstoy, Lermontov, Pushkin, and Heine appeared in the first volumes of *Ha-Tekufah*.

After numerous attempts he left Russia and returned to Ereẓ Israel in 1921, where he produced *Mi-Midbar le-Midbar*, echoes of his wanderings at the end of the war and during the revolution, the idylls *Yovel ha-Eglonim*, *Ba-Derekh*, *Leket*, *Ha-Yoreh*, *Me-Aggadot Ẓefat*, and the poems *Eshet Iyyov* and *Be-Veit ha-Neḥashim*. In 1925 he settled in Tel Aviv and taught Bible and Hebrew literature at the Herzliyyah secondary school until the end of his life. He continued to write idylls (*Maẓẓevah, Si'onah*), dramatic poems, lyrics, chapters of *Ba-Ḥashai*, and introduced a type of satire and fable which mainly served as vehicles for his reaction to the events of the day. In addition to his literary work he plunged into public activity, becoming a member and eventually chairman of the *Academy of the Hebrew Language; the Writers' Association, Genazim, and the Israel Chapter of Friends of the Hebrew University.

Shimoni's poetry expresses Second Aliyah ideals and describes pioneer life in Ereẓ Israel. He belonged to the circle of leading Hebrew poets who were under the influence of Bialik and were the chief spokesmen of Hebrew literature for more than a generation. These poets shared the heritage of life in the Jewish towns of Europe, which had been shattered by history, and the attempts at rebuilding a new national life in Ereẓ Israel. Shimoni is known primarily through his idylls, which were avidly read by two generations of pioneers and are still an integral part of the Israel school curriculum. The pioneers, who sought in literature a confirmation and reaffirmation of their life, found in Shimoni's heroes an expression of the finest achievements of the *ḥalutzim*. For this reason the idylls overshadowed Shimoni's other work. The latter is characterized by two features: lyricism, poetry of the ego, of trouble and sadness; and didacticism, poetry which propagates ideas and educates through reproof and satire. Shimoni's early poetry was lyric – sad, gloomy, and severe. In later poems, although strong lyrical and elegiac elements are retained, the poet concerns himself more with public issues, contemporary problems, and the needs of the people.

Shimoni's lyricism revealed from his early youth a complex personality – serious, skeptical, and reflective – always wandering and seeking and meditating on the fundamental questions of existence and the tragic history of his people. The older he grew the more severe and uncompromising became his attitude toward life. As his sense of duty increased, it pushed the demands of his ego aside, and, together with his honesty and moral strictness, impelled him to abandon individualism for the nationalist idea. Shimoni expressed a feeling of alienation, a division between the real world – strange and hostile – and the imaginary region he craved for – between the "northern land" and the "eastern land." His youthful wanderings and the horrors of World War I explain something of Shimoni's tendency to see the dark side of life, but this tendency was reinforced by trends in Russian literature, especially the Byronism in Lermontov's and Pushkin's works, which he translated into Hebrew. Shimoni's writings also bear the influence of the *fin-de-siècle*.

In his first creative period, Shimoni sees life as a false vision, with sorrow and death as reality. His poems are full of shadows, twilight glimmerings, the sadness of falling leaves, the howling of winds, and lowering storms. They frequently contain expressions of ruined hopes, loss of youth, the paleness of shrouds, the death throes of eras, as if to say that while the whole world is feasting and bathed in light, the poet stands like a stranger at the roadside. They also communicate the sentiments of a young Jew longing to get into the great world which has never accepted him. Shimoni's poetry has nothing of the jubilation of youth, and even love is not able to disperse the clouds of his grief. He wrote a few love poems in his first creative period which occasionally reflect a moment of forgetfulness or a longing for oblivion and repose, but rarely the intoxication and exultation of happiness. Generally it is the girl who looks for love, while the grave youth sings to his beloved the song of "twilight."

Shimoni and Nature

Shimoni's strong affection for nature is revealed in his memoirs, where he stresses that from his youth he had a tendency to seclude himself in nature and attempt to penetrate the secrets of existence. When he was unable to wander and enjoy "the wide open spaces" he would soar in his imagination to lands where he could find solace from the real world. In fact, he makes use of nature mainly for giving utterance to his innermost thoughts; yet he wrote only a few epic nature poems. Almost everywhere his lively sense of scenery and his clear vision are engulfed in lyrical sentimentality. Shimoni turns mostly to nature's dark, sad side, recognizing that everything is ephemeral.

It was only some years after Shimoni's first visit to Ereẓ Israel that his impressions of the country began to dominate his spirit and his poetry. When he went back to Europe he wrote yearning poems about the landscape of Ereẓ Israel. When he returned to Ereẓ Israel, he experienced the difficulty of liberating himself from the landscape of his childhood and acquiring an intimate knowledge of a new one. In a poem written in 1924 he expresses his weariness of the overabundant and brilliant light in the country, and his longing for Russia's foggy days.

The Romantic Character of His Poetry

In his first creative period, the poet is remote from contemporary social and national problems and for the most part renounces the outer world. Only occasionally does he mention the wretched and dismal existence of the Jews, the horror of World War I, or react indirectly to various events of his time and place. He aspires to what is not of this world, and there, in the imaginary distances of time and place, he hopes to find his lost destiny. A long series of similes and images also gives expression to his yearning for that "somewhere" (including Zion) and his strong attraction to the unknown region of his heart's desire. Now and then one hears in Shimoni's poems the voice of revolt, which is hardly related to a real and clear-cut struggle, but is romantically vague.

From Regret to the Reality of Life

Although Shimoni's lyric poetry is melancholy, it should not be regarded as poetry of destruction and despair. In his somber meditation there are occasional flashes of humor, the play of opposites, in which some inner vitality courses.

In this very period of *Weltschmerz* and depression one can discern in his work the seeds from which his idylls grew. Among his numerous poems of sorrow there are some which look on the bright side of life and discover the source of joy. Slowly the poet achieves the will to live and contentment with that which exists. Shimoni, like many of his generation, was captivated by the romanticism of *Ḥibbat Zion and Zionism. Doubtless there was also a romantic influence, but immigration to Ereẓ Israel was much more than a matter of romanticism. When Shimoni settled permanently in the country, he abandoned most of the motifs of his lyrics. Influenced by Brenner, Shimoni, in the middle of his writing career, turned increasingly to topical poetry. Written in a militant and aggressive spirit, this poetry deliberately encouraged national service. Shimoni, ruled by a sense of national and public duty, was to write more and more poems in response to the events of the times, warning against weaknesses and dangers with the lashing tongue of the preacher, the bitterness of the satirist, beginning with *Al Sefod* (1921), continuing with *Ereẓ Yisrael* (1929), *Lo! Et Damenu Lo Nafkir* (1936), *Hithakhi Ahvat Yisrael…* (1939), and ending with a great number of poems of protest from the days of war, destruction, and ghettos.

Displaying neither surprising values nor new forms, Shimoni's poems did not receive great attention when they appeared. His style was generally that of the "classical" Hebrew poetry of his time, but he was one of the last to adopt it, when the style had already begun to decline and was exhibiting signs of weakness. Other young poets had embraced new methods. Although aware of these techniques, Shimoni kept to regular rhymes, a definite meter, and a symmetrical construction. Even when the poem is full of grief and stormy protest, the lines and rhymes are clear, considered, and subdued. The seriousness and severity of the poems is somewhat softened by a simple lucid style, whose elements and phrases are casual and ordinary. Shimoni was known as "an abstainer from form" because of his lack of original patterns, embellishments or surprising phrases. The numerous repetitions of the same motifs, the occasionally excessive length, the many allegorical features and general feeling of weariness sometimes lend the poems a gray, monotonous character. As against this, the reader is taken by the purity and veracity of the descriptions, the sincerity of feeling and the warm spirituality. It was to this that Bialik referred when he said of Shimoni: "His clothes are simple but he himself is festive."

Like other Hebrew poets, Shimoni changed from the Ashkenazi to the Sephardi accentuation at a fairly late stage. From 1932 onward his poems rhyme and scan according to the Sephardi accentuation, whereas all his earlier poems (i.e., the majority of his lyrics) must be read with the Ashkenazi penultimate meter stress and tonal emphasis if they are to be fully enjoyed. Shimoni's work is collected in (1) *Ketavim*, 4 vols. (1925–32); *Mivḥar Ketavim*, 2 vols. (1960), continued in 1965 by Dvir Publishing House (not completed). For translations of Shimoni's works into English see Goell, bibliography, index.

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SHIMONI, YOUVAL (1955–), Hebrew novelist. Shimoni was born in Jerusalem. He studied cinema at Tel Aviv University and published two novels which were hailed as major literary events by Israeli critics. *Me'of ha-Yonah* ("The Flight of the Dove"; German, 1994; French, 2001) is a postmodern prose narrative made up of two parallel stories, printed on the opposite pages of the book. The second novel, *Ḥeder* ("A Room"; French, 2004), is yet again a highly sophisticated prose work composed of three independent parts that weld into a single entity, oscillating between an army base and Paris, fusing cinematic techniques and reflecting on the substance of life and art. "This book reaches heights of heart-felt longing and grace," wrote Amos Oz.

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[Anat Feinberg (2nd ed.)]

SHIMRON (Heb. שִׁמְרוֹן), Canaanite city, first mentioned in the Egyptian Execration Texts (19th–18th centuries B.C.E.; E 55), where it appears as Šmwʾnw; it appears as Šmʿn in the list of conquered cities of Thutmosis III (15th century B.C.E.; No. 35). In the el-Amarna letters, Šamu-Adda, king of Šamhuna, is mentioned as an ally of the king of Acre (Letters 8:13; 224; 225:4). All these texts indicate a name like Šimʿon for the city; in the Bible, however, it occurs as Shimron, with the Septuagint variant Συμοων. A king of Shimron took part in the coalition led by Jabin of Hazor and is listed among the kings defeated by Joshua (Josh. 11:1; 12:20; the name Shimron-Meron is explained in several manuscripts of the Septuagint as referring to two kings, one of Shimron and one of Meron). In Joshua 19:15, Shimron is listed among the cities of Zebulun, together with Nahalal and Beth-Lehem of Galilee. It appears in later periods as Simonias, a village on the frontier of Galilee, 60 stades (c. 7½ mi., 12 km.) from Gaba (Jos., Life, 115). It is mentioned as Simʿoniya in talmudic sources (Tosef. Shev. 7:13; TJ, Meg. 1:1, 70a). However, various scholars doubt the identification of biblical Shimron with Shimʿon-Simonias. Shimron is identified with the present-day Khirbat Sīmūniyya, a prominent tell with springs in the vicinity; pottery on the surface includes types of the Early to Middle Bronze Ages, and remains of a synagogue have been identified there.

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[Michael Avi-Yonah]

SHIN (Heb. שׁ; שִׁין), the twenty-first letter of the Hebrew alphabet; its numerical value is 300. In the early Proto-Canaanite script the *shin* was drawn as a pictograph of a composite bow 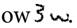. Then in the Phoenician, Aramaic, and Hebrew scripts it was written 𐤔. While the Hebrew script preserved this form (cf. the Samaritan ࠔ), the Phoenician *shin* developed into 𐤔 → 𐤔 → 𐤔, and the Aramaic *shin* into 𐡔 → 𐡔 → 𐡔 which is the basic form of the Jewish *shin* ש. From the Nabataean 𐢛 → 𐢚. the Arabic evolved, which was used both for the *sin* (س) and *shin* (ش). Presumably, the later Proto-Canaanite or the early Phoenician *shin* was the model from which the Greek *sigma* Σ, ϟ – the ancestor of the Latin "S" – developed. See*Alphabet, Hebrew.

[Joseph Naveh]

SHINAH, SELMAN (1898–?), Iraqi lawyer, politician, and Hebrew writer. An officer in the Turkish army in World War I, Shinah was captured and exiled to *India until 1919. He was elected the Jewish representative in the Iraqi parliament in 1947 and 1949. He founded the Hebrew Writers' Union in 1920 and published a Zionist weekly in Arabic, *Al-Miṣbāḥ* ("The Menorah"), which lasted until 1929. He settled in Israel in 1951. His autobiography, *Mi-Bavel le-Ẓiyyon* ("From Babylon to Zion"), appeared in 1955.

SHINAR (Heb. שִׁנְעָר), place-name referring to *Mesopotamia, the area once termed Sumer and Akkad. In Genesis 10:10 the name Shinar as a geographical name appears alongside the names of such ancient Mesopotamian sites as Babel (Akk. Bāb-ili), Erech (Akk. Uruk), and Akkad. So, too, the Septuagint transcription of the name (i.e., Σεννααρ) is replaced by the rendering "Babylonia" in, e.g., Isaiah 11:11 and Zechariah 5:11. Various attempts have been made to determine the etymology of Shinar, relating it, in some way, to the name Sumer (see *Sumer). Whatever its ultimate etymology, the designation Shinar for Mesopotamia is paralleled in the el-Amarna letters (EA 35:49), where it appears as šanḫar, as well as in Egyptian records, where it is written *sngr.*

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[Murray Lichtenstein]

SHINDOOKH, MOSES BEN MORDECAI, *nasi* of the *Baghdad community in the first half of the 18th century. He was also **ṣarrāf-bashi* ("chief banker") to the governor of the city. A man of generous disposition, he gave his support especially to religious scholars. In 1743 he was reported to Ahmed Pasha, the city governor, and sentenced to death. After Baghdad Jews paid a large sum to the pasha and Shindookh wrote off a debt the pasha owed him, the sentence was quashed and Shindookh was reinstated in office.

His grandson SASON BEN MORDECAI SHINDOOKH (1747–1830) was born in Baghdad, and became well known as a rabbi and kabbalist, a poet and preacher, and especially as the author of many works in the field of traditional and mystical Jewish studies. The poems that he composed were both of a religious and secular nature and some are didactic. They were written in the rhyme of Spanish-Hebrew poetry. Some of his *piyyutim* were included in *siddurim* and in books of *piyyutim* in the Babylonian rite. He also served as the permanent *ḥazzan* of the Great Synagogue in Baghdad. He was a practicing kabbalist, and became the subject of legends.

His published works include *Imrei Sason* (Baghdad, 1891); *Devar Beito* (2 parts, Leghorn, 1862, 1864); *Mizmor le-Asaf* (Leghorn, 1864); *Kol Sason* (Leghorn, 1859); *Sadeh Lavan* (Jerusalem, 1904); and *Tehillah le-David* (Baghdad, 1892). He also wrote many works which are extant in manuscript.

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[Abraham Ben-Yaacob]

SHINUI, Israeli center-liberal party that underwent several transformations after it was founded in July 1974, following the Yom Kippur War, by Amnon *Rubinstein, Mordechai Wirshubski, and others. The new party was the outgrowth of several protest movements that had emerged against the background of the *meḥdal* ("failure") which had led to the 1973 War. The founders of the party believed that deep political, economic, and social defects in Israeli society threatened the state's security, moral steadfastness, and ability to function properly, and that these could not be repaired by means of public protest alone, or by means of activity within the existing parties.

The ideological platform of Shinui was drafted in the form of eight principles, which included willingness to negotiate with Israel's neighbors on the basis of territorial compromise; amendment of the electoral system to ensure the responsibility of the representatives to their voters as well as the democratization of the parties and legally sanctioned state supervision of their proper operation; securing basic civil rights, guaranteed in a written constitution; avoidance of government intervention in the economy to advance sectorial interests, and intervention only for national requirements, and for the existence of the welfare state; basing the state public administration on the principle of personal responsibility, and the appointment and promotion of employees only on the basis of merit; organization of the education system with the goal of equal opportunities for everyone and ensuring a proper education for everyone, suitable for a democratic society with developed technological and scientific standards; closing the social gaps through an appropriate improvement of the taxation system, the salary policy, demographic planning and the organization of state welfare services; a fundamental change in the standards of public life and the services granted the citizens, by means of education, the upholding of the law, and suitable legislation.

In 1975, Shinui considered uniting with the Civil Rights Movement (CRM-Ratz), but the following year joined – on an individual basis – the new *Democratic Movement for Change (Dash), that received an impressive 15 seats in the elections to the Ninth Knesset in 1977. The DMC joined the government formed by Menaḥem *Begin despite Shinui's objection. Two days before the signing of the Camp David Accords in September 1978, the DMC disintegrated, and seven of its members established a parliamentary group by the name of Ha-Tenu'ah le-Shinui ve-Yozmah (the Movement for Change and Initiative). By July 1980 five members were left in the group, which changed its name to Shinui – The Center Party. In the elections to the Tenth Knesset in 1981 Shinui gained two seats, and in the elections to the Eleventh Knesset in 1984 – three seats. Shinui joined the National Unity Government formed in 1984, and Rubinstein was appointed minister of communications. In the course of the Eleventh Knesset Wirshubski left Shinui and joined the CRM, while Rubinstein resigned from the government in May 1987, because he felt that the government was not doing enough to advance peace, and because of the return of a member of Shas to the government. Shinui was then involved in an attempt at the establishment of a new Center movement with the Independent Liberal Party and the Liberal Center, but this attempt failed. Shinui received two seats in the Twelfth Knesset, and remained in opposition. Prior to the elections to the Thirteenth Knesset in 1992 it created a single parliamentary group and election list with the CRM and *Mapam, called *Meretz. Meretz won 12 seats in the elections, of which Shinui received two. Meretz joined the government formed by Yitzhak *Rabin, and Rubinstein was at first appointed minister of energy and infrastructures, and then, in June 1993, minister of education, culture and sports in place of Shulamit *Aloni. In the elections to the Fourteenth Knesset, Shinui once again received two seats of the 10 won by Meretz. After Meretz registered as a party, one of the two members of Shinui – Avraham Poraz – chose to remain outside the new party, and in March 1999 formed an independent parliamentary group together with Eliezer Sandberg, who had broken off from *Tzomet, which assumed the name of Shinui. In 1999, before the elections to the Fifteenth Knesset, Prof. Shalom Reichman, a staunch advocate of a constitution for Israel and founder and president of the Interdisciplinary Center in Herzliyyah, who was head of the Shinui presidium but was not interested in running for the Knesset, managed to convince journalist Yosef (Tomi) *Lapid to assume the political leadership of the party. Shinui, in its new incarnation, was now identified with efforts to reduce the flow of public funds to the religious parties and to enlist religious youths for military service. Shinui gained 6 seats in the Fifteenth Knesset, and chose to remain in opposition. In the elections to the Sixteenth Knesset, it won an impressive 15 seats. Most of its 15 members were new faces in the Knesset, who came from the professions and academia. Its declared goal after the elections was to convince the *Likud, under the leadership of Ariel *Sharon, to form a secular government with Shinui and the *Israel Labor Party. But when Labor leader Amram Mitzna resisted entering such a government, Shinui entered the new government in a coalition that also included the *National Religious Party and the National Union, with Lapid serving as minister of justice, Poraz as minister of the interior, Joseph Paritzky as minister of national infrastructures, and Yehudit Na'ot as minister of the environment. However, in December 2004, not long after Paritzky was replaced after being involved in a political scandal and Na'ot resigned after becoming fatally ill, Shinui left the coalition. The reason for its decision to leave the government was its objection to the decision to add more funding to the religious parties in the 2005 budget. Paritzky finally received the status of a parliamentary group in May 2005, and Shinui remained in opposition with 14 seats.

Intraparty strife in January 2006 following the party primary in which Lapid, though winning, faced a challenge to his leadership and Avraham Poraz was ousted from the number two position, led to Lapid and Poraz leaving the party. The ensuing split created two factions and Shinui's status was seriously undermined. The party won no seats in the Knesset election of March 2006.

[Susan Hattis Rolef (2nd ed.)]

SHINWELL, EMANUEL, BARON (1884–1986), British Labour politician. Born in London, the son of a small clothing manufacturer, Shinwell was brought up in South Shields and in Glasgow, where he lived for many years. He joined the British Labour Party at the age of 19 and was active in trade union work, often as a militant, becoming a member of the Glasgow Trades Council in 1906. During World War I he worked as an official of the Seamen's Union. He denied that he was a conscientious objector, claiming that his job was a reserved occupation. Nevertheless he supported J. Ramsay MacDonald's campaign in 1917 for a negotiated peace. In the immediate post-1918 period Shinwell was seen as an extreme leftist, one of the so-called "Red Clydesiders." This impression proved inaccurate: he was a consistent Labour moderate who became even less extreme over most issues as the years passed.

Shinwell entered Parliament in 1922 and was minister for mines in the short-lived Labour government of 1924. He lost his seat at the general election of that year, but returned to Parliament in 1928, and was a junior member of the Labour government of 1929 to 1931. Shinwell refused to follow Ramsay MacDonald into the 1931 national coalition and defeated MacDonald in his constituency of Seaham Harbour in 1935. Following the Labour election victory of 1945, Shinwell became minister of fuel and power with a seat in the cabinet. He was widely criticized for his apparent complacency during the severe winter of 1947–48 and was demoted to a post outside the cabinet in 1948, as minister for war. In 1950–51 he reentered the cabinet as minister for defense. From 1964 to 1967 he was chairman of the Parliamentary Labour Party. "Manny" Shinwell was for several years a veteran member of the House of Commons where he was a popular figure. In 1970, on his retirement, he was created a life peer. In his later years Shinwell vehemently opposed British entry into the European Economic Community. His writings include *The Britain I Want* (1943), *When the Men Come Home* (1944), *Conflict Without Malice* (1955), and *The Labour Story* (1963).

Though never officially associated with Jewish or Zionist organizations, Shinwell always prided himself on his Jewish origin. In 1938 he was involved in an incident in the House of Commons when a member uttered an antisemitic threat. He crossed the floor and delivered a resounding smack to the member in front of the whole House. In 1948, when Britain surrendered the mandate for Palestine and withdrew her forces, Shinwell, as minister for war, took measures so that Jews would not be discriminated against in the disposal of surplus military supplies. In later years he enthusiastically supported Israel's cause and took pride in her ability to defend herself. He wrote two volumes of autobiography, *I've Lived Through It All* (1973) and *Lead With the Left: My First Ninety-Six Years* (1981). A respected elder statesman, Shinwell died at the age of 101.

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[Vivian David Lipman]

SHION (Heb. שִׁיאוֹן), town belonging to the tribe of Issachar, together with Hapharaim and Anaharath (Josh. 19:19). Eusebius places a village of this name near Mt. Tabor (Onom. 158:13). The suggested identification with the springs called ʿUyūn al-Shaʿīn near Dabbūriyya is doubtful. Some scholars have identified this site with the Sigoph of Soen (according to some Mss.) fortified by Josephus (Wars, 2:573; Life, 188); as, however, nearby Mt. Tabor was certainly included in this fortified line, a fortress at ʿUyūn al-Shaʿīn would have been superfluous and it is preferable to read the names of the fortified place as Sogane (Jos., Life, 265; see *Sogane-Sikhnin).

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[Michael Avi-Yonah]

SHIPHRAH AND PUAH (Heb. שִׁפְרָה, פּוּעָה), two Hebrew women who served as midwives for the Israelites in Egypt (Ex. 1:15ff.). Ordered by Pharaoh to kill all male children at birth, Shiphrah and Puah, being God-fearing, disobeyed him, under the pretext that the vigorous Hebrew women were able to dispense with the services of a midwife. In reward for their heroic and virtuous behavior, God "established households" for Shiphrah and Puah (*ibid.*, 5:21), which probably means that they became the matriarchs of enduring families in Israel.

The name Shiphrah, which also appears in an Egyptian list of slaves in the form *Š-p-ra*, probably means "fair one." Puah may be related to the Ugaritic *pġt*, meaning "girl."

Shiphrah is identified with Jochebed, the mother of Moses (Sot. 11b). The name refers to the fact that as a midwife, she beautified (*meshapperet*, מְשַׁפֶּרֶת) the children which she delivered; and Israel multiplied exceedingly (*she-paru*, שֶׁפָּרוּ) as a result of her actions; and that she performed deeds which were pleasing (*shafru*, שָׁפְרוּ) to God (Ex. R. 1:13).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Albright, in: JAOS, 74 (1954), 229 and note 50; Ginzberg, Legends, index; I. Ḥasida, *Ishei ha-Tanakh* (1964), 424.

SHIPLACOFF, ABRAHAM ISAAC (1877–1934), U.S. labor and Socialist leader. Shiplacoff, who was born in Chernigov, Russia, immigrated to the United States in 1891. He worked under sweatshop conditions as a sewing-machine operator for seven years, and then taught at Brooklyn Public School 84. During this period he founded the William Morris Educational Club, in Brownsville, Brooklyn, later part of the Socialist Party. He was a clerk in the customs service for a time.

An "old Socialist" devoted to the union movement, Shiplacoff held several union posts and served on the national executive committee of the Socialist Party, but due to his lack of skill as a tactician he did not establish himself in any one labor organization. He served as secretary to United Hebrew Trades for some years after 1910. As manager of the New York Joint Board of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, he organized the tailors' general strike in 1920–21. He was president of the International Leather Goods Workers Union from 1927 to 1930. A magnetic speaker and a political aspirant who remained close to his community's feelings and needs, Shiplacoff was the first Socialist elected to the New York State Assembly. He represented his Brownsville (Brooklyn) district in Albany for two terms, 1915–18; in his second term he served as party leader. He was one of the Socialist leaders indicted for sedition under the Espionage Act in 1919, but the indictment against him was dismissed. Shiplacoff represented the 49th Aldermanic District in Brooklyn on the New York Board of Aldermen from 1919 to 1921. In 1929 he campaigned unsuccessfully for the post of Brooklyn Borough president. A park and playground in Brownsville were named for him in 1938.

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SHIPS AND SAILING.

Biblical Period

The first sailing vessel mentioned in the Bible is Noah's Ark (see *Ark of Noah).

The Phoenicians first developed marine navigation for purposes of commerce and communication along the sheltered part of the east Mediterranean coast, from the Gulf of Acre to Tyre and Sidon. Since, however, this area is rich in wood and natural inlets, the development of a fleet of larger ships, which could be used for commerce and communication between Asia and Africa via the Mediterranean Sea, naturally followed. Phoenician ships traveled the Mediterranean Sea parallel to the coasts, in a course which permitted them to stop and get provisions in ports established for this purpose in the natural inlets along the shore of the Mediterranean. The Phoenician fleet was a source of pride and wealth to the Tyrians and a target for attack by the prophet Ezekiel (Ezek. 27). In order to provide convenient terminals for ships sailing along the coasts, ports were established at the mouths of rivers. At first only anchorages for boats and small ships, they were gradually developed, by the hewing out of the harbor rocks and the building of suitable quays, into ports capable of affording ships the services required, such as those found in Dor, south of Haifa, in Caesarea, in Jaffa, in Gaza, and elsewhere. Along with the establishment of commercial fleets for interstate trade, there was construction of warships designed to guard the merchant fleet from pirates. These warships were light and strong and constructed in such a way that they could attain great maneuverability and high speed. Both the merchant ships and warships were propelled by sails as well as oars, and were equipped with large crews of oarsmen. The sail was set on the top of a central mast, and the oarsmen were arranged in one, two, or even three rows along the length of the boards of the ship.

Other nations whose history is connected with seagoing transportation are the "Sea Peoples" who penetrated the Near East in the 13th–12th centuries B.C.E. An impressive portrayal of their ships appears on the relief of Medinet Habu, which represents the sea battle between them and Ramses III. The development of seafaring vessels along the length of the unsheltered coast of Palestine was late, taking place only in the days of Solomon. During the period in which his kingdom expanded and extended to the Mediterranean Sea and the Gulf of Ezion-Geber (ʿAqaba), Solomon completed the construction of a large merchant fleet. The fleet was built with the assistance of Tyrian experts sent to him by Hiram, and was based in the port of Ezion-Geber, in order to develop trade with the distant countries of Africa, and so as not to compete with the Phoenician fleet which plied the coasts of the Mediterranean Sea (I Kings 9:26–28; 10:22; II Chron. 8:17–18). King Jehoshaphat's later attempt to build a merchant fleet similar to that of Solomon failed, the ships being wrecked at Ezion-Geber (I Kings 22:48; II Chron. 20:35ff.). In spite of the fact that the Israelites were not a seafaring nation, the Bible attributes close connections with marine transportation to two tribes of Israel: Zebulun and Dan. Of Zebulun it is written: "Zebulun shall dwell by the seashore; he shall be a haven of ships, and his flank shall rest on Sidon" (Gen. 49:13) and "for they [Zebulun] draw from the riches of the sea and the hidden hoards of the sand" (Deut. 33:18–19); of Dan: "and why did he [Dan] abide with the ships" (Judg. 5:17).

In the Bible there are many terms connected with sea traffic: pilots (*hovelim*, Ezek. 27:27), and mariners (*mallahim*, Ezek. 27:27, 29; Jonah 1:5); and rowers (Ezek. 27:29; cf. Jonah 1:13). There are references to a number of types of sailing vessels: *oʾni shayit*, a ship with oars (Isa. 33:21); *oʾni tarshish* ("ships of Tarshish"), large and heavy merchant ships (I Kings 10:22); *kelei gome*, apparently ships made from bundles of papyrus tied together (Isa. 18:2); *sefinah*, from the Akkadian *sapīnatu*, sailing vessel with a deck (Jonah 1:5), and others. In addition, details of parts of sailing vessels occur in common usage in the language of the Bible, such as *luhotayim* ("planks"; Ezek. 27:5); *toren* ("mast"; Isa. 33:23; Ezek. 27:5); *meshotim* ("oars"; cf. Ezek. 27:6); *nes* ("sail(s)"; cf. Isa. 33:23, Ezek. 27:7); *yarketei ha-sefinah* ("the hold of the ship"; Jonah 1:5); *rosh ḥibbel* ("the top of a mast"; Prov. 23:34); and *keresh* ("deck"; Ezek. 27:6). There is a vivid description of a storm overtaking a merchant fleet in the Mediterranean and the subsequent calm in Psalms 107:23–32. (See *Commerce, *Trade)

[Zeʾev Yeivin]

Post-Biblical Period

After its capture by Simeon the *Hasmonean, Jaffa became the main port of Judah; Pompey successfully suppressed the Jewish pirates' base there. *Herod developed the harbor of *Caesarea and built many ships. During the Jewish War, Jewish merchant ships engaged in piracy and inflicted losses on the Romans. Resistance to the Romans was particularly bitter on the Sea of Galilee (Jos., Wars 3, 462ff.).

Among the spoils displayed by Vespasian in his triumphal procession in Rome were "many ships" (Tacitus 7, 3–6). Coins commemorating the Roman victory also bore the legend *Victoria Navalis*. In the second rebellion (115–117), which took place mainly in *Egypt, North Africa, and *Cyprus, this form of warfare was widespread. Various maritime occupations were fairly common among Jews in mishnaic and talmudic times, upon the rivers of Babylon and on the seas. The Babylonian Talmud contains more than 200 technical-nautical terms as well as regulations for ordering river traffic; sailing was considered an honorable profession. The wealth of talmudic references have been the basis for a major study by D. Sperber. For centuries, well into the Christian era, *Alexandria had its own society of Jewish *navicularii* ("shipowners"), as well as seamen of all professions. During the anti-Jewish riots of 39 C.E., cargoes of Jewish ships were carried off and burned. Augustine and Jerome both recorded encounters with Jewish mariners; their contemporary, Bishop Synesius, wrote a satirical account of his experiences aboard a ship with a Jewish crew sailing from Alexandria to Corynna: when a storm rose on Friday afternoon the ship was left to dance freely upon the waves by the God-fearing mariners, to the extreme agitation of the passengers.

Ship representations from the Hasmonean and Early Roman periods have been found at Maresha and in the "Tomb of Jason," Jerusalem. An intact lower hull of a boat dated to the first century C.E. was excavated on the shores of the Sea of Galilee. Drawings of ships – merchantmen and galleys – are known from the Late Roman and Byzantine periods (e.g., at Nessana, Beth Shearim), as well as in mosaic floors (e.g., recently at Lod), X Legion bricks, and coins. A drawing of a merchantman, together with a Latin inscription, "Domine Ivimus," was uncovered in the Church of the Holy Sepulcher. Some authorities date it to the Byzantine period, while others suggest dating it to the Roman period.

[Henry Wasserman / Shimon Gibson (2nd ed.)]

As long as the Mediterranean remained open to the European West, Jewish traders were prominent in maritime contacts between the Mediterranean coast and the southern shores of the sea up to the ninth century. Gregory of Tours (sixth century) tells of a ship manned by Jews plying the coast of Provence and Liguria. Norman ships sighted in Carolingian times were thought to be either Jewish, African, or British. During the Muslim domination of the Mediterranean there is evidence in contracts, responsa, and descriptions of partnerships of Jews "in ships," i.e., in cargoes; Jewish ownership of "a third of a ship" is mentioned. Maimonides distinguishes between various legal forms of this financing of maritime trade. In the main, such Jewish merchants conducted their manifold and widespread trade in ships owned by gentiles. There were, however, notable exceptions: *Benjamin of Tudela observed that the Jews in *Tyre were shipowners. In southern France, particularly in *Marseilles, Jewish shipowners, who were barely differentiated from their Christian competitors, were active from the Byzantine era until well into the Middle Ages. Evidence of some Jewish shipping activities may be found in Aragon, Barcelona, Portugal, and the Balearic Islands in the late Middle Ages. Most Mediterranean ports contained Jewish merchants, brokers, and insurers, engaged in various aspects of shipping.

Jewish scholars may have helped spread the knowledge of early nautical aids like the compass, quadrant (predecessor of the sextant), astrolabe, and astronomical tables, from the Arab East to the Christian West. *Levi b. Gershom (1288–1344) devised an improved quadrant which continued in use for four centuries and was known as "Jacob's staff"; his invention was itself a refinement of the "Quadrans Judaicus" of Judah b. Machir. The famous "Alfonsine Tables" were translated into Spanish and amended by two Jewish physicians at the court of Aragon in the late 13th century. *Majorca was known for its nautical instruments, produced by Jewish craftsmen, and for its Jewish mapmakers, the most renowned of whom were Abraham *Cresques (d. 1387) and his son Judah, who completed his father's lifework, a map of the world. Apostatizing after the massacres of 1391, Judah Cresques entered the service of Prince Henry the Navigator and became director of his nautical academy at Sagres. Abraham *Zacuto constructed the first metal astrolabe, compiled astronomical tables, and was consulted by *Columbus, Vasco de Gama, and other leading navigators of the Age of Discovery. Some Jews participated in the great European voyages of discovery (see Gaspar da *Gama and Pedro *Teixera). Jewish merchants on the Barbary Coast and other Muslim Mediterranean coasts sometimes engaged in privateering and piracy (see also *Palache family).

The *Marrano Diaspora in the Mediterranean world, Northern Europe (Amsterdam, Hamburg, London), and the New World was active in international maritime commerce, mainly as entrepreneurs, merchants, brokers, and insurers. In *Altona and later in Copenhagen Portuguese Jews participated in the shipbuilding industry, developed the trade with Greenland, and pioneered in whaling; the authorities of *Glueckstadt attracted Portuguese Jews by offering them the right to engage in shipbuilding, from which they were excluded in all Hanseatic cities. In England a Marrano, Simon Fernandez, was chief pilot of Sir Walter Raleigh (see also Antonio Fernandez *Carvajal). In his "Humble Address on behalf of the Jewish Nation," *Manasseh Ben Israel emphasized the services the Jews could render to English shipping. Members of the *Schomberg family achieved distinction in the royal navy and merchant marines. Joseph d'Aguilar Samuda (1813–1885), a pioneer in the building of iron steamships, helped found the Institute of Naval Architects. Gustav Wilhelm Wolff, joint founder of the Harland and Wolff shipyards of Belfast, one of the world's largest, joined the Church of England at an advanced age. Sephardi Jews played an important role in colonial trade. The *Furtado and *Gradis families (who pioneered the Canada trade) were prominent among the shipping merchants of *Bordeaux. Marrano shipowners and shipbuilders were active in *Leghorn. In Antwerp the Mendes-Nasi family were prominent shippers in the spice trade and even had their own ships built.

Jews sailed the Indian Ocean, mainly in non-Jewish ships, playing a not inconsiderable role in shipping in the 11th–12th centuries and once more in the 16th–18th centuries. They were also active in shipping in Constantinople and worked as boatmen or porters in the ports of Constantinople (where the Jewish boatmen were known as *kaikjes*) and Salonika. In the British and Dutch colonies of North America, Jews were engaged in the oceanic colonial trade as well as in trade between the various colonies and in fishing enterprises (see Aaron *Lopez and *Touro family). Michael and Bernard Gratz, shippers of New York, outfitted privateers in the War of Independence. Captain John Ordronalux (1778–1841) was a highly successful privateer captain in the 1812–14 war between the United States and Great Britain. In South Africa the *De Pass brothers were the largest shipowners for many years in the 19th century; they were connected mainly with developing the whaling and fishing industries.

In modern times, Jewish participation in shipbuilding – as in other heavy industries – was not common. However, there were exceptions. When Alexander Moses of Koenigsberg began building a ship in 1781, the German builders protested; Frederick II allowed him to finish this one but not to build another. Albert *Ballin raised the standard of the Hamburg-Amerika Line and brought it international repute by introducing modern passenger services and winter pleasure cruises. Jens and Lucie Borchardt (1878–1969) developed tugboat shipping in Hamburg harbor; after the Nazi rise to power they continued their activity in Great Britain. In 1870 W. Kuntsmann (1844–1934) of Stettin founded the largest shipping firm on the eastern coast of Prussia. In Russia, Jews helped develop the internal river traffic: David S. Margolin organized a firm which owned 62 river steamboats on the Dnieper and in the 1880s G. Polyak built a fleet of petroleum tankers that sailed from the Caspian Sea up the Volga. Austrian Lloyd was organized by Italian Jews from *Trieste, as was the Navigazione Generale Italiana. Jacob *Hecht formed the Rhenania Rheinschiffahrts group in 1908 and the Neptun company in 1920 for river shipping.

For shipping in Israel see *Israel, State of: Economic Affairs; *Zim.

[Henry Wasserman]

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SHIRAZ, capital of the former province of Fars, S. *Iran. The existence of a Jewish community in Shiraz is attested by Persian and Arab geographers from the tenth century. The funeral of a great Sufi leader in Shiraz (981) was attended by Muslims, Christians, and Jews. Muqaddasī (tenth century) states that there was a smaller number of Jews than Christians in the province. *Benjamin of Tudela (c. 1162) described Shiraz as a large city, with a Jewish population of about 10,000. With the rise in 1288 of *Saʿd al-Dawla, the Jewish physician and vizier of Arghūn Khān, the Jews of Shiraz shared in the considerable freedom enjoyed by all the communities in *Persia, and likewise were affected by the persecution which swept over Mesopotamian and Persian Jewry after the death of Arghūn Khān. The persecutions of the Jews in Shiraz under the Safavids are detailed in the Judeo-Persian chronicles of *Babai ibn Luṭf and Babai ibn Farḥad. Coja Jacob Aaron, a Jewish banker and broker of the English East India Company of Basra, went to Shiraz during the Persian occupation of *Basra in 1777. According to David d'Beth Hillel, there lived in Shiraz 700 Jewish families (about 3,500 people) in 1827. And according to the account of Benjamin II, 2,500 out of 3,000 Jews in Shiraz were forced to embrace *Islam in the middle of the 19th century. Later, most of the Jews returned to Judaism. In 1892, 1897, and 1910 there were severe pogroms in the Jewish quarter; many were killed and injured. During the 19th century, Christian missionary activities and the Bahai movement made inroads into the Jewish community which were countered by the establishment of an *Alliance Israélite Universelle school in 1909 (which closed in the 1960s). Toward the end of the 19th century, many Jews from Shiraz emigrated to Ereẓ Israel, including the families of Raḥamim Reuven *Melamed and Raphael Ḥayyim *Ha-cohen.

Approximately 12,000–15,000 Jews lived in Shiraz in 1948. According to the 1956 Iranian census, 8,304 Jews remained in Shiraz, which was then the second largest Jewish community in Iran. Approximately 2,000 Jews left for Israel between 1956 and 1968. Most were artisans and peddlers, but there were also merchants and moneylenders. About half the Jews received financial assistance until they left the city. Those who remained belonged to the middle classes, but in the 1960s Jews began to leave their ghetto. A yeshivah with 18 pupils, a teacher's seminary with 20 pupils, and schools were run by Oẓar ha-Torah and by ORT. The former had 1,100 pupils in 1949 and 2,020 in 1961. In 1960 about 1,000 Jewish children attended government schools. The town had a branch of the Iranian Jewish Women's Association and the Young Peoples' Association, Kanun Javanan. In 1967 the community numbered 7,000 Jews. In the year 2000, 13 Jews were arrested and brought to the revolutionary court in Shiraz on false charges of spying for Israel. They were sentenced to from one to 12 years in prison. Eventually all of them were released at the beginning of 2003. There remained in Shiraz about 3,000 Jews in 2005.

See *Iran.

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[Walter Joseph Fischel and Hayyim J. Cohen /
Amnon Netzer (2nd ed.)]

SHIR HA-MA'ALOT (Heb. שִׁיר הַמַּעֲלוֹת; "Song of Ascent"), superscription of Psalms 120–134 (see *Psalms). (The superscription of Psalm 121, however, is *Shir la-Ma'-alot*.) These psalms are now generally understood to have been sung by the pilgrims as they went up to Jerusalem to celebrate the three *Pilgrim Festivals. Those carrying the firstfruits chanted Psalm 122 as they approached Jerusalem (TJ Bik. 3:2, 65c). In the Ashkenazi rite, these psalms are recited together with Psalm 104 on Sabbath afternoons during the winter season and also on *Tu bi-Shevat. Psalm 126 is sung in the home before *Grace after Meals on Sabbaths and festivals.

SHIR HA-YIḤUD (Heb. שִׁיר הַיִּחוּד; "Hymn of Unity"), a lengthy medieval liturgical poem divided into seven parts, one for each day of the week, praising God, extolling His uniqueness, and emphasizing the smallness of His creatures. Poetic beauty and sublimity of religious thought have placed the poem among the foremost liturgical compositions. Each line is divided into rhymed couplets, with four beats in each couplet. From the fourth line on, each verse throughout the remainder of the poem contains 16 syllables. The first three lines serve as an introduction, a free translation of which reads:

> I will sing to my God as long as I live,
> The God who has sustained me all through my life,
> To this day Thou hast taken me by the hand,
> Life and loving kindness hast Thou given me.
> Blessed be the Lord, blessed be His glorious name,
> For His wondrous kindness shown to His servant.

(trans. P. Birnbaum, *High Holiday Prayer Book* (1951), 101).

The identity of the author is uncertain and no trace of his name is to be found in any acrostical combination in the poem. *Heidenheim (*Ha-Piyyutim ve-ha-Paytanim*, s.v. Judah b. Samuel b. R. Kalonymus, in: Introd. to his *Shemini Aẓeret Maḥzor*) ascribes its authorship to *Samuel b. Kalonymus he-Ḥasid, the father of *Judah he-Ḥasid of Regensburg. A. Epstein (in *Ha-Goren*, 4 (1903), 96–98) has sought to identify Samuel b. Kalonymus Ḥazzan as the author.

Originally, the appropriate portion of the *Shir ha-Yiḥud* was recited in many congregations after the conclusion of the daily service. Some congregations only recited it on the Sabbath. The most prevalent contemporary custom is to recite the entire poem at the conclusion of the service on the eve of the *Day of Atonement, and to chant the appropriate daily section at the start of the morning service on *Rosh Ha-Shanah and the Day of Atonement. Its elimination from the daily and Sabbath services was probably due to the desire not to lengthen the service unduly, though some authorities also quoted the talmudic dictum that no mortal is capable of properly praising the Almighty (A. Lewisohn, *Mekorei Minhagim* (1846), no. 32). "It is as if an earthly king had a million denarii of gold, and someone praised him as possessing silver ones. Would it not be an insult to him?" (Ber. 33b).

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[Aaron Rothkoff]

SHISHAK (Heb. שִׁישַׁק), biblical name for Sheshonq (935–914 B.C.E.), founder of the 22nd (Bubastite) Dynasty of Egypt, and one of the last kings in Egyptian history to invade Palestine. His Tanite predecessors had markedly restrained themselves in this direction; Siamun captured Gezer in approximately 960 B.C.E., but immediately allied himself to *Solomon through a diplomatic marriage (I Kings 3:1; 9:16) and tried to restrain his Edomite protégé Hadad from revenge on Solomon (I Kings 11:14–22, 25). Shishak's campaign took place in the fifth year of *Rehoboam's reign (918/7 B.C.E.) and is recorded in I Kings 14:25–28, II Chronicles 12:2–12, and in a relief at Karnak listing the 165 conquered cities. The motive for the campaign may have been ingratitude on the part of *Jeroboam, who earlier had found protection at Shishak's court (I Kings 11:40). Rehoboam was distracted by a task force dispatched to the Negev that penetrated as far as Edom, and he was made to pay a ransom from the Temple treasury; Jerusalem and Judah remained untouched. His southern fortifications (II Chron. 11:5–12) may have been erected on this occasion. Shishak's main energies were directed against the north. He made a circuit of the area, bringing destruction on Gezer, Gibeon, cities in the Jordan valley, Shechem, Megiddo (where part of a stele bearing his name was found), and cities in the region of the Yarkon. Due to the destruction of Shechem, Jeroboam's residence was temporarily removed to Penuel (I Kings 12:25), which then also fell at the hands of Shishak's troops (it is not mentioned again in biblical sources).

[Irene Grumach]

In the Aggadah

Shishak's real name was *Zevuv* ("fly"), but he was so called because he longed (from the root *Ḥa-SHa-K*; "to desire") for the death of Solomon, whom he feared to attack (SOR 20). The treasures which he plundered from Jerusalem (cf. I Kings 14:25ff.) were those which the children of Israel had taken from Egypt at the time of the Exodus (Ex. 12:36; Pes. 119a).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: W.F. Albright, in: BASOR, 130 (1953), 4–11; B. Mazar, in: VTS, 4 (1957), 57–66; J. Gray, *I and II Kings. A Commentary* (1963), 114–6, 265, 313; G.E. Wright, *Shechem* (1965), 145. IN THE AGGADAH: Ginzberg, Legends, index; I. Ḥasida, *Ishei ha-Tanakh* (1964), 398.

SHITRIT, BEḤOR SHALOM (1895–1967), Israeli Sephardi leader. In his youth he came in contact with Second Aliyah pioneers near Tiberias. After the British occupation of Palestine he was one of the organizers of the police force in his native Tiberias and was appointed commander of the police in Lower Galilee. After training in the Police Officers' School, he worked in the department of criminal investigation in several towns. In 1933 he investigated the case of Chaim *Arlosoroff's murder. From 1935 until 1948 he served as magistrate in several towns. With the establishment of the State of Israel (1948), Shitrit became a member of the government, first as representative of the Sephardi and Oriental communities, holding the post of minister of police and minorities. Later he became a member of the Knesset for *Mapai and served as minister of police almost until his death. In organizing and developing the Israel police, he benefited from his broad experience in the police force and in court, as well as from his thorough knowledge of all the ethnic groups in Israel, their languages, and their customs.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Tidhar, 1 (1947), 525–6; 13 (1963), 436.

[Yehuda Slutsky]

SHI’UR KOMAH (lit. “the measure of the body,” namely the body of God), Hebrew term for an esoteric doctrine concerning the appearance of God in a quasi-bodily form. This doctrine developed in the tannaitic period as the most secret part of *Merkabah mysticism. When the mystic attained the vision of the supernal world and found himself standing before the throne, he was vouchsafed a vision of the *Shi’ur Komah* as the “figure in the form of man” which Ezekiel had seen on the throne in his first vision of the Merkabah (Ezek. 1:26). Not only was this doctrine consistent with the obviously anthropomorphic descriptions of God in many biblical passages, it was also reinforced by the interpretation of the Song of Songs as relating to God and Israel. The figure of the beloved as described there (Songs 5:11–16) served to legitimize the *Shi’ur Komah* doctrine, which was further embellished by the details given about the *ḥaluk*, the robe of glory with which this mystical body of God is clothed. Fragments of this doctrine have been preserved in several texts bearing the title *Shi’ur Komah* and in many allusions to it in midrashic literature. The fragments consist of a detailed description of the limbs of God in the figure of a man and this apparently deliberate and excessive indulgence in anthropomorphism proved shocking to later and more rationalistic Jewish thought. On the other hand, the kabbalists hailed it as a profound, symbolic expression of their own purely spiritual world. The fragments also contain an enumeration of the secret names of these limbs, but in the manuscripts preserved these names are already largely corrupted beyond recognition. The measures given for the several limbs may have contained some sort of numerical symbolism which can no longer be reconstructed. The height of the Creator is given as 236,000 parasangs, based on a numerological interpretation of Psalm 147:5 as “the height of our Lord is 236.” The details, however, transcend any possibility of visualization and cannot really have been intended to indicate any concrete measurements. In the fragments preserved these obviously over-drawn anthropomorphisms are explicitly defined as describing not the substance of God but His “hidden glory,” or the “body of the *Shekhinah*,” *guf ha-Shekhinah*.

In the second half of the second century a Hellenized version of this speculation is to be found in the Gnostic Markos’ description of the”body of truth.” There also exist a number of Gnostic gems which, like the Hebrew fragments of *Shi’ur Komah*, bear the figure of a man whose limbs are inscribed with magical combinations of letters, obviously corresponding to their secret names (cf. C. Bonner, *Hesperia*, 23 (1954), 151). A clear reference to this doctrine is found as early as the Slavonic Book of Enoch (13:8): “I have seen the measure of the height of the Lord, without dimension and without shape, which has no end.” At least two versions of this doctrine were current in later talmudic and post-talmudic times, one in the name of R. *Akiva and one in the name of R. *Ishmael (both published in the collection *Merkavah Shelemah* (Jerusalem, 1922), fol. 32–43). Two manuscripts from the 10th or 11th centuries (Oxford Hebr. c. 65, and Sasson 522) contain the oldest available texts, but even these are in different stages of corruption. According to the testimony of Origen (third century), it was not permitted to study Song of Songs in Jewish circles before the age of full maturity, obviously because of esoteric teachings like the *Shi’ur Komah* doctrine which were connected with it. The Midrashim on the Song of Songs reflect such esoteric understanding in many passages. The fragments of *Shi’ur Komah* were known in the sixth century, if not earlier, to the poet Eleazar ha-*Kallir. When the *Karaites attacked the anthropomorphic leanings of the rabbinic *aggadah*, *Shi’ur Komah* was among their main targets. *Maimonides considered it an invention of Byzantine aggadists and clearly inauthentic, but scholars like *Saadiah b. Joseph Gaon, *Judah Halevi, Abraham *Ibn Ezra, and Simeon b. Ẓemah *Duran tried to defend it as an allegory for sublime teachings. Duran explained it as pointing to pantheism (*Magen Avot* (Leghorn, 1784), fol. 21b). *Moses b. Joshua of Narbonne devoted a long “Epistle on *Shi’ur Komah*” to its philosophical interpretation on the lines of *Averroes’ notion of “one single order and act in which all beings participate in common.” Interpretations of *Shi’ur Komah* according to the traditions of the *Ḥasidei Ashkenaz in the 13th century are to be found in the *Sefer ha-Navon* published by Joseph Dan. The Spanish kabbalists did not try to comment on its details, but the author of the *Zohar imitated its general tenor in his descriptions of the divine configurations (*parẓufim*) in the *Idra Rabba* and *Idra Zuta*, which he evidently considered as the summit of his kabbalistical revelations, ascribed to R. *Simeon bar Yoḥai. Many kabbalists (*Jacob b. Jacob ha-Kohen, *Isaac b. Samuel of Acre, Judah *Ḥayyat) saw it as a description of *Metatron, or of the primeval Adam (**Adam Kadmon*).

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[Gershom Scholem]

SHIVTAH (Heb. שִׁבְטָה) or **SOBATA**, former town in the Negev, 35 mi. (56 km.) southwest of Beersheba, near the Nessana highway. It was founded in the first century B.C.E. by the *Nabateans (only pottery and an inscription mentioning Dushara are known), but it expanded considerably under Christian rule during the course of the Byzantine period (4th to 7th centuries) and thrived until the Abbasid period (c. 800 C.E.), at which point it was finally abandoned. The original Nabatean name for the site may have been Shubitu. The town is mentioned in the later story of St. Nilus and in the Nessana papyri. The settlement (covering an area of about 22 acres) is unwalled and comprises many sumptuous residences, stables, various public buildings, three churches, public squares, and winding streets. Three types of stones of varying quality were used for building houses: a very hard limestone for the foundations and the walls of the lower stories; a yellowish medium-hard stone for the middle parts of the walls and the voussoirs of the arches; and a soft chalk for the upper stories and the cover-stones of the roofs. Wood was hardly used in private houses, except for shelves in built-in cupboards. The roofing of the private houses was based on a system of arches and cover-stones, and only in the churches were large quantities of wood used. The southern and older part of Shivtah is centered on two large pools. The nearby southern church was built after the other buildings. The northern part, covering 40 dunams (10 acres) with 340 rooms, contained a church with a tower, perhaps a public building, at its southern end and a large church dedicated to St. George at its northern extremity. This church consists of an open court, a narthex, a mosaic-paved side chapel, and a baptistry; the main church (66 × 37 ft.) has a nave and two aisles separated by six columns. It has three apses and its walls were once covered with white marble. Near the church was a large square surrounded by 36 shops and workshops (for potters, dyers, etc.).

The Byzantine-period inhabitants of Shivtah cultivated an extensive area in the Lavan Valley, amounting to 4,945 dunams (over 1,270 acres); rainwater from a drainage area of 77 sq. mi. (197½ sq. km.) was carried by means of a series of complicated channels into their fields. An excavation of farm buildings and a columbarium was made by C. Baly at the time of the Colt expedition, but remains unpublished. All the valleys, large and small, were traversed by dams, and an elaborate system of channels collected the rainwater from afar, in a ratio of 1:20 or 1:30 of catchment area per unit of arable field. Experiments in ancient methods of farming and water use are being carried out by M. Evenari of the Hebrew University on a reconstructed farm at Sobata. The presence of a number of wine-presses (described by the excavators as baths of a very economical type) indicates that grapes were probably one of the main crops. In the city itself, water was based on rainwater collected in cisterns and the cleaning of the reservoirs was a duty to be performed by every inhabitant; each house was also provided with one or two cisterns. In the 8th–9th centuries C.E. a small Muslim community lived at Sobata and built a small mosque near the South Church.

The first European scholar to visit Sobata was E.H. Palmer (1869), who suggested identifying it with Zepath, which Simeon conquered, changing its name to Hormah (Judg. 1:17). This identification has not been accepted. The site was later visited by A. Musil (1902); A. Jaussen, R. Savignac and H. Vincent (1905), who found the first Nabatean and Greek-Byzantine inscriptions; C.L. Woolley and T.E. Lawrence (1914); and T. Wiegand, who visited Sobata at the head of the Committee for the Preservation of Ancient Monuments attached to the Turco-German Headquarters (1916) and thus had the opportunity to correct some of the mistakes made by earlier scholars. In the years 1934–38 an expedition of New York University and the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem, under the direction of H.D. Colt, made large-scale excavations at Sobata, the results of which have not been published. In the years 1958–59 the Israel National Parks Authority, under the guidance of M. Avi-Yonah, carried out some clearance and restoration of the ancient buildings. The North Church was studied by R. Rosenthal in the 1970s and later excavations were conducted by S. Margalit. An architectural appreciation of the site was also made by A. Segal. In 1981 A. Negev fully published the 30 or more inscriptions found at Shivtah (see L. Di Segni 1997). In 2000, Y. Hirschfeld prepared a new map of the site and made a detailed study of the architecture of the settlement. T. Tsuk also made a study of its water systems.

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[Michael Avi-Yonah /Shimon Gibson (2nd ed.)]

SHIVVITI (Heb. שִׁוִּיתִי), the opening word, in Hebrew, of the verse: "I have set the Lord always before me" (Ps. 16:8). As a part of the daily prayer, the word became a cliché for Jewish devotion and common language. During the 18th and 19th centuries, and up to the present a votive tablet called "*Shivviti*," principally containing the above verse, was put up in front of those praying in the synagogue. These synagogue plaques contain other verses, concerning the Law and the Torah. Most of them were profusely decorated in shapes and colors. The most common motifs of decoration were the seven-branched *menorah* of the Temple, and symbolic buildings representing different "Holy Places" in Ereẓ Israel, such as Jerusalem or the tombs of sages and righteous men. Some are decorated with animals or mythical beasts and persons. Others serve as amulets, containing magical symbols, such as the Magen David, and magical verses. Most of the *Shivviti* plaques derive from Eastern Europe in the 19th century. There are, however, some plaques which come from North Africa, mainly from Morocco.

[Bezalel Narkiss]

SHKLOV (Pol. **Szklów**), city in Mogilev district, Belarus; within Poland until 1772. Jews apparently first settled in Shklov during the 16th century. By the end of the 17th century the traveler Korb wrote (*Regesty i nadpisi*, 2) that the Jews formed the "wealthiest and most influential class of the town," which was then a commercial center at the junction of trade routes between Russia and Western Europe. In 1746 the Shklov community broke away from the council of the "province of Reissen" (or "Russia," one of the provinces within the framework of the *Councils of the Lands) and became independent. There were 1,367 Jews in Shklov and its surroundings who paid the poll tax in 1766. When Shklov passed to Russia in the first partition of Poland in 1772, it was handed over to General Zorich. The Jews complained to the central government, which then restricted the authority of the master of the city. During the first 50 years of Russian rule Shklov became a commercial center of prime importance. Two large fairs were held there annually and the merchants attending it traveled from Central Asia and Moscow to the commercial towns of Central Europe. Shklov was also a center of Jewish culture. The disciples of *Elijah b. Solomon, the Gaon of Vilna, were influential there. Between 1783 and 1835 several printing presses operated in Shklov, and about 200 books were published. It was in Shklov that *Haskalah first actively emerged in the *Pale of Settlement. Baruch *Schick, Nathan (Note) *Notkin, and Joshua *Zeitlin were active there. The Hebrew version of *Kol Shavat Bat Yehudah* (1804) by Y.L. *Nevakhovich, which called on the Russian government to grant Jews equal rights, was published in Shklov. After the construction of new roads and railroads bypassing Shklov, the city began to decline. The community numbered 9,677 in 1847, 5,422 (77% of the total population) in 1897, and 3,119 (37.6%) in 1926. P. *Smolenskin describes Shklov in its decline in his stories *Ha-To'eh be-Darkhei Ḥayyim and Kevurat Ḥamor*. Zalman *Shneur, a native of Shklov, immortalized the community life and folklore in *Anshei Shklov*, and *No'ah Pandre*. After the Communist Revolution of 1917, communal life was liquidated. In the 1930s, 50 Jewish families earned their livelihood from working in three kolkhozes, one of them was a Jewish one with 30 families. In 1939 the Jewish population declined again to 2,132 (26% of the total population). The Germans arrived there in July 1941. They created two ghettoes for the local Jews and from the environs, one in town, housing 3,200, and the second in the neighboring town of Ryzhkovichi with 2,700 Jews. Young Jews were executed from time to time from both ghettoes. In early October 1941 both ghettoes were liquidated, and the inhabitants were murdered.

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[Yehuda Slutsky]

SHKLOVSKI, ISAAC VLADIMIROVICH (pseud. **Dioneo**; 1865–1935), Russian writer. Born in Yelizavetgrad (now Kirovograd), he started his literary career at the age of 16, contributing short stories, essays, and reviews for publications in south Russia. He was deported for his political activity to Sredne-Kolymsk, northern Siberia, from 1886 to 1892. There he became intimate with the life of the native population, about which he wrote in his Siberian notes, *Na kraynem severo-vostoke Sibiri* (1895; *In Far North-East Siberia*, 1916). In 1896 he moved to London, where he served as correspondent of *Russkiye Vedomosti* and other Russian journals, thus acquainting the Russian reader with life in England. His articles appeared later as books under such titles as *Ocherki sovremennoy Anglii* ("Notes on Contemporary England," 1903); *Angliyskiye siluety* ("English Silhouettes," 1905); and *Angliya posle voyny* ("Post–War England," 1924).

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SHKOP, SIMEON JUDAH (1860–1940), Lithuanian talmudist and *rosh yeshivah*. At the age of 12, Shkop was accepted as a student at Mir Yeshivah, and later proceeded to Volozhin. He married a niece of Eliezer *Gordon and in 1885 was appointed to the Telz Yeshivah, where he remained for 18 years. In 1903, he was appointed rabbi of Maltash, and in 1907 of Bransk. During World War I, the communal leaders urged him to leave before the Germans arrived, but he refused and stayed with his community. In 1920, at the request of Ḥayyim Ozer *Grodzinski, he was appointed head of the Sha'arei Torah Yeshivah in Grodno. Shkop developed a system of talmudic study which combined the logical analysis and penetrating insights of Ḥayyim *Soloveichik with the simplicity and clarity of Naphtali Ẓevi Judah *Berlin and which became known as the "Telz way of learning." Many of his students attained distinction, among them Elhanan *Wasserman, M.A. *Amiel, and I.J. *Unterman. Alive to the problems of the day, Shkop had a winning personality. He was an active member of the Mo'ezet Gedolei Torah of the Agudat Israel. Of his many works there have been published *Sha'arei Yosher* (2 vols., 1928); *Ma'arekhet ha-Kinyanim* (1936); novellae on *Bava Kamma, Bava Meẓiah*, and *Bava Batra* (1947; with a preface by his son), on *Nedarim, Gittin*, and *Kiddushin* (1952), and on *Yevamot* and *Ketuvot* (1957). His novellae have also appeared in *Ha-Posek* (1941–2) and *Ha-Ne'eman* (1951). As the Germans were about to enter Grodno during World War II, he ordered his students to flee to Vilna and he himself died two days later.

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[Mordechai Hacohen]

SHLOM THE MINTMASTER (d. 1195), the first Jew mentioned by name in Austrian records. In charge of the mint and other property of Duke Leopold V, Shlom was entitled to acquire real estate and to employ Christian servants. He owned four plots of land near the synagogue in Vienna. (The assumption that he founded the first Jewish community there cannot be proved.) Although he lost a lawsuit in 1195 trying to reclaim a vineyard given by a burgher to a monastery, he was nevertheless granted some compensation. After a former servant of his had stolen some money from him and left to join the Crusades, Shlom had the man seized and imprisoned. Incited by the wife of the imprisoned man, the crusaders murdered Shlom and 15 others. Duke Leopold executed two of the murderers.

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[Meir Lamed]

SHLONSKY, ABRAHAM (1900–1973), Hebrew poet, editor, and translator. Shlonsky holds a central position in the development of modern Hebrew poetry and modern Israel poetry in particular. His work marks the transition from the rhetorical, didactic, naturalist type of poetry of the European period to the modernist, symbolic, and individualistic poetry of the Palestinian and Israel periods. Modernism entered European and Russian poetry in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, but reached Hebrew literature somewhat later. Although symbolism and expressionism had some influence on Hebrew literature before Shlonsky's day, the subsequent shift to these types of poetry is primarily due to him. His contribution to the development of modern Hebrew literature goes beyond his achievements in poetry. By his manifold literary activities as editor, translator, polemicist, popular lyricist, editor for the theater, and author of children's literature, he set the literary tone for an entire generation.

Shlonsky was born in Karyokov, Ukraine. He always stressed the fact that he was born at the beginning of the 20th century, which qualified him as a 20th-century poet. The family were *Ḥabad Ḥasidim, deeply attached to Judaism and to *Aḥad Ha-Am's cultural Zionist ideology. His father was interested in folk music and composed the popular melody to Saul Tchernichowsky's poem "*Saḥaki, Saḥaki*." In her youth, Shlonsky's mother was active in the socialistic revolutionary movement in Russia. At the age of 13, Shlonsky was sent to Ereẓ Israel to study at the Herzlia High School. He returned to Russia shortly before the outbreak of World War I and continued his studies in the Jewish secular high school in Yekaterinoslav. He began writing poetry in his youth, and his poem "*Bi-Demei Ye'ush*" appeared in **Ha-Shilo'aḥ* in 1919.

In 1921, after wandering through Russia and Poland, Shlonsky returned with a group of *ḥalutzim* to Ereẓ Israel, where he worked on road building and construction, spending some time in kibbutz *En-Harod. Much of the atmosphere of that period is found in Shlonsky's cycles of poems: *Gilbo'a, Amal, Be-Ikvei ha-Ẓon*, and *Yizre'el*. Shlonsky dubbed himself "the road-paving poet of Israel." He did not confine himself to poetry out of conviction of the need to contribute to other literary fields and is to be counted among the writers of dialogue of the young Hebrew art theater, the lyrics of the Hebrew satiric theater, the famous limericks of the Purim balls of "Little Tel Aviv," and even the jingles for advertising Israel products. However, his major contribution was in the development of linguistic tools and devices for the writing of modern Hebrew poetry and his poetry itself.

In 1922, Shlonsky's first Ereẓ Israel poem appeared in the weekly periodical *Ha-Po'el ha-Ẓa'ir*, and in the same year he moved to Tel Aviv. Asher *Barash and Jacob Rabinowitz, publishers of the literary miscellany *Hedim*, drew him into their circle, considering him an outstanding representative of the younger generation of Ereẓ Israel poets, along with Uri Ẓevi *Greenberg and Yiẓḥak *Lamdan. In 1924 Shlonsky went to Paris to study. When the newspaper *Davar* was founded in 1925, its editor-founder, B. *Katzenelson, invited him to become a regular member of its editorial staff. Shlonsky took over the literary section of the newspaper, but this proved to be too narrow a framework for him and he joined the weekly literary magazine *Ketuvim*, which he edited jointly with E. *Steinman. This soon became the organ of authors who opposed the Writers' Union and the literary establishment. Despite its high caliber, *Ketuvim* was not financially solvent enough to support its editor and writers. In 1928 Shlonsky joined the staff of *Haaretz*, with which he remained until 1943, when he joined the editorial staff of *Mishmar* (founded in 1943). Upon the demise of *Ketuvim*, Shlonsky, who was one of the leading authors of the literary group Yaḥdav, founded the weekly *Turim* (first series 1933; second series 1938). He edited *Dappim le-Sifrut*, a literary supplement of the *Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir* weekly, and was the first editor of the literary page of the daily *Al ha-Mishmar*, and the quarterly *Orlogin*, which appeared from 1950 to 1957. Linked to the Mapam party, he was one of Israel's leading intellectuals participating in the left-wing world peace movement and heading Israel's delegations to world conferences of the movement. In addition he maintained personal contact with Soviet writers. From the late 1950s he became more outspoken in his criticism of the Soviet attitude to Israel and to Jewish culture in the Soviet Union. He was the initiator of the publication of the Hebrew translation of Boris Gaponov's Georgian epic *Oteh Or ha-Namer*.

Shlonsky's Poetry

Shlonsky's poetry was molded out of the world in which he lived. Scenes of horror of World War I, riots against Ukrainian Jews, the inherent contradictions of the Russian revolution (messianic yearnings on the one hand and chaos accompanied by outbursts of cruelty on the other) are themes in his poetry. He set out to avenge the "*Elef Yegonot*" ("Thousand Griefs") which he witnessed "*Be-Misholei Eloha*" ("In the Paths of the Almighty"). His poem "*Devai*" ("Sorrow") contains the lepers' song of protest, giving expression to their bitter condemnation of the world order, their rebellion, and their yearning for "spring." The poems in *Ba-Galgal* (1927) are bitter cries, and in *Be-Elleh ha-Yamim* (1930) Shlonsky reacts to the terror of the riots in Palestine at the end of the 1920s. With *Avnei Bohu* (1934), the product of his encounter with the Western European city, his poetry takes on a new meditative, existentialist dimension. The poems evoke the loneliness and anguish of modern man in the industrialized city. Shlonsky feels that it is his task to cry out and awake the world's sleeping conscience. Revolutions do not come about only by the sword; poetry also has great value in "preparing the hearts." He refuses to reconcile himself to the image of a generation full of deceit and illusions that does not revolt against the folly of mankind before its demise. Above all, he is appalled at the apathy of man toward a child's tears, death, suffering, and the impending catastrophe.

The horrors of the approaching Holocaust are expressed in *Shirei ha-Mappolet ve-ha-Piyyus* (1938). Another visit to some European capitals reproduced with greater force the feeling of alienation, orphanhood, and fear: "From a village fence, my eyes are pierced/by the four fangs of the swastika." Childhood fears, scenes of horror, and pogroms again float into the poet's consciousness, "Still today, even today, when they knock upon a door,/I fear to open, lest the night will enter." "The poems of the squared fear" take up the central motif of man's perverseness and his strange restricted and frightened world. The image "squared fear" developed out of Shlonsky's urbanistic poetry, whose foundations were laid in previous books, especially in *Avnei Bohu*. Here the European city, which Shlonsky likens to Sodom, is a frightening vertigo which forebodes evil and is haunted by the mad frenzy of passion and the shadow of the gallows. At the edge of night, however, the poet seeks the light of "*bereshit ḥadashah*" ("a new genesis"). He rediscovers the simple, sensual joys of life and the exultation of nature's wonders, which form the reconciliation motif of the poetry.

Al Millet (1947) is a direct continuation of *Shirei ha-Mappolet ve-ha-Piyyus*. Shlonsky begins the book with "*Bereshit Ḥadashah*," the same poem which concluded the previous book. The poems which follow sing of reconciliation with the world, the renewal of the love covenant with simple things, and the return to childhood, to the security of nature, and to the goodness of fertility. *Shirei ha-Leḥem ve-ha-Mayim*, which take up similar themes, conclude this phase in Shlonsky's writing.

The period of the Holocaust which followed is filled with fear and confusion. Shlonsky kept his silence – "It is a silence of a face against a gate covered by night." The poems in *Mi-Maḥashakim* ("From Darkness"), published a few years after they were written, express his helplessness and bewilderment during those terrible days. After the Holocaust, Shlonsky regained his art (*Ki Tashuv*). The poet's skill returned, enabling him to sing of the world's delights. The poet who believed that he was part of a generation which lived without fairy tales now rediscovered what he was unable to see in the days of darkness, but he did not return to love the world by ignoring or denying what had occurred. He affirms the world in spite of the horror, and consequently his love for it will be firmer and more secure. The poems in *Paris ha-Aḥeret* ("The Other Paris") tell of the new confrontation with the city that had once enchanted the poet.

In Shlonsky's collected works, a number of poems entitled *Mi-Sefer ha-Yoreh* are placed after the poems of *Al Millet*. These poems are related to those of *Sefer ha-Anakh* but the unanticipated occurred: *Sefer ha-Anakh* does not continue. Once more the foundations and certainties crumbled and confusion and amazement befell the poet. The familiar symbols are the tortured comparisons of the "capriciousness of the sword," storm, distractions, the hidden, the cloudy, and mute evil in *Shirei ha-Mappolet*.

Avnei Gevil (1960) contains Shlonsky's "mature poetry," although distinct elements already present in his early poetry survive. He does not return to motifs used in his early poetry, but transforms these motifs in keeping with the climate of a different period. This sense of time gives a contemporary quality to the book in that it breathes the atmosphere of the 1950s and its fear of a cosmic holocaust. The "fear of death" poems are permeated with a chilling silence ("*Shirei ha-Meruẓah ha-Ra'ah*") and the poet believes that there is wisdom in stating facts without an outcry and receiving judgment without a protest. The resignation to fate is not fatalism but a higher wisdom which recognizes the futility of protest. The prose-like lines in some of the poetry ("*Ne'um Peloni al Shekhunato*") are written under the influence of the new literature and are an indirect result of Shlonsky's perception of the times, which unintentionally brings about such forms of expression. Similarly the break in rhythm and the abandonment of rhyme and melodies spring from the poet's literary strength – not from his weakness. The revival of the poet's creative power does not come about only from the changes which take place within the poet, but reflect those which occur in the objective reality. It is not easy for a poet of Shlonsky's caliber to free himself from the memory of his past experiences, yet he cannot sustain his creative ability without constant contact with the present. Therefore, the blend of various elements, always the mark of great poetry, is found in *Avnei Gevil*. These elements are the synthesis of old and new, of the poetry of personal experience with that of creative wisdom, of excitement and reckoning, and of emotion and significance.

Mi-Shirei ha-Perozedor ha-Arokh ("From Poems of the Long Corridor," 1968), a book of meditative and emotional poetry, contains poems of reflections on life and death. "The long corridor" is the symbol of a hidden world, a world of secrecy and surprises, a "Kafkaesque" world. Man passes along a corridor with doors on each side; behind him the doors are open, in front of him they are closed. The poems, raising more questions than they answer, containing more doubts than certainty, are a statement of yearning rather than accomplishment, of protest rather than reconciliation. It seems that Shlonsky wished to contradict his previous works, not to lean on his past great achievement, but to struggle in an indirect way with the "questions of the day."

Like all innovators in literature, Shlonsky never favored complete disassociation with literary tradition. He advocated the blending of tradition and new values with the cultural heritage of the nation. He refused to cast off all the remnants of the past and begin from the beginning. A true innovator, he drew upon the best existing literature, yet built his original creative world. His innovations stem from his contempt for the worn and worthless clichés which had replaced vivid diction. He rejects forms of expression which no longer describe reality because deep changes have occurred in the life of society.

In the 1930s Shlonsky wrote many articles explaining his demand for a poetic renewal. He sarcastically attacked the low standard of literary achievements which pretended to give expression to the Ereẓ Israel way of life. He claimed that in an eventful era, poetry cannot exist only on "still waters," but that the literature of an uprooted generation should be as stormy and bewildering as the generation itself. It should be as full of contradictions and fears as the period in which it was created. "Man has turned his manner of life on its head… destroying the heritage of his past," wrote Shlonsky, "no father-mother; no *tallit* and *tefillin*; none of the old relationships between male and female; hardly anything of the conceptual system of the past exists, yet he insists on seeking his self-expression in the old workshop." The poet who rejects the current "poetry of the present experience" strives to create a poetry which is nurtured on the wellsprings of the experience of the generation.

This attitude was already found in Shlonsky's early poems. "*Hitgallut*" ("Revelation"), opening his collected poems, is the young poet's "platform" as he begins his odyssey. He knows that he must fulfill the mission of bringing the message of the "new thing" to the world. The young poet, standing on the threshold of the new world, sees the old world's slow destruction. He does not rejoice at this calamity. Torn between two worlds, he understands up to what point reality forces the culmination of the old, yet he cannot blind himself to the sorrow of its decline. Shlonsky writes of the new life using new forms. Hebrew poetry was not accustomed to the rhythm, the inner structure of the poem, and the modern tonality, yet his system of imagery is based on traditional concepts. He compares the roads to the straps of the *tefillin*; the country, "her skin like parchment, a parchment for the Torah," "is wrapped in light like a *tallit*," and houses stand like phylacteries. The poem "*Yafim Leilot Kena'an*" ("Canaan Nights are Beautiful"), he says, will be sung like Sabbath hymns. The symbol of the **Akedah* recurs several times.

Shlonsky found a most fitting new tone in the Sephardi pronunciation, in a rhyme which suits daily speech, and in new phonetics and new accentuation. In this field he was a pioneer.

Shlonsky's last volume of poems, *Sefer ha-Sulamot*, was sent for publication on the day of his death in 1973 and appeared posthumously the same year.

In 1977 *The Correspondence of Abraham Shlonsky* by Aryeh Aharoni was published. It consists of letters in Hebrew which Shlonsky sent during the last decade of his life to Jews in the U.S.S.R. who sought to establish contact with the cultural life in Israel and renew their ties with Hebrew literature. They were brought back to Israel by immigrants from Russia. The letters reveal the great lengths to which Shlonsky went to accede to their requests and deal mainly with Hebrew literature and poetry. In one of them he refers to the miracle of the revival of Hebrew in the U.S.S.R.

Every book of poetry Shlonsky published was a significant literary event. His works are *Devai* (1924), *Ba-Gilgal* (1927), *Le-Abba-Imma* (1927), *Be-Elleh ha-Yamim* (1930), *Avnei Bohu* (1934), *Shirei ha-Mappolet ve-ha-Piyyus* (1938), *Al Millet* (1947), *Avnei Gevil* (1960), and *Mi-Shirei ha-Perozedor ha-Arokh* (1968). All except the last two works were later published in two large volumes. Other works are the collection *Shirei ha-Yamim* (1946, mostly translated poems, some original), the three children's books *Alilot Miki Mahu* (1947), *Ani ve-Tali* (1957), *Uẓ Li Guẓ Li* (1966), and many translations from the best in world literature. The latter include translations of Shakespeare's dramas *King Lear* (1956) and *Hamlet* (1946), four of Chekhov's most important plays, Pushkin's poems "*Eugene Onegin*," and "*Boris Gudonov*" (1956), Gogol's *Revizor* (1935) and *The Marriage* (1945), Charles Da Coster's "*Till Ollenspiegel*" (1949), Romain Rolland's "*Colas Breugnon*" (1950), Michael Sholokhov's *And Quiet Flows the Don*, Isaac Babel's stories, and many more. He also translated much of world poetry, mainly from modern Russian lyric poetry. The correspondence between Shlonsky and Zila Shamir was published in 1997 as *Mikhtavim le-Meshoreret Ẓe'irah*.

For Shlonsky's works in English translation, see: Goell, bibliography, index, and the ITHL website at www.ithl.org.il.

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[Abraham B. Yoffe]

SHLONSKY, VERDINA (1905–1990), Israeli composer and pianist, born in Dniepropetrovsk, Ukraine. Her family immigrated to Palestine in the early 1920s. She studied piano at the Berlin Hochschule fuer Musik with Arthur *Schnabel and Egon Petri. In the late 1920s she moved to Paris, where she studied composition with Nadia Boulanger, Max Deutsch, and Edgar Varèse and changed her vocation from performance to composition. In 1934, Verdina returned to Palestine, where she remained until 1937. During these years she composed music for poems of Lea *Goldberg, Shin *Shalom, Raphael Eliaz, and her brother Abraham *Shlonsky, music for children and for the theater; symphonic, chamber, and piano music. She also began writing essays on musical topics for the Hebrew press. Verdina spent most of World War II in Paris and London. Despite the material and mental hardships of staying in Europe at that period, she managed to compose a few pieces. In 1944, she returned for good to Palestine. She continued to compose songs until the end of the 1950s, when she began focusing solely on compositions for piano, chamber, and orchestral music. Among her major works are *Images Palestiniènnes* for voice and piano; Symphony no 1; *Cinq Melodies sur le Poéme de Guillaume Apollinaire* for voice and piano; Concerto for Piano and Orchestra; String Quartet; *Hodaya* – Thanksgiving Cantata for Choir and Orchestra; Two Sonatas for Violin and Piano; *Silhouettes for Voice and Percussion*, and more. In her essays, published in the Israeli press, she portrayed musical life and the life of musicians in both Israel and Europe, and dealt with the lively ideological struggle between the supporters of avant-garde music and its opponents. These were also the topics of her prolific correspondence with leading musicians worldwide. Verdina, who was also a competent drawer, gave private piano lessons for her rather modest living, and taught during the late 1960s and early 1970s at the Tel Aviv Academy of Music. Her awards include First Prize of the French Government Competition for Women Composers for her *Poéme Hebraique* for voice and piano (1931); Bartok Prize for a string quartet (1948); prizes from ACUM for a string quartet (1973), and for life's work in music (1984).

Both professionally and socially, Verdina did not receive the recognition she deserved. Her archive, including a great many articles, letters, and musical compositions, is located in the Music Department of the National Library, Jerusalem.

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[J. Aouizerate-Levin (2nd ed.)]

SHMERUK, CHONE (1921–1997), Yiddish scholar. Born in Warsaw, Shmeruk studied history at the university there. During World War II he was in the U.S.S.R., where he met many Soviet Yiddish writers. He returned to Warsaw in 1946 and then immigrated, via Stuttgart, to Israel in 1949. When the Yiddish department was opened at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem in 1950, he was one of Dov *Sadan's first students, also studying history with Israel *Halpern, Ben-Zion *Dinur, and Yitzhak *Baer. He taught Yiddish literature and culture at the Hebrew University from 1957 (professor, 1961, later chair of the Yiddish department). A member of the Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities (1986), he received the Israel Prize in 1996.

Shmeruk studied many aspects of Ashkenazi cultural history and Yiddish literature, analyzing the relations between history, society, culture, language, and literature, and writing articles and books on a wide range of subjects, showing the role and functions of Yiddish in the Ashkenazi world, defined as a polysystem of languages and cultural trends. Shmeruk did not view Yiddish literature as an autonomous cultural entity, but demonstrated the complex links between Yiddish creativity and traditional sources, modern Hebrew, and the surrounding non-Jewish Polish, Russian, German, Italian, and American cultures. He wrote on all periods of Yiddish literature, from the earliest Yiddish text (1272) to his own contemporaries. Among his major books are *Sifrut Yidish, Perakim le-Toldoteihah* ("Yiddish Literature: Aspects of its History," 1978, rev. Yiddish trans., 1988), *Maḥazot Mikra'im be-Yidish 1697–1750* ("Yiddish Biblical Plays 1697–1750," 1979), *Sifrut Yidish be-Polin* ("Yiddish Literature in Poland," 1981), and *Ha-Keri'ah le-Navi* ("The Call for a Prophet," 1999). One of his fields of specialization was Jews in Soviet Russia and Poland and their Yiddish literature, on which his publications include *Ha-Kibbutz ha-Yehudi ve-ha-Hityashevut be-Belorusyah ha-Sovyetit (1918–23)* ("Jewish Settlement and Colonization in Soviet Belorussia (1918–23)," 1961); *Pirsumim Yehudiyyim bi-Verit ha-Moaẓot 1917–60* ("Jewish Publications in the Soviet Union 1917–60," 1961); a bibliography of Yiddish authors in the U.S.S.R., co-edited with I.J. Cohn, M. Pietzash, *et al.*; *A Shpigl oyf a Shteyn* ("A Mirror on a Stone"), co-edited with A. Suzkever, *et al.* (1964), an anthology of poetry and prose by 12 Yiddish writers in the U.S.S.R.; *The Esterke Story in Yiddish and Polish Literature* (1985); *Di Yidishe Literatur in Nayntsetn Yorhundert* ("Yiddish Literature in the Nineteenth Century," 1993); and *The Jews in Poland Between Two World Wars* (co-edited 1989). He also published on *shund* ("pulp literature") and children's literature, Jewish folklore, press, theater, education, Haskalah, Ḥasidism, the history of publishing, and illustrations of Yiddish books. He edited classical works of Jewish writers, such as Joseph *Perl's manuscript *Ma'asiyyot ve-Iggerot mi-Ẓaddikim Amittiyyim u-me-Anshei Shelomenu* (with Sh. Werses, 1969); *Der Nister (1963); S.J. *Abramovitsh, *Bialik and *Rawnitski's Letters (1966); *Sholem *Aleichem (1976); I.L. *Peretz, *Bay Nakht oyfn Altn Mark* (1971); Itzik *Manger, *Midresh Itsik* (1969, 1984); Isaac Bashevis *Singer, *Der Shpigl* (1975); Uri Zevi *Greenberg (1979); Israel *Rabon, *Di Gas* (1986); the middle Yiddish **Pariz un Viene* (1996); *The Penguin Book of Modern Yiddish Verse* (co-edited, 1987). He compiled with Sh. Werses a bibliography of S.J. Abramovitsh's writings and letters (1965) and was director of the series *Yidishe Literatur* (Hebrew University) and of a massive documentation of early Yiddish texts on microfiche. He served as consulting editor to the first edition of the *Encyclopaedia Judaica*. The encyclopedic range of his research, his international teaching, and decades-long mentoring quite literarily (re)constructed the field of Yiddish literary studies after the Holocaust and will continue to influence the course of research for decades to come.

[Jean Baumgarten (2nd ed.)]

SHMUEL-BUKH (*Sefer Shemuel*), 16th-century Yiddish epic. Considered the masterpiece of Old Yiddish midrashic epic, the narrative expertly reworks the biblical book of Samuel by means of an intimate knowledge of both post-biblical Jewish traditions (particularly those concerning the primary heroic characters Samuel, Saul, and David) and the conventions of the medieval German "minstrel epic," recasting the whole as an heroic epic. The text comprises 1,792 four-line stanzas of two rhyming couplets (AABB) (plus a colophon), each line divided rhythmically into two half-lines of three primary accents each (derived from the stanza characteristic of the Middle

High German *Nibelungenlied*). The melody to which the poem was performed became famous and was used for many other Yiddish poems of the period. While the issue of the author's identity has not been definitively resolved, Moses Esrim ve-Arba ("of the twenty-four books," i.e. a biblical scholar) named as author at the end of one early manuscript is now generally identified with an emissary from Jerusalem to Turkey in 1487, which accords with the conventional scholarly dating of the text (based on language use and topical references) to the late 15th century. The text is preserved in a complex tradition of 16th- and 17th-century manuscripts and printed editions (editio princeps, Augsburg, 1544) that precludes the construction of a critical edition.

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[Jerold Frakes (2nd ed.)]

SHMUELI, EPHRAIM (1908–), educator, author, and historian. Born in Lodz, Poland, Shmueli immigrated to Ereẓ Israel in 1933. He taught at several U.S. institutions of Jewish learning, and in 1969 was professor of philosophy and religion at Cleveland State University.

Most of Shmueli's literary and journalistic efforts – all in Hebrew – were devoted to education, sociology, history, and philosophy. His works include *Demuyyot u-Me'ora'ot be-Toledot Ammenu* (1940), an account of important personages and events in Jewish history; *Masoret u-Mahapekhah* (1942), monographs on tradition and revolution in Jewish history; *Me-Az ad Attah* (1943), historical miniatures; *Toledot ha-Ẓiyyonut* (2 vols., 1947–50), a history of Zionism; *Be'ayot ha-Am ha-Yehudi ba-Zeman ha-Zeh* (1960), on the problems of contemporary Jewry; *Bein Emunah li-Khefirah* (1961), on the problems of faith and heresy in Jewish history; *Don Yiẓḥak Abravanel* (1963); and *Beit Yisrael u-Medinat Yisrael* (1966), on the main currents in U.S. Jewish life. Together with Max Mordechai *Solieli, he co-authored *Bi-Netiv ha-Dorot* (1944), a study on the destiny of Jewry. Shmueli published two textbooks of Jewish history, *Toledot Ammenu ba-Zeman he-Ḥadash* (7 vols., 1941–58) and *Korot Ammenu* (1968). In addition, he wrote a number of studies on non-Jewish themes, among them a monograph on Miguel de Cervantes (1952), and a work on Baruch *Spinoza (1963). His *Sheva Tarbuyyot Yisrael* (1980) appeared in English translation as *Seven Jewish Cultures: A Reinterpretation of Jewish History and Thought,* in 1990.

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[Eisig Silberschlag]

SHMUELI, HERZL (1920–2001), Israeli musicologist. Shmueli was born in Istanbul to parents of Russian descent. He began studying violin at 7 and piano at 10. In 1933 the family immigrated to Israel, where he studied with P. Ginzburg (until 1934) and later attended the Tel Aviv conservatory (1944–48), where he studied theory and composition with *Boscovitch. During 1950–53, he studied musicology in Zurich with Cherbuliez, composition and history with Hindemith at the university, and acoustics in the Zurich Eidgenuesische Technische Hochschule für Music. Receiving a Ph.D. for his thesis, on Jehudah Arjeh Moscato (1953, published in 1954), he returned to Tel Aviv and began teaching at the Israeli Academy of Music and at the Music Teachers' Seminary, of which he subsequently became director (1955–66). In 1966 Shmueli was one of the founders of the Musicology Department of Tel Aviv University, where he subsequently became the head of the department (1971–74, 1987–89) and professor. Shmueli established the Archive for Israeli Music there and served as dean of the Faculty of Visual and Performing Arts (1983–86) and chairman of the Israeli Musicological Society (1969–71). Shumeli was one of the pioneers in the research of Israeli music. His research centered on the Israeli song and art music, music education, and European music in the 18th–19th centuries. He emphasized the connections between music and other disciplines and established a methodology for analysis of the Israeli song. He directed a series of programs on music for Israeli Instructional TV and was consultant for the music department in the educational television division from 1969 to 1972. He edited several periodicals, among them music periodicals for youth (1957–66). Shmueli published books in Hebrew including *Ommanut ha-Musikah* ("Musical Theory," 1954), *Toledot ha-Makhelah* ("History of the Choir," 1963), and books about the Israeli song (1971), and Alexander Boscovitch, the latter with Jehoash Hirshberg (1995). Among his articles are "Stilelemente in Israeli-Lied 1925–1950," in *Festschrift Hans Conradin zum 70. Geburtstag* (1983), 249–60, and "Adolf Bernhard Marx (1795–1866): Deutscher Musiker, Judische Herkunft – Eine Dokumentation," in *Essays in Honor of Hanoch Avenary (1990–1991),* 216–28. He received the Israel Prize for musical research in 2001.

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[Uri (Erich) Toeplitz / Naama Ramot (2nd ed.)]

SHMUSHKEVICH, YAACOV (1902–1941), Soviet air force commander. Born in Rokiškis, Lithuania, Shmushkevich fought in the Red Army during the Russian Civil War of 1918–20. In 1922 he was transferred to the air force, finishing flight school as a pilot in 1931. He rapidly gained promotion and was sent to Spain in 1936 to reorganize the Republican Air Force. In 1937 he commanded Madrid's air defense. On his return to the Soviet Union in the following year he was made a Hero of the Soviet Union. Subsequently Shmushkevich was made commander of the Soviet air force in the Far East, and took part in 1939 in the war with the Japanese in Khalkin-Khol. From November 1939 he was head of the Red Army Air Force, from May 1940 chief inspector of the Air Force, and from December 1940 aide to the chief of staff in air force matters. For his work in establishing the Soviet air defense he was made Hero of the Soviet Union for a second time, one of the few soldiers ever to have been accorded the honor twice. On June 4, 1940 he received the rank of colonel-general but shortly before the Nazi invasion of the Soviet Union, he was dismissed from his post. He was arrested in 1941, tried for treason, and executed on October 28, 1941 in Kuybishev. At the 20th Communist Party Congress in 1954, Shmushkevich was one of several executed Soviet figures to be posthumously rehabilitated. In 1967 the Soviet Army published a special work in his memory.

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[Mordechai Kaplan]

SHNEOUR (Shneur), ZALMAN (Zalkind; 1887–1959), Hebrew and Yiddish poet and novelist who, together with *Bialik and *Tchernichowsky, is considered to be one of the three great figures in Hebrew poetry of his generation. Shneour was born in Shklov, Belorussia; his father, Isaac-Eisik Shneour, was a descendant of *Shneur Zalman of Lyady. At the age of 13 he left for *Odessa, which was the great literary and Zionist center of the time. Young Shneour was particularly attracted to Bialik, who usually befriended young writers.

Warsaw and Vilna

As Hebrew projects were expanding in Warsaw, Shneour moved there in 1902, and on Bialik's recommendation was employed at Tushiyyah, a large publishing house, founded by the author and publisher Ben-Avigdor (A.L. *Shalkovich). At the same time he published his first poems in the children's newspaper *Olam Katan*. Shneour also published poems and short articles in the prestigious monthly **Ha-Shilo'aḥ*, and in the weekly *Ha-Dor*. His first Yiddish poems appeared in the weekly *Yidishe Folktsaytung* (Warsaw, 1902–03).

In 1904, Shneour moved to Vilna, where he found work on the editorial staff of the Hebrew daily *Ha-Zeman*. The paper included on its staff several young authors who later achieved renown in Hebrew literature. Vilna proved important to Shneour's Hebrew and Yiddish literary development. There he published his first collection of poetry, *Im Sheki'at ha-Ḥammah* (2 vols., Warsaw, 1906–07), his first novel, *Mavet*, and a collection of stories. Shneour's poems achieved great success and ran through several editions. He published poetry and prose in Vilna's Jewish periodicals. Whereas the Warsaw period had been one of the most difficult in his life (both because of his economic deprivation and feelings of foreignness), Shneour became acclimatized to life in Vilna. Shneour subsequently expressed his affection and reverence for the city in his poem *Vilnah* (first printed in the monthly *Miklat*, New York, 1920), and later in a special book with illustrations by Hermann *Struck (1923). Here he reached the peak of his talent and achieved facility of expression in Hebrew.

First Poems

Shneour's first book of verse, *Im Sheki'at ha-Ḥammah*, was enthusiastically received both by critics and readers. Bialik warmly praised the author in his essay "*Shiratenu ha-Ẓe'irah*" (*Ha-Shilo'aḥ*, 1908), calling Shneour "a young Samson whose seven locks have all grown overnight." Bialik also attributed to Shneour the qualities of the heroic man who "tears the young lion which roared against him as one tears a kid" (Judg. 14:5–6). The trenchant comparison with the "young Samson" was to be repeated by others. Long the idol of the young, Shneour was the poet of heroism and non-surrender, the symbol of revolt against the conventions and long-established customs of the ghetto.

When *Ha-Zeman* ceased publication at the end of 1905, Shneour left for Switzerland. There, inspired by the country's natural beauty, he began to write the long lyric poem *Be-Harim* ("In the Mountains," 1908). The major thrust of the poem is its contrast of nature – genuine, fresh, and strong – with the artifices and inauthenticities of civilization. Sections of the poem were eventually translated into some European languages including Russian (S. *Marshak in *Yevreyskaya antologiya*, edited by L. Jaffe and V. Khodasevich, Moscow, 1918).

In 1907 Shneour moved to Paris, where he continued his literary work while studying literature, philosophy, and natural sciences at the Sorbonne. From 1908 to 1913 he traveled throughout Europe and also visited North Africa. In this period he wrote the cycle of poems *Im Ẓelilei ha-Mandolinah* ("To the Strains of the Mandolin," 1912) in which the poet showers words of affection on a "lovely sunburnt Italian girl," whom he asks to play the mandolin. Although completely captivated by her charms, the poet does not forget that her ancient forefathers destroyed the Temple and caused the Diaspora. His ambivalence toward the girl involves the entire relationship between Jew and gentile. In one of the poem's most remarkable sections, "*Manginot Yisrael*" ("Melodies of Israel," 1912), Shneour describes the Jews' "revenge on the gentiles." The revenge, restricted to the realm of the spirit, entailed bequeathing to the gentile conquerors a conception of God that required them to abandon their beautiful and sensuous pagan deities. In 1913, at the time of the *Beilis trial, he wrote *Yemei ha-Beinayim Mitkarevim* ("The Middle Ages are Returning"), a prediction of European civilization's descent into the maelstrom of war and Jew-hatred. Shneour sensed the return of medieval antisemitism, which in the 20th century would be implemented in the name of patriotism rather than religion, and liberalism's faint-hearted response to this threat to civilized life.

At the beginning of World War I Shneour was in Germany, where he was interned along with all Russian subjects in that country. During the war years he studied medicine at the University of Berlin and worked in a hospital. In 1919, he visited the U.S. to contact various Yiddish newspapers with the object of becoming a regular contributor. However, he returned to Berlin, where, after the war and the Russian Revolution, authors and publishers fleeing from the Bolsheviks created a great literary center.

In Germany, Shneour resumed his literary activity and founded with Solomon Salzmann the *Hasefer* publishing house, whose publications included works by David Frischmann and Shneour (*Gesharim*, 1922^3, and *Vilna*, 1923). Because of his literary and publishing activity, Shneour did not continue his medical studies. In the early 1920s the group of Hebrew literary men in Germany dispersed. Shneour settled in Paris in 1923 and lived there until Hitler's troops invaded France in 1940, when he succeeded in escaping via Spain to the U.S. He lived in New York from 1941 until his immigration to Israel in 1951.

Yiddish Prose

The political and economic crises which afflicted Europe after World War I caused the market for Hebrew books to shrink to the point where authors were compelled to seek different livelihoods. Those years mark an interval during which Schneour paused in his writing of Hebrew prose, devoting himself rather to writing in Yiddish for the American Yiddish press. In his Yiddish articles and fiction Shneour tapped his childhood memories of "the old home," sketched Jewish life in Eastern Europe which had been disrupted or destroyed by war and revolution, described his encounters with prominent people, and searched the past for forgotten or obscure episodes in Jewish history. He became one of the most widely read Yiddish authors. His novels, some of which were first published serially in newspapers, have been translated into many languages, and have been widely acclaimed. They were also rendered into Hebrew by Schneour himself.

Sources of Inspiration

Shklov, on the River Dnieper, where Shneour spent his childhood, had been a place of Jewish settlement from the 17th century. In *Anshei Shklov* (1944), Shneour depicts with great artistry and fresh and lively humor the human types that populated the Jewish community in the city. Shklov, where Jews lived their peculiar inner life, was not exceptional among Jewish towns in the Russian *Pale of Settlement, but it achieved fame as a result of Shneour's memorable descriptions and has come to serve as a symbol of the *shtetl*. A new edition of the novel, with an introduction by Dan Miron, was published in 1999. *Ha-Dod Zyame*, the sequel to *Anshei Shklov*, delineates the character of Noah Pandre, a new Jewish type, powerful and unafraid, which began to emerge in the last century. Noah Pandre did not study in the *bet ha-midrash*; he was not a Torah scholar, but neither was he a bundle of nerves fearing every "driven leaf." A Jew by race and heredity, he was strong and fearless, his hands "the hands of Esau." A series of surprising episodes reveal the potent forces latent within Noah Pandre, who is reminiscent of ancient Jewish heroes. His deeds of bravery and strength earn him the respect even of gentiles for whom the Jew had been synonymous with a coward and one afflicted by God. The heroic character of Noah Pandre influenced Shneour's *Shir Mizmor le-Ammei ha-Araẓot* – a song of praise to the new type of Jew. *Ha-Dod Zyame* was translated into most European languages.

Shneour provided a kind of rehabilitation for the *ammei ha-areẓ*. Despite their ignorance of Jewish learning, Shneour observed that these people were endowed with other valuable qualities, the opposite of resignation, passivity, and fatalism. In appearance, too, the *am ha-areẓ* was not afflicted with the pallor and bent back of the scholar.

Later Poetry

In his poem cycle *Luḥot Genuzim* ("Hidden Tablets," 1948), Shneour imagined that in the archaeological excavations being carried out in Israel there might yet be found works written by the opponents of tradition – works like the Apocrypha, fortuitously preserved in other languages and later translated into Hebrew. According to the sages, such books as the Song of Songs and Ecclesiastes were to be prohibited from publication, but were miraculously saved from suppression and were ultimately included in the Bible.

The publication of *Luḥot Genuzim* aroused much controversy. The poem, written in biblical style, relates Israel's early history in a way that conflicts with the Bible. Schneour's critics accused the poet of identifying with the "authors" of the *Luḥot*, who held views offensive to Jewish tradition. Shneour defended himself with the claim that the work was a product of his imagination and that he had no intention of substituting the ideas of the *Luḥot* for those of the scriptural version (his admiration for which he had stressed in many of his poems, such as *Manginot Yisrael*). He merely presented the suppressed opinions of the "opposition," who were to be found in every era (Korah and his band, the "false prophets," the Sadducees, etc.). Literary critics also felt that artistically the work was a failure.

Shneour in Israel

Before formally settling in Israel, in 1951, Shneour had visited the country five times. For many years he had lived the life of the country, past and present, from afar deriving his poetic inspiration from it. He sang of its rebuilding by Jewish pioneers in his *Mi-Shirei Ereẓ Israel*. In Israel he adapted his story *Pandrei ha-Gibbor* as a play, which was staged by *Habimah. He also wrote for several daily papers such as *Davar* and *Ha-Boker*, publishing in the latter installments of his great epic, *Ba'al ha-Parvah*. He also revised his Hebrew poetry and prose, which were printed in various formats.

In the 1950s, as prolific as ever, Shneour engaged in collating his enormous output, and was planning new works, when he died in New York. His remains were transferred to Israel and reinterred in a grave next to those of Bialik and Tchernichowsky.

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[Aharon Zeev Ben-Yishai]

SHNEUR ZALMAN OF (Liozna-) LYADY (1745–1813), founder of *Chabad Ḥasidism. According to family traditions he was born in Liozna, Belorussia, on the 18th of Elul. After his marriage in 1760 he devoted himself to Torah study. Concluding that he knew "a little about learning, but nothing about prayer," in 1764 he decided to learn about Ḥasidism from *Dov Baer the Maggid of Mezhirech, leader of the ḥasidic movement. In Mezhirech he became one of the inner circle of the Maggid's pupils. He also studied as a friend and pupil with *Abraham b. Dov Baer. Although Shneur Zalman was one of the youngest pupils, the Maggid had a high opinion of him and in 1770 delegated to him the task of composing a new and up-to-date Shulḥan Arukh. Shneur Zalman worked on this book for many years but published only small parts of it. About one-third was printed posthumously (the rest had been destroyed by fire) and is known as the "Shulḥan Arukh of the Rav" (1814). Though not a ḥasidic work, it represents – as the Maggid had intended – a great halakhic achievement. It evidences Shneur Zalman's superb Hebrew style and his ability to provide lucid explanation and profundity without complexity. It became an authoritative halakhic source among the Ḥasidim of *Lubavitch.

In 1774, during the early period of the opposition to Ḥasidism by traditional Jewry, Shneur Zalman and *Menaḥem Mendel of Vitebsk went to Vilna in an attempt to meet with *Elijah b. Solomon, the Gaon of Vilna, and reach some kind of understanding between the Ḥasidim and *Mitnaggedim*, but the Gaon did not agree to meet them. After Menaḥem Mendel went to Ereẓ Israel with many of his followers, Shneur Zalman was left with two others as a deputy leader in Rydzyna (Reisen, Belorussia and adjoining areas). In 1788 Menaḥem Mendel formally appointed Shneur Zalman as ḥasidic leader of Reisen: this was really only a post facto appointment, as he already had many devoted personal pupils. It had become apparent that Shneur Zalman had created a distinct type of Ḥasidism, to become known as Chabad (see Chabad system, below). In 1797 he published (anonymously) his *Likkutei Amarim* ("collected sayings"), which became known as the *Tanya*. A masterly and systematic exposition of Ḥasidism, it was accepted as the principal source of Chabad Ḥasidism, "the written law of Ḥabad."

By then the influence of Shneur Zalman was already penetrating the strongholds of the *Mitnaggedim*, who made a last effort to check the spread of Ḥasidism by informing on its followers to the Russian government. *Avigdor b. Joseph Ḥayyim, the rabbi of Pinsk, formally accused Shneur Zalman of personal acts of treason against the state (his sending of money to Ereẓ Israel was interpreted as "helping the Turkish sultan") and of creating a new religious sect (all sectaries being forbidden in Russia). In 1798 Shneur Zalman was arrested and brought for trial to St. Petersburg. No exact details of this trial are known, though many legends have been related about it. He later received a full acquittal and was released on the 19th of Kislev that year. The day is celebrated among Chabad Ḥasidim as the "Holiday of Deliverance." Shneur Zalman was again arrested in 1801 under the same accusations but was released later in the year when Alexander I succeeded to the throne. From St. Petersburg, Shneur Zalman settled in the town of Lyady and became known as the "Rav of Lyady."

Subsequently there developed a marked difference in his exposition of Ḥasidism, a deepening of the scholarly element and new ways of expression. This change was among the reasons for a resurgence of inter-ḥasidic rivalry, which also had many personal sources. The opposing faction was headed by *Abraham (Katz) of Kalisk (then in Ereẓ Israel) and *Baruch of Medzhibezh, the grandson of *Israel b. Eliezer Ba'al Shem Tov. The strife caused Shneur Zalman much pain but did not weaken his influence. When the Franco-Russian war began, Shneur Zalman was among those who thought that a victory by the revolutionary French would be injurious to Judaism. He therefore brought all his influence in favor of the Russian side and fled with the defeated Russian armies. He became ill during the flight, died in Piena (Kursk district) and was buried in Hadich (Poltava district).

Shneur Zalman was one of the great Jewish personalities of his age, as great a scholar in talmudic studies as in *Kabbalah. He had a wide knowledge of science and mathematics, and his powers as a systematizer were enhanced by a fine style. Yet he was also a mystic and deeply emotional; he composed ḥasidic melodies and was a charismatic leader. All these qualities blended in a strangely harmonious way. His work is masterly on every subject, an almost unique combination of mysticism and common sense. His other important works are *Likkutei Torah* (Zhitomir, 1848), *Torah Or* (1836), and *Ma'amarei Admor ha-Zaken* (1958–60).

Schneersohn Family

Chabad Ḥasidism continued to be led by the descendants of Shneur Zalman of Lyady: DOV BAER (1773–1827), the eldest son of Shneur Zalman, became after his father's death in 1813 the leader of the majority of his father's Ḥasidim. He settled in the little town of Lubavitch, which became the center of Chabad. Under Dov Baer's leadership, the Chabad approach was strengthened and deepened. His blend of intellect and mysticism is expressed in his clear and profound commentaries on his father's works. He was a prolific writer and wrote many works, the majority being explanations of diverse subjects, among them *Kunteres ha-Hitpa'alut* (1876; *Tractate on Ecstasy*, 1963), according to his systematized Chabad Ḥasidism. At the same time he supported the idea of productivization in the Jewish economy and encouraged his Ḥasidim to take up manual occupations. He also persuaded all the Chabad

Ḥasidim in Ereẓ Israel to settle in Hebron (1820), which became the Chabad center there. Dov Baer was imprisoned for a time because of accusations against him by an informer but was released on the 10th of Kislev, which is celebrated as a minor holiday among Chabad Ḥasidim. He died in *Nezhin in Ukraine.

MENAḤEM MENDEL (1789–1866), grandson of Shneur Zalman (son of his daughter) and son-in-law of Dov Baer, became the leader of Chabad after his father-in-law's death. Orphaned while young, he was educated chiefly by his grandfather and from a very early age began to write on *halakhah* and Ḥasidism. He wrote numerous books and sermons, most of which remained in manuscript. He was generally acknowledged as one of the greatest Torah scholars of his day. His responsa *Ẓemaḥ Ẓedek* (1870–74, in honor of which he is referred to as the "Ẓemaḥ Ẓedek") is a highly esteemed halakhic work. Menaḥem Mendel greatly assisted the Chabad settlers in Hebron. The Russian government accorded him the hereditary title of an honored citizen, and he was acknowledged as one of the leaders of Russian Jewry. He fought the assimilationist policy of the government and the adherents of *Haskalah who gave it their support. The year before his death, no longer able to fulfill his manifold duties, he assigned them to his sons.

After Menaḥem Mendel's death the Ḥasidim could not reach an agreement on a leader, and most of his sons became leaders of different branches of Chabad Ḥasidim. As the basis for the division was mainly personal, they reunited after a time.

JUDAH LEIB founded the Kopys branch of Chabad (see below). Another son of Menaḥem Mendel, ḤAYYIM SHNEUR ZALMAN (1814–1880), became leader in Lyady, noted for his special way of worship. Collections of his sermons have been made (remaining in manuscript). His successor, ISAAC DOV BAER (1826–1910), published a commentary on the prayer book entitled *Siddur Maharid*. His many other writings remain in manuscript. He was the last leader of this branch, and after his death his followers returned to the main Chabad group.

Another branch of Chabad was headed by ISRAEL NOAH (1816–1883), rabbi and ḥasidic leader in Nezhin and the most notable scholar among Menaḥem Mendel's sons. These also included JOSEPH ISAAC, who became (in his father's lifetime) a ḥasidic leader in Ovruch in the Ukraine, but his circle was not a branch of Chabad Ḥasidism.

SAMUEL (1834–1882), youngest son of Menahem Mendel, was his successor in Lubavitch. Like his father, he was active on behalf of Jewry. Only a few of his works have been published. His son SHALOM DOV BAER (1866–1920) succeeded him in the leadership of Chabad. A dynamic personality, his most important achievement was the founding of the first ḥasidic yeshivah "Tomekhei Temimim" (1897), which led the way to a more organized and effective religious education in the Chabad movement and elsewhere. His literary work is closely connected with his educational work. In 1916 he began to establish a network of Chabad yeshivot in Georgia and was the first ḥasidic leader to spread Ḥasidism among non-Ashkenazi Jewry.

His son JOSEPH ISAAC (1880–1950) assumed the leadership of Chabad during the period of the civil war in Russia which followed the 1917 Revolution. An outstanding organizer, he began to reconstruct Jewish life and became the foremost religious leader of Russian Jewry. He fought courageously to resume religious activities under the Communist regime. Under his leadership the Chabad movement became the core of a strong Jewish spiritual revival. Although his activities were at first permitted, he was arrested in 1927, and only after powerful pressure within Russia and from abroad was freed on 12th–13th of Tammuz of that year, days commemorated by Chabad Ḥasidim as a holiday of deliverance. He left Russia and went to Riga (Latvia), where he organized new Chabad centers, and founded Chabad organizations throughout the world. In 1934 he settled in Poland and organized a network of Chabad yeshivot. After the outbreak of World War II and the German occupation of Poland, he was rescued and went to the United States. With undaunted energy he stimulated, from his headquarters in Brooklyn, a renaissance of Orthodoxy in the United States. Joseph Isaac founded modern organizations of Chabad, a network of schools and yeshivot, newspapers for adults and children, a flourishing publishing house, and numerous welfare organizations. In 1948 he founded *Kefar Ḥabad in Israel. He wrote a notable history of Chabad, and published many of his sermons and talks.

MENAḤEM MENDEL (1902–1994), the son and pupil of Levi Isaac Schneersohn of Yekaterinoslav and son-in-law of Joseph Isaac, also studied mathematics and science at the Sorbonne in Paris. After the death of his father-in-law in 1950, he became the seventh successive leader of Lubavitch Ḥasidism. Under his direction, its institutions expanded, new ones were founded, and the number of adherents throughout the world increased to over 25,000. He encouraged hundreds of young men to go out to Jewish communities everywhere to establish contact with the Jewish masses and bring them back to Orthodoxy. The Lubavitch Youth Organization, which he founded in 1955, has continued to play a vital role among Jewish college students. Regional offices were established around the globe, and Kefar Chabad served as the Lubavitcher headquarters in Israel. Under Schneersohn's direction the influence of Lubavitch spread far beyond the ḥasidic community and penetrated the mainstream of Jewish life in many parts of the world. Schneersohn, while not belonging to any formal rabbinical or political organization, was frequently consulted on Jewish problems and issues.

KOPYL BRANCH. This Chabad branch was founded by JUDAH LEIB (1811–1866), a son of Menaḥem Mendel of Lubavitch (see above). After his father's death in 1866, following a quarrel over the leadership, Joseph Leib settled in the town of Kopys where many of the Ḥasidim became his followers. He died, however, in the same year. He was succeeded by his son SOLOMON (SHNEUR) ZALMAN (1830–1900), under whose leadership his followers became a most important and active branch of Chabad Ḥasidism. A selection of Solomon's ḥasidic sermons was published in one of the important Chabad books, *Magen Avot* (1902); other sermons were published in *Derushim Yekarim* (ed. G.A. Yankelzon, 1903). Another son of Judah Leib, SHALOM DOV BAER (1840?–1908), a pupil of his elder brother, Solomon, was also a rabbi. He later assumed ḥasidic leadership in Rechitsa (now Belarus), which became a secondary center of Chabad Ḥasidism. After his brother's death, Shalom became the moving force of this branch. A third brother, SHEMARIAH NOAH (1845?–1926), a rabbi and later a ḥasidic leader in Bobruisk (central Belarus), was the last leader of this branch. He built one of the first ḥasidic yeshivot (1901) and wrote a book of sermons, entitled *Shemen La-Ma'or* (1864). Upon his death his followers joined the Lubavitch branch of the movement.

The Chabad System

After Shneur Zalman became recognized as an independent ḥasidic leader, the new trend in Ḥasidism became known as Ḥa-Ba-D, an acrostic of the kabbalistic term *ḥokhmah, binah, da'at* ("germinal, developmental, and conclusive" knowledge). Shneur Zalman's methodical approach, and the need to formulate Ḥasidism in order to transmit its study, gave rise to methodological changes in the approach to Ḥasidism, which also became to a certain extent changes in essence. Although some ḥasidic ideas had received definition before the advent of Shneur Zalman, it was based on no system which could be studied by regular methods. The conversion to an organized theory which could be studied (as in the *ḥadarim* founded by Shneur Zalman) necessitated an intellectual approach. Although Shneur Zalman did not reject the "intuitive" approach to Ḥasidism in principle, he emphasized that this "all embracing way" in practice held many dangers: it could encourage self-deception and especially could lead to the severance of the vital link between simple faith and emotion, and daily practical life. Shneur Zalman stressed the necessity of regular study and unceasing spiritual exercise as indispensable for achieving lasting results. From this he derived a new ethical concept of the "*beinoni*" ("the average man"). He defined the *ẓaddik* as an exceptional human type, whose characteristics are inborn and who directs all his spiritual life to attaining the transition to the divine. However, this person is extremely rare, and there exists a disconnect between him and the average man which is almost impossible to bridge. The practical Jewish ideal is a different figure, that of the *beinoni*.

The *beinoni* that "every man should aspire to become" is the person who does not manage in the unconscious depths of his soul to achieve complete spiritual identity with the Divine, yet in his practical life and in his emotions and intellect, he strives toward perfection. This is given additional importance by Shneur Zalman through emphasizing that the *beinoni* ranks parallel to the *ẓaddik*, but the degree of the latter can only be attained by exceptional individuals who are chosen from birth, whereas that of the *beinoni* is the ideal which may be achieved in practice and is required of every Jew. The *beinoni* is not required "to change darkness into light or bitter into sweet," nor can he induce evil to change to good: this task, which kindles heresies and their consequences, is the sole province of the *ẓaddik*. The *beinoni* is required to resist evil throughout his life, to reject it by virtue of his inner decision and the subjection of evil to good (control of the evil impulse). To achieve this aim, man is required to utilize his spiritual powers. Instinctive reverence, like "the hidden love that is in the heart of every Jew from birth," forms the primary basis from which every *beinoni* may advance to higher degrees of perfection. The *beinoni's* struggle against the evil impulse within him is sustained by knowing that "the brain rules the heart from birth" and by persevering in the use of *meditation (*hitbonenut*). Meditation on the greatness of the Creator and on love and reverence for Him results in the elevation of the primitive feelings in the sacred soul to a higher degree of "love and rational reverence." This does not necessarily imply an intellectual or rationalist approach to adherence to God but is essentially the propulsion of the hidden emotional life to a degree of full awareness. Similarly, strict attention is required to be paid to the accepted Jewish ethical behavior – such as punctiliousness in the performance of the precepts, additional stress on Torah study, and the worship of God in joyousness while repressing melancholy. In placing additional significance on the role of meditation as a primary means of achieving elevation in the ḥasidic progression, Shneur Zalman regarded study of Kabbalah not as a theoretical study but essentially as a means of strengthening faith in the Creator and of arousing the heart.

In consequence of its teachings and discourses, Ḥasidism develops into an independent study encompassing a variety of subjects which promote meditation. However, while Shneur Zalman did not diverge from the approach of his ḥasidic mentors in the abstract spheres of speculation, he systematized their teachings by the use of special methods of exposition. In particular he broadened and developed the exposition of Kabbalah (which had already begun during the lifetime of the Ba'al Shem Tov) by employing parables and examples from spiritual life. The symbols and principles of Kabbalah were understood as operating also in psychological problems. In his work *Sha'ar ha-Yiḥud ve-ha-Emunah*, Shneur Zalman summarizes his general theological concept, the basic problem being the reciprocal connection between God and the world. Although he accepts the view that the existence of the world has its origin in the hidden and concealed aspect of the divine nature, this does not lead him to deny the basic reality of the world as an illusion of the senses. He draws considerably upon the deductive methods of *Judah Loew, the Maharal of Prague, explaining that even the concealed and hidden aspects are revelations of other facets of the divine nature.

As a corollary to this explanation there arises the paradox of which Shneur Zalman makes regular use, that the physical world, precisely because it conceals the divine manifestation, is an expression of the highest degree of the divinity ("material creation derives from the divine substance"). This explanation also postulates conclusions concerning the conduct of man: fulfillment of the practical precepts just because they are materialistic and study of the Torah just because it is linked with material factors in the world are higher degrees than theoretical spiritual adhesion to God. The link with the apparent concealed divine presence in this world is the ascent which follows the descent of the soul into the body. Observance of the precepts, like Torah study, forms a link of real adhesion to God (and in fact the only link). It follows that love of God and reverence for Him, and even the feeling of adhesion to Him, are only a means of arousing the soul toward the true adhesion – through Torah study and observance of the precepts.

By emphasizing the unbridgeable chasm between the divine essence and any attempt at understanding and identification with it, it follows that the only bridge is through the channel of revelation – the Torah and its precepts – while in the life of the soul the most praiseworthy quality is the negation of selfhood. This negation is not expressed through self-mortification but is basically a "negation of existence," subjection of the individual wish; and "negation of reality" is the wish of the individual to identify with the divine will. Surrender of the soul, as one of the main forms of such negation, serves simultaneously as the basis for the path to worship of God in both the life of feeling and of action.

This interpretation of Ḥasidism, predicated on observance of the precepts out of a wish to identify with God, in study and meditation, is clearly an individualist process. Every Ḥasid is responsible for pursuing, and is obligated to pursue, independent worship activity, while the assistance of the ḥasidic congregation, and even of the *ẓaddik* himself, is not integral to divine worship. Hence Shneur Zalman does not dwell extensively on the status and nature of the *ẓaddik*. In his view the *admor* is a spiritual leader and guide who assists his Ḥasidim to find their individual way to God, while the ḥasidic group, or the isolated Ḥasid, can and are required to pursue their way by virtue of their independent powers and responsibility.

Shneur Zalman did not intend to present a complete theosophical system, like the kabbalists, nor did he engage in theological speculations for their own sake. Rather, he was a guide to the path leading to the true service of God. From his position as *ẓaddik*, Shneur Zalman sought to demonstrate that by following his advice the ḥasid would be realizing the verse, "the thing is very close to you, in your mouth and in your heart to observe it" (Deut. 30:14). He constructed a psychological system based on kabbalistic principles, distinguished by subtle analyses and penetrating to the depths of the human soul. His treatment of theology is arrived at incidentally through psychology, and hence his system may be regarded as Kabbalah in ḥasidic dress.

In his theology, Shneur Zalman presented a conception of theistic transcendence even of a somewhat pantheist nature. In this respect he is closer to the conception of Moses *Cordovero than to Isaac *Luria. On the one hand there is no limit to the greatness of God, and "the intellect cannot grasp it"; on the other, the term "infinite" (*Ein Sof) in its adverbial form is understood as "there is no object to the light emanating from Him," i.e., in terms manifested outside of Him. Shneur Zalman explains this by the use of the terms "surrounds all the worlds" and "fills all the worlds," i.e., on His own terms God is infinite (*Ein-Sof*), surrounding and encompassing everything. His greatness lies in that the only luminance revealed outside Him is infinitesimal, though this luminance supports and establishes all existence in the many worlds. Hence the concept of Shneur Zalman cannot be defined as total acosmism, as held by several scholars.

Shneur Zalman explains the concept of *ẓimẓum* ("contraction," see *Kabbalah) as being allegorical only, reflecting some inner compulsion. The abundance of the upper world would flow unimpeded in the act of creation, but *ẓimẓum* is constituted to conceal this light before the limited creatures.

Shneur Zalman emphasizes the importance of "germinal, elemental, and conclusive knowledge" (*ḥokhmah, binah, da'at*), i.e., those powers of the soul which are employed in intellectual activities, whose object is the immensity of *Ein-Sof*. However not the intellect alone, but attributes such as love and reverence and the like ought to be directed toward the Creator. Evil is not bad on its own terms and is constituted to serve as a challenge to man. Whoever manages to subject it (the *beinoni*), and even to convert it to good (the *ẓaddik*), augments holiness in the world and brings the Divine Presence to a complete harmony and the soul to great joy.

The Tanya

This is the first and primary work of the Chabad system, first published anonymously in 1796. Shneur Zalman himself calls the book *Likkutei Amarim* ("Collected Sayings"), but on the title page of the second edition it is designated "*Tanya*," and it has continued to be widely known by this name ever since. It has been translated into English (including pt. 5; 1964–66). The book consists of five parts:

(1) *Sefer shel Beinonim* ("The Book of the Average Man").

(2) *Sha'ar ha-Yiḥud ve-ha-Emunah* ("The Gateway of Unity and Belief"), called in the first edition *ḥinukh katan* ("brief instruction").

(3) *Iggeret Teshuvah* ("Letter of Repentance"); this exists in two editions: the first, and briefest, was published in Shklov in 1799, while the second edition, the longer version, was published in Shklov in 1806 and has been the most frequently republished. It is also called "*Tanya Katan*" ("Brief Tanya").

(4) *Iggeret ha-Kodesh* ("Letter of Holiness"), published in Shklov in 1814 soon after the author's death. Not all the letters have been published in their entirety, and their supplements are scattered in various texts.

(5) *Kunteres Aḥaron* ("Last Thesis"; Shklov 1814).

The 1814 Shklov edition of the *Tanya* includes all five parts, and this form has since been retained. Various abridgments and explanations have been written to the *Tanya*. The

Chabad Ḥasidim refer to it as the "written law of Ḥabad" and designate it for daily study.

Apart from the letters included in the "*Iggeret ha-Kodesh*" and "*Kunteres Aḥaron*," the rest of the parts of the book present a complete and consistent system, which develops out of the determination not to "fail" in precision of terminology and logic. This gives rise to complicated syntax and lengthy sentences, which make the subject difficult to comprehend. However, the *Tanya* is one of the few works of Ḥasidism which is not a collection of discourses but a complete systematic exposition and was developed by the originator of the system himself. When the book appeared, it was criticized adversely by both *maskilim* and *Mitnaggedim*, and even by the Ḥasid, Abraham of Kalish. But it eventually was greatly appreciated for the profundity of its thought and organized structure. However, commentators have not always succeeded in penetrating its inner meaning. Contradictions exist between Shneur Zalman's other books of discourses and the *Tanya*.

Successors to the Chabad System

Those continuing the system advanced by Shneur Zalman of Lyady merely explain and expand what he laid down. The principal contribution of his own descendants to the Chabad system was their selection of various subjects out of the total of those treated by him. Shneur Zalman's ramified work was given direction and definition principally by his son and successor Dov Baer. He placed even greater emphasis on the element of meditation and also expanded it. He strengthened the intellectual aspect of Chabad, designating the study of Ḥasidism not only as a means to an end but also an end in itself. By this he brought an additional distance between the Ḥasidism practiced by Chabad and the rest of the branches of Ḥasidism (see Aaron of *Starosielce).

Menaḥem Mendel, author of *Ẓemaḥ Ẓedek*, added halakhic works and also introduced a new category of ḥasidic writings. In *Derekh Mitzvotekha* (1911–12), on a part of the Torah precepts, Mendel employed a form which combined halakhah, kabbalah, and Ḥasidism; and in *Sefer ha-Ḥakirah*, he brought together concepts and terms from Jewish philosophical literature and the systems of Kabbalah and Ḥasidism. However, subsequently Chabad returned to the framework established by Dov Baer – ḥasidic sayings, mainly arranged according to the portions of the Law, which explain religious and theoretical problems (intellectual) or ethical-practical concerns (worship) according to Shneur Zalman's system. The works which expand the sphere of ideas (of the Kopys dynasty) or the kabbalistic context (those of Shalom Baer) still do not go beyond this general framework, hence the special status acquired by the *admorim* of Chabad as the sole authoritative exponents of the system. In contrast, a different, more personal type of literary work developed in the form of talks, in which guidance is the principal motif. They are not constructed in an organized form. In them the Chabad *admorim* of the last few generations express themselves freely, each in his own manner, through ethical tales or general explanations of contemporary problems.

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[Avrum Stroll]

SHOCHAT, ISRAEL (1886–1961), founder and leader of the *Ha-Shomer organization. Shochat was born in Liskova in the province of Grodno (Belorussia) into a family of Jewish landowners. In his youth he joined the Po'alei Zion party and in 1904 went to settle in Ereẓ Israel. When he became acquainted with the Jewish settlements whose life was based on Arab labor and protected by Arab, Circassian, North African, and other non-Jewish watchmen, Shochat decided to establish a clandestine order whose objective would be to introduce Jewish workers and watchmen into the villages. In 1907 he attended the Eighth Zionist Congress and played a role in the establishment of the World Union of Po'alei Zion. In 1907 Shochat gathered about ten of his friends in Jaffa and founded the secret society, Bar-Giora. At the head of a group of friends, Shochat set out for Sejera (now *Ilaniyyah) in Lower Galilee and there convinced the surrounding settlements to entrust Jewish watchmen with guard duties. In 1909, at a meeting of the members of Bar-Giora, it was decided to establish the Ha-Shomer organization. Shochat was elected chairman of the Ha-Shomer committee, and within a few years this organization became an important factor in the life of the new *yishuv*. In 1910 Shochat attempted to set up a "labor legion" in order to introduce Jewish labor into the settlements based on communal life and discipline. The "legion" was short-lived because of a lack of members and the opposition of the Jewish labor parties to its methods. At the end of 1912, Shochat left for Constantinople with Izhak *Ben-Zvi and David *Ben-Gurion to study law.

With the outbreak of World War I, Shochat was among the initiators of a project for the establishment of a Jewish militia that would assist in maintaining order in the country. The Turkish authorities rejected this project, arrested Shochat and his wife, Mania Wilbushewitch *Shochat, and deported them to Brusa, Anatolia. In 1917 Shochat was allowed to attend the Po'alei Zion Conference in Stockholm, and with the end of World War I he returned to Palestine. Together with his comrades of Ha-Shomer, he joined *Aḥdut ha-Avodah and was among the founders of Haganah, the *Gedud ha-Avodah

(Labor Legion), and the Histadrut. His controversy with the leaders of Aḥdut ha-Avodah regarding the organizational system of the Haganah led to his resignation from the Haganah command. He attempted to pursue his own defense activities within the framework of Gedud ha-Avodah through a closed underground that established an arms depot in Kefar Giladi and sent members to Europe for military training. In 1925 he left for Moscow, where he held secret negotiations with high Soviet officials on the possibility of a collaboration between his group and the Soviet secret service, but these negotiations proved completely fruitless. Shochat and his colleagues were called before an internal body of the Histadrut to answer for their separatist political and defense activities. With the disintegration of Gedud ha-Avodah, Shochat was removed from all central public activities. During the 1930s he was active in the Ha-Po'el sports organization and the establishment of the first flying clubs in the country. As a lawyer he took up the defense of Haganah prisoners, and on the establishment of the State of Israel (1948) he acted as legal adviser to the minister of police. His memoirs were published in *Kovez ha-Shomer* (1937) and in *Sefer ha-Shomer* (1957). He was a brother of Eliezer *Shoḥat.

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[Yehuda Slutsky]

SHOCHAT, MANIA WILBUSHEWITCH (1880–1961), one of the leaders of the *Ha-Shomer organization. Born on the estate of Lososna, near Grodno, Belorussia, she left her father's house in her youth and went to work in her brother's factory in Minsk in order to become acquainted with the living conditions of the workers and assist them. There she became associated with revolutionary circles (*Gershuni and others) and was arrested during the summer of 1899. In prison she met the chief of the secret police of Moscow, Zubatov, who advanced the idea of establishing a workers' movement that would be loyal to the czar and supported by him ("police socialism," or "Zubatovshchina"). Zubatov convinced her that the establishment of a Jewish workers' party under the aegis of the authorities, concerning itself solely with professional and economic interests and abstaining from political activities against the regime, would be a blessing to the Jewish masses and would lead to an extension of Jewish civic rights. Under his influence she undertook to establish such a movement, and in the summer of 1901 she participated in the establishment of the Jewish Independent Labor Party. The workers organized within this party and the strikes they declared were successful because agents of the secret police supported them. They were stubbornly opposed by the Bund and the other Jewish Socialist groups, however. Mania Wilbushewitz played a central role in the party, and even discussed its affairs with the minister of the interior, *Plehve (May 1902).

With the change of the government's policy toward Zubatov's projects and under the impact of the Kishinev pogrom, the party reached an impasse and in the summer of 1903 announced its own dissolution. Mania Wilbushewitch subsequently underwent a period of grave crisis. She unsuccessfully attempted to assume a role in revolutionary activities. At the beginning of 1904, her brother Naḥum Wilbushewitch invited her to visit Ereẓ Israel, and for a year she traveled through the country studying the conditions of settlement and came to the conclusion that only through collective agricultural settlement could a wide class of Jewish workers emerge – an essential condition for the development of Ereẓ Israel into a Jewish country. In 1907 she undertook a journey to Europe and the United States in order to study various communist settlements. Upon her return, she sought out a group of men who would cooperate in the realization of her project and thus became associated with the members of the Bar-Giora group led by Israel Shochat. Under her influence its members settled on a farm near Sejera (Ilaniyah) and in 1907–08 undertook to farm it on a collective basis, thus inaugurating the first experiment of collective settlement in Ereẓ Israel.

In 1908 she married Israel Shochat and with him was among the founders of Ha-Shomer (1909). She became a central figure in Ha-Shomer, where her spiritual influence prevailed. When World War I broke out, the Turkish authorities banished Mania and Israel Shochat to Bursa, Anatolia. It was not until the spring of 1919 (after they had traveled to Stockholm to attend the Po'alei Zion convention) that both returned to Palestine and joined the Aḥdut Avodah party. In 1921 Mania was a member of the first Histadrut delegation to visit the United States. Her presence aroused bitter polemics when the Bundists and the Communists recalled her collaboration with Zubatov and accused her of denouncing revolutionaries to the secret police. She then published her memoirs in the newspaper *Di Tsayt*. During the following years she devoted herself to the activities of *Gedud ha-Avodah, and after its dissolution she was active in Kefar Giladi. In 1930 she was among the founders of the League for Jewish-Arab Friendship. In 1948, she joined the Mapam party and settled in Tel Aviv, where she devoted herself to social work. She published memoirs in *Divrei Po'alot* (1930), *Kovez ha-Shomer* (1937), and *Sefer ha-Shomer* (1957).

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[Yehuda Slutsky]

SHOFAR (Heb. שׁוֹפָר), an animal's horn prepared for use as a musical instrument. Together with the reed, it is one of the earliest musical instruments known to man which is still in use. Etymologically the word is connected with *šapparu*, meaning wild sheep (Koehler-Baumgartner, s.v. *shofar*). It is mentioned 69 times in the Bible and frequently in talmudic and post-talmudic literature.

History and Description

The *shofar* is first mentioned in Exodus 19:16 at the theophany on Sinai. It was used to proclaim the Jubilee Year and the proclamation of "freedom throughout the land" (Lev. 25:9–10); this verse is engraved upon the Liberty Bell in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. It was to be sounded on *Rosh Ha-Shanah, which is designated as "*yom teru'ah*" ("A day of blowing"; Num. 29:1). It was also used as an accompaniment to other musical instruments (Ps. 98:6), in processionals (Josh. 6:4ff.), as a signal (Josh. 6:12ff., II Sam. 15:10), as a clarion call to war (Judg. 3:27), and in order to induce fear (Amos 3:6).

When used in the Temple, the *shofar* was usually sounded in conjunction with the trumpet (*ḥaẓoẓrah*). The Talmud (RH 27a) states that the trumpet was made of silver, while the processed horn of one of the five species of animal – sheep, goat, mountain goat, antelope, and gazelle – was used to fulfill the ritual commandment of the sounding of the *shofar.* It further declares (*ibid.* 26b) that the *shofar* should preferably be made of a ram's or wild goat's horn, because they are curved. Rabbi Judah states: "the *shofar* of Rosh Ha-Shanah must be of the horn of a ram, to indicate submission." Traditionally a ram's horn is sounded on those days because of its connection with the sacrifice of Isaac (the **Akedah*), the story of which is the Torah reading for the second day of the festival. Conversely, a cow's horn may not be used because of the incident of the golden calf (RH 3:2). The *shofar* may not be painted, though it can be gilded or carved with artistic designs, so long as the mouthpiece remains natural. A *shofar* with a hole is deemed halakhically unfit, though it may be used if no other is available (Sh. Ar., OḤ 586).

Sounds of the Shofar

The Bible refers to two kinds of trumpet sounds: *teki'ah* and *teru'ah* (Num. 10:5–8). The Mishnah (RH 4:9) describes the *teki'ah* as a long blast and the *teru'ah* as three *yevavot*, a wavering crying blast. It prescribes three sets of *shofar* sounds since the word *teru'ah* is mentioned in the Bible three times (Lev. 23:24, 25:9 and Num. 29:1), each set to consist of a *teki'ah*, a *teru'ah* and *teki'ah* thrice repeated (RH 33bf.).

In the talmudic period, doubt arose as to the exact nature of the *teru'ah*. Some held that it was a moaning sound (*genuḥei genah*) and others that it was an outcry (*yelulei yelal*). According to the first opinion, the sound was *shevarim* (broken sounds), while in the second view it was *teru'ah* – a tremolo of nine staccato notes. Rabbi Abbahu reconciled the difference by deciding that the first set of sounds should include both *shevarim* and *teru'ah*, i.e., *teki'ah, shevarim–teru'ah, teki'ah*, while the other two sets were to be composed as follows: *teki'ah, shevarim, teki'ah*; and *teki'ah, teru'ah, teki'ah* (*ibid.*). The *teki'ah* (blowing) is a glissando which begins on a lower note and swells into a higher. The *teru'ah* (alarm) is a series of staccato blasts upon the lower note. The *shevarim* (tremolo) is an alternation of higher and lower notes. The concluding note of each of the two series is a *teki'ah gedolah* (great blast); this is a long drawn-out note explained as a sign of the removal of the Divine Presence, hermeneutically deduced from Exodus 19:13: "When the ram's horn soundeth long, they shall come up to the mount."

Use on the Holy Days

During the month of Elul, the *shofar* is blown from the second day of the new month to usher in the penitential season (Rema, Sh. Ar., OḤ 581:1). There is a tradition that Moses ascended Mount Sinai for the second time on Rosh Ḥodesh Elul and that the *shofar* was sounded so that the children of Israel might not be misled. Thus, originally it was blown only on the first day of Rosh Ḥodesh Elul. Today it is sounded daily, except for the last day, throughout the month at morning service until Rosh Ha-Shanah is over, and once more on the Day of Atonement at the conclusion of the final service (*Ne'ilah*). This last, though, is a late custom.

On Rosh Ha-Shanah, Psalm 47 is recited seven times before the sounding of the *shofar.* This is symbolic of the seven circuits that the Israelites made around Jericho before the wall fell down at the blasts of the *shofar,* and of the seven heavens through which prayers must penetrate in order to reach the throne of God. There are two series of blasts: for the first, which is sounded before the *Musaf*, the congregation may sit before they rise to hear it, and hence it is called *teki'ot meyushav* ("sitting *teki'ot*"; to distinguish it from the second series, which is heard during the *Musaf Amidah*, for which the congregation has been standing all the time). This first series is preceded by two benedictions: (1) "Blessed be Thou O Lord our God King of the universe, who has sanctified us by Thy commandments and has instructed us to hear the call of the *shofar*"; (2) "Blessed be Thou … who has kept us in life, has sustained us and privileged us to reach this season of the year." The second series, the *teki'ot me'ummad* ("standing *teki'ot*") is heard three times during the reader's repetition of the *Musaf* (in the Sephardi rite also in the silent Amidah) at the conclusion of each one of its major sections (*Malkhuyyot* – the kingship of God; *Zikhronot* – the remembrance of the merit of our ancestors; and *Shofarot* – hope for the coming of the Messianic Era to be ushered in by the sound of the *shofar*). In some communities it is also customary to sound up to a total of one hundred sounds at the conclusion of the service

The *shofar* may be sounded only in the daytime. Women and children are exempt from the commandment to listen to it, but such is its place in the Rosh Ha-Shanah ritual that nearly all do. When Rosh Ha-Shanah occurs on the Sabbath, the *shofar* is not blown, the traditional reason being "lest he carry it (the *shofar*) from one domain to another (in violation of the Sabbath)" (RH 29b). When the Temple was in existence, it was sounded there even on the Sabbath, but not elsewhere. After the destruction of the Temple Johanan b. Zakkai permitted its use on the Sabbath in a town where an ordained *bet din* sat (RH 4:1). This, however, is not the normal practice in our times. The congregant sounding the *shofar* is called a *ba'al teki'ah* and anyone capable of doing so is permitted to blow it. The prompter, or caller, is the *makri.*

Other Uses

In about 400 C.E. in Babylonia, the *shofar* was sounded to announce a death (MK 27b). During the Middle Ages also, it was also blown on fasts (see Ta'an. 1:6), at excommunications (see Sanh. 76 and MK 16a), and at funerals. On Friday afternoon, six blasts were sounded at various intervals. At the first *teki'ah*, the laborers in the fields ceased their work. At the second, shops were closed and city laborers ceased to work. The third signaled that it was time to kindle the Sabbath lights. And the fourth, fifth, and sixth were a *teki'ah, teru'ah* and *teki'ah* formally ushering in the Sabbath (Shab. 35b). In modern times the *shofar* is used at the inauguration of a new president of Israel. During the Six-Day War in June 1967, the chief rabbi of the Israeli army blew it at the Western Wall after its liberation by the Israel Defense Forces, using the same *shofar* which he had sounded on Mt. Sinai in 1956. More and more in modern Israel the *shofar* has been used to mark various solemn occasions, especially by the Oriental communities.

Reasons for Sounding the Shofar

Anthropologists offer the theory that since many powers are ascribed to a horn, for example, frightening away demons, it was blown to produce magical results. The *shofar,* thus, is to scare off Satan and evil spirits (cf. RH 16b); and so it is fitting that it be used on Rosh Ha-Shanah to frighten away the "prosecuting attorney."

Most Jewish philosophers attempted to explain the significance of the *shofar.* Saadiah Gaon offered ten reasons for sounding it: (1) to proclaim the sovereignty of God, since it was the custom to sound the *shofar* at a coronation; (2) to herald the beginning of the ten days of repentance; (3) as a reminder to be faithful to the teachings of the Torah, since the *shofar* was heard at the giving of the Torah; (4) as a reminder of the prophets, the teachers of righteousness, who raised their voices like the *shofar* to touch our consciences; (5) to the sound of trumpets the Temple fell, and to the sound of trumpets it will be restored; (6) as a reminder of the *Akedah*, since the ram which was substituted for Isaac was caught in the thicket by its horns; (7) to inspire awe ("Shall the *shofar* be blown in the city and the people not be afraid?"); (8) as a summons to the Heavenly Court on the Day of Judgment to be judged; (9) as a reminder that the *shofar* will call together Israel's scattered remnants to return to the Holy Land; and (10) as a reminder of the day of resurrection, the return to life (quoted by Abudarham (Jerusalem, 1959 ed.), 269f.).

Maimonides gives a moving interpretation of the sounding of the *shofar*: "Awake O sleepers from your sleep, O slumberers arouse ye from your slumbers, and examine your deeds, return in repentance and remember your Creator" (Yad, Teshuvah 3:4).

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[Albert L. Lewis]

SHOFAROT (Heb. שׁוֹפָרוֹת; "shofar verses"), last of the three central benedictions of the *Musaf *Amidah* on *Rosh Ha-Shanah. The benediction is comprised of ten biblical verses which mention the **shofar* and which voice the hope for the messianic redemption of Israel and mankind, to be heralded by the sound of the "great *shofar*" (Isa. 18:3; Zech. 9:14). Joseph *Albo interpreted the benediction as being a statement of religious dogma (*Ikkarim* 1:4). In the Ashkenazi ritual, the *shofar* is sounded at the end of the *Shofarot* benediction during the repetition of the *Musaf Amidah*; in the Sephardi and Oriental rites it is also sounded during the silent *Musaf Amidah*. The recital of the *Shofarot* verses was ordained in the Talmud (RH 4:6; RH 32a–b). In the *Conservative and *Reform liturgies, the recital of the *Shofarot* verses is preceded by appropriate introductory and/or supplementary explanatory readings in the vernacular.

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SHOFMAN (Schoffmann), GERSHON (1880–1972), Hebrew writer, distinguished for his miniature short stories, his meditative and didactic sketches, and his epigrammatic essays on literature and life. Born in Orsha, Belorussia, Shofman received a traditional religious education; but as a result of diligent reading, first of Hebrew and then of Russian literature, he became acquainted with European culture and with the new trends in Hebrew literature developed under the influence of S.Y. *Abramovitsh (Mendele Mokher Seforim) and his disciples. Shofman's talent for short-story writing was revealed in his very first collection of stories, published in Warsaw in 1902. In that same year, he enlisted in the Russian army and served for almost three years. In 1904, during the Russo-Japanese War, he fled to Galicia, remaining there until 1913, when he left for Vienna. He then settled in an Austrian village, and lived there until he immigrated to Ereẓ Israel in 1938, where he eventually settled in Haifa.

Shofman published his stories and articles in various periodicals in Russia, Poland, Germany, Austria, England, and Israel. He also edited several literary journals. His collected writings first appeared in four volumes in 1927–35, and subsequently in a revised edition of four volumes (1946–52), to which a fifth was added in 1960. Shofman was awarded the Israel Prize for literature in 1957.

Shofman's writing is characterized by its conciseness and precision. His sentences are free of all literary embellishment and make no attempt at being dramatic; Jacob *Fichmann commented that "in their utter lucidity and strict precision they resemble scientific definitions." Even Shofman's metaphors are generally confined to an adverb or an adjective of not more than one or two words. Consequently, his narrative thrust depends on subtle innuendo and symbolic implications.

Shofman's stories have no plot in the ordinary sense. There is no real sequence of events; the stories consist rather of a succession of hurried utterances and episodic actions with no apparent close connection between them. Only as the narrative unfolds does it become evident that the actions and utterances related by the author are more than episodic. Events are governed by the iron laws of destiny; they are a necessary outcome of past action, as well as an omen for what may come to pass in the future.

Shofman's own history of wanderings comes out clearly in his stories and articles. But at the same time he writes in a somewhat depersonalized fashion, and consequently his works seem to encompass the many turning points in Jewish life in the 20th century: the collapse of Jewish tradition in Russia during the pre-World War I period, and the conceptual vacuum, rootlessness, and depression which overcame the Jews as a result; the counterwave of faith in the socialist revolution which initially swept away a part of Jewish youth, but which after the 1905 pogroms ended largely in despair; the further moral and spiritual decline which came about in the wake of World War I and increasing antisemitism during the interwar period and World War II; and the Jewish immigration to Ereẓ Israel, the State of Israel, and the life of the Jew as he attempted to free himself of the marks of degeneration and moral collapse.

The sociocultural nature of Shofman's themes constitutes the implicit rather than the explicit element in his writings. As seen from an external viewpoint, Shofman's hero is generally a total individualist ruled by desires on the one hand, and on the other hand by hidden forces which are apparently imperceptible to the human intellect. At times he struggles against these forces and at times he surrenders to them. At times he is passive and at times active. However, his existence, living as he does a gloomy and commonplace life, is almost always a marginal one. Depression, illness, degradation, the fear both of life and of death seem to thrust the hero into the position of being activated rather than acting; and in consequence of his experience he normally thinks of and cares for no one but himself. On the rare occasions when he does act for the benefit of society, even when he dies for it, he is in actual fact impelled by some hidden force, the significance of which he does not understand.

Shofman developed his own particular view of aesthetics in both his narrative and his meditative writings, and he demanded the same standards from others. His articles on literature and literary criticism, some of which were published in the series *Sirtutei Peḥam* ("Charcoal Drawings") and *Shetayim Shalosh Shurot* ("Two or Three Lines"), set out his convictions, often in a strongly polemical tone. On the other hand, when a work under review appeared to conform to his own standards, Shofman was generous with his praise.

For English translations of his works see Goell, Bibliography, 1505, 2465–85.

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[Gideon Katznelson]

SHOHAM (Heb. שֹׁהַם, "Onyx"), town in central Israel. The town is located near Ben-Gurion Airport, halfway between Jerusalem and Tel Aviv. It was founded in 1993 and is under constant expansion, with an area of 5.2 sq. mi (13.5 sq. km.) and a 2002 population of 15,600. Its growth rate is one of the highest in Israel – 7% a year. The development of the town has been characterized by emphasis on environmental issues. It has around 60 acres of parkland utilizing a special water-saving system for watering. Every year Shoham hosts an Arts Festival during Sukkot and an International Mountain Bike Race in memory of Yitzhak *Rabin, late prime minister of Israel.

WEBSITE: www.shoham.muni.il.

[Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

SHOHAM (Polakevich), MATTITYAHU MOSHE (1893–1937), Hebrew poet and playwright. Born in Warsaw, and orphaned at an early age, Shoham was educated by his grandfather and uncle. He studied foreign languages and secular literature largely on his own. In 1930 he went to Palestine, but being unable to earn a livelihood, returned to Poland two years later. He served for three years as chairman of the Hebrew Authors' Association of Poland, and helped to edit its biweekly publication *Ammudim*; he also lectured at the Institute of Jewish Studies in Warsaw. Most of Shoham's poems, plays, and essays were published in *Ha-Tekufah, Moznayim, Gilyonot*, and *Ketuvim*. Only two of his works appeared in book form during his lifetime – *Ẓor vi-Yrushalayim* (1933) and *Elohei Barzel Lo Ta'aseh Lekha* (1937). His other works were published in collected form in 1965.

Lyric Poems

Shoham began his literary career by writing lyric and dramatic poems, his main themes being love and the biblical past. His vocabulary and style are archaic, and he frequently employs exotic figures of speech and highly dramatic symbolism. The power of Shoham's poems lies in their densely packed lines and in the depth of their mythic conception. This is apparent even in his early lyric cycles, such as "*Shulamit*" (*Ha-Tekufah*, 4, 1919), "*Negohot*" (*ibid.*, 7, 1920), "*Kaẓir*" (*ibid.*, 9, 1921), and "*Peret*" (*ibid.*, 19, 1923). The pervasive theme in these poems is sensual, primitive love, which is invariably linked to the recurrent cycle of time. A broad mythical conception of love and human life also dominates the poems "*Ahavah*" (*Ha-Tekufah*, 22, 1924) and "*Gadish*" (*Moznayim*, 3, 1931), and the prose poems "*El ha-Malkah*" (*Ha-Tekufah*, 6, 1920) and "*Nedudim*" (*ibid.*, 8, 1921).

Most of Shoham's longer poems are based largely upon a mythical conception of Jewish history. In "*Kedem*" (*Ha-Tekufah*, 14–15, 1922) and "*Ur Kasdim*" (*ibid.*, 26–27, 1930), the dramatic tension springs from the polarity between East and West. Shoham's view is that the salvation of Western man in general, and of the Jew in particular, depends upon his return to the Orient and the renewal of the supremacy of the Orient. In the war between light and darkness (Ormazd and Ahriman), light will ultimately triumph ("*Kedem*") and Nimrod will regain his place in the world ("*Ur Kasdim*"). In "*Ereẓ Yisrael*" (*Ha-Tekufah*, 27, 29, 1935, 1936), the tension arises from the poet's confrontation with the myth-strewn landscape of Palestine. Exceptionally interesting are his poetic essays *To Scatter and to Winnow* dealing mainly with historiosophic problems of Jewish existence and aspects of poetry.

Dramatic Poems

Shoham is regarded as one of the major dramatists in Hebrew literature. His four verse plays deal with biblical themes against the background of eternal Jewish problems; and they are all characterized by the author's predilection for making the protagonists embrace opposing views of historical destiny. Shoham's first play, *Yeriḥo* ("Jericho," *Ha-Tekufah*, 20, 1924), is a dramatization of the fall of Jericho. The chief characters, Achan, a Hebrew, and Rahab of Jericho, are drawn to one another. Their love, perhaps, is a symbol of the attraction between the decadent culture of Jericho and the vigorous, vital Hebrew culture of the desert. Achan is the hero of the play, while Phinehas the priest, who condemns him to death because of his love for a foreign woman, is its villain. Shoham suggests that the salvation of the young nation depends upon the merging of the two cultures. At the close of the play, Eldad and Medad, the spiritual heirs of Moses, proclaim that the nation's message is not narrow and chauvinistic, like that of Phinehas, but universal, promising redemption for all.

In *Bilam* ("Balaam," *Ha-Tekufah*, 23–25, 1928, 1929), Shoham presents in a favorable light the liaison between Zimri the Hebrew and Kozbi the Midianite woman, a relationship forbidden by the priest. Phinehas, who opposes the union, is rebuffed by Moses who approves the love of the young people. Subsequently, however, the couple is murdered by the fanatical priest. But the basic theme of the play is found in its subplot – the conflict between Balaam, the prophet of darkness, and Moses, the prophet of light, and Balaam's final "regeneration out of sin." Balaam had grown up together with Moses, and had become estranged from him out of envy; but before Balaam's death he is redeemed from his darkness and accepts the teachings of his friend. Balaam's blessing is interpreted as the triumph of the inner light in his heart over the darkness which had engulfed him. The structure of the play, with its two plots, is complex. The action centers on the main plot (Kozbi – Zimri), which is largely a drama of intrigue, while the subplot is unfolded in Balaam's long discursive soliloquies. These soliloquies tend to weaken the dramatic effect of the play, but they undoubtedly add to its poetry.

Zor vi-Yrushalayim ("Tyre and Jerusalem," 1933; new edition 1992) was written during the author's stay in Ereẓ Israel – an experience which appears to have considerably altered his views on the relations between Jews and gentiles. In the earlier plays, these had been presented as relations of attraction, but they are now regarded as relations of dissociation. There can be no bond between Elijah the prophet and Jezebel, for she belongs to a foreign culture; and Elisha, who had initially courted Jezebel, dissociates himself from her when he receives the tidings of redemption. Ahikar, the prophet of Tyre, predicts that the culture of Tyre will not prevail over the culture of Israel until there is a "marriage" between El and Astarte; but the central theme of the play is the uniqueness of the Hebrew nation. No longer is the emphasis upon the tragic attachment which overpowers the heroes despite the taboos of society; it has shifted to the dramatic self-denial of Elisha, who conquers his impulses and rejects the temptations of Jezebel in favor of his spiritual ideal. The play also marks a considerable technical advance: there are fewer discursive elements, the dialogue is much more alive, and there is an increase in the use of dramatic techniques such as mime, crowd scenes, and shifts in the dramatic viewpoint.

Elohei Barzel Lo Ta'aseh Lekha ("Thou shalt not make to thyself molten gods," 1937) represents a remarkable change in Shoham's methods and outlook. The allegorical elements hinted at in *Bilam* now take precedence over the symbolic elements characteristic of the previous plays. Alongside the mythical characters, who represent concepts of nation and race, stand the two protagonists, Abraham and Gog, personifying two historical ideas – Abraham, the prophetic ideal of social salvation, and Gog, the racist concept that all breeds must be subjugated to the northern race. Echoes of the doctrine of Aryanism and Nazism are clearly discernible in the course of their struggle; this topicality leads to the appearance of numerous anachronisms, as for example a cannon. The common man (represented by Lot), who is crushed between the two opposing forces, feels that he must give up all hope of redemption in the distant future, for to struggle for it in this life can be disastrous. Here Shoham shows his preference for the insignificant, unimaginative Western man, rather than for the promulgators of lofty ideas, the implementation of which can lead to catastrophe. Technically, the latter is the most complex of his works, combining a plot of love and intrigue, involving Sarah, Hagar, and Lot's daughters, played out under the allegorical superstructure of the relentless struggle between Abraham and Gog.

Shoham's work is a mixture of primitive archaism and ideological expressionism. His archaic language and long reflective passages render his plays totally unsuitable for the stage; but his ideological passion, linked to a profoundly imaginative conception of historical situations, his original style, and his complex outlook have secured him a central place in the history of Hebrew drama and poetry. Although most of his characters are symbolic, the ideological and emotional tension between them generates a powerful dramatic atmosphere which does not depend on theatrical success alone.

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[Gershon Shaked]

SHOHAM, SHLOMO-GIORA (1929–), Israeli criminologist. Shoham was one of first scholars to study criminal youth, the effectiveness of laws against crimes, drug abuse, and the personality traits of traffic offenders. He was born in Lithuania and moved to Israel with his parents in 1935. In 1953 he received an LL.M. and in 1960 an LL.D. from the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, School of Law, in law and criminology. He studied for a doctorate at Cambridge in 1958–59. In 1961 he began to teach at Bar-Ilan University and in 1965 served as associate professor at both Bar-Ilan and Tel Aviv universities. In 1969 he became head of the Institute of Criminology and Criminal Justice at Tel Aviv University and a year later became full professor. He also taught at Harvard, the Sorbonne, and Oxford universities. In addition to his academic work, Shoham was assistant district attorney in Jerusalem, assistant to the state attorney, and criminological advisor to the Israeli Ministries of Justice and Internal Security. In 1973 he lost his son, Giora, in the Yom Kippur War, and from that time appended his son's name to his own. Among his many books are *Rebellion, Creativity and Revelation* (1985); *Valhalla, Calvary and Auschwitz*, in German (1987); *The Bridge to Nothingness: Gnosis, Kabbala and Existentialism* (1988); *God as the Shadow of Man* (2000); and *Art, Crime and Madness* (2002). Shoham was awarded the Israel Prize in 2003 for criminology.

[Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

SHOHAT, AVRAHAM BEIGA (1936–), Israeli politician, member of the Knesset since the Eleventh Knesset. Born in Tel Aviv, he served in the IDF as a paratrooper in 1956–57. He was a member of kibbuz Naḥal Oz. In 1957–61 he studied construction engineering at the Technion in Haifa, serving as chairman of the Students Council there. In 1961–63 Shohat was a member of a team headed by Arie Lova *Eliav that planned the town of Arad in the Negev. In 1963–67 he was the regional director of Solel-Boneh in Arad and the Dead Sea area, and in 1967–89 he was head of the Arad Local Council. For part of this period he served as deputy chairman of the Local Government Center and as chairman of its Development Town Committee.

In 1985 Shohat ran the *Israel Labor Party census. He entered the Eleventh Knesset in May 1988, instead of MK Aharon Harel, who resigned. He was chosen to head the Labor Party election staff in the elections to the Twelfth Knesset later that year. In the Twelfth Knesset he served first as chairman of the Economics Committee and then as the chairman of the Finance Committee until February 1991. He then drew up the Labor Party economic platform for the elections to the Thirteenth Knesset, which defined those areas in which the government should be involved in the economy. In this platform the Labor Party for the first time accepted the need to privatize a portion of the government-owned corporations.

In the primaries for the Labor Party leadership held in February 1992, Shohat supported Yitzhak *Rabin, and in the government formed by Rabin after the elections, he was appointed minister of finance. In the period that he served as minister of finance, the rate of growth of the economy accelerated and unemployment fell. This was largely due to progress in the peace process, an end to most aspects of the Arab boycott, the establishment of diplomatic relations with both China and India, and the reestablishment of diplomatic relations with many states that had broken off relations after the Six-Day War or Yom Kippur War. However, there was a serious deterioration in Israel's trade deficit, and the rate of inflation started to rise in 1995. At the end of 1994, Shohat planned to introduce a tax on stock-market earnings, but owing to pressure from business circles, he withdrew the plan.

In the Fourteenth Knesset, when Labor returned to opposition, Shohat served as the Labor coordinator in the Finance Committee. After the election of Ehud *Barak as prime minister and after election to the Fifteenth Knesset in 1999, Shohat was once again appointed minister of finance. Following Shas's resignation from the government, Shohat also served as minister of national infrastructures. In his dual capacity as minister of finance and national infrastructures, Shohat managed to gain support against staunch opposition from senior Finance Ministry officials for the idea of resolving Israel's chronic water shortages by starting to plan desalination plants along the Mediterranean. Shohat was not chosen to serve as one of Labor's ministers in the government formed by Ariel *Sharon in 2001, nor was he chosen to serve as a minister when Labor joined Sharon's second Government in 2005.

In the Sixteenth Knesset he served as chairman of the Joint Committee for the Defense Budget.

[Susan Hattis Rolef (2nd ed.)]

SHOḤAT, ELIEZER (1874–1971), Second Aliyah pioneer, a founder of *Ha-Po'el ha-Ẓa'ir. Born in Liskova, Belorussia, Shoḥat settled in Ereẓ Israel in 1904. He began work in Petaḥ Tikvah as one the first laborers of the Second Aliyah and founded Ha-Po'el ha-Ẓa'ir along with eight other pioneers (1905). He was one of the first Jewish laborers to enter Galilee (1906), became a founding member (1907) of Ha-Ḥoresh (the first Jewish laborers' association in Galilee), a worker at Umm Juni (Deganyah) in 1910, a founder of the Galilee labor federation (1911), a member of the labor group at Merḥavyah in 1911 (which resulted in his imprisonment at Acre), and a founder of the first moshav ovedim, Nahalal (1921). He was a member of the Asefat ha-Nivḥarim. Shoḥat elaborated the labor movement ideology based on Jewish national and moral values. He compiled and edited labor movement literature, notably *Pirkei Ha-Po'el ha-Ẓa'ir* (13 vols., coedited with Ḥayyim Shurer), and edited the writings of labor leaders, including three volumes of the writings of A.D. *Gordon (coedited with S.H. *Bergman). His articles, speeches, and letters were published in *Bi-Netivei Avodah* (1967^2). He was a brother of Israel *Shochat.

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[Yosef Shapiro]

SHOHETMAN, BARUCH (1890–1956), Hebrew bibliographer. Born in Podolia, Shohetman emigrated to Palestine at the end of 1925. From 1927, he worked in the National Library of Jerusalem, especially with the bibliographical quarterly *Kirjath Sepher*, and published essays and articles on historical, literary, and bibliographical subjects. A great part of his work was devoted to the history of Russian Jewry over the last generations, a field in which he was one of the leading experts. He published, with explanatory notes, hundreds of letters of various authors (including those of Aḥad Ha-Am, M. Ussishkin and S. Dubnow). He also published many bibliographical notes (most of them anonymously) in *Kirjath Sepher* as well as bibliographies to the works of Herzl, V.A. Tcherikover, B. Dinur, D. Shimoni, Ḥ.N. Bialik, N.H. Tur-Sinai (Torczyner), Tchernichowsky, and S.H. Bergman. For a detailed listing of his bibliographical work, see Shunami, Bibl. Shohetman was killed when Jordanian soldiers opened fire at a group of archaeologists visiting the settlement of Ramat Raḥel.

[Getzel Kressel]

SHOLAL (Sulal), ISAAC (d. 1524), last Egyptian **nagid*. Although of Spanish ancestry, by the early 15th century and perhaps even earlier Sholal's direct forebears were residing in Tlemcen, *Algeria. During the latter half of the 15th century Sholal himself resided in *Egypt, where he actively engaged in the grain trade and other pursuits. In 1502 he inherited the office of *nagid* from his uncle/brother-in-law Jonathan (Nathan) *Sholal, serving in this capacity until the Ottoman conquest in 1517, which saw the termination of the negidate. Various sources indicate that Isaac Sholal was intensely involved in the affairs of the *Jerusalem and *Safed communities as well as the Syrian communities on several levels. During his tenure as *nagid* he made a significant contribution to intellectual life in Jerusalem in the form of massive material support for two yeshivot. One reopened at his initiative, and he founded the other. Sholal also supported the Sephardi yeshivah in Safed. In addition, by promulgating regulations through the agency of his court, Sholal took steps aimed at legislating social issues in the Jerusalem community. In early 1517 Sholal came to Eretz Israel and settled in Jerusalem, but he was then an impoverished man, no longer able to contribute financially to the upkeep of the yeshivot. Nonetheless, in Jerusalem Sholal continued to exercise spiritual influence. He belonged to a circle of individuals who engaged in pietistic practices aimed at hastening redemption. He himself prescribed vigils "to pray and undergo privation for the sake of all our brethren in the Diaspora." Ever attuned to the incipient signs of the Messiah's approach, Sholal evinced particular interest in individuals who claimed descent from the Ten Tribes. Sources from the early 1520s indicate that he hosted individuals claiming such ancestry in Jerusalem and earlier in Egypt as well. Sholal's scholastic achievements and status among the Jerusalem halakhists are reflected in several of the halakhic decisions extant in *Kuntres Ḥiddushei Dinim* and in his correspondence with his contemporaries in Egypt and Jerusalem.

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[Abraham David (2nd ed.)]

SHOLAL, NATHAN (Jonathan) HA-KOHEN (1437–1502), one of the last *negidim* in Egypt. Sholal was born in Tlemcen (Algeria) to a family of Talmud scholars. He emigrated to Italy and from there to Ereẓ Israel, settling in *Jerusalem before 1471 (or slightly earlier). Heavy taxation and the high-handed attitude of its leaders, the elders (*zekenim*), oppressed the Jewish community in Jerusalem and many left, including Nathan Sholal (not before 1481), and went to Egypt. In about 1484 he was appointed **nagid*, a post he held until his death. He rendered great assistance to Obadiah of *Bertinoro when the latter immigrated to Ereẓ Israel in 1488. According to various sources, he was a man well-versed in rabbinic law and with an aristocratic bearing. In his capacity as Egyptian *nagid*, he also had the Jewish communities in Ereẓ Israel (especially in Jerusalem) under his hegemony. He fulfilled the task of judge but owned property which he had acquired through trade. He was succeeded as *nagid* by his nephew and brother-in-law Isaac *Sholal.

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[Eliyahu Ashtor / Abraham David (2nd ed.)]

SHOLEM ZOKHOR (Heb. שָׁלוֹם זָכָר; *shalom zakhar*; "peace to the male child"), name of a traditional home ceremony held on the first Friday evening after the birth of a boy. In some communities it is held on the eve of *circumcision. Besides *Sholem Zokhor* it is also called *Vigil* or *Vakhnakht* (Isserles to Sh. Ar., YD 265:12). For the *Sholem Zokhor,* relatives and friends gather at the home of the child's parents in order to congratulate them. After reciting the *Shema, the blessing from Genesis 48:16 and diverse psalms, as well as appropriate prayers, are said for the welfare of the mother and the newborn boy. The guests are served drinks, cakes, and fruits; in some places also lentils and chick-peas. Lentils, due to their round shape, symbolize the ever-recurring cycle of birth and decay. They are meant to be a consolation. The moments of sadness of the occasion are steeped in folklore which holds that the child has forgotten the holy Torah which he was taught in heaven before his birth. In Oriental communities, this ceremony is also called *Shasha* or *Blada* and includes the recital of special prayers and aggadic readings (from such books as *Berit Olam* (1948) or *Berit Yiẓḥak* (Amsterdam, 1719) in honor of the prophet *Elijah, the patron of the child at circumcision. The origin of the *Sholem Zokhor* ceremony, the participation in which is considered a *mitzvah*, is to be found in the Talmud where joy is expressed at the birth of a male child ("if a boy is born, peace comes to the world" (Nid. 31b)). In some communities, this ceremony is also called *Yeshu'at ha-Ben*, or *Shevu'at ha-Ben*, or simply *Ben Zokhor* (see Sanh. 32b, BK 80a, and Tos. *ibid.*, s.v. *le-vei*).

See *Birth.

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SHOMER (pseudonym of **Nahum Meyer Shaikevich**; 1849–1905), Yiddish novelist, dramatist. Born in Nesvizh, Russia, Shomer settled in Pinsk. He began his literary career in the 1870s with Hebrew translations from German in *Ha-Meliẓ*. Under the influence of Abraham Mapu and Kalman Schulman, he wrote many Hebrew short stories and about 200 Hebrew lyrics, which he later incorporated into his Yiddish tales. When he moved to Vilna, he was advised to write in Yiddish and soon became known for his popular novels, with which he achieved a mass appeal hitherto unprecedented in Yiddish letters. Before his literary career began, however, Shaikevich worked as a military contractor whose work took him to Bucharest, where he met Abraham *Goldfaden. Impressed by Goldfaden's Yiddish theater, Shaikevich began to write plays and organized his own theatrical troupe. When Yiddish performances were forbidden in Russia, he returned to Vilna and concentrated on fiction, sometimes making use of borrowed plots, in order to meet the demand of his ever-increasing audience. At the request of another theater troupe, Shaikevich moved to New York in 1889, where his plays were well received by both the audience and the Yiddish press. Artistic differences prompted Shaikevich to leave the theater and begin publishing his own literary journals. Meant to serve both as edification and as entertainment for an unsophisticated readership, Shaikevich's stories are filled with sentimental elements and fantastic themes, but also a sympathetic representation of the Jewish masses and a happy ending. The enormous popularity of Shaikevich's work spawned numerous imitators, although his style was reviled by his contemporary intellectuals. Led by *Sholem Aleichem (Sholem Rabinovitsh), detractors dubbed his potboiler fiction "Shomerism." Attacks on "Shomerism" culminated famously in Sholem Aleichem's 1888 pamphlet entitled *Shomers Mishpet* ("The Shomer Verdict"). Shaikevich answered that devastating critique in the introductions to many of his novels; he was convinced that his books performed the valuable function of bringing ethical education to the Jewish masses whose general education had been neglected. Later, his work was more positively received; Soviet critics emphasized the educational service performed by his narratives in the struggle to improve the lot of Jewish victims of poverty and oppression. He is also credited with creating a new Yiddish readership. According to his supporters, he developed the Yiddish audience later enjoyed by Sholem Aleichem, I.L. *Peretz, and others. Among his works are *Di Ungliklikhe Libe* ("Unhappy Love," 1882); *Der Oytser oder der Kalter Gazlen* ("The Treasure or the Cold Thief," 1884); *Eyn Ungerikhter Glik* ("Unexpected Luck," 1885); and *Der Yid un di Grefin* ("The Jew and the Countess," 1892).

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[Sarah B. Felsen and Jordan Finkin (2nd ed.)]

SHOMERIM (Heb. שׁוֹמְרִים; "bailees").

Biblical Classification

The law relating to a bailee (i.e., one who is entrusted with the money or chattels of another) is first given in the Torah (Ex. 22:6–14) in several statements of principle from which have been deduced the three categories of bailee, known as the *shomer ḥinnam*, the *shomer sakhar*, and the *sho'el.*

THE SHOMER ḤINNAM. The *shomer ḥinnam* (שׁוֹמֵר חִנָּם; lit. "an unpaid bailee") is based on the first case cited in the Torah of one who is given "money or stuff" to look after (Ex. 22:6–8). Such a bailee is not liable to the owner in the event of the goods being stolen (and the thief not apprehended), provided that he confirms on oath before the court that he had not embezzled or otherwise converted the goods to his own use (*lo shalaḥ yado*, lit. "not put forth his hand"). In fact, his duty of care is minimal and his liability is limited only to cases where loss resulted from his own negligence (cf. BM 3:10; Sh. Ar., ḤM 291:1). Thus, in the absence of proven negligence and subject to his taking the prescribed judicial oath, he would also not be liable for loss caused by inevitable accident or unforeseeable damage (i.e., *ones*; Yad, Sekhirut, 1:2 and 3:1ff.; Sh. Ar., ḤM 291:6 and 9). It was such leniency which led to this particular portion of the text being construed as relating to the *shomer ḥinnam* (Yad. loc cit. 1:2) compared with the higher duty of care imposed on the *shomer sakhar* (cf. Laws of Hammurapi, 125, 263–7). On the other hand, any bailee, even a *shomer ḥinnam*, who meddles with the deposited article without the owner's authority is considered guilty of theft (i.e., larceny by conversion; see *Theft and Robbery) and is consequently liable for any subsequent loss. Indeed, according to Bet Shammai, the mere formulation of his intent to "put forth his hand," without his necessarily committing an actual act of conversion, suffices to render the bailee liable, but Bet Hillel does not extend the principle so far (BM 3:12; Yad, Gezelah, 3:11; Sh. Ar., ḤM 292).

THE SHOMER SAKHAR. The *shomer sakhar* (שׁוֹמֵר שָׂכָר; lit. "a paid bailee") is derived from the second case in the Torah of one who is entrusted with "an ass, or an ox, or a sheep, or any beast, to keep, and it be hurt, or driven away…" (Ex. 22:9–12). The fact that this case refers only to animals, whereas the previous case mentions "money or stuff," has been interpreted as drawing a distinction, not between the types of property deposited (cf. Philo, Spec. 4:35; *Rashbam*, Ex. 22:6), but between the types of bailment, since "the safekeeping of money or vessels is generally undertaken without payment [i.e., *shomer ḥinnam*], whereas that of animals is undertaken for reward [i.e., *shomer sakhar*]" (Naḥmanides to Ex. 22:6). In this case the bailee is liable in the event of the goods being stolen or lost (which is further authority for the conclusion that Scripture is here referring to a *shomer sakhar*), and he cannot be absolved even by taking the judicial oath, except in certain specific instances where accident was a contributory factor. However, liability could be avoided, on his taking the judicial oath, if loss resulted from the animal dying or being driven away (BM 7:8; Yad, Gezelah, 1:2; Sh. Ar., ḤM 303:1–2). The term "*sakhar*" has been given a wide interpretation, so as to include the receipt by the bailee of any benefit whatsoever from the article deposited. Accordingly, an artisan who is entrusted with an article on which he is to exercise his craft for remuneration is deemed a *shomer sakhar* (BM 6:6; cf. BM 43a; *Shitah Mekubbeẓet* BM 94a; *Sefer ha-Ḥinnukh* no. 59). However, during the talmudic period a rabbinical enactment specifically exempted a carrier from liability arising through his transportation of barrels "even though imposed on him in strict law… lest no person be willing to transport his neighbors' barrel" (Yad, Sekhirut, 3:2).

THE SHO'EL. The *sho'el* (שׁוֹאֵל, "borrower") is explicitly mentioned as the third type of bailee (Ex. 22:13–14), and on him is imposed the highest duty of care toward the owner of the article, since the bailee has borrowed it for his own benefit. He is therefore liable to make restitution in all cases of "damage or death," even though they are caused by inevitable accident or other unforeseeable circumstances, as well as in cases of theft or loss. Exceptionally, however, the *sho'el* may be able to avoid liability "if the owner of the article was with it at the time" – this being interpreted by the *tannaim* as referring to the case where the owner is borrowed or hired along with his animal or chattel (BM 8:1). The scope of this *halakhah* was extended to make it applicable in circumstances where the owner was with his property at the time the bailment was accepted, though not necessarily when the loss or damage later occurred, and also in circumstances where the owner was hired by the *sho'el* for purposes quite unconnected with the hiring of his property. Its application has even been extended to the other types of bailees (BM 95b; Yad, Sekhirut, 1:3 and She'elah, 2; Sh. Ar., ḤM 291:28). This exemption of the *sho'el* has been justified on the grounds that, in the circumstances mentioned, the owner would presumably take care to guard his own property (*Sefer ha-Ḥinnukh* no. 56; see also supplement to *Torah Shelemah*, 18 (1958), 187f.).

The cited text of the Torah concludes with the following statement: "If it be a hireling, he loseth his hire" (Ex. 22:14). This has been construed as a continuation of the provisions relating to the *sho'el*. However, the view of some scholars is that this phrase creates another category of bailee, distinguishable from the unpaying borrower, which is called the *sokher* ("hirer"; *Midrash ha-Gadol* to Ex. 22:14 and Rashi thereto; see also Ḥ. Albeck, in: *Sinai*, 50 (1961/62), 103f.). However, the laws of the *sokher* do not appear to be elucidated in Scripture (cf. Laws of Hammurapi, 249) and the *tannaim* disputed the question whether such a bailee is to be treated as a *shomer ḥinnam* or a *shomer sakhar* (BM 93a). Hence, "their laws [i.e., of bailees]… are three" (BM 93a; Yad, Sekhirut, 1:1). The *halakhah* was decided on the basis that the law of the *sokher* is that of the *shomer sakhar* (Yad, Sekhirut, 1:2; Sh. Ar., ḤM 307:1).

Measure of Damages

Generally, the degree of a bailee's liability in damages is proportionate to the degree of benefit he received from the bailment. Thus the *sho'el*, who enjoys full use of the article borrowed, is fully liable; the *shomer sakhar* (and the *sokher*), who derives partial or indirect benefit, may take the judicial oath for a part and compensate for a part; and the *shomer ḥinnam*, who receives no benefit, may simply take the judicial oath and escape all liability (TJ, Shevu. 8:1; Tos. to Ket. 56a–b).

The Torah lays down that a thief must compensate his victim by repaying either twice or four or five times the value of the stolen article (Ex. 22:3–8 and see *Theft and Robbery). If a bailee chooses to compensate the owner for an article stolen during its bailment, rather than take the judicial oath, the thief, if later apprehended, must pay the stipulated double, four-or five-fold penalty directly to the bailee and not to the owner (BM 3:1; Yad, She'elah, 8:1; Sh. Ar., ḤM 295:2). This ruling is based variously on scriptural authority (see Mekh. Sb-Y to 22:6; TJ, BM 3:1), on the principle of an assignment of rights by the owner to the bailee, and also on a rabbinical enactment (BM 34a: *Sefer Keritut*, 5:3, 165; Ritba, Nov. BM 34a).

The fact that certain types of property are referred to specifically in the text (e.g., money, stuff, animals) led the sages to conclude that the laws of bailment are not intended to apply to slaves, deeds, immovable property, consecrated property (*hekdesh*), and the property of idolaters (BM 4:9; BM 57b, 58a; Yad, Sekhirut, 2:1; Sh. Ar., ḤM 301:1), although the rabbis especially provided for the bailee's judicial oath to be taken in respect of consecrated property, lest such property "be treated lightly" (Yad, Sekhirut, 2:2). Nevertheless, the laws of bailment may be rendered applicable to the above-mentioned classes of property by way of a special undertaking to that effect (BM 58a; Yad, loc. cit.; Sh. Ar., ḤM 301:4).

Principles of Liability

The **posekim* are divided on the question of whether a bailee's obligations, and thus his consequent liability to the owner, commence immediately when the agreement between the two parties is concluded, or only after a *meshikhah* (legal act of acquisition; see *Acquisition, Modes of) of the bailment (Sh. Ar., ḤM 291:5). A general rule, which is based on logical deduction, is that a bailee is not liable for damage caused to the bailment while it is being used for the purpose for which it was received, e.g., a cow borrowed as a beast of burden that dies of its labors (*metah meḥamat melakhah*; BM 96b; Yad, She'elah, 1:1; Sh. Ar., ḤM 340:1).

A bailee who is able to safeguard his bailment with the help of others and fails to do so is considered negligent – a distinction being drawn between the respective duties of care owed by a *shomer ḥinnam* and a *shomer sakhar* (Yad, Sekhirut, 3:6; Sh. Ar., ḤM 303:8). Any necessary expenses involved in safeguarding a bailment are recoverable even by the *shomer ḥinnam* from the owner, as there is no obligation to incur such expense.

The laws of bailment may be expressly varied or excluded by agreement between the parties (BM 7:10); this view is even held by R. Meir, who considers it inapplicable in other legal contexts (BM 94a). The freedom of the parties to vary or exclude the general principles of the law is recognized even though the result may be to impose more stringent obligations on the bailee (Yad, loc. cit. 2:9; Sh. Ar., ḤM 291:27, 296:6, and 305:4).

Rights and Duties of a Bailee

One bailee may not entrust his bailment to another (Tosef. BM 3:1). If he does so and the bailment is lost or damaged, Rav held that the first bailee can only escape liability to the same extent as he would have been able to do had he retained the bailment, but R. Johanan held that he is liable even in the case of force majeure (BM 36a and Rashi thereto). Subsequently, this dispute was interpreted by Abbaye to mean that according to Rav there would be no liability even though a *shomer sakhar* entrusted his bailment to a *shomer ḥinnam*, whereas according to R. Johanan liability would arise even though a *shomer ḥinnam* entrusted his bailment to a *shomer sakhar*. Rava ruled finally that the *halakhah* should be in accordance with the opinion of R. Johanan – as explained by Abbaye – on the grounds that, as no privity of contract existed between the owner and the second bailee, the former was not obliged to accept the latter's judicial oath (BM 36a–b). Furthermore, the first bailee can avoid liability only if "inevitable accident" can be proved by independent witnesses (Yad, Sekhirut, 1:4; Sh. Ar., ḤM 291:26).

If a bailment deteriorates while it is in the care of the bailee, he has a duty to inform the owner immediately, if the latter is available (Hai Gaon, *Sefer ha-Mikkaḥ ve-ha-Mimkar*, ch. 6; Sh. Ar., ḤM 292:15). There is a dispute in the Mishnah over the bailee's obligations when the owner is not available, some *tannaim* taking the view that "fruit, even if wasting, must not be touched," while Simeon b. Gamaliel states that the "fruit" must be sold and its value thus preserved, but only at the direction of the court, i.e., not on the bailee's own initiative (BM 3:6). In talmudic times this dispute was regarded as referring to a case where the rate of deterioration was normal for the type of article involved, but in a case where the rate of deterioration was excessive, all scholars agreed that the bailee had a duty to sell the bailment (BM 38a; Yad, She'elah, 7:1; Sh. Ar., loc, cit.). Any such sale had to be to a third party and not by the bailee to himself, so as to avoid suspicion (Tosef., BM 3:8; Pes. 13a; Yad, She'elah, 7:5; Sh. Ar., ḤM 292:19).

A bailee may be relieved of his responsibility if the owner refuses to accept the return of his property. A statement in the Mishnah, that an artisan is a *shomer sakhar* who becomes a *shomer ḥinnam* upon his offering to return the article against payment, was later interpreted to mean that an artisan who expressly indicates to the owner that he wishes to be relieved of all responsibility for the article is thereafter exempted from any liability, even that imposed on a *shomer ḥinnam* (*Rema*, ḤM 306:1 and *Sma*, *ibid.*, n. 4). In the event of the owner being abroad, the bailee may be relieved of his obligations by depositing the article with the court, who will then appoint a trustee for it until the owner's return (Yad, She'elah, 7:12; Sh. Ar., ḤM 293:3).

A bailee from whom a deposited article is stolen must take three judicial oaths, affirming: that he was not negligent as regards his bailment; that he did not "put forth his hand" to it (see above); and that it is no longer in his possession (BM 6a and Rashi; Yad, She'elah, 4:1; Sh. Ar., ḤM 295:2). However, it was prescribed that a bailee who is prepared to pay compensation must nevertheless take the third of these oaths, "lest he has set his eyes on the bailment" (BM 34b), although Maimonides limited the application of this ruling only to cases where the article was not normally available in the open market (Yad, loc. cit. 6:1; Sh. Ar., ḤM 305:1).

A bailee who denies the existence of a bailment and commits perjury concerning it, but later admits to the truth, is obliged to compensate the owner to the extent of the article's capital value plus a fifth, and must also bring a guilt offering (Lev. 5:20–26; Shevu. 5 and 8:3; and see *Oath).

Modern Israel Law

In the State of Israel the law of bailments is governed by the Bailees Law, 5727 – 1967, which closely follows the principles of Jewish law as described above (see *Divrei ha-Keneset*, 49 (1967), 2148f.). Thus, the three categories of bailee are similarly defined (sec. 1), each attracting a different (and increasing) degree of liability, determined by the degree of benefit received by the bailee (sec. 2, and see explanatory remarks in: *Haẓa'ot Ḥok*, no. 676 (1965/66), p. 54). Also, the bailee is exempted from liability for damage or loss sustained while the article was being ordinarily used in accordance with the terms of the bailment (sec. 4). Yet further, the bailee is held liable if he knowingly fails to inform the owner that his property is likely to suffer damage (sec. 2(d)), and he is impliedly authorized to take such urgent steps as may be reasonably necessary to prevent such damage (sec. 6). The Bailees Law also deals with the question of a bailee who entrusts his bailment to another (sec. 3, 7), and makes detailed provision with regard to one who refuses to accept the return of his property from a bailee (sec. 11). Still following the principles of Jewish law, the freedom to contract out of the act is specifically allowed, namely: "The provisions of the act shall apply… where no different intention appears from the agreement between the parties" (sec. 14).

[Nahum Rakover]

During the Knesset debates on the Bailees Law, both the minister of justice, in his opening statement and especially during his reply, and other Knesset members from the various political parties, stressed that the bill was based on Jewish law, and much of the discussion was devoted to examining the relevant Jewish legal sources (see the remarks of Minister of Justice Joseph, and MKs Raphael, Abramov, and Hausner, 44 *DK* 215–218 (1966)).

The Bailees Law contains 16 sections, the great majority of which are based on Jewish legal principles. An interesting question with regard to the title of the statute arose at the second and third readings of the bill. The title originally proposed was the "Safekeeping of Property Law" (*Ḥok Shemirat Nekhasim*), a term unknown to Jewish law, whereas the term "bailees" (*shomerim*) is well known in Jewish law, which speaks of four types of bailees (*arba'ah shomerim*). The proposal to call the statute the "Bailees Law" was rejected in the Legislative Committee on the ground, among others, that statutory titles generally state the nature of the activity or transaction rather than that of the persons involved – e.g., the "Sale Law," rather than the "Sellers Law" (see the remarks of MK Azanyah, 49 *DK* 2149 (1967), and also those of MK Aloni, quoted *infra*). However, when the bill was presented for its second and third readings, the title was changed to the Bailees Law, 1967. Some of the reasons for the proposed change merit quotation (Remarks of MK Aloni, 49 *DK* 2148 (1967).

> When we began to deal in the committee with this law, which in effect transforms or translates the *Mejelle* and other legal rules into an Israeli code based on Jewish law, I did not understand what was meant by "safekeeping of property" until I saw the text of the various sections. Then I realized that we were concerned with the law of bailees (*shomerim*), as I had learned at school from the Bible and the Talmud; and, understandably, that was the primary association when I went over the material. In all innocence, I then asked why the statute is not entitled the "Bailees Law" rather than the "Safekeeping of Property Law," and I was told that this indeed had been the original intention, but that the word *shomerim* [bailees, which also means "watchmen" or "guards"] evoked in many people an association with the Ha-Shomer (the "watchmen") in the Galilee, with *Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir, a political youth movement, and with other such worthy organizations.
>
> It seems to me that… we are dealing with Jewish legislation governing the bailment of property that is entirely structured according to the four types of bailees in Scripture, and yet this statute fails to declare its connection with those [Scriptural] rules concerning bailees. This being the case, serious doubts arise as to whether the Knesset has acted properly up to this point – and we have very many years ahead of us – by cutting out associative words, symbols, concepts, and linkages which could promote attachment to our heritage, our history, and our cultural values, particularly in a field of which we are so proud. For it is our people who laid the foundation for social legislation in western thought.
>
> I was a teacher for a number of years, and I regretted that the Wage Protection Law was not called the "Wage Delay Prohibition Law," so that when teaching the Scriptural verse "The wages of a laborer shall not remain with you…" a teacher could drive the point home by telling his pupils that this law of the Torah still applies today That is the significance of continuity. Thus is fashioned the associative link that is educationally so important. This is perhaps the best kind of continuity, because it unites us all without religious or national compulsion, in that this ethical and legal basis serves as a general foundation for modern legal thought, and there is no need to be embarrassed or to hide the fact that its source rests on the foundation laid down by the Jewish people when the Torah came into being. It similarly pained me when we adopted the Severance Pay Law, the source of which is the verse "Do not let him go empty-handed: you shall furnish him (*ha'aneik ta'anik lo*) [out of the flock, threshing floor, and vat]," that the word *ma'anak* ("grant") is not a part of the title. It is a pity that a school teacher cannot point out the association between that law and the Scriptural verse. Not only in grade school, but even in the university, many do not realize the connection between the two. I want my children to know when they study this subject that this is not a legally unenforceable Biblical precept; it is intimately connected with daily life in Israel.

See also *ibid.*, for MK Azanyah's reply, admitting that the bill included many legal concepts of Jewish law but claiming that the Hebrew term *shomer*, "bailee," was not sufficiently indicative of the contents of the law):

This is not the place for a detailed review of the Bailees Law and how its provisions rest on principles of Jewish law. The first two sections of the statute are sufficient to illustrate the point we wish to make here.

After initially defining a "bailment" as "lawful possession not by virtue of ownership," Section 1 provides:

(b) A bailee of property who derives no benefit for himself from the bailment is an unpaid bailee (*shomer ḥinam*).

(c) A bailee of property who receives payment or derives some other benefit for himself from the bailment, and is not a borrower, is a paid bailee (*shomer sakhar*).

(d) A bailee of property for the purpose of using or benefiting from it without paying consideration is a borrower (*sho'el*).

The names given here in Hebrew to these three types of bailees (the four types of bailees in Jewish law, so far as the applicable legal rules are concerned, are actually three; see Maimonides, Yad, Sekhirut, ch. 1), as well as their definitions, are based on Jewish law; anyone who has ever studied the passages on bailees in the Torah or in the Talmud will immediately note the close connection between these definitions and those sources.

Principles of Jewish law in regard to the categories of bailees and their respective levels of liability and duty of care were relied upon in court decisions particularly in view of the close connection between the Bailees Law, 5727 – 1967, and halakhic principles. CA 34/80 *Ali v. Sasson,* PD 36 (3) 281, was an appeal regarding an alleged lottery win where the relevant slip given to the lottery agent was not traced. The appeal was heard by Justice E. Scheinbaum who referred to the explanatory comments of the bill that emphasize the principles of Jewish law underlying the new legislation. The Supreme Court held that the lottery slip was an object that could be a subject of bailment and that the lottery agent did not keep it in a suitable way, and was thus negligent. The Court reviewed the categories of bailees in Jewish law and their respective liability, in particular that of the unpaid bailee, who is only liable for negligence (*peshi'ah;* Sh. Ar., ḤM. 291:1, 13, 14; cf. Maim, Yad, Sekhirut 1:2), defined as "failing to guard [the property] in the manner of bailees…" (Mishnah, BM 3.10). In finding the bailee negligent, the Court held that the lottery agent, as a paid bailee, could be found liable, being exempt from liability only if the loss or damage is caused by *ones* – i.e., *force majeure*, his liability being more extensive than that of the unpaid bailee, who is liable only for *peshi'ah* – negligence. However, as in this case the appellant's claim was based solely upon his testimony, the alleged damage was not proven and the appeal was dismissed.

In CA. 1129/01, *Atiah v. Ḥen Shaḥar etc.*, the Beersheba District Court ruled that the paid bailee was not liable for damage caused to an object in his care (a tractor, stipulated by the parties to be transported with its engine running, was damaged by fire as a result), though it was contended that regular use or use according to the conditions of the bailment cannot exempt the bailee from negligence. In finding the bailee not liable, the District Court held, in keeping with Jewish law, that since the parties may stipulate between themselves in regard to liability and the duty of care, and such stipulation need not conform to fixed halakhic principles (Maim., Yad, Sekhirut 2:9), the question was determined by the conditions of the bailment; consequently, in this case, the paid bailee was not liable for the damage caused.

An additional case also adjudicated in the Beersheba District Court, in which the Court ruled in accordance with the Jewish law on bailees, was the Ayalon case (CA 1260/01 *Ayalon Insurance Company v. Makhon Lev* (unpublished), given 17/6/03). In that case, a garage owner, who had received a car for repairs, notified its owner that he had completed the work, and that he could come to take his car. The owner requested the garage owner to leave it in the garage overnight, telling him that he would only take delivery of the car the next day. The garage owner agreed, but during the night the garage was burgled and the car stolen.

Under section 6 (b) of the Contract for Services Law 5734 – 1974, the contractor's responsibility for property is that of a paid bailee for the purposes of the Bailees Law. Section 6 (a) of the Law stipulates that when the work on the property in the contractor's possession has been completed, the customer must take delivery of the property at the time agreed upon or, in the absence of agreement, within a reasonable period of time after the contractor notifies him that he has completed the work. The trial court ruled that since the car owner did not come to take the car upon being notified by the garage owner that he could take it, the continued guarding of the car in the garage could be regarded as a favor. As such, the garage owner was an unpaid bailee, and was under no obligation to indemnify the owner for the theft. In the appeal court, the District Court judge J. Elon) interpreted the term "reasonable time" in the law in accordance with the Jewish law on bailees (after substantiating the connection between the Bailees Law and Jewish Law).

The judgment states that, indeed, under Jewish Law, from the moment of informing the customer that he should come and take his property, the artisan's status changes from that of a paid bailee to that of an unpaid bailee: "All artisans are regarded as paid bailees; but if they declare, 'take your property and then bring us money,' they rank as unpaid bailees" (Mishnah, BK 6:6). But in the talmudic passage discussing this provision in the Mishnah, a distinction is made between the artisan's notification as formulated above, and the case of the artisan who notifies the customer: "Bring money and then take your property" (BM 81b). In the latter case, together with his notification of completion of the work, the artisan makes its return to the customer conditional on the *payment of his fee*. This is the artisan's right of lien, by virtue of which he is a paid bailee (*Maggid Mishneh*, Rabbi Vidal de Tolosa (14th-century Spain); on Yad, Sekhirut 10:3).

The talmudic passage (*ibid.* 80a) offers two explanations regarding the nature of the "benefit," which confers him the status of a paid bailee even after having completed his work. The first, "as a result of benefit received due to the fact that the customer ignored all the other artisans and specifically chose him," means, in other words, that the artisan has an interest in *maintaining his reputation*, which will attract clients who know that they can rely on his responsibility and his safeguarding of property given to him to repair. The second, "for the benefit occasioned by his ability to withhold the property as against his fee, and that he is not required to make efforts to collect his fee," means, in other words, that the artisan's *right of lien* per se, which he has on the property given to him, is a "benefit" which converts him into a paid bailee of the property, even after completion of his work.

The Court stated that "in both cases, the Talmud's point of departure was that the actual payment of the artisan's work fee constitutes a *'benefit'* that gives him the status of a paid bailee for as long as his work is not completed. However, even after completion of his work and prior to the customer having regained his property, the contractor may still derive various benefits from his possession of the property, and it is by *virtue of these benefits that he retains* the status of a paid bailee for this additional period."

This was the background for the Court's construction of the term "reasonable time" in section 6 (a) of the Contract for Services Law as including the *benefits* that the artisan was likely to derive. Consequently, as opposed to, and in overturning the ruling of the trial court, the Appeal Court ruled that the time period of one night, during which the car remained in the garage, fell within the ambit of "reasonable time," that the garage owner was subject to the law governing the paid bailee, and therefore responsible.

[Menachem Elon (2nd ed.)]

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SHOMER ISRAEL (Heb. שׁוֹמֵר יִשְׂרָאֵל; "Guardian of Israel"), faction of the assimilationist movement (see *Assimilation) in Galicia during the second half of the 19th century, favoring German cultural orientation. Shomer Israel was organized in 1869 as an expression of the intensified political activity among the Jews following the Austrian constitution of 1867 and the prospects of *emancipation. Its founders included Filip Mansch, Rubin Bierer, and Joseph Kohn. They published a weekly, *Der Israelit*, aimed to spread education among the Jewish masses and make them aware of their civic and social obligations. It appeared for 35 years, first edited by Mansch. Its political outlook was centralist and pro-Austrian with a tendency toward German liberalism. On the initiative of *Der Israelit*, a Jewish-Ruthenian bloc was created in 1873 for the elections to parliament in Vienna; the bloc succeeded in obtaining three Jewish seats.

The German cultural and Austrian orientation of Shomer Israel was however unable to withstand the new tendencies which gradually emerged within Jewish intellectual circles sympathetic to Polish culture and loyal to the ideas of Galician autonomy. The Jewish youth who studied in Polish schools became imbued with a patriotic spirit, which was expressed by Bernard *Goldman, who arrived in Lemberg in 1870 and laid the foundations of a rival organization named Doreshei Shalom, and a newspaper **Ugoda*, which called for Polish assimilation. A new assimilationist organization *Aguddat Aḥim was also established and was active during the 1880s, when it challenged the views of Shomer Israel. Another opponent of Shomer Israel was the Orthodox sector led by Simeon *Sofer (Schreiber) who headed the *Maḥzikei Hadas society. When Sofer was elected to the Austrian parliament in 1879, he joined the "Polish Club," there; the Orthodox were particularly opposed to the conference of communities convened in Lemberg on the initiative of Shomer Israel in 1878, with the aim of reorganizing the communities. The leaders of Orthodoxy, rabbis Simeon Sofer of Cracow and Joshua Rokeaḥ of *Belz, called for a boycott of the conference because of its objectives to modernize Jewish life and its project to establish a rabbinical seminary.

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[Moshe Landau]

SHOMRAT (Heb. שָׁמְרַת), kibbutz in northern Israel, 2 mi. (3 km.) N.E. of Acre, affiliated with Kibbutz Arẓi ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir. Shomrat was founded as the first new settlement in the State of Israel on May 29, 1948, immediately after the capture of Acre in the *War of Independence. The settlers were pioneers from Hungary, Czechoslovakia, and Romania. In 1970 Shomrat had 324 inhabitants; in 2002, 358. Its farming included irrigated field and fodder crops, avocado plantations, dairy cattle and poultry. For many years the kibbutz had a furniture factory and was a partner in Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir industrial enterprises in the Haifa Bay area. It also operated guest rooms. The kibbutz achieved notoriety when a local girl was raped by a gang of kibbutz youngsters in 1988. Their initial acquittal caused a great public outcry and the act itself severely tarnished the kibbutz image. Four of the assailants were later convicted on appeal. The name Shomrat is derived from *shomer* ("guardsman"), and also evokes the Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir movement.

WEBSITE: www.at-shomrat.com.

[Efram Orni / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

SHOMRON, DAN (1937–). Israeli soldier, thirteenth chief of staff of the Israel Defense Forces. Shomron was born in kibbutz Ashdot Ya'akov in the Jordan Valley. His military career began in 1956 when he was a paratrooper. During the Six-Day War of 1967 he commanded an armored division in Sinai, and later served as commander of the southern front. The *Entebbe raid in 1976, later renamed "Operation Yonatan," in which hostages from an Air France flight hijacked en route from Tel Aviv to Paris were rescued from Entebbe Airport near Kampala, Uganda, was under the command of Shomron, then a brigadier general, who also planned the operation. After occupying various staff positions, he became deputy chief of staff. In early 1987 he was named chief of staff, taking up the position in April of that year and serving until 1991. During his years as chief of staff he had to deal with the first *intifada*, which began in late 1987, and with the first Gulf War in 1991. After his retirement he served as chairman of Israel's Military Industries and then went into private business.

SHONFIELD, SIR ANDREW (**Schonfeld**; 1917–1981), British economist. Born in London, the son of Rabbi Victor Schonfeld, he was educated at St. Paul's and Oxford and served as a writer on the *Financial Times* (1947–57) and economics editor of the *Observer* (1958–61). Later he held such positions as chairman of the Social Sciences Research Council (1967–71) and director of the Royal Institute of Economic Affairs (1972–77). Shonfield is best known for his many writings on the mixed economy and modern economic developments, such as *British Economic Policy Since the War* (1958), *The Attack on World Poverty* (1960), and *Modern Capitalism* (1965). He delivered the 1972 Reith Lectures on European integration, and was knighted in 1978.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: ODNB online.

[William D. Rubinstein (2nd ed.)]

SHORE, DINAH (**Francis Rose Shore**; 1917–1994), U.S. singer. Born in Winchester, Tennessee, Shore graduated from Vanderbilt University in 1938. She started working on radio in 1938 and in 1940 starred in NBC's *Chamber Music Society of Lower Basin Street*. She appeared on Eddie Cantor's radio show, 1940–43. Her sentimental style suited the wartime and postwar periods, and her record "Yes, My Darling Daughter" sold a million copies. She sang in several films (*Up in Arms; Follow the Boys*, both 1944). The first female star to have her own prime-time TV variety show, her easy-going manner was successful on television when *The Dinah Shore Show* ran from 1951 to 1961. Her two subsequent TV variety shows were *Dinah's Place* (1970–74) and *Dinah!* (1974–80). Shore won eight Emmy Awards for her television programs and for her vocal performances (Best Female Singer). She was married to actor George Montgomery from 1943 to 1963.

Shore wrote and/or compiled six cookbooks, among them *Someone's in the Kitchen with Dinah* (1971); *Dining in Los Angeles* (with L. Grad, 1979); and *The Dinah Shore American Kitchen* (1990).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: B. Cassiday, *Dinah!: A Biography* (1979).

[Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

SHORESH (Heb. שֹׁרֶשׁ), moshav shittufi in the Judean Hills, 12 mi. (20 km.) W. of Jerusalem, affiliated with Ha-Oved ha-Ẓiyyoni federation. In the Israel *War of Independence, the occupation of Sārīs (April 1948) was a decisive step and Shoresh was among the first villages established to secure the Jerusalem Corridor. It was founded in 1948 by settlers from Romania and Czechoslovakia. The soil underwent heavy reclamation work. Deciduous fruit orchards and vineyards were prominent farm branches; the moshav also grew field crops on the Coastal Plain. Its economy was supplemented by a resort village and public swimming pool. In 1970 the moshav numbered 190 inhabitants, rising to 374 in 2002. It lies in the midst of one of the country's largest afforested areas, notably the Martyrs' Forest. The name, "Root," was adapted from the Arabic Sārīs and is presumably derived from an ancient Hebrew name.

SHORT, RENEE (1916–2003), British politician. The daughter of a Jewish engineer from Eastern Europe, Short was educated at Manchester University and worked as a journalist and stage designer before entering politics. She served as a Labour member of Parliament from 1964 to 1987. In the early part of her political career she was one of the most left-wing of national politicians, a constant critic of the United States and a supporter of the Soviet Union, and chairman of the British-German Democratic Republic parliamentary group. She was also a strong feminist. In the 1970s, she moved to the center-left and was actively opposed by the "hard left" in the Labour Party. By the end of her career she had attracted considerable opprobrium from her former allies for attacking large-scale non-white immigration into Britain. Her left-wing stance meant that she never held a ministerial position, but she served as chairman of the influential House of Commons Select Committee on the Social Services from 1979 to 1987.

[William D. Rubinstein (2nd ed.)]

SHOSTAK, ELIEZER (1911–2001), Israeli politician. Shostak was born in Poland and immigrated to Ereẓ Israel in 1935. He was one of the founders of the *Ḥerut Party and was appointed secretary-general of the National (Revisionist) Labor Federation. A member of the Knesset representing Ḥerut, he resigned from the party in 1966 to form, together with Samuel Tamir, the Free Center, whose representatives they were in the Seventh Knesset, but he subsequently left it to join La'am.

Shostak was a member of every Knesset from the Second to the eleventh and was appointed minister of health in 1977 and again in 1981.

SHOVAL (Heb. שׁוֹבָל), kibbutz in southern Israel, in the northern Negev, 16 mi. (25 km.) N.W. of Beersheba, affiliated with Kibbutz Arzi ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir. Shoval was founded on Oct. 6, 1946, as one of the 11 outpost settlements established in the same night in the South and Negev. The founders were pioneers from South Africa and Israel-born youth. They were later joined by immigrants from Romania, English-speaking countries, and other countries. In 1970 the kibbutz had

440 inhabitants. In 2002 the population was 505. Shoval pioneered in contour-plowing methods on its loess soils to prevent sheet erosion. It formed friendly ties with the al-Huzayyil Bedouin tribe camping in the vicinity. Near Shoval one of the first experimental, flash-flood reservoirs in the country was installed. With water for irrigation from the National Water Carrier, Shoval raised grain and field crops. It also maintained a large dairy herd and poultry and had three industries: chip processing, silk printing, and metal. Shoval is supposed to be the name of a biblical place in this area, preserved on the *Madaba Map in the form of Sobila (Σωβιλα) and in Arabic, as Bīr Zaballa. The name Shobal (Shoval) appears as a private name in I Chronicles 1:38, 40 and is connected with Bīr Zaballa preserved by the Arabs.

[Efram Orni / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

SHOVAVIM TAT (Heb. שׁוֹבָבִים תַּ״ת), an acrostic composed of the initial letters of the names of the first eight weekly *sidrot* ("Torah portions") of the Book of Exodus which are read in the winter months between *Ḥanukkah and *Purim. Since diseases were prevalent, especially among infants, during the long and hard winter season, it was the custom to recite penitential prayers (**seliḥot*) on Thursdays of the weeks in which these portions were read in order to avert disastrous epidemics. These penitential prayers are recited in the morning service in the Ashkenazi ritual, or at the afternoon service only (Italian rite). In many European communities, it was customary to fast on these Thursdays; in others (North Africa) on the Mondays and the Thursdays of the *Shovavim Tat* period. Penitential prayers and fasting do not take place on Thursdays that coincide with a *Rosh Ḥodesh. Kabbalists (Isaac *Luria, Isaiah ha-Levi *Horowitz), attributed mystical concepts to the observance of *Shovavim Tat*.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Eisenstein, Dinim, 403–4.

SHPIGLBLAT, ALEKSANDER (**Spiegelblatt**; 1927–), Yiddish poet and essayist. Born in Kimfolung (Campulung), Bukovina, Romania, he was interred with his family in work camps in Transnistria in 1941–43. After the war he studied at Bucharest University and in 1954–8 lectured there on Russian literature. In 1964 he settled in Israel and was editorial-staff secretary of *Di *Goldene Keyt* from 1972 until its closure in 1995. He first published in the Bucharest *Ikuf-Bleter* (Ikuf = Jewish Culture Association) in 1950 and there issued a volume of verse entitled *Heymland* ("Homeland," 1952). In Israel he published five volumes of verse: *Umruike Oysyes* ("Restless Letters," 1969); *Papirene Zeglen* ("Paper Sails," 1973); *Volknbremen* ("Cloudy Brows," 1979; *Neshome-Likht* ("Soul Light," 1997); *In Geln Tsvishn-Likht fun Erev Regn* ("In the Yellow Twilight before the Rain," 1998). The last volume includes poems written in Romania up to 1964, published in his other volumes and in *Di Goldene Keyt*, and translations into and from Yiddish in several languages. In 2000 he published a moving personal memoir of the Transnistria nightmare of Romanian Jewry: *Durkhn Shpaktiv fun a Zeyger-Makher* ("Through the Lens of a Watchmaker," 2000). He also authored an informal study of fellow Romanian Itsik Manger: *Bloe Vinklen: Itsik Manger, Lebn, Lid un Balade* ("Blue Corners: Itsik Manger, Life, Song and Ballad," 2002); a collection of three stories, *Shotns Klapn in Shoyb* ("Shadows Knock on the Window," 2003); and a novel, *Krimeve; an Altfrenkishe Mayse* ("Krimeve; An Old-fashioned Tale," 2005). His prose has a winning simplicity, clarity and directness; his verse is concision itself.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: LNYL, 8 (1981), 784–5.

[Leonard Prager (2nd ed.)]

SHPOLA, townlet in S. Kiev district, Ukraine. *Aryeh Leib (*Shpoler Zeyde*), a disciple of *Israel b. Eliezer the Ba'al Shem Tov, lived in Shpola during the late 18th and early 19th centuries. In the late 18th century there were 231 Jews. In 1847 the community numbered 1,516 Jews and in 1863, there were 2,534. The Kiev-Odessa railroad which passed near the town helped it to develop and become a center of the grain and sugar industry. In 1897 there were 5,388 Jews (45.3% of the total population) in Shpola. The Jews lived in the town proper, while the remainder of the inhabitants, mostly peasants, lived in the suburbs. The community suffered during the Civil War, and in 1919 both the soldiers of *hetman* Grigoryev (in May) and the armies of General *Denikin carried out pogroms. Under Soviet rule a Jewish city council existed, 95 families founded a Kolkhoz on the town outskirts, and 134 Jews worked in a furniture factory. Most of the Jewish children studied in a Yiddish school. There were 5,379 Jews (35%) in Shpola in 1926, the number dropping to 2,397 in 1939 (16.2% of the total population). The Germans occupied Shpola on July 30, 1941. On September 9 160 Jewish professionals were executed. In late September a ghetto was established where, owing to the very crowded living conditions, each day some 10 to 12 people died. On April 15, 1942, groups of able-bodied Jewswere sent to work camps where they perished. On May 15, 1942, 760 women, children, and elderly were murdered; 225 able-bodied workers were sent to Brodetsk camp, where they were killed in December 1942. Another 105 were murdered in Shostkiv camp, and the last Jews were murdered in the beginning of 1943. In 1959 there were about 600 Jews in Shpola again, but most left in the 1990s.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: D. Cohen, *Shpola* (Heb., 1965).

[Yehuda Slutsky]

SHRAGAI (**Fajwlowicz**), **SHLOMO ZALMAN** (1899–1995), religious Zionist leader. Born in Gorzkowice, Poland, his father was one of the Radzyń Ḥasidim and a member of Ḥovevei Ẓion and of Mizrachi. While still a youth, Shragai founded Ẓe'irei Mizrachi in his native city and published a religious Zionist newspaper entitled *Teḥiyyah*. He also directed *Mizrachi schools in various places. From 1920 until 1924, he lived in Czestochowa, was a member of the governing board of Mizrachi, and was a founder of He-Ḥalutz ha-Mizrachi and its training farm. He was also a leader of Ẓe'irei Mizrachi in Poland. He settled in Palestine in 1924 and in the following year was delegate to the divided conference of Ha-Po'el ha-Mizrachi in Palestine, the majority of whose delegates decided to join with the *Histadrut. Shragai belonged to the minority and, together with his friends, continued to maintain the independent framework of Ha-Po'el ha-Mizrachi and was elected to its executive. He was chosen as a delegate to Zionist Congresses and as a member of the Zionist General Council and the world center of Mizrachi. In 1929 he was elected to the Va'ad Le'ummi directorate and was head of its department of press and information. In 1946 Shragai was chosen as a member of the *Jewish Agency Executive in London. With the establishment of the State of Israel, he returned to the country and served as a member of the Jewish Agency Executive without portfolio. In 1950 he was elected mayor of Jerusalem and remained at this post until 1952. Two years later he was again elected to the Jewish Agency Executive as head of the Immigration Department and served in this position until 1968.

He was a contributor to the dailies *Ha-Ẓofeh* and *Letste Nayes* in Israel, as well as Hebrew and Yiddish papers abroad. He published books and pamphlets on the concept of religious Zionism and the thought behind the Torah va-Avodah movement. Among his works are *Teḥumim* (1952), *Ḥazon ve-Hagshamah* (1956), *Tahalikhei ha-Ge'ullah ve-ha-Temurah* (1959), *Sha'ah va-Neẓaḥ* (1960), *Pa'amei Ge'ullah* (1963), and *Zemanim* (1969).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: D. Lazar, *Rashim be-Yisrael*, 2 (1955), 182–5.

[Itzhak Goldshlag]

SHRAYBMAN, YEKHIEL (1913–), Yiddish writer. Born in Vadrashkov (Bessarabia) in the Russian Pale of Settlement, he recreated his birthplace as Rashkov, a symbolic landscape where he set most of his (semi-)autobiographical short novels, novellas, and poetic miniatures. His study at the Czernowitz pedagogical seminary (1930–32) ended with his dismissal for anti-Romanian political activity. He struggled for survival during the next seven years of hiding in Bucharest, during which he also worked as a prompter in a Jewish theater, which experience is reflected in his best-known novel *Zibn Yor mit Zibn Khadoshim* ("Seven Years and Seven Months," 1988). In 1940 he moved to the Soviet Union where he quickly became part of the literary establishment as a regular contributor to and member of the editorial board of the journal *Sovetish Heymland*. His works are a testimony to the history of Jews in the region, his self-reflective style encapsulating the fragmented and disappearing Jewish world. His books include *Dray Zumers* ("Three Summers," 1946), *Yorn un Reges* ("Years and Moments," 1973), *Shtendik* ("Always," 1977), *In Yenem Zumer* ("In that Summer," 1981), *Vayter …* ("Further …," 1984), *Yitsire un Libe* ("Creation and Love," 2000). His honors include the Meritul Civic Medal of the Republic of Moldova (1996), Ruzhi Fishman-Shnaydman (1997), and Zalman Rejzen (1999) awards.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: M. Hazin and I. Lahman, in: *Forverts* (Jan. 10, 1997), 12, 19; G. Remenik, *Portrety evreĭskikh pisatelei* (1982), 320–8; I. Chobanu, in: *Nistru*, 3 (1963), 155–7.

[Elena Katz (2nd ed.)]

SHREIER, FEIWEL (1819–1898), rabbi and one of the leaders of the Zionist movement in Galicia. Both in Bohorodczany, Galicia, Schreier studied under leading Galician rabbis and in 1861 became the rabbi of Bohorodczany. He was the oldest Galician rabbi and one of the most renowned for halakhic knowledge, to join the Zionist movement upon the appearance of Theodor *Herzl. Despite his advanced age, he was ready to travel to any community that requested a speaker on Zionism. He was the honorary president of the Galician Ahavat Zion society for the settlement of Ereẓ Israel, which founded the moshavah Maḥanayim. He published a number of books on *halakhah*, including a book by his teacher, Avraham David of Buczacz (*Da'at Kedoshim*). At the Third Zionist Congress (1899) he was eulogized by Herzl, to whom he was very close.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: M. Leiter, in: *Sinai*, 66 (1969/70), 158–63; N.M. Gelber, *Toledot ha-Tenu'ah ha-Ẓiyyonit be-Galizyah* (1958), index.

[Getzel Kressel]

SHRODER, WILLIAM J. (1876–1952), U.S. lawyer and civic leader. Shroder, who was born in Cincinnati, Ohio, engaged in private law practice in Cincinnati for 20 years, also serving as a special assistant U.S. attorney general in 1907 for drug-trust cases. In 1921 Shroder retired from law practice to devote himself fully to voluntary social and civic affairs.

He was president of Cincinnati's United Jewish Social Agencies during 1923–26; helped found the National Council of Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds in 1932, serving as its first president; and was vice chairman of the Jewish Distribution Committee from 1931 to 1939. Shroder held various civic offices; he was a member of the Cincinnati Board of Education from 1927 to 1934, serving the last four years as chairman. During his tenure in office he instituted equal pay for all teachers, regardless of sex or grade taught, and raised professional standards. The annual Shroder Award was given by the Council of Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds to a community institution with exceptional innovative programs.

[Kenneth D. Roseman]

SHTADLAN, a representative of the Jewish community with access to high dignitaries and legislative bodies. The name is derived from the Aramaic root שדל which in its reflexive form has the meaning "to make an effort" or "to intercede on behalf of." The *shtadlan* had to combine the roles and abilities of diplomat, advocate, and intercessor. The functions of the *shtadlanim* depended on the situation of the Jews in various countries through the ages. Their role diminished and ceased in Western Europe after the French Revolution but continued to be of great importance in Eastern Europe and especially in Russia until the second half of the 19th century. Most of the leaders of Jewish society in the Diaspora who came into contact with state or Church authorities carried out the functions of the *shtadlan*. The role and status of such influential Jews, deriving from their connections both with the court and with other Jewish leaders, is delineated by *Saadiah Gaon, writing from Baghdad to Egyptian Jewry in the tenth century: "Relate any wish or problem that you have in relation to the state [*ha-malkhut*] to us, for then we will order the honorable community members [*ba' alei battim ḥashuvim*] of Baghdad and they will bring you the royal resolve, in so far as the Lord our strength will enable them" (in: *Ginzei Kedem*, 2 (1923), 35). *Samuel ha-Nagid saw his mission as the defense of the Jews in the principality of which he was vizier and commander of the Muslim state and army. *Eliezer b. Joel ha-Levi of Bonn in 13th-century Germany considered that those who on weekdays interceded for the Jews with alien rulers should have the honor of being the prayer leaders of the community on the High Holidays. The name itself appears first in the 13th–14th centuries in Spain, where the term *mishtadlim* was used at first.

The Jewish policy in *shtadlanut* is explicitly defined in the resolutions of the conference of the communities of Catalonia and Valencia which met in *Barcelona in December 1354. Appealing to the king of Aragon and reminding him of the tradition of royal protection, they asked him to intercede for them to prevent mob violence and libels. They asked the pontiff "to bring to naught the evil designs of the populace who, should troubled days come… would in their foolish way torment the unhappy Jews. And let the pope command them that if, Heaven forbid, God should look forth from His Heaven and send down an evil judgment, they are not, in defiance of His will, to add another vile deed to their sins, but to strengthen themselves to walk in His ways, wherein he has commanded them to cherish us as the apple of their eye, because upon their faith we rest." Courageously they asked the pope to "explain that the Inquisition into heresy shall not pertain to Jews," since such is the Jewish religious entity that "even if a Jew strengthens the hands of a Christian who is a heretic to his faith, the stain of heresy cannot spread to the Jew, for it is impossible to ascribe to a Jew under the definition of heresy something which is right according to his faith" (Baer, Spain, 2 (1966), 26f.). The appeal is to reason, to tolerance, and to keeping faith with those who of necessity trust the ruling Christian powers.

Their actions and appeals throughout the Middle Ages prove that *shtadlanim* adopted an unequivocal stand on the question of Jewish rights. In a memorandum submitted in 1518 (a year before their expulsion), the Jews of *Regensburg answered the accusations brought against them point by point, observing in summing up: "If they want and need to keep Jews then they have to keep them humanely… and to fulfill what has been promised to them. That they have to keep Jews in Regensburg… and treat them humanely… our charters… show… We declare that we are Jews, and are no better than Jews" (R. Straus, *Urkunden und Aktenstuecke zur Geschichte der Juden in Regensburg…* (1960), no. 988. pp. 355–61). The explicit attitude of the Jews to humiliating legislation is revealed in the answer given by Johanan Luria in Alsace at the end of the 15th century in relation to the Jewish *badge: "It is [imposed] by the ruler's command. And if he should order me to carry a stone of two pounds' weight, I would have to do it. Verily this law is like other laws that you impose on us without reason" (H.H. Ben-Sasson, in: HTR, 59 (1966), 372ff.). The great *shtadlan* of the 16th century, *Joseph b. Gershon of Rosheim, constantly based his arguments on the concept of the natural equality of men (*ibid.*, p. 387). In his arguments against Martin *Luther, he appealed to the obligation "to comply with an undertaking and to preserve the peace of the land," averring that the refusal to meet such obligations would lead "Christian opponents of Luther to… fare even worse than the Jews" (idem, *The Reformation in Contemporary Jewish Eyes* (1970), 290). By the 16th century, many individual communities and also the *Councils of the Lands employed professional, salaried *shtadlanim* who had to litigate for individual Jews as well as for the whole body politic of the Jews. In the *Landesjudenschaft the *Court Jew or a relative of his was *shtadlan*, an office which carried considerable authority. In the phrasing of most charters for Jews, echoes can be heard through the Latin of the demands, formulations, and achievements of the *shtadlan*. His intervention was most frequently occasioned by *taxation, the *blood libel, and the *Host desecration accusations.

From the late 19th century the terms *shtadlan* and *shtadlanut* acquired a pejorative undertone; they were used derisively to decry Jewish representatives who failed to stand up with pride and courage against persecuting governments and came to denote those who showed weakness and an eagerness for compromise.

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SHTAYGER (Yid. "mode", "manner"), term designating the musical modes of a traditional Ashkenazi synagogue song, characterized by an order of intervals which is unusual in European music. The *shtayger* are named after the initial words of certain prayers sung to them, with some differences in nomenclature between East and West Ashkenazi communities. The number of these synagogue modes is difficult to determine if all their variants and tonal shades are taken into account. Investigators usually restrict themselves to the more frequent and important ones and number three (J. *Singer, 1886) or four (I. *Schwarz, 1894) principal *shtayger*. These were imagined as the Jewish parallel of the medieval European Church modes and are accordingly described in terms of octave scales. Later the increased knowledge of non-European modal structures, such as the *maqāma* or *raga*, gave the clue for understanding the true nature of the *shtayger*. First, their "scales" need not be an octave repeating itself through the whole gamut; their tonal range may extend over less or more than eight notes, and the intervals may be altered in different octave pitches or in ascending and descending order. Another characteristic is given by the specific location of the keynotes, which serve as resting points of the intermediary and final cadences. Furthermore, certain *shtaygers* are characterized by a stock of motives of their own. Thus, singing according to a *shtayger* comes very close to Oriental concepts of modality.

Two *shtayger* are by far the most important in both the West and East Ashkenazi traditions: the "*Ahavah Rabbah*" and the "*Adoshem Malakh*" *shtayger*. The "*Ahavah Rabbah*," featuring an augmented second, is rather frequent in synagogue music as well as in folksong and ḥasidic melodies; it has also been used for the musical characterization of the Jewish nation by Mussorgsky, Anton *Rubinstein, and other composers. The "*Adoshem Malakh*" *shtayger* (named after Ps. 93:1) always appears in connection with its 10 to 12 standard motives, which are combined in various ways and variants. Less frequent are the "*Magen Avot*," which resembles natural minor, and the "*Av ha-Raḥamim*" *shtayger*, with its two augmented seconds (sometimes mistaken, by superficial observers, for the so-called Gipsy Scale).

The circle of traditional *shtayger* is not a closed system but extends to many variant forms, which are only occasionally or even rarely used. The *Az be-Kol* (*Ra'ash*)" *shtayger*, in former times also called by the hitherto unexplained name "*Klavaner*," may serve as an example of these secondary modes. In the free compositions of individual cantors, modulation from one *shtayger* to the other frequently occurs and contributes much to the expressive power of the East Ashkenazi singing style.

The use of *shtayger* melodies in art music raises some problems, especially when their harmonization is attempted. Some convincing solutions have been found, as when the solo tune is allowed to display itself before a background of sustained chords (e.g., L. *Lewandowski's "*Ki ke-Shimkho*" for cantor and choir).

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[Hanoch Avenary]

SHTERN, Canadian family consisting of a father and four sons, all of whom have made their mark in Jewish literature. The most important of them, however, Ya'akov adopted the name *Zipper. All were born in Tyszowce, Poland.

ABRAHAM DAVID SHTERN (1878–1955) became a *dayyan* and *shoḥet* in his native town. In 1938, he immigrated to Canada and was appointed rabbi of the Zeirei Dat Vadaat Congregation of Montreal. He published three volumes of essays on biblical and ḥasidic themes, in a mixture of Hebrew and Yiddish: *Edut be-Yisrael* (1943); *Kevuẓat Kitvei Aggadah* (1947); *Ḥutim ha-Meshulashim* (1953), which are of considerable value from the point of view of both scholarship and folklore. SHOLEM SHTERN (1907–), a Yiddish poet and literary writer, immigrated to Canada in 1927. He was associated with the radical movement for many years, contributing to its Yiddish press, mostly on literary subjects. This association ceased, however, when the fate of Jewish writers and intellectuals under Stalin became known. His collections of poetry include *Nuntkejt* (Toronto, 1929) and *In der Fri* (Montreal, 1945). His two-volume novel in Yiddish verse *In Canada* (Montreal, 1960–63), is an unusual literary record of the Canadian scene. Another book, *Das Vayse Hoyz* (New York, 1967), was translated into Hebrew by Shimshon *Meltzer, under the title *Ha-Bayit ha-Lavan be-Harim* (Tel Aviv, 1972). Sholem Shtern's poetry and criticism of Yiddish writing have been widely published in important journals in Poland, the Argentine, Australia, Romania, South Africa, France, and Israel, as well as in Canada and the United States. He is represented in various anthologies and on recordings. YEHIEL SHTERN (1903–), educator and author, graduated from the Jewish Teachers' Seminary of Vilna, and taught in Poland before immigrating to Canada in 1936. There he became associated with the Peretz schools in Winnipeg, Calgary, Edmonton, and Montreal successively. His *Kheder un Bes Medresh* (New York, YIVO, 1950) won the Lamed Prize. ISRAEL HIRSCH SHTERN (1914–), poet and mathematician, graduated from the Vilna ORT school. After settling in Canada in 1937, he received his doctorate in mathematics from McGill University, where he was appointed associate professor of mathematics (1961–66); he also taught at Loyola College, Montreal (1966–69). Israel Shtern has written poetry in Yiddish and English, much of it under the pseudonym Ish Ya'ir. His collection entitled *Fables* appeared in England in 1967, and his *Out of the Burning Bush* in 1968. Much of his Yiddish work has been published in the United States, but he has also written English verse published in the smaller journals of England, Italy, India, Switzerland, the Philippines, Brazil, and Greece.

[David Rome]

SHTERN, ISRAEL (1894–1942), Yiddish poet, essayist, and literary critic. Shtern was born in the small Russian-Polish town of Ostrolenka and educated in the *musar* yeshivot of Lomzshe (Lomza) and Slovodka. In 1914 he moved to Vienna and spent three years in Austrian internment as an enemy alien. Here he became familiar with the newest currents of literature in the Hapsburg realm. In 1917 he settled in Warsaw. His first poems appeared in 1919 in *Vokhn Blat* and *Dos Folk*. Later on he continued to publish poems in the major Yiddish periodicals in Warsaw. His book reviews appeared regularly in the dailies *Haynt* and *Moment*. His basic theme is that God mirrors Himself in the poor, the suffering, the brokenhearted, the victims of social injustice. Shtern always stood on the periphery of Warsaw's literary circles. He spent most of his days among the Ḥasidim or poring over the Talmud. He remained poor and embittered both before World War II and during his years in the Warsaw ghetto. According to one report, he starved to death in the ghetto but, according to another report, he perished in the gas chambers of Treblinka. After his death, when his only published volume appeared, *Lider un Eseyen* ("Poems and Essays," 1955), edited by H. *Leivick, he became recognized as one of the most important Yiddish poets between the two world wars.

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[Shlomo Bickel / Itay Zutra (2nd ed.)]

SHTETL (pl. **shtetlakh**; Russ. **mestechko**; Pol. **miasteczko**; Heb. עֲיָרָה), Yiddish diminutive for *shtot* meaning "town" or "city," to imply a relatively small community; in Eastern Europe a unique socio-cultural communal pattern. The real criteria for the size of a shtetl were vague and ill-defined, as the actual size could vary from much less than 1,000 inhabitants to 20,000 or more. When the community was very small it would be called a *klaynshtetl* or even a *shtetele*; however both terms could also carry the connotation of a parochial lack of sophistication or, at times, a feeling of warmth or nostalgia.

The shtetl pattern first took shape within Poland-Lithuania before the partitions of the kingdom. Jews had been invited to settle in the private towns owned by the Polish nobility that developed from the 16th century, on relatively very favorable conditions. In many of such private towns Jews soon formed the preponderant majority of the population. Their occupation in *arenda* led many Jews to settle in the villages around these towns, while many who settled in them were also engaged in *arenda* as well as having other business in the villages. Hence both the economy as well as the style of living in such towns had close links with the villages, in addition to assuming the all-pervading character of a "Jewish town." Originally dependent on the highly structured and powerful communities in the larger cities from which the settlers first came, these small communities increasingly acquired importance, since their development was unhampered by the established rights and inimical anti-Jewish traditions of the Christian townspeople, as the communities in the old "royal towns" had been. Thus the movement of Jews to smaller towns where they were needed, and therefore protected, by the greater and lesser Polish nobility, continued. The community of the private town often constituted the town itself for all intents and purposes, and therefore could strengthen and consolidate a homogeneous pattern of values, attitudes, and mores.

With the partitions of Poland-Lithuania the final crystallization of the socio-cultural pattern of the began amid the process of geopolitical differentiation of the communities on the territories divided between Poland's neighbors. In Russia, the shtetl developed in the Pale of Settlement. In 1815, Congress Poland was incorporated into the Pale, which continued to exist until the October Revolution of 1917. Within Austria-Hungary, the shtetl communities were scattered in Galicia, Bohemia, Sub-Carpathian Ruthenia, Bukovina, and Hungary. In the area under Prussia the shtetl pattern did not develop to the same extent. Despite the basic cultural homogeneity which had consolidated in the past few centuries, the communities in the partitioned regions developed specific social traits in each of the states in which they were situated. This was the result on the one hand of the varying cultures of their host societies and on the other hand of the differing social and economic policies and trends which developed in the host society under the Hapsburg emperors or Russian czars.

During the 19th century, the anti-Jewish persecutions, economic restrictions, and outbreaks of violence pressed increasingly on the socioeconomic foundations of the Jews, in czarist Russia in particular, while political and ideological revolutionary trends and movements began to undermine the strength of the life style of the shtetl, which became more and more unsatisfactory to younger generations. Thus weakened in its foundations, the shtetl entered the last phase of its existence. The liberal revolution of 1917 liquidated the Pale of Settlement, while the Communist revolution that followed liquidated the traditional shtetl life. Between the two world wars, independent Poland became the greatest Jewish center in Eastern Europe.

Life in the Shtetl

Yidishkeyt ("Jewishness") and *menshlikhkeyt* ("humanness") were the two major values of the community around which life centered. Both the sacred and the profane were integrated in this way of life. The traditional ideals of piety, learning and scholarship, communal justice, and charity, were fused in the warm and intimate lifestyle of the shtetl. Thus the *Yidishkeyt* and the *menshlikhkeyt* of the shtetl were expressed in innumerable activities, all of which were geared toward the goal of living the life of a "good Jew" and were manifested in the synagogue and at home, in the holiness of Sabbath and the humdrum existence of the market, in the structure of the community and in the organization of the family.

The Synagogue

The life of the Jew oscillated between synagogue, home, and market. In the synagogue he served God, studied His Law and participated in social activities created in response to the needs of the community and its individual members. The synagogue, whether a *shul*, a Ukrainian *kloyz*, or a Polish *shtibl*, was the house of prayer, the house of study, and the house of assembly combined. The seating arrangement in the synagogue reflected the social structure of the community: along the eastern wall, where the Ark was located, were ranged the most honored members of the community, the rabbi and the *sheyne Yidn* (the dignified Jews), the men of learning, of substance, and of status, i.e., men with *yihus* – symbol of distinction acquired through family position in the community or individual achievement in learning, business, or community participation. The seats facing the eastern wall were occupied by the *balebatim* or burghers, and behind them were placed the *proste Yidn* or common Jews – the humble folk, usually assumed to be ignorant, poor, and uneducated. The value of the seats decreased with their distance from the eastern wall, until at the western wall were found the beggars and needy strangers. These were cared for by various community institutions as well as special associations (see *ḥevrah*).

The Home

The home of the individual was the basic unit in the culture and life style of the shtetl; it was founded on a patriarchal and closely knit structure on traditional lines. His home was the place where the shtetl Jew enjoyed his *Yidishkeyt* in the serenity and peace of Sabbath, in the rituals of the Passover *seder*, or in the dignity and holiness of the High Holidays. It was where he derived the *nakhes* – the proud pleasure – from the achievement of his children, the son, or the son-in-law. There he fed the stranger on Friday, and provided meals to the poor student in the yeshivah. However the home was also part of the community, and hardly any important activity at home was separable from the synagogue or the total community. Birth and death, bar mitzvahs and weddings, illness and recovery, were family events which tied the home to the synagogue, and by extension to the community. No family event was a private event, for life in the shtetl was life with people, and therefore part of the total community life. Family joys, as well as family sorrows, were shared by the community, which had the right and duty to express its approval or disapproval about the conduct and behavior of the family as a whole or of each of its members. Thus community control over the life of its individual members became one of the major regulating forces in the shtetl society, which succeeded in surviving for centuries without a police force to maintain its internal law and order.

The Market

The market and marketplace were the source of livelihood and the meeting place with non-Jewish neighbors. The shtetl Jews served as middlemen between the big city and village economy. They brought urban products to the Polish, Ukrainian, or Romanian peasant who visited the market, or as peddlers bought from him the agricultural produce of the villages which they sold in the city. The financial scale of these transactions was limited. Only a few Jews in the shtetl engaged in enterprises on a larger scale involving substantial capital. The majority of the shtetl population lived in poverty, where the major problem was to earn enough during the week in order to be able to buy a chicken or a fish for Sabbath, or to save up enough money for Passover *matzot*. To make a living the shtetl Jew tried his hand at anything and often at a number of things. Trades and occupations could vary with the season, as well as with a special opportunity encountered at the marketplace. Men and women, old and young, were daily involved in the difficult task of *parnose* ("livelihood"). Often women and children remained in charge of the stall or the store, while men traveled in the area looking for bargains or peddling city wares.

The market was the area where the shtetl came in direct contact with the *goyim*, whose life patterns were alien and often hostile to the shtetl mores. The emphasis was considered by Jews to be on intellect, on a sense of moderation, on cultivation of peace, and on goal-directed activities within the framework of a tightly knit family and community. Among the *goyim*, the shtetl Jew saw the emphasis on the body, excess, blind instinct, sexual life, and physical force. For the Jews human power was in the mind and in the word, while for the *goyim* it appeared expressed in muscles and violence. The underlying feeling of the shtetl Jew in all transactions with the *goyim* was the conviction that no matter how friendly and neighborly the interaction might be, he was never sure that it would not end in bloodshed and death. The feeling was amply supported by experiences of riots, pogroms, and massacres, which often began at the marketplace and spread to homes and synagogues.

Dissolution of the Shtetl

The social, political, and economic forces in the 19th and 20th centuries eroded the patterns of life which had evolved in the shtel. Pogroms and persecutions, economic depressions and political revolutions caused mass migrations of Jews to larger cities in Europe and across the ocean to the United States. Eventually Hitler and the "final solution" brought death to millions of Jews in Eastern and Western Europe. The physical existence of the shtetl ended in the gas chambers and concentration camps of the Third Reich. However, despite the violent end of the shtetl community and of its life style, much of its influence has survived in Israel and in the Americas (e.g., U.S., Canada, Mexico, and Argentina). The children of the shtetl parents – immigrants and survivors of ghettos and concentration camps – became carriers of values shaped in the shtetl, to be reflected in behavior patterns and social attitudes as well as in the art and literature of Israel and of American Jews. The shtetl values are reflected in the novels of American Jewish writers such as Bernard Malamud, as much as in the classic portrayals of shtetl life by Shalom Aleichem or the paintings of Marc Chagall.

[Mark Zborowski]

Lives and Roles of Women

Gender hierarchies in the shtetl ascribed the mundane affairs of the world to women and lofty spiritual and religious pursuits to men. These expectations, perhaps more ideal than real, shaped women's spirituality, family life, economic activities, education, and political choices.

In response to the exclusion of women from arenas of public worship and study, "female variants" of Judaism emerged. Instead of the obligatory Hebrew prayers in the synagogue, women recited Yiddish prayers (**tkhines*) at home, which addressed everyday concerns. They also observed the three women's commandments: namely, **ḥallah*, **niddah*, and *candle lighting on the eve of the Sabbath and holidays. At social gatherings or in private, women read homilies (*Tsenerene*) or ethical books (*Lev Tov*, "A Good Heart," and *Brantshpigl*, "Burning Mirror") and pious tales (*Mayse Bukh*). Their models of piety were the biblical matriarchs, whom women invoked to intercede on their behalf. They also resorted to female leaders in the community for guidance and assistance; these might include the **rebbetzin* (rabbi's wife), *zogerke* (reader of prayers in their section of the synagogue), *gabete* (pious woman who oversaw public charity), and *klogerns* (women hired to wail at burials). Women's spirituality, though different from men's, remained strictly within male-determined religious norms.

The division of roles also reflected the value of the spiritual over the material. An inverted structure of work developed in the shtetl, which allocated the task of breadwinning to women in order to allow their husbands to study. While most couples shared economic responsibility, the cultural ideal dictated that a greater proportion of the burden fell on women. Wives of rabbinic scholars who studied at a distant yeshivah or ḥasidic women whose husbands spent their time in a *shtibl* or rebbe's home, often assumed the entire load. The primary site of female economic activity was the marketplace, where women ran small shops, peddled food products and household goods, and engaged in petty trade. In addition, women were active in the tobacco and alcohol trades. With the advent of industrialization in Russia in the late 19th century, women joined the workforce in handicrafts and small manufacturing. Notably, women in the general population were also highly active in the shtetl economy; hence, female work was not a unique feature of Jewish life.

Women's dominant role in the household economy extended to family relations. In many households, a matriarchal structure prevailed. The *Haskalah (Jewish enlightenment) movement in Eastern Europe attacked this gender role reversal (that is, a subservient husband and dominant wife) and blamed the inverse work structure for this phenomenon. Satires like *The Brief Travels of Benjamin the Third* (1878) by S.Y. *Abramovich (Mendele Mokher Seforim) focused on the degrading feminization of men and moral decline of "masculine women." In this particular novel, an emasculated husband runs away from his wife, "who wears the pants in the house," in search of the ten lost tribes. D. Biale suggested that the *maskilim*'s rebellion against matriarchal power may have stemmed from an animosity toward their mothers-in-law, who dominated their adolescent marriages (*Eros and the Jews*, 1992).

Jewish women also played a defining role in the socialization of their children, particularly daughters who remained in their care until they married. Given the high birthrate in Eastern Europe, Jewish women were pregnant during most of their childbearing years. Prolonged breastfeeding reduced fertility to some extent but birth control was fairly primitive and inaccessible. Births usually took place at home with the assistance of a midwife. Women hung amulets on the wall and recited prayers to protect newborn infants from evil spirits. Images of strong mothers and grandmothers who supported their families and arranged matches for all the children are common in the memoir literature.

Despite their power in the domestic sphere, women were vulnerable and became increasingly powerless in matters of divorce. This was due in part to Jewish law, which empowered men to dissolve marriages unilaterally. In the Czarist empire, where Jewish divorce rates were extraordinarily high, the childless woman, *moredet* (rebellious wife), and other "undesirable" wives were especially prone to divorce against their will. Moreover, a decline in rabbinic authority meant that women who sought to secure a divorce from a recalcitrant husband for wife beating or other reasons were usually unsuccessful. In desperation, some women turned to state courts to enforce a rabbi's verdict or to overturn an unjust ruling.

A gendered system of education was another product of shtetl life. I. Parush argues that because rabbinic authorities devoted all their energies to male religious learning, they neglected the education of women. During the 19th century, this "benefit of marginality" allowed women to acquire secular culture with greater ease. While some women remained illiterate, a large segment of Jewish women learned to read in Yiddish; this group was the first to read popular literature (often simplistic, sentimental chapbooks) at their own leisure. Upper-class daughters of Orthodox families even studied foreign languages and literature with governesses and private tutors. "Reading women," who experienced greater exposure to modern values, in turn served as agents of acculturation at home. Starting in the 1860s, Jewish girls flocked to the new state and private schools throughout the Russian empire; some even pursued higher education as *kursistki* (auditors). Similar trends took place in the Austro-Hungarian Empire, where secular education had been introduced even earlier.

"Seductive secularization" gradually led to ruptures within traditional society well into the first three decades of the 20th century. The most extreme form of rejection was conversion to Christianity and marriage with Christian partners; not surprisingly, women constituted a disproportionate number of Jewish converts in the late 19th century. Another venue of rebellion was to join a revolutionary movement. Women participated actively in the Bund, various branches of the Zionist movement, as well as general Russian and Polish socialist groups.

On the eve of World War II, women in the shtetl remained the most traditional constituency of European Jewry, despite the onslaught of modernity and change; this was due in part to the migration of more acculturated families to urban centers or abroad, in part to the resilience of old customs and communal values.

[ChaeRan Freeze (2nd ed.)]

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SHTIF, NOKHEM (pseudonym **Bal-Dimyen**; 1879–1933), Yiddish linguist, literary historian, author, and political leader. Born in Rovno, Volhynia, Shtif early became active in Jewish affairs: as a Zionist, member of the Jewish self-defense organization *Zelbshuts* during the pogroms in 1903, founder of a transitional Jewish socialist group (*Vozrozhdenie,* "Renaissance"), founder of the Sejmist Party (1906, part of the Socialist Territorialist movement), and founder of the revived *Folkspartey* (Jewish Democratic Party) in 1917. He became immersed in the study of older Yiddish literature as well as literary criticism. After settling in Berlin (1922), he was the main initiator and (together with M. *Weinreich, Z. *Rejzen, E. *Tcherikover, and others) a founder in 1925 of the Yiddish Scientific Institute, *YIVO, and published the first booklet on the aims of YIVO, *Vegn a Yidishn Akademishn Institut* ("On a Yiddish Academic Institute," 1924).

From 1926, after returning to Kiev where he had studied at the Polytechnic University (1899–1903), Shtif directed the linguistic section of the Institute for Yiddish Proletarian Culture and edited its periodical *Di Yidishe Shprakh* ("The Yiddish Language"), where his article "*Di sotsyale diferentsiatsye in yidish*" ("The Social Differentiation of Yiddish," 1929) appeared. He argued that many words and forms derived from Hebrew and Aramaic had become redundant in the Soviet environment and should therefore be discarded and, to the extent possible, excluded from the process of lexical innovation.

Among the numerous books and studies which he authored on Yiddish stylistic, orthographical, grammatical, dialectal, historical, and literary topics, are his pioneering *Yidishe Stilistik* ("Yiddish Stylistics," 1930) and his Yiddish translations of works by *Dubnow and *Guedemann. His autobiography appeared in *YIVO Bleter* (5 (1933), 195–225).

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[Mordkhe Schaechter / Gennady Estraikh (2nd ed.)]

SHUA, ANA MARÍA (1951–), Argentinean author. Born in Buenos Aires, she received a degree in education, with a specialty in literature, from the Universidad de Buenos Aires. She has worked as a journalist, publicist, and scriptwriter. In 1967, at the age of 16, she published a volume of poetry titled *El sol y yo.* This first book earned her two of the most prestigious literary awards in Argentina and initiated her lifetime career as a writer. She continued to receive numerous awards for her nearly 30 books, including a Guggenheim Fellowship, which she received to write her novel *El libro de los recuerdos* (1994). One of her most successful books, translated into English as *The Book of Memories* (1998), relates the story of her family's history of immigration and process of assimilation into Argentinean society. Her work covers a broad spectrum of topics and genres, from children's literature to science fiction. The novel *La muerte como efecto secundario* (1997) is an excellent example of the latter. Her work has begun to garner a significant amount of criticism, and she is now considered to be one of the foremost of contemporary women writers in Argentina and Latin America. She was often invited to lecture at universities in the United States.

Jewish topics are not central to Shua's work, though they do appear frequently. The aforementioned *The Book of Memories* is her most careful examination of Jewish identity and issues. Common in many of her books is her use of humor as a mode of expression. This may be seen in her short stories, novels, or even in the popular *Risas y emociones de la comida judía* (1993), a humorous cookbook that contains recipes as well as comical anecdotes on Jewish culture and tradition. Her wit is also evident in the book *El marido argentino promedio* (1991), a compilation of essays that examines Jewish and Argentinean eccentricities in relation to gender; mainly how men and women view life in often radically different ways.

Shua is most widely recognized for the way in which she is able to create interesting and entertaining narratives that also contain social criticism, feminist issues, and a constant questioning of tradition, history, memory, and values.

[Darrell B. Lockhart (2nd ed.)]

SHUB, DAVID (1887–1973), journalist and sovietologist. Shub was born in Fastov, in the Kiev oblast, to religious parents who, however, sent him to a Russian school instead of the traditional *ḥeder.* At the age of 16, he became acquainted with the activities of the Jewish Labor *Bund. In the same year (1903), he moved to the United States, but two years later returned to Russia via Switzerland, where he met Lenin, who invited him to join the Bolshevik fraction. Shub declined, but in Russia was arrested for participating in revolutionary activities and sentenced to forced military service in Siberia. He escaped from Irkutsk in 1907 and made his way to the United States, where he remained for the rest of his life.

Shub devoted himself to journalism, writing mostly in Yiddish, but also in Russian and English, concentrating on Russian politics and literature and scarcely dealing with Jewish subjects, apart from his interest in the Bund. He became a leading sovietologist. He was a member of the staff of the **Jewish Daily Forward* from 1924, contributing to it until 1972. He was also a regular contributor to the Yiddish political monthly

Der Veker, of which he was editor during the years 1922–27. He joined the Mensheviks in 1903 and remained a right-wing Menshevik all his life, continuing his fight against Bolshevism to the end of his life, in the firm belief that Russia would finally abandon it and emerge as a Social Democratic republic.

Shub wrote one of the first biographies of Lenin (Yiddish, 1928; English, revised and enlarged edition, *Lenin, a Biography*, 1948). Among his other works are *Helden un Martirer* ("Heroes and Martyrs," Yiddish, 1939), on Russian martyrs in the struggle against Czarism; *Sotsyale Denker un Kemfer* ("Social Thinkers and Fighters," Yiddish, 1968); and *Politicheskiye Deyateli Rossii,* 1850–1928 ("Political Figures: Russia, 1850–1928," Russian, 1969) based on the former work and on the radio scripts which he broadcast for Radio Liberty to the U.S.S.R. Shub's memoirs, *Fum di Amolike Yoren* ("From Bygone Days"), were published in 1970.

[Elias Schulman]

SHUBERT, family of U.S. theater proprietors and producers. SAM (1875–1905), LEE (1876–1953), and JACOB J. (1877–1963) became Broadway's most powerful theatrical dynasty. They were born in Syracuse, New York, sons of a peddler. Their rise to theatrical prominence began early in life. They first took over the Grand Opera House in Syracuse, and then acquired touring companies and theaters in upstate New York. In 1900 the Shuberts produced "*Quo Vadis?*" at the Herald Square Theater, New York, and from then until the 1920s they engaged in fierce competition with Klaw and Erlanger, the major theatrical syndicate prior to the Shuberts' arrival. Sam died in a railroad disaster, but the other brothers continued to build their theatrical empire. By 1956, the family enterprise owned or controlled about half the legitimate theaters in the nation, including 17 on Broadway. Faced with a government anti-trust suit, the brothers agreed to sell twelve theaters, and sever their connection with theatrical booking business. The Shuberts produced more than 500 plays. Jacob was one of the early backers of Florenz *Ziegfeld, and among the stars the Shuberts introduced to American audiences were Al *Jolson, Eddie *Cantor, Marilyn Miller, Fanny Brice, Ray Bolger, and Bert Lahr. They had a reputation as aggressive businessmen, but also displayed a sentimental feeling for the theater. Speaking on the decline of the legitimate stage, Jacob once said late in his career: "When they tear down a theater it's like someone in the family dying."

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[Raphael Rothstein]

SHUBOW, JOSEPH SHALOM (1899–1969), U.S. rabbi. A Conservative rabbi who was both a leader of the American Zionist movement and the Boston Jewish community, Shubow tended to the needs of Jewish soldiers and displaced persons in war-torn Europe.

Shubow was born in Olita, Lithuania, and came to the United States with his family. He attended Boston Latin High School before heading to Harvard, where he received an A.B. (1920), A.M. (1921), and Ph.D. (1959). In 1925, while a student there, he and Max Rhoade founded Avukah, the national student Zionist organization.

From 1923 to 1935 Shubow served as the literary editor for the *Boston Jewish Advocate* and from 1924 to 1931 was a correspondent and features writer for the *Jewish Telegraphic Agency*. Following in the footsteps of his younger brother, Rabbi Leo Shubow, he entered the Jewish Institute of Religion to study under Rabbi Stephen S. *Wise. Upon his ordination in 1933, he was installed as the first rabbi of Temple B'nai Moshe in Brighton, Massachusetts. Under his spiritual leadership, which lasted until his death (excepting his wartime service), it became one of the most thriving congregations of Greater Boston.

A gifted orator, Shubow was outspoken in his ardor for Zionism and in his concern for world Jewry. In June 1934, at a Harvard alumni reunion, Shubow publicly confronted Ernst Hafstaengel, a German Nazi and close friend of Adolf Hitler's, who had been invited as a guest of honor. Shubow questioned Hafstaengel as to what he had meant by his statement that the Jewish problem would soon be restored to normal, asking, "Did you mean by extermination?" Shubow would again display his boldness when in the 1950s he famously confronted the antisemitic Jesuit priest Father Leonard Feeney on the Boston Common.

In 1943, Shubow, then in his early forties, voluntarily enlisted in the U.S. Army. He served as a chaplain in Europe with the Ninth Army through 1946, and traveled with a portable ark that could be strapped to a jeep. In March 1945, having accompanied the troops who had just crossed the Rhine into Germany, he led a Passover *seder* in Goebbels's castle – an event that was front-page news around the world. After the war, in both displaced-persons camps and Berlin, he played a major role in reuniting Jewish families as well as in rekindling the spark of life in the liberated prisoners. For his compassionate efforts he was awarded a Bronze Star.

The American Jewish community highly respected Shubow, and he rose to a number of influential positions, including the presidency of the New England Division of the American Jewish Congress (1941–1943), the presidency of the Greater Boston Rabbinical Association (1950–1953), and the vice presidency of the Zionist Organization of America (1961–1969). He also was a delegate to the 1936 World Jewish Congress in Geneva.

In addition to being a pulpit rabbi and an activist, Shubow, who knew at least seven languages, was also a scholar of Judaism who studied with Harry Austryn *Wolfson throughout his life. Though a Conservative rabbi, he was highly esteemed for his personal virtues by the modern Orthodox Rabbi Joseph B. *Soloveitchik and by the ḥasidic Bostoner Rebbe Levi Yitzchak *Horowitz. Shubow and Soloveitchik were very good friends, but despite their mutual admiration, in 1954 the Rav refused to take part in a testimonial dinner in Shubow's honor since the event would also be celebrating the dedication of a new temple-building that would have mixed seating. Similarly, although Soloveitchik delivered a moving eulogy at Shubow's funeral, he would not enter the temple building.

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[Justin Shubow (2nd ed.)]

SHUCHAT, WILFRED G. (1920–), Canadian rabbi. Shuchat was born in Montreal, Canada, and received his B.A. from McGill University in 1941. In 1945, he was ordained at the *Jewish Theological Seminary, which awarded him an honorary D.D. in 1971. After serving as rabbi of Congregation Sons of Israel in Albany, New York (1944–45) and Temple Beth El in Buffalo, New York (1945–46), he was appointed assistant rabbi of Congregation Shaar Hashomayim in Montreal, becoming rabbi in 1948. In 1993, he retired and was elevated to emeritus. Under his leadership, the synagogue instituted such pioneering programs as home study groups and the Shaar Israel–Shabbat Yachad Project, which connected congregants to Israel through a series of family weekends featuring religious and educational programming, as well as dialogue with Reform and Orthodox invitees. At Shuchat's initiative, Shaar Hashomayim also became the founder and co-owner of Camp *Ramah in Utterson, Ontario.

In the larger Jewish community, Shuchat co-founded in 1947 the Board of Jewish Ministers of Greater Montreal (now the Board of Rabbis), comprising the city's English-speaking rabbis, and was instrumental in creating its chaplaincy committee. He also served as chairman of the Religious Welfare Committee of the Canadian Jewish Congress, where he headed a committee on marriage and family that established the Jewish Introduction Service for singles. In 1960, he set up the *De Sola Club, a kosher dining club in Montreal. He also taught Judaism at the School of Nursing at the Jewish General Hospital. In 1967, he was the creator and program chairman of the Pavilion of Judaism at Expo 67, which attracted three million visitors – the most popular exhibition of its kind.

In the Conservative movement, Shuchat served on the Committee on Law and Standards of the *Rabbinical Assembly, but he is better known for being one of the original founders of the Union for Traditional Judaism (UTJ), an organization that promotes traditional Jewish observance within the framework of Conservative Judaism. UTJ sponsors a rabbinical college; a speakers' bureau; a preparatory program for lay men and women who would like to spend a year in intense Torah study; and a Masters in Public Administration, which offers in-depth training to Jewish leaders of the future. Among the books Shuchat wrote are *The Gate of Heaven: The Story of Congregation Shaar Hashomayim in Montreal* (2000) and *The Creation According to Midrash Rabbah* (2002).

[Bezalel Gordon (2nd ed.)]

SHULAMMITE, THE (Heb. הַשּׁוּלַמִּית), a feminine name or title occurring only in Song of *Songs 7:1 [6:13]. The phonetic similarity of Shulammite to Shunammite led to the identification of the dancer of Song of Songs with *Abishag, "the maiden from *Shunem," who was brought to King David in his old age (I Kings 1:1–4). The word is most plausibly explained as being indeed equivalent to הַשּׁוּנַמִּית," the Shunammite woman" (I Kings 1:3; II Kings 4:25), used (on account of the aforementioned Abishag) as synonymous with "beautiful woman."

[Keith N. Schoville]

SHULḤAN ARUKH (Heb. שֻׁלְחָן עָרוּךְ; "the prepared table"), name of a code written by Joseph *Caro, similar in form to the *Arba'ah Turim* of *Jacob b. Asher, but more concise and without stating any sources. The book is in fact a halakhic synopsis of Caro's previous commentary on the *Turim*, the *Beit Yosef*. It is divided into the same four major sections as the former: *Oraḥ Ḥayyim*, concerning the daily commandments, Sabbaths, and the festivals; *Yoreh De'ah*, dealing with various subjects, such as dietary laws, interest, purity, and mourning; *Even ha-Ezer*, on marriage, divorce, and related topics; and *Ḥoshen Mishpat*, dealing with civil and criminal law. In his decisions Caro relied on Isaac *Alfasi, *Maimonides, and *Asher b. Jehiel, generally following any two in cases of disagreement. The book was first printed in Venice in 1565 and notwithstanding serious objections to the work, ultimately became accepted as the code of Jewish law par excellence after amendments had been added by Moses *Isserles and other commentaries of later halakhic authorities had been written on it.

Isserles' Commentary

The admiration of Isserles for Joseph Caro was unbounded, and he refers to him in the most glowing terms. He found, however, one serious drawback in the Shulḥan Arukh as an authoritative code. Caro had completely ignored the halakhic decisions and *minhagim* of Ashkenazi Jewry which had grown up in Germany and Poland since Asher b. Jehiel, who was one of Caro's major authorities. As a note on the aim of the *Darkhei Moshe* (see below) states: "Its purpose is to include the new laws which are found in the *Or Zaru'a*, the *Aguddah*, the *Sha'arei Dura*, the *Issur ve-Hetter*, the responsa of Israel *Bruna, of the *Maharal and R. Meir of Padua, and the regulations for divorce and *ḥaliẓah* of *Benjamin Ze'ev, as well as many other collections whose innovations are innumerable … as well as the decisive law according to the *minhag*, originally from France, which we follow."

ADJUSTMENT OF HALAKHAH FOR ASHKENAZIM. It was the combination of this profound respect for the author and the realization of this serious defect which dictated the approach of Isserles to the Shulḥan Arukh of Caro. He does not criticize or attack; he explains and supplements. At first he wrote his *Darkhei Moshe* to the *Beit Yosef*, for the purpose of adjusting the *halakhah* there to that prevalent in Ashkenazi Jewry; only then did he add to the "table" (*shulḥan*) his additions to which he gave the apt name *Mappah*, "the Tablecloth." Both these elements are prominent in the remarkably succinct addition to Caro's work. His clarification of the original work is as important as his amendments and additions, and helped considerably toward its acceptance. Where the *halakhah* of Caro differs from that accepted by the Ashkenazi Jews, Isserles gives the law or the custom as was prevalent in those communities, adding "our *minhag* is," or "thus is the *minhag*."

As a result of the *Mappah*, the Shulḥan Arukh, as supplemented by Isserles, reflected the *halakhah* and norms of religious practice as they had developed in Germany and Poland and was thus acceptable to the Ashkenazim, while the text of Caro was equally acceptable to the Sephardim. Between its acceptability and its complete acceptance, however, there was a long and complicated road.

Opposition to Acceptance of Shulḥan Arukh

The most strenuous opposition to the acceptance of the Shulḥan Arukh as the authoritative code of Jewish law was based on grounds of principle. Its most powerful opponent was Solomon *Luria. In his *Yam shel Shelomo* he expressed his vigorous opposition to all codes which laid down the law. Every code gives rise to commentaries and supercommentaries which have just the opposite effect intended by the authors of the original code. The only source for the determination of *halakhah* was the Talmud. A similar attitude was taken by *Ḥayyim b. Bezalel.

The acceptance of the Shulḥan Arukh was also threatened by another work, the masterly *Levush* of Mordecai *Jaffe. Based upon both the *Beit Yosef* and the Shulḥan Arukh, it aimed at combining both of them into one work, giving some of the arguments of the former and bringing into the latter, as had Isserles, the Ashkenazi *halakhah* and *minhag*.

Final Acceptance of Shulḥan Arukh

The final acceptance of the Shulḥan Arukh as the authoritative code accepted by world Jewry was due mainly to two 17th-century commentaries which have become standard, the *Turei Zahav* ("*Taz*") of *David b. Samuel ha-Levi on the whole of Shulḥan Arukh, and the *Siftei Kohen* ("*Shakh*") of *Shabbetai b. Meir ha-Kohen on *Ḥoshen Mishpat* and *Yoreh De'ah*. David ha-Levi gave his commentary to *Oraḥ Ḥayyim* the title *Magen David*. The place of the *Siftei Kohen* on *Oraḥ Ḥayyim* was taken by the *Magen Avraham* of Abraham Abele *Gombiner, and the combined name *Meginnei Ereẓ* was given to both commentaries. Of David ha-Levi's commentaries, only those to *Oraḥ Ḥayyim, Yoreh De'ah*, and *Even ha-Ezer*, however, had the good fortune to be printed together with the text, the commentary *Me'irot Einayim* of Joshua *Falk being printed with *Ḥoshen Mishpat*.

It was not only the comprehensive nature of these commentaries and the fact that in them they effectively answered all the criticisms which had been leveled against the Shulḥan Arukh which finally established Caro's code as the authoritative code. These commentaries were the first to regard the Shulḥan Arukh as a separate halakhic work, independent of the *Tur* or the *Beit Yosef*, and as a result of their eminence, the Shulḥan Arukh became the final authority to which one turned for the definitive *halakhah*. It was they who were mainly responsible for the preference given to the Shulḥan Arukh over the *Levush*, and the *halakhah* was accepted to be "in accordance with the Shulḥan Arukh."

Shulḥan Arukh in the Development of Halakhah

However, the Shulḥan Arukh in this sense can be said almost to bear the same relationship to the text of Caro and Isserles as does the Talmud to the Mishnah. The text marks a stage, albeit a decisive one, in the continuous development of the *halakhah*. The text of Caro, even with the additions of Isserles, has been subject to a continuous process of commentary and supercommentary which has continually modified its decisions and brought in all new halakhic problems which have subsequently arisen. An important addition to *Oraḥ Ḥayyim* was the *Sha'arei Teshuvah* of Ḥayyim Mordecai Margolis and his brother Ephraim Zalman, and to the other three sections, the *Pitḥei Teshuvah* of Ẓevi Hirsch Eisenstadt, incorporating the new decisions given in the responsa literature from the time of Caro to that of the authors. The extent of this adjustment can be seen in the *Oẓar ha-Posekim*, still in process of publication. For example the third volume which treats of the first 17 paragraphs of the 17th chapter of *Even ha-Ezer* has no less than 167 folio pages of commentary which give a digest of all the various commentaries and modifications, mainly from the responsa, to the original text of Caro. H.J. Chajes has estimated that in one way or another, from Isserles to his own time, early in the 20th century, 60 percent of the original text of Caro has been subject to some adjustment.

Only parts of the Shulḥan Arukh have been translated into English, e.g., some sections of *Ḥoshen Mishpat* and *Yoreh De'ah* by C.N. Denburg, 2 vols. (1954–55).

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[Louis Isaac Rabinowitz]

SHULIM, JOSEPH ISIDORE (1912–2005), U.S. historian. Born in New Haven, Connecticut, Shulim graduated from Brooklyn College in 1933 and received his Ph.D. from Columbia University. While doing his graduate work, he began teaching at Brooklyn College, where he remained throughout his career until his retirement in 1973, serving for a time as deputy chairman of the Department of History. He was later named professor emeritus of history. His field was the French Revolution and its impact upon the North Atlantic community. He also was a member of the CUNY Graduate School faculty and a founding member of CUNY's Retirees Chapter, serving for many years on the executive committee and as vice president. Shulim was also active in collegiate Jewish affairs.

His major publications were *The Old Dominion and Napoleon Bonaparte* (1952), *John Daly Burk: Irish Revolutionist* *and American Patriot* (1964), and *Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity: Studies on the Era of the French Revolution and Napoleon* (1990).

[Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

SHULKLAPPER (Yid. "the knocker who calls to the synagogue"), in Ashkenazi countries one of the sextons of the synagogue. Although the office is found from the High Middle Ages, its development is best known from Eastern Europe, where the sexton awakened the people with hammer knocks for the morning prayers, saying: "Jews, this morning arise for the service of the Creator." The *shulklapper* also announced the beginning of the Sabbath and holidays. In the last week before Rosh Ha-Shanah and also during the Ten Days of Penitence between Rosh Ha-Shanah and the Day of Atonement, the *shulklapper* announced the *Seliḥot* service. The number of knocks and their order differed according to the occasion and local custom. Other tasks of the *shulklapper* were to summon people for communal meetings, banquets, and funerals.

[Natan Efrati]

SHULMAN, CHARLES E. (1901–1968), U.S. Reform rabbi. Shulman, born in Berdichev, Russia, was taken to the United States in 1910. He received rabbinic ordination at Hebrew Union College in 1927. After serving congregations in Wheeling, West Virginia (1927–31), and Glencoe, Illinois (1931–41), Shulman led a Riverdale, New York congregation (1947–68). From 1943 to 1946 he was a chaplain in the U.S. Navy. Shulman was an active Zionist and interested himself in the Urban League and other public causes.

A prolific writer, his books include *Problems of the Jews in the Contemporary World* (1934), *Europe's Conscience in Decline* (1939), and *What it Means to be a Jew* (1960). All are preoccupied with the regression of morality in the 20th century, as evidenced by Nazism and the spread of antisemitism, and by the emphasis in international relations on political expediency rather than considerations of morality.

[Sefton D. Temkin]

SHULMAN, HARRY (1903–1955), U.S. lawyer and dean of Yale Law School. Shulman was born in Krugloye, Russia, and taken to the U.S. in 1912. From 1929 to 1930 he served as law clerk to Justice *Brandeis. He was special counsel to the U.S. Railroad Retirement Board during 1934–36. Shulman became professor of law at Yale in 1940, and shortly before his death was named dean of the Yale Law School. Along with his academic career, Shulman was reporter for the American Law Institute's Restatement of the Law of Torts (1937–39), and a member of the U.S. Attorney General's Committee on Administrative Procedure (1941–42), actively contributing to the modernization and reform of the administrative process in the U.S. Shulman's most important professional accomplishment was his pioneering work as a labor arbitrator, and particularly his significant years of service (1943–55) as the umpire charged with the final interpretation of the labor contract between the Ford Motor Co. and the United Automobile Workers, C.I.O. In this role he established innovative processes for peaceful and legal solutions to labor-management conflicts and collective bargaining. Shulman believed that the labor arbitrator should not merely take an objective position in the construction of the terms of a labor contract but rather had to become an integral part of the collective bargaining process. His Holmes Lecture at Harvard Law School (1955), "Reason, Contract and Law in Labor Relations," was evaluated as a major contribution to the institutional development of collective bargaining. Shulman was a specialist in torts, federal jurisdiction, administrative law, and trade regulations, as well as in labor law. He wrote, with F. Frankfurter, *Cases on Federal Jurisdiction and Procedure* (1937); with F. James, Jr., *Cases on Torts* (1942); and with N.W. Chamberlain, *Cases on Labor Relations* (1949).

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[Julius J. Marcke]

SHULMAN, MAX (1919–1988), U.S. author and humorist. Shulman was known for his bright style and witty situations, and for his Dobie Gillis character. He was especially popular among college students in the 1950s and early 1960s. He also wrote for motion pictures. Among his works were *Barefoot Boy With Cheek* (1943), *Sleep Till Noon* (1949), and *Rally Round the Flag, Boys* (1957).

SHULMAN, MILTON (1913–2004), British drama critic. Born in Toronto, Canada, Milton Shulman became a lawyer and served as an officer in World War II. After the war he became drama critic of the London *Evening Standard*, keeping the position for 38 years (1953–91), longer than virtually anyone else in Fleet Street history, and was one of Britain's most influential theater critics. He was also the paper's literary editor. Shulman stated that he had attended 5,000 premieres in the course of his career but had never seen a truly great play, and described John Osborne's *Look Back in Anger* as "self-pitying snivel." He wrote the well-known *Defeat in the West: The Story of the German Defeat in World War Two* (1947) and an autobiography, *Marilyn, Hitler and Me* (1999). His daughter ALEXANDRA SHULMAN was editor of London *Vogue* from 1992.

[William D. Rubinstein (2nd ed.)]

SHULMAN, VICTOR (pseudonym of **Israel Ḥayyim Shadovsky**; 1876–1951), organizer and journalist of the *Bund. Born near Kovno, Lithuania, Shulman became in his youth a member of a mixed Zionist and Socialist youth circle in Kovno, of which *Weiter (Devenishsky), and Shemuel *Tchernowitz were also members. In 1899 he joined the Bund and became active in Gomel, helping to affiliate the local social-democratic organization with the Bund. In Gomel he published the periodical *Kamf*, to which J.H. *Brenner was a contributor. Between 1901 and 1905 he was imprisoned and sent to Siberia. He helped organize the escape of exiled revolutionaries, among them *Trotsky and Dzerzhinski. Between 1905 and 1909 he was alternately active in Vilna and Warsaw, attended the seventh convention of the Bund (Lemberg, 1906), wrote for the press, and was once more imprisoned and exiled. At the end of 1909 he escaped to Switzerland, where he participated in Bund activities. From 1914 he lived in Warsaw, headed the trade unions which had begun to function legally, and acted as secretary of the weekly *Lebns Fragen*. In independent Poland and throughout the early period of the Nazi occupation, he worked on the Bund daily *Folkstsaytung*. In 1941 he reached New York via Lithuania with a group of Bund activists. There he engaged in writing and editing, mainly a history of the Jewish press, particularly the Bundist. His works include: *Bletlekh Geshikhte fun der Yidisher Arbeiter Bavegung* (1929); and, on Jews in Poland during World War I, *Yidn in Poyln* (1946), 733–890.

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[Moshe Mishkinsky]

SHULNER, DORA (**Schulner**, née **Feldman**; 1889–1962), Yiddish writer. Born in 1889 in Radomyshl, Kiev province, she immigrated to the U.S. in 1924. Her first stories appeared in the *Frayhayt* in 1940, and her work continued to appear in the *Chicago Jewish Courier*, *Undzer Veg*, *Kalifornye Yidishe Shtime*, and periodicals published in Toronto, Winnipeg, and Mexico. Her first book, *Azoy Hot es Pasirt* ("Thus It Happened") was published in Chicago in 1942, followed by *Miltshin un Andere Dertseylungen* ("Miltshin and Other Stories," 1946), *Esther* (1949), and *Geshtaltn* ("Figures," 1956). Most important is her frank portrayal of Jewish women in the Russian Pale of Settlement immediately before, during, and after the Russian Revolution and Civil War.

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[Vivian Felsen (2nd ed.)]

SHULSINGER, BEZALEL (**Bezalel Odesser**; c. 1779–c. 1873), *ḥazzan*. Born in Uman, Russia, Shulsinger received no formal musical education. Nothing is known about him before 1826 when he was already a renowned *ḥazzan* and held a post in Odessa. From 1860 he lived in Jerusalem. Shulsinger's compositions, characterized by their lyrical simplicity and easy-moving grace, were taken down by members of his choir, many of whom later became famous *ḥazzanim*. Thus Shulsinger's influence on synagogue music was far-reaching, and many of his compositions achieved widespread popularity. One of them is "*Attah Noten Yad*," which he is supposed to have sung to his pupils upon his departure for the Holy Land.

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[David M.L. Olivestone]

SHULTZ, SAMUEL (1865–1917), Canadian jurist. Born in Victoria, British Columbia (B.C.), Shultz was the grandson of Judah P. Davies, one of the city's most important Jewish pioneers. He received a B.A. from the University of Toronto in 1888 and went on to earn a law degree. Returning to British Columbia in 1893, Shultz established a legal practice in Victoria and was for a time the vice president of Temple Emanuel. An avid sportsman, journalist, and musician, he was also a charter member of the Native Sons of B.C. and the Connaught Masonic Order. Shultz relocated to Vancouver in 1902, where he married in 1904, and in 1909–10 served a term as an alderman for North Vancouver and three terms as the president of the North Vancouver Conservative Association. In 1914 he was named to the Vancouver County Court, becoming the first Jewish judge in Canada and earning a high reputation for fairness and knowledge of the law. As an outspoken advocate of Jewish rights and a frequent contributor to discussions of public affairs and religious understanding, Shultz was also the founding president of the Vancouver B'nai B'rith lodge and the Vancouver Jewish community's first delegate to the national Zionist convention in 1917, where he was named to the board. He died suddenly several months later at the age of 52.

[Barbara Schober (2nd ed.)]

SHULVASS (**Szulwas**), **MOSES AVIGDOR** (1909–1988), scholar and educator. Born in Plonsk, Poland, Shulvass studied in Berlin. He lived in Ereẓ Israel from 1938 to 1948 and then immigrated to the United States, where he eventually became professor of Jewish history at Spertus College of Jewish Studies in Chicago.

His publications in many languages include historical studies on Italian Jewry. Of special interest are his books *Roma ve-Yerushalayim* ("Rome and Jerusalem," 1945); *Ḥayyei ha-Yehudim be-Italyah bi-Tekufat ha-Renaissance* ("Jewish Life in Renaissance Italy," 1955); and his biographical sketch of Samuel David *Luzzatto with documentary supporting material, *Pirkei Ḥayyim* (1951). He also published two volumes of essays on various aspects of Jewish history, *Bi-Ẓevat ha-Dorot* ("In the Grip of Generations," 1960) and *Between the Rhine and Bosphorus* (1964) as well as *Die Juden in Wuerzburg waehrend des Mittelalters* (1934). He also wrote *From East to West* (1971), *Jewish Culture in Eastern Europe* (1975), and *The History of the Jewish People* (1982).

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[Eisig Silberschlag]

SHUM, an abbreviation used in Jewish sources for the closely allied Rhine communities of *Speyer, *Worms, and *Mainz, based on the initial letters of the Hebrew names of the cities (שפירא, וורמש, מגנצא). Although there are legendary accounts of Jewish communities in the three cities in Roman times, it is probable that the first organized community of the three was founded in Mainz in the early tenth century. Settled communities followed soon after in Worms and later in Speyer; by the end of the 11th century each was well established. The municipal authorities were well disposed to the Jews, granting them economic rights and a high degree of autonomy. With the exception of a temporary expulsion from Mainz in 1012 and another disturbance there in 1084, Jews and gentiles lived largely at peace with one another. The Jews fulfilled a valuable role as traders and entrepreneurs, and maintained a high standard of living. Jewish cultural and religious life flowered first in Mainz, which soon became a leading Torah center. The existence of many small principalities combined with the absence of a central authority (unlike Babylonian influence on Spain) stimulated the growth of localism and jealous independence among the Rhine communities. R. Gershom b. Judah Me'or ha-Golah actively worked toward standardization and federation; his civil *takkanot* in particular are considered by L. Finkelstein to be of a constitutional nature. Scholars disagree about the source of some *takkanot* traditionally ascribed to R. Gershom and raise doubts as to whether he did indeed preside over gatherings of Jewish leaders; nevertheless, he undoubtedly laid the foundation for unified action among the three communities as well as other German communities associated with them.

In the generation that followed, the leadership of the Rhine communities passed to France, most specifically to *Rashi. However, while Rashi's influence was great in the Rhine cities where he had once studied, there is no evidence to support the view that he was the initiator of synodal legislation. During the course of the First Crusade (1096) there was coordinated action among the communities, in cooperation with their coreligionists in France, that sought in vain to avert the catastrophe. All of the Rhine communities suffered terribly at the hands of the crusaders but Mainz and Worms were particularly hard hit. The rebuilding period that followed reestablished both the economic prosperity of the communities and their standing as centers of learning. Effective joint action largely prevented further destruction in Germany during the Second Crusade (1146). In a *synod summoned in *Troyes in 1150 by Jacob b. Meir *Tam in order to consider the effects of the Second Crusade, the Rhine communities were ably represented by *Eliezer b. Nathan of Mainz and *Eliezer b. Samson of Cologne. The large number of participants at the conference attest the degree that the Rhine communities and those of France were prepared to coordinate their efforts, a development hastened, no doubt, by the tragedy and the challenge of the Crusades. Though the one ordinance that has been preserved refers to Jewish appeals to gentile courts and gentile officials (both problems of long standing), it is possible that other ordinances, now lost, were of more far-reaching practical importance. Another synod of a less representative nature was held in Troyes around 1160 without German representation. It is probable that the German communities held similar local conferences although there are few references to them in the sources. However, with the death of Jacob Tam and the deterioration of French Jewry at the end of the 12th and the beginning of the 13th century, leadership increasingly passed to Germany and particularly to Speyer, Worms, and Mainz. As early as 1196, in the wake of the Third Crusade, a synod was convoked at one of the *Shum* cities under the presidency of David b. Kalonymus. One of the vexing problems that Jewish law had long struggled with was the question of *yibbum* and *ḥaliẓah* (see *Levirate Marriage); the compromise that was reached was known thereafter in Jewish law as "*Takkanot Shum* in regard to *ḥaliẓah*." A new generation of creative scholars had arisen, including *Eleazar b. Judah of Worms (d. c. 1230), author of *Sefer Roke'aḥ*, Eliezer b. Joel ha-Levi, and *Simḥah b. Samuel of Speyer. They were to play a critical role in the three synods that followed at the beginning of the 13th century in which the allied *Shum* cities established their leadership positions within Ashkenazi Jewry; the decisions that were reached were to have a far-reaching effect on Jewish *autonomy during the centuries that followed.

The first of the synods, held some time before 1220, enacted a series of communal regulations known as *Takkanot Shum*. Among many other stipulations these provided that: Any Jew unjustly compelled to contribute to the treasury of a king or noble shall be aided by the rest of the community; no one shall divorce his wife without the consent of the three communities; books left in trust may not be seized by the community for taxes; and no Jew may accept religious office from gentile authorities. Because of their scope, the enactments had a major effect on the functioning of the Jewish community. A second synod held in Mainz in 1220 reenacted certain provisions and passed over others. Finally a third synod that took place in Speyer in 1223 synthesized the work of the prior two. Some years later another gathering in Speyer in 1250 provided that neither rabbi nor community could pronounce a *ḥerem* without the consent of the other. The pivotal role played by the *Shum* cities continued into the 14th century, and in fact a synodal conference was held in Mainz in 1306 to mobilize resources for the expelled French Jews, and another headed some time later by Ḥayyim b. Isaac Or *Zaru'a. However, the deteriorating position of the Jews in the *Shum* cities, particularly in the wake of the *Black Death persecutions of 1348/49, meant that the three together could no longer undertake the crucial responsibilities for western Jewry they had previously fulfilled. Nevertheless, each of the cities continued to make its unique contribution to Jewish life up to the period of the Holocaust.

See also the individual cities.

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[Alexander Shapiro and B. Mordechai Ansbacher]

SHUMIATCHER-HIRSCHBEIN, ESTHER (1899–1985), Yiddish poet. Born in Gomel, Belorussia, and emigrating with her family to Calgary, Canada, in 1911, she married Peretz *Hirschbein. Her poetry and two children's plays in verse reflect her many travels as well as political, natural, erotic, and (following the birth of her son, Omus, in 1934) maternal themes. After her husband's death she wrote poems of grief and mourning. Her poetry appeared in major Yiddish periodicals; her books were *In Tol* ("In the Valley," 1920); *Pasn Likht* ("Streaks of Light," 1925); *In Shoen fun Libshaft* ("In the Hours of Love," 1930); *Ale Tog* ("Every Day," 1939); *Lider* ("Poems," 1956). Although she continued to lecture and write, she published little from 1956 until her death, and was largely dependent on her family for support. Her works of 1934 and later were more highly regarded than her earlier writings.

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[Faith Jones (2nd ed.)]

SHUNEM (Heb. שׁוּנֵם), city in the Jezreel Valley, at the base of the hill of Moreh. The first mention of it occurs in the list of cities conquered by Thutmosis III (no. 38; 15th century B.C.E.). In the Tell el-Amarna period (14th century B.C.E.), the city was destroyed by Labaia, the king of Shechem, and its fields were cultivated by the king of Meggido, using forced labor (el-Amarna Letter 248a, 250). In the Bible, it is described as a city in the territory of Issachar, together with Jezreel and Chesulloth (Josh. 19:18). The Philistines camped there before going to battle against Saul in Gilboa (I Sam. 28:4). Shunem was the birthplace of Abishag, David's companion in his old age (I Kings 1:3, 15; cf. Song 7:1). In 925 B.C.E. Shishak overran the city and it is mentioned in his list of conquered cities between Beth-Shean and Taanach (no. 28).

In the time of Eusebius, who places Shunem 5 mi. (8 km.) S. of Mt. Tabor (Onom. 158:11), the "house of Elisha" was shown to pilgrims there. In Crusader times, it was a benefice of the abbey of Mt. Tabor. The Jerusalem Talmud mentions R. Justa of Shunem, who lived in c. 400 C.E. (Shek. 1:1, 46a). The biblical site of Shunem is identified with the Muslim Arab village of Sūlim at the foot of the hill of Moreh, 3 mi. (5 km.) southeast of Afulah. Surface pottery on the ancient mound, situated northeast of the village, dates from the Middle Bronze Age to the Arab period. In 1968 the village had 725 inhabitants, increasing to 2,240 in 2002. Field crops and fruit orchards have been the main branches of farming.

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[Michael Avi-Yonah]

SHURER, HAIM (1895–1968), Hebrew journalist and editor. Born in Podolia, Shurer immigrated to Palestine in 1913. He worked in Galilee and Judea and was also a member of *Nahalal. From 1922 he was on the editorial board of *Ha-Po'el ha-Ẓa'ir and then became a member of the secretariat of the movement. Joining the editorial board of **Davar* in 1936, Shurer was editor in chief of the newspaper (1953–66), and his articles appeared in the press over several decades.

His books include: *Yosef Aharonowitz* (1938, 1962^2); *Ha-Ḥayyal* (1946); *Im Nesi Yisrael* (1951); *Ba-Aliyyah ha-Sheniyyah* (1952); and *Kal va-Ḥomer* (1952). He edited: *Besarabyah* (1941); *Ha-Pogrom be-Kishinev* (with D. Vinitzki, 1963); and with E. Shoḥat, *Pirkei ha-Po'el ha-Ẓa'ir* (1935–39).

[Getzel Kressel]

SHUSHAN (Heb. שׁוּשָׁן or הַבִּירָה שׁוּשַׁן, Susa; "Palace of Shushan"; Akk. Šu-ša-an, Šu-(ú)-ši; Elamitic, Šu-šu-un; Gr. Σοῦσα), capital of *Elam and one of the capitals of the Persian Empire, present-day Qal' a-e-Shush, Iran, on the Shaur River (Elamitic, Ulai; Gr. Eululaios). The mound of Shushan contains an acropolis (450 × 250 m., 38 m. high), and a "royal city" with a keep (375–500 acres). Excavations on the site were begun by W.K. Loftus and W.F. Williams in 1851–52, continued by M. Dieulafoy (1884–86), and resumed in 1897 by J. de Morgan, followed by R. de Mecquenem and R. Ghirshman, on behalf of the French "mission" to Persia. The earliest remains belong to the Neolithic period of the fourth millennium; eight pottery styles were found there, the finest being Susa A., characterized by representations of stylized animals (Susa beaker, Louvre). About 3000 B.C.E., Shushan became the capital of Elam. Situated on the fringe of Mesopotamia, it was conquered by the Akkadians (when Puzur-Inshushinak was governor of Elam under Narâm-Sin, 2270–2234 B.C.E.) and then by Ur III (2106–2016 B.C.E.). Later the rulers of Elam captured Ur and exiled the last king Ibbi-Sin. In the Old Babylonian period the "grand regents" of Shushan paved the way to Elamite political power; in this period the Old Babylonian dialect of Shushan developed which influenced the Akkadian language. Legal documents of this period from Shushan illustrate the importance of Elamite-Akkadian legal institutions.

From 1350 to 1150 B.C.E. Shushan was the capital of a powerful Elamite kingdom; its kings plundered the cities of Mesopotamia and carried off the monuments of their kings (obelisk and statue of Manishtusu, victory stele of Narâm-Sin, dioritic head of Hammurapi, stele bearing the code of Hammurapi, boundary stones (*kudurru*) of the Kassite kings, etc. (all objects found in the excavations are in the Louvre)). Elamite art flourished during this period under the kings Untash-GAL (1234–1227), Shutruk-nahhunte (1207–1171), and Shilak-Inshushinak (1165–1151). The temples of the god Inshushinak and the goddess Ninhursag were decorated with reliefs and statues of lions of glazed clay. The bronze statue of Queen Napir-Asu, the wife of Untash-Huban (1234–1227 B.C.E.), is a masterpiece of Elamite art. The Elamites carried off the statue of Marduk from Babylon, a sacrilege avenged by Nebuchadnezzar I (1146–1123), who defeated them. Shushan was destroyed in 645 B.C.E. by the Assyrian king Ashurbanipal; the capture is represented on a relief at Nineveh. The city is shown walled, standing among palm groves and farms, with a fort on the banks of the adjoining river.

Shushan was captured by Cyrus of Persia, and was selected by Darius I as his winter residence and the starting point of the "royal road" to *Sardis. A building inscription of Darius lists the materials from which his palace in Shushan was built, including cedars from the Lebanon, and of the workmen, who included Ionians and Sardians. Darius' palace was built on the part of the mound facing the acropolis; it was destroyed by fire under Artaxerxes I (464–425 B.C.E.) and rebuilt by Artaxerxes II Mnemon (404–359 B.C.E.). The ruins of this palace include a dwelling house with three courts and an elaborate gate, as well as a throne hall (*apadāna*) with six rows of six columns. From these ruins the excavators removed the double bull capitals and the "Frieze of the Archers" in glazed brick, representing the Persian and Medean bodyguard of Darius. The biblical references (Dan. 8:2; cf. 11:45 where the *apadāna* is mentioned; Neh. 1:1 and above all the Scroll of *Esther) refer to Shushan as the residence of the kings of Persia.

The city was conquered by *Alexander in 330 B.C.E.; in 324 he arranged in Shushan a mass marriage of Macedonians with Asiatic women, to symbolize the concord of the peoples. Under the Seleucids and the Parthians, Shushan was a Greek polis (Seleukeia on the Eululaios), complete with archon, boule, and demos. Greek inscriptions and poems to Apollo and the goddess Nanaia extend back to the first century C.E. Shapur II (309–379 C.E.), the Sassanid king, destroyed Shushan because of a (Christian?) revolt and rebuilt it as Ērānshr-Shāpur. According to an old Pahlavi chronicle, Susa, like *Shushtar, was reestablished by the Jewish wife of the Sassanid ruler Yezdegerd I (399–420).

The city resisted the Arabs in 638 for a long time. It became deserted under Arab rule, although some people continued to live around the Nabi Danyal ("[Tomb of the] Prophet Daniel"), below the mound. This tomb, which was on the left side of the river where the Jewish quarter was situated, had caused so much jealousy among the Muslim inhabitants that in the time of the Seljuk sultan Sanjar (12th century), it was arranged, according to a Muslim source, that the coffin of Daniel be suspended from the bridge.

*Benjamin of Tudela (c. 1167) estimated the Jewish population at about 7,000 and mentioned 14 synagogues in the vicinity of the sepulcher of Daniel. The Jewish traveler *Pethahiah of Regensburg, however, found there about 10 years later only two Jews, a dyer and a weaver. In the early 19th century several thousand Jews lived in the vicinity. The city of Shushan was depicted on the east gate of the Jerusalem Temple, the so-called "Shushan Gate" (Mid. 1:3). The city is mentioned in Daniel 8:2. According to the Talmud, the eastern gate of the Holy Temple in Jerusalem was called Shusan (Meg. 2; see also Kel. 17:9; Mid. 1:3).

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[Michael Avi-Yonah]

SHUSHTAR, also called **Sustar**, and by the Arabs **Tustar**, town situated in the southwest of Iran in the province of *Khuzistān near the river Kārun. There is a reference to Shushtari in the Babylonian Talmud (Sanh. 94a), which clearly differentiates it from another city called Shush, the latter being situated to the northwest of Shushtar. The Talmud says "Shush-Tar" means "more than Shush." Neubauer claims that it is possible that the talmudic reference is to Shushan. Obermeyer thinks that Shush, meaning "beautiful," is short for Shushan, and Shushtar means "more beautiful." However, Shush was the ancient capital of the Elamites, and later one of the four capitals of the Achaemenians which most probably was populated by Jews. The city was later destroyed and afterwards rebuilt near its ruins. According to local tradition, the coffin of the prophet Daniel was found in Shushtar and later on was brought to Shush. It should be said that the common name "Shushan ha-Birah" in Jewish sources is Shush (Susa in Greek sources) and not *Hamadan, as wrongly interpreted.

Shushtar entered Jewish history because of a very important and rich *Karaite family known as Tustaries. The head of the family, Esrail ben Ya'qub, and his three sons, Abul-Fazl, Yosef, and Sa'id, known as the Sahl family, became famous in Islamic history. Some members of the Tustari family founded important trade centers of textile in *Baghdad and in *Egypt. They most probably immigrated to *Cairo around 1020, where they became close political figures in the court of the *Fatimid Sultans. The Muslim geographers of the 14th century write about the beauty and the prosperity of the city, but no one mentions the existence of the Jewish community there. The city is not mentioned in the Chronicle of *Bābāi ben Lutf (17th century) nor in other known Jewish travelogues as a dwelling place of the Jews. But a 17th-century Armenian chronicler, Arakel, claims that Jews lived in Shushtar. Neumark reports that Jews had ceased to live in Shushtar some 30–40 years before his time (1884), which means about the middle of the 19th century. However, it is possible that some time before the 18th century, Shushtar was no longer a dwelling place for Jews, mainly because of persecutions. Curzon and Sykes both describe the character of the Shushtaris as "disagreeable and fanatical."

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[Amnon Netzer (2nd ed.)]

SHUSTER, JOE (1914–1992), U.S. cartoonist. Joseph Shuster was born in Toronto, Ontario, Canada, the son of Jewish immigrants from Rotterdam and Kiev. As a boy, he worked at the *Toronto Star* but liked to sketch as a hobby. The fantasy world of the newspaper's color comics had a strong impact on him. The family moved to Cleveland, Ohio, when he was 10, and at 18 he met Jerry *Siegel, with whom he was to create Superman, the most famous and fabulous fictional superhero of the 20th century. When Superman first appeared, in 1938, its hero, mild-mannered Clark Kent, worked for *The Daily Star*, named by Shuster after his old employer in Toronto. When the comic strip received international distribution, the company permanently changed the newspaper's name to *The Daily Planet*. Superman's popularity helped establish comic books as a format and spawned a genre of costumed superheroes, from Spider-man to Wonder Woman to Captain Marvel. Superman became an industry unto himself. Faster than a speeding bullet, as he was described on the radio, the Man of Steel appeared in newspaper comics, animated cartoons, movie-theater serials, a television series, a Broadway musical, a novel, feature films, and a stream of franchised goods from lunch boxes and toys to bubble gum. In the 1970s alone, Superman sales exceeded $1 billion. Superman was reared as a normal American boy and grew up to become Clark Kent, but when danger loomed, he became the crusader for "Truth, Justice, and the American Way." He doffed his glasses, stripped to a blue bodysuit and red cape, and flew off, using X-ray vision and other powers to thwart the latest evil menace or global disaster. But Siegel and Shuster did not share in the money machine, having signed away their rights in 1938 for $130. After a series of bitter legal battles, both creators became destitute and even sold their old comic books as collectors' items worth thousands of dollars apiece. Shuster, partly blind and unemployed, lived in a very modest apartment in Queens, N.Y. Finally, Siegel and Shuster were granted $35,000 a year from the publisher of Superman, DC Comics, for the rest of their lives and were guaranteed that all comics, TV episodes, films, and other Superman references would state that the character was "created by Jerome Siegel and Joseph Shuster."

[Stewart Kampel (2nd ed.)]

SHUVAL, JUDITH (née **Tannenbaum**; 1926–), sociologist. Shuval was born in New York. She graduated from Hunter College, New York, where she was elected to Phi Beta Kappa, and received her doctorate in sociology from Harvard University in 1955. She also received the degree of Bachelor of Hebrew Letters from the Seminary College of Jewish Studies of the Jewish Theological Seminary, New York, in 1947. Emigrating to Israel in 1949, she was appointed project director and senior research associate at the Israel Institute of Applied Social Research, where she directed studies in the fields of housing, immigrant adjustment, medical sociology, ethnic relations, occupational sociology, urban settlement, and sociology of nursing. From 1955 to 1956 she was UNESCO advisor in social research at the Institute, on immigrant adjustment. From 1955 she was a member of the Department of Sociology at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. In 1972 she was appointed associate professor in sociology at the Hebrew University and in 1979 professor of medical sociology. In 1991 she was appointed the Louis and Pearl Rose Chair in Medical Sociology at the Hebrew University. Subsequently she became the director of the medical sociology program. She was a fellow of the American Sociological Association and treasurer of the Israel Sociological Society, in which she served as a chairwoman. She contributed extensively to scientific journals. Her major fields of interest were health and migration, ethnic relations, and sociology of health.

Among her major works are *Immigrants on the Threshold* (1963), a sociological study of immigration to Israel during the first years of the state, *Social Functions of Medical Practice* (with A. Antonovsky and A.M. Davies, 1970), *The Dynamics of Transition: Entering Medicine* (1980), *Newcomers and Colleagues* (1983), *Social Dimensions of Health: The Israeli Experience* (1992), *Immigrant Physicians: Former Soviet Doctors in Israel, Canada and the United States* (with J.H. Bernstein, 1997), *Immigration to Israel: Sociological Perspectives* (edited with E. Leshem, 1998), and *Social Structure and Health in Israel* (with O. Anson, 2000). She was awarded the Israel Prize for social sciences in 1965. In 1981 she was awarded the Israel Gerontological Society prize for research in social gerontology.

[Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

SHVADRON, SHALOM MORDECAI BEN MOSES (1835–1911), Galician rabbi. He was born in Zolochev. Assiduous in his studies and possessing a phenomenal memory, he was, at the age of 16, familiar with the whole Talmud. He was ordained by J.S. *Nathanson and Moses Kluger, who did not usually ordain rabbis. After his marriage, he engaged in business, mainly in the timber trade, but in 1866 lost his fortune. Although offered important positions, he steadfastly refused to accept them, contenting himself with the rabbinate of small communities. The first was Potok, but finally he became rabbi of Brezen and was henceforth known as the "Rabbi of Brezen" or the "Maharsham" (the initials of **M**orenu **h**a-**R**av **S**halom **M**ordecai) from the title of his volume of responsa. His fame was much greater than the positions he held. He exercised firm control and the civil authorities used to transfer to him cases in which Jews were involved. He was a modest and friendly man. Consulted by some of the greatest scholars, he always used to answer his questioners without delay. Shvadron is best known for his responsa, four volumes of which appeared during his lifetime and three posthumously. These were accepted as authoritative and as essential for dealing with the practical problems of the time. They are distinguished by the painstaking care and clarity with which he analyzed the problem and quoted all the talmudic sources and commentaries, finally reaching a definite decision, by the simplicity of his style, by his anxiety to adduce every consideration that would enable him to reach a lenient decision while keeping strictly to the *halakhah*, and by his readiness to accept responsibility for his decisions.

Among his other works are *Gillui Da'at* on the Shulḥan Arukh, *Yoreh De'ah* (2 vols., 1913–26), and *Oraḥ Ḥayyim* (1920); *Da'at Torah* (1891) on the laws of *sheḥitah; Darkhei Shalom* (1929), a methodology of the Talmud and *posekim; Haggahot Maharsham* (1932) on the Talmud; *Mishpat Shalom* (1871) on the Shulḥan Arukh *Ḥoshen Mishpat*; and *Tekhelet Mordekhai* on the Pentateuch (1913).

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[Mordechai Hacohen]

SHWED, GIL (1968–), founder, chairman, and CEO of Check Point Software Technologies. Shwed is considered the prodigy of Israeli high-tech. He began his programming career at the age of 12 in a company that dealt with artificial intelligence. Later he took courses at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem while still in high school. In the army he served in an Intelligence unit responsible for electronic data gathering. In 1993, at the age of 25, he developed, together with Check Point's two co-founders, the first firewall, the company's well-known security software product. In the following years, he led Check Point to global leadership in both the firewall and VPN markets, making Check Point a giant in the Internet security industry. Shwed has received numerous prizes and honors for his individual achievements and industrial contributions, including the Academy of Achievement's Golden Plate Award for his innovative contribution to business and technology in 2002; the World Economic Forum's Global Leader for Tomorrow Award for his commitment to public affairs and leadership in areas beyond immediate professional interests in 2003; and an honorary doctor of science from Israel's Technion in 2004.

WEBSITE: www.checkpoint.com.

[Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

SIAULIAI (Ger. **Schaulen**; Rus. **Shavli**; Yid. **Shavl**), city in N. Lithuania. The Jewish settlement dates from the 17th century; in 1701 Jews received authorization to erect a synagogue. Trade with Germany and the establishment of a railway line fostered growth and economic prosperity, and by 1847 there were 2,565 Jews in the town. They built large factories, among them the tannery of Ḥayyim Frenkl (1879). In 1902 Jews numbered 9,847 (75% of the population); by 1914 this number had increased to 12,000. In 1915 the majority of Jews were, however, exiled to the interior of Russia. In independent Lithuania, Siauliai was the second largest city, and its Jewish community, numbering 8,000 in 1939, the second largest in the country. The economic and social influence of the Jews was widespread; they formed the majority of manufacturers of leather products – the shoe factory, Batas, was Jewish-owned – and were involved in the iron and chemical industries, as well as forming a large part of the force of clerks, laborers, and craftsmen of the town. The position of vice mayor of the town was held by a Jew. The Jewish community was outstanding for its organizational achievements and for its cultural and social institutions. The community supported a religious secondary school (Yavneh), a Hebrew secondary school, an elementary school, and a kindergarten, as well as several Yiddish schools. There were 15 synagogues, a yeshivah, and two libraries. Prominent scholars officiated there, among them Isaac Eisik Ḥaver (*Wildmann) and Joseph Zechariah *Stern. The kabbalist Solomon b. Ḥayyim *Eliashov was a resident of Siauliai. Before the arrival of the Germans in World War II, several hundred Jews had fled to Russia. Of those who chose to remain, several thousand were massacred by Lithuanians as well as Germans (mainly in the forests of Kuzhi) during the war. About 5,000 Jews (including 1,500 from surrounding areas) were interned in a ghetto. There were frequent *Aktionen* until July 1944, when the retreating Germans transferred those remaining alive to the concentration camps of Stutthof and Dachau, in Germany. Of the total number of Jews interned only a few hundred managed by various means to escape death. The remaining synagogue was closed by the authorities in 1960; the Jewish cemetery was destroyed and Jews were allowed to remove the bones of the deceased to the Vilna cemetery. In the late 1960s the Jewish population was estimated at about 4,000; in the 1990s Siauliai had a small Jewish community.

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[Dov Levin]

SIBERIA (Rus. **Sibir**), Asiatic part of the Russian Federation, extending from the Urals in the west to the Pacific in the east. The first Jews went to Siberia from Lithuanian towns captured by the Russians in the Russo-Polish war (1632–34); they were exiled there together with other prisoners. In 1659 a number of Jewish residents in the "German quarter" of Moscow were exiled to Siberia. At the beginning of the 19th century Jews were among the convicts sent to Siberia for settlement or hard labor. The latter founded the first Jewish communities there, e.g., in *Omsk, *Tomsk, Tobolsk, Kuibyshev (Kainsk) in western Siberia, and Kansk and Nizhneudinsk in eastern Siberia.

Since Siberia was outside the *Pale of Settlement, convicts continued to constitute the main Jewish element settling there throughout the 19th century. Due to the scarcity of Jewish women in Siberia at the beginning of the 19th century, Jews were allowed in 1817 to buy Kalmyk women, to make proselytes of them and marry them. In 1826 Jews were forbidden to settle in the border district of Siberia between the area of Russian settlement and that of the natives; in 1827 the husbands of Jewish women exiled to Siberia were forbidden to join them; and in 1836 Jewish women joining their exiled husbands were forbidden to take their male children with them. In 1834 Jews whose sentences had expired, as well as members of their families, were obliged to apply for special permission from the minister of finance to join local merchant guilds, in order to prevent "an undue multiplication of

Jews among the merchant class, and consequent damage to the native population."

In 1836 the Russian government, within the framework of its program to increase the number of Jews engaged in agricultural work, set aside 15,154 desyatins (409,138 acres) of land in western Siberia for Jewish agricultural settlement. In January 1837 *Nicholas I ordered the curtailment of Jewish settlement in Siberia: by this time, however, several hundred Jews had already arrived to participate in the project. On May 15, 1837, ordinances were issued "to prevent the immigration of Jews to Siberia, and to decrease the number of Jews settled there"; these decrees specified, inter alia, that only Jewish convicts aged 40 and over could be exiled to Siberia, and that even such settlers should be allowed in the outlying districts of the country only (in the Yakutsk district and on the further side of the Baikal). The ordinances further required that the sons of exiles (i.e., those under 18) be handed over as *Cantonists, as well as sons of exiles who had completed their terms of sentence; their descendants were also to be handed over as Cantonists, or to be removed to the Pale of Settlement before reaching the age of 16.

In 1857, under Czar Alexander II, Jews in Siberia were permitted to join merchant guilds on the basis of the existing general instructions regarding this matter, and in 1860 the Siberian Jewish children were permitted to remain with their parents. The same proclamation, however, forbade them to settle within 100 versts of the borders with neighboring countries. When after 1859 certain classes of Russian Jews were permitted to settle outside the Pale of Settlement, some of them found their way to Siberia. During this period the Jewish communities of Siberia consolidated and the characteristics of the typical "Siberian Jew" emerged: similar in dress and language to his Russian neighbor, ignorant in Jewish learning, and negligent of the *mitzvot*; he nevertheless possessed warm Jewish sentiments and was attached to the Jewish people and religion. The last quarter of the 19th century saw the emergence of an intelligentsia among Siberian Jewry, a few of whose members were political exiles. Some of the latter devoted themselves to investigating the customs and languages of the indigenous peoples, e.g., V.G. *Bogoraz, V. *Jochelson, L. Sternberg, M. Krol, S. Chudnovsky, N. Geker, and I. *Shklovski.

Jews of Siberia played a prominent role in the economic development of the area, especially in the fur trade. Some Jews, like the *Guenzburg family of St. Petersburg, participated in the development of Siberian gold mining. In 1897 there were 34,477 Jews in Siberia (0.6% of the total population): 8,239 in the region of *Irkutsk, 7,696 in the region of Tomsk, 7,550 in the Trans-Baikal region, 5,730 in the Yenisei region, and 2,453 in the region of Tobolsk. Some 2,689 Siberian Jews (8.25%) were then engaged in agriculture, 9,161 (28.10%) in crafts and industry, 12,362 (37.92%) in trade, 1,906 (5.85%) in transport, and 1,051 (3.22%) in private and public clerical work and the liberal professions. In the 1890s the entry of Jews into Siberia and the rights of the Jews living there were further restricted. The revised edition of the passport rules published in 1890 proclaimed a total ban on Jewish immigration to Siberia, save for those who were sentenced to exile or hard labor there. This ban became the fundamental rule regarding Jewish entry into Siberia and served as a basis for further prohibitions. In 1891 it was interpreted as including also those Jews who had the right to settle outside the Pale, and this interpretation was finally authorized in 1899; at the same time, however, it was established that the prohibition did not extend to Jews who were already living in Siberia.

From this time Siberia was closed to all Jews, except those sentenced to hard labor or exile. In 1897 the same ban served as a basis for a new law prohibiting Siberian Jews (except for the descendants of soldiers who had served in the army during the reign of Nicholas I) from residing in any other place but that of their registration as permanent residents. This order spelled deportation for thousands of Jewish families who were not living in the place where they were registered; the practical difficulties involved in the transfer of thousands of families from place to place prevented its being carried out. Thousands of Siberian Jews, however, were then left completely at the mercy of the markedly hostile local administration, with the threat of deportation constantly hanging over their heads.

On the other hand, the attitude of the Christian population in general toward the Jews was sympathetic, as may be gauged, among other things, from the election of the Jewish exile Avigdor (Victor) *Mandelberg to the second *Duma (1907). During World War I thousands of Jewish refugees from the front lines reached Siberia and exercised a considerable influence on Jewish community life there: The number of Jewish educational institutions grew, and political parties (e.g., the *Bund, *Zionist Socialists, *Po'alei Zion) were established. After the 1917 Revolution a congress of Jewish community representatives from all Siberia and the Urals was held in Irkutsk (January 1919) and a national council of Siberian Jews was elected. Representatives of the Zionist movement, which had spread widely in Siberia in the first years of the 20th century and greatly intensified its activities after the revolution, exercised a decisive influence at the congress. Thus, the congress resolved, inter alia, "that the work of building Ereẓ Israel will be included among the activities of the Jewish communities in Siberia and the Urals." The national council was headed by M. *Novomeyski, then officiating as the chairman of the Zionist Federation.

Soviet Rule

With the establishment of Soviet rule in Siberia, however, Jewish communal, cultural, and national institutions were gradually destroyed. Many wealthy and middle-class Jews left, most of them for China and a few for Palestine. The majority of the Jewish refugees living in Siberia returned to their homes in Poland and Lithuania. In 1926 there were only 32,750 Jews: 9,083 in the region of Irkutsk, 5,505 in the region of Tomsk, 4,389 in the region of Omsk, 3,040 in the region of Krasnoyarsk, and 2,301 in the region of Novosibirsk. Some 28,972 Siberian Jews lived in towns and 3,778 in rural districts. In 1939 the number of Jews rose to 63,844 persons, most of them in Khabarovsk Krai (district) – 22,473, including 13,291 of the Jewish Autonomic region – Birobidzhan; Novosibirsk district (11,191); and Irkutsk district (8,504). Except in the Jewish Autonomous Region where the Jews constituted 18.57% of the population, the Jews were a small percentage of the total population, only 0.6% and 2%. Most Jews lived in the capitals of the districts. The Soviet rulers exiled thousands of Zionists from European Russia to the most outlying parts of Siberia. Among the exiles was the poet Ḥayyim *Lenski, who described life in the concentration camps and the scenery of Siberia in his poetry. In 1928 the Soviet government assigned an area in eastern Siberia to Jewish settlement, and in 1934 it was declared an Autonomous Jewish Region (see *Birobidzhan). During World War II large numbers of Jewish refugees from the areas occupied by the Germans reached Siberia, and some of them remained there after the war ended. According to the 1959 census there were 12,429 Jews in the Novosibirsk oblast, 9,458 in the Omsk oblast, 10,313 in the Irkutsk oblast, 2,691 in the Buryat-Mongol republic, 8,494 in the territory of Khabarovsk, and 14,269 in Birobidzhan. The census, which did not cover the whole of Siberia, registered a total of 57,654 Jews (i.e., those declaring themselves as Jews). Some 53,266 (92.4%) lived in towns; 9,970 (17.3%) declared Yiddish as their mother tongue (excluding Birobidzhan – only 4,373, or 10%). In Novosibirsk, which became the capital of Siberia, the Jewish population (with a synagogue and an old Jewish cemetery) numbered in the late 1960s about 25–30,000, consisting of a small nucleus of Siberian Jews who had been there from czarist times – and their descendants – and mostly of Jews who had been evacuated from the western Soviet Union during World War II. In 2002, 3,330 Jews remained in the Novosibirsk oblast and 14,579 in the entire Siberian district.

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[Yehuda Slutsky]

SIBIU (Hung. **Nagyszeben**; Ger. **Hermannstadt**), capital of Sibiu province, Transylvania, Romania; until the end of World War I part of Hungary. By the end of the 15th century some Jews had commercial or other connections with Sibiu. Permanent Jewish settlement began there after the restrictions in Hungary on Jewish residence were abolished in 1848; however, there is also information about Jews trying to establish themselves in Sibiu from the middle of the 17th century. There were 478 Jews living in Sibiu (about 3% of the total population) in 1850. A permanent *minyan* was organized in 1860, and organization of community institutions began in 1876. In 1868 the community declared itself Orthodox. The first synagogue was built in 1878; a second large, handsome synagogue was opened in 1890. In 1881 there was a case of blood *libel in Sibiu. The Jewish population numbered 1,307 (4% of the total) in 1890, and 1,310 in 1920. The Orthodox Ármin Horowitz (1869–1934) was the rabbi of the community from 1890. A Sephardi community was organized in 1923. Zionist activity in Sibiu commenced immediately after the first Zionist Congress and grew rapidly in the period between the two world wars. A Jewish school was founded in 1919. The community also supported a Hebrew nursery school. The community numbered 1,361 (1.2%) in 1941, and 2,020 in 1947. The majority of the Sibiu Jews were speakers of German, and only some of them learned Hungarian and Romanian (the latter mostly after World War I). During World War II the community's institutions were liquidated, and under Romanian-Fascist rule the Jews in Sibiu were persecuted and their communal property was confiscated. Early in the war the city served as a district mobilization center for forced labor among Jews and, from August 23, 1944, as a refugee center. There were about 125 Jews living in Sibiu in 1970. Friday night and holiday prayers were still held in the great synagogue.

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[Yehouda Marton / Paul Schveiger (2nd ed.)]

SIBONI (**al-Sab'uni**), family of rabbis in Salé, Morocco. The most prominent member, AARON, was rabbi in Salé in the mid-17th century. He edited Moses Albaz's kabbalistic prayer book *Heikhal ha-Kodesh* (Amsterdam, 1653) and, with Jacob *Sasportas, condemned and wrote against the Shabbateans, particularly for not observing fast days. Aaron spent some time in Amsterdam as an international merchant. One of his letters to Sasportas describes the expulsion of Jews from Oran by the Spanish on Passover 1669 and the subsequent transformation of the synagogue into a church. His sons JOSHUA and DAVID were rabbis in Salé in the late 17th century and wrote homilies, most of which are extant in manuscript. SHALOM, rabbi in Salé in about 1853, composed dirges (*kinot*) and prayers, which are also extant in manuscript.

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SIBYL AND SIBYLLINE ORACLES. The sibyl was a Greek prophetess-figure, apparently of Oriental origin. The sibyl utters her predictions not on being consulted, like established oracles, but spontaneously, in ecstatic exclamations. She is believed to dwell in grottos, to wander through many countries and to live for 1,000 years. Originally conceived of as a single person, various sibyls are found later in different countries, some bearing individual names. From *Alexander Polyhistor (first century B.C.E.) comes the earliest mention of a sibyl named Sambethe or Sabbe, described as Babylonian or Hebrew. Sibylline oracles, in hexametric verses, circulated in Athens in the fifth century B.C.E.; from Alexander the Great's time, these sided with the oppressed peoples and predicted doom to the wicked rulers. A standard figure in these oracles was the hoped for Mighty King from the East, who would liberate the conquered, punish the oppressors, and inaugurate a period of welfare and peace. A combination of Babylonian astrology and Persian millenarian speculations was the basis for a firm belief in a predestined future. In Rome, Sibylline Books, deposited in the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, were consulted at moments when the senate had to make critical decisions. However, when the Roman Empire came to rule over Asia, Oriental sibylline literature evolved into virulent anti-Roman propaganda. Doubtless the strong note of hope for final redemption induced the Jews to adapt the popular pattern of sibylline poetry to the needs of their national-religious propaganda (see below). Christians regarded the sibyl as a heathen prophetess predicting the coming of Jesus and integrated the Jewish sibylline poetry in a larger corpus of Christian oracles. The pagan sibyls and the prophets of Israel, as two kinds of messengers of Jesus advent, stand side by side in Michelangelo's paintings on the ceiling of the Sistine Chapel in Rome.

Books of Sibylline Oracles

Christian libraries have preserved two different collections of Sibylline Oracles, counted as books 1–8 and 11–14 respectively. The first of these collections was compiled by Christians about 500 C.E. and contains definitely Christian passages (e.g., 8:217–50), but it was composed much earlier and the oldest stratum is Jewish, with only occasional Christian additions. Scholars differ about the extent of this Jewish stratum, but it certainly includes books 3, 4 and most of 5. There are also considerable Jewish elements in the second, much later and inferior, collection; thus in 13:81 the Emperor Decius, persecutor of the Christians, figures as one of the good emperors – a fact that excludes Christian authorship.

The oldest and most interesting of the Jewish parts is book 3, in which the sibyl is presented as Noah's daughter-in-law, coming from Babylonia. This agrees with the tradition about the sibyl Sambethe. Indeed, the account of the oldest generations of mankind, though following the biblical narrative, is combined with motifs known from parallel Babylonian myths whose previous polytheistic character is sometimes still discernible. Even a piece of rationalized Greek mythology that, following a prevalent Hellenistic theory, makes Kronos and his brothers into kings of olden times, seems to have come down to the author via Babylonia.

It may seem strange that Church Fathers, in their ample quotations from the book, ascribe it to the oldest Greek sibyl. This may be due to the fact that the author incorporated in the work a rich collection of older Greek oracles, referring to many places throughout the Hellenistic world which were threatened with various natural or political catastrophes. But there is a marked difference between these stereotyped predictions of calamities and the Jewish sibyl's own oracles of disasters, which were always motivated by moral or religious considerations, in keeping with Israel's prophetic tradition. This genuine prophetic vein reaches its climax in the passage where the sibyl addresses the Greek nation (3:520ff.). Although the fictitious form of predicting a distant future is maintained here, it is clear that the sibylline poet is referring to the great disaster that befell Hellas in his own time, i.e., the middle of the second century B.C.E., when Greece was ravaged by the Roman legions. Here the poetry, too, reaches its highest standard. The Homeric assonances give the verses an evocative power, and the poet's sympathetic feeling for humiliated Hellas echoes in the repeated use of the designation "barbarian" for the cruel enemy. The same strong emotion also elicits biblical allusions; the words "one man chases a hundred warriors" evokes Deuteronomy 32:30, and "five a whole company," Leviticus 26:8. It is thus evident that the calamity has both a Greek and a Jewish significance for the poet. The latter becomes clear where the sibyl reproaches the Greeks for their cardinal sin, apostasy from the true God in favor of meaningless idolatry, introduced by haughty kings in olden times. The poet hopes that in their present agony the Greeks will find the only way of salvation, back to God Whom they once had known, presenting them with an ideal image of Israel, the people of "pious men" sitting around the sanctuary of the One God.

The sibyl's glorification of Israel is centered around three points: monotheism, sexual purity, and social justice: (1) strict Jewish adherence to the One God implies rejection of magic, astrology, and foretelling the future. In stressing this point, the poet may be opposing a Samaritan tendency, known from a fragment of Pseudo-Eupolemos who depicts Abraham as a wise astrologer; (2) sexual purity of the pious people is sharply contrasted with the vices of the gentile world, the most horrible of which is homosexual prostitution; (3) the stress laid on social justice as a Jewish characteristic is especially interesting. The author represents details of biblical law not as commands but as actual facts; thus he can say that the Jews use just weights and measures, do not remove their neighbor's landmark, and help the widows and the poor, "for God in heaven has given the earth to all men in common." The unique political situation of a sovereign Judea under Hasmonean kings confronting an enslaved Hellas lends specific shades to the picture of messianic times. The forthcoming last great onslaught of the heathen armies against God's sanctuary, repelled by divine miraculous intervention, is depicted on Jewish apocalyptical lines, but tinged by the sibylline tradition of the redeeming "Mighty King" from the East. The final life of bliss contains some individual elements unparalleled in messianic literature: "A great peace will spread all over the world. Kings will be friends with one another till the end of time.

Immortal God will place in the starry sky a law, common to all mankind" (755–9).

Outbursts of hatred against Rome cannot belong to the original text of book 3, which was composed at a time when Judea was on excellent terms with Rome. Indeed, close analysis has shown that they result from a very late recast of the text. A completely different situation, however, prevails in books 4 and 5 which are imbued with an uncompromising hatred for Rome. The reason is obvious: they were written after the destruction of the Temple by Titus. Book 4 regards the eruption of Vesuvius (79 C.E.) as a divine punishment for this crime. It can therefore be assumed with certainty that the book was written fairly soon after this eruption. Book 5 has a surprisingly favorable opinion of the emperor Hadrian, indicating that it was written before the outbreak of the Bar Kokhba War (132 C.E.). In these two books messianic hopes are not directed at an immediate future, but they keep their specific sibyllistic, internationally minded vein. When the author of book 5 dreams of a rebuilt Jerusalem, connected by a long wall with the coastal town of Jaffa, he must have had in mind the image of Athens in her time of glory, when the famous "long walls" connected her with her seaport.

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[Yehoshua Amir (Neumark)]

SICARII, name, of Latin origin, used by *Josephus for Jewish patriots who maintained active resistance against the Roman government of Judea, and Jewish collaborators with it, during the period 6–73 C.E. The name derived from the Latin word *sica*, "curved dagger"; in Roman usage, *sicarii*, i.e., those armed with such weapons, was a synonym for bandits. According to Josephus, the Jewish Sicarii used short daggers, μικρά Ξιφίδια (*mikra ziphidia*), concealed in their clothing, to murder their victims, usually at religious festivals (Wars, 2:254–5, 425; Ant., 20:186–7). The fact that Josephus employs the Latin *sicarii*, transliterated into Greek as σικαριοι (*sikarioi*) suggests that he adopted a term used by the Roman occupation forces; his own (Greek) word for "bandit," which he more generally uses to describe the Jewish resistance fighters, is λησταί (*lestai*). For a full description of their activities, see *Zealots and Sicarii.

[Samuel G.F. Brandon]

SICHAR, Samaritan city described in the New Testament as situated near Jacob's well (John 4:5). According to the Mishnah, crops ripened earlier in its plain than elsewhere (Men. 10:2; cf. also 64b; Sot. 49b; TJ, Shek. 5:1, 48d). Jacob's well and the village of Sichar are shown separately on the Madaba Map, contrary to Eusebius' description of them as one unit (Onom. 164:1ff.). Other writers to mention the city are the fourth-century Bordeaux pilgrim (20:6ff.) and Jerome (*Peregrinatio Paulae*, 16). In the Middle Ages Samaritans settled there. It is identified with the Arab village ʿAskar, east southeast of Nablus and 595 ft. (183 m.) above sea level, with a plentiful spring.

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[Michael Avi-Yonah]

SICHER, GUSTAV (**Benjamin Ze'ev**; 1880–1960), Czech rabbi. Sicher abandoned his early activities in the medical profession to become a rabbi. His first rabbinical post was in the Jewish community of the Bohemian town of Nachod. After World War I he was appointed rabbi of the largest Jewish congregation in Prague, Praha Vinohrady, and in the early 1930s became chief rabbi of Prague. After the German occupation of Czechoslovakia in 1939, Sicher immigrated to Ereẓ Israel, where he founded in Jerusalem a prayerhouse for Czech Jews and acted as rabbi for the patients of Hadassah Hospital. In 1947 he was recalled to Prague to the chief rabbinate of Bohemia. In this capacity he organized religious life in 51 communities reconstituted after the Holocaust. He also devoted himself to the enlargement of the Jewish Museum in Prague. Sicher's main literary work was the translation of the Pentateuch into Czech. In 1950, when religious marriages were legally invalidated in Czechoslovakia, Sicher was sworn by the prime minister, A. Zápotocký, to observe this law. In honor of his 75th birthday the Council of Jewish Religious Communities in Prague published a collection of "Jewish Studies" containing special essays and an appreciation of Sicher's literary work.

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[Erich Kulka]

SICHROVSKY, HEINRICH VON (1794–1866), Austrian railroad entrepreneur. While on a world tour, Sichrovsky was greatly impressed with the new railroads being built in England. Upon his return to Austria he made a thorough study of the subject; subsequently, together with Leopold von Wertheimstein, he interested Solomon *Rothschild in helping finance the first Austrian railroad, the Nordbahn, of which Sichrovsky served as general secretary till his death. For his services he was posthumously awarded the title of nobility, but he had no male descendants. His daughter, Elise, married Theodor *Gomperz, and his brother, Joseph, was also prominent in developing railroads. Sichrovsky was also active in Jewish communal affairs, particularly in the *ḥevra kaddisha* of Vienna (as of 1819) and as member of the community council (*Vorstand*; 1844–58). He was a noted member of the pre-1848 Viennese literary society known as the Ludlamshoehle.

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SICILY, largest island in the Mediterranean, S.W. of the Italian peninsula.

History

There were probably Jews living in Sicily in the period of the Second Temple; the great Jewish rhetorician *Caecilius of Calacte moved from Sicily to Rome about 50 C.E., and the epigraphic records start in the third century. Even later than this, records are scarce. In 590 Pope *Gregory the Great ordered the ecclesiastical authorities to reimburse the Jews of *Palermo for the damage suffered by the expropriation of their synagogue. Following the conquest of *Syracuse, the Arabs, in 878, took many Jewish captives to Palermo. In a privilege granted after the Norman conquest by Roger I in 1094, Jews are mentioned as residents of Naso. In subsequent records Jews are mentioned in Syracuse, *Messina, and *Catania. *Benjamin of Tudela (c. 1171) mentions the existence of Jewish communities in Palermo and Messina. *Frederick II protected the Jews from persecution during the Crusades and entrusted them with some state monopolies, such as silk weaving and dyeing; he also freed them from ecclesiastical jurisdiction. An edict of 1310 issued by Frederick II of Aragon (1296–1337) prohibited Jews from practicing as physicians and holding public office; they were also forbidden to have Christian servants. A decree of Frederick III (November 1375) limited the jurisdiction of the *Inquisition over the Jews of Syracuse and stipulated that Jews could not be tried by that tribunal unless a secular judge was present. If a Jew was sentenced, he could not be detained in the prisons of the Inquisition but only in a state prison.

Although King Martin V of Aragon, who ruled Sicily from 1392 to 1410, was well disposed toward the Jews and restrained any outrage against them, he could not prevent the forced conversion of the Jews of Monte San Giuliano in 1392, when some of them were massacred; however, he punished those responsible. Jews in Sicily were frequently blamed for fictitious crimes and had to make amends by paying large sums of money, as happened in Catania in 1406. During the reign of Alfonso V (1416–58) the Sicilian Jews prospered. The restrictive regulations confining Jewish residence to ghettos and forced conversions were repealed by the sovereign, who also allowed Jewish physicians to practice their profession among Christians, confirmed the right of Jews to own real estate, and forbade the preaching of compulsory conversionist sermons to the Jews. In 1474 360 Jews, including men, women, and children, perished in a bloody massacre at Modica. Another massacre took place in Noto, where 500 Jews are said to have lost their lives. Subsequently acts of violence against the Jews alternated with measures to protect the communities.

Juridical Status

Under the Saracens the Jews lived in conditions of semi-liberty and were subject to the payment of special taxes, the *kharāj* and *jizya*. Under Norman rule (from the second half of the 11th century) they enjoyed judicial autonomy and could settle their disputes in accordance with Jewish law; they were permitted to own property (with the exception of Christian slaves); at times the sovereign ceded his rights to the bishops.

Although the Jews of Sicily enjoyed civil rights, they were formally considered **servi camerae regis* ("servants of the royal chamber") under Frederick II Hohenstaufen, and they enjoyed royal protection. In 1395, under King Martin, Jewish jurisdiction, with limited competence, was extended to the whole of Sicily by the appointment of a Jewish chief judge (**dienchelele*). The first two chief judges were members of the Syracuse community: Joseph *Abenafia and Rais of Syracuse. Following repeated protests by the Jewish communities on the island, who vigilantly guarded their juridical independence, this office was abolished in 1447, and judicial functions were finally conferred on the heads of the Jewish communities. The Jews of Sicily were obliged to pay taxes as citizens, apart from those which they paid as Jews. The communities were held responsible for the payment of the collective taxes. Limitation of civil rights or the imposition of taxes was varied at times by privileges granted to individuals or to communities.

Community Organization

In general, 12 notables or *proti* acted as leaders of the community, assisted by councillors who were in charge of administration. The latter could take action against those who were slow in paying taxes and could impound their possessions; they authorized weddings and divorces, ritual slaughterers, and the holding of offices in synagogue. In conjunction with the rabbi and the almoners of the community, the *proti* supervised all communal religious and administrative services and guarded against transgression of the directives contained in the regulations of the individual communities. Relations between the community and the government were a matter for the civic authorities, the representatives, and the special envoys.

Cultural Life

Occasional references in documents and manuscripts make it certain that Jewish learning flourished in Sicily, particularly in the Middle Ages. The first known European Jewish writer was the Sicilian Caecilius of Calacte (see above) who wrote rhetorical, historical, and critical works in Greek, of which only a few fragments have been preserved. The *dayyan* Maẓli'aḥ b. Elijah ibn *Al-Bazak was probably the teacher of the celebrated talmudist *Nathan b. Jehiel of Rome. Learned Sicilian Jews knew Hebrew, Italian, Greek, and Arabic, and some of them also Latin. Hence they could take part in the important task of translating scientific works, particularly from Arabic, into Hebrew or Latin. *Faraj (Ferragut) b. Solomon of Agrigento wrote a commentary to Maimonides' *Guide of the Perplexed* and translated for King Charles of Anjou the great medical treatise of Rhazes, known under the title *Liber Continens*. *Moses of Palermo translated important veterinary works from Arabic. There was a notable circle of poets in Sicily in the 12th century, including Samuel b. Nafusi of Palermo, Samuel of Messina, Moses el-Ḥazzan, and *Ahitub b. Isaac, who translated Maimonides' treatises on Logic from Arabic. Another Sicilian scholar who distinguished himself was the *dayyan* *Anatoli b. Joseph, who submitted a legal problem to Maimonides on behalf of the Jews of Syracuse. In the field of science, Jeremiah Kohen of Palermo wrote a commentary in Hebrew on *De sphaera* by Menelaus of Alexandria; Isaac b. Solomon *Alḥadib wrote works on astronomy and Elijah Kohen was author of a treatise giving astronomical tables for the latitude of Syracuse. In the sphere of biblical exegesis, Samuel *Masnut, who later immigrated to Spain, was a poet and writer of aggadic commentaries on books of the Bible, and Jacob *Sikili wrote a homiletical commentary on the Pentateuch. A representative figure of Jewish intellectual life in Sicily was Aaron *Abulrabi of Catania (c. 1400), who wrote a work (subsequently lost) in defense of Judaism and a supercommentary to Rashi's commentary on the Pentateuch. At the end of the 13th century the Spanish kabbalist Abraham b. Samuel *Abulafia also lived in Sicily. In 1466 King John II of Aragon authorized the Jews of the realm to open a *studium generale*, or university, with the right to appoint lecturers, to arrange courses, and award diplomas. The text of Naḥmanides' commentary to the Pentateuch (Naples, 1490) was revised and corrected by scholars of Messina.

The last Jewish scholar to come from Sicily was Joseph Saragossi, kabbalist and talmudist, who founded the neo-mystic school of Safed; he probably was not a native of Saragossa in Spain, but of Syracuse in Sicily. The records of Jewish culture in Sicily – now dispersed in libraries the world over – are contained mainly in manuscripts written in the 14th and 15th centuries in Sciacca, Palermo, Noto, Polizzi Generosa, and Syracuse.

The Expulsion

On May 31, 1492, a decree was issued ordering the expulsion of the Jews from Sicily, similar to that promulgated in Spain shortly before; this decree was given final effect within the month of January 1493. It is estimated that 37,000 Jews had to leave Sicily.

In 1695, again in 1702, and again determinedly in 1740–46, attempts were made by the government of the kingdom to attract Jewish settlement to Sicily again, but without success. In the period between the two world wars a small number of Jews settled in Palermo. There were about 50 Jews living in Sicily in 1965.

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[Sergio Joseph Sierra]

SICK, PRAYER FOR. Among the earliest prayers recorded are those for the sick. Moses prayed for his leprous sister, Miriam: "Heal her now, O God, I beseech Thee" (Num. 12:13). When Hezekiah was gravely ill, he "turned his face to the wall and prayed unto the Lord" (Isa. 38:2). A benediction for the healing of the sick was incorporated as the eighth blessing in the daily *Amidah*. Those who visit the sick pray for their recovery (*Rema* to Sh. Ar., YD 335:4). In the Middle Ages the custom arose of invoking a blessing for the sick, known as the **Mi she-Berakh*, during the reading of the Torah. The person requesting the recitation of the prayer for a relative or friend usually pledges charity. On the Sabbath the prayer concludes as follows: "It is the Sabbath, when one must not cry out, and recovery will soon come" (Shab. 12a). The name of a gravely ill person is often changed during this prayer in accordance with the statement of the rabbis that a change of name cancels one's doom (RH 16b; *Sefer Ḥasidim*, ed. by R. Margalioth (1957), 213, nos. 244, 245, ed. by Wistinetzki, par. 365; see *Name, Change of).

Psalms are also read for a gravely ill person in the following order (according to one tradition): 90–108, 20, 38, 41, 86, 118. Those verses in Psalm 119 which begin with the letters of the sick person's name are then read. The recitation is concluded with the verses in the same psalm whose initial letters spell קְרַ״ע שָׂטָן (*kera Satan*; "Destroy Satan").

BIBLIOGRAPHY: H.M. Rabinowicz, *A Guide to Life* (1964), 12f.; J.M. Tukacinsky, *Gesher ha-Ḥayyim*, 1 (1960^{2}), 30ff.

SICK, VISITING THE (Heb. בִּקּוּר חוֹלִים; *bikkur ḥolim*). Visiting the sick in order to cheer, aid, and relieve their suffering is one of the many social obligations which Judaism has clothed with religious significance. God Himself is said to have observed this *mitzvah* when He visited Abraham who was recovering from his circumcision (Gen. 18:1; Sot. 14a). Man is enjoined to follow this divine example; the rabbis classified *bikkur ḥolim* as one of the precepts for which a man enjoys the fruits in this world while the principal remains for him in the world to come (Shab. 127a). The sick of the non-Jews are also to be visited along with the sick of Israel in the interests of peace (Git. 61a).

The visitor is encouraged to be considerate of the patient's welfare. He is not to visit too early in the morning or too late at night (Ned. 40a). Eliezer b. Isaac of Worms counseled: "Do not fatigue him by staying too long for his malady is heavy enough already. Enter cheerfully, for his heart and his eyes are on those who come in" (I. Abrahams (ed.), *Hebrew Ethical Wills*, 1 (1926), 40). The 12th-century moralist, Judah he-Ḥasid, declared: "Even the great should visit the humble. If a poor man and a rich man fall ill at the same time, and many go to the rich man to pay him honor, go thou to the poor man, even if the rich man is a scholar" (*Sefer Ḥasidim*, ed. by R. Margalioth (1957), 367, no. 361; cf. Ned. 39b). Relatives and close friends were advised to visit the sick person as soon as he became ill. Others visited after the first three days of his illness (TJ, Pe'ah 3:9, 17d). Rava requested that his illness not be announced on the first day since he might yet quickly recover (Ned. 40a; Rashi ad loc.). Whoever visits the sick "removes one sixtieth of his malady," while he who does not visit hastens the death of the ailing person (Ned. 39b–40a).

Merely visiting was not necessarily envisaged by the rabbis as the true fulfillment of this *mitzvah*. The sick person was also to be aided and his material needs satisfied. R. Eliezer advised, "When you visit a sick man who is without means, be quick to offer refreshments to him and he will esteem it as though you did uphold and restore his soul" (Abrahams, op. cit., 44). The visitor was also expected to comfort the patient by giving practical expression to his sympathy. It was important for the sick person to know that he is not left to suffer alone in his hours of pain and weakness (cf. Ber. 5b). The most important aspect of the visit was the prayer which the visitor had to recite for the sick person (see Prayer for *Sick). In the presence of the sick any language could be employed for this prayer (Shab. 12b; Sh. Ar., YD 335:5).

Bet Shammai did not permit the visiting of the sick on the Sabbath when sadness was to be avoided. The *halakhah*, however, is in accordance with the viewpoint of Bet Hillel, who did permit such visits (Shab. 12a). During the Middle Ages it was customary for the congregants to visit the sick when they left the synagogue on Sabbath mornings (I. Abrahams, *Jewish Life in the Middle Ages* (1932^2), 348 ff.). A sick person should not be given bad news, nor should he be told of the death of a relative lest his own recovery be retarded (MK 26b).

It is meritorious to visit the sick many times as long as the frequent visits are not burdensome for the patient (Ned. 39b; Maim., Avel, 14:4). Those suffering from stomach trouble may not be visited since they will be embarrassed to be seen in such a state. Likewise, those for whom speech is injurious may not be visited (Ned. 41a). In these instances, one should stay in the anteroom and ascertain whether any assistance is necessary (Sh. Ar., YD 335:8). An entire chapter of the Shulḥan Arukh, *Yoreh De'ah*, is devoted to this precept (335).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: H. Rabinowicz, *A Guide to Life* (1964), 11–13; J.M. Tukacinsky, *Gesher ha-Ḥayyim*, 1 (1960^2), 27 ff.

[Aaron Rothkoff]

SICK CARE, COMMUNAL. As a religious duty and social service the Jewish community, like the city, took care of its sick. Many communities engaged communal physicians as well as making other necessary arrangements. Many ordinances, prayers, and descriptions of treatment tell the story of the special care organized during times of plague and epidemics. Later, special *ḥavarot* ("associations"; see *Ḥevrah) were organized for sick care but the communal board continued to supervise and control them. There is no record of such associations until 14th-century Spain. In Saragossa a shoemakers' guild provided for sick care in 1336. There was a specialized *bikkur ḥolim* ("visiting the sick") society in Perpignan in 1380. These associations multiplied in the 15th century under such names as *confratrio visitandi infirmos* or *bicurolim*. No such societies existed in the rest of Europe until the 16th century. The Spanish exiles introduced them in Italy and from northern Italy they spread to Prague, and then to Central and Eastern Europe. In the 17th century Germany had only a few such associations, but by the 18th century they had become widespread there. Whereas the religious-educational associations and the craft guilds cared primarily for their own members, there were *bikkur ḥolim* societies specially for the poor. A *ḥevrah* of this type paid for a physician, druggists, barber-surgeons, hospital attendants, midwives, and others. Care was provided not merely for the poor; all communal members and well-to-do visiting merchants or scholars could depend on the association for help. Thus Jewish merchants from the Polish cities of Lissa and Krotoszyn who did business for part of the year in Breslau paid an annual fee entitling them to free medical and hospital care. Through the provision of voluntary visitors special care was taken to ensure that no sick person, rich or poor, should be left alone.

The legislation relating to the Jews in Galicia at the end of the 18th century, and in Russia in the first half of the 19th century, provided the organizations with legal status, and their regulations were published. A candidate for the association was usually required to pay an entrance fee, and to attend the association meeting regularly. The association obtained means for its activities from various sources. Apart from membership dues, generally collected on Fridays, which amounted to less only than those paid to the *ḥevra kaddisha*, the *bikkur ḥolim* association often administered legacies, investing the bequest in real estate, and apportioning the income to other charities and the legatees. The association also received a certain percentage of communal dues (e.g., those levied on meat or new clothing). Sometimes the *bikkur ḥolim* might levy a special tax of its own. The *bikkur ḥolim* association sometimes exercised a powerful influence in the community, since it might provide free loans and subsidize various charitable undertakings. It often also undertook provision of tickets for board and lodging to needy transients, the sponsorship, outlay, and celebration of circumcision, medical care in childbirth, and related necessities. It safeguarded the rights of the local physicians, who were exempted from communal taxes in lieu of the services they rendered to the poor. The leadership of the *bikkur ḥolim* was chosen by the members by the same method as adopted for electing the community leadership. The association aimed to obtain funds for its expenses from the wealthy members, and to free the needy from payments and material worry during illness. The articles of the *bikkur ḥolim* association defined the financial assistance to be afforded to those in need, stipulated the number of visits to the sick, enjoined members to submit regular reports on the condition of patients in the community, and designated night care in serious cases. Fraternal feasts were generally held during the three festivals of Passover, Shavuot, and Sukkot, for which the permissible outlay was regulated.

Societies of women, usually called *nashim ẓadkaniyyot* ("pious women"), were formed in the 18th century to act as nurses, to visit women who were sick or in confinement, to provide medical attention, offer prayers, sew shrouds, and ritually prepare the female dead. Middle-class sick persons were generally cared for at home, while the poor were placed in the **hekdesh*. By the end of the 18th century first-rate modern Jewish *hospitals were opened in Breslau, Vienna, and Amsterdam. At first only transient merchants, travelers, and local servants used the new institutions, and it was not until well into the 19th century that local residents gained confidence in these modern hospitals.

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[Isaac Levitats / Natan Efrati]

SICKNESS.

HEALTH STATUS

Introduction

There are several available yardsticks for measuring intergroup differences in health status:

(1) lifetime longevity, i.e., average expectation of life in years (calculated at birth or other selected points in the age cycle);

(2) annual overall mortality rate, i.e., number of deaths during the year per 1,000 population (the obverse can alternatively be stated in positive terms as the group's annual overall survival rate);

(3) annual mortality rate from a specific disease;

(4) annual morbidity rate from a specific disease, e.g., number of new polio cases during the year per 1,000 population, irrespective of their life or death outcomes in that year. Within all the Jewish populations studied, longevity and annual survival rates are consistently higher for females than for males. In New York City (1949–51) the average annual death rate for Jewish males was 22% higher than for Jewish females.

Lifetime Longevity

Research according to the yardstick of lifetime longevity in the 1960s showed that Jewish women outlived Jewish men in three countries as follows: Israel (1965) – males, 70.7, females, 73.5; Canada (1961) – males, 68.4, females, 72.2; United States (the three cities Detroit, Milwaukee, and Providence, 1963), males, 67.0, females, 71.9.

This pattern is repeated almost universally in the non-Jewish world, despite enormous international contrasts in economic, political, and cultural levels and styles of life. Differences by sex are also visible across almost the entire age spectrum from the first year of life onward, most sharply of all above the age of 45. Also noteworthy is that among both sexes longevity is highest in Israel and lowest in U.S. Jewry. The longevity of Israel male Jews is one of the highest among the nations of the world, exceeded in 1968 by the male life expectancies only of Sweden (71.6), the Netherlands (71.1), Norway (71.0), and Iceland (70.8). On almost all other yardsticks of health status, the latter four Western countries also lead the world. Perhaps the most interesting finding of all emerges upon finer examination of age-specific mortality rates. In all available Canadian and U.S. studies, the Jewish age progression of mortality for both sexes deviates significantly from that of their non-Jewish neighbors. The divergence is most clearly evident in the four stages of the age cycle discernible in a Canadian study conducted in 1940–42 (Spiegelman, 1948).

Stage I. The first year of life. Here, among both sexes, the all-Canadian death rate was 2.5 times greater than for Jewish children. Infant mortality rates are, of course, influenced by differentials in SES (socioeconomic status).

Stage II. Ages 1 through 34. Here, compared to their all-Canadian peers at every age level, the Jewish death rates for each sex separately are consistently about 50% lower.

Stage III. Ages 35 through 54. The Jewish survival advantage continues in each sex, but by steadily shrinking margins with increasing age.

Stage IV. Age 55 and beyond. At age 55 for the first time Jews appear with higher mortality rates than their Christian fellow countrymen. Thereafter, the unfavorable Jewish margin in mortality rates widens progressively with advancing age.

The higher Jewish survivorship rates of U.S. and Canadian Jews from birth to the middle period of life can be explained by the tradition of being health-minded and health-active people, derived largely from their religious practices. The frequent use of medical resources is clearly an advantage for survival below the age of 45–55. It presumably must also operate beyond that point, with the result that the higher rate of Jewish mortality would have been higher still were it not for their greater use of medical resources. Two further facts should be taken into account:

(1) comparing the U.S. and Canadian studies of the 1960s with those of earlier decades, the Jewish tendency to outclimb non-Jewish mortality rates beyond the middle years was seen to become more pronounced;

(2) mortality rates of Israeli males and females in older age were significantly lower than Jews of the same age and sex in the U.S. and Canada. In fact, Israeli life expectancies at age 65 matched those of Swedish females (15.7 and 15.8 years for Israel and Swedish women, respectively) and exceeded those of Swedish males (14.4 and 13.9 years for Israel and Swedish men, respectively).

In subsequent decades, the life expectancy of Jews in advanced countries has been growing by about one year of life every five calendar years, and around the year 2000 it reached 80 years for women and 75 years for men. Although only little different from that of the general population in the corresponding countries or cities, a tendency for infant mortality to be lower among Jews persisted. On the other hand, crude mortality rates of Jews considerably exceed those of the respective general populations, mainly due to the overaged composition of the respective Jewish groups.

[Leo Srole]

MORBIDITY

Any comparison of morbidity between Jews and gentiles must take into account the wide variability of disease patterns among the Jews themselves. This variability stems from the heterogeneous composition of dispersed Jewish communities and the outside influence due to both marriage and conversion. Due to deficient health registration patterns, very little is known about the health status of Jewish or non-Jewish communities in Middle Eastern and North African countries. The information, therefore, can be based only on studies conducted in Israel and on limited studies in the U.S. and in a few European countries.

GENETIC DISORDERS. There are no genetic disorders with either a higher or a lower incidence in all Jews as a group. However, certain diseases are more prevalent among specific Jewish ethnic subgroups as compared to other subgroups and/or gentiles.

Hundreds of years of isolation of relatively small Jewish communities, both from their neighbors and from other Jewish communities, with consequently relatively frequent consanguineous marriages, have contributed to a higher frequency of several genetic disorders within certain Jewish subgroups. These are briefly summarized below:

Ashkenazi Jews. At least six rare metabolic disorders tend to appear more frequently among Jews of eastern European origin than among any other ethnic group in the world. Tay-Sachs disease (infantile amaurotic idiocy), a congenital lethal metabolic disorder with accumulation of lipids in the neurons of both the central and peripheral nervous systems, and manifested by arrest of development, progressive visual loss, and slowly occurring dementia, occurs in 1:6,000 Jewish births in the U.S. as compared to 1:500,000 among non-Jews; Neiman-Pick's disease, a similar condition, manifested by poor mental and motor development, is also more prevalent among Ashkenazi Jews. Gaucher's disease, a rare disorder of lipid metabolism, characterized by splenomegaly, skin pigmentation, bone lesions, and occasionally by hemorrhage and neurological symptoms, is found in about 1:2,500 Ashkenazi Jews; familial disautonomia (Riley-Day's disease), a rare congenital disorder, manifested by poor motor coordination, emotional instability, indifference to pain, inadequate sense of taste, tearless crying, excessive sweating, skin blotching, and frequent upper respiratory infections, has been described almost exclusively in Ashkenazi Jews, with a frequency of about 1:10–20,000. Pentosuria, a harmless, rare anomaly, characterized by an excessive excretion of L-xylulose in the urine, which is usually discovered on routine urinalysis and often mistakenly diagnosed as diabetes, occurs among Ashkenazi Jews in a frequency of 1:2,500–5,000 as compared to 1:40–50,000 among U.S. gentiles. Also, approximately one half of the observed cases of Bloom's syndrome, a rare childhood condition characterized by a marked sensitivity to sunlight, a small stature, and association with chromosomal abnormalities and leukemia, have been described in Ashkenazi Jews.

The first four of these inborn errors of metabolism have been traced back to a circumscribed area in Poland around the city of Bialystok.

Non-Ashkenazi Jews. Several other inborn errors of metabolism are prevalent among non-Ashkenazi Jews. The most prominent of these is a specific variety of hemolytic anemia (increased destruction of red blood cells), particularly upon contact with drugs or ingestion of fava beans. This disorder is based on a deficiency in the enzyme glucose-6-phosphate-dehydrogenase (G6PD), which is required for normal carbohydrate metabolism. The enzyme deficiency reaches a frequency of 58% in Jews coming from Kurdistan, 25% in the rest of Iraqi Jews and slightly lower frequencies in other eastern communities, in contrast with 0.5% in European Jews. Thalassemia, a chronic progressive anemia due to the presence of an abnormal hemoglobin which commences early in life, is also found primarily in Kurdistani Jews. The neighboring community of Iranian Jews has one of the highest world frequencies of the rare liver disorder, Dubin-Johnson's disease, which is characterized by a defect in bile excretion and accumulation of dark pigment granules in the liver. This disorder has recently been traced to Isfahan. Phenylketonuria, a congenital defect in the metabolism of phenylalanine, characterized by the excretion of phenyl-pyruvic acid in the urine, and which leads to severe mental retardation unless treated early, occurs primarily in Jews originating from Yemen and is practically nonexistent in Ashkenazi Jews. Familial Mediterranean fever (FMF), a disease manifested by repetitive inflammatory attacks of abdominal, pleural and joint pains, as well as by amyloidosis, is prevalent primarily among North African Jews, notably those coming from Libya.

As mentioned above, the presence of closed Jewish communities with frequent consanguineous marriage has enabled the conservation and perpetuation of the abnormal genes for the above conditions. The increase in frequency of inter-ethnic marriage, coupled with a decrease in consanguineous marriage and disappearance of ethnic barriers in Israel and elsewhere, should lead to a dilution of the gene pools and a decline in the overt frequency of these deleterious conditions.

See also *Genetic Diseases in Jew.

ACQUIRED DISEASES. (1) *Infectious.* It is impossible to valuate innate susceptibility to infectious diseases in any group, since their prevalence is mainly determined by environmental conditions. These include personal habits, public hygienic facilities, and sources of infective agents. In the past, better personal hygiene and adherence to strict rabbinical laws kept trichinosis (a disease transmitted through pork meat), and venereal diseases to an infinitesimal rate in most Jewish communities.

An interesting environmental situation arose in Israel, where each immigrating group brought with it diseases prevalent in its area of origin. Of special concern were schistosomiasis (bilharzia) in Yemenite and Iraqi Jews and filariasis (elephantiasis) in Cochin Jews, because these are debilitating diseases which spread easily under suitable conditions. Trachoma, a severe eye condition, and ringworm infection of the scalp were also of major importance among non-European immigrants. At present Israel resembles western countries with its low profile of infectious disease and with a health pattern similar to the one found in well-developed western countries.

(2) *Chronic.* Several studies conducted in the U.S. suggested a higher susceptibility of Jewish residents to coronary heart disease. Most probably, this is only partly related to the fact that, in general, Jews in this country belong to a higher socioeconomic stratum. Thus, Epstein et al. observed that the prevalence of the disease among Jewish clothing workers in New York City was twice that among Italians. A more recent study carried out by the Health Insurance Plan in New York City revealed the disease incidence among Jews almost 50% higher than among Catholics and 30% higher than among Protestants. These observations are in contrast with findings among other minority groups in the U.S., such as blacks, who have a relatively lower rate of this disease. It is difficult to assess which of the several known risk factors for coronary heart disease, i.e., diet, lack of physical activity, or stress, is responsible for the increased incidence among Jews. One cannot completely rule out a genetic background as a contributory factor, especially in view of studies indicating a higher susceptibility to the disease among people with certain specific blood groups.

In Israel, coronary heart disease has been constantly on the rise in all population groups. The increase followed the rise in standard of living, continuous stress, and decrease of physical activity. However, the process of assimilation has not yet abolished differences between various ethnic groups within the country. Early studies by Dreyfus, and Toor et al., suggested that Yemenites, and particularly newly arrived Yemenites, have a lower risk of acquiring the disease as compared to European-born Israelis, while veteran Yemenites as well as other non-Ashkenazi Jews in Israel have an intermediate range. These findings are compatible with differences in cholesterol levels between the groups, but again, differences in other life habits such as stress, physical activity, smoking, etc., could contribute to the observed difference in risk.

No definite data with regard to other cardiovascular diseases are available. Buerger's disease, a peripheral vascular disorder affecting primarily young males and manifested by inflammatory and occlusive changes in both arteries and veins, is apparently more prevalent among Jews of eastern European origin, both in Israel and elsewhere. There are some indications that diabetes may be more common among Jews in the U.S., but the data are inconclusive. Cohen suggested that Yemenite Jews have a lower rate of diabetes than other Jewish subgroups, while others observed a higher risk of diabetes among North African-born Jews. Since this is a disease with a certain genetic background, an interaction between heredity and environment could lead to diverse manifestations. It has also been suggested that hypertension and mortality from cerebro-vascular accidents are slightly higher among the North African-born Israelis. This could be related at least in part to a higher incidence of chronic renal disease in this ethnic group, particularly among the females. Regional enteritis and ulcerative colitis, two inflammatory conditions of the bowel, have also been found to be relatively more common among Jews in the U.S. than among gentiles. Jews have always been noted for a lower frequency of drinking. Consequently, both alcoholism and liver cirrhosis are considerably lower among Jews as a group, both in Israel and abroad.

CANCER. There is ample evidence today that several malignant neoplasms occur more frequently in Jews, while others are relatively rare. Furthermore, there is a marked variability in the risk for certain cancer sites within the main Jewish ethnic subgroups. Major cancer sites with a higher risk among Jews are cancer of the colon, breast, and ovary, which have been strongly correlated with higher socioeconomic status, as well as cancer of the pancreas and of the kidney, brain tumors, lymphoma, leukemia, and, among females, cancer of the lung and of the stomach. The higher rate of brain tumors noted among U.S. Jews is consistent with the finding that the incidence of these tumors is higher in Israel than anywhere else in the world.

In contrast, cancer sites occurring less frequently among Jews are the upper respiratory tract, i.e., pharynx, buccal, and the lung (males only), as well as cancer of the bladder, the esophagus (males only) and, to a certain extent, cancer of the prostate. The reason for the varying pattern between the two sexes in lung cancer is probably due to the fact that the most prevalent histological form in this neoplasm differs between the two sexes (odenocarcinoma in females, versus squamous cell carcinoma in males), so that, actually, the lower incidence of lung cancer among Jews is limited to the latter histological form only. The reason for the varying pattern in esophageal cancer is unclear. The one category that has drawn most attention as being rare in Jews is cancer of the uterine cervix. This apparent rarity had been construed as indicating a protective role of circumcision among Jews. More recently, it has been demonstrated that the rarity is limited to Jews of European origin, while in other Jewish communities, notably those originating in Morocco, the incidence may be even higher than that among gentiles in several European countries. The "protective" role of circumcision has also been challenged on the basis of controlled studies in England and the U.S., and by the fact that the disease is not rare in circumcised non-Jewish populations such as in Iran and Turkey. Thus, the low risk of cervical cancer among Jews in the U.S. and Europe as compared to their gentile neighbors is now considered to be related to better personal hygiene and differences in factors associated with sexual behavior, such as age at first intercourse and number of sexual partners. The recent hypothesis of a viral role in the etiology of cervical cancer is also consistent with the pattern of a closed community, and a lower rate of extramarital relationships among Jews until the recent time period. The relatively lower cervical cancer rate among European-born residents in Israel, as compared to the African- and Asian-born, is also consistent with these explanations. On the other hand, the long-term observation of the rarity of cancer of the penis among Jews as a group has not yet been refuted, and there is a strong probability that in this case circumcision may actually play a preventive role.

Community-wide studies of cancer incidence in Israel have demonstrated some parallelism with findings in the U.S. Two facts stand out:

(1) In general the cancer sites that occur more frequently among Jews in the U.S., as compared to gentiles, are more prevalent among the European-born Israelis, while those that occur more rarely among Jews in the U.S. are relatively more prevalent among non-European-born residents in Israel;

(2) The relative incidence of various malignant disorders in European – in contrast to Asian – and African-born groups in Israel shows a striking parallelism to the one of white versus nonwhite groups in the U.S. Since there is no common genetic background for the Israeli and American subgroups, it would seem that the similarities observed may be associated with inter-ethnic differences in socioeconomic status. These findings corroborate previously made observations regarding the role of environmental factors in carcinogenesis. To be more specific, cancer sites occurring more frequently among European-born Israeli residents are colon, breast, ovary, uterine corpus, brain tumors, gallbladder (females only), as well as leukemia and lymphoma in older age. Cancer of the stomach and lung are also higher among the European-born, contrary to the expected pattern of a lower risk of these tumors in higher socioeconomic groups, while cancer of the uterine cervix occurs more frequently among the North African-and to a certain extent, among the Asian-born. Cancer of the esophagus is more prevalent among Jews coming from Iran and Yemen, hepatic cancer among Yemenites, and bladder cancer among North African-born males, while residents coming from the Balkan countries (Bulgaria, Greece, and Turkey) have a considerably higher rate of cancer of the larynx. The two leading sites of cancer in Israel (excluding skin cancer) are lung and stomach in males and breast and stomach in females. This is true for all ethnic categories except for the North African-born females, where cancer of the uterine cervix assumes second place.

The effect of length of residence in Israel, namely the role of change in daily life habits on cancer incidence, has only partly been studied so far, due to lack of sufficient data. However, preliminary observations indicate that in all ethnic groups stomach cancer is lowest among the Israeli-born, intermediate in veteran Israelis, and highest in recent immigrants. There are also some indications that leukemia, at least among children, shows a similar gradient, with highest rate among immigrants, intermediate in first-generation Israelis, and lowest in second-generation Israelis. This is consistent with well-documented data elsewhere that cancer among migrants tends to assume an intermediate position between the range in the country of origin and their host country.

The Israel Ministry of Health has released the following figures for recent years:

Patients	**Year**		
	1990	**1995**	**2001**
Newly diagnosed with cancer during given calendar year	12,952	17,263	22,290
Cumulative no. of cancer patients (old and new cases) at end of given calendar year	33,000	48,231	66,129
No. of patients with newly diagnosed cancer of the trachea, bronchus, or lungs in the given calendar year	960	1,211	1,487
Females with newly diagnosed cancer of the breast during the given calendar year	2,046	2,550	3,222
No. of patients with newly diagnosed cancer of the cervix uteri during the given calendar year	127	157	202

[Baruch Modan]

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SID (**Sidilyo**; **Sirilyo**), **SAMUEL IBN** (c. 1530), rabbi in *Egypt. Samuel studied under Isaac de *Leon in his native Toledo where he married the daughter of Isaac *Aboab. After the Expulsion from *Spain in 1492 Samuel arrived in Egypt, where he was a member of the *bet din* of Isaac Shulal. Before 1509 he signed, together with the other members of the *bet din*, a legal decision concerning the exemption of scholars from the payment of taxes (*Keter Torah* of R. Samuel de *Avila, Amsterdam, 1725, p. 1b). He was referred to as *Ba'al Nes* ("miracle worker"); according to local tradition, when the Egyptian governor, Aḥmed Pasha, rebelled against the Turkish sultan and persecuted the Jews in 1524, Samuel offered up prayers in his synagogue which resulted in the downfall of the governor. In memory of this event it became known after him as the Sidilyo Synagogue.

Samuel became famous for his small and important work *Kelalei Shemu'el*, which was written in 1522 and published in the book *Tummat Yesharim* (Venice, 1622). This was a handbook for the study of the Talmud, wherein the "rules" of the Talmud are presented in alphabetical order. In this work Samuel also describes the method of study used in the Spanish yeshivot. Parts of Samuel's commentary on *Avot* were published in the *Midrash Shemu'el* of Samuel b. Isaac *Uceda.

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[Abraham David]

SIDNEY, SYLVIA (**Sophia Kosow**; 1910–1999), U.S. actress. Born in New York, Sidney first appeared there in 1927 and became internationally known after her part in the film *Street Scene* (1931). She played for the Guild Theater in *To Quito and Back* (1937) and for the Group Theater in *The Gentle People*, (1939). She acted in summer theaters, played in *The Four-Poster* on Broadway (1951), and toured in *Auntie Mame* (1958). Later Broadway stints included *Enter Laughing* (1963), *Barefoot in the Park* (1963), and *Vieux Carré* (1977).

Her films include *Through Different Eyes* (1929), *Madame Butterfly* (1932), *Jennie Gerhardt* (1933), *Sabotage* (1936), *Fury* (1936), *Dead End* (1937), *You Only Live Once* (1937), *You and Me* (1938), *The Searching Wind* (1946), *Love from a Stranger* (1947), *Les Miserables* (1952), *Violent Saturday* (1955), *Behind the High Wall* (1956), *Summer Wishes, Winter Dreams* (Oscar nomination for Best Supporting Actress, 1973), *I Never Promised You a Rose Garden* (1977), *Damien: Omen II* (1978), *Hammett* (1982), *Beetlejuice* (1988), and *Used People* (1992).

She performed in many television shows and TV movies, among them the TV series *Ryan's Hope* (1975) and *Fantasy Island* (1998), and the TV movies *Raid on Entebbe* (1977), *Siege* (1978), *The Shadow Box* (1980), *Come Along with Me* (1982), *Finnegan Begin Again* (1985), *An Early Frost* (Emmy nomination for Best Supporting Actress, 1985), *Pals* (1987), and *Andre's Mother* (1999).

Sidney was married to publisher Bennet Cerf (from 1935 to 1936) and actor/teacher Luther Adler (from 1938 to 1946).

She wrote *Sylvia Sidney Needlepoint Book* (with A. Lewis, 1968) and *Question and Answer Book on Needlepoint* (1974).

[Jonathan Licht / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

SIDON (also **Zidon**; Heb. צִידוֹן, צִידֹן), Phoenician port, N. of Tyre in Lebanon. The name (Phoen. צדן; Akkad. Ṣiddunnu) comes from the root *ṣwd* ("to hunt, fish"). Justin says that Sidon means "fish town" ("*piscem Phoenices sidon vocant*," 18:13, passim), but W.R. Smith (bibl.) shows that *ṣwd* was used as part of a divine name (e.g., Ṣ-d-Tannith, Ṣ-d-Melkarth) and was probably a Baal of Lebanon, a food god. Sidon's wealth came from the resources of the sea (commerce, fish, purple dye from mollusks, and later, glass from the sand). Already by the 15th/14th century B.C.E. Sidon was famous as a religious site. The Ugaritic myth of Keret, king of Sidonians, mentions his visit to the shrines of *bʿelt Ṣdynm* ("goddess of Sidon"; Keret, 4:197–202; 6:279). In later times Sidonian gods (especially Ashtoreth) were very popular with the Children of Israel (Judg. 9:6; I Kings 11:5, 33; II Kings 23:13). From early times Sidon, as the rest of Phoenicia, was under Egyptian control, but by the 13th century Sidon began to assert its independence and the Tell el-Amarna Letters testify to the secret intrigues of Zimridda, king of Sidon, with Abdi-Airta and his sons, the kings of the Amorites, although Zimridda ostensibly still professed loyalty to Pharaoh (S.A.B. Mercer, *The Tell Amarna Tablets* (1939), nos. 144, 145; cf. 83:26, 103:18, etc.).

It was its natural resources that made Sidon the leading port of the Phoenician coast by the 11th century B.C.E. It was mentioned in the Egyptian story, *The Journey of Wen Amon to Phoenicia* (Pritchard, Texts, 25–29), as having 50 ships in commercial contact with Egypt (11th century B.C.E.). About this time Tiglath-Pileser I (1115–1077 B.C.E.) of Assyria invaded Phoenicia, and received tribute from Sidon. By Homer's time (tenth/ninth century) Sidon's craftsmanship in metalwork was well known and highly prized; Menelaus gave Telemachus a present of a beautiful Sidonian gold cup (*Odyssey* 4:613–9); Sidon was termed "Sidon abounding in bronze" (Σιδῶνος πολυχάλκου) and was said to excel in gold and electrum (*ibid.* 15:425, 460), as well as dyed clothes (as quoted from Homer in Herodotus, *Histories*, 12:116). On account of this wealth Sidon was subject to frequent raids from the Greek islands of this period (*Odyssey* 15:427). Up to this time Sidon held the dominating position in riches, trade, and crafts on the Phoenician littoral, which entitled it to be called "Great Sidon" (Josh. 11:8; 19:28), and "the firstborn of Canaan" (Gen. 10:15), and lent the name Sidonian as a general term for Phoenician (I Kings 16:31). On the invasion of the Twelve Tribes, the Sidonians were living as far south as the hill country of Ereẓ Israel but they were driven back and Asher inherited their land (Josh. 11:8; 13:6; Judg. 1:31). Later they oppressed Israel together with the Amalekites but were beaten (Judg. 10:12).

In the Bible the Sidonians had great fame as carpenters and lumberers. David, Solomon, and the returning Exiles hired Sidonian carpenters to cut wood for the Temple (I Chron. 22:4; Zech. 9:2; Ezra 3:7). Sidon probably founded her colonies about the ninth century in Cyprus (cf. Cook, bibl. no. 11), Hippo, and Kition; and the eighth-century citizens of Sidon, Tyre, and Aradus (Arvad) founded Tripoli in Lebanon (Strabo, *Geography*, 15:2:15). From the late tenth century on Tyre gradually overtook Sidon in the hegemony of Phoenicia. Shalmaneser III (858–824) took tribute from Jehu of Israel and Sidon (Pritchard, Texts, 278). Sennacherib (705–681) drove out the rebel Elu-Eli, king of Tyre, who had conquered a large part of Phoenicia, and replaced him with the pro-Assyrian Ethbaal, king of Sidon, who had already submitted to Sennacherib in 701. In 677, Sidon rose against the rule of Sennacherib's son, Esarhaddon, who subsequently cast down the walls of Sidon and destroyed it, beheading her king, Abd-Melkarth. Esarhaddon then built a fort, "*Kar*," close to Sidon to overawe it, and gave its territory to Tyre. Shortly after 605, Jeremiah prophesied against Sidon, warning it to accept the yoke of Nebuchadnezzar (Jer. 25:22; 27:3; cf. Ezek. 28:22; Joel 4:4). The new Sidon remained subjugated to the Assyrians and then to the Babylonians, and when *Hophra of Egypt (588–568) organized the anti-Babylonian league with Judah and Ammon, he attacked Sidon for not joining their conspiracy (Herodotus, *Histories*, 2:161). Under Persian rule Sidon, together with Aradus, Byblos, and Tyre were granted internal autonomy, and later – in the fourth century – they federated, choosing Tripoli as the federal capital (Strabo, *Histories*, 16:2:22).

The maritime reputation of the Sidonians was so great that Darius especially sent to Sidon for ships and crews before invading Greece in 490 (Herodotus, *Histories*, 3:136). Under the rule of Artaxerxes III (359–338), the other cities of the federation (mentioned above) cunningly enticed Sidon into rebelling against Persia, promising support, but in effect not helping her at all. In 351, Artaxerxes set out for Sidon with 300,000 infantry and 30,000 cavalry. Tennes, king of Sidon, immediately fled, but the people of the city courageously refused to surrender and burned their ships in the harbor. When the Persians set the city on fire, the inhabitants locked themselves in their houses; more than 40,000 perished and the survivors were transported to Babylonia (Diodorus Siculus, *History*, 16:41–45). In this episode, Tyre and the other cities acted with deliberate calculation in order to destroy the commercial rivalry of Sidon forever.

With the conquest of Phoenicia by Alexander the Great in 333, Sidon, which was just beginning to recover, immediately surrendered and assisted him at the siege of her ancient enemy, Tyre. Alexander restored Sidon's constitution, returned to her the territories given to Tyre, and appointed Abdalonymus as king in place of Straton II (342–333), who had assisted the Persians (Justin, 11:10; Arrian, *Anabasis*, 2:20:1; Curtius, 4:1:16).

Ashtoreth was the supreme deity of Sidon (cf. "Ashtoreth, the god of Sidon," I Kings 11:33; II Kings 23:13) and was goddess of fertility and generation (cf. Herodotus, *Histories* 1:105). It was the charge of the kings to build "a house for the gods of Sidonians in Sidon, land of the sea, a house to Baal of Sidon [cf. I Kings 16:31 "Baal of the Sidonians"] and a house to Ashtart" (cf. I Sam. 31:10; Cook, bibl. no. 4). It seems that at this period the "Lord of Kings" (Ptolemy II) granted Sidon the territories of "the fields of Sharon" (cf. Deut. 3:9), "Dor and Jaffa" (loc. cit.). Shortly after 250 B.C.E., Sidon became a republic ruled by suffetes (Heb. *shofet*, annually elected magistrates). Josephus identifies the ruling bodies with the Greek Βουλή (Heb. הַזְּקֵנִים) and the δῆμος (Heb. הָעָם; Jos., Ant., 14:190). In 218, Antiochus III seized Tyre and Ptolemais from Ptolemy IV, but Sidon was strong enough to resist him and became a center of Ptolemy's operations (Polybius, 5:61, 69). In 200, Scopas (Ptolemy V's general) was defeated at Panion and after being besieged at Sidon surrendered the city to Antiochus, who thereby gained the whole of Coele-Syria by 198 (Jerome, commentary to Daniel, 11:15; Polybius, 10, frag. 7).

At the beginning of the Maccabean wars, Sidon (with Ptolemais and Tyre) persecuted the Jews of Galilee to whose rescue Simon Maccabee went in 163 (I Macc. 5:15). In 111, Sidon gained autonomy from the Seleucids, and this year was the beginning of a new era for Sidon. Pompey recognized her independence in 64 B.C.E. and ceded her territory up to Iturea (Mt. Hermon). Bronze copies of the edicts of Julius Caesar addressed to the council and people of Sidon in 47–44 B.C.E. in favor of John Hyrcanus and the Jews (recorded in Josephus) were set up in Sidon (Ant., 14:190–210). This period proved to be one of the richest periods financially in Sidonian history. Glassblowing was discovered at this time (probably in Sidon; cf. Pliny, 5:76, *Sidon artifex vitri*). Strabo describes Sidon's two harbors and expounds on her reputation for astronomy, mathematics, and navigation. After some major disturbances, Sidon and Tyre were placed under Roman jurisdiction by Augustus in 20 B.C.E. Sidon soon advanced to the foreground among Hellenistic cities and was beautified by Herod (Jos., Wars, 1:422; cf. Acts 12:20).

By this time, a large number of Jews resided in Sidon, as is testified by the pagano-Jewish inscriptions from Sidon; and a Jewish inscription ending with hopes for the resurrection (Frey, 2, nos. 875–7). The Jewish population also seems to have established for itself some notoriety (Matt. 11:22; Luke 10:14) and Jesus especially went to preach in its vicinity (Matt. 15:21; Mark 7:24). By the first century, Jews were so numerous in Sidon that the Sidonians were afraid of attacking them in 66 C.E., when the Jews of Syria were massacred in other Greek towns (Jos., Wars, 2:479). By Byzantine times, Sidon had lost most of its wealth (the cedars had been cut down, the purple dye was no longer a monopoly, and other places had superseded Sidon in glassblowing). Antoninus Placentius (570) wrote that Sidon was partly in ruins.

Sidon was described by numerous scholars and travelers in the 19th century, including E. Robinson, C. Volney, and others. The famous Sarcophagus of Eshmunazar, King of Sidon, was discovered in 1855 to the southeast of the city. The first excavation in the city was made by E.Renan in 1861. In 1912 G. Contenau excavated a graveyard containing sarcophagi, including one depicting a Roman merchant ship, as well as graves dating back to the 16th century B.C.E. and other finds. Contenau also discovered, next to the Crusader castle of St. Louis, a place where the purple dye was extracted from Murex shells. M. Dunand unearthed a temple dedicated to Mithra in 1924. Elsewhere he excavated the Temple of Eshmun and between 1963 and 1968 expanded the excavations around the sanctuary. Tombs dating from the end of the Middle Bronze Age to the beginning of the Late Bronze Age were unearthed in 1937 by P.E. Guigues. More tombs were cleared by M. Chehab in 1940, dating from the period between the 18th and 14th centuries B.C.E. The harbor installations were investigated by A. Poidebard between 1946 and 1950. From 1966 to 1969 Roger Saidah, of the Lebanese Department of Antiquities, excavated a Late Chalcolithic settlement of oval houses, superimposed by a cemetery with tombs ranging in date from the 14th century through the Early Roman period.

Although it was never large, a Jewish community existed in this ancient Phoenician city throughout the Muslim era. Benjamin of Tudela, the 12th-century traveler, reported that there were "twenty Jews" (families or taxpayers) in Sidon. The *Mamluks destroyed the citadel there after capturing the city from the crusaders; as an open city it began to decline during the latter part of the Middle Ages; its Jewish community did not increase. At the end of the 15th century there was a small community. R. Moshe Basola recounts that during his travels in Syria in the year 1521 there were no more than 20 families of Arabized Jews in Sidon. Under *Ottoman rule Sidon grew again, and the Jewish community also increased. Rabbinical writings of the period show that Jews in Sidon were active in commerce and some were tax collectors (Mabit, Resp. vol. 2, pt. 2, no. 62). R. Joseph Sofer of *Safed wrote that in 1762 there had been six *minyanim* (60 adult male Jews) in Sidon, but that most of them had died during the plague and barely one *minyan* survived. R. Mordecai, of the same period, mentions the Jews of Sidon (Resp. no. 16) saying that they did not have a rabbi at the time. David d'Beth Hillel recounts that Sidon had approximately 20 Jewish families in 1824, all Arabic-speaking and native-born; they were similar in customs to the Jews of Ereẓ Israel, and most of them were tradesmen. Most of the travelers mention the tomb of Zebulun, the son of Jacob, located south of Sidon, a place the Arabs called Sheikh Ṣadyā, that was venerated by Jews and Muslims alike. The traditional tombs of Oholiab the son of Ahisamakh, Bezalel, R. Eleazar Bartukha, and the prophet Zephaniah also were not far from Sidon.

[Eliyahu Ashtor / Shimon Gibson (2nd ed.)]

The Jewish community in Sidon remained traditional and its members observed the religious rituals. During the latter stages of the 1948 War, when the Israeli army occupied parts of South Lebanon, the homes of several members of the small Jewish community in Sidon, numbering 200 persons, were confiscated, and Palestinian refugees were installed in them. But the Lebanese government ordered the police to protect the Jews in the city and enabled them to return to their homes and property. In 1962, the Alliance school in Sidon was closed down, and in 1968 there were about 150–160 Jews in the city. In 1972, the *shoḥet* of the community left.

By 1975, most of the Jews in Sidon had left the city and only one family remained. Its head, Yosef Levy, worked as a tailor and made uniforms for the Lebanese army, and it maintained good relations with its non-Jewish neighbors. On June 5, 1982, when the Israeli army occupied Sidon, the Levys were permitted to stay in their home. When the Israeli army withdrew from the city, the remaining members of the family left with it and settled in Israel.

[Oren Barak (2nd ed.)]

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SIDON, KAROL EFRAIM (1942–), Czech writer, screenwriter, and playwright. Sidon was born in Prague. His father, a Jew, was executed in Theresienstadt in the Small Fortress after his deportation in 1944. In 1965–67, Sidon studied dramaturgy and screenwriting at the Film Academy of Music Arts in Prague. He worked as a screenwriter of animated films and as an editor at the journal *Literární listy*. After the Soviet occupation of Czechoslovakia, he lost his jobs. After signing Charter 77, he left for Germany in 1983, converted to Judaism, and took Judaic studies in Heidelberg and Jerusalem (rabbinical training). In 1990 he returned to the Czech Republic and became its chief rabbi as well as that of Prague.

All of Sidon's work is connected with Jewishness and is often based on the painful experiences of his childhood and adolescence. His fiction started with *Sen o mém otci* (1968, "Dream about My Father"), an emotive portrait of his late father, his mother, and stepfather. The author's adulthood and marriage are reflected in *Sen o mně* (1970, "Dream about Myself"). After these works, all others appeared in *samizdat* between 1970 and 1989: a philosophical-contemplative essay *Evangelium podle Josefa Flavia* ("The Gospel According to Josephus Flavius," 1974; 1990); the novel *Boží osten* ("The Sting of God," 1976; 1991), containing the short story *Polské uši* ("Polish Ears") which appeared together with *Brány mrazu* ("Gates of Frost, " 1977) in *Dvě povídky o utopencích* ("Two Stories about the Drowned People," 1988, in exile), both of which project the author's personal experiences, anxieties, and emotions onto his heroes, some of whom are Jewish. In the essay *Návrat Abrahamův* ("The Return of Abraham," 1986) Sidon interprets biblical history; in the collection of interviews *Když umřít, tak v Jeruzalémě* ("If One Must Die, Let It at Least Be in Jerusalem," 1977) and *Sedm slov* ("Seven Words," 2004), the author discusses philosophical and moral questions concerning Judaism. Of his plays, the best known are *Latriny* ("The Latrines," 1971); *Labyrint* ("Labyrinth," 1972); and *Shapira* ("Shapira," 1972). Sidon also wrote radio plays and screenplays. He translated many parts of the Old Testament and numerous prayers for Jews in the Czech Republic.

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[Milos Pojar (2nd ed.)]

SIDON, SIMEON (1815–1892), Hungarian rabbi. Sidon, who was born in Nádas, was a pupil of Moses *Sofer. His first rabbinate was in the small town of Cifer. In 1855 he was appointed rabbi of Tyrnau (Trnava). During his rabbinate the schism (1869) in Hungarian Jewry (see *Hungary) took place, and his community joined neither the Union of Orthodox Jews nor the *Neologist group but remained a *status quo community. When the Orthodox rabbis disqualified the halakhic rulings of the rabbis of those communities, about 40 families founded a separate Orthodox community. Sidon vigorously complained about this ruling, asserting that many of the status quo rabbis were outstanding and God-fearing talmudists. They had no power to force their congregants to join the Orthodox group. "Are they to leave their communities and become recipients of charity?" he protested. He remained with his community until his death. Sidon was himself an outstanding talmudic scholar and a gifted preacher.

He was the author of *Ot Berit* (1850), on the laws of circumcision and the redemption of the firstborn; *Shevet Shimon* (1884–88), responsa and halakhic novellae (on marriage and mourning); homilies on *Avot* (some of which were published in the *Even ha-Me'ir* (appended to Z. Horowitz, *Kitvei ha-Ge'onim* (1957) of Meir Stein); and *Beit Menuḥah* (1879) on Maimonides' *Mishneh Torah*.

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[Samuel Weingarten-Hakohen]

SIDRAH (Heb. סִדְרָה; "order," "arrangement"), popular term for the sections of the Pentateuch, read publicly in the synagogue on the Sabbath (see *Torah, Reading of). The term is found in talmudic literature to mean both "weekly portions" (Shab. 116b; Yoma 87a; TJ, Ta'an. 1:6, 64c), and schools in which sections of the Scriptures are read and interpreted (TJ, Ber. 3:1, 6b; TJ, Beẓah 1:6, 60c). In its Aramaic form (סִדְרָא, *sidra*) it can also refer to each of the six sections into which the Mishnah is divided.

SIEBERT, MURIEL (1932–), U.S. stockbroker. Siebert, who was born in Cleveland, Ohio, was the best-known woman on Wall Street in the second half of the 20th century. In 1967, she became the first woman to buy a seat on the New York Stock Exchange, and several years later she became the first woman to own and operate her own brokerage firm. In between she served five years, beginning in 1977, as New York State's first female superintendent of banking. A dropout from Case Western Reserve University, she lied about having a college degree to get her first job, as a $65-a-week researcher at Bache & Company, in 1954. By 1967 she was a partner in a tiny brokerage firm and an authority on aeronautics stocks; she earned $250,000 a year but felt she could do better. Because no major firm would hire her, she said, she bought a seat on the exchange for $445,000, joining 1,365 male members of the exchange. She transformed her firm into a discount brokerage house in 1975, on the first day that firms were permitted to negotiate commissions. She continued running the brokerage well into her 70s. She set up several charitable foundations, beginning in 1990 with the Siebert Entrepreneurial Philanthropic Program, which distributes half of the firm's net commission revenue on new issue corporate underwritings to a charity, usually chosen by the issuer or purchaser. In 1999, while president of the New York Women's Agenda, a coalition of more than 100 women's organizations, she developed a Personal Finance Program to improve the financial skills of young people. The program was initially designed to teach how to manage a checkbook and to understand the use and abuse of credit cards. The program was part of the economics curriculum of New York City high schools and was expanded to include such topics as the basics of money, banking, credit, budgeting, taxes, insurance, and investing. Siebert was also involved with many nonprofit, civic, and women's organizations, including the Economic Club of New York, the Council on Foreign Relations, and the New York Women's Forum, of which she was a founder and former president.

[Stewart Kampel (2nd ed.)]

SIEDLCE, city in E. Poland. Jews lived there from the middle of the 16th century, occupied as innkeepers, and later also as craftsmen and merchants. In 1794 a Jewish school and the house of the rabbi were built there; the Jewish cemetery was enlarged in 1798. In the 18th century there was a small Jewish hospital; a larger one was erected in 1890. The most noted rabbis of Siedlce in the middle of the 18th century were R. Meir, author of *Netiv Meir* (1931^2), and Israel Meisels (officiated 1858–67) son of Dov Berush *Meisels. In the second part of the 18th century the rabbis of Siedlce visited Warsaw where they carried out religious functions for Jews living there illegally. A group for the study of the Torah and Talmud was founded in Siedlce in 1839, and at the end of the 19th century a Bikkur Ḥolim society was established. During World War I a Jewish high school was opened. Yiddish periodicals published in Siedlce included the *Shedletser Vokhnblat*, which Abraham Gilbert began to produce in 1911. Jacob Tenenboim, who between the two world wars edited the weekly *Dos Shedletser Lebn* with Joshua Goldberg, also collaborated with Gilbert.

The lawyer Maximilian Appolinary *Hartglas contributed to this weekly.

The *Bund started activities in Siedlce around 1900. At first the Polish Socialist Party also had a great influence among the Jews in Siedlce, but Zionism won the greatest adherence, though all shades of Jewish political parties were active.

In 1906 the czarist Okhrana (secret police) organized a pogrom against the Jews of Siedlce in which 26 Jews were killed and many injured. In 1920 Siedlce was occupied by the Red Army, and after its recapture by the Poles antisemitic excesses occurred. The Jewish population numbered 3,727 (71.5% of the total) in 1839; 4,359 (65%) in 1841; 5,153 (67.5%) in 1858:8,156 (64%) in 1878; and 14,685 (47.9%) in 1921.

[Jacob Goldberg]

Holocaust Period

Before the outbreak of World War II there were 15,000 Jews living in Siedlce. The German army entered the town on Sept. 11, 1939, and began to take measures against the Jews. In November 1939 the Jewish population was forced to pay a "contribution" (fine) of 100,000 zlotys. On Dec. 24, 1939, the synagogue was burned down. During 1940 about 1,000 Jews from Lodz, Kalisz, and Pabianice (cities incorporated into the Third Reich) were forced to move to Siedlce. In March 1941 German soldiers organized a three-day *Aktion* in which many Jews were killed. The following August a ghetto was set up; it was closed off on October 1. The plight of the Jews in Siedlce then drastically deteriorated. In January 1942 another fine of 100,000 zlotys was imposed. On Aug. 22, 1942, about 10,000 Jews were deported to *Treblinka death camp where they were murdered. Only 500 Jews were allowed to remain in the diminished ghetto, though a further 1,500 stayed there illegally. On Nov. 25, 1942, the so-called small ghetto was liquidated and its 2,000 Jewish inmates deported to Gesiborki. The Germans concentrated all the survivors from Siedlce province in the town. Hundreds of them were shot on the way there or murdered in Gesiborki. All the others were deported within a few days to Treblinka and murdered. A few hundred remained in a forced labor camp near Siedlce until April 14, 1943, when they were executed.

During the deportations hundreds of Jews succeeded in escaping to the forests. They formed small groups which tried to bring in arms and resist the German units searching the woods. The majority of them were killed during the winter of 1942–43. In January 1943 the Germans reported the capture and execution of 150 Jews in different parts of Siedlce province. Some Jewish groups continued to offer armed resistance until the fall of 1943.

The Jewish community in Siedlce was not reconstituted after the war. Organizations of former Jewish residents of Siedlce were established in Israel, the United States, France, Belgium, and Argentina.

[Stefan Krakowski]

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SIEFF, ISRAEL MOSES, BARON (1889–1972), British industrialist and Zionist. He was born in Manchester, where his father, a migrant from Lithuania, founded a prosperous business. He and his brothers-in-law, Simon *Marks and Harry *Sacher, were closely associated in their devotion to Zionism, as well as in their commercial career. Sieff's wife, Rebecca *Sieff, was among the founders of WIZO and continued her active participation in that organization. It was in 1913 that Sieff, along with Marks, came to know Chaim *Weizmann, who was at that time a lecturer in Manchester University. From then on until Weizmann's death, the three brothers-in-law were among his closest friends and collaborators, notably in the critical labors which led up to the issue of the *Balfour Declaration. Under their leadership Manchester became arguably the major center of British Zionism. Sieff was one of the founders of and a regular contributor to the fortnightly review *Palestine*, which played its part in educating public opinion in England in favor of Zionism. In 1918, when the Zionist Commission headed by Weizmann went to Palestine to prepare the ground for the implementation of the Declaration, Sieff acted as its secretary. He joined Marks when the main offices of their firm, Marks and Spencer Limited, were transferred to London, and played a notable part in its development. He was the vice chairman and joint managing director of the company and in 1967 became its president. Not restricting his activities to Zionist matters, Sieff was the founder of Political and Economic Planning (PEP), an organization of internationally recognized authority, and was its chairman (1931–39), vice chairman (1939–64), and president from 1966. He was also a vice chairman of the Royal Anthropological Institute. A noted philanthropist, Sieff, together with other members of the family, founded the Daniel Sieff Research Institute at Reḥovot, from which the *Weizmann Institute of Science developed. His Zionist and Jewish activities were marked by his honorary presidency of the Zionist Federation of Great Britain and Ireland and of that body's Educational Trust, his chairmanship and vice presidency of the Joint Palestine Appeal, and his chairmanship of Carmel College. He was made a life peer in 1966. In 1970 his memoirs were published, *The Memoirs of Israel Sieff.* His younger son MARCUS JOSEPH SIEFF, BARON SIEFF OF BRIMPTON (1913–2001), who was educated at Manchester Grammar School and Cambridge, joined the family firm in 1945, became a director in 1954, and, after 1967, was managing director and chairman. He expanded the range of Marks & Spencer to include the sale of food. Like other members of his family he was a notable contributor to Jewish and Zionist causes. Sieff wrote an autobiography, *Don't Ask the Price* (1986). After his retirement the firm experienced increasing difficulties, and ceased to be a family or, indeed, a "Jewish" firm. Sieff was knighted in 1971 and received a life peerage in 1980.

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[Harry Sacher / William D. Rubinstein (2nd ed.)]

SIEFF, REBECCA (1890–1966), first president of *WIZO. The eldest daughter of Michael Marks, founder of Marks and Spencer, she was born in Leeds and educated in Manchester. Her husband, Israel *Sieff, and brother, Simon *Marks, were close friends and associates of Chaim *Weizmann, and she was instinctively drawn into their Zionist activity by her strong sense of tradition and historic continuity. She worked with the British Palestine Committee, which prepared the ground for the *Balfour Declaration, and was a founding member and first president of the Federation of Women Zionists of Great Britain and Ireland in 1918. In 1924 she was elected president of WIZO, which was founded in July 1920, holding this position until her death. She was especially active in the 1940s as a campaigner against British rule in Palestine and on behalf of Holocaust survivors. Rebecca Sieff was an excellent speaker with a brilliant mind and a forceful personality. She traveled extensively, speaking on behalf of WIZO and organizing its branches all over the world. She lived mainly at her home in Tel Mond, Israel, where she is buried.

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[Rosa Ginossar]

SIEGEL, BENJAMIN "BUGSY" (1906–1947), U.S. mobster. Born Benjamin Hymen Siegelbaum in Brooklyn, New York, to Russian-born Jewish immigrant parents, Siegel, one of five children, grew up in Hell's Kitchen, where he joined a street gang on Lafayette Street. He started out as a thief, but soon resorted to extorting "protection" money from street vendors by pouring kerosene on their merchandise and setting it ablaze. Fellow gang members took notice of Siegel's quick, sociopathic temper, naming him Bugsy after the expression "crazy as a bedbug"; Siegel preferred to be called Ben and would attack anyone that used the nickname in his presence. At 14, Siegel merged his gang with Meyer *Lansky's. Known as the Bugs-Meyer Mob, the gang was based in Manhattan's Lower East Side and evolved to include gambling, car theft, bank robbery, and murder for hire. In 1930, the gang joined forces with Charles Luciano in an otherwise unheard of union at the time between Jews and Italians. As they began buying protection from police and local politicians, mobster Arnold *Rothstein took notice and turned to Luciano and the Bugs-Meyer Mob for help with bootlegging. Before long the gang was folded into the Syndicate, a collection of mobsters from around the nation, where Siegel would have a hand in creating Murder, Inc. A high-profile gang hit forced Siegel underground. The Syndicate sent Siegel, who was tired of being second to Lansky, to California in 1937 to establish a gambling presence. Siegel moved to Beverly Hills, hired Mickey Cohen as his lieutenant, and looked up an old friend from the neighborhood, actor George Raft. Together with local gang leader Jack Dragna, Siegel established a wire service to aid in bookmaking, illegal gambling operations, drug smuggling, and union racketeering. Siegel threw lavish parties at his mansion, rubbing elbows with some of Hollywood's biggest names. In Siegel's absence, Lansky became head of the Syndicate. In 1945, Siegel and Lansky set down plans for a gambling hotel in Las Vegas, The Flamingo. The projected cost of the hotel was $1.2 million, but the construction firms took advantage of Siegel's poor business acumen, driving costs up to $6 million. Siegel's girlfriend, Virginia Hill, took multiple trips to Zurich at the time, which led mob investors to suspect that Siegel was funneling money to Swiss bank accounts. Angry mob bosses discussed the possibility of a hit on Siegel during a December 1946 meeting in Havana, Cuba. The unfinished resort enjoyed a gala opening on December 26, 1946, but was closed soon after to finish construction. The Flamingo reopened again in March 1947 and by May was finally turning a profit. But it was too late. Mob patience had worn thin, and Siegel was gunned down in the living room of his Beverly Hills mansion one month later.

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[Adam Wills (2nd ed.)]

SIEGEL, IDA LEWIS (1895–1982), community worker, feminist, public official. Ida Lewis Siegel was born in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, shortly after her parents and two older brothers arrived from Lithuania. In 1893 her family moved again, this time to Toronto. Yiddish-speaking Ida devoted much of her life to bettering the lot of immigrants in Toronto, especially Jewish immigrants targeted by Christian missionaries in Toronto. In order to help immigrants both integrate and retain pride in their cultural and religious heritage, Ida organized, while still a teenager, programs to assist immigrant women learn mothercraft, English, and modern hygiene. It was the beginning of an almost 80-year career of pubic service.

Ida married Isidore Siegel, a traveling salesman and later shopkeeper, and they had six children. With her husband's support, and uncharacteristic of her times, Ida juggled home and community as she immersed herself in an array of community-based activities benefiting Jews and non-Jews alike. An ardent Zionist, she founded the Daughters of Zion, the first Zionist women's group in Canada, and in 1916 was a key organizer of Canadian Hadassah. She was also an early supporter of *Youth Aliyah. A lifelong pacifist, she opposed Canadian participation in World War I and, committed to public education, she helped organize the Home and School Association and was an activist on behalf of children's playgrounds and child welfare. She helped organize the local YM-YWHA, a Jewish medical dispensary – a preliminary step in the founding of the Mount Sinai Hospital in Toronto – and a Zionist Sunday school. A committed suffragette, she campaigned for the women's vote and, once achieved, pressed women both to exercise their ballot and run for public office. Living by example, in 1930 she was elected to the Toronto Board of Education in a largely Jewish neighborhood. She served until 1936 when she unsuccessfully ran for a seat on Toronto's city council, defeated, some argue, by voter uneasiness about electing a woman and a lack of support from Jewish political insiders, who felt a seasoned lawyer would more effectively represent Jewish interests. Undaunted, Ida Siegel went on to become the first woman vice president of the Zionist Organization of Canada and a member of the executive of the Canadian Jewish Congress. She was widely honored in both the Jewish and larger community.

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[Harold Troper (2nd ed.)]

SIEGEL, JERRY (1914–1996), U.S. cartoonist. Siegel, the co-creator of Superman, the first of the great comic book superheroes and one of the most recognizable fictional characters of the 20th century, was born in Cleveland, Ohio, the son of Jewish immigrants from Lithuania. A fan of movies, comic strips, and science fiction pulp magazines, Siegel corresponded with other science-fiction fans before publishing, in 1929, what may have been the first science fiction fan magazine, *Cosmic Stories*. In high school, Siegel befriended his later collaborator, Joe *Shuster. They created Superman (Siegel imagined Superman from his birth on the doomed planet Krypton and his rocket arrival on Earth to his superhuman powers and his mild-mannered alter ego, Clark Kent; Shuster gave Superman his skintight costume and accompanying cape). They were inspired by several fictional characters, including Tarzan and Popeye, and used Superman in short stories and a 1933 comic strip proposal. In 1938, after the idea had languished among other proposals, Superman was chosen as a cover feature for *Action Comics #1*, published by the future DC Comics. They signed away the rights to Superman for $130. In 1946, Siegel and Shuster, nearing the end of their 10-year contract to produce Superman stories, sued DC over rights to the characters they created. After a two-year fight, they relinquished their claim in return for about $100,000 and severed their relationship with DC. Siegel's later work appeared elsewhere but in 1975, nearly destitute, he launched a public-relations campaign to protest DC Comics' treatment of him and Shuster, who, partly blind and unemployed, lived in a threadbare apartment in Queens, N.Y. In 1978, after the first Superman movie made more than $80 million, DC, which over the years had received more than $250 million of the more than $1 billion that Superman generated from movies, television and a variety of commercial products, bowed to public opinion. Ultimately, Siegel and Shuster were granted $35,000 a year each for the rest of their lives and were guaranteed that all comics, TV episodes, films, and other Superman ephemera would be required to state that the character was "created by Jerome Siegel and Joseph Shuster."

[Stewart Kampel (2nd ed.)]

SIEGEL, MARK (1946–), Democratic Party activist and White House official. Born in Brooklyn and a product of its public schools, Siegel is a graduate of Brooklyn College (1967). He holds a master's degree (1968) and doctorate in political science (1972) from Northwestern University, where he specialized in American political behavior, elections, and the U.S. Congress. His dissertation was on the delegate selection process within the Democratic Party: "Toward a More Responsible Two Party System: The Politics of Reform." He was on the adjunct political science faculties of American University and George Washington University's Graduate School of Political Management, where he also directed the University's Semester in Washington program.

Siegel served as legislative assistant for domestic policy to Senator Hubert H. Humphrey (1971–72). He was executive director of the Democratic National Committee under the chairmanship of Robert S. Strauss, the first Jewish chairman of a major American political party (1973–77). Siegel became deputy assistant to President Jimmy Carter in January 1977, where he served as the liaison to the American Jewish community. During that tenure he was the first to propose a national memorial to the Holocaust that led to the creation of the President's Commission on the Holocaust, and the Holocaust Memorial Museum 15 years later on the Mall in Washington.

In 1978 Siegel became the first – and to date the only – Jewish White House official to resign from the inner circle of the president in protest over the Carter Administration's plan to sell F15 jet fighters to Saudi Arabia. Later that year in Jerusalem, Prime Minister Begin presented Siegel with the Jonathan Netanyahu award for civil courage.

For more than 20 years after leaving the White House, Siegel served as president of Mark A. Siegel and Associates, Inc., and International Public Strategies, Inc., lobbying firms dealing with domestic and international representation. After the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks, he re-entered government as chief of staff to Congressman Steve Israel of New York, a member of the Arms Services Committee of the House of Representatives.

He has served as speechwriter to a long list of public officials including senators Humphrey, Bill Bradley, and Ted Kennedy, Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto of Pakistan, Prime Minister Henny Eman of Aruba, President Nursultan Nazarbaev of Kazakhstan, President Jimmy Carter, Vice President Walter Mondale, and Vice President Al Gore. Siegel served on the Board of the National Democratic Institute of International Affairs for 15 years, where he oversaw the Institute's party development and election monitoring in Asia. In 2000, Siegel served as the on-air consultant on the electoral college to the *Today* show during the presidential recount crisis.

He served as the vice president for government affairs of New Century Financial Corporation. Siegel is married to Judith Siegel, deputy assistant secretary of state for public diplomacy.

[Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

SIEGEL, MORTON K. (1924–), Jewish educator. Born in New York, he graduated from the Teachers Institute of Yeshiva University (1943) and received his B.A. from Yeshiva College and his Ph.D. from Columbia University (1952).

He began his career as educational director of Laurelton Jewish Center (1945–53) and then joined the staff of United Synagogue first as placement director of the Department of Education, and then as director for the Department of Youth Activities, where he led the dramatic growth of United Synagogue youth from 500 to 24,000 members. He initiated USY on Wheels, a tour of the United States for teenagers, and also the Israel Pilgrimage. Both programs have been in existence for more than four decades. He also launched ATID, the college-age program of United Synagogue. USY became the entry point into Jewish life for an entire generation of Conservative Jews, who went on to Camp Ramah – Siegel directed Camp Ramah in Connecticut for a time – and then into the rabbinate and Jewish professional or academic careers. As the Conservative movement was expanding into the suburbs, its youth programming was the most significant teenage programming in the American Jewish community and enabled the Conservative movement to attract and nurture its own leadership. In 1964 Siegel became director of the Department of Education when Walter Ackerman became dean of the University of Judaism's Teachers Institute.

The Department of Education set standards for the United Synagogue religious schools and newly emerging Solomon Schechter (Jewish Day) Schools as well as congregation nurseries and high schools. Curricular material was published and the department supervised the regional educational commission.

Siegel was a founder and first secretary of the Jewish Educators Assembly and taught at New York University during the 1970s. As he aged, he created new ways of Jewish learning including *Ḥazak*, which is nicknamed "USY for Mature Adults."

Taking the cue from the ongoing successes of the Kadima and USY youth groups, *Ḥazak* offers membership in an organization that provides camaraderie, social interaction, intellectual stimulation, religious guidance, and fun.

He is the author of a manual for the congregational school board member, with text prepared by Morton Siegel and Pesach Schindler and a syllabus on Zionism.

[Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

SIEGEL, SEYMOUR (1927–1988), U.S. rabbi, educator, and ethicist. Born in Chicago, Siegel was ordained at the Jewish Theological Seminary (JTS) in 1951 and earned a Doctor of Hebrew Letters from JTS in 1958. During a long career at JTS as Ralph Simon Professor of Jewish Ethics and Theology he developed through books, monographs, articles, courses, and lectures a theory and literature concerning Jewish ethics, theology and political life. He was instrumental in consolidating the relationship between the JTS in New York and the new rabbinical seminary of Latin America, the Seminario Rabinico Latinoamericano in Buenos Aires, by spending summers teaching there (1962–64) and worked tirelessly on social ethics in American life and ecumenical issues. Siegel's unique view of Jewish ethics, theology, political philosophy, and politics helped shape American Judaism (but especially Conservative Judaism) during a critical period in the 1960s–80s and has left an important legacy followed by a number of Jewish legal and ethical researchers. As chairman of the Rabbinical Assembly's Committee on Jewish Law and Standards (1973–80) he served in a period of activism in the movement's formulation of policies regarding the status of women, conversion, *kashrut*, biomedical ethics, abortion, birth control, artificial insemination, fetal and human experimentation, genetic engineering, war, and death and dying.

His idea of "ethical realism," or the need to formulate ethical decision-making on the basis of real circumstances (and only indirectly from idealized ethical principles), is basic to Siegel's Jewish ethics and view of politics. One of the most profound influences upon Siegel's formulation of ethical realism was Reinhold Niebuhr who taught at the Union Theological Seminary across the street from JTS. Many of Niebuhr's life experiences and views are paralleled in Rabbi Siegel's experiences and views. Siegel's "epiphany" came as a result of political and social unrest in the late 1960s and early 1970s. Siegel became politically more conservative in the 1970s and 1980s and became an advisor to three American presidents, Nixon, Ford and Reagan. President Reagan appointed him to be executive director of the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Council (1982–85) that was charged with constructing the national Holocaust Museum.

Siegel was also influenced by Abraham Joshua Heschel (d. 1972) on a number of spiritual and philosophical issues, particularly Heschel's conviction that the Jews had a vision of society which could and should influence general society as much as the general society influenced Judaism. Siegel marched alongside Heschel in the civil rights marches of the early 1960s and this translated into his work with the President's Commission for the Study of Ethical Problems in Medicine and Bio-Medical Research (1982). His concept of "A Bias for Life" that he drew from Jewish sources and that summarizes his view of medical ethics was incorporated into some final statements of House of Representatives reports and of the President's Commission on Bio-Medical Research.

After his death, St. Lawrence University purchased his library and personal archives and has established the Rabbi Dr. Seymour Siegel Memorial Library Collection and Archives and the Seymour Siegel Memorial Lecture on Judaism to benefit Jews and non-Jews who wish to explore Jewish ethics, general ethics and politics.

[Richard Freund (2nd ed.)]

SIEGMEISTER, ELIE (1909–1991), U.S. composer and writer. He was born in New York and studied at Columbia University and at the Juilliard School of Music, New York, as well as in Paris under Nadia Boulanger. In 1946 he formed the

American Ballad Singers, and later taught at Hofstra University.

Siegmeister's interest in American folk music was reflected in many of his own compositions, such as *A Walt Whitman Overture* (1940), *Ozark Set* (1944), and *Prairie Legend* (1947). He composed symphonies, operas (including *The Plow and the Stars*, 1963), orchestral works, chamber music, works for piano, choral works, and songs. His publications include *Songs of Early America* (1943), *Invitation to Music* (1961), *A Treasury of American Song* (1940, 1943^2), and a manual, *Harmony and Melody* (1965).

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SIEMIATYCKI, CHAIM (**Semyatitski**; pseudonyms: **Khaym Tiktiner**; **Khayml**; 1908–1943), Yiddish poet. Born in Tykocin (Tiktin), Poland, of a rabbinical family, the yeshivah-trained Siemiatycki, who lost his father at a young age, went to Warsaw in 1929 to work at odd jobs and to write rather than enter the rabbinate. Encouraged in his poetry from his yeshivah days by Hillel *Zeitlin, he contributed poems as well as critical notices on new Yiddish poets to the Warsaw dailies *Moment* and *Haynt*, and to other periodicals. He was soon recognized as one of the leading young Polish-Yiddish poets. In 1935 he published his first modest collection of verse, *Oysgeshtrekte Hent* ("Outstretched Hands," 1935), followed by another quite slender volume, *Tropns Toy* ("Dew Drops," 1938). During the Nazi occupation of Warsaw, Siemiatycki found refuge in Soviet-occupied Bialystok. In 1941 he moved to Vilna, suffered in its ghetto, following the liquidation of which he was shot in a labor camp. Despite his modest literary output, Siemiatycki's remarkably simple and highly individual lyrics mark him as one of the most authentic of modern Yiddish religious poets. An excited sense of wonder at God's creation characterizes his poetry.

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[Leonard Prager / Eliezer Niborski (2nd ed.)]

SIEMIATYCZE, town in Bialystok province, E. Poland. Up to the 19th century Siemiatycze was the private property of Polish nobles; from 1807 until 1915 it was ruled by Russia. Jews are first mentioned as customs and tax farmers in Siemiatycze in a document of 1582. In 1700 R. Gedaliah of Siemiatycze and his brother Moses joined the movement of *Judah Ḥasid ha-Levi advocating the return of the Jews to Ereẓ Israel. Their journey was described by R. Gedaliah in a pamphlet entitled *Sha'alu Shelom Yerushalayim* (published in *Reshummot*, 2 (1922), with a foreword by Zalman Rubashov Shazar). Siemiatycze, one of the most prominent communities in the Council of the Four Lands, grew and developed economically in the first half of the 18th century becoming independent of the Tykocin (Tiktin) community in matters of taxation. When the ruling duchess, Anna Jablonowska (1728–1800), built a road through the Jewish cemetery, which was very close to her palace, the community protested; this long caused resentment, and she sought to pacify the Jews by building a beautiful synagogue (1755; still standing in 1971) near the former site. At the end of the 18th century a copper mill was founded under Jewish direction. There were 1,015 Jews in Siemiatycze in 1765; 3,382 in 1847; 4,638 (75.4% of the total population) in 1897; and 3,718 (65.3%) in 1921. Some earned their livelihood in crafts and industry, but the majority engaged in trade, particularly in forest products and grain. At the end of the 18th century, Jewish merchants from Siemiatycze traded as far as Leipzig and Frankfurt. From the 1860s Jewish merchants and contractors developed the local weaving industry. Between the two world wars Jewish industrialists set up a factory producing glazed brick tiles which employed a work force that was 50% Jewish. Jewish craftsmen worked in clothing, leather, lumber, metal, building, glazing, and coach-building. The Jewish economy was also supplemented by vegetable growing in the period of economic depression between the two world wars. It was also assisted by the Jewish Cooperative Peoples' Bank and by *Gemilut Ḥasadim* societies in the city.

In 1905 czarist police attacked Jewish youngsters strolling in the forest on Rosh Ha-Shanah, wounding ten of them and killing one. The next day young Jewish revolutionaries organized themselves into "fighting units," disarmed the police, and controlled the town for three weeks. Jewish *self-defense units were set up in Siemiatycze. They also showed their strength when Siemiatycze reverted to Poland after World War I and they prevented attacks by pogromists. At the beginning of the 20th century the revolutionary movements, with the *Bund in the forefront, won support among the Jewish workers' and craftsmen's unions. Between the two world wars undercover Communist groups were also influential in the town. A Zionist society, *Ẓe'irei Zion, was founded in 1902 and opened a library. The various Zionist parties were all active there in the interwar period. Between the two world wars there were in the town a primary yeshivah and later a Beit Yosef yeshivah; a Yiddish elementary school (up to 1924); a Hebrew *Tarbut and a Yavneh school. The last rabbi of Siemiatycze was Ḥayyim Baruch Gerstein, a leader of the Mizrachi movement in Poland who perished in the Holocaust.

[Dov Rabin]

Holocaust Period

In 1939 there were over 7,000 Jews in Siemiatycze, 2,000 of them refugees from western Poland. The Soviet authorities, who controlled the city from 1939 to 1941, forced Jewish merchants and manufacturers to move to nearby towns on the pretext that they were security risks to the city, which lay in a border area. In the summer of 1940 most of the refugees were exiled to the Soviet interior. On June 23, 1941, German forces entered. They immediately organized a Polish police force which set about attacking the Jews. The Germans set up a *Judenrat*, headed by J. Rosenzweig, and a ghetto in the area "across the bridge" (Aug. 1, 1941). About 6,000 Jews were imprisoned within the ghetto, including Jews from Drohiczyn, Mielnik, and other towns. In deportations carried out on Nov. 2–9, 1942, the Jews were dispatched to *Treblinka. A second chairman was appointed for the *Judenrat*, Meir Shereshevski. Following the first deportation, the ghetto inmates met to discuss self-defense and planned to set the ghetto on fire should the Germans initiate another *Aktion* to liquidate the inhabitants. Shamai Plotnicki was sent to outlying villages to acquire arms. The resistance plan could not be carried out because the dates of deportations were moved forward to November 1942, when all the inhabitants were sent to their death. Some of the ghetto inmates tried to escape deportation by breaking through the walls; 150 of them were shot in the attempt. Of the 200 persons who managed to reach the forest, a number of them were forced back for lack of food and shelter. During this period groups of Jewish partisans were organized, one of which was headed by Hershl Shabbes. Clashes broke out between the Jewish partisans in the Brzezinski forests and the Polish underground AK (*Armia Krajowa*). When Siemiatycze was retaken by Soviet forces in May 1944, only about 80 Jews were left, but the Polish AK units continued to attack Jews. After the war the Jewish community of Siemiatycze was not reconstituted, but a society of former Jewish residents of Siemiatycze was formed and functioned in Israel and the U.S.

[Aharon Weiss]

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SIENA, city in Tuscany, central Italy. There is documentary evidence that a well-established Jewish settlement existed in Siena in 1229. It consisted mainly of moneylenders, who found conditions there favorable for their business. Although attacked in sermons by the most implacable Franciscan friars – Bernardino da *Siena at the beginning of the 15th century and Bernardino da *Feltre at its close – the Jews maintained their position. Between 1543 and the end of the 16th century at least 11 Jews graduated as physicians from the University of Siena. In 1571 Duke Cosimo I, anxious to receive the title of grand duke, gave in to the pressure of the Church and introduced ghettos in *Tuscany; Siena was one of the two places selected for the purpose. Conditions in the Siena ghetto in the 17th century, its quarrels and personalities, are strikingly illustrated in the diary of an uneducated Jewish peddler of low social and moral standing. In 1786 a new synagogue was built: the elaborate music sung on the occasion has been rediscovered and published. In March 1799, French troops occupied the town and the Jews were given full emancipation, but in the following June gangs of reactionaries from nearby *Arezzo descended on Siena, stormed the ghetto, and massacred 13 Jews, some of them inside the synagogue where the ark still bears the traces of the violence. According to Mussolini's special census of Jews in 1938, there were 219 Jews in Siena and the surrounding area. When the Germans occupied the area, most of these people disappeared into the Tuscan countryside to avoid roundups, but 17 Jews were deported from Siena and died at Auschwitz. In the years after World War II, the community had great difficulties in rebuilding itself. In the early 2000s the Jewish Community of Siena was composed of no more than 50 Jews. The synagogue, one of the most beautiful in Italy, is situated in via delle Scotte.

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[Ariel Toaff / Massimo Longo Adorno (2nd ed.)]

SIERADZ (Rus. **Seradz**), town in the province of Lodz, central Poland. Jews settled in the town around the middle of the 15th century and in 1446 there was a Jewish street. In the second half of the 16th century the struggle between the Jewish community and the townsmen was intensified as a result of the latter's complaint about competition from Jewish merchants. In 1569 King Sigismund II Augustus prohibited Jews from entering the town. They resettled in Sieradz during the 17th century, but their residence was forbidden once more in 1725. In 1765 there were only 17 Jews in Sieradz. Under Prussian rule (1793–1806) Jewish merchants and craftsmen again settled in Sieradz. The Jewish population of Sieradz rose from 177 (10% of the total population) in 1808 to 595 (19%) in 1827; 1,782 in 1857; 2,357 (35%) in 1897; and 2,835 (31%) in 1921. They earned their livelihood from trade in cereals, shopkeeping, tailoring, weaving, carpentry, and haulage. From 1829 to 1862 the authorities of Congress Poland restricted the Jews to a special quarter of the town where not more than one family could reside in a room and the houses were to be built of brick and covered by tiles. A number of Sieradz Jews joined the Polish rebels in 1863. After the retreat of the Russian army (1915), Jewish cultural institutions were established in Sieradz and the Zionists subsequently acquired considerable influence. Between the two world wars, various Jewish social and political organizations were active.

[Arthur Cygielman]

Holocaust Period

In 1939, 5,000 (about 40%) of the inhabitants of Sieradz were Jewish. The town was occupied by German forces on the third day of the war (Sept. 3, 1939), and looting of Jewish stores immediately spread. A number of Jewish hostages were taken and some were sent to Germany. In retaliation for alleged cases of shooting in the direction of German soldiers, all Jewish males were assembled and beaten, and some were killed. The ghetto was established on March 1, 1940, but no fence erected around it. During 1940–41 (before and after the establishment of the ghetto) the Jewish population of Sieradz decreased to about 25% of its prewar figure, as a result of deportations and flights to other towns of the Warthegau or to the territory of the General Government. In 1941 there were also sporadic transports of able-bodied Jews to the work camps near Poznan. By the beginning of 1942 only about 1,200 Jews remained and these were ordered to appear at a roll call twice daily. During their absence from their homes the remains of their property were looted. At the end of August 1942 the remainder of the Jewish population was sent to *Chelmno death camp with the exception of a few selected for forced labor in the *Lodz ghetto.

[Danuta Dombrowska]

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SIERPC (Rus. **Serpec**; Yid. **Sheps**), town in Warszawa province, N. central Poland; passed to Prussia in 1795 and was within Russia from 1815 to World War I, after which it reverted to independent Poland. A Jewish settlement in Sierpc is mentioned in documents in 1739 and 1766. In 1830 a government commission directed that Jews living in houses owned or leased by them were to be permitted to stay in Sierpc, while the rest were to be expelled. The community numbered 649 (67% of the total population) in 1800; 2,604 (56%) in 1856; 2,861 (42%) in 1921; and 3,077 (about 30%) in 1939. Jews earned their livelihood from the retail trade and crafts, generally on a small scale with inadequate earnings. They particularly suffered from the economic *boycott instigated by antisemites from 1912. Many Jews in Sierpc were dependent on outside relief, being helped by former residents of Sierpc in the United States who established a special "rescue fund" to aid them. Prominent rabbis of the town included Meir Devash (officiated 1790–1812); Moses Leib Benjamin Zilberberg (1830–40; d. Jerusalem, 1865); Mordecai b. Joshua Greenboim (1841–58); and Yeḥiel Mikhal b. Abraham Goldshlak (1865–1918), a disciple of the *ẓaddik* of Przysucha.

[Shimshon Leib Kirshenboim]

Holocaust and Postwar Period

In World War II, during the German occupation, Sierpc belonged to Bezirk Zichenau, established and incorporated into East Prussia by order of Hitler on Oct. 26, 1939. When the Germans entered on Sept. 8, 1939, German soldiers, *Volksdeutsche*, and Poles immediately began to loot Jewish shops. Frequent street and house raids to seize Jews for forced labor were made, and Jews were beaten up. During the Sukkot holiday the Germans set fire to the main synagogue. A young boy who entered the burning building to save the Torah scrolls was shot, and the following day, the Germans, on the pretext that the boy had been the incendiary, fined the Jewish community 50,000 zlotys.

On Nov. 8, 1939, deportation of the Jews from Sierpc began. The Jews were then driven out of the town where they were loaded on to wagons and taken some distance. They were subsequently forced to continue on foot in the darkness to Nowy Dwor, many being beaten on the way. The following day the police marched about 1,800 of them to Warsaw, while the rest managed to hide in Nowy Dwor. A few craftsmen whom the Germans wished to exploit remained in Sierpc interned in a special quarter. In addition a small number of the deportees returned to Sierpc, increasing the number in the ghetto to about 500.

The ghetto was liquidated on Feb. 6, 1942. Jews were loaded onto trucks sent to the ghetto in Mlawa district. On the way many were murdered.

Few Jews from Sierpc survived the war. Twenty-four survived internment in *Auschwitz. A few individuals saved their lives by hiding on the "Aryan side." Two of their number, who had escaped from the ghetto in Strzegów, were members of a partisan detachment in the vicinity of Plock, but after the war was over were murdered by Polish partisans.

In 1948 eight Jewish families, formerly resident in Sierpc, were living there. The societies of former residents of Sierpc influenced the municipal authorities to return the tombstones taken from the Jewish cemetery to pave the streets. The stones were used to erect a monument in memory of the Jews from Sierpc who perished in the Holocaust.

[Danuta Dombrowska]

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SIERRA, SERGIO JOSEPH (1923–), Italian rabbi and publicist. Sierra was born in Rome, where he received a rabbinical and university education. As chief rabbi of Bologna (1948–59), he brought new life to the Jewish community after the disasters of World War II. From 1960 he was chief rabbi of Turin, and director of the Istituto Superiore di Studi Ebraici-Scuola Rabbinica "S.H. Margulies-Disegni." He was a member of the Consulta Rabbinica Italiana and professor of Hebrew literature at Turin University (1969).

Sierra published several essays on Jewish history and literature, particularly from the period of the Middle Ages (RMI, JQR) and a review of *Gli Studi Italiani di Ebraico Postbiblico* (1971). Among his books is *Il Valore etico delle Mizvoth* (1957), and a scientific edition of Bonafoux Bonfil Astruc's Hebrew translation (1423) of Boethius *De Consolatione Philosophiae* (1967).

[Alfredo Mordechai Rabello]

In 1979–80 he was one of the founders of the Associazione Italiana per lo Studio del Giudaismo (AISG); he was professor of Hebrew and Comparative Semitic Languages, University of Genoa (1984–93), president of the Assemblea dei Rabbini d'Italia (1987–92), and member of the scientific committee and the editing committee of the *Rassegna Mensile di Israel*. In 1979 the second edition of his *Il Valore etico delle Mizvoth* was published. Among his publications are Italian translations of classical Hebrew works: in 1983 he published his translation *I doveri dei cuori* of *Ḥovot ha-Levavot* by Baḥya ibn Paquda; in 1988 there appeared his translation of Rashi's Commentary to *Shemot*, *Esodo*; in 1990 *La corona regale, Keter Malkhut* by Solomon ibn *Gabirol. In 1996 he was co-translator of the *Tehilim Yerushalayim* and in 1998 co-translator of the *maḥzor: Seder Tefillot le-Ḥol, le-Shabbat u-li-Yamim Tovim*). He edited *La lettura ebraica delle Scritture* and *Scritti sull'Ebraismo in memoria di M.E. Artom*. In 1998 there appeared in his honor *Hebraica. Miscellanea di Studi in onore di S.J.S. per il suo 75 compleanno,* edited by F. Israel, A.M. Rabello, and A.M Somekh, with a bibliography and a list of publications. In 1992 he made *aliyah* to Jerusalem.

[Alfredo Mordechai Rabello (2nd ed.)]

SIESBY, GOTTLIEB ISASCHAR (1803–1884), Danish author and editor. A shoemaker turned journalist, Siesby endeavored to further his liberal political views in various publications. He finally became co-editor of the conservative daily *Flyveposten*, which he acquired together with J. Davidsen in 1852, but after some initial success the paper had to close down in 1870. Siesby published *Lyriske Forsøg* (1825), poems; two volumes of comic verse; and *Robinson* (1934), a play staged in Copenhagen.

°**SIEVERS, EDUARD** (1850–1932), Germanist, linguist, and student of classical Hebrew poetry. Sievers taught at Jena (1871), Tuebingen (1883), Halle (1887), and Leipzig (1892). In addition to his many important works in the field of Germanic studies, Sievers published contributions to New Testament studies. His main research in the area of Hebraica was on the interpretation of the metrical structure of biblical Hebrew poetry; the results of these efforts were published as *Metrische Studien* (4 vols., 1901–19). In this important work, he helped pioneer the proper understanding of Hebrew accentuation and elegiac verse, and was the first to introduce the anapaest as a metrical principle in understanding Hebrew rhythm.

[Zev Garber]

SIFRA (Aram. סִפְרָא), is a *midrash halakhah* from the school of R. Akiva on the Book of Leviticus. The Aramaic word *sifra* means "book" or "The Book." This name was commonly used in Babylonia, and most likely attests to the centrality and importance of this Midrash. In the Land of Israel this Midrash was called *Torat Kohanim*, corresponding to the name given to the Pentateuchal book. According to most scholars, *Sifra* from the school of R. Akiva contains Midrashim on Lev. 1:1–7:38; 10:8–18:6; 18:19; 18:24–20:5; 20:22–27:34 (the attribution of the Midrashim in *Beḥukotai* (Lev. 26:3 ff.) is doubtful). Several textual versions contain additional expositions from the school of R. Ishmael on Lev. 8:1–10:7; 18:1–7; 18:18; 18:28; 20:6–22 (see below).

As is indicated by the statement of the *tanna* R. Simeon, the son of R. Judah ha-Nasi, to Bar Kappara (TB Kiddushin 33a), and by the testimony of *geonim* and *rishonim*, *Sifra* was originally divided into nine sections. However, in the extant textual versions, the original portion of *Sifra*, which derives from the school of R. Akiva, is divided into eleven or twelve "*megillot*" or "*dibburim*": "*Nedavah*" or "*Vayikra*" (Lev. 1:1–3:17); "*Hovah*" or "*Nefesh*" (4:1–5:26); "*Ẓav*" (6:1–7:38); "*Sheraẓim*" (10:8–12:8); "*Nega'im*" (13:1–59); "*Meẓorah*" (14:1–57); "*Ẓavim*" (15:1–33); "*Aḥarei Mot*" (16:1–18:30, with omissions); "*Kedoshim*" (19:1–20:27, with omissions); "*Emor*" (21:1–24:23); "*Sinai*" (25:1–26:2); "*Be-Ḥukotai*" (26:3–27:34, with omissions). The introduction of a secondary division, corresponding to the weekly Torah portions according to the Babylonian custom, is probably responsible for the increase in the number of units in *Sifra*. Several proposed reconstructions of the original nine parts of *Sifra* were put forth in the past, but this question was satisfactorily resolved only recently, by S. Naeh, who based his precise definition of the boundaries of the nine sections on the division that is at the shared foundation of the manuscripts, and which is accurately preserved in MS. Parma. He also showed that the key to the division is not dependent on the content of the smaller units, but rather is determined by the more or less equal size of these nine units known as "*megillot*" (literally, scrolls). This, along with the name of the work as a whole: "*Sifra*," attests to its relatively early commitment to writing in a book. Each *megillah* or *dibbur* is divided into "*parashot*," that are further split into "*perakim*" (chapters), and these, into "*halakhot*," with a numerical total at the end of each unit of the *parashot*, *perakim*, and *halakhot* that it contains.

Sifra is quoted at the present in accordance with the edition of I.H. Weiss, that was published some one hundred and forty years ago (1862) in Vienna. The Weiss edition is based on the Venice printing and corrections in accordance with *Yalkut Shimoni*, along with a section of references to the parallels and short interpretive notes. In the absence of a complete scientific edition of *Sifra*, great weight must also be given to two photocopy editions of *Sifra* manuscripts: the photocopy of MS. Vatican 66, published with an introduction by Finkelstein, and the photocopy of MS. Vatican 31, published by Makor (Jerusalem, 1972).

A commentary on *Sifra*, almost to the end of *dibbura de-Nedavah*, was published in Breslau in 1915, from the posthumous legacy of R. Meir Friedmann (Ish Shalom), who drew upon several manuscripts. In 1983–1990 L. Finkelstein published a four-volume scientific edition of the first two *dibburim* of *Sifra* (*Nedavah* and *Hovah*), consisting of an introductory volume, the text volume that included references to the parallels and a concise interpretation, a volume of textual variants, and a volume with a lengthy commentary. A fifth volume, that was sent to press close to Finkelstein's death in 1992, contains indexes to the four preceding volumes, along with a collection of Finkelstein's scholarly articles on halakhic Midrash.

The text of Finkelstein's critical edition is based on MS. Vatican 66, unquestionably the best text of *Sifra*, and, in fact, the most accurate extant *midrash halakhah* codex. This manuscript is of Eastern origin, most likely Babylonia, and is dated to the tenth or ninth centuries. It preserves many remnants of pure Tannaitic language, original terminology, traces indicative of the incorporation of the foreign units from the school of R. Ishmael, and mainly, an abundance of good textual readings. The manuscript has "Babylonian" vocalization above the letters written by another scribe, who in many instances also corrected the writing of the initial scribe, to adapt its tradition and textual version to his method. In the textual variants volume Finkelstein listed the changes in all the manuscripts of *Sifra*: MS. Breslau 108 (currently in the Jewish Theological Seminary library in New York: JTS Rab. 2171), that is relatively close to MS. Vatican 66; the Constantinople 1523(?) printed edition, that comprises most of the portion of *Vayikra*, and that apparently also reflects an Eastern textual tradition; the Italian MSS. Vatican 31 and Parma 139; the Venice printed edition; the Franco-German MS. Oxford 151 and MS. London 341, that present the Franco-German textual tradition; pages from a Yemenite ms. possessed by Rabbi J.Y. Kafiḥ; many *Genizah* pages (photo reproductions of which appear at the beginning of the Introduction volume); and the versions of the major indirect textual witnesses in the *Yalkutim* and medieval commentaries and Midrashim. To complement this edition, attention should also be paid to a considerable number of *Genizah* fragments and other *Sifra* pages, mainly from Eastern Europe, that were identified after the publication of the edition.

Three commentaries on *Sifra* by *rishonim* have been published: the commentary of R. Abraham ben David of Posquieres, that of Rabbenu Hillel, and the commentary attributed to R. Samson of Sens; and a relatively large number of commentaries by *Aḥaronim*. To these we should add commentaries on *Sifra* still in manuscript form, several of which are being published in the Shoshana edition, and many testimonies of nonextant *Sifra* commentaries. All in all, we have evidence of fifty copies of *Sifra* and more than 40 commentaries on the Midrash. These figures, that greatly exceed the number of copies and commentaries for the other *midrash halakhah*, reflect the premier standing during the medieval period of this *midrash*, that was very commonly studied in the past, and was an unparalleled tool for the comprehension of difficult topics relating to sacred objects and the purity laws. The fate of the scientific publication of *Sifra*, on the other hand, has not been as positive, and it is to be hoped that this failing will be remedied in the not too distant future.

Sifra is singular in the paucity of aggadic material it contains, the lengthy deliberations characteristic of many of its midrashic expositions, the extensive use made of the extant Mishnah, and in the great proximity of its expositions to their parallels in the BT, that apparently possessed a Midrash very similar to the extant *Sifra*. According to Finkelstein, the redactors of the extant *Sifra* made use of an early Midrash on Leviticus, that had been used by the Torah scholars who instructed the priests in the work of the Temple and the sacrifices. Based on this assumption, Finkelstein attempted to resolve a long line of difficult expositions, in which the redactors cited the early Midrash verbatim, and added to it a later stratum, so that it would conform to their approach. This view suits Finkelstein's general stance in *midrash halakhah* research, but it seems that many of his proofs can be refuted. Brown, on the other hand, asserts that along with the ancient Midrashim, *Sifra* also contains exegeses reflective of a version later than their parallels in the two Talmuds, but his proofs are unconvincing.

The core midrash of *Sifra* is from the school of R. Akiva, but in a later period it was augmented by several lengthy passages from the school of R. Ishmael, that apparently came from another halakhic midrash from the latter school that has not survived:

(1) the *baraita* of thirteen exegetical methods by which the Torah is expounded, at the beginning of *Sifra*. This *baraita* appears in all the textual versions, and there is evidence that it was already in this opening position in the geonic period. The positioning of this *baraita* at the beginning of *Sifra* might possibly reflect the ancient practice of beginning the study of the Pentateuch with the Book of Leviticus. The *baraita* is composed of several sources: (a) the count of the thirteen hermeneutical methods, according to R. Ishmael; (b) the exemplification of these rules in the *Scholion* that does not always correspond to the original meaning of these principles in the initial *baraita*; (c) the seven hermeneutical methods of Hillel that were inserted in the middle of the rule of *shenei ketuvim.*

(2) *Mekhilta de-Milu'im*, that includes exegeses regarding the narrative of the dedication of the Tabernacle at the end of the portion of *Ẓav* and the beginning of *Shemini* (Lev. 8:1–10:7). Several textual versions of *Sifra* lack this *Mekhilta*, or include only a portion of it. The inner division signs of the *Mekhilta de-Milu'im* in the reliable manuscripts vary from the main body of *Sifra*, and the *Mekhilta* contains several terms from the school of R. Ishmael, and several matters whose content is characteristic of this school. The full version of *Mekhilta de-Milu'im* comprises two cycles of interpretations on Lev. 9:1 ("On the eighth day"), and two such cycles on Lev. 9:22–10:7. Several manuscripts, however, lack the first cycle of expositions on 9:22–10:7, and the beginning of the second cycle does not appear in one manuscript. The second cycle of exegeses on Lev. 9:22 ff. is markedly associated with the school of R. Ishmael, while the first set of exegeses on these verses lacks any clear indicators of its origin.

(3) *Mekhilta de-Arayot*. The original *Sifra*, from the school of R. Akiva, does not expound the prohibitions of incestuous and other forbidden sexual relations in *Aḥarei Mot* (Lev. 18:7–18, 20–23) and in *Kedoshim* (Lev. 20:10–21). This omission is understandable in light of R. Akiva's opposition to publicly expounding the passage containing these prohibitions. Several textual versions of *Sifra* add a second set of interpretations of Lev. 18:1–7, from *Aḥarei Mot*, and interpreta-

tions of the sexual prohibitions in Lev. 20:6–22 in *Kedoshim*. In the conclusion of this unit is an exposition of Lev. 18:18 and 28, not in the order in which they appear in Scripture. These hermeneutical units obviously did not originally belong to *Sifra* of the school of R. Akiva, as is attested by their absence from most of the textual versions, and from their inclusion, not in their proper place, in other textual versions. The usual division markers of *Sifra* are missing from these sections in MSS. Vatican 66 and Oxford. The hermeneutical method, the names of the rabbis, and the midrashic terms in these two units patently teach of their origin in the second Midrash on Leviticus, from the school of R. Ishmael, that apparently adopted R. Ishmael's permissive stance regarding the public exposition of the sexual prohibitions.

Along with these large units, *Sifra* also incorporates several short Midrashim from the school of R. Ishmael. All these remains indicate the past existence of a tannaitic Midrash from the school of R. Ishmael. This conclusion is also supported by a lengthy series of halakhic Midrashim from the school of R. Ishmael that are preserved in the Talmuds, and the *paytan* Yannai probably possessed such a midrashic work. At the present time, unfortunately, no direct remnant of this lost Midrash has been found.

Translations

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[Menahem I. Kahana (2nd ed.)]

SIFREI (Aram. סִפְרֵי; Heb. סְפָרִים; "books") on Deuteronomy (SD), primarily a *midrash halakhah* of the school of R. Akiva, encompasses six sections from Deuteronomy: 1:1–30; 3:23–29; 6:4–9; 11:10–26:15; 31:14; 32:1–34:12 (the end of Deuteronomy). Each of these six units opens with the initial verse of a weekly Torah portion according to the custom of the Land of Israel, but the principle that guided the redactors of SD for the inclusion of Midrashim for these specific sections is unclear.

The *editio princeps* divides SD into *piska'ot* (סליק פיסקא – "the conclusion of the *piska*"), like the division of the printed edition of SN. Most of the manuscripts contain a division into verses (סליק פסוקא – "the conclusion of the verse"). In a number of places, there is an alternative division into chapters (סליק פירקא – "the conclusion of the chapter"), and in a relatively large number of locations, the unclear abbreviation פ' appears. In most of the complete manuscripts, however, the division is not regular, as it is in SN, and no division markers are preserved in several remnants from *Genizah* codices; some of the added notations of *piska'ot* in the relatively complete division of the printed edition disrupt the continuity of the expositions. At the same time, SD preserves several remnants of another, presumably earlier, division into "baraitot" and a later division into the Babylonian weekly Torah portions.

Most scholars regard the central unit of SD, that uninterruptedly expounds the halakhic passages in Deut. 12:1–26:15 (= *piska'ot* 59–303) as belonging to the school of R. Akiva. It is also accepted that the midrashim on the passages "Hear, O Israel" (Deut. 6:4–9) and "If, then, you obey" (Deut. 11:13–21) (= *piska'ot* 31–36; 41–47) contain clear signs pointing to an association with the school of R. Ishmael. The affiliation, however, of the aggadic sections in the first and last parts of SD is the subject of disagreement. Hoffmann initially thought that the entire first part of the midrash (*piska'ot* 1–58) is from the school of R. Ishmael, while the last part (*piska'ot* 304–357) belongs to that of R. Akiva. He later changed his opinion and also attributed the last aggadic section, beginning with *piska* 304, to the school of R. Ishmael. This view was fundamentally also held by Epstein, but he considered the aggadic section from the school of R. Ishmael at the beginning of SD as encompassing only *piska'ot* 1–54. Epstein placed the changeover point from the school of R. Ishmael to that of R. Akiva at the end of *piska* 54, under the influence of a *Geniza* fragment of *Mekhilta* on Deuteronomy, from the school of R. Ishmael that was discovered by Schechter and resembles SD, *piska* 54, but completely diverges from the latter beginning with *piska* 55. Goldberg reexamined this question and concluded that the aggadic sections at the beginning of SD (*piska'ot* 1–54, excluding the passages of "Hear, O Israel" and "If, then, you obey") and at its end are from the school of R. Akiva, in accordance with his general view that all the lengthy aggadic sections in ḤM belong to this school. It has been noted, however (see **Midrashei Halakhah*, (3) The Aggadic Material), concerning the aggadic material in ḤM, that most of the outstanding characteristics of the two schools do not find expression in the aggadic material and that there is in fact a high degree of similarity between the aggadic material contained in the parallel midrashim deriving from the two schools of tannaitic midrash. This similarity is quite noticeable in the aggadic material common to SD and *Mekhilta Deuteronomy*. In light of this, the "seam" at the beginning of *piska* 55 is to be viewed as a transition from the aggadic material that does not belong to either of the schools to the halakhic material from the school of R. Akiva.

L. Finkelstein published the scientific edition of SD, completed in Berlin in 1939, a month after the outbreak of World War II. Finkelstein based his edition mainly on five almost complete direct textual versions that include both SN and SD – the *editio princeps* and four manuscripts, six short *Genizah* fragments, *Midrash Ḥakhamim*, *Yalkut Shimoni*, and additional indirect textual versions. As regards the text, Finkelstein writes in his introduction: "For the most part, I chose the versions of MS. Rome, and I rejected it only where it was clear that another version was better and superior to it." In regard to the spelling in his edition, Finkelstein explained in his introduction that "the textual version of *Sifre* was redacted in the Land of Israel, and was obviously written in the Land of Israel spelling, or to be more precise, in the Galilean spelling. Many times a *yod* or a *vav* was added as an aid to vocalization, and the plural is usually marked with a *nun*, in place of a *mem*. For the convenience of the reader, I did not pay attention to these fine points and seemingly superfluous letters. In the main, I printed words in their usual spelling, although from the aspect of, and for the study of, Hebrew spelling, as well as for pronunciation, [not even] the crowns of letters nor the 'point of a *yod*' should be waived." To aid the reader, the textual variant section also lists textual versions that support Finkelstein's text, and not only the versions that differ from it. In the section of commentary and references to parallels, Finkelstein also made use of Horovitz's literary estate, citing him verbatim within brackets.

The first booklets of this edition were printed individually and were reviewed by Epstein and then Lieberman. Epstein harshly criticized Finkelstein's eclectic method of determining the text, in which he also incorporated, without any clear marker in the text itself, the versions of *Midrash ha-Gadol* that were taken from the second Midrash (MD) and other parallels, and also the emendations that the editor added on his own, and opposed to all the textual versions. Epstein similarly faulted the method of spelling adopted by Finkelstein in his edition, which frequently diverges from all the manuscripts. In addition to the methodological objections, Epstein also discussed a large number of topics, versions, and interpretations that were set forth in the edition. In conclusion, Epstein stressed that, despite all its drawbacks, "at long last we have the foundation of the text of *Sifrei* on which we can build, and the content and the builder are to be congratulated." Lieberman's criticism is more sympathetic. He, too, complained that Finkelstein emended the text in opposition to the manuscripts, but he emphasized the important contribution made by Finkelstein and the advantages of the edition in diverse areas, primarily the small number of corruptions it contains in relation to the size of the book, the stress placed on the mutual relations between the manuscripts that it presents, the large number of quotations from the literature of the *Rishonim*, the numerous references to talmudic and extra-talmudic parallels, and the up-to-date references to the scholarly literature.

A photocopy edition of Finkelstein's work was published in New York in 1969. In his introduction to this edition, Finkelstein notes, with refreshing candor, "I would still like to correct the mistakes that arose during the copying of the changes; and also the textual version, where I was so audacious as to emend the text in opposition to all the accepted versions, which should not be done, but I was childish at the time." He also directed the reader to quotations from SD in *Yalkut Talmud Torah* and Pseudo-*Rabad* that became available to him during the conclusion of his work and afterwards, and that should be taken into account.

All this compels the reader of Finkelstein's edition to check the textual variants and commentary sections constantly and thoroughly, in order, with their aid, to reconstruct the manuscript versions and to examine the editor's considerations in his determination of the text. Most of the direct and indirect textual versions of SD, as well as its commentaries, also include *Sifrei Numbers*, as is the case for MS. Vatican 32, the best textual version of *Sifrei Numbers* and SD. Although Finkelstein wrote that he had preferred its versions, in practice he digressed from it many times, and, in general, did not determine the text in accordance with this manuscript in most of the problematic passages, where he definitely should have remained faithful to its versions. Additionally, new texts of SD have since been discovered, in addition to the list of addenda that Finkelstein included at the beginning of his second edition, the most important of which are: some 45 leaves from the Cairo *Genizah*, Yehudah Nachum collection, and the archives of Modena and Nonantola, 13 leaves in MS. JTS Rab. 2392, and copious citations from SD in the Yemenite midrash in MS. Cincinnati 2026.

Dozens of expositions from the corresponding Midrash (*Mekhilta Deuteronomy*) were added to the central section of

SD (belonging the school of R. Akiva) in several manuscripts of the latter. These irregular expositions can be identified by their clear exhibition of characteristics of the school of R. Ishmael and especially by their presence in only a few textual versions, at times in a different place in each manuscript, as they interrupt the continuity of the original exegeses of SD. Some are explicitly labeled as "*tosefta*" (addition) in the commentaries of Rabbenu Hillel and other *Rishonim*. Finkelstein published these additions in his edition in small print, and Epstein also devoted a special discussion to them, in which he disagreed with several of Finkelstein's hypotheses regarding the origin of a number of expositions in SD as unoriginal marginal annotations. Now, with the discovery of additional *Genizah* fragments and Yemenite manuscripts, we see that these additions made their way from the marginal annotations only to the Western manuscripts of SD, while the Eastern textual versions of this Midrash lack these additions.

Regarding the unique nature of SD, Finkelstein observed that it still contains a significant number of early *halakhot* that follow the view of Beit Shammai and earlier remains from the Second Temple period, possibly even from the period of the prophets. An exacting study of Finkelstein's proofs teaches that many do not withstand the test of critical examination and that SD does not contain more early *halakhot* than the other ḤM. For a summary of the opinions concerning the redactors of SD, see the study by Epstein; for his commentaries on the Midrash, see the description of *Sifrei Numbers*.

Translations

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[Menahem I. Kahana (2nd ed.)]

SIFREI HA-MINIM (Heb. סִפְרֵי הַמִּינִים; lit. "books of the sectarians"). In Tosefta *Shabbat* 13:5, et al., it is stated that *gilyonim* (lit. "sheets of parchment") and *sifrei ha-minim*, may not be saved from fire on the Sabbath, but should be left to burn even if they contain Divine Names. On a weekday, however, according to Yose ha-Gelili, these Names should be cut out and the rest burned. For, according to R. Tarfon, unlike ordinary idolators who do not know God and therefore do not deny Him, **minim* ("sectarians") are those who recognize God but nonetheless deny Him. R. Ishmael adds that these books bring enmity between Israel and their Father in Heaven, presumably because they cause them to stray from the true path; *minim* should therefore be shunned (referring to Ps. 139:21–22). By *gilyonim* is meant Gospel texts, as is explicitly stated in the uncensored version of *Shabbat* 116a by Meir (second century) and Johanan (third century), who, satirically punning on the term *Evangelion*, call it *aven gillayon* (*gilyon*; "scroll of falsehood") and *avon gillayon* (*gilyon*; "scroll of sin") respectively (see Rabinovitz, Dik. Sof., 260, n. 60). For this reason, despite biblical citations and Names of God contained in these Gospel texts, they are left to be burned.

The term *sifrei ha-minim* is, however, somewhat more problematic. Bacher (in REJ, 38 (1899) 38–46), followed by Buechler and others, interprets it as meaning Torah scrolls written by *minim* (cf. Sif. Num. 16; see A. Buechler, *Studies in Jewish History* (1956), 272). But the term as found in *Ḥagigah* 15b (see Dik. Sof., 59, n. 3) and in *Sanhedrin* 100b (Dik. Sof., 303, n. 10) clearly cannot bear this meaning, but means heretical writings. Moore (Judaism, 1 (1946), 86f., 243f.), S. Lieberman (*Tosefta ki-Feshutah*, 3 (1962), 206f.), and others, suggest that *sifrei ha-minim* refers to Christian writings which abound in (reinterpreted) biblical citations. A new interpretation has been suggested by M. Margalioth, who published a newly recovered "book of magic from the talmudic period" (*Sefer ha-Razim*, 1966). It is a strange Hebrew treatise of Judeo-heathen character and is dated by the editor to the third or fourth centuries C.E. (p. 23–28). Margalioth concludes that when the Talmud speaks of *sifrei ha-minim* or *sifrei kosemin* ("books of diviners"; Tosef., Ḥul. 2:20, etc.), it refers to such a class of syncretist magical literature. However, his early dating of this text is still somewhat uncertain, and his explanation, though attractive, remains doubtful.

The *sifrei ha-minim* in Tosefta, *Yadayim* 2:13, mentioned there together with books of the Apocrypha, have no sanctity and therefore "do not render the hands that touch them ritually unclean." A comparison of this passage with that of *Yadayim* 4:6 and other related texts demonstrates conclusively, however, that the correct reading is *sefer hamiras*, meaning Homeric literature (see S. Lieberman, *Hellenism in Jewish Palestine* (1950), 105–14, especially 106 n. 39). However, this ruling remains true of *sifrei haminim* too.

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[Daniel Sperber]

SIFREI (Aram. סִפְרֵי) **NUMBERS** (SN) is a *midrash halakhah* of the school of R. *Ishmael. The Aramaic word *sifrei* means "books," and this name was also given to a halakhic Midrash on Deuteronomy. In the past a halakhic Midrash on Exodus was also similarly named. SN consists of Midrashim on 11 biblical units: Num. 5:1–7:19, 7:84–8:4, 8:23–29:14, 10:1–10, 10:29–12:16, 15:1–41, 18:1–19:22, 25:1–14, 26:52–56, 27:1–31:24, and 35:9–34. A comparison of the material that is expounded with what is not teaches that most of the halakhic passages are the subject of exegesis, while a majority of the literary sections were disregarded by the Midrash. This criterion is not absolute, since several narrative sections, such as the complaint by the people in the wilderness or the act of Phinehas at Shittim, were expounded, while several halakhic topics lack any exegesis, such as the commandment to dispossess the inhabitants of the land and the destruction of the cult places (*bamot*).

SN was formerly divided into two books, each named after their beginning. The first was called "*Sefer va-Yedabber*," after the initial word of the first verse that is expounded in Num. 5:1: "The Lord spoke [*va-yedabber*] to Moses, saying," and the second apparently was named "*Sefer Zot*," because it opened with the words "This is [*zot*] the statute of the Torah" (Num. 19:2). Each of these two books is divided into secondary topics, and each topic is further divided into "*baraitot*." The numerical sum of the *baraitot* is listed at the end of each subject, in the interim division of each of the two books, and at the conclusion of each of the two books themselves. Another division of SN is by verses ("סליק פסוקא" – "the completion of the verse"), but this would seem to be a later apportionment. The division according to the Babylonian Torah portions in several second-rate textual versions is not original.

The scientific edition of SN, the editing of which was the result of thorough consideration, was published by H. Saul *Horovitz in Leipzig in 1917. The body of the edition is generally based on the *editio princeps* published in Venice 1546, with corrections and additions following two manuscripts – Vatican 32 and London 341 – and numerous citations from SN in *Yalkut Shimoni*, *Midrash Ḥakhamim*, the commentary on SN by Rabbenu Hillel, and in several medieval Midrashim. The text itself is accompanied by an apparatus listing textual variants and another consisting of a concise commentary that also contains references to the parallels. The edition begins with a lengthy introduction that includes, inter alia, a characterization of the hermeneutical method of SN. This is the first critical edition of any work from the tannaitic literature, and Horovitz began the preparation of his editions of *Mekhilta of R. Ishmael* and *Sifrei Deuteronomy* only following its completion.

When all is said and done, however, this initial edition suffers from several limitations. Additional direct textual versions of SN were discovered after the publication of Horovitz's edition, most importantly MS. Oxford 151, MS. Berlin Tubingen 1594.33, eight leaves of MS. Firkovich II A 269, *Yalkut Talmud Torah* by R. Jacob ben Hananel Sikili, which quotes extensive portions of SN, several commentaries on SN by *Rishonim*, Midrashim by *Rishonim* who made use of SN, and more. In determining the text of SN, Horovitz relied heavily upon the reworked and emended text of *Midrash Ḥakhamim*, which he considered to be the best textual version of SN; while MS. Vatican, the oldest manuscript of SN, was regarded by him to be a manuscript of lesser quality. Horovitz's erroneous appraisal of the manuscripts reflects a confusion between the textual versions of SN, on the one hand, and its parallels, on the other, and from an unawareness of several basic principles of talmudic philology that were developed only after the publication of his edition. Note should also be taken of his partial listing of textual variants and the tendency to harmonization that is evident in many of his interpretations.

As was mentioned above, the best manuscript of SN is Vatican 32, whose superiority to the other textual versions is expressed in various ways, such as: traces of the early division of SN, remnants of tannaitic language, rare or difficult words that were emended in other textual versions, original terminology, the style of the exegeses, the Mishnah of SN that other textual versions frequently emended in accordance with the extant Mishnah, *baraitot* that were not reworked in accordance with their parallels in TB, occasionally surviving remnants of early *halakhot*, a version of the Bible different from the masoretic text, and "foreign" texts whose exceptional nature is more clearly evident in this version. Along with its original formulations, MS. Vatican also contains many *homoiteleuton*, interchanged letters, and even a small number of emendations and adaptations. Obviously, other textual versions must be employed as well, both in order to reconstruct the original versions of SN and to study their evolution in the medieval period.

A number of *Rishonim* composed commentaries on SN, most of which also interpret *Sifrei Deuteronomy*. The most important of these works are the commentaries of Rabbenu Hillel, the commentary attributed to Rabad, the commentary in MS. Mantua 36, and that by R. Soliman Ohana. The especially outstanding commentaries on SN by **Aḥaronim* include those by R. David *Pardo, R. Meir *Friedmann (Ish Shalom), and R. Naphtali Zvi Judah *Berlin.

An exceptional feature of SN is the relatively large number of "foreign" texts that it incorporates, some of which are inserted in the middle of expositions, interrupting their continuity; while the placement of others does not follow the order of the Pentateuch. Some of these foreign texts are cited in SN in the name of R. *Judah ha-Nasi or were attributed to him in other talmudic parallels. Most of Judah ha-Nasi's other dicta in SN, which harmonize with the course of the expositions, were included as a last opinion presented in the conclusion of the exegesis. This fact leads us to believe that the initial redaction of SN was followed by the insertion of another stratum from "the school of Rabbi." Attention should also be paid to the fact that SN hardly contains expositions in the name of *tannaim* from the generation after R. Judah ha-Nasi, which is possibly indicative of the relatively early redaction of this halakhic midrash. The brevity of the exegeses in SN, in comparison with the other halakhic midrashim, and the relative paucity of associative expansions in this midrash would seem to support this suggestion.

Translations

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[Menahem I. Kahana (2nd ed.)]

SIFRE ZUTA DEUTERONOMY (SZD) is a *midrash halakhah* of the school of R. *Akiva. No direct manuscripts of SZD have been found, and the main source for the reconstruction of the Midrash is citations in the commentary of the Karaite sage Jeshua ben Judah on Deuteronomy, who quotes passages from it with relative accuracy. Other citations, of a more paraphrastic nature, are included in *Sefer Pitron Torah,* which was published by Urbach, and possibly also in *Midrash Ḥadash*, published by Mann. The name "*Sifre Zuta Deuteronomy*" is not documented in the literature of the *Rishonim* and was proposed in light of its high degree of similarity to *Sifre Zuta Numbers*. The close relation between these two works is clearly demonstrated by their common terminology and shared quotations and is also reflected in their vocabulary, names of rabbis, their Mishnah, which consistently differs from the extant Mishnah, and their unique *halakhot*.

About 130 short citations from SZD that expound verses from the portions of *Devarim*, *Va-Etḥanan*, *Ekev*, *Re'eh*, *Ki Teẓe*, and *Ki Tavo* have been found to date. The aggadic quotations from the portion of *Devarim*, chap. 1, fundamentally resemble their parallels in *Sifrei Deuteronomy* and *Mekhilta Deuteronomy*, albeit with a distinct and independent style and with several terms and expressions that are characteristic specifically of the school of *Sifrei Zuta*. The other expositions, which are concerned with halakhic issues, employ terms and hermeneutical methods of the school of R. Akiva, following the midrashic subschool of *Sifrei Zuta*.

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[Menahem I. Kahana (2nd ed.)]

SIFRE ZUTA NUMBERS (SZN) is a midrash halakhah of the school of R. Akiva. The Aramaic word "*zuta*" means "small," paralleling the name "*Sifre Rabbati* [the large *Sifre*]" given to *Sifrei Numbers* (SN) by several of the *Rishonim*. The *Genizah* remains of SZN, however, do not attest to the limited scope of this midrash as compared to SN, and this name may possibly attest to its rarity. Other names for this midrash are "*Sifre*," *Zute*," *Sifre Yerushalmi*," "*Sifrei shel Panim Aḥerot*," *Mekhilta*," "*Makhalah*," and others. The exact extent of SZN has not been determined, but, like SN, it clearly opened with the exposition of the first *halakhah* in Num. 5:2 (as is demonstrated from the list of books discovered in a Cambridge *Genizah* fragment), skipped the expositions of the verses in Num. 31:25–35:8 (as in the *Genizah* fragment) just like SN, and as a general rule included midrashim on the same verses that are expounded in SN. In any event, no conclusions can be drawn, based on the chance non-preservation of relevant quotations, that certain passages or Torah portions were not the subject of exposition in SZN. This midrash was originally divided into several large subunits, each of which encompassed several topics. The large units, whose scope and names are not known to us, were divided into numbered "*parashot*."

Zunz was the first scholar to collect material about the Rishonim who brought citations from SZN and about the different names of this midrash, and following him, Brüll and other scholars thoroughly discussed the midrash. Schechter successfully identified and published a *Genizah* fragment consisting of two leaves from SZN, on the Torah portions of *Matot* and *Mas'ai*. At the same time B. Koenigsberger began to reconstruct the midrash in orderly fashion, but he was able to publish only two booklets, from the portion of *Bamidbar* to that of *Beha'alotekha*. The first reconstruction of SZN as a whole was made by Horovitz, initially with notes in German, and afterwards in Hebrew, with an independent apparatus of textual variants and an extensive commentary, that included references to the parallels. The second edition, published in Leipzig in 1917 together with Horovitz's edition of SN, also includes an introduction that describes the unique nature of the midrash.

Horovitz based his reconstruction primarily on the explicit quotations of "*Zute*" in *Yalkut Shimoni*, the passages in *Midrash ha-Gadol* that he asserted were copied from SZN, a *Genizah* fragment published by Schechter, quotations that were incorporated in *Num. Rabbah* on *Naso*, and other citations in the literature of the *rishonim*. After the appearance of the Horovitz edition, Epstein published a fragment of five leaves from SZN on the passage of the red heifer that he identified in material that had been sent to him from St. Petersburg. Also published were a small number of new citations from SZN found in the literature of the *Rishonim*, to which we may add several new quotations. The Horovitz edition may also be emended in accordance with MS. Oxford 2637 of *Yalkut Shimoni*, the manuscripts of *Midrash ha-Gadol* on Numbers, and the manuscripts and the *editio princeps* of *Num. Rabbah*. On the other hand, one should eliminate from the Horovitz edition a relatively large number of passages that were included on the basis of *Midrash ha-Gadol*, but that did not, in fact, originate in SZN, rather in other books, including SN, MS, the Mishnah, *Avot de-Rabbi Natan*, the two Talmuds, *Tanhuma*, *Mishnat R. Eliezer*, *Pirkei de-Rabbi Eliezer*, the *Mishneh Torah* of Maimonides, and the original additions made by the author of *Midrash ha-Gadol* himself.

SZN is the subject of two traditional commentaries (Jaskowicz and Garbus) and of modern studies written by three major scholars, Epstein, Albeck, and Lieberman, who devoted an entire book to this midrash. Although SZN is a Midrash from the school of R. Akiva, it is distinguished from the classic Midrashim of this school in a number of ways. It makes use of a relatively large number of unique terms, mentions the names of several Tannaim who do not appear elsewhere, possesses a style that is at times absent from the other sources, and uses rhetorical and poetical language, includes a large quantity of *halakhot* undocumented in other sources and otherwise unknown disagreements of Beit Hillel and Beit Shammai, and consistently quotes a mishnaic source that does not correspond to the extant Mishnah. The scholars have also noted that Rabbi's name is absent from this work. Lieberman drew this distinction into sharper focus by noting that the *halakhot* of R. Judah ha-Nasi and those of R. Nathan appear in SZN, but without attribution. Lieberman additionally indicated "clear allusions" against the Patriarchate in the expositions of SZN. In light of all the above, Lieberman concluded that the redactor of SZN was in conflict with the Patriarchate of R. Judah ha-Nasi, did not acknowledge the superior authority of the latter's Mishnah, and intentionally refrained from mentioning his name and that of R. Nathan, who was the son of the Exilarch, and thus "fined" both leaders, the **nasi* in the land of Israel, and the exilarch in Babylonia. It should be noted that the allusions against the court of the *nasi* found by Lieberman are not unambiguous. Nor is the omission of R. Nathan from SZN unique to this midrash; on the contrary, this feature is characteristic of all the midrashim of the school of R. Akiva.

It is also noteworthy that the material in the lengthy aggadic sections of SZN fundamentally resembles the parallel material in SN, albeit usually with slightly more detail. On rare occasions the aggadic material contains traces of the singular terms and central rabbis characteristic of the halakhic portion of this midrash, and the consistent approach of the aggadic material in a number of topics in SZN noticeably differs from the approach set forth in the parallel material in SN.

The exceptional character of SZN has challenged scholars to determine the identity of its final redactor. Epstein was the first to conclude that R. Hiyya redacted SZN in Sepphoris, to which Albeck objected, leading Epstein to change his view, albeit for other reasons, and to attribute the final ordering of SZN in Sepphoris to Bar Kappara. Lieberman discussed this at length, once again, and, based on other considerations, determined that although Bar Kappara redacted SZN, he did so in Lydda, and not in Sepphoris. But then after all this scholarly activity, a basalt lintel was uncovered in Dabura in the Golan, bearing the inscription: "This is the *beit midrash* of Rabbi Eliezer ha-Kappar." The entire issue accordingly requires re-examination, and it seems that only the discovery of new passages from this midrash, and from other midrashim that were redacted by this school, will likely advance the study of such issues.

Translation

D. Borner-Klein, *Der Midrasch Sifre Zuta* (Stuttgart 2002).

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[Menahem I. Kahana (2nd ed.)]

SIGHET (Hung. **Máramarossziget**), town in Crisana-Maramures, N.W. Romania, between 1940 and 1944, part of Hungary. Jews had already settled there by the 17th century and were taxed from 1728. Community life in Sighet was traditional and also influenced by religious trends, including *Ḥasidism. The Frankists (see Jacob *Frank) too found adherents there. Ten Jewish families (39 persons) lived in the town in 1746; there were 142 Jews in 1785–87, and 431 in 1831. An organized community already existed during the second half of the 18th century, when the rabbi was Ẓevi b. Moses Abraham (d. 1771) from Galicia, a determined opponent of the Frankist movement. Other rabbis included Judah ha-Kohen *Heller, who served there until his death in 1819; and Hananiah Yom Tov Lipa *Teitelbaum (1883–1904) of the ḥasidic family of *ẓaddikim*. The Sighet community had joined the organization of Hungarian Orthodox communities in 1883, but the liberal elements, amid considerable dispute, later founded their "Sephardi community." From 1906 its rabbi was Samuel Danzig (b. 1878), who perished in the Holocaust. The last rabbi of the Orthodox community was Jekuthiel Judah *Teitelbaum, who also died in the Holocaust. Sighet had yeshivot, Jewish schools, Zionist organizations, and Hebrew presses and libraries, including the Israel Weiss Library. Attempts were made to publish periodicals in Hebrew, Yiddish, and Hungarian. The majority of Jews in the district were impoverished. The Jewish population increased rapidly during the second half of the 19th century. There were 4,960 Jews in the town (about 30% of the total population) in 1891; 7,981 (34%) in 1910; 10,609 (about 38%) in 1930; and 10,144 (39%) in 1941, the highest proportion of Jews in any Hungarian town. Natives of Sighet included the Yiddish author Herzl Apsán (1886–1944); the humorist, editor, and author, Hirsch Leib *Gottlieb; the rabbi and historian Judah Jekuthiel *Greenwald; the Hebrew and Yiddish poet J. Holder (1893–1944); the author Elie *Wiesel; the violinist J. *Szigeti; the Yiddish author J. Ring; and the pianist Géza Frid. Between the two world wars the local Jews suffered from the Romanian Iron Guard, which tried to make it impossible for them to maintain any kind of Jewish life there.

During World War II, after the annexation of northern Transylvania by Hungary in 1940, the authorities began to curtail the economic activity of the Jews in Sighet. Men of military age were conscripted for forced labor in 1942, and in the summer of 1944 Hungarian and German Nazi authorities set up a ghetto, from which 12,000 Jews were deported to death camps.

In 1947 a Jewish community of about 2,300 was formed by returning survivors and Jews from other places. Only about 250 Jews remained in 1970. In 1959 the organization of Sighet Jews in Ereẓ Israel began publication of *Máramarossziget*, a periodical in Hebrew, Yiddish, and Hungarian on the history of the Jews in Sighet and the Marmures district. After 1989 there were several Jewish and official Romanian attempts to commemorate local Jewish life. Elie Wiesel's repeated visits contributed to a better knowledge of their history and heritage. In Israel there is a Sighet Organization which also aims to perpetuate the memory of those who died there.

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[Yehouda Marton / Paul Schveiger (2nd ed.)]

SIGMAN, MORRIS (1880–1931), U.S. labor leader. Born near Akkerman, S. Bessarabia, Sigman left Russia for England in 1901 and settled in New York two years later. He worked as a cloak presser in the needle trades and joined the Jewish labor movement, leading a cloak pressers' revolt against the International Ladies Garment Workers' Union (ILGWU). The cloak pressers formed an independent union affiliated to the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance and later to the radical labor organization, Industrial Workers of the World (IWW). However, the IWW had little appeal to the Jewish workers of New York and in 1907 Sigman's union rejoined the ILGWU. Sigman devoted his energies to the creation of effective and stable trade unions in the needle trades. He organized the successful shirtwaist workers' strike (1909–10) and managed the picket committee during the cloakmakers' strike (1910). He was elected secretary-treasurer of the ILGWU in 1914 only to resign a year later, but after managing the New York Joint Cloak Board (1917–20), he was elected a vice president of the ILGWU in 1920. He retired in the following year but was recalled from retirement in 1923 to serve as ILGWU president in the face of an impending union split under pressure from the Communist Trade Union Education League. Sigman succeeded in defeating the communist challenge during his five years of office but on his resignation in 1928 he left the union a smaller and impoverished organization.

[Melvyn Dubofsky]

SIGNORET (Kaminker), SIMONE (1921–1985), French film actress. Born in Wiesbaden, Germany, the daughter of a French Army officer, Signoret (her mother's name) was brought up in Paris. A femme fatale role in *Macadam* (1946) started her rise to stardom in French films. In several productions she appeared with the singer and actor Yves Montand, whom she married in 1951. She achieved international stardom and an Oscar for her role in the British film *Room at the Top* (1959) and subsequently acted in other British, Italian, French, and American films, including *L'Aveu* (1970), *La Vie devant soi (Madame Rosa;* 1977), *L'Adolescente* (1979), and *Chère inconnue* (1980).

[Jonathan Licht]

SIGNS AND SYMBOLS. A sign, in biblical Hebrew *ʾot*, is a mark, an object, or an event conveying some particular meaning. A sign is called *mofet* ("portent") when it is portentous or marvelous in character. Symbols constitute a special category of signs. They are visible objects generally acknowledged to represent, by way of association or analogy, something that is invisible. Symbols are not to be confused with *myths, metaphors, or poetic comparisons. The symbolic acts of the prophets, reported in the Bible, are in fact symbols that are acted out. Ancient Hebrew does not possess a special term that corresponds exactly to modern understanding of a symbol, but words such as *ʾot* ("sign, token"), *mofet* ("portent"), *demut* ("likeness, shape"), *ẓelem* ("image, statue"), or *temunah* ("form") are sometimes used in a similar sense.

The direct or indirect author of an *ʾot* in the Bible is almost always God. According to C.A. Keller, this indicates that the term originally belonged to the religious sphere. In the oldest biblical texts, *ʾot* means an oracle or an omen by which God guaranteed that He entrusted someone with a special mission (Ex. 3:12; cf. 4:8–9, 17, 28, 30; Judg. 6:17; I Sam. 10:7, 9), or that His might will participate in an undertaking (I Sam. 14:10), or that a prophetic statement announcing future events is true (I Sam. 2:34; II Kings 19:29; 20:8, 9; Isa. 7:11, 14; 37:30; 38:7–8, 22; Jer. 44:29). The word *mofet* is also employed in this sense in I Kings 13:3, 5. *ʾot* designates also heathen omens (Isa. 44:25), especially astronomical ones (Jer. 10:2), and sometimes denotes a token of good faith (Josh. 2:12) or kindness (Ps. 86:17), evidence (Job 21:29), an example (Ezek. 14:8; cf. Ps. 71:7), or a distinguishing mark, e.g., the sign of Cain (Gen. 4:15), the blood mark on the Israelite houses in Egypt (Ex. 12:13), or the emblems of the tribes in the wilderness of Sinai (Num. 2:2; see *Banners).

God's miraculous interventions, principally in Egypt, are often considered "signs" which provided evidence of His supernatural power and of His election of the people of Israel (Ex. 7:3; 8:19; 10:1–2; Num. 14:11–12; Deut. 4:34; 6:22; 7:19; 11:3; 26:8; 29:2; 34:11; Josh. 24:17; Jer. 32:20, 21; Ps. 78:43; 105:27; 135:9; Neh. 9:10; cf. Isa. 55:13; cf. Ps. 74:9). In these texts, the word *oʾt* is practically synonymous with "wonder" or "miracle," and it is often employed as a parallelism for *mofet* (Ex. 7:3; Deut. 4:34; 6:22; 7:19; 26:8; 29:2; 34:11; Jer. 32:20, 21; Ps. 78:43; 105:27; 135:9; Neh. 9:10), which is also used in that sense in Exodus 4:21; 7:9; 11:9, 10; Joel 3:3; Psalms 105:5; I Chronicles 16:12; and II Chronicles 32:24, 31. Certain cultic institutions or sacred objects came to be regarded as "signs" commemorating divine actions in the past and containing a lesson for successive generations. Among these "signs" are the unleavened bread (Ex. 13:9), the dedication of the firstborn male (Ex. 13:16), the Sabbath (Ex. 31:13, 17; Ezek. 20:12, 20), the teaching of the *Shemaʿ* (Deut. 6:8; cf. 11:18), the originally ritual maledictions, characterized also as "portents," which are referred to in Deuteronomy 28:46, the censers that were converted into an overlaying of the altar (Num. 17:3), Aaron's rod (Num. 17:25), the twelve stones in the Jordan (Josh. 4:6), and the sanctuaries of the Lord in Egypt (Isa. 19:20; cf. 66:19), such as that of Elephantine, which were probably inspired by the Israelite places of worship. In the Priestly tradition of the Pentateuch, the rainbow (Gen. 9:12, 13, 17) and circumcision (Gen. 17:11) are called "signs of the covenant," *ʾot berit*, because they are guarantees of a covenant. The sun, moon, and stars are considered divine "signs both for festivals and for seasons and years" (Gen. 1:14; cf. Ps. 65:9).

In the prophetic books a "sign" (Isa. 8:18; 20:3, Ezek. 4:3) or "portent" (Ezek. 12:6, 11:24, 27; cf. Zech. 3:8) can also refer to a symbolic act or symbolic behavior. A number of such "symbolic acts," described or actually performed by the prophets, are recorded in the Bible. For instance, Hosea symbolized Israel's relation to the Lord in an unhappy marriage to an unfaithful wife (Hos. 1–3; but see *Hosea), and he named his children Lo-Ruhamah ("Not-Loved") and Lo-Ammi ("Not-My-People") to express the fate of the people (Hos. 1:6–9, cf. 2:3, 25). Isaiah used the same method and called his children by names such as Shear-Jashub ("A remnant shall return"; Isa. 7:3) and Maher-shalal-hash-baz ("Speed-Spoil-Hasten-Plunder"; Isa. 8:1–4). Thus he could say: "the sons whom the Lord has given me are signs and portents in Israel" (Isa. 8:18). He himself went "naked and barefoot… as a sign and a portent to Egypt and Cush" (Isa. 20:3). Other acts of this type are Ahijah the Shilonite's tearing his garment into 12 pieces and giving ten to Jeroboam to symbolize the partition of Solomon's kingdom (I Kings 11:29–31), and Zedekiah son of Chenaanah's butting with horns to show that the king of Israel would gore the Syrians with horns of iron (I Kings 22:11). Such symbolic actions are particularly common in Jeremiah and Ezekiel. For instance, Jeremiah shattered an earthen vessel in front of the people (Jer. 9:10–11) in order to symbolize in a concrete manner the destruction of Jerusalem. On another occasion, he carried a yoke to show that the yoke of Babylon would be placed upon Judah and its allies (*ibid.* 27–28). Ezekiel acted out the siege of Jerusalem (Ezek. 4:1–3) and the deportation (*ibid.* 12:1–16), thus becoming himself a "sign" (*ibid.* 4:3) and a "portent" (*ibid.* 12:6, 11) for the Israelites. And when the prophet lost his wife, the Lord forbade him to observe the rituals of mourning (*ibid.* 24:15–24) in order to serve as a sign for the people (24:24, 27). As noted by Naḥmanides in the 13th century (commentary on Gen. 12:6) and stressed by moderns like G. Fohrer, such actions symbolizing future developments are quasi-magical and serve to bring these events about.

The "symbolic acts" of the prophets are only one particular form of symbolism found in the Bible. Many of the Israelite symbols are similar to those of other Near Eastern peoples. In fact, the origins of army, civil, and religious forms which expressed themselves in symbols are the same throughout the Near East. For instance, the impressive symbolic ceremony connected with contracting a covenant is found in Mesopotamia, Syria, and Israel: An animal was killed and dismembered, and the partners in the covenant walked between the pieces to show that they invoked a similar doom of destruction upon themselves if they proved unfaithful to their oath (Gen. 15; Jer. 34:18–19). The verbal agreement was thus accompanied by a symbolic act which produced a profound and lasting impression on the mind, and indicated to both parties the fate they would deserve in case they violated the agreement. A similar symbolic gesture is found in Deuteronomy 21:4: The calf's neck was broken to call for the same fate upon the unknown murderer, while the elders of the city, by washing their hands (Deut. 21:6; cf. Ps. 26:6; 73:13), indicated symbolically that the city was free of guilt. It was believed that these symbolic actions were being executed in the presence of the deity who served as a witness and a guarantor of their permanent value. Therefore, lifting up the hand toward heaven and calling upon the authority of the deity was also a symbol used in taking an oath (Gen. 14:22; Deut. 32:40; cf. Ex. 6:8; Num. 14:30; Neh. 9:15, et al.).

In the realm of profane symbols, the giving of the hand showed that a relationship was established between two persons (II Kings 10:15; Ezek. 17:18). By having a person sit at one's right hand one showed a willingness to share authority with him (I Kings 2:19; Ps. 110:1), while by laying one's hand on a person, one symbolized the transference of power from one party to another (Num. 27:15–23). Similarly, blessing is conveyed, and sin transferred, by laying on of hands (Gen. 48:14; Lev. 16:21). Burial and mourning customs involved numerous symbolic actions. The mourner, for instance, demonstrated his sorrow by lacerating his body and cutting his hair (Jer. 7:29; 16:6; 41:5; 48:37–38; Ezek. 27:31; Amos 8:10; cf. Lev. 19:27–28; Deut. 14:1), by rending his clothes (I Sam. 4:12: II Sam. 1:11–12; 3:31) and girding himself with sackcloth (II Sam. 3:31), by placing ashes upon his head (I Sam. 4:12; Ezek. 27:30), and sitting on the ground (Gen. 23:2–3; Ezek. 26:16; Lam. 2:10). There were also funeral meals (Jer. 16:7; Hos. 9:4), originally conceived as a kind of communion with the dead which consoled the survivors. The enthronement of the king and the exercise of his authority, marriage ceremonies, and birth customs also involved different symbolic acts and the use of various symbols. However, it was mainly in the domain of the cult that symbols were employed. The worshiper, for instance, spread out his hands in prayer toward the deity, who was supposed to dwell in heaven or the Temple, to show that he desired to obtain divine mercy and help (Ex. 9:29, 33: I Kings 8:22, 38, 54; Isa. 1:15; Ps. 28:2; 44:21; 63:5; 141:2; Job 11:13; Lam. 2:19; Ezra 9:5; II Chron. 6:12, 13, 29). Of course, the most important religious symbols were the representations of the gods, called *ʾot* ("sign"; Ps. 74:4), *ẓelem* ("image, statue"; Num. 33:52; II Kings 11:18 = II Chron. 23:17; Ezek. 7:20; 16:17; 23:14; Amos 5:26), or *temunah* ("form"; Ex. 20:4; Num. 12:8; Deut. 4:12, 15, 16, 23, 25; Ps. 17:15; Job 4:16). In fact, the image was not merely a symbol of the god whom it represented. Rather, the god was supposed to be present within the image or to be identical with its essential nature. It is true, of course, that the official cult of the 12 tribes and the later Israelite cult in the Temple of Jerusalem were aniconic. However, the ark of the covenant symbolized God's presence among His people and Judges 17–18 refers to the Danite idol. A frequent appellative for the Lord is *ʾabbir Yaʿaqov/Yisrael* ("Bull of Jacob/Israel"; Gen. 49:24; Isa. 1:24;49:26; 60:16; Ps. 132:2, 5) or *ʿegel* ("Young Bull"; Ex. 32:4, 8; I Kings 12:28; Neh. 9:18). There is little doubt that the ancient Israelites borrowed their bull symbolism from the Canaanites. There is not, of course, a perfect equation between the Canaanite and ancient Israelite uses of this symbolism. For the Israelites, the bull signified power, whereas for the Canaanites it was primarily a symbol of sexual potency. It should be noted, moreover, that for the Israelites the "young bull" symbolized the platform upon which the unseen God stood, rather than God himself.

The lion was regarded as a symbol of strength and sovereignty. As an emblem of power, it became, most probably in the times of David and Solomon, the symbol of the tribe of Judah (Gen. 49:9). The figure of the lion is among the few which are found on glyptics. There is a carved figure of a roaring lion on the seal of "Shemaʿ, the servant of Jeroboam" (Pritchard, Pictures, 276). Lions also appear, together with oxen and cherubim, on the bases of the brass sea in the Temple (I Kings 7:29). The two pillars of Jachin and Boaz (I Kings 7:15–22; II Chron. 3:15–17) were probably borrowed from the two pillars of the temple of Melkart at Tyre. But, in general, the various images, cult objects, sacred garments, or rites performed in the Temple symbolized, at least originally, some specific religious conception. Even the cultic *Tabernacle erected for the ark and the Temple of Jerusalem, which were to the Israelites the visible dwelling places of God, were intended to symbolize His invisible abode.

For Talmudic period see *Divination.

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[Edward Lipinski]

SIGÜENZA, town in the province of Guadalajara, Castile, Central Spain. A Jewish community appears to have already existed there during the 11th century. In 1124 King *Alfonso VII granted to the bishop of Sigüenza the right of jurisdiction over the local Jews. Sigüenza was among the towns which prospered in old Castile in the 13th century. In 1280 a Jew named Abraham reached an agreement with the bishop of Sigüenza on the digging of salt mines there. The articles of the agreement indicate the equal rights of Jew and bishop. The mines were to become the property of the bishop after four years. This method of leasing, in which the bishop provided the tools and financed the digging, was also practiced during the 14th century. The Jewish quarter is mentioned in 1343 as being situated in San Vincente Street. Remnants of the synagogue have been preserved. The decline of the Castilian communities also overtook Sigüenza during the 15th century. The tax paid by the community in 1439 amounted to only 300 maravedis in the old currency, but, in 1491, the annual tax of the community amounted to 14,974 maravedis. In 1490 the community of Sigüenza was called upon to contribute 206,464 maravedis toward the redemption of the Jews taken captive in Málaga. At the time of the Expulsion of the Jews from Spain in 1492, a number of houses which had been owned by Jews since 1449 were sold to Christians because of the debts still owed by Jews. In 1493 the crown reacted in favor of the Conversos in the townlet and prohibited the use of derogatory names against them. In 1496 it was decided to sell the synagogue and the property attached to it. From that year the notary of the Inquisition tribunal lived there.

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[Haim Beinart]

SIHON (Heb. סִיחֹן, סִיחוֹן), Amorite king of *Heshbon, which was a city N.N.E. of Mt. Nebo. According to biblical tradition Sihon conquered the territory of Moab, as far as the Arnon (Num. 21:26). When the Israelites, on their way from the wilderness to the Promised Land, asked his permission to pass through his territory, Sihon refused to grant it, and tried to bar their way. A battle took place, with the result that Sihon was defeated, his land conquered, and Heshbon destroyed (Num. 21:21–25; Deut. 2:26–37). An echo of this conquest was preserved in the poem of the "ballad singers" (Num. 21:27–30). Scholars differ as to the extent of Sihon's territory. M. Noth (see bibl.) thinks that he controlled only an area surrounding Heshbon, and that the boundaries given in Judges 11:22, for example, reflect the history of the subsequent Israelite occupation of the region. Others maintain that Sihon exercised his power over various Amorite and Midianite princedoms in the southern part of Gilead, from Arnon in the south to Jabbok in the north, and from the desert to the Jordan (cf. S. Ahitub, in bibl.; Num. 21:21–30; Deut. 2:26–37; Josh. 12:2; 13:21, 25–27; Judg. 11:21–22).

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SIJILL is an Arabic word which goes back to a Latin origin, and appears in a Koranic verse (XXI, 104) where it means "a scroll" of documents. In classical Arabic it was used for a document that contained the decisions of the kadi, then for a collection of such documents, and it hardly changed over the ages. As early as the second century of the Hijra a kadi was dismissed for failure to keep the Sijill records of his court properly. The keeping of such records became a regular judicial procedure, and the need for the correct formulation of such documents brought about the emergence of a distinct branch of legal literature from the eighth century. In a document from the middle of the 13th century in Jerusalem, the kadi points out the formal duty of the court scribe to count all the pages of the court proceedings and be their custodian (Jerusalem Sijill, Volume 237, page 98).

Scant references in the contemporary literature, as well as an impressive collection of several hundred pages from *Mamluk times recently discovered in Jerusalem, attest to the ongoing practice of registering court decisions by the kadi. However, it was under the Ottomans that this became systematically prevalent throughout the empire; hence, vast collections of court registers have survived to these days. Major towns like *Cairo, *Damascus, *Aleppo, Hamat, and smaller ones like Jerusalem, *Jaffa and Nablus, hold depositories of long series of bound volumes covering chronologically the cases adjudicated by the kadi.

The sijill of the Shar'i court of Jerusalem consists of more than 500 volumes (averaging 500 pages of 28 by 21 cm. mostly) of proceedings covering 400 years of Ottoman rule, up until the World War I. It stretches over a wide spectrum of topics: Civil and criminal litigations, economic and social matters, inheritances and personal status cases, endowments and religious practices, demography and topography, architecture and buildings, coins and prices, Sultanic decrees and taxation orders. Most cases concern the Muslim majority of the population, however, as Christians and Jews, too, came regularly to the court, this source is a trove of information on the realities of these communities. These registers, which are actually the drafts of the court decisions, mirror the precise chronological order in which they were given; hence, the thousands of cases concerning the Jews who resided in Jerusalem or visited it are inextricably mingled with the rest. They may, however, be grouped under the following categories: communal organization and institutions (leadership, *Karaites and other internal divisions, synagogues, ritual baths, cemeteries, communal debts and real estate, pilgrimage, taxation); relations with their neighbors (conversion to Islam, dress code, moral and physical offenses, wine production, thefts and losses, death); economic activities (professions, guild membership, real estate transactions, leasing and renting, financial transactions, loans and debts, waqf religious endowments); legal status (women and the family, guardianship, legacies, slaves and maids). The sijill thus reveals a totally new perspective for our understanding of Jewish life within the Ottoman society: the formal limitations they were subjected to and the occasional molestations they suffered notwithstanding, they enjoyed religious and administrative autonomy and were a constructive element of the local society and economy.

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[Amnon Cohen (2nd ed.)]

SIJILMASSA (**Sidjelmessa**), town in S.W. *Morocco. Since the late Middle Ages the region has been called Tafilalet. Sijilmassa was founded in 757 by the Zenata *Berbers. An important Jewish community existed there from its inception, whose members controlled the gold trade and also carried on an extensive commerce as far as *Egypt and *India. In the region ancient Jewish tombstones from before the Second Temple period survived. The *Fatimid mahdi ʿUbayd-Allah was imprisoned in Sijilmassa in 909 after he had been denounced by a Jew. Once he regained his freedom, he seized the throne of Ifrīqiyā (present-day *Tunisia) and had the wealthy Jews of Sijilmassa murdered. The Jews who survived, however, rapidly rose to their former economic and social importance. The chronicler Abraham Ibn Daud writes that when Sijilmassa passed to the Cordoba *Umayyads, its community, like all the Jews in the caliphate, was placed under the authority of Jacob ibn Jau. Sijilmassa is repeatedly mentioned in traders' letters found in the Cairo *Genizah*. The town was a desert port and terminal for the caravans going south to the Sudan and east via *Kairouan to *Cairo. S.D. *Goitein analyzed *Genizah* documents which illustrated the operation of a Jewish network, based on kinship and religious ties, between partners in Almeria, *Fez, and Sijilmassa along the route to *Cairo.

During the 11th century the Jewish scholars of Sijilmassa established contact with the *geonim* of *Iraq and Ereẓ Israel. There are responsa sent by *geonim* to Sijilmassa. One of them was written by Hai Gaon. There is also one responsa collection which was sent by a Babylon *gaon* to Rabbi Joseph ben Amran, the *dayyan* of Sijilmassa. During this period new rulers, the Zenātes, remigrated to the region which, in addition to Sijilmassa, consisted of such distant towns with a Jewish majority as *Sefrou and Qalʿat Mahdī ben Tawala in the Fazāz (Middle Atlas) region. In 1054 the *Almoravides occupied Sijilmassa and ravaged all its territories. The Jews shared in the suffering, but once their rule was well established the Almoravides ameliorated the Jews' situation. A detailed report of events in Sijilmassa as recorded from eyewitness refugees was found in a letter written in 1148 by Shelomo ha-Kohen of Fustat to his father, a native of Sijilmassa who was then in *Aden. Students from Sijilmassa traveled to study Torah in the academy of Rabbi Joseph Ibn Migash (d. 1141) in the Andalusian city of Lucena.

In 1145 Sijilmassa allied itself with the *Almohads. A short while later, a new governor appointed by this dynasty presented the Jews of the town with the alternative of conversion to *Islam or death. Some 150 Jews preferred to die, while the others – led by the *dayyan* Joseph b. Amram who later returned to Judaism – converted. One of the town's scholars, R. Judah b. Farḥon, succeeded in escaping; he subsequently returned and became *dayyan* of the town. He maintained a correspondence with *Maimonides. Other scholars of Sijilmassa include: R. Saadiah b. Isaac, Abu-Yusef b. Mar Yusef who was the son of the chief *dayyan* Rabbi Joseph b. Amram, and R. Solomon b. Nathan, a great sage, who edited a prayer book in 1203. Another scholar, R. Judah b. Joseph Sijilmassi, lived in Sijilmassa at the close of the 14th century. Toward the end of their rule the fanaticism of the Almohads was mitigated, and Jews held senior positions in the Marinid economy, for in 1243/4 the treasurer of Sijilmassa was a Jew by the name of Ibn Shalukha. In 1247 King James I of Aragon gave a safe-conduct to a Jew, a resident of Sijilmassa, inviting him to move together with his family "and all the Jews and Jewesses" of Sijilmassa to Majorca and Catalonia. After the Merinid occupation Sijilmassa's trade developed considerably. The Jews extended their activities to Catalonia, Sicily, and other countries, to which large numbers of them also emigrated. The economic life of the Jews of Sijilmassa flourished and the Jewish tinsmiths were named by the Muslims "Filali," after the city name of Tafilalet, and were named "Moroccan" by the European traders. They were also manufacturers of carpets, wool blankets and also developed the indigo trade. Sijilmassa was destroyed after 1393 and all traces of the community disappeared. In the surrounding Tafilalet area many Jewish settlements continued, generally living in peace by paying tribute either to the *Berber rulers or to the Arab nomads. The Jewish community in the region flourished until the massacre in 1492. The expellees from *Spain after 1492 did not have any real influence in the region of Tafilalet, and the Jewish population did not adopt any Spanish or *Fez regulations. Rabbi Ḥayyim Gagin tells in his book *Eẓ Ḥayyim* that in 1526 the Muslim residents of one village in Tafilalet region plundered the Jewish residents and raped Jewish women. In 1623 Jewish women were captured in Tafilalet and sold to Muslims (Ibn Denan, *Divrei ha-Yamim shel Fez*, p. 42). At the beginning of the 18th century Rabbi Shelomo Adhan moved from Tafilalet to *Tetuan.

The capital of the region at that time was Erfūd. In the last years of the 19th century the English missionary Robert Kerr treated a few Jewish patients in Tafilalet. The emissary Raphael Makhluf Abraham Khayat visited the Tafilalet region in 1836. The Tiberian emissary to Morocco in 1890, Rabbi Elijah Iluz, was born in Mizgida by Tafilalet in 1860, but grew up in Tiberias. Many Jews who escaped from the Jewish quarter in Tafilalet settled in 1919 in Erfūd, while numerous others settled in the Bodinev community and in Algeria. They established their synagogue in Erfūd. The name Erfūd was written in Jewish contracts only from 1950. Many Jews continued to write the name of Sijilmassa in their contracts. The Abihaẓira family cooperated with the French government of the region and helped the French in occupying the area in the second decade of the 20th century. The Muslim residents took revenge and murdered David Abihaẓira. In 1942 the local French ruler in the little town Gurama, located in the Tafilalet region, degraded the Jews and behaved toward them with contempt. He obliged them to pay very heavy taxes, to wear only simple clothes with black hats and black shoes, forbade them to ride horses and forced them to fulfill other *Omar covenant restrictions. He also beat Jews who wore a tarbush. In 1947 the community of Erfūd numbered between 1,000 to 2,000. The immense Tafilalet area, which had only 6,500 Jews (2,898 men and 3,608 women) in 1947, was the source of considerable migration to northern Morocco and *Algeria. After 1948 most of the Jews left the Jewish quarter of Tafilalet and immigrated to Israel. According to Professor H.Z. Hirschberg who visited Tafilalet in the mid-1950s, the community of Tafilalet consisted then of the Abihaẓira academy and the O'Haley Yosef Yizhak Talmud Tora (of Chabad). More than 1,000 Jews lived there, many of whom were merchants. The shops were closed on Sabbath. In Risani, built on the ruins of Sijilmassa, c. 625 Jews lived in that time. The family Abihaẓira settled in Tafilalet for a few generations. In the responsa of Rabbi Jacob Abihaẓira, who lived in Risani (d. 1880), there are relevant historical materials about the local Jewish community. This rabbi was the religious leader of the Tafilalet region. His synagogue was destroyed by a French bomb in 1933. Rabbi Israel Abihaẓira immigrated to Israel only in the last wave of *aliyah* from Tafilalet in 1964. The wedding *minhagim* in the Erfūd community were identified with those of Tafilalet until the mid-1950s and based upon them. The marriage, divorce and mourning *minhagim* of Tafilalet were written by Shalom Abihaẓira in his book *Meliẓ Tov* (1973). In the community, marriage contracts according to the Sijilmassa version have survived. In the communities of Erfūd and Tafilalet there was a special annual ceremony called *Ḥuppat Ne'urim* (youth wedding) which was conducted in Tafilalet by Rabbi Jacob Abihaẓira. In Tafilalet a special version of the *Sharḥ* (the translation of the Bible in Morocco) was written. The local sages wrote the words which entered the *Sharḥ* in Hebrew characters according to rules insufficiently crystallized. The community of Erfūd existed from 1917 to 1975. The Jewish cemetery in Erfūd is sandy but otherwise well-preserved. The Jewish cemetery in the town of Risani is unwalled, facing the walls of the town.

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[David Corcos / Leah Bornstein-Makovetsky (2nd ed.)]

SIKARIKON, a term in tannaitic literature, referring to property, particularly land and slaves, expropriated from Jews by the Roman authorities. Most of the relevant laws deal with the legal status of such land which has been acquired or which one wishes to acquire from the government. The origin of the word itself is obscure. Graetz suggests that it is connected with the *Sicarii and that the origin of the term is the *ius sikarikon*, so called because the Sicarii not only robbed their opponents but expropriated their lands, the name being later transferred to the Romans who confiscated the lands of the Jews after the destruction of the Temple. There is, however, no evidence at all to connect the Sicarii with the expropriation of land, and furthermore, in the course of time, the rabbis gradually came to recognize the right of the governments to expropriate, which was not the case with the Sicarii. Safrai also connects it with the *ius sikarikon*, but he takes the Sicarii to be those who defied Hadrian's decree against circumcision and were punished by having their property confiscated. In fact, Hadrian's prohibition of circumcision was based upon the statute *lex Cornelia de sicarius et veneficis*. The term *sikarikon* is used both for the law which annuls the ownership by the acquirer and for the concept itself, i.e., the expropriation of land by the authorities. According to this view the term *sikarikon* was coined during the years preceding the Bar Kokhba War, when the edict was decreed. It is possible that the word was extended during the early days to cover all political crimes against the government.

The development of the *halakhah* in the law of *sikarikon* may be noted particularly from the Mishnah. "There was no *sikarikon* in Judea for those killed in the war. From the period of those killed in the war there has been *sikarikon* there. How does this law apply? If a man buys a field from the *sikarikon*, and then buys it again from the original owner, his purchase is void, but if he buys it first from the original owner and then from the *sikarikon* it is valid…. This was the ruling of the early Mishnah. A later *bet din* laid down, however, that if a man buys property from the *sikarikon* he must pay a quarter to the original owner. This, however, is only the case when the original owner is not in a position to buy it himself, but if he is, he has the right of preemption. Rabbi *Judah ha-Nasi set up a *bet din*, and they decided by vote that, if the property had been in the hands of the *sikarikon* 12 months, whoever purchased it acquired the title, but he had to give a quarter of the price to the original owner" (Git. 5:6). Upon the identification of "the war" referred to in the first part of this Mishnah depends the difference of opinion referred to above as to the meaning of the term, *sikarikon*. Graetz (and Gulak) refer it to the Roman War, and Safrai to the Bar Kokhba War. The Mishnah notes that the law of *sikarikon* was cancelled in Judea in the time of the war, purchase from the gentile of the confiscated land being permitted. The reason for this law is explained in the parallel passage in the Tosefta: "The rule of *sikarikon* does not apply to Judea, that the country may be populated" (Tosef., Git. 5:1), i.e., the motive was to prevent the alienation of land in Judea from Jewish ownership. One should note that the distinction between Judea and Galilee (which is particularly stressed in the Jerusalem Talmud: "The rule of *sikarikon* always applies in Galilee" (TJ, Git. 5:6, 47b)) accords more with the period of the Bar Kokhba War than with the Roman War.

Three successive stages are noted in the development of the laws of *sikarikon*, making it progressively more lenient. The last stage in the days of Judah ha-Nasi provides that after 12 months the owner's right to his confiscated property lapses, the only obligation of the purchaser being to pay a quarter of the purchase price to him. One may perceive in these stages the results of two processes which had their effect either independently or together: first, the desire to normalize the economic conditions, and second, the gradual but progressive acknowledgment of Roman authority and its laws, as well as the good relations subsisting between the Roman government and the Jewish population at the end of the second century.

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[A'hron Oppenheimer]

SIKHNIN or **SOGANE** (Heb. סִיכְנִין), town in Galilee, 20 stadia (3 mi.; c. 5 km.) from Arabah (Jos., Life, 265). It was one of the places fortified by Josephus during his command in Galilee in 66 C.E. (Wars, 2:573; Life, 188). Talmudic sources praise the fertility of the valley in which it was situated (Bikat Sikhnin; Mid. Tan. 26:9). Several scholars, including R. Judah, R. Ḥanina b. Teradyon, and R. Joshua, are mentioned either as residents of or as visitors in Sikhnin. A local synagogue is referred to in the Jerusalem Talmud (Meg. 4:5, 75b). In crusader times it was a fief known as Zachanin, for which the Teutonic order and the Barlais family contended. Remains on the site include Roman, Byzantine, and Arab pottery, as well as two tombs of venerated Muslims (*maqām*). It is the present-day Sakhnīn, an Arab village in Israel, numbering about 7,400 inhabitants in 1968 and 22,600 in 2002, 94% of them Muslims. In 1995 Sikhnin received municipal status. Its area extends to 3.7 sq. mi. (9.7 sq. km.). In 2004, the local soccer team, Iḥud Beni Sikhnin, became the first Arab soccer team to win Israel's State Cup.

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[Michael Avi-Yonah]

SIKILI, JACOB BEN HANANEL (13th–14th centuries), rabbi and author. His surname indicates that the family originated in the island of Sicily. In his youth he traveled widely, seeking out every available book dealing with the homiletic interpretation of the Bible. He finally settled in Cordoba in Spain. There he began to write the midrashic anthology *Talmud Torah*, on the basis of the mass of material culled from the 234 books he acquired during his wanderings. At that time there was a movement among the Jews of Spain to emigrate to Ereẓ Israel. Sikili, too, thought it preferable "to be a beggar in the Land of Israel having no fixed home, than to live permanently in the lands of wicked gentiles, the habitations of Edom and Ishmael" (*Minḥat Bikkurim, Parashat Pekudei*). In order to fulfill this wish he joined his friend R. Hezekiah. On the 20th of Ḥeshvan of 1317, both took a solemn vow to go to Ereẓ Israel within not more than two years. They also took an oath that they would live jointly for seven years from the moment they left Cordova. At the end of two years, after they had sold all their possessions and bought provisions for the journey, Sikili was prevented from fulfilling his vow as a result of a report that Portuguese warships were sailing the seas on the instructions of the pope, "to plunder and rob any Jew or Mohammedan they met on the sea."

Within a few years troubles beset him. Four of his five children died, and he attributed his sufferings to the nonfulfillment of his vow. He turned to *Asher b. Jehiel, then rabbi of Toledo, for permission to travel alone without waiting for Hezekiah. Asher wrote giving him the necessary permission and he immediately acted upon it. He was in Damascus in 1324, where in that same year he completed the *Talmud Torah* on the Book of Numbers, and on Deuteronomy in 1337. In Damascus, Sikili was one of the most honored members of the community, being recognized as a halakhic authority and biblical exegete. On the pressing request of the community he agreed to expound the meaning of the weekly portion every Sabbath afternoon (*Minḥah*; Introduction to *Torat ha-Minḥah*, Vienna Ms. 138). He collected these sermons and published them under the title *Torat ha-Minḥah*. Sikili paid frequent visits to Ereẓ Israel, traversing it from end to end. The literary fruits of these visits were incorporated in his *Sefer ha-Yaḥas* in which he mentions "every town and village of Israel and the persons buried there."

The complete manuscript of *Torat ha-Minḥah* is extant, though scattered among various libraries. Extracts from it were published in *Berakhah Meshulleshet* by Abraham Bik (1890), and with the *Talmud Torah* is extensively quoted in the *Torah Shelemah* of M.M. Kasher (1938^2–). There is a great similarity between it and the book of sermons of David b. Abraham ha-Nagid (*Midrash R. David ha-Nagid*, vol. 1, 1964, vol. 2, 1968). Similarly the whole of Sikili's *Talmud Torah* is extant in manuscript, but only extracts of it have been published (see bibl.). An excerpt only from the *Sefer ha-Yaḥas*, copied from an incomplete manuscript by Abraham Zacuto, is in Cambridge. Sikili mentions two other books which he wrote, *Gullat ha-Koteret* and *Yayin ha-Meshummar*.

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[Ephraim Kupfer]

SIKKUTH AND CHIUN (Heb. סִכּוּת, כִּיּוּן), deities mentioned in Amos 5:26 in a warning sermon delivered to the people of the Kingdom of Israel, perhaps in Beth-El. Although the vocalization is modeled after *shikkuẓ* (*shiqquẓ*, "abomination"), the consonantal base suggests a pair of Mesopotamian astral deities, as was recognized by E. Shraeder (see bibl.) and others.

Sikkuth is identified with *Sag/k.kud/t* (transliterated in a Mesopotamian god list as Sa-ak-ku-ut!), an astral deity known also from the "An" god list found at Ugarit (originally from Nippurian and other Mesopotamian sources, see Weidner, in bibl.), where it appears as [d]*sag/k.k[ud]/t* = [^{d}]*s[a]g/k.kud/t (Ugaritica*, 5 (1969), 214, line 44). (In other "non-Western" lists of gods and stars, Sikkuth has recently been identified with Ninurta, one of the chief Mesopotamian deities (known also in the "West" and sometimes identified with *Horon*). Sikkuth in Amos is a perfect transliteration of this star deity. Its appellation, *melekh* (Akk. *šarru*, "king"), alludes to the high rank of this deity, a (translated) classification device known from Ugaritic and other sources. This means that in the ritual to which Amos alludes Sikkuth is the most important figure. Chiun is identified with the Akkadian *Kajamānu* (in Akkadian intervocalic *m* comes to be pronounced like *w*, and so *m* was often written even for original *w*), "the steady one" (sometimes *SAG. US*), the appellation of the star god Saturn (hence Aramaic *Kewan*, Ar. *Kaiwan*). This pair of deities appears in astrological lists (of celestial observations) and also in the "release" (*lipṭur*) passage of the expiatory prayer and ritual known as *Šurpu* (2:180), among other gods of the night and stars: "… *SAG. KUD. SAG. UŠ* ^{d}*Immerija* [= *ilu-wer*, mentioned in the inscription of Zakir king of *Hamath] release!" This may be translated as "may Sakkut, Kajamānu release [from sin]." The appellation *ẓalmekhem* in Amos denotes the Akkadian star-idol *Ṣalmu*, usually the second participant in the ritual of celestial and expiatory prayers (see Speiser, in bibl.). Amos warns his listeners to exchange the sacrificial cult with the accompanying sacred music for justice, or they will be exiled, along with the images of those deities beyond *Damascus. He thus mentions them only in passing, and nothing is learned about the details of their cult in Israel.

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[Pinchas Artzi]

SILANO (ninth century), one of the first Jewish liturgical poets in Italy. Silano is said by *Ahimaaz, in his *Sefer Yuḥasin* (= *Megillat Aḥima'aẓ*), to have been one of the scholars of Venosa in southern Italy. Once an emissary of the Jerusalem yeshivah arrived in Venosa, and, as was the custom there, he was invited to preach on the Sabbath. Silano translated the sermon into the vernacular from a written copy prepared by the emissary. On reading the translation the emissary was greatly distressed by Silano's introduction into the text of facetious remarks about the townspeople. After the emissary returned to Ereẓ Israel and related what had happened, the scholars of the Jerusalem yeshivah excommunicated Silano. When the aged Ahimaaz went to Jerusalem he was invited by the scholars of the yeshivah to act as reader during the Ten Days of Penitence. Among the *seliḥot* he read was one composed by Silano, "*Aloh ve-khaḥesh u-reẓo'ah ve-naḥesh* ("Cursing and lying and murder and sorcery"), in which the heretics (i.e., the Karaites), who had begun to increase in number during the ninth century, were vigorously attacked. This *seliḥah* made a strong impression on the scholars, who, when they learned the author's identity, decided to revoke the excommunication immediately. Another of Silano's *seliḥot*, one for the eve of Rosh Ha-Shanah, beginning *Enkat mesalledekha ta'al lifnei khisse khevodekha* ("The cry of those who praise Thee, to Thy throne shall rise"), was published in Lithuanian books of *seliḥot*. The German *maḥzor* inserted the first stanza of this *seliḥah* (*Enkat mesalledekha*…), together with fragments of other *piyyutim*, into the *Ne'ilah* prayer for the Day of Atonement. Silano's compositions confirm the assumption that the *paytanim* of Italy were influenced by those of Ereẓ Israel, since his style closely resembles that of Eleazar *Kallir, one of the early *paytanim* of Ereẓ Israel.

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[Abraham David]

SILAS.

(1) Jewish commander of the fortress of Lysias, in the region of Lebanon. The fortress was destroyed by Pompey during his campaign in Syria (63 B.C.E.; Jos. Ant., 14:40).

(2) A close friend of *Agrippa I during the latter's early hardships and imprisonment at Rome under Tiberius. When Agrippa became king (41 C.E.) Silas was appointed commander of the entire Judean army. His intimate relations with the king, however, eventually brought about his dismissal from office, since his tendency to overemphasize his loyalty to Agrippa in the early years was resented in the royal court. Silas was relieved of his command and imprisoned. Agrippa eventually regretted this harsh treatment and wished to release him, but the prisoner, by now obsessed with his grievance, declined the offer. After Agrippa's death (44) Silas was murdered by order of *Herod, king of Chalcis, and Helcias, commander of the Judean army (Jos. Ant., 18:204; 19:299, 317–25, 353).

(3) A Babylonian soldier in the Jewish ranks at the outset of the war against Rome (66 C.E.). Silas, who had deserted to the Jewish forces from the army of *Agrippa II, later led an

unsuccessful Jewish attack upon the city of Ashkelon, where he was slain (Jos., Wars, 2:520; 3:11, 19).

(4) Commander of Tiberias appointed by *Josephus. When *John of Giscala arrived in the city and appealed to the citizens to abandon their allegiance to Josephus, Silas informed the latter of the impending danger. Josephus thereupon marched to Tiberias with a force of 200 men and averted the danger (Jos., Wars, 2:616; Life, 89, 90, 272).

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[Isaiah Gafni]

SILBER, SAUL (1881–1946), Orthodox rabbi. Born in Alexandronsky, a small Lithuanian village, Silber grew to become a leader in American Zionist Orthodoxy. He attended *ḥeder* until he was 10, then moved with his family to Dvinsk in Latvia, where he studied Talmud under Rabbi Yom Tov Lipman and Rabbi Nachum Fefferman. At age 16, Silber joined a study group in Lida under Rabbi Isaac Jacob Reines. Reines was unique in his belief of the importance of studying secular subjects and mastering Jewish history and thought alongside Talmud study. He was hugely influential over Silber, who became a lifelong Zionist dedicated to yeshivah study that included secular subjects. Reines was an early founder of the Mizrachi religious Zionist movement, which was established in 1902.

In 1900, at the age of 19, Silber immigrated to America. Four years later, he married and started leading congregations in Youngstown and Columbus, Ohio. In 1910, Silber accepted a pulpit position at one of Chicago's most prestigious synagogues, Congregation Anshe Shalom. He may have received ordination earlier, but he definitively was granted rabbinic ordination by Rabbi Judah L. Gordan in 1921.

For 35 years, Silber was a role model for Orthodox Jewish life in Chicago and across the country. Trained in Lithuanian yeshivot, he differed from his peers in his fluent English, being well-versed in American history, literature and culture, and advocating a synthesis of secular and Talmud study. He also worked closely with non-Orthodox rabbis on communal matters.

Silber spoke in English and Yiddish from his pulpit, which he used as a vehicle for discussing contemporary issues. He mixed Torah references with secular literature in his talks. Silber was actively involved in the Central Relief Committee for the Joint Distribution Committee, American Jewish Congress, Mt. Sinai hospital in Chicago and orphanages and senior citizens' homes. He embodied a – then – new type of Orthodox rabbi that influenced the shape and direction of American Orthodoxy.

In his later years, Silber was a prominent member of Mizrachi, attending several World Zionist Congresses abroad. In 1926, he immigrated to Palestine in hopes of establishing a business there in the sale of oranges. Unfortunately, economic instability sent him back to Chicago a year later.

Silber helped found the Beth Midrash l'Torah yeshivah in Chicago, later named the Hebrew Theological College. He assumed its presidency in 1921, working closely with Rabbis Nissan Jablonski and Chaim Isaac Korb, its *roshei yeshiva*.

[Lynne Schreiber (2nd ed.)]

SILBERBERG, MENDEL (1886–1965), U.S. attorney and community leader. Silberberg, who was born in Los Angeles, practiced law there from 1908. A veteran of World War I, he founded the first American Legion Post in California. He was also active in the Jewish War Veterans, which named a post after him. He was president of the Jewish Community Council (1953), and the Los Angeles Lodge of B'nai B'rith. Silberberg was regarded as an astute and knowledgeable leader in political, community, and interfaith matters. He was chairman of the Community Relations Committee of the Jewish Federation Council for 30 years. He was influential in Republican Party circles.

[Max Vorspan]

SILBERBUSCH, DAVID ISAIAH (1854–1936), Hebrew and Yiddish editor and short-story writer. Born in Zaleszczyki, Galicia, his first work appeared in P. Smolenskin's weekly *Ha-Mabbit* in 1878. Together with Ẓevi Eleazar Teller, he published a Hebrew monthly *Ha-Or* in 1882 in Botoşani (Romania), where he lived until he moved to Vienna after World War I. In 1934 he settled in Palestine.

One of his stories, *Dimat Ashukim* ("The Tear of the Oppressed," 1887), deals with the persecution of Romanian Jews in the 1880s. It was one of the first stories in modern Hebrew literature to depict the poverty, disgrace, and degeneracy of Eastern European life and to suggest that Ereẓ Israel was the only solution. His memoirs appeared in *Mi-Pinkas Zikhronotai* (1936) and *Mentshen und Geshe'enishn* (1931). He wrote numerous short stories. Only one volume of his *Ketavim Nivḥarim* ("Selected Works," 1920) appeared.

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[Gedalyah Elkoshi]

SILBERFARB, MOSES (1876–1934), political leader and writer in Russia. Silberfarb was born in Rovno, and studied law. He was one of the founders of the *Vozrozhdeniye group and *Jewish Socialist Workers' Party in Russia (1906), and helped to formulate their autonomistic program (see *Autonomism). He was imprisoned several times for political activities. After the 1917 Revolution Silberfarb became a leader of the *United Jewish Socialist Workers' Party. He headed the Ministry for Jewish Affairs of the Ukrainian Central *Rada* ("council, government"), and drew up a bill on national-personal autonomy. Between 1918 and 1920 he headed the Jewish People's University and Cultural League in Kiev. In 1921 he left for Warsaw where he continued to be active in Jewish affairs, becoming chairman of *ORT and active in JEAS (Jewish Emigrant Aid Society) and CYSHO (see *Education). In political outlook he moved closer to the ideology of the *Bund. Silberfarb wrote articles and books in Yiddish, Russian, and German, including *Dos Yidishe Ministerium un di Yidishe Natsionale Avtonomye in Ukrayne* (1919). His collected works were published posthumously (2 vols., 1935–37).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: LNYL, 3 (1960), 616–20; O.I. Janowsky, *Jews and Minority Rights (1898–1919)* (1933), 69f., 230–40.

[Max Wurmbrand]

SILBERG, MOSHE (1900–1975), Israeli judge and jurist. Silberg, born in Skaudvile, Lithuania, studied at the yeshivot of Kelm, Mir, Slobodka, and Novogrudok. He continued his studies at the University of Marburg and took up law at Frankfurt University. In 1929 Silberg settled in Palestine and taught in Tel Aviv; during this period he also gave public lectures on Talmud in Tel Aviv. In 1948 he was appointed judge of the district court of Tel Aviv and from 1950 to 1970 he was on the bench of the Supreme Court of Israel, of which he was deputy president from 1965 to 1975. From 1954 to 1969 he taught law of personal status at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem.

As a member of the Supreme Court, Silberg delivered several important decisions on matters of personal status, including controversial questions involving the definition of the term "*Jew." His rulings on other matters cover every aspect of law – civil and criminal, public and private – and substantially contributed to the development of Israeli case law.

Silberg also wrote extensively on talmudic law and personal status. He wrote *Ha-Ma'amad ha-Ishi be-Yisrael* ("Personal Status in Israel," 1957, 1961, supplement 1967); *Dienstvertrag und Werkvertrag im Talmudischen Rechte* ("Hiring and Contracting in Talmudic Law," 1927); *Ḥok u-Musar ba-Mishpat ha-Ivri* ("Law and Ethics in the Jewish Legal System" 1952); and *Kakh Darko shel Talmud* (*Principia Talmudica*) (1961). The latter appeared in an English translation under the title *Talmudic Law and the Modern State* (1973). In 1964 he was awarded the Israel Prize.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Tidhar, 2 (1947), 1027–28, 14 (1965), 4575; Kressel, Leksikon, 1 (1965), 735.

[Chaim Ivor Goldwater]

SILBERMANN, ABRAHAM MORITZ (1889–1939), publisher, lexicographer, and translator. Born in Hungary, Silbermann was ordained as a rabbi at Berlin Rabbinical Seminary, but engaged in publishing and bookselling. In Berlin he issued the Horeb (photographic) editions of Talmudim and Midrashim, while at the same time preparing a Hebrew-German, German-Hebrew dictionary (with S. *Gruenberg, 1922^2), as well as the Hebrew-English-German *Talmudic Dictionary* (with B. Krupnik-Karou, 2 vols., 1927). Silbermann later settled in England where, as publishing director of Shapiro, Vallentine and Co., he produced a translation of Rashi's Pentateuch commentary (with M. Rosenbaum, 5 vols., 1929–34), which did much to familiarize English-speaking Jews with this classic. Also popular was his *Children's Haggadah* (with A.S. Super; 1933, 1954^4). His last work was the one-volume *Vallentine's Jewish Encyclopedia*, which he edited in collaboration with A.M. *Hyamson (1938).

SILBERMANN, ALPHONS (1909–2000), German lawyer, sociologist, and musicologist. Born in Cologne, Silbermann was music critic of the *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* from 1933. He escaped the Nazi regime, fleeing through Holland and France and reaching Australia in 1937. Silbermann became a lecturer at the State Conservatory of Music in Sydney. From 1952 he was director of socio-musical research at the French broadcasting service in Paris. In 1959 Silbermann returned to Germany as professor at the University of Cologne. His numerous publications dealing with sociology, music education, and music therapy (among other topics), include *Introduction à une sociologie de la musique* (1955); *Wovon lebt die Musik?* (1957, translated into several languages); *Das imaginaere Tagebuch des Herrn Jacques Offenbach* (1960, 1991); "Zur Neubelebung der Soziologie der Kunste," in *Hamburger-Jahrbuch-fuer-Musikwissenschaft* (9 (1986), 67–85); "Zum Einfluss deutschsprachiger Emigranten auf das Musikleben Australiens," in *Zu den Antipoden vertrieben: Das Australien-Exil deutschsprachiger Musiker.* (2000), 112–117. He also participated in several publications on Judaism, including *Deutsche Juden heute. Mit Beiträgen von Robert Neumann, Alphons Silbermann, Ludwig Marcuse, Hermann Kesten* (1975). In 1989 a special publication was dedicated to him: *Kunst- Kommunikation-Kultur: Festschrift zum 80. Geburtstag von Alphons Silbermann*.

His autobiography *Verwandlungen* (1989) is written with the wit and candor that made him admired and honored by his students and colleagues.

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[Naama Ramot (2nd ed.)]

SILBERNER, EDMUND (1910–1985), Israeli economist and historian. Silberner was born in Borislav, Poland. He taught at Geneva University during 1939–41. After teaching in the U.S. at Princeton University from 1946 to 1950, Silberner immigrated to Israel and joined the faculty of the Hebrew University (1951), where he was appointed professor of economics in 1956. Silberner's main work was an analysis of the relationship between European socialism and the Jewish people, with a special interest in Moses *Hess, the Jewish socialist who turned proto-Zionist.

Silberner published a bibliography on Hess (1958); edited his correspondence (1959); and wrote the comprehensive *Moses Hess; Geschichte seines Lebens* (1966). Of particular importance among Silberner's other works is *Ha-Sozyalism ha-Ma'aravi u-She'elat ha-Yehudim* ("Western European Socialism and the Jewish Problem"; 1955).

[Michael A. Meyer]

SILBERSCHLAG, EISIG (1903–1988), Hebrew poet and critic. He grew up in a ḥasidic home in Metri, Galicia, migrated to the U.S., studied at the University of Vienna, and returned to the U.S. He was professor in Hebrew literature at the Hebrew Teachers College in Boston, and was its dean from 1948 to 1968. He published poems in *Hadoar, Ha-Tekufah*, and other Hebrew journals. The life-loving quality of his verse – mainly influenced by Tchernichovsky and Rilke – is evident in *Ha-Raz ha-Ḥasidi* and *Yerushat Beit Abba*. Silberschlag also wrote critical prose in Hebrew and English, and translated several comedies by Aristophanes. His poems were collected in *Bi-Shevilim Bodedim* (1931) and *Aleh Olam be-Shir* (1946).

His book *Saul Tschernichowsky – Poet of Revolt* was published in 1969. Other works include: *Mi-Pi Kushim, Sheva Panim le-Ḥavvah*, and *Tehiyyah u-Teḥiyyah ba-Shirah* (1938), a book of essays; *Yehudah Halevi* (1925), an epic poem; *Bi-Ymei Isabella* (1941), a collection of plays; *Sefer Turov*, edited with Y. Twersky; and *Ha-Tekufah* (vols. 30–31, 32–33), edited with A. Zeitlin. He translated the love songs of Paulus Silentiarius (1945, 1962^2) and *Berenica* by Karl de Haas (1945).

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[Jerucham Tolkes]

SILBERSTEIN, DAVID JUDAH LEIB (d. 1884), Hungarian rabbi. Silberstein was born in Bonyhad and studied under Meir Ash in Ungvar (Uzhorod). He served in several communities: Ujhely (Satoraljaujhely), Senta (Vojvodina), and Vacz near Budapest. He also lived in Jerusalem for eight years between 1859 and 1867. He was the author of the *Shevilei David* (1863), on the Pentateuch, and four volumes with the same name (1862–1880) on the four sections of the Shulḥan Arukh. He was in communication with the outstanding contemporary Hungarian scholars, among others, Moses Schick, Abraham Judah ha-Kohen Schwartz, Menahem Mendel Baneth, and Amram Blum. He died in Vacz. His son ISAIAH (1857–1930) was two years old when his father went to Jerusalem, and he returned with him to Hungary. At first he was a cloth merchant but in 1884 became rabbi of Vacz. He was the author of *Ma'asai le-Melekh* (2 vols., 1913–30), on the *Mishneh Torah* of Maimonides. He was a critic for the literary periodical *Tel-Talpiyyot* issued in Vacz under the editorship of David Ẓevi Katzburg, in which, in 1904, he expressed his opposition to Zionism and the Mizrachi, although at the same time he supported the old *yishuv* in Jerusalem.

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[Naphtali Ben-Menahem]

SILBERSTEIN, SOLOMON JOSEPH (1845–?), Russian poet and philosopher. Silberstein was born in Kovno. At the age of 19 he received rabbinical authorization from a number of rabbis in the provinces of Kovno and Vilna. He practiced as a rabbi in Dershunisok, Kovno, in 1867–68, and later emigrated to the U.S. He developed a system of natural theology based on the Mosaic, and the rabbinic and talmudic law as natural theology.

Silberstein wrote the following works: *Gelui Einayim* (1881), poems; *Ha-Dat ve-ha Torah* (1887); *Meẓi'ut Yehovah ve-ha-Olam* (1893); *The Universe and its Evolution* (1891); *General Laws of Nature* (1894); *The Disclosures of the Universal Mysteries* (1896); and *The Jewish Problem and Theology in General* (1904).

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SILBERSTEIN-ÖTVÖS, ADOLF (1845–99), Hungarian editor and author. Born in Budapest, from 1870 Silberstein-Ötvös was editor, for a short period, of the German-language newspaper *Temesvárer Zeitung*, and later worked for the *Pester Journal, Pester Lloyd*, and *Ungarischer Lloyd*. He translated the novels of Jókai and Mikszáth into German, and wrote studies of Aristotle and Gottschall. Much of his own best writing appeared in feuilleton form. His books include *Philosophische Briefe an eine Frau* (1878) and *Im Strome der Zeit* (4 vols.; 1894–1905). In Hungarian he wrote *Egy pesti Don Juan* ("A Don Juan of Budapest," 1885).

SILESIA (Czech **Slezsko**; Ger. **Schlesien**; Pol. **Śląsk**), region in E. central Europe. The earliest documentary evidence for the presence of Jews in Silesia dates from the 12th century. The first settlers whose names are known owned land near *Breslau; among those who arrived in this period were refugees from the *Crusades. Intensive economic development of the region and its consequent need for money brought about a Jewish monopoly in moneylending. Jewish immigration from Germany throughout the 13th and 14th centuries significantly increased the population and numbers of Jewish communities. Though synodal legislation in Breslau in 1267 sought to limit their contacts with Christians, a privilege of Duke Henry IV in 1270 granted them a measure of autonomy as well as physical protection. Over the course of five centuries, more than 50 Jewish communities were established in Silesia, the largest in Breslau, Brieg (*Brzeg), Glatz, *Glogau, Goerlitz, *Liegnitz, and *Schweidnitz. Their economic activities were productive for the region but nonetheless they helped generate hatred of Jews within the Christian community. A series of fires in Breslau in 1349 and 1360 were blamed on the Jews, and they suffered accordingly. Persecution similarly afflicted Jews during 1362 in Brieg (Brzeg), Guhrau (Gora), Laehn (Wlen), Loewenberg (Lwowek Slaski), and Neisse. In the mid-14th century, jurisdiction over the Jews had shifted to the municipalities, a development that stimulated persecution and frequent expulsions. The community produced a number of significant scholars in the period, among them R. Jacob b. Judah *Weil and R. David of Schweidnitz. Both the *Hussite Wars and the preaching of John *Capistrano took their toll of Jewish communities; as a result of the latter's preaching, the expulsion of the Jews of Breslau, as well as those of Liegnitz and Schweidnitz, took place in 1453 in connection with a trial for desecrating the *Host. By the end of the 15th century there were no Jews in nearly all of Middle and Lower Silesia. In accord with a royal edict of 1582, Jews were also forced to leave Upper Silesia. Only Jews in Glogau (Lower Silesia) and in *Zuelz (Upper Silesia) survived the expulsion, and later on formed the nucleus of the reconstituted Jewish communities of Silesia. Among the significant scholars of the 16th century was R. Benjamin of Silesia, a student of Solomon *Luria and author of *Masat Binyamin*.

In the 17th century, Jews began to arrive in Silesia once more. After the Thirty Years' War (1618–48) and following the *Chmielnicki massacres in Poland (1648), many Jews fled westward; some settled in Silesia where, in the main, they were proprietors of country taverns. By 1700 there were approximately 200 Jewish families in Silesia, the greater part of whom lived in Glogau and Zuelz (Bialb), while the rest were on the land; some families lived in Breslau and its suburbs, despite extreme opposition from the local citizens. In 1713 the Austrian government introduced a *Toleranzsteuer* ("tolerance tax") for Silesian Jews. In 1737 there were about 800 such taxpayers in Silesia, in addition to those who, like the Jews of Glogau and Zuelz, were exempt from this tax. After the annexation of Silesia by Prussia (1742) there were 1,100 Jewish families in 1751, who were organized in four communities – the Glogau community, the Zuelz community, the Silesian **Landesjudenschaft*, and the Breslau community, founded in 1744. While the Glogauer and Zuelz communities were led by rabbis, the rabbinate of Breslau was united with the *Landesjudenschaft*. Notable among the *Landesrabbiner* of this period were Baruch b. Reuben *Gomperz (1733–54) and Joseph Jonas Fraenkel (1754–93). From the end of the 17th century a Jewish printing press operated in *Dyhernfurth, where the Talmud was published.

Economically, Silesian Jewry consisted of three groups: the "*Landjuden*," who earned their living as lessees and *peddlers; the traders and merchants of Breslau, Glogau and Zuelz; and the privileged class, the wealthiest and most respected group who by their participation in supplying war materials and in the development of manufacture and industry obtained great wealth and at the same time earned the respect of the authorities. This group was also culturally the most advanced. Due to their wealth and influence, despite being a small minority, they occupied leading positions within Silesian Jewry long before the emancipation period. From their ranks came the pioneers of emancipation. In the midst of the internal struggle between traditionalists and proponents of enlightenment, the Prussian edict of March 11, 1812 gave Silesian Jews freedom on the economic and personal level. This law helped Jews even though (as in the rest of Prussia) they found difficulty in following crafts because of the opposition by the guilds. Appointment as a government official was difficult because of the unofficial religious barrier, which allowed only baptized Jews to be given such positions. A census of occupations in 1852 showed that for about 50% the major source of income was commerce, while 10% were to be found in skilled trades, and another 10% in the managing of inns. This division remained fairly unchanged even when Jews could participate in the newly established Silesian industries. On the other hand, the legal position of the Jewish communities, which in 1812 had lost their hegemony, changed. On the basis of the Prussian laws of July 23, 1847, 55 synagogal communities or synagogal districts were created: ten in the administrative area of Breslau, seven in the area of Liegnitz, and 38 in the district of Oppeln (*Opole). In 1888 the Jewish communities of Upper Silesia combined, while the synagogal communities of Lower Silesia, which included the districts of Breslau and Liegnitz, combined in 1897.

With the economic development of the area, the Silesian Jewish population also increased, from 11,500 in 1803 to 52,682 in 1880, which also brought about territorial changes. The community of Zuelz was displaced by the Upper Silesian communities, and Glogau was surpassed by Liegnitz. However, the community of Breslau became by far the most important in Silesia. Silesian Jewry made important contributions to Jewish as well as to German cultural life. Apart from famous rabbis and talmudists, there were also Hebrew writers and *maskilim*. For German Jewry the Breslau *Juedisch-Theologisches Seminar, founded in 1854, formed a center of Jewish culture and learning, as well as a training school for Jewish theologians.

After emancipation Silesian Jewry played an active part in the intellectual, cultural, and political life around them. One of the first Jewish poets in the German language was Ephraim Moses *Kuh (1731–1820) of Breslau, while one of the first Jewish poetesses in the German language was Esther Gad-Bernard (1770–1820), who was born in Breslau and was a granddaughter of Hamburg's chief rabbi, Jonathan *Eybeschuetz. Among the best-known modern writers from Silesia are Alfred *Kerr, Max *Tau, and Arnold *Zweig. In Silesia's scholarly life, people of Jewish descent played a prominent role. At the University of Breslau there were numerous lecturers of Jewish descent, but Jewish professors were very few in number until the Weimar Republic. Among these were the historian Jacob Caro and the botanist Ferdinand J. *Cohn. In the political parties Jews were especially active in the liberal movements. They were also prominent in political journalism. One of the first leaders of the German trade union movement, Ferdinand *Lassalle, was from Breslau. Among the more famous Silesian Jews or Silesians of Jewish descent were the Jewish historian Heinrich *Graetz, the medical researcher Paul *Ehrlich, the chemist Fritz *Haber, and the explorer Emin *Pasha (Eduard Schnitzer).

In the 20th century the Silesian Jewish community declined, numbers falling from 44,000 in 1920 to 34,000 in 1933. Under the Geneva convention, Jews were included in the minority rights guarantees for Upper Silesia. After the rise of Nazism, the Jewish community appealed to the League of Nations for aid; as a result their situation was better than that of Jewish communities in the rest of Germany. Even so, after 1933 increased emigration took place (see *Bernheim petition). In 1939 the number of remaining Jews was only 15,480, most of whom became the victims of the Nazi regime. Immediately after World War II, with the incorporation of the whole of Silesia into Poland, the surviving Jewish partners of mixed marriages also left Silesia, and no native Jews remained. In their stead came Jews from Poland and Russia, numbering about 52,000, of whom around 10,000 settled in Breslau (now called Wroclaw). This newly constituted community made use of the Storch synagogue, which had not been destroyed during the war. A Yiddish paper also appeared. Jews also settled in other Silesian cities, among them Liegnitz (Legnica), Reichenbach (Dzierzoniow), and Waldenburg (Walbrzych). With the establishment of the State of Israel, many emigrated there. After the Six-Day War (1967) the majority of Jews left Silesia.

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[Bernhard Brilling]

°SILIUS ITALICUS, TIBERIUS CATIUS ASCONIUS (26–101), Roman epic poet and public official. He flatters Vespasian and Titus in referring to their subjugation of Judea, which he, like Statius, calls Idumea (*Punica* 3:599 f.).

[Jacob Petroff]

SILK (Heb. מֶשִׁי, *meshi*). Silk is mentioned once in the Bible by Ezekiel (16:10, 13) in his description of the splendid garments of the Israelite woman. The commentators identify this *meshi* with silk, and there may be an etymological connection between *meshi* and *si*, the Chinese word for silk, which may also be the origin of *shira, shira'in*, the word for silk in rabbinical literature. There is no doubt that Chinese silk was already known in Ereẓ Israel during the time of the Mishnah and Talmud and it is thought to have been brought to the Near East after the expeditions of Alexander the Great. In the Talmud silk is referred to under various names: *paranda, kallakh, mitakhsa, gushkera*, and *sirkin* (Gr. σηρικόυ; Latin, *sericum*). It is possible that these names were connected with the methods of weaving the silk, as explained by *Nathan b. Jehiel in his *Arukh*: "*Kallakh, gushkera, mitakhsa shira'in*, and *sirikin* are all species of *shira paranda* (i.e., silk, see Shab. 20b) but their texture differs, some being woven fine and some thick." They may, however, have distinguished between Chinese silk and silk spun by the worms of local moths; a number of species are found in Israel, the largest being the *Pachypasa otus* moth whose worm spins a large cocoon of white threads. The silk of this moth was already used by the early Greeks, who wove clothes from it. Possibly this is the *meshi* of Ezekiel, and it is apparently the *kallakh* mentioned in the Mishnah (Shab. 2:1) among the materials which were not to be used for making the wick for the Sabbath lamp. In ancient times Chinese silk was very expensive and only wealthy people could afford garments made from it. Even Roman nobles could not afford *holoserikon*, i.e., a garment wholly woven from pure silk, and in the main wore *hemiserikon*, which was half wool or linen. The Midrash (Eccl. R. 1:7, no. 9) states that the reward of those that love God will be "one day *semisirikon* garments and on the morrow *holosirikon*," i.e., that their prosperity will increase. The cocoons were imported from China and woven in Ereẓ Israel, and the *mitakhsa* is probably this raw cocoon. According to the *aggadah*, R. Joshua b. Hananiah, in order to prove that Israel lacked nothing, "brought *mitakhsa* from Gush Ḥalav" (Eccl. R. 2:8, no. 2). In Ereẓ Israel cultivating the Chinese silkworm *Bombyx mori* began only in the Middle Ages, after the introduction of the white *mulberry. The earliest archaeological finds of silk found in Israel are from the Byzantine period, with fragments of mixed linen and silk found at Nessana; one fragment of pure silk must have been imported. Late Byzantine and Early Islamic examples of silk are known from Avdat and Naḥal Omer. Silk fragments from these periods are also known from excavations in Jordan and Syria. Medieval examples of silk are known from Qarantal Cave 38 (9th–13th centuries C.E.), and according to the researcher Orit Shamir they were made by different techniques (double-faced tabbies, weft-faced compound twills, and lampas weaves), and some of these required very sophisticated looms.

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[Jehuda Feliks / Shimon Gibson (2nd ed.)]

SILKIN, JON (1930–1997), English poet. Born in London, the son of a solicitor, Jon Silkin was a nephew of the British socialist politician Lewis *Silkin. He was educated at Jewish schools, in Wales, and at Dulwich College. At the age of 32, in 1962, he took a first-class degree at Leeds University. Silkin spent some years as a laborer before turning to the writing of poetry. In 1958, he was appointed Fellow in Poetry at Leeds University, but spent much of his time editing *Stand*, an avant-garde literary magazine which he had founded in 1957. Silkin's own early books of verse were *The Peaceable Kingdom* (1954), and *The Two Freedoms* (1958). In *The Reordering of the Stones* (1961) he experimented with a new and extreme terseness of language and he began to explore fresh terrain with his sequence of *Flower Poems*, republished in *Nature with Man* (1965), which reinterpreted familiar plants and flowers in political or social terms. His *Poems, New and Selected* appeared in 1966. His most celebrated poem is "Death of a Son," dedicated to a one-year-old child who died in a mental hospital. A highly individual critic, he was particularly interested in the poetry of World War I, and was an authority on Isaac *Rosenberg. He wrote an interesting book on World War I poets, *Out of Battle* (1972), and edited the anthology *The Penguin Book of First World War Poetry* (1979). Silkin lived much of his life in Newcastle-upon-Tyne. He visited Israel several times and wrote poetry on his Jewish background, which was collected in *Testament Without Breath* (1998).

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[Philip D. Hobsbaum]

SILKIN, LEWIS, FIRST BARON (1889–1972), British lawyer and politician. Born in London, the son of a Hebrew teacher and wholesale grocer who had migrated from Lithuania, Silkin became a solicitor and then a prominent figure in London local government. He entered Parliament as a Labour member in 1936 and from 1945 to 1950 was minister of town and country planning in the Labour government of Clement *Attlee. In this capacity he piloted major planning legislation through Parliament, and was one of the progenitors of Britain's "New Towns" as well as of its national parks system. In 1950 Silkin was given a peerage with the title Baron Silkin, and from 1955 to 1964 was deputy leader of the opposition in the House of Lords. He was also active in Jewish affairs as president of the Trades Advisory Council, a body protecting Jewish commercial interests from discrimination, and of the British *Technion Committee.

Two of Silkin's sons also became prominent in law and politics. SAMUEL SILKIN, BARON SILKIN OF DULWICH (1918–1988), a barrister educated at Dulwich College and Cambridge, was elected a Labour member of Parliament in 1964 and in 1966 became recorder (i.e., judge) of Bedford. Silkin was appointed attorney general in the Labour government after the elections in February 1974, serving until 1976, but refused the knighthood which usually goes with the office. He retired from the House of Commons in 1983 and was given a life peerage. His brother John SILKIN (1923–1987), who was also educated at Dulwich College and Cambridge, and became a solicitor, was elected a Labour member of Parliament in 1963 and appointed parliamentary secretary to the Treasury and government chief whip in 1966. From 1969 to 1970 he was minister of building. Silkin was appointed minister for planning and local government in the Labour government after the elections in February 1974, with a seat in the cabinet, and minister of agriculture, fisheries and food in September 1976, serving until 1979. Generally on the left of the party, he was often a strong nationalist and opposed British entry into the European Community. In 1979–80 he served as the opposition spokesman on industry and during 1980 he became the shadow leader of the House of Commons. In November 1980 Silkin stood for the leadership of the Labour Party but received only limited support, and was also defeated for the deputy leadership in 1981.

ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY: ODNB online.

[Vivian David Lipman / William D. Rubinstein (2nd ed.)]

SILKINER, BENJAMIN NAHUM (1882–1933), U.S. Hebrew poet. Born in Vilkija, Lithuania, Silkiner arrived in 1904 in the United States, where he taught Hebrew at a Hebrew elementary school and Bible at the Teachers Institute of the Jewish Theological Seminary in New York, until his death. He published several texts for Hebrew schools and, together with Israel *Efros and Judah *Even Shemuel (Kaufmann), an English-Hebrew dictionary (1929). His translation of *Macbeth* appeared in Warsaw in 1939. In 1913–14 he was also one of the editors of the Hebrew periodical *Ha-Toren*. Silkiner's main contribution to Hebrew literature is his emphasis on American themes. In his first book *Mul Ohel Timmurah* (1910), which is an epic poem of the struggles of the American Indian against the Spanish conquistadors, he draws his material from Indian lore and Spanish colonial history. The poem is included in *Shirim* (1927), a collection of his lyrics and narrative poems.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *B.N. Silkiner Jubilee Volume* (1934), incl. bibl.; A. Epstein, *Soferim Ivrim ba-Amerikah*, 1 (1952), 31–38; H. Bavli, *Ruḥot Nifgashot* (1958), 86–120; E. Silberschlag, in: JBA, 18 (1960/61), 66–68.

[Eisig Silberschlag]

SILLS, BEVERLY (née **Belle Silverman**; 1929–), U.S. soprano singer. Born in New York City, Sills made her first public appearance as "Bubbles," becoming a child radio star at the age of three; at six she was singing coloratura soprano arias on "Major Bowes' Capital Family Hour." Giving up radio at the age of 12, she began piano lessons with Paolo Gallico and studied singing with Estelle Liebling (the teacher of Galli-Curci). She made her début in opera in 1947 with the Philadelphia Civic Opera (Micaëla in *Carmen*). After joining the New York City Opera Company in 1955, she first sang the part of Rosalinda in *Die Fledermaus*; among many other parts, she created the title role in Carlisle Floyd's *The Ballad of Baby Doe* (1956). In 1961, she retired to care for her deaf child, but in 1965 was persuaded by Julius *Rudel, director of the company, to return to the stage in Offenbach's *Tales of Hoffmann* in which she sang all three soprano roles. In 1966, during the opening season at the Company's new Lincoln Center opera house, she was a much-praised Cleopatra in Handel's *Giulio Cesare*; and her playing the title role in Massenet's *Manon* in 1968 led several critics to hail her performance, as well as the entire production, as the best in New York since World War II. Sills appeared at most of the major American and world opera houses, including the Vienna State Opera (1967); the Teatro alla Scala, Milan, in Rossini's seldom performed *L'Assedio di Corinto* (1969); the Royal Opera House, Covent Garden, in *Lucia di Lammermoor* (1970); and the Teatro la Fenice, Venice, as Violetta in *La Traviata* (1972). In all these roles, audiences admired her coloratura technique if not always a perfect steadiness or sweetness of voice, and she was an excellent actress with a warm stage personality. Sills announced that she would retire from opera on attaining the age of 50, and after fulfilling an assignment to sing at the world premiere of Menotti's *Juana La Loca* in San Diego in May 1978, she was appointed general director of the New York City Opera (1979–89). In June 1980 she was awarded the Freedom Medal by President Carter and in October that year gave her farewell performance. Sills published an autobiography (1987) and became chairperson of Lincoln Center for the Performing Arts (1993).

ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY: NG².

[Max Loppert / Amnon Shiloah (2nd ed.)]

SILMAN, KADISH YEHUDA LEIB (1880–1937), Hebrew writer and satirist. Born near Vilna, Silman taught in Vilna's first Hebrew school in which Hebrew was the language of instruction, and later directed a "modern *ḥeder*" in Gomel. In 1907 he immigrated to Palestine and devoted his life to teaching, mostly in Jerusalem. He was one of the founders of Tel Aviv and of the neighborhood of Bet ha-Kerem in Jerusalem.

His literary poems, stories, and articles from Palestine (his series of newsletters to *Haolam* under the general title of "*Mikhtavim el Aḥ*") became famous. His contribution to the fields of popular ballads, poetry, satire, and humor was also of importance. His books for children include *Shirim la-Am* (1910); *Zimrei Am* (folk songs, 1927); *Lekhu Nerannenah* (70 folk songs with musical notes, 1928); *Mordekhai ve-Haman* (a play for children, 1934); and *Shimon Sevivon* (a story, 1937). In the field of humor, parody and satire, he published *Massekhet Bava Tekhnikah* (c. 1910) and *Shas Ereẓ Yisre'eli Katan* (a parody dealing with the language conflict, c. 1913). He also published satiric newspapers for several decades: *La-Yehudim* (irregularly between 1909 and 1927) and *Aspaklaryah* (1920).

[Getzel Kressel]

SILOAM (or **Shiloah**) **INSCRIPTION**, an inscription found in 1880 in the village of Siloam (Arab. Silwān) in Jerusalem. It contains six lines engraved on the rock wall of a tunnel known as the "Siloam tunnel" which, running through the spur of a hill, conveys water from the spring of Gihon to the east of the spur into the pool of Siloam to the west. In biblical times, the wall of Jerusalem made a southward loop, and the pool of Siloam lay within it. The language of the inscription is biblical Hebrew and its script is Paleo-Hebraic. It is about 32 cm. (12 in.) high and 72 cm. (28 in.) long and tells the story of the digging of the tunnel, a very respectable engineering feat for its day. The purpose of the inscription was apparently to commemorate the completion of the excavation by two groups of diggers who began working at the same time from the two ends of the tunnel until they met. The inscription and the tunnel date back to the days of King *Hezekiah of Judah, who sealed the springs outside the walls of Jerusalem in order to prevent the water from being used by a besieging army. In order to secure the supply of water for the city during the time of siege, he diverted the waters of the Gihon spring through the tunnel into the city (II Kings 20:20; II Chron. 32:3–4, 30; cf. Isa. 22:11). The project was terminated almost certainly before 701 B.C.E., the year of Sennacherib's campaign against Judah. In the 19th century, the inscription was cut out of the tunnel wall and removed to the Museum of Istanbul (then Constantinople).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Pritchard, Texts, 321; Pritchard, Pictures, 275, 744; J. Simons, *Jerusalem in the Old Testament* (1952), 175–92; Burrows, in: ZAW, 70 (1958), 221–7 (Eng.); Stoebe, in: ZDPV, 71 (1955), 124–40; Amiran, in: *Qadmoniot*, 1 (1968), 13–18; Hecker, in: M. Avi-Yonah (ed.), *Sefer Yerushalayim* (1957), 191–218.

[Bustanay Oded]

SILVA, ANTÔNIO JOSÉ DA (known as "o Judeu"; 1705–1739), Portuguese playwright and martyr. Born in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, Da Silva was of Converso origin and his family secretly remained loyal to Judaism. His father, João Mendes da Silva (1656–1736), was a prominent poet and lawyer who, until his death, managed to maintain the appearance of a faithful Catholic; his mother, Lourença Coutinho, was less compromising and it was as a result of her deportation to Portugal, when she was imprisoned on a Judaizing charge in 1713, that Da Silva and his father moved to Lisbon. While a law student at the University of Coimbra, he wrote a satire which provided the authorities with a pretext for arresting him, and he too was charged with Judaizing. Partly crippled by torture, Da Silva was eventually penanced and released. He practiced law but turned increasingly to writing and swiftly built up a reputation as the outstanding Portuguese dramatist of the era.

A prolific and versatile writer, Antônio da Silva created a series of stage satires criticizing the evils of contemporary society. These "comedies," which range from burlesque and parody to puppet show and comic opera and mingle prose dialogue with song, include *Vida do grande Don Quixote de la Mancha…* (1733), *Esopaida* (1734), *Encantos de Medeia* (1735), *O Anfitriǎo* (1736), *Variedades de Proteo* (1737), and *O Precipício de Faetonte* (1738). They were popularly known as the works of "The Jew" and were performed frequently during and after the 1730s. Da Silva's collected works (2 vols., 1744–46) were published anonymously until the end of the 18th century under the title *Theatro comico portuguez.*

In 1737 the playwright, together with his mother and newly married wife, was again arrested by the Inquisition. The women were released, but Judaizing charges were pressed against Da Silva, whose plays had made him many enemies. He had, it transpired, undergone circumcision, later joining the Franciscan order to divert suspicion from his heretical activities. Evidence of Sabbath observance and unorthodox fasting was provided by a colored slave girl. Prolonged torture failed to break his will and, when a secret court finally condemned him, not even the king himself could secure a reprieve. In October 1739 Da Silva was garroted and burnt at a Lisbon auto-da-fé. His wife, who witnessed his death, did not long survive him. Da Silva's tragic story has inspired several modern writers, including the Portuguese Camilo Castelo Branco (author of the novel *O Judeu*, 1906^3), who was himself of Marrano origin.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: F. Wolf, *Don Antonio José de Silva* (Germ., 1860); Kayserling, Bibl, 101; T. Braga, *O Martyr da Inquisição portuguesa Antonio José da Silva, O Judeu* (1904); G.A. Kohut, *Jewish Martyrs of the Inquisition in South America* (1895), 35–50, 74–87; Roth, Marranos, 165–7.

[Godfrey Edmond Silverman]

°**SILVA, FLAVIUS**, Roman commander, conqueror of *Masada. Upon the death of Lucilius *Bassus he was sent to suppress the remaining rebels in the Judean desert. With a large army he undertook the siege of Masada, despite the enormous difficulties which he had to overcome in providing for his army, which included many non-combatants. After a siege lasting several months the fortress was taken. The rebels under *Eleazar b. Jair chose to die by their own hands rather than fall into the hands of the Romans. Silva returned with his army to Caesarea and later became consul in Rome.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Jos., Wars 7:252, 275–9, 304–15, 407; Pauly-Wissowa, 12 (1909), 2617; Klausner, Bayit Sheni, 5 (1951^2), 287 ff.; Schuerer, Gesch, 1 (1901^4), 638; Schuerer, Hist, 274, 277.

[Lea Roth]

SILVA, JOSHUA DA (d. 1679), English rabbi. Da Silva, who was born and trained in Amsterdam, was appointed haham of the Sephardi synagogue in London in 1670, serving also as *ḥazzan* and teacher. His sermons, *Discursos Predycaveys* (Amsterdam, 1688), published by his widow, contain valuable material for the social history of the Jews in London.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Roth, Mag Bibl, 322; L.D. Barnett (tr.), *Libro de los Acuerdos* (Eng., 1931), index; A.M. Hyamson, *Sephardim of England* (1950), 41, 59.

[Cecil Roth]

SILVA, RODRIGO MENDEZ (Jacob) DA (1606–c. 1676), Marrano historian and genealogist. Mendez was born in Colorico, Portugal, and later settled in Madrid where he published numerous books on various aspects of Spanish history and genealogy. The most important was the widely read *Catalogo real de España*. These works led to his appointment as royal chronicler (*cronista general*) at the Spanish court. In 1659 he was arrested by the *Inquisition on a charge of Judaizing and after prolonged torture was admitted to penance. Later he managed to leave the country and take up residence in the *ghetto at Venice. There he adopted the name Jacob and was circumcised. As a Jew, he is said to have acted inconsistently in his beliefs and religious practices.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: J. Caro Baroja, Los judíos en la España moderna y contemporánea (1962), index; C. Roth, in: REJ, 89 (1930), 222–3.

[Cecil Roth]

SILVA, SAMUEL DA (16th–17th century), Marrano physician. He was born in *Oporto, Portugal, and later went to Hamburg, where he returned to Judaism. His translation into Spanish of the section on repentance (*Hilkhot Teshuvah*) from the *Mishneh Torah* of *Maimonides appeared in Amsterdam in 1613 under the title *Tratado de la Tesuvah o Contrición*. Subsequently, having read in manuscript a work by Uriel da *Costa critical of the Jewish tradition, da Silva wrote a polemic in reply entitled *Tratado da Immortalidade da Alma* ("Treatise on the Immortality of the Soul", Amsterdam, 1623), couched in strong language. Da Costa's *Examen das tradicoens Phariseas*, published in Amsterdam in 1624, was actually a second version of the manuscript that Da Silva had seen. In it Da Costa replied to the attack and referred to his critic as his "lying slanderer" in the subtitle.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: S. da Silva, *Tratado da Immortalidade del Alma*, ed. by De Jong (1935); Kayserling, Bibl, 40, 102; Brugmans-Frank, 517; M. Dos Remedios, *Os Judeus Portugueses em Amsterdam* (1911), 128–33; H. Kellenbenz, *Sephardim an der unteren Elbe* (1958), index; Melkman, in: *Studia Rosenthaliana*, 1:2 (1967), 24–26 (Eng.).

SILVER, ABBA (Abraham) HILLEL (1893–1963), U.S. Reform rabbi, Zionist leader. Silver was born in Lithuania and immigrated to the United States with his family in 1902. While studying at Yeshivat Etz Chaim (later, the Rabbi Yitzhak Elchanan Theological Seminary; see *Yeshiva University), he founded the Dr. Herzl Zion Club, a Hebrew-speaking group which evolved into *Young Judaea, the first Zionist youth organization in the U.S. He received a B.A. from the University of Cincinnati in 1915 and was ordained the same year at *Hebrew Union College, where he earned a D.D. in 1925. He was awarded an honorary L.D. by (Case) Western Reserve University, an honorary D.H.L. by Hebrew Union College, and an honorary D.H. by the University of Tampa.

Following ordination, Silver became rabbi of Congregation Leshem Shomayim in Wheeling, West Virginia (1915–17). In 1917, at the age of 24, and in spite of his outspoken Zionism, he became rabbi of The Temple (Congregation Tifereth Israel) in Cleveland, Ohio, arguably the largest Reform congregation in the country. Committed to the maintenance of basic Jewish tradition, he installed a **Sefer Torah* in the sanctuary's empty ark and moved the temple's weekly Sabbath worship service from Sunday to Saturday. He was instrumental in laying the groundwork for replacing the Reform movement's Pittsburgh platform with the 1937 Columbus platform. Infused with the spirit of the prophets of Israel, he denounced segregation and supported the right of labor to organize. He resigned from the Cleveland Chamber of Commerce over its anti-union policies and was a member of the special state labor commission that drafted Ohio's first unemployment insurance law. A self-appointed defender of the Jewish people, Silver was the founder (with Samuel Untermayer, and over the objections of some Jewish leaders) of the Non-sectarian Anti-Nazi League to Champion Human Rights, which organized a boycott of German goods in the 1930s.

Active in more than 30 local and national organizations, Silver was the founding president of the Cleveland Bureau of

Jewish Education (1924–32); president of the Cleveland Jewish Federation (1935–41); national chairman of the board of governors of the State of Israel Bonds; national chairman of the United Palestine Appeal (1938), and national co-chairman of the United Jewish Appeal; president of the *Central Conference of American Rabbis (1945–47); member of the board of governors of *Hebrew University; president of the alumni association of Hebrew Union College (1936–37), and chairman of its board of alumni overseers (1952); and president (1957–58) and honorary chairman (1945–46) of the *Zionist Organization of America.

A brilliant orator, Silver had the greatest impact and made his most important contributions as a founding chairman of the American Zionist Emergency Council (1943–45), and later as chairman of the American section of the Jewish Agency (1946–49). With the outbreak of World War II, he saw the opportunity to achieve the goal of a Jewish state. Perceiving that the postwar influence of the United States would be decisive, and winning the support of its people and government crucial, he (together with Stephen S. *Wise, although the two frequently clashed) succeeded beyond expectations in mobilizing public opinion, both Jewish and non-Jewish, on behalf of the Zionist cause. His public and private eloquence resulted in the passage of Congressional resolutions favoring the establishment of a Jewish Commonwealth, as well as in commitments of support enunciated in the Republican and Democratic Party platforms. The high point of his Zionist leadership came on May 8, 1947, when he presented the case for an independent Jewish state before the General Assembly of the United Nations, which passed the Partition Resolution on November 29 of that year, establishing the legal basis for the creation of the state of Israel. He returned again to the United Nations in May 1948 to announce that Israel had declared itself an independent state. It has been speculated that, had Chaim Weizmann not become the first president of Israel, Silver – widely considered one of the architects of modern Israel – might have been selected for that position. In 1950, a poll conducted by the *National Jewish Post* named him the leading figure of American Jewry. In 1952, he gave the benediction at the inauguration of President Dwight D. Eisenhower.

Although internal rivalries led Silver to leave his official posts in Zionist organizations, he constantly responded to appeals for his service in fundraising or for the use of his enormous prestige on behalf of Israel. Back in Ohio, he opposed a 1958 "right-to-work" amendment to the state's constitution. He was the recipient of many awards, including the Medal of Merit from the Jewish War Veterans (1951), the National Human Relations Award of the National Conference of Christians and Jews, and the Louis Brandeis Award of the American Zionist Council. The village Kefar Silver in Israel was named after him.

Silver's major books are *A History of Messianic Speculation in Israel* (1927), *The Democratic Impulse in Jewish History* (1928), *Religion in a Changing World* (1931), *Vision and Victory* (1949), *Where Judaism Differed* (1956), *Moses and the Original Torah* (1961), and *Therefore Choose Life* (1967), a selection of his sermons, addresses and writings (edited by H. Weiner). Silver died in his 45th year as rabbi of The Temple and was succeeded by his son, Daniel Jeremy *Silver.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: R.W. Zweig, J.D. Sarna, and M.A. Rader, *Abba Hillel Silver and American Zionism* (1977); M.L. Raphael, *Abba Hillel Silver: A Profile in American Judaism* (1989).

[Bezalel Gordon (2nd ed.)]

SILVER, DANIEL JEREMY (1928–1989), U.S. Reform rabbi. Daniel Jeremy Silver was the son of Abba Hillel *Silver (1893–1963). Born in Cleveland, Ohio, he was educated at Harvard University, received his rabbinical ordination from Hebrew Union College, and a doctoral degree at the University of Chicago. His first pulpit was Congregation Beth Torah in Chicago. In 1956 he became the associate rabbi at The Temple-Tifereth Israel in Cleveland, Ohio, where his father had been in service since 1917. Upon his father's death in 1963, Silver became the senior rabbi, where he remained until his own death in 1989.

Silver was an active participant in local Jewish and secular affairs. He was appointed to chair a committee of the Mayor's Commission on the Crisis in Welfare and served as vice president of the Cleveland Museum of Art; he taught Judaism at Cleveland State University and Case Western Reserve University, chaired the Congregational Plenum, and was active in the Jewish Community Federation of Cleveland. Nationally, he held leadership roles in the Reform movement's Central Conference of American Rabbis and edited the movement's journal for ten years. He was the president of the National Foundation for Jewish Culture and chaired its Academic Advisory Council. He wrote *Maimonidean Criticism and Maimonidean Controversy, 1180–1240* (1965); *A History of Judaism:* Volume I, *From Abraham to Maimonides* (1974); *Images of Moses* (1982); and *The Story of Scripture*, published posthumously in 1990.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: MS. 4850 Daniel Jeremy Silver Papers, Western Reserve Historical Society, Cleveland, Ohio.; "Daniel J. Silver, 61, Rabbi and an Author," in: *New York Times* (December 21, 1989), p. 20.

[Bezalel Gordon (2nd ed.)]

SILVER, EDWARD S. (1898–1974), U.S. lawyer. Born in New York, Silver served as secretary to Felix *Frankfurter when the latter was a professor at Harvard. He began his career of public service in 1929, when he joined the staff of the U.S. Attorney in New York. He served as Commissioner of the Alien Enemy Hearing Board, and in 1946 became District Attorney of Kings County, a position he held for ten years. In 1964 he was elected Kings County Surrogate, and from 1969 until the time of his death he was a member of the State Commission of Investigation. He was widely known for his work against crime and for prosecution of criminals and racketeers. Silver was active in many Jewish organizations, among them the Israel Bonds Drive, of which he was chairman of the New York campaign, and was president of the National Council of Young Israel.

[Milton Ridvas Konvitz (2nd ed.)]

SILVER, ELIEZER (1882–1968), rabbi and Orthodox Jewish leader. Born in Abel, Kovno province, Lithuania, Silver early achieved recognition for his unusual scholarly abilities. He studied under *Meir Simḥah ha-Kohen and Joseph *Rozin of Dvinsk, Ḥayyim Ozer *Grodzinski of Vilna, and Ḥayyim *Soloveichik of Brest-Litovsk. Silver immigrated to the United States in 1907 and became the rabbi of united Orthodox congregations in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania; Springfield, Massachusetts (1925); and Cincinnati, Ohio (1931), where he remained until his death. Silver was a leading spokesman for Orthodoxy on the American scene. In 1923 he was elected president of the *Union of Orthodox Rabbis, and he remained a member of its presidium until his death. He founded the U.S. branch of *Agudat Israel in 1939 and served as its first president. When the refugee yeshivah pupils reached Vilna in 1939–40 following the Nazi invasion of Poland, he founded the Va'ad Haẓẓalah, and during the ensuing years he applied the same body to rescuing European rabbis, scholars, and students. In 1946 Silver visited Europe and Ereẓ Israel as an official representative of the United States government to assist the war refugees. He continued to aid the many centers of rabbinic learning which were reestablished in Ereẓ Israel in cooperation with the Israeli Va'ad ha-Yeshivot.

In appearance and erudition an Orthodox rabbi of the old school, Silver possessed a scintillating and non-conformist personality and a remarkable sense of humor. His dedication and selflessness were highly regarded, and he was often called upon to mediate in disputes in communities throughout the United States. Silver was a constant contributor to talmudic and halakhic periodicals. He edited part of his talmudic novellae and they were published in two volumes entitled *Anfei Ereẓ* (1960–62). A biography entitled *Ish ha-Halakhah ve-ha-Ma'aseh*, edited by Menahem Glickman-Porush of Jerusalem, appeared in 1947.

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[Aaron Rothkoff]

SILVER, HAROLD M. (1900–), U.S. social worker and social welfare administrator. Silver was born in Russia and was educated in the United States. He served as director of the Detroit Jewish Family and Children's Service from 1933 to 1963, taught social work at Wayne University (1934–53), served on the executive committee (1940–50) and as president (1945–46) of the National Conference of Jewish Communal Service, and was active in Po'alei Zion. One of the founders of the National Association of Social Workers (1955), Silver was chairman of the association's commission on personnel standards (1955–58) and helped create the code of ethics and a set of adjudication procedures for professionals. He was also a charter member of the Academy of Certified Social Workers for experienced and especially qualified professionals. Silver immigrated to Israel in 1963 and was a consultant at the Israel Ministry of Social Welfare from 1963 to 1966 and then a member of the faculty of the Hebrew University from 1966.

SILVER, JOAN MICKLIN (1935–), U.S. film director. Born in Omaha, Nebr., to lumber dealer Maurice and Doris (née Shoshone) Micklin, both Russian immigrants, she studied at Sarah Lawrence College, graduating in 1956. After her marriage she moved to New York, where she worked on films for the Learning Corporation of American and wrote for the alternative newsweekly *The Village Voice* in the 1960s. She received a writing credit for one of the first films to address Vietnam veterans, *Limbo* (1972), and her first turn at directing was a documentary short *The Immigrant Experience: The Long Long Journey* (1972). While researching *Immigrant* she came across *Yekl,* a story about young Jewish newlyweds. The tale would serve as the basis for her first feature film, *Hester Street* (1975), which was created outside the Hollywood mainstream for $370,000 with her husband through their company, Midwest Films. *Hester Street* went on to gross $7 million, drawing resounding critical acclaim for its intimate historical portrayal of Jewish life in New York's Lower East Side, an Oscar nod for star Carol *Kane, and a Writer's Guild nomination for best screenplay. Her next feature film, *Between the Lines* (1977), drew on her time at *The Village Voice* but moved the action to Boston. In 1988, Silver put a modern twist on *Hester Street* with the release of *Crossing Delancy.* Silver followed this with the films *Lover Boy* (1989), *Big Girls Don't Cry … They Get Even* (1992), and *A Fish in the Bathtub* (1999). Silver increasingly focused on directing intimate made-for-TV films, including the abortion-themed *A Private Matter* (1992) and the Warsaw ghetto tale *In the Presence of Mine Enemies* (1997). Silver has also directed plays and musicals for theater, including the Randy Newman-inspired *Maybe I'm Doing It Wrong* (1982) and *A … My Name Is Alice* (1992). In 1995, she paired with Leonard *Nimoy to direct the radio series *Great Jewish Stories from Eastern Europe and Beyond* for National Public Radio.

[Adam Wills (2nd ed.)]

SILVER, RON (1946–), U.S. actor. Born Ronald Zimelman in New York City, Silver graduated from Stuyvesant High School, a specialized school in New York for mathematics, science, and technology. He studied Spanish and Chinese at the State University of New York at Buffalo. After graduating in 1967, he considered a career in intelligence before going on to graduate studies in Spain and Taiwan in 1968. After returning to the United States, he received his master's degree in Chinese history from St. John's University in Queens in 1970. Silver struggled to find a job that appealed to him, from social work to teaching Spanish at Roosevelt High School, a Jewish boarding school in Connecticut. Silver had taken some acting classes in college, and turned to study at the Herbert Berghof Studio and then Lee Strasberg's Actors Studio. He made his stage debut in *Kaspar* and *Public Insult* at the City Center Theater in 1971. In 1972, he was a cast member in the off-Broadway farce *El Grande De Coca-Cola*. In 1976, Silver was cast as nebbishy neighbor Gary Levy in the sitcom *Rhoda* (1974–78). He made his feature film debut in *Tunnelvision* (1976), which he followed with an appearance in the film *Semi-Tough* (1977). Silver was on the short-lived series *Dear Detective* in 1979. He starred in his own television series, *Baker's Dozen* (1982), but the show was canceled despite being nominated for an Emmy. Silver continued to act in films, including *Best Friends* (1982), *Lovesick* (1983) and *Silkwood* (1983). Silver then turned his attention to Broadway with two Mike Nichols-directed plays, *Hurlyburly* (1984) and *Social Security* (1986). In 1988, he was cast in the Broadway production of David Mamet's *Speed-the-Plow*, which earned him a Tony Award and a Drama Desk Award. Silver's turn as attorney Alan Dershowitz in the film *Reversal of Fortune* (1990) earned him critical acclaim. From 1996 to 1997, he had a recurring role as Tommy Wilmette on *Chicago Hope* (1996–2000). He returned to television for the 1998–99 season of *Veronica's Closet* and then starred in the Muhammad Ali biopic *Ali* (2001). He served as president of Actors' Equity Association from 1991 to 2000, and became an outspoken supporter of President George W. Bush after the Sept. 11, 2001, terrorist attacks. He has been an outspoken supporter of Israel as well.

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[Adam Wills (2nd ed.)]

SILVERMAN, ALEXANDER (1881–), U.S. glass chemist. Silverman was born in Pittsburgh. He worked for MacBeth-Evans Glass Company (1902–04). In 1918 he became professor of chemistry at the University of Pittsburgh. He invented illuminators for microscopes, and several varieties of colored glasses. Silverman was a member of the National Research Council (1938–41, 1947–50).

SILVERMAN, IRA (1945–1991), U.S. Jewish leader. Before his untimely death at the age of 46 from a parasite that he contracted when he visited China, Ira Silverman held some of the most important posts in American Jewish leadership. A native of Rockville Centre, New York, he was a graduate of Harvard University (B.A. 1966) with an M.A. in International Affairs from Princeton University (1968).

Among the positions that Silverman held was the presidency of the Reconstructionist Rabbinical College (1981–86). He was the first non-rabbi and as of 2006 the last to head the Seminary. He succeeded Ira Eisenstein, who had been the founding president and was to bring the institution from the generation of Mordecai Kaplan and his disciples to a new and younger generation. He was succeeded by Arthur Green, a distinguished scholar of Ḥasidism.

From the RRC he went on to become the director of the 92nd Street Y (1986–88), the crown jewel of the Y system, which was seeking to reinvigorate the Judaic contact of its many programs. He then returned to the American Jewish Committee where he had previously served as national program director, this time as its executive vice president (1988–90), where he was expected to bring sought after stability to it leadership in the post-Burt Gold era of the Committee. Illness beset him after a visit to China and in 1990 it became clear that he could not carry on the demands of his office. He remained at the AJC and director of the Institute on Human Relations until his death. Earlier in his career he was the director of federal government relations of the Association of American Universities, a Washington correspondent for *The Jerusalem Post* and *Yedioth Aharonoth*, a Tel Aviv newspaper. He was also the first director of the Institute for Jewish Policy Planning and Research, which was founded by the Synagogue Council of America. To each of these positions Silverman brought a deep Jewish commitment, which expressed itself in a commitment to social justice and human rights, which was at the core of his Judaism and shaped by its values.

[Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

SILVERMAN, JOSEPH (1860–1930), U.S. rabbi. Born in Cincinnati, he attended the University of Cincinnati, where he earned his B.A. in 1883. A year later he was ordained as the class valedictorian and received his D.D. from Hebrew Union College in 1887. He was a rabbi in Dallas, Texas, at Temple Emanu-El (1884–85), in Galveston at Temple Bnai Israel (1885–88), and at Temple Emanu-El, New York City (1888–1922), where he began as assistant rabbi and then served as rabbi after 1897. He was the first American-born rabbi to serve in New York. He was president (1900–03) of the Central Conference of American Rabbis and was founder and president of the Emanu-El Brotherhood. He wrote *A Catechism on Judaism* (1885), made numerous contributions to periodicals, and was active in Zionist work.

Among his other contributions, he was a consulting editor of the *Jewish Encyclopedia*. He was president of the New York Board of Ministers and founder and first president of the Association of Reform Rabbis of New York and Vicinity. An early opponent of Zionism, he became an active Zionist. Despite Emanu-El's undeserved reputation as an anti-Zionist congregation he was honorary vice president of the Palestine Foundation Fund and a member of the executive committee of the Masonic Foundation Fund. He was active in the Federation of Jewish Philanthropies, the organization to which his congregation traditionally gave leadership. He visited Palestine in 1923 and then traveled the U.S. encouraging philanthropic work in Palestine. He was more reluctant to advance political Zionism. He was a member of the Committee for Religious Congress of the Chicago World's Fair in 1893 and twice delivered the invocation at the House of Representatives. He wrote for the major Jewish periodicals of his day and was influential in the adoption of the Union Hymnal. He also wrote *The Renaissance of Judaism* (1918). He was active in ecumenical affairs, often the lone Jew represented among Christian clergy.

He opposed anti-Jewish portrayals in the theater and brought suit against Sholem Asch's *God of Vengeance,* which helped kill the play (during the Holocaust years Asch would not allow it to be performed lest the portrayal of Jews offer solace to antisemites; in recent years the play has enjoyed a revival in summer stock theater).

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[Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

SILVERMAN, LESLIE (1914–1966), U.S. engineer. Born in Chicago, Silverman was a member of the Department of Industrial Hygiene at Harvard University in 1937 where he was professor from 1958 and department head from 1961. This department pioneered studies in industrial hygiene and occupational medicine in the U.S. Silverman's research interests mainly concerned the analysis of airborne dust. During World War II he was responsible for the engineering aspects of programs which developed oxygen provision during high altitude flight and protective gas masks. His engineering and supervisory work after the war included radiological safety, solid waste management, and controlling air pollution. He was a consultant to the Atomic Energy Commission. His books *Industrial Air Sampling and Analysis* (1947) and *Handbook on Aircleaning* (1952) were standard texts.

[Michael Denman (2nd ed.)]

SILVERMAN, MORRIS (1894–1972), U.S. rabbi, scholar, and liturgist. Born in Newburgh, N.Y., Silverman was ordained rabbi at the Jewish Theological Seminary in 1922.

From 1923 to 1961 he served as rabbi of the Emanuel Synagogue in Hartford, Conn., and was a leader in virtually every aspect of Jewish life, prominently active in civic affairs, civil rights, interfaith activities, and Zionist work. He built the synagogue into one of the dominant congregations of New England and served with Hartford colleagues who also enjoyed long and distinguished tenures in the rabbinate.

His greatest influence on North American Jewry was through his role as a liturgical innovator and editor. Silverman began creating preliminary and experimental editions of various prayer books and booklets in the early 1930s. He eventually produced nationally distributed editions of twelve liturgical works, most published by the Prayer Book Press, which was established in Hartford to encourage dissemination of his work.

His *High Holiday Prayer Book* (1939 and 1953) combined the traditional Hebrew liturgy with new readings and notes, and introduced interpretive translations in "responsive reading" formats, which sought to encourage participation by worshipers of diverse backgrounds. It was eventually adopted by more than one thousand institutions, and was still in active distribution in 2005.

Silverman's *Sabbath and Festival Prayer Book* (1946) produced under the auspices of the Rabbinical Assembly, was adopted by most Conservative congregations; and, like his *Maḥzor*, has influenced subsequent publications in various sectors of Jewish life. For four decades it was synonymous with the liturgy of a Conservative Congregation.

His *Prayers of Consolation* (1953) introduced a new genre of worship texts for special occasions, combining traditional worship with selections from classical texts and 20th-century sources. Silverman's *Passover Haggadah* (1959) featured explanatory notes and interpretive readings, and pioneered the inclusion of commemorative material on both the Holocaust and the recently-created State of Israel, within the *seder* liturgy.

Between 1933 and 1961 Silverman also edited and coedited liturgical and instructional texts for young people. His son Hillel also became a rabbi and his grandson Jonathan is a prominent American actor.

[Walter Stern (2nd ed.)]

SILVERMAN, SIDNEY (**Samuel**; 1895–1968), British politician. Born in Liverpool, the son of a draper, Silverman was imprisoned in World War I as a conscientious objector, and, during the early 1920s, was employed as an English lecturer at Helsinki University. He then returned to London, becoming a solicitor. Silverman was elected to Parliament as a Labour member in 1935, retaining his seat until his death, and immediately established a reputation for independence and forthrightness. This led to numerous clashes with his colleagues in the Labour Party, of whose left wing he was a prominent member. During World War II he was one of the first persons in Britain to campaign on behalf of Jews being killed in the Holocaust, and raised the plight of the Jews in Parliament. In the immediate postwar period he was vocal in opposing Labour's policies in Palestine. On two occasions, in 1954, when he opposed German rearmament, and in 1961, when he voted against a party decision on service estimates, he was suspended from the Parliamentary Labour Party. His great achievement, the result of 30 years of campaigning, was the abolition of capital punishment in 1965.

Silverman was an expert on procedure. He came to be regarded as one of the most accomplished debaters in the House of Commons, and his parliamentary skill and his courage won him the affection of members of all parties. A dedicated Zionist, he spoke passionately and knowledgeably on Jewish causes in Parliament and consistently opposed the Palestine policies of Ernest *Bevin, foreign secretary in the 1945–50 Labour Government. He was chairman of the British section of the World Jewish Congress (1940–50) and later member of the World Executive Council (1950–60) and vice president of the Zionist Federation of Great Britain (1947–50).

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[Vivian David Lipman]

SILVERMAN, SIME (1872–1933), U.S. theatrical journalist. Born in Cortland, New York, Silverman wrote theatrical commentary for the New York *Morning Telegraph* (1896–1905) until he offended advertisers and lost his job. In 1905, on $1,500 borrowed money, he started *Variety*, a weekly trade magazine devoted exclusively to show-business content. He was the editor and publisher until shortly before his death. It took him 24 years to make the paper pay, but he turned it into an influential weekly noted for its robust style and authoritative insight. In his latter years he launched a Hollywood edition of the publication. *Variety* covered vaudeville at first but then expanded to encompass film, radio, television, and music. A rich source of trend-setting phrasing, the paper popularized such terms as "high-hat," "pushover," and "belly laugh."

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[Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

SILVERS, PHIL (**Philip Silversmith**; 1911–1985), U.S. comedian. Born in Brooklyn, New York, Silvers started in vaudeville and toured for five years with the Minsky Burlesque Troupe. He began film work in 1940 and appeared on Broadway in 1947–49 in *High Button Shoes*. Other Broadway appearances include *Yokel Boy* (1939), *High Kickers* (1941), *Top Banana* (Best Actor/Musical Tony, 1952), *Do Re Mi* (Tony nomination, 1961), *How the Other Half Loves* (1971), and *A Funny Thing Happened on the Way to the Forum* (Best Actor/Musical Tony, 1972).

In 1955 he launched a long-running television comedy series, *The Phil Silvers Show* (1955–59), in which he played inveterate con artist Sergeant Ernie Bilko. Silvers won a Best Actor Emmy for the role in 1956.

His films include *You're in the Army Now* (1941), *Roxie Hart* (1942), *Just Off Broadway* (1942), *Cover Girl* (1944), *Four Jills in a Jeep* (1944), *Something for the Boys* (1944), *A Thousand and One Nights* (1945), *Summer Stock* (1950), *Top Banana* (1954), *Lucky Me* (1954), *It's a Mad Mad Mad Mad World* (1963), *A Funny Thing Happened on the Way to the Forum* (1966), *Follow That Camel* (1967), *Buona Sera, Mrs. Campbell* (1968), *The Boatniks* (1970), *The Strongest Man in the World* (1975), *Won Ton Ton, the Dog Who Saved Hollywood* (1976), *The Chicken Chronicles* (1977), *The Cheap Detective* (1978), and *There Goes the Bride* (1980).

Silvers' two books, which he co-wrote with Robert Saffron, were published in 1973: *This Laugh Is on Me: The Phil Silvers Story* and *The Man Who Was Bilko: The Autobiography of Phil Silvers.*

[Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

SILVERSTEIN, ABE (1908–2001), U.S. aeronautical engineer. Born in Terre Haute, Indiana, Silverstein worked as an aerodynamic research engineer for the National Advisory Committee on Aeronautics from 1929 to 1940, concentrating on problems concerning full-scale wind tunnels. From 1945 to 1949 he was chief of both this division and the flight research division. Silverstein was chief of research (1949–52) and then assistant director (1952–58). He was director of space flight programs for the National Aeronautics and Space Administration from 1958 until 1961, when he became director of the NASA Lewis Research Center. After his retirement in 1969 he was the director of Environmental Planning at the Republic Steel Corporation in Cleveland, Ohio. He also served as a technical adviser for the Lake Erie International Jetport Task Force.

[Samuel Aaron Miller]

SILVERSTEIN, ALAN (1948–), U.S. rabbi. Silverstein was born in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, and received a B.A. from Cornell University in 1970 and an M.A. from Columbia University in 1973. In 1975, he was ordained at the *Jewish Theological Seminary, where he earned a Ph.D. in 1990. He served as rabbi of Congregation Tifereth Israel in Cornwells Heights, Pennsylvania (1974–79), before becoming rabbi of Congregation Agudath Israel in Caldwell, New Jersey (1979–). In New Jersey, he was president of the New Jersey Region of the *Rabbinic Assembly (1984–86), of the Metrowest Board of Rabbis (1986–88), of the West Essex Clergy Association, and of the statewide New Jersey Coalition of Religious Leaders [of all faiths] (2003–05). He was also a member of the National Rabbinic Cabinet of the United Jewish Appeal.

In 1992, he was elected vice president of the Rabbinical Assembly, becoming president in 1994 (to 1996). As president, Silverstein worked to implement the three-fold approach of Conservative Judaism toward interfaith marriage: ideally promoting marriage within the faith; after the fact of intermarriage, facilitating the creation of Jewish households via conversion; finally, if no conversion is in the offing, advocating *keruv* – bringing the intermarried couple closer to Judaism and assisting them in selecting Judaism for their children and raising them unambiguously as Jews. Following his term of office, Silverstein served as vice president of the American Zionist arm of Conservative Judaism, Mercaz USA (1996–2004). In 1997, he became a member of the Founding Executive Committee of the National Council of Synagogues, until 2000, when he was elected president of the World Council of Conservative/Masorti Synagogues (2000–05). In this capacity, he established a central office in Jerusalem and hired the organization's first full-time executive vice president and other professionals. He also created a formal partnership between the council, whose name he changed to Masorti Olami, and Mercaz Olami, Conservative Judaism's global Zionist arm. Under Silverstein's leadership, the number of *kehillot* affiliated with Masorti Olami grew from 70 to 120, while its international youth movement, Noam, and young adult leadership network, Marom, grew concomitantly. In addition, 15 rabbis were placed in new congregational positions, and Chayl Masorti (the Masorti Peace Corps) was launched.

Silverstein has written numerous articles on intermarriage, conversion, and the Arab-Israeli conflict. He is the author of three books: *Alternatives to Assimilation: The Response of Reform Judaism to American Culture, 1840–1930* (1994); *It All Begins With A Date: Jewish Concerns About Intermarriage* (1995); and *Preserving Judaism in Your Family After Intermarriage Has Occurred* (1995).

[Bezalel Gordon (2nd ed.)]

SILVERSTEIN, LARRY (1931–), U.S. builder. Silverstein, who was born in New York, graduated from New York University. His father, Harry, a Russian immigrant, was a classical pianist who taught himself to be a broker of loft spaces in the Garment District. Larry went to work for his father to put himself through school and returned full-time after graduation. He built his career by becoming an expert in buying and flipping properties in Manhattan. He bought 11 West 42nd Street, near Bryant Park before its renaissance. He built on the far West Side, at 42nd west of 11th Avenue, and in lower Manhattan at 120 Broadway. The latter property was a 1.8-million square-foot giant occupying a full square block, steps from Wall Street. By the 1980s, Silverstein controlled more than 10 million square feet of Manhattan residential and commercial space. He set his sights on the last undeveloped parcel of the World Trade Center, at the northern tip of the site, and in 1980 he won the bid to build the original 7 World Trade. He constructed the 47-story tower and then set his sights on the Twin Towers of the Center. In 2001, backed by a number of investors, Silverstein signed a 99-year lease for the World Trade Center complex just seven weeks before the Twin Towers were destroyed. Silverstein was awarded an insurance payment of more than $3.5 billion dollars to settle his policy. In addition, the Silverstein group sued the insurers liable for the World Trade Center for another $3.5 billion, claiming that the two planes constituted two separate terrorist attacks. He won. Although Silverstein originally had only $14 million of his own money in equity in the place (a consortium of partners put up more than $100 million), the lease gave him the right to rebuild all 10 million lost square feet of office space, regardless of the wishes of victims' families, neighbors, or the governors of New York and New Jersey, whose Port Authority owns the land. It also gave Silverstein the authority to force through much of his own architect's design for the Freedom Tower, the 1,776-foot building that replaced 7 World Trade. (Daniel *Libeskind's original design for that building was cast aside.) The plan calls for Silverstein to construct five office towers that he has to rent. He also has to pay $120 million in rent a year, escalating to over $200 million by 2020, to the Port Authority. Silverstein was chairman of the Real Estate Board in New York, transforming it from a social club into a lobbying group. He enhanced his reputation early in his career with his philanthropic work for the United Jewish Appeal and his sponsorship of the New York University Real Estate Institute, where he taught an annual course.

[Stewart Kampel (2nd ed.)]

SILVERSTONE, GEDALYAH (1871/2–1944), U.S. rabbi. Silverstone (originally Zilbershtein) was born in 1871 or 1872 in Sakot (Saukotas), Lithuania, where his father, Isaiah Meir, was rabbi. In the 1880s Gedalyah studied at the Rasien and Telz yeshivot. In 1891 the Silverstones relocated to Liverpool, England, where Gedalyah's father accepted a rabbinical position. In 1901 Gedalyah was chosen as rabbi in Belfast, Ireland, where he served for five years. In late 1905 or early 1906 he immigrated to America and in late 1907 he settled with his family in Washington, D.C., and shortly thereafter was appointed as rabbi of three local congregations: Ohev Shalom, Adat Israel, and Talmud Torah. In the mid-1920s he was invited by congregation Tiferet Israel to serve as its rabbi, and in the following years Silverstone acted as chief rabbi of the Orthodox congregations of Washington. Silverstone was active in local Jewish institutions: He was one of the founders of a Jewish old age home, founded the first *Talmud Torah* in town, and was a member of B'nai B'rith and George Washington Lodge. On the national Orthodox level, Silverstone served as president of the Union of Orthodox Rabbis of the United States and Canada. Finally, following the prohibition laws (January 1920), he and his son Aaron were involved in various problematic aspects of selling wine for religious purposes.

Silverstone was a strong supporter of Zionism and the Jewish settlement in Palestine. He served as a delegate to the Sixth Zionist Congress, which convened in Basel in August 1903. In addition, he visited Palestine several times in 1922 and 1924 in order to examine the possibility of settling there, but this did not materialize, even though he testifies that he purchased land in Jerusalem and Jaffa. In 1936 and 1938 he visited Palestine again.

Silverstone was considered a locally popular and respected preacher and published at least 31 small books of sermons, each of which consists of 30–40 pages.

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[Kimmy Caplan (2nd ed.)]

SILVEYRA, MIGUEL DE (c. 1578–1638), Portuguese *Marrano poet, physician, and mathematician. Silveyra, who was a relative of the great classical scholar Thomas de Pinedo, began his professional career in Madrid, where he was royal mathematician and, later, physician to the House of Castile. In 1634 he was denounced to the Inquisition and fled to Naples, where he spent the remaining few years of his life. His masterpiece, *El Macabeo* ("The Maccabee"), a baroque heroic poem written in Castilian, was published in Naples at the royal expense in 1638. The 20 books of this epic relate the exploits of Judah Maccabee culminating in the restoration of the Temple. Although modern critics have considered *El Macabeo* excessively bombastic, the poem enjoyed great esteem throughout the 17th century. It was reprinted in Madrid (1731) and published in an Italian verse translation (Naples, 1810). Silveyra's other works include *El sol vencido* (Naples, 1639).

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[Kenneth R. Scholberg]

SILVIU, GEORGE (originally **Silviu Goliger**; 1899–), Romanian poet and journalist. Silviu's verse collections include *Flori şi fluturi* ("Flowers and Butterflies," 1922) and *Infrângeri* ("Defeats," 1934). He also wrote children's plays such as *Motanul incălţat* ("Puss-in-Boots," 1923), a work of literary importance produced in collaboration, and *Intîmplări cu tîlc* ("Meaningful Incidents," 1957), a volume of classical and ultramodern fables.

°**SIMA, HORIA** (1908–), leader of the Romanian *Iron Guard. A secondary school teacher in Transylvania, Sima was among the first to join the Iron Guard of *Codreanu and after Codreanu's death (1938) became its leader. In 1939 he fled to Germany but, after temporary conciliation with King Carol, accepted a portfolio in the Romanian government (summer 1940). Following King Carol's abdication (Sept. 5, 1940), he was vice president under *Antonescu at the head of the "National Legionnaire State." Sima then visited several cities to administer personally the expropriation of property belonging to Jewish businessmen. In January 1941 he led the abortive legionnaire rebellion against Antonescu, during which 120 Jews were killed in *Bucharest. Afterwards Sima fled to Germany, where he was interned. In a letter to *Himmler he blamed the Jews for his defeat and accused Antonescu of being manipulated by the Jews. In August 1944, following the anti-Nazi coup in *Romania, he became head of the Iron Guard government in exile in Vienna. After the end of the war, he organized the migration of factions of the Iron Guard who had fallen out with the Romanian authority, and was active in the neofascist movement. In his *Destinée du nationalisme* (1951) he professed a type of nationalism diverging from national socialism and fascism. He was subsequently reported living in Spain.

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[Bela Adalbert Vago]

SIMA, MIRON (1902–1999), Israeli artist. Born in Proskurow, Ukraine, Sima grew up in a secular home with an excellent library that offered him an opportunity to learn about the Russian epic, as well as about European literature and art. Being Jews in Ukraine, Sima's family suffered from the pogroms, and in 1921 they moved to Poland. This tragic existence had a major influence on Sima's future artworks. In 1924 Sima moved to Dresden, where he studied at the Academy of Fine Arts until 1930. As a student Sima was granted three prestigious prizes and three honorable mentions. In 1932 Sima was awarded the prize of the City of Dresden for his painting *The Tool-Sharpener* (this painting was lost). In May 1933 Sima was ordered to leave Germany and, with the money he earned by selling some of his pictures, he immigrated to his family in Tel Aviv.

As soon as Sima arrived in Tel Aviv, he began to create and to exhibit, but the French-oriented art style of that city was not compatible with his approach as an artist. In Jerusalem Sima found German-born artists to whom he could articulate his feelings, and he moved there in 1938.

From his early days as an artist Sima was attracted to melancholic subjects. As a person with social sensibility, he turned to painting scenes of poverty and suffering. In Dresden he had made a woodcut portfolio called, *The Scream* (1924, Museum of Art, Ein Harod). The tragic images visible on those sheets of paper describe, in very expressive black and white, contrasts symbolizing death and mourning. They were seen as a reflection of his childhood experience. Later in his life Sima continued to deal with tragic subjects in his art. Although he found it unsuited to the atmosphere of renewal of the state of Israel during its first years, he managed to integrate the shady subjects with the colorful composition that expressed the light of the locale.

Sima used to work repeatedly on his subjects. In addition to his stage designs for the Ohel Theater, Sima created a lithographs album of portraits of the famous Israeli actress Hanna *Rovina (1937). Thanks to his visual sensitivity, the actres was described in dramatic, vivid gestures. One of his late woodcuts of Rovina as Medea (1957) hung in her house until she passed away.

Another album by Sima was dedicated to the German poet Else *Lasker-Schueler (the drawings were created in the 1940s, the album was first published in Germany in 1978, and later in Hebrew in 1983). With just a few lines, Sima captured her image, wandering around the streets of Jerusalem bent and lonely.

The melancholic atmosphere in Sima's art and the serious expression of his self-portrait can be misleading, since Sima was actually a very cheerful and vital person. He used to say that only owing to his sensitivity to the beauty of life was he sensible to its tragic aspect as well.

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[Ronit Steinberg (2nd ed.)]

SIMCHONI (Simchowitz), JACOB NAFTALI HERTZ (1884–1926), scholar, historian, and translator. Simchoni was born in Slutzk. He taught at the Hebrew High School in Lodz, Poland, from 1917 to 1924. In 1925 he joined the editorial board of the *Encyclopedia Judaica* (published by "Eshkol" in German and Hebrew), contributing many articles to both editions.

Simchoni's scholarly interests extended over a wide area, including history, archaeology, linguistics, and philosophy. He published essays in Hebrew periodicals (*Ha-Ivri he-Ḥadash, He-Atid, Ha-Ẓefirah, Ha-Tekufah*, and others) on Judah Halevi, Solomon ibn Gabirol, Gershom Me'or ha-Golah, Joshua Falk, as well as on more recent scholars and writers such as S.D. Luzzatto, Ḥ.N. Bialik and Hermann Cohen. Simchoni wrote a textbook of Jewish history (*Divrei Yemei Yisrael*, 2 vols. 1922–23) and an introduction to S. Tchernichowsky's Hebrew translation of the Gilgamesh epic (1924), and translated into Hebrew Josephus' *Wars* (1923, repr. several times) and *Against Apion* (1928). He defended the integrity of Josephus both as a man and as a historian and maintained that his actions, including his defection to Rome, were dictated by moral considerations and that his books were written with passionate love for his people and deep concern for truth. A memorial volume for Simchoni (*Ẓiyyunim*) was published in 1928.

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[Jacques K. Mikliszanski]

SIMEON (Heb. שִׁמְעוֹן), the second son of Jacob and Leah (Gen. 29:33) and the eponymous ancestor of the tribe of Simeon. The name is formed from the verb *shʿm* (שמע) with the addition of the suffix *on* (וֹן), and was given by Leah to her son because "the Lord heard" that she was unloved (*ibid.*).

Simeon the individual is mentioned in connection with the journey to Egypt in time of famine, when Joseph imprisoned him as a guarantee that Benjamin, the youngest brother, would be brought before him (42:24, 36; 43:23). In Genesis 34 he is referred to as, together with Levi, attacking the city of Shechem, killing its inhabitants in retaliation for the rape of their sister Dinah by Shechem, son of Hamor the Hivite, a prince of the land (cf. 49:5–6). However, many scholars see in this story echoes of the sojourn of the tribes of Simeon and Levi in central Palestine and a clash between them and the host population, even before the Israelites conquered the land. Such a supposition might explain why the Book of Joshua lacks any description of the conquest of Shechem and the mountains of Ephraim (but cf. Josh. 12). Shechem, it is presumed, was already in the hands of Simeon and Levi even prior to Joshua's invasion of Canaan. It was to Shechem that Joshua later gathered all the tribes of Israel and where they entered into a covenant to worship the Lord (Josh. 24). Some also find an allusion to Simeon's connection with the district of Shechem in the ceremony described in Deuteronomy 27:12, in which the Simeonites head the group delivering the blessing on Mt. Gerizim. Simeon is also cited together with Ephraim and Manasseh in II Chronicles 15:9. According to Judges 1:3, the Simeonites fought alongside the tribe of Judah at Bezek within Manasseh's district north of Shechem even before they turned southward to conquer the hill country of Judah (cf. Judg. 1:3).

In contrast to this meager evidence showing Simeon to be located in the center of the land, there exists a large body of tradition concerning the settlement of the tribe in the southern region of Canaan. According to the Book of Joshua, Simeon settled in the Negev (cf. I Chron. 4:28–33) "in the midst of the inheritance of the tribe of Judah" (Josh. 19:1). The passage does not trace the boundaries of Simeon's settlement, but lists its towns, including the principal town of Beer-Sheba. Simeon's settlement is also included in the description of Judah's territory in Joshua 15. It lay in the Negev district, since the Simeonites inherited part of Judah's allotment (Josh. 19:8). Moreover, the listings of the levitical towns include Simeon's along with Judah's (Josh. 21:9ff.; I Chron. 6:40–44). For these reasons Simeon's territory is also called the "Negev of Judah," to distinguish it from other parts of the Negev which were named after different ethnic groups (I Sam. 27:10; 30:14; II Sam. 24:7). There is no unanimity about the dating of the lists of Simeonite cities (Josh. 19:1–8; I Chron. 4:28–33; cf. Josh. 15:20–32), some regarding them as early as the period of conquest of the land and the time of the Judges, others assigning them to the time of David and Solomon, or even as late as Josiah.

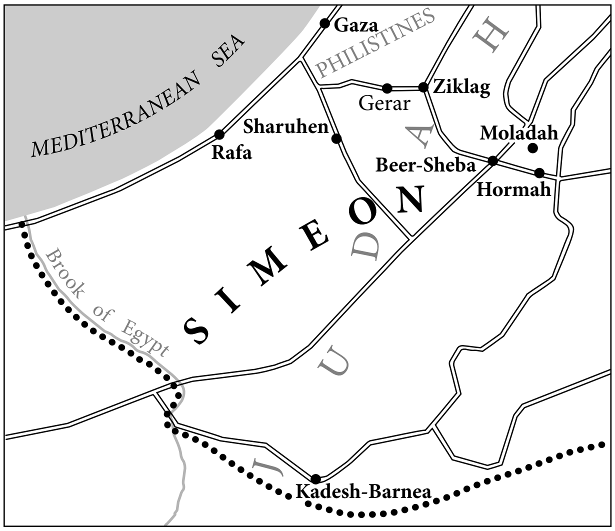

Territory of the tribe of Simeon. After Y. Aharoni, Lexicon Biblicum, *Tel Aviv, 1965.*

Many of the names of locations within Simeon's area are composed of the element "*ḥaẓar*," denoting small settlements lacking walls (Lev. 25:31; Neh. 12:29). These served groups of shepherds and semi-nomads who had not attained the level of urban culture (cf. Gen. 25:16; Isa. 42:11; Jer. 49:33). This fits the situation of the tribe of Simeon, which continued its pastoral life, ranging through the wide spaces of the Negev to pasture its livestock. Although Simeon's area of settlement is included in the Judahite region, which perhaps explains the omission of Simeon in Moses' blessing (Deut. 33), the Simeonites managed to preserve their tribal unity and traditions. This is proved by the existence of genealogies of Simeonite families from as late as the days of Hezekiah, king of Judah (I Chron. 4:24–43).

The grazing of livestock in the southern part of the land, throughout the Negev, involved constant struggles between the Simeonites and the desert and border tribes, an echo of which may appear in Jacob's blessing (Gen. 49:5–7) and in the report about families from the tribe of Simeon who in Hezekiah's time fought against the Meunites and Amalekites in the area of Gerar, spreading with their livestock over the Negev of Judah as far as Mt. Seir (I Chron. 4:38–43).

The genealogies of the Simeonites testify to familial ties between them and other Israelite tribes as well as non-Israelite elements. Shaul son of Simeon is the "son of a Canaanite woman" (Gen. 46:10; Ex. 6:15); Mibsam and Mishma, sons of Simeon (I Chron. 4:25), also appear among the sons of Ishmael (Gen. 25:13–14; I Chron. 1:29–30); Jamin (Gen. 46:10; Ex. 6:15; I Chron. 4:24) is also listed as a descendant of Ram, the firstborn of Jerahmeel (I Chron. 2:27); Zerah as Simeon's son (I Chron. 4:24) suggests familial ties between the tribe and the family of Zerah, son of Judah (Gen. 38:30), or possibly with an Edomite family descended from Esau (Gen. 36:17; I Chron. 1:37). It is also possible to find traces of familial ties between the tribe of Simeon and the Midianites in the association of Zimri son of Salu, a chieftain of the Simeonites, with Cozbi, daughter of Zur, the Midianite (Num. 25:6–19).

Although Simeon is considered Jacob's second son, the Simeonites enjoyed no outstanding position in the tribal organization of Israel either before or after the conquest and occupation of Canaan. There were no judges appointed from that tribe, and Deborah does not mention Simeon at all. During the period of the monarchy, the Simeonites and their territory formed an inextricable part of the Kingdom of Judah, the fate of its population being tied to that of the kingdom generally.

[Bustanay Oded]

In the *Aggadah*

The rabbinic attitude to Simeon was determined largely by his violent role in the Dinah affair (Gen. 34:25ff.); the need to explain his detention by Joseph (Gen. 42:24); Jacob's harsh criticism of Simeon and Levi (34:30; 49:5ff.) though the latter, being a priestly tribe, fared much better later on; the total omission of Simeon in Moses' blessing (Deut. 33); and the virtual disappearance of the tribe during the period of the Judges or the early monarchy. Simeon and Levi were only thirteen years of age when they massacred the Shechemites, and they did so independently and without consulting one another (Gen. R. 80:10). The purpose of this manifest exaggeration was no doubt to emphasize the great physical strength of Israel's ancestors. It was Simeon who devised the circumcision stratagem to weaken the Shechemites (*Sefer ha-Yashar, Va-Yishlaḥ* on Gen., p. 115); and it was his implacable hostility to Joseph which began the chain of events leading to Joseph's sale into slavery. Simeon proposed to have Joseph put to death (*ibid., Va-Yeshev* on Gen., p. 147; Tanḥ. B. Gen. p. 183 *et al.*), and it was he who threw him into the pit (Gen. R. 91:6; Tanḥ. *Va-Yiggash* 4) and ordered large stones to be cast on him to kill him (Tanḥ. B. Gen. 184). Joseph thus had good reason to arrest Simeon in Egypt (cf. Gen. 42:24); but he also wanted to separate him from Levi to avoid another massacre (Gen. R. 91:6). Simeon, who was endowed with extraordinary strength as well as a powerful voice which frightened all his enemies (Test. Patr., Sim. 2:3; Tanḥ. *Va-Yiggash* 4 *et al.*), refused to submit to detention, easily overcoming some seventy Egyptian warriors; but eventually he was overpowered by Joseph's son Manasseh (Tanḥ. *ibid.*). This account is in line with the general idealization of Israel's progenitors, most of whom were considered to have wielded supernatural powers. According to a more realistic view, however, Simeon was included in a list of the five weakest sons of Jacob (Gen. R. 95:4).

The tribe of Simeon, which was early absorbed by Judah, plays a relatively minor role in rabbinic literature. Along with the tribes of Reuben and Levi, the Simeonites are said to have refrained from idolatry and intermarriage with the Egyptians during the period of the Egyptian bondage (Song R. 4:7). This may be regarded as an apologetic compensation for Jacob's criticism of the ancestors of these three tribes (cf. Gen. 49:3ff.) with a view to removing any taint from Israel, which must be "all fair" and "flawless" (Song R. 4:7; cf. Shab. 55b–56a). It was, nevertheless, conceded that a large proportion of the Simeonites became seriously involved in the Baal-Peor affair (cf. Num. 25:1ff.), opposing the severe punishments ordered by Moses, and causing their chieftain Zimri to enter upon a confrontation with Moses and get involved in a fatal liaison with the Midianite woman (Sanh. 82a–b). In view of the enormous population loss suffered by the tribe of Simeon – from 59,300 in the first census (Num. 1:23) to 22,200 in the second (*ibid.* 26:14) – it was assumed that all 24,000 who had died in the plague following the sin at Baal-Peor (*ibid. 25:9*) were Simeonites (Gen. R. 99:7; Num. R. 21:8 *et al*). The relatively low esteem in which the tribe of Simeon was held is indicated by the humble role attributed to it in later Jewish history. Most or all poor people, beggars, and the notoriously poverty-stricken schoolteachers were supposed to be descended from Simeon (Gen. R. 98:5; 99:7; Yal. Gen. 158).

[Moses Aberbach]

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SIMEON BAR ISAAC (b. c. 950), one of the earliest German *paytanim*. Born in Mainz, where his grandfather *Abun had settled after leaving Le Mans in France, Simeon was a great scholar and the elder colleague of Rabbenu *Gershom b. Judah, "the Light of the Exile"; it is related that "they studied Torah together." His contemporaries and also later scholars claimed that Simeon was descended from the dynasty of King David and "experienced in miracles." In praise of him it was said "that he exerted himself for the communities and brought light to the exiles with his learning," and of his appearance that "he had the countenance of an angel of the Lord of Hosts." Because of his importance, he was called "Rabbana Simeon," and also "Ha-Gadol" ("the Great").

Simeon was an expert on prayers and *piyyutim*, and on customs in general. It is almost certain that he knew the *piyyutim* of *Yannai; he was undoubtedly influenced by those of Eleazar *Kallir, Solomon ha-Bavli, and *Moses b. Kalonymus, and it is probable that being a cantor he himself recited his *piyyutim*. He composed **yoẓerot, *kerovot, seliḥot*, hymns, and *Rashuyyot le-Ḥatanim* (*piyyutim* sung in honor of bridegrooms before they went up to read the law on the Sabbath preceding their marriage and on that following it). His compositions bear clear traces of the language of the early *piyyutim*; they are suffused with pain at the persecutions and the tribulations which the Jews suffered during his lifetime. But his words are not specific, and there is no way of telling to which particular persecutions he is referring. Similarly, when he speaks in his *seliḥah* "*Elohim, Kamu Alai Zedim*" of those that reject the yoke of the Law, who "desecrate and despise the covenant of the patriarchs," for "the holy Sabbath has been willfully desecrated," it is impossible to know which sect he had in mind.

Simeon's *piyyutim* are to be found in *maḥzorim* of the French and German rites, and are recited to this day. Some of them mention the names Isaac and Elhanan; and it has been conjectured that these were his sons, and that their father wished to perpetuate their names in his poems. A legend relates that Elhanan was forcibly baptized, and rose to high office in the Church until he finally became pope. Upon the promulgation of a new anti-Jewish edict, Simeon was sent by the community to Rome in order to plead with the pope on behalf of his people. The pope, his son Elhanan, recognized Simeon; and then Simeon recognized his son. Elḥanan returned to Judaism, and his father perpetuated his name in a *kerovah* for Rosh Ha-Shanah. There would appear to be a grain of historical truth in the legend of a Jewish pope; and tradition has attached the story to the son of Simeon.

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[Abraham Meir Habermann]

SIMEON BAR YOḤAI (mid-second century C.E.), *tanna*. Simeon was one of the most important pupils of *Akiva. In the Mishnah, the Tosefta, and those *midrashei halakhah* belonging to the school of R. Akiva, he is almost universally called R. Simeon without any patronymic, whereas in the *midrashei halakhah* belonging to the school of R. Ishmael he is consistently called by his full name, R. Simeon ben Yoḥai. Because of his close association with the teachings of his master, tradition states that: "every anonymous statement in the *Sifrei* is by Simeon in accordance with the views of Akiva" (Sanh. 86a). Similarly, the Talmud reports the following statement: "Simeon said to his pupils: My sons, learn my rules, since my rules are refined from those refined by Akiva" (Git. 67a). The *aggadah* tells that Simeon and *Ḥanina b. Ḥakhinai studied under Akiva in Bene-Berak for 13 years (Lev. R. 21:8), and that when Akiva was imprisoned for teaching Torah in public, Simeon continued to study under him and attended on him (Pes. 112a). According to another tradition, Akiva once said to him, "It is sufficient for you that I and your Creator recognize your power" (TJ, Sanh. 1:3, 19a), and in this context it is stated that Simeon was also ordained by Akiva. Simeon was among the small group of Akiva's closest pupils who survived the failure of the Bar Kokhba revolt and "revived the Torah at that time" (Yev. 62b; cf. Gen. R. 61:3), establishing new centers of study in the Galilee. According to another tradition, Simeon was one of the five (or six) sages ordained later by *Judah b. Bava at the cost of the latter's life (Sanh. 14a). The historical authenticity of this tradition, however, has been seriously questioned, both because of the alternative tradition concerning the circumstances of Judah b. Bava's death (Tosef. BK 8:13), and also because of the alternative tradition concerning the ordination of Meir and Simeon by Akiva himself (cf. TY Sanh. 1:3, 19a; see Oppenheimer, 78–79).

In one tannaitic source, Simeon is quoted as saying, "Even the best of gentiles should be killed" (Mekh. *Be-Shallaḥ* 2), and it is reasonable to understand this statement against the background of the harsh decrees and religious persecutions of the Hadrianic era and the cruel martyrdom of Simeon's teachers. According to certain talmudic traditions preserved in Palestinian sources, Simeon spent an extended period of time in hiding, apparently in fear of the gentile authorities (Gen. R. 9:6, Eccles. R. 10:8, PRK 11:16, TY Shev. 9:1, 38d). In the Babylonian Talmud, these traditions are combined with other earlier aggadic sources to form an extended and continuous legend concerning the causes and circumstances of Simeon's flight from the Roman authorities, as well as the events surrounding his eventual triumphant emergence from the cave. According to this legend, "Simeon b. Yoḥai said (during a discussion with his companions): 'All that (the Romans) have accomplished is in their own interests. They have built market places to set harlots in them; baths to rejuvenate themselves; bridges to levy tolls.' Judah b. Gerim went and repeated this conversation, which reached the ears of the government. They decreed … 'Simeon, who uttered censure, is to be executed'" (Shab. 33b). To save their lives, Simeon and his son Eleazar were compelled to flee. They concealed themselves in a cave for 12 years and were preserved by miracle (*ibid.*). This solitary life and concentration on the study of Torah led to an uncompromising devotion to the study of Torah, almost to the exclusion of any other value or concern. This attitude is reflected in a number of other aggadic dicta associated with the name of R. Simeon. "Simeon b. Yoḥai says: 'Is that possible? If a man plows in the plowing season, and sows in the sowing season, and reaps in the reaping season… what is to become of the Torah? But, when Israel performs the will of God, their work is performed by others'" (Ber. 35b); "He who is walking by the way and reviewing what he has learnt, and breaks off and says, 'How fine is that tree, how fine is that field,' Scripture regards him as if he had endangered his soul" (Avot 3:7). Other dicta ascribed to R. Simeon include: "If Israel were to keep two Sabbaths according to the laws they would be immediately redeemed" (Shab. 118b); "It is better for a man to cast himself into a fiery furnace than put his fellow to shame in public" (Ber. 43b). Among four categories of people whom Simeon disliked was "one who enters his own house suddenly – much more so, his neighbor's house" (Lev. R. 21:8). He is also quoted as expressing an ardent love for the land of Israel, as "one of the three precious gifts given by God to the people of Israel" (Ber. 5a), and only it was found fit to be given to them (Lev. R. 13:2). The land of Israel is unique in the world, wanting for nothing (Sif. Deut. 37), and Simeon regarded departure from the land of Israel as a serious offense (Ex. R. 52:3). According to one tradition Simeon did not participate in the activities of the Sanhedrin in *Usha (of. Ber. 63b), but according to another tradition, however, Simeon did participate in Usha (Song R. 2:5). He also participated in the intercalation of the month in the valley of Rimmon (TJ, Ḥag. 3:1, 78c). In any case, he is portrayed as an active leader of the people, serving as an emissary of the Sanhedrin to Rome to plead for the abolition of the decrees against the observance of the commandments (Me'il. 17a–b).

He is mentioned as living in various places: in Sidon (Nid. 52b), in Bet Pagi (Tosef., Me'il. 1:5), and in Galilee (*ibid.*), but he established his yeshivah in the town of Tekoa, southeast of Jerusalem. The sages detected many typical principles in his methods, such as the establishing of general rules (Hor. 9a; Zev. 119b; et al.), the use of numbers (Kid. 16b; Ḥul. 127b), "definitions" (Tosef., Neg. 5:3), and interpreting the reason for the biblical law in order to establish thereby the *halakhah* (BM 115a). R. Simeon was chosen by the author of the *Zohar as the leading figure of this classic medieval kabbalistic work, and as a result this work was for centuries ascribed to the 2nd century *tanna*. For Simeon's death and place of burial, see *Meron, *Lag ba-Omer.

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[Israel Burgansky / Stephen G. Wald (2nd ed.)]

SIMEON BEN ABBA (third century), Babylonian-born *amora*. A pupil and kinsman of *Samuel, Simeon was a priest, the descendant of distinguished ancestors who were compared by *Johanan to the patriarch Abraham (TJ, Bik. 3:3, 65d). When Simeon went to Ereẓ Israel, he studied under the great *amoraim* of the first generation such as *Ḥanina and *Joshua b. Levi, and he transmitted their dicta. His main teacher however was Johanan, whom he served as a disciple serves his teacher, learning from him not only formally but practically through his behavior. Simeon transmits many of the customs of Johanan. He was a poor man, and Johanan applied to him the verse (Eccles. 9:11): "Neither is there bread to the wise." Nevertheless he would not accept gifts, and it is stated that Johanan would scatter coins when out walking so that Simeon could acquire them as finder (Ruth R. 5:7). Johanan was distressed that he was not able to ordain Simeon, who was consequently unable to receive the high office that was his due. Abbahu received the appointment but acknowledged that it should have gone to Simeon (TJ, Bik. 3:3, 65d). Since he could not establish himself in Ereẓ Israel he wished to leave and asked Ḥanina for a reference, but the latter refused, saying that in the world to come Simeon's ancestors would say, "We had one choice plant in Israel, yet you permitted it to depart from there" (TJ, MK 3:1).

Simeon also suffered in his family life. On the advice of Ḥanina he married his kinswoman, a daughter of Samuel who had been taken captive and taken to Ereẓ Israel by her captors. She did not live long; after her death he married her sister, who also died during his lifetime. Simeon bore his sufferings with courage and accepted them with equanimity. He expressed his submission to divine judgement in his homily (Gen. R. 9:11): "'Behold it was very good' (Gen. 1:31) refers to the attribute of retribution."

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[Israel Burgansky]

SIMEON BEN BOETHUS (surnamed **Cantheras**), high priest, appointed by Agrippa I in succession to Theophilus b. Anan. According to Josephus, Simeon's two brothers were also high priests, as was his father, Boethus, who because of his daughter Miriam (Mariamne) was nominated to the high priesthood by Herod (Jos., Ant. 19:297). This account, however, differs from another statement (*ibid.* 15:319–322) by Josephus to the effect that Herod married the daughter of Simeon b. Boethus, whom he appointed high priest and whose two brothers (according to another suggestion, his sons), Joezer and Eleazar, were also high priests. Of these two versions, the former is to be preferred, namely, that Boethus was appointed to the high priesthood by Herod, and his son Simeon by Agrippa I. Simeon Cantheras was not high priest for long, being deposed by Agrippa in favor of Matthias b. Anan (*ibid.* 19:313–6), who was likewise removed by Agrippa after a short while and replaced by Elyehoenai (Elionaeus) b. Cantheras (*ibid.* 19:342). A high priest of this name is mentioned in the Mishnah (Par. 3:5) as the son, not of Cantheras, but of Ha-Kayyaf (Caiaphas). Since the name Elyehoenai occurs nowhere else, it would appear that both the Mishnah and Josephus refer to the same high priest. Talmudic sources (Pes. 57a; Tosef., Men. 13:21) mention the house of Katros, and despite its similarity to Cantheras the two are not identical, since the Talmud explicitly distinguishes between the house of Boethus and that of Katros: Woe is me because of the house of Boethus, woe is me because of their staves … Woe is me because of the house of Katros, woe is me because of their pens; according to Josephus, however, Cantheras and Boethus refer to the same family.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Derenbourg, Hist, 215 n.2, 232f; Graetz, in: MGWJ, 30 (1881), 97ff.; Schuerer, Gesch, 2 (1907^{4}), 271, esp. n. 14.

[Lea Roth]

SIMEON BEN ELEAZAR (second century), *tanna*; a contemporary of *Judah ha-Nasi. He was probably the son of *Eleazar of Bartota. Simeon dwelt in Tiberias and Johanan remembered him from his youth there (TJ, Ma'as. 1:2; cf. Gen. R. 9:5). Simeon was one of the pupils of *Meir and reported many *halakhot* in his name. He also served his teacher (Shab. 134a) and as a result learned many *halakhot* not known in the *bet ha-midrash* and ruled accordingly (TJ, MK 3:1). Accompanying Meir on his travels, he testified about his rulings under special conditions.

Only a few of his *halakhot* are found in the Mishnah, most of them being cited in the *beraitot*. Many of his *halakhot* are formulated as general statements; an excellent example is the formulation of the four domains to which the different laws of torts apply (BK 14a). He is frequently quoted in the *aggadah*. Among his most famous statements are the following: "Have you ever seen a beast or a bird with a craft? Yet they are sustained without trouble. But they were created only to serve me, while I was created to serve my Master. Surely then I should make a living without anxiety! But because I have acted evilly I have thus affected my livelihood" (Kid. 4:14, Tosef, Kid. 5:15–16, and see: Flusser). Also the following two dicta: "Impulse, a child, and a woman should be discouraged with the left hand and encouraged with the right" (Sot. 47a); "Pacify not thy fellow in the hour of his anger … nor strive to see him in the hour of his disgrace" (Avot 4:18). The following dictum reflects the generation after the Hadrianic persecution: "Every precept for which Israel submitted to death at the time of the royal decree, such as idolatry and circumcision, is still held firmly by them; while every precept for which Israel did not submit to death at the time of the royal decree, such as *tefillin*, is now somewhat neglected" (Shab. 130a). Because of an unfortunate incident in which he was involved, grossly insulting an ugly man, Simeon b. Eleazar coined the well-known aphorism: "A man should always be as gentle as the reed and not unyielding as the cedar." (Ta'an. 20a).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Hyman, Toledot, s.v.; D. Flusser, *Judaism of the Second Temple Period – Sages and Literature* (Heb.; 2002), 326–36.

[Israel Burgansky]

SIMEON BEN GAMALIEL I (first century C.E.), *nasi* of the Sanhedrin in the generation of the destruction of the Temple. Josephus (Life, 191f.), of whom Simeon was a bitter opponent, praises Simeon as: "A man highly gifted with intelligence and judgment; he could by sheer genius retrieve an unfortunate situation in affairs of state." Simeon's words in *Avot* (1:17), "All my days I have grown up among the wise, and I have found nothing of better service than silence; not learning but doing is the chief thing; and he who is profuse of words causes sin," probably reflect the attitude he adopted during the stormy period of the conflict of opinions and sects, against the background of the dangers inherent in the revolt and the war. Some assert that Simeon was killed by the extremists who were opposed to his moderate leadership, but the view in the sources (Sem. 8; et al.) that he met a martyr's death at the hands of the Romans seems more probable, and he is thus traditionally included among the *Ten Martyrs. The Simeon b. Gamaliel mentioned without qualification in the Mishnah and in *beraitot* is usually Simeon b. Gamaliel II. However, the practical *halakhot* and **takkanot* connected with the Temple, such as the energetic action to keep down the price of birds for women to sacrifice after childbirth (Ker. 1:7), must apply to Simeon b. Gamaliel I. Especially striking is the description of him at the time of the Simḥat Bet ha-Sho'evah ("Festival of *Water-drawing"): "He used to juggle with eight burning torches and not one of them fell to the ground, and when he prostrated himself he placed his finger upon the pavement, bowed, kissed the ground, and immediately stood upright" (Suk. 53a). One halakhic ruling by him is quoted in *Eruvin* (6:2).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Hyman, Toledot, s.v.

[Israel Burgansky]

SIMEON BEN GAMALIEL II (**of Jabneh**), *nasi* (first half of second century C.E.), the son of Rabban *Gamaliel of Jabneh and the father of *Judah ha-Nasi. Simeon was one of the few survivors after the Romans destroyed the house of the **nasi* in revenge for the Bar Kokhba revolt (Sot. 49b), and he was compelled to conceal himself during the whole period of the persecutions that followed the destruction of Bethar (Ta'an. 29a. on the assumption that the reference is to Simeon b. Gamaliel and not to his father). Even after the death of *Hadrian, Simeon could not appear in public, and for this reason apparently was absent from the meeting of the scholars that took place in order to renew the intercalation of the calendar in the valley of Rimmon, after the revolt (TJ, Ḥag. 3:1, 78c.). Similarly, he is not mentioned as having been present at the first session of the scholars in *Usha. When the persecution abated and the danger to his life passed, he was appointed *nasi* of the Sanhedrin at the second meeting of the sages in Usha, as the son of the *nasi* Gamaliel and a link in the chain of the *nesi'im* descended from Hillel. It is probable that the lengthy period when the Sanhedrin functioned without a *nasi* rendered Simeon's task a difficult one and he had to win his place with flexibility and understanding. According to the Babylonian Talmud (Hor. 13bf.), Simeon shared authority with the *av bet din*, Nathan the Babylonian, and with a third figure, the *ḥakham* (apparently the head of and the deciding factor in the yeshivah), Meir. It has, however, been argued that this threefold division of authority is an invention of the later aggadic tradition and was not in effect during the rule of Simeon, if ever (Goodblatt).

The fact that the scholars of Usha – Meir, Judah, Simeon b. Yoḥai and others – were recognized as the tradents of the heritage of the Oral Law as it began to crystallize in the period of Jabneh (see Sanh. 86a) made it difficult for Simeon to command the authority and status enjoyed by his father. As a result there was greater cooperation between Simeon b. Gamaliel and the members of the Sanhedrin than in the previous generation. He himself transmitted *halakhot* in the names of many members of the Sanhedrin and even accepted their rulings in practical *halakhah*: "Simeon b. Gamaliel said:

'It happened that my eyes were paining me in Caesarea, and Yose bei Rabbi permitted me and my servant to sleep outside the *sukkah*'" (Tosef., Suk. 2:2); and on another occasion, it is stated: "Simeon b. Gamaliel sent to the sages, and they said: 'That is a blemish'" (Bek. 6:9). In addition he was known for his humility and his son Judah described his virtue in superlative terms (BM 84f.).

According to the aggadic tradition of the Babylonian Talmud, Simeon b. Gamaliel took concrete steps to strengthen the status of the office of the *nasi* within the Sanhedrin and made specific decrees with this end in view: "When the *nasi* enters, all the people shall rise… when the *av bet din* enters, one row rises on one side and one row on the other… when the *ḥakham* enters, everyone rises (as he passes) and (then) sits down, until he has sat down in his place." According to this tradition Meir and Nathan took this decree as a personal affront, and decided to attempt to discredit Simeon b. Gamaliel and to remove him from office. Their plan was foiled and Simeon in turn attempted, unsuccessfully, to have them removed from the *bet ha-midrash*. Nevertheless, as a punishment for their opposition to the *nasi*, it was decreed that all subsequent statements made by Meir and Nathan should be introduced anonymously, the former being quoted merely as "others say," and the latter as "some say." (Hor. 13b–14a). While some scholars have held that this story accurately reflects the forms of communal leadership practiced during the late tannaitic period and have also accepted it as evidence of a power struggle between these well-known historical figures, Goodblatt has shown quite convincingly that this story is in fact a late Babylonian elaboration and embellishment of certain earlier Palestinian traditions (cf. TJ MK 3:1, 81c), and has little or no historical value.

Another tradition which relates to the need to strengthen the status of his office concerns the restoration of the dependence of Babylon upon Ereẓ Israel, particularly in regard to intercalating the month. Here too he encountered opposition from the Babylonian scholars (cf. TJ, Ned. 6:1; Ber. 63a). Readiness for, and predisposition toward cooperation with his colleagues, on the one hand, and a firm stand on the authority of the *nasi*, on the other, enabled Simeon to consolidate and further the status of the highest national institution.

There are some hundred *halakhot* in his name in the Mishnah and still more in the *beraitot* and the Tosefta. His authority is reflected in the well-known rule of R. Johanan: "Wherever Simeon b. Gamaliel taught in our Mishnah the *halakhah* follows him" (except in three cases, Ket. 77a). The Jerusalem Talmud (BB 10:14, 17d) gives the reason: "Because he gave fixed *halakhot* according to his *bet din*." Many aggadic statements are also ascribed to him on a variety of topics. Traces of the devastation and religious persecution of his time are easily discernible in them, such as: "Whoever eats and drinks on the Ninth of Av is as if eating and drinking on the Day of Atonement" (Ta'an. 30b); "Since the Temple was destroyed we ought not to eat meat or drink wine… he used to say, since they decree upon us not to study Torah, we ought to decree upon Israel not to marry… but do not interfere with Israel [by enacting such laws specifically] – better [if they transgress] that they act inadvertently rather than willfully" (Tosef., Sot. 15:10). In speaking of the value of remembering troubles and inscribing them in a book, in connection with the *Megillat Ta'anit, he said: "We too cherish the memory of troubles, but what are we to do, for they are so numerous that if we came to write them down we would not be able to do so." (Shab. 13b.). He gives a number of reminiscences of Jerusalem in previous ages and of the customs of its inhabitants (Ta'an. 4:8; BB 93b; Tosef., Ar. 1:13, and 2:6).

Some of his well known aggadic dicta are: "All my life I attended my father, yet I did not do for him a hundredth part of what Esau did for his father" (Gen. R. 65:16); "The ancients, because they could avail themselves of the Holy Spirit, ascribed their names to the event, but we… ascribe them to our ancestors" (*ibid.* 37:7); the reference is doubtless to the continuity of the dynasty of the *nasi*. He frequently preached in praise of peace: "By three things is the world preserved: by judgment, by truth, and by peace" (Avot 1:18); "Whoever makes peace in his own house is as if he makes peace in Israel" (ARN1 28, 85); "Great is peace, for even the ancestors of the tribes resorted to a fabrication in order to make peace" (Gen. R. 100:8). He also spoke in praise of God's manner of conducting the world: "How different are God's ways from man's! Man heals the bitter with the sweet, but the Holy One heals the bitter with bitter. How so? He puts something harmful [bitter wood] into something that has been harmed [the bitter waters] in order to perform a miracle" (Mekh., Va-Yassa 1). Especially does he give expression to his love for the people of Israel: "Come and see how beloved Israel is before the Omnipresent… in the past bread sprang up from the ground and dew came down from heaven… but now the reverse occurred, bread began to come down from heaven and dew to ascend from the ground" (Mekh., Va-Yassa 3).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Hyman, Toledot, 1163–71; I. Konovitz, *Ma'arekhet Tanna'im* 4 (1969), 159–228; Frankel, Mishnah (1923), 188–95; Bacher, Tann; A. Buechler, *Studies in Jewish History* (1956), 160–78 (= REJ, 28 (1894), 60–74); Epstein, Tannaim, 163–8; Alon, Toledot, 2 (1961^2), 69–78; Neusner, Babylonia, 1 (1965), 73–80 and index s.v. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** A. Oppenheimer, in: Z. Baras, S. Safrai, M. Stern. Y. Tsafrir (eds.), *Eretz Israel from the Destruction of the Second Temple to the Moslem Conquest* (Heb., 1982); D. Goodblatt, in: *Zion*, 49 (1984), 349–74 (Heb.).

[Israel Burgansky / Stephen G. Wald (2nd ed.)]

SIMEON BEN ḤALAFTA (end of the second century C.E.), *tanna* in the transition period between the *tannaim* and the *amoraim*. Nothing is recorded concerning him in the Mishnah or the Tosefta, except for the one dictum: "The Holy One found no vessel that could contain Israel's blessing save that of peace" (Uk. 3:12), which was appended to the tractate *Ukẓin* and is thus the concluding statement of the whole Mishnah.

Simeon lived in Ein-Te'enah, between Sepphoris and Tiberias (TJ, Ta'an. 4:2). He studied under Meir, and his colleagues Ḥiyya and Simeon b. Rabbi (Judah ha-Nasi) were the outstanding scholars of the transition period. He frequented the home of Judah ha-Nasi (MK 9b), who also supported him financially in such a way as to cause him no embarrassment (Ruth R. 5:7). Most of his statements belong to the sphere of *aggadah* and he is in fact called "a *tanna* of the *aggadah*." Many remarkable stories are related about him (Eccles. R. 3:4), and about his sustenance which came in a miraculous manner, such as (Ruth. R. 3:4) when "a hand came down to him from heaven," or when he was attacked by hungry lions and two pieces of flesh came down from heaven, one of which satisfied its hunger, and the other was declared apparently suitable for his own consumption (Sanh. 59b). He supported himself by means of a field that he leased from Ḥiyya (Ruth R. 5:12). He apparently was accustomed to examine independently the veracity of traditional statements regarding flora and fauna. Thus he investigated the truth of the verse in Proverbs (6:6–7) on the wisdom of the ant in order to arrive at its meaning (Ḥul. 57b). Similarly concerning the laws of **terefah* in birds, he sought to prove that defects which according to other scholars rendered the bird *terefah* because their injuries were fatal could in fact be cured. He is also found exaggerating about unusual phenomena in the plant world: "I had a single pepper stalk in my property and climbed it as if climbing to the top of a fig tree" (TJ, Pe'ah 7:3). His inclination toward independent "empirical" investigation is also reflected in the story that he went out to listen to the vernacular employed by the common people in order to learn from it the meaning of difficult biblical words (Gen. R. 79:7). His wife bore their poverty with courage and even prevented him from using the gift he received miraculously from heaven (v. supra) in order not to diminish the reward preserved in the hereafter (Ruth R. 3:4).

[Israel Burgansky]

SIMEON BEN JEHOZADAK (first half of the third century), Palestinian *amora*. Simeon, who came of a family of priests, was the teacher of *Johanan, who transmitted *halakhah* and *aggadah* in his name (Yoma 22b, et al.). His name may also be mentioned in a *baraita* in *Sukkah* 11b (see Tos. *ibid.*; but see also the reading on 33a there). He died in Lydda and *Yannai and Johanan were among those who attended his funeral (TJ, Naz. 7:1, 56a). Among his aggadic dicta are "Any scholar who does not avenge himself and retains anger like a serpent is no scholar" (Yoma 22b) and "A man should not appoint an administrator over the community unless he has a basket of reptiles suspended on his back, so that if he becomes arrogant, he can say to him: Turn around!" (*ibid.*). The Talmud (Sanh. 26a) relates that he once went with Ḥiyya b. Zarnuki to intercalate the year at Asia (Ezion-Geber on the bank of the Red Sea – see Klein (ed.), *Sefer ha-Yishuv* (1939), s.v.). On their way they saw men working their fields in the sabbatical year. *Simeon b. Lakish, who accompanied them, criticized these men, but Simeon b. Jehozadak justified their action. It is possible, however, that the reference is to another *amora* of the same name.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Hyman, Toledot, s.v.; Ḥ. Albeck, *Mavo la-Talmudim* (1969), 161.

[Yitzhak Dov Gilat]

SIMEON BEN JUDAH HA-NASI (first half of the third century C.E.), the younger son of *Judah ha-Nasi. The Talmud tells that Simeon transmitted traditions to such outstanding contemporary scholars as *Ḥiyya, *Levi, *Bar Kappara, although they apparently did not regard themselves as his pupils (Kid. 33a–b). Similarly, it tells that Judah I, on his deathbed, transmitted to Simeon "The orders of wisdom," when appointing him *ḥakham* of the yeshivah (Ket. 103b, but see TY Kil. 9:3, 32a, Ket. 12:3, 34d, Gen. R. 101 (100)). The view widely held is that Simeon served in the office of **ḥakham* during the whole period that his brother Gamaliel was *nasi*, as well as in the time of *Judah II (Nesiah I). Speaking of the great reward of those performing precepts, he said "If a person is rewarded for refraining from partaking of blood (Deut. 12:33), which is repugnant to man, how much more so will he and his future generations be deemed meritorious for refraining from robbery and incest to which men are attracted!" (Mak. 3:15).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Epstein, Mishnah, 18–30; idem, Tanna'im, 227–9.

[Israel Burgansky]

SIMEON BEN LAKISH (third century C.E.), Palestinian *amora*. Simeon b. Lakish or Resh Lakish, as he is more concisely and commonly referred to in the Babylonian Talmud, was active in the communal and religious spheres mainly in Tiberias, where he may have been born as may be inferred from a conversation with a guard of the *bet ha-midrash* (Eccles. R. 3:9). Nothing is known of his origins except that his father's name was Lakish. He apparently studied under several sages (TJ, Kil. 9:4, 32b, end) among whom were Bar Kappara and Oshaiah of southern Ereẓ Israel, but it is not known who was his principal teacher. In his youth he sold himself to men who hired participants in gladiatorial contests – a common practice in Ereẓ Israel at the time (see TJ, Git. 4:9, 46a–b) – presumably because he had no other means of earning a livelihood; he made reference in his old age to this period of his life (TJ, Ter. 8:5, 45d). For a time he also worked as a plantation guard (TJ, MK 3:1, 81d). According to the *aggadah*, R. Johanan prevailed on him to study the Torah and gave him his sister in marriage (BM 84a). They had a son who was a scholar (Ta'an. 9a). Resh Lakish devoted himself with great diligence to the study of the Torah, systematically repeating his studies 40 times before having a lesson with Johanan (Ta'an 8a), and in time became one of the most esteemed sages in the Tiberias academy headed by Johanan. His halakhic argumentation was grounded both on keen logical deduction and on a knowledge of the traditions (Sanh. 24a; TJ, Git. 3:1, 44d), and when he died Johanan himself stated that a void had been created (BM 84a).

Resh Lakish showed partiality to no one in whatever concerned a halakhic decision and the actions of a *bet din*. He often argued against and disagreed with the views of Johanan, who on such occasions would say, "What can I do when one of equal authority differs from me?" (Ket. 54b, 84b). Neither did he defer to his contemporary Judah ha-Nasi II in any halakhic matter (TJ, Sanh. 2:1, 19d) and even reminded him of his duty to provide schools for children (Shab. 119b). Resh Lakish's interpreter, Judah b. Nahamani, on one occasion also condemned Judah ha-Nasi II's household for having appointed incompetent judges (Sanh. 7b). Whenever he saw or met Babylonian Jews in Ereẓ Israel, Resh Lakish criticized them in the harshest and most biting terms for not having returned to the country (in the days of Ezra and Nehemiah) and thus having been a contributory cause to the destruction of Ereẓ Israel (Yoma 9b). In this he expressed the general feeling current among people in Ereẓ Israel (Kid. 39b; TJ, Ber. 2:5c; et al.). Resh Lakish would assemble the sages of the academy and review with them Johanan's discourses so as to explain to them what they had been unable to grasp by themselves (BK 117a, and see Rashi ad loc., s.v. *mesayyem*). He was highly esteemed by the pupils of the academy and also by the people for his personal integrity, which was so great that it was said that if he was seen talking in public with anyone, that person would be lent money without any witnesses (Yoma 9b). He was always ready to help others even if it involved danger, risking his life to save Rav Assi (TJ, Ter. 8:10, 46b).

In his addresses, both to the academy pupils and to the wider public, he emphasized the importance of the *mitzvah* of studying the Torah, the great reward of its students and of supporting the poor ones among them. He admonished students to be diligent in their studies, for otherwise "if you forsake me [the Torah] for one day, I shall forsake you for two days" (TJ, Ber. 9:8, 14d; and in a clearer version in *Midrash Shir ha-Shirim*, ed. by E. Gruenhut (1897), 5:12, 40a–b). To him the study of the Torah was a divine task which was not to be neglected. Hence he held that a disciple of the sages was forbidden to afflict himself by fasting (Ta'an. 11b). He also said that "the words of the Torah abide only with one who kills himself for them" (Git. 57b); that one was not to accept services from a scholar (Meg. 28b); and that the sages were to be exempted from paying taxes for the city wall (BB 7b). He did indeed hold that "sometimes the neglect of [the study of] the Torah is its fulfillment" (Men. 99a–b, and see Rashi ad loc., s.v. *she-bittulah*), when such neglect is in order to observe certain *mitzvot*. He enjoined scholars to be amiable and to respect one another in their halakhic discussions (Shab. 63a); he deprecated undesirable traits: "If a sage becomes angry, his wisdom departs from him; if a prophet, his prophecy departs from him" (Pes. 66b), and "whoever scoffs will fall into Gehenna" (Av. Zar. 18b); and he warned against the evil inclination in one's heart: "Every day a man's evil inclination threatens to master him, and seeks to kill him" (Suk. 52b), "a man should always incite his good inclination against his evil inclination" (Ber. 5a), and "a person does not commit a transgression unless a spirit of folly enters into him" (Sot. 3a).

His love for the Jewish people was as great as his love for the Torah. Once when he and Abbahu went to Caesarea, which was inhabited by large numbers of non-Jews and hellenized Jews, and Abbahu denounced its inhabitants, Resh Lakish stopped him by saying, "God does not want evil spoken of Israel" (Eccles. R. 1:6). The difficult political and economic situation of the Jewish population in Ereẓ Israel in the third century C.E., a period of appalling military anarchy, forms the background of many of Resh Lakish's homilies in which he spoke of God's love for His people even when their fortunes had "declined to the lowest ebb" (TJ, Ber. 9:1, 13b; PR 140b). These conditions are also reflected in Resh Lakish's appraisal of the Roman government and its actions (Sot. 41b; Gen. R. 9:13; Lev. R. 13:5). Later generations referred to Resh Lakish and Johanan as the "two renowned authorities" (TJ, Ber. 8:7, 12c). According to the *aggadah*, Resh Lakish died from grief after Johanan, in a halakhic discussion between them, referred to the former's past as a gladiator by saying "A robber knows his trade." Deeply regretting this slip of his tongue, Johanan was so stricken with remorse that he died from mental anguish (BM 84a).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Bacher, Pal Amor; Hyman, Toledot, 1193–1202; Frankel, Mevo, 129b; Ḥ. Albeck, *Mavo la-Talmudim* (1969), 190f.

[Moshe Beer]

SIMEON BEN MEGAS HA-KOHEN (sixth century?), Palestinian *paytan*. Though the precise period of Simeon's literary activity cannot be ascertained, certain structural elements in his *piyyutim* indicate that he preceded Eleazar b. *Kallir, but not *Yannai. Fragments of his work, which was evidently copious, are known only from *Genizah* finds. All the extant *piyyutim* belong to the category of *kerovot*. He probably composed a cycle of *kedushta'ot* (liturgical poems) for all the weekly portions of the Torah, in accordance with the triennial reading customs (see *Triennial Cycle) of Palestinian Jewry. Fragments of 30 such *kedushta'ot* are preserved in the manuscripts of the *Genizah*; several of his *kedushta'ot* for festivals have also survived. While the style and manner of his *piyyutim* are generally close to those of Yannai, Simeon's *kedushta'ot* excel in a number of unique structural details.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Zulay, in: YMḤSI, 2 (1936), 221–31; J. Schirmann, *Shirim Ḥadashim min ha-Genizah* (1966), 3–8.

[Ezra Fleischer]

SIMEON BEN MENASYA (second–third century C.E.), *tanna*; a contemporary of *Judah ha-Nasi. Simeon's statements both in *halakhah* and *aggadah* are found mainly in *beraitot*. At times he disagrees with the Mishnah and at times supplements it. Only one of his statements is mentioned in the Mishnah (Ḥag. 1:7): "Who is it 'that is crooked and cannot be made straight' [Eccles. 1:15]? He that has incestuous relations with a woman and begets by her a **mamzer*," but the whole passage is taken from the Tosefta. He is also mentioned once in the sixth chapter of *Avot* (6:8) which is, however, a later addition to the Mishnah. He was a pupil of *Meir in whose name he transmits several *halakhot*. In a dispute with Judah ha-Nasi he fixed the *halakhah* according to the stricter view in a dispute of *tannaim* of an earlier generation (Beẓah 26a). It is possible that there is here a hint of his method of deciding the *halakhah*. He himself said of Judah: "These seven qualifications which the sages enumerated as becoming to the righteous, were all realized in Judah ha-Nasi and in his sons" (Avot 6:8). Judah used to quote him in matters of piety and abstinence (Eccles. R. 9:9). He and his colleague *Yose b. Meshullam were called "holy brotherhood" (TJ, Ma'as. Sh. 2:4; in TB, Beẓah 14b "holy community of Jerusalem" – see *Holy Congregation in Jerusalem). It seems that they were the heads of a movement which followed Pharisaic practices of a special stringency. The essence of their attempt to "combine Torah with a wordly occupation" (cf. Ber. 35b) is reflected in the following Midrash:

> Judah ha-Nasi said in the name of the holy brotherhood: 'Acquire a craft for yourself together with Torah…' and why does he call them 'holy brotherhood'? Because it included Yose b. Meshullam and Simeon b. Menasya who used to divide the day into three parts – a third for Torah, a third for prayer, and a third for work. Others say that they labored in the Torah throughout the winter and in their work throughout the summer (Eccles. R. 9:9, no. 1).

More widely known is his homily that also testifies to a similar outlook on life, regarding the law that the saving of life overrides the Sabbath: "'And the children of Israel shall keep the Sabbath' [Ex. 31:16] – the Torah said, profane for his sake one Sabbath, so that he may keep many Sabbaths" (Yoma 85b). He also laid great emphasis upon the education of children in the study of Torah: "Even God is filled with love for him who has a son toiling in Torah…" (Gen. R. 63:1).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Epstein, Tanna'im, 182–3; S. Safrai, in: *Zion*, 22 (1957), 183–93.

[Israel Moses Ta-Shma]

SIMEON BEN NANAS (first half of the second century C.E.), *tanna*; contemporary and colleague of R. *Akiva, Simeon is usually referred to simply as "Ben Nanas." According to Maimonides (Yad., Zera'im, introd.) he was one of the five scholars referred to in the expression, "Those who argue before the Sages" (Sanh. 17b) whom the Talmud calls Simeon, Simeon, Simeon, Hanan, and Hananiah, but Rashi is not of the same opinion (cf. TJ, Ma'as. Shen. 2:9, 53d, and see: Friedman, *Netiot Le-David*, 250). The fact that Simeon is called simply "Ben Nanas" might indicate that the *halakhot* transmitted in his name were taught before he was ordained (cf. Ta'an. 3a), or that he was never ordained. His statements are found only in the *halakhah* and he frequently disputes in the Mishnah with Akiva. He specialized in civil law and was praised for this by Ishmael who said: "He who would become wise should engage in the study of civil law … and he who would engage in the study of civil law let him wait upon Simeon b. Nanas" (BB 10:8).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Hyman, Toledot, s.v.; S. Friedman, in: *Netiot LeDavid, Festschrift in Honor of David Weiss Halivni* (2004).

[Israel Burgansky]

SIMEON BEN NETHANEL (second half of the first century C.E.), *tanna*. One of the five outstanding disciples of Johanan b. *Zakkai who called him "sin-fearing" (Avot 2:8), Simeon was a priest and married the daughter of *Gamaliel I (the Elder; Tosef., Av. Zar. 3:19). Very few of his sayings have been preserved. His saying in *Avot* (2:13) is: "Be careful in reading the *Shema* and the *Amidah*; and when thou prayest, regard not thy prayer as a fixed mechanical task, but as an appeal for mercy and grace before the All-present…; and be not wicked in thine own esteem." His reply to the question of his master as to "the good way to which a man should cleave" was "foreseeing the consequences" of all acts. "The evil way which man should shun" is "borrowing and not repaying, whether from man or from God," i.e., ingratitude (Avot 2:9). He plays a role in the later development of the mystic traditions surrounding the vision of the *merkavah* (TJ, Ḥag. 2:1; cf. TB 14b), but his role in these stories in all likelihood has no historical foundation (Wald).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Hyman, Toledot, s.v. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** S. Wald, "The *Derashah Ba-merkavah* of R. Eleazar ben Arakh" (Hebrew), in: JSIJ.

[Israel Burgansky / Stephen G. Wald (2nd ed.)]

SIMEON BEN PAZZI (second half of the third century C.E.), Palestinian *amora*. According to the *tosafot* (BB 149a) Pazzi was his mother's name, but according to Frankel (Mevo 121a) it was that of his father (Dik. Sof., Meg. 13a). Although Simeon was considered a halakhic authority, very few of his decisions are mentioned in the Talmud. He instructed those who fixed the calendar to draw it up so that neither Rosh Ha-Shanah nor the seventh day of Tabernacles (*Hoshana Rabba) should fall on the Sabbath, but when it became necessary for one of them to fall on the Sabbath the latter should be chosen. Simeon was essentially an aggadist. He handed down a large number of biblical interpretations by his teacher Joshua b. Levi, of whose *aggadot* he is the principal transmitter. His own *aggadot* contain exegetic and homiletic interpretations and comments, including parables, sentences, and maxims on God, the world, prayer, and the study of the Torah. He interprets the double *yod* in **ייצר** in Genesis 2:7 as emphasizing the inner struggle within man between the sensual (*yeẓir*) and the divine (*yoẓer*), and comments: "Woe to me because of my impulses; woe to me because of my Creator" (Ber. 61a). "When the patriarch Jacob was about to reveal the messianic time to his children (Gen. 49:1) the presence of God departed from him, whereupon he said 'Has an unworthy child sprung from me as Ishmael sprang from my grandfather Abraham and Esau from my father Jacob?' In answer his sons exclaimed '"Hear O Israel, the Lord our God the Lord is one" (Deut. 6:4) as only one God is in your heart so only one is in ours.' Jacob then said 'Praised be the name of the glory of His kingdom for ever and ever'" (Pes. 56a). In other texts this passage is ascribed to Resh Lakish. His statement in *Sotah* 41b that one may be obsequious to evil people in this world is a reflection of social conditions in his time.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Bacher, Pal Amor; Frankel, Mevo, 118a; Hyman, Toledot, s.v.; Ḥ. Albeck, *Mavo la-Talmudim* (1969), 258–61.

[Elliott Hillel Medlov]

SIMEON BEN SAMUEL OF JOINVILLE (12th–13th century), French scholar. Simeon's father was a contemporary of Jacob *Tam, who on one occasion relied upon him for a halakhic ruling. Simeon was a pupil of *Isaac b. Samuel of Dampierre, with whom he was on particularly intimate terms. He is very frequently mentioned in the standard *tosafot* and his commentary on various tractates of the Talmud is cited in the works of *rishonim*. A few of his responsa have survived.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Gross, Gal Jud, 255; Urbach, Tosafot, 280–1, 504, 522.

[Israel Moses Ta-Shma]

SIMEON BEN SHETAḤ (first century B.C.E.), one of the most prominent of the scholars of the Second Temple period. He was active during the reign of Alexander *Yannai and Queen *Salome Alexandra (Sifra, Beḥukotai, ch. 1), who according to certain late aggadic traditions was Simeon's sister (Ber. 48a, cf. Gen R. 91, Eccles. R. 7). In the train of tradition he, together with Judah b. Tabbai, constitute one of the **zugot*, succeeding *Joshua b. Peraḥyah and Nittai of Arbela (Avot 1:8; see Ḥag. 1:2). According to a tradition of R. Meir, Simeon was *av bet din* but the view of R. Judah (or the anonymous sages) is that he was *nasi* (Tosef., Ḥag. 2:8). According to one tradition (Tosef. Sanh. 6:6) Simeon b. Shetaḥ once criticized a halakhic decision of Judah b. Tabbai, who thereafter accepted upon himself "never to make a halakhic ruling without Simeon b. Shetaḥ's consent." The attempt in the Babylonian Talmud (Ḥag. 16b) to use this tradition to determine which of them was *nasi* and which *av bet din* was inconclusive. Moreover, in the parallel version of this story (Mekh. Nezikin, 20), the roles of Judah b. Tabbai, and Simeon b. Shetaḥ are reversed, and S. Friedman and others have shown that the version in the *Mekhilta* is the more original.

Tannaitic sources mention Simeon in a number of different contexts. In the *Sifra* (Beḥukotai, ch. 1, cf. TB Ta'an. 23a) "the days of Simeon ben Shetaḥ and Shlomẓu the Queen" are remembered as a time of extraordinary blessedness, when the rains were so plentiful that the "wheat was a large as kidneys, the barley as large as olives, and the lentils as large as gold *dinari*." The wheat of these legendary days was referred to in later times simply as "the wheat of Simeon ben Shetaḥ" (Ḥul. 119b). Similarly, Simeon ben Shetaḥ plays a role in the tannaitic aggadah concerning the wonder-working rainmaker, *Ḥoni ha-Me'aggel (Ta'an. 3:8, TB Ta'an. 23a). In this context Simeon threatens Ḥoni with excommunication, and in one place (Ber. 19a) the Bavli ascribes to Simeon a similar threat with regard to Todos of Rome, though it is clear from the parallel sources (Tosef. Beẓ. 2:15, TY Pes. 7:1, 34a, Beẓ. 2:7, 61c, MK 3:1 81d, TB Pes. 53a, Beẓ. 23a) that the association of Simeon ben Shetaḥ with the case of Todos is a late literary embellishment of an early tannaitic tradition. Both the Mishnah (Sanh. 6:4) and a tannaitic midrash (Sifre Deut. 221) mention a tradition according to which Simeon ben Shetaḥ "hanged 80 women in Ascalon on a single day," "because of the pressing need to make an example of them to others" (Sifre). No further information is reported in the tannaitic sources regarding this remarkable event, but the later aggadic tradition has woven around this tradition a number of fascinating legends concerning Simeon ben Shetaḥ and "the witches of Ascalon," involving spells and counter-spells, intrigues and counter-intrigues, false witnesses and revenge (TY Ḥag. 2:2, 77d–78a, TY Sanh. 6:6, 23c, Midrash Ten Commandments, end; cf. TY Sanh. 6:3 23b). Though not brought in the Babylonian Talmud itself, Rashi quotes this legend at length in his commentary to Sanh. 44b (cf. Rashi to Sanh. 45b). According to a Palestinian amoraic aggadic tradition (TY Ber. 7:2. 11b, Naz. 5:3, 54b, Gen. R. 91, Ecc. R. 7), Simeon ben Shetaḥ once came into conflict with King Alexander Yannai regarding a certain financial obligation which Simeon accepted upon himself, and which Yannai was led to believe that Simeon had failed to live up to. Simeon, fearing the king's anger, went into hiding, until a number of foreign dignitaries who were visiting Yannai requested Simeon's presence at court, in order to hear from him the words of wisdom for which he was famous. Simeon was then asked to lead the blessing over the meal, despite the fact that he had not himself partaken of the bread. In the version of this tradition found in the Babylonian Talmud (Ber. 48a–b), this minor incident is portrayed as all-out warfare between King Yannai and the Pharisees, of whom Simeon ben Shetaḥ was the leader. According to this tradition, Simeon ben Shetaḥ was summoned to court because Yannai "had killed all the sages, and there was no one left who knew how to perform the blessing after the meal." In a number of other places in the Babylonian Talmud, Simeon ben Shetaḥ is portrayed as playing a role in an ongoing, and frequently violent, conflict between the king and the sages (Sot. 47a, cf. TY Ḥag. 2:2, 77d, and Sanh. 6:6, 23c; Kid. 66a, cf. Meg. Ta'an., concerning the 28th of Tevet; Sanh. 19a–b), though there is little or no evidence for such a conflict in the earlier Palestinian talmudic tradition.

Tradition ascribes to Simeon b. Shetaḥ a number of *takkanot* in the spheres of domestic life and education. According to a tannaitic tradition, he introduced the stipulation that all the husband's property is pledged for the payment of the *ketubbah* (Tosef., Ket. 12:1 and parallels). He is credited with having pioneered education for the young by introducing school attendance for children (TJ, Ket. 8:11, 32c), hitherto the education of children being regarded as the responsibility of the parents alone. According to another tradition, Simeon established schools in Jerusalem and in the district towns and obliged parents to send their children to them (cf. BB 21a). He is also credited with a decree concerning the ritual impurity of metal vessels (TJ, Shab. 1:4, 3d, TB Shab. 14b).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: H. Mantel, *Studies in the History of the Sanhedrin* (1962), index; S. Zeitlin, *Rise and Fall of the Judaean State* (1962), index; L. Finkelstein, *The Pharisees* (1962), index; Weiss, Dor, 1 (1904^4), 127ff.; Hyman, Toledot, 1212–16. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** S.

Friedman, "If They Have Not Slain They Are Slain; but If They Have Slain They Are Not Slain," in: *Sidra*, 20 (2005).

[Yitzhak Dov Gilat / Stephen G. Wald (2nd ed.)]

SIMEON HA-PAKULI (late first and early second century C.E.), one of the scholars of Jabneh in the time of *Gamaliel II. He is mentioned only once in the sources: "Simeon ha-Pakuli arranged the 18 benedictions in order before Rabban Gamaliel [II] in Jabneh" (Ber. 28b). It is assumed that this activity included a number of elements: the determination of the number of blessings, their subject matter, and their order (see **Amidah*). According to Rashi his name refers to his occupation as a seller of cotton tufts (*pakuli*).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Hyman, Toledot, s.v.

[Israel Burgansky]

SIMEON THE HASMONEAN (called **Thassis**; d. 134 B.C.E.), the second son of *Mattathias. The origin of the name Thassis is obscure, and many conjectures have been put forward. Some think it is to be connected with the Hebrew *toses* (תּוֹסֵס, "vigorous") or *tashush* (תָּשׁוּשׁ, "weakling"), while others regard it as a variant of the Hebrew name Assi or the Syrian Tarsi.

On his deathbed, Mattathias recommended Simeon as counselor for Judah, who was military commander against the Syrians. Under Judah he played an independent role as commander of the expedition that went to the aid of the Jews of Galilee. According to II Maccabees (14:17) he attacked *Nicanor and was defeated by him. When Judah died, Simeon and his brother Jonathan buried him in the family sepulcher in *Modi'in. Simeon was Jonathan's right-hand man in the wars with the hellenizers and the Syrians. He distinguished himself, among other things, by relieving the city of Bathbasi which had been besieged by *Bacchides. He also took part with Jonathan in the war against Apollonius. At the time of Tryphon's rule in Syria, with Jonathan's rule at its zenith (145–143 B.C.E.), Simeon was appointed military governor of the whole coastal region of Israel from the Ladder of Tyre to the Egyptian border. During Jonathan's campaigns in Galilee, Simeon remained in authority in Judea, during which time he conquered Beth-Zur and fortified Adittha. On Jonathan's treacherous capture by Tryphon in 143 B.C.E., the leadership passed inevitably to Simeon, now the sole survivor of the Hasmonean brothers. He fortified Jerusalem, strengthened his hold on Jaffa, and prepared to face Tryphon, all the time endeavoring, but in vain, to ransom his brother from him. Tryphon's efforts to penetrate Judea were repelled by Simeon and he was forced to withdraw, but put Jonathan to death. Simeon buried Jonathan at Modi'in, where he erected a splendid monument in his memory. In the dispute over the throne in Syria Simeon supported *Demetrius II, who recognized his rule and waived his claim to tribute. The year 142 B.C.E. was regarded as the beginning of Judean independence and the years of Simeon's rule were reckoned from that date. Simeon also conquered Gazara (Gezer) and Judaized it, driving out the Syrian garrison from the citadel.

For a while after this Judea enjoyed a period of peace. The ties with Sparta and Rome were renewed. In the year 140, Simeon's position was confirmed by the nation. He and his children after him were appointed by a public assembly to the position of high priest, ethnarch, and commander of the army, thus establishing the Hasmonean dynasty. A copy of the resolution was engraved upon tablets which were set up in the Temple court. During the latter half of Simeon's rule the danger to Judean independence was renewed. Antiochus VII Sidetes became ruler of Syria, and endeavored to revive the shattered Seleucid Empire. Syrian relations with Simeon deteriorated and Cendebaeus was sent against Judea, but Simeon's sons defeated him. Soon after, during a tour of the country, Simeon was murdered in Jericho by his son-in-law *Ptolemy b. Abubus, who may have conspired with the Syrians. Simeon was succeeded by his son John *Hyrcanus.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Schuerer, Hist, index s.v. *Simeon the Maccabee*; Meyer, Ursp, 2 (1921), 260–7; Klausner, Bayit Sheni, index s.v. *Shimon b. Matityahu*.

[Uriel Rappaport]

SIMEON HA-TIMNI (second century C.E.), *tanna*, a member of the Sanhedrin in the era of *Jabneh. His name derives from the town of Timnat near Beth-Shemesh (Judg. 15:6; cf. Rashi to Beẓah 21a) and has no connection with Yemen (Heb. *Teiman*). According to R. Naḥman b. Isaac the sages referred to in the anonymous formula: "It was discussed before the sages," are five well-known *tannaim*, of whom Simeon ha-Timni is one (Sanh. 17b). These rabbis apparently enjoyed the intermediate status of scholars of the *bet ha-midrash* who had graduated from that of "pupils" but had not yet been ordained. In point of fact none of these five scholars had the title "rabbi." Two of them are generally mentioned by their patronymics – Ben Azzai and Ben Zoma – and the phrase "Those who discussed before the sages" is sometimes used instead of the authors of the statement (Eduy. 1:10). To Simeon ha-Timni was applied a special attribute – the knowledge of "70 languages" – denoting exceptional members of the Sanhedrin, although its exact nature is not clear (Sanh. 17b). He is mentioned in the Mishnah and Tosefta as disputing with the greatest scholars of the generation, Akiva and Joshua, and especially noteworthy is his stand in the great dispute which agitated the scholars of that generation, on the halakhic definition of the **mamzer*. Simeon's ruling was already accepted as the *halakhah* in practice close to his time (Yev. 4:13).

Also preserved are some of his aggadic statements that were also made in the course of a discussion with several of his colleagues on the meaning of the words of his teacher, Akiva (Tosef., Ber. 4:16). Another dictum by him, preserved in the *aggadah*, is also connected with a question to which many answers were propounded by the *tannaim*: by what merit was the Red Sea parted for the children of Israel? Simeon's view was: "By the merit of circumcision" (Mekh. Be-Shallaḥ 4). References to his beneficent activities on behalf of the community have also been preserved (Tosef., Beẓah (Yom Tov) 2:6). Another dictum which some of the sources attribute to Simeon ha-Timni (Sif. Num. 103) may perhaps indicate his connection with mystic lore; he supports the view of Akiva, and even adds that the angels and "holy *ḥayyot*" do not see the Divine Presence.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Hyman, Toledot, 1225 f.; Bacher, Tann.

[Israel Burgansky]

SIMEON THE JUST, high priest in the time of Alexander the Great who was surnamed the Just both because of his piety toward God and his benevolence to his countrymen (see also Jos., Ant. 12:157). According to Josephus (Ant. 12:43), he is identical with *Simeon I, the son of Onias I and the grandson of Jaddua. Simeon the Just is also referred to in rabbinical literature. In *Avot* (1:2) he is mentioned as one of the survivors of the Great Assembly, and he is the author of the saying, "Upon three things the world is based: upon the Torah, upon divine service, and upon the practice of *gemilut ḥasadim* [charity]." In the same source he is indicated as the first in a chain of scholars descending to Hillel and Shammai. According to the Talmuds (TJ, Yoma 6:3, 43c–d; Men. 109b), he was the father of the *Onias who built a temple in Egypt. If this is so, then Josephus erred in identifying Simeon the Just with Simeon I and he is to be identified with Simeon II, the father of Onias III, who lived about 200 B.C.E. The chronology in *Avot* also supports the latter view. To the praise of Simeon the high priest given by Josephus and the rabbis (TJ, loc. cit.; Yoma 39a–b) may be added the words of Ben Sira referring to Simeon II (50:1–6): "Great among his brethren and the glory of his people was Simeon, the son of Johanan the high priest, in whose time the House was renovated, and in whose days the Temple was fortified. How glorious was he when he came out from the sanctuary! Like a morning star from between the clouds and like the fall moon on the feast days." Ben Sira praises his communal activities after the conquest of Judea by Antiochus III and his repair of the Temple (cf. Jos., Ant. 12:141). The great importance and honor given by Ben Sira to Simeon II also supports the view that it was he who was Simeon the Just, and that Josephus erred. Simeon the Just is also mentioned as the high priest who went forth to welcome Alexander (Yoma 69a; Meg. Ta an. 9), but chronologically it can apply to neither of the Simeons. In general the historical value of this story is very doubtful. However the suggestion that the origin of the story is to be found in a meeting that took place between Simeon (II) the Just and Antiochus III, who was his contemporary and ally, may be correct. Some scholars prefer the testimony of Josephus. Azariah dei Rossi (*Me'or Einayim*, Imrei Binah, ch. 22) makes the suggestion that perhaps Simeon the Hasmonean is meant.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: R. Marcus (ed.), *Josephus* (Loeb Classical Library), 7 (1943), 732–6 (incl. bibl.); Moore, in: *Jewish Studies… I. Abrahams* (1927), 348–64; Ḥ. Albeck, *Mavo la-Mishnah* (1959), 24 f.

[Uriel Rappaport]

SIMEON OF MIZPAH (mid-first century C.E.), *tanna* at the close of the Second Temple era. As his name suggests he came from the town of Mizpah in Judah. It is related of him: "It once happened that R. Simeon of Mizpah sowed his field before Rabban Gamaliel, and they went up to the Chamber of Hewn Stone and put a question. Nahum the Scrivener said: 'I have a tradition from R. Measha who received it from his father, who had it from the *zugot*, who had it from the prophets as a *halakhah* given to Moses at Sinai …'" (Pe'ah 2:6). The Gamaliel referred to is Rabban Gamaliel the Elder, and at that time Simeon must have been still a young man. The incident vividly portrays the custom of clarifying *halakhah* in the Chamber of Hewn Stone when the local scholars were unable to decide. R. Johanan states that Simeon was the *tanna* who taught the Mishnah *Tamid (TJ, Yoma 2:2). According to another opinion in the Babylonian Talmud (Yoma 14b), the intention of the tradition is to attribute to Simeon those *mishnayot* dealing with the daily sacrifice in the Mishnah *Yoma* which parallel those in *Tamid*. The tractate *Tamid* is written in a descriptive, lively, and flowing style, which has led some scholars to conjecture that Simeon presented an eyewitness account of the order of the Temple service.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Epstein, Tanna'im, 27–31; Hyman,Toledot, s.v.

[Israel Burgansky]

SIMEON SON OF ONIAS I (first half of the third century B.C.E.), high priest. He was the grandson of *Jaddua, high priest in the time of Alexander the Great. According to the genealogical list given by Josephus, Simeon's son, *Onias II, was a minor when his father died, and in consequence Eleazar, the brother of Simeon, and Manasseh, his uncle, filled the office after Simeon. Only subsequently did Onias II become high priest. Josephus relates in two places that Simeon was called the Just because of his fear of heaven and love of his fellow-Jews (Ant. 12:43, 157). On the trustworthiness of this description see *Simeon the Just.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Schuerer, Gesch, 2 (1907^{4}), 419 f.; 3 (1909^{4}), 217; Klausner, Bayit Sheni, 2 (1951^{2}), 163 ff.

[Uriel Rappaport]

SIMFEROPOL, city in the Crimea, now in Ukraine. Simferopol was founded in 1784 and until the 1917 Revolution it was the chief town of the province of Tavriya (Taurida), Crimean peninsula. Krimchaks (Crimean Jews) from other localities in the Crimea and Ashkenazi Jews from the regions of the Pale of Settlement began to settle there soon after its foundation. The number of Jews registered as taxpayers in 1803 was 471. During the 19th century the Jewish settlement increased considerably as a result of intensified emigration from other regions of the Pale of Settlement to the Crimean peninsula. In 1897 the Jews numbered 8,951 (18.3% of the total population), about 500 of whom belonged to the Krimchak community. Some 1,000 Karaites also lived in Simferopol at that time. About a quarter of the Jews were small merchants and craftsmen. Some Jews were working in tobacco factories and printing houses, many of which belonged to Jews. There was a community hospital, two *talmudei torah*, 2 private schools, a vocational school for girls, and a public library. In October 1905 pogroms broke out in the city and 42 Jews were killed. During World War I and the Civil War years many Jews who fled or were expelled from the battle regions or who otherwise escaped the riotous bands found refuge in Simferopol. The city became an important Zionist center for helping Russian emigrants to Palestine via Constantinople. In 1926 there were 17,364 Jews (19.6% of the population) in Simferopol, with their number growing to 22,791 in 1939 (16% of the total population). In the 1920s Simferopol was a place from where the Jewish farm settlers dispersed over Crimea. Nine Jewish settlements with 324 families were organized in the environs of the city, concentrated in two Jewish rural councils. A Jewish vocational school and several Yiddish elementary schools operated in the city. The Germans captured Simferopol on November 1, 1941. According to them they found 12,000–14,000 Jews. Sonderkommando 11b who settled in the city started with executions and by December 13, 1941, had murdered more than 10,000 Jews and about 2,500 *Krimchaks. In 1959 according to the census there were again about 11,200 Jews in Simferopol. One synagogue was closed down in 1959, but as of 1968 another was still functioning and *matzot* were officially permitted to be baked there. Outside the city there is a mass grave of 14,000 Jews murdered by the Nazis. No monument has been erected in their memory. Several kolkhozes housed about 50% of the Jews of the area. Most of the city's Jews emigrated in the 1990s.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Die Judenpogrome in Russland*, 2 (1909), 163–8.

[Yehuda Slutsky / Shmuel Spector (2nd ed.)]

SIMḤAH BEN JOSHUA OF ZALOZHTSY (1711–1768), Polish author and Torah scribe. A preacher in the town of Zalozhtsy, near Brody, Poland, he was one of a group of ascetic Ḥasidim who had gathered around R. Naḥman of Kossov, many of whose teachings he cites. He composed two works containing moral preaching in homiletic style and principles of conduct according to the kabbalist Isaac *Luria: *Lev Simḥah* (Zolkiew, 1757) and *Neti'ah shel Simḥah* (ibid., 1763). Several times in his books, he implies that the redemption will take place in 1768. He left Zalozhtsy in May 1764, later encountering R. Naḥman of Horodenka and R. Mendel of Peremyshlyany, pupils of Israel b. *Eliezer Ba'al Shem Tov, who were also traveling to Ereẓ Israel. Sailing from Constantinople on September 15, they reached Jaffa on September 26 (the eve of Rosh Ha-Shanah). Simḥah and the ḥasidic leaders continued their journey by ship to Acre. Arriving in Safed, they found only 40–50 Sephardi families there. Unable to earn a living as a scribe, Simḥah returned after seven months to Europe. Arriving in Leghorn, Italy, he found a generous Jew, who welcomed him into his home. At his request, Simḥah wrote a book containing the full story of his journey. *Sippurei Ereẓ ha-Galil* ("Tales of Galilee") is a firsthand account of his experiences. Returning to Poland, Simḥah became a preacher in Brailow, where he remained until his death. A copy of his book was published by his son-in-law, Solomon *Dubno (Grodno, 1790), under the title *Ahavat Ẓiyyon* ("Love of Zion"). Solomon Dubno added extracts from the writings of other travelers, notably chapters on Jerusalem, Hebron, Nablus, and Egypt, which he took from the narrative of the Karaite *Samuel b. David (1641–42). He also added excerpts from various non-Jewish works. The book was republished under the title *Doresh Ẓiyyon* (1887) by Ḥayyim Eliezer Hausdorf. It was first published in its original form by A. Yaari.

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[Avraham Yaari]

SIMḤAH BEN SAMUEL OF SPEYER (second half of the 12th and the beginning of the 13th century), German scholar. He may have been a descendant of Judah ha-Kohen, author of the *Sefer ha-Dinim* (see Aptowitzer). Simḥah was one of the rabbis and *dayyanim* of the Speyer *bet din* together with his kinsman (cousin?) Judah b. Kalonymus, who was also one of his teachers, and with Nathan b. Simeon (*Or Zaru'a*, BK no. 460 and *Beit ha-Keneset* no. 388). He studied – together with his colleagues Eleazar b. Judah (of Worms), author of the *Roke'aḥ*, and *Eliezer b. Joel ha-Levi (Ravyah) – under *Eliezer b. Samuel of Metz (Maharshal, resp. no. 29), Moses b. Solomon ha-Kohen of Mainz (*Ravyah* no. 1,024), and *Isaac b. Asher ha-Levi. There were ties of close intimacy between Simḥah and Eliezer b. Joel ha-Levi, and they corresponded on numerous halakhic problems, exchanging responsa (see Aptowitzer's list, pp. 200–5, 222 f.).

Some of the responsa he addressed to various other scholars are extant (see *Germania Judaica*, 1 (1934), 344 ff.). Among those who addressed problems to him was the renowned Italian scholar, Isaiah di Trani, who, though generally one of the severest critics of the scholars of Germany and France, expressed great esteem for Simḥah. Other quotations from his teachings are in the work of his distinguished pupil Isaac b. Moses of Vienna (Or Zaru'a), and Abraham b. Azriel in his *Arugat ha-Bosem* copies whole pages from Simḥah (Urbach, 344 n. 29). There are quotations in the books of French, German, and Italian authors. Urbach (p. 346) conjectures that most of the quotations, with the exception of the responsa and oral traditions, are from his large work, *Seder Olam*, which is no longer extant although there are many indications that such a work did exist (Zunz, Lit Poesie, 621). From quoted fragments it may be concluded that the work encompassed many fields. They reveal that it was his custom to enlarge on the details of the subject under discussion, and it can therefore be assumed that it was this, combined with the widespread habit of compilers to include quotations and abridgments of it in their compilations, that caused the disappearance of the work. There is mention of his commentary to the *Sifra* (*Or*

Zaru'a, Mikva'ot, no. 333, 336), and to the tractate *Horayot* (Tos. to Hor. 4a–b). There is no evidence that he wrote *tosafot* to tractates of the Talmud or a commentary to the *Mekhilta*, as some scholars thought (see Urbach, pp. 346f.). Ten of his *seliḥot* have been listed by Zunz (Lit Poesie, 311). Among his distinguished pupils was also Avigdor Katz of Vienna, who wrote down his teacher's words in his presence. Samuel b. Baruch of Bamberg also appears to have been one of his pupils and addressed queries to him (Urbach, 354).

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[Shlomoh Zalman Havlin]

SIMḤAH BUNEM OF PRZYSUCHA (**Pshiskha**; 1765–1827), ḥasidic *ẓaddik* in Poland. He was born in Wodzislaw, Poland. His father, R. Ẓevi, was an itinerant preacher (*maggid*) in Poland and central Europe. R. Simḥah Bunem traveled to central Europe to learn from R. Jeremiah of Mattersdorf, and then to Nikolsburg (Mikulov) to learn from R. Mordeḥai Benet.

Upon returning to Poland he married Rivka, who faithfully accompanied him all of his life. It was then that he was drawn to Ḥasidism by R. Moshe Leib of Sasov and R. Israel of Kozienice. He worked for the Bergson family, which was close to ḥasidic circles, as a supervisor in their timber firm. R. Simḥah Bunem traveled to Leipzig and Danzig for business and took part in their cultural and social life, visiting the theater, playing cards, and socializing with the local *maskilim*. Later he learned pharmacology in Danzig and opened a pharmacy in Pshiskha. He knew German, Polish, and Latin, and dressed in modern style. At the same time he became close to R. David of Lelov, who convinced him to travel to R. *Jacob Isaac Horovitz (ha-Ḥozeh) of Lublin. Jacob Isaac recognized his qualities, but R. Simḥah Bunem, though deeply impressed, did not come under his influence. Afterward he met R. Jacob Isaac (ha-Yehudi ha-Kadosh) of Przysucha and became his disciple.

After the death of R. Jacob Isaac of Przysucha (1814), his eminent disciples accepted R. Simḥah Bunem as their rebbe. Under his leadership the character of Pshiskha Ḥasidism was crystallized, drawing many prominent disciples as well as bitter criticism. At a wedding known as "the big wedding in Ostila," where many rebbes gathered, there was an attempt to convince R. Abraham Joshua of Apta to excommunicate R. Simḥah Bunem and his followers. However, a delegation led by R. Isaac Meir Alter successfully defended him.

He was involved in Poland's political life as a member of the Jewish council, established by the authorities of Congress Poland. In his testimony to the government he said that the government's role is not to interfere with internal Jewish matters, but rather to improve the material condition of the Jews who suffer poverty, expressing a modern concept of the duties of the state.

In his last years he became blind. As he was dying he told his wife: "Why are you crying, all of my life I learned how to die."

His Religious Path

Already in Lublin R. Simḥah Bunem was known as "the wise," a quality that well describes his character and portrays his leadership. Like Jacob Isaac of Przysucha, he set the search for truth as the focal point of his religiosity. He exposed people's self-deception, pretensions, and shallowness in order to purify their intentions. Like his teacher, he recognized humility as the quality of a sincere person who does not deceive himself. In his time, the critical attitude toward social and religious order, typical to Pshsikha, became more extreme. Pshsikha Ḥasidim, who left their families behind to live in poverty in a group intensively searching for self-improvement, ridiculed religious conventions and conventionalism, and used to mock people who were full of self-importance, including unworthy *rebbes*.

However, unlike Jacob Isaac of Przysucha, the innocent, mystical devotee, the core of R. Simḥah Bunem's religious life was his insightful view of the world, holding a positive attitude toward the world and the human role in it. A stranger to his teacher's ecstatic life, he was involved with worldly life. He taught that one's duty is to delve into the essence of this Godly world, which leads to a higher degree of religious knowledge. This knowledge involves happiness and brings a person to *dvekut*, different in its nature from that of Jacob Isaac of Przysucha. Accordingly, the literature that influenced his religious path was found less in the Kabbalah and more in the works of Maimonides, R. Judah Halevi's *Kuzari*, and the Maharal. But, above all, he was a talmudic scholar, and praying, though still important, became less central.

Among R. Simḥah Bunem's disciples were R. Menaḥem Mendel of Kotsk, R. Isaac of Warka, R. Isaac Meir Alter of Gur, R. Mordecai Joseph Leiner of Izbica, and R. Ḥanokh of Aleksandrow.

R. Simḥah Bunem did not write a book. His teachings and biographical stories about him were first published more then 30 years after his death, among them *Kol Simḥah* (1859, 1903 revised); *Ramatayim Ẓofim* (1881); *Simḥat Yisrael* (1910); and *Si'aḥ Sarfei Kodesh* (1913–1932).

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[Yehuda ben Dor (2nd ed.)]

SIMḤAT TORAH (Heb. שִׂמְחַת תּוֹרָה; lit. "rejoicing of the Torah"), the last day of the holy days begun by *Sukkot. In the Diaspora Simḥat Torah falls on the 23rd of Tishri, the second day of Shemini Aẓeret, the festival which concludes Sukkot. In Israel, it coincides with Shemini Aẓeret (22nd of Tishri; see *Festivals). On this festival, the annual reading of the Torah scroll is completed and immediately begun again. Simḥat

Torah, as a separate festival, was not known during the talmudic period. In designating the *haftarah* for this day, the Talmud refers to it simply as the second day of Shemini Aẓeret (Meg. 31a). Similarly it is termed Shemini Aẓeret in the prayers and the *Kiddush* recited on this day. Its unique celebrations began to develop during the geonic period, when the one-year cycle for the reading of the Torah (as opposed to the *triennial cycle) gained wide acceptance.

The Talmud already specified the conclusion of the Torah as the portion for this day (i.e., Deut. 33–34; see Meg. 31a). The assignment of a new *haftarah*, Joshua, is mentioned in a ninth-century prayer book (*Seder Rav Amram*, 1 (Warsaw, 1865), 52a, but see Tos. to Meg. 31a). Later it also became customary to begin to read the Book of Genesis again on Simḥat Torah. This was done in order "to refute Satan" who might otherwise have claimed that the Jews were happy only to have finished the Torah, but were unwilling to begin anew (Tur, OH 669; cf. Sif. Deut. 33).

During the celebrations, as they continue to be observed by Orthodox and Conservative congregations, all the Torah scrolls are removed from the Ark and the *bimah* ("pulpit") is circled seven times (*hakkafot*). All the men present are called to the Torah reading (*aliyyot*); for this purpose, Deuteronomy 33:1–29 is repeated as many times as necessary. All the children under the age of bar mitzvah are called for the concluding portion of the chapter; this *aliyah* is referred to as *kol ha-ne'arim* ("all the youngsters"). A *tallit* is spread above the heads of the youngsters, and the congregation blesses them with Jacob's benediction to Ephraim and Manasseh (Gen. 48:16). Those who are honored with the *aliyyot* which conclude and start the Torah readings are popularly designated as the *ḥatan Torah* and *ḥatan Bereshit*; they often pledge contributions to the synagogue and sponsor banquets for their acquaintances in honor of the event (see *Bridegrooms of the Law). In many communities similar ceremonies are held on Simḥat Torah eve: all the scrolls are removed from the Ark and the *bimah* is circled seven times. Some communities even read from the concluding portion of Deuteronomy during the evening service, the only time during the year when the Torah scroll is read at night (Sh. Ar., OH 669:1).

The Simḥat Torah festivities are accompanied by the recitation of special liturgical compositions, some of which were written in the late geonic period. The *ḥatan Torah* is called up by the prayer *Me-Reshut ha-El ha-Gadol*, and the *ḥatan Bereshit* by *Me-Reshut Meromam*. The return of the Torah scrolls to the Ark is accompanied by the joyful hymns "*Sisu ve-Simḥu be-Simḥat Torah*" and "*Hitkabbeẓu Malakhim Zeh el Zeh*." A central role in the festivities is allotted to children. In addition to the *aliyah* to the Torah, the children also participate in the Torah processions: they carry flags adorned with apples in which burning candles are placed. There have even been communities where children dismantled *sukkot* on Simḥat Torah and burned them (*Darkhei Moshe* to OH 669 n. 3 quoting Maharil).

Ḥasidim also hold Torah processions on Shemini Aẓeret eve. Reform synagogues observe these customs, in a modified form, on Shemini Aẓeret, which is observed as the final festival day. In Israel, where the second day of the festival is not celebrated, the liturgy and celebration of both days are combined. It has also become customary there for public *hakkafot* to be held on the night following Simḥat Torah, which coincides with its celebration in the Diaspora: in many cities, communities, and army bases, seven *hakkafot* are held with religious, military, and political personnel being honored with the carrying of the Torah scrolls.

[Aaron Rothkoff]

In the U.S.S.R.

Among Soviet Jewish youth seeking forms of expressing their Jewish identification, Simḥat Torah gradually became, during the 1960s, the occasion of mass gatherings in and around the synagogues, mainly in the great cities Moscow, Leningrad, Riga, and others. At these gatherings large groups of Jewish youth, many of them students, sang Hebrew and Yiddish songs, danced the *hora*, congregated and discussed the latest events in Israel, etc. In the beginning, the Soviet authorities tried to disperse these "unauthorized meetings," but when Jewish and western public opinion began to follow them, and press correspondents as well as observers from various foreign embassies began attending them, the authorities largely reverted their attitude and even instructed the militia to cordon off the synagogue areas and redirect traffic, so as not to cause clashes with the Jewish youngsters, whose numbers swelled rapidly in Moscow into the tens of thousands. In many cities in the West, notably in Israel, England, the United States, and Canada, Simḥat Torah was declared by Jewish youth as the day of "solidarity with Soviet Jewish youth," and mass demonstrations were staged voicing demands to the Soviet authorities for freedom of Jewish life and the right of migration to Israel.

The Simḥat Torah Flag

Among the customs of Simḥat Torah, the object associated most with the holiday, at least in the world of children, is undoubtedly the ornamental flag known in Hebrew as *degel Simḥat Torah*, made of paper or cardboard, printed with rich and colorful pictures reflecting the meaning of the holiday. Until some years ago flags were customarily attached to coarse wooden sticks topped by apples, hollowed out and filled with a burning candle.

While it is not known when and where this custom originated, it is certainly an Ashkenazi *minhag*, especially popular in eastern Europe. The earliest known source mentioning such a flag is found in the enactments (*Takkanot*) issued in 1672 by Polish Jews who settled in Amsterdam. From this document it is evident that the custom originated earlier. The German Hebraist Johann *Bodenschatz describes the custom in his book *Kirchliche Verfassung der heutigen Juden* (Erlang, 1748): "They [the children] hold onto their flags upon which is inscribed 'standard of the camp' and the names of the tribes. They march as if they were soldiers."

Extant Torah flags from 19th-century eastern Europe are decorated by representations of Ḥasidim dancing with Torah scrolls, *sukkah* building, and biblical scenes and figures, and the deer and lion with the saying, "Be swift as a deer and strong as a lion" (Pirkei Avot 5:20). Later, the images included Zionist heroes and slogans. The custom has continued to the present day, adopting new symbols and heroes associated with the State of Israel but keeping the more traditional designs as well.

[Shalom Sabar (2nd ed.)]

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SIMḤONI, ASSAF (1922–1956), Israeli military officer. Born in Nahalal, Simḥoni was descended from a pioneering family which moved to Ereẓ Israel from the Jewish agricultural settlements of south Russia and settled in various kibbutzim. His uncle, ZERUBAVEL YEVZERICHIN, was a leading member of the legal faction of the He-Ḥalutz movement in the U.S.S.R. who was arrested in 1926 for his Zionist activities and died in a Soviet labor camp. Assaf's mother, YEHUDIT SIMḤONI, settled in Geva and became a leading figure in the Israeli labor movement. Simḥoni joined the Haganah during the Arab riots of 1936–39 and in 1941 joined the Palmaḥ. During the War of Independence (1948) he participated in the battle for Mishmar ha-Emek and was the commander of the Palmaḥ batallion that broke through to kibbutz Negbah. He continued to serve in the Israel Defense Forces (IDF) and in 1951 was promoted to brigade commander with the rank of colonel. At the beginning of 1956 he went to England for an advanced military course but was recalled in the autumn of the same year and appointed commander of the southern command. On October 29 he commanded the IDF in the *Sinai Campaign and received the surrender of the Egyptian governor of the Gaza Strip. Simḥoni died shortly after the Sinai Campaign when his plane crashed inside Jordan. His body was returned to Israel, and he was posthumously promoted to major general.

[Yehuda Slutsky]

SIMLAI (second half of the third century C.E.), *amora*. Simlai was born in Nehardea, in Babylonia, (TJ, Pes. 5:3, 52a), but spent most of his life at Lydda, in Ereẓ Israel (Av. Zar. 36a). He also lived for some time in Galilee, where he ministered to Yannai the Great (BB 111a), and was the associate of young Judah III (Bek. 36b). He seems to have been a prominent member of Judah II's entourage (Av. Zar. 37a), and when the latter made a particularly controversial decision (TJ, Shab. 1:4, 3d), Simlai was sent to *Nisibis, in Babylon, in order to transmit it to the local authorities (Av. Zar. 36a). His ruling at Antioch, in Syria, is also recorded (TJ, Kid. 3:15, 66d). He transmitted sayings in the name of Eliezer b. Simeon (Sanh. 98a) and Samuel (PdRK 54b), and, despite Jonathan's initial scruples (Pes. 6:25), studied *aggadah* under him (TJ, Pes. 5:3, 32a). Simlai was a renowned authority in *aggadah* (Ber. 32a–b). One of his teachings is that in the time to come God will take a scroll of law in his embrace and proclaim, "Let whoever has occupied himself herewith, come and take his reward!" All the nations of the world will rush to testify for themselves, but, ultimately, God will Himself testify on behalf of Israel (Av. Zar. 2b–3a). He also explained that Moses' desire to enter Ereẓ Israel was based not on a wish to taste its fruit or enjoy its goodness, but on his eagerness to fulfill all the Torah (Sot. 14a). Simlai is the author of the statement (Mak. 23b) that the Torah contains 613 *commandments – 365 negative corresponding to the number of days in the solar year and 248 positive, corresponding to the number of organs in the human body (cf. Oho. 1:8). These he reduced successively to 11 (based on Ps. 15), to six (Isa. 33:15–16), to three (Micah 6:8), and to two (Isa., 56:1) fundamental principles, and finally to the single credo expressed by Habbakuk (2:4), "the righteous shall live by his faith" (Mak. 23b–24a). He also taught that "the Torah begins and ends with the practice of lovingkindness" (Sot. 14a).

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SIMLEUL-SILVANIEI (Hung. **Szilágysomlyó**; referred to in Jewish sources שאמלויא), town in Transylvania, N.W. Romania; until the end of World War I, and between 1940 and 1944, within Hungary. Jews began to settle there during the 18th century. An organized community was established in 1841; from its inception, the community was Orthodox. A synagogue was erected in 1850. In 1885 the community became the official center for the Jews in the surrounding area. Many local Jews fought in World War I in the Austro-Hungarian army. The influence of Ḥasidism was felt, particularly between the two world wars. The Jewish population numbered 838 (18.4% of the total) in 1891; 1,586 (21%) in 1930; and 1,496 (16.4%) in 1941. Between the two world wars Zionist activity was curtailed. The community's institutions included an elementary school for boys, opened in 1894, and one for girls (1921). The rabbi of the community from 1898 was the extreme Orthodox Samuel Ehrenreich (b. 1863), who was deported in the summer of 1944 with the members of his community to *Auschwitz.

Holocaust and Contemporary Periods

During World War II Jews from the vicinity, as well as from outlying regions, were interned in the ghetto which was established in Simleul-Silvaniei. Jews from other towns were also concentrated there before their deportation to Auschwitz. About 8,000 Jews passed through this ghetto on their way to the death camps.

Of those who survived after World War II, about 440 Jews gathered in Simleul-Silvaniei in 1947; they rehabilitated the community and maintained the synagogue, still standing in 1971. A rabbi headed the community for a while. The number of Jews subsequently declined as a result of emigration to Israel and other countries. In 1971 there were 40 Jews. Between the two world wars there was also a small Hebrew press in Simleul-Silvaniei. A Hebrew book was printed there in 1960.

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[Yehouda Marton]

SIMMEL, GEORG (1858–1918), German philosopher and sociologist. Born in Berlin of converted parents, in 1885 Simmel became a lecturer at Berlin, but his appointment as professor (extracurricular) at Strasbourg was delayed until 1911 because of his Jewish origin and because he followed no religion. In 1914 he finally became full professor. In his early work *Ueber soziale Differenzierung* (1890) Simmel sees the essence of the modern development in the dissolution of the substance of society in a sum of interrelationships of participating individuals. Another early book, *Einleitung in die Moralwissenschaft* (1892), which he later rejected, sought to construct a system of morals describing man's moral life psychologically without evaluating it. *Die Probleme der Geschichtsphilosophie* (also 1892), greatly altered by Simmel in later editions, had considerable influence. In this work Simmel postulates that events must be distinguished from history. The philosophy of history seeks out those a priori assumptions of historical consciousness, the foundations on which "the historical world is built." Simmel pursued this idea in "*Das Problem der historischen Zeit*" ("The Problem of Historical Time") and "*Vom Wesen des historischen Verstehens*" ("The Essence of Historical Comprehension"), which are included in the collection *Bruecke und Tuer* (1957). He suggests there is no road to objective reality itself, only diverse subjective worlds, dependent on their categorical assumptions.

Simmel's relativism reached its peak in *Philosophie des Geldes* (1900), in which he tried to discover the relation of money to all spheres of our life – its influences on all branches of culture – and expose the spiritual, moral, and religious assumptions of historical materialism in order to overcome it. He especially emphasized the intellectual character of monetary economy. Simmel published his research on Kant in his book *Kant* (1904). Besides Kant's expression of intellectuality, others, no less true, are possible, as Simmel indicated in *Schopenhauer und Nietzsche* (1907), *Goethe* (1913), and *Rembrandt* (1916). Influenced by the antipsychological views of the neo-Kantians and Husserl, Simmel saw culture as a process itself, an objective view through which the contents moved from the soul into an objective framework having its own laws. Cultural values have autonomous validity separated from their creator's spiritual source. The soul's or life's essence is to produce the objective contents of culture from itself. "Life is more than life." Thus objective culture becomes the soul's path back to itself.

His studies on art, religion, and philosophy tried to show that each is a world in itself, not a derivative of another, because it depends on special subjective functions of life. In his books *Soziologie* (1908) and *Grundfragen der Soziologie* (1917), as well as in numerous essays, Simmel analyzes all processes of association and dissociation as psychic phenomena, but he also constitutes the science of sociology by separating the forms of association from their content in such a way that purely formal concepts of relationships become generalizable and thereby scientific in character. They remain constant in a multitude of concrete events. In this sense, Simmel has analyzed the formal nature and significance of numbers ("The Dyad and the Triad"), space, conflict, poverty, fashion, adornment, secret societies, and a host of other formal relationships, always recognizing the dialectical interplay of the individual and the group as the essence of all relationships. But he has not arrived at a systematic ordering of these relationships. Buber, in turn stimulated by Simmel, described Jewish existence as manifesting itself not so much in substance but in relationships, that is, as essentially social in character. In this fashion, Simmel's approach to sociology has become a cornerstone of the sociology of the Jews.

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[Samuel Hugo Bergman and Werner J. Cahnman]

SIMMONS, GENE (**Chaim Witz**; 1949–), bass guitarist for veteran U.S. rock band KISS, which he formed in 1973 with Paul Stanley (Stanley Harvey Eisen). Born in Haifa, the only child to Hungarian Holocaust survivors Flora and Feri, Simmons immigrated to New York with his mother in 1958, after his parents divorced. Adopting the family name Klein, his mother's maiden name, Simmons also changed his name to Gene, and in the late 1960s changed his name again, dropping Klein in favor of Simmons. As a boy Simmons was educated at a yeshivah in Williamsburg, Brooklyn. After graduating from Sullivan County Community College in South Fallsburg, NY, and Richmond College in Staten Island, Simmons taught sixth grade in Harlem in New York City. After putting together KISS and after several false starts, the band finally hit the big time in 1975 with the release of *Dressed to Kill*, the studio album that spawned "Rock and Roll All Nite" and "C'mon and Love Me," the band's first radio hits. A string of platinum albums followed, but the band remained most acclaimed for its live performances, which featured Simmons – under his stage persona of Demon – spitting "blood" (primarily yogurt and food coloring) and "breathing fire." The shows were accompanied by ostentatious pyrotechnics throughout. Simmons did little to play down his hell-raising image, and often encouraged it: In his autobiography *Kiss and Make-Up* (2001), he claims to have had sex with 4,600 partners. Simmons was also a movie and record producer, and appeared in a number of movies, including Michael Crichton's sci-fi movie *Runaway*. In 2004, Simmons sparked controversy during a KISS tour of Australia when he claimed that Islam was a "vile culture" that treated women worse than dogs.

[Simon Spungin (2nd ed.)]

SIMON, family of British printers and typographers. OLIVER SIMON (1895–1956) was born in Sale, Cheshire, the son of a cotton merchant. His mother was the sister of Sir William *Rothenstein. Simon was educated at Charterhouse and in Germany, served as an officer in the British army in World War I, and fought in the Palestine campaign. He trained as a printer in London and joined the Curwen Press of which he later became chairman and managing director. In 1923 he was a founder and editor of *The Fleuron*, a typography journal. He was also a founder of the typographers' Double Crown Club of which he was president in 1929. Simon was a director of the Soncino Press. As a typographer Simon had an enormous influence on the improvement of printing, typography, and type design. He edited with J. Rodenberg, *Printing of Today* (1928) and the *Curwen Press Miscellany* (1931), and was the author of *Introduction to Typography* (1945) and an autobiography, *Printer and Playground* (1956). Simon had a notable interest in Palestine, founding the Paladin Club, an influential discussion group whose members included Chaim *Weizmann.

His brother, HERBERT SIMON (1898–1974), was also a founding member of the Double Crown Club. He succeeded Oliver as chairman of the Curwen Press in 1956.

ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY: ODNB online.

[John M. Shaftesley]

SIMON, family of U.S. entrepreneurs. MELVIN SIMON (1926–) and his brother, HERBERT (1934–), the sons of a tailor, were born in Brooklyn, N.Y., and raised in the Bronx. Mel earned an accounting degree from the City College of New York and later a master's degree there. He went into the Army, winding up in 1953 at Fort Benjamin Harrison in Indianapolis. He decided to stay in the city. After working as a leasing agent, he studied real estate in college and thought there was great potential. In 1959 he formed his own real-estate investment company, Melvin Simon & Associates, with Herb, who had also worked in real estate. The business was incorporated in 1960, with Mel owning two-thirds of the business and Herb, who was also educated at the City College of New York, the rest. Another brother, Fred, worked for the company but left in 1963. Their parents moved from New York to Indianapolis in 1961. Melvin Simon & Associates began by developing strip shopping centers anchored by groceries and drug stores. Their first shopping center was Southgate Plaza in Bloomington, Ind. Within five years the Simons were developing enclosed malls. By 1967 the company owned and operated more than 3 million square feet of retail property. It continued to expand throughout the country, adding one million square feet of property every year. By the 1980s the company opened three enclosed malls every year. In the 1970s Mel tried his hand at moviemaking. His production company lost millions. In 1983, the brothers bought the professional basketball team the Indiana Pacers. In 1990, DAVID (1961–), Mel's oldest son, a graduate of the University of Indiana and with a master's from Columbia, joined the company as chief financial officer. He became chief executive officer in 1995. The company went public in 1993, folding most of its properties into Simon Property Group and raising nearly $1 billion, at the time the largest real estate stock offering ever. Following a $3 billion merger with DeBartolo Realty Corporation in 1996, the company became Simon DeBartolo Group, the nation's dominant shopping center owner. In 1998 the company reverted to Simon Property Group, becoming the No. 1 mall owner in the United States. Also in 1998, Simon bought the Fashion Mall at Keystone at the Crossing, taking control of six of the seven regional shopping malls in Indianapolis. The company's projects include the Mall of America, outside Minneapolis, completed in 1992, and Circle Center Mall in Indianapolis, which opened in 1995. Overall, the Simons owned or operated about 350 properties in North America, Japan, and Europe. The Simons were known for their philanthropy. The family contributed $9 million toward construction of a research and teaching facility at the University of Indiana. They also served in Indianapolis on the boards of United Cerebral Palsy, the Muscular Dystrophy Association, and the Jewish Welfare Foundation.

[Stewart Kampel (2nd ed.)]

SIMON, ABRAM (1872–1938), U.S. Reform rabbi. Born in Nashville, Tennessee, he was educated at the University of Cincinnati where he earned his B.A. in 1894, the same year he was ordained by Hebrew Union College. In 1917, long after he had become rabbi of Washington Hebrew Congregation, Simon earned a Ph.D. from George Washington University, writing on the "The Constructive Character and Function of Religious Progress."

Upon ordination he served as rabbi of B'nai Israel Congregation in Sacramento and then as rabbi of Temple Israel in Omaha, Nebraska (1899–1904). Under his leadership the temple began to prosper financially, owing to an increase in pew rent. He earned a national reputation for innovation in Jewish education and was elected as the first rabbi of Washington Hebrew Congregation in Washington, D.C., in 1903. His predecessor had been *ḥazzan*. Gracefully and reluctantly, Temple Israel released him from his contract.

The history of Washington Hebrew Congregation records that "Rabbi Abram Simon came to the Congregation in 1904 and dedicated his life to scholarship and community activity. The photograph of his first Confirmation class in 1905 hangs in Ades Hall and begins a long series of pictures of every Confirmation class since. Rabbi Simon was a member of the Red Cross during World War I, broadcast radio lectures, and was president of both the Board of Education in Washington as well as the Conference of Christians and Jews. After his death, the Abram Simon School, a public elementary school, served as an ongoing recognition of his contributions."

In Washington, Simon became a communal leader. In addition to the Board of Education he was a trustee and later president of the Columbia Hospital for Women and also president of the Public Library of Washington. On the national level he was president of the Central Conference of American Rabbi from 1923 to 1925, a founder and later president of the Synagogue Council of America.

He was a founding member of the Reform movement's Committee on Jewish Education. His wife, Carrie Obendorfer *Simon, whom he married in 1896, founded the National Federation of Temple Sisterhoods, which eventually reached 100,000 women in 585 chapters during her lifetime. Pam Nadell, a distinguished American Jewish historian, said: "They pledged dues to help pay down the mortgage and recessed to polish the door knobs… They were extending their roles as homemakers to the synagogue."

As the federation's founding president until 1919, Simon launched the National Committee on Religion, which boosted synagogue attendance and set up Hebrew schools. She also pushed for more women on congregation boards and temple inclusion of interfaith families. She also worked for the Jewish Baille Institute. Her husband was an early enthusiast of women's participation. Fay Sonnenreich recalled that in the 1920, with the permission of Rabbi Abram Simon, she and another young girl sat in the pulpit, held the Torah and read from it.

"I still remember the shocked expressions on the faces of the congregation," she recalled many years later. "Dr. Simon told us afterwards that the board of trustees was angry with him for permitting girls to participate in what traditionally belonged to the men. But he believed in developing the potential of each individual, and his encouragement made a lasting impact upon our lives."

Rabbi Simon wrote *A Child's Ritual* (1909); *A History of Jewish Education* (1916); and *The Principle of Jewish Education in the Past* (1909).

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[Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

SIMON, AKIBA ERNST (1899–1988), educator, religious thinker, and writer. Born in Berlin, he became an active Zionist in 1918, and co-edited *Der *Jude* with Martin *Buber, who had a decisive influence on his concept of Jewish nationalism and whom he joined in his relentless struggle for Arab-Jewish understanding. In his positive attitude to Jewish tradition he followed Franz *Rosenzweig. With a broad humanistic outlook, based on his historical and literary erudition and scholarship, he began his work as an educator in Germany and continued it, after settling in Palestine in 1928, as a teacher and co-director of secondary schools and seminaries. In 1934 he accepted Buber's call to join him in teachers' training and adult education programs for German Jewry under Nazi rule.

In 1935 Simon joined the staff of the Hebrew University, where he became professor of philosophy and history of education and, finally, director of the School of Education. He participated in Jewish education programs in various parts of the Jewish world and was a co-editor of the *Enẓiklopedyah Ḥinnukhit* ("Educational Encyclopedia"; 5 vols. 1961–66). Simon was a co-founder and board member of the Leo Baeck Institute and a contributor to its scholarly publications. He has served as a coeditor of Rosenzweig's letters and Buber's correspondence. In his religious conception Simon identified himself with the *Conservative Movement.

Simon defined his philosophy in numerous articles as a religious humanism. In his view our world is neither theocentric nor anthropocentric. It is to be looked upon not as a circle but as an elipse with two foci; God and man, bound to each other by that mutuality of correlation and tension that is meant by the concept of the Covenant. Certainly the human partner is the weaker one, but he is not nil. God has not created a perfect world, but rather has left it to man to work on its growing perfection. This activity takes on mainly two forms: politics and education, the former representing the problems in their full tragical rigor and the latter offering a modest chance of finding a way out.

In Judaism, the Covenant is realized by the Law of the Torah that forms the main link between God and His people. The *halakhah*, as a continuous dialogue between the written and oral tradition on one side and the changing reality of Israel and the world on the other side, is the classical way of translating prophetic ideas into human, individual, social, national, and international relations.

Simon was an active member of virtually every group advocating a binational state in Palestine. He was early a member of *Berit Shalom and later of the League for Jewish Arab Rapprochement. He held that the Jews must give the Arabs equal economic rights and accept Arab nationalism as valid as well as acknowledge the reality of the Arab fear of Jews.

Among Simon's writings may be mentioned *Ranke und Hegel* (1928); *Das Werturteil im Geschichtsunterricht* (1931); *Chajjim Nachman Bialik* (1935); *Aufbau im Untergang* (1934); *Mishnato shel Pestalozzi* (1962); *Bruecken* (1965); *Are We Still Jews?* (1982); *The Right to Educate, the Obligation to Educate* (1983); *Chapters in My Life* (1986); "Goethe and Religious Humanism," in: A. Bergstraesser (ed.), *Goethe and the Modern Age* (1949), 304–25; "Siegmund Freud the Jew," in YLBI, 2 (1957), 270–305; "Martin Buber and German Jewry," *ibid.*, 3 (1958), 3–39; "M. Buber the Educator," in: P.A. Schilpp and M. Friedman (eds.), *Buber* (1967), 543–76; "The Way of Law" in: A. Jospe (ed.), *Tradition and Contemporary Experience* (1970), 221–38.

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[Yehoshua Amir (Neumark)]

SIMON, ARYEH (1913–), Israeli educator. Simon was born in Mainz, Germany and studied classical languages and philosophy at Heidelberg. Immigrating to Israel in 1935, he studied education and began to teach at the *Ben Shemen youth village in 1937. He served in the Jewish Brigade of the British Army in World War II and as an officer in the Israel Defense Forces in the War of Independence. After the war he devoted himself to education and was appointed director of Ben Shemen in 1964. In 1975 he was awarded the Israel Prize for education.

SIMON, CARLY ELISABETH (1945–), New York City-born folk and pop songwriter and singer who achieved the greatest part of her success in the 1970s, when several of her songs scored high on the pop music charts. Simon is one of four children of New York publishing magnate Richard L. Simon, co-founder in 1924 of the publishing house Simon & Schuster, and non-Jewish mother Andrea. Her father was an accomplished pianist who often hosted musicians, including Richard *Rodgers, Oscar *Hammerstein, and George *Gershwin, at the family home. Simon spent two years at Sarah Lawrence College before dropping out and forming a folk duo with her sister, Lucy, singing in 1960s coffeehouses as the Simon Sisters. They recorded the children's tune "Wynken, Blinken' and Nod," presaging her later work on children's music. Her early solo career met with little success. Her first manager, Albert Grossman, asked Bob *Dylan to rewrite the song "Baby Let Me Follow You Down" for Simon, but the recording was never released. Simon's second album in 1971 resulted in a Best New Artist Grammy Award and the Top 10 hit "That's The Way I've Always Heard It Should Be." She next reached #13 on the charts with "Anticipation" (later used in a famous ketchup commercial) in 1972. The song reputedly was about her love interest at the time, singer-songwriter Cat Stevens, later Yusuf Islam. She continued to write about her celebrity lovers, who included actors Warren Beatty and Jack Nicholson, and singers Mick Jagger and Kris Kristofferson, in her biggest hit, "You're So Vain," (#1, Adult Contemporary, 1973). The subject of the song has never been publicly revealed, although Dick Ebersol, president of NBC Sports, paid $50,000 to find out the name in a charity auction in 2003. Other 1970s chart hits included, "Mockingbird," with her husband James Taylor (#5, 1974) and "Nobody Does It Better," the theme from the James Bond film *The Spy Who Loved Me* (#2, 1977), presaging her later work on film scores. Her work failed to make major dents in the pop charts in the 1980s and 1990s, but her song "Let the River Run" won the Academy Award for Best Song in 1988 for the film *Working Girl*. As her mass appeal waned, Simon turned to recording albums of pop standards and Christmas tunes, as well as continuing her confessional, folk-tinged records, but returned to regular concert tours in 2005. Her children from her marriage to Taylor, Ben and Sally, continued the family tradition as folk music singer-songwriters. Simon was ranked 28th on TV music channel VH1's 100 Greatest Women of Rock and Roll, and by 2005 had released 29 albums and had 18 Top-20 singles on the U.S. and U.K. charts. Simon, who was inducted into the Songwriters Hall of Fame in 1994, wrote five children's books: *Amy the Dancing Bear* (1989), *The Boy of the Bells* (1990), *The Fisherman's Song* (1991), *The Nighttime Chauffeur* (1993), and *Midnight Farm* (1997).

[Alan D. Abbey (2nd ed.)]

SIMON, CARRIE OBENDORFER (1872–1961), founding president of the *National Federation of Temple Sisterhoods. Born in Uniontown, Alabama, Obendorfer moved with her family to Cincinnati, Ohio, where her mother began a chapter of the *National Council of Jewish Women (NCJW) in 1895. Carrie, a graduate of the Cincinnati Conservatory of Music, served as section secretary and became familiar with new possibilities for women's public identities as Jews. After her marriage in 1896 to Hebrew Union College graduate Rabbi Abram Simon, Carrie Simon encountered many settings where she would push these possibilities in new directions.

Simon continued to advance NCJW work while living in Sacramento, where her husband took his first pulpit in 1896, and then in Omaha and Washington, D.C., where they moved in 1899 and 1904, respectively. As NCJW struggled to reconcile the differing religious approaches of its diverse membership, Simon turned her attention to local congregational work. Synagogue sisterhood organizations devoted to congregational aid first emerged in the 1890s. Simon's husband is credited with the 1903 founding of a sisterhood at Omaha's Temple Israel. Carrie Simon established the Ladies Auxiliary Society of Washington Hebrew Congregation in 1905 for the purpose of "congregational work, pure and simple, and to endeavor to establish a more congenial and social congregational spirit."

In 1913 the Union of American Hebrew Congregations (UAHC), the synagogue federation of Reform Judaism, issued a call "to all ladies' organizations connected with congregations" to send delegates to Cincinnati "for the purpose of organizing a Federation of Temple Sisterhoods." Simon's work in organizing the meeting, attended by 156 delegates from 52 congregations (mainly the wives of delegates to the concurrent UAHC convention), was recognized in her election as president of the newly formed National Federation of Temple Sisterhoods (NFTS).

The new organization galvanized women in hundreds of Reform congregations. New sisterhoods were formed and many existing groups were revolutionized. The Ladies Auxiliary at Simon's own congregation renamed itself a Sisterhood and moved from holding occasional synagogue fundraisers to transforming the synagogue into a true social center. Simon's new role turned her into a speaker in demand across the country. She insisted that "there was no militancy" involved when she filled a pulpit; it simply represented "recognition accorded to the sisterhood."

NFTS grew quickly under her leadership, introducing thousands of women to unaccustomed public roles within the Jewish community. Simon was often one of a very few women representatives in national and international gatherings of Jewish leaders. She retired as NFTS president in 1919, but remained active in the organization as honorary president for the rest of her life.

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[Karla Goldman (2nd ed.)]

SIMON, ERNST (1902–1973), Israeli biochemist. Simon was born in Berlin and received his education at the universities of Munich, Jena, and Berlin. In 1925, he was appointed research assistant at the Kaiser Wilhelm Institute of Biochemistry in Berlin, where he remained until Hitler's rise to power in 1933, when he moved to Paris and joined the Institute of Biological Physicochemistry there. He immigrated to Ereẓ Israel in 1935, joining the Daniel Sieff Research Institute, the forerunner of the Weizmann Institute of Science, a few months after its foundation, and remained at the Weizmann Institute until his death. He spent his early years there working closely with Weizmann on problems of fermentation, but was best known in later years for his pioneering studies on the mechanism of diabetes, carried out in the department of biodynamics.

SIMON, SIR FRANCIS EUGENE (1893–1956), physicist. Simon, who was born in Berlin, served through World War I and was awarded the Iron Cross for distinguished service. After the war he continued at Berlin University and became research assistant to the German chemist Walter Herman Nernst (1864–1941), as well as a lecturer on low-temperature physics. In 1931 he became professor and director of the laboratory for physical chemistry at the Technische Hochschule in Breslau. In 1933 Simon was invited to the Clarendon Laboratory in Oxford, where he built up one of the foremost low-temperature laboratories in the world. In 1935 Simon was appointed university reader (later to occupy a chair specially created in 1946) in thermodynamics. During World War II, he was responsible for some key research on an aspect of the manufacture of the atom bomb, although he was classified as an "enemy alien." In 1941 he was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society.

Simon was a vigorous campaigner for the proper use of science, the avoidance of waste, and the utilization of scientists in public affairs. From 1948 to 1951 he was scientific correspondent of the *Financial Times*. He was knighted in 1955.

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[J. Edwin Holmstrom]

SIMON, HEINRICH (1880–1941), German journalist and editor. Simon was the eldest son of Felix Simon, owner of *Koenigsberger Allgemeine Zeitung*, and Therese, whose father, Leopold Sonnemann, had founded the *Frankfurter Zeitung*. The family ran both papers. Baptized as a child, Simon later left the Church but never formally returned to Judaism. He studied philosophy, art history, and economics in Berlin, Freiburg/Breisgau, and Erlangen. In 1905 he earned his doctorate with a work on Novalis. Simon joined the *Frankfurter Zeitung* in 1906 and eventually controlled its liberal editorial policy. In 1931 he wrote Sonnemann's biography. Forced to resign from his post, Simon immigrated to Palestine via Paris in 1934. He was a friend of *Huberman and first manager in 1936 of the Palestine Symphony Orchestra. In 1939 he retired and went to the U.S. His murder in Washington, in 1941, remains an unsolved mystery.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Frankfurter Zeitung und Handelsblatt* 76, No. 805–7 (1931); E. Kahn, in: LBIYB, 2 (1957), 228–35; E. Feder, *Heute sprach ich mit…* (1971), index; BHDE, 1 (1980), 700; B. von der Luehe, *Die Musik war unsere Rettung* (1998), index; NDB 22 (2005), 719*.

[Johannes Valentin Schwarz (2nd ed.)]

SIMON, HERBERT ALEXANDER (1916–2001), U.S. political scientist; authority on public administration, Nobel laureate. Born in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, Simon received his Ph.D. in political science from the University of Chicago (1943). In 1949 he was appointed professor of computer science and psychology at Carnegie-Mellon University in Pittsburgh, where he founded the Department of Computer Science. He remained at the university for his entire career. In his principal treatise on public administration, *Administrative Behavior* (1947), Simon discussed the position of the individual in the administration process and the psychological mechanisms that influence and condition his behavior. He laid down principles for the scientific study of public administration in a technological society and rejected the preexisting principles of public administration as mere "proverbs" or summaries of crude homely wisdom. In 1978 Simon was awarded the Nobel Prize for economics, for his pioneering research into the decision-making process within economic organizations. He is also considered a pioneer in the development of computer artificial intelligence.

Simon's other works include *Organizations* (1958), of which he was co-author; *The New Science of Management Decision* (1960); *The Shape of Automation for Men and Management* (1965); *Representation and Meaning* (1972); *The Sciences of the Artificial* (1981); *Scientific Discovery* (1987); *Models of Thought* (1989); and *Models of My Life* (1992).

ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY: P. Earl (ed.), *The Legacy of Herbert Simon in Economic Analysis* (2001); J. March (ed.), *Models of a Man: Essays in Memory of Herbert A. Simon* (2004); H. Crowther-Heyck, *Herbert A. Simon: The Bounds of Reason in Modern America* (2005).

[Nimrod Raphaeli / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

SIMON, JAMES (1851–1932), German commercial magnate and philanthropist. After completing high school Simon joined his family's flourishing textile firm, Gebrueder Simon, which under his management became one of the largest firms in the world – boasting 40 to 50 million marks profits annually before World War I. Simon became an art collector and patron on a large scale, his largest donation being one of 350 items of Renaissance and Gothic art to the Neues Deutsches Museum in 1920. Ironically, his firm was at the same time in serious economic difficulties caused by the postwar crisis. These difficulties, compounded by his business integrity in a time of economic inflation, eventually caused the decline and bankruptcy (1931) of his firm. With his friend Paul *Nathan, Simon helped found the *Hilfsverein der deutschen Juden (1901), whose chairman he remained until his death. He helped to finance many of its activities, in particular by a 100,000 mark donation for the Haifa *Technion and support of vocational and manual training programs for East European Jews. Another of his achievements was helping to found the Deutsche Orientgesellschaft, which established the reputation of German Orientalists and archaeologists. Simon personally largely financed the excavations of Jericho and Tell el-Amarna.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: E. Feder, in: YLBI, 10 (1965), 3–23; U. Steinmann, *ibid.*, 13 (1968), 277–82.

[Reuven Michael]

SIMON, JEAN HENRI (1752–1834), engraver. Born in Brussels, the son of a seal engraver, Jacob Simon, Simon worked as early as 1767 as a gem engraver for Prince Charles of Lorraine. Moving to Paris, he became an engraver to Louis XVI. He held this position until 1792, when he joined the forces of the French Republic and became a lieutenant colonel in the Republican army. Falsely accused of treason, he fled France and worked as an engraver to the court of Spain. Simon returned with the advent of Napoleon and, after being twice wounded when a colonel in a regiment of lancers, he left the army and was appointed an engraver to the cabinet of Napoleon and engraver of title seals to the empress Josephine. He returned to Brussels after the fall of Napoleon and became engraver to King William I of the Netherlands. The medal production of Simon, though not as well known as his gem engraving, is also extraordinary. The Hague Museum has a fine collection of some two dozen of his medals. Simon engraved a series of 100 medals of illustrious men of the Low Countries. His two brothers, MAYER SIMON (1764–1821), better known as Simon de Paris, and SAMUEL SIMON (b. 1760) had distinguished careers as engravers, as did JEAN MARIE AMABLE SIMON, his son.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: D.M. Friedenberg, in: *The Numismatist* (July 1969), 896–7.

[Daniel M. Friedenberg]

SIMON, SIR JOHN (1818–1897), English lawyer and politician. Simon was the first Jew to practice at the common law bar and exercise the functions of a judge. Born in Jamaica, the son of a merchant, Simon went to England in 1833, graduated from London University in 1841, and was called to the bar a year later. After practicing in Jamaica for two years he returned to England, where he quickly won distinction in the courts. In 1858 he was junior counsel in the state trial following the Orsini conspiracy, a cause célèbre surrounding the attempted assassination of Napoleon III, and in the same year became an assistant to the judges of the county courts. He was later appointed president of the City of London court and became a sergeant-at-law in 1864 and a queen's counsel in January 1868. From 1868 until 1888 Simon was Liberal member of Parliament for Dewsbury. In the House of Commons he availed himself of every opportunity to champion the cause of oppressed Jewry throughout the world, and his efforts to arouse public opinion against the Russian pogroms led the lord mayor of London to convene a public meeting at Guildhall to register British indignation at the czarist persecution of Jews. His devotion to the Jewish cause in parliament led him to be known as "the member for Jewry." Simon was a founder of the Anglo-Jewish Association and a member of the Reform Synagogue. He was not related to either of the other prominent non-Jewish men with the same name as his, the Victorian surgeon and officer of health (1816–1904) or the barrister and cabinet minister (1873–1954), with whom he is sometimes confused. His son OSWALD JOHN SIMON (1855–1932) followed in his father's footsteps and continued to draw the attention of the British public to the plight of East European Jewry.

ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY: ODNB online.

SIMON, JOSEPH (c. 1712–1804), pioneer U.S. merchant and land speculator. Simon, whose birthplace is unknown, lived in Lancaster, Pennsylvania, in 1732 and opened a general store. His business prospered, and he began to trade with Indians, accepting land in payment for his goods. In addition, the colony of Virginia granted Simon large tracts of land in the area which is now Kentucky. As his holdings were valueless while they remained vacant, Simon encouraged settlement by establishing a network of traders to supply the inhabitants of the backcountry with the goods they required. During the French and Indian War, Simon supplied General Braddock's army, and during the Revolution he performed the same service for General Washington.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Rosenbloom, Biogr Dict, 159.

[Neil Ovadia]

SIMON, JOSEPH (1844–1915), Hungarian lawyer, secretary of the national council of Hungarian Jews. Born in Kapocs, he became a member and secretary of the Hungarian Jewish Congress of 1868–69, and from 1871 directed the National Council of Hungarian Jews (the *Neologist trend), a position he held through 25 years of stormy conflict. Simon first launched the struggle for opening a rabbinical seminary in 1877. He took up the defense for the accused during the *Tiszaeszlar blood libel case in 1882, and played an active role in the struggle for official recognition of the Jewish religion. Simon initiated a scholarship fund for needy Jewish students in institutions of higher learning, and organized a pension and relief scheme for families of the communal employees. He was among the founders of the Hungarian scholarly periodical *Magyar Zsidó Szemle* and the Jewish literary society Israelita Magyar Irodalmi Társulat (IMIT).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: M. Eisler, in: IMIT (1916), 226–37; L. Venetianer, *A Magyar Zsidóság története* (1922), 304–6; S.K. Endrei, in: *Magyar Zsidó Szemle*, 44 (1927), 230–4; L. Blau, *ibid.*, 50 (1933), 186–7.

[Jeno Zsoldos]

SIMON, JULIUS (1875–1969), Zionist leader and economist. Simon was born in Mannheim, Germany but was an American citizen because his father had participated in the American Civil War. At the height of his economic activities in Germany, particularly in banking, Simon became associated with the Zionist movement, especially after the "practical" Zionist trend began to prevail (1911). During World War I he engaged in banking in Switzerland and Alsace and became associated with the management of the *Jewish National Fund and its director, Nehemia de *Lieme, with whom he worked on its behalf in The Hague. After World War I he was invited by Chaim Weizmann to direct the economic activities of the Zionist Organization and devise economic plans for the period following the Balfour Declaration. It was then that he began to identify with the economic ideas expounded by the U.S. Zionists under the leadership of Louis D. *Brandeis. At the Zionist Conference in London, in July 1920, this group succeeded in appointing him to the Zionist Executive. Together with de Lieme and Robert Szold, he was sent to Palestine (November–December 1920) for the purpose of reorganizing the activities of the Zionist Organization. The report published by this committee (1921), with its scathing criticism of the work of the Zionist Organization and the Zionist Commission, aroused the opposition of Weizmann and the labor sector, as well as that of European Zionists. Its conclusions were not endorsed by the 12th Congress (1921), and Simon and the Brandeis group resigned from their posts in the Zionist Organization. They continued, however, to engage in economic activities in Palestine.

Between the two world wars Simon lived for a time in Jerusalem and later in the United States. He headed the *Palestine Economic Corporation, which played a prominent role in various economic projects in Palestine and remained active in economics until his death. His writings included *Die Juden und die Gebildeten unserer Tage* ("The Jews and the Educated of Our Days," 1916) and *Preparatory Steps for the Jewish Colonization of Palestine* (n.d.).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: R. Weltsch, in: MB (Sept. 7, 1945).

[Getzel Kressel]

SIMON, KATE (1912–1990), U.S. memoirist and travel writer. Born in Warsaw as Kaila Grobsmith to David and Lonia (Babicz) Grobsmith, Simon immigrated to New York City at the age of four with her mother and brother, joining her father, a cobbler, who had arrived three years earlier. Married twice, Simon wrote under the name of her second husband, Robert Simon, from whom she was divorced in 1960.

Simon received a B.A. from Hunter College and held various editorial positions. Her first book, *New York Places and Pleasures* (1959), written in a lively style and filled with little-known facts and unusual destinations, remains a classic guide to New York City. Simon wrote similar highly popular travel guides to Italy, London, Mexico, and Paris in the *Places and Pleasures* series between 1963 and 1978.

Simon's three memoirs, *Bronx Primitive: Portraits in a Childhood* (1982), *A Wider World: Portraits of an Adolescence* (1986), and *Etchings in an Hourglass* (1990), describe her childhood, youth, and adulthood, recounting her intellectual and social journey from the confines of a poor, ethnically mixed neighborhood to a cosmopolitan life of adventuresome travel. Simon's autobiographical writings bring a strong and unsentimental feminist focus to the Jewish immigrant experience. They are unusual in their frank depictions of such topics as sexuality and its ramifications, including child molestation and the lack of reliable birth control methods; familial discord; abandonment of religious tradition; her involvement in left wing politics; and the personal tragedies Simon experienced, including the deaths of her first husband, her daughter, and her sister from brain tumors, and the failure of her second marriage in the late 1950s.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: "Simon, Kate," in: *Encyclopedia Britannica*; M. Galchinsky. "Simon, Kate," in: P.E. Hyman and D.D. Moore (eds.), *Jewish Women in America*, vol. 2 (1997), 1261–62.

[Judith R. Baskin (2nd ed.)]

SIMON, SIR LEON (1881–1965), English Zionist leader, Hebrew writer, and British civil servant. Born in Southampton and educated at Manchester Grammar School and Oxford, in 1904 Simon entered the service of the General Post Office, becoming director of telegraphs and telephones (1931–35) and director of the savings bank (1935–44). For his services, he was knighted in 1944. Simon received a Jewish and Hebrew education from his father, a Manchester rabbi. He was particularly influenced by *Aḥad Ha-Am, who settled in London in 1907. He was also a member of the group of Zionists who were influenced by Chaim *Weizmann and supported his political efforts during World War I that led to the *Balfour Declaration (the Hebrew version of the Declaration was written by Simon). Simon was a member of the *Zionist Commission that visited Palestine in 1918 and took part in laying the cornerstone of the Hebrew University in Jerusalem. Later he served as chairman of the university's Executive Council (1946–49) and Board of Governors (1950–53). In 1945–46 he was a member of the Commission of Inquiry into Jewish Education in Palestine, on behalf of the British government. The only Jew on the commission, Simon objected to the conclusion that English should be the language of instruction in higher education. He lived in Jerusalem from 1946 to 1953; during that period he also worked in the Israeli Ministry of Posts, laying the plans for the post office bank (1950–53). After his return to England, he continued his association with several cultural projects in Israel.

Simon was a brilliant writer in both English and Hebrew. He published essays and articles in English on Zionism and Hebrew culture and literature. Some of his essays were collected in *Studies in Jewish Nationalism* (1920). He edited the anthology *Aspects of The Hebrew Genius: Essays on Jewish Literature and Thought* (1910) and wrote *The Case of the Anti-Zionists: A Reply* (1917) and *Zionism and the Jewish Problem* (1918). Together with Leonard Stein, he edited *Awakening Palestine* (1923). Simon's main work in English is his translation of Aḥad Ha-Am's writings, which were first published in journals and later in books (a list of translations and their editions is to be found in Goell, Bibliography, 83–84). In collaboration with J. Heller, Simon wrote a book entitled *Aḥad Ha-Am: Asher Ginzburg* (Heb., 1955; Eng., 1960), and together with I. Pograbinski he edited the second edition of Aḥad Ha-Am's letters (6 vols., 1956–60).

From 1910 Simon began to publish a series of essays in Hebrew on Greek literature (the first of their kind in Hebrew) in *Ha-Shilo'aḥ*. They were later collected (1951) in his book *Perakim be-Sifrut Yavan ha-Attikah* ("Chapters on Ancient Greek Literature," 1951). He also translated into Hebrew seven of Plato's *Dialogues*, the *Memoirs* of Xenophon, and *On Liberty* by John Stuart Mill. On his 80th birthday, an anthology, *Eshkolot*, dedicated to the study of classical culture and including a bibliography by Ḥaim Toren (4th vol., 1960), was published in his honor.

[Getzel Kressel]

His brother, MAURICE SIMON (1874–1955), a Hebraist and translator, was born in Manchester. Because of a breakdown in health, Simon lived in South Africa for a while. Later he became associated with the work of the Soncino Press, founded in London by his relative J. Davidson, and was cotranslator (into English) of the *Zohar* (1931–34) and *Midrash Rabbah* (1939). He also cooperated in the Soncino translation of the Talmud (1935–52) and its Minor Tractates (1965). Simon edited the *Speeches, Articles and Letters of Israel Zangwill* (1937) and was coeditor of the *Essays and Addresses, by Samuel Daiches* (1955). He also wrote *Jewish Religious Conflicts* (1950) and numerous short studies in periodicals and reviews.

[Ruth P. Lehmann]

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Kressel, Leksikon, 2 (1967), 497f.

SIMON, NEIL (1927–), U.S. playwright. After working for television, Simon wrote his first successful comedy, *Come Blow Your Horn* (1961), which was followed by the book for the musical *Little Me* (1962), *Barefoot in the Park* (1963), *The Odd Couple* (1965), *Sweet Charity* (1966), and *Plaza Suite* (1968). Some of these were successfully adapted for the screen.

Simon's play, *God's Favorite* (1975), based on the Book of Job, in which a "messenger from God" announces to a successful cardboard box manufacturer that his faith in God is to be put to test, was widely acclaimed.

Very often, Simon bases his plays on autobiographical experiences and observations. Three plays from the 1980s, sometimes referred to as the "Eugene Trilogy," parallel the growth of Simon from teenager to successful writer. *Brighton Beach Memoirs* (1984) centers on Eugene Jerome, a Jewish adolescent growing up in 1930s Brooklyn. The characters, particularly Eugene's family, are taken from Simon's own childhood memories; Stanley, the brother whom Eugene idolizes, is based on Simon's brother Danny. *Biloxi Blues* (1986) follows Eugene's experience in army basic training during World War II. Away from his family and his Brooklyn neighborhood, he is confronted with fellow trainees from a variety of locales and backgrounds. Eugene also finds time to fall in love, lose his virginity, and confront an apparently psychotic drill instructor. In short, he grows up in this play. *Broadway Bound* (1987) relates Eugene and Stanley's attempt to break into comedy writing. The dissolution of their parents' marriage becomes fodder for their comedy sketches. At the end of the play, Eugene leaves home when his writing career takes flight, the boy at last becoming a man.

He wrote more comedies, among them *The Prisoner of Second Avenue* (1972), *The Sunshine Boys* (1973), *The Good Doctor* (1974), *Rumors* (1990), *Jake's Women* (1993), and *Laughter on the 23rd Floor* (1995), a play based on his time as one of Sid Caesar's television comedy writers. His *Plaza Suite* (1971) and *Chapter Two* (1979) were made into films, as were *The Prisoner of Second Avenue* (1975) and *The Sunshine Boys* (1975). He wrote the screenplay for *The Odd Couple II* (1998), a sequel to his play. His other writing includes the memoirs *Rewrites* (1996) and *The Play Goes On* (1999).

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[Robert L. DelBane (2nd ed.)]

SIMON, NORTON (1907–1993), U.S. industrialist. Simon was born in Portland, Oregon. His business career began in 1932 when he bought a small food-packing plant. He developed his company into Hunt Foods Inc., which by 1943 had become one of the largest food-processing businesses on the West Coast. From this modest start, he developed a rapidly expanding diversified industrial complex, the holding company Norton Simon Inc., which included food processing and packaging, container manufacturing, soft drink industries, printing, and publishing, such as McCalls Publishing, *The Saturday Review of Literature*, Max Factor, Canada Dry, and Avis Car Rental. In 1969 Simon resigned as director and finance committee member of the holding company to concentrate on his cultural and educational interests through several foundations, mainly established to acquire and display works of art, to provide scholarships, and to support various charities. One major program of the foundations was the loan of art to public museums and universities. The *Duveen collection is centered on the Old Masters; other collections include paintings, drawings, and sculpture of the 19th and 20th centuries.

In 1974, seeking a permanent home for his collection, he was approached by the Pasadena Museum of Modern Art, of which he ultimately assumed control and the naming rights. Today, the Norton Simon Museum of Art in Pasadena has an extensive permanent collection of Western and Asian art, and promotes art education through special exhibitions, tours, and lectures.

Simon was married to actress Jennifer Jones from 1971.

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[Joachim O. Ronall / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

SIMON, PAUL FREDERIC (1941–), U.S. pop and folk music songwriter known both for his collaboration with childhood friend Arthur ("Art") *Garfunkel and for three decades of solo albums; member of the Rock and Roll Hall of Fame. Simon was born in Newark, N.J., to Belle and Louis, a professional bassist who performed in television orchestras. The family relocated to Queens, New York, when Simon was in grade school, where he met Garfunkel. In 1957, Simon and Garfunkel were performing together as "Tom and Jerry," concerned that their real names sounded too Jewish, and recorded a minor hit song, "Hey Schoolgirl." Simon attended Queens College, where he earned a degree in English literature but spent a great deal of time on the fringes of New York's Brill Building songwriting scene. In 1964 Simon left for London to escape the insular New York folk music scene, which was dominated by Bob *Dylan. Simon maintained an antipathy to Dylan for decades, only resolving it with a joint tour in 1999. Simon and Garfunkel reunited in 1964 and helped create the wave of "folk rock" music. A version of "The Sound of Silence" from their first album, *Wednesday Morning 3 A.M.*, with electric guitar, bass, and drums, hit No. 1 on the pop charts. They followed up with a string of albums and songs that heralded the era of politically influenced, confessional singers, including *Parsley, Sage, Rosemary & Thyme* (1966), and the soundtrack of the 1967 film *The Graduate* (starring Dustin *Hoffman and Anne Bancroft), with the multiple Grammy-winning song, "Mrs. Robinson." *Bridge Over Troubled Water* (1970), Simon and Garfunkel's final album together, was their biggest hit. The gospel-influenced title song presaged the 1970s' search for spiritual tranquility following the turbulent 1960s, and spent six weeks at #1. The album included three other Top-20 hits: "El Condor Pasa" (#18), "Cecilia" (#4), and "The Boxer" (#7), and won eight Grammy Awards. The duo split after that, but periodically returned to tour together, including a 2004 concert at Rome's Colosseum that drew 600,000. Simon recorded successful solo albums in the 1970s, peaking with *Still Crazy After All These Years* (1975), which topped the charts, won the Grammy for Album of the Year, and included his only solo No. 1 single, "50 Ways to Leave Your Lover." In 1986 Simon released *Graceland*, which brought African music into the mainstream and paid homage to rock pioneer and early influence Elvis Presley in the title track about Presley's home, Graceland. It featured South African artists and rhythms and presaged the fall of that country's apartheid regime, but was criticized for abetting the white-led government. *Graceland* became Simon's biggest-selling solo album, and was named the Album of the Year. By 2005, Simon had released 41 albums including reissues, and placed nine solo tunes in the Top 20. Simon and Garfunkel had placed seven songs in the Top 10, including three No. 1 hits. Like many American Jewish songwriters, Simon rarely made overt reference to his religion or background. In his 1983 album *Hearts and Bones*, which chronicles the breakup of his marriage to half-Jewish actress Carrie *Fisher, Simon referred to "one and one half wandering Jews." He and Garfunkel were named to the Rock and Roll Hall of Fame in 1991, and Simon went in on his own in 2000. He received Kennedy Center Honors in 2002. Simon appeared in the 1977 Woody *Allen film *Annie Hall*.

[Alan D. Abbey (2nd ed.)]

SIMON, PIERRE (1925–), French physician and politician. Simon was born to a typical Jewish family from Alsace-Lorraine in which rationalism and tradition were combined. After World War II, he engaged in the two domains of gynecology and endocrinology in which the status and representation of women and life are implied. In 1953, he brought to France from the U.S.S.R. new obstetrical methods of painless childbirth, violently criticized at the times both by the church and the right-wing medical establishment. Despite the fact that in the France of the 1950s regulating birth was still a religious question, Simon introduced contraceptive methods, and notably the intra-uterine device which he named "stérilet." In 1956, he was active in the foundation of French Family Planning, which was aimed at educating medical staff in scientific innovations and progressive ideas regarding childbirth. Gaining the support at first of teachers and Protestants, Family Planning had to overcome the strong opposition of the Communist Party and of the right wing and Church representatives. The fight for contraceptive methods was then linked to political commitment, since the French law of July 1920 criminalized abortion as well as birth control promotion. In 1951, Simon created the Jacobin Club with Ch. Hernu, of the Radical Party, and conducted a public debate at the Commissariat au Plan. Taking into account the fact that French society was not yet ready to accept the idea of birth control, his first struggle was to dissociate the notions of abortion and birth control. In this regard, his *Contrôle des Naissances, Histoire, philosophie, morale* (1966) was a success, since it led to the passing, in 1967, of the so-called Neuwirth Law, legalizing contraceptive methods in France. He gained support from the Freemasons, in which he was active, and served as a member of several government cabinets. Author of the *Simon Report* about the French attitudes toward sexuality, known as the "French Kinsey" (1971), Simon was the first to conjoin sociological approaches and political thought in order to rethink sexuality. The legalization of abortion, by the so-called "Veil Law" (see Simone *Veil) enacted in 1975 was the realization of his efforts. As a Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of France (1969–71; 1973–75), Simon initiated a dialogue between the Catholic Church and Masonry – which had previously been anathematized by the Church. During the 1980s he pursued the fight for his ideals and was active in favor of the methods of artificial reproduction, simultaneously involving himself in the rethinking of the period of the end of life in the movement for the "right to die with dignity."

Among other books, he wrote *Rapport sur le comportement sexuel des Français* (1971), *De la vie avant toute chose* (1979), and *La Franc-Maçonnerie* (1997).

[Perrine Simon-Nahum (2nd ed.)]

SIMON, RALPH (1906–1996), U.S. Conservative rabbi. Simon was born in Newark, New Jersey, and received his B.A. from New York's City College in 1927. In 1931, he was ordained at the *Jewish Theological Seminary, and served as rabbi of Congregation Rodef Shalom in Johnstown, Pennsylvania (1931–36), and the Jewish Center of Jackson Heights in Queens, New York (1937–43). He was appointed rabbi of Congregation Rodfei Zedek in Hyde Park, Illinois (1943–1996; emeritus in 1987). Under Simon's leadership, Rodfei Zedek became one of the leading Conservative synagogues in metropolitan Chicago, boasting a Hebrew high school and model adult education institute. Simon served as president of the Chicago Board of Rabbis (1952–54), on the Board of Directors of the Jewish Federation of Metropolitan Chicago (1954–66), and as general chairman of Metropolitan Chicago's Israel Bonds Organization (1965–66). He was also vice chairman of the Illinois Board of Mental Health Commissioners (1955–62) and a member of the Chicago Commission on Human Resources (1958–71) and the Chicago Youth Welfare Commission (1956–63).

Simon is credited with one of the greatest initiatives of Conservative Judaism: the establishment of the first Camp *Ramah, in Wisconsin in 1947, the progenitor of a series of Hebrew-speaking, religiously oriented summer camps operating under the auspices of the Conservative movement. In 1968, he was elected president of the *Rabbinical Assembly (1968–70), where he worked to strengthen the Masorati movement in Israel and launched a program for the conversion of non-Jewish spouses of intermarried couples. He also brought his ecumenical activism as former president of the multi-racial Hyde Park–Kenwood Interfaith Council to the national post, inviting the still-controversial Martin Luther King to address the RA. In 1974, he was nominated to the Board of Directors of the *World Council of Synagogues.

Simon wrote *The Talmud for Every Jew* (1942) for the National Academy of Adult Jewish Studies and *Challenges and Responses,* a collection of his sermons (1985). His son Matthew was also a Conservative rabbi of B'nai Israel in Rockville, Maryland.

[Bezalel Gordon (2nd ed.)]

°**SIMON, RICHARD** (1638–1721), Catholic priest of the Oratorians Order. Simon first became interested in the Jews of his day while studying Hebrew at the Sorbonne. In order to further his studies, particularly in rabbinic literature, he established a friendship with an Italian Jew, a tobacco merchant named Jonah Salvador, even planning to cooperate with him in translating the Talmud. When Salvador informed him about the persecution of the Jews of *Metz resulting from the blood libel raised against Raphael Lévi, Simon came to their defense in his *Factum servant de réponse au Livre intitulé: Abrégé procès fait aux Juifs de Metz* (1670), a work which was widely circulated. Refuting the libel, the author recalled that Christians too had been the victims of similar accusations and that the popes themselves had come to the defense of the Jews on this account. On one occasion he demonstrated his solidarity with persecuted Jews of his day by signing a questionnaire for the Oratory as R. Simeon b. Joachim. Later, in his introduction to *Cérémonies et coûtumes qui s'observent aujourd'hui parmi les juifs* (Paris, 1674), his translation of Leone *Modena's *Historia dei riti ebraici*, Simon declared that it is impossible to understand the Christian religion without some instruction in that of the Jews, on which it was patterned. He published a supplement to this work in 1681, entitled *Comparaison des cérémonies des juifs et de la discipline de l'Eglise*. Between these two books he published his major work, *Histoire critique du Vieux Testament* (Paris, 1678), which gave rise to a storm of controversy. Simon was expelled from the Oratory and virtually the whole edition of *Histoire critique* was destroyed. In this book he relied to a great extent on the orientalist Gaulmin, one of the leading Christian scholars of talmudic and rabbinic literature in his day, although subsequently, and unjustly, almost completely forgotten. Simon was even more severe than Gaulmin in his strictures on Jewish writers, and in his later work, *Histoire critique des principaux commentateurs du Nouveau Testament* (Rotterdam, 1692), he was equally harsh in his attacks on hallowed Church doctrines. Simon s other works bear further witness to his scholarship, his insight into biblical criticism, and his fearlessness of controversial topics.

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[Bernhard Blumenkranz]

SIMON, SHLOME (1895–1970), Yiddish educator and children's author. Born in Kalinkovichi (Belorussia), Simon had a traditional education and worked as a village *melammed* before immigrating to the U.S. in 1913. After working in various jobs and serving in the army during World War I, he taught in Hebrew schools and became a dentist. Extensively active in Jewish education, for 15 years he was president of the Sholem Aleichem Folk Institute, edited the Yiddish children's magazine *Kinder-Zhurnal*, published extensively on Yiddish folklore, the Bible, and Jewish problems in Yiddish periodicals throughout Europe and North America, and wrote numerous children's books in Yiddish (some translated into English by his son, David), among them *Vortslen* (*My Jewish Roots*, 1956), *Tsvaygn* (*In the Thicket*, 1960), *Di Heldn fun Khelm* (*The Wise Men of Chelm*, 1942), and *Kluge Hent* ("Clever Hands," 1973)

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[Sol Liptzin / Jerold C. Frakes (2nd ed.)]

SIMON, SIDNEY (1917–1997), U.S. painter, sculptor, educator. Born in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, Simon studied at the Art Students League, the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Art, and the Carnegie Institute. During the Depression, Simon executed murals for the Federal Arts Project. While a second lieutenant in World War II, he served as an official war artist, observing and depicting action in the Southwest Pacific theater, including New Guinea and the Phillippines. He was one of three artists appointed to the headquarters of Gen. Douglas MacArthur. His composition *USS Missouri* depicts an assembly of troops on the surface of an aircraft carrier, in the midst of combat. Simon underscores the moment's tension and energy by accelerating the viewer's gaze through the composition along two strong diagonal axes, one formed by the protruding gun turrets. After the war, Simon developed a successful career as a painter and sculptor. In 1960 he turned completely to sculpture; his work from this period demonstrates a range of styles, from classical realism to pop assemblage. The artist's 1961 assemblage *Kiosk* shows Simon appropriating motifs from his contemporaries Jasper Johns and Robert Rauschenberg, specifically in the introduction of letters in addition to reference to the human figure; in this wood construction, Simon situates a figure made of maplewood typeset (which never coheres into any words) behind a structure recalling a newspaper stand. The figure is framed by rectangular objects hanging diagonally (also fashioned of type), as magazines might be displayed. Simon executed many commissions including the entrance sculpture to the 747 Building (1972), New York, the West Point Jewish Chapel (1985), and the Graham Building, Philadelphia (1986). He obtained numerous prizes throughout his career, including the Greer Prize (1983), the National Academy of Design Award, the Adna Silver Medal, and the National Arts Club Award (1982). With artists Henry Varnum Poor, Charles Cutler, and Willard Cummings, he founded the Skowhegan School of Painting and Sculpture. His work has been exhibited at the Corcoran Gallery, the Museum of Modern Art, the National Gallery of Art, and the Whitney Museum, among other venues. The Corcoran Gallery, the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York University, and the United States Air Force all own examples of his work.

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[Nancy Buchwald (2nd ed.)]

SIMON, TAMÁS (1935–1956), Hungarian poet and playwright. His poetic novel *Don Juan* interpreted the famous story in a Jewish setting. After great suffering, he committed suicide.

SIMONA (sixth century), Babylonian *savora*. Simona was the head of the Pumbedita academy during the second savoraic generation. He was a contemporary of R. Eina, the head of Sura Academy (*Iggeret R. Sherira* ed. by Lewin p. 99). The two rabbis were responsible for additional notes to the Talmud (*ibid.*, 71). *Seder Tanna'im ve-Amora'im* gives the name of Simona's colleague as R. Giza and states: "They (Giza and Simona) did not add to or expand anything, but introduced paragraphing into everything taught." In addition, they divided the discussions in the Talmud according to the individual *mishnayot* and inserted opening phrases from the Mishnah in the talmudic discussions – a device which is lacking in the Jerusalem Talmud. *Seder Tana'im ve-Amora'im* praises the two rabbis very highly, saying that "by their merit heaven and earth were created," and with them the activity of the **savoraim* ended.

[Arie Strikovsky]

SIMONE, ANDRÉ (**Otto Katz**; 1895–1952), Czech journalist and Communist activist. Born into a bourgeois German family, he became a Communist in his youth, contributing regularly to the Communist press in Czechoslovakia and later in Germany. He joined the KPD in 1922, when he moved to Berlin to work for the publishing house of Leopold Schwarzschild. Siding with L. *Trotsky, he left the party in 1926. Beginning in 1927, he worked for the German theater director Erwin Piscator and, starting in 1929, in close cooperation with Willi Muenzenberg (1889–1940), for the Universum library of the Internationale Arbeiterhilfe (IAH). In 1930 Katz escaped a tax trial, leaving for Moscow, where he managed the Mežrabpom film company. When Hitler came to power in 1933, Katz was called to Paris to support Muenzenberg in his anti-Fascist work. From 1936 to 1939, Katz was involved in the Spanish Civil War, leading the Republican press agency "Agence d'Espagne" in Paris under his assumed name André Simone. In 1938, he joined the editorial staff of *L'Ordre*. After the outbreak of World War II he escaped to the United States and, in the summer of 1940, went on to Mexico. There he was among the founders of the Mexican branch of the KPD, the journal *Freies Deutschland*, and the publishing house El Libro Libre. In 1942, however, he worked as an advisor for the Latin American trade union, and in 1944 became an editorial staff member of the pro-Zionist *Tribuna Israelitica*. Returning to Prague in 1946, he was readmitted to the Communist party and was appointed foreign affairs editor of the party organ *Rudé Právo* and editor of the political review *Svetové rozhledy* ("World Views"). In the *Slánský trial in 1952, he was among those accused of "Trotskyite-Titoist-Zionist" activities, sentenced to death, and executed. In 1963, Simone was fully rehabilitated and in 1968 was posthumously awarded the Order of the Czech Republic. Among his works are *Neun Männer im Eis* (1929), *Das Braune Netz* (1935), *Spione und Verschwörer in Spanien* (1936), *J'accuse. The men who betrayed France* (1940), *Men of Europe* (1941), and *La batalla de Rusia* (1943).

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[Avigdor Dagan / Johannes Valentin Schwarz (2nd ed.)]

SIMONS, JAMES H. (1938–), U.S. mathematician, hedge-fund owner. A graduate of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Jim Simons earned a doctorate in mathematics from the University of California at Berkeley. From 1961 to 1964 he taught mathematics at MIT and Harvard University. In 1968 he became chairman of the math department at the State University of New York at Stony Brook. Simons was also a crypt analyst, or code breaker, and did important work in mathematics that helped lay the foundation for string theory. In the late 1970s he left academia to run a fund that traded in commodities and financial instruments on a discretionary basis. Over the next quarter of a century, his company, Renaissance Technologies, which uses computer-based models to predict price changes in easily traded financial instruments, was at the forefront of research in mathematics and economic analysis. Renaissance's models were based on analyzing as much data as can be gathered, then looking for nonrandom movements to make predictions. In 2006, Renaissance managed over $5 billion of hedge fund assets on which, over the previous 10 years, the compounded return was approximately 40 percent. Renaissance Technologies' Hedge Fund, the Medallion Fund, was perhaps the most successful large hedge fund ever. It was closed to new investors after 1991. In 2006 Simons was launching the Renaissance Institutional Equities Fund, designed to handle upwards of $100 billion, one that would become the industry's largest. The minimum investment was set at $20 million.

[Stewart Kampel (2nd ed.)]

SIMONSEN, DAVID JACOB (1853–1932), Danish rabbi, scholar, and bibliophile. Born in Copenhagen, Simonsen was the son of Jacob Simonsen, a banker and leader of the Jewish community. He studied Oriental languages at the University of Copenhagen and in 1874 was admitted to the Jewish theological seminary in Breslau where he was ordained as rabbi. He then returned to Copenhagen to assist the aged chief rabbi, Abraham Alexander *Wolff. When Wolff died in 1891 Simonsen was chosen to succeed him but he resigned his office in 1902. During a vacancy in the Copenhagen rabbinate from 1918 to 1920 he again functioned as rabbi.

When the Jews from Eastern Europe reached Denmark about 1904 after the *Kishinev pogroms, he helped them to integrate in their new home. During World War I, he led activities on behalf of war victims, taking special interest in the Jewish community in Palestine. An enthusiastic book collector, Simonsen had a library of about 40,000 volumes covering every field in Judaism, which he presented to the Royal Library of Copenhagen in the last year of his life; it now constitutes the principal part of the Judaica department, called "Bibliotheca judaica Simonseniana" in his honor.

Simonsen had an extensive Jewish knowledge but his literary output was confined mainly to scholarly articles. In addition, he contributed to the *Dansk biografisk leksikon*, the *Jewish Encyclopaedia*, *Juedisches Lexikon*, the German *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, and the Danish *Tidsskrift for jodisk historie og literatur.* Simonsen published a descriptive catalog in Danish and French of sculptures and inscriptions from Palmyra in the Glypothek in Copenhagen (1889), a treatise on the history of Hebrew printing (1901), and a translation into Danish of Jewish tales and legends (1928). About 100 of his articles are listed in the festschrift dedicated to him on the occasion of his 70th birthday (*Festskrift… David Simonsen*, Hebrew title *Nir David*, 1923).

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[Julius Margolinsky]

SIMONSOHN, SHLOMO (1923–), Israeli historian. Simonsohn was born in Breslau, but immigrated to Ereẓ Israel as a child in 1933 and studied at the Hebrew University. From 1942 until 1947 he was a member of the *Haganah. He received his doctorate from London University. In 1957, he was appointed head of the department of Jewish history at Tel Aviv University, a position he held until 1988. From 1961 until 1964 he served as the director of the central library. He became a full professor in 1968. From 1969 to 1971 he was the dean of the Jewish Studies School, and from 1969 to 1992 the director of the Diaspora Research Institute. In 1970 he was one of the founders of the Bet Berl Teachers Training College. In the same year he was also one of the founders of the Diaspora Museum, serving on its board. Simonsohn served as rector of the University in 1971–77, while in the years 1973–74 he was also the chairman of the President's and Rector's Committee. He retired in 1993 and became chairman of the Diaspora Research Institute council. Simonsohn devoted himself mainly to the history of the Jews in Italy, on which he has published *Leon de Modena* (1953); *Magen va-Ḥerev* (1960), on Leone *Modena's anti-Christian tract; and *Toledot ha-Yehudim be-Dukkasut Mantovah* (2 vols., 1962–64). He was one of the founders and leaders of "Shurat ha-Mitnadvim," a voluntary public movement that was active in Israel in the 1950s with the aim of raising the standards of public life. Simonsohn was awarded the Ben Zvi Award in 1964 and the Shazar Award in 1996.

[Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

SIMON WIESENTHAL CENTER, Los Angeles international human rights organization originally aimed at Holocaust remembrance. Founded in 1977 by Rabbi Marvin *Hier, as The Simon Wiesenthal Center for Holocaust Studies the center opened its doors in Los Angeles two years later.

Named for Holocaust survivor and Nazi hunter Simon *Wiesenthal, the center's initial mission was to promote remembrance of the Holocaust, its victims and its perpetrators.

With widening interest in other fields, the name was shortened to Simon Wiesenthal Center; it defined its status as an international human rights organization, with a membership of more than 400,000 families. It continues its emphasis on Holocaust remembrance "by fostering tolerance and understanding through education, outreach and social action," and the prosecution of Nazi war criminals. It membership was gained by the skillful use of direct mail, just as the science of direct mail was beginning to flourish and was becoming an integral part of American political life. Thus, unlike B'nai B'rith, which has lodges, or the ADL, which has individual chapters and boards, and Hadassah, which is shaped by local and regional chapters, Simon Wiesenthal's membership is its base of contributors.

In expanding its original mission, the Center confronts contemporary issues, including racism, antisemitism, terrorism, and genocide. It monitors and acts on developments in Israel and the Middle East, extremist groups, neo-Nazism, and hate on the Internet.

The first major American Jewish institution to establish its headquarters in Los Angeles and on the West Coast, the center maintains offices in New York, Toronto, Miami, Jerusalem, Paris, and Buenos Aires, and is accredited as a nongovernmental organization (NGO) to the United Nations and UNESCO. Its Jerusalem office, headed by Efraim *Zuroff, is the one arm of the center that is actively engaged in hunting Nazi war criminals; it was instrumental in engaging post-communist East European countries in focusing of their war-time record of collaboration and cooperation with allied or occupying German forces in implementing the final solution. Its Paris office, headed by Shimon Samuels, organizes its efforts with the NGO and has been active in the fight against antisemitism in early 21st century Europe.

In 1993, the center opened the Museum of Tolerance, adjoining its Los Angeles headquarters, as a high-tech, hands-on experiential museum, which uses interactive exhibits to involve visitors in two major themes: the dynamics of racism and prejudice in America and the history of the Holocaust. The museum is called Beit Hashoah in Hebrew and the Museum of Tolerance in English, thus giving differently shaded emphasis to its double mission. The Holocaust part of the exhibition is portrayed not through artifacts but through innovative dramatization of key themes, which, by the use of sound, light, and action, pulses the visitor through each exhibition at a set pace.

During the first decade of its existence, the Museum of Tolerance received some four million visitors. An additional 110,000 public school students annually tour the exhibits as part of their studies.

The museum's Tools for Tolerance program conducts courses for American and foreign law enforcement officers, educators, judges, and other professionals, while many more people are reached through Internet programs, documentaries, teaching guides, conferences, and collaborative projects with ethnic community groups.

Using its own in-house production facilities, the Wiesenthal Center's Moriah Films division won Academy Awards for two of its feature documentaries, *Genocide*, narrated by Elizabeth Taylor and Orson Welles, in 1981, and *The Long Way Home* in 1997. These accomplishments forged close ties with glamorous Hollywood stars, who grace the center's banquets and public events.

In two major expansion moves in 2005, the Wiesenthal Center opened its New York Tolerance Center and broke ground in Jerusalem for the Center for Human Dignity–Museum of Tolerance, scheduled to open in 2009. When completed, the new complex, designed by Los Angeles architect Frank O. Gehry, will consist of seven buildings, including a museum, theater complex, international conference center, education center, and library. The idea of the Jerusalem center was met with considerable opposition by many Israelis and by Yad Vashem, the state's official Holocaust memorial authority.

Partially in response to such objections, the Wiesenthal Center pledged that its new project would not deal with the Holocaust, but stress tolerance among the different ethnic and religious groups within Israel, and between Jews and adherents of other faiths.

The New York Center in Manhattan functions mainly as a multimedia training facility, which has adapted the Tools for Tolerance program in courses for police, teachers, and others.

From its very beginning, under the leadership of Hier and his closest associate, Rabbi Abraham Cooper, the center's modus operandi has been characterized by bold, aggressive actions in response to perceived antisemitism or neo-Nazism anywhere in the world. Barely opened, the center in 1979 launched a successful national campaign to pressure the German chancellor and administration into rescinding the statute of limitations on the prosecution of Nazi war criminals. It played a highly public role in advancing the Office of Special Investigation of the Department of Justice, which was the arm of the American government that was responsible for the prosecution of Nazi war criminals. Martin Mendelsohn and Zuroff, who formerly served on the OSI staff, now work with the Wiesenthal Center.

The campaign's success put the center on the front page of the *New York Times* and on the map of Jewish organizational life. The center has never joined the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations, is perceived as a lone actor, and has often used this outsider status to its own advantage.

In other well-reported interventions, the center brought wider recognition to the World War II rescue efforts of Swedish diplomat Raoul Wallenberg, prodded Chile and other South American countries to extradite resident Nazi fugitives, offered a $1 million reward for information leading to the capture of Auschwitz doctor Josef Mengele, and sent a mission to the Soviet Union to investigate the plight of Jewish refuseniks.

In 1985, the center was part of the international protest against President Reagan's visit to a German military cemetery in Bitburg. Two years later, the center gathered 250,000 signatures on a petition to the Vatican to establish full diplomatic relations with Israel.

Following a fact-finding mission to Japan, the center drew attention to the proliferation of antisemitic works in Tokyo bookstores.

In the late 1980s and early 1990s, Hier helped organize an international conference on Jewish solidarity with Israel and engaged in a correspondence with Chancellor Helmut Kohl on the obligations facing a reunified Germany. Hier himself personifies the more aggressive and often more militant attitude of contemporary American Orthodoxy, though on the issue of tolerance, his is a strongly moderating influence in the Orthodox community.

Other campaigns have targeted anti-Israel actress Vanessa Redgrave, Holocaust deniers, Russian skinheads, Swiss banks, and black extremist Louis Farrakhan.

Exhibits have dramatized, among other topics, genocides of Armenians and Rwandans, the civil rights movement, and immigrants in the United States. In the early 21st century, the center was accused of diminishing its consideration of the Armenians in order not to gain the disfavor of the Turkish government, an important moderate, democratic Muslim ally of the United States and Israel.

The Center's high profile has drawn the attention of numerous critics from the very beginning. A Los Angeles group of survivors, which had been planning its own Holocaust museum for many years under the auspices of the Jewish Federation Council, the communal umbrella organization, was deeply resentful when the quick-acting Hier preempted their plans and secured the endorsement of Simon Wiesenthal.

In subsequent years, the Wiesenthal Center and its leaders have been criticized for a variety of reasons.

Hier's dual role as head of the center, as well as "dean" of Yeshiva University of Los Angeles, has come under fire, especially in light of some $50 million appropriated by the State of California for the Wiesenthal Center up to 2005, which critics contend violates the separation of church and state.

An early criticism, which has somewhat lessened with time, centers on the high-tech, interactive approach of the Museum of Tolerance exhibits, which, some complain, has given Holocaust remembrance a touch of Disneyland.

However, the popular success of the Museum of Tolerance has spawned some imitations and appears to endorse its 21st century multimedia approach.

The Wiesenthal Center has also earned the dislike of older established defense and communal organizations for allegedly encroaching on their "turf," assuming the role of spokesman for the entire Jewish people, and purposely exaggerating the dangers of antisemitism. Regarded as alarmist by some, its scholarly resources and achievements have also been challenged by critics.

[Tom Tugend (2nd ed.)]

SIMSON, early American New York family. SOLOMON (1738–1801) was born in New York City. A prominent merchant, he and his family were active throughout their lives in the Spanish-Portuguese Congregation Shearith Israel. He and his brother Sampson (see below) were active in founding the Chamber of Commerce of New York. Simson espoused the U.S. cause during the American Revolution, moving to Connecticut during the British occupation of New York City. After the war he returned to New York City. As head of Congregation Shearith Israel, he was active in having his congregation and those of Philadelphia, Richmond, Virginia and Charleston, South Carolina, jointly send a congratulatory letter to President George Washington in 1790. In 1795 he and Alexander Hirsch of New York City addressed a Hebrew letter to the Chinese Jews of Kai Feng Fu in Honan province, China. Active in New York politics, Simson was one of the founders of the Democratic-Republican Party of New York, serving as a vice president of the party and becoming its president in 1797.

Simson's brother, SAMPSON (the elder; c. 1725–1773), was also born in New York and was a prominent merchant there. Some time before the American Revolution he loaned a biblical Hebrew manuscript to Benjamin Kennicott of England for use in the latter's *Vetus Testamentum Hebraicum*.

Solomon Simson's son, SAMSON (the younger; 1781–1857), who was born in Danbury, Connecticut, was a lawyer and an Orthodox Jew, and was active in Congregation Shearith Israel as well as in philanthropic endeavors. At the Columbia College commencement exercises in 1800, he delivered a Hebrew oration of the "Historical Traits of the Jews from Their First Settlement in North America," which was the first sketch of U.S. Jewish history by a U.S. citizen. He studied law under Aaron Burr and was admitted to the bar in 1802, one of the first Jewish lawyers in New York City. For reasons of health, he gave up the practice of law after a few years, and lived quietly in Yonkers, New York, as a bachelor country gentleman. Simson was interested in prison reform, in Westchester County politics, and in religious and charitable movements in Yonkers, New York City, and Palestine. He aided in the founding of a number of institutions, serving as president of some. He corresponded with Isaac *Leeser and Warder *Cresson on matters concerning Palestine.

Among the agencies he helped establish were the North American Relief Society for the Indigent Jews in Palestine (1853), the Jews Orphan and Indigent Asylum (1852), the Jewish Theological Seminary and Scientific Institution (1852), and the Jews' Hospital of New York (the present Mount Sinai Hospital). He enabled the Russian Jewish congregation Beth Hamedrash Hagadol of New York to acquire a synagogue building. Simson made a cash bequest to Columbia College, the first of its kind.

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[Isidore S. Meyer]

SIMSON, BERNHARD VON (1840–1915), German historian. Born in Koenigsberg, the son of Martin Eduard von *Simson, Bernhard von Simson was appointed lecturer at the University of Jena in 1863. He published two volumes of documents connected with the reign of the elector Frederick William of Brandenburg. He then entered the Prussian civil service as a recorder at the archives of Duesseldorf, but returned to teaching in 1874 as professor at the University of Freiburg im Breisgau. In 1887 he was elected to the Bavarian Academy of Sciences. Retiring in 1905 he returned to Berlin and was named a member of the general directorate of the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* in 1907.

Among his most important works were: *Jahrbuecher des fraenkischen Reichs unter Ludwig dem Frommen* (2 vols., 1874–76); and *Jahrbuecher des Fraenkischen Reiches unter Karl dem Grossen 789 bis 814* (1883), which completed the work on Charlemagne begun by George Abel. Perhaps von Simson's most significant work was the revelation of the pseudo-Isidorian Le Mans forgeries which he described in *Die Entstehung der Pseudoisidorischen Faelschungen in Le Mans* (1886). He also wrote the sixth volume of Giesebrecht's *Geschichte der deutschen Kaiserzeit* (1895) and edited his father's memoirs, *Erinnerungen aus seinem Leben* (1900).

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[Howard L. Adelson]

SIMSON, MARTIN EDUARD VON (1810–1899), German lawyer and politician. He was born in Koenigsberg into a distinguished Jewish family which converted to Christianity and he was baptized at the age of 13. In 1831 Simson was appointed lecturer in Roman law at the University of Koenigsberg and in 1836 was made professor. An active member of the Frankfurt National Liberal movement, he was also a member of the Frankfurt National Assembly in 1848–49 and its chairman from December 1848. In 1849 he led the delegation from the National Assembly which offered the crown of the German Empire to the king of Prussia, Frederick William IV. Von Simson was elected a member of the North German Parliament and subsequently of the Reichstag in which he sat as a National Liberal and became known as a brilliant orator. In 1870 he was leader of the parliamentary delegation which asked the king of Prussia to accept the crown offered by the princes as William I. Von Simson was president of the German High Court which sat in Leipzig and in 1888 he was ennobled. A distinguished and highly cultured personality, he was a founder and first president of the Goethe society.

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SIMSON, PAUL (1869–1917), German historian. Born in Elbing, East Prussia, Simson accepted a teaching post at the municipal college of Danzig. In 1906 he was appointed professor. During the interim he developed an interest in the city of Danzig and its history. His four-volume *Geschichte der Stadt Danzig* (1903–16) won him prominence as the author of the first scholarly history of Danzig. He was also active in Danzig's civic affairs, and became a member of the city council, where he was considered politically liberal. He started a civic group for conserving all architecture of significance in Danzig. Over the years, Simson maintained his stature as a scholar by publishing studies on East Prussia, Pomerania, Poland, and on the political and cultural history of Danzig.

SIN. In biblical Hebrew there are about 20 different words which denote "sin." It may be inferred, therefore, that the ancient Israelites had more concepts expressing various nuances of sin than Western thought and theology. A study of the biblical concept of sin, therefore, cannot disregard the diversity of words denoting sin. These words must be examined in their context, i.e., in the formulas and literary units in which they occur. An analytic study of the three most commonly used terms – *ḥeṭʾ*, *pesha*ʿ and *avon* (ʿ*awon*) – has been undertaken by R. Knierim. As these are often found together (Ex. 34:7; Lev. 16:21; Num. 14:18; Isa. 59:12; Jer. 33:8; Ezek. 21:29; Micah 7:18–19; Ps. 32:1, 5; 51:3–7; 59:4–5; Job 7:20–21; 13:23; Dan. 9:24; cf. Isa. 1:2, 4; Ezek. 33:10, 12), even in poetic parallelism, there cannot be an appreciable difference of meaning among them, yet they are not simply synonymous.

The root *ḥṭʾ* occurs in the Bible 459 times. The original meaning of the verb *ḥaṭaʾ* is "to miss" something, "to fail," as can be seen from Genesis 31:39; Leviticus 5:15–16; Numbers 14:40; Judges 20:16; Psalms 25:8; Proverbs 8:36; 19:2; and Job 5:24, which indicates that sin as denoted by *ḥṭʾ* was originally viewed as a failure, a lack of perfection in carrying out a duty. The root *ḥṭʾ* signifies a failure of mutual relations and corresponds, then, to the modern idea of "offense" rather than to that of "sin," which is a theological concept. One who fulfills the claims of a relation or an agreement is righteous, *ẓaddik* (*ẓaddiq*); one who does not, offends (*ḥṭʾ l-*) his partner. "What is my offense that you have so hotly pursued after me?" Jacob asks Laban (Gen. 31:36). David puts a similar question to Jonathan in connection with his relation to Saul (I Sam. 20:1). This relation was of such a nature that it required of David that he devote all his abilities to the service of Saul, and of Saul that he treat David as his loyal subject. The obligation was mutual as long as it was upheld by both parties. When Saul and David were in the same cave, and David was content to cut off the skirt of Saul's robe, he called out to Saul that it was now clear that he had not "offended" him (I Sam. 24:12). Then Saul acknowledged that David was righteous and that he himself was the offender (cf. I Sam. 26:21), since he had not fulfilled his obligations. All lack of obedience toward superiors is "offense," because in the relations between subordinates and superiors the former are expected to obey the latter. The Egyptian baker and cupbearer who were in prison with Joseph had been sent there because they had "failed" to obey the orders of Pharaoh (Gen. 40:1; 41:9). The people of Pharaoh were accused of "failing" (*ḥṭʾ*) in their duty, when they did not give any straw to the Israelites so that they might make bricks (Ex. 5:16). The same applies to every deed that is in conflict with, or causes the dissolution of, a community. So Reuben acknowledged that his brothers "sinned" against their brother Joseph (Gen. 42:22). When the king of the Ammonites attacked Israel, Jephthah sent him word explaining that there had always been a relation of peace between the two peoples, and he addressed to him the following reproach: "I have not 'sinned' against you, but you do me wrong to war against me" (Judg. 11:27). The "sin" is here a breach of the covenant relation between the peoples. When Sennacherib threatened Judah in 701, King Hezekiah sent a messenger to him, saying: "I have 'sinned'" (II Kings 18:14). The "sin" of Hezekiah consisted in a violation of his vassal duties. A "sinful" act, i.e., one of dereliction of duty, is thus a matter between two parties. The one who does not fulfill his obligations in relation to the other is a sinner with regard to the latter; he "sins against him," i.e., "he fails him," and so gives the other a claim upon him.

According to I Samuel 2:25, failure in carrying out one's duty can concern the relations between men or between God and man: "If a man offends against (*ḥṭʾ*) a man, God will mediate, but if a man offends against (*ḥṭʾ*) God, who shall act as mediator?" This passage indicates that the "sin" against God was conceived as an "offense," as a failure to fulfill one's obligation toward God. Since the root *ḥṭʾ* denotes an action, that failure is neither an abstraction nor a permanent disqualification but a concrete act with its consequences. This act is defined as a "failure," an "offense," when it is contrary to a norm regulating the relations between God and man. So, for instance, the infringement of the law of ban (*ḥerem*) appears in Joshua 7:11, 20 and I Samuel 15:3–19 as an "offense" or "sin" against God in view of the traditions partially recorded in Deuteronomy 20:10–18. That adultery is a "sin" against the Lord (Gen. 20:6, 9; 39:9; II Sam. 12:13) results from a law such as Exodus 20:14. Social mischiefs stigmatized as "sins" by the prophets (Isa. 58:1ff.; 59:2ff.; Jer. 2:35; 5:25; Ezek. 14:13; 16:51; 33:14; Hos. 12:9; Amos 5:12; Micah 3:8; 6:13) are, in fact, contrary to commandments of the divine law such as Exodus 20:16 (13); 23:1–9; Deuteronomy 27:17–19. The concept of *ḥṭʾ* extends not only to juridical, moral, and social matters, but also to cultic obligations, and even to involuntary infringements of ritual prescriptions (Lev. 4–5) or of occasional divine premonitions (Num. 22:34).

The root *pshʿ* occurs in the Bible 136 times, and it too is found in early texts as Genesis 31:36; 50:17; Exodus 22:8; I Samuel 24:11; II Kings 8:20, 22; Amos 1–2; Micah 3:8; and Proverbs 28:24. Its basic meaning is that of "breach." In terms of international law, the breach of a covenant is thus called *peshaʿ* (I Kings 12:19; II Kings 1:1; 3:5, 7; 8:20, 22; Hos. 8:1). In the realm of criminal law, *peshaʿ* is the delict which dissolves the community or breaks the peaceful relation between two parties (e.g., Gen. 31:36; Ex. 22:8; Prov. 28:24). This is also the meaning of *pshʿ* when used to express the sinful behavior of man toward God (e.g., I Kings 8:50; Ps. 25:7; 51:3). The verb *ʿawah*, found in the Bible 17 times, basically expresses the idea of crookedness, and thus means "to wrong" (Lam. 3:9), and in the passive form (*nifʿal*), "to become bent" (Ps. 38:7). The noun *ʿawon*, from the same root, is found 227 (229) times, and designates "crookedness." The use of these words in a figurative sense to denote the transgression, the guilt incurred by it, or the punishment, is of popular origin. The metaphor does not belong to the juridical terminology, but was assumed by the theological language. Isaiah 59:2, for example, says that the *ʿawonot* set up a wall between the Lord and the sinner.

The nouns *ḥeṭʾ*, *ḥaṭaʾah* or *ḥaṭṭaʾt*, *peshaʿ*, and *ʿawon*, and also the corresponding verbs, denote a "sin" in the theological sense of the word when they characterize a human deed as a "failure," a "breach," or a "crooked" action with reference to prescriptions that proceed finally from the stipulations of the Covenant. It is not the external nature of the act that makes it sinful. In biblical thought, the relation that creates the right to God's protection also creates the sin. There would be no sin if there were no covenantal law. The sinner is one who has failed in his relation to God, insofar as he has not fulfilled his obligation to God. In other words, it is a "sin" to violate, or to break, the Covenant (cf. Jer. 14:20–21). The biblical doctrine of sin is thus described in Jeremiah 16:10–12 in the following way: "When you tell this people all this, and they say to you: 'Why has the Lord threatened us with such terrible misfortune? What is our crime? What is the offense (*ḥṭʾ*) we have committed against the Lord our God?' – then answer them: 'It is because your fathers forsook Me. They followed other gods, worshiping them and doing obeisance to them, and forsook Me and did not keep My law. And you have done even worse than they did, each following his own stubbornly wicked inclinations and refusing to listen to Me.'" Even the sin of Adam and Eve, although not described as such in the Bible, was an act that destroyed a special relation between God and man (Gen. 3). The original sin does not appear in the Bible as an innate depravity common to all human beings in consequence of the fall of the first parents. Rather, the biblical tradition knows that "there is no man who does not sin" (I Kings 8:46; cf. Eccles. 7:20). The hyperbolic language in which the psalmist describes his own sinfulness, "I was even born in iniquity, my mother conceived me in sin" (Ps. 51:7; cf. Gen. 8:21), only stresses the ineluctable character of sin. Nobody can escape from it, as the sin can also be involuntary (Lev. 4–5) or proceed from ignorance (Gen. 20:6; Num. 22:34). A man is responsible for all his actions. Therefore sick people may conclude that their illness is a punishment for having offended God (Ps. 38:4, 19; 41:5). This does not mean, however, that the ancient Israelites did not make a distinction between an inadvertent sin and one that is committed willfully. This distinction clearly emerges in Numbers 15:27 and 30. The psychological sentiment of guilt is also expressed in various texts (Ps. 51; 78:17, 32; Prov. 21:4; 24:9; Job 31:30; cf. Gen. 4:7; Deut. 15:9; 22:26). The subjective aspect of a deed is even taken into account by the law, especially in Exodus 21:13–14 and Deuteronomy 19:4–5.

The idea of "deadly" or "mortal" sin originates in biblical expressions connecting *ḥṭʾ* with *mwt* ("to die," "death"; Num. 18:22; 27:3; Deut. 21:22; 22:26; 24:16; II Kings 14:6; Ezek. 3:20; 18:4, 20; Amos 9:10; II Chron. 25:4). The oldest text connecting the two is probably Amos 9:10, dating from the eighth century B.C.E.: "All the sinners of my people shall die by the sword." The connection of the formula expressing the death sentence with such an indefinite word as "sin" or "offense" cannot be original. It must be regarded as a generalization proceeding from theological reflection. Its original "setting in life" (*sitz im leben*) is still visible in Deuteronomy 21:22 and 22:16, which refer to the proceedings of the civil tribunal. Numbers 18:22 and 27:3, both of which belong to the Priestly tradition, reflect instead the sphere of sacral law. The remaining passages use the concept of "mortal sin" in a context of "prophetic" preaching.

In a certain sense, every sin may be regarded as "deadly"; for, if all people die, it is because all have sinned, and not in consequence of "the original sin." That the sinner must die is stated or assumed by many texts (Ex. 32:33; Lev. 20:20; 22:9; 24:15–17; Num. 9:13; 16:26; 17:3; 18:22, 32; I Sam. 15:18; I Kings 13:34; 14:11–18; 15:29–30; 16:12–13, 18–19; Isa. 13:9; 38:17; 43:27–28; 64:4–5; Jer. 8:14; Ezek. 3:20; 18:24; Amos 9:8, 10; Ps. 104:34). Stereotyped formulas say even that "each man shall die because of his sin" (*ḥṭʾ*: Num. 27:3; Deut. 24:16; II Kings 14:6) or "because of his transgression" (*ʿawon*: Josh. 22:20; Ezek. 4:17; 7:13, 16; 18:17, 20; 33:6, 8, 9; cf. Gen. 19:15). The sinner must indeed "bear (*nsʾ*) his sin." The expression means practically "to take the blame upon oneself," and it normally refers to the sinner himself (Gen. 4:13; Ex. 28:43; Lev. 5:1, 17; 7:18; 19:8, 17; 20:17, 19, 20; 22:9; 24:15; Num. 5:31; 9:13; 14:34; 18:22, 23, 32; Ezek. 14:10; 44:10, 12). The law of retaliation demands, in fact, that the offender should be punished according to his sin. However, the same expression also occurs in early pleas for forgiveness (Gen. 50:17; Ex. 10:17; 32:32; I Sam. 15:25; Hos. 14:3; Ps. 25:18), in doxological formulas (Ex. 34:7; Num. 14:18; Micah 7:18; Ps. 32:1; 85:3), in a thanksgiving psalm (32:5), in a predication (Josh. 24:19), and in a Song of the Suffering Servant in Deutero-Isaiah (Isa. 53:12). In these texts, the one who takes the blame upon himself is God, the offended person, or a substitute of the sinner (cf. II Sam. 12:13–14). There are still other cases when one's *ʿawon* is borne by another person: by the priests (Num. 18:1), by Aaron (Ex. 28:38), by the husband (Num. 30:16), by the prophet Ezekiel (Ezek. 4:4–6), by the community (Lev. 22:16), by the scapegoat (Lev. 16:22), or even by a sacrificed goat (Lev. 10:17). It means that there was a possibility that the sin might not work its consequences upon the sinner. Accordingly, there was sense to the prayer for the forgiveness of sin (cf. I Kings 8:30, 34, 36, 50; Ps. 51:4; 79:9) or the intercession of a prophet (Gen. 20:7; Ex. 9:27–29; 10:17; 32:30–33; Num. 21:7; Deut. 9:18–20; I Sam. 7:5; 12:19; Jer. 14:11; 15:1). The ancient remedy, the sin-offering (*ḥaṭṭaʾt*), also worked both for the purification of the person and to obtain the forgiveness of the Lord. It is probable that the killed animal was originally regarded as a substitute for the sinner (cf. Lev. 10:17). The confession of sins was another means of winning forgiveness. In this way the sinner expels the sin from his heart; he shows at the same time that he does not intend to conceal his sin and to deceive the Lord.

The formula of the individual's confession of sins, expressed by the verb *ḥaṭaʾti* ("I have sinned"), is found in the Bible 30 times. It has beyond any doubt a ritual character, even if it is used twice in a rather colloquial way (I Kings 18:9; Neh. 6:13). In the other instances, it is employed with reference to sacral judicial proceedings, as shown by the juridical terminology of the context. It is used not only when someone has sinned against God (Gen. 39:9; Ex. 9:27; 10:16; Num. 22:34; Josh. 7:20; I Sam. 15:24, 30; II Sam. 12:13; 24:10, 17; Jer. 2:35; Micah 7:9; Ps. 41:5; 51:6; I Chron. 21:8, 17; cf. Job 7:20; 10:14; 33:27) but also against man (Gen. 20:9; 43:9; 44:32; Judg. 11:27; I Sam. 24:11; 26:21; II Sam. 19:21; II Kings 18:14; Jer. 37:18). More than half the occurrences are in ancient texts. The oldest form of the proceedings is most likely the one in Joshua 7:13–23, on the occasion of *Achan's sin at Jericho; it seems to be presupposed in Leviticus 5:5 and also Psalms 32:5. After the sinner was designated by the sacred lots, Urim and *Thummim, he had to present a public confession of his sin, which was confirmed by an inquiry. The sin could be forgiven or not, it could be expiated by a sacrifice or by putting the sinner to death. On the other hand, in I Samuel 15:24 and II Samuel 12:13 (cf. II Sam. 24:10–19), the casting of lots and public confession are dispensed with, the sin being confessed before the cultic prophet who accused the sinner in God's name. This procedure was probably characteristic of the early monarchical period. The individual confession of sins is also expressed by the words *peshaʿai* (Ps. 25:7; 32:5; 39:9; 51:3, 5) and *ʿawonotai* (Ps. 38:5; 40:13), by the singular *pishʿi* (Micah 6:7; Job 7:21; 14:17) and *ʿawoni* (Gen. 4:13; Ps. 32:5; 38:19), or else by various locutions using one of these words (Gen. 44:16; I Sam. 25:24; II Sam. 14:9). These confessions occur in many different contexts: prayer, praise, interrogation, etc.; the confession of sins is thus often indirect.

The formula of the national confession of sins is expressed by the verb *ḥaṭaʾnu* ("we have sinned"). This verbal form occurs in the Bible 24 times, but only twice in texts that are definitely ancient – Numbers 12:11 and 14:40, which seem to belong to the Elohistic tradition of the Pentateuch. However, the first of these two passages does not actually contain a national confession of sins, since the sinners are Miriam and Aaron; thus an individual confession of sins is applied to two persons at once. None of the remaining 22 attestations of the form can safely be dated before the late seventh century

B.C.E. (Num. 21:7; Deut. 1:41; Judg. 10:10, 15; I Kings 8:47; Isa. 42:24; Jer. 3:25; 8:14; 14:7, 20; 16:10; Ps. 106:6; Lam. 5:16; Dan. 9:5, 8, 11, 15; Neh. 1:6 (twice); II Chron. 6:37). All these texts have a cultic or sacral character. Other formulas of national confession of sins, expressed by the word *pesha'enu* ("our sins") can be found in Isaiah 53:5; 59:12; Ezekiel 33:10; Psalms 65:4; 103:12; and Lamentations 1:14, 22. As far as these texts can be dated, they were all composed in the sixth century B.C.E. The term *'awonenu*, or *'awonotenu*, also occurs with that meaning, namely, in Isaiah 53:5–6; 64:5; Psalms 90:8; Daniel 9:13; and Ezra 9:6, 13 – texts which are all Exilic or post-Exilic. It seems, therefore, that, contrary to the individual confession, the national one is a relatively late innovation in Israel's penitential liturgy (cf. E. Lipinski, *La liturgie pénitentielle dans la Bible* (1969), 35–41).

When God "forgives" one's sin, He "covers" or "hides" it (Micah 7:18; Ps. 32:1, 5; 85:3; Prov. 10:12; 17:9; 19:11; 28:13; Job 31:33), He "does not remember [i.e., that He overlooks]" it (Isa. 64:8; Ps. 25:7), He "bears" it Himself (Ex. 32:32; 34:7; Num. 14:18; Josh. 24:19; Hos. 14:3; Micah 7:18; Ps. 25:18; 32:1, 5; 85:3). Though it is merely said that the sin is forgotten, covered, not imputed to the sinner, God's forgiveness of sins is identical with the curing of the man and with the regeneration of his strength. It means, indeed, that God will not take him away "in the middle of his days" (Jer. 17:11; Ps. 55:24; 102:25), but will permit him to spend on earth the full span of human life, i.e., "70 years" (Isa. 23:15; Ps. 90:10). Then He will cut him off by death, for "there is no righteous man on earth who does good and never sins" (Eccles. 7:20).

[Edward Lipinski]

Rabbinic Views

The usual rabbinic term for sin is *averah*, from the root *avar* ("to pass over"; i.e., sin is a rejection of God's will). The rabbis rarely speak of sin in the abstract but usually of specific sins. There are sins of commission and omission – in the rabbinic terminology, the transgression of negative precepts and the failure to perform positive precepts (Yoma 8:8). Sins of commission are more serious than those of omission (Yoma 85:86a), and the term *averah* generally refers to the former. In one respect, however, the latter are more severe. If positive precepts have to be carried out at a certain time and that time has passed, the omission cannot be rectified, e.g., the failure to recite the *Shema* on a particular day. To this is applied the verse (Eccles. 1:15): "That which is crooked cannot be made straight, and that which is wanting cannot be numbered" (Ber. 26a). Sins involving the transgression of negative precepts are of two kinds – offenses against God and offenses against one's neighbor. The Day of Atonement brings forgiveness for sins committed against God, i.e., for purely religious offenses. It only brings forgiveness for offenses against other human beings if the wrong done to the victim has first been put right (Yoma 8:9). The intention to sin is not reckoned as sin except in the case of idolatry (Kid. 39b).

Sins are also divided into light and severe sins. The three most serious sins for the rabbis are murder, idolatry, and adultery and incest. It was eventually ruled that rather than commit these, a man must forfeit his life (Sanh. 74a). The light sins are those which "a man treads underfoot" (Tanḥ. B. Deut. 8b). A marked tendency to be observed in rabbinic homiletics is to encourage people to take the lighter sins more seriously by treating them as if they were far weightier offenses. Thus, whoever leaves the Holy Land to reside outside it is as if he had worshiped idols (Sifra, Be-Har 6); whoever bears evil tales is as if he denies the root principle of faith (Ar. 15b); whoever shames his neighbor in public is as if he had shed blood (BM 58b).

Those who cause others to sin were severely castigated by the rabbis. One who causes another to sin is worse than one who slays him, because the murderer only excludes his victim from this life, while the one who causes another to sin excludes him from the life of the world to come (Sif. Deut. 252). Jeroboam is the prototype of the one who leads others to sin (Avot 5:18).

Sin is caused by the evil *inclination (*yeẓer ha-ra*), the force in man which drives him to gratify his instincts and ambitions. Although called the "evil inclination" because it can easily lead man to wrongdoing, it is essential to life in that it provides life with its driving power. Were it not for the *yeẓer ha-ra*, remarks a rabbinic Midrash (Gen. R. 9:7), a man would not build a house, or marry, or have children, or engage in commerce. In similar vein is the curious legend (Yoma 69b) that the men of the Great Synagogue wanted to kill the *yeẓer ha-ra*, who warned them that if they were successful the "world would go down," i.e., would come to an end. They therefore imprisoned him for three days and then searched all the land for a new-laid egg without finding one. Passages such as these, however, must not be construed as suggesting any rabbinic acceptance of the inevitability of sin or of its condonation. The strongest expressions are used of the heinousness of sin and surrender to the *yeẓer ha-ra*. R. Simeon b. Lakish said "Satan, the *yeẓer ha-ra*, and the angel of death are one and the same" (BB 16a). The *yeẓer ha-ra* entices man to sin in this world and bears witness against him in the future world (Suk. 52b). The *yeẓer ha-ra* assaults man every day, endeavoring to kill him, and if God would not support him, man could not resist him; as it is said (Ps. 37:32): "The wicked watcheth the righteous and seeketh to slay him. The Lord will not leave him in his hand" (*ibid.*). Unless severe control is exercised man becomes the prey of sin. Commenting on II Samuel 12:4, it is said that the *yeẓer ha-ra* is at first called a "passerby," then a "guest," and finally "one who occupies the house" (*ibid.*). When a man sins and repeats the sin, it no longer seems to him as forbidden (Yoma 86b).

The much discussed question of whether there are any parallels to the Christian doctrine of original sin in rabbinic literature can be disposed of simply by noting that there are no such parallels. The passages which state that "four died through the serpent's machinations" (Shab. 55b) and that "the serpent copulated with Eve and infected her with his filth" (Shab. 146a), quoted in this connection, expressly exclude

Israel from the effects of the serpent's machinations and his filth, and in all probability are an intentional polemic against the doctrine of original sin. Nevertheless, while the rabbis do not see sin as hereditary – that man is bound to sin because of Adam's sin – their views are far removed from "liberal" optimism regarding man's inherent goodness, as the doctrine of the *yeẓer ha-ra* clearly demonstrates. It is recorded that the rival schools of Hillel and Shammai debated for two and a half years whether it were better for man not to have been created (i.e., because of his propensity to sin); it was finally decided that it would have been better if he had not been created, but since he has been let him investigate his deeds (Eruv. 13b).

Counsels are given to man as to how he can rise above sin. He should know that above him there is a seeing eye and a hearing ear and that all his deeds are recorded in a book (Avot 2:1). He should reflect that he comes from a putrid drop, that he goes to a place of dust, worms, and maggots, and that he is destined to give an account and a reckoning before the King of kings (Avot 3:1). But the study of the Torah and the practice of the precepts are the best method of avoiding sin (Sot. 21a). God says: "My children! I created the evil inclination, but I created the Torah as its antidote; if you occupy yourselves with the Torah you will not be delivered into [the inclination's] hand" (Kid. 30b). The school of R. Ishmael taught: "My son, if this repulsive wretch [the *yeẓer ha-ra*] attacks you, lead him to the house of learning: if he is stone, he will dissolve; if iron, he will shiver into fragments" (Kid. 30b).

[Louis Jacobs]

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SIN, WILDERNESS OF (Heb. סִין).

(1) An area between Elim and Sinai, traversed by the children of Israel in their exodus from Egypt (Ex. 16:1); it is defined more specifically in Exodus 17:1 as the area before Rephidim. In the recapitulation of the wanderings through the desert in Numbers 33:11–12, the order is: Elim-Red Sea-Wilderness of Sin-Dophkah. The location of Sin naturally depends on the view taken of the route of the Exodus (see *Exodus). Accepting the traditional southern route, the desert of Sin would be identical to the plain of al-Marḥa (or al-Markha), between Wadi Baʿbʿa and Wadi Sidrī on the west coast of the Sinai peninsula; its position would then be between Elim (Wadi Gharandal?) and Dophkah (Ṣarābīṭ al-Khādim (?), the turquoise mines exploited in ancient times).

(2) Sin is mentioned in connection with the "stronghold of Egypt" in Ezekiel 30:15–16. It is probably identical with Syene (Aswān; Ezek. 29:10; 30:6), the southern boundary fortress of Egypt.

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[Michael Avi-Yonah]

SINAI (Heb. סִינַי), peninsula situated between the two northern gulfs of the Red Sea, the Gulf of Eilat on the east and the Gulf of Suez on the west. It forms a triangle, each side of which measures about 200 mi. (320 km.). The peninsula consists of three main regions, each different in its geographical aspects. In the north is a sandy coastal plateau, partly traversed by dunes 20 mi. (32 km.) deep, which reach a height of 60–90 ft. (c. 18–27 m.), but which are passable in a northeast-southeast direction. A few wells of brackish water and palm groves in oases make the passage of this region easier. The sandy areas are narrow on the east, but expand into the desert of al-Jifār (the desert of Shur) on the west. The second zone is a limestone plateau intersected by valleys and ridges and known as Badivat al-Tīh. Its northern limit is formed by a series of mountains, including, from west to east, Jebel al-Jiddī (2,058 ft.), Jebel Yaʿallaq (3,200 ft.) and Jebel Halāl (or Ḥalāl; 2,714 ft.). South of these mountains, whitish limestone cliffs rise in a line of sheer precipices from the gravel-strewn surface of the ground. The Tīh desert extends eastward into the area around Kadesh, and westward up to the Suez region. Its sandy and rocky ground contains few watering points. The southernmost region of the Sinai Peninsula consists of a group of granite mountains intersected by deep wadis and their tributaries, between which rise rocky massifs with high pinnacles and deep gorges. The outstanding peaks in this area are Jebel Katerina (8,652 ft.), Jebel Mūsā, the traditional Mt. Sinai (7,486 ft.) and Jebel Sirbāl (6,791 ft.). The waters flowing from these snowclad peaks in the winter have created several oases, the most important one being the central oasis of Fīrān (Paran). The mountain range of the south extends northward along the west coast; this part is rich in copper and turquoise, the greatest concentration of which exists at Sarābīṭ al-Khādim. West of it, the plain of al-Marḥa (Markha; see *Sin, Wilderness of) follows the west coast.

Situated between the Nile Valley and the land of Israel, Sinai was from earliest times traversed by a series of roads running from west to east, of which the three most important are a) the coastal road, known in the Bible as the "way of the land of the Philistines," which runs from the vicinity of Pelusium to Gaza, passing from one well to another; it is the shortest and most frequented route; b) the road which crosses the Tīh desert from Ismailia on the Suez Canal by way of Biʾr Jafjafa (or Gafgafa) and Biʾr al-Ḥamma to Abu Aweigila and to Niẓẓanah (ʾAwjā al-Ḥafīr); c) the Darb al-Ḥajj ("route of the pilgrimage" to Mecca from Egypt), which crosses the southern part of the Tīh desert by way of Qalʿat al-Nakhl and Biʾr al-Thamad, and by way of al-Kuntilla descends the Raʾs al-Naqb to Eilat. The less important north-south routes are, in the east, the road

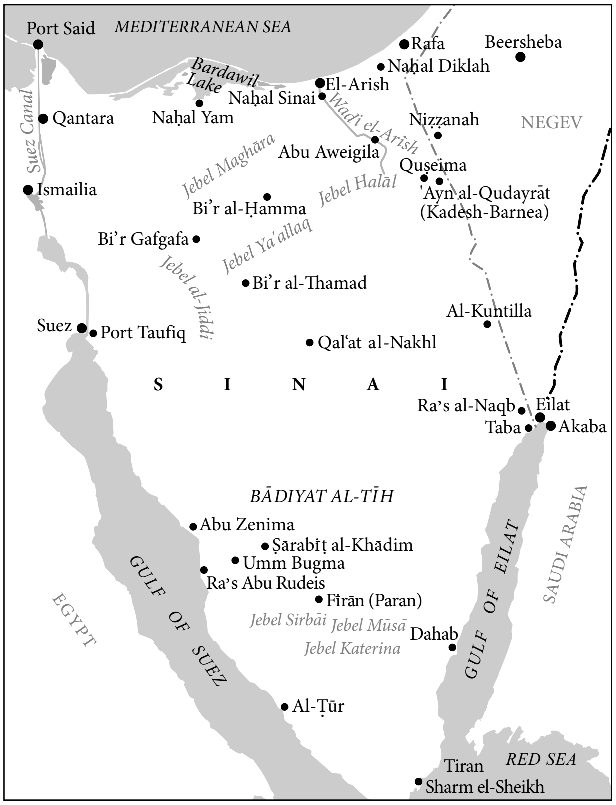
Port Said
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
Rafa
Beersheba
Naḥal Diklah
Bardawil Lake
El-Arish
Naḥal Sinai
Wadi el-ʿArīsh
Suez Canal
Qantara
Naḥal Yam
Nizzanah
NEGEV
Jebel Maghāra
Abu Aweigila
Quseima
Ismailia
Bi'r al-Ḥamma
Jebel Halāl
'Ayn al-Qudayrāt
(Kadesh-Barnea)
Bi'r Gafgafa
Jebel Ya'allaq
Jebel al-Jidāi
Bi'r al-Thamad
Al-Kuntilla
Suez
Port Taufiq
Qal'at al-Nakhl
S I N A I
Ra's al-Naqb
Eilat
Taba
Akaba
BĀDIYAT AL-TĪH
SAUDI ARABIA
Abu Zenima
Ṣarābīṭ al-Khādim
Umm Bugma
Ra's Abu Rudeis
GULF OF SUEZ
Fīrān (Paran)
EGYPT
Jebel Sirbāi
Jebel Mūsā
Jebel Katerina
Dahab
GULF OF EILAT
Al-Ṭūr
Tiran
RED SEA
Sharm el-Sheikh

The Sinai Peninsula.

along the Wadi el-Arish (Brook of Egypt) by way of Kadesh-Barnea (ʿAyn al-Qudayrāt) and al-Qusei'ma to Kuntilla and, in the west, a road which follows the west coast to al-Ṭūr and Sharm el-Sheikh on the southern tip of the peninsula. Side roads lead from the latter road to the copper mines at Ṣarābīṭ al-Khādim and to Jebel Mūsā by way of Wadi Fīrān.

Pre-Biblical Period

Historically, the importance of the Sinai Peninsula has always been a result of its character as an area of transit from Asia to Africa and vice-versa. Evidence of settlement in this area begins with the Paleolithic Age, at which time Sinai was not yet a desert. In the Chalcolithic period it apparently served as a link between pre-dynastic Egypt and the settlements around Beersheba in Canaan. In the time of the early dynastic period in Egypt, expeditions were sent from the Nile Valley to exploit the copper mines, as Egypt itself had no metals; the presence of a *serekh* (hieroglyph) of Pharaoh Narmer at Tel Erani and a walled city, perhaps a symbol of Canaan, represented on the Narmer palette (from Hierankonopolis), show that the pharaonic armies were already traversing the peninsula at the beginning of the First Dynasty. In the Middle Bronze Age, the period of the Patriarchs, Sinai was relatively more densely settled than at later stages in its history; it was crossed by Abraham and Jacob on their way to Egypt. Later, it was traversed by the Hyksos invaders of Egypt. In their wake, the desert was occupied by nomadic tribes, related to Ishmael in the Bible (Gen. 25:17–18); the Egyptians referred to them collectively as *Shasu*. After the expulsion of the Hyksos (16th century B.C.E.), the pharaohs took steps to secure their kingdom by building a wall (*shur*) across the western end of the peninsula and by establishing a chain of forts along the coastal road to secure the watering points.

Biblical Period

It was during the New Kingdom that Sinai acquired its biblical fame. In the Bible, the desert of Sinai is situated between Rephidim and Mt. Sinai, with the wilderness of Sin between it and Elim (Ex. 16:1; 19:1–2). According to Numbers 33:15–16, it lay between Rephidim and Kibroth-Hattaavah and in Numbers 10:12, the wilderness of Paran is situated to the east of it. Mt. Sinai eclipsed the desert of Sinai in later literature as the identification of the place where the Law was given to Israel (Deut. 33:2; Judg. 5:5; Ps. 68:8, 18; Neh. 9:13). The identification of Mt. Sinai, and by implication that of the desert of Sinai, depends on the view taken of the route of the Exodus (see *Exodus); the traditional theory places Mt. Sinai at Jebel Mūsā, while others place it at Jebel Halāl (or Ḥalāl), or even in the Arabian Peninsula. The last identification is supported by the assumed connection between Sinai and the moon god, Sin. During the period of the Exodus, the desert was occupied by the Amalekites, who disputed the passage of the Israelites at Rephidim. The Egyptians left the desert nomads alone, while keeping control of the coastal road and the copper and turquoise mines at Ṣarābīṭ al-Khādim (Dophkah?). The beginnings of an alphabetic Semitic script, the so-called proto-Sinaitic alphabet, are evident in the inscriptions written by slaves who worked in the mines. In the period of the monarchy, Saul and David fought the Amalekites (I Sam. 15:7, 27:8) and controlled northwest Sinai. The nomads of the region helped in Esarhaddon's campaign against Egypt, although some served as mercenaries in the Egyptian army. Later, they brought water to the army of Cambyses of Persia during his invasion of the Nile Valley; in return, the Persians allowed the kings of Kedar (the predecessors of the Nabateans) to maintain harbors on the coast of Sinai, between the Serbonic Lake and Ienysos, south of Gaza.

See also *Sinai, Mount.

Post-Biblical Period

In Hellenistic and Roman times, the interior of Sinai was left to the Nabateans as part of Arabia Petrea; only the coastal road was controlled by the Ptolemies and later by the Romans. After annexation of Nabatea by the Romans, it was regarded as part of Provincia Arabia, and after Diocletian, as part of Palestina Tertia (Salutaris). In the Byzantine period, the biblical associations with the region led to an increase in trade and pilgrimages across the desert. Justinian built a fortified monastery near Jebel Mūsā (Mount Sinai) and a bishopric was established at Paran. A chapel was constructed on the top of Jebel Mūsā. Ephrem the Syrian in one of his hymns (CSCO 323, 71–73) compares Mount Sinai to the Old Testament and the church on the mountain's summit to the New Testament, indicating that he viewed the church as a symbol of the ascendancy of Christianity over Judaism. Sinai was largely left to the Bedouin in Islamic and medieval times, until the excavation of the Suez Canal on the west increased its importance.

[Michael Avi-Yonah / Shimon Gibson (2nd ed.)]

Modern Period

A Zionist plan, in *Herzl's time (1902), to settle the El-Arish area (then under British administration as part of the British protectorate of Egypt), as a prelude to Jewish settlement in Ereẓ Israel (see *El-Arish Project), proved abortive. A border dispute between Britain and Turkey led, in 1906, to the final demarcation of a border line between the British protectorate and the *Ottoman Empire running from Rafa to Taba south of Akaba. This line was crossed during World War I by Turkish forces, which attacked the Suez Canal, and then by the British army, which conquered Palestine. The same line became the international boundary of Egypt and Mandatory Palestine. For several years after the war, Sinai formed a separate British administrative unit under Major C.S. Jarvis.

During Israel's *War of Independence (1948–49), the Israeli army, in pursuit of the retreating Egyptian forces, crossed the line and occupied eastern Sinai but was forced to withdraw unconditionally under political pressure from the United States and threats of British military intervention. In the *Sinai Campaign in 1956, the Egyptian army was routed by the Israeli army, which occupied the entire peninsula except for a strip along the Suez Canal. In 1957, Israel was again forced, mainly by the United States and the Soviet Union, to withdraw behind the armistice lines of 1949 without achieving a peace treaty with Egypt. The rapid aggressive buildup of huge Egyptian forces in Sinai in May 1967 was a major factor leading to the Six-Day War, when the whole of Sinai, up to the Suez Canal, was occupied by Israel. At the end of 1967 a census was conducted in northern Sinai and 33,800 Arabs and Bedouin were registered, 30,000 in El-Arish alone. After the Six-Day War the Israel military administration carried out a series of economic development projects, e.g., helping to erect factories in El-Arish; introducing better medical and educational services for the local population, including the Bedouin; and paving a modern highway from Eilat along the western coast of the gulf to Sharm el-Sheikh. Extensive geological and archeological surveys of the entire peninsula were carried out by Israeli scientists and experts. In the wake of the Yom Kippur War, Israel withdrew inland from the Suez Canal following the 1974 disengagement agreement and the 1975 interim agreement, returning the Abu Rudeis oil fields to Egypt and allowing it to reopen the Suez Canal.

In the meanwhile Jewish settlement activity had commenced in the Rafa Salient (Pitḥat Rafi'aḥ) in the northeast corner of Sinai, including the town of *Yammit, which had grown to 2,000 inhabitants by 1977, with another 2,000 in the surrounding settlements. These were abandoned in stages in accordance with the peace treaty signed with Egypt in 1979, in which Israel agreed to withdraw from all of Sinai by 1982, including the Yammit Region, whose settlements were razed.

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SINAI, MOUNT.

The Biblical Narrative

The mountain of God is first mentioned when God revealed Himself to Moses in the burning bush. God told Moses "when you have freed the people from Egypt, you shall worship God at this mountain" (Ex. 3:12), but in this tradition the mountain is called Horeb (E and D prefer "Horeb" to the "Sinai" of J and P). Elsewhere in the Torah we read that the People of Israel encamped at the foot of the mountain called Sinai, from the third month after the Exodus until the 20th of the second month of the second year (Ex. 19:1–Num. 10:11). While the people prepared themselves during three days for the theophany (divine manifestation; according to later Jewish tradition this was seven weeks after the Exodus), Moses set up a boundary line beyond which approach was prohibited under penalty of death, and himself ascended the mountain. On the third day God descended upon the mountain and uttered the Ten Commandments (Ex. 20; Deut. 5). He also gave Moses many more laws and ordinances for the people. Moses built an altar at the foot of the mountain and set up 12 stones representing the 12 tribes of Israel (Ex. 24). Moses, *Aaron, *Nadab, *Abihu, and 70 of the *elders of Israel then went up the mountain, where they saw the God of Israel. Mt. Sinai was then enveloped in a cloud for six days, while fire burnt on its summit. On the seventh day Moses ascended the mountain to receive the Tablets of the Law, remaining there for 40 days and nights. During his absence the people, led by Aaron, erected the *golden calf (Ex. 32). Moses returned, accompanied by his servant *Joshua, and angrily broke the stone tablets. Later he returned to the mountain and received the second tablets, as well as many other laws concerning different aspects of life, and the instructions for the erection of the *Tabernacle (Ex. 35ff.).

Mt. Sinai is regarded in biblical theology as the place of divine revelation and is often mentioned in the poetical passages describing theophany (Deut. 33:2; Judg. 5:5; Ps. 68:9, 18); when *Elijah sought God he went to the Mount of God, Horeb (I Kings 19:8). No other narrative of pilgrimage to this mountain is found in the Bible. Noth suggested that Numbers 33 is actually a "pilgrims' itinerary to Mt. Sinai in reverse." Since the mountain was called "The Mount of God" even before God's revelation to Moses, scholars have assumed that it was a place of worship even before the Hebrews came to it.

In its present context in the Pentateuch the tradition of Mt. Sinai is closely interwoven with that of the Exodus. Since the study of G. von Rad (1938), scholars tend to agree that this pericope originally formed a separate element in what Christian scholars call *Heilsgeschichte*, "History of Salvation." According to biblical scholars, the description of the events at Mt. Sinai does not reflect a historical occurrence; in fact it is a miracle tale adjudged by some to be a liturgical narrative (*Festlegende*) belonging to an ancient Festival of the *Covenant (*berit*). In Judges 5:5, the Hebrew god is called "Yahweh-of-Sinai" (Cross) unconnected to either covenant or revelation of the law. The same holds for the ancient poem Deut. 33:2–5, 26–28 (the remaining verses are later; see Seeligmann).

Location

There is no Jewish tradition of the geographical location of Mt. Sinai; it seems that its exact location was obscure already in the time of the monarchy (B. Mazar, and see below). Rabbinical literature was always more concerned with the contents and ideas of the Torah than with the question of where it was given. The Christian hermits and monks, mostly from Egypt, who settled in southern Sinai from the second century C.E. on, made repeated efforts to identify the localities of the Exodus with actual places to which the believers could make their way as pilgrims. The identification of Mt. Sinai either with Jebel Sirbāl near the oasis of Fīrān (Paran; Nilus, Cosmas Indicopleustes), or with Jebel Mūsā, can be traced back as far as the fourth century C.E. At the foot of Jebel Mūsā, the location of Mt. Sinai which came to prevail, the monks built a church and tower (Etheria) on the spot which they believed to be the place of the burning bush. In the sixth century C.E. Justinian added a fortress/monastery which, from the tenth century on has been connected with the legend and relics of St. Catherine of Alexandria. In spite of the gap between the biblical period and the rise of these traditions, they were accepted by many scholars, such as E. Robinson and E.H. Palmer.

In the 19th century an opinion arose that the description of the theophany on Mt. Sinai reflects a volcanic eruption. Since no volcanoes were active in historical times in the Sinai Peninsula, scholars removed the location of Mt. Sinai to the Arabian Peninsula. This seemed to fit in well with other data about the wanderings, such as the identification of Elim Elath, and the close connection of the Midianites who inhabited Arabia's west coast, with the story of the Exodus (Gal. 4:25 "For this Hagar Sina is a mountain in Arabia"). Although most modern scholars reject the theory that most of the wanderings took place in Arabia, it was maintained that Mt. Sinai is in Arabia by some (M. Noth, O. Eissfeldt, J. Koenig, H. Gese). Comparisons of the descriptions of theophanies in Ancient Near Eastern literature show that the appearance of the divinity on a mountain top with thunder and fire is a common element. Therefore there is no need to connect the theophany on Mt. Sinai with an actual volcanic eruption

If the location of Mt. Sinai is inseparable from the route of the Exodus, all that remains to be done is to find a prominent mountain along one of the three main routes alternatively proposed for the Exodus. Those who hold that the route passed through the northern part of the Sinai Peninsula identify Mt. Sinai with Jebel Halāl (or Ḥalāl), Jebel Ya'allaq, or Jebel Maghāra. Advocates of the route through the central region of Sinai suggest Jebel Sinn Bishr. The hypothesis of a southern route proposes the identification of Mt. Sinai with one of the many lofty peaks in the southern mountain range, such as Jebel Sirbāl, Jebel Mūsā, Jebel Katherina, Jebel Um Shomar, etc. If, however, the historic-traditional conclusion that the account of the Exodus and the tradition of Mt. Sinai were originally independent is accepted, there is no necessity to bring Mt. Sinai in geographical relation with the route of the Exodus. The Torah is shaped by the ideology that a unified nation of Israel entered the promised land with a complete set of laws that it received in the "land that no human passed through" (Jer. 2:6), taking nothing of the "practice of the land of Egypt … and the practice of the land of Canaan" (Lev. 18:3).

There are very few data by which one could locate the holy mountain. Even if Yahweh was originally associated with a specific southern mountain or mountains, as indicated in the ancient traditions of Deut 33, Judges 5, and Habakkuk 3, the multiple traditions surviving in the Pentateuch make an identification impossible (see above). The distance of a three-day journey from Egypt (Ex. 5:3) is not a criterion, not only because Moses might have understated his real objective, but mainly because this would mean deriving an actual geographical distance from a literary formula, the three days being a typological number. The same applies to the distance of 40 days from Beer-Sheba (I Kings 19:8). The only indication of distance seems to be Deuteronomy 1:2: "Eleven days from Horeb to Kadesh-Barnea by the Mount Seir route"; but this itself is not enough to make even a plausible suggestion.

[Ora Lipschitz / S. David Sperling]

In recent years E. Anati has attempted to identify Mount Sinai at Har Karkom in the Negev Desert on the modern border between Egypt and Israel; his identification has not won many supporters, even though he has unearthed unusual finds at the site.

[Shimon Gibson (2nd ed.)]

In the Aggadah

The world is firmly established by virtue of two holy mountains, Moriah and Sinai (Mid. Ps. to 87:1). Had Israel not stood before Mount Sinai, the world would long have collapsed and been reduced to chaos (Ruth R. Proem 1). This mountain had five names: the mountain of God, Bashan, Gavnunim, Horeb, and Sinai (Ex. R. 2:4). Others say that it had three names: the mountain of God, because there God made known His Divinity; Sinai, because there He rejected (*sana*, שנא; lit. "hated") the celestials (He did not give them the Torah) and showed His love for the terrestrials (men, by giving them the Torah); Horeb, because the Torah, called *ḥerev* ("sword," Ps. 149:6) was given there (Ex. R. 51:8). Another interpretation given of the name is that from there "*sinah* ["hatred," i.e., for the Jewish people] descended to the world" (Shab. 89a).

The mountains quarreled for the honor of having the Torah given on them, but God declared: "Sinai is the only mountain on which no idolatry has been practiced; therefore it alone is fit for the honor" (Gen. R. 99:1). Another reason is that Sinai alone modestly assumed that it was too low to expect the honor; therefore God chose it (Num. R. 13:3). He therefore brought down the upper and the lower heavens and spread them over Sinai, like a bedspread over a bed (Mekh. to Ex. 19:20), and He came from Sinai to welcome Israel like a bridegroom goes out to welcome his bride (*ibid.*, *Yitro* 19:17).

God caused Sinai to tower menacingly over the children of Israel and said to them: "If you accept the Torah, it will be well with you; if not, here will be your burial" (Shab. 88a). When they accepted it, the lasciviousness with which the primeval serpent had infected mankind left them (*ibid.*, 146a), and when they proclaimed at Sinai, "'We will do and we will listen' (Ex. 24:7), they were vouchsafed the luster of the heavenly *Shekhinah*" (PR 21:101a). Further, there were no unclean persons or lepers, no lame, blind, deaf or dumb, imbeciles or fools, and there was no dissension among them (Song R. 4:7 No. 1). Every day a *bat kol* ("heavenly voice") proclaims from Mount Horeb: "Woe to men for slighting the Torah" (Avot 6:2).

[Harry Freedman]

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SINAI CAMPAIGN (also known as Operation Kadesh), the short war (Oct. 29–Nov. 5, 1956) between Egypt and Israel, partly coinciding with the Anglo-French Suez Campaign, launched by Israel in the wake of mounting aggression by Egyptian fedayeen ("suicide") squads.

Causes of the Campaign

Israel's *War of Independence (1948–49) was terminated by *Armistice Agreements, not peace treaties, between the State of Israel and the neighboring Arab states. The vague conditions of the agreements (especially the provisions for demilitarized zones), the refusal of the Arabs to enter into negotiations for peace, and the absence of progress towards the solution of basic problems inevitably led to the aggravation of relations between Israel and her neighbors. Between 1949 and the Sinai Campaign in 1956, Arab acts of hostility caused approximately 1,300 Israel civilian casualties. In August 1955 Egypt launched the fedayeen squads for murder and sabotage inside Israel, and Israel, in turn, conducted reprisals on an ever-increasing scale.

At the end of September 1955, Egypt and Czechoslovakia, with Soviet blessings, concluded an arms deal for the provision of large quantities of Russian arms to Egypt. This confirmed Israel's suspicions of Egypt's aggressive intentions and, since it changed the balance of armament in the Middle East, provoked a new arms race. On Oct. 24, 1956, two weeks after an Israel reprisal raid on Qalqīliya, a joint Arab military command was established, including Egypt, Jordan, and Syria, with the Egyptian chief of staff at its head. At the same time, Egypt fortified the Straits of Tiran and placed heavy guns at Ra's Nuṣrānī, thus blocking the Red Sea route to Eilat. The passage of Israel shipping through the Suez Canal was already blocked. Operation Kadesh (the code name of the Sinai Campaign) was a preemptive offensive to catch the Egyptians off balance before their hostile preparations were completed. The timing of the campaign gave Israel apparent advantages. The Egyptian leadership had dissipated its efforts between several uncoordinated political and military objectives. After the nationalization of the Suez Canal, Egypt's expectation of military intervention by the Western Powers (particularly Great Britain and France) compelled her to move armored forces back from Sinai to the canal zone. Nevertheless, she continued to convert the Sinai peninsula into a military base for the invasion of Israel and, simultaneously, continued to provoke Israel with large-scale fedayeen raids. As a result of the arms deal, the Egyptian army was expanding, and engaged in absorbing new Soviet weapons – hitherto, it had been equipped primarily with British arms and its organization had been based on British patterns. The wholesale transition to Soviet weapons necessitated remodeling the army and its operational doctrine. At such a critical time it was a grave blunder to provoke the Western Powers by nationalizing the Suez Canal and to provoke Israel by intensifying fedayeen activities. The reasons for, and objectives of, the Anglo-French attack on Egypt were quite different from those of Israel. Nevertheless, the timing of both campaigns, which was termed by many outside observers as a "collusion" between Israel and the West European powers, had a direct tactical impact on Operation *Kadesh*. The objectives of Israel's operations, as defined in the order given to the Israel Defense Forces (IDF), were: destruction of the fedayeen bases in the Gaza Strip and on the Sinai border; prevention,

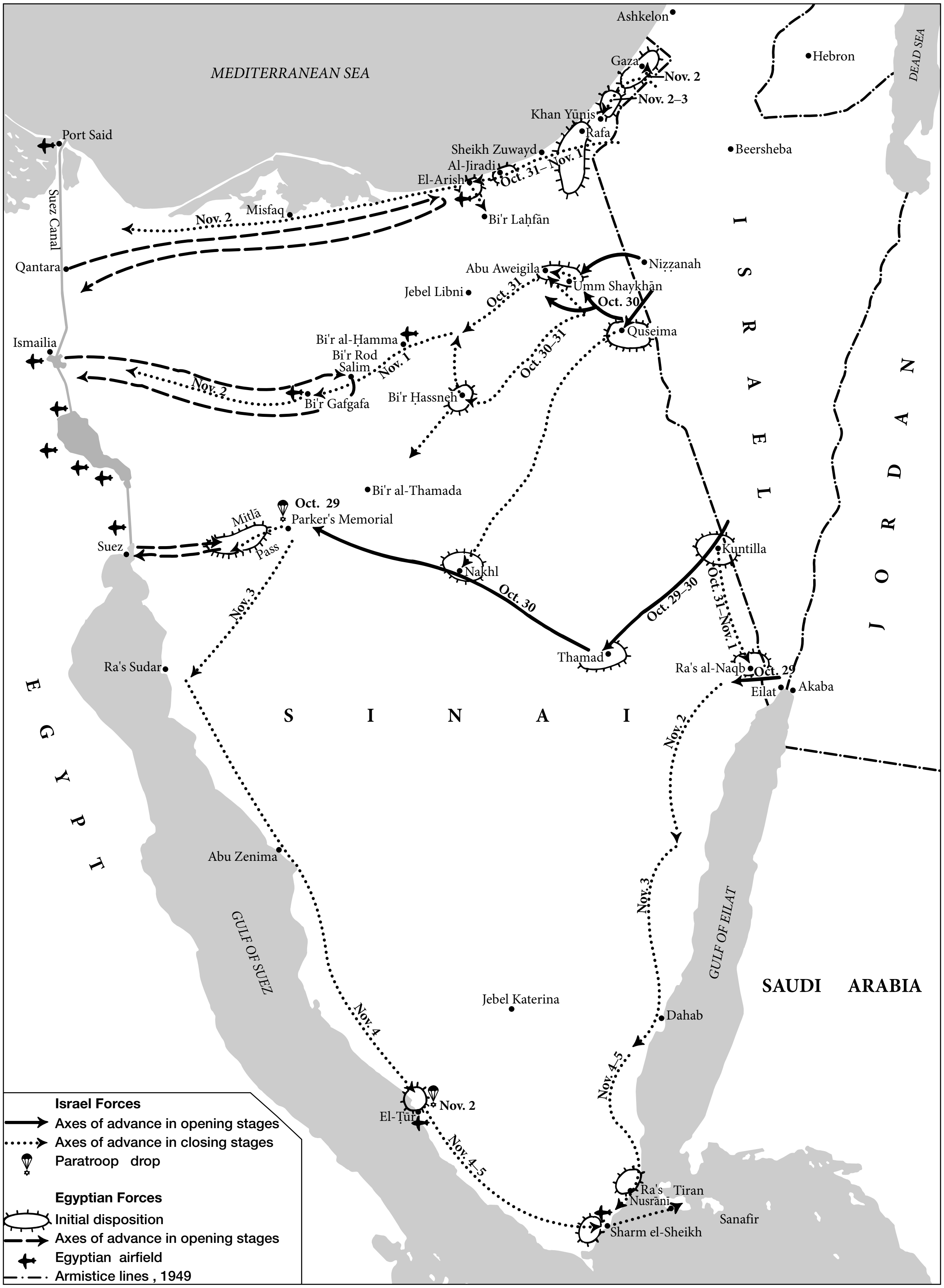
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
Ashkelon
Gaza
Nov. 2
Nov. 2–3
Khan Yūnis
Rafa
Hebron
DEAD SEA
Beersheba
Port Said
Sheikh Zuwayd
Al-Jiradi
Oct. 31– Nov. 1
El-Arish
Misfaq
Nov. 2
Bi'r Laḥfān
Suez Canal
Qantara
Nizzanah
Abu Aweigila
Umm Shaykhān
Oct. 30
Jebel Libni
Oct. 31
Quseima
Ismailia
Bi'r al-Ḥamma
Bi'r Rod Salim
Nov. 1
Oct. 30–31
Nov. 2
Bi'r Gafgafa
Bi'r Ḥassneh
I S R A E L
J O R D A N
Bi'r al-Thamada
Oct. 29
Parker's Memorial
Mitlā Pass
Suez
Nakhl
Kuntilla
Oct. 30
Oct. 29–30
Oct. 31–Nov. 1
Nov. 3
Ra's Sudar
Thamad
Ra's al-Naqb
Oct. 29
Eilat
Akaba
S I N A I
E G Y P T
Nov. 2
Abu Zenima
Nov. 3
GULF OF SUEZ
GULF OF EILAT
SAUDI ARABIA
Jebel Katerina
Dahab
Nov. 4
Nov. 4–5
Nov. 2
El-Ṭūr
Nov. 4–5
Ra's Nusrānī
Tiran
Sanafir
Sharm el-Sheikh
Israel Forces
Axes of advance in opening stages
Axes of advance in closing stages
Paratroop drop
Egyptian Forces
Initial disposition
Axes of advance in opening stages
Egyptian airfield
Armistice lines, 1949

The Sinai Campaign, October 29–November 5, 1956. Based on Atlas of Israel, *Jerusalem, 1970.*

for however short a time, of an Egyptian attack on Israel by destroying Egypt's logistic establishment and the airfields in Sinai; and opening the Gulf of Eilat to undisturbed Israeli shipping. All these objectives were achieved.

The IDF had undergone many changes since the War of Independence: methods had been organized for the rapid mobilization of reserve units and of civilian vehicles and heavy mechanical equipment; weapons had been standardized and the forces trained in their use, especially in the air force and the armored corps; and a new system of tactics had been formulated and inculcated.

The Campaign

Though the Sinai Campaign lasted only eight days – from Oct. 29 to Nov. 5, 1956 – it may be divided into three phases: the opening phase on October 29–30; decision, October 31–November 1; exploitation, November 2–5.

PHASE 1: OCTOBER 29–30. In the late afternoon of October 29, an airborne battalion was dropped near Colonel Parker's Memorial in the west central area of the Sinai peninsula. Other units of the same airborne brigade moved as a mechanized column toward the same point, capturing al-Kuntilla, Thamad, and Nakhl, and reaching their destination on the night of October 30/31. With this opening move, all the Egyptian positions in northeast Sinai were outflanked, and the Suez Canal directly threatened.

In the early hours of October 30, the vital road junction of al-Quseima was captured, affording an additional gateway into Sinai from the east. This directly exposed the southern flank of the Third Egyptian Division in the northeast corner of Sinai. The seizure of the road junction enabled further Israel forces to outflank the Third Division and, at the same time, provided a second link-up with the paratroopers near Parker's Memorial. The most important achievement of this phase was the gaining of air superiority by the Israel Air Force long before the Anglo-French air forces attacked airfields in Egypt.

PHASE 2: OCTOBER 30–NOVEMBER 1. On the afternoon of October 30, a reconnaissance company ascertained that the Ḍayqa Pass was free of enemy forces. This enabled the armored brigade of the central task force to avoid a frontal clash with Egyptian forces, to get to the rear of the Abu Aweigila positions, and, in the most spectacular armored battles of the campaign, to seize the Abu Aweigila road junction and the enemy positions at the Rawāfa Dam. These victories blocked the escape route of the Egyptian brigade at Umm Qataf and Umm Shaykhān, between the frontier and Abu Aweigila. On the same afternoon, Israeli forces captured the enemy positions at ʿAwja Maṣrī near the frontier, along the Niẓẓanah-Ismailiya road. By the early evening the positions at Tarat Umm Basīs, seven kilometers from the border, had been occupied.

During the night, an infantry force, supported by artillery, took up positions on both sides of the road at Umm Ṭurfa, halfway between Umm Basīs and Umm Qataf, encircling the positions at Umm Qataf and Umm Shaykhān. In spite of transport difficulties caused by an Egyptian attempt to block the road through Umm Shaykhān, fuel and ammunition reached the Israeli armored brigade in the rear of the enemy positions. Head-on IDF attacks on these positions had failed, because they had been based on incorrect information and errors of judgment; but during the night of November 1/2, Egyptian troops withdrew from the positions, leaving their heavy equipment. During the next few days, these soldiers roamed aimlessly in the area between El-Arish, Abu Aweigila and the canal, until they were rounded up and taken prisoner.

At the same time, one armored force advanced westward. It had been reported that an Egyptian armored force was moving from the canal zone eastward, and the Israeli force laid an ambush at the Jebel Libni road junction. However, the Egyptian armored force never reached this point, for on the morning of October 31, pilots of the Israel Air Force sighted it on the road between Biʾr Gafgafa and Biʾr Ḥamma and proceeded to immobilize 90 of the vehicles. The remaining vehicles withdrew, and the Israeli armored force continued its advance westward, meeting stiff resistance from armor and artillery intended to delay the Israeli advance and allow the main body of Egyptian troops to withdraw across the Suez Canal. Orderly, organized retreat however, had already become impossible.

During the night of October 31–November 1, the IDF northern task force attacked in the northern sector and the fortified positions at Rafah were stormed, thus opening the way to the Suez Canal for an armored brigade. By the evening of November 1, armored forces had reached El-Arish, fighting all the way. At the same time there was a bloody clash in the southern sector, where the airborne brigade advancing westward from Parker's Memorial ran into an enemy ambush positioned in the caves of the Mitlā Pass. Only after fierce fighting were the paratroopers able to overpower the enemy. The general retreat from Sinai, ordered by the Egyptian high command on November 1, soon turned into a rout, with attacks by the Israel Air Force increasing the turmoil. Many Egyptian officers abandoned their men in order to save their own lives. During this phase the Egyptian destroyer *Ibrahim al-Awwal* was captured off Haifa by a combined operation of the Israel Navy and Air Force.

PHASE 3: NOVEMBER 2–5. In compliance with the Anglo-French ultimatum, the armored spearheads of the IDF halted at points ten miles from the canal on November 2, near Ismailiya on the central axis, and on November 3, in the vicinity of Qantara on the northern axis. There still remained two objectives: the capture of the Gaza Strip and the seizure of the Egyptian strongpoints at Raʾs Nuṣrānī and Sharm el-Sheikh on the Straits of Tiran. After the capture of Rafah, the Gaza Strip was cut off, and there remained only the troublesome task of mopping up scores of fortified positions and taking over the townships of Gaza, Khan Yunis, and Beit Ḥānūn. This action began on November 2 and was completed the following day.

The capture of Ra's Nuṣrānī and Sharm el-Sheikh was allotted to a reserve infantry brigade moving as a mobile column down the western shore of the Gulf of Eilat. On October 31 this column reached el-Kuntilla and, on the following day, Ra's al-Naqb, which had been seized two days earlier by other IDF troops. Since the Israel Air Force was fully occupied on the central axis, the mobile column waited until November 2 before continuing its advance. As bad road conditions and sporadic clashes with the enemy caused further delay, the general staff ordered the parachute brigade to move from Parker's Memorial toward the southern tip of the Sinai peninsula along the eastern shore of the Red Sea as far as the oil fields of Ra's Sudar. Simultaneously, paratroopers were dropped on the airfield at el-Tur. A pincer movement now threatened the last remaining Egyptian positions in Sinai. Ra's Nuṣrānī was evacuated by its garrison and, as the final act of the Sinai Campaign, Sharm el-Sheikh was stormed by the reservists on November 5.

IDF losses in the campaign were 171 dead, several hundred wounded, and four Israelis taken prisoner. Egyptian losses were estimated at several thousand dead and wounded, while 6,000 prisoners were taken. Immense quantities of armored vehicles, trucks, guns, and other military equipment were seized.

The Aftermath

As the result of a prolonged political struggle, in which both the United States and the Soviet Union opposed Israel, the IDF was compelled to evacuate the Sinai peninsula and the Gaza Strip. Troops of the United Nations Emergency Force (UNEF) were posted on the Egyptian side of the frontier and at Sharm el-Sheikh to guarantee free passage of Israeli shipping through the Straits of Tiran. Israel made it clear that any deviation from these arrangements would constitute a *casus belli*. The straits remained open until May 23, 1967, when Egypt ordered the evacuation of UNEF and closed the entrance to the Gulf of Eilat, thus precipitating the *Six-Day War.

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[Jehuda Wallach]

SINCLAIR, CLIVE (1948–), British writer and critic. Sinclair was born in London. In 1973 he published his first novel *Bibliosexuality.* His short stories were published in two volumes, *Hearts of Gold* (1979) and *Bedbugs* (1982), collections which established him as a major talent among Anglo-Jewish writers. A feature of his stories is the strong focus on Jewish and Israeli themes, imagery, and idioms. He wrote a critical-biographical study of Isaac Bashevis *Singer and Israel Joshua *Singer, *The Brothers Singer* (1982). In 1983–87 Sinclair served as literary editor of the London *Jewish Chronicle.* Later novels include *Blood Libels* (1987) and *Augustus Rex* (1993), and an account of Israel, *Diaspora Blues* (1987).

[Susan Strul]

SINDABAR (or **Sindbad**, **Sindabot**), Indian sage who is the hero of an ancient book, *Mishlei Sindabar* (Parables of Sindbad) or *Sippurei Sindabar* (Tales of Sindbad), a collection of short stories of Buddhist origin. These belong to the type of stories dealing with the life of Asoka, "defender of the faith of Buddha," but in the course of time foreign motifs were blended into them. After many transmutations this book reached world literature, including Hebrew literature, by way of Arabic. In almost every language the names became distorted and the form of the stories underwent changes. The medieval translations were generally adaptations, every translator introducing changes in the original text, leaving out some things and adding others, and finally changing the stories round as he saw fit. Because of all these adaptations it is at times impossible to discern the original text on which the collection rested.

The Hebrew book called *Mishlei Sindbad* exists in various MSS, having first been printed in Constantinople in 1516 and appearing in five subsequent editions. Neither the translator nor his source is known. The Hebrew text is therefore an important source in investigating the history of the work. The framework of the stories is simple:

An Indian king has a son in his old age. When the latter is seven years old the king entrusts him to Sindabar, "the chief sage of India," to teach him wisdom and knowledge. The son grows up to become the wisest man in the realm. Just as the prince is about to return to his father, he and Sindabar see in the stars that if upon reaching home the prince does not preserve complete silence for the first seven days, but speaks like other men, he will be killed. The prince returns and the king is greatly troubled by his silence, for which he does not know the reason. The king has 80 wives, one of whom loves the prince. She tries to entice him to kill his father and rule in his stead. Shocked by what she says, the prince is silent. Fearing that he will expose her behavior to his father, the woman tells the king that the prince has tried to rape her and begs that he be condemned to death. When this becomes known to the king's seven advisers they go to him one by one to try and persuade him not to kill the prince. They tell him moving stories to influence him. The woman then comes to contradict the advisers, telling suitable stories of her own. When the seven days of silence are over the prince tells his father the truth. The king wishes to kill his wife, but the prince is sorry for her and begs his father to pardon her. The king recognizes the wisdom of his son, the pupil of Sindabar.

This book is also known in another Hebrew version, based on an Italian translation called *Parables of Erasto* by Isaac Uziel (15–16th centuries), published in Jerusalem in 1945.

The Hebrew version has been translated into Yiddish, German, and English (*Tales of Sendebar* (1967), tr. by M. Epstein).

See *Fiction, The Romance in Hebrew Literature.

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[Abraham Meir Habermann]

SINGAPORE, republic; major entrepôt of S.E. Asia, formerly a British crown colony. The first Jews to settle there were of Baghdadi origin, mainly from India, who migrated to Singapore in 1840 when the *Sassoon family established business interests. Prayers were first held in a house in the street still known as "Synagogue Street." The Maghain Aboth synagogue was opened in 1878; it possessed a number of Torah scrolls in beaten silver cases brought from Baghdad. Another synagogue, Chased El, was built in 1904 by Sir Manasseh Meyer, reputed to be the richest Jew in the Far East. He also endowed a *talmud torah*. Local custom sanctioned conveyance to synagogue by rickshaw on Sabbath. The community remained largely Sephardi, but Ashkenazi immigrants from England, the Netherlands, China, Russia, and Germany also settled there. Most engaged in business and the professions. The community continued to be highly prosperous and important out of all proportion to its size. The 1931 census records that the 832 Jews and larger number of Arab residents were the largest house property owners in the city. There were over 1,500 Jewish inhabitants by 1939. Many were interned by the Japanese during World War II, and a number subsequently immigrated to Australia, England, the United States, and Israel. Apart from their contribution to commerce, Jews have taken a considerable part in political life and in 1955 David S. *Marshall became the first chief minister of the republic. The community is represented by the Jewish Welfare Board which publishes a monthly bulletin. There exist two synagogues with one officiating rabbi; social activities center in the Menorah Club. The community numbered approximately 450 in 1968. In the early 21st century the community numbered 300, many of them expatriate Israelis and American and British Jews. There was a rabbi and Sabbath services were held at the Waterloo Road and Maghain Aboth synagogues (Sephardi). The expatriates founded the United Hebrew Congregation. Sunday school classes were held for children and the community had a quarterly publication, *Shalom*. The community center was a focus of Jewish life and there was also an old age home.

[Percy S. Gourgey / Tudor Parfitt (2nd ed.)]

Relations with Israel

From the beginning of the 1960s, trade relations began to develop between Singapore and Israel. Israeli experts extended technical aid to Singapore, while a number of mutual visits were made by ministers, public figures, and senior officials. In 1968 a trade agreement was signed by the two countries and an Israeli trade mission opened in Singapore. In May 1969 diplomatic relations were established, and in July the Israeli ambassador presented his credentials. Technical cooperation included the dispatch of Israeli advisers to the Singapore army. In 1970 the two countries signed an aviation agreement. The Singapore-Israel Industrial R&D Foundation (SIIRD) was established in 1997 to promote, facilitate, and support joint industrial R&D projects between Singaporean and Israeli high-tech companies. The Economic Development Board (EDB) of Singapore and the Office of the Chief Scientist (OCS), of the Ministry of Industry and Trade of Israel are the two cooperating government agencies responsible for the research and development support fund.

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SINGER, ABRAHAM (1849–1914), Hungarian rabbi and scholar. He served as rabbi at Varpalota and wrote studies on the history of Hungarian Jewry and his community in particular. Among his publications is a work on the development of the Reform movement in the 19th century, *Paris, Braunschweig, Arad* (1899), as well as *Deutsch-ungarisches Handbuch der Matrikelfuehrung* (1884). His son LEO SINGER (d. 1944) also served as rabbi in Varpalota and wrote on Hungarian Jewish history.

He translated a number of Hebrew texts into Hungarian: Psalms (Zsoltárok, 1962^2); the Passover *Haggadah* (1929); parts of Baḥya ibn Paquda's *Ḥovot ha-Levavot* (1907); and S. Ganzfried's *Kiẓẓur Shulḥan Arukh* (3 vols., 1934–39; repr. 1962). He also wrote belletristic works, among them Asmodáj (1922), a drama, and *Eszter királyné* (1928, 1940). In 1944 he was murdered by the Nazis.

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SINGER, BRYAN (1965–), U.S. writer, director, producer. Singer was born in New York, N.Y., and raised in Princeton Junction and Lawrenceville, N.J., by father Norbert (businessman) and mother Grace Sinden (environmental activist). Introverted as a child, Singer played piano from an early age, loved movies and the TV show *Star Trek*, and at 12, became fascinated with still photography. By his early teens, he was shooting 8-mm and Super-8 films in his backyard, with friend Ethan Hawke and schoolmate Christopher McQuarrie (who wrote the Oscar-winning screenplay for Singer's *The Usual Suspects*). He graduated high school in 1984, attended the School of Visual Arts in New York, then transferred to the University of Southern California. He was only 23 when his first major release, *Public Access*, garnered the prestigious Sundance Grand Jury Prize. Two years later, Singer directed the hit *The Usual Suspects* (1995). He directed and produced *Apt Pupil* (1997), adapted from a Stephen King short story which involved a neighbor with a Nazi past. He followed this by directing *X-Men* (2000), a $75-million reworking of the famed Marvel comic book for the big screen. This tale of reluctant superheroes piqued his interest, he said, because it is "about a gang of outsiders. They're mutants. The films I've made so far are about characters who hide something below the surface, some secret they don't reveal." The character Magnito is a Holocaust survivor. Singer directed and executive-produced the sequel X-2 (2003). Singer also produced the acclaimed TV series *House, M.D.* (2004).

[Amy Handelsman (2nd ed.)]

SINGER, CHARLES JOSEPH (1876–1960), British historian of science and medicine. The son of R. Simeon*Singer, Charles Singer spent several years as a physician before his interests turned to the history of medicine. He taught the subject at Oxford from 1914 to 1920, when he transferred to University College, London. He was promoted to a professorship in 1930. Singer served as president of the International Union of the History of Science (1947–1949), and in 1956 he and his wife Dorothea were joint recipients of that organization's highest award, the Sarton Medal. Singer's contributions to scholarship were prodigious. He produced over 400 books, translations, articles, and reviews. He published *The Evolution of Anatomy* (1925); *A Short History of Medicine* (1928, 1962^2); and *A Short History of Biology* (1931). He translated many great anatomical works, including *Vesalius on the Human Brain* (1952) and *Galen on Anatomical Procedures* (1956). Among his extensive writings on the history of magic and its relationship to medicine and science was his *From Magic to Science* (1928). On the history of technology, he published a study of alum manufacture, *The Earliest Chemical Industry* (1948), and he helped to edit a five-volume *History of Technology* (1954–58). Throughout his career Singer maintained an active interest in Jewish history and affairs. In 1927 he collaborated with Edwyn R. Bevan in editing *The Legacy of Israel*, contributing jointly with his wife an essay on "The Jewish Factor in Medieval Thought." During the 1930s and 1940s, in response to the rise of Nazism, he wrote several articles and pamphlets on contemporary Christian attitudes toward Jews. He was also active in the rescue and protection of victims of Nazi oppression. His wife, DOROTHEA WALEY SINGER (1882–1964), social worker and scholar, was chairman of the bibliographical commission of the International Academy for Historical Science from 1947 to 1950, and vice president from 1950 to 1953.

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[Theodore M. Brown]

SINGER, GEORGE (1908–1980), conductor, composer and pianist. Born in Prague, Singer studied piano and composition at the Music Academy (1924–26) and won a piano competition (1925). He made his début as an opera conductor in the Neues Deutsches Theater (1926–30). Thereafter, Singer went to Hamburg to conduct the Staatsoper. In 1934 he returned to Prague, where he gave the first radio performance of the concert version of Dvořák's first opera, *Alfred*. When the Nazis invaded Czechoslovakia, he went to Palestine in 1939 on the "illegal" immigrant ship *Tiger Hill*. He was among the founders and conductor of the Palestine Opera, serving until 1945. On the establishment of the Israel Opera in 1947, he became its permanent guest conductor. Singer often conducted the Israel Philharmonic Orchestra, the Israeli Broadcasting Orchestra, the Israel Chamber Orchestra, the Haifa Symphony Orchestra, and the Rubinstein Festival. From 1947 he also toured widely conducting orchestras and operas in Europe, the United States, and Russia (1956), giving especially noteworthy performances of the works of Czechoslovakian and Israeli composers. Among the opera premières he conducted were Darius *Milhaud's *King David* (1954); *Avidom's *Alexandra the Hasmonean* (1959), and Karel *Salamon's *Vows*. He gave the premières of several Israeli orchestral works, such as *Avidom's Symphony no. 4; Ben Haim's *To the Chief Musician* for orchestra, Symphony No. 2 and *The Sweet Psalmist of Israel*; *Boskovich's Oboe Concerto; and *Gelbrun's Rilke Songs. He was known for his phenomenal facility in sight-reading and conducting every nuance of an orchestral score. Among his compositions are Sinfonietta for orchestra (1950), two suites for orchestra (1957, 1960), a piano concertino (1965) and vocal and piano music.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Grove Music Online.

[Naama Ramot (2nd ed.)]

SINGER, HOWARD (1922–), author. A Conservative rabbi, he published a best-selling first novel, *Wake Me When It's Over* (1959), which was followed by *The Devil and Henry Raftin* (1967). *Bring Forth the Mighty Men: On Violence and the Jewish Character* (1969), a study of the Israeli fighting character, bitterly attacked the U.S. Jewish establishment for alleged reticence over the defense of the Jew.

SINGER, ISAAC BASHEVIS (1904–1991), Yiddish novelist, critic, and journalist. The younger brother of the novelists Ester Kraytman and I.J. *Singer, Isaac was born into a rabbinical family in Leoncin, Poland. He grew up in Warsaw, where he made his career until his emigration to America in 1935, though in 1917 he left the city with his mother and younger brother and lived for a few years in his mother's hometown of Bilgoraj, where his grandfather was rabbi. His education was traditional. He taught himself German and Polish. In Warsaw his home was on the poor and teeming Krochmalna Street, where his father held a *bet din*. The old-world tradition and way of life and his father's rich library inspired in him an interest in philosophy in general and in the Kabbalah in particular. His brother's example as a secular Yiddish writer was also of the greatest importance to Singer's artistic and moral development.

Singer's Pseudonyms

Prolific and versatile, Singer's multiple talents group themselves behind his various pseudonyms. He made his debut in the literary world with "*Oyf der Elter*" (in *Literarishe Bleter*, no. 60, 1925) which he signed "*Tse*" (צע). In the same journal that year (no. 80), his story "*Vayber*" was published under the pseudonym "Isaac Bashevis" (a derivative of his mother's first name, Bas-Sheva (Yid. for Bath-Sheba)), which he used only for his serious literary creations. Its adoption was prompted by the desire to avoid confusion with his famous brother, Israel Joshua Singer. For his more or less serious journalism Bashevis adopted the name Y. Varshavski, and for his feuilletons and lighter pieces, that of D. Segal. However, his pseudonyms are not inflexible: with shaping and reordering, Varshavski's memoirs became Singer's *Mayn Tatn's Beys-Din Shtub*.

Imagistic Portrayals of Inner Forces

Singer was recognized early in his literary career. His first major fictional work, *Sotn in Goray* (1935; *Satan in Goray*, 1955), had been preceded by short stories in such respected journals as *Varshever Shriftn* (1926–27) and the Warsaw *Globus* (1932–34), where *Sotn in Goray* and its antecedent "*Der Yid fun Bovl*" first appeared. The kabbalist protagonist of the latter, after life-long traffic with the occult, is finally claimed by the satanic host, despite his conscious will to resist. Here we see the implacable workings of dark inner forces which Singer projects in images derived from folklore. The typical Singer hero is virtually helpless before his passion: he is "possessed." The town of Goray in *Sotn in Goray* is "possessed" by the false messianism which in 17th-century Poland wrought havoc on Jewish life. "Let none attempt to force the Lord" is the moral of this parable for all times. This "anti-Prometheanism" (a term used by Shlomo *Bickel in his criticism on Bashevis) is a dominant note in Singer's work.

U.S. Publications in English Translation

In the United States, Singer's stories and serialized novels became a regular feature of the New York Yiddish daily *Forward*, and in the 1950s his stories began to appear in translation in serious magazines. His first *Forward* serial, *Di Familye Mushkat* (1950; *The Family Moskat*, 1950), is a realistic epical novel of pre-World War II Warsaw. *Satan in Goray* initiated the U.S. acclaim of Singer as the artist of the grotesque and demoniac who generated more interest than the realistic chronicler of the more recent Polish Jewish past. Of the volumes that Bashevis published in English from 1955, only three appeared in book form in Yiddish; two of these, five to six years after their English translation. Singer was thus in the curious position of writing for two very distinct audiences: the sophisticated public that read him in translation in *Commentary* and in the *New Yorker*, and the *Jewish Daily Forward* Yiddish readership, less sophisticated, but with wider Jewish knowledge. Singer declared that "nothing can spoil a writer more than writing for the translator" (*Commentary*, vol. 36, no. 5, 1963); yet the suspicion that he himself did persists.

Motifs and Styles of His Works

Singer was above all a marvelous and interesting storyteller, no matter where he might be leading his expectant, and often puzzled, reader. If his demons, imps, and spirits are regarded as a shorthand ("a kind of spiritual stenography" Singer called it) for complex human behavior, then one need not be distressed by the author's professed belief in their substantive reality. Singer's fictional writings include a variety of narrators and protagonists living on the margins of Jewish society, such as the mentally disturbed, criminals, prostitutes, and various other extraordinary individuals (e.g., the *Magican of Lublin*, 1960). Many of his fictional writings tend to center around the sexual and the sacred, especially their interrelationship: "In my stories it is just one step from the study house to sexuality and back again. Both phases of human existence have continued to interest me" (*In My Father's Court*, p. 175). Though eroticism has been present in Yiddish literature for over half a century, many Yiddish readers, preferring a "balanced view" of Jewish life and of man in general, find the sexual motif in Singer overworked and exaggerated.

Singer's serious fiction falls into three groups: his realistic novels, his short romances or novellas, and his short stories. To these may be added his memoirs (like *Mayn Tatn's Beys-Din Shtub*, 1950; *In My Father's Court*, 1966, a work which is both art and documentary; *Gloybn un Tsveyfl*, 1974, 1976, 1978; *A Little Boy in Search of God*, 1976; *A Young Man in Search of Love*, 1978; *Lost in America*, 1981; and others which only appeared in the *Forverts*), and also his autobiographical novels (like *Der Sertificat*, 1967; *The Certificate,* 1992; *Neshome Ekspeditsyes*, 1974; *Shosha*, 1978: and others). Singer is at home in a variety of styles, modes, and subjects; he moves freely from the medieval to the contemporary, from the naturalistic to the fantastic, from psychological illumination to parapsychological mystification. His typical pose is one of ironic detachment.

Realistic Novels

The Manor (1967; written in 1953–55), first serialized in the *Forward* under the title *Der Hoyf* of which it constitutes part 1, is a realistic family chronicle of late 19th-century Polish Jewish life. Similar in style to *The Family Moskat*, it suffers from the same loose structure but is largely redeemed by the same vividness. A continuation was called *The Estate* (1970).

Set in 19th-century Poland, *The Magician of Lublin* (1960) has for its protagonist a Jewish magician-acrobat Don Juan whose Faustian striving eventually leads to penitential self-incarceration. *The Slave* (1962; Yid., *Der Knekht*, 1967), a universalistic parable set in 17th-century Poland after the *Chmielnicki massacres, portrays an enslaved Jew who falls in love with the daughter of his peasant master; the gulf between them is bridged by the unifying and transcendent power of love. The miracle at the end of *The Slave* disturbs readers who look amiss at interference, whether authorial or supernatural.

Shadows on the Hudson (1998) is another realistic novel which introduces a large variety of New York Jews from different backgrounds and describes the complex interactions between them.

Shorter Fictional Works

It is in the shorter forms of fiction that Singer excels, and some of his stories (e.g., "Gimpel the Fool") are among the finest in any language. *Gimpel the Fool and Other Stories* (1957; Yid., *Gimpl Tam un Andere Dertseylungen*, 1963), *The Spinoza of*

Market Street (1961), and *Short Friday* (1964) are quite varied collections of short stories written over a period of many years. Their typical setting is the *shtetl*, often visited by Satan's emissaries. The demoniac tales, rich in grotesquerie and often narrated by devils and imps, range from studies in pathology to parables of the arbitrariness of the evil in life. Typically, it is through the weakness of the flesh that Satan conquers.

Free of demons and asserting the freedom to behave irrationally, *The Spinoza of Market Street* concerns an ineffectual philosopher who achieves salvation through the flesh. The irrational expresses itself in a context of "normalcy," where soup and sympathy come to acquire magical properties. "Gimpel the Fool" is in the great divine-fool tradition and recalls *Peretz's "Bontshe Shvayg." Its theme is the ambiguous nature of sublunary truth and reality: "No doubt," says Gimpel, "the world is entirely an imaginary world, but it is only once removed from the true world…. Whatever may be there, it will be real, without complication, without ridicule, without deception. God be praised: there even Gimpel cannot be deceived."

Singer's Place in Yiddish and World Literature

The leading exponent of Yiddish imaginative prose, Singer is also an important figure in contemporary world literature. Enjoying a somewhat ambiguous place among Yiddish writers, he is nonetheless firmly rooted in Jewish tradition. Like Yiddish literature itself, Singer's art is a unique amalgam of the indigenous and the naturalized, of specifically Jewish and general world culture. In recognition of his literary work he was awarded the Nobel Prize for literature in 1978, the first awarded for Yiddish literature.

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[Leonard Prager / Nathan Cohen (2nd ed.)]

SINGER, ISIDORE (1859–1939), writer and editor. Singer, born in Weisskirchen, Moravia, edited the *Oesterreichische Literaturzeitung* in 1884–85 and then became literary secretary to the French ambassador in Vienna. In 1887 he moved to Paris where he was employed by the press bureau of the French foreign office. Active in the defense of Alfred Dreyfus, he founded and edited *La Vraie Parole* (1893–94), which was intended to counteract *Drumont's *La Libre Parole*. Singer was a man of vision; among the plans which he cherished was one for an "encyclopedia of the history and mental evolution of the Jewish race." An article in the *American Hebrew* convinced him that this purpose could only be accomplished in the U.S. and on reading it he traveled to New York (1895) where he set about enlisting support for his project. After many difficulties, *The Jewish *Encyclopedia* appeared in 12 volumes (1901–09), with Singer as managing editor. He was also managing editor of the *International Insurance Encyclopedia* (7 vols., 1910) and coeditor of *German Classics of the 19th and 20th Centuries*, in 20 volumes. From 1882 onward he wrote a steady stream of books in German, French, and English. He was the editor of a memorial volume for the victims of the Kishinev pogrom, *Russia at the Bar of the American People* (1904), and in 1922 he founded the American League for the Rights of Man.

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[Sefton D. Temkin]

SINGER, ISRAEL (1942–), chairman of the *World Jewish Congress and of the Conference on Jewish Material Claims Against Germany (the Claims Conference). Raised in Brooklyn, Singer was the child of refugees from Vienna who sought refuge in Switzerland, Germany, and France, eventually landing in a detention camp in France. They came to the United States in 1942. His father had a doctorate in economics and went into the costume jewelry business. His background was a mixture of right-wing religious views and Zionism. He went to Brooklyn College despite the fact that this was not permitted in the yeshivah in which he studied. He attended college at night, in a clandestine manner, where those few people who were also earning their rabbinical ordination were not deprecated. Jewish education and secular education were separate domains of learning and were considered in conflict with one another. He was ordained a rabbi in 1964 at Yeshiva Torah vo'Daath, and taught political science and Middle Eastern Studies at the City University of New York and, from 1969 to 1971, political theory in the department of politics at Bar-Ilan University in Israel. He made two brief departures from the academic world, to serve in the office of the mayor of New York during the Lindsay Administration and, later, to assist President Ford's administration during his reelection campaign.

Singer became an adjunct professor of political science at Brooklyn College in the late 1960s, where he led a sit-in to show Jewish students how to get the Judaic Studies department they wanted. He was a catalyst for one of the most active Jewish student bodies in America, and largely because of his actions, Brooklyn College eventually developed an excellent Judaic Studies Department that, among other things, pioneered Holocaust Studies.

Singer met Nahum *Goldmann, then the president of the World Jewish Congress, in Israel in 1969, when Goldmann was trying to make contact with the Russians in order to promote peace after the 1967 war. Singer, who was an activist on behalf of Soviet Jewry, introduced him to Ambassador Anatoly Dobrynin. Singer became a WJC expert on East-West relations. He became their operative, then their major activist. That was about the time that Edgar *Bronfman arrived, at the behest of his father Samuel, who wanted him to get involved.

Together Bronfman and Singer took an organization with an impressive title but not much of a constituency and transformed it into an effective arm of the Jewish community, raising its profile and leading many causes, including pressing the Kurt *Waldheim Affair to make the Austrians come to terms with his record as a German solider during World War II and the Swiss Banking issue, forcing the Swiss to confront their record of expropriation of survivors' bank accounts and their refusal to turn these account over to rightful heirs. In each of these cases, critics accused them of provoking antisemitism, but despite the accusations they persevered and were ultimately vindicated. Singer conducted the negotiations with the German government regarding the settlement of outstanding claims. His conduct was described even by critics as brilliant and indefatigable. As a result, after the death of Israel Miller, he also became chairman of the *Conference on Jewish Material Claims Against Germany. Critics of their work at the WJC accuse Bronfman and Singer of being too dovish and too critical of the Israeli government.

As chairman of the World Jewish Restitution Organization, Singer carried out negotiations to benefit Holocaust survivors and heirs of Holocaust victims around the world.

In early 2006, pursuant to an agreement between the World Jewish Congress and the attorney general of the State of New York, Singer, while not charged with any criminal violation, was removed from all fiduciary responsibility for the World Jewish Congress and was named to head a policy advisory group.

[Jeanette Friedman and Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

SINGER, ISRAEL JOSHUA (1893–1944), Yiddish novelist, playwright, and journalist. Born in Bilgoraj, Poland, the son and grandson of rabbis, Singer was the second child of a family of Yiddish writers that included his elder sister, Esther Singer *Kreitman, and younger brother, Isaac Bashevis *Singer. He received a traditional Jewish education and was influenced by the opposing strains of Jewish thought represented by his misnagdic mother and his ḥasidic father. When he was 14, the family moved to the ḥasidic court at Radzimin and then to Warsaw, where Singer worked as an unskilled laborer and proofreader. He studied painting and hid in an artists' atelier to avoid military service. By 1918, when he traveled to the Soviet Union, he had already begun publishing his earliest stories. Returning to Warsaw in late 1921, he was associated with the small, fluid group of writers called Di Khalyastre ("the Gang"), who opposed both social realism and romanticized depictions of Jewish life. Their journal, *Khalyastre*, included illustrations by Marc *Chagall and poems, stories, and essays by Peretz *Markish, Melekh *Ravitch, Uri Zvi *Greenberg, Y. *Opatoshu, Oser *Warszawski, David *Hofshtein, and Singer. When Singer published his most ambitious work up to that time, a short story entitled "Perl" ("Pearls," in *Ringen*, 1921), he attracted the attention of Abraham *Cahan, the editor of the New York daily *Forverts*. Singer served as a correspondent for the newspaper, reporting on his travels throughout Poland, the Soviet Union, and, in 1932, the U.S., where he finally settled in 1934. His travelogue, *Nay Rusland* ("New Russia," 1928), like his subsequent work, appeared first in *Forverts*. He wrote fiction under his own name and journalistic essays primarily under G. Kuper, his wife's maiden name.

His early works included *Erd-Vey* ("Earth Pangs," 1922), a symbolist drama which was effectively staged in 1923 by the New York Yiddish Art Theater; the short-story collections *Perl un Andere Dertseylungen* ("Pearls and Other Stories," 1922); and *Oyf Fremder Erd* ("On Foreign Ground," 1925). His first novel, *Shtol un Ayzn* (1927; *Blood Harvest*, 1935, and *Steel and Iron*, 1969), generated considerable controversy about the place of politics in fiction. Accused of not understanding politics and convinced that his critics were merely political hacks, Singer publicly renounced Yiddish literature, turning to journalism instead. But only four years later he published his second and most successful novel, *Yoshe Kalb* (1932; *The Sinner*, 1933, and *Yoshe Kalb*, 1965), a psychologically astute novel about a man who adopts two personalities and remains, until the end, an enigmatic figure. *Savinkov: Drame in 12 Bilder* ("Savinkov: a Play in 12 Scenes") appeared in *Globus* in 1933, before Singer's departure from Poland. He published three more novels after his arrival in the U.S.: *Di Brider Ashkenazi* (1936; *The Brothers Ashkenazi*, 1936, 1980); *Khaver Nakhmen* (1938; *East of Eden*, 1939); *Di Mishpokhe Karnovski* (1943; *The Family Carnovsky*, 1969). Adapted for the stage, *Yoshe Kalb* was performed in New York in 1932 and became one of the most successful plays ever produced in the Yiddish theater; less successful adaptations of his other novels followed: *Di Brider Ashkenazi* in 1938, *Khaver Nakhmen* in 1939, and *Di Mishpokhe Karnovski* in 1943. In addition, a collection of stories, *Friling* ("Spring," 1937) appeared in Warsaw and two more posthumous works appeared in New York: his autobiographical memoir, *Fun a Velt Vos iz Nishto Mer* (1946; *Of A World That Is No More*, 1970), and *Dertseylungen* ("Stories," 1949).

Singer was a successful and admired literary figure, most of whose works were translated into English during his lifetime. His family sagas, *The Brothers Ashkenazi* and *The Family Carnovsky*, written after the rise of Nazism, present a view of Jewish history as inexorably cyclical, repeating itself in every generation, even when the rest of the world moves on. His epic novel, *The Brothers Ashkenazi* traces the history of twin brothers and of the industrial city of Lodz. Written in the first years of Nazi rule, it ends with World War I, the Russian Revolution, and the establishment of an independent Poland. The fates of the religious and the Marxist, the assimilated and the traditional Jew are all identical. By the time Singer wrote *The Family Carnovsky*, he was explicitly coming to terms with the early years of what was already being called in Yiddish *khurbn* ("Holocaust"). The novel traces three generations through half a century, following the family from a Polish *shtetl* to Berlin to New York and ending almost at the moment of publication. At the end of the novel, Singer leaves his characters' fates uncertain, a sign of the difficulty of conceiving of a coherent conclusion to the conflicts of the novel and current history. Singer's energies were no doubt elsewhere. His correspondence during the period is full of increasing concern about his family's fate under the Nazis (he could not maintain contact with his mother and youngest brother, caught in the war's upheaval; neither survived the war, though Singer died still uncertain of their fates).

Singer's fiction examines the political and cultural upheavals in Jewish life between the two world wars and on two continents. They portray a seemingly endless series of wars, class conflicts, pogroms, shifts in borders, and messianic ideologies, critiquing every one of the many choices available to Jews of the period: traditional religious life, secularism, Yiddish culturalism, Zionism, socialism, even individualism. His primary theme is the ultimately destructive nature of any messianic belief in religious, social, or historical resolutions for the problems that beset the individual and the Jews. His fictions offer no resolutions to the tensions in which his characters find themselves, telling instead of the modern Jewish writer's responsibility to articulate these dilemmas and analyze them.

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[Anita Norich (2nd ed.)]

SINGER, JOSEF (1841–1911), *ḥazzan*. Josef Singer was born in Hlinik, Hungary, where his father, Israel Singer (1806–1897), who had been a *meshorer* with Dovid'l Brod (Strelisker), was *ḥazzan*. From 1866 to 1874 Josef Singer was cantor in Beuthen (Upper Silesia) and from 1874 to 1880 chief cantor in Nuremberg. In 1881 he was called to Vienna to replace Solomon Sulzer upon the latter's retirement as chief cantor of the Viennese community in the Seitenstettengasse synagogue. He also taught singing at the Jewish Institute for the Blind and fostered the establishment of a cantors' school. He published a considerable number of studies on various aspects of *ḥazzanut*, chiefly in *Der juedische Kantor* and *Oesterreich-Ungarische Kantorenzeitung*, and the cantor's manual *Amidat Sheli'aḥ Ẓibbur* (1906). His most influential publication was the booklet *Die Tonarten des traditionellen Synagogengesanges (Steiger) – ihr Verhaeltnis zu den Kirchentonarten und den Tonarten der vorchristlichen Musikperiode* (1886; reprinted, with abbreviations, in Aron Friedman (ed.), *Dem Andenken Eduard Birnbaums*, 1 (1922): 90–100). There he attempted to systematize the *shtayger* patterns of Ashkenazi *ḥazzanut* by comparing their scale structure with ancient European and Greek scales and arriving at certain hypotheses as to their antiquity and "Jewishness." The undertaking was one of the earliest attempts of its kind, and unlike similar previous and later attempts, was based both on the author's profound knowledge of the tradition and on a serious attempt to utilize the resources of historical musicology as far as they were available at that time. Its basic weaknesses were only understood much later, and for a long time Singer's theses were taken up by many writers on Jewish music.

Singer's daughter Clara married the composer Oscar *Straus. His son SIMON (1870–1931) became a baritone singer at the Pressburg and Hamburg operas, but from 1900 onward made a career as a cantor, officiating first at Katowice and, after World War I, at Halle. He was also a composer and writer on music.

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[Bathja Bayer]

SINGER, JOSEF (1923–), Israel aeronautical engineer. Born in Vienna, Singer went to Palestine in 1933. He served in the RAF (1943–46) and the Israel Defense Forces (1949–55), where he rose to the rank of major and was chief testing and development engineer. From 1965 he was professor of aeronautical engineering at the Technion in Haifa. He was also president of the Technion in 1982–86 and chairman of the board of Israel Aircraft Industries 1986–87. Singer did research work on aircraft structural analysis and shell theory. In 2000 he was awarded the Israel Prize.

[Samuel Aaron Miller]

SINGER, JOSEPH (1797–1871), Austro-Hungarian soldier. Born in Lemberg, Galicia, he was one of the first Jewish career officers in the Austro-Hungarian Army and fought against Napoleon in Italy. In 1832 as captain he was attached to the general staff of Field Marshal Radetzky. He fought in the Italian campaign of 1847/48. When Field Marshal Hess succeeded Radetzky in command of the Austrian army in Italy, Singer was appointed his chief of staff. He was promoted to field marshal-lieutenant in 1859. Throughout his life, Singer remained a Jew, and did not succumb to pressure to convert. On his death he received a state funeral.

[Mordechai Kapla]

SINGER, KURT (1885–1944), musicologist. Born in Berent in German Poland, Singer was music critic for the socialist newspaper *Vorwaerts*. In 1935 he became musical director of the Juedischer *Kulturbund. He moved to Holland in 1939 but was arrested during the German occupation and taken to the *Theresienstadt concentration camp, where he died. Singer wrote *Richard Wagner* (1913), *Bruckners Chormusik* (1924), *Berufskrankheiten des Musikers* (1927), *Diseases of the Musical Profession* (1932), and *Heilwirkung der Musik* (1927).

SINGER, LUDVIK (1876–1931), Czech political leader. Born in Kolin, Singer established himself as a lawyer first in his native town and afterward in Prague. In 1907 he joined the Zionist movement and soon became the leading personality among Czech-speaking Zionists. In 1916, his proposal to establish a Zionist newspaper led to the creation of the Czech *Židovské Zpravy* and the German *Selbstwehr*.

In 1917, during World War I, Singer advanced the idea of recognizing Jewish nationality in his country. It was quite natural for him to put forth the idea of founding the Jewish National Council (Židovská Národna Rada) in October 1918, following the example of the Czechoslovak National Council in Prague, which took power in the new state on October 28, 1918. He understood the necessity of reaching an understanding with the Czech National Council. On October 28 he led a delegation to discuss the future situation and the status of Jews. His initiative met with understanding. As chairman of the Jewish National Council, Singer participated in the Paris Peace Conference and achieved recognition for Jewish nationality in the Czechoslovak constitution of 1920, the first recognition accorded Jewish nationality in Europe. On January 4–6, 1919, the first Czechoslovak Jewish National Congress convened. The republic's Zionist leaders who participated in the Congress elected Singer president of the temporary Zionist Central Committee on January 5, 1919. Thus Singer became the head of two key political bodies of Czechoslovak Jewry, and its spokesman. He was also active in the regional leadership of Czech Jewry. On June 15, 1919, he was elected to the City Council of Prague, the first Jew to hold such a position. In 1930, when the Zionists defeated the Czecho-Jews (Čechúžidú) in the Prague elections of the Jewish community, Singer replaced the former president, August Stein.

Various tasks called for Singer's intervention. In 1918–19, when the Jews of Slovakia were regularly attacked and robbed and the national authorities discriminated against them, Singer met with Czech president Thomas Garrigue *Masaryk on June 24, 1919, to protest. The president intervened on behalf of the Jews in Slovakia. Similarly, when authorities in Slovakia and Carpatho-Rus discriminated against Jewish businesses on the Sabbath and Sunday and tried to force them to regulate their opening hours according to the Christian calendar, Singer intervened on behalf of the Jews.

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[Milos Pojar (2nd ed.)]

SINGER, MILTON B. (1912–1994), U.S. anthropologist. Born in Warsaw, Poland, Singer was brought to the United States as a child and grew up in Detroit, Michigan. He received his B.A. (1934) and M.A. (1936) from the University of Texas, and his Ph.D. in philosophy from the University of Chicago. In 1940 Singer was appointed professor of social science at the University of Chicago, where previously he had served in other capacities. His primary interests were Indian civilization, theory of culture and culture change, and philosophical anthropology. In 1948 he received the Quantrell Award of Excellence in Undergraduate Teaching. He became a professor in the anthropology department in 1954 and continued to teach until his retirement in 1979, and was then named professor emeritus. Singer did considerable fieldwork in India. He helped organize and lead the Committee on Southern Asian Studies at the U of C (1955–70) and was instrumental in developing South Asia Studies at the university. He then expanded his work to include an anthropological approach to the study of American culture. In 1984 Singer received the Distinguished Scholar Award of the Association for Asian Studies.

Singer edited *Traditional India: Structure and Change* (1958) and *Krishna: Myths, Rites, and Attitudes* (1968). He wrote *Shame and Guilt: A Psychoanalytic and a Cultural Study* (with G. Piers, 1953), *Passage to More than India* (1967), *When a Great Tradition Modernizes* (1972), *Man's Glassy Essence* (1984), *Nuclear Policy, Culture, and History* (1988), and *Semiotics of Cities, Selves, and Cultures* (1991).

[Ephraim Fischoff / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

SINGER, PAUL (1844–1911), German socialist leader. Born in Berlin, Singer and his brother founded a successful ladies' clothing factory. At first a member of the German Liberal Party, he joined the Social Democrats in 1878 in protest against the passing of anti-socialist legislation and was elected to the Reichstag in 1884. His exposure of the spy system operated by the Berlin police led to his expulsion in 1886, but he was allowed to return in the following year, when he was made a member of the party executive and its chairman in 1890. Singer took part in several congresses of the Socialist International and gave financial assistance to the Berlin socialist daily the *Volksblatt*, forerunner of the central organ of the German Social Democratic Party, *Vorwaerts*. Singer was known for his strong sense of justice and his charitable contributions, being one of the founders of a refuge for the homeless in Berlin. He took no part in Jewish affairs.

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SINGER, PESAḤ (1816–1898), Hungarian rabbi. Born in Ungarisch-Brod (Uhersky Brod), Singer studied at the yeshivah of Moses Sofer in Pressburg. For a number of years he was director of education of the Papa community. In 1846 he was appointed rabbi of Varpalota and in 1871 of Kirchdorf (Szepesujfalu). He was renowned as a talmudist, and A.B.S. Sofer, author of the *Ketav Sofer,* said wittily of him "there is no 'Second Pesaḥ' in our times." He was an assiduous student all his life and used to study standing, garbed in *tallit* and *tefillin*.

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[Samuel Weingarten-Hakohen]

SINGER, PETER (1946–), Australian-American philosopher of ethics. Born in Melbourne and educated there and at Oxford, Singer was one of the more controversial of recent philosphers. He was especially noted for pioneering the philosophy of "animal rights" in such books as *Animal Liberation* (1976) and for his controversial views on handicapped infants, described in *Should the Baby Live? The Problem of Handicapped Infants* (with Hega Kuhse, 1985). Because of his apparent reluctance to see a total divide between animals and humans, his views have aroused fierce debate. Singer taught at Monash University in Melbourne, Australia, before becoming professor of philosophy at Princeton in 1999.

[William D. Rubinstein (2nd ed.)]

SINGER, SIMEON (1848–1906), English rabbi. After serving as headmaster of Jews' College School, he was appointed minister of the Borough New Synagogue in London and from 1879 until his death of the fashionable New East End Synagogue. He edited and translated into English the *Authorised Daily Prayer Book*, first published in 1890 and known since as "Singer's Prayer Book," of which 522,000 copies in 27 editions had been distributed by 1970. Although minister of an Orthodox congregation, he was progressive in his religious views. He was not a Zionist but it was nevertheless in his home that Herzl first explained to Anglo-Jewry his idea for a Jewish state. He helped Sir Samuel *Montagu (later Lord Swaythling) to draw up in 1892 a petition to the sultan in the name of the Ḥovevei Zion for the cession of lands in Transjordan for Jewish settlement. His literary remains, including some historical studies, were published in three volumes by his son-in-law Israel *Abrahams (1908).

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[Vivian David Lipman]

SINGER, YVONNE (1944–), Canadian artist. Singer was born in Budapest, when Hungary's Jews were most threatened and subject to extermination. Her father worked with Raoul *Wallenberg, the Swedish diplomat who rescued many Hungarian Jews, and as hospitals were closed to Jews, Yvonne was born in Wallenberg's flat, with Wallenberg as her godfather. After brief sojourns in postwar Holland and Switzerland, the family settled in Montreal in 1950. Scarred by the Holocaust, the family, like many other survivor-immigrants, left their Jewishness behind. Singer was unaware of her Jewish identity until an adult. Small wonder Yvonne Singer's art bespeaks recurrent themes of identity, subjectivity, gender and the body, history and memory.

With a B.A. in English and French literature from McGill University, the artist studied at the Ontario College of Art and received an M.F.A. with honors from York University, where she became associate professor of visual arts.

Singer works in sculpture, mixed media installation, and video art. Drawing on childhood experience and family life, her art explores immigrant uncertainties, the negotiations of intimacy, and the ineradicable anxieties of the Holocaust. *The Veiled Room* (1998) drapes the gallery with gauzy veils, one layer printed with texts from Sigmund Freud and the other with the names of influential German philosophers, politicians, writers, and artists. The fabric panels complicate the interior space, making a labyrinth of semi-translucent passages, and rendering the assertions of the printed texts vaporous and uncertain. In the video installation *The Trouble with Translation* (2004), two confronted monitors play off the languages and demeanors of family members. Mother, husband, and daughter tell their stories in regal Hungarian, sputtering and explosive Yiddish, and gracefully performed sign language. Each figure seems to counter the others with varying degrees of warmth, elegance, humor, and hauteur.

Singer's later works – bronze castings of the artist's hands and feet – turn to traditional sculpture media. Each piece captures the minutiae of skin, bone, and sinew in its surface, and in doing so conveys the tensions underlying ordinary poses and gestures. At the same time, the works offer much wider allusions, for they evoke fragments of ancient sculpture – the pinnacles of a classical past – as well as the broken bodies and dark history of Jewish catastrophe.

[Carol Zemel (2nd ed.)]

SINGERMAN, BERTA (1901–1998), Argentine actress and poetry recitalist. Born in Minsk, Belarus, Berta Singerman immigrated to Buenos Aires as a child and made her professional debut with the Compañia Nacional (National Theater Company). After a recital in Montevideo in 1913, she became the most celebrated reader of poetry in Latin America and toured throughout the continent. She became well known for her recitations of Federico García Lorca, Pablo Neruda, Juan Ramón Jiménez, and many other Spanish and Latin American poets. In 1946 she returned to the theater and acted for two years with an Argentine company in Buenos Aires and in Chile and Uruguay. One of her outstanding performances was in the title role in Ibsen's *The Lady from the Sea*. She was also well known in Brazil. In addition, she was also a cinema actress. Her first film, *La vendedora de Harrod's* (1921), was also her first step to celebrity. After two more films – *Nada más que una mujer* (1934) and *Ceniza al viento* (1942) – she dedicated herself exclusively to the theater but returned to the screen in the early 1980s. Her last film was *Estigma* (1982).

Berta Singerman also took part in Jewish and Zionist causes. In her career she donated proceeds from many performances all over Latin America to the Jewish National Fund and other Jewish campaigns. Her last performance was in 1990 in the opera theater of Buenos Aires – Teatro Colón.

Her younger sister, PAULINA (1911–1984), born in Buenos Aires, was also a well-known actress. She performed on the stage, in 12 movies – the first *La rubia del camino* (1938) and among others *Hay que casar a Paulina* (1944) – and on television. She had her own theater company and played in many countries of Latin America, in the United States, and in Spain.

[Efraim Zadoff (2nd ed.)

SINIGAGLIA, Italian family originating from *Senigallia, a town in central Italy, on the Adriatic. Among its members may be mentioned: SOLOMON JEDIDIAH, rabbi of Scandiano in 1639. He later moved to Modena. His son ABRAHAM VITA, rabbi in Modena in the first half of the 18th century, left many works in manuscript including a commonplace book (Ms. Kaufmann nos. 464–66) covering the years 1722–33. His grandson, also called ABRAHAM VITA, was rabbi in Modena in the 18th and beginning of the 19th centuries. He wrote unpublished novellae on the Mishnah. JACOB SAMSON SHABBETAI (d. 1840) of Ancona was the author of various collections of ritual responsa and novellae on the Talmud: *Shabbat shel Mi* (Leghorn, 1807) and *Mattan ha-Sefer* (Leghorn, 1843). SOLOMON JEDIDIAH was rabbi of Modena in the 18th century. Some of his religious poems were published in the *Tikkun Ḥaẓot* (Leghorn, 1800). His son, MOSES ELIJAH (1763–1849), also rabbi of Modena, wrote sermons, ritual responses, and novellae. LEONE (1868–1944), of Turin, a musician, composed a number of works based on Piedmontese folklore.

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[Ariel Toaff]

SINIGAGLIA, LEONE (1868–1944), composer. Born in Turin, Sinigaglia studied in Vienna, and in Prague with Dvořák, who interested him in folk music. His most important works are *Danze Piemontese*, for orchestra (first conducted by Toscanini, 1905) and the overture to Goldoni's play, *Le baruffe chiozzotte* (1907). He incorporated many of the tunes of his native Piedmont in his work and also published them in a collection, *Vecchie canzoni popolari del Piemonte* (6 fasc.), which appeared posthumously in 1957. Sinigaglia and his sister Alina both died of strokes on May 16, 1944, in the Ospedale Mauriziano in Turin, where they had fled from Fascist police who were rounding up Jews for deportation.

ŠINKO, ERVIN (**Franjo Spitzer**; 1898–1967), Yugoslav author and literary Communist from his youth. He published his first Hungarian verse collection, *Éjszakák és hajnalok* ("Nights and Dawns"), in 1916. He later wrote fiction and drama which appeared in both Croatian and Hungarian, and became a prominent editor and critic of Hungarian literature. Having played a part in Béla *Kun's abortive revolution and Soviet regime (1919), Šinko subsequently fled to Paris, where he wrote his most realistic novel, *Optimisti* ("The Optimists") in 1934. Although the book – which describes the revolution, its Jewish heroes, and its overthrow – gained the enthusiastic commendation of Romain Rolland, it was first published 20 years later in Yugoslavia (1953–54). Šinko's vain attempt to have his novel published in Moscow at the time of the Great Purges (1935–37) is depicted in his diary, *Roman jednog romana* ("A Novel about a Novel," 1955). After his return to Yugoslavia in 1939, Šinko fought with Tito's partisans and gained official recognition for his skillful polemics against the Soviet line following the split in the Cominform (1948). He wrote other novels, short stories, essays, and literary studies, and some of his works appeared in German and Russian periodicals. Šinko displayed a positive attitude toward his Jewish origin and cultural background in his literary and autobiographical writings. *Aronova ljubav* ("The Love of Aaron," 1951), a lyric story, with ḥasidic motifs interwoven in the central character, tells of a Jewish revolutionary who fights in the Spanish Civil War and later perishes in the Holocaust. In 1959, Šinko was appointed professor of Hungarian language and literature at the University of Novi Sad. As a Croatian author, he was also elected to full membership of the Yugoslav Academy of Arts and Sciences in Zagreb.

[Cecil Roth]

SINZHEIM, JOSEPH DAVID BEN ISAAC (1745–1812), first chief rabbi of France. Born in Trier, he married the sister of the wealthy communal leader H. *Cerfberr, and headed the yeshivah founded by his brother-in-law in Bischheim (1786), later transferred to *Strasbourg (1792). The persecutions during the Reign of Terror under Robespierre compelled Sinzheim to escape (1793). On his return, he acted as rabbi of Strasbourg (together with his nephew Abraham *Auerbach). In 1806 he was appointed to the *Assembly of Jewish Notables convened by Napoleon in Paris. His erudition and sagacity impressed many of the delegates from Italy and the German provinces, who accepted him as the leading authority on halakhic problems. Sinzheim was therefore entrusted with formulating the replies to the 12 questions put to the assembly by the government to test if Jewish precepts allowed the Jews to live on equitable terms with their French neighbors. He succeeded in satisfying the emperor that the Jews would accept the authority of the state and fulfill their obligations as citizens without giving up the principles of their faith and their traditions. The sermons that Sinzheim delivered in the synagogue (in Judeo-German) in honor of Napoleon also evidenced his loyalty to the state. Sinzheim was appointed president of the Great French *Sanhedrin in 1807 and became chief rabbi of the Central French *Consistory on its establishment in 1808. He was also chief rabbi of the Strasbourg consistory, although represented in office by R. Jacob Meyer, formerly one of the delegates for Alsace (Lower Rhine) at the assembly. While Sinzheim adopted flexibility in drafting the replies of the assembly, he adamantly opposed any change in the fundamental principles of Jewish tradition and religion as he interpreted them. Sinzheim was buried in the Père Lachaise cemetery in Paris, but his burial was not recorded, or the record was lost. In 1974 Mrs. Renée Neher-Bernheim located the grave.

[Moshe Catane]

He wrote the responsa *Yad David* (only one part published, Offenbach, 1799) on tractate *Berakhot* and the order *Mo'ed*, his avowed purpose being to complete the work of Ḥayyim *Benveniste's *Keneset ha-Gedolah* and Aaron *Alfandari's *Yad Aharon* by giving additional source references and comments scattered in other works. He claims to have added comments from no less than 300 works. *Yad David* also gives valuable autobiographical details. Sinzheim eschews the method of *pilpul, maintaining that his father had thus instructed him. At the beginning of the work there are comments by his nephew Abraham Auerbach, whom he also quotes frequently in the body of the book, and it also contains novellae by his brother-in-law Selig Auerbach. A booklet on the permissibility of the sale of the synagogue of Griessheim (Basle, 1804) includes a responsum of Sinzheim, written in Strasbourg, in which he permits the sale of synagogues and cemeteries, adding that this was a frequent occurrence in his days (p. 21). In 1810 he wrote an interesting responsum to a query by Jehiel Ḥayyim Viterbo of Ancona on the question whether Jewish girls are permitted to benefit from a government lottery to provide dowries for poor brides. The Jewish authorities were reluctant to accept it, but Sinzheim decided in favor. The responsum reflects the attitude he adopted at the Assembly of Notables. He pointed out that despite the talmudic prohibition against accepting gifts from idolaters, to accept this one was in the interest of good public relations; that in any case Christians are not regarded as idolaters; and that "at the present time it is our duty to pray for the welfare of the king and the royal family, as indeed we do every Sabbath."

[Yehoshua Horowitz]

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SIPONTO, coastal town in Apulia, S. Italy. By the ninth century there was a Jewish settlement in Siponto, which became a considerable center of rabbinic learning. Young scholars from there went to study under *Hai Gaon in Pumbedita, becoming outstanding scholars; they included Leon b. Elhanan, Menahem ha-Kohen, and R. Judah, who spread Jewish learning in Italy. Another important scholar of Siponto was *Isaac b. Melchizedek, author of a commentary on the Mishnah, whose son Judah was encountered by *Benjamin of Tudela in Salerno. Among the liturgical poets of Siponto was Anan b. Marinus ha-Kohen, also a noted rabbinical scholar. Between the years 1256 and 1258 Siponto was deserted by its inhabitants because of an outbreak of malaria. Since then, there are no further records of Jews in the town.

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[Ariel Toaff]

SIPRUTINI, EMANUEL (18th century), cellist. The son of a Dutch Jew, Siprutini is known to have traveled in Italy and Spain. Leopold Mozart, father of the great composer, met him in London in 1764 and mentioned him as a great virtuoso on the cello. He also tried to convert him to Catholicism, but although Siprutini had by this time abandoned Jewish observances there is no evidence that he ever left Judaism. He dedicated his *Six Solos for a Violoncello* (1775?) to the English Jewish communal leader, Moses Franks (1719–89). At a later date Siprutini lived in Belgium as a wine-merchant.

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[Cecil Roth]

SIRAT, RENE SAMUEL (1930–), rabbi and scholar, former chief rabbi of France. Sirat was born in Bone, Algeria, and received his rabbinical ordination from the *Seminaire Israelite de France in 1952. In the same year he was appointed rabbi of Toulouse, remaining there until 1955, when he was appointed to be in charge of youth activities of the Consistoire Central of France. From 1965 to 1970 and again in 1977 he was professor at the seminary.

He received his doctorate from the University of Strasbourg in 1965, when he was appointed professor of Modern Hebrew at the National Institute of Oriental Languages and Civilization at the Sorbonne. From 1970 to 1973, he was director of the department for overseas students at the Hebrew University. In 1973, he published a new edition of *Omer ha-Shikheḥah*, written in the 16th century by the Algerian rabbi Abraham ben Jacob Gabichon, first published in Leghorn in 1748. In 1973 he created the General Inspection in charge of the teaching of Modern Hebrew in French public schools and headed it until 1981.

In 1980, following the decision of Rabbi Max Warschawski, chief rabbi of Strasbourg, to withdraw his candidature, Sirat was unanimously elected chief rabbi of France succeeding Rabbi Jacob *Kaplan. During his term as chief rabbi, which ended in 1988, he focused his activity on the promotion of Jewish education, particularly in the academic field, and on interreligious dialogue, including the controversary surrounding the Carmelite monstery at Auschwitz, which provoked a crisis between the Catholic Church and the Jewish world in 1986.

In 1988 he became chief rabbi of the Consistoire Central. He published an autobiography in 1990, *La joie austère*. He was the chairman of the Conference of European Rabbis and a founder and co-president, in 2002, of the European Council of Religious Leaders, an affiliate of the World Conference on Religion and Peace. Particularly notable were his participation, on January 24, 2002, in the Day of Prayer for Peace in Assisi (Italy), and his presence in front of the cathedral of Lyon when Cardinal Decourtray, a close friend of the Jewish community, was to be buried. He published articles on Judaism and a volume of a conversation with the historian Martine Lemalet, *La tendresse de Dieu* (1996).

[Philippe Boukara (2nd ed.)]

SIRET (Ger. **Sereth**) town in Bukovina, N. Romania, one of the oldest urban settlements; capital of Moldavia between 1363 and 1376. Situated at the crossroad of European routes linking the cities of Cernăuți and Suceava, Siret was an important customs city and trade center (cereal, cattle, horses, swine, raw hides, etc.). A census of 1774 mentions eight Jewish families with a total 43 persons. Their number must have been higher if we are to consider the funeral stelae prior to 1775 and the fact that, after only seven years (1782), the Austrians evicted 61 Jews from the town. For the year 1787 we know the names of 36 house and distillery owners there. Representatives of the Siret Jews were among those who signed a memorandum to the authorities during this period, in which they requested permission to trade in wine and alcohol. Their request was rejected, and they were authorized to maintain one inn in the town and were restricted to serving Jews in transit through Siret to other places in Bukovina.

During the period when Bukovina and Galicia were united (1786–1849), the number of Jews in Siret grew substantially, so that in 1880 the Jewish population numbered 3,122 (37.1% of the total). Jews played an important role in Siret's economic development and were also active in general public life, owing to their position in trade, crafts, banking, the food and textile industries, and the professions. Between 1912 and 1918, there was a Jewish mayor, and other Jews were elected to the municipal council. The communities were led by a guildmaster (*staroste*), a well-known type of organization in Moldova. The epitaphs mention people with the function of *aluf, more hora'ah, dayyan*, illustrating a complex community life. The cemeteries contain graves dating from the beginning of the 18th century, with impressive funeral stelae presenting a diversity of adornments; several epitaphs constitute the traces of a community which stood out by virtue of its organization, accomplishments, and personalities. The community expanded and during the 18th century already had a rabbi. At first it was affiliated to the community of Suceava but gradually became independent. The regulations of the independent community were ratified in 1887. At the beginning of the 19th century, in addition to the central synagogue, there were four *battei midrash* and four houses of prayer. Their activity in the community sphere (social assistance, education, religion) is well-known. Before Bukovina was incorporated into Romania after World War I, the Jewish youth studied at the local German high school. There was also a yeshivah with a large number of students. The Vishnitz trend of Ḥasidism was dominant in the community. Cultural activity deeply rooted in Judaism and initiated by the elites unified the Jews from all social layers. Their interest was directed towards the vigorous cultural and political life of the metropolis of Bukovina. During World War I, Siret and its Jewish inhabitants suffered severely, particularly under Russian occupation. After the war, there were about 3,000 Jews living there.

After its reunification with Romania, there were many integration problems, owing to the loss of some important positions in economic, political, and social life, in administration, education, and adjustment to the new official language. Community life improved, its rehabilitation aided by the American Jewish Joint Distribution Commitee.

There is information on Zionist organizations of different social statuses operating there, and from the Siret community there arose leaders of the Zionist movement in Romania and then of the development of Israel (among others, Yitzhak *Artzi and Iehuda Shaari).

The antisemitic movements intensified, and the anti-Jewish laws, especially after 1938, marked the beginning of successive exclusion from socio-political life, which led to the annihilation of the economic base and to poverty. In July 1941 evictions occurred in Calafat, and in October 1941 many Jews were deported to Transnistria, where cold, famine, and typhus claimed 700 victims from among the members of the Siret community. During the post-war period, the population of the re-established community gradually decreased from 500 to 100 (1980) and completely disappeared by 2000.

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[Yehouda Marton / Silviu Sanie (2nd ed.)]

SIRILLO, SOLOMON BEN JOSEPH (d. c. 1558), rabbi, *posek*, and commentator on the Jerusalem Talmud. Sirillo was born in *Spain, and with the expulsion of 1492 proceeded to *Adrianople and *Salonika. In a work written in Adrianople he makes mention of his teacher *Elijah b. Benjamin ha-Levi, one of the most important scholars in Constantinople at the time. From Salonika he proceeded to Ereẓ Israel, settling in *Safed. Apparently after the death of Levi ibn Ḥabib in 1544 Sirillo moved to *Jerusalem and was appointed to succeed him. His rulings are occasionally mentioned in the responsa of his great contemporaries, such as *David b. Solomon ibn Abi Zimra (Radbaz), Joseph *Caro, Moses b. Joseph di *Trani, Samuel b. Moses *Medina, and others.

Sirillo's fame rests upon his commentary to the Jerusalem Talmud which covered the whole order *Zera'im* and tractate *Shekalim*, which he compiled in at least two editions. He began to compile the first edition while he was still in Salonika and the second, improved edition, in Ereẓ Israel. In the second edition he already used, in addition to manuscripts, the printed edition of *Venice in about 1522. Sirillo's interest in the Jerusalem Talmud arose from a practical consideration of *halakhah*, which resulted from his settling in Ereẓ Israel, where the agricultural laws applied to a much greater extent than in the Diaspora. These laws are contained in the order *Zera'im* which (apart from *Berakhot* which does not deal with agricultural laws) have no *Gemara* in the Babylonian Talmud but only in the Jerusalem Talmud. Since little attention had been paid to the Jerusalem Talmud, he found that many passages were obscure and the texts corrupt. "Unable to find in my generation a scholar well versed in the Jerusalem Talmud" and urged on by his colleagues, he devoted himself to writing a commentary to the 12 relevant tractates. It is one of the best commentaries to the Jerusalem Talmud, despite the fact that his readings are not the most exact, although he had before himself accurate manuscripts. The part on *Berakhot* was first published in 1875 by M. Lehmann, who also added notes in the margin, and that to the whole of *Zera'im*, in Jerusalem from 1934 to 1967. The commentary to *Shekalim* was published in 1958. Sirillo also compiled a commentary in the form of a *Gemara* to the Mishnah *Eduyyot*, which has not yet been published.

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[Abraham David]

SIRKES, JOEL (known as **BaḤ**, an abbreviation of *Bayit Ḥadash*; 1561–1640), one of the greatest talmudic scholars of Poland. Sirkes was born in Lublin and was rabbi in a number of communities, including Belz, Brest-Litovsk, and Cracow, where he was appointed *av bet din* and head of the yeshivah in 1619. Many of his students became leading rabbis in Poland, the most famous being his son-in-law, *David b. Samuel ha-Levi (the TaZ). Sirkes' chief work was the *Bayit Ḥadash* (Cracow, 1631–39), a critical and comprehensive commentary on the *Arba'ah Turim* of *Jacob b. Asher, in which he traced each law to its talmudic source and followed its subsequent development through successive generations of interpretation. He viewed with alarm the constriction of the law through codification and the growing dependence of his contemporaries on the Shulḥan Arukh. His major authorities were the Talmud, the *geonim*, the tosafists, *Alfasi, *Asher b. Jehiel, and Maimonides.

Sirkes, a scholar of independent judgment, rendered many controversial decisions. He allowed the acceptance of emoluments and special privileges by rabbis in return for their services. He extended the permission to sell leavened food to a non-Jew before Passover to include the sale of the room in which such food was found. Sirkes performed a marriage on the Sabbath when an orphan's future was at stake. He permitted the reading of secular, non-Hebrew books on the Sabbath and liberalized certain laws to allow for the greater enjoyment of the festivals. He saw no valid reason for the prohibition against listening to a woman's voice in song and permitted church melodies in the synagogue if they were universal in appeal. He was, however, very strict in issues of **issur ve-hetter*. Though opposed to philosophy and an adherent of Kabbalah, he rejected kabbalistic practices that were contrary to the *halakhah*.

Sirkes' literary legacy includes two volumes of responsa published posthumously, *She'elot u-Teshuvot Bayit Ḥadash* (Frankfurt, 1697) and *She'elot u-Teshuvot Bayit Ḥadash ha-Ḥadashot* (Koretz, 1785). In the *She'elot u-Teshuvot ha-Ge'onim Batri* (Turka, 1760) there are 22 responsa either by Sirkes himself or dealing with responsa which he had written.

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[Max Jonah Routtenberg]

SIROTA, GERSHON (1874–1943), *ḥazzan*. Born in Podolia, Sirota took his first position as *ḥazzan* in Odessa when he was 21. He officiated in Vilna for eight years, and in about 1908 became *ḥazzan* of the Tłómacka Street Synagogue in Warsaw. Sirota was regarded as one of the most accomplished tenors of his generation and was one of the most gifted *ḥazzan* virtuosos of all time. He possessed a dramatic tenor voice of great beauty and power, with a brilliant coloratura and climactic top notes, and a perfect voice control in all registers which enabled him to produce trills of exceptional length. His listeners were often deeply moved by the emotional intensity of his rendering of the liturgy, and he could also sing with a delicate sweetness. Sirota was a master of improvisation and recitative in the East European tradition, always remaining faithful to the appropriate **shtayger*, but he himself never composed. In partnership with his choral directors, notably Leo Low and David Eisenstadt, he made famous many outstanding ḥazzanic compositions including Isaac Schlossberg's *Reẓeh* and A.M. *Bernstein's *Adonai, Adonai*.

Sirota undertook numerous concert tours throughout Europe and the U.S. and was often compared to the leading operatic tenors of his generation. During his years at Vilna he sang annually for Czar Nicholas II and in 1903 became the first *ḥazzan* to make recordings. After leaving the Tłomacka Street Synagogue in 1927, Sirota devoted his time entirely to concert tours, but in 1935 took up the post of *ḥazzan* at Warsaw's Norzyk Synagogue. He was the only one of the great *ḥazzanim* of the time not to accept a position in the U.S. He and his family perished in the Warsaw ghetto. A monument was erected on his grave in the Gesia cemetery in 1961.

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[David M.L. Olivestone]

°**SISEBUT**, Visigoth king of Spain (612–621). He succeeded King Gundamar, and within three years his forces put down a revolt in Asturias and defeated the Byzantines twice. Better known, however, for his literary talent and personal piety, Sisebut was a likely continuator of anti-Jewish religious policies of *Reccared which had been abandoned by the latter's successors. Soon after ascending the throne, Sisebut ordered the Jews of his kingdom either to convert to Christianity or leave Spain. He further decreed that Jews who converted Christians to Judaism were to be executed and their property was to go to the royal treasury. In addition, Christian slaves owned by Jews were either to be sold to Christians or set free. Sisebut's policy of forced conversion found little support and was condemned at the time by Spain's foremost theologian, *Isidore, bishop of Seville. The king's general anti-Jewish religious policies were not popular in the realm, and his successor, Suinthila, reversed them, permitting Jews who had accepted baptism under duress to return to Judaism without penalty and encouraging those who had fled from Spain to return. The legislation forbidding Jews to own Christian slaves remained largely unenforced.

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[Bernard Bachrach]

SISERA (Heb. סִיסְרָא), the leader of the coalition opposing Israel "by the waters of Megiddo" in the days of *Deborah (Judg. 4–5). Sisera is the object of extreme scorn in the poetic sequel, the archaic Song of *Deborah, which celebrates Israel's victory. No evidence exists concerning the involvement of the city of *Megiddo itself in this episode, and so the event is roughly dated at 1150–1125 B.C.E., before Megiddo's revival and following the destruction of the early 12th-century city. Sisera's name is entirely uncharacteristic of the Semitic context; the best linguistic affinities are found in Illyrian names with the element-*ero*. In the prose narrative, Sisera, "who dwelt in Harosheth-Goiim," is represented as field commander for "*Jabin king of Canaan, who reigned at *Hazor" (Judg. 4:2). The tradition is an old one and was long effective, as known from I Samuel 12:9 where the events surrounding Sisera stand as an example of God's judgment and deliverance. (It is believed that Bedan, in I Samuel 12:11, is miswritten for Barak.) On the other hand, in the bitterness which evoked Psalms 83:10, only the victory over Jabin and Sisera is important.

A location for Harosheth-Goiim has been suggested in the vicinity of Hazor. However, with the evidence for the historicity of Judges 4, the site of Tell-ʿAmr, at the southern edge of the Esdraelon plain near the mouth of the pass into the plain of Acre, remains the most probable location of Sisera's town. The tradition that calls it Harosheth "of the Gentiles," plus Sisera's non-Semitic name, combines with the fact that Tell-ʿAmr was founded in the early Iron Age to suggest that it belonged to one of the recently arrived Sea Peoples. (For another view see *Deborah.)

The implication of the narrator is that Sisera and his force fled the battlefield in opposite directions, the troops being overtaken and overwhelmed at Harosheth. Sisera escaped alone as far as Elon-Bezaanannim, whose location is uncertain, but is generally sought in Naphtali. It was a place to which certain *Kenites had migrated in an earlier period and where they had settled after contracting a treaty with Jabin, king of Hazor. The connection between the Kenites and Jabin is clear in the shift from standard narrative tenses to the use of a sentence having no verb at the point at which the Kenites and Jabin are mentioned together ("there (was) a peace treaty between Jabin… and the house of Heber the Kenite," Judg. 4:17). Thus, the final irony of both the prose and the poem is that Sisera, desperately seeking the relative safety of the borders in the far north, was killed by one whose clan had broken away from the Mosaic alliance, and by a woman at that. A glimpse of the later vicissitudes of Sisera's people is provided in the mention of "sons of Sisera" in the lists of Nethinim (Ezra 2:53; Neh. 7:55). Most of the Nethinim families were descended from prisoners of war (see Gibeonites and *Nethinim).

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[Robert G. Boling]

SISKIND, AARON (1903–1991), U.S. photographer and teacher. Born in New York City, he attended City College of New York, where he graduated with a degree in literature in 1926. Siskind then taught English in New York public schools, only taking up photography as a pastime. In 1930, he joined the Photo League, a group of photographers who confirmed their solidarity with the political far left by creating documentary photos with social content. Under their auspices, Siskind produced photos of Harlem and of Bucks County, Pennsylvania, among other subjects. As the head of the Feature Group of the League, Siskind and others created the *Harlem Document* (1937–40), recording the overcrowded African-American New York neighborhood in a push for social justice. During the 1940s, Siskind's work reflected a growing interest in photographing natural objects from a close perspective, which lent his images an abstract quality only hinted at in his earlier documentary photographs. Organic material, such as leaves, or social detritus, such as defaced walls, muddied papers, weathered woods, and rusted metals, occupied Siskind's pictoral interest in their flatness and reservoir of rich indexical detail, like shadows, smudges, and graffiti. Between 1947 and 1951, he exhibited frequently at the Charles Egan Gallery, where many of the Abstract Expressionists exhibited. Siskind himself is considered one of the only Abstract Expressionists working in photography. He taught at Black Mountain College in 1951, and then at the Illinois Institute of Technology in

Chicago between 1951 and 1971, where he became director of the department of photography. In 1959, he published his first book *Aaron Siskind: Photographs*. Between 1971 and 1976, he taught at the Rhode Island School of Design. He was a founder and member of the Society for Photographic Education and the Visual Studies Workshop, Rochester, New York. He received many prestigious awards, including a grant from the National Endowment for the Arts, the Guggenheim Foundation, and the Governor's Prize for the Arts, Rhode Island. His work is in the collections of numerous institutions, including the Eastman House Museum, Getty Museum, the National Gallery of Art, and the Smithsonian American Art Museum. His work has been exhibited at many museums and galleries, including the Art Institute of Chicago, the Jewish Museum, New York, the Museum of Contemporary Art, Los Angeles, and the Museum of Modern Art.

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[Nancy Buchwald (2nd ed.)]

SISTERON, town in the Basses-Alpes department, S.E. France. After *Marseilles, *Arles, and *Tarascon, Sisteron was the fourth place in Provence where Jews settled. At the beginning of the 13th century there was a popular uprising in which 80 Jews were among the victims. According to Solomon *Ibn Verga's *Shevet Yehudah*, these events occurred in 1204 and 1205, but local sources date them around 1235. (The latter are more reliable because they are confirmed by an order of Charles I, count of Provence, who in 1257 was still penalizing those who had destroyed the castle of Sisteron and massacred Jews.) At the beginning of the 14th century Jews were also mentioned as living in at least five small localities of the bailiwick of Sisteron, namely, Bayons, Mison, Vaumeil, La-Motte-du-Caire, and Barles. Jews were last recorded in Sisteron in 1452. During World War II an internment camp situated in the town held many Jewish prisoners.

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[Bernhard Blumenkranz]

SITBON, prominent family of wealthy merchants, rabbis, and community leaders in 18th-century *Tunis. ABRAHAM SITBON, who lived for many years in Bizerta, was an official and tax collector, who bore the title of *qaid*. As a leader of the Jewish community he entertained Ḥ.J.D. *Azulai on his visit to Tunis in 1773–74 and is mentioned in the latter's writings. SAMUEL and JUDAH were merchants and shippers; the latter traveled to Leghorn. JOSEPH (late 18th century) was a rabbi and kabbalist in Tunis. His kabbalistic treatise, *Ahavat Adonai*, a commentary on the *Idra Zuta*, was written in 1778 and published in Leghorn in 1871.

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SITRUK, JOSEPH (1945–), chief rabbi of France. Sitruk was born in Tunisia, but raised from early childhood on in Nice. His brilliant high school record seemed to indicate a career in science, but his extracurricular activities, such as those in the French Jewish scouting movement, led him to choose a career in the rabbinate instead.

After completing his studies at the Seminaire Rabbinique of France, he began in 1970 to serve as the rabbi of Strasbourg. In 1975 Rabbi Jacob Kaplan, chief rabbi of France, put him in charge of the Marseilles community, the second largest in France. Within a few years Sitruk had succeeded in reorganizing this rather disparate community made up of various successive waves of immigration. In ever-increasing numbers Jews began to attend synagogue and return to religious practices.

On June 14, 1987, Joseph Sitruk was elected chief rabbi of France; he assumed office in January 1988. As successor to Chief Rabbi René *Sirat, he was the second Sephardi chief rabbi of France. His election confirms the role that Sephardi Jews now play in the leadership of French Jewry following the large immigration of North African Jews to France.

[Doris Bensimon-Donath]

SITTEON (Sutton) DABBAH, SHAUL DAVID (1850–1930), rabbi of the Aleppan community in Buenos Aires. Born in *Aleppo, Syria, in 1877 he was appointed a member of the *bet din* (rabbinic tribunal) there, and four years later became the rabbi of the city of Ain Tab. After ten years (1881–91), he returned to Aleppo and founded a yeshivah. In 1912 he went to visit his sons who had immigrated to Buenos Aires and was appointed rabbi of the Aleppan community in that city. Critical of the religious laxity that reigned in Buenos Aires, he started to impose strict halakhic rules on the immigrants from his home town who were used to a strong rabbinical authority. He founded the congregation Yesod Hadat, which controlled the *sheḥitah* and sale of kosher meat, and opened a *talmud torah* where studies were conducted in Arabic. His traditional approach was manifested in his resistance to the establishment of a modern system of learning "Hebrew in Hebrew." He was also active in the foundation of the burial society – Hesed Shel Emet Sefaradit de Aleppo – that later became the main communal framework of the Aleppan community (AISA – Asociación Israelita Sefaradí Argentina). Sitteon became famous with the ban against conversions in Argentina that was published in his book of Responsa *Dibber Shaul* (Jerusalem, 1928). The ban, which is still valid in several Sephardi communities in Latin America, was issued under the influence of Rabbi Aharon Goldman of Moisesville and received the *haskamot* of the chief rabbis of Ereẓ Israel. It decreed that no conversion would be accepted in Argentina, but permitted the acceptance of conversions by rabbinic tribunals in Jerusalem. Sitteon rarely participated in Zionist activities and was the representative of Agudat Israel for the Sephardi sector.

[Margalit Bejarano (2nd ed.)]

SIVAN (Heb. סִיוָן), the post-Exilic name of the third month of the Jewish year. Occurring in the Bible and in the Apocrypha (Esth. 8:9; I Bar. 1:8) and frequently in rabbinic literature (as in *Megillat Ta'anit*), the name is held to be etymologically connected with *samu* or *asamu* ("to mark" or "to appoint" in Assyrian, akin to *sim* in Hebrew). The zodiacal sign for this month is *Gemini*. In the present fixed Jewish calendar, it invariably consists of 30 days, the First of Sivan never falling on Monday, Thursday, or the Sabbath (see *Calendar). In the 20th century Sivan in its earliest occurrence extends from May 11th to June 9th and in its latest from June 9th to July 8th.

Historical anniversaries in Sivan comprise: 1. Third–Fifth of Sivan, the "Three Days of the Bounds" commemorating the three-days' preparation for the revelation on Mount Sinai (Ex. 19:10–16); 2. Sixth of Sivan (in the Diaspora also Seventh of Sivan), *Shavuot (the festival of Weeks); 3. Seventh, fifteenth, and sixteenth of Sivan, anniversaries of Hasmonean victories (Meg. Ta'an. 3); 4. Twenty-fifth of Sivan, Israel's defeat of Ishmael, Canaan, and Egypt in a contest adjudicated by Alexander the Great (ibid.); (7, 8, 9) Twenty-third, twenty-fifth, and twenty-seventh of Sivan, once observed as fasts (ibid., 13; Tur and Sh. Ar. OḤ 580) commemorating Jeroboam I's suspension of pilgrimages to Jerusalem and the martyrdom of the *tannaim,* *Simeon b. Gamaliel I, *Ishmael b. Elisha, *Hananiah Segan ha-Kohanim, and *Hananiah b. Teradyon.

[Ephraim Jehudah Wiesenberg]

SIVAN, ARYEH (1929–), Hebrew poet. Born in Tel Aviv, Sivan was a member of an elite unit in the Palmaḥ and took part in Israel's War of Independence. He studied Hebrew language and literature at the Hebrew University, worked as a high school teacher, and published his first collection of poems, *Shirei Shiryon* ("Poems of Armor"), in 1963. This was followed by a dozen collections, including *Liḥyot be-Ereẓ Yisrael* ("To Live in Ereẓ Israel," 1984), *Kaf ha-Kela* ("Hollow of the Sling," 1989), and *Ḥozer Ḥalilah* ("Recurrence," 2004). "Selected Poems 1957–1997" appeared in 2001. A member of the literary group *Likrat* ("Towards") in the 1950s, which sought to imbue Hebrew poetry with a refreshing poetic diction, Sivan's idiom avoids hyperbole and pathos, appealing in its directness and simplicity and yet retaining a clear melodious cadence. Many of the poems address the landscape and nature of Israel, recollect moments of childhood in the city of Tel Aviv, or contemplate the changes in the socio-political climate of Israel. Sivan wrote one novel, *Adonis* (1992; German translation: 1994), an enjoyable detective story, set in Tel Aviv during the Gulf War, which takes the reader back to the 1930s, depicting the political life and love affairs of the city's literati. Individual poems have been translated into diverse languages, and information about translation is available at the ITHL website at www.ithl.org.il.

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[Anat Feinberg (2nd ed.)]

SIVITZ, MOSHE (1855–1936), U.S. rabbi. Born in Zhitovian in the Kovno District of Lithuania, he went to study at Rabbi Isaac Horowitz's Yeshiva before returning to Zhitovian and studying with Rabbi Solomon Horowitz, after which he studied in Telz. He was ordained by Rabbi Eliezer Gordon of Telz and by Rabbi Isaac Elhanan Spektor. He continued his studies in Kovno and became a rabbi at about the age of 30, in Pikelen, Lithuania. He immigrated to the United States a year later and then accepted an offer to become rabbi of the Russian Shul in Baltimore. Within two years he moved to Pittsburgh to serve as rabbi of Bnai Israel and later of Kahal Yereim. He became a major figure in Pittsburgh Jewry, working with the larger community to build a community Jewish hospital, Montefiore. He opened the Crawford Street Talmud Torah, a school that was available to all members of the community.

His attitude toward America was negative. He was a staunch opponent of Reform Judaism, which had but recently proclaimed its Pittsburgh Platform. He regarded the focus on money and success prevalent in the United States as compromising the integrity of Judaism, as he felt that spirituality could flourish amidst poverty and found material success threatening. He was against preaching in English and continued to sermonize in Yiddish.

One of the speakers at the funeral of Rabbi Jacob Joseph, he admonished the crowd for their mistreatment of the chief rabbi. He struggled for a living, as did many Orthodox rabbis of his generation, when rabbis were paid less than cantors, and sought to maintain economic independence in order to limit the power of his congregants, whom he did not regard as being of the stature in learning and piety of the European laymen he had left behind. He felt that the economic condition of the American rabbi – essentially a hired employee of his congregants – compromised his authority.

Kimmy Kaplan, who wrote on his preaching, stressed that Sivitz regarded leaving Eastern Europe as exchanging spiritual values for corporeality. The *goldene medina* was a land of spiritual dryness; a land of ignorance and impiety. In the United States the values of the country were the main problem for Judaism. Thus, he was firmly in the camp of the rejectionist Orthodox, who refused to embrace the American vision. He helped form and was a vice president of *Agudat Harabbonim.

He wrote a number of books: *Ḥikrei Da'at* (2 volumes, 1898 and 1902), sermons based on the weekly Torah portion; *Sefer Beit Paga* (1904); *Peri Yehezkel* (1908); and *Matteh Aharon* (1914), material for sermons. He also authored a commentary on the Jerusalem Talmud entitled *Masbiah al Yerushalmi* (2 volumes, 1913, 1918) as well as *Ẓemaḥ ha-Sadeh* (1935). He also contributed to Judah Eisenstein's *Oẓar Yisrael* (1907–1913).

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[Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

SIX-DAY WAR, the war between Israel and *Egypt, *Jordan, *Syria, and *Iraq that lasted from June 5 to June 10, 1967, and in the course of which Israel routed the threatening Arab armies and occupied the Sinai Peninsula, the "West Bank" (Judea and Samaria), and the Golan Heights.

Background to the Conflict

The diplomatic negotiations following Israel's occupation of the *Sinai Peninsula in Operation "Kadesh" in October–November 1956 (see *Sinai Campaign) and, in particular, joint United States and Soviet pressure on Israel brought about a withdrawal of Israel forces from the Sinai Peninsula and the *Gaza Strip early in 1957. They handed over their positions to the newly formed United Nations Emergency Force (UNEF), which took up positions on the Straits of *Tiran and along the Israel border with Sinai and with the Gaza Strip. Israel's action followed the receipt of assurances from the great powers, particularly concerning the freedom of passage for shipping to and from Israel passing through the Straits of Tiran.

The Arab world was racked by upheavals. On July 14, 1958, King Feisal of Iraq was deposed and killed, and the regime, headed many times by General Nuri Saʿid, was overthrown by General Kassem. His unstable regime enabled the Soviet Union to achieve its first foothold in oil-rich Iraq and make its first moves in establishing a position in the Persian Gulf. A general reaction of unrest fomented by Nasserist elements throughout the area developed in Lebanon and Jordan. Civil war broke out in Lebanon, and at the urgent invitation of President Chamoun the United States Sixth Fleet landed a force of Marines to stabilize the situation, while the British Army flew forces to Amman to bolster King *Hussein's regime.

In February of the same year, following the rise to power of the Ba'ath party in Syria, Egypt and Syria had combined to establish the shortlived United Arab Republic. Syria became the northern center for the development of *Nasser's activities against Israel, hampered as he was in this respect along the Israel-Egyptian frontier by the presence of UN troops. From Syria he also developed his efforts to bring about the downfall of King Hussein. In September 1960 his agents succeeded in killing the Jordanian prime minister, Majali, who had taken a strong stand against Nasser's attempts to undermine the Hashemite regime in Jordan. King Hussein concentrated his forces along the Syrian border with the intention of invading, but was dissuaded at the last moment by British and U.S. pressure. In October 1961 Syria revolted against what had in fact become an Egyptian occupation and regained her independence.

While Israel's border with Egypt remained comparatively quiet, due partly to the presence of the UN forces, the center of Arab activity against Israel developed along the Syrian, and later along the Jordanian, border. The Syrians shelled Israel settlements from their advantageous positions on the *Golan Heights, laid mines, and developed a minor war of attrition along the frontier. On Feb. 1, 1960, after a long pause since 1956, the Israel Defense Forces carried out a reprisal raid against Syrian posts in Khirbat Tawfiq, on Lake *Kinneret. But the Syrians continued to attack fishing boats on the lake, shell villages in the *Ḥuleh Valley, and fire on agricultural workers in the demilitarized zones along the frontier.

In 1964 an Arab Summit Conference in Cairo, attended by the heads of state, decided to proceed actively with the diversion of the waters of the *Jordan River and to recognize a Palestinian entity. At this conference and at the Casablanca Conference which followed it, some £400 million were allocated for the purpose of implementing these decisions. In recognizing the Palestinian entity the Arab states gave official standing to Ahmed Shukeiri, head of the *Palestine Liberation Organization, and following the decisions of the conference he proceeded with the establishment of a Palestinian army.

The work on the diversion of the Jordan waters proceeded apace both in Lebanon and in Syria, where a canal was dug to divert the waters of the Ḥaẓbani in Lebanon and the *Banias in Syria into the *Yarmuk River in Jordan and thus deprive Israel of most of the Jordan waters. Israel had on many occasions declared that either the closing of the Straits of Tiran or the diversion of the Jordan waters would be considered a *casus belli*. Israel reacted to the diversion operations in a controlled but very firm manner, and in a series of engagements, involving artillery and tank fire, obstructed the diversion operations from time to time. In November 1964 Israeli planes were in action against parts of the diversion works out of artillery range. The Arab states were unwilling to be drawn into an all-out war as a result of this Syrian initiative. Indeed, Israel's activities brought the work to an end, for it became clear to the Arab leadership that pursuit of the diversion meant war with Israel.

The internal upheavals in Syria brought to the fore extreme segments of the Ba'ath party and the Syrians continued to send saboteurs to Israel through Jordan and Lebanon. King Hussein was at times unable or unwilling to control his own borders and prevent the incursions against Israel. In November 1966 the Israel Defense Forces struck at the village of al-Samʿu in the Hebron hills, a center of terrorist attacks; this was their first reprisal raid carried out in daylight together with armored and air elements. Following this attack King Husse-

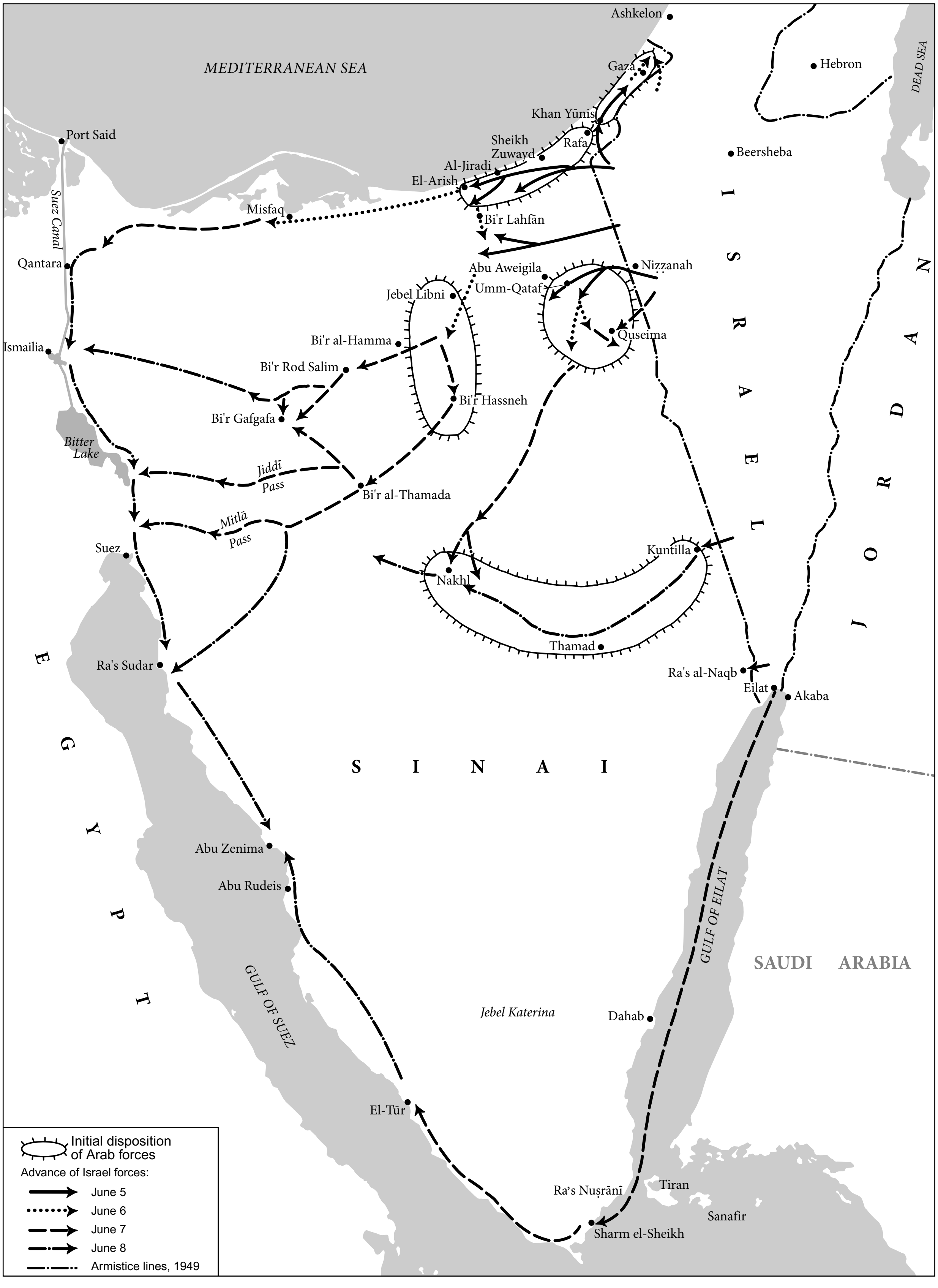
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
Ashkelon
Gaza
Hebron
DEAD SEA
Khan Yūnis
Rafa
Sheikh Zuwayd
Al-Jiradi
El-Arish
Beersheba
Port Said
Suez Canal
Misfaq
Bi'r Lahfān
Qantara
Abu Aweigila
Nizzanah
Umm-Qataf
Jebel Libni
Quseima
Ismailia
Bi'r al-Hamma
Bi'r Rod Salim
Bi'r Hassneh
Bi'r Gafgafa
Bitter Lake
Jiddī Pass
Bi'r al-Thamada
Mitlā Pass
Suez
Kuntilla
Nakhl
Thamad
Ra's Sudar
Ra's al-Naqb
Eilat
Akaba
ISRAEL
JORDAN
EGYPT
SINAI
Abu Zenima
Abu Rudeis
GULF OF SUEZ
GULF OF EILAT
SAUDI ARABIA
Jebel Katerina
Dahab
El-Tūr
Ra's Nuṣrānī
Tiran
Sanafir
Sharm el-Sheikh
Initial disposition of Arab forces
Advance of Israel forces:
June 5
June 6
June 7
June 8
Armistice lines, 1949

Map 1. The Six-Day War: Egyptian front.

in's regime appeared to be tottering and was bolstered by additional military aid from the United States.

Meanwhile Syrian provocations along the northern frontier continued, and infiltration into Israel from Syrian-based camps, via Jordan and Lebanon, continued. In April 1967 their interference with farming operations in the demilitarized zones on Lake Kinneret were stepped up, with increased shelling of Israeli border villages. On April 7, 1967, unusually heavy fire was directed by long-range guns against Israeli villages, and Israeli aircraft were sent into action against them. An air battle developed in which Syria lost six planes. Fearful of Israel's reaction to their provocations, the Syrians tried to impress on the Egyptians their apprehension of an impending Israel attack.

The Arab Threat

Early in May 1967 Nasser was at one of the lowest ebbs in his career. For five years his forces had been involved in the civil war in the Yemen without success against ill-armed tribesmen. He was in conflict with King Hussein, whom he described on May 1 as an "agent and slave of the imperialists." His relations with Saudi Arabia were near breaking point, and he could make no headway in the struggle against Israel. Against this background came the urgent request for assistance from Syria, strengthened by the appearance in Cairo on May 13 of a Soviet parliamentary delegation, which informed the Egyptians that Israel had massed some 11 brigades along the Syrian frontier. The Soviets, with an embassy in Tel Aviv, were obviously aware that this information was untrue, but they were interested in pressing Syria's case for political reasons of their own. The U.S.S.R. was particularly interested in strengthening the regime in Syria, which had afforded the Soviet Union her first major foothold in the Middle East, and, by influencing Egypt to threaten Israel from the south, gambled on strengthening Syria's security and hence the regime in Damascus.

In a well-publicized mass demonstration, Nasser proceeded to move large forces through Cairo en route to Sinai. Within a few days, by May 20, some 100,000 troops, organized in seven divisions of which two were armored (with over 1,000 tanks), had been concentrated in Sinai along Israel's border. A mass hysteria enveloped the Arab world. Nasser was again at the peak of his popularity, as one Arab government after the other volunteered support and was caught up in the enthusiasm of the impending strike against Israel. On May 17 Nasser had demanded the withdrawal of the UN Emergency Force, and the secretary-general of the United Nations, U Thant, acceded to the request without demur.

Once again, after ten years, Israel directly faced Egyptian forces along the frontier, and on May 22 Nasser declared the Straits of Tiran closed to Israeli shipping and to shipping bound to and from Israel. That such an act would be a declaration of war had been made clear by Israel. The major powers attempted to establish a naval force in order to implement the assurances made to Israel in 1957, but no force or action emerged. On May 26 Nasser told the Arab Trade Unions Congress that this time it was their intention to destroy Israel. On May 30 King Hussein flew to Cairo and signed a pact with Egypt placing his forces under the command of General Riad of Egypt; Iraq followed suit and signed a similar agreement. Contingents arrived from other Arab countries, such as Kuwait and Algeria. Israel was ringed by an Arab force of some 250,000 troops, over 2,000 tanks, and some 700 frontline fighter planes and bombers. The world looked on at what was believed by many to be the impending destruction of Israel, but no action was taken, and every effort was made by the Soviet and Arab delegates to the UN to minimize the seriousness of the situation and to permit developments to take their course. The Israeli government, headed by Levi *Eshkol, made urgent efforts to solve the crisis by diplomatic means, dispatching Foreign Minister Abba Eban to the heads of government of the Western great powers. The mission was in vain. A sudden change in French policy emerged and the traditional sympathy of the French government for Israel disappeared, against the background of a new French bid for Arab support.

The Israeli government was enlarged by the cooption of representatives of the opposition factions Gaḥal (M. Begin and Y. Sapir as ministers without portfolio) and Rafi (M. Dayan as minister of defense) and constituted an emergency government of national unity. World Jewry rallied behind Israel, and a total identification with Israel, such as had never been known before, was evinced by the Jews. Massive financial support was mobilized, and thousands of volunteers besieged Israel's embassies and consulates.

Israel Strikes Back: the Southern Front

The morning of June 5, 1967, found the Israeli armed forces, which under the command of Major General Yiẓḥak *Rabin had been mobilized since May 20, facing the massed Arab armies around Israel's frontiers. Israel's citizen army had been quietly and efficiently mobilized to defend the country against the impending Arab attack, which every Arab medium of mass communication announced was imminent. That morning the Israel Air Force commanded by Brigadier General Mordekhai Hod undertook a preemptive attack designed to destroy the Arab air forces and their airfields. Flying in low, under the Arab radar screens, Israeli planes destroyed the air forces of Egypt, Jordan, and Syria and planes of the Iraqi air force. In less than three hours 391 planes were destroyed on the ground and an additional 60 Arab planes were destroyed in air combat, compared to Israel's loss of 19 planes, some of whose pilots were taken prisoner. This brilliant air operation accorded Israel complete superiority in the air, and thereafter the Israel Air Force was free to give close combat support in the ground operations which ensued.

At 8 A.M. on June 5, while the Israel Air Force was pounding Arab strength, Israel's Southern Command, under Brigadier General Yeshayahu Gavish, moved its forces against the massed Egyptian armies in Sinai. (See Map: Six-Day War:

Egyptian Front). The command, facing seven Egyptian brigades including some 1,000 tanks, was composed of three divisional task forces commanded by Brigadier General Israel Tal on the northern sector of the front, Brigadier General Abraham Yoffe in the central sector, and Brigadier General Ariel Sharon in the southern sector.

The breakthrough was achieved in the general area of Khan Yunis-Rafa by Tal's forces. The brunt of the fighting was borne by S brigade, which exploited the breakthrough by overcoming very heavily defended positions at Sheikh Zuwayd and al-Jiradi and reaching El-Arish on the evening of June 5. The other main breach of the Egyptian front was effected jointly by the divisional task forces of Yoffe and Sharon. Yoffe's group moved across a trackless desert area and introduced itself in depth into a position north of the line Niẓẓanah-Abu Aweigila in the rear of the Egyptian defensive positions. The morning of June 6 found this force firmly positioned in the area of Biʾr Laḥfān and straddling the Abu Aweigila-Biʾr Laḥfān road, in the rear of the main Egyptian positions. Meanwhile Sharon's division carried out a perfectly executed night attack on the main Egyptian positions at Umm-Qataf covering the crossroads at Abu Aweigila. An infantry brigade marched across the dunes and attacked the positions from the north, while at the same time a parachute brigade landed by helicopter in the gun lines of the Egyptian force concentrated at Umm-Qataf and Abu Aweigila and destroyed them. By morning an armored brigade had passed through these positions, destroyed the armored elements in the area, and proceeded to break through in the direction of Jebel Libni. Meanwhile Israeli forces, following through the breakthrough at Khan Yūnis, fanned northward and were engaged in bitter fighting with the Egyptian and Palestinian forces in the Gaza Strip. Following the capture of Deir al-Balaḥ, parachute and infantry forces, after a fierce struggle, finally captured the Ali Muntar Hill dominating the town of Gaza.

Jerusalem and the Jordanian Front – the First Day

On the morning of June 5 a message was sent by the government of Israel through General Odd Bull of the UN Truce Supervision Organization advising King Hussein that Israel had no designs on Jordan and that, granted quiet on the Israel-Jordanian border, no harm would befall his country. On the same morning, however, King Hussein decided to honor his pact with Nasser, and his forces opened up a heavy barrage along the armistice lines, shelling Israeli villages and towns, including the outskirts of Tel Aviv, and bombing a number of inhabited areas sporadically. (See Map: Six-Day War: Jordanian Front).

The major brunt of the Jordanian shelling was felt in Jerusalem. Heavy indiscriminate shelling caused many casualties in the city. At approximately 11 A.M. the Jordanian forces moved against Government House in a demilitarized area on the Hill of Evil Counsel in Jerusalem, used as UN Headquarters. Israel's Jerusalem Brigade counterattacked and drove the Arab Legion out of this position. The Israeli forces maintained the impetus of their attack, taking a number of positions, including the village of Ṣūr Bāhir on the road to Bethlehem. In the meantime a reserve armored brigade broke into the Jordanian positions on the north of the Jerusalem Corridor, the heavily fortified "radar" positions near Ma'aleh ha-Ḥamishah and positions of Sheikh ʿAbdal-ʿAzīz. A further breakthrough was effected at Beit Iksāʿ. These forces fanned out on the high ground north of the Jerusalem Corridor, taking the Jordanian positions at Biddū and Nabī Samwīl, and reaching the main road from the north to Jerusalem at Tell al-Fūl south of Ramallah.

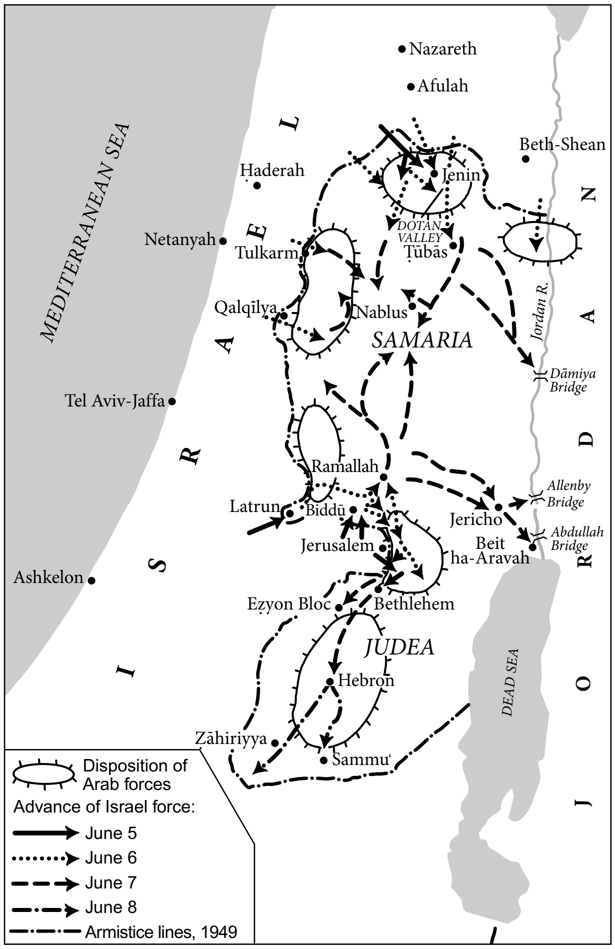

Map 2. The Six-Day War: Jordanian front.

On the night of June 5–6 an infantry brigade attacked the *Latrun enclave, captured the village and the police post, and advanced into the Judean Hills eastward along the Beit Horon road in order to join forces with the armored brigade at the gates of Ramallah. The Central Command, under Brigadier General Uzi Narkiss, was thus committed in Jerusalem, developing its counterattack toward the south of the city and an armored brigade followed by an infantry brigade from the coast taking the commanding features to the north of the corridor and moving eastward to cut the link of the Jordanian forces in Jerusalem with the north.

At this stage a reserve paratroop brigade under Colonel Mordekhai Gur, rushed to Central Command, was thrown into the battle on the night of June 5–6 without time for adequate preparation against the most heavily fortified Jordanian positions, which covered the northeast of Jerusalem and were manned by some two brigades. The fiercest fighting took place at the Police School and Ammunition Hill. The brigade suffered very heavy casualties before a breakthrough was achieved. It enabled the paratroopers to take the district of Sheikh Jarrāḥ, the American Colony, and the Rockefeller Museum area, and to reestablish a direct link with the Israeli enclave of Mount Scopus, which had been isolated from Israel by Jordanian forces for the past 20 years.

Meanwhile Israel's Northern Command, under Brigadier General David Elazar, attacked from the north with an armored brigade supported by infantry and broke into Jordanian-held territory on the West Bank along two axes of advance in the general area of Jenin. A heavy armored battle took place in this area, with the Jordanians reinforcing their armored forces from the Jordan Valley area. An Israeli counterattack finally smashed the Jordanian opposition. Israel's forces of the Northern and Central Command were, after 24 hours of fighting, converging from the south, the east, and the north of the West Bank triangle in the face of very obstinate Jordanian opposition. In the meantime Israel's naval forces under the overall command of Rear Admiral Shlomo Erel were operating on the approaches to Alexandria and a number of frogmen, who were later taken prisoner, succeeded in penetrating the defenses of that port and attacking a number of ships.

The Second Day's Fighting

The second day saw the forces of Tal in the northern sector of the Sinai front fanning out from El-Arish, one force continuing along the coastal road westward toward the Suez Canal and another force, which moved southward after a tank battle to take the El-Arish air field, attacking the heavily fortified Egyptian positions at Bi'r Laḥfān, already outflanked by Yoffe's intrusion across the desert. From this point the forces under Tal and Yoffe continued with a coordinated attack, Tal's task force advancing westward along the central road to the Suez and Yoffe's moving southward. Sharon's force continued to mop up in the general area of Umm-Qataf-Abu Aweigila and southward toward Quseima. At the same time a reserve infantry brigade, strengthened by armored forces and paratroopers, launched an attack on the city of Gaza, which was taken after very heavy fighting. The Gaza Strip was now in Israel's hands. Brigadier General Moshe Goren was appointed military governor of the Gaza Strip.

Meanwhile the historic battle for Jerusalem was being waged with all its ferocity. To the north of Jerusalem the reserve armored brigade continued the battle to clear the area between Jerusalem and Ramallah, a vital crossroads for the development of operations in the West Bank of the Jordan Kingdom. Tell-al-Fūl was captured after an armored battle. Part of the brigade moved southward, taking Shuaʿfāṭ to the north of Jerusalem and the general area of Givat ha-Mivtar, which fell after a second attack was launched against it. The hilly ground north of the Jerusalem Corridor was now safely in the hands of the Israel Defense Forces, thus enabling them to develop their push northward. The town of Ramallah surrendered. Meanwhile the forces of the Northern Command maintained their pressure southward toward the center of the West Bank. An infantry force attacked from the west, taking Qalqīlya and reaching al-ʿAzzūn. Jenin was finally taken by an armored force at noontime on June 6, and the armored brigade which captured the city proceeded southward, engaging in a major armored battle at the Qabāṭiyya crossroads. An additional Israeli armored force reached the Ṭūbās-Nablus road and was engaged by Jordanian armor. At midnight the Israeli forces renewed their attack, taking Ṭūbās and moving toward the Dāmiya bridge on the Jordan River, thus sealing off the northern part of the West Bank from possible reinforcement from eastern Jordan. The Israel Air Force was by now free to give close ground support to the forces on all fronts, which it proceeded to do with considerable effect.

The Third Day – the Capture of the Old City

June 7 was to be one of the most historic days in the history of Jewish arms. That morning Gur issued his orders for the capture of the Old City of Jerusalem, which had by now been completely surrounded by Israeli forces occupying all the heights around the historic city. The Lions' Gate, otherwise known as St. Stephen's Gate, was chosen as the break-in point. A sharp battle took place there, the paratroopers, supported by a small armored force, breaking in at the gate. Despite the fact that Israeli forces had avoided attacking the holy places, the Arabs used the al-Aqṣā Mosque as a sniping post and the entire area of the Temple Mount as an ammunition dump – despite pleas to the contrary from the Jordanian governor of Jerusalem and the Muslim religious authorities. The area was rapidly cleared with a minimum of damage to the holy places; at 10:15 A.M. the Israeli flag was raised over the Temple Mount and Jewry's holiest site, the *Western ("Wailing") Wall, was once again in Jewish hands.

Meanwhile the armored forces which had taken Ramallah continued toward Jericho, while the unit advancing from the direction of Nablus met with those coming from Ramallah and fanned down toward the Jordan River. At the same time the Jerusalem Brigade continued southward, taking Bethlehem and Hebron, which surrendered without a shot being fired, and also retaking the area of the Eẓyon Bloc, a group of Jewish settlements which had fallen to the Arab Legion in 1948. The entire West Bank was in Israel hands. Brigadier General Chaim Herzog was appointed military governor of the West Bank.

In the south Israeli naval forces sailing in the Gulf of Akaba took *Sharm el-Sheikh and opened the Straits of Tiran. Once again shipping was free to move through the straits to and from Israel. Meanwhile the race across the sands of Sinai was coming to its close as the three Israel divisional task forces pushed forward in an attempt to seal off Egyptian armored forces in the center of Sinai and prevent their withdrawal to the Suez Canal. Tal's forces captured the Egyptian military base of Bi'r Gifgafa and there withstood the last heavy armored counterattack on the part of the Egyptians. Yoffe's forces captured Bi'r Hassneh and rushed for the Mitla Pass in order to seal it off in the face of the retreating Egyptian armored forces. A huge trap for Egyptian armor was now being created. The Egyptian defenses in the area of Quseima, Abu Aweigila, and Kuntilla collapsed before the advance toward Nakhl of Sharon's forces, which proceeded systematically to destroy the Egyptian forces attempting to withdraw.

The Fourth Day – Israel's Forces Reach the Suez

On the fourth day of fighting, Tal's forces reached Qantara in the north and Ismailiya in the center and linked up along the bank of the Suez Canal, Yoffe's forces advanced in a two-pronged attack toward the city of Suez and in the direction of the Bitter Lake, while another section of his forces moved south toward Res Sudar on the Gulf of Suez. Israeli forces fanned southward along the Gulf of Suez toward Abu Zenima where they linked up with parachute forces that had landed at Sharm el-Sheikh and were moving northward. Desperate Egyptian attempts to break out were broken by the armored forces and above all by the Israel Air Force, and the Mitla Pass was converted into one huge Egyptian military graveyard. In this area one of the largest battles in the history of armored warfare, with approximately 1,000 tanks participating, had resulted in a decisive Israeli victory. The Israeli flag was raised along the Suez Canal, the Straits of Tiran were open, and the Egyptian forces, which only four days before had been poised to destroy Israel, were in disarrayed retreat, having lost most of their air force and leaving behind vast quantities of equipment, including some 800 tanks. Meanwhile in the north the Syrian forces had been continuously shelling the Israel villages along the border and a number of infantry and armored attacks against Israel villages were beaten off.

The Fifth and Sixth Days – the Golan Heights Taken

The Syrian attacks increased in intensity and covered a large number of Israeli towns and villages. The Israel Air Force, now freed from other fronts and having already destroyed the Syrian air force, brought the gun positions under attack. On Friday June 9 at noon, the Israel Defense Forces attacked the Syrian army on the Golan Heights. (See Map: Six-Day War: Syrian Front). The main break-in point was chosen in the northern sector of the Syrian front in the area of Tell ʿAzāziyāt. An infantry brigade and a reserve armored brigade bore the brunt of the attack against heavily fortified positions sited in tactically advantageous places, and the infantry forces dealt with one position after another in close hand-to-hand fighting, particularly fierce fighting taking place at Tell Fakhr. Losses were heavy on both sides. The armored force finally broke through the first line of defense, reaching the objective with two tanks in operation out of an entire battalion.

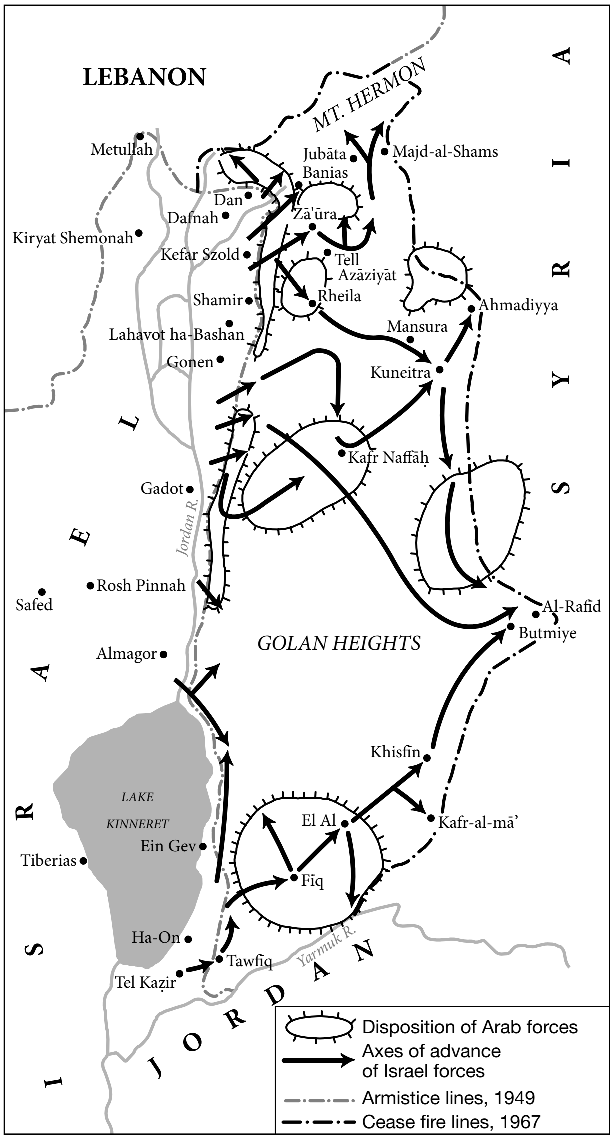
LEBANON
MT. HERMON
SYRIA
ISRAEL
JORDAN
Metullah
Jubāta
Banias
Majd-al-Shams
Dan
Dafnah
Zā'ūra
Kiryat Shemonah
Kefar Szold
Tell Azāziyāt
Shamir
Rheila
Ahmadiyya
Lahavot ha-Bashan
Mansura
Gonen
Kuneitra
Kafr Naffāḥ
Gadot
Jordan R.
Rosh Pinnah
Safed
Al-Rafid
Butmiye
Almagor
GOLAN HEIGHTS
Khisfīn
LAKE KINNERET
El Al
Kafr-al-mā'
Ein Gev
Tiberias
Fīq
Ha-On
Yarmuk R.
Tawfiq
Tel Kaẓir
Disposition of Arab forces
Axes of advance of Israel forces
Armistice lines, 1949
Cease fire lines, 1967

Map 3. The Six-Day War: Syrian front.

An additional armored force advanced and captured Banias, and while the breakthrough force now advanced rapidly toward Mansura and Kuneitra, a force under Brigadier General Elad Peled, which had previously been in operation on the West Bank, attacked in the area of Tawfiq; paratroopers were landed from helicopters in depth behind the enemy lines; an additional armored force moved up through Darbashiyya; and at 2:30 P.M. on Saturday, June 10, 24 hours after the commencement of hostilities, the town of Kuneitra was in the hands of the Israel Defense Forces, which were now firmly established on the Golan Heights. The danger of Syrian shelling had been removed from the Israeli villages. General Elazar's Northern Command forces ceased operation, following a UN-sponsored cease-fire, and established themselves along the lines reached by the advancing forces. The Israel Defense Forces were now established on the main highway leading to Damascus.

In six days the military force of the Arabs had been destroyed, their air forces were in ruins, hundreds of tanks were destroyed or captured, over 15,000 casualties had been inflicted on them, and almost 6,000 prisoners were in Israeli hands. Israel's military losses were 777 killed, 2,586 wounded, and a handful of prisoners, primarily pilots, all of whom were subsequently exchanged in return for the thousands of Arab prisoners. The Egyptian and the Syrian governments accepted a cease-fire agreement and UN observers were posted along the Suez Canal front and on the Golan Heights. Sporadic shooting took place, particularly along the neck leading from Qantara northward to Port Said, but by and large a period of comparative military quiet descended on the area. Nasser announced his resignation in a broadcast to the Egyptian people on June 9, but withdrew in the face of mass demonstrations calling for his return. In his resignation speech he made clear the part played by the Soviets in bringing on the war.

After the Six-Day War

Israel proceeded rapidly with the administration of the occupied areas and in a very short time had gained full control and had reestablished all essential services for the population. During the fighting approximately 100,000 Arabs fled from the West Bank to the East Bank, and following the occupation tens of thousands left voluntarily in order to join their families. The Israeli military policy was to allow the Arabs to govern themselves up to and including the municipal level as far as possible. The city of Jerusalem was reunited and the barriers of wire, mines, and hate fell as the people of two nations which had been divided for 19 years mingled once again, meeting and trading with each other. Gradually the governments's open-bridges policy, as enunciated by the minister of defense, General Moshe Dayan, evolved, Arabs from the West Bank moving freely to and fro across the Jordan River and trade developing between the occupied territories and the Arab world, particularly in the field of agricultural supplies. A liberal military administration ruled in the areas. The scene was set for some form of accommodation between the Arab world and Israel: King Hussein visited the capitals of the world, and it appeared that there was a preparedness to discuss some form of peace or coexistence with Israel; but all decisions were postponed pending the convening of the Arab Summit Conference at Khartoum in August 1967.

Before this conference, however, President Podgorny of the Soviet Union and Marshal Zakharov, the Soviet chief of staff, visited Cairo and committed themselves to the resuscitation of the Egyptian armed forces. President Podgorny later visited Damascus and made similar commitments, and a vast Soviet airlift began to replace almost two billion dollars' worth of equipment lost to the Israelis. Against this background, and doubtless influenced by it, the Khartoum Conference took place and the Arab policy of the "three noes" – no recognition of Israel, no negotiations with Israel, and no peace with Israel – was enunciated. Following this the prospects for a peaceful settlement waned in the face of Arab intransigence. The Palestine Liberation Organization was reorganized and Yaḥya Ḥammuda was named acting chairman of the Palestine Liberation Organization in place of Ahmed Shukeiri. All the Palestine terrorists and guerrilla organizations joined this new federation, apart from the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, an extreme left-wing organization that engaged in terrorist activities against civilian aircraft and Israeli institutions abroad.

A concentrated attempt was made to mount terrorist and resistance operations in the occupied areas and in Israel. These took two forms: indiscriminate terrorist activity, such as bombs in the Tel Aviv bus station, the Hebrew University cafeteria, or on the grounds of the American consulate in Jerusalem, in which innocent civilians and passersby were killed and wounded; and a guerrilla war to be mounted from bases mainly on the east bank of the Jordan River. Gradually the Israeli security services developed a counteroffensive and, although terrorist activities were perpetrated from time to time, the situation was kept well in hand, and after three years most of the terrorist rings involved, both in the occupied areas and in Israel, had been rounded up.

The Israel Defense Forces took special action against the terrorists based in Jordan and in March 1968 destroyed their main base in Karama, near the east bank of the Jordan, in a major attack. Following this attack the Palestinian guerrillas withdrew their main bases from the area near the border and adapted their training and mode of operation accordingly. From time to time the Israel Air Force attacked their bases and concentrations, but the main battles took place in the darkness of the nights along the Jordan River, very heavy casualties being inflicted on the infiltrators. By mid-1969 Yasser Arafat admitted to over 700 killed, in addition to over 3,000 guerrillas held as prisoners by Israel. By the introduction of improved operational methods and new technological devices, the Jordan River was closed off to the guerrillas, and once again the Israel Defense Forces scored a resounding victory. The guerrillas, thwarted in their attempts to penetrate into Israel-held territory, devoted more and more energy to inter-Arab affairs and gradually became a source of considerable danger to the established regimes, particularly in Jordan and Lebanon. Their activity led to a number of serious clashes between the authorities and their forces in both Jordan and Lebanon, resulting in an unstable political situation.

The main military effort against Israel after the war was mounted by Egypt. From time to time Egyptian forces violated the cease-fire arrangement along the Suez Canal. In October 1967, an Israel destroyer, the "Eilat," was sunk while on patrol off the coast of Sinai by missiles fired by an Egyptian missile boat from the shelter of Port Said harbor. In retaliation Israel shelled the Egyptian oil refineries at Suez. Nasser announced a policy based on three phases: defensive, retaliatory, and offensive. In September–October 1968 he declared the opening of the retaliatory phase with heavy artillery bombardments along the canal, inflicting heavy casualties on the Israeli forces. Israel retaliated both along the canal and by deep commando penetrations into Egypt, in the Nile Valley and along the coasts. At the same time Israeli forces developed the construction of "the Bar-Lev Line," a series of fortifications along the length of the entire canal.

In March 1969 Nasser announced the opening of the offensive phase, declaring that the cease-fire no longer existed. The war of attrition that he waged against Israel escalated, and Israel's casualties along the canal rose, reaching a peak of 30 killed and over 70 wounded in July 1969. Israel's forces under the command of Lieutenant General Chaim Bar-Lev went over to the counterattack, choosing air power as its means of counteracting Egyptian superiority in artillery along the canal. Heavy air battles took place in the summer and autumn of 1969, when heavy casualties were inflicted on the Egyptian air force and control of the air was firmly established by the Israel Air Force. Between the end of the Six-Day War and the end of March 1970, 85 Egyptian planes had been shot down by Israel, and Egyptian losses were averaging eight planes to every one of Israel's. In September 1969 an armored Israeli force crossed the Gulf of Suez and sojourned over 20 hours on the Egyptian side, clearing a stretch of Egyptian military installations, including radar posts, some 31 mi. (50 km.) long. Following this action the Israel Air Force proceeded systematically to destroy Egypt's radar-warning system and anti-aircraft defenses, including SA-2 missiles supplied by the Soviets. This battle continued until, in November 1969, Egyptian missile bases along the canal had been destroyed for the third time, and Israel continued to counterattack the Egyptian forces along the canal. In January 1970 Israeli planes began to attack similar missile sites and other military installations deep in Egypt, including the Cairo area. At the same time commando raids designed to keep the Egyptian forces off balance, such as that involving the temporary occupation of Shadwan Island in the Red Sea, took place. Israeli planes continued to attack positions in Egypt and particularly along the canal with comparative freedom, and Israel gained the upper hand in the war of attrition.

At this stage, in March 1970, it was announced that Egypt had been supplied with SA-3 ground-to-air missiles manned by Soviet personnel. The Soviet penetration, which had been going on for years in Egypt and in Syria and which had brought thousands of advisers and technicians to these two countries, now intensified. This policy was part of a general build-up of a Soviet presence in the Mediterranean that had been going on for a number of years and in which the Soviet fleet played a major part, attaining a strength of over 60 vessels, including two helicopter carriers, the *Moskva* and the *Leningrad*. Israel's defense of the cease-fire lines and of her borders continued to be maintained. The administration of the occupied territories developed, and the first moves were made by Israel toward solving the Arab-refugee problem. Trade from the occupied territories to the Arab world reached IL 70,000,000 in exports in 1969, and imports from the Arab world to them topped IL 25,000,000. The Arab guerrilla forces had been fought to a standstill by Israel but had become an increasingly serious internal factor in the Arab countries. The Arab world was racked by revolution and unrest. Since the Six-Day War there have been revolutions or attempts at revolution in the Middle East in Iraq, South Yemen, Somalia, Sudan, Libya, and Saudi Arabia. Arab has fought Arab on the South Yemen-Saudi border, in Jordan, and in Lebanon, and Arab intransigence has continued to postpone any approach of peace.

In June 1970 the U.S. secretary of state William Rogers proposed that discussions be held between Israel, Egypt, and Jordan under the auspices of Ambassador Gunnar Jarring (as UN representative). On August 4 Israel accepted the Rogers proposal in order to achieve "an agreed and binding contractual peace agreement." This agreement also initated a cease-fire with Egypt, from August 7, for a period of three months, even though Israel regarded the original Security Council cease-fire resolution as still binding. Israel charged that Egypt with Soviet connivance had violated the cease-fire agreement by moving up missile sites into the Canal zone. The cease-fire was renewed by Egypt for a further period of three months on Nov. 5, 1970, and again for one month on Feb. 5, 1971. On March 7, 1971, President Sadat announced Egypt's refusal formally to extend the cease-fire but did not resume fighting.

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[Chaim Herzog]

°**SIXTUS IV** (b. **Francesco della Rovere**; 1414–1484), pope from 1471 to 1484. In Italy the reign of Sixtus IV marks a high point of tolerance. The pope used Jewish physicians, and perhaps employed Jews for the collection, copying, and translation of Hebrew works. He refused to canonize Simon of *Trent, allegedly a victim of Jewish ritual murder. It is clear, however, that the pope's tolerance was offset, outside his own domains, by local hostility. A generous bull of 1479 concerning the Jews of *Avignon was questioned and subsequently withdrawn. In November 1478 the pope issued a bull investing *Ferdinand and Isabella with extraordinary powers to appoint inquisitors in all parts of Castile. In January 1482 he condemned the excessive harshness with which they were carrying out their task, in a letter to the king and queen. Six chief inquisitors were appointed, including the notorious Tomás de

*Torquemada (Feb. 11, 1482), and invested with discretionary powers (April 17, 1482). The next year, yielding to pressure from King Ferdinand, the pope placed Torquemada at the head of the *Inquisition in Castile and Aragon.

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[Nicholas de Lange]

SIXTUS OF SIENA (1520–1569), Italian convert and anti-Jewish polemist. Sixtus was born in Siena. Shortly after his conversion he entered the Franciscan order and devoted himself to the study of the Bible. After a short while, he was charged with heresy and sentenced to die at the stake. Pope Pius *v saved him and transferred him to the Dominican order. In the Papal States Sixtus and another convert, Filippo Moro, preached the conversion of the Jews and incited the rabble against them. In 1559 he was instrumental in the burning of the Talmud in Cremona. On the other hand, he saved the Zohar from destruction, in the hope that mysticism and Kabbalah would turn the Jews to Christianity. His most important work was *Bibliotheca Sancta ex praecipuis Catholicae Ecclesiae auctoribus collecta* (Venice, 1566), an introduction to the Bible which includes an alphabetical list of Jewish commentators.

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[Menachem E. Artom]

SIYYUM (Heb. סִיּוּם; "conclusion"), designation for celebrations held on certain occasions.

(1) *Siyyum *Sefer Torah* is a consecration ceremony held at the conclusion of the writing of a new Torah Scroll. The last, and sometimes the first, verses of the Torah are written by members of the congregation (each congregant filling in one letter); the scroll is then solemnly sanctified with special prayers and songs. The celebration is based on R. *Eliezer's interpretation of I Kings 3:15 (Song R. 1:1 no. 9).

(2) *Siyyum Massekhet* or *Siyyum ha-Shas* is the celebration held at the conclusion of the study of a Talmud tractate or of the whole Talmud. On this occasion the members of the study group recite special formulas of appreciation called הַדְרָן (*hadran*), in which they give thanks for having had the privilege of studying Torah; they petition for the opportunity to be able "to return again" to the study of this tractate. The *hadran* is chosen from rabbinic sources in the Talmud (Ber. 16b–17b) and is usually printed at the end of each tractate. On the occasion, a festive banquet is held (see **Se'udah*) at which the lecturer delivers a discourse on his novellae to the Talmud tractate that has just been completed (also commonly known as *hadran*). The custom of the festive banquet dates back to talmudic times (Shab. 118b–119a), and it is a *mitzvah* to participate. Study groups often plan, if possible, to complete a Talmud tractate on the day before Passover to allow the firstborn male to dispense with fasting on this day; partaking of the *siyyum* meal overrides the fast. (See *Fasting and Fast Days.)

(3) In North African Jewish communities, especially in Algeria, a *siyyum*, called *Ḥag Siyyum* or *Se'udat Yitro u-Moshe*, was yearly celebrated on the Thursday before the Sabbath on which the Torah portion *Yitro* (Ex. 18–20) was read in the synagogue. At the celebration (based on Ex. 18:12) the *Ten Commandments were solemnly read to the congregation and a festive banquet held at which chicken was served.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Eisenstein, Dinim, 288–9.

SKALAT (Pol. **Skałat**), town in *Tarnopol district, Ukraine. Formerly within Poland, Skalat passed to Austria in 1772, reverting to Poland between the two world wars. There was a Jewish settlement in the town during the 16th century, and 686 Jews lived there in 1765. The Jewish population increased during the 19th century and numbered 3,256 (55% of the total) in 1890 and 2,791 (49%) in 1900. During the 19th century Ḥasidism had considerable influence in the community, but the Jews in Skalat had to contribute toward the maintenance of the German school, headed by Joseph *Perl, in Tarnopol. As a result of Skalat's proximity to the Russian border, economic life came to a standstill following World War I and many Jews were compelled to leave. In 1921 there were 2,919 Jews (49.1%) living in the town. Between the two world wars they engaged in commerce, retail trade, and crafts. The influence of the national movement and Zionism increased.

[Shimshon Leib Kirshenboim]

Holocaust Period

By 1939 there were 4,800 Jews in Skalat. When the town passed to Soviet rule (1939–41), all independent political activity was suppressed, and as private enterprise was stifled, Jews sought employment in government service and cooperatives. When the Soviet-German war broke out on June 22, 1941, about 200 Jews in Skalat fled with the retreating Soviet army. The town fell to the Germans on July 5, and that day 20 Jews were murdered by German troops. On July 6 Ukrainian nationalists killed 560 Jews. A Judenrat was set up, headed by Meir Nierler. He was accused of collaboration with the Germans in rounding up Jews for deportation. In the autumn of 1941, 200 young Jews were sent to a slave labor camp in Velikiye Borki. A group of Jewish women were sent for forced labor to Jagielnica. Early in 1942, 600 sick and elderly persons were rounded up and assembled in the synagogue, and from there taken to *Belzec death camp. In an *Aktion* on Oct. 21, 1942, 3,000 victims were sent to Belzec, while 153 Jews were shot in Skalat itself. On November 9, in a second raid, 1,100 were rounded up and sent to the death camp. On April 7, 1943, about 750 persons were murdered and buried in mass graves near the town. Following this *Aktion* a resistance group was organized, headed by Michael Glanz. The young members collected arms, but the Germans, aware of the existence of the group, advanced the date of the next *Aktion*, for which the group was still unprepared. In this *Aktion*, carried out on May 9, 1943, 660 persons were killed. The city was then declared *Judenrein*. Only 400 Jews survived in the local labor camp. A resistance group was formed in the camp as well, and when the partisan units under General Kowpak began operating in the vicinity, 30 Jews escaped and joined their ranks. All but seven fell in fighting against the Germans. On July 28, 1943, the last of the Jews in the Skalat camp were murdered. About 300 Jews had found temporary refuge in the forests in the vicinity, but they were attacked by the Ukrainian bands led by Bandera, and only 200 survived the war.

There are three monuments to the Jewish community of Skalat: the Holocaust memorial to the memory of what was done to the Jews of the town; The cemetery memorial for the community that lived before the Holocaust; and the Skalat Holocaust memorial in the Holon cemetery, erected by the surviving families of the people of Skalat.

[Aharon Weiss]

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°**SKARGA, PIOTR** (**Piotr Powecki**; 1536–1612), Polish Jesuit preacher and antisemite. Skarga was one of the leaders of the Uniate Church in Brest (*Brest-Litovsk), which recognized papal authority. He supported the candidacy of King Sigismund III Vasa (1587–1632) for the Polish throne and upon the latter's selection was appointed preacher in his court, a position which gave him great political influence. His opposition to any form of accommodation or compromise with Protestants was a factor in the abolition of laws of religious tolerance in 1606. His hatred of Jews found expression in his works *Żywoty swiętych* ("Lives of the Saints," 1579) and *Kazania na niedzielę i Swięta* ("Sermons for Sundays and Festivals," 1597). Both books attempted to prove that Jews made sacramental use of Christian blood. Skarga's venom and his closeness to the king were responsible for outbreaks against the Jews of Cracow more than once in the 1690s and encouraged the authorities to conduct *blood libel and *Host desecration trials. His hatred of Jews was particularly apparent in the plan of the Jesuits of Lemberg to seize the *Nachmanovich family synagogue and in litigations on this matter conducted in the presence of the king during the years 1603–08.

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[Arthur Cygielman]

SKARZYSKO-KAMIENNA (until 1928 Kamienna), town in Kielce province, E. central Poland. A mine workers' quarter in the 19th century, the locality received municipal rights in 1923. Jews settled in Kamienna in the 1890s with the development of industrial enterprises for steel production and tanning. A Jewish community was organized on the eve of World War I. In 1921 1,590 Jews constituted 20% of the total population. In addition to shopkeeping, they engaged in hide processing, shoemaking, mechanics, and dyeing.

Holocaust Period

Before World War II, 2,200 Jews lived in Skarzysko–Kamienna. The German army entered on Sept. 7, 1939, and immediately initiated anti-Jewish terror. On May 5, 1941, the ghetto was established. In October 1942 an *Aktion* took place in which the town's entire Jewish population was deported to the *Treblinka death camp and exterminated. After the liquidation of the ghetto a massive *Julag* (*Judenlager*), a slave labor camp, was set up in the town. In January 1944 the camp officially became a concentration camp. It existed until August 1944, when all its inmates were deported to other concentration camps, mainly *Buchenwald in Germany and the *Czestochowa- "HASAG" camp in western Poland. Altogether, about 15,000 Jewish prisoners passed through this camp, but over 10,000 of them perished there. Many prisoners died of hunger and disease due to the subhuman conditions prevailing in the camp. Others were murdered by the SS men on the camp's staff. A resistance organization active in the camp smuggled out a small number of prisoners for guerrilla activities, but preparations for a general armed revolt failed. After the war the Jewish community in Skarzysko-Kamienna was not reconstituted.

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[Stefan Krakowski]

SKEPTICS AND SKEPTICISM. Skepticism in philosophy refers to the principle that all knowledge, whether sensory or conceptual, is subject to the limitations of the human mind and, thus, unreliable. No certain or absolute knowledge can be attained by man. This position was advanced by such Greek schools as the Sophists and the Pyrrhonists. They did not, however, consider revelation. In religious philosophy some thinkers, while accepting the skeptical view concerning knowledge acquired by natural means, have held that certain knowledge can be attained through the supernatural act of revelation. But others, while denying the skeptics' claim about natural knowledge, have found the claim of certain supernatural knowledge open to unresolvable doubt, requiring either rejection or suspension of judgment regarding its validity.

Although medieval Jewish thinkers offered varied interpretations of Judaism, none subscribed to extreme skepticism about man's ability to acquire certain knowledge naturally, though the historical forms of this skepticism were known to them (cf. Saadiah Gaon, *Emunot ve-De'ot*, ch. 4). All affirmed the existence of positive knowledge upon which the truths of Judaism, however understood, could be based. Joseph *Albo epitomized this viewpoint in his specific rejection of philosophic skepticism. Moreover, unlike such medieval Christian mystics as Peter Damian (1007–1072) and Bernard of Clairvaux (1091–1153), who minimized the possibilities of natural against supernatural knowledge, most Jewish philosophers were confident of the validity of human sensation and thought. This confidence generally exceeded even that of such Christian scholastics as Thomas Aquinas, who affirmed natural knowledge but still denied man's capacity to apprehend fully theological truth. *Saadiah Gaon expressed the general Jewish viewpoint in his discussion of the sources of knowledge in *Emunot ve-De'ot* (Introduction: 5). Of the four sources Saadiah enumerates, three are natural: sense perception, self-evident rational knowledge, and inference based on logical necessity; the fourth is reliable tradition. Saadiah further asserts that the theological truths of natural knowledge and revelation are fundamentally the same.

*Judah Halevi and Ḥasdai *Crescas came closest among Jewish thinkers to skepticism about naturally acquired knowledge. But natural knowledge to medievals consisted of neoplatonic Aristotelian metaphysics and physics, and Judah Halevi and Crescas denied the adequacy of these theories as ultimate theological truths. However, in their refutations of neoplatonic Aristotelianism, Judah Halevi and Crescas relied on reason and assumed the validity of empirical knowledge.

The question whether any medieval Jewish thinkers were skeptical of revelations as a source of knowledge cannot be unequivocally determined. This issue arises particularly in the thought of *Maimonides and *Levi b. Gershom. Maimonides specifically rejected the opinion that non-Mosaic prophecy arose supernaturally, but his view of Mosaic prophecy was deliberately obscure. From a number of veiled remarks, Maimonides' view appears to be that Moses' prophecy arose naturally as well. Levi b. Gershom's position seems, in the main, similar to that of Maimonides.

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[Alvin J. Reines]

SKIDEL, town in Grodno oblast, Belarus; in Poland-Lithuania until 1785, and from 1807 incorporated into Russia. Jews settled in Skidel in the mid-18th century and later became the majority in the town. In 1765 there were 463 Jews in Skidel and nearby settlements. The number had grown to 1,080 in 1847; 2,222 (80% of the total population) in 1897; 2,231 (76.7%) in 1921; and about 2,800 (c. 80%) in 1931. Jews earned their livelihood by trading in grain and timber, in the retail trade, crafts, and tanning, especially from the end of the 19th century. Jewish craft guilds were established in Skidel as early as the beginning of the 19th century and political and trade unions (Bund, Po'alei Zion, etc.) at the beginning of the 20th. A Zionist movement was established in 1898. In the fighting in the area during the retreat of the Russian armies, much Jewish property was destroyed. At the end of World War I, when the Germans left in fall 1918, a town council and committee of organized Jewish workers functioned independently for a time.

During the interwar period, under Polish rule, all the Jewish parties were active in Skidel. In the municipal elections of 1927, eight Jewish representatives gained seats, two-thirds of the municipal council. A Jew was elected mayor. Jewish institutions included schools of *Tarbut and of the Central Yiddish School organization (CYSHO). The community came to an end in the Holocaust.

After World War II Skidel became a part of Russia again, and all traces of its past as a Jewish shtetl rapidly disappeared. The town center, which had featured yeshivas, synagogues, factories, hospitals, and homes, was never rebuilt. The remaining townspeople dismantled the Jewish cemetery and used the stones to build their homes. Skidel became the region's "Red City," or regional Communist Party headquarters. In the early 2000s, it had a train station, a rebuilt Catholic Church, a sugar refinery, a poultry factory, and an agricultural commune.

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[Dov Rubin / Ruth Beloff (2nd Ed)]

SKIERNIEWICE, town in Lodz province, central Poland. Jews settled there at the end of the 18th century. M. Balaban mistakenly attributed a charge of *Host desecration in 1562 as occurring in Skierniewice (in his *Historja Zydów w Krakowie i na Kazimierzu*, 1 (1931), 156). There were 73 Jews residing in Skierniewice (7% of the total population) in 1808, and 216 (11%) in 1827. At first, up to about 1850, the Jews there buried their dead in the Jewish cemetery at *Lowicz. Between 1827 and 1863 most of the Jews were allowed to reside only within the limits of a special quarter. An organized community was established in 1850, and some years later a large synagogue was erected (in 1970 the building was in use as a municipal club). Jews engaged in small trade and crafts, such as weaving, shoemaking, and tailoring, in transportation, horse dealing, and services to the local Russian army garrisons. In the second half of the 19th century the influence of *Ḥasidism, mainly of Gur (see *Gora Kalwaria) and *Aleksandrow, grew among the Jews of Skierniewice. In 1886 the *admor* of *Worky (Warka), Simon Kalish, moved his "court" to Skierniewice. At the end of the 19th century the rabbi of the town was Meir Jehiel ha-Levi *Holzstock, later *admor* of *Ostrowiec. The Jewish population numbered 766 (29% of the total) in 1857; 2,898 (36%) in 1897; and 4,333 (33%) in 1921. At the beginning of World War I, in 1914, most of the Jews were expelled from Skierniewice by the retreating Russian army, and the refugees did not begin to return to their homes until 1916. After the end of the war branches of the Zionist parties, the *Bund, and *Agudat Israel were organized in the town.

[Arthur Cygielman]

Holocaust Period

On the outbreak of World War II there were about 4,300 Jews in Skierniewice. The German army entered the town on Sept. 8, 1939, and persecution of the Jewish population began. In 1940 over 2,000 Jews from Lodz and the towns in its vicinity were forced to settle in Skierniewice, whose Jewish population grew to about 6,500. In December 1940 a ghetto was established, but after two months all the Jews were ordered to leave and settle in the *Warsaw ghetto. By the beginning of April 1941 there were no Jews left in Skierniewice. They shared the fate of Warsaw Jewry.

[Stefan Krakowski]

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SKINK (Heb. חֹמֶט, *ḥomet*), a reptile of the family Scincidae, of which six genera are found in Israel. These differ greatly in their bodily structure, some lacking legs entirely and resembling snakes, while others have atrophied feet or resemble the lizard. The *ḥomet* is included among the reptiles that are forbidden as food and render unclean men and articles which come into contact with their carcasses (Lev. 11:30). The identification of the *ḥomet* with the skink is based on the rendering of the Targum as well as on its description in rabbinical literature. Some commentators identify the *ḥomet* with the snail, but it is highly improbable. The *ḥomet* is enumerated among other species of reptile, and in addition it is difficult to accept that the stringent laws of ritual uncleanness would apply to snails, which abound in Israel, and some of which are so small that it is difficult to avoid contact with them.

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[Jehuda Feliks]

SKIRBALL CULTURAL CENTER. The Skirball Cultural Center was established in Los Angeles in 1996 to promote Jewish heritage and American democratic ideals. Originally conceived in the 1980s as an offshoot of the Reform movement's Hebrew Union College – Jewish Institute of Religion, the center was founded by Rabbi Uri D. Herscher (1941–), then the College-Institute's executive vice president and dean of faculty, who was elected president and chief executive of the center upon its separate incorporation in 1995. Named for one of its early donors, noted philanthropist Jack H. Skirball, the center was designed by Israeli-Canadian architect Moshe Safdie. The campus includes a museum, a performing arts center, conference halls, classrooms, libraries, courtyards, gardens, and a café. In its first decade, the center attracted nearly five million visitors, becoming one of the world's major Jewish cultural institutions.

When Herscher transferred his administrative office to the Los Angeles branch of the College-Institute in 1979, the city was emerging as the second largest Jewish community in the United States and third largest in the world. Yet surveys showed that only one in five Jews belonged to a synagogue or any Jewish organization. The trend toward assimilation was so pervasive that rates of Jewish observance were barely higher among affiliated Jews than among the unaffiliated. Herscher immediately sought to raise the profile of the College-Institute. In 1981, he persuaded its board of governors "to explore the concept of establishing a cultural center to celebrate American Jewish life." The celebratory aspect of the project was crucial to Herscher's concept: American Jewry, the most populous, powerful, and prosperous of all Diaspora communities, had yet to appreciate its own accomplishments and promise; nor had it fully acknowledged its debt of gratitude to the nation whose hospitality and goodwill knew no precedent in Jewish history. While insisting that remembrance of the Holocaust and solidarity with the State of Israel were essential – Herscher himself was born in Tel Aviv, to parents whose families were decimated by the Nazis – he argued that Jewish life in America, if it were to survive, required its own foundation: a renewed acquaintance with ancestral Jewish values and an inclusive vision of American society. He came to envisage the center as a new institutional paradigm distinct from the synagogue or the Jewish community center: a "tent" where Jews and non-Jews alike would be welcome. In Los Angeles, "the Ellis Island of the twenty-first century," he saw the ideal home for such a venture. Inspired by his own formative experience as a 13-year-old immigrant, when the United States accepted him and his family with open arms, he conceived of the center as a way to "return that embrace."

Herscher's project found an early champion in Jack Skirball, a Reform rabbi whose later success as a film producer and real estate investor earned him a considerable fortune. A generous contributor to Hebrew Union College, Skirball underwrote the relocation of its museum collection from Cincinnati to Los Angeles in 1972. Skirball believed that the museum's Judaica artifacts could function as "storytellers," visual objects that could engage an audience less attuned to purely textual learning. Herscher's vision of a cultural center and Skirball's hopes for the museum coalesced in the notion of a core exhibition in which the artifacts would tell the story of the Jews from their biblical origins to their integration into present-day American life. The center would also present an array of cultural programs: changing exhibitions, concerts, lectures, theater, dance, literary readings, symposia, film, and educational activities for adults and children. This multivalent approach, Herscher and Skirball believed, would have the best hope of attracting those who had abandoned existing Jewish institutions.

Skirball was also instrumental in opening doors to the wider community, introducing Herscher to corporation executive Franklin D. Murphy, a former chancellor of UCLA. Murphy viewed the prospect of a Jewish cultural center as a salutary expression of American democracy: a "stitch in the fabric" of pluralism, strengthening society as a whole. With Murphy's endorsement, Herscher succeeded in garnering major pledges from the Ahmanson, Kress, and Times Mirror Foundations, the Getty Trust, and others. Remarkably for an avowedly Jewish project, nearly one-third of the center's capital funds derived from non-Jewish sources. Another key source of support was Robert D. Haas, then president of the Levi Strauss corporation and a personal friend of Herscher's from their college days at UC Berkeley. The Levi Strauss family and its many branches were renowned for their philanthropy in San Francisco, where Jewish and American civic virtue had long been seen as fully compatible. With Haas leading the way, San Francisco Jewry's leading families responded generously to Herscher's appeals for support.

Although the College-Institute's board of governors finally approved the project, it was on the daunting condition that Herscher raise the funds independently. Through singular gifts of persuasion and unremitting efforts over 15 years, he succeeded. A 15-acre site, adjoining a major freeway and linking the two centers of Jewish population in West Los Angeles and the San Fernando Valley, was acquired in 1983, and Safdie was engaged as architect the following year. Morris Bergreen, a prominent New York attorney, carried forward the leadership of Jack Skirball, who died in 1985, succeeding him as chairman of the Skirball Foundation. Construction began in 1990, and the center opened six years later. Its board of trustees, consisting of both Jews and non-Jews, was chaired by renowned Los Angeles attorney Howard I. Friedman, a former international president of the American Jewish Committee. It also included Bergreen and Audrey Skirball-Kenis, Skirball's widow.

The core exhibition, titled "Visions and Values: Jewish Life from Antiquity to America," incorporated the museum's artifacts, artworks, documents, photographs, and sound recordings in a sequence of gallery displays and multimedia installations. Predicated on the concept of a journey through history, the exhibition described how Jews adapted to different civilizations, periodically reimagining themselves while retaining their age-old ethics and beliefs. Special emphasis was laid on the consonance of those ethics and beliefs with American democratic principles: Hanukkah and Passover were associated with constitutional commitments to religious liberty and political freedom; Purim with the assertion of minority rights; Sukkot with Thanksgiving; the Hebrew prophets with the founding fathers; the decalogue with the Declaration of Independence. The emblem of the exhibition was a Hanukkah lamp, each of its branches surmounted by a miniature Statue of Liberty.

In its array of public programs, the center sought the same alloy of visions and values, reflected by the institutional collaborations that produced two of its changing exhibitions: "Freud: Conflict and Culture" (2000), organized in conjunction with the Library of Congress and the Getty Trust; and "Einstein" (2004–05), presented jointly by the American Museum of Natural History, the Hebrew University, and the Skirball Cultural Center. Complementing its schedule of exhibitions, the center presented a diverse range of performing arts, lifelong learning classes, and an active program of outreach education to local youth. Designed to acknowledge and engage the multiplicity of cultures represented in Los Angeles, the program grew to accommodate some 50,000 students annually, the vast majority from the public school system.

In the early decades of the 20th century, Horace Kallen suggested that Jewish culture, properly appreciated, constituted a crucial aspect of America's national history and character, with unique potential to revitalize the nation's democratic possibility. His contemporary Mordecai Kaplan argued that in the open society of the United States, the humane values of Jewish civilization were more likely to prevail than the narrow credal and theological claims of past generations. Nearly a century later, the Skirball Cultural Center effectively revived, or perhaps recast, these hopes for an American-Jewish synthesis. Under Herscher's leadership, the center's facilities, programs, and endowment grew rapidly. It broadened its vision as well: in 2000 its mission statement was expanded to address "people of every ethnic and cultural identity." Citing the example of Jonah at Nineveh, Herscher contended that the prophetic ideals of Judaism applied both within and beyond the Jewish community. The center's ultimate goal, he said, was "to take the walls down completely."

[Robert Kirschner (2nd ed.)]

SKLARE, MARSHALL (1921–1992), U.S. sociologist. Born in Chicago, Sklare received his M.A. from the University of Chicago (1948) and his Ph.D. from Columbia University (1953). Sklare was a study director in the Division of Scientific Research of the American Jewish Committee (1953–66), and from 1966 until 1970 he was professor of sociology at Yeshiva University.

Sklare directed numerous research projects under the auspices of the American Jewish Committee, chiefly using the techniques of survey research. From 1970 to 1990 he was professor of sociology at Brandeis University, where he founded the Cohen Center for Modern Jewish Studies, the first research center devoted to social scientific study of contemporary American Jewry. Sklare also served as president of the Association for the Social Scientific Study of Jewry (1973–75). In his memory, the association established the annual Marshall Sklare Award for outstanding scholarship in that field.

Sklare was a leading expert in the field of sociology of U.S. Jewry; his work is widely quoted, especially *Conservative Judaism: An American Religious Movement* (1955) and an edited volume, *The Jews: Social Patterns of an American Group* (1958). *Riverton Study: How Jews Look at Themselves and Their Neighbors* (1957, with M. Vosk) analyzes Jewish attitudes in a community setting; *Jewish Identity on the Suburban Frontier: A Study of Group Survival in the Open Society* (1967) is a study of the attitudes of suburban Jews toward themselves. He also wrote *America's Jews* (1971). *Observing America's Jews* (1993) is a collection of previously published essays, mostly from the 1970s. He edited *The Jew in American Society* (1974); *The Jewish Community in America* (1974); *Understanding American Jewry* (1982); and *American Jews: A Reader* (1996).

[Werner J. Cahnman / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

SKLAREW, MYRA (1934–), U.S. poet, essayist, short fiction writer, and educator. A Maryland native, Sklarew was a professor of literature at American University, where she also co-directed its MFA in Creative Writing. Her published writing focuses on Jewish themes, including her maternal grandmother's family's experiences in small villages in Lithuania, the Holocaust, and the relationship between the neuroscience of memory and Holocaust testimony. She is the recipient of numerous awards for poetry and fiction and was the president of the artist community Yaddo. Her work has been recorded for the Library of Congress's Contemporary Poets' Archive.

Sklarew trained as a biologist at Tufts University and worked in genetics research and neurophysiology at Cold Spring Harbor Laboratory and Yale University School of Medicine. Poetry courses and seminars encouraged her longtime interest in writing and the murder of family members who had remained in Lithuania infused her life as well as her work. Her frequent journeys to Lithuania to interview bystanders, witnesses, and survivors are reflected in her poems in *Lithuania* (1995) and *The Witness Trees* (2000). Widely published in a diverse group of journals, Sklarew's eight books also include *In the Basket of the Blind* (1975), *From the Backyard of Diaspora* (1976), *Blessed Art Thou, No-One* (1982), *The Science of Goodbyes* (1982), *The Travels of the Itinerant Freda Aharon* (1985), *Altamira* (1987), *Like a Field Riddled by Ants* (1988), *Eating the White Earth* (1994), and *Over the Rooftops of Time* (2003).

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[Myrna Goldenberg (2nd ed.)]

SKOLE, city in Lvov district, Ukraine; formerly within Poland, passed to Austria in 1772, and reverted to independent Poland between 1919 and 1939. A Jewish community existed in Skole from the 18th century. There were 1,063 Jews in the city and surrounding villages who paid the poll tax in 1765. In the second half of the 18th century Jews in Skole imported wine from Hungary. In the second half of the 19th century many Jews in Skole earned their livelihood in the timber trade, wood processing, manufacture of building materials, commerce in agricultural produce, and transportation. Jewish workers were employed in the local match factory. When Skole became a summer mountain resort toward the end of the 19th century, the Jews there also derived a livelihood in occupations connected with the holiday season. A summer camp for Jewish children of Lvov was situated there. The community numbered 1,338 (65% of the total population) in 1880; 2,095 (61%) in 1900; 3,099 (48%) in 1910; and 2,410 (40.2%) in 1921. In the period of independent Poland, after World War I, the Jews in Skole were impoverished, and received support from Jewish relief funds. There was an active communal and cultural life. The Zionist movement gained many adherents among the youth.

In the 1930s antisemitism grew rampant in the area. In 1938 there were 2,670 Jews in Skole. Commercial and community life were brought to an end in September 1939 when Skole was annexed to the Soviet Union. The Hungarian army arrived in July 1941; in August, the Germans took over and set up a Judenrat. In September 1942 most of the Jews were sent to labor camps. The Jews of Skole were ultimately executed in June and August of 1943.

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[Shimshon Leib Kirshonboim / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

SKOPLJE (Macedonian **Skopje**; Turkish **Üsküb**; Heb. **אישקספיא** in Mss.), capital city of the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia. In view of its favorable trade situation and the fact of Jewish settlement at nearby *Monastir, it is likely that Jews already lived in Skoplje during Roman times. Documentary mention of Jews there occurs during the time of the medieval Serbian empire. The first synagogue known to exist dates to 1366. A charter (*povelja*) of Czar Stephan Dushan speaks of lands leased to Jews, and another one refers to Jews as "possessions of the Empire," granted to a monastery. In the 16th century, Jews expelled from Spain arrived and settled, and were joined in the 17th century by numerous Marranos from Holland and elsewhere. There was possibly a Jewish cemetery in the 15th century, but one is definitely known of in the 16th century, when a *cortijo* ("communal yard") existed in 1548. In reality it was a small Jewish quarter consisting of two-story houses built around the *kortiz* (court-patio in local Judeo-Spanish). The private courtyards contained workshops of tanners and smiths and storage rooms for wool which was exported to Ioannina, Greece, and Venice, as well as home-produced goods.

By the end of the 17th century Skoplje had two distinct synagogues: *di abasho* (downtown), known as Beth Aron, and *di ariva* (uptown), known as Beth Yaacov. The town and its Jews suffered from many fires, epidemics, and foreign occupations. In 1689 Skoplje had 60,000 inhabitants, 3,000 of them Jews. In the 18th century Jews were cheese manufacturers, miners, spinners, pumpers, dealers in cotton, wax, guts, etc. During the 19th century there was a great influx of Serbians, who pushed the Jews, Walachians, and Armenians out of the commercial trade. The Jewish community stagnated and its members reverted mainly to money lending and changing, brokerage, and sub-proletarian occupations such as fruitmongering, street peddling, etc. The Yugoslav regime did not bring any notable change in the economic and social situation of Jews, which was rather backward and pitiful, their number reaching 4,000 by 1940. The pre-Holocaust Skoplje *kehillah* was a traditionalist Sephardi community, with Judeo-Spanish as the common language – which was even used in some prayers – and a lively Judeo-Spanish folklore.

During the Ottoman and earlier Serbian rules, Jews had to pay a special tax, in addition to the *haratch* (poll tax). Jewish sources mention a *mas ha-begadim* (clothes tax for the army), and the *gabelle* was an internal Jewish duty, an impost (excise) paid to the community for *kasher* meat. The first of the relatively few known rabbis was Aaron Peraḥyah ha-Kohen. R.

Joseph b. Leb of Salonika complained in a responsum of 1560 about the ignorance of Skoplje Jews, sending them a teacher, R. Aaron Avuya, who founded a *talmud torah*. Later rabbis were Ḥayyim Baruch, Ḥayyim Shabbetai, and Samuel Jacob Kalderon. The kabbalist Nehemiah Ḥiyya Ḥayon, author of *Moda'ah Rabbah*, taught in Skoplje in 1689. According to some sources, there was a Karaite group in the city for a while, but it disappeared rapidly.

Holocaust Period

In April 1941 Skoplje, and the whole of Yugoslav Macedonia, was occupied by the Germans, who later put their Bulgarian satellites in control. Jews were immediately subjected to humiliations, plundering, and individual murders by German and Bulgarian troops, and Jewish businesses were quickly liquidated. Jewish refugees from Serbia – after the capitulation of Yugoslavia – were sent back north and murdered at Jajinci, near Belgrade. Persecutions and expropriations went on throughout 1942. Following an agreement reached between Danecker and Delev (see *Bulgaria), mass arrests were begun. Jews from Skoplje, together with their brethren gathered in from all over Macedonia – 7,215 in all – were brought to the ill-famed tobacco factory. They were left there without food or sanitary arrangements for four days and between March 22 and March 29 transported to Treblinka. None of them survived. A few Skoplje Jews escaped, spending the war years as prisoners of war in Germany. Some of them, like Zionist leader Joseph Bekhar, reached Israel after the Holocaust. After the war a small Jewish community was reconstructed, almost none of whose members belonged to the prewar *kehillah*.

In the early years of the 21st century around 40 Jewish families were living in the city, with a prayer house installed in the community's former offices. The cemetery was restored.

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[Zvi Loker]

SKOSS, SOLOMON LEON (**Zalman Leib**; 1884–1953), Arabic scholar. Skoss, born in Chusovoi, Siberia, studied at the yeshivah of Dubrovno and then served in the Russian army. He emigrated to the U.S. in 1907 and began a prolonged period of unrewarding employment, including a position as a beekeeper. One result of this work was his first essay, on beekeeping in the Talmud (repr. in his *Portrait of a Jewish Scholar*). By chance he took up the study of Arabic at the University of Pennsylvania and at Dropsie College, where his teacher was Benzion *Halper. After the latter's death in 1924 Skoss succeeded him, specializing in Judeo-Arabic philology. He was an outstanding scholar in his field, enormously industrious and productive, painstakingly accurate, inspiring to his pupils, and generously helpful to his colleagues.

Skoss edited and published *The Arabic Commentary of Ali ibn Suleiman the Karaite on the Book of Genesis* (1928) and *The Hebrew-Arabic Dictionary of the Bible* by David ben Abraham al-Fasi (2 vols., 1936–45). The posthumous result of his work on the hitherto unidentified and unpublished fragments of *Saadiah's Arabic work on Hebrew grammar was *Saadiah Gaon, the Earliest Hebrew Grammarian* (1955). His smaller essays (with a biography by S. Grayzel) appeared under the title *Portrait of a Jewish Scholar, Essays and Addresses* (1957). Skoss also contributed numerous articles to learned periodicals.

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[Leon Nemoy]

SKULNIK, MENASHA (1892–1970), U.S. comedian. Born in Warsaw, Skulnik went to the U.S. in 1913, and toured with Yiddish stock companies in the U.S., South America, and Europe. From 1918 he acted in Yiddish musical shows in the theaters on New York's Second Avenue, becoming known for his portrayal of the little guy against the world. He played Uncle David in the radio serial *Rise of the Goldbergs* (1931–50) and subsequently starred in his own television program, *Menasha the Magnificent*. From 1953 he appeared in a number of plays on Broadway.

SKUODAS, city in N.W. Lithuania. In the 17th century the community of Skuodas was subject to that of Kedainiai and belonged to "the state of Zamut." Occasionally the state commission assembled in Skuodas, and in 1766 576 Jews paid the poll tax there. In 1847 the number of Jews in the city was 1,872; in 1897 there were 2,292 (60% of the total population). A synagogue existed from the early 18th century, housing an elaborate wooden ark. When an independent Lithuania was established in 1918, the Skuodas community also had a Hebrew-school system, including a secondary school. The cutting off of the sources of trade in Luebeck and Memel, however, contributed to the decline of the community and to a move to the larger cities. In 1921 there were 385 Jews in Skuodas; in 1939 there were approximately 250, all of whom were killed by the Nazi occupation forces.

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[Yehuda Slutsky]

SKVIRA, city in Kiev oblast, Ukraine. Skvira was an ancient town which was completely destroyed at the end of the 16th century. In 1736 it was mentioned as a village leased by a Jewish lessee. In 1789 there were 37 Jewish houses out of a total of 197 houses counted that year. In 1847 Jews registered in Skvira numbered 2,184. During the 1840s the *ẓaddik* R. Isaac Twersky (of the Chernobyl dynasty) settled in Skvira. The Jewish community was primarily engaged in the trade of grain and other agricultural products. In 1897 there were 8,910 Jews (49.5% of the population) in Skvira. During the Civil War, Jews suffered severely from belligerent armies and during the pogroms which frequently occurred, several hundred Jews were killed. The number of Jews decreased considerably after World War I and in 1926 there were only 4,681 Jews (33.6% of the population) remaining. Under the Soviet regime the religious and communal life of the Jews of Skvira was dissolved. The Germans entered the town in September 1941. Almost 1,000 Jews who did not succeed in escaping were murdered. The Jewish population was estimated in the late 1960s at about 500. The *Twersky ḥasidic line emanating from Skvira eventually settled in the U.S. where they founded their own township called New Square (Skvira) in Rockland County, New York.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Reshummot*, 3 (1923), 214–21; Y. Ereẓ (ed.), *Sefer Z.S.* (1963), 108–10.

[Yehuda Slutsky]

SLANDER. The only instance of defamation in biblical law for which a penalty is prescribed is that of the virgin (Deut. 22:19) – and that defamation is in the nature of a matrimonial stratagem (cf. Deut. 22:16–17) rather than of a specifically defamatory offense. Still, in order to invest the prohibition of defamation with the greatest possible weight, talmudic jurists interpreted the biblical injunction, "Thou shalt surely rebuke thy neighbor, and not bear sin because of him" (Lev. 19:17), as meaning that you may reprove your neighbor so long as you do not insult him; but if you make him blush or turn pale from shame or fury, then you have incurred guilt because of him (Sifra, Kedoshim 4:8; Ar. 16b). Other biblical exhortations – like "Thou shalt not go up and down as a tale bearer" (Lev. 19:16), or "Thou shalt not utter a false report" (Ex. 23:1), or "Thou shalt not hate thy brother in thy heart" (Lev. 19:17), or "Thou shalt not take vengeance, nor bear any grudge" (*ibid.*, 18), and "Love thy neighbor as thyself" (*ibid.*) – have all been summoned to help invest the prohibition of slander with biblical authority (Israel Meir ha-Kohen of Radin, *Ḥafez Ḥayyim, Petiḥah*). Particular prohibitions of insult, such as "Thou shalt not curse the deaf" (Lev. 19:14), or "Thou shalt not put a curse upon a ruler of thy people" (Ex. 22:27), were interpreted as particular instances of a general prohibition against insulting (Sifra, Kedoshim 2:13; Mekh., Mishpatim 19; Shev. 36a).

Though regarded as the violation of express biblical negative injunctions, slander is not punishable even by *flogging, because mere talk does not amount to an overt act, and only such acts are punishable (Yad, Sanhedrin 18:2). More severe are the moral and religious admonitions against slanderers: "even though the slanderer is not flogged, his sin is very great indeed, and the sages have said that he who makes another's face turn pale in public, has no share in the world to come" (Avot 3:12). "Therefore everybody must be very careful not to abase another man in public, not to call him a name which puts him to shame, nor to say anything that might embarrass him" (Yad, De'ot 6:8). Some scholars went so far as to put the slanderer on the same footing as a murderer, because both "shed blood" (BM 58b); and all slanderers are characterized as wicked and stupid (Yad, Ḥovel u-Mazzik 3:7).

It would appear that mere moral exhortations were found insufficient to curb the mischief. A later source provides specific sanctions as follows: A person calling another a slave, shall be placed under a ban (*niddui*; see **ḥerem*); a person calling another a bastard (**mamzer*) shall be liable to 40 stripes; and if a person calls another wicked, the other may interfere with his livelihood (Kid. 28a). Attempts were made to interpret these particular sanctions as talionic (cf. Tos. and *Beit ha-Beḥirah*, Kid. 28a); but it is not impossible that they simply reflect decisions taken in cases which had actually occurred. The sanction of *niddui* for calling a man a slave has been codified (Yad, Talmud Torah 6:14: Sh. Ar., YD 334:43); and as for the administration of disciplinary floggings (*makkat mardut*), the rule was eventually held to be subject to local customs: where customary local regulations provided for different sanctions for slander, the customary rule prevailed (Rosh, resp. 101:1; *Rema*, ḤM 420:41). In fact, disciplinary floggings appear to have remained in most places the most common punishment, at least for graver cases of slander (see e.g., Maharshal, resp. nos. 11, 28, and 59; *Yam shel Shelomo* BK 8:34, 48, and 49). In other places, and in lighter cases, fines were imposed – and we often find fines substituted for *niddui* or for floggings at the option of the insulted person who had first to be appeased (Tur, ḤM 420:33 and *Beit Yosef* thereto).

A particular instance of punishable slander is insulting a scholar. A person convicted of having insulted a scholar is liable to *niddui* as well as to a fine of one litra of gold awarded to the aggrieved scholar (Yad, Talmud Torah 6:12). This preferential treatment of scholars left its traces also in the civil law: while a person is not liable in damages for mischief done by word of mouth only (BK 91a; Yad, Ḥovel 3:5; ḤM 420:39), where a scholar was put to shame, he is awarded 35 gold dinars by way of fine (TJ, BK 8:6; Yad, Ḥovel 3:5; Rashba, resp., vol. 1 no. 475; Ribash, resp., nos. 27, 216, and 220). The civil and criminal remedies are, of course, overlapping and identical. The insulted scholar may always forgo the fine (Yad, Ḥovel 3:6). The remedy allowed to "scholars" was soon extended to all pious people (Rosh, resp. 15:10; Tur, ḤM 420:32), and eventually became obsolete when remedies for slanders were no longer confined to particular classes of persons.

Another particular instance of slander is that of widows and orphans. "Mistreating" widows and orphans means, literally, causing them distress; if you cause them distress by insulting them, God will heed their outcry as soon as they cry out to Him; His anger will blaze forth and He will put you to the sword, and your wives shall become widows and your children orphans (Ex. 22:21–23). This is a typical instance of *Divine punishment: for though the court will not impose flogging for this offense (see above), still the punishment therefore is expressly prescribed in the Torah: "and a covenant was concluded between them and the Creator of the World, that whenever they cry, He hears them and acts" (Yad, De'ot 6:10). Slandering the dead is also regarded as a great sin, to be expiated by fasting and prayers; and the court may punish it by fine (*Mordekhai*, BK 81–82; *Rema*, ḤM 420:38). While there are dicta to the effect that speaking the truth cannot constitute slander (*Rema*, ḤM 420:38), the better view seems to be that it is irrelevant whether the slanderous words were true or not (Israel Meir ha-Kohen of Radin, *Ḥafeẓ Ḥayyim* 1:1). In the State of Israel, the Knesset enacted "The Prohibition of Defamation Law 5725 – 1965" (as amended in 1967).

About Jewish legal principles in this law, see Elon, in bibl.

[Haim Hermann Cohn]

Even inanimate objects should not be disparaged, and the Talmud uses the biblical account of the ten spies who, upon their return from their mission, slandered the Holy Land (Num. 12–14) to emphasize the gravity of this sin. In fact, rabbinic tradition considers slander a violation of moral and spiritual obligations, and assigns to it a weight that is almost equal to the cardinal sins of idolatry, adultery, and murder combined (TJ, Pe'ah 1:1).

The most vicious form of slander is false accusations of calumnies made to a ruling authority (*malshinut*) with the intent of endangering a man's livelihood and even his life. *Informers, through slanderous accusations, sometimes jeopardized entire Jewish communities. They were, therefore, regarded as particularly vicious. They were placed in the category of those who commit assault with intent to kill, and putting them to death was authorized. If their intention to slander was clear, death was sanctioned even before the crime was committed. The extent to which Jewish communities were harassed by slander is indicated by the inclusion, in the daily *Amidah* service, of the prayer, "And for slanderers, let there be no hope."

[Sol Roth]

Israeli Law and Jewish Law

The halakhic principles of the laws of slander provided inspiration for legislation of the Defamation Law, 5725 – 1965, in its general approach if not in its details. For example, Section 14 of the Law grants protection in cases where "the matter published was true and the publication was in the public interest" while, according to the *halakhah*, as stated, the truth of the matter would apparently not constitute a defense. Acceptance of the overall approach of Jewish law in this matter, without necessarily adopting all of its numerous and specific details, seems the proper approach in this matter. It does not seem appropriate to turn the details of the *halakhah* into legal prohibitions, but they should be left, rather, as religious prohibitions alone. Furthermore, the various situations in which it is permitted by law to publish slander also originate in the need to balance between the individual's right to a good name, on the one hand, and freedom of expression and the freedom of public criticism, on the other. Decisive importance is accorded in Jewish tradition to the latter as well, as noted by the Supreme Court in the Neiman Affair (EA 2, 3/84, 2 *Neiman et al. v. Chairman, Central Elections Committee*, PD 39 (2) 225, 294–296; per Justice Menachem Elon. "The multiplicity of opinions is not a negative phenomenon or fault, but is substantive to the world of *halakhah*. 'There is no lack or peculiarity to say that the Torah is thereby made into two Torahs, Heaven forbid; to the contrary – such is the way of the Torah, for both are the words of the Living God" (*ibid.* p.295). (See also *Rights, Human: Freedom of Speech.) It may be noted that permission to utter slander, such as "beneficial defamation," also appears in certain cases in Jewish law: for example, under certain conditions it is permitted to recount slander about litigants, if it will lead to the resolution of the dispute (See Cr.A Jerusalem) 113/96 *Biton v. Kopf*; Justice Elyakim Rubinstein). By virtue of these, attempts are made to sustain a democratic system notwithstanding the numerous halakhic, although not necessarily legal, restrictions involved in the prohibition of defamation regarding such subjects as the publication of corrupt acts of public officials in the media or management of an election system (see bibliography, Ariel).

INTERPRETATION OF THE LAW IN ISRAEL IN LIGHT OF THE PRINCIPLES OF JEWISH LAW. The Supreme Court ruled that Jewish Law is an important source for construing the Defamation Law, in reliance on the explanatory notes to the original and amended draft bills, as well as in reliance on the Knesset debates conducted during passage of its legislation, which included extensive reference to the prohibition of defamation in Jewish Law, the scope of the prohibition and the sanctions found therein (LCA 531/88 *Avneri et al. v. Shapira*, PD 42 (4) 20; Justice Menachem Elon). In the *Avneri* case, the District Court had issued a temporary injunction against the publication of a book which, according to the plaintiff, defamed him. The Supreme Court decided not to intervene in the District court's decision, relying extensively on the principles of Jewish Law in the matter of prohibition of slander, on the one hand, and freedom of public criticism, on the other. In another case, the Jerusalem Magistrates Court utilized the halakhic principles regarding "beneficial defamation," as specified in the book *Ḥafetz Ḥayyim* (*Hilkhot Lashon ha-Ra*, sec. 10; *Hilkhot Issurei Rekhilut*, sec. 9) in its interpretation of the requirement of "public interest" in the aforementioned Section 14 of the Defamation Law:

> There is a need for credibility … nothing should be added or detracted. A first time publication is not the same as the publication of something already generally known. The wording must be fair, providing an exact description of the events as they occurred. Information that is dubious should be presented as such, and [should be published – ME] only if the chances of benefit deriving from the publication reasonably outweigh the chances of damage being caused. The publisher's intention should be thoroughly examined, for if he was motivated… by alien considerations, there is suspicion as to the credibility of the matter in general and the manner of its presentation in particular. Defamatory material should not be published for its own sake. Proportionality and sincerity are required. It should be recalled and mentioned that "life and death are in the hands of the tongue" (TA 374/02 *Cohen v. Olmert*; Judge Noam Solberg. See also 6122/01 *Segev v. Eyal*; Judge Noam Solberg).

There is a special prohibition against reminding a sinner of his previous offenses, which is part of "the Enactment for the

Encouragement of Penitents" (*takkanat ha-shavim*), and this prohibition, together with the other rules of Jewish Law, inspired legislation of the Crime Register and Rehabilitation of Offenders Law, 5741 – 1981 (see also *Punishment; and see ALA 18/84 *Adv. Anon, Adv. v. The State Prosecutor*, 44 (1) PD 353, per Justice Menachem Elon. CF (Jerusalem) *Anon v. Anon*, PM 54 (2) 397; Justice Zvi Tal).

What is the law when a person claims that a publication stating that he acted lawfully constitutes defamation exclusively because the society in which he lives regards actions in accordance with the law as negative and scandalous on the part of those engaged in them? In the *Dardarian* case (CA 466/83 *Ajiman v. Dardarian*, 39 (4) PD 734), the injured party was a Jordanian citizen who served as Archbishop of the Armenian Church in Jerusalem. He claimed that a publication stating that he cooperated with Israeli authorities and supported their actions and policy in Judea and Samaria constituted defamation because, in the society in which he lived, this fact could make him an object of hatred. The Supreme Court ruled that the claim should be rejected. Justice Elon's ruling was based on an analogy from Jewish Law concerning an illegal contract, invoking the Foundations of Justice Law, 5740 – 1980 (see *Mishpat Ivri). Under Jewish Law, the court will not deal with a contract whose purpose is the commission of an illegal act. On the other hand, where the very making of the agreement involves a transgression of a religious prohibition, it does not nullify the validity of the agreement, and the court will have recourse to it (see *Contract). This position was adopted in part by Israeli law, in Sections 30 and 31 of the Contracts (General Part) Law, 5733 – 1973, according to which a contract "the making, contents or object of which are illegal, immoral or contrary to public policy is void" (Section 30). At the same time, the court may, if it deems it just to do so, exempt a party from reimbursement of monies paid under a contract and, if one of the parties fulfilled his obligation under the contract, may require the other party to fulfill the corresponding obligation (Section 31). Justice Elon ruled that, similarly, the court may provide a remedy to a person claiming that he was defamed by a publication that stated that he behaved lawfully, if that publication defamed him in the society in which he lives. On the other hand, there are cases in which the State's interest "not to support to actions and opinions which would undermine the rule of law and State sovereignty" (p. 754) may prevail, and in those cases the court will not provide the claimant with a remedy. Justice Elon ruled that the instant case fell into the latter category. The view that cooperation with the Israeli authorities in the maintenance of law and order in Judea and Samaria is undesirable is "so heinous and serious … from the perspective of the foundations of the legal system of the State of Israel as a state governed by law, and from the perspective of the maintenance of Israel's security against its enemies, and is so opposed to the basic concepts of law and order, that it [the rejection of that view] overrides the right of the appellant not to be harmed in the eyes of members of his circle who hold this perverse view." As such the court was not prepared to award the plaintiff damages by reason of damages caused to him by that publication, which defamed him in the society in which he lived (*ibid.*).

[Menachem Elon (2nd ed.)]

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SLÁNSKÝ TRIAL, the first of a series of antisemitic show trials held in Czechoslovakia in the early 1950s whose prime victim was Rudolf Slánský (1901–1952), secretary-general of the Czechoslovak Communist Party after World War II. Of the 14 leading party members prosecuted for conspiracy against the state, 11 were Jews. Eight of these defendants – Ludvík Frejka, head of the economic department of the President's Office; Bedřich Geminder, head of the party's international department; Bedřich Reicin, deputy defense minister; Rudolf Margolius, deputy minister of foreign trade; Otto Fischl, deputy finance minister; Otto Sling, first secretary of the party in Brno; and André (Katz) *Simone, a leading Communist journalist, in addition to Slánský himself – were executed. The remaining three Jewish defendants – deputy foreign ministers Arthur *London and Vavro Hajdu and deputy minister of foreign trade Evžen Loebl – were sentenced to life imprisonment. Show trials aimed at eradicating the Titoist "heresy" from the leadership of the Soviet satellites were held shortly before in other East European countries (e.g., the Kostov trial in Bulgaria and the Rajk trial in Hungary), but the Slánský trial evolved a distinct anti-Jewish character. Foreign Minister Vlado Clementis, one of the three non-Jewish defendants sentenced to death (the other two being Slánský's deputy, Josef Frank, and deputy security minister Karel Šváb) was accused of Slovak "bourgeois nationalism" and Titoism, and an attempt was made to present him as "the Czechoslovak Rajk." But the main orientation of the prosecution was "anti-Zionist," anti-Israel, and openly antisemitic. The Slánksý Trial thus formed a direct link with the *Doctors plot and the wave of antisemitism in the Soviet Union in the last years of Stalin's regime (see *Antisemitism: the Soviet Bloc). In these trials, for the first time in the history of Communism, the antisemitic accusation of a worldwide Jewish conspiracy was openly proclaimed by an authoritative Communist forum (it was linked by the prosecution with the activities of the American Jewish *Joint Distribution Committee). The Jewish origin of the accused was repeatedly stressed, and their alleged crimes were traced to this prime cause. The prosecution stigmatized the accused as Zionists, although they had never had any connection with the Zionist movement and had, in fact, opposed Zionism all their lives.

The trials were part of an effort to consolidate power inside the Czechoslovak Communist Party in the hands of a group of leaders approved and manipulated from Moscow. The fact that Jews held many key posts in the party and state machinery – although Slánský was the only Jew in the Politbureau at the time – prompted an increase of latent popular antisemitism. This circumstance was utilized to strengthen the position of the inner circle of the Communist leadership and to put the blame for the rapidly worsening economic situation on prominent Jewish Communists. The trials were conducted under the direction and supervision of secret agents from Moscow and were also intended to help explain the change of Communist policy toward the State of Israel. The Israel legation in Prague was depicted as a center of espionage and anti-Czechoslovak subversion. Accusations were directed mainly against the first Israeli minister in Prague, Ehud *Avriel, and his successor, Aryeh *Kubovy, who was declared *persona non grata*. Two Israel citizens, Mordekhai Oren and Shimon Orenstein, were arrested, used as prosecution witnesses to prove Slánský's alleged contacts with "Zionist conspirators," and were later sentenced in a separate trial to long prison terms. The trials were a signal for a wave of anti-Jewish persecution. Hundreds of Czechoslovak Jews were thrown into prison or sent, often without trial, to forced labor camps. The situation gradually became less frenzied after Stalin's death; but only at the end of the 1950s, and in some cases even later, were victims of the Slánský Trial rehabilitated. The accusations against the Zionist movement and Israel, however, were not revoked, and relations between Czechoslovakia and Israel remained tense and unfriendly.

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[Avigdor Dagan]

SLATER, OSCAR (1872–1948), British underworld figure wrongly convicted of murder in Scotland. Born Oscar Leschziner in Oppeln, Germany, the son of a baker, Slater immigrated to England, working as a bookmaker and using many aliases. He was twice acquitted on charges of assault. From 1899 he lived in Edinburgh, apparently working as a professional gambler, pimp, and receiver, again under a variety of aliases. In 1908 a rich elderly woman was beaten to death in her Edinburgh apartment. Slater came under suspicion for trying to sell a pawn ticket for a stolen brooch and for immediately fleeing to America, giving false information as to his travels. He was arrested in New York and tried in Edinburgh. His defense was badly handled and he was convicted on a majority vote of the jury. His death sentence was commuted by the Scottish secretary to life imprisonment. Almost immediately a vocal campaign began which argued that he was wrongfully convicted, spearheaded by such notables as Sir Arthur Conan Doyle. In 1927 Slater was released and given £6000 compensation. There seems no doubt that he was innocent, and the Slater Case became a cause celebre of the miscarriage of justice. Slater died in obscurity in Ayr, Scotland, in 1948. Although Slater liked to describe himself as the "Scottish Dreyfus," historians have debated what role, if any, his Jewish background played in his conviction.

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[William D. Rubinstein (2nd ed.)]

SLATKIN, LEONARD (1944–), U.S. conductor. Born in Los Angeles into a distinguished musical family, he studied violin, viola, piano, and composition. He took conducting lessons at Indiana University (1962) and Los Angeles City College (1963), continuing his training with *Susskind at Aspen (1964) and with Morel at the Juilliard School of Music (1964–68). Slatkin made his Carnegie Hall debut at age 22. He was associated with the Saint Louis SO (1968–96) and became its music director in 1979. Under his direction the orchestra became a leading American ensemble. He was appointed musical director of the New Orleans Philharmonic SO (1977–79) and music director of the BBC SO (2000–4). In 1996 he became music director of the National SO of Washington. He has been guest conductor with major U.S. and European orchestras, festivals, and opera companies, making numerous recordings and appearances in radio and television programs. Slatkin combines the roles of internationally celebrated conductor, staunch advocate for music education, and champion of American music. He is known for his sure command of form and superb performances, for his adventurous programming, and for his interpretations of 20th-century American music as well as of the standard classical repertory. He worked with student orchestras and became in 2000 the director of the National Conducting Institute, a school that trains young music directors. Among his honors are Grammy awards, the National Medal of the Arts, and honorary doctorates as well as honors for his artistic contributions and for his work in the community.

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[Naama Ramot (2nd ed.)]

SLATKINE, MENAHEM MENDEL (1875–1965), bibliographer. Born in Rostov on the Don, Russia, Slatkine studied at the yeshivah in Volozhin. He evinced an early interest in Hebrew bibliography and in 1903 published in the Hebrew daily *Ha-Meliẓ* (no. 241) an article, "*Pinnah Nishkaḥat*" ("A Forgotten Corner"), in which he drew attention to the need for an updated bibliography of Hebrew literature. In 1905 he settled in Switzerland where he engaged in the sale of old Hebrew books. He died in Geneva.

Slatkine was the author of *Shemot ha-Sefarim ha-Ivrim* (2 vols., 1950–54), on the titles of Hebrew books; *Reshit Bikkurei ha-Bibliografyah ba-Safrut ha-Ivrit* (1958), about Shabbetai *Bass and his *Siftei Yeshenim*, the first Hebrew bibliographical work; and *Oẓar ha-Sefarim, Ḥelek Sheni* (1965), which contains notes, corrections, additions, and an author index of Isaac Ben Jacob's *Oẓar ha-Sefarim*. Slatkine also wrote *Mi-Sefer ha-Zikhronot shel Rav Litai*. The book, which was published in Paris in the years following World War II, describes Jewish life in the 18th century in the form of "selected chapters" from the "memoirs" of the Lithuanian rabbis of the time.

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[Tovia Preschel]

SLAVERY.

BIBLICAL LAW

The Hebrew term for slave, *ʿeved* (pl. *ʿavadim*), is a direct derivation from the verb ʿbd, "to work"; thus, the "slave" is only a worker or servant. The *eved* differs from the hired worker (*sakhir*) in three respects: he receives no wages for his work; he is a member of his master's household (cf. Gen. 24:2; Lev. 22:11; and see below); and his master exercises *patria potestas* over him; for example, the master may choose a wife for the slave and retains ownership of her (Ex. 21:4) and he has proprietary rights in him (see below).

Classification

The following classes of *ʿavadim* are to be distinguished:

HEBREW SLAVES. A Hebrew could not become a slave unless by order of the court (for which see under Criminals, below) or by giving himself voluntarily into bondage (for which see under Paupers, etc., below; Yad, Avadim 1:1). Other slaves were always recruited from outside the nation. It has been opined that the epithet "*ʿeved ʿivri*," and the laws relating to Hebrew slaves (Ex. 21:2–6) would apply also to such non-Jewish slaves as were born into the household as the offspring of alien slaves (see, for instance, Saalschuetz, *Das Mosaische Recht* (1853), ch. 101).

ALIEN SLAVES. "Of the nations that are round about you, of them shall ye buy bondmen and bondwomen. Moreover of the children of the strangers that do sojourn among you, of them may ye buy and of their families that are with you which they have begotten in your land; and they may be your possession" (Lev. 25:44–45).

PAUPERS AND DEBTORS. A debtor who is unable to pay his debts may give himself in bondage to his creditor (cf. Lev. 25:39; Prov. 22:7; see also II Kings 4:1; Isa. 50:1; Amos 2:6, 8:6; Neh. 5:5). According to other opinions, the verse in Leviticus 25:39 deals with an ordinary pauper who sold himself and the debtor's bondage was against strict law, although it happened from time to time in practice (see Elon, *Ḥerut ha-Perat*, 1–10, and n. 9; *Execution (Civil)).

CRIMINALS. A thief who is unable to make restitution is "sold for his theft" (Ex. 22:2).

PRISONERS OF WAR. It would appear from Numbers 31:26–27 and Deuteronomy 20:10–11 that prisoners of war could be, and were, taken into bondage, but it has been contended that no prisoners of war were ever taken into private slavery (Kaufmann, Y., Toledot 1 (1937), 651).

FEMALE SLAVES. A father may sell his daughter into slavery (Ex. 21:7), usually apparently for household duties and eventual marriage (Ex. 21:7–11).

CHILDREN OF SLAVES. The Bible mentions "the son of thy handmaid" (Ex. 23:12), "he that is born in the house" (Gen. 17:12, 13; Lev. 22:11), indicating that the status of slaves devolved upon their children.

Termination of Bondage

HEBREW SLAVES. Hebrew slaves serve six years only and must be freed in the seventh (Ex. 21:2; Deut. 15:12). "And when thou lettest him go free from thee, thou shalt not let him go empty; thou shalt furnish him liberally out of thy flock, and out of thy threshing floor, and out of thy wine-press; of that wherewith the Lord thy God hath blessed thee" (Deut. 15:13–14; and see *Haʾanakah*). This short period of bondage conditioned the price of slaves: there is some indication of their market value in the provision that if an ox killed a slave, the owner of the ox must pay 30 shekels of silver to the master of the slave (Ex. 21:32). Whatever the master may have paid for the slave, "It shall not seem hard unto thee, when thou lettest him go free from thee; for to the double of the hire of a hireling hath he served thee six years" (Deut. 15:18). If the slave refuses to go free and wishes to stay on in his master's service, then the master pierces his ear with an awl and in this way the slave is bonded to him forever (Ex. 21:5–6; Deut. 15:16–17). If a Hebrew slave has been sold to an alien, he must be redeemed at once; he then enters into the redeemer's service, which terminates with the jubilee year (Lev. 25:47–54).

ALIEN SLAVES. Alien slaves serve in perpetuity: "Ye may make them an inheritance for your children after you, to hold for a possession, of them ye may take your bondmen forever" (Lev. 25:46). The same rule would appear to apply to prisoners of war.

DEBTORS. Whatever the amount of debt for which the debtor sold himself he must be freed on the first ensuing jubilee year (Lev. 25:40). The same is true of a pauper. In that year he regains his lands and holdings (Lev. 25:10, 13) and can go back to his family and ancestral home (Lev. 25:41).

FEMALE SLAVES. Female slaves sold into bondage by their fathers go free if their master's sons deny them their matrimonial rights (Ex. 21:11).

Slaves must be released for grievous bodily injury caused to them: the master must let the slave go free "for his eye's sake" or "for his tooth's sake" (Ex. 21:26–27), if either be gouged out or knocked out by him.

Status of Slaves

Slaves are members of the master's household, and as such enjoy the benefit and are liable to the duty of keeping the Sabbath (Ex. 20:10, 23:12; Deut. 5:14–15) and holidays (Deut. 16:11–14, 12:18). They must be circumcised (Gen. 17:12–13); partake of Passover sacrifices when circumcised (Ex. 12:44), as distinguished from resident hirelings (Ex. 12:45); and may inherit the master's estate where there is no direct issue (Gen. 15:3) or perhaps even where there is (Prov. 17:2). Although slaves are the master's property (Lev. 22:11, etc.), they may acquire and hold property of their own; a slave who "prospers," i.e., can afford it, may redeem himself (Lev. 25:29; instances of property held by slaves are to be found in II Sam. 9:10; 16:4; 19:18, 30; cf. I Sam. 9:8). The killing of a slave is punishable in the same way as that of any freeman, even if the act is committed by the master (Ex. 21:20).

Treatment of Slaves

In the case of a pauper who sells himself into slavery or a man who is redeemed from bondage to a stranger, no distinction may be made between a slave and a hired laborer (Lev. 25:40, 53). A master may not rule ruthlessly over these slaves (Lev. 25:43, 46, 53) nor ill-treat them (Deut. 23:17); Ben Sira adds: "If thou treat him ill and he proceeds to run away, in what way shalt thou find him?" (Ecclus. 33:31). A master may chastise his slave to a reasonable extent (Ecclus. 33:26) but not wound him (Ex. 21:26–27). The workload of a slave should never exceed his physical strength (Ecclus. 33:28–29). A fugitive slave must not be turned over to his master but given refuge (Deut. 23:16). There was no similar rule prevailing in neighboring countries (cf. I Kings 2:39–40). The *abduction of a person for sale into bondage is a capital offense (Ex. 21:16; Deut. 24:7). In general, "thou shalt remember that thou wast a bondman in the land of Egypt" (Deut. 15:15), and that you are now the slaves of God Who redeemed you from Egypt (Lev. 25:55).

Implementation of Slavery Laws

From a report in Jeremiah (34:8–16) it would appear that the laws relating to the release of Hebrew slaves after six years' service were not implemented in practice: King Zedekiah had to make a "covenant" with the people that every man should let his slaves go free "at the end of seven years"; but hardly had the people released their slaves than they turned round and brought them back into subjection. In retribution for the failure to grant liberty to slaves, God would proclaim liberty "unto the sword, unto the pestilence, and unto the famine"; "and I will make you a horror unto all the kingdoms of the earth" (Jer. 34:17). According to Ezra (2:64–65) and Nehemiah (7:67), it would appear that in addition to the 42,360 people returning from Babylonia there were 7,337 slaves, male and female, and another 245 (or 200) musicians.

TALMUDIC LAW

Opinions are divided among modern scholars whether and to what extent slavery was practiced in post-biblical times. There is repeated mention of Tebi, the slave of Rabban Gamaliel (Ber. 2:7; Pes. 7:2; Suk. 2:1), and a freed slave formerly belonging to Tobiah the physician (RH 1:7) is also mentioned. In amoraic sources there are reports of cases of men selling themselves into slavery as gladiators (Git. 46b–47a), apparently from dire necessity (TJ, Git. 4:9). There is a strong talmudic tradition to the effect that all bondage of Hebrew slaves had ceased with the cessation of jubilee years (Git. 65a; Kid. 69a; Ar. 29a; Maim. Yad, Avadim 2:10), which would mean that from the period of the Second Temple the practice of slavery was at any rate confined to non-Hebrew slaves.

Classification

HEBREW SLAVES. The term *eved Ivri* is reserved for, and identified with, a thief unable to make restitution who is sold for his theft or a pauper who sold himself into bondage (Kid. 14b; Yad, Avadim 1:1). This implies that a Hebrew slave may not be resold. The earlier Mishnah provides that a Hebrew slave may be acquired by the payment of money or the delivery of a deed of sale (Kid. 1:2).

FEMALE HEBREW SLAVES. Many provisions applying to slaves in general do not apply to female slaves. Thus, a woman may not sell herself into slavery (Mekh. Nezikin 3; Yad, Avadim 1:2), nor is a woman thief sold into slavery, even though she cannot make restitution (Sot. 3:8; Yad, Genevah 3:12). Contrary to an express scriptural provision (Deut. 15:17), a female slave's ear may not be pierced (Sif. Deut. 122; Kid. 17b; Yad, Avadim 3:13). The female Hebrew slave can only be a minor below the age of 12 years whom her father (not her mother: Sot. 3:8; Sot. 23b) has sold into bondage (Ex. 21:7; Ket. 3:8; Yad, Avadim 4:1); he may do so only when he has no other means of subsistence left (Tosef. Ar. 5:7; Mekh. Sb-Y 21:7; Yad, Avadim 4:2) and must redeem her as soon as he has the means (Kid. 18a; Yad, loc. cit.).

NON-HEBREW SLAVES. Non-Hebrew slaves (*eved Kena'ani*) may be acquired by the payment of money, the delivery of a deed of sale, or three years' undisturbed possession (Kid. 1:3; BB 3:1) – to which were later added barter or exchange, and the physical taking into possession (Kid. 22b; Yad, Avadim 5:1; Sh. Ar., YD 267:25).

Terminations of Bondage

HEBREW SLAVES. As well as release after six years' service or the beginning of the jubilee year, five more possibilities were added. The slave may redeem himself by paying his master part of the purchase price proportionate to the period served; for example, if he had been bought for 60 dinars and had served four years, he could redeem himself by paying 20 dinars, the whole period of service being six years. The redemption money is paid by a third person, either to the slave or to the master, on condition that it is used only for the redemption (Kid. 1:2; Yad, Avadim 2:8). A slave may be released by a deed of release delivered by his master (Kid. 16a; Yad, Avadim 2:12). He is released on the death of his master, provided the master left no male descendants (Kid. 17b; Yad, loc. cit.). Where the slave has had his ear pierced, he is released on the death of his master, irrespective of the master's surviving issue (Kid. 1:2; Kid. 17b; Yad, Avadim 3:7). Where the master is a non-Jew or a **ger*, the slave is released on his death (Kid. 17b; Yad, loc. cit.).

FEMALE HEBREW SLAVES. The provisions relating to release after six years' service, in the jubilee year, by payment, or by deed, also apply to female slaves. In addition, their bondage is terminated when the slave comes of age, i.e., shows "signs" of puberty (*simanim*: Kid. 1:2; Yad, Avadim 4:5; also see Legal Capacity), and by the death of the master, irrespective of the issue he left (Kid. 17b; Yad, Avadim 4:6).

ALIEN SLAVES. For alien slaves the bondage is terminated in various fashions. Release may be by payment of money, the price demanded by the master being paid to him by a third party, either directly or through the slave (Kid. 1:3; Yad, Avadim 5:2). A deed of release may be delivered by the master (Kid. 1:3; Yad, Avadim 5:3). A verbal release, or a promise of release, is not sufficient in itself, but the court may enforce it by compelling the master to deliver a deed (Sh. Ar., YD 267:73–74). The slave is freed if the master causes him grievous bodily injury: the two biblical instances of gouging out the eye and knocking out the tooth are multiplied, and a long list of eligible injuries has been laid down (Kid. 24b–25a; Yad, Avadim 5:4–14; Sh. Ar., YD 267:27–39). While the list in the codes was intended to be exhaustive, the better rule seems to be that all injuries leaving any permanent disfigurement are included (Kid. 24a). The rule is confined to non-Hebrew slaves only (Mekh. Nezikin 9); injuries inflicted on Hebrew slaves, male or female, are dealt with as injuries to freemen (BK 8:3; Yad, Ḥovel 4:13 and Avadim 4:6). A slave may also be released if his master bequeaths him all his property (Pe'ah 3:8; Git. 8b–9a; Yad, Avadim 7:9; YD 267:57). By marriage to a freewoman, or by his de facto recognition, in the presence of his master, as a free Jew (e.g., using phylacteries and reading the Torah in public; Git. 39b–40a; Yad, Avadim 8:17; YD 267:70) a slave obtained his freedom. Marriage to the master's daughter seems to have been a not infrequent means to emancipation (Pes. 113a).

Status of Slaves

Discussions went on for centuries whether slaves, *qua* property, are to be regarded as belonging to the category of movables or immovables; Gulak (Yesodei 1 (1922), 92) held that originally they were likened to land and only much later to personal property. In effect, they were likened to land as regards modes of *acquisition (money, deed, possession: Kid. 1:3), and in that they could not be the subject of *theft or **ona'ah* or bailment (see **Shomerim*; Sifra Be-Har 7:3; BM 4:9), but in other respects were treated as movables (cf. Tos. to BB 150a s.v. *avda; Rashbam* BB 68a s.v. *ella*; and see Herzog Institute, 1 (1936), 92–95. For the discussions on this question, see BK 12a; BB 68a, 150a; Yev. 99a; Git. 39a; TJ, Kid. 1:3; etc.). Slaves may be mortgaged (Git. 4:4; BK 11b; ḤM 117:5; YD 267:68; and see *Pledge). Slaves could be authorized to act as *agents for their masters, and for certain purposes were so authorized by law or custom (Tosef. BK 11:2–7; BK 119a; BM 96a, 99a; BM 8:3; Tosef. Pes. 7:4; Er. 7:6; TJ, Er. 7:6; Ma'as. Sh. 4:4; etc.). Slaves could not act as agents for *divorce (Git. 23b). Slaves could hold property of their own (Tosef. Ar. 1:2; Shek. 1:5; Pes. 8:2, 88b; Yev. 66a; TJ, Yev. 7:1; Tosef. BK 11:1; BB 51b–52a; Sanh. 91a, 105a; Ket. 28a; Meg. 16a; etc.), but they could not dispose of their property by *will (*Rashi* and Tos. to Nazir 61b). A slave must be circumcised (Shab. 135b; Yad, Milah 1:3; YD 267:1).

A slave is not answerable for his *torts, but when he comes into property after his release he may be held liable in damages for torts committed during bondage (BK 8:4). A slave has the right to stay in the Land of Israel, and may not be sold for export (Git. 4:6). If he is with his master abroad, he may compel him to take him to the land of Israel (Ket. 110b; Yad, Avadim 8:9; YD 267:84), and he may flee with impunity to the Land of Israel, the prohibition on extradition (Deut. 23:16) being applicable to him (Git. 45a; Yad, Avadim 8:10; YD 267:85).

A slave may not be sold to a non-Jew: such sale is tantamount to the slave's release, and the vendor may be ordered by the court to repay the buyer not only the price he received but as much as tenfold of the price as a fine. When the slave is redeemed in this way, he does not return to the vendor but goes free (Git. 4:6; Git. 44a–45a; Yad, Avadim 8:1; YD 267:80). Any slave – except a pauper who sold himself in bondage – can be married by his master to a non-Jewish female slave (Kid. 14b; Ker. 11a; Yad, Avadim 3:12). A bastard (**mamzer*) can legitimize his issue by marrying a female slave: her son would be a slave by birth and would become a pure freeman on his release (Kid. 3:13). A slave who has been jointly owned by two masters and is released by one becomes half-slave half-freeman; the remaining master may also be compelled by the court to release him (Git. 4:5; Yad, Avadim 7:7; YD 267:62–63).

Treatment of Slaves

The biblical "for to the double of the hire of a hireling hath he served thee six years" (Deut. 15:18) was interpreted as allowing slaves to be given double the work of hired laborers: while the latter work only during daytime, slaves may be required to work also at night (Sif. Deut. 123). The Talmud (Kid. 15a) states that this merely gives the master the right to give the slave a bondwoman in order to beget children. There is some early authority to the effect that a slave has no right to maintenance which can be enforced in law, notwithstanding his obligation to work (Git. 1:6; Git. 12a), the biblical "he fareth well with thee" (Deut. 15:16) being attributed to Hebrew slaves only (Kid. 22a). However, the predominant view, as expressed by Maimonides, is: "It is permissible to work the slave hard; but while this is the law, the ways of ethics and prudence are that the master should be just and merciful, not make the yoke too heavy on his slave, and not press him too hard; and that he should give him of all food and drink. And thus the early sages used to do – they gave their slaves of everything they ate and drank themselves, and had food served to their slaves even before partaking of it themselves… Slaves may not be maltreated or offended – the law destined them for service, not for humiliation. Do not shout at them or be angry with them, but hear them out, as it is written [Job 31:13–14]: 'If I did despise the cause of my man-servant or maid-servant when they contended with me, what then shall I do when God riseth up? and when He remembereth what shall I answer?'" (Yad, Avadim 9:8; and cf. YD 267:17). In another context, Maimonides says of the laws relating to slavery that they are all "mercy, compassion, and forbearance": "You are in duty bound to see that your slave makes progress; you must benefit him and must not hurt him with words. He ought to rise and advance with you, be with you in the place you chose for yourself, and when fortune is good to you, do not grudge him his portion" (*Guide* 3:39).

POST-TALMUDIC LAW

Slavery became practically extinct in the Diaspora, and was prohibited except insofar as the secular laws allowed it, for instance, where rulers sold tax defaulters into bondage or offered prisoners of war for sale into slavery (Yad, Avadim 9:4; Tur and Sh. Ar., YD 267:18). However, it was laid down that even these "slaves" ought not to be treated as such, except if they did not conduct themselves properly (Yad, Avadim 1:8; YD 267:16). An incident related in the Talmud (BM 73b) was relied on as a precedent for the proposition that bondage may be imposed as punishment for misconduct (YD 267:15).

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[Haim Hermann Cohn]

SLAVE TRADE. Jews engaged in the slave trade – although they never played a prominent role in it – from the early Middle Ages to the early modern period. While it was not proscribed to pagans, none of the three monotheistic religions either prohibited slavery or trade in slaves except insofar as converts to a particular religion were concerned. It was as if three circles were drawn, each opposing only the enslavement of its own members by a member of one of the other two. Thus the only legitimate objects of slavery and the slave trade were pagans and Jews, Christians, and Muslims captured in war by victors of either of the other religions. In Europe, aside from the Nordic countries, in the early Middle Ages there remained pagans in the Slav countries only (and their generic name, or variations thereof, became the appellation for the slave throughout Western Europe). Slaves were needed for agriculture, domestic service, and as eunuchs in Muslim harems. They were one of the few "commodities" that Europe could export to the Byzantine and later Muslim Mediterranean, from which it imported so much, thus restoring to some extent the balance of payments. The Jewish slave owner, however, was expected by the Church to release his slave the moment the latter converted to Christianity, sometimes by inducement. Jews also used slaves in their vineyards, and a forced conversion of a slave was a loss to them. As each slave owner in all religions considered himself responsible for the soul and behavior of his slaves, he felt in duty bound to convert them to his faith; in the case of the Jews, who were in a minority everywhere, this caused friction and problems for the Jewish owners. Thus tension colored the attitude to Jewish ownership of slaves and participation in the slave trade in Christian countries.

Under the Muslim rule in Spain, where there was a slave market in Baena in the ninth century, Jews owned slaves without hindrance as long as the slaves were not Muslims. However, there is no evidence of a slave trade carried on by Jews in Christian Spain (Baer, Spain, 1 (1961), 417). Slaves were employed primarily for domestic and agricultural service in the households of the Jewish upper classes, and this situation persisted for some time under Christian rule, especially in *Majorca, where Jews owned large estates and many slaves; in the middle of the 13th century James I put obstacles in the path of Jewish ownership of Moorish slaves in Majorca, who wished to be baptized and thereby freed. In late Roman Spain and Frankish Gaul, Church opposition to Jewish ownership of slaves was much in evidence. *Church councils repeatedly denounced Jewish ownership of Christian slaves and of those slaves who wished to convert to Christianity; but these denunciations remained ineffectual. Pope George the Great (sixth century) inveighed against a Jewish merchant, because his import of slaves from Gaul into Italy included some Christians. The Muslim conquest of Spain created a nearby market for slaves, to which Jews were accused of catering. Emperor Louis I the Pious granted a number of Jews (c. 825–8) the right to import foreign slaves and sell them within the confines of the empire. Archbishop *Agobard of Lyons claimed that royal officials in Lyons accepted the Jewish traders' view that heathen slaves who requested baptism should be considered as doing this solely in order to gain their freedom, and that this should not be granted unless the owner was paid the sum he demanded. Agobard denounced this view, claiming in the course of his arguments that in some cases Jews even sold people born Christian into slavery. Jewish slave traders (among others) are recorded in 906 in the custom dues rolls of Raffelstetten on the Danube, a major interregional market in the early Middle Ages. The Arab geographer Ibn-Khurdadbah (c. 870–92) includes slaves (eunuchs) among the many articles sold by the *Radhanites, said to have traveled from Franconia to China by sea or land. *Ibrahim ibn Yaʿqub, the Jewish traveler, recorded the presence of Jewish slave traders in Prague around 970 (alongside Muslims and Turks), and Bishop Adalbert of Prague resigned in 988 after failing to buy the freedom of a group of slaves bought by a Jewish trader. The Jews of that period regarded the Slavic east as the land of slaves par excellence – "Canaan" (see Gen. 9:25 and Midrashim to this verse). Jewish slave traders appear in the *Koblenz custom rolls of 1004; they are mentioned in 1009, when the margrave of Meissen was accused of selling slaves to Jews, and in 1085, when a Polish princess in Silesia was praised for buying up Christian slaves from Jews and freeing them. With the Christianization of most of the Slavs, this trade ceased as far as Jews in Christian Europe were concerned.

While responsa and deeds of manumission indicate the frequency of slaves, mainly women employed as housemaids and occasionally men who were business agents, in personal service in Jewish households in Muslim lands, a thorough study of conditions in Egypt in the 11–13th centuries reveals that "during the classical *Genizah* period the Jews had no share in the slave trade" (S.D. Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society* (1967), 140), in particular after Maimonides' time. Slave ownership in Muslim lands raised the problem of responsibility for the slaves' conversion to Judaism and, frequently, that of sexual relations between the owner and his female slave. *Ketubbot* quoted in Maimonides' responsa include the condition that the husband promise not to buy a female slave without his wife's consent, parallel to his promise not to take a second wife against his first wife's will. He also referred to the question of castration (forbidden in Jewish law) and the sale of eunuchs.

In the Ottoman Empire slavery flourished through the wars of expansion. Most wealthy Jewish families owned one or more slaves for domestic purposes. The Marrano Diaspora in the New World (particularly in the Carribean) became both customer for, and trader in, African and Indian slaves. Slave-owning Marranos settling in Protestant countries created serious legal difficulties (as in London and Hamburg); a Portuguese relative of Albertus *Denis was forced to leave Danzig because of public indignation at his treatment and ownership of slaves. The Ottoman authorities opposed Jewish participation in the slave trade, but one exception occurred during the 1571 war against *Cyprus when Jewish slave traders were required to pay a special state tax. Toward the end of the 16th century the sultan decreed also that a special tax be paid by Jews who owned slaves. Subsequently, slaves and slavery gradually disappeared from Jewish life. Modern European and U.S. historians up to the mid-1950s (including Jewish historians) confused the ownership of slaves by Jews with their part in the slave trade. The role of the Jews in the slave trade was also vastly exaggerated. This was done either to overemphasize the importance of Jews in early medieval trade or to put the odium of this trade onto the Jews (according to modern views – in disregard of the acceptability of slavery during the period of Jewish participation in it). This tendency was reinforced by antisemitic prejudices.

[Toni Oelsner and Henry Wasserman]

In the Americas

Until 1730 the Dutch West India Company maintained a monopoly on the importation of slaves into all the Dutch colonies in the Americas, but Jews appear to have been among the major retailers of slaves in Dutch Brazil (1630–54), because Jews possessed ready money and were willing to trade slaves for sugar. The bylaws of the Recife and Mauricia congregations (1648) included an *imposta* (Jewish tax) of 5 soldos for each slave which a Brazilian Jew purchased from the West Indies Company. In Curaçao, the Dutch occasionally gave permission to a merchant to conduct independent transactions in slaves; two such Jewish entrepreneurs were the brothers David and Jacob Senior, who came to the island from Amsterdam about 1685. Another Curaçao Jew, Manuel Alvares Correa (1650–1717), who was active in the local slave trade for many years, served in 1699 as an intermediary between the Dutch and Portuguese West Indies companies for the transfer of a shipment of slaves from Africa to Mexico via Curaçao.

In all of the American colonies, whether Dutch, French, or British, almost every merchant or trader had dealings in slaves: when he acted as auctioneer or agent for the sale of an estate, when he served his planter clients in the sale or purchase of slaves or in the pursuit of runaways. In the Barbados, until 1706, Jews were limited by law in the number of slaves they themselves could own, but in Jamaica there was no such restriction. Among the Jamaican Jewish merchants who seem to have specialized in the slave trade were David Henriques, Hyman *Levy, and especially Alexander Lindo (1753–1812), who was a major importer of slaves during the period 1782–92. During an investigation of slave mortality conducted in Jamaica in 1789, Lindo testifies that 150 slaves on a ship "consigned to" him had died in the Middle Passage and that another 20 perished after their arrival in Jamaica, but it is unclear whether he owned this slave shipment or any of the others in which he was involved. Members of the well-known *Gradis family of Bordeaux were active in the shipment of slaves from West Africa to such French colonies as Santo-Domingo (Dominican Republic).

On the North American mainland, a number of Jews were active participants in the infamous triangular trade, which brought slaves from Africa to the West Indies, where they were exchanged for molasses, which was in turn taken to New England and converted into rum for sale in Africa. David *Franks of Philadelphia was in this business during the early 1760s; Aaron *Lopez and Jacob Rodriguez *Rivera of Newport, Rhode Island, had at least one slaver on the high seas each year after 1764, and in 1772 and 1773 had a total of eight such ships under sail. Isaac Da *Costa of Charleston was another large-scale importer of slaves. In Louisiana, under both French and Spanish rule, the Monsanto brothers made frequent transactions in slaves; during 1787 they purchased 44 blacks.

Although Jews in Philadelphia and New York City were active in the early abolition movement, Jewish merchants, auctioneers, and commission agents in the Southern states continued to buy and sell slaves until the end of the Civil War. The fact that Jacob Levin of Columbia, South Carolina, and Israel I. Jones of Mobile, Alabama, two merchants who often dealt in slaves, were leaders of their Jewish communities in the 1850s is evidence that at no time did Southern Jews feel tainted by the slave trade. Levy Jacobs was an active trader in slaves both in New Orleans and in Mobile during the 1820s; Ansley, Benjamin, George, and Solomon Davis of Richmond and Petersburg, Virginia, went on the road to sell gangs of slaves in the states of the lower South beginning about 1838; B. Mordecai of Charleston had large slave pens alongside his warehouses and purchased $12,000 worth of slaves at one sale in 1859. But the total business activity of all the Southern Jews who dealt in slaves in any way probably did not equal the turnover of the largest single non-Jewish firm which specialized in slaves, Franklin and Armfield.

[Bertram Wallace Korn]

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SLAVSON, SAMUEL RICHARD (1891–1981), U.S. group psychotherapy expert. Born in the Ukraine, Slavson arrived in New York with his family after escaping the pogroms in Russia. Working by day, he attended evening school at the Cooper Union, where he received a B.S. in engineering. He became a member of the Socialist Party in 1904, which led to his involvement with the labor movement. He was a key figure in the formation of the *International Ladies Garment Workers Union. Slavson was departmental director of New York's progressive Walter School from 1918 to 1921 and from 1921 to 1927 he was educational consultant of the Pioneer Youth of America. In 1927 he became director of research in child psychology at Malting House, Cambridge, England. In 1929 he returned to the United States and was consultant to a number of agencies dealing with problem children. In 1934 he became director of group psychotherapy at the Board of Jewish Guardians in New York, where he introduced group treatment for emotionally disturbed children. A pivotal figure in modern psychology and psychoanalysis, Slavson retired from that position in 1956. His *Introduction to Group Therapy* (1943) describes his principles, processes, and methods, as well as his criteria for accepting disturbed children for group therapy. Slavson was president of the American Group Psychotherapy Association (1943–45), and editor-in-chief of the journal *Group Psychotherapy*. From 1956 on, he continued to work and formulate new theories regarding the treatment of delinquent adolescents and institutionalized psychotics. He also wrote and lectured extensively.

His books include *Science in the New Education* (with Robert K. Speer, 1934), *Creative Group Education* (1937), *Recreation of the Total Personality* (1946), *The Practice of Group Therapy* (1947), *Analytic Group Psychotherapy* (1950), *Child-Centered Group Guidance of Parents* (1958), *A Textbook in Analytic Group Psychotherapy* (1964), and *Reclaiming the Delinquent by Para-analytic Group Psychotherapy and the Inversion Technique* (1965).

SLAVUTA, city in N. Kamenets-Podolski district, Ukraine. Slavuta was annexed by Russia after the second partition of Poland (1793) and was in the province of Volhynia until the 1917 Revolution. In 1765 the poll tax was paid by 246 Jews registered in Slavuta. During the late 18th and first half of the 19th century, the community became known for its printing press, founded in 1791 by R. Moses Shapira, son of the *ẓaddik* R. Phinehas b. Abraham of *Korets. Later Moses' two sons, Samuel Abba and Phinehas, took over the administration of the press. Three editions of the Babylonian Talmud, an edition of the Bible (with commentaries), the Zohar, and many other religious works, especially ḥasidic literature, were all produced handsomely and with great care by the press. In 1835 the press was closed down when the owners were arrested for the alleged murder of a worker who had supposedly denounced them for printing books without permission from the censor. There were 1,658 Jews registered in the community in 1847 and 4,891 in 1897 (57% of the total population). Under Soviet rule the community's institutions were destroyed. The Jewish population numbered 4,701 in 1926 (44.9%). During the German occupation of the city during World War II, those Jews who did not manage to escape were murdered. A mass grave marks the place where Jews were massacred by the Nazis in the vicinity of the town, with a monument erected to the memory of the dead and with inscriptions in both Russian and Yiddish. In the late 1960s the Jewish population was estimated at about 3,000. There was one synagogue administered by a rabbi. Most left in the 1900s.

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[Yehuda Slutsky]

°**SLAWOJ-SKLADKOWSKI, FELICJAN** (1885–1962), Polish politician. From May 15, 1936, to September 1939 he was Poland's prime minister and minister of interior. The period of Slawoj-Skladkowski's premiership was marked by political and social unrest. His government endorsed the antisemitic program of the *OZON to distract the Polish masses from the real problems of the prewar crisis. His declaration "nobody in Poland should be injured. An honest host does not allow anybody to be harmed in his home" reflected his policy toward the Jews. Nevertheless, sources of livelihood were taken away from Jews; Saturday was made a market day, markets were held far from town, many butcher shops were closed because of the **shehitah* law (January 1937), commercial licenses for Jews were restricted, as were bank credits for Jewish businessmen and craftsmen, excessive taxes were imposed, etc. The anti-Jewish economic boycott had official government support. The *numerus clausus was imposed against Jewish students who were placed on ghetto benches at the universities, and the number of Jews in the free professions (physicians, lawyers, etc.) was considerably reduced. Riots against students and the picketing of Jewish shops were considered a "natural instinct of cultural self-defense and tendency for economic self-sufficience." When riots and pogroms broke out in Radom, Czestochowa, Brest-Litovsk, Vilna, and Lvov, Jewish property valued at over 3 million zlotys was destroyed. The Slawoj-Skladkowski government encouraged rioters, intervening only against Jewish self-defense groups.

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SLAWSON, JOHN (1896–1989), U.S. communal executive and social worker. Slawson, who was born in Poltava, Ukraine, was taken to the U.S. in 1904. From 1920 to 1924 Slawson was an investigator and psychologist for the New York State Department of Welfare. He was subsequently head of the Jewish welfare federations of Cleveland and Detroit (1924–32) and executive director of the Jewish Board of Guardians (1932–43). From 1943 to 1967 Slawson served as executive vice president of the *American Jewish Committee (AJC), where he directed a comprehensive program of scientific research on prejudice and the methods of combating group hostility. During his tenure, the committee grew into an international organization with more than 40,000 members and offices in 20 U.S. localities, as well as in Europe, Israel, and Latin America. In 1957 Slawson and an AJC delegation met with Pope Pius XII, the first audience ever accorded a Jewish organization by the Vatican.

He wrote *The Delinquent Boy* (1926), a basic treatise on juvenile delinquency; *The Role of Science in Intergroup Relations* (1962); and *Unequal Americans* (1979).

[Geraldine Rosenfield (2nd ed.)]

SLEPIAN, JOSEPH (1891–1969), U.S. electrical engineer. Slepian was born in Boston, Mass., receiving his B.Sc. degree in 1911, M.Sc. in 1912, and Ph.D. in mathematics in 1913 from Harvard. After postdoctoral work at the University of Gottingen in Germany, the Sorbonne in Paris, and Cornell University, he joined the Westinghouse Company in 1916, where he held research posts of increasing seniority at the company's Forest Hills research facility until he retired in 1956. His mathematical knowledge and engineering skills led to many inventions in the electrical supply industry. His research on lightning arresters disclosed the need for surge protection. His studies of ionized gases led to his invention of the deion circuit breaker and the ignitron for initiating and controlling electrical arcs. Late in his working career and after his retirement he worked on plasma methods for isotope separation. He was associated with the Manhattan Project in World War II. He found the atmosphere of a commercial laboratory highly conducive to his work, where he also organized teaching courses in basic and applied physics. His honors included the prestigious Edison Medal (1947).

[Michael Denman (2nd ed.)]

SLIOZBERG, HENRY (1863–1937), Russian jurist and communal worker. Born in Mir, Belorussia, Sliozberg was taken to Poltava, eastern Ukraine, by his family. Although he was an honors student in law at the university of St. Petersburg, Sliozberg was not accepted as a teacher there because he was a Jew. He became a successful private advocate but resigned to accept the (unofficial) position of legal counsel for the Russian Ministry of the Interior. In 1889 he became legal counsel on

Jewish affairs to Baron H. *Guenzburg. The baron entrusted Sliozberg with various important tasks, including drafting memoranda to the authorities and defending Jews before the supreme judicial institutions in St. Petersburg. Sliozberg then devoted himself to Jewish communal work, adopting a stand somewhere between the old intercession methods and that of the modern public campaign introduced and employed by Jewish intelligentsia at the beginning of the 20th century. In his struggles with his opponents and in his attempts to influence the ruling circles, Sliozberg bolstered traditional intercession tactics with legal argumentation. He joined the "defense bureau" founded by the Jewish intellectuals of St. Petersburg, an office set up to defend the rights of the Jews through organized legal action. He was among the founders of both the *Society for Equal Rights for the Jews in Russia (1905) and the "Jewish People's Group" (1907) into which groups the delegates of the non-Zionist, Russian-Jewish intelligentsia – most of whom were connected with the Cadet (Liberal) Party – had united. Sliozberg also participated in the work of the "Political Bureau Assigned to the Jewish Representatives of the State Duma," whose task it was to guide Jewish representatives at the *Duma on behalf of their fellow Jews. Sliozberg also worked with the legal defense organization which dealt with *blood libels, notably with the *Beilis case (1912). During World War I he was one of the leaders of the committee of assistance to Jewish war refugees (*YEKOPO). He also acted as chairman of the Jewish community of St. Petersburg. During the revolution, Sliozberg was imprisoned briefly and his property was confiscated. In 1920 he left Russia for France where he participated in the communal life of Russian and Russian-Jewish immigrants and also became head of the Russian-Jewish community in Paris. In 1934 he testified as witness for the prosecution at the trial regarding the Protocols of the *Elders of Zion in Berne. His memoirs, *Dela minuvshikh dney* ("Bygone Days," 3 vols., 1933), are an important historical account of the Jewish communal life in Russia of the generation preceding the revolution.

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[Yehuda Slutsky]

SLOBODKA YESHIVAH, a leading European yeshivah which was dedicated to the ideals of the *Musar movement. In 1882 the yeshivah was founded in Slobodka, a suburb of Kouro, Lithuania, by R. Nathan Ẓevi *Finkel as an advanced school for the graduates of the local elementary yeshivah which had previously been established by R. Ẓevi Levitan. The new school made rapid strides after the leading yeshivah of this era, the *Volozhin yeshivah, was closed by the czarist government on Jan. 22, 1892. Many former Volozhin students enrolled at Slobodka, and in 1893 R. Finkel appointed two brothers-in-law, both brilliant Volozhin graduates, R. Isser Zalman *Meltzer and R. Moses Mordecai *Epstein, to be the heads of the Slobodka yeshivah. R. Meltzer left in 1896 to organize the Slutzker yeshivah, but R. Epstein remained associated with the school until his death in 1933. R. Finkel remained the yeshivah's dominant personality and fashioned its unique *musar* environment. He instituted a daily half-hour period devoted solely to the study of *musar* texts, and on Saturday nights he delivered *musar* lectures to the assembled students. In 1896 the yeshivah was caught up in a public controversy with those students and rabbis who had long opposed the innovations of the Musar movement. The yeshivah split in 1897 and those loyal to the ideals of R. Finkel and R. Epstein renamed their school Yeshivah Keneset Israel, in memory of the founder of the Musar movement, R. Israel *Lipkin (Salanter). The other students organized a new school which they called Keneset Bet Yiẓḥak, in memory of R. Isaac Elhanan *Spektor of Kovno. It was later headed by R. Baruch Ber Leibowitz and following World War I relocated in Kamenetz, Poland.

R. Finkel's yeshivah continued to expand; by 1899 it had an enrollment of over 300 students and a new building was constructed for the school. The yeshivah's position was further strengthened with the 1910 selection of R. Epstein to serve as the chief rabbi of Slobodka. Additional heads of the yeshivah were appointed, including R. Finkel's son, R. Moses Finkel, and son-in-law R. Isaac Sher. With the outbreak of World War I, the school was compelled to move from Slobodka to Minsk, and afterward to *Kremenchug, where it remained for the duration of the war. After its return to Slobodka, the yeshivah continued expanding rapidly during the 1920s. The student body increased to over 500, including scores of foreign students from Germany and the English-speaking countries. R. Finkel organized new divisions of the yeshivah to complement its educational program, including an elementary school named Even Israel and a secondary school called Or Israel. The culmination of these schools was the Slobodka *kolel*, which was established in 1921.

In 1924, following the Lithuanian government's decision to discontinue its previous practice of exempting all yeshivah students from military service, it was decided to open a branch of the school in Palestine, and Hebron was chosen for its location. R. Finkel joined the new school in 1925, and it soon attracted over 150 students. Following the Arab massacre of 1929 in which 25 yeshivah students were murdered, the school relocated in Jerusalem, where it continued to function under the name of the Hebron yeshivah. The original Slobodka yeshivah, under the leadership of R. Isaac Sher, continued its activities until June 23, 1941, when the Nazi invasion was imminent. Although most of the faculty and students perished during the Holocaust, the Slobodka yeshivah was reopened in *Bene-Berak following the conclusion of the war.

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[Aaron Rothkoff]

SLOMAN, HENRY (**Solomon**; 1793–1873), British actor. Born in Rochester, Sloman was a popular comedian at the Coburg Theatre in London (later the Old Vic) and became a celebrity in the pantomimes and melodramas staged by Joseph Glossop. After Glossop's death in 1835, he went into partnership with his brother, CHARLES SLOMAN (1808–1870), in running the Rochester Theatre. Both were comic singers, and in addition Charles composed a number of songs, among them *Daughter of Israel and Maid of Judah*.

SLOMOVITZ, PHILIP (1896– 1993), U.S. journalist. Born in Minsk, Russia, Slomovitz worked on Jewish papers in Detroit, Mich., and became editor of the *Detroit Jewish News*, the first Jewish periodical in the country to be sponsored by a community, when it was founded in 1942. His syndicated articles appeared in both Jewish and non-Jewish journals. Slomovitz was active in Zionist and other American Jewish organizations. In 1943 he founded the American Association of English-Jewish Newspapers, of which he remained president until 1953.

SLONIK (**Solnik**), **BENJAMIN AARON BEN ABRAHAM** (c. 1550–c. 1619), Polish rabbi. Slonik was probably born in Grodno. He studied there in his youth under Nathan Nata Spiro. He was rabbi in Silesia (Joseph Katz, *She'erit Yosef* (Cracow, 1590), no. 47) and Podhajce (Meir of Lublin, *Responsa*, no. 110). He claims to have been in "Russia" as a youth (*Masat Binyamin*, no. 62), probably referring to southeastern Poland, which included the Ukraine and the Podolia region. He lived in Cracow for a period of time before and after the death of Moses *Isserles (*ibid.*, no. 80), but since no questions in his responsa were addressed to him from Cracow or its environs, it is not likely that he served there as rabbi.

"Benjamin Aaron, *ḥarif* of Tykocin," appears as one of 30 signatories of the 1590 decree of the *Council of the Lands which reenacted the prohibition against offering a bribe in order to acquire a rabbinic post (Harkavy, Perles). This probably refers to Grodno since Tykocin bordered it. The two communities disputed sovereignty over a large territory, and if Slonik was born in that area he could have been considered to have come from either community, which explains why his name does not appear in the records of Tykocin. Slonik studied under Solomon *Luria (Maharshal), Moses Isserles, and Solomon b. Leibesh of Lublin whom he calls the "second Maharshal." Luria had the greatest influence on his work. From him he learned lucidity, expositional skill, stylistic and grammatical precision, and a scientific approach to Jewish law. Isserles' influence is apparent in Slonik's use of the responsum as a vehicle for a thoroughgoing discussion of the legal background and principles which pertain to the question under discussion. Solomon b. Leibesh and Nathan Spiro were themselves influenced by Kabbalah, and inspired Slonik's interest in that subject, expressed in chance statements (no. 7, 99) and in his giving unusual weight to the opinion of the Zohar (no. 62).

His Works

Slonik was the author of the following works:

(1) *Masat Binyamin* (Cracow, 1633; often republished), containing 112 responsa, for the most part arranged chronologically, and several pages of the author's novellae on the Shulḥan Arukh:

(2) *Seder Mitzvot Nashim, Eyn schoen Frauenbuechlein*, a very popular Yiddish book printed three times during the author's lifetime and translated into Italian, dealing with the three principle duties of women, but also giving moral teachings on the conduct of women in every phase of family life (Cracow, 1577, 1585; Basle, 1602; and often reprinted; first translated into Italian by Jacob b. Elhanan Heilbronn in 1614, published in Padua, 1625);

(3) *Sefer ha-Ebronot*, a treatise on the leap year in the Hebrew calendar;

(4) *Seder Ḥaliẓah*, on release from the requirements of the levirate marriage. The latter two books are not extant.

In his response he included questions and comments by his two sons, Abraham and Jakel. He also mentioned his grandson Faivel (no. 95), and his two daughters, one of whom died during her father's lifetime. Abraham, who was rabbi of Brest-Litovsk, wrote several notes to his father's responsa, and edited them. He showed high regard for his relation by marriage, Moses b. Abraham of Przemysl, author of *Sefer Matteh Moshe* and *Sefer Ho'il Moshe*, who was a signatory, together with Slonik, on the 1603 proclamation of the Jaroslaw synod of the Council of Four Lands authorizing the printing of new books.

His Decisions

Slonik had an independent mind and, unafraid of controversy, frequently disagreed with his teachers and colleagues. He opposed the decisions of his colleagues in Podhajce even as a newcomer to the area (no. 21). He issued decisions on controversial questions which colleagues had hesitated to answer (no. 7). Some of his decisions are based on entirely novel principles. Thus, he uses the scientific observation that quick freezing preserves a body for long periods of time to validate testimony identifying a victim long after the three-day limit after death would ordinarily apply (no. 104). He accepted no source without having seen it himself (nos. 11, 26, 37, 47, 75, 76, 109). He disparaged the method and the judgment of R. Mordecai *Jaffe, accusing him of eclecticism (no. 32). His attitude in questions dealing with cases of deserted wives (*agunot*) is in opposition to the strict interpretation of Ashkenazi rabbis. Although an Ashkenazi himself, he accepted the more lenient ruling of the Sephardi rabbi Elijah Mizraḥi, in order to help these unfortunate women (nos. 105, 109), for times had become troubled and there were many Jews who lost their lives in the wars which raged along their trade routes through Walachia to Constantinople (nos. 29, 44, 45, 63, 65, 98, 105, 109).

He decided some cases purely on the basis of logic (nos. 72, 90, 109), historical evidence (nos. 38 and 57), empirical observation (nos. 69 and 108), medical knowledge, and anatomical research (no. 49). He rejected R. Shalom Shakna's method of *pilpul* in deciding Jewish law (no. 16). He permitted the calling of blind or illiterate men to the "reading" of the Torah, and pleaded for understanding and tolerance for the feelings of estranged Jews and sensitive women, so that they may be brought closer to Judaism (no. 62). His responsa include an analysis of the grammatical differences between the two versions of the Decalogue and he castigates cantors for improperly preparing the Torah reading, as well as for introducing into the synagogue service melodies borrowed from secular songs and the theater (no. 6). He dealt with community disputes, taxation, elections, sale of synagogues, divorce given under duress, murder, and manslaughter. Several of his decisions were aimed at resolving famous controversies of the day (nos. 22, 76, 77).

His decisions remained an authoritative source, not only for his contemporaries, but also for Polish and German rabbis for many years to come. They are often quoted and usually considered definitive by noted commentators to the Shulḥan Arukh, such as *Shabbetai b. Meir ha-Kohen and Abraham Abele *Gombiner.

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[Nisson E. Shulman]

SLONIM, city in Grodno district, Belarus; passed to Russia in 1795 and reverted to Poland between the two world wars. Slonim is mentioned in 1583 as one of the communities which were declared exempt from the special tax called "*srebshzizna*." Jewish merchants from Slonim traded with Lublin and Posen. By decision of the Lithuanian Council (see *Councils of the Lands) in 1623, the Jews of Slonim were placed under the jurisdiction of the *Brest community. From 1631 Slonim appears in the accounts of the *pinkas* of the Council of Lithuanian Jews as an independent community. A magnificent stone synagogue was erected there in 1642. In 1660 the Jews suffered persecutions by the armies of Stephan *Czarniecki. In the latter part of the 17th century the Jews of Slonim traded in wheat and timber with *Koenigsberg; later on wealthy merchants traveled to the *Leipzig fairs. Others earned their livelihood in contracting, manufacturing alcoholic beverages, and crafts. In 1764, after danger to the community from the advancing Russian armies had been averted, the day of deliverance, the 26th of Sivan, was subsequently commemorated in the community. The Jewish population numbered 1,154 in Slonim and its surroundings in 1766; 5,700 in 1847; 11,435 (78% of the total population) in 1897; 6,917 Jews (71.7%) in 1921; and 8,605 (52.95%) in 1931.

During the 19th century Jews engaged in wholesale trading in timber, furs, and hides, in transport and supplying the army, iron foundries, agricultural machinery, matches, tanneries, sawmills, and brick kilns. Jews also operated steam mills. The first textile factory in Slonim was founded in 1826 by a Jew, employing 35 workers, of whom 20 were Jewish. In the late 19th and early 20th century Jews engaged in the manufacture of woolen scarves, curtains, yeast, matches, agricultural machinery, and Jewish ritual articles.

Many Jewish homes were burned as a result of anti-Jewish hooliganism in 1881. Due to expulsions from nearby villages in 1882 the Jewish population in Slonim increased. In 1897 Jewish workers in Slonim began to organize in trade unions, and between 1902 and 1906 the *Bund, *Po'alei Zion and the *Zionist Socialist Workers' Party (SS) were influential. They established *self-defense groups to protect Jews against attacks, especially in the stormy period after the *Bialystok pogrom of 1906. In 1913 Jewish workers staged a strike to protest against the *Beilis case.

Traditional spiritual leaders of Slonim included Moses b. Isaac Judah *Lima, author of *Ḥelkat Meḥokek*, who served the community in the 1660s; Simeon b. Mordecai (officiated 1735–69); and Joshua Isaac b. Jehiel *Shapira, author of *Naḥalat Yehoshu'a* (1851), in the 1830s. In the mid-19th century Abraham b. Isaac Weinberg (1804–1884) founded a new branch of Ḥasidism and became the first of the *Slonim dynasty. The Slonim yeshivah, one of the oldest and most honored Lithuanian yeshivot, came under the influence of this ḥasidic trend.

All Jewish parties were active in Slonim between the two world wars, in independent Poland, including a *hakhsharah* farm of the He-Ḥalutz movement. The community had schools of the *Tarbut, CYSHO, and Taḥkemoni. A Yiddish quarterly, *Unzer Zhurnal*, was published from 1921 to 1925, and the weekly *Slonimer Vort* from 1926–1939.

[Dov Rabin]

Holocaust and Contemporary Periods

Immediately after the outbreak of World War II (Sept. 1, 1939), Slonim was inundated by thousands of Jewish refugees escaping from the advancing German army. Under the Soviet-German agreement the city passed to Soviet rule. In 1939–41, all Jewish community life was repressed, though Zionist groups attempted to function underground. Young people sought ways to reach Vilna, then under Lithuanian control, in an effort to reach Palestine from there. On April 12, 1940, about 1,000 Jewish refugees were exiled to Russia, among them Yiẓḥak Efrat, head of the community and the Zionist federation before the war.

On June 25, 1941, after war broke out between Germany and the Soviet Union, Slonim fell to German troops, who began to attack the Jews. On July 17, they carried out an **Aktion* in which 1,200 Jewish men were rounded up and murdered on the outskirts of the city. The German authorities exacted a fine of 2,000,000 rubles from the Jewish community, and set up a *Judenrat, first headed by Wolf Berman, but its members were murdered when they showed resistance to Nazi demands. The second chairman of the Judenrat was Gershon Kwint. At the end of August 1941 a "Jewish quarter" was allocated, but not sealed off immediately. On Nov. 14, 1941, in a second *Aktion*, Germans, Lithuanians, and Belorussians murdered 9,000 Jews in nearby Czepielow. A very few managed to escape from the death pits, returned to the ghetto, and received aid in its hospital. When the Germans found out, they were seized and murdered at the pits. Following this *Aktion* the ghetto, which now contained about 15,000 Jews, including refugees from the vicinity, was closed off. In the ghetto the Jews began to build hideouts in expectation of another raid. On June 29, 1942, the Germans and their collaborators surrounded the ghetto and set it on fire. In this *Aktion*, which continued up to July 15, many Jews perished in the flames; those who escaped and were caught were murdered in the fields of Pietralewicze. The Germans met with armed resistance from some of the youth who managed to wrest their arms from them and escaped to the forests. Only 800 Jews remained alive at the end of the attack, most of whom fled to the forests. About 300 of the remaining Jews were murdered in December 1942. Those who survived in the forests joined partisan activities. A group of Jews from Slonim became active members of the Schorr's partisan unit. In the struggle against the Germans they reached the swamps of the Pinsk area. On July 10, 1944, when the city was taken by Soviet forces, only 80 Jews were found there. Former Jewish partisans joined the Soviet army to continue the fighting against the Germans until the end of the war. In 1946 there were about 30 Jews living in Slonim.

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[Aharon Weiss]

SLONIM, ḥasidic dynasty. The founder of the dynasty was R. ABRAHAM BEN ISAAC MATTATHIAS WEINBERG (1804–1883) who, after heading the yeshivah in Slonim, became a Ḥasid. His teachers in Ḥasidism were the *ẓaddikim* Noah of Lachowicze (*Lyakhovichi) and Moses of *Kobrin. When Moses died, Abraham assumed the role of *ẓaddik* and became one of the leading rabbis of his time. His influence extended mainly throughout the northwestern part of the province of Polesie, Poland-Lithuania, between the cities of Slonim and Brest-Litovsk and between Kobrin and Baranovichi. Abraham's writings include *Ḥesed le-Avraham* (1886) and *Yesod ha-Avodah* (1892). His works, which include principles of his ḥasidic teachings, attest great scholarship. He advocated the study of Torah for its own sake, prayer with devotion (*devekut*), love and fear of the Creator, humility and confidence. He saw asceticism and mourning as ways of repentance. He also wrote a homiletic commentary on *Mekhilta*, entitled *Be'er Avraham* (1927). During Abraham's lifetime, his grandson NOAH (d. 1927) emigrated to Ereẓ Israel and settled in Tiberias, where Slonim Ḥasidim found a special place in the history of Ḥasidism in Ereẓ Israel from the late 19th century. The letters of the rabbis of Slonim to their fellow Ḥasidim in Ereẓ Israel were included in their writings. Abraham's disciple Menahem Nahum Epstein established his own dynasty of *ẓaddikim* in Bialystok. Another grandson, SAMUEL (d. 1916), succeeded Abraham as rabbi and excelled in strengthening religious life and institutions as well as in collecting funds for the Jewish community in Ereẓ Israel. Under Samuel, the Slonim dynasty became famous beyond its own circles for its special ḥasidic melodies. Samuel's teachings were incorporated in the works of his Ḥasidim, *Kunteres Kitvei Kodesh* (1948), *Kunteres Beit Avraham* (5 vols., 1950–54), and *Beit Avraham* (1958). After Samuel's death, a split occurred among the Slonim Ḥasidim. The majority chose as their leader Samuel's younger son, ABRAHAM (II; d. 1933), who lived in Bialystok and later in Baranovichi. In 1918 Abraham II established a major yeshivah in Baranovichi called Torat Ḥesed, where Lithuanian-Jewish scholarship and Ḥasidism were combined. Abraham made journeys to Palestine to visit his ḥasidic following there (1929, 1933). His teachings on the weekly portion of the Torah were published by his Ḥasidim in the *Beit Avraham*, mentioned above. His successor in Baranovichi was his son SOLOMON, who perished in the Holocaust in 1943 with many of his fellow Ḥasidim. His teachings and letters were published in the *Zikhron Kadosh* (1967). Meanwhile, in Slonim itself, Samuel's eldest son, ISSACHAR ARYEH (d. 1928), inherited his father's position. On Issachar's death his son ABRAHAM succeeded him and emigrated to Palestine in 1935, but did not serve as *admor*. In 1942, the Slonim Ḥasidim in Jerusalem established Yeshivat Slonim Beit Avraham. In 1955 the Slonim Ḥasidim elected ABRAHAM (III), the son of Noah (mentioned above), who had immigrated to Ereẓ Israel in his youth, as their *admor*.

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[Wolf Zeev Rabinowitsch]

SLONIM, MARC (**Marc Lvovich**; 1894–1976), literary scholar. A member of the 1917 Russian Constituent Assembly, Slonim later moved to Prague, where he edited an émigré periodical (1922–32), and settled in the U.S. in 1941. He taught at Sarah Lawrence College, Bronxville, from 1943 onward, becoming the director of foreign studies there in 1962 and European consultant for foreign studies in 1968. His works include *The Epic of Russian Literature…* (1950), *Modern Russian Literature from Chekhov to the Present* (1953), and *Soviet Literature* (1964, 1967).

SLONIM, REUBEN (1914–2000), Canadian rabbi and journalist. Slonim was born in Winnipeg. After his immigrant father suffered a stroke, Slonim's mother was left to tend to her husband and three children. She and her children boarded at Jewish Orphanage and Children's Aid of Western Canada, where she was the cook. In his memoir *Grand to Be an Orphan* (1983), Slonim recalled that while the Orphanage offered educational opportunities, some of the staff also dished out beatings. With Orphanage support, Slonim studied at a yeshivah in Chicago and attended the Illinois Institute of Technology, where he received his B.S.A.S. in 1933. He then attended the Jewish Theological Seminary, where he was ordained and earned an M.H.L. in 1937. He also attended the Albany Law School, New York, between 1935 and 1937. In 1937 he became rabbi at Toronto's McCaul Street Synagogue, one of the first Canadian-born rabbis to serve a Conservative congregation, and he remained there for three years. For the next seven years he occupied pulpits in Cleveland and Troy (N.Y.) before returning to Toronto in 1947 to serve the McCaul Street Synagogue until its 1955 merger with the University Avenue Synagogue. He was not named to the senior position in the newly established Beth Tzedec Congregation.

Slonim held a variety of community positions, including president of the Toronto Zionist Council (1947–52) and chair of the Synagogue Council State of Israel Bonds (1955–60). Slonim grew angry, however, over the policies of the State of Israel and what he perceived as the uncritical support of Israel within the Jewish community. And to the horror of the Jewish community, he had a vehicle in which to express his views. In 1955 *The Toronto Telegram* hired Slonim as associate editor on the Middle East. Until the newspaper's demise in 1971 and later in the *Jewish Standard*, Slonim often attacked Orthodox influence on Israeli politics and Israel's treatment of Palestinians. He also championed Israeli withdrawal from occupied territories and strongly opposed the 1982 Lebanon war.

In 1971, Slonim was hired by a small and unaffiliated liberal Toronto congregation, Congregation Habonim, established in the spirit of German Liberal Judaism, by central European Holocaust survivors. Slonim attracted younger, Canadian-born congregants but, to the consternation of some, he also used his pulpit to condemn Israeli policy. After the war in Lebanon, he was dismissed. He described his time as a pulpit rabbi in *To Kill a Rabbi* (1987). He subsequently co-founded the Association for the Living Jewish Spirit, which until 1999 met on High Holidays.

Towards the end of his life, Slonim received belated recognition from the Jewish community. Rabbi Gunther *Plaut, who had often been at loggerheads with Slonim, later admitted that Slonim was unjustly ostracized by the Jewish community and regretted his own part in the process. In 1998, the Jewish Theological Seminary honored Slonim for his years of service.

In addition to his two memoirs, Slonim published *In the Steps of Pope Paul* (1965), an account of Pope Paul's visit to the Middle East; *Both Sides Now* (1972) summarizing his career at the *Toronto Telegram*, and *Family Quarrel: The United Church and the Jews* (1977) chronicling disputes over Israel between the Jewish community and the United Church.

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[Richard Menkis (2nd ed.)]

SLONIMSKI, ANTONI (1895–1976), Polish poet, author, and critic. The son of a converted Warsaw physician and grandson of the Hebrew writer Ḥayyim Selig *Slonimski, Slonimski began his literary career during World War I, publishing his early *Sonety* and founding the "Pikador" group of poets in 1918. From the early 1920s he rose rapidly to become the leading personality in Poland's literary and cultural life, a master of the verse form and a keen and versatile drama critic. In 1920 he was the cofounder with Julian *Tuwim of the futurist "Skamander" group, and during the years 1924–39 wrote the leading theater reviews for the weekly *Wiadomości Literackie*, also contributing a regular satirical column from 1927. Slonimski published more than 40 books, including verse collections. He became a major focus of Polish intellectual interest in the 1930s, and also translated many foreign classics (Rimbaud, Mark Twain, Itzik *Manger). In 1939 he fled to England by way of Paris and during the years 1947–48 was head of UNESCO's literary section, subsequently directing the Polish Cultural Institute in London (1949–51). His verse that appeared during the war years included *Alarm* (1940) and *Popiół i wiatr* ("Ashes and Wind," 1942).

In the prewar Poland of Marshal Pilsudski, Slonimski trenchantly satirized bourgeois ignorance and stupidity and spurious racial and social theories. Though rehabilitated as chairman of the Polish Writers' Union (1956–59), he remained a nonconformist in postwar Communist Poland, preferring silence to any compromise with a totalitarian regime. His works and his personal stand exemplified the intellectual's independence and freedom of thought. Though raised as a Christian, Slonimski had a profound emotional regard for the Jewish people, which may be detected in poems such as his *Pieśń o Januszu Korczaku* ("Song about Janusz Korczak"), *Ahaswer* (on the Wandering Jew), and *Elegja miasteczek zydowskich* ("Elegy of the Shtetlakh"). Israel's War of Independence had wide repercussions in his poetry, and in 1967 Slonimski condemned those calling for Israel's destruction during the period preceding the Six-Day War.

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[Stanislaw Wygodzki and Moshe Altbauer]

SLONIMSKI, ḤAYYIM SELIG (1810–1904), Hebrew popular science writer and editor. He also used the pseudonym Ḥazas (the Hebrew initials of his name). Born in Bialystok, he wrote popular science articles during the Haskalah period. His initial acquaintance with science was derived from old Hebrew books, but later he also read scientific literature in German. In 1834, he published the first part of his mathematics textbook entitled *Mosedei Ḥokhmah* ("Bases of Wisdom"). Halley's Comet appeared in the following year, and Slonimski wrote a popular work on astronomy, *Kokhva de-Shavit* ("Comet," 1835, 1857^2). He wrote another book on the same subject entitled *Toledot ha-Shamayim* ("The History of the Skies," 1838, 1866^2), which caused great controversy, because it demonstrated errors in the Hebrew calendar. Slonimski also explained his views on the Hebrew calendar in *Yesodei ha-Ibbur* ("Basic Intercalation," 1852, one part only; completed in 1853, 1883^3). His later works include *Meẓi'ut ha-Nefesh ve-Kiyyumah Ḥuẓ la-Guf* ("The Existence of the Soul and its Life Outside the Body," 1852), and *Yesodei Ḥokhmat ha-Shi'ur* ("Foundations of the Science of Calculation," 1865, 1899^2). Slonimski coined new Hebrew terminology where necessary. Some of his mathematical and astronomical interpretations of obscure passages in the Mishnah found their way into editions of the Mishnah printed in Zhitomir.

Slonimski was also an inventor. Among his inventions was a calculating machine, for which he was awarded a prize by the Russian Academy of Sciences (1844). In 1862, Slonimski founded **Ha-Ẓefirah*, a Hebrew newspaper devoted mainly to popular science articles written by himself and a team of collaborators, adherents of the Haskalah. The paper ceased publication after only a few months, upon Slonimski's appointment as inspector of the Government Rabbinical Seminary in Zhitomir and Hebrew censor for South Russia. In 1874, when the Seminary was closed down, he renewed publication of *Ha-Ẓefirah*, first in Berlin and, from 1875, in Warsaw. The periodical was edited in the moderate spirit of the Haskalah, avoiding conflicts with the Orthodox by presenting scientific innovations in a manner acceptable to them.

In 1884, Slonimski's disciples and admirers celebrated the 50th anniversary of his literary career, and two collections of his articles appeared under the title *Ma'amarei Ḥokhmah* ("Essays of Wisdom," 1891–94). In 1886, when *Ha-Ẓefirah* began appearing daily, Nahum *Sokolow joined the editorial board and, in effect, took over the editorship, though Slonimski continued to contribute articles. A list of his articles appeared in *Ha-Ẓefirah*, 14:91 (1887), 5–6. Slonimski's son Leonid *Slonimski converted to Christianity. Many of his grandchildren achieved distinction. Antoni *Slonimski, son of Stanislaw, was a well-known Polish poet; Alexander, a literary critic, Mikhail *Slonimski, a writer, Nicolas, a composer, and Henry *Slonimsky, a scholar.

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[Yehuda Slutsky]

SLONIMSKI, LEONID ZINOVYEVICH (1850–1918), lawyer and publicist; son of Ḥayyim Selig *Slonimski, he was born in Zhitomir and graduated from the faculty of law of Kiev University in 1872. He settled in St. Petersburg and converted to the Greek Orthodox religion. He was a regular contributor of legal and sociological articles to Russian and international periodicals. From 1882 he was member of the editorial board of the liberal journal *Vestnik Yevropy*. Slonimski wrote on the juridical situation of Jews in Russia and abroad (*Yevreyskaya Biblioteka*, vol. 6, 1877), and dealt with the Jewish problem in many of his general articles. In 1906 he published a text of the Russian constitution, with a preface which caused its official suppression. Slonimski criticized the teachings of Karl Marx in his work *Ekonomicheskoye ucheniye Karla Marksa* (1898). His son ALEXANDER SLONIMSKI (1881–?) was a critic and novelist. He edited the authoritative editions of Pushkin's work. His son NICOLAS *SLONIMSKY was an American musicologist, conductor, and composer. Another son, Mikhail *Slonimski, was a distinguished Russian-Soviet writer.

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SLONIMSKI, MIKHAIL LEONIDOVICH (1897–1972), Soviet Russian author and critic. Born in Pavlovsk, of a prominent, highly assimilated family, Slonimski was the son of Leonid *Slonimski, nephew of the literary historian Semyon Vengerov, and a cousin of the famous Polish poet Antoni *Slonimski. He was one of the founders of the Serapion Brothers, a loose association of writers that came into being in 1921 for the purpose of protecting the autonomy of a literature already threatened by political pressures.

Slonimski's best work was written early in his career. In addition to some investigations of literary theory, this includes *Shestoy strelkovy* ("The Sixth Rifles," 1922), a collection of tales about the senseless horror of war and the Revolution; the autobiographical novel *Lavrovy* ("The Lavrovs," 1927), which portrays a young man who breaks with his petty, ineffectual, and selfish family to join the Revolutionary cause; and its less successful sequel, *Foma Kleshnyov* (1930). In 1949, at the height of the Stalinist terror, Slonimski published *Pervye gody* ("First Years"), a revised and more militantly Communist version of Lavrovy.

[Maurice Friedberg]

SLONIMSKY, HENRY (1884–1970), philosopher and writer, who was born in Russia, and was taken to the United States in 1890. He studied under Hermann *Cohen and earned his Ph.D. in 1912 with a dissertation published as "*Heraklit und Parmenides*" (in: *Philosophische Arbeiten*, 7 (1913), ed. by H. Cohen and P. Natorp). From 1914 to 1924 he taught philosophy at various U.S. universities. In 1924, Stephen S. *Wise appointed him professor of ethics and philosophy of religion at the Jewish Institute of Religion in New York. In 1926 he became dean of the school, retiring in 1952. As an inspiring teacher, who shared his intellectual and human problems with his students, he profoundly influenced many American rabbis. His studies in Jewish philosophy were published as *Essays* (1967). Despite Slonimsky's lifelong emphasis on "oral teaching," it is possible to see the thrust of his thinking from his sparse writings. On the face of it, his concern with human needs and emotions would seem to separate him from his great teacher H. Cohen, the rationalist par excellence, but on closer consideration the latter's decisive and pervasive influence becomes clear. The importance Slonimsky attaches to the Platonic tradition in the history of human thinking, his wariness of the "bourgeois" dangers to the Jewish truth, and his reinterpretations of episodes in general and Jewish philosophy exemplify the spirit of the "Marburg School." His single most important doctrine, that of the "humanized," finite, growing (i.e., anthropomorphic) God, had three constituent considerations: (1) the idea of a "limited God" explains the dysteleology of human suffering; (2) man's ethical responsibilities are greatly enhanced when they are needed for the "growth of God" (cf. Cohen's "correlation"); (3) the Jewish formulation of Kant's "asymptotic" concept of the ideal is echoed in Slonimsky's commitment to messianism, God and "religion of the future."

[Steven S. Schwarzschild]

SLONIMSKY, NICOLAS (1894–1995), musicologist, lexicographer, composer, and conductor. Born in St. Petersburg, Slonimsky was the son of Leonid *Slonimski and grandson of Ḥayyim Zelig *Slonimski. He studied at the St. Petersburg Conservatory (piano with Vengerova, his aunt, and composition with Kalafaty and Shteinberg). He went to the United States in 1923 and worked as opera coach at the Eastman School of Music in Rochester, New York (1923–25), and as secretary to Serge *Koussevitzky (1925–27). He founded and conducted the Chamber Orchestra of Boston from 1927 to 1934; he also conducted the Harvard University Orchestra (1927–30). Slonimsky was a lecturer at Colorado College (1940, 1947–49), Peabody Conservatory (1956–57), and UCLA (1964–67). He became a champion of modern American music, which he presented on lecture and performance tours. He edited the 4th to 7th editions of *Thompson's International Cyclopedia of Music and Musicians* (1946, 1949, 1952, 1956) and the 5th edition of *Baker's Biographical Dictionary of Musicians* (1958, re-issued with supplements in 1964 and in 1971). His writings include *Music since 1900* (1937), *Music of Latin America* (1945), *Thesaurus of Scales and Melodic Patterns* (1947), and *A Lexicon of Musical Invective* (1953) as well as a number of scholarly articles. He composed a number of works, some of them frankly tongue-in-cheek, such as *Moebius Strip Tease* (1965).

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[Marina Rizarev (2nd ed.)]

SLONIMSKY, SERGEI MIKHAILOVICH (1932–), Russian composer, pianist, and musicologist, son of the writer Mikhail *Slonimski and nephew of Nicolas *Slonimsky. Slonimsky was born in St. Petersburg and studied composition (at the age of 11) with Shebalin (in Moscow from 1943 to 1945) and later with Volfenson, Evlakhov, and Arapov in St. Petersburg, as well as piano with Nilsen. He graduated from the St. Petersburg Conservatory in 1956, where he taught composition and became professor in 1976. The music of Mussorgsky and Prokofiev influenced Slominsky, yet he developed his own idiom based on Russian folklore, which he articulated in his works in a variety of compositional techniques.

Among his works are the operas *Virinea* (1967), *The Master and Margarita* (1972), *Maria Stuart* (1983), *Hamlet* (1990), and *Ivan the Terrible* (1998), the ballet *Icarus* (1970), ten symphonies (1958–92), instrumental concertos, symphonic chamber works, vocal and choral pieces in many genres, and music for the theater and cinema. As a musicologist, he wrote *Simfonii Prokofieva* (1964, based on his Ph.D. thesis) and essays on Mahler, Stravinsky, Shostakovich, Balakirev, and Russian folklore. A volume of his reviews and memoirs, *Burleski, elegii, difiramby v presrennoy prose* ("Burlesques, Elegies, Dithyrambs in Contemptible Prose"), was published in 2000. He also devoted his energies to the revival of music by forgotten composers of previous generations. His creative work inspired unusually rich musicological research.

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[Marina Rizarev (2nd ed.)]

SLOSS, MARCUS CAUFFMAN (1869–1958), U.S. lawyer and jurist. Sloss, who was born in New York City, practiced law in San Francisco. He was elected superior court judge for San Francisco city and county in 1900. In 1906 Sloss was appointed to fill a vacancy on the California Supreme Court and was then elected presiding judge of that court in the same year. Reelected in 1910 and 1918, he resigned the judgeship in 1919 to return to private law practice.

Extremely active in Jewish affairs, Sloss served as president of the Jewish National Welfare Fund of San Francisco and the Pacific Hebrew Orphan Asylum and Home Society, was associated with the Joint Distribution Committee, and was active in the American Jewish Committee. In other public affairs, Sloss was a member of the California Board of Bar Examiners, a trustee of Stanford University, and a board member of the San Francisco Public Library.

SLOTKI, ISRAEL WOLF (1884–1973), scholar and educator. He was born in Jerusalem and went to England in 1906, living first in London and later in Manchester. There he served as principal of the Talmud Torah school (1911–50) and later as director of Jewish education for Manchester (1946–50). He organized the first conference of religious Zionists in England (1918) and was secretary of the Mizrachi Center of the United Kingdom (1926–28). His publications include studies of ancient Hebrew poetry, annotated translations of 16 tractates of the Talmud (Soncino Press), commentaries and introductions to three books of the Bible, books on local Jewish history, and many contributions to scholarly periodicals. His son, JUDAH JACOB SLOTKI (1903–1988), also born in Jerusalem, arrived in England as a boy. He was superintendent of Jewish education in Manchester (1942–46), director of Jewish education in Leeds (1946–55), and from 1955 director of the Central Board of Hebrew Education in Manchester. In 1956 he established the S.H. Steinhart Training College for Hebrew teachers. From 1959 he was a vice president of the British Mizrachi Federation. He published translations of part of the *Midrash Rabbah* (Soncino Press) and of five books of the Bible, works for Jewish children, and a biography of Manasseh Ben Israel. His edited edition of *The Babylonian Talmud* was published in 1990.

[Godfrey Edmond Silverman]

SLOUSCHZ, NAHUM (1871–1966), scholar and writer, archaeologist and historian, traveler and translator. Born in Smorgan near Vilna, son of David Solomon Slouschz, rabbi, *maskil*, and early Zionist, Slouschz was taken as a child to Odessa. Odessa became the center of the Ḥovevei Zion movement and of the Hebrew renascence, and Slouschz took an active part in those political and cultural activities. He sided with Aḥad Ha-Am's critics and early became a political as well as a practical Zionist. He wrote on a variety of subjects for the Hebrew press both in Russia and in Ereẓ Israel, and for a time edited a Russian-Jewish paper, *Odesskaya Gazeta* (1897).

He visited Ereẓ Israel for a year in 1891 on behalf of the Odessa Palestine committee with a view to establishing a new settlement, then returned for a year in 1896. Slouschz then went to Geneva, where he studied classical and French literature. Here too he was active as a Zionist and was among the founders of the Swiss Zionist Federation. He was an early follower of Herzl, but in the wake of the *Uganda affair he joined for a time the Jewish Territorial Organization (see *Territorialism), investigating the possibilities of Jewish settlement in *Tripoli-Cyrenaica, which he visited (see his confidential report, translated by P.H. Magnus, 1907).

From Geneva Slouschz proceeded to Paris to study Semitics at the Ecole des Hautes Etudes and French literature at the Sorbonne. He published *Renaissance de la littérature hébraïque, 1743–1885* (1902), which was translated into English by H. *Szold (1909); *Poésie lyrique hébraïque contemporaine* (1911); *David Frischmann – poète* (1914); and *Poésies hébraïques de Don Jehouda Abrabanel* (1928).

In 1904 Slouschz was appointed to a newly founded chair of Hebrew language and literature at the Sorbonne. He also taught (1903–18) at the Ecole Normale Orientale of the Alliance Israélite Universelle. Between 1906 and 1914 he undertook a series of exploratory journeys on behalf of the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres to North Africa, where he studied Phoenician and Greek inscriptions, and also the life and history of the Jewish communities of the region.

The results were published under the following titles: *Etude sur l'histoire des Juifs et du Judaïsme au Maroc* (2 vols., 1906), *Hebréo-Phéniciens et Judéo-Berbères* (1908), *Hebréo-Phéniciens…* (1909), *Judéo-Hellènes et Judéo-Berbères* (1909), *Tefuẓot Yisrael be-Afrikah ha-Ẓefonit* ("Jewish Dispersion in North Africa," 1947), *Oẓar ha-Ketovot ha-Finikiyyot* ("Thesaurus of Phoenician Inscriptions," 1942). Slouschz also co-edited the *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum* (1881–1935) and *La Revue du Monde Musulman*. He described his travels in a number of books: *Massa be-Miẓrayim* (1907), *Voyages d'études juives en Afrique* (1909), *Be-Iyyei ha-Yam* (1919), *Travels in North Africa* (1927; also as *Jews of North Africa*, 1944), and *Sefer ha-Massa'ot* (2 vols., 1942–43). He wrote, too, on the Jews of *Djerba (*Ha-I Palya*, 1957; *Ha-Kohanim Asher be-Jerba*, 1924); on an ancient Jewish queen in the Atlas Mountains (*Dahiyah al-Kahina*, 1934, 1953); and on the Marranos of Portugal (*Ha-Anusim be-Portugal*, 1932).

During World War I Slouschz was involved in activities to influence the French government in agreeing to the *Balfour Declaration, and he visited the United States in the same cause. While in New York he contributed to the Hebrew and Yiddish press, and acted as editor of the *Jewish Morning Journal*. In 1919 Slouschz settled in Ereẓ Israel, where he revived the Palestine Exploration Society and edited its publications. He conducted excavations at Tiberias, where he discovered the ancient second-century synagogue of Ḥammath (mentioned in the Talmud), including a beautiful stone *menorah* (*Ha-Ḥafirot be-Ḥammat shel Teveryah*, 1921). He also excavated at Absalom's Tomb in Jerusalem and began to excavate in Transjordan (*Ever ha-Yarden*, 2 vols., 1933).

In his early years Slouschz translated works by the Italian writer Paulo Montegazẓa, and during his years in Paris, a number of French writers, into Hebrew: Emile Zola (stories, and also a biography, 1899); Guy de Maupassant (with biography, 7 vols., 1903–04); and *Salammbô* by Flaubert (1922). A collection of his writings appeared under the title *Ketavim Nivḥarim* (2 vols., 1938–43).

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SLOVAKIA (Slov. **Slovensko**; Ger. **Slowakei**; Hung. **Szlovákia**), Central European republic; 1918–1993, part of *Czechoslovakia; formerly a part of *Hungary. Since Slovakia was part of Hungary for almost 1,000 years, the annals of the Jews of this region were submerged in the history of the Jews of Greater Hungary. The Jews of Slovakia (termed "Upper Hungary," "Northern Hungary," or "Highland") were commonly called "Highland Jews" (*Oberlaender*).

Jews appeared for the first time on the territory of contemporary Slovakia in the Roman fortification of the first century C.E. (limes) in the southwest, along the Danube River. This was several hundred years before the appearance of the Slavonic tribes in the region. These Jews might have been slaves, tradesmen, or soldiers serving in the Roman Legions. In archaeological excavations of the fortifications, Jewish artifacts were discovered. The next possible appearance of Jews in the region might have been in the seventh century C.E. when a Frank tradesman named Samo (Samuel?) unified the Slavonic tribes against the Mongol Avars in 623–624. In the ninth century C.E., the first political bodies of the western Slavs were established. It seems that Jews had settled in municipal locations of the so-called Great Moravian Empire. These Jews might have been related to Jewish-Arabic tradesmen who wandered between Mesopotamia and Eastern Europe. The next significant Jewish appearance took place in the 10th century, when Jewish Khazar tribes accompanied the Magyar tribes that conquered the region. There is written evidence as well as that of names of localities along the Nitra River.

Jewish settlements, in both urban and rural locations, continued to appear in southwestern and western upper Hungary. A further influx of Jewish settlers, who came along the trade routes from Germany and perhaps the Balkans, established themselves in Greater Hungary. Papal and Magyar royal legislation testified to Jewish existence in ancient Hungary. In the territory of upper Hungary, they lived along the lower Hron, Vag, and Nitra rivers, as well as the Danube. By the end of the 11th century, they experienced severe persecutions, particularly during the First Crusade, which crossed the region. Most hard hit were the Jews of Bratislava (former Slovak name Presporok; Pressburg in German; Pozsony in Hungarian).

Sporadic references to the existence of Jews in the region are found from the mid-13th century. Official contemporary documents and rabbinical literature record a number of flourishing Jewish communities in Pressburg, Senica (Szenice), Trnva (Tyrnauo, in German; Nagyszombat in Hungarian); Nitra (Nyitra in Hungarian); Pezinok (Hung. Bazin); and Trencin (Trenteschin in German; Trencsén in Hungarian.) In the Pressburg (Bratislava) community alone in the 14th century there were 800 Jews, forming an autonomous political unit headed by a communal leader. Some of the Jews of this region engaged in agriculture and owned and cultivated vineyards, but the majority engaged in commerce and moneylending.

After the Tartar (Mongol) invasion of 1241, which left behind a devastated land, the ruling dynasty invited foreign settlers, including Jews, to rebuild the country. Again Jewish communities established themselves, frequently at the same location as the earlier ones. But their life was not tranquil, and in 1360 the Jews of Kosice (Kaschau in German; Kassa in Hungarian) were expelled from the city in 1494. Several Jews of Trnava were burnt at the stake because of a blood libel; the same happened in Pezinok in 1529. Local incidents occurred from time to time. A rigorous wave of persecution followed the defeat at Mohacs in 1526, where the Ottomans annihilated the army of the Magyar kingdom. Jews were expelled from towns and could live only in villages and places where they were admitted by the local nobles. In time, the nobles' willingness to accept Jews increased. Aware of the Jews' contribution to the economy, they would settle them on their estates and granted land for synagogues and cemeteries. They granted certain privileges in exchange for hefty taxes and the promotion of trade and industry. Jewish life began to flourish again in western and southern upper Hungary, where Jews expelled from Austria and Germany settled, augmented by Czech and Moravian Jewish settlers. There were large numbers of Jews in the northern part of upper Hungary which, in the 17th and 18th centuries, was known as "Magyar Israel." Many of these Jews were refugees from the atrocities of the Ukrainian Hetman Bogdan *Chmielnicki and the outrages of the *Haidamaks in Poland.

According to the 1785 census, the Pressburg community was the largest in Hungary, second to Nové Mesto nad Váhom (Waagneustadtl in German; Vágúhely in Hungarian). Trade routes, and in particular the movement of wine merchants from Hungary to Poland, helped promote Jewish life in eastern upper Hungary and Carpatho-Rus. From the 17th century, there was in increase in the influx of Moravian Jews seeking a haven from the Kurutz riots (1683), the residence restrictions, and the Familiants Law (1726). The majority of the newcomers settled in the western districts, bordering on Moravia, in places like Holic, Senica, Myjava, Nové Mesto nad Vahom, Tarencin, and Nitra. For many decades they preserved their old traditions, maintaining close spiritual and commercial ties with their kinsmen beyond the border. They even continued for some time to pay taxes to their former Moravian communities and to bury their dead there. Their synagogues were built on the models of those in Moravia, and services were conducted according to the Moravian rites. Youngsters from upper Hungary flocked to the Nikulov (Nikolsburg), Prostejov, and Boskovice *talmud torah* schools, and those from Moravia frequented the famous Pressburg and Vrbova yeshivot. Eventually, they started to establish their own centers of learning, such as Brezova pod Bradlom and Puchov. These were later replaced by wealthier communities or those with local importance. The Huncovce (Unsforf in German; Hunfalva in Hungarian) yeshivah served the Jews of north and east upper Hungary, the Dunajska Streda (Dunaszerdahely in Hungarian) and Galanta yeshivot served the center and southern Jewish population. Those three, along with the leading yeshivah of Pressburg, became the four leading yeshivot of upper Hungary. The leader was the yeshivah of Pressburg, which had been in existence since 1700, and was subsequently recognized by the government as an institution for the education of rabbis. It became particularly prominent through the influence of R. Moses Schreiber-*Sofer, whose descendants officiated for generations as rabbis of Pressburg and other towns. The yeshivah drew students from all over Europe.

The landlords of those regions – the Hungarian counts Palffy, Eszterhazy, Pongracz, etc. – welcomed Moravian Jews, most of whom were industrious merchants and craftsmen who helped to develop their estates and foster trade with neighboring countries. They granted them protection and, in some cases, even erected synagogues and contributed land for cemeteries. But the Jews were only slowly incorporated into the life of the region. In 1831 a cholera epidemic resulted in anti-Jewish riots in eastern Slovakia. The Jews were accused of having poisoned wells and causing the plague. During the Spring of Nations (1848–49), riots took place in many locations in western and central Slovakia. Many Jews enlisted to defend the Magyar Revolution by serving in the army. Some Jews joined the Slovak forces, defending Slovak national interests. During the Tisza Eszlar outrages, there were pogroms in upper Hungary (1882, 1883) as well. They were repeated when the Reception Law was accepted by the Hungarian parliament in 1896.

From the mid-18th century, a schism developed among Hungarian Jewry. While the Orthodox asked to preserve their centuries-long religious traditions, others promoted reforms (in local parlance, *Neologs). The schism led to the convocation of the Hungarian General Jewish Congress (1868–69) (see *Hungary), after which the communities split into three main congregations: Orthodox, Neolog, and Status Quo Ante.

With the establishment of the dual monarchy of Austria-Hungary in 1867, the Hungarian parliament passed the Emancipation Law the same year. The main aim of Hungarian domestic policy was assimilation of the minorities. To this end, Magyar became the official language of instruction and public administration. This "Magyarization" brought about a considerable amount of assimilation, especially among well-to-do middle-class Jews, who began to gravitate politically and culturally toward Budapest instead of Vienna. The liberal Hungarian authorities encouraged Jewish cooperation in the development of local industry, commerce, and finance. Jews began to be prominent in the free professions, such as education and journalism. The political economist Eduard (Ede) Horn of Nové Mesto nad Váhom became undersecretary at the Ministry of Commerce, the first Jew to rise to such a position in Hungary. While being a member of the Hungarian Parliament, Horn defended the interests of the Slovaks, thus promoting Jewish-Slovak understanding.

But the Slovak-Jewish understanding was a difficult affair, as the Magyars encouraged assimilation of the Jews into Magyar culture and policies, and encouraged their participation in the Magyarization drive of the authorities. Many Jews, in particular inhabitants of larger cities, the well-to-do, and those affiliated with Neology, actively supported Magyar nationalist interests. Thus they clashed with the Slovak nationalists. During the second half of the 19th century, Slovak nationalism increased. Attempts of some Slovak leaders to foster an understanding with Jews living in the territory were unsuccessful. This was exacerbated by the fact that several Slovak leaders, beginning with Ludovit Stur (1815–56), took a severe anti-Jewish stand, and the national poet Svetozar Hurban-Vajansky (1847–1916) was a racist. Many of these leaders were Lutherans, who represented the young but developing bourgeoisie. The nationalistic feelings of members of a religious minority merged with clashing economic interests. The Lutherans, sensing the pressure of the Catholic Church, wanted to cement their position in Slovak society. Thus the Slovak literati, many of them Lutherans, promoted Judeophobia in the land, which naturally added to the hostility toward the Magyarization. Soon the Lutherans were joined by the Catholics. Here the clergy, partially Magyarized, waved the first banners of Judeophobia. With the expansion of nationalism within the Catholic public, it took a leaf from the Protestant books and combined nationalism with antisemitism. Significantly, Jews from nationalistic cities, particularly the rural countryside, were less affected by Magyarization, and there were cases of Jewish-Slovak understanding. Immigrants from Galicia who flocked in particular to eastern Slovakia after the annexation of part of Polagdon by the Habsburg Monarchy (1771), not familiar with local conditions and needing to establish themselves economically, contributed much toward the hatred of Jews. An open campaign was conducted in the Hungarian parliament (see *Istóczy affair), and anti-Jewish riots took place in a number of towns (1882, 1883). The Reception Law (1896), which placed the Jewish religion on an equal standing with the Christian religion, gave rise to the foundation of the Slovak Clerical People's Party, whose basic tenets were anti-Liberalism and the struggle against Jewish influence, and became a major factor in spreading antisemitism among the devout Catholic population. The rise of Slovak nationalism at the end of the 19th century coincided with the beginning of Zionism; of the 13 local Zionist groups established in Hungary subsequent to the First Zionist Congress, eight were in Slovakia (Bratislava, Nitra, *Presov, *Kosice, Kezmarok, *Dolni Kubin and *Banska Bystrica). Moreover, Bratislava was the site of the first Hungarian Zionist Convention, held in 1903, as well as of the first World *Mizrachi Congress (1904). However, Zionist activity came to a standstill during World War I, only to reemerge with new impetus after the establishment of the Czechoslovak Republic (1918).

The end of the war (1918) was accompanied by a wave of political and social disturbances and outright robbery with no ideological basis. Dozens of Jews were killed, executed, and injured. The Bolshevik revolution in Hungary in 1919 spilled over into Slovakia. As many Jews were involved in leading the revolution, the situation of Jews in Slovakia was affected as well. Only when the Prague authorities took over the management of the country did the situation quiet down. During the disturbances, Jews escaped from the villages or were expelled. Occasionally Jews would defend themselves with weapons. Poverty among the Jewish population, one of the results of the disturbances, was slightly ameliorated by the Joint Distribution Committee.

The newly created democratic state brought about radical changes in the political status of Jews: for the first time, the Jews had the right to declare themselves members of the Jewish nation. The new framework also permitted collaboration among the Czech, Slovak, and Subcarpathian Jewish leaders. The first official contact was made with the participation of the delegation from Slovakia at the Congress of the Jewish National Council, which convened in Prague (Jan. 3–6, 1919). At this congress the foundation was laid for the formation of the Jewish Party (*Židovská strana). Upon the return of the delegates, the National Federation of Slovak Jews (Svaz Židov na Slovensku) was established at *Piestany on the model of the *Prague and *Brno National Jewish Council. It was to play an important role in the consolidation of the life of the Jewish population after the hardships of war and the revolutionary transition period (1918–19). Another factor that contributed significantly to the improvement of the situation of the Jewish masses was the work of the American *Joint Distribution Committee, which established credit cooperatives and granted individual loans. The organ of the Federation of Slovak Jews, *Juedische Volkszeitung* ("Jewish People's Paper"), launched in Bratislava on Aug. 2, 1919, came to play an important role in the struggle for the rights of the Jewish minority of Czechoslovakia. According to the first Czechoslovak population census (Feb. 15, 1921), 135,918 persons in Slovakia (4.5% of the total population) declared themselves Jewish by religion; 70,522 of them declared themselves Jewish by nationality; of them 34.62% were gainfully employed, and the rest were dependent family members. The majority of the Jewish population was engaged in commerce and finance, followed by industry, handicrafts, and agriculture. In the free professions, lawyers and physicians were predominant. Of the 217 existing congregations, 165 were Orthodox, governed by the Bratislava Autonomous Center; the remaining 52 were organized in the Congress (Neology) and Status Quo Ante associations, which later unified under the name "Jeshurun." The political chasm dividing the different congregations became manifest during the parliamentary elections, and factions such as the Conservative Jewish Party and the Jewish Economic Party attracted votes from the Jewish Party, which was struggling for the rights of the Jewish minority. Individual Jews were also members in the Social Democratic Party, the Magyar National Party, and the Communist Party. In the first two elections (1920, 1925), the Jewish Party was unable to muster 20% of the vote in one constituency and failed to enter the parliament of Prague; it was only during the third elections (1929) that it achieved representation through Ludvik *Singer (succeeded by Angelo *Goldstein) and Julius Reisz of Bratislava. The latter was also a delegate to the Provincial Assembly, created in Slovakia in 1927; his place in parliament was taken after the fourth elections, in 1935, by Ḥayyim *Kugel.

The years of stability in the late 1920s brought prosperity to a wide stratum of the Jewish population and a general upheaval in social and cultural life, centering mainly around the Zionist organizations, the newly founded youth movements, and *WIZO, all of which were instrumental in disseminating Jewish culture and the Hebrew language and fostering relations with Ereẓ Israel.

A new generation, for the most part socialist in outlook, was educated at Bratislava and Prague universities. The German and Hungarian language tradition still prevailed among the older generation, and Jewish writers and journalists continued to write in either of these languages. Blaming them for the process of Magyarization and claiming that they owned two-thirds of the nation's property, the spokesmen of the rightist Slovak People's Party openly incited the people against the Jews. In the late 1930s, anti-Jewish demonstrations in Slovakia were led by the Nationalist Youth Movement (Om ladina) and the Volksdeutsche students. In 1937 the delegate of the People's Party even proposed in the parliament of Prague that the Jews of Slovakia and Subcarpathian Ruthenia be transferred to *Birobidzhan because of their high birthrate and since anyhow they were Communists.

The situation of the Jews deteriorated greatly in the autumn of 1938. After the Munich conference, the Prague government was compelled to grant autonomy to Slovakia, and the Slovak People's Party seized power at the *Zilina conference (Oct. 6, 1938) and established a quasi-Fascist and antisemitic regime.

For Holocaust and contemporary periods, see *Czechoslovakia; *Czech Republic and Slovakia.

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[Livia Rothkirchen / Yeshayahu Jelinek (2nd ed.)]

SLOVO, JOE (1926–1995), South African politician. Slovo was born in Lithuania and taken to South Africa when he was eight. After war service, he graduated in law at Witwatersrand University. In 1942 he joined the Communist Party, but after it was outlawed he was arrested and detained on several occasions in the 1950s and 1960s. He was one of the accused in the 1956–61 Treason Trial, which ended with charges being dropped or acquittal for all 156 defendants. He was one of the drafters of the Freedom Charter, the African National Congress's non-racist manifesto of 1955, and helped to organize the Congress's guerrilla wing, serving as its chief of staff. He worked from countries neighboring South Africa. Slovo was the first white appointed to the Congress's national executive (1985). In 1986 he became secretary general of the South African Communist Party. After 27 years of exile he returned to South Africa in 1990 and played a leading role in the negotiations leading to the transition from white minority rule to multiracial democracy in April 1994. He was appointed as the first minister of housing in the post-apartheid South African government under Nelson Mandela, a position he held for six months before dying of cancer early in 1995. His autobiography, *Slovo – The Unfinished Autobiography,* appeared posthumously later that same year.

[David Saks (2nd ed.)]

SLUCKI, ABRAHAM JACOB (1861–1918), Hebrew writer. Born in Novogorod Severski, Slucki began publishing articles in *Ha-Meliẓ* in 1884 and became assistant editor of the periodical during the editorship of the poet Judah Leib *Gordon (1887–88). The continued publication of his articles, even after the termination of his editorial activities, helped make *Ha-Meliẓ* into a paper of a strong Jewish nationalist character. He was particularly instrumental in disseminating the ideas of Ḥibbat Zion among the Orthodox. His anthology *Shivat Ẓiyyon* (1–2, 1891, and a few subsequent editions), which was a collection of the writings of the greatest rabbis of the generation favorable to the Jewish national idea, was very influential among these groups. He was among the originators of the idea of *Mizrachi and, together with Isaac *Reines, helped to establish the movement; he even gave it its name. Slucki was murdered in a pogrom in the town of his birth.

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[Yehuda Slutsky]

SLUTSK (Pol. **Słuck**), town in Minsk district, Belarus; from the end of the 13th century under Lithuania; from 1793 under Russia and a district town in the province of Minsk until the Revolution. Jews are known to have lived in Slutsk, one of the oldest Jewish communities in Belorussia, from 1583. The community developed under the protection of the owners of the town, the princes Radziwill. Within the structure of the Councils of the *Lands Slutsk was at first subject to the community of Brisk (Brest-Litovsk), but it became independent from 1691 and was granted jurisdiction over the surrounding villages. From that date until 1764 Slutsk was one of the five leading Lithuanian communities which sent delegates to the Council of Lithuania, and the last session of this council was held there in 1761. Slutsk declined in the 19th century, becoming a township whose principal income came from retail trade, craftsmanship, and vegetable- and fruit-growing, the latter being renowned throughout Russia. From 1,577 in 1766 the number of Jews increased to 5,897 in 1847 and 10,264 (77% of the population) in 1897.

At the end of the 18th century Slutsk was one of the centers of the struggle against Ḥasidism, remaining a stronghold of the *Mitnaggedim*. The rabbis who held office in the community included Joseph Peimer (1829–64) and Joseph Baer *Soloveichik (1865–74). In 1897 Isser Zalman *Meltzer founded a yeshivah which attracted students from throughout the Pale of *Settlement. Several Hebrew writers and scholars came from Slutsk (Y. *Cahan, Y.D. *Berkowitz, J.N. *Simchoni, and E.E. *Lisitsky), as did the promoters of Haskalah and Ḥibbat Zion (Z. *Dainow and Ẓ.H. *Masliansky). Under the Soviet regime the Slutsk community shared the fate of Russian Jewry. Government schools in which the language of instruction was Yiddish were opened and remained in existence until the late 1930s. Yehezkel *Abramsky was rabbi of the community. In 1926 there were 8,358 Jews (53.3% of the total population) in Slutsk. When the town was occupied by the Germans in 1941, local Jews were massacred; those who remained alive were confined to a ghetto. On Nov. 11, 1942, the ghetto was liquidated. Ghetto prisoners were burned alive in their homes, and those who tried to run away were shot to death. Only several persons managed to survive these events. Three months later the remaining "useful" Jews were exterminated. Only a very few Jews lived in Slutsk in 1970 and there was no semblance of Jewish life.

In 2005, the general population of Slutsk numbered 63,439. Members of the Jewish community raised money to construct a Holocaust memorial in the center of the town, on the site where the Slutsk ghetto was located during World War II. The project was spearheaded by the Falevich brothers, Boris and Friedrich, who were two of the few survivors.

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[Yehuda Slutsky / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

SLUTSKAYA, IRINA ("**Ira**," "**Slute**"; 1979–), Russian figure skater, Olympic silver medalist, two-time world champion, six-time European champion. Coached solely by Zhanna Gromova from the age of six, the Muscovite Slutskaya, whose father is Jewish, won her first senior international figure skating competition at the age of 14. By 2005, Slutskaya had garnered a total of 59 medals in senior internationals, including 30 gold medals and 18 silver medals, making her one of the top figure skaters in the world. Among her most impressive victories were two World Championships (2002 and 2005), six European Championships (1996, 1997, 2000, 2001, 2003, 2005), four ISU Grand Prix titles (2000, 2001, 2002, 2005), and six Cup of Russia titles (1996, 1997, 1999, 2000, 2001, 2004). She has also won the Russian nationals four times, while placing second twice, and third on three occasions. Slutskaya earned a silver medal at the 2002 Winter Olympics in Nagano, Japan.

[Robert B. Klein (2nd ed.)]

SLUTSKI, BORIS ABRAMOVICH (1919–), Soviet Russian poet. Though one of the most talented Soviet lyric poets of the middle generation, Slutski was believed to have been silenced for a number of years because of the often defiantly Jewish tone of his verse. His first efforts appeared as early as 1941, but it was not until well after Stalin's death that he was discovered by Ilya *Ehrenburg and the first anthology of his verse was allowed to appear (*Pamyat*, 1957). Slutski thereafter became firmly identified with the liberals in Soviet literature, sounding the alarm over the increasingly technocratic character of Soviet civilization that threatened destruction to the country's humanistic cultural heritage in *Fiziki i liriki* ("Physicists and Lyricists," 1959). Slutski's World War II army service brought him to the devastated Jewish settlements of western Russia, and the Holocaust inspired some of his most eloquent verse, much of it published only after Stalin's death. Following the sensation created by Yevgeni *Yevtushenko's poem "*Babi Yar" in 1961, and particularly after the vitriolic attacks on the non-Jewish poet for singling out the martyrdom of the Jewish victims of Nazism, an embittered and impassioned anonymous poem about the tragic fate of Russia's Jews was widely circulated in the U.S.S.R. Its author was said to be Slutski, but this was neither confirmed nor denied by

Slutski himself. In 1963 a Moscow publishing house brought out *Poety Izrailya*, the first collection of Israel poetry ever published in the U.S.S.R. in which many of the poets represented were either Communist Party members or sympathizers, and some of the texts were mutilated by Soviet censors. Slutski was listed as the editor of the collection, but he did not write the introduction which, in the U.S.S.R., was invariably entrusted to the editor.

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[Maurice Friedberg]

SLUTZKI, DAVID (d. 1889), publisher and businessman in his native Warsaw. Slutzki spent some time in St. Petersburg, where he befriended J.L. *Gordon, and moved to Hamburg, living there in great poverty. He was familiar with Jewish literature of all periods, particularly philosophic and meditative literature, and sought to publish new editions for the masses in a modern format with biographical introductions and notes. Accordingly, he published a proclamation at the beginning of the 1860s calling for a comprehensive edition of all the works of the Oral Law and the literature of the Middle Ages.

From 1863 to 1871 he published the following works in Warsaw: *Ḥokhmat Yisrael*, a series of works containing comprehensive introductions, prefaces, biographies of the authors, etc., as well as Jedaiah ha-Penini's *Beḥinat Olam* (1864); Solomon ibn Gabirol's *Mivḥar ha-Peninim* (1864); Maimonides' *Shemonah Perakim* (1864) and *Be'ur Millot ha-Higgayon* (1865); Saadiah Gaon's *Emunot ve-De'ot* (1864); Judah ibn Tibbon's *Ru'aḥ Ḥen* (1865); Judah Halevi's *Kuzari* (1866); and Baḥya ibn Paquda's *Ḥovot ha-Levavot* (1870). In addition, he published new editions of Manasseh of Ilya's *Sefer Alfei Menasheh* (Warsaw, 1860), *Megillat Antiyyokhus* (1863), and S. Pappenheim's *Arba Kosot* (1863).

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[Getzel Kressel]

SMELA (**Smiela**) city in Kiev district, Ukraine. By 1765 there were 927 Jews in Smela. During the 18th century Smela was subjected to many attacks by *Haidamacks, and was particularly affected by that of 1768. In 1847 the Jews numbered 1,270, and by 1897 the number increased to 7,475 (50% of the total population). During a pogrom perpetrated in Smela by the bands of Grigoryev in May 1919, over 80 Jews were killed and hundreds of Jewish houses, stores, and workshops were destroyed. The number of Jews in Smela was 5,867 (25.7% of the population) in 1923. Under German occupation during World War II the entire Jewish community was exterminated. In 1959 there were again approximately 1,800 Jews in Smela (4% of the total population). Most left in the 1900s. Within the Jewish community in Smela there is a Jewish community center, a Sunday school, a youth club, and a children's choir called Hatikva.

SMELSER, NELL JOSEPH (1930–), U.S. sociologist. Born in Kahoka, Missouri, Smelser received bachelor's degrees from Harvard University (1952) and Magdalen College, Oxford (1954) and a Ph.D. from Harvard in 1958. That year, he became a faculty member of the department of sociology at the University of California at Berkeley. After retiring from teaching, he became professor emeritus of sociology at Berkeley.

Smelser is one of the major representatives of a trend in American sociological theory that aims at the construction of systematic models as a guide to and determinant of concrete research. This provides the common denominator for many of Smelser's published works.

Smelser was elected to the American Academy of Arts and Sciences (1968), the American Philosophical Society (1976), and the National Academy of Sciences (1993). In 1994 he was elected director of the Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences, an independent institution located on the campus of Stanford University. He had served on its board of trustees (1981 to 1993) and was chairman of the board (1985–86). He was also chairman of the center's Advisory Committee on Special Projects. In 1997 he was elected president of the American Sociological Association.

Smelser's books include *Theory of Collective Behavior* (1962), *Economy and Society* (with T. Parsons, 1956), *Comparative Methods in the Social Sciences* (1976), *Social Paralysis and Social Change* (1991), *The Social Edges of Psychoanalysis* (1999), and *Discouraging Terrorism* (2002). He edited the *American Sociological Review* (1962–1965), *Social Structure and Mobility in Economic Development* (with S.M. Lipset, 1966), *Personality and Social Systems* (with his brother, T. Smelser, 1963), *Essays in Sociological Explanation* (1968), *Behavioral and Social Science* (with Dean Gerstein, 1986), *The Social Importance of Self-Esteem* (with A. Mecca and J. Vasconcellos, 1989), *The Handbook of Economic Sociology* (with R. Swedberg, 1994), and *The International Encyclopedia of Social and Behavioral Sciences* (with P. Baltes, 2001).

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[Werner J. Cahnman / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

°SMEND, RUDOLPH (1851–1913), German Bible critic. Smend taught at the Halle (1875), at Basle (1881), and Goettingen (1889). His major works dealt with source criticism of the Bible. His *Die Erzaehlung des Hexateuch auf ihre Quellen untersucht* (1912) defined J^1, J^2, E, and P as the four major strands of the Hexateuch and influenced O. *Eissfeldt's *Hexateuch-Synopse* (1922) and the pentateuchal criticism of H. Holzinger, J. Meinhold, and W. Eichrodt among others. In *Lehrbuch der alttestamentlichen Religionsgeschichte* (1893; 1899^2) he advanced the theory that Isaiah became a nationalist only in light of Assyrian domination, and with W. Nowack and A. Lods, who followed J. *Wellhausen's lead, he maintained that Hosea opposed in principle the institution of the monarchy. His study of the "I" references of the Psalter, in which he maintains that they refer to the congregation and not to the individual, provoked a vigorous reaction by opponents of this view. He wrote a detailed exegesis on the Wisdom of Ben Sira; a study of the Mesha stele (1886, with A. Socin); on the influence of the sayings of *Ahikar on the Greek Aesop fables (1898); and a commentary on Ezekiel (1880).

[Zev Garber]

SMILANSKY, MEIR (pseudonym, **M. Secco**; 1876–1949), Hebrew writer. Born in Kiev district, the brother of Moshe *Smilansky, Meir went to Ereẓ Israel in 1891, and joined his family at Ḥaderah, which had just been founded. In 1892 he returned to Russia where he was employed in his father's business enterprises. He went blind in 1915, and subsequently endured the pogroms in the Ukraine. In 1921 he finally returned to Ereẓ Israel, after several years of wandering, and, with the help of his relatives, rehabilitated himself.

Encouraged in his writing by N. *Sokolow, he published stories in *Ha-Ẓefirah*, in *Lu'aḥ Aḥi'asaf*, and especially in *Ha-Shilo'aḥ*, edited by *Bialik, who also helped Smilansky improve his style. These earlier works dealt with the Ukrainian village and its Jewish inhabitants. His later stories dealing with the pogroms against Ukrainian Jewry were collected in the volume *Even Tizak* (1940).

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[Getzel Kressel]

SMILANSKY, MOSHE (literary pseudonyms, **Ḥeruti**; **Ḥawaja Mussa**; 1874–1953), Hebrew writer and agricultural pioneer in Ereẓ Israel. Born in Telepino, a village in the province of Kiev, into a family of Jewish tenant farmers, he went to Ereẓ Israel in 1890 and was one of the founders of Ḥaderah. In 1893 he settled in Reḥovot where he was the owner of orange groves and vineyards.

An active Zionist, much of Smilansky's literary career, which he began in 1898, was devoted to publicistic writings. He contributed prolifically to the Jewish press in Russia (*Ha-Ẓefirah, Ha-Meliẓ, Ha-Ẓofeh, Lu'aḥ Aḥi'asaf, Ha-Shilo'aḥ*, and *Ha-Olam*), and to Hebrew periodicals in Ereẓ Israel and other countries, and was one of the co-founders of the literary journal *Ha-Omer*. Smilansky saw himself as a disciple of *Aḥad Ha-Am, and was one of the first contributors (writing under the pen name "Ḥeruti") to *Ha-Po'el ha-Ẓa'ir*. Deeply concerned with Arab-Jewish labor problems Smilansky opposed the demand by the Second Aliyah for exclusively Jewish labor in the colonies for economic and political reasons. After World War I he was active in organizations for the reclamation and acquisition of land. He was one of the founders of the Hitaḥadut ha-Moshavot in Judea, whose chairman he became during World War I, and of Hitaḥadut ha-Ikkarim (*Farmers' Federation), which he headed during its early years and whose periodical, *Bustanai* (1929–39), he edited. In 1918 he volunteered for the *Jewish Legion. Smilansky participated in unofficial and unpublicized talks with Arab leaders in 1936. After World War I he was a faithful supporter of Chaim *Weizmann's views, which are reflected in many of his articles in the Hebrew press (particularly *Haaretz*), and in the 1940s he opposed the struggle of the *yishuv* against the British regime in Palestine.

Much of Smilansky's literary activity was devoted to the history of Jewish agricultural settlement in Ereẓ Israel. Among his many works in the field are *Ḥaderah* (1930), *Reḥovot* (1950), and *Perakim be-Toledot ha-Yishuv* (6 vols. (1959) which ran into several editions). *Mishpaḥat ha-Adamah* (4 vols., 1943–53), a book of memoir sketches and first-hand impressions of the pioneers of the First and Second Aliyyot, is one of his finest works. During the last years of his life he wrote a sequence of autobiographical novels: *Bi-Sedot Ukraina* (1944), *Ba-Aravah* (1947), *Bein Karmei Yehudah* (1948), *Be-Ẓel ha-Pardesim* (1951), *Tekumah ve-Sho'ah* (1953), and *Ḥevlei Leidah* (1954).

Smilansky's fiction contains in particular stories on Arab life (under the pseudonym "Ḥawaja Mussa") which he began in 1906. These stories (collected in *Benei Arav*, 1964), written in a vivid descriptive style, are the first of their kind in Jewish literature. Smilansky reveals to the Jewish reader a new world – exotic, colorful, throbbing with its own rich humanity. Though in many of the stories Arab life is romanticized, the author's direct knowledge of the Arab ambience and way of life is documentarily valuable and the stories are of literary merit. Composed before World War I, the stories convey an amicable relationship between Arab and Jew. Other works by Smilansky include *Hadassah*, a novel depicting the beginning of the Second Aliyah; *Toledot Ahavah Aḥat* (1911), a short novel; *Sippurei Sava* (1946); *Ba-Har u-va-Gai* (1949); *Shemesh Aviv*; and *Im Peridah* (revised edition 1955). There are several collections of his works including *Kitvei Moshe Smilansky* (1924–1945), but none is complete.

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[Yehuda Slutsky]

°**SMITH, SIR GEORGE ADAM** (1856–1942), Scottish scholar of the Bible and geography of Palestine. Smith was ordained as a minister in the United Free Church of Scotland, became professor of Hebrew and Old Testament studies at Church College, Glasgow (1892), and was principal of Aberdeen University (1909–35). His main work was the *Historical Geography of the Holy Land* (1894, followed by 25 editions), which proved immensely popular as the best-written and most scholarly account of the subject. He had a profound understanding of the permanent geographical factors and their influence on history.

He also prepared an *Atlas of the Historical Geography of the Holy Land* (1915, 1936) and wrote *Jerusalem: The Topography, Economics, and History from the Earliest Times to A.D. 70* (2 vols., 1907–8). In the field of biblical research he wrote commentaries on Deuteronomy (1918), Jeremiah (1929^4), and the Twelve Prophets (1928^2).

[Michael Avi-Yonah]

°SMITH, JOHN MERLIN POWIS (1866–1932), U.S. Protestant biblical scholar. Smith taught Semitic languages and literatures at the University of Chicago, where he became full professor in 1915. He developed a longstanding attachment to biblical translations which culminated in *The Complete Bible: An American Translation* (co-edited by E.J. Goodspeed, 1941).

Smith was also a member of the American Standard Bible Committee responsible for the revision of the American Standard Version. To the *International Critical Commentary* he contributed the commentaries on Micah, Zephaniah, Nahum (1912; 1943^3), and Malachi (1912; 1937^2). In 1903 he helped to establish the Oriental Exploration Fund. In his writings, Smith advanced the theory that the Hebrew religion was a product of Israel's social experience reacting to alien cultures (*The Origin and History of Hebrew Law*, 1931, 1960^2; *The Religion of the Psalms*, 1922). In *The Moral Life of the Hebrews* (1923) he maintained that the uniqueness of the Hebrew religion was its ethical consciousness. Smith also contributed commentaries on Amos, Hosea, and Micah to the *Bible for Home and School* series (1914).

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[Zev Garber]

SMITH, JONATHAN Z. (1938–), scholar of religious studies. A native of New York City, Smith received his bachelor's degree from Haverford College in Pennsylvania and his Ph.D. from Yale's newly established Department of Religion in 1962. He taught in the department of religious studies at the University of California, Santa Barbara; then, in 1968, he joined the faculty of the University of Chicago, where he became the Robert O. Anderson Distinguished Service Professor of the Humanities. He also serves on the university's Committee on the Ancient Mediterranean World and on the Committee on the History of Culture, and he is an associate faculty member at the Divinity School.

Considered one of the most influential scholars of religion, Smith is best known for his analyses of religious studies and the problem of comparative work. Much of his research focuses on the religions of antiquity, including ancient Judaism and early Christianity, but he is renowned for his wide range of study and comparison of different historical periods and cultures. Calling religion "the creation of the scholar's study," Smith emphasizes the role of analytic purpose and choice in the academic study of religion. His work, in particular his examination of the implications of choice and his insistence on a relentless scrutiny of scholastic selection and viewpoint, is considered to have influenced the field's move toward an emphasis on theory and an inclusion of the study of politics.

Smith's works include *Map Is Not Territory: Studies in the History of Religions* (1978); *Imagining Religion: From Babylon to Jonestown* (1982); and *To Take Place: Toward Theory in Ritual* (1987), which stresses the importance of constructed ritual environments. His *Drudgery Divine: On the Comparison of Early Christianities and the Religions of Late Antiquity* (1990) examines four centuries of scholarship, discussing the mytheme of the "dying and rising god." In Smith's acclaimed 2004 work, *Relating Religion: Essays in the Study of Religion*, he provides an overview of his theoretical approach, connecting his theory to general education, and he outlines the methods of comparative study, including procedures of generalization and redescription, that he deems so essential to religious scholarship.

[Dorothy Bauhoff (2nd ed.)]

°SMITH, MORTON (1915–1991), U.S. scholar, educator, and historian of the ancient world. Smith, who was born in Philadelphia, served on the faculties of Brown, Drew, and Columbia universities, becoming professor of ancient history at the last. Smith made contributions to a number of fields, ranging from biblical studies to the history of magic.

In 1958 at Mar Saba, a Greek Orthodox monastery near Bethlehem in Israel, Smith found a copy of a letter ascribed to *Clement of Alexandria, the second-century director of the catechetical school of Alexandria. It contained excerpts of a *Secret Gospel of Mark*, which Smith subsequently translated. The letter remains a subject of great controversy.

Smith was particularly interested in the history of Judaism during the Second Temple period. Part of his comprehensive study of this topic was published as *Judaism in Palestine*; vol. 1, *To the Reign of Antiochus Epiphanes* (1971). He treated the latter part of the period in his "Palestinian Judaism in the First Century" (in: M. Davis (ed.), *Israel: Its Role in Civilization*, 1965). In this essay he assessed the actual role and influence of the Pharisees as simply one among several Jewish sects. Also relevant to this period is his *Makbilot bein ha-Besorot le-Sifrut ha-Tanna'im* (1945; *Tannaitic Parallels to the Gospels*, 1951; revised form of diss. in Heb.).

His other publications include *The Ancient Greeks* (1960), *Heroes and Gods* (with M. Hadas, 1965), *Palestinian Parties and Politics That Shaped the Old Testament* (1971), *The Secret Gospel* (1973), and *Jesus the Magician* (1981). He edited *Hope and History* (with R. Anshen, 1980) and *What the Bible Really Says* (with R. Hoffmann, 1993). A two-volume set of his collected essays, titled *Religions in the Graeco-Roman World*, was published in 1995.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: J. Neusner, *Christianity, Judaism and other Greco-Roman Cults: Studies for Morton Smith at Sixty* (1975); idem, *Are There Really Tannaitic Parallels to the Gospels*? (1993); S. Brown, *Mark's Other Gospel: Rethinking Morton Smith's Controversial Discovery* (2005).

[David Flusser / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

°**SMITH, WILLIAM ROBERTSON** (1846–1894), Scottish theologian and Semitist; born at New Farm, Aberdeenshire. His appointment as professor of Oriental languages and Bible exegesis in the Free Church College at Aberdeen in 1870 was ended in 1881 due to his radical views in regard to biblical revelation which he expounded in a series of articles for the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*. At that time at Edinburgh and Glasgow he delivered a series of lectures which were published as *The Old Testament in the Jewish Church* (1881, 1892^2) and *The Prophets of Israel* (1882). His stay in the Near East in the winter of 1879–80 and the following year influenced his views in regard to the religious institutions of the Semites, their religio-cultural beliefs, and the historical influence of their religion on biblical Judaism and early Christianity. He resumed his academic career in 1883 when he was appointed professor of Arabic at Cambridge. Poor health prevented him from publishing more than the first series of *Lectures on the Religion of the Semites* (1889, 1894^2; ed. by S.A. Cook with introd. and notes, 1927), a major scholarly endeavor which applied anthropological principles to biblical research.

Smith is remembered principally as an investigator of the nature of early Semitic religion. His study of primitive Arab life, as recorded in literature and as observed in the contemporary setting, led him to believe that it was identical in all its fundamentals with the early Semites as a whole. In his *Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia* (1885) he expounded the theory that the most primitive social organization was matriarchal, with exogamous polyandry and a totemistic cult system. His assumed parallels among the Hebrews are unfounded and lack a critical scientific base. In his *Lectures on the Religion of the Semites* Smith maintained that the nature and significance of the earliest religious expression were best understood through a study of ritual practices exhibited within the social cult. He thus thoroughly investigated the ritual of sacrifice and its corollaries, communion and atonement, and championed the theory that these were the primary conceptions in primitive Semitic religion. His interpretation posited the common anthropological belief that religion was an integral part of society which cannot be separated from the social and political institutions of a group. He further stated that certain concepts labeled Priestly and post-Exilic by the K.H. *Graf-J. *Wellhausen school had an early date since rituals tended to remain unchanged from their beginnings down through recorded history. Successive periods of ritual practices reflected advances in religious psychology, but essentially the original ideas remain. Smith's root theory that the phenomena of Semitic religion are derived from a single source and are coordinated into a fixed system appears untenable. Yet his description of Israel's origins remains refreshing for a period dominated by the evolutionary approach of the school of biblical criticism.

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[Zev Garber]

SMOIRA, MOSHE (1888–1961), Israeli jurist, the first president of the Supreme Court of Israel. He was born in Koenigsberg, Prussia, into a Russian-ḥasidic family which had settled in Germany. He was enlisted into the German army during World War I. Between 1919 and 1922 he headed the first Hebrew school in Germany. He settled in Palestine in 1922. Between 1923 and 1948, he lectured on civil procedure at the Mandate law school. He became an expert on labor problems and participated in the drafting of the Workmen's Compensation Ordinance and in determining the legal status of the kibbutzim. Smoira was president of the Jewish Bar Association, as well as president of the honorary court of the World Zionist Organization. Upon the establishment of the State of Israel in 1948, he was appointed the first president of the Supreme Court in Jerusalem and held this position until 1954. Smoira was active in various institutions, including the board of governors of the Hebrew University.

[Benjamin Jaffe]

SMOIRA-COHN, MICHAL (1926–), Israeli musical administrator, educator, musicologist. Born in Tel Aviv, daughter of Moshe *Smoira (Israel's first Supreme Court president). She studied piano with Joseph Tal, graduated from the Palestine Academy of Music in piano and music history (1947), and became a teacher at the Israel Conservatoire in Jerusalem (1952). She was appointed director of the Haifa Orchestra. In 1956, she went to Sweden. After graduating from Uppsala University in 1958, she returned to Tel Aviv, where she was editor of *Bat Kol* and lecturer at the Music Teachers' Training Seminary and the Thelma Yellin School of Arts (1959). She wrote musical criticism in *Haaretz* (1963–66) and was lecturer on music aesthetics at the musicology department of Tel Aviv University (1965–67), and on music history and literature at the Rubin Academy of Music in Jerusalem (1966–73). In 1968, she became director of the music department of the Israel Broadcasting Authority, Jerusalem, and directed the Rubin Academy of Music in Jerusalem from 1979 to 1984. Active in Israel's cultural life and education, she chaired the Pedagogic Section of the education and culture department (1983), and served as chair and member of the jury of the "Arthur Rubinstein" and of the "Voice of Music Young Artists" competitions. Smoira-Cohn was a political and public activist for decades and one of the driving forces of the volunteer and non-profit sector in Israel and an advocate for women's causes. She was chair of Israel's Women's Organization; she became a member of the city council of Jerusalem and also created the Sovlanut (Tolerance) movement in 1982 (serving as the movement's chair for ten years). She received the Jerusalem Foundation Marthe Prize for Tolerance and Democratic Values in Jerusalem, for the year 2001. Among her Hebrew writings are *Ha-Musikah, Mavo Histori* (1966); *Folk Song in Israel* (1963); *On Eastern and Western Foundations in the Music of Israel* (1968); *On Meanings in Music* (1982); an autobiography, *A Personal Repertoire* (1997), and several articles. She also edited publications on the activity of the Jerusalem Rubin Academy of Music and Dance (in Hebrew, 1997/2003), and participated in the writing of the autobiography of her husband, Judge Haim *Cohn (1911–2002), published in 2005.

[Uri (Erich) Toeplitz and Yohanan Boehm / Naama Ramot (2nd ed.)]

SMOL (**Samuel**) of Derenburg (14th century), *Court Jew to four archbishops at *Magdeburg, Germany; one of the earliest of the Court Jews. First mentioned in 1347, Smol was a member of a commission arbitrating a dispute between the archbishop and the city of Hollefin in 1365. He was also referred to as representative of the prelate, and in 1366 he was one of four warrantors of a sum promised to the archbishop. In 1370 Smol was among those who participated in the decision in a dispute over the archbishop's inheritance. He was closest to the last archbishop, Peter, who called him "our Jew" and granted him and his children protection in 1372. Peter was, however, given warning about this relationship when the pope, Gregory XI, cautioned him that he would take strong measures if it were indeed true that he had permitted Smol to turn a church into a synagogue. On another occasion Gregory complained to the bishop of Naumburg about the latter's favoring a certain Jew "Marquand" who in all probability was Smol's brother, objecting to the bishop's extending friendship to the Jew and giving him jurisdiction over Christians.

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SMOLAR, HERSH (1905–1993), leader of the Jewish community in Poland after World War II. Born in Zambrow near Bialystok, Smolar became active in the Communist Party in his early youth and from 1920 to 1928 he lived in the Soviet Union. He studied in Moscow at the Yiddish Department of the Communist University of the Peoples of the West and edited and wrote for Yiddish youth publications. In 1928 he was sent to Poland as a Comintern agent. Arrested for these activities, he spent four years in prison. In 1939 he escaped from prison and arrived in Soviet-occupied Bialystok, where he became secretary of the short-lived Yiddish newspaper, *Bialystoker Shtern*. When the Germans occupied Bialystok in 1941, he was active in the underground in the *Minsk ghetto. Later, he fought with the partisans in the Naliboki forest, helped to organize many partisan units, and was editor of the party press. In 1946 he arrived in Warsaw and became head of the cultural department of the Jewish Central Committee in Poland, and then editor of the Yiddish newspaper *Folks-shtime* and chairman of the Jewish Cultural Alliance. His *Folks-shtime* editorial (Apr. 4, 1956), reprinted or cited by many periodicals all over the world, became the first semi-official source of information about the liquidation, in 1948–52, of Soviet Yiddish cultural institutions and their leading personalities. During the anti-Jewish campaign of 1967–69 he was expelled from the Polish United Workers Party and from his editorial position. In 1971 Smolar immigrated to Israel. His works include *Fun Minsker Geto* ("From the Minsk Ghetto," 1946); *Yidn on Gele Lates* ("Jews without Yellow Patches," 1948); and *A Posheter Zelner* ("An Ordinary Soldier," 1952), a drama. His Yiddish memoirs *Vu Bistu Khaver Sidorov?* ("Where Are You, Comrade Sidorov?" 1975), *Fun Ineveynik* ("From Inside," 1978), and *Oyf der Letster Pozitsye mit der Letster Hofenung* ("On The Last Position with the Last Hope," 1982) describe political and cultural activities in the Soviet Union and Poland relative to the Jews.

[David Sfard / Gennady Estraikh (2nd ed.)]

SMOLENSK, city in western Russia. From 1404 to 1514 Smolensk was a Lithuanian possession and from 1611 to 1654 it came under Polish rule. Jews are first mentioned in Smolensk at the end of the 15th century; in 1489 there were three Jewish tax farmers in the city. Although King Sigismund II prohibited Jews from residing in Smolensk when the city passed to Poland, Jews nevertheless continued to live there. According to the "Old Responsa" of the Bah (R. Joel Sirkes), about 80 Jews resided in Smolensk in 1616. When Smolensk was reconquered by the Russians (1654), Jews were compelled to convert and those who did not do so were either put to death or taken captive and deported to the Russian interior. Jewish merchants from Lithuania, however, continued to visit Smolensk or pass through the city on their way to Moscow even after the Russian conquest. At the beginning of the 18th century Lithuanian Jews again began to settle in Smolensk and its vicinity. They engaged in commerce and the lease of various utilities. This activity aroused the jealousy of their Christian rivals, and in 1722 two Christian townsmen of Smolensk appealed to the Synod for Jews to be expelled from the region on the claim that the Jews derided Christianity. One Jew, Baruch b. Leib (who was also accused a few years later of having converted a Russian officer, Alexander *Voznitsin, to Judaism) had erected a synagogue in his home village of Zverovich, near Smolensk. In 1727, on the basis of Christian complaints, instructions were given for Baruch and his coreligionists to be expelled from the region of Smolensk. During the same year Czarina Anna ordered the expulsion of all the Jews of Russia, but by 1731 Jewish merchants were authorized to visit Smolensk for business purposes. For all practical purposes Jews continued to live in Smolensk on a permanent basis. When the *Pale of Settlement was established in 1791 the region of Smolensk was not included in it, and until the abolition of the Pale in 1917, Jews were officially prohibited from living in the Smolensk region. Even so, some Jews who fell into the categories of those authorized to live outside the Pale settled in Smolensk during the 19th century, where they continued to play an especially active role in the timber trade of the region. In 1897 the number of Jews in Smolensk was 4,651, forming 10%

of the total population. In the whole of the region there were 11,185 Jews. The number of Jews in Smolensk increased considerably after the 1917 Revolution; in 1926 there were 12,887 Jews (16.2% of the population) in the city. In 1922 the Great Synagogue was confiscated by Soviet authorities. In 1929 the Jewish Teachers' Seminary, founded by the *Yevsektsiya, was transferred to Smolensk from Gomel. The Germans occupied the city in August 1941 and almost immediately established a ghetto for the Jews of Smolensk in Sadki. In June–July 1942 about 2,000 Jews were murdered. In the late 1960s there was a Jewish population of about 5,000. There was no synagogue. In the early 2000s, after the emigration of the 1990s, there were bearly 1,000 Jews in the entire Smolensk district. The city had a synagogue, a Jewish community center, a newspaper called *Yachad*, a youth club, a Sunday school, a drama club, a group of performers called Menora, and a social service that distributes food packages.

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[Yehuda Slutsky]

SMOLENSKIN, PEREZ (1840 or 1842–1885), Hebrew novelist, editor, and publicist. A leading exponent of the *Haskalah in Eastern Europe and an early advocate of Jewish nationalism, Smolenskin is best known for the important Hebrew monthly *Ha-Shaḥar* which he founded in 1868, and edited – 12 volumes in all – until his death.

Early Life

Born in Monastyrshchina, in the province of Mogilev, White Russia, into a life of privation, hardship, and sickness, he witnessed at the age of five the press-ganging of his eldest brother, himself a mere child, into the army of Czar Nicholas I. The lad was never heard of again, and Smolenskin included a description of the terrifying experience in the second part of his largest and best-known novel, *Ha-To'eh be-Darkhei ha-Ḥayyim*. His father, who had earlier been a fugitive for more than two years because of false accusations, died when Perez was barely 11. A year later Smolenskin left home to join his elder brother at the yeshivah of Shklov, where he remained for nearly five years, maintaining himself by "eating days," i.e., his material needs being provided for by a different member of the community every day – in the manner of poor yeshivah students. Introduced to the ideas of Haskalah by his brother, he began to read secular books and to learn Russian. For these practices he was so persecuted that he fled to ḥasidic centers, first to Lubavich and then to Vitebsk, where he spent the years 1858–60/1. The portrait of Ḥasidism later reflected in his novels is highly critical. After a year of wandering through southern Russia and the Crimea, supporting himself by singing in choirs and preaching in synagogues, he reached Odessa in 1862. There he remained for five years, studying music and languages, and earning his living as a Hebrew teacher.

Early Literary Career

It was in Odessa that Smolenskin also embarked upon his literary career when he published a number of articles in the Hebrew journal *Ha-Meliẓ. His first story, "*Ha-Gemul*," describing the ingratitude of the Poles toward the Jews who sided with them in the revolt against Russia (1861–63), appeared in Odessa in 1867. Simultaneously, he had composed his first novel *Simḥat Ḥanef* ("The Joy of the Godless"), which couches a series of lengthy expositions tracing the dependence of certain aspects of Shakespeare's *Hamlet* and Goethe's *Faust* on the singular Hebrew spirit informing the Books of Job and Ecclesiastes within the framework of a story depicting the shallow and frivolous attitudes of many of the ostensibly enlightened Jewish teachers in Odessa.

Founder and Manager of Ha-Shahar

Leaving Odessa in 1867, Smolenskin traveled through Romania – acquiring Turkish nationality en route – Germany, and Bohemia, before finally settling in Vienna in 1868, where he worked first as a proofreader and Hebrew teacher. Realizing that his plan to study at the university was quite impracticable, he abandoned hope of obtaining a systematic secular education and founded *Ha-Shaḥar*, which he henceforth published, edited, and managed, while serving simultaneously as proofreader, distributor, and one of its principal contributors. The journal became the most effective Hebrew literary platform for the Haskalah (Enlightenment) movement in its later period, and for the nationalist movement in its early stages. For almost 17 years Smolenskin devoted himself, body and soul, to the production of his cherished monthly, which consumed both his energies and his financial resources. From the outset Smolenskin conceived the journal as an instrument to make the Jewish people increasingly aware of its terrible plight and strengthen its internal resources, fostering at the same time the spread of a genuine enlightenment and a broad culture. Simultaneously, the monthly was to serve as a powerful weapon against any sham or hypocritical aspects of Orthodox Judaism or Ḥasidism which Smolenskin considered inimical to the public interest. It was equally committed to waging war on the exponents of a false enlightenment, whose assimilationist tendencies were undermining the national unity and eroding the distinctive life based on adherence to Torah and the later traditional literature. Above all, the journal epitomized Smolenskin's passionate loyalty to the Hebrew language and Hebrew literature, which he regarded as the real foundations of Jewish nationalism and a substitute for national territory as long as the nation lacked a state. To despise the language, therefore, was tantamount to an act of treachery toward Judaism and the Jewish people. As the fame of his journal spread, Smolenskin's contribution to the development of modern Hebrew literature became increasingly important. In the field of Jewish research, the monthly facilitated the publication of many weighty articles and even whole books by major scholars. It also served as a forum for the propagation of ideas and the discussion of a wide range of contemporary issues. In addition, it provided a hospitable framework for the publication of belles lettres, literary criticism, and book reviews. Primarily, however, it enabled its indefatigable editor to publish his own arresting articles, stories, and novels.

Financial Difficulties

In spite of all the effort required to produce *Ha-Shaḥar*, Smolenskin's literary activities yielded no financial reward; he was thus compelled to embark upon two long and tiring journeys – the first to Western Europe in 1870, and the second to Russia in 1881 – to seek support for his journal. To meet the additional obligations arising from his marriage in 1875, he undertook the management of a printing house, while in 1878 he launched a new magazine which, however, did not survive for more than nine months. The first eight numbers appeared fortnightly, under the title *Ha-Mabbit*. The remaining 18 issues appeared on alternate weeks under the titles *Ha-Mabbit* and *Ha-Mabbit le-Yisrael*. In addition to his manifold literary activities, Smolenskin also devoted much time and energy to public affairs. As one of the leading exponents of the Jewish return to Ereẓ Israel, he conducted negotiations with Laurence *Oliphant to obtain support for Jewish settlement there. Finally his health broke under the strain of so strenuous a life. Stricken with pulmonary tuberculosis in 1883, he continued writing to the end of his life, and completed his last novel, *Ha-Yerushah*, shortly before his death.

As Novelist

An impassioned defender of Israel's cause and a ferocious critic of its failures, Smolenskin poured his talent wholesale into articles and stories alike. The latter, indeed, frequently serve as vehicles for the conveyance of his ideas. The attempt to combine an attractive tale with the propagation of ideas and social criticism resulted in a hybrid novel, whose major elements are frequently at odds with each other, and which at best are forced to nestle uncomfortably within a single framework. The belief that it is the task of literature to perform a positive service for society is responsible for the bitter satire and didactic moralizing which permeate the stories. Of all his novels, *Ha-To'eh be-Darkhei ha-Ḥayyim* ("The Wanderer in the Paths of Life," 1876; first three parts originally published in *Ha-Shaḥar*, 1 [1868/69] and 2 [1871]), remains, perhaps, the most important. Picaresque and autobiographical in flavor, the story reflects contemporary Jewish life, mainly in Eastern but also in Western Europe, in vivid colors. In spite of the crudities and exaggerations, the tortuous plot and melodramatic villainies, the kaleidoscopic nature of the work, bolstered by the author's obvious sincerity and personal experience, exerts a considerable appeal even for the modern reader. By the end of part three, however, the story has worn itself out, so that the final part, written many years later, has little organic connection with the rest of the novel. It is important only for its penetrating analysis of, and proposed solutions for, the problems of Jewish life. Nowhere else in Smolenskin's novels is the storyteller so completely ousted by the publicist. Much the same applies to *Simḥat Ḥanef* ("The Joy of the Godless" in *Ha-Shaḥar*, 3 [1872]), the flimsy plot of which serves only to house the long philosophical and critical discussions comprising the core of the book. Linguistically the novel displays traces of a simpler and clearer mode of expression, and some of the conversations are quite lively. Many of the epithets, however, are stock-phrases, and the style is frequently stilted and artificial. At many points the author's vitality and power of thought come through the story. But the work exhibits signs of carelessness and over-hasty composition, which are offset only in part by the author's spontaneity and verve. The opening chapters of *Kevurat Ḥamor* ("A Donkey's Burial," in *Ha-Shaḥar*, 4 [1873]) are excellent; the humor is uproarious, and the plot original. While the half-mocking style is fairly consistent, the level is not maintained throughout, and the limitations of language are still painfully obvious. The novel is permeated with bitter social criticism, while fierce invective is leveled against the Jewish community leaders; but the author does produce very moving arguments in extenuation. The characters develop little and suffer from the author's fondness for exaggerated emotionalism. The hero is neither convincing nor consistent, but the principal villain is far from being merely a melodramatic scoundrel, even though his final sanctification is more effective as satire than as story. There is, however, much powerful writing, and the climate of superstition, bigotry, and persecution is outlined with considerable skill. In spite of a promising beginning, the narrative framework of *Ga'on va-Shever* ("Pride and Fall," in *Ha-Shaḥar*, 5 [1874]) is painfully naive, while the clumsily contrived "happy ending," with its deus ex machina in the shape of an inheritance of 15 million rubles, is in keeping with the general low level. The novel is not so much a continuous narrative as it is a number of short stories related by a group of ten fugitives on their way to the United States following the collapse of the Viennese stock exchange in 1873. Some of the individual stories are well related, and contain many points of similarity with *Ha-To'eh be-Darkhei ha-Ḥayyim*. There are also a number of interesting attempts at characterization; but many of the people are mere personifications of a single quality. The fact that some remain nameless throughout the story is indicative of their shadowy existence. The novel is loosely concluded by a brief reference to the ultimate destinies of the respective travelers. The first part of *Gemul ha-Yesharim* ("The Reward of the Righteous," in *Ha-Shaḥar*, 6 [1875]) far outstrips the previous novels in artistry, dramatic techniques, dramatic tension, and characterization; even the dialogue is more natural at times. The main didactic themes are handled skillfully, without obtruding too awkwardly into the plot. The second part (in *Ha-Shaḥar*, 7 [1876]) is interesting for its ideas on nationalism as well as for its severe condemnation of the Poles for their maltreatment of the Jews. The literary quality of the third part (*ibid.*) is much inferior. The author seems almost to have become bored with his story and to be making sporadic attempts to tie up the loose ends. Smolenskin's last great novel, *Ha-Yerushah* ("The Inheritance"), takes place, for the most part, in Romania, where the author had spent three months in 1874 on behalf of the Alliance Israélite Universelle, following a wave of pogroms against Romanian Jewry. *Ha-Yerushah* reflects the growing maturity of Smolenskin's art. While the first part (in *Ha-Shaḥar*, 8 [1876/77]) of the novel is even better than its predecessor in structure, artistry, characterization, and dialogue, in the middle of the second part (in *Ha-Shaḥar*, 10 and 11 [1880/82, 1883]) probability and cohesion are suddenly lost in a burst of melodramatic nonsense. Although the story is brought to a close, the denouement of the plot in the third and final part (in *Ha-Shaḥar*, 12 [1884]), hastily composed during his last illness, is premature and forced. The story clearly remains unfinished, with the main theme of "the inheritance" left hanging in mid-air. The novel illustrates Smolenskin's remarkable talent as well as his inconsistency and lack of critical awareness. There is no marked linguistic development, and the gap between his writings and the Hebrew versions of Mendele's (S.Y. *Abramovitsh) stories, which appeared within a decade of Smolenskin's death, is very great. He was, nevertheless, the leading Hebrew novelist in the 20 years following the death of Abraham *Mapu, whose influence is clearly recognizable in his novels.

Philosopher of Jewish Nationalism

Smolenskin was less a publicist than a philosopher of Jewish nationalism. His understanding of the nature of Judaism and the Jewish people was unfolded and developed in copious and often loosely repetitive articles in *Ha-Shaḥar*, which included: *Am Olam*, his first major study on this subject (in *Ha-Shaḥar*, 3 [1872]); *Et La'asot*, which may be regarded as a continuation of *Am Olam* and which makes a number of practical suggestions for putting the theories of the earlier work into effect (in *Ha-Shaḥar*, 4 [1873]); and *Et Lata'at* (in *Ha-Shaḥar*, 6, 8, 9 [1875, 1876/77, 1878]). Convinced that Jewish nationalism was progressive and not reactionary, he regarded it primarily as a matter of the spirit. The Jewish people had received its Torah in the wilderness before conquering its land and founding a polity. Apart from Torah, however, Israel had always been sustained by its messianic hope and its loyalty to the Hebrew language. The nation's present plight demanded a strengthening of its spiritual forces and national awareness in order to bolster its self-respect. Hence his hostility toward the kind of Enlightenment propagated by the disciples of Moses *Mendelssohn, the so-called Berlin Haskalah, which reduced Judaism to a mere religion and advocated assimilation. Smolenskin discerned the roots of antisemitism in the contempt felt by the nations for the inferior national status of the Jews, a situation that could be reversed only by a real affirmation of Jewish nationhood. The pogroms of 1881 convinced Smolenskin not only that the hope of emancipation was chimerical, but that spiritual nationalism alone was not enough. Henceforward, he became an ardent advocate of a physical return to the homeland, as expressed in 25 articles published in the last three volumes of *Ha-Shaḥar* (vols. 10–12, 1880/82, 1883, 1884). The time had come to establish a political, economic, and spiritual center in Ereẓ Israel in preparation for a future Jewish state. Agricultural settlement by itself would not be able to support mass immigration. Industry was essential, if the stream of refugees from antisemitism and persecution was to be directed successfully toward the homeland. But at the same time Torah and a knowledge of Hebrew literature must be disseminated throughout the people, so that Israel might become once more a free and highly cultured nation in its ancestral land. In great measure, Smolenskin laid the foundations for the Zionist movement which gradually took shape in the following two decades. At the same time he anticipated the concept of a spiritual center, which was later to be argued so forcibly by *Aḥad Ha-Am. Smolenskin's percipience may be discerned in the repeated warnings expressed, in both his articles and stories, that the pogroms in Russia and the antisemitism in Germany were no temporary aberrations, but merely the first manifestations of worse horrors to come. He foresaw danger threatening the entire people, and maintained that only Ereẓ Israel could offer a real refuge, where all the tribes of the dispersion could be gathered into a single nation. *Nekam Berit* (in *Ha-Shaḥar*, 11 [1883]), a story describing the return of an assimilated youth to his people following the Russian pogroms, remains a veritable testament to Smolenskin's nationalism.

General Evaluation

Admittedly, many of Smolenskin's ideas concerning nationalism and the particular qualities of Judaism may be discovered in the writings of S.D. *Luzzatto, Nachman *Krochmal, S.J. *Rapoport, Leopold *Zunz, Abraham *Geiger, and Moses *Hess, although Smolenskin denied any indebtedness to Hess. But Smolenskin endowed their concepts with new life and vigor, refashioning them and adding to them until they became his own. Moreover, through his journal he was able to give them wider currency than had previously been possible. It was not without reason that Smolenskin claimed that he had implanted a love of nation and a new spirit in many a heart and mind. Not merely a thinker, but somewhat of a visionary, Smolenskin's strength lay in his imagination, intuitive foresight, and breadth of perspective. In retrospect, much of what he wrote seems tinged with prophecy. There is something prophetic, too, about his determination and his fire. One of the great fighters of all time in Hebrew literature, he argued his beliefs passionately and with conviction. As an observer of contemporary Jewish life, he remains an important source of information, while his place in the history of Hebrew literature and the growth of Jewish nationalism is equally secure. Of the numerous collections of Smolenskin's writings, the most laudable are *Kol Sifrei Pereẓ Smolenskin* (6 vols., 1905–10, the first of which includes a biography of Smolenskin by R. *Brainin) and *Ma'amarim* (4 vols., 1925–26; 1975). A new edition of the works appeared in 1975.

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[David Patterson]

SMOLI (formerly **Smoler**), **ELIEZER** (1901–1985), Hebrew writer. Born in Volhynia, Smoli immigrated to Palestine in 1920 with a group of pioneers, and graduated from a teachers' seminary in Jerusalem (1923). From 1948 he was supervisor of schools for the Sharon region. Smoli was encouraged by Asher *Barash to write fiction instead of poetry, and his stories were published in the daily *Davar* and in *Davar li-Yladim*.

His books, which manifest his love for the land and for the early pioneers, were the first of their kind. Notable among them is *Anshei Bereshit* (1933; 1963^7); an English translation entitled *Frontiersmen of Israel* appeared in 1964. Smoli also wrote *Or ba-Galil* (1939; 1956^7); *Bein Sheki'ah li-Zeriḥah* (1946); *Bein Ḥermon ve-Gilbo'a* (1946; *Between the Hermon and Gilboa*, 1946); *Yafah at Arẓenu* (1948; 1963^5); *Laylah ba-Mishlat* (1951); *Olam ha-Ḥayyot* (1952); and several works on plant and animal life in Israel.

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[Getzel Kressel]

SMORGON (Pol. **Smorgonie**), town in Grodno district, Belarus, passed from Poland to Russia in 1793; between 1921 and 1945 within independent Poland. From the 16th century until the second half of the 19th century, the town was the private property of the princes of Radziwill. Jewish settlement in Smorgon is believed to date from the early 17th century. From 1628 the Jews of Smorgon paid their taxes to the community administration of Grodno. In 1631 the community of Smorgon became the center of a *galil* (province) within the framework of the Council of Lithuania (see Councils of the *Lands). The autonomous status of the community was confirmed in 1651. In 1765 there were 649 Jews in the community of Smorgon who paid the poll tax. During the 1830s a Jewish agricultural settlement, Karka, with 30 farmsteads, was established near the town (on the eve of World War I, 40 Jewish families there worked on the land). In 1847 there were 1,621 Jews living in Smorgon. In the 1860s a tanning industry was begun in the town as a result of Jewish initiative. In addition to this, the Jews of the town earned their livelihoods from carpentry, the knitting of socks, the baking of bagels (which were famous throughout Russia), retail trade, and peddling. The *Bund gained many adherents among the workers in Smorgon. From 1899 a Zionist organization was active in the town and in 1905 a branch of the SS (Zionist Socialist Workers' *Party) was established. In 1897 there were 6,743 Jews living in Smorgon (76% of the population). On the eve of World War I, there were two *battei midrash*, seven synagogues, three elementary yeshivot, and a Jewish hospital in the town. A section of the town's Jewish population were *Ḥabad Ḥasidim. In 1915, during World War I, many of the Jews in Smorgon were expelled to the Russian interior. Jewish refugee tanners from Smorgon founded the tanning industries in Kharkov, Rostov, and Bogorodsk. When Smorgon reverted to independent Poland after World War I the Jewish refugees began to return to their destroyed houses. Between the two world wars, a Hebrew *Tarbut school, a drama circle (Bamati), sports clubs, Zionist youth circles, and branches of Po'alei *Zion, *He-Ḥalutz and *Betar functioned in the town.

The spiritual leaders of the community during the early second half of the 18th century included the rabbi of the community Ḥayyim Cohen. In 1827–28 the town rabbi was the renowned Manasseh b. Joseph of *Ilya, a native of Smorgon. Subsequently, a dynasty of rabbis descended from R. Leib Shapira established themselves in the town. From 1910 to 1917 Judah Leib Gordin, the author of *Teshuvat Yehudah*, held rabbinical office in the town. Nahum *Slouschz, the author Aaron Abraham *Kabak, the Yiddish poet Moshe *Kulbak, and David *Raziel, commander of the Irgun Ẓevai *Le'ummi, were natives of Smorgon.

[Arthur Cygielman]

Holocaust Period

In September 1939 the Red Army entered the town and a Soviet administration was established until the outbreak of the German-Soviet war in June 1941, when the Germans occupied the town. The Germans established two ghettos in different places there. In the summer of 1942 some Jews were sent to Kovno (*Kaunas) and shared the fate of that community while the others were sent to Ponary near Vilna, and were killed there. After the war, the Jewish community of Smorgon was not reconstituted. An organization of former residents of Smorgon was formed in Israel.

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SMORGON, Australian business dynasty. The Smorgon family, one of the most successful in contemporary Australia, lived in the Ukraine. Poor before the 1917 Revolution, they temporarily became prosperous during the NEP era under Lenin but immigrated to Melbourne, Australia, in 1926 as collectivization took hold. There GERSHON SMORGON, the head of the family, opened a kosher butcher shop in Carlton, Melbourne. By the start of World War II the family had developed a successful meat-exporting and food-canning business. They became major business leaders in the late 1940s, developing a rabbit-meat exporting business to the United States and also a large-scale paper manufacturing business, chosen by the family's new head VICTOR SMORGON (b. 1913) as being virtually recession-proof. By the 1960s Smorgon Consolidated Industries, the family's private holding company, had also become one of Australia's largest steel manufacturers and, later, large-scale glass manufacturers. The family, located in Melbourne, is also noted for its philanthropy. Australia's *Business Review Weekly,* publishers of the country's annual "rich list," estimated the family's collective wealth at $150 million in 1983, $650 million in 1992, and $2.37 billion (about U.S. $1.8 billion) in 2004, making them the richest family ranked on the list.

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[William D. Rubinstein (2nd ed.)]

°**SMUTS, JAN CHRISTIAAN** (1870–1950), South African statesman, soldier, and philosopher. In the first half of the 20th century Smuts was a dominant figure in South African public life, both in war and peace; he occupied a place in world history for his part in the two great wars and in the creation of the League of Nations and of the United Nations. As a member of Britain's Imperial War Cabinet in World War I and a long-standing supporter of the Zionist cause (he was a personal friend of Chaim *Weizmann), he helped to formulate the Balfour *Declaration on the Jewish National Home as well as the Palestine Mandate. On many subsequent occasions he manifested his concern for the proper fulfillment of the mandate and used his influence with the British government to defend Jewish rights in Palestine. When the State of Israel was founded in 1948, the South African government, of which Smuts was then prime minister, immediately accorded de facto recognition. Shortly after, Smuts was defeated in a general election by the Nationalists. A settlement established with the help of the South African Zionist Federation, *Ramat Yohanan, was named after Smuts. Smuts was on friendly terms with prominent Jews and showed a deep understanding and love of the Bible. He strongly condemned the Nazi-inspired antisemitic agitation in South Africa in the 1930s. He criticized immigration restrictions on Jews under the Quota Act (1930), though in 1937 the Hertzog government, in which he was deputy prime minister, under political pressures imposed further immigration restrictions under the Aliens Act (see *South Africa). In 1945, Smuts was the author of the Preamble of the United Nations Charter.

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[Louis Hotz]

SNAKE (Heb. נָחָשׁ, *naḥash*), a generic name for various species of snake, poisonous and harmless. Both in the Bible and generally in rabbinical literature it is mentioned with ignominy as harmful. It already appears at the dawn of history in the Bible as the enemy of man, enticing Eve. Its punishment was that it would have to crawl upon its belly and lick the earth, and enmity would prevail between it and man: "they shall bruise thy head, and thou shalt bruise their heel" (Gen. 3: 13–15). Slander and speaking evil is compared to the venom of the snake (cf. Ps. 140:4), and it has even been suggested that the Hebrew term for this, *lashon ha-ra*, is an abbreviation of *leshon ha-naḥash ha-ra* ("the tongue of the evil snake"). Simeon b. Yohiai stated: "Even with the best of snakes, crush its head" (TJ, Kid. 4:11, 66c). It is permitted to slay "the snake of Israel," apparently the viper common in inhabited localities, even on the Sabbath (Shab. 121b). On the other hand, it was recognized that in the ordinary way even the poisonous snake does not attack man unless it is afraid of being attacked. Hence the directive that the recital of the *Amidah* may not be interrupted "even if a snake is coiled around one's heel" (Ber. 5:1). According to the Jerusalem Talmud, however (Ber. 9a), one may defend oneself against it even when praying, if it appears about to bite. Despite the hatred in general toward snakes, their value in destroying mice was recognized. Some even raised "house snakes" for this purpose (Gen. R. 19:10; this is the "house snake" referred to in TJ, Ter. 8:7, 46a).

Only a few of the species of snakes in Israel are poisonous. Eighteen species of nonpoisonous snakes are to be found, seven whose poison kills small creatures only, and seven which are dangerous to man. In addition to the comprehensive term *naḥash* there is mentioned the *saraf* which appears to be the general name for poisonous snakes whose poison, so to speak, *soref* ("burns") the body. Four individual snakes are mentioned in the Bible: צֶפַע or צִפְעוֹנִי (*ẓefa* or *ẓifoni*), אֶפְעֶה (*efeh*), שְׁפִיפוֹן (*shefifon*), and פֶּתֶן (*peten*), all of which are poisonous. The *ẓefa-ẓifoni* is identified with the Palestine viper, *Vipera palaestinae*, recognizable by the two dark brown wavy stripes extending along the length of the light brown skin. This is the only poisonous snake dwelling in the inhabited regions of Israel. The Bible notes that the *ẓifoni* "excretes" its poison while the snake "bites" (Prov. 23:32), i.e., the latter bites with all its teeth while the poisonous snake only pricks with the anterior teeth, thus excreting the poison, The genus *Viper* is also found in northern countries, while other poisonous snakes dwell in hot regions. The Israeli viper is unique in that it lays eggs, while the other species are viviparous. Isaiah (59:5) already notes that the *ẓifoni* lays eggs and whoever eats them is liable to die from the bite of the serpents breaking out of them. A closely related species, black in color, *Atractaspis eingadensis*, is found in En-Gedi and its vicinity.

Efeh is mentioned in the Bible as a dangerous desert snake (Isa. 30:6). According to the Midrash, this is the *ekhes* (Mekh. Va-Yassa, 1), apparently a snake of the genus *Echis* being meant, two species of which are found in the desert areas of Israel. It can be recognized by the white bands breadthways upon its light brown body. It makes a noise by the rubbing of its scales that sounds like a cry and this may be the origin of its name (פעה; "to cry"). Its poison is very dangerous though it very rarely does harm as it is not found near inhabited places. *Shefifon* is identified by the Septuagint with *Cerastes*, a genus of poisonous snakes of which the species *Pseudocerastes fieldi*, recognizable by glands like protrusions above its eyes, is found in the Negev. It digs into the sand, only its "horns" protruding.

The birds, taking them to be worms, peck at them, whereupon the snake strikes, killing them. This apparently is referred to in the verse: "Dan shall be … a *shefifon* in the path, that biteth the horse's heels" (Gen. 49:17). Its name appears to be connected with the rustling made by its scales. *Peten* has been identified with the Egyptian cobra, *Naja haje*. It is not found in Israel though there are indications that solitary specimens may exist in the southern Negev and in Sinai. It is the most dangerous snake of the region. Even outward contact with it can be dangerous (cf. Job 20:14–16). The *peten* was used by charmers, as is the Indian cobra today, and it is noted that it does not always obey charmers (Ps. 58:5–7). The words (Ps. 58:7), "Break their teeth, O God, in their mouth," may be a reference to the fact that the charmers used to extract the poisonous teeth of the *peten*. The black *peten, Walterinnesia aegyptia*, is found in the Judean desert. It is a dangerous poisonous snake in appearance similar to the nonpoisonous black snake. Rabbinical literature mentions poisonous snakes called *havarvar, arvad*, and *akhnai*, whose identity has not been established.

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[Jehuda Feliks]

SNEERSOHN, ḤAYYIM ẒEVI (1834–1882), proto-Zionist. Sneersohn settled in Ereẓ Israel with his family in childhood. He was one of the first *maskilim* in Jerusalem, and arrived at the conclusion that redemption would come gradually and naturally. He left Ereẓ Israel on public missions a number of times. In 1861 he traveled to India and Australia on behalf of the Jerusalem committee for the establishment of Houses of Shelter and Hospices (Battei Maḥaseh ve-Hakhnasat Oreḥim). On this trip he succeeded in winning the support not only of heads of Jewish communities and rabbis, but also of Christians, among them senior ecclesiastics and statesmen. In his speeches in the large towns of Australia, Sneersohn described the project as the beginning of the return to Zion, the redemption of Israel, and the redemption of the world. He spoke in Hebrew, and his speeches were translated into English (his speech in Melbourne was printed in a pamphlet, 1862). He traveled to Paris and London and from there to the United States (1869) in order to gain assistance for the agricultural settlement of Jews of Tiberias. As a result of his representations to the U.S. government, the American consul in Jerusalem was changed, and a Jewish consul (Benjamin P. Peixotto) was sent to Romania (1870). In a letter (printed in the paper *Ha-Ivri*, 1872, 47–50) Sneersohn called on the *Alliance Israélite Universelle to convene a world congress in order to discuss the condition of the Jewish people and the establishment of a Jewish state. In New York he published a selection of his lectures and articles on Ereẓ Israel and Romania entitled *Palestine and Roumania, a Description of the Holy Land, and the Past and Present State of Roumania and the Roumanian Jews* (New York, 1872). In 1875 he returned to Ereẓ Israel. His activities aroused the opposition of the heads of the Ashkenazi community in Jerusalem, who banned, cursed, and persecuted him. As a U.S. citizen, he requested the protection of the American consuls. He later left Ereẓ Israel for South Africa, where he died.

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[Israel Klausner]

SNEH (Kleinbaum), MOSHE (1909–1972), Israeli politician and publicist, member of the First to Fifth, and Seventh Knessets. Born in Radzyn, Poland, Sneh received a traditional Jewish education and then graduated from the University of Warsaw in medicine. He took part in the Jewish students' movement in Poland and belonged to the "radical" wing of the *General Zionists led by Yitzhak *Gruenbaum. In 1935 he was one of the founders of the General Zionists A. After the outbreak of World War II he managed to flee from Warsaw to Vilna and from there to Palestine, where he settled in 1940. Sneh was co-opted to the *Haganah command, becoming chief of the national command in 1941. After World War II Sneh was one of the protagonists of the violent struggle against the British anti-Zionist policy and the British Administration in Palestine, and in 1945 joined the *Jewish Agency Executive. On June 29, 1946 (Black Saturday), he managed to escape arrest and left clandestinely for Europe. As he objected to the restriction of the struggle against the British, he resigned from his post as chief of the Haganah command. At the end of 1946 he was appointed head of the European Political Branch of the Jewish Agency, and head of the Illegal Immigration Department in it. Around the time of the publication of the UN partition plan, at the end of 1947, Sneh underwent an ideological change that led to his resignation from the Jewish Agency Executive and his joining the newly formed *Mapam party in 1948 as a member of its more extreme Left wing. He was elected to the First Knesset in 1949 on the Mapam list, but following the *Slansky trial in Prague left the party in February 1952 and formed the Left Faction with two other former Mapam members, later joining the Israel Communist Party (Maki) in November 1954. In his book *Sikkumim ba-She'elah ha-Le'ummit: Le-Or ha-Marksizm- Leninizm* ("Conclusions concerning the Jewish Problem in the Light of Marxism-Leninism"), which he published in 1954, Sneh explained the change in his political views. When the Arab members and some of the Jewish members of the Israel Communist Party broke away to form Rakah, Sneh remained in Maki, which was now predominantly Jewish, and became editor of its daily *Kol Ha'am* – a position he held until 1969. After the *Six-Day War, he became increasingly critical of the anti-Israel policy of the Soviet Union, supporting negotiations between Israel and the Arab states while insisting on the Palestinian right for self-determination in the territories occupied by Israel during the Six-Day War.

Among his other publications are *Li-Ve'ayot ha-Komunizm, ha-Demokratyah ve-ha-Am ha-Yehudi: Rashei Perakim*

("The Problems of Communism, Democracy and the Jewish People: Headings," 1968); *Aḥarit ki-Bereishit: Mivḥar Devarim 1967–72* ("The End like the Beginning: A Selection of Speeches, 1967–1972," 1982); and *Ketavim* ("Writings"), edited by Emanuel Melter, in four volumes (1995–2002).

Moshe's son EPHRAIM (1944–), a physician who served in the IDF until 1987, reaching the rank of brigadier general, served in the Knesset on behalf of the Labor Party from 1992 and served as minister of health from April 1994 until after the elections to the Fourteenth Knesset in 1996. In July 1997 he ran against Ehud *Barak for the *Israel Labor Party leadership, but lost.

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[Susan Hattis Rolef (2nd ed.)]

SNEH, SIMJA (1914–1999), Argentinean author. Born in Pulawy, Poland, Sneh received a Jewish education in his youth and later studied history and philosophy at the Free University of Warsaw. He worked as a teacher and journalist. With the emergence of Nazism and Hitler's military aggression, Sneh joined the Polish army and fought under General Anders and with the Jewish Brigade of the British Army in Italy. He arrived in Argentina under precarious circumstances and without papers. Nevertheless, he had an active career as a teacher of Yiddish and Hebrew in the Jewish school system of Buenos Aires. In addition, he worked as a journalist for a variety of Jewish and mainstream newspapers and periodicals. He wrote in Yiddish, Hebrew, and Spanish and his works earned him recognition, praise, and several prestigious awards. Sneh worked for many years in the Department of Culture of the Asociación Mutual Israelita Argentina – AMIA, the Ashkenazi community in Buenos Aires. He was present in the community building on July 18, 1994, when a terrorist bomb destroyed it, killing over 80 people. Sneh survived the attack and died of natural causes in April 1999.

Sneh's *El pan y la sangre* (1977) contains 12 short stories, which are remarkable for the way they recreate specific moments and events. Perhaps the most outstanding quality in Sneh's texts is the fact that they are not merely the stuff of fiction. His writing comes from his own experience, which makes the horrific realism contained in them all the more penetrating. That is not to say that all the stories in the collection are literal recreations of actual events he lived through and witnessed. However, his experience as a Shoah survivor serves as the inspiration for the characters, places, and circumstances of which he writes.

Sneh's true masterpiece is to be found in his subsequent work completed just two years prior to his death. *Sin rumbo* constitutes a truly monumental undertaking. Published between 1993 and 1997 (in Spanish), the six-volume text is over 1,600 pages in length. It was originally written in Yiddish as a trilogy and published in serial form in the Yiddish periodical *Di Presse* in Buenos Aires. One-hundred fifty weekly chapters appeared between 1947 and 1952. The first volume was published as a book under the title of *Na' Venad* (1952). It is part testimonial narrative, part memoir, part novel, and part historical document. It comprises a substantial social and historical record of the Holocaust, and is certainly the single most important Holocaust work written in Spanish. Together, *El pan y la sangre* and *Sin rumbo* constitute a remarkable legacy of an even more remarkable human being who overcame incredible odds and who left the world a gift of momentous significance.

[Darrell B. Lockhart (2nd ed.)]

SNYATYN (Pol. **Śniatyń**), city in Ivano-Frankovisk district, Ukraine; incorporated in 1340 into Poland, passed to Austria in 1772, and reverted to Poland from 1919 to 1939. Jewish merchants from Poland and the east visited the Snyatyn fairs from the 15th century. An organized community was formed in the mid-16th century; in 1572 Jews owned 11 houses in the town. In 1578 King Stephen Báthory accorded the Jews in Snyatyn the right to trade freely there. In 1628, to strengthen its economy, King Sigismund III Vasa authorized members of all nations to settle in Snyatyn. At that time the customs collection at the border station was leased by Jews (see *Naḥmanovich). In 1650, after the devastations by the Cossacks under *Chmielnicki (1648–49), the king granted the community a privilege to produce and sell liquor to facilitate their rehabilitation. There were 1,111 Jews living in the town in 1765; 2,333 (22% of the total) in 1880; and 4,386 (36%) in 1910. In 1894 a Jewish school was established, financed by the Baron de Hirsch *Fund; in 1910 it had 186 pupils. The Jewish population numbered 3,248 (31%) in 1921. After World War I, during the period of independent Poland, the Jews in Snyatyn were severely affected by antisemitic agitation and the economic boycott against them. They were compelled to seek the assistance of Jewish relief institutions.

[Shimon Leib Kirshenboim]

Holocaust Period

When the German-Soviet war broke out, Snyatyn was captured by the Hungarian allies of Germany (July 1941). They imposed economic restrictions on the Jews, but prevented violent attacks by the Ukrainian population. In September 1941 the city was transferred to German administration, and the systematic murder of the Jews began. From September to December, hundreds were killed in the nearby Potoczek forest. A ghetto was established in Snyatyn. In April 1942 the first deportation to the *Belzec concentration camp took place. The Jews began to construct bunkers in the hope of taking shelter there during the coming deportations. On Sept. 7, 1942, the ghetto was liquidated and the last of the Snyatyn Jewish community were sent to Belzec. Jewish life was not revived in the city after the war.

[Aharon Weiss]

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Wasiutyński, *Ludność żydowska w Polsce w wiekach XIX i XX* (1930), 124, 131, 155, 157; I. Schiper, *Dzieje handlu żydowskiego na ziemiach polskich* (1937), index.

SNYDER, LOUIS LEO (1907–1993), U.S. historian. Born in Maryland, Snyder's academic career was spent at the City College and City University of New York, where he was professor of history. A most productive author, he wrote textbooks, children's books, and popular history, and edited the Anvil series of more than 100 volumes. Snyder's scholarly studies have centered in the fields of nationalism and German history.

Among his major works are *Hitlerism* (1932), *Race* (1939), *German Nationalism* (1969^2), *The Meaning of Nationalism* (1954), *The War: A Concise History, 1939–45* (1960), *Hitler and Nazism* (1967), *The New Nationalism* (1968), *Great Turning Points in History* (1971), *Encyclopedia of the Third Reich* (1976), *National Socialist Germany* (1984), *Diplomacy in Iron: Bismarck* (1985), *Hitler's Elite* (1990), *Encyclopedia of Nationalism* (1990), and *Hitler's German Enemies* (1992). He also edited *Human Rights: Meaning and History* (with M. Palumbo, 1982).

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SO (Heb. סוא), according to the received text of II Kings 17:4 the name of the king of Egypt with whom King *Hoshea of Israel entered into relations in approximately 725 B.C.E. when he discontinued the annual payment of tribute to his Assyrian suzerain.

Whereas סוא-*swʾ* does not correspond to the name of any known Egyptian prince or general, it can very well be equated with Egyptian *sꜣw*, cuneiform *Sa-a-a*, and Greek *Sais*, the name of the city in the western Delta which was the residence of the pharaoh Tefnakhte; and since it now appears that the latter was already reigning over Lower and Middle Egypt at this time, H. Goedicke has suggested that this is the Pharaoh in question. After Goedicke, W.F. Albright has proposed for the pertinent clause in II Kings 17:4 a reconstruction which yields the required sense. But it can be achieved more simply: the mere inversion of the words *so* and *el*, without any addition, makes the clause mean, "For he had sent a mission to Sais, to the king of Egypt" (cf. I Sam. 23:3b; II Sam. 3:20b; I Kings 2:26ab). R. Sayed has suggested that סוא-*swʾ* is shortened from *Siꜣ-jb*, which is now known to have been Tefnakhte's Horus-name; but he observes that the normal thing is for a foreign document to refer to Pharaoh by his name or (in the *el-Amarna correspondence) his praenomen (or merely by the title Pharaoh), not by his Horus name. Most recent scholarship (contrast Green) has accepted Goedicke's 1963 identification of "So" as a place name, and the identification of the Pharaoh ruling there as Tefnakhte.

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[Harold Louis Ginsberg]

SOAP. It would appear that in the biblical period soap was derived almost exclusively from plants. Many such plants grow in Israel. They contain chiefly potash and soda, and their ash, dissolved in oil, was used until as late as a generation ago for making a liquid soap. Most of these plants grow in the salty regions of the Arabah, in the Negev, and on the seashore. These belong to the botanical genera *Salicornia, Salsola, Mesembryanthemum, Saponaria. Statice*, and *Atriplex*. In the Bible these washing materials are referred to as *bor, borit*, and *sheleg. Borit* is mentioned in apposition to *neter* ("soda") in the Bible as a material for cleansing stains (Jer. 2:22). The messenger of the covenant will purify the people on the day of the Lord as "with fuller's soap" (*borit*, Mal. 3:2). In other places in the Bible the term *bor* is used for material for the cleansing of hands and clothes (Job. 9:30), and metaphorically for cleanness of hands (Job. 22:30; II Sam. 22:21). *Bor* and *borit* are connected with the word *baroh* ("clean"). According to the Tosefta, *borit* and *ahal* are perennial plants that disappear from the field at the end of the season (Shev. 5:6) and the Jerusalem Talmud (Shev. 7:2, 37b) characterizes them as "species of laundering plants." According to the Babylonian Talmud (Nid. 62a), "*borit* is identical with *ahal*," i.e., both are species of aloe. *Ahal*, in Akkadian *uhulu*, Syrian *ahala*, and Arabic *gasul*, are soap-producing plants containing soaping matter such as *Salicornia*, and in particular the genus *Mesembryanthemum*, called in modern Hebrew *ahal*. One species, *M. crystalinum*, grows on walls and rocks facing the Mediterranean Sea, and it is grown in some countries in order to extract the soda it contains. In the Arabah other species of *Mesembryanthemum* are widespread. These can be recognized by their finger-like thick leaves. After the rains they spread widely.

In rabbinical literature *ashlag* is mentioned together with washing materials (Shab. 9:5; Nid. 9:6). According to the Jerusalem Talmud (Shab. 9:5, 12b), a plant called *oẓerot ruʾaḥ* ("wind collector") is meant. It seems that the reference is to the plant *Vaccaria* (*Saponaria*) *segetalis* which contains saponin. In fields of cereal it grows as a weed whose calyx expands when the fruit ripens as if it is "collecting wind." It is called *ashlag* also in Arabic. Perhaps the *shaleg* ("snow water") of Job 9:30 is actually *ashlag*, as suggested by the parallel with *bor* ("soap").

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[Jehuda Feliks]

SOARE (Sonnenfeld), IULIA (1920–1971), Romanian author. Soare's semi-autobiographical novel, *Familia Calaff* ("The Calaff Family", 1956), was a sober appraisal of middle-class Jewish life in a Romanian provincial town during the years

1910–20. Her other works include a fictionalized biography of *Stendhal* (1957) and *Vîrsta de bronz* ("The Age of Bronze", 1969), a collection of historical novellas.

SOAVE, MOISE (1820–1882), Italian scholar and teacher in Venice. Soave contributed to *Il Vessillo Israelitico, Il Corriere Israelitico*, and to Geiger's *Juedische Zeitschrift fuer Wissenschaft und Leben*. Apart from studies such as *L'Israelitismo Moderno* (1865), he wrote mostly on the history of Jews in Italy, biographies, and on Italian Jewish literature. One of his works on the *Soncino family (*Dei Soncini celebri tipografi italiani…*, 1878) includes a list of books they printed. Soave corresponded with major Jewish scholars of his time, among them S.D. Luzzatto, E. Renan, and M. Steinschneider.

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[Alfredo Mordechai Rabello]

SOBEDRUHY (Czech **Sobědruhy**; Ger. **Soborten**), town in N. Bohemia, Czech Republic. Jews are first recorded there in 1334. In 1500 the wooden synagogue was replaced by a stone structure; a lamp there is inscribed with the year 1553. The earliest tombstone inscription dates from 1669; the cemetery served many communities, including Dresden (until 1751). At times Sobedruhy was exclusively inhabited by Jews. In 1750 Empress *Maria Theresa donated a tower clock for the synagogue. There were anti-Jewish riots in Sobedruhy in 1744. The burial of a Frankist from Sobedruhy in Prague in 1800 caused communal disturbances there. In the 19th century Sobedruhy remained an Orthodox community, in contrast to the nearby community of Teplice which was liberal. A community building was opened in Sobedruhy in 1900. There were 120 Jewish families living in Sobedruhy in 1724, 245 persons in 1842, and 393 in 1893. The community numbered 376 persons living in 17 localities in 1902, and 51 in 1930 (3.2% of the total population). Most of the Jews left Sobedruhy at the time of the Sudeten crisis (1938), and the community was dissolved. The congregation was not reestablished after World War II. The synagogue building was demolished and the clock placed in the custody of the municipality. The cemetery, damaged under Nazi rule, continued to exist.

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[Jan Herman]

SOBEL, BERNARD (1887–1964), U.S. theater historian and publicist. Sobel, who began his career as an English teacher, was drama critic for the New York *Daily Mirror*, 1932–35. He wrote *Burleycue: An Underground History of Burlesque Days* (1931), *A Pictorial History of Burlesque* (1956), and *A Pictorial History of Vaudeville* (1961). As a theatrical press agent he represented Florenz Ziegfeld, Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer, and many famous producers and actors. His memoirs, *Broadway Heartbeat*, appeared in 1953.

SOBEL, JACOB ẒEVI (**James H. Soble**; 1831–1913), U.S. Hebrew writer. Born in Lithuania, Sobel was ordained as rabbi and headed a yeshivah, but, influenced by the Haskalah, broke with orthodoxy, and criticized it in his *Ha-Ḥozeh Ḥezyonot be-Arba'ah Olamot* (1872). In 1876 he arrived in New York, and later moved to Chicago where he earned his living as a Hebrew teacher. He contributed to Hebrew periodicals in Russia and the United States but also wrote for the Yiddish and American press. Some of his satire he directed against Gershon *Rosenzweig and signed with the pseudonym "Binocle." His *Shir Zahav li-Khevod Yisrael ha-Zaken* (1877), although of slight literary merit, is historically significant as the first book of Hebrew poetry published in the United States. A paean to Jewry, Hebrew language, and American democracy, it also condemns the ignorance and spiritual emptiness of Jewish immigrants.

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[Eisig Silberschlag]

SOBEL, RONALD (1935–), U.S. Reform rabbi, interfaith activist. Sobel was born in Cleveland, Ohio, and received his B.A. from the University of Pittsburgh in 1957. He was ordained at *Hebrew Union College in 1962 and earned a Ph.D. from New York University in 1980. He was awarded an honorary D.D. from HUC-JIR in 1987, an honorary D.H.L. from Long Island University in 1983, and an honorary D.L. from St. John's University in 1994. Immediately following his ordination, he was appointed assistant rabbi at New York City's Temple Emanu-El and elevated to associate rabbi in 1968. In 1973, at the age of 37, he became the youngest senior rabbi in the history of the world's largest Jewish house of worship. By the time he became emeritus, in 2002, he had served in that position longer than any of his predecessors.

In the Reform movement, Sobel served as chairman of the Board of Rabbinic Alumni Overseers of HUC-JIR as well as a member of the college's board of governors. He was also a member of the board of governors of the American Jewish Committee (1972–75); chairman of the National Program Committee of the Anti-Defamation League; chairman of the Commission on Jewish Life and Culture of the American Jewish Congress (1982–84); chairman of the Synagogue Council of America's Commission on International Affairs (1975–77); and a trustee of the Jewish Braille Institute.

Sobel has been particularly active in interfaith affairs. In 1975, he was the first rabbi to preach from the high pulpit of Manhattan's St. Patrick's Cathedral, as part of a dialogue he initiated between Temple Emanu-El and the Cathedral. From 1977 to 79, he was chairman of the International Jewish Committee for Interreligious Consultation, the organization that represents the interests of world Jewry vis-à-vis the Vatican and the World Council of Churches. He also served on the boards of governors of the National Conference of Christians and Jews, the Religious News Service, the Association for Religion and Intellectual Life, and the Institutes of Religion and

Health, in addition to serving as a vice chairman of the National Board of Religion in American Life. He also co-founded two grass-roots interfaith coalitions in New York City: the Yorkville Emergency Alliance on the upper East Side (1982) and A Partnership of Faith in New York (1991), a coalition of congregational clergy throughout the five boroughs.

In 2002, Sobel was the recipient of the annual Clergy Person of the Year Award from the Religion in American Life organization. He was appointed chairman of the New York Civil Rights Coalition in 2003.

[Bezalel Gordon (2nd ed.)]

SOBELOFF, ISIDOR (1899–), U.S. social worker and community leader. Sobeloff, who was born in Baltimore, Maryland, and was the brother of Simon E. *Sobeloff, became the city editor of the Cumberland (Md.) *Daily News* in 1920. He subsequently worked as director of the Jewish Community Center in Jersey City, New Jersey (1922–25), then joined the Federation of Jewish Philanthropists in New York (1925–30) and the Travelers' Aid Society (1930–34). While serving as director of public education for the Welfare Council of New York (1934–37), Sobeloff was also managing editor of the *Jewish Social Service Quarterly* (1932–36) and editor of *Better Times*, a social-work publication (1934–37). As executive vice president of the Jewish Welfare Federation of Detroit from 1937 to 1964, Sobeloff made the Jewish philanthropic campaigns in that city among the most effective in the United States. He attempted to do likewise as director of the Jewish Federation Council of Greater Los Angeles (1964–69). In other social-work activity, he was president of the National Conference of Jewish Social Welfare (1945) and a lecturer at the Training Bureau for Jewish Social Work. Sobeloff's many Jewish community positions included secretary of the allotment committee of the United Jewish Appeal (1944).

SOBELOFF, SIMON ERNEST (1894–1973), U.S. jurist. Sobeloff was city solicitor of Baltimore from 1943 to 1947. He became chief judge of the Maryland Court of Appeals in 1952. He was appointed solicitor-general by President Eisenhower in 1954. In this capacity he played a significant role in helping to formulate the government's stand in regard to the Brown v. Board of Education cases (1954). As a result, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that separate but equal facilities for blacks in public schools did not meet the constitutional requirement of equal protection by the law. Sobeloff broke with precedent by refusing, although solicitor-general, to sign the brief in a case before the Supreme Court in which the government attempted to support the blacklisting of a professor. The court later vindicated his position. In 1956 he became a judge of the fourth circuit U.S. Court of Appeals and its chief judge in 1958. A prominent figure in Jewish communal circles, Sobeloff was a national vice president of the American Jewish Congress and a member of many other Jewish philanthropic and educational organizations.

[Morris D. Forkosch]

SOBIBOR (**Sobibór**), one of the six Nazi death camps situated in German-occupied Poland, three miles west of the Bug River and five miles south of Wlodawa in the General Gouvernment. It was situated in a wooded area near a small village by the same name in the Lublin District. It was built along the Chel-Wlodawa railway line. The camp measured 1,312 by 1,969 feet. Barbed wire – some 9.5 feet high – interspersed among the trees for concealment, surrounded the camp and the outer perimeter was mined.

In March 1942 the Germans began construction work on the camp in preparation for the mass murder of Polish and other Jews. Jewish slave workers were employed on the site. It was the second camp in *Aktion Reinhard* to be built. *Belzec preceded it and was functioning before it was built, and *Treblinka followed. The camp functioned from May 1942 until October 1943, but the largest transport of victims arrived during June–October 1942, the peak period of killing. Sobibor was used mainly for the murder of Jews from German-occupied eastern Poland and occupied parts of the Soviet Union. Non-Jewish prisoners of war as well as Jews from *Czechoslovakia, *Austria, *Holland, *Belgium, and *France were also put to death at Sobibor. The total number of victims is estimated at 250,000. The victims usually arrived by train and their belongings were immediately taken away. They were then ordered to undress, the women's hair shorn, and the naked mass of people was forced into five gas chambers, which had a total capacity of 500 persons. The gassing lasted 15 minutes. Various systems for the disposal of the dead were used: at first mass graves were dug; later the corpses were burned in heaps, and in the last stage the Nazis burned the bodies on disused iron rails. The ashes were usually taken away by train to an unknown destination. The victims' belongings were carefully sorted and sent to Germany. Women's hair was also crated to Germany.

The camp was divided into three sections. Sector I was for administrative functions. Sector II, or the Reception area, was where Jews, who would arrive by train, were received; it was there that their valuables were confiscated, their hair shorn, and their clothes removed. Sector III was the killing center in the northwest area of the camp, equipped with gas chambers and mass graves. A 492-foot path 9–13 feet wide led from Sector II to Sector III. Victims were marched naked from one camp to the other. The gas chambers were powered by a 200 horsepower engine which produced carbon monoxide. Special accommodations were made for those too weak to walk; a narrow gauge railway was used from the station to the gas chambers to take these Jews to their destination. Those who could not manage the final steps, including infants, were shot. The camp staff consisted of approximately 30 SS men and about 100 Ukrainians, under the command of Richard Thomalla and afterward of Franz Stangl. Most of the German guards as well as Stangl were veterans of the killing process; they had participated in the T-4 *Euthanasia program. The Ukrainians were mostly Soviet prisoners of war trained at Trawniki. A few were ethnic Germans. The number of Jew-

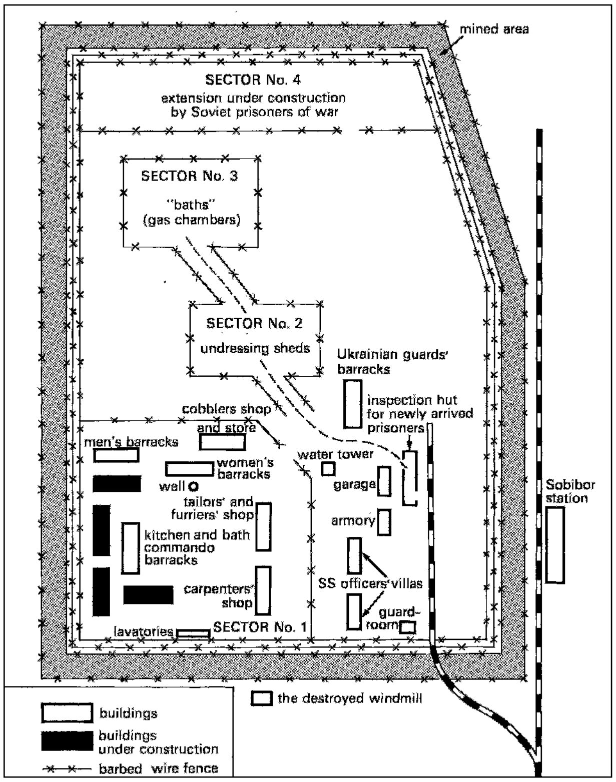
mined area
SECTOR No. 4
extension under construction by Soviet prisoners of war
SECTOR No. 3
"baths" (gas chambers)
SECTOR No. 2
undressing sheds
Ukrainian guards' barracks
inspection hut for newly arrived prisoners
cobblers shop and store
men's barracks
women's barracks
water tower
well
garage
tailors' and furriers' shop
armory
kitchen and bath commando barracks
carpenters' shop
SS officers' villas
guard-room
lavatories
SECTOR No. 1
Sobibor station
the destroyed windmill
buildings
buildings under construction
barbed wire fence

Plan of the Sobibor extermination camp, reconstructed from a drawing by A.A. Pechersky. Courtesy Jewish Observer and Middle East Review, *London.*

ish laborers never exceeded 1,000. Those who weakened were killed and were continually replaced by stronger persons from the new transports. About 200 laborers worked near the gas chambers and in connection with the disposal of corpses. The others were employed in the administrative and economic sections of the camp, especially in sorting out the victims' belongings. Artisans and specialists were usually treated better than other workers.

There were two stages to the killing. The first, from May–July 1942, utilized the gas chambers, which proved inadequate under the strain of massive deportations. Then, as at Belzec, Sobibor camp operations were halted while three more gas chambers were created under the same roof. The capacity was doubled from 600 to 1200.

At the beginning of October 1943, some 300 *Arbeitsjuden* (Jewish laborers) were employed in the camp; most had spent 10–16 months there. Having learned what was in store for them they decided to kill the camp commandant and escape. Poorly armed, they revolted on Oct. 14, 1943, led by Alexander *Pechersky, a Soviet Jewish prisoner of war, and his deputy, Leon Feldhendler, who had been chairman of the Judenrat at Zolkiew in Eastern Galicia. Several German supervisors and Ukrainian *Hiwis* (*Hilfswillige*, "volunteers") were killed. The German supervisors and the *Hiwis* opened fire on the Jews fleeing and prevented them from reaching the exit of the camp. The Jews then came into the area of barbed wire fences and minefields. Some 300 Jews escaped, but most were later killed by the Germans. In the end only 50 survived. Immediately after the revolt, Sobibor was closed down and a grove of trees planted over the site. This was done by some 30 Jewish laborers brought from the General Gouvernment, who were all shot in November 1943. No lists of the victims are extant, possibly because the Germans did not conduct any registration at the camp, or perhaps these lists, with all the other files of the camp, were removed when the camp was closed.

In 1965 a trial was conducted in Krasnodar, U.S.S.R., at which a number of functionaries from Sobibor were tried. A year later, at Hagen, Germany, 11 functionaries were tried: one committed suicide, one was sentenced to life imprisonment, five were given relatively light sentences, and four were acquitted. After the war a monument was erected on the site in memory of the 250,000 victims murdered there.

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[Danuta Dombrowska / Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

SOBOL, ANDREY MIKHAILOVICH (1888–1926), Russian novelist and playwright. Sobol was born in Saratov of wealthy parents. He joined the revolutionary movement at 16 and in 1906 was jailed and sentenced to hard labor in Siberia. In 1909 he escaped from prison and wandered throughout Europe in poverty, returning to Russia illegally in 1915. He began writing for both liberal and radical periodicals under the pseudonyms of Konstantin Vinogradov and Andrey Nezhdanov. Sobol had misgivings about Bolshevism and retained his faith in humanistic socialism, but, in an open letter published in *Pravda* in 1923, he recanted his "errors." Three years later, disillusioned with the Soviet regime, he committed suicide.

Many of Sobol's semi-autobiographical books, impressionistic and often despairing in tone, depict political émigrés. His most important novel, *Pyl'* ("Dust," 1915), describes the Jewish émigrés in Paris as people who "graze in foreign fields" and have no land or roots. To Sobol, Jews were strangers everywhere, even within the Russian revolutionary movement, which he regarded as riddled with antisemitism. Other works of Jewish interest written by Sobol are *Nechayanno* ("Inadvertently," 1916), which deals with an apostate Jew who finds no peace in his new life; *Rasskazy v pis'makh* ("Tales in the Form of Letters," 1916), satirical sketches of Jewish intellectuals who convert in order to further their careers; and *Pereryv* ("Intermission," 1923), a picture of a Paris Yiddish theater from the inside. Sobol's collected works, in four volumes, appeared in 1926 and 1928.

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[Yitzhak Maor]

SOBOL, MORDECHAI (1951–), *ḥazzan*. Born in Ḥaderah, Sobol's musical abilities were evident at an early age. When only eight, he was accepted as a pupil by the venerable cantor Solomon Rawitz, who considered him one of his best pupils. In addition to the basics of the prayer services, Cantor Rawitz taught him the principles of sight-reading, harmony, and counterpoint. Sobel was the lead soloist of the Oneg Shabbat choir of Ohel Shem in Tel Aviv. At the age of 12 he began to study with the conductor Samuel Rivlin and sang in his choir, gaining fame throughout Israel for his renditions of cantorial works, particularly those sung by Cantor Mordecai Hirschman. When 16, for the first time he led High Holiday services accompanied by a 40-person choir conducted by Cantor Solomon Rawitz. He served in the Israeli army as a member of the choir of the Army Chief Rabbinate. He arranged and orchestrated melodies for choir and orchestra and wrote original works for passages from the prayer services. Sobol established the Yuval ensemble for cantorial and Jewish music, which had 50 singers and 30 instrumentalists. In 1985 he began a special series of concerts in which the greatest cantors of the world participated. These concerts proved so popular that subscription series were offered to the public annually. The Yuval ensemble also promoted recordings of their concerts.

[Akiva Zimmerman]

SOBOL, YEHOSHUA (1939–), Israeli playwright, prose writer, and director. Sobol was a well known theatrical figure in Israel and abroad. He wrote more than 40 plays, many of which were translated into various languages and performed in theaters around the world. From 1992 he directed his plays, as well as plays by others, in Israel, Switzerland, and the U.S. Between 1984 and 1988 he served as Co-Artistic Director of Haifa Municipal Theater, together with Gedalia Besser. Sobol taught playwriting and conducted drama workshops at the department of theater studies at Tel Aviv University, at the department of Hebrew Literature at Ben-Gurion University of the Negev, and at Wesleyan University in Middletown, Connecticut. He published two novels: *Shetikah* ("Silence," 2000) and *Whisky ze beseder* ("Whisky's Fine," 2005).

After studying literature and history at Oranim College, Sobol received a degree in philosophy from the Sorbonne, Paris, in 1969. His theatrical career started at the Haifa Municipal Theater, in 1971, where he collaborated with director Nola Chilton and wrote the text for *The Days to Come,* a performance based on monologues he collected in an old age home in Haifa. The plays of his playwrighting decade – *Leyl ha-Esserim* ("Status Night of the 20th," 1976), "The Last Worker" (1980), and "Wars of the Jews" (1981) – exposed his inclination toward historical drama. In these plays the intrigue revives a historical moment in the history of the Jewish community or Israeli society; by analyzing its socio-political components. Sobol displays the conflicts involved, the process of cause and effect, the outcome and its influence on present reality. His plays have direct socio-political messages and are written with a clear didactic aim, namely to further spectators' understanding of the complexity of contemporary state of affairs and to promote tolerance and compassion toward minorities.

In the 1980s, Sobol continued to probe the past as a tool for understanding the present. In *Nefesh Yehudi* (*Weininger's Night*, 1982), *Ghetto* (1984), *Adam* (1989), and *Underground* (1991), he went back to European history, analyzed the complexity of "Jewish Fate," and demonstrated past conflicts and events that brought about the transformation of Jews from victims into persecutors. In *The Palestinian Girl* (1985) he reflected upon the unjust conduct of Israelis toward Arabs, and in *Jerusalem Syndrome* (1987) he went back to the events that had led to the destruction of the Temple, showing how the conduct of Jewish extremists fueled conflict and hatred between Jews. *Jerusalem Syndrome* received bad reviews in the press, and its reception by religious audiences was violent and tumultuous: performances were stopped by demonstrations and manifestations during the show and outside the theater. *Solo* (1991), performed in Habimah, Israel's National Theater, echoed Sobol's reflections on the reception of *Jerusalem Syndrome*. For the plot of this play he turned to the life story of Baruch Spinoza and demonstrated a closed, paranoid society that rejected his innovative way of thinking.

Sobol's international career began in 1983, when the Haifa production of his play *Weininger's Night* was invited to participate in the Edinburgh Festival. This was followed by *The Ghetto Triptych* (*Ghetto, Adam, Underground*). *Ghetto* became world famous shortly after its premiere in Haifa in May 1984. The play won the Israeli David's Harp Award for Best Play. The Israeli opening was followed by Peter Zadek's much acclaimed German premiere of the play in Berlin in July 1984. The play and the production were chosen by the leading German theater journal, *Theater Heute*, as the best production and the best foreign play of the year. By 2006 the play had been translated into over 20 languages and had been performed by leading theaters in more than 25 countries throughout the world. Following Nicholas Hytner's production of the play at the Royal National Theatre of Great Britain in 1989, the play won the Evening Standard and the London Critics Award for Best Play of the Year, and was nominated for the Olivier Award in the same category.

From 1995 Sobol cooperated with director Paulus Manker on a number of projects exploring new forms of the theatrical experience. In 1996 the two created the polydrama *Alma*, based on the life of Alma Mahler, for the Wiener Festwochen. It was performed in Purkersdorf, Austria, for six successive seasons. *Alma* was taken to Venice, Italy, and was performed at the Palazzo Zenobio in August and September 2002.

Sobol received many important Israeli awards for his plays and productions. Among these are the David's Harp Award (five times), the David Pinski Award, the Meskin Award, and the Issam Sartawi Award. In 2001 he received the Sapir Award for his prose debut, *Silence*, as best novel of the year, and in 2003 the Rosenbaum Award for his contribution to Israeli theater.

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[Nurit Yaari (2nd ed.)]

SOBOTKA, HARRY HERMAN (1899–1965), U.S. biochemist. Born in Vienna, Sobotka joined Rockefeller Institute for Medical Research, New York (1924), and Bellevue Hospital Medical College, New York University (1926). He was appointed director of the chemical department, Mount Sinai Hospital, New York (1928). He wrote papers on chemistry of steroids and other organic chemicals of pharmaceutical significance.

SOCHACZEW (Rus. **Sokhachev**), city in Warszawa province, central Poland. There is evidence of a Jewish settlement in Sochaczew in 1427, when the city was under the jurisdiction of the princes of Mazovia. An organized Jewish community existed from the end of the 15th century, after the city had been annexed to the kingdom of Poland in 1476. In that era the Jews of Sochaczew engaged in moneylending and trading in cloth and spices. In the first quarter of the 16th century a Jewish physician, Felix, practiced in the city. In 1556, during the Catholic synod of Lowicz, the local authorities, and heads of the church, incited by the entourage of the papal nuncio, L. Lippomano (1500–59), accused Sochaczew Jews of *Host desecration. The three Jews condemned to death were immediately executed although it was evident that the accusation was false and despite the fact that King Sigismund II Augustus had ordered a retrial. Those responsible for the hasty execution, the governors of Rawka province and of the cities of Sochaczew and Plock, were subsequently sued by the heads of the community. By 1599 the Jews of Sochaczew owned 20 houses, a synagogue, hospital, *mikveh*, and cemetery, and engaged in commerce in livestock, leather, and wool, and in such crafts as tailoring and carpentry.

A *blood libel in 1619 resulted in the death at the stake of one Jew. After the Jewish quarter burned down the following year, the burghers opposed its reconstruction and the Jewish community temporarily came to an end. In 1749 King Augustus III granted permission to certain Jewish merchants and craftsmen from Warsaw to renew the settlement in Sochaczew. They established a tannery, a distillery, and tailoring and shoemaking workshops, and traded in agricultural produce. In 1765, there were 1,349 Jews who paid the poll tax in the city and surrounding villages. A new synagogue was built in 1793, which remained standing till World War II. During the *Kosciuszko rebellion (1794) the Jews of Sochaczew donated considerable sums to his cause. In 1800, 52 of the 91 craftsmen in the town were Jews. In 1808 the 1,085 Jews of Sochaczew formed 81% of its population; there were 2,322 Jews (74%) in 1827; and 2,936 (76%) in 1857. During the uprisings of 1863 several Jews fought on the side of Polish rebels in the local battles. In the latter years of the 19th century the Jews established various industrial enterprises and transport firms. In 1883 the rabbi, Abraham Bornstein of *Sochaczew, founded a ḥasidic court and later a large yeshivah. Rabbi Samuel Isaac Landau served the community from 1902 to 1912. From 3,776 (66%) in 1897 the Jewish population had grown to 4,520 (71%) by 1908. In World War I, during the battles of 1915 many Jews left the city and by 1921 their number had dwindled to 2,419 (48%). Between the world wars all the various Jewish parties were active in the city and established educational and cultural institutions. Half of the 24 members of the city council were Jews in 1925 and Moshe Szwarc (*Folkspartei) was vice mayor. During the 1930s a biweekly periodical, *Sokhatshever Tsaytung*, was published. At that time Rabbi A. Zisha Frydman, general secretary of *Agudat Israel, and the writer O. Varshavsky lived in the city.

On the outbreak of World War II there were about 4,000 Jews in Sochaczew. In February 1941 all the Jews were deported to the *Warsaw ghetto and shared the fate of that community. After the war the Jewish community of Sochaczew was not reconstituted.

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[Arthur Cygielman]

SOCHACZEW, ABRAHAM BEN ZE'EV NAHUM BORNSTEIN OF (1839–1910), Polish rabbi, head of the *bet din* of Sochaczew. He became famous as a child prodigy. At the age of 14 he married the daughter of Menahem Mendel of

*Kotsk, in whose home he remained for ten years studying Torah and Ḥasidism. Upon his father-in-law's death, he occupied rabbinical posts in *Parczew (1862), Krosniewice (1866), *Nasielsk (1876), and *Sochaczew (1883–1910). In 1870, following the death of Ḥanokh Henyekh, leader of the *Aleksandrow Ḥasidim, he was appointed his successor, but was harassed by slanderers. Abraham founded a yeshivah and was one of the great halakhic authorities of his generation. He originated a special approach to halakhic studies and educated in his yeshivah a generation of disciples who became scholarly ḥasidic leaders. Interested in the settlement of Ereẓ Israel, he sent his son and son-in-law there in 1898 to acquire land for a religious colony, but negotiations fell through on account of the Turkish land laws. Abraham's halakhic works are *Eglei Tal* (1905), including a study of the laws of the Sabbath, and *Avnei Nezer* (1912–34), a collection of responsa on the four parts of the Shulḥan Arukh. He was succeeded as head of the Aleksandrow Ḥasidim by his only son, SAMUEL (1856–1926), who edited his father's writings and responsa on the Shulḥan Arukh, and wrote *Shem mi-Shemu'el* (1928–34) which sets forth many of his father's ideas on Ḥasidism.

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[Abraham Isaac Bromberg]

SOCIALISM.

Introduction

The words socialism and socialist were first used about the year 1830 but the origin of the ideas which led to the establishment of the modern labor movement goes back to the time of the French Revolution. For a variety of reasons Jews were attracted to socialism as it developed in Western Europe. Some regarded it as the building of a "just society" based on the teachings of the Bible and the Prophets, while others were attracted by its revolutionary nature. Thus, while some Jews saw socialism as a reply to antisemitism, there were also Jews who saw in it a way of getting rid of their Jewish heritage and serving the cause of the "Brotherhood of Man." Socialism was particularly attractive for Jews anxious to leave the ghetto behind them and who, disappointed with the slow progress of 19th-century liberalism, were keen to embrace a new universal faith.

France

The forerunners of modern socialism were two Frenchmen, Count Henry Claude de Rouvroy de Saint-Simon (1760–1825; see *Saint-Simonism) and Charles *Fourier (1772–1837). Saint-Simon was impressed by Jewish messianic ideals and, referring to the persecution of the Jews, wrote that he looked forward to the time when all men would be brothers. Two of his followers, Barthélemy Prosper Enfantin (1796–1864) and Armand Bazard (1791–1832), considered the *emancipation of the Jews as being one of the preconditions for the liberation of humanity. They believed that Jewish monotheism foreshadowed the approaching unity of mankind and their supporters included many French Jews, among them the poet Léon *Halévy, the bankers Emile and Isaac *Péreire, and the financier Olinde Rodrigues (1794–1851). On the other hand, Charles Fourier identified Jews with capitalism and opposed their emancipation on the grounds that they were "parasites, merchants, usurers." Nevertheless, in his last writings he argued that the Jews should be helped to escape from persecution in Europe by returning to Palestine and once more become a recognized nation with their own king, their own flag, their own consuls, and their own currency. A number of Fourier's followers were Jews who rejected their master's antisemitism. Thus Alexander Weil wrote in 1845 that it was unfair to blame one section of the population for what he regarded as the iniquities of Catholicism and capitalism. He also described the serious condition of the Jews in Eastern Europe, in order to draw the attention of the public to their plight. Similarly, Jean Czynsky, a Polish refugee of Jewish origin, wrote that freedom for Poland and the emancipation of Polish Jews were concepts for which all socialists must strive.

Great Britain

The early development of socialism in Britain at the beginning of the 19th century had little to do with the Jews, who numbered only 20,000 in the country. Nevertheless, Robert Owen (1771–1858), "the father of British socialism," actively campaigned for equality for the Jews and in 1830 submitted a petition to the House of Commons urging the abolition of religious disabilities. His example was followed by a number of leaders of the Chartist movement. Jews first became prominent in British socialism in the latter half of the 19th century and in May 1876 the *Aguddat ha-Soẓyalistim ha-Ivrim was formed in London, its founders including A.S. *Liebermann and Lazar *Goldenberg. German radical groups were also active in London and largely influenced the ideology of Jewish socialists in Britain. They kept in contact with the Russian revolutionary Peter Lavrov (1823–1900), who published the socialist organ, *Vpered*, in London. Toward the end of the 19th century an increasingly large number of Russian Jews became active in British socialism. Theodor Rothstein was a leader of the Marxist Social Democratic Federation, founded by H.M. Hyndman in 1884. Rothstein, who was shocked by an antisemitic outburst by Hyndman, later played an important part at the congress of the Russian Social Democratic Party in London in 1907, and after the Bolshevik seizure of power in 1917 was their unofficial representative in London. Later he helped found the British Communist Party, in which his son Andrew Rothstein was a prominent figure for many years. He was anti-Zionist, as were Joe Finberg, and Boris and Zelda Kahn, all refugees from Russia who played a major part in the British socialist movement. An outstanding figure of the British socialist movement was Eleanor Marx-Aveling (1855–1898), Karl Marx's youngest daughter, who felt a close affinity with the Jewish people and affirmed that "my happiest moments are when I am in the East End of London amid Jewish workpeople."

Germany

In Germany, many of the pioneers of socialism were Jewish. Among them was Moses *Hess, whose study *Die Philosophic der Tat* ("The Philosophy of Action"), linked the ideas of the German philosophical school with the concept of historical materialism on which communism was based. Hess largely influenced the thinking of Karl *Marx and Friedrich Engels but differed from them in that his brand of socialism was based upon ethical concepts. The course of socialism in Germany, however, was dominated not by Hess but by Marx and Ferdinand *Lassalle, the former as the founder of the school of economic materialism and the latter as the father of German Social Democracy. But while Marx was the great theoretician who set out to revolutionize international politics, Lassalle was the political strategist who brought socialism into German political life. Both showed a marked hostility to Judaism. On the other hand, Marx's non-Jewish colleague Friedrich Engels, who at first equated Jews with capitalists, later took a stand against antisemitism which he described as the weapon of the German governing class.

The First International

A number of Jews became prominent during the 19th century in the International Working Men's Association, formed in 1864 by Marx and Engels, which became known as the First International. Among them were several French Jews, including E.E. Fribourg, an opponent of Marx, who was a disciple of the non-Jewish anarchist writer Pierre *Proudhon (1809–1865). Fribourg advocated membership in the association only to people engaged in physical work, a move against Marx, whereas Lazare Lévy, another leading member of the French section of the First International, was a strong supporter of Karl Marx. Jews were also prominent in the workers' uprising in the Paris Commune in March 1871, one of the leaders being Léo *Frankel.

The Second International

The Second International set up at the Paris Congress of 1889 was largely dominated by German socialists, whose delegates represented a strong socialist party in effective control of the trade unions. They included August Bebel, William Liebknecht, Clara Zetkin, and Eduard *Bernstein, the son of a Jewish worker, who had a profound influence on the development of socialism in Germany and elsewhere. Bernstein combined Marxist ideology with British pragmatism in a concept which became known as "Revisionism." He considered assimilation the best solution to the Jewish problem but Jewish suffering in World War I made him a supporter of Jewish settlement in Palestine and of *Po'alei Zion. His non-Jewish colleague August Bebel was also sympathetic to the Jewish cause, describing antisemitism as "socialism of the fools," and, while there were antisemites among the German socialists, the party was committed to fight against discrimination. By 1912 there were 12 Jews among the 100 Social Democrats in the German Parliament. Many other Jews were prominent in the party, the majority of them favoring assimilation, especially after Karl Kautsky's book, *Race and Judaism*, was published in 1914. Most members of the Social Democratic Party were hostile to Zionism, as was the party organ *Die Neue Zeit*, but the Revisionists showed understanding of the labor Zionist cause and their newspaper *Sozialistische Monatshefte*, edited by Joseph *Bloch, was pro-Zionist. In Austria, many prominent figures in the Socialist Party were Jews, among them Victor *Adler, Friedrich Adler, Otto *Bauer, Max *Adler, Hugo *Breitner, and William *Ellenbogen. They all supported assimilation and opposed Jewish national aspirations. In particular, Otto Bauer's work *Die Nationalitaetenfrage und die Sozialdemokratie* (1907), which denied that the Jews were a separate nationality, had considerable influence in socialist circles. On the whole, Jewish socialists in Austria avoided discussion of the Jewish question and were hostile to Zionism, but a notable exception was Julius *Braunthal, who supported the labor Zionist movement.

1914–1939

During World War I several Jewish socialists were among the most outspoken critics of the war, among them Rosa *Luxemburg and Hugo *Haase in Germany, Friedrich *Adler in Austria, Julius *Martov and Lev (Leon) *Trotsky from Russia, and Angelica Balabanov in Italy. In the chaotic conditions after World War I, Jewish socialists held top cabinet posts in socialist administrations in Germany, Austria, Hungary, and Russia. Thus Haase and O. *Landsberg joined the German provisional government following the collapse of imperial Germany, Hugo *Preuss became minister of the interior in the Weimar Republic, Paul Hirsch (1868–1938) was prime minister of Prussia, Kurt Rosenfeld was Prussian minister of justice, and Kurt *Eisner was prime minister of "Soviet" Bavaria. In Austria, Victor Adler, Otto Bauer – who became foreign minister – and Friedrich Adler all played a major part in the Austrian revolution of 1918, and following the Hungarian revolution of 1919 Bela *Kun became dictator in a "Soviet" Hungarian government containing 14 Jewish commissars. In Russia, many Jews held senior posts in the first Bolshevik administration and the Communist Party (see *Communism; *Russia).

Between 1918 and 1939 individual Jewish socialists held prominent positions in several European countries, but their importance tended to be exaggerated by antisemites. Thus in Germany, the Nazis represented the few Jewish socialists as having far greater influence than they actually had. In Austria, Otto Bauer was foreign minister from 1919 to 1920, Oscar Pollak was editor of the party organ *Arbeiter-Zeitung*, and Matilda Pollak was leader of the Social Democratic women. Léon *Blum was prime minister of France and Jules *Moch was minister of public works. In Czechoslovakia Ludwig *Czech was minister of social welfare, while in Holland Saloman Rodrigues de *Miranda was minister of housing, and in Britain Emanuel *Shinwell was secretary of mines. The socialist movement in continental Europe gradually weakened as the pace of the Nazi advance increased.

After the outbreak of World War II, socialist parties survived only in Britain, Sweden, and Switzerland. Most of the socialist refugees fled to England, where the British Labor Party took the initiative in convening regular meetings to discuss matters of common concern. Among them were several Jewish socialists, including Oscar Pollak and Karl Czernitz from Austria and Claudio Treves from Italy.

Post-World War II

After World War II, Jews continued to be prominent in the socialist movements of France and Great Britain. In France, Léon Blum, Jules Moch, Pierre *Mendes-France, and Daniel *Mayer emerged as leading French socialists and all held posts in French coalition governments. All four were active in Jewish affairs and supporters of the State of Israel. In Britain, Jewish participation in the Labor movement considerably increased in the postwar years. There were four Jewish cabinet ministers in the Labor government of 1945–51: Emanuel Shinwell, Harry *Nathan, Lewis *Silkin, and George *Strauss, and the Labor government of 1964–70 at various times included Jews in senior or junior offices, among them Austen Albu (1903–1994), John *Diamond, Harold *Lever, Reginald Freeson (1926–), Baroness Serota, Edmund Dell (1921–1999), and John *Silkin. In addition, Harold *Laski was chairman of the Labor Party from 1945 to 1946, Emanuel Shinwell was chairman of the Parliamentary Labor Party and Ian Mikardo (1908–1993), Frank Allaun (1913–2002), and Sydney *Silverman were members of the Labor Party national executive. One particularly noticeable feature of the growth of Jewish participation in the Labor movement was the sharp increase in the number of Jewish Labor members of Parliament, from four in 1935 to 26 in 1945, around 36 in 1966, and 30 in 1970. Many of the Jews prominent in the Labor Party were associated with the British Po'alei Zion and a Zionist group formed in 1956 called Labor Friends of Israel.

In the British Commonwealth, too, Jews have played an increasingly important part in socialist politics. In Canada a number of Jews were actively associated with the leadership of the socialist New Democratic Party formed in 1961. The most prominent of them was David *Lewis – leader of the parliamentary party. Other Jewish MPS representing the NDP were Max Saltsman (Toronto) and David *Orlikow (Winnipeg). In Manitoba, five Jews were members of the Provincial Legislature: Saul Cherniak, C. Gonick, Sidney Green, Saul Miller, and Sidney Spivak. In British Columbia, too, a number of Jews were prominent in the party, but not in Montreal where the NDP was, generally, a weak body. While the Canadian Labor Zionist movement was not affiliated to the party, there was close cooperation in a number of provinces. Leading personalities of the NDP, which is a member of the Socialist International, visited Israel and showed a friendly attitude to its socialist party. The Canadian Congress, formed in 1956, had a close association both with the Histadrut in Israel and local Jewish labor bodies. In Australia, too, Jews played an increasingly active part in socialist politics. Sidney Einfeld and Senator Sam *Cohen were Labor Party parliamentarians for a number of years. In 1969, three Jewish socialist candidates were elected to the Australian House of Representatives: Joe Berison (Perth), Moses Cass (Melbourne), and Barry Cohen (Robertson Constituency – near Sydney). In 2005, the only Jewish member of the Australian Parliament was the Labor MP Michael *Danby. In recent decades the participation of Jews in left-of-center parties has probably declined sharply, while socialism as a viable ideology would seem to be a thing of the past. The movement of most Jews into the upper middle class, the diminution of right-wing antisemitism, and, above all, the hostility of much of the extreme left to Israel's post-1967 policies, have made it difficult for many Jews to identify as socialists in the old sense. Events such as the end of the Soviet Union in 1991 have also made it difficult for many to see what socialism might be like in the 21st century, especially any such ideology entailing widespread nationalization or sympathy for the radical enemies of Israel.

While many Jews, especially in the United States, remain committed to the value system of liberalism, it would seem clear that the engagement of the Jewish people with socialism is increasingly a thing of the past.

By contrast, the Holocaust and the Communist takeover in part of Europe reduced the Jewish participation in socialist politics to a mere fraction of what it had been before 1939. Nevertheless, a small number of Jews held important posts in European socialist parties after 1945, among them Ludwig *Rosenberg, who was president of the German Confederation of Trade Unions, Siegfried Aufhauser (1884–1962), president of the German Federation of Labor in Berlin, Bruno *Kreisky, who in 1970 became chancellor of Austria, and Karl Czernetz, who was international secretary of the Austrian Social Democratic Party.

Eastern Europe

RUSSIA. Socialism developed in Russia later than in Western Europe, in the second half of the 19th century. The death of Nicholas I and the accession of Alexander II in 1855 led to the emancipation of the serfs in 1861 and a relaxation of the repressive regime. Jews became less isolated from the general stream of Russian public life, and the number of Jewish children in Russian secondary schools rose from 8 to 2,362 between 1840 and 1872. Many Jewish socialists came from traditional homes and were influenced by the writings of Russian philosophers, whose works they studied at secondary schools. They were largely in favor of assimilation, since they regarded Judaism as obsolete and believed that Jewish emancipation would come about through the liberalization of the Russian people with whom the Jews should integrate. Thus, most of the early Jewish socialists regarded the growth of Russian socialism as more important than Jewish emancipation. Many young Jews chose to join the revolutionaries and "go to the people." A number of Jewish socialists converted to Christianity to facilitate their activities among the people, while Jewish women socialists became estranged from Judaism by marriage to non-

Jewish revolutionaries. Though the persecution of Jews was an important motivating force in bringing Jews into the revolutionary camp, the pogroms of 1881 came as a great shock to many Jewish revolutionaries. Particularly disappointing were the antisemitic trends in the Populist movement and the indifference of non-Jewish revolutionaries to violent outbreaks against Jews. In addition Jewish socialists who neglected their own people because they believed them to be tradesmen and middlemen discovered the existence of Jewish workers who were facing oppression and social exploitation.

Some of the first Jewish socialists were prominent in revolutionary uprisings outside the borders of Russia. Robert Feinberg fought in the German revolution of 1848 and was later deported to Siberia, where he died, and Nicolai Utin, son of a rich Jewish contractor, was a liaison officer for the Polish revolutionaries in 1863. Utin fled to Germany, where he became a colleague of Karl Marx and established the Russian section of the First International. However, others were prominent in the ideological movements of the 1860s and 1870s which grew up in the wake of the acute poverty of the Jews. Marc Natanson (1849–1920), son of a Jewish merchant from Grodno, was the organizer of the Zemlya i Volya ("Land and Liberty") group from which emerged some of the famous non-Jewish revolutionary figures, such as Prince Peter Kropotkin, Vera Zasulich, and Georg Plekhanov. Joseph Aptekman (1850) and Lev Deitsch (1855–1941) were leaders of the Narodniki (Populists), a movement which developed among the intelligentsia to redress the injustices done to the Russian peasants. The revolutionaries dressed like peasants and lived with the peasants in the countryside. They soon exposed themselves to ridicule and many were arrested and imprisoned. The failure of the Populists led the revolutionaries to attempt fresh measures. In 1878 the terrorist group known as the Narodnaya Volya ("People's Will") was formed to combat oppression by violence. A number of Jews joined the organization. Many were made desperate by their increasing poverty resulting from the emancipation of the serfs, which enabled the latter to enter trades which had previously been mostly occupied by Jews. Several Jewish members of the Narodnaya Volya were captured and executed, among them Aaron Gobet, who had participated in a plot to assassinate Czar Alexander II in 1879, Solomon Wittenberg, Meir Mlodetsky, a yeshivah student from Slutsk, and Grigori Goldenberg (1855–1880), who committed suicide in the fortress of Petropavlovsk after being arrested for assassinating the governor-general of Kharkov. Other Jewish revolutionaries included Aaron Zundelevich (1850–1923) and Saveli Zlatopolsky, who were members of the executive committee of Narodnaya Volya. The assassination of Czar Alexander II in 1881 led to a reign of terror against the revolutionaries, but the latter continued to work against the regime and many joined the underground socialist organizations that sprang up toward the end of the 19th century.

Jews were exceptionally prominent in the Social Democratic movement and some eventually became leaders of the Russian Social Democratic Party, such as Julius Martov and Lev Trotsky. Others were active in Jewish workers' groups which united in 1897 as the *Bund and by 1904 numbered 23,000 Jews from Lithuania, Russia, and Poland. The Bund and the Russian Social Democrats were united in their opposition to Zionism, but while the Social Democrats insisted that the Jews should assimilate with the general Russian population, the Bund campaigned for recognition of a separate Jewish nationality within a federation of nationalities. After the 1903 split in the Social Democratic Party into Bolsheviks and Mensheviks, some Jewish members of the two groups were particularly vociferous in their opposition to Jewish national aspirations. The Bolsheviks argued that the revolution would solve the Jewish question by giving Jews complete equality and thus lead to their assimilation with the rest of the population.

A third organization in which Jews of Russia played a prominent part was the Russian Social Revolutionary Party formed in Switzerland in 1901. A successor party to the terrorist Narodnaya Volya, the party advocated agrarian reform by violence and the establishment of a Russian federation. Among the forerunners of the movement were Chaim *Zhitlowsky, who later settled in the United States, Mendel Rosenbaum, who immigrated to Israel, and Charles *Rappoport, who became an important figure in the French Communist Party. The movement included a terrorist "fighting organization" in which Mikhail Gots (1866–1906), Abraham Gots (1882–1937), Grigori *Gershuni, and Yevno *Azeff were prominent. Unlike the Social Democratic Party, they were not hostile to Zionism and did not actively struggle for assimilationism. The ultimate success of the Bolsheviks under *Lenin eventually brought about the end of Jewish participation in the socialist movement in Russia. Those Jewish socialists who were opposed to the Bolsheviks were forced to go into exile, and while many other Jews held prominent positions in the Communist Party, they were ultimately purged from the party hierarchy either between 1936 and 1939 or between 1948 and 1953.

POLAND AND ROMANIA. In Poland, Jews were among the pioneers of the socialist movement in the latter part of the 19th century. The first socialist group, Proletariat, was an underground organization responsible for numerous workers' strikes. It included a number of Jews, among them Zigmund Dering and Szymon *Dickstein. Proletariat gave way to the Social Democratic Party (SDKP), a Marxist party which rejected Polish independence and advocated partnership with the Russian socialist movement. Among its leading members were Rosa Luxemburg, Leo Yogiches and Adolf *Warski-Warshawski, all of whom opposed the Bund and the nationalist Polish Socialist Party (PPS). Nevertheless, the Bund and the PPS attracted considerable support from prominent Jewish socialists such as Herman *Diamand, Herman *Liebermann, and Boleslaw *Drobner. In Romania, too, Jews were among the founders of the socialist movement. Thus Constantin Gherea-Dobrogeanu (1855–1920) organized a peasants' revolutionary group in Russia and later settled in Romania, where he advocated universal suffrage. The Romanian Socialist Party was largely antisemitic, however, and when the Jewish Social Democratic group, Lamina, submitted a memorandum to the international Socialist Congress (1896) on the plight of the Jews in Romania, the Romanian socialists defended their party's inimical attitude to the Jewish question. The New Social Democratic Party formed in 1910 urged equality for the Jews but had little influence on the reactionary governments of Romania during the first half of the century.

[Schneier Zalman Levenberg]

United States

Jews played little part in the brand of American socialism which derived from agrarian and populist discontent with the social order. Nor did they appear in the numerous short-lived utopian communities which sprang up early in the 20th century or in the proletarian constituency of the revolutionary syndicalist Industrial Workers of the World which flourished from about 1908 to 1920. The role of Jews in American socialism lay within the urban, industrial environment where the movement had its main strength, and whose ideology was more or less Marxist. They were most prominent in the American Socialist Party from about 1915 until the 1930s, the period when ethnic minorities generally played a key role in the socialist movement. Socialism developed among industrial workers and intellectuals during the 1870s, when the Socialist Labor Party was founded (1877) with one of its strongest bases in the largely Jewish International Cigar Makers Union. Adolph Strasser (1844–1939), a leader of that union, had been secretary of its predecessor, the Social Democratic Party, in 1874. However, he and Samuel *Gompers, also a cigar maker, as founders and leaders of the American Federation of Labor (1886), firmly led it away from socialist involvements and toward "pure and simple" trade unionism. During the 1880s, Jews were among the leaders of short-lived municipal labor or socialist parties in such cities as Detroit, Milwaukee, and New York. After 1890, the Socialist Labor Party was dominated by Daniel *De Leon who maintained the SLP's doctrinal purity by expelling all dissenters and losing practically all influence in the socialist and trade-union movements.

American socialism reached its climactic years between 1900 and 1920. Although Eugene V. Debs was the party's orator, presidential candidate, and moral symbol, its real leaders were Victor *Berger, the first Socialist Party congressman, and Morris *Hillquit. Louis Boudin was a leading Marxist scholar and theoretician. One socialist stronghold was the Jewish labor movement which had begun among East European immigrant proletarians during the 1880s. Their weak, unstable unions were fervently socialist and revolutionary in temper. After 1910, trade unionism, which was overwhelmingly Jewish in membership and leadership, won control of labor conditions in the garment industry by means of a series of dramatic strikes. The International Ladies Garment Workers Union and the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America remained explicitly socialist, but the revolutionary content of their socialism was relegated to rhetorical flourishes about a vague, ultimate end. The unions' socialist activity emphasized the creation of a comradely environment for their members, who included perhaps 200,000 Jews. The tone of Yiddish-speaking fraternal orders, literature, and theater was also socialist. Abe *Cahan's prosperous **Jewish Daily Forward*, with a maximum circulation of about 150,000 in 1917, wielded great influence, and the monthly **Zukunft* was a notable organ of socialist letters. It was the Jewish East Side which sent the Socialist Party's Mayer *London to Congress in 1914 for the first of three terms, and elected socialists to the state legislature.

Although the Socialist Party had a very high proportion of Jews among its followers and leaders, it took no position on Jewish problems as such. Its general view was that Jewish problems did not exist, being imaginary constructs to divert attention from the true problems of all oppressed. Thus, Jews would achieve a full and final solution with the ultimate social revolution. The existence of the Jews as a people, it was tacitly assumed, might then end. American socialism had nativist elements who pushed it into an anti-immigration policy for several years after 1908, but perceptible antisemitism such as in some European socialist movements did not exist. Nevertheless, it was charged that some of the opposition in 1932 to Hillquit's leadership was antisemitic. In 1908 a Jewish Agitation Bureau was established in order to spread socialism among Yiddish-speaking Jews. Stimulated by immigrants with experience in the East European Bund, the Bureau developed into the Jewish Socialist Federation (JSF) from 1912, over strong opposition from Abe Cahan and other Yiddish-speaking stalwarts opposed to such "separatism." Actually the JSF disavowed any distinct Jewish purpose and attempted only to spread socialism, while it vigorously combated Zionism. Its membership was drawn mainly from immigrants of Bundist background. American socialism was greatly weakened by its opposition to American entry into World War I and by the Communist split in 1919. Among Jews it remained strong, although racked by savage quarrels with Communists. However, as the Democrats from 1928 became the party of urban liberalism, ethnic groups, and social reform, they drew increasing numbers of Jews and other socialists into their ranks. Jewish unions and voters moved en masse to the Democrats during the 1930s as F.D. *Roosevelt's New Deal enacted social legislation and provided national political recognition for Jews and other urban ethnic groups. Such Jews as Gus Tyler, Max and Robert Delson, Sidney *Hook, and J.B.S. Hardman were significant Socialist leaders during the 1930s. The American Socialist Party, led after Debs' death in 1925 by Norman Thomas, turned toward pacifism and isolationism in the face of Nazism and did not change its view on Jewish problems. The magnet of the New Deal and the inadequacies of the Socialist Party left the latter with very little Jewish or other following by the time of World War II.

[Lloyd P. Gartner]

The years after World War II, with their combination of economic prosperity, cold war, and political conformism, witnessed the near total collapse of the socialist movement as a serious political force in the U.S. Many older Jewish socialists joined this trend by moderating their criticisms of American society so as to be reabsorbed into the American political mainstream. Typical of this process was the emergence in New York City and State of the mildly reformist Liberal Party, which was dominated by Jewish labor leaders such as David *Dubinsky and Alex *Rose, nearly all of whom had been active socialists in the 1920s and 1930s.

Nevertheless, although socialist politics remained moribund in America for two decades after World War II, a community of influential socialist thinkers, many of them Jews, continued to exist and to sustain a tradition of radical political critique that served as an intellectual seedbed for the radical revival of the late 1960s. The individuals who composed this community held a wide divergence of views, ranging from the revolutionary Marxism of Herbert *Marcuse to the anarchism of Paul *Goodman and the social democratic humanism of Irving *Howe. All joined in rejecting both Soviet communism and American capitalism as viable social models for the future, though most openly expressed their preference for the latter as the less malign of the two evils and the more amenable to structural change. Other prominent figures from these years whose approach to public issues was socialist in tenor, were academicians such as Lewis A. *Coser and Daniel Bell, writers and journalists like Norman *Mailer, Harvey Swados, Paul Jacobs, and I.F. *Stone, and the psychoanalyst Erich *Fromm. Many socialists published in the pages of the journals *Dissent*, edited by Irving Howe, and *Partisan Review*, edited by Philip Rahv, and a number were identified with the League for Industrial Democracy directed by Tom Kahn.

As in earlier decades, the majority of American Jewish socialists tended to regard specifically Jewish issues as peripheral to broader social and economic problems, but many supported the establishment of the State of Israel both as a result of the Holocaust and as a legitimate expression of Jewish national aspirations. The revival of radical politics in the U.S. toward the end of the 1960s led to profound differences of opinion among socialist intellectuals. Some, such as Marcuse, supported the *New Left despite reservations about its ideological unclarity and tendencies to violence. Others, such as Howe, strongly attacked it for its contempt of intellectual values and climate of "left fascism." Among the points of contention in this debate was the State of Israel, particularly after the Six-Day War (1967). Many New Left supporters tended to side with the anti-Israel position, while its socialist detractors generally defended the Jewish state, though often with noticeably more ambivalence than in former years.

[Hillel Halkin]

Latin America

Jewish work for socialism in Latin America was mainly the result of the efforts of various Jewish labor organizations established by immigrants from Europe. However, in Argentina, where the socialist movement is one of the oldest in the world, Jewish workers played a part in the development of the General Labor movement and were active in both general politics and the trade unions. Enrique Dickmann was one of the outstanding socialist leaders in the early 1940s. The establishment of the military regime in Argentina greatly limited the activities of the Socialist Party, which nonetheless retained its long-standing association with the Socialist International, its representatives including persons of Jewish origin. In Chile, where the socialist movement had deep roots in the country's history, individual Jews played a part within the various left-wing groups. Jews were active, to a lesser degree, in Uruguay, where the socialist groups were weaker than in Chile. In other Latin American countries with a sizable Jewish population, the socialist movement was either very weak or its development was hampered by totalitarian regimes and the contribution of individual Jews was marginal.

Asia and Africa

Of special significance was the impact made by Israeli socialism in Asia and Africa, where it often served as an example for post-colonial development. The achievements of the *Histadrut, the unique character of the *kibbutz and the *moshav, the development of Israel's people's army and the industrial and scientific progress of the Jewish state, were greatly admired in many developing countries. In 1960, the Histadrut established the Afro-Asian Institute. By 1970, about 2,000 students from the "Third World" had attended its various courses conducted alternatively in English or French. The number of visitors to Israel from African and Asian countries increased substantially during the 1960s and the Histadrut sent many technical advisers to developing countries.

In the political field, the Israel Labor Party played an active part in the establishment of the Asian Socialist Conference (1953). Its activities were suspended after the establishment of totalitarian governments and the suppression of socialist groups in a number of Asian countries. A new attempt at setting up a center for the socialist movement in Asia and Oceania was made at a conference held in Wellington, New Zealand, in 1969; the Israel Labor Party was elected as a member of the secretariat established in Singapore. In Africa, the Israel labor movement established close contact with the socialist parties in power in Madagascar and Mauritius.

Within the Socialist International, the Israeli party *Mapai pressed for greater understanding of the specific conditions and needs of Asian and African countries, and was instrumental in the formation of the special committee for underdeveloped countries within the organization. The Israel Labor Party made clear on a number of occasions that it would welcome the affiliation of genuine Arab socialist groups to the International but it opposed cooperation with semi-Fascist or semi-Communist parties using the label "socialist" for political purposes.

Anarchism

The modern anarchist movement emerged during the 19th century. Some of its leaders believed in violent action, others confined themselves to putting forward their own highly individualistic theories on the transformation of authoritarian societies into free cooperation between individuals and groups. The impact of anarchist ideas has differed from country to country.

Famous anarchists had an indirect influence on the development of Jewish radical thought. The ideas of Proudhon, *Bakunin, Elisée Reclus (1830–1905), Kropotkin (1824–1906), Enrico Malatesta (1853–1932), and other libertarian writers were studied in Jewish revolutionary circles, but the impact of socialism on the Jewish labor movement was incomparably stronger than that of anarchism. Political action had a greater appeal to Jewish workers than the belief in the possibility of a violent and sudden transformation of society. Some of the "giants" of anarchism had a friendly attitude to Jews but others, such as Proudhon and Bakunin, showed clear antisemitic tendencies. Bakunin's antipathy to Jews was considerably influenced by his struggle with Karl Marx for the leadership of the First International. The greatest impact of anarchism was in Mediterranean countries – Spain, Italy, and southern France; and in Mexico, Cuba, Argentina, and southern Russia. In all these countries Jewish participation in the movement was of a minor character; of greater significance was the part played by Jews in the development of libertarian ideas in America and Britain.

Anarchism as an organized movement among Jewish immigrants began in the United States in 1886. A new organization, The Pioneers of Liberty, attracted a number of Jewish radical thinkers, among them the poets David Edelstadt and Morris Rosenfeld, the journalist S. *Janovsky, Emma *Goldman, and Alexander *Berkman. At first, Jewish supporters of the new creed were influenced by German immigrants, but they gradually began to make a direct appeal to Jewish workers and to issue literature in Yiddish. Violent clashes with Jewish socialists and religious elements soon followed. During World War I the number of Jewish anarchists fell; some returned to Russia after the Revolution or otherwise departed. Nevertheless, small groups continued their activities.

The Jewish anarchists in the United States kept in close touch with those in Britain, where the movement found a strong foothold among Jewish workers in Whitechapel. One of the leaders of the British group was Rudolf *Rocker, a German non-Jewish anarchist who lived in London from 1895 to 1914. He was a colorful figure among the Jewish supporters of the libertarian ideas and became editor of Yiddish publications. After 1917, anarchism declined as an active force among Whitechapel Jews, although it still retained a small group of adherents in Britain, including a number of Jews.

On the continent of Europe, anarchism attracted support among the Jewish socialist leaders. Thus in Germany, Moses Hess, who knew both Proudhon and Bakunin, was for a short time influenced by their ideas. He adopted the title "anarchy" for his own social philosophy developed in *Die Philosophie der Tat* (1843). A prominent anarchosocialist intellectual in Germany with an international reputation was Gustav Landauer. In France, Léon Blum in his early years was influenced by anarchist ideas, as was Bernard *Lazare, who combined his social revolutionary ideas with belief in Zionism.

In Russia, the anarchists were a marginal factor in the development of the Jewish labor movement. While their ideas influenced some of the Jewish revolutionaries, anarchism played only a minor part among Jewish radical elements. During the years 1918–21, peasants of the southern Ukraine joined the anarchist guerrilla leader Nestor Makhno, whose Revolutionary Insurrection Army was responsible for some of the most brutal pogroms against the Jewish population. Makhno had a number of Jewish supporters and denied responsibility for the brutalities. Toward the end of 1918, Aaron and Fanya Baron helped form the Confederation of Anarchist Organizations in Ukraine. In September 1921, Fanya Baron and eight of her comrades were shot in a Moscow prison. Alexander Shapiro – another Jewish anarchist – hoped to bring about an amelioration of conditions through working with the Soviet regime. But Jewish anarchism, and the movement as a whole, ceased to exist as a vital force in Russia after the "purge" of its supporters in the early 1920s. A number of former anarchists were attracted by kibbutz life in Israel, but after World War II anarchism virtually ceased to exist as an organized force in Jewish life. Nevertheless, "revolt against authority" and belief in libertarian ideas can be found among Jewish New Left intellectuals and students in various countries.

SOCIALISM AND THE JEWS

The first socialists were greatly divided about their attitude to the Jewish problem. Some ignored the issue because of ignorance, indifference, or the small number of Jews in their respective countries. Others were imbued with the general antisemitic prejudices prevailing in both Western and Eastern Europe during the 19th century. Another group – among the pioneers of socialism – was sympathetic to the Jews and championed their right to freedom and equality. Moses Hess, who was the first Zionist among the socialist theoreticians, was an exceptional case. The First International (1864–76) never adopted resolutions on the Jewish problem; the views expressed by its various leaders were of a personal nature. However, three official representatives from Jewish labor organizations were present at the first congress of the Second International (1889): Philip Kranz from London's Jewish International Workers' Educational Club, and Joseph Barsky and Louis Miller from the New York's United Hebrew Trades. The latter submitted a report on the activities of Jewish trade unions; this was the first time that an international socialist conference received information about the existence of an independent Jewish labor movement. The Jewish issue was raised at the second congress of the International (Brussels, 1889) by Abraham Cahan, who represented 30,000 "Yiddish-speaking workers" from the U.S.; he did it against the private advice of Victor Adler and Paul Singer and a number of other leading figures in the organization, who believed that a public discussion on antisemitism was both unnecessary and harmful. After a debate in the course of which two delegates from France made reference to the exploitation of workers by Jewish capitalists and denounced "philo-Semitic agitation," the congress adopted the following resolution:

> Considering that the socialists and workers' parties have always affirmed that there cannot exist for them racial or national antagonism, but only the class struggle of the proletariat of all races and countries against the capitalists of all races and countries;
>
> Considering that for the proletariat of the Jewish race and Yiddish language there exists no other way to achieve emancipation than to join the workers' organizations of their respective countries;
>
> Condemning antisemitic and philo-Semite outbursts as one of the means by which the capitalist class and the reactionary circles seek to divert the Socialist movement from its purpose and divide the workers;
>
> The Congress decides that the question raised by the delegation of the Yiddish-speaking group of American comrades was superfluous and passes to the next item on the Agenda.

The Russian socialists were not represented at the congress, but the resolution on the Jewish problem was sharply attacked for its lack of understanding in an article written by Georg Plekhanov in *Sotsial-Demokrat* (Geneva, 1892). In 1903, the Second International condemned the *Kishinev pogrom but refused to take a clear stand on the Jewish question. Jewish Social Democratic groups had been represented at congresses of the International from 1893, when Jacob Stechenberg represented both Lemberg and Cracow, but the Bund was allotted 12 out of the 29 mandates of the Russian Social Democratic Party. On the other hand Jews also represented the Russian Social Revolutionary Party at congresses of the International, Chaim Zhitlovsky and Ilya Rubanovich representing the party at the congress of 1904. The World Confederation of Po'alei Zion applied for membership of the International in March 1907. It submitted a special memorandum to the bureau of the organization, in the course of which attention was drawn to the unique nature of the Jewish problem which, it claimed, was primarily a result of the abnormal class-structure of the Jewish people and the special economic conditions of the Jewish working masses. The specific character of Jewish emigration was stressed as was the need for a territorial solution of the Jewish problem through the establishment of a Jewish National Home in Palestine. The Zionist socialist memorandum ended with the following request for admission:

> According to the latest resolution of the International Socialist Bureau, representation will henceforth be determined not on the basis of states but of nationalities. The Jewish Socialist Labor Party – Po'alei Zion – which numbers more than 19,000 organized Jewish workers in Russia, Austria, America, England, and Palestine requests the International Socialist Bureau to grant it – as a socialist party of proletarians of Jewish nationality – representation in the Bureau.

In October 1908, the Po'alei Zion Confederation put forward the idea of the creation of a Jewish section within the Socialist International which would comprise all the existing socialist parties of the Jewish proletariat: the Bund, the Po'alei Zion Confederation, the *Jewish Socialist Workers' Party ("Sejm") of Russia, and the *Zionist Socialists (SS) Party of Russia. The request was renewed in May 1911. Po'alei Zion's efforts to obtain admission to the International did not produce any tangible results – ostensibly on account of objections on organizational grounds. Actually, the request was not granted because of the opposition by the majority of socialist leaders – especially of the large parties – to Jewish national aspirations and labor Zionism. Prior to World War I, the large majority of socialist leaders believed in assimilation as the solution of the Jewish problem. Even those of them who recognized that the Jews were a people, either failed to see any justification for their separate existence or did not believe that they would survive as an independent entity. Many socialist leaders of Jewish origin favored assimilation, and for some the Jewish problem was a personal embarrassment. Others were sincere in their belief that socialism would solve the problem of all minorities and that there was no need for the Jews to be singled out as a special issue. There were also individual socialist spokesmen of Jewish origin who suffered from "self-hatred" and expressed antisemitic sentiments. Nevertheless, even prior to 1914, there were leading socialists who showed understanding of Jewish national aspirations and were sympathetic to the Zionist cause. Toward the end of World War I, Jewish socialists renewed their demands for recognition in the world socialist movement. In 1917, *Po'alei Zion submitted a detailed memorandum on the Jewish situation to the Dutch-Scandinavian Socialist Committee, and presented concrete demands on behalf of the Jewish labor movement. In the same year the committee, whose secretary was the pro-Jewish leader, Camille Huysmans (1871–1968), issued its peace manifesto to the warring powers and urged an international solution to the Jewish problem, involving autonomy for the Jews living in compact masses in parts of Poland, Russia, Austria, and Romania. In December 1917, a special conference of the British Labor Party and Trades Union Congress approved a memorandum on war aims which was later endorsed by a meeting of all the socialist parties in allied countries. The memorandum included, inter alia, the following section on the Jewish question:

> The conference demands for the Jews equal elementary rights in the sense of freedom of conscience, residence and trade, and the same political rights that ought to be extended to all citizens. But the conference further maintains that Palestine ought to be set free from the harsh and oppressive government of the Turk and ought to be transformed into a free state, under international guarantee, to which the Jewish people may return if they desire to do so, and where they may develop their own civilization free from the influence of alien races and religions.

During 1919 a number of international socialist conferences were held to discuss problems of a peace settlement. One of them, held in Amsterdam in April, adopted a special resolution dealing with Jewish rights. Beside the demands for equal civil rights, freedom of immigration and settlement in all countries, national autonomy, and representation of the Jewish people in the League of Nations, the motion contained the following clause:

> Recognition of the right of the Jewish people to build their National Home in Palestine, and the establishment of conditions favorable thereto under the protection and control of the League of Nations, which shall also safeguard the rightful interests of the existing non-Jewish population.

These resolutions showed a radical change in the attitude of a number of socialist parties to the Jewish problem. The Po'alei Zion Confederation was permitted to take an active part in the various socialist consultations dealing with a peace settlement and the reconstitution of the International. After the war, the Second International was reconstituted in February 1921 from among the socialist parties which did not join the Communist International. Po'alei Zion accepted an invitation to attend as a separate group and, at the Hamburg conference in May 1923, was represented by seven delegates. In the following year the position of the Po'alei Zion within the International was finally settled by a resolution of the executive in February 1924:

> 1. Palestine is included in the list of nationalities.
> 2. The only Palestinian party who has so far declared its readiness to affiliate is the Po'alei Zion Confederation.
> 3. The Po'alei Zion Confederation also has members in countries other than Palestine and demands – in accordance with article 10 of the bylaws relating to factions and parties – that these members be accredited to the Palestinian party. Accordingly, the members of the Confederation who do not belong to other affiliated parties will be accredited to Palestine.
> 4. Palestine is granted two votes at Congresses. These votes are allotted to the Po'alei Zion Confederation with the understanding that there will have to be a reallotment in case other parties in Palestine will affiliate to the International.

There was still considerable opposition to the Po'alei Zion within the Second International, largely from Jewish assimilationists such as Friedrich *Adler and members of the Bund among the Polish delegation. However, the Po'alei Zion succeeded in forming a representative Socialist Committee for Palestine, whose sponsors included Emil Vandervelde, Léon Blum, and Eduard Bernstein. In addition, 40 leading socialists representing ten European states responded to an invitation to attend a conference in Brussels in August 1928 to extend moral and political support for the labor movement in Palestine.

The persecution of the Jews in Nazi Germany, and the extermination of the Jewish population on the continent of Europe during World War II, finally made the socialist movement alive to the Jewish problem. This, in turn, led to an increasing understanding of Zionist aspirations. The British Labour Party led the campaign for increased Jewish immigration into Palestine and against the anti-Zionist *White Paper introduced by the Conservative government (May 1939), and its program of postwar aims envisaged the establishment of a Jewish state. The reversal of the party's pro-Zionist platform by the Labour government after 1945 came as a shock to many socialists in both Britain and elsewhere. A number of European socialist parties – while deeply sympathetic to the plight of Jewish refugees – were reluctant to criticize the policy of the British Labour government. The situation changed after the UN Partition resolution of 1947 and the establishment of the State of Israel (1948), whose emergence was greeted by many socialist leaders in various parts of the world. From its revival in 1951, the Socialist International gave consistent support to Mapai and later to the Israel Labor Party, which played an active part in the meetings of the bureau, council conferences, and congresses of the organization. The Socialist International, mainly on the initiative of Israeli delegates, took an active interest in the problem of Soviet Jewry and several times officially demanded its positive solution. (See *Russia, Struggle for Soviet Jewry.) The 11th Congress of the Socialist International (June 1969) adopted a resolution which expressed deep concern that two years after the war of the Arab states against Israel, no advance had yet been made toward a settlement based on security and lasting peace in the area. It stated that flagrant violations of the cease-fire agreement and senseless acts of terrorism threatened to lead to an escalation toward a new war. It also pledged full support for the mission of the UN representative Gunnar Jarring and directly negotiated peace treaties between Arab states and Israel. The International appointed a special working group to study the situation of Soviet Jewry and actively identified itself with the struggle for the attainment of its legitimate rights; it also urged Arab governments to allow Jews to emigrate.

Conclusion

Summarizing the Jewish contribution to the Socialist movement the following picture emerges regarding the situation at the end of 1970.

(1) The Nazi-Fascist period and the Holocaust led to a decline both of the Jewish population in Central Europe and in its contribution to the socialist movement; individual Jews, however, continued to play their part in the various labor parties.

(2) The establishment of Communist regimes in Eastern European countries led to the suppression of socialist parties and thus brought to an end the long chapter of Jewish participation in the struggle for democratic socialist ideas in Russia, Poland, Romania, and other countries of the region.

(3) The period of Gaullism in France was followed by both a decrease in the strength of the socialist movement and the part of Jews in its leadership.

(4) A feature of the postwar period was a considerable increase in Jewish participation in the activities of the British Labour Party, and a parallel process, on a smaller scale, was discernible in the Canadian New Democratic Party. A tendency to greater Jewish participation in labor politics was also felt in Australia where the Jewish community was still comparatively small. Similar currents were noticeable in South American countries but the outlook was unclear due, on the one hand, to military dictatorships and, on the other, to the possibility of revolutionary upheavals.

(5) The major center of the Jewish socialist movement with wide links in many parts of the world was Israel. It was the Israel Labor Party and the Histadrut which attracted the interest of both international labor circles and non-aligned countries in the "Third World." The center of gravity of Jewish socialist thought and actions shifted from Diaspora countries to Israel. During the 19th century, the world was mainly familiar with the contribution to socialism made by individuals of Jewish origin, but it is now aware of the collective Jewish contribution created by Jewish labor in the Jewish state.

[Schneier Zalman Levenberg]

SOCIALISM AND WOMEN

Jewish women's involvement with socialism began in 19th-century Europe with the emergence of modern Jewish political movements that sought to address the dislocations caused by industrialization, urbanization, and the breakdown of traditional religious structures. Socialists aspired to create a just society, often conceived in utopian, classless terms. Some Jewish women who worked within socialist movements, parties, trade unions, and causes added gender to their class and national analyses of modernity's problems, insisting on an amalgam of socialism and feminism.

The first Jewish socialists, including female intelligentsia such as Rosa *Luxemburg in Germany, Angelica *Balabanov in Italy, and Matilda Pollak of Austria, put their energies into general socialist movements. However, by the end of the 19th century, the composition and nature of Jewish involvement with socialism was transformed by the growth of a massive Jewish artisanal working-class in Eastern Europe. As Jewish women flocked into light industry, primarily the needle trades, but also tanning, bristle making, and cigar and cigarette production, many began to organize as workers and as Jews to protest their exploitative working conditions. Jewish women joined the socialist-oriented Bund when it formed in Vilna in 1897, comprising one-third of its membership, and occupied many of its middle rank leadership roles. Esther Frumkin (b. 1880), despite being born to a life of privilege, devoted herself to the Bundist cause.

Emigration from Eastern Europe stimulated socialist activism. Jewish immigrant communities in Europe, the Americas, Palestine, and elsewhere, were deeply sympathetic to socialist ideals, many of which were expressed through trade unionism. Women played an important role in realizing many of these aspirations. Although Jews comprised 40 percent of New York's garment workers in the early 20th century, Jewish women often found themselves in less skilled, lower-paying positions, and were viewed skeptically by the labor establishment. Yet, the American and American Jewish trade union movements only became secure when galvanized by labor activities spearheaded by young Jewish women workers in the first decade of the 20th century.

The most important female labor action of the period, the so-called Uprising of the Twenty Thousand (also known as the 1909 Shirtwaist Strike; see *International Ladies Garment Workers Union), involving thousands of Jewish and Italian working girls, began a series of strikes that spread to Philadelphia, Chicago, Cleveland, and Kalamazoo – later called "The Great Revolt" – and emboldened the American labor movement. By 1919, half of all garment workers were members of a union. Fannia M. *Cohn, Rose *Schneiderman, Pauline *Newman, and Clara Lemlich *Shavelson, all East European-born, experienced the shirtwaist strike as the formative event of their activist youth, as did Theresa *Malkiel, who later became an important Socialist Party activist and immortalized her experiences in the novel *Diary of a Shirtwaist Striker* (1910). Many female Jewish trade unionists continued their socialist-inspired activism through progressive and reform politics in the New Deal. Most notable was Bessie Abramowitz *Hillman, who at 21 led a walkout with 16 other young women against a Chicago clothing firm that began the 1910 strike and later became an organizer for the Women's Trade Union League (WTUL). Similar narratives are told of other young Jewish women raised in immigrant communities, such as Rose Kerrigan, whose socialist activism informed her earliest years as a rent striker and her later years as a pension activist in Glasgow, Scotland. While most female Jewish socialists felt loyalty foremost to the working-class from which they came, they also supported middle-class feminist issues, such as suffrage, in disproportionate numbers.

Socialism's strength on the New York Jewish street before World War I made the Jewish Socialist Federation (JSF), established in 1912, the third largest foreign-language federation within the Socialist Party. When the 1917 October Revolution radicalized and split the international socialist and trade union movement, Jewish women joined the ranks of both the Socialist Party (and the nascent Communist Party). Many others became fellow travelers who worked for socialist ideals through the expansive Jewish immigrant fraternal, educational, and cultural networks that included the Yiddish press, supplementary Yiddish schools, theater, and housing and consumer cooperatives.

Socialist activism also informed the Zionist movement and as early as 1907 the Po'alei Zion applied for membership in the Socialist International, asserting that the needs of the Jewish proletariat merited a special Jewish organization. Opposition to Zionism ran strong in the international socialist community, and labor and social Zionists found their successes in the Israeli kibbutz and labor movements. *The Plough Woman* (1931; rep. 2002) recorded the testimonies of female pioneers, such as Rachel *Katznelson-Shazar and Yael Gordon among many others, who were imbued with the socialist ideals that underpinned labor Zionism.

Because socialism was so intimately tied to immigrant labor, culture, and community life, post-World War II suburbanization and upward mobility led to the decline of socialist activism among Jews, including women. An exception was the prominence of certain Jewish women activists in "Second Wave" feminism, which as a movement criticized society chiefly through the lens of gender. Individuals such as Clara

Goodman Fraser, a Jewish feminist from East Los Angeles, believed that resolution of class conflict was necessary to ameliorate the condition of women in a patriarchal society. She combined socialism and feminism on behalf of the Freedom Socialist Party (FSP) and Radical Women (RW) throughout the 1960s and 1970s. In Latin America, many Jewish women, such as the socialist Alicia Portnoy, suffered as leftists under the Argentinean junta in the 1970s.

[Nancy Sinkoff (2nd ed.)]

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SOCIALISM, JEWISH. This article refers to specifically Jewish movements and parties which envisaged the creation of a socialist society as an essential aspect of the solution to the Jewish question. This definition, while far from perfect, has the virtue of excluding Jews who happened to be socialists, as well as socialist movements in which many Jews were active but which had no specifically Jewish content or aims (for which see *Socialism).

The Beginnings of the Movement

Jewish socialism, so understood, could originate only in Eastern Europe, and above all in the *Pale of Settlement. In distinction to Western and Central European Jewries, which were largely middle class, East European Jewry included hundreds and thousands of workers, the Yiddish-speaking "masses" so evident in the cities of western and southern Russia. Moreover, by the late 19th century a secular Jewish intelligentsia had developed in the Pale, consisting of students and professionals, many of whom were influenced by radical Russian ideologies. That they should be so was quite predictable, given the all-pervasive antisemitism which awakened their demands for social justice and made public activity, outside radical circles, impossible. These Jewish intellectuals, children of the *Haskalah ("Enlightenment"), were in revolt against the values and traditions of the ghetto. In many cases socialism, the acceptance of which in itself was a sign of assimilation, led them to discover the Jewish proletariat; this discovery, in turn, led them back to the Jewish people, to whom they preached the new doctrine.

The alliance of the radical Jewish intelligentsia with the Jewish masses made Jewish socialism possible. This alliance occurred first and foremost in the area of Jewish settlement in Lithuania (Lithuania-Belorussia, corresponding to the six provinces of the northwest region of the Pale), where the Jewish working class was numerically dominant in the cities and the Jewish intelligentsia was less subject to assimilationist pressures than in Poland or Ukraine. It is no accident that so many of the pioneers of Jewish socialism were "Litvaks" (that is, of Lithuanian origin) and that the *Bund, the first great Jewish socialist party, was founded in Vilna. Indeed, Jewish socialism may be seen as expanding from its Lithuanian base first to Poland and the Ukraine, and then beyond Russia's borders to Austrian Galicia. It took root, too, in the major centers of the Russian Jewish emigration: London, New York, Buenos Aires, and, of course, Palestine.

Russian Jewish socialism may be said to begin with A.S. *Liebermann. Born in Lunna, a student at the celebrated rabbinical seminary in Vilna, Liebermann became a confirmed Populist, influenced in particular by the doctrines of Peter Lavrov. It was in the pages of Lavrov's London journal *Vpered* that Liebermann published in 1875 a series of articles on the Jewish proletariat. Having taken the first vital step in his discovery of the poverty-stricken workers of Bialystok and Vilna, the author went one step further. These workers, he argued, lived under special conditions and spoke a distinct language of their own; they required, therefore, a special organization of their own, a Jewish section within the Russian revolutionary movement. This suggestion was questioned by V.N. Smirnov, secretary of *Vpered*, and Liebermann was accused of having deviated from socialist internationalism. He replied that recognition of the Jewish proletariat's special needs was far from nationalism, and that he himself despised "Jewry," believing only in individuals and in classes. This is the first exposition of what was to become a familiar pattern: the discovery of the

Jewish proletariat is followed by the demand for a specifically Jewish organization, justified on technical grounds by reference to the obvious empiric differences between Jewish and Russian workers. Liebermann went no further than this, and his organizational schemes left no lasting impression in Russia, though he succeeded in establishing a Jewish workers' union in London. He was, however, a true pioneer, not only because he edited the first Jewish socialist journal, **Ha-Emet*, but because his conception of the needs of the Jewish proletariat was accepted by all his successors. His career offered a point of departure, while his quarrel with Smirnov hinted at what was to become a major dilemma for generations of Jewish socialists.

During the 1880s and 1890s socialist circles (*kruzhki* in Russian) were founded in the major cities of Lithuania. These circles succeeded, for the first time, in joining together members of the Jewish intelligentsia and the Jewish working class. The leaders were russified Jews, to a far greater extent than Liebermann, who had retained the characteristics of a *maskil* and published his socialist organ in Hebrew. There were both Populists and Marxists among them, though Marxism was more attractive (after all, Populism placed its hopes on the peasants and there was no Jewish peasantry) and eventually won the day. The aim of the circle was to produce cadres of trained revolutionaries who would dedicate their lives to the Russian revolution. It was, in accordance with both Populist and Marxist teachings, essentially a school for socialism. The worker participants were first taught Russian and then studied economics, literature, and even the natural sciences, the purpose being to make them "class conscious." There was nothing particularly Jewish about these circles except that all the participants were Jews. This was the result not only of the preponderance of Jewish workers in the cities of Lithuania and Belorussia (Vilna, Minsk, Gomel, Dvinsk, etc.) but also of the gulf which separated Jews from Christians, the "estrangement" felt even by russified Jewish intellectuals when they sought to make contact with non-Jews. The all-Jewish character of the circles, therefore, reflected necessity rather than the desire to establish a Jewish movement, a practical example of Liebermann's view that special conditions dictated the creation of a special movement.

The idea of creating a special Jewish movement, however, as apart from circles dedicated to supplying revolutionaries for the Russian movement, was not formulated by the circle leaders until the circles themselves were transformed into trade unions. This transformation, the famous transition from cultural "propaganda" to economic "agitation," occurred in the early 1890s, by which time the circle movement had reached a point of crisis. While the circle was intended to be a school for socialism, a significant number of worker participants used it as a means to attain secular education and to escape the poverty of proletarian existence. Some emigrated, some became students, and others even opened their own shops, thus becoming, in the eyes of the leadership, "exploiters." Searching for a way out of this impasse the intellectual leadership resolved to appeal to the economic interests of the Jewish masses, an idea which came to them partly as a result of new developments within Russian Marxist thought, partly from the example of Polish socialism, and partly from their own experience of early Jewish strikes. Thus the educational circle made way for the strike, and the dominant figure of the circle movement, the teacher, gave way to the labor leader, the "agitator." Class consciousness would be achieved not through studying economics but through the hard school of the strike movement, which would demonstrate to the workers the alliance between the boss and the regime. The new slogan was "through economics to politics." Rather than concentrating on the elite of the circles, the intellectuals went "into the streets, to the masses."

The transition from propaganda to agitation was accompanied by the ideological formulation, expressed in the writings of A. *Kremer, S. *Gozhansky, and J. *Martov, of the need for a specifically Jewish socialist organization. These men, who formerly thought only in terms of Russian socialism, now argued that the Jewish proletariat, miserably exploited and extremely responsive to the slogans of the agitation campaign, was a worthy member of the international working class. Its struggle for better economic conditions was fully justified by the tenets of international Marxism, for the organization of Jewish workers into trade unions would ultimately contribute to the struggle to make Russia into a socialist state. The leaders then went one step further. The struggle of the Jewish proletariat, they argued, was also a national struggle for equal rights for Russian Jewry, a struggle which the assimilated and cowardly Jewish bourgeoisie was incapable of waging and which non-Jewish movements were liable to ignore. Thus the connection was made between the social role of the Jewish proletariat, whose mission was to lead the way to socialism, and its national role as defender of Jewish rights in the Russian Empire. This conception was to be developed into a full blown socialist-nationalist ideology which virtually all Jewish socialist movements came to accept.

The Bund

This way of thought became the organizational and ideological basis for the General Jewish Workers' Union in Russia and Poland (the *Bund), founded in 1897 as the result of the unification of various local movements in the major cities of Lithuania. The new ideology, as well as the new trade union organization, encountered stiff opposition: Russian Marxists, who organized the Russian Social Democratic Workers' Party in 1898, refused to admit the need for an autonomous Jewish organization, a position consistently affirmed by *Lenin in his polemics with the Bund. Certain members of the old circles, who prized the cultural work carried on by the intellectuals, denounced the tactics of agitation as a plot to keep the workers ignorant and therefore incapable of leadership roles in the revolutionary movement. The various opposition movements which emerged in Vilna, Minsk, and other centers advanced an additional argument which was to have considerable weight among Jewish socialists. The Jewish working class, they claimed, could not wage a meaningful class struggle because it consisted almost entirely of artisans, with little if any difference between employers and employees. Those artisans, who for various reasons could gain entrance to the great factories, had nothing in common with the Russian factory proletariat, not to mention the great proletariats of Western Europe. Agitation, therefore, could only lead to the farcical struggle of the "poverty-stricken against the indigent."

The formulators of the agitation program rejected this argument. The Jewish artisan, they wrote, was a particularly apt subject for the slogans of economic action, since he was better educated than the factory worker and was the heir to a long tradition of guild organization. The fact that 90% of the Jewish workingmen in Lithuania were craftsmen who labored in tiny shops might therefore be advantageous, and in the end a Jewish factory proletariat would doubtless develop. Indeed, the outbreak of strikes in the Pale, from 1892 on, and the remarkable organizational achievements of the Jewish proletariat under the leadership of the Bund (achievements which placed the Jewish movement, in Plekhanov's words, in the vanguard of the Russian proletarian army) would appear to bear out the correctness of the agitation tactics. Certainly the opposition movements were swept away by the Jewish workers' massive response to the agitation program. On the other hand, there is considerable evidence that the strike movement was unable to cure the economic troubles of the Jewish artisan class, which were caused to a certain extent by its inability to enter the factories. The Bund's assumption that the Jewish proletariat was essentially no different from any other was to come under heavy attack in the early years of the 20th century.

As already noted, as early as the 1890s the socialists had attributed both a social and a national role to the Jewish proletariat. The success of the agitation tactics gave impetus to the formulation by the leaders of the Bund of a Jewish national program. The development from Liebermann's disavowal of all interest in the Jews as a national entity to the Bund's adoption of the demand for national-cultural autonomy, presented in 1903, is of great importance. It is explicable in terms of the fact that the Jewish proletariat, bearer of the Marxist mission, was also seen as the bearer of the Jewish national tradition as against the assimilated, russified or polonized Jewish middle class. This became clear to the socialists only with the inauguration of the agitation tactics, when they came face to face with the masses for the first time. In order better to serve the cause of the Yiddish-speaking Jewish workers the movement forged a natural alliance with the Yiddish literary renaissance – Jewish workers were now offered *Peretz instead of Turgenev. The interest in all things Yiddish, glorified as the language of the laboring class (in contrast to Hebrew, the language of the reactionary yeshivot), remained a hallmark of the Bund throughout its existence. Moreover, the tactics of agitation brought to the fore a new leadership, a "popular" one often drawn from the so-called "semi-intelligentsia" (meaning the Jewish youth without diplomas), which was less russified and closer to the Jewish masses than the Kremers and Martovs. Both these factors caused Bundists to advance from the attitude that a Jewish organization was justified basically on technical grounds to the attitude that the Jewish people, represented by its proletariat, presented national characteristics of a positive nature which should be fostered. This new assumption was strengthened by the growth of Jewish nationalism in Russia as a competing ideology to Bundism. It was also strengthened by the development, within the Austrian Social Democratic Party, of the theory of national self-determination on a personal rather than a territorial basis. By demanding national rights for the Jews, which meant mainly the right to foster Yiddish cultural activities, the Bund embarked on a course taken by many other socialist parties representing the oppressed nationalities of the Russian and Austrian empires. It was also following trends within the European socialist movement, which during the period of the Second International increasingly came to recognize and encourage the liberation movements of subject peoples. The Bund's combination of socialism and nationalism was therefore in line with tendencies in East European Marxism, though the Jewish case was more difficult to defend since it was by no means clear that the Jews were, in fact, a nationality. Thus Otto *Bauer, chief theoretician of the Austrian Marxists and the author of a famous book on Marxism and nationalism, specifically excluded the Jews from the community of nations. This was the background to the long polemics between the Bund and Lenin, who never doubted that the solution to the Jewish question lay in assimilation. Neither Lenin nor Bauer, however, could convince the Bundists that the defense of the Jewish workers' national needs was any less vital than the defense of their economic and political needs.

In the early years of its existence the Bund ruled, virtually unchallenged, as the party of the politically active Jewish working class. Even its greatest enemies within the Jewish socialist camp have never failed to grant the Bund credit for its role in awakening this class, in which it inspired new hopes for a society based on social justice and democracy. The Bund, in short, put the East European Jewish working class on the map of modern Jewish history. However, a fundamental weakness of the party was its assumption that the condition of the Jews in Russia was not greatly different from the condition of the other nationalities of the empire, except that the Jews lacked a territory and therefore required national cultural autonomy on a personal basis. The task of the Jewish proletariat was to struggle, side by side with the proletariats of the other nationalities, for a socialist Russia. Antisemitism was regarded as a manifestation of capitalism alone; socialism would abolish it, along with all other iniquities, and would solve the Jewish question once and for all. Zionism was therefore regarded as a bourgeois ideology, a brand of utopianism dangerous because it might lure workers away from their proper mission. Zionists were seen as working hand-in-hand with antisemites, the classic example being Herzl's meeting with Von *Plehve.

Zionist Socialism

These views were rejected by a new type of Jewish socialism, Zionist Socialism, which challenged the hegemony of the Bund in the years immediately preceding the first Russian revolution. The ideologists of this new movement were from various backgrounds: there were former "bourgeois" Zionists, such as Nachman *Syrkin, who were unable to withstand the great influence of Russian radicalism and moved to the left but without abandoning their Zionist principles; and former Russian socialists, such as Ber *Borochov, whose encounters with Russian antisemitism, including the proletarian variety, helped to push them into the Zionist camp. The *Zionist Socialists agreed with the Bund in recognizing the predominant role of the Jewish proletariat in modern Jewish history, and in recognizing the dual nature of this role – both social and national. However, they were also in fundamental agreement with the Zionist analysis of the Jewish predicament, namely that antisemitism was endemic to the Diaspora and that the reversal of class relationships through revolution, however desirable, did not constitute a solution. Their problem was to create an ideology which, rejecting both the Bund's russo-centrism and the all-class character of bourgeois Zionism, would combine the revolutionary determinism of the former with the doctrine of territorialism articulated by the latter.

The early *Po'alei Zion circles found it easier to attack the Bund than to formulate a clear alternative. Their attack was based on the theory that the Jewish working class did not constitute a proletariat, a theory somewhat reminiscent of the views of those who opposed the agitation tactics of the early 1890s. The Jewish working class, it was argued, was incapable of transforming itself into a proletariat because of the very nature of the Diaspora, which precluded the possibility of a normal Jewish existence. It was, and would remain, incapable of a meaningful class struggle, and therefore the entire Bundist program was based on a class with no future. Thus the failure of Jewish workers to enter the great factories was not a temporary phenomenon but a symptom of the Jewish people's abnormal situation, which no social revolution could alter. The Jewish strike movement, while perhaps of psychological value, was a palliative rather than a cure. The peculiar nature of the Jewish proletariat, cited by the circle's participants in their polemics with Kremer and Gozhanky, and by the Bundists as proof that the Jewish artisans would be particularly amenable to the class struggle, was presented as proof of the bankruptcy of the Bund's position. Thus the emotional argument against the Bund, the rising tide of antisemitism symbolized by the *Kishinev pogrom (1903), was given "scientific" backing by studies proving the absurdity of Jewish strikes and the absence of Jewish workers from the great factories.

As socialists, however, the Bund's critics were also obliged to base their hopes on the Jewish proletariat (or at least on the "laboring masses"). Therefore they evolved the concept that the Jewish question could be solved only through the territorial concentration of the Jewish working class, where a meaningful class struggle would be feasible and would lead to a Jewish socialist society. This territorial concentration, however, would not come about as the result of the will of the Jewish people – Herzl's famous slogan, "If you will it, it is no dream" was unacceptable to the Marxist and semi-Marxist intelligentsia – but as the inevitable result of the Jewish proletariat's search for a base from which to conduct the class struggle. Thus both the Bund's error and Zionism's ultimate victory were proven in "scientific" terms, as was the pioneering role of the Jewish proletariat in the Zionist movement. Marxist determinism was introduced to lend certainty to the Zionist ideal, a fact of great psychological significance to those who had previously suspected Zionism of being Utopian. Herzl's slogan was turned on its head; since it was proved that "it is no dream," therefore "we shall will it."

While Zionist Socialists (see below) agreed that the abnormal situation of the Jewish working class, itself symptomatic of the incurable disease of the Diaspora, ruled out a Diaspora solution to the Jewish question, there was no agreement on a number of extremely difficult problems inherent in the basic ideology. There was, for example, the problem of the "two levels." Should the Zionist Socialists participate in the political and economic struggle in Russia, or should they concentrate solely on efforts to obtain a territory? The latter alternative was not particularly attractive, since it was not clear exactly how a political party, with its base in Russia, might work to hasten the territorial solution. On the other hand, if the Jewish question could not be solved in Russia, and if the Jewish proletariat was incapable of waging the class struggle, what was the point of organizing a party in the Diaspora at all? It was logical that, despite the "negation of the exile" implied in the theses of the Zionist Socialists, their involvement in the Diaspora should nonetheless increase as their popularity among Jewish workers and intellectuals grew. From a practical point of view it was clear that the territorial solution, especially after the episode of the Uganda *scheme, was far off, and that the Jewish masses would remain in Russia for the foreseeable future. Along with this was the fact that the rising revolutionary storm in Russia, which reached its peak in 1905–06, could not be ignored by the Jewish socialists, whether Zionists or not. Thus Zionist Socialists, revealing an apparent contradiction between their theory and their practice, often became as involved in the Russian struggle as their antagonists, the Bundists. This was particularly true during great upheavals in Russia, when the temptation to participate and therefore to prove one's revolutionary worth was too great to withstand. The problem of the "two levels" remained crucial for all Zionist Socialists, just as the peculiar composition of the Jewish proletariat and the participation of workers in pogroms remained a problem for the Bund. This problem helped split the socialist Zionist camp in 1917 and during the civil war, the greatest Russian upheaval of them all.

Another basic problem was the question in which territory the Jews were to be concentrated. For many Zionist Socialists, who believed along with Herzl in the imminent collapse of Diaspora Jewry (a belief naturally strengthened by the Kishinev pogrom), any territory would do, and therefore they supported the Uganda scheme, an issue which divided the Zionist movement from 1903 on. Moreover, it was difficult for socialists to accept the Palestinian orientation of bourgeois Zionism, since it seemed to be based on mysticism and was unsupported by any scientific, socialist analysis. The eternal bond between the Jewish people and Ereẓ Israel appeared to be a fitting slogan for the *Mizrachi movement but not for Marxists. It is therefore paradoxical that the most consistent Marxist of all, Ber Borochov, nonetheless insisted on Palestine, though he too justified his choice on utilitarianism rather than on appeals to Jewish tradition. The problem of "why Palestine," like the problem of Hebrew versus Yiddish, remained a difficult one for Zionist Socialists, especially for Marxists torn between their loyalty to the national movement and their adherence to scientific socialism.

Other issues also separated the various socialist Zionist groups, which included strict Marxists, semi-Marxists, and Populists. To cite one example, some rejected the "catastrophe" approach to the Jewish Diaspora and insisted that the territorial solution, though necessary, could be achieved only after a long process of development in the Diaspora. During the first Russian Revolution three distinct parties formed out of the ideological confusion: the Marxist, Palestinian Po'alei Zion, the *Zionist Socialist Workers' Party (known as S.S.), which despite its name was territorialist, and the *Jewish Socialist Workers' Party, also known as the "Sejmist" party, which called for the nurturing of Jewish national life in the Diaspora (under the aegis of a Jewish parliament, or Sejm) until the time was ripe for a territorial solution. Together, these parties spelled a serious challenge to the hegemony of the Bund. Unlike the Bund, all suffered from the tension between the ultimate goal, a territorial solution, and the inescapable need to participate in the struggle for socialism, Jewish national rights in the Diaspora, and the improvement of the economic lot of the Jewish masses. The three parties, all claiming to represent the Yiddish-speaking, economically and culturally deprived Jewish laboring masses, found that their activities overlapped. It is significant that the objective situation led all of them to champion national cultural autonomy for Russian Jewry, a stand also taken by the Bund. In fact, though kept alive by polemics between party leaders, ideological distinctions tended to be blurred in the daily struggle. Thus Bundists, socialist Zionists, and socialist territorialists all cooperated in the establishment of Yiddish schools, seen as the mainspring in the creation of Jewish national autonomy. While the gulf between the Bundist and Zionist Socialist analysis of the Jewish question remained as wide as ever, so long as the Jewish masses remained concentrated in the Pale and elsewhere in Eastern Europe, the practical platforms of the various Jewish socialist parties were bound to grow more and more similar.

Europe Outside Russia

In Eastern Europe, beyond Russia's borders, Galicia offered the most fertile ground for Jewish socialism. Both the Bund and the Zionist Socialists made inroads in this Austrian province, which combined economic conditions even worse than those in the Pale with a much more moderate political system. Vienna, a magnet for Galician Jewish intellectuals, became an important Po'alei Zion center, though the absence of a substantial Jewish proletariat made Bundist incursions impossible. The great emigration from Eastern Europe did produce a Jewish proletariat in England, chiefly in London's East End, which became an important Jewish socialist and trade union center in the 1880s. In London, as in the cities of the Pale, there was a profusion of both radical Jewish intellectuals and Jewish artisans, but different conditions made for a very different development in Jewish socialism. One issue, the path to Yiddish, which was complicated in Russia, was much easier in London. Having left Russia behind and not having yet become anglicized, the intellectuals turned to Yiddish to fill the vacuum. Thus Morris *Vinchevsky, Liebermann's contemporary, abandoned his mentor's Hebrew and published in London the first socialist paper in Yiddish, the *Poylishe Yidl*. The English capital became a training ground for Yiddish socialist journalists, whose writings were read in both Russia and America. Trade union activities were central to the Jewish movement from the very beginning, natural in a country which, unlike Russia, boasted an advanced and legal trade union movement. The Jewish unions were often founded by socialists (or anarchists), and for as long as Jewish workers were clearly differentiated from non-Jews it is possible to speak of a Jewish movement. However, on the eve of World War I specifically Jewish unions were on the wane, a result of growing assimilation and the absorption of Jewish workers by English unions. The Yiddish socialist press and Jewish socialist and anarchist groups, deprived of leadership and subjects for organization, were also in decline. The careers of such Jewish socialists as Vinchevsky, Philip *Krantz, and Benjamin *Feigenbaum, who were active in London and then left for the new world, illustrate both the importance of London as a center of early Jewish socialist activity and its rather swift eclipse by New York.

The United States

The history of U.S. Jewish socialism is not unlike that of English Jewish socialism, though incomparably richer and more important. In the United States Russian-Jewish radicals, arriving from the early 1880s onward, found themselves estranged from the mainstream of American political life: even American Marxism, whose main practitioners were German immigrants in New York, was too reformist for them. Leaving Russia behind, but not the Russian radical tradition, they plunged hopefully into the Yiddish-speaking milieu of New York, editing socialist newspapers, writing Yiddish pamphlets and poetry, and above all organizing Jewish workers into trade unions. These unions, unlike most American labor organizations, were socialist in ideology; there were no greater enemies of S. *Gompers' nonpolitical unionism, embodied in the American Federation of Labor, than the Jewish unions led by former Russian radicals. The various waves of immigration brought to the U.S. numerous East European Jewish socialists, including illustrious Bundists and Zionist Socialists, who formed groups of their own. Such organizations, aside from their local activities, were of great importance for their sister organizations in Eastern Europe and Palestine, since they were in a position to offer both political and financial support. Thus just as the significance of American Zionism within the world Zionist movement increased, so did that of the American Po'alei Zion within world labor Zionism, all the more so since most of the prominent Po'alei Zion leaders were at one time or another active in America. Equally important was the cultural work accomplished by Jewish socialists among the Yiddish-speaking immigrants. If the Russian movement had its circles, and later its Yiddish secular schools, American Jewish socialism created the Arbeter Ring ("Workmens' *Circle"), a fraternal organization which combined economic and cultural activities. In the United States, as in Eastern Europe, socialism was the means whereby great numbers of the Jewish poor received an education.

In the United States, as in Russia, the organization of Jewish unions and the use of Yiddish were justified on technical grounds. Thus A. *Cahan, perhaps the dominant figure in American Jewish radicalism, a former student at the same Vilna rabbinical seminary which Aaron Liebermann attended, used Yiddish in his speeches to the Jewish workers in America simply because they understood no other language. Unlike Russia, however, where the tendency was from Russian to Yiddish, in the United States the tendency was from Yiddish to English. The mainstream of the U.S. Jewish socialist movement, represented by Cahan and his newspaper *Jewish Daily Forward*, favored the Americanization of the Jewish masses. National cultural autonomy was regarded as a justified demand for East European Jewry but was clearly absurd in the United States, the land of democracy, where the all-pervasive influence of English soon made itself felt among the immigrant masses. Moreover, if Russian conditions favored the creation of mass socialist parties, like the Bund, which were of a pronounced Marxist, revolutionary character, in the United States the mass Jewish organization was the union, whose socialist character was clear at the outset but which tended to leave socialism behind with the passage of time. It is interesting to note that in Russia, where Jewish workers were not particularly successful in improving their economic situation, the Jewish labor movement and Jewish socialism remained more or less identical. In the United States, where major breakthroughs were made in the Needle Trade Union relations with management in the years immediately preceding World War I, this identity was not maintained. The career of David *Dubinsky, a former Bundist who became the leader of the International Ladies Garment Workers' Union and left Bundism behind, illustrates this process. Thus American soil nourished neither the national nor the radical sides of East European Jewish socialism, though both Yiddishists and Jewish Marxists remained active on the American scene.

Relations with the Communist Party

The Bolshevik October (1917) Revolution and the establishment of the Communist International inaugurated a period of schisms within the Jewish socialist movement, as within virtually all socialist parties. It became necessary to choose between affiliation to the victorious Communist movement and continued adherence to democratic socialism. For the Jewish parties this choice was particularly difficult; the Russian Communist Party, while clearly opposed to antisemitism, inherited an assimilationist attitude toward the Jewish question and was hostile to both Zionism and Bundism. Hence to join the Communist movement meant, essentially, to abandon a specifically Jewish program (though not the use of Yiddish to reach the Jewish workers). In the Soviet Union, of course, there was no freedom to choose. The Bund, which was anti-Bolshevik during the revolution, was not tolerated by the new regime. After the failure of efforts to maintain organizational autonomy as the so-called "Kombund" ("Communist Bund"), the Bund was forced out of existence by 1921. The various Zionist socialist movements, though they lasted longer than the Bund, were finally crushed in the Soviet Union during the later 1920s. It should not be imagined that the collapse of autonomous Jewish socialist parties in the U.S.S.R. was solely the result of repression. In 1918 many Bundists began to opt for Communism, reflecting, among other things, the Jewish reaction to pogroms in the Ukraine. Many members of Po'alei Zion, favorably inclined toward the Bolshevik coup from the beginning, also declared their adherence to the Communist movement, as did the United Jewish Socialist Workers' Party, the left faction of the so-called Fareynikte ("United," e.g., the unified S.S.-Sejmist Party, which had amalgamated in 1917). Such erosion indicates that, at least among certain Jewish socialists, the Jewish content was less important than the hopes for a new society in which all national problems would be automatically solved. If many Jewish radicals had been led to Jewish territorialism by the atmosphere of antisemitism so prevalent in czarist Russia, the victory of Communism, transforming Russia from the most backward to the most enlightened country in Europe, led them back to the ideals of pure internationalism. Moscow for them appeared to be a surer Zion than Jerusalem. As for the Bundists, the attraction of participating in building the new socialist state in Russia, along with the hope that their national program might, after all, be implemented by the Communists, led large numbers to break with the anti-Bolshevik tradition of their party. All Jewish socialists in Russia, moreover, were influenced by their fear of the counter-revolution, which had revealed its antisemitic character in the terrible pogroms in the Ukraine. Clearly it was necessary to fight these forces of reaction, and in the polarized atmosphere of the civil war in Russia the Bolsheviks appeared to many Jewish socialists to be the lesser of the two evils.

Defectors from the various Jewish socialist parties constituted the backbone of the so-called "Jewish Sections" (*Yevsektsiya*) which existed until 1930 as Jewish Communist organizations designed to propagate Communism among the

Soviet Jewish masses. Their creation was in fact a concession to reality on the part of the Communist leadership, whose antipathy to autonomous Jewish organizations was tempered by the fact, "discovered" so many times in the history of Jewish socialism, that the Jewish masses were not yet assimilated and that propaganda would have to be carried on in their language. There was no question of going further, since the Soviet regime saw to it that "national deviations" did not appear. Nonetheless the leaders of the *Yevsektsiya*, though doubtless they were made use of by the regime in its war with Zionism and other "reactionary" Jewish ideologies, saw themselves as defenders of the interests of the Jewish masses. Inevitably, as the regime consolidated itself, and as its policy toward the national minorities became more inflexible, the *Yevsektsiya* came increasingly under attack. Their demise in 1930 meant the end of the history of Jewish proletarian organizations in Russia.

During the interwar period the newly constituted Polish Republic, which included both Galicia and large areas of the former Pale of Settlement, became the center of Jewish socialism. Here the Bund withstood the blandishments of Communism, and despite a sharp move to the left which included the readiness to accept much of the Communist platform, remained intact, though factionalized. In the end its inner solidarity, the fruit of decades of conflict with the Russian and Polish socialist movements, its firm organizational base among Jewish workers, and the failure of the Bolsheviks to conquer Poland, allowed the Bund to flourish until 1939. The Bund retained its hold over the majority of Jewish trade unions, played a dominant role in the Yiddish secular school movement, and succeeded in winning general acclaim as a champion of Jewish rights against the omnipresent Polish antisemitism. The party benefited from the general trend to the left within Polish Jewry, itself the result of the worsening economic and political situation, and became far more than merely the strongest Jewish working class party. Despite the Bund's failure to improve the conditions of the Jewish masses, which deteriorated during the interwar period, it became, by the later 1930s, the strongest Jewish party in Poland. It was the Bund's tragedy that evidence of this strength, its victories in local elections in such cities as Warsaw and Lodz, occurred only a few years before the German conquest, which destroyed East European Jewry and with it the great socialist party which thought only in terms of a Diaspora solution to the Jewish question.

The world Po'alei Zion movement, which had come to overshadow the socialist territorialist parties after the failure of the Uganda project and which naturally benefited from the *Balfour Declaration, split in 1920 over the issues of whether or not to adhere to the Communist International and of their relations with the Zionist movement. The left faction, drawing its strength chiefly from Russia and Poland, actually accepted *Zinoviev's celebrated 21 points for admission to the Comintern, while the right, based mainly on delegations from the United States and Palestine, refused to go that far (though it too took a positive attitude toward the Bolshevik revolution). However, the Left Po'alei Zion did not join the Comintern, not because it decided against this step but because the world Communist movement could not accept its program for Palestine. It thus existed, mainly in Poland, as a Zionist party too far left to have anything to do with the official Zionist movement and as a revolutionary Marxist party unacceptable to the Comintern. This unenviable position, complicated still further by the party's ambivalent attitude toward Hebrew and toward *aliyah* (emigration to Palestine), reduced its appeal and its ability to compete both with the Bund and with the more moderate Zionist socialist movements. No other organization illustrated more clearly the inherent contradictions of a Diaspora-based Marxist Zionist party. On the other hand the Right Po'alei Zion, identifying with *Aḥdut ha-Avodah in Palestine, with the pioneering movement, and generally with progressive Zionism, became ever stronger within the world Zionist movement. In Poland, for example, by the 1930s the moderate socialist Zionist faction had become the strongest force within the Zionist movement. Generally speaking Right Po'alei Zion became less socialist and more nationalist, following the lead of party developments in Palestine, where Syrkin's non-Marxist ideology was more influential than Borochov's strictures. If to Left Po'alei Zion Palestine appeared less important than world revolution and Yiddish more important than Hebrew, Right Po'alei Zion broadened its national base. It thereby followed the course taken by so many other socialist parties which, once they had gained a certain degree of power (in this case in Palestine), spoke less and less of the proletariat and the class struggle.

Pioneering Youth Movements

A striking feature of Jewish socialism in the interwar period was the rise of pioneering youth movements. To a certain extent these movements followed in the footsteps of the *Ẓe'irei Zion ("Youth of Zion") circles, whose history began in Russia in the early 20th century. A fervent supporter of settlement in Palestine, nationalistic, at the outset non-socialist, and even nonpolitical, the Ẓe'irei Zion rejected the Marxist determinism and intense involvement in the Diaspora of the various Jewish socialist parties. Their voluntarism and emphasis on personal salvation through *aliyah*, which established an alternative for Jewish youth to the existing parties, whether Bundist or Zionist, was also the hallmark of the pioneering youth movements established during and after World War I. Thus *Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir, founded in Galicia during the war by middle-class youths seeking their way between the Polish world which rejected them and the Jewish bourgeois existence they found so distasteful, turned not to Marxism and not to party organization but to self-fulfillment through pioneering, through an act of will which would make them productive proletarians building a just society in Palestine. Both Ẓe'irei Zion and Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir shared a natural sympathy for socialism, and neither was able to withstand the pressure to organize into political groups. In 1920 the left faction of Ẓe'irei Zion created the Zionist Socialist Party (*ZS), which later merged with Right Po'alei Zion, while the right faction merged with the Palestinian nonsocialist party, *Ha-Po'el ha-Ẓa'ir, to form the *Hitaḥadut. Both these parties offered a moderate labor Zionist alternative to the radical Left Po'alei Zion. As for Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir, it developed from a self-styled vanguard of romantic idealists into a Marxist movement based on the organizational structure of the Ha-Kibbutz ha-Arẓi, founded in Palestine in 1927. The attraction of Marxism for the Zionist Socialists of the early 20th century had been that it could make Zionism appear determined rather than a mere dream. For the voluntaristic members of Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir, on the other hand, it functioned as a cement which held the movement together in Palestine, guarding against internal collapse and amalgamation with other elements. The history of both Ẓe'irei Zion and Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir demonstrates that organizational and ideological consolidation could not be avoided by groups whose initial mission was personal redemption through proletarianization. The acceptance by the Ẓe'irei Zion, for example, of the principle of Jewish national autonomy in Russia, and their active struggle for Jewish rights in the Diaspora, is reminiscent of the history of Po'alei Zion. But the political offshoots of Ẓe'irei Zion, active in an era when *aliyah* was a clear possibility, were firmly centered on Palestine and less subject to the dilemma of the "two levels." The problem of "which territory," of course, had completely disappeared.

This also held for the various pioneering youth movements, Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir, He-Ḥalutz ha-Ẓa'ir, etc., whose major problem in the Diaspora concerned the likelihood of *aliyah* and the impact of *aliyah* on the local organization. What tied the youth movements of the 1920s and 1930s, whether Marxist or not, to the Jewish socialist tradition, was their preoccupation with the necessity to create a just Jewish society based on productive labor. If Liebermann and later the Bundists and Zionist Socialists discovered the Jewish proletariat, members of the pioneering movements proposed to turn themselves into proletarians in Palestine, an extreme solution which reflected the crisis of East European Jewry in the period between the two world wars.

Later Developments

In the United States in the interwar period, as elsewhere, the Jewish socialist and trade union movement was rent by dissension between communists and socialists, the former mounting a serious and at least partly successful challenge within the Jewish union membership. Here, as in Eastern Europe, former Bundists and socialist Zionists lent their talents to the formation of a Jewish federation within the Communist Workers' Party. More important, however, was the steady decline of the American Jewish proletariat and of Yiddish. To a certain extent this was a function of America's immigration laws, for the children of the Jewish needle trades' workers did not, as a rule, follow the professions of their parents, but entered areas which would have been closed to them in the old world. The striking feature of the Jewish proletariat in the United States was that it was a one-generation phenomenon. If the Jewish unions remained Jewish, they remained so only in terms of their leadership. Similarly, the decline of Yiddish dealt a blow to the socialist press and to the cultural activities of Jewish labor institutions. Thus the ideology of A. Cahan, who believed that the Jewish labor movement's goal was to make good Americans of its members, was achieved, but the movement itself naturally declined once americanization was completed. While certain white collar unions in America, such as the Teachers' Union in New York, were still predominantly Jewish in membership in 1971, they were neither socialist in content nor Jewish in any meaningful form.

The Jewish socialist tradition was eliminated in Eastern Europe by the Holocaust, and in America by the unparalleled opportunities offered by American society. Its chief impact was in Israel, where ideas formed in Eastern Europe were molded to fit the task of building the *yishuv*. The Jewish socialist movement, in the old world and the new, was of enormous significance to countless numbers of Jews, to whom it offered new vistas of education, the ideals of democratic socialism, and the chance to obtain a decent standard of living. The vision of men as different as Liebermann, Kremer, Borochov, and Cahan – that the Yiddish-speaking Jewish masses needed special organizations in order to better their economic and cultural conditions, whether in the Diaspora or in Palestine, and that the task of the radical Jewish intelligentsia was to devote itself to these masses – produced one of the most fruitful of modern Jewish political movements.

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[Ezra Mendelsohn]

SOCIÉTÉ DES ÉTUDES JUIVES, society founded in 1880 by Isidore *Loeb, Zadoc *Kahn, and Israël *Levi to revive interest in the history of French Jewry and spread knowledge of Judaism. From its inception, the Société des Études Juives published the quarterly *Revue des Etudes Juives*, which became one of the leading learned periodicals of modern Jewish scholarship, in which reports on the society's meetings and activities appeared; they were also published in its *Annuaire* (1881–85). In addition, the society sponsored the publication of works such as H. Gross's *Gallia Judaica* (1897), Th. Reinach's (ed.) *Josephus* (7 vols., 1900–32), and Loeb's *Les Tables du Calendrier Juif* (1886). Its activities were suspended during the two world wars; after World War II the society, on the initiative of its president G. *Vajda, renewed its cycle of lectures and the publication of its journal. Among its presidents were J. *Derenbourg, A. *Darmstetter, and members of the *Rothschild family. Th. *Reinach was its secretary for many years and E. *Renan was a member and lecturer. In the early 21st century, the SEJ maintained its tradition of monthly conferences, despite the challenge of a much larger range of Jewish cultural offerings in which the scholarly, historico-philological approach is but one option. Apart from the REJ, the SEJ publishes the "Collection de la Revue des études juives," a very prolific series of monographs (17 titles published between 1980 and 1997; 20 between 1998 and 2004).

[Colette Sirat / Jean-Pierre Rothschild (2nd ed.)]

SOCIETIES, LEARNED. Learned societies among Jews, whose prototypes existed in the talmudic period, flourished in the late Middle Ages and were particularly widespread in Eastern Europe even into the 20th century. They were conceived on a broad basis. Unlike societies formed during the 17th and 18th centuries such as the Académie Française and the Royal Society of London, which operated under royal or government sponsorship and support and consisted of a small, aristocratic element of the general population, Jewish learned societies were democratic and open to all. Workers, merchants, and businessmen joined together in their own localities and formed semiprivate organizations, often with their own dues, structure, and book of statutes, for the study of some aspect of traditional Jewish literature. Among the most common of these groups was the *ḥevra shas* (Talmud; see *Study).

EARLY 19TH-CENTURY SOCIETIES. With the advent of the 19th century and the achievement of civil equality, West European Jewry began a process of self-examination. Although there had been individuals earlier who applied critical methods to traditional study, such as *Elijah, the Gaon of Vilna, and Naḥman *Krochmal, it was Moses *Mendelssohn who initiated new types of learned societies within the Jewish community. Beginning with Mendelssohn there was an increased interest in Hebrew and Bible study. In 1783 Isaac *Euchel established Ḥevrat Doreshei Leshon Ever (Society for the Proponents of the Hebrew Language) in *Koenigsberg, where, later that year, the first secular periodical in Hebrew, *Ha-Me'assef*, began its appearance. In 1819, reacting to riots, a group of young university students led by Leopold *Zunz, Edward *Gans, and Moses *Moser formed the Verein fuer Kultur und Wissenschaft der Juden. Zunz, coining the term **Wissenschaft des Judentums* ("Science of Judaism"), continued to research facets of Jewish literature after the society disbanded in 1824, and nearly all subsequent learned societies were indebted to him for initiating a systematic study of Judaism.

LATTER 19TH-CENTURY SOCIETIES. The greatest period of growth of the learned societies was during the second half of the 19th century, due to an increase in academic specialization along with an expanding teaching profession and a growing awareness of the social sciences. Within the Jewish community the cultural scholarly functions of the learned society were sometimes part of a larger organization. Thus, the Alliance Israélite Universelle, founded in 1860 with the goal of defending civil and religious liberties and alleviating disabilities of Jews, collected valuable demographic and ethnographic materials and sponsored scholarly publications in addition to its own house organs.

The Society for the Promotion of Culture among the Jews of *Russia, founded in 1863, subsidized Jewish scholarly publications despite its russianization aims. Among its more notable journals was *Yevreyskaya Biblioteka* ("Jewish Library"), an annual begun in 1871 containing articles on the nature of the Jewish past and present. Another example of a society sponsored by a larger organization was the Historische Commission, established by the *Deutsch-Israelitischer Gemeindebund in 1885. The commission collected historical data on German Jewry and published the *Zeitschrift fuer Geschichte der Juden in Deutschland* (1887–92; reestablished by I. *Elbogen and A. *Freimann 1929–37).

Publishing Scholarly Works

Some societies were formed in response to a particular aspect of the learned society, such as the publishing of scholarly works. In 1864 the *Mekiẓe Nirdamim Society was established in Germany with the express purpose of publishing Hebrew works of Jewish classical literature, especially unpublished manuscripts. The society, which was transferred to Ereẓ Israel in 1934, had published about 100 books in all by 1970.

Attempts to organize a publishing society in the United States included the American Jewish Publication Society in Philadelphia (1845) and another bearing the same name in 1873, both short-lived. In 1888 the *Jewish Publication Society of America was founded and by 1970 had published over 600 volumes. Among these works were an English translation of the Bible (1917, and a translation beginning in 1962) and the annual American Jewish Year Book starting in 1899. **Monatsschrift fuer Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums* was a scholarly periodical founded by Zacharias *Frankel, published under different editors (including H. Graetz and I. Heinemann) and in different places, but primarily in Breslau. It was published consistently from 1851 until 1939, except for a short interlude in 1887–92. In 1904 the newly founded *Gesellschaft zur Foerderung der Wissenschaft des Judentums financed the publication of the journal. This same organization had undertaken to print a historical encyclopedia of German Jewry, *Germania Judaica* (vol. 1, 1934; vol, 2, 1968).

Germany was the scene of frequent attempts to establish learned societies. In 1841 M. Joel, S. Stern, and L. Zunz founded the Kulturverein, which tried to encourage investigation of contemporary problems by conducting essay contests. Many of its leaders were active in the Reform movement. In 1855 Ludwig Phillippson, along with Jost and A. *Jellinek, founded the Institut zur Foerderung der Israelitischen Literatur, which published over 80 works during its 18-year existence. The *Juedisch-Literarische Gesellschaft, established in 1902 in Frankfurt on the Main, was primarily interested in investigations into aspects of traditional Judaism.

The most important learned society in France, the *Société des Etudes Juives, was founded in 1880 by Zadoc Kahn, Isidore Loeb, and Theodore Reinach. The Société has concentrated on French Jewry, and over 100 volumes of its scholarly journal *Revue des Études Juives* have appeared, extending over 75 years, with a brief interruption during World War II. It has also published such basic works as H. *Gross's *Gallia Judaica* (1897) and Reinach's *Textes*.

20TH-CENTURY SOCIETIES. In response to the need for proper research tools for the investigation of the Holocaust, the Centre de Documentation Juive Contemporaine was established by Isaac *Schneersohn in France in 1943. The organization has encouraged scholars in individual research and has published numerous volumes, including the periodical *Le Monde Juif* (1946). Also devoted to Holocaust research is the Central Jewish Historical Society, founded in 1944 in Lublin by Philip Friedman, which moved to Warsaw in 1948 and became the *Jewish Historical Institute. Among the most notable books it published was Emanuel Ringelblum's *Notits fun Varshever Geto* (1952, fuller edition 1961–63). It also published the quarterly *Bleter far Geshikhte*. With the death of its director, Berl Mark, in 1967, and faced with increasing Polish Jewish emigration and government restrictions, the institute, despite its Marxist orientation, found it increasingly difficult to continue its work.

The end of the 19th century witnessed the birth of a learned society in England, the *Jewish Historical Society of England, founded in 1893 by Lucien Wolf, Albert Hyamson, Israel Abrahams, and Claude Montefiore. It has concentrated its efforts upon the history of the Jews in England and Anglo-Jewry throughout the world. Its scholarly periodicals are *Transactions* (from 1893) and *Miscellanies* (irregularly from 1925).

Though not strictly a learned society, the *Wiener Library and Institute for Contemporary History, established by Alfred *Wiener in 1934 in Amsterdam and moved to London in 1939, specializes in material relating to Nazism, antisemitism, and minority problems, as well as contemporary European history and the State of Israel. It publishes the *Wiener Library Bulletin* and is one of the sponsors of the *Journal of Contemporary History*.

In 1908 Maxim *Vinaver organized the Russian Jewish Historical Ethnographic Society in St. Petersburg and became its first president. Simon *Dubnow, the historian who had issued a call for such a society in 1891, became vice chairman of the society and served as editor of its scholarly journal *Yevreyskaya Starina*. Among the contributors were Meir *Balaban, Isaac (Ignacy) *Schiper, Moses *Schorr, and Mark *Wischnitzer.

Related Institutions in the United States

The 20th century witnessed two major demographic shifts within the Jewish community as the United States and Israel increasingly became the major centers of Jewish scholarly activity. The relative profusion of groups interested in various aspects of Jewish life denied the learned societies any exclusive claim to *Wissenschaft des Judentums*, especially on the contemporary scene. Educational institutions (e.g., Hebrew Union College) and professional societies, such as rabbinical organizations (e.g., Central Conference of American Rabbis), the Association of Jewish Libraries (founded 1966), and the National Council for Jewish Education (founded 1926) have engaged, in part, in activities similar to those of learned societies. They publish journals (*Hebrew Union College Annual, Jewish Education*, etc.) and share the camaraderie associated with such groups (e.g., Society of Jewish Bibliophiles, founded 1961). The sophistication of professional studies in the area of communal needs led to the early formation of the *National Conference of Jewish Communal Services (1898), which publishes the *Journal of Jewish Communal Services*.

Several research institutes are almost exclusively dedicated to the work of learned societies. Among these are the *YIVO Institute for Jewish Research, founded in Vilna in 1925 and moved to New York in 1940, which is a major source of research and information on modern Jewry. It has published most of its work in Yiddish. The *Leo Baeck Institute (founded 1959) serves as a research center for the history of the Jews in German-speaking countries from the enlightenment to the rise of Nazism and publishes a yearbook (from 1956). There are also libraries and archives which engage in scholarly research and publish journals (e.g., *Studies in Bibliography and Booklore* and *American Jewish Archives*, both of Hebrew Union College) although they do not constitute learned societies even in its broadest definition.

However, learned societies in the more classical form do exist. Among those in the United States are the *American Academy for Jewish Research and the *American Jewish Historical Society (founded 1892). The latter collects and publishes material relating to U.S. Jewry, issues the *American Jewish Historical Society Quarterly*, and has published individual monographs relating to the Jews in the United States. The *Conference on Jewish Social Studies (founded 1933) aims to promote a better understanding of the position of the Jews in the modern world through scientific research. Its scholarly journal is *Jewish Social Studies*.

SOCIETIES AND INSTITUTES IN ISRAEL. Especially since its creation the State of Israel has become home to numerous learned societies, research institutes, and academies. The traditional patterns (e.g. *ḥevra shas*) have been infused with new life. Bible study groups flourish; the largest is the Israel Society for Biblical Research, which also publishes the *Beth Mikra*. There is hardly an area of research from archaeology to poetry to Zionism which is not under investigation by some institution, be it under governmental, university, or private auspices. Among those that were established prior to 1948 is the *Israel Exploration Society (founded 1913), which engages in excavations and related research into the history and geography of Israel. It publishes a quarterly in English, a Hebrew quarterly, *Qadmoniot*, and an annual, *Eretz-Israel*. The Historical Society of Israel (founded 1925) promotes the study of Jewish history. The Palestine Historical and Ethnographical Society, as it was originally called, issued a journal, *Me'assef* (6 vols.), and a quarterly, *Zion*, which began to appear regularly in 1935. In 1942 the Israel Folklore Society was founded with the aim of preserving Jewish folklore by recording customs, traditions, folk songs, tales, and proverbs of the various Jewish communities in the Diaspora. It publishes a Hebrew biannual journal, *Yeda Am* ("Folklore").

Several societies have received official government recognition since the establishment of the state. The *Academy of the Hebrew Language, founded at the turn of the century by Eliezer *Ben-Yehuda, was reestablished in 1953 by Knesset law. It studies the vocabulary, structure, and history of the Hebrew language and is the official authority for its development. Among the academy's publications is *Leshonenu*, a journal for the study of the Hebrew language and cognate subjects. Yad Vashem, formally established by the Knesset in 1953, publishes numerous studies relating to the Holocaust. Another academy established by the Knesset is the Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities (1961), which promotes work in these areas and brings together the most eminent Israel scholars.

Among the many institutes in Israel are the Harry Fischel Institute for Research in Talmud and Jewish Law (founded 1932) and the Institute for Research in Jewish Law (founded 1963), which are both concerned with responsa literature and the codification of Jewish law. The *Ben-Zvi Institute (founded 1948) sponsors research in the history of Jewish communities from the tenth century to the present, with primary interest in Oriental communities. *Sefunot* (starting 1956) is one of its most important publications. The Asher Barash Bio-Bibliographical Institute (founded 1951) gathers documentary material on Hebrew writers and aims at bibliographical registration of all Hebrew literature published since the Mendelssohn era. It publishes an annual anthology, *Genazim* (1961).

There are also many archives in Israel interested in preserving various aspects of Jewish life (see *Archives). The Israel Archives Association (founded 1956) was established to promote cooperation among them and to coordinate their activities. The Association for Jewish Demography and Statistics was established (1958) in cooperation with the Institute of Contemporary Jewry at the Hebrew University to promote the collection, arrangement, and analysis of pertinent data relating to the demography of the Jewish people. The professionalization of Jewish scholarship, the sophistication of research tools, the tragedy of the Holocaust, and the birth of Israel have all given impetus to *Juedische Wissenschaft* in its broadest definition.

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[Simcha Berkowitz]

SOCIETY FOR THE ATTAINMENT OF FULL CIVIL RIGHTS FOR THE JEWISH PEOPLE IN RUSSIA (Rus. "**Soyuz dlya dostizheniya polnopraviya yevreyskogo naroda v Rossii**"), a non-party organization which existed from 1905 to 1907, whose aim was declared in its name. The society organized the participation of Jews in the elections of the First and Second *Duma, also obtaining legal aid for Jews after the pogroms of October 1905. At the founding convention in Vilna in April 1905, where representatives of the Jewish intelligentsia of all parties took part (with the exception of those on the left), Simon *Dubnow defined the aims of the society. A central committee was elected, whose headquarters were to be in St. Petersburg. Maxim *Vinaver was chosen as chairman of this committee, which he led until the dissolution of the society. The historian Julius *Hessen became its secretary. Three further conventions were held in St. Petersburg, the second in December 1905, following the October *pogroms, when the 1905 Russian revolution had been at its height. It was decided: (1) to appoint a committee in which a delegate of the non-Jewish public would participate to investigate the pogroms and to demand that the guilty officials be dismissed and brought to justice; (2) to claim economic reparation from the government; and (3) to demand the release of Pinḥas *Dashewski who was in prison for attacking the organizer of the *Kishinev pogroms.

The third convention, held in February 1906 on the eve of the elections to the First Duma, was devoted to the elections. Jewish delegates standing for election to the Duma were instructed on how to fight for equal rights for Russian Jewry. The fourth and last conference took place in May 1906, ten days after the opening of the First Duma. Largely by virtue of the society's activities, 12 Jewish delegates had been elected to the Duma. On the question of whether a Jewish national group should be established in the Duma, Vladimir *Jabotinsky (speaking for the Zionists) and Dubnow were in favor of the proposal, but Vinaver and his followers opposed it violently. Political polarization of Jewish life broke up the society; Dubnow and M. *Kreinin founded their party in 1906, and the Russian Zionist conference at *Helsingfors decided that Zionists should contest elections under their own party banner. At a committee meeting in the spring of 1907 it was decided to abolish the society.

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[Baruch Shohetman]

SOCIETY FOR JEWISH FOLK MUSIC, society founded in St. Petersburg in November 1908 by a group of Jewish students at the conservatory there and their friends, among them Solomon *Rosowsky, Lazare *Saminsky, A. Zhitomirsky, and A. Niezwicski (Abileah). It was originally intended to be a "Society for Jewish Music," but the commanding general of the district refused to license it under this title because he doubted whether true Jewish music existed, although he conceded that there must be Jewish folk music. The word folk was therefore inserted in the name and constitution. An important circle of Jewish musicians with similar interests had already formed in Moscow c. 1894 around Joel *Engel, and the first concert of the material they had collected and arranged was held there in 1900. This and similar groups now coalesced with the society in St. Petersburg. Joseph *Achron, Moses *Milner, Mikhail *Gnesin, Joseph *Yasser, Alexander *Veprik, and Alexander *Krein soon joined its ranks. In 1912 the Society already had 389 members with chapters in Moscow, Kiev, Kharkov, and Odessa. In 1918 it was disbanded by the Soviet government as "not conforming to the spirit of the time," but the influence of its ideology and actions persisted both among the members who remained in Russia and among those who left to settle in Western Europe, the United States, and Palestine. The Society's constitution did not fully reflect its unwritten ideology, and its provisions were never carried out in full. These are quoted here because all subsequent organizations for the promotion of Jewish music followed the same basic pattern. The aim of the society was "to promote the research and development of Jewish folk music – religious and secular – by the collection of folk songs and their harmonization, and to aid Jewish composers.…" For this purpose the Society was to issue publications of music and musical research; to organize meetings, concerts, operatic performances, and lectures; to form a choir and orchestra of its own; to found a library; to publish a periodical; and to organize competitions and award prizes for "musical works of Jewish character." An ensemble of singers and instrumentalists was founded which undertook many concert tours. Expeditions went to the Vitebsk and Kherson regions, and the melodies they collected were given to various composers for harmonization. Dozens of these works were published. Kisselgoff, Zhitomirsky, and Lvow also published the *Lider Zamlbukh* with arrangements of folk and art material "for school and home use." In 1915 the society was stirred up by the controversy between Saminsky and Engel, in which Saminsky questioned whether the indiscriminate gathering and propagation of any and every tune taken from the "folk" really represented Jewish music, and pressed for a more discerning search as well as for the recognition of the greater authenticity of the liturgical traditions. Saminsky's visits to the Jewish communities in the Caucasus and Turkey confronted him with the reality of a Jewish musical tradition outside the Ashkenazi culture which he had already surmised was neither less and perhaps even more authentic than that of Eastern Europe. Another controversy arose between Engel and *Shalom Aleichem – Engel denying and Shalom Aleichem advocating the recognition of the songs of Mark *Warshawski as true folk songs. Discussions of what constituted Jewish music were also frequent and there was an intense nationalistic spirit (although most of the society's leading members, with the exception of Engel, did not identify directly with the Zionist movement). Engel's foundation of the Juwal-Verlag in Berlin was the last (actually posthumous) direct result of the society's endeavors. Its ideals were carried to the United States, where they were propagated by Saminsky, Yasser, Rosowsky, and Achron, and to Palestine where this was done by Engel himself. After his death in 1927, they continued to exert a strong influence on musical developments in the *yishuv* through Menashe Ravina and Joachim *Stutschewsky.

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[Bathja Bayer]

SOCIETY FOR THE PROMOTION OF CULTURE AMONG THE JEWS OF RUSSIA, a society aimed at uniting advanced groups among Russian Jewry for the purpose of practical, organized, and planned activities to promote popular education; founded in St. Petersburg in 1863 on the initiative and with the financial support of wealthy Jews active in the community the majority of whom were residents of the city.

Foundation

Leon *Rosenthal, one of the founders of the society and its treasurer for a long time, stated that the motive for setting it up was the accusation, constantly leveled by government representatives and members of the Russian public in general, that the religious, social, and cultural separatism of the Jews was the chief obstacle to their being granted civic equality. These circles exerted pressure on the leaders of the Jewish community in St. Petersburg to employ their standing to influence the internal regeneration of their people in accordance with the spirit of the times. The Jewish leaders decided to respond to this demand, which seemed to them justified. To set up a countrywide association of supporters of education, they proceeded immediately to work out a set of regulations for the organization. The project encountered numerous difficulties on several sides: the Orthodox sector dissociated themselves from it for fear of adverse consequences to the Jewish religion, while the free-thinking *maskilim* in the capital were of the opinion that it was necessary to introduce more extreme and quicker measures. High government officials, who feared that the society might develop into a broad-based popular association, opposed the establishment of branches throughout the country.

Only after exhausting negotiations with the interested parties for almost a year was a definition of the aims agreed upon, namely, to spread and promote culture among the Jews of Russia, to support Jewish literature and authors, and to assist young students. The means to achieve this would be by teaching Russian to the Jewish masses, and by the publication of original books, translations, and periodicals in Russian and Hebrew. It was laid down that the society should operate under the auspices of the ministry of education and should accept members without distinction of sex, status, or religion.

The first members who agreed to set up the initial fund of the society were mainly representatives of the Jewish financial aristocracy in various cities, particularly St. Petersburg; only a small minority belonged to the intelligentsia. At the first general meeting (December 1863) J.Y. *Guenzburg was elected chairman of the society's committee. The committee energetically recruited new members among wealthy businessmen, well-known scholars, and authors. Special efforts were made to bring into the ranks of the society liberal Christian scholars, writers, and personalities active in public affairs. In the first year of its existence the Jewish members of the society included – in addition to a group of philanthropists – writers and scholars such as Abraham Dov *Lebensohn, A. *Mapu, S.J. *Fuenn, Joshua *Steinberg, H.S. *Slonimski, A. *Zederbaum, Y.L. *Gordon, S.J. Abramowitsch (*Mendele Mokher Seforim), J.L. *Pinsker, L. *Levanda, A.A. *Harkavy, and D. *Chwolson. The various projects of the society were financed by individual contributors headed by J.Y. Guenzburg and his son H. *Guenzburg, and L. Rosenthal. This left its mark on the character of the society and its orientation, which were determined by the personal endeavors of its chief supporters. Another serious setback to its democratic organization was the refusal of the government to permit the society to establish branches in the centers of the *Pale of Settlement; this would have enabled it to influence the masses more closely. After the establishment of a branch in Odessa in 1867, about 31 years passed before a second branch in Riga was authorized.

Ideological Differences

From the beginning differences arose within the committee as to the methods for spreading useful knowledge among the masses, especially the language to be used. The moderate wing, as represented by Rosenthal, regarded it as an association of intellectuals who aimed at building something new and not destroying the traditional, being convinced that religion and knowledge were closely linked. It was, therefore, the duty of the society to provide a "neutral" education for the masses so as not to arouse feelings of distrust, to refrain from offending accepted beliefs and opinions, and by publishing popular articles on science, geography, and general history to expand the Jewish reader's horizon and spur him to constant mental improvement. Rosenthal advocated the Hebrew language for propagating culture among Jewish youth, and proposed giving priority to the society's publication of Hebrew books and periodicals. On the society's committee there was also a group that included Chwolson and Harkavy, which emphasized promoting among the Jewish public a knowledge of the Russian language and the creation of a Russian-Jewish literature, to assist in removing the barriers between Jews and the rest of the population, and to rebut the false accusations leveled at the Jews and Judaism. A small group within the society, represented by S.A. *Schwabacher, rabbi of the Odessa community, and A. Neuman, rabbi of St. Petersburg, demanded that a special department for the education of the younger generation should be devoted to the study of German as a means of understanding fundamental works of Judaism, which had been written mainly in that language, and to becoming acquainted with general European culture. Finally the society's committee approved in February 1864 the view that spreading Russian among Jews was to be the basis for all its activities, since that alone was likely to prepare them gradually to take a direct part in the life of Russian society. The extreme "Russification" group in the society was concentrated in the Odessa branch. Among them were O. *Rabinovich, J.L. Pinsker, and E. Soloveichik.

In 1872, when J.L. Gordon became secretary of the society, he reformulated its operative principles which he had published as a manifesto in the Hebrew press. The innovations in this document were an appeal to those devoted to education in the Pale of Settlement to assist the development of vocational training institutions for young people, which would assure them an honorable and suitable livelihood; a declaration of the society's readiness to help Jewish artisans to settle throughout the Russian Empire; a firm demand to introduce changes in the existing administration of the Jewish communities; and, above all, the credo of Jewish *maskilim* which identified them with the government stand – that the Jews would be deserving of emancipation after their spiritual and moral "improvement" had been achieved. The rights already given to certain classes of Jews in Russia were, in the society's opinion, a forerunner and pledge of general civic equality in the not too distant future if the Jews carried out their duty to themselves and their country by acquiring an education.

Publishing Activities

To help Jews acquire a knowledge of Russian it was resolved to publish primers with suitable exercises and Jewish history in Russian. To encourage Jewish authors in this language they were allotted grants, and it was planned to issue scholarly and literary annuals in which their works would be published. These projects also had the apologetic aim of presenting the Russian reader with authentic information on the history and culture of the Jewish people. The project for publishing the annuals ran into numerous difficulties through lack of sufficient literary talent, censorship restrictions, and internal inhibitions, i.e., apprehension about publishing criticism of the Jewish religion or way of life. After the appearance of the first collection, which had taken about four years to prepare, the society decided to abandon its plans in this area. The heads of the society were interested in issuing a periodical in Russian on Jewish affairs, but did not dare to carry out this aim themselves, contenting themselves with support of the weeklies *Den* (1869–71); *Vestnik Russkikh Yevreyev* (1871–73), issued by A. Zederbaum, and a Russian supplement to the weekly **Ha-Karmel*, edited by S.J. Fuenn (1865, 1866, and 1868).

The most successful literary undertaking of the society in this period was a collection on the views of the Talmud sages, initiated by D. Chwolson. The Hebrew text by Ẓevi Hirsch *Katzenellenbogen and S.J. Fuenn was completed in 1871. The Russian translation, edited by L. Levanda with the comments by J.L. Gordon, was published in three volumes in 1874 and 1876. The publication of the book was aimed both to serve as a textbook for rabbis to prepare their sermons in the language of the country, and to explain to the non-Jewish public the foundations of the Talmud which had determined the national character of the Jews. The latter, apologetic intention, apparently predominated in the 1870s when antisemitism increased in Russia under the influence of J. *Brafman's *Kniga Kagala* ("Book of the Kahal").

The society devoted much effort to a new undertaking to which it ascribed a decisive importance in bringing the Jews of Russia closer to Haskalah – the translation of the Bible into Russian. This approach was naturally based on the revolutionary results achieved in Jewish life of a similar project in German on the initiative and with the participation of Moses *Mendelssohn. In 1873 the society brought out a new translation of the Torah by J. Gerstein ("The Learned Jew"), adviser on Jewish matters to the governor-general of Vilna, and J.L. Gordon, which achieved a wide circulation. The society also allocated large sums as a subvention for translation into Russian of the *siddur* and the *maḥzorim* for the festivals, and for composition of a series of textbooks in Russian to publishers of periodicals, such as the *Yevreyskaya Biblioteka* edited by A. *Landau, and to Jewish scholars undertaking research into Jewish history, such as I. *Orshanski and others. The society allotted grants to the authors of Hebrew books on mathematics, physics, astronomy, biology, chemistry, geology, etc., including the writers H.S. Slonimski, Z.H. *Rabinowitz, S.J. Abramowitsch, and J. *Syrkin. It supported the periodicals **Ha-Ẓefirah* and **Ha-Meliẓ*, which devoted special sections to the natural sciences, and distributed popular Hebrew books on general and Jewish history and biography; in 1866–70 the society published four parts of the history by Georg Weber translated by K. *Schulman, who added chapters on Jewish history in different periods. At the invitation of the society Schulman also wrote a book on Russian geography which appeared in 1870 to serve as a reader for adults to further their acquaintance with their native country. A similar patriotic need was to be met by S. *Mandelkern's Russian history printed in 1895, which incorporated chapters on Jewish history.

Both wings of the society's committee – the protagonists of Hebrew and of Russian – were united in their negative attitude toward Yiddish, which they regarded as an anachronism, symbolizing an obsolete order. Despite this, it expressed readiness to support the Yiddish weekly **Kol Mevasser* for disseminating basic facts among the mass of Jews. The committee allocated modest sums for publishing Yiddish books on Jewish and Russian history. However, in view of severe criticism in the general Russian press and Russian-Jewish press, it later desisted from taking such steps.

Educational Activities

The largest item of expenditure in the society's budget was assistance to Jewish students in Russian institutions of higher education, especially in St. Petersburg, whom the *maskilim* regarded as ideal candidates for leading the nation. At the end of the 1870s the society decided to send several graduates of rabbinical institutes to Breslau for further education in the *Juedisch-Theologisches Seminar and the local university, on the assumption that on their return they would serve as examples of rabbis on the German pattern. However, in eight years not more than three candidates were found suitable. In December 1879 the government banned the grant of scholarships to Jewish students from Russia who were studying at foreign universities, since this was opposed to the regulations of the society.

After the reform in the government educational network for Jews which led to the closure of many schools, and under pressure of appeals for the establishment of improved schools, the society decided to form a special fund to meet the most urgent needs in regard to secondary and elementary schools. Its policy in this field of activity was to refrain from setting up schools, and to support private initiative, without intervening in the internal affairs of these institutions. It also proposed to introduce reading and writing in Russian as a compulsory subject, to set up a special department of Hebrew subjects, to extend aid to the organizers of handicrafts classes attached to the schools, to help establish general teaching institutes in the Pale of Settlement, and to admit several pupils without charge with an allocation from the society. The rabbis of the communities and the authorized representatives of the society would frequently engage in establishing libraries for the use of the public at large.

Membership

The membership of the society numbered 175 in 1864; 287 in 1873, and 740 in 1888. In the first decade of the society's existence, its total income, mainly derived from contributions by the barons Guenzburg and L. Rosenthal, was 120,000 rubles. In its first 25 years it distributed 268,000 rubles to Jewish students in general schools, particularly of higher education; 31,000 rubles in cash, and 25,000 in form of grants of books to private schools; 32,000 rubles for supporting literature; and 24,000 rubles in aid to the needy.

From the 1890s

A new spirit invaded the society from the early 1890s. Educated youths who sought ways to serve their people joined the society and were influential in introducing new methods. In 1891 the society founded a "historical committee" for research in the history of the Jews of Russia. The committee published collections of documents dealing with Jewish history in Russia, and in 1908 became the Jewish Historical and Ethnographic Society. In 1894 a committee for Popular Education was established and in its framework the younger intelligentsia was active (L. *Bramson, J. *Brutzkus, A. *Kahnstam, etc.). The committee made a survey of Jewish schools, and advocated the support of old and new institutions, especially schools including Hebrew studies, in their curricula. The society sent delegates to visit educational institutions. Hebrew teachers were organized, a teachers' convention being held in Orsha (Belorussia) in 1903, and young teachers trained. The "Grodno courses" opened in 1907, and under A. Kahnstam's guidance a new generation of teachers with pedagogical training came into being. The new trends found expression in the society's revised statutes of 1901, which fixed the membership fee at 5 rubles (outside St. Petersburg). Branches were opened in Moscow (1894), Riga (1898), and Kiev (1908), each of which developed independent local activity. From 1902 the society organized councils where delegates of the branches met, as well as Jewish educationalists and cultural workers. In 1900 membership reached 3,010. In 1908 the society's statutes were changed again. It was entitled to open schools, libraries, courses for training teachers, and to give lectures. The membership fee was fixed at 3 rubles annually. Branches were to be opened wherever the number of members reached 25. In 1912 there were 30 branches throughout Russia with 7,000 members. The Moscow branch was particularly active, also being responsible for activity in the districts of Mogilev and Vitebsk. The Kiev branch became a center of activities in the southwestern area of the Pale of Settlement. In 1910 the society maintained ten schools, and partially supported 98 schools, as well as libraries in various Jewish communities. Its yearly budget in 1911 was 378,000 rubles. In 1910 the society began to publish its organ *Vestnik* OPE (later named *Vestnik yevreyskogo Prosveshcheniya*) dealing with education, culture, and libraries. In 1912 a committee was established to find ways to reform and improve the existing traditional *ḥeder*. This problem was debated by the society's council in 1912.

Since the society was the only legal body for educational and cultural activities in Russia, it was joined in the early 20th century by national and Zionist leaders, such as Aḥad *ha-Am, Ḥ.N. *Bialik, S. *Dubnow, etc., and after the failure of the 1905 revolution also by members of the Jewish socialist parties. A struggle evolved in the society's councils between three trends: the initial trend of the assimilationists who advocated closer ties with Russian culture, the Hebrew-Zionist trend, and the Yiddishist *Bund trend. During World War I the society opened 215 schools with 30,000 pupils for Jewish refugee children from the battle zones. The struggle between the trends became even more accentuated. After the Russian February Revolution the Zionists established their own federation for education and culture, *Tarbut, and the Yiddishists established their society, Kultur-Lige (in Kiev). The Bolshevik Revolution of October 1917 put an end to this development. The society's branches in the provincial towns were liquidated, the schools were closed, and all educational activities were prohibited. The center in Petrograd remained in existence, maintained its library, and published three literary-scientific collections. The society was finally disbanded by the authorities in 1930. The library, which contained 50,000 books and about 1,000 manuscripts, was given to the Institute for Proletarian Jewish Culture in Kiev.

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[Yehuda Slutsky]

SOCIOLOGY. Sociology as a field of intellectual endeavor is much older than sociology as an academic discipline. Modern sociology can be traced to the Scottish moralists such as Adam Ferguson, David Hume, Adam Smith, and possibly to Thomas Hobbes. The word "sociology" was coined by Auguste Comte, and the study of sociology powerfully promoted by Herbert Spencer; but the first chairs of sociology were those of Albion Small in Chicago (1892) and Emile *Durkheim in Bordeaux (1896). Thus, one may say that sustained interest in the structure and processes of society arose when the *ancien régime* toppled and a new social order was painfully ushered in. At the same time, the emancipation set free Jewish intellectual energies on a vast scale. It is a moot question whether the interest of Jewish authors was directed toward the social sciences, including sociology among them, chiefly (as Martin *Buber surmised) because of a long and deep-rooted proclivity of the Jewish mind to think in relations rather than in substance, or because of the opportunity that was offered by the social sciences of a frankly critical stance toward the existing social order, coupled with a perceived chance of improving it. But it is certain that the Jewish condition, placing as it did the Jewish community, and especially the Jewish intellectual, at the margin of society, was ideally designed to make both incentives historically effective. Consequently, Jews were prominent both among the founding fathers of academic sociology and among the spokesmen of that particular brand of social science which sprang from the Socialist movement.

Not all Marxist writers qualify as sociologists, but Karl *Marx does. Armed with a thorough knowledge of Hegelian dialectics and Ricardian economics and buttressed by data of experience from the industrial revolution in England and the political revolution in France, he based his sociology in the first place on the analysis of social stratification. However, his was not a static rank order, as in an Aristotelian world view, but, rather, incessantly exposed to internal contradiction and ensuing transformation until, after a final and decisive class struggle, the moment was reached where a classless society would come into view. The second contribution of Marx to modern sociology was what Max *Scheler and Karl *Mannheim, neither of them Marxian partisans, later called the sociology of knowledge. If the catchword for what was wrong with the working class was "alienation," meaning estrangement from the means of production, so the catchword for what was wrong with intellectuals was "ideology," meaning the erection of a false "superstructure" which was hiding, rather than laying bare, the roots of thought as well as of institutions in the material realm of life.

The comprehensiveness as well as the simplicity of the Marxian sociology, coupled with its polemic emphasis and its action orientation, have made Marxism the prevailing social philosophy not only in the communist countries but also in the "third world," and have gained adherents among intellectuals everywhere, but its universal aim has militated against its development as a specific sociology. Scientifically, the influence of Marxism was much more pronounced within the mainstream of academic sociology than among orthodox Marxists. By way of argument and counterargument, adaptation and refutation, Marx is present in the main body of sociological writing. This is true about Ferdinand Toennies, Werner *Sombart, Max Weber, Ludwig *Gumplowicz, and Karl Mannheim among the classic authors in Europe; and about such U.S. Jewish sociologists as Louis *Wirth and Alvin Gouldner (1920–1980). The same applies for representatives of conflict theory like Lewis *Coser; of the sociology of knowledge, like Kurt Wolff; for race relations specialists like Max Wolff; and a development specialist like Irving Louis Horovitz (the editor of *Trans-Action*, a magazine aimed at popularizing the findings of activist social scientists); for political sociologists and stratification specialists like Reinhard *Bendix and S.M. *Lipset; and urban sociologists and community theorists like Herbert Gans (1927–), Joseph Bensman (1922–), and Maurice Stein (1926–). All those in this latter group are more or less influenced by Marx-derived concepts, but hardly any one of them would consider himself a strict Marxist or even a profound student of Marx. Exceptions might include Bernhard *Stern and Daniel Bell (1919–), both of Columbia University. The latter is best known for his contributions to the understanding of "post-industrial" society.

A sharply profiled group are the founders of the Institut fuer Sozialforschung and leaders of the influential Frankfurt school of sociology, Max *Horkheimer and Theodor W. *Adorno, as well as Herbert *Marcuse; they combined Marxian and, even more so, Hegelian dialectics with Freudian depth psychology, but opposed a party-bound Russian Marxism as much as the U.S. form of ideology-blind positivism. In the case of Herbert Marcuse, once the idol of "New Left" students in two continents, a new kind of "hastening the end" attitude appeared, which cast away the classical Marxian idea of the proletariat as the bearer of the revolution and the redeemer of mankind, in favor of a dynamic interplay of the free intellect and the free eros. This is a species of anarchism, the very contradiction to the dogmatic Marxian approach related to it.

In comparison to these profound ramifications of Marxian influence in sociology, which are traced here only insofar as its major Jewish proponents are concerned, Marxian sociology proper does not seem to have been overly fruitful. Even here, some scholars, such as the Italian Achille *Loria and the Viennese Paul Wiesengruen can only be placed on the periphery of Marxian thought. On the other hand, the sociological significance of those authors who were active participants in socialist and communist partisan movements is blunted by the fact that they were primarily social philosophers, ideologists, polemicists, interpreters rather than researchers or sociological theorists, supplying a comprehensive philosophy of historical development for the faithful. Among those that should be mentioned here because of their advancement of Marxian sociology are Eduard *Bernstein, the leader of the revisionist trend in European socialism, the Austro-Marxists Max *Adler, who strove to combine Marxism and Kantianism, and Otto *Bauer, who created a Marxian theory of nationality and nationality struggles. This approach was a forerunner of those protagonists of the "third world" who, like Frantz Fanon, cast the colored peoples in the role originally designed for the industrial proletariat. Even more in this direction were Rosa *Luxemburg's and Rudolf *Hilferding's assertion that the internal contradictions of capitalism made its expansion into colonialism and imperialism an inescapable necessity. However, Rosa Luxemburg thought that nationalities would disappear in this gigantic expansion of exploitation, a belief which was not shared by the "third world" protagonists. The Hungarian György *Lukacs, more a social philosopher than a sociologist, shared with Rosa Luxemburg the opposition to positivistic and deterministic versions of Marxism and an emphasis on personal spontaneity and historical dialectics. Leo Kofler (1907–1995), Fritz Sternberg (1895–1963), Siegfried *Landshut, and George Lichtheim (1912–1973) were related to that position. The outstanding name among the Russians was Lev *Trotsky, whose concept of "combined development" serves to justify a proletarian revolution in an industrially underdeveloped country.

Jews figure prominently among the founding fathers of academic sociology. The great names here are Ludwig Gumplowicz, Emile Durkheim, and Georg *Simmel. Their backgrounds were in law, economics, history, and philosophy, but their fame rests with their achievements in sociology. Of these, Gumplowicz is the least known today because he spent his adult life, bitter with the frustrations of the Austro-Hungarian nationality struggles, in an academic backwater at the University of Graz. His embracement of a pessimistic brand of social determinism, derived from Darwinian notions, seemed justified by the circumstances. According to Gumplowicz, the individual was nothing except as a member of a group, and groups, in turn, were engaged in a fierce struggle for survival in which the bigger dog usually emerges victorious and imposes his law on the vanquished. This gloomy view of race and ethnic relations contrasted sharply with the only other serious theory of race relations, which was later developed in the

U.S. by Robert E. Park and his disciples. Emile Durkheim is an entirely different figure. Agreeing with Gumplowicz that social phenomena are *sui generis* and more than an aggregate of individual wills, his emphasis was not so much on conflict but on solidarity. Solidarity can be of a "mechanical" nature, as in homogeneous societies, or of an "organic" character, as in societies based on the division of labor, or it can, when individualism is carried too far, be endangered by normlessness, or "anomie." But, although reflected in individual minds, society always remains supreme. As a Jew, Durkheim would provide a fascinating case study, even more than Gumplowicz. The Austrian-Pole Gumplowicz considered the Jews an anachronistic irritant because, having lost language and territory, they had ceased to be a nationality and were doomed to disappear as a separate entity. Durkheim, scion of a rabbinical family turned *libre penseur*, was fond of quoting the biblical sources of Hebraic law as one of the most primitive manifestations of "mechanical solidarity," but he went further than that when he demonstrated in his often quoted book, *Les formes elémentaires de la vie religieuse*, that religion was a social phenomenon of the first order, a deification, as it were, of the solidarity of past, present, and future generations; the totem animal was the powerful ancestor of the tribe, the personification of its strength and endurance. Religion was thus brought down to earth and placed in a historical, and yet generally valid, context. Surely, Durkheim would not have needed to travel around the globe to the Australian Arunta to prove that the Jewish people was the *corpus mysticum* of the Jewish religion and the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob the guarantor of its existence. Durkheim was prevented from stating the matter clearly in this fashion by his desire to strengthen, through his equation of religion and society, the embattled forces of *la république laïque*. However, as Gumplowicz would have had to revise his negative evaluation of a Jewish nationality if he had lived to see the establishment of a Jewish state, so Durkheim's theory of the social nature of religion may well serve to sanctify Israel nationalism as known today.

Georg Simmel, like Durkheim often quoted, especially among U.S. sociologists, asked the Kantian question: "How is sociology at all possible?" He arrived at the conclusion that sociology is a distinctive science because it is not so much concerned with the varying contents of social phenomena but with the forms that they have in common wherever they occur. But these forms are not forms of substance or patterns of behavior; they manifest themselves in interpersonal relations and as such are located in the minds of men. This relational emphasis has struck many readers of Simmel as lacking in concreteness, even in commitment, but it agrees with the Buberian formula about the relational inclination of Jewish thinking, the I-Thou encounter "between man and man," which for Buber must be understood as construed in the image of the encounter between man and the Creator. Indeed, Buber and Simmel were personal friends. More specifically speaking, Simmel made a significant contribution to the sociology of the Jews in his concept of the "stranger," one of his numerous formal concepts that serve to elucidate a variety of actually occurring phenomena. The "stranger," according to Simmel, is not so much the man who comes today and goes tomorrow, but the man who comes today and stays tomorrow; and the Jew throughout the ages, but especially the medieval Jew, is the prototype of the species.

From then on the role that Jews as persons and Jews as a topic have played in sociology becomes ramified and diffuse. Perhaps the most convenient way of coming to grips with it is to differentiate between the European and the U.S. scene, with Israel a possible third partner. In Europe, partly because of the Holocaust, partly for other reasons, only a few outstanding names come to mind. Franz *Oppenheimer, a follower of Gumplowicz and a student of Marx and, like Durkheim, the son of a rabbi, turned the pessimistic and cataclysmic views of his masters into evolutionary optimism by attempting to prove that exploitation and domination will cease once the monopolistic grip on landed estate is loosened. From this point of departure, Oppenheimer became interested in Zionism and was one of the initial promoters of rural cooperatives in Palestine. The Hungarian-born Karl Mannheim combined influences stemming both from Karl Marx and Max Weber in his elaboration of a "sociology of knowledge" which comprehends knowledge as embedded in the situational experience of the man of knowledge, that is, a relational, although not necessarily a relativistic, phenomenon.

Emile Durkheim, more than any other European sociologist, formed a "school"; his disciples were almost all Jews, but few of them were sociologists. One might mention here Maurice *Halbwachs, primarily a demographer, Marcel *Mauss, Durkheim's son-in-law and his successor as editor of *L'Année Sociologique*, Lucien *Lévy-Bruhl and his son Henry *Lévy-Bruhl; all these, going beyond Durkheim, tried to combine sociology and psychology, but their published works fall more in the fields of ethnology, social anthropology, and the history of law and institutions than in the field of sociology proper. Perhaps the most renowned disciple of Durkheim was Marc *Bloch, an economic historian and one of the initiators of a sociological school of historiography. René *Worms, on the other hand, more important as organizer than as scholar, was an adversary of Durkheim. Later French-Jewish sociologists, such as Georges *Gurvitch, Raymond *Aron, and Georges *Friedmann, were less influenced by Durkheim than by idealistic and phenomenological philosophy and by the sociological approach of Max Weber. Georges Friedmann, a specialist in industrial sociology, contributed a brilliant analysis of contemporary Israel and the impact which it might have on the future of the Jewish people. Among the U.S. interpreters of Durkheim (as well as of Simmel, Mannheim, Weber, and Toennies) are such Jewish sociologists as Louis Wirth, Kurt Wolff, Harry Alpert (1912–1977), Reinhard Bendix, Lewis Coser, and Werner J. *Cahnman. Jeffrey Alexander (1947–), a leader in the neo-functionalist tradition, revitalized the understanding of the classic theorists, including Durkheim, Weber, and Marx. His work has been associated with what he calls the "late-Durkheimian" approach, or the "strong program" in cultural sociology (as compared to the "weak" program of the sociology of culture).

In England, Morris *Ginsberg developed a comparative sociological approach, based on evolutionary and social-psychological components; he was the editor of the *Jewish Journal of Sociology.* In pre-Hitlerian Germany and Austria, one encounters, apart from Oppenheimer and Mannheim, a number of interesting Jewish sociologists whose impact, however, was not far-reaching, partly because they were more social philosophers than sociologists, such as Rudolph *Eisler, Wilhelm *Jerusalem, Hermann *Kantorowicz, David *Koigen, Eugen *Rosenstock-Huessy, and the somewhat diffuse Ludwig *Stein (1859–1930), and partly because they were specialized, such as Friedrich Hertz and Walter *Sulzbach, who were students of nationalism, or Siegfried *Kracauer, whose careful analysis of white-collar employees and the social impact of the movies was not sufficiently appreciated. Rudolf *Goldscheid, one of the initiators of the Deutsche Gesellschaft fuer Soziologie, is remarkable because of his ethically motivated opposition to Max Weber's impassioned emphasis on a "value-free" social science. It should be added in this context that Germany, along with the countries of Eastern Europe, gave birth to the sociology of the Jews. In Eastern Europe, the writings of Leon *Pinsker, *Aḥad Ha-Am, and Ber (Dov) *Borochov, although sociological in content, are essayistic in form, while the publications emanating from the Yiddish Scientific Institute (YIVO), first in Vilna, later in New York, are more in the area of social history than sociology. The German effort, on the other hand, in connection with the Verein fuer die Statistik der Juden, was demographic and therefore at least pre-sociological in nature. The foremost name is Arthur *Ruppin; others are Felix Theilhaber, Arthur *Cohen, and Jacob *Lestchinsky; the latter lived in Germany, and later in the U.S., but was at first with the YIVO circle.

The story of the participation of the Jews in U.S. sociology is entirely different from the one in Europe. Among the founding fathers of sociology in the U.S., that is, the first post-Spencerian generation, were no Jews. The same is true about the second generation. As late as the 1930s only two Jewish sociologists of some importance were on the scene, Samuel *Joseph at the predominantly Jewish New York City College, and Louis Wirth, who was soon to rise to prominence at the oldest and most prestigious department of sociology in the country, the University of Chicago. There may be a variety of reasons for this tardy development, but one of them becomes clear if one compares what happened in sociology with the corresponding data in the related field of anthropology. The founding father of cultural *anthropology, as it is known today in the U.S., undoubtedly is Franz *Boas and beside him Edward *Sapir, both German-Jewish immigrants. In the second generation, Jews are prominently represented by such students of Boas as A.A. *Goldenweiser, Robert *Lowie, Paul *Radin, L. *Spier, all of them Austrian, Polish, and Russian immigrants, as well as by the U.S.-born Ruth Benedict and Melville J. *Herskovitz. What is involved is an apparently negative reaction in academic circles to entrusting "foreigners" with the teaching of such sensitive topics as U.S. history, U.S. literature, and especially sociology, while they were "allowed" to safely concern themselves with the analysis of remote cultures such as, for instance, the ones of the Crow, Klamath, and Winnebago Indians. Nor was this negative reaction politically of a predominantly conservative flavor, as one might assume if one were to conclude from European antecedents. Rather, it was radical "progressives" among older U.S. sociologists, like Henry Pratt Fairchild, Edward A. Ross, and Robert Faris who, in Fairchild's terminology, reminded immigrants that as "guests" they must adapt themselves to their "hosts," if they wished to be "accepted" as equals. This attitude amounted to a formidable psychological barrier, especially for aspiring Jewish intellectuals.

This state of affairs totally changed after 1948 when, apart from a limited number of European refugee scholars, a great many native-born Jews entered the ranks of U.S. sociologists. By 2005, of the 50 preeminent sociologists listed at the website http://www.kfunigraz.ac.at/sozwww/agsoe/lexikon/klassiker, approximately one-third were, or are, Jews (www.jinfo.org/Sociologists.html). About the same percentage have served as presidents of the American Sociological Association, including the president as of 2005 (Cynthia Fuchs Epstein, 1933–).

Several scholars of Jewish descent who have been aloof to Jewish life, or even baptized, played a prominent role in U.S. sociology, especially Robert K. *Merton, the foremost structural-functional theoretician in U.S. sociology, whose striking formulations have been widely accepted, Paul F. *Lazarsfeld, the recognized leader in quantitative sociology, Neil J. *Smelser, the most prolific writer among the students of Talcott Parsons, and David *Riesman, a Unitarian, who gained fame with a sociological best seller, *The Lonely Crowd.* Of these, Merton and Lazarsfeld were presidents of the American Sociological Association, as were Philip M. *Hauser, a former deputy director of the U.S. Bureau of the Census and an internationally known demographer, and Reinhard Bendix, a German-born theorist and a specialist in stratification theory. Arnold *Rose, a race-relations specialist, the assistant to Gunnar Myrdal's trailblazing study of the U.S. black, *An American Dilemma* (1944), passed away before he could occupy the office to which he was elected. The three latter scholars were graduates of the University of Chicago and students of Louis Wirth, while Merton represented a school of thought more prominent on the Eastern seaboard. Lazarsfeld was, by training, a mathematical psychologist. Louis Wirth himself, the first Jew to be elected to the presidency of the A.S.A., never fully reconciled his intense interest in Jewish affairs with his conviction that total assimilation was both inevitable and desirable, but his importance rests chiefly with his interest in urbanism, his interpretation of major figures in European sociology, and his passionate espousal of the cause of racial equality and social reform.

Up to the mid-20th century, one can say that a historical and phenomenological trend in U.S. sociology became more pronounced, along with a continuing and major trend of quantitative and positivistic emphasis. To the former trend belonged the Jewish sociologists Cahnman, Coser, and Kurt Wolff, as well as the scholars Albert *Salomon, Bernard Rosenberg (1923–1996), Norman Birnbaum (1926–), Sigmund *Diamond, Benjamin *Nelson (1911–1977), the urbanist Herbert Gans (1927–), and the political sociologist, Amitai Etzioni, an Israeli-American famous for his work on socioeconomics and as founder of the Communitarian movement in the early 1990s; to the latter chiefly some of the students of Paul F. Lazarsfeld, such as Bernard R. Berelson (1912–1979), David Caplovitz (1928–1992), and Herbert Hyman (1918–1985). Mathematical and statistical sociology was furthered by Leo Goodman (1928–) and Mark Granovetter (1943–). The structional-functional school in sociological theory, whose major representatives among Jewish scholars are Marion J. Levy, Jr. (1918–2002) and Neil J. Smelser, represented a third trend. Other scholars occupied a variety of intermediary positions in this regard, such as the criminologists Herbert *Bloch and Albert K. Cohen (1918–), the political sociologists Seymour M. Lipset and Walter B. Simon (1918–), the urban sociologist Alvin *Boskoff, and the industrial sociologists Peter Blau (1918–2002), Robert Dubin (1916–), Philip Selznick (1919–), and Rosabeth Moss Kanter (1943–).

In the second half of the 20th century, sociology developed in several directions in which Jewish sociologists played significant roles. These included challenges to the hegemony of both functionalist (Parsons) and conflict (Marxist) theory in the development of phenomenology, symbolic interactionism and postmodernism; the development of global macrosociology, the concept of "multiple modernities" and the impact of world systems; population studies on both the macro (demography) and micro (networking) levels; the rejection of the notion of "value-free" sociology and the awareness of the influence of social position on the development and impact of sociology, and its extension to the sociology of race, gender, and class relations, their intersections and especially the development of feminist and queer theory; and the developing field of the sociology of Jewry.

Symbolic interactionism, a term coined by Herbert Blumer, grew out of the "Chicago school" and was developed by a number of prominent Jewish sociologists, including the ethnomethodologist Harold Garfinkel (1917–); Erving Goffman (1922–1982), whose dramaturgical approach to impression management and contributions to role theory became a classic of sociology, most famously through his *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life.* It incorporated Simmelian micro-perspective on interaction with a macro-level analysis of Durkheimian ritual behavior (Adams, 2003). Alfred Schutz contributed the idea of "multiple realities" in a phenomenological perspective contributing to the sociology of knowledge and knowing. Stanley Milgram (1933–1984) had a major impact on social science with what came to be known as the "Milgram experiments," which demonstrated that authority figures could command obedience to extraordinary measures even in the United States by virtue of their position; he also developed the concept of the six degrees of separation, an early development of networking theory.

Bridging macro- and micro-perspectives, and theory and empiricism, Norbert Elias (1890–1990) developed "process" or "figurational" sociology, his most prominent contribution being *The Civilizing Process*. Synthesizing German, American, French, and British social scientific advances through the 1930s, he explored the historical development of "civilized" identity and habitus, the history of emotions, the part played by state formation in that development, and the dynamics of national identity-formation. National identity-formation has also been explored by Erik Erikson (1902–1999) and Alex *Inkeles (1920–), who has focused on the manifestation of "modern" identity as well as convergence and divergence in "modern" societies. Other Jews contributing to such global sociology include Immanuel Wallerstein (1930–), who furthered the concept of the world system and global economic and political stratification; Lewis *Feuer (1912–2002), who began his career as a radical Trotskyist, a scholar of Marx and Hegel, with a major focus on the study of imperialism (http://frm.nationalreview.com/archives/week_2002_11_24.asp); and Shmuel Noah Eisenstadt (1923–), whose concept of "multiple modernities" challenged the linear and unified concept of modernity. Edward Shils (1910–1995), distinguished service professor in the Committee on Social Thought and in Sociology, was internationally renowned for his research on the role of intellectuals and their relations to power and public policy, following in a Weberian tradition. This cultural sociology was echoed in other Jewish sociologists, including Neil Postman (1931–2003), a media theorist, who studied how culture was affected by technology (or "Technopoly" as he called one of his books). One could also say that Thomas Kuhn (1922–1996) was a cultural sociologist in that he studied the impact of shifts in scientific culture or paradigms on society and science.

Jews figured among some of the most prominent demographers in the last half of the 20th century, including Ronald Freedman (1917–), who established and directed the Population Studies Center at the University of Michigan, and with Howard Schuman helped establish the on-going Detroit Area Study (DAS) to analyze social trends in the area; Sidney Goldstein (1927–), generally recognized as the "dean of demographers of American Jewry" and who like Freedman was president of the Population Association of America; Calvin Goldscheider (1941–); Nathan Keyfitz (1913–), who has made significant contributions to fertility, aging, and environmental impacts of population growth and who founded the International Institute for Applied Systems Analysis in Austria; Robert Hauser (1942–), director of the Center for Demography of Health and Aging at the University of Wisconsin-Madison and collaborator on the Wisconsin Longitudinal Study of life course and aging; and Harriet Presser (1936–), founding director of the Center on Population, Gender and

Social Inequality at the University of Maryland. Both Freedman and Presser were presidents of the Population Association of America. Jewish sociologists have also been among the leaders in the field of applied sociology, including Daniel Yankelovich (1924–), founder of the first private firm to measure and analyze shifting trends in American social and cultural values, Ross Koppel (1948–), president of the Social Research Corporation; and Judith Auerbach (1956–), vice president of the American Foundation for AIDS Research, who also served as director of the Behavioral and Social Science Program of National Institutes of Health (U.S.).

Several U.S. Jewish sociologists have made their mark in race and intercultural relations studies, or more generally, studies of inequality, partly because the field explicitly or implicitly includes Jewish topics, but chiefly because, for a variety of reasons, the problems of all minorities appeal to them. Early names to be mentioned here are Leo Srole (1908–1993), a collaborator with W. Lloyd Warner in the ethnic aspects of the much-discussed "Yankee City" studies; Melvin *Tumin (1919–1994), whose monographs deal with situations in North Carolina, Puerto Rico, and Guatemala; Milton *Gordon (1918–) and Nathan *Glazer, profound students of the processes of assimilation and ethnic identification in U.S. life; Milton Barron (1918–) and Stanley Bigman (1915–), authors of pioneering studies on intermarriage; Seymour Leventman (1930–), coauthor of *Children of the Gilded Ghetto* (1961); Arnold Rose; Peter Rose (1933–); Raymond Mack (1927–); and Immanuel Wallerstein in his Africanist studies. Oscar Lewis (1914–1970) focused his attention on the culture of poverty, through ethnographic portrayals of peasant communities in Mexico, Latin America, and Northern India, as well as poor Hispanics in the United States. Stanley Lieberson (1933–) received the Distinguished Contribution to Scholarship Award for his *A Piece of the Pie: Blacks and White Immigrants since 1880*. His work has focused on language usage and conflict, fashion, naming customs, and other nuances of cultural diversity. One of his latest books, *A Matter of Taste: How Names, Fashions, and Culture Change*, included a section on Jewish naming customs.

Other sociologists, like Sophia *Robison, Morris *Janowitz, and Werner J. Cahnman, made contributions in the field of race and intercultural relations, but their main interests are in other fields: Sophia Robison's in criminology, Janowitz' in military sociology, Cahnman's in the development of typological theory, especially in connection with historical studies.

One would be remiss to discuss the field of inequality without its more recent developments in terms of the intersections of race, class, and gender, feminism, and queer theory. Gender studies and feminism began with Betty Friedan (1921–2006), and continued through Jessie Bernard (1903–1996), who helped established the scholastic foundations of modern feminism, Nancy Chodorow (1944–) on the reproduction of mothering, and Judith Butler (1956–), among others. The latter, who credits her first realized interest in social philosophy to her early synagogue experiences, is chief representative of a body of intellectuals who have contributed to the reformulation of social theory in relationship to the "new" social movements such as the 1960s' student movements, the women's movements rekindled in the 1970s and beyond, race and ethnic pride movements stemming from the Civil Rights era of the late 1960s, and the gay and lesbian liberation movements of the 1980s and beyond. Uncovering the sexual politics of the private sphere, and protesting the exclusion of women from the public sphere, state, and economy, her work (most famously *Gender Trouble*), as well as that of others, has initiated debate over the relationships of culture, identity and representation.

Out of reluctance by many sociologists to publicize their own Jewish identity for fear of reprisal in the academy, studies of the Jewish minority were not commonly undertaken until the 1960s legitimized ethnic roots and attention. In the focus on multiculturalism, however, Jews were often obscured as part of the white majority (aptly captured in a study by Karen Brodkin (1941–), *How Jews Became White Folks and What That Says about Race in America*). Therefore, the study of American Jews became essentially a parochial pursuit rather than part of the more mainstream study of ethnic, racial, and religious minorities.

As far as the image of the Jew and the treatment of Jewish topics in sociological literature are concerned, there are differences to be observed as one moves from Europe to the U.S., but also continuities. In Europe the scholarly interest in Jewish matters was predominantly socioeconomic in nature, and it was cultivated primarily by Christian authors. Albert Schaeffle (1831–1903), writing about the Viennese stock exchange crash in 1873, considered the Jews as "naturally belonging to the financial faction." Werner *Sombart's related but historically buttressed thesis that the calculating spirit of the Jews was one of the prime factors in the rise of modern capitalism was contested by Max Weber, who characterized the Jewry of the dispersion as a "*Pariavolk*" whose economic activities were peripheral, not central, to significant occidental developments. Jewish traders, Weber maintained, were not instrumental in bringing about the modern factory as a rationally conceived and continuing enterprise. However, Weber analyzed the "ethical," or "missionary," Hebrew prophecy as the first step on the way to the rational "disenchantment of the world" which later culminated in the Puritan ethic and its secular aftermath. Ferdinand Toennies (1855–1936) occupies middle ground between Sombart and Weber inasmuch as he sees the Jews internally as the remnant of a former "Gemeinschaft," but in their external relations as one of the forces promoting the expanding modern *Gesellschaft*. This discussion has not been continued in the U.S., but Georg Simmel's concept of the "stranger" has led to an interesting elaboration in Robert E. Park's and Everett Stonequist's concept of the "marginal man" as "one who is poised in psychological uncertainty between two or more social worlds; reflecting in his soul the discords and harmonies, repulsions and attractions of these worlds." Park had in mind cultural as well as physical hybrids, emancipated Jews as well as light-skinned blacks. One of Park's disciples, Howard Becker (1899–1960) applied the "marginal man" concept to structural situations in talking about "marginal trading peoples" while Park's Jewish student Louis Wirth analyzed the ghetto as a state of mind marked by marginality; an extended controversy has followed in which a number of Jewish authors, among them Amitai Etzioni and Aaron Antonovsky (1923–1994), participated.

Last, but certainly not least in the present context, ought to be mentioned scholars whose major if not exclusive interest is in the Jewish field. Jewish topics have occupied a place in U.S. sociological literature; however, research on Jews tends to be isolated in Jewish publications rather than well-integrated in appropriate mainstream journals. However, some trends are ascertainable. While an analysis of papers published in three leading sociological journals (*American Sociological Review, American Journal of Sociology, Social Forces*) in the years 1929–64 showed that 74 of the published papers dealt with topics referring to intergroup relations (acculturation, assimilation, intermarriage, prejudice, discrimination, antisemitism, etc.), 51 papers dealt predominantly, although not exclusively, with internal topics of Jewish life (23 with family and youth, 15 with socioeconomic and demographic topics, 13 with Jewish religion and institutions). A comparable analysis of dissertations on Jewish topics (cf. Isacque Graeber, *Jewish Themes in American Doctoral Dissertations*, 1933–64) yielded 53 intergroup relations studies against 47 internal and, in part, structural studies, but the total figures include, along with those in sociology, historical, anthropological and psychological studies, thus impairing comparability. A review of sociological work on American Jewry that was published 1970–80 (Heilman, 1982) lamented the parochialism of the sociology of American Jewry. A later analysis of social science papers appearing in the electronic database JSTOR and dealing with topics related to American Jews (Burstein, 2004) revealed 129 articles, 19 dealing with politics, 29 with family (including fertility and intermarriage), and 26 with educational and economic attainment. Only nine articles dealt with (internal) Jewish religious practices or organizational life. However, the articles tended to cite research written by and for other Jews more than mainstream theories or problematics, indicating a persistent parochialism.

The review was incomplete, since it did not include some of the primary sources for publishing social science research on Jewry (which are not indexed in JSTOR): *Jewish Social Studies*, a publication of the Conference on Jewish Relations which began in 1938; *Commentary*, established in 1946, which aims to present intelligent and accessible analysis of the social character of American Jews; *Judaism*, begun in 1951 and including many sociological articles; *Midstream*, started in 1954; *The Jewish Journal of Sociology*, published bi-annually since 1958 out of the United Kingdom; *Contemporary Jewry*, the official journal of the Association for the Social Scientific Study of Jewry, which began publishing in 1974 as *Jewish Sociology and Social Research*, taking its present name in 1976; or the major journals of sociology of religion (such as *Sociology of Religion*, *Review of Religious Research*, *Journal of the Social Scientific Study of Religion, Journal of Contemporary Religion*) and ethnicity (such as *Ethnic and Racial Studies, Ethnicities, Social Identities*). While analyses of Jewish institutional life and identification are rarer in the latter journals than comparisons of Jews to other religious and U.S. denominations, sociological topics focusing on Jews are often included.

The analysis of Jewish institutional life and of the changing factors in Jewish identification has developed considerably in the last several decades. Three surveys of American Jews (the 1971, 1990, and 2000–01 National Jewish Population Studies) have resulted in serious analysis of American Jews, often in comparison to the wider American population and Israeli Jews. The 1990 National Jewish Population Studies resulted in 11 monographs, seven of which were published as a special series by SUNY Press. Topics included denominationalism, gender roles, Jewish and American culture, Jewish Baby Boomers and children, internal migration. Further, an impressive body of community studies has been collected (over 90), summaries of 45 of which have been collected by Ira Sheskin and published under the auspices of the North American Jewish Data Bank, currently housed at the University of Connecticut under the directorship of Arnold Dashevsky.

Early scholars of Jewish sociology included Nathan Goldberg (1903–1979), Erich *Rosenthal, Oscar Janowsky (1900–1993), Bernard Lazerwitz, C. Bezalel Sherman (1896–1971), Benjamin F. Ringer (1920–), Victor Sanua (1920–), Benjamin *Halpern, Will Herberg (1907–1977), Albert Vorspan (1924–), Mannheim Shapiro (1913–1981), Charles S. Liebman (1934–2003), and Albert Gordon (1901–1968); the last was a rabbi turned sociologist. Building on these early foundations, and incorporating new data and approaches, American Jewish sociology has developed along several lines, including: general analyses or theories of American Jewish life (Marshall *Sklare, Charles Silberman (1925–), Calvin Goldscheider (1941–), Seymour Martin Lipset, Charles Liebman (1934–2003); acculturation and assimilation (Steven Cohen, Calvin Goldscheider); ethnicity (Steven Steinberg (1944–); Herbert Gans, especially with his development of the concept "symbolic ethnicity" and, later, "symbolic religiosity")); social history and especially portraits of particular communities and groups of Jews (Samuel Heilman (1946–); Jack Wertheimer (1948–); Lynn Davidman (1955–); Debra Kaufman (1941–)); denominational studies and Jewish pluralism (Bernard Lazerwitz, Arnold Dashefsky (1941–)); American Zionism (Chaim Waxman (1941–); Jonathan Woocher (1946–), who suggested that Israel-oriented sentiment and activity formed the basis of American Jewish "civil religion"); Jewish politics and social movements (Daniel *Elazar (1934–1999); Jewish feminism (see more detail in Women in Sociology below); Jews and economics (Eva Etzioni-Halevy (1934–); Barry Chiswick (1942–)); family, gender roles, intermarriage (Moshe (1936–) and Harriet Hartman (1948–), Rela Mintz Geffen (1943–)); intermarriage (Rodney Stark (1934–) and Charles

Stember (1916–1982), participants in studies on antisemitism that were sponsored by the ADL (Anti-Defamation League) and the AJC (American Jewish Committee), respectively; Egon Mayer (1944–2004), Bruce Phillips, E. Rosenthal, Sylvia Barack Fishman); education (Walter Ackerman (1918–); Steven Steinberg; Harold Himmelfarb (1944–)); demography (Calvin Goldscheider (1941–); Sidney and Alice *Goldstein (1936–)); language and Jewish culture (Max Weinrich, Elihu Katz (1926–), and Sylvia Barack Fishman).

The sociology of Jewish religion began, perhaps, with Mordecai M. Kaplan's *Judaism as a Civilization*, continued with myriad publications of Jacob Neusner, Stephen Sharot's (1943–) focus on Jewish religious movements in comparative perspective, and S.N. Eisenstadt's *Jewish Civilization: The Jewish Historical Experience in a Comparative Perspective* (1992). The contribution of the Diaspora to the development of Jewish life has been explored by Daniel Boyarin (1946–) and Jonathan Boyarin, and the comparative perspective within Judaism, surveying the various Diasporas as well as Israel, has been greatly developed by Eliezer Ben-Raphael (1938–) and colleagues (e.g., *Contemporary Jewries: Convergence and Divergence*, 2003).

The beginnings of sociology in Israel were European. One trend was clearly demographic, starting with Arthur Ruppin and competently continued by the scientific director of the Israel Central Statistical Bureau, Roberto *Bachi, but, another, more descriptive than analytic, and represented by Zvi Rudy (1900–1972) and Aryeh *Tartakower, had East European antecedents. Structural-functionalism dominated Israeli sociology as it was established at Hebrew University's department of sociology, founded in 1948 by Martin Buber, followed as chair by Shmuel N. *Eisenstadt (1923–), Jacob Katz (1904–1998), Joseph Ben-David (1920–1986), and Yonina Talmon (1923–66), later joined by Judith Shuval (1926–), Simon Herman (1912–), and Henry Rosenfeld (1911–1986). The first student to complete her studies in the department, Rivka Bar-Yosef, later became a faculty member and chair. Chaim Adler (focusing on education), Dov Weintraub (1926–85), Erik Cohen (1932–), Moshe Lissak (1928–), and Elihu Katz joined in the next few years, rounding out a major cross-institutional research plan on the emerging Israeli society, including the absorption of immigrants (Eisenstadt), youth movements (Ben-David), kibbutz (Talmon), education (Reuven Kahane), and the moshav (Weintraub). A macrosociological and theoretical emphasis allowed the work to transcend the small-scale case study, and continues to characterize some of its most renowned members, such as Victor Azarya (1946–), Baruch Kimmerling (1939–), Nachmun Ben-Yehuda (1948–), and Erik Cohen. Katz went on to found Hebrew University's Communications Institute, as well as to head the task force charged with the introduction of television broadcasting in the late 1960s. Along with this institutional emphasis, Uriel Foa (1916–1990), Judith Shuval, and Louis *Guttman, the latter of which founded the Israel Institute of Applied Social Research, were early representatives of a positivistic and quantitative sociology, some of which continues at the Institute of Contemporary Jewry at Hebrew University, where Sergio DellaPergola is a chief demographer of Jewry worldwide. Tel Aviv University's Faculty of Social Sciences was founded in the late 1950s with a challenge to the dominant functionalist approach of studying Israeli society, starting with its first chair, Yonaton Shapiro. Applying sociology to some of the country's greatest dilemmas, it developed such foci as the Institute of Labor Relations and a Public Policy Program. Its faculty have studied democracy in Israeli society (Ephraim Yuchtman-Yaar (1935) and Yochanan Peres) and other aspects of political sociology (Hanna Herzog), work and labor markets (Rina Shapira (1932–), Moshe Semyonov (1946–), Noah Lewin-Epstein, and Haya Stier), education and stratification (Hanna Ayalon, Yossi Shavit) as well as ethnicity and Jewish identity in Israel and globally (Eliezer Ben-Rafael). The challenge to the functionalist perspective was further developed at Haifa University, with one of its major proponents Sammy Smooha (1941–), whose research focus on the disadvantaged Asian-African immigrants and Israeli Arabs showed the lack of unity and consensus in the society. A Marxist perspective was further developed at Haifa University with such researchers as Shlomo and Barbara Swirski, Deborah Bernstein (1956– , focusing on gender), and Shulamit and Henry Rosenfeld (focusing on the kibbutz). Israeli feminism developed in the mid-1980s with such scholars as Dafna Izraeli (1937–2003), Deborah Bernstein, and Barbara Swirski. More recently, a post-Zionist perspective incorporating the effects of "colonization" after the 1967 war on Israeli society and the Palestinians has developed in Israel. The establishment of the Israel Sociological Society in 1967 marked a turning point in the development of the sociological occupation in Israel, moving it beyond the confines of academic institutions and setting up its own nationwide community for professional as well as academic purposes. In addition to five major universities in Israel and their faculty and research staff, numerous non-Israeli social scientists have done studies in Israel, especially in and about kibbutzim. A number of Israeli faculty have joint appointments abroad and/or spend sabbaticals abroad, which further connects Israeli sociology to global conferences and developments.

[Werner J. Cahnman / Harriet Hartman (2nd ed.)]

Women in Sociology

Few women, Jewish or otherwise, were among the founders of sociology. Perhaps the earliest Jewish American woman sociologist was Fay Karpf (1893–1981); a preeminent social psychologist, she was the first chair of the Division of Social Psychology of the American Sociological Association, later chairing a department in the Graduate School for Jewish Social Work. Marie *Jahoda (1907–2001), a British social psychologist and researcher at the American Jewish Committee, Columbia University, and the University of Sussex, was also influential in the development of the field. Like many of the first sociologists, some of the Jewish women who made early inroads in the field were intellectual Marxists; these include

Rosa *Luxemburg, who studied the role of women in revolution, and Alexandra Kollontai (1872–1952). Hannah *Arendt (1906–1975) had a deep sense of Jewish identity that shaped her writings and world view, including critical examination of alienation, political power and authority. Rose Laub *Coser (1916–1994) became an international expert on women, work and leadership, focusing on the bureaucratic settings of medical institutions as well as the family.

Jewish women have played major roles in sociological research and leadership. Seven of 18 scholars who contributed to a volume of autobiographical essays by female leaders in the field (ed. A. Goetting and S. Fenstermaker) clearly indicate their Jewishness, including Beth Hess, Suzanne Keller, Helen Mayer Hacker, Janet Lever, Shulamit Reinharz, Gaye Tuchman, and Hannah Scheller Wartenberg. For some, like Hannah Arendt, Shulamit Reinharz, Gaye Tuchman, and Deborah Lipstadt, Jewish identity was always integral to their scholarship; for others, its role has been mixed. Lenore Weitzman became well known for her work on the "divorce revolution" and later focused on the Holocaust. Jewish women who have been active as applied sociologists include Judith Auerbach (1956–), vice president of Public Policy and Program Development at the American Foundation for AIDS Research, and Felice Levine, former executive director of the American Sociological Association.

The contributions of Jewish women have perhaps been most notable in the field of gender studies both generally and as applied to the study of Jews. Among the first feminist scholars was Jessie *Bernard (1903–1996), whose work on "his and her" marriages became a staple of both family and feminist studies. Mirra Komarovsky (1905–1999), the second woman to be president of the American Sociological Association (1972–73), brought out the cultural parameters and contradictions in gender roles. Viola Klein (1908–1973), an Austrian social theorist who fled the Nazis to Great Britain, focused on the social construction of women's nature and attributes, as well as on *Women's Two Roles: Home and Work* (with Alva Myrdal). Cynthia Fuchs Epstein (1933–), current president of the American Sociological Association as of 2005, applied the study of gender to professions; Rosabeth Moss Kanter (1943–) focused on *Men and Women of the Corporation*, in addition to many other contributions to organizational theory and behavior. In what Hester Eisenstein has termed the first phase of women's studies scholarship, the contributions of Carolyn *Heilbrun (1926–2003), Florence Howe (1929–), and Barbara Haber (1934–) stand out, as does Janet Saltzman Chafetz's (1942–) work on gender role socialization, Debra Renée Kaufman's (1941–) application of gender analysis to achievement, and Shulamit Reinharz's (1946–) feminist perspective on social research methods.

In the second phase of feminist scholarship, which concentrated on the strength and power of women, such social scientists as Phyllis Chesler (1940–), Gerda *Lerner (1920–), and Adrienne Rich (1929–) are prominent. Nancy Chodorow's (1944–) *The Reproduction of Mothering* (1978) infused a neo-Freudian understanding into persisting gender difference. Carol *Gilligan's (1936–) *In a Different Voice* (1982) focused on the moral development of women. In such books as *Gender Trouble*, Judith Butler (1956–) contributed to the reformulation of social theory by uncovering the sexual politics of the private realm, and protesting the exclusion of women from the public sphere, state, and economy.

Jewish women were among the founders of Sociologists for Women in Society and continue to be active in it and the National Women's Studies Association. Judith Lorber (1931–), as an example, was a founding editor of *Gender and Society* and president of SWS and the Eastern Sociological Society. Women have also been active in the professional societies devoted to social science research in Jewish studies, including the Association for the Social Scientific Study of Jewry (ASSJ), of which four of the 12 presidents have been women; the Women's Caucus of the Association for Jewish Studies (AJS); and the Jewish Women's Caucus of the National Women's Studies Association.

In their 1994 critique of the application of feminist sociology to American Jews, Lynn Davidman and Shelly Tenenbaum note that the first full-length sociological studies of Jewish women did not appear until 1991; they also point out that few articles in the primary journals for Jewish studies (*American Jewish Year Book, Contemporary Jewry, Jewish Journal of Sociology* and *Jewish Social Studies*) included a focus on women or gender prior to the 1990s. Women's family and economic roles received attention in Goldscheider's *Jewish Continuity and Change* (1984), and were enlarged upon by Moshe and Harriet Hartman's analysis of the 1990 National Jewish Population Study (*Gender Equality and American Jews*, 1996). Women's participation in voluntary Jewish organizations has been the subject of some study (B'nai B'rith (1985), and others reviewed in a report by the National Commission on American Jewish Women (1995), which also reviews other scholarship on Jewish women). Sylvia Barack Fishman has provided in-depth analysis of women's roles and feminism among American Jews. Barbara Schreier shows how the immigrant experience affected Jewish women's fashion, while Riv-Ellen Prell's (1947–) work studies how cultural images of Jews have permeated the interaction between American Jewish men and women. Women's religious identity received attention from Marion Kaplan's work on Jews in imperial Germany; more contemporary work on Jewish identity by Bethamie Horowitz has identified different "journeys" taken by both men and women. Several works have provided ethnographic insights into women's role in Orthodox Judaism, beginning with M. Danzger's general study of the revival of Orthodox Judaism (1989), and including Davidman's and Kaufman's respective studies of newly Orthodox women.

Israeli women have also been the focus of sociological study. Susan Starr Sered and Tamar El-Or have provided especially interesting studies of Israeli religious women; Harriet Hartman's (1948–) dissertation discussed ethnic differences among Israeli women; and Deborah Bernstein's

(1956–) research focuses on Jewish women's roles in prestate Israel.

While women have been active in Israeli sociology practically since the founding of the first Sociology Department at Hebrew University in 1948, they are underrepresented in leadership and professional positions. Rivka Bar-Yosef, the first student to complete Ph.D. Sociology studies at the Hebrew University, became the third department head. After Bar-Yosef, it took 30 years for another woman to chair that department (Amalya Oliver), and only one woman, Judith Shuval (1926–), has been president of the Israel Sociological Society.

The work of Israeli women sociologists has been diverse, including work on immigration and healthcare (Judith Shuval), Israeli bureaucracy and sociolinguistics (Brenda Danet (1937–), work and occupations (Dafna Izraeli (1937–2003), education (Rina Shapira (1932–), and the kibbutz (Yonina Talmon (1923–1966), Michal Palgi (1944–).

[Harriet Hartman (2nd ed.)]

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SOCOH OR SOCO (**Sokhko**; Heb. שׂוֹכֹה, שׂוֹכוֹ).

(1) Town in the Shephelah of Judah, situated between Adullam and Azekah (Josh. 15:35). The Philistines camped between Socoh and Azekah prior to the encounter of David and Goliath (I Sam. 17:1). Rehoboam fortified the place (II Chron. 11:7). It was one of the cities occupied temporarily by the Philistines in the time of Ahaz (II Chron. 28:18). In that period it served as an administrative or storage center, being one of the four cities named on the *la-melekh* stamps of the Judean monarchy. In Byzantine times, the name applied to a double village (Eusebius, Onom. 156:18ff.), which was still a center for pottery manufacture. The scholar *Antigonus of Sokho (Avot 1:3) was probably from this village or from the Judean town listed. It is identified with the twin mounds of Khirbat ʿAbbād (the site of the earlier occupation) and Khirbat Shuwayka (occupied in the Iron Age), overlooking Wadi-al-Samt (the valley of Elah), E. of Azekah.

(2) Judean town, situated in the southernmost mountain district (Josh. 15:48). It is the present-day Khirbat Shuwayka, W. of Eshtemoa.

(3) Canaanite town in the Sharon near Yaham, mentioned in the inscriptions of Thutmosis III (no. 67), Amenhotep II (15th century B.C.E.) and Shishak (no. 41; c. 920 B.C.E.). It was included in Solomon's third district (I Kings 4:10). In talmudic times it was a Samaritan settlement and under the crusaders it was known as Casal Soque. It is the present-day Khirbat Shuwaykat al-Ra's, north of Tūlkarm.

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[Michael Avi-Yonah]

SODERBERGH, STEVEN (1963–), U.S. film director. Soderbergh was born in Atlanta, Georgia, the second of six children. The family moved to Baton Rouge, Louisiana, where Peter Soderbergh, his father, was a professor and dean of Louisiana State University's College of Education. As a teenager, Soderbergh enrolled in film classes at Louisiana State. In 1978, at age 15, he made a short film titled *Janitor.* After graduation from high school in 1980, he skipped college and went directly to Hollywood, where he worked as a freelance film editor. He wrote scripts and made short films, including a documentary about the rock group Yes. Soderbergh was asked to direct a concert film for the band, *Yes: 9012 Live* (1986), which earned him a Grammy nomination. His next project, the Southern drama *sex, lies and videotape* (1989), debuted at the Sundance Film Festival and earned Soderbergh the Palm d'Or at the Cannes Film Festival and an Oscar nod for best original screenplay; the film would go on to earn $100 million worldwide. Soderbergh followed his acclaimed debut with *Kafka* (1991), *King of the Hill* (1993), and *The Underneath* (1995). After Soderbergh filmed the Spalding Gray performance piece, *Gray's Anatomy* (1996), and the low-budget *Schizopolis* (1996), he returned to the mainstream with Elmore Leonard's *Out of Sight* (1998), starring George Clooney and Jennifer Lopez. Following the Terence Stamp-Peter Fonda thriller *The Limey* (1999), Soderbergh received Academy Award nominations for his Julia Roberts vehicle *Erin Brockovich* (2000) and the illegal drug trade thriller *Traffic* (2000); it was the first time a director had received a double nomination since 1938, and Soderbergh took the Oscar for *Traffic.* In 2000, Soderbergh and Clooney founded their production company, Section Eight. Soderbergh's next film was an all-star, big-budget remake of the Rat Pack film *Ocean's Eleven* (2001), which he juxtaposed with the remake of the Russian art film *Solaris* (2002) and the more independent-minded *Full Frontal* (2002), an unofficial sequel to *sex, lies and videotape* for which stars like Roberts, Clooney, and Brad Pitt agreed to work union scale. In March 2002, Soderbergh was elected the first vice president of the Directors Guild of America. He married a second time to model and TV host Jules Asner in 2003, and one year later reunited the *Ocean's Eleven* cast for the sequel *Ocean's Twelve.*

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[Adam Wills (2nd ed.)]

SODOM (modern **Sedom**) **AND GOMORRAH** (Heb. סְדֹם וַעֲמֹרָה), two cities in the "plain" of the Jordan, usually mentioned together and sometimes with Admah, Zeboiim, and Bela, which is identified with Zoar. The first biblical reference to them is in the account of the boundaries of Canaan (Gen. 10:19). They were situated in the well-watered Jordan Valley, east of Beth-El (13:10–11). Lot, Abraham's nephew, chose to dwell in Sodom; he was captured in the campaign of the four kings led by Amraphel of Shinear against the five kings of the plain (ch. 14), in which the forces of Sodom and Gomorrah were defeated and their people and chattels taken as booty, until eventually rescued by Abraham. The story of the fall of Sodom and Gomorrah is related in Genesis 18–19: God decided to destroy them because of the grievous sins of their inhabitants. In spite of Abraham's pleas not to punish the just with the wicked, the judgment was executed, as not even ten just men could be found there. The visit of the two angels to Lot and the inhospitable behavior of the people of Sodom occurred on the occasion of the destruction. Finally, Lot and his family were led out of Sodom, and the city, together with three of the others in the plain, only Zoar being saved, was destroyed by a rain of brimstones and fire until "the smoke of the country went up as the smoke of a furnace." In later books of the Bible, the fall of Sodom and Gomorrah is cited as an example of God's wrath and as a warning of future destruction (Deut. 29:22; Isa. 13:19; Amos 4:11). Jerusalem is compared to them (Jer. 23:14; Ezek. 16:49ff.) as are Edom (Jer. 49:18), Babylon (Jer. 50:40), and Moab (Zeph. 2:9). In all these cases, their names indicate the extent of the destruction to come as punishment for a people's sins.

The geographical and historical problems connected with the fate of these two cities are related to the tectonic nature of the Dead Sea. The creation of the Jordan rift certainly antedates Abraham, but local upheavals are by no means excluded. Sodom and Gomorrah are usually assumed to be beneath the southern part of the Dead Sea, south of the *lisān*, the peninsula jutting into the sea, which is shallow and more recent than the rest of the depression. Local tradition, as represented in the Arabic name of the salt mountain, Jebel al-Sudūm or mountain of Sodom, favors the southern site. Some scholars, however, have looked for the two cities at the northern end of the Dead Sea or near Bāb al-Dhrāʿ, east of the *lisān*. No clear archaeological evidence has yet been produced in favor of either theory, although the location of Zoar indicates that ancient tradition placed the five cities at the southern end of the Dead Sea.

[Michael Avi-Yonah]

In the Aggadah

Sodom was the incarnation of wickedness, but wickedness of a special type. It was an evil-mindedness and hard-heartedness which consisted of the inhabitants basing their actions on the strict letter of the law. For instance, when a stranger passed through their territory, he was besieged and robbed of whatever he possessed. However, each Sodomite was careful to take only a trifle, so that when the victim remonstrated with the thieves each would claim that he had taken a mere pittance (less than a *perutah*) which was not worth discussion. After a while, they decided entirely to discourage wayfarers whom they felt were only coming to deplete their wealth, which God had lavished upon them to the extent that even their wheat contained gold dust (Job 28:6; Sanh. 109a). If a lost soul did occasionally wander into Sodom, they fulfilled the dictates of hospitality by giving lodging to the stranger. They had standard-sized beds on which travelers slept. If the stranger was too long for the bed, they shortened him by lopping off his feet – if too short, they stretched him out (a parallel to the Procrustean bed of Greek mythology). If a poor man happened to come there, every resident gave him charity, bricks of gold and silver, upon which he had written his name, but no bread was given to him. When he died of starvation, each came and took his gold and silver back.

There were four judges in Sodom who meted out justice in a unique fashion. Their names were Shakrai ("liar"), Shakurai ("awful liar"), Zayyafi ("forger"), and Mazle Dina ("perverter of justice"). If a man assaulted his neighbor, the judges required the victim to pay the assailant a medical fee for the "bleeding" he received. The judges also ruled that a man had to pay eight *zuzim* for crossing through the waters of a river although the fee was only four *zuzim* when he crossed by ferry. On another occasion they ruled in favor of a Sodomite who stole a carpet from a traveler, and insisted that the stranger had only dreamed that he possessed it. In addition, the outsider was charged three pieces of silver for having his dream interpreted. If a man assaulted his neighbor's wife and caused her to miscarry, the judges ruled that the woman had to be given to the assailant so she would become pregnant from him to compensate for the lost child (Sanh. 109a–b; *Sefer ha-Yashar*, Va-Yera). Charity was forbidden on penalty of death, since it was felt that its practice encouraged the proliferation of beggars. Paltit, the daughter of Lot, secretly sustained a wandering beggar. The Sodomites could not understand why the beggar did not perish and they suspected that he was being given food in secret. Three men concealed themselves near the beggar and Paltit was caught in the act of giving him sustenance. She was put to death by being burned upon a pyre. The doom of Sodom was sealed when a young maiden was caught giving bread, which she had hidden in her pitcher, to a poor man. Once her crime became known, they daubed her with honey and placed her on the parapet of the wall and the bees came and consumed her. The cries of the unfortunate girl finally made God resolve to destroy these sinners (Sanh. 109b; *Sefer ha-Yashar*; Va-Yera; Gen. R. 49:6). God destroyed the city at dawn of the 16th day of Nisan when both the moon and sun were in the heavens, since there were both moon and sun worshipers in Sodom (Gen. R. 50:12).

This attitude of firmly sticking to the letter of the law is reflected in the *halakhah* of *Middat Sedom*, "acting in the manner of Sodom," (Ket. 103a; BB 12b) about a man who refuses to confer a benefit which costs him nothing (BB 12b). The meaning of the sin of Sodom perpetuated in the English language by applying the word sodomy to homosexuality, though based on the Bible (Gen. 19:5–8), is not overstressed in the Midrash.

[Aaron Rothkoff]

Modern Times

In the 20th century the name Sedom was given to the site at the northwestern corner of the Dead Sea and at the foot of the huge salt plug of Mount Sodom (see *Land of Israel, Physiography), where the auxiliary installations of the Palestine Potash Company were set up in 1937. Lying 1,295 ft. (395 m.) below sea level, Sedom has the world's lowest-situated industrial plant. The Palestine Potash Co. was established in 1929, and its Kallia plant, at the northern end of the Dead Sea, began production of potash and bromides in 1932. The opening of the Sedom branch works was necessitated by the lack of room for evaporation pans at Kallia. The carnallite extracted at Sedom was ferried over the Dead Sea north to Kallia, where, during World War II, potash production reached an approximate 100,000 tons annually, thus supplying about half of Great Britain's requirements at the time. The relatively small quantities of bromide also constituted an important contribution to the Allied war effort. The 1947 UN partition plan provided for the inclusion of Sedom and the Dead Sea shore from there north to En-Gedi in the proposed Jewish state. During the Israel War of Independence, the Sedom Works, accessible only by boat, were completely cut off for many months. Reinforced by the workers and settlers from Kallia and *Bet ha-Aravah, who had to evacuate those two places in May 1948 and could only be transferred to Sedom, the core of laborers held out under severe hunger and thirst until contact with the rest of Israel was renewed in "Operation Lot" (December, 1948). The Kallia works remained in Jordanian hands and were completely razed by the Arab Legion; thus the renewal of production at Sedom had to be deferred until 1954, after the Beersheba-Sedom road was built. In the intervening years, existing machinery had become useless through corrosion, and a new plant had to be built. In 1955, the Bromide Company was founded, and it set up its factory near the Sedom Potash Works. Soon after, both enterprises were integrated into the Dead Sea Works. In the initial years, however, output at both plants did not progress satisfactorily, because only part of the evaporation pans had remained accessible (the rest were included in Jordanian territory) and the labor force was unstable. It was therefore decided to replace the system of having laborers live at the spot in temporary quarters and then take home leave for seven to ten days by having a labor force composed only of inhabitants of *Dimonah (and later also *Arad), who could go home every evening. Only in 1957/58 was the previous potash output of 100,000 tons again attained, 151,000 tons were produced in 1962/63 and 188,000 tons in 1963/64. Two steps led to a considerable expansion: the turning of most of the Israel half of the southern Dead Sea basin, an area of 50 sq. mi. (130 sq. km.), into evaporation pans through the construction of a huge containing dike and 25 mi. (40 km.) of other dikes; and the construction in 1964 of a second potash plant which used the hot leaching instead of the cold flotation method (for technical details see *Israel, State of: Economic Affairs, Mineral Resources). In 1964/65, potash output reached 320,000 tons and in 1970 approached 1,000,000 tons after a third plant with a 400,000 tons annual capacity was begun in 1969. From 1970, potash production and exports regained their profitability after a price slump on the world market was overcome. In 2001, potash production stood at 1.77 million tons. Bromine output rose from 5,120 tons in 1964/65 to 206,000 tons in 2001. Another plant at Sedom produces table salt of high purity and industrial salts. The simultaneous progressive mechanization and introduction of electronic devices made feasible the reduction of the labor force.

[Shlomo Hasson]

In the Arts

The interconnected biblical accounts of Lot, the nephew of Abraham, and the wicked "Cities of the Plain" have inspired a number of writers and artists, but relatively few composers. One of the rare medieval treatments in literature is the English mystery play, *Histories of Lot and Abraham* (in Ms). Thereafter interest waned until the late 16th century with the publication of an anonymous English ballad, *Of the Horrible and Woeful Destruction of Sodome and Gomorra* (London, 1570). This was followed by *Conflagratio Sodomae* (1607), a five-act neo-Latin tragedy by Andreas Saurius, who also published a German version of the drama (Strasbourg, 1607); and G. Lesley's English verse play, *Fire and Brimstone; or the Destruction of Sodom* (London, 1675). Some of the most significant treatments of the theme have been written by 20th-century authors. Perhaps the most brilliant – and certainly the most disturbing – dramatic interpretation of the subject was Jean Giraudoux's *Sodome et Gomorrhe* (1943), first staged in 1946. Here the French playwright broadened the sweep of the original account and reduced the biblical quorum of ten righteous persons needed to preserve the cities from their overthrow to a single couple, whose inability to maintain normal sexual harmony results in the final catastrophe. Other 20th-century treatments include Robert Brendel's German tale, *Die grosse Hure* (1920); Maria Ley-Piscator's novel, *Lot's Wife* (1954); and Nikos Kazantzakis' Greek drama, *Sodhoma kye Ghomorra* (1956), which attempts to establish a parallel between the biblical past and the menacing present.

In art, the chief episodes treated are Lot's flight from Sodom and his incestuous relationship with his daughters. The flight from Sodom (Gen. 19:16ff., 29) is a favorite choice of artists, the burning city (Gen. 19:24ff.) often being shown in the background, although (unlike the Flood) it seldom formed a subject in itself. The transformation of Lot's wife into a pillar of salt (Gen. 19:26) was sometimes also incorporated in the flight. The pillar occasionally appears as a column with the head of Lot's wife as a capital. In some medieval representations, a goat is shown licking the salt at the base of the pillar, because Lot's wife represents the man who, having been delivered from sin, returns, and "the man who returns to sin is hardened like a rock and is licked by infernal wild beasts" (*Speculum Humanae Salvationis*). The subject is found in the sixth-century *Vienna Genesis* and in the 12th-century mosaics at Monreale. It figures in medieval carvings, stained glass, and manuscripts, including the 13th-century *St. Louis Psalter* (Bibliothèque Nationale) and Sarajevo *Haggadah, where the burning of Sodom and the transformation of Lot's wife appear as separate episodes. In the Renaissance, the subject appears in a fresco by Benozzo Gozzoli in the Campo Santo, Pisa; in the Raphael Loggia in the Vatican; and in a painting by Paolo Veronese in the Louvre. There is also a painting of the subject (Kress Collection, National Gallery of Art, Washington) attributed to Duerer. The subject was later treated in paintings by Rubens (Louvre) and Guido Reni (National Gallery, London). *Rembrandt made a pen-and-ink drawing of Lot's departure. The salacious theme of the elderly, drunken Lot making love to his daughters (Gen. 19:30–38) appealed especially to German, Dutch, and Flemish artists of the Renaissance, and to Italian artists of the 17th century. In many pictures, the elder daughter is shown sitting on his knees, while the younger plies him with wine. The subject appears in the *Vienna Genesis* and in a few other medieval sources; and in paintings by Lucas Cranach (Pinakothek, Munich), Albrecht Altdorfer and Quentin Massys in the Vienna Museum, and Lucas van Leyden (Louvre). The last artist also made a copper engraving of the subject. Other treatments include that by Rubens in the Louvre, a pen-and-ink sketch by Rembrandt, paintings by David Teniers (Pinakothek, Munich), Simon Vouet (Strasbourg Museum) and by Italian artists of the period, including Guercino-Goya and Gustave Courbet who also painted the subject.

In Music

Only slight interest in the subject has been displayed in this field. Beethoven's teacher, Simon Sechter, wrote a two-part oratorio, *Sodoms Untergang* (1840), which was apparently never performed. Other settings are few and forgotten. For Giraudoux' drama, *Sodome et Gomorrhe* (1943), the incidental music was written by Arthur Honegger.

[Bathja Bayer]

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SOEST, town in Germany. The Jewish settlement in Soest is continuous from its beginning in the 13th century until the Holocaust. Jews must have been present in the city during the first half of the 13th century, since a mid-13th century source attests that Jews from Soest were house owners in Cologne. At the beginning of the 14th century, Soest Jews paid a sum of eight marks yearly to the archbishop of Cologne as *Schutzgeld* ("protection money"). From 1330 onward jurisdiction over the Jews passed to the city, which did not allow more than two Jewish families to reside there. Among the Jews of Soest in the Middle Ages were a number of municipal physicians, a very unusual phenomenon for Westphalian Jews at the time. Among these were Master Solomon (1510) and Benedictus (1540). Another remarkable event was the conversion to Judaism of a scholar and canon named Robert, who died in Frankfurt in 1298.

From the beginning of Prussian rule, in the mid-17th century, the Jews of Soest belonged to the duchy of Mark. A family named Stern moved from Frankfurt and around 1700 settled in Soest, where their descendants lived until the Holocaust. Even in the 18th century the number of Jewish families was restricted to two. Only after Soest was included in the grand duchy of Berg (1807–14) did the number increase (70 people in 1822). At that time a synagogue was built, which was expanded in 1882. In addition to the medieval cemetery, a new one was purchased in 1832. Under the influence of the *Obervorsteher* ("senior warden"), L. Hellwitz, changes inspired by the concepts of "radical Reform" were introduced into the liturgy during the first half of the 19th century. The private Jewish primary school, founded in 1828, was converted into a municipal school in 1855. Due to the inclusion of nearby communities, the membership of the Soest community rose to 323 Jews by 1880. After that there was a steady decline: in 1933 there were 162 Jews in Soest, while in 1939 only 64 Jews remained. Deportations to concentration camps brought the community to an end. The four Jews residing there in 1971 belonged to the community of *Paderborn. In 2005, eight Jews from Soest were affiliated with the Paderborn Jewish community. There are commemorative plaques at the Jewish cemetery and the site of the former synagogue.

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[Bernhard Brilling]

SOFAER, ABRAHAM (1896–1988), British actor. Born in Rangoon, Burma, Sofaer was a schoolmaster before going on the London stage in 1921. He toured in Shakespeare for four years and subsequently appeared in Jewish roles such as Cohen in G.B. Stern's *The Matriarch* (London and New York, 1930), the title role in Schnitzler's *Professor Bernhardi* (1936), Disraeli in Laurence Housman's *Victoria Regina* (which he performed 750 times in the U.S. starting in 1936), and Samson in Milton's *Samson Agonistes* (1951). In the 1930s and 1940s Sofaer appeared in many British films and, from about 1950 until 1970, in more than 20 Hollywood films, always in supporting roles.

SOFAER, ABRAHAM (1939–), U.S. scholar and jurist. After serving in the U.S. Air Force from 1956 to 1959, Sofaer attended Yeshiva University, receiving his bachelor's degree in 1962. He graduated in 1965 from New York University School of Law, where he was editor-in-chief of the *Law Review* and a Root-Tilden scholar. He clerked with Judge Skelly Wright of the U.S. Court of Appeals in 1965 and 1966, then with the Honorable William J. Brennan, Jr., an associate justice of the U.S. Supreme Court, in 1966 and 1967. Sofaer served as an assistant U.S. Attorney for the Southern District of New York from 1967 to 1969.

From 1969 to 1976 Sofaer was professor of law at Columbia University School of Law. In 1975 and 1976 he served as a New York State administrative judge, and was hearing officer for the first major environmental action involving PCBs, the *New York Department of Environmental Conservation v. General Electric Company*, concerning the discharge of PCBs into the Hudson River. Sofaer was appointed U.S. district judge for the Southern District of New York in 1979. He presided over several high-profile cases, including the libel action against *Time* magazine by Israeli general Ariel Sharon, in which Sharon prevailed.

In 1985 Sofaer became legal adviser to the U.S. Department of State. He was the principal negotiator in various international matters, including the dispute between Egypt and Israel over Taba; the U.S. claim against Iraq for its attack on the USS *Stark*; claims against Chile for the assassination of diplomat Orlando Letelier; sovereign immunity in Soviet-U.S. relations; the Iran-U.S. Claims Tribunal; and extradition and mutual legal assistance treaties. In 1989 he received the Distinguished Service Award, the highest State Department award for a non-civil servant.

After leaving the Department of State in 1990, Sofaer entered private practice as a partner in the firm of Hughes, Hubbard, and Reed in Washington, D.C. Two years later he was retained to represent Libya in matters pertaining to the 1988 bombing of Pan Am Flight 103 over Lockerbie, Scotland. Though Sofaer maintained that his role was to seek "consensual resolutions" and that during his tenure at the State Department the investigation of the bombing was focused on Iran, not Libya, he was nevertheless charged with violating Rule 1.11 of the Rules of Professional Conduct by the District of Columbia Bar. Rule 1.11 prohibits a lawyer formerly employed by the federal government from working on a matter in which the lawyer participated while in government employ. Sofaer and his firm subsequently dropped the case. In an appeal of the charges, a three-judge panel of the D.C. Court of Appeals ruled in the bar's favor.

In 1994 Sofaer was named the first George P. Shultz Distinguished Scholar and Senior Fellow at the Hoover Institution of Stanford University. The focus of his work as a legal scholar has included the separation of powers in the American system of government, international law, terrorism, national security, and conflicts in the Middle East. He was a member of the American Bar Association, the American Law Institute, the American Arbitration Association, and the Council on Foreign Relations.

[Dorothy Bauhoff (2nd ed.)]

SOFER (**Schreiber**), rabbinical family, descendants of Moses *Sofer. ABRAHAM SAMUEL BENJAMIN WOLF (1815–1871), oldest son of Moses Sofer, succeeded his father on his death in 1839 as rabbi and *rosh yeshivah* of Pressburg. During the 32 years he occupied this post, he continued his father's policies in all matters. He was one of the active organizers of Hungarian Orthodoxy for the Jewish Congress which took place in 1869, and subsequently carried on his activity in this sphere (see *Hungary). Though not at first an extremist, he later joined their ranks and finally gave the religious approval of the Sofer dynasty to the schism in Hungarian Jewry. He published responsa and expositions of the Torah under the title *Ketav Sofer* (1873–1938).

His brother SIMEON SOFER (1820–1883) was appointed rabbi of Mattersdorf in 1848 and in 1861 of Cracow, where he served until his death. He founded *Maḥzike Hadas, the Orthodox organization in Galicia, to battle the *maskilim*. With this end in view he strengthened relations with the ḥasidic rabbis of Belz and Zanz. From 1878 he was a member of parliament in Vienna. His books on *halakhah* and homiletics were published under the title *Mikhtav Sofer* (2 vols., 1952–55).

SIMHAH BUNEM SOFER (1842–1906), son and successor of Abraham Wolf, continued to maintain the large yeshivah, to organize Orthodoxy, and to accentuate the differences between it and other sectors of Hungarian Jewry. For this purpose, he strengthened relations with ḥasidic rabbis in Hungary. He expressed his opposition to the *Mizrachi conference which took

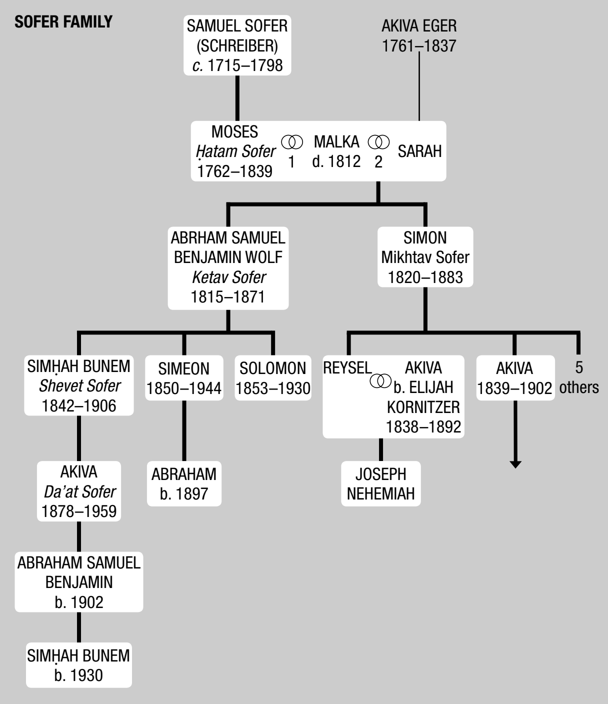
SOFER FAMILY
SAMUEL SOFER (SCHREIBER) c. 1715–1798
AKIVA EGER 1761–1837
MOSES Ḥatam Sofer 1762–1839
1
MALKA d. 1812
2
SARAH
ABRHAM SAMUEL BENJAMIN WOLF Ketav Sofer 1815–1871
SIMON Mikhtav Sofer 1820–1883
SIMḤAH BUNEM Shevet Sofer 1842–1906
SIMEON 1850–1944
SOLOMON 1853–1930
REYSEL
AKIVA b. ELIJAH KORNITZER 1838–1892
AKIVA 1839–1902
5 others
AKIVA Da'at Sofer 1878–1959
ABRAHAM b. 1897
JOSEPH NEHEMIAH
ABRAHAM SAMUEL BENJAMIN b. 1902
SIMḤAH BUNEM b. 1930

place in Pressburg in 1904. His publications are: *Shevet Sofer,* responsa (1909) and novellae on talmudic tractates (1938–56); and *Sha'arei Simḥah*, on the Pentateuch (1923).

SIMEON (1850–1944), son of Abraham Wolf, founded in 1881 the well-known yeshivah in Erlau (Hung., Eger), where he was rabbi, and taught there until the day he was taken to Auschwitz extermination camp where he perished. He had been in favor of agricultural settlement in Ereẓ Israel. He published the responsa, *Hitorerut Teshuvah* (4 vols., 1912–34).

SOLOMON SOFER (1853–1930), son of Abraham Wolf, was a distinguished preacher and writer. He is the author of *Ḥut ha-Meshullash* (1887), biographies of famous members of the family; and edited the *Iggerot Soferim* (1928), containing letters of his family, the Sofers and the Egers. He served as rabbi of Beregszasz until his death.

AKIVA SOFER (1878–1959), son of Simḥah Sofer, succeeded his father as rabbi and *rosh yeshivah* of Pressburg. In 1940 he settled in Israel where he reestablished the yeshivah of Pressburg (Jerusalem), acting as its head until his death. His publications are *Da'at Sofer* (1963) on Torah, and responsa (2 vols., 1965).

ABRAHAM SOFER (SCHREIBER; 1897–), son of Simeon Sofer, served as rabbi in many communities in Greece and in Italy. He immigrated to Ereẓ Israel in 1939, settling in Jerusalem. From 1948 to 1966 he was a teacher at the Jewish Theological Seminary of New York. As a fruitful rabbinic author, his main activity was preparing the works of Menahem *Meiri, as well as of other rishonim for publication.

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[Moshe Shraga Samet]

SOFER, ḤAYYIM BEN MORDECAI EPHRAIM FISCHEL (1821–1886), Hungarian rabbi. An outstanding pupil of Ḥatam Sofer in Pressburg and of Meir Eisenstaedter in Ungvar, Ḥayyim was appointed head of the yeshivah at Mattersdorf in 1844. He served as rabbi of Gyŏmrő in 1852, of Sajoszentpeter in 1859, and of Munkacs in 1867. Persecuted by the Ḥasidim despite his religious extremism, he left Munkacs in 1880 and was appointed the chief rabbi of the Orthodox community in Pest. He was one of the leading extreme Orthodox rabbis in Hungary, a signatory of "the infamous excommunication" of the *maskilim* in Michalovce, and a central figure of the Shomerei ha-Dat organization. He demanded that adherents of the Reform movement be excommunicated and that their sons be refused circumcision.

He was the author of the following works: *Peles Ḥayyim* (1854), novellae on the first chapter of *Gittin; Maḥaneh Ḥayyim* (1879–85), responsa arranged according to the order of the Shulḥan Arukh; *Sha'arei Ḥayyim* (1869), admonitions against the Reformers; *Kol Sofer* (2 pts., 1881–82), on the Mishnah; and *Sha'arei Ḥayyim* (1892), a commentary on Psalms.

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[Itzhak Alfassi]

SOFER, MOSES (known as **Ḥatam Sofer**; 1762–1839), rabbi, halakhic authority, and leader of Orthodox Jewry. Sofer was born in Frankfurt and his two most important teachers there were Phinehas *Horowitz and Nathan *Adler. When, as a result of the opposition to his innovations and departure from accepted custom, Adler was forced to leave Frankfurt, Sofer, his loyal disciple, then 19 years of age, accompanied him on his wanderings. Although Sofer never returned to his native town, he was always proud of it, and used to sign himself "Moses ha-Katan [the insignificant] of Frankfurt on the Main." He served first as rabbi of Dresnitz (Moravia) and of Mattersdorf, and in 1806 was appointed rabbi of Pressburg, at that time the most important community in Hungary, where he remained for the rest of his life. His appointment to this high office came as a result of the reputation he had acquired by virtue of his outstanding scholarship, moral character, talent and leadership, and a mystical religious fervor which he had acquired under the influence of Adler. There already existed in Pressburg an appreciable minority of *maskilim* who unsuccessfully opposed his appointment. However, the opposition was not completely silenced, and Moses Sofer did not have a tranquil time.

During his 33 years there Sofer founded his famous yeshivah, the largest since the Babylonian yeshivot, and made it the center from which to organize Orthodox Jewry in its struggle against the Reform movement. Despite the expansion of his yeshivah and his great influence, which spread far and wide, he was continuously conscious of the growing tension between the traditionalists and the groups which sought a more liberal interpretation of Judaism in order to come to terms with the "spirit of the times." His qualities enabled Sofer to become the undisputed religious authority in his own town. As a result, unlike the case in other large European cities, the innovators were not triumphant. He declared total war with no concessions in the battle against modernity. Though it gave him no pleasure to engage in conflict ("There are no quarrels without wounds," Response, pt. 6, no. 35), he waged the battle of Orthodoxy vigorously, resourcefully, and with diplomatic skill. He adopted the long-range plan of strengthening educational and communal institutions and disseminating Torah study ("It is a time to act for the Lord, increase your Torah," ethical testament, see below); the appointment of his best disciples to rabbinic posts and the strengthening in general of the status of the rabbinate; the formation of a joint front with the ḥasidic movement; and the winning of the confidence of the government in the loyalty of Orthodox Jewry. Nevertheless, when the need arose he did not abstain from also utilizing the methods of propaganda and even demagoguery, by witty epigrams and slogans with which he mercilessly belabored his opponents. These methods were decisive for the Jews of Central Europe, sharpening the division and creating an irreparable breach between the Orthodox and the non-Orthodox sectors. Although he was one of the few rabbis who foresaw this consequence, he nevertheless deliberately adopted this policy. Among the many pungent and pointed epigrams which Sofer coined, and which became the slogans of the Orthodox, the best known is his application of the talmudic dictum "*Ḥadash asur min ha-Torah*" to mean that any innovation, even though from the point of view of *halakhah* it is unimportant, is strictly forbidden simply because it is an innovation.

This extreme view had its source in his profound and unstinted admiration for the classic rabbinic literature to its most minute detail, including every hallowed custom, as it existed in the German-Polish way of life at the end of the 18th century. He was convinced of the inner perfection of that way of life, and of its essential superiority to the prevalent culture, despite the tremendous resurgence of this culture and its massive achievements. Since modernism by its very nature nurtured within itself a distinct threat to every type of traditional institution, he instinctively shrank from it a priori. As a result he obstinately opposed the new type of school founded by the *maskilim* in particular and the doctrine of Moses *Mendelssohn in general, although in principle he was not opposed to secular studies where they were undertaken purely for the needs of the traditional way of life or for the sake of livelihood. Similarly he dissociated himself from the battle for emancipation, not merely because he feared the heavy price that would be exacted for it at the cost of tradition, but because he viewed the very aspiration for equality as a sign of dissatisfaction with the traditional way of life of the community and a desire for partial assimilation with gentile culture. He finally brought to an end the debate which was being hotly waged as to whether the Shulḥan Arukh was still to be regarded as the final authoritative code. The principle of complete submission to the Shulḥan Arukh became one of the fundamental doctrines of Orthodoxy. In addition he ruled that from then onward no distinction existed from the point of view of their religious importance between an insignificant custom and an explicit biblical prohibition. Sofer's attitude made him the undisputed leader of the rabbis of Europe who organized themselves between 1817 and 1821 to frustrate the first efforts of the Reform movement in Berlin, Hamburg, and Vienna. From this struggle which, as a result of his direction, ended in partial success, Sofer emerged as the recognized leader of Orthodoxy, a status which he maintained until the end of his life.

Sofer's first wife died childless in 1812. Some months later he married the daughter of Akiva *Eger, later rabbi of Posen, who was considered the greatest talmudist of his time. Their children formed one of the best-known rabbinic families (see *Sofer family). In his will, Sofer appointed his eldest son, Abraham Samuel Benjamin Wolf, to succeed him as *rosh yeshivah*. Shortly before his death he indicated to the community his desire that Abraham be appointed his successor in the rabbinate during his own lifetime. Although his son was only 24 at the time, Moses Sofer's request was granted. Thenceforth the Pressburg community became the heritage of the Sofer family dynasty. Simeon, his second son, was apointed rabbi of Cracow where he founded the Orthodox organization, Maḥzike Hadas. Solomon Zalman Spitzer, his son-in-law, was rabbi of the Orthodox congregation in Vienna.

Another manner in which he wielded great influence was through his voluminous writing. During his lifetime hardly anything was published. Immediately after his death, however, the family began to publish his writings. They comprise seven volumes of responsa (1855–1912; *Ḥatam Sofer*), sermons (2 vols. 1829), novellae on the Talmud, commentaries on the Torah, letters, poems, and a diary. They all bear the imprint of his Orthodox trend. His ethical testament, of which many editions have been published, is especially worthy of mention. It is wholly devoted to the battle for religion. *Ha-Lev ha-Ivri* (1864) of Akiva Joseph Schlesinger, a book popular among the ultra-Orthodox, of which many editions have appeared (first ed. Vienna, n.d., 2nd 1863), is written in the form of a commentary on this will. Moses Sofer and his sons and disciples played an important part in the growth of the Jewish settlement in Ereẓ Israel in the 19th century until the Zionist immigration. He also made great use of nationalist sentiment in his campaign against the Haskalah and Reform. He fought for the Hebrew language and for the idea of the return to Zion.

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[Moshe Shraga Samet]

SOFERIM (Heb. סוֹפְרִים; "scribes"). Although the word *soferim* is identical with the biblical word translated scribes and dealt with under that heading, during the Second Temple period the word came to denote a specific class of scholars. The exact meaning and delineation of the group involved is a matter of controversy. According to Nachman Krochmal (*Moreh Nevukhei ha-Zeman*, section 11), Frankel (Mishnah pp. 3 ff.), Weiss (Dor, 1 (1904^{4}), ch. 6 ff.), and others, the era of the *soferim* of the Talmud commenced in the time of Ezra and continued until the time of Simeon the Just, who was the last of the men of the Great Synagogue. These scribes, whose names are not known and who were active during the time of the Persian rule, laid the foundations of the *Oral Law: they instituted regulations in the social and religious spheres, explained to the people the Torah and its precepts distinctly and gave the sense (Neh. 8:8). They taught the *halakhot* and the traditions in close connection with the study of the Bible and deduced new *halakhot* through the interpretation of the written text. They read the Written Law, interpreted its content, and integrated into it the traditional *halakhot* as well as the laws that had been derived from it. As a result of the activities of the *soferim* the Torah ceased to be the heritage of the priests and levites alone. From among the many pupils they educated, scholars arose from all classes.

Several of these scholars considered the *soferim* also to be the founders and members of the Great Synagogue, and attribute to the period between Ezra the Scribe and Simeon the Just all those traditions and *halakhot* designated as *mikra soferim* ("scribal reading"), *ittur soferim* ("scribal embellishment," Ned. 37b), **tikkun soferim* ("scribal emendation," Gen. R. 49:7; Theodor-Albeck p. 505), *dikdukei soferim* ("details of the scribes," Suk. 28a), and *divrei soferim* ("the words of the scribes," Sanh. 88b). They find support for their views in the talmudic statement, "The early scholars were called *soferim* because they used to count [*sofer* also means 'to count'] all the letters of the Torah. Thus they said that the *vav* in *gaḥon* (Lev. 11:42) marks the middle letter of the Torah" (Kid. 30a); i.e., the scribes scrutinized and were meticulous with the text of the Bible and its transmission. Similarly: "Why are they called *soferim*? Because they enumerated the laws according to numbers [*sefurot*], e.g., five may not separate *terumah*; five are obliged to take **ḥallah*," etc. (TJ, Shek. 5:1). The passage which follows combines two meanings: that the scribes counted the letters of the Bible and taught the *halakhot* or *mishnayot* in numerical form (cf. also Ḥag. 15b, Sanh. 106b). Kaufmann in his *Toledot ha-Emunah ha-Yisre'elit* (vol. 4 pt. 1, 276 ff. and 481 ff.), however, has proved beyond question that there is no evidence in the Talmuds for an era of the *soferim*, and talmudic tradition does not attribute a single law to this era. The first Mishnah of *Avot* has no reference whatsoever to *soferim* or to generations of *soferim*. Though the Talmud does mention regulations by Ezra and by the men of the Great Synagogue, it does not attribute any decrees or *halakhah* to scribes between Ezra and the tannaitic era. The word *sofer* in both talmudic and later literature is used as a general designation for Torah scholars and copyists from various eras and of different categories. In Ben Sira (39:1–11) the honorable status of the scribe is described. In the Apocrypha and in the New Testament, scribes appear side by side with other notables (see I Macc. 7:12–13; Test. Patr. Levi 8:17; Jos. Ant. 12:142; Luke 11:42–52; etc.). The designation scribes is equivalent to sages and elders, but in several places it alludes to holders of offices in the Temple and in the courts. The meaning of the term varies similarly in talmudic literature. Thus, from the passage in *Sotah* (15a) where Rabban Gamaliel said to the scholars, "Scribes! permit me and I shall expound it allegorically like a jewel," scribes are identical with the scholars. In another passage, however, R. Eliezer the Great says: "Since the day the Temple was destroyed, the scholars began to be like scribes, and the scribes like **ḥazzanim*," etc. (Sot. 9:15), and from this it seems that the status of the scribes was regarded as being lower than that of scholars. In *Leviticus Rabbah* 9:2 (and parallels) the *soferim* are referred to as teachers of Bible in contrast to *mashnim*, teachers of the Mishnah. The phrase "the words of the scribes" in the talmudic sources always refers to the statements of earlier scholars of the Oral Law, and can refer to statements from those attributed to Moses to those of the generation immediately preceding the compilation of the Mishnah (cf. e.g., Yev. 2:4 with Yev. 21a; Or. 3:9 with Kid. 38a; Tosef. Ta'an. 2:6; and Maim. Comm. Kel. 17:12). The sages emphasized the need to heed the words of the *soferim*: "My son! Be more heedful of the words of the *soferim* than of those of the Written Law[Torah]. For the words of the Torah contain positive and negative injunctions (for the transgression of which there is no death penalty) but whoever transgresses the words of the scribes incurs the penalty of death" (Er. 21b; cf. TJ, Ber. 1:5, 3b). The purpose of stringency was to prevent their doctrines being regarded as of secondary importance (cf. Tosef. Ta'an. 2:6, and parallels): "These are the words of the Torah, and the words of Torah do not need strengthening, but those are the words of the *soferim* and the words of the *soferim* require strengthening." They even went so far as to state that God showed Moses the *dikdukei Torah* and the *dikdukei soferim* and the innovations which the *soferim* would introduce in the future (Meg. 19b).

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[Yitzhak Dov Gilat]

SOFERIM (Heb. סוֹפְרִים), one of the *minor tractates printed in the Talmud editions at the end of the order of *Nezikin*. Its first main division (chs. 1–5) treats the writing of *Sifrei Torah*. The tosafists call it one of the "outside books" (Pes. 40b s.v. *avel*). Another of these tractates is *Sefer Torah*, to which *Soferim* bears a close relationship. *Soferim* contains 21 chapters divided into 255 paragraphs, which, like the *mishnayot* in the Jerusalem Talmud, are called *halakhot*.

Chapters 1–9 cover writing materials; qualifications required in the writer; language and translation of the Bible and laws governing the mode of writing, particularly in reference to the names of God; sewing and repairing the parchment; preservation of scrolls that have become ritually unfit for use; textual variants; and readings of particular words and passages. Chapters 10–17 include regulations for reading on general and particular occasions; reading of particular passages; requirements of a quorum; some further regulations in writing, particularly the Hagiographa, with special attention to the Book of Esther; benedictions for reading these; qualifications for reading; sanctity of religious writings and appurtenances; *tefillin* and *mezuzot*; Torah study; the *Haggadah*; and readings for festivals and New Moon. Chapters 18–21 address daily and festival psalms and other liturgical matters; observances for the Day of Atonement; prayers for Tishah be-Av; blessings and readings on Ḥanukkah, and laws in connection therewith; rejoicing in Nisan; Purim observances; and various *aggadot*.

This division is one of convenience but does not follow the dates of compilation, in which scholars see very much disorder. It is also not regarded as a unity but as a compilation of three distinct works belonging to different dates, with various interpolations. Most scholars regard the work as of Palestinian origin, though it is generally dated about the middle of the eighth century. In various matters the regulations of *Soferim* are accepted in practice as against the Talmud, e.g., reading

Exodus 32:11–14, 34:1–10 on fasts (17:7), whereas the Mishnah prescribes "the Curses and Blessings" (Lev. 26:3–end). *Soferim* appeared in English translation in the Soncino minor tractates (1965).

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[Harry Freedman]

SOFIA, capital of Bulgaria. Jews lived in Sofia from the first centuries of the Christian era under Roman rule. Later they were known as *Romaniots. Their synagogue ("Kahal de los Griegos"; the Greek Synagogue) stood until 1898. When Jews were expelled from Hungary in 1376, some of them came to Sofia. A second wave of Hungarian Jews was brought by Sultan Suleiman the Magnificent, after the short-lived conquest of Buda in 1526. After the expulsion from Bavaria in 1470, Ashkenazi Jews arrived in Sofia, where they established their own community. The refugees from Spain also established a new community. During the 16th century, there were three separate communities – the Romaniot, the Ashkenazi, and the Sephardi. Eventually they amalgamated into a single Sephardi community. Even though the Ashkenazi Jews integrated with the Sephardi Jews, their synagogue was, until in recent times, known as the Kehillat Ashkenazim in order to distinguish it from that of the newer Ashkenazim, who came from Russia, Romania, Hungary, Germany, and Galicia.

During the 16th and 17th centuries, the Jews of Sofia worked as craftsmen and businessmen. The town was a transit center for goods which were sent from Salonika to Bucharest, Belgrade, and other cities. After an abortive rebellion against the Turkish rule, the merchants of *Dubrovnik (Ragusa), who held an important place in the economic life of Sofia, were compelled to cede their position to their Jewish rivals, in whose hands the whole of the commerce became concentrated during the 17th century. At the time the community of Sofia numbered 2,000. When Bulgaria became independent in 1878, the Jews saved the city from pillage and fire. The largest Jewish population of the country was then located in Sofia (according to the official census of 1880, numbering 4,146). Two Jews were appointed to the municipal council. The Jews lived in a quarter which was known as Hagada, situated in the center of the present city. In 1884–85 there were 6,000 Jews in Sofia and in 1920, 16,196. During the Serbo-Bulgarian war in 1885, the community set up a hospital which treated the war casualties. The Jews of the town engaged in commerce, crafts, and brokerage. Three-quarters of them barely earned enough to sustain themselves.

During World War II, in May 1943, an expulsion decree was issued against the Jews of Sofia. At that time they numbered some 25,000. The project to exterminate them, however, was not carried out. After the mass immigration of Bulgarian Jewry to Israel (until 1949), 5,000 Jews remained in Sofia. In 1951 there were 5,259 Jews, in 1964 4,000, and in 2004 around 3,000. (For the postwar period, see also *Bulgaria.)

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[Simon Marcus]

SOISSONS, town in the Aisne department, N. France. There was a large Jewish community in Soissons by the beginning of the 12th century at the latest. At this time Guibert de Nogent produced his treatise, *De incarnatione contra Judaeos*, with the aim of severing the good relations between the Jews and Count John I of Soissons. At a later date Count Raoul granted the convent of Notre Dame an annual income of six gold bezants for as long as the Jews remained in the town; they were thus untouched by the expulsion of 1182. The community possessed a synagogue, probably in the center of the Juiverie, which was situated under the castle walls, a first cemetery close to the early enclosure of the town (where an early 13th-century gravestone of one Hannah was found), and a second cemetery near St. Christopher's Gate. Jews lived in many of the villages around Soissons. The medieval community came to an end with the expulsion in 1306. Jewish scholars in the town included the commentator Shemaiah, probably a relative and pupil of Rashi. At the beginning of World War II about 80 Jews lived in Soissons but no community was reestablished after the war.

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[Bernhard Blumenkranz]

SOKAL, town in Lvov district, Ukraine; within Poland until 1772 and between the two world wars. Jews first settled there in the middle of the 16th century. In 1578 the municipality restricted the number of Jews in the town to two families, who were authorized to occupy two houses. In 1609 the Jews reached an agreement with the townsmen authorizing them to erect 18 houses and a synagogue, and to acquire land for a cemetery. In 1613 the houses of the Jews were destroyed by a fire which broke out in the town; Sokal was devastated by the Cossacks under *Chmielnicki in 1648. In the 17th and 18th centuries Sokal was among the important communities in the province (*galil*) of Chelm-Belz within the framework of the Councils of *Lands. A printing press was established there around 1755. During the period of Austrian rule, from 1772 to 1918, the Jews were mainly occupied in small-scale commerce, crafts, and transportation. *Ḥasidism had considerable influence within the community. The Jewish population numbered 2,408 (36% of the total) in 1880; 3,272 in 1890; 3,778 (41%) in 1900; 4,516 (39%) in 1910; 4,360 (43%) in 1921; and 5,520 in 1931. Between the two world wars, Sokal was within Poland and Zionism played an important role in community life.

[Shimon Leib Kishenboim]

Holocaust Period

After the outbreak of World War II Jewish refugees from Belzec, Krystynopol, and from cities in western Poland arrived in Sokal, and during the period of Soviet rule (1939–41) the Jewish population increased to more than 6,000. The refugees were lodged in synagogues as well as private homes and a special committee was established to aid them. Because of Sokal's proximity to the German border, the Jews of the town witnessed the tragedy of the Jews of Chelm and Hrubieszow in November 1939 when they were brought by the Germans to the Bug River, but the Soviet border patrol prevented the survivors of the "death march" from crossing the river to the Soviet side. In the summer of 1940, refugees in Sokal from western Poland were deported to the Soviet interior. On June 23, 1941, a day after the outbreak of the German-Soviet war, the Germans captured Sokal. Eight persons were shot the same day. On June 30, 1941, the Ukrainian police killed 200 Jews near a brick factory in the neighborhood of Sokal. In the winter of 1941 and early in 1942, the Jews were subjected to forced labor, economic restrictions, and physical attacks. On Sept. 17, 1942, an *Aktion* took place in which 2,000 Jews were deported to the death camp at *Belzec. On Oct. 15, 1942, a ghetto was set up in Sokal into which more than 5,000 Jews, including Jews from Steniatyn, Radziechow, Lopatyn, Witkow, Tartakow, and Mosty Wielkie were concentrated. The ghetto had only four wells and its inhabitants suffered from a severe water shortage. On Oct. 24–28, 1942, 2,500 Jews from Sokal were deported to Belzec. On May 27, 1943, a final *Aktion* took place. The ghetto was liquidated and the town was declared *judenrein*. Some 30 persons survived in forests and hideouts.

[Aharon Weiss]

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SOKOLKA, town in Bialystok province, N.E. Poland; until 1795 within Poland; until 1807 under Prussia; subsequently until 1915 the town belonged to Russia, reverting to Poland after World War I. Jews settled in Sokolka in the latter half of the 17th century. In 1698 they were granted a royal privilege giving them rights to engage in commerce and own property. There were 522 Jewish poll-tax payers in Sokolka and its surroundings in 1765. The Jewish population of the town numbered 1,454 in 1847; 2,651 (52% of the total) in 1897; and 2,821 (46.4%) in 1921. Jews there earned their livelihood from trade in agricultural produce, hides, and crafts. Jewish contractors developed the tanning industry in Sokolka from 1868, which before the outbreak of World War I employed 700 workers. The Jewish workers' movement began to organize locally in the late 19th century; Zionists began activity in the early 20th century. All Jewish parties were active there between the two world wars. Jews from Sokolka joined the Third Aliyah and helped to found *Kefar Malal in Ereẓ Israel. Jews were occupied in over 80% of the businesses and crafts in the town. The American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee helped to set up a tanning cooperative. Community institutions included schools of the Yavneh, *Tarbut, and CYSHO, a Maccabi sports club, and two libraries.

[Dov Rabin]

Holocaust Period

After the outbreak of World War II a large number of refugees from the surrounding areas and western Poland reached the town. By the end of 1939 there were some 9,000 Jews in Sokolka after it passed to Soviet rule (1939–41), and the activities of the Jewish community institutions and other Jewish bodies ceased. After the outbreak of the German-Soviet war, the town was captured by the Germans (June 27, 1941), and the Jewish population subjected to forced labor, restrictions on movement, and financial payments. In the fall of 1941 a ghetto was established. On Nov. 5, 1942, all the Jews in the town were assembled, a *Selektion* was carried out, and most were deported to the camp at Kelbasin, where all the Jews of the surrounding area were taken. A few weeks later the Jews from Sokolka were transported to the death camp of *Treblinka. Over 200 remained in the ghetto in Sokolka and worked in a factory for felt boots. These few were murdered on Jan. 18, 1943. The town was declared *judenrein*. Isaac Goldstein from Sokolka headed the unit of Ha-No'ar ha-Ẓiyyoni in the Warsaw ghetto uprising of April 1943. Also from Sokolka was Leah Perlstein, a leader of He-Ḥalutz in Poland who distinguished herself by acting as a liaison officer between the Warsaw ghetto and the Polish underground movement to obtain arms for the uprising; she was killed during her mission.

[Aharon Weiss]

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SOKOLOF, PHIL (1921–2004), U.S. health crusader. Sokolof, who was born in Omaha, Nebraska, went into home building after four years with a band as a song-and-dance man. He found a way to produce certain construction components less expensively and started producing them himself. He founded the Phillips Manufacturing Company in 1955 and became a millionaire several times over. But in 1966, after a heart attack, he educated himself to the dangers of high cholesterol and began bombarding food manufacturers and others. His campaign gained ammunition from evidence linking cholesterol with clogged arteries and heart disease. He founded the nonprofit National Heart Savers Association in 1985 and supported free cholesterol screenings around the country. His organization's tests of cholesterol levels helped to persuade Congress to proclaim a National Know Your Cholesterol Month and to persuade food processors to cut down on the use of highly saturated coconut and palm oils. The foundation was also credited with helping to pass legislation strengthening requirements for listing cholesterol content on food labels. He wrote *Add Years to Your Life* (2002).

[Stewart Kampel (2nd ed.)]

SOKOLOW, ANNA (1915–2000), U.S. choreographer, teacher, and one of the outstanding figures in American modern dance. She grew up on New York's Lower East Side and began experimenting while a soloist with the Martha Graham Company (1930–38). Her first group work, *Anti-War Cycle*, was presented in 1933 by the Workers' Dance League. As a soloist, she toured Russia in 1934, and her first company, the Dance Unit, gave concerts in the U.S. and Mexico during the 1930s. Under Mexican government auspices, she formed the first Mexican modern dance company, *La Paloma Azul*. Her work reached an artistic turning point in 1953, when she choreographed *Lyric Suite* (to music by Alban Berg) in Mexico. It was performed in New York by nine dancers from the New Dance Group, which became her new company. Other works included *Rooms* (1955), a study of urban loneliness, *Dreams* (1961), an "indictment of the Nazi concentration camps," and *Déserts* (1967). Anna Sokolow made frequent visits to Israel, where she acted as teacher. In 1953 she was invited to Israel to work with the *Inbal dance group. Following this, she was invited yearly until the 1990s and choreographed for the major companies in Israel, including *Bat-Sheva and the Kibbutz Dance Company. Her most important contribution was the creation of the Lyric Theater in Tel Aviv (1962) with the best available dancers of the time, thus creating the first professional dance company in Israel. With them she created 11 original works in four programs. Sokolow introduced new performing standards and educated a new generation of dancers who became active in all major Israeli dance companies.

ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY: IED, vol. 5, 637a–638b.

[Marcia B. Siegel / Bina Shiloah (2nd ed.)]

SOKOLOW, NAHUM (1859–1936), Hebrew writer, pioneer in modern Hebrew journalism, and president of the World Zionist Organization. Sokolow was born in Wyszogrod, near Plock, Poland, into a family with deep roots in Poland that had produced many rabbis and public figures. He received a fundamental Jewish education and he also acquired a general education. This mixture of Jewish and world culture marked him later in life as one of the few Hebrew authors with a command (both written and oral) of a number of other languages. He also had a command of the treasures of non-Jewish literature and culture, and this contributed to the charm he had for leading personalities of the Western world. After his marriage at the age of 17 he lived in his father-in-law's house in Makow, and pursued his studies. He began to write in a variety of fields – commentaries on Jewish topics, poetry, stories, plays, scientific articles, etc. His first literary effort was a report from Plock to the Hebrew weekly *Ivri Anokhi* (1874).

Sokolow continued sending reports to the newspaper *Ha-Ẓefirah* (1876) and soon became its regular columnist on scientific affairs, a subject that was close to the heart of the editor, Ḥ.Z. *Slonimski. In a short while, Sokolow became one of the paper's most famous writers. His first book also dealt with the natural sciences, geography and geology (*Maẓẓukei Areẓ*, 1878). At the same time, he developed his writings in other languages (Yiddish, German, and Polish). Finally, Sokolow moved to Warsaw (1880), where his writing took a decisive turn with the publication of the first of a series of articles in *Ha-Ẓefirah* entitled "*Ẓofeh le-Veit Yisrael,*" which became most popular. The column treated current affairs in a feature-writing ("feuilleton") style in a rich and sparkling Hebrew. From that time he was the regular columnist for *Ha-Ẓefirah* and gradually transformed the paper into a lively publication, finally becoming its acting editor (his name appeared among the list of editors only from 1886).

Sokolow was the first in the history of the Hebrew press and literature to create a vast reading public, which was an unusual mixture encompassing *maskilim* (Western-oriented secularists), extreme Orthodox rabbis, and religious Jews. He knew how to direct the style of his writing at a variety of different circles because he was close to all of them. Sokolow expressed reservations about the Ḥibbat Zion movement when it first appeared, although he was simultaneously drawn toward it emotionally. He wished to restrain the enthusiasm of the early 1880s and even attacked J.L. *Pinsker's *Autoemancipation*, continuing in this line until the First Zionist Congress (1897). In the meantime, he published books in the fields of history and belles lettres. His textbook on the English language for Yiddish-speakers was widely distributed at the beginning of the great wave of migration to the United States, after the pogroms in southern Russia (1881). He also published an adaptation of Laurence *Oliphant's book on Ereẓ Israel entitled *Ereẓ Ḥemdah* (1885). When he began to feel confined by his position with *Ha-Ẓefirah*, Sokolow started to publish the voluminous yearbooks *Ha-Asif* (6 published, 1885–94), in which all types of literature were presented. These collections had a success unprecedented in the annals of Hebrew literature in the scope of their distribution. These collections marked the beginning of Hebrew literature as a public medium and not only as a vehicle for personal entertainment.

In the spring of 1886 *Ha-Ẓefirah* became a daily, and Sokolow himself filled practically every issue, in addition to his many writings in other periodicals and other languages. With the aid of Y.H. Zagorodski, he also published the first lexicon of Hebrew authors (including some scholars on Judaism who wrote in other languages) entitled *Sefer ha-Zikkaron* (1889). A decisive turn took place in his life with the appearance of Theodor *Herzl. At first he received Herzl's *Jewish State* with reservations. But after his participation in the First Zionist Congress as the correspondent for *Ha-Ẓefirah* and his meeting with the Zionist leader, he became one of Herzl's greatest admirers, and turned *Ha-Ẓefirah* into his most loyal and dedicated Hebrew organ. Through this transformation, Sokolow's writing became even more ramified, and there was almost no literary genre that he did not attempt, especially in his efforts to bring Orthodox circles closer to Zionism through a series of articles that grew into entire volumes (*Le-Maranan u-le-Rabbanan*, 1901).

Sokolow translated Herzl's Zionist novel *Altneuland* into Hebrew under the title *Tel Aviv* (a site mentioned in Ezek.

3:15), by which he meant to symbolize the original name of the book (old-new land; *tel* meaning a hill of ruins, *aviv* meaning spring), and thereby inspired the name for the first Jewish city in Ereẓ Israel. During the controversy over the *Uganda Scheme, his newspaper was the most devoted to Herzl and the plan, although it also published articles against the Scheme. Above all, Sokolow wanted to preserve the unity of the Zionist Organization. As part of his program to combine public activities with literary endeavor, he became involved in the plan to publish a general encyclopedia in Hebrew, which never materialized because of the upheaval surrounding the 1905 revolution in Russia.

At the beginning of 1906, *Ha-Ẓefirah* ceased publication, and in the same year Sokolow was invited by David *Wolffsohn to serve as the general secretary of the World Zionist Organization. His first act in this position was to establish the official Hebrew weekly of the Zionist Organization, **Haolam* (1907), which continued to be published up to and after the establishment of the State of Israel. From that point on, Sokolow's life was intimately connected with the history of the Zionist movement (see *Zionism). From his position as general secretary he rose to become a member of the Zionist Executive in 1911 and was reelected in 1913. He continued to write throughout this period, especially after *Ha-Ẓefirah* was renewed in 1910. He won the esteem of his readers and the Hebrew literary world with the publication of a selection of his articles (1902) and a jubilee book in his honor (1904), as well as by his editing of a literary collection to commemorate the 50th anniversary of the publication of *Ha-Ẓefirah* (1912).

During his period of service as general secretary of the Zionist Organization, Sokolow began meeting with European personalities, an activity which continued until the end of his life. During his first visit to the United States and Canada (1913) he won the support of many Jews and non-Jews for the Zionist cause. Close to the outbreak of World War I, Sokolow visited Ereẓ Israel as head of an investigating committee of the Zionist Organization, and after the trip he published for the first time his impressions of the country and continued to do so after his succeeding visits. With the outbreak of World War I, he moved to London and, together with Weizmann, was involved in Zionist political activity in England and in other countries (France, Italy, etc.). After Herzl, Sokolow was the first Zionist to have an audience with the pope (and the first Jew to have an audience with Pope Benedict XV) whom he informed on the affairs of the Zionist movement (1917). He played an important role in the efforts which eventually achieved the *Balfour Declaration, and was the head of the committee which prepared the wording of the declaration, in addition to procuring the approval of statesmen from other countries for it. His name thus became linked to that of Weizmann, and he became one of the most outstanding figures in the Zionist movement both through his connections with diplomats of many nations and his deep roots in the Jewish world.

During the period of political work for the Balfour Declaration, Sokolow was also involved in preparing his monumental work entitled *History of Zionism, 1600–1918*, which came out in two volumes in 1919 (a shorter German edition came out in 1921). The work not only provides a comprehensive description of the Jewish people's attachment to Ereẓ Israel but also describes the relationship of non-Jews to the idea of the return of the Jews to Ereẓ Israel, and this made it a pioneering endeavor. He revealed a mass of new material, all but unknown until his time, especially on the personalities in England who had preached the return of the Jews to their homeland for hundreds of years. Sokolow wished to prove indirectly that the Balfour Declaration grew out of a rich tradition in England. In his introduction to the book, Lord Balfour expressed his own credo through a defense of the Zionist idea against opposition from a number of viewpoints. In his comprehensive introduction, Sokolow defined the foundations of Zionism in the following points:

> A home for Jews who are materially or morally suffering; a home for Jewish education, learning, and literature; a source of idealism for Jews all over the world; a place in which Jews can live a healthy Jewish life; a revival of the language of the Bible; the resurrection by civilization and industry of the old home of our fathers, long neglected and ruined; the creation of a sound, strong Jewish agricultural class.

Thus Sokolow combined all three aspects of the practical, political, and cultural Zionism. Although he himself was involved in political activity throughout the years, he always emphasized the other two aspects as well.

After World War I, when the solution of all problems, including the Jewish problem, was the prevailing mood toward peace, Sokolow headed the Jewish delegation to the Paris Peace Conference. His appearance before the conference on Feb. 27, 1919, was most impressive. Weizmann described Sokolow's speech in *Trial and Error* (1949, p. 243): "… without being sentimental, it was as if two thousand years of Jewish suffering rested on his shoulders. His quiet, dignified utterance made a very deep impression on the assembly." From that time on, Sokolow appeared at every general Jewish and Zionist assembly, and was chairman of most of them. When the Zionist Executive was consolidated after the war, he was elected as its head. He was also the head of the Comité des Délégations Juives, the representative of world Jewry at the League of Nations, succeeding Julian *Mack and Louis *Marshall. In this position he formulated the Jewish claims, especially that of European Jewry, most notably in the field of securing Jewish rights in the new countries created after the conflict. At the Zionist London Conference (1920), which adjusted Zionist policy and organization to the post-war reality, Sokolow was not only one of the principal speakers, but also the one who named the new Zionist fund *Keren Hayesod. From that time until the end of his life he traveled throughout the Jewish world on behalf of the fund. He again visited Palestine in the spring of 1921, at the same time that Winston *Churchill was there, as head of the Zionist Commission (instead of M. *Ussishkin, who was then in the United States). He succeeded in undoing the effect of the Arab memoranda sent to Churchill, and took the opportunity to participate in the founding of the Hebrew Writers' Union in Ereẓ Israel. He also did much to encourage the *yishuv* after the anti-Jewish riots that had taken place at the time. Sokolow was chosen chairman of the 12th Zionist Congress (the first congress to convene after the war; Carlsbad, 1921) and was chairman of every succeeding congress until his death, continuing the tradition of Max *Nordau by speaking on the situation of the Jews of the Diaspora. Although he could not match Nordau's eloquence, he was far more knowledgeable than Nordau about what was happening throughout the Diaspora, in the East as well as the West. At the congresses he proved his skill in cajoling the conflicting factions, and his concluding motto, "It was a difficult Congress but a good one," became famous. He was in great demand as a public speaker. During his trips he would constantly meet with public leaders and heads of government and would obtain pro-Zionist statements from them.

When the enlarged *Jewish Agency was established in 1929, Sokolow became chairman of its Executive. At that time, Arab riots again broke out in Palestine, and opposition, headed by Weizmann, grew in the Zionist movement against the policy of the Zionist Executive toward the Mandatory government. This subject created a storm at the 17th Zionist Congress (1931) and resulted in Weizmann's failure to be reelected president of the Zionist Organization. Sokolow was chosen in his place. He was reelected at the 18th Congress (1933), and continued in the presidency until Weizmann was again elected president at the 19th Congress (1935). During Sokolow's term as president, the Nazis rose to power in Germany, and the United States, which was the main source of Zionist funds, underwent a financial crisis. Sokolow again set out on a series of trips and mobilized a substantial amount of capital to meet the pressing needs of the Zionist endeavor. In 1935, when his last term as president of the organization ended, he was chosen honorary president of the Zionist Organization and the Jewish Agency and chairman of its Department of Education and Culture and of Mosad Bialik. He died in London. In 1956 his remains were reinterred on Mount Herzl in Jerusalem.

With all his dedicated and ramified activity in the Zionist movement for two generations, Sokolow was above all a Hebrew author and journalist (in his case it is sometimes difficult to draw an exact dividing line between these two areas of literary activity). He was also a skilled writer in a number of other languages (notably Yiddish, Polish, German, English, and French). Sokolow was the idol of the Hebrew reading public for almost three generations, and his writings are a unique example of the development of Hebrew literature from the 1870s until the end of his life in the 20th century. The reading public that Sokolow created was not attracted to the Hebrew language by romanticism and nostalgia, but by the response provided by the new Hebrew literature to their actual cultural and social needs. Sokolow created a specific personal genre of writing in each generation, at first as a writer on current affairs and afterward in other roles, especially as a journalist writing what is called in Europe the "feuilleton." He knew the secret of how to be innovative in every new generation and was thus constantly surprising and refreshing, as, for example, in his last years with his endeavors in the field of belles lettres and in his famous series of articles *Ishim* ("Personalities"), which were begun many years before, and only reached their climax late in his life. His works covering his impressions of his travels are also outstanding. His mosaic style added much to the magic of his writings, which no other Hebrew author could match. At the end of his life he worked on the preparation of a lexicon on the history of the Hebrew language (chapters of which were printed in his lifetime).

Sokolow was Hebrew literature's most prolific author for many years, and Bialik said: "If someone were to be found to collect all of Sokolow's writings – his articles, essays, feuilletons, impressions of travels, studies, stories, etc. – and bring them together in one spot, he would need 300 camels." Over the years he published many books in installments in *Ha-Ẓefirah* and *Haolam*, only a small portion of which was later published in book form: *Barukh Spinoza u-Zemanno* (1929), *Ha-Ani ha-Kibbuẓi* (1930), and *Ishim* (3 vols., 1935). A large portion of these works, however, is still buried in periodicals in Hebrew and in other languages. Shortly before his death he published in English the book *Hibbath Zion* (1935) dealing with the Zionist idea in the modern period. After his death *Sefer Sokolow*, edited by S. *Rawidowitz, was published, containing a selection of his early writings with an evaluation and bibliography of his works (1943). A selection of all types of his works was published in three volumes with a comprehensive monograph on him by G. Kressel (1958–61), who also put out a similar selection in Yiddish (1966).

Sedeh Naḥum, a kibbutz in the Jezreel Valley, is named after Sokolow, as is Bet Sokolow, the journalists' house in Tel Aviv. The Tel Aviv municipal council offers an annual prize in journalism in his honor.

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[Getzel Kressel]

SOKOLOW PODLASKI, town in Warszawa province, Poland. A Jewish community was first organized there at the end of the 16th century. In 1665 the owner of the town, Jan Kazimierz Krasiński (1607–1669), granted the Jews judicial powers among other rights, and accorded Jewish craftsmen the same status as that of the Christians. In the 18th century many Jews engaged in such crafts as weaving, tailoring, furriery, and tanning; they also engaged in wholesale commerce of agricultural produce and cloth. There were 163 Jews who paid the poll tax living in Sokolow in 1765. The Jewish population numbered 1,186 (37% of the total population) in 1827; 2,275 (62%) in 1857; 4,248 (59%) in 1897; 4,430 (55%) in 1921; and 5,027 in 1931.

Sokolow became noted as a center of *Ḥasidism. During the middle of the 19th century R. Elimelech was rabbi of Sokolow, and during the 20th century, the *ẓaddik* Isaac Zelig Morgenstern (d. 1940), a great-grandson of Menahem Mendel the ẓaddik of *Kotsk, held rabbinical office and acted as leader of the Ḥasidim.

After World War I, the economy of the town was disrupted as a result of antisemitic activities. In 1937–38 there were attacks on Jews accompanied by bloodshed.

[Shimshon Leib Kirshenboim]

Holocaust Period

At the outbreak of World War II there were 4,000 Jews in Sokolow. The German army entered the town on Sept. 20, 1939, and immediately began terrorizing the Jewish population. On Sept. 23, 1939 (the Day of Atonement), the Germans set the local synagogue on fire. In the summer of 1941 a ghetto was established in Sokolow. The Jews there were deported to Treblinka death camp on Sept. 22, 1942. They offered considerable passive resistance, some hiding themselves, but about 500 of those found in hiding were shot on the spot. Another 700 succeeded in fleeing into the surrounding forests, but most of them were shot by German armed units who searched the forests. Groups of young Jews joined small partisan units operating in the vicinity. One group entered the Bialystok region and joined the guerrillas there.

The Jewish community was not reconstituted in Sokolow Podlaski after the war. Organizations of former residents were established in Israel, the United States, France, and Argentina.

[Stefan Krakowski]

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SOLA, ABRAHAM DE (1825–1882), rabbi and *ḥazzan*. Born in London, de Sola was the sixth child of the renowned Dutch ḥazzan David Aaron de *Sola, leader of the English Sephardim. Abraham graduated from London Jews' College, where he was a student of the Oriental scholar, Louis *Loewe. He immigrated to Canada via New York in 1847 to begin his ministry at Sheerith Israel in Montreal (a position he obtained through correspondence). Until his death in New York, where he was visiting with his sister, he served his congregation with honor and distinction for 35 years. In many of his sermons and scholarly writings, he expressed his views on the reconciliation between the natural sciences and religion. His long association with McGill University, beginning as a Hebrew lecturer in 1848 and later as professor of Hebrew and Oriental Literature from 1853, earned him, in 1858, an honorary doctor of laws degree (the first to be awarded to a Jewish minister in both America and England). He was also elected as an honorary member of the Natural History Society, before which he gave many lectures. In 1878, he completed his revision of the Sephardic liturgy (based on the respective multivolume editions of his father and Isaac Lesser). His prayer books became the basis for the liturgy of Sephardic synagogues throughout North America, until superseded by David de Sola *Pool's more recent revision in the late 1930s. Like his father and ḥazzanic forebears, whose musical tradition he preserved, he combined "modernism" with "uncompromising Orthodoxy," and mindful of his Sephardi heritage, his life and works served as an "unsurpassed model" well into the 20th century. His writings include *Sermons in Manuscript* (Canadian Jewish Congress Archives, Montreal); *A Jewish Calendar for Fifty Years: Montreal* (1854, with Jacques J. Lyons); *The Sanatory Institutions of the Hebrews as Exhibited in the Scriptures and Rabbinical Writings and as Bearing upon Modern Sanatory Regulations* (1861).

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[Israel J. Katz (2nd ed.)]

SOLA, DE, Sephardi family in Holland, Britain, and North and South America. After 1492 the family dispersed from Spain to Portugal (where some survived as Marranos, were martyred under the Inquisition, or fled overseas), and Holland. From AARON DE SOLA (18th century), who fled to London and settled in Amsterdam, the various branches in England, Canada, the West Indies, and Holland are directly descended.

The descendants of Aaron's second son, ISAAC DE SOLA (b. 1728), who settled in Curaçao, include General JUAN (ISAAC) DE SOLA (c. 1795–1860), a hero of the South American war of liberation against Spain; BENJAMIN DE SOLA (1818–1882), a leader of the Jewish community in Curaçao; an earlier BENJAMIN DE SOLA (1735–1816) who was physician to the Dutch king William V and published medical works; Abraham de Sola (d. 1753), rabbi, preacher, and *ḥazzan* of the Spanish and Portuguese congregation in London (1722–49); and RAPHAEL SAMUEL MENDES DE SOLA (d. 1761), *ḥakham* of Curaçao from 1749.

Staunch adherence to Orthodoxy particularly distinguishes the descendants of Aaron's eldest son, DAVID DE SOLA (1727–1797). Outstanding among these was David's grandson, DAVID AARON DE SOLA (1796–1860). Born in Amsterdam, he was appointed *ḥazzan* of the London Sephardi community in 1818. He was an able assistant to Haham Raphael *Meldola, whose daughter he married in 1819. After Meldola's death in 1828 De Sola virtually assumed the rabbinical leadership of the English Sephardim and in 1831 delivered the first English sermons authorized by the *Ma'amad, which later published several of his addresses. His *Seder Berakhot* (1829), a manual on the blessings, received the support of Moses *Montefiore, who also encouraged De Sola's work on a new prayer book.

Published as *Forms of Prayer According to the Custom of the Spanish and Portuguese Jews* (5 vols., 1836–38; 1852^2), and with a new English translation, this is generally regarded as his finest work and is still used by the English Sephardim. In collaboration with Morris J. *Raphall, De Sola then prepared *Eighteen Treatises of the Mishnah* with the aim of arming his fellow-opponents of the budding Reform movement (1842; 1845^2, a pirated edition was repudiated by the coauthors). De Sola's other works include an English-Hebrew edition of Genesis, published in collaboration with Raphall and I.L. Lindenthal (1844) and intended to form part of a complete Bible ("The Sacred Scriptures") which, however, never appeared; and a new edition, with English translation, of Wolf *Heidenheim's *Ashkenazi maḥzor, The Festival Prayers, according to the custom of the German and Polish Jews* (5 vols., 1860). This *maḥzor* was often reprinted.

David Aaron de Sola also entered into an ill-fated partnership with M.J. Raphall as coeditor of an Orthodox periodical, *The Voice of Jacob* (1841), later taken over by *The *Jewish Chronicle* which it slightly preceded. One of his best-known works, *The Ancient Melodies of the Liturgy of the Spanish and Portuguese Jews* (1857), written in collaboration with the composer Emanuel *Aguilar, was a pioneering attempt to establish the dates of the Sephardi liturgical compositions. De Sola himself composed tunes for the Sephardi synagogue, and an appendix to *The Ancient Melodies* contains his well-known setting of the **Adon Olam* hymn, which has become popular in Ashkenazi as well as Sephardi congregations of Great Britain. He was influential in organizing the Association for the Promotion of Jewish Literature and other similar bodies. Of his 15 children, Abraham *de Sola became a rabbi in Montreal and a leader of Canadian Orthodoxy.

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[Godfrey Edmond Silverman]

SOLAL (**Kohen-Solal**, **Shulal**, **Sholal**), family of North African origin which settled in Majorca toward the close of the 13th century and returned to *Algeria as a result of the Spanish persecutions of 1391. MAIMON SOLAL (Xullel), the son-in-law of the famous physician Leon Masconi, was one of the most influential members of the community of Majorca. Due to his intervention the ancient privileges of the Jews on the island were confirmed in 1385. DAVID KOHEN-SOLAL, a correspondent and colleague of Isaac b. Sheshet Perfet (Ribash), assumed the leadership of the community of Mostaganem as soon as he arrived in Algeria. His son, ABRAHAM (I) Kohen-Solal, a disciple of Simeon b. Ẓemaḥ Duran, was regarded as an important rabbinical authority and a scholar of logic and other religious and secular sciences. He had settled in *Honein, where his son ḤAYYIM KOHEN-SOLAL and his descendant NATHAN (I; D.C. 1460) became wealthy merchants. SAADIAH SOLAL was a rabbi in Tlemcen in the first half of the 15th century. NATHAN (II) (also called also Yehonatan) ben Saadiah was born in 1437 and immigrated to Jerusalem before 1471. He left Jerusalem because he suffered from the Mustaʿarab leaders of the Jerusalem community and settled in Egypt in 1481. In Egypt he served as spiritual leader and between 1484 and 1502 was the Jewish **nagid* of the *Mamluk Sultanate. He established himself in *Cairo, where he headed the Jewish community and renewed its importance. He died in 1602. He had a special court of law for which the *dayyanim* were appointed by him. Spanish scholars had a high opinion of him. He sometimes returned to Jerusalem but still did not get along with the local Musta'arab leaders. He had seven children: Saadiah, Ephraim, Abraham, Dolca, Masoda, Simah, and Isaac. His son Abraham died in 1482. His nephew Isaac ben Abraham ha-Kohen *Sholal (Solal) was the last *nagid* of Egyptian Jewry, from 1502 until 1517. He was a rich grain merchant and held an important position in the mint of the Mamluk sultan. He was also a scholar. Between 1502 and 1508 or between 1509 and 1513 he resigned from his position, but returned after a time. He was a great philanthropist and founded three yeshivas, one in *Egypt and two in Ereẓ Israel. He had a court of law in Cairo and had an important library with many manuscripts. After the Ottoman conquest of Egypt he lost his rank and settled In Jerusalem, and was active there in *Kabbalah in order to bring about the *ge'ulah* (redemption). He issued new regulations in Jerusalem to develop the community, one of which was the exemption of scholars from taxes. He died on Rosh Ḥodesh Kislev 5285 (1524*)* in *Jerusalem. His wife, Kamar, was the daughter of R. Abraham ben Ḥayyim (d. 1545). When Isaac died his only son, Abraham, was a little boy. He lived many years in Jerusalem, but because of the difficult economic situation he immigrated to Egypt after 1560. The documents of the Muslim court of law in Jerusalem mention several persons of the Sulal family in the 16th century, including Musa Sulal and Salmon ben Musa Sulal. There are many important **Genizah* and other sources for the Sulal family.

The members of the family who had remained in Algeria continued to rank among its Jewish leaders. MOSES BEN ISAAC KOHEN-SOLAL (d. 1788) was one of the principal merchants of Algiers and an esteemed philanthropist. He established an important commercial branch of his business in *Mogador, *Morocco, where his sons had settled. From 1808 Marseilles became the center of the family's activities. In 1835, after having taken into account his economic and political influence, the sultan requested that the French government accept NISSIM KOHEN-SOLAL as Moroccan consul.

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[David Corcos / Leah Bornstein-Makovetsky (2nd ed.)]

SOLARZ, STEPHEN (1940–), U.S. congressman 1974–94, leading Democratic foreign policy expert. Born and educated in Brooklyn, Solarz is the son of an attorney and Tammany Hall captain. He is a product of the New York public schools and a graduate of Midwood High School. He attended Brandeis University (B.A. 1962), where he edited the student newspaper.

He then went on to Columbia Law School but found law school uninteresting and switched to the graduate school in international affairs. Among others, he studied with Zbigniew Brzezinski, who was to become Jimmy Carter's national security advisor while Solarz was a congressman. He also worked with famed columnist Max *Lerner at the *New York Post* and as national news editor of *Newsfront*. He taught political science at Brooklyn College before running for the State Assembly in 1968 and defeating a 15-term incumbent. He served in the Assembly for five years and ran for Congress in 1974 in the most heavily Jewish district in the nation, serving such areas as Brighton Beach, Sheepshead Bay, and Coney Island. His successor in the State Assembly was Charles *Schumer, destined to be his colleague, ally, and sometimes rival in the years ahead.

Solarz asked for a seat on the House Foreign Affairs Committee. His opening salvo in Congress marked him as an ambitious and aggressive comer with a keen interest in foreign policy. In his first six months he gave 12 speeches and co-sponsored 370 bills. Even his most ardent critics could never call him lazy. He conferred with world leaders and set out to make a name for himself in international relations. As one staff member put it: "Steve is only interested in two things: Brooklyn and the rest of the world."

In the 1980s, he chaired the Asian and Pacific Affairs Subcommittee of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, an area of growing interest to the American people in that decade. He is remembered for his leadership on the Philippines. He left Manila just as Benigno S. Aquino was coming home to challenge President Ferdinand Marcos. Following Aquino's assassination, Solarz returned to Manila for the funeral and proceeded to push the Reagan administration to distance itself from the Marcos government. Shortly after Marcos left for exile in Hawaii, Solarz was at one of the opulent palaces and publicized Imelda's massive shoe collection. He worked closely with Aquino's widow, Corazon, who became president.

In his years of service, Solarz became known as one of the most important and informed members of the House. A world traveler, he conducted himself as a future secretary of state. An ardent defender of Israel, he introduced legislation barring U.S. firms from complying with the boycott of Israel. He freed Jewish women from Syria, enabling them to join the Syrian community in Brooklyn. His performance was, to say the least, impressive. Kurt Stone reports that he was one of the first to back the Afghan rebels, created a plan adopted by the UN to resolve the civil war in Cambodia, was the first American government figure to visit North Korea in 30 years, co-sponsored the resolution to allow President George H.W. Bush to use force in the Persian Gulf and help plan a nuclear freeze strategy.

He introduced the Religious Freedom Restoration Act, designed to permit Orthodox Jews to keep their head covered while on public service, which only passed the House after Solarz was no longer a member.

With the redistricting of New York and its diminished congressional representation, Solarz was forced to run as a white man in a mixed hispanic and black district and was defeated in a 1992 primary. His political influence was weakened by the loss of a key ally in Albany – responsible for redistricting – and because he was caught up in the House Banking scandal when it became known that he and his wife had written 743 overdrafts, which hurt his reelection bid as well. Schumer remained in a safe district and soon became a U.S. senator. Solarz was nominated to serve as ambassador to India, where his expertise would have been of service to the Clinton Administration, but the nomination was withdrawn without explanation. Shortly thereafter his wife, Nina, was found guilty of stealing funds from a charity. She was given probation.

Solarz maintained his interest in foreign policy and has extensive ties to both the Middle East and the Pacific rim. His intelligence and diligence served to make him a diminished but important voice in U.S. foreign policy.

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[Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

SOLDI (Soldi-Colbert), EMILE-ARTHUR (1846–1906), French medalist of Danish descent whose real name was Soldyck. At the age of 23 Soldi received the *Grand Prix de Rome* in medal engraving. An amazingly versatile man, he was an archaeologist and sculptor as well, being also noted in his time as a writer and translator from Danish. The best-known medal by Soldi is his "Homage to the Victims of the Invasion," which refers to the Franco-Prussian War of 1870–71. This medal is still being issued by the French mint. He executed many commemorative and portrait medals.

[Daniel M. Friedenberg]

SOLEL BONEH, *Histadrut concern for building, public works, and industry. Solel Boneh developed out of organized groups of Third Aliyah pioneers that contracted to do road building and quarrying. In 1920 the first agreement was signed between the Agricultural Workers' Union and the Public Works Department of the Mandatory government for the building of a road between Tiberias and Ẓemaḥ. The two existing labor parties ran separate contracting offices, which were merged in 1921 into the Histadrut's Public Works and Building Office, renamed Solel Boneh in 1924. The concern carried out a variety of works throughout the country; it worked for British army camps and helped to lay railroad lines and to build Tel Aviv and Jewish quarters in Jerusalem and Haifa. Its resources were scanty, however, and it went bankrupt during the economic crisis of 1927, renewing its activities only in 1935.

During the Arab riots (1936–39) Solel Boneh was responsible for a number of large-scale pioneering operations: the building of *stockade and watchtower settlements, fortifications in Jewish areas, and police stations in outlying spots. It organized Jewish laborers for work in the ports of Tel Aviv and Haifa and was responsible for the erection of the security fence along the northern frontier (the "Tegart Wall") by hundreds of Jewish workers accommodated in a camp that stretched for miles. During World War II Solel Boneh made an important contribution to the war effort, erecting army camps in many parts of the country. It also built airfields, bridges, roads, and factories abroad in Egypt, Syria, Iraq, Cyprus, Iran, and Bahrain.

On the establishment of the State of Israel (1948), Solel Boneh played a large part in the building of thousands of homes, as well as hospitals, schools, factories, roads, and airfields. In 1958, on the initiative of Pinḥas *Lavon, Solel Boneh was reorganized into three companies: Building and Public Works, Overseas and Harbors Works, and Industry, with subsidiary companies for building materials (Even va-Sid – "Stone and Lime"), sanitary installations (Herouth), and tiles and cement products (Hemar). Among Solel Boneh's outstanding projects were the construction of the atomic research center at Naḥal Sorek; the Hadassah-Hebrew University Medical Center at Ein Kerem, Jerusalem; and the 268-foot chimney of the Haifa power station. As part of the reorganization, workers' representatives were co-opted onto the managements: three out of ten in the Building and Public Works Company, the same proportion in Even va-Sid, and two out of 11 in Herouth. The Overseas and Harbors Works Company has carried out extensive projects in Asia, Africa, and non-Arab countries of the Middle East. At the end of 1970 Solel Boneh employed about 25,000 workers and had a turnover of some $230 million.

With the Histadrut selling off its assets in the 1980s and 1990s, Solel Boneh became part of the Housing and Construction Holding Company Ltd., Israel's largest construction group. In the early 2000s Solel Boneh's turnover exceeded $400 million, and it was involved in building the $1.3 billion Trans-Israel Highway.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: I. Bar-Razon, *Solel Boneh, Darko u-Mahuto* (1958); *Solel Boneh, Hitpatteḥuto u-Mifalav* (n.d.); H. Dan, *Be-Derekh Lo Selulah* (1963).

[Moshe Allon.]

SOLIELI (Soloveichik), MORDECAI (Max; 1883–1957), public figure and biblical scholar. Born in Kovno, Lithuania, Solieli was one of the founders of the Russian-language Zionist newspaper, *Yevreyskaya Zhizn* (later **Razsvet*), in 1904. During the Russian Revolution he left Russia for Lithuania. Solieli was elected to the Lithuanian Sejm (parliament) and served as minister for Jewish affairs (1919–21). In 1921 he was elected to the Zionist executive, but as a result of differences of opinion with Weizmann on the question of establishing a Jewish Agency and because of other problems, he resigned in 1922/23. Solieli (along with Yiẓḥak *Gruenbaum, Nahum *Goldmann, and others) was a leader of the "radical faction." From 1923 to 1933 he contributed to the (German) *Encyclopaedia Judaica* in Berlin and edited its Bible and Ancient Near-East section. In 1933 he emigrated to Palestine, where he settled in Haifa and was active in public life there. From 1944 to 1948 he served as the head of the department of education for the *yishuv*. When the State of Israel was established he was made director of its broadcasting service Kol Israel and later became chairman of the public council attached to the broadcasting service. His works include *Toledot Bikkoret ha-Mikra* (with Zalman Rubashov-Shazar, 1925); *Sekhiyyot ha-Mikra* (illustrations and documents in biblical research, 1925); and *Lexicon Biblicum* (Hebrew; posthumous, edited by M. Borochov, 1965).

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[Yehuda Slutsky]

°SOLINUS, CAIUS JULIUS (third century C.E.), Latin grammarian who wrote a work containing geographical and historical tidbits culled from earlier authors. He paraphrased *Pliny the Elder on Judea (*Natural History,* 5:71ff.; 7:65), sometimes borrowing the exact words of his source. Solinus does not seem to have a clear picture of the material he deals with: he mentions a Lake Sara, probably an error for Pliny's Genasara (Kinneret). Though Pliny comments on the Tiberias hot springs, Solinus overlooks this natural phenomenon and refers only to Lake Tiberias. Besides, in repeating Pliny's views on the *Essenes, he used the present tense, although that sect had long been extinct.

[Jacob Petroff]

SOLIS, family name of 17th-century Portuguese Marranos. A young Lisbonite SIMÃO PIRES SOLIS was accused in 1630 of stealing the sacramental elements from the church of Santa Engrácia and he was condemned to the stake. His hands were chopped off and he was dragged through an incensed mob and burned. For weeks thereafter bands of Old Christians rioted against the New *Christians. Solis's brother, the Franciscan HENRIQUE SOLIS, left Portugal, where he was burned in effigy on March 11, 1640. He made his way to Amsterdam and took the name Eleazar, remaining a leading member of Dutch Jewry until 1656. Other bearers of the Solis name are descendants of the Portuguese court financier DUARTE DA SILVA (1596–1688), whose son ISAAC (DIOGO) DA SILVA SOLIS of Hamburg and grandson ISAAC (FERNANDO) DA SILVA SOLIS of the Low Countries adopted their new names upon re-embracing Judaism. Fernando's father FRANCISCO, reconciled at an auto-da-fé in 1652, became treasurer general to Queen Catherine. He was credited with planning the Spanish victory over the Duke of Crequi in 1673, and in 1682 he was named Marquis de Montfort. The Marrano economist DUARTE GOMES DE SOLIS was a financial authority for the Portuguese crown during the early 1600s. His often reprinted and translated *Discourse on the Commerce of the Two Indies* (Lisbon, 1622) projected a scheme for the development of the territorial lands. The volume *Mémoires Inédits* (ed. by Léon Bourdon, 1955) contains GOMES DE SOLIS's economic reports to the crown for 1621. The proceedings of Madrid's inquisitorial court for 1634 record that an otherwise unknown DIEGO DA SOLIS of Lisbon appeared in the defense of Bartolomé Febos.

The Solis name was carried to the New World as well. One JOSEPH DE SOLIS resided at Pernambuco, Brazil, in 1645–50. During the same time BENJAMIN DE SOLIS was a member of the first synagogue in Dutch Brazil. The U.S. family of *Solis-Cohen traces its ancestry back to SOLOMON DA SILVA SOLIS, who fled to Amsterdam from Spain in about 1665 and married Isabel da Fonseca, daughter of the marquis of Turin, count of Villa Real and Monterey.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Roth, Marranos, index; A. Wiznitzer, *Jews in Colonial Brazil* (1960), 50 (on Duarte Gomes de); 110 (on Joseph de); 138 (on Benjamin de); R.J.H. Gottheil, in: JQR, 15 (1902/03), 231 (on Diego Rs S.).

SOLIS-COHEN, U.S. family founded by JACOB DA SILVA SOLIS who emigrated to the U.S. in 1803. Jacob's grandfather is reported to have refused succession to the marquisate of Turin, since it would have required his defection from Judaism. Most of Jacob's descendants were born and lived in Philadelphia.

JACOB DA SILVA SOLIS-COHEN (1838–1927), grandson of Jacob da Silva Solis, was a surgeon. During the Civil War he served as surgeon to the Union army, and later did pioneering research work in laryngology which led to an honorary professorship at the Jefferson Medical College, Philadelphia. He founded and edited the *Archives of Laryngology*. His brother LEON DA SILVA SOLIS-COHEN (1840–1884) was a writer of stories and verse often based on old Jewish legends. Another brother, DAVID DA SILVA SOLIS-COHEN (1850–1928) was a lawyer. Born in Philadelphia, he settled in Portland, Oregon, where he was active in Jewish organizations, including the Zionist society. He served as Portland police commissioner (1892–94 and 1898–1902) and mayor (1896–98), and also wrote several books for children.

SOLOMON DA SILVA SOLIS-COHEN (1857–1948), another brother, was a physician and poet. A professor of clinical medicine at Jefferson Medical College (1904–27), he was a fellow of the American Association for the Advancement of Science and a trustee of the U.S. Pharmacopoeia Convention. His basic research in medicine was widely noted. He was active in Jewish affairs, attending the Third Zionist Congress in Basle (1899) and later serving as a (non-Zionist) member of the Jewish Agency. He published a volume of original verse, *When Love Passed By* (1929), and translated many Hebrew poems into English, including Ibn Ezra's *Selected Poems* (trans. 1934). A full bibliography is included in his *Judaism and Science* (1940).

JUDITH DA SILVA (1876–1927), daughter of the second Jacob da Silva Solis-Cohen, was a fashion editor. She wrote numerous articles and stories on dressmaking and fashion as well as on nature subjects. Her brother MYER DA SILVA (1877–1960), became a physician and later he served on the staff of the graduate school of the University of Pennsylvania and wrote numerous articles on medical subjects. Another brother, JACOB DA SILVA SOLIS-COHEN JR. (1890–1968), was a realtor and genealogist. He served as president of the Jewish Publication Society of America and honorary president of Congregation Mikveh Israel, Philadephia. He wrote a paper on the founder of the family, "Jacob S. Solis: Traveling Advocate of American Judaism" (AJHQ, 52 (1962–63), 310–9). EMILY DA SILVA SOLIS COHEN JR. (1890–1966), daughter of Solomon, was an author and welfare worker. She wrote and translated several popular books for children on Jewish themes, and numerous articles.

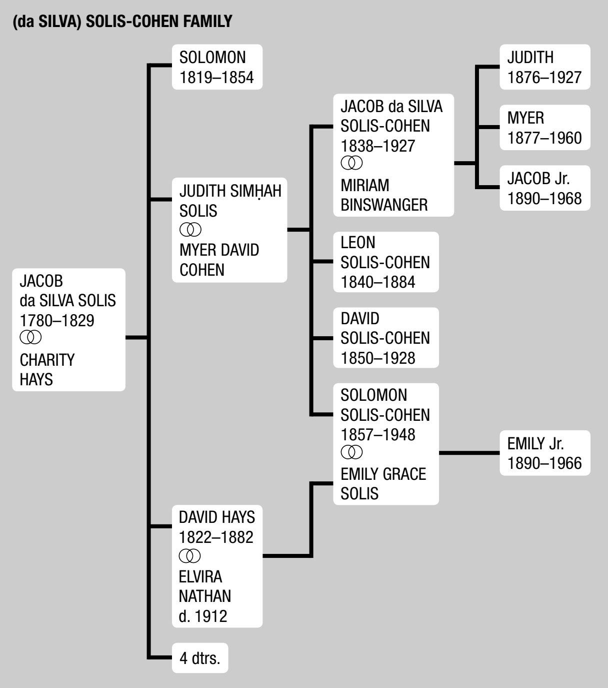
(da SILVA) SOLIS-COHEN FAMILY
JACOB da SILVA SOLIS 1780–1829 ⚭ CHARITY HAYS
SOLOMON 1819–1854
JUDITH SIMḤAH SOLIS ⚭ MYER DAVID COHEN
DAVID HAYS 1822–1882 ⚭ ELVIRA NATHAN d. 1912
4 dtrs.
JACOB da SILVA SOLIS-COHEN 1838–1927 ⚭ MIRIAM BINSWANGER
LEON SOLIS-COHEN 1840–1884
DAVID SOLIS-COHEN 1850–1928
SOLOMON SOLIS-COHEN 1857–1948 ⚭ EMILY GRACE SOLIS
JUDITH 1876–1927
MYER 1877–1960
JACOB Jr. 1890–1968
EMILY Jr. 1890–1966

BIBLIOGRAPHY: J. Solis-Cohen Jr., in: *The Jewish Experience in America*, 2 (1969), 335–86 (on Jacob da Silva).

[Alan D. Corre]

SOLODAR, ABRAHAM (1890–1936), U.S. Hebrew poet and teacher. Born in Russia, Solodar went to Ereẓ Israel in 1911, and emigrated to the United States in 1926. At an early age he was encouraged in his literary efforts by Bialik in Odessa, and by *Brenner in Tel Aviv.

His volume of lyrical poems, *Shirim*, abounding in folkmotifs, was published posthumously by Menahem *Ribalow (1939) He published *Ba-Teva* (1925), a textbook on natural sciences in Hebrew, a *Hebrew Reader*, and edited the children's weeklies *Alummot* (1922–23) and *Olam ha-Yeladim* (1927–28). Toward the end of his life he edited a Hebrew literary quarterly *Dorenu* (1934) in Chicago.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: H. Bavli, *Ruḥot Nifgashot* (1958), 150–4; Kressel, Leksikon, 2 (1967), 478.

[Eisig Silberschlag]

SOLOMON (Heb. שְׁלֹמֹה; tenth century B.C.E.), son of *David, king of Israel. Born of Bath-Sheba, Solomon was so named by David (II Sam. 12:24; according to the *keri*, Targ. Jon., and according to the Pesh., by his mother), while Nathan called him Jedidiah (Heb. יְדִידְיָה; II Sam. 12:25). Apparently his principal name was Solomon, analogous to the similar Phoenician names שלמין and בעל שלם (cf. the interpretation of the name in I Chron. 22:9), Jedidiah being an affectionate or honorable appellation "because of the Lord" or, according to the Septuagint, "by word of the Lord" (II Sam. 12:25; cf. Deut. 33:12; II Kings 22:1). Following the intervention of Nathan and Bath-Sheba, David decided to have Solomon anointed king in his own lifetime, and not his son *Adonijah the son of Haggith who, supported by some army commanders and a section of "the king's servants" led by Joab son of Zeruiah and Abiathar the priest, was proclaimed king by them beside En-Rogel without David's knowledge (I Kings 1:7, 9, 18, 19, 24, 25, 41, 44). David's mighty men and the Cherethites and the Pelethites, later joined by "the king's servants," sided with Solomon (1:8, 10, 33, 38, 47), who was inducted at the Gihon spring. He was brought down there riding on a mule, and, in the presence of Nathan the prophet and Benaiah son of Jehoiada, was anointed king by Zadok the priest, to the sound of the blowing of the ram's horn and of the people's shout of "Long live King Solomon" (1:32–40). The account does not mention Solomon's qualities by virtue of which he was found worthy of the kingship despite his being one of the king's younger sons (I Chron. 3:1–10). This is ascribed to David's vow to Bath-Sheba, not mentioned in II Samuel, that Solomon would succeed to the throne (I Kings 1:13, 17, 30). Solomon's succession was accompanied by the destruction or banishment of rivals: Joab and Adonijah were killed; Abiathar the priest was banished to Anathoth; the killing of Shimei son of Gera, however, may be explained as a measure taken against potential rebels among survivors of the former royal house.

The Kingdom of Solomon

Already at the outset of his reign Solomon was distinguished as a king who took vigorous action against opponents and did not shrink from a blood vengeance. David's last testament to Solomon should not necessarily be regarded as a tendentious projection by the author of the narrative in order to attribute the bloodshed by the newly crowned king to the instructions of the founder of the royal house. First, David's hostility to Joab was well known. Second, it was certainly unnecessary to ascribe the matter of the sons of Barzillai the Gileadite to David's last testament (2:5–9). Third and primarily, the account of Solomon's elevation contains no exaggerated praise of him. In any event, the bloodshed, associated as it was with a blood vengeance, reflects the upheavals that afflicted the royal court of David, in consequence of which Solomon became king even during his father's lifetime, as emphasized again by the Chronicler in his idealistic, apologetic explanation of Solomon's second, public induction ("And they made Solomon the son of David king the second time," I Chron. 29:20–25; cf. 23:1; 28:1–11, 20–21). Solomon reigned jointly with his father apparently from 967 to 965 B.C.E. and on his own from 965 to 928 B.C.E. According to the biblical account, it was from David that Solomon inherited a kingdom which extended from "beyond the (Euphrates) river to the border of Egypt" (I Kings 5:1). The verse is a late gloss, defining Solomon's territory anachronistically, and attempting to raise Solomon to the status of the great imperialists of the Neo-Assyrian, Neo-Babylonian, and perhaps Persian periods. "Beyond the river" (Heb. *ever ha-nahar* is the equivalent of Akkadian *eber nāri*, first used two centuries after Solomon in Neo-Assyrian sources for the territory west of the Euphrates (Cogan, 213)). Indeed, in the time that has transpired since the appearance of the first edition of the *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, both archaeological evidence and critical study of the biblical texts have undermined the confidence of scholars about the greatness of Solomon. Some scholars despair of recovering the historical Solomon, while others call his very existence into question. J.M. Miller (apud Handy 1–24) has framed the basic issues involved in separating the historical Solomon from the Solomon of legend: (1) The Davidic–Solomonic empire of the magnitude described in the Bible does not seem to fit the circumstances following the collapse of the international system of the Bronze age ca. 1200. (2) Some have argued that the collapse of the Hittite Empire and the withdrawal of Egypt from Asia would have enabled the rise of an empire centered in Palestine. But if that is the case such an empire should have left some epigraphical sources. (3) The biblical descriptions of Solomon's territorial holdings are not of a piece. Close examination reveals that some of the passages point to a relatively modest, and therefore more credible, realm. (4) Archaeological evidence available at present has not revealed anything like an empire centered in the Palestinian hill country in the 10th century. The land of the Philistines was certainly not included in his kingdom, it being clearly stated that Solomon had dominion "to Gaza" (I Kings 5:4 [4:24]), and hence the translation "to the land of the Philistines" (5:1 [4:21]) is correct. It is unlikely that Solomon's dominion extended north over the neo-Hittite kingdom of Hamath, where, according to Chronicles, he built (or reconstructed) store-cities, and reached as far as Tadmor (Palmyra) in the wilderness, where he also fortified himself (II Chron. 8:3–5). More likely is the account in I Kings 9:18 where the *ketiv* reads Tamar, which fits the geographic horizon of the chapter as an important point of the southern border (Cogan, 302). In addition, if Rezon held Damascus, Solomon could not have held much Aramean territory. Similarly, if he handed 20 cities over to Hiram, he did not have dominion in *Phoenicia.

Solomon may have had some share in the exchange of merchandise between the northern and southern countries, as indicated by the obscure passage (I Kings 10:28, 29) which tells of "the king's traders" and that "Solomon's import of

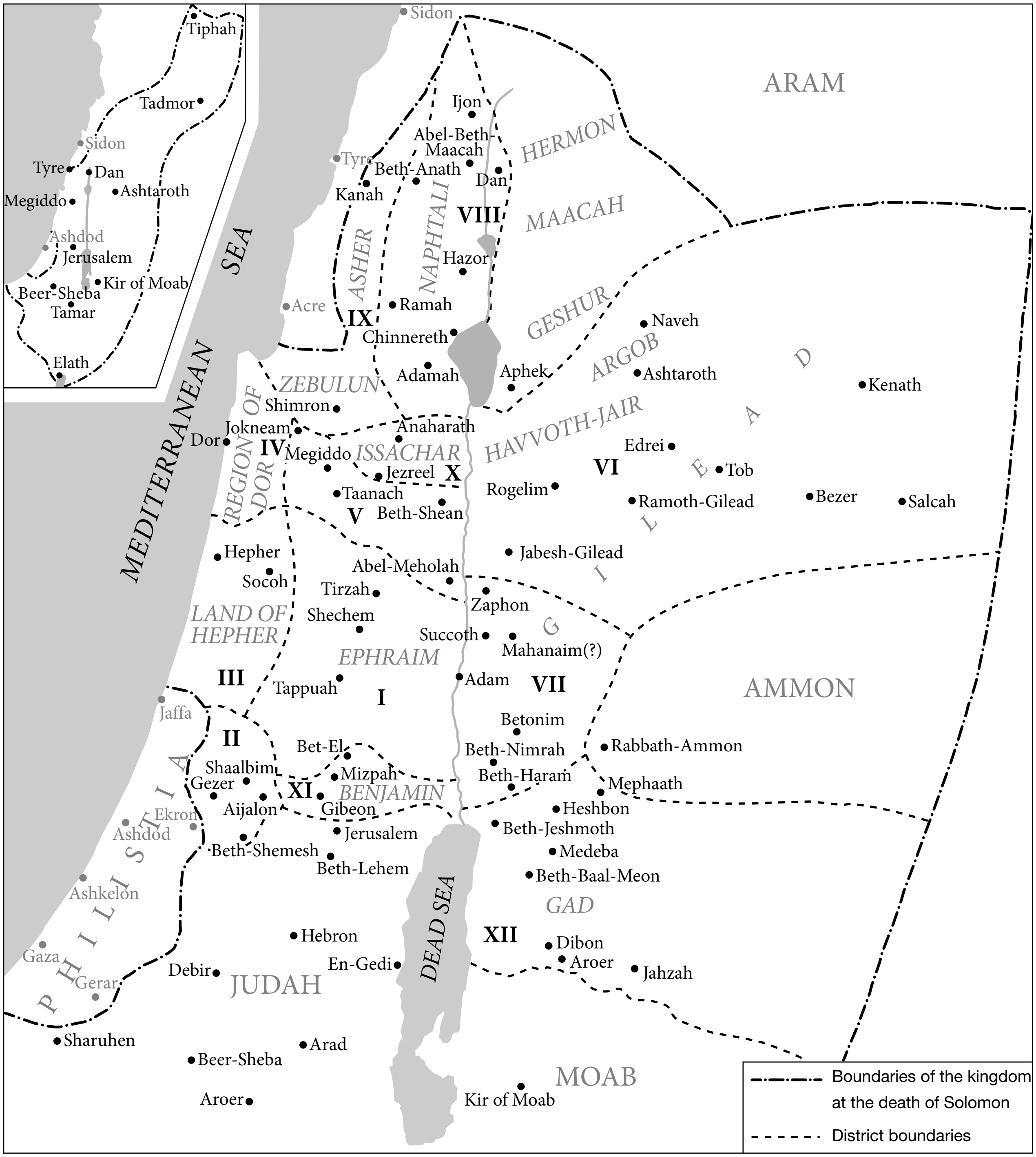
Tiphah
Tadmor
Sidon
Tyre
Dan
Ashtaroth
Megiddo
Ashdod
Jerusalem
Kir of Moab
Beer-Sheba
Tamar
Elath
Sidon
ARAM
Ijon
Abel-Beth-Maacah
Tyre
Beth-Anath
Dan
HERMON
Kanah
VIII
MAACAH
ASHER
NAPHTALI
Hazor
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
Acre
Ramah
GESHUR
IX
Chinnereth
Naveh
ARGOB
Adamah
Aphek
Ashtaroth
ZEBULUN
Kenath
REGION OF DOR
Shimron
HAVVOTH-JAIR
Jokneam
Anaharath
Dor
IV
Megiddo
ISSACHAR
Edrei
Jezreel
X
VI
Tob
Taanach
Rogelim
Ramoth-Gilead
Bezer
Salcah
V
Beth-Shean
GILEAD
Hepher
Jabesh-Gilead
Socoh
Abel-Meholah
Tirzah
Zaphon
LAND OF HEPHER
Shechem
Succoth
Mahanaim(?)
EPHRAIM
III
Tappuah
Adam
VII
AMMON
I
Jaffa
Betonim
II
Bet-El
Beth-Nimrah
Rabbath-Ammon
Shaalbim
Mizpah
Beth-Haram
Mephaath
Gezer
XI
BENJAMIN
Aijalon
Gibeon
Heshbon
Ekron
Ashdod
Jerusalem
Beth-Jeshmoth
Beth-Shemesh
Medeba
Beth-Lehem
Beth-Baal-Meon
Ashkelon
GAD
PHILISTIA
Hebron
XII
DEAD SEA
Dibon
Gaza
En-Gedi
Aroer
Jahzah
Debir
JUDAH
Gerar
Sharuhen
Arad
Beer-Sheba
MOAB
Aroer
Kir of Moab
Boundaries of the kingdom at the death of Solomon
District boundaries

Solomon's division of Israel into districts. The small map shows the boundaries of his kingdom at its greatest extent. Based on Atlas of Israel, *Jerusalem, 1970.*

horses was from… Que" – according to the Septuagint and the Vulgate in Cilicia (cf. II Chron. 1:16 which has קְוֵא instead of קְוֵה as in I Kings 10:28; see *Que). From Anatolia Solomon imported horses which he sold in Egypt; he sold chariots from Egypt to the Aramean and neo-Hittite kingdoms in Syria, "to all the kings of the Hittites and the kings of Aram." However, Na'aman (apud Handy, 71) points out that it was in the eighth–seventh century that Egypt and Que were export centers of horses and chariots, and that the role of Solomon's traders is anachronistically borrowed from that of the *tamkāru* traders of the Neo-Assyrian empire. More likely is some control by Solomon of the commercial route that passed through

Jordan on the way from Arabia to Damascus. Associated with this economic activity of Solomon is the story of the *Queen of Sheba, who came to Jerusalem "with a very great retinue, with camels bearing spices, and very much gold, and precious stones" (I Kings 10:2). "Never again came such an abundance of spices" (10:10; II Chron. 9:1–9) as those which she gave to Solomon. That the queen came to test Solomon's wisdom smacks of legend. The use of the term *ḥiddot*, "riddles" (I Kings 10:1), an Aramaic loan whose shape points to a sound shift no earlier than the sixth century, indicates a late origin for the present text. Nonetheless, early South Arabian trade with Mesopotamia involving wood and spices transported by camels is attested in the early ninth century and may have begun as early as the tenth (Na'aman apud Handy, 72–3). In addition, queens are well attested in Arabia, though according to Kitchen (apud Handy, 141), not after 690 B.C.E. In sum, the story is not to be dismissed as utter anachronistic fantasy.

The Bible speaks of close relations between Solomon and *Hiram (son of Abibaal according to Josephus, king of Tyre), who, according to quotations cited by Josephus (Apion 1:113–5; Ant. 8:144–7), was also renowned for buildings he erected and royal projects he undertook. There is probably some basis to the biblical account that Israel cooperated with Tyre in sailing in the Red Sea. The servants of Hiram, "seamen who were familiar with the sea," sailed with Solomon's servants to Ophir, from which, as also from southern countries as a whole and perhaps from Africa, too, they brought gold and silver, sandalwood and ivory, apes and peacocks (I Kings 9:26–28; 10:11, 22). The port from which the ships put to Sea was *Ezion-Geber (Jazirat Faraun in the gulf south of Elat?). Alongside Solomon's ships (9:26) the Bible mentions "the fleet of Hiram." (10:11, 22). The reference to "a fleet of ships of Tarshish" is to a type of large ship adapted for transporting metal and for sailing great distances (Isa. 2:16; Ezek. 27:25; Ps. 48:8). In the barter trade between Hiram and Solomon, Israel provided Tyre with wheat and oil, while Tyre supplied Israel with cedar and cypress wood and with gold (I Kings 5:22–25 [8–11]; 9:11). The builders of Hiram and of Solomon cooperated in constructing the Temple (5:32 [18]). Apparently the execution by Hiram, the metal craftsman (not the king of the same name) of the bronzework in the Temple (7:13–15) was not an isolated or exceptional circumstance. The cooperation with Hiram in shipping, in work, and in barter provided Solomon with the opportunity of importing metal – copper and iron – from Anatolia and Cyprus and of establishing bronze foundries for the needs of the Temple in the plain of the Jordan (7:46). Another source of copper was Edom, where there is evidence of major copper smelting from Feinan in Jordan from the tenth–ninth century (Cogan, 273; Muhly, 1501, Levy). Based on mutual advantage and on the resulting economic prosperity, special relations apparently developed between Israel and Tyre, which, commencing already in the days of David and perhaps in those of Abibaal, culminated in a treaty between the two kingdoms. These relations explain the biblical account which tells of the personal friendship between Solomon and Hiram ("for Hiram always loved of David") and which refers in particular to Solomon's wisdom (I Kings 5:15–26 [1–12]: cf. the exaggerated phraseology in II Chron. 2:2–15).

Solomon's relations with the other kingdoms, too, were peaceful, while his marriage to foreign women – Moabites, Ammonites, Edomites, Sidonians, and neo-Hittites – led to the establishment of close ties between Israel and the neighboring peoples. The marriage of the daughter of Pharaoh king of Egypt to the king of Israel is a special case, treated at length by the Bible, which states that Solomon brought her to the city of David (I Kings 3:1), built a house for her (7:8; 9:24; II Chron. 8:11), and received Gezer from Pharaoh "as dowry to his daughter" (I Kings 9:16). The father-in-law was undoubtedly a pharaoh of the 21st Dynasty (Siamon or Psusennes II, both of whom reigned in the days of Solomon). There is indeed some basis for conjecturing that the marriage of the daughter of Pharaoh to the king of Israel – an exceptional event in the annals of the pharaohs – reflects a period of Egyptian weakness. Note that Hadad the Edomite was married to the sister of a Pharaoh (I Kings 11:15–22). Though Solomon's marriage into the Egyptian royal family is condemned in I Kings 11:1, it was probably a matter of pride for the Hebrew writer of I Kings 3:1 and 9:16, who wished to preserve the tradition that a parvenu dynast had managed to acquire a bride from a kingdom both ancient and renowned for its wisdom (I Kings 5:10).

Economy and Society

The ancient figurative description of every man dwelling safely under his vine and under his fig tree within Israel's borders "from Dan even to Beer-Sheba" (I Kings 5:5 [4:25]) depicts a flourishing agricultural situation. The passages which tell of the huge quantity of bronze (7:47), the gold and the silver, the luxuries and other precious articles (9:28; 10:10, 11, 12, 14, 22, 25), as well as the statements that silver was regarded as stones (or "it was not considered as anything in the days of Solomon," 10:21) and that cedars were as common as sycamore trees (10:27), exaggerated though they may be, yet reflect a prosperous situation.

The wealth and of the initiative of the kingdom expressed itself primarily in building, as is evident from the Bible and from archaeological finds: the magnificent buildings of the Temple and the king's house together with their appurtenances and ornamentations, the plans of which were apparently based on those of northern Syrian temples (a very close parallel to Solomon's Temple, and contemporary with it, was found in Ain Dara in Syria; see Monson); the extension of Jerusalem to the north; the erection of cities for chariots and horsemen and of store-cities within the kingdom; the special construction of the Israelite house (four-roomed house, in archaeological terminology); the construction in hewn stone and the ornamentation of buildings with proto-Eolithic capitals; public buildings like those brought to light at Beth-Shemesh and at Tell Belt Mirsim, and regarded by some as storehouses; a casemate wall characteristic of, though not exclusive to, this period in the fortification of cities, such as that uncovered at

Hazor, Megiddo, Beth-Shemesh, and Tell Belt Mirsim; the impressive and similar, almost identical, four-pillared gateways at Hazor, Megiddo, and Gezer, built apparently according to a uniform, well-devised, royal plan (these three cities are mentioned in the Bible alongside Jerusalem as an example of the building executed by Solomon, I Kings 9:15). Archaeologists differ over the question of whether this building activity is to be assigned to Solomon in the tenth century or whether it is of a later date (see survey in Dever apud Handy, 217–51; Finkelstein, Rainey, 2001). The peace which reigned in Palestine in the days of Solomon was based not only on political relations but also on chariot cities and principally on fortified cities at the approaches to the mountains of Judah and Jerusalem, at the entrance to the valley of Jezreel, and in Galilee, some of which – Hazor, Megiddo, Gezer, Beth-Horon, Baaloth – are mentioned in the Bible. The defense of Jerusalem was apparently of the greatest importance to Solomon.

The organization of the internal administration, begun in the days of David, was further advanced under Solomon, as can be seen from the list of his officials, among whom are included scribes, the recorder, the commander of the army, priests, the officer in charge of the district officers, the minister over the household, the king's friend, and "Adoniram in charge of the forced labor" (I Kings 4:1–7). The division into districts (see Rainey, 174–79), the inception of which may date from David's reign, was consolidated and stabilized in the days of Solomon, when each of the officers had to make provision for the king's household "for one month in the year" and supply not only "Solomon's provision" (4:7; 5:2–8 [4:22–28]) but also the needs of the court in general, such as horses and swift steeds (= *rekhesh*, רֶכֶשׁ, but perhaps *rekhev* רֶכֶב, "chariots," 5:8 [4:28]). This division, deviating partially from the boundaries of the tribes, reflects the administration that, alongside the ancient tribal division (4:15–18), was based on new territorial units, which differed from the earlier tribal grouping and some of which may have been inhabited also by the surviving Canaanite population (4:8–14, 19; cf. 9:20, 21). Even though Judah had its own special officer (4:19), it was not included among the 12 districts on an equal footing with the rest, for not only did it constitute a special political unit alongside Israel (4:20; 5:5 [4:25]), but it was apparently exempted from the economic obligations to the royal household laid on the other parts of the country.

The construction of buildings, the splendor of the royal court, and the economic expansion involved the duty not only of providing supplies for the court but also "a levy of forced labor," i.e., compulsory service (*corvée), the *mas*, well known from the Amarna letters of the 14th century, imposed both on the surviving Amorites and on the Israelites (5:27–30 [13–16]; 9:20–23). Solomon, it is stated with much exaggeration, had 70,000 "burden-bearers," 80,000 "hewers of stone in the hill country," and a levy of 30,000 men of whom 10,000 a month were sent "by courses" to Lebanon (5:27–29 [13–15]). Alongside them are mentioned 3,300 chief officers "who had charge of the people who carried on the work" (5:30 [16]; cf. the figure of 550 "who had charge of the people," 9:23; these may have been in charge of the non-Israelite workers, or of the king's work in a limited sense, or may represent a different tradition). The men of the levy worked in Lebanon, at building in Israel, and at the copper foundry, such as that in the plain of the Jordan between Succoth and Zarethan (5:31 [17], 32 [18], 7:46 and see above). The revolt against the House of David which broke out at the outset of Rehoboam's reign specifically because of the onerous burden of service (I Kings 12) had its roots in various features that marked Solomon's reign. The people were embittered not only by the heavy taxation, which was an innovation in the kingdom that had come into being against the background of a lengthy tribal regime, but also by the contrast between the heavy burdens on the one hand and the splendor and luxury of the royal court on the other. Likewise the barrier between Israel and Judah, which enjoyed special privileges, alienated the northern tribes from the Davidic kingdom. *Jeroboam son of Nebat, who was "in charge over all the forced labor of the house of Joseph" (11:28), probably revolted against the king not only in his capacity as the officer in charge of the compulsory service but as the standard bearer of the antagonism between the House of Joseph and the northern tribes in general on the one hand and Judah on the other. The divorce from the tribal tradition expressed, for example, in the geographical division of the districts and perhaps also in the fostering of a sacred center in Jerusalem, lacking though it did an ancient tradition, incited the tribes, in an attachment to time-honored centers such as Beth-El, Penuel, Shechem, and Dan, to rebel against the House of David. Thus the kingdom of Solomon, although characterized by economic development and by internal political security, provoked both a social revolt and tribal opposition or a general conservative tribal antagonism, the spokesman of which was the Yahweh prophet Ahijah the Shilonite. But in the days of Solomon the kingdom was still at the height of its power and Jeroboam was compelled to flee to Egypt. The author of the Book of Kings, in keeping with his religious conceptions, ascribes the revolt and the division to the idolatry of the king, in which he was influenced by his foreign wives.

The Wise King and Judge

The Bible attributes the peace and prosperity reigning in the country to the wisdom of Solomon, a literary topos already present in the prologue to the Code of *Hammurapi (COS II, 336–37. King Asshurbanipal of Assyria (669–627) boasts of his own wisdom (Streck Asb. 256 I. 17). Solomon's wisdom is mentioned already in that part of David's last testament which is not formulated in the style of the Book of Deuteronomy (I Kings 2:6, 9). The Bible describes the king as wiser than all men, as uttering proverbs and songs, solving riddles, and speaking of trees and beasts, of fowl, creeping things, and fishes, this being the type of wisdom renowned in eastern lands. His wisdom was essentially part of the totality of the wisdom of the East and the wisdom of Egypt, although it was higher in degree (5:9–14 [4:29–34]; 10:1, 3). Outside the book of I Kings, Prov. 25:1 speaks of "proverbs of Solomon collected by King Hezekiah and his circle." According to the Bible, Solomon was held in high esteem and extolled among other peoples too. Primarily, however, Solomon was considered a wise judge, as is evident from the dream at Gibeon and from the case of the two harlots. Solomon's wisdom was manifested mainly in connection with his royal authority as conceived both in modern times and in the Ancient East. It expressed itself in the function of dispensing justice to individuals and principally of establishing a just and righteous regime for the people as a whole. More precisely, it expressed itself in a capacity for leadership that distinguishes between good and evil ("Give Your servant therefore an understanding mind to govern Your people, that I may discern between good and evil; for who is able to govern this Your great people?" 3:9). The account of the dream at Gibeon likewise associates the king's riches and honor with his understanding ("a wise and discerning mind," 3:12, 13). The other passages, too, which mention the king's wisdom in connection with his political acts apparently refer to a quality of leadership (5:21 [7], 26 [12]; 10:6, 7, 9: "He has made you king, that you may execute justice and righteousness," *ibid.* 23, 24). One of the most important halls in the king's house which was near the Temple was called "the Hall of the Throne" or "the Hall of Judgment" (7:7), symbolizing the decisive quality of leadership as conceived already in the days of the Judges (on David's judicial function, cf. II Sam. 8:15; 12:1–6; 14:5–21).

In addition to this "wisdom," Solomon's royal authority was enhanced by his status as a sacral king, who supervised the religious rites, himself offered sacrifices, blessed the people after the manner of the priests, and took a decisive part in the dedication of the Temple, the sanctification of the court, and the celebration of the Feast of Tabernacles (I Kings 3:15; 8:1–5, 14, 22, 54–56, 62–66). The proximity of the king's house to the Temple, to which no explicit parallel has been found in the Ancient East, also set the seal of divine election and perhaps even of divine favor on the royal authority which produced a decisive change in the regime in Israel. The transition from the Tabernacle to the Temple apparently also symbolized the transition from a tribal to a monarchical regime. Henceforth associated with the Temple, which was conceived in the ancient part of Solomon's prayer as the house of God's habitation (8:13), the kingdom of the House of David was bound up with the city, which as early as in the days of Solomon may have begun to assume a holy character. Yet on the basis of the experience of generations, this close proximity of the royal palace to the Temple provoked the anger of Ezekiel (43:7–10), while the Chronicler saw fit to omit a description of the king's house, the building of which took 13 years, from the account of the Temple.

It is this variegated conception of the quality of leadership informed with a divine inspiration which brought such renown to the wise king that succeeding generations ascribed to him the composition of such widely different poetry and wisdom works as the Song of Songs, Proverbs, and Ecclesiastes, which contain numerous motifs characterizing the attribute of kingship. In assessing the reign of Solomon, it is important to distinguish the main narrative, in which Solomon rules a peaceful and prosperous kingdom, from the details which tell us of the burdensome yoke he laid on the people (I Kings 12:4), of the internal opposition by one of his most talented officials, Jeroboam, who was able to build on northern resentment, and of the opposition of the prophet Ahijah. Most telling of all is the fact that the kingdom did not survive his death.

See also *History: Kingdoms of Israel and Judah.

[Samuel Abramsky / S. David Sperling (2nd ed.)]

In the *Aggadah*

Solomon succeeded to the throne at the age of 12 (SOR 14). His original name, Jedidiah, the "beloved of God," was superseded by that of Solomon (*Shelomoh*) because of the peace (*shalom*) that prevailed throughout his reign. He was also known as Koheleth (Eccles. 1:1), Lemuel (Prov. 31:1), Agur, Jakeh, and Ithiel (Prov. 30:1; Eccl. R. 1:2). Solomon chose wisdom, knowing that once he possessed it all else would come of itself (PR 14:59; Song R. 1:1, no. 9). This God-granted wisdom made him the wisest of mankind. His 800 proverbs are equal to 3,000 since each verse in his book may be interpreted in two or three different ways (Song R. 1:1, nos. 10, 11). He was an expert horticulturist, and he succeeded in growing all types of foreign plants in Ereẓ Israel (Targ. Eccles. 2:4–6; Eccl. R. 2:5). He understood the language of the beasts and birds and they submitted to his judgment (Song R. 1:1, no. 9; Tanh. B., Introd., 157). The two women who claimed the child were really spirits who were sent by God to reveal Solomon's wisdom. All doubt about the fairness of his verdict was dispelled when a heavenly voice proclaimed: "This is the mother of the child" (Mak. 23b). Other perceptive judgments of Solomon are recorded in the case of the slave who claimed he was the master's son (A. Jellinek, *Beit ha-Midrash*, 4 (1967), 145–6); the double-headed son who claimed a double inheritance (*ibid.*, 151–2); and the three men who could not find the money they hid before the commencement of the Sabbath (*ibid.*, 1 (1967), 86–87). He had such confidence in himself that he would have dispensed judgment without resort to witnesses, had he not been prevented by a heavenly voice (RH 21b). Many came to seek his advice (Jellinek, *op. cit.*, 4 (1967), 148–50). The most famous of those who consulted him was the Queen of Sheba (Targ. Sheni 1:3, 8–10). She asked numerous riddles of Solomon, all of which he answered promptly and correctly (Ms. *Midrash ha-Ḥefez*, tr. by S. Schechter in *Folk-Lore*, 1 (1890); 349–58).

Solomon, however, is regarded as the prototype of the rationalist who ultimately is led to sin by his rational approach. He was determined to find reasons for all the divine precepts and succeeded until he came to the law of the Red Heifer, which he was unable to fathom (Eccles. R. 7:23, no. 4). He finally transgressed the biblical laws in that he possessed too many horses, amassed an overabundance of gold and silver, and above all in that he married more than the 18 wives permitted to a monarch (Deut. 17:16–7; Sanh. 21a), because he thought that with his wisdom he would not be affected by his transgression. At this God declared, "As thou livest, Solomon and a hundred of his like shall be annihilated before a single letter of the Torah will be obliterated" (TJ, Sanh. 2b, 20c), and in fact Scripture records that his many wives finally "turned away his heart after other gods" (I Kings 11:4). The rabbis declare that "It would have been better for Solomon to have cleaned sewers than to have this verse written of him" (Ex. R. 6:1). When he married the daughter of Pharaoh, the archangel Gabriel descended from heaven and inserted a reed in the sea around which accumulated silt and on which the city of Rome was ultimately built (Sanh. 21b). On the nuptial night she brought him a thousand musical instruments. Although each one was dedicated to a different idol, Solomon neglected to stop her (Shab. 56b). She spread over his bed a tapestry studded with diamonds and pearls which gleamed like constellations in the sky and created an illusion of stars. Solomon slept on until the fourth hour of the morning, causing deep sorrow among the people since the daily sacrifice could not be offered because the Temple keys lay under Solomon's pillow (Lev. R. 12:5).

The most important of Solomon's acts was his building of the Temple, in which he was assisted by angels and demons. Indeed, the edifice was throughout miraculously constructed, the large, heavy stones rising and settling in their proper places by themselves (Ex. R. 52:4). Solomon split the stone by means of the *shamir*, a worm whose mere touch cleft rocks. He was informed of the worm's location by the chief of the demons, Ashmedai, who was captured by Benaiah, Solomon's chief minister (Git. 68a). Solomon was so assiduous in this task that the Temple's erection took only seven years, about half the time for the erection of the king's palace, despite the greater magnificence of the sanctuary. In this respect, he was the superior of his father, King David, who first built a house for himself, and then thought about a tabernacle for God. Indeed, it was Solomon's meritorious work in connection with the Temple that saved him from being reckoned by the sages as one of the impious kings, among whom his sins might rightfully have placed him (Sanh. 104b; Song R. 1:1, no. 5). Second only to the Temple in beauty was Solomon's throne. None before or after him could construct a similar work of art, and when his vassal-kings saw its beauty they prostrated themselves and praised God. Jewels and gold adorned the throne and animals guarded its approach. These animals also lifted Solomon from step to step when he ascended the throne (Targ. Sheni 1:2, 5–7). The throne did not long remain in the possession of the Israelites. During the life of Rehoboam, the son of Solomon, it was taken to Egypt. Shishak, the father-in-law of Solomon, appropriated it as indemnity for his widowed daughter. Ultimately, the throne was taken to Babylonia, Greece, and finally to Rome (Esth. R. 1:12).

Because of his sins, Solomon gradually lost his throne, his wealth, and even his wisdom. At first he ruled over the inhabitants of the upper world as well as over those of the lower; then only over the inhabitants of the earth; later over Israel alone; then he retained only his bed and his staff; and finally only his staff was left to him (Sanh. 20b). There is a difference of opinion on whether Solomon returned to his throne. He "saw three worlds" which, according to one opinion, means that he was successively a private person, a king, and again a private person. According to another, however, he was king, private person, and again king (Sanh. 20b; Git. 68b). For three long years, he journeyed about as a mendicant from city to city and from country to country, atoning for his sins. While a beggar, during his old age, he wrote Ecclesiastes, saying wherever he went, "I Koheleth was king over Israel in Jerusalem" (Eccles. 1:12). Previously, in his youth, he had written the Song of Songs, and in his middle age Proverbs (Song R. 1:1, no. 10).

[Aaron Rothkoff]

In Islam

From various allusions, which are found in the works of Arab poets, it is evident that tales concerning King Solomon (Sulaymān) were circulated in the Arabian Peninsula even before the appearance of *Muhammad. In the *Koran Solomon is not only the successor of King David (Sura 27:1b) but also the faithful servant of Allah (38:29). He did not even momentarily abandon the service of Allah; it was rather the devils who negated it and taught the people sorcery, thus estranging them from the worship of the Creator (2:96). Once, however, when gazing at his horses, Solomon overlooked the recital of the evening prayer at its proper time; but as a sign of repentance, he killed his beloved horses (38:31–33). In the most positive description of the character of Solomon, one recognizes Christian influence. As a faithful servant, Solomon requests that eternal kingship be granted to him (38:34). He is awarded wisdom and intelligence, understands the speech of the birds, and rules over the wind which blows with strength (27:15, 16, 81; 31:11), as well as over the spirits (21:82; 34:11, 12; 38:35–38). It is no wonder that Solomon's fame reached distant lands and that the Queen of Saba (Sheba) came to visit him (27:20–45). No one was aware of his death until a worm ate away the staff which supported his body, the staff broke, and his body collapsed (34:14).

There are certain characteristics common both to David and Solomon (see *David, in *Islam), Some have been transferred from David to Solomon (the invention of armor), while others have been transferred from Solomon to David, such as the domination of animals and birds (38:17, 18). Solomon participated in the judgment decided by his father concerning the pastureland on which sheep grazed (21:78). David was as wise as Solomon (21:79–82).

Following Jewish *aggadah* and ancient legends, some of which originated in Persia, the Muslim commentators on the Koran and legend writers devote an important place to Solomon's character, birth, wisdom, intelligence as a judge and investigator of complicated affairs, his rule over the jinn (spirits) who obeyed his commands and built palaces, fortresses, bath houses, and dams for him, and his mastery of sorcery and mysticism. Solomon's chief counselor, Aṣāf b. Barakhyā, also made use of the king's magic ring (*khatam Sulaymān*). Solomon lost his kingdom because he listened to the voice of his wife Tarāda, the daughter of the king of Sidon; he was punished by being exiled from his kingdom. Solomon died at the age of 58, after having ruled Israel for 40 years (as did his father David).

[Haïm Z'ew Hirschberg]

In the Arts

IN LITERATURE. As the king of Israel appointed to build the Temple and as the legendary embodiment of wisdom, Solomon became a prototype of Jesus in the medieval Christian world. Treatment of the subject in literature, art, and music involves not only Solomon himself but also the sub-themes of the Queen of Sheba and the Shulammite of the Song of Songs. In literature, one of the earliest surviving works on the theme is an Anglo-Saxon legend, the poetical *Dialogue of Solomon and Saturn* (manuscript at Cambridge; ed. R.J. Menner, 1941). There is also a 15th-century *Dyalogus Salomonis et Marcolfi* (Cologne, 1473); but from this period, beginning with the anonymous German mystery, *Das Spil von Kunig Salomon mit den zweyen Frawen* (1461), most writing on the theme was in dramatic form. One unusual medieval work was the 15th-century Russian "Tale of the Centaur," based on the midrashic account of Solomon's construction of the Temple. During the Renaissance era plays included a Spanish *Farsa de Salomón* (c. 1530) by Diego Sanchez; a *Fastnachtspiel* by the *Meistersinger* Hans Sachs (1550); an anonymous Italian *Rappresentatione del Re Salomone* (Florence, 1562), apparently preceded by an earlier work on the subject (c. 1512); and a drama celebrating the Danish heir to the throne, written by H.J. Ranch of Viborg (1584). However, the outstanding treatment was probably the German neo-Latin playwright Sixtus Birck's *Sapientia Salomonis* (1547), a performance of which by the boys of Westminster School was given before Elizabeth I of England in 1565. Although the 17th century produced further dramas – notably Joost van den Vondel's *Salomon* (1648) in Holland, the *Auto del Rey Salamo* (1612) by Balthasar Dias in Portugal, and Pedro Calderón de la Barca's *La Sibila del Oriente y Gran Reina de Sabá* (Madrid, 1682) in Spain – a more philosophical and pessimistic note was struck by writers emphasizing Solomon's outlook as the traditional author of Ecclesiastes. Two examples are the anonymous German *Schau-Platz der Eitelkeit*… (1668), a five-act prose drama, and the English poet Matthew Prior's verse soliloquy, *Solomon on the Vanity of the World*, written in the 1690s but published only in 1718; works of this type were common throughout the following century. Apart from the texts of various oratorios, such as Thomas Morell's *Solomon* (1749) which was set to music by Handel, the two outstanding 18th-century treatments were both in German: Friedrich Gottlieb Klopstock's tragedy, *Salomo* (1764), and Johann Jacob Bodmer's religious drama, *Die Thorheiten des weisen Koenigs* (Zurich, 1776).

The subject proved even more attractive to some of the major writers of the 19th century, who often displayed greater ingenuity in their use of the legendary material made accessible by modern scholarship; and Jews were prominent for the first time among these authors. Lippmann Moses Bueschenthal's five-act German tragedy, *Der Siegelring des Salomo* (Berlin, 1820), was followed by Kornel Ujejski's Polish biblical poem, *Pieśni Salomona* (1846) and Heinrich *Heine's romantic poem, "Salomo" (in *Romanzero*, 1851). Among works on the theme published in the second half of the century were "Azrael," the Spanish Jew's first tale in the third part of Henry Wadsworth Longfellow's *Tales of a Wayside Inn* (1872), on the Angel of Death's encounter with Solomon; Victor Hugo's grandiose poem "Salomon" (in *La légende des siècles*, 1877); the U.S. poet John Greenleaf Whittier's "King Solomon and the Arts" (1877); Robert *Browning's poem, "Solomon and Balkis" (1883); Paul *Heyse's five-act drama, *Die Weisheit Salomos* (1887); and Károly Szász's Hungarian biblical play, *Bölcs Salomon* (1889). Others who turned to the subject included the Portuguese dramatist Eugénio de Castro e Almeida (*Belkiss, Rainha de Sabá, d'Axum e do Hymiar*, 1894), the English poet Arthur Symons (*The Lover of the Queen of Sheba*, 1899), and the Czech poet Julius *Zeyer. Among 20th-century authors the theme has, if anything, enjoyed even greater popularity. Works which it has inspired include the U.S. poet Vachel Lindsay's "King Solomon and the Queen of Sheba" (in *The Chinese Nightingale and Other Poems*, 1917); Alfons Paquet's German drama, *Markolph; oder Koenig Salomo und der Bauer* (1924); the Irish poet W.B. Yeats' "Solomon and the Witch" (1924); and "Solomon's Parents" (in *Poems of Thirty Years*, 1925) by the English writer Gordon Bottomley.

Some of the outstanding modern interpretations of the story have been written by Jews. The Danish poet Oscar Ivar *Levertin's works on Jewish themes include *Kung Salomo och Morolf* (1905). Three other important works were Edmond *Fleg's biography, *Salomon* (1929); Ḥayyim Naḥman *Bialik's *Va-Yehi ha-Yom*… (English version by Herbert Danby, *And It Came to Pass*… 1938), a collection of legends; and Sammy *Gronemann's biblical comedy, *Der Weise und der Narr; Koenig Salomo und der Schuster* ("The King and the Cobbler," 1942), Nathan *Alterman's Hebrew version of which (1942) was staged in Israel both as a play and as a successful and pioneering Hebrew musical comedy. Gronemann also wrote a comedy entitled *Die Koenigin von Saba* (1951). Three treatments in Yiddish are Abba Isaac Buch's *Ashmedai*… (1911), a drama about Solomon and Jeroboam; Saul Saphire's historical novel, *Shlomo Hamelekh* (1931); and Jerakhme'el Steigman's *Mayse-hlekh vegn Shlomo Hamelekh* (1931), tales for children.

IN ART. In art, too, Solomon is a major biblical theme. Scenes from his life are often found in Byzantine manuscripts, and his figure is sculpted on medieval cathedrals and appears in stained glass; several scenes are also portrayed in the Raphael Loggie in the Vatican. Solomon is also an important figure in art of the Islamic world. The main scenes treated are the anointing and coronation of Solomon, the judgment of Solomon, the construction of the Temple, the visit of the Queen of Sheba, and Solomon worshiping idols. The anointing and crowning of Solomon (I Kings 1:39 and Song of Songs 3:11) appear in medieval sculpture, stained glass, and in manuscripts – notably the ninth-century Bibles of Charles the Fat and St. Paul-Without-the-Walls and the 15th-century *Hours of Turin* by Hubert and Jan Van Eyck (now destroyed). Bath-Sheba sitting at the right hand of Solomon (I Kings 2:19) was regarded as a type of the coronation of the virgin. This interpretation is explicit in the sumptuous *Tapestry of the Three Coronations* in Sens Cathedral, France. The judgment of Solomon (I Kings 3:16–28) has generally been popular with artists. It appears in several French and German Hebrew manuscripts, such as the 13th-century *British Museum Miscellany* and *Bibliothèque Nationale Pentateuch*, the Second *Nuremberg Haggadah*, and the *Tripartite Maḥzor* from the Kauffman Collection, Budapest. In the Middle Ages the judgment of Solomon was regarded as an example of justice and was often depicted in lawcourts. There is a 15th-century sculpture of the subject at the Palace of the Doges, Venice. Among Renaissance treatments are a drawing of the school of Mantegna (Louvre) and a painting by Giorgione (private collection, England). The subject was also popular in the 17th century, particularly with the French school. There are paintings by Rubens (Copenhagen State Museum), Jacob Jordaens (Prado, Madrid), and Nicolas Poussin (Louvre). In the 18th century it was included by Tiepolo in his ceiling for the Archbishop's palace, Udine. Solomon constructing the Temple (I Kings 6:1ff. and 2 Chron. 3:1ff.) is a subject found in 15th-century French manuscripts, notably the *Jewish Antiquities* of Josephus in the Bibliothèque Nationale illustrated by Jean Fouquet. As the real appearance of the Temple was unknown, Fouquet visualized it as a French Gothic cathedral of his own time, and other artists such as Giotto and Taddeo Gaddi imagined it in the form of the Dome of the Rock, i.e., as a circular or octagonal building surmounted by a cupola.

King Solomon and the Queen of Sheba was not a common subject until the 12th century. From that time onward, however, they often appeared as a pair. The two episodes treated in medieval art are the meeting of Solomon and Sheba (I Kings 10:1ff. and 2 Chron. 9:1ff.) and Sheba enthroned beside the king. In Christian iconography Solomon was the type of Jesus and Sheba represented the gentile Church; hence Sheba's meeting with Solomon bearing rich gifts foreshadowed the adoration of the Magi. On the other hand, Sheba enthroned represented the coronation of the virgin. Sculptures of the Queen of Sheba are found on great Gothic cathedrals such as Chartres, Rheims, Amiens, and Wells, and the reception of the queen was a popular subject during the Italian Renaissance, as it appealed to the contemporary taste for pageantry and display. It appears in the famous bronze doors to the Florence Baptistery by Lorenzo Ghiberti, in frescoes by Benozzo Gozzoli (Campo Santo, Pisa) and in the Raphael Loggie (Vatican). The Venetians predictably exploited the decorative possibilities of the subject. There are examples by Tintoretto (Prado) and Veronese (Pinacotheca, Turin). In the 17th century, Claude Lorrain (1600–1682) painted one of his peaceful landscapes of harbors at sunset, representing the queen embarking on her journey to Solomon (National Gallery, London). Depictions of the idolatry of Solomon (I Kings 11:4ff.) are found in medieval art, where the elderly monarch is shown kneeling before an idol to which a woman is pointing. This was also quite a common subject in the 16th and 17th centuries.

IN MUSIC. Two early musical works are Josquin de Pré's motet, *Stetit autem Salomon* (1538), and a curiosity – a canon for 96 voices by Pietro Valentini called *Nodus Salomonis* ("Solomon's Knot"), first published in 1631 and republished and analyzed in 1650 by Athanasius Kircher in his *Musurgia Universalis*; the entire canon is nothing but a kind of "change ringing" on the G major chord. Early oratorios on the theme include Carissimi's *Judicium Salomonis* (1669) and F.T. Richter's *L'incoronazione di Salomone* (Vienna, 1696). The subject is taken up by northern composers: G.C. Schuermann's "spiritual opera," *Salomon* (Brunswick, 1701), J.G. Keiser's opera, *Salomon* (Hemburg, 1703), and M.A. Charpentier's oratorio, *Judicium Salomonis* (Paris, 1702). Porsile's *L'esaltazione di Salomone* (Barcelona, 1711) is held to be the first oratorio performed in Spain (in honor of the emperor Charles III). *Zadok the Priest* (the description of Solomon's coronation) is the first of a set of four coronation anthems composed by Handel for George III (1727) and is still sung at every British coronation. Handel's oratorio, *Solomon*, was first performed at Covent Garden on March 17, 1749; the "Entry of the Queen of Sheba" from this work is often performed as a concert piece, and the oratorio was reedited by *Mendelssohn with cuts and the addition of an organ part. Solomon's judgment again appears as an oratorio subject in I. Holzbauer's *Il Giudizio di Salomone* (Mannheim, 1766), and in a Polish work, *Sad Salomona*, by Chopin's teacher Elsner (tragedy with dances and incidental music; Warsaw, 1806). The 19th century gave new prominence to the Queen of Sheba. Gounod's four-act opera, *La Reihe de Saba* (text by M. Carré and J. Barbier, after Gérard de Nerval), had its premiere at the Paris Opera in 1862; but a more lasting success was gained by Karl *Goldmark's *Die Koenigin von Saba* (text by S.H. *Mosenthal, première in Vienna, 1875). Some of the melodic material is supposed to have been based on synagogal motifs. Ernest *Bloch's *Schelomo, Rhapsodie Hébraïque*, for cello and orchestra, was inspired by a figurine of Solomon sculpted by the wife of the cellist Alexander Barjanski. Bloch's work was composed in 1915 and first performed in 1917 with Barjanski as soloist and the composer conducting. Later works on the subject are Reynaldo *Hahn's *La Reine de Scheba* (1926; text by Edmond *Fleg); *Belkis, Regina di Saba*, a ballet by O. Respighi (1932); and Randall Thompson's *Solomon and Balkis*, an opera in one act, based on Kipling's *The Butterfly that Stamped* (1942). The music for Sammy Gronemann's *Shelomo ha-Melekh ve-Shalmai ha-Sandelar* was written by Alexander Argov.

Ashmedai, an opera based on the talmudic legend of Satan assuming the appearance of the king by Yosef *Tal (to a libretto by Israel Eliraz), had its première at the Hamburg State Opera in autumn 1971; the score includes electronic effects.

See also: *Song of Songs, in the Arts; *Temple, in the Arts.

[Bathja Bayer]

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SOLOMON, family of Australian pioneers and statesmen. EMMANUEL SOLOMON (1800–1873) was born in London and transported to Sydney as a convict in 1818 for housebreaking. After being pardoned, he went into business as a merchant in Sydney with his brother and settled in Adelaide, the capital of South Australia, in 1838, two years after it was founded. He was a general merchant and auctioneer and in 1840 opened the city's first theater. Well known for his philanthropic gifts, Solomon helped finance the building of large apartment blocks for the colonists to replace the primitive homes of the early settlers. He served in the South Australian parliament in 1862–65 and 1867–71.

His nephew, JUDAH MOSS SOLOMON (1818–1880), who was born in London and arrived in Sydney in 1831, became Emmanuel Solomon's partner in business in Adelaide. Judah Moss Solomon played an active part in municipal affairs. He was elected to the town council in 1852 and in 1869–71 served as mayor. From 1858 to 1874 he represented Adelaide in the South Australian Parliament and played an important part in introducing a public health act. When a small Jewish community was established in 1848, Judah Moss Solomon was elected first president of the congregation.

Judah Moss Solomon had two sons. The elder, BENJAMIN SOLOMON (1844–1922), was appointed chief censor of Australia on the outbreak of World War I. His brother, VABIAN LOUIS SOLOMON (1853–1908), born in Adelaide, settled in Darwin in the Northern Territory in 1874 and worked as a merchant and shipping agent. He founded the *Northern Territory Times*, the first newspaper in the region, and became mayor of Darwin. Vabian Solomon was prominent in the development of the mining and pearl-fishing industries and on his return to Adelaide became the representative of the Northern Territory in the South Australian Parliament, serving from 1890 to 1901. An expert on financial matters, he was an important political figure in South Australian politics and was premier for a short time in 1899, the first Jew to become premier of an Australian colony or state. Vabian Solomon represented South Australia at the convention which framed the federal Australian constitution. In deference to his religious beliefs, the convention did not meet on Saturdays. He was elected to the first federal Parliament in 1901 and served for two years. In 1905 he was again elected and remained in Parliament until his death. His daughter Esther was the first woman elected to the Adelaide City Council.

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[Isidor Solomon]

SOLOMON, family of English origin which won distinction in St. Helena and South Africa. The founder was NATHANIEL SOLOMON (1735–1800), a merchant with interests in the East India trade, who married Phoebe Mitz (or De Mitz) of Leiden in 1774, when she was 14 years old. She was widowed at 40, had 21 children, and lived to a great age. The eldest son, SAUL SOLOMON (I; 1775–1850), left for India at the age of 20, but, on becoming dangerously ill, was put ashore at St. Helena. On his recovery he started trading with passing ships and in time acquired almost a monopoly in the provisioning of ships and the wholesale trade. His brothers JOSEPH and BENJAMIN joined him and by 1815 he had become a wealthy man, noted for his hospitality. He became sheriff of St. Helena and was appointed consul for the Netherlands and France. He kept in touch with the earliest Cape Town congregation. His brother Benjamin (1786–1877) settled in Cape Town where for many years he was usher of the court. SAUL SOLOMON (II; d. 1892), their nephew, was educated in Cape Town. Apprenticed to a bookseller and printer, he eventually became a partner and finally took over the business with his brothers. They printed the *Government Gazette* and in 1863 became proprietors of the newspaper, *The Cape Argus*, which remained a leading daily and was the start of the largest chain of newspapers in South Africa. On the grant of parliamentary government to the Cape in 1854, Saul Solomon was elected a member of the Assembly. He played a leading part in securing responsible government for the Colony in 1872, but because of a physical infirmity declined office. He was a powerful debater, brilliant in repartee, liberal in outlook, and a spokesman for the African population. Like other of the Solomons who settled at the Cape, he became a Christian and married a Christian, but retained an interest in Jews and Jewry. Of his sons SAUL SOLOMON (III; 1875–1960) became a judge of the Transvaal Supreme Court, and WILLIAM EWART GLADSTONE SOLOMON (1880–1966), a painter, was principal of the Government Art School in Bombay. EDWARD SOLOMON, son of Joseph Solomon and nephew of the first Saul, became a Congregational minister. His three sons were all knighted: SIR EDWARD PHILIP SOLOMON (1845–1914), minister of public works in the Transvaal under General Botha; SIR RICHARD SOLOMON (1850–1913), first high commissioner of the Union of South Africa in London (1910–13); and SIR WILLIAM HENRY SOLOMON (1852–1930), chief justice of the Union (1927–29).

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[Lewis Sowden]

SOLOMON (né **Solomon Cutner**; 1902–1988), British pianist. Solomon was born in London and made his first public appearance at the Queen's Hall at the age of eight. Up to the age of 16 he continued to give concerts, after which he studied in London and Paris. His London reappearance in 1921 marked the beginning of a great career, which included world tours and important American appearances in 1926 and 1939. He was made a Commander of the British Empire in 1946. Solomon, as he always called himself, was considered one of the finest pianists Britain ever produced. After suffering a stroke in 1956, he was forced to retire prematurely from the concert platform.

[Max Loppert]

SOLOMON, BERTHA (1892–1969), South African lawyer and politician. Born in Minsk, Russia, she was taken to South Africa at the age of four to join her father Idel Schwarz, a Zionist pioneer. She was the second South African woman to be admitted to the bar, practicing in Johannesburg. She was elected to the Transvaal provincial council in 1933 and from 1938 to 1958 sat in the Union Parliament as a member of the United Party. A vigorous champion of women's rights, she was prominent in the campaign for votes for women in 1930. Through her persistent efforts she was responsible for the Matrimonial Affairs Act of 1953 which removed some of the disabilities of women resulting from the marriage laws. She was also a leading figure in the National Council of Women and was a founder of the South African Women's Auxiliary Air Force in World War II. Her autobiography, *Time Remembered*, appeared in 1968.

[Louis Hotz]

SOLOMON, ELIAS LOUIS (1879–1956), U.S. Conservative rabbi. Solomon was born in Vilna, Lithuania, and after childhood sojourns in England, Cyprus, and Palestine, he immigrated with his family to the United States in 1888. He earned a B.A. from the City College of New York in 1900 and was ordained in 1904 at the *Jewish Theological Seminary, where he earned a D.H.L. in 1910. After heading the Barnett Memorial Hebrew School in Paterson, New Jersey, he served as rabbi of Congregation Beth Mordechai in Perth Amboy, New Jersey (1905–07); Kehillath Israel in the Bronx, New York (1907–18); and associate rabbi of Kehillath Jeshurun in Manhattan, New York (1918–21), before becoming rabbi of Congregation Sha'arei Zedek on New York City's West Side, where he remained until his death.

Solomon was an early leader of Conservative Judaism. His first role was as president of the Alumni Association of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America (1914–16), the forerunner to the *Rabbinical Assembly. In 1913, together with Solomon *Schechter, he helped found the United Synagogue of America, serving as one of the organization's first presidents (1918–24). During his tenure in office, the United Synagogue's Women's League and Young People's League were established, the *United Synagogue Recorder* was launched, and plans were made to build the Yeshurun Synagogue in Jerusalem. Solomon remained the organization's honorary lifetime president, stepping in to serve briefly as its acting executive vice president following Samuel *Cohen's retirement. In 1926, he helped form another umbrella organization for congregations, the Synagogue Council of America, for which he also served as president from 1930 to 1932.

Solomon brought his leadership skills to a wide variety of regional and national Jewish organizations, serving as president of the New York Board of Rabbis (1929–30), chairman of the America Pro-Falasha Committee, honorary president of the American Biblical Encyclopedia, and treasurer of the Jewish Braille Society of America. He was also active in the Hebrew Free Loan Society and the National Council of Christians and Jews. During World War II, he was appointed by President Harry S. Truman to serve on the Selective Service Panel and received a presidential citation.

[Bezalel Gordon, (2nd ed.)]

SOLOMON, EZEKIEL (d. 1806), Michigan's first-known Jewish settler. Born in Berlin, Germany, Solomon was among the first Jewish merchants to go to Montreal, Canada, at the time of the British occupation. Solomon was a partner with Chapman Abraham, Gershon Levy, Benjamin Lyon, and Levi Solomons, who were originally army purveyors and who later figured prominently as pioneer fur traders in Michigan. In 1761 Solomon went to Fort Michilimackinac, today's Mackinaw City in Michigan. He was captured by the Indians during their 1763 massacre, but gained his freedom by being ransomed. He was a partner of the Mackinaw Company enterprise, which was organized in 1779 by some 30 traders and companies and which is believed to be the first example of a department store operation in the United States. He was also one of the organizers, in 1784, of Michigan's first Board of Trade. Although married to a Christian, Solomon remained a

Jew and was an officer and active member of Montreal's Congregation Shearith Israel.

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[Irving I. Katz]

SOLOMON, HANNAH GREENEBAUM (1858–1942), founder and first president of the National Council of Jewish Women (NCJW). The fourth of ten children born to Sarah Spiegel and Michael Greenebaum, a successful Chicago merchant, she married Henry Solomon in 1879 and the couple had three children. Solomon brought leadership and ideological vision to the NCJW, helping it become the premier Jewish women's organization in late 19th and early 20th century America. Representative of a generation of middle-class Jewish women who paved the way for giving women a voice in the public affairs of the Jewish community, Solomon made a career out of voluntarism and social reform. A member of Chicago's most prominent Reform synagogue, Temple Sinai, Solomon had a strong commitment to Jewish life and the larger community; she and her sister, Henrietta Frank, became the first Jewish members of the prestigious Chicago Women's Club in 1876. Already well known, Solomon emerged as an obvious choice to chair the Jewish Women's Congress that convened when Chicago hosted the 1893 World's Fair. At the conclusion of the four-day Congress, delegates founded the National Council of Jewish Women and unanimously elected Hannah Solomon as president.

In the NCJW's early years, Solomon and other leaders often confounded expectations about proper gendered behavior. As Council president, Solomon was the first woman to speak from several synagogue pulpits throughout the country. Through her presidency of the NCJW and directorship of the Bureau of Personal Service, an agency that served Jewish immigrants in Chicago's seventh ward, Solomon established herself as one of the premier community leaders of Chicago. She served for years as the only woman on the Executive Board of the Associated Jewish Charities. Under her leadership, the Chicago NCJW chapter created a Sabbath School for girls in order to inculcate Jewish values and provide young women with educational opportunities. Solomon's support for an initiative within Reform Jewry to move the Saturday Sabbath to Sunday as a means of conforming with American standards and encouraging greater Sabbath observance within the Jewish community created dissension within the NCJW and motivated an attempt to remove her as president. During the contentious debate, Solomon issued her often quoted statement, "I do consecrate the Sabbath. I consecrate every day in the week." Solomon and her allies managed to keep the opposition from ousting her as president and steered the NCJW toward a pluralistic position that supported Sabbath observance without taking an official position on the Sunday Sabbath issue. However, Solomon's stance on Sabbath observance remained a source of divisiveness through her years as president, which concluded in 1905. She wrote the autobiographical *Fabric of My Life* (published posthumously in 1946) and *A Sheaf of Leaves* (1911), a privately printed collection of essays, speeches, and other writings.

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[Beth S. Wenger (2nd ed.)]

SOLOMON, HAROLD ("**Solly**"; 1952–) U.S. tennis player. Growing up in Silver Spring, Maryland, Solomon proved his tennis abilities early, being ranked the No. 2 youth player in America at 14 before winning the US National Clay Court Championship for 18-year-olds. Solomon attended Rice University and was twice an All-American, establishing himself as a patient and accurate volleyer. Solomon's patented shot, the "moonball" – a deep, high, top-spin lob – kept his opponents from attacking the net, and forced them to maintain their concentration during long rallies, Solomon's forte. As a member of the Association of Tennis Professionals (ATP), Solomon enjoyed a successful 16-year career, won 64 percent of his 879 singles matches, and was selected to four American Davis Cup teams, including two championship teams in 1972 and 1978. From 1975 to 1980, Solomon was one of the top professional tennis players in the world, winning 20 of his 22 singles titles, and being ranked as high as fifth in the 1980 ATP standings before finishing in seventh place. Solomon also finished in the top ten of the ATP in 1976 (8th), 1978 (9th), and 1979 (8th), and maintained a top-20 ranking from 1974 to 1980. Solomon paired with another Jewish player, Eddie Dibbs, to form a doubles team which was referred to affectionately in the press as "The Bagel Twins"; the duo was ranked in the top ten from 1974 to 1976. After retiring in 1986, Solomon went on to become an equally effective coach, helping Mary Joe Fernandez maintain a top-ten ranking from 1994 to 1998, and then managing Jennifer Capriati's celebrated 1999 comeback, when she climbed from 101st to 23rd in the world, while winning her first titles in over six years. Seeking to devote more time to his family, Solomon ended his stretch as a traveling full-time coach in November 2000, serving instead as an adviser to players on the women's circuit. In January 2006 Solomon opened the Harold Solomon International Tennis Academy in Ft. Lauderdale, Florida, to develop young, promising tennis players, with special emphasis on sportsmanship and character building. Apart from his tennis work, Solomon and his wife, Jan, have been active in organizations addressing the problem of world hunger.

[Robert B. Klein (2nd ed.)]

SOLOMON, ODES OF, a collection of early Christian poems of the first century C.E. which might have some bearing on Jewish sectarian literature. The poems were discovered by

J. Rendel Harris, who published them (1909) and gave them the name Odes of Solomon to distinguish them from the better-known *Psalms of Solomon contained in the same manuscript. The Odes were known to some of the Church Fathers: the combination of Odes and Psalms of Solomon was probably quite common in the early Church, but there is no claim to authorship by Solomon in the text. The extant version is a Syriac translation from the Greek. A Hebrew or Aramaic original is possible, but difficult to prove. Of the 41 Odes, 15 are unmistakably, even sharply, Christian, 11 probably Christian, and 14 not necessarily so; none contains positively Jewish material. They can, however, be classed with the *Hodayot* (Qumran *Thanksgiving Psalms) in a loose literary genre, by the common features of a highly poetic record of deeply personal religious experience, centered on the themes of election and salvation, a poetic structure of loose *parallelismus membrorum*, and some figures of style and some unusual metaphors (the firm foundation, the trees planted by God, the lifting to the heights). On the strength of these common metaphors, it has been suggested that some Odes are of Jewish sectarian origin, but this is not likely. However, the doctrinal type of the Christianity expressed by the Odes is not easy to classify (there are some affinities to gnosticism); it is certainly early and, therefore, the possibility that the Odes represent some group of Christians which was influenced by the Dead Sea sect (or some similar Jewish sect) cannot be denied. Even so, the influence of the Dead Sea sect is less pronounced than in other Christian writings. Fragments of the Greek version were published in M. Testuz, *Papyrus Bodmer X–XII* (1959).

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[Jacob Licht]

SOLOMON, PSALMS OF, a collection of 18 pseudepigraphical psalms, extant in Greek and Syriac, but seemingly written in Hebrew. The ascription to Solomon, which stems from the Greek version, has no historical basis, and indeed the psalms themselves make no reference to Solomon. The psalms deal with a number of diverse subjects which include a personal poem, a lament on the nation's troubles, and a hymn of messianic hope, while others deal with social, religious, and political themes.

Psalm 1 speaks of an unexpected war that came to a prosperous nation because of its sins. Psalm 2 relates an attack by gentiles on Jerusalem and the Temple. Although this evil befell the Jews because of their shameful practices, the wicked one who attacked them would receive his deserts. In Psalm 3 the poet discusses the fate of the wicked, who, unlike the righteous, will forfeit the world to come. Psalm 4 attacks the godless who associate with the righteous, censures their transgressions, and looks forward to their destruction by God. (Attempts have been made to equate this with historical situations, but suggestions made so far are without any firm basis.) Psalms 5, 6, and 7 describe God's greatness and His help for the righteous, and entreat Him to help His people. Psalm 8 again describes the tumult of war in sinful Jerusalem and the treatment the city receives at the hands of the conqueror. Psalm 9 again asks God to defend His people. Psalm 10 praises God who rebukes and chastises but who has pity upon the righteous. Psalm 11 contains a vision of the redemption and of the return of the Jewish exiles to Jerusalem. Psalms 12, 13, and 14 praise the righteous and their deliverance, while censuring the wicked and describing their punishment. Psalm 15 presents a description of the crimes of the wicked and of their punishment on the Day of Judgment. In Psalm 16, the poet begs God to keep him from sin, and to show him kindness and deliver him. In Psalm 17 the poet awaits God's judgment and the restoration of the promised kingdom of David, which had been usurped by sinners. However, these are punished by a foreigner (apparently Pompey, see below) who inflicts evils upon Jerusalem, after which, at the end of days, God's salvation will be shown. Psalm 18, the last one, is also filled with messianic hope.

The historical meaning and value of the psalms depends upon the determination of the date of composition. The generally accepted view is that they were compiled about the middle of the first century B.C.E., the political allusions in them reflecting the conquest of Judea by Pompey (63 B.C.E.) and the events connected with it. These can be explained in the light of certain contemporary events, like the verses in Psalm 17 that speak of the promise of the kingdom of David, of its plunder by sinners (the *Hasmoneans), and their punishment by a foreigner (Pompey) who exiled them to the West (Italy). The first verses of the second psalm, which depict a wicked man who broke into Jerusalem and defiled the Temple, refer to a similar situation. Most commentators think that verses 25–29 allude to the fate of Pompey who was murdered in 48 B.C.E. when he went to Egypt after being defeated by Julius Caesar. This interpretation attaches great significance to the criticism of the sins of the Hasmoneans which stigmatizes them as having stolen the kingdom from the dynasty of David. This leads many scholars to believe that the author of the psalms was a *Pharisee, although one must remember that hostility to the Hasmoneans was not restricted to the Pharisees.

There is also considerable historical importance in the eschatological spirit prevalent in the psalms, and in the description of the pious, the righteous, and the God-fearing, who are possibly a collective group that included the author himself. The chief eschatological teaching of the book is found in Psalms 17–18, which give an extensive description of the hoped-for Messiah of the House of David. This section was greatly influenced by Isaiah, chapter 11. The author also preached the doctrine of resurrection (16:12; 15:13). J. Ephron attempted to reject this interpretation completely and postulated that the psalms are Christian. The psalms became known only at the beginning of the 17th century, when the Greek text was published by J.L. de la Cerda from a manuscript. Since then, additional Greek manuscripts have been discovered and further editions have appeared. A Syriac translation has also been discovered but it is of limited value since it was made from the Greek text, not from the Hebrew original.

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[Uriel Rappaport]

SOLOMON, SERVANTS OF (Heb. עַבְדֵי שְׁלֹמֹה). The "Servants of Solomon" are mentioned in I Kings 9:27 (cf. II Chron. 8:18) in an annalistic section (l Kings 9:15–28) that records the grandiose projects undertaken by King Solomon. These included construction within the country and commercial enterprises on an international scale, undertaken in conjunction with Solomon's Phoenician ally, Hiram of Tyre. Solomon's work force, organized to implement his projects, consisted of two major components: corvée labor – large numbers of workers conscripted mainly from the non-Israelite population; and an official, managerial class of army commanders, and some skilled technicians, mostly Israelites. Many scholars assign the "Servants of Solomon" to the non-Israelite corvée, and classify them as royal slaves, hence their name. Supporters of this view cite a later source, the list of returning exiles in the days of Zerubbabel (Ezra 2:2ff.), where "the Sons of the Servants of Solomon" are listed together with the *Nethinim, usually assumed to be Temple slaves (*ibid.* 2:43–58). The slave status of both the Nethinim and the "Servants of Solomon" is to be questioned, however. It is probable that the "Servants of Solomon" were the official class (I Kings 9:27), and not part of the corvée (*ibid.* 9:20–21). They are, after all, mentioned in connection with the trade in gold, brought from *Ophir (location uncertain). Together with Phoenician sea captains provided by Hiram, they set forth on large sailing ships from the port of Elath (Ezion-Geber). The Hebrew term for "slave, servant," *eved*, can also mean "courtier, royal official" (Ex. 8:20; Esth. 3:2).

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[Baruch A. Levine]

SOLOMON, SIMEON (1840–1905), British artist. Born in London, he was the son of Michael Solomon, a prosperous hat importer and the second Jew to be made a freeman of the city of London. The young Simeon was encouraged by his brother, Abraham Solomon (1823–1862), a highly gifted but conventional genre artist, who died the very day he was elected an associate of the Royal Academy, and by his sister, Rebecca Solomon (1832–1886), also a Pre-Raphaelite artist whose work was widely exhibited in her lifetime; she had a stabilizing effect on Simeon during the latter's childhood. Simeon, a child prodigy, entered the Royal Academy before he was 15 and exhibited at 18, the youngest artist ever to have been shown there. He created a stir with a picture of the infant Moses set adrift on the Nile and another entitled "Habet," inspired by a contemporary novel, *The Gladiators*. At one Royal Academy exhibition, works by all three Solomons were on show. Simeon Solomon was influenced by the aesthetics of the pre-Raphaelites, Millais and Burne-Jones, with both of whom he was friendly (Burne-Jones said Solomon was the greatest artist in the pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood) and who had a profound effect on his work, which some critics felt to be unmanly and sentimental. In 1871 Simeon also published a prose poem *A Vision of Love Revealed in Sleep* which expresses the ideals of his later paintings and drawings. His public career ended in 1873 when he was arrested in a public lavatory and jailed for a short term for a homosexual offense. At the age of 44, he was admitted to a workhouse. To pay for liquor and drugs, he went on making drawings which he sold to dealers very cheaply. These drawings betray nothing of the degraded circumstances under which he was living. Forgotten for several decades, Solomon's work was rediscovered in the 1960s. His painting, with its soft and subtle gradations, evokes haunting visions. The half-naked angels, somber rabbis, Greek Orthodox priests, and delicately outlined heads of dreamers fail to give any clue to the artist's strange personality. In recent years his reputation has risen, in part because of his status as an ethnic and sexual outsider in Victorian society.

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[Alfred Werner]

SOLOMON, SOLOMON JOSEPH (1860–1927), English painter. Solomon was born in London where he settled and attained considerable social and professional popularity. When in 1918 he was appointed president of the Royal Society of British Artists, he wrote to a Jewish friend: "I feel I ought to accept the presidency of the RBA, because I am a Jew." During World War I, Solomon developed an interest in camouflage and as a result was made lieutenant colonel (1916) and was sent to France on a special mission. On his return he established a camouflage training school. He wrote *Strategic Camouflage* (1920). He was active in Jewish social life, was a founder and the first president of the Maccabean Society (1891), and was an active supporter of the Ben Uri Art Society.

Solomon painted portraits of many eminent people, including Queen Victoria, Israel *Zangwill (1894), Heinrich *Graetz (1887), and Solomon *Schechter (1902). In his fashionable paintings of Edwardian society, he revived the grand manner of the great English portrait painters, employing in addition certain Impressionist devices. He established his reputation with a series of Old Testament subjects with backgrounds inspired by his visit to the Middle East. He painted decorative panels for the Royal Exchange and the House of Lords and mythological and allegorical scenes in the taste of the period. *Allegory* (1904) has been interpreted as representing the ultimate triumph of Judaism as the world religion. He wrote one theoretical work, *The Practice of Oil Painting* (1910).

Solomon's sister, LILY DELISSA JOSEPH (1863–1940), pioneer cyclist, motorist, and airplane pilot, was also a painter.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: O.S. Phillips, *Solomon J. Solomon* (Eng., 1933); DNB, 795–6 (incl. bibl.); Naményi, in: Roth Art, 586–7; M. Buber (ed.), *Juedische Kuenstler* (1903), 141–53.

SOLOMON, TESTAMENT OF, pseudepigraphic work written in Greek, of uncertain date. King Solomon, the narrator, states that during the construction of the Temple his overseer was plagued by the demon Ornias. In answer to the king's prayers, the angel Michael appeared and gave Solomon a ring with which he exorcized the demon. He then summoned up one spirit after another, both male and female, subdued each, and compelled them to assist in the building of the Temple. The queen of the south visited him and marveled. Aderes, king of the Arabs, turned to him when his people were plagued by a demon, and Solomon sent a servant with the ring to subdue and remove it. Solomon then relates his transgressions – how he took many wives; how he sacrificed five locusts to *Moloch in order to obtain the hand of the Jebusite girl; how she persuaded him to build temples to Baal and other gods – which caused him to lose his supernatural powers. In his encounters with the demons Solomon asks each his name, his powers, the angel to whom he is subject, and the means by which he is subdued. The stress on a knowledge of the name and particulars of a demon is common in the demonology of many cultures and is especially pertinent to exorcism. Some of the demons, such as Abezethibod (אב עצות אובד, *Av Eẓot Oved?*), the demon of the Red Sea, Asmodeus, and Beelzebub (Beelzebul; a Greek variant of Beelzebub) are of Oriental origin. Most bear Greek names. Of these, some are concretized evil traits such as are found in classical myths (e.g., Phtonos, jealousy; Eris, strife). Others show affinities to figures of Greco-Roman myth and cult: Obizouth with her dragon-like hair is a Medusa type; Cynopaston, a sea demon, is reminiscent of Poseidon; Onoscelis seems to be the empousa; the dog-shaped Rhabdos and the three-headed serpent are similar to creatures such as Cerberus, the dog of Hades, and the multiheaded Hydra.

Parallel material on Solomon's encounters with demons in Josephus (Ant., 8:45ff.) and midrashic sources (e.g., Git. 68) shows that the Testament contains elements which are considered Jewish; mention of the crucifixion and like references point to Christian elements. Such a syncretistic blend of Jewish, Christian, Oriental, and Hellenic motifs is typical of the demonological and magical literature and papyri emanating from Egypt in the first centuries of the common era. Scholars suggest between c. 100 C.E. and c. 300 C.E. as possible dates of composition. Editions of the Testament of Solomon were published in *Patrologia Graeca* (122 (1899), 1315–58), and by C.C. Mc-Cown (ed.), *The Testament of Solomon* (1922).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: F.C. Conybeare, in: JQR, 11 (1898/99), 1–45; JE, 11 (1907), 448f.; Ginzberg, Legends, 4 (1913), 150–4; 6 (1928), 292f.

[Jacob Petroff]

SOLOMON, WISDOM OF (Gr. Σοφία Σαλωμῶνος (or Σ. Σαλωμῶντος) or, ή Σοφία; ή πανάρετος Σοφία, "the wisdom of all the good precepts" – a title sometimes given also to Proverbs and Ben Sira), an apocryphal work. The ascription of the book to Solomon is mentioned explicitly in chapters 7–9 (particularly in 9:7), but such early writers as Jerome (*Praefatio in libros Solomonis*), and Augustine (*De Civitate Dei*, 17:20), already were skeptical about this ascription, and attributed the work to Philo despite the fact that its viewpoint differs from his.

The book can be divided into three parts. Chapters 1–5 deal with eschatology, 6–11 deal with wisdom, and 11–19 are a Midrash on the Exodus from Egypt with a Hellenistic presentation. The first part discusses the fate of the righteous and the wicked. The wicked man regards all acts as accidents, and is thus not deterred from doing whatever he wishes; he is unaware that in the end man's life will be judged by his good deeds. Although the wicked man appears to prosper, eternal life and happiness is reserved for the righteous. Thus the righteous man, though he appears not to prosper, is the truly wise man. By its very nature wisdom is unlikely to enter the soul of the wicked (1:4).

The second part describes wisdom as a metaphysical reality, as "a breath of the power of God" (7:25). It exists forever and through its power all knowledge and every virtue is created. It determines the history of Israel. Without expressly mentioning their names, the author exemplifies wisdom's role in the life of biblical "heroes" (Cain, Noah, the men of Sodom, Jacob, and Joseph) and in important events (the Exodus from Egypt and the crossing of the Red Sea).

In the third part the author deals at length with the plagues in Egypt and the redemption. The miracle is regarded not as a change in nature but as a change in the principles that constitute nature, and whether as reward or as punishment always takes the form of measure for measure (e.g., the waters of the Nile were changed to blood because the Egyptians first sinned with water when they cast the Hebrew children into the Nile; on the other hand, the Israelites were rewarded by receiving water from the rock). Punishment itself comes after all possibilities have been exhausted, since it is God's nature to wait for the repentance of the wicked. While discussing Pharaoh's rebelliousness the author incidentally discusses the origin of idolatry in general. It lies in man's bad habit of not seeking for the first cause, and in the fashioning of images which were indeed first created for a specific occasion (e.g., a father mourning for his only son erected an image of him), but then spread through the desire to flatter tyrants and their ambition to exalt themselves. Through idolatry man also found a way of realizing his desires by assigning a different god to each of his vices.

The purpose of the book is to strengthen the Jewish believer against the seduction of idolatry. The problem of the sufferings of the righteous, already discussed in the Bible, is dealt with here against the background of Hellenistic thought. The punishment of the righteous serves the purpose of "testing" or "educating," but his reward is granted in the world to come. God is the God of the living and He intended man to be immortal. However, Satan's jealousy brought death into the world (2:23f.) but only the men of vanity experience it (2:24). The punishment of the righteous is fleeting but his hope everlasting (4:3), while "the memory of the wicked shall perish on the day of reckoning" of their iniquities, i.e., on the eschatological Day of Judgment. Like Proverbs and Ben Sira this work compares wisdom to a creative principal through which God acts in the world (18:15). Idolatry, which is the opposite of wisdom, is regarded as fetishism. The author scorns in particular the worship of "contemptible" beasts (cats, snakes, monkeys), a cult common in Egypt.

Many influences have entered into the book. Besides that of the Bible, the book's view is similar to the view of the sages that evil does not come from the Lord (1:13 – Sifra Be-Ḥukkotai, ch. 4:1); that the soul preexisted (8:20 – Ḥag. 12b): that there is a heavenly temple (9:18 – Gen. R. 1:4); that everything is judged measure for measure (Sot. 1:7); and that the soul is a trust (Yalk Pr. 935). Like the rabbinic *aggadot* it mentions the singing of *Hallel* at the time of the Exodus from Egypt (Pes. 117a). Other views, however, are Platonic and Stoic, e.g., the idea that the world was created from primeval matter (9:9); that the body serves as a hindrance to the influence of God in man (9:15); that there are four virtues (8:7); and that spirit is preexistent. As in Platonism, the wise are the beloved of God, and as in Stoicism the spirit is compared with fire (2:2). The author mentions several other views (that right is might; that man dies but once) only in order to refute them.

As far as the language is concerned, a conscious effort is made to imitate biblical style, including parallelism, but construction of the sentences is Greek and is polished. There is a tendency toward alliteration, paranomasia, and complex words rare even in Greek. Opinions differ as to the composition of the book. Some are of the opinion that the first part was written in Hebrew, others consider the whole book to have been written in Hebrew, while yet others divide it among various authors all of whom wrote in Greek. However, the composition of the Greek words, the use of assonance, the rhythmic construction and the imagery (crowning the head with flowers, the victory processions of athletes, etc.) in all parts of the work alike support the view that it was written in Greek by one person, apparently in Alexandria. The date of composition is uncertain. Since the author opposes the deification of kings, some ascribe it to the era of Caligula. However, the Ptolemaic kings also compared themselves to gods. A 16th-century manuscript was found (now in Hechal Shlomo in Jerusalem) which is a translation of the whole apocryphon, seemingly from the Latin, into a corrupt Hebrew.

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[Yehoshua M. Grintz]

SOLOMON BEN AARON (**Solomon Yedidya**; 1670(?)–1745), prominent Karaite scholar, author, and spiritual leader from Lithuania. Born in Poswol, he moved after 1707 to Troki. He was a teacher of Torah and had many disciples. In 1710 as a result of a plague, which annihilated more than half of the Karaite population of Lithuania, he lost his wife and children and moved to Vilna, which had become the temporary residence of Karaites during the plague and where he served as the head of the Karaite *bet din*. In Vilna he was friendly with Rabbanite Jews, such as Joshua Heschel and Aryeh Leib Shapira, with whom he corresponded. In 1719 he returned to Troki and became head of the community until the end of his life. He knew Latin, Polish, and Rabbanite literature. Solomon corresponded with Karaite worthies and community leaders from Jerusalem, Constantinople, Damascus, and Lithuania-Poland on learned and community subjects. In 1696/7 Solomon was invited by Prof. Puffendorf, rector of Riga University (then under Swedish control), to come there to expound the Karaite doctrines. He was also asked to write a work about the schism between Karaites and Rabbanites. He wrote a book *Apiryon Asah Lo*, which explains in its first part the commandments according to the doctrines of the Karaites and their differences from those of Rabbanites. The second part contains an anti-Rabbanite polemic. Without any critical approach Solomon introduces the traditional apologetic Karaite claim that the split between Rabbanism and Karaism had begun in the period of the Second Temple. The shortened version of this book was first published by A. Neubauer, *Aus der Petersburger Bibliothek*, Leipzig, (1866), 4–29 (later edition: J. Algamil (ed.), 2000). He wrote several works: *Ḥanokh la-Na'ar* and *Rakh va-Tov* (preserved in mss in various libraries) – grammatical treatises; *Leḥem She'arim* (IOS A 3, JNUL mic. 52475) – polemics between Karaites and Rabbanites by way of questions and answers; *Migdal Oz* (IOS A 162; JNUL mic. 52389) – anti-Christian polemics, a kind of guide for those, who are forced to dispute with Christians. He wrote also liturgical poems in Hebrew and the Karaite language, of which some were incorporated in the Karaite *siddur*.

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[Golda Akhiezer (2nd ed.)]

SOLOMON BEN ABRAHAM OF MONTPELLIER (13th century), talmudic scholar, initiator of the Maimonidean controversy that took place in the third decade of the 13th century (see *Maimonidean Controversy and Criticism). While he admired Maimonides as a talmudist and always spoke of him with respect, Solomon opposed his philosophic views, and in his fear that they would lead to heresy, began to campaign against the study of the *Guide of the Perplexed* and *Sefer ha-Madda*, the first book of the *Mishneh Torah*, in which Maimonides set down some of his philosophic views. Together with his two disciples, *David ben Saul and Jonah b. Abraham *Gerondi, Solomon enlisted the support of the rabbis of northern France, who in 1232 pronounced a ban against the study of the philosophical works of Maimonides and the secular sciences. The supporters of Maimonidean philosophy in Provence retaliated by excommunicating Solomon and his two disciples. With the deepening of the controversy Solomon was accused by David *Kimḥi, a supporter of the Maimonists, of informing to the Franciscans and the Dominicans concerning the heretical nature of the *Guide*, thus initiating the burning of the work, which is thought to have taken place in Marseilles around 1232. Modern scholars, however, maintain that it is extremely unlikely that either Solomon himself or his two disciples actually did inform to the non-Jewish authorities, for they continued to be respected within the Jewish community as individuals and scholars, and it is difficult to believe that they would have been had they actually informed on the Maimonists.

Cited by Menahem b. Solomon *Meiri in one of his responsa, Solomon was spoken of favorably by *Naḥmanides, Judah *Alfakar, Meshullam b. Solomon, and Joseph b. Todros ha-Levi *Abulafia. From extant sources such as Abraham b. Moses b. *Maimon's *Milḥamot Adonai*, Solomon emerges not as a simple man nor as an extreme fanatic but as a learned talmudist who was uneducated in the realm of philosophy and did not understand the complexities of Maimonidean philosophy. While it is not clear exactly what he opposed in Maimonides' philosophy, it appears that he objected to Maimonides' allegorical interpretation of talmudic passages that described the afterlife in a material fashion and to his interpretation of many biblical laws. He opposed the view that the activation of the intellect was the prerequisite for attaining immortality, maintaining that the observance of the divine law was more important. He criticized Samuel ibn *Tibbon, the translator of the *Guide*, rather than Maimonides himself, for interpreting all biblical narratives allegorically.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Baer, Spain, index; D.J. Silver, *Maimonidean Criticism and the Maimonidean Controversy* (1965), index; Guttman, Philosophies, 185; Graetz, Hist, 6 (1902), index.

SOLOMON BEN ELIJAH HA-KOHEN (late 11th and early 12th century), founder of an academy in *Damascus in the early 12th century. His father, the *gaon* *Elijah b. Solomon (d. 1083), was head of the Palestinian academy in Tyre. Elijah appointed his elder son, ABIATHAR, as his successor and his second son, SOLOMON, as *av* ("father") of the academy. However, after the dispute which broke out between the members of the academy and *David b. Daniel b. Azariah, who demanded that the Jews of Palestine and *Syria also recognize him, Abiathar was forced to escape to Tripoli in Syria. Solomon also left Tyre. It seems that he remained for some time in one of the villages of Galilee and later settled in *Ḥadrak. There he founded an academy which was considered as a continuation of the Palestinian one. He also assumed the title of *gaon*. A letter that he wrote in 1116, while *gaon* in Ḥadrak, was found in the **Genizah*.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Mann, Egypt, index; Mann, Texts, 1 (1931), 249ff.; S. Assaf (ed.), *Sefer ha-Yishuv*, 2 (1944), 93–94; Braslavi, in: *Eretz Israel*, 5 (1958), 220f.

[Eliyahu Ashtor]

SOLOMON BEN ḤASDAI, exilarch in Babylonia, 733–c. 759, grandson of the *exilarch *Bustanai. Solomon was a scholar and leader. During his period of office he appointed three *geonim* to the academies of *Sura and *Pumbedita; one of these was his brother-in-law, Natronai Kahana of Pumbedita, who was also a member of the Bustanai family. When the academy of Sura lost its leader and a suitable *rosh yeshivah* could not be found, he appointed R. Yehudai b. *Naḥman of Pumbedita as *Gaon* of Sura. His brother David was the father of *Anan, the founder of the *Karaite sect. His son Isaac Iskoi succeeded him as exilarch.

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[Abraham David]

SOLOMON BEN JUDAH (d. 1051), Palestinian *gaon* and academy head in Jerusalem and in Ramleh from 1025 to 1051. It appears that R. Solomon was the son of a family of scholars from Fez. He married into the family of Solomon b. Joseph ha-Kohen, who preceded him in the gaonate. He was the father of three sons and a daughter, including Abraham who held the position of "fourth" in the yeshivah, and Yaḥya who studied under R. Hai Gaon.

At first R. Solomon was *ḥazzan* in Jerusalem, then a member of the academy, then *av bet din*, and finally head of the academy. The members of his *bet din* were Nathan b. Abraham as *av bet din*, Tobiah b. Daniel, and Joseph ha-Kohen and Elijah ha-Kohen of the family which held positions in the Ereẓ Israel gaonate. More of his letters have been preserved than of any other Palestinian *Gaon*, and many were published. His Hebrew had a figurative style, and his particular concluding blessing was "great salvation." He also wrote in Arabic. Most of the letters were sent to Egypt. A document of his *bet din* from 1044/45 – evidence of the receipt of a pledge in Jerusalem and signed by the *gaon* and Elijah ha-Kohen – has been preserved. A letter of recommendation written by him for a Jew of Khurasan, who traveled to Egypt to collect funds, is also extant. He also wrote *piyyutim*, some of which were published. These include a *kerovah* for Ḥanukkah, a section of a *piyyut* for Shavuot, and a poem expressing yearning for the redemption of Jerusalem. A *piyyut* in his honor was written by the *ḥazzan* Eli ha-Kohen b. Ezekiel of Fostat, and Ephraim he-Ḥaver b. Shemariah wrote a *kinah* in his memory.

A peaceful man, his judgments were lenient and inclined toward making concessions. His approach to the Karaites was also tolerant; he attempted to abolish the ban which was issued against them every year on Hoshana Rabba on the Mount of Olives. In spite of the authorities' prohibition, the ban was once issued against the Karaites without his consent. As a result, several scholars were arrested and imprisoned in Damascus. The sufferings he endured at the hands of his adversaries are echoed in his letters. He was accused of having taken for himself a contribution which was sent from Mahdīyya to the yeshivah. His relations with Elhanan b. Shemariah were strained and he was compelled to leave Jerusalem after he was declared guilty of not helping certain prisoners. It is also possible that pressure from the local Karaites brought about his departure from Jerusalem to Ramleh. His principal adversary was Nathan b. Abraham, the disciple of Samuel ("the Third") b. Hoshana, and R. Ḥushi'el of Kairouan. After the death of his uncle Bar Yoḥai, the *av* of the academy, Nathan was appointed, with the support of influential circles in Egypt, as *av* in Ereẓ Israel. While R. Solomon was in Jerusalem and Nathan in Ramleh, Nathan proclaimed himself academy head (*rosh yeshivah*). The *Gaon* then went to Ramleh and issued a ban against him for overstepping his bounds. Both factions engaged in polemics and sent letters of accusation to Egypt. The representatives of the Fatimid government in Jerusalem and Ramleh supported R. Solomon, according to instructions received from Egypt. The dispute continued for three years and in 1043 an agreement was reached between the adversaries. According to this, Nathan was to remain *av* and after the death of the *gaon*, he would assume the position of *rosh yeshivah*. During R. Solomon's time the economic situation in Ereẓ Israel, especially in Jerusalem, was poor; heavy taxes were imposed. In 1024 bedouin of the Jarāḥ tribe attacked the country and plundered Ramleh and the rest of the centers. A plague raged through Jerusalem, and in 1033 the country was struck by an earthquake. The pilgrimage from the Diaspora, on which the incomes of the academy and the Jewish population were to a great extent dependent, declined. In his letters to Egypt, R. Solomon described the distressing situation and appealed for support for maintenance of the Jews. He maintained relations with the communities of Damascus, Aleppo, and Tyre; they requested that he pray for them and give them his blessing, and they contributed to his academy. A letter from distant Spain was brought to him "from the merchants in Seville." The *nagid* Jacob b. Amram of Mahdīyya (near Kairouan) sent a contribution to his academy. The *gaon* also exchanged letters with R. Hai Gaon. Relations with Babylonia deteriorated as a result of the rivalry for the support of Egypt, the wealthiest contributor to the academies in Babylonia and Ereẓ Israel. Egypt was the political and financial pillar of Ereẓ Israel and the majority of the academy's income came from there. In 1026–27 R. Solomon sent a *ḥazzan* named Solomon and his own son Abraham in order to raise funds in Egypt. He also maintained a correspondence with personalities in the inner circles of the royal court and the heads of the Egyptian communities, such as the communal leader Samuel b. Talyon and the "chief of the congregation" Abraham b. Isaac ha-Kohen. Most of his letters were addressed to three personalities: Abraham b. Sahlan and his son Sahlan, leaders of the Babylonian community in Fostat who also supported the Ereẓ Israel academy, and Ephraim b. Shemariah of Gaza, a member of the "Great Sanhedrin" and leader of the Ereẓ Israel community in Fostat. The Jerusalemite community in Egypt was subject to the authority of R. Solomon, who also intervened in its internal affairs.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: A. Epstein, in: REJ, 25 (1892), 272–6; A. Marmorstein, in: JQ R, 8 (1917–18), 1–29; Mann, Egypt, 1–2 (1920–22), index s.v. *Solomon b. Yehudah*; idem, in: HUCA, 3 (1926), 269–76; Mann, Texts, 1–2 (1931–35), index; R. Gottheil and W.H. Warrel, *Fragments from the Cairo Genizah in the Freer Collection* (1927), 196–201; S. Assaf, in: *Zion*, 2 (1927), 115–6; idem, in: *Mi-Sifrut ha-Geonim* (1933), 208–9; idem and L.A. Mayer, *Sefer ha-Yishuv*, 2 (1944), index; Marx, in PAAJR, 16 (1946–47), 195 f.; M. Zulay, in: *Sinai*, 25 (1949), 41 f.; A. Scheiber, in: *Tarbiz*, 22 (1951), 171–3; B. Shapira, in: *Yerushalayim*, 4 (1953), 118 ff.; H.Z. Hirschberg, in: *Eretz Israel*, 5 (1958), 216–7; A.M. Habermann, in: *Sinai*, 53 (1963), 183–92.

[Eliezer Bashan (Sternberg)]

SOLOMON BEN JUDAH HA-BAVLI (mid-tenth century), Hebrew poet. One of the first Hebrew hymnologists in Europe. He appears to have lived in northern Italy though his family was of Oriental origin. Little is known of him apart from some semilegendary allusions to him as an esteemed *paytan*, and as one of those who conveyed the Oriental "Secrets of Prayer" from Italy to Germany. The limited literary remains now extant consist of a few hymns for the Sabbath and festivals, as well as about 25 *seliḥot*. His best-known production is a *yoẓer* for Passover, *Or Yesha Me'usharim*, the pattern of which is taken from one of Eleazar Kallir's works, and later served as a model for many other Italian and German hymnologists, such as his pupil *Meshullam b. Kalonymus. His **Avodah* for the Day of Atonement, *Adderet Tilboshet*, is one of the most puzzling of its kind. The *seliḥot* of Solomon are often referred to as *shalmoniyyot*, a term possibly derived from his name. His poetry is remarkable for its rich, polished rhyme; only his *Avodah* is unrhymed. His style is heavy and murky and his works often raise difficult problems of commentary which the early sages, including Rashi, tried to solve. His *piyyutim* had a great influence on the works of the first Italian and Ashkenazi *paytanim* who took him as a model. In 1865 L. Zunz prepared a list of Solomon ha-Bavli's poems. E. Fleischer published the first critical edition of his poems, with introduction and commentary, in 1973.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Zunz, Poesie, 100–4; 232–5; Elbogen, Gottesdienst, 325 f.; Davidson, Oẓar, 4 (1933), 470, s.v. *Shelomo ha-Bavli*; Roth, Dark Ages, 259–62. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** E. Fleischer, *The Poems of Shelomoh ha-Bavli* (Hebrew; 1973); idem, *The Yoẓer* (Hebrew; 1984), 647–53, passim.

[Ezra Fleischer]

SOLOMON BEN JUDAH "OF DREUX" (or Rouen; 12th–13th centuries), French scholar and tosafist. Solomon was one of the eminent pupils of *Isaac b. Samuel of Dampierre. He was regarded as one of the leaders of French Jewry in his time, and was one of the seven French scholars to whom Meir *Abulafia addressed his letter of complaint against the Provençal scholars because of their attitude to Maimonides' view of the resurrection. He is called Solomon ha-Kadosh ("the saintly"), and sometimes simply "Ha-Kadosh," apparently because of his piety and asceticism. Both contemporary and later scholars relied on his customs. Solomon is mentioned in the standard *tosafot* to a number of tractates, in those of a pupil of Rabbenu Perez to *Bava Kama* and *Bava Meẓia*, and to a considerable extent in the works of the tosafists of England, which have been discovered during recent years. There is also mention of *tosafot* by Solomon himself which are no longer extant. He also apparently engaged in biblical exegesis since, in addition to quotations from him occurring in the collections of the commentaries of the tosafists to the Pentateuch, he is known to have been the teacher of Meir of Etoile, who engaged exclusively in biblical exegesis. Another of his pupils was *Samuel b. Solomon of Falaise.

Findings of the 1970s on indicate that R. Solomon was associated with Rouen and not Dreux.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Gross, Gal Jud, 171–3, 626; Urbach, Tosafot, index.

[Israel Moses Ta-Shma]

SOLOMON BEN JUDAH OF LUNEL (**Solomon Vivas**; 1411–?), Provençal philosopher. At the age of 13, under the direction of his teacher, Solomon ben Menahem (Frat Maimon), Solomon composed a commentary on Judah *Halevi's *Kuzari*, entitled *Ḥeshek Shelomo*, which is extant in manuscript (Bodleian Library, Opp. Add. 114). At times, Solomon quotes his teacher word for word – for example, in the section on the 53rd chapter of Isaiah. While the author claims to have based his commentary on Judah b. Isaac Cardinal's Hebrew translation of the *Kuzari*, it appears that the translation he used was, apart from a few variations, that made by Judah ibn *Tibbon.

The work reflects a considerable knowledge of the philosophical literature of the period. Solomon quotes Shem Tov *Falaquera, *Levi b. Gershom's commentary on Ecclesiastes, a section on physics from Levi's *Milḥamot Adonai*, and portions of Levi's commentary on the Pentateuch. He also refers to *Moses of Narbonne's commentary on al-*Ghazali's "Intentions of the Philosophers", Solomon b. Menahem's commentary on *Levi b. Abraham's *Battei ha-Nefesh*, and *Ru'aḥ Ḥen*, a philosophical work of disputed authorship which was meant to serve as a kind of introduction to the philosophic ideas of Maimonides' *Guide*. In one portion of his commentary, Solomon attributes *Ru'aḥ Ḥen* to Moses ibn *Tibbon, while in another portion, he holds that the work was written by Samuel ibn *Tibbon. He implies that he himself wrote a commentary to the work. Toward the end of *Ḥeshek Shelomo* he refers to *Sefer ha-Sod* by Joseph ibn *Kaspi.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Steinschneider, in: HB, 16 (1876), 127; Renan, Ecrivains, 412; Gross, Gal Jud, 290.

SOLOMON BEN MEIR (12th century), northern French scholar, grandson of *Rashi and younger brother of Jacob *Tam and *Samuel b. Meir. Very little is known about him. He was born after Rashi's death and was apparently named after him. He occupied himself mainly with exegesis, grammar, and punctuation, and was called "the father of the grammarians." Only fragments of his work have survived in the *Arugat ha-Bosem* of *Abraham b. Azriel, who is the only scholar to cite him. Solomon may possibly have compiled a book of halakhic rulings (Ḥul. 116b, Rashi end of commentary to Mishnah 8:5).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Gross, Gal Jud, 162, 234; Urbach, Tosafot, 54, 56; S. Poznański, *Perush al Yeḥezkel … le-Rabbi Eliezer mi-Belganẓi* (1913), xxxixff.

[Israel Moses Ta-Shma]

SOLOMON BEN SAMSON (11th century), scholar of Worms, a contemporary of Rashi's teachers. He used to sign himself ששו״ן and as a result is referred to as "Sason." His teachers were *Jacob b. Yakar and, apparently, *Eleazar of Worms, and he was a colleague of *Isaac b. Judah ha-Levi, the teacher of Rashi. Many of Solomon's rulings are quoted in the *Ma'aseh ha-Ge'onim* (1910) in reply to questions raised by the sons of *Machir b. Judah. It is stated there that he and *Kalonymus of Rome disagreed with Isaac b. Moses of Mainz as to whether a minor male could exercise the equivalent of *me'un* (see *child marriage) with regard to his wife. Some of his responsa were collected in the *Teshuvot Ḥakhmei Ẓarefat ve-Loter,* (ed. by J. Mueller (1881), nos. 43–56).

His responsa are written in the style of Rashi, in a spirit of humility, and are based on the traditions of his teachers. Statements of his are found among various works of the school of Rashi, such as *Shibbolei ha-Leket, Sefer ha-Pardes*, and *Sefer ha-Roke'aḥ.* He was also one of the first of the commentators on *piyyut* in Germany. Additional fragments of his work were discovered recently in the manuscript of a prayer book. A *paytan* called Solomon b. Samson b. Eliakim is mentioned by L. *Zunz in his *Literaturgeschichte der synagogalen Poesie*.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: J. Mueller (ed.), *Teshuvot Ḥakhmei Ẓarefat ve-Loter* (1881), xxx; E.E. Urbach (ed.), *Arugat ha-Bosem*, 4 (1963), 15–16; M. Hershler, in: *Hadarom* 25 (1967), 171–6.

[Israel Moses Ta-Shma]

SOLOMON BEN SAMUEL (14th century), scholar living in Urgench, Transoxania (Uzbekistan). In 1339 he compiled a Hebrew-Persian dictionary, *Sefer ha-Meliẓah*, comprising over 1,000 alphabetical entries on the vocabulary of the Bible, Targum, Talmud, and Midrash. The author knew Turkish, Persian, Arabic, and Aramaic and was well acquainted with the works of Jewish scholarship of the West, including *Rashi, whom he called "Solomon the Frenchman." There are manuscripts of *Sefer ha-Meliẓah* in the *Firkovitch and E.N. *Adler Collections.

[Walter Joseph Fischel]

SOLOMON SULIMAN BEN AMAR (ninth or tenth century), liturgical poet. Solomon was also called Solomon Alsingari, from which it follows that he came from Sindjar, west of *Mosul in Kurdistan. He may possibly have lived in Babylon, but it is not impossible that he lived in Ereẓ Israel or in *Egypt. Many hundreds of his *piyyutim* were discovered in the Cairo **Genizah*. Since many of them do not bear his signature, some of them were attributed in error to other *paytanim*, whose names were also Solomon, as for example Solomon ibn Gabirol.

His important *piyyutim* are *kerovot* for all the Jewish festivals; *yoẓerot*, for all the portions of the Torah; and a *ma'amad* for the order of the Temple service on the Day of Atonement. Only a few of his *piyyutim* have been published, about seven by I. Davidson in *Ginzei Schechter*, 3 (1928), others by various scholars. Fragments of the *ma'amad* were published, without his name being given, by I. Elbogen in his *Studien zur Geschichte des juedischen Gottesdienstes* (1907), 176–82.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: M. Zulay, in: *Sinai*, 17 (1945), 296–304; 25 (1949), 41–44; J. Schirmann, *Shirim Ḥadashim min ha-Genizah* (1965), 46–52; E. Fleischer, in: *Sinai*, 66 (1970), 234–7.

[Abraham David]

SOLOMONS, ADOLPHUS SIMEON (1826–1910), U.S. leader in social welfare programs. Solomons, who was born in New York, as a young man helped found Mount Sinai Hospital. Moving to Washington in 1859, he did government printing, ran a bookstore, and maintained a photograph gallery. In 1871 he was elected to Washington D.C.'s House of Delegates. His greatest achievement was in the service of the American Red Cross, which he helped Clara Barton establish in 1881. While she was absent from Washington in 1883, he conducted the young organization's affairs from its Washington headquarters as second vice president and was described by her as "my good vice president and kind counselor." Solomons held this office for 12 years and represented the U.S. at the Red Cross conference in Geneva in 1884. Sent by President Chester A. Arthur as the U.S. representative to the International Red Cross convention in 1887, he was elected vice president of the convention. For 20 years Solomons was director of Columbia Hospital and Living In Asylum, also serving as an executive of many other health institutions. Of a religious bent, he was concerned with Jewish survival and served as acting president of the Jewish Theological Seminary Association (1902) and as a member of the central committee of the Alliance Israélite Universelle. Solomons became the champion of the new immigrants from Eastern Europe, and was appointed by Baron de Hirsch as general agent for the Baron de Hirsch Fund in the U.S.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: A.V. Goodman, in: AJHSQ, 59, no. 3 (1970), 331–56.

[Abram Vossen Goodman]

SOLOMONS, JACK (1900–1979), British boxing promoter. Born in London's East End, Solomons became a professional fighter at the age of 17, but after three bouts he left the ring and entered the fish business. In 1931 he returned to boxing as a promoter, and following World War II promoted the sport in Great Britain with the 1945 British heavyweight championship match between Jack London and Bruce Woodcock. The event was a huge success and made Solomons the premier boxing promoter in Britain. He staged boxing shows all over the world, and in 1962 put on the first professional bout in Israel. Solomons promoted numerous world title fights including the 1951 middleweight match between Ray Robinson and Randy Turpin and the heavyweight meeting of Cassius Clay and Brian London in 1966. He is the author of the book *Jack Solomons Tells All* (1956).

[Jesse Harold Silver]

SOLOTAROFF, THEODORE H. (1928–), critic and editor. Solotaroff was on the editorial staff of *Commentary* in the early 1960s and subsequently edited the literary quarterly *New American Review*, which published many of the leading young American prose writers of the 1960s. Solataroff's own literary essays were collected in his book *The Red Hot Vacuum* (1970), most of which was devoted to studies of American writing in the years after World War II. He edited, with Nessa Rapoport, *Writing Our Way Home: Contemporary Stories by American Jewish Writers* (1992), later republished as *The Schocken Book of Contemporary Jewish Fiction* (1996). He also wrote two autobiographical works, *Truth Comes in Blows: A Memoir* (1998) and *First Loves: A Memoir* (2003).

SOLOVEICHIK, Lithuanian rabbinical family. (See Chart: Soloveichik Family). It is first heard of in Slobodka. (1) JOSEPH HA-LEVI SOLOVEICHIK was the *parnas* of the community and strove to have the 1758 prohibition forbidding Jews to live in Kovno rescinded. His son, (2) ISAAC, had two sons, (3) Moses and Abraham, who built the great synagogue of Williampol-Slobodka in 1772. MOSES was appointed rabbi of Williampol-Slobodka. Moses' son, (4) JOSEPH, became the son-in-law of Ḥayyim of Volozhin and was rabbi of Kovno. Joseph's son, (5) ISAAC ZE'EV, was appointed the official rabbi of Kovno. (6) Joseph Baer *Soloveichik was the son of Isaac Ze'ev, as was (7) ḤAYYIM SIMḤAH, whose only daughter married Feivel Holzberg, the father of Isaac Raphael Holzberg. (8) SIMḤAH HA-LEVI SOLOVEICHIK, son of Elijah Ẓevi, a son of (4), immigrated to Jerusalem, where he was known as Simḥah of London. (9) Ḥayyim *Soloveichik was the son of (6). (10) SIMḤAH, also a son of (6), was appointed rabbi of Mogilev in 1911. (11) ZALMAN, son of (8), was a well-known Jerusalem communal worker. (12) MOSES, son of (9), was rabbi in a number of Lithuanian towns and then *rosh yeshivah* at the Rabbi Isaac Elchanan Theological Seminary (see *Yeshiva University) in New York. (13) JOSEPH DOV, son of (8), was appointed rabbi of Spring Valley in 1933. (14) MOSES, son of (8), was a *rosh yeshivah* and rabbi in Switzerland. (15) Isaac Ze'ev ha-

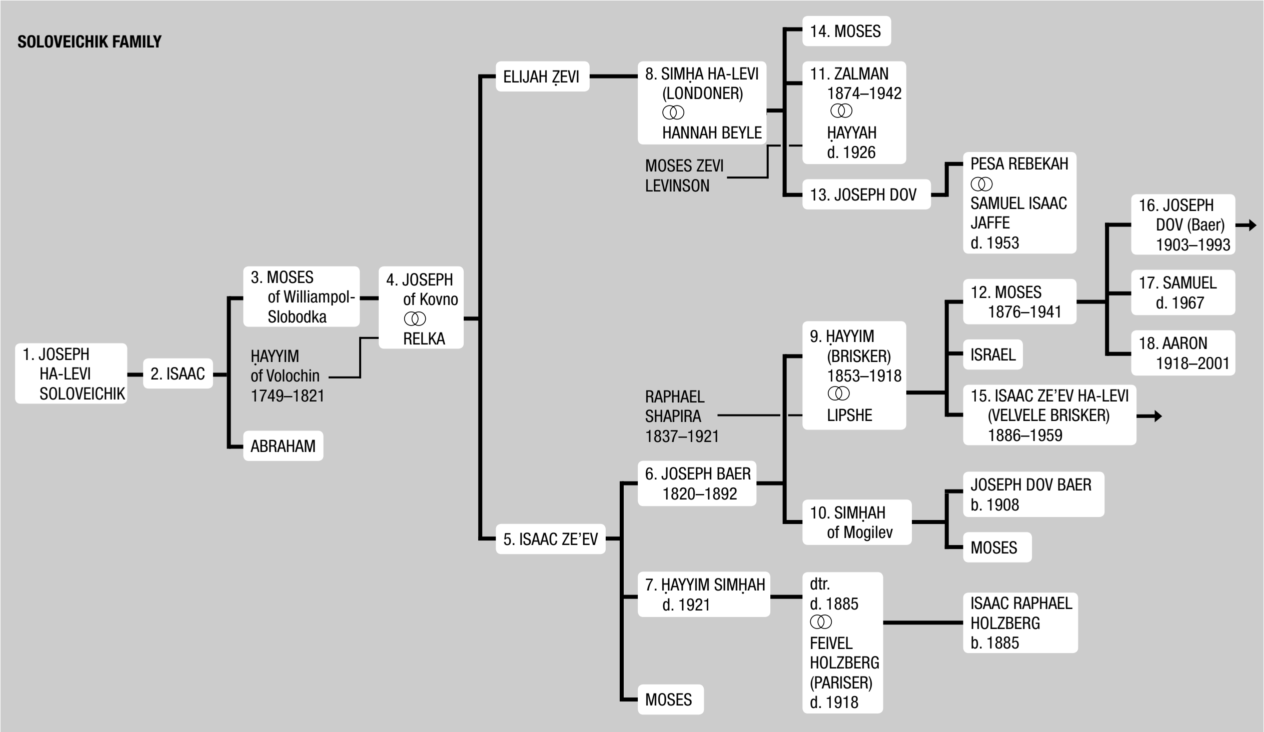
SOLOVEICHIK FAMILY
1. JOSEPH HA-LEVI SOLOVEICHIK
2. ISAAC
3. MOSES of Williampol-Slobodka
ḤAYYIM of Volochin 1749–1821
ABRAHAM
4. JOSEPH of Kovno
RELKA
ELIJAH ẒEVI
5. ISAAC ZE'EV
8. SIMḤA HA-LEVI (LONDONER)
HANNAH BEYLE
MOSES ZEVI LEVINSON
14. MOSES
11. ZALMAN 1874–1942
ḤAYYAH d. 1926
13. JOSEPH DOV
PESA REBEKAH
SAMUEL ISAAC JAFFE d. 1953
RAPHAEL SHAPIRA 1837–1921
9. ḤAYYIM (BRISKER) 1853–1918
LIPSHE
12. MOSES 1876–1941
ISRAEL
15. ISAAC ZE'EV HA-LEVI (VELVELE BRISKER) 1886–1959
16. JOSEPH DOV (Baer) 1903–1993
17. SAMUEL d. 1967
18. AARON 1918–2001
6. JOSEPH BAER 1820–1892
10. SIMḤAH of Mogilev
JOSEPH DOV BAER b. 1908
MOSES
7. ḤAYYIM SIMḤAH d. 1921
dtr. d. 1885
FEIVEL HOLZBERG (PARISER) d. 1918
ISAAC RAPHAEL HOLZBERG b. 1885
MOSES

Levi *Soloveichik (1886–1959), son of (9), was a *rosh yeshivah* in Warsaw, succeeded his father at Brisk, and on immigrating to Jerusalem in 1941, founded a yeshivah for exceptional students. He was known as Velvele Brisker. He was regarded as the supreme halakhic authority by the extreme Orthodox section of the community. (16) Joseph Dov *Soloveitchik, (17) samuel soleveichik, a prominent chemist, and (18) aaron *soloveichik were sons of (12). The literary output of this distinguished family has been remarkably meager, the result of a family tradition against publishing writings except under special circumstances.

bibliography: *Yahadut Lita – Temunot ve-Ẓiyyunim* (1959), index; *Sefer Yahadut Lita*, 1 (1959), index; 3 (1967), index.

[Mordechai Hacohen]

SOLOVEICHIK, AARON (1917–2001), U.S. *rosh yeshivah* and noted Orthodox rabbinical personality. Born in Khaslavichy, Belarus, he was taken to Warsaw in 1920 where his father Rabbi Moshe *Soloveichik became head of the Talmud department of the Taḥkemoni rabbinical seminary. In 1930, right after his bar mitzvah, Soloveichik and his family immigrated to the United States, where his father had become the senior *rosh yeshivah* at the Rabbi Isaac Elchanan Theological Seminary. Soloveichik graduated from the high school (Talmudical Academy), and the college (Yeshiva College) affiliated with the Rabbi Isaac Elchanan Theological Seminary. He received his rabbinical ordination from the latter institution and also attained a legal degree from the New York University Law School. Soloveichik first taught Talmud at Mesivtha Tifereth Jerusalem and then at the Rabbi Chaim Berlin Yeshiva. In 1960 he joined the Talmudic faculty of the Rabbi Isaac Elchanan Theological Seminary, where his older brother, Rabbi Joseph Baer *Soloveitchik, was the dominant spiritual and intellectual figure. Rabbi Aaron Soloveichik moved to Chicago in 1966, where he became *rosh yeshivah* and dean of the faculty at the Hebrew Theological College in Skokie, Illinois.

In 1974 he left this school and founded Yeshivas Brisk in Chicago. In 1986 he began commuting weekly to New York to also teach at the Rabbi Isaac Elchanan Theological Seminary, where he became the successor to his ailing brother, Joseph. In addition to Talmud and cognate texts, Soloveichik also taught the philosophy of Judaism, lectured on contemporary issues, and devoted much time to student guidance. He became a beloved and focal rabbinic figure on the American Torah scene. Despite suffering a debilitating stroke in 1983, he courageously continued his teaching responsibilities. Soloveichik was quoted in the New York Times (January 4, 1987), "I try to elevate myself through my suffering. I'm in constant pain. But when I give a *shi'ur*, I don't feel it as much."

Soloveichik was forthright in expressing his opinions and took strong positions on contemporary issues. He opposed the war in Vietnam, which was unusual at the time for an American *rosh yeshivah*. Soloveichik strongly supported the settlement of all of the Land of Israel. He was opposed to the Oslo Accords and lobbied Israeli political and spiritual leaders on both political and theological grounds. Soloveichik declared that the Land of Israel belonged solely to the Jewish people and that compromise would not bring peace.

A portion of his teachings was published by Soloveichik, aided by his students. *Logic of the Heart, Logic of the Mind*, consisting of "reflections on topics of our times" appeared in 1991. Three volumes of his rabbinic novellas were published. *Od Yisrael Yosef Beni Ḥai*, in memory of a grandson, appeared in 1993. Two volumes, entitled *Peraḥ Matteh Aharon*, consisting of insights on the first two divisions of Maimonides' *Mishneh Torah*, were published in 1997 and 1999. In editing these volumes, Soloveichik was assisted by his disciple David Applebaum, who was both a rabbi and medical doctor and resided in Jerusalem. Applebaum was to be murdered in a suicide bombing at the Hillel Café together with his daughter, Naava, on the eve of her wedding (2003).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: S.S. Meiselman, *The Soloveitchik Heritage: A Daughter's Memoir* (1995).

[Aaron Rothkoff (2nd ed.)]

SOLOVEICHIK, ḤAYYIM (known as **R. Ḥayyim Brisker**; 1853–1918), talmudist and predominant figure in Orthodox Jewry in his time. Soloveichik was born in Volozhin where his father Joseph taught at the yeshivah. At the age of 20, he married a daughter of Raphael Shapiro, one of the heads of the yeshivah at Volozhin, and he remained there pursuing his studies with great diligence. He was accustomed to discuss talmudic problems with a small circle of outstanding students and before long his influence was felt throughout the yeshivah. In 1880 he was appointed to the staff and became renowned as a stimulating teacher.

Soloveichik was the initiator of a new trend in Talmud study. Possessed of remarkable analytic powers, he would carefully analyze the subject under discussion into its categories and component parts. He evolved a suitable terminology with which to describe the different concepts and showed that the differences in the Talmud itself and among its authoritative interpreters derived from them. The method spread and was adopted in yeshivot throughout the world. Thousands of students flocked to hear him; many of them became distinguished teachers. Naphtali Ẓevi Judah *Berlin, head of the yeshivah, would consult him before making any change in its administration. After the Volozhin yeshivah closed in 1892, Soloveichik went to live with his father, the rabbi of Brisk (Brest-Litovsk). His father died that same year and Soloveichik succeeded him. He at once threw himself into communal activity, using his great talents to improve existing religious and social services and to establish new ones. His reputation grew; rabbis and laymen of the surrounding district consulted him on all matters. His opinion was always asked for and heeded, his leadership never being taken for granted. He participated in every important rabbinical and communal council. Of a friendly disposition, he kept open house for all, whether talmudists or scientists, learned or ignorant, religious or irreligious. He was ready to help everyone, sympathizing, comforting, and advising. Scholars would bring him their difficulties; even unmarried mothers came to him for assistance and advice. None left him empty-handed and without renewed courage. Most of his salary was given to the needy, and as a result he was frequently in debt. In the winter he left his wood store unlocked so that the poor might help themselves. The lay leaders complained they could not afford the cost involved, but he replied that he would have to instruct his wife not to light his fire since it was impossible for him to sit in a warm room knowing that the poor were freezing.

In 1895 Brisk was swept by a fire which destroyed many homes. All Soloveichik's energies were devoted toward the rebuilding. He slept in the synagogue porch among those who had lost everything in the fire, and the stream of scholars and lay leaders who wanted to consult him came to him there. Stringent personally in the observance of religious precepts, he was always lenient when applying them to others. In public religious practice, however, he was firm and uncompromising, and did all he could to stem the erosion of Jewish life. Because of his sincerity, great knowledge, and personal piety, he invariably prevailed against those who wished lightly to introduce changes into communal institutions or places of learning. Many of his novellae on talmudic tractates have been published, (3 vols., 1952–66), as well as his novellae on Maimonides *Mishneh Torah* (1936).

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[Mordechai Hacohen]

SOLOVEICHIK, ISAAC ZE'EV HA-LEVI (1886–1959), rabbi of Brisk (Brest-Litovsk), halakhist, and talmudist. Born in Volozhin, Isaac was the son of Ḥayyim *Soloveichik, who was his only teacher and regarded him as his spiritual heir, who would continue that tradition of study which originated in Volozhin. Isaac's erudition and acumen were evident from his early youth, and his father stated that in insight he resembled his grandfather Joseph Baer, the founder of the Brisk dynasty of great talmudists. On the death of his father in 1918, Isaac Ze'ev was appointed by the community to succeed him as rabbi of Brisk. He soon became renowned as a central figure in the world of Torah and was popularly known as "R. Velvel." He did not establish a yeshivah at Brisk but gave lessons to a group of the best students of yeshivot as well as other select individuals who assembled in his *bet midrash*. Admission to his circle of students was regarded as a great privilege, to which every student who wished to perfect his knowledge aspired. Despite his youth, the great contemporary talmudists, well-known rabbis, and heads of yeshivot, acknowledged his superiority and paid respectful attention to his words, his *ḥiddushim* ("original deductions") passing from mouth to mouth.

On the conquest of Poland in World War II, he fled from Brisk to Vilna together with five sons and two daughters (his wife and another four children were murdered in Brisk). Soloveichik was saved from the destruction of Polish Jewry and in 1941 went to Ereẓ Israel, settling in Jerusalem. He established there a **kolel* of select young men. A yeshivah was founded and administered by his eldest son Joseph Dov.

There was a great difference between Soloveichik's activities as rabbi of Brisk and his conduct in Jerusalem. During his 20 years as rabbi of Brisk he had been in the center of communal and congregational life, while in Jerusalem he confined himself to his studies, firmly refusing any official appointment and avoiding any public appearance or participation in daily public life. He even refrained from giving halakhic rulings, maintaining that "Jerusalem has a rabbi to whom problems should be addressed." Only in cases where he saw danger to the foundations of religion and faith did he break silence and give his ruling in the most vigorous of terms. He belonged to no party and did not intervene in political affairs, but as an outstanding halakhist he exercised great influence over extensive circles of Orthodox Jewry, especially after the death of Avraham Karelitz (Ḥazon Ish). In Jerusalem, as in Brisk, he lectured daily and his novellae were noted down or transmitted by his pupils. "R. Velvel" loved the Holy Land and believed wholeheartedly in the *mitzvah* of living there.

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[Itzhak Goldshlag]

SOLOVEICHIK, JOSEPH BAER, OF VOLOZHIN (1820–1892), talmudist and *rosh yeshivah*. Soloveichik was educated by his father, Isaac Ze'ev *Soloveichik of Kovno, and his great-uncle, Isaac, son of Ḥayyim of Volozhin. While in Volozhin, he married into a wealthy family, but was shortly thereafter forced by his father-in-law to divorce his wife when he failed to give the correct order of the recitation of some minor prayers on a festival. This so embittered him that he left Volozhin and subsequently studied under S. *Kluger in Brody and J.N. Orenstein in Lemberg. His reputation spread, and he was appointed successor to Gershon Menahem of Minsk at the yeshivah there. He finally returned to Volozhin in 1849 to serve as joint *rosh yeshivah* with Naphtali Ẓevi Judah *Berlin (the "Neẓiv"), the son-in-law of Isaac of Volozhin. With the passage of time, the two found it increasingly difficult to agree. It was impossible for them to work in harmony, particularly since both exercised considerable spiritual influence on the students. Their differences caused such a complete break between them that they could not act jointly in the administration of the school or in the planning of the curriculum. They were different in their temperaments and in their approach, to talmudic studies. Berlin was patient and temperate, modest and sober in his ways, preferring erudition to subtlety, while Soloveichik was a dynamic personality, sharp-witted, preferring acumen to erudition in talmudic studies and in wordly matters. Soloveichik respected no person in argument and deferred to no one. They presented their dispute before four outstanding scholars, who decided in favor of Berlin. Soloveichik left Volozhin and became rabbi of Slutsk. He later restored harmony in his relations with Berlin when his son, Ḥayyim, married Berlin's granddaughter. In Slutsk he found scope for his energies, both in Torah teaching and in communal organization. He deployed his abilities and his industry for the community's needs, devoting himself wholeheartedly to helping the poor and the needy. During the severe famine of 1866, he founded a society to help the poor, put himself at its head, and collected subscriptions from door to door. He was devoted to the needs of the community and was an outstanding humanitarian. Even when fighting those who wished to change or undermine Jewish religious life and values, he retained the love and respect of all. With his fiery spirit he could not continue in the rabbinate and in 1875 relinquished his position, settling in Warsaw where he lived privately and in great poverty, devoting himself to study and deeds of benevolence. In 1878, when invited to become rabbi of Brest-Litovsk, he agreed on condition that he would be obeyed in all communal matters and that aid for the poor would be under his direction. In 1890 he was associated with a group which bought land in Ereẓ Israel.

The following of his works have been published, all under the title *Beit ha-Levi: Novellae on the Talmud, 102 responsa and sermons* (2 vols., 1863–64), sermons on Genesis and Exodus (2 vols., 1884), and halakhic novellae (1891). He contributed to I. Lipkin's (Salanter) periodical *Tevunah* in 1861.

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[Mordechai Hacohen]

SOLOVEICHIK, MOSHE (1879–1941), Orthodox rabbi. The son of a distinguished father, Rabbi Ḥayyim *Soloveichik, and the father of distinguished sons, Rabbi Joseph Dov *Soloveitchik and Rabbi Aaron *Soloveichik, learning was an essential component of his family life. Born in Volozhin and raised in Brest-Litovsk (Brisk), young Moshe studied with his father the talmudic methodology that was the mark of the Soloveichik family. He married the daughter of Rabbi Elihu Feinstein and studied with his father-in-law until his 30th birthday, when he became the communal rabbi of Rassin in the Kovno Province. He established a *kolel* there and in 1913 moved to Chaslovitz, where he was a communal rabbi. He was there during World War I and in 1921 was invited to succeed his father as the rabbi of Brisk. He declined and instead became a Talmud teacher at Taḥkemoni Gevo'a in Warsaw, a school at which both Jewish and secular studies were taught. According to his daughter, Rabbi Moshe was disturbed by the increasing secularization of the curriculum and of the students. There were significant tensions between Soloveichik and Professor *Balaban, the distinguished secular history teacher. Thus when in 1929 he was invited to Rabbi Isaac Elchanan Theological Seminary in New York to replace the recently deceased Rabbi Shlomo Polachek, the offer was accepted with great enthusiasm. His recruitment by Rabbi Bernard Dov Revel enhanced the prestige of the seminary and Moshe Soloveichik became a supporter of Revel's efforts to build an Orthodox Jewish university. His prestige was also enhanced at RIETS, where his *shi'ur* became the gateway to ordination. As Gilbert Klaperman wrote: "To weather Reb Moses Soloveichik's exacting standard and then earn his signature on the semicha was the highest accolade that could come to any student." He had rigorous standards and enforced them, teaching the methodology that had been taught to him by his forebears and the one he had taught to his sons and his students. He died in 1941 and his son Joseph was invited to be his successor as *rosh yeshivah*. He did not publish much during his lifetime in keeping with family tradition, but his legacy was in his teaching, his sons and his students.

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[Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

SOLOVEITCHIK, JOSEPH BAER (1903–1993), U.S. rabbinic scholar and religious philosopher, preeminent spiritual leader of Modern Orthodoxy in the last half of the 20th century. Scion of a distinguished Lithuanian rabbinical family, Soloveitchik was born in Pruzhana, where his maternal grandfather, Elijah Feinstein, was the rabbi. Soloveitchik spent his formative years in Khaslavichy, Belorussia, where his father Moses served as the rabbi from 1913 until after the Communist takeover in 1918. The Khaslavichy community included a large number of Lubavitcher Ḥasidim. Soloveitchik later integrated their lifestyle and theological stance into his own philosophical lectures and publications. Until his family's relocation to Warsaw, Poland, in 1920, Soloveitchik devoted himself almost exclusively to the study of the Talmud and the Codes. Under his father's tutelage, he mastered his paternal grandfather's (see Hayyim *Soloveitchik) "Brisker Derekh." This method of rabbinic study stressed incisive analysis, exact classifications, critical independence, and emphasis on Maimonides' *Mishneh Torah*.

In his late teens, Soloveitchik received the equivalent of a high school education from private tutors. In Warsaw, he entered the Free Polish University in 1924, studying political science. In 1926, he commenced his studies at the University of Berlin. Soloveitchik majored in philosophy and was attracted to the neo-Kantian school. In 1932, he received his doctorate, after the acceptance of his dissertation on the epistemology and metaphysics of Hermann Cohen.

In his dissertation *Das reine Denken und die Seinskonstituierung bei Hermann Cohen* (Berlin, 1933), Soloveitchik analyzes Cohen's cognitive idealism, according to which objective existence has only cognitive being. The extra-cognitive world, represented by the senses, exists only chaotically and lacks order; its function is to present problems and questions to cognition. Cognition, in turn, creates objects within itself, generating them from the infinitesimal to their objective existence. It should be noted that objective existence in cognition means the existence of scientific objects, subject to Newtonian causality. Soloveitchik expands on these determinations and discusses their development in the thought of his own doctoral advisor, Heinrich Maier, and Paul Natorp, who followed in Cohen's footsteps.

In 1931 Soloveitchik married Tonya Lewit (1904–1967). Her background was similar to that of her husband, in that she had been raised in eastern Europe (Vilna), and sought higher education in western Europe. She received a doctorate in education from Jena University and was to ably assist her husband in all his endeavors until her death. In 1932 they immigrated to the United States, where Rabbi Moses Soloveichik had been the head of the talmudic faculty of the Rabbi Isaac Elchanan Theological Seminary in New York City, since 1929. A few months after his arrival, the younger Soloveitchik became the rabbi of a segment of the Orthodox Jewish community of Boston. This city was to remain his home until his death.

In 1937 he founded the Maimonides School, the first Jewish day school in the New England area. With the influx of European yeshivah students during the late 1930s, Soloveitchik organized the Heikhal Rabbenu Haym ha'Levi and Yeshivath Torath Israel. On May 13, 1941, he succeeded his father as professor of Talmud in New York City at the Rabbi Isaac Elchanan Theological Seminary, which achieved university status in 1945 and became known as Yeshiva University. RIETS, or the Yeshiva, as it was popularly known, was an integral subdivision of the school. Soloveitchik also lectured at the university's Bernard Revel Graduate School, where he served as professor of Jewish philosophy. He was to continue his weekly Talmud lectures at the school until illness forced his retirement in 1985. Soloveitchik gradually became the dominant spiritual personality on the Yeshiva University scene. He was popularly designated "The Rav" or the rabbi par excellence. In this setting he remained the quintessential *rosh yeshivah*, and his lectures were in the classic Brisk tradition. Essentially, the Talmud, Maimonides, and the basic early commentaries were the core of his classes in the yeshivah for 44 years. The Rav thus became the spiritual mentor of the majority of the American-trained Orthodox pulpit rabbis. His position at Yeshiva University was paramount in projecting Soloveitchik into prominence upon both the national and international Jewish scenes. From 1953, Soloveitchik also exerted a decisive influence on Orthodoxy, in his capacity as chairman of the Halakhah Commission of the Rabbinical Council of America. Among his rulings was his unequivocal opposition to mixed seating in synagogues. He went so far as to prohibit listening to the *shofar* on Rosh Hashanah in such synagogues. The Rav advised praying at home without hearing the *shofar* rather than worshipping in such a synagogue. Nevertheless, he did not advocate a total break with the Reform and Conservative movements. Soloveitchik differentiated between "external affairs" and "internal issues." On issues involving relations with the non-Jewish world, he held that cooperation with all Jewish organizations was desirable. Regarding internal matters such as *halakhah* and synagogue ritual, there was less capacity for joint viewpoints.

Soloveitchik questioned aspects of the dialogue initiated by the Catholic Church with Jewish leaders as part of the Church's ecumenical movement during the 1960s.

He encouraged Jewish-Christian dialogue on social, political and ethical issues – even terming it "essential" ("Statement on Interfaith Relations," in *Record of Rabbinical Council of America* (Feb. 1965)). Soloveitchik himself delivered his most famous religious paper, "The Lonely Man of Faith," to an interfaith audience at a Catholic seminary in Brighton, Massachusetts, and he later stated that all discussions of ethics and social values are necessarily "religious." In his essay "Confrontation" (*Tradition* 6:2, Spring–Summer 1964) he espoused a nuanced position regarding interfaith dialogue on religious matters (Eugene Korn, *Modern Judaism* (October 1965), 290–315).

Soloveitchik was originally a devotee of Agudath Israel and served as the chairman of the national executive committee of its American branch. He also was a member of its initial Council of Torah Sages, which was constituted in 1941. As the tragedy of European Jewry became known, the Rav became an advocate of the Mizrachi movement. Following World War II, he became the honorary president of Mizrachi, which was later renamed the Religious Zionists of America. In 1935, Soloveitchik journeyed to Palestine, in what was his only visit to the Holy Land, where he was a candidate for the post of Ashkenazi chief rabbi of Tel Aviv. He was not selected. In 1959, Soloveitchik declined to be a candidate to succeed Chief Rabbi Isaac Herzog. At the time, the Rav's election was assured since he enjoyed a wide spectrum of support.

Soloveitchik represented the entire Jewish community as a member of the advisory committee on humane slaughter of the United States Department of Agriculture, established 1958. In 1958–59 he delivered a series of classes on Jewish social philosophy to a group of social workers in New York. Soloveitchik also was the principal Jewish representative in Yeshiva University's Institute of Mental Health Project, undertaken in 1960, in conjunction with Harvard and Loyola Universities. Its goal was to study religious attitudes toward psychological problems. The lectures delivered to these groups later served as the basis for a portion of his published philosophical writings, particularly "The Lonely Man of Faith." Soloveitchik conducted weekly classes at Congregation Moriya on the upper west side of Manhattan. He also taught in Boston and every Saturday night gave a public lecture on the Torah portion at the Maimonides School. Sunday mornings he conducted a Talmud class under the auspices of the Hevra Shas of Boston. In addition, there were the Rav's annual Teshuvah lectures, delivered under the aegis of the Rabbinical Council of America. There were also a large number of discourses delivered before the Rabbinical Council and the Yeshiva University Rabbinical Alumni. The high point of every annual convention and midwinter conference was generally the Rav's lecture. At these venues, the themes varied and stressed halakhic, philosophical, theological, homiletical, and aggadic insights.

In addition, Soloveitchik's broad knowledge of general culture – philosophy, mathematics, science, literature – was integrated into these public discourses.

Soloveitchik was regarded by the Jewish world as the unchallenged leader of what has been designated as Modern Orthodoxy. Although never totally at home in the world of American Modern Orthodoxy, it was in this universe that the Rav's leadership was widely accepted. While Soloveitchik's brilliant scholarship was acknowledged in all Torah circles, his influence on the masses was through his disciples and the rabbis who followed his teachings. In addition, his public lectures and discourses enabled a wider audience to be inspired by his instruction. As a talmudic and halakhic expositor, the Rav possessed unusual dexterity in exploring difficult technical concepts. He was a remarkable orator in his native Yiddish, and an effective speaker in English and Hebrew. The annual halakhic and aggadic discourse which the Rav delivered at Yeshiva University, on the anniversary of his father's death, attracted thousands of listeners. These Yahrzeit *derashot* lasted from four to five consecutive hours. They were regarded as the major yearly academic event for American Orthodoxy.

Soloveitchik was reluctant to publish due to his family's tradition of perfectionism. Albeit, he wrote much, since all his public lectures were delivered from and preserved in manuscripts. For many decades his main publication was a lengthy essay "*Ish ha-Halakhah*" ((1944), 651–735) which was later translated into English by L. Kaplan and published as *Halakhic Man* (Jewish Publication Society, 1983).

This essay describes the dynasty of Brisk-method scholars. Written during the Shoah, the essay thus manifested a double purpose. First, to constitute a memorial to the type of yeshivah scholarship which was destroyed, and second, to describe this scholarly archetype in modern philosophical categories, so that it might be reconstituted in America. The term "*halakhah*" as used in this essay means primarily scholarship in the Brisk method of study, and not *halakhah* in its practical application. Soloveitchik describes the "Halakhic man" as cognitive man – a mixture of *homo religiosus* and scientist. A careful reading, however, reveals that halakhic man is essentially cognitive man. His cognition is described in line with Hermann Cohen's cognitive idealism, and in accordance with the conventionalistic trend in the philosophy of science. It should be noted that the *halakhah* is not merely a substitute for the laws of science. In the view of the halakhic man (i.e., the *rosh yeshivah*), yeshiva scholarship includes knowledge of scientific law. Since halakhic man's cognition is pervaded by Cohen's neo-Kantianism, and for him the only objective existence is that of the halakhic objects of cognition, it cannot be tolerant of other cognitions. The only experience halakhic man recognizes is the experience of scholarship and the emotions it arouses. Some critics claim, with a large degree of justification, that Soloveitchik himself did not identify with the image of the *rosh yeshivah* described in "Halakhic Man," but that he personally identified with the mixture of scholarship and religious experience, as suggested by his two other great works of this period, "The Halakhic Mind" and "*U-Vikashtem mi-Sham*."

"The Halakhic Mind" (which is understood as depicting Soloveitchik's own orientation), written in 1944 but published only in 1986, differs completely from "Halakhic Man" (which is understood as depicting the *rosh yeshivah* of Brisk) and its cognitive-halakhic idealism. In "The Halakhic Mind," Soloveitchik employs the method which would characterize his writings for the rest of his life: phenomenology of the religious mind. Soloveitchik sought by this approach to point to the need for essentialist research of religious consciousness in general, and of Jewish religious consciousness in particular. His working assumption is cognitive pluralism: just as, for example, there is scientific cognition, so there is also religious cognition. He therefore ignored historic and ontological existence. God's immanence, for instance, is of interest not from a factual perspective (God is or is not immanent), but from its being a factor of the religious mind. Soloveitchik made use of diverse and contradictory sources (philosophy, Kabbalah), because they all construct the essential religious consciousness mind. From this time on, Soloveitchik focused only on research of the religious mind. He added to the phenomenological method another method: reconstruction, namely, that in order to uncover the depths of the religious mind, one must reconstruct its practical and normative dimension. In his terminology, in order to reveal the subjective, one must reconstruct it out of the objective. Soloveitchik divided the Jewish religious mind into three parts: the subjective part (emotions and intellectual or mystical theories); the practical objective part (actions and behavior, such as performing the Torah's commandments); the normative objective part (norms underlying actions and behavior). The subjective part should be reconstructed out of the practical and normative objective parts. Soloveitchik especially emphasized the *halakhah* as a structured component of the religious mind. Accordingly, the halakhic man, namely the *rosh yeshivah* whose cognition is constructed in accordance with cognitive idealism, does not regard the subjective dimension as significant, nor does he recognize cognitive pluralism.

"The Halakhic Mind" thus calls for research into the Jewish religious mind and establishes guidelines for the phenomenological method, but does not fully apply these guidelines, especially not in the relatively small section dealing with Judaism.

The application would come in another work from the same period, namely "*U-Vikashtem mi-Sham*," written in 1944 but only published in 1978. Here Soloveitchik presented, step by step, the construction of the Jewish religious consciousness mind, in three stages. The first two stages are characterized by dialectic, and the third stage by a resolution of the dialectical tension. In the first stage, there is a tension between scientific accomplishments, which empower the person, and divine revelation, which undermines his self-confidence. In the second stage the tension is between love and fear of God. In the third and highest stage, the tension disappears, and is replaced by cleaving to God, in Maimonides' Aristotelian epistemological terms of the unity of intellect, intellection and intelligized object, which Soloveitchik compares with Hermann Cohen's cognitive idealism. Soloveitchik reconstructed these three stages out of the *halakhah*, thus reinforcing his position that the phenomenology of Judaism cannot be separated from Judaism's practical foundation, the *halakhah*.

In 1956 Soloveitchik delivered a sermon in honor of Israel's Independence Day, which was then published as a Hebrew essay, "*Kol Dodi Dofek*" ("Hark! My beloved is knocking" – cf. Song of Songs 5:2). Originally published in 1961 (in Simon Federbush (ed.), *Torah u-Melukhah*, 11–44), this essay was republished many times and was translated into several languages. Here, for the first time, Soloveitchik presented an overtly existentialist approach. Thereafter he would write in an existentialist style, such as his "Lonely Man of Faith," while at the same time continuing to write phenomenological works. The two kinds of works differ regarding the role of distress, metaphysics, the other and the purpose of the work. Regarding suffering, in his phenomenological writings, suffering is one of the dialectical poles, but in his existentialist writings suffering is the central point. Moreover, in the phenomenological writings the dialectical tension is resolved and the suffering disappears, but in the existentialist writings the polarity and suffering remains, but the person learns to live with it and endow it with meaning. Regarding metaphysics, in Soloveitchik's phenomenological works religious metaphysics is of interest and exists as a component of consciousness cognition, i.e., theoretical approaches are important because they reflect the structure of religious "cognition." Conversely, in the existentialist works metaphysics is no longer of interest. The problem of the other first arises in Soloveitchik's existentialist writings. The purpose of his phenomenological works was intellectual curiosity and religious need, but the purpose of his existentialist works is, first and foremost therapeutic: the very act of writing them eased his distress.

Soloveitchik rejected any metaphysical solution to the problem of suffering. The *halakhah* does not pretend to solve the problem; indeed, any solution would be an illusion. What the *halakhah* does is to endow suffering with meaning, thus enabling the suffering person to control his fate, rather than to be controlled by it. This is also the significance of Soloveitchik's dealing with the Shoah and the State of Israel in the same essay: the question of the reason for the Shoah is meaningless, and the only question worthy of discussion is that of meaning. "*Kol Dodi Dofek*," one of Soloveitchik's Zionist homilies, emphasizes the existential foundations of the State of Israel and the exclusive question of meaning. Only the *halakhah* can simultaneously endow with meaning the national catastrophe of the Shoah and the national revival of sovereign statehood.

Soloveitchik's existentialist approach is also reflected in several other works published in a pamphlet "Out of the Storm," but the apex of his existentialist writing is his "Lonely Man of Faith," which focuses on the problem of the other. In the modern world, faith is unique and subjective. Only divine intervention can make communication between two lonely people possible, and at a later stage, create a community. The suffering of loneliness does not disappear, but community life makes it possible to live with suffering and to endow it with meaning.

During the last decade or so of his active endeavors, Soloveitchik softened, somewhat, his resistance to the publication of his works. Subsequently, many volumes appeared under his name, including some that the Rav authorized and others that were edited from his public discourses. This trend intensified after Soloveitchik's death, as students and family published many volumes dedicated to both his Talmudic novellas and philosophical discourses. His son established the Morasha Foundation and his daughters inaugurated The Toras HoRav Foundation. Both were devoted to the publication of their father's manuscripts. Since thousands of recordings and many manuscripts remain unpublished, definitive studies of Soloveitchik and his era will wait for decades.

Soloveitchik was unique among his contemporary rabbinical colleagues. While continuing the intensive Torah scholarship, exemplary piety and dedicated leadership of his forebears, he additionally embraced western civilization. While there was no synthesis between these divergent visions, they co-existed harmoniously in his personality and lifestyle. In a lecture delivered to the Yeshiva University Rabbinic Alumni in 1956, the Rav contrasted his outlook with that of Rabbi Samson Raphael Hirsch. The latter advocated a greater synthesis between Torah and the civilization of a given epoch. Soloveitchik viewed them as separate disciplines and held that each world would lose its uniqueness if integration were attempted. He praised Yeshiva University since the yeshivah division continued the traditions of the classic Lithuanian yeshivot. Alongside the yeshivah, the university operated as a separate academic institution. Soloveitchik felt that both divisions functioned without synthesis and compromise.

Soloveitchik has remained the dominant spiritual leader for the Modern Orthodox world in the years since his death. No single rabbinical figure has emerged to inherit the Rav's mantle of leadership. Often many divergent and even contradictory viewpoints were ascribed to the Rav by his numerous disciples. Few perceived the totality of the Rav's spiritual gestalt. His lack of synthesis and the harmonious coexistence of numerous disciplines and quests that characterized his outlook added to the quandary.

The Soloveitchiks had three children. The eldest, Dr. Atarah Twersky, was chairman of the school committee of the Maimonides School, and thus continued the tradition established by her mother. Her husband, Rabbi Dr. Isadore *Twersky, was both a professor at Harvard University and The Talner Rebbe of Boston. Dr. Tovah Lichenstein resided in Jerusalem and taught at Bar-Ilan University's School of Social Work. She was married to Rabbi Dr. Aharon Lichtenstein, *rosh yeshivah* of Yeshivat Har Etzion in Alon Shvut. The youngest, Rabbi Dr. Haym Soloveitchik, was professor of Jewish history at The Bernard Revel Graduate School of Yeshiva University.

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[Aaron Rothkoff and Dov Schwartz (2nd ed.)]

°**SOLOVIEV, VLADIMIR** (1853–1900), Russian philosopher and theologian. Born in Moscow, he was the son of S.M. Soloviev, professor of Russian history at Moscow University. Vladimir Soloviev also lectured at this university but suffered the criticism of reactionaries for the liberal character of his Christianity. From 1877 to 1881 he held a post at the Ministry of Education in St. Petersburg, and later devoted himself to writing. His mystical vision, high intelligence, and religious tolerance made him one of the most outstanding men in Russia, and his philosophical and theological writing were influential. He vainly tried to reunite the Russian Orthodox Church and the Roman Catholic Church, and in 1896 he himself was received into the latter.

An interesting component of Soloviev's thought is his theological and practical philo-Semitism. In this he was almost alone in Russian mystical Christian circles and differed from his friend, Feodor Dostoyevski. Soloviev even wrote a small book about Judaism and another about the Talmud. His positive evaluation of Judaism resulted not only from his appreciation of Judaism's "religious materialism," that is, its avoidance of abstract theology. In addition, he opposed Christian missionary activities among the Jews. Soloviev learned Hebrew and on his deathbed he recited a Hebrew psalm for the sake of the Jews.

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[David Flusser]

SOLOW, ROBERT MERTON (1924–), U.S. economist, Nobel Prize laureate. Born in Brooklyn, Solow was educated at Harvard University from which he received his Ph.D. in 1951. From 1949 he was on the faculty of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, becoming a professor of economics in 1958 and Institute Professor in 1973.

He was also affiliated with the Council of Economic Advisers, as senior economist (1961–62) and consultant (1962–68), and was a consultant to the RAND corporation (1952–64). He served as a director of the Boston Federal Reserve Bank from 1975 to 1980 and was chairman of the bank in 1979–80.

Among Solow's other activities, he was a member of the President's Commission on Income Maintenance (1968–70), served on the board of directors and as a member of the executive committee of the National Bureau of Economic Research, served as a trustee of the Institute for Advanced Studies of Princeton University (1972–78), and was president of the American Economic Association (1979). In 1961 he received the AEA's John Bates Clark Award, given to the best economist under age 40.

A fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences and the recipient of the Seidman award in Political Economics (1983), he was awarded the Nobel Prize in economic sciences in 1987 for his significant contributions to the theory of economic growth.

In 1995 he retired from teaching at MIT. He served as chairman of the board of the nonprofit research group Manpower Demonstration Research Corporation, which he helped establish in the 1970s. He was also Foundation Fellow of the Russell Sage Foundation.

Solow authored a number of works, which include *The Source of Unemployment in the United States* (1964), *Growth Theory* (1970), *The Behavior of the Price Level* (1970), *Made in America* (with M. Dertouzos and R. Lester, 1989), *Learning from "Learning and Doing"* (1997), *Work and Welfare* (1998), *An Almost Practical Step toward Sustainability* (1998), *Monopolistic Competition and Macroeconomic Theory* (1999), and *Structural Reform and Economic Policy* (2005).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: P. Diamond, *Growth/Productivity/Unemployment* (1990).

[Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

SOLTI, SIR GEORG (1912–1997), conductor. Born in Budapest, Solti studied at the Liszt Academy with Dohnanyi, Bartok, and Kodaly and became an accomplished pianist. From 1930 to 1939 he was répétiteur at the Budapest Opera; he worked with Toscanini at Salzburg Festivals, making his debut as a conductor at Budapest (1938). As a Jew facing professional restrictions, he left Hungary in 1939. He spent the war years in Switzerland as a concert pianist, gaining the first prize at the 1942 Geneva competition. Solti's international conducting career began after the war. In 1946 he directed the Munich Opera and then in Frankfurt (1952–61), the Dallas SO (1960–61), and the Covent Garden Opera, London (1961–71). He was appointed director of the Chicago Symphony Orchestra (1969–1990), transforming it to one of the most celebrated orchestras in the world. He subsequently took additional posts as "conseiller musical" at the Paris Opera (1971–73), music director of the Paris Orchestra (1972–75), principal conductor of the LPO and artistic director of the Salzburg Festival. Solti also appeared regularly with the Vienna Staatsoper, and from 1956, he frequently conducted the *Israel Philharmonic Orchestra, with which he also made several recordings. His dynamic and vibrant conducting style, and his preference for huge sound, demanded the outmost professional performance from the players and reflected his charismatic and powerful personality. Solti became known for his wide-ranging concert and operatic repertoire, and his special competence in conducting for recordings. He gave a large number of first performances, made more than 250 recordings, among them the major works of Strauss, Wagner, Mozart, and Verdi. Solti made the first complete *Ring* recording (1958–1966) and conducted it in Bayreuth in commemoration of the one hundredth anniversary of Wagner's death (1983). Outstanding among his other recordings is a Mahler cycle (with the Chicago SO). He was honored with 32 Grammy awards – more than any other artist. In 1971 Solti was knighted; in 1972 he took on British nationality and was entitled Sir Georg. In 1974 he was made a Commandeur of the Légion d'Honneur. He has received many other major honors from many countries. He wrote a memoir, *Solti on Solti* (1997).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Grove Music Online; P. Dawson-Bowling, "Sir Georg Solti KBE (1912–1997): His Achievement in Wagner," in: *Wagner News*, 123 (Oct. 1997), 14–18; J. Breuer, "Sir Georg Solti (1912–1997)," in: *Hungarian Music Quarterly*, 9:1–2 (1998), 2–4.

[Max Loppert / Naama Ramot (2nd ed.)]

Ḥanukkah lamp made from stone, 6th century En-Gedi.
Photo: Z. Radovan, Jerusalem.

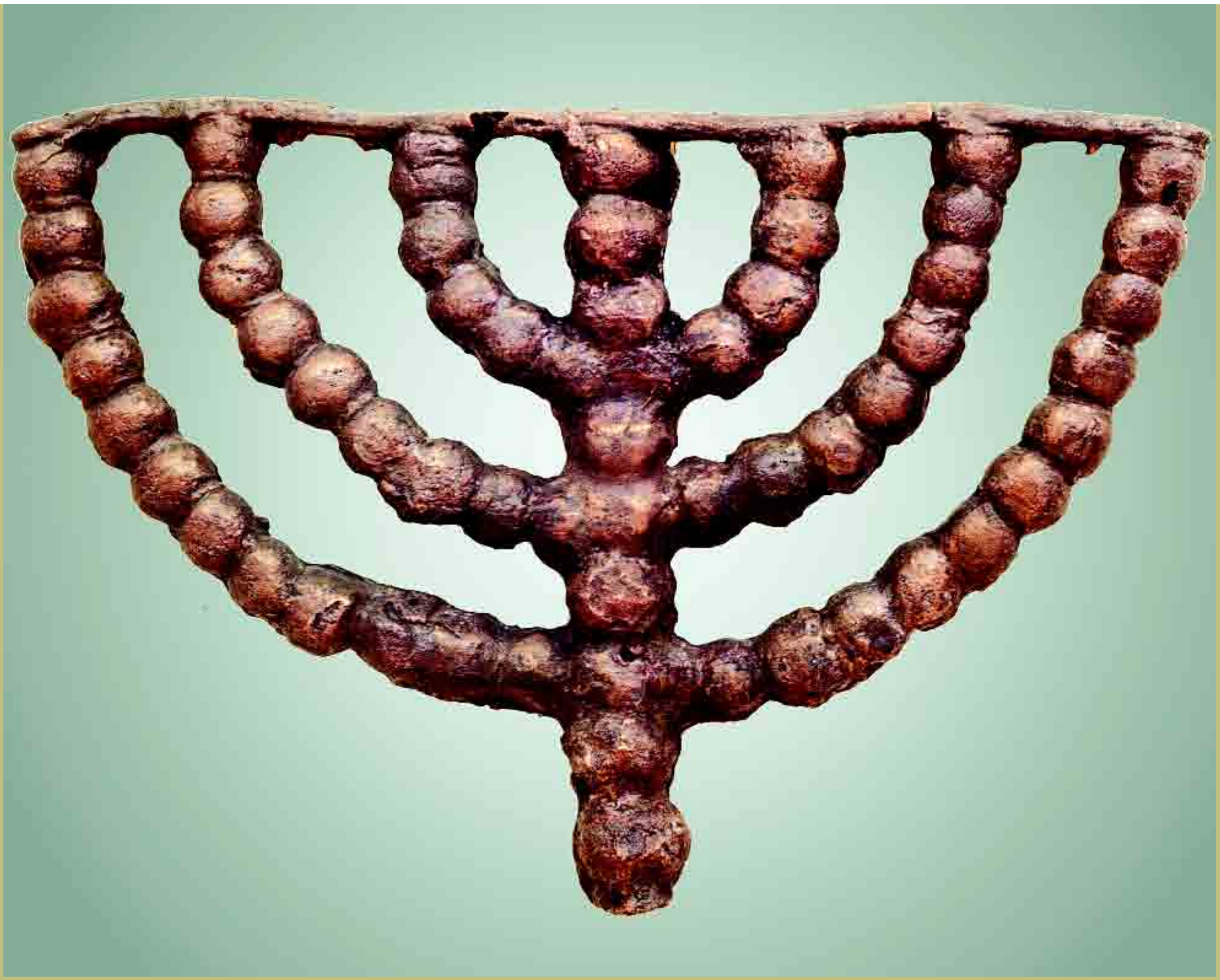

The production of ceremonial objects was a major venue through which Jews expressed their artistic abilities, despite the partial prohibition against sculpture. The focus centered on items related to the synagogue and prayers, festivals, and home rituals. Materials and styles for the same function varied among the dispersed Jewish communities, lending a rich texture to the overarching Jewish civilization.

CEREMONIAL OBJECTS

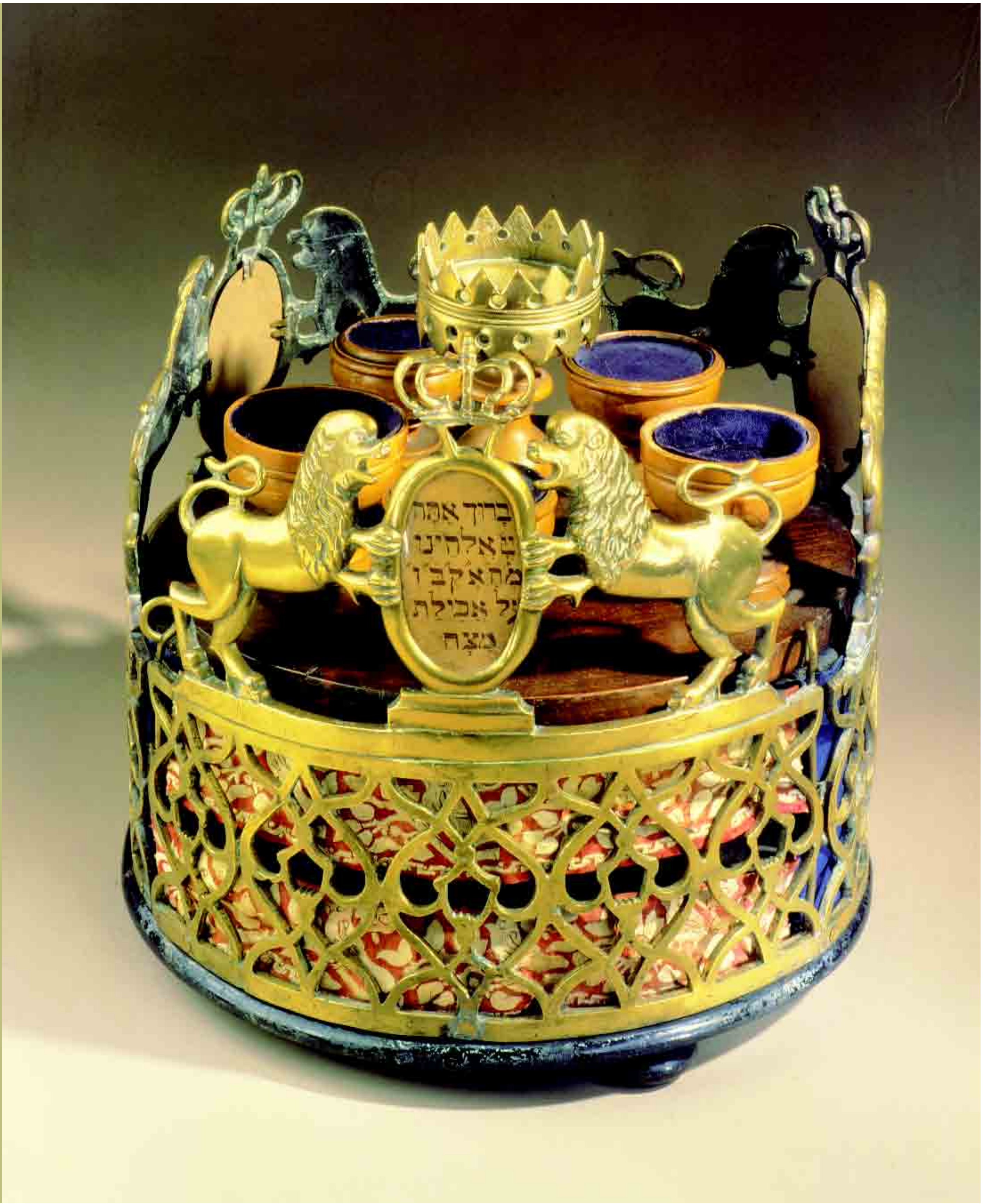
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ה אלהינו
מהאקבו
ל אכילת
מצה

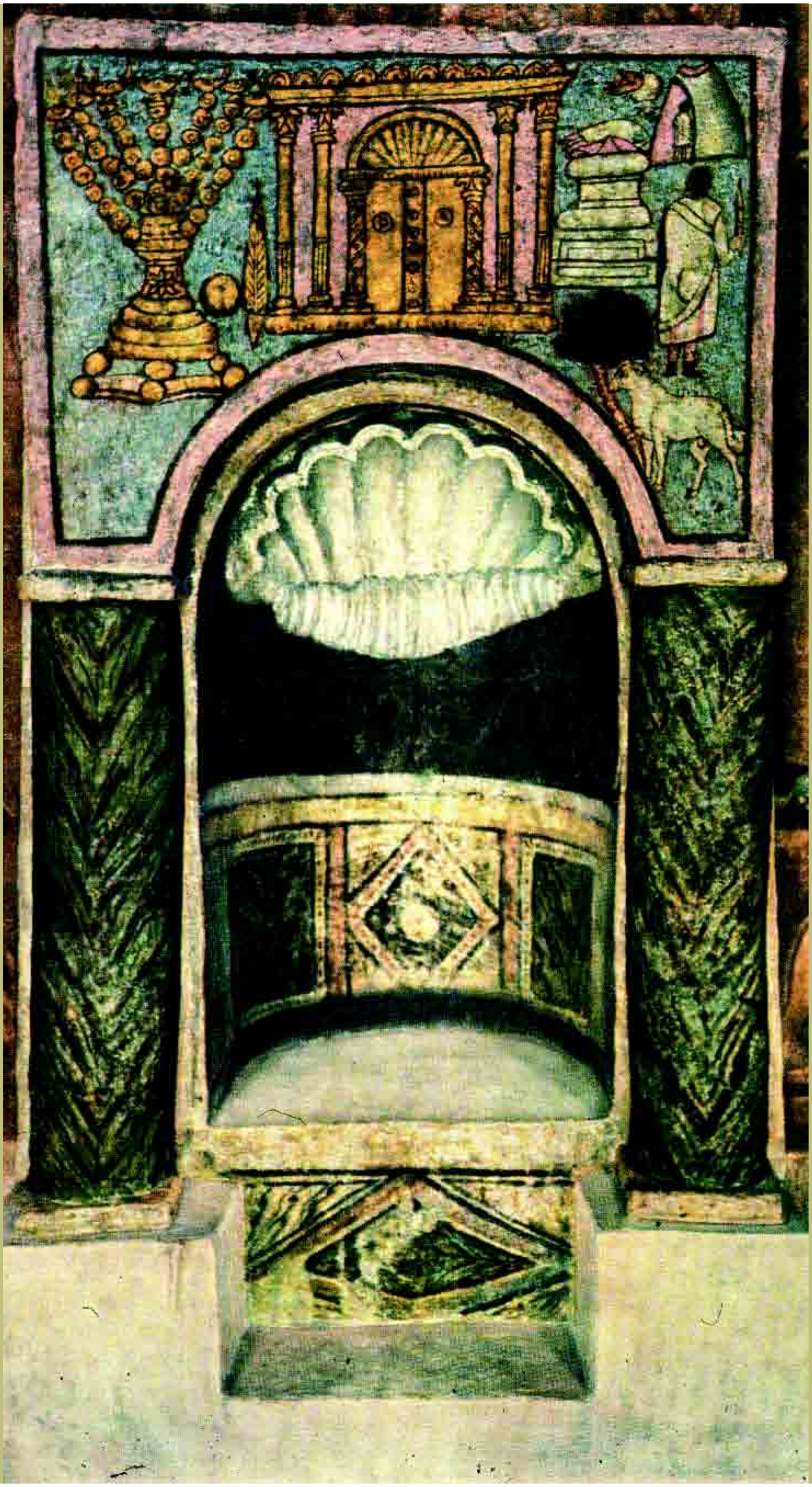

(opposite page):
Tiered *seder* set, Poland, 18th–19th century. Cast, cut-out, and engraved brass; painted and stained wood; ink on paper; embroidered silk; linen; and cotton. 13-3/4" x 14" (35 x 35.5 cm).
Gift of the Danzig Jewish Community. The Jewish Museum, New York.

(this page):
A Torah shrine wall painting in Dura Europos, one of the earliest known synagogues, c. 245 C.E.
Photo: Z. Radovan, Jerusalem.

Decorative paper cutting hung in the *sukkah* to indicate the direction of prayer, eastern Germany, 19th century. *Photo: Z. Radovan, Jerusalem.*

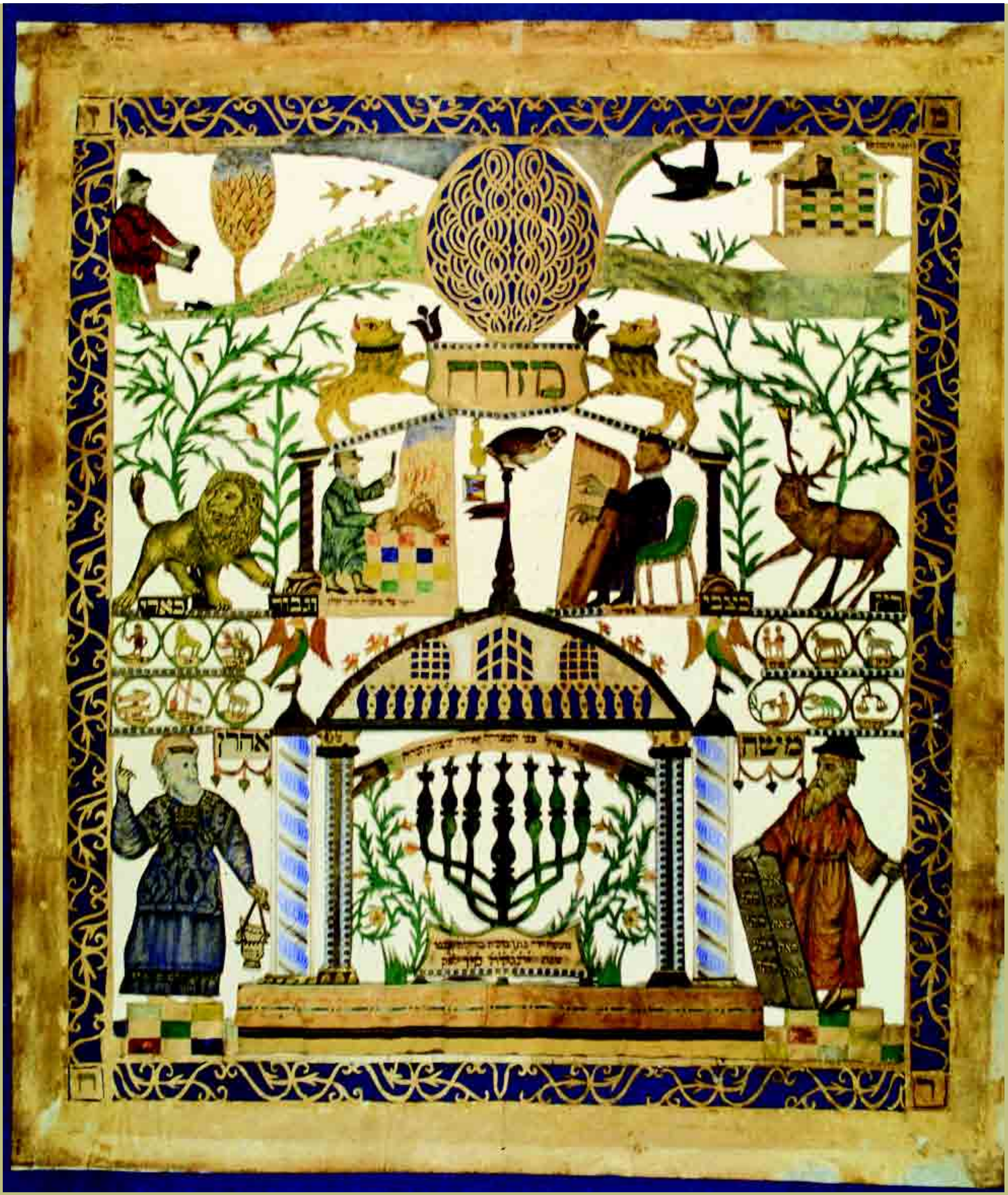
מזרח
כצבי
וגבור
כארי
משה
אהרן

Cover for the Sabbath table. Kurdistan, early 19th Century. Cotton: embroidered with polychrome silk; polychrome silk and wool border, 88 cm, F 6033. *Gift of Dr. Harry G. Friedman. The Jewish Museum, New York.*

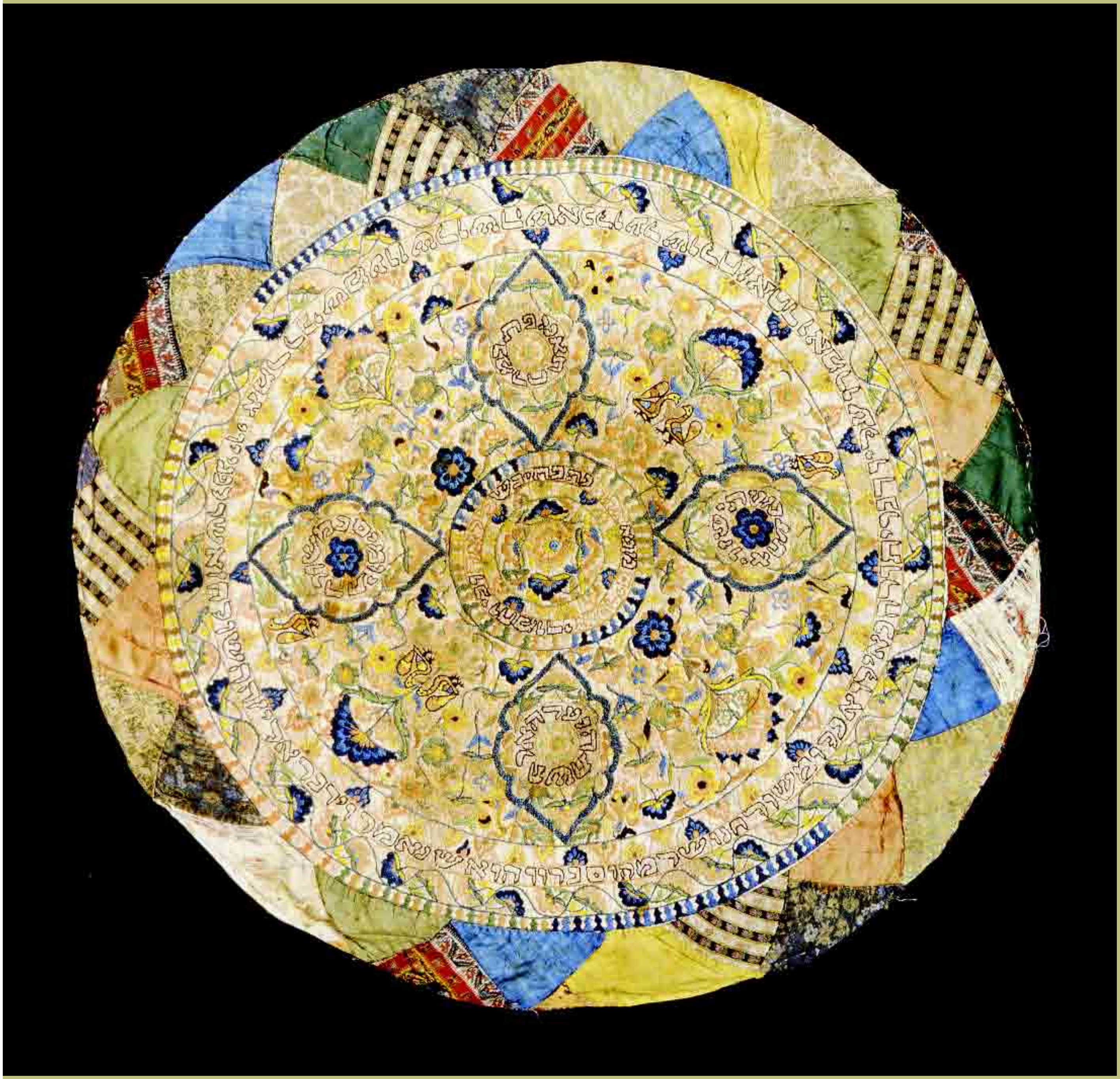

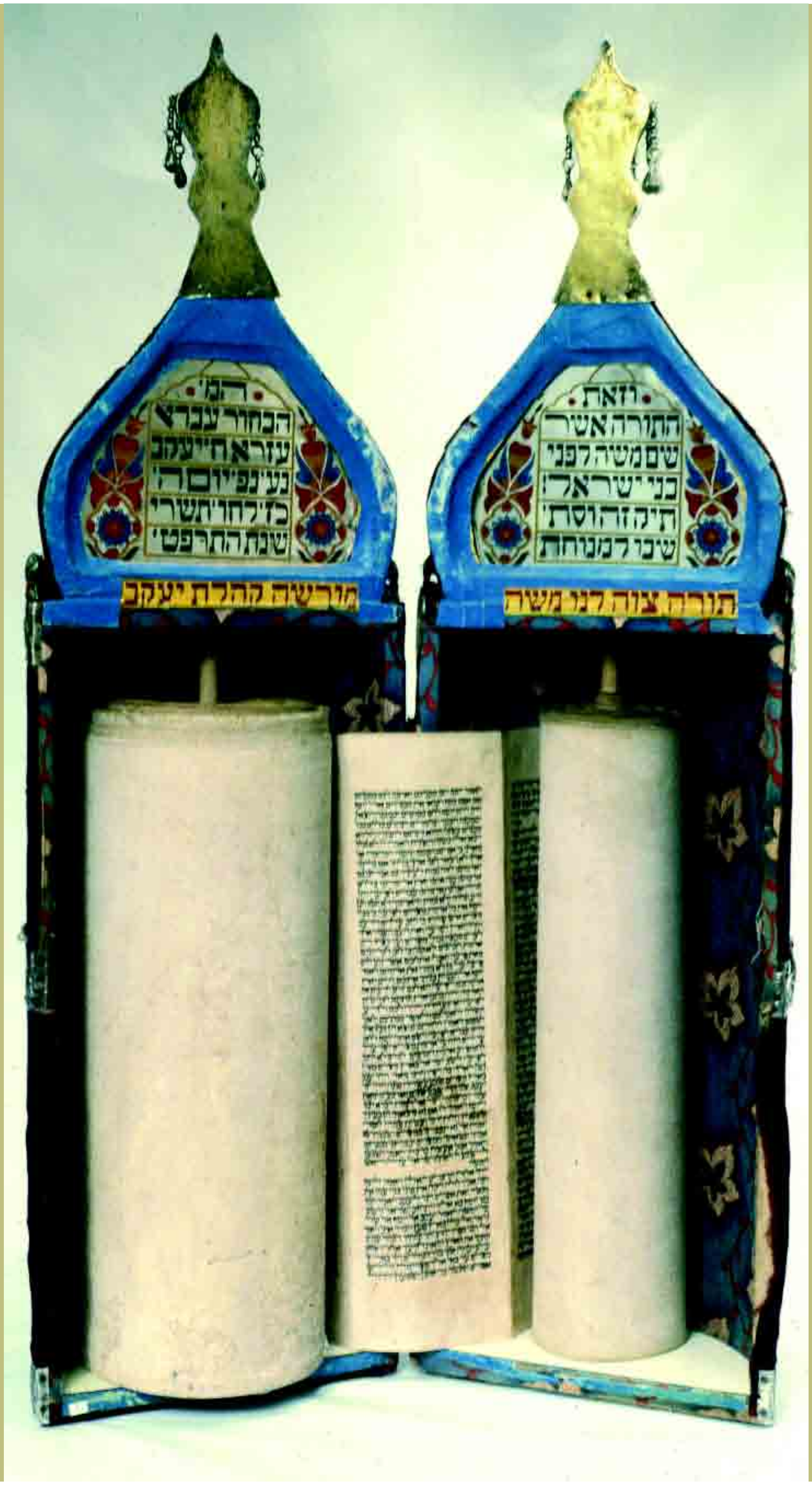
וזאת
התורה אשר
שם משה לפני
בני ישראל
תורה צוה לנו משה
מורשה קהלת יעקב

(opposite page):
Tallit **(prayer shawl),**
tallit **bag, and** ***tefillin***
(phylacteries) bag,
Shanghai, 1904.
Silk, embroidered with
silk thread. *Gift of Mr. and*
Mrs. Revan Komaroff.
From the Collection of the
Hebrew Union College
Skirball Museum,
Los Angeles.

(this page):
Torah scroll in its
decorated silver case,
Iraq, c. 19th century.
Photo: Z. Radovan,
Jerusalem.

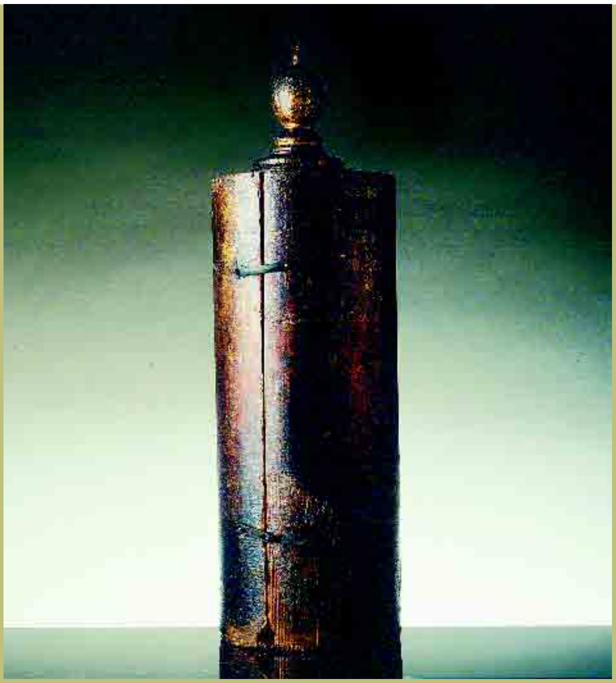

Torah case, Kaifeng, China, possibly 18th century. Wood, lacquered, and gilt; bronze; and iron. *From the Collection of the Hebrew Union College Skirball Museum, Los Angeles.*

RIGHT: **Torah case and finial, Afghanistan, 18th century. Wood, silver, and cotton.** *Collection, The Israel Museum, Jerusalem. Photo: Z. Radovan, Jerusalem.*

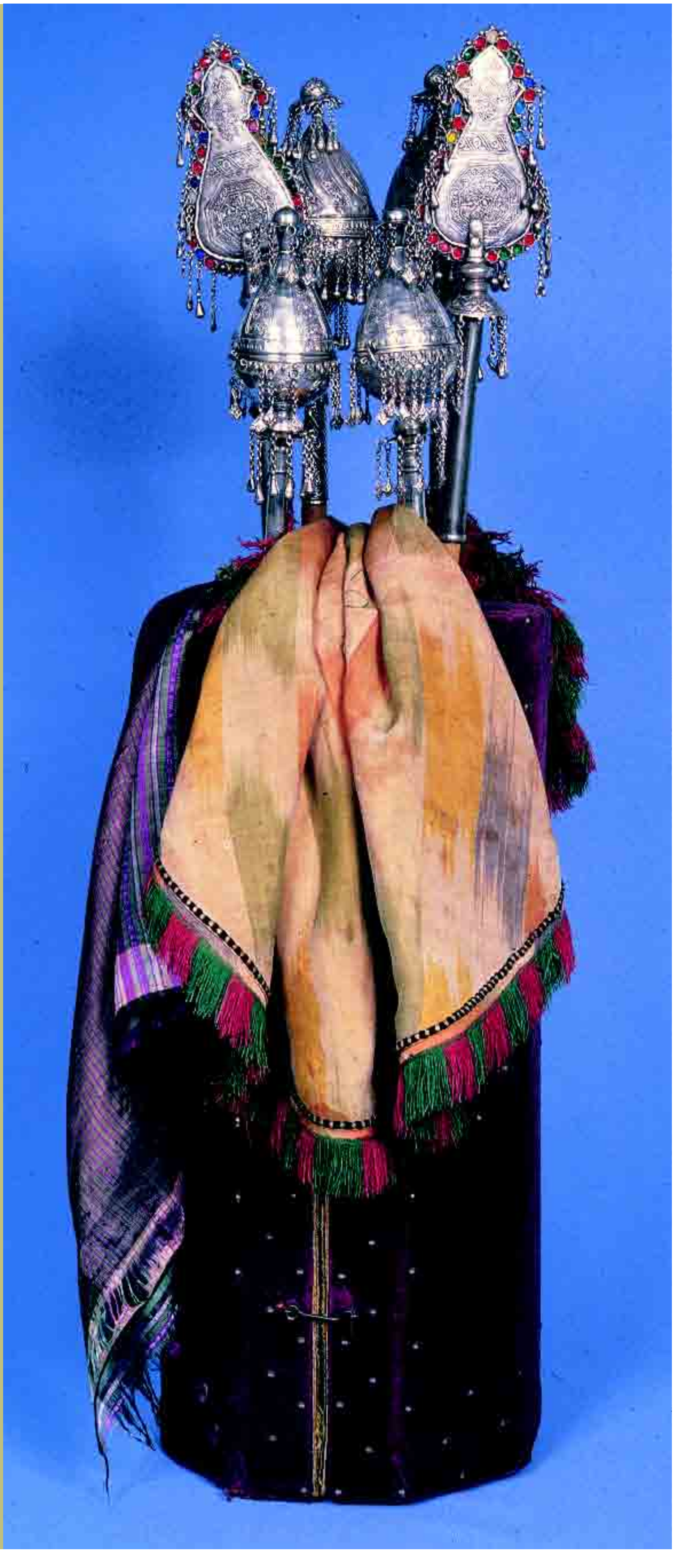

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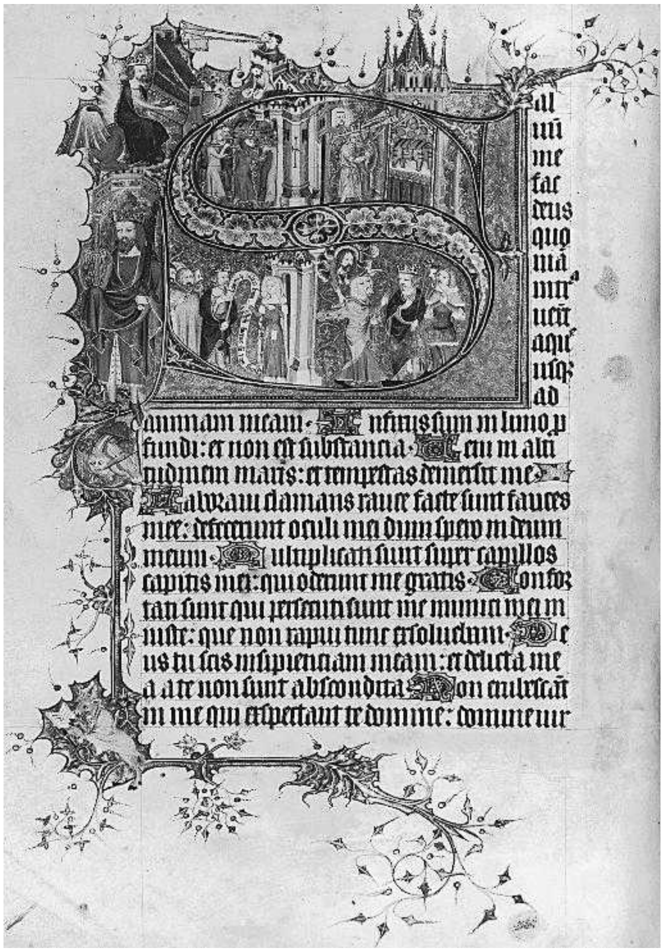

Illuminated initial letter "S" of the word Salvus *at the opening of Psalm 68 (Vulgate; 69 according to the Masoretic text) in the* Bohun Psalter, *14th century. The four scenes from the story of David are, top left, the Ark being carried up to Jerusalem (II Sam. 6:1–15); right, Michal watches David dancing before the Ark (*ibid., *16); bottom left, David reproves Michal for her criticism of him (*ibid., *20–23); right, the prophet Nathan assures David of the endurance of his kingdom (II Sam. 16). London, British Museum, EG 3277, fol. 46v.*

Som-Sz

SOMARY, FELIX (1881–1956), Austrian banker and economist. Born in Vienna, Somary began his career with the Anglo-Austrian Bank under Charles *Morawitz. During World War I he took part in the financial administration of the German-occupied part of Western Europe. From 1919 he was active as a banker in Zurich and later assisted in drafting the Young Plan designed to regulate German reparations to the Allied Powers. During World War II he was in the United States on behalf of the Swiss government and private interests.

He published his autobiography *Erinnerungen aus meinem Leben* (1955, 1959^{3}). His many publications on international economics and finance include *Bankpolitik* (1915, 1934^{3}); *Wandlungen der Weltwirtschaft seit dem Kriege* (1929; *Changes in the Structure of World Economics Since the War,* 1931); *Krisenwende!* (1933; *End the Crisis!* 1933).

[Joachim O. Ronall]

°**SOMBART, WERNER** (1863–1941), German political economist and sociologist. Born in Ermsleben, Sombart acquired a reputation through his work *Der Moderne Kapitalismus* (2 vols., 1902, 1916^{2}) in which he traced the development of capitalism from the late Middle Ages. In 1917 he was appointed professor of political economy at the University of Berlin. He wrote two works on capitalism and the Jews: *Die Juden und das Wirtschaftsleben* (1911; *The Jews and Modern Capitalism,* 1913, 1951), and *Die Zukunft der Juden* (1912) which aroused considerable controversy. In Sombart's view, the Jews were the principal cause of the disruption of the medieval economic system and its replacement by capitalism. The Jews, he held, were foreigners and came up against the hostility of the guilds which controlled the commerce of the medieval cities. Consequently they sought to break away from the restrictive economic framework of city life and, by doing so, became the pioneers of international trade. In this way they helped to lay the foundation of the capitalist system. Sombart maintained that the Jewish intellect, "concrete, stubborn, and systematic," was ideally suited to fostering a capitalist economy: "When Israel appears upon the face of Europe, the place where it appears comes to life; and when it departs, everything which had previously flourished withers away." Such statements made for the ambivalent reception of Sombart's work among Jews at the time. Thus, while liberal Jews strongly criticized Sombart as an antisemite, others, particularly in the Zionist camp, praised him as a nonpartisan researcher and held up his theses as evidence of Jewish perseverance and as acknowledgement of the special contribution of the Jews.

Although it has been generally accepted that Jews played an important part in the early development of capitalism, Sombart's theories were generally considered to be wildly exaggerated. They provided Nazi Germany with considerable material for antisemitic propaganda, since he stressed the incompatibility of Jewish commercialism with the spirit of the "nordic farmer," and in *Deutscher Sozialismus* (1934) favored the Nazi policy of excluding Jews from German economic and cultural life.

In 1911, David Ben-Gurion translated Sombart's *Sozialismus und Soziale Bewegung im XIX Jahrhundert* into Hebrew. A Hebrew translation of Sombart's *Die Juden und das Wirtschaftsleben* was published in 1912 in Kiev by a group of young Zionists.

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SOMBOR (Hung. **Zombor**), city in N.W. Yugoslavia, in the district of Bačka, province of Vojvodina; part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire until 1918. The first (registered) Jewish families came to settle in the mid-18th century. By the middle of the 19th century, a Jewish school existed where teaching was done in Hebrew and Yiddish, the use of the latter language eventually being objected to by the authorities and prohibited. The first synagogue in Sombor was erected in 1825 and the second in 1865. Among the founders of the *kehillah* was Jacob Stein. Conservative in doctrine, its first rabbi was David Kohn (d. 1884). By the end of the 19th century there were 200 Jewish taxpayers, and 650 Jews out of a total population of 25,000. The community had a *bikkur ḥolim* society and during the century the town and its *kehillah* grew considerably. In 1910 there were 1,000 Jews out of a population of 35,000, and by 1940 there were 1,200 out of 45,000 inhabitants in the city. A *talmud torah* was founded in 1925. In the 1920s and 1930s various youth and Zionist organizations opened chapters in Sombor. The last rabbi before the Holocaust was Michael Fischer. Like other places in Vojvodina, the Hungaro-German occupation resulted in the extermination of this once active Jewish community. The last Jews were sent to Auschwitz via Backa Topola on April 5, 1944. In 1953 a monument to the victims of the Holocaust was erected. The synagogue was used by a local commercial enterprise.

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[Zvi Loker]

SOMECK, RONNY (1951–), Hebrew poet. Someck was born in Baghdad, Iraq, and came to Israel as a child. He studied Hebrew literature and philosophy at Tel Aviv University and sketching at the Avni Art Institute. He worked as a counselor with street gangs, taught literature, and led writing workshops. Someck began publishing poetry in 1968 and published his first collection, *Goleh* ("Exile"), in 1976. Other collections include *Solo* (1978), *Asphalt* (1984), *Sheva Shurot al Pele ha-Yarkon* ("Seven Lines on the Wonder of the Yarkon River"), *Panter* (1989), *Bloody Mary* (1994), *Gan Eden le-Orez* ("Rice Paradise," 1996). The bustling life and alienating effect of the modern city, primarily Tel Aviv, figures prominently in his poetry, which addresses collective Israeli concerns, the ethnic issue as well as private experience. In 1997 Someck recorded with the musician Elliot Sharp the CD *Revenge of the Stuttering Child*. In 1998, together with artist Benny Efrat, Someck presented the exhibition "Nature's Factory" at the Israel Museum. With Shirley Someck he wrote a book for children, *Kaftor ha-Ẓeḥok* ("The Laughter Button," 1998). Someck's ninth poetry collection, *Maḥteret ha-Ḥalav* ("The Milk Underground"), appeared in 2005. He received the ACUM special Jubilee Prize, and in 2004 was awarded the Yehuda Amichai Prize. A collection of *Selected Poems* appeared in English translation (1999) as well as *The Fire Stays in Red* (2002).

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[Anat Feinberg (2nd ed.)]

SOMEKH, ABDALLAH BEN ABRAHAM (1813–1889), rabbi and *posek* of Baghdad. Abdallah was born in *Baghdad and was a pupil of Jacob b. Joseph ha-Rofe. At first he engaged in business, acquiring considerable wealth. When he perceived that the study of Torah was being neglected, however, he abandoned his business and devoted himself to the dissemination of learning. He founded the *bet midrash* Abu Menashe which was established with funds provided by the philanthropist Ezekiel b. Reuben Manasseh, after whom it was named. In 1840 he founded, with the help of the same philanthropist, the renowned Midrash Bet Zilkhah. He died in a plague that swept through Baghdad, and was buried there, against the orders of the government, in the court of the traditional tomb of the high priest Joshua. This caused an outbreak of riots, in consequence of which rabbis and communal leaders were imprisoned. After three months, Somekh's body had to be exhumed and buried in another cemetery.

Somekh was regarded as the supreme halakhic authority by communities of Baghdadi origin throughout the Far East. He was the author of *Zivḥei Ẓedek* (2 pts., 1899), halakhic decisions on the *Yoreh De'ah* with appended responsa. In manuscript are two more parts of the same work; *Eẓ ha-Sadeh* on the tractate *Beẓah*; novellae on most tractates of the Talmud; a commentary on the Passover *Haggadah*; *Ḥazon la-Mo'ed*, on the calendar; and responsa.

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[Abraham Ben-Yaacob]

SOMEKH, SASSON (1933–), professor emeritus of Arabic literature at Tel Aviv University. Born in Baghdad, he immigrated to Israel and specialized in modern Arabic literature and Semitic philology. Research, editing, and translating characterized his academic career, along with lecturing in Israeli, Swedish, and U.S. universities. Among his books are *The Changing Rhythm* (1973), a monograph on the Egyptian novelist Naguib Maḥfūẓ; *Genre and Language in Modern Arabic Literature* (1991); three books (in Arabic) on the novelist Yūsuf Idrīs; four anthologies of modern Arabic poetry, translated into Hebrew; and an autobiography (in Hebrew), *Baghdad Yesterday* (2004). He was awarded the Israel Prize in Oriental Studies in 2005.

SOMEN, ISRAEL (1903–1984), public figure in Kenya. Born in London, Somen was taken to South Africa when he was a child, and in 1923 went to Kenya where he joined the colonial service. Somen was mayor of Nairobi from 1955 to 1957 and honorary consul for Israel before Kenya's independence. He was also president of the Nairobi Hebrew congregation.

SOMLYÓ, ZOLTÁN (1882–1937), Hungarian poet. Tried to earn his livelihood by writing and had a lifelong struggle against poverty. His lyric poetry is founded on the feeling of love and the Jewish feeling of loneliness. He wrote *Az àtkozott költö* ("The accursed poet," 1911).

SOMMER, EMIL (1869–1947), Austrian soldier. Born in Dorna Watra / Vatra Dornei, Bukovina, Sommer was one of the top graduates from the cadets' school and served on the general staff. During World War I he commanded a regiment and was highly respected. In 1923 he retired as a full colonel and later received the brevet rank of major general. Sommer was head of the Austrian Jewish War Veterans (Bund juedischer Frontsoldaten Oesterreichs) until the organization split over his strong monarchist views in March 1934. He and his supporters founded a monarchist-oriented War Veterans Organization (Legitimistische Juedische Frontkaempfer). Following the *Anschluss* newspapers reported that he was forced to sweep the streets in his general's uniform with all his decorations. This false report was a pure invention; he was, however, arrested. In 1942 he and his wife, Anna, née Mittler, were deported to Theresienstadt. He managed to survive and after the liberation returned to Vienna. Sommer immigrated to the United States, where he died.

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[Mordechai Kaplan / Albert Lichtblau (2nd ed.)]

SOMMERSTEIN, EMIL (1883–1957), Zionist leader in Galicia and Polish Jewish leader. Born in the village of Hleszczawa in the district of Tarnopol, Galicia, Sommerstein practiced law in Lvov. His Zionist activities began during his student years, when he founded the Zionist Students' League in Galicia (1906). He later played a leading role in the Galician Zionist Federation, of which he became chairman. He was a member of the Polish Sejm from 1922 until 1939 (with a break from 1927–29). He was active in several Jewish institutions and organizations, especially economic ones. Due to him, the Jewish Academic House, the first of its kind in Europe, was established in Lvov in 1910. He specialized in economic and financial law and published several books on these subjects in Polish (1924–28). Sommerstein took part in the establishment of the *World Jewish Congress. At the end of September 1939, with the entry of the Soviet army into Lvov, he was arrested and taken to Kiev. He was transferred from prison to prison until he was liberated at the beginning of 1944 in a general amnesty.

In spring 1944 Sommerstein was invited by the Soviet authorities to represent Polish Jewry in Moscow and was even received by Stalin. Together with the Soviet-sponsored Association of Polish Patriots, he followed in the wake of the Soviet army's advance into Polish territory. He was co-opted onto the Polish Committee for National Liberation, which was established in Chelm in July 1944 and became the provisional government of liberated Poland. He moved to Lublin with the government and then to Warsaw (February 1945). Sommerstein was among the founding members of the Central Committee of Polish Jewry and also served as its president. He played an important role in arranging for the repatriation of 140,000 Polish Jewish refugees from the Soviet Union. He was a member of the editorial board of the central Jewish organ, *Dos Naye Lebn*, which commenced publication in liberated Poland. In April 1946 he headed a delegation of Polish Jews to the U.S., where he suffered from a paralytic disease from which he never recovered. He died in New York and his remains were taken to Israel and buried in Tel Aviv (See also *Poland, Contemporary).

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[Nathan Eck]

SOMMO, JUDAH LEONE BEN ISAAC (also known as **Leone De Sommi Portaleone**, **Leone di Somi**, **Leone Ebreo de Somi**, **Leone de' Sommo Portaleone**, **Yehuda Sommo**; 1527–1592), dramatist, theater director, and poet in Hebrew and Italian. An outstanding contributor to the development of the theater during the Renaissance, Sommo, born in Mantua, was a descendant of the aristocratic *Portaleone family. He was educated in the spirit of the Renaissance in general and in Jewish subjects by Rabbi David b. Abraham *Provençal who planned to found a Jewish academy of sciences at Mantua. Provençal, however, opposed Jewish participation in the theater. In his youth Sommo served as tutor and copier and invented a method for manufacturing ink, which is mentioned in *Shiltei ha-Gibborim* (Mantua, 1612), authored by his relative Abraham Portaleone. At the age of 23 he wrote a five-act prose play, *Ẓaḥut Bediḥuta de-Kiddushin* ("An Eloquent Marriage Farce"), which is the oldest Hebrew *drama extant. In 1557 he participated in a satirical literary competition on the subject of women, in their praise or censure. He submitted a long macaronic poem, *Magen Nashin* ("In Defense of Women"), with alternate stanzas in Hebrew and Italian, which he dedicated to Anna *Rieti.

Sommo seems to have been active from an early age in writing and staging plays for the Gonzaga court theater where European dignitaries were often in attendance. Each year the Jewish community of Mantua was obliged to present a play before the duke; Sommo was placed in charge of these performances. In 1565 he submitted to Cesare Gonzaga, patron of the literary school Accademia degl' Invaghiti ("Academy of the Lovesick"), *Dialoghi in materia di rappresentazioni sceniche* ("*Dialogues on the Art of the Stage*," ed. F. Marotti, Milan, 1969). In recognition of this work Sommo was admitted a year later as the only Jewish *scrittore* ("writer") in the academy. He ultimately became renowned throughout Europe as a dramatist and director, as well as an expert in stage design, make-up, and lighting effects. Sommo pioneered in the use of lighting by placing torches around the hall or on the stage. The torches were brightened or dimmed at appropriate times to heighten the emotional atmosphere of the play. The famous playwright Manfredi insisted that Sommo was the only director capable of staging his *Semiramis*. He befriended many famous actors and actresses who came to Mantua.

Although Sommo reached the height of fame in European theater, he did not neglect his activities in the Jewish community. In 1574 he aided Azariah dei *Rossi in publishing his controversial book *Me'or Einayim*. Like other famous Jewish artists and performers granted similar privileges, Sommo was exempted in 1580 from wearing the yellow *badge required of the Jews. In 1585 he was allowed to buy property in Mantua upon which he built a synagogue. In the same year Sommo was involved in an unsuccessful attempt to have the duke of Mantua crowned king of Poland after the former king died leaving no male heir. In 1588 he submitted to the first duke of Vincenzo a prose comedy, *Le tre sorelle* ("The Three Sisters," ed. F. Marotti, Milan, 1970).

Sommo's literary output, which remained in manuscript until the 20th century, comprised 16 volumes. Those works composed in Italian included 13 plays (comedies in prose and rhyme, pastorales, intermezzos), the *Dialoghi in materia di rappresentazioni Sceniche, 45 Salmi Davidici* ("Psalms of David"), poems, canzones, and satires. However, 11 of the Italian volumes, stored in the National Library of Turin, were destroyed by a fire in 1904. Only *Le tre sorelle*, the rhymed pastorale *L'Hirifile*, and a few Italian poems survived. Numbered among his Hebrew works are the first Hebrew play (four copies), two short dialogues (one of which, *Shetei Siḥot Tinok Omenet ve-Horim*, is the earliest piece of *children's literature in Hebrew), and several poems. J. *Schirmann discovered *Ẓaḥut Bediḥuta de-Kiddushin* in 1930 and it was subsequently printed for the first time in 1946, some 400 years after it was written. In 1937, *Dialogues on the Art of the Stage* first appeared in print in A. Nicoll's English translation and in 1969 it was first printed, together with *Le tre sorelle*, in Italian.

Sommo's greatest works are the *Dialoghi* and his Hebrew comedy of betrothal. The *Dialoghi*, among the most valuable discussions on Renaissance theater, are written in a lively and humorous style. Four in number, the *Dialoghi* are conducted by Veridico, a Jewish embroiderer of Mantua who directs performances at the ducal court, like Sommo himself, and two Italian devotees of the theater. Veridico tells his friends how he selects, rehearses, and readies a play for performance. Sommo's writings, although echoing the style of Aristotle and Horace who were very popular in Italy at that time, ventures the original opinion that it was the Jews who contributed drama to world literature. He maintains that the Book of Job, whose authorship Jewish tradition ascribes to Moses, was the first drama in history and influenced Plato to write in dialogue form, which, in turn, inspired the Greek dramatists. In the second dialogue Sommo asserts that dramatists divide their plays into five acts and limit the number of actors appearing on the stage at any time to five in order to correspond to the number of books in the Pentateuch. To prove the antiquity of Jewish drama he cites the Aramaic dramatic allegory "The Current of Life" ("*Corso della Vita*"), and traces the origin of the Italian word *scena* ("scene") to the Hebrew *shekhunah* ("street" or "neighborhood"). Much of interest is to be found in his detailed discussion of various aspects of theatrical production (acting, costuming, makeup, and lighting); his advice on the method of acting resembles Hamlet's monologue on the same theme.

Written mainly in biblical Hebrew, *Ẓaḥut Bediḥuta de-Kiddushin* is cast into the characteristic style of Renaissance comedy. The heroes are based on the stock figures of *commedia dell'arte* and the plot is taken from an *aggadah* of Midrash Tanḥuma: a father on his deathbed bequeaths all his property to his slave, leaving to his only son, who is abroad, the right to choose only one article from the estate as his own. The plan is based on the assumption that the son, upon his return, will choose the slave and thus, since a master automatically acquires all that belongs to his slave, he will obtain the whole estate. Until the son's return the inheritance will be safely guarded by the slave. However, the parents of the son's fiancée, believing that their intended son-in-law has been disinherited, cancel the engagement. The youth then plans to seduce his beloved in a vineyard and marry her by *nissu'ei bi'ah* ("marriage by intercourse"). In the finale, Rabbi Amittai ("speaker of truth," the counterpart of Veridico in the *Dialoghi*) solves the predicament and the youth regains both his fiancée and his inheritance. The comedy was designed not only to amuse the audience but also to criticize contemporary Jewish behavior in matters of betrothal and marriage and to demonstrate the literary potential of Hebrew. The play was apparently staged in Sommo's lifetime and later during the 17th century in Italy. It was produced for the first time in Israel in 1963 by a Hebrew University troupe and in 1968 by the Haifa Theater, which performed it two years later at the Venice Festival.

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[Dan Almagor]

SOMOGYI, BÉLA (1868–1920), Hungarian political journalist. Born in Halastó, he taught in secondary schools and edited the social-democrat organ *Népszava*, as well as the German language organ *Volksstimme*. After the October Revolution (1918), he became director-general of the Ministry of Education. Under the brief Communist regime, he resigned. Nevertheless, when Somogyi protested against the murders of the White Terror (see *Hungary), he was kidnapped and with his companion, a non-Jewish author, B. Bacsó, murdered and his body thrown into the Danube. Somogyi wrote *A francia népoktatás* (1905) and *Az ipari szövetkezetek* (1905).

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[Baruch Yaron]

ŞOMREI SABAT, Christian sect in *Transylvania; though chronologically the latest, it was the most extreme faction in the Reformation in Hungary. Founded in the 1580s in central Transylvania, the sect had distinct anti-Trinitarian trends. During its long history the sect passed from denial of the Trinity to rejection of the New Testament until it approached very close to Judaism. The inhabitants of the Transylvanian village *Bezidul Nou, the majority of whom were adherents of the sect, converted to Judaism in 1868–69, and their descendants were completely absorbed in Judaism.

Ideologically, the history of the sect, which in 1971 still had a small number of followers in Transylvania, may be divided into two periods. In the first period, on the instructions of the sect's founder, the Transylvanian nobleman András Eössi (d. c. 1602), the Şomrei Sabat almost completely abandoned the principles of Christianity, though they still recognized Jesus as the messiah to reappear. But by that time, in religious as well as everyday life, they behaved according to the biblical precepts, observing "the Jewish Sabbath" as the day of rest instead of Sunday, and celebrating Jewish festivals according to the Jewish calendar: Passover, the New Moon, etc. In that early period the prayer rite of the sect was already influenced by Jewish liturgy. The Şomrei Sabat also refrained from eating ritually unclean food.

The second period, beginning in 1630, was marked by the outstanding personality of Simon *Péchi (c. 1575–1642), the adopted son of Eössi. A scholar with a command of the classical languages as well as Hebrew, Péchi performed important functions in the political administration of independent Transylvania and was chancellor at the princely courts. In 1621 Péchi was dismissed from all his posts, probably in connection with his religious views. Thereafter he devoted himself to the organization and development of the Şomrei Sabat sect and also became involved in clandestine activities. In this period the sect deviated even more from Christianity and came conspicuously close to Judaism. The leader of the sect as well as his disciples translated into Hungarian many Hebrew prayers of the Sephardi rite. At that time the Şomrei Sabat based themselves only on the Old Testament, observing the Jewish precepts and completely rejecting the principles of Christianity. It is estimated that the membership of the sect was then about 20,000.

In 1638, on instructions from the prince, the Transylvanian authorities started to persecute the members of the sect and its leaders. Some emigrated to *Turkey where several of them converted to Judaism. Those who had remained in Transylvania were put on trial, their property was confiscated, and some were sentenced to death. The leader of the sect also became impoverished as a result of the confiscations and spent the last years of his life in his rural home under house arrest. As a result of the persecutions the membership of the sect greatly diminished.

The spiritual leaders of the sect created a varied literature, including prayers, religious poems, etc., partly independent original literary creations but most of them showing Jewish influence. The outstanding Hungarian author, Zsigmond Kemény (1814–1875), gives a vivid description of the life of the sect, the persecutions, and the life of its leader, Péchi, in his historical novel *A rajongók* ("The Devoted"; first published in 1858).

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[Yehouda Marton]

SONCINO, family of Hebrew printers active in Italy, Turkey, and Egypt in the 15th and 16th centuries. The Soncino family originated in Germany and claimed among their ancestors Moses of Speyer, mentioned in the *tosafot* by *Eliezer of Touques (13th century). Five generations later another MOSES, resident at Fuerth, succeeded in driving the wandering Franciscan monk and rabble-rouser John of Capistrano (1386–1456) out of the town (see title page of David Kimḥi's *Mikhlol*, Constantinople, 1532–34). His sons SAMUEL and SIMON left Fuerth for Italy, where in 1454 they obtained permission from Francesco Sforza, duke of Milan, to settle in Soncino near Cremona, from which they took their surname. Samuel's son ISRAEL NATHAN (d. 1492?), a physician, was renowned for his talmudic scholarship and piety; he died in Brescia. Printing had taken place in Italy from 1465, and it was, no doubt, under the influence of Israel Nathan and in partnership with him and his other sons (Benei Soncino) that his son JOSHUA SOLOMON (d. 1493) set up a Hebrew printing press which in 1484 produced its first book, the Talmud tractate *Berakhot*, with commentaries in the arrangement which became standard. This was followed by a complete, voweled Hebrew Bible (1488), the *Maḥzor Minhag Roma* (Soncino and Casalmaggiore, 1486), and 15 other works (to 1489). His were the first printed editions of the Hebrew Bible and Talmud tractates. From 1490 to 1492 Joshua Solomon printed at least nine works in Naples, and altogether more than 40 works are ascribed to his press.

His nephew GERSHOM BEN MOSES (d. 1534), also called Menzlein – perhaps for having learned the art of printing in Mainz – became one of the most successful and prolific printers of his time – and one of the finest of all times – printing from 1489 to 1534, not only in Hebrew (and Judeo-German?), but also in Latin, Greek, and Italian and using for non-Hebrew literature the names Hieronymus, Geronimo, or Girolamo. During his extensive travels, to France in particular, he obtained valuable manuscripts for publication, e.g., the *tosafot* of Eliezer of Touques which he was the first to publish. He was also the first to use woodcut illustrations in a Hebrew work (Isaac ibn Sahula's *Meshal ha-Kadmoni*, Brescia, c. 1491), and to produce secular Hebrew literature (Immanuel of Rome's *Maḥberot*, Brescia, 1492). Soncino also printed in small, pocket-size format, assembling an expert staff of literary advisers, typesetters, and proofreaders. His letters were cut by Francesco Griffo da Bologna, who also worked for the well-known Aldus Manutius.

Apart from Soncino and Casalmaggiore, Soncino also printed in Brescia, Barco, Fano, Pesaro, Ortona, Rimini, Ancona, and Cesena; both his Hebrew and non-Hebrew productions exceeded 100 volumes each, of which about 20 were Hebrew *incunabula (before 1500). His constant wanderings were due as much to the chicaneries of the local overlords as to fierce and perhaps unfair competition, though in the decade 1494–1504 (with an interval from 1499 to 1502) he was the world's only Hebrew printer. Eventually Soncino had to leave Italy for Turkey, where he continued to print in *Salonika (1527) and *Istanbul (from 1530), assisted by his son ELIEZER (d. 1547). Gershom Soncino exerted himself in bringing relief to the victims of the Spanish and Portuguese expulsions of 1492 and 1497.

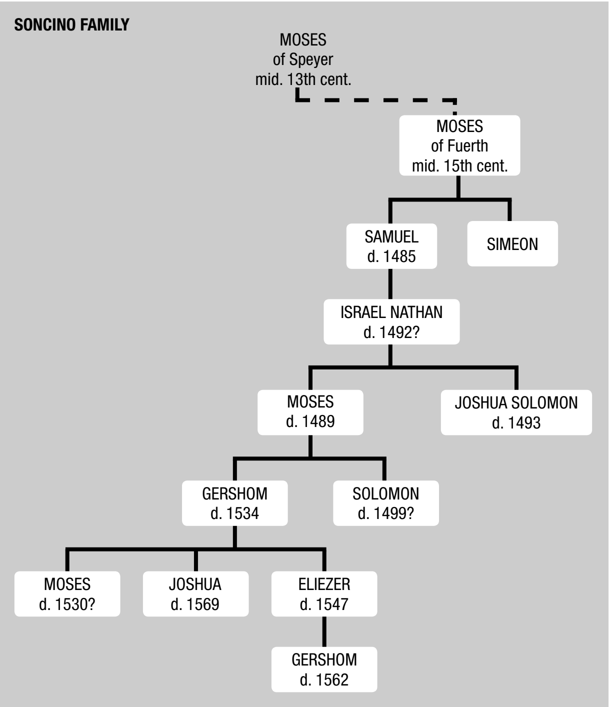
SONCINO FAMILY

His brother SOLOMON is mentioned as printer in only one work: Jacob b. Asher's *Arba'ah Turim* (1490?), though he belonged no doubt to the collective Benei Soncino. His son MOSES printed a number of books in Salonika from 1521 to 1527. Eliezer b. Gershom Soncino continued printing after his father's death, and after he died the press was taken over by his partner Moses b. Eliezer Parnas. His son GERSHOM printed in Cairo, Egypt, in 1557, being the last of the known Soncino printers. JOSHUA *SONCINO (d. 1569) of Istanbul was the author of a volume of responsa and novellae (*Naḥalah li-Yhoshu'a*, 1531). It is believed that the Hebrew press in Prague, where printing began in 1512, was founded by the Soncino family.

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[Abraham Meir Habermann]

SONCINO, JOSHUA (d. 1569), rabbi and halakhic authority; a scion of the famous *Soncino family from Italy, some of whose descendants settled in Turkey. Soncino was the rabbi of the Sephardi Great Synagogue (Sinagoga Mayor) in Constantinople. In one of his responsa he intimates that his Ashkenazi friends disapproved of his holding that post. He maintained contact with R. Isaac *Luria and R. Bezalel *Ashkenazi, and was a close friend of R. Moses *Almosnino. His responsa and his commentaries on the tractates *Eruvin* and *Shevu'ot* were published by his grandson R. Joshua b. Menahem Soncino, under the title *Naḥalah li-Yhoshua* (Constantinople, 1731). One of his responsa can be found in *Divrei Rivot* by R. Isaac *Adarbi (Salonika, 1582, no. 60). He was asked by Dona Gracia *Nasi to render halakhic decisions on business matters (responsa 12, 20). At the time of the proposed *Ancona boycott in 1556–57, which caused a great stir among Turkish Jews, Soncino originally favored the proposals, but later took up an attitude of vehement opposition. As the representative of Italian Jews who had settled in Turkey, he was of the opinion that pressure on the city by Turkish Jewry would further imperil the situation of Ancona's Jews (responsa 39–40). He thought that the solution to the difficulties facing Italian Jewry lay in their migration to the East.

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[Abraham David]

SONCINO GESELLSCHAFT DER FREUNDE DES JUEDISCHEN BUCHES, Jewish bibliophile society, founded in Berlin in 1924, and liquidated by order of the Nazi government of Prussia in 1937.

The Society aimed at the typographic improvement of the Jewish and Hebrew book; 15 regular publications were primarily intended to introduce to the Jewish book-world suitable models to be imitated by the commercial producers. The Society, therefore, commissioned all the different types of literary products likely to appear in print, such as scholarly works and periodicals, novels, short stories, plays, texts illustrated by modern artists, and reprints of interesting rare books. The texts were chosen from Jewish literature of all periods and languages. Leading master-printers selected the printing type, size, and paper of each individual publication in order to design an external appearance in accordance with its contents.

The most ambitious enterprise of the Society was the creation of a new Hebrew printing type, a task not attempted for many generations. The letters were designed by Markus Behmer, who based his work on the script used by Gershom *Kohen in his *Haggadah*, printed in 1527 in Prague. The "Behmer type" appeared for the first, and last, time in the Pentateuch printed for the Society in 1930–33 by E.W. Tieffenbach at his "Officina Serpentis" printing press in Berlin.

The Society published *Soncino Blaetter; Beitraege zur Kunde des juedischen Buches*, edited between 1925 and 1937 by Herrmann Meyer, the founder and honorary secretary of the Society. In addition, *Mitteilungen der Soncino Gesellschaft* appeared between 1928 and 1932 with A. Horodisch as editor.

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[Herrmann M.Z. Meyer]

SONDERKOMMANDO, JEWISH. In May 1942, in the framework of the clandestine plan known as the "Final Solution of the Jewish Question," the mass-annihilation of the European Jewry began in the biggest extermination camp – Auschwitz-Birkenau. The killing process, which was characterized by its technical and industrial methods, was executed in the form of a production line run by SS personnel. Staff members were rewarded for their murderous activities with special rations, additional vacation, and a personal promotion.

To operate the crematoria and remove all traces of their crimes, the SS selected prisoners for a special squad shortly after their arrival without knowing the real aim of the work. For practical and ideological reasons the SS selected for this purpose mostly Jews, who from the middle of 1942 were the majority of the new prisoners coming to the camp. Ideologically, this was one the Germans' cruelest ways to humiliate the Jews and stamp them as sub-humans ("*Untermenschen*"). The inevitable death of these prisoners was a continuation of their spiritual death, which occurred during their horrible work in the death installations. The squad of prisoners thus symbolized the double death of the Jews: the mental and the physical. Another reason for choosing Jews for this squad could have been the desire to blur the distinction between the criminals and their victims, and to forcibly involve Jewish slave laborers in the process of mass killing and impose on them the onus of crimes committed solely by the Germans.

The SS euphemistically called these Jewish prisoners "*Sonderkommando*," "special squad." The members of the squad were given several privileges, which helped those who remained the professional core of the Sonderkommando survive. These prisoners got better food, improved living conditions, medical treatment from their own doctors, and from 1944 exemption from bodily punishment. They were always kept in isolated barracks, guarded day and night, and were not allowed to contact other prisoners. By giving them privileges, the administration of the camp achieved an additional moral separation of the *Sonderkommando* members from the other prisoners, who tended to accuse them of being collaborators. As a matter of fact these miserable and abused *Sonderkommando* prisoners had no choice at all. Anyone who refused to obey the orders or claimed that he was incapable of working was immediately shot by the SS.

The members of the *Sonderkommando* were organized in a hierarchic structure. At the base were the majority of ordinary workers. A few were "functionaries," e.g., the "*Vorarbeiter*" (foreman) and "*Kapo*" (head of work unit). The "*Oberkapo*" (head Kapo) and the "*Blockaelteste*" (head of the barrack) stood at the top of the *Sonderkommando* hierarchy. Orders, however, always came from the SS men, and through the functionaries were delivered to all members of the unit. The first *Sonderkommando* started to work in May 1942, in the old crematorium in the main camp (Stammlager-Auschwitz), as well as in the provisional gas chambers on the outskirts of the Birkenau camp. Parallel to this there operated from August 1942 the so-called "*Krematorium-Kommando*" in the main camp.

Between March and July 1943 four multifunctional crematoria were put into action in Birkenau. The work in the old crematorium at the main camp was stopped completely in July 1943. From May 1942 to January 1945 about 2,200 prisoners were recruited into the *Sonderkommando.* The number of members depended on the killing potential and the policy of extermination, as decided by the camp administration. The number at any one time ranged from 100 to 874 men.

As so-called "secret bearers," these direct witnesses to the genocide of the Jewish people were doomed to death by the SS and were usually murdered after the completion of the bigger killing actions, on December 9, 1942; February 24, 1944; December 23, 1944; October 7, 1944; and November 26, 1944. As it was desired that the skilled and experienced workers in the commando should stay alive until the end, there was only one complete liquidation of the whole squad, on December 9, 1942.

The members of the commando were forced by their tormentors to welcome the Jews who were entering the dressing room, to calm them, to carry those who were not able to go to the gas chambers by themselves, to ensure a quick undressing process and fast movement into the gas chambers. After the killing by gas the prisoners were obliged to evacuate and clean the gas chambers, to inspect the bodies of the victims for valuables, to cut their hair (mainly women's hair), to clean hair earmarked for industrial uses, to pull out gold teeth, and to remove prostheses. Subsequently, the prisoners were forced to burn the bodies of those murdered in the crematoria ovens or in the burning pits, to crush the remaining bones, and to spread the ashes. In the dressing room they were forced to collect all the belongings of the victims and to prepare these for dispatch by train. In the case of killing by shooting, they were obliged to distract the victims and hold them by force.

The total hopelessness and overwhelming helplessness in this extreme situation paralyzed almost every form of resistance and created an atmosphere of apathy and a loss of moral values among some of the members. Nevertheless, and amazingly, the will to survive remained in the hearts of many prisoners in the squads, who even developed an optimistic attitude.

Not only the contact with death was traumatic but also meeting the victims shortly before their deaths, including friends and relatives, not to mention the accusations by other prisoners. All this exacerbated the moral dilemma of *Sonderkommando* prisoners and their mental suffering. The prisoners found themselves in an extreme psychological situation, full of self-contempt and self-reproach. As the sole eyewitnesses to the killing process, these prisoners were the last to have contact with the victims before they were murdered. For this reason, the Germans preferred to choose prisoners for the Sonderkommando who spoke the same language as the victims, especially before big killing actions. The members of the unit, in the age range from 16 to 54, came from 18 countries altogether, mostly from Poland, Slovakia, France, Holland, Greece, Romania, and Hungary, and communicated in 11 languages. Despite the common fate that awaited them, the society of the *Sonderkommando* members could not achieve complete solidarity, mainly because of differences in social and cultural backgrounds.

Motivated by a historical conscience, several members of the *Sonderkommando* clandestinely wrote the history of the mass murder of the Jews and their own histories of the *Sonderkommando.* These manuscripts were buried in the grounds of Birkenau, discovered in part between February 1945 and October 1980, and later published.

Wishing to warn the still living Hungarian Jews before their deportation to Auschwitz, the *Sonderkommando* men supplied the four Jewish prisoners Vrba, Wetzler, Rosin, and Mordowicz who escaped from Auschwitz successfully in spring 1944 with important information and evidence of the crimes committed in the camp. Unfortunately this information could not prevent the mass murder of the Hungarian Jews.

With the completion of four new crematoria in Birkenau between March and July 1943, the living and working conditions of the *Sonderkommando* improved significantly. This enabled the creation of an underground movement of prisoners within the *Sonderkommando*, which initially was part of the general underground movement in the camp. This movement planned a general armed uprising of prisoners. Because of basic misunderstandings and incompatible interests, the general plan for an uprising was canceled, and only the *Sonderkommando* continued to plan an uprising of its own. The preparations for such an action took place in the months of spring and summer 1944. During the preparation period, young Jewish female prisoners smuggled explosives from the Union Metallwerke for the use of the Sonderkommando fighters. Four of these women were publicly hanged on January 6, 1945.

The uprising, an act of despair, was launched on October 7, 1944, in an attempt to destroy the killing installations, to avenge the crimes against the Jews committed in the camp, and to ensure that at least someone remained alive from the commando to bear witness to what had occurred in the camp.

The uprising was crushed after few hours, ending in a bloodbath of 451 *Sonderkommando* prisoners who fell in the battle or were shot in retaliation. The fighters of the *Sonderkommando* succeeded in burning one of the crematorium buildings (No. IV), killing three SS members, and wounding probably 12 others. After the uprising was crushed, the remaining prisoners of the commando were obliged to burn the bodies of their fallen comrades and destroy the remaining crematorium buildings.

By the end of October 1944, after the gas chambers in Auschwitz-Birkenau were used for the last time, more than 1,100,000 Jews had already been murdered in the death factory of Auschwitz. The last surviving members of the commando left the camp on January 18, 1945. On the long death marches they were first deported to Mauthausen.

Altogether, about 110 men of the *Sonderkommando* survived the Shoah. Sixty years after the evacuation of Auschwitz 18 former *Sonderkommando* prisoners were still alive, most of them in Israel and the United States.

[Gideon Greif and Andreas Kilian (2nd ed.)]

SONDERLING, JACOB (1878–1964), rabbi. Sonderling was born in Lipine, Silesia. His mother was a descendant of the Yismaḥ Moshe, the founder of Hungarian Ḥasidism. An ardent Zionist from youth, Sonderling was referred to as "my fighting rabbi" by Theodor Herzl.

After studying at the University of Vienna and Breslau as well as at seminaries in Vienna, Breslau, and Berlin, Sonderling received his Ph.D. from the University of Tuebingen in 1904. In 1908, he became rabbi of Hamburg's celebrated Israelitischer Temple Verein, the birthplace of Reform Judaism but in his congregation, the bastion of Reform Judaism, men and women sat separately. He was such an eloquent orator and prominent rabbi that the Hamburg synagogue offered him the position despite its well known anti-Zionism and his advocacy of Zionism. His tenure there was interrupted when, during World War I, he served as a German Army chaplain on the staff of Field Marshal Paul von Hindenburg, who was later the president of Germany. He was the chief Jewish chaplain on the German Eastern front and spent the war years in Russia, Poland, and Lithuania, where he ministered not only to German soldiers but to Eastern European Jews he encountered. He looked like the embodiment of a rabbi, with a long beard and distinguished face that as he aged became ever more impressive. His picture appeared on postcards of the Kaiser's Army. He was called "God's word on a horse." At the war's conclusion, he returned to his pulpit and remained until 1923, when he immigrated to the United States. Within weeks of his arrival in the United States he was lecturing on Zionism and drawing large audiences to hear his passionate advocacy. He then held pulpits in Chicago, New York, and Providence, where he developed what his Los Angeles colleague called new approaches to an old tradition. Religion must appeal to the senses – all five senses – not only to the ear and to the mind.

Upon moving to Los Angeles in 1935, he founded the Center for Jewish Culture (Fairfax Temple). Where else but in Hollywood could one combine art and religion? While living and working in Los Angeles, he collaborated with many well-known musicians. He inspired Eric Zeisl to compose his requiem and Maria Jeritza to perform it. During World War II, he discovered that Arnold Schoenberg, then a refugee from Nazi Germany, needed some money, so he commissioned him to write the *Kol Nidre* service. He also worked with Ernst Toch in writing the text for "Cantata of the Bitter Herbs." In 1941, he commissioned Erich W. Korngold to write the "Passover Psalm," Opus 30.

Earlier in his career he inspired Freidrich *Adler (1878–1942), who died in Auschwitz and had been a member of his congregation, to make Jewish ceremonial objects. Adler was a master of applied art who worked with furniture, architecture, and functional ware. For the Cologne Werkbund of 1914, Adler designed a synagogue interior and Torah ornaments as well as an entire group of ceremonial objects for Sabbath and holiday home observances. The remaining part of that collection is the eternal light, which is in the collection of the Spertus Museum. The first piece of ceremonial art that Adler created was a *seder* plate of pewter and embossed and cutout glass. Incorporated onto the *seder* plate is a lid that lifts up to hold the *matzot*, and when the lid is closed the cup of Elijah fits on top in the center of the plate. It is on loan to the Skirball Cultural Center from the family of Jacob Sonderling 363 days a year and returned each year just in time for the *seder.*

His colleague, Hollywood Rabbi Max Nussbaum, commented that in Los Angeles Sonderling "initiated the Seder in drama and music and the dramatization of the Bible at Friday evening services. Basically, Sonderling himself was a fusion of religion and art."

His colleagues considered him more a teacher of teachers, a rabbi of rabbis, and he held his own with some of the most dominant personalities in the Los Angeles rabbinate. He considered himself an Orthodox rabbi among the Reform and a Reform rabbi among the Orthodox. Nussbaum said, "He represented the totality of our Jewish heritage at its best."

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[Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

SONDHEIM, STEPHEN (Joshua) (1930–), U.S. composer and lyricist born in New York. His meeting with his neighbor Oscar *Hammerstein II in Pennsylvania (where he moved with his mother) led him to write lyrics for stage shows. Winning the Hutchinson Prize for music at Williams College enabled him to study privately with Milton *Babbitt. Sondheim leapt to the forefront of Broadway lyricists while still in his twenties when he coauthored the songs (with Leonard *Bernstein) for *West Side Story* (1957). He followed this hugely successful musical with another lyrical triumph, Jule Styne's *Gypsy* (1959), and then wrote both the music and lyrics for *A Funny Thing Happened on the Way to the Forum* (1962). *Company*

(1970) revolutionized the art form, and *Follies* (1971) marked the start of Sondheim's collaboration with Hal Prince. *A Little Night Music* (1973) contained his most popular song "Send in the Clowns," while *Pacific Overtures* (1976) broke new ground with its use of Japanese *kabuki* theater techniques. *Sweeney Todd* (1979) is his biggest work. In *Sunday in the Park with George* (1984), Sondheim, inspired by a painting by Seurat, conveyed his images of the pointillist style through use of musical minimalism. His later works include *Into the Woods* (1987), *Assassins* (1991), and *Passion* (1994), his most symphonic score. He also wrote film scores. Sondheim's musical language, in which melody and harmony are closely argued, retains strong affinities with Ravel and *Copland, while making sophisticated use of jazz and dance idioms; it is intensely personal. His use of counterpoint is the anchor which separates him from most of today's theatrical composers. Sondheim is on the Council of the Dramatist Guild, having served as its president from 1973 to 1981. In 1983 he was elected to the American Academy of Arts and Letters. He was appointed the first Visiting Professor of Contemporary Theatre at Oxford University (1990) and was a recipient of the Kennedy Center Honors (1993), a National Medal of Arts Award (1997), and the Praemium Imperiale, Japan's highest honor, for a lifetime of artistic achievement (2000). In 2002 he received the ASCAP Richard Rodgers Award. Most of his scores have won Tony and New York Drama Critics' Circle Awards. "Sooner or Later" from *Dick Tracy* won an Academy Award, and *Sunday in the Park with George* was awarded the 1985 Pulitzer Prize for Drama. *The Sondheim Review* is a quarterly magazine dedicated to his works. Sondheim productions in translation have also spread to Spain, Germany, the Netherlands, and elsewhere.

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[Jonathan Licht / Naama Ramot (2nd ed.)]

SONDHEIMER, FRANZ (1926–1981) organic chemist. Born in Stuttgart, Germany, he was educated at Highgate School, London (1940–43) before gaining his Ph.D. from Imperial College, London. He was a research fellow at Harvard University (1949–52) and associate director of research at Syntex S.A. in Mexico City (1952–56) before becoming head of the organic chemistry department of the Weizmann Institute (1956–64) and also Rebecca and Israel Sieff Professor of Organic Chemistry (1960–64). During this period he retained his association with Syntex as vice president of research (1961–63). He returned to England as Royal Society Research Professor of Organic Chemistry, first at Cambridge University (1964–67), where he was also a Fellow of Churchill College, and from 1967 at University College, London. Sondheimer's research concerned the total synthesis of many natural products and in particular steroid hormones and their analogues and novel macrocyclic compounds. His many awards included the Israel Prize in exact sciences (1960), election to the Royal Society of London (1967), and the American Chemical Society's Sigma Award for creative work in synthetic organic chemistry (1976). His other main interest was classical music.

[Michael Denman (2nd ed.)]

SONG, ANGELIC. The song of praise which the angels sing to God is a common theme in the Jewish and Christian apocalyptic and mystic literature. In his vision Isaiah heard the *seraphim* uttering (Isa. 6:3) what later became known as the **Kedushah* (in Greek *Trishagion*). The idea of the angels singing in the heavenly spheres is very likely an old one; it is the counterpart of the song which the levites sing in the Temple (e.g., I Chron. 6:16–17). In the apocalyptic literature the seer translated to heaven sees, among other things, the throne of God surrounded by angels singing their perpetual song to God (II En. 39–40). This part of the vision may be called the mystical core of the apocalyptic experience. The angelic song in the apocalyptic literature is generally a development of Isaiah 6:3 and Ezekiel 3:12. The song of the angels is mentioned often in II Enoch, where it is revealed to the seer (Version II 23:2; cf. also Test. Patr., Levi 3:8). Particularly rich in its angelic doxologies, or songs of praise, is the Jewish-Christian Book of Revelation. The Qumran sect had a highly developed angelic liturgy (see Strugnell, in: VT, Supplement, 7 (1959), 318–45).

The *heikhalot* literature of the Jewish mystics of the talmudic period is replete with angelic songs. Even the throne of God sings a special song to God (*Heikhalot Rabbati*, 24–26). The angelic songs which the mystic hears are not short doxologies as in the apocalyptic writings, but long lyrical expressions of the divine holiness, appropriately called "numinous hymns" (R. Otto, *The Idea of the Holy* (1923), 34). There are several references to the angelic song in talmudic and midrashic literature. The two main ideas expressed there are:

(a) the angels do not repeat their song (which is always that of Isa. 6:3 and Ezek. 3:12); when they have finished singing it, they disappear;

(b) there is a special order according to which the angels divide the song among themselves.

There are also differences of opinion as to when the angels sing their song: during the day only (Lam. R. 3:23; Hul. 91b); during the night, when Israel does not pray (Ḥag. 12b; Av. Zar. 3b); or during both day and night (SER 7:34).

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[Ithamar Gruenwald]

SONG OF SONGS (Heb. שִׁיר הַשִּׁירִים), the book of the Hebrew Bible which normally follows Job in the Hagiographa and precedes the Book of Ruth. It thus stands first among the Five Scrolls. In Protestant and Roman Catholic Bibles, the book follows Proverbs and Ecclesiastes, in accord with Jewish (then later Christian) tradition that Solomon was the author of all three, for the arrangement of the books in the Septuagint has continued to exert its influence on the Christian canon into modern times (see *Bible, Canon). The title is derived from the superscription, *shir ha-shirim asher li-shelomo*, usually understood as "the best of Solomon's songs," although Hebrew normally does not form superlatives this way. (Comparisons with "king of kings," or "slave of slaves," are irrelevant because these are superlative by function: a king who rules other kings (= emperor); a slave owned by another slave; see Tur-Sinai, 354–55.) The book is also called the Song of Solomon or Canticles, the latter name being derived from the Latin translation of the Hebrew title. Fragments of the Song were found at Qumran.

The Character of the Song of Songs

The Song of Songs is composed entirely of a series of lyric (Septuagint: *asma*) love songs which vary in length, often consisting of brief stanzas, in which two lovers express to one another, and occasionally to others, the delights and anguish of their mutual love. Bold imagery and striking hyperbole characterize the songs, producing extravagant expressions and incongruous comparisons:

> I have compared thee, O my love,
> To a mare in Pharaoh's chariots.
> Thy cheeks are comely with circlets,
> Thy neck with beads (1:9–10; on the mare see M.H. Pope, in BASOR, 200 (1970), 56–61).
> My beloved is unto me as a cluster of henna
> In the vineyards of En-Gedi (1:14).
> I am a rose of Sharon,
> A lily of the valleys (2:1).

Several songs in chapters 4–7 exhibit qualities that distinguish them somewhat from the other poems in the book, for they lavishly praise the physical features of the two young lovers:

> The roundings of thy thighs are like the links of a chain,
> The work of the hands of a skilled workman.
> Thy navel is like a round goblet,
> Wherein no mingled wine is wanting;
> Thy belly is like a heap of wheat
> Set about with lilies.
> Thy two breasts are like two fawns
> That are twins of a gazelle (7:2b–4).

Because such poems belong to the same literary genre as a similar type of Arabic love poetry, they are called *wasfs*, after the Arabic technical term meaning "description." Such lyrical imagery and forthright expression are admittedly sensual and suggestive, but the poems are never coarse or vulgar. (Similar seductive language is employed by the married seductress of Prov. 7:16–17, but there it leads to a bitter end.) The composer has employed vivid imagery to set a mood and create an aura of emotion, which invites the hearers to participate and share his joy and delight. Such poetic finesse in part accounts for the timeless appeal and lasting popularity of these songs. The flickering flames of love that rise and fall throughout the book leap to a final crescendo in 8:6–7:

> Set me as the seal upon thy heart,
> As the seal upon thine arm;
> For love is strong as death,
> Jealousy is cruel as the grave;
> The flashes thereof are flashes of fire;
> A very flame of the Lord [or "mighty flame"],
> Many waters cannot quench love,
> Neither can the floods drown it.

The Bible, because of its primary concern with religious themes, contains poetry which deals principally with sacred topics in hymns, laments, songs of praise and thanksgiving, etc. There are also a number of songs with a secular flavor and dealing with the more mundane affairs of life scattered through its pages, but the Song of Songs is unique in the Bible, for nowhere else within it can be found such a sustained paean to the warmth of love between man and woman. It is completely occupied with that one theme. No morals are drawn; no prophetic preachments are made. Perhaps more than any other biblical book, the Song presents a picture of "gender mutuality" (Meyers).The female lover is given more lines to speak than the male, and the presence of the "daughters of Jerusalem" is most prominent. It is likely that several of the poems originated among women bards.

A remarkable feature of the book is that God receives no mention, and theological concerns are never discussed. While the Book of Esther also fails to mention God, an unmistakable spirit of nationalism permeates its pages; but the Song lacks even this theme. Another unique feature of the book is the extended description of the woman's dreams (3:1–5; 5:1–6:3). These are the only biblical examples of dreams not followed by interpretation.

While the Song of Songs appears unique in the Bible, it is quite at home in the literature of the Ancient Near East. Numerous texts recovered from both Egypt and Mesopotamia have brought to light the long history of love poetry in the ancient world. Even the earliest civilization of ancient Mesopotamia, that of Sumer, produced passionate love songs that reflect a remarkable similarity of expressions, implications, situations, and allusions to parts of the Song of Songs, even though the latter are "far superior to their stilted, repetitive, and relatively unemotional Sumerian forerunners" (S.N. Kramer, in *Expedition*, 5 (1962), 31; Cooper, 1970). Fox has demonstrated close parallels in Egyptian love songs, and Held has called attention to a dialogue between lovers in an Akkadian work of the Old Babylonian period. Still others have compared Greek love lyrics. Upon reflection it is only natural to expect that such songs existed in the culture of ancient Israel. Song, music, and dance, both sacred and secular, have been vehicles for expressing the deepest human emotions from time immemorial, and it is doubtful that the line dividing the one from the other was as clear to the ancients as it appears to moderns.

The Song of Songs consists of only eight chapters numbering 117 verses, yet in it occur 49 words peculiar to itself and an additional number of unusual words. The syntax of the Song is also marked by oddities. The *vav* consecutive of biblical Hebrew is completely lacking; frequent incongruities exist, with masculine forms of verbs, pronouns and suffixes often appearing rather than the expected feminine forms; the personal pronoun is used pleonastically with finite verbs with no apparent emphatic connotations; the infinite absolute is never used and the infinitive construct only rarely; and what appears to be an Aramaic construction occurs at 3:7 (*miṭṭato she-li-Shelomo*, literally, "his bed, Solomon's").

The Song exhibits characteristic features of Hebrew *poetry – parallelism, meter based on stress, repetitive patterns of structure, the use of chiasmus and ballast variants, assonance, and occasionally paranomasia. A variety of repetitive patterns may be found including a number with archaic features.

The diverse features of the Song, which support the view that the work is a collection, are somewhat muted by the uniformity of language, representing a late stage of biblical Hebrew along with features that are regular in Aramaic and in later Mishnaic Hebrew. This uniformity is apparently the result of linguistic leveling which was arrested by the final redaction of the book, leaving it essentially as it now exists in the Masoretic Text.

The Interpretation of the Song of Songs

Despite its brevity, the Song of Songs has been the inspiration for more literature about itself than any other book of its size in the Bible. It holds a magnetic attraction for those who feel compelled to explain its inclusion in the Bible, its meaning, and the linguistic peculiarities in it. Near the close of the first century C.E., when the book had long been a part of the Jewish national literature, arguments against its inclusion among the books that were to be considered canonical were suppressed by no less an eminent and vociferous advocate than R. Akiva. The rabbis and the early Church Fathers quoted, paraphrased, and sermonized from it. In medieval Europe, Bernard of Clairvaux produced 86 sermons extracted from its imagery. Still, despite the voluminous writings of Jewish and Christian exegetes, in the 17th century the Westminster Assembly's annotations on the Song of Songs state, "It is not unknown to the learned, what the obscurity and darknesse of this Book hath ever been accounted, and what great variety of Interpreters, and Interpretations have indeavoured to clear it, but with so ill successe many times, that they have rather increased, then removed the cloud" (*Annotations upon all the Books of the Old and New Testament* (1951^2)). Advances in biblical scholarship have been made since then, but scholars are still divided on such important matters as the unity of the book, its origin, its divisions, its purpose, the number and identity of its characters, and its date.

The Song as an Allegory

The history of the interpretation of the Song of Songs necessarily begins with its interpretation as an allegory in which the love of God for His people was expressed. By this means a mystical message of comfort and hope could be derived from the text. The lover in the songs, operating under the guise of Solomon and the shepherd youth, was now recognized as the Lord God of Israel, and His beloved was the people Israel. Thus a literary product which seemed devoid of any apparent religious connotations was transformed into a vehicle for expressing the very deepest kind of spiritual relationship existing between God and His people. (The development of Jewish allegorization is generally traced to Greek influence. Though the term allegory is Greek in origin, the assumption of borrowing the method is gratuitous, however, for the germinal concepts and interpretative tendencies possessing the potential for allegorization existed in Jewish schools of thought and in the Bible. Noteworthy in this respect are for example the marital images found in Hos. 2; Jer. 2:2; and Isa. 50:4–7.) The allegorical view of the book had gained widespread currency among the rabbis by the first century C.E., and it was doubtless the predominant view of the populace as well; there is evidence in the Mishnah, however, that the allegorical interpretation was not universally accepted. The Tosefta (Sanh. 12:10) records the famous admonition of R. Akiva: "He who trills his voice in the chanting of the Song of Songs in the banquet-halls and makes it a secular song has no share in the world to come."

It is difficult to determine with any degree of accuracy when the allegorization of the Song of Songs began, but the disturbing conditions imposed by Rome upon Jewish life in the first century C.E. were advantageous to its expansion. In light of this and of the unusual features of the work, there can be little wonder that arguments arose among the rabbis over the retention of the Song among the books that "defile the hands," that is, that were considered canonical. At the Council of Jabneh, c. 90 C.E., the matter was discussed, but we know little of the details. In any event, current scholarly opinion does not attribute authoritative canonization of biblical books to the Jabneh council. It is clear that the songs had an innate popular appeal, and they had been ascribed to King Solomon because of the several occurrences of his name in the text and the association of the references to a king with him. A generation after Jabneh, R. Akiva denied that there had ever been any controversy about the sacred character of the Song: "God forbid that it should be otherwise! No one in Israel ever disputed that the Song of Songs defiles the hands. For all the world is not worthy as the day on which the Song of Songs was given to Israel, for all the Writings are holy, but the Song of Songs is the Holy of Holies" (Yad 3:5; cf. Eduy. 5:3; Tosef., Yad 2:14). R. Akiva's defense of the work was most certainly based on the mystical allegorical interpretation, and it is significant that he had attained a certain fame as a mystic (Tosef., Hag. (ed. Lieberman), 2:3–4). According to another tradition the Song along with Proverbs and Ecclesiastes, the other "Solomonic" works, though holy, had at first been kept out of the public curriculum (*genuzim*) but were made accessible to the public thanks to the exegesis of the men of the Great Assembly (ADRN (ed. Schechter), 2; Zakovitch, 31).

The mystical emphasis was in time displaced by historical and eschatological allegories. The Targum interpreted the Song as an allegory of the history of Israel from the Exodus to the age of the Messiah and the building of the Third Temple. Allegory was an extension of a general interpretative tendency which sought to discover the supposed deeper meaning of the sacred texts with a consequent de-emphasis of the literal meaning. This permitted every generation to find consolation, solace, and hope appropriate to its own time and circumstances. Later Jewish exegetes such as Saadiah Gaon, Rashi, Samuel b. Meir, and Abraham ibn Ezra found in the symbolism of the Song words of consolation and strength for their contemporaries. A particularly interesting interpretation advocated by a few medieval and later commentators was the view that the bride represented wisdom.

When the Christian Church included the Hebrew Bible as a part of its canon, the allegorical interpretation of the Song of Songs was taken over with it, but the allegory was modified so that it conformed to the doctrinal needs of the Church. The Song was now understood as a portrayal of the love of Christ for his church and as speaking of his dealings with it. Modern scholarship has largely abandoned the allegorical interpretation.

The Song as a Drama

The popularity in scholarly circles of the allegorical interpretation began to decline during the late 18th century, thereby giving rise to other interpretative views. An early contender was the view that the Song of Songs was best explained as a drama, complete with characters, a plot, and a moral to be drawn. The two-character version identified Solomon and the Shulammite of 7:1 as the leading dramatis personae. The king is attracted to the beautiful country girl, and he takes her from her rustic surroundings to his capital for his bride. Through a series of romantic interludes, however, she enables him to rise above mere sensual infatuation and attain a higher and nobler form of love. This version lacked drama and any convincing moral purpose; the three-character version, however, finds Solomon vying with a youthful shepherd for the love of the maiden. Despite the concerted efforts of the king to win her affections (which included carrying her off to his harem in Jerusalem), she adamantly rejects his amorous endeavors. Her constant longing for her shepherd lover ultimately dampens the king's ardor. In the end he graciously allows her to return to her home and a happy reunion with her true love. The obvious moral of virtue triumphant, unfortunately, demeans Solomon.

The conception of the Song as a drama was not a new invention of 18th-century scholars. As early as the third century C.E. the Christian scholar, Origen, had described the book as a nuptial poem in dramatic form, and two important manuscripts of the fourth and fifth centuries, Codex Sinaiticus and Codex Alexandrinus, indicate in their margins the identity and order of speakers. The popularity of the theory could not be sustained, because of its inherent weaknesses. When approached without bias, the Song of Songs obviously lacks the elements of a drama. The identification of the speakers, stage directions, appropriate divisions into acts or scenes, a plot – all these must be imposed upon the text to sustain the dramatic theory. A further drawback to the theory is the figure of Solomon, for while he is made central in the drama he does not appear so in the text itself, and he is actually absent in the supposed climax (8:11ff.).

The Song as a Cultic Liturgy

Early in the 20th century a new theory was suggested in which the Song of Songs was understood as a Jewish liturgy which was derived ultimately from the pagan rituals of the Tammuz (Adonis) cult. This cult, mentioned specifically in the Bible only in Ezekiel 8:14 and alluded to elsewhere (some compare Isa. 17:10–11), reenacted annually the myth of Tammuz, the god of fertility. The lover of the Song is seen as the dying-rising god, and the maiden is the goddess who laments him until his return, whereupon a sacred marriage (see Klein) ensues. It is suggested that much of the poetic material in the Bible came from cultic backgrounds, and that the liturgy that underlies the Song of Songs came into Israelite traditions through the celebration of a ritual marriage at the annual New Year's festival. The old Tammuz liturgy was revised in order to make it acceptable to the monotheistic ideas of Israel, or the liturgy may simply have been reduced to folk poetry. Proponents of the theory call attention to the reading of the Song of Songs during Passover to bolster their case, but the practice was not regularly followed until the medieval period.

As intriguing as the theory appears at first glance, it cannot explain the wholly secular character of the existing Song. The Song may very well contain mythological allusions, but it is unlikely that these would have been known outside of a small circle of bookish savants.

The Literal Interpretations

Two interpretations of the Song of Songs existed in the first century C.E. – the allegorical and the literal. The rabbis suppressed the latter while the allegorical view in its manifold variations dominated the interpretation of the Song for centuries. The literal view was never completely suppressed, however, for the discussions on canonization were retained and transmitted through the Mishnah, and the natural view of the Song subtly surfaced in a later rabbinic discussion on the order in which Solomon wrote Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and the Song of Songs. R. Jonathan argued on the basis of human behavior: "When a man is young, he sings songs. When he becomes an adult, he utters practical proverbs. When he becomes old, he speaks of the vanity of things" (Song R. 1:1, no. 10). The literal interpretation, however, was advocated only rarely until the late 18th century when J.G. Herder interpreted the book on the basis of the plain meaning of the words, understanding it as a collection of love songs.

A variation of the literal view was initiated when in 1873 J.G. Wetzstein drew attention to the wedding customs of the peasants of Syria. The bride and groom are treated as king and queen during a seven-day round of festivities which include songs sung by the guests, praising the physical beauty of both bride and groom, and a "sword dance" performed by the bride before the groom. In 1893 the proposal was advanced by K. Budde that the book is actually a collection of Palestinian wedding songs. This fascinating theory held the attention of scholars for a generation thereafter, but it left disturbing problems unresolved. Not all the songs could so easily be identified with nuptial ceremonies, nor even with marital love. The division of the Song into seven sections for the seven feast days proved unconvincing. It was also illusory to assume that marriage customs of modern Syrian peasants who are composed of mixed ethnic origins could be realistically projected back over two millennia and imposed on a Jewish milieu, particularly when it was uncertain that the Syrian wedding customs described in the theory actually obtained even in modern Palestine.

The predominant trend of modern scholarship is to take the Song of Songs literally, as a collection of lyric love songs. The anthology includes songs appropriate for use at wedding feasts and others that simply celebrate the joys of youthful love. The redeeming value of this view, if one is needed, is that love in all its manifestations is the work of the Creator who made all things and pronounced them good.

Authorship, Date, and Origin

Tradition ascribed the Song of Songs to Solomon, but Solomonic authorship has been rejected for the most part by modern scholars. The diverse poems and variety of poetic elements preclude, too, the unity which the traditional view assumes. The language of the book indicates a relatively late date. The shape of the verb, *naṭar* (Song 1:6, 8:11, 12) replacing earlier *nāẓar*, "guard," for example, shows that it was borrowed from Aramaic after the internal Aramaic sound shift from the phoneme preserved in Arabic as [ظ], to [ṭ] sometime in the seventh century B.C.E. The Persian loanword *pardes*, "orchard" (4:13) is well post-Solomonic as is the hapaxlegomenon *egoz*, "walnut" (6:11). The *aperion*, "palanquin," in 3:9 may be of Greek origin. There are sufficient archaic elements in the book (Albright), however, to suggest that some of the songs are pre-Exilic.

The mention of Tirzah in 6:4 has been used to support a date for 6:4–7 before Omri moved the capital of the Northern Kingdom to Samaria (c. 800 B.C.E.). The geographical horizons of the Song include North Israel, Syria, Transjordan, and Judah, with northern places predominant so that several of the songs may have originated in that area. The destruction of the Kingdom of Israel in 722 B.C.E. did not necessarily mean the loss of that literary heritage. Ample opportunity existed for the preservation in Judah of the literary and oral traditions of the north when the Kingdom of Judah stood alone. It may be assumed that older songs, carried into Exile with the people, were brought together with later compositions and were edited, probably during the fifth century B.C.E. Older parts of the Song may have undergone minor changes in vocabulary through the replacement of older words with those more familiar before a final editing.

The discovery since 1929 of the Ugaritic texts has provided an important new research tool for biblical scholars. Through comparative linguistic studies several grammatical and syntactical problems in the Song of Songs have been partially clarified, and a number of archaic features have been identified in its text (Avishur). The direct value of the Ugaritic texts for the study of the Song of Songs is limited, however, because no work of a comparable theme has yet been discovered at Ugarit.

[Keith N. Schoville / S. David Sperling (2nd ed.)]

In the Liturgy

The Song of Songs is included in the liturgy of Passover. It is read on the Intermediate Sabbath where there is one; when the first day of Passover falls on Sabbath it is read in Israel on the first day and in the Diaspora on the eighth. Under kabbalistic influence it was instituted as a voluntary reading before the Friday evening service, being observed by Sephardi Jews, particularly during the Sabbaths between Passover and Shavuot.

In the Arts

Like the Book of Psalms, the Song of Songs has been a major influence in literature, art, and music – largely as a result of its mystical interpretation in Jewish and, even more, in Christian tradition. In early medieval times there were notable translations by Notker Labeo and Williram in Old High German; others appeared during the Renaissance era in various languages, including one in Spanish (c. 1561) by the New Christian humanist Luis de *León which may have been based on the original Hebrew; and, in more recent times, there were translations by Moses *Mendelssohn, *Goethe, and *Herder (in German), and by *Bossuet and *Renan (in French). In poetry, drama, and fiction the Song of Songs figures mainly in works of the 19th and 20th centuries. The French poet Victor Hugo, who first skirted the theme in his "Salomon" (*La légende des siècles*, 1877), developed it more fully in his "Cantique de Bethphagé," a poem contained in his posthumous collection, *La Fin de Satan* (1886). Treatments of the theme by Jewish writers include Heinrich *Heine's poem "Salomo" (in *Romanzero*, 1851), inspired by Song 3:7ff.; Abraham *Goldfaden's Yiddish operetta, *Shulamit* (1880); Julius *Zeyer's Czech drama, *Sulamit* (1883); and *Die Weisheit Salomos*, a German drama by Paul *Heyse, which S.L. *Gordon published in Hebrew as *Shulamit; o Ḥokhmat Shelomo* (1896).

The Song of Songs has continued to appeal to many writers of the 20th century, as well. In Russia, for example, Alexander Ivanovich Kuprin published the romance, *Sulamif* (1908; Eng. trans. 1923); in Argentina, Arturo Capdevila was the author of *La Sulamita* (1916), a play about the Song of Songs; and the French dramatist Jean Giraudoux wrote *Cantique des cantiques* (1938). A number of modern Jewish authors have also turned to the subject, including the Russian Samuel *Marshak, whose poem on the theme dates from his early, pre-Soviet, "Jewish" period, and the Romanian poet Marcel Breslașu (*Cîntarea Cîntarilor*, 1938).

In art the subject was chiefly popular in the Middle Ages, when it was given a symbolic interpretation. Thus, in Byzantine miniatures, illustrations to "Behold, it is the litter of Solomon; Threescore mighty men are about it, Of the Mighty men of Israel" (3:7) sometimes show Jesus in place of Solomon, the "mighty men" being depicted as angels with lances. The subject appears in 12th-century Byzantine miniatures such as the *Homilies of the Monk James* (Vatican Library, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris) and in the 12th-century *Hortus Deliciarum*. The Shulamite or Beloved symbolized the Church (i.e., the bride of Jesus), and hence the virgin Mary (the Church is representative). In the *Hortus Deliciarum* the Beloved is shown as the virgin flanked by monks and laity with the daughters of Zion at her feet, and the Beloved is also shown as Mary in the 16th century *Story of the Virgin* tapestry in Rheims Cathedral. Figures of the madonna from medieval France and Spain sometimes have blackened heads. These "black madonnas" have been thought to derive from the description of the Beloved who is "black, but comely" (1:5). The metaphors for the Beloved, such as the "rose of Sharon" (2:1), the "garden shut up" (4:12) and the "fountain of gardens" (4:15) became attributes of the virgin.

Two representations of the 19th century are "The Shulamite," by the English painter Albert Joseph Moore (1841–1893; Walker Art Gallery, Liverpool), and "The Song of Solomon" (1868), a drawing by the English pre-Raphaelite artist Simeon *Solomon (1840–1905; Municipal Gallery of Modern Art, Dublin). Modern Jewish works include a series of paintings by Marc *Chagall, illuminations (1923) by Ze'ev Rabban (1890–1970), illustrations by the Israel artist Shraga Weill (1918), and engravings by the Canadian David Silverberg (1961).

In the music of the 15th, and more frequently of the 16th, century settings of the (Vulgate text of the) Song of Songs were generally composed for liturgical purposes, since the verses and sections form part of many Marian celebrations. Early examples are *Quam pulchra es* by John Dunstable and by King Henry VIII of England. Sixteenth-century composers of motets and motet-cycles on the text include most of the great "Netherlanders" and their Italian successors. In the 17th century, the functions and forms of the settings became more diverse. Monteverdi's choral *Nigra sum* and *Pulchra es* were still in use as Marian praises, while his *Ego flos campi* and *Ego dormio* had already been composed as songs for alto voice and continuo. Among Schuetz's many settings in both Latin and German, *Ich beschwoere euch* (1641) is a *dialogo* approaching the dramatic form. The German Protestant settings were mostly intended as wedding songs; with the rise of Pietism they once more assumed a religio-allegorical function. *Meine Freundin du bist schoen* by Johann Christoph Bach, another wedding piece, practically concludes a period in the musical history of the Song of Songs. The 18th century did not favor the text, although one rare exception was William Boyce's *Solomon, a Sereneta… taken from the Canticles* (1743), with dialogues between "He" and "She," and choirs. In the 19th and 20th centuries the dramatic, or at least dialogic potential of the text again appealed to composers. The 19th-century works include *Tota pulchra es* by Bruckner; Chabrier's cantata, *La Sulamite*; Leopold *Damrosch's oratorio, *Sulamith*; and the oratorios titled *Canticum canticorum* by Enrico Bossi and Italo Montemezzi. Twentieth-century composers include Ralph Vaughan Williams (*Flos campi*, for viola solo, wordless voices, and small orchestra); Virgil Thompson (*Five phrases from the Song of Solomon*, for soprano and percussion); Jacobo Ficher (*Sulamita*, symphonic poem); Rudolf Wagner-Régeny (*Schir haschirim*, for choir; German text by Manfred Sturmann); Lukas *Foss (*Song of Songs*, for soprano and orchestra); Jean Martinon (*Le Lis de Saron*, oratorio); Stanislaw Skrowaczewski (*Cantique des cantiques*, for soprano and 23 instruments); Arthur Honegger (*Le Cantique des Cantiques*, ballet); Natanaël Berg (*Das Hohelied*, for choir); and Mario *Castelnuovo-Tedesco (*The Songs of Songs*, scenic oratorio; also settings of "Set me as a seal upon thine heart," etc., for Reform Jewish wedding ceremonies).

Among settings by Israel composers the best known are the oratorio *Shir ha-Shirim* by Marc *Lavry, and the solo song *Hinakh Yafah* by Alexander Uriah *Boscovich (the latter based on the traditional Ashkenazi intonation of the text). Several choral settings have also been composed for the introductory parts of the Kibbutz **seder* ceremonies, which traditionally open with the celebration of Spring. The folk-style settings of single verses and combinations of verses (often out of their original sequence) are especially numerous. Their role was particularly important in the formative years of the Israel folk-dance movement (during the late 1940s). The need for lyrical couple-dances – as against prevailing communal dances such as the *Horah and those derived from it and the "jolly" couple-dances taken over from Europe – led to an ideological conflict which was resolved by basing the new, more tender dances on the "historical" precedent of the Song of Songs.

The Song scarcely appears in traditional Jewish folk music outside its liturgical function – no doubt because of the rabbinic prohibition against singing it "like a folksong" (Sanh. 101a; see The Five *Scrolls, musical rendition).

[Bathja Bayer]

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SONG OF SONGS RABBAH, aggadic Midrash on the Song of *Songs, the product of Palestinian *amoraim*. In geonic and medieval rabbinic literature *Song of Songs Rabbah* is also referred to as *Midrash Ḥazita* or *Aggadat Ḥazita*, the name deriving from its opening passage: "This is what Scripture states in the words of Solomon (Prov. 22:29): 'Seest thou (*ḥazita*) a man diligent in his business? He shall stand before kings.'" In the *editio princeps* of the work, it is called *Shir ha-Shirim Rabbati and Midrash Shir ha-Shirim*. (For the name *Song of Songs Rabbah*, see **Ruth Rabbah*.)

It is an exegetical Midrash which expounds the *Song of Songs consecutively, chapter by chapter, verse by verse, and sometimes even word by word. In the *editio princeps* the work is divided into two sections, the first an exposition of Song of Songs 1:1–2:7; the second of 2:8 to the end. Later editions, however, are further subdivided into eight chapters corresponding to those of the biblical book. The Midrash begins with five proems characteristic of amoraic Midrashim, starting with an extraneous introductory verse which is subsequently connected with the opening verse of the biblical book expounded by the Midrash. Here the proems, most of which are anonymous, are introduced by verses from the Hagiographa (three from Proverbs and one from Ecclesiastes, both ascribed, as is the Song of Songs, to Solomon).

The language of the Midrash is mishnaic Hebrew with an admixture of Galilean Aramaic and with a liberal representation of Greek words.

Song of Songs Rabbah drew from tannaitic literature, the Jerusalem Talmud, *Genesis Rabbah*, and *Leviticus Rabbah*, as well as **Pesikta de-Rav Kahana* in a recension somewhat different from its present form. There is no evidence, however, to support the suggestion that it also made use of *Lamentations Rabbah*, the greater likelihood being that both of these drew upon a common source. Conversely, *Song of Songs Rabbah*, even though in a recension other than that extant, served as a source for **Pesikta Rabbati*. It is employed in the *piyyutim* of Meshullam b. Kalonymus and is referred to in *Teshuvot ha-Ge'onim* (ed. A. Harkavy (1887) 36). This Midrash contains much original tannaitic and amoraic material. It interprets Song of Songs as an allegory of the relationship between God and Israel. It also contains many *aggadot* dealing with the messianic redemption, as well as polemical expositions against Christianity. The work was apparently redacted in Ereẓ Israel about the middle of the sixth century C.E.

There are several later additions in the Midrash, some of them the work of copyists. On Song of Songs 1:2, for example, a copyist added an entreaty that his nephew might acquire a knowledge of the Torah.

Editions

Songs of Songs Rabbah was first published in Pesaro in 1519 together with the *midrashim* on the four other scrolls (although entirely unrelated to them) and has often been reprinted on the basis of this edition. There are several extant manuscripts of the Midrash, the earliest being the Parma manuscript, dated 1270, in which *Song of Songs Rabbah* occurs in the middle of *Pesikta Rabbati* between sections 18 and 19, associated with the festival of Passover, when the Song of Songs is customarily read. An English translation by Maurice Simon appeared in the Soncino Midrash (1939).

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[Moshe David Herr]

SONG OF THE THREE CHILDREN AND THE PRAYER OF AZARIAH, an apocryphal addition to the ancient versions (Greek, Latin, Syriac, Coptic, Ethiopic, Armenian, Arabic) of the canonical text of the Book of Daniel, inserted between 3:23 and 3:24. The interpolation, which may have been composed in Hebrew in the second or first century B.C.E., is in three sections: (a) the Prayer of Azariah (1–22), praising God, confessing Israel's sins, and imploring divine deliverance; (b) details concerning the heating of the fiery furnace (23–27); and (c) the Song of the Three Children (28–68). The last is in two parts: the opening liturgy addressed to God (29–34) and a series of exhortations addressed to all creatures, animate and inanimate, to praise the Lord (35–68). The unknown author of the addition derived much of his inspiration from the antiphonal liturgies in Psalms 136 and 148.

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[Bruce M. Metzger]

SONNABEND, YOLANDA (1934–), stage designer and painter. Yolanda Sonnabend was born in Rhodesia, but studied at the Académie des Beaux-Arts, Geneva, at Rome University, and at the Slade School of Fine Art, London. She was a resident of London from 1964. A well-known stage designer and painter, she collaborated on productions at Sadler's Wells and the Royal Opera House, London, at the Old Vic, the Stuttgart Staatsoper, and the Aldeburgh Festival. These productions included the *Oresteia* trilogy by Aeschylus, Monteverdi's *Orfeo*, *The Maids* by Genet, Shakespeare's *The Tempest*, *Othello*, *Henry IV*. and Benjamin Britten's opera, *The Turn of the Screw*. Her work was noted for intensity of vision and an extremely personal use of color and decoration. Among her finest efforts have been the plays of Genet, which require fantastic settings. She held exhibitions of stage designs in London, New York, and Italy, and her paintings appeared in numerous mixed exhibitions. She is represented in the collections of the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, and the Arts Council of Great Britain.

[Charles Samuel Spencer]

SONNE, ISAIAH (1887–1960), scholar, historian, and bibliographer. Born in Galicia, Sonne studied at Swiss and Italian universities and at the Collegio Rabbinico in Florence, where he later became a lecturer in Talmud, philosophy, and Jewish history after having taught at the Hebrew high school in Lodz. In Florence he also taught German in a state high school and worked in the libraries and archives of the Jewish communities in Italy. From 1936 to 1939 he headed the rabbinical seminary in Rhodes, and in 1940 became lecturer and librarian at Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati.

Sonne's scholarly interests extended to history, particularly that of Italian Jewry; biography (Judah Abrabanel, Uriel d'Acosta, Leone Modena); philosophy (Spinoza, Pascal); Hebrew literature (Immanuel of Rome); bibliography; and Jewish art. He was a scholar of penetrating insights, able to extract underlying historical theories from seemingly trivial details, e.g., his article in the *Alexander Marx Jubilee Volume* (1950, Hebrew section, 209–32). Sonne discovered a number of hitherto unknown works and documents, his main work consisting of articles that he published in learned periodicals and Festschriften. His books include *Avnei Binyan le-Toledot ha-Yehudim be-Italyah* ("Documents in the History of the Jews in Italy," 1938–40) and *Mi-Paulus ha-Revi'i ad Pius ha-Ḥamishi* "From Paul IV to Pius V," 1954); among his bibliographical studies is his "Expurgation of Hebrew Books; the work of Jewish Scholars" (in: *Bulletin of the New York Public Library*, 46 (1942), 975–1013). Of a polemical bent, Sonne was involved in a number of scholarly controversies. He bequeathed his collection of books and manuscripts to the Ben-Zvi Institute, Jerusalem, which published a memorial volume in his name in 1961.

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[Jerucham Tolkes]

SONNEBORN, RUDOLF GOLDSCHMIDT (1898–1986), U.S. businessman and Zionist leader. Sonneborn was born in Baltimore, Maryland. He served as a navy pilot during World War I. In 1920 he joined his family's oil and chemical firm, L. Sonneborn and Sons of New York City, with which he remained associated. He was a director of the Commercial State Bank and Trust Company of New York, and president of the American Financial and Development Corporation for Israel and the Israel American Petroleum Corporation. Sonneborn was first attracted to Zionism during his student years. In 1919, when he was 21, he served on the *Zionist Commission to Palestine and journeyed alone to Damascus to confer with Emir Feisal. His wide connections in the American-Jewish community well equipped him as leader of a small group of prominent American Jews, called the Sonneborn Institute, who worked secretly with the Haganah in the years after World War II to provide the Palestine *yishuv* with desperately needed arms, ships (including the famous *Exodus*), and supplies. After the establishment of the State of Israel, the group continued its activities as Materials for Israel, of which Sonneborn was president until 1955. In addition to his business activities on behalf of the Jewish State, Sonneborn served in executive capacities with the United Jewish Appeal, the United Israel Appeal, and the Zionist Organization of America. He married Dorothy *Schiff, owner and publisher of the *New York Post*.

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[Hillel Halkin]

SONNEMANN, LEOPOLD (1831–1909), German banker, newspaper publisher, politician; founder and owner of the *Frankfurter Zeitung*. He was born in the town of Hochberg, Bavaria, to a traditional Jewish family. Following the death of his father in 1853, Sonnemann successfully turned the family's cloth-trade business into an international banking house. In 1856, at the age of 25, he joined forces with another Frankfurt banker, H.B. Rosenthal, in establishing a liberal financial paper, *Frankfurter Geschäftsbericht*, later renamed *Frankfurter Handelsblatt*. In 1859, the paper was transformed into the *Neue Frankfurter Zeitung* and, in 1866, into the *Frankfurter Zeitung* (FZ), by then published in Sonnemann's Frankfurter Societaets-Druckerei. In 1867, he became sole proprietor and editor. Under his direction, the FZ soon developed into one of the leading liberal dailies in Germany. Deeply impressed as a boy by the revolutionary events in 1848/49, Sonnemann was one of the founders of the *Volkswirtschaftlicher Kongress* (German Economic Congress), to which he reported on banking and stock exchange systems until 1885. From 1871 to 1876 and from 1878 to 1884, he was a member of the Reichstag, representing the *Deutsche Volkspartei* (Southern German Democratic Party). He was also a member of the Frankfurt city council. In his will, he asked that the *Frankfurter Zeitung* remain a liberal voice, and so it continued until it was closed on the personal instructions of Hitler in 1943.

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[Lawrence H. Feigenbaum / Johannes Valentin Schwarz (2nd ed.)]

SONNENFELD, BARRY (1953–), U.S. director-producer. Born in New York City, Sonnenfeld grew up in Washington Heights and attended the High School of Music and Art in Manhattan. He majored in political science at New York University, but completed his senior year at Hampshire College in Amherst, Massachusetts. Following a cross-country trip, Sonnenfeld decided to enroll in NYU's Graduate Institute of Film and Television. He earned money making industrial films, directing commercials, music videos, and X-rated movies. In 1982, Sonnenfeld worked as a cinematographer on the documentary *In Our Water*, which earned an Academy Award nomination. After he met fellow NYU film student Joel *Coen at a party, the two became friends. Sonnenfeld helped Coen raise money for the noir thriller *Blood Simple* (1984), for which he was the cinematographer. In 1985, he won an Emmy Award for his work on an ABC television special, *Out of Step*. He was the cinematographer for several feature films, including the Coen brothers' *Raising Arizona* (1987) and *Miller's Crossing* (1990) and Rob *Reiner's *When Harry Met Sally…* (1989) and *Misery* (1990). Sonnenfeld directed *The Addams Family* (1991), a big-screen adaptation of the 1960s sitcom inspired by Charles Addams' cartoons, which earned more than $110 million, and the sequel, *Addams Family Values* (1993). He turned down the opportunity to direct *Forrest Gump* (1994), preferring instead to adapt the Elmore Leonard novel *Get Shorty* (1995), which earned actor John Travolta a Golden Globe. After directing the quirky sci-fi comedy hit *Men in Black* (1997), Sonnenfeld began moving into production with two Elmore Leonard projects, television's *Maximum Bob* (1998) and the Steven *Soderbergh-directed feature *Out of Sight* (1998). After directing *Wild Wild West* (1999), a big-budget flop, Sonnenfeld returned to his crime roots directing the Dave Barry comedy *Big Trouble* (2002) and the sequel to his 1997 hit *Men in Black II* (2002). He delved further into Leonard's lead character from *Out of Sight* with the short-lived television show *Karen Sisco* (2003). In 2004, he produced the Coen brothers' remake of *The Ladykillers* and Lemony Snicket's *A Series of Unfortunate Events*.

[Adam Wills (2nd ed.)]

SONNENFELD, JOSEPH ḤAYYIM BEN ABRAHAM SOLOMON (1849–1932), first rabbi of the separatist Orthodox community in Jerusalem. Born in Verbó (Slovakia), Sonnenfeld was orphaned at the age of four. As a child he studied both in a *talmud torah* and in a general school, but in his youth he decided to devote himself entirely to rabbinic study. After pursuing his studies in the yeshivah of his native town, in 1865 he went to Pressburg, where he lived in great poverty while studying in the yeshivah of Abraham Samuel Benjamin Sofer. In 1870 he received the title of honor *Morenu* from his teacher in a letter full of laudatory references to his great learning. The same year he went to Kobersdorf (Burgenland), where he became a pupil of A. Shag, who thought highly of him. In 1873 Sonnenfeld accompanied his teacher to Ereẓ Israel and settled in the Old City of Jerusalem, and until the end of his life meticulously refrained from remaining outside the walls of the Old City for more than 30 days. He formed a close association with M.J.L. *Diskin and was his right hand in his communal activities, such as the founding of the large orphanage and schools and the struggle against the secular schools. Sonnenfeld was one of the most active and influential personalities in the community centered in the Old City. He headed the Hungarian *kolel* Shomerei ha-Ḥomot ("the guardians of the walls"), founded the Battei Ungarn quarter, and helped in the establishment of other quarters in Jerusalem. In 1919 he was one of a group of rabbis headed by A.I. Kook which visited the newly established settlements in order to influence them with regard to the observance of Judaism.

Sonnenfeld stood for complete separation between the Orthodox and the non-Orthodox; he strongly opposed the bringing of the institutions of the old *yishuv* under the control of the Zionist bodies and the participation of the Orthodox in the official community, Keneset Yisrael, and fought for the statutory right of every individual to opt out of it. When the Jewish Battalions were founded in World War I he opposed enlistment of Orthodox Jews in the battalions. He was one of the founders of the Va'ad ha-Ir le-Kehillat ha-Ashkenazim ("City Council for the Ashkenazi Community"), as well as of its *bet din*, in opposition to the official Jerusalem rabbinate. He was also a founder of *Agudat Israel in Ereẓ Israel.

As a result of his adherence to the doctrine of separation, Sonnenfeld was one of the chief opponents of A.I. Kook, and led the opposition to his appointment as rabbi of Jerusalem, and later as chief rabbi of Ereẓ Israel, even though on the personal level their relationship was one of friendship and esteem. In 1920 Sonnenfeld was elected rabbi of a separate Orthodox community. In his struggle for the emergence of the separatist community he was especially aided by the Dutch publicist Jacob Israel de *Haan, who took care that eminent non-Jewish visitors would meet Sonnenfeld, and they were duly impressed by his personality. He was a member of the separatist Orthodox delegation that appeared, on de Haan's initiative, before Hussein, king of the Hedjaz, when the latter visited Transjordan. He appeared before the U.S. King-Crane Commission (see: *Palestine, Inquiry Commissions); he also instructed his followers to meet Lord Northcliffe on his visit to Ereẓ Israel. On all these occasions Sonnenfeld expressed a positive attitude to the Jewish resettlement of Ereẓ Israel and the return to Zion, and in the census declared Hebrew as his language. He generally preached loyalty toward the government. He also inclined to moderation toward the Arabs of Ereẓ Israel and strove to establish peace between them and the Jewish population.

His published works include glosses to the *Aguddah* on *Bava Kamma* (Jerusalem, 1874) and on all of *Nezikin* (1899), a pamphlet, *Seder ha-Purim ha-Meshullash* (1898ff.); *Salmat Ḥayyim*, responsa to Shulḥan Arukh *Oraḥ Ḥayyim* and *Yoreh De'ah* (193842).

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[Zvi Kaplan]

SONNENFELD, SIGISMUND (1847–1929), journalist, philanthropist, and communal leader, born in Vagujhely (then in Hungary). After graduating in philosophy, Sonnenfeld joined the staff of *Pester Lloyd* in Budapest. In 1890 he settled in Paris where he became director of the philanthropic institutions of Baron de *Hirsch; as such he took part in planning relief for East European Jewry. From 1891 to 1911 he was a director of ICA (*Jewish Colonization Association), undertaking several study tours in Russia, Romania, and Argentina. He also was a member of the central committee of the *Alliance Israélite Universelle.

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SONNENFELDT, HELMUT (1926–), political adviser and scholar. Born in Berlin, Sonnenfeldt fled Nazi Germany with his family, settling in the United States in 1944. He was educated at Johns Hopkins University, earning his bachelor's degree in 1950 and his master's degree in 1951.

Sonnenfeldt joined the U.S. Department of State in 1952, becoming director of the Office of Research on the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, a position he held until 1969. That year he was appointed as a National Security Council aide on Soviet affairs, working under Henry Kissinger, who was President Richard Nixon's national security adviser. Sonnenfeldt's close relationship with Kissinger, as well as their agreement in foreign policy matters, led to his inclusion in Kissinger's wide-ranging diplomatic ventures, including the early initiatives toward normalization of relations with China and the extensive negotiations leading to the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks.

Following Kissinger's appointment as secretary of state in 1973, Sonnenfeldt returned to the State Department, holding the position of counselor from 1974 to 1977. An expert political analyst, Sonnenfeldt also had a reputation as an anti-Communist. His departure from the department in 1977 was purportedly driven by a misunderstanding over remarks about the Soviet Union.

Sonnenfeldt continued his career as a consultant and political analyst, writing and lecturing on international issues. He became a visiting scholar at the School of Advanced International Studies at Johns Hopkins University. In 1978 he was named a guest scholar at the Brookings Institution, a position he still held in 2006. In 1988 and 1989 he served as a member of the executive committee of the International Institute of Strategic Studies. He wrote and lectured extensively on Asian-Pacific affairs, national security, U.S.-European relations, and executive and congressional relations. His works include *Soviet Politics in the 1980s* (1985), *Soviet Perspectives on Security* (with William Hyland, 1979), and *Soviet Style in International Politics* (1985). He contributed numerous articles to academic journals.

Sonnenfeldt serves as a trustee of Johns Hopkins University and was a member of the Executive Panel of the Chief of Naval Operations. He was director of the Atlantic Council of the United States and was a member of the advisory council of numerous organizations, including the Balkan Action Committee, the Defense Policy Board Advisory Committee, and the World Affairs Council.

[Dorothy Bauhoff (2nd ed.)]

SONNENFELS, ALOYS VON (**Ḥayyim Lipmann Perlin**; **Aloys Wiener**; d. c. 1775–80), apostate Hebrew interpreter in Vienna. Son of a Brandenburg rabbi, Sonnenfels went to *Mikulov (Nikolsburg), Moravia, as an agent of the local noblemen. He adopted the Roman Catholic faith between 1735 and 1741 and had his two sons baptized. His wife, however, remained in the Jewish faith. Moving to Vienna, he became teacher of Oriental languages at the university there and court interpreter to *Maria Theresa. He was knighted in 1746. A year earlier he had published *Or Nogah, Splendor lucis*, a "physico-kabbalistic" exposition in Hebrew and German of the problem of the philosopher's stone. In 1753 he translated the *Shai Takkanot* (see *Moravia) for the compilation of the *Polizey-ordnung* of 1754. That same year he wrote to R. Isaac Landau of Cracow offering to go to Poland to assist in the struggle against the Frankist blood libel (see Jacob *Frank and the Frankists), publishing *Juedischer Blut-Eckel* in Latin and German against the blood libel (1753). In it he argued that such false, superstitious accusations prevented Jews from recognizing the truth of Christianity. When Jacob Selekh, the representative of Polish Jewry, went to ask for the renewal of the papal *bulls in refutation of the blood libel, Sonnenfels submitted an Italian translation of his book. He published a christological apology, *Controversiae cum Judaeis* ("Controversies with the Jews"), in Latin in 1758. When proposing, in 1760, that he should write a book in defense of the Talmud, which was then under attack at the court of Pope Clement XIII, he requested financial support for this project from the Italian communities. The book, which was also to include proof that the Gospels could be explained by the Talmud, did not materialize.

His son JOSEPH (1732–1817) became the chief representative of the ideology of enlightened despotism, and as adviser to Maria Theresa, *Joseph II, and Leopold II, one of the most influential men in the Hapsburg Empire in the second half of the 18th century. Born in Mikulov and baptized at the age of three, he never mentioned his Jewish origin. After graduating from the philosophy faculty of Vienna University, he joined the army in 1749. On his discharge (1754) he studied law, becoming a professor of political science in 1763. As he was proficient in nine languages, Hebrew among them, he succeeded his father as court interpreter.

Joseph von Sonnenfels published more than 150 books and pamphlets and his textbooks on national economy, particularly mercantilism, were influential for decades (*Grundsaetze der Polizey-Handlung und Finanzwissenschaft*, 3 vols., 1765–67, 1819–22). Sonnenfels opposed excessive urbanization and held that it was the responsibility of the state to guarantee all who were willing to work the minimum means of subsistence. In his *Ueber die Liebe des Vaterlandes* (1771) he introduced the concept of the "fatherland" into Hapsburg lands. He favored indirect taxation and opposed revenue farming. Sonnenfels had literary ambitions, aspiring to be the first Austrian author to attain international fame. He founded the periodical *Der Mann ohne Vorurteil* (1765–75). He eliminated the *Hanswurst* ("buffoon") from the popular Viennese stage and was involved in a controversy with Gotthold Ephraim *Lessing. In Austria he was remembered mainly for the part he played in the abolition of torture in judicial procedure (*Ueber die Abschaffung der Tortur*, 1775, 1782^2). He also fostered educational reform.

Sonnenfels drafted the *Toleranzpatent of Joseph II, which shows the imprint of his theories. In 1782 he published in Berlin a pamphlet titled *Das Forschen nach Licht und Recht* in which he requested Moses *Mendelssohn to become a Christian. Mendelssohn's reaction to this was published in his *Jerusalem* (1783). In 1784 Sonnenfels made Mendelssohn a member of his Deutsche Gesellschaft (German scientific society) and of the Vienna Academy of Sciences. Although highly honored during his lifetime (becoming *Wirklicher Geheimrat*, Real Aulic councillor in 1779, twice rector of Vienna University, head of the Academy of Sciences in 1810), Sonnenfels was known in Vienna as "the Nikolsburg Jew." A statue of him was erected in front of Vienna city hall when the antisemite Karl *Lueger was mayor; it was removed under Nazi rule (1938) and restored in 1945.

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[Meir Lamed]

SONNENSCHEIN (née **Jassol**), **ROSA** (1847–1932), early American Zionist and editor. Sonnenschein was born in Hungary but immigrated to America where she soon became prominent in literary circles, serving as special correspondent for several St. Louis and Chicago newspapers while attending the Paris Exposition.

At the Columbian Exposition held in Chicago in 1893 she read a paper on the need for a literary journal for women, which was followed by her founding the first independent English-language Jewish women's journal in the United States, *The American Jewess*, which appeared from 1895 to 1899, when it was discontinued for financial reasons, despite the fact that it was supported by the National Council of Women and had many well-known contributors, including Israel *Zangwill, Max *Nordau and Isaac Meyer *Wise.

During her numerous trips abroad, she met Theodor *Herzl and became an ardent Zionist and was a delegate to the First Zionist Congress held in Basle in 1897.

In 1864, she married Rabbi Solomon Hirsch Sonnenschein who was a rabbi in Prague and subsequently in New York, St. Louis, and Des Moines, Iowa. They were divorced however in the 1890s.

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[Jack Nusan Porter]

SONNENTHAL, ADOLF RITTER VON (**Neckwadel**; 1834–1909), Austrian actor and theatrical director. Apprenticed to a tailor, Sonnenthal decided to become an actor on seeing a performance by Bogumil *Dawison. For several years he acted in theaters in Temesvar, Hermannstadt, and Graz, until he was invited by Heinrich Laube to join the Burgtheater in Vienna in 1856. After an indifferent debut, he triumphed in Don Carlos and was given a contract that kept him at the Burgtheater for life. Though not handsome, he nevertheless excelled in drawing-room comedy, but he gained his great reputation in Shakespeare, Goethe, Schiller, Ibsen. Among his most impressive roles were Romeo, Hamlet, Macbeth, Wallenstein, Faust, King Lear, Nathan the Wise, and Uriel Acosta. He became Oberregisseur of the Burgtheater in 1884 and its provisional general manager in 1887–88 and 1889–90. Sonnenthal was a practicing Jew and resisted attempts to convert him. More than once he was a target of antisemitic attacks. The emperor made him a nobleman in 1881. He made guest appearances in Russia and the U.S.

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[Gershon K. Gershony / Jens Malte Fischer (2nd ed.)]

SONNINO, (Giorgio) SIDNEY (1847–1922), Italian statesman and economist who twice became prime minister of Italy. The son of a wealthy Jewish merchant from Pisa and a Protestant mother whose faith he adopted, Sonnino graduated from the University of Pisa and was variously occupied as a journalist, lawyer, and diplomat. In 1880 he entered parliament where he rapidly established himself as an authority on financial policy. In 1893 he became undersecretary of the treasury and was made minister of finance in 1896 when, together with Luigi *Luzzatti, he helped reduce the Italian budget deficit.

Sonnino served two short periods as prime minister (in 1906 and 1909–10) and was foreign minister during World War I, signing the Treaty of London in 1915 by which Italy sided with the Allies. He remained foreign minister after the war and headed the Italian delegation at the Versailles Peace Conference in 1919. Sonnino retired in 1920 and was made a senator for life. He left two books dealing with his political life: *Discorsi per la Guerra* (1922) and *Discorsi parlamentari* (3 vol., 1925).

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[Giorgio Romano]

SONNTAG, JACOB (1905–1984), Ukrainian-born editor and author. The son of a bookbinder, Sonntag was educated in Vienna and elsewhere in Central Europe, fleeing to England in 1938. He devoted himself to Anglo-Jewish cultural affairs and made repeated attempts to found a periodical for Jewish writers and artists. Sonntag finally succeeded with *The Jewish Quarterly,* which he founded in 1953. Edited almost single-handedly, it provided the main periodical venue in England for intelligent discussion of Jewish issues and published the early works of a range of distinguished Anglo-Jewish writers, including Dannie *Abse, Jon *Silkin, and Arnold *Wesker. It continued to be published after Sonntag's death. He also edited the anthology *Caravan* (1962).

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[William D. Rubinstein (2nd ed.)]

SON OF MAN (Heb. בֶּן אָדָם; pl. בְּנֵי אָדָם, Aram. בַּר אֱנָשׁ).

In the Bible

In the Bible the phrase "son of man," or "sons of man" (*adam*), is used as a synonym for a member of the human race, i.e., descendants of Adam. It occurs frequently in Psalms in the plural, and the most cogent examples of its meaning are Psalms 90:3, "Thou turnest man to contrition, and sayest, return, ye sons of man"; 115:16, "the heavens are the heavens of the Lord, but the earth hath He given to the sons of man"; and repeatedly in Psalm 107. In Psalm 49:3 a distinction is made between "the sons of *Adam* and the sons of *Ish*, rich and poor together," and it would appear that insofar as the two are distinct, the former refers to the common man, while *Ish* refers to the upper strata (cf. Isa. 2:9 and 11). The phrase "son of man" is merely the singular of *benei adam*, and in the Bible has no theological or mystical connotation. It is most frequently used by Ezekiel, mostly as the form of address to him by God, where it occurs 79 times, and it seems, as is clear from chapter 33, that he wishes thereby to emphasize that he is possessed of no special qualities or powers different from those of any other person, except that he has been selected as the "watchman" of his people.

[Louis Isaac Rabinowitz]

Post-Biblical Concept

The eschatological figure commonly identified with the Messiah occurs in chapter 7 of the Book of Daniel in a vision which is explained by the angel in a collective way as the holy ones of the most high, i.e., Israel or the pious among them. The author of Daniel based himself upon a more ancient tradition according to which the title son of man was a designation of a special eschatological figure. This idea existed possibly by the third century B.C.E.; the designation "man" for messiah already occurs in the Greek translation of the Pentateuch (see *Messiah) of this period.

The son of man is named "man" also in IV Ezra, and in Hebrew "son of man" and "man" is identical. In the whole literature in which it is mentioned, the son of man is always portrayed with the same economy of line. The son of man has a superhuman, heavenly sublimity. He is the cosmic judge at the end of time; seated upon the throne of God, he will judge the whole human race with the aid of the heavenly hosts, consigning the just to blessedness and sinners to the pit of hell; and he will execute the sentence he passes. Frequently he is identified with the Messiah, as in the Book of Enoch, chapters 37–71, and in IV Ezra. According to a later part of the Book of Enoch (ch. 71) the son of man is identified with Enoch himself as the heavenly scribe. According to the apocryphal Testament of Abraham the son of man is literally Adam's son Abel who was killed by the wicked Cain, for God desired that every man be judged by a man (the identification is based upon a verbal understanding that son of man in Hebrew is *ben-Adam*). Though in the Dead Sea Scrolls there were also other messianic concepts, the concept of son of man is also reflected in them. The eschatological figure occurring in the Thanksgiving Scroll (3, 5–18) resembles or is identical with the son of man of other Jewish literature. In one of the fragments from the Dead Sea Scrolls Melchizedek figures as the judge at the end of time. In company with angels from on High he will judge man and the wicked spirits of Belia'al. Thus the son of man could be even identified with the biblical Melchizedek according to a mythical understanding.

The idea of son of man originated possibly from a midrashic interpretation of Ezekiel 1:26, "… and the likeness as the appearance of a man above upon it." In the Book of Enoch (46: 1, 2) the son of man is presented with similar words "with Him was another being whose countenance had the appearance of a man… And I asked the angel who went with me and showed me all the hidden things, concerning that son of man, who he was…."

Thus it seems that the concept preceded the final identification of the son of man with the Messiah, which became common at the end of the Second Temple period. It was so applied in the time of Jesus, who used to speak of the son of man as the heavenly judge, and it seems that finally he identified himself with this sublime figure.

[David Flusser]

BIBLIOGRAPHY: POST-BIBLICAL CONCEPT: D. Flusser, in: *Christian News from Israel* (1966), 23–29; S. Mowinckel, *He That Cometh* (1956); E. Sjöberg, *Der Menschensohn in dem aethiopischen Henochbuch* (1946).

SONS OF LIGHT (Heb. בְּנֵי אוֹר, *benei or*), phrase used specially in the *Dead Sea Scrolls denoting the godly, by contrast with the phrase "sons of darkness" (Heb. בְּנֵי חֹשֶׁךְ, *benei ḥoshekh*) denoting the ungodly. It is so used, notably in the **War Scroll*, where "the sons of light put forth their hands to make a beginning against the lot of the sons of darkness" (1QM 1:1). The "sons of light" are here particularized as "the sons of Levi, the sons of Judah, the sons of Benjamin, the dispersion of the wilderness"; the "sons of darkness" as the hosts of Edom, Moab, the Ammonites, Philistia, and the Kittim, aided by those who transgress the covenant. In the event described, the sons of light annihilate the sons of darkness. From the viewpoint of the Qumran community, the sons of light are members of the community and their sympathizers. On entry into membership the candidate swears "to love all the sons of light, each according to his lot in the council of God, and to hate the sons of darkness, each according to his guilt in the vengeance of God" (1QS 1:9–11). The apostate is to be "cut off from the midst of the sons of light" (1QS 2:16). The sons of light are so chosen through God's predestinating decree. When God created man, He appointed two spirits to govern him: "dominion over all the sons of righteousness is in the hand of the Prince of Lights, and they walk in the ways of light; all dominion over the sons of perversity is in the hand of the Angel of Darkness, and they walk in the ways of darkness" (1QS 3:20ff.). The Angel of Darkness, indeed, makes even the sons of light go astray, but they can count on the aid of "the God of Israel and the angel of His truth" (1QS 3:24ff.). The designation "sons of light" is one of the links between the Qumran texts and the New Testament; in the latter it is found on the lips of Jesus (Luke 16:8, where it is opposed to the "sons of this age", John 12:36) and in the Pauline writings (Eph. 5:8; I Thess. 5:5). In both bodies of literature the ultimate background is the separation made by God in the beginning when He called light into being as the first of His creative works and separated it from the darkness (Gen. 1:3ff).

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[Frederick Fyvie Bruce]

SONTAG, SUSAN (1933–2004), U.S. critic and author. Born in New York City, Susan Sontag taught philosophy and aesthetics at the City College of New York, Sarah Lawrence College, and from 1961 to 1965 at Columbia University.

Her first novel, *The Benefactor*, was published in 1963, but her reputation grew largely from her literary criticism, which appeared throughout the 1960s in a number of journals and was collected in *Against Interpretation* (1966) and *Styles of Radical Will* (1969). Consciously avant-gardist, it argued for a purely formalistic approach to literary values, while at the same time seeking to reconcile this position with her left-wing political views. A second novel, *Death Kit* (1967), was concerned, like her first, with the relation between illusion and reality. She also wrote and directed a movie, *Duet for Cannibals* (1969). Later works include plays, among them *Alice in Bed: A Play in Eight Scenes* (1993). In addition to stories and essays, Sontag has written books that include the 1992 novel *The Volcano Lover: A Romance.* A selection of her writings was collected in the 1982 *A Susan Sontag Reader.* In her capacity as literary critic she has edited *Antonin Artaud: Selected Writings* (1988) and *A Barthes Reader* (1982). Her reflection on the relationships amongst photography, history, and perception, *On Photography*, appeared in 1977. Her own battle with cancer led her to write *Illness as Metaphor* (1978), followed in 1989 with a complementary study, *Aids and Its Metaphors.* In 2000, her sweeping novel of late 19th century America, and the fortunes of Maryna Zalezowska, was published with the title *In America: A Novel.* It received the National Book Award. *Conversations with Susan Sontag,* edited by Leland Pogue, appeared in 1995.

A member of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences and the American Academy of Arts and Letters, Sontag has been the recipient of many awards including the 1978 American National Book Critics prize. She was created Officier de l'Ordre des Artes et des Lettres in France in 1984.

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[Rohan Saxena and Lewis Fried (2nd ed.)]

SOPRON (Ger. **Oedenburg**), city in W. Hungary on the Austrian border, within proximity of the "Seven Communities" of *Burgenland. Jews were living there during the 14th century, according to the prevailing custom in a "Jewish street." Their residence in Sopron was guaranteed by King Charles Robert in 1324. The land registry records of 1379 show that 27 houses were owned by Jews. After King Louis the Great expelled the Jews in 1360, those who lived in the town left for nearby *Wiener Neustadt in Austria, where some of them made their fortune and became well-known financiers. When Louis authorized their return in 1365, their houses were transferred to Christian ownership. During their absence the debts owed to them were canceled by Rudolf, prince of Austria, upon the request of the citizens of Sopron. Upon their return the Jews demanded that the validity of their promissory notes be recognized, but the townsmen succeeded in revoking them.

Their situation did not improve until the reign of Matthias Corvinus, when the office of *Praefectus Judaeorum was established. From 1495 a special tax was imposed on the Jews by the governor of the town until in 1523 the king took them under his protection. The Jews then numbered 400. Rabbis of Sopron at the close of the 14th century were R. Meir (mentioned in *Sefer ha-Minhagim*) and R. Judah (mentioned in the *Shalshelet ha-Kabbalah* as a distinguished scholar in the Germanic countries). Fifteen codices recently discovered attest the erudition of the Jewish scholars of Sopron.

When the whole of Hungary was conquered by the Turks in 1526, the Jews were expelled from the town "forever." They infiltrated back into Sopron in the 18th century but its gates remained closed to them until freedom of residence was authorized by law in 1840. In 1855, 180 Jews were living there. New settlers came mainly from the "Seven Communities" of Burgenland where they had lived under the protection of the Eszterházy family from the 16th century. The municipal council of Sopron again attempted to oppose them, and in 1858 anti-Jewish riots broke out in the town; these were suppressed by the central authorities. In 1857 the Jews were authorized to organize themselves as a community but they did not possess a cemetery or synagogue. In 1862 the municipal council prevented the community from purchasing land for a cemetery and the Jews were compelled to acquire an estate for this purpose (1869). A synagogue was erected in 1876, and in 1884 a school was built. The community remained *status quo ante after the schism in Hungarian Jewry of 1868–69 (see *Hungary). In 1868 L. Alt was appointed rabbi of Sopron but he was dismissed in 1872. It was only 20 years later that M. *Pollak was appointed as the first, and also the last, rabbi of the status quo ante community (1894–1944). An Orthodox community was organized in 1872; its rabbi was Menahem Gruenwald (1872–1930). A *talmud torah* was established in 1874, and a yeshivah was founded in 1917 by S. Posen, the rabbi of the town (1930–44), who later settled in the United States.

The Jewish population numbered 1,152 in 1881; 1,632 in 1891; 2,255 in 1910; 2,483 in 1920; and 1,885 in 1930. They were mainly occupied as merchants, and included industrialists and contractors, as well as a number of craftsmen and members of the liberal professions. The anti-Jewish tradition in the town continued and its German inhabitants rapidly adopted the theory of racism.

Holocaust and Contemporary Periods

During World War II, after the German occupation (March 19, 1944), the Jews, numbering 1,861 in 1941, were confined in a ghetto. On July 5, around 3,000, including Jews from the surrounding area, were deported to the death camp at Auschwitz. Only a few returned. Even after the deportation, the inhabitants of Sopron did not help to alleviate the suffering of the thousands of Jews from the forced labor camps who passed through the town on their last halt before being sent to the death camps in Germany.

After World War II, only 274 Jews remained in Sopron (1946), and only 47 in 1970.

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[Baruch Yaron]

SORAUER, PAUL KARL MORITZ (1839–1916), German plant pathologist. Sorauer was born in Breslau, the son of a cabinet maker, and after studying horticulture went to Berlin for further training in plant physiology. In 1872 he was appointed director of an experimental station for plant physiology at Proskau. He was given the rank of professor in 1892, but was obliged to relinquish his post the following year because of a long-standing eye ailment. He moved to Berlin and lectured for a time at the Humboldt Academy. At the age of 63 he was made a *Privatdozent* at the University of Berlin.

Sorauer was the author of many publications on plant diseases, which bear the stamp of his unique amalgam of practical knowledge and physiological science. He was the founder of the *Zeitschrift fuer Pflanzenkrankheiten*, established in 1891. A major work was his *Handbuch der Pflanzenkrankheiten*, first published in 1874, which went through three editions. Sorauer was an influential teacher, and trained a large number of European plant pathologists.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Zeitschrift fuer Pflanzenkrankheiten*, 26 (1916), 6–17.

[Mordecai L. Gabriel]

SORCERY. First and foremost among the "abhorrent practices of the nations" mentioned in the Bible are the various forms of sorcery: "let no one be found among you who… is an augur, a soothsayer, a diviner, a sorcerer, one who casts spells, one who consults ghosts or familiar spirits, or one who inquires of the dead. For anyone who does such things is abhorrent to the Lord" (Deut. 18:9–14). *Divination and soothsaying (Lev. 19:26) and the turning to ghosts and spirits (Lev. 19:31 and 20:27) had been proscribed separately before, and witchcraft in general is outlawed with the lapidary "Thou shalt not suffer a witch to live" (Ex. 22:17). It was to be the characteristic of Judaism that nothing would be achieved by *magic, but everything by the will and spirit of God: hence the confrontations of Joseph and the magicians of Egypt (Gen. 41), of Moses and Aaron and Egyptian sorcerers (Ex. 7), of Daniel and the Babylonian astrologers (Dan. 2), etc., and hence also the classification of crimes of sorcery as tantamount to idolatrous crimes of human sacrifices (Deut. 18:10) and to idolatrous sacrifices in general (Ex. 22: 19) and its visitation, just as idolatry itself, with death by stoning (Lev. 20:27; see *Capital Punishment). In a God-fearing Israel, there is no room for augury and sorcery (Num. 23:23; Isa. 8:19), and the presence of astrologers (Isa. 47:13) and fortune-tellers is an indication of godlessness (Naḥ. 3:4; Ezek. 13:20–23; et al.). Nonetheless, magic practices remained widespread throughout, and not only with idolaters (see, e.g., I Sam. 28:4–20; II Kings 18:4; Chron. 33:6).

Talmudic law differentiated between capital and noncapital sorcery, retaining the death penalty only for those species for which the Bible expressly enjoined it, namely witchcraft (*kishuf*; Ex. 22:17) and conjuring a death (*ov* and *yidoni*; Lev. 20:27; Sanh. 7:4). *Kishuf* is nowhere exactly defined, but a distinction is drawn between actual witchcraft, committed by some overt and consummate act which resulted in mischief, and then punishable, and the mere pretense at witchcraft which, however unlawful and prohibited, is not punishable (Sanh. 7:11 and 67b). Witchcraft appears to have been widespread among women (cf. Avot 2:7), and Simeon b. Shetaḥ is reported to have ordered the execution of 80 witches in Ashkelon on a single day as an emergency measure (Sanh. 6:4 and Maimonides in his commentary thereto). It is witchcraft that makes for the devastation of the world (Sot. 9:13). All other species of sorcery are painstakingly defined in talmudic sources, apparently upon patterns of contemporary pagan usage. Thus, *ov* conjures the dead to speak through his armpit, while *yidoni* makes them speak through his mouth (Sanh. 7:7), both using bones of the dead in the process (Sanh. 65b). The aggravating circumstance, deserving of capital punishment, obviously is the use of human remains for purposes of sorcery, for he who simply communicates with the dead (in cemeteries or elsewhere) and serves as their mouthpiece (*doresh el ha-metim*) is punishable with flogging only (Yad, Avodat Kokhavim 11:13) – and this would, presumably, apply also to modern spiritualism (*Da'at Kohen*, no. 69). Other offenses punishable with flogging (both for committing and soliciting them) are *niḥush*, defined as superstitions based on certain happenings or circumstances (Sanh. 65b; Yad, Avodat Kokhavim 11:4); *kesem*, being fortune-telling from sands, stones, and the like (Maim., loc. cit. 11:6); *onanut* (done by the *me'onen*), being astrological forecasts of fortunes (R. Akiva in Sanh. 65b; Maim. loc. cit. 11:8); and *ḥever*, the incantation of magic and unintelligible formulae for purposes of healing or of casting spells (Maim. loc. cit. 11:10). It is presumably because these practices were so widespread that it was postulated that judges must have a thorough knowledge of magic and astrology (Sanh. 17a; Maim. Yad, Sanhedrin 2:1; and see **bet din*).

While there is no information about the measure of law enforcement in this field in talmudic and pre-talmudic times, it seems certain that this branch of the law fell into disuse in the Middle Ages. Superstitions of all kinds not only flourished and were tolerated, but found their way even into the positive law (see YD 179, passim, for at least eight instances). What became known as "practical Kabbalah" is, legally speaking, sorcery at its worst. The penal provisions relating to sorcery are a living illustration of the unenforceability of criminal law (whether divine or human) which is out of tune with the practices and concepts of the people. In modern Israeli law, witchcraft and related practices are instances of unlawful false pretenses for obtaining money or credit (Penal Law Amendment (Deceit, Blackmail, and Extortion), Law, 5723 – 1963).

See also *Divination; *Magic.

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[Haim Hermann Cohn]

SOREK, VALLEY OF (Heb. נַחַל שׂוֹרֵק, Naḥal Sorek; from the root שרק, "red grapes"), valley on the border of Philistia and the territory of the tribe of Dan. The only biblical reference to it places the meeting of Samson and Delilah there (Judg. 16:4). It is generally identified with Wadi al-Ṣarār, present-day Naḥal Sorek, near which are the ruins of Byzantine Chaparsorech (Eusebius, Onom. 160:2), now Khirbat Surayk. The Sorek Valley was one of the main approaches into the mountains of Judah and several important cities, such as Ekron (Khirbat Mukannaʿ) and Beth-Shemesh, were situated along it. At present, the Jerusalem–Tel Aviv railway runs in the valley.

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[Michael Avi-Yonah]

SORGHUM, the summer plant *Sorghum cernicum*, called in Arabic *durra* or *doḥ'n*. The Arabs of Israel sow it extensively, both for fodder and for flour, from which they make *pittah* ("flat bread"). It is thought to have been introduced into Ereẓ Israel only during the time of the Second Temple. According to Pliny (*Natural History* 18:55), a plant resembling *Millium* ("*millet"), which has large kernels, was brought to Rome from India during his time, and the reference seems to be to sorghum. It is possible that the plant reached Babylon at an earlier date, for it would appear to be identical with the *doḥan* from which Ezekiel made the mixed bread he ate for a period of 390 days (Ezek. 4:9). Some think that *Panicum* ("millet") is meant here, but millet is the *peragim* of the Mishnah. In rabbinic literature *doḥan* is mentioned with *rice and *peragim* as a summer crop (Shev. 2:7, et al.) from which bread was sometimes made, but since these are not included in the *five species of grain they are not treated as bread with respect to the laws of **ḥallah*, blessings, and leaven on Passover (Ḥal. 1:4; Ber. 37a). Bread made of sorghum was regarded as less tasty than that made from rice (Er. 81a). Today the red-seeded sorghum brought from California is cultivated by Jews in Israel. Some species of sorghum grow wild there.

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[Jehuda Feliks]

SORIA, city in Old Castile, N. central *Spain. The Jewish community of Soria was a major cultural and religious center in Castile. Nothing is known about the beginnings of the Jewish settlement in Soria. During the 12th century the Jews there benefited from a number of rights which were mentioned in several articles of the town *fuero* ("charter"). This also included regulations concerning jurisdiction over, and protection of, the merchants who came to trade in Soria. At first, the Jewish quarter was situated in a fortress, where about 50 families lived during the middle of the 13th century and throughout the 14th. (At that time there were 700 families in the town.) In the 13th century the community was very well organized. Jews continued to live there until the expulsion. During the second half of the 13th century, Soria was renowned for its kabbalists. According to tradition, *Jacob ha-Kohen was born there. Toward the close of the 13th and early 14th century, Shem Tov b. Abraham *Ibn Gaon lived in Soria; there was also a school of

Jewish illuminators who were members of this family and illuminated the famous Kennicott II and Sassoon 82 bibles, both in the Bodleian Library in Oxford. It was in Soria that Moses Narboni completed his commentary on the *Guide of the Perplexed*. Joseph *Albo, originally from Daroca in Aragon, lived there for many years and died there.

The 39,895 maravedis levy imposed on the Soria community in 1290 is an indication of its economic strength. According to an estimate of F. Cantera, there were over 1,000 Jews living in the town at the close of the 13th century. Their occupations included trade, the cultivation of vineyards, and crafts. During the civil war (c. 1366–69) between the brothers Pedro the Cruel and Henry of Trastamara, one of the tax farmers of Soria, Samuel ibn Shoshan, joined Pedro's camp and was compelled to flee from the kingdom after Henry's victory.

Although devastated by the persecutions of 1391 (see *Spain), the community appears to have recovered gradually, and in 1397 they were granted certain rights in respect of their quarter in the fortress by Henry III. A leader in the rehabilitation of the community was Don Abraham *Benveniste, who organized a convention of the delegates of the communities of Castile in Valladolid in 1432. In the 15th century, Soria was among the most important communities in Castile. Around 300 Jewish families lived in the city, constituting around 20% of the population. They were merchants, moneylenders, and artisans. Several of the inhabitants of Soria were important tax farmers. In 1465, Henry IV exempted the Jews of Soria from some taxes in appreciation of their services to the crown. Since the tax imposition in 1474 was 5,000 maravedis, it would appear that the community no longer ranked among the largest and wealthiest. In 1490, however, it paid 80,915 maravedis. The anti-Jewish policy adopted by the crown from the 1470s was felt in Soria by the restriction of the Jews to a special quarter and by the actions and attitude of the municipal council vis-à-vis the local Jews. In 1485, a levy of 308,000 maravedis was imposed on ten Jews of Soria to cover the expenses of the war against Granada. During the same year Ferdinand and Isabella authorized the Jews to maintain workshops and shops in various quarters of the town on the condition that they did not work on the Christian festivals and did not eat or sleep in these quarters. At the time of the expulsion of the Jews from Castile (1492) some Jews of Soria left for the kingdom of Navarre and most of them for Portugal. The crown ordered that debts still owed to Don Isaac *Abrabanel and other Jews in Soria be collected for them.

From the very beginning, and until the expulsion, the Jews of Soria lived in the fortress. The fortress has disappeared and on its grounds there is a park.

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[Haim Beinart / Yom Tov Assis (2nd ed.)]

SORKIN, AARON (1961–), U.S. writer-producer. Born in Manhattan and raised in Scarsdale, New York, Sorkin began acting in the eighth grade and in high school he joined the school drama club. He studied theater at Syracuse University, graduating with a bachelor's degree in 1983. While trying to break into acting in New York, Sorkin began writing plays. His first, *Removing Doubt*, was unsuccessful, but *Hidden in This Picture* (1988) was staged at the West Bank Cafe Downstairs Theater Bar in New York. His next play, *A Few Good Men* (1992), was inspired by his sister, who had gone to the U.S. Marine base at Guantanamo Bay in Cuba to arbitrate a murder case. The play appeared on Broadway, and Sorkin was hired to write the screenplay for the motion picture starring Jack Nicholson and Tom Cruise. In 1993, he helped write the screenplay for *Malice*, and was invited by Stephen *Spielberg to help polish the script for *Schindler's List*. He took two years to write the screenplay for *The American President* (1995), which earned him a Golden Globe nomination. During this time Sorkin admitted to a cocaine problem, for which he sought treatment at the Hazelden Institute in Minnesota. Sorkin took inspiration from ESPN's *Sportscenter* for his first foray into television, ABC's *Sports Nigh*t (1998–2000), which was favorably reviewed by critics but never found its audience. In 1999, he debuted his Emmy Award-winning show about the White House, NBC's *The West Wing*, which featured Sorkin's trademark rapid-fire dialogue. Tensions over budgets and production delays grew between Sorkin and Warner Brothers, which produced *West Wing*, leading to Sorkin's departure from the show after the season finale in 2003.

[Adam Wills (2nd ed.)]

SORKIN, MICHAEL (1948–), U.S. urbanist and architectural critic. Sorkin received his training at Harvard and MIT. For seven years he wrote for the *Village Voice*, a New York newspaper, and later became director of the Graduate Urban Design Program at the City College of New York. From 1993 to 2000 he was professor of urbanism and director of the Institute of Urbanism at the Academy of Fine Arts in Vienna. He taught at numerous schools, including Cooper Union, Columbia, Yale (holding both the Davenport and Bishop Chairs), Harvard, Cornell (Gensler Chair), Nebraska (Hyde Chair), Illinois, Pennsylvania, Texas, and Minnesota. Sorkin is the principal of the Michael Sorkin Studio in New York City. This small firm specializes in urban designs both practical and theoretical and does not wait for clients to come with their requests but takes the lead in tackling projects that are sometimes visionary, such as planning for a Palestinian capital in East Jerusalem. This project was an outgrowth of a conference he organized "to bring Palestinian, Israeli, and other architects and urbanists together to discus the future of the city in physical terms, via the medium of a design proposal. The assumption was that there were certain issues – the environment, neighborhood development, transportation, sprawl – that could be discussed outside the discourse of politics." Quickly, after the World Trade disaster in New York City, Sorkin, together with Sharon Zukin and 17 of New York's best urbanists studied the attack and its aftermath. They dealt with the history of neighborhood conflicts in New York and predicted many of the struggles between various interests that have rendered the rebuilding of the site problematic. In 2002 he edited *Variations on a Theme Park, The Next Jerusalem: Sharing the Divided City*, and *After The World Trade Center: Rethinking New York City*.

[Betty R. Rubenstein (2nd ed.)]

SOROKI (Rom. Soroca), city in N. Moldova, in the region of Bessarabia. The first mention of Jewish settlement in Soroki is in 1657. However, information concerning an organized community there only dates from the beginning of the 18th century. In 1817 there were 157 Jewish families. In the early 19th century, R. David Solomon Eibenschutz served as rabbi and encouraged the study of Torah in the city. The community grew in the 19th century with the Jewish immigration to Bessarabia, and at the end of the century, also with the frequent expulsions of Jews from the neighboring border area and from the villages. In 1864, 4,135 Jews were registered in Soroki and in 1897 there were 8,783 Jews (57.2% of the total population). In 1863 a government Jewish school was opened. At the end of the century among the teachers in Soroki were the writers Noah Rosenblum, and Kadish-Isaac Abramowich-Ginzburg, who laid the foundations of a new system of Jewish education and culture among the Jews of the town on a secular and national basis. Many of the Jews of Soroki engaged in agriculture, primarily in the growing of tobacco, grapes, and other fruit. In 1900 the Jewish Colonization *Association established a training farm near Soroki. From the 1880s the economic situation of the Jews deteriorated and a wave of immigration to the United States began. In 1930 there were 5,462 Jews (36.3% of the entire population). Before World War II several educational and social institutions existed in Soroki, including Hebrew elementary and secondary schools, a hospital (founded in 1885), and an old-age home. The community was destroyed with the entry of the Germans and Romanians into Bessarabia in July 1941. The Jewish life of Soroki is described by Shelomo Hillels in the novel, *Har ha-Keramim* (1930). In the late 1960s the Jewish population was estimated at about 1,000. The only synagogue was closed down by the authorities in 1961. In April 1966 the matzah bakery was closed down by the authorities, the bakers were arrested, and the baking of matzah was discontinued. Use of the cemetery and ritual poultry slaughtering were still permitted in 1970.

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[Eliyahu Feldman]

SOROS, GEORGE (1931–), financier and philanthropist. Born in Hungary, Soros spent a year as a child in hiding during the Holocaust. In 1947 after the communist takeover, he moved with his family to Britain. He studied at the London School of Economics, subsequently moving to New York. There he worked as a Wall Street trader but in 1969 established the Quantum Fund, that eventually would invest billions of dollars in various parts of the world. The Soros Foundation, described as the world's largest philanthropy, distributes more than $300 million annually in over 60 countries.

On September 16, 1992 (subsequently referred to as "Black Wednesday"), Soros, as a currency speculator, "broke the Bank of England" by placing a hedge bet that the UK would devalue the pound sterling. This audacious act earned him one billion dollars in a single day.

Much of Soros' activities are directed to Eastern Europe, where in 1992 he founded and funded the Central European University, with branches in Budapest and Prague. In 1993 and 1994 he provided one-third of Russia's scientific research budget. In 1993 he set up the Quantum Emerging Growth Fund to invest in Third World countries. In 1993 he also created the Open Society Institute (OSI), of which he was chairman. A private operating and grant-making foundation, the OSI works to support the Soros foundations worldwide and strives to shape public policy to promote democratic governance, human rights, and economic, legal, and social reform.

Soros is the author of *Alchemy of Finance* (1987); *Opening the Soviet System* (1990); *Underwriting Democracy* (1991); *Soros on Soros: Staying Ahead of the Curve* (1995); *The Crisis of Global Capitalism* (1998); *Open Society* (2000); *George Soros on Globalization* (2002); and *The Bubble of American Supremacy: The Cost of Bush's War in Iraq* (2004).

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[Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

SOROTZKIN, ZALMAN BEN BEN-ZION (1881–1966), Lithuanian rabbi and communal leader. Sorotzkin was born in Zakhrina, Russia, where his father was rabbi. After studying under his father, he proceeded to the yeshivot of *Slobodka and *Volozhin. His renown as a brilliant student came to the attention of Eliezer *Gordon, the head of the yeshivah of Telz, whose daughter he married. After his marriage he studied for several years in Volozhin. On returning to Telz he undertook the administration of the yeshivah, displaying great organizational ability. The yeshivah building was destroyed by a conflagration, and he succeeded in rebuilding it within a short time. In 1911, after the death of his father-in-law, he was invited to serve as rabbi in the small town of Voronovo (Werenow), near Vilna, where he founded a yeshivah for young students. After some years he was appointed rabbi of Zittel in Lithuania, where he also developed extensive communal activities, particularly in founding an educational network. After the outbreak of World War I, he was forced to wander with his family into Russia and arrived in Minsk. There he devoted himself to public activity and vigorously opposed the false charges and discriminatory decrees against the Jews, which were constantly being issued by the czarist government. After the war he returned to Zittel, but shortly afterward was appointed rabbi of Lutsk, capital of Volhynia (then in Poland), which had a Jewish community of 30,000, and he remained there until the outbreak of World War II. During his rabbinate in Lutsk he became renowned as one of the outstanding Polish rabbis and was one of the leaders of Agudat Israel and of Orthodox Jewry generally. When Lutsk was occupied by the Russians after the outbreak of World War II, they threatened to imprison him if he continued his activities. He was compelled to flee with his family to Vilna, where Ḥayyim Ozer Grodzinski, rabbi of Vilna, charged him with reorganizing the many yeshivot, most of whose students had escaped to Lithuania. He remained in Vilna until the entry of the Russian army, when he left, and after many vicissitudes finally arrived in Ereẓ Israel.

There he threw himself into communal work. He established the Va'ad ha-Yeshivot charged with the care of the yeshivot in Israel on the model of the Vilna Va'ad ha-Yeshivot (of which he had been one of the founders), and he headed it until his death. He was elected vice chairman of the Mo'eẓet Gedolei ha-Torah of Agudat Israel, and after the death of Isser Zalman *Meltzer served as its chairman, a position he held until his death. He also headed the independent educational network (Ḥinnukh Aẓma'i) set up by Agudat Israel. Sorotzkin was an outstanding preacher, and many of his homilies appear in his work *Ha-De'ah ve-ha-Dibbur* (1937), on the Pentateuch. Toward the close of his life he published *Oznayim la-Torah* (1951–60), a commentary on the Pentateuch, and *Moznayim la-Mishpat* (1955), a collection of responsa in two parts. Some of his responsa are still in manuscript. His commentary *Ha-Shir ve-ha-Shevaḥ* on the Passover *Haggadah* (1971) was published posthumously.

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[Itzhak Goldshlag]

SOSIS, ISRAEL (1878–after 1936), Russian historian. Sosis, born in Balta, southern Russia, joined the *Bund, and took part in the Russian Revolution of 1905. He contributed to the party's publications and was imprisoned several times for revolutionary activities. During World War I Sosis was active in *YEKOPO. He published articles on the history of social classes in Russian Jewry in *Yevreyskaya Starina* (1914–16). With the left wing of the Bund, he joined the Communist Party after the 1917 Revolution. From 1924 he lectured on Jewish history at the Institute for White-Russian Culture in Minsk, and published articles on the history of Lithuanian and White-Russian Jews in Russian-Jewish periodicals. Sosis' main work, "The History of Jewish Social Trends in Russia in the 19th Century" (1919), though Marxist in outlook and method, did not slavishly follow the official Soviet historiographical line, and showed some objectivity and national Jewish feeling. The "deviations" led to his transfer, in 1930, to the Institute for Jewish-Proletarian Culture in Kiev. When the institute was closed in 1936, Sosis was arrested and his fate remains unknown.

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[Yehuda Slutsky]

°**SOSIUS, GAIUS**, Roman general, governor of Syria, and conqueror of Jerusalem in 37 B.C.E. After the Parthian conquest of Judea and the consequent appointment of *Antigonus the Hasmonean to the throne in Jerusalem (40 B.C.E.), Herod made his way to Rome and was recognized by Antony and the senate as king of Judea. He returned to Palestine at the head of a considerable force but was eventually forced to turn to Antony for assistance in subduing the country. After his conquest of Samosata, Antony appointed Sosius governor of Syria, with orders to support Herod. Sosius immediately sent two legions and himself followed with the remainder of his army. He joined forces with Herod. The two laid siege to Jerusalem in the spring of 37 (although certain discrepancies exist regarding the precise date of the siege and fall of Jerusalem; cf. Jos., Ant., 14:475 n. a, p. 694; A. Schalit, *Hordos ha-Melekh* (1964), 509–11). The ensuing battle appears to have been fierce, and Josephus stresses that Jerusalem fell – as in the conquest by Pompey – "on the day of the fast." Scholars have interpreted this to mean either the Day of Atonement or the Sabbath (according to Dio Cassius, 49:22), but it is also possible that the reference is to a special fast declared at the time of the siege to arouse divine intercession (cf. Schalit, op. cit., 510). On the fall of the city Antigonus came before Sosius and begged for mercy, only to be jeered at for his tragic change of fortune by the Roman general who, after calling the Jewish leader "Antigone," had him put in chains and eventually put to death. Sosius furthermore explicitly instructed his soldiers to plunder the city, and after perpetrating a terrible massacre they were finally restrained only by Herod, who promised to distribute to them rewards from his own funds.

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[Isaiah Gafni]

SOSKICE, SIR FRANK, BARON STOW HILL (1902–1979), British politician. Soskice was born in Geneva, the son of DAVID VLADIMIROVICH SOSKICE (1866–1941), a Jewish lawyer and journalist from the Ukraine who was an important liberal activist against the czarist regime and was briefly an official of the Kerensky government. He lived in England for most of the period after 1898. Frank Soskice's mother was a gentile, the niece of the Pre-Raphaelite painter Ford Maddox Brown. Soskice was educated at St. Paul's School and Oxford. He became a barrister in 1926, the same year he became a naturalized British subject. In 1945 he was appointed a KC and was also elected to Parliament as a Labour member, serving until 1966, although briefly losing his seat in 1950 and 1955–56. Upon entering Parliament he was immediately appointed solicitor-general, with a knighthood, and was regarded as an able holder of this post. When Labour returned to power in 1965, Harold *Wilson appointed him to the senior post of home secretary. Soskice, in poor health, was not successful in this position and was moved to the office of Lord Privy Seal, but still with a seat in the cabinet, in 1965. He retired in 1966 and was given a life peerage.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: ODNB online.

[William D. Rubinstein (2nd ed.)]

SOSKIN, SELIG EUGEN (1873–1959), pioneer agronomist and politician. Soskin was born in Churubash in the Crimea, Russia, but settled in Palestine (1896) where he served as plantation expert for Ḥovevei Zion. Together with Aaron *Aaronsohn, he explored the country and conducted agricultural experiments. He was a member of the Zionist Inquiry Commission on the * El-Arish project (1903) and he served as agricultural adviser in German South West Africa (1906–15). He was director of the settlement department in the central office of the Jewish National Fund, then in The Hague (1918–23). Soskin advocated intensive farming on small irrigated plots, as opposed to the "mixed" farming on larger units practiced by the Zionist Organization. In 1934 he founded Nahariyyah, where he established an experimental intensive farm. Soskin advocated growing plants in water (hydroponics) or in saturated soil, and in 1945 he founded an experimental station in hydroponics in Ramat Gan.

In 1926 Soskin joined the Revisionist movement and became its spokesman on agricultural settlement. From 1927 he acted as political representative of the Union of Zionist Revisionists to the League of Nations in Geneva. After the split in the Revisionist movement (1933), he joined the Jewish State party. He held controversial views on the importance of land exchange to enable the Jewish state to build up its holding of national land under the proposals of the Peel Commission. He published many studies on his work in Africa and Palestine including *Small Holding and Irrigation* (1920), *Intensive Cultivation and Close Settlement* (1926), *The Escape from the Impasse* (1927), and *Land settlement in Palestine* (1929).

[Joseph Ben-Shlomo / Michael Denman (2nd ed.)]

SOSNOWIEC (Rus. **Sosnovets**), city in Katowice province, S. Poland. There were 2,600 Jews living in Sosnowiec around 1890 (29.8% of the total population), who earned their livelihood mainly in the clothing, food, building, and machine industries, and bookkeeping. A Jewish cemetery was opened in 1896, a *linat ẓedek* ("paupers' hostel") was founded in 1907, a *talmud torah* in 1908, and a *mikveh* in 1913. The city's growth in the 20th century, especially after the Russian retreat in World War I, was accompanied by an increase in the Jewish population which reached 13,646 (16% of the total) in 1921. Approximately one-third engaged in light and medium industry, crafts and trade, including clothing and shoe manufacture, coal mining, and manufacture of coke. About 2,000 Jews were employed as laborers or clerks in industry or business; a considerable number engaged in the professions. In the early 20th century a Jewish labor movement was organized through the *Bund and *Po'alei Zion. The Jewish workers of Sosnowiec took part in revolutionary activities in 1905–06, and 30 were imprisoned and exiled to the Russian interior. Through the efficient workers' organization the Jewish mine owners were able to compete with large industrial concerns. The mine owned by H. Priwer produced 25,000 tons of coal in 1920, and that of B. Meyer 32,000 in 1922.

The Jewish population continued to grow in the interwar period, from 20,805 in 1931 to 28,000 in 1939 (22% of the total). New arrivals came mainly from Kielce province attracted to Sosnowiec by more favorable work opportunities. The communal organization expanded; in addition to a Jewish hospital, secondary schools for girls and boys were established, and associations of artisans, merchants, and industrialists were formed.

[Arthur Cygielman]

Holocaust Period

The German army entered Sosnowiec on Sept. 4, 1939. On the same day it organized an attack on the Jewish population, and 13 Jews were killed. On September 9 the Great Synagogue on Dekert Street was set on fire. In 1942, Jews were deported to *Auschwitz death camp in three groups: 1,500 on May 10–12; 2,000 in June; and over 8,000 on August 12–18. After the last deportation the Germans established a ghetto in the suburb of Srodula. On March 10, 1943, the ghetto was sealed off. On August 16, 1943, all the inhabitants, with the exception of about 1,000 people, were deported to Auschwitz where they perished. The last 1,000 Jews in Sosnowiec were murdered in December 1943 and January 1944. Previously there had been considerable underground activity among the Jews, mostly organized by the youth organizations Ha-No'ar ha-Ẓiyyoni, Gordonia, and Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir, whose main leader was Ẓevi Dunski.

After the war about 700 Jews resettled in Sosnowiec, but almost all of them emigrated shortly afterward.

[Stefan Krakowski]

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SOTAH (Heb. סוֹטָה; "Errant Wife"), the fifth tractate in the current edition of the Mishnah order of *Nashim*, with Tosefta and *Gemara* in the Babylonian and Jerusalem Talmuds. Dealing mainly with the laws concerning a woman suspected of adultery (Num. 5:11–31), the tractate also discusses incidentally extraneous matters like the rite of the *eglah *arufah* and the rules of exemption from military service (Deut. 20:1–9;

24:5). In some manuscripts it is put sixth in the sequence of tractates in *Nashim*.

The contents of the nine chapters of this tractate are as follows: Chapter 1 discusses the form in which the husband has to manifest his jealousy and how the Sanhedrin urges the woman to admit her guilt rather than undergo the ordeal; the first stages of the ordeal are also discussed. The last passages of this chapter are of aggadic nature, debating the principle of measure for measure in divine justice. Chapters 2–3 deal with the "meal-offering of jealousy" and the writing of the "scroll of curses." Incidentally, the question of whether daughters should be taught Torah is considered, and information is given on the differences between men and women in respect of various *halakhot*. The "bitter water" is discussed in chapter 4, mainly those cases exempted from this ordeal. Chapter 5 is dedicated to the *halakhot* which were taught *bo va-yom* ("on the very same day"), i.e., when Rabban Gamaliel was deposed and R. Eleazar b. Azariah was made *nasi*. Only the first Mishnah in this chapter deals with *sotah*.

Chapter 6 is concerned with the question of the "minimum evidence" necessary to decide the woman's guilt without her having to undergo the ordeal. Since it is laid down that the declarations with regard to the *sotah* may be made in any language, chapter 7 lists other biblical passages to which this applies and then enumerates passages which must be read in Hebrew. In connection with this it is related how King Agrippa, who was partly of Edomite descent, wept when he read the sentence "thou mayest not put a foreigner over thee," but the people encouraged him, exclaiming: "Thou art our brother!" Chapter 8 speaks first of the priest anointed for war, since his address to the army (Deut. 20:3–4) has to be in Hebrew, and then deals in detail with the whole passage, including the grounds for exemption from military service. Of particular interest is the concluding paragraph, stating that the exemption applied only to optional wars of conquest like those of King David but not to obligatory wars, like those of Joshua's conquest of the Holy Land, or to defensive wars at any time. The second half of chapter 9, which deals with *eglah arufah*, is of a general aggadic nature, which is introduced by the observation that with the great increase in murders (the reference is to a time of civil disorder preceding the destruction of the Temple) the rite of breaking the heifer's neck was discontinued, and with the increase of immorality the ordeal of bitter water was abolished. The chapter goes on to describe how at various times, especially at the time of the destruction of the Temple, other laws and customs were abolished or fell into disuse and how scholarship and piety declined after the death of the great sages, such as Ben Azzai and Ben Zoma. Many other profound aggadic passages are also found in the Babylonian and Jerusalem *Gemara* and in the Tosefta. The Babylonian Talmud (22b) lists seven types of hypocrites and in connection with this cites Alexander Yannai's well-known observation that neither sincere Pharisees nor sincere Sadducees should be feared, only the hypocrites. In 49b there is a description of the struggle between Aristobulus and Hyrcanus; an interesting distinction is made in this context between the Greek language and Greek wisdom.

The Mishnah of *Sotah* was taught at the end of the Temple era. The main early portions of the Mishnah belonging to this period are 1:2 and 4–6; 2:2; 3:1–4; and 7:1–9:15. The account of Agrippa and the reading of "the chapter of the king" described in 7:8 almost certainly refers to Agrippa *II and the incident which took place in 62 C.E., since the Tosefta says of this Mishnah: "On that same day R. *Tarfon saw a lame man standing and sounding the *shofar*." Mishnah 9:9 is by Johanan b. Zakkai, who testifies about something which occurred in his time, as is also clear from a comparison with Tosefta 14:1. Basing himself on this, Epstein believes that the main part of chapters 8 and 9 is from the Mishnah of Johanan b. Zakkai. The order of procedure in dealing with the *sotah* differs in several details from those given in the Bible, and this is already discussed in the sources themselves (Sot. 3a; TJ 1:5, 17a). Since the Mishnah was taught in Temple times, it obviously gives the procedure customary during this period. Other differences are reflected in various books of Philo, and some of them are alluded to in early *beraitot* and fragments of them (see Epstein in bibliography). The Babylonian Talmud to *Sotah* has a distinctive style: it contains passages in Hebrew (39b); it does not use the phrase "there is a lacuna" (*ḥassurei meḥassera*); and it usually gives the final decision (*mistavra keman de-amar*). This tractate was translated into English and published by the Soncino Press (1936).

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[Arnost Zvi Ehrman]

SOUL.

In the Bible

The personality was considered as a whole in the biblical period. Thus the soul was not sharply distinguished from the body. In biblical Hebrew the words *neshamah* and *ru'aḥ* both mean "breath" and *nefesh* refers to the person or even the body (cf. Num. 6:6). For ways of expressing mind see *Heart.

Rabbinic Doctrine

For the rabbinic view of the soul see *Body and Soul.

In Medieval Jewish Philosophy

The soul in medieval Jewish philosophy is often depicted as the king and ruler of the body, its principle of life, organization, and perception. It is likened, in similes which go back to antiquity, to the rider of a steed, the captain of a ship, and the governor of a state. Yet, paradoxically, the soul is also often considered as a stranger on earth, an alien yearning for its supernal home. Philosophers view this latter characteristic, indicative of the soul's ability to survive the death of the body, as a function of its intellectual as well as moral perfection. Intellectual perfection was understood to comprise a true understanding of the nature of all being, both physical and metaphysical, including the nature of the soul. Descriptions of the soul followed Platonic and Aristotelian views, with later Greek thought supplying the models by which man's soul was related to heavenly substances.*Saadiah Gaon had a partial familiarity, derived from Pseudo-Plutarch's *De placitis philosophorum*, with these and many other systems of thought, none of which consistently appealed to his primarily theological perspective. He delared that each soul is created from nothing by God – the sole eternal being – at the moment of the completion of the formation of the body, and that body and soul form a unit bound together in this life and, eventually, in the hereafter. The soul requires the good acts of the body to perfect its peculiarly immaterial, celestial-like substance, even as the body needs the faculties of sensation and reason which the soul provides. Saadiah believed, with Plato (see *Republic* 4:435b; *Timaeus* 69c), that the soul has intellectual, spiritual, and passionate expressions; however, following Aristotle, he maintained that these were faculties of a single soul, located in the heart (*Book of Beliefs and Opinions*, Treatise 6).

Man's soul was believed by most of the philosophers to have affinities with the souls of plants and animals, on the one hand, and with either the World Soul of the Neoplatonists or, in the Aristotelian system, the souls of the celestial bodies – the soul of a celestial body being a kind of rational principle separate from and responsible for the movement, if not life, of the sphere – on the other. In the Neoplatonic cosmology accepted by Isaac *Israeli, Solomon ibn *Gabirol, Joseph ibn *Ẓaddik, and Pseudo-*Baḥya, the World Soul emanates from the Universal Intellect and therefore has intellectual powers, which it transmits, together with the subsequently emanated physical qualities of Nature, to the individual soul. Man's soul, a substance or form independent of the body, thus contains "natural" or vegetative, animal, and rational aspects, and as such reflects the World Soul. These faculties are usually treated as separate, distinct souls, located respectively in the liver, heart, and brain.

From Israeli on, the vegetative soul is generally held responsible for nourishment, growth, and generation; the animal soul, for a type of instinctive intelligence known as estimation, as well as for locomotion and sensory perception; and the rational soul, for discursive knowledge, both practical and theoretical. Israeli, following the Arab philosopher al-*Kindī, also introduced into Jewish philosophy the Proclean stages of purification and illumination of the soul, substituting an ultimate stage of "spiritualization," i.e., a union with the First Form, the Supernal Wisdom or Intellect, for Proclus' divine union. The ascent of the soul, the upward way, is facilitated by withdrawal from the soul's passions and appetites, an ascetic direction particularly emphasized by Baḥya ibn Paquda (*Duties of the Heart*, ch. 10). Paradise is, for Israeli, union with the supernal light of wisdom, and hell the failure to attain this stage, the soul being weighed down by its corporeal aspects (see A. Altmann and S.M. Stern, *Isaac Israeli* (1958), 165–70, 185–94).

Aristotle's *De anima*, seen through the eyes of such Greek commentators as *Alexander of Aphrodisias and *Themistius, and such Arab scholars as al-*Fārābī and *Avicenna, serves as the main inspiration for Abraham *Ibn Daud, Moses *Maimonides, and most subsequent philosophers. They view the soul as the form of the body, a single substance comprised (in addition to the earlier tripartite division) of nutritive, sensitive, imaginative, appetitive, and rational faculties. Descriptions of the functional anatomy of these faculties mostly follow Galen as well as Aristotle, with the emotions of the appetitive faculty particularly responsible for ethical behavior, and the imagination and intellect considered as the organs of prophecy. The Aristotelians, like the Neoplatonists, teach that the good is the mean between psychic extremes (see Maimonides, *Shemonah Perakim*, 1 and 4). The ideal of most philosophers is an extremely intellectual as well as virtuous person, whose intellect has reached a stage of completely immaterial, actual perfection. In this state the individual "acquired" intellect, which is comprised of universal intelligibles, may conjoin with the Active Intellect. It is this conjunction with the Active Intellect that constitutes immortality (Maimonides, *Guide*, 1:70, 72; 3:27; 54).

This impersonal and incorporeal approach to immortality was heightened by the view of Averroes as propounded, for example, by *Moses of Narbonne, in which the individual intellect is understood to be essentially related to the Active Intellect from its very beginning as a potential intellect. Against such denials of personal immortality, *Levi b. *Gershom contended that the "acquired" intellect became an independent eternal substance (*Milḥamot Adonai*, 1:12); while Ḥasdai *Crescas, in a general critique of his predecessors' views, claimed the same status for the soul itself, using the term "soul" as more than a euphemism for the intellect. Crescas believed that the perfection of the soul was achieved more through love than through knowledge of God (*Or Adonai*, 2:6, 1). His attack upon Aristotelianism calls to mind that of *Judah Halevi, who mentions in passing the Aristotelian view of the soul (*Kuzari*, 5:12, 14, 21). Judah Halevi's own contribution to the subject was to posit a divine yet "natural" endowment *(ha-inyan ha-Elohi)* which, apparently related to the Jewish soul, made the Jew a superior being (*Kuzari*, 1:95; 2:14). A somewhat similar view was advanced by Judah Halevi's 12th-century contemporary, *Abraham bar Ḥiyya, who believed that the rational soul in all its purity was to be found among the elect of Israel alone. Such national feelings have little place in Crescas' more rigorously argued philosophy, and even less in the 16th-century *Dialoghi di Amore* of Judah *Abrabanel. Judah Abrabanel believed that love was a universal expression of both the animated structure of the universe, and of its yearning for unity with God. Through intellection and conjunction with the Active Intellect – which, following Alexander of Aphrodisias, Abrabanel identified with God – man could enter into a direct relationship with the Divine (*Dialoghi*, 3). This mixture of love and intellect is pronounced in the synthesis of Aristotelian and Cartesian ideas effected by *Spinoza, in which the influence of medieval Jewish philosophy is marked. Spinoza advocated the impersonal approach to immortality, consistent with his denial of independent substantial existents of any kind. He believed that all things are ensouled, or endowed with a psychic dimension of intelligibility that is ultimately part of God. The emotions, he felt, could be controlled through an analysis of their causes, allowing for an intellectual love of God which follows the mind's knowledge of its inherent oneness with God/Nature. The man who reaches this degree of knowledge is blessed with the thought that his mind, as part of God, is eternal (*Ethics*, 5).

See also *Imagination; *Intellect.

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[Alfred L. Ivry]

SOUL, IMMORTALITY OF.

In the Bible

Unlike the gods of Mesopotamia and Canaan, e.g., Apsu, Tiamat, Baal, and Mot, who, while they could not die a natural death, could incur a violent one, the God of Israel is the living God (Hos. 2:1; Ps. 18:47). His lordship extends from heaven to Sheol (Ps. 139:8; Job 26:6); He puts to death and brings to life (I Sam. 2:6; I Kings 17:17–22; II Kings 4:18–37); and He can preserve His faithful from Sheol (Ps. 16:10).

Among the peoples of the Ancient Near East, the Egyptians were very optimistic about the afterlife. They believed that the dead lived a life almost identical with that in this world (cf. *The Book of the Dead*, 110). The Babylonians, on the other hand, were pessimistic about life after death. The average human being had no means of escaping his fate: one day he would die and descend to the netherworld, which was governed by a god and goddess of death. There were, however, special cases in which man could attain immortality. Theoretically, man could become immortal, or at least rejuvenated, by means of a mysterious food or drink (cf. *Adapa*, frag. B; Pritchard, Texts, 101–2; *Gilgamesh*, Tablet 11, lines 265–90, Pritchard, Texts, 96). Immortality could be acquired by a special favor of the gods in their assembly (see *Gilgamesh*, Tablet 11, lines 190–8). A god could also resurrect the dead: Ishtar threatens the gatekeeper of the netherworld, saying: "I will raise up the dead … so that the dead will outnumber the living" (*Descent of Ishtar*, line 20; Pritchard, Texts, 107).

In the Bible two persons are said to have left this world in a special way: Enoch "was taken by God" (Gen. 5:24) and Elijah "was taken up to heaven in a whirlwind" (II Kings 2; cf. Ps. 49:16). The exact implication of these traditions is not clear.

The crucial passage of Proverbs 12:28 has been translated differently through the centuries. Saadiah Gaon already understood it as immortality, as did F. Delitzsch many centuries later. M. Dahood (in: *Biblica*, 41 (1960), 176–81) related the Hebrew אַל מָוֶת *ʿal mawet*) in this verse to the Ugaritic *blmt*, "not dying."

It is also possible that the Masoretic Text of Proverbs 14:3 contains the hope of a better life than that in Sheol (cf. Ps. 16:9–11; 73:24; A.W. van der Weiden, in: VT, 20 (1970), 339–50). However in Daniel 12:2 the resurrection to eternal life for some is unequivocally predicted. Only in the post-biblical period did a clear and firm belief in the immortality of the soul take hold (e.g., Wisd. 3) and become one of the cornerstones of the Jewish and Christian faiths. See *Death; *Resurrection.

In the Talmud

The rabbis of the Talmud believed in the continued existence of the soul after death, but differed with regard to the nature of this existence. On the one hand, the view was widespread that the righteous person immediately after his death enters the Garden of Eden, where he is vouchsafed to be in a special section of the garden (Shab. 152b; BM 83b), while the wicked go to *Gehinnom (Ḥag. 15a; Ber. 28b; Er. 19a; whether in corporeal form or not is not mentioned). On the other hand, the view is expressed that the soul of man – at death – is severed from any connection with the body and its pleasures, ascends upward, and is gathered into "the treasury" beneath "the throne of glory" (Shab. 152b), where it had its pre-existential origin in the upper heaven called "*Aravot*"; "where are right and judgment and righteousness, the treasures of life, the treasures of peace, the treasures of blessings, the souls of the righteous, the spirits and souls yet to be born, and the dew wherewith the Holy One will eventually revive the dead" (Ḥag. 12b); while the souls of the wicked "continue to be imprisoned" (Shab. 152b), are "cast about on the earth" (Eccles. R. 3:21; ARN^{1} 12:50), and are cast from the slings of destructive angels (Shab. 152b).

Alongside the belief in the heavenly "treasury" to which the soul returns after death, the ancient belief was widespread in the talmudic era (and later) that the soul of man after death continues with the body in the netherworld, either for a brief or for an extended period. In one passage (TJ, MK 3:5, 82b; TJ, Yev. 16:1, 15c) R. Levi says that the soul hovers over the body for three days, hoping that it will return to it, and departing only when the hope is belied (a belief found also in Zoroastrianism). Elsewhere it states that "a man's soul mourns for him all the seven days of mourning" (Shab. 152a), and also that "for full 12 months the body continues to exist and the soul ascends and descends" and only after this period, when the body is decomposed, "the soul ascends nevermore to descend" (Shab. 152b). Similarly, there is neither uniformity nor consistency concerning the extent of the consciousness retained by the dead. In one passage it is stated that the dead hear everything spoken in their presence until the grave is sealed (*ibid.*), while elsewhere it is stated that the dead are aware (apparently eternally) of their own pain ("worms are as painful to the dead as a needle in the flesh of the living," Shab. 13b) and shame. For this reason it was forbidden to walk in a cemetery wearing *tefillin or reading from a *Sefer Torah*, since it seemed like a mockery of the dead (Ber. 18a). It is related that R. Ḥiyya and R. Jonathan were walking in a cemetery, and Ḥiyya told Jonathan to gather up his *ẓiẓit so that the dead should not say: "Tomorrow they are coming to join us and now they insult us" (*ibid.*).

The dead even have contact with the living and direct them in worldly affairs: the father of Samuel appeared to him, on returning from "the heavenly yeshivah," and revealed to him where the money of orphans, which had been deposited with him, was to be found (Ber. 18b); and similarly a woman innkeeper informed Zeiri after her death where the money he deposited with her was lying (*ibid.*). The dead also hold conversations with the living: Some men digging in the field of R. Naḥman heard the sound of the deep breathing of a corpse, and when Naḥman came he conversed with him (Shab. 152b). Deceased women adorn themselves in their clothes and ornaments. The innkeeper who came into contact with Zeiri requested that her mother send her a comb and cosmetics through a woman about to die. Another complained to her neighbor that she was unable to rise and wander about the upper worlds because she was buried in a matting of reeds (Ber. 18b). The dead wander about and hear "from behind the curtain" what was decreed upon the living (*ibid.*). The sages spoke especially highly of the power of the righteous after their death. According to Simeon b. Lakish, the sole difference between the living righteous and the dead is the faculty of speech (TJ, Av. Zar. 3:1). Likewise they said that "if a statement is said in a person's name in this world, after his death his lips move in the grave" (Sanh. 90b). It is also related of Judah ha-Nasi that after his death he used to visit his house every eve of the Sabbath, and only ceased to do so out of respect for the scholars (Ket. 103a). All these views, however, did not prevent others from saying that "if one makes remarks about the dead, it is like making remarks about a stone" (Ber. 19a) and that at the most the dead know their own pain (Ber. 18b) but not what transpires in the world.

[Yehoshua M. Grintz]

In Medieval Jewish Philosophy

The doctrine of the immortality of the soul, as it appears in the writings of *Philo as well as in the works of some later Jewish philosophers, shows strong influences of Platonism (see Plato and *Platonism), which saw a complete separation between body and *soul.

PHILO. Philo's statements that the human soul is mortal are usually ambiguous, but he often refers to the various ranks which the souls achieve after death. According to Philo, Abraham achieved the rank of the angels, which are incorporeal, Isaac ranks higher, and Moses achieved a yet higher rank, since he is close to God.

SAADIAH. Saadiah Gaon held the opinion – apparently according to views of the Muslim *Kalām, which reflected a non-Platonic Greek philosophical tradition – that the soul is "a more pure, transparent and simple substance than are the spheres," i.e., that the soul is a fine body. At the time of death, the soul separates from the body of man, and "during the first period after its separation from the body, however, the soul exists for a while without a fixed abode until the body has decomposed; that is to say, until its parts have disintegrated. It consequently experiences during this period much misery, occasioned by the knowledge of the worms and the vermin and the like that pass through the body, just as a person would be pained by the knowledge that a house in which he used to live is in ruins and that thorns and thistles grow in it" (*Book of Beliefs and Opinions*, 6:7). Saadiah had no clear conception of the condition of the soul during the transition period from the time of death until the resurrection of the dead, which was characteristic of many medieval Jewish thinkers, and illustrates their difficulties in reconciling the notion of the immortality of the soul with a belief in resurrection. According to Saadiah, the soul is reunited with its body at the time of resurrection and this combined state continues thereafter.

ISAAC ISRAELI. Unlike Saadiah, his older contemporary, Isaac *Israeli, was deep within the Platonic tradition. According to him, the soul is an incorporeal substance. Man's soul does not die with the death of his body: "he becomes spiritual, and will be joined in union to the light which is created, without mediator, by the power of God, and will become one that exalts and praises the Creator for ever and in all eternity. This then will be his paradise and the goodness of his reward, and the bliss of his rest, his perfect rank and unsullied beauty" (*Book of Definitions*, see A. Altmann and S.M. Stern, *Isaac Israeli* (1958), 25–26). While the upper souls are above the heavens, the lower ones are beneath them and are tortured by fire, according to a belief which was also held in Greco-Roman paganism.

SOLOMON IBN GABIROL. A similar Platonic spirit pervades the writings of Solomon ibn *Gabirol in his book *Mekor Ḥayyim*. He does not express a clear opinion in this book with regard to the immortality of the soul, but he does mention the idea of Platonic recollection (see S. Pines, in: *Tarbiz*, 27 (1958), 231). One section of *Mekor Ḥayyim*, which is cited by Moses ibn *Ezra, attests more clearly than does the Latin translation to the central role played by Platonic recollection in the thought of Ibn Gabirol.

This idea, if accepted simply, presupposes a belief in the existence of the soul prior to its conjunction with the body, since it assumes that it is this conjunction which caused the soul to forget its previous knowledge, which it may again recollect. In contrast to this view, in his poem *Keter Malkhut* Ibn Gabirol expresses a traditional Jewish outlook when he states that the souls of the righteous rest beneath the throne of glory.

JOSEPH IBN ẒADDIK. Joseph ibn *Ẓaddik was influenced by both Ibn Gabirol and Israeli. According to him, the soul is incorporeal, existed before its conjunction with the body, and continues to exist after the passing of the body. If the soul attained the necessary level of knowledge, it returns after death to its place of origin, i.e., to the world of the intelligibles; but if it remained ignorant, it is pulled by the motion of the celestial sphere and tortured by fire. It is then likened to a traveler who cannot find the way back to his homeland.

ABRAHAM BAR HIYYA. Abraham bar Ḥiyya describes the intelligible soul by the term "form" (*Meditation of the Sad Soul* (1969), 46ff.) which continues to exist even after its separation from the body. Abraham b. Ḥiyya has a multiple account of what happens to the soul after death. If the man was wise and righteous, his soul ascends to the upper world "and attaches itself to the pure high form, enters into it and never separates from it." If he was wise and wicked, his soul arrives after death at the world of the spheres "and it revolves under the circles of the sun, whose heat appears to it as an image of a perpetually scorching fire, and it has neither the right nor the power to remove itself from the heavenly sphere in order to attach itself to the supernal light." If the man was ignorant and righteous, his soul returns "a second and third time" to bodies until it acquires wisdom and is able "to separate from the air of the lower world and to ascend above it; and its righteousness or wickedness at that particular time will determine the order of its ascent and its ultimate rank." If the man was ignorant and wicked, his soul too will die "a death of a beast and an animal."

JUDAH HALEVI. According to Judah *Halevi (*Kuzari*, 1:103), Judaism is "the religion which insures the immortality of the soul after the demise of the body." It is nonetheless clear that the character of the Jewish scholar in the work (who expresses Judah Halevi's thought) wants to broaden and crystallize this idea. Thus, his interlocutor, the king of the Khazars, is able to point out, with certain justification: "The anticipations of other religions are grosser and more sensuous than yours" (*ibid.*, 1:104).

It appears that Judah Halevi realized the difficulty with which his successors were to contend, namely, that Scripture does not express clearly the notion of the immortality of the soul. In answer, Judah Halevi was able to state that the nature of the Jewish prophets and godly men approaches, even in their lifetime, the condition of souls in their immortality (*ibid.*, 1:109).

ABRAHAM IBN DAUD. Abraham ibn *Daud is considered – with certain justification – as the first Spanish Jewish Aristotelian. It appears, however, that because of *Avicenna's influence on him, he was not an orthodox Aristotelian. Like Avicenna, Ibn Daud maintains that the individual human soul continues to exist after the death of the body (*Emunah Ramah*, ed. by S. Weil (1852, ch. 7, 34–39). Contrary to Avicenna, however, he speaks at great length about the condition of the souls after death.

MAIMONIDES. The great majority of the Spanish Aristotelians, both Jewish and Muslim, did not follow Avicenna and did not believe in the immortality of the individual soul. Nothing remains of man after death, they held, except his intellect, which bears no trace of individuality and the exact nature of which was a source of controversy among them (see *Intellect). Judah Halevi had already established – possibly on the basis of the views of his Muslim contemporary, *Avempace, which were known to him – that the philosophers do not affirm the immortality of the individual soul. It may be thought that even *Maimonides, to the extent that he was a philosopher, believed in the immortality of the intellect rather than of the soul. It is possible to find traces, and even clear statements, of this idea in his *Guide of the Perplexed*.

In his *Mishneh Torah*, which essentially deals not with philosophic ideas but rather with *halakhah* and principles of faith, Maimonides states that in the **olam ha-ba* there are no bodies, but only the souls of the righteous, without body, serving as the angels of God. Since there are no bodies in the world to come, there are in it neither eating, nor drinking, nor any of the things which human bodies need in this world. Neither do the souls perform any of the actions of the body, such as sitting and standing, sleeping and dying, weeping and laughing. It is obvious that there is no body since there is no eating and drinking (Yad, Teshuvah, 8:2). It becomes manifest, however, that these things refer not to the soul, as it was conceived by the Aristotelians, but to the intellect, which can be deduced from Maimonides' statements that the soul referred to in this connection is not the soul which is needed for the body, but is rather the form of the soul which is the knowledge it derives from God according to its ability. This is the form which is called "soul" in this reference (*ibid.*, 8:3). This rejection of individual immortality, which is in accordance with the teachings of Averroes, caused a furor among Jews as well as among the 13th-century Christian scholastics and gave rise to bitter dispute. Echoes of the Christian notions, which reject the opinion of Averroes, can be seen in the *Tagmulei ha-Nefesh* of Hillel of *Verona, who argued for individual immortality.

ISAAC ALBALAG AND HASDAI CRESCAS. Isaac *Albalag also affirms the immortality of the individual soul, but it is doubtful that this was his true opinion (see G. Vajda, *Isaac Albalag* (1960), 239–49). On the other hand, the position of Ḥasdai *Crescas on this matter is entirely clear. He directs harsh criticism against the views of the Aristotelians regarding the intellect and states that, since man is a spiritual being, his soul remains immortal after its separation from the body (*Or Adonai*, 2:6). According to his view, which rejected Aristotelian intellectualism and saw love and not knowledge as the highest good, the love between man and God is what determines the immortality of the soul. The souls of the righteous after death enjoy the splendor of the *Shekhinah, i.e., they attach themselves to God to an extent which was denied them while they were in the body, and their union with God is constantly being strengthened. When the soul is unable to reach this union (because of its sins), it suffers great sorrow, which is so complete in some souls that it leads to their total destruction (*ibid.*, 3:3).

JOSEPH ALBO. Joseph *Albo devoted a large section of his *Sefer ha-Ikkarim* (fourth treatise) to the question of the immortality of the soul. Unlike the Aristotelians, he maintains that the soul is a spiritual being, which has an independent existence, is not intellectual in nature, but is capable of attaining knowledge (4:29).

[Shlomo Pines]

In Modern Philosophy

MOSES MENDELSSOHN. Outstanding among 18th-century works on the immortality of the soul is Moses *Mendelssohn's *Phaedon oder ueber die Unsterblichkeit der Seele* ("Phaedon or On the Immortality of the Soul," 1767). In its methodology, this work follows Plato's *Phaedo*, but its content is based on modern philosophy. In it, Mendelssohn attempts to answer the question: How would Socrates prove to himself and his friends the idea of the soul's immortality if he lived in modern times?

Mendelssohn rejects the theory that the soul, after its separation from the body, enters a state similar to sleep or fainting. All rational beings, he states, are destined to increase their perfection. The whole world was created for the sake of the existence of rational beings who progressively increase their perfection, and herein lies their bliss. It is not possible that these beings, who struggle for their perfection in this world, should be frustrated in these efforts in the world to come. This would be a contradiction of the order of the universe. It was not in vain that the Creator instilled in man a desire for eternal bliss. It is both possible and necessary that this desire should be fulfilled, despite all the setbacks and obstacles. In the same way that certain disorders in the physical world, such as storms, earthquakes, diseases, etc. are negated within the infinite totality of the cosmos, so in the realm of morality all the temporary disorders lead toward the eternal perfection. Even suffering reinforces a person's powers, without which he cannot attain moral bliss. It is impossible to know God's design. In order to understand the life of even one man, it would be necessary to view all life in its totality, and then we would not complain but would rather revere the creator's mercy and wisdom, which are revealed in the life of each intelligible being, when viewed in its totality.

MORITZ LAZARUS. In the 19th century, with a general change in the intellectual climate, the question of the immortality of the soul lessened in importance. Several Jewish thinkers attempted to show that Judaism is not concerned with the immortality of the individual after death.

Moritz *Lazarus deals with this question in his *Ethik des Judentums* (1898, para. 137ff.). In his opinion, the attitude of Judaism was summarized in two sayings of R. Jacob in *Pirkei Avot* (4:16, 17). One states: "This world is like a vestibule before the world to come: prepare thyself in the vestibule that thou mayest enter into the banqueting hall." Lazarus sees this saying's "weak side" in that it speaks only of the individual, while in the realm of ethics it is the society which plays the major role. This saying is based only on the philosophy of the "I," while true knowledge of man's fate can only be attained by a philosophy of "we." Thus Lazarus rejects completely the notion of individual immortality or, at least, he is not concerned with this notion. This attitude emerges even more clearly in Lazarus' treatment of R. Jacob's second saying, which is inverted by Lazarus to read as follows: "Better is one hour of bliss in the world to come than the whole life of this world; [but] better is one hour of repentance and good works in this world than the whole life of the world to come." Lazarus does not hesitate to change the saying in order to make it conform to his own emphasis on this world rather than the next.

HERMANN COHEN. Hermann *Cohen also holds that Judaism views the soul's immortality as applying to the people as a whole rather than to the individual (*Religion der Vernunft* (1918), ch. 15). The people never dies, he states, but rather has an eternal continuing history. The individual soul is perpetuated by means of this history and is real only within the context of the continuity of the people. This concept of immortality is taught by the Bible, while the place of individual immortality is in the realm of mythology. Individual immortality only means that the individual is constantly required to strive for his moral perfection. True immortality of the soul is its spirit, i.e., the possibility and the obligation to effect the principles of truth and morality in this world. The soul is spirit – beyond this there is no need to think about man's fate after death.

AḤAD HA-AM. *Aḥad Ha-Am regards belief in immortality of the soul solely as a sign of weakness. Many people, he says, lack the courage to face death and, in old age, fall back on a belief in immortality to give the "I" back its "future," a future in which they will compensate for what was lacking in the past. Thus Aḥad Ha-Am ridicules a belief in the world to come and in the immortality of the soul (see his article *Avar ve-Atid*). In his article *Ḥeshbon ha-Nefesh*, Aḥad Ha-Am characterizes the belief in an afterlife as a "sickness of the spirit." He attributes the manifestation of this belief to the desire to escape from life during times of depression. This belief, he states, does nothing to encourage positive activity in life, since it teaches that man's fate on earth depends on his continued fate after death.

RABBI KOOK. In dealing with the question of death and immortality, A.I. *Kook holds that death is a defect in creation. The Jewish people is called upon to remove this taint from the world and to save nature from death. Death is wholly imaginary, but it is difficult for man to free himself from this image. Original sin, which led man to a distorted world view, brought about death and fear of death, but repentance will overcome both. R. Kook saw indications of the retreat of death in modern times in the increase of life expectancy. The modern Hebrew poet Aaron Zeitlin gave a striking expression to this idea of the delusionary nature of death by coining the word LHAMA-M, formed from the initial letters of the Hebrew sentence, *Lo hayah mavet me-olam* ("death has never existed").

[Samuel Hugo Bergman]

In Kabbalah

In contrast with speculations in medieval Jewish philosophy, in Kabbalah immortality of the soul is not a matter requiring justification and defense in the face of doubts and arguments. To the kabbalists, immortality of the soul was an incontrovertible fact based on the primary doctrine of the soul common to all, that the soul and all its parts are a spiritual entity (or spiritual entities), whose origin (or origins) is in the supernal worlds and from the divine emanation, and that it evolved downward and entered the body only in order to fulfill a specific task or purpose. Its special spiritual essence guarantees its immortality after death. The forms visualized for this immortality differ widely and are connected with the respective views of the kabbalists regarding reward and punishment. The reward is included in the many-staged ascent to the primal dwelling place of the soul. This ascent begins with the entrance of the soul into the earthly Paradise. From there it ascends to the heavenly Paradise, and from there into even higher spiritual worlds, until it reaches its original anchorage both in the world of creation and in the world of emanation – two of the four worlds acknowledged by most kabbalists after the *Zohar. The absorption of the soul or of its upper parts, such as the spirit (and in the Lurianic Kabbalah, also the life, *ḥayyah*, and the entity, *yeḥidah*) into the world of the *Sefirot* apparently does not cancel its personal individuality – in any case, not in the period preceding the universal resurrection of the dead. Afterward a more basic absorption is possible, to the extent of the abolition of the separate existence of the soul and its complete adherence to its divine source.

The punishment awaiting sinners, which is also connected with the immortality of the soul, takes on two forms: hell and reincarnation. In these two, the quality of justice which befits the soul exists according to the particular circumstances of its deeds. There is no general agreement in the kabbalistic systems on the details of reward and punishment, and there are many variations in the details, but these do not affect the principle of immortality of the soul, its designation for eternal life, and the rectification of its defects by different means. Only the question of the punishment of *karet*, which the Torah designates for several sins, presented the kabbalists with the problem that in special cases the existence of the soul may be completely abolished, and it would have no chance of immortality. For the most part the kabbalists gave the punishment of *karet* the interpretation which sees in it a special type of the punishment of reincarnation. The soul was indeed cut off from its supernal roots and lost its predetermined group. Despite this, its existence was not completely abolished; it only passed to other fields of existence of lower value than its source of origin. In the Lurianic Kabbalah the problem of immortality of the soul became complex, because, according to this doctrine, there are five different sources for the five principal elements of which the soul is composed – *nefesh*, *ru'aḥ*, *neshamah*, *ḥayyah*, *yeḥidah*. Life, spirit, and soul are the three lower souls; the two higher elements can be attained only by elects. In addition, the soul also has sparks (*niẓoẓot*) of other souls close to it, in accord with its essence. There is no one vision of what will happen to the different parts of the soul after their separation from the body, because each one undergoes individual refinements and purifications and ascends to a different place in the supernal worlds. Only with the resurrection of the dead do all the parts return and become unified, and from that time they remain connected to the total spiritual unity.

[Gershom Scholem]

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SOULTZ (Ger. **Sulz**), town in the department of Haut-Rhin, E. France (not to be confused with the place of the same name in lower Alsace, where the settlement of the Jews was of a later date). The presence of Jews in Soultz is confirmed from 1308. In 1338 some fell victim to the *Armleder excesses; in the *Black Death persecutions of 1349 the community was destroyed. From 1371 onward a number of Jews returned to Soultz. During the 17th century Jews were engaged as moneylenders, physicians, wine merchants, and livestock merchants. After reunion with France the number of Jews increased, rising from 102 in 1784 to 231 in 1808. After 1918 the community declined and by the outbreak of World War II had ceased to exist. E. *Carmoly, the chief rabbi of Belgium (1802–1875), was a native of Soultz.

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[Bernhard Blumenkranz]

SOURASKY, Mexican family of industrialists, bankers, philanthropists, community leaders, and active Zionists, originally from Bialystok, Poland, from where the family emigrated in 1909. In 1917 the brothers LEÓN (1889–1966), JAIME (1894–1962), and ELÍAS (1899–1986) settled in Mexico. Each of them acted independently in many areas of general and Jewish community life in Mexico: assistance to the needy, institutional organization, Zionist activity, promotion of excellence in scientific research and education, promotion of Jewish and Hebrew education, defense against antisemitic attacks. They were also very active in the political and material support of the Zionist idea, and the establishment of the national Jewish homeland in Ereẓ Israel, the establishment of the State of Israel during the War of Independence and its strengthening afterwards. Many general and Jewish institutions in Mexico and Israel were supported by them and subsequently named after them. They also instituted many prestigious prizes in Israel and Mexico. In 1968 Elías Sourasky received from the

Mexican government the "Águila Azteca," the highest decoration Mexico awards foreigners.

[Efraim Zadoff (2nd ed.)]

SOUS, largest province in *Morocco, including the southern slopes of the Grand Atlas, the valley of the Oued Sous, the Anti-Atlas, the Noun (to the Atlantic Ocean), and the southern Darʿa. Early legends mention the existence of two pre-Islamic Jewish kingdoms in the Sous: one in *Ofran (Ifrane) and the other in the Darʿa. The Jews always lived dispersed in the Sous; in some of its regions they found secure, if remote, shelter. The larger urban centers did not attract great numbers of Jews, not even the ancient capital, Taroudant; however, the small community of this town, although relegated to quarters outside the city walls, for many centuries imposed its own *takkanot* and *minhagim* upon the numerous Jewish centers and communities of the Sous.

There were many wars and political upheavals over the centuries, and towns such as Tiyout and Tidsi, seats of prosperous Jewish communities, passed out of existence; in many localities ancient cemeteries remain as the only sign of Jewish life. The Marabout movement of the 15th and 16th centuries severely damaged the Jewish community. Forced conversions eliminated all aspects of Jewish life from territories where the Jews had formerly been numerous, with traces remaining only in names such as Aït-Mzal and Aït-Baha, and in the land of the Ammeln, where some of the present-day tribes are still called by names such as Aït-Aouday ("Tribe of the Jews"). In the Aït-Jerrar, Ida-ou-Milk, Chtouka, Aït-Ba Amran, and other places there are parts of *Berber tribes which may well have once been Judaized, or even Jews. In about 1510 the survivors of the persecutions joined together in Tahala, where they remained until 1957 when they left en masse for Israel, as well as in other centers of the Anti-Atlas where they met with different fates. By the 17th century the Jews of the important center of Illigh had become an influential community; 100 years later the Jewish populations suffered during a series of rebellions and upheavals, and their synagogues, like those of *Agadir, were destroyed around 1740. About 1792 Bou-Hallais gave the Jews of Ofran the choice of conversion or death. In the 19th century the occupation of the Sous by the central government offered the opportunity to pillage and massacre the Jewish population. In 1840 the Jewish village of Tatelt was destroyed, and 40 years later Tillin suffered the same fate; in 1882 the Jewish quarter of Goulimine was pillaged, and in 1900 the soldiers of the Makhzen razed the quarter of Ouijjane. In some instances the Jews resisted fiercely and succeeded in saving many of their settlements and in some cases they even went on the offensive.

In the high mountains, in often inaccessible localities, far from the troubled life of the plains, the Jews of regions such as Ounein, Tifnout, and Azilal – considered by modern ethnologists and ethnographers as the remnants of very ancient migrations – were probably Berber tribes that had become Jewish in pre-Islamic times. In these forbidding regions the Jews lived as autochthonous populations, detached from all outside influences. As in the case of many of their brethren in the Marrakesh Atlas, their common language was Berber, not Arabic. At the southwestern end of the Sous, the region of Noun, whose ancient center of Tagaost was destroyed and replaced by Goulimine, was the foremost supplier of ostrich feathers; from ancient times it was also one of the market outlets for numerous Sahara caravans, which until the end of the 19th century carried the continent's basic raw materials, such as slaves, ivory, ebony, pelts, and gold, from the heart of Africa. Some of the richest Jews controlled a vast part of this trade. In the 15th and 16th centuries their trade with the neighboring Canary Islands was of great importance. Moreover, from 1505 to 1540 a number of Marranos who had found shelter in those islands came to the Sous region and returned to Judaism. After 1880 almost every Jew became a retailer or a small artisan. Only after 1936 did the economic situation change somewhat for the better.

The surplus Jewish population of the Sous was regularly sent to the urban centers of Morocco, especially to Marrakesh and *Mogador where they contributed to the overcrowding of the local mellahs. It is estimated that up to the 18th century the Jewish communities of the Sous formed 20% of the total Jewish population of Morocco. Droughts and epidemics of plague and cholera in 1799, 1805, 1818, and 1878 decimated the local population, and in 1884 Charles de Foucault estimated that there were about 7,000 persons. Adding some Jewish communities not included in his studies to his figure, the number of about 8,500 is arrived at. In 1951 A. de la Porte des Vaux – whose calculations are the most detailed and reliable among available statistics – estimated that there were 6,420. After 1955 the Jewish population literally evacuated the Sous en masse, the great majority immigrating to Israel.

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[David Corcos]

SOUTH AFRICA, republic comprising nine provinces – Western Cape, Eastern Cape, Northern Cape, North West, Gauteng, Limpopo, Mpumalanga, Free State, and KwaZulu-Natal. Prior to 1994, when multiracial democracy was introduced, there were four provinces, viz. Cape, Natal, Orange Free State, and Transvaal.

The first European settlement in southern Africa was founded in *Cape Town, today capital of the Western Cape, in 1652 by the Dutch. It became a British colony in 1806; Natal was a British colony from 1843; the Free State and the Transvaal, founded by Dutch (Afrikaner or Boer) emigrants from the Cape, were republics until annexed by Britain in 1902 after the Boer War. In 1910 the colonies were merged

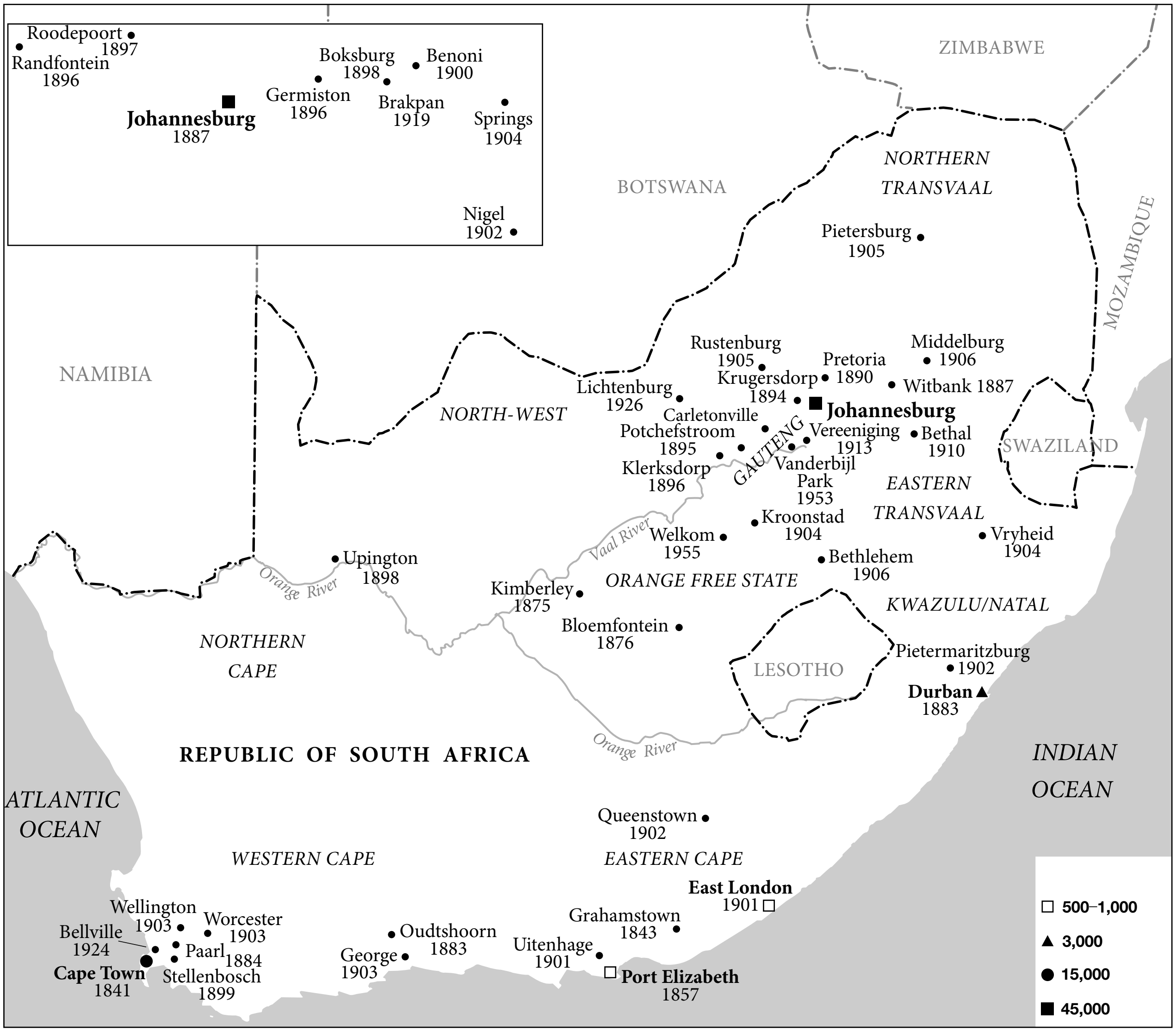
Roodepoort 1897
Randfontein 1896
Boksburg 1898
Benoni 1900
Germiston 1896
Johannesburg 1887
Brakpan 1919
Springs 1904
Nigel 1902
ZIMBABWE
BOTSWANA
NORTHERN TRANSVAAL
MOZAMBIQUE
Pietersburg 1905
NAMIBIA
Rustenburg 1905
Krugersdorp 1894
Pretoria 1890
Middelburg 1906
Witbank 1887
Lichtenburg 1926
Johannesburg
NORTH-WEST
Carletonville
Potchefstroom 1895
Klerksdorp 1896
GAUTENG
Vereeniging 1913
Vanderbijl Park 1953
Bethal 1910
SWAZILAND
EASTERN TRANSVAAL
Kroonstad 1904
Welkom 1955
Vaal River
Upington 1898
Orange River
Vryheid 1904
Bethlehem 1906
ORANGE FREE STATE
Kimberley 1875
KWAZULU/NATAL
Bloemfontein 1876
NORTHERN CAPE
LESOTHO
Pietermaritzburg 1902
Durban 1883
REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA
Orange River
INDIAN OCEAN
ATLANTIC OCEAN
Queenstown 1902
WESTERN CAPE
EASTERN CAPE
East London 1901
Wellington 1903
Worcester 1903
Bellville 1924
Paarl 1884
Cape Town 1841
Stellenbosch 1899
Oudtshoorn 1883
George 1903
Grahamstown 1843
Uitenhage 1901
Port Elizabeth 1857
□ 500–1,000
▲ 3,000
● 15,000
■ 45,000

Historical Jewish communities of South Africa with dates of establishment. Main 21st century communities in bold face with population figures based on 2004 census. (Discrepancies in dates in the records may be partially due to varied definitions of what constitutes the establishment of a congregation.)

as the Union of South Africa under the British flag. In 1961 the Union became a republic outside the British Commonwealth. Until 1994, South Africa was ruled by the white minority. Black majority rule was ushered in by the country's first democratic, non-racial elections, held on April 27 of that year.

Settlement

Jewish associations with South Africa date back a long way. Jewish scientists and cartographers in Portugal contributed to the success of Vasco da Gama's voyage which led to the discovery of the Cape of Good Hope in 1497. Jewish merchants in Holland were associated with the Dutch East India Company, which established the white settlement at the Cape in 1652, and Jewish names appear in the early records of the settlement. These were probably converts to Christianity who had come to Holland from Central and Eastern Europe. The company required all its servants and settlers to be professing Protestants. Identifiably Jewish settlement began only after the introduction of complete religious tolerance under the Batavian Republic in 1804 and its confirmation by the British who took over the Cape in 1806. Enterprising Jewish individuals then began to arrive, mainly from Germany and the British Isles. Some made their way from Cape Town (where the first congregation was founded in 1841) deep into the interior and played pioneering roles in the development of what was then a backward country with a thinly scattered white population. Prominent individuals were Nathaniel *Isaacs, Benjamin *Norden, Jonas *Bergtheil, the *Mosenthal brothers, the *Solomon family, and Joel *Rabinowitz.

By the end of the 1860s, when the Jews in the Cape numbered a few hundred families in a white population of something over two hundred thousand, there were two main centers of Jewish settlement in the colony, the older in Cape Town and environs, and the other in the eastern region, mainly in Grahamstown, *Port Elizabeth and district, and Graaff Reinet. Individuals – itinerant traders and storekeepers, with a few professional men – had also penetrated into the more remote inland areas. Though small in number, they made a significant contribution to the economic advancement of the country and to its social and civic life.

The opening up of the diamond fields in Griqualand West (*Kimberley) in 1869 and of the gold mines of the Witwatersrand in 1886, marked a turning point in the economic and political history of South Africa. From being predominantly pastoral, it developed rapidly into a modern industrial society. The new economic opportunities attracted Jews among the emigrants from Britain, Germany, and elsewhere on the continent of Europe, as well as from America and Australia, and other countries. They were the forerunners of the mainstream of Jewish immigrants who began to arrive from Eastern Europe in the 1880s, a tributary of the vast outflow escaping czarist oppression and economic deprivation and seeking freedom and new opportunity, of whom the majority found their way to North America. Many of these immigrants settled in Cape Town and nearby towns, but later spread to more distant rural areas, and also found their way to the goldfields in the Witwatersrand. Few villages in the Cape, the Orange Free State, and later in the Transvaal, were without their Jewish peddlers or storekeepers, who were usually joined in time by their families and kinsmen from overseas. They formed small communities, and in some cases (as in the ostrich feather center *Oudtshoorn) larger Jewish settlements. The mainstream of Jewish migration, however, flowed to *Johannesburg and other towns on the Witwatersrand, which soon after the Boer War (1899–1902) – during which there was an exodus of war "refugees" – became the nucleus of the largest concentration of Jews in South Africa. There was also a smaller movement into Natal, particularly to *Durban.

The steady extension of Jewish settlement to the new areas was reflected in the dates when the first congregations were established: Kimberley – 1875; Oudtshoorn – 1883; Durban – 1883; Johannesburg – 1887; *Pretoria – 1890; *Bloemfontein – 1876.

Immigration

Official statistics on immigration became available only after the Boer War (1899–1902), but it can be conjectured that the Jewish population in 1880 was about 4,000. Ten years later it had grown to about 10,000. Around 1900 it was in the vicinity of 25,000, and in the 1904 official census it had reached a total of some 38,000. These figures reflect clearly how the Jewish population was growing through the addition of newcomers from abroad. Between 1880 and 1910, some 40,000 Jewish immigrants entered the country. Thereafter, for various reasons, the numbers decreased, with the exception of the years 1924 to 1930. In all, in the half-century from 1910 to 1960, it is estimated that there were perhaps 30,000 Jewish immigrants.

Until about 1890, the majority of Jewish immigrants came from Britain, and in lesser numbers from Germany. Thereafter, the influx of "Russian" Jews (as the East European Jews were officially designated) increased and within a couple of decades the "greeners" outnumbered the older elements. They came predominantly (approximately 70%) from Lithuania and the other territories on the eastern shores of the Baltic (South African Jewry came to be described as "a colony of Lithuania") and also from Latvia, Poland, Belorussia, and further afield. In their escape from oppression and poverty in Eastern Europe the Jews who went to South Africa were encouraged by success stories of individuals, reports of the sympathetic attitude of the Boers (Afrikaners) to Jews as the "Chosen People," the helping hand stretched out by older settlers, and inflated stories of the fortunes made from the gold mines. Most of the East Europeans at first encountered great hardships and difficulties economically before achieving prosperity. South Africa's attitude to Jewish immigration was influenced by various factors, among them conservative official policies in regard to immigration generally, partly due to the internal struggle between the rival English-speaking and Afrikaner sections of the population. The changing political and economic situation in the country, and at times, the relatively high proportion of Jews among immigrants from alien (non-British) countries, also played their part.

Although, in an overall historical perspective, and by comparison with other countries, South Africa's attitude was not an unfavorable one, Jewish leaders frequently felt the need for vigilance against discrimination, and at certain periods Jewish immigration became a subject of intensive political agitation (see below, legal and social status). In 1902, Jewish immigrants faced a crisis because a new literacy test at the Cape (designed to exclude Asiatics) called for the ability to read and write "in the characters of a European language." There were moves to deny this status to Yiddish because it was written in Hebrew characters, but the language was officially accorded recognition in the Cape Immigration Law of 1906. This provision was also incorporated after Union in the basic Immigration Act of 1913. In the early 1920s Jewish communal leaders were engaged in a lengthy dispute with the government on the interpretation of the immigration laws, which had resulted in severe restrictions on economic grounds. These restrictions were removed in 1924, but the increased Jewish immigration which followed led in 1930 to the enactment of a law generally referred to as the "Quota Act." This did not restrict Jewish immigration per se but by imposing numerical limitation upon all immigration from specified countries of Eastern and southern Europe, it substantially reduced the admission of Jewish immigrants. Soon afterward the influx of Jewish refugees, from Nazi Germany – and especially the dramatic arrival in 1936 of a chartered boat, the *Stuttgart*, with 537 German Jewish refugees on board – resulted in a major

Jews in South Africa

Year	Total
1904	38,101
1911	46,919
1918	58,741
1921	62,103
1926	71,816
1936	90,645
1946	104,156
1951	108,498
1960	114,762
1970	118,200
1980	117,963
1991	91, 925
2001	71,800

agitation and precipitated the enactment of the "Aliens Act" of 1937. This law gave plenary powers to an Immigrants Selection Board, which was required, among other considerations, to apply the criterion of "assimilability." The number of Jewish refugees from Germany then dropped considerably, the total between 1933 and 1940 being approximately 5,500.

During World War II, Jewish immigration virtually ceased and in the immediate postwar period was largely limited to aged parents and children of persons already living in South Africa and to other specified categories. Following the virtual destruction, in the Holocaust, of the communities from which South Africa had drawn its Jewish immigrants, as well as the movement toward the State of Israel, the overall figure of Jewish immigration to South Africa dropped to a few hundred annually.

DEMOGRAPHIC ASPECTS. The growth of the South African Jewish population through both immigration and natural increase is shown in the Table; figures are based on official census returns:

Until 1936, when the proportion of Jews in the population reached its peak of 4.52%, the annual Jewish increase was proportionately higher than that of the white population generally. In the succeeding 25 years (1936–1960), however, it was only 1.77% compared with 2.26% for the white population as a whole, and in the decade 1950 to 1960, it was only one-half of the general figure. The relative decline of the Jewish percentage was due to the restrictive immigration laws; the lower birth rate of Jews compared with that of the general white population; a certain amount of emigration; and the higher number of Jews in the older age groups.

In the early years, the high masculinity in sex distribution was similar to that of all typical immigrant communities, but later it dropped sharply. In 1904, there were 25,864 males and 12,237 females, while by 1960, males numbered 57,198 and females 57,563. The proportion of foreign-born to local-born Jews had also radically changed. Whereas in 1936, 46.69% were South African-born (for females the figure was 50%), the large majority are now South African-born.

In 1970, according to the official census of that year, the Jewish population reached an all-time high of 118,200. This figure remained static during the next decade, with losses to emigration being partially offset by immigration from Rhodesia (today *Zimbabwe), other African countries, and Israel. The Jewish population declined precipitously during the 1980s as a result of social, economic, and political unrest. The adjusted 1991 census, when adjusted upwards based on the national percentage of those who omitted the "religion" question on the census form, gave the Jewish population as 91,925, comprising 1.8% of the white population and 0.3% of the total population.

According to the 2001 census, this figure had declined still further. A total of 61,670 whites gave their religion as Jewish, suggesting a total of between 72,000 and 75,000 when the proportion of those who omitted the religion question was taken into account. These were overwhelmingly concentrated in the three provinces of Gauteng (47,700, more than 90% of whom lived in Johannesburg), Western Cape (18,360, mainly in Cape Town), KwaZulu-Natal (3,470, mainly in Durban) and Eastern Cape (1,390, mainly Port Elizabeth and East London), while the combined total of the remaining five provinces was estimated at about 1,500. Once a substantial proportion of the total, the number of Jews still living in rural districts had declined to a few hundred, mainly elderly people. Despite the steep decline in the Jewish population, there were signs early in the new century that Jewish emigration was leveling off and that a modest influx of new immigrants, as well as some returning emigrants, was beginning to swell its ranks once more.

Legal and Social Status

As an integral part of the white population, Jews have full equality and participate in all aspects of South Africa's national, political, civic, economic, and cultural life. During the white minority rule years, although the usual forms of anti-Jewish prejudice in gentile societies were occasionally encountered, both of the main white population groups – the English-speaking and the Afrikaans-speaking – remained faithful, generally speaking, to the traditions of religious tolerance which characterized the homelands – England and the Netherlands – from which their forefathers came. In the post-1994 era, there has been little evidence of anti-Jewish sentiment in the majority black population, with antisemitism being primarily confined to elements within the Muslim community.

There have nevertheless been periods in South Africa's history when Jews faced special problems which arose, in particular, from the complex racial and political tensions of the country. There were exceptional periods when the status of Jews was challenged. While the Cape was under the control of the Dutch East India Company prior to 1795 (see above), and all in the Company's service had to profess the Christian Reformed religion, there could be no professing Jews in the country until a liberal religious policy was introduced. Thereafter, however, whether in the British or the Afrikaner territories, Jews enjoyed religious tolerance and freedom of conscience. Indeed, a notably sympathetic attitude was shown by the Boers toward the early Jewish immigrants from Eastern Europe.

The situation in the Afrikaner Transvaal Republic, however, differed from that in the Orange Free State, where full equality was enjoyed by the Jews. The Grondwet (constitution) of the Transvaal Republic (1864; reaffirmed in 1896) stipulated that membership in the Volksraad (parliament) and also the holding of official positions in the state service, were to be restricted to Christian Protestants. Catholics, and also Jews, were consequently debarred from military posts and from the offices of the presidency, state secretary, and Landdrost, nor could they become members of the first or second Volksraad or superintendents of the natives or of mines. These disabilities applied even to individuals who had become burghers of the republic. There were also educational disabilities: as education had to be based on a strictly Christian Protestant religious foundation, Catholic and Jewish children were debarred from attending government schools and their parochial schools were denied state aid. These disabilities did not arise from expressly anti-Jewish motives, but flowed from the rather harsh Calvinist constitution of the republic. In the last years of the republic, Jewish deputations to the government sought to have them removed, but without success. Eventually in 1899, President Kruger tried unsuccessfully to persuade the Volksraad to replace the requirement of the Grondwet that all members of the Raad must be Protestant by a provision that they must "believe in the revelation of God through His Word in the Bible." The Jews in the Transvaal reacted variously to these disabilities which were also somewhat obscured by the fact that the Jews were in most cases foreigners (*uitlanders*) with their own far-reaching grievances. Such limitations also did not weigh much upon the relatively recent arrivals from Eastern Europe, who appreciated their situation in the Boer republic, so markedly in contrast to the oppressive conditions of czarist Russia. All the disabilities disappeared when the Transvaal republic came under British rule in 1902. Thereafter, whether under the colonial regimes in the Transvaal and in the rest of the country prior to Union in 1910 or subsequently, Jewish citizens living in South Africa enjoyed legal equality in all respects.

However, further immigration of Jews, more particularly from Eastern Europe, did periodically become a public issue. In the 1930s the influx of refugees from Nazi Germany led to active agitation for the complete prohibition of Jewish immigration. In the result, while no specific anti-Jewish provisions were written into the immigration laws, restrictions were introduced which were expressly designed to cut down the flow of Jewish immigrants. The supporters of these restrictive policies were not confined to one political party only, and many disclaimed an anti-Jewish prejudice, asserting that the measures were necessary to prevent the growth of antisemitism by maintaining the existing balance between the various elements of the white population. (South Africa never favored an open-door immigration policy, the Afrikaans-speaking section, in particular, often contending that the aliens were a threat to the economic and political status of the established population).

South Africa became the scene of open antisemitic agitation among certain sections of the population – not shared by the majority of the citizens – from the time of the accession of the Nazis in Germany in 1933 until the end of World War II. Organized antisemitic movements arose, among them the "shirt" movements like the Greyshirts, Blackshirts, and South African Fascists, and semi-political bodies like the Ossewa Brandwag and the New Order, with fully-fledged National Socialist programs. These developments eventually had their impact upon the official opposition party, the National Party, which in 1937 included a plank on the "Jewish question" in its official program. Its demands included the total prohibition of further Jewish immigration, stronger control over naturalization, and the introduction of a "quota" system for Jews in various branches of economic life. In Transvaal province, too (but not in the other provinces), Jews were banned from membership in the National Party. When the United Party government, headed by Jan Christiaan *Smuts, declared war against Germany in 1939, the National Party formally proclaimed its neutrality.

The anti-Jewish agitation grew more subdued as World War II moved to its climax and sharp ideological differences emerged within the National Party. The moderate elements finally gained the upper hand, and in his political manifesto prior to the general election in May 1948, the Nationalist Party leader, Daniel François Malan, later prime minister, announced a new policy. Denying that the party's attitude on immigration was motivated by anti-Jewish feelings, he affirmed positively that his party did not support discriminatory measures between Jew and non-Jew who were already resident in the country. Consistently with that declaration, when the National Party won the election and became the government, Malan announced his goal to be the removal of the "Jewish question" from the life and politics of South Africa. The reestablishment of confidence was not effected without difficulty. Jews generally tended to hold aloof from the National Party. However it fulfilled its pledge not to countenance antisemitism in public life. Successive National Party prime ministers reaffirmed government policy to be one of equality and nondiscrimination between all sections of the white population.

Apart from the 1930s and early 1940s, antisemitism has never manifested as a serious problem in South Africa and Jews continue to participate fully in all aspects of national life on the basis of equality. Levels of recorded antisemitic incidents have been dramatically lower than those of other major Diaspora communities, consistently averaging around 30 annually. During the apartheid years, most antisemitic activity emanated from the white extreme right. During the 1980s and 1990s, the community became increasingly perturbed by the growing prevalence of organized neo-Nazi movements and other antisemitic organizations. Among these were the Afrikaanse Weerstands Beweging (Afrikaner Resistance Movement), Boerenasie, and the Blanke Bevrydingsbeweging (White Liberation Movement). These organizations largely ceased to operate following the transition to majority rule in 1994.

In recent years, most antisemitism has emanated from radical elements within South Africa's large Muslim minority, numbering around 800,000 in 2001 (about 2% of the population). The post-1994 ethos in the country, however, is strongly anti-racist, with numerous laws – including a comprehensive Bill of Rights in the Constitution – proscribing any form of abuse, discrimination, or hate speech based on race, color, creed, or ethnicity.

Communal Organization and Structure

HISTORICAL SURVEY. The earliest pattern of communal organization was established by Jews of German, English, and Dutch extraction. Their congregations provided elementary facilities for worship, classes for Hebrew and religious instruction of the young, and philanthropic aid, and also attended to the rites for the dead. The authority of the chief rabbi of England was accepted in ecclesiastical matters. Joel Rabinowitz (officiated 1859–82), Abraham Frederick *Ornstein, and Alfred P. *Bender (1895–1937), all of whom administered to the Cape Town Congregation, and Samuel I. Rapaport (1872–95), the minister in Port Elizabeth, all emigrated from England.

By the end of the 19th century or soon after, the "greener" East Europeans had broken away from the "English" synagogues in most communities to form their own congregations. Their parochial loyalties were reflected in the many separate associations for religious worship and talmudic study and the numerous *Landsmannschaften (fraternal associations) of persons who had come from the same town or village in Lithuania or Poland. Leading rabbinical personalities in this formative period were: in Johannesburg, Judah Loeb *Landau (officiated 1903–42), from Galicia; the more "Westernized" Joseph Herman *Hertz (1898–1911) who arrived via the United States (he later became chief rabbi of the British Empire); Moshal Friedman (beginning in 1891), from Lithuania; Chief Rabbis L.I. *Rabinowitz (1945–61); B.M. Caspar (1963–1988) and C.K. Harris (1988–2004) and in the Cape, M.Ch. Mirvish (d. 1947), also from Lithuania and I. *Abrahams (1937–68). In lay matters, Jews of English and German origin usually took the lead, but East Europeans also began to assert their influence.

The communal structure gradually underwent change in response to the new social forces – the slowing down of immigration, increasing acculturation and growing homogeneity. Splinter congregations rejoined the older synagogues or new amalgamations took place. By the 1940s most of the Landsmannschaften had disappeared or continued to survive on nostalgic memories. Emerging social and cultural needs called forth a variety of new institutions, such as the lodges of the Hebrew Order of David, the Zionist and Young Israel Societies, the branches of the Union of Jewish Women, the *B'nai B'rith Lodges, the Ex-Servicemen's organizations, the *Reform movement in religious life, Jewish social and sports clubs and, since the early 1990s, communal security organizations. Important work in social outreach and upliftment in the non-Jewish community is carried out by such organizations as MaAfrika Tikkun, the Union of Jewish Women, the United Sisterhood and ORT-South Africa, amongst others. Increased communal cohesion began to be reflected in the organizational structure of education, congregational affairs and philanthropy, and overall communal representation. However, older forms of organization, inherited or adapted from the East European tradition, yielded slowly to change. The most striking exceptions were in the Hebrew educational sphere and in the proliferation of Jewish sports clubs.

The main concentration of Jewish communities is now in two areas: the Johannesburg-Pretoria complex in the north, and the Cape Peninsula in the south, where 66% and 25% respectively of the Jewish population now live. Because of the geographic distance and differences of outlook, the regional bodies in the south until fairly recently maintained virtually autonomous religious and educational organizations parallel to the national bodies up north. However, since the mid-1980s the trend has been toward greater coordination and unity, as shown, inter alia, by the establishment of a national Union of Orthodox Synagogues and Bet Din in 1987. All the major national Jewish bodies have their headquarters in Johannesburg, which has now become the focal point of Jewish life.

RELIGIOUS INSTITUTIONS. The great majority of Hebrew congregations in South Africa, about 85% of the total, are Orthodox, with most of the remainder being Reform (Progressive). The Conservative movement as known in America virtually does not exist in South Africa, apart from the small Shalom Masorti Independent Congregation in Johannesburg, formed after one of the Reform congregations broke away from the Progressive movement in 1992.

In 1966, there were 29 Orthodox congregations and four Reform temples in Johannesburg and 12 Orthodox congregations and two Reform temples in Cape Town. In 2004, the number of Orthodox congregations in Johannesburg had grown to 51 while the Reform temples had declined to three. In Cape Town, the number of Orthodox congregations had increased to 18 and Reform Temples to three. There is at least one Orthodox and one Reform congregation each in Durban, Port Elizabeth, and East London. Outside of the main urban centers, virtually all of the smaller country synagogues had closed, with those remaining functioning only with great difficulty.

The Union of Orthodox Synagogues of South Africa (UOS) is the umbrella body for Orthodox congregations throughout South Africa and has affiliated to it most Orthodox congregations countrywide. It consists of just under 100 synagogues (including many *shtiebels*) and claims a membership enrollment of approximately 20,000 families. The UOS appoints and maintains the office of the chief rabbi and the Bet Din (ecclesiastical court). At the end of 2004, Scottish-born Rabbi Cyril Harris, who had served as a rabbi in London before coming to South Africa, retired after seventeen years as chief rabbi and was replaced by Rabbi Dr. Warren Goldstein, the first locally born rabbi to have been appointed to the position.

There is a single national Bet Din, based in Johannesburg with an office in Cape Town. This deals with conversions to the Jewish faith, the issuance of divorces, supervision of *kashrut*, and similar matters. Although the UOS established and maintains the Bet Din, and also appoints the *dayyanim*, the Bet Din is an independent body, exercising supreme plenary authority in Orthodox religious matters. The UOS publishes a quarterly magazine, *Jewish Tradition*. There is an Orthodox Rabbinical Association of South Africa, its members being drawn from the clergy of all parts of the country.

The period after 1970 saw young people becoming progressively more involved in religious life, in part because of more religion-focused Jewish day schools such as Yeshiva College and also because of the advent of dynamic outreach movements such as the Kollel Yad Shaul, Chabad (Lubavitch), Ohr Somayach, and Aish HaTorah. Johannesburg in particular is today widely regarded as a model *ba'al teshuvah* (return to Orthodoxy) community, while Cape Town and Pretoria were also experiencing an upsurge in religiosity by the turn of the century. The impressive growth of the *ba'al teshuvah* movement was shown by the proliferation of *shtiebls* (small synagogues, characterized by a high level of observance amongst its members) in Johannesburg, which numbered over 30 in 2004.

The Progressive movement was started in South Africa in 1933 by Rabbi Moses Cyrus Weiler (1907–2000) and was later led by Rabbi Arthur Saul Super (1908–1979) in the teeth of strong Orthodox opposition. The Reform movement became established in all the larger communities, at its height claiming support from about 20% of the whole Jewish population. This had declined to between 10 and 15% by the end of the century. In South Africa Reform has been relatively conservative in its religious approach, avoiding some of the radical manifestations of the American movement, and it has always been strongly pro-Zionist. In contrast to the Orthodox synagogues, which confined their activities largely within the Jewish community, Reform congregations broke new ground by adopting programs for Christian-Jewish goodwill and by fostering social welfare projects among non-whites, particularly for children. Several Orthodox congregations, notably the prestigious Oxford shul in Johannesburg, subsequently also became involved in social outreach and upliftment projects in the general community.

The Progressive congregations are associated together in the South African Union for Progressive Judaism, religious issues being handled by a central ecclesiastical board. The latter consists of rabbis and a few laymen, with a rabbi elected annually as its chairman. The ladies guilds in Orthodox synagogues are affiliated to the Federation of Synagogues' Ladies Guilds, and the Reform sisterhoods to the National Union of Temple Sisterhoods.

Both Orthodox and Reform congregations for many years had difficulties in finding rabbis and ministers. The sources in Europe which provided them with trained and experienced ministers no longer existed. By the closing years of the 20th century, however, an increasing number of the community's Orthodox rabbis were emerging from locally established rabbinical training institutions, most notably the Yeshiva Gedolah. Many products of the religious day schools, moreover, were returning to South Africa after gaining *semikhah* overseas, and serving the community both from the pulpit and as teachers within the burgeoning Jewish day school system.

SOUTH AFRICAN JEWISH BOARD OF DEPUTIES. A single representative organization, the South African Jewish Board of Deputies, is recognized by Jews and non-Jews alike as the authorized spokesman for the community. It is charged with safeguarding the equal rights and status of Jews as citizens and generally protecting Jewish interests. A Board for the Transvaal was formed in 1903, on the initiative of Max *Langerman and Rabbi Joseph Hertz, with the encouragement of the High Commissioner, Lord *Milner, and was named after its prototype in England. At first it encountered opposition from the Zionists. Among its early leaders were Bernard *Alexander, Manfred *Nathan, and Siegfried Raphaely. An independent Board for the Cape was formed in 1904 through the efforts of Morris *Alexander and David Goldblatt, despite opposition from the Rev. Alfred P. Bender and his congregation.

Following the unification of the four provinces in 1910, the two bodies were unified in the South African Board of Deputies (1912). Its main concern was to prevent discrimination against Jews in respect of immigration and naturalization and to rebut defamatory attacks on Jews. It led the community's efforts in rendering relief to Jews in Europe after World War I, and later was active also on behalf of German Jewry and the displaced persons of World War II through the instrumentality of the South African Jewish Appeal (1942). A relatively small and weak body, the Board underwent reorganization in the early 1930s to meet the challenge of Nazism and antisemitism. While Johannesburg remained the headquarters, provincial committees were set up in Cape Town – the seat of Parliament – Durban, Port Elizabeth, East London, Pretoria, and Bloemfontein. The position of chairman of the executive council was held by Cecil Lyons (1935–40); Gerald N. Lazarus (1940–45); Simon M. Kuper (1945–49); Israel A. *Maisels (1949–51); Edel J. Horwitz (1951–55); Namie Philips (1955–60); Teddy Schneider (1960–65); Maurice Porter (1965–70); David Mann (1970–74), Julius Rosettenstein (1974–78), Israel Abramowitz (1979–83), Michael Katz (1983–87), Gerald Leissner (1987–91), Mervyn Smith (1991–95), Marlene Bethlehem (1995–99), Russell Gaddin (1999–2003), and Michael Bagraim (from 2003). Its secretary and later general secretary for many years was Gustav Saron. Aleck Goldberg held this position for most of the 1980s while Seymour Kopelowitz did so for most of the next decade. As new needs had to be met, the Board became a functional agency in various fields. Today, it publishes a quarterly journal, *Jewish Affairs*, runs a Country Communities Department to cater to the needs of Jews still living in isolated country areas, maintains in Johannesburg an important library of Jewish information and archives relating to South African Jewry, and publishes information on the community through its website and communal directories. In 1993 it also took the lead in founding, and subsequently in running, the *African Jewish Congress, a representative and coordinating body for the Jewish communities in Sub-Saharan Africa. There is frequent consultation and cooperation between the Board and the Zionist Federation. In 1949 the Board launched the United Communal Fund (UCF) for South African Jewry, which provides the budgets – in whole or in part – of the Board itself, and of a number of other important communal organizations, including the Office of the Chief Rabbi, Community Security Organisation, Union of Jewish Women (UJW) and S.A. Board of Jewish Education. The UCF combined with the Israel United Appeal in 1984 to form the IUA-UCF. In line with important rationalization initiatives introduced during the late 1990s, the Board, Zionist Federation, IUA-UCF, UJW, S.A. Union of Jewish Students, and a number of other, smaller, Zionist and Jewish communal organizations today share single premises in all the major Jewish centers country-wide.

PHILANTHROPY. Institutions to assist the poor and needy early became an established feature of communal organization. In the wake more particularly of the East European immigration, there was a proliferation of many kinds of philanthropic institutions or fraternal bodies having philanthropic objects, such as Landsmannschaften, free-loan societies, societies to visit the sick, and especially for the provision of financial and material help to those in need. Many of these institutions bore the hallmark and followed the methods of East European traditions of *ẓedakah*. Today, for instance, the largest welfare body in Johannesburg, the *Chevra Kaddisha* combines extensive philanthropic work with the activities of a burial society. The organizational structure and also the underlying principles of Jewish social welfare subsequently underwent changes under the impact of changing social conditions. In recent years, the *Chevra Kaddisha* has incorporated a number of other important welfare institutions under its umbrella, amongst them the two Jewish aged homes Sandringham Gardens and Our Parents Home, Jewish Community Services, the Jewish Women's Benevolent Society, and the Arcadia Jewish Orphanage. Other important welfare institutions include the free-loan societies, the Witwatersrand Hebrew Benevolent Association (founded 1893) and the more recent Rambam Trust, the Selwyn Segal Home for Jewish Handicapped (1959), Yad Aharon, Hatzollah (medical rescue), Kadimah Occupational Centre, B'nai B'rith, and Nechama (bereavement counseling).

Leading bodies in the Cape include the Astra Centre (incorporating Jewish Sheltered Employment), B'nai B'rith, Cape Jewish Welfare Council, Glendale Home for the Intellectually Disabled, Hebrew Helping Hand Association, Highlands House (Jewish Aged Home), and Jewish Community Services (incorporating Jewish Board of Guardians, founded 1859, and the Jewish Sick Relief Society). The Jewish community has assumed financial responsibility for all its welfare needs, the large budgets being met by fees, membership dues, contributions, and bequests. Some advantage has been taken of government grants for specific welfare projects.

FRATERNAL ORGANIZATIONS. In the first decades of the 20th century many of the communal organizations provided some form of philanthropic and fraternal services to assist the integration of the immigrant generation. As late as 1929, of the 68 Jewish institutions in Johannesburg then affiliated to the Board of Deputies, 38 were either wholly or partly philanthropic. An indigenous South African institution of this type, the Hebrew Order of David, founded successive lodges after 1904 and, as members began to be recruited among the South African-born generation, added social, cultural, and communal objectives. The Grand Lodge has its headquarters in Johannesburg.

UNION OF JEWISH WOMEN. In the women's sphere the Union of Jewish Women of South Africa plays a major role. The first branch was formed in Johannesburg in 1931 and a national body in 1936. In 1969 the Union had 64 branches throughout the republic with a total membership of between 9,000 and 10,000 women, its national headquarters being in Johannesburg. The subsequent concentration of most Jews in the main urban centers, with the resultant closure of most rural and small town branches, saw the number of branches shrinking to 10 by 2004, with a total membership of about 7,500 women. The Union maintains a wide range of activities and acts as a coordinating body for Jewish women's organizations. A distinctive aspect of its program is its nondenominational work, educational and philanthropic, serving all sections of the population. Some branches run creches and feeding depots for indigent colored and African children and adults. Branches of the Union have established Hebrew nursery schools, friendship clubs, services for the aged, youth projects, and a wide program of adult education. In recent years, the UJW has become extensively involved in HIV/AIDS relief work.

EDUCATION. There are a plethora of Jewish day schools in Johannesburg and Cape Town, all of which provide a complete secular education, with Jewish studies integrated into the general curriculum, up to matriculation standard. The mainstream schools in Johannesburg are the three King David schools, located in Linksfield, Victory Park, and Sandton. The first two provide Jewish education from pre-school to matriculation level while the third goes up to primary school level. King David's counterparts in Cape Town are the Herzlia schools, while there is also a small Jewish day school in Port Elizabeth, Theodor Herzl.

The ideological basis of the King David, Herzlia, and Theodor Herzl schools is officially described as "broadly national traditional," a formula intended to indicate both the religious and the Zionist character of the education. Pupils receive a full education following a state syllabus and a Jewish studies program, including religion, history, literature, and Hebrew language. The mainstream Jewish day schools accept children of mixed marriages and Reform converts. However, many demanded more intensive religious instruction and greater religious observance. Protagonists of this type of education, together with Bnei Akiva religious youth movement, created in 1958 Yeshiva College, originally established as the Bnei Akiva Yeshiva seven years previously. This developed into a full-time day school from nursery school up to matriculation and steadily grew from an initial few dozen pupils to well over 800 by the turn of the century. In 1995, the school received the Jerusalem Prize for Jewish Education in the Diaspora. Yeshiva College could be regarded as centrist Orthodox in its approach. More right-wing Orthodox schools that subsequently were established include Torah Academy and Cape Town's Hebrew Academy (both under Chabad's auspices), Yeshivas Toras Emes, Shaarei Torah, Bais Yaakov, Hirsch Lyons, and Yeshiva Maharsha.

The Progressive movement also maintains a network of supplementary Hebrew and religious classes at its temples. These schools are affiliated with the Union for Progressive Jewish Education.

Overall supervision of the King David schools is undertaken by the South African Board of Jewish Education (SABJE), established in 1928, which operates from headquarters in Johannesburg. Affiliates include Yeshiva College and Torah Academy in Johannesburg, Theodor Herzl in Port Elizabeth, and the Herzlia schools in Cape Town. The SABJE has direct responsibility, both financial and administrative, for the Jewish day schools in Johannesburg. It also involves itself with Jewish children who attend state schools and whose main access to Jewish education is through the *Cheder* program and by means of religious instruction booklets sent into the schools. It administers a network of Hebrew nursery schools according to the standards laid down by the Nursery School Association of South Africa. The Cape Council of the South African Jewish Board of Education has its own religious instruction program for Jewish pupils who attend the state schools in the Western Cape Province.

In 2003, over 80% of school-going Jewish children in Johannesburg, Cape Town, and Port Elizabeth (whose Theodor Herzl School by then had a mainly non-Jewish enrollment) were attending one of the Jewish day schools. Those still in government schools had their Jewish educational requirements catered to by the United Hebrew Schools (under the SABJE) in Johannesburg and the Religious Instruction Department of the SAJBE in Cape Town. Jewish pupils in Pretoria and Durban received Jewish education through a special department at the Crawford College branches. This arrangement came about following the take-over of the Carmel College Jewish day schools in those cities by Crawford during the 1990s. The total pupil enrollment in the day schools in 2004 was about 8,000, substantially more than the 1969 figure of 6,000 even though the overall Jewish community had by then declined by more than a third. Government policy precludes financial support to new private schools, of whatever denomination, and financing of Jewish education remains a problem.

At the tertiary level, university students are able to take Jewish studies through the Semitics Department of the University of South Africa (UNISA); the Department of Hebrew and Jewish Studies of Natal University; and the Department of Hebrew and Jewish Studies (including the Isaac and Jessie Kaplan Centre for Jewish Studies and Research) at the University of Cape Town.

Programs of adult education continue to be provided by the SABJE, the South African Zionist Federation and the various affiliates, including most particularly the Union of Jewish Women, the Women's Zionist Council and the South African Zionist Youth Council. Other bodies, which have significantly contributed to the general cultural life of South African Jewry, include the Histadrut Ivrit, Yiddish Cultural Federation and the South African National Yad Vashem Foundation. Courses of Jewish study are offered at the University of Natal in Durban, and the University of South Africa.

Social Life

INFLUENCE OF IMMIGRATION STREAMS. Following the congregational beginnings in Cape Town in 1841, loss of identity through assimilation was gradually arrested, although the immigrants became quickly integrated into the general economic and cultural life. In secular matters, as also in religious, they maintained ties with Anglo-Jewry, and this tradition was followed also by the immigrants from Germany. The latter, socially influential, often assumed the leadership, but do not appear to have made a specifically German-Jewish cultural contribution.

The growing numbers of East Europeans led in time to social, religious, and cultural ferment. Social distance, and even open friction and conflict, developed between the "greeners" and the older sections, due to differences in ritual tradition, in intensity of religious observance, or in attitudes to Jewish education and Zionism. Nonetheless, many aspects of the Anglo-Jewish pattern persisted, although it underwent changes in spirit and content.

Elements of the legacy of Lithuanian Jewry may be identified in certain characteristics of South African Jewry: generous support for all philanthropic endeavors, respect for Jewish scholarship and learning, exemplified in the status accorded to the rabbinate and concern for Jewish education; and a conservative outlook toward religious observance (at least in externals). However, as the community became largely South African-born and homogeneous, the barriers that formerly separated the various immigrant groups all but disappeared. The Yiddish language, the only vernacular used by the East European immigrants, became confined to a small minority. (In the 1936 census, 17,861 persons declared Yiddish as their home language; by 1946 the figure was 14,044, and in 1951, it had fallen to 9,970. In 1960, of the large Jewish population in Johannesburg, only 2,786 declared Yiddish to be their home language). By 2004, only a handful remained.

FORCES STRENGTHENING GROUP IDENTITY. The normal trends of acculturation and integration – linguistic, cultural, and economic – were accelerated by the rapid rise in the material condition of many Jews. South African Jewry has thus far escaped large-scale manifestations of assimilation and maintains a vigorous group life. A major community survey jointly conducted in 1998 by the Institute for Jewish Policy Research (U.K.) and Kaplan Centre for Jewish Studies and Research (Cape Town) showed remarkably high levels of Jewish identification, both in the religious and Zionist sphere, and an intermarriage rate of less than 10%. Various factors have contributed to this. During the apartheid years, the country's cultural and political climate, which emphasizes the distinctiveness of the various linguistic, cultural, and ethnic groups of the population, and especially the coexistence of the English and Afrikaans language and culture, was favorable to the preservation of a separate Jewish group life. There was no pressure upon the Jew to drop his identity or to become an "unhyphenated" South African. This has continued into the post-1994 era, where the right of ethnic and religious communities to express their identity within the greater multicultural society is constitutionally protected, and indeed encouraged. The advent of democracy has therefore scarcely impinged, if at all, on Jewish identity, which has in fact been considerably strengthened by the strong upsurge in religiosity, particularly in Johannesburg.

THE ZIONIST MOVEMENT. The greatest influence, however – itself part of the Lithuanian heritage – has been exerted by the Zionist movement in the evolution of South African Jewry. Lithuanian Jewry's support of *Ḥibbat Zion was continued by the emigrants to South Africa. There was at first lukewarmness, and even active opposition, from some of the older anglicized groups, some right-wing Orthodox ministers, and also a small group of *Bund members and socialists. In time, however, the Zionist outlook achieved an unchallenged position.

Even before the first Basle Congress in 1897, there were a few Ḥovevei Zion societies in the country. An association of Zionist societies in the Transvaal, formed in 1898, convened a countrywide conference which led to the creation of the South African Zionist Federation, the first all-national Jewish body. The first all-South African Zionist conference was held in 1905. Although the fortunes of the Zionist movement fluctuated in the post-Herzl era, its strength was revealed during World War I, when the first South African Jewish Congress was held in Johannesburg, in April 1916, convened jointly by the Zionist Federation and the Board of Deputies in order to mobilize public opinion for the Jewish claim to Palestine. Zionist activity expanded greatly in the post-*Balfour Declaration period, owing much to its effective leaders, among them, Samuel Goldreich, Jacob *Gitlin, Idel Schwartz, A.M. Abrahams, Rabbi J.H. Hertz, Rabbi J.L. Landau, Benzion Hersch, Isaac Goldberg, Joseph Janower, Lazar Braudo, Katie Gluckman, Nicolai Kirschner, Bernard Gerling, Simon M. *Kuper, Joseph *Herbstein, Leopold *Greenberg, Edel J. Horwitz, and Israel A. Maisels. Its most influential officials included Jack Alexander, Zvi Infeld, and Sidney Berg. The Zionist Movement acted as a counterforce to weakening religious observance, and also unified the widely scattered communities. During the 1960s and 1970s, contributions per capita to Zionist funds were believed to have been higher in South Africa than elsewhere, even though the country's laws did not allow tax reductions for such donations. These contributions have been significantly reduced in the modern era, partly due to the decline of the South African currency relative to other currencies and because of government restrictions.

The South African Zionist Federation has been held up as a model of an all-embracing territorial Zionist organization. It takes the lead in, and coordinates, a many-faceted program. Its activities range from fundraising, the promotion of *aliyah*, tourism, and other forms of assistance to Israel, to youth work, adult education, and the fostering of Jewish culture generally. With its national headquarters situated in Johannesburg, it has officials in the main provincial centers and also an office in Tel Aviv, which carries out many varied functions in Israel itself. The strength of the Zionist movement lies particularly in its women's and youth sections. Organizations affiliated to the Zionist Federation include the Women's Zionist Organization of South Africa, whose fundraising projects are directed mainly toward the needs in Israel of women and children and land reclamation. The South African Maccabi Association, which promotes sport with Israel and is responsible for South Africa's participation in the *Maccabi Games. In 2004, there were four Zionist youth movements nationally, the largest being Bnei Akiva, followed by Habonim-Dror, Betar, and Netzer (representing the Reform movement). These conduct cultural programs, organize youth activities, and run summer camps. University youth have their representative organization – the South African Union of Jewish Students (SAUJS) affiliated to both the SAJBD and SAZF. In addition, many Zionist Societies and numerous synagogues are affiliated to the Federation. Fundraising is conducted through various channels, mainly through the Israel United Appeal campaign. Additional funds are raised for the Jewish National Fund, the Magen David Adom, South African Friends of various Israeli universities and educational institutions including the Hebrew, Bar-Ilan, Ben-Gurion and Haifa universities and the Technion, amongst other causes. The executive council of the Zionist Federation, elected by a biennial conference, includes representatives of the Women Zionists, Youth, Maccabi, and Medical Councils, and of other bodies within the Zionist movement.

South African Zionism has been noteworthy for its practical character, and the many projects which it has sponsored in Israel, among them the South African Palestine Enterprise (Binyan Corporation Ltd.) 1922, which granted mortgage loans at low interest rates; the African Palestine Investments, which participated in the Palestine Cold Storage and Supply Co.; and the Palestine Shippers Ltd. The South African Jewish Appeal promoted an important housing project and the building of the garden village in *Ashkelon. The Women's Zionist Council erected and maintains the WIZO Mothercraft Center. The Union of Jewish Women endowed the first dormitory for women students at the Hebrew University and is responsible for the maintenance of the Parasitology Laboratory. Significant endowments made by individuals to the Hebrew University include the Bialik Chair of Hebrew, the Ruth Ochberg Chair of Agriculture, the Cootcher Museum of Antiquities, the Joffee Marks wing of the Jewish National and University Library, the Silas S. Perry Endowment for Biblical Research, and the Percy A. Leon building in the geology complex.

Comparatively large numbers of South African Jews settled in Israel. By 1948 they numbered about 200, and by the beginning of 2004 the figure was estimated at around 18,000. Former South Africans who achieved high distinction in the state are Abba Eban, Michael Comay, Louis (Aryeh) Pincus, Arthur Lourie, and Jack Geri (who for a time was minister of commerce). In periods of crisis many volunteers from South Africa spontaneously left for Israel. In the 1948 War of Liberation, men and women who had served in the South African forces during World War II went to the defense of the Jewish state. A few thousand volunteered, but only 800 were sent and of these, approximately one-quarter remained permanently in the country. A stream of volunteers again left for Israel in the 1956 Sinai crisis, at the time of the Six-Day War in June 1967, and in the 1973 Yom Kippur War. An increasing number of students continued their studies at various seats of higher learning in Israel. The Jewish day schools send large groups of pupils to Israel for extended courses, and great numbers of tourists visit Israel regularly. Increasing contacts between South African Jewry and Israel have enriched the content of Jewish life and strengthened Jewish consciousness in South Africa.

Political Attitudes and Involvement

Apart from a few exceptional situations, opportunities to participate in all aspects of civic and political life have been open to Jews at all levels – national, provincial and local. An impressive number of Jews regularly participated in local government as elected councilors, both in the large cities and in the rural villages (until the exodus to the cities). Many were elected to the position of mayor (including 22 in Johannesburg and 13 in Cape Town). The provincial councils and Parliament also have always included Jewish representatives, with these after 1948 largely belonging to opposition parties. Four Jews, Henry *Gluckman, Louis Shill, Joe *Slovo, and Ronnie Kasrils have to date attained cabinet rank, while Gill Marcus, as well as Kasrils, have served terms as deputy ministers. In 1999, Tony Leon became the country's first Jewish Leader of the Opposition when his party, the Democratic Alliance, became the second largest party in Parliament following the general election of that year.

Throughout the 20th century, relations between the white and non-white sections of the population formed the warp and woof of party politics in South Africa, and there was likewise no collective Jewish attitude in regard to these. Because of the great diversity of opinions among individuals, and the complexity of the racial and political tensions within the country, the Jewish community found it impossible to advocate any specific group policy. The majority espoused moderate policies. Some Jews were among the foremost protagonists of the non-white sections of the population. One of the best-known was Helen *Suzman, the sole representative of the Progressive Party in the South African Parliament from 1961 to 1974. Within the ranks of the anti-apartheid liberation movements, Jews were likewise disproportionately involved, whether as academics, trade unionists, political organizers, or within the armed wings of the liberation groups. Many of these were jailed, including Denis Goldberg, who was convicted alongside Nelson Mandela and other leading black opposition figures at the famous Rivonia Trial in 1964. Many more were compelled to go into exile, where they continued to be active in anti-apartheid activities in places like London and Lusaka in Zambia. Some returned after the unbanning of the various liberation movements in 1990 and several of these, amongst them Joe Slovo, Ronnie Kasrils, Ben Turok, and Gill Marcus, played an important role in the subsequent process of transition to multiracial democracy.

During the apartheid years of white minority rule, the activities of individual Jews or of the Jewish community as such led to occasional controversy, often revealing the impact of the political, ideological, and racial tensions in South Africa upon attitudes toward Jews. The fact that so high a proportion of Jews were engaged in anti-apartheid activities, often as members of the banned Communist Party, led to the loyalties of the Jewish community as a whole being called into question. The mainstream Jewish leadership, represented by the SAJBD, found it necessary from time to time to emphasize that there was no collective Jewish viewpoint in regard to the racial policies advocated by the respective political parties, and that Jewish citizens act in such matters not as members of a group, but as individuals. As opposition to apartheid intensified, both locally and internationally, the mainstream communal leadership became increasingly torn between its traditional mission of safeguarding the Jewish community and the need to condemn the injustices of the apartheid policy in accordance with Jewish moral values and historical experience.

By the mid-1980s, the SAJBD was speaking out more forthrightly against the apartheid policy. At its national conference of 1985, and again in 1987, the Board explicitly rejected apartheid. It also released statements condemning evictions of black leaders and pass-law arrests, detention without trial, a university quota system for blacks, and the treatment of black squatters near Cape Town. The ruling National Party's move away from pure apartheid attracted some Jewish support although the majority of Jews continued to support the liberal opposition Progressive Federal Party, later transformed into the Democratic Party and thereafter the Democratic Alliance. A substantial number of Jews were engaged in social action and welfare activities. Jews were prominent in various activist organizations including Lawyers for Human Rights, the Legal Resources Centre, and the End Conscription Campaign (which sought changes to laws regarding compulsory military service for whites). Two specifically Jewish activist organizations were founded in the mid-1980s: Jews for Social Justice in Johannesburg and Jews for Justice in Cape Town. In 1987 Jews for Social Justice participated in the founding of the Five Freedoms Forum, a broad grouping of 25 white organizations opposed to apartheid. The SAJBD fully endorsed the moves away from apartheid by President De Klerk after 1989, and devoted much of its efforts during the following decade to preparing the Jewish community for the transition to black majority rule. In 1992, it threw its weight behind a "yes" vote during an all-white referendum on whether or not the reform process should be continued.

The majority of Jews tended to vote for opposition parties during the 1948–94 period, and in the elections of 1999 and 2004 overwhelmingly supported the Democratic Alliance. Nevertheless the Jewish community collectively – as distinct from individual Jewish citizens – has played no part in politics (except in exceptional situations, such as during the 1930s, where Jews felt that their status as full and equal citizens was being threatened).

Economic Life and Social Structure

That Jews have played a significant role in the economic development of the country is generally acknowledged. They were able to make a distinctive contribution because of the specific economic situation prevailing in the country at various periods, which required and gave scope for their particular talents and enterprise.

In the early part of the 19th century, before the discovery of the diamond fields, the economy was largely pastoral and agricultural. Economic prospects of the Cape were revived, however, by the increased trade and shipping around the southern route between Europe and the East. Furthermore, the aftermath of the English industrial revolution had encouraged some emigration to South Africa; and included the group known as the 1820 Settlers from Britain, which settled along the eastern frontier of the Cape (see *Norden family). During the 1830s, the interior was further opened up by the Boer voortrekkers. The relatively small number of Jewish immigrants from England and Germany brought with them an aptitude for and experience in trade and finance, and filled a special niche in the economically undeveloped society. They were merchants and small traders, with a sprinkling of professional men and craftsmen. Through their knowledge of foreign markets they helped to develop the export of such products as wool, hides, skins, and wine. They also contributed to the improvement of the Cape wool and mohair industries, the foundation of South Africa's future development as one of the world's producers. The Mosenthals from Germany, in particular, left a permanent mark on the economy through their initiative and diversity of interests. From bases in Cape Town and Port Elizabeth they set up a chain of trading stations in the interior of the Cape, usually manned by Jewish immigrants whom they had brought out from Germany. They helped to stabilize the rural economy by providing long-term credits to storekeepers and, through them, to farmers, particularly in bad seasons. Before the advent of commercial banking, the firm's banknotes were widely accepted in the development of banking, the financing of diamond and gold mining, and the establishment of secondary industries in the Cape and Transvaal. The *De Pass brothers, who came from Britain in the 1840s, developed shipping, fishing, and coastal trading enterprises in the southwestern Cape. They had interests in the newly discovered diamond fields in South-West Africa, then a German possession. Daniel De Pass was one of the pioneers of the sugar industry in Natal. The itinerant Jewish traders and peddlers (locally known as "smouses") traveled on foot or used animal-drawn transport to penetrate long distances, often amidst great hazards and hardships, to scattered hamlets and the extensive farms. They sold their wares and also provided a channel through which the products of the land could reach the ports and world markets. Many settled in the villages and at wayside stations as shopkeepers, so that eventually there was hardly a small town without one or more Jewish stores. These Jewish middlemen had a recognized place in the economy of the Cape and subsequently in the northerly territories.

Then came the revolution which transformed South Africa's economic structure: the discovery of diamonds at Kimberley (1870) and the opening of the Transvaal gold mines (1886; see *Johannesburg). The exploitation of mineral wealth called for enterprise, technical and managerial initiative, ability and great capital resources. There was a demand for commercial techniques, and the way was opened for the later development of secondary industries to supply the new communities which sprung up. The majority of Afrikaners, still largely a rural community, were not ready for the challenges of this new economic era, and the lead was taken by the English-speaking elements and foreigners of various nationalities, who flocked to the country. Among them Jews, mainly from Western Europe, became leaders of the mining industry (see B.I. *Barnato, the *Joels, Lionel *Phillips, George *Albu and David *Harris). With Cecil John Rhodes, Barnato founded De Beers Consolidated Mines which controlled the production and marketing of diamonds (see also *Diamond Industry and Trade). On the discovery of gold the same men, using the wealth and skill they had acquired in the diamond fields, took the lead in developing the gold mines. In later years, Ernest *Oppenheimer and his son Harry were at the head of De Beers and established widespread interests in the goldfields of the Transvaal and the newer goldfields of the Orange Free State, in the production of base minerals and uranium, and in the development of manufacturing industries. Many of the early

Jewish magnates had only flimsy associations with the Jewish community, and some actually abandoned Judaism. Later, other Jewish mining magnates, financiers, and executives also became leading figures in the mining industry, though in relatively small numbers.

The next major movement forward – a latecomer in South Africa – was the development of secondary industry, which occurred after World War I and was greatly intensified during and after World War II. Jews, many of them from Eastern Europe, contributed greatly to this development through their pioneering spirit and readiness to take risks. Often starting from humble beginnings as peddlers, storekeepers, and handicraftsmen (tailors, shoemakers, cabinetmakers, bricklayers, and so on), they produced some of the most enterprising industrialists. Among the pioneers were Samuel *Marks, who immigrated to South Africa in the 1860s, and his partner Isaac Lewis, who, with the help of state concessions established a number of industries in the Pretoria area, from the production of dynamite for the mines to a distillery and glass works. The steel plant which they established in Vereeniging was the forerunner of the South African state-controlled iron and steel industry. Assisted by protective tariffs and by wartime conditions, industries for manufacturing food, clothing, textiles, furniture, leather articles, and others were established by Jewish enterprise. Clothing and textile factories, in particular, were developed into one of the most important sectors of South African industry, and Jews remained leaders in that field. In the 1930s, the refugees who arrived from Germany also introduced many new industries. The younger generation of South African-born Jews later diversified into other spheres like electronics, engineering, the chemical industries, and large-scale building construction. Jewish town planners, property developers, and builders were largely responsible for the modernization of Johannesburg and other cities to meet the needs of an increasingly urbanized population. Entrepreneurs, notably I.W. *Schlesinger, were among the leading figures in the tertiary industries (insurance, mass entertainment, hotel keeping, catering, and advertising). Jews were among the first in South Africa to introduce modern distribution techniques in the retail trade, such as the department store, the supermarket and the discount house. The largest chain stores were founded by Jews, most of whom started from small beginnings. Although few Jews took up agriculture, Jewish farmers, especially in the maize industry, fruit growing, dairy farming and viticulture, set examples of successful scientific farming. Schlesinger's citrus undertaking in the Transvaal became one of the largest of its kind in the world. Ostrich farming and marketing, until the decline of the industry after 1914, was developed by Jews in the Oudtshoorn area of the Cape, notable among them being the Rose brothers, Max and Albert.

The South African-born generation of Jews turned in increasing numbers to the professions, to medicine, law, pharmacy, and later to accountancy, engineering, architecture, and pure and applied science, often achieving positions of eminence. A high proportion of young people regularly study at the universities. There have been distinguished Jewish lawyers in the past, Simeon Jacobs, Manfred *Nathan, Leopold Greenberg, Philip *Millin, J. Herbstein, H.M. Bloch, Percy Yutar, Simon Kuper, Cecil Margo, Isie Maisels, Richard Goldstone, Sydney Kentridge, Albie Sachs, and Arthur Chaskalson, many of these going on to serve with distinction on the bench. In 2001, Arthur Chaskalson was appointed chief justice. Many Jews have distinguished themselves in medicine, medical research, and the development of health and hospital services.

Jews in the Armed Forces

Jewish service as volunteers in the armed forces of the nation dates back to the Anglo-Boer War of 1899–1902, when Jews fought on both sides. Jewish participation in army service has been in greater numbers, proportionally, than the rest of the white population. Thus in World War I, there were some 3,000 Jewish volunteers representing about 6% of the entire Jewish population of that time. In World War II over 10,000, above 10% of the Jewish population, were listed in the records kept by the South African Jewish Board of Deputies of Jews serving in the Union Defense Forces and with other Allied forces. Of these 357 were killed, 327 were wounded or injured, 143 were mentioned in dispatches, and 94 received various awards for distinguished service. Compulsory military conscription for white males was introduced in the early 1970s, which began at six months and eventually was extended to two years plus two further years of military camps. Shortly thereafter, in 1976, South Africa became embroiled in a war against South West African liberation fighters and Cuban forces on the Angola-South West Africa border. The war continued until 1989, when South West Africa, now called Namibia, gained its independence from South Africa. A number of Jewish conscripts, perhaps a dozen in all, were amongst those who lost their lives in the conflict.

During the years of compulsory military conscription, chaplaincy services to Jewish men in the armed forces were provided by a Chaplaincy Committee, composed of representatives of the Board of Deputies, the Federation of Synagogues (later the UOS), the Union of Progressive Judaism, the Jewish Ex-Servicemen's organization, the Union of Jewish Women, and the Rabbinical Association. The chaplains were usually ministers or rabbis serving communities in the areas where military camps were located. Most of the administrative work of the Chaplaincy Committee was carried out by the Board of Deputies. There were 30 Jewish chaplains serving in the field in World War II. Chaplaincy services were discontinued in 1994.

Cultural Life

Jews have participated actively in all aspects of the cultural and artistic life of the country. Their work is recognized as part of South African culture. That they are Jews may not be irrelevant to their work, but does not determine the nature of their contributions. In the literary field, they have produced an imposing list of writers and artists, some of the first rank, including South Africa's foremost novelist, Sarah Gertrude *Millin. Also from South Africa are the Jewish novelists Dan *Jacobson and Nadine *Gordimer. Since for the most part Jews have been living in the cities where English is the dominant language, it is not surprising that they have had a greater share in English culture than in Afrikaans, although several have made worthy contributions to Afrikaans literature and more and more Jews are becoming fluent in both Afrikaans and English (see *South African Literature). One of the founders of the *Rand Daily Mail* and both founders of the *Mail & Guardian* were Jews, and Jews figure prominently in journalism. As patrons of art, music, and literature, they have provided stimulus in many aspects of the cultural life of the country, notably, perhaps, in musical and dramatic enterprise. Jewish painters include Irma *Stern and John Henry *Amshewitz, and among sculptors of notable standing is Moses *Kottler. South African playwrights, composers, musicians, producers, and actors have contributed largely to the cultural scene. While Yiddish was still in vogue among substantial numbers of the community, several South African writers made worthy literary contributions in that medium. There has also been literary creativity in Hebrew.

Relations with Israel

South Africa's official relations with Israel were founded, significantly, in a month decisive for the destinies of both people, May 1948. Chaim Weizmann, describing May 15, the day after the establishment of the State of Israel, wrote: "I bethought myself of one surviving author of the Balfour Declaration and addressed a cable to General Smuts. This was closely followed by South African recognition (of Israel)" (*Trial and Error*, p. 585). In the same month, however, Smuts and his United Party were defeated in the South African elections and succeeded by Malan's Nationalist Party. Smuts had had a longstanding familiarity with Zionism, whereas the new government was less involved with the story of Zionism and the cause of Jewish statehood. The Smuts administration had steadfastly supported the Zionist cause in international forums and was among the governments which had voted in the United Nations for the partition of Palestine on Nov. 29, 1947. Under the Nationalists, South Africa continued to support Israel, voted for its admission to the United Nations in 1949, and backed it on a number of subsequent issues in that forum. South Africa's recognition of Israel was followed by the establishment of an Israel consulate-general in Johannesburg and an Israel legation in Pretoria. Out of consideration for its economic interests and ties with the Arab States, however, South Africa was for long reluctant to establish any diplomatic mission in Israel. Nevertheless, Prime Minister Malan made a personal visit to Israel in 1952.

During the 1960s, attitudes to Israel underwent a change, because of the statements and votes by Israel representatives at the United Nations, which were critical of South Africa's racial policies. The reactions at times caused considerable tension between the South African government and the Jewish community. When the Israel-Arab war broke out in 1967, however, public sympathy was strongly on Israel's side. Following the 1973 Yom Kippur War, ties between Israel and South Africa, particularly in the military sphere, were steadily strengthened, a factor that contributed significantly to anti-Israel sentiment within the majority black population.

The establishment of these links between Israel and South Africa brought increasing and severe international criticism. Chaim Herzog, then Israel ambassador at the UN, revealed the hypocrisy of these allegations by his disclosure of details concerning large-scale secret trade between Arab, Asian and African nations and South Africa. On numerous occasions it was made plain by Israel that it had reservations about South African internal policies, but that it believed that it was essential to continue to foster cooperation between the countries despite differences of opinion on internal policies.

South Africa consolidated warm relations with Israel through the 1980s. However, as Western pressure against South Africa intensified, Israel was forced into reassessing this relationship. The United States threatened to cut military assistance to countries engaged in military trade with South Africa. In 1987 Israel agreed "to refrain from new undertakings between Israel and South Africa in the realm of defense." In line with its general opposition to sanctions as a policy, the South African Jewish leadership urged Israel not to take that step. Notwithstanding Israeli policy, the South African government continued to accept "approved enterprise to certain categories of investment" in Israel, among them residential housing, subject to certain conditions.

During the 1980s, left-wing and Islamist groups, such as the PAC, the Azanian Peoples' Organization (AZAPO), Call of Islam, and Qibla (a Muslim fundamentalist movement) pursued a vigorous anti-Zionist line. Their support was built upon black disappointment at close ties between South Africa and Israel and suspected military cooperation. Anti-Zionist sentiment was already evident at the time of the Lebanon War (1982) and consolidated during the first *intifada*. In particular the Muslim population of over 500,000 pursued a vigorous stance against Israel. This was very evident during the First Gulf War, intensifying during the years of the Oslo peace process and reaching unprecedented heights following the outbreak of the second *intifada* in September 2000. Notwithstanding sympathy for the Palestinian people, black leaders made a clear distinction between anti-Zionism and antisemitism. Nonetheless, there were indications of substantial "social distance" between blacks and Jews, including anti-Jewish attitudes among blacks.

The advent of black majority rule in 1994, which resulted in an overwhelming victory for the strongly pro-Palestinian African National Congress (ANC), saw a radical change in the government's attitude towards Israel. The relationship remained reasonably cordial during the years of the Oslo peace process but deteriorated sharply with the outbreak of the second *intifada*. While often critical of Israeli policy, however, the ANC (which was returned to office with increased majorities in the elections of 1999 and 2004) remains committed to dialogue and strengthening already strong trade ties between the two countries.

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[Gustav Saron and Milton Shain / David Saks (2nd ed.)]

SOUTH AFRICAN LITERATURE.

Biblical Influences

The Afrikaans-speaking people of South Africa are mainly descended from Dutch Calvinist and French Huguenot immigrants of the 17th century. The Bible has been an important factor in their life and thinking. The Afrikaans language (a variant of Dutch) took shape in the late 19th century, and biblical influences were reflected in it and in the early literature. Scriptural themes were common in the Afrikaans novel, and some Afrikaans verse was influenced in its subject matter and style, notably by Psalms and Ecclesiastes.

In South African English literature, with its natural affinities to the literature of England, biblical influences were less pronounced. They were to be seen chiefly in style and language in the works of the non-Jewish Olive Schreiner (1855–1920), Pauline Smith (1884–1959), and Alan Paton (1903–1988), and the Jewish writer Sarah Gertrude *Millin (1889–1968). Dan *Jacobson (b. 1929) wrote *The Rape of Tamar* (1970), which is an imaginative reworking of a biblical subject.

The Figure of the Jew

While the Hebrews of the Bible were esteemed by the Afrikaners, the Jews of modern times were generally less favorably dealt with by Afrikaans writers, who tended to portray a traditional stereotype of the "bad Jew," shrewd, grasping, and ruthless in his dealings with the simple Afrikaner. However, there were some instances of the "good Jew" as well. Jewish characters were frequently represented as speaking a heavily accented Afrikaans. D.F. Malherbe, Jochem van Bruggen, C.M. Van den Heever, and Abraham Jonker, who focus on the changeover that took place in the 1920s and 1930s from an agricultural to a capitalist mode of production, create Jewish characters with a mixture of grudging admiration and condemnation. J. van Melle and C.J. Langenhoven's characterizations are more sympathetic. Abraham Jonker's non-fictional *Israel die Sondebok* (1940) (translated as *The Scapegoat of History,* 1941), vigorously condemned antisemitism. Etienne Leroux (1922–1989) wrote several novels. In *Sewe Dae by die Silbersteins* (*Seven Days at the Silbersteins*, 1962) Jewish characters are more fully developed. *Een vir Azazel* (1964) contains biblical motifs. *Onse Hymie* (1982) deals sympathetically with a *smous* (itinerant peddler). Generally, in later Afrikaans literature, Jews seldom appear.

After the advent of the State of Israel, a number of descriptive and historical accounts of the Holy Land by Afrikaans writers usually exhibited a sympathetic approach. B. Gemser, who in 1937 had published a collection of Afrikaans translations of Hebrew short stories, issued a Hebrew-Afrikaans grammar in 1953.

In South Africa's English-language literature, in the work of non-Jewish writers, both white and black, Jewish characters invariably appear in three distinct stereotypes, of which the unscrupulous Jewish shopkeeper or businessman is the most common. The wandering Jew appears as the itinerant peddler, a typical occupation for newly arrived Jews from the end of the 19th century. A philo-semitic approach is rarer. Alan Paton's *Too Late the Phalarope* (1953) and the work of the colored (mixed-race) Peter Abrahams, are examples of portrayals of sympathetic Jews. Some writers were viciously antisemitic. A.A. Murray's *Anybody's Spring*, (1959) is a striking example. In later English fiction Jews often appear as leftists, involved in the struggle of the black people for freedom, a perception which reflects the prominent presence of Jews in the struggle for a democracy.

The Jewish Contribution

Jews did not reach South Africa in significant numbers until the second half of the 19th century. Most settled in towns, and Jewish writers mainly used Yiddish and, increasingly, English. The Jewish contribution to the emergent Afrikaans literature came later and was smaller, though not negligible.

Writers in English

FICTION. Among the major figures in South African English fiction a number are Jewish. However, not all identify as being Jewish, nor does their writing always reflect Jewish themes. Except for some specifically Jewish social, political, and communal concerns, Jewish writers, following the general trend, concern themselves with general South African topics, not least with the issue of race and color, understandably so for a people with a history of persecution. The family saga, particularly immigration from eastern Europe and, more latterly, emigration from South Africa, is another recurrent theme. However, there is no "Jewish" school, and it is noteworthy that some Jewish writers display evidence of Jewish self-rejection. Overall, the Jewish contribution to South African literature has been contemporary in setting, realistic in mode, and liberal in political outlook. Jewish characters occur more frequently in the fiction of Jewish writers than in that of gentiles, where the Jew more often than not appears in a minor, and stereotyped, role. Perhaps because of concern with the overshadowing white-black racism, antisemitism is a theme that seldom becomes a central issue.

Louis Cohen, a half-Jewish immigrant from England, was a journalist in Kimberley during the 1870s and wrote scurrilous sketches concerning Jews. Sarah Gertrude Millin, one of the most prolific of South African writers, published 18 novels. For many years she was the outstanding personality in South African creative writing and her works were translated into many languages. Her novel *God's Stepchildren* (1924) was the first major South African work of fiction to deal with miscegenation and the plight of the colored people. *The Coming of the Lord* (1928) deals with the problems of minority groups, including the Jews. In later years her writings tended to reflect more conventional South African views on color.

Nadine *Gordimer's work and Dan Jacobson's early writing revealed an intense awareness of the currents of social and race conflict in South Africa. Gordimer's international standing culminated in the award of the Nobel Prize for literature in 1991. Her 13 novels and many books of short stories are among the finest of South African writing. Apart from in her early work, references to Jews are few, and some, such as in *A Sport of Nature* (1987), are depicted in stereotypical fashion. Dan Jacobson, who immigrated to London, wrote an important novel, *The Beginners* (1966), portraying on a broad canvas the fortunes of a Jewish immigrant family, their adjustment to South African conditions, and emigration. *The Price of Diamonds* (1957) and several masterly short stories, including "The Zulu and the Zeide" (1958), satirize Jewish assumptions about race and morality and interrogate the Jewish stereotypes. His non-fictional writing includes *Heshel's Kingdom* (1999), which deals with a retrieval of Lithuanian roots.

The works of Arthur Markowitz (*Facing North*, 1949; *Market Street*, 1959) and Arthur Segal (*Johannesburg Friday*, 1954) also treat Jewish South African life, as do the sketches in *Millionaires and Tatterdemalions* (1952) by Victor Barwin.

Lewis Sowden in *The Crooked Bluegum* (1955) and Gerald Gordon (1909–1998) in *Let the Day Perish* (1952) deal with social and racial themes. Harry Bloom's *Episode* (1956) is considered a classic on the subject. A pioneer in a related field was Herzl J. Schlosberg who, under the pen name Henry John May, was co-author with J. Grenfell Williams of *I Am Black* (1936), the first South African novel to view life from the black African's standpoint. Wolfe Miller published *Man in the Background* (1958).

Lionel Abrahams (1928–2004), who wrote *The Celibacy of Felix Greenspan* (1977) and *The White Life of Felix Greenspan* (2002), was one of South Africa's most eminent writers, editors, teachers, and critics, having worked with distinction in almost all genres. His great contribution to South African letters was recognized by the award of two honorary doctorates. Among lesser-known figures the following authors are those who have published at least one novel or novella. Only one reference is given in each case. Ronald Segal (*The Tokolosh*), Rhona Stern (*Cactus Land*), Phyllis Altman (*The Law of the Vultures*), Bertha Goudvis (*Little Eden*), Maurice Flior (*Heralds of the East Wind*), Myrna Blumberg (*White Madam*), Sylvester Stein (*Second Class Taxi*), Olga Levinson (*Call Me Master*), Rose Moss (*The Family Reunion*), Rose Zwi (*Another Year in Africa*), Shirley Eskapa (*The Secret Keeper*), Dennis Hirson (*The House Next Door to Africa*), Lynne Freed (*Home Ground*), Eddie Lurie (*The Beginning Is Endless*), Gillian Slovo (*Ties of Blood*), Maja Kriel (*Rings in a Tree*), David Cohen (*People Who Have Stolen from Me*), Tony Eprile (*The Persistence of Memory*), Patricia Schonstein (*The Alchemist*), Mona Berman (*Email from a Jewish Mother*), Johnny Steinberg (*Midlands*), Diane Awerbuck (*Gardening at Night*), and Ken Barris (*Summer Grammar*). The renowned actor Antony Sher, who moved to England, imaginatively and even grotesquely dealt with the subject of immigration in *Middlepost* (1988).

Collections of short stories have come from Bertha Goudvis, Barney Simon (*Jo'burg Sis!*), David Medalie (*The Killing of the Christmas Cows*), Maureen Isaacson, Shirley Eskapa, Maja Kriel, Sandra Braude, Marc Glaser, and Ken Barris. Lilian Simon, Pnina Fenster, and Marcia Leveson are among the numerous others whose stories have appeared in South African literary journals. Humorous fiction was written by, among others, D. Dainow, M. Davidson, S. Levin, and Barbara Ludman.

POETRY. Jews have made substantial contributions to South African poetry. Phillip Stein published *Awakening* (1946) and Victor Barwin's *Europa and Other Poems* appeared in 1947. Lewis Sowden published three volumes of verse, notably *Poems from the Bible* (1960), and Florence Louie Friedman produced original verse and translations from the French and Zulu.

Among the most important voices in South African English poetry were those of Sydney Clouts (1926–1982) (*One Life*) and Ruth Miller (1919–1969) (*The Floating Island*). Jewish aspects were not reflected in their poetry. These do appear, however, in the work of many of South Africa's other Jewish poets. Jacob Stern's *Proverbs* is one such volume. Lionel Abrahams published several volumes of poetry on philosophical and political issues, love, and his home city, Johannesburg. Helen Segal (*Footprint of a Fish*) wrestles with moral, aesthetic, and religious issues. Bernard Levinson in *From Breakfast to Madness* and elsewhere draws on his experience as a psychiatrist. Sinclair Beiles (*Ashes of Experience*) and Roy Joseph Cotton (*Ag Man*) employ surrealism. Riva Rubin (*The Poet-Killers*) writes among other things on biblical themes, and her experiences of Israel where she settled in 1963. Chaim Lewis, an Anglo-Jewish author, wrote poetry on South African and Jewish themes during his long stay in the country. Experience of Israel is also apparent in the work of Jeremy Gordin (*With My Tongue in My Hand*). Among the many others whose work has appeared in their own anthologies or in journals are Robert Berold (*The Door to the River*), David Friedland (*After Image*), Lola Watter (*Images from Africa*), Edgar Bernstein, Elias Pater (Jacob Friedman), Jean Lipkin, Elaine Unterhalter, Mannie Hirsch, Dennis Diamond, Dennis Hirson, Allan Kolski

Horwitz, Rose Friedman, Sheila Basden, Sandra Braude, Roy Blumenthal, Debra Aarons, Marc Glaser, Peter and Mike Kantey, Karen Press, Keith Gottshalk, Steve Shapiro, Terry Sussman, Adam Schwartzman, Barry Feinberg, Ken Barris, Gail Dendy, Cyril Edelstein, Jessie Prisman, and Freda Freeman. Gloria Sandak-Lewin's poetry contains many Jewish themes. Israel Ben Yosef, in collaboration with Douglas Reid Skinner, published *Approximations* (1989), translations into English of contemporary Hebrew poetry.

DRAMA. The Jewish contribution to the performing arts has been highly significant in South Africa. *The Verdict* (1911), written by T.J. Holzberg in collaboration with I.K. Sampson (a non-Jew), was probably the first South African play by a Jew. One of Lewis Sowden's plays, *The Kimberley Train* (1958), brought the color question onto the South African stage, and ran for more than 100 performances. Bertha Goudvis wrote several plays on Jewish themes, *A Husband for Rachel* (1926) being the best known. Sarah Gertrude Millin's novel *Mary Glenn* (1925) was dramatized and staged abroad, as were two adaptations of works by Dan Jacobson, notably his short story "The Zulu and the Zeide," which was staged as a musical on Broadway. The first internationally successful South African musical, *King Kong*, which premièred in Johannesburg in 1959, was, except for the music, a largely Jewish production with African actors, with the book by Harry Bloom, orchestration by Stanley Glasser, set design by Arthur Goldreich, and direction by Leon Gluckman (all of whom subsequently emigrated).

Internationally acclaimed Leonard *Schach was involved in every stage of the development of theater in South Africa between 1925 and 1994. He was the inspiration behind Cape Town's Cockpit Theater, and until his death, divided his time as a director between South Africa and Israel. He published his memoirs in 1996. Other influential directors in the postwar years were Celia Sonnenberg and Rene Ahrenson, who founded "Shakespeare in the Park" at Maynardville in Cape Town and, later, the "Company of Four." Leon Gluckman, one of the country's most creative directors, was particularly interested in fostering black theater. Moira Fine, a major supporter of the Space Theater in Cape Town, also ran Volute Productions. For a lengthy period the doyenne of South African theater actor-directors and managers was Taubie Kushlick. The Johannesburg Children's Theater was the work of Joyce Levinsohn. A co-founder and artistic director of the famous Market Theater, the home of political protest theater in South Africa, was Barney Simon, who was a leading director and facilitator-playwright, stimulating his actors into creative improvisations. One of the most successful of these was the internationally acclaimed *Woza, Albert!* A significant book, tracing the first decade of the existence of this theater, was written by the Johannesburg journalist Pat Schwartz in 1988. The Junction Avenue Theater Company, under the leadership of Malcolm Purkey, applied workshop methods to create *The Fantastical History of a Useless Man* and other important plays, including *Sophiatown*, a recreation of a black township destroyed by government edict. Purkey became artistic director of the Market Theater. Among other Jewish playwrights whose work has been staged in South Africa are Bernard Sachs, Geraldine Aron, Sinclair Beiles, Michael Picardie, David Peemer, Gary Friedman, and Henry Rootenberg. Shawn Slovo produced a film, *A World Apart*, based on the experiences in political detention of her mother, Ruth First. William Kentridge, renowned artist, collaborated with the Handspring Theater Company to produce such innovative works as *Faustus in Africa!* which had worldwide success. In the field of satire and social commentary, Adam Leslie was for many years a household name, as are the half-Jewish and half-Afrikaans Pieter-Dirk Uys and David Kramer.

For over 50 years, one of South Africa's most influential theater and film critics was Percy Baneshik. Percy Tucker wrote his memoirs as the creator of a theater-booking agency. Among promoters of the arts in general in South Africa is Phillip Stein, who was director of the Vita Awards made annually for distinguished work in the performing, literary and visual arts.

AUTOBIOGRAPHY, BIOGRAPHY AND MEMOIRS. Jewish writers have been greatly concerned with the recreation of the past – the general South African past, their own life-stories, and the history of immigrant families. In this field Sarah Gertrude Millin was prominent. She wrote the lives of *Rhodes* (1933), *General Smuts* (1936), and two autobiographical volumes, *The Night is Long* (1941) and *The Measure of My Days* (1955). Nathan Levi, a Dutch-Jewish journalist in Pretoria, produced the first biography of General Smuts in English (1917). The memoirs of Lionel Phillips, *Randlord*, first appeared in 1924. Henry Raymond, Richard Lewinsohn and S. Joel each chose Barney *Barnato as a subject (1897, 1937 and 1958), and Felix Gross wrote *Rhodes of Africa* (1956). Manfred *Nathan wrote a standard biography of the Boer leader, Paul Kruger (1941). The memoirs of Sir David *Harris, South African pioneer, soldier, and politician, appeared in 1930. The explorer Nathaniel *Isaacs was also a literary pioneer with his *Travels and Adventures in Eastern Africa…* with a Sketch of Natal (1836; reissued 1935–36). Sir Harry Graumann published a review of the gold industry in 1936. Enid Alexander wrote the life of her husband, Morris *Alexander (1953), and Morris Kentridge's published reminiscences of his public career. The historian, Phyllis Lewsen, produced an authoritative edition of the letters of the South African statesman John Xavier Merriman (4 vols. 1960–69). Her own memoir is titled *Reverberations* (1996). Bernard Friedman wrote a biography of J.C. Smuts. Bertha *Solomon's memoirs, *Time Remembered,* appeared in 1968. Martin Rubin wrote on Sarah Gertrude Millin. The mercantile Mosenthal family was researched by D. Fleischer and A. Caccia. Isie Maisels, a leading advocate in human rights cases, wrote his memoirs. Eric Rosenthal recaptures the spirit of South Africa in the 20th century. Lola Watter evokes the literary and artistic life, particularly of Johannesburg. In *Strange Odyssey* (1952) Betty Misheiker wrote of an immigrant group, and Geoff Sifrin's *To Gershn* (1995) is a recreation of his widely spread family from their days in eastern Europe. Richard Mendelsohn wrote on *Sammy Marks: The Uncrowned King of the Transvaal* (1991). Phyllis Jowell documented the life of her father-in-law, a key figure in Namaqualand, in *Joe Jowell of Namaqualand* (1994) and, with Adrienne Folb a pictorial history of the Jews of Namaqualand. In 2000 Chief Rabbi Cyril Harris recorded highlights of his ministry. Others in the autobiographical field include Lyndall Gordon, eminent scholar and biographer who immigrated to England and wrote a memoir of life in Cape Town during the 1950s titled *Shared Lives* (1992). Helen *Suzman, long-time sole representative in parliament of the Progressive Party under the Apartheid government, wrote memoirs, as did Jack Penn, Ali Bacher, David Susman, Pauline Podbrey, Hilda Bernstein, Harold and AnnMarie Wolpe, Ben Turok, Benjamin Pogrund, Norma Kitson, Ronald Segal, Lionel (Rusty) Bernstein, Baruch Hirson, Joel Joffe, Rudy Frankel, Ronnie Kasrils, and Alfred Honikman, former mayor of Cape Town. Benjamin Pogrund also wrote on activist Robert Sobukwe and Paul Clingman on the Hon. A.E. Abrahamson. Ruth First and Albie Sachs wrote of their experiences in an apartheid prison. Joe *Slovo, the renowned South African communist, recorded his life; and Mendel Kaplan, industrialist, former chairperson of the Board of Governors of the Jewish Agency, and later chairman of the World Jewish Congress produced several books chronicling Jewish immigration and the Jewish contribution to the economic development of the country. Julian Roup, in *Boerejood* (2004), contributed a different slant with the point of view of the sometimes intermarried community of Afrikaner-Jews.

Included in the memoirs of survivors of the Holocaust are those of Levi Shalit, *Beyond Dachau* (1980), Henia Brazg, *Passport to Life* (1981), Maja Abramowitch's *To Forgive… But Not Forget* (2002), and Madeleine Heitner's *Breaking through Buttonholes* (2004). Gwynne Schrire edited a selection of the memories of Cape Town Holocaust survivors, *In Sacred Memory* (1995).

OTHER FIELDS. In belles lettres, Jewish writers included Joseph Sachs (*Beauty and the Jews*, 1937; *The Jewish Genius*, 1939); Wulf Sachs (*Black Hamlet*, 1937; later published as *Black Anger*); George Sacks (*The Intelligent Man's Guide to Jew-baiting*, 1935); and Adèle Lezard (*Gold Blast*, 1936). Bernard Sachs wrote a miscellaneous collection of essays on *Personalities and Places* (2 vols., 1959–65). Contributions to literary criticism were also made by Edward Davis, Phillip Segal, and many others not collected in volume form.

NON-FICTION. Non-fictional literary prose of a very high order, in the form of scholarly, journalistic, historiographical, biographical, and polemical works, has been produced by many distinguished Jewish South Africans. Not only have books and studies appeared, but there have been innumerable contributions to newspapers and journals and important editorships, not only in the Jewish field but also in the general world of scholarship and letters. For Jewish scholarship and historiography, the influential *Jewish Affairs* (started in 1941 under the editorship of Edgar Bernstein, and for 16 years under the editorship of Amelia Levy, once secretary of the Society of Jews and Christians) is crucial. The Isaac and Jessie Kaplan Center for Jewish Studies and Research at the University of Cape Town currently produces outstanding work in this field.

Sidney Mendelssohn compiled a monumental *South African Bibliography* (1910) and wrote *Jewish Pioneers of South Africa* (1912). Bernard Sachs published several volumes of autobiographical, political, and other essays, as well as a study of H.C. Bosman, writer of Afrikaans extraction connected with the South African Jewish community in the 1930s and 1940s. He has been the subject of a biography by Valerie Rosenberg, *Sunflower to the Sun*. Rosenberg and Lionel Abrahams edited several volumes of his writing, which, until recent scholarly updating, have been authoritative. Edgar Bernstein published a collection of essays titled *My Judaism*, *My Jews*, while Neil Hirschson has published some polemical work on Jew-hatred and Shakespeare. Michael Wade and Steven Clingman published major studies of the novels of Nadine Gordimer. *The Cape Town Intellectuals – Ruth Schechter and her Circle, 1907–1934* (2001) was written by Baruch Hirson, a political activist who immigrated to England. Reuben Musiker has published six books and 150 articles in the field of South African bibliography. Among the many Jewish scholars directly engaged in academic work on South African Jewish historiography and writing are Louis Herrman, who wrote *A History of the Jews in South Africa from the Earliest Times to 1895* (1935), and Gustav Saron and Louis Hotz, who were the editors of the influential *The Jews in South Africa: A History* (1955). Marcus Arkin edited *South African Jewry: A Contemporary Survey* in 1984. Among several other surveys of the South African Jewish community are those of L. Feldberg, N. Berger, N.D. Hoffman, D.L. Sowden, M. Konvisser, T. Hoffman, and A. Fischer. Marcia Gitlin's *The Vision Amazing* (1950) and the work of the prominent scholar now living in Israel, Gideon Shimoni (*Jews and Zionism,* 1980), analyze the strong bonds between the South African community and Israel. R. Musiker and J. Sherman edited *Waters out of the Well*, a collection of articles and essays on Jewish themes. *Memories, Realities and Dreams*, with international as well as local contributions, edited by Milton Shain and Richard Mendelsohn, is an important documentation of more recent thinking responses to and construction of a new identity in the light of political change in South Africa. In recent years a team of volunteers working for the South African Friends of Beth Hatefutsoth has been producing handsome illustrated books as part of its ongoing record of the dwindling Jewish country communities. Joseph Sherman made available in translation much of the neglected Yiddish writing from South African authors in *From a Land Far Off* (1987). Milton Shain produced a great deal of ongoing research on the South African Jewish community and a seminal work, *The Roots of Anti-semitism in South Africa* (1994). Jocelyn Hellig, who wrote *The Holocaust and AntiSemitism* (2003), lectured and published on issues such as antisemitism and comparative religion. Marcia Leveson published on the image of the Jew, including *People of the Book: The Image of the Jew in South African Fiction 1880–1992* (1996). Immanuel Suttner's collection of interviews with South African Jewish activists, *Cutting through the Mountain* (1997), is an important repository of research material. A.A. Dubb, Shirley Kossick, John Simon, Gwynne Schrire, David Saks, Franz Auerbach, Rose Norwich, and a host of other scholars published original research into the many facets of the wide Jewish contribution to the development of South Africa. Claudia Braude published a collection of contemporary Jewish writing in 2001. Veronica Belling compiled a *Bibliography of South African Jewry* (1997).

In other fields, Martin Orkin published *Shakespeare against Apartheid* (1987) and Clive Chipkin *Johannesburg Style* (1993). Esme Berman, Steven Sack, Neville Dubow, and Mona Berman made significant contributions in the field of art and art history. Mona de Beer wrote on an aspect of Cape urban history, Joel Mervis on South African newspapers, Ellison Kahn on law, Rod Suskin and Alexandra Levin on esoteric matters, and Raymond Ackerman on his life and business. Arnold Benjamin was a long-serving journalist on *The Star* and produced a book on graffiti. Elaine Katz wrote on trade unions and disease in the South African gold mines. Adam Levin wrote on travel in Africa, and Matthew Krouse, assisted by Kim Berman, co-edited a book on gay and lesbian writing. Shirli Gilbert wrote on South African music and music in the Holocaust. Numerous handsome cookbooks have been published by Jewish writers, and Geraldine Mitton and Linda Friedland publish on health issues. *The Jewish Report* has since 1998 been a popular national Jewish weekly newspaper, and several well-known Jewish journalists are active in the media world.

Writers in Afrikaans

A significant contribution to Afrikaans literature was made in the early 19th century by a Dutch Jewish convert to Christianity, Joseph Suasso de Lima (1791–1858). In 1844 he wrote the first booklet of its kind on the subject, in which he championed the developing Afrikaans language. He also wrote (in Dutch) the first history of the Cape of Good Hope (1823) and a number of other works. Another convert to Christianity, Jan Lion Cachet (d. 1912), who came from Holland in 1861, published *Sewe Duiwels en wat hulle gedoen het* ("Seven Devils and What They Did"). Written in serial form, it appeared in one volume in 1907. There are several Jewish characters, chiefly unsympathetically drawn. Cachet ranks as one of the founders of literary Afrikaans. Sarah Goldblatt (d. 1975), a writer of Afrikaans children's books and short stories, was the literary executrix of C.J. Langenhoven (1873–1932), a foremost Afrikaans writer. Another Jewish pioneer of Afrikaans literature, best known for his stories and sketches of animal life, was J.M. Friedenthal (1886–1959).

In later years, South African-born Olga Kirsch, who settled in Israel in 1948, published highly acclaimed collections of Afrikaans verse, including *Die Soeklig* ("The Searchlight," 1944), dealing with racial issues, *Geil Gebied* (Fertile Territory 1976) and four other collections which dealt with general Jewish and Israeli themes. Peter Blum, an immigrant, won an Afrikaans literary prize for his first collection of poems (1955).

In Judaic studies, links between Hebrew and Afrikaans were established by Rabbi Moses Romm, in his translations of the Jewish prayer book and the *Ethics of the Fathers*; and by Roman B. Egert, who published an Afrikaans version of the *Haggadah* (1943). Israel ben Yosef wrote *Nofim Reḥokim.* ("Verre Landskappe"), translations of Afrikaans poems into Hebrew, in collaboration with S.J. Pretorius (1985), and *Olyfwoestyn. Poësie uit Verre Lande.* ("Poems from Far-off Lands," 1987), Hebrew poems translated into Afrikaans in collaboration with Johan Steyn. The Yiddish writer Jacob Mordecai Sherman was extremely interested in Afrikaans, publishing several essays on its literature.

Writers in Yiddish

From 1881 onward, the influx of Yiddish-speaking Jewish immigrants enormously increased the size of the existing South African Jewish population. And of these many laid the foundations for the development of an indigenous South African Yiddish literature.

YIDDISH NEWSPAPERS AND JOURNALS. The pioneer of Yiddish journalism in South Africa was the professional belletrist, Nehemiah Dov Ber Hoffmann (1860–1928), who in 1889 brought the first Hebrew-Yiddish typeface to the land. Moving from the Cape to the Transvaal in 1890, he founded South Africa's first Yiddish weekly, *Der Afrikaner Israelit*, which lasted six months. Returning to the Cape, Hoffmann started a second weekly – Cape Town's first – titled *Ha-Or*, which lasted from April 1895 to July 1897. David Goldblatt's weekly, *Der Yiddisher Advokat*, which appeared regularly from 1904 until 1924, was recognized by the government as an official newspaper. Hoffmann's volume of memoirs, *Sefer Ha-zikhroynes* (1916) was the first full-length Yiddish book to be printed in South Africa. It describes the author's experiences in Europe, America (in Hebrew), and Africa. He was the first writer to record the eastern European immigrant response to life in South Africa. His account of the hardships experienced by the traveling Jewish *smous* was the first appearance in South African Yiddish literature of what was to become one of its major themes. His *Yearbook* of 1920 contains important information about country communities.

Yiddish weekly newspapers before World War II were short-lived. In Johannesburg between 1920 and 1948, six books of short stories and essays and four volumes of poetry were published. Solomon Fogelson founded a Yiddish weekly, *Der Afrikaner*, in Johannesburg in 1911, and at least three Yiddish periodicals were being published at the same time. Fogelson's newspaper survived for over 20 years until it was amalgamated with the *Afrikaner Idishe Tsaytung* in 1933, directed by Boris Gershman. After his death in 1953, the newspaper was bought by Levi Shalit in partnership with Shmarya Levin; it closed in 1983. At its peak, it had a weekly readership of 3,000 and carried regular contributions from distinguished overseas writers. Shalit exerted a powerful influence on local Yiddish writing through his finely wrought prose.

There were many short-lived journals, the most robust of which came from socialist groups. Between 1912 and 1939 organizations such as the *Gezerd* [*Gezelshaft far Erdarbet*], *Po'alei Zion*, and the *Yiddisher Arbeter Klub* produced several periodicals. The literary journal that did most to stimulate local creative writing at this time was *Dorem Afrike*, the organ of the *Yiddisher Literarisher Farayn*, which appeared first in nine issues between 1922 and 1923 and reappeared as a monthly from July 1928 to January 1931.

At a national conference called in Johannesburg in May 1947, Di Dorem Afrikaner Yiddishe Kultur Federatzie was established, and its monthly organ, a new *Dorem Afrike*, the first issue of which appeared in September 1948, was edited by Melekh Bakalczuk-Felin. In 1954 the editorship passed to David Wolpe, who ran the journal until 1970 and was succeeded by a committee chaired by Zalman Levy. It closed in 1991.

In 1949, Pacific Press and its ancillary, Kayor Publishers, were founded by Nathan Berger and Joseph Borwein. Between them, Kayor and the *Kultur Federatzie* inaugurated the most productive era in local Yiddish publishing. South Africa became an important center of Yiddish creativity. From 1949 to 1962, Kayor, in association with the *Kultur Federatzie*, published six collections of essays and short stories, six volumes of poetry and one novel, together with all the journalism and most of the Yiddish and Hebrew occasional publications in South Africa.

The horrors of the Holocaust were movingly chronicled by two survivors, Levi Shalit (b. 1916) and A. Peretz, who lived in South Africa before they emigrated to Israel.

THEMES AND AUTHORS IN SOUTH AFRICAN YIDDISH PROSE. A normative figure in early South African Jewish life was the old bachelor, who stayed single because he could not afford to bring over a bride from the Old Home. For some, brides were sent out from Lithuania. Married men often could not afford to bring their families to join them. There was also considerable intermarriage with Afrikaans, black, and colored women in country districts. Sensitively treated, all these matrimonial complexities, common in the immigrant experience, became recurring subject matter. Many immigrant Jews went to work in the exploitative stores-cum-eating-houses which the mining companies granted by concession to entrepreneurs, mostly Jewish themselves. There they lived solitary lives, working long hours in unhygienic conditions. To describe these places and those who worked in them, Yiddish speakers created two neologisms which entered the language as unique South Africanisms: *kaffireater*, the place, from the pejorative English title "kaffir eating-house"; and *kaffireatnik*, which became one of the stock figures of South African Yiddish literature. The problem of adaptation and the ensuing conflict between traditional ways of Jewish life and the demands of accommodation are understandably another chief focus of the writing. The love-hate relationship between Afrikaners and Jews recurs in different forms, but the alienating and bitter gulf between black and white most profoundly touches sensitive observers.

The earliest, most important figures in South African Yiddish literature were Hyman Polsky (1871–1944), Morris Hoffman (1885–1940), and Jacob Mordecai Sherman (1885–1958). Polsky, a journalist on Fogelson's Yiddish weekly, assumed its editorship in 1933 and remained its chief contributor. A selection of his best stories was published in Warsaw under the title *In Afrike* in 1939, republished in 1952. Morris Hoffman spent most of his life as a shopkeeper in the Little Karoo and published a major anthology of poetry, *Woglungsklangen* ("Songs of a Wanderer"), in Warsaw in 1935. After his death, his widow published a selection of his stories titled *Unter Afrikaner Zun* ("Under the African Sun") in 1951. Apart from contributing extensively to all the country's Yiddish publications and editing several periodicals himself, Sherman worked in almost all literary genres and produced South Africa's first Yiddish novel, *Land fun Gold un Zunshayn* ("Land of Gold and Sunshine"). His fiction, which was often autobiographical, depicted the relationships in farming communities between Afrikaner and Jew and between black and white. He also concentrated on the problem of marriages outside the faith.

Black-white relations, and the hardships of black people, were powerfully drawn by Richard Feldman (1917–1968), prominent in Transvaal labor movements. His volume of short stories, *Shvarts un Vays*, was published in South Africa in 1934, and republished in America 20 years later.

Der Regn hot Farshpetigt ("The Rains Came Late"), short stories by Nehemiah Levinsky (1901–1957), showed insight and compassion concerning the interrelationships between Jews, blacks and coloreds, and a deep understanding of African tribal customs. The most prolific Yiddish humorist was Hersh Shisler (1903–1978). Hyman Ehrlich published a book of satirical sketches in 1950, titled *Ot Azoy* ("That's the Way"), and a book of childhood reminiscences, *Dankere*, in 1956. A gifted short-story writer was Samuel Leibowitz (1912–1976), a regular contributor to all the local Yiddish periodicals. Other talented writers were Leibl Yudaken (1904–1989); Wolf Rybko (1896–1955), who wrote in Hebrew and Yiddish; and Chaim Sacks, who published in 1969 a series of vignettes of life in his father's rabbinical household in Poland titled *S'Iz Geven a Mol* ("Once Upon a Time").

Mendel Tabatznik (1894–1976) produced South Africa's second Yiddish novel, *Kalman Bulan*, a family saga which shows a realistic appreciation of the inexorable processes of assimilation. His stories, one-act plays, two volumes of memoirs and two volumes of poems sensitively examine all aspects of Jewish life in South Africa. Memoirs have always been a chief feature of all Yiddish literature, and 15 volumes have appeared in South Africa. Some writers never really adjusted to life in the African environment and looked back with sadness to the world left behind in eastern Europe, forever obliterated by the Holocaust.

Foremost among the writers of non-fiction was the polemicist and researcher, Leibl Feldman (1896–1975), a passionately committed Yiddishist with strong historicist leanings, who became the earliest chronicler of South African Jewish life. He published five books of history, providing indispensable documentation of early Jewish settlement in South Africa, particularly in Oudtshoorn and Johannesburg. He was also interested in the history of the Indians in South Africa and wrote a controversial essay of impressions after visits to Israel. David Wolpe (b. 1908) produced two volumes of literary criticism and a substantial book of short stories, and in 1997 and 2002 two volumes of his autobiography. Published in Argentina under the series title *Musterwerk fun der Yidisher Literatur* ("An Outline of Yiddish Literature"), volume 50 was dedicated to South African Yiddish Literature: *Dorem-afrikanish – fragmentn fun forsharbrtn tzu der kharakteristik un zikhrones* ("South African – Fragments of Research Works, Literature and Memoirs," 1971).

SOUTH AFRICAN YIDDISH POETRY. Yiddish in South Africa found its most profound expression in poetry. Here women made an impressive contribution. Anthologies came from Chaya Fedler (d. 1953), Rachiel Levin-Brainin (d. 1980), and Leah Benson-Rink. Sarah Eisen (d. 1981) wrote poetry in both Yiddish and Hebrew. Her subjects ranged from memories of eastern Europe to impressions of Israel and pictures of African life. Hyman Ehrlich (1908–1981) wrote children's verses before moving to more somber lyrics of two later volumes.

Outstanding among the introspective lyricists were Michael Ben Moshe (1911–1983) and David Fram (1903–1988). While Ben Moshe explored the anguish of personal pain in anthologies like *Opris*, Fram changed his style from the lyrics that had established his reputation in Lithuania to incorporate some of the vibrancy of tribal Africa. Fram's epics, published in 1947–1948, were *Efsher* ("Perhaps") and *Dos Letste Kapittel* ("The Last Chapter"). His last anthology, *A Shwalb Oifn Dakh* ("A Swallow on the Roof"), appeared in 1983. South African Yiddish verse continued to achieve international distinction in the work of David Wolpe, whose substantial modernist anthology, *A Wolkn un a Weg* ("A Cloud and a Way," 1978), was awarded the Itzik Manger Prize for Yiddish Literature in Jerusalem in 1983. Among other volumes *Krikveg, lider – poemes* ("The Way Back – Poems") appeared in 1991 and *Iber meine vegn, lider, poemes, dertzaylungen* ("Above My Ways, Poems and Stories") in 2002.

YIDDISH DRAMA IN SOUTH AFRICA. Yiddish plays, mainly written by overseas playwrights, were staged in South Africa from 1895. Most of the local work produced between 1916 and 1954 was light entertainment, performed from typescript, sometimes appearing in ephemeral local journals. Only Hirsch Brill (1891–1925) attempted to deal with serious dramatic themes and published two collections. Steadily declining communal interest and commercial competition slowly forced all Yiddish theater from South Africa's boards.

There is growing interest in Yiddish literature and in keeping Yiddish alive as a spoken language in South Africa. In 1983 the University of the Witwatersrand established a Yiddish library.

Hebrew

The most remarkable South African achievement in Hebrew came from Judah Leib *Landau, who arrived to assume a rabbinical position in South Africa in 1903. Between 1884 and 1923, he published overseas eight five-act epic dramas on mainly historical themes. Two were staged in Johannesburg. Only one dealt with African issues, the rest were concerned with the problems of westernization and assimilation, which he treated in the many essays he contributed on South African Jews during the period when he was chief rabbi of Johannesburg. A volume of his poetry was published in Warsaw. N. Levinsky and Z.A. Lison published in Israel fiction concerning South African life.

S. Aisen, M. Hoffman, and I. Idelson also published poetry in Israel. B. Beikenstadt published an anthology of translations from the Hebrew and Yiddish in 1930. I. Ben Yosef's *Links of Silence* was translated by Rachelle Mann and appeared in Tel Aviv in 1983. Azila Talit Reisenberger published poetry in both English and Hebrew. Her volume *Maḥazor Ahavah* ("Cycles of Love," 2002) appeared in Israel, as did her volume of short stories, *Mi-Po ad Kaf ha-Tikvah ha-Tovah* ("From Here until the Cape of Good Hope," 2004). As well she wrote plays and published on Jewish identity in South Africa.

In the 1930s Jack Rubik founded a monthly Hebrew newspaper, *Barkai*, and produced it regularly until his death in 1978. The newspaper died with him. A monthly Hebrew supplement, the *Musaf Ivrit,* to the weekly *Zionist Record* ran from the 1960s and closed in 1987.

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[Louis Hotz, Dora Leah Sowden, and Joseph Sherman / Marcia Leveson (2nd ed.)]

SOUTHAMPTON, major port in S. England. Its small medieval community was expelled in 1236 (Runceval, a house owned by the Jewish financier, Benedict of Winchester, was excavated in the 1960s). During the 16th century, Marrano agents boarded ships docking at Southampton to inform Marrano refugees from Portugal whether it was safe for them to proceed to their destination in Flanders. The modern community dates from 1833, though individual Jews lived in Southampton in the late 18th century and some were navy agents during the Napoleonic Wars. A split in the early congregation was settled soon after the appointment of Nathan Marcus *Adler as chief rabbi of Anglo-Jewry in 1844. Later Southampton was the port largely used by Jews traveling to and from South Africa. In 1969 the Jewish population numbered 150, out of a general population of 210,000. In the mid-1990s the Jewish population numbered approximately 105. According to the 2001 British census, there were 293 declared Jews in Southampton. It had an Orthodox synagogue. The University of Southampton has emerged as one of the major academic centers of Jewish history in Britain and contains the Parkes Library, which holds a number of important collections of Anglo-Jewish material.

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[Vivian David Lipman / William D. Rubinstein (2nd ed.)]

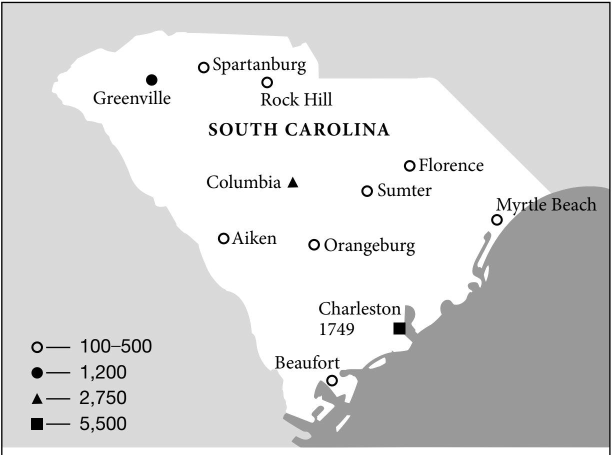

Total Jewish population of South Carolina	11,500
% of Jews in general population of South Carolina	0.3
% of South Carolina Jews in Jewish population of U.S.	0.18

Jewish communities in South Carolina. Population figures for 2001.

SOUTH CAROLINA, southeastern state of the United States, bordering the Atlantic Ocean and the states of North Carolina and Georgia. Jews arrived in the British colony of Carolina in the early days of European settlement. A new outpost in the mercantile traffic of the Atlantic basin, Carolina offered economic opportunities and a degree of religious tolerance remarkable for the time. The colony's Fundamental Constitutions of 1669, drafted by philosopher and physician John Locke, who was secretary to one of the eight Lords Proprietors, granted freedom of worship to "Jews, Heathens, and other Dissenters from the purity of the Christian Religion." Although the colonial assembly never endorsed the provision, British *Charleston became known as a place where people of all faiths – except Catholics – could do business and practice their religion without interference. In 1696, Jews in Charleston allied with French Protestants to safeguard their rights to trade, and the next year to secure citizenship.

Most of Carolina's first Jewish settlers traced their roots to Spain or Portugal. Expelled during the Inquisition at the end of the 15th century, the Sephardim dispersed around the globe and established themselves in capitals and port cities in northern Europe, the Mediterranean, and the West Indies. In 1749, Charleston's Jewish community chartered Kahal Kadosh Beth Elohim – one of the first five Jewish congregations in America. Like her sister synagogues in New York, Newport, Savannah, and Philadelphia, Beth Elohim was Sephardi in ritual and practice. Charleston's congregation remained so for two generations after the Revolutionary War, though by then the majority of South Carolina Jews were Ashkenazi, hailing from central or eastern Europe.

Following the Revolutionary War, South Carolina's Jewish population surged. When Columbia became the state capital in 1786, seven Jewish men from Charleston were among the first to buy town lots. Jews in Georgetown, Beaufort, and Camden belonged to the business and civic elites. By 1800, Charleston was home to the largest, wealthiest, and most cultured Jewish community in North America – upwards of five hundred individuals, or one-fifth of all Jews in the nation.

Carolina's Jews pursued the same goals as their white neighbors. Those who could afford it owned slaves. The affluent lived in finely furnished houses and traveled abroad. Many Ashkenazim adopted traditional Sephardi practices and assumed an aristocratic view of themselves as "earliest to arrive."

Charleston's highly acculturated Jewish community produced the first movement to reform Judaism in America. In 1824, a group of young Jewish men, mostly American-born, petitioned the governing body of Kahal Kadosh Beth Elohim for shorter services, a sermon preached on the Sabbath, and prayers in English. Rebuffed in their efforts, the dissidents drafted a constitution and established the Reformed Society of Israelites. For eight years the reformers worshiped separately, then returned to the traditional congregation. But in 1840 the reform faction prevailed. With the blessing of Beth Elohim's popular minister, Gustavus Poznanski, a proposal to install an organ in the new synagogue – a Greek revival temple that replaced the original structure, which had burned in the great fire of 1838 – was adopted by a narrow margin. The traditionalists seceded and formed Shearit Israel (Remnant of Israel), with its own burying ground adjacent to Beth Elohim's Coming Street cemetery. A brick wall separated the dead of the two congregations.

While schism in Beth Elohim divided traditionalists and reformers, a new group of immigrants introduced another brand of orthodoxy to Charleston. People of modest means – peddlers, artisans, metalworkers, bakers – the newcomers gave the city's Jewish population a more foreign appearance than before. As early as 1852, these eastern European Jews began meeting under the leadership of Rabbi Hirsch Zvi Levine, recently arrived from Poland. In 1855, they formally organized as Berith Shalome (now Brith Sholom) or "Covenant of Peace," the first Ashkenazi congregation in South Carolina and one of the first in the South.

As the southern states began seceding from the Union in 1860 and 1861, Jews rallied to the Confederate cause. Thousands of Jewish men served in the southern armies, while Jewish women, in accord with their gentile sisters, threw themselves into the war effort, sewing uniforms, knitting socks, rolling bandages, preparing boxes of clothes and provisions, and working in hospitals to care for the sick and wounded.

After the war, during the period of Reconstruction, some South Carolinians of Jewish descent, including the notorious "scalawag" governor, Franklin J. Moses, Jr., supported the Radical Republicans' drive to build a new society. However, most backed the Redeemers' crusade to restore white rule. Jewish women such as Octavia Harby Moses and Phoebe Yates Levy Pember were prominent in memorializing the "Lost Cause." In the shared experience of defeat, Jewish Confederates demonstrated their fierce sense of belonging.

Beginning in the 1880s, East European migration to America brought about a dramatic increase in the nation's Jewish population. Charleston's Jewish population, which had remained flat for decades at around 700, doubled between 1905 and 1912. The neighborhood where the "greenhorns" settled was called "Little Jerusalem." Immigrant men commonly started out as peddlers, then established small businesses. At one time some 40 stores on upper King Street were closed on Saturday, in observance of the Jewish Sabbath. The men held prayer services above stores. The women kept kosher homes. They trained their African American help to make potato *kugel* and *gefilte* fish, and they learned, in turn, to fix fried chicken and okra gumbo.

By World War I, Jewish communities in the midlands and upcountry had grown large enough to support synagogues. Meanwhile, some country clubs, fraternities, and sororities barred Jews, who responded by forming their own social groups and athletic teams modeled on the ones that kept them out. These organizations helped unify Jews around an ethnic identity without regard to place of birth, date of arrival in America, and degree of observance.

The revival of the Ku Klux Klan disturbed southern Jews' sense of well-being. In the heyday of Jim Crow, however, the primary targets of discrimination were blacks. Jews generally found themselves on the safe side of the racial divide. They demonstrated their loyalty to country and region in patriotic parades and party politics. When the United States entered World War II, Jewish southerners joined in the mobilization to fight the Japanese and Nazi foes.

As a result of the Holocaust in Europe, America's place in world Jewry changed radically. Now more than half of all Jewish people were living in the United States. In many ways, South Carolina was a microcosm of the nation. The class of Jewish merchants had begat a generation of lawyers, doctors, accountants, and college teachers, who shifted the Jewish economic niche away from retail business. With the rest of the white American mainstream, urban Jews abandoned the old neighborhoods and moved to the suburbs – a migration that coincided with the first stirrings of the civil rights movement and the rise of Conservative Judaism.

By the end of 20th century, Jewish populations in most small towns across the South had dwindled, while suburban and resort congregations were continuing to grow. South Carolina's Jews remained prominent in political life. Solomon Blatt, of Barnwell, served for 30 years in the state legislature, ending his final term as Speaker of the House in 1970. Numerous other Jewish lawmakers have filled seats in both houses, and, since World War II, more than a dozen Jews have been elected as mayors of South Carolina towns and cities.

South Carolina mirrors the nation in the drift toward more traditional observance – a trend in all divisions of Judaism. The Addlestone Hebrew Academy in Charleston and Lubavitcher Chabads in Myrtle Beach and Columbia teach Hebrew and religious studies in day schools to an increasingly diverse student population that includes newcomers from other parts of America, and from Russia and the Middle East as well.

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[Dale Rosengarten (2nd ed.)]

SOUTH DAKOTA, state in the upper Midwest sector of the United States; general population 756,000 (2001) with approximately 300 Jews. As a result of the gold rush, Jews settled in the Dakota territory as early as 1876. Two utopian agricultural communities, Cremieux and Bethlehem Yehudah, were founded in 1882 by the *Am Olam. They were defunct by 1885. Other Jewish homesteaders, particularly in the western part of the state stayed on the land longer. Movement to towns and to commercial activity was common.

There were once congregations in Deadwood, Lead, Sioux Falls, Aberdeen, and at Ellsworth Air Force Base in Rapid City. Today there are two: Mt. Zion in Sioux Falls and the newer Synagogue of the Hills in Rapid City, both

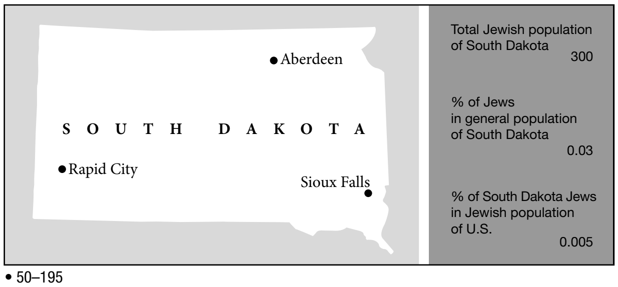
Aberdeen
SOUTH DAKOTA
Rapid City
Sioux Falls
Total Jewish population of South Dakota 300
% of Jews in general population of South Dakota 0.03
% of South Dakota Jews in Jewish population of U.S. 0.005
• 50–195

Jewish communities in South Dakota. Population figures for 2001.

served by student rabbis. Blanche Colman, a native of Deadwood, became the first woman to practice law in the state and worked as legal counsel for the Homestake Mining Company. She is buried, along with her family and other Jewish gold seekers, in the "Hebrew Hill" section of the communal Mt. Moriah Cemetery, where Wild Bill Hickock and Calamity Jane are also interred. Other noteworthy South Dakota Jews include agronomist Sam Bober, who in the 1920s and 1930s developed rust resistant strains of wheat and the Adelstein family of Rapid City whose Northwestern Engineering Company is one of the largest private civil engineering firms in America.

[Linda M. Schloff (2nd ed.)]

SOUTH WEST AFRICA (**Namibia**). Jewish connections with the territory were established even before its conquest by the Germans when it became a German colony. During the middle of the 19th century the *De Pass brothers, Jewish merchants from Cape Town, established trading posts on the Namaqualand coast, and in 1861 started the Pomona Copper Company. German Jews were allowed much more scope in the territory after its establishment as a colony. Carl *Fuerstenberg, a German Jewish banker, was responsible, as head of the Berliner Handellgesellschaft, for the development of the diamond industry, and he also organized the construction of the railway line from Luderitz Bay to Kubub. Emil *Rathenau created the German South West African Mining Syndicate and established a research company in 1907 for the study of irrigation problems. Walther *Rathenau was one of the two experts sent by Kaiser Wilhelm II to report on administrative reforms. The number of Jews in South West Africa under German rule was no more than about 100, most of them in Swakopmund. During the campaign of 1915, which ended in the conquest of the territory by South African forces, the men were interned and their families sent to Windhoek. After South Africa was granted a mandate over it by the League of Nations after World War I, however, the Jewish population increased, and in 1965 there were 400–500 Jews in a total white population of about 68,000, of whom the overwhelming majority lived in Windhoek, which has a Hebrew congregation (dating from 1917), a synagogue (completed in 1925), a *talmud torah*, a communal hall, named after Simon (Sam) *Cohen, the most prominent Jew and benefactor of the community, an active Zionist movement supported by generous contributions, and the only Jewish minister in the territory. The only other community, at Keetmanshoop, which had about 12 families, a congregation (founded in 1910), and a synagogue, ceased to exist when the number of Jewish families was reduced to five and their *sifrei torah* were sent to Windhoek. In addition, there are a few families in Swakopmund and Walvis Bay. L. Kerby served as town clerk of Windhoek for many years, and was responsible for the layout and upkeep of the beautiful cemetery which is one of the showpieces of Windhoek.

Jack Louis Levinson, the husband of Olga *Levinson, who has been a member of the municipal council for 25 years was mayor from 1963 to 1965 and was succeeded by Sam Davis. Mr. George May was another Jewish councilor.

In November 1980 Windhoek became a twin city with Kiryat Telshe Stone, a settlement outside Jerusalem.

The political developments including the cancellation of the League of Nations mandate by the United Nations and the proclamation of the establishment of an independent republic, called Namibia, has brought about a considerable dwindling of the Jewish population.

[Lewis Sowden]

SOUTHWOOD, JULIUS SALTER ELIAS, FIRST VISCOUNT (1873–1946), British newspaper owner. The son of Polish immigrants who settled in Birmingham, England, and then moved to London, Southwood started his career in London as an office boy and became one of the leaders of the newspaper industry. At the age of 21 he joined the jobbing printers firm of Odhams Brothers. Four years later he was appointed a director and became managing director in 1920. From 1906 Odhams published Horatio Bottomley's populist and scurrilous weekly, *John Bull*, which at its peak sold two million copies. After Bottomley was jailed for fraud, Southwood rebuilt the firm, adding more newspapers and magazines with vast circulations. Among them were the Labor paper *Daily Herald*, which reached a circulation of 2,000,000, and the weekly, *The People*, with 3,000,000. Other papers Odhams controlled were *John Bull, Illustrated, Sporting Life, Woman*, and *News Review.* Southwood was the only one of Britain's leading "presslords" to support the Labour Party, serving as deputy leader of the Labour Party in the House of Lords. Southwood associated himself with many charities and was chairman of funds in aid of hospitals, boys' clubs, children, and the blind. He was made a baron in 1937, taking the title of Lord Southwood, and a viscount in 1946. He was buried as an Anglican; his biography, *Viscount Southwood*, published in 1954 by R.J. Minney, makes no mention of the fact that he was Jewish.

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[Irving Rosenthal]

SOUTINE, CHAIM (1893–1943), Russian-French painter. Soutine was born at Smilovitchi in Lithuania, the tenth of eleven children of a poor tailor. Chaim was interested in nothing but drawing, and at the age of fourteen he ran away, first to Minsk, then to Vilna, where he enrolled at the School of Fine Arts. Attending school during the day, Soutine worked at night. In 1913, a physician who appreciated his talent provided him with money to go to Paris. There he met Amedeo *Modigliani, nine years his senior, who tried to help him. At one time, he and Modigliani shared a garret in Montmartre that contained only one cot, on which they took turns sleeping. To make a living, Soutine copied old masters at the Louvre, worked as a porter at a railroad station, or as a ditch digger. Overcome by despair, he once tried to commit suicide. His situation improved after the dying Modigliani recommended him to his art dealer. Thanks to the dealer's efforts, the American art collector, Albert C. Barnes, visited Soutine's studio and bought more than fifty of his paintings (they are now all at the Barnes Foundation at Merion, near Philadelphia, Pa.). After this meeting in 1922, Soutine produced many oils, and his reputation spread to England and the United States. When World War II broke out, he refused opportunities to go to the United States. After the Nazi invasion of France he was forced to hide in a small village in Touraine. The constant threat of being discovered made him ill with ulcers. In August 1943 a friend rushed him to a hospital in Paris where, after an operation, he died at the age of 50. Soutine never drew subject matters from memories of his early life in the ghetto. Instead, he portrayed the people, places, and scenes around him. He was an expressionist who rendered in violent color all the agony that he felt in his subject matter. He used paint in heavy impasto, and his colors, even more than his technique, betrayed his troubled mind. His canvases often remind one of bleeding, tortured flesh. Everything is broken, twisted, distorted. Even in his landscapes, there is a continuous cataclysmic movement. The body of his work consists of about six hundred oil paintings, many of which were acquired by museums all over the world.

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[Alfred Werner]

SOVERN, MICHAEL IRA (1931–), U.S. legal scholar and arbitrator. Sovern, who was born in New York City, received his law degree from Columbia Law School in 1955. He taught at the University of Minnesota Law School in 1955–58, then at Columbia Law School, becoming a full professor in 1960, the youngest modern Columbia faculty member to achieve this rank. As a legal scholar Sovern's main interest was labor relations and employment discrimination. He published *Legal Restraints on Racial Discrimination in Employment* (1966) and was co-author of the text *Cases and Materials on Law and Poverty* (1969). He served as special counsel on the New York State Joint Legislative Committee on Industrial and Labor Conditions. Working for effective legal services for the poor, Sovern helped found the Legal Services Unit of Mobilization for Youth. He supervised legal education for civil rights lawyers and chaired the committee on labor and industry of the American Civil Liberties Union. Sovern devoted effort to advancing public understanding of the U.S. legal system through his television series *Due Process for the Accused*.

As a labor arbitrator in public and private disputes, he arbitrated disputes in the New York City public schools, Pan American World Airways, and the New York Telephone Company, among others. Active in mediation during the 1968 disorders at Columbia, he presided over the faculty executive committee, which examined the causes of the disruption and made recommendations for their alleviation, which were adopted. In 1970 he was appointed dean of Columbia Law School, the first Jew to hold this post. He emphasized that skill in conciliation, as well as in adversary proceedings, should be a task of law school education. In 1979 he was named executive vice president for academic affairs and provost of the university. He assumed the role of university president in 1980, serving in that capacity until 1993. During his tenure as president he effected such achievements as creating the university's intellectual property policy, which began to bring in an annual revenue of $100 million; opening Columbia College to co-education without compromising Columbia's affiliate, Barnard College for women; increasing student scholarships and expanding the enrollment of minority students; and negotiating the sale of Columbia's land under Rockefeller Center to the Rockefeller family for $400 million, which enabled the university to improve its facilities and increase salaries. In 1993 he was named president emeritus and returned to teaching at the university's law school.

Sovern wrote *Legal Restraints on Racial Discrimination in Employment* (1966) and *Of Boundless Domains* (1994).

[Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

SOVETISH HEYMLAND ("Soviet Homeland"), the only Yiddish literary journal in the post-Stalinist Soviet Union, published as an organ of the Soviet Writers' Union. *Sovetish Heymland* made its appearance in July–August 1961, originally as a bi-monthly and, from January 1965, as a monthly. Apart from a few books in Yiddish that began to be published in Moscow in 1959, this magazine was a partial response of the Soviet authorities to the continued and forceful demands, mostly external, made upon them to reverse the process inaugurated at the end of 1948 of completely obliterating all manifestations of Jewish cultural life. This process had led to the execution of important Yiddish writers in the Soviet Union on August 12, 1952.

The editorial board, headed by Aaron *Vergelis, was composed of the few surviving Yiddish writers and changed significantly in the 1970s and 1980s, when some members died, immigrated to Israel, or quarreled with Vergelis. Like other periodicals of its kind appearing in the USSR, *Sovetish Heymland* devoted about two-thirds of its space to belles lettres and the remainder to literary criticism, research papers, ideological articles, memoirs, an account of Jewish cultural events in the Soviet Union and abroad, regular columns (such as the one on old Jewish books), polemical sections, etc. Most of the contributors were Yiddish authors living in the Soviet Union. The magazine also frequently presented translations of Soviet authors and, from time to time, contributions by Yiddish and Hebrew writers living outside the Soviet Union, provided, as a rule, that they were sympathizers of the communist movement. The magazine was illustrated and well edited and earned the reputation of being one of the most attractive Yiddish journals published at the time.

The material published by *Sovetish Heymland* fully reflected the ideology of Soviet patriotism prevailing in the publications in other languages in the USSR. Thus, compared to Soviet magazines that followed a "liberal" line in literature, such as *Novy Mir, Sovetish Heymland* displayed much greater circumspection. The literary standard was often lower than that of Soviet Yiddish literature before the liquidation of 1948, although every issue contained interesting and appealing items. Most of the contributors were the disciples of the liquidated writers. Their Jewish aspect was expressed primarily by works dealing with the Holocaust and World War II and by attempts to portray Soviet Jewish life; initially the liquidation of Yiddish literature was only hinted at, but from 1988 it became one of the main topics. Until 1970 the journal exercised great restraint over any topic related to Israel and did not contain the vicious attacks on the state found in other Soviet publications, especially after the Six-Day *War (1967). On the other hand it sharply refuted reports on the situation of Soviet Jewry published in the West. *Sovetish Heymland* fulfilled a positive role in domestic Jewish life by providing Yiddish material to a considerable readership and serving as a symbol of Jewish identity in a country that had so few opportunities for Jewish expression.

From 1970, when the journal became a forum for virulent anti-Zionist propaganda, it lost many readers and friends in the country and, especially, abroad. In the 1980s the editorial office trained a group of younger writers, such as Boris *Sandler (1950–) and Velvl Chenin (1958–). Following the collapse of the Soviet state-sponsored publishing system, the journal was saved by foreign sponsors and appeared sporadically in 1993–97 under the name of *Di Yidishe Gas* ("Jewish Street").

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[Chone Shmeruk / Gennady Estraikh (2nd ed.)]

SOYER, MOSES (1899–1974), U.S. painter. Born into a cultured family, Moses Soyer, his twin brother Raphael *Soyer, and younger brother Isaac Soyer all became well-known artists associated with the Social Realist style of painting. The family was forced out of czarist Russia in 1912, at which time they immigrated to the United States, ultimately settling in the Bronx. Soyer took free art classes at the Cooper Union and the National Academy of Design in the late 1910s; met the Ashcan artist Robert Henri at the Ferrar Art School, whose uncompromising representations of city life greatly influenced him; and studied at the Educational Alliance, where he formed friendships with Peter *Blume and Chaim *Gross. In 1923 Soyer began teaching at the Educational Alliance, where he continued to work intermittently throughout his life.

Soyer spent a year in Europe after winning a travel scholarship from the Educational Alliance (1926). After enjoying his first one-person exhibition at J.B. Neumann's Art Circle Gallery in 1929, Soyer showed his work regularly.

As a Works Progress Administration artist, Soyer painted ten portable murals addressing the life of the child, which were installed at children's hospitals and libraries throughout New York, and jointly designed a mural for the Kingsessing Station post office in Philadelphia with Raphael. During the Great Depression he also painted images of the unemployed and homeless in a representational fashion.

Inspired by the work of Edgar Degas, one of his favorite artists, and his dancer-wife, beginning in the 1940s Soyer made canvases of dancers rehearsing and at rest with a gestural, loose brushstroke. Throughout his life Soyer remained a figurative painter, frequently imaging studio nudes naturalistically. Indeed, Soyer's models are often shown at introspective, even troubled moments, and those who sat for portraits with the painter, notably many of the artist's friends, were never unnecessarily flattered. As Soyer accurately observed: "Most of my paintings reflect an interest in the casual moments in the life of plain people, the gestures and natural attitudes they fall into when they perform habitual tasks, when they are in thought, and when they are not observed by other people." Soyer's work was shown at a posthumous retrospective at the Whitney Museum of American Art in 1985.

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[Samantha Baskind (2nd ed.)]

SOYER, RAPHAEL (1899–1987), U.S. painter and printmaker. Born in Borisoglebsk, Russia, Raphael Soyer was one of three of the six Soyer children – along with his twin brother Moses *Soyer and younger brother Isaac Soyer – who became artists. In 1912, when the family was forced to leave Russia because their "Right to Live" permit was revoked, they immigrated to the United States, settling in the Bronx.

After taking drawing classes at the Cooper Union (1914–17), Soyer studied at the National Academy of Design (1918–22) and the Art Students League, where he attended classes intermittently from 1920 until 1926. Soyer enjoyed his first one-man show at New York's Daniel Gallery in 1929. It was there that his painting *Dancing Lesson* (1926, Collection Renee and Chaim Gross, New York), often understood as the exemplar of Jewish American art, was first exhibited publicly.

Throughout his career, Soyer was interested in Social Realist themes, which he both painted and showed in prints. During the Great Depression he often created dark-hued, compassionate renderings of the down-and-out in works such as *In the City Park* (1934, private collection, New York).

Soyer retreated into his studio in the 1940s and 1950s. Indeed, self-portraits at his easel and studio scenes of female nudes comprise Soyer's artistic interests at this time, as did portraits of his artist-friends and artists he admired. At a 1941 one-man show at the Associated American Artists Gallery, 23 of Soyer's artist-portraits were exhibited in a section entitled "My Contemporaries and Elders." Among the paintings displayed were portraits of Phillip Evergood and Abraham *Walkowitz. In the late 1950s Soyer started to paint outdoor scenes again, most of which were figurative canvases, such as *Farewell to Lincoln Square* (1959, Hirshhorn Museum and Sculpture Garden, Washington, D.C.). Inspired by Soyer's eviction from the Lincoln Arcade Building, where he kept a studio for 14 years, the large, colorful painting includes a self-portrait of the artist.

Remaining a representational artist in an abstract art scene, Soyer founded the periodical *Reality: A Journal of Artists' Opinions*, published annually from 1953 to 1955 to declare the importance of imaging "man and his world."

After meeting Isaac *Bashevis Singer in the elevator of his New York apartment building, Soyer worked on several projects with the Yiddish writer. Soyer illustrated a Limited Editions Club publication of two Singer stories, "The Gentleman from Cracow" and "The Mirror" (1979), and the second and third volumes of Singer's memoirs, *A Young Man in Search of Love* (1978) and *Lost in America* (1981). Soyer chronicled aspects of his life in four autobiographies.

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[Samantha Baskind (2nd ed.)]

SPACE AND PLACE (in Jewish Philosophy).

Philo

The term "place" has three meanings for *Philo, one physical and two theological: (1) the space taken up by a body, (2) the divine *logos, and (3) God Himself (Som. 1:11, 62–64). The first definition is probably derived from Stoic philosophy and is, in fact, similar to Aristotle's definition. In contrast to the latter, however, Philo's conception is based on the existence of three-dimensional space, which is itself independent of the bodies which fill it. The second definition does not relate to physical space; the place identified with the divine logos is said to be wholly filled by God Himself. On the other hand, it is characteristic of Philo's thought to ascribe a spatial relationship to the place of the third definition: "God Himself is called a place, by reason of His containing things, and being contained by nothing whatever… for He is that which He Himself has occupied, and naught encloses Him but Himself. I, mark you, am not a place, but in a place; and each thing likewise that exists… and the Deity, being contained by nothing, is of necessity Itself Its own place."

Philo's third definition relates to Jewish tradition. Jewish sources often refer to God as "Place" (*Makom*); a usage which was prevalent before Philo's time. Several Greek writers who preceded Philo, in referring to the God of the Jews, used the term *makkif* ("containing"), which appears in Philo's third definition. Later midrashic texts (e.g., Gen. R. 8:10) state explicitly that God is "the place of the world and His world is not His place."

In the Muslim world the first Karaite thinkers accepted the atomistic theories of the Mu'tazilites (see *Kalām), according to which not only bodies composed of atoms are inseparable, but there also exist equal and indivisible units of space, of time, of motion, and of the different qualities. Within a unit of motion, the atom passes from one unit of space to an adjoining unit. The existence of void space may be assumed, because (according to the notion also held by Greek atomists) the atoms could not move from place to place in a world which has no void.

Saadiah Gaon

Saadiah's definition of space is "the meeting of two contiguous bodies… each one of them becomes the place of the other. Thus one part of the earth, as it revolves, serves as the locale for the other" (*Beliefs and Opinions*, 1:4). This definition is probably based on an incorrect reading of Aristotle's conception, and the conclusions which Saadiah derives appear contradictory: at times he uses Aristotle's view as a proof that God, being incorporeal, cannot be in a particular place; at other times he seems to be saying that God is everywhere. In his commentary to *Sefer Yeẓirah*, Saadiah speaks of two kinds of air which are found everywhere:

(1) tangible air, and

(2) the fine air, which he identifies with the biblical "glory of God" (see *Shekhinah).

Jewish Aristotelianism

Ibn Abī Saʾīd, the first Jewish Aristotelian, appears to have accepted, in general, Aristotle's definition of place as "the limit of the encompassing body." This conception, which was commonplace in Muslim and Jewish philosophy, was totally rejected by Abu al-Barakat Ḥibat Allah (Nethanel) *al-Baghdadi, a Jewish philosopher who converted to Islam in his old age. He held the notion that space is a three-dimensional extension, which can be seen as both void and filled with bodies. The human intellect, according to him, has an image of void space before having an image of filled space. Contrary to Aristotle, whose views he criticizes at length, he believes that space is infinite.

Solomon ibn Gabirol

According to Solomon ibn Gabirol (in his *Mekor Ḥayyim*), there is a hierarchy of different kinds of place, some of which are spiritual (when the spiritual being is the place of spiritual form, and "will" is the place of both matter and form), and others physical. He refers to the existence of various other types of bodies as the "known place." God (the first agent) is the infinite place (or space).

Abraham ibn Daud

Abraham ibn *Daud attempts (in his *Emunah Ramah*) to establish the derivation of the three dimensions from prime matter, "which God created in the beginning," and which in itself is apparently non-spatial. The first form which it takes on, the corporeal form, is identified with continuity. This form affords something a certain measure of solidity and allows the three dimensions to come into existence.

Maimonides

*Maimonides accepts the Aristotelian view of physical place. He distinguishes between "particular" and "general" place (*Guide of the Perplexed*, 1:8): the particular place is the place of every individual body, which is the body referred to in Aristotle's definition; the general place, which contains all bodies, encompasses within its area the upper sphere, and the two are identical since, like Aristotle, Maimonides sees the world as finite. The term "place," when used to refer to God, designates His greatness.

Naḥmanides

*Naḥmanides recounts the midrashic notion that God is "the place of the world." The sages, in his opinion, meant by this dictum that God is the form of the world, since form is the realization (the entelechy) of the perfection of what is contained in the world, and is also its limit since it prevents the spreading out of the world's dimensions beyond its form.

Ḥasdai Crescas

A basic criticism of the Aristotelian conception of space and place is found in Ḥasdai *Crescas' *Or Adonai*, whose point of view and opinions are sometimes similar to those of Ḥibat Allah. It appears that Crescas was influenced in this critical attitude by the anti-Aristotelian physical theories of 14th- and 15th-century Christian scholastics. Crescas substitutes for the Aristotelian conception of two-dimensional place the conception of three-dimensional space (using the term *makom* ("place") to designate both place and space). This three-dimensional space is found within the limits of the world which is full of bodies. Crescas' notion that the world is infinite, however, leads him to reject the assumption that the existence of a void is impossible. It is his opinion that infinite void can exist outside the limits of the world, and even within the world itself. Crescas also assumes the possibility of the existence of more than one world. He maintains, however, that the human intellect is incapable of arriving at well-founded conclusions in regard to this matter. Like Naḥmanides, Crescas holds that referring to God as "the place of the world" means that God is the form of the world.

Apparently under Crescas' influence his disciple, Joseph *Albo, substituted the three-dimensional conception of space for the Aristotelian conception (*Sefer ha-Ikkarim*, 2:17).

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[Shlomo Pines]

SPAIN (in Hebrew at first אספמיא then ספרד), country in S.W. Europe. The use of the word "Spain" to denote "Sepharad" has caused some confusion in research. Spain came into being long after the Jews had been expelled from the Crowns of Castile and Aragon, which were jointly ruled by the Catholic Monarchs, Isabella of Castile and Ferdinand of Aragon, at the time of the expulsion. When Spain emerged, incorporating also the Kingdom of Navarre, there were no Jews officially living in the Iberian Peninsula. Sepharad was used in the Middle Ages to indicate the entire peninsula and the Jews who lived there whose culture emerged as result of the encounter of Judaism with Greco-Arabic culture that developed in Al-Andalus. Many major works devoted to Jewish history and culture treated as one unit the Jews of all the Hispanic kingdoms that subsequently constituted Spain, leaving out Portugal. Baer's monumental history does exactly that and he is followed by many scholars.

According to various legends, there were Jews living in Spain in biblical times, but no proof exists in support of such stories. Most probably, the first group of Jews settled there under the Roman Empire and the communities grew rapidly. A tombstone inscription attests the presence of Jews in Adra (the ancient Abdera) in the third century C.E. They thus witnessed the conversion of the inhabitants of the Peninsula to Christianity, which is probably why the Council of *Elvira (305) attempted to effect or maintain a separation between the members of the two faiths by forbidding Christians to live in the houses of Jews, or to eat in their company, or to bless the produce of their fields.

Under Visigothic Rule

The weakening of the empire and the arrival of the Visigoths changed the face of Spain. From their court in Toledo they attempted to restore the shattered Hispanic unity, initially on the religious plane, through the conversion of their king Reccared, originally an Arian, to Catholicism (587). Subsequently, in the political sphere, King Sisebut (612–21) broke down the last Byzantine stronghold in Spain. It is therefore hardly surprising that the Church councils of *Toledo, which were as much political as religious assemblies, should have played so important a role in the Visigothic state, and thus in the determination of its policy toward the Jews. As in the case of all other subjects, the policy was to have them adopt Catholicism, which had by then become the state religion. Reccared approved the decision of the third Council of Toledo (589) laying down that the children of a mixed Jewish-Christian marriage should be baptized by force. Going even further, Sisebut inaugurated a policy of forcible conversion of all the Jews in the kingdom. From 613 they were ordered to be baptized or leave the kingdom. Thousands of Jews then left Spain, while others were converted. Most of the latter, however, took the opportunity of returning to Judaism under the rule of his more tolerant successor Swintila (621–31). They were joined at this time by a number of exiles returning to Spain. At that period the official Church doctrine on conversion was formulated: Jews must not be baptized by force, and the fourth Council of Toledo (633) accepted this. King Sisenand (631–36) supported this attitude but, like the council, insisted that those Jews who had been converted by Sisebut and reverted to Judaism under Swintila must return to Christianity.

However, this relatively moderate attitude was revoked again under King Chintila (636–39) who compelled the sixth Council of Toledo (638) to adopt a resolution proclaiming that only Catholics might reside in the kingdom of Spain; he even anathematized those of his successors who did not hold to his decrees against the Jews. Numerous Jews accepted baptism and signed a declaration that they would respect Christian rites; others chose exile. Under Chintila's successor, Chindaswinth (641–49), the application of these laws had been neglected to such an extent that his successor, Recceswinth (649–72) complained to the eighth Council of Toledo (653) about the presence of Jews in the kingdom. Probably some of the exiles had come back and some of the converts had returned to Judaism. The king commanded that they be brought back within the fold of Christianity, by force if necessary. Those who had relapsed had to sign a new declaration, promising to be good Catholics, to reject all Jewish rites, and to execute themselves those of their erring brethren who backslid into Judaism. However, they were permitted to abstain from eating pork, which they abhorred. The king decided not to drive the unconverted Jews to the font but to make it impossible for them to practice Judaism by prohibiting circumcision and forbidding them to celebrate the Sabbath and the festivals. However, these ordinances were honored more in the breach than in the observance and, thanks to various allies, even among the clergy, the Jews were able to survive in Spain; so much so that the tenth Council of Toledo had to remind Christians that they were obliged to observe the laws relating to the Jews.

The next king, Wamba (672–80), expelled the Jews from Narbonne and probably also from Septimania (then part of Spain), but they did not all leave the Visigothic kingdom. They were there when Erwig (680–87) convoked the 12th Council of Toledo to obtain in spite of the traditional ruling of the Church, the forced baptism of the Jews. Within a year every Jew had to foreswear Judaism, accept baptism for himself and his family, and pledge his fidelity to the Christian faith. Those who refused were to be penalized by having their belongings seized, by corporal punishment, and finally by exile. Similar penalties were to be imposed on those who, baptized or not, observed Jewish rites. The priests were to gather all the Jews in the churches to read out to them the text of the law so that none could claim he was unaware of it. Any noble who helped the Jews to evade these laws was to lose his rights over the Jews and pay a heavy fine. The execution of the laws was the task of the clergy, the king reserving several penalties for them if they were lax in carrying out his orders. Yet the Jews continued to Judaize and even to attack Christianity on some occasions for the king could not count on the assistance of his people in carrying out the whole of his anti-Jewish policy. His successor, Egica (687–702), reversed his attitude, restating once more the prescription on forced baptism and suppressing those disqualifications which oppressed converted Jews, while at the same time increasing the benefits to be gained from becoming Christian. He passed several measures tending to impoverish the Jews and make it impossible for them to buy protection from powerful nobles. They were forced to sell, at a price fixed by the king, all slaves, buildings, lands, and vineyards which they had acquired from Christians. On pain of perpetual servitude and confiscation of their goods, they were forbidden to conduct commercial transactions with Christians or overseas. At the same time their taxes were considerably increased. In spite of its ratification by the 16th Council of Toledo (693), this policy was unsuccessful. Soon it was rumored that the persecuted Jews were thinking of appealing to the Muslim invaders, who had shown themselves to be decidedly more tolerant than the Visigoths. Alarmed, Egica convened a 17th council on Nov. 9, 694, accusing the Jews of treason and demanding that the severest measures be taken against them. Declared as slaves and their possessions confiscated, all the Jews of Spain were given into the hands of Christian masters in various provinces. Their masters were charged to see that they did not practice Jewish rites and to take their children to be brought up from the age of seven by Christian tutors and later married to Christians. Those Jews who were able to, escaped; the rest were taken into servitude.

[Simon R. Schwarzfuchs]

Muslim Spain

When Tarik b. Ziyad in 711 crossed the Straits of Gibraltar, and overran the Visigothic Kingdom, there were no communities of openly professing Jews in Spain. But there remained in the country many secret Jews who welcomed the Muslims as their saviors from long oppression and flocked to join them. According to reliable Arabic sources the Muslim invaders made it their custom to call together the Jews wherever they found them and to hand towns which they had conquered over to them to garrison. They mention that this happened at Córdoba, Granada, Toledo, and Seville. Since the number of Muslim soldiers was relatively small, there can be no doubt that they appreciated the military help of the Jews who enabled them to continue their campaigns without having to leave behind them sizable units. So the situation of the Crypto-Jews changed abruptly and they occupied the enviable position of a group allied with the new rulers of the peninsula. Probably their economic situation changed too, since most of the Visigothic nobles had fled and they could appropriate abandoned estates. The immediate sequel of the conquest of Spain by the Arabs was apparently that many Jews who had left Spain at the time of the religious persecutions by the Visigothic kings or their descendants returned from North Africa where they had found shelter. But soon the Jews began to suffer from the exactions of the new rulers who imposed on them (as on the Christians) heavy taxes. Even the party strife and civil wars which flared up among the Arabs brought down many calamities upon them.

UMAYYAD RULE. The *Umayyad kingdom in Spain was established by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān I in 755 with its capital at Córdoba in Andalusia. There was relative economic prosperity throughout Umayyad rule and Jews were represented in many occupations, including medicine, agriculture, commerce, and crafts. Jews continued to work in these fields after the fall of the Umayyad regime. The tolerance of the Umayyad regime rendered Muslim Spain a refuge for the Jews and their numbers increased within the country. In 839 the Frank bishop *Bodo converted to Judaism in *Saragossa, married a Spanish Jewess, and wrote a tract against Christianity to which Alvaros of Córdoba replied.

Jewish scholarship and culture flourished alongside its Arab counterpart and was influenced by it. The Babylonian *geonim* corresponded with rabbis and scholars in the centers of *Lucena and *Barcelona. R. *Amram Gaon sent his prayer book to Spanish scholars. The academy at Lucena flourished into the 12th century and is mentioned in responsa as early as the ninth. Later Arab geographers cited Lucena, Granada, and *Tarragona as "Jewish cities." The real Jewish cultural revival began in the tenth century under ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III (912–961), who assumed the title of caliph in 929 in Córdoba. At that time Córdoba was a center of both Arab and Jewish culture. This was the time of the political rise of the court physician *Ḥisdai ibn Shaprut, who attained the position of chief of customs and foreign trade. Ḥisdai was also a diplomat who negotiated with Christian rulers on behalf of the caliphate. In addition, he was a patron of the two leading Hebrew philologists, *Dunash b. Labrat and *Menahem b. Saruk. The Jewish literati acquired a sense of aesthetics and an appreciation of physical beauty from the artistic accomplishment of the Arabs in Spain. This sensitivity took root in the mid-tenth century and found expression in the Hebrew poetry of medieval Spain almost right up to the general expulsion in 1492.

As head of Spanish Jewry, Ḥisdai appointed *Moses b. Ḥanokh, who came from Italy, chief rabbi and head of a yeshivah at Córdoba. Thus, Spanish Jewry's reliance on the Babylonian *geonim* in halakhic matters decreased. Ḥisdai is the first example of the many-faceted Jewish statesman, communal leader, and intellectual who was characteristic of the community in Muslim Spain. After his death the post of rabbi of the Córdoba community was disputed by Joseph b. Isaac *Ibn Abitur, supported by the wealthy silk merchant *Ibn Jau, and R. *Ḥanokh b. Moses. The latter emerged victorious and his appointment was sanctioned by Caliph al-Ḥakam II, the patron of the Jewish geographer Ibrahim b. Yaʿqūb. During the reign of al-*Manṣūr (d. 1002) the great Hebrew philologist *Ḥayyuj (Abu Zakariyyā Yaḥyā b. Daʾud), who established the principle of the trilitteral root, lived in Córdoba.

THE PETTY PRINCIPALITIES. With the decline of Umayyad rule after al-Manṣūr's death, the *Berber conquest of Córdoba (1013), and the demise of the dynasty in the 1030s, Córdoba lost its former prominence and the capitals of the various Berber and Arab principalities became cultural and commercial centers. Jewish taxfarmers, advisers, and physicians served at the different courts. The relatively tolerant rulers welcomed and esteemed Jewish financiers, advisers in matters economic and political gifted writers, scholars, and scientists. The ethos of this Jewish upper class was distinguished by several features: the desire for and attainment of political power, the harmony of religion and secular culture, the study of the Talmud along with poetry and philosophy, equal proficiency in Arabic and Hebrew. The epitome of the fulfillment of this ideal was the poet and halakhist *Samuel ha-Nagid, a refugee from Córdoba who served as vizier and commander of the army of Granada from about 1030 to his death in 1056; he was also head of the Jewish community. His remarkable career and military exploits are recorded in both Hebrew and Arabic sources, including his own poetry. Samuel was succeeded by his son *Joseph ha-Nagid, whose pride and ambition aroused the enmity of certain Muslims, who assassinated him in 1066. Inspired by fanatics, Muslims then attacked Granada Jewry and many survivors moved to other towns, particularly Lucena. The Granada massacre marked the first persecution of Jews in Muslim Spain.

Prominent communities in the middle to late 11th century also included Seville, then ruled by the *Abbasid dynasty. (See Map: Muslim Spain.) Jewish courtiers included Abraham b. Meir ibn *Muhajir, to whom Moses *Ibn Ezra dedicated his *Sefer ha-Tarshish* (*Sefer ha-Anka*). Under al-Muʿtamid, Isaac ibn *Albalia served as court astrologer and as chief rabbi of Seville, and the scholar Joseph *Ibn Migash was sent on diplomatic missions. Lucena remained an important center of learning. Its academy was led by the great talmudist Isaac *Alfasi. His successors were Isaac *Ibn Ghayyat and Joseph ibn Migash. During Samuel ha-Nagid's term of office, the Jew *Jekuthiel, who was later murdered by political rivals, served as vizier in Saragossa. A dynamic cultural center, Saragossa was the home of the philologist and grammarian *Ibn Janāḥ, the controversial Bible commentator Moses ha-Kohen ibn *Gikatilla, the important neoplatonic philosopher and poet Solomon ibn *Gabirol, and the ethical writer *Baḥya ibn Pakuda. The latter's major work, *Farāʾiḍ al-Qulūb* (Heb. *Ḥovot ha-Levavot*, "The Duties of the Hearts"), shows the influence of Muslim ascetic ideals. Other important communities were *Denia, a major port in eastern Spain and the residence of the talmudist R. *Isaac b. Reuben al-Bargeloni, *Tudela, *Almeria, and *Huesca. Eleventh-century Toledo, capital of a Berber king-

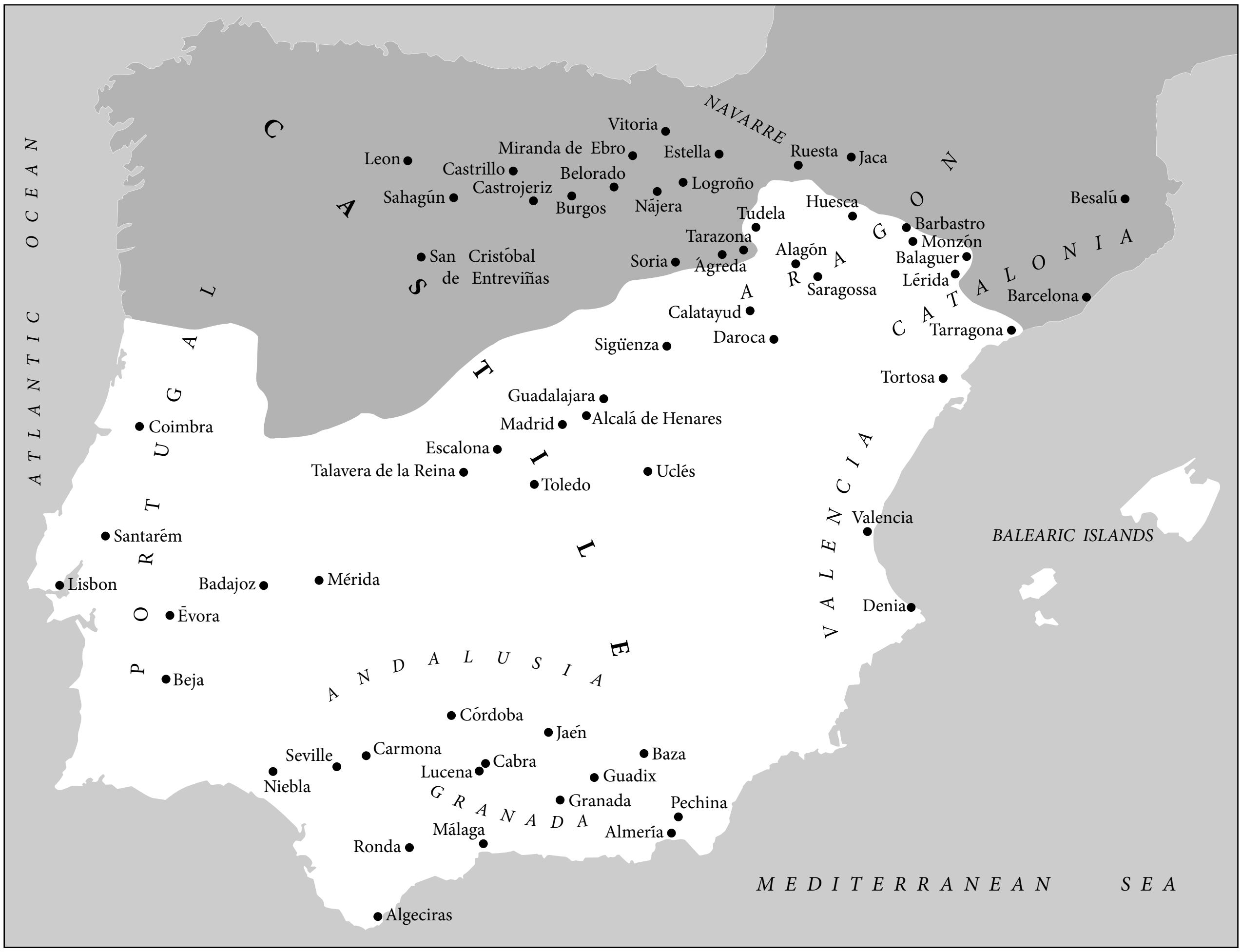
ATLANTIC OCEAN
CASTILE
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CATALONIA
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Vitoria
Leon
Miranda de Ebro
Estella
Ruesta
Jaca
Castrillo
Belorado
Logroño
Sahagún
Castrojeriz
Burgos
Nájera
Tudela
Huesca
Besalú
Barbastro
Monzón
Tarazona
Alagón
Balaguer
San Cristóbal de Entreviñas
Soria
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Toledo
Uclés
Valencia
Santarém
Lisbon
Badajoz
Mérida
Denia
Évora
Beja
Córdoba
Jaén
Seville
Carmona
Cabra
Baza
Niebla
Lucena
Guadix
Granada
Pechina
Málaga
Almería
Ronda
Algeciras

Map 1. Jewish communities in Muslim Spain in the 11th century. Shaded area indicates the extent of Christian expansion by 1030.

dom, had a Jewish population of 4,000 and a *Karaite community as well. It was taken by the Christians in 1085.

THE ALMORAVIDS. The advance of the reconquest prompted al-Mutʿamid of Seville to request the aid of Yūsuf ibn Tāshfīn of North Africa, the leader of the fanatic *Almoravid sect. In 1086 the latter led the Muslim armies to victory at Zallaka against the Castilians commanded by Alfonso VI. Yūsuf attempted to force Lucena Jewry to convert to *Islam, but payment of a large sum of money caused him to rescind his decree. Under his son, Ali (1106–43), Abu Ayyūb Sulaymān ibn Muʿallim served as court physician and Abu al-Ḥasan Abraham b. Meir ibn Kamaniel was sent on diplomatic missions. During Ali's reign the poets Abu Sulaymān ibn Muhājir and Abu al-Fath Eleazar ibn Azhar lived in Seville. Córdoba continued to prosper and was a cultural center and the residence of the gifted poet Joseph b. Jacob *Ibn Sahl (d. 1123) and the philosopher Joseph ibn *Ẓaddik.

THE ALMOHADS. In 1146 the *Almohads, an even more fanatic Berber dynasty of *Morocco, led by ʿAbd al-Muʾmin, began their conquest of Muslim Spain, which put an end to the flourishing Jewish communities of Andalusia. The practice of the Jewish religion was forbidden by the authorities. Synagogues and yeshivot were closed and Jews were compelled to embrace Islam. Many emigrated to Christian Spain; others outwardly professed Islam but secretly observed Judaism, an ominous portent of the Conversos in Christian Spain a century later. R. Abraham *Ibn Ezra composed a moving elegy on the demise of the Andalusian communities. In 1162 these secret Jews were active in a revolt against the Almohads, particularly in deposing them in Granada. Almohad rule in Spain lasted longer than a century.

In the mid-13th century the Castilians conquered a great part of Andalusia. The Muslims retained only the kingdom of Granada in southeastern Spain. This kingdom, which was ruled by the Arab dynasty of Banū al-Aḥmar and existed for nearly 250 years, contained the important communities of Granada, *Málaga, and Almeria. Although there were periods when the rulers of Granada inclined toward religious fanaticism, they employed Jewish counselors and court physicians. Jews from Christian Spain immigrated to Granada as their situation deteriorated. The poet, historian, and talmudist Saadiah b. Maimon *Ibn Danan was rabbi of Granada in the late 15th century. At that time Isaac *Hamon was court physician and very influential in government circles. When Granada surrendered to Ferdinand and Isabella in 1492, the last Muslim king stipulated that Jews enjoy the same rights as other subjects, i.e., judicial autonomy, freedom to practice their religion, and permission to emigrate. According to this treaty, Conversos who had come from Christian Spain could leave within a month. The Catholic monarchs, however, did not keep their word and proclaimed the edict of the expulsion of the Jews in Granada.

[Eliyahu Ashtor]

The Reconquest Period

For many years the history of the Jews in Christian Spain became an element in the struggle for the reconquest. In the early stages of this the Jews suffered alongside the Muslims from the violence of the newly-founded Christian state in Oviedo, which regarded itself as the successor of the Visigoths and felt bound to punish the so-called treason of the Jews. However, in many Christian principalities the influence of the Carolingian Empire was paramount and the Jews were treated more moderately.

Little is known about the Catalonian Jewish communities during this period; their presence is attested by a few tombstones. More records are available on the communities in the county of León. In this province a problem arose which perplexed the Christian kings of the reconquest for many years: how to settle, colonize, and develop regions won back from the Muslim invaders. It is fairly clear that this preoccupation prompted a change in their attitude toward the Jews so that gradually they began to consider them a useful and even essential section of the population. Relations with the Christian population changed, and this period saw the emergence of organized communities, influential in trade and industry, in northwest Spain. In the new capital, León, from the tenth century the Jews controlled the commerce in textiles and precious stones. They also owned many estates in the kingdom. In the young state of Castile the judicial status of the Jews was almost equal to that of the Christians. In the meantime the Jewish population in the small Christian states was insignificant.

At the beginning of the 11th century, assisted by the decline of the caliphate, the Christian hold in Spain increased through the initiative of Alfonso v of León (999–1027), who set himself out to attract settlers to his lands by granting them privileges and freedom. Among these new settlers were numerous Jews, who shared the same advantages as the Christians. It is difficult to establish their origins: did they come from France or from Muslim Spain, where their situation was now less secure than before? At any rate it is highly likely that at the beginning of the 11th century, especially with the onset of the Berber invasions, many Jews from the Muslim region made their way to the Christian kingdom, attracted by the advantages offered to new settlers, to join earlier Jewish arrivals. The face of Spanish Jewry was transformed; for the first time the influence of Oriental Jewry penetrated a Christian land, dislodging the influence of Franco-German Jewry from its monopolistic position.

In spite of the internal reverses and setbacks disturbing the countries of Christian Spain, which also had an effect on the Jews, Jewish communities were organized and securely established. Their status was clearly defined: whether they lived on territory belonging to nobles, monastic orders, or elsewhere, the Jews belonged to the king, who protected them and to whom they owed fealty. For some time this principle was interpreted literally – as the blood money due on the killing of a Jew had to be paid directly to the king. The abortive Crusade of 1063 did not affect the development of the Jewish communities. According to legend, the great national hero El Cid employed Jews as treasurers, financial agents, lawyers, and administrators. Alfonso vi certainly employed as his physician and financier the Jew Joseph ha-Nasi *Ferrizuel, called Cidellus or little Cid, who did a great deal to help his coreligionists. It appears that Alfonso was the Spanish king who inaugurated a tradition that lasted as long as Spanish Jewry itself: that of the Jewish courtiers who, while still remaining faithful to their religion, exercised considerable authority over the inhabitants of the kingdom. During Alfonso's reign the reconquest suffered a setback with the defeat of Zallaker in 1086; no doubt there were some who cast aspersions on the Jews of the king who had refused to fight.

In the meantime in *Barcelona the Jews continued to be important landowners. According to some estimates, in the 11th and 12th centuries they owned around one-third of the estates in the county, which explains why the second Council of Gerona demanded that they continue to pay the tithes due to the Church on land that they had purchased from Christians. In 1079 there were at least 60 Jewish heads of families in Barcelona. This was the milieu which produced the first great figures of Spanish Jewish culture: the rabbi Isaac b. Reuben al-Bargeloni ("from Barcelona") the many-faceted *Abraham b. Ḥiyya ha-Nasi, and the rabbi *Judah b. Barzillai al-Bargeloni. Writing in a Christian land, these three authors belonged to a totally different cultural environment from their contemporary, Rashi, and attest the originality of Spanish Jewish thought which, from the end of the 11th century, gained in importance and impact.

The Golden Age in Spain

When Toledo fell to Alfonso i of Castile in 1085 the Jewish inhabitants, unlike the Muslims, did not flee the town, and it seems that they continued to live in their old quarter, joined there by newcomers from old Castile and León and refugees from Muslim lands. On the death of the king in 1109, the security of the Jews was revealed as illusory since it was based solely on royal favor, which more tardily was again extended by Alfonso's successor. In the meantime Christianity gained ground in Spain. *Tudela fell to King Alfonso i of Aragon in 1115. Jews and Muslims alike were granted full religious freedom, but while the Muslims were ordered to leave the town itself the Jews were granted permission to remain in their own quarter, which lay within the city walls. Thus, preferred to the Muslims, they were no longer an object of fear to the Christians. The Jews of *Saragossa, conquered in 1118, enjoyed the same privileges and this precedent was followed in almost all towns on the way of the triumphant Christian advance.

The county of Barcelona, united with the kingdom of Aragon in the time of Count Ramón Berenguer IV (1131–62), had also taken part in the reconquest. In 1148 *Tortosa fell to the count who, having given important possessions to the Jews there, promised supplementary freedoms to any of their coreligionists who wished to settle in the town. When *Lérida was conquered in 1149, the Jews were once more asked to stay and preferred to the Muslims. Nevertheless they were not always protected from the maneuverings of the Christian lords, who cared more for immediate gain than for future settlement. At this time the focal point of Spanish Jewry had shifted from the Muslim south to the Christian north, where the Jewish population had increased considerably. However, the internal structure of the communities changed little and the rule of the notables remained firmly established. The court Jews still occupied all important positions, which scarcely troubled newcomers, who were above all concerned with establishing themselves and finding a means of livelihood. They tended to settle in the towns more than in the countryside. Occasionally the Christian kings gave them the citadel of a conquered town and there they established themselves, assuring at the same time their internal communal autonomy and external security. Engaged largely in commerce and industry and in the administration of the possessions of the nobles, the Jews were barely concerned with moneylending.

The Jews were serfs of the king, property of the royal treasury alone, but in times of stability this meant no more than an obligation to pay taxes; the king took no interest in the internal structure of the communities, which remained autonomous organizations. Known as **aljama* (the Arabic name being retained), the Jewish communities were each independent political entities paying taxes directly to the royal treasury, with full administrative and judicial autonomy, under the very general supervision of a royal functionary. In the case of suits with Christians, the Jews had to take a special *oath *more judaico* and were forbidden to engage in judicial duels. From the end of the 12th century, however, municipal legislation weighed more heavily on the Jews: the municipalities were desirous of curbing the power of rich Jewish businessmen. But in spite of their efforts they did not succeed in supplanting the king as the supreme authority over the Jews. Meanwhile in Barcelona, Toledo, and Saragossa the Jewish courtiers, an aristocracy in their own right, acquired even greater importance. They were tax farmers and undertook diplomatic missions and were frequently looked upon askance by the communities too, whose authority they sometimes tried to avoid. It is therefore hardly surprising that from the early 13th century the first signs of a democratic reaction were apparent, the poorer demanding a voice in the communal councils alongside the rich. In this period the *Maimonidean controversy split Spanish Jewry. Beginning in Provence, it spread through the Midi, developing into a dispute on the very validity of philosophy within Judaism. It was the first sign of self-examination by the communities and of the renunciation of ideas absorbed from the Muslim and then from the Christian background. This tendency was expressed in the condemnation of the writings of Maimonides, several of them being suppressed. The controversy simmered down, only to break out with renewed ferocity some time later.

In the meantime the reconquest proceeded apace. James I of Aragon (1213–76) took the Balearic Islands (1229–35) and Valencia (1238). Ferdinand III of Castile (1217–52) captured *Córdoba (1236), *Murcia (1243), and *Seville (1248). Alfonso X (1252–84) extended the conquest so far that only the kingdom of Granada remained in Muslim hands. All these kings had employed Jews in their armies and all had requested them to settle in towns evacuated by Muslims. Everywhere the Jews who had lived under Muslim rule were permitted to remain in their old quarter, were preferred to Muslims, and their previous privileges were confirmed. Their ownership of land expanded, for the kings frequently granted them lands and other possessions in order to attract them to settle. More Jewish shops opened in the towns, arousing the opposition of the municipalities, who wished to limit their commerce. Around the middle of the 13th century King *Alfonso X prepared a code of laws covering all the inhabitants of his kingdom. This code, known as *Las Siete Partidas*, was formulated around 1263, but was only very gradually applied, especially from 1348. It defined with great precision the principles of royal policy toward the Jews and in this respect was extremely influential. The Jews were accorded complete religious liberty, on condition that they did not attack the Christian faith; measures were taken to prevent the possibility of *blood libels; and they were forbidden to leave their homes during Easter. They were also prohibited from holding positions of authority over Christians. The number and size of synagogues were strictly limited, but it was forbidden to disturb the Jews on the Sabbath, even for legal reasons. No force was to be used to induce them to adopt Christianity, while those who had converted were not to be taunted with insults about their origins, nor to lose their rights of succession to the property of their former coreligionists. By contrast, any Christian who converted to Judaism was to be put to death and his property declared forfeit. Jews and Christians were not to occupy the same house, and Jews could not own Christian slaves. They were also to carry a special badge which identified them as Jews. Thus the policy of the Church triumphed. The *aljamas*, turned more in on themselves, reinforced their autonomy. Under the direction of their **muqaddamin* (or **adelantados*) they established their own courts of law, but maintained the right of appeal before the royal court. At this period the king appointed a functionary, known as the *rab de la corte*, to supervise the affairs of the Jewish communities. It appears that his nomination by the king did not give rise to any special problems, for he generally did not interfere with the internal organization of the communities.

Jewish courtiers, largely in Castile, rose to the highest positions. Therefore their fall was usually attended by the most brutal consequences for the communities to which they belonged, and thus the latter could not consider them as *shtadlanim*, but rather as high functionaries and financiers whose influence depended more on their talents than on any representative status. The Castilian monarchs seem to have been well satisfied by their services. As Jews they could not aim for political power nor could they ally themselves with the nobility or the clergy. Thus there developed in the Christian lands the custom, long widespread in the Orient, of employing Jews in the highest administrative and financial positions. The nobles imitated the kings in employing Jewish experts. Some of these Jewish courtiers, while still holding to the Jewish faith, were influenced by the Christian environment; wishing to live as nobles, they competed for royal favor. Veritable dynasties of courtiers emerged: the powerful families wielded considerable importance in their communities. Don Solomon *Ibn Ẓadok of Toledo, known as Don Çulema, was ambassador and *almoxarife major*. His son and successor, Don Isaac ibn Ẓadok, known as Don Çag de la Maleha, played an important role in reestablishing the finances of Alfonso x, who granted him and his associates authority to farm taxes owing on the previous 20 years in return for payment of the enormous sum of 80,000 gold maravedis for the years 1276 and 1277. This kind of contract could be very remunerative although the king frequently went back on his word. It sometimes happened that, as in the case of Don Çag, a Jewish courtier fell from royal favor and, as a result, lost his life. The very financial success of the courtiers tempted the kings to impose enormous taxes on the Jewish communities, which were impoverished by their efforts to pay them. The Church, the Cortes, and the nobility frequently cast a jaundiced eye on the rise of the Jewish courtiers, who competed with them for royal favor and gave too powerful a hand to the strengthening of the monarchy. Thus they frequently put pressure on the king to dislodge his Jewish courtiers. In spite of all efforts, however, the institution of the Jewish courtier increased in influence in Castile, rather than the contrary.

In Aragon Jewish courtiers were to be found at the court of James i, who used them as interpreters in his survey of the Arab lands he had reconquered. The king also invited the Jews to settle in his newly acquired lands; they were to receive their share of the conquered territory on the sole condition that they settled on it. There too they were preferred to Muslims, for the problem of resettling the former Arab lands was ever present. Thus Jews from the north of Aragon spread gradually southward, establishing new communities. By the edict of Valencia, March 6, 1239, the king confirmed the authority of the *bet din* in suits between Jews, except in cases of murder. He also recognized the need for witnesses of each religion in cases involving Christians and Jews. The validity of the *oath more judaico* was reaffirmed. Any Jew who was arrested had to be freed between midday on Friday and Monday morning. The king took the Jews and their property under his protection and forbade anyone to harass them except for a debt or crime which could be firmly established. This charter often served as the model for similar charters in towns throughout Aragon. James i also undertook to protect the Jews of newly conquered Majorca. As these measures proved insufficient to populate the new communities, on June 11, 1247, James promised safe conduct and citizenship to any Jew coming by land or sea to settle in Majorca, Catalonia, or Valencia. As far as the internal life of the communities was concerned, he confirmed and extended their autonomy. By the privilege granted to the community of *Calatayud on April 22, 1229, he authorized the community to appoint a rabbi and four directors (*adenanti*) to control their affairs, and to dismiss these officials if they deemed it necessary. They were also authorized to arrest and even sentence to death any malefactors in their midst. The community did not have to account for any death sentences it passed but had to pay the king 1,000 solidos for every one of these. The four *adenanti* directing the community could, with the agreement of the *aljama*, pronounce excommunication. Thus the elected heads of the community exercised considerable power, especially the authority to impose the death sentence, which in fact was only pronounced against informers. The king rarely attempted to interfere with this autonomy, leaving the communities to direct their own affairs.

Beginning of the Christian Reaction

However, early in the 13th century, a Christian reaction made itself felt, under the influence of *Raymond de Peñaforte, Dominican confessor to the king. From Barcelona he attempted to limit the influence of the Jews by fixing the interest rate on moneylending at 20%, by limiting the effectiveness of the Jewish oath, and restating the prohibition on Jews holding public office or employing Christian servants (Dec. 22, 1228). The Council of Tarragona (1235) restated these clauses and forbade Muslims to convert to Judaism or vice versa. The Cortes increased their attempts to suppress Jewish moneylending.

Thus the climate had changed. Following the example of France, the kingdom of Aragon initiated a large-scale campaign to convert the Jews through exposing the "Jewish error." From 1250 the first blood libel was launched in Saragossa. Soon the example of Louis ix found Spanish imitators: James i found himself obliged to cancel debts to Jews (1259). Soon after, an apostate Jew carried over to Spain the work of Nicholas *Donin of France, provoking a disputation between Pablo *Christiani and the most famous rabbi of the day, *Naḥmanides. Held before the king, the bishops, and Raymond de Peñaforte, the disputation took place in Barcelona on July 20, 27, 30, and 31, 1263 (see *Barcelona, Disputation of). Central to the disputation were the problem of the advent of the Messiah and the truth of Christianity; probably for the last time in the Middle Ages, the Jewish representative secured permission to speak with complete freedom. After a somewhat brusque disputation, each side claimed the victory. This constituted no check to Christian missionary efforts; forced conversion remained prohibited but the Jews were compelled to attend conversionist sermons and to censor all references to Jesus or Mary in their literature. Naḥmanides, brought to trial because of his frankness, was acquitted (1265), but he had to leave Spain and in 1267 settled in Jerusalem. By his bull *Turbato corde*, proclaimed at this time, Pope Clement IV gave the Inquisition virtual freedom to interfere in Jewish affairs by allowing the inquisitors to pursue converted Jews who had reverted to their old religion, Christians who converted to Judaism, and Jews accused of exercising undue influence over Christians and their converted brethren. It was becoming apparent that the Jews had outlived their usefulness as colonizers, except in southern Aragon. The old hostility toward Judaism reappeared, but for the time being was content with efforts to convince the Jews of the truth of Christianity. At this period Raymond *Martini, one of the opponents of Naḥmanides, published his *Pugio Fidei*, a work which served as the basis for anti-Jewish campaigns for many years. But the economic usefulness of the Jews was still considerable: in 1294 revenue from the Jews amounted to 22% of the total revenue in Castile. In spite of mounting hostility on the part of the burghers, the state was very reluctant to part with such a valuable source of income.

The very existence of the Jewish communities posed problems for the burgher class. The *aljama* was a neighbor of the Christian municipality but was free from its authority because of its special relationship with the king. The *judería* thus often seemed to be a town within a town. The *aljama* itself in this period reinforced its authority and closed its ranks, limiting the influence of the courtiers, who were increasingly becoming a dominant class with no real share in the spiritual life of the people. The different communities in Aragon had developed on parallel lines without any centralized organization. At times their leaders met to discuss the apportionment of taxes, but this had never led to the development of a national organization. Within the communities the struggle continued between the strong families who wielded power and the masses. In general the oligarchy succeeded in dominating the communal council with the assistance of the *dayyanim* who, since they were not always scholars, had to consult the rabbinical authorities before passing judgment according to Jewish law. Around the end of the 13th century the *dayyanim* began to be elected annually, the first step toward greater control by the masses. Soon after, these masses managed to secure a rotation of the members of the council, but nevertheless these were nearly always chosen from among the powerful families.

Such a climate of social tension, aggravated by the anxiety caused by the insecure state of the Jews, proved fruitful for the reception of kabbalistic teachings, transplanted at the beginning of the 13th century from Provence to Gerona. Mainly due to the works of Naḥmanides, the kabbalistic movement developed widely (see *Kabbalah). Between 1280 and 1290 the Zohar appeared and was enthusiastically received. Philosophy appeared to be in retreat before this new trend. At this very moment the Maimonidean controversy broke out once more, beginning in Provence where the study of philosophy had received a new impetus through the translations of works from Arabic by the Ibn *Tibbon and *Kimḥi families. The quarrel reached such dimensions that the most celebrated rabbi of the day, Solomon b. Abraham *Adret, rabbi of Barcelona, was obliged to intervene. A double *ḥerem* was proclaimed on those who studied Greek philosophy before the age of 25 and on those who were too prone to explain the biblical stories allegorically. Exceptions were made on works of medicine, astronomy, and the works of Maimonides. This ban was probably another sign of the decline of the Jewish community of Aragon and its increasing tendency to withdraw into itself. During the same period Jewish courtiers lost their influence and left the political arena.

In Castile, on the other hand, Jewish courtiers continued to play an important role in spite of the efforts of other courtiers to be rid of them and of the Church to condemn them as usurers. Apostates were at the fore in this struggle, especially *Abner of Burgos who, becoming a Christian in 1321 and, taking the name Alfonso of Valladolid, tried to remain in close contact with the Jewish community, the better to influence it. Around the same period, Gonzalo *Martínez de Oviedo, majordomo to the king, obtained the temporary dismissal of Jewish courtiers and planned the eventual expulsion of all the Jews of the kingdom. Soon himself accused of treason, he was put to death (1340) and his plan fell into abeyance. At the beginning of the 14th century *Asher b. Jehiel became rabbi of Toledo, the principal community in the kingdom, holding this office from 1305 to 1327. After the imprisonment of his master, *Meir b. Baruch of Rothenburg, he had been the leading rabbinic authority in Germany, a country he fled from in 1303. Practically as soon as he arrived in Spain he was involved in the philosophic controversy and signed the ban proclaimed by Solomon b. Abraham Adret. On the latter's death he became the leading rabbinic scholar in Spain, where he disseminated the methods of the tosafists and the ideals of the *Ḥasidei Ashkenaz. The attitude of the Catholic monarchy toward the Jews continued to vacillate. Alfonso XI resolved to root out Jewish usury but to permit the Jews to remain (1348). The *Black Death, which reached Spain at this period, did not give rise to persecutions like those which swept central Europe. Alfonso's successor, Pedro the Cruel (1350–69) brought Jewish courtiers back into his employment and allowed Don Samuel b. Meir ha-Levi *Abulafia, his chief treasurer, to build a magnificent synagogue in Toledo in 1357 (it was later turned into a church and subsequently into a museum). Despite the fall of Don Samuel, who died in prison, other Jewish courtiers retained their positions and influence. During the civil war between Pedro and his bastard half-brother, Henry of Trastamara, the Jews sided with the king, who, therefore, was even called the king of the Jews. When Burgos was taken by the pretender (1366), the Jewish community was reduced to selling the synagogue appurtenances to pay its ransom. Some of its members were even sold into slavery. Henry's victory, augmented by the capture of Toledo (in which many Jews fell victim), reduced the local community to destitution: the king had seized at least 1,000,000 gold maravedis. However, this did not prevent the king from appointing Don Joseph *Picho as tax farmer and other Jews from filling important positions. Incited by the Cortes, he imposed the Jewish badge and forbade Jews to take Christian names, but he did not dismiss his Jewish courtiers. Meanwhile the condition of the Jews in the kingdom deteriorated. In 1380 the Cortes, as a result of the secret execution of Don Joseph Picho as an informer on the orders of the rabbinical tribunal, forbade the Jewish communities to exercise criminal jurisdiction and to impose the death penalty or banishment. In Castile the first part of the 14th century was dominated by the personality of *Jacob b. Asher, third son of Asher b. Jehiel, who was *dayyan* in Toledo. Around 1340 he published his *Arba'ah Turim*, a codification of the law combining the Spanish and the Ashkenazi traditions, which was widely distributed. His brother *Judah b. Asher succeeded his father in Toledo and became in effect the chief rabbi of Castile.

The situation in Aragon was generally both less brilliant and less disquieting. There the influence of the Jews at court had practically disappeared with the dismissal of the Jewish courtiers. The Jews were tolerated and had the right to royal protection within the limits of Church doctrine on the matter. The taxes raised from the Jews were an important source of revenue and so they were allowed to pursue their commercial ventures and direct their own internal affairs. Under the reign of James II (1291–1327) the Inquisition had begun to show an interest in the Jews but the king declared that their presence was an affair of state and not a religious concern, an attitude characteristic of the monarchy for many years. James gave no assistance to the efforts to convert the Jews. When the *Pastoureaux arrived in Aragon, the king resisted them vigorously in his efforts to spare the Jews from this menace. During his rule (1306) Jews expelled from France were permitted to settle in Spain. Unlike in Castile, in Aragon the Black Death gave rise to anti-Jewish excesses. In Saragossa only 50 Jews survived and in Barcelona and other Catalonian cities the Jews were massacred. So shattered were the communities by these riots that their leaders convened in Barcelona in 1354 to decide on common measures to reestablish themselves. They resolved to establish a central body to appeal to the papal curia to defend them against allegations of spreading the plague and to secure for them some alleviation in their situation. A delegation sent to Pope Clement VI in Avignon succeeded in having a bull promulgated which condemned such accusations.

It would seem that the attempt to create a central organization did not succeed, but the Aragon communities had nevertheless to reorganize. From 1327 the Barcelona community succeeded in abolishing all communal offices which were acquired by royal favor. Authority and power within the community were henceforth vested in the Council of 30, elected by the community notables. The 30 were trustworthy men, judges or administrators of charities, who were empowered to issue *takkanot* and apportion taxes. They were elected for three-year terms and could serve more than one term; however, close relatives could not sit on the same council. Although in effect the aristocracy remained in power, they were no longer all-powerful. The presence in Barcelona of eminent masters of the law counterbalanced the ambition of the powerful families. Nissim b. Reuben *Gerondi (d. c. 1375), *av bet din* in Barcelona, exercised great influence over all Spanish Jewry, as attested by his many responsa (the majority of which are unfortunately no longer extant). Ḥasdai *Crescas, born in Barcelona around 1340, who seems to have been close to court circles, became the most venerated authority in Spanish Jewry. *Isaac b. Sheshet Perfet, also born in Barcelona (1326), rapidly became known as a leading rabbinic authority. A merchant by trade, he later served as rabbi in various communities. On April 2, 1386, Pedro IV approved a new constitution for the Barcelona community which constituted slight progress toward democratization. The community was divided into three classes, almost certainly according to their tax contribution. Each class was empowered to nominate a secretary and elect ten members of the council. With the secretaries, the 30 elected members made up the grand council of the community. Five representatives of each class and the secretaries constituted the smaller council. The secretaries served for one year only and could only be renominated after two years had expired. One-third of the 30 members had to be renewed each year. The council had limited powers only, being unable to establish tax allocations without the approval of the 30. Tax assessors had to be chosen from among the three classes. The influence of the powerful families was thus curbed, extending only over the class of the community of which they were members.

The smaller communities, of course, established a less complex system of administration. Councils were not appointed there until the second half of the 14th century. In many places the local oligarchy seems to have maintained its power. In Majorca, essentially a mercantile community, this oligarchy was composed of merchants who prevented any democratization of the administration. The royal administration recognized the existence of *judíos francos*, descendants of courtly Jewish families who paid no taxes to the community and took no part in communal life. They married among themselves and generally remained true to their faith. The communities were also concerned with the moral life of their members. An institution almost unique to Spain in the Middle Ages was the **berurei averah*, notables who watched over the religious life of their communities. The latter also exercised authority over *informers, punishing them with loss of a limb or death, with the approval of the king. The death sentence was generally carried out immediately, which to some seemed dangerous or arbitrary. To avoid the possibility of abuse, in 1388 Ḥasdai Crecas was appointed judge over all informers in the kingdom.

The Persecutions of 1391

Soon the face of Spanish Jewry was brutally altered. In 1378 the archdeacon of Ecija, Ferrant *Martinez, launched a campaign of violent sermons against the Jews, demanding the destruction of 23 local synagogues. On the death of the archbishop in 1390, he became virtual ruler of the diocese, using this situation to intensify his anti-Jewish campaign and declaring that even the monarchy would not oppose attacks on the Jews. After unsuccessful interventions by the communities, the death of King John I of Castile (1390) left the crown in the hands of a minor who did not attempt to check the redoubtable preacher. On the first of Tammuz 5151 (June 4, 1391) riots broke out in Seville. The gates of the *judería* were set on fire and many died. Apostasy was common and Jewish women and children were even sold into slavery with the Muslims. Synagogues were converted into churches and the Jewish quarters filled with Christian settlers. Disorder spread to Andalusia, where Old and New Castile Jewish communities were decimated by murder and apostasy. In Toledo, on June 20, Judah, grandson of Asher b. Jehiel, refused to submit and was martyred. Attacks were made in *Madrid, *Cuenca, Burgos, and Córdoba, the monarchy making no efforts to protect the Jews. So many people had been involved in the riot that it proved impossible to arrest the leaders. In July violence broke out in Aragon; the Valencia community was destroyed on July 9 and more than 250 Jews were massacred. Others, including Isaac b. Sheshet Perfet, managed to escape. The tardy measures taken by the royal authorities were useless. Many small communities were converted en masse. In the Balearic Islands the protection of the governor was to no avail: on July 10 more than 300 Jews were massacred. Others took refuge in the fortress, where pressure was put on them to compel them to convert. A few finally escaped to North Africa. In Barcelona more than 400 Jews were killed on August 5. During the attack on the Jewish quarter of Gerona on August 10 the victims were numerous. The Jews of *Tortosa were forcibly converted. Practically all the Aragon communities were destroyed in bloody outbreaks when the poorer classes, trying to relieve their misery by burning their debts to the Jews, seized Jewish goods. Yet the motive behind the attacks was primarily religious, for, once conversion was affected, they were brought to an end.

Although he did not encourage the outbreaks, John I of Aragon did nothing to prevent or stop them, contenting himself with intervening once the worst was over. Above all he was concerned to conserve royal resources and on Sept. 22, 1391 ordered an enquiry into the whereabouts of the assets of the ruined communities and dead Jews, especially those who had left no heirs. All that could be found he impounded. At this point Ḥasdai Crescas became in effect the savior of the remnants of Aragonese Jewry, gathering together the funds necessary to persuade the king to come to their defense, appealing to the pope, and offering assistance to his brethren. The assassins were barely punished, but when a fresh outbreak seemed imminent early in 1392 the king swiftly suppressed it. Subsequently he took various measures to assist Ḥasdai Crescas in his efforts to reorganize the communities and reunite the dispersed members. Meanwhile, in Barcelona and Valencia, the burghers, freed from their rivals, seemed opposed to the reconstitution of the shattered Jewish communities. A small community was reestablished in Majorca. In the countryside the communities could reorganize more easily; there the Jews were indispensable and less a target of the jealousy of the Christian burghers.

The Conversos

In this period the problem of Jews who had converted by force became acute. Illegal though forced conversion was, in the eyes of the Church a Converso was a true Christian and thus forbidden to return to Judaism. There were indeed a number of Jews who took their conversion to heart and, filled with the zeal of neophytes, reproached their former coreligionists for their "errors" and launched a campaign to bring them to the font. Chief among these was Solomon ha-Levi of Burgos who became *Pablo de Santa Maria in 1391 and later bishop of Burgos. In their desperate state, the Jews could hardly respond energetically. The Christian missionary spirit did not rest content with the successes achieved. The notorious friar Vicente *Ferrer preached in the towns of Castile in 1411–12. Although opposed to forced conversion, he was ready to compel Jews to listen to him and was unconcerned by the anti-Jewish violence which was consequent on his sermons. Following on his activity the government of Castile proclaimed on Jan. 2, 1412, new regulations concerning Jews. Henceforth, in towns and in villages, they were to inhabit separate quarters and, to distinguish them from Christians, had to grow their hair and beards, and could no longer be addressed by the honorific, "Don." They were forbidden to take employment as tax farmers or fill any other public office, nor could their physicians treat Christians; lending on interest was also prohibited. All professions were closed to them and all commerce by which they might ameliorate their miserable existence forbidden. For a time even their internal autonomy and freedom of movement were in question.

In Aragon the situation was more favorable. The community of Saragossa, spared because of the presence of the king in the town, was able to play an important role in the reconstitution of the Aragonese communities. The action of the king gave a semblance of stability to the new Jewish groups. In 1399 the *aljama* of Saragossa, where Ḥasdai Crescas was rabbi, obtained a new statute from Queen Violante defining its power and organization. In June 1412 Ferdinand I became new king of Aragon, thanks to the assistance and support of Vicente Ferrer, who seized the opportunity to extend his activities against the Jews of Aragon. At that moment Joshua *Lorki, who had previously disputed with Pablo de Santa Maria, decided to accept baptism under the name of Geronimo de Santa Fé. In August of the same year he sent a pamphlet to the antipope Benedict XIII which served as the basis for the public disputation soon to be held in Tortosa. The pope invited the Aragonese communities to send representatives to a public disputation to be held in Tortosa on Jan. 15, 1413; it actually took place the following February (see *Tortosa, Disputation of). Probably the antipope wished to achieve a

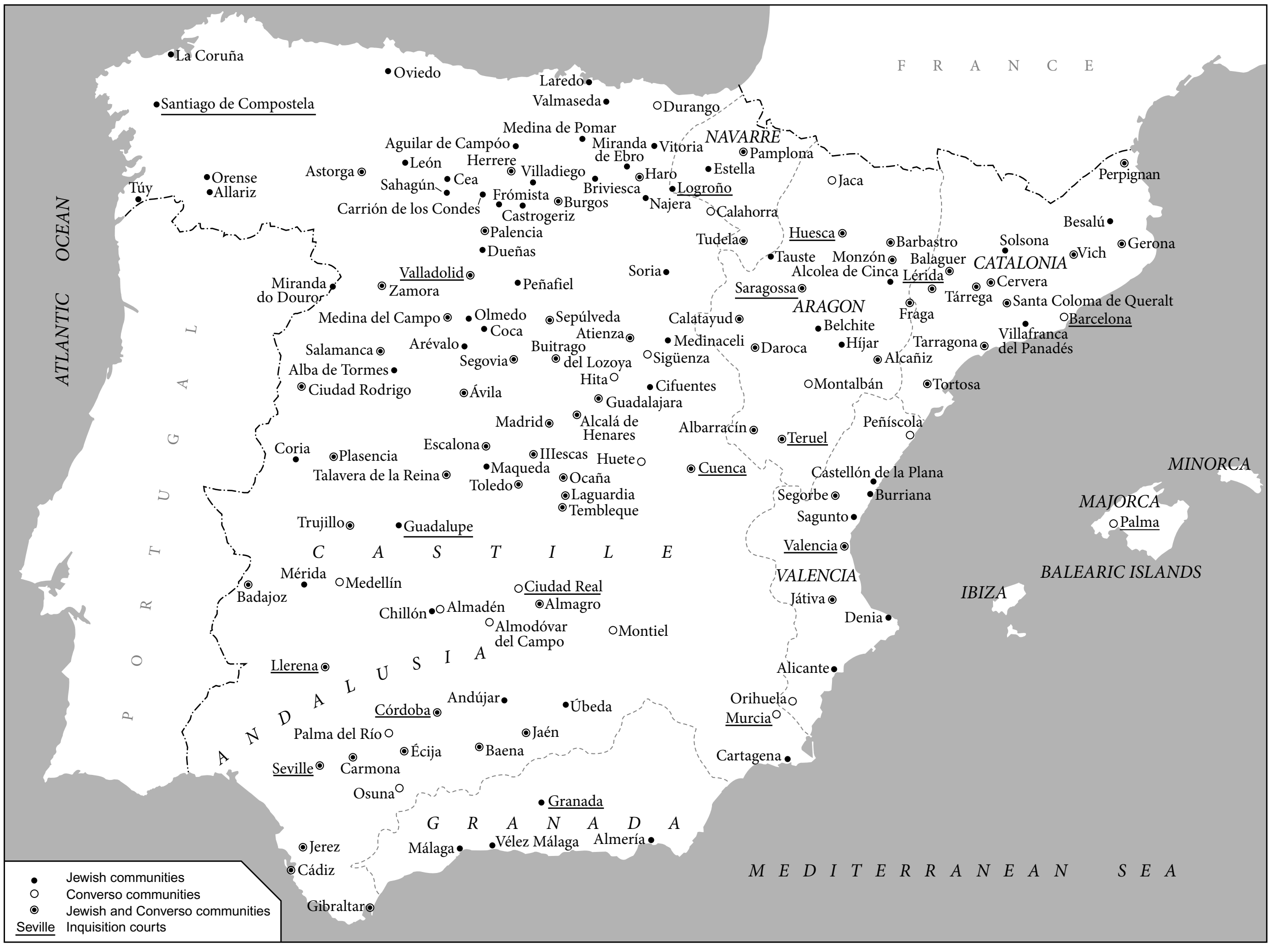
FRANCE
ATLANTIC OCEAN
PORTUGAL
NAVARRE
ARAGON
CATALONIA
CASTILE
VALENCIA
ANDALUSIA
GRANADA
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
MINORCA
MAJORCA
IBIZA
BALEARIC ISLANDS
La Coruña
Oviedo
Laredo
Valmaseda
Durango
Santiago de Compostela
Medina de Pomar
Aguilar de Campóo
Miranda de Ebro
Vitoria
Pamplona
León
Herrere
Villadiego
Haro
Estella
Astorga
Sahagún
Cea
Briviesca
Logroño
Jaca
Perpignan
Orense
Allariz
Túy
Frómista
Burgos
Najera
Calahorra
Carrión de los Condes
Castrogeriz
Palencia
Dueñas
Tudela
Huesca
Barbastro
Solsona
Besalú
Gerona
Tauste
Monzón
Balaguer
Vich
Alcolea de Cinca
Lérida
Cervera
Miranda do Douro
Valladolid
Zamora
Peñafiel
Soria
Saragossa
Tárrega
Santa Coloma de Queralt
Fraga
Barcelona
Belchite
Medina del Campo
Olmedo
Coca
Sepúlveda
Atienza
Calatayud
Híjar
Tarragona
Villafranca del Panadés
Salamanca
Arévalo
Buitrago del Lozoya
Medinaceli
Sigüenza
Daroca
Alcañiz
Alba de Tormes
Segovia
Hita
Cifuentes
Montalbán
Tortosa
Ciudad Rodrigo
Ávila
Guadalajara
Madrid
Alcalá de Henares
Albarracín
Teruel
Peñíscola
Coria
Plasencia
Escalona
Illescas
Huete
Cuenca
Talavera de la Reina
Maqueda
Toledo
Ocaña
Castellón de la Plana
Burriana
Laguardia
Tembleque
Segorbe
Sagunto
Trujillo
Guadalupe
Valencia
Palma
Mérida
Badajoz
Medellín
Ciudad Real
Almagro
Játiva
Denia
Chillón
Almadén
Almodóvar del Campo
Montiel
Llerena
Alicante
Andújar
Úbeda
Orihuela
Córdoba
Murcia
Palma del Río
Jaén
Écija
Baena
Cartagena
Seville
Carmona
Osuna
Granada
Jerez
Málaga
Vélez Málaga
Almería
Cádiz
Gibraltar
● Jewish communities
○ Converso communities
◉ Jewish and Converso communities
Seville Inquisition courts

Map 2. Major Jewish and Converso communities in Christian Spain, 1474. From map by H. Beinart in Y.Baer, A History of the Jews in Christian Spain, *Philadelphia, 1961.*

great religious success at the moment the split Church was attempting to reunite at the Council of Constance. The Jewish delegates presented themselves without great enthusiasm for the issue of the disputation was in no doubt and freedom of expression had been virtually refused. The leading Jewish delegates were *Zerahiah b. Isaac ha-Levi from Saragossa and the philosopher Joseph Albo; as was to be expected Christianity triumphed and the defeat of the Jews resulted in a wave of conversion. The rabbis were given no real opportunity to defend themselves. The major topics of the disputation were the messianic problem and the veracity of the Talmud, and the Jewish delegates, despairing of being truly heard, wished to end the disputation. Only Zerahiah b. Isaac ha-Levi and Joseph Albo defended Judaism against all attack but they failed to convince their colleagues that there was any point in replying. The disputation finally ended in December 1414 and the Jewish delegates returned home.

Acting on a bull promulgated by Benedict XIII on May 11, Ferdinand I ordered on July 23, 1415 the Jews to submit their copies of the Talmud so that all passages deemed anti-Christian might be censored. The Jews were also forbidden to read the **Toledot Yeshu*. Any attack on the Church was prohibited. Jewish judges lost their authority over criminal cases, even those involving informers. They were also forbidden to extend their synagogues. Christians could no longer employ Jewish agents and the Jews were confined to a special quarter. Apostates could inherit from their Jewish parents. With this even heavier burden to bear, many Aragonese communities were destroyed and conversions were numerous, especially among the higher classes. Aragon Judaism was close to the abyss when Benedict XIII was dismissed from the papacy (1416). On the death of Ferdinand in the same year they acquired a temporary respite.

John II, the new king of Castile (1406–54), and his contemporary, Alfonso V of Aragon (1416–58), had little taste for the religious fervor of their predecessors. The new pope was similarly disinclined to reopen this particular battle. Almost all anti-Jewish measures were therefore abrogated (1419–22). Copies of the Talmud and synagogue buildings were restored to the Jews. In the meantime the Aragonese communities were greatly reduced; those of Valencia and Barcelona had disappeared altogether. In Majorca, the Jews who remained were dispersed by a blood libel in 1432. Only the rural settlements in the province of Aragon had escaped persecution. At the moment of the expulsion there was an estimated 6,000 Jewish families in Aragon, a meager percentage indeed of the country's total population.

In Castile there were around 30,000 Jewish families, aside from innumerable Conversos, many of whom were in fact Jews. The large communities, Seville, Toledo, and Burgos, had lost their former influence as a result of the apostasy of many members of the ruling class. Henceforward the decisive weight in the Jewish life of the kingdom was maintained by the small rural communities whose numbers rarely exceeded 50 families. The Jews were merchants, shopkeepers, or artisans, with a number of physicians. Some Jewish courtiers managed to retrieve their positions at court; Abraham *Benveniste de Soria was the treasurer of John II, who also appointed him *rab de la corte*, chief rabbi of the kingdom. Abraham Benveniste used his position to undertake the reorganization of Castilian Jewry, convoking in 1432 a convention of representatives of Spanish communities in Valladolid to formulate and adopt new regulations. Their primary concern was to reorganize systems of instruction, to be effected through a tax imposed on slaughter, on wine, on marriages, and on circumcisions. Any community of 15 families or more was to support one primary school teacher, and a community of 40 families must employ a rabbi. It was also laid down that a community consisting of ten families must maintain a place of prayer. Various measures were formulated to regulate the election of judges, who had to act in accord with the rabbi and notables. It was also possible to appeal to the *rab de la corte*. The former laws covering informers and slanderers were abrogated; in future the *rab de la corte* could, under certain conditions, sentence informers to death. Forced betrothals and marriages were strictly forbidden. The *rab de la corte* also had to approve the appointment of any Jew to royal commissions. No Jew was allowed to obtain from the king exemption from payment of the communal taxes. Other decisions of the convention concerned sumptuary laws. Through this strict centralization the Castilian communities found a solution to their problems. It is difficult to ascertain if the regulations of *Valladolid were strictly applied, but they were an answer to the plight of communities greatly reduced in numbers and wealth.

Yet the most pressing problem of Spanish Jewry no longer concerned the communities, for the question of the Conversos became progressively more acute. Showing their awareness and suspicion of the true nature of the mass conversions, Spanish Christians were in the habit of referring to "New" and "Old" Christians and effecting a veritable racial distinction between them. It is undoubtedly true that many Conversos were Christians in name only, acquiring their new status through force alone, and many others had accepted baptism as a means of breaking down social, economic, and political barriers. In pursuit of these aims they had begun to marry into the great Toledan families. Yet they too became concerned when in 1449 the rebels of Toledo issued a statute proclaiming that all New Christians – regardless of the fervor of their faith – were infamous and unfit for all offices and benefices, public and private, in Toledo and all its dependencies. They could be neither witnesses nor public notaries. The king and pope condemned this proclamation, more through the desire to hasten the conversion of the Jews, which it rendered henceforth impossible, than through any sense of justice. Great harm was done by this proclamation, giving rise to a widespread policy of eradication of real or suspected Jewish influence. Subsequently all religious and political agitation tended to this end.

Steps Toward the Expulsion

The marriage of Isabella, heiress to the throne of Castile, and Ferdinand, heir to the throne of Aragon, in 1469 had disastrous consequences for Spanish Jewry. The two kingdoms were united in 1479. At first they took no heed of the Jewish communities as such, but they considered the Conversos a danger to national unity. The Catholic monarchs continued to employ Jewish functionaries – such as Don Abraham *Seneor, chief rabbi of Castile and tax controller for the whole kingdom, and Isaac *Abrabanel, tax farmer for part of Castile – and a number of Conversos as well. However, in 1476 the right of criminal jurisdiction was taken from the Jewish communities. Soon the Catholic monarchs launched a direct attack on the Conversos, inviting the *Inquisition to extend its activities to the kingdom, which their predecessors had always refused to countenance, fearing the great power of this institution. On Sept. 27, 1480, two Dominicans were named inquisitors of the kingdom of Castile, and they began their activities in Seville in January 1481. Soon after, the first Conversos condemned as Judaizers were sent to their deaths. According to the chronicler Andres Bernaldez, more than 700 Conversos were burned at the stake between 1481 and 1488 and more than 5,000 reconciled to the Church after enduring various punishments. Inquisitors were appointed in 1481 for Aragon, where the papal Inquisition, which had been in existence for some time, was considered insufficiently effective. From 1483 the Jews were expelled from Andalusia, no doubt because it appeared to the inquisitors to be impossible to root out Jewish heresies from among the Conversos while practicing Jews still lived in their midst.

Tomás de *Torquemada, confessor to the queen, was appointed inquisitor-general in the autumn of 1483, providing the Inquisition with a new impetus and stricter organization. His activities stretched from town to town throughout the whole kingdom, bringing terror to Jewish communities everywhere since they were inevitably linked with the Conversos. In less than 12 years the Inquisition condemned no less than 13,000 Conversos, men and women, who had continued to practice Judaism in secret. Yet these were no more than a fraction of the mass of Conversos. When the last bastion of Muslim power in Spain fell with the triumphant entry of the Catholic monarchs into Granada on Jan. 2, 1492, the urge toward complete religious unity of the kingdom was reinforced. The scandal of the Conversos who had remained true to Judaism had shown that segregation of the Jews and limitation of their rights did not suffice to suppress their influence. They must be totally removed from the face of Spain. Thus on March 31, 1492 the edict of expulsion was signed in Granada, although it was not promulgated until between April 29 and May 1. All Jews who were willing to accept Christianity were, of course, to be permitted to stay.

In May the exodus began, the majority of the exiles – around 100,000 people – finding temporary refuge in Portugal (from where the Jews were expelled in 1496–97), the rest making for North Africa and Turkey, the only major country which opened its doors to them. A few found provisional homes in the little kingdom of Navarre, where there was still an ancient Jewish community in existence, but there too their stay was brief, for the Jews were expelled in 1498. Considerable numbers of Spanish Jews, including the chief rabbi Abraham Seneor and most of the members of the influential families, preferred baptism to exile, adding their number to the thousands of Conversos who had chosen this road at an earlier date. On July 31 (the 7th of Av), 1492, the last Jew left Spain. Yet Spanish (or Sephardi) Jewry had by no means disappeared, for almost everywhere the refugees reconstituted their communities, clinging to their former language and culture. In most areas, especially in North Africa, they met with descendants of refugees from the 1391 persecutions. In Ereẓ Israel they had been preceded by several groups of Spanish Jews who had gone there as a result of the various messianic movements which had shaken Spanish Jewry. Officially, no Jews were left in Spain. All that were left were the Conversos, a great number of whom remained true to their original faith. Some later fell victim to the Inquisition; others managed to flee from Spain and return openly to Judaism in the Sephardi communities of the Orient and Europe.

See also *Anusim; *Conversos; *Marranos; *New Christians; *Portugal; *Sephardim.

Cultural Life

From the beginning, the cultural life of Spanish Jewry under the Christian reconquest followed on the style set under Muslim rule. Eastern influence lost none of its force even though a frontier henceforward separated the communities of the north from those of the south. In fact, the contrary was the case, since the Jews of Christian Spain often appeared to be indispensable agents in the diffusion of the Eastern cultural tradition. Consequently, many of them were translators of Arabic; some, like the *Kimḥis and the Ibn *Tibbons, even carried their work as translators to the north, to Provence. In Christian Spain the Jews continued to study the sciences, medicine in particular, and the Christian kings employed numbers of Jewish physicians. They were also well versed in astronomy and shortly before the expulsion Abraham *Zacuto prepared the astronomical tables that Christopher Columbus used on his voyage. The Jewish "nobility" had frequently received the same education as their Christian counterparts, reaching a cultural integration rarely equaled in Jewish history. Of course this process only affected the families of Jewish courtiers, but this type of assimilation goes a long way toward explaining both the phenomena of Marranism – entailing the need to lead a double life – and the ability to abandon the Jewish heritage without regret and join the Christian fold. Yet the majority of people still looked to their traditional Jewish cultural heritage, which remained central to their lives. The relation of the journey of *Benjamin of Tudela to the communities of Europe and Asia, and the work of the historian Abraham *Ibn Daud in his account of the continuity of Jewish tradition are well worthy of mention. The main stress, however, lay on the study of the Hebrew language and of the Bible and Talmud, and on the development of a style of Hebrew poetry which took the profane as well as the sacred for its subject matter. In all fields there was no real break with the Judeo-Arab milieu. For many years the Babylonian academies continued to be a major influence, but rabbinical scholarship in Spanish Jewry came to maturity in the 11th century with the work of Isaac b. Jacob ha-Kohen *Alfasi. The latter, assisted by his pupils, especially Joseph b. Meir ha-Levi *Ibn Migash, created a Spanish Jewish talmudic academy which proceeded to develop its own methods. The theories of the grammarians in Muslim Spain were already known in the north and were accepted there. Poets flourished in the retinue of Jews who were wealthy or well placed at court. Poetry often remained a profession. Along with many of his contemporaries, *Judah Halevi left Muslim Spain for the Christian part of the country without finding success there. His poems were torn between the two worlds and Judah Halevi finally left for the Holy Land. Along with Judah Halevi and Moses *Ibn Ezra, Solomon ibn *Gabirol brought Hebrew poetry to a peak of perfection. Their religious poems, the main body of their work, permanently enriched the liturgy. At the same time they gave a new dimension to Hebrew poetry by extending it beyond its liturgical framework to cover every variety of a benevolent patron. The interest in poetry also gave rise to liturgical and biblical studies; biblical Hebrew once more predominated over rabbinical Hebrew. Following in the path of Menahem b. Saruk and *Dunash b. Labrat were such grammarians as Judah b. David *Ḥayyuj, Jonah *Ibn Janaḥ, Moses ha-Kohen ibn *Gikatilla, and above all Abraham *Ibn Ezra, who produced their grammatical treatises in Hebrew and so enabled the Jewish grammarians of France and Germany to become aware of and adopt the theories of their Spanish counterparts. The same writers often produced biblical commentaries: Joseph b. Isaac *Ibn Abitur on Psalms, Moses ha-Kohen ibn Gikatilla on Isaiah, the Latter Prophets, Psalms, and Job, and Abraham ibn Ezra on the entire Bible (although some portions of his commentary are no longer extant). In this period the **maqāma* – an Arabic verse form – made its debut in Jewish literature with the *Taḥkemoni* of Judah *Al-Ḥarizi. Yet the golden age of Hebrew poetry in Spain was already drawing to a close.

During the 11th century talmudic studies took root in Spain with the arrival of Isaac b. Jacob *Alfasi and continued to be greatly influenced by his work. With the aim of summing up the discussions of the sages and pointing out the correct *halakhah*, he prepared a resumé of the Talmud. In this work, he stressed practical observance, an attitude which was characteristic of the great Spanish talmudists. His main pupil, Joseph b. Meir ha-Levi ibn Migash, followed in his footsteps and, like his teacher, wrote a number of responsa clarifying points of the law. The greatest stimulus to talmudic studies was the work of Maimonides, who spent his formative years in Spain and can be considered a Spanish scholar. He, too, produced works of *codification of the law, the *Mishneh Torah* and *Sefer ha-Mitzvot*, and wrote numerous responsa. Like other Spanish rabbis, he did not hesitate to bring out his works in Arabic so that they could be understood by all. This bilinguality in Hebrew and Arabic was a mark of the first era of Spanish Jewry. Another equally important characteristic was its enthusiasm for philosophical debates. Spanish Jewry's integration into the contemporary Arab culture obliged it to face the same problems, though generally with an avowedly polemic intent. Writers were largely concerned with demonstrating that revelation and philosophy were not necessarily contradictory and that in any case Judaism represented the superior truth. Although Ibn Gabirol's philosophical work *Fons Vitae* has no specifically Jewish character, Judah Halevi devoted himself to a vigorous apology for Judaism. *Baḥya ibn Paquda, a moralist, attempted to show the superiority of ethical conduct over the ceremonial law, which becomes falsified if the "duties of the heart" are neglected. However, the greatest representative of the philosophic trend was Maimonides, who followed it to formulate his classic definition of the dogmas of Judaism. Nevertheless, from the beginning of the 13th century the supremacy of philosophy was challenged in the controversy over Maimonides' works (see *Maimonidean Controversy), especially in the north of Spain, which had then reverted to Christian rule. The change in attitude was influenced by disillusionment arising from the changed conditions of Jewish life, by the renewed interest in talmudic studies due to the work of the Franco-German tosafists, and by the new trends in Jewish mysticism which first appeared in Provence before reaching Spain. At the beginning of the 14th century the Franco-German talmudic tradition came face to face with the Spanish through the arrival of *Asher b. Jehiel, resulting in the preservation of unity in the field of Jewish law. Warmly received by the greatest Spanish scholar of the day, Solomon b. Abraham *Adret, Asher b. Jehiel cooperated with him in restoring peace: the study of philosophy was permitted, but under clearly defined conditions. Time, too, had done its work and the controversy was soon stilled. In the meantime the Kabbalah became increasingly important, especially in the group at Gerona. The celebrated talmudist Naḥmanides became one of its leading advocates. The appearance of the *Zohar, the largest part of which was produced by *Moses b. Shem Tov de León between 1280 and 1286, gave a powerful impulse to the development of the kabbalistic trend which became predominant in Spain. Talmudic studies too gained a new impetus through the commentaries, novellae, and responsa of Naḥmanides, Solomon b. Abraham Adret, Asher b. Jehiel, and Nissim b. Reuben *Gerondi. *Jacob b. Asher, son of Asher b. Jehiel, produced his codification of the law, the *Arba'ah Turim*, which remains to this day the archetype of the rabbinic code and was one of the bases of the Shulḥan Arukh. Another code, *Sefer Abudarham*, was compiled by David b. Joseph *Abudarham of Seville. Following in the same path, *Menahem b. Aaron ibn Zerah of Navarre composed his *Ẓeidah la-Derekh*. *Yom Tov b. Abraham Ishbili was especially noted for his many novellae; Isaac b. Sheshet Perfet, who had to leave Spain in 1391, wrote many responsa. Biblical commentaries (frequently showing kabbalistic influences) also came to the fore once more with the works of Naḥmanides, Baḥya b. Asher, and Jacob b. Asher, although the latter resolutely avoided kabbalistic speculation. Nevertheless the persecutions had grave consequences for scholarship too. The Judeo-Arab heritage began to disappear. Those conditions which had drawn Spanish Jews toward the study of science, medicine, and astrology in particular ceased to exist. This decay became more marked in the 15th century. Apart from the philosophic works of Ḥasdai Crescas and Joseph Albo, whose *Sefer ha-Ikkarim* was a new attempt to define the dogmas of Judaism, the creative period had passed. The messianic upheaval, exacerbated by persecution, only prolonged it slightly; the spirit of this period is best expressed in the works of Isaac b. Judah Abrabanel, who in 1492 preferred exile to apostasy. Probably stimulated by fear for the future, interest in kabbalistic speculation continued unabated. The expulsion itself did not mark a final end of the development of this specific type of culture. Abraham Zacuto finished his rabbinical history on the way to exile. The intellectual activity of Spanish Jewry was transferred to Eastern and European centers. Even the use of the Spanish language continued unchanged (see *Ladino; *Sephardim). Such was the vitality of this outlook that it remained seminal in Jewish life for many centuries

[Simon R. Schwarzfuchs]

Modern Period

Though the edict of expulsion of 1492 was not formally repealed until December 1968 and was consequently, on the Spanish statute book until that date, Jews had been allowed to live in Spain as individuals, though not as an organized community, from the late 19th century. The Republican Constitution of 1868 introduced for the first time in modern Spain the principle of religious tolerance. This was maintained in subsequent legislation and transformed into the more enlightened formula of religious freedom by the amendment to the *Fuero de los Españoles*, adopted by the referendum of December 1966. The new statute guaranteed the right of non-Catholics to maintain their organized institutions, public worship, and religious education. Jews, as such, were not specifically mentioned in any legal enactment but, as non-Catholics, they enjoyed equal rights with their Catholic fellow citizens. The only instance of "Jewish legislation" is a decree of December 1924 which granted to Sephardi Jews living abroad the right to claim Spanish nationality and settle in Spain, if they wished.

This decree, although initially referring only to the Sephardi groups of *Salonika and *Alexandria, afforded the legal basis for extending the protection of the Spanish authorities to many Jews in Nazi-occupied countries during World War II.

[Jeonathan Prato]

Holocaust Period

From 1933 until the Civil War, Spain became a haven for about 3,000 Jewish refugees. The Civil War caused most of them to leave, and after the nationalist victory, when all non-Catholic communities had to close their institutions, Jewish public and religious life was destroyed. After the fall of France, Spain served for tens of thousands of refugees as a landbridge to the high seas, which were dominated by the Allies. By the summer of 1942, over 20,000 Jewish refugees had passed through Spain, 10,500 of whom were assisted by the *HICEM office in Lisbon. Less than 1,000 were unable to continue the journey, however, and were imprisoned with other refugees in jails or in the *Miranda de Ebro concentration camp. Some refugees who crossed the border illegally were sent back to France. In the summer of 1942, when the "Final Solution" was initiated by Germany, a new wave of Jewish refugees reached Spain, and their numbers grew after the occupation of southern France. Initially there was no change in Spain's policy: refugees were accepted and arrested, and some were deported. In December 1942, however, when the Allies wanted French deserters to cross the Spanish border, Spain had to agree to stop deporting refugees and allow them to leave for North Africa and Portugal. In April 1943, Spain permitted the establishment in Madrid of the Representation of American Relief Organizations, most of whose budget came from the American Jewish *Joint Distribution Committee (AJDC). About 5,600 Jews survived by fleeing to Spain during the second half of the war. In 1943, Spain was faced with an additional rescue problem. Four thousand Jews – of whom 3,000 were in France and the rest in the Balkans as well as a number of Jews from Spanish Morocco who were living in French Morocco, possessed partial or full Spanish citizenship. Most of the Spanish consuls protected these Jews, even when they were instructed to act only when Spanish sovereignty was affected. On Jan. 28, 1943, *Eichmann and his associates presented Spain with the alternative of either recalling these Jewish subjects within a specified time or abandoning them to slaughter. On March 18, 1943 Spain decided that only those who could prove their Spanish citizenship would be permitted to enter the country. They would have to live in specified towns and would remain in Spain until they could be removed elsewhere. As long as there was one group of these "repatriates" in Spain, the next group could not enter the country. This policy was strictly adhered to. Since the Allies delayed for a year and a quarter the establishment of a refugee center in North Africa, which they had agreed upon at the *Bermuda Conference, the AJDC could not remove the "expatriation" by Spanish consuls without having recourse to repatriation; the rest died or saved themselves. In the last stages of the Holocaust, Spain joined the rescue operation in Hungary by giving protection certificates to 2,750 Jews who were not Spanish citizens.

[Haim Avni]

After World War II

The improving economic, social, and general conditions prevailing in Spain after World War II attracted an increasing number of Jews. According to an unofficial estimate some 8,000 Jews lived in Spain in 1968, distributed as follows: 3,000 in Barcelona, 2,500 in Madrid, 1,400 in Melilla, 600 in Ceuta, 300 in Malaga, and 50 in Seville. Individual Jews were scattered in many other cities. Until 1945 the bulk of the community was constituted of families originating from East Mediterranean, Balkan, and East and Central European countries. Since then a considerable number of Jews from former Spanish and French Morocco settled in the Peninsula: about 85% were of Sephardi origin. Until 1967 a Jewish community could not obtain legal recognition as a religious body (the community of Madrid was registered as a corporation under the law of private associations). Nevertheless they maintained an almost complete range of religious activities and services. In Barcelona a community center housed the synagogue, a rabbinical office, and a cultural center. In Madrid a new synagogue was officially inaugurated in December 1968 in the presence of government and ecclesiastical authorities. To mark the importance of the event, the Spanish government issued a formal repeal of the edict of expulsion. An increasing effort was made to provide Jewish education to the new generation. In Madrid a primary school had some 80 children in 1968. Hebrew lessons were given to pupils attending private schools. Two summer camps in Madrid and Barcelona were attended by 200 youngsters. A Maccabi movement, functioning in Madrid and Barcelona, afforded a framework for an increasing number of young people. The Council of Jewish Communities of Spain, established in 1963 for the coordination and study of common activities and problems, issued a monthly bulletin in Spanish, *Ha-Kesher* (1963–), dealing with local and general Jewish affairs.

In the 1960s, Spain saw a revival of studies of general and Hispanic Jewish culture. The universities of Madrid, Barcelona, and Granada had chairs of Hebrew language, Jewish history, and Jewish literature. In 1940 the Arias Montano Institute of Jewish and Near Eastern Studies was established in Madrid under the guidance of distinguished Hebrew scholars; its quarterly publication *Sefarad* acquired a reputation in the field of Sephardi culture. The Spanish Council of Scientific Research, in conjunction with the World Sephardi Federation, organized an Institute of Sephardi Studies in Madrid for the study of all aspects of Sephardi culture since the expulsion, throughout the world. In 1964 a Sephardi Center was created in Toledo by a decree of the head of state: its board included the president of the Jewish Community of Madrid and a professor of Jewish history of The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, both *ex officio*, a representative of the World Sephardi Federation, and three outstanding personalities of the Sephardi world. The new climate created in the Catholic world as a result of Vatican Council II made possible the organization of the Amistad Judeo-Christiana with the approval of the Church hierarchy in Madrid and Barcelona. This organization revised school textbooks, eliminating from them passages offensive to the Jewish people and religion.

In the post-Franco era (from 1975) the position of the Jews in Spain improved to a considerable extent, mostly as a result of the radical social changes which took place in the country. During the 1970s the number of Jews in Spain grew to about 12,000, the majority (90%) of Moroccan, Algerian and Tunisian origin, and the remainder from Eastern Europe, France, Turkey and the Balkan countries.

At the end of 1978 a major change in the constitution of Spain took place when, following a national referendum, the Catholic Church was disestablished as the state religion, as a result of which Jews were given equality with all the other religious denominations, such as the Protestant Church. Organized communities existed in Madrid, Barcelona, and Malaga. Madrid's impressive new synagogue, built in 1968, served as a center for social activities. Both Madrid and Barcelona had rabbis. Educational and social activities in Barcelona took place in the spacious communal hall attached to the synagogue and courses for youth were conducted by emissaries from Israel. There was no rabbi in Malaga, with communal affairs in the hands of a lay committee. Kosher meat was imported from Morocco.

In 1992, in a symbolic gesture, King Juan Carlos repealed the 1492 expulsion order. The two major Jewish centers remained Madrid (with about 3,000 Jews in the early 21st century) and Barcelona (also with about 3,000), followed by Malaga and with smaller communities in Alicante, Benidorm, Cadiz, Granada, Marbella, Majorca, Torremolinos, and Valencia. The total Jewish population in the early 21st century was around 12,000. The majority of Jews were Sephardi. In Spanish North Africa there were communities in Ceuta and Melila. The 1970s and 1980s saw immigration from Latin America. The Latin Americans took the initiative in forming groups that brought Jews together for cultural and intellectual events. The communities were united in the Federacion de Comunidades Israelitas de Espana. Jewish day schools operated in Barcelona, Madrid, and Malaga.

In the absence of laws restricting hate propagation or Holocaust denial, Spain served as a publishing and distribution center for neo-Nazis and other extreme rightists.

RELATIONS WITH ISRAEL. Though no diplomatic relations existed between Spain and Israel until 1986, Spain nevertheless maintained a Consulate General in Jerusalem, which had existed prior to the establishment of the State of Israel. There was no parallel Israel representation, however, in Spain. In the Israel-Arab conflict, Spain adopted a markedly pro-Arab line, seeing itself as a bridge between Western Europe and the Arab world. However, sympathy for Israel was not negligible. Trade, tourist, and shipping relations between Israel and Spain developed substantially. Exports from Israel to Spain increased from $500,000 in 1960 to $616 million in 2004, imports from $100,000 to $652 million. In 2004, 21,400 Spanish tourists arrived in Israel, up from 7,800 in 1980.

[Jeonathan Prato]

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SPANDAU, city in Germany; since 1920 part of the metropolitan area of *Berlin. Jews settled in Spandau as early as the 13th century. Although a source dated 1307 gave Jews permission to maintain a communal slaughterhouse, meat selling was limited to those who maintained a house in the city. Jews were engaged mostly in moneylending, having been given permission to do so providing they charged a reasonable rate of interest and refrained from debasing the coinage. In part, the granting of the privilege was intended to help provide the funds for the building of the city walls. As an additional stimulus to Jewish settlement, Duke Rudolph submitted to the city council (1324) a plan for exempting Jews from all taxes for a period of two years. A cemetery was noted in 1324 and a synagogue in 1342. (In 1955–56, 19 Jewish gravestones which dated from 1284 to 1947 were unearthed in Spandau.) The Jews of Berlin buried their dead in Spandau until the 15th century. While some Jews reached high levels of governmental administration in the financial service of Duke Louis, the Jewish community itself went through a period of considerable unrest at the time of the *Black Death persecutions. In 1496 there were 50 Jews in the city. In 1510, however, Jews were accused of desecrating the *Host and were driven from the city. Their cemetery and synagogue were confiscated. No Jews lived in Spandau until the 18th century. In 1782 there were eight Jews in the city, and in 1812 there were 52. Religious services were held in a private home, and a religious school was established in 1854. The Jews of Spandau joined with those of Nauen and Kremmen as a single community until 1894. After that time the Jews of Spandau again maintained a separate community, building a synagogue in 1895. Expanded commercial activity brought additional Jews to the city. By 1880 there were 165 Jews in Spandau; 316 in 1910; 514 in 1925; 725 in 1933. In 1937 there were 381. On the eve of the Nazi accession to power, the community maintained a religious school and three philanthropic organizations. Its fate during the Holocaust was part of that of the Jews of all Berlin. In 1989 a memorial was consecrated to the former synagogue that was destroyed in 1938.

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[Alexander Shapiro]

SPANEL, ABRAM NATHANIEL (1901–1985), U.S. industrialist, inventor, philanthropist. Spanel was the founder of one of the biggest corset and brassiere companies in the U.S. and an inventor who held more than 2,000 patents. He was probably best known, however, for the editorials he wrote as paid advertisements in scores of newspapers all over the country for more than 40 years. In them, he offered his opinions on world affairs, with particular emphasis on matters affecting the State of Israel, whose cause he championed.

Born in Odessa, Russia, the son of a tailor and a laundress, he was taken to Paris by his family at an early age, and then to Rochester, N.Y., when he was 10. He was a student at the University of Rochester for three years, then invented a garment bag that could be aired and moth-proofed with a vacuum cleaner. He made his first million dollars with his first business, the Vacuumizer Manufacturing Company. In 1932 he founded the International Latex Corporation, which later became the International Playtex Corporation. Playtex was the first company to make a bra with elastic, the first to package intimate apparel and sell it as a brand, and the first to advertise it on television. It was also the first to use live women modeling bras in TV commercials. Spanel retired as chairman of International Playtex in 1975, but remained active as head of the Spanel Foundation and Spanel International Ltd., a business he started in 1976 to manufacture some of his inventions. Spanel was awarded patents on an eclectic range of products, including a hair-cutting device to be used in the home and a pneumatic stretcher for transporting military personnel wounded in combat. His philanthropic interests focused on medical research, especially child care. He established the Spanel Foundation for Cancer Research in New York City and the Playtex Park Research Institute at his company's headquarters in Dover, Delaware. His employees were provided with free Vitamin C tablets and were among the first workers to have air-conditioning, paid health and life insurance, and a profit-sharing plan. During World War II, Spanel contributed more than $1.5 million to the war effort, the profits he had made on war contracts. A staunch advocate of Franco-American relations, he was made a Commander of the Legion of Honor by France.

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[Mort Sheinman (2nd ed.)]

SPANIER, ARTHUR (1889–1944), German scholar and librarian. Spanier, who was born in Magdeburg, studied classical languages at the University of Berlin and Hebrew at the Lehranstalt fuer die Wissenschaft des Judentums (1908–13). In 1914–15 he worked as a school teacher in Berlin, and then served in the German army. After the war he resumed teaching, first in Berlin, and then in Koenigsberg. He was appointed a research fellow at the newly founded *Akademie fuer die Wissenschaft des Judentums in 1919–20. He received his Ph.D. in Freiburg/Breisgau in 1920. In 1921 he entered the service of the Prussian State Library, becoming head of the Hebraica and Judaica division in 1926, specializing also in the Armenian language. As a "non-Aryan" he was pensioned off in 1935. From 1937 he lectured at the *Hochschule fuer die Wissenschaft des Judentums. In 1938 he was taken to the Sachsenhausen concentration camp, but was released, whereupon he immigrated to the Netherlands in 1939. He perished at *Bergen-Belsen.

Spanier's main scholarly interests and works were in Talmudics. He wrote *Die Toseftaperiode in der Tannaitischen Literatur* (1922), in which he suggested that Tosefta had its origin in marginal notes to the Mishnah; *Die Massoretischen Akzente* (1927); *Das Berliner Baraita Fragment* (1931); *Zur Frage des Literarischen Verhaeltnisses zwischen Mischnah und Tosefta* (1931).

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[Archive Bibliographia Judaica]

SPANISH AND PORTUGUESE LITERATURE.

Biblical and Hebraic Influences

One result of the Christian struggle against Muslim invaders of the Iberian peninsula from the eighth century onward was the blending of national and religious aspirations, which revealed itself in Spanish literature. Jews and Christians cooperated in translating the Bible into the vernacular, and the Old Testament version was taken direct from the Hebrew in renderings that antedate 1250. Thus, although Juan I of Aragon prohibited such activities in 1233, *Alfonso the Wise (Alfonso X of Castile, 1221–1284) enthusiastically encouraged the translation of the Bible into Spanish. Indeed, Alfonso himself, in his *General e grande Estoria*, linked the history of the world as known in his time with the Hebraic history of the Bible. In the 15th century further biblical projects were promoted by Jews or Conversos. The version by Moses *Arragel (1422) was followed by that published by Abraham *Usque, whose Ferrara Bible (1553) appeared in two slightly differing editions. Usque's Bible inspired Jewish translations into Judeo-Spanish or *Ladino, the dialect of Spanish which Jewish exiles took with them after the Expulsion of 1492. With the official Catholic ban on Spanish versions of the Bible a century later, these became a Jewish monopoly, and after 1600 Spain ceased to be a Bible-reading country until the Spanish hierarchy changed its policy at the end of the 18th century.

During the Renaissance, however, the Bible was a significant influence in Spanish and Portuguese literature, though more especially among writers of Jewish or *Marrano origin, whether in the Iberian peninsula or abroad. Luis de *León (1527–1591), a humanist scholar and poet whose New Christian descent was responsible for his spending five years in the cells of the Inquisition, is said to have translated the Song of Songs from the Hebrew, and biblical themes and metaphors greatly influenced his original verse. Much the same may be said of the mystical poets of the Spanish Renaissance, notably Saint John of the Cross (1542–1591). Biblical echoes can even be found in the works of a completely secular writer such as Garcilaso de la Vega (1503–1536). Diego Sánchez (c. 1530) composed a *Farsa de Salomón* and other plays on Abraham, Moses, and David; Micael de Carvajal (c. 1575) wrote a drama about Joseph; and the 96 biblical *autos* of the Madrid Codex (1550–75) include 26 on Old Testament subjects. Solomón *Usque (c. 1530–c. 1596), a professing Jew of Marrano origin, wrote a Spanish Purim play, *Ester*, first staged in the Venice ghetto in 1558.

BIBLICAL DRAMA. Biblical drama and poetry really became prominent, however, from the 17th century. In Spain the prolific Tirso de Molina (Gabriel Téllez, c. 1584–1648) composed *La mejor espigadera* (1634), based on the story of Ruth; and *La venganza de Tamar* (1634), a drama about Absalom. The Old Testament played an even more important part in the writings of Pedro Calderón de la Barca (1600–1681), who made use of the biblical themes of the Babylonian captivity (in *La cena de Baltasar*), the Ark of the Covenant, David, Solomon, and Job for his *autos sacramentales* (religious plays). The *auto* of Spain's Golden Age had been anticipated to a great extent by the religious plays and moralities of Gil Vicente (c. 1465–c. 1536), a Portuguese court dramatist, many of whose works were written in Spanish. Writers of Jewish origin inspired by the Bible include Felipe *Godínez (c. 1588–c. 1639), a Seville dramatist and preacher, who wrote plays about Isaac, David, Haman and Mordecai, Job, and Judith. Others who left the peninsula to take refuge abroad were Francisco (Joseph) de *Caceres, whose *Los siete Días de la Semana* (1612) was an adaptation of a Creation epic, *La Semaine*, by the French Protestant *Du Bartas; David *Abenatar Melo, a Marrano revert to Judaism, who published a Spanish verse rendering of the Psalms (1626); and Antonio Enríquez *Gómez, an immensely popular writer, whose works include the biblical epic, *El Sansón Nazareno* (1656) and *La Torre de Babilonia* (1647). Two Portuguese Marrano poets who found inspiration in the Bible were João (Mose) *Pinto Delgado (d. 1653), a leader of the Crypto-Jewish community in Rouen, who dedicated to Cardinal Richelieu his *Poema de la Reyna Ester, Lamentaciones del Profeta Jeremías*, and *Historia de Rut* (Rouen, 1687); and Miguel de *Silveyra, whose baroque masterpiece, *El Macabeo* (Naples, 1638), was written in Spanish. The early 18th-century author Isaac Cohen de *Lara wrote a graceful *Comedia famosa de Amán y Mordochay* (Amsterdam, 1699), based on the Book of Esther and the related midrashic traditions, and a ballad about Jacob which was printed in the same volume. The works of Abraham de *Bargas, a refugee Marrano author and physician, included ethical discourses on the Bible, *Pensamientos sagrados y educaciones morales* (Leghorn, 1749).

During the 18th and 19th centuries biblical and other Hebraic themes became less common in Spanish and Portuguese literature, perhaps as a result of political and social conservatism and the disappearance of the Jews. Even in the 20th century, interest in these subjects has been largely restricted. A remarkable exception was the eminent Spanish novelist and critic Rafael Cansinos-Assens (1883–1964) of Marrano descent. Reverting to Judaism, he studied Hebrew and wrote a series of works on Jewish themes. These include *Psalmos. El candelabro de los siete brazos* (1914), love poems in "biblical" style; *Las bellezas del Talmud* (1919), translated selections; *Salomé en la literatura* (1919); *Cuentos judios* (1922); *Las luminarias de Hanukah*; *Un episodio de la historia de Israel en España* (1924), a novel; and *El amor en el Cantar de los Cantares* (1930), with texts in Hebrew and Spanish.

The Image of the Jew in Spanish Literature

Jews have generally been portrayed in Spanish literature in an unfavorable guise. Their earliest appearance is in the epic *Poems del Cid* (or *Cantar de Mío Cod* (c. 1140)) in which two moneylenders, Raquel and Vidas, are cheated by El Cid, the national hero, giving him 600 marks on the security of a richly decorated chest filled with sand. The episode has been variously interpreted, but it must have appealed to the antisemitism of the audiences listening to a troubadour telling the story. In his *Milagros de Nuestra Señora*, the poet Gonzalo de Berceo (c. 1195–c. 1265) repeats several miracles involving Jews, tales which enjoyed a European vogue: the Jews who are converted are saved, the others are portrayed as diabolical figures deserving the punishments of Hell. The 13th-century *Disputa entre un cristiano y un judío*, typical of the disputation literature written by Christians, Muslims, and Jews in Spain, is remarkable only for its coarseness and for the Christian's prurient interest in the Jewish rite of circumcision. Perhaps the most favorable medieval Spanish treatment of the Jew is found in the works of the infante Don Juan Manuel (1282–1348). In his *Libro de los castigos* Juan Manuel wrote with great sympathy of his doctor, Don Salamón, and recommended him in glowing terms to his son. In the 14th century, the poet and historian Pedro Lopez de Ayala (1332–1407) castigated the powerful court Jews in his *Rimado de Palacio*, a work satirizing all the contemporary ills of the nation as he saw them, and not specifically antisemitic. In the same century, the archpriest of Hita (Juan Ruiz, c. 1283–c. 1350) composed songs for Moorish and Jewish dancing girls, as well as for Christians. The late 14th- or early 15th-century *Danza de la muerte* (Dance of Death) hispanicizes a widespread European type of satire in that it includes a Moorish *alfaquí* and a rabbi among those whom Death invites to dance, treating them no better and no worse than the other victims.

Conversos and Marranos

Not surprisingly, the literature of the 15th century, reflecting the mounting tensions and hatreds of the period, is full of antisemitic references. Both Jews and Conversos (especially the latter) are objects of scorn, and are depicted as cowardly, sly, and mercenary. Juan Alfonso de *Baena's *Cancionero* (1445), an anthology of the 14th- and 15th-century verse, contains several attacks on Jews and Conversos, as well as one or two contributions by Jews. The somewhat later *Coplas del Provincial*, a vicious libel on the highest nobility of the country, accuses the *hidalgos* mainly of sexual deviation and Judaizing. The Converso poet Rodrigo de *Cota de Maguaque (c. 1460), who alluded to Jewish customs of his time, was outspokenly hostile to both Jews and Marranos. For this he was vigorously attacked by another Converso poet, Antón de *Montoro, who also engaged in a poetic feud with a third New Christian writer, Juan (Poeta) de *Valladolid.

The post-expulsion literature of the 16th and, even more, of the 17th centuries – Spain's Golden Age of letters – had its share of anti-Jewish attacks and plays on words and concepts. Ecclesiastical censorship limited the range of satire, but the Conversos were one of the acceptable targets. To call a man a "Jew" was a serious insult, and even the slightest reflection on his **limpieza de sangre* ("purity of blood") was considered grossly offensive. Satirical references were made to the supposed physical imperfections of the Jew, to his desire for social position, and to his beliefs and practices. Names suggestive of Jewish identity were ridiculed, and the allegation that a person had an aversion to pork was a stock-in-trade insult. Even the verb *esperar* (to wait) became a cliché, referring to the patience of the Jews awaiting the Messiah. The satirist Quevedo (Francisco Gómez de Quevedo y Villegas, 1580–1645) attacked his literary rival, Luis de Góngora (1561–1627), with allusions to his nose – it was commonly believed that the nose revealed a man's Jewish origin – and threatened to anoint his own poems with bacon so that Góngora would be deterred from stealing them. Quevedo's writings were probably the most insistently anti-Jewish of the period, except for specifically anti-Jewish literature, such as sermons at *autos-da-fé, which were printed and widely read. By contrast, the Navarrese physician and writer Juan *Huarte de San Juan displayed marked sympathy for the Jews in his *Examen de ingenios para las ciencias* (1575), where he even suggested that Jews were especially suited to the practice of medicine. The great novelist Miguel de *Cervantes Saavedra who (like Huarte de San Juan) has been claimed as a Marrano, occasionally indulged in anti-Jewish poems, but derided the doctrine of *limpieza*. Two of his plays barely disguise his admiration for the Jew's religious tenacity and national vitality.

Other writers who used conventional attacks and jokes at Jewish expense were Tirso de Molina, Lope de Vega, Alonso Castillo Solórzano (1854–c. 1648), and Calderón. A more vicious accusation (found in Tirso's *La Prudencia en la mujer*, 1634) was that Converso doctors murdered their Christian patients. Lope de Vega's play, *El niño inocente de la Guardia* (1617), repeated the charge that the Marranos committed ritual murder (see *Blood Libel). Such an accusation was rare after 1492, when New Christians often occupied positions of power and could be formidable enemies. The story of the *Jewess of Toledo, the mistress of Alfonso VIII, provided the theme for *comedias* by Lope de Vega (*Las paces de los reyes y judía de Toledo*, 1617), Antonio Mira de Amescua (c. 1574–1644), and Juan Bautista Diamante (1625–1687) whose *La judía de Toledo* (1673) endows the Jews with noble characters. The best work of the 18th-century neoclassical theater in Spain is *La Raquel* (1778), a tragedy on the same theme by Vicente García de la Huerta (1734–87).

Modern Spanish Writers

Jewish characters are relatively unimportant in modern Spanish literature. The 19th-century romantics, Bécquer, Larra, and Zorrilla, occasionally wrote of exotic Jewish types, but displayed little sympathy for them. Among novelists, Benito Perez Galdós (1843–1920) in *Misericordia* (1897) created the delightful character of Almudena, who is described as a Moor but whose patois is based on some linguistic elements of *Ladino speech. In *Fortunata y Jacinta* (1886–87) Galdós shows that in the late 19th century Marranos were still thought to dominate Madrid business circles. Pío Baroja y Nessi (1872–1956), who was opposed to almost everything, also displayed literary antisemitism. In the 20th century, Vicente Blasco Ibáñez (1867–1928), a revolutionary writer who claimed Jewish descent, dealt with the problem of Majorca's *Chuetas in his novel, *Los Muertos mandan* (1909; "The Dead Command," 1919). Another liberal writer, Salvador de Madariaga (1886–1978), recreated in his novel *El corazón de piedra verde* (1943; "The Heart of Jade," 1944) the violent and romantic world of the 16th-century half-Jewish *conquistador* Sebastiano Garcilaso (d. 1559), father of the Peruvian historian, Garcilaso de la Vega ("El Inca," c. 1540–1616). A monumental work is the three-volume *Judíos en la España moderna y contemporánea* (1962) of Julio Caro Baroja. Among works by R. Cansinos Asséns in the same field are *España y los judios espanoles…* (1917) and *Los judíos en la literatura Española en Sefard; episodios y símbolos* (1950).

The Image of the Jew in Portuguese Literature

In general, the attitude toward Jews in Portuguese literature parallels that of Spanish writers. Portuguese literature is of somewhat later origin than Castilian, and medieval references are rare. There are occasional anti-Jewish remarks in the *Cantigas d'escarnho e maldizer* (13th–14th century), and it is worth recording that Alfonso x of Castile wrote his *Cantigas de Santa María* in Galician, a dialect of Portuguese. Fifteen of the miracles described here deal with Jews, who are portrayed as child-murderers, cheats, and agents of the devil. The *Cancioneiro Geral* (1516) of García de Resende (1470–1536) contains many satirical references to Jews, and Anrique da Mota pokes fun at the misfortunes of a Jewish tailor in his *Farsa do Alfaiate*. Jewish characters appear in several works by the versatile dramatist Gil Vicente who wrote in both Portuguese and Spanish and who witnessed the expulsion and forced conversion of the Jews in Portugal. In his religious *Autos de Moralidade das Barcas* and the *Diálogo sôbre a Ressurreiçào*, he presented the stereotyped arguments about the Jews as deicides, identified with the devil, but elsewhere he portrayed Jews more realistically. In the farces *Inês Pereira* (1523) and *Juiz da Beira* (1525), Vicente's Jewish characters and customs are based on personal observation, and if there is in them an element of caricature, this is also true of his other characters. In the first part of the *Auto da Lusitânia* (1532) the main characters are a Jewish tailor, D. Juda, and his wife and daughter, who are treated with remarkable delicacy and respect. In other works Vicente discreetly protested against the forced conversion of Jews and brutal attacks on New Christians.

After the expulsion of 1497, Portuguese Conversos and their descendants were subjected to literary attacks. In his *Apólogos Dialogaes* (1721) Francisco Manuel de Melo (1608–1666) wrote satirically of the converts in business, as did Manoel Monteiro, in *Academia nos montes* (1642). During the 16th and 17th centuries there were also many anti-Jewish doctrinal works, some by baptized Jews such as João Baptista de Este, but these were not of a literary nature.

In the 19th century the theme of love between a Christian youth and a beautiful Jewess was used by the Visconde de Almeida Garrett (1799–1854) in his *Romanceiro e Cancioneiro Geral* (3 vols., 1843–51) and by the Brazilian romantic poet Antônio de Castro Alves (1847–71). The same theme is the basis of the much-recited romantic poem "A Judía" of Tomás Ribeiro (1831–1901). A defense of the Jews was put forward by Alexandre Herculano de Carvalho e Araújo (1810–1877) in his classical *História da origem e estabelecimento da Inquisção em Portugal* (3 vols., 1854–59). Other writers who championed the Jews were the novelists Camilo Castelo Branco (1825–1890), himself of Jewish descent, and José Maria de Eça de Queirós (1846–1900), who wrote a scathing denunciation of German antisemitism and Bismarck's anti-Jewish policy in the sixth of his *Cartas de Inglaterra* (1903) and gave a remarkably vivid picture of life in Jerusalem at the time of Jesus in his novel *A Relíquia*. The martyred 18th-century playwright Antônio José da *Silva, was the central character of several works, including Castelo Branco's novel, *O Judeu* (2 vols., 1866), and the romantic drama, *Antônio José – o Poeta e a Inquisição*, by the Brazilian Domingos José Gonçalves de Magalhães (1811–1882).

The Jewish Contribution to Spanish Literature

The contribution of the Sephardim to Spanish literature was from the 12th to the 17th centuries, but a distinction must be made between the literary role of professing Jews and that of Conversos or New Christians, who were merely of Jewish origin. Spanish literature's earliest monuments, whose importance was discovered only in the 20th century, are intimately related to the two Semitic peoples living in Andalusia. These are the *jarchas* – short poetic endings, in colloquial Arabic or Mozarabic transcribed into Arabic or Hebrew characters, to longer compositions in classical Arabic or Hebrew, known as *muwashashat*. Of the more than 50 *jarchas* that are known, at least 20 form the endings to Hebrew *muwashshat*. The earliest was part of a *muwashshat* ("girdle poem") written by Joseph the Scribe and dedicated to Ismail ibn Nagrela (i.e., *Samuel ha-Nagid) and his brother Isaac. Believed to have been written before 1042, it constitutes the oldest known lyric poetry in any language of western Europe, antedating even the earliest Provençal poems. *Jarchas* are to be found in *muwashshat* of the great Hebrew poets of Spain, Moses *Ibn Ezra, *Judah Halevi, and Meir ben Todros ha-Levi *Abulafia.

TRANSLATORS AND POETS. The Jews of medieval Spain also distinguished themselves as translators, forming an important bridge between Oriental, scientific, and ethical knowledge and the nascent European culture (see *Translations). Possessing a knowledge of Arabic, Hebrew, and one or another of the Romance languages, they were invaluable collaborators. The task of imparting Arabic learning to the western world was not limited to any one center, but of them all the most important was Toledo. In the 12th century Archbishop Raimundo (d. 1152) gathered Jews, Christians, and Moors there to translate Arabic scientific and philosophical texts. The prologue to the Latin version of *Avicenna's *De Anima* tells how the work was done. Juan Hispano, a Converso, translated orally from Arabic into Romance, which Dominicus Gundisalvi in turn translated into Latin. The Latin was written down by a scribe. In the 13th century Toledo was again a center of cultural activity, but now works were translated from Arabic into Castilian, reflecting the wish of Alfonso x to make the spoken language of his country that of government and culture. Alfonso's Jewish translators were Isaac ibn Cid, Don Abraham, and R. Judah ben Moses ha-Kohen (Judah Mosca). Judah (Jafuda) *Bonsenyor of Barcelona (d. 1331) compiled for James ii of Aragon a volume of maxims in Catalan, mainly derived from Arabic and Jewish sources, titled *Libre de Paraules e dits de Savis e Filosofs* (c. 1300). Another Jewish savant was Isaac al-Carsoni, whose Hebrew astronomical tables, compiled for Pedro iv (1336–1387), were later translated into Latin and Catalan.

An early and famous Jewish composer of Spanish verse was Shem Tov b. Isaac Ardutiel, known to Spaniards as *Santob de Carrión and Don Santo. His *Proverbios morales*, written probably between 1355 and 1360, are the first examples of aphoristic verse in Spanish. Moses de Zaragua *Acan (c. 1300) rivals Santob as a Jewish literary pioneer in Spain. His Catalan verse treatise on chess was translated into Spanish in 1350. Jews also contributed to medieval Spanish culture through the *literatura aljamiada*, the name given to works in Spanish written in Arabic or Hebrew characters. An example of the latter is to be found in one of the four manuscripts in the Cambridge University Library of Santob's *Proverbios* (ed. by Ig. Gonzalez Wubera, 1947). This also contains a poetic treatment of the biblical story of Joseph, called *Coplas de Yoçef*, which was influenced by *Josephus and the Midrash, and later became important in Ladino literature.

JEWISH AND CONVERSO WRITERS. The writers active in Spain from the 15th century onward were invariably Marranos or Conversos, rather than professing Jews. The massacres that began in 1391, mass conversions, and the expulsion of 1492 combined to bring to an end Spanish Jewry's Golden Age and the open practice of Judaism in Spain. There were, of course, Converso writers before 1492, such as the moralist *Petrus Alfonsi in the 12th century (*Disciplina clericalis*, 1120), or the Christian apologist Alfonso de Valladolid (*Abner of Burgos) in the 14th. But the 15th century saw a completely new internal situation in Spain: a whole class of "New Christians" came into being, and at the same time popular antisemitism made a sharp cleavage between peoples and religions that had previously at least coexisted. The intellectual élite was composed largely of Conversos, and many of the writers and humanists who set the tone of the century were New Christians. They also rose to fame in the Church and at court. Ferdinand and Isabella, who signed the decree of expulsion, were not averse to having their deeds recorded by Conversos. Diego de Valera (c. 1412–88), who wrote the *Crónica de los Reyes Católicos*, was the son of Alonso *Chirino (d. 1430?), the baptized physician of Juan ii of Castile and author of some curious works on medicine. The official chronicler of the Catholic monarchs and secretary to the queen was Hernando del Pulgar (1436–1493), also thought to have been a Converso.

New Christians were among the poets active in the reign of Juan ii (1458–79), and later in the century several writers of minor stature testified to the psychological state of the converts. As members of a minority group scorned and upbraided by the majority, they often took refuge in satire directed against each other – or even against themselves. In literary polemics of the era, the accusation of being a Marrano (Crypto-Jew) was frequently leveled, whether or not with justification. Among Spanish writers of real or imagined New Christian extraction were Juan *Ávarez Gato, Rodrigo de Cota de Maguaque, Juan (Poeta) de Valladolid, Juan de España, el Viejo, Juan de Mena (1411–1456), Antón de Montoro, and Alfonso de la *Torre. Beneath the badinage and cynical laughter, however, one feels the bitterness of the outcast. Two famous prose works written in the reign of Isabella of Castile were by New Christians: the *Cárcel de Amor* (1492) of Diego de San Pedro and *La Celestina* (1499), written either entirely or in large part by Fernando de *Rojas. Both works are the products of the sadness and suffering of the Conversos.

The Later Conversos

While New Christians undoubtedly played an important part in Spanish cultural life throughout the 16th and 17th centuries, it is not easy to determine their contribution with any precision, since they found it advisable to conceal their origin. As a result of the statutes on purity of blood (see *limpieza de sangre*), known Conversos found their opportunities for ecclesiastical, social, and political advancement severely limited, and even the most orthodox Catholics were affected. The grandfather of Spain's greatest saint and mystic, Santa Teresa of Avila, had been penanced by the Inquisition for Judaizing, and there is evidence that the father of the great 16th-century humanist, Juan Luis *Vives, was burned as a Judaizer, and that he himself attended a secret synagogue as a child.

Conversos also distinguished themselves as innovators in Spanish prose. The first pastoral novel written in Spanish was *Diana* (1559?) by Jorge de Montemayor (c. 1520–1561), a writer of Portuguese origin who was taunted with Jewish ancestry by one of his contemporaries. The picaresque novel, considered a peculiarly Spanish invention, owes much to Converso writers. The anonymous author of the first such work, *La vida de Lazarillo de Tormes* (1554), may have been a New Christian, as a brief passage at the beginning of the work is a veiled satire on racial prejudice. No picaresque novels appeared during the reign of Philip II (1556–98), but the year following his death saw the publication of the first part of *Guzmán de Alfarache* (1599) by Mateo *Alemán. Luis Vélez de Guevara (1579–1644) contributed to the genre with *El diablo Cojuelo* (1641), as did Antonio Enriquez Gómez (see above), with *El siglo pitagórico y Vida de don Gregorio Guadaña* (1644). No Converso appeared in the first rank of dramatists during Spain's Golden Age, but several had their works produced on the Madrid stage. Apart from Enríquez Gómez, they include the prolific Juan Pérez de Montalván (1602–1638), the son of a New Christian bookseller and publisher, who nevertheless was appointed a notary of the Holy Office and who became a friend and follower of Lope de Vega; and Felipe Godinez (see above). From the 18th century onward, there were undoubtedly many Spanish writers of Jewish descent, but by then the question had become less important. In the 19th century, José *Taronji y Cortés, a Spanish priest and Catalan poet of Marrano origin, testified to the prejudice besetting the *Chuetas* of Majorca. So far as Spanish literature is concerned, however, *marranismo* was unimportant after the 17th century.

REFUGEE WRITERS. In the Marrano diaspora, on the other hand, professing Jews – refugees or their descendants – made an important contribution to Spanish letters throughout the 17th and 18th centuries. Refugees active in Amsterdam in the latter half of the 17th century were Joseph Semah (Ẓemaḥ) *Arias, a former Spanish army captain; Francisco (Joseph) de Caceres; two poetesses, Isabel (Rebecca) de *Correa and Isabel *Enríquez; Isaac *Gómez de Sossa, whose father had been physician to the infante Fernando of Spain; Isaac Cohen de Lara; and Nicolás (Daniel Judah) de *Oliver y Fullana, a former Spanish colonel. Miguel (Daniel Levi) de *Barrios was one of the most eminent of these exiles. His travels took him to the West Indies and to the Low Countries, where he led a double life as a Spanish army captain in Brussels and as a Jew in Amsterdam.

The Jewish Contribution to Portuguese Literature

In medieval Portugal there were Jewish, as well as Moorish, troubadours, one of whom was called "O Judeu de Elvas" (the Jew of Elvas). Most Portuguese writers of Jewish descent were Marranos, and many fled their native land in the 16th and 17th centuries. Samuel *Usque's *Consolaçam ás Tribulaçoens de Israel*, though published abroad (Ferrara, 1553), is considered a classic of Portuguese literature. The novelist and poet Bernardim *Ribeiro, known as the father of Portuguese bucolic literature (*Hystoria de Menina y Moça*, Ferrara, 1554), was probably a Marrano. Manoel *Fernandes Villereal was one of the many 17th-century Portuguese authors who wrote mainly in Spanish. Perhaps the most famous victim of the Portuguese Inquisition was Antônio José da Silva ("O Judeu," 1705–1739), who was born in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil. Da Silva was one of the few important Portuguese dramatists of the 18th century, and although his career was cut short at the age of 34, his works continued to be performed and published, albeit anonymously, long after his death. Although many Portuguese writers from the 19th century onward proudly claimed Jewish ancestry, specifically Jewish contributions to the literature of Portugal effectively came to an end by 1700.

[Kenneth R. Scholberg]

The Jewish Contribution to Latin-American Literature

During the 16th and 17th centuries many writers of Marrano origin left Spain and Portugal for the New World, in the hope of finding greater freedom there. Marranos were among the most cultivated members of the new American society. In Mexico, the martyred Luis de Carvajal El Mozo (1566–1596; see *Carvajal family), nephew of the governor of New Leon, was a competent poet; in Peru, Antonio de León Pinelo (1591–1658) was one of the first American bibliographers. Two eminent Marrano writers denounced to the Brazilian Inquisition were Ambrósio Fernandes *Brandão, author of the *Diálogos das Grandezas do Brasil* (c. 1618), and Bento *Teixeira Pinto, author of the epic *Prosopopéia* (1601^2), the first literary work written in Brazil.

By the 19th century, Marrano culture had disappeared, and only a few Latin Americans were still conscious of their Jewish descent. In Venezuela, Abigail Lozano (1821–1866) and Salomón López Fonseca (1853–1935) were noted poets. Two other writers were Abraham López-Penha, a Dominican writer, and Efraim Cardozo, a Paraguayan historian. The Colombian novelist, Jorge *Isaacs, author of the classic, *María* (1867), was not of Sephardi origin, being the son of a converted English Jew. In time more liberal ideas promoted a somewhat romantic reassessment of the Crypto-Jews of Latin America, exemplified by *La hija del judío*, a story by Justo Sierra (1814–1861), and the novel *Moisén* (1924) by Julio Jiménez Rueda, both Mexican non-Jews. *Moisén* is notable for its bizarre presentation of the Marranos and their secret religion. Exotic Jewish characters frequently appear in the short stories of Jorge Luis Borges (1899–1986), one of the outstanding Argentine writers of the 20th century. Borges, who was partly of Marrano descent, used kabbalistic and other Jewish elements to heighten the suspense in his tales of mystery, some of which were collected in *El Aleph* (1949; *The Aleph and Other Stories 1933–1969*, 1970). His admiration for the Jewish State prompted two poems about Israel written in June 1967 at the time of the Six-Day War. Four years later, in April 1971, Borges was awarded the Jerusalem Prize for his contribution to the freedom of the individual at the Fifth International Book Fair held in Israel's capital.

Contemporary Jewish Writers

Toward the end of the 19th century, Ashkenazi Jewish communities grew steadily, especially in Argentina, where the *Jewish Colonization Association (ICA) resettled thousands of Jews from Russia. Two of Argentina's foremost Jewish writers, Alberto *Gerchunoff, author of *Los Gauchos Judíos* (1908–10), and Samuel *Eichelbaum were raised in the Argentine Jewish colonies. Carlos Moises Gruenberg (1903–1968), a prominent lawyer and poet, was known for his *Mester de Judería* (1940); a keen Zionist, he translated Hebrew poetry into Spanish, and he was considered a masterly stylist. Salomón Resnick (1895–1946), an essayist and translator, who edited the weekly *Mundo Israelita* and the literary periodical *Judaica*, made Yiddish literature known to the Spanish-speaking reader. Lázaro *Liacho (1897–1969), a journalist and poet, and his father, Jacob Simon Liachovitzky (1874–1937), a journalist and a leading Zionist, both wrote on Jewish themes. Enrique Espinoza (Samuel Glusberg, 1898–1987) wrote tales of Jewish life in Buenos Aires and edited *Babel*, a literary magazine, first in Buenos Aires and later in Santiago, Chile. César *Tiempo (Israel Zeitlin, 1905–1980), a leading poet and playwright, played a prominent part in the fight against Argentine antisemitism. Bernardo Verbitzky (1902–1979), a journalist and novelist, portrayed Jewish life and the fate of the poor. Some other Argentine writers were the novelist Max Dickmann (1897–1991), Máximo José Kahn (1897–1953), and Marcelo Menasché (1913–). Literary essayists and historians included Albert Palcos (1894–1965), León *Dujovne, and Antonio Portnoy (1903–1958).

Max *Aub (1903–1972), who settled in Mexico, was a staunchly anti-Fascist poet, playwright, and novelist. His tragedy, *San Juan* (1943), dealt with the fate of Jewish refugees on a doomed ship in the Mediterranean. Jewish writers in Brazil included Fernando Levisky (1910–1982), author of *Israel no Brasil* (1936); the poet Idel Becker; the playwright Pedro Bloch; the novelist Clarice Lispector; Kurt Loewenstamm; and Henrique Iussim (who wrote under the name Ẓvi Yotam after emigrating to Israel).

Despite their strong Zionist sympathies, Latin America's Jewish writers rarely dealt with Ereẓ Israel in their works. One exception was Samuel Eichelbaum, whose short story, *Una buena Cosecha*, is set in Rosh Pinnah. A non-Jewish Venezuelan poet, Vicente Gerbasi (1913–1992), who was his country's ambassador to Israel (1960–68), included poems on Jerusalem and its Jewish inhabitants in his verse collection, *Poesía de viajes* (1968).

[Paul Link]

Younger Judeo-Argentinian writers continued to explore the process and problems of acculturation and assimilation which appear in the works of earlier writers like Gerchunoff. Germán Rozenmacher (1936–1971) presented an intergenerational conflict between an immigrant cantor and his Argentinian-born son in his play *Requiem para unviernes a la noche* (1964). Mario Szichman (b. 1945) in his novels, *Crónica falsa* (1969) and *A las 20:35 la señora entró a la inmortalidad* (1981), depicted the odyssey of a Jewish family against the background of the Peronist era. David Vinas (b. 1929), Marcos Aguinis (b. 1935), Gerardo Mario Goloboff (b. 1939), Alicia Steimberg (b. 1933), and Marion Satz (b. 1944) were other writers of this new generation of Jewish intellectuals.

Although Argentina, because of the size of the community and the vigor of the cultural milieu, contained the largest nucleus of Jewish authors, there were a number of writers in other Latin American countries, such as the Peruvian novelist Isaac Goldemberg (b. 1945), who told the story of an eastern European Jewish immigrant in *The Fragmented Life of Don Jacobo Lerner* (1976). In Venezuela Isaac Chocrón (b. 1932), one of the country's most prominent playwrights, examined his Sephardi background in a novel, *Rómpase en caso de incendio* (1975).

Despite maintaining strong Zionist sympathies, Latin America's writers only occasionally set their works in Israel. In *El caramelo descompuesto* (1980), a novel by Ricardo Feierstein, a young Argentinian narrator looks critically at life on a kibbutz.

A non-Jewish Venezuelan poet, Vicente Gerbasi (1913–1992), who was his country's ambassador to Israel (1960–68), included poems on Jerusalem and its Jewish inhabitants in his verse collection *Poesiás de viaje* (1968).

The Palestinian-Israeli conflict from a pro-Arab point of view was dealt with by the well known Mexican novelist, Carlos Fuentes, in his *La cabeza de la hidra* (1978; "The Hydra Head," 1978).

[Edna Aizenberg]

Latin American Jewish literature developed specifically in the 1970s and 1980s, and can be defined as the treatment of Jewish values in two languages – Spanish and Portuguese, as conceived and spoken in Latin America; and more particularly, as the way in which these languages have left their mark on Latin American Jewry, through those authors who use them as their vehicle.

In other words, the Jewish literature of Latin America exploits the possibilities of expression offered by the Portuguese and Spanish languages to translate, both at the personal and the collective level, the way in which basic Jewish values are experienced and interpreted in the framework of living conditions in this part of the world. In the words of literary critic Saul Sonowski, "Jewish literature in Latin America is not built exclusively on the basis of motifs which can easily be identified as Jewish, but as a function of the relationship of these motifs to concrete realities which are in a process of development and transformation: the realities of the Latin American societies in which they must evolve." What he means basically is that the Latin American Jewish writers are an inseparable part of their respective national literatures. Their acknowledgment of their Jewishness resides in their perception of themselves as Uruguayan, Brazilian, Mexican, Venezuelan, Chilean, or Argentine writers whose works and thought integrally include a Jewish thematic variation, which may be more or less frequent, more or less intense, and can be formulated and reelaborated in an infinite variety of ways. The Jewish variation cannot be isolated from the totality which gives it meaning, nor placed in a hierarchy to the detriment of the totality. Nevertheless, Latin American Jewish writers, in order to consolidate their respective identities as Latin American writers, also have to take their positions as Jews. In their work, Jewish and Latin American themes, far from constituting an irreconcilable antithesis, as is often alleged by explicitly antisemitic and implicitly discriminatory theses, have become strongly complementary and inseparable.

For many years, in the Latin American cultural arena, the need for an alternative was solicited equally zealously by both the nationalist right and the Marxist-Leninist left: strictly specific characteristics, such as those implicit to the Jewish condition, were to be merged into the national identity (right) or the international proletariat identity (left). Considered "foreign" by the former and "reactionary" by the latter until well into the 1970s, Judaism seemed to have no future as a variation in the composite profile of the Latin American writer. However, the situation began to change in the 1970s. Government terrorism, which raged in every corner of the continent, but with an especially bloody genocide in the southern tip of Latin America, gave rise to a new phenomenon in the region – a diaspora. This bitter experience strongly paralleled Jewish memories.

Discrimination, censorship, persecution, torture, imprisonment, and death were practiced with systematic tenacity by the successive dictatorships, especially against anyone daring to challenge the regime in force; fearing for their lives, many fled their country or even the continent. Jewish writers naturally drew parallels between past and present. At the same time, the seeds of today's Communist crisis were already present. Against this background, the meaning of Judaism, as a constituent element of the personal and historic identity of so many writers, underwent an intense process of redefinition, inspired not only by the suffering but also by its dialectic complement – the spirit of struggle, the capacity to confront adversity. Judaism was beginning to be seen as a determined demand for pluralism, for democratic ideals, for a thirst for dialogue, in open opposition to dogmatism and contempt for differentness. Beyond its possible adherence to theological arguments and religious options of one kind or another, Judaism was conceived, by contemporary Latin American writers, as a moving metaphor of their own experience, and was thus ultimately acknowledged as an inalienable part of an individual identity.

"In the countries of Latin America, which have experienced a repression unprecedented in their history, survival – perhaps the basic motif of all Jewish literature – has obviously played a major role" (Saul Sosnowski). And "it is under identical circumstances that some Jewish motifs have become precision instruments in interpreting a reality that centuries of persecution and exile have imprinted in the cultural tradition of the historic Jew" (Saul Sosnowski).

In addition to the decisive theme of survival, other fundamental themes began to appear in poetry, fiction, and drama. Man's dialogue with God, with its innumerable variations, the sufferings imposed by prejudice and intolerance, the intensity of nostalgia, exile and its indelible shadow, the meaning of death, the value of memory, mysticism, the warmth of family life, the immigrant origin, the Jewish holidays and history, the unexpected recording of one's own life as an "immigrant," and the presence and ethical and even esthetic weight of tradition, all to a great extent shape the repertory of themes which, in numerous forms, run through Latin American Jewish literature. And just as European or North American Jewish literature, for instance, have distinctive traits, specific only to a country or a continent, so Latin American Jewish literature has its own, unique characteristics. Its treatment of proverbially Jewish questions has an unmistakably Latin American emphasis, in that the Jewish models are presented through the subjective, social, and historic experience of the countries of Latin America, with their specific conflicts, resources, and conditions. The Jewish statement is made through the Spanish and Portuguese languages, with their own cultural imprint, and thereby receives a specific bias – accorded by the distinctive intonation of the language in every country and region where it is spoken. This intonation is not only that of the language's rhythm, its euphony, but also that of its semantic weave, which, in each locality, and in each consciousness, links the repertoire of resources offered by the language to its users, giving birth to that fertile "hybrid" condition noted by writer Ricardo Feierstein; and to the theme which, among so many other nationalities, both incorporates the Jewish element in, and separates it from, the Bolivian, Peruvian, Colombian, or Cuban element and elegantly frames a Jewish individuality which, while obviously related to others, is not one of them. This "hybridism" is simply the permanent interweaving of two originally separate traditions – the Jewish and Latin American, which, through the meeting of circumstances, ultimately shaped a new expression. The value and quality of this possibility of expression characterizes Latin American Jewish literature.

In other words, Spanish and Portuguese are not the languages into which the universal nature of Judaism is translated, but the means through which it is constituted and conceived in Latin America. Based in these languages, Jewish poetry, fiction, and drama, as well as essays and critical reviews, are seen as the highest grade of conceptual elaboration which Jewish experience has attained in Latin America. While Latin American Jews do not have to be aware of this in order to be what they are, it is no less true that this knowledge constitutes for them a privileged resource for a greater and better understanding of their identity.

Since the reestablishment of democratic institutions in the 1980s, in particular, Latin American Jewry has encountered a fertile terrain in which to shape itself, demonstrating that a complete manifestation of the universality of Jewish values is possible only when inspired by a concrete historic circumstance. It is in the light of their experience as Latin

Americans that the validity of the meaning of Jewishness can be projected in the contemporary world. Every literary work, beyond its value as a comparative model, expresses that moment of luminous encounter between past and present which imbues the experience it describes, the statement it makes, with both an individual, specific, and even regional nuance, and an archetypal, metaphoric, and revealing dimension whose symbolic stature is universal. In this way the yesterday of previous generations who sustained, enjoyed, and suffered the Jewish condition, becomes the today shaped by our circumstances, which are no less worrying or fascinating than those of the past. Through looking at the past one learns to see those who observe from the present; observations of the present bring to the acknowledgment of the validity of this millennia-old message. Latin American Jewish literature proves this eloquently. It is one of the basic indications of Latin American Jewry's intense desire to attain self-understanding. Indeed, to a very great extent literary activity in the 1980s evidenced the resolute initiative and great persistency of this community in examining its condition. Among the events demonstrating this orientation should be noted: two encounters of Latin American Jewish writers held in Buenos Aires in 1986 and in 1988; the proliferation of poetry, fiction, and essays, which join together with remarkable elegance the double source of personal identity – Jewish and Latin American; the appearance of *Noaj*, the first Jewish literary review in Spanish and Portuguese edited in Israel; the creation, also in Israel, of a Jewish writers' association in both languages. All these proved decisive acts and showed the extent of Latin American Jewry's eagerness for self-exploration and self-expression. Certainly it is not by chance that all these developments were taking place at a time when the values of political democracy were being progressively restored. Democracy is the most propitious condition for the institution of pluralism; and Judaism, freed from the oppressive yoke placed upon it by totalitarian thinking, finds itself with an auspicious opportunity to say and affirm what it is, and to begin once again to question its own meaning.

[Santiago Ezequiel Kovadloff]

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SPARROW (Heb. צִפּוֹר דְּרוֹר, *ẓippor deror* or דְּרוֹר, *deror*, but sometimes the word *ẓippor* "bird" refers to the sparrow), the *Passer domesticus biblicus*, the house sparrow, which is the most common bird in Israel during all seasons of the years. It "dwells in the house as in the field" and its name *ẓippor deror* ("free bird") is explained by the fact that "it does not submit to authority" (Beẓah 24a); and, despite the fact that it lives in populated areas, it cannot be domesticated. It nests in the interstices of rooftops and stone walls. It is referred to as nesting between the stones of the Temple (Ps. 84:4), and to this day some make their nests between the stones of the *Western Wall. It possesses the characteristics of a *kasher* bird (see *Dietary Laws) and there are Jewish communities which permit it for food. "Two *ẓipporim*" were used for the purification ceremony of the leper (Lev. 14:4) and for the house cleansed from leprosy (*ibid.*, 14:49); according to the Mishnah (Neg. 14:1) *ẓipporei deror*, i.e., house sparrows, are meant. Some would identify the *deror* with the swallow, but the descriptions of the *deror* in rabbinical literature leave no doubt that it refers to the sparrow.

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[Jehuda Feliks]

SPARTA, city in Greece; ancient city-state in the Peloponnesus, called Mistra in Crusader times. The earliest information on the relations between Sparta and the Jews is the letter said to have been sent by Areus, king of Sparta (309–265 B.C.E.), to the high priest *Onias I (I Macc. 12:20–23). In this letter Areus sends his greetings to the Jews and proposes a full alliance in the words, "your cattle and goods are ours, and ours yours." It also refers to a written tradition that the two peoples are of the stock of Abraham (cf. Jos., Ant., 14:255; see *Pergamum). This was apparently included in one of those books dealing with the genealogy of the various nations, which were widespread in the Hellenistic era, or it may have been based on the well-known work of *Hecateus of Abdera. It is possible that the contemporary political situation, the relations between the *Ptolemies and Sparta on the one hand and the Jews on the other (idem, 109) forms the background to this alliance, as well as perhaps some sympathy of ideas (cf. Y. Baer, in: *Zion* 17 (1952), 35). Josephus, who quotes the text of the letter (Ant. 12:22–26), adds some details which do not appear in I Maccabees. I Maccabees (12:6–18) also quotes a letter of Jonathan the Hasmonean to the Spartans and (14:20–23) a letter of the Spartans to Simeon the Hasmonean. Some scholars regard these letters as either wholly or in part fictitious (see F.M. Abel, *Les Livres des Maccabées* (1949), 231–3). Corroborating evidence for these relations is to be found in II Maccabees (5:9) which describes the flight of the high priest Jason to Sparta because its people were close to his. The inhabitants of Sparta are also mentioned in I Maccabees (15:23), but it is doubtful whether the existence of a Jewish settlement can be inferred from there, as some scholars have attempted to do. There is no explicit mention of a Jewish settlement in Sparta, though Jews were living in the Peloponnesus during the first century C.E. (Philo, *Legatio and Gaium*, 281).

[Uriel Rappaport]

During the tenth century there were Jews in Sparta; they were engaged in commerce. When a plague broke out in Sparta, the monk Nikon (10th century) refused to come to the village's aid as long as the Jews, who were an obstacle in the spreading of Christianity, were not expelled. His incitement was without effect. The presence of Jews is mentioned during the reigns of the Palaeologi emperors (1261–1453). When Sigismondo Malatesta conquered Mistra in 1465, he burnt down the Jewish quarter. There is evidence of the presence of Jews again during the 16th and 17th centuries. They were engaged in the silk industry and in commerce. The French author Chateaubriand, who visited Greece in 1806, mentions the Jewish quarter of Sparta. During the Greek Revolution (1821–1829), the Albanians, who invaded Peloponnesus, destroyed the Jewish community.

[Simon Marcus]

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SPÄTH, JOHANN PETER (**Moses Germanus**; 1642/45–1701), German Christian Hebraist who converted to Judaism. Späth was born either in Augsburg or in Vienna between 1642 and 1645 to a Roman Catholic family. He became a teacher in a Protestant family and this contact made him question his own faith. Influenced by the Protestant theologian Philipp Jacob Spener (1635–1705), Späth converted to the Lutheran church and he became a follower of Spener. His religious doubts, however, did not weaken. On the contrary, he became disappointed because of the controversy among the Lutherans, and this made him decide in 1681 to return to the Roman Catholic Church. However, he continued to have doubts. Several years later Späth appeared to be living in Amsterdam, where he met people from various religious movements such as the Mennonites, the Collegiants, and the Socians. During that period, he converted once again to become a Quaker. Thus he came into contact with the Christian Hebraist and Kabbalah scholar Francis Mercury of Helmont (1614–1699). At that time, Späth moved to Sulzbach to help with a Latin translation and the publication of a large corpus of Kabbalistic texts.

The chronological records of the subsequent years are not very clear, but in 1696 we find Späth in Amsterdam once again, where he officially converted to Judaism. From then on he was known as Moses Germanus. A year later he was circumcised and was accepted into the Portuguese-Jewish community in Amsterdam. He had previously married a Jewish woman, and was appointed as a teacher. Späth died in Amsterdam on April 27, 1701.

His conversion to Judaism caused the customary scandal in those days. Many of his contemporary Christian scholars expressed their disapproval of the facts. The most complete record of his life and his conversion written at that time is to be found in the work of Johann Jacob Schudt (1664–1722) entitled *Jüdische Merckwürdigkeiten* (= Jewish curiosities) in which he also talks about the dismay of the Christian scholars. Späth defended his conversion in a number of letters addressed to scholars in his area.

A great deal of that correspondence has been preserved, such as several letters to Johannes Leusden (1624–1699) dating from the period in which Späth converted, addressed by Leusden to Moses Germanus Judäus.

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[Monika Saelemaekers (2nd ed.)]

SPECTER, ARLEN (1930–), U.S. senator, chairman of the Judiciary Committee. Spector was born in Kansas, the son of Russian immigrants. His family moved to Russell, Kansas, the home town of another United States senator, Robert Dole. Specter was educated at the University of Oklahoma, and transferred to the University of Pennsylvania, where he received his B.A. (1951). He was in the Air Force from 1951 to 1953 during the Korean War. He returned to attend Yale Law School, where he edited the law journal and graduated in 1956.

He served as assistant district attorney in Philadelphia as a Democrat from 1959 to 1963 and then went to Washington, where he was assistant counsel to the Warren Commission investigating the assassination of President John F. *Kennedy. He devised the single bullet theory, contending that one bullet hit the president and Texas Governor John Connally, who was riding in the limousine and was also wounded. He sought the Democratic nomination for district attorney but was rebuffed by the Democratic machine so he ran as a Republican reform candidate and won an upset victory. He narrowly lost the race for mayor of Philadelphia the next year. He served for eight years as district attorney and then suffered a series of political losses that ordinarily doom a political candidate. Specter lost a race for district attorney in 1973; he lost for the U.S. Senate in 1976 and lost for governor in 1978. He won the 1980 race in the Reagan landslide and then proceeded to vote against the Reagan Administration more often than any other Republican senator.

He played a major role during the Iran-Contra hearing, where his talent as a cross examiner came into play again. He concluded that the intelligence system was in need of an overhaul and proposed the creation of an inspector general of the CIA. His role on the Senate Judiciary Committee was controversial vis-à-vis his Republican colleagues. He voted against Robert Bork for the Supreme Court. He was an ardent defender of Judge Clarence Thomas' nomination to the Supreme Court and an intense interrogator of Anita Hill, whom he accused of perjury. His performance did not endear him to women. In 1996 he was a candidate for president, but withdrew before the first primary as it was clear that the Republican Party was not going to nominate a pro-choice Republican moderate. After Orrin Hatch completed his six years as chairman, Specter was in line to become chairman of the Judiciary Committee, a move opposed by some Republican colleagues, who were fearful of his moderation and his support of abortion. He further enraged his colleagues by warning the administration not to appoint someone who was going to overturn Roe v. Wade. He was forced to clarify – some say disavow – his statement. Surrounded by his Republican Judiciary Committee colleagues, he said: "I have no reason to believe that I will be unable to support any individual President Bush finds worthy." In addition to tackling the major legislative business before the Senate in 2005, Specter also engaged in a personal battle with Stage IVB Hodgkin's lymphoma cancer. He underwent nearly five months of chemotherapy but still maintained all of his senatorial duties, including chairing hearings, voting, and brokering important legislative initiatives. On July 22, 2005, Specter received his last chemotherapy treatment and subsequently received a clean bill of health.

In 2005 and early 2006 his leadership was tested in the nomination of John Roberts to be chief justice of the Supreme Court, the nomination and withdrawal of nomination of Harriet Miers, and finally the nomination of Samuel Alito as associate justice. His wife, Joan, is a former City Council member in Philadelphia.

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[Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

SPECTOR, JOHANNA (1920–), U.S. ethno-musicologist, filmmaker, and educator. Johanna Spector was born and grew up in Latvia where her husband, Robert Spector, was killed by the Nazis in 1941. She spent the war years in concentration camps. She immigrated to the U.S. in 1947. She received her doctorate in Hebrew Letters from the Hebrew Union College (Cincinnati, 1950) and obtained a master's degree in anthropology from Columbia University in 1960. She was a research fellow at the Hebrew University, Jerusalem (1951–53) and until 1957 she spent half the year in Israel, undertaking fieldwork on the Yemenite, Kurdish, and Samaritan communities. In 1954 she joined the Jewish Theological Seminary, New York, and founded its department of ethno-musicology in 1962, becoming associate professor in 1966 and full professor in 1970. In the course of her research in Jewish music, she made an extensive collection of recordings. Her personal archive of 11,000 tape recordings includes Arabic, Persian, Turkish, Samaritan, Yemenite, and Indian (Cochin and Bombay) music of Jewish communities. They are accompanied by thousands of photographs, and later films from which she made documentaries, particularly on the Yemenites and Samaritans; she published several studies on them. A large part of her collection is at the National Archives of the Hebrew University. She helped to found the Society for the Preservation of Samaritan Culture and the Friends of the Samaritan Museum in 1968, with the object of establishing a museum at Shechem (Nablus).

[Amnon Shiloah (2nd ed.)]

SPECTOR, MORDECAI (1858–1925), Yiddish novelist and editor. Born in Uman, Ukraine, of a hasidic family, he came under the influence of Haskalah literature and began to write realistic sketches based on his personal experiences and observations of ordinary people in workshops and marketplaces. A. *Zederbaum, editor of the St. Petersburg *Yidishes Folksblat*, published Spector's first novel in weekly installments under the title *Roman On a Nomen* ("Novel without a Title," 1883). Spector later became assistant editor of this paper. His second novel, *Der Yidisher Muzhik* ("The Jewish Farmer," 1884), aroused great interest since it advocated the return of Jews to productive labor on their ancestral soil, a doctrine then propagated by the Ḥovevei Zion. Spector also influenced *Shalom Aleichem to set his literary sights on the provinces and on *shtetl* life, then a neglected area in Yiddish literature. In 1887, he settled in Warsaw, where, during the following decade, he reached the height of his fame, writing feuilletons, travel sketches, short stories, and novels, and editing a series of anthologies, *Der Hoyzfraynd* ("The Family Friend"), a landmark in the development of modern Yiddish literature. In 1894, together with I.L. *Peretz and D. *Pinski, he launched the *Yontev Bletlekh* ("Holiday Leaflets"), another literary landmark. Other literary ventures followed during the ensuing two decades. After the Communist Revolution, he experienced hardships in Odessa. He escaped in 1920, and arrived in the U.S. in 1921. Living in New York, he completed a volume of memoirs, *Mayn Lebn* ("My Life," 1927), which has great literary, historical, and cultural value. Spector was a writer for the masses, whom he tried to entertain, educate, and uplift. Though neither an original thinker nor a subtle psychologist, he was an excellent observer of reality, faithfully reproducing the colloquial speech of Jewish men and women in their homes, shops, and alleys. He was a pioneer of Yiddish folklore and of Yiddish writing for children, and was one of the first Yiddish writers to take a positive attitude toward Ḥasidism. His collected works appeared in 10 volumes (1927–29). His stories have been translated into eight languages, including English (cf. I. Howe and E. Greenberg, ed. *A Treasury of Yiddish Stories* (1953), 250–5).

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[Moshe Starkman]

SPECTOR, NORMAN (1949–), Canadian diplomat, public servant, and media commentator. Spector was born and raised in Montreal, where he attended Talmud Torah and Herzliah day schools, worked part time as a packer for Steinberg's grocery chain, and graduated from McGill University. After obtaining his doctorate in political science from Columbia and a master's degree in communications from Syracuse, he taught for a year at the University of Ottawa in 1974–75 before taking a position in the Ontario Ministry of Communications.

Spector moved to British Columbia, where he served as deputy minister to Social Credit Premier Bill Bennett from 1982 to 1986. He was heavily involved in the government's battle with labor unions. His talents and fluency in French drew him to employment in the federal government, and he became secretary to the cabinet for federal-provincial relations in 1986, then chief of staff to Prime Minister Brian Mulroney in 1990. Spector became one in a series of Jews who held very senior positions with Canadian prime ministers of different political stripe. These include Mel Cappe, Eddie Goldenberg, Stanley Hartt, Chaviva Hosek, Hugh Segal, and David Zussman. In Ottawa Spector played a major role in negotiating the unsuccessful 1987 Meech Lake Accord, which would have had Quebec accept the Canadian Constitution passed by the Trudeau Liberals in 1982. In 1992 Spector became Canadian ambassador to Israel and the Palestinian Authority. As Canada's first Jewish ambassador to Israel, and as someone not from the ranks of the diplomatic corps, his appointment caused some opposition within the established foreign service community. Spector proved evenhanded and studied Arabic to go along with his fluency in Hebrew.

Returning to Canada in 1995, Spector became president of the Atlantic Canada Opportunity Agency and an executive with Imperial Tobacco. He returned to Israel briefly in 1997 as publisher of *The Jerusalem Post*. Following his tenure at *The Jerusalem Post* he settled in Victoria, British Columbia. He remains a frequent columnist for *The Globe and Mail* and commentator on Canadian television news, often on Middle East affairs. In 2003 he published *Chronicle of a War Foretold: How Mideast Peace Became America's Fight*, based on his articles in the Middle East.

[Morton Weinfeld (2nd ed.)]

SPECTOR, PHIL (**Harvey Philip**; 1940–), vastly influential rock music producer, who produced, arranged, and cowrote some of rock & roll's earliest classic tunes in the late 1950s and early 1960s; member of the Rock and Roll Hall of Fame. Spector was born in the Bronx to Bertha and Benjamin, a Russian Jewish immigrant who committed suicide in 1949. Spector, his mother, and sister, Shirley, moved to Los Angeles in 1953, where Spector quickly proved proficient on numerous instruments and became acquainted with L.A. rhythm and blues musicians, including songwriters Jerry *Leiber and Mike *Stoller, with whom he would later collaborate on the No. 1 hit "Spanish Harlem." By 1958, having secured a small recording contract, Spector wrote and performed what became his first No. 1 hit, "To Know Him Is To Love Him," inspired by words written on his father's gravestone. In 1960, having apprenticed himself to Los Angeles music veterans, including Lee Hazlewood, Spector began producing numerous pop singles for journeyman singers. Two years later, having become a millionaire from "Spanish Harlem" and other early hits, Spector developed his own, innovative production method. Later known as the "Wall of Sound," Spector massed Los Angeles musicians and instruments into elaborate arrangements that produced pop classics of undisputed emotional and sonic impact. The lyrics for Spector's songs were often produced by the mainly Jewish songwriting teams Carole *King and Gerry Goffin, Ellie Greenwich and Jeff Barry, and Barry Mann and Cynthia Weil. His hits included "Be My Baby," by the Ronettes, and "Da Doo Ron Ron," by the Crystals, both "girl groups," a genre Spector is credited with having defined. The Ronettes were led by Veronica "Ronnie" Bennett, later one of Spector's three wives. In 1965, "You've Lost That Loving Feeling" by the Righteous Brothers reached No. 1, despite being nearly four minutes long – one-third longer than the accepted standard. Spector got around that rule by deliberately misprinting the song's time on the record's label. Spector's rule of the charts faded after that, and he went into self-imposed exile. He repeated his success in the early 1970s with individual members of the Beatles, producing memorable albums for George Harrison (*All Things Must Pass*) and John Lennon (*Plastic Ono Band*), but Spector earned the longstanding enmity of Beatle Paul McCartney for adding strings, horns, and chorus to the uncompleted tapes of the Beatles' *Let It Be* album. He was named to the Rock and Roll Hall of Fame in 1989. Spector's litigious and eccentric behavior tarnished his reputation, and he was accused of pulling weapons on several of his artists, including Leonard *Cohen, with whom he worked in the 1970s. In 2003, an actress was found shot dead in Spector's Los Angeles home, and he was slated to stand trial for murder in 2006.

[Alan D. Abbey (2nd ed.)]

SPEISER, EPHRAIM AVIGDOR (1902–1965), U.S. Orientalist and archaeologist. Born in Skalat, Galicia, Speiser emigrated to the United States (1920). In 1926–27 he surveyed northern Iraq, discovering Tepe Gawra, whose excavation, along with that of the adjacent Tell Billa, he directed during 1930–32 and 1936–37. In 1927 Speiser taught comparative Semitics at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. From 1928 to the end of his life he lectured in Semitic languages and literatures at the University of Pennsylvania. During World War II, Speiser served as the chief of the Near East section of the Research and Analysis Branch of the Office of Strategic Services. From 1955 he was a key member of the translation committee of the Jewish Publication Society of America that produced a new English version of the Torah (1962).

Speiser was one of the pioneers in the discovery of the *Hurrians and their culture. He clarified the scope and significance of the Hurrian component in Western Asia during the second millennium B.C.E. and investigated the structure of their language in the still standard *Introduction to Hurrian* (1941). In *The United States and the Near East* (1947, 1950^2) he illuminated the modern problems of the region by his expert knowledge of its long history. Speiser's philological and synthetic studies in Mesopotamian civilization displayed its values, with emphasis upon the centrality of law and the influence of Mesopotamian legal conceptions on peripheral peoples, including Israel. During the last decade of his life he devoted much time to the origin of Israel's history and faith. He regarded these as both a reflex of, and a critical reaction to, the Egyptian and Mesopotamian cultures from which Israel emerged. His biblical research culminated in the volume on Genesis in the *Anchor Bible* (1964).

Speiser's scholarly, humanistic, and professional distinction was nationally recognized. He was a president of the American Oriental Society, a member of the American Philosophical Society, and a fellow of the American Academy for Jewish Research.

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[Moshe Greenberg]

SPEKTOR, ISAAC ELḤANAN (1817–1896), Lithuanian rabbi. Spektor was born in the province of Grodno, Russia, and one of his teachers was Benjamin Diskin. After serving as rabbi in various towns, Spektor went to Kovno, where he officiated until his death. In Kovno he attained eminence as a rabbinic authority and established a yeshivah (*kolel avrekhim)* for the training of outstanding rabbis. He was unsuccessful in his struggle to obtain official recognition for rabbis who were not government appointees. On the other hand he struggled successfully against a law requiring an official examination in Russian from Jewish teachers and also secured the withdrawal of a government decree prohibiting Jewish instruction in the *ḥeder.* At Spektor's instigation Samson Raphael *Hirsch wrote his book on the relationship of the Talmud to Judaism, which was submitted to the Russian government. He supported Isaac *Dembo of Petersburg in his successful campaign against the ban on *sheḥitah* in Russia. He frequently organized aid for stricken communities in Russia, Lithuania, and other countries. Individuals and communities in distress, from all areas of Jewish settlement, turned to him. He sought government permission for the provision of *kasher* food to Jewish soldiers, and maintained a soup kitchen in Kovno until his death. He was the only rabbi invited to the conference of Jewish leaders held in St. Petersburg (Leningrad) in 1881–82 to discuss the deteriorating position of the Jews. He later dispatched a manifesto to David *Asher, secretary of the chief rabbi of London, which resulted in protest meetings being held in England, France, Italy, and the U.S. These meetings, whose resolutions were submitted to the Russian government, attracted much publicity and led to the establishment of welfare funds. In later years he made similar pleas and participated in subsequent conferences of Jewish leaders, maintaining confidential contact with influential Jewish circles.

With the increasing Jewish emigration from Russia, he supported the efforts of the Ḥovevei Zion movement, thereby adding greatly to the movement's prestige. The preparatory meetings for the appointment of representatives to the *Kattowitz conference were held in his home, two delegates being appointed, though he refused to accept nomination as honorary trustee at the Ḥovevei Zion conference held in Druskininkai in 1887. After the movement was given official recognition, he publicly proclaimed the religious duty of settling in Ereẓ Israel, signing an appeal for the collection of funds for this purpose in synagogues on the eve of the Day of Atonement. On the question of agricultural labor in Ereẓ Israel in a *shemittah* ("sabbatical") year, he favored its permission by the nominal sale of land to a non-Jew, a measure which is employed to the present day. His ban on Corfu *etrogim* enabled the Palestinian variety to enter the market. He also concerned himself with the amelioration of the spiritual and religious needs of Jewish settlers in Argentina and the U.S. Spektor won universal admiration for his broad-mindedness and peace-loving disposition. In 1889 he was elected an honorary member of the *Society for the Promotion of Culture among the Jews of Russia. He was frequently requested to serve as arbitrator. In a dispute over *sheḥitah*, referred to him from London in 1891, he supported the chief rabbi against the ultra-Orthodox element.

His works are *Be'er Yiẓḥak* (1858; 1948^2); *Naḥal Yiẓḥak* (2 pts., 1872–84); *Ein Yiẓḥak* (2 pts., 1889–95); *Eẓ Peri* (1881; 1903); *Devar ha-Shemittah* (1889). His letters have been printed in various collections. His works contain commentaries and novellae to the Shulḥan Arukh, particularly responsa to questions submitted to him from the various Jewish communities in which he was regarded as the leading authority of his generation. Spektor exercised leniency, particularly in relieving the burden of many **agunot*. His 158 responsa on this subject reveal only three cases where he could not find a basis for permitting the woman to remarry. Many Torah institutions, including the Rabbi Isaac Elchanan Theological Seminary in New York, were named after him.

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[Geulah Bat Yehuda (Raphael)]

SPELLING, AARON (1923–2006). U.S. television producer, writer, and actor. Born in Dallas, Texas, Spelling enlisted in the U.S. Army Air Force in 1942 and served in Europe during World War II. He briefly worked as a reporter for the Army's newspaper, *Stars and Stripes*, and produced theatrical events for the Army's special services branch. After attending the University of Paris for one year, Spelling returned to Texas in 1946 to study drama at Southern Methodist University under the GI Bill. There he wrote several plays, two of which took Eugene O'Neill Awards. After graduating in 1950, he directed local theater and then moved to Los Angeles, where he began acting in television programs. He returned to writing and in 1956 sold a script, *Unrelenting Sky*, to *Zane Grey Theater*. Spelling continued writing for the program and in 1960 was named producer of the series. He continued creating and producing shows, including *The Lloyd Bridges Show* (1962–63) and *Burke's Law* (1963–66). In 1968, Spelling hit it big with the action series *The Mod Squad* (1968–73), kicking off similar shows, such as *The Rookies* (1972–76), *S.W.A.T.* (1975–77), *Starsky and Hutch* (1975–79), and *Charlie's Angels* (1976–81). In 1976, Spelling and Mike Nichols took a chance with *Family* (1976–80), but the Emmy-nominated series about a middle-class family that was a win with critics failed to find its audience. Spelling also sought to balance his lighter fare with socially responsible television movies, such as *The Boy in the Plastic Bubble* (1976) and *The Best Little Girl in the World* (1981). Riding high from his success with *Charlie's Angels*, Spelling introduced shows that blended action with glitz, such as *Love Boat* (1977–84), *Fantasy Island* (1978–84), *Vega$* (1978–81), and *Hart to Hart* (1979–84). In 1981, Spelling further refined his formula for commercial success by focusing on the trials and tribulations of the wealthy with *Hotel* (1983–88), *Dynasty* (1981–89), and its spin-off *The Colbys* (1985–87). His first feature film was the hit family comedy, *Mr. Mom* (1983). Just as the late 1980s saw a decline in Spelling's appeal, the launch of the Fox network helped reinvigorate his empire with more youth-oriented shows, such as *Beverly Hills, 90210* (1990–2000) and *Melrose Place* (1992–9). In 1993, Spelling produced HBO's *And the Band Played On*, an expose of the social, political, and personal realities of AIDS. After producing more than 200 television shows, Spelling said he had found personal satisfaction in the success of *7th Heaven* (1996–2006), a television series about a functional religious family.

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[Adam Wills (2nd ed.)]

SPELLMAN, FRANK (1922–), weightlifter, Olympic and Maccabiah medalist, member of the U.S. Weightlifting Hall of Fame and the Helms Hall of Fame. Born in Malvern, Pennsylvania, Spellman was orphaned at the age of seven and raised in a Jewish orphanage in Philadelphia. Originally trained in track and gymnastics, in his late teens Spellman came under the tutelage of weightlifter Dan Leone, and in 1942 he won the U.S. junior middleweight title. In December of that year he was drafted into the Army Air Corps, where he served until his honorable discharge in December 1945. Spellman, who had maintained his training, returned to Pennsylvania and was accepted to the well-known York Barbell team. At the 1946 U.S. Amateur Athletic Union (AAU) competition, he took first place in the middleweight division, and later that year finished 3rd at the World Championships in Paris, while helping the American weightlifters win the world team title. In 1947, Spellman moved down a notch to second place at the AAU Nationals, but moved up to second place at the World Championships in Philadelphia. Now at the peak of his form, in 1948 for the second time in his young career he won the AAU middleweight national title. Then, as the No. 1 middleweight lifter for the U.S. Olympic team, Spellman won the gold medal at the 1948 London games. After 1948, Spellman remained a force in weightlifting, finishing in second place in the AAU Nationals four times between 1949 and 1954. In addition, he won a gold medal at the 1950 Maccabiah games. Spellman did not compete in the national or world championships after 1954, though he did compete in the California State Championships, taking first place in 1954, 1957, and 1958. At the age of 38 and after a two-year hiatus from participation in any competitions, Spellman decided to close out his career by making one final appearance at the 1961 AAU National Championships, in Santa Monica, California. To the surprise of many weightlifting enthusiasts, Spellman overcame the odds to win the middleweight division for his third U.S. title. Besides his championship titles and two gold medals over the course of his 16-year career, Spellman set four American records and two Olympic world records. From 1957 to 1961, Spellman was the coach and mentor of Carl Miller, who became a highly-acclaimed weightlifting and strength trainer. Spellman eventually settled in Florida, and was still lifting into his eighties and acting as an unofficial coach of aspiring weightlifters.

[Robert B. Klein (2nd ed.)]

°**SPENCER, JOHN** (1630–1693), English theologian and Hebraist. Spencer was master of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, from 1667 onward and in 1677 became dean of Ely. He published a *Dissertatio de Urim et Thummim* (1669), a kind of prologue to his more famous work, *De legibus Hebraeorum Ritualibus et earum Rationibus* (1685), which laid the foundations of the science of comparative religion. In this work Spencer maintained that many Jewish laws and customs could be linked with those of other Semitic peoples, producing examples from sacrificial rites, the Temple and its appurtenances, and the institution of the scapegoat.

In the second work (2 vols., 1727), which only appeared years after his death, he expanded his thesis to include rabbinic institutions (e.g., *tefillin*), basing much of his speculation on *Maimonides' *Guide of the Perplexed*. A third edition of the work, also in two volumes, was published at Tuebingen in 1732. Some of Spencer's writings appeared in Blasio Ugolino's *Thesaurus Antiquitatum Sacrarum* (Venice, 1744–69).

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SPERBER, DAN (1942–), French social and cognitive scientist. His father was the Galician-born novelist and essayist Manès Sperber. Born in France, Dan Sperber was educated at the Sorbonne, where he earned a Licence ès Lettres in 1962, and at Oxford, where he received a B.Litt. in 1968. The director of research at the Centre National de Recherches Scientifiques (CNRS) in Paris, Sperber was well known for his work in developing what he terms an "epidemiology of representations" in his naturalistic theory of culture.

Sperber's early research focused on the anthropology of religion from the perspective of innate mental structures; he argues that these structures have played an important role in the development of religious beliefs and in the way that beliefs "fixate" in the human mind and are "extraordinarily catching." His studies of linguistics, experimental psychology, the philosophy of science, and evolutionary biology led to his further exploration of cultural theory, using a naturalistic approach linked to evolution. His works include *Rethinking Symbolism* (1975); *On Anthropological Knowledge* (1985); and *Explaining Culture: A Naturalistic Approach* (1996). His "epidemiology of representations," which may be conceived as a "contagion" of ideas, concerns the processes of replication and transformation of cultural beliefs, which Sperber likens to models of the transmission of disease.

Sperber also developed, with British linguist Deirdre Wilson, a cognitive approach to communication that has become known as "relevance theory." Their 1986 work, *Relevance: Communication and Cognition*, has received much attention; their theory, though influential, has also generated controversy, as has Sperber's "epidemiology of representations." In *Relevance*, the authors argue that human cognition relies on perceived relevance: that humans pay attention only to information that seems relevant. The work also approaches the study of reasoning by considering the role of contextual information, and questions contemporary views on the nature of verbal comprehension.

Sperber was a visiting lecturer at several institutions, including Cambridge University, the British Academy, the London School of Economics, the Van Leer Institute in Jerusalem, the University of Michigan, the University of Bologna, the University of Hong Kong, and the Institute for Advanced Study at Princeton University.

[Dorothy Bauhoff (2nd ed.)]

SPERBER, DANIEL (1940–), historian and Talmud scholar. Born in Wales in 1940, he moved to Israel after high school and studied at the Kol Torah and Hebron yeshivot. In the 1960s he studied the history of art at England's Courtauld Institute. In 1978 he became a full professor of Talmud at Bar-Ilan University. He has written on economic history, as in *Roman Palestine, 200–400: Money and Prices* and in *Roman Palestine. 200–400: The Land* and on Jewish art and history, *Minhagei Israel* (1998), *Why Jews Do What They Do* (1999), and the *City in Roman Palestine* (2001), among other topics. From 1985 he was a member of the Academy of the Hebrew Language. In 1992 he received the Israel Prize for Jewish Studies.

SPERBER, MANÈS (1905–1984), French author and editor. Born in Zablotov, Eastern Galicia, Sperber spent much of his youth in Vienna, where he was prominent in the *Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir Zionist youth movement. He was assistant to the psychologist Alfred *Adler, whose life and work Sperber discussed in a study published in 1926. From 1927 to 1933 he taught psychology in Berlin and founded a psychological review. For some years he was an active communist, but finally left the party in 1937. After the Nazis came to power in Germany, he escaped to France. Later he became a director of the important French publishing house of Calmann-Lévy and turned to literature, first writing in German and later in French.

His main works were *Et le Buisson Devint Cendre* (1944; *The Burned Bramble*, 1951); *Plus Profond que l'abîme* (1949; *The Abyss*, 1952); *La Baie Perdue* (1952; *Journey Without End*, 1954), an epic of the underground; the essay *Le Talon d'Achille* (1957; *The Achilles Heel*, 1959); and *Man and His Deeds* (1970), an alternative to the politics of the present. Like Arthur *Koestler, he depicts the moral collapse of the revolutionary edifice and the disillusionment of its architects. He parts company with Koestler when he propounds a positive attitude to Jewishness and is deeply immersed in Jewish culture. This is particularly noticeable in the story "*Qu'une larme dans l'ocean*," which forms part of *La Baie Perdue*. Here the novelist sets forth the eternal spiritual resistance of the Jews. In his preface to the book, André Malraux (d. 1976) eulogized it as "one of the Jewish people's greatest stories."

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[Arnold Mandel]

SPERO, NANCY (1926–), U.S. painter. Cleveland-born, feminist artist Nancy Spero studied at the Art Institute of Chicago (1945–49) and at the Atelier André l'Hote and the Ecole des Beaux-Arts (1949–50) in Paris. While at the Art Institute, she met the artist Leon *Golub, whom she married in 1951.

Conceived while Spero and Golub were living in Paris from 1959 until 1964, her early *Black Paintings* show figures materializing from a dark background. Several of these canvases portray women segregated into stereotypical roles, such as a mother or a prostitute. In Paris, Spero had her first solo exhibition at the Galerie Breteau (1962). Following the couple's move to New York in 1964, Spero initiated *The War Series*

(1966–70), a group of gouache drawings on paper that often show the effects of bombing by utilizing iconography that equates the male phallus with annihilation. From 1969–72, Spero worked on the *Codex Artaud*, her first scroll and a format she would explore for many years. Based on the writings of Antonin Artaud, Spero juxtaposes typed excerpts from Artaud's poems with painted imagery arranged in a collage-like fashion on strips of paper. For Spero, Artaud's prose, which describes his alienation and anguish, metaphorically articulated the position of women in a patriarchal world.

Spero began designing museum installations in the late 1980s. After reading Bertolt Brecht's poem about Marie Sanders, a woman who slept with a Jew and was subsequently murdered for her perceived transgression, Spero made several installations about her, including *Ballad of Marie Sanders, The Jew's Whore* at Smith College Museum of Art, Northhampton, Massachusetts (1990) and *The Ballad of Marie Sanders/Voices: Jewish Women in Time* at the Jewish Museum (1993). The latter installation reproduced photographs showing victimized women in the Warsaw Ghetto, concentration camps, and other Nazi-related brutalities, as well as women in a more powerful position, such as female Israeli soldiers and female Israeli and Palestinian peace activists. Spero also depicted Sanders in a paper print and a scroll.

From 1969 Spero was a member of Women Artists in Revolution (WAR), a group dedicated to female equality in the arts. She co-founded the Artists in Residence Gallery, an art gallery for women based in New York City, in 1972.

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[Samantha Baskind (2nd ed.)]

SPERO, SHUBERT (1923–), U.S. rabbi. Born in New York City, Spero received his rabbinic ordination at Yeshiva and Mesifta Torah VaDaath in 1947. After serving as rabbi at the Young Israel of Brookline, Mass. (1947–50) he assumed the same position at Young Israel of Cleveland (1950–83). He holds a B.S.S. from the CCNY, an M.A. from Case Western Reserve University, and a Ph.D. from Case Western Reserve University (1971). His thesis was on the subject, "The Justification and Significance of Religious Belief." He also served as the secretary of the Orthodox Rabbinical Council of Cleveland and lecturer in philosophy at the Cleveland Institute of Art. After making *aliyah* to Israel in 1983, he has served as Irving Stone Professor of Basic Jewish Thought at Bar-Ilan University.

For over 40 years Spero made contributions to Jewish thought in areas of moral philosophy, aesthetics, religious Zionism, and the accommodation between traditional Judaism and modern life. His published works include *Faith in the Night* (*A Bedside Companion for the Sick*) (1957); a compilation of Maimonides' writings, *The Faith of a Jew* (1949); and *Story of Chasam Sofer* (1946). His book *God in All Seasons* (1967) discusses Jewish festivals as an integral force in the life of the observant Jew. His major philosophical work *Morality, Halakha and the Jewish Tradition* (1982) is an attempt to present a comprehensive study of the morality of Judaism. In this work he argues that the ultimate creative task of man is to create himself as a moral personality.

After many years of research he published his second major work, *Holocaust and Return to Zion* (2000). In this book he analyzes the idea of history from both a Jewish and a philosophical perspective. He presents a novel interpretation of exile in Jewish history, in which it has the special function of bringing about the slow, progressive development of certain key factors in Jewish and world history that make a renewed Jewish sovereign polity possible.

These key factors are from the Jewish side: the presence of a sizable number of Jews, identifiable as Biblical Israel, in Europe by the middle of the 19th century, in possession of a Torah which had been elaborated into a viable philosophic worldview and a comprehensive way of life, and from the side of the larger society, the spread of liberal democracy, the doctrine of human rights, the growth of science and technology, and the serious efforts to establish institutions working toward an international order. As he understands it, the improbable conjunction of these key factors made possible the reestablishment of the Jewish state within the historic boundaries in 1948 – a return that had been promised by the Hebrew prophets.

Spero suffered a great personal tragedy in the 2003 suicide bombing at Café Hillel in Jerusalem. Both his son-in-law, physician Dr. David Appelbaum, and his granddaughter, Nava, who was to be married the next day, were killed in the blast. Spero and his family in the following years dedicated themselves to establishing humanitarian and religious projects in memory of his son-in-law and granddaughter.

[Shalom Freedman (2nd ed.)]

SPERTUS INSTITUTE OF JEWISH STUDIES (formerly the College of Jewish Studies), Chicago educational institute organized in 1924 by the Board of Jewish Education of Chicago to provide opportunities for systematic Jewish studies and for training teachers. The College opened under the leadership of Alexander Dushkin, the executive director of the Board of Jewish Education, with five students, who met in rented quarters in different parts of the city. Dushkin later established the Department of Education at The Hebrew University. In 1935 Leo Honor, the college's administrator, succeeded Dushkin as director of the Board of Jewish Education with Samuel M. Blumenfield serving as registrar and, later, dean of the college. Under the leadership of Dr. Leo Honor and Rabbi Samuel Blumenfield, the identity of the college as a distinct institution began to emerge. In 1942, it was authorized to grant degrees by the Illinois Department of Education. As a result of the steady growth of the college, the Board of Jewish Education recommended that it become a separate corporation with its own board of governors. In 1945 the college was incorporated as a Not-for-Profit Illinois Corporation. In its charter, issued that year, the institutional mission was defined as "Maintaining and operating a College in which youths and adults may receive an education on a college and post graduate level in… any subject relating to Jews and Judaism." This represented an expansion of the college's original mission of being primarily a teachers' training institution. In 1946 it moved into its own building and expanded its program to include studies leading to the Bachelor of Hebrew Literature degree and teachers' diplomas. With the addition to the faculty of distinguished scholars from Europe and Israel, the college initiated graduate studies. Spertus College now offers eight post-graduate degrees, and through distance learning options serves students in 36 U.S. states and six foreign countries. The Spertus Center for Nonprofit Management provides working professionals with tools to succeed in the nonprofit and public service sectors, through its master's program and continuing education opportunities.

From the 1940s until the 1960s, the college served as the central institution in Chicago and in the American Midwest for the training of Jewish educators and as the central institution in Chicago for Hebrew culture, thereby expressing the ideology of Cultural Zionism that characterized its early history, programs, and curricula. By 1948, a department of graduate studies offering bachelor's, master's, and doctoral degrees had been initiated. During the late 1950s and early 1960s, cantors and choir directors were trained for synagogues through its Institute for Jewish Music. From 1965 the college has served other colleges and universities as a department of Judaic studies, in which students may pursue a major or minor curriculum as well as elective courses. From the 1940s until the mid-1960s, the college operated a summer camp, Camp Sharon, and initiated and substantially expanded continuing education programs in Chicago and surrounding suburbs. Many renowned refugee scholars who migrated to America to escape Hitler served on the Spertus faculty during these years.

In 1968, Maurice Spertus donated his impressive collection of Jewish ceremonial objects to the college, thus beginning the Spertus Museum. In 1970, the College of Jewish Studies honored the outstanding and ongoing support of the families of Maurice and his brother Herman Spertus by changing its name to the Spertus College of Judaica. In 1974, Spertus moved to its present Michigan Avenue location. That same year, Norman and Helen Asher, recognizing the importance of a first class library, endowed what is now the Norman and Helen Asher Library, which contains more than 100,000 books. The Asher Library also includes the Targ Center for Jewish Music and the Chicago Jewish Archives.

In 1968, the College of Jewish Studies was officially separated from the Board of Jewish Education. Among the distinguished scholars who served on the faculty were Simon Halkin, Simon Rawidowicz, Meyer Waxman, Samuel Feigen, Moses Shulvass, Judah Rosenthal, and Byron Sherwin. Samuel B. Blumenfield was its first president, followed in 1954 by Abraham Duker, and in 1962, by David Weinstein. In 1984, Dr. Howard A. Sulkin became the organization's seventh president.

In 1971, Spertus College started the first college level course in the Midwest in Holocaust Studies, and in 1975 Spertus Museum created the Bernard and Rochelle Zell Holocaust Memorial, the first permanent Holocaust exhibition in North America, the centerpiece of the Bernard and Rochelle Zell Center for Holocaust Studies.

In 1987, Spertus College established The Joseph Cardinal Bernardin Center for the Study of Eastern European Jewry. Jointly sponsored with the Archdiocese of Chicago, the center is dedicated to promoting interfaith dialogue and increased understanding between eastern European and Jewish communities.

In 1993, the Spertus College of Judaica officially became the Spertus Institute of Jewish Studies, reflecting its multidisciplinary identity. Along with the name change, reflecting its multifaceted approach to the study of Jewish culture, came a renewed declaration of institutional goals and new long term strategies on how to implement them.

[Samuel M. Blumenfield]

SPEWACK, BELLA (1899?–1990), U.S. journalist, screenwriter, and playwright. Born in Transylvania, Bella Cohen emigrated with her mother to the Lower East Side of New York in 1903. After graduating from Washington Irving High School, she began writing for the socialist newspaper *The Call* and also worked as a press agent for various organizations. Among them was the Girl Scouts, where she is reputed to have invented the idea for the Girl Scout cookie. In 1922, Bella Cohen married Samuel Spewack, a newspaperman for the New York *World,* and they traveled together to Berlin and Moscow as foreign correspondents. While in Berlin in 1922, Spewack penned her posthumously-published memoir, *Streets: A Memoir of the Lower East Side* (1995) and also began writing short stories. "The Laugh," published in *Best Short Stories of 1925*, was one of more than 40 short stories she wrote in her twenties. Developing their talent in association, Bella and Sam Spewack wrote a number of successful comedies for stage and screen, including the plays *Boy Meets Girl* (1935), a satire on Hollywood which ran on Broadway for 669 performances; *Clear All Wires* (1932), a farcical newspaper melodrama; *My Three Angels* (1953); and *The Festival* (1955); and films such as *My Favorite Wife* (1940), starring Cary Grant; and *Weekend at the Waldorf* (1945), starring Ginger Rogers. Perhaps their best known works are the books they wrote for two highly successful Cole Porter musicals, *Leave It To Me!* (1938), and *Kiss Me Kate* (1948), which won the Tony Award that year. Spewack was deeply involved in the theatrical and intellectual world of mid-twentieth century New York City. Her papers, in the Samuel and Bella Spewack Collection in the Rare Book and Manuscript Library of Columbia University, include correspondence with George and Ira Gershwin, George S. Kaufman, Thornton Wilder, Mary Martin, Lillian Hellman, Eleanor Roosevelt, and many others. In 1953 the Spewacks founded a sports club in Ramat Gan, Israel, for child victims of poliomyelitis.

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[Andrea Most (2nd ed.)]

SPEYER (Fr. **Spire**; Eng. sometimes **Spires**), city in the Rhenish Palatinate, Germany. Although local traditions, largely legendary, speak of Jewish settlement in Speyer in Roman times, Jews probably first came to the city in the early 11th century. Documentary evidence for a Jewish settlement in the city dates only from 1084, when Bishop Ruediger settled Jews in the village of Altspeyer, which he incorporated into Speyer "to increase the honor of the town a thousand fold." At that time Jews fled from *Mainz for fear of persecution because of a fire they were accused of having caused. The bishop allotted them a special residential quarter and gave them a plot from Church lands to be used as a cemetery. They were also allowed to build a protective wall around their quarter. In a privilege, dated Sept. 13, 1084, Bishop Ruediger granted them unrestricted freedom of trade and considerable autonomy. The **archisynagogos*, later also called "bishop of the Jews" (*Judaeorum episcopi*), was the spiritual head of the community; in lawsuits between Jews he was permitted to give rulings in accordance with Jewish law. The Jews were also expressly allowed to sell to Christians meat which was ritually unclean for Jews, and they did not have to pay any duties or tolls when entering or leaving the city. They also had the right to engage Christian servants. The privilege granted by Bishop Ruediger was confirmed by Emperor Henry IV on Feb. 19, 1090, to *Judah b. Kalonymus, David b. Meshullam, and Moses b. Jekuthiel of Speyer; in addition to renewing the privileges granted by Bishop Ruediger, the emperor guaranteed the Jews freedom of trade in his empire as well as his protection. Henry's privilege document is of more than passing interest to the historian, since city privileges were at the time a new category of constitutional documents in Germany. By 1096 a synagogue had been built. The *mikveh*, first mentioned in 1125, was in the vicinity.

The Jewish community of Speyer was one of the first Rhine communities to suffer during the First *Crusade. On a Sabbath, the eighth of Iyyar (May 3, 1096), a mob of crusaders surrounded the synagogue intent upon attacking the community while all were gathered in one spot. Forewarned, the Jews had concluded their service early and fled to their homes. Nevertheless, 10 Jews were caught outside their homes and killed. One woman committed suicide rather than submit to baptism, an act that was to be repeated frequently during the period. When Bishop John heard of what occurred, he came to the defense of the Jews with his militia, prevented further bloodshed, and punished some of the murderers. As an added precaution, he hid some of the Jews in villages surrounding Speyer, where they stayed until the danger had passed. The Jews returned to their homes, still fearful of attacks against them. Jews living in Altspeyer (the upper part of the city) did not attend the synagogue located in the lower portion of the city because of such fears. Instead, they held services at the *bet midrash* of R. Judah b. Kalonymus until a new synagogue was erected in Altspeyer in 1104.

The community grew and prospered during the 12th century; its economic position was excellent and it established itself as a center of Torah. Among the scholars of Speyer in this period were Eliakim b. Meshullam ha-Levi, a student of *Isaac b. Judah of Mainz; Kalonymus b. Isaac, known as a mystic as well as a talmudist; *Isaac b. Asher ha-Levi; Jacob b. Isaac ha-Levi, a German tosafist and author of a dirge on the Crusade period; *Samuel b. Kalonymus he-Ḥasid; Shemariah b. Mordecai, a correspondent of R. Jacob *Tam and a great talmudic authority; Meir b. Kalonymus, the author of a commentary to the *Sifra, Sifrei*, and *Mekhilta*; and Judah b. Kalonymus b. Meir, the author of a talmudic lexicon, *Yiḥusei Tanna'im ve-Amora'im*. In 1195, after severe persecutions following a *blood libel, Emperor Henry VI demanded that the Jews be compensated for damages and that the burned synagogue and ruined houses be rebuilt. Under the guidance of R. Ḥezekiah ha-Nagid, the Jews rebuilt their community. Early in its history the community developed a close relationship with the other Rhine communities and particularly with the closely allied cities of Mainz and Worms (see *Shum). In a series of synods beginning in 1196 they promulgated a series of communal decrees known as *takkanot Shum*, later to be of decisive influence on all Ashkenazi communities. The synod of 1223 took place in Speyer; among the most important scholars participating in the synods was R. *Simḥah b. Samuel of Speyer, although Speyer had then lost the dominant position it had held as a Torah center.

A flourishing community continued to exist in Speyer until the middle of the 14th century, although the Jews were drawn into a conflict between the bishop and the burghers in 1265, and in 1282 a blood libel brought suffering upon the community. In 1286 many Jews of Speyer and the neighboring communities of Worms, Mainz, and *Oppenheim were involved in the ill-fated attempt at immigration to Ereẓ Israel led by *Meir b. Baruch of Rothenburg. In December 1339 both the bishop and the municipality promised their protection to the Jewish community for a period of ten years. The city possessed a *Judengasse* but Christians lived on it as well, and Jews owned houses elsewhere in the city. The community had a high degree of autonomy, administered by a "*Judenbischof*" together with a Jewish municipal council. In this period the community maintained not only a synagogue and a cemetery but also a communal wedding hall, a hospital for the indigent poor (**hekdesh*), and a *matzah* bakery. The community suffered somewhat during a blood libel in 1342; it was, however, to meet its destruction during the *Black Death persecutions. In January 1349 a mob gathered and stormed the Jewish quarter. Some Jews locked themselves into their houses and set fire to them; others were killed by the mob, while a small number allowed themselves to be baptized in order to save their lives. Among the martyrs was the scholarly R. Eliakim, treasurer of the community's hospital. The loss of life was very great; out of fear of contamination, the burghers packed Jewish corpses in wine barrels and threw them into the Rhine. A small number were able to flee to neighboring communities such as *Heidelberg and Sinzheim. All Jewish property was confiscated or destroyed by the mob in an attempt to find hidden gold in Jewish homes. Tombstones were dragged away and utilized in the building of towers and walls, while the graveyard was plowed and sown with corn. All debts owed to the Jews were annulled. Emperor Charles IV absolved the city's inhabitants of any wrongdoing and allowed the city to retain confiscated Jewish properties. Although their houses in Altspeyer remained in Christian hands, Jewish autonomy was restored in 1354 and part of the cemetery returned, together with the right to rebuild communal institutions.

With much difficulty the community was rebuilt, but without any of its prior standing as a center of learning. Emperor *Wenceslaus issued a new letter of protection (see **Schutzjuden*) to the Jews of Speyer in 1394. Nevertheless, in 1405 they were expelled from the city and allowed to return only in 1421. In 1430 they were again expelled, returning again in 1434, only to be driven out once more a year later. After an interval of 30 years they were again domiciled in Speyer. In 1467 the city granted the Jews their protection for a period of ten years. Yet in 1468 and 1472 Bishop Matthias von Rammung issued anti-Jewish decrees, including a ban on charging interest and practicing usury; forbidding Jews to appear publicly on Christian feast days; forcing Jews to wear distinctive clothing; forbidding the building of a school or synagogue without the bishop's permission; and an edict confining Speyer Jews to a ghetto. By that time, however, the number of Jews in Speyer was very small. In fact, from the 16th to the 18th centuries, only individual Jews lived in the city. Those who fled from Speyer settled in neighboring places such as *Bruchsal, Berghausen, Harthausen, Dudenhofen, Otterstadt, and *Landau.

In the 19th century the community was renewed; by 1828 it was flourishing once more. A new *talmud torah* was opened, employing a permanent teacher. In 1829 the statutes of the community, which determined the synagogue regulations in particular, were published. In 1831 a Jewish elementary school was dedicated and in 1837 a synagogue, with an adjoining *mikveh*; the synagogue was enlarged in 1866. A new Jewish cemetery was consecrated in 1888. There were several societies for social self-help, which united in 1910 to aid the needy. The board of the community consisted of five members in 1920. At the beginning of the 20th century Dr. Adolf Wolf *Salvendi and Dr. Steckelmacher were rabbis of Speyer.

Holocaust Period

In 1933 there were 269 Jews in Speyer, since many had previously moved to other German cities. That same year all the community's cultural associations as well as the Jewish youth societies were banned. The Speyer municipal government investigated the proprietors of firms and placed orders only with "Aryan" firms. In May 1934 the community initiated courses for the study of Hebrew; in 1935 a conference of Jewish youth took place in Speyer. In subsequent years, up to the outbreak of the war, many emigrated because of increasing antisemitic excesses. Almost all young Jews left the city. In 1939 there were still 77 Jews there; in 1940 there were 60. Of these, 51 were deported on Oct. 22, 1940, to the *Gurs concentration camp in France and almost all the rest to camps in Eastern Europe, where they perished. No new community was established in Speyer after the war. The synagogue that had been built in 1836 was destroyed in 1938, but the cemetery still existed in 1971. Remains of the old Jews' court and Jewish public baths were preserved in the Palatinate Historical Museum in Speyer, along with a number of Jewish tombstones from the 12th and 15th centuries and Jewish ritual objects from the former community.

The medieval synagogue in Speyer, dating back to 1104, is the oldest Jewish religious structure preserved in Germany. Archaeological excavations in 2001 brought new findings about the history of the building, the interior, and the early history of the Jews in the episcopal city. In 2004–2005 the Palatinate Historical Museum in Speyer held the exhibition "The Jews of Europe in the Middle Ages," which included a computer-based reconstruction of the synagogue. Near the site of the synagogue, a plaque (inaugurated in 1978) commemorates the building that was destroyed in 1938. Another memorial to the former Jewish community was consecrated in 1992, bearing the names of all the Speyer Jews who perished during the Nazi era.

After 1990 Jews from the former Soviet Union settled in Speyer. They are partially affiliated with the Jewish community of Rhine Palatinate in Neustadt. In 2005 there were about 50 members. The Neustadt community planned to open a new community center with a synagogue in 2006. Besides Jewish immigrants from the former Soviet Union, a Jewish community was founded in Speyer in 1996. There were 100 members in 2005.

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[B. Mordechai Ansbacher / Larissa Daemmig (2nd ed.)]

SPEYER, German and American family of international bankers and philanthropists. Progenitor of the family was MICHAEL ISAAC SPEYER (d. 1692) who, on his marriage in 1644, established residence in the Frankfurt ghetto and became community head. His great-grandson ISAAC MICHAEL SPEYER (d. 1807) was an Imperial Court Jew. The latter's nephew JOSEPH LAZARUS SPEYER (1783–1846) married into the Frankfurt banking family Ellissen, and his son LAZARUS JOSEPH SPEYER (1810–1876) carried on business from 1836 under the hyphenated name Lazard Speyer-Ellissen. The latter's partner, PHILIPP SPEYER (1815–1876), moved to New York in 1837. Together with his brother GUSTAV (1825–1883) he established the bank Philipp Speyer & Co. in 1845, later Speyer & Co. Together with its Frankfurt affiliate, it placed the first North American Civil War loan in Germany. Gustav's American-born sons, JAMES (1861–1941) and EDGAR (1862–1932) piloted the family concern to its height. While remaining partners of the Frankfurt house, whose last head was their brother-in-law EDUARD BEIT VON SPEYER (1860–1933), James conducted the American business and Edgar took charge of Speyer Brothers, London. Edgar was made a baronet, but, suffering defamation during World War I, returned to New York. Speyer & Co. alone, and sometimes jointly with *Kuhn, Loeb & Co. and National City Bank, led syndicates which raised European capital for investment in American industry. This movement was reversed after World War I, when a subsidiary, New York & Foreign Investing Corporation, mobilized American capital for investment, mainly through the Frankfurt branch, in German and other Central European issues. Absorbing a Berlin private bank in 1927, the Frankfurt branch became temporarily prominent in the international expansion of the German rayon industry. However, the worldwide crisis after 1929 stopped the trans-atlantic flow of capital, and the German and American houses were liquidated in the 1930s. Institutions benefiting from the family's philanthropic interests included Frankfurt University; Museum of the City of New York; and Mount Sinai Hospital, New York.

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[Hanns G. Reissner]

SPEYER, BENJAMIN (18th century), communal leader and *shtadlan*, merchant in Mogilev-Podolski, and purveyor to the Russian government. In 1768 Speyer acted with Baruch Yovon (Yavan) to foil Jacob *Frank's appeal to the Russian government for protection. In 1770 Speyer successfully obtained the suspension of a decree expelling Jews from Courland and Riga. When the Frankists sent the "red letters" to the Jews of Russia in 1800, Speyer translated them for Governor-General Gudovich of Kamenets-Podolski, signing himself with the title "court councillor." In 1804 he proposed to the government council in charge of legislation for Jews that they eliminate unfair taxation.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Yu. Hessen, in: YE, 16 (c. 1912), 82.

[Yehuda Slutsky]

SPEYER, SIR EDGAR (1862–1932), British railway financier. Edgar Speyer, a member of the famous German banking family, was born in Frankfurt and came to England in 1887 as a director of Speyer Brothers, the family bank, engaged in currency exchange and railway finance. He was naturalized in 1892. From the mid-1890s he was one of the most important figures in procuring the finance and development of London's "tubes," its electric-powered subways, usually in conjunction with the American railway builder C.T. Yerkes. London's Underground system owes much to Speyer. He was made a baronet (a hereditary knight) in 1906 and was made a member of the Privy Council in 1909. During World War I, Speyer was the victim of a concerted, highly unpleasant campaign against him as an alleged pro-German. In 1915 he offered to resign as a privy councilor, but the offer was declined by the prime minister; at nearly the same time, a lawsuit was brought against him and Sir Ernest *Cassel, another German-born member, requiring them to justify their continued membership. As a result of these pressures, Speyer moved permanently to New York. According to historians, however, there seems no doubt that Speyer was, in some sense, pro-German and was in regular touch with his Frankfurt business. In 1921 he was struck off the list of privy councilors and was accused, in a government white paper, of "trading with the enemy" in wartime. He continued to live in New York but died after an operation in Germany, ironically less than a year before Hitler came to power.

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[William D. Rubinstein (2nd ed.)]

SPICES. The Bible has no special word for spice. In the talmudic and midrashic literature the term *tavlin* is used, from the verb *tavel* (תבל), which is apparently connected with the root *balol* ("to mix"). This term was employed metaphorically by R. Joshua b. Ḥananiah in his reply to questions by "the emperor" (probably Hadrian): "Why has the Sabbath dish such a fragrant odor?" To this R. Joshua replied: "We have a certain spice (*tavlin*) called the Sabbath, which we put into it [the Sabbath dish] and which gives it a fragrant odor" (Shab. 119a). Spiced foods were very popular among the Jews of Ereẓ Israel and Babylonia, even as they are today among Jews from Oriental countries who know several dozen varieties of spices, special favorites being the pungent-tasting ones, principally pepper, that stimulate the appetite. Such spices apparently also have some disinfectant action under the inferior conditions of food hygiene prevalent in the East. The general name for spices is משביחי אוכלין (*mashbiḥei okhelin*, "food improvers"; Sif. Deut. 107, where seven kinds of spices are mentioned). Another term used is צִיקֵי קְדֵרָה (*ẓikei kederah*; Yoma 75a; Ḥul. 77b; et al.).

Among the "food-improving" spices may also be included pungent-tasting vegetables, such as *garlic, the *leek, the *onion, etc. Some aromatic plants (*incenses and perfumes), such as *cinnamon and *saffron, were also used as spices. In addition to these aromatic plants and vegetables, the Bible mentions four kinds of spices, *hyssop, *caper, *cumin, and *fennel-flower, while talmudic literature refers to dozens of varieties, the most important of which are the following.

AMOMUM. The word *ḥamam* mentioned in the Mishnah (Uk. 3:5; et al.) refers, according to Asaph ha-Rofe, to the seed of the pungent-tasting, aromatic plants of the genus *Amomum* of the Zingiberaceae – ginger family – such as *Amomum cardamomum*. Called *hel* in Arabic, it is popular among Oriental communities as an additive to coffee. Some hold that the "principal spices" (Ex. 30:23) refer to these plants.

ASAFETIDA. The *ḥiltit* of the Mishnah is the plant *Ferula asafetida*, the congener of *galbanum*, and, like it, has an unpleasant aroma but flavors a dish, and is still used in Iran. Mentioned together with asafetida is a spice named *ti'ah* (Uk. 3:5), held by some to be the root of the same plant.

CAPER. The fruit, *aviyyonah*, and the flower buds, *ẓalat*, of the caper plant were eaten pickled either in salt or in vinegar.

CARAWAY. The *karbos* of the Mishnah (Kil. 2:5 – this is the correct reading), which is identified in the Jerusalem Talmud (MS Rome, *ibid.* 2:5, 27d) refers to *Carum carvi*, the seed of which was used as a spice and the thick root as a vegetable.

COSTUS. The *kosht*, which is mentioned among the "food improvers" (Sif. Deut. 107; cf. Uk. 3:5) and among the ingredients of the incense used in the Temple (Ker. 6a), has been identified with the aromatic spice *Costus*, which was extracted from species of plants belonging to the ginger family. According to another view, the *Costus* of the ancients is to be identified with *Aucklandia costus* (= *Aplotaxixhappa*), a fragrant plant which is a member of the Compositae family.

CUMIN. The seed of the *kammon* of the Bible and the literature of the sages was used as a spice on bread during baking.

DILL. Called *shevet* in the Mishnah, dill is the plant *Anethum graveolens* used today mainly as a spice in pickled cucumbers. In mishnaic times its foliage, stems, and seed were used as a spice (Ma'as. 4:5), and it was sown for this purpose (Pe'ah 3:2). It is an umbelliferous plant with yellow flowers, which grows wild in the Negev (it is popularly but erroneously called *shamir*).

DODDER. This plant is identified with plants of the genus *Cuscuta* of which there are many species that are parasitic on cultivated and wild plants in Israel. Dodder is called in the Mishnah *keshut*, the meaning of which is "hair," since these plants are leafless and have the appearance of entwined hair. The seed sprouts on the ground, and the plant winds itself around the stem of another plant, extracting its sap by putting forth suckers into it. The fruit of the dodder was used as a spice, mainly in wine (Pliny, *Historia naturalis* 13:46). In the Talmud it is mentioned that the dodder is a parasitic plant, its life depending on the plant to which it is attached (Er. 28b).

FENNEL. The umbelliferous plant *Foeniculum vulgare*, leaves of which are used as a spice similar to dill, fennel is called *gufnan* in the Mishnah (Dem. 1:1) and *shumar* in the Talmud. The Jerusalem Talmud (Dem. 1:1, 21d) states that the Galileans did not consider it a spice, but it was regarded as such in Judah.

FENNEL-FLOWER. Known as *keẓah* in the Bible and the literature of the sages, the seed of the fennel-flower was used as a spice on bread.

GINGER. The Indian plant *Zingibar officinale*, from the rootstock of which an aromatic spice was made, ginger is called *zangevila* in the Talmud and was sold both dried and fresh (Ber. 36b; Yoma 81b). In the Talmud (*ibid.*) it is also called "the *himalta* which comes from India."

HYSSOP. The plant *Majorana syriaca* is called *ezov* in the Bible and in the literature of the sages; its leaves were used as a spice. Of the allied genera, reference is made to the spice plants (*ezov koḥeli*), which is *Hyssopus officinalis* (Neg: 14, 6, where *ezov romi* is also mentioned), *evreta, maru-ḥiyyura*, and *shumshuk* (Shab. 109b), species that belong to the genera *Majorana* or *Origanum*.

LAVENDER. The plant *Lavandula officinalis* (*spica*) is known as *ezovyon*, and its leaves are used as a perfume and as a medicine (Shab. 14:3).

MINT. The plant *Menta piperita*, the leaves of which are used as a spice and yield an ethereal oil, is called *minta* in the Mishnah (Uk. 1:2) and *na'ana* (which is also its Arabic name) in the Jerusalem Talmud (Shab. 7, 10a). Four species of mint grow wild in Israel.

MUSTARD. Known as *ḥardal* in the literature of the sages, *mustard is extracted from the seed of species of *Sinapis* and *Brassica*.

PEPPER. The most important and popular spice, black *pepper is know as *pilpel*, and *Piper longum* as *pilpela arikhta*.

RUE. The small shrub *Ruta graveolens*, whose leaves have a pungent aroma (regarded by some as unpleasant), is popular among Oriental communities. In the Mishnah (Uk. 1:2; et al.), it is called *pigam*, and in Arabic *fijn or rudah* (= *Ruta*). The Mishnah (Shev. 9:1) also mentions a rue that grows wild, the reference being to *Ruta bracteosa*, which grows in the woods in Israel. To the family of rue – *Rutaceae* – belong species of the *Citrus*.

SAFFLOWER. The prickly plant *Carthamus tinctorius* has reddish-yellow leaves, *ḥallot ḥari'a* (Uk. 3:5), which were used as a spice, and its seed, *benot ḥari'a* (Tosef. Ma'as. Sh. 1:13), as food as well as a spice. In the Talmud *koẓah, kurtama*, and *morika* are used as synonyms for safflower. Today the safflower is grown largely for the oil extracted from its seed. The petals of the flower's corolla were formerly used as a dye (see *Dye Plants).

SAFFRON. Known as *karkom* in the Bible and the literature of the sages, the stigmas of its flower were used as a spice and a dye.

SAVORY. Called *si'ah* in the Mishnah, savory is mentioned there, together with hyssop and thyme, among plants which were grown as spices; it also grew wild (Shev. 8:1; Ma'as. 3, 9). According to the Jerusalem Talmud (Shev. 7:2, 37b), *si'ah* is identified with *ẓatrah*, which is *Satureia tymbra Savory*, an aromatic dwarf shrub of the family *Labiatae*, that grows wild on mountains. The Arabs call these three species *za'ar.*

SESAME. The summer plant *Sesamum orientalis* (*indicum*), sesame was used in the preparation of delicacies and as a spice in various kinds of pastry (Shev. 2:7; TY 1:5). Its seed consists of 50% oil, which was used as a food and in lamps (Ned. 6:9; Shab. 2:2).

SUMAC. The *og* of the Mishnah, the fruit of the sumac tree was used as a spice.

THYME. Called *koranit* in the Mishnah, thyme is a diminutive dwarf shrub which grows extensively in Israel on the kurkar hills near the coast and on mountains. Its tiny, pungently aromatic leaves were used as a spice, like hyssop and savory, together with which it is mentioned (Ma'as. 3:9).

The above are the most probable identifications, others having been suggested by commentators for these plants, as well as for kinds of spices common in their day. Among these, mention should be made of the poppy, the plant *Papaver somniferum*. Its seed is used as a spice and also in various kinds of pastry. In modern Hebrew the poppy is called *parag* or *pereg*, on the basis of the identification given in the *Arukh* and by other commentators for פרגים in the Mishnah, which are, however, none other than *millet. Although several species of *Papaver* grow wild in Israel, it is impossible to determine whether the cultivated poppy was grown. The only reference to *ofyon* (opium is extracted, as is known, from poppy) occurs in the Jerusalem Talmud (Av. Zar. 2:2, 40d). It was considered dangerous to buy *ofyon* from heathens (see *Havdalah).

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[Jehuda Feliks]

SPICE TRADE. In their original settlements in the East Mediterranean and Near East, Jewish merchants traded in luxury goods, including *spices. This latter trade became more evident in the Diaspora era, when Jews, along with Greeks and Syrians, appeared as traders in Western Europe. Because of their relationship with the Orient, they were able to supply these products, which were grown mainly in the countries from southern Arabia to the Moluccas and were used for medicinal purposes, in the preparation of food and beverages, and in perfumes. At first the Syrians led this trade, losing their position to the Jews only after the conquest of the Syrian coast by the Arabs. Writing on the trade routes in the years between 854 and 874, Ibn Kordabheh, postmaster of the caliph of Baghdad, mentioned that Radhanites traded in musk, aloes, camphor, cinnamon, and other commodities between France and China. From the tenth century the northern route through the Slav countries became increasingly important to Jewish traders as they were displaced in the Mediterranean by Italian merchants. When visiting Mainz around 978, Ibrahim Tartuschi, an Arab from the Iberian Peninsula, was astonished to find the markets filled with large quantities of spices which could only be found in the Far East; it was generally believed that these were brought by Jewish merchants from the Orient by way of Kiev. The activities of Jewish traders on the Mediterranean and Indian Ocean trade routes and ports are revealed in 11th- to 13th-century *genizah* documents and responsa. The disuse of the Eastern routes with the expansion of Tatar and Turkish conquest added to the increased Christian participation in overseas trade and the restriction of Jewish commercial activities, and caused the Jews to lose their position as intermediaries with the Orient, being replaced by the Italians and especially the Venetians.

Jewish merchants once more played a part in the spice trade with the opening of the direct route to East India by the Portuguese. Prominent among these merchants was the New Christian *Mendes family, probably descendants of the Spanish *Benveniste family. Rui Mendes (de Brito) sent a ship to East India with Vasco da Gama's second voyage in 1502, and in 1505, in association with the German Lucas Rem, armed three ships for East India. He was probably a close relative of the brothers Francisco and Diogo *Mendes who, the former in Lisbon and the latter in Antwerp, controlled a major part of the commerce in pepper and other spices in northern Europe, the largest market at that time. After the death of Diogo Mendes (1542 or 1543), Francisco's widow, Beatrice de Luna, carried on the Antwerp branch of the enterprise. As J.A. Goris has shown (see bibl.), about 12 other New Christians in Antwerp were engaged in the spice trade, on the basis of annual contracts made with the king of Portugal. For some time the Perez family and other Spanish merchants, who were probably also New Christians, were the representatives of these *contractadores*. When Philip II succeeded to the throne of Portugal, he tried to renew the system of contracts, which had been in the hands of the German Konrad Rott during the last years of Portuguese independence. After Rott's bankruptcy, the Lisbon and Antwerp branches of the Ximenes and D'Évora families participated in the European contract. From 1592 to 1596 the Indian contract was in the hands of a consortium of New Christians: Tomáz and André Ximenes, Duarte Furtado de Mendoza, Luis Gomes d'Elvas, Heitor Mendes, and Jorge Rodriguez Solis. Attacks on Portuguese ships by English pirates, the revival of the Levantine spice trade from Alexandria and Syria to the Mediterranean ports, and the opening of East Indian navigation by the Dutch and English, all contributed to the decline of the Portuguese monopoly and thus of the activities of the New Christian groups. However, their participation in the spice trade in Hamburg and Amsterdam remained prominent. Among the 16 spice importers in Amsterdam in 1612, 11 were "Portuguese," i.e., Sephardim. According to Bloom (see bibl.), in the first part of the 18th century the spice trade still represented a considerable proportion of the commercial activities of the Sephardi community in Amsterdam.

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[Hermann Kellenbenz]

SPIDER (Heb. עַכָּבִישׁ, *akkavish*). Isaiah (59:5–6) compares the evil designs of those who plot against the righteous to the webs which the spider spins to trap insects, while Job (8:14–15) compares the house of the wicked to the spider's fragile web. There are hundreds of species of spider in Israel, all having poisonous glands in their maxillaries. The poison in most spiders is a mild one, but there are species capable of killing a bird or a mouse. It would appear that the *akhshuv* (Ps. 140:4) which is mentioned together with the snake as a poisonous animal is merely the *akkavish* with the letters transposed. The Tosefta (Par. 9:6) enumerates it among the species of spiders. Some erroneously identify the spider with the *semamit* (Prov. 30:28) which is the *gecko.

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[Jehuda Feliks]

SPIEGEL, DORA (1879–1948), third president of the National *Women's League of the United Synagogue of America. Spiegel led the organization through the difficult years of the Depression and World War II. Born in Ungvar, Hungary, to Pepi Josephine (Fullman) and Rabbi Daniel Rosenberg, Dora Rosenberg arrived in the United States with her parents in 1882. Although Dora and Dr. Samuel Spiegel (a New York physician, whom she married in 1900) had no children of their own, she dedicated her energy to serving Jewish children and their mothers. Spiegel attended Teachers College of Columbia University, receiving a B.S. degree in 1916 and an M.A. in 1920, with a special diploma as Advisor to Women. In New York she taught at the Educational Alliance, training immigrants in "Americanization."

A close friend and supporter of Mathilde *Schechter, Spiegel was a founder and president (1918–28) of the New York Metropolitan branch of the Women's League of the United Synagogue of America, and served as national president from 1928 to 1944, when poor health forced her to step down before the conclusion of her term. During World War II, Spiegel's "President's Chats" columns in the League's magazine *Outlook* encouraged members to help with war-relief efforts. Women responded by giving blood, selling bonds, serving in canteens, and taking and teaching first-aid classes. During her presidency, Spiegel also led the League to begin the Torah Fund Campaign to establish a Seminary dormitory and a scholarship fund, which would allow rabbinical students to study full-time. She also encouraged the creation of two additional scholarship funds (the Mathilde Schechter Scholarship Fund and the Cyrus Adler Scholarship Fund). In addition, the plan for building a dormitory for female students developed during her tenure as president. She also helped found the Women's Institute of Jewish Studies at the Jewish Theological Seminary of America.

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[Aleisa Fishman (2nd ed.)]

SPIEGEL, ISAIAH (**Yeshayohu Spiegel**; 1906–1990), Yiddish poet, fiction writer and essayist. Born in Balut, a poor suburb of Lodz, Poland, Spiegel was encouraged by I. *Katzenelson and M. *Broderzon, and was one of the group of young Yiddish poets active in Lodz in the 1920s. From 1926 to 1933 he taught in Yiddish schools and wrote for Yiddish journals in Poland and abroad. Spiegel was one of the few Yiddish writers of distinction to survive the Holocaust. For almost five years he lived in the Lodz ghetto; upon its destruction he was sent to Auschwitz and later to a labor camp in Saxony. He returned to Lodz after the liberation (1945) and from 1946 to 1948 taught in its Jewish school; there, he dug up a manuscript he had buried. From 1951 he lived in Israel. He published two volumes of verse and an autobiographical novel, but his most important work is his Holocaust fiction, especially his short stories: *Malkhes Geto* ("Ghetto Kingdom," 1947), *Shtern Ibern Geto* ("Stars Over the Ghetto," 1948), *Mentshn in Thom* ("People in an Abyss," 1949), *Likht Funem Opgrunt* ("Light from the Precipice," 1952), and *Vint un Vortslen* ("Wind and Roots," 1955). With restraint and perception, Spiegel records the fate of multitudes of ordinary men and women in his stories. Most of his stories originally written during the Holocaust were considerably revised, the documenting witness giving way to the memorializing artist.

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[Leonard Prager]

SPIEGEL, LUDWIG (1864–1926), Czech educator and politician. Spiegel, who was professor of constitutional law at the German University of Prague, was one of the leaders of the German Democratic Party and a member of the Senate (upper chamber of deputies; 1920–25). In 1926 he was elected rector of the university in spite of his being a Jew (see also Samuel *Steinherz), but died before assuming office. His works include *Die Geschichtliche Entwicklung des Oesterreichischen Staatsrechts* (1905), *Die Verwaltungsrechtswissenschaft* (1909), *Gesetz und Recht* (1913), and *Die Entstehung des Tschechoslowakischen Staats* (1921).

[Chaim Yahil]

SPIEGEL, NATHAN (1905–1995), scholar of Jewish studies. Born in New York, Spiegel grew up in Galicia, Moravia, and the Ukraine. He received his doctorate in 1931 from the University of Lvov in classical studies and ancient philosophy. After World War II he was a high school teacher in Poland and from 1952 the rector of a Warsaw institute of education. He immigrated to Israel in 1957 where he was director of a special library at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. In 1965 he began to teach at Ben-Gurion University and served as head of the department of general studies. Among his works are books on leading figures of the Greek and Hellenic world, such as Socrates, Aristotle, Homer, and Seneca, as well as on trends and schools of thought in the Greek world. Spiegel received the 1990 Israel Prize for Jewish Studies.

[Fern Lee Seckbach]

SPIEGEL, PAUL (1937–2006), German-Jewish journalist and politician. Born in Warendorf (Westphalia), Spiegel fled with his family to Holland after the outbreak of World War II. He wrote as a journalist for German-Jewish newspapers, and between 1965 and 1972 was editor of the Juedische Pressedienst and assistant to the general secretary of the Zentralrat der Juden in Deutschland. Between 1974 and 1986 he directed the office of public affairs at the Rheinische Sparkassen und Giroverband. In 1986 he founded an international Kuenstleragentur. In 1984 Spiegel was elected president of the Duesseldorf Jewish community, in 1989 president of the Zentralwohlfahrtsstelle der Juden in Deutschland. After the death of Ignatz *Bubis, Spiegel was elected president of the Zentralrat der Juden in Deutschland in January, 2000. He was an active promoter of German-Jewish understanding, an author on Jewish matters, and a prominent figure in German public life.

SPIEGEL, SAMUEL P. (1901–1985), U.S. motion picture producer. Born in Jaroslau, Austria, Spiegel came to the United States in 1939. Ultimately becoming one of the top producers of his time, Spiegel's films include *Tales of Manhattan* (1942), *The Stranger* (1945), *We Were Strangers* (1949), *The African Queen* (1951), *On the Waterfront* (Academy Award for Best Picture, 1954), *The Bridge on the River Kwai* (Academy Award for Best Picture, 1957), *Suddenly Last Summer* (1950), *Lawrence of Arabia* (Academy Award for Best Picture, 1962), *The Night of the Generals* (1966), *The Happening* (1967), *Nicholas and Alexandra* (Oscar nomination for Best Picture, 1971), *The Last Tycoon* (1976), and *Betrayal* (1983). Spiegel, who was also known for a time as S.P. Eagle, was the only person to win the Best Picture Oscar three times as a sole producer within eight years. He was the brother of Shalom *Spiegel.

In 1964 he received the Irving G. Thalberg Memorial Award, given to a creative producer who has been responsible for a consistently high quality of motion picture production.

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[Jonathan Licht / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

SPIEGEL, SHALOM (1899–1984), scholar, writer, and educator. Born in Romania and educated in Vienna, Spiegel was for a number of years a leader of Jewish youth who were preparing to live in collectives in Israel as members of Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir. He taught in Ereẓ Israel 1923–29, then went to New York, and was professor of medieval Hebrew literature at the Jewish Theological Seminary (1944–84). Trained in art and aesthetics, among other areas, he brought the appreciation of the sensitive critic to what he taught, studied, or wrote. His *Hebrew Reborn* (1930, repr. 1962), a series of chapters on Jewish men of letters in modern times, is a lucid, cultural analysis of the works of the authors it surveys. He also gave attention to the biblical and the medieval periods of Jewish cultural history. He published studies on Hosea, Amos, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and Job. These exhibit both his erudition and thoroughness and also his style and finesse. Spiegel prepared a definitive edition of the liturgical compositions of Eleazar *Kallir. He also prepared a volume of what remains of the religious poetry by Kallir's predecessors and contemporaries. His discussion of the sacrifice of Isaac (**Akedah*) in the Hebrew liturgy of the 12th and 13th centuries is a notable example of his penetrating approach (*The Last Trial*, translated from the Hebrew by J. Goldin, 1967).

In 1996 the Jewish Theological Seminary established the Shalom Spiegel Institute for Medieval Hebrew Literature. The

Institute provides fellowships to graduate students in the field, fosters international research projects, and provides access to Spiegel's copious collection of research materials.

He was the brother of film producer Samuel P. *Spiegel.

[Abraham Solomon Halkin / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

SPIEGEL-ADOLF, MONA (**Anna Simona**; 1893–1983), colloid chemist. Spiegel-Adolf studied medicine in her native Vienna and worked there on medical colloid chemistry until 1931, when she became professor of colloid chemistry at the medical school of Temple University, Philadelphia. Her research covered physical chemistry of proteins and lipids, cancer, amaurotic family idiocy, etc. She wrote *Die Globuline* (1930) and co-authored *X-ray Diffraction Studies in Biology and Medicine* (1947).

SPIEGELBERG, HERBERT (1904–1990), philosopher. Of Jewish origin, Spiegelberg was raised as a Christian. Born in Strasbourg, he received his Ph.D. from the University of Munich. He went to the U.S. in 1938 and taught at Swarthmore College in Pennsylvania (1938–41) and Lawrence College in Wisconsin (1941–63). In 1963 he was appointed to the philosophy department of Washington University in St. Louis, Missouri, where he stood out as a phenomenologist and historian of phenomenology. He retired as professor emeritus in 1971.

Spiegelberg belonged more to the "Older Phenomenological Movement" than to the Freiburg School, influenced by Alexander Pfaender's approach. He was very influential in developing interest in phenomenological thought in the Anglo-American world through his lectures and writings. His *Phenomenological Movement* has provided a historical study and interpretation to this philosophy from Brentano to the present.

His major writings include *Anti-relativismus* (1935), *Gesetz und Sittengesetz* (1935), *The Phenomenological Movement* (2 vols., 1960, 1965^2), *Alexander Pfaender's Phaenomenologie* (1963), the translation of Pfaender's *Phenomenology of Willing and Motivation* (1967), *Phenomenology in Psychology and Psychiatry* (1972), *Doing Phenomenology* (1975), *The Content of the Phenomenological Movement* (1981), and *Steppingstones toward an Ethics for Fellow Existers* (1986).

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[Richard H. Popkin / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

SPIEGELMAN, ART (1948–), U.S. cartoonist. Born in Stockholm, Sweden, to parents who survived the Holocaust, Spiegelman grew up in Queens, N.Y. In 1968, while attending Harpur College in Binghamton, N.Y., he had a nervous breakdown, but he recovered. Shortly after, his mother, a survivor of Auschwitz, committed suicide. Spiegelman later included the tragic and traumatic event in his groundbreaking comic books, *Maus I* and *Maus II,* which tell the story of his parents' wartime ordeal and paint an indelible portrait of the widowed father in old age, an insufferable, maddening survivor, noble despite himself. The first book, *Maus: A Survivor's Tale*, also known as *Maus: My Father Bleeds History*, won a special Pulitzer Prize in 1992. It had the distinction of appearing on *The New York Times* bestseller list as a work of fiction, but after Spiegelman's dignified objection, as nonfiction. The second volume, *Maus: And Here My Troubles Began*, followed in 1991. *Maus,* depicting Jews as mice, Nazis as cats and Poles as pigs, attracted an unprecedented amount of critical attention for a work in the form of comics, including an exhibition at the Museum of Modern Art. Before gaining widespread attention with *Maus*, Spiegelman had illustrated many of the Wacky Packages and Garbage Pail Kids stickers and cards. He founded two significant comics anthology publications, *Arcade* and *RAW*, the latter with his wife, Francoise Mouly, who later became art editor of *The New Yorker.* Spiegelman worked for *The New Yorker* for ten years, producing memorable work, but resigned a few months after the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001. Spiegelman's post-September 11 cover for the magazine, inspired by Ad Reinhardt's black-on-black paintings, at first appears to be totally black, but upon close examination reveals the silhouettes of the World Trade Center towers in a slightly darker shade of black. The attack had a profound effect on Spiegelman, who witnessed the victims' frantic last minutes as he left his apartment not far from the site. Spiegelman said his resignation from the magazine was a protest against "the widespread conformism of the mass media in the Bush era." In 2004 he published *In the Shadow of No Towers*, an attempt to capture the essence of the morning when the terrorists struck. It features a series of ten large-format comic strips that ran in the course of a year in eight weekly publications around the world. It was printed on thick cardboard and had to be held sideways to read each two-page spread. In the back, Spiegelman added reprints of some early comic strips, from Krazy Kat to Little Nemo in Slumberland, that he said gave him comfort after the attacks. Spiegelman was a tireless advocate for the medium of comics. He was quoted as saying that "comic books are to art what Yiddish is to language – a vulgar tongue that incorporates other languages into its mix, a vital and expressive language that talks with its hands. It's a form that's even laid out like a Talmudic text, a form that avoids the injunction against graven images by turning pictures into words, or at least into word-pictures."

[Stewart Kampel (2nd ed.)]

SPIEGELMAN, SOL (1914–1983) U.S. research microbiologist. He was born in New York City, where his interest in biology began in childhood. He gained his B.S. in mathematics and physics at the College of the City of New York (1933–39), a course lengthened by switching from biology and a research period at Crown Heights Hospital, Brooklyn (1936–37). He earned his Ph.D. in cellular physiology and mathematics from Washington University, St Louis (1944), after an initial period at Columbia University (1940–42). He worked successively in the bacteriology department of Washington University School of Medicine (1945–48), as a U.S. Public Health Service Fellow at the University of Minnesota, Minneapolis (1948), and at the University of Illinois, Urbana (1948–69), where he became professor of microbiology. He returned to New York (1969) as director of Columbia University's Institute of Cancer Research and professor of human genetics and development in the University's College of Physicians and Surgeons (1975). Spiegelman's research profoundly influenced our understanding of the control of normal cell growth and its disruption in cancer cells. His work has also had important implications for understanding the origins of life in self-replicating nucleic acid sequences. His experiments were based on the novel hypothesis that unregulated activation or deactivation of genes controlling enzyme production is followed by uncontrolled cell growth. Progress in his studies and in molecular biology in general was revolutionized by his technical innovation, RNA/DNA hybridization, which made it possible to detect and characterize specific RNA sequences. Spiegelman and his colleagues first showed that only one strand of DNA's double helix transmits the genetic information for protein synthesis. They also identified and purified the first viral nucleic acid polymerase that could detect specific viral RNA in the RNA of infected cells. In his later work his laboratory concentrated on methods for screening human cancer tissue and the blood of cancer patients for specific viral RNA or DNA sequences or the RNA viral enzyme, "reverse transcriptase," and for antigens found in cancer cells but not normal cells. This, however, has proved to be a difficult and complex field. His many honors include the Lasker Award for Basic Medical Research (1974) and the Feltrinelli Prize, awarded by the Italian National Academy of Sciences (1981). Spiegelman was also greatly respected for his early recognition of scientists' social responsibilities and for his self-deprecation over the fame brought by scientific discovery.

[Michael Denman (2nd ed.)]

SPIELBERG, STEVEN (1946–), film director, writer, producer. Born in Cincinnati, Ohio, Spielberg began his career early in his youth, directing home movies. At age 13 he entered and won his first contest with a 40-minute war film. While attending California State College, he directed five films and made his professional debut with a 24-minute short, *Amblin*, which was shown at the 1969 Atlanta Film Festival. Its success led to a contract with Universal Studios that soon found Spielberg directing movies for television such as *Duel* (1971) and *Something Evil* (1972). His debut as a feature film director was *Sugarland Express* (1974). Spielberg followed this with a series of some of the most successful motion pictures in cinema history, including *Jaws* (1975), *Close Encounters of the Third Kind* (Oscar nomination for Best Director, 1977), *Raiders of the Lost Ark* (Oscar nomination for Best Director, 1981), *E.T.* (Oscar nominations for Best Director and Best Picture, 1982), *Indiana Jones and the Temple of Doom* (1984), *Indiana Jones and the Last Crusade* (1989), *Always* (1989), and *Jurassic Park* (1993). Spielberg also attempted more serious cinematic fare with *The Color Purple* (Oscar nomination for Best Picture, 1985) and *Empire of the Sun* (1987), but neither of these films prepared the movie-going public for *Schindler's List* (1993), a brilliant and devastating portrait of Oskar *Schindler, an Austrian industrialist who saved more than 1,000 Polish Jews during the Holocaust. *Schindler's List* won the 1993 Academy Award for Best Picture as well as delivered an Oscar to Spielberg for Best Director. In 1990 the Academy of the Motion Pictures, Arts and Sciences presented Spielberg with the Irving Thalberg Memorial Award for his ongoing contribution to the Excellence of Cinema. Spielberg's subsequent directorial efforts include *Amistad* (1997), *Saving Private Ryan* (Oscar winner for Best Director and nomination for Best Picture, 1998), *The Unfinished Journey* (1999), *Artificial Intelligence: AI* (2001), *Minority Report* (2002), *Catch Me If You Can* (2002), *The Terminal* (2004), and *War of the Worlds* (2005).

Spielberg, who also wears a producer's hat, has released more than 100 films and television features since 1978. In 1995 he co-founded the production company DreamWorks SKG with Jeffrey Katzenberg and David Geffen. In addition to producing many of the films he directed, Spielberg was the producer of such films as *I Wanna Hold Your Hand* (1978), *Continental Divide* (1981), *Poltergeist* (1982), *Twilight Zone: The Movie* (1983), *Gremlins* (1984), *Back to the Future* (1985), *The Money Pit* (1986), *Who Framed Roger Rabbit?* (1988), *The Flintstones* (1994), *Men in Black* (1997), *The Mask of Zorro* (1998), the TV series *Band of Brothers* (Emmy Award for Outstanding Mini-series 2001) and *Taken* (Emmy for Outstanding Mini-series, 2002), and *Memoirs of a Geisha* (2005).

Spielberg was married to actress Amy *Irving from 1985 to 1989. Since 1991 he has been married to actress Kate Capshaw.

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[Jonathan Licht / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

SPIELMAN(N), English family that contributed extensively to Jewish and English communal and cultural literature. The family was descended from ADAM SPIELMAN (1812–1869), a banker, who married the sister of Samuel *Montagu. Adam's three best-known sons were SIR ISIDOR SPIELMAN (1854–1925), who was the founder and director of the art exhibitions branch of the Board of Trade and represented Britain at numerous international exhibitions from 1897 onward. He organized the Anglo-Jewish Historical Exhibition of 1887 and was president of the Jewish Historical Society, 1902–04. When Russian anti-Jewish excesses were at their height, he edited *Darkest Russia*, a supplement to the *Jewish Chronicle* (1890–92). He was knighted in 1905. MARION HARRY ALEXANDER SPIELMAN (1858–1948), art critic, was editor of the *Magazine of Art*, for 17 years. He wrote on art for the *Pall Mall Gazette* and the *Westminster Gazette*, and wrote a history of the first 50 years of the London satirical weekly, *Punch* (1895).

An authority on portraiture, he wrote *The Portraits of Geoffrey Chaucer* for the Chaucer Society (1901), *The Portraits of Shakespeare* for the Stratford Town Edition of Shakespeare's works (1907), and *British Portrait Painting*, 2 vols., 1910. His *Iconography of Andreas Vesalius*, commissioned by the Belgian government, was published in 1925. SIR MEYER ADAM SPIELMAN (1856–1936), the third son, was an educator and an inspector of Home Office Schools. He engaged in child welfare work, and was knighted in 1928 for his work on the prevention of juvenile delinquency. He was a founder and chairman of managers of a reformatory school established in 1921 for Jewish boys (converted to general use in the 1960s because Jewish child delinquency had almost disappeared). Sir Meyer held office in several Jewish charitable societies. His wife, LADY (GERTRUDE) EMILY SPIELMAN, the daughter of the banker George Raphael, was also prominent in social welfare and in 1919 was the first woman to be elected to the Board of Deputies of British Jews. Their daughter EVA MARIAN HUBBACK (1886–1949), educated at Cambridge, was a well-known social reformer and educator. She was the principal of Morley College in south London, which was noted for employing leading musicians, and was the author of *The Population of Britain* (1947). PERCY EDWIN SPIELMANN (1881–1964), a son of Marion Spielman, was a chemist who became a leading expert on coal tar, petroleum, and road making.

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[John M. Shaftesley / William D. Rubinstein (2nd ed.)]

SPIELMANN, RUDOLF (1883–1942), Austrian chess master. Spielmann was regarded as the most successful of attacking chess players. He defeated *Nimzovich, *Tartakover (twice), *Réti, Stahlberg, Lundin, Eliskases, Bogoljubow, and Stolz in match play and won first prizes in 18 master tournaments between 1910 and 1935.

[Ed.]

SPIELVOGEL, CARL (1928–), U.S. businessman, diplomat. Born in Brooklyn, N.Y., Spielvogel graduated from the City College of New York and joined *The New York Times* as a copyboy while an undergraduate. He became a reporter for the business section in 1955, and three years later he was named the newspaper's first advertising columnist. He left the paper in 1960 to join the advertising firm McCann-Erickson, where he rose to executive vice president and general manager before joining McCann's parent, the Interpublic Group of Companies, in 1972. There he eventually became chairman of the executive committee. He left Interpublic in 1979 to form Backer & Spielvogel, one of the leading advertising agencies of the early 1980s. Mergers created Backer Spielvogel Bates Worldwide, where he was chairman until 1994. At his departure, Bates Worldwide was one of the world's leading marketing and advertising communications companies, with 185 offices in 65 countries. As an entrepreneur, Spielvogel was chairman and chief executive officer of United Auto Group, the nation's largest publicly owned automobile dealership group, from 1994 to 1997. In 1995 Spielvogel was appointed by President Bill Clinton to the U.S. Broadcasting Board of Governors, which was responsible for the Voice of America, Radio Free Europe, and other governmental broadcasting ventures. In 1997 he was named chairman of the international board of advisors of *The Financial Times* of London. In 2000, Clinton named him ambassador to the Slovak Republic, where he sought to promote trade. He served until 2001. Spielvogel was on the board of a number of cultural organizations in New York City, including the Metropolitan Museum of Art, Lincoln Center for the Performing Arts, and the Asia Society. He served for more than 20 years as a trustee of Mount Sinai Medical Center and aided Eureka Communities, which works to rebuild inner cities. His wife, Barbara Diamonstein-Spielvogel, is the author of 18 books on art, architecture, and public policy.

[Stewart Kampel (2nd ed.)]

SPIELVOGEL, NATHAN (1874–1956), Australian author. The son of a Galician immigrant who became a goldminer and storekeeper, Spielvogel was born in the gold-rush town of Ballarat, Victoria. He was raised in a warm, religious atmosphere and, despite the remoteness and isolation of his environment, always remained closely attached to Jewish tradition. Spielvogel gained distinction as one of the only Australian Jewish writers of the era. His first published work, a short story entitled "Mike Hardy's Folly," appeared in the *Ballarat Courier* (Dec. 22, 1894) and for the next sixty years he contributed to practically every Australian literary periodical and to the Jewish press. As a country schoolteacher, he traveled widely in the eastern Australian outback and also made a journey to London.

His recorded experiences were first serialized and then published in book form. Spielvogel's *A Gumsucker on the Tramp* (1906) was an early Australian best seller, some 20,000 copies appearing in several editions. Much of what he wrote about early Australian bush life is of historical interest and importance and in some instances is the only source of information. This is also the case with his descriptions of Jewish immigrant types arriving from England and Europe. Spielvogel portrayed their manner of work and trade and their synagogue, communal, and youth activities at the turn of the century. A limited edition of his prose and verse, *Selected Short Stories of Nathan Spielvogel*, was published in 1956. He was a close friend of many noted Melbourne artists and writers of his time, including Norman Lindsay. Spielvogel lived in Ballarat from 1924, serving as a school principal. He was a major influence in fostering a Jewish cultural presence in Australia at a time when the community was very small.

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L.E. Fredman). **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** ADB, 12, 36–37; H.L. Rubinstein, Australia 1, 279–80, 440–41.

[Shmuel Gorr]

SPIER, LESLIE (1893–1961), U.S. anthropologist. Born in New York City, he became a student of Franz *Boas, later serving as assistant anthropologist at the American Museum of Natural History. From 1939 he taught at the University of New Mexico where he established a department of anthropology. Influenced also by R.H. *Lowie and C. Wissler, he did his field work on various North American Indian tribes, principally among the Zuñi and Yumans.

In North American ethnology Spier studied cultural traits over a continuous geographical area to achieve a historical reconstruction of human history. Such a paper as "Sun Dance of the Plains Indians" represents a significant contribution to cultural historical analysis by mapping the distribution of different elements in a cultural complex. He also studied the ghost dance and nativistic movement in the Northern Plains in 1890. Spier worked among the Indians of the Northern plains to salvage the vestiges of dying cultures.

All of Spier's work is characterized by methodological restraint and sobriety. He founded and edited anthropological journals and helped to establish American anthropology as an academic discipline.

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[Ephraim Fischoff]

SPIKENARD (**Nard**; Heb. נֵרְד, *nerd*), spice mentioned three times in the Song of Songs. It grew in the imaginary spice garden to which the loved one is compared (Song 4:12–14) and she perfumed herself with it while waiting for her beloved (1:12). According to an ancient *baraita*, spikenard was one of the 11 spices from which the Temple incense was prepared (Ker. 6a; see *Incense and Perfumes and *Pittum ha-Ketoret*). It is called spikenard (*Nardostachys*) because of its appearance, which is similar to that of an ear of corn. It was extracted from the plants *Nardostachys jatamansi* and *N. grandiflora* that grow in the Himalayas. The name *nard* is derived from the Sanskrit *nalada* which means "spreading fragrance." This highly valued perfume was extracted both from the stalk (Lat. *spicatum*) which is the spikenard and from the leaves (Lat. *foliatum*). The Tosefta mentions *polyaton* oil among the luxuries whose use according to one view was forbidden after the destruction of the Temple as a sign of mourning (Tosef., Sot. 15:9).

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[Jehuda Feliks]

SPINA, GERI (Schreiber; 1896–1944), Romanian journalist. Born in *Jassy, Spina contributed to Romanian papers and magazines, including the Jewish periodicals *Hatikva* and *Adam*. With lsac *Ludo he edited the magazine *Absolutio* from 1913, and in 1914 published poems, *Senzații inutile* ("Vain Sensations"). In 1934 he published *Evreii în Literatura lui Ionel Teodoreanu*, a study of Jews in the writings of the Romanian author Teodoreanu. In 1944 he fought for the exposure of Nazi war criminals in Romania, was arrested, and died in prison.

SPINGARN, two U.S. brothers of wide intellectual interests, both devoted to the development of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. JOEL ELIAS SPINGARN (1875–1939) was a literary scholar and champion of African-American integration. The son of an immigrant Austrian merchant, Spingarn was born in New York. His doctoral thesis, *A History of Literary Criticism in the Renaissance* (1899), was widely acclaimed by scholars, and he thereafter had a successful academic career at Columbia University, becoming professor of comparative literature at the age of 24. With *Critical Essays of the Seventeenth Century*, a three-volume work which he edited in 1908, he established himself as a recognized exponent of the "New Criticism," which judged art on its own terms. However, a clash with Columbia's president, N.M. Butler, led to his dismissal in 1910. The correspondence between the two men was published a year later as *A Question of Academic Freedom*. Although he continued to publish literary criticism, Spingarn never returned to academic work. He wrote *The New Criticism* (1911) and *Creative Criticism* (1917). In 1919, on his return from war service in France, he helped to found the publishing firm of Harcourt, Brace and Howe, whose editorial consultant he remained until 1932. He edited *Scholarship and Criticism in the United States* (1922), wrote *Poems* (1924), and then retired to his home in Amenia, New York, where he became an authority on flower cultivation and issued the *Troutbeck Leaflets* (1924–31), occasional literary papers. One of the founders of the NAACP and its chairman from 1913 through to 1919, Spingarn was president of the association at the time of his death. In the association, he served as a bridge between the integrationists and the Black nationalists, led by W.E.B. Du Bois, editor of the NAACP's magazine *Crisis*. Although ideologically Spingarn was an integrationist, his friendship with and admiration for Du Bois allowed him to work with the editor until Du Bois resigned in 1934.

ARTHUR BARNETT SPINGARN (1878–1971) was a prominent lawyer active in the New York City Bar Association. His interest in questions of the black man led him to begin an extensive collection of Black literature, which he gave to Howard University. Resigning his position in the Bar Association in 1966, Spingarn, as honorary president of the NAACP, continued to support the organization and the cause for which he and his brother had worked.

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[Richard Cohen]

SPINKA, JOSEPH MEIR WEISS OF (1838–1909), *ẓaddik*, founder of a ḥasidic dynasty. The son of Samuel Ẓevi of Mukachevo (Munkacs), Joseph Meir was the disciple of Shalom of *Belz, Mendel of *Vizhnitsa, Isaac Eizik of *Zhidachov, and Ḥayyim *Halberstam of Zanz. On many occasions he visited Isaac of Zhidachov and regarded himself as his successor. Renowned for his ecstatic prayers, he also practiced extreme self-mortification. From 1876 he was revered as a *ẓaddik* by thousands of followers.

His works are *Imrei Yosef* (1910–27), a commentary on the Pentateuch in four volumes; *Imrei Yosef* (1931), sermons on the festivals and their customs; *Hakdamat Likkutei Torah ve-ha-Shas* (1911), sermons and an anthology of ḥasidic teachings; *Perush la-Haggadah shel Pesaḥ* (1964); and *Tefillot u-Minhagim* (1912).

His son, ISAAC EIZIK (1875–1944), was murdered by the Nazis. He was an outstanding authority on *halakhah* and famous as a cantor. From 1909 he too was a *ẓaddik* in Spinka. After the outbreak of World War I, he took his family and his retinue to Mukachevo, where he established his *bet midrash* and yeshivah. There he remained for a few years and, as in Spinka, his *bet midrash* became a center of learning and Ḥasidism. After the war he moved to Selishche, where he also established a large *bet midrash* that continued for 14 years. Isaac is the author of *Ḥakal Yiẓḥak*. His grandson JACOB JOSEPH WEISS, who was regarded as the most prominent leader of Spinka Ḥasidism after the Holocaust, maintained a yeshivah in Jerusalem. There were two additional *ẓaddikim* of Spinka Ḥasidism in Israel, grandsons of Joseph Meir of Spinka.

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[Esther (Zweig) Liebes]

SPINOZA, BARUCH (Bento, Benedictus) DE (1632–1677), philosopher born in Amsterdam of Portuguese background, who became one of the most important representatives of the rationalist movement in the early modern period.

Introduction

In the Jewish and National Library in Jerusalem, Spinoza's writings, unlike those of Jewish philosophers such as Philo of Alexandria or Maimonides, are not in the Judaica reading room, but in the general reading room, between the writings of Descartes and Leibniz. The decision of the library reflects a broad consensus in the way his work is perceived: Spinoza is not considered a Jewish thinker but one who belongs to the general history of philosophy. To be sure, Spinoza was excommunicated from Amsterdam's Jewish community for things he apparently said and did as a young man, and he went on to become the most radical and arguably the most interesting thinker of the early modern period. From the end of the 17th century onward his work played a central role in a variety of intellectual contexts: from the Enlightenment and German Idealism to the "higher criticism" of the Bible. Today Spinoza's ideas are debated not only in philosophical circles of both analytical and continental orientation, but also among scientists such as the neurologist Antonio Damasio, who claims that his research confirms how Spinoza conceived the relationship between body, mind, and affects of human beings. And yet, Spinoza's relationship to Judaism, and in particular to Jewish philosophy, is complicated: it is marked by continuity and criticism that sometimes remain in unresolved tension. Much of his philosophical project is, in fact, best understood in light of the Jewish background. In Spinoza's thought ideas from many sources come together, ranging from Plato to the Kabbalah. But of particular importance are, on the one hand, various traditions of Jewish thought and, on the other, the writings of Descartes and Hobbes which were at the center of philosophical discussions in the Netherlands of Spinoza's time. His first commitment, of course, was not to this or that intellectual current, but to the truth: "I do not claim to have found the best philosophy, but I know that I understand the true one [*sed veram me intelligere scio*]" (*Letter* 76).

Life and Works

Spinoza's father, Michael (d. 1654), fled from Portugal to the relatively tolerant Dutch republic where, he became a member of Amsterdam's Sephardi community and a successful merchant. Spinoza studied Hebrew, the Bible, and rabbinic literature at the local *talmud torah* school. The community's most renowned scholars, Isaac Aboab, Menasseh ben Israel, and Saul Levi Morteira, were presumably among his teachers and influenced him directly or indirectly. Aboab translated Abraham Cohen Herrera's kabbalistic treatise *Puerta del Cielo* (The Gate of Heaven), with which Spinoza seems to have been familiar, from Spanish into Hebrew. Morteira, who inclined to a rationalist interpretation of religion, could have introduced him to medieval Jewish philosophy. Menasseh ben Israel edited in 1628 the *Sefer Elim* by the Galilei student Joseph Delmedigo, of which Spinoza had a copy, and that may have introduced him into post-Copernican cosmology. Through Menasseh, Spinoza may also have made his first acquaintance with Christian thought, as well as with the ideas of Isaac La Peyrère, against whose treatise, *Prae-Adamitae*, Menasseh wrote a refutation. Spinoza later used the book for his critique of Scripture; among others, La Peyrère claims that Moses was not the only author of the Pentateuch and that human beings existed before Adam and Eve. When his half-brother, Isaac, died in 1649 Spinoza's help was required in the family's importing business. Although an outstanding student, he could thus not complete the higher level of the educational curriculum which would have prepared him for a career as a rabbi. The process that led to Spinoza's alienation from traditional Judaism, culminating in his excommunication (*ḥerem*) in 1656, cannot be precisely reconstructed from the available sources. A significant role must presumably be assigned to heterodox Jewish thinkers in Amsterdam such as Uriel da Costa, who had been excommunicated twice a generation earlier and whose writings Spinoza certainly knew, and Juan de Prado, who was excommunicated at the same time as Spinoza. Despite the unusual harshness of the *ḥerem*, it does not make explicit the content of the accusations, mentioning only "abominable heresies" and "monstrous deeds." But from various indirect sources Spinoza's views that were perceived as heretical can be established with reasonable certainty: they seem to have included the denial that the Torah is of divine origin, the denial that the immortality of the soul is a biblical doctrine, and a "philosophical" concept of God incompatible with that of popular tradition. All three issues show a certain affinity to doctrines of Da Costa and appear to have been endorsed in one way or another by De Prado as well. Spinoza probably explained and defended his views in a treatise now lost, but whose Spanish title is preserved in later sources: *Apologia para justificarse de su abdicacion de la sinagoga* ("Defense to justify his departure from the synagogue"). There are good reasons for assuming that some of the material contained in the *Apologia* was later incorporated into the first part of the *Tractatus Theologico-Politicus* (TTP; "Theological-Political Treatise").

The encounter with the former Jesuit and freethinker, Franciscus van den Enden, played an important role in Spinoza's intellectual development. In van den Enden's school, which he already started to frequent before his excommunication, Spinoza learned not only Latin, but was also introduced into ancient literature and philosophy, as well as into contemporary debates, in particular those provoked by the writings of Descartes and Hobbes. Descartes presumably also occupied an important place in his studies at the University of Leiden, at the time a center of Dutch Cartesianism. That Spinoza had mastered Descartes' philosophy is clear from his *Principia Philosophiae Cartesianae* ("Principles of Cartesian Philosophy"), an exposition of Descartes' *Principia Philosopiae* in the "the geometric manner," published in 1663 together with an appendix, *Cogitata Metaphysica* ("Metaphysical Thoughts"), that reflects both medieval Jewish and Scholastic sources. Neither presents Spinoza's own views, as he instructed his friend and doctor, Lodewijk Meyer, to emphasize in a preface introducing the two works. On the contrary: the treatises originate in notes that Spinoza used for teaching his student Caesarius, concerning whom he urges his friends "not to communicate my views to him until he has reached greater maturity" (*Letter* 9). Indeed, even earlier Spinoza had made no secret of his disagreement with Descartes on fundamental issues such as "the first cause and origin of all things" (*Letter* 2).

But whereas the scope of Descartes' influence on Spinoza and its relation to the influence of Jewish philosophers remain an object of controversy among scholars, it is uncontroversial that already in his earliest writings devoted to the exposition of his own philosophy Spinoza appears as a highly original thinker. Between the end of the 1650s and the beginning of the 1660s he was working on two treatises: the *Tractatus de Intellectus Emendatione* ("Treatise on the Emendation of the Intellect"), which remained incomplete and was published only in the *Opera Posthuma*, and a first outline of his metaphysics, anthropology, epistemology, and ethics which was intended for circulation only among his friends, apparently because he feared that "the theologians of our time" would attack him with "their usual hatred" (*Letter* 6). Already the work's title, *Korte Verhandeling van God, de Mensch en des zelfs Welstand* ("Short Treatise on God, Man, and His Wellbeing"), names the constitutive themes of Spinoza's philosophical project. From 1661 to 1675, he systematically reworked the ideas sketched in the *Korte Verhandeling* into his main philosophical work, the *Ethica Ordine Geometrico Demonstrata* ("Ethics Demonstrated According to the Geometrical Method"). In 1665 Spinoza interrupted his work on the *Ethica* for several years to set forth his critique of religion and his political philosophy in the *Tractatus Theologico-Politicus* ("Theological-Political Treatise"), published anonymously in 1670. His goal was to contribute to defending the freedom of thought and religious tolerance, which had been secured in the Dutch republic governed by Jan de Witt, but now seemed threatened by the alliance of monarchists and Calvinist orthodoxy. Since the critique of religion is grounded on a critique of Scripture, and the correct understanding of Scripture requires a thorough understanding of Hebrew (TTP 7), Spinoza's *Compendium Grammatices Linguae Hebraeae* ("Compendium of the Grammar of the Hebrew Language") can be seen as a tool for carrying out the critical theological-political project. But the striking parallel between the account of nouns, adjectives, and participles in the Hebrew Grammar and the account of substance, attributes, and modes in the *Ethica* also suggests an interesting (if unclear) connection to Spinoza's metaphysics. The scandal triggered by the critique of religion in the TTP led to the book's prohibition in 1674. Under these circumstances Spinoza did not even attempt to publish the *Ethica*. Like the *Tractatus Politicus* ("Political Treatise") that he was not able to complete and the equally unfinished Hebrew Grammar, it appeared only in 1677 in the *Opera Posthuma*. Finally, Spinoza's extant correspondence must be mentioned which contributes significantly to clarifying specific issues in his work.

Philosophy

OUTLINE OF THE PHILOSOPHICAL PROJECT. The *Tractatus de Intellectus Emendatione* (TIE) begins with a description, stylized as autobiographical, of the author's conversion to the philosophical life. An examination in the Socratic sense leads to the decision to turn away from "what men consider to be the highest good [*summum bonum*]," i.e., "wealth, honor, and sensual pleasure," in order to seek the "true good" that provides the "highest joy [*summa laetitia*] eternally." The passage, whose immediate source is a treatise by the Jewish Renaissance Platonist Leone Ebreo, takes up the foundational concern of ancient ethics: the quest for the good life. Since the TIE was originally conceived as a methodological introduction to Spinoza's philosophical system, this opening passage in a sense provides the point of departure for his philosophical project as a whole. Indeed, choosing a life devoted to the pursuit of knowledge would surely be a mistake if it were not the best life. The *Ethica*, as before the *Korte Verhandeling*, can be seen as the guide to that goal which Spinoza describes as "happiness [*beatitudo*]" and as "salvation [*salus*]" (*Ethica* v, Prop. 36, Schol.). The true good for Spinoza is God. What leads to this good is "understanding" culminating in "knowledge of God [*Dei cognitio*]" (*Ethica* iv, Prop. 27 and 28). Since knowledge of God and of things "insofar as we conceive them to be contained in God and to follow from the necessity of the divine nature" (*Ethica* v, Prop. 29, Schol.) is accompanied by "joy [*laetitia*]," it gives rise to the "intellectual love of God [*Amor Dei intellectualis*]" (*Ethica* v, Prop. 32, Cor.). Spinoza speaks in this context of knowledge "under the aspect of eternity [*sub specie aeternitatis*]" (*Ethica* v, Prop. 29) because both God and things conceived as necessarily following from God are eternal and immutable. From knowledge of eternal things Spinoza draws a conclusion that continues to puzzle scholars: that the part of the mind which loves God intellectually becomes itself eternal, i.e., is in some way preserved after the destruction of the body (*Ethica* v, Prop. 22 and Prop. 23). It seems, therefore, that "salvation" for Spinoza is a form of intellectual immortality. But the *Ethica* not only intends to instruct the reader how to reach happiness and salvation; in a way it also puts these instructions into practice. The geometric form of the argument, which deduces philosophical propositions from definitions and axioms, entails a claim to definitive validity. From the first part, that demonstrates God's existence and characteristics, to the fifth part, that shows how human freedom consists in the activity of intellectually loving God, the *Ethica* can be seen as part of the knowledge *sub specie aeternitatis*. In this sense it contributes to bringing the quest for the "true good" to conclusion that was the point of departure of the *tie*. At the end of the "road [*via*]" set out in the *Ethica* the seeker is prepared to turn into a "wise man [*sapiens*]" who "suffers scarcely any disturbance of spirit, but being conscious, by virtue of a certain eternal necessity, of himself, of God and of things, never ceases to be, but always possesses true spiritual contentment [*animi acquiescentia*]" (*Ethica* v, Prop. 42, Schol.). Many of the arguments on which Spinoza's project of the good life relies – from those for the intellectual love of God to those for the immortality of the mind – were articulated in similar ways by Jewish rationalists such as Abraham Ibn Ezra, Maimonides, Gersonides, and Leone Ebreo. It is presumably in their writings that Spinoza encountered them for the first time.

METAPHYSICS. In order to show of what the good life consists, it is necessary to understand the nature of human beings and their place in the order of existents. This in turn requires understanding the nature and order of existents themselves. The first part of the *Ethica* is thus devoted to ontology. Since for Spinoza ontology and philosophical theology coincide, it is titled *De Deo* (About God). By identifying God with reality as a whole, Spinoza radically breaks with the concept of divine transcendence. God neither is located outside the natural order, nor does he lack what Spinoza takes to be the essential attribute of the physical world: extension. In light of this it is not surprising that he can speak of "God or Nature [*Deus sive Natura*]" (*Ethica* iv, Praef.). God is defined as "an absolutely infinite being [*ens absolute infinitum*], i.e., a substance consisting of infinite attributes, each of which expresses eternal and infinite essence" (*Ethica* i, Def. 6). According to this definition, God encompasses all logically possible kinds of being, each of which is infinite in its kind. But only two kinds can be apprehended by human beings: "thought [*cogitatio*]" and "extension [*extensio*]," i.e., the essential attributes of the two realms of reality accessible to us. God, therefore, is both "thinking thing" and "extended thing," but also an infinite number of other things that lie beyond human cognition (*Ethica* ii, Prop. 1 and 2 and *Letter* 64). That God exists follows from the fact that the concept of a substance with infinite attributes is not contradictory (*Ethica* i, Prop. 10, Schol.) and that the essence of a substance entails its existence (*Ethica* i, Prop. 11). Since the existence of two substances with the same attribute is impossible (*Ethica* i, Prop. 5), and since God has all attributes, Spinoza's substance monism follows: "Except for God no substance can be or be conceived" (*Ethica* i, Prop. 14). This God is not static, but has an "active essence [*essentia actuosa*]" (*Ethica* ii, Prop. 3, Schol.) and produces as "immanent cause [*causa immanens*]" (*Ethica* i, Prop. 18) "infinite many things in infinite many ways" (*Ethica* i, Prop. 16) in himself "with the same necessity by which he apprehends himself [*seipsum intelligat*]" (*Ethica* ii, Prop. 3, Schol.). Spinoza here takes up and modifies the doctrine of God found in the writings of medieval Jewish Aristotelians who conceived God as the activity of a pure intellect apprehending itself (*Ethica* ii, Prop. 7, Schol.). The difference is that Spinoza's God is not only intellectual activity but also extending activity and an infinite number of other activities. Spinoza holds, moreover, that increasing God's ontological scope does not conflict with God's unity, for "the thinking substance and the extended substance are one and the same substance, comprehended now under this now under that attribute" (ibid.). Since Jewish rationalists before Spinoza took God to be incorporeal, the attribution of extension to God appears to be a fundamental departure from their premises. But also this step had been prepared by the Jewish critic of Aristotelianism, Hasdai Crescas, who argued for the existence of an infinitely extended empty space which he describes as a "metaphor [*dimayon*]" for God. Moreover, Spinoza uses arguments drawn from Crescas in *Ethica* i, Prop. 15, Schol. for defending God's extension. It would thus be inaccurate to say that Spinoza substitutes a philosophical God for a religious God. His move beyond medieval philosophy is better characterized as an attempt to solve specific ontological problems arising from the causal relation, which his predecessors had to posit between an incorporeal God and a corporeal world. As absolutely infinite activity that produces all logically possible kinds of being, Spinoza's God is all-powerful (*Ethica* i, Prop. 35). Although he is not free to choose what he does, he is free in the sense that his activity is determined only by the necessity of his own nature (*Ethica* i, Prop. 17, Cor. 2). Since the same necessity governs the order of things that God creates in himself, this order is completely determined (*Ethica* I, Prop. 29). In this context the distinction between creator and creation is replaced through that between *natura naturans* and *natura naturata* (ibid., Schol.) of which the former refers to substance insofar as it is an active cause and the latter to the infinite number of modifications produced under each of its attributes. Like substance, the series of modes is one; it consists in ideas when considered under the attribute of thought, in extended things when considered under the attribute of extension, and in an infinite number of other things when considered under the attributes unknown to us (*Ethica* II, Prop. 7, Schol.). There are two kinds of modes: those of the first kind are eternal and infinite and subdivided into modes following immediately from one of God's attributes and modes that are mediated through a mode following immediately from one of God's attributes. Modes of the second kind, by contrast, are transitory and finite. Since an eternal and infinite thing cannot be the cause of a transitory and finite thing, it is unclear how the modes of the second kind are supposed to be caused by God. Although Spinoza does not address the problem, a possible solution is to take finite modes to be dependent on God not individually, but as an eternal and infinite chain of causes and effects. Spinoza also makes little effort to explain the first kind of modes. The "infinite intellect" is the mode immediately following from the attribute of thought, "motion and rest" the mode immediately following from the attribute of extension, and the "face of the whole universe [*facies totius universi*]" a mediate eternal and infinite mode of extension (*Letter* 64). The notion of "motion and rest" suggests that Spinoza has the fundamental laws of nature in mind. The "face of the whole universe" appears to refer to the stable order of nature, since Spinoza links the notion to *Ethica* II, Lemma 7, Schol., where "the whole of nature" is described as an infinite individual that remains unchanged, while its constituents vary in infinite ways.

In an appendix to the first part of the *Ethica*, Spinoza explains the devastating consequences of his philosophical theology for popular views of God. A providential God, who interferes in the course of nature according to his free will, rewards and punishes, and performs miracles, is nothing but the "refuge of ignorance [*asylum ignorantiae*]" of the superstitious.

EPISTEMOLOGY, PSYCHOLOGY, AND ETHICS. From the subsequent parts of the *Ethica* it is clear that Spinoza is not interested in a general account of the order of modes, but in the structure of one particular mode: the human being, consisting of "mind and body [*mens et corpus*]" (*Ethica* II, Prop. 13, Cor.) which – as in the case of substance and all other modes – are one and the same thing considered under the attribute of thought and under the attribute of extension. While Spinoza thus avoids the problems involved in dualistic accounts of mind and body, the unity he assumes is not without obscurities of its own. He describes the mind as the idea of the body (*Ethica* II, Prop. 13) and its cognitive power as corresponding to the body's complexity and hence ability to interact with its environment (ibid., Schol. and Prop. 14). Of particular importance for Spinoza's epistemology are the three kinds of knowledge that he distinguishes in Prop. 40, Schol. 2: "imagination [*imaginatio*]" which draws on random sense-perceptions and their arbitrary association; "reason [*ratio*]" which draws on common notions and adequate ideas of the properties of things; finally "intuitive knowledge [*scientia intuitiva*]" which infers the essence of things from the essence of God's attributes. Whereas the first kind of knowledge is fallible, the other two kinds are necessarily true (*Ethica* II, Prop. 41). Although a true idea must correspond to its object (*Ethica* I, Ax. 6), this is not the criterion of truth for Spinoza. What is decisive is if the idea is "adequate" or not, whereby an "adequate" idea is one that has the "intrinsic characteristics of a true idea" (*Ethica* II, Def. 4). As a consequence, "he who has a true idea knows at the same time that he has a true idea, and cannot doubt its truth" (*Ethica* II, Prop. 43). Truth thus becomes "the standard both of itself and of falsehood [*norma sui et falsi*]" (ibid., Schol.).

The third part of the *Ethica* contains Spinoza's psychology in form of a theory of human affects. Crucial for understanding the affects is the striving "to persist in one's being" (*Ethica* III, Prop. 6) which Spinoza calls *conatus* and takes to be the essence of all things. Only God has absolutely unlimited power in himself to attain the goal of the *conatus*. The power of the modes, on the other hand, depends on God and is limited to varying degrees within the order of nature, which necessarily follows from God's essence, and in which the modes are determined by God to act on one another. In human beings the *conatus* takes on the form of "desire [*appetitus* or *cupiditas*]" which gives rise to two further basic affects: "joy [*laetitia*]" and "sadness [*tristitia*]." The former is caused by an object that increases a person's power and whose possession is, therefore, desired. The latter is caused by an object that decreases a person's power and which he or she will thus attempt to avoid (*Ethica* III, *Definition of the Affects* 1–3). Fundamental, moreover, is the distinction between active affects, of which human beings are the "adequate cause," and passive affects that are caused by external objects. With this, Spinoza has set up the conceptual framework for a detailed account and explanation of human affects "in the geometric manner" (*Ethica* III, Praef.), as well as for the ethical discussion of the fourth and fifth part of the *Ethica*.

Spinoza's ethics is clearly egoistic: to act virtuously means "to preserve one's own being […] under the guidance of reason," which in turn means to act with a view to "one's own advantage [*proprium utile*]" (*Ethica* IV, Prop. 24). As a consequence, goodness or badness are not inherent properties of things or actions but depend on their utility or lack of utility for attaining the objects of desire (*Ethica* IV, Def. 1 and 2). Since intellectual perfection is the highest level of power accessible to human beings, they – insofar as they are rational – desire nothing but "understanding [*intelligere*]" (*Ethica*

IV, Prop. 26) which, as already indicated, has the "knowledge of God" as its ultimate goal. This, therefore, is "the highest good" and the "highest virtue" of the mind (*Ethica* IV, Prop. 27 and 28). The power derived from understanding is manifold: it liberates human beings at least to some extent from the "bondage [*servitus*]" to passive affects, since next to the highest good, external things that are good or bad, but beyond their control, become less important. Moreover, their affective reaction to what happens to them will diminish and their tranquility increase through the knowledge that all things are predetermined and that human beings are "part of the whole of nature" (Appendix). By means of the better rational control over their affects, human beings become less vulnerable to external causes that toss them back and forth "like the waves of the sea when driven by contrary winds" (*Ethica* III, Prop. 59, Schol.). At the same time, intellectual activity is an active affect and entirely under our control. It thus represents the highest form of freedom in the sense of self-determination accessible to human beings. Since knowledge *sub specie aeternitatis*, according to Spinoza, allows the mind to participate in God's eternity, it constitutes the goal of the striving to "persist in one's being." Finally, the increase in power gained through understanding is a source of constant joy, leading to the "intellectual love of God."

It is important to note that Spinoza takes his ethical egoism to be perfectly compatible with the wish to give to one's fellow human beings every possible assistance to attain the same degree of perfection that one desires for oneself. For "no individual thing in nature is more advantageous to man than a man who lives by the guidance of reason" (*Ethica* IV, Prop. 35, Cor. 1). Moreover, in contrast to material goods, "the greatest good," i.e., knowledge of God, "can be enjoyed by all equally" (*Ethica* IV, Prop. 36). Solidarity and mutual help are thus good for purely utilitarian reasons.

CRITIQUE OF RELIGION. The *Tractatus Theologico-Politicus* also fits into Spinoza's project of the good life. Its goal may be described as creating the conditions for the project's implementation. After all, a philosophical life cannot be led by someone who does not have the "freedom to philosophize [*libertas philosophandi*]," or whom the "prejudices of theologians" prevent from "devoting [*applicare*]" his life to philosophy. These, according to Spinoza, were the main reasons for working out his critique of religion in the *TTP* (*Letter* 30). The chief purpose of this critique is to show that Scripture can make no legitimate claim to truth. This will take away both the fear felt by the potential philosopher when a demonstrated proposition conflicts with a theological doctrine and the authority of the theologian to persecute a person for holding views that disagree with the teachings of Scripture. Of crucial importance for attaining this purpose are the first two chapters of the *TTP*, which deal with "prophecy or revelation [*prophetia sive revelation*]" and with the biblical prophets. Spinoza recurs to a distinction between intellect and imagination that was common in the Aristotelian tradition and that Maimonides had already used for explaining prophecy. According to Maimonides, the prophet has both a highly developed intellect and a highly developed imagination, whereby the latter allows him to translate his intellectual insights into a simple and vivid language that can be understood by his uneducated audience. According to Spinoza, on the other hand, the prophet does not excel through his "more perfect intellect," but only through his "more lively imagination [*potentia vividius imaginandi*]" (*TTP* 2). Prophetic discourse, therefore, has no true cognitive content; it is only persuasive through images and symbols which are adjusted to the audience's limited capacity for understanding and help securing obedience to the law. Moreover, Spinoza intends to show through a detailed examination of the meaning of biblical terms that when the Bible describes the prophets as being filled with "the spirit of God or the holy spirit," it only intends to highlight their "exceptional virtue." This is an implicit attempt to refute the doctrine of the Calvinist Church which grounds the authority of Scripture on its super-rational inspiration by the holy spirit (*TTP* 1). Prophecy thus understood is neither specifically Jewish, nor can a claim to "election [*vocatio*]" be derived from it. For Spinoza Israel's election refers only to the political success of the ancient Hebrew state based on Moses' legislation. The election ended with the state's disintegration. That the Jewish people nonetheless continues to exist he explains through its insistence to keep up "external rituals" such as the "sign of circumcision [*signum circumcisionis*]" through which it sets itself apart from other nations and provokes their hatred (*TTP* 3). Moses' legislation, in particular the "ceremonial law [*ceremoniae*]" (*TTP* 5), is exclusively political in nature. As a "human law [*lex humana*]" (*TTP* 4) it aims only at "preserving life and the commonwealth," promising no more than "worldly happiness [*temporanea foelicitas*]" to those who observe it (*TTP* 5). By contrast, the "divine law [*lex divina*]" aims at the "highest good, i.e., the true knowledge and love of God," thus leading to "man's highest happiness [*summa hominis foelicitas*]" (*TTP* 4). Also the distinction between human and divine law Spinoza took over from Maimonides, at the same time turning it against its original intention. Whereas Maimonides identified the Torah with the divine law and presented Moses as a philosopher and lawgiver in the Platonic sense, Spinoza demotes Moses to a simple lawgiver whose legislation became obsolete after the downfall of the Hebrew state. This reversal of the Maimonidean model is a good example for the influence of Uriel da Costa and other Jewish heterodox thinkers on Spinoza. Their denial that the immortality of the soul is a biblical doctrine presumably underlies his claim that the Mosaic Law only promises "worldly happiness," and not eternal happiness which is the reward of "the true knowledge and love of God."

Also the miracles related in Scripture cannot be used as testimony for the authority of revelation, since miracles in the sense of God suspending the laws of nature are impossible in the order of nature, which is eternally and necessarily determined through God's essence. The reason for the belief in miracles, according to Spinoza, is the ignorance of causal connections (TTP 6).

The demolition of the traditional notion of revelation allows Spinoza to refute the premises of the exegesis promoted by Maimonides which attempts to harmonize philosophy and Scripture. In Spinoza's view this amounts to the "distorting and explaining away of Scripture" (TTP 7) with the goal to "extract" from it "Aristotelian nonsense [*nugas Aristotelicas*]" (TTP 1). It allows him likewise to refute the central claim underlying the hermeneutics of the Calvinist Church: that the understanding of Scripture requires the super-rational illumination by the holy spirit. Against these approaches Spinoza calls for the unconditional acceptance of Scripture's literal sense based on the methodological principle that "the knowledge of all the contents of Scripture must be sought from Scripture alone." The focus is no longer the "truth [*veritas*]" of a proposition in Scripture but its "meaning [*sensus*]" (TTP 7). In order to determine the meaning, the Bible scholar proceeds in an analogous way to the scientist whose aim is to explain nature. Both work out a "history [*historia*]," i.e., a methodological account, of the object of their study (ibid.). For the Bible scholar this means collecting and ordering the data contained in Scripture and then interpreting them in light of the relevant historical and socio-cultural contexts, as well as the psychological peculiarities of the prophets, insofar as these can be reconstructed from the available sources. In much of his discussion in the preceding chapters Spinoza follows the methodological rules laid out in TTP 7 and shows that from a philosophical point of view almost every statement in Scripture is false.

In TTP 8–10 he goes on to examine the composition and transmission of the biblical books. Taking a number of cryptic remarks in Abraham Ibn Ezra's commentary on the Bible as his point of departure, Spinoza arrives at the conclusion that much of the Pentateuch cannot have been written by Moses. He likewise questions the traditional attribution of several other books of the Bible. The comprehensive rejection of the claim to truth of revelation leads to the goal of the theological part of the TTP: the strict separation of philosophy and religion. The authority to determine truth and falsehood belongs only to philosophers who rely on rational insight. The task of theologians, relying on revelation, is to assure "obedience [*obedientia*]" to the law by teaching – like the prophets led by their imagination – "pious dogmas" whose truth is not important. Philosophy and theology thus become two independent disciplines: "the goal of philosophy is nothing but the truth, the goal of faith is nothing but obedience" (TTP 14). Consequently "reason" cannot be "the handmaid of theology [*ancilla theologiae*] nor theology the handmaid of reason [*ancilla rationis*]." Spinoza calls the former position "skepticism," for it "denies the certainty of reason," and exemplifies it through Judah Alfakhar, one of the leaders of the opposition to philosophy in medieval Judaism. Alfakhar is a stand-in for the position of the Calvinist Church, which Spinoza refrained from attacking openly. The latter position he calls "dogmatism" and illustrates it by means of Maimonides' philosophical exegesis which reinterprets every biblical passage that contradicts a doctrine established by reason (TTP 15). From this point of view the TTP marks the end of classical Jewish philosophy, whose fundamental premise was the agreement of revelation with all propositions demonstrated by reason. More importantly: it destroys the traditional notion of religion as a whole insofar as it is grounded on the truth of revelation. In this lies one of Spinoza's most momentous contributions to modernity.

RELIGION AS A REPLACEMENT OF PHILOSOPHY. Nevertheless, Spinoza's attitude to religion is considerably more complicated. For despite the radical critique of religion, there are a significant number of passages throughout his work – from the *Cogitata Metaphysica* to the *Tractatus Politicus* and the late correspondence with Henry Oldenburg – in which he attributes a true core to Scripture, often presented as its allegorical content. This striking inconsistency seems to stem from a twofold commitment that Spinoza was ultimately unable to reconcile: he not only wants to criticize religion in order to defend the freedom to philosophize; he also wants to use religion as a replacement of philosophy for non-philosophers. The concept of religion as a replacement of philosophy which guides non-philosophers to virtue is precisely the "dogmatic" view of Maimonides (and, in fact, the standard view of medieval Islamic and Jewish philosophers) that Spinoza rejects in the TTP. The main idea is that the positive content of religion – biblical narratives, laws, rituals and so forth – is a pedagogical-political program designed by philosophers to guide non-philosophers. The allegorical content of religion, on the other hand, corresponds to the doctrines demonstrated in philosophy. Religion's authority thus depends on the assumption that the teachings of religion are true on the allegorical level. Before Spinoza started working on the TTP in 1665, he consistently endorsed the dogmatic position whenever he discussed the character of Scripture (*Cogitata Metaphysica* II, 8 and the correspondence with W. van Blyenbergh between 1664 and 1665). But different versions of it reappear also in his later writings. They include the attribution of true moral convictions to the biblical prophets (TTP 1 and 2), the attribution of true metaphysical doctrines such as God being *causa immanens* to "all ancient Hebrews" (*Letter* 73), the presentation of Christ as an accomplished philosopher instructing non-philosophers by means of allegories (TTP 4; cf. E IV, Prop. 68, Schol.), and the claim that the "uncorrupted" core of Scripture corresponds to the "universal religion" described in the TTP (12–14). None of these can be justified through the exegetical method that Spinoza claims to have adopted in the TTP: "to neither affirm anything of [Scripture] nor to admit anything as its teaching which I did not most clearly derive from it" (TTP Preface). The textual evidence gives rise to a number of questions: why did Spinoza adopt the medieval position in his early writings, why did he refute it in the TTP, and why did he continue to make use of it even after having refuted it? For one thing, Spinoza clearly shares the view of Maimonides and many other medieval philosophers that the good life based on knowledge (i.e., the life he himself chose according to the opening passage of the TEI and for which the *Ethica* serves as a guide) is accessible only to a small group of philosophers: "only a few in proportion to the whole of humanity acquire a virtuous disposition under the guidance of reason alone" (TTP 15; cf. *Ethica* V, Prop. 42, Schol.). This leads to the question how guidance can be provided to non-philosophers. The evidence of Spinoza's early writings shows that he in principle agrees with the medieval solution which takes the positive content of religion to be a pedagogical-political program designed to lead non-philosophers to virtue. A second reason for adopting the medieval position is that the perception of philosophy as coinciding with the allegorical content of religion facilitates its acceptance in a religious society. Finally, the medieval position, which has philosophy determine the true core of religion, neither seems to interfere with Spinoza's philosophical project in the *Ethica* nor with the freedom to philosophize that he sets out to defend in the TTP. But if this is the case, why did he refute it at all? It is clear that Spinoza's main opponent in the TTP is not the "dogmatic" position represented by Maimonides, but the "skeptical" position of the Calvinist Church, in particular the view that the authority of Scripture overrides the authority of reason. This he takes to be the chief threat to the freedom to philosophize (TTP Preface). The only efficient way to refute this position, in Spinoza's view, is to show that Scripture contains no truth. But although the medieval position and the position of the Reformed Church are in a sense opposed to each other, both depend in different ways on the premise that Scripture is true. Thus the refutation of the one entails the refutation of the other. While his target is the Reformed Church, Spinoza has no choice but to give up the medieval position as well. At the same time he has no new solution for the problem of non-philosophers. This explains why, despite its refutation, he continues to use the dogmatic position in various contexts in his later writings.

POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY. In the *Ethica* Spinoza argues that the essence of human beings is the *conatus*, i.e., the striving "to persist in one's being." In the political part of the TTP and in the *Tractatus Politicus*, following Thomas Hobbes, he equates the power to do so with a person's natural right in the state of nature, and explains the social contract as the decision to submit to a sovereign power in exchange for peace and safety (TTP 16). But, against Hobbes, Spinoza maintains that the natural right is not given up under the social contract: "the supreme power in a state has no more right over a subject than is proportionate to the power by which it is superior to the subject" (*Letter* 50).

Besides Hobbes, Spinoza was also influenced by ancient political thought, in part mediated through medieval Jewish sources. Indeed, the fear of being harmed through the power of others is not the only motive for forming a political community. Since, on their own, human beings are not self-sufficient, they must collaborate with one another. Hence the Aristotelian definition "which makes man a social animal, has been quite pleasing to most." Spinoza in any case is certain that "we derive from the society of our fellow men many more advantages than disadvantages" (*Ethica* IV, Prop. 35, Schol.). Moreover, according to Spinoza, social harmony is weakened when the actions of the citizens are guided by the idiosyncratic goals of their passions, whereas it is strengthened when their actions are guided by reason which prescribes the same goal to all (idem, Dem.). It follows that the "end [*finis*]," for which the state is established, is not simply peace in the sense of "the absence of war [*privatio belli*];" its positive aim is to enhance the rationality of the citizens, i.e., their virtue, for "reason" is the "true virtue and life of the mind" (*Tractatus Politicus* 5, IV – VI). Since Spinoza equates virtue and knowledge, culminating in the intellectual love of God, and since he takes the "uncorrupted" true core of Scripture to be the call "to love God above all and one's neighbor as oneself" (TTP 12), the fundamental convergence of the purpose of his philosophical, religious, and political project becomes apparent: to foster a community based on solidarity and on freedom of thought, whose members assist one another in attaining the best life, i.e., a life devoted to the love of God.

INFLUENCE. Although during the first century after his death Spinoza was less famous than infamous, reviled as a notorious atheist, his influence was nonetheless considerable: not only on philosophers such as Leibniz, but, most importantly, on the different currents of the unfolding Enlightenment. Indeed, some scholars argue that the Enlightenment of the 18th century was no more than a *post-scriptum* to the dynamic of the radical Enlightenment set off by Spinoza's writings. He determined the intellectual agenda not only of those who agreed with him, but also of those who attempted to refute him and of those who adopted intermediate positions (cf. J. Israel). The most fruitful reception of his philosophy took place in Germany in the second half of the 18th century. The event which put Spinoza's work at the very center of the thriving German intellectual culture of the time was the so-called "*Pantheismusstreit*." This quarrel broke out when F.H. Jacobi accused Lessing after his death of being a crypto-Spinozist, in a public exchange of letters with Moses Mendelssohn that was widely debated in Germany's literary and philosophical circles and stirred up renewed interest in Spinoza's thought. A typical response to Jacobi's identification of Spinozism with atheism was that of the great Romantic poet Novalis, who described Spinoza as a "God-intoxicated man." Spinoza also significantly contributed to shaping Goethe's worldview, as well as that of many other central figures of Germany's literary scene. In a dedication that J.G. Herder wrote into a copy of Spinoza's *Opera Posthuma*, given to Goethe as a Christmas gift in 1784, he expresses his wish that the "holy Spinoza" may always remain their "holy Christ." In philosophy, Spinoza's ontological monism influenced the systems of German idealists probably as much as Kant's criticism. According to Hegel, Spinoza's thought is the "essential beginning of all philosophizing [*wesentliche Anfang alles Philosophierens*]." Nietzsche arrived at the conclusion that his own philosophical project agreed with Spinoza's on most fundamental issues. As mentioned in the introduction, Spinoza today continues to be debated by philosophers of a wide range of intellectual affiliations. Turning to his critique of religion, Spinoza may be said to have laid the foundation for the scientific study of the Bible. He also had a considerable impact on Jewish thinkers, beginning with David Nieto in the 17th century. In Jewish Haskalah circles of the 18th century, Mendelssohn's cautious Spinoza-reception stands next to Salomon Maimon's enthusiastic encounter with Spinoza's system that he relates in his *Autobiography*. Maimon's metaphysics, which takes up and combines ideas derived from Maimonides and Spinoza, was the first to make the transition from Kant to an idealist position. Spinoza also left his imprint on 19th-century *maskilim*. Moreover, he became an important source of the secular worldview of prominent Zionists, among them David Ben-Gurion who proposed to revoke the *ḥerem* against him. Albert Einstein wrote a poem "On Spinoza's Ethics." His "God who does not throw dice" clearly has Spinozistic features, as does his notion of a "cosmic religion."

[Carlos Fraenkel (2nd ed.)]

As a Bible Scholar

Spinoza's biblical criticism in part follows earlier attempts, but integrates them for the first time into a rational system, laying the groundwork for all later critical works on the Bible up to the present. His biblical criticism is closely connected to his philosophical system and political project. Based on the knowledge of the Bible that he acquired in his childhood, and after long years of reflection, his critical views of the Bible were expressed in the *Tractatus Theologico-Politicus*, as well as in a few letters and conversations. In opposition to the many misuses of the Bible that he observed in Judaism and Christianity, Spinoza developed what he took to be the true method of biblical exegesis. Every person has the right to engage in biblical interpretation; it does not require supernatural illumination or special authority. Spinoza's supreme principle is that the Bible must be interpreted on its own terms. The method of the interpretation of the Bible is the same as the method of the interpretation of nature. "For, as the method of interpreting nature consists essentially in putting together a history [i.e., a methodical account] of nature, from which, as from sure data, we deduce the definitions of natural phenomena, so it is necessary for the interpretation of Scripture to work out a true history of Scripture, and from it, as from sure data and principles, to deduce through legitimate inference, the intention of the authors of Scripture" (*TTP* 7). The history of Scripture should comprise three components: (1) an analysis of the Hebrew language; (2) the compilation and classification of the expressions [*sententiae*] of each of the books of the Bible; (3) research into the original contexts of the biblical writings, as far as they still can be ascertained, i.e., into "the life, the conduct, and the pursuits of the author of each book, who he was, what was the occasion and the epoch of his writing, whom did he write for, and in what language. Further it should inquire into the fate of each book: how it was first received, into whose hands it fell, how many different versions there were of it, by whose advice was it received into the Canon, and lastly, how all the books now universally accepted as sacred were united into a single whole" (ibid.). In accordance with this program, Spinoza analyzed the biblical writings in an attempt to determine their authors (*TTP* 8–10). He spelled out, and substantially expanded on, the considerations that led the medieval commentator Abraham Ibn Ezra to allude to the possibility that the Pentateuch did not derive in its entirety from Moses. Although some of the Pentateuch did originate with Moses (The Book of the Wars of God, the Book of the Covenant, the Book of the Law of God), it was only many centuries after Moses that the Pentateuch as a whole appeared. The Pentateuch, together with the books of Joshua, Judges, Samuel, and Kings, forms a single larger historical work, whose author, Spinoza conjectures, was Ezra. Ezra was prevented by his premature death, or perhaps some other reason, from revising these books. They contain numerous repetitions and contradictions, e.g., of a chronological nature, that lead to the conclusion that the wealth of material was compiled from works of different authors, without being arranged and harmonized. I and II Chronicles were written long after Ezra, perhaps even after the restoration of the Temple by Judah Maccabee. The Psalms were collected and divided into five books in the Second Temple period; Proverbs is from the same period or, at the earliest, from the time of Josiah. The Prophetic books contain only fragments assembled from other books, but not in an order established by the prophets. Spinoza adopts Ibn Ezra's hypothesis concerning Job, according to which Job was translated from a gentile language; if this were the case it would entail that the gentiles also had holy books. Daniel is authentic only from chapter 8 on; the previous chapters, presumably taken from Chaldean chronicles, are in any case an indication that books can be holy even though they are not written in Hebrew. The Book of Daniel forms with the books of Ezra, Esther, and Nehemiah a work by a historian who wrote long after the restoration of the Temple by Judah Maccabee, using the official annals of the Second Temple in his work. These theories lead to the conclusion that the canon could have originated only in the time of the Hasmoneans. It is a work of the Pharisees, not Ezra, in whose time the Great Assembly did not yet exist. Spinoza criticizes various decisions of the Pharisees, such as the inclusion of Chronicles in the canon and the rejection of the Wisdom of Solomon and Tobit, and he regrets "that holy and highest things should depend upon the choice of those people." Spinoza discovers in the Prophets numerous contradictions in their conceptions of natural and spiritual phenomena. He concludes that God adapted his revelation in these matters to the limited intellectual power of the prophets, and that philosophical knowledge is not to be found in their works. The purpose of the revelation to the prophets is rather to teach the right way of life to an uneducated audience (*TTP* 1–2). The example of Balaam indicates that there were prophets not only among the Hebrews.

The election of the Hebrews should not be understood as an indication that they excelled over other nations with respect to intellect and virtue; their election refers only to their political kingdom and ended with the latter's downfall (*TTP* 3). The ceremonies prescribed in the Bible, in fact the entire Mosaic law, were applicable only as long as the kingdom lasted; after it ended they no longer contributed to happiness and blessedness (*TTP* 4–5). According to Spinoza, stories in the Bible are not to be believed literally; they are intended to instruct the members of the community, who could not comprehend philosophical arguments in which propositions are deduced from definitions and axioms (*TTP* 5). Spinoza is aware of the difficulties that stand in the way of a conclusive understanding of the Bible on the basis of his method, for example our incomplete knowledge of Hebrew and of the circumstances of the composition of the biblical books, some of which (in particular those of the New Testament) are not extant in the language in which they were composed (*TTP* 7).

[Rudolf Smend / Carlos Fraenkel (2nd ed.)]

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SPIRA (Spiro), NATHAN NATA BEN SOLOMON (c. 1585–1633), Polish kabbalist. Spira, who was born in Cracow, maintained a well-known yeshivah. During the last years of his life he apparently served as head of the rabbinic court. One of the first protagonists in Poland of pseudo-Lurianic Kabbalah, particularly in the version disseminated by Israel *Sarug, he was interested mainly in the mysticism of numbers rather than in systematic speculation. His *Megalleh Amukkot*, published by his son after his early death (Cracow, 1637), became one of the classics of Ashkenazi Kabbalah and was reprinted several times. It offered 252 interpretations of one single passage, Moses' prayer in Deuteronomy 3:23ff. The author was "intoxicated" with numbers; he was concerned less with using the qualities of numbers in order to elucidate matters of Kabbalah and *halakhah* than in employing the Kabbalah as material for showing his great power with different numerical combinations, and there is no doubt that he had an extraordinary mathematical mind. Where other people think in words, he thought in numbers. His way of thinking and interpreting was frequently imitated by kindred spirits in the next 200 years. Spira mentions a similar book of his in which he had interpreted the letter *alef* in the word *Va-Yikra* in Leviticus 1:1 (which is written in a particularly small form) in 1,000 different ways. His commentary on the whole Pentateuch was not published until much later (Lvov, 1785), under the same title. The rabbinical approbations of an elaborate commentary on Spira's classic by David b. Moses from Zuelz were published in Dyhernfurth in 1707, but the work itself never appeared.

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[Gershom Scholem]

SPIRE, ANDRÉ (1868–1966), French poet and Zionist leader. Born in Nancy, Spire was descended from an old established family of Lorraine and the son of a rich industrialist. After studying law, he became a member of the Conseil d' État in 1894, specialized in employment problems at the French Ministry of Labor (1898–1902), and was inspector general in the Ministry of Agriculture from 1902 to 1926 when he retired. Spire was roused from his assimilationist lethargy by the *Dreyfus Affair, in which he played an active role. He fought a duel with the antisemite *Drumont, and struggled to gain a revision of the trial. Much to the dismay of assimilated French

Jewry, Spire speedily became a militant advocate of Jewish national revival, first supporting the Russo-Jewish self-defense organizations during the pogroms, then organizing the Association des Jeunes Juifs in order to organize the recent Jewish immigrants to France. Writing from Basle where he was attending a Zionist Congress in 1911, Spire declared: "The most despicable Jews are those who deny their own identity.… They were cursed by the Prophets and will be banished from the New Jerusalem.… Assimilation is death. Zionism is life." After the Balfour Declaration, Spire founded in 1918 the Ligue des Amis du Sionisme, and a year later represented the French Zionists at the Paris Peace Conference; in 1920 he joined a delegation to Ereẓ Israel. Following a rift with *Weizmann, Spire withdrew from active participation in official Zionism. During World War II he took refuge in the U.S., where he taught and lectured on French culture and poetry. He worked for refugees during the Nazi period, and supported Hillel Kook's activist "Hebrew National Liberation Movement" on the eve of the birth of the State of Israel.

Spire is best remembered as the leader of the Jewish revival movement in 20th-century French literature, and also as a literary theorist and innovator. His verse, which overflows with passion and humor, defends freedom and justice, and chastises the cowardly and the rich. Spire's main verse collection, *Poèmes Juifs* (1919, 1959^3), lashes the assimilated and calls for a Jewish revolt. In *Samaël* (1921) Spire develops a dramatic vision of good and evil, man's destiny and happiness. His inexhaustible verve also expressed itself in tales such as the fanciful "Le Rabbin et la Sirène" (in *Mercure de France*, Aug. 15, 1931; "The Rabbi and the Siren," in J. Leftwich, *Yisröel*, 1933, rev. 1963); his critical judgment and insight appears in the essays *Quelques Juifs* (1913), enlarged in a second edition as *Quelques Juifs et demi-Juifs* (2 vols., 1928). He was a rare combination of a Frenchman attached to his country and steeped in its culture, and of a Jew, fully identified with the spiritual and national aspirations of his people.

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[Moshe Catane]

SPIRO, EUGEN (1874–1972), U.S. painter, illustrator, printmaker. Son of Abraham Beer Spiro, chief cantor of the Storch Synagogue, Breslau, Spiro studied in Breslau, Munich, and France. He studied with Franz van Stuck at the Munich Academy of Art. After visiting Paris from 1906 to 1914, he traveled to Berlin, where he taught at the Staatlichen Kunstschule and chaired the Berlin Secession. He immigrated to Paris in 1935 after the Nazis stripped him of his position and qualifications and denounced his portraits as "degenerate." He was imprisoned at the French concentration camp of Gurs; however, in 1941 Spiro and his family successfully escaped Nazi-occupied France, fleeing to New York via Marseilles and Portugal, in part through the support of Alfred H. Barr, the director of the Museum of Modern Art. Spiro was active as a painter of landscapes, which reflected his study of Cezanne, van Gogh, and the Impressionists. He also made still lifes, self-portraits, and interiors, and was well known for his portraits, including those of Leni Riefenstahl (1924), Albert Einstein, Thomas Mann, and the artist Balthus in 1947. The latter artist was his nephew, and Spiro also painted a portrait of his sister Elisabeth Dorothea Spiro, Balthus' mother, as a strict schoolteacher in 1902. Spiro made numerous simple but descriptive drypoint etchings of North African subjects, including soldiers, snake charmers, and the Alhambra, all of which seek to invoke the images with exoticism. He taught at the Wayman Adam School in Elizabethtown, New Jersey. His work is in the collections of the Fine Arts Museum, San Francisco. He exhibited at the Museum of Modern Art and the St. Etienne Galerie, New York. The Galerie von Abercorn in Cologne mounted a retrospective of his work in 1978. A catalogue raisonné of his art, edited by Wilko von Abercron, was published in 1990.

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[Nancy Buchwald (2nd ed.)]

SPIRO, GYÖRGY (1946–), Hungarian novelist, poet, and literary historian. His volume of essays *A közep-kelet-europai dráma* ("The Drama in Central-East-Europe," 1986) analyzes the political era. He dealt mainly with historical and Slavonic subjects.

[Eva Kondor]

SPIRO, KARL (1867–1932), German physiological chemist. Born in Berlin, he worked at the University of Strasbourg from 1894 until 1918, when it became difficult there for Germans, and he went to Switzerland. From 1921 he was professor of physiological chemistry at the University of Basle. He was one of the first to apply concepts of physical chemistry to biology, such as pH buffering, and chemical kinetics to enzyme actions. He discovered some of the building blocks of proteins, such as pyrrolidinecarboxylic acid and phenylethylamine.

SPIRO, MELFORD ELLIOT (1920–), U.S. anthropologist. Born in Cleveland, Ohio, Spiro received his Ph.D. from Northwestern University in 1950. He taught at Connecticut University from 1952 to 1957; from 1957 to 1964 he was professor at Washington University, and from 1965 to 1967 at the University of Chicago. In 1968 he became a founding member of the Department of Anthropology at the University of California, San Diego. After retiring from teaching, he was named professor emeritus of anthropology at UCSD.

Spiro's primary research interest is the comparative analysis of social systems, especially problems of cultural motivation and control, and the interrelation of personality, culture, and society. In a theoretical chapter in *Studying Personality Cross-Culturally* (ed. B. Kaplan, 1961), he discussed culture and personality study in relation to the central issue in the social sciences – the explanation of social cohesion and functioning. He saw personality and culture as systems of motivational tendencies. Among his studies were *Kibbutz: Venture in Utopia* (1956) and *Children of the Kibbutz: A Study in Child Training and Personality* (1958), based on his research in the kibbutz as a participant observer. He analyzed the child-rearing methods on the collective settlements and the outcome in the personality of the kibbutz child. He also conducted fieldwork in Micronesia and Burma. In 1991 he received the Distinguished Contribution Award from the Society for Psychological Anthropology.

Spiro's publications include *Burmese Supernaturalism* (1967), *Buddhism and Society* (1970), *Gender and Culture: Kibbutz Women Revisited* (1979), *Oedipus in the Trobriands* (1982), *Culture and Human Nature* (1987), and *Gender Ideology and Psychological Reality* (1997). He also edited *Context and Meaning in Cultural Anthropology* (1965).

[Ephraim Fischoff / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

SPITZ, MARK ANDREW (1950–), U.S. swimmer, holder of the record for most gold medals won in a single Olympics with seven, and tied for most gold medals overall with nine; member of the International Swimming Hall of Fame and U.S. Olympic Hall of Fame. Born in Modesto, California, the eldest of three children to Lenore and Arnold, a steel executive, Spitz began swimming at age two, when his family moved to Honolulu and Spitz would swim at Waikiki Beach every day. The family returned to California four years later, and Spitz received his first competitive training at six at the Sacramento YMCA. By the time he was 10, he held 17 national age-group records and one world record, the 50-yard butterfly, which he completed in 31 seconds, and was named "the world's best 10-and-under swimmer." The family moved to Santa Clara when Spitz was 14, so he could train at the famed Santa Clara Swim Club. In 1965 at age 15, he swam at the Maccabiah games in his first international competition, winning four gold medals. At age 16 he won the 100-meter butterfly at the 1966 National AAU Championships, the first of his 24 AAU titles. The next year he won five gold medals at the Pan-American Games in Winnipeg, and laid claim to ten world records. By the time Spitz was 18, he had won 26 national and international titles, and broken 10 world and 28 U.S. records. At the 1968 Olympic Games in Mexico City, where much was expected of him, Spitz came away disappointed after predicting he would win six gold medals. He won two gold medals, in the 4 × 100 m and 4 × 200 m freestyle relays, a silver medal in the 100m butterfly, and bronze in the 100m freestyle. Spitz spent the next four years at Indiana University, winning almost every conceivable award and setting almost every world record in existence, as he prepared for the 1972 Olympics in Munich. He returned to Israel for the 1969 Maccabiah Games, winning another six gold medals. By the spring of 1972, Spitz had set 23 world records and 35 U.S. records. Driven by ambition and sheer single-mindedness, Spitz won seven Olympic gold medals in 1972 at the Munich Games – a feat unequaled by any Olympic athlete – with a world record in each of the seven events (the 100 m freestyle, 200 m freestyle, 100 m butterfly, 200 m butterfly, 4 × 100 m and 4 × 200 m freestyle, and the 4 × 100 m medley). The next week he was on the September 11, 1972, cover of *Time* magazine. Spitz's 11 total medals in the two Olympics are tied for the most medals ever won by a U.S. Olympian. Hours after he won his last medal, Palestinian terrorism claimed the lives of 11 Israeli sportsmen, and security personnel whisked Spitz out of Munich. Over his career, Spitz set 26 individual world records in the freestyle and butterfly, contributing to another seven relay world records; 38 American records; 24 National AAU championships; and eight NCAA titles. He was named "World Swimmer of the Year" in 1967, 1971, and 1972 and became the first Jewish recipient of the James E. Sullivan Award in 1971, given annually to the Amateur Athlete of the Year. Spitz attempted a comeback at age 41 in an attempt to qualify for the 1992 Barcelona Olympics, after filmmaker Bud *Greenspan offered to pay him a million dollars if he succeeded in qualifying. Filmed by Greenspan's cameras, Spitz failed to beat the qualifying limit – his best time was 58:03, but he needed 55:59. Spitz was named a member of the International Swimming Hall of Fame in 1977 and the U.S. Olympic Hall of Fame in 1983. He wrote *The Mark Spitz Complete Book of Swimming* (1976) and his autobiography, *Seven Golds: Mark Spitz Own Story* (1981).

[Elli Wohlgelernter (2nd ed.)]

SPITZ, RENE A. (1887–1974), child psychiatrist and psychoanalyst. Born in Vienna, Spitz worked in Hungary, Austria, and France before he immigrated to the United States at the end of the 1930s. From 1940 to 1957 he was on the faculty of the New York Psychoanalytic Institute, where he became a research consultant in pediatrics and psychiatry. During part of this time he was an adjunct psychiatrist at the Mount Sinai Hospital, New York City (1940–43). As visiting clinical professor of psychiatry at the University of Colorado's school of medicine from 1957, he was active in the fields of psychoanalysis, psychiatry, and normal and disturbed infant development. He was vice president of the New York Psychoanalytic Society (1950–52). In 1959 he published *Genetic Field Theory of Ego Formation*. After his retirement, he went to live in Geneva, Switzerland, where he continued to teach and write.

Spitz earned international fame for his pioneering research in infant development. In order to clarify psychoanalytic theories that had previously been based in the retrospective analysis of adults, he carried out direct observation and photographic documentation of infant behavior. His observation of children in hospitals led to one of his most important contributions to psychoanalytic theory – the concept of anaclitic depression, a severe disturbance of infant development resulting from separation from a maternal object and leading to malnutrition and sometimes death. This condition was regarded by subsequent analysts as an attachment disorder. The books Spitz wrote in his later years, *No and Yes* (1957) and *The First Year of Life* (1965) provide rich documentary evidence on the early development of infant communication, perceptual development, relation to objects, and development of the mother-child relationship. In them, Spitz tried to conceptualize early development and to correlate the psychological theory of Jean Piaget (1896–1980) with psychoanalytic theory.

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[Joseph Marcus]

SPITZER, ELIOT (1959–), New York State attorney general. Born in the Bronx in New York City, Spitzer graduated from Princeton University in 1981 and received his J.D. degree from Harvard Law School, where he was an editor of the *Harvard Law Review* in 1984. He clerked for U.S. District Court Judge Robert W. Sweet in New York, then entered private practice at the firm of Paul, Weiss, Rifkind, Wharton, and Garrison.

From 1986 Spitzer worked as an assistant district attorney in Manhattan, under District Attorney Robert Morgenthau. He pursued investigations into organized crime, eventually becoming chief of the Labor Racketeering Unit. In 1992, in perhaps his most famous case, Spitzer led the investigation into the Gambino family's control of trucking in Manhattan's garment industry. That same year he left the District Attorney's office and joined the firm of Skadden, Arps, Slate, Meagher, and Flom, and he was later a partner at Constantine and Partners.

In 1994 Spitzer made his first bid for the office of New York State Attorney General. He failed to win the Democratic nomination, and Democratic candidate Karen Burstein lost the general election to Dennis Vacco. Spitzer again sought the nomination in 1998, this time successfully, and defeated Vacco in the general elections. In 2002 he was reelected with a large margin.

As attorney general, Spitzer was credited with redefining the role of the office, taking on cases that formerly had been deferred to federal prosecution. His office investigated securities fraud, insurance practices, occupational safety, marketing fraud, and violations of environmental protection. *Time* magazine named him "Crusader of the Year" in 2002. That year Spitzer sued several investment banks for inflating stock prices by, among other practices, using affiliated firms to offer biased advice. He negotiated a settlement of these lawsuits for $1.4 billion in compensation and fines, and new rules were imposed for analysis of the market. Also in 2002, he filed suits to address violations of the Clean Air Act.

In 2004 Spitzer's office investigated the music industry, uncovering $50 million in unpaid royalties to musicians. Numerous other cases addressed commissions in the insurance industry, disclosure policies regarding clinical trials in the pharmaceutical industry, and fraud in the marketplace.

Spitzer announced in 2004 that he would seek the Democratic nomination for governor of New York in 2006. Senator Charles Schumer, who had been favored in the polls, had announced that he would not run but would remain in his Senate seat. Governor George Pataki announced in 2005 that he would not seek reelection, and Spitzer was considered a strong candidate for not only the Democratic nomination but in a run against possible Republican contenders.

[Dorothy Bauhoff (2nd ed.)]

SPITZER, FREDERIC (**Samuel**; 1814–1890), Hungarian-born collector and dealer in paintings, armor, and objets d'art. Spitzer, son of a cemetery guard, began by selling a Duerer painting he bought cheaply in Italy while serving with the Austrian army in 1848. He later dealt in old weapons and armor. He settled in Paris and built up a magnificent collection which the French state offered to buy. Spitzer rejected this offer and the collection was sold after his death for ten million francs. The armor was purchased by King Edward VII.

SPITZER, HUGO (1854–1937), Austrian philosopher and scientist. Spitzer, who was born in Einoede, Carinthia, was professor of philosophy and natural science at Graz from 1903 to 1924. He was an ardent supporter of Darwin and wrote *Beitraege zur Deszendenztheorie und zur Methodologie der Naturwissenschaft* (1886). In common with Haeckel, Spitzer claimed that consciousness could be derived from matter (in his *Ueber Ursprung und Bedeutung des Hylozoismus* (1881)). Spitzer also wrote *Kritische Studien zur Aesthetik der Gegenwart* (1897), and *Untersuchungen zur Theorie und Geschichte der Aesthetik* (1923^{2}), in which he tried to clarify the relationship between aesthetics and the philosophy of art.

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[Richard H. Popkin]

ŠPITZER, JURAJ (1919–1995), Slovak writer, literary critic, scriptwriter. Špitzer was born in Krupina, Slovakia. In 1944 he participated in the Slovak National Uprising against the Germans. From 1951 to 1970 he worked at the Institute of Slovak Literature of the Slovak Academy of Sciences. In 1970 he lost his job (punishment for his activities in 1968). Špitzer wrote several movie scripts and a number of stories, such as *Patrím k vám* ("I Belong to You," 1964) about the political trials of the 1950s and *Letná nedeľa* ("The Summer Sunday," 1991). The narrative *Nechcel som byť Žid* ("I Did Not Want to Be a Jew," 1995) is based on a factual "Report on Nováky," which describes the Jewish concentration camp in central Slovakia between 1942 and 1944. After Špitzer's death, a collection of essays and memoirs appeared entitled *Svítá, až keď je celkom tma* ("It Is Getting

Light, until the Darkness Is Coming," 1996). The main topic was the so-called "Jewish question" and the Holocaust.

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[Milos Pojar (2nd ed.)]

SPITZER, KARL HEINRICH (1830–1848), first Jewish victim of the March 1848 revolution in Vienna. He was born in Bzenec (Bisenz), Moravia, where the family had settled after the expulsion of the Jews from Vienna in 1670. From the age of 10 he lived in Vienna, where he was educated, and was influenced by the French Enlightenment, and the writings of Ludwig *Boerne. Dissatisfied with political conditions under the Hapsburgs and tending to radicalism, he intended to emigrate to the United States. In the 1848 revolution in Vienna, Spitzer was among the first five fighters at the barricades to be shot outside the building of the Lower Austrian Estates *(Landhaus)* on March 13. Spitzer was glorified as a martyr of the revolution by the Jews of the Hapsburg Empire. His father, Leopold, is reported to have said that he praised God because his son had helped to free the fatherland and gave new life to millions by his death. On the initiative of the Roman Catholic chaplain of the students organization the Jewish victims, Spitzer and Bernard Herschmann, were buried in a common grave with Christians who also lost their lives at this time. I.N. *Mannheimer eulogized them in a celebrated sermon. This unique procedure was not repeated for the Jews shot in Vienna in October 1848.

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[Meir Lamed / Albert Lichtblau (2nd ed.)]

SPITZER, LEO (1939–), scholar and author. Born in Bolivia to Austrian Jewish parents fleeing Nazi persecution, Spitzer moved to the United States with his family in 1950. He was educated at Brandeis University, where he received a B.A. in Spanish literature (1961), and at the University of Wisconsin, where he earned a master's degree in Latin American history (1963) and a Ph.D. in African history (1969). He joined the faculty of Dartmouth College in 1967 as an instructor, becoming an assistant professor in 1969 and an associate professor in 1974. He became the Kathe Tappe Vernon Professor of History at Dartmouth.

A multilingual scholar who speaks Spanish, German, Portuguese, and Krio, and reads French and Xhosa, Spitzer published widely on African culture and responses to colonialism and racism. From 1963 to 1965 he was the recipient of a Ford Foundation Foreign Area Training Fellowship for research in England and Sierra Leone, and in 1972 he received a Social Science Research Council fellowship for a comparative study of the intellectual reactions to Western culture of Afro-Brazilian freedmen and the Sierra Leone Creoles. In 1974 and 1975 he was awarded grants from the comparative world history program of the University of Wisconsin. His works include *The Creoles of Sierra Leone: Responses to Colonialism* (1974); *Lives in Between: Assimilation and Marginality in Austria, Brazil, West Africa, 1780–1945* (1989); and *Acts of Memory: Cultural Recall in the Present* (as editor, with Mieke Bal and Jonathan Crewe, 1999).

Spitzer perhaps received the most attention for his 1998 work, *Hotel Bolivia: The Culture of Memory in a Refuge from Nazism*, which was widely and favorably reviewed as a significant contribution to Holocaust studies. The work is part memoir, part ethnographic study of the Jews who fled to "Hotel Bolivia," as they called the country that most regarded as a temporary haven. It includes letters, family photographs, and interviews with surviving refugees, and the work explores the issues of displacement, grief, and nostalgia for an obliterated past.

Spitzer has been the recipient of several honors. He was the Lucius Littauer Fellow at the National Humanities Center in 1992 and 1993. From 1996 to 1998 he was a National Humanities Center Distinguished Lecturer. His latest work is a collaboration with Marianne Hirsch on a study of Jewish families from Czernowitz before, during, and after the Holocaust.

[Dorothy Bauhoff (2nd ed.)]

SPITZER, MOSHE (1900–1982), Israeli publisher and typographer. Moshe Spitzer was born in Boskovice, Moravia, studied at the University of Vienna, and then earned his Ph.D. at the University of Kiel in Indian Studies. In the late 1920s he served as Martin Buber's secretary, assisting the philosopher in his German translation of the Bible, and from 1933 he worked for the Schocken Publishing Company in Berlin. In 1939, Spitzer went to Palestine, where in 1940 he established Tarshish Books. Over the years he published over 100 editions of Hebrew literature (Samuel Beckett, Nelly Sachs) and the classics (Dante, Shakespeare). In 1942 he opened a composing (typesetting) shop for his own books and for other publishers. As a partner in the Jerusalem Type Foundry (1950–1960), he revived neglected Hebrew typefaces and initiated the casting on new ones: *Romema, Rahat*, and *Hatzvi.* Because of his unceasing demands on compositors and printers, his innate good taste, and his familiarity with European fine printing, he succeeded in raising the level of book production in Israel from the mediocre to the best possible with the materials then available in the country. He commissioned leading Israeli artists to illustrate many of his editions. His publications included *The Birds' Head Haggadah* (1965–67), the facsimile of a manuscript in the Israel Museum. Spitzer designed books for Schocken, established and managed the Jewish Agency's publishing department from 1945, and directed publishing at the Bialik Institute. He wrote articles on the history of the Hebrew letter. In 1981 he was elected to the Double Crown Club of England for his contribution to fine printing, and he was honorary chairman of Yedidei ha-Sefer, the Israel Bibliophiles. His own publications were exhibited in the Israel Museum (1970) and at the Jewish National and University Library (1981).

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[Leila Avrin]

SPITZER, SAMUEL (1839–1896), Hungarian rabbi and scholar. Spitzer, who was born in Keszthely, Hungary, studied with S.J. *Rapoport in Prague. In 1856 he became rabbi in Eszek (now Osijek, Croatia), where he engaged in the study of the history of Jewish and general culture.

His published works include *Das Heer und Wehrgesetz der alten Israeliten, Griechen und Roemer* (1869); *Das Mahl bet den alten Voelkern* (1878); *Urheimisch in Slavischen Laendern* (1880); *Das Jubilaeum in Woertlicher und Historischer Beleuchtung* (1882); and *Ueber Sitte und Sitten der alten Voelker* (1886).

[Baruch Yaron]

SPITZER, SOLOMON (**Benjamin Solomon Zalman**; 1826–1893), known as Reb Zalman Spitzer; rabbi and leader of Austrian Orthodox Jewry. Born in Ofen (Budapest), he studied under R. Moses Schick, in St. Jur, R. Meir Ash *Eisenstaedter in Ungvar, and R. Abraham Samuel Benjamin *Sofer in Pressburg. In 1849 he married the daughter of R. Moses *Sofer (Schreiber). On the suggestion of Ignaz *Deutsch, in 1853 he was appointed rabbi of Vienna's Pressburger *Shool*, a small community of Orthodox Jews mainly from Pressburg and from Hungarian provincial communities. Under Spitzer's leadership the community soon outgrew the small premises they occupied and by 1864 a new synagogue, Adass Yisroel, was built in Grosse Schiffgasse and known as the Schiff *Shool*. In conjunction with the synagogue he founded the Schiff *Shool bet ha-midrash*. In 1858 he was appointed assistant rabbi to Eliezer Horowitz. On the latter's death in 1868 Spitzer was offered the post of chief rabbi, on condition that he modify his strictly traditional standards, but he refused. In 1871 Adolf Jellinek, aided by Simon *Szanto, the influential editor of the *Neuzeit*, and Ignaz *Kuranda, the new president of the Kultusgemeinde, wished to introduce some radical reforms into the order of the service, including the elimination of all mention of an ultimate return to Zion and Jerusalem, and the exclusion from the prayer books of all references to the reinstitution of sacrifices and to a belief in the Messiah. Although the government openly sympathized with the reformers, the Orthodox community opposed the proposals. Spitzer called a protest meeting attended by some 500 people – approximately one quarter of the whole of Vienna's synagogue membership. A compromise was found: the reforms were called modifications, the organ was not introduced into any Vienna synagogue, and the controversial prayers were to be recited in silence by the congregation.

Spitzer resigned from the rabbinate of the Kultusgemeinde and devoted his energies entirely to the affairs of the Schiff *Shool* and to its flourishing subsidiary institutions. It was his lifelong desire to settle in Jerusalem and in preparation he sent his library on ahead with a son-in-law who migrated there. However, Spitzer's teacher, Moses Schick, prevailed upon him not to leave Vienna, saying "a conscientious general does not leave his soldiers to fight on by themselves." He died in Vienna and, in accordance with his last wish, was buried in Pressburg.

A large number of responsa in his teacher's work, the "Responsa of Maharam Schick," are addressed to Spitzer, as are a number of responsa in the *Ketav Sofer* by Abraham Samuel Benjamin Sofer, the *Shevet Sofer* of Simḥah Bunim Sofer, and the Responsa of Akiva *Eger. The only original work published by Spitzer is the *Tikkun Shelomo* (1892), consisting of 100 sermons and eight funeral orations, together with *Simlat Binyamin*, talmudic discourses. He also published the speech he made at the protest meeting in Vienna (1871).

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[Alexander Scheiber]

SPIVACKE, HAROLD (1904–1977), U.S. music librarian and musicologist. Born in New York, Spivacke studied at New York University and the University of Berlin, where he received his Ph.D. in 1933. He also studied privately with d'Albert and Hugo *Leichtentritt. He was assistant chief of the music division of the Library of Congress from 1934 to 1937 and chief from 1937 until his retirement. The music division was greatly developed under his administration. Spivacke was also a member of various directive and advisory bodies in American and international musicological organizations and president of the Music Library Association from 1951 to 1953; he held offices in the National Music Council and the American Musicological Society. He published *Paganiniana* (1945) and various articles.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Grove Music Online.

[Amnon Shiloah (2nd ed.)]

SPIVAK, ELYE (1890–1950), Yiddish linguist and pedagogue. Born in the Ukraine, Spivak was renowned as a Yiddish teacher before the Revolution. The author of scores of Yiddish primers and literary anthologies for schoolchildren, he trained Yiddish teachers at several institutes. After Nahum Shtif's death in 1933, Spivak was appointed director of the linguistic section of the Institute for Jewish Proletarian Culture at the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences in Kiev and editor of its journal, *Afn Shprakhfront*. In 1937, after the dissolution of the Institute, which had supported more than a hundred workers, a small Office for the Study of Yiddish Literature, Language, and Folklore was established, with Spivak continuing as director. The office was evacuated to the East during World War II and closed in 1949, when Spivak, a member of the *Jewish Anti-Fascist Committee, was arrested under charges of Jewish nationalism. He died in prison in 1950. The main administrator of Soviet Yiddish research in the 1930s and 1940s, Spivak was the authority on the lexicon and terminology. His crowning work was *Naye Vortshafung* ("Creating Neologisms," 1939), which demonstrated impressive expertise in Yiddish morphology, etymology, and language history and structure. The short-lived policy of dehebraization of Yiddish suggested by Shtif and I. Zaretski was, from 1931–1939, consistently opposed by Spivak, who argued for the componential integrity of the language.

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[Rakhmiel Peltz (2nd ed.)]

SPIVAK, NISSAN (known as "**Nissi Belzer**"; 1824–1906). Lithuanian cantor and composer. Spivak sang in the choir of Yeruḥam *Blindman, whose cousin he married, and became cantor in Belz, where he acquired his additional name. Later he was cantor in Kishinev and, from 1877 until his death, in Berdichev. He was largely self-taught, and although his voice was impaired by an accident in childhood, he became widely known because of his talents as a composer and choral conductor. His vocal limitation actually led him to develop a new style of synagogue music. Instead of using the choir merely for accompaniment and responses, he assigned to them long ensembles with solos and duets and reduced the role of the cantor to a minimum. He also took his choir on visits to other towns and the courts of ḥasidic rabbis. Successful as a teacher, he attracted many young cantors to study with him at Berdichev. His own compositions were preserved by his pupils. Two of them were published in Idelsohn's *Hebraeisch-orientalischer Melodienschatz* (bibl.).

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[Joshua Leib Ne'eman]

SPIVAKOVSKY, TOSSY (1906/7–1998), Russian-American violinist. Spivakovsky was born in Odessa. He studied with the Italian violinist Arrigo Serato and with Willy Hess in Berlin, where he made his concert debut at the age of ten. Spivakovsky became leader of the Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra in 1926. He then toured Europe (1920–33) and Australia (1933–39), where he taught at the Melbourne Conservatorium (1934–39).

In 1940 he settled in the United States and made his debut at New York's Town Hall. Playing with the Cleveland Orchestra in 1943, Spivakovsky introduced Bartok's *Violin Concerto* to the United States. He subsequently appeared with the most important American orchestras. In addition to an active performing career, Spivakovsky taught violin and chamber music at the Juilliard School from 1974 to 1989. His repertory ranged from the classics to contemporary works. A brilliant virtuoso, he had an exceptionally fast vibrato and advocated new bowing techniques which proved controversial. He was capable of frequently expressive playing with a highly volatile temperament. He published violin transcriptions and "Polyphony in Bach's Works for Solo Violin," in *The Music Review*, 28:4 (Nov. 1967), 277–88.

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[Max Loppert / Naama Ramot (2nd ed.)]

SPLIT (also **Spliet;** It. **Spalato;** in Jewish sources **אישפלטרא**), Adriatic port in Croatia. A Jewish community with a cemetery existed in nearby Salona (now Solin) in the third century C.E. When Salona was destroyed by the Avars in 641, the Jews seem to have fled to Diocletian's fortified palace which later became the town of Split. The register of the Church's properties in 1397 mentions a building that served as a synagogue. The first Jewish tombstones on the Marjan hill date, however, from 1573.

In the 16th century there were two groups of Sephardi Jews in Split; the Ponentine ("western") and the Levantine ("eastern") Jews. The first group came from Italy or from Spain via Italy, Split being a Venetian possession, and the second from the Ottoman territories in the Balkans. Both groups later merged into one Sephardi congregation whose notable families were Pardo, Macchiero, Misrai (Mizraḥi), Penso (Finzi), Jesurun (Yeshurun). There were also some Ashkenazi Jews, e.g., the Morpurgo family from Maribor.

The Jews of Split were mainly merchants, physicians, and tailors. The Venetian authorities protected them from the Inquisition and favored them in the interest of the trade with the Ottoman Empire. In 1592 the Jew Daniel Rodriguez succeeded, with the authorization of the Senate of Venice, in establishing a free port in Split. Jewish merchants from the Ottoman Empire wanting to settle in Split were exempted from paying the residence tax; and immunity of person and capital was guaranteed to Jewish merchants traveling to Venice via Split. The free port prospered. Some Jews became wealthy from traveling to the Ottoman territories in the Balkans and exporting the wares brought to Venice; later they had agents in major cities. In the 17th century Joseph Penso, consul of the Jews, became instrumental in expanding the free port's activities. The increasing wealth of Split's Jews brought a prohibition on real estate ownership except by special license, to prevent gentiles from pledging houses and land to Jews.

During the Turkish attack in 1657 the Jews were assigned the defense of a tower which later became known as the Jewish position [*posto degl' Ebrei*].

In the beginning of the 18th century there were several abortive attempts to exclude Jews from the food trade (1719, 1748), and from tailoring (1724, 1758). The law of 1738, regulating Jewish rights and duties in Venetian possessions, was applied in Split. It included the wearing of a yellow hat cover by Levantine, and of a red one by other Jews; confinement to the ghetto between midnight and sunrise; not leaving it at all Thursday and Friday of holy week; closing the shops in the ghetto on Christian holidays; and an interdiction to employ Christians.

The general decadence of Venice in the late 18th century and the anti-Jewish measures of 1779 caused many Jewish families to leave. In 1796 there were 173 Jews left in Split. The ghetto was abolished by the Napoleonic regime. When Split passed to Austria in 1814, the Jewish laws valid in Austria were applied there, and full emancipation was granted only in 1873. Many families left for Italy during the 19th century, and with the influx of Jews from Croatia and Bosnia, the community became increasingly Croatian-speaking.

Holocaust Period

When on April 6, 1941, the Italian Army occupied the town, there were 400 Jews living there, some being refugees from Austria, Czechoslovakia etc. Although Dalmatia nominally belonged to *Pavelić's quisling Croatian state, the Italian army prevented his regime from persecuting the Jews, and some 3,000 refugees from Poland, Austria, and Czechoslovakia had passed through Split by 1943.

In June 1942 a mob devastated the synagogue, community offices, shops, and private houses. Under German pressure refugees were interned in Italian camps on the Dalmatian islands. When Italy capitulated in September 1943, and before the Germans entered the town, several hundred Jews crossed the Adriatic in small boats to Italy and to partisan-held islands, while others joined the partisan forces on the mainland. All remaining male Jews were made to register with the German authorities, and on October 13 were arrested and sent to the Sajmište camp near *Belgrade where most of them perished. Around 150 Jews from Split died in the Holocaust.

Contemporary Period

In 1947 there were 163 Jews in Split, and in 1970 some 120; there was no rabbi and very little communal activity. The new military hospital inaugurated in 1965 bears the name of Dr. Isidore Perera-Molić, the founder of the Yugoslav Army Medical Corps. During reconstruction work in the Diocletian Palace engravings of *menorot* were discovered, confirming earlier allusions regarding a Jewish presence there in the 2nd or 3rd centuries. The nearby camp at Pirovac, which was formerly a summer resort for Jewish youth from all parts of the country, served as an absorption center during the 1992 evacuation of the Jews of Bosnia and Herzegovina (mainly from *Sarajevo and Mosta). The successful rescue operation was a joint venture of the Federation of Jewish Communities in Belgrade, the Jewish community of Sarajevo, the Jewish Agency, and the respective civil and military authorities of the Bosnian Moslems, Croats, and Serbs. A number of Jews were evacuated by air to *Belgrade; others through Herzegovina to Dalmatia (Split) by land across several zones held by the three warring parties. About 100 Jews lived in Split in 2004.

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[Daniel Furman / Zvi Loker (2nd ed.)]

SPOEHR, ALEXANDER (1913–1992), U.S. anthropologist. Born in Tucson, Arizona, Spoehr specialized in American Indian and Pacific ethnology and archaeology. In 1940 he worked as assistant curator of American ethnology and archaeology at the Field Museum in Chicago. During World War II, he was commissioned as a lieutenant in the Naval Reserve, where he served in air combat intelligence and air-sea rescue operations in the western sea frontier and central Pacific area, which included the Marshall (Majuro), Gilbert, and Caroline islands. When he returned to the Field Museum in 1946, he worked for eight years as curator of Oceanic ethnology, supervising the reorganization of the museum's massive collection of artifacts from Oceania. In 1953 he was appointed professor of anthropology at Yale University. He moved to Hawaii later that year to assume the directorship of the Bernice Pauhi Bishop Museum in Honolulu. In 1961 he became chancellor of the East-West Center at the University of Hawaii. In 1964 he was appointed professor of anthropology at the University of Pittsburgh, where he remained until his retirement. He served as chairman of the Pacific Science Board of the National Academy of Sciences (1958–61) and was president of the American Anthropological Association (1965). In 1972 he was elected to the National Academy of Sciences.

When Spoehr retired from teaching in 1978 he returned to Honolulu, where he did a study of the tool-using techniques of Japanese-American carpenters. He also did research on the history of the Hudson's Bay Company in 19th-century Hawaii.

Spoehr wrote several books on his fieldwork, which was mainly among the American Indians and the peoples of the Pacific islands. He is best remembered for defining the prehistoric ceramic culture known as Lapita, a community of hunter-gatherers that lived in Oceania from 1500 B.C.E. to 500 B.C.E. and whose handiwork included elaborately decorated pottery and a wide variety of tools made from shells.

His major works include *Camp, Clan and Kin among the Cow Creek Seminole of Florida* (1941), *Majuro, a Village in the Marshall Islands* (1949), *Acculturation and Material Culture* (with G. Quimby, 1951), *Saipan, the Ethnology of a War-Devastated Island* (1954), *Zamboanga and Sulu: An Archaeological Approach to Ethnic Diversity* (1973), *Protein from the Sea* (1980), and *Maritime Adaptations* (1980).

[Ephraim Fischoff / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

SPOLETO, town in central Italy. A Jewish community possibly existed in Spoleto before 1298 when the distinguished Roman family De *Pomis settled there after the head of the family, Elijah, was condemned to death by the Holy Office. In the 15th century the principal activity of the Jewish community in Spoleto was moneylending. The notable Spoleto Jews included the physicians David De' Pomis (1525–88) and Moses *Alatino (1529–1605). The Jews were expelled from Spoleto and the rest of the Papal States by Pius V in 1569. Some returned for a brief period under Sixtus V (1587). There is still in Spoleto the Church of S. Gregorio della Sinagoga.

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[Ariel Toaff]

SPORKIN, STANLEY (1932–), U.S. federal judge. Born in Philadelphia, Sporkin received his bachelor's degree from Pennsylvania State University in 1953 and graduated from Yale Law School in 1957. After a clerkship with a presiding justice in the U.S. District Court, Sporkin entered private practice in 1960. In 1961 he began a 20-year career with the Securities and Exchange Commission, first as a staff attorney; he became chief attorney for the SEC Enforcement Bureau in 1963. In 1968 he became an associate director and from 1973 to 1981 served as the director of the SEC Division of Enforcement. He taught as an adjunct professor at Antioch Law School from 1974 to 1981 and at Howard University in 1981.

Sporkin became general counsel for the Central Intelligence Agency in 1981, serving under Director William Casey during the Iran Contra era. In 1985 President Ronald Reagan appointed him as a federal judge in the U.S. District Court for the District of Columbia. Judge Sporkin ruled in several notable cases, including an early settlement between the Justice Department's Antitrust Division and Microsoft Corporation. In 1995 he rejected a proposed settlement between the parties as too narrow and potentially ineffective in reducing Microsoft's monopolistic practices. His ruling was overturned by a panel of three federal appeals judges. Sporkin served on the bench until his retirement in 2000, when he joined the firm of Weil, Gotshal, and Genges as partner and counseled parties in corporate governance and litigation matters, acted as an arbitrator, and provided mediation services. He contributed numerous articles to professional journals.

In his long career of public service, Sporkin received numerous awards and honors. In 1976 he received the National Civil Service League's Special Achievement Award and in 1978 the Rockefeller Award for Public Service from the Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs at Princeton University. In 1979 he was the recipient of the President's Award for Distinguished Federal Civilian Service, the highest honor that can be granted to a member of the federal service.

In 1994 Sporkin received the William O. Douglas Award for Lifetime Achievement from the Association of Securities and Exchange Commission Alumni, and in 1996 he was presented the H. Carl Moultrie Award for Judicial Excellence by the Trial Lawyers of Washington, D.C. In 2000 he received the Federal Bar Association's Tom C. Clark Award. That same year he received the Judicial Excellence Award from Judicial Watch.

[Dorothy Bauhoff (2nd ed.)]

SPORN, PHILIP (1896–1978), U.S. electrical engineer. Sporn was born in Galicia, and taken to the United States in 1907. He joined the staff of the American Electric Power Company in 1920 and held many positions in this company, including chief engineer, executive vice president, and chairman of development. He was also president of the Electric Power Service Corporation, the Indiana-Kentucky and Ohio Valley Electric Corporations, and the Nuclear Power Group.

Sporn served in various consultative capacities with numerous studies and projects on nuclear power production under the aegis of the U.S. government, the Atomic Energy Commission, the National Research Council, and large companies. He was vice president of the American Nuclear Society. Sporn was chairman of the Seawater Conversion Commission of the government of Israel. As well as papers on the generation and distribution of electric power, he wrote (with Ambrose and Baumeister) *Heat Pumps* (1947) and *Integrated Power System as the Basic Mechanism for Power Supply* (1950). He received many awards.

[Samuel Aaron Miller]

SPORTS. There is no evidence of sports among the Jews during the obscure period between the close of the Bible and the Maccabean periods. At the beginning of this latter period, in the second century B.C.E., circumstances conspired to make sporting activities as such, i.e., sport not as associated with the need for physical exercise or as an aspect of military training but competitive sport "for the sake of the game," repugnant to the Jews as the very antithesis of Jewish ideals, and this approach remained characteristic of Judaism until the dawn of the modern period.

A number of circumstances contributed to the negative and antipathetic attitude toward sport. The first was that, with the conquest of Alexander the Great in the fourth century B.C.E., hellenistic culture began to infiltrate into Ereẓ Israel, and the attempt of Antiochus *Epiphanes to forcibly hellenize Judea led to the outbreak of the Maccabean War. One of the overt signs of this process was the establishment of a gymnasium in Jerusalem by *Jason in 174 B.C.E., where the participants engaged in their sporting activities in the nude. The antithesis between the gymnasium as an expression of *Hellenism and Judaism was dramatically and almost symbolically highlighted by the fact that some of the Jewish participants, according to the Book of I Maccabees (1:15), actually underwent operations for the purpose of concealing the fact that they were circumcised. Sport thus became associated with the alien and dangerous hellenistic culture. An additional factor was that the Olympic games were connected with an idolatrous cult, particularly of the Greek deity of Hercules, and it is significant that during the period of hellenization, when a Jewish contingent went to the games held at Tyre concurrently with the 152nd Olympic games in Greece, they refused to bring the customary gifts, which were dedicated to Hercules, unless they were devoted to a non-idolatrous cause.

Nevertheless, there is some evidence that in countries under Greek influence, sports were indulged in by Jews. Claudius warned the Jews of Alexandria that they "should not strive in gymnasiarchic and cosmetic games" (Philo, *Legatio ad Gaium*), and one interpretation of a second- or third-century inscription in Hypaepa, Asia Minor, has it refer to a sports association of young Jews.

This opposition to sport became even more intensified when, following the intervening period of independence, Roman overlordship was substituted for Greek, and theaters and *circuses were linked together as the very antithesis of "synagogue and school." To the considerations which applied to the gymnasia were the added factors of cruelty associated with Roman sport, which was not confined to the characteristic aspect of gladiatorial contests, and also the fact that at the theaters the Jews were made the butt of satire, parody, and mockery (cf. Lam. R. intro. 17). The first sentence of the Book of Psalms, "Happy is the man… who sat not in the seat of the scorners" was made to apply to those who refrained from attending "theaters and circuses and did not attend gladiatorial combats" (Pes. 148b), and the humane aspect of the opposition finds expression in the ruling that "one is permitted to go to stadiums if by his shouting he may save the victim" (Av. Zar. 18b). At one period of his life the famous *amora* Simeon b. Lakish (Resh Lakish) was a professional gladiator (Git. 47a), but he justified this on the grounds of grim necessity. The very vehemence of the denunciation of the rabbis would seem to point to the fact that participation in, or at least attendance at, those sports by Jews was widespread.

The first Jewish ruler to encourage sports was Herod. Between 37 and 4 B.C.E. he erected sports stadia in Caesarea, Sebaste, Tiberias, Jericho, and other cities, and also introduced a Palestinian Olympiad with sports competition every five years. He brought athletes from all parts of the world to compete in gladiatorial games and contests of boxing, racing, archery, and other sports, and also contributed large sums to the Olympic games in Greece. His extensive activities in this sphere were, however, part of his program of the "romanization" of the realm.

Middle Ages

There are a few references to organized sport during the Middle Ages. According to *Shevet Yehudah* (ch. 8), Jews in Spain distinguished themselves in the art of fencing. An examination of all the data given in I. Abrahams' *Jewish Life in the Middle Ages* (1932², repr. 1960, 397–411) reveals that, almost without exception, the instances which purport to prove that the Jews indulged in sport belong either to recreations like strolling, self-defense, dancing, and intellectual pastimes, such as chess and riddles, or to children's games. There is a reference by Jerome in the fourth century to Jewish boys in Syria lifting heavy stones "to train their muscular strength" (to Zech. 12:4) and in the 13th century it was the custom to hold tournaments and jousts as part of marriage celebrations. Isaac Or Zaru'a refers to "young men who go out on horseback to greet the bridegroom, and indulge in combats with one another, and tear one another's garments or cause injury to the horse" (Hil. Sukkot ve-Lulav no. 315). He ruled that the injured party had no claim for damages since he had been partaking in a joyous occasion. In Provence the Jews trained falcons and engaged in hawking on horseback. On the other hand, in the 15th century Israel *Bruna, in answer to a question whether it was permitted to even attend non-Jewish horse-racing competitions, gave guarded permission only because one could thereby judge the quality of the horses and learn to ride "in order to escape from one's enemies." "Nevertheless," he added, "I doubt whether it is permitted to go and see such races as are intended merely as jousting tournaments for pleasure" (Resp. 71).

The most popular sports in the Middle Ages appear to have been ball games. Although the Midrash (Lam. R. 2:4) gives as one of the reasons for the destruction of the Temple that "in Tur Malka they played ball games on the Sabbath." Moses Isserles, disagreeing with Joseph Caro, permitted ball playing on the Sabbath and festivals and stated that in his time (16th century) it was customary to do so (Sh. Ar., OḤ 308:45), and on festivals (when there is no prohibition against carrying) it is permitted "even in a public domain and even for pure sport" (*ibid*. 518:2). He based himself upon Tosafot (to Beẓah 12a), which states explicitly that "we find that they play with the ball called *pelota*" (cf. the modern Basque game called by the same name). No details are given; according to one authority, however, "it was very like handball but, instead of being struck by the hand, the ball was caught in a long narrow scoop-like basket attached firmly to the wrist and thrown against the wall" (JQR, 26 (1935/36), 4).

In 1386 there were Jewish tourneys in Wiesenfeld, Germany. In the 15th century, competitions were held in Augsburg, Germany, in running, jumping, throwing, and bowling, in which Jews also participated. *Immanuel of Rome mentions "boys who trained in stone throwing" (in his *Maḥbarot* 22, no. 42). In this same century, at the popular festivals initiated in Rome, sports competitions were also included: Monday was for youth, Tuesday for Jews (under 20 years of age), Wednesday for older boys, and so on. The Jews were obliged to provide precious carpets as prizes. It is known that Jews distinguished themselves in these games in 1487, 1502, and 1595. There is even a song about Jewish runners, composed in 1513. These games and festivals continued for some 200 years despite the fact that during these years the mob interfered with the Jewish runners, who participated half naked. In 1443 there was a registration of a Jew who knew "wrestling without shedding blood."

In the 16th century there was a famous Austrian converted Jew by the name of Ott who was outstanding at the Augsburg games and was even invited to the court of the Austrian prince in order to train the courtiers. He wrote a book in which wrestling was separated from fencing for the first time and was known as "Ottish Wrestling." There was also a book on fencing published by Andres Jud, who, together with his brother Jacob Lignitzer, took special care of fencing. The decrees of Rudolph II show how important fencing was for the Jews in Germany. Among these decrees was one which forbade Christian fencing teachers to train Jews and, later on, also forbade competitions between Jews and Christians. There is little information about sport in the 17th and 18th centuries.

Despite the examples given, there is no doubt that S.W. Baron is correct in stating that during the Middle Ages sporadic voices in favor of recreational pauses were as ineffective as those which advocated physical exercises. Northern Jewry especially had little use for physical education and paid little heed even to the injunction of a talmudic sage that a father give his son instruction in swimming as a "life-saving precaution." It is only in the modern period that sports became popular and widespread among Jews.

Modern Era

Though most Jews in the 19th century lived in conditions unfavorable to athletic pursuits, a number of them in England, Germany, Hungary, Canada, France, Austria, and the United States did well in a variety of sports. In 1896, six Jewish athletes won 13 medals at the first modern Olympic games in Athens.

In a speech before the Second Zionist Congress in 1898, Max *Nordau asked the Jewish people to renew their interest in sports and physical fitness. Nordau's call for "muscular Judaism" was answered by the *Maccabi movement, which spread first to the countries of Europe and Palestine and then around the world. Over 100 Maccabi clubs were in existence in Europe by the beginning of World War I. The largest of these clubs – Ha-Koah of Vienna, Bar Kochba of Berlin, and Ha-Gibor of Prague – became famous for their outstanding teams. It was Hungary, however, that produced the most successful Jewish athletes in Europe. Hungarian Jews won numerous Olympic medals in various sports.

Early in the 20th century immigrant Jewish children in Great Britain and the United States learned to play the games of their new countries in youth clubs, settlement houses, and YM-YWHAS. Living in crowded urban areas, they became proficient in sports which required little space and equipment, such as boxing, handball, table tennis, basketball, gymnastics, and wrestling. Professional sports, particularly boxing and basketball, attracted many Jews, who used athletic scholarships to gain admission to some U.S. colleges.

The sports picture changed radically for Jews following World War II. In the affluent communities of North and South America and in Western Europe, the emphasis shifted to social sports, such as tennis, golf, polo, yachting, and squash. Most Jews attending colleges in the United States could afford to pay tuition fees and participate in university sports for recreation. When Jews were excluded from established yacht and country clubs they organized their own.

Jews were active in formulating sports programs in the Soviet Union during the 1920s, and after World War II they contributed to that nation's successful entry into international competition. Many Soviet Jews have been accorded the title "Honored Master of Sport."

[Jesse Harold Silver]

In Israel before 1948

Physical education was first introduced into Jewish schools in Ereẓ Israel toward the end of the 19th century by Yeshayahu *Press and Heinrich Eliakum *Loewe. The first Jewish sports clubs in the country, the Rishon le-Zion Club in Jaffa and the Bar Giora Club in Jerusalem, were established in 1906 by Leo Cohen and Aviezer *Yellin, respectively, and shortly afterward the first qualified club leaders were appointed. In 1908, the first national sports competition – the Reḥovot Festival – was organized under the leadership of Ẓevi Nishri (d. 1973) and was held annually until the outbreak of World War I. Sports outside the framework of the schools were organized by voluntary organizations associated in varying degrees with social or political movements.

MACCABI. Maccabi started as an apolitical sports organization, but was favored by the General Zionists. The first Maccabi club was established in Jerusalem in 1911 and soon had 300 members. A second club was formed in Petaḥ Tikvah, and the two clubs, together with the Rishon le-Zion Club in Jaffa, formed the countrywide Maccabi Organization in 1912. Maccabi did not confine its activities to sports. It was active in cultural affairs and fought for the recognition and dissemination of the Hebrew language, the employment of Jewish labor, and Jewish self-defense. On the eve of World War I, it had about 1,000 members in 15 clubs. With the participation of Maccabi and the *Ha-Shomer movement in the Reḥovot Festival in 1913, a genuine national Jewish sports movement seemed to have emerged.

Even before the outbreak of World War I, however, the first signs of the dissolution of this movement were visible. Maccabi boycotted the Reḥovot Festival of 1914 because Arab guards and Arab workers were employed in the village. On the other hand, the Jewish workers alleged that the Maccabi clubs had fallen under the control of the landowners and employers. It therefore came as no surprise when the Reḥovot Festival was not revived after the war and Maccabi organized its own festival, the first Maccabi games, in 1920.

DEVELOPMENT OF PHYSICAL EDUCATION. Physical education in Palestine was given a new lease by the arrival of several experienced Jewish athletes as part of the wave of Jewish immigration that followed the end of World War I. The newcomers included David Almagor, gymnast and wrestler from Cairo, Yehoshua Alouf, one of the best gymnasts in Maccabi-Warsaw, and Dr. Emanuel Simon, one of the best track and field men in the Bar-Kochba Club in Berlin, who all contributed to the expansion and improvement of physical education in the schools and the Maccabi clubs.

ESTABLISHMENT OF HA-POEL. The workers, for their part, began to organize their sports clubs in 1924, and in 1926 they founded a countrywide workers' sports organization under the name of '*Ha-Poel as an affiliate of the *Histadrut. A year later Ha-Poel joined the International Workers' Sports Federation. Initially, the main objective of Ha-Poel was to cater to the masses, rather than to breed champion athletes. In 1935 there were 10,000 participants in its fourth festival. These festivals are still held once every five years. Maccabi, by contrast, laid greater emphasis on competitive sports and devoted its energies to organizing them on a national basis, as well as introducing Palestine to the international sports arena.

SOCCER INTRODUCED. The establishment of the British Mandatory regime in Palestine after World War I had a marked effect on local sports. Whereas prior to the war, gymnastics had been the dominant sport, under Eastern and Central European influence, it was now supplanted by soccer due to the influence of the British army teams which competed with the Maccabi teams. In 1925 the Organization of Jewish Soccer Clubs was founded. In 1928 the Palestine Football Association – the first national sports federation – was established. It comprised British, Jewish, and Arab teams and was the only body in which Maccabi and Ha-Poel cooperated until after the establishment of the State of Israel. Through the association, Palestine – and later Israel – has been represented in the World Cup Championships regularly since 1936.

THE MACCABIAH: ENTRY INTO INTERNATIONAL SPORTS. Maccabi initiated the establishment of the Palestine Amateur Sports Federation in 1931 in order to take part in international competitions, and was accepted by most federations. Two years later, the Palestine Olympic Committee was set up. Maccabi's greatest achievement prior to World War II was the organization of the international *Maccabiah Games in 1932, in which 500 Jewish athletes from 23 countries participated and 1,500 in a gymnastic display. At the second Maccabiah, in 1935, there were 1,700 participants from 27 countries. As many of the athletes, accompanying personnel, and tourists remained in the country after the contest was over, the Maccabiah became not only a means of stimulating sports, but also an important lever for the promotion of *aliyah*. The Second Maccabiah was even more of an "Aliyah Maccabiah," since most of the participants and their escorts remained in Palestine, in view of the wave of antisemitism sweeping Europe after the Nazi accession to power in Germany. Y. Alouf was the chief organizer of the first five Maccabiah Games.

Maccabi was also the first body to send a delegation to an official event in Asia (the West Asian Games in New Delhi in 1934) and to an international event for women (the London Games in 1934). In the same period, Ha-Poel athletes twice represented Palestine in Workers' Olympics, in Vienna (1931) and Antwerp (1937). An invitation to participate in the Berlin Olympics in 1936 under the Nazi regime was rejected for obvious reasons and, as a result, the appearance of Palestinian or Israel athletes in the Olympics was delayed for 16 years. (The Games were not held in 1940 and 1944. In 1948 the Palestine Olympic Committee no longer existed, the Israel Olympic Committee had not yet been recognized, and Israel was fighting for survival.)

Between 1924 and 1939 young Jews from Palestine studied physical education in Denmark, and the number of qualified physical education teachers in the schools increased. In 1938, Yehoshua Alouf was appointed the first supervisor of physical education. One of his achievements was the organization of the first countrywide inter-school competitions. In 1939 the Va'ad Le'ummi set up a department of physical education, which was to become the government body responsible for sports on the establishment of the State of Israel (since 1961 it has been known as the Sports Authority). The department, as it was then, introduced a course for physical education teachers that was later expanded into a permanent college for physical education teachers. The department also published books on physical education.

In the State of Israel

PHYSICAL EDUCATION. With the establishment of the State of Israel, the number of schools increased enormously, and sports facilities improved. Physical education is taught twice weekly in schools throughout Israel. Some 70,000 pupils participate in annual sports competitions, which include track and field, basketball, volleyball, handball, swimming, and soccer. About 70,000 pupils participate annually in the "Sports Badge" trials, and outstanding pupils are invited for advanced training lasting from three to twelve days.

In addition to supervising sports and physical education in the schools, the authority encourages sports throughout the country and gives financial assistance to the Wingate Institute for Physical Education, which comprises a three-year college for physical education teachers run by the Ministry of Education and Culture, a three-year school for physiotherapists, a one-year course for coaches, and a school for physical training instructors of the Israel Defense Forces.

The Sports Authority lays special emphasis on popular sports, such as marching, running, swimming, etc. It provides financial assistance for the provision of sports facilities and the publication of sports literature. In addition to the one at the Wingate Institute, there are three other colleges of physical education in the country: one in Tel Aviv, at a seminar run by the kibbutz movements; one in Beersheba; and a third, a religious college, at Givat Washington.

ORGANIZATION OF SPORT IN ISRAEL. World War II took a heavy toll of Jewish athletes, and it was only with great reservations that the Third Maccabiah was organized in 1950. On this occasion, Israel's team for the first time included athletes from Maccabi and Ha-Poel, and this made a major contribution to the unification of Israeli sports one year later. The Maccabiah was held again in 1953 and then 1957 and was a quadrennial event thereafter. In 1951, Maccabi and Ha-Poel agreed to cooperate on the Israel Olympic Committee and the Israel Sports

Federation. The two associations were already represented on the Israel Football Association.

In 1970, over 40,000 athletes participated in organized competitive athletics in Israel. Fifteen thousand came under the jurisdiction of the Israel Sports Federation, which controls 14 sports; 13,000 belonged to the Israel Football Association; 9,000 to the Israel Basketball Association; and the rest to smaller associations controlling tennis, judo, and other sports. All sports are amateur, and a much greater number of people are active in noncompetitive sports. The major sports organizations are: Ha-Poel, with 300 branches and 85,000 members; Maccabi, with 75 branches and 18,000 members; Elitzur (founded 1939) for religious youth, with 80 branches and 10,000 members; Betar (founded in 1924), affiliated to Ḥerut, with 74 branches and 5,000 members; Academic Sports Association (1953) with nine branches in the institutes of higher education and 5,000 members.

IN INTERNATIONAL SPORTS. Israel participated in the Olympic Games for the first time in Helsinki in 1952 and thereafter at all subsequent games. Since 1954 it has also competed at the Asian Games (with the exception of the Jakarta Games in 1962, which were canceled due to a boycott of Israel by Indonesia). Israel has made endeavors to integrate into Asian sport, except in basketball and volleyball, where it belongs to the zone covering Europe and the Mediterranean countries. The efforts of Arab countries to boycott Israel have generally been frustrated by international sports bodies. Israel's achievements in international sports have been modest. The Israel national soccer team reached the World Cup Championships in Mexico in 1970, after defeating Australia in the eliminating round, and acquitted itself creditably. The small Israel team at the 1970 Asian games at Bangkok won six gold medals, six silver, and five bronze, finishing in sixth place. Israel tennis players have competed at Wimbledon and in Davis Cup matches, and since 1962 a youth team has competed at Miami Beach. Gliding has been practiced in Israel for over 30 years, and free-fall parachuting has recently been introduced. Israel won the Asian Football Championships once, the Asian Youth Championships four times, and the Asian Champions' Cup twice. Up to June 1969, Israel's basketball team had won 62 out of 126 official international games.

In recent years, dinghy sailing has become popular, and in 1969 Ẓefania Carmel and Lydia Lazarov won the world championships in the 420 class in Sweden. In the following year the championships were held in Israel off Tel Aviv.

NONCOMPETITIVE SPORTS. The most popular noncompetitive sports event in Israel are the annual Three-Day March to Jerusalem, organized by the Israel Defense Forces, the swim across Lake Kinneret (Sea of Galilee, started by Ha-Poel), and the cross-country race around Mount Tabor. The Three-Day (originally Four-Day) March is in a category of its own. It is not the same as hiking, which may be motivated by the wish to "get away from it all"; nor is it comparable with the walking race, for it is not a race at all. It has been most aptly described as Israel's folk "happening," although the idea was taken from a similar Dutch event. Thousands of people of all ages – organized in clubs or in family groups, coming from offices, factories, banks, or hospitals, and some individuals – go out tramping over the hills around Jerusalem together with contingents of soldiers in training. Visitors from overseas also participate. The army builds camps and lays on entertainment facilities for the participants, and the event culminates in a march through the streets of Jerusalem. One-day marches are also held in other parts of the country organized by Maccabi and Ha-Poel, and an Israel Defense Forces contingent participates every year at the annual Four-Day March in Holland. Ha-Poel has organized sports activities in factories and offices. Cross-country running also has a special Israel character: the route, and sometimes the date of the event, is usually related to some event in the Bible or Jewish history. On *Ḥanukkah, for instance, relays of runners from Maccabi carry torches from Modi'in, birthplace of the Maccabees, to the presidential residence in Jerusalem, as well as to various other parts of the country. There is also the annual run around Mount Tabor. The annual swim across Lake Kinneret, from Ein Gev to Tiberias; the Haifa Bay swim; and the "crossing of the Red Sea" at Eilat, are mass events with a competitive element. As in the annual marches, all participants who complete the course are awarded certificates and, for some events, medallions.

[Yehoshua Alouf and Uriel Simri]

1968–2005. The third decade of the existence of the State of Israel was marked by a significant improvement of its representative sports and by the intervention of politics into the activities of Israel sports on the international scene. At the beginning of the decade the improvement was modest. Thus at the Olympic Games of Mexico (1968), Israel had only a fifth place in soccer to show. Two years later, however, the soccer team of Israel was to return to Mexico as one of the 16 teams participating in the World Cup (for professionals and amateurs).

The year 1969 saw Israeli athletes gain their first world championship, when Zefanya Carmel and Lydia Lazarov became world champions in sailing in the (non-Olympic) 420 class. Since then Israel has gained six more world championships in this event, the recipients being Joel Sela, Yoram Kedar, Mordechai Amberam, Eitan Friedlander, Shimshon Brockman, and Amnon Samgura.

In 1970 Israel was represented by 27 athletes in the Asian Games at Bangkok, and they returned with 6 gold, 6 silver and 5 bronze medals. Four years later the Israeli delegation (61 athletes) was to return with 7 gold, 4 silver and 8 bronze medals from the Asian Games in Teheran. The appearance at the games in Teheran may have been Israel's last major appearance on the scene of Asian sports which, under Arab influence, has increasingly brought politics into the sphere of sports, with the result that Israel was excluded from the Asian Games of 1978, under the pretext of "security reasons" and it was prevented from participating in many other Asian events.

Arab terrorism played havoc on Israeli sports, and 11 Israeli coaches and athletes paid with their lives during an Arab attack on the Olympic Village at Munich on September 5, 1972. This attack, however, did not prevent Israel from appearing on the international sport scene. In fact, it returned with a bigger and stronger delegation to the Olympic Games in Montreal (1976), gaining a fifth (Edouard Weitz in weightlifting), a sixth (Esther Rot in hurdling), a seventh (Rami Meron in wrestling), and a twelfth place (Micha Kaufmann in shooting) in individual events, while the national soccer team reached the last eight in the Olympic tournament. Esther Rot can definitely be considered Israel's top athlete of this decade, having been elected five times (1970, 1971, 1974, 1975, 1976) athlete of the year in Israel.

Tennis has come to the fore as a popular sport, with 14 centers having opened in various parts of Israel. The most outstanding Israeli tennis player is Shlomo Glickstein (b. 1958), who first entered the national Israeli youth championship competition at the age of 10 and won the title for his age group. He went on to compete in international events, and by the end of 1981 was seeded 30 in the rankings of the Association of Tennis Professionals.

Basketball continued to be Israel's best representative sport during this period. Major achievements were: Asian Games championships (1970, 1974), the European Cup for nations (1976) and the victory of Maccabi Tel Aviv in the European Cup for champions in 1977 and 1981. Furthermore, basketball became the first sport in which an Israel national team defeated a national team of the U.S.S.R. when Israel won its game in the European junior championship in 1972. Israel also placed sixth in the Intercontinental Cup of 1977 and fifth in the European championship of that year. A striking victory in this sphere of sport was the defeat of the Washington Bullets, the champions of the U.S. National Basketball Association by Maccabi Tel Aviv in September 1978 by the narrow margin of 98–97. The major sport events in Israel during this period were again the Maccabiah Games (the eighth in 1969, the ninth in 1973, the tenth in 1977, the eleventh in 1981), and the International Hapoel Games (the ninth in 1971 and the tenth in 1975). Other major events held in Israel include: The Olympic Games for the Disabled (1968); the International Spring Cup in volleyball (1970, 1976); the world championship in sailing in the 420 class (1970); the Eight Nations' Cup in swimming (1971, 1978); and the European junior championship in judo (1974).

At the end of the 1970s Israel was attempting to enter the European sport scene, as a result of its rejection by Asian sport organizations. Up to date Israel has been accepted into the European region of seven sports and is continuing its efforts to be accepted in more European federations.

In January 1979, the praesidium of the Israel Olympic committee issued a statement breaking off all sporting relations with South Africa, apparently in order to remove any objection to Israel's participation in the Olympic Games scheduled to be held in Moscow the following year. At a plenary meeting of the IOC held a few days later, however, it rejected the statement. Ultimately Israel did not participate in the 1980 Moscow Olympics.

[Uriel Simri]

The following years were noted in Israel's sports for two major breakthroughs – one in the political domain, the other in the athletic arena.

The political breakthrough began in 1989, when the Soviet Union, under President Gorbachev, relented in its opposition to the acceptance of Israel into the European zone of the various international sport federations. Thus Israel, which had been without a continental affiliation since its expulsion from Asian sports in the mid-1970s, was able to enter the European federations and their regular activities. By 1992 this procedure had been completed for all practical purposes, the European Soccer Federation (UEFA) being one of the last federations that had not granted Israel full membership status. At the same time, from 1987 UEFA invited Israel's youth teams to participate in its championships and in 1992 invited the national champion as well as the cup-holder to participate in the annual competitions organized by it.

The major breakthrough in athletics occurred during the Olympic Games in Barcelona in the summer of 1992, when two Judokas succeeded in bringing to Israel for the first time Olympic medals – Yael Arad returning with the silver medal in women's 61 kg. class and Oren Smadja with the bronze medal in the men's 71 kg. class.

Israel had, in fact, been very close to gaining its first Olympic medals already at Seoul in 1988. However, Joel Sela and Eldad Amir had to be satisfied with a fourth place in the Flying Dutchman class of the Olympic yachting competitions, after forfeiting one race because it was held on Yom Kippur. The same couple was placed eighth in the 1984 Olympics at Los Angeles. Similar placings, which were the best during those Olympics, were achieved by the yachtsmen Shimshon Brockman and Eitan Friedlander in the 470 class, as well as by the marksman Yitzchak Yonassi.

In Israel's representation at the Barcelona Olympics, 11 out of the 31 representatives were newcomers to the State of Israel, primarily from the former Soviet Union. The top achievements of those newcomers were the sixth place of weightlifter Andre Danisov in the 100 kg. class and the eighth place of Yevgeni Krasnov in the pole vault.

The significant improvement of the standard of the top athletes can further be seen from a list of achievements in recent years in other sports. In July 1992 Johar Abu-Lashin, a Christian Arab from Nazareth, became the first Israeli professional athlete to gain a world champion's title, when he became lightweight champion of the World Boxing Federation. The same year windsurfer Amit Inbar was placed second in the world championship (and a disappointing eighth in the Olympics), after having ranked first in the previous year. Another newcomer from the Soviet Union, the wrestler Max Geller, succeeded in winning the silver medal at the European championships in freestyle wrestling in 1991.

On the other hand basketball, which had been the outstanding sport in Israel for its quality for a long time, had its ups and downs. Whereas the men's national team was placed second in the European championship in 1979, sixth in 1981, and fifth in 1983, it receded to ninth place in 1985, to eleventh in 1987, and thereafter did not qualify for the final stages of the championship (until 1993). However, in 1986 the team succeeded for the second time in history (after 1954) to qualify for the final stages of the world championship, where it came seventh.

The Maccabi Tel Aviv basketball team also did not succeed in repeating its earlier successes (wins in 1977 and 1981) in the European Champions' Cup games. Although the team reached the finals three years in a row (1987–1989), it was beaten at that stage by teams from Italy and Yugoslavia. The women's national team in basketball succeeded in 1990 to reach the "final eight" in the continental championship, but this turned out to be a one-time achievement.

Israel's tennis managed to be in the limelight from 1986 until 1989, when the men's team held its place among the top 16 nations in the world within the framework of the Davis Cup games. As of 1990 attempts to return to the top have not been successful. The above achievement was mainly due to Israel's no. 1 player, Amos Mansdorf, who at the peak of his career (in 1987) ranked no. 18 in the world. In the following years Mansdorf had a ranking around no. 30.

While soccer remained Israel's most popular sport, the Football Association had very little to show as far as achievements on the international scene were concerned. In 1989, Israel came closest to repeating its appearance in the final stages of the World Cup (the first and only time was in 1970), but drew with Colombia in Ramat Gan, after losing by a single goal in the away game. Israel reached this stage after winning the zone of Oceania, to which it was removed by FIFA as a result of the Asian boycott and UEFA's refusal, up to that time, to let Israel participate in the European zone.

In 1988 the Knesset passed the "Sports Law," after tabling it for 13 years. Its major provisions called for mandatory certification of coaches and instructors; mandatory health and loss of income insurance of athletes participating in competitive sports; mandatory periodical medical examinations for participants in competitive sports; and prohibition of the use of any doping materials. The Minister of Education and Culture was given a number of regulatory powers within the framework of the law.

The Knesset also approved, early in 1991, the appointment of a deputy minister in the Ministry of Education and Culture to be in charge of sports. When the Labor Party returned to power in 1992, it too appointed a deputy minister.

The quadrennial Maccabiah and the Hapoel Games continued to be the major sports events in the country. While the participation in the Maccabiah Games expanded – in 1989 athletes from the former Communist bloc participated for the first time – the athletic standard of the Games left much to be desired. The Hapoel Games, on the other hand, developed in scope and in standard up to 1987, but were greatly reduced in 1991 as a result of a serious financial deficit.

Israeli team sports in the 1990s and early 2000s were dominated by the Maccabi Tel Aviv basketball team, which continued to sweep local league play and won three European championships under Coach Pini *Gershon (2001, 2003, 2004) after a long drought in international competition. Local basketball also developed a number of superstars, most playing for Maccabi but some also for European teams. Among them were Doron Jamche, Doron Shefer, Gur Shelef, Tal Burstein, and Oded Katash, who led Greece's Panathinaikos to a championship win over Maccabi, his former team, in 2000. In women's basketball, Elitzur Holon built a parallel dynasty, taking 18 Israeli cups and 20 Israeli league championships between 1977 and 1996. Israeli Shay Doron was an All-American guard at Maryland and led the Terrapins to an NCAA Championship in 2006.

Women's tennis also made great strides, with two standouts on the WTA tour. Anna Smashnova finished the 2002 and 2003 seasons with a No. 16 world ranking and through 2005 had taken 11 titles (in 11 finals), chalking up over $2 million in winnings. Nineteen-year-old Shahar Peer climbed to No. 23 in June 2006. In 2002 Alex Averbach took the gold medal in the pole vault at the European championships, a first for an Israeli athlete, and in 2004 Gal Fridman won Israel's first Olympic gold medal, taking it in windsurfing.

[Uriel Simri / Elli Wohlgelernter (2nd ed.)]

JEWISH ATHLETES

Association Football (Soccer)
Shortly after 1900, the Bohr brothers, Neils Henrik David (1885–1962) and Harald August (1887–1951), of Denmark, became famous soccer players in Scandinavia. In 1908 Harald won a silver medal in the first Olympic soccer competition. Other *Olympic medalists included Sandor Geller (Hungary) in 1952 (gold); Boris Razinsky (1933–) (U.S.S.R.) in 1956 (gold), and Arpad Orban (1938–) (Hungary) in 1964 (gold). In the 1920s, Austria's Hakoah-Vienna All-Stars, an outstanding all-Jewish team, played a series of matches in Palestine and the United States. In New York City in 1926 Hakoah-Vienna set a U.S. single-game attendance record (46,000) that was not broken for over 40 years. Many of the teammates of Hakoah-Vienna left Austria in the 1930s and continued their soccer careers in Palestine and the United States. Bela Guttmann (1900–1981), a Hungarian who also played for Budapest's MTK Club, became one of the world's top soccer coaches in the 1950s and 1960s.

The Meisel brothers, Hugo (1895–1968) and Willy (1897–1967), were Austrian soccer personalities. Willy, who became one of Europe's most respected sportswriters, was a goalkeeper for the Austrian national team; Hugo founded the International or World Cup competition in 1927 and was head of the Austrian Football Association in the 1930s. Hungary produced many outstanding Jewish players, coaches, and administrators, beginning with a member of the first national team, Olympic swimmer and medalist Alfred Hajos (Arnold Guttmann)

(1878–1955), the first modern Olympic swimming champion, and his brother, Henrik. Mark Lazarus (1938–) was a British soccer player. In the Soviet Union, Mikhail Romm was one of the organizers of soccer in the 1920s, and Mikhail Loshinsky played on the national team before World War II.

The Israel Football Federation was founded in Palestine in 1928 and its first international match was played in 1934. The first side representing the State of Israel played in New York City in 1948. Israel reached the quarterfinal round in the 1968 Olympic Games and the final round of 16 in the World Cup competition in 1970. The star of the team was the captain, Mordechai ("Mottele") Spiegler.

American soccer pioneer Nathan Agar (1887–1978) introduced soccer in the New York City area in 1904 and helped found the United States Football Association in 1913. In 1929 the all-Jewish Hakoah All-Stars of New York City won the National Challenge Cup.

Johan Neeskens (1951–) played for Ajax of Amsterdam, which won the European Cup in 1971–73, and for World Cup finalist Netherlands in 1974 and 1978. As a player for the New York Cosmos, he was named to the North American Soccer League All-Star team in 1979.

Goalie Shep *Messing (1949–) was a member of the 1972 United States Olympic team and the 1977 North American League champion New York Cosmos. Goalkeeper Arnold Mausser (1954–) of the Tampa Bay Rowdies was named American Player of the Year in the North American Soccer League in 1976, and goalie Alan Mayer was accorded the same honor in 1978. Mayer played for the San Diego Sockers.

The Maccabee Club of Los Angeles, which included a number of Israeli students, won the United States National Challenge Cup in 1973, 1975, and 1977–78.

Alan Rothenberg, a lawyer, was elected president of the U.S. Soccer Federation in 1990. Rothenberg served as commissioner of soccer in the 1984 Olympic Games. In 1990 Henry Kissinger, former U.S. secretary of state, was named vice chairman of the U.S. World Cup '94 organizing committee.

Yair Allnut was a member of the 1992 U.S. Olympic Games team and a gold medalist in the 1991 Pan American Games. Jeff Agoos (1968–) had 134 international appearances with the national team, played with the U.S. Under-15, Under-17, Under-20, World University and Indoor National Teams, and was a member of five championship teams during his MLS career. Debbi Belkin played with the U.S. gold medal team in the inaugural Women's World Championships in China in 1991. Arcady Gaydamak (Ari Barlev, 1952–), a Russian-Israeli billionaire, bought the Betar Jerusalem soccer team in August 2005. He is also owner of the Hapoel Jerusalem basketball team. His son, Alexandre "Sasha" Gaydamak, bought a 50 percent share of the Portsmouth FC soccer team in January 2006.

Automobile Racing

Britain's Woolf Barnato (1895–1948), a director of Bentley Motors and son of Barney *Barnato of South African diamond fame, won three consecutive Le Mans 24-hour Grand Prix of Endurance races in 1928–30. In a 14-year career, Rene Dreyfus (1905–1993) of France triumphed in 36 races and gained the Grand Prix of Monaco (1930) and the Grand Prix of Belgium (1934). After winning the national driving championship in 1936, Mauri *Rose (1906–1981) of the United States drove to three victories (1941, 1947, and 1948) in the Indianapolis 500-mile classic. Sheila Van Damm (1922–1987) of Great Britain was the European women's driving champion in 1954–55. Robert Grossman (1923–) of the United States placed among the top ten finishers in six consecutive Le Mans races (1959–64). Peter Revson (1939–1974) of the United States won the World Challenge Cup in 1968, the 1973 British and Canadian Grand Prix events and was runner-up at the 1971 Indianapolis 500, but was killed during a practice run in 1974. American Steve Krisiloff placed fourth in the 1978 Indianapolis 500. Jody *Scheckter (1950–) of South Africa placed third in the world driving championships in 1974 and was runner-up in 1977. His Grand Prix victories included Swedish (1974 and 1976); British (1974); South African (1975) and Argentinean, Monegasque and Canadian in 1977. In 1979 Scheckter won the Belgian, Monegasque and Italian Grand Prix events and became South Africa's first world driving champion. He retired from international racing competition after the 1980 season. Kenny Bernstein (1944–) won a record-tying four consecutive U.S. National Hot Rod Association Funny Car Championships in 1985–88. He switched to the Top Fuel class in 1990 and the following year had a record six victories in a season. In 1992 Bernstein recorded four wins and became the first drag racer to cover a quarter mile at more than 300 miles per hour.

Baseball

Jews early developed an interest in baseball, which had its origins in the 1840s. Lipman E. (Lip) *Pike became baseball's first professional in 1866 when he played third base for the Philadelphia Athletics at a salary of $20 per week. In 1882 Louis Kramer (1849–1922) helped organize the major league American Association, and was its president in 1891. Aaron S. Stern (1853–1920), a clothing merchant, was a co-founder of the American Association and owner of the Cincinnati Reds in 1882–90. The Reds won the first American Association championship in 1882. Other officials of the Cincinnati club included Edgar Mayer Johnson (1836–?), secretary, 1877–80, and Nathan Menderson (1820–1904), president, 1880. Jacob C. (Jake) Morse (1860–1937), who became a noted sportswriter, was manager of the Boston team in the Union League in 1884. Barney *Dreyfuss, president of the Louisville Colonels in 1899 and owner of the Pittsburgh Pirates from 1900 to 1932, founded the World Series in 1903. One of the game's most controversial owners, Andrew Freedman (1860–1915), a lawyer and a power behind New York City's Tammany Hall, was president of the New York Giants in 1894–1902. Louis W. Heilbroner (1861–1933) managed the St. Louis Cardinals in 1900, and nine years later founded baseball's first statistical bureau. Harry (Judge) Goldman (1857–1941) was an organizer of the American League in 1900, and with the Frank brothers, Moses and Sydney, served as an official of the Baltimore club in the new league in 1901–2. Besides Pike, the outstanding players prior to 1900 were William M. (Billy) Nash (1865–1929), a third baseman who played in the major leagues for 15 years, a member of pennant-winning teams in 1890 (Boston, Players League) and 1891–93 (Boston, National League), and manager of Philadelphia in 1896; James John (Chief) Roseman (1856–1938), an outfielder with the New York team that won the American Association pennant in 1884, and player/manager of the St. Louis club in the same league in 1890; and Daniel E. Stearns (1861–1944), first baseman on the Cincinnati team that won the first American Association championship in 1882.

Players who gained success in the major leagues after 1900 included Hank *Greenberg (1911–1986), the first Jewish member of the Baseball Hall of Fame; pitching great Sandy *Koufax (1935–), first Jewish pitcher and youngest player ever elected to the Baseball Hall of Fame; and Lou *Boudreau (1917–2001), a member of the Hall of Fame whose mother was from an Orthodox Jewish family. Al *Rosen (1924–), third baseman, American League home run champion in 1950 and 1953, voted the league's Most Valuable Player in 1953; Erskine Mayer (1891–1957), a pitcher who won 21 games for the Philadelphia Phillies in 1914 and 1915; Charles Solomon (Buddy) Myer (1904–1974), an infielder with Washington and Boston for 17 years who played in the 1925 and 1933 World Series, won the League batting title of 1935, and compiled the lifetime batting mark of .303; Larry *Sherry (1935–), pitching hero of the Los Angeles Dodgers in the 1959 World Series; Art *Shamsky (1941–), an outfielder who hit four home runs in four consecutive at bats and batted.300 for the 1969 World Champion New York Mets; and Kenny Holtzman (1945–), who had the most number of wins for a Jewish pitcher and who pitched no-hitters in 1969 and 1972.

Also George R. Stone (1876–1945), an outfielder for the St. Louis Browns who won the American League batting title in 1906; Barney Pelty (1880–1939), pitcher, compiled a 2.62 earned run average in a ten-year (1903–12) American League career with the St. Louis Browns and Washington Senators; Benjamin M. (Benny) Kauff (1890–1961), outfielder, was the batting champion of the Federal League in 1914 and 1915, and a member of the National League champion New York Giants in 1917; Sid *Gordon (1917–1975), 1941–43, 1946–55; Harry Danning (1911–2004), 1933–42; Saul Rogovin (1922–1995), 1949–53, 1955–57; Samuel A. (Sammy) Bohne (Cohen) (1896–1977); Andrew (Andy) Cohen (1904–1988), 1926, 1928–29; Calvin (Cal) *Abrams (1924–1997), 1949–56; Morris (Morrie) Arnovich (1910–1959), 1936–41, 1946; Harry Eisenstat (1915–2003), 1935–42; Harry Feldman (1919–1962), 1941–46; Myron (Joe) Ginsberg (1926–), 1948, 1950–54, 1956–62; Moe *Berg (1902–1974), an outstanding linguist as well as baseball player and a member of the U.S. Intelligence who undertook espionage in Japan and Germany, and worked for the Office of Strategic Services (OSS) during World War II, 1923, 1926–39; Barry Latman (1936–), 1957–67; James (Jim) Levey (1906–1970), 1930–33; Jimmy *Reese (1904–1994), 1930–32; Jacob (Jake) Atz (1879–1945), 1902, 1907–09; Goodwin (Goody) Rosen (1912–1994), a Canadian, 1937–39, 1944–45; Philip (Mickey) Weintraub (1907–1986), 1933–35, 37–38, 1944–45; Norman (Norm) Miller (1946–), 1965– ; Michael P. (Mike) Epstein (1943–), 1966– ; Steve *Stone (1947–), 1971–81, won the Cy Young Award in 1980; Ross Baumgarten (1955–), 1978–82; Ron Blomberg (1948–), 1969, 1971–76; Jeff Newman (1948–), 1976–84; Steve Yeager (1948–), 1972–86; Larry Rothschild (1954–), 1981–82; Scott Radinsky (1968–), 1990–93, 1995–2001; Jesse Levis (1968–), 1992–99; Alan Levine, (1968–), 1996, 1998– ; Brad Ausmus (1969–), 1993– ; Shawn *Green, (1972–), 1993– ; Mike Lieberthal, (1972–), 1994– ; Scott Schoeneweis (1973–) 1999– ; Gabe Kapler, (1975–), 1998– ; Jason Marquis, (1978–), 2000– ; Kevin Youkilis (1979–), 2004– ; Justin Wayne (1979–), 2002–2004, Adam Stern (1980–), 2005– ; and Adam Greenberg (1981–), who was hit in the head by the first pitch he saw in the Major Leagues on July 9, 2005, and was out for the remainder of the season.

Jacob A. (Jake) Pitler (1894–1968) was an infielder for the Pittsburgh Pirates (1917–18) and a popular coach for the Brooklyn Dodgers (1948–57), and Al *Schacht (1892–1984) pitched for the Washington Senators (1919–21), was a coach for the Senators and Boston Red Sox and became known as the "Clown Prince of Baseball." He was followed by Max *Patkin (1920–1999), who was also known as the "Clown Prince of Baseball" for his goofy antics as a rubber-necked, double-jointed comic genius. Dolly *Stark (1897–1968) and Al Forman (1928–) were National League umpires.

Baseball executives of the modern era included Judge Emil E. Fuchs (1879–1961), owner and manager (1929) of the National League Boston club in 1923–35; Leo J. Bondy (1883–1944), vice president of the New York Giants, 1934–44; Sidney Weil (1891–1966), owner of the Cincinnati Reds, 1930–33; William Benswanger (1892–1972), son-in-law of Barney Dreyfuss, president of the Pittsburgh Pirates, 1932–46; Harry M. Grabiner (1890–1948), vice president of the Chicago White Sox, 1939–45, and part-owner and vice president of the Cleveland Indians, 1946–48; Hank Greenberg, vice president and general manager, Cleveland Indians, Chicago White Sox, 1948 to 1963; Gabe *Paul (1910–1998), was vice president and general manager of the Cincinnati Reds (1951–1960), president and general manager of the Cleveland Indians (1961–1973), president of the New York Yankees (1974–1977), and president of the Indians (1978–1984). Jerold C. Hoffberger (1919–1999) helped return major league baseball to Baltimore in 1953, became principal owner of the Orioles in 1965, and sold the team in 1979; Marvin Milkes, general manager of the Seattle (1969) and Milwaukee (1970) teams of the American League; Charles R. Bronfman was chairman and principal owner of the Montreal Expos from 1968 to 1990. Fred Wilpon (1936–) is owner of the New York Mets; Walter Haas Jr. (1916–1995) was owner of the Oakland Athletics from 1980–1995; Lewis

Wolff, U.S., owner of the Oakland Athletics; Jerry *Reinsdorf (1936–) has been owner of the Chicago White Sox since 1981 (and the Chicago Bulls since 1985). Jeffrey Loria bought the Florida Marlins in 2002; the president is David Samson, the vice chairman is Joel Mael, and the general manager is Larry Beinfest. Stuart Sternberg became principal owner of the Tampa Bay Devil Rays in October 2005.

Al Rosen served as president of the New York Yankees (1978–79), Houston Astros (1980–1985) and San Francisco Giants (1985–1992). Bob Lurie was owner of the San Francisco Giants (1976–1992). Theo N. Epstein (1973–), son of novelist Leslie *Epstein (1938–) and grandson of Oscar-winning screenwriter Philip G. *Epstein (1909–1952), is general manager of the Boston Red Sox (2002–). Andrew Friedman is executive vice president of the Tampa Bay Devil Rays.

Harold (Lefty) Phillips (1969–71) and Norman *Sherry (1976–77) managed the American League California Angels; Larry Rothschild managed the Tampa Bay Devil Rays from 1998–2001, and was pitching coach for the Cincinnati Reds (1992–1993), Florida Marlins (1995–1997) and Chicago Cubs (2001–present).

Hank Greenberg's son, Steve, served as the deputy commissioner of baseball from 1989–93. Bud *Selig (1934–), former owner of the Milwaukee Brewers, was named chairman of baseball's executive council in 1992 and given the authority to act as commissioner.

Marvin *Miller (1917–) served as the executive director of the Major League Baseball Players Association from 1966 to 1984.

Basketball

Invented in 1891 in the United States, the game was ideally suited to the crowded urban areas where most of the nation's Jewish population lived. Jewish settlement houses on New York's East Side and Chicago's West Side gave Jewish youth their first opportunity to play the game and set many players on their way to stardom. Jews played basketball in the 1890s, and in 1900 the first Jewish professional player, Paul ("Twister") Steinberg (1880–1964), began his career at Little Falls, New York. Later he coached at Cornell University (1910–12), and for many years acted as referee at college games. Frank Basloe (1887–1966), professional player and coach of the Herkimer, New York, team, organized a squad that toured the country in 1903–23. Basloe was president of the New York State League in 1937–48. Harry Baum (1882–1959), a New York City settlement worker and professor of electrical engineering at the City College of New York, developed a style of play that made outstanding professional players of Barney *Sedran, Louis Sugarman (1890–1951), Jake Fuller (Furstman), and Max (Marty) Friedman (1889–1986). Friedman captained the World War I American Expeditionary Force team that won the Inter-Allied Games basketball tournament and introduced the sport to Europe. Other outstanding professionals of the 1910–25 era were William Cone and Emanuel (Doc) Newman (1890–?). Henry Hart Elias (1882–1941) was the first Jewish college player. He played on the initial Columbia University team in 1901; was the team's captain in 1903, and the school's first basketball coach in 1904–05. The first Jewish player to win collegiate honors, Samuel Melitzer (1888–1970), an All-East selection in 1907, and an All-American in 1909, was also from Columbia. William Laub, 1926; Louis Bender (1910–?), 1930, 1932, and David Newmark (1946–), 1966, also received All-America recognition at Columbia. From 1909 to 1950 the City College of New York produced teams that were among the best in the nation and were nearly all-Jewish. With the exception of Ira Streusand (1890–1964), 1908, professional star Nat *Holman trained all the other Jewish players from CCNY who were selected as All-Americans, namely Louis Farer, 1922; Pincus (Pinky) Match (1904–1944), 1925; Moe Spahn, 1932; Mo Goldman (1913–?), 1934; Bernard Fliegel, 1938; William (Red) *Holzman (1920–1998), 1942, and Irwin Dambrot (1950). All-America selections from other New York City schools (New York University, Long Island University, and St. John's) were Maclyn (Mac) Baker (1898–1985), 1920–21; Milton Schulman, 1936; Robert Lewis, 1939; Jerome (Jerry) Fleishman (1922–), 1943; Sid *Tannenbaum (1925–1988), 1946–47; Dolph *Schayes (1928–), 1948; Donald Forman (1926–), 1948; Barry Kramer (1942–), 1963–64; Ben Kramer (1913–1999), 1936; Jules Bender (1914–1982), 1937; John Bromberg, 1939; Daniel Kaplowitz, 1939; Irving Torgoff, 1938–39; Oscar (Ossie) Schectman, (1919–), 1941; Jackie Goldsmith (1921–1968), 1946; Max (Mac) Kinsbrunner (1909–1972), 1930; Max (Mac) Posnack, 1931; Nathan Lazar, 1933; Jack (Dutch) Garfinkel (1920–), 1939; Harry Boykoff (1922–1978), 1943, 1946; Hyman (Hy) Gotkin, 1944–45; and Allan Seiden, 1958–59. In 1928–31 Kinsbrunner, Posnack, Albert (Allie) Schuckman and Jack (Rip) Gerson were members of the "Wonder Five," one of college basketball's most famous teams.

Other All-America players included Cyril Haas, Princeton, 1916–17; Leon (Bob) Marcus, 1918–19; Samuel Pite, Yale, 1923; Emanuel (Menchy) Goldblatt (1904–1994), Pennsylvania, 1925–26; Carl M. Loeb Jr., Princeton, 1926; Edward Wineapple, Providence, 1929; Louis Hayman, Syracuse, 1931; Jerry Nemer (1912–1980), Southern California, 1933; Herbert Bonn, Duquesne, 1936; William Fleishman, Western Reserve, 1936; Marvin Colen, Loyola of Chicago, 1937; Meyer (Mike) Bloom, Temple, 1938; Bernard Opper (1915–2000), Kentucky, 1939; Louis Possner, DePaul, 1940; Morris (Moe) Becker (1917–1996), Duquesne, 1941; Irving Bemoras (1930–), Illinois, 1953; Len Rosenbluth (1933–), North Carolina, 1955–57, college player of the year in 1957; Lawrence Friend (1935–1998), California, 1957; Donald Goldstein, Louisville, 1959; Jeff Cohen, William and Mary, 1960–61; Arthur Heyman (1941–), Duke, 1961–63, college player of the year in 1963; Howard Carl, DePaul, 1961; Robert I. (Rick) Kaminsky (1942–), Yale, 1964; Talbot (Tal) *Brody (1943–), Illinois, 1965, and subsequently a star in Israel; Neal Walk (1948–), Florida, 1968–69; and Dave Kufeld, Yeshiva U. 1977–1980, and a 10th-round draft pick of the NBA's Portland Trailblazers.

College coaches included Leonard Palmer (1882–?), first CCNY coach, 1909–16; Edard Siskind (1886–1955), Fordham, 1910; Samuel Melitzer, NYU, 1911; Michael Saxe, Villanova, 1921–26; Louis Sugarman, Princeton, 1921; David Tobey (1898–1988), Savage School of Physical Education, 1924–42 and Cooper Union, 1947–60, an outstanding referee from 1918 to 1945 and the author of the first book on basketball officiating (1943), and a member of the Basketball Hall of Fame; Leonard D. Sachs (1897–1942), Loyola or Chicago, 1924–42, had a 224–129 record; Emil S. Gollubier (1890–1969), Chicago Hebrew Institute, 1918–62; Dolly Stark (1897–1968), Dartmouth, 1929–36, 1945–46; Bernard (Red) *Sarachek (1912–2005), Yeshiva, 1943, 1946–69; Harry Stein (1916–1959), Brandeis, 1949–58; Samuel Cozen, Drexel Tech, 1952–68, had a 213–94 record; David Polansky, CCNY, 1953–54, 1957–58, 1960–68, 1970–71; Roy Rubin, Long Island University, 1961– , in 1968 LIU was the small college national champion; Harold (Hal) Blitman, Cheyney State, 1962–69; Jules Rivlin, Marshall, 1956–62; Irving Olin (1917–1970), Brandeis, 1964; and Harry *Litwack (1907–1999), Temple, at the Philadelphia school beginning in 1925 as a player and coach. He became head coach in 1953 and his teams won over 300 games, including the 1969 National Invitational Tournament in New York City.

The majority of the players who made All-America in college went on to play professional basketball. Other Jewish players who excelled as professionals were David (Pretzel) Banks (1901–1952), the Original Celtics; George (Red) Wolfe (1905–1970), Shikey Gotthoffer and Inky Lautman of the Philadelphia Sphas; Louis Spindell and Phil Rabin (Rabinowitz) of the American League; National Basketball Association players Leo Gottlieb, Sidney (Sonny) Hertzberg, Max *Zaslofsky (1925–1985), all-NBA guard in 1947–50, who led the league in scoring in 1948, and Danny Schayes, son of Dolph.

Coaches, managers, and owners of professional teams included Jack (Nibs) Neiman, manager of the Rochester, New York, Centrals, 1902; Eddie *Gottlieb (1900–1979), organized, played for, and coached the South Philadelphia Hebrew Association (Sphas) team in 1918–45. In 1946 he helped found the Basketball Association of America (which became the National Basketball Association) and from 1947 to 1968 was a coach and owner of the Philadelphia Warriors; Abe *Saperstein (1902–1966), founder, owner, and coach of the Harlem Globetrotters; Barney *Sedran (1891–1964), a coach and promoter in 1932–46; Les *Harrison (1904–1997), coach and owner of the Rochester Royals of the NBA, 1949–1958; Benjamin (Ben) Kerner (1917–), owner of the Tri-Cities/Milwaukee/St. Louis Hawks in the National Basketball League and the National Basketball Association, 1946–68; Max Winter, owner of the Minneapolis Lakers in the 1950s; Mark *Cuban (1958–), owner of the Dallas Mavericks; Jerry Reinsdorf (1936–), owner of the Chicago Bulls; Leslie Alexander, Houston Rockets; Micky Arison, Miami Heat; William Davidson, Detroit Pistons; Abe *Pollin (1923–) Washington Wizards; Donald Sterling, Los Angeles Clippers; Herb Kohl, Milwaukee Bucks; and Howard Schultz, Seattle Supersonics.

Arnold (Red) *Auerbach (1917–), was Boston Celtics coach and general manager; Red Holzman played for the Rochester Royals in 1946–54, and led the New York Knicks to the NBA championship in 1970 and 1973. Maurice *Podoloff (1890–1985) was elected president of the Basketball Association of America in 1946 and served as the first commissioner of the National Basketball Association until 1963. Marty *Glickman (1917–2001) was a radio broadcaster and founding father of basketball on radio, and is a member of the Basketball Hall of Fame. Leo Fischer (1897–1970), an outstanding sportswriter, was president of the National Basketball League in 1940–44, and Harry Rudolph (1907–1973), president of the Eastern League. Larry *Fleisher (1930–1989) was head of the NBA players union from 1962–1988, and a member of the NBA Hall of Fame as contributor.

Referees who gained prominence were Sam Schoenfeld (1907–1956), who starred at Columbia University in 1928–30 and later founded and was first president of the Collegiate Basketball Officials Association; Mendy *Rudolph (1928–1979), who became an NBA official in 1953 and in 1969 became the league's chief of referees; and Norman Drucker, who after 15 years with the NBA became supervisor of ABA officials in 1969. Jews coached and won medals at the Olympic *Games. Julius Goldman, an American, coached Canada to an Olympic medal in 1936, and Alexander Gomelsky did the same for the Soviet Union in 1964 and 1968. Canadian Olympic coaches include Men Abromowitz (1948) and Ruben Richman (1934–). Harry D. *Henshel served as chairman of the United States Olympic Basketball Committee in 1956, and Harold Fischer coached United States gold medal teams at the 1951 and 1967 Pan-American Games. Tanhum (Tanny) Cohen-Mintz of Israel was named to the European All-Star team in 1964 and 1965. Members of the Basketball Hall of Fame are Leonard D. Sachs, David Tobey, Barney Sedran, Nat Holman, Red Auerbach, and Abe Saperstein.

Ernie *Grunfeld won gold medals as a member of the American men's teams at the 1975 Pan-American Games and the 1976 Olympic Games, and Nancy *Lieberman (1958–) was a member of the American women's teams which gained Pan-American Games gold and Olympic Games silver medals. Lieberman was named outstanding college player twice, winning the Wade Trophy following the 1978–79 and 1979–80 seasons, when her school Old Dominion won the women's championship. In 1979 she helped the United States win the FIBA World Championship and a silver medal in the Pan-American Games.

Larry *Brown (1940–) was named Coach of the Year in the American Basketball Association in 1973 and 1975. In 1979 Brown moved to the college ranks to coach at UCLA. His team reached the finals of the national collegiate (NCAA) championship in his first season. Brown, basketball's traveling man, then went to the NBA New Jersey Nets (1981–1983), and then to the University of Kansas, which won the NCAA championship in 1988. He returned to the NBA in 1988 with the Antonio Spurs, which went from a 21–61 record in Brown's first year to 56–26 the following year – the 35-game swing from one season to the next an NBA record. In 1992 he moved from San Antonio to the Los Angeles Clippers, then to the Indianapolis Pacers (1993–1997), Philadelphia 76ers (1997–2002), Detroit Pistons (2003–2004), and New York Knicks (2005–2006). His brother Herb (1936–) is also a veteran coach.

Alexander Gomelsky (1928–2005) returned to coach the U.S.S.R. national team in 1977. His team won an Olympic bronze medal in Moscow.

Players Dolph Schayes (1972) and Max (Marty) Friedman (1971); coach Harry Litwack (1976); and contributors Edward Gottlieb (1971) and Maurice Podoloff (1973) were elected to the Basketball Hall of Fame.

David Stern became the commissioner of the National Basketball Association in 1983 and in 1992 was named the most powerful person in sports by a national sports publication. *The Sporting News* said of him, "As a direct result of David Stern's progressive leadership, the NBA now has the greatest universal appeal of any professional sport."

Mickey *Berkowitz (1954–) is considered the greatest basketball player in Israel's history.

Senda Abbott *Berenson was the "Mother of Women's Basketball" and was inducted into the International Basketball Hall of Fame in 1985.

Billiards

John M. Brunswick (1819–1886), who was born in Bengarten, Switzerland, and settled in Cincinnati, Ohio, was one of the earliest manufacturers of billiard equipment in the United States. He built the country's first perfect billiard table in 1845. Moses Bensinger (1839–1904), Brunswick's son-in-law, invented the balkline game in billiards in 1883, and in 1890 became president of his father-in-law's firm, which had been moved to Chicago. Outstanding American professional billiard players were Leon Magnus, winner of the first world three-cushion championship in 1878; Harry P. Cline, world three-cushion (1907) and 18.2 balkline (1910) champion, and Arthur Rubin (1905–?), world professional three-cushion champion (1961 and 1964); Sydney Lee (1903–?), the British amateur champion in 1931–34 and winner of the world amateur billiard championship in 1933, American amateurs Max Shimon, winner of the national three-cushion championship in 1929 and 1930, and Simon ("Cy") Yellin, national pocket billiard champion in 1929.

Bowling (Tenpin)

The Brunswick Company entered the bowling business in 1888 and helped establish the tenpin game around the world. Bowling pioneers Samuel Karpf (1866–1923) and Dutch-born Louis B. Stein (1858–1949) helped organize the American Bowling Congress in 1895. One of the first to write about bowling in the United States, Karpf served in 1896–1907 as the first secretary of the American Bowling Congress. Stein, an outstanding bowler, established 300 as the score in tenpin bowling and determined that the weight of the ball should be 16 pounds. The Bowling Hall of Fame includes charter member Mortimer ("Mort") Lindsey (1888–1959); Phil Wolf, American Bowling Congress champion (1928); and Sylvia Wene Martin (1928–), women bowler of the year in 1955 and 1960.

Mark *Roth (1951–), Bowler of the Year in 1977, 1978, 1979, and 1984, is a member of Pro Bowlers Association (PBA) Hall of Fame. Roth, Barry Asher (1972–73), and Marshall Holman (1977–78) gained All-America selections. Holman was player of the year in 1987. Roth and Holman were voted into the U.S. Professional Bowlers Association's Hall of Fame in 1987 and 1990, respectively. Veteran Barry Asher joined the PBA Hall of Fame in 1988, and the American Bowling Congress' Hall of Fame added Norman Meyers in 1983 and Al Cohn in 1985.

Boxing

The most active years of Jewish participation in professional boxing were in the latter part of the 18th and the first quarter of the 19th centuries in England, and in the first half of the 20th century in the United States. The best boxers of the early era were Daniel *Mendoza (1764–1836), champion of England in 1792–95, and Samuel ("Dutch Sam") Elias (1776–1816), credited with the invention of the uppercut. Other English Jews who fought in the ring during this period were Barney Aaron ("the Star of the East"; 1800–1850); Henry Abrahams; the Belasco brothers – Abraham ("Aby") (1797–?), Israel (1800–?), Samuel, and John; Isaac Bittoon (1778–1838); Elisha Crabbe (d. 1809); Abraham da Costa; Barnard Levy; Keely Lyons; Daniel Martin; Isaac Mousha; Abraham Robes; Solomon Sodicky; and the cousins of Daniel Mendoza, Angel Hyams and Aaron Mendoza.

A number of English fighters bridged the gap between the early and modern eras. Barney ("Young Barney") Aaron (1836–1907), son of Barney Aaron, Asher Moss, nephew of Daniel Mendoza and Israel ("Izzy") Lazarus (1812–1867); and his sons Harry (1839–1865) and Johnny, who emigrated to the United States in the 1850s and 1860s and helped build interest in boxing by giving lessons and putting on exhibitions around the country. "Young Barney" Aaron won the lightweight championship of the United States in 1857.

The first Jewish boxer to win a world championship under Marquis of Queensberry rules was Harry ("The Human Hairpin") Harris (1880–1959), bantamweight, 1901–02.

Other American world professional champions were light heavyweight Battling *Levinsky (Barney Lebrowitz; 1891–1949) in 1916–20; Maxie ("Slapsie") *Rosenbloom (1904–1976) in 1930–1934; and Bob Olin (1908–1956) in 1934–35; middleweights Al McCoy (Albert Rudolph; 1894–1966) in 1914–17; Ben Jeby (Morris Jebaltowsky; 1907–1985), 1932–33; and Solly Krieger (1909–1964), 1938–39; welterweights Jackie *Fields (Jacob Finkelstein; 1907–1987) in 1929–30, 1932–33; and Barney *Ross; lightweights Benny *Leonard; Al ("The Bronx Beauty") Singer (1907–1961) in 1930; and Barney *Ross; featherweights Abe *Attell (1884–1970) in 1901–12; Louis ("Kid") Kaplan (1902–1970) in 1925–27; and Benny Bass (1904–1975) in 1927–28; bantamweights Abe Goldstein (1898–1907) in 1924;

Charley ("Phil") Rosenberg (Green; 1902–1976) in 1925–27; and flyweight Izzy ("Corporal") Schwartz (1900–1988) in 1927–29. Other world champions were Ted ("Kid") *Lewis, Great Britain; Victor ("Young") Perez (1911–1942), France (Tunisia), flyweight 1931–32; Robert Cohen (1930–), France (Algeria), bantamweight 1954–56; and Alphonse Halimi (1932–), France (Algeria), bantamweight 1957–59. World junior champions were Mushy Callahan (Vincent Morris Sheer; 1905–1986), welterweight 1926–30; Jack Bernstein (John Dodick; 1899–1945), lightweight 1923; and Jackie ("Kid") *Berg (Judah Bergman; 1909–1991), Great Britain, welterweight 1930–31. Other noted American boxers were Monte Attell (1885–1960), Abe's brother; Jacob ("Soldier") Bartfield (1892–1970); Joe Bernstein (1877–1931); Harry Blitman (1908–1972); Phil ("Ring Gorilla") Bloom (1894–?); "Newsboy" Brown (Dave Montrose; 1904–1977); Joe Choynski (1869–1943); Leach Cross (Louis Wallach; 1886–1957); Charley Goldman (1887–1968), who was also a successful trainer; Ruby ("The Jewel of the Ghetto") *Goldstein (1907–1984), both a boxer and referee; Willie Jackson (Oscar Tobler; 1897–1961); Danny Kramer (1900–1971); Harry Lewis (Besterman; 1886–1956); Ray Miller (1908–1987); Young Montreal (Morris Billingkoff; 1897–1978); Young Otto (Arthur Susskind; 1886–1967); Dave Rosenberg (1901–1979); Johnny ("Young") Rosner (1895–1974); Lew Tendler (1898–1970); Sid ("Ghost of the Ghetto") Terris (1904–1974); Al "Bummy" *Davis (Albert (Avraham) Davidoff; 1920–1945), welterweight boxer; Abe ("The Newsboy") *Hollandersky (1887–1966, who engaged in more professional bouts (1,309) than any other fighter in boxing history; and Mike Rossman, who won the World Boxing Association light heavyweight championship in 1978 at age 21, the youngest claimant of the light heavyweight title. He lost the championship in 1979.

Champions of Europe included British boxers Anshel ("Young") Joseph, welterweight, in 1910; Matt Wells (1886–1953), lightweight in 1911–12; Harry Mason, lightweight, in 1923; Johnny Brown (d. 1975), bantamweight, in 1923 and Al Phillips, featherweight, in 1947; and also Albert Yvel, France, light heavyweight, in 1950–51. Winners of national professional titles were Jack Bloomfield in 1922, Joe Fox (1892–1965), in 1921; and Harry Mizler (d. 1990) in 1934 of Great Britain; Al Foreman, Curly Wilshur (Barney Eisenberg), Sammy Luftspring and Maxie Berger of Canada; Tiger Burns (Dan Levine), Al James, and David Katzen of South Africa; and Waldemar Holberg of Denmark. In 1971, Henry Nissen of Australia (1948–) won the British Commonwealth flyweight title.

Jews have been involved in all other activities connected with the boxing business as managers, trainers, and promoters. Promoters included Mike *Jacobs (1880–1953), Joe *Jacobs ("Yussel the Muscle"; 1896–1940), Harry Markson, Herman Taylor, Lew Raymond, Johnny Attell, Sam Becker, Larry Atkins, Goldie Ahearn, Archie Litman, Irving Schoenwald, Willie Gilzenberg, Bonnie Geigerman, and Jack Begun of the United States; Bella Burge, Jack *Solomons, Nathan Shaw, Mickey Duff, Esther Goldstein, and Harry Levene of Great Britain; Ludwig Japhet of South Africa; Gilbert Benaim of France; and Paul Damski of Germany. Ray *Arcel (1899–1994) is considered the greatest trainer in the sport. Whitey (Morris) *Bimstein (1897–1969) was another outstanding boxing trainer. Teddy *Brenner (1917–2000), considered the greatest matchmaker in boxing history, is a member of the International Boxing Hall of Fame. Lou *Stillman (Louis Ingber; 1887–1969) was owner of Stillman's Gym.

The Boxing Hall of Fame, founded by ring historian Nat *Fleischer, has enshrined charter members Daniel Mendoza, Benny Leonard, Abe Attell, Barney Ross, Joe Choynski, Lew Tendler, Ted ("Kid") Lewis, Battling Levinsky, Barney ("Young") Aaron, and Max *Baer.

Gilbert Cohen of France won the light middleweight championship of Europe in 1978.

Australian Henry Nissen was the Commonwealth flyweight champion in 1971–74. Victor Zilberman of Romania won a bronze medal in welterweight division, and Rollie Schwartz served as manager of the very successful American team at the 1976 Olympic Games.

American Saoul Mamby won the World Boxing Council's version of the world junior welterweight championship in 1980. Shamil Sabyrov of the USSR won a 1980 Olympic gold medal in the light-flyweight division. Dmitry *Salita, a religious Jew who does not box on Shabbat, won the NABA junior welterweight championship in August 2005.

French boxers Gilles Elbilia and Fabrice Benichou enjoyed ring successes in the 1980s and 1990s. Elbilia won the French and European welterweight titles in 1982 and 1983 while Benichou won the World and European featherweight championships in 1989 and 1991.

Scotland's Gary (Kid) Jacobs defeated an Australian opponent and won the British Commonwealth welterweight championship in 1988. He lost the title the following year. In 1992 he became the British welterweight champion.

Bullfighting

Jewish bullfighters include Sidney *Franklin of the United States and Randy Sasson (*El Andaluz*) of Colombia.

Canoeing

The sport began in 1865 and four years later Montagu Mayer competed in canoe races in England. In 1880 Arthur *Brentano and Adolph Lowenthal were among the 25 canoeists who founded the American Canoe Association. Leo Friede (1887–1959) of the United States won canoe sailing's oldest trophy, the International Sailing Challenge Cup, in 1913 and 1914. Olympic medalists include Leon Rottman (Romania) two gold (1956) and one bronze (1960); Imre Farkas (Hungary), two bronze (1956, 1960); Laszlo Fabian (Hungary), gold (1956); Klara Fried (Hungary), bronze (1960), and Naum Prokupets (U.S.S.R.), bronze (1968).

The two-man whitewater team of Joe Jacobi and his partner won a Olympic Games gold medal in 1992. It was only the fifth canoeing or kayaking gold medal won by the U.S. in Olympic Games history.

Cricket

The first Jewish cricket players of note played at Oxford and Cambridge. D.L.A. Jephson represented Cambridge University in 1891 and 1892 and John E. Raphael played for Oxford from 1903 to 1905. Both later represented Surrey County. International cricket players included the South Africans Manfred J. Susskind, Norman ("Mobil") Gordon, Dennis Gamsy and Aron ("Ali") Bacher. The last, a physician who devoted his early years of medical practice to nonwhites, achieved widespread distinction as a cricketer in the South African victory over Australia in 1966. He was appointed captain of the South African team for the 1970 test matches against England, the first Jew to reach such a position. Though an outspoken advocate of multiracial cricket, he was to have led his all-white team in the Commonwealth Matches at Edinburgh in 1970, but violent opposition in England to South African apartheid in sport caused cancellation of his team's participation.

Prue Hyman of Great Britain was captain of the women's team at Oxford and represented her country in international competition. Patrons of the game were Sir Julian Cahn of Great Britain, Wilfred Isaacs of South Africa, and John I. Marder (d. 1975), president of the United States Cricket Association. Cricket has been played in Israel since the Mandate period and later gained popularity with tours of Israel by Maccabi teams and still later by teams from England. Dr. Aron (Ali) Bacher of South Africa served as the first Jewish captain of a national cricket side in 1970–74. In 1979 Julian Wiener became the first Jewish cricketer to play for Australia's full international Test side.

Cycling

Louis Gompertz of Great Britain perfected the gear rope, or bicycle chain, in 1821. Felix Schmal of Austria won one gold and two bronze medals at the first Olympic Games in 1896.

Equestrian

American Neal Shapiro won an Olympic silver and bronze medal in 1972 in show jumping, and his countrywoman Edith Master gained a 1976 Olympic bronze medal in dressage. Mark Laskin, Canada's top rider in 1978 and 1979, helped his country win the gold medal at the "alternate Olympics" in Rotterdam, the Netherlands, in 1980. Margie Goldstein was named the 1989 and 1991 American Grand Prix Rider of the Year. In 1991 she became the first show jumper to win eight Grand Prix events in one season. Serious injuries cost her an Olympic Games opportunity in 1992.

Fencing

Between 1896 and 1976, 38 Jewish fencers won 76 medals (39 gold, 22 silver, and 15 bronze) in Olympic competition. Over the years they won numerous world, national, European, British Empire, Commonwealth, and Pan-American games (see *Olympic Games). Olympic medalists include Eduard Vinokurov (silver, 1972 and gold, 1976), Mark Rakita (silver, 1972) and Grigori *Kriss (bronze, 1972), all of U.S.S.R., and Ildiko Uslaky-Rejtoe (silver, 1972), Hungary. Kriss won the world epee title in 1971. Albert (Albie) *Axelrod (1921–2004) was one of the greatest American fencers in history, competing in five consecutive Olympics from 1952 to 1968 and winning a bronze in 1960. Allan *Jay (1931–) was a British fencer and a silver medalist in Individual and Team Epee at the 1960 Olympic. In 1975 Martin Lang of the United States won a Pan-American Games gold medal. Americans Yuri Rabinovich of Wayne State and Paul Friedberg of Pennsylvania won the sabre event in the national collegiate championships in 1979 and 1980. Leonid Dervbinsky was national epee champion in 1980 and Peter Schifrin (gold) and Edgar House (silver) won Pan-American Games medals in 1979. American medalists in the Pan American Games were Elaine Cheris, Paul Friedberg, and Jeff Bukantz in 1987 and Nick Bravin, John Friedberg, Chris O'Loughlin, and Joseph Socolof in 1991. Israel's Udi Carmi placed fourth in the foil competition in the 1987 World Championships.

Field Hockey

A women's Olympic Games gold medalist in 1984, and a bronze medal winner in 1988, Carina Benninga carried the Netherlands flag at the Olympic Games opening ceremony in 1992.

Football (American and Canadian)

In 1870, a year after college football began in the United States, Moses Henry Epstein represented Columbia University against Rutgers in the third game ever played. The following year, Emil G. *Hirsch, a future Reform rabbi, appeared in the initial football game at Pennsylvania University. In 1874, Henry Joseph, a Canadian, played for McGill University against Harvard in an important series of contests. Lucius Littauer, future "Glove King of America" and congressman from New York State, played for Harvard in 1875 and 1877. Littauer returned to his alma mater in 1881 and became college football's first coach. Phil King of Princeton University, one of early football's greatest players, was an All-American selection in 1890–93 and a member of the College Football Hall of Fame. He later coached at his alma mater and at Wisconsin University. Sam Jacobson, a member of the Syracuse Athletic Association, helped organize the first football team at Syracuse University in 1889.

Those who followed King as All-American selections were Sigmund ("Sig") Harris (1883–1969), Minnesota, 1903–04; Israel ("Izzy") Levene (1885–1930), Pennsylvania, 1905–06; Joseph Magidsohn (1888–1969), Michigan, 1909–10; Arthur ("Bluey") Bluethenthal (1891–1918), Princeton, 1911–12; Leonard Frank (1889–1967), Minnesota, 1911; A. Harry Kallet (1887–1965), Syracuse, 1911; Victor H. Frank (1900–), Pennsylvania, 1918; Joseph Alexander (1898–1975), Syracuse, 1918–20; Ralph Horween (1896–1997), Harvard, 1916; his brother Arnold Horween, (1898–1985), Harvard 1920; Max Kadesky (1901–1970), Iowa, 1922; George Abramson (1903–1985), Minnesota, 1924; Milton ("Irish") Levy, 1925; Benny *Friedman (1905–1982), Michigan, 1925, and a member of the College and Professional Football Hall of Fame; Ray

Baer (1905–1968), Michigan, 1927; Benny Lom, California, 1927–29; Lou Gordon (1908–1976), Illinois, 1927; Fred Sington (1910–1998), Alabama, 1929–30; and Mike Alexander, a member of the College Football H all of Fame; Gabriel Bromberg, Dartmouth, 1930; Aaron Rosenberg (1912–1979), Southern California, 1932–33, and a member of the College Football Hall of Fame; Harry "Doc" Newman (1909–2000), Michigan, 1932; Franklin Meadow (1912–1989), Brown, 1932; David Smukler (1914–1971), Temple, 1934; Isadore ("Izzy") Weinstock (1913–1997), Pittsburgh, 1934; Marshall *Goldberg (1917–), Pittsburgh 1937–39, and a member of the College Football Hall of Fame; Sid *Luckman (1916–1998), Columbia, 1937–38, and a member of the College Football Hall of Fame; Leroy Monsky (1916–1981), Alabama, 1937; A. Sidney Roth (1916–2001), Cornell, 1938; Mervin Pregulman (1922–), Michigan, 1943; Dan Dworsky (1927–), Michigan, 1947; Bernard Lemonick, Pennsylvania, 1950; Al Goldstein (1936–1991), North Carolina, 1958; Ron *Mix (1938–), Southern California, 1959; Rich Stotter (1945–), Houston, 1967; Bob Stein (1948–), Minnesota, 1967–68; Michael Andrew Seidman (1981–), Carolina Panthers; and Igor Olshansky (1982–), San Diego Chargers.

Among other leading football coaches were Israel Levene (1885–1930), an All-American selection, who played for Pennsylvania and later coached at the University of Tennessee and at his alma mater; Fred Lowenthal (1879–1931), who starred at the University of Illinois and later coached its team; Edward Siskind (1886–1955), who played and coached at Fordham University; Frank Glick (1893–1979) of Princeton University, who coached at his university and at Lehigh; Arnold Horween, All-American at Harvard and coach of the team in 1926–30. Others were Benny *Friedman, Joe Alexander, Louis Oshins (1902–1975), Marv *Levy (1926–), and Maurice ("Mush") Dubofsky (1910–1970), captain of the Georgetown University team.

Although professional football began officially in 1895, the Syracuse, N.Y., Athletic Association played the game for money before that date. Jewish members of the team included the manager and coach, Samuel Jacobson; the Freeman brothers, David and Chuck (1882–?), and an outstanding running back, Paul (Twister) Steinberg (1880–1964). Steinberg was also a member of the champion Philadelphia Athletics in 1902, and the famous Canton Bulldogs in 1905–06. In 1898, Barney *Dreyfuss of baseball fame was co-owner and manager of the Pittsburgh Athletic Club, the champions of professional football. Other professional players included John Barsha (Abraham Barshofsky) (1898–1976), 1919–20; Leonard Sachs (1897–1942), 1920–26; the Horween brothers, Arnold, 1921–24, head coach of the Chicago Cardinals in 1923–24, and Ralph (1896–1997), 1921–23; Joseph Alexander, 1921–22, 1925–27, head coach of the NY Giants in 1926; Jack Sack (Jacob Bernard Sacklowsky) (1902–1980), 1923, 1925–26; Samuel Stein (1906–1966), 1926, 1929–32; Saul Mielziner (1905–1985), 1929–34; Ollie (Bernard Oliver) Satenstein (1906–1959), 1929–33; Benny *Friedman, 1927–34, head coach of the Brooklyn Dodgers in 1932; Philip (Motsy) Handler (1908–1968), 1930–36, head coach of the Chicago Cardinals in 1943–45, 1949; Louis Gordon, 1930–38; Harry "Doc" Newman (1909–2000), 1933–37, in 1933 he led the National Football League in passing for the N.Y. Giants; Charles (Buckets) *Goldenberg (1911–1986), 1933–45; Edwin Kahn (1911–1945), 1935–37; David Smukler, 1936–39, 1944; Marshall "Biggie" Goldberg (1917–), 1939–43, 1946–48; Sidney *Luckman (1916–1998) 1939–50, a member of the Professional Football Hall of Fame; Alexander (Allie) *Sherman (1923–), 1943–47, head coach of the N.Y. Giants, 1961–68; Herbert Rich, 1950–56, an all-league selection in 1952; Sidney Youngelman, 1955–63; Michael Sommer, 1958–63; and Ron Mix, 1960–69, a member of the all-time American Football League team. Sid *Gillman (1911–2003) served as head coach of the Los Angeles Rams in 1955–59 and Los Angeles and San Diego Chargers in 1960–69. Al *Davis (1929–) was head coach and is now owner of the Oakland Raiders, and was commissioner of the American Football League in 1966. Benjamin F. Lindheimer (1896–1960) was commissioner of the All-America Conference in 1946–47; and Art *Modell (1925–), owner of the Cleveland Browns which became the Baltimore Ravens, and president of the National Football League in 1967–70. Referees of note were Norman ("Bobie") Cahn (1892–1965), Joseph J. Lipp (1889–1958), Joseph Magidsohn (1888–1969), and Samuel A. *Weiss (1902–1977).

Canadian professional football executives included Louis Hayman, Harry Sonshine, Neville Winograd, David Loeb, Samuel Berger, and G. Sydney Halter, the first commissioner of the Canadian Football League. Halter and Abe Eliowitz (1910–1981), a U.S. player, are members of the Canadian Football Hall of Fame.

Gary Wichard, quarterback, C.W. Post (1971), Randy Grossman (1952–), end, Temple (1973) and David Jacobs (1957–), kicker, Syracuse (1978) won All-America honors. Grossman played professionally with the Pittsburgh Steelers.

Ron Mix (1938–), offensive tackle with the San Diego Chargers, retired in 1973 after a 13-year career. He was named to the Professional Football Hall of Fame in 1979. Harry Newman, an All-America quarterback at Michigan in 1932, was named to the College Football Hall of Fame in 1975.

In 1972 Carroll *Rosenbloom (1907–1979) exchanged ownership of the Baltimore Colts for the same position with the Los Angeles Rams of the NFL. Zygmunt Wilf, a child of Holocaust survivors, became owner of the Minnesota Vikings in 2005. Other owners include Al Lerner (1933–2002), Cleveland Browns; Arthur Blank (1942–), Atlanta Falcons; Robert *Kraft (1942–), New England Patriots; Daniel Snyder, Washington Redskins; Malcom Glazer (1928–), Tampa Bay Buccaneers (and majority owner of Manchester United), Jeffrey Lurie (1951–), Philadelphia Eagles; and Robert *Tisch (1926–2005), co-owner of the New York Giants.

Players who performed on Super Bowl teams were Lyle Alzado (1949–1992), Los Angeles Raiders, 1984; Ed Newman (1951–), Miami Dolphins, 1985 and John Frank (1962–) and Harris Barton (1964–), San Francisco 49ers, 1989 and 1990.

Alzado, Newman, Barton, and Brad Edelman of the New Orleans Saints were named to All-Pro teams during this period. Barton, an offensive tackle, was an All-Pro in 1990 and 1992.

Coach Marv Levy, the Phi Beta Kappa scholar who was hired by the Buffalo Bills in 1986, led the Bills to four consecutive Super Bowl appearances (1991–1994). Coach Sid Gillman and Al Davis were voted into the Professional Football Hall of Fame in 1983 and 1992. In 1989 Gillman was also named to the College Football Hall of Fame. Beginning in 1960, Davis served as a personnel assistant and scout, head coach, general manager, league commissioner, principal team owner, and chief executive officer. Davis was a Gillman assistant in 1960.

Golf

The development of outstanding Jewish golfers was slow as most established golf clubs barred Jews from membership. Elaine V. Rosenthal (1896–?) of the United States was one of the first successful golfers. She won a number of tournaments after placing second in the national amateur championship in 1914. Herman Barron (1909–1978) was a leading player on the United States professional tour in the late 1940s, a member of the United States Ryder Cup team in 1947, and world professional senior champion in 1963. Sidney Brews (1899–1972) of South Africa had a long career as a professional golfer. Beginning in 1925, he won 30 Open championships in six countries. South African national amateur champions and international players included Brews' brother-in-law, Mickey Janks, South African national champion of 1948; Betty Bental Peltz; Florrie Josselsohn; Rita Levitan; Isabel Blumberg; and Judy Angel. Martin (Marty) Fleckman of the United States won the national collegiate title in 1965 and two years later became the first golfer in history to win the first tournament he entered as a professional. In 1968, Bruce Fleisher (1948–) won the United States amateur championship, and, with Richard Siderowf, was a member of the winning U.S. team at the world amateur championships in Australia. Fleckman, Fleisher, Siderowf, and Arnold Blum were all members of winning U.S. teams in Walker Cup competition. Douglas Silverberg of Canada and Roberto Halpern of Mexico were also international golfers. Jane Weiller Selz, an American, won the women's national amateur championship of Mexico in 1960. In 1960–61, Lord (Lionel) Cohen of Great Britain served as captain of the famous Royal and Ancient Golf Club of St. Andrews, Scotland. Israel opened its first golf course at Caesarea in 1961.

American Amy *Alcott (1956–) had 29 career wins, including five majors, and was inducted into World Golf Hall of Fame in 1999. Richard Siderowf, an American, won the Canadian Amateur in 1971 and the British Amateur in 1973 and 1976.

After 13 years as a club professional, Bruce Fleischer returned to the tour and won his first Professional Golf Association tournament in 1991. In 1992, Monte Scheinblum won the National Long Drive championship. Entertainer Dinah Shore was the 1985 recipient of the Patty Berg Award for outstanding contributions to women's golf.

Gymnastics

Germany's Flatow cousins, Alfred (1869–1942) and Gustav Felix (1875–1945), won six medals (five gold) in gymnastic competition at the first modern Olympic Games in 1896. Other Olympic medalists included Imre Gellert (Hungary), silver, in 1912; George Gulack (1905–1986; United States), gold, in 1932; Philip Erenberg (1909–1992); United States), silver, in 1932; Agnes *Keleti (1921– ; Hungary), 11 medals, including five gold, in 1948–52, and 1956; Alice Kertesz (Hungary) gold and silver, in 1956; Mikhail Perelman (U.S.S.R.), gold, in 1952; and Vladimir Portnoi (U.S.S.R.), silver and bronze, in 1960. Abie *Grossfeld (1934–) and Mark Cohn (1943–) of the United States won gold medals in the Pan-American Games, and Daniel Millman (1946–) of the United States became the first world trampoline champion in 1964. Joseph Salzman was co-coach of the United States Women's Olympic team in 1948. Harvey Berkman, who was physical education director of Chicago's Jewish People's Institute from 1908 to 1922, was responsible for the training of some of America's best gymnasts.

Abie *Grossfeld coached the United States men's team at the 1972 Olympic Games. Marshall Avener was a 1972 Olympian and a 1975 Pan-American Games gold medalist. Sharon Shapiro of UCLA won all four individual events and the all-around title at the United States women's college championships in 1980.

Olympic medalists included Mitch *Gaylord (1961–) of the U.S., who won a gold, silver, and two bronze medals in 1984; Valeri Belenki of Azerbaijan, a gold and bronze winner in 1992; and Kerri *Strug (1977–) of the U.S., who won a gold medal at the 1996 Games.

Soviet gymnast Maria *Gorokhovskaya (1921–) won seven medals at the 1952 Olympics. Americans Lucy Wener and Brian Ginsberg won Pan American Games gold medals in 1983 and 1987.

Handball

This is a very popular sport with American Jews. During the 1960s, the membership of the United States Handball Association was 35 percent Jewish. The game has had numerous Jewish national champions including Vic *Hershkowitz (1918–), handball's greatest all-round player, and Jimmy *Jacobs (1931–1988), the best player of the 1960s. Hershkowitz won a record 40 national titles in one-wall, three-wall, and four-wall play between 1942 and 1968. Jacobs' victories were gained in three-wall and four-wall competitions.

Handball held its first national championship in 1919, and the following year Max Gold won the title. Other players who gained national singles titles were George Nelson, Ken Schneider, Paul Haber, Simon ("Stuffy") Singer, Martin Decatur, Ken Davidoff, Steve Sandler, Michael Schmookler, Irving Jacobs, Harry Goldstein, Jack Londin, David Margolis, Joseph Garber, Arthur Wolfe, the Alexander brothers Seymour and Morton, and Sheila Maroschick. Members of the Helms Handball Hall of Fame include players Hershkowitz and Schneider and Hyman Goldstein and Judge Joseph Shane, both national commissioners of the United States Handball Association.

Paul Haber (1970–71) and Fred Lewis (1972, 1974–76, 1978) won United States Handball Association singles titles.

Horse Racing

An English Jew named Lamego was engaged in this sport as early as the 18th century. Active in English racing during this period were Baron Maurice de *Hirsch, who gave all his racing winnings to charity, and Sir Ernest *Cassel. Philip Levi (1821–1898) was an early patron of the sport in Australia. In the United States, Ben Cohen was an officer of the Maryland Jockey Club in 1830, and six years later a horse owned by Aaron Philip Hart won the first running of the King's Plate in Canada.

America's leading jockey before the Civil War was Jacob Pincus (1838–1918) who began to ride in 1852. Pincus became a trainer and in 1881 he saddled the first American-bred horse to win England's Epsom Derby. One of those who employed Pincus as a trainer was August *Belmont, who had entered the sport in 1866 as a founder of Jerome Park and was the first president of the American Jockey Club. This club included many Jewish horse owners. Other prominent American owners and trainers in the 19th century were David Gideon (1846–1929), Charles Fleischmann (1834–1897), Moses Goldblatt (1869–1941), and Julius (Jake) Cahn (1864–1941), owner and trainer of the 1897 Kentucky Derby winner, Typhoon II.

Georges Stern (1882–1928) of France earned the title "King of the Jockeys" during a career that ran from 1899 to 1926. During that time Stern won almost every major European event, including the 1911 Epsom Derby. America's Walter Miller (1890–1959), another successful jockey of the same era, is a member of the national Jockeys Hall of Fame. He had ridden in the United States (1904–09) and Europe before weight problems forced his retirement. Miller was the American riding champion in 1906–07 and had ridden 388 winners in 1906, a record that lasted until 1952. Other outstanding American jockeys were Lewis Morris; the Renick brothers, Joseph (1910–?) and Sam (1912–1999); Robert Merritt (1912–); Willie *Harmatz (1931–); and Walter ("Mousy") *Blum (1934–), who rode over 3,000 winners from 1953 and was national riding champion in 1963–64. Harry ("Cocky") Feldman (1915–1950) was the national riding champion of South Africa seven times during an 18-year career. He was killed in a riding accident, as was Britain's Reginald Sassoon (1893–1933), an amateur steeplechase rider. Nikolai Nasibov was the Soviet Union's leading jockey in the 1960s.

The most noted American trainers, who were also owners and breeders, were Hirsch *Jacobs (1904–1970) who saddled more winners (3,596) than any other trainer in history; his brothers Eugene and Sidney; the Byer brothers, Nathaniel, Frank, and Jacob; Mose Shapoff; the Lowenstein brothers, Jake (1889–1971) and Mose; Philip Bieber, founder and first president of the Horsemen's Benevolent and Protective Association; Kentucky Derby winners Sol Rutchick and Jacob ("Jack") Price; Arnold Winick; Howard ("Buddy") Jacobson (1931–1989), the national training champion in 1963–65; and Yevgeni Gottlieb of the U.S.S.R.

Prominent owners and breeders included Sir Ellice V. Sassoon (1881–1961), who had four Epsom Derby winners; the Joel brothers, Jack (1862–1940) and Solomon ("Solly"; 1866–1931); Nat Cohen (d. 1988), winner of the 1962 Grand National Steeplechase at Aintree; Stuart Levy (1908–1966); Heinrich Loebstein; Michael Sobell; Sir Henry *d'Avigdor-Goldsmid; and Evelyn *Rothschild, Great Britain; Jean Stern (1874–1962), who won the Grand Steeplechase of Paris four times; Georges *Wildenstein (1893–1964) and his son Daniel; Alec Weisweiller; Barons Edouard (1868–1949), James (1878–1957), Maurice (1891–1957) and Guy de Rothschild, France; Sir Adolph Basser (1887–1964), Australia, winner of the Melbourne Cup in 1951; Abe Bloomberg and G.M. Jaffee, South Africa; and the Americans Benjamin Block (1873–1950) and John D. Hertz (1879–1961; Hertz and his wife Frances (1881–1963) won the Triple Crown in the United States in 1943 with Count Fleet; Herbert M. Woolf (1880–1964), J.J. (Jack) Amiel, Harry F. *Guggenheim, and Isaac Blumberg were all Kentucky Derby winners; Bernard M. *Baruch, William Littauer (1865–1953); Harry M. *Warner (1881–1958); Alvin Untermeyer (1882–1963); Louis B. *Mayer; Albert Sabbath (1889–1969) whose horse Alsab cost him $700, earned $350,000 from him and sired winners who earned $4,000,000. There were also Nelson I. Asiel (1886–1965); Robert Lehman, Arlene Erlanger (1895–1969); Louis K. Shapiro (1897–1970); Irving Gushen (1899–1963), president of the Horsemen's Benevolent and Protective Association in 1953–63; Stanley Sagner (1908–1964); John M. *Schiff; Jacob Sher (1889–1972); Louis E. Wolfson; Isador (Colonel) Bieber (1887–1974); Maxwell H. Gluck (1896–1984); Jack Dreyfus Jr. (1914–?), chairman of the Board of Trustees of the New York Racing Association in 1969–70; and David J. Davis, whose Australian thoroughbred, Phar Lap, was considered by many to have been the greatest racehorse of all time.

American racing executives included Louis Smith (1888–1968), Benjamin F. Lindheimer (1890–1960), Leonard Florsheim (1880–1964), Joseph Schenck (1878–1961), Morris Shapiro (1883–1969) and his son John D., the originator of the Washington, D.C., International Classic and president of the Thoroughbred Racing Association; Mervyn *Leroy (1900–1987); J.J. ("Jake") Isaacson (1896–?); David Haber; Nat Herzfeld; Joseph Cohen; Joseph Gottstein (1891–1971); the Cohen brothers, Herman and Ben, who controlled Maryland's famous racetrack, Pimlico; Dr. Leon Levy (1895–?) and his son Robert; Hyman N. Glickstein, Saul Silberman (1896–1971), Philip H. Iselin, and J. Samuel Perlman (1900–), a Canadian, who was publisher and editor of the *Daily Racing Form* and *Morning Telegraph*.

Harness racing became a major sport in the United States in 1940 when George Morton Levy (1889–1977) introduced night racing at Roosevelt Raceway in New York. Levy also encouraged and backed the invention of the mobile starting gate. He is a member of the Hall of Fame of the Trotter. Even before 1940, track-owner Louis Smith modernized the sport by eliminating the use of heats to determine winners; he built and owned New England's first modern racetrack, Rockingham. Sacher ("Satch") Werner (1898–?), was the outstanding American trainer and driver; before turning professional he was an amateur champion of Vienna, Austria. Amateur drivers included Nathan S. *Straus (1848–1931), who gave up racing and yachting to devote himself to philanthropies which helped lay the foundations of the State of Israel; and Neal Shapiro, won an Olympic silver and bronze medal in 1972 in show jumping.

American jockey Walter Blum (1934–) retired after the 1975 season, after a 22-year riding career with 4,383 winners. Maxwell Gluck (1977) and Louis Wolfson (1978) were named the outstanding American thoroughbred owner-breeders of the year. Wolfson's horse Affirmed won the 1978 Triple Crown (Kentucky Derby, Preakness, and Belmont Stakes) and was named Horse of the Year in 1978 and 1979. Sir Michael Sobel and Sir Arnold Weinstock's Troy won the 200th running of the English Derby and Harry Meyerhoff's Spectacular Bid won the Kentucky Derby.

Jockeys Walter Blum and Jacob Pincus were enshrined in the U.S. Thoroughbred Racing Hall of Fame in 1987 and 1988. Blum rode 4,382 winners in a 22-year career (1953–1975), and Pincus, a leading 19th-century jockey, was also an outstanding trainer. Another Hall of Fame entry in 1990 was owner Sam Rubin's John Henry, a two-time American Horse of the Year.

In 1983, with 2,500 victories to his credit, South African jockey Stanley Amos retired, the same year another South African jockey, Basil Barcus, recorded his 1,000th win.

Ice Hockey

Defense man Yuri Lyapkin of the U.S.S.R. won an Olympic gold medal in 1976.

Mathieu *Schneider (1969–) is a two-time NHL All-Star and was a member of the U.S. Olympic team and Team U.S.A.

Gary *Bettman (1952–) has been commissioner of the National Hockey League since 1993. Edward and Peter Bronfman, owners of the Montreal Canadiens since 1971, sold the team in 1978. Steve Ellman is owner of the Phoenix Coyotes, and Ed Snider owns the Philadelphia Flyers. Stan *Fischler (1932–) is an author, broadcaster, and leading authority on ice hockey.

Ice Skating (Figure and Speed)

American Scott Cramer won the men's professional figure skating gold medal at the world championships in 1980. Dr. Alain Calmat, an Olympic silver medalist in figure skating in 1964, became France's Minister of Youth and Sports in 1984. American Judy Blumberg and her partner won bronze medals in ice dancing in the World Figure Skating Championships in 1983–85. They placed fourth in the 1984 Olympic Games.

In speed skating, American Andrew Gabel (1964–) is a four-time Olympian (1988, 1992, 1994, 1998) and holds a silver medal as a member of the 1994 5,000 m Short Track relay team. In figure skating, Sasha *Cohen (1984–), Sarah *Hughes (1985–), and Irina *Slutskaya (1979–) all skated in the Olympics and have won numerous medals.

Jai Alai

Richard I. Berenson (1893–1967) was responsible for the success of jai alai in the United States. He was president and general manager of the Miami Fronton from 1929 until his death. He was succeeded by his son, L. Stanley ("Buddy") Berenson. Among Americans who played professional jai alai were Martin Perfit and Howard Wechsler.

American Joey Cornblit, a professional for 20 years, won the Tournament of Champions (a meeting of the sport's top players) in 1992, when he also won his ninth Florida singles championship.

Judo

In 1964, when this sport was added to the Olympic program for the first time, James Bregman (1941–) of the United States won a bronze medal in the middleweight division. Other internationalists included Gabriel Goldschmied, Mexico, a bronze medalist in the 1967 Pan-American Games; Ronald Hoffman (1944–), Bernard Lepkofer (1933–), and Irwin Cohen of the United States; Ivan Silver of Great Britain; Salvadore Goldschmied of Mexico, and Jorge Gleser (1947–) of Argentina and the United States.

Irwin Cohen (1971–72, 1974, 1976–78), Steve Cohen (1974–75, 1977) and David Pruzansky (1973) won United States national titles. Jesse Goldstein won a 1979 Pan-American Games silver medal for the United States in the heavyweight division. Amy Kublin won American women's titles in 1976–78, 1980.

After 40 years, Israel won its first Olympic medals in 1992. Yael *Arad gained a silver medal in women's competition and Shay Oren Smadga took a bronze in the men's events. Other Olympic medalists were American Robert Berland, silver, and Canadian Mark Berger, bronze, in 1984.

Pan American Games medalists in 1983 and 1987 included Berland, Berger and also American Damon Keeve.

Karate

Between 1986 and 1988, Kathy Jones won two silver and four bronze medals in World Cup and World Championship competition. Danny Hakim of Australia won a silver medal in the 1988 World Championships.

Lacrosse

Early internationalists were Henry Joseph of Canada, who in 1876 played in a game before Queen Victoria in London, and Lionel Moses of the United States, the first known Jewish captain of an intercollegiate sports team. Like Joseph, Moses was a member of teams that toured Great Britain before 1900. Bernard M. Baruch played the game at the City College of New York in the late 1880s. Another early American player was Clarence M. Guggenheimer, who played for Johns Hopkins and later for Harvard. Milton Erlanger (1888–1969), also of

Johns Hopkins, served as president of the Intercollegiate Lacrosse Association and was later elected to the Lacrosse Hall of Fame. Other members of the Lacrosse Hall of Fame include Henry S. Frank, captain of the 1909 Johns Hopkins team, and Victor K. Ross, who starred at Syracuse University and led his team to victory over Oxford-Cambridge in 1922.

Lawn Bowling

This is a very popular game with the Jews of South Africa. In the 1960s, when Jews represented 1% of the total population, 25% of all lawn bowlers in the country were Jewish. South African bowlers and administrators included Alfred ("Alf") Blumberg, who in 1950 became his country's first Jewish lawn bowling internationalist and winner of an Empire Games' gold medal in Auckland, New Zealand, that year; Abraham (Pinky) Danilowitz, 1958 Empire Games gold medalist in singles, and Leon Kessel who represented South Africa in the first world lawn bowling championship in 1966. Harry Hart of Rhodesia was awarded the MBE for his services as player and administrator in 1964. David Magnus was one of Australia's star players.

Luge (Toboggan)

American Gordy Sheer won gold medals in the North American Championships doubles in 1990 and 1991. Sheer also participated in the 1992 Olympic Games.

Motorboat Racing

In 1905, two years after the sport began, America's Jacob Siegel won the inboard hydroplane National Championship Trophy. The following year, Britain's Lionel de *Rothschild was co-owner of the winning boat at the Harmsworth Trophy event in Ireland. Bernard M. Baruch and his brother Hartwig won the National Championship Trophy in 1906–09. Herbert Mendelsohn was victorious in the 1937 Gold Cup race, and S. Mortimer Auerbach (1901–) won the National Sweepstakes in 1939. Donald Aronow of the United States, a boatbuilder, designer, and driver, won the world title in ocean racing in 1967 and 1969. In the latter year, the Union of International Motorboating awarded him its Gold Medal of Honor. Other American ocean drivers were Jerry Langer (1966 national outboard champion), Peter Rothschild (1966 national inboard champion), and William Wishnick (1924– ; 1970 national inboard champion). In 1967, Milton Horwitz of the United States won the national title in predicted-log competition. Horwitz, Aronow, Langer, and Rothschild are members of the Gulf Marine Hall of Fame. Other international drivers included Arnie Levy and his son Derrick, South Africa; and Alan Bernstein, Rhodesia.

American William Wishnick won the 1971 world ocean racing title and Dr. Robert Magoon (1971–73) and Joel Halpern (1976–77) United States national ocean racing championships.

Don Aronow, American boat designer and two-time world offshore powerboat champion (1967 and 1969), died in 1987.

Motorcycling

In 1936 Australia's Lionel Maurice Van Praag (1908–?) won the world's first speedway championship in Wembley, England, and Benjamin Kaufman (1911–), of the United States, gained national speedway titles in 1936–37.

Olympic Games

Israel joined the United States and a number of other nations in the 1980 boycott of the Moscow Olympic Games as a protest against the U.S.S.R. invasion of Afghanistan. See *Olympic Games for list of Jewish medal winners.

Polo

A favorite sport of the Rothschild banking family since the 1890s, they helped popularize polo in Austria and France. Leading Rothschild players were Baron Louis (1882–1954), Austria; Barons Edouard Alphonse James (1869–1949), Robert (1880–1946), and Elie (1917–), France and Evelyn (1931–), Great Britain. American players included William Littauer (1865–1953); the *Fleischmann brothers, Julius (1872–1925) and Max (1877–1951); Robert Lehman (1891–1969); Adam Gimbel (1893–1969); Samuel Cohen (1896–1965); and John M. Schiff (1904–1987).

Roller Skating

American Scott Cohen, who won the world free skating championships in 1985, 1986, 1989, and 1990, became the first singles skater to win the title four times. Cohen also won a Pan American Games silver medal in 1987.

Rowing

In 1858, Britain's Sir Archibald Levin Smith (1836–1901) rowed in the Cambridge University crew that defeated Oxford and triumphed in the Henley Royal Regatta. During the 1870s Henry Altman (1854–1911), Isaac N. *Seligman (1856–1917), and Lucius *Littauer were engaged in collegiate rowing in the United States. Seligman rowed at Columbia, Littauer at Harvard, and Altman helped to establish the sport at Cornell University. The Lone Star Boat Club of New York City, America's first Jewish rowing group, was organized in 1887. Samuel G. Sterne was its president.

In Olympic competition, Allen P. Rosenberg (1931–) coached the 1964 American rowing team to a pair of victories. As a coxswain, Rosenberg won a gold medal in the 1955 Pan-American Games. Between 1963 and 1966 Donald Spero (1939–) of the United States won seven national, two Canadian, and the 1966 world championship, in single-sculls. He was an Olympic finalist in 1964 and winner of the Diamond Sculls in Britain's Henley Royal Regatta in 1965. Spero and Rosenberg are members of the Helms Rowing Hall of Fame. Frederic Lane stroked the University of Pennsylvania to victory in the Grand Challenge Cup of England's Royal Henley Regatta in 1955, to defeat a Soviet crew. George Hermann, Herbert Senoff James Kreis, Jerry Winkelstein, James Fuhrman (1943–), and Lawrence Gluckman (1946–) were Pan-American Games gold medalists.

Allen Rosenberg coached and David Weinberg was coxswain of the American crew that won the 1974 eight-oared heavyweight race at the World Championships.

Seth Bauer won an Olympic Games bronze medal in 1988. Other American participants in the 1988 Olympic Games were Sherri Cassuto and Jon Fish. Bauer, Fish, and Cassuto won Pan American Games and World Championships medals between 1985 and 1991.

Pablo Bulgach of Argentina and Betsy Kimmel, U.S., won Pan American Games gold medals in 1987 and 1991.

Rugby

John E. Raphael (1882–1917) represented England nine times in international rugby competitions in 1902–06, and Bethel Solomons (1885–1965), later a leading gynecologist, played for Ireland ten times in 1908–10. Aaron ("Okey") Geffin of S. Africa was the hero of the 1949 test series victory over New Zealand. Samuel Goodman was the manager of the United States Olympic gold medal teams in 1920 and 1924. Australia's Albert A. Rosenfeld (1885–) and Britain's Lewis Harris were outstanding Rugby League players. Rosenfeld appeared in the first test series between England and Australia in 1909, and during the 1913–14 season he scored a record 80 tries for Huddersfield in the Northern Rugby Football League. Harris was a member of the Hull Kingston Rovers when they won the Challenge Cup in 1925 and were Northern Rugby Football League champions in 1921 and 1923.

Shooting

In 1868, Philo Jacoby (1837–1922) won the Berlin shooting championship as the representative of the American Sharpshooters Association of New York. During the next 30 years Jacoby made many trips to Europe, where he triumphed in numerous shooting tournaments. In 1876 he captained the California team that won the world shooting championship at the Centennial Exposition in Philadelphia. For many years he was editor and publisher of *The Hebrew*, one of the first Jewish newspapers in San Francisco. Among outstanding U.S.S.R. modern shooters were Olympic medalists Lev Vainshtein, 1952; Allan Erdman, 1956; world champion Mikhail Itkis, 1958; and Larissa Gurvich, 1967. Gurvich won the European and World skeet championships in 1975. Joelle Fefer of Canada won three Pan American Games medals in 1983 and 1987. Thomas Bernstein, a member of the Norwegian national team, won the U.S. national collegiate (NCAA) rifle championship in 1988.

Squash Racquets & Racquetball

Victor Niederhoffer won United States squash racquets championships in 1972–75, and the Canadian and North American Open titles in 1975. In 1977 Selwyn Machet won the South African amateur championship. American Stuart Goldstein won the World professional title in 1978.

In racquetball Martin Hogen won the United States championship in 1978, and his second and third national professional racquetball titles in 1979 and 1980. Kathy May Teacher won the United States women's national paddle tennis championship in 1980.

Surfing

South African Shaun Tomson won the 1975 American Championship Cup and the World professional title in 1977; he remained among the world's best surfers in 1985. After a decade of competition Tomson had recorded the most victories in the Association of Surfing Professionals world tour.

Swimming and Water Polo

Jews were active in competitive swimming from the time the sport began in the 19th century. Marquis Bibbero of England participated in swimming races in the 1860s and G. Cohen set an American record for the 440-yards in 1878. In 1896, Jews triumphed in all three swimming events at the first modern Olympic Games. They were Alfred Hajos (Guttmann; 1878–1955), of Hungary and Paul Neumann (1875–), of Austria (see *Olympic Games). Hajos, an architect, built Budapest's main swimming pool and in 1924 won a silver medal in the Olympic Art competition. Otto Wahle (1880–1963), an Austrian Olympian, immigrated to the United States, where he became a coach and helped influence the course of American swimming and coached the American Olympic teams in 1912 and 1920. His Olympic successor was William (Bach) Bachrach (1879–1959), who coached the Illinois Athletic Club swimming team in 1912–54. Bachrach trained many national and Olympic champions, including the great Johnny Weissmuller, and headed the Olympic swimming teams in 1924 and 1928. During the same period, Charlotte Epstein (1885–1938) established swimming as a sport for women in the United States. She founded the Women's Swimming Association in 1917 and was responsible for women's swimming being included in the 1920 Olympic Games. Miss Epstein was manager of the women's Olympic swimming teams in 1920, 1924, and 1932, and served as chair of the United States Olympic Women's Swimming Committee. She was also chair of the United States Maccabiah Games Swimming Committee in 1935. Leo Donath of Hungary headed the International Swimming Federation in the 1930s. Mark *Spitz (1950–), who won four medals in the 1968 Olympic Games, set records in the butterfly stroke. In 1967, when he was named "world swimmer of the year," Spitz won five gold medals in the Pan-American Games. In 1972, the year after he became the first Jewish sportsman to win the Sullivan Award as the outstanding American amateur athlete, Spitz won an unprecedented seven gold medals and set seven world records at the Olympic Games. In 1983, Spitz was one of the first 20 Olympians named to the U.S. Olympic Hall of Fame and Museum. Chosen by the National Association of Sportscasters and Sportswriters, Spitz received the second highest number of votes cast; only Track and Field great Jesse Owens received more. Other swimming Olympic medalists were Eva *Szekely (1927–) Hungarian-born swimmer who set ten world records, five Olympic records, and over 100 Hungarian national records while winning two Olympic medals, ten

World University Championships and 68 Hungarian National Championships over her 19-year career. She is a member of the International Swimming Hall of Fame. Other winners are Andrea Gyarmati, Hungary (silver and bronze), 1972, Wendy Weinberg, United States (bronze), 1976; and Lenny *Krayzelburg (1975–), who won four Olympic gold medals.

Israel's star swimmers and divers in the 1960s were Yoav Raanan, Yvonna Toviss, Abraham Melamed, Gershon Sheffa, Moshe Gartel, and Yoram Schneider.

Jews were prominent too in water polo at the Olympics (see *Olympics). Bela Komjadi (1892–1933), coach of the Hungarian national team in the late 1920s and early 1930s, established Hungary as an Olympic power in water polo. American Peter Asch won a 1972 Olympic bronze medal in water polo. Australia's Russell Basser and American Charles Harris represented their countries in the 1984 and 1992 Olympic Games. Harris was a silver medalist in the 1991 Pan American Games.

In 1980, Helen Plaschinski of Mexico won the Latin Cup 100 meter freestyle gold medal in Madrid, Spain. Barbara Weinstein won the United States indoor platform diving title in 1979 and the outdoor event the following year. She also won the 1979 Pan-American Games gold medal in platform competition.

Dara Torres won her second gold and third Olympic medal in 1992. She gained her first gold in 1984 and received a Olympic bronze medal in 1988. Other American medalists in major international competition were John Witchel, 1987, Pan American Games, two golds, and Cheryl Kriegsman, Dan Kutler, and Dan Kanner in the World University Games in 1987 and 1991.

Olympic finalists in 1988 and 1992 were Vadim Alekseev, U.S.S.R., and Tomas Deutsch, Hungary. Alekseev, who is now an Israeli, won a Goodwill Games silver medal in 1990.

In Synchronized Swimming, Americans Tracy Long and Ann Miller won Pan American Games gold medals in 1987 and 1991.

Al Schoenfield, publisher and editor of swimming publications, and Dr. Paul Neumann, Austria, 1896 Olympic gold medalist, were named to the International Swimming Hall of Fame in 1985 and 1986.

In water polo, American Peter Asch won a 1972 Olympic bronze medal. Australia's Russell Basser and American Charles Harris represented their countries in the 1984 and 1992 Olympic Games. Harris was a silver medalist in the 1991 Pan American Games.

Table Tennis

Table tennis was organized as a modern sport in the 1920s. It proved a very popular game with Jews and several became world champions. The Honorable Ivor Montagu (1904–1984) served as president of the English or International Table Tennis Federation from 1922 to 1967. His mother, Lady Swaythling (1879–1965), was also president of the English Table Tennis Federation and in 1926 donated the men's world team cup which bears her name. M. Cohen of Great Britain won the second English open championship in 1922, and Marcus Schussheim of the United States was the first American champion in 1931. Dr. Roland Jacobi of Hungary triumphed in men's singles at the initial world championship in 1927. Other world champions in singles, doubles, and mixed doubles were Hungary's Zoltan Mechlovitz; Gyozo Viktor *Barna (1911–1972), who won 22 world titles including five singles championships; Richard *Bergmann (1919–1970), an Austrian who won four singles titles; Alfred Liebster, Austria, and Angelica *Adelstein-Rozeanu (1921–), Romania; the sisters Thelma Thall and Leah Thall Neuberger, United States; and Svetlana Grinberg, U.S.S.R.

Ivor Montagu of Great Britain, who became the first chairman of the Table Tennis International Federation and held the post for over 40 years, died in 1984.

Tennis and Squash

As most tennis facilities were located in private clubs that barred Jewish membership, progress in this sport was slow. Conditions improved after World War II, as did the rankings of Jewish players. The first Jewish player officially ranked in the United States was Dr. William Rosenbaum (1882–1951) in 1908, and the first to gain the top-ten was Julius Seligson (1909–1987) in 1929. In Europe, Mikhail Stern represented Romania in the 1922 Davis Cup competition, and in 1928–30 Baron Hubert de Morpurgo (1897–?) of Italy received world ranking. Other players who achieved world ranking included Daniel Prenn (1905–), 1929 Germany, and 1932 Great Britain, 1934 (doubles); Ladislav Hecht (1910–), Czechoslovakia, 1934 (doubles), who defeated Britain's Davis Cup player Bunny Austin; Angela *Buxton (1934–) Great Britain, who was a Wimbledon doubles title winner in 1956. Outstanding tennis players also included Abraham Segal (1931–), South Africa, winner of South African singles championship in 1967; Pierre *Darmon (1934–) France, 1958, 1963–64; Tom ("the Flying Dutchman") Okker (1944–), Netherlands, Dutch national champion who won the Italian national singles title in 1968; Dick *Savitt (1927–) an American who was Wimbledon champion in 1951 and came out of retirement to win both the singles and doubles championships at the 1961 Maccabiah Games; Herbert *Flam (1928–), who won more top world rankings than any other Jewish tennis player and represented the U.S. Davis Cup team in 1951 and 1952; Americans Barbara Breit, 1955, 1957; Anita Kanter, 1952; and Julie M. Heldman (1945–), who as a girl of 12 won her first national title, the Canadian Junior Championship, and later won the Italian National Women's singles title in 1968; and Pete *Sampras (1971–), whose father is Jewish and who is considered by many tennis analysts to be the greatest tennis player of all time. Among Israel players of note was Eleazar Davidman.

Americans Julie Heldman (1974), Harold *Solomon (1975–77, 1979), Brian Gottfried (1977–79), and Eliot Telscher (1980) were ranked among the world's top ten players. Heldman played in Federation and Wrightman Cup competition and Solomon and Gottfried in Davis Cup play. Solomon was South African Open champion in 1975 and 1976, and Gottfried won the French (1975 and 1977), World (1975) and Wimbledon (1976) doubles championships. Brian Gottfried and Harold Solomon, retired from the professional tour in 1984.

In 1976 Ilana Kloss of South Africa won the French mixed doubles and the United States women's doubles titles. American Bruce Manson won a 1975 Pan-American Games gold medal, and Dana Gilbert the 1978 United States women's Clay Court championship.

American Dick Savitt, 1951 Wimbledon winner, was included in the International Tennis Hall of Fame in 1976.

Other Americans Eliot Telscher, Brad *Gilbert (1961–), Aaron Krickstein, and Jay Berger and Israel's Amos Mansdorf and Argentina's Martin Jaite joined the world's tennis elite in the 1980s. These players and Shlomo Glickstein, Shahar Perkiss, and Gilad Bloom of Israel and Andrew Sznajder of Canada played in Davis Cup competition. Elise Burgin represented the U.S. in Federation Cup play.

American Jim Grabb was a member of the men's doubles combination that won the U.S. Open championship in 1992, and Brad Gilbert won a men's singles bronze medal in the 1988 Olympic Games.

Joseph Cullman III, who helped launch the women's pro tour, was inducted into the International Tennis Hall of Fame in 1992. Anna Smashnova was ranked No. 16 on the woman's tour in 2002 and 2003.

National champions in American squash racquets and squash tennis were Victor Niederhoffer, Victor Elmaleh, Abraham M. Sonnabend (1897–1964), Milton Baron, and James Prigoff. Prigoff served as president of the National Squash Tennis Association, and Roger Sonnabend held the same position with the National Squash Racquets Association. Cecil Kaplan, David Duchen, and Jeffery Maisels were South African national champions and internationalists.

Track and Field

Modern track and field had its beginnings in England in the 1850s and 1860s. An early American runner was Lipman *Pike, a professional baseball player. Pike ran 100-yards against a Canadian Indian on the Capitoline Grounds in Brooklyn, New York, in 1869 and four years later became the Maryland State 100-yard champion. Daniel Stern (1849–1923) began to racewalk in 1873 and three years later won the one-and three-mile events at the first American track-and-field championships. He was an early member and officer of the New York Athletic Club and served on the committee charged with building the first cinder track in the United States. In 1875, Philo Jacoby (1837–1922) participated in the San Francisco Olympic Club's first outdoor athletic games. Victor E. Schifferstein (1863–?) represented the same California club when he won the national long-jump championship in 1888. Earlier that year, Schifferstein ran 100 yards in ten seconds to equal the world record of the time. The greatest American runner of the 19th century was Lawrence ("Lon") *Myers. He set world records in the 440- and 880-yard runs, and won American, Canadian, and British national championships in 1879–85. In 1900, Myer Prinstein (1880–1925) of the United States became the first Jewish medalist in Olympic track-and-field competition. He won the triple jump and placed second in the long jump. Earlier that year Prinstein had established a new world mark of 24 feet, 7.25 inches in the long jump. He repeated his Olympic triple-jump victory in 1904 and added a gold medal in the long jump. In 1906, Prinstein won another gold medal in Athens in the long jump, in what was then considered the Olympic Games, but some 50 years later the 1906 competition was ruled not to have been an Olympiad. Michael Spring (d. 1970) won the Boston marathon race in 1904. Abel Kiviat (1892–1991) won a silver medal at the 1912 Olympics, and set a world 1,500 m record that year. England's most famous track star was Harold *Abrahams who won the 100 meters race at the 1924 Olympic games; and his brother Sir Sydney *Abrahams also represented Britain at the Olympic Games. Harold Abrahams in 1969 became chairman of the British Amateur Athletic Board. Fanny ("Bobbie") Rosenfeld (1905–1969) in addition to starring in ice hockey, basketball, and softball, tied the women's world record for the 100-yard dash in 1925, excelled at the Olympics in 1928, and was hailed by the Canadian press as her country's "outstanding woman athlete of the half-century." Lillian *Copeland (1904–1964) was an Olympic gold and silver medallist, and member of U.S. Track & Field Hall of Fame. Deena Kastor (1973–) won a bronze medal in the women's marathon at the 2004 Olympics. Marty *Glickman (1917–2001) was a U.S. sprinter and a track star who was pulled from the 1936 Berlin Olympics because he was Jewish.

Jews were also medalists in European, British Commonwealth and Empire, Pan-American, and Asian Games.

Irena *Kirszenstein-Szewinska (1946–) of Poland won seven Olympic medals and ten European Championship medals, and is a member of the International Women's Sports Hall of Fame. Faina Melnik-Velva of the U.S.S.R. won an Olympic gold medal in the discus throw in 1972.

Abigail (Abby) Hoffman of Canada won a Pan-American Games gold medal in the 800-meter run in 1971 and silver and bronze medals in the 1975 Pan-American Games. In 1974 Y.C. Yohanna of India won the long jump event and set an Asian record in the Asian Games.

Israeli-born Boris (Dov) Djerassi won the United States national hammer throw in 1975 and 1978, and Ron Wayne won the U.S. national marathon championship in 1974.

Svyetlana Krachevskya of the U.S.S.R. won a 1979 bronze medal in the World Cup and a silver medal in the 1980 Olympic Games in the shot-put.

American Pincus (Pinky) Sober (1905–1980), was chairman of the International Amateur Federation's technical committee and longtime Madison Square Garden track announcer.

In 1992 Mel Rosen served as the U.S. men's Olympic coach, and Yevgeniy Krasnov of Israel placed eighth in the Olympic pole vault competition.

American Ken Flax won medals in the World University Games in 1989 and 1991 (gold) and was named the ninth ranked hammer thrower in the world in 1991.

In 2002, Russian-born Israeli Alex Averbach took the gold medal in the pole vault at the European championships.

Fred Lebow (Ephraim Fishl Lebowitz, 1932–1994) was president of the New York Road Runners Club and founder and director of the New York Marathon and the Fifth Avenue Mile.

Volleyball
Jews have also had a prominent part in volleyball. Sid Nachlas' (1920–) achievements brought him election to the Helms Volleyball Hall of Fame. Harlan Cohen (1934–) coached the American women's Olympic team in 1968. Eugene Selznick (1930–) is a member of the Volleyball Hall of Fame. Doug Beal and Israel's Arie Selinger coached the U.S. Olympic men's and women's teams to gold and silver medals in 1984. These were the first medals ever won by American teams in Olympic competition.

In 1992, Selinger coached the Netherlands men to an Olympic silver medal. Selinger's son Arbital was a member of the Dutch team. Other Olympic Games medalists were Bernard Rajzman, Brazil, silver, 1984; and Dan Greenbaum, U.S, bronze, 1992.

Water Skiing
David Nations pioneered this sport in Great Britain. He founded the British Water Ski Federation in 1951 and was the national overall champion in 1955–56.

Weightlifting
Britain's Edward Lawrence Levy (1851–1932) was among the first to engage in amateur weightlifting in the 19th century. He won the first English and international competitions in 1891, and five years later served as a weightlifting judge at the first modern Olympic Games. There have been many Olympic weightlifting medalists (see *Olympics). Jews also engaged in the European, Commonwealth, Empire, and Pan-American Games. Oscar State (1911–1984), OBE, of Great Britain organized the weightlifting competitions at the Olympic Games in 1948 and 1956, and officiated at nine Olympic Games, 21 Regional meets such as the Pan-Am, Maccabiah, Asian and Commonwealth Games, two World Games, 24 World Weightlifting Championships, 27 World Bodybuilding Championships, nine Mr. Olympias, 51 international bodybuilding contests and 101 international weightlifting contests, served as secretary of the International Weightlifting Federation, and is a member of the International Federation of Bodybuilding & Fitness Hall of Fame. David A. Matlin, a weightlifting official, served as the 33rd president of the Amateur Athletic Union of the United States in 1967–68. Isaac ("Ike") Berger (1936–), U.S. Olympic weightlifter, winner of gold and two silver Olympic medals, and a member of U.S. Weightlifters Hall of Fame.

David Rigert of the U.S.S.R. won a 1976 Olympic gold medal in the 198-pound division. Commonwealth Games medalists were Terrance (Terry) Perdue, England (bronze), 1974, and Ivan Katz, Australia (silver), 1978.

Grigory Novak, U.S.S.R. world champion in 1946 and 1952 Olympic silver medalist, died in 1980.

David Lowenstein of Australia won a Commonwealth Games silver medal in 1986, and Giselle Shepatin and Rachel Silverman won silver medals for the U.S. in the Women's International Weightlifting Tournaments in 1985 and 1987. Allon Kirschner of Israel won a gold medal in the World Powerlifting Championships in 1989.

Windsurfing
Gal *Fridman (1975–) was the first Israeli ever to win an Olympic Gold medal (2004), and the first Israeli to win two Olympic medals.

Winter Sports
In 1900–20, Cecil *Hart (1883–1940) pioneered amateur ice hockey in Canada. He entered the professional game in 1921 and became a successful coach with the Montreal Canadians. Samuel E. Lichtenhein (1871–1936) owned the Montreal Wanders hockey team (National Hockey Association) in 1911–18. Americans who owned teams in the National Hockey League included Sidney Solomon Jr. and Sidney Solomon III of the St. Louis Blues and Edward M. Snider of the Philadelphia Flyers. In 1964 the all-Jewish Ha-Koah-Melbourne team won the Australian ice hockey championship.

Louis Rubenstein of Canada introduced figure skating into North America in the late 1870s. He won many titles, including the 1890 world championship in Russia. One of the organizers of the 1890 world competition was Baron Wolff of the St. Petersburg Skating Club. Rubenstein's brothers and sisters, Moses, Abraham, and Rachel, were all champion skaters. Lily Kronberger of Hungary was world figure skating champion in 1908–11. Joel Liberman (1883–1955) of the United States was founder of the New York Skating Club and an Olympic judge in 1928 and 1932. Benjamin Bagdade (1902–) served as president of the American Skating Union in 1947–51 and was manager of the U.S. team at the 1948 Olympic Games. Irving *Jaffee (1906–1981) is a member of the Speed Skating Hall of Fame. France's Alain Calmat, world figure skating champion (1965), was awarded the Legion d'Honneur by President de Gaulle.

Alice Damrosch Wolf Kiaer (1893–1967), a daughter of conductor Walter *Damrosch, organized the first United States women's ski team in 1935 and the following year served as manager of the Olympic team. Richard Rubitscek of Austria won a gold medal in skiing in the 1933 European Maccabiah games and was a founder of the Arlberg ski method. American Hayley Wolff won a grand prix mogul gold medal in 1983 and a silver medal in the first world freestyle championship in 1986. Baron Robert de Rothschild (1880–1946) was the 1936 bobsledding champion of France, and in 1888 E. Cohen of the United States won the Grand National of Tobogganing at St. Moritz, Switzerland. The Montreal Curling Club numbered Canadian Jews among its members in the early 1800s. In 1965, Terry Braunstein skipped the Manitoba rink to the Canadian curling title.

Wrestling

There were a large number of medalists in wrestling at the Olympics. Jews also won medals for wrestling in European, Commonwealth, Empire, and Pan-American Games. Alfred Brull (1876–1944) of Hungary was president of the World Wrestling League.

David Pruzansky of the United States (1971) and Howard Stupp of Canada (1975, 1979) won Pan-American Games gold medals. Keith Peache of England won a Commonwealth Games gold medal in 1974, and Victor Zilberman of the U.S.S.R. was a silver medalist at the European championship. Zilberman later competed for Canada.

Pan American Games medalists included Canada's Gary Kallos, sambo wrestling, gold, 1983; Andrew Borodow, free and Greco-Roman wrestling, two silvers, 1991; and also American Andrew Seras, Greco-Roman wrestling, gold, 1991. Seras and Borodow competed in the Olympic Games in 1988 and 1992.

Ralph (Ruffy) Silverstein (1914–1980) was United States national collegiate champion in 1935 and Maccabiah Games coach in 1965.

Yachting

In 1969, Israel won its first world title in any sport when Ẓefania Carmel and Lydia Lazarov sailed to victory in the 420 class championship. In the United States, Emil ("Bus") Mosbacher, *Jr. (1922–1997), triumphed in American Cup races in 1962 and 1967, and his brother Robert Mosbacher (1927–) won the world title in the Dragon Class in 1969. Olympic medalists in yachting were Robert ("Buck") Halperin (1908–?), United States, in 1960; and Valentin Mankin, U.S.S.R. in 1968 (gold). The Levinson brothers, Alan and Harry, won a silver medal for the United States in the 1967 Pan-American Games. Other yachtsmen included Baron Phillipe de Rothschild (1902–1988) and Baron Edmund de Rothschild (1845–1934), France; and August *Belmont (1816–1890), Mortimer L. Schiff, and Walter N. *Rothschild (1892–1960), United States.

In Olympic Games competition, Valentin Mankin of the U.S.S.R. won gold (1972, 1980) and silver (1976) medals, and Daniel Cohan of the United States was a bronze medal winner in 1972.

American helmsman Larry Klein won four world's championships between 1983 and 1991. He was named U.S. Yachtsman of the Year in 1989.

[Jesse H. Silver /Elli Wohlgelernter (2nd ed.)]

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SPRACHMAN, ABRAHAM (1896–1971) and **MANDEL** (1925–2002), Canadian theatrical and institutional architects. Abraham Sprachman was born in Honczarow, near the Carpathian mountains between Lvov and Chernovitz. His family settled in Toronto when Abe was a youngster. While he was studying bookkeeping in secondary school, a school inspector noticed his artistic talents and transferred him to a program in architecture. In about 1919 he opened his first architectural office in his bedroom. When a degree in architecture became required in 1935, he was retroactively made a member of the Ontario Association of Architects and the Royal Architectural Institute of Canada. Sprachman lived and worked in an almost exclusively Yiddish world, and most of his clients were Jews. With architectural opportunities for Jews limited in Canada, he first designed homes for Jewish clients referred to him by a friend building an accounting firm. Just as the Depression began, one of these clients gave him his first theatrical commission, the Circle Theatre. Theater architecture was something of an architectural extension of the largely Jewish movie business in which Jewish producers in Hollywood created the films that Jewish entrepreneurs exhibited in small neighborhood theaters, affectionately known as the "Nabes." Sprachman and a partner, Harold Kaplan, built many substantial neighborhood movie houses in Canada for the Famous Players, Loew's, 20th Century, and Premier Operating chains. Their most significant theaters were in the Art Deco style: the Vogue in Vancouver (1941) and the Eglinton in Toronto (1936), which was honored with the Governor General's medal. As his list of theater designs grew, American architects came to Toronto to study Sprachman's work.

Although theaters were their most prominent contribution to the Canadian streetscape, Kaplan and Sprachman also designed a number of Jewish community buildings including Jewish community centers in Toronto and Hamilton, the Toronto Mt. Sinai Hospital, the Baycrest Home for the Aged in Toronto, and several synagogues in Toronto and across western Canada.

Abe's son, Mandel, also became an architect known for his theater designs, albeit in a much changed Canada. Mandel was a child of the movies. He had spent his childhood in his father's movie theaters and at building sites doodling at the drawing board. In 1951 he translated his love of theater and screenwriting into a degree in architecture from the University of Toronto. After graduating, Mandel worked in Sweden, then in his father's office before opening his own firm in 1958. Like his father, Mandel designed movie houses that reflected the tastes of his times. Among his innovations were the first multiplexes, incorporating several screening rooms in one building and using televisions in the lobbies to promote the films.

Mandel was a striking man, known for his bowties and lapel pansies. Like his father, Mandel designed a number of striking synagogues in Ontario. His crowning achievement was his successful struggle to restore the 1913 Elgin Wintergarden Theatre in Toronto. One of the few remaining "double-decker" or stacked Edwardian theaters in the world, the Elgin

Wintergarden had been the flagship of the Loew's chain of vaudeville theaters. Under Mandel's direction, it was painstakingly restored with added backstage and lobby areas. It reopened in 1989 and was soon a Toronto landmark.

[Paula Draper (2nd ed.)]

°**SPRINGER, AXEL CAESAR** (1912–1985), German publisher. Born in Altona/Hamburg. As he was unfit for war services, he did not fight as a soldier in the German Wehrmacht during World War II. Until 1941 Springer was editor in his father's newspaper *Altonaer Nachrichten*, whose publication was stopped due to a Nazi order. After the war he first started as a book publisher, but soon after that he founded many popular German magazines and newspapers. With the daily newspaper *Bild* Springer reached his greatest success, though critics complained about the one-sided conservative political opinions spread by this tabloid and a lack of serious journalism. In 1967, Springer postulated as the four main goals to which every editor of the Springer Press had to subscribe: The engagement for the German re-unification in freedom and in a united Europe, the reconciliation between Germans and Jews as well as the defense of the rights of the Israeli people, the rejection of political totalitarianism, and the defense of the free social market economy. In addition, the Springer Press always demonstrated sympathy and solidarity for American politics, particularly during the Vietnam War. As a non-Jew, Springer was a known friend of the Jewish People and Israel. This fact irritated many left-wing critics, who viewed in the the conservative Springer Press their main enemy. During the student protests in the 1960s, *Bild* condemned the protesters and many critics accused *Bild* of "heating-up" the atmosphere. In 1972 the Springer Publishing House in Berlin was the target of a bomb attack carried out by leftist extremists.

Springer gave substantial donations to Israel and Jewish organizations, e.g., for the library of the Israel Museum in Jerusalem (1966) and the Leo Baeck Institute in New York (1963). In 1968, Springer endowed $250,000 for the establishment of the Ottilie Springer Chair at Brandeis University. As a result of his social and political engagement Springer was honored with numerous awards, such as the Leo Baeck Medal (1978), and honorary doctorates from Temple University in Philadelphia (1971), Bar-Ilan University in Ramat Gan (1974), and the Hebrew University of Jerusalem (1976). In 1983, Springer was awarded the title "*ne'eman Yerushalayim*" (preserver of Jerusalem). In 1984, he received the gold medal of the Israeli Association of Daily Paper Publishers and in 1985 the gold medal of the B'nai B'rith League. Moreover, Springer was an honorary member of the Weizmann Institute of Sciences in Reḥovot, Israel.

In 1972, Springer published a collection of his speeches and essays: *Von Berlin aus gesehen. Zeugnisse eines engagierten Deutschen.*

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[Monika Halbinger (2nd ed.)]

SPRINGFIELD, city in Massachusetts. As of 2005, Springfield and its suburbs had a total population of 251,000, including an estimated 10,000 Jews, a figure largely unchanged in the past quarter-century. Jews did not begin to settle in Springfield in large numbers until the East European immigration of the 1880s, though individual Jews were recorded in the city previously, among them Leopold Karpeles (1838–1909), a Congressional Medal of Honor winner in the Civil War who lived in Springfield before the war. The first synagogues – B'nai Jacob and Beth Israel – were organized in 1891–92, and within a decade five other Orthodox congregations were established to serve the rapidly growing community, whose numbers increased from about 300 to 3,000 between 1901 and 1907 alone. YMHA was organized in 1905 and a Jewish Home for the Aged in 1912. One of the first local Jews to attain prominence in these years was the Lithuanian-born Henry Lasker (1878–1953), the first local Jew to be admitted to the bar and who between 1908 and 1916 was first elected alderman and then president of the city council. Lasker was a leader of B'nai B'rith and many other Jewish and civic organizations. Two other prominent Jews were the Russian immigrants Moses Ehrlich, who had a successful scrap-iron business and Raphael Sagalyn (1881–1949), a successful wholesale dry goods and real estate businessman. Ehrlich was a prime initiator and first president of Congregation Kodimoh; Sagalyn was founder of the United Hebrew Schools and president of its board of directors.

Following the restrictive immigration laws of the 1920s, the Jewish population of Springfield ceased its rapid growth but institutional life continued to develop. In 1921, the first Conservative synagogue, Congregation Beth El, was founded, and in 1932 a Reform congregation, Sinai Temple. The Jewish Community Council (predecessor to the Jewish Federation of Greater Springfield) was established in 1925, and the Jewish Social Service Bureau was established in 1927. In 1966, eight synagogues and temples were in existence in Greater Springfield, five Orthodox, two Conservative, and one Reform. The initial settlement took place in the city's older residential areas, primarily the North End area. After World War II, both the newer urban areas and the suburb of Longmeadow became increasingly popular. By 1966, only 5% of Greater Springfield's Jews still lived in the older area of settlement, while 60% lived in the newer urban areas. Of the 35% who resided in the suburbs, all but 3% were in Longmeadow, which adjoins the largest of the newer urban areas within Springfield proper, Forest Park. Accordingly, three of the largest Jewish institutions in the city, Temple Sinai, Congregation Beth El, and the Jewish Community Center, are all located near each other on the Longmeadow – Forest Park line, with two other synagogues remaining in Forest Park.

High educational achievement and occupational affiliation characterized the Jewish community in the late 1960s. Among adults, 40% had had at least some college education. One-fourth were engaged in professional work and 40% were managers or proprietors. An additional 27% were employed as clerical or sales workers; only 8% of the Jews were blue collar workers. Almost 80% of the Jews of Springfield were affiliated with a congregation; slightly more persons were members of Orthodox synagogues (41%) than of Conservative congregations (39%), and 20% belonged to the Reform Temple. Part-time religious schools were affiliated with the various synagogues, and there were the community-wide United Hebrew School and two day schools, the Heritage Academy and the Lubavitcher Yeshiva Academy. Two-thirds of all children between 5 and 14 years of age were enrolled in some program of Jewish education.

At the turn of the twenty-first century, a different picture has emerged, consistent with demographic trends throughout the country. Springfield's Jewish affiliation rate is now approximately the same as the national average of just above 40%. Although Springfield's Jewish community remains highly educated, much of the population is engaged in the professions (medicine, law, etc.), with very few proprietors and entrepreneurs. The Jewish population is increasingly older, with a small number of young families continuing to move to the area. In 2005, Springfield/Longmeadow had two day schools (Heritage Academy, Lubavitcher Yeshiva Academy) and six synagogues: three Orthodox (Congregation Kodimoh, Kesser Israel, and Beth Israel), two Conservative (Beth El and B'nai Jacob), and one Reform (Sinai Temple).

The Jewish community has grown significantly in the area just north of Springfield to the Vermont border. The communities of Northampton and Amherst, in particular, have witnessed significant Jewish growth, with approximately 5,000 Jews in these communities. Home to the University of Massachusetts, Amherst College, Smith College and others, the area attracts many academics, artists, and young professionals from larger cities. In 2005, the Upper Pioneer Valley boasted four synagogues, two of them with several hundred families. There are two Conservative synagogues (B'nai Israel, Northampton; Temple Israel, Greenfield), one Reform (Beit Ahavah, Northampton), and one Reconstructionist (Jewish Community of Amherst). Founded in the 1990s, the Solomon Schechter School of the Pioneer Valley has opened its doors to 100 students.

A variety of organizations and services continue to cater to the needs of the community. The Springfield Jewish Community Center traces its origins to the YMHA. The Jewish community supports a wide range of Zionist and fraternal organizations, with a strong Federation and an active Hadassah chapter, as well as many groups under temple auspices. The community is also the home of the Harold Grinspoon Foundation. Among notable members of the Springfield Jewish community are Frank Freedman, mayor, elected in 1967; Alan Sisitsky, state representative, elected in 1968; Paul Akerman, city councilman; Joel Levitt, president of the Springfield Jewish Federation (founded in 1938) and president of the Springfield Sugar Company; Irving Geisser, executive director of the federation and a member of the executive committee of the National Jewish Community Relations Advisory Council; Charles Nirenberg, Founder of Dairy Mart; and Harold Grinspoon, nationally recognized philanthropist and founder of Aspen Square Management.

[Sidney Goldstein / Harold Berman (2nd ed.)]

SPRINZAK, JOSEPH (1885–1959), Israeli labor leader and first speaker of the Knesset, member of the First to Third Knessets. Sprinzak was born in Moscow. His father, a manufacturer, was a member of Ḥovevei Zion and was active in Jewish community affairs. In 1891, when the Jews were expelled from Moscow, Sprinzak's family moved to Kishinev and then to Warsaw. Their home was a center for young Hebrew writers and active Zionists. In 1903, Sprinzak took part in organizing the Zionist group Ha-Teḥiyyah, led by Yitzhak *Gruenbaum. In Warsaw he worked for a while in the Hebrew publishing house Ahi'asaf, and wrote for Hebrew and Yiddish newspapers. In 1905 he returned to Kishinev, where he was a cofounder of the *Ẓe'irei Zion movement in Southern Russia, and in 1906 he participated as its delegate at the *Helsingfors Conference of Russian Zionists, after having formulated the Ẓe'irei Zion program together with Haim *Greenberg.

In 1908, after spending several months in Constantinople, where he was in touch with various Zionist leaders, including David *Wolffsohn, Menahem *Ussishkin, Nahum *Sokolow, and Vladimir *Jabotinsky, in an attempt to influence the new regime of the Young Turks, Sprinzak went to study medicine at the American University in Beirut. However, in 1910 he was asked by Ha-Po'el ha-Ẓa'ir to discontinue his studies, and become the party's secretary in Palestine. Inter alia, he was active in the absorption of the immigrants from Yemen. At the 11th Zionist Congress in Vienna in 1913, Sprinzak organized a faction of 41 delegates, consisting of members of Ha-Po'el ha-Ẓa'ir and Ẓe'irei Zion. During World War I he remained in Palestine and was instrumental in organizing help for the *yishuv* in general and the Jewish workers in particular. After the war he took part in creating the framework of the world movement *Hitaḥadut, which encompassed Ha-Po'el ha-Ẓa'ir and Ẓe'irei Zion. At its founding conference in Prague in 1920, together with Aharon David *Gordon, Hugo Bergmann, and Eli'ezer *Kaplan, he was the moving spirit of the Ha-Po'el ha-Ẓa'ir delegation from Palestine. Chairing the conference's meetings, he summed up its deliberations. At the 11th Zionist Congress in Carlsbad in 1921, he was the first representative of the labor movement in Ereẓ Israel to be elected to the Zionist Executive. For seven years he served on the Executive as head of the Labor Department and later of the Aliyah Department as well. In the 1920s, Sprinzak was a co-founder and leading member of the *Histadrut, a member of the Tel Aviv municipality, and played an active role in the establishment of Asefat ha-Nivḥarim and the Va'ad Le'ummi, and in the formation of

*Mapai through the merger of *Aḥdut ha-Avodah and Ha-Po'el ha-Ẓa'ir. In 1942–59, he served as chairman of the presidium of the Zionist Executive, and in 1944–49 served as the secretary general of the Histadrut.

After the establishment of the State of Israel in 1948, he was elected to chair the Provisional State Council. He was elected to the three first Knessets on behalf of Mapai, and served as Knesset speaker from 1949 until his death in 1959. As the Knesset's first speaker, he played a major role in molding the written and unwritten rules of Israel's parliamentary life. Sprinzak oversaw the competition for the planning of the new Knesset building at Givat Ram, but its construction began only after his death. His friendly, warm, and moderate character endeared him to both Israeli citizens and Jews abroad. His sense of humor and sensitivity enabled him to overcome conflicts. He favored a form of humanist, social-democratic Zionism, which regarded the process of national regeneration as an evolutionary one in which the workers were to play a major role in both urban and rural settlements.

Sprinzak's son Ya'ir was a scientist who worked at the Weizmann Institute, and was a member of the 12th Knesset on behalf of Moledet.

Among his writings are *Bein ha-Teimanim* ("Among the Yemenites," 1918); *Bi-Khetav u-be-al Peh*, a collection of articles and speeches (1952); and Yosef Shapira (ed.), *Iggerot Yosef Sprinzak*, a collection of letters (1965–69).

[Susan Hattis Rolef (2nd ed.)]

SQUADRON, HOWARD MAURICE (1926–2002), American Jewish communal leader. Squadron was born in New York City and graduated in law from Columbia University, where he was an editor of the *Columbia Law Review*. After teaching at the University of Chicago, he practiced law in New York, and after spending two years as staff counsel for the American Jewish Congress, he reentered private practice in 1954. He ultimately became the senior partner at Squadron, Ellenoff, Plesen & Sheinfeld.

Active in the American Jewish Congress for 25 years, and serving as its senior vice president, chairman of the National Governing Council, chairman of the national Commission on Law and Social Action, and chairman of the Congress's New York Metropolitan Council, he was elected president in 1978, retaining the position until 1984. In that capacity, he helped spearhead an assembly of mayors from around the world held annually in Jerusalem. At the 1999 conclave, Squadron was awarded the Guardian of the City of Jerusalem Medal. Squadron was an active participant in the America-Israel "Dialogue," an annual symposium conducted by the American Jewish Congress in Jerusalem. From 1980 to 1982 he served as chairman of the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations.

Active in the cultural life of New York City, Squadron was chairman of the executive committee of the Foundation for Joffrey Ballet, Inc., as well as of the Fifty-fifth Street Dance Theater Foundation.

SQUILL (Heb. חָצָב, *ḥaẓav* (mish.) or חָצוּב, *ḥaẓuv*), the *Urginea maritima*, a plant with a very large bulb that grows wild in almost every district of Israel. It lies dormant in the summer, its leaves withering, but later a stalk with a large inflorescence bearing hundreds of flowers bursts out of the bulb. The roots are very long and descend vertically into the earth as if digging into it, and some connect its name (*ḥaẓav*; "to dig") with this characteristic. Because of this the squill was sometimes used for demarcating fields (cf. BB 55a). According to tradition Joshua marked out with it the boundaries of Israel and of the tribes (TJ, Pe'ah 2:1, 16d). It was said that "the squill cripples the wicked" (Beẓah 25b), because it prevents them from removing the boundaries. The rind of its bulb is juicy and was used by some for implanting fig shoots (Kil. 1:8; so too Theophrastus, *Historia Plantarum*, 2:5, 5). Its leaves and bulb contain poisonous matter and few animals eat it. According to the *baraita* (Shab. 128a) it was eaten by gazelles and Noah prepared "squills for the gazelles" (Gen. R. 31:14) in the ark.

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[Jehuda Feliks]

SRAFFA, PIERO (1898–1983), British economist. Sraffa was born in Turin, Italy, the son of a professor of law. He became a professor of economics at the University of Caligari, Sardinia, at the age of 28 but was forced to flee to Britain the following year after his writings offended Mussolini. Sraffa spent the rest of his life at Cambridge University, where he served as Marshall Librarian, fellow of Trinity College, and reader in economics. Sraffa developed a legendary reputation as one of the great theoretical innovators in 20th-century economics, originating the theory of imperfect competition and making significant and influential contributions to the orthodox theory of value. He wrote little, but some of his ideas appeared in his *Production of Commodities by Means of Commodities* (1960). He is equally well known for his co-editing of 11 volumes of the correspondence of David *Ricardo, published in 1951–73, regarded as one of the great works in the history of economics. Sraffa also exerted a strong influence on many of the leading intellectual figures of his time and is credited with helping Ludwig *Wittgenstein move away from his earlier logical positivism to his later orientation towards linguistic analysis.

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[William D. Rubinstein (2nd ed.)]

SREM (Ger. **Schrimm**; Pol. **Szrem**; Yid. **Strim**), town in Poznan province, W. Poland. Jews settled in Srem in the late 16th century and engaged in commerce, weaving, and goldsmithery. In 1656, during the war between Poland and Sweden, the Polish general S. Czarniecki persecuted the Jews of Srem, and those who survived left the town. In the 1670s Jews resettled in Srem and a community was organized. In 1683 a meeting of the council of the *galil* (province) of Poznan (see

*Council of the Lands) took place there. In the 18th century Srem Jews engaged in the trade of agricultural products, tailoring, shoemaking, and liquor production. In 1765 the Jewish community numbered 327. In the mid-18th century Samuel b. Azriel of Landsburg was the rabbi of Srem. From 1815, under Prussian rule, the Jewish population increased, numbering 924 (27% of the total) in 1840 and 1,127 (19%) in 1871. The Jews were engaged mostly in the building trade, tailoring, transportation, and shopkeeping. In the late 1870s many Jews left for Poznan and other cities in central Germany. In 1895 only 607 Jews were left (11%), and this number decreased to 318 (4.5%) by 1910. In the early 20th century the Srem community maintained charitable institutions and an association for Jewish historical and literary research. In 1921, in independent Poland, there were 103 Jews (1.5%) there.

[Arthur Cygielman]

Holocaust Period

Before World War II there were 26 Jews in Srem. Under German occupation, it belonged to the Regierungsbezirk Posen of the Warthegau. In October 1939 the Jews were deported to a transit camp in Poznan, from where they were probably sent to the General Government or to a larger town in Warthegau.

[Danuta Dombrowska]

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SS AND SD (SS – **Schutzstaffeln**, "Protection Squad"; SD – **Sicherheitsdienst des Reichsfuehrers SS**, "Security Service of the Reichsfuehrer SS"), Nazi order that executed the "*Final Solution" (see also *Holocaust: General Survey) and other acts of mass and individual terror committed by the Nazis in Europe. The organization from its inception was connected with the idea of the "security" of the leader, and grew up as a racial elite formation around the myth of *Hitler the Fuehrer and his "mission."

The SS was originally a select group of bodyguards charged with protecting Hitler and the Nazi elite. It was set apart from other Nazi organizations by its distinctive black shirts, and eventually adopted the insignia of the death's-head. Its first leader was Jules Schreck, a personal body guard and chauffeur to Hitler. Other local party groups established similar means of protection, which were used not only defensively but offensively. The SS participated in the 1923 Munich Putsch and was outlawed together with the Nazi Party for a short time afterward.

In 1929, Heinrich *Himmler was appointed Reichsfuehrer-SS (RFSS), and as the party expanded he transformed the SS into a racial elite formation. From several hundred members in 1929, it expanded to some 50,000 by 1932 before Hitler came to power. In 1931, two years before the Nazis came to power, Himmler set up an intelligence service exclusively for the SS, headed by Reinhard *Heydrich: the Sicherheitsdienst (SD). The SD assisted in keeping an eye on deviators in the party, but at the time the Nazis rose to power it was still only a skeleton organization. He also established the Race and Settlement Office (RhSHA) to protect the racial purity of the SS. Special emphasis was placed on loyalty and disciplined appearance in uniforms, and racial criteria were established for membership, including an Aryan appearance and a registry of ancestors, including those of wives. The SS attracted and recruited people of a higher social class than the SA (storm troops). The SS was divided along military lines model into platoons, companies, and regiments. Its distinctive black uniform was first used in 1932.

When Hitler took power, Himmler began to attain control over all the internal security organs of Germany. Within a year the SS increased fourfold and Himmler consolidated his power. Beginning as the commander of the Bavarian political police, he soon took over the political police of other German states, and in 1934 the *Gestapo, the secret political police of Prussia. In 1934, the SS led the assault against Ernst Rohm and the SA and destroyed it decisively. In July 1934 after the assault, the SS became independent of the SD within the party. Afterwards there were no potential rivals to its power and its status rose.

The SS, the political police, and the concentration camps acted as a three-fold system devised to shadow the enemies of the regime and intern or destroy them politically or physically. Of particular importance was the vesting of the authority over concentration camps in the SS system and not subordinated to government authority, thus constituting what became known as the SS-state. In the process of differentiation of special tasks of the SS, special units were established, such as SS Totenkopfverbaende (Death's Head Units) to guard the concentration camps and SS Verfuegungstruppe, which served as a nucleus of the armed (Waffen) SS.

In 1936, Himmler became head of the entire German police, as the Reichsfuhrer SS and Chef der Deutschen Polizei im Ministerium des Innern. Himmler created a series of homes for wives of the SS men and single mothers to breed the master race – Lebensborn, the Well of Life. The Ancestral Heritage Society tried to document the superiority of the master race. The SS was envisioned by Himmler as the paradigm of the master race, the core of its future development.

Until World War II

By the time World War II broke out (1939), the SS numbered hundreds of thousands of members and millions of helpers. The duplication and competitiveness of the departments in the complicated, vast SS administration were intentional. To control the administration of both state and party functions, Himmler set up a field organization of SS and higher police leaders (Hoehere SS – und Polizeifuehrer – HSSPF). A nucleus of SS men engaged in work abroad, including intelligence work against future victims of Germany, and, last but not least, the "mobile killing units" (the Einsatzgruppen), which followed along with the Wehrmacht to the occupied countries to deal with "internal security matters."

Some ambitious younger men, including Adolf *Eichmann, Dieter Wisliceny, and Herbert Hagen, became experts in the Jewish question. Section II/112 of the SD began dealing with classifying world Jewry and its institutions according to the German organizational tables, studied Jewish literature and newspapers, and spied on Jewish leaders and organizations, in the full belief that the Jews had a worldwide intelligence service. The SD also began pressing to speed up Jewish emigration by all means and sought to work out practical ways to do so. One suggestion was to incite and organize riots such as the *Kristallnacht*, carried out two years later. The annexation of Austria in March 1938 permitted the SD executive initiative to establish (through Eichmann) the *Zentralstelle fuer juedische Auswanderung in Vienna, the first compulsory Jewish emigration center. Eichmann personally supervised the registration of Jews and expropriation of their property prior to their emigration. This first initiative led to the establishment of similar offices in the Protectorate of Bohemia–Moravia and in Germany itself. Eichmann headed the centers, and the director of the Gestapo, Heinrich *Mueller, acted as the chief supervisor. Thus the SD became an executive arm alongside the Gestapo, and finally the two authorities, the SD and the Gestapo, were united under the SS reorganization scheme in November 1939.

The SS organization now split up into main offices (Hauptaemter), among which the most important were the *RSHA – Reich Security Main Office (Reichssicherheitshauptamt); WVHA – Main Office for Economy and Administration (Wirtschafts-und Verwaltungshauptamt); and RuSHA – Main Office for Race and Settlement (Rasseund Siedlungshauptamt). The RSHA, which was essentially a combination of the security police and the SD, was given charge over internal security, the liquidation of enemies in the first stages of conquest by the Germans, and the dispatch of prisoners to camps. The prisoners were subordinate to the WVHA, on a combined ideological and "economic" base. The WVHA exploited the prisoners in the giant SS enterprises and in private German enterprises, while life in the camps and the work itself were functionally organized to bring about the physical "neutralization" or decimation of many of them. The WVHA also carried out pseudo-medical experiments on human beings on orders given by "scientific and research" institutes of the SS and by Himmler, who wished to establish proofs for his racial concepts.

With the German invasion of Poland in September 1939, the SS attained almost sole responsibility for the Jews of Poland. The security police and SD, together with the regular police, interned the Jews in ghettos, deprived them of all their means, and starved them. To reduce all the Jews to the same level in the uniform repression scheme, *Judenraete were set up to assume direct and personal collective responsibility for the Jews, with the German authorities in charge. In the RSHA, several suggestions for a radical "Solution of the Jewish Question" were made during 1940, including the concentration of Jews in a "reservation" in Poland or their dispatch to Madagascar (see *Madagascar Plan). Historians have come to view local initiatives to deal with the local problem of Jews as an essential component of what later developed into the "Final Solution." Many emphasize the functionalist approach, with the destruction of Jews being a priority in solving a local problem, the apparatus of destruction evolving locally before being centralized and implemented throughout the German-controlled areas. Meanwhile, the invasion of Soviet Russia was in the offing. It commenced on June 22, 1941. Hitler decided that in the final stage of the "struggle for the vast Lebensraum in the East," the Jews of Russia and the Baltic states along with gypsies and Soviet commissars should be murdered by SS Einsatzgruppen with the cooperation of the army and the civil occupying administration. The Einsatzgruppen were divided into Einsatzkommandos (assault commando units) and Sonderkommandos (special commando units).

The "Final Solution."

The killing of Jews evolved in stages. First the mobile killing units, the Einsatzgruppen, went into towns and villages captured by the Wehrmacht and alone or together with local gendarmeries, and native antisemites assembled the Jews, confiscated their possessions, and murdered them one by one, town by town, village by village. After the murder of several hundred thousand Jews in the East by execution, gas vans were developed by the SS personnel on the ground, using retrofitted trucks. Many of these initiatives were taken locally, but this process proved to be too public, disquieting for inhabitants of conquered territories, and psychologically difficult for the killers. Thus a new mode of achieving the "Final Solution" (a camouflage term – see *Nazi-Deutsch) of the "Jewish Question" in all of Europe was initiated. The RSHA, with Eichmann as its Jewish expert and Mueller as the chief executor, was in charge of the dispatch of Jews to the death camps. The extermination centers differed from the older concentration camps as the former were constructed to deal with the immediate mass murder of the arrivals under the direction of the WVHA. A gigantic network was organized for the mass-scale plundering of property and possessions of the murdered, and for exploiting the victims' clothing, hair, and gold teeth. Not infrequently, concentration camps were set up alongside the death camps for exploiting the condemned for slave labor until the inmates, suffering from starvation and maltreatment, were "selected" for the gas chambers for automatized murder run by the SS technicians. Through its various agents, of which the SS was chief, the German occupiers compelled the various Judenraete in the ghettos to supply them with batches of victims for the death chambers and, until the ghettos' liquidation, with slave laborers for German industry. Throughout, the goal of utilizing Jewish labor by economic arms of the SS was at odds with the overriding goal of the "Final Solution" – the killing of the Jews. Dead Jews could not work. The ghettos were steadily reduced, until the final liquidation of all their inhabitants at the end of 1943 (with Lodz, the most notable exception). The use of camouflaged language and the dispatch of Jews in varying stages and by different bodies – sometimes by the RSHA and sometimes by the security police commanders (all of which were part of the SS and served one aim) – helped to keep in check any possible revolt or resistance by the Jews. In the Western countries and satellite states of the Reich, the SS maintained experts whose task was to dispatch the Jews.

The organizational principles that aided Himmler in his first steps turned the SS finally into a monster organization with millions of officials and soldiers with thousands of multiple and duplicate functions. In 1943 Himmler, the Reichsfuehrer SS, also became minister of the interior of the Reich, and in 1944 he drafted many foreigners to the legions of the Waffen-SS, including members of those considered by Nazi ideology to be of "inferior races." The attempts in 1939–41 of the SS to solve by mass extermination such problems as the existence of mentally ill and retarded children in German society, or its war against the churches, failed largely due to protests among the German public. But the murder of Jews, gypsies, Soviet prisoners of war, and members of "inferior peoples" was carried out without inhibition and virtually without protest. At the end of 1944, Himmler, as commander of the reserves and battlefront, retreated from the "Final Solution." He apparently still believed that the Jews under his control could be used as a bargaining chip to divide the Allies and forge a separate peace with the United States and Great Britain against the Soviet Union. He presumed that the Allies would accept his SS organization as an instrument of order and security in Germany. However, the Allies condemned the SS at the Nuremburg trials as a criminal organization and sentenced some of its heads to death. Many others were sentenced to severe punishments, but received amnesty. From the 1960s, the German judiciary dealt with the subsidiary organizations of the SS in a series of trials.

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[Shlomo Aronson / Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

STACHEL, JACOB (Jack; 1900–1966), U.S. Communist leader. Stachel, born in Galicia, was taken by his family to New York City in 1911. He became active in the Socialist Party Youth and in 1924 joined the Communist Party. By 1927 Stachel headed the party's national organizational secretariat, and in 1933 he became director of its Trade Union Educational League. His main geographical area of responsibility in the 1930s was Michigan, where he staged a demonstration of 100,000 unemployed workers in Detroit in 1930 and pressed for Communist Party support of the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO) when it was founded in 1936. In 1939 Stachel was made executive secretary of the party's central executive committee, giving him much power behind the scenes until his indictment under the Smith Act in 1950, along with ten other party leaders, for advocating the violent overthrow of the United States government. After serving a five-year term in a federal penitentiary Stachel remained active in the party until his death.

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STADTHAGEN, JOSEPH (d. 1715), German rabbi. One of a venerable line of rabbis, he was born in Metz and was *Landesrabbiner* of Schaumburg-Lippe for many years, taking his name from his home in Stadthagen. An acknowledged rabbinical authority (author of *Divrei Zikkaron*, Amsterdam, 1705), with a thorough knowledge of the New Testament and apologetic works, he participated in several religious disputations. In July 1704 he was called upon by Leffman *Behrend, the powerful Hanoverian *Court Jew, to accept the challenge of an apostate, who had been making the rounds of Jewish communities, challenging the scholars to disputations and blackmailing them into paying him to desist. The disputation was held in the presence of the elector of Hanover, the future George I of England, and his court. Stadthagen deftly refuted the stock charges of the apostate, gained the sympathy of the tolerant court, and established his intellectual and moral superiority. He made a vivid impression on the electress Sophie who parted from him with the words, "We all have but one God." The debate was transcribed by Stadthagen in Hebrew and Yiddish in his *Minḥat Zikkaron*, which was edited, translated, and published by A. Berliner, *Religionsgespraech* (1914).

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STAHL, FRIEDRICH JULIUS (1802–1861), German conservative politician and political thinker. Born Julius Jolson in Wuerzburg, Bavaria, he grew up in an Orthodox Jewish family, but converted to Lutheranism in 1819, seemingly more out of inner conviction than in order to obtain a government post in a Catholic country. Stahl studied law at various Bavarian universities and was prominent in the Burschenschaften movement (see *Student Fraternities, German). After his doctorate and a first position in Munich, he became a professor of law in Erlangen and Wuerzburg. During this time, he completed his two main works *Die Philosophie des Rechts nach Geschichtlicher Ansicht* (2 vols., 1830–37), a historical view of the philosophy of law based on Christian theology, and *Die Kirchenverfassung nach Lehre und Recht der Protestanten* (1840), an important contribution to the debate about the structure of the Protestant church.

In 1840 Stahl succeeded Edward *Gans as professor of law at the University of Berlin where his lectures attracted widespread attention. He expounded his conservative opinions on contemporary politics in his lectures and published a series of pamphlets calling for the mobilization of the Christian state against liberalism and republicanism. Following the suppression of the 1848 revolution, he was made a member of the Prussian Upper House and gained considerable political influence at the court of Friedrich Wilhelm IV. While his political ideas have frequently been described as extreme and reactionary, it is now evident how important Stahl's contribution was for the modernization of German conservative thought, including the acceptance of constitutionalism.

Stahl rejected the full emancipation of the Jews and especially defended the exclusion of non-Christians from state functions. As a zealous and rhetorically gifted defender of traditional rights, justice and order, his views were approved of by *Bismarck and *Treitschke who were, nevertheless, troubled, as were his contemporaries, by the figure of a former Jew from Catholic Bavaria, forging the ideology of Prussian Lutheran conservatism. Stahl's philosophy was later repudiated by the Nazis as an expression of Jewish theocracy.

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[Uffa Jensen (2nd ed.)]

STAHL, HEINRICH (1868–1942), president of the Jewish community of *Berlin under the Nazi regime. A prominent insurance executive, Stahl was a liberal Jew who attached great value to Jewish tradition. He became president of the Berlin community in May 1933, when its executive consisted of seven liberals (Reform), three Zionists, and one Orthodox representative. He was influential in the establishment of the Reichsvertretung der Deutschen Juden, and signed its first proclamation. In November 1935, the Nazi authorities demanded the reduction of the executive to seven members, and the Zionists put in their claim for 50% of the seats. Stahl saved the situation by reducing the number of his own liberal faction from seven to three. He attempted to retain a special status for the Berlin community vis-à-vis the *Reichsvertretung. He did not succeed, though it was agreed that its headquarters would remain in Berlin. Stahl, the patrician businessman, did not see eye to eye with the scholarly rabbi, Leo *Baeck. Deported to *Theresienstadt in 1942, in the month preceding his death he became deputy chairman of the camp's *Judenrat under Jacob *Edelstein.

[Kurt Jakob Ball-Kaduri]

°**STALIN (Dzhugashvili), JOSEPH VISSARIONOVICH** (1879–1953), Bolshevik revolutionary, ruler of the Soviet Union, and leader of world *Communism. Through his entire career, Stalin had to deal with the "Jewish question," and as the autocratic ruler of the Soviet Union his policy had a profound influence on the fate of the Jewish people. At the early stages of the factional strife in the Russian Social Democratic Party, during which Stalin unreservedly joined *Lenin and the Bolsheviks, he became involved in the Jewish problem through their bitter dispute with the *Bund. In 1913, with Lenin's approval, he published an essay titled "Social Democracy and the National Question" (later renamed "Marxism and the National Question"), in which the Jews figured prominently as the subject of a theoretical analysis of ethnicity and nationhood. In this essay Stalin denied the existence of one national Jewish entity throughout the world, stressing the differences between the Jewish communities in East and West. He conceded that certain ethnic characteristics exist in each Jewish community separately, but denied the Jews any national status and adhered to Lenin's concept of the unavoidable progressive assimilation and disappearance of the Jews under advanced capitalism (e.g., in Western Europe and in America) and certainly under Socialism.

In contrast to this view, Stalin, as commissar of nationalities in the first Soviet government (1917–23), was responsible for the policy of fostering Yiddish cultural and educational activity, Jewish administrative institutions, and agricultural settlement, and it was he who gave the formal permit to the young Hebrew theater *Habimah in Moscow. In his controversy and blood feud with L. *Trotsky, G. Zinovyev, L. *Kamenev, K. *Radek, and other members of Lenin's old guard, hardly any anti-Jewish allusions were discernible. He did not refrain, however, from accusing his prominent Jewish victims of being agents of the Nazis and the *Gestapo. Although there were Jews among the executors of the bloody purges, the upheaval of the party and government structure caused by these purges resulted in a reduction of Jewish personnel in many branches of the bureaucracy.

At the same time a marked change occurred in Stalin's policy toward Jewish cultural activity and to the evolution of Jewish settlement and territorial autonomy, which had culminated in the *Birobidzhan project. Stalin's trend, concurrent with the great purges, was to liquidate the Yiddish school system, Yiddish publications, research institutes, theaters, etc., so that at the end of the 1930s only token vestiges of them remained (as, e.g., the State Jewish Theater in Moscow). During his rapprochement with Nazi Germany (1939–41) he suppressed in the Soviet press and radio all mention of Nazi antisemitism and anti-Jewish atrocities, but himself refrained from using anti-Jewish allusions while attacking the Western "imperialist" powers. He extradited to the Nazi regime German communists who had fled to the Soviet Union, many of them Jews. The German attack on the Soviet Union (June 22, 1941) and his adherence to the anti-Nazi alliance induced Stalin to establish the Jewish *Anti-Fascist Committee, which, for the enlistment of Western Jewish support for the Soviet war effort, was allowed to exploit the sentiments of world Jewish solidarity and "brotherhood" and even use Jewish historical and nationalist rhetoric, in full contradiction to his original ideological concept of Jewish identity. Immediately after the war, when he was presented with a plan to allow returning Jewish evacuees to settle in the Crimea, Stalin opposed it on the grounds that in the event of war a "Jewish Crimea" would constitute a security risk for the Soviet Union.

An exceptional episode in Stalin's attitude to Jewish nationhood was his resolute and energetic support in 1947–48 for the establishment of a Jewish state in Palestine, a policy clearly directed against Britain's position in the Middle East and largely reversed during the explicitly antisemitic (and "anti-Zionist") stance of his last years (1948–53), which coincided with the Cold War. An ominous prelude to these "black years" was the camouflaged assassination of the de facto head of Soviet Jewry Solomon *Mikhoels, the chairman of the Jewish Anti-Fascist Committee, on Jan. 13, 1948, a crime to which Stalin was at least a passive accomplice.

From the end of 1948 until his death, Stalin displayed an extremely hostile attitude toward everything Jewish (mostly labeled "Zionist"). He embarked on a course of complete liquidation of the last Jewish institutions and personalities who engaged in Yiddish literature and culture. The Jewish Anti-Fascist Committee and the publishing house Der Emes were closed down. Mass arrests of leading Jewish writers and artists followed. Jewish intellectuals and professionals active in various fields were also arrested. Among the arrested was Molotov's Jewish wife, whom Stalin believed to be sent by Zionists to spy on her husband. These purges were accompanied by a vituperous campaign of the Soviet press against Western-oriented *"Cosmopolitans" in which Jews were the obvious target. In mid-1952 a closed trial was held against members of the Anti-Fascist Committee and other leading personalities in Jewish cultural life, 26 of whom were secretly executed on August 12 of that year. They were accused of Jewish nationalism, of having maintained contact with Western espionage, and of having planned to detach the Crimea from the Soviet Union. Jews were assigned a prominent role in the Slánský *Trials, staged in Czechoslovakia on Stalin's orders, and based mainly on an alleged link between Jews, Zionism, and U.S. espionage. This trial indicated Stalin's intentions to use antisemitism not only in the Soviet Union, but also in the satellite countries of Eastern Europe. The *"Doctors' Plot," staged under Stalin's supervision in 1952 and published on January 13, 1953, represented his fears and suspicions of the Jews. It is generally believed that Stalin's death on March 5 of that year prevented a major disaster to Soviet Jews.

Personal Anti-Jewish Bias

Stalin's ruthlessness and secretive nature make it impossible to prove conclusively when and to what extent a personal anti-Jewish bias played its role in his policy toward individual Jews and the Jewish people. Jews were known to him from his childhood and adolescence, since both Georgian towns – Gori, his birthplace, and the capital Tbilisi, where he received his Greek-Orthodox education – had a sizable Jewish population. A jest to which he referred in an article in 1907, in which the Bolsheviks' rivals, the Mensheviks, were portrayed as a "Jewish" faction of the Social-Democratic Party, and the humorous allusion made to the fact that it would not have been a bad idea if the Bolsheviks staged an intraparty "pogrom" seemed to indicate a certain train of thought. On the other hand, on Jan. 12, 1931, in an interview with a representative of the Jewish Telegraphic Agency, Stalin made one of the sharpest statements ever made against antisemitism, describing it as "the most dangerous vestige of cannibalism," and in 1936 he allowed this statement to be published in the Soviet Union (*Pravda*, Nov. 30). However, there is a series of indications of a personal anti-Jewish bias, as, e. g., a remark made to General Sikorski, the head of the Polish government in exile, in 1941 ("the Jews are rotten soldiers"), and various hints and remarks he uttered in 1948 to the Yugoslav Communist Milovan Djilas, or, in his family life, his disapproval of his son Yakov's marriage to a Jewess, his highly emotional irritation over his daughter's romance with the Jewish film director Kapler (having him arrested and sent to a labor camp) and avoiding meeting his Jewish son-in-law. The enthusiastic response of Soviet Jews to the establishment of the State of Israel in 1948 seemed to have reinforced his antagonism. He said to his daughter, Svetlana, that the entire older generation of Soviet Jews was contaminated with Zionism and that they were teaching it to their young people. Thus it seems evident that, while consciously exploiting deep-rooted anti-Jewish suspicions of the populace for his political ends – through the anti-"Cosmopolitan" campaign, the Slánský Trials, and the Doctors' Plot, which highlighted his nationalist, anti-Western Cold War policy – Stalin himself became more and more paranoid and disturbed in his attitude to Jews and the Jewish people.

See also *Antisemitism: In the Soviet Bloc.

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[Shimon Redlich]

STAMFORD, town in Lincolnshire in northeastern England. In 1190 the local Jews were attacked by the crusaders assembled there at the Lent fair and those unable to find shelter in the royal castle were massacred. The community later reestablished itself and in the 13th century there was an *archa*. In 1222 members of the community were arrested on a charge of mocking Christianity, possibly the result of a misunderstanding of a Purim masquerade. No Jewish community has been established in modern times.

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[Cecil Roth]

STAMFORD, corporate and finance center in Connecticut; population (2004) 111,000; Jewish population (2004) est. 14,000. The earliest Jewish merchants were Nehemiah Marks (1720), and Jacob Hart (1728), who by 1738 was the fifth highest taxpayer in town. He owned property also in Greenwich and Darien but as a Jew was not eligible to vote or serve on the grand jury. Hart's children were the first of the Jewish faith born in Stamford. Jewish families came from New York during the American Revolution, among them were Isaac Pinto who translated the first English High Holy Day prayer book in America (1761) and the daily English prayer book in 1766 but did not remain afterwards. Sporadic Jewish settlers continued to come until 1856 when Wolff Cohen advertised his clothing store in *The Advocate*. In 1868 there were five Jewish-owned businesses but no community or congregation. Through the 1870s Jewish owned saloons as well as clothing and fancy and dry goods establishments. The first Jewish marriage with a full *minyan* was held in 1805, but it was not until 1871, when Rabbi Henry Vidaver of New York married Henry Bernhard and Rachel Cohen, that a description of the ceremony and reception were printed in full detail in *The Advocate*. Samuel H. Cohen, Stamford's first Jewish attorney, was appointed probate judge in 1876. In 1881 Jacob Rosenblum arrived in Stamford; he is considered the first Eastern-European Jew from Lithuania to reach there, coming via Sharon, Pennsylvania. Young, single peddlers, Isadore Alexander and Solomon Osmansky, followed. The first worship services were held in an attic on Cedar St. In 1887 David Cohen, a new arrival, reports that the first High Holy Day services were held in Stamford in Jacob Rosenblum's tenement flat on Stillwater Ave. The same year Pacific St. began to develop as the retail hub for the new arrivals who opened a variety of retail stores and small manufacturing. By World War I, this street had become Stamford's version of New York's Lower East Side. Mainstream Jewish stores were also on Main St. and Atlantic Street. In 1889 a congregation was chartered as Agudath Sholom with 22 signers. In 1891 a cemetery association was chartered with the name of Agoodat Solima and purchased land on West Hill Rd. The congregation during this decade was dormant and by 1901, it was simply reported as "The Hebrew Society" with no building of its own. In 1904 a second charter for a Cong. Agudath Sholom was issued and ground was broken for the first synagogue, completed 1908. There were secular Jewish organizational chapters, such as L'Maan Zion that began in 1902, and the Independent Lodge started in 1903, which also established its own cemetery on Hoyt St. in Darien in 1904. B'nai B'rith was chartered in 1910, and the National Council for Jewish Women in 1911; a Stamford Hebrew Political & Social Club was chartered in 1907. Of all the aforementioned groups, only the Independent Lodge survives. In 1911 attorney Alfred Phillips was elected to the state legislature, and in 1913 he became the first Jewish secretary of state in Connecticut. In 1916 The Hebrew Institute was founded as the meeting place for social and later also some worship activities of the community. It dissolved in 1927 and was succeeded by The Stamford Jewish Community Center which dedicated its building on Prospect St. in 1930. Roosevelt Lodge of the Masonic Order was founded 1922, because Jews were refused membership in Stamford's Union Lodge F.&A.M. The JCC moved to its present location on Newfield Avenue in 1982. Temple Beth El, a Conservative congregation, was founded in 1920 and met in the Hebrew Institute until 1927, when its first synagogue was dedicated on Prospect St. The congregation moved to its newer structure on Roxbury Rd. in 1974. Temple Sinai, a Reform congregation founded in 1954, has a synagogue complex on Lakeside Drive. The Orthodox Congregation Agudath Sholom has worshiped since 1965 in its current building, which also has a *mikveh*, on Colonial Road. Young Israel is an Orthodox congregation with a synagogue on Oaklawn Avenue. Chabad is constructing a school complex on High Ridge Rd., and The Fellowship of Jewish Learning, founded 1973, is a liberal congregation sharing a meeting house on Roxbury Rd. All congregations have religious schools. The Bi-Cultural Day School founded in 1956 is renowned for its full curriculum from kindergarten through grade eight. Jewish Family Services has offices to serve all in need of assistance. Offices of The United Jewish Federation, and The Jewish Endowment are located in the JCC. The Jewish Historical Society of Lower Fairfield County was founded in 1983 in Stamford. Julius Wilensky was elected and served as the first and only mayor of the Jewish faith of The City of Stamford, 1969–73. Stamford is the birthplace and boyhood home of United States Senator Joseph Lieberman who was the first candidate of the Jewish faith to be nominated and run for vice president of the United States.

[Irwin Miller (2nd ed.)]

STAMPFER, JEHOSHUA (1852–1908), a founder of *Petaḥ Tikvah. Born in Szombathely, western Hungary, Stampfer attended Azriel *Hildesheimer's yeshivah at Eisenstadt. The obtainment of national independence by Hungary in 1867 aroused in Stampfer a desire to go to Ereẓ Israel to ensure the survival of the Jewish people and the Torah. Leaving home in 1869 and completing his journey to Jerusalem on foot, he joined a group of young people who were trying to establish an agricultural settlement in the country. In 1878 he and his companions settled on land that belonged to the village of Mulabbis, near the Yarkon River, and founded the first Jewish agricultural settlement, *Petaḥ Tikvah. For many years Stampfer was chairman of the Petaḥ Tikvah local council, which sent him abroad to collect funds from philanthropists and also encourage settlement in Ereẓ Israel. In 1903 he attended the *Zikhron Ya'akov assembly, which was convened to form the organizational framework of the *yishuv*; he was the representative of the conservative faction, which had as one of its aims the abolition of women's right to vote. He administered the affairs of Petaḥ Tikvah in an ultra-Orthodox spirit and accepted the first pioneers of the Second Aliyah with mixed feelings: he was pleased by the influx of new blood to the country and tried to help the newcomers integrate and learn farming, but, on the other hand, he bitterly opposed their detached attitude toward religion and feared their influence on the settlers and their children. Stampfer's son, SOLOMON ISAAC STAMPFER (1877–1961), became the first mayor of Petaḥ Tikvah in 1934.

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[Yehuda Slutsky]

STAMPFER, JOSHUA (1921–), U.S. Conservative rabbi, historian. Stampfer was born in the Jewish Quarter in the Old City of Jerusalem and was brought at the age of two to the United States, where he grew up in Akron, Ohio. He earned his B.S. from the University of Chicago in 1943 and his M.S. from the University of Akron in 1945. He returned to Jerusalem to study at the Hebrew University and volunteered to fight with the *Haganah in Israel's War of Independence. He was ordained at the *Jewish Theological Seminary in 1949 and received a D.H.L. from the *University of Judaism in 1972. In 1987, he was awarded an honorary Ph.D. from Pacific University. He served as rabbi of Congregation Tifereth Israel in Lincoln, Nebraska (1949–53) before becoming rabbi of Congregation Neveh Shalom in Portland, Oregon (emeritus since 1993). Under his leadership, Neveh Shalom grew to more than 1,000 families, to become one of the leading Conservative synagogues in the Pacific Northwest. Influenced by his teacher Mordecai *Kaplan, Stampfer initiated egalitarian changes, encouraging women to read the Torah and counting them in the *minyan* long before it became more commonplace within the movement.

A past president of both the Oregon Board of Rabbis and the Pacific Northwest Region of the *Rabbinical Assembly, Stampfer brought dynamism to the greater Oregon Jewish community as well. In addition to developing innovative educational programs at his own synagogue, Stampfer was instrumental in founding the first Jewish day school in the city, Hillel Academy (now the Portland Jewish Academy). He established and chaired the Oregon Jewish Historical Society, the Oregon Holocaust Resource Center, the Oregon Jewish Museum, and the Oregon Israel Jubilee Committee. In 1983, he founded the Institute for Judaic Studies, sponsoring symposia and conferences (in conjunction with the University of Oregon and Portland State University, where he serves on the faculty) that bring Jewish scholars to an area of the country considered remote. Remembering the influence of Shlomo *Bardin's Brandeis Camp on his own life, Stampfer founded and directed Camp Solomon *Schechter, the only Conservative Jewish summer camp in the Pacific Northwest.

Stampfer created and nurtured organizations beyond the boundaries of Oregon as well. His travels and contacts with the remnants of the ancient Jewish community of Kaifeng, China, and the Converso families of Belmonte, Portugal, led him to become the founding president of the Society for Crypto-Judaic Studies, to support research on the vanishing traces of the *Diaspora. He was also an organizer and the first vice president of the Sino-Judaic Institute.

Stampfer has maintained close personal and professional ties with Israel. He spent his sabbaticals working for and teaching at the fledgling Center for Conservative Judaism in Jerusalem. He encouraged support for Israel at home and led more than a dozen community and clergy tours to Israel. He was a co-founder of Oregonians for Peace Now and a member of the national board of Americans for Peace Now.

Stampfer was a long-standing appointee to the Oregon Government Ethics Commission and was actively involved in interfaith dialogue with Muslim and Christian leaders. He was the author of *Pioneer Rabbi of the West: The Life and Times of Julius Eckman* (1984), and a volume on ancient history, *Cradle of Civilization in the Middle East* (n.d.). In addition, Stampfer edited six books: *Prayer and Politics: The Twin Poles of A.J. Heschel* (1985); *Dialogue, the Essence of Buber* (1986); *The Sephardim*: A *Cultural Journey from Spain to the Pacific Coast* (1987); *All Its Paths Are Peace* (1987); *Islam and Judaism, 1400 Years of Shared Values* (1988); and *The Last Crypto Jews of Portugal* (1990). A biography of Stampfer's life, *To Learn and to Teach* (by David Michael Smith) appeared in 2003.

[Bezalel Gordon (2nd ed.)]

STAMPS. The first post offices in the Holy Land were established by the European great powers, by arrangement with the Sublime Porte, in the mid-19th century (see *Israel: Postal Services for further details).

The following post offices were established by the European powers:

(a) French Post Offices. There were three French post offices in Ereẓ Israel. The office in Jaffa was opened in June 1852, while those in Jerusalem and Haifa were opened in 1900 and 1906, respectively. The postage stamps of France were in use until 1885, when they were replaced by stamps specially issued for the French post offices in the Levant.

(b) Austrian Post Offices. The post offices in Jaffa and Haifa were opened in 1854 and that in Jerusalem in 1859. Postage stamps were introduced in 1863 with the issues of Lombardo-Venetia, followed in 1867 by the first stamps for the Austrian post offices in the Levant.

(c) Russian Post Offices. The Russian post offices in Ereẓ Israel were in Jaffa, Jerusalem, Acre, and Haifa.

(d) The Italian Post Office. This was the only postal service to issue stamps specially overprinted with the name of the city "Gerusalemme."

The period of the Turkish post offices ended with the conquest of Ereẓ Israel by General Allenby (1917–18). The British then opened post offices, staffed by army personnel, in the principal towns and cities. At that time there were no postal facilities for the civilian population, and the inhabitants of Ereẓ Israel were unable to communicate with their relatives and friends abroad. Cut off from the outside world for a long time, the people of Ereẓ Israel eagerly awaited the resumption of postal services. On Dec. 9, 1917, approval was given by the military authorities for printing the first stamp under the British occupation. This stamp, first issued on Feb. 10, 1918, bears the initials EEF ("Egyptian Expeditionary Forces") and cost one piaster. A total of 338,881 of these stamps were printed on ungummed paper, and they remained in use until July 1, 1920. In addition, 20 separate stamps of various monetary denominations, all appearing with the same basic design, were issued. The Civil Administration replaced the Military Administration on July 1, 1920, when the letters OET (or OETAEEF), the abbreviation for "Occupied Enemy Territory Administration, Egyptian Expeditionary Force," were removed from the obliterators used in all post offices. It was decided by the government to issue stamps bearing inscriptions in the then official languages of the country: English, Hebrew, and Arabic. The inscription on these stamps, issued in September 1920 in the official languages, read "Palestine"; the Hebrew inscription having the additional letters א״י (the abbreviation for Ereẓ Israel) added after the word "Palestine" (פלשתינה א״י). These stamps were used in various overprints, until the appearance in 1927 of the only pictorial set to be issued by the British government, and which continued in use until the State of Israel was established in 1948. This pictorial issue had four basic designs: Rachel's Tomb near Bethlehem for the 2, 3, and 10 mil values; the Dome of the Rock in the Old City of Jerusalem for the 4, 6, 8, 13, and 15 mil values; the Tower of David near Jerusalem's Jaffa Gate for the 5, 7, and 20 mil values; and Tiberias and the Sea of Galilee for the 50, 90, 100, 200, 250, 500 mil, and £ P1 values. Three sets of postage due stamps were also issued; these stamps were normally used to collect charges on taxed letters or letters with insufficient postage.

On the departure of the British in April–May 1948, many of the post offices were taken over by the Minhelet ha-Am, and, from May 15, 1948, by the Government of Israel. During the War of Independence communications were extremely difficult, and from time to time the supply of postage stamps ran out. In order to overcome this shortage and to continue a regular postal service until the Government of Israel could supply the new stamps, many issues of a local and provisional nature appeared. Noteworthy among these, and eagerly sought by philatelists, are the Jewish National Fund labels overprinted with the word *Do'ar* ("Post") and the local issues of Safed, Rishon le-Zion, and Petaḥ Tikvah. On May 9, 1948, while Jerusalem was under siege, the first set of local Jerusalem stamps were issued. These were JNF stamps showing the map of Ereẓ Israel with the frontiers of the Jewish State and the "International" city of Jerusalem as proposed by the United Nations in its decision of Nov. 29, 1947. Overprinted with the word *Do'ar* and their value in mils in Hebrew lettering, the stamps were in use until June 20, 1948, when the stamps of the State of Israel became available.

The first stamps issued by the State of Israel were printed on a small letter-press machine under strict secrecy. On May 16, 1948, the *Do'ar Ivri* ("Hebrew Post") stamps bearing pictures of ancient Jewish coins were put on sale throughout Israel. Since the name of the new state was not known until the Proclamation of Independence on May 15, the designation *Do'ar Ivri* was used. The nine values of this first set are today a highly prized collector's item. From 1948 to the end of 2005 Israel produced a total of 1,827 stamps, including souvenir sheets and special issues. Their attractive and colorful designs have won them international recognition. The definitive series of ancient coins, the twelve tribes, the signs of the zodiac, and emblems of the towns and cities of Israel; airmail issues of birds, landscapes, and exports of Israel; annual Jewish New Year and Independence Day commemoratives; and many other fascinating subjects have introduced Israel to philatelists throughout the world. Many philatelic clubs, both in Israel and abroad, are devoted to the study of the postal history of Ereẓ Israel. Collections of Ereẓ Israel stamps are regularly displayed at philatelic shows such as at the Philympia exhibition in London, where a number of exhibitors of Ereẓ Israel stamps were awarded medals. Israel stamps are much in demand, and the early issues, for example, sell for high prices. They have also been a considerable source of revenue to the state.

[Moshe Hesky / Alan Karpas]

Jews and Judaica on Stamps

Over the years philatelists the world over have increasingly devoted their collections to a single theme, subject, or country. One such thematic category is "Judaica" and "Jews on Stamps." These stamps, issued by Israel and many other countries, depict religious symbols and objects, synagogues, portraits of famous Jews in all walks of life, sites of significance in Jewish history, Bibles, statues of and by Jews, and almost every aspect of life connected with Judaism and Jews. There are a number of enthusiasts all over the world who devote themselves to this aspect of stamp collecting, and who have united themselves into societies. One of these publishes the *Judaica Historical Philatelic Journal* in the U.S.

Among the subjects in the Judaica collection are the following:

Nobel Prize Winners: Niels Bohr, Paul Ehrlich, Fritz Haber, and Albert Einstein.

Statesmen: Benjamin Disraeli, Walther Rathenau, Paul Hymans, and President Zalman Shazar (on a Brazilian stamp issued in honor of his visit to that country in 1966).

Scientists and Scholars: Heinrich Hertz, Armin Vámbéry, David Schwarz, Robert von Lieben, Ferdinand Widal, Walemar Haffkine, Otto Lilienthal.

Philosophers: Henri Bergson, Maimonides.

Musicians: Anton Rubinstein, Henri Wieniawski, Karl Goldmark, Felix Mendelssohn-Bartholdy, Gustav Mahler, Paul Dukas.

Artists: Isaac Levitan, Amadeo Modigliani, Marc Chagall, Mark Antokolsky.

Actors: Rachel, Sarah Bernhardt.

Poets and Writers: Heinrich Heine, Shalom Aleichem, Ḥ.N. Bialik.

Revolutionaries and Resistance Fighters: Rosa Luxemburg, Karl Marx, Jacob Sverdlov, Mátyás Rákosi.

Other subjects include the Bible; Hebrew letters (on the stamps of the UN, Russia, Denmark, and Jordan); and synagogues of Prague, Surinam, Cochin, Panama, and the Netherlands Antilles. A field of special interest to collectors of Judaica is the period of the Holocaust, including antisemitic issues, and the Ghetto stamps.

[Alan Karpas and Shaul Dagoni]

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STAND, ADOLF (1870–1919), Zionist leader in Galicia and one of the leaders of world Zionism. Born in Lemberg, Stand became a Zionist in the 1880s. He was very active in the organization of Zionist societies and was the editor of the fortnightly Polish-language paper *Przyszłość* ("Future") and later of the important Zionist annual in Polish *Rocznik Żydowski* ("Jewish Yearbook"). He joined Theodor *Herzl and always regarded himself as his disciple. A period of great activity ensued for Stand as, traveling through Galicia, he won over audiences with his Zionist speeches and established various Zionist groups. He was considered one of the finest speakers of his generation. In addition to his Jewish education, he had mastered German and Polish cultures, and put them to good use in his speeches.

He largely built up the Zionist movement in Galicia. In 1907 he was elected to the Austrian parliament for the district of Brody-Zloczow in eastern Galicia, and was among the founders of the Club of Jewish Members of Parliament, the first of its kind in Jewish parliamentary history. Despite his great admiration for Herzl, he opposed the *Uganda Scheme. In opposition to Herzl, Stand favored practical settlement activity in Ereẓ Israel. On the outbreak of World War I, Stand fled to Vienna together with other Jewish refugees from the areas of Galicia conquered by the Russian army but was unable to adapt himself to his new circumstances, although he joined the Austrian Zionist leadership, and with the end of hostilities was appointed chairman of the East Galician National Council Mission in Vienna. In fact, his position as the leader of Galician Jewry had come to an end in 1914. After World War II, letters from Herzl to Stand were discovered and transferred to the Zionist Archives in Jerusalem. A Hebrew selection of his writings, *Kitvei Stand*, was published in Tel Aviv in 1942.

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[Aryeh Tartakower]

STANDE, STANISLAW RYSZARD (1897–1939), Polish poet and translator. Stande's numerous verse collections were political salvoes for communism and range from *Młoty* ("Hammers," 1921) to *Nasz krok* ("Our Step," 1937). From 1931 he was an exile in the USSR, where he joined the editorial board of the monthly *Internatsionalnaya Literatura*. During the Stalinist purges of the late 1930s Stande died in prison.

STANISLAV (Pol. **Stanislawow**; now called **Ivanov Frankovsk**), city in Ukraine; under Poland-Lithuania until 1793; under Austria until 1918; and in Poland until 1939. A few months after the town was founded on his estates by Hetman Jedrzej Potocki (1662), he granted the Jews the right to settle there, extending to them other rights as well. The Jewish population consisted of leaseholders, innkeepers, craftsmen, and merchants, the last in competition with the Armenians living in the town. As a result of a succession of epidemics in the first 20 years of the 18th century, the number of Jews declined considerably, but within a dozen years or so this situation changed for the town's squires tried to attract Jews to the town. Around 1720 Józef Potocki confirmed the rights granted to the Jews in 1662. In 1745 the bishop of Lvov gave Stanislav Jews permission to erect a new synagogue but it was never built. Permission was obtained once more, with certain limitations, in 1761. In the fire of 1868 a large part of the town, including the synagogue and many Jewish houses, was burnt down.

The Jewish population grew from 404 families (about 45% of the total population) in 1793 to 2,237 persons (41.5%) in 1801; 6,000 (55%) in 1849; 10,023 (53%) in 1880; 15,860 (30.7%) in 1921; and 24,823 (41.3%) in 1931. From 1784 until the Holocaust, members of the *Horowitz family were rabbis in Stanislav. In the first half of the 19th century, influenced by the center in *Tysmenitsa, the Haskalah movement spread there. By the mid-19th century the rich merchants and the intelligentsia, who had assimilationist tendencies, dominated the community, but in 1880 Zionist influence became predominant in these groups. A regional Zionist committee was founded in Stanislav in 1898, and the Bar Kochba Students' Association at the beginning of the 20th century. Markus (Mordecai Ze'ev) *Braude played an important role in the development of Zionism and in the social and cultural life of the Jews of Stanislav. The Yiddish weekly, *Stanislaver Nakhrikhten*, edited by B. Hausmann, was published from 1902 to 1912. Other Yiddish weeklies were *Der Yidisher Veker* (1905–07) and *Stanislaver Gloke* (1909–14). A Hebrew literary monthly, *Ha-Yarden* (1906–09), was edited by Eleazar *Rokach.

During World War I Stanislav was twice occupied and destroyed by the Russian army; the synagogue was burnt down, and a large number of Jews escaped to Bohemia and Vienna. In 1918 the town was the temporary seat of the authorities of the West Ukrainian Republic; the Jewish National Council for East Galicia also had its seat there. During this period, in spite of the Ukrainian nationalist repressions, the social and cultural life of the Jews flourished; they organized a Jewish militia for *self-defense which included demobilized soldiers. In May 1919 the units of Jeff Haller (see Haller's *Army) entered the town, instigating pogroms and looting Jewish property.

[Jacob Goldberg]

In Independent Poland

In June 1919 the Polish authorities, influenced by the *Endecja party, dismissed the heads of the Jewish community of Stanislav, as well as all Jewish officials in the municipality, the post office, and railroad. Jewish teachers were not allowed to teach at public or private schools. By the end of August 1919 the situation improved somewhat after the visit of Henry Morgenthau (see Morgenthau *Commission). At the end of the year the Zionist leader Karl Halpern was appointed head of the community. At the 1922 elections to the Polish *Sejm, three Jewish delegates were elected from Stanislav and the province. In 1923, 13 Jews were elected to the 36-member municipal council. In order to minimize the importance of the Jewish community in the municipality, the Polish authorities incorporated several surrounding villages into Stanislav, thereby decreasing the percentage of Jews in the total population. At the 1927 municipal elections the Zionist leader Alexander Rittermann was elected deputy mayor, and out of eight town councilors three were Jews. The Jewish hospital was reopened in 1922. From 1922 the economic situation of Stanislav Jews considerably improved. In addition to wholesale and retail trade, they were occupied in the developing tanning industry, wood processing, and the production of alcoholic beverages and industrial alcohol. In 1924 the local yeshivah reopened. A Jewish secondary school was opened in 1924/25 and had 300 pupils a year later. There was also a Hebrew school, Safah Berurah. Vocational training institutes for boys, girls, and adults were established in the 1920s. A Yiddish weekly, *Dos Yidishe Vort*, close to Po'alei *Zion, appeared in 1918–19, and *Shtegen*, a Yiddish literary monthly edited by Max Tabak, was published from 1932 to 1935. Between the two world wars there were 55 synagogues and prayerhouses in Stanislav (including one of the Sadagura Ḥasidim).

[Arthur Cygielman]

Holocaust Period

The number of Jews in Stanislav had increased to approximately 30,000 in 1939. The Soviets occupied Stanislav on Sept. 18, 1939, and immediately prohibited the activities of the various Jewish organizations. However, for a while, Zionist youth organizations continued to function underground. Public trials against Jewish merchants were staged, and Zionist and other leaders were imprisoned.

When the German-Soviet War broke out in June 1941, the town was occupied by the Hungarian army, and soon the Ukrainians carried out acts of murder, robbery, and degradation against the local Jews. At the same time over 1,000 Hungarian Jews were brought into the city. When the town came under direct German administration (July 26, 1941), a Judenrat was appointed, headed by Israel Zeiwald. The first victims of the German extermination policy were 1,000 Jews of the local intelligentsia who were massacred in a nearby forest. In the largest and most ruthless *Aktion*, on Oct. 12, 1941, over 10,000 Jews were put to death at the local Jewish cemetery. Two months later the ghetto was established. Starvation and epidemics claimed further victims. On March 31, 1942, all the refugees from Hungary as well as 5,000 local Jews were dispatched to *Belzec extermination camp. On the basis of a rumor spread in August 1942 that a young Jew had struck a Ukrainian policeman, the Germans asked Mordecai Goldstein, then chairman of the Judenrat, to deliver 1,000 Jews to the Nazis. When he refused, he was hanged together with all the other members of the Judenrat; and over 1,000 Jews were murdered. On the first day of Rosh Ha-Shanah 1942, German soldiers broke into the ghetto, rounded up some 5,000 Jews, and sent them to Belzec. Many others were killed on the spot. There were further round-ups and in one of them the Germans shot about 1,000 Jews caught without labor permits (Jan. 26, 1943). The murder of the remainder of the community took place on Feb. 22, 1943, at the local Jewish cemetery. During the last stages of the liquidation of the Jewish community of Stanislav, several groups of young Jews organized themselves into partisan units. One group was headed by Oskar Friedlender of Buchach, and in another, a young woman engineer, Anda Luft, was known for outstanding partisan activities.

Some 1,500 Jews from Stanislav, some of whom had escaped prior to the Nazi occupation, survived in various parts of the world. In the city itself the Jewish community was not reestablished after the war. Organizations of Jews from Stanislav function in Israel and in the United States.

In later years, the renewed Jewish community in Ivanov-Frankovsk established a synagogue, a Jewish day school, and a community center. In 2003 the Jewish community opened an exhibition entitled "Jewish Stanislav." Dedicated to the history and development of the Jewish community in Stanislav, the exhibition depicts the history of the local community and synagogue. A new Holocaust memorial was erected near the city.

[Aharon Weiss / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

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STANISLAVSKY, SIMON JUDAH (1849–1921), author and scholar. Born in Nikopol, S. Russia, Stanislavsky received a traditional education, and influenced by I. *Orshanski, entered a Russian gymnasium at the age of 23.

His first contribution to the Hebrew press dealt with problems of education, especially for girls. Later he wrote studies on the history of Russian Jewry as well as monographs on Isaac Erter, Abraham Abba Glusk, the Maggid of Dubno (Jacob *Kranz), Mendel *Lefin, Israel *Zamosc, and others. Most of his works were published in the Russian-Jewish press, mainly in *Yevreyskaya Biblioteka* and *Voskhod*. He also contributed to Hebrew periodicals, such as *Ha-Shilo'aḥ* and *Reshummot*. Stanislavsky was one of the first *maskilim* in Yekaterinoslav (*Dnepropetrovsk) where he resided, contributing many reports on the activities of his community to the Hebrew and Russian-Jewish press.

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[Yehuda Slutsky]

STAR, DARREN (1961–), U.S. television writer and producer. Star was born in the Washington, D.C., suburb of Potomac, Md., the eldest son of an orthodontist father and freelance-writer mother. As a child, he was obsessed with Hollywood. By age 15, he had a subscription to the trade publication *Variety*, and, while in high school, he took screenwriting classes at American University. After graduating college from UCLA, Star worked odd jobs to support his writing career, and at age 24 sold his first screenplay, *Doin' Time on Planet Earth*, a sci-fi movie for teens (starring Adam West of TV's *Batman*). In 1990, Fox paired Star with famed TV producer Aaron *Spelling (*Charlie's Angels, Dynasty*) to write the pilot for a dramatic series set in high school, and *Beverly Hills, 90201* (1990–2000) was born. It was an enormous hit, which spawned another Fox series, *Melrose Place* (1992–99), based on an apartment complex in Los Angeles where Star once lived. Star's first solo venture, *Central Park West* (1995), lasted only 17 episodes. However he followed this with the HBO cable hit, *Sex & the City* (1998–2004), a racy comedy about a New York sex columnist (Sarah Jessica *Parker) and her three best friends (Cynthia Nixon, Kim Cattrell, and Kristen Davis), which was groundbreaking in its depiction of stylish contemporary women and their relationships. It was a critical hit with many nominations and awards, including winning Golden Globes for Best Comedy Series (2000, 2001, 2002) and the Emmy for Outstanding Comedy Series (2001). Star continued to create new shows, including *Miss Match* (2003) starring Alicia Silverstone, and *Kitchen Confidential* (2005).

[Amy Handelsman (2nd ed.)]

STARA ZAGORA, city in central Bulgaria. It seems that refugees from Spain established a community in Stara (Old) Zagora. In 1858 there is a mention of the Jewish quarter. The Russians, who conquered the town in 1877, looted the houses of the Jews and the synagogues; some of the Jews lost their lives. In 1884 an Alliance Israélite Universelle school was opened. In 1885 there were 332 Jews in the town and in 1893, 480. The Jews engaged in the export of grain. In 1943 there were 560 Jews in the city. After the establishment of the State of Israel, most of the Jews of Stara Zagora immigrated there together with other Bulgarian Jews. In 2004 there were 110 Jews in the city, affiliated to the local branch of the nationwide Shalom organization. For further information on the Holocaust Period, see *Bulgaria.

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[Simon Marcus / Emil Kalo (2nd ed.)]

STARER, ROBERT (1924–2001), U.S. composer of Austrian birth. Starer was born in Vienna, where he studied from the age of 13 at the State Academy of Music. After the *Anschluss* he settled in Jerusalem and continued his studies at the conservatory with Josef *Tal, Solomon *Rosowsky, and Oedeon *Partos. After serving with the British Royal Air Force from 1943 to 1946, he went in 1947 to the U.S. on a Juilliard School of Music postgraduate scholarship, studied with Aaron *Copland in Tanglewood in 1948, and joined Juilliard's faculty in 1949, teaching there until 1974. In 1957 he received American citizenship. In 1966 he was appointed professor of music at Brooklyn College and at the Graduate Center of the City University of New York, where he taught until 1991 and was named a Distinguished Professor (1986). Starer was elected a member of the American Academy of Arts and Letters (1994) and awarded the Medal of Honor for Science and Art by the president of Austria (1995). He received an honorary doctorate from the State University of New York in 1996.

Starer is the author of *Rhythmic Training* (1969), *Basic Rhythmic Training* (1986), and an autobiography, *Continuo: A Life in Music* (1987).

Starer wrote a great deal of ballet music, including *The Story of Esther* for Anna *Sokolow (first performed 1960), *The Dybbuk* for Herbert *Ross (Berlin Festival, 1960), *Samson Agonistes* (1961) and *Phaedra* (1962) for Martha Graham. His operas include *The Intruder* (1956) and *Pantagleize* (1973). He also wrote *Kohelet* (1952); *Sabbath Eve Service* (1967) *Psalms of Woe and Joy* (1975); *Anna Margarita's Will*, (1979); *Letter to a Composer*, (1994), two symphonies (1950, 1951); three piano concertos (1947, 1953, 1972); violin concerto, 1979/80; viola concerto, 1986; cello concerto, 1988; *Nishmat Adam* for narrator, choir and orchestra (1990); concerto for two pianos (1996).

Starer was a composer of eloquent style in a post-Bergian atonal idiom. His works reflect his encounter in Palestine with Arabic scales and rhythms, and his affinity to jazz he learned in the U.S. He absorbed some influences of the 1960s avant-garde and turned them into vehicles of his penchant for dramatic processes.

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[Yuval Shaked (2nd ed.)]

STARK, ALBERT ("**Dolly**"; 1897–1968), U.S. baseball umpire, radio announcer, and college basketball and baseball coach. Stark was born on the Lower East Side. His father died when he was a youngster, and his mother became blind, leading to a poverty-stricken childhood and forcing Stark to earn money as a pushcart peddler. Stark played for Jersey City and Newark in the International League, before failing in his tryout with the Washington Nationals for his lack of hitting. Stark umpired college baseball for a few years and then began officiating in the Eastern League in 1927. On February 3, 1928, he was appointed an umpire in the National League. He became one of the most celebrated and popular umpires in baseball from 1927 until 1940, so much so that on August 24, 1935, Stark was given a "day" at the Polo Grounds and presented with an automobile before the scheduled game, an event virtually unheard of for umpires. In 1934 and 1935 he was voted the most popular umpire in a player's poll. In 1936 Stark became the first umpire in history to hold out for more money, sitting out the season and working as a radio announcer in Philadelphia. He returned the following year, retired in 1939, came back in 1942, and then retired for good. In the off-seasons Stark coached basketball at Dartmouth College, as head coach of the freshman team from 1925 to 1928 and coach of the varsity from 1929 to 1936 and 1945–46, finishing with a 102–59 record. After his career, Stark became a successful designer of women's clothes, known for the originality of his "Dolly Stark" dress.

[Elli Wohlgelernter (2nd ed.)]

STARK, EDWARD (1863–1918), U.S. *ḥazzan* and composer. Stark was the son of a *ḥazzan* and became *ḥazzan* of Temple Emanu-El in San Francisco in 1893 and remained there for 20 years. He was one of the most influential musicians in the service of the American Reform Synagogue. His compositions evince the influence of *Sulzer and *Lewandowski and the style of the classical oratorio, but are based for the most part on traditional Jewish thematic material. He insisted on the use of the *ḥazzan* as soloist, thus reversing previous trends in the Reform synagogue. Under the title *Anim Zemiroth*, he published compositions for the Sabbath and the High Holidays (1909–13). In *Day of God* (1898) he arranged the **Kol Nidrei* melody for soprano solo, choir, and small orchestra.

STARK, LOUIS (1888–1954), U.S. journalist. Stark, a leading labor reporter for almost 20 years, worked on *The New York Times* from 1917 until his death. He wrote firsthand accounts of fights in the Kentucky coalfields, sit-down strikes, and lockouts, and among the awards he won for his reporting was the Pulitzer Prize (1942). From 1931 to 1951 Stark was in Washington covering the White House. He then returned to New York to join the *Times* editorial board.

STARKENSTEIN, EMIL (1884–1942), pharmacologist. Born in *Poběžovice, Bohemia, Starkenstein was professor of pharmacology at the Prague German University from 1920 until 1938. Initially he studied purines, inosite, and metabolism of purines. Later he investigated the metabolism of inorganic substances and the effect of compound drugs in the treatment of pain. His study of seasickness led him to develop an effective counteracting drug. Starkenstein endeavored to further collaboration between the Czech and the German universities of Prague. He resigned at the time of the Sudeten crisis (1938) and moved to the Netherlands in 1939, where he concentrated on research into quinine. He was arrested after the Nazi occupation and killed in the concentration camp of Mauthausen. Starkenstein had a keen interest in the history of pharmacology and of Bohemian Jewry, and published articles on the history of his family (he was a descendant of Eleazar *Loew) and on his native community (see bibliography there). Starkenstein took a leading part in the activities of the territorial lodge of *B'nai B'rith in Czechoslovakia.

He published more than 300 articles. His books include *Der Einfluss experimentell-pharmakologischer Forschung auf Erkennung und Verhuetung pharmakotherapeutischer Irrtuemer* (1923); *Pharmakologie der Entzuendung* (1929); and in collaboration with J. Pohl and E.E. Rost: *Lehrbuch der Toxikologie* (1929).

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[Suessmann Muntner]

°STARKEY, JOHN LLEWELYN (1895–1938), British archaeologist. After World War I, he excavated with *Petrie at Qau and Badari. From 1924 to 1926 he was field director of the University of Michigan expedition to Kom Washim. In 1926 he joined Petrie's expedition to Palestine, working at Tell Jamma (1926), Tell Sharuhen (1927), and Tell al-ʿAjjūl (1929–31). He directed the Wellcome-Marston expedition to Tell *Lachish from 1932 to 1938. Starkey was a successful field director with efficient methods. During the 1936–39 riots he was assassinated by Arabs while on his way to Jerusalem for the opening of the Palestine Archaeological Museum.

[Michael Avi-Yonah]

STAROBINSKI, JEAN (1920–), Swiss literary critic and author. The son of a physician, Starobinski was born and educated in Geneva, where he obtained doctorates in both literature and medicine. He lectured on French literature at Johns Hopkins University from 1953 to 1956 and then returned to Geneva University, where he became professor of French literature in 1964. He published articles and books on a vast range of subjects – medicine (*Histoire de la Médecine*, 1963; *A History of Medicine*, 1964); psychoanalysis, psychiatry (*L'Invention de la Mélancolie*, 1960); architecture and art (*L'Invention de la Liberté*, 1964; *The Invention of Liberty*, 1964); sociology, linguistics, and above all literature, especially that of the 18th century. Two works in this last field were *Montesquieu par lui-même* (1953) and *Jean-Jacques Rousseau: la Transparence et l'Obstacle* (1957). In *L'Invention de la Liberté* Starobinski traced the birth of the concept of freedom in the plastic arts, and in *L'Oeil Vivant* (1961) dealt with phenomena such as literary creation and a comprehensive vision of the world. Starobinski was also a leading exponent of the "structuralist" school of criticism, which considered a work of art in terms of a "significant structure" (i.e., the psyche of the creator, or the creative psyche of a social class), and the written word as a sign embodying the precarious balance between the *signifié* and the *signifiant* (i.e., content and expression). Raised in a staunchly Jewish and Zionist home, Starobinski was greatly interested in the Jewish aspects of modern literature, particularly the works of *Kafka, to whom he devoted several analytical studies, the first in 1943. His continued preoccupation with Jewish and Israel cultural affairs found expression in his preface to Claude *Vigée's French translaton of David *Rokeaḥ's verse collection, *Les Yeux dans le rocher*, 1968. He is married to Prof. Esther Starobinski, née Safran, the daughter of the chief rabbi of Geneva. She taught Jewish philosophy at its university.

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[Claude Gandelman]

STARODUB, city in Bryansk oblast, Russian SFSR. Jewish settlement in Starodub is first mentioned in connection with the *Chmielnicki massacres of 1648–49, when the Cossacks conquered the town and murdered its Jewish inhabitants. Later, Jews once more inhabited Starodub, but during the Northern War, when the town was occupied by the Swedish army (1708), soldiers again killed about 50 Jews. In 1847 the number of Jews registered in the community was 2,558, and in 1897 there were 5,109 Jews (42.5% of the total population). The community was largely influenced by *Ḥabad Ḥasidism, which during the middle of the 19th century established a large yeshivah. This was closed down by the authorities, however, in 1881 as a result of a denunciation by one of the town's *maskilim* who accused the Ḥasidim of evading military service and of being involved in forgery and fraud. In October 1905 pogroms took the lives of several Jews in Starodub. Under the Soviet regime the community and its institutions were dissolved. In 1926 there were 3,317 Jews (26.6% of the total population). Under the German occupation (1941) all Jews who did not manage to escape were killed.

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[Yehuda Slutsky]

STARO-KONSTANTINOV (referred to by the Jews as Old Konstantin), city in Kamenets-Podolski oblast, Ukraine. Under Polish rule Staro-Konstantinov was an important commercial center renowned for its fairs. Jews lived there from the end of the 16th century; in 1629 there were 130 Jewish families (about 25% of the total population) and the community was the second largest in Volhynia. During the *Chmielnicki massacres (1648–49), Jews from the whole of the surrounding region sought refuge within the fortified city. The Cossacks broke into the city on the Ninth of Av, however, and massacred all the Jews. Staro-Konstantinov was also destroyed several times during the *Haidamack persecutions of the early 18th century. Jews continued to settle in the city, however, and by 1765, 1,801 Jews were counted as paying the poll tax in Staro-Konstantinov and its vicinity. Under Russian rule Staro-Konstantinov became a district city of the region of Volhynia. In 1802 Jews numbered 2,053. Riots broke out in Staro-Konstantinov in 1827 when the order of Czar Nicholas I on the mobilization of Jews into the Russian army was published. By 1847, there were 6,611 Jews in the community, and in 1897 the number had increased to 9,212 (60.7% of the total population). Most of the local Jews were Ḥasidim and followers of the *ẓaddikim* of the Chernobyl and Sadagora dynasties. With the establishment of the Soviet regime in Volhynia in 1920 Jewish community life was dissolved. This period also marked the economic collapse of the city proper and the departure of many of its inhabitants. By 1926 there were again 6,934 Jews (41.3% of the population) in Staro-Konstantinov supporting a large Yiddish secondary school. At the end of 1931 there were 4,837 Jews (about 33% of the population) in the city, of whom over a quarter were deprived of voting rights ("Lishentsy"). During World War II when the Nazis invaded the city those Jews who did not succeed in escaping were exterminated. In 1959 there remained only 800 Jews among the city's 20,000 inhabitants. Staro-Konstantinov was the birthplace of A.B. *Gottlobor and A. *Goldfaden.

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[Yehuda Slutsky]

STARR, JOSHUA (1907–1949), U.S. Jewish historian and communal worker. Starr, born in New York, studied at the Teachers' Seminary of the Jewish Theological Seminary, at the Universities of New York and Chicago, and at Columbia University. During 1933–35 he was a research student at the American School of Oriental Research in Jerusalem. Starr served on the staff of the American Jewish Congress and the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee. During 1947–49 he was secretary of the Commission for European Jewish Cultural Reconstruction, on whose behalf he was instrumental in recovering part of the religious and cultural treasures looted by the Nazis. Starr's main scholarly interest was in Byzantine and post-Byzantine Jewish history, on which he published: *The Jews in the Byzantine Empire, 641–1204* (1939); *Life in Crete Under the Rule of Venice* (PAAJR, 12 (1942), 59–114); and *Romania; the Jewries of the Levant after the Fourth Crusade* (1949). He also wrote on the New Testament and on Christian sects. In the field of contemporary Jewish history he took part in the publication of the *Jewish Population Studies* (1943) on behalf of the Conference on Jewish Relations, and edited *Jewish Social Studies*. Starr contributed numerous articles to learned publications, as well as pamphlets and articles for the World and American Jewish Congresses. A *Joshua Starr Memorial Volume* was published in 1953, containing a biography (by Abraham G. Duker) and a bibliography (9–15).

[David Jacoby]

STASZOW (Pol. **Staszów**; Rus. **Stashev**), town in Kielce province, central Poland. The Jewish settlement there developed from the beginning of the 18th century. In 1765 there were 609 Jews paying the poll tax in Staszow and 169 in the surrounding villages. Jews in this period were occupied in tailoring, hatmaking, goldsmithery, glaziery, and soap manufacture. Between 1823 and 1862 Jewish settlement in the town was restricted by the authorities of Congress Poland. The Jewish population numbered 2,062 (52% of the total) in 1827; 3,246 (64%) in 1857; and 4,885 (62%) in 1897. In the second half of the 19th century Jews in Staszow established tanneries and factories for shoes and clothing, and engaged in small-scale trading. Owing to the residence there of the *ẓaddik* R. Israel (1763–1831), son of R. Meir ha-Levi Hurwitz of Apta, the influence of Ḥasidism within the community was strong. There were 4,704 Jews living in Staszow (56% of the population) in

1921. In 1932 antisemites perpetrated a pogrom against the Jews of the town. The community's institutions included *battei midrash*, two yeshivot, schools, two hospitals, and libraries. The celebrated *ḥazzan* Joseph (Yossele) *Rosenblatt was born in Staszow.

[Shimshon Leib Kirshenboim]

Holocaust Period

On the outbreak of World War II there were about 5,000 Jews in Staszow. The Germans entered the town at the end of June 1941. A ghetto was established in June 1942, in which 5,000 Jews from Staszow and 2,000 from its vicinity were concentrated. The Jewish community was liquidated on Nov. 8, 1942, when hundreds of Jews were murdered and the remainder deported to *Belzec death camp. During these deportations many Jews fled to the nearby forests and succeeded in hiding there. After the war the Jewish community of Staszow was not reconstituted. Organizations of former residents of Staszow are active in Israel, the United States, Argentina, Brazil, and Uruguay.

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STATISTICS.

Official Statistics

Prior to the 19th century, statistical data on Jews were obtained irregularly, either from mere estimates, or as a by-product from administrative records specifically relating to Jews. As modern official statistics developed in Europe and American countries during the 19th century, they began to provide some statistical information on Jewish inhabitants. But enumeration of the number of Jews in some European countries, before the latter part of the 19th century, is considered to be incomplete. The growth of official statistics in general, and statistics on Jews in particular, was a gradual process. During the 20th century, official statistics on the number of Jews in the general population have been compiled in some Asian and African countries. The most favorable conditions for statistical information on Jews from official sources prevailed in the first decades of the 20th century until World War II. The majority of Jews were then living in countries – especially in Eastern and Central Europe – that rather regularly collected and published vital and migratory statistics, in addition to census data on Jews as a distinct group within the general population. These data not only supplied the overall numbers of the Jewish populations but also reflected their composition and demographic patterns. The Jews were distinguished in three ways: by religion, by ethnic group (termed "nationality" in Eastern Europe), and by language, i.e., according to the use of Yiddish or Ladino. Sometimes all three criteria were used concurrently by the same country. During the Nazi ascendancy, some countries made counts of persons of "Jewish descent." The wide-ranging changes in the period after World War II also affected the quantity and quality of statistics on Jews. On the one hand, the State of Israel has provided competent and detailed statistics on both its Jewish and non-Jewish inhabitants, and on the other hand, there has been a great reduction in the volume of official statistics on Diaspora Jewries. The Holocaust and subsequent migrations diminished the numerical importance of the Jews in Eastern and Central Europe. In addition, the policy of the new Communist regimes in that part of the world was to discontinue religious and, in some countries, ethnic, classification in official statistics. In the West, when religious information is not collected, this is attributed to "separation of church and state." Nevertheless, some liberal and democratic Western countries have developed a tradition of either distinguishing or not distinguishing religious groups in their official statistics (e.g., Canada, the Netherlands, Switzerland differentiate; the U.S., Belgium, and France do not). A new circumstance which, in recent decades, has complicated the collection of data on Jews, is the increased number of "marginal" Jews who are apt to conceal their Jewish identity and indicate on statistical returns that they are "without religion." At present about 70% of Diaspora Jewry, i.e., more than 50% of world Jewry, live in countries without regular official statistics on Jews. Even where such inquiries are made in Diaspora countries, the information published on the composition of the Jewish population is usually meager, often no more than a geographical breakdown cross-classified by sex. The situation in the major countries of Jewish residence in the Diaspora is as follows: the U.S., which has the largest Jewish population of any country, does not distinguish Jews in its decennial population census. Some figures on the number and residential distribution of the Jews were obtained by a "census of religious bodies," but this was last taken in 1936. The separate classification of Jews in U.S. immigration statistics was discontinued in 1943. There are no official vital statistics on religious groups in the U.S. (except for marriage and divorce data collected in two states).

After World War II the U.S.S.R., another major center of Jewish population, had two population censuses, in 1959 and 1970. The published results distinguished Jews as well as the many other ethnic groups in the Soviet Union. The number of Jews in the U.S.S.R. recorded by the censuses was contested by Jewish circles as being too low. However, it should be remembered that there were conceptual and practical problems of identification of Jews in the U.S.S.R. In any case, no reliable means exist for making alternative estimates because there is no statistical information on the manifold changes in the Jewish population which took place during and since the Holocaust on the territory of the U.S.S.R. (which was enlarged after World War II). In France and Great Britain there are virtually no official statistics on Jews, and those in Argentina are scanty.

Of the Diaspora countries with several hundred thousand Jews after World War II, Canada has had the most detailed official statistics on Jews. But even in this case, conceptual difficulties affected the results of the 1951 and 1961 censuses, relevant vital statistics on Jews no longer extend to all provinces, and the separate designation of Jews was recently omitted from the immigration statistics.

Jewish institutions in several countries made successful efforts to use, as they became available, the electronically processed material of official statistics for preparing special tabulations on Jews in response to Jewish initiatives.

Jewish-Sponsored Data Collection

In countries where there are no official statistics on the Jewish population, the only practical way to obtain any numerical information about it is through Jewish-sponsored data collection. The customary method, local community surveys, has been used sporadically over the last few decades, especially in the U.S. In the case of large Jewish groups, these surveys are necessarily sample studies. Many improvements have been incorporated in the technique of some Jewish surveys to make them more sophisticated. However, isolated community surveys have essential shortcomings, e.g., the local focus, the differences in content and method between the various studies, and the fact that they are conducted at different times even within the same country. Hence their usefulness for countrywide or larger statistical syntheses is very limited. "Marginal" Jews who have little desire to identify themselves as Jews and who have few or no organizational ties with the Jewish community are now not few in number in many Diaspora countries. While official statistics may not adequately identify individuals in the general population as Jews, Jewish-sponsored surveys have difficulty in reaching the total number of Jews in a community. In the collection of demographic data the concept "Jewish" should be construed in the widest sense. But in the tabulations various categories within the Jewish population should be distinguished according to attachment to Jewish practices, mixed marriages, etc. At any rate, the customary "master list," i.e., the combined information on Jews from various institutional and organizational records, is often insufficient as the sole source for surveying a Jewish population.

Another field of Jewish-sponsored statistical activity is the collection of vital statistics. These, however, often reflect only those activities which take place under the auspices of Jewish religious institutions, e.g., synagogue marriages, circumcisions, and burials with religious ceremonies. But the marriages, births, and deaths of Jews which are not accompanied by religious ceremonies are unrecorded in the statistics of Jewish institutions. The increasing assimilation and secularization of Diaspora Jews, and the consequent absence of "marginal" Jews from the data collected by Jewish institutions, are apt to vitiate the data's demographic value. In some Diaspora countries, interested organizations make counts of Jewish immigrants who have received assistance as well as estimates of the total number of Jewish immigrants. Sociological and socio-psychological investigations which supply data on Jews have only limited demographic value because their subjects are often unrepresentative of the entire Jewish population or their figures are too small. In a few European countries where the Jewish communities are recognized by public law, permanent population registers are kept by the community.

From the 1960s, the Institute of Contemporary Jewry of The Hebrew University, Jerusalem, designed a new and more efficient type of Jewish-sponsored population survey. These surveys inquired into demographic, economic, and social characteristics as well as aspects of Jewish identity, and permitted many cross-tabulations of population characteristics. They were preferably on a countrywide basis, with improvements in sampling technique and especially designed to include "marginal" Jews. The first survey of this type was taken in Italy in 1965. Better information on Jewish vital statistics is also partially obtainable from population surveys. Jewish-sponsored surveys are not only substitutes for nonexistent governmental statistics on Jews but are, in fact, the only means of investigating aspects of Jewish identity. Jewish-sponsored data collection on topics other than population statistics usually relates to the working of Jewish institutions and organizations, international, national, and local. In general, the data are collected within the framework of the respective agencies themselves.

Research Activities

The copious statistical material on Jews which accumulated before World War II encouraged scholars and others to compile comparative statistics of various countries, and to analyze the available data in detail. Among the major contributors to the field of Jewish demographic research have been A. *Nossig and J. *Jacobs, toward the end of the 19th century; and in the 20th century, A. *Ruppin, J. *Thon, B. *Blau, J. Segall, F. Theilhaber, I. Koralnik, L. *Hersch, J. *Lestschinsky, H.S. Linfield, A. *Tartakower, and R. *Bachi. Important centers for demographic and statistical research on the Jews were the Bureau fuer Statistik der Juden (Berlin) and *YIVO. Periodicals of importance in this field were *Zeitschrift fuer Demographie und Statistik der Juden; Bleter far Yidishe Demografye, Statistik un Ekonomik*; and *Shriftn far Ekonomik un Statistik*.

The period after World War II has seen not only the diminution of official data on Jews, but also the passing of the previous generation of scholars in Jewish statistics. The present scholarly emphasis in Jewish population statistics has partially shifted, of necessity, from the analysis and comparison of available data to the methodology and promotion of data collection. Several Jewish research institutions have been engaged primarily in statistical and demographic work on a local and national level: the Bureau of Social and Economic Research of the Canadian Jewish Congress, Montreal; the Statistical and Demographic Research Unit of the Board of Deputies of British Jews, London; and Instituto de Investigaciones Sociales of the Asociacion Mutual Israelita Argentina (AMIA), Buenos Aires. Some permanent institutions for social and historical research on the Jews which have given part of their attention to statistical and demographic matters are: Centre National des Hautes Etudes Juives, Brussels; Communauté, Paris; Oficina Latinoamericana of the American Jewish

Committee and Centro de Estudios Sociales of the Delegación de Asociaciones Israelitas Argentinas (DAIA), Buenos Aires; and the Jewish Museum of the Czech State, Prague.

In some cases, scholars have carried out ad hoc demographic and social surveys of local Jewish populations at the invitation of the community leadership. There are many such instances in the U.S., the most notable through to the mid-1960s being the surveys taken in Washington (1956), Los Angeles (1959 and 1965), Providence (1963), Camden Area (1964), Boston (1965), and Springfield (1966). Elsewhere, local surveys were taken in recent years in São Paulo (Brazil); Melbourne (Australia); Leeds and Edgware (England); Brussels (Belgium); and Wroclaw (Poland). For Dutch Jewry, a survey based on records only, without home visits, was made in 1954; a similar survey of Dutch Jewry took place in 1966. Counts based on community population registers are available for the Jews in Vienna, Austria, in the German Federal Republic, and to some extent in Italy and the Netherlands. Additional countrywide sample surveys of Jewish populations were planned for the U.S., France, and other countries (in the U.S. under the auspices of the Council of Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds).

Israel has a very active Central Bureau of Statistics (headed by R. Bachi until 1972), whose work also illuminates important aspects of Jewish demography in the Diaspora. On the international level, the Division of Jewish Demography and Statistics in the Institute of Contemporary Jewry of The Hebrew University, Jerusalem, also headed by R. Bachi, has advanced the study of Jewish demography throughout the world by encouraging and coordinating data collection and research, refining methodology, developing technical services (world bibliography, documentation center), and training specialists. It is also the seat of the Association for Jewish Demography and Statistics, which serves as the international organization for interested scholars and laymen. Other international Jewish research bodies whose activities include some statistical work are: The Institute of Jewish Affairs (in London since 1966), YIVO, and *Yad Vashem.

[Usiel Oscar Schmelz]

Sources

The amount and quality of documentation on Jewish population size and characteristics is far from satisfactory. Reviewing the sources since 1990, however, one finds that important new data and estimates have become available for several countries through official population censuses and Jewish-sponsored sociodemographic surveys. National censuses yielded results on Jewish populations in Ireland, the Czech Republic, and India (1991); Romania and Bulgaria (1992); the Russian Republic and Macedonia (1994), Israel (1995), Canada, South Africa, Australia, and New Zealand (1996 and 2001); Belarus, Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, and Kyrgyzstan (1999); Brazil, Mexico, Switzerland, Estonia, Latvia, and Tajikistan (2000); the United Kingdom, Hungary, Croatia, Lithuania, and Ukraine (2001); the Russian Republic, and Georgia (2002). Permanent national population registers, including information on the Jewish religious, ethnic or national group, exist in several European countries (Switzerland, Norway, Finland, Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania), and in Israel.

In addition, independent sociodemographic studies have provided most valuable information on Jewish demography and socioeconomic stratification as well as on Jewish identification. Surveys were conducted over the last several years in South Africa (1991 and 1998); Mexico (1991 and 2000); Lithuania (1993); the United Kingdom and Chile (1995); Venezuela (1998–99); Israel, Hungary, the Netherlands, and Guatemala (1999); Moldova and Sweden (2000); France and Turkey (2002); Argentina (2003 and 2004). In the United States, important new insights were provided by two large surveys, the National Jewish Population Survey (NJPS, 2000–01) and the American Jewish Identity Survey (AJIS, 2001). Several further Jewish population studies were separately conducted in major cities in the United States (notably in New York City in 2002) and in other countries. Additional evidence on Jewish population trends can be obtained from the systematic monitoring of membership registers, vital statistics, and migration records available from Jewish communities and other Jewish organizations in many countries or cities, notably in the United Kingdom, Germany, Italy, Buenos Aires, and São Paulo. Detailed data on Jewish immigration routinely collected in Israel helps in the assessment of changing Jewish population sizes in other countries. Some of this ongoing research is part of a coordinated effort aimed at updating the profile of world Jewry.

Following an International Conference on Jewish Population Problems held in Jerusalem in 1987, initiated by the late Roberto Bachi of the Hebrew University and sponsored by major Jewish organizations worldwide, an International Scientific Advisory Committee (ISAC) was established, chaired by Sidney Goldstein of Brown University. An Initiative on Jewish Demography, sponsored by the Jewish Agency under the chairmanship of Sallai Meridor, led to an international conference held in Jerusalem in 2002 and to an effort of data collection and analysis implemented over the years 2003–2005. The Jewish People Policy Planning Institute (JPPPI), chaired by Ambassador Dennis Ross, provides a framework for policy analyses and suggestions, including Jewish population issues.

Definitions

A major problem with Jewish population estimates periodically circulated by individual scholars or Jewish organizations is a lack of coherence and uniformity in the definitional criteria followed – when the issue of defining the Jewish population is addressed at all. Simply put, the quantitative study of Jewish populations can rely only on operational, not normative, definitional criteria. Three major concepts must be considered in order to put the study of Jewish demography on serious comparative ground.

In most countries outside of Israel, the *core Jewish population* includes all those who, when asked, identify themselves as Jews; or, if the respondent is a different person in the same household, are identified by him/her as Jews. This is an intentionally comprehensive and pragmatic approach reflecting the nature of most available sources of data on Jewish population. In countries other than Israel, such data often derive from population censuses or social surveys, where interviewees have the option to decide how to answer relevant questions on religious or ethnic preferences. Such a definition of a person as a Jew, reflecting *subjective* feelings, broadly overlaps but does not necessarily coincide with *halakhah* (rabbinic law) or other normatively binding definitions. Inclusion does *not* depend on any measure of that person's Jewish commitment or behavior in terms of religiosity, beliefs, knowledge, communal affiliation, or otherwise. The *core* Jewish population includes all converts to Judaism by any procedure as well as other people who declare they are Jewish. Also included are persons of Jewish parentage who claim no current religious or ethnic identity. Persons of Jewish parentage who adopted another religion are excluded, as are other individuals who in censuses or surveys explicitly identify with a non-Jewish group without having converted out. In the State of Israel, personal status is subject to the rulings of the Ministry of the Interior, which relies on criteria established by rabbinical authorities. In Israel, therefore, the *core* Jewish population does not simply express subjective identification but reflects definite legal rules, those of *halakhah*. Documentation to prove a person's Jewish status may include non-Jewish sources.

The question whether Jewish identification according to this *core* definition can or should be mutually exclusive with other religious corporate identities emerged on a major scale in the course of the 2000–01 NJPS. The solution chosen – admittedly after much debate – was to allow for Jews with multiple religious identities to be included under certain circumstances in the standard definition of Jewish population. In the latter survey, at least in the version initially processed and circulated by UJC, "a Jew is defined as a person whose religion is Judaism, OR whose religion is Jewish and something else, OR who has no religion and has at least one Jewish parent or a Jewish upbringing, OR who has a non-monotheistic religion and has at least one Jewish parent or a Jewish upbringing." A category of Persons of Jewish Background (PJBS) was introduced: some of these were included in the Jewish population count and others were not. By the same token, Jews with multiple ethnic identities were included in the standard Jewish population count in Canada. The adoption of such extended criteria by the research community tends to stretch Jewish population definitions further than had usually been done in the past and beyond the above-mentioned typical *core* definition. These procedures tend to limit actual comparability of the same Jewish population over time and of different Jewish populations at the same time.

The *enlarged Jewish population* includes the sum of (a) the *core* Jewish population; (b) all other persons of Jewish parentage who – by *core* Jewish population criteria – are *not* Jewish currently (or at the time of investigation); and (c) all of the respective further non-Jewish household members (spouses, children, etc.). Non-Jews with Jewish background, as far as they can be ascertained, include: (a) persons who have themselves adopted another religion, even though they may also claim to be Jewish by ethnicity or religion – with the caveat just mentioned for recent U.S. and Canadian data; and (b) other persons with Jewish parentage who disclaim being Jews. As noted, some PJBS who do not pertain to the *core* Jewish population naturally belong under the *enlarged* definition. It is customary in sociodemographic surveys to consider the religio-ethnic identification of parents. Some censuses, however, do ask about more distant ancestry. For both conceptual and practical reasons, the *enlarged* definition does not include other non-Jewish relatives who lack a Jewish background and live in exclusively non-Jewish households.

The *Law of Return, Israel's distinctive legal framework for the acceptance and absorption of new immigrants, awards Jewish new immigrants immediate citizenship and other civil rights. According to the current, amended version of the Law of Return, a Jew is any person born to a Jewish mother or converted to Judaism (regardless of denomination – Orthodox, Conservative, or Reform), who does not have another religious identity. By ruling of Israel's Supreme Court, conversion from Judaism, as in the case of some ethnic Jews who currently identify with another religion, entails loss of eligibility for Law of Return purposes. The law as such does not affect a person's Jewish status – which, as noted, is adjudicated by Israel's Ministry of the Interior and rabbinical authorities – but only the specific benefits available under the Law of Return. The law extends its provisions to all current Jews, their children, and grandchildren, as well as to the respective Jewish or non-Jewish spouses. As a result of its three-generation and lateral extension, the Law of Return applies to a large population, one of significantly wider scope than the *core* and *enlarged* Jewish populations defined above. It is actually quite difficult to estimate what the total size of the Law of Return population could be. These higher estimates in some of the major countries reach values double or three times as high as those for the *core* Jewish population.

The significant involvement of major Jewish organizations in Israel and in the U.S. – such as the Jewish Agency, the American Joint Distribution Committee, HIAS or UJC – in sponsoring data collection tends to complicate research issues. Organizations are motivated by the needs of their constituencies more than by neutral analytic criteria. In turn, the understandable interest of organizations to continue functioning and securing budgetary resources tends to bring them to take care of Jewish populations increasingly closer to the *enlarged* than to the *core* definition.

For further developments see *Population; Vital Statistics.

[Sergio DellaPergola (2nd ed.)]

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°**STATIUS, PUBLIUS PAPINIUS** (c. 45–96), Roman poet. He referred to the fall of Jerusalem and of Judea (which he calls Idyme, i.e., Idumea) at the hands of Titus and Vespasian (*Silvae* 5:2, 138) and the triumphs celebrated by them in 71 C.E. (*Silvae* 3:3, 138–42). He also praised the date groves of the country and the balsam which he described as "Hebrew juices."

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[Jacob Petroff / Shimon Gibson (2nd ed.)]

STATUS QUO ANTE, term applied to those communities in Hungary which after the schism that occurred at the Hungarian General Jewish Congress of 1868–69 (see *Hungary) did not join the *Neologist organization or the Orthodox communities (1871) but retained their former pre-Congress status. As they did not have a central representation, they conducted their affairs on a separate basis, while their relations with the government were maintained through the local authorities. It was only in 1927 that they organized themselves into a national organization – the Status Quo Ante Communities of Hungary – recognized by the government in 1928.

During the time of the schism in 1868–69, a number of communities, including some of the larger and more important ones, sought to maintain their traditional character. Thus for example, Abraham S. Sofer (Schreiber), rabbi of Pressburg (Bratislava), asked M. Perls to continue his rabbinical position at the head of the united community. Only a small number of them, however, succeeded in their objectives because the separate organization of the Orthodox claimed that the united communities were no longer faithful. The status quo ante communities were ostracized by the Orthodox, with their rabbis and *shoḥatim*. The communities which did not join the Neologists or Orthodox were thus completely isolated. According to the census of 1930, the membership of the status quo ante communities was 17,440, compared with 292,159 for the Neologists, and 134,972 for the Orthodox.

The most important status quo ante communities were those of *Debrecen, *Eger, Gyöngyös, and *Nyiregyhaza, and outside Hungary, between the two world wars, Nagyszombat (Trnava) in Czechoslovakia, and Nagykároly (*Carei Mare) in Romania. When the Jewish communities were united by a governmental order of 1950, the status quo ante organization was also closed down.

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[Baruch Yaron]

STAUB, HERMANN (1856–1904), German jurist. Born in Nicolai, Upper Silesia, Staub practiced as a lawyer in Berlin and achieved considerable fame through his work *Kommentar zum Deutschen Handelsgezetzbuch* (1891–93; 1921–32^{12}), a commentary on the new German commercial code. Here he explained the commercial code section by section and it became the leading work on the subject running into a number of editions. Many of Staub's interpretations were specifically approved by the German Supreme Court and his book was also considered an authoritative work in Austria. He wrote works on the law of contracts, company law, and the stock exchange and was a founder and editor of the legal magazine *Deutsche Juristenzeitung*. A proud Jew, Staub refused to convert to Christianity and used his influence to prevent a numerus clausus in the legal profession in Germany

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STAVI (Stawsky), MOSES (1884–1964), Yiddish and Hebrew writer. He was born in Antopol, Belorussia. Stavi for many years wrote in Yiddish; it was only in Ereẓ Israel, where he settled in 1911, that he gradually began to write in Hebrew. His early stories were translated into Hebrew, among them his best-known work, *Lavan ha-Arami* (1910), which in its Hebrew version went through many editions and remained popular for a long period. His first stories deal with the world of nature; in Ereẓ Israel his subjects also came to include the Arab village and the life of the working man.

Comprehensive collections of his stories appeared under the titles of *Ha-Boker Or* (1930), *Sefer ha-Behemot* (2 vols., 1930), *Ba-Derekh le-Ereẓ ha-Osher* (1954, stories and legends for old and young), and *Ha-Zore'im be-Dimah* (1960, village stories). In his latter years, Stavi's interest in rural life and in labor led him to research of the language of terminology used in Hebrew literature in these two fields, which resulted in two books: *Pirkei Teva ve-Lashon* (1958), and *Geluyyot u-Setumot ba-Lashon* (1961). In *Ha-Kefar ha-Arvi* (1946) he describes life and work in Arab villages. A list of his works translated into English appears in Goell, Bibliography, 2524–29.

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[Getzel Kressel]

STEEL, DANIELLE (1947–), U.S. author. Danielle Fernande Schuelein-Steel, one of the bestselling authors in American history, was born in New York to a German-Jewish father and a Portuguese mother. Steel, who studied at the Parsons School of Design in New York, New York University, and in Europe, had sold more than 500 million copies of the romance novels for which she is best known by 2005. From her first published book, *Going Home* (1973), to *The House*, one or more of her 67 novels were on *The New York Times* bestseller list for almost 400 consecutive weeks, and 21 of them were adapted for television. Her books, which explore subjects like kidnapping, incest, illness, death, divorce, adoption, marriage, loss, cancer, war, and suicide, appear in 47 countries and in 28 languages. Her historical themes sometimes shed new light on familiar events.

After she completed her education, Steel worked in public relations in New York and then in advertising in San Francisco. In addition to her novels for adults, Steel wrote the "Max and Martha" series of books for young readers. They comprise 10 illustrated storybooks written to comfort youngsters as they face such problems as a new stepfather, new baby, new school, loss of a grandparent, or other crucial problems. She also wrote four "Freddie" books about real-life situations in children's lives, like a visit to the doctor and the first night away from home. She published a book of poetry and two nonfiction books, *Having a Baby* and *His Bright Light*, about the life and death by suicide of her son Nicholas Traina. As a result of her own dysfunctional family – she was married five times, twice to convicts – Steel was said to have maintained a strong interest in children's well-being. She raised nine children, seven of them her own. In 2002 she was decorated by the French government as a chevalier of the Order of Arts and Letters for her lifetime contribution to world culture. She founded and ran two foundations, one named for her late son, which finances organizations involved in mental illness and child abuse. The second was established to assist the homeless. In 2003 she opened an art gallery in San Francisco to show emerging artists.

[Stewart Kampel (2nd ed.)]

°STEFAN, METROPOLITAN (**Stoyan Popgueorguiev**; 1878–1957), head of the Bulgarian Orthodox Church in World War II and Righteous Among the Nations. Starting from January 1940, the government of Bulgaria was headed by a Fascist regime which favored a pro-German alignment, with the consent of King Boris III and most members of the Parliament (Subranie). There were somewhat over 50,000 Jews in the country. To please the Germans, Bulgaria promulgated the Law for the Protection of the Nation at the end of 1940 (ratified in early 1941), with the intent to seriously limit the rights of Jews in the life of the country. The Bulgarian Orthodox Church, headed by Metropolitan Stefan, took a strong stand against the Law. In a statement on November 15, 1940, the Holy Synod of the Bulgarian Orthodox Church denounced the Law, the intent of which was to repress the rights of the Jewish population without regard whether Jews had committed any offense against the State. On the eve of the Law's promulgation, in January 1941, Stefan convened the Holy Synod and reiterated its denunciation, since "the principle of racism which encourages persecution, in this case of the Jewish race, has no justification.… One cannot turn the Law for the Protection of the Nation into a means of oppression and persecution of the Jewish minority in the land." The Law was nevertheless ratified by Parliament, on January 23, 1941. In the following years, the Law served as the basis for further restricting the rights of Jews. In September 1942, in a sermon, Metropolitan Stefan emphasized that no one has the right to treat the Jews cruelly and persecute them. He asked that the rights of Jews as well as converts to Christianity be respected. According to Abraham Alfasi, a leader of the Jewish community in Sofia, when, in March 1943, it became known that the Bulgarian government was about to acquiesce to German demands to deport Bulgarian Jews, Metropolitan Stefan told the king that in that event he would give instructions to open the gates of the churches and monasteries to shelter the Jews. Stefan then called a plenary session of the Holy Synod, which protested the increased persecution of Jews, underlining that "God's law, which transcends all human laws, unequivocally obliges us not to be indifferent in the face of the sufferings of innocent people, of whatever race.… The Bulgarian Orthodox Church is of the opinion that she cannot deny help and protection to the persecuted and oppressed. If she were to refuse such help, she would be unfaithful to herself." When the government decided to expel the Jewish population in Sofia to small outlying locales, a step which many interpreted as a prelude to their delivery to the Germans, Metropolitan Stefan again decided to intervene. In a telephone conversation between Stefan and King Boris, on May 25, 1943, Stefan spoke out boldly: "Boris, my son, I am not at all satisfied about you. One hears lately of many things done to our Israelite brethren. Think very hard; it is unworthy of you and of the Bulgarian people.… Things have come to my knowledge which I would rather not believe. They are a disgrace and shame to you and to the Bulgarian people. I cannot explain them to you by telephone. If you wish, come to me, or I shall come to you at once." The king declined. The following day, Stefan was again on the phone with the king and pontificated to him on the anti-Jewish measures: "Boris, you forgot yourself. You elude me and hide.… You know that one time I saved your father's head and your throne. But it is doubtful whether I, after these acts of yours, shall be able to save your head. Give the matter serious thought and uproot this demonic influence from your heart." He then sent the king a telegram reading: "Do not persecute, so that you may not be persecuted. With what measure ye mete, it shall be measured to you again. I know, Boris, that from heaven God will keep watch over your actions." Stefan was then subjected to police searches which impounded documents of hasty conversions of Jews, carried out in order to exempt them from the government's anti-Jewish measures. Metropolitan Stefan's constant intervention on behalf of Bulgarian Jews, with the backing of the Bulgarian Orthodox Church, as well as the outcry by other public figures, caused the government to postpone the delivery of the Jews to the Germans, and eventually led to the cancellation of this plan, and the more than 50,000 Jews of Bulgaria proper (with the exception of Jews in the annexed territories of Macedonia and Thrace) were saved.

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[Mordecai Paldiel (2nd ed.)]

STEFANESTI (**Ştefăneşti**), town in Botoşani province, Moldavia, N.E. Romania. The first Jews settled in Stefanesti at the beginning of the 17th century. After the neighboring province of Bessarabia passed to Russia in 1812, Stefanesti became a border town and consequently began to develop. In 1814 the ruler of Moldavia authorized the settlement of additional Jews. In 1883, however, when the municipality bought land to sell to the inhabitants, the Romanian parliament prohibited the Jews from acquiring any property. The Jewish population numbered 628 in 1838, and 3,886 (76.5% of the total population) in 1886. The first synagogue was erected at the beginning of the 18th century; it was rebuilt in 1854. There were eight organized congregations, two formed by tailors; a *mikveh* built in 1854; and a primary school. Stefanesti was well known among Romanian Jewry for the ḥasidic "court" established there by the Friedman family, descended from the *Ruzhin dynasty. Abraham Mattathias Friedman acted as ḥasidic *ẓaddik* in the town for 70 years (1863–1933). After World War I, when Romania regained Bessarabia and the town was no longer on the border, its commercial importance diminished. The number of Jews decreased in 1930 to 2,361 (26.5% of the total).

In World War II the Jews of Stefanesti were deported to Botosani. From there they were sent to forced labor camps. A few returned after the war, numbering 870 in 1947 and 600 in 1950. In 1969 about 12 Jewish families remained in Stefanesti.

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[Theodor Lavi]

STEG, ADOLPHE (**Ady**) (1925–), French surgeon and Jewish community leader. Steg was born in Verecky, Czechoslovakia, and taken to France in 1932. After completing his medical studies, Steg became a surgeon in Paris and professor of urological surgery at the faculty of medicine in Paris (1976). From World War II, Steg has been prominent in many Jewish organizations. Initially he was active in student circles and was president of the Union of Jewish Students in Paris (1948) and vice president of the World Union of Jewish Students (1949). He was a leading member of the Fonds Social Juif Unifie, the Consistoire, and the Alliance Israélite Universelle. He took part in the creation of the Coordinating Committee of Jewish Institutions in May 1967 on the eve of the Six-Day War. Steg was the founder of the French Association of the Friends of the Hebrew University which he headed from 1965 to 1986. He served as the president of the Conseil Representatif des Juifs de France (CRIF) from 1969 to 1974 and from 1985 as president of the Alliance Israélite Universelle, and he was a member of the Fondation pour la Mémoire de la Shoah. Steg was a member of the Académie de Chirurgie and of the Académie Nationale de Médecine. From 1984 he was secretary general of the European Urological Association and from 1986 president of the French Urology Association. He was a Grand Officier of the Legion of Honor, a Commandeur of the Ouissam Alaoui, and a Grand Croix dans l'Ordre National du Mérite. He received an honorary doctorate from the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. He was a member of the Economic and Social Council of France from 1979.

[Michael Denman (2nd ed.)]

STEIG, WILLIAM (1907–2003), U.S. cartoonist and author. Born in Brooklyn, N.Y., to immigrant parents, Steig was reared in the Bronx. He graduated from high school at 15, studied for two years at the City College of New York, three years at the National Academy of Design, and five days at the Yale School of Fine Arts. When his father could not find a job during the Depression, Steig began selling his drawings. In his first year, he earned $4,500, which was enough to support the entire family. For more than six decades Steig created many of the *New Yorker* magazine's best covers and cartoons and also wrote some of the most beloved of children's books, including *Shrek!* and the award-winning *Sylvester and the Magic Pebble*. In all, Steig created more than 100 *New Yorker* covers, starting with the one that appeared on May 7, 1932, depicting a father glaring at his son's report card as the child timidly glances up at him. Steig had a cartoon gallery of street-tough kids, satyrs, damsels, dogs, and drunks; and he wrote more than 25 children's books about brave pigs, donkeys, and other creatures. *Shrek!* was made into a movie in 2001 and won an Academy Award as the best animated feature film. A sequel followed in 2004. From his first *New Yorker* cartoon in 1930, a picture of a prison inmate telling another, "My son's incorrigible, I can't do a thing with him," Steig produced more than 1,600 drawings for the magazine and 117 covers, many of which were later published in books of collected drawings. In 1936 Steig ended his career as a traditional gag cartoonist, and he married Elizabeth Mead, the sister of the anthropologist Margaret Mead. Soon after he began whittling figures out of stacking wood. Three years later he had his first one-man show, an exhibition of his carvings. Also in 1936 Steig started making his "symbolic drawings" of people enduring shame, embarrassment, and other emotional problems. He published these in *About People* (1939), *The Lonely Ones* (1942), and *All Embarrassed* (1944). In the 1940s Steig discovered Wilhelm

Reich, who became a psychological mentor. Steig saw Reich for therapy 40 times and credited him with saving his life as well as his mother's. He also bought an orgone box, a booth made of cardboard, steel wire, and metal that is supposed to collect the world's orgone, or orgasmic energy. Steig sat in his energy accumulator every day. What Steig got from Reich was a confirmation of his belief that people should be emancipated from the inhibitions that society and government impose on children and adults. It was in 1968 that Stein began writing for children, and his *CDB!*, a book that uses letters to stand for words, became a minor classic. CDB, in other words, is See the Bee! Steig also helped changed the nature of the greeting-card industry. His symbolic drawings were licensed to appear on cocktail napkins, glasses, and cards. In addition to the classic *Shrek!,* the story of an ogre who marries a princess, Steig's books in the 1990s included *Grown-Ups Get to Do All the Driving*, *The Toy Brother*, *Zeke Pippin*, *Doctor De Soto Goes to Africa,* and *Spinky Sulks*.

[Stewart Kampel (2nd ed.)]

STEIGER TRIAL, trial held in 1924–25 in Lvov against the Jew Stanislaw Steiger on the trumped-up charge that he had conspired to assassinate the Polish president. As a result of the tension among the Ukrainians in Galicia in the wake of international recognition of Polish rule over this region, an unsuccessful attempt was made to assassinate President S. Wojciechowski when he officially opened the "Fair of the East" in the town. It was clear to all that this was an act perpetrated by a clandestine Ukrainian organization which sought to undermine the Polish rule. The real conspirator, Teofil Olszański, succeeded in escaping across the border and found refuge in Berlin, while the police arrested a Jewish student on the spot as a suspect. In order to substantiate the accusations against Steiger, the prosecution produced a lengthy series of dubious testimonies serving Polish political interests, which attempted to minimize Ukrainian agitation in the region and divert public attention to the alleged crime of the Jew.

The manifestations of hysteria which accompanied the giving of evidence set off storms of mass antisemitism in the streets. Distinguished Jewish advocates, such as Nathan *Loewenstein (von Opoka) and Leib Landau, took part in the defense. As a result of the tension, Jewish public leaders were imprisoned and the life of Steiger was endangered. Israel *Waldman, who maintained friendly relations with Ukrainian statesmen in Vienna, endeavored to convince the responsible leaders publicly to admit their role in the act. Once his efforts had failed, he revealed all the details of his negotiations in Vienna and Berlin on this subject when he testified before the tribunal in Lvov. Nathan Rand, who had previously been in the service of the Ukrainian government-in-exile, followed his example. The impact of these revelations brought about Steiger's acquittal on Dec. 20, 1925.

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[Moshe Landau]

STEIMAN, BEYNUSH (1897–1919), Yiddish poet and playwright. Born in Kreslavka, Latgale, Latvia, Steiman began writing poetry when he was 13. After being trained as a chemist's assistant, he spent two years in Vilna working in a pharmacy. Then he established a Yiddish elementary school in his home town, as well as a dramatic club to finance the school. During that period, in addition to writing poetry, he wrote dramas and dramatical poems. At the end of August 1919 he enrolled at the Kultur-Lige's teachers' seminary in Kiev, but was recruited for defense work in which he was killed. Steiman's works were not published during his lifetime. His first drama *Baym Toyer* ("Near the Gate") appeared posthumously in the Kiev literary periodical *Oyfgang* (1919). The dramatic poem *Meshiekh ben Yoysef* ("Messiah, Son of Joseph") was published in *Eygns* (vol. 2, Kiev 1920) and was also printed in book form. In 1926 it was produced in New York and in 1927 a Hebrew translation appeared in Jerusalem. *Dos Royte Kind* ("The Red Child"), his third and last extant work, is included in the volume *Dramen* ("Dramas," Warsaw, 1921) and was also printed in the first issue of *Shtrom* (1922). He also completed a translation of Oscar Wilde's *Salome* (published in 1924). Steiman's plays, which deal primarily with social reform, have religious intensity and motifs. The fundamental and persistent prophetic quality of his writing is manifested in his repeated use of the theme of redemption (the figure of the Messiah appears in all three plays), which is here, however, not drawn from traditional Jewish sources, but rather is a collective character representing the spirit of the people which is given the leading role.

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[Yechiel Szeintuch]

STEIMBERG, ALICIA (1933–), Argentinean author. Born in Buenos Aires, Steimberg was trained as an English teacher and translator. Her works earned her some of the most prestigious awards in Argentinean letters, including the Premio Planeta in 1992.

Steimberg's first novel, *Músicos y relojeros* (1971), is a somewhat autobiographical narrative of Jewish life in Buenos Aires as seen through the eyes of the young narrator growing up in a family of immigrants. It has been translated into English as *Musicians and Watchmakers* (1998). The author's characteristic use of humor is evident in the novel and remains a constant in most of her subsequent works. To a certain extent her next novel, *Su espíritu inocente* (1981), continues where the first left off. Again the narrator is a young girl struggling to find her own identity and come to terms with the difficulties of being Jewish in a mostly Catholic country.

Her other novels also use humor to examine Argentinean social reality. This is the case of *La loca 101* (1973), a rather chaotic tale that casts a critical eye on social mores and politics, and *El árbol del placer* (1986), a satirical portrayal of the world of psychoanalysis that is so prevalent in Buenos Aires. Her erotic novel *Amatista* (1989) was a finalist for the celebrated La Sonrisa Vertical literary prize. In *Cuando digo Magdalena* (1992), Steimberg returned, at least in part, to a more specifically Jewish context. This novel was also translated into English as *Call Me Magdalena* (1992). Finally, the novel *La selva* (2000) narrates the story of an older Jewish woman who unexpectedly falls in love with a man while on vacation in Brazil. Simultaneously, it tells the story of her struggle with a drug-addicted son. Steimberg is also the author of the short-story collections *Como todas las mañanas* (1983) and *Vidas y vueltas* (1999). Steimberg earned a well-deserved reputation as one of Argentina's best contemporary writers.

[Darrell B. Lockhart (2nd ed.)]

STEIMER, MOLLY (1897–1980), anarchist and advocate on behalf of political prisoners; the only person ever to have been deported from both the United States and the Soviet Union. Born in Dunaevtsy, Russia, Steimer immigrated to New York with her parents and siblings at the age of 15. She soon became involved with *Frayheyt* (Liberty), a Jewish anarchist group that secretly published and distributed materials in both Yiddish and English supporting the Russian Revolution and opposing World War I.

These activities led to the arrests of Steimer and six other *Frayheyt* members in August 1918 for conspiring to violate the Sedition Act, an emergency war measure that made it a crime to criticize either the United States government or the Constitution. Their two-week trial, which took place in October 1918, became a *cause célèbre*. The mistreatment of the defendants, one of whom died from injuries sustained upon arrest, as well as the harsh sentences handed down, 15 years for Steimer and 20 for three of the other co-defendants, led to outrage in liberal circles. When the Supreme Court upheld the convictions, attorney Harry Weinberg, a well-known defender of political radicals, rallied leading lawyers and intellectuals on the anarchists' behalf. Despite Steimer's objections, Weinberg negotiated a solution through which Steimer and her colleagues were deported to the Soviet Union and granted full pardons, with the stipulation that they never return to the United States. Soon after her arrival in the Soviet Union in 1921, Steimer met and fell in love with fellow anarchist Senya Fleshin, a Russian Jew who had immigrated to the United States and returned after the Revolution. The two remained life-long companions.

Steimer did not fare well in the hands of the Soviet authorities, who, like the American government, felt threatened by the anarchist movement. Steimer and Fleshin were expelled from the Soviet Union in 1923 and spent the next 15 years helping political prisoners and anarchist exiles, taking part in radical political debates of the day, and running a photographic studio in Berlin. They were living in Paris at the outbreak of World War II, and after a brief period in a French internment camp, both were able to flee to Mexico City. There, they joined a growing group of political exiles and opened another photographic studio. Steimer maintained strong connections with fellow radicals throughout her years in Mexico and had become a much admired veteran of the international anarchist movement when she died in 1980 in Cuernavaca, Mexico.

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[Nadia Malinovich (2nd ed.)]

STEIN, ARTHUR (1871–1950), Austrian historian. Stein was born in Vienna. His first book, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte und Verwaltung Aegyptens unter Roemischer Herrschaft* (1915), earned him the post of lecturer at the German University of Prague, where he became a full professor in 1923. Under the German occupation of Czechoslovakia he was deprived of his professorship, and confined to the Theresienstadt concentration camp until 1945.

Stein was interested primarily in the history of the Roman Empire, which he elucidated through the study of its administration and prosopography. He and Edmund Groag were entrusted by the Berlin Academy with the preparation of a new edition of the *Prosopographia Imperii Romani saeculorum I. II. III.* (1933–). He was primarily responsible for the biographies in the *Prosopographia* of members of the equestrian class. His other studies include *Roemische Reichsbeamte der Provinz Thracia* (1920); *Der roemische Ritterstand, ein Beitrag zur Social-un Personengeschichte des roemischen Reiches* (1927); *Die Legaten von Moesien* (1940); *Die Reichsbeamten von Dazien (1944); and Die Praefekten von Aegypten in der roemischen Kaiserzeit* (1950).

[Irwin L. Merker]

STEIN, AUGUST (1854–1937), Czech-Jewish communal leader. Son of a rabbi in a small town in southern Bohemia, Czechoslovakia, Stein studied law at Prague University. As a student he joined the Czech national movement as represented by the "Old Czech Party" and became influenced by Siegfried *Kapper, the spiritual father of the Czecho-Jewish assimilationist movement (see Svaz *Čechů-Židů). In 1881 he became the first editor of the Czecho-Jewish almanac. He joined the municipal administration of Prague and headed the "sanitation" program for the old Jewish quarter. In 1922 he was elected president of the Prague Jewish community. During the first years of his administration there were many conflicts between his assimilationist movement and the Zionists, but in later years some reconciliation was achieved. In 1930 the Czecho-Jews were defeated in the elections to the community council and the presidency passed to Stein's Zionist opponent Ludvik *Singer. When the Supreme Council of the Federations of Jewish Religious Congregations of Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia was constituted in 1926, Stein became its first chairman and served in that capacity until 1931, when he was replaced by Joseph *Popper. He devoted much energy to the translation of the Pentateuch and of the *siddur* into Czech.

His widow and four children perished in concentration camps during the Holocaust.

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[Chaim Yahil]

STEIN, SIR AUREL (**Mark**; 1862–1943), British archaeologist. Stein was born in Budapest, the son of a prosperous merchant. His family, although Jewish on both sides, were advocates of assimilation and Stein was baptized as a Lutheran and educated at Christian schools. He attended three universities in Central Europe, and went to India in 1888 to take up the positions of principal of Oriental College in Lahore and registrar of Punjab University. From 1889, when he entered the Indian Education Service, he was constantly engaged in journeys of archaeological exploration. He traveled in Central Asia, West China, Persia, Iraq, and Transjordan. His work can be classified as follows: expeditions to Central Asia (1900–01; 1906–08; 1913–16, and 1930); expeditions to Baluchistan and Iran between 1927 and 1936 (to examine the traces of the Mesopotamian and Indus Valley civilizations); journeys to establish the marching routes and battlefields of Alexander the Great; a reexamination of the Roman-Parthian frontier to fix the western terminus of the silk trade. As a result of the Hungarian Geological Survey of Tun-huang in 1897, Stein made his greatest discoveries there of ancient Chinese art of the fourth century: *Cave Shrines of the Thousand Buddhas* (1907). There he brought to light beautiful Chinese murals and paintings and some Chinese manuscripts from the fifth to tenth centuries as well as the oldest specimen of a printed book (dated 868 C.E.). Stein also explored the Graeco-Buddhist monuments of Northwest India and intended to explore Afghanistan, but died a few days after his arrival. From 1884, Stein spent much of his time in London and became a naturalized British subject in 1904.

Stein was knighted in 1912 and given honorary degrees by Oxford and Cambridge universities. His work threw much light on the history of ancient civilizations.

Among his books are *Rins of Khotan* (1903), *Ancient Khotan* (1907), *Serindia* (1921), *Innermost Asia* (1928), *The Thousand Buddhas* (1921), *An Archaeological Tour in Gedrosia* (1931), *Archaeological Reconnaissances in Northwestern India and Southeastern Iran* (1937), *On Old Routes of Western Iran* (1940), and *On Ancient Central-Asian Tracks* (1964) with a biography by J. Mirsky. Stein was one of the most famous explorers and archaeologists of his time.

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STEIN, EDITH (1891–1942), German philosopher. Born in Breslau, of an Orthodox Jewish family, Edith Stein studied philosophy under Edmund *Husserl at Goettingen and then became his first assistant at Freiburg University. Her dissertation, *Zum Problem der Einfuehlung* (1917; *On the Problem of Empathy,* 1964), played an important role in the phenomenological movement. She also prepared some of Husserl's works for publication. In 1922, after reading the autobiography of St. Theresa of Avila, she converted to Catholicism, gave up her university post, and went to teach at a Dominican girls' school in Speyer. Here she studied Catholic philosophy, especially that of Thomas Aquinas, and translated his treatise *Quaestiones disputatae de Veritate* (*Untersuchungen ueber die Wahrheit*, 1931). Her study in the *Husserl-Festschrift, "Husserls Phaenomenologie und die Philosophie des heiligen Thomas von Aquino"* (1929) attempted to show the points of contrast between phenomenology and Thomism. In 1932, Edith Stein was appointed lecturer at the Institute for Pedagogy at Muenster, but in 1933, with the advent of the Nazi regime, she had to give up this position, and entered a Carmelite convent in Cologne as Sister Teresa Benedicta of the Cross. Here she completed her large work *Endliches und ewiges Sein* (*Werke*, vol. 2, 1950), relating Thomism and contemporary phenomenological and existentialist thought. In 1938, to escape Nazi persecution, she was taken to a monastery at Echt in Holland, where she wrote *Kreuzeswissenschaft* (*Werke*, vol. 1, 1950; *The Science of the Cross*, 1960), on the life and teaching of St. John of the Cross. Shortly after finishing the work she, along with other priests and nuns of Jewish origin, was arrested by the Gestapo as a reprisal for the condemnation by the Dutch bishops of Nazi antisemitism. She died in the Auschwitz gas chambers. In 1998 she was canonized by the Catholic Church.

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[Richard H. Popkin]

STEIN, EDMUND MENAHEM (1895–1943), Polish scholar and writer. Born in Dobromil, Galicia, from 1929 he was a professor at the Institute of Judaistic Sciences (Instytut Nauk Judaistycznych) in Warsaw, teaching the history of the Jews during the Hellenistic period, Jewish philosophy in the Middle Ages, and Midrash. In 1935 he was elected rector.

Among his numerous works in Polish, Hebrew, German, and Latin was his famous polemical work *Judaizm i Hellenizm* (1929) in which he subjected Tadeusz Zieliński's *Hellenizm i Judaizm* (2 vols., 1927) to devastating criticism. Zieliński belittled the influence of Judaism on Christian civilization and condemned what influence there was as negative and even destructive. Among Stein's other major works are *Pilon Alexandroni* ("Philo of Alexandria," 1937); *Dat ve-Da'at* ("Faith and Wisdom," 1939); and Hebrew translations from the Latin of Josephus' autobiography, with an introduction (1933); of the works of Philo (1937), and of the popular philosophical works of Cicero (1937).

Stein was elected chairman of the Union of Hebrew Writers in Warsaw. An ardent Zionist, he visited Palestine in 1935. During the German occupation of Poland he was in Warsaw, where he suffered together with all the Jews in his community. In spite of this he managed to be active in cultural endeavors like the society Tekumah, where he lectured on Philo and the great Greek philosophers. In 1940 he organized courses on Judaica, where he taught the subject of his specialty. At the same time he translated into Hebrew the works of Anacreon, Plato, and other Greek thinkers and writers. In 1943 his wife and son Gabriel were deported to Treblinka, where they were killed by the Germans. The same year he was deported to Trawniki, near Lublin, where he was killed.

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[Hillel Seidman]

STEIN, ELIEZER LIPMAN (c. 1778–1851), Hungarian talmudist and preacher. Stein corresponded on *halakhah* with Moses *Sofer (Responsa *Ḥatam Sofer,* pt. 6, no. 48), with Meir *Eisenstadt and with his teacher Judah Aszo, author of the responsa *Mahari Aszo*. Stein served as *av bet din* of the community of Gyöngyös. During his period of office there, a quarrel arose between him and the community because he disqualified a *shoḥet*. The community referred the dispute to a non-Jewish judge who ruled that the *shoḥet* was capable of carrying out his duties. As a result of this ruling, the community deducted from the rabbi's salary the payment that they were accustomed to receive from the slaughter of animals, because this had decreased as a result of the ban. He resolved to resign his office and was accepted as rabbi in the community of Mór, but in the end the community yielded and became reconciled with him, and he remained there until 1837 when he went as rabbi and *av bet din* to Nagyszöllös (Vinogradov). Shortly thereafter, at the age of 60, he decided to immigrate to Ereẓ Israel. With this in mind he went to Pressburg and obtained from Moses Sofer a letter of recommendation to the philanthropists of Hungary. In the letter Sofer describes Stein's greatness as a talmudist and asks the Jewish philanthropists to appoint him to offices that would enable him to support himself in Ereẓ Israel and also that they pay the expenses of the journey. During Stein's visits from town to town to make the necessary arrangements he went to Dunaszerdahely and was appointed to the then vacant office of rabbi and *av bet din*. He abandoned his previous plan and remained there until his death.

He was the author of several works on contemporary problems, including *Hishanot ha-Bimah* (1943), against siting the **bimah* in the synagogue in front of the ark. He also wrote *Evel Moshe* (1840), a eulogy on Moses Sofer, and *Ir Shushan* (1849), homilies and responsa.

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[Samuel Weingarten-Hakohen]

STEIN, ERWIN (1885–1958), conductor, music critic, and editor. Born in Vienna, Stein studied composition with Arnold *Schoenberg. For a time he was engaged as an opera conductor in Germany and from 1924 until 1934 was an editor at the music-publishing firm of Universal Edition in Vienna. At the time of the *Anschluss* he left Vienna for London, where he settled, joining the firm of Boosey and Hawkes. He wrote for many music magazines, edited numerous modern music scores, and published a collection of essays, *Orpheus in New Guises* (London, 1953). He was a particular champion of Schoenberg's music at the time of its greatest rejection by critics and the public. He also gave much support, in print and as a publisher, to the music of Benjamin Britten.

[Max Loppert (2nd ed.)]

STEIN, GERTRUDE (1874–1946), U.S. author, critic, and patron of modern art and literature. Born in Allegheny, Pennsylvania, into a wealthy German Jewish family, Gertrude Stein spent her childhood in Vienna and Paris and was fluent as a child in various languages including German and French. In 1879, the family moved to Oakland, California. Stein studied psychology at Radcliffe College under William James and started but never completed a medical course at Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore. In 1902, she joined her brother Leo in Europe. Eventually she and Leo settled in Paris, where Stein immersed herself in the bohemian life of the literary and artistic avant-garde. Stein studied the art of the new painters and collected the as yet unknown works of Picasso, Braque, and Matisse. Picasso's portrait of her is one of his best-known early works. Her apartment, at 27 rue de Fleurus, which she first shared with Leo and later with her lifetime companion, Alice B. Toklas, was covered from floor to ceiling with paintings by the "new moderns." Stein also began to write, attempting to accomplish a linguistic and stylistic revolution akin to the visual revolution attempted by her artist friends. By the 1920s her apartment had become a center of artistic life and a place of pilgrimage for the aspiring expatriate American writers she dubbed "the Lost Generation," including F. Scott Fitzgerald and Ernest Hemingway.

Stein's first original work, *Three Lives* (1909), the story of three working-class women, included "Melanctha," a study of the consciousness of an American mulatto girl involved in an unhappy affair with a black doctor. "Melanctha" made a great impression on the practitioners of the "new writing," with its use of vernacular black English and stylistic experimentation, attracting many to her salon. Her later works moved toward ever greater experimentation, with Stein rejecting realistic, linear narratives for linguistic free play, playing with words both for their sound and rhythm and for their subconscious associations. At first she had to pay for the publication of her work, yet she could also write lucidly and engagingly, and her reputation grew. Even at its height, attitudes toward her swung between adulation and scorn; nonetheless, her own circle regarded her as a great writer, and she had a powerful impact on later modernist and postmodern writers. In *Tender Buttons* (1914), a series of "portraits" of inanimate objects, she tried to establish a type of abstract writing which some critics called "cubist," others "primitivistic." It was terse, sometimes childlike, and often repetitive. Her most quoted line, "A rose is a rose is a rose is a rose" (*Geography and Plays*, 1922), is indicative of the absurd linguistic play at the heart of much of her work. While many of her most experimental books were not appreciated in her lifetime, including her 1,000 page semi-autobiographical *The Making of Americans* (1925), a plot-less exploration of the assimilation of American immigrants, her most conventional work, *The Autobiography of Alice B. Toklas* (1933), was widely read. This autobiographical work, ostensibly written by her secretary and companion, told the history of her salon and of her relationship with the new literature and art.

Her later work included experimental plays, poems, novels, and criticism. She made sweeping generalizations about the character of nations and peoples, and the relationship of American and European cultures (*The Geographical History of America: the Relation of Human Nature to the Human Mind*, 1936). She used orthodox prose effectively and even nostalgically in *Paris, France* (1940); but *Four Saints in Three Acts*, produced as an "opera" with music by Virgil Thomson in 1934, proved amusing but largely unintelligible. Her World War II experiences in Belignin, in the south of France, where she remained in safety and comparative seclusion, were described in two entertaining books, *Wars I Have Seen* (1945) and *Brewsie and Willie* (1946). On the liberation of Paris, she returned there and continued her sponsorship of new writing.

Many of Gertrude Stein's unpublished manuscripts were deposited in the Yale Library. Among those published after her death are *Four in America* (1947), *Two: Gertrude Stein and Her Brother, and Other Early Portraits, 1908–12* (1951), and *Mrs. Reynolds* (1952), an experimental novel. Gertrude Stein's brother LEO STEIN (1872–1947) was a painter and art critic, who made Cézanne his chief interest in life. He wrote *Appreciation: Painting, Poetry and Prose* (1947) and his letters and papers, edited by Edmund Fuller, appeared as *Journey into the Self* in 1950.

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[Frederick J. Hoffman / Craig Svonkin (2nd ed.)]

STEIN, HENRI (1862–1940), French bibliographer and historian. Stein, who was born in Pierry, Marne, became archivist at the Archives Nationales in 1885. Here his access to the rich documentary sources enabled him to produce an enormous number of works in many different areas. After his retirement in 1923 from the chief curatorship of the ancient section, he taught the history, use, and conservation of documents at the Ecole des Chartres until 1933. Stein was not a specialist in one area or period, but was, rather, a universal scholar: bibliographer, archivist, archaeologist, general historian, local historian, art historian, and topographer. His work in French history was particularly important.

He founded and directed the periodical *La Bibliographie Moderne*, and created the Société Française de Bibliographie. Among his many books are *Les Archives de l'Histoire de France* (with C.V. Langlois, 3 vols., 1891), *Manuel de Bibliographie Générale* (1897), *Répertoire Numérique des Archives du Châtelet de Paris* (1898), *Bibliographie Générale des Cartulaires Français ou Relatifs à l'Histoire de France* (1907), *Les Architectes des Cathédrales Gothiques* (1911), *Charles de France* (1919), and *Répertoire Bibliographique de l'Histoire de France, 1920–1931* (with P. Caron, 1931).

[Irwin L. Merker]

STEIN, HERBERT (1916–1999), U.S. economist. Stein was born in Detroit, Michigan. After graduating from Williams College in 1935, he obtained his doctorate from the University of Chicago. For 22 years he was on the staff of the Committee for Economic Development (known as CED), an influential, privately sponsored research and policy-formulating organization. Subsequently, he joined the Brookings Institution and was appointed to the President's Council of Economic Advisers by President Nixon soon after his election (1969–71). In 1972, Stein became the Council's chairman, serving until 1974, after which he taught at the University of Virginia. He was appointed a member of the Advisory Committee of National Growth Policy Processes in 1976 and adjutant scholar of the American Enterprise Institute, and scholar in 1977. Stein, who had long opposed government intervention in private price and wage decisions, played a major role in the first attempt by a peacetime administration to enforce price and wage controls, although he was not optimistic about the program's success. Stein is credited with developing the concept of the "full employment budget" during the 1940s. This concept establishes government expenditures on the basis not of actually expected government income, but of income that would be received in a fully prosperous economy. Along the same lines is the view, represented in the early post-World War II years by the CED, that budgetary deficits are not always bad.

Stein was a senior fellow at the American Enterprise Institute and the A. Willis Robertson Professor of Economics Emeritus at the University of Virginia.

In 2000 the National Association for Business Economics created the Herbert Stein Public Service Award, which is presented to a policy adviser or policymaker in the U.S. or abroad with an outstanding record of public service. The first award was presented to Stein posthumously in September 2000.

Stein's publications include *The Fiscal Revolution in America* (1969), the novel *On the Brink* (with B. Stein, 1977), *Moneypower* (with B. Stein, 1979), *Presidential Economics* (1984), *Washington Bedtime Stories* (1986), *The New Illustrated Guide to the American Economy* (with M. Foss, 1995), *On the Other Hand* (1995), and *What I Think* (1998).

His son Ben Stein is a noted writer, scholar, and humorist.

[Joachim O. Ronall / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

STEIN, HERMAN D. (1917–), U.S. social work educator. Born in New York, Stein taught social work research at the New York School of Social Work, Columbia University, from 1945 to 1947. He then worked for three years with the *American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (director of welfare department, 1948–50), and returned to the New York School of Social Work, where from 1958 to 1964 he was a professor. From 1959 to 1964 he also directed its research center. In 1964 he became professor and dean of the School of Applied Social Services, Case Western Reserve University, Cleveland, and in 1967 provost for Social and Behavioral Sciences, Case Western Reserve University. The many national and international committees on which Stein served include the National Institute of Mental Health (chairman, social work committee, 1958–62); the Council of Social Work Education (president, 1966–69); and the International Association of Schools of Social Work (president, elected 1968). He was an expert adviser for UNESCO and UNICEF.

In 1998 the CWRU's Mandel School of Applied Social Sciences initiated the annual Herman D. Stein Lectureship in International Social Welfare to honor Stein's "extraordinary lifework and accomplishments in building international social services."

A book of Stein's selected papers, *Challenge and Change in Social Work Education*, was published in 2003. Among the books Stein edited are *Social Perspectives on Behavior* (with R.A. Cloward, 1958) and *Social Theory and Social Invention* (1968), a collection of essays; and *The Crisis in Welfare in Cleveland* (1969). His many articles included studies of Jewish social work in the United States.

[Joseph Neipris / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

STEIN, ISAAC (d. 1495), rabbi, *rosh yeshivah*, and halakhic authority. Stein probably came from the village of that name near Nuremberg, a district in Bavaria (i.e., Stein bei Nuernberg). He studied under Israel *Isserlein, to whom he invariably refers as "the *Gaon*," basing himself upon the halakhic rulings he heard from him, as well as upon the customs he saw practiced in his home in Wiener Neustadt. He resided in Regensburg and often refers to rulings he gave in that city. Stein was regarded in his day as one of the greatest halakhic authorities, Joseph *Colon referring to him and his brother, Aaron Pappenheim, during their lifetime, as "two distinguished scholars" (lit. "golden pipes") and numbering them among "the four leaders" who were the outstanding scholars of the time. While in Nuremberg he debated with "the *lomedim*" (the local scholars) on the question of the date of the compilation of the Talmud and when it was committed to writing, and at their request wrote a comprehensive essay on the subject, revealing an original approach and a power of critical analysis.

Stein's main reputation, however, rests upon his commentary and novellae to the *Sefer Mitzvot Gadol* ("*Semag*") of *Moses b. Jacob of Coucy. He mentions many *halakhot* and emendations of the "*Semag*" which he received from Tevele of Nuremberg and suggestions given him by a certain Rabbi Samuel. The "*Semag*" was highly regarded both as a popular, practical, and readily accessible reference work of *halakhah* and as an authoritative source. As a result, many copies of the work were in circulation. Two editions published in Rome (1480) and Soncino (1488) are included in the list of Hebrew *incunabula. Many manuscripts of the work came into Stein's possession, but he found in them "obscure matters and passages that seemed labored." As a result he came to the conclusion that it was necessary to compose a new edition, including his own explanations as well as giving emendations, noting sources, and adding complementary material. To ensure that the work would be of practical use in his time, he added some of the customs and traditions of the Jews of Germany. While in Regensburg he assembled a considerable amount of material, noting variant readings. According to his son, he collected the material for his book over a period of many years, noting down customs of which he had heard or had actually seen, copying glosses from the margins of the books of early scholars, collecting anonymous responsa, and investigating and comparing different versions, both from the Talmud and the works of the *posekim*, to determine the correct reading.

He adopted a method original for his time. He wrote down his notes on hundreds of separate pieces of paper, like index cards, and then placed each piece in its relevant place between the pages of the "*Semag*." Since he "did not hide his copy of the *Semag* from the eyes of men," some people secretly copied these pieces of paper before the author had examined and emended any mistakes which crept into them. When the author became aware of this, "he was displeased and in order to prevent any harm arising," assembled a number of authoritative scholars in *halakhah* in the city of Gunzenhausen, and together with them, worked on the "*Semag*" for a number of years until the expulsion of the Jews from the city in 1495. Each note was subjected to a thorough discussion until the final version was decided upon by majority vote. He put his pen through the pieces of paper that were rejected, but preserved them inside the "*Semag*" "like the broken tablets which were preserved in the Ark." He began to write his book from the corrected notes shortly before his death, but only reached the middle of precept 65 (on the laws of the Sabbath).

He died in Regensburg. He bequeathed the copy of the "*Semag*" upon which he was working, together with the portion arranged in his own handwriting, and the corrected and rejected pieces of paper, to his son, Aviezri. At first the son hesitated to undertake the completion of the work and only ten years later (in 1506), began sorting the material and methodically arranging it. In his introduction, the son warns against "those who possess unamended copies." Fifty-two years after the author's death, the work, sometimes called "the *Nimmukim* ["reasons"] of Isaac Stein" appeared as an appendix of the *Sefer Mitzvot Gadol* (Venice, 1547), without mentioning that it was only an uncorrected part of the whole work. *Nimmukim* contains valuable material for the study of the folklore of German Jewry and the linguistic usages of those days. Interesting too are the author's observations on Jewish social life, such as the attitude to Hebrew as a spoken language, neighborly relations with gentiles, divination, the flogging of transgressors, and public confession. It serves as a source of great value because of its halakhic summaries and because of its fund of quotations from the works of early scholars. Many incomplete copies of Stein's work are extant. One in Oxford is said to be in the handwriting of the author's son, but this claim has still to be confirmed.

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[Yehuda Leib Bialer]

STEIN, JANICE GROSS (1943–), Canadian scholar, Middle East expert. Stein was born in Montreal and received an M.A. from Yale and a Ph.D. from McGill, becoming Belzberg Professor of Conflict Management and Negotiation and Director of the Munk Centre for International Studies at the University of Toronto. She wrote widely on negotiation theory, foreign policy decision-making, and international conflict and conflict management. She authored over 80 books, book chapters, and articles.

As a Middle East specialist, Stein addressed a range of important theoretical problems in political science and psychology. Her first book, *Rational Decision Making: Israel's Security Choices, 1967* (1980), used the 1967 war as a case study to test three contrasting models of decision-making. It won the Edgar Furniss Award of the Mershon Centre for outstanding contribution to the study of national security and civilian military education. Other works on Jewish or Middle East subjects include *Powder Keg in the Middle East: The Struggle for Gulf Security* (1995), *Peacemaking in the Middle East* (1985), and *Contemporary Antisemitism* (2005).

Stein was a member of international advisory panels, including the Committee on International Conflict Resolution of the National Academy of Sciences in Washington, the American Association for the Advancement of Science, and the United States Institute for Peace. In Canada, Stein was chair of the Research Advisory Board to the Minister of Foreign Affairs and chair of the Advisory Board to the Canadian Centre for Foreign Policy Development as well as member of the Middle East Advisory Group in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. She is a fellow of the Royal Society of Canada and a Trudeau Fellow. She provided regular commentary on Middle East and other international issues for Canadian television.

[Judith E. Szapor (2nd ed.)]

STEIN, JOSEPH (1912–), U.S. dramatist. Born in New York City, Stein grew up in the Bronx. His father, a Polish immigrant, read him the stories of *Shalom Aleichem, and Stein would later remember them when he developed the musical *Fiddler on the Roof.* Earlier, Stein graduated from the City College of New York and earned a master of social work degree from Columbia University. He spent the next six years as a psychiatric social worker. In 1946 Stein began writing for radio, and two years later he and a writing partner, Will Glickman, began contributing sketches to Broadway revues. Stein was also a writer for the comedian Sid *Caesar's television shows. One of his first works for Broadway was the musical *Plain and Fancy* (1955), about the adventures of a pair of sophisticated New Yorkers living among the Amish in Pennsylvania. Then came *Mr. Wonderful* (1956), a vehicle for Sammy *Davis Jr., and, with Sheldon Harnick, the musical *Body Beautiful* (1958). In 1959 it was *Take Me Along*, an original musical, and in 1963, *Enter Laughing*, a comedy. Stein then produced the book (and Harnick and *Jerry Bock the music) for *Fiddler* (1964), the story of Tevye the milkman and his five daughters that played on Broadway, first with Zero *Mostel in the starring role, until 1972. It was revived on Broadway four times in the next 32 years, was made into a movie starring Chaim *Topol, the Israeli star, and spawned productions all over the world, including such unlikely venues as Japan. Audiences devoured the music ("If I Were a Rich Man," "Sunrise, Sunset") and related to the universal truths espoused by a poor Jew in the fictional shtetl of Anatevka, where the Jews' lives were as shaky as that of a fiddler on a roof. Stein won the Tony Award and Drama Critics Circle Award for *Fiddler.* His other musicals included *Zorba* (1968), for which he received a Tony nomination; *Rags* (1986), another Tony nomination; and *The Baker's Wife*, which won the Laurence Olivier award in London. He also wrote the screenplays for *Enter Laughing* and for *Fiddler on the Roof.*

[Stewart Kampel (2nd ed.)]

STEIN, JULES CEASAR (1896–1981), U.S. entertainment executive; ophthalmologist. Stein was born in South Bend, Indiana, to Orthodox retailer M. Louis and Rose (nee Cohen) Stein. Stein's mother was an invalid, and the resulting financial drain for her medical care forced Stein to work at age 12, playing the violin and saxophone. He had established his own band and was booking musical acts by 1910 and graduated high school early two years later at age 16. Stein went on to attend the University of West Virginia (1912–13), the University of Chicago (1915), University of Chicago's Rush Medical College (1921) and the University of Vienna (1921). Following a residency in ophthalmology at Cook County Hospital in Chicago, Stein set up a private practice in 1923. He continued to book bands on the side, and, with William Goodheart, in

1924 Stein co-founded the Music Corporation of America, an agency that excelled at setting up exclusive contracts and perfected packaging, which would provide venues for an entire season of bookings and net the agency a separate fee. In 1938, he sent employee Lew Wasserman to Hollywood to open an MCA film division. As the agency gained momentum in southern California, Stein moved his family to Beverly Hills. In 1946, he turned the presidency of MCA over to Wasserman, but remained chairman. MCA was active in breaking the standard seven-year studio contract, and in 1952 Screen Actors Guild President Ronald Reagan helped secure a deal that would allow MCA to represent and hire actors for the agency's television production company Revue Productions. In 1959 the agency's name was officially changed to MCA and went public. MCA also purchased Decca Records in 1959 and started acquiring other businesses, including a consolidated Universal Pictures, Spencer Gifts, and book publisher G.P. Putnam's Sons. In 1962, the Justice Department forced MCA to give up its agency, leaving the company to focus on television and film production. Stein began promoting vision research in 1960, founding Research to Prevent Blindness, Inc., which helped pave the way for corrective surgical procedures. The University of California at Los Angeles dedicated the Jules Stein Eye Institute in 1966, and two years later Stein pushed for Congress to establish the National Eye Institute under the umbrella of the National Institutes of Health. In 1973, after undergoing surgery a few years earlier for an intestinal disorder, Stein turned over chairmanship of MCA to Wasserman, but remained primary shareholder of the company. Upon his death from a heart attack, Stein left behind an estate worth $150 million.

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°**STEIN, BARON KARL VOM UND ZUM** (1757–1831), German statesman and patriot. Stein opposed the political emancipation granted to Jews during and after the French Revolution, even though his own ordinance of Prussian municipal government of 1808 had granted them municipal citizenship. Numerous antisemitic statements of his have been recorded, especially those he made against the patrician banking families of Berlin. When Frankfurt on the Main was freed from French rule in 1813, Stein, plenipotentiary for all conquered territories, refused to intervene on behalf of the Jewish community which was in danger of losing its rights. Under his sponsorship the Westphalian estates of 1827 proposed a series of restrictive measures against the "harmful" Jewish population.

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STEIN, LEONARD (**Jacques**; 1887–1973), barrister, author, and Zionist historian. Born in London, the son of a merchant, Stein was educated at St. Pauls and Oxford, where he was the first Jewish president of the Oxford Union, and was called to the bar in 1912. He was a captain in the British Army in World War I, after which he served as a political officer in the military administration in Palestine and as military governor of Safed. In 1920 Chaim *Weizmann appointed him political secretary and legal adviser of the Zionist Organization, a position which he held from 1920 until 1929, when he left over a disagreement on the official policy of the Zionist leadership. In 1932 he returned to practicing law and achieved a reputation as a foremost expert on taxation. He continued to advise the Jewish Agency and drafted the Zionist case before the Palestine Royal Commission (1936) and the Woodhead Commission (1938; see *Palestine, Inquiry Commissions). Stein's testimony before the Shaw Commission, which investigated the causes of the 1929 riots, was described by Weizmann as "the crowning glory of Stein's outstanding services to Zionism." He was president of the Anglo-Jewish Association (1939–49) and exerted considerable influence on this body which had not been favorably disposed toward political Zionism, although Zionist circles felt that in the 1945–48 period his representations to the British government on behalf of the Anglo-Jewish associations were not always helpful to Zionist policy.

Stein wrote extensively on Zionist history and compiled an anthology of official documents pertaining to Zionism and Israel, *Promises and Afterthoughts*, and, together with Leon Simon, edited *Awakening Palestine* (1923). His most outstanding book is the *Balfour Declaration* (1961), the most authoritative, documented, and detailed work on the subject, which revealed many facts previously unpublished. He also edited and published (together with Gedalia Yogew) *The Letters and Papers of Chaim Weizmann* (vol. 1, 1889–1902). Stein wrote a number of standard works on revenue law. He was a director of the *Jewish Chronicle* newspaper for 36 years; it established a lectureship in Medieval Hebrew at Oxford to mark his 80th birthday in 1967.

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[Getzel Kressel]

STEIN, LUDWIG (1859–1930), philosopher. Born in Erdöbenye, Hungary, he studied philosophy at Berlin under Zeller, at Halle, and at the Jewish Theological Seminary of Berlin, where he became a rabbi and functioned in that capacity for a couple of years. He taught at Zurich (1886–91) and then was professor at Berne. Stein edited the *Archiv fuer Geschichte der Philosophie, Archiv fuer Systematische Philosophie und Soziologie, Berner Studien zu Philosophie und ihrer Geschichte, Bibliothek fuer Philosophie*, and *Nord und Sued*. During World War I he was involved politically with the moderate Gustav Stresemann. Stein wrote extensively on philosophy and sociology. He was a cultural and political optimist of religious tendencies, opposing the pessimism of Nietzsche and Spengler, a Humean in epistemology, and interested in biology. Stein's writings deal with the history of philosophy, Jewish thought, social questions, sociology, and optimistic philosophy.

His chief works include *Die Willensfreiheit und ihr Verhaeltnis zur Goettlichen Praescienz und Providenz bei den Juedischen Philosophen des Mittelalters* (1882); *Friedrich Neitzsches Weltanschauung und ihre Gefahren* (1893); *Die soziale Frage im Lichte der Philosophie* (1897, 1923^4); *Wesen und Aufgabe der Soziologie* (1898); *Der Sinn des Daseins* (1904); *Der soziale Optimismus* (1905); *Philosophische Stroemungen der Gegenwart* (1908), on neo-Kantiansim; *Gegen Spengler* (1925); and *Evolution and Optimism* (lectures in America; 1926).

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[Richard H. Popkin]

STEIN, RICHARD (1898–), Israeli ophthalmologist. Stein was born in Bohemia, the son of a farmer. After serving as an officer in the Austrian army during World War I, in which he was taken prisoner by the Italians, he studied medicine at the University of Prague and worked at the eye clinic of the university until the Nazi invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1938. During World War II, he was incarcerated in the Theresienstadt concentration camp and was put in charge of health services there. After the war he founded an ophthalmological department in a hospital in Prague but in 1949 immigrated to Israel, having been invited to treat soldiers who had suffered eye injuries in the War of Independence. He established the ophthalmological department of Tel ha-Shomer (now Chaim Sheba) Hospital and was the first to perform retinal transplants in Israel. He was appointed professor of ophthalmology at Tel Aviv University in 1966. Stein was president of the Israel Ophthalmological Association for six years and a member of the International Ophthalmological Association. He was awarded the Israel Prize in 1973.

STEIN, WILLIAM HOWARD (1911–1980), U.S. biochemist. Born in New York City, Stein studied at Harvard and Columbia, receiving his doctorate in 1938 and joining the staff of Rockefeller University, where he was appointed professor in 1952. In 1960 he was elected to the National Academy of Sciences and made a fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences. He served as chairman of the editorial committee of the American Society of Biological Chemists (1958–61) and chairman of the *Journal of Biological Chemistry* (1968–71). He was a member of the medical advisory board of the Hebrew University-Hadassah Medical School in Israel and a trustee of the Montefiore Hospital. Stein was stricken with polyneuritis in 1969 and was confined to a wheelchair until his death in 1980. In 1972 he was awarded the Nobel Prize for chemistry jointly with Dr. Stanford Moore, also of Rockefeller University, for research in proteins, peptides, and amino acids, in which he had been engaged for over 30 years.

STEIN, YEHEZKIEL (1926–), Israeli physician and medical research scientist. Born in Cracow, Poland, he graduated as an M.D. from the Hebrew University of Jerusalem-Hadassah Medical School (1953) and after graduation joined the department of medicine at Hadassah where he received postgraduate training in biochemistry (1955–56). He was a visiting research scientist at Yale University and the Rockefeller University, New York (1959–61) on a Magnes Fellowship. After returning to Hadassah, he was appointed director of the Lipid Research Laboratory (1965–94), professor of medicine since 1969, and chairman of the department of medicine (1969–94). Stein's research centers on the contribution of high levels of lipoproteins rich in cholesterol (LDL) to atherosclerosis, a common disease of blood vessels including coronary artery disease. He also studied the lipoprotein HDL which removes cholesterol from the circulation. He used experimental tissue culture systems, human biochemical investigations, epidemiological surveys especially in the Jerusalem region, and clinical trials in broad and imaginative combination to elucidate the mechanisms underlying the development of atherosclerotic disease. His findings have helped to identify risk factors for developing atherosclerosis such as genetic predisposition, obesity, diet, and smoking. He has also investigated the intriguing observation that religious orthodoxy reduces the risk of myocardial infarction ("heart attacks"). Most of his more than 350 research publications were co-authored by his wife, Olga Stein, professor of experimental medicine, who also obtained her M.D. from Hadassah (1953). He participated in many international epidemiological surveys and was visiting professor at many leading U.S. university departments with shared research interests. He played a leading part in national and international committees concerned with atherosclerosis research and with education and research in medical science in general. Stein's achievements and international reputation in this field have been recognized by many honors and awards. These include the Heinrich Wieland Prize with O. Stein (1978), election to the Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities (1980), honorary membership in the American Association of Physicians (1987), the Humboldt Research Award with O. Stein (1993), and the Israel Prize for medicine (1996).

[Michael Denman (2nd ed.)]

STEINACH, EUGEN (1861–1944), physiologist and biologist. He was born in Hohenems (in the Tyrol) and became professor of physiology at the German University of Prague, where he established a laboratory for general and comparative physiology, particularly of the sexual organs. In 1912 he was appointed director of the department of experimental biology at the Vienna Academy of Science. Steinach also contributed to the study of the physiology of elastic tissue, of the sense organs and nervous system. He coined the name "puberty gland." Steinach devised an operation for rejuvenation which consisted in the ligation of the vas deferens to produce atrophy of the spermatogenic apparatus of the testes and consequently, as he supposed, proliferation of the interstitial tissue and increased production of the hormone testosterone. In 1920 he published a book on the subject entitled *Verjuengung* *durch experimentelle Neubelebung der alternden Pubertaetsdruese*. He died in Montreux.

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[Suessmann Muntner]

STEINBACH, ALEXANDER ALAN (1894–1978), U.S. rabbi and author. Steinbach, born in Baltimore, Maryland, was ordained a rabbi by Hebrew Union College. From 1921 to 1934 he filled several pulpits before becoming rabbi of Temple Ahavath Sholom in Brooklyn, New York. Rabbi Steinbach served as president of the New York Board of Rabbis, the Brooklyn Board of Rabbis, and the Jewish Book Council of America, and was active on the boards of charitable, cultural, and civic agencies both in the Jewish and the general community.

As an author, Rabbi Steinbach wrote volumes ranging from notes to the tractate Bava Meẓia (1927), sermons, and textbooks to volumes of original essays *Musings and Meditations* (1941), *Faith and Love* (1959), and prize-winning poetry, *When Dreamers Build* (1939). He was editor of the *Jewish Book Annual* from 1954 and of *In Jewish Bookland* (*Nat'l JWB*) from 1960.

[Gladys Rosen]

STEINBACH, EMIL (1846–1907), Austrian lawyer and politician who became minister of finance. Born in Vienna, Steinbach practiced and taught law until 1874 when he was appointed an official in the Ministry of Justice under Julius *Glaser. Following his baptism in 1886 he was made a department head in the Ministry of Justice and pioneered legislation in social reform and workers' insurance. On becoming minister of finance in 1891 Steinbach introduced tax reforms and a new currency, the crown in place of the florin, basing it on the gold standard. After the fall of the government following the defeat of his electoral reform bill, Steinbach became a supreme court judge. He was president of the Supreme Court from 1904 until his death. His publications include *Die Moral als Schranke des Rechtserwerbs und der Rechtsausuebung* (1898); *Zur Friedensbewegung* (1899), *Der Staat und die modernen Privatmonopole* (1903).

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[Josef J. Lador-Lederer]

STEINBARG, ELIEZER (**Shtaynbarg**; 1880–1932), Yiddish educator, cultural activist, and author. Born in Lipkany, Moldava (former Bessarabia), Steinbarg received extensive Jewish instruction from kabbalist Yosele Dayen, and was self-taught in Russian and German literature. Like his older cousin, Hebrew writer Judah *Steinberg, he was a teacher, and, for many years, director of a Hebrew-Yiddish school in Lipkany. In 1911, Steinbarg met with Ḥ.N. *Bialik and Y.Ḥ.*Rawnitzki in Odessa; their plan to publish Steinbarg's fables was abandoned with the outbreak of World War I. From 1919 until his death, Steinbarg lived with his wife, Rivke, in Czernowitz, where Jewish national consciousness was finding increasing expression. A keen Hebraist, Steinbarg was also a proponent of Yiddish phonetic orthography. He published an illustrated Yiddish primer (*Alef-Beys*, 1921) and a Yiddish-language method for learning Hebrew (*Alfon*, 1921), intertwining the pedagogy of *taytsh* with the aesthetic pleasure of whimsy. From 1920 to 1928, he was the animating force behind Yiddish-language children's theater and summer camps. He was director of a Sholem Aleichem school in Rio de Janeiro (1928–30), before returning to Czernowitz, where he resumed the leadership of Yiddishist cultural activities. The 20th anniversary of the Czernowitz Language Conference saw the publication of *Durkh di Briln* ("Through My Eyeglasses"), a limited edition of 12 of Steinbarg's rhymed fables, and was the occasion for the "discovery" of literary Yiddish Romania, then at its apogee, whose towering figures were two "neo-folk poets," Steinbarg and Itsik *Manger. While public performances of Steinbarg's fables had long been popular locally, it was through Herz Grossbart's artistic recitals that these Yiddish tales gained international renown. When Steinbarg died in March 1932, his collection *Mesholim*, was in galley proofs. Published a few months later, the book became a bestseller; the texts have been widely translated and anthologized. *Mayselekh* ("Short Stories) was published in Czernowitz (1936), and a supplementary volume of fables, *Mesholim II*, in Tel Aviv (1956). The revised, standard edition of *Mesholim* (with 150 fables) was issued in 1969. Rivke Steinbarg died in Israel in 1968. In 1972, Eliezer Steinbarg's archives were donated to the National and University Library (Jerusalem) by her brother, Yehudah Heilprin, and Eliezer Steinbarg's siblings, Shemuel and Rivke. Steinbarg is the outstanding master of the Yiddish fable both in content and form. An admixture of mordant wit, trenchant analysis, and deep humanism, the fables are largely indeterminate and rarely offer a clear moral. Each protagonist is depicted through characteristic syntax and discourse; the speaking subjects include lyric figures, animals, and inanimate objects, notably exploring power relations. Fables of alphabetic characters (*oysyes*) are particularly innovative. Steinbarg combines motifs from traditional Hebrew study with modern literary language informed by conversational folk sources. He also enriched Yiddish culture with new idioms and reshaped proverbs.

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[Nikki Halpern (2nd ed.)]

STEINBERG, Canadian family. Montreal's Steinberg family history exemplifies the classic model of poor immigrants from humble origins who succeeded in business and amassed a large fortune. The family immigrated to Montreal from Hungary in 1911. They eked out a living largely through the efforts of IDA ROTH STEINBERG, who opened in 1917 a small grocery store on St. Lawrence Boulevard in the heart of the immigrant area. IDA and WILLIAM STEINBERG (Sternberg in Hungary) had six children, of whom SAM STEINBERG (1905–1978) was the second eldest and ultimately the most prominent. All six children worked in the family store but Sam proved to be especially bright, talented, and innovative. He was also highly motivated and had a remarkable entrepreneurial sense. As a young man, he became the dominant figure in the family enterprise and guided the firm as it became a main grocery chain serving the Quebec consumer and an integral part of the Quebec scene. Under Sam's leadership the Steinberg's supermarket chain also expanded beyond Quebec into Ontario and had major interests in the United States. Known for quality products, innovation, top customer service, and high ethical business standards, through the second half of the 20th century the Steinberg's chain was recognized as one of the most successful Jewish-owned companies closely associated with the growth of the Montreal Jewish community.

Sam Steinberg controlled the company until his death in 1978. While he was alive, the company also remained very much a family business, employing many family members, though this ultimately proved to be a weakness. Of the other Steinberg siblings, NATHAN played a key role as a senior vice president and Sam's right-hand man. In the next generation, Sam's son-in-law, MEL DOBRIN, became president of the firm and Nathan's son ARNOLD STEINBERG was executive vice president. By the 1970s, however, the family enterprise encountered difficulties adapting to the changing business conditions. The situation became more acute after Sam died with no clear succession plan in place. Deteriorating relationships between the family and the firm's professional management and among several family members led to discord, much of which became public, and ultimately resulted in the sale of the company in 1989.

Sam Steinberg's two obsessions were the business and his family. He had little time for community activities and was often at odds with Sam *Bronfman, the titular leader of the Montreal Jewish community during Sam Steinberg's active years. Nevertheless Steinberg did head the organizing committee for the Pavilion of Judaism at Expo '67, Montreal's world fair. He also served as president of the Montreal Jewish General Hospital and was active in the Canadian Council of Christians and Jews.

Most of the Steinberg clan, nearly 100 descendants of Sam Steinberg and his five siblings, remain in Montreal, where several have played significant roles in and provided financial support to Jewish and large community activities. Despite the healing of some of the family rifts that developed before the sale of the family business, the family no longer acts as a coherent unit.

[Harold M. Waller (2nd ed.)]

STEINBERG, AARON (1891–1975), author and philosopher. Steinberg, a brother of Isaac Nahman *Steinberg, was born in Dvinsk, and studied in Russia and Germany. During World War I he was interned in a German village. After the war Steinberg helped to found an institute of learning in Leningrad where the intellectual leaders of Russian Jewry came together to sponsor and create new cultural values. Here and at the university, Steinberg lectured on the history of Jewish philosophy. He was a close friend of Simon Dubnow, with whom he collaborated. The climate, however, soon became unfriendly for Jewish scholars and in 1922 he moved to Berlin, where he helped to establish the Gesellschaft für Juedische Wissenschaft, as well as the Yiddish Scientific Institute, *YIVO. He published a book on Dostoevsky's *Philosophy of Freedom* and was co-editor of the Yiddish *Algemeyne Entsiklopedye*, which after many years was continued in London under the title *Jewish People, Past and Present.* It was Steinberg's translation of Dubnow's ten-volume *World History of the Jewish People* that made Dubnow well known in German-speaking countries. Together with Dubnow, he wrote a three-volume *History of the Jewish People* published shortly before World War II. He also edited a memorial volume to mark Dubnow's centenary in 1960, *Simon Dubnow: The Man and His Work (1860–1960)* (1963). Steinberg wrote fluently in Hebrew, English, Yiddish, French and German and his scholarly articles were published in various journals. He settled in England in 1934 and headed the Cultural Department of the World Jewish Congress until 1971. He was Honorary President of the Association of Jewish Journalists and Authors.

[Josef Fraenkel]

STEINBERG, AVRAHAM (1947–), Israeli physician and ethicist. Born in Germany, Steinberg immigrated with his parents as an infant to Israel (1949). After graduating high school Steinberg studied at Yeshivat Merkaz ha-Rav Kook in Jerusalem (1965–66). He then studied medicine at the Medical School of Hebrew University-Hadassah in Jerusalem and graduated in 1972. After serving in the army as a medical officer in the Air Force (1973–76), Steinberg trained in pediatrics at the Shaare Zedek Medical Center in Jerusalem, and in pediatric neurology at the Albert Einstein College of Medicine and at Montefiore Hospital Medical Center in the Bronx, New York (1976–82). Steinberg has worked as a senior pediatric neurologist at Shaare Zedek and Bikkur Cholim Hospitals in Jerusalem, as well as in the various health maintenance organizations in Jerusalem. Between 1986 and 1999 Steinberg served as secretary and treasurer of the Israel Society of Pediatric Neurology. From 1969 Steinberg researched and published extensively in the fields of general and Jewish medical ethics, history of medicine and medicine and law. He wrote many papers in Israeli and international journals, and he lectured in medical ethics at the Hebrew University Medical School as well as in many national and international forums. Steinberg chaired several national committees on medical-ethical issues, including the National Israeli Committee for Evaluation of Living Organ Donors, the National Advisory Committee to the Minister of Health for Enacting a Law Concerning the Terminally Ill, the National Advisory Committee for Amendments of the Anatomy and Pathology Law, and the National Forum Concerning Organ Donations in Israel. In 1999 Steinberg received the Israel Prize for his monumental work *Encyclopedia of Jewish Medical Ethics* (1988–98, 2,740 pp.). Steinberg was the director of the Medical Ethics Unit and senior pediatric neurologist, Shaare Zedek Medical Center, Jerusalem, Israel.

[Bracha Rager (2nd ed.)]

STEINBERG, ISAAC NAHMAN (1888–1957), Russian revolutionary, jurist, writer, and leader of the *Territorialist movement. He was born in Dvinsk (Daugavpils, Latvia) into a family in which Jewish tradition and Haskalah coexisted. His father was a well-established merchant and his mother was the sister of the Yiddish literary critic *Baal-Makhshoves. Steinberg received a traditional Jewish education, which had a marked influence on him until the end of his life. He studied law at Moscow University, from which he was expelled because of revolutionary activities. In 1910 he completed his legal studies at Heidelberg University, receiving the title of Doctor of Laws for his dissertation *Die Lehre vom Verbrechen im Talmud* (1910; "Penal Law in the Talmud"), published as a book. For a few years before the outbreak of World War I he practiced as a lawyer in Moscow.

Steinberg had begun his revolutionary activity in 1906, when as a student he joined the Social Revolutionary Party. He was arrested, imprisoned, and exiled abroad. In 1910 he returned to Russia. After the February 1917 Revolution, when the Social Revolutionary Party split up, Steinberg joined its left-wing faction. When the faction joined the first Soviet government headed by Lenin, Steinberg represented his party in it serving as commissar for law (minister of justice) from December 1917 to March 1918. After the split between the left-wing Social Revolutionaries and the Bolsheviks Steinberg was arrested several times. He left Russia, and from 1923 lived in Berlin. There he acted as representative abroad for his party, and went on lecture tours on its behalf. From 1933 to 1939 Steinberg lived in London, and in 1943 settled in New York. There, among other activities, he was a member of the board of directors of *YIVO, on whose behalf he made several journeys to South Africa and South America.

Steinberg began his literary activity by contributing to legal and general periodicals in Russia. Subsequently he continued as one of the editors of party organs in Moscow and Berlin. He also contributed to the general socialist press, and to the Yiddish *Zukunft* in New York. From 1926 to 1937 Steinberg published and edited the series in Yiddish *Fraye Shriftn farn Yidishen Sotsialistishn Gedank* in which he attempted to formulate his ideas in the spirit of ethical socialism, which combined Jewish ethics with the ideal of universal justice and human solidarity. From 1943 to 1956 he edited the monthly *Oyfn Shvel* of the Freeland League, founded by Ben *Adir. Apart from numerous articles of literary and political interest, Steinberg published a series of books in Russian, Yiddish, and German on the Russian Revolution, which were translated into English and other languages. He also wrote a social drama in German, *Der Dornenweg* ("The Thorny Path," 1927; Yid. trans. 1928), which was produced in Germany. His best-known book is his comprehensive work on the Russian revolutionary Maria Spiridonova (Eng., 1935; Yid., 1936; Heb., 1936). His socialist credo is expressed in his *Der Moralisher Ponim fun der Revolutsiye* ("The Moral Aspect of the Revolution," Yid., 1925; Rus., 1925); *Gewalt und Terror in der Revolution* (Ger., 1931); *In the Workshop of the Revolution* (1953; 1955). He wrote on his brief experience as minister of justice in Russia in *Als ich Volkskommissar war* (Ger., 1929; *Memoirs of a People's Commissar*, Eng., 1931; Yid., 1931).

His activity in the Territorialist movement forms a special chapter in Steinberg's life. Hitler's rise to power in Germany, and subsequently the outbreak of World War II, led him to advocate the idea of Territorialism. He argued that the safety of European Jews could not await a change in the British policy in Palestine, and accordingly founded the territorialistic Freeland League which advocated Jewish colonization in other countries. In pursuit of this aim Steinberg went to Australia and proposed the creation of an autonomous Jewish colony in the northwestern Kimberley. His efforts failed, however, the Australian government being prepared to accept Jewish refugees but not to tolerate a separate national unit on its territory. After the failure of the Australian project, Steinberg promoted a similar plan, though on a more limited scale, in Surinam, which also ended in failure. He wrote on his ideas on Territorialism and attempts to put them into practice in *Geleblt un Gekholemt in Australie* (Yid., 1945; *Australia – The Unpromised Land*, Eng., 1948), and to some extent also in *Mit Eyn Fus in Amerike* (1951), on personalities, events, and ideas.

Steinberg's was an unusual personality, in which varying and seemingly conflicting elements combined. While an extreme left-wing revolutionary, and among the leaders of the party which relied on the Russian peasant, Steinberg was an observant Orthodox Jew, with Jewish national ideas, and active in Jewish politics. He was a prolific writer, with a lucid style, as well as an accomplished speaker and controversialist.

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[Simha Katz]

STEINBERG, JACOB (1887–1947), Hebrew poet, short story writer, and essayist; born in Belaya Tserkov in the Ukraine. Little is known of his early life, except what may be gathered from his short stories and novelettes. These, with their portrayal of poverty, family squabbles, the vagaries of self-education, revolt against tradition, and flight to the city suggest the usual background of a Hebrew writer in Eastern Europe prior to World War I. At 14 Steinberg ran away to Odessa where he met Ḥ.N. Bialik, who encouraged him, and Z. Shneour, who became his close friend. In 1903 he moved to Warsaw where he published his first Hebrew poem and contributed to Hebrew and Yiddish periodicals, winning literary acclaim in both languages. At the outbreak of World War I he immigrated to Palestine and, except for the years 1923 to 1925 spent in Berlin, lived out his life there. In Palestine he ceased writing Yiddish and contributed regularly in Hebrew to *Ha-Po'el ha-Za'ir*, *Moledet*, and *Davar*. From 1942 he was one of the editors of *Moznayim*, the literary periodical of the Hebrew Writers' Association. His Hebrew writings were republished in 1957 as part of the Dvir Classical Library. The collected works appeared in 1964.

Poetry and Poetics

Steinberg's work is highly original, notwithstanding that he was not an innovator. Though he never acknowledged any influence, that of Bialik is clearly discernible in his earlier poems and short stories. But his insight into the work of Baudelaire and Verlaine and the lesson derived from the Russian realists are equally evident in what may be described as his "spiritual realism."

In his quest for flawless form, in his pained introspection, and in his objection to the excesses of didacticism, he is thus reminiscent of Baudelaire. The recurrent mood of ennui with its accompanying motifs of decay, poison, tombs, and riddles also recalls the French poet and the later symbolists. From Baudelaire and his disciples he apparently derived the doctrine of enigmatic affinities, also sharing their predilection for analogy and oxymorons.

Like the symbolists, Steinberg distrusts descriptive verse; the poet, he maintains, should neither initiate nor analyze but uncover the essential correspondences between things. Analogy alone reveals that things are not haphazard, opaque, or fragmentary. It alone can ensure the conception of a unified world which is the sum total of all its analogies brought together by poetic imagination. The poet is thus capable of reconciling opposites without diminishing their polar tension, the latter being the key to and the manifestation of the mystery of life.

Steinberg's style, essentially biblical, deliberately archaic, with a manifest contempt for "the lightsome present," is nevertheless exact and specific. He is perhaps the only modern Hebrew poet who succeeded in forging a biblical style into an adequate tool for the expression of a basically modern sensibility, without recourse to pastiche or a technique of fragmentation. Despite its insistence on the discovery of new relationships, his poetry is not given to modernistic analogies that "make it new" by their sheer incongruity. On the contrary, he often resorts to a conventional imagery which comes alive by dint of a single word or expression. The main strength of his idiom lies in the endowment of abstract spiritual entities with almost sculptural concreteness. His phrases and word formations, ostensibly biblical but intrinsically his own, cannot be paraphrased and would greatly lose in translation. They epitomize fully realized moments drawn from intense personal experience yet emanating, as it were, from the wisdom of the ages. These "moments," enigmatic "documents of life," as he calls them, are not susceptible to logical reduction but they are equally hostile to the spirit of generalizing abstractions and are not satisfied with mere "musical" vagueness – qualities Steinberg disliked in poetry as in life. Hence his predilection for the powerful realism in the narrative books of the Bible.

Steinberg's emphasis on such pregnant moments is reinforced by a theoretical preoccupation with the smallest structural and semantic unit – the verse line and the single word, provided it contains what he calls "an epic of life." He saw the history of Hebrew literature as a gradual estrangement from the life-engendering verse line and as an immersion in rhetorical garrulity, inattentive to life or inimical to it. The very indifference of the Jew to aesthetic perception is symptomatic of the malaise of an uprooted people. Whoever envisages a future for Jewish poetry, he argues, envisages a future for the Jewish nation. The return of Hebrew poetry to the "line" implies the return of the Jew to normal life.

More than any of his contemporaries, Steinberg thus pointed out the major weakness of contemporary Hebrew literature of his day, though his own poetry was not always untainted by the very things he abhorred. His condemnation of a cliché-ridden rhetoric constituted a reaction against a tradition which had exhausted itself, and, in the eyes of its modern opponents, had adulterated the language of poetry. Like the imagists, Steinberg sought to return to the hard core of poetry, which he too calls image. His assertion that at the dawn of a new epoch the image-analogy is first to awaken to a new life, is the essence of the imagist credo. As prototype of his image, Steinberg points to the ambiguous word-entity fashioned by biblical realism. The ancient Hebrews, he argues, were unskilled in the arts of building and sculpture but excelled in sculpting abstract notions into word monuments. In this resides the strength of the Hebrew language itself whose words are "chiseled, solid stones, not formless sand as in Slavic and Germanic tongues." This insistence on hardness and meaningful directness is evinced in Steinberg's late lyrics and in his accomplished love poems in which he evokes the experience with unsparing truthfulness and almost scientific detachment. On the whole his poetry marks one of the most impressive achievements of modern Hebrew literature.

Stories

Steinberg wrote some 20 stories whose themes and landscapes are taken mainly from the life of the Jewish communities in the small towns of the Ukraine. These depict a lowly world of frustration, unhappy love affairs, the squalor of an existence under constant persecution – a world stirred by the echoes of far-off change and revolution. Most of them resolve in death, defeat, suicide, the waste of strong passions doomed to slow extinction and transformed into forces of destruction.

Out of this gallery of uprooted, washed-out, withered souls – portrayed with restraint, with close attention to the pregnant minor detail, and without a trace of melodrama – rises a specter of the writer's own early incurable afflictions.

But beyond autobiography, the stories are a psychological study of the rootless Jew in the midst of a hostile world. Here

Steinberg allies himself with J.H. Brenner, S.Y. Abramovitsh (Mendele Mokher Seforim), and a long succession of Jewish writers in a blunt scrutiny of what he considers the only race of man forced out of the orbit of nature and living for the sake of death in the absence of any earthly purpose to devote itself to. The condemnation of the *galut* is absolute, but even when describing the Diaspora Jew as "a freakish specter," Steinberg remains the observer rather than the preacher. The sense of a common lot and the echoes of pogroms turn this predicament, too, into an occasion of self-revelation. This is where the stories and the poems touch.

Essays

His essays, ostensibly written about "occasional" subjects, are set in the realities of Ereẓ Israel. Whether he writes about the *ḥamsin*, the atmosphere of the café, or the plethora of languages in the city of his day, he constantly reverts to the subject that haunts him: the impoverished spiritual life of a small and arid community of immigrants, as opposed to the glory that was Judah. These essays, halfway between the conventional essay form and the prose poem, do not register fleeting moods or impressionistic intimacies, but adhere to the lesson Steinberg learned from the Bible (one of the few masterpieces, he maintains, in which a whole nation revealed its soul) and from the nature of the Hebrew language as he interpreted it.

Despite their affinity to Zionist ideology, his ideas, couched like his poems in biblical language, are concerned with and addressed to the select few. Indeed, the strengthening of the individual is seen by Steinberg as the main task of Hebrew renascence.

The essays won a wider acclaim than the poems. Only after the War of Independence, with the advent of a new generation of Hebrew writers inveighing against the rhetorical excesses of their predecessors, were his works more closely read and revalued.

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[Natan Zach]

STEINBERG, JOSHUA (1825–1908), Hebrew writer, linguist, and teacher, son-in-law of A.B. Lebensohn (Adam ha-Kohen). A graduate of the Vilna Government Rabbinical Seminary, Steinberg served as a government-appointed rabbi in Bialystok and Vilna (1860–66), and was active in the establishment of governmental Russian-Jewish schools. In 1867 he was appointed lecturer in Hebrew and Aramaic at the Vilna Rabbinical Seminary and was censor of Hebrew books from 1883 to 1905. From time to time Steinberg wrote articles in which he preached the ideas of the Haskalah. The body of his work was connected with the study of Hebrew and its grammar. He wrote textbooks in Russian for the study of Hebrew and Aramaic; translated the Pentateuch and several books of the Prophets into Russian with Hebrew and Russian commentary; compiled a Russian-Hebrew dictionary (1880), and a frequently reprinted Russian-Hebrew pocket dictionary. In his book of grammar, *Ma'arekhei Leshon Ever* (1884), he employed his own method, whose main principle was the acceptance of the Ashkenazi pronunciation of vowels and the use of two- and three-letter roots. His biblical dictionary, *Mishpat ha-Urim* (1891; revised edition, *Millon ha-Tanakh*, 1940), has retained its value. Steinberg was a scrupulous purist who wrote only in the biblical idiom. Aḥad Ha-Am, who printed his article "*Toledot ha-Safah ve-Torat Darwin*" ("History of Language and Darwin's Theory," in: *Ha-Shilo'aḥ* (2 (1897), 24–37)), referred to his writings as examples of the inability of biblical style to express modern scientific thought. Steinberg greatly influenced the methods of teaching Hebrew language and grammar.

His works also include: translation of M.J. Lebensohn's poems into German, *Gesaenge Zions* (Vilna, 1859); epigrams and proverbs, *Or la-Yesharim* (1865); and three chapters of *Sybilline Oracles* translated into Hebrew in *Ha-Me'assef* (Warsaw, 1886).

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[Yehuda Slutsky]

STEINBERG, JUDAH (1863–1908), writer and Hebrew educator. Born into a ḥasidic family in Lipkany (Bessarabia), Steinberg became attracted to Haskalah and taught himself Russian, science, and mathematics. His first book, *Niv Sefatayim* (1893), a writing manual, was unsuccessful, and Steinberg himself burned many copies of the book. His book of proverbs, *Ba-Ir u-va-Ya'ar* (1923^2), was warmly received as was *Siḥot Yeladim* (1899), a children's story book. In 1897 Steinberg became a teacher in Leovo. His failing health forced him to give up teaching and in 1905 he went to Odessa and there served briefly as the correspondent of the New York Yiddish daily *Di Warheit*.

Steinberg wrote many stories, which he published in Hebrew and Yiddish journals, and several textbooks. His children's stories were drawn from contemporary society and written in a simple style which combined biblical, mishnaic, and midrashic Hebrew. His heroes are Jews of all types depicted in romantic fashion with all their faults and virtues. Many of his stories deal with the Hebrew teachers of his time and their attitude toward their students. His attempts to write longer stories, "*Av u-Veno*" and "*Dr. Orlov*," were unsuccessful.

Steinberg's ḥasidic stories reflect the positive romantic attitude of Hebrew writers to Ḥasidism which in his day began to replace the critical view held by earlier modern Hebrew authors. He does not write about the great figures of Ḥasidism or about the movement's central problems, but concentrates on the simple, humble ḥasid, in all his innocence and optimism (*Gedalyahu ha-Tam*). Perhaps his most popular work is *Ba-Yamim ha-Hem* (1906), a moving, long short story depicting the suffering of a young *cantonist. After his death, his works were published by the Odessa literary circle, in six volumes (two of them, stories for young readers); several collections of his Yiddish stories were also published. A list of English translations of his works appears in Goell, Bibliography, 79, 96, 97.

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[Yehuda Slutsky]

STEINBERG, MARTIN R. (1904–1983), U.S. medical administrator. Born in Russia and educated in the U.S., he was appointed assistant professor of otolaryngology at the graduate school of the University of Pennsylvania in 1935. In 1948 he became director of New York City's Mount Sinai Hospital and in 1964 he was also appointed professor and chairman of the department of administrative medicine of the Mount Sinai School of Medicine. He was president of the Greater New York Hospital Association and of the Hospital Association of New York State.

STEINBERG, MAXIMILIAN OSSEJEVICH (1883–1946), composer and teacher. Born in Vilna, Steinberg graduated from St. Petersburg University (1907, natural sciences faculty) and St. Petersburg Conservatory (1908, composition). Being the student and son-in-law of Rimsky-Korsakov, Steinberg followed his tradition and edited many of his scores and books (including *Foundations of Orchestration* (2 vols., 1913). His career developed from teaching composition and orchestration at the St. Petersburg Conservatory from 1908 until the end of his life. There he was dean of the faculty from 1917 to 1931 and vice rector from 1934 to 1939. Steinberg's compositions were influenced by his master, and by his interest in Asiatic music. He wrote five symphonies and other orchestral works, ballets, and chamber and piano music. Many prominent Soviet composers were Steinberg's pupils, including Dmitri Shostakovich, Vladimir Shcherbachev, and Yuri Shaporin.

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[Marina Rizarev (2nd ed.)]

STEINBERG, MILTON (1903–1950), U.S. Conservative rabbi. Steinberg was born in Rochester, New York, and ordained a rabbi by the Jewish Theological Seminary (1928). His first congregation was in Indianapolis, Indiana, and in 1933 he moved to the Park Avenue Synagogue in New York, an institution that was still part of the Reform movement and lived in the shadow of the larger and more prestigious institutions that were nearby, Kehillath Jeshurun with Rabbi Joseph *Lookstein as its leader and Temple Emmau-El and Central Synagogue. Steinberg brought the synagogue into the Conservative movement. He attracted new members and built up the congregation. He was a fine preacher. An ardent Zionist, he worked with the Zionist Organization of America and also with Hadassah. Park Avenue Synagogue is now among the most prestigious in the Conservative Movement. A student of Morris Raphael *Cohen, Steinberg was concerned with a philosophical approach to Judaism. He dealt with issues such as the nature of God, His relation to humanity and history, the problem of evil, the confrontation of faith and reason, and so forth. While at the seminary, the most profound influence on Steinberg was Mordecai M. *Kaplan. Steinberg was early identified with Kaplan's Reconstructionist movement and was one of the founders of its publication. For a year he was managing editor of *The Reconstructionist* (1937), and in the 1940s helped edit the *Reconstructionist Sabbath Prayer Book* (1945) that was widely criticized in traditional circles for its abandonment of the chosen people concept and the sacrificial order. Steinberg later expressed criticism of the movement. His main points were that while Reconstructionism was a sound ideology, it lacked a philosophic concern and was deficient in poetry. Steinberg's novel, *As a Driven Leaf* (1939), was considered one of the best novels written with the talmudic period as a background. The work deals with the heretic *Elisha ben Avuyah and the conflict of religion and philosophy which his life represents. Elisha eventually realizes that one is not superior to the other but both are based upon the acceptance on faith of undemonstrated basic premises. This realization prevents Elisha from denouncing religion as inferior. The work is still read more than 65 years after its writing and is still a fine orientation to the time of Rabbinic Judaism. *The Making of the Modern Jew* (1934) was Steinberg's attempt to sort out the history of the Jew and the meaning of that history for a Jew in the 20th century. The book did not actually deal with the 20th century, and Steinberg published *A Partisan Guide to the Jewish Problem* (1945) which, although not a sequel, gave indication of the type of modern Jew that he believed would emerge from this interplay of past and present. His work *Basic Judaism* (1947) enjoyed wide popularity as an attempt to set down the basics of the Jewish religion. It, too, is still widely read, especially by those who are becoming Jews by choice. In addition, Steinberg was active in Zionist circles and devoted much time to furthering the Zionist cause in the U.S. A number of volumes of essays were published posthumously: *A Believing Jew* (1951); *From the Sermons of Milton Steinberg* (1954); and *Anatomy of Faith* (1960).

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[Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

STEINBERG, PAUL (1926–2005), U.S. Reform rabbi, psychologist, academician. Steinberg was born in New York City and attended the College of the City of New York, where he earned a B.S. (1946) and M.S. (1948) and served as a fellow in the Department of Education (1946–48). During those years leading up to the creation of the State of Israel, he worked for Americans for *Haganah, an organization that smuggled arms to Jewish fighters in mandatory Palestine. A disciple of Stephen S. *Wise, he was ordained at the *Jewish Institute of Religion in 1949 and received an Ed.D. from Teachers College, Columbia University in 1961. In 1985, he was awarded an honorary D.H.L. by Baltimore Hebrew University. The recipient of a Guggenheim Fellowship for Research and Travel in Israel, he served as a visiting lecturer in the School of Social Welfare and the Department of Education at the *Hebrew University in Jerusalem (1949–50). Returning to the United States, he became director of the *B'nai B'rith Hillel Foundation at the University of California in Berkeley (1950–52) before entering the pulpit rabbinate at Temple Israel of Northern Westchester, Croton-on Hudson, N.Y. (1952–57). He also served as chaplain of the Franklin D. Roosevelt Veterans Administration Hospital in Montrose, N.Y. (1952–57) and lectured at the New York University School of Education (1956).

In 1958, Steinberg accepted a full-time appointment as associate professor at the New York campus of the Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion, where he had been a part-time instructor for the two preceding years. In 1961, he was elevated to professor of human relations and education and dean, a position he retained until 1985. In addition to being responsible for all the departments at the school that train rabbis, cantors and educators, he served as executive dean of the HUC Biblical and Archaeological School in Jerusalem (1963–70), as well as director of the American Office of the HUC-JIR Jerusalem School and director of the Summer Programs in Israel, including archaeological excavations. Steinberg is credited with inaugurating the New York institution's Year-in-Israel Program for its students (1971) and establishing an Israel Rabbinical Program in the 1980s to strengthen Progressive Judaism in Israel. He also helped develop a music degree program and set up satellite schools in the suburbs offering certification in Jewish education.

A New York State Department of Education Research Fellow in Israel (1967) and Eleanor Sinsheimer Distinguished Service Professor in Jewish Religious Education and Human Relations (1970), Steinberg was a member of the board of directors of the Council of Higher Educational Institutions of the City of New York (1957–1973). In 1985, he was named HUC-JIR's vice president for communal affairs and dean of faculty, serving in that post for 20 years. He was HUC-JIR's longest serving dean when he succumbed to illness at the age of 79.

A certified psychologist, Steinberg combined his academic career with a professional one outside the halls of academe: he was a consultant to industry and management at Richardson, Bellows & Henry (1958–60) and a professional associate at BFS Psychological Associates of New York. He was also an expert examiner for the New York State Civil Service Commission and a speaker at executive development seminars conducted by the Department of Defense and the American Management Association. In addition, he was a member of the Boards of Trustees of the Albright Institute of Archaeological Research – American Schools of Oriental Research (Jerusalem, Israel) and of the Jewish Braille Institute of America as well as a Fellow of the American Association for the Advancement of Science.

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[Bezalel Gordon (2nd ed.)]

STEINBERG, SAUL (1914–1999), U.S. artist and cartoonist. Born near Bucharest, Romania, Steinberg studied sociology and psychology at the University of Bucharest but moved to Italy and received a doctoral degree in architecture from the Reggio Politecnico in Milan in 1940. There, he began his career as an artist, founding a magazine with Giovanni Guareschi, an Italian novelist, and began publishing his drawings. His visual language was a thin sharp line that was always remarking on its own existence. Often his drawings poked fun at the art of drawing, the artist growing out of his own pen and winding up as a square, or becoming entangled in his own fancies, or unable to break out of a never-ending spiral. His art also played on the theme of emigration and the bureaucratic guises of identity: fingerprints, passports, signatures. As a foreign Jew living in Milan under a Fascist regime that was growing more antisemitic, he was awarded his diploma by Victor Emmanuel III, King of Italy, King of Albania, and Emperor of Ethiopia, identified as "of the Jewish race." In 1941, he fled to the United States using what he described as a "slightly fake" passport, one he stamped with his own rubber stamp. It got him to neutral Portugal and then to Ellis Island, from where he was deported to Santo Domingo, Dominican Republic, because the tiny quota of Romanians was already filled. He sent some cartoons to *The New Yorker*, hoping the magazine would support his entry into the United States. His first *New Yorker* drawing appeared on October 25, 1941, an artist's playful rendition of a reverse centaur, one with a man's rear end and a horse's head. Steinberg arrived in the United States the following year. In 1943 Steinberg had his first American one-man show. On the same day that he became a United States citizen, he was given an ensign's commission in the Navy. He was assigned to teach Chinese guerillas how to blow up bridges, and for a year flew the mountainous route known as the Hump from China to India, making sure the explosives reached their destinations. He was then sent to North Africa to draw cartoons that would inspire anti-Nazi resistance inside Germany. *The New Yorker* published Steinberg's visual reports from Asia, North Africa, and Europe, and satiric drawings of Nazis. In one, "Benito and Adolf – Aryan Dancers," Mussolini and Hitler are wrestling half naked. His wartime work was published in *All in Line* (1945), the first of many collections of his drawings. In 1946, the year Steinberg was discharged from the Navy, he won his first recognition as a serious artist, when his work was included in "Fourteen Americans" at the Museum of Modern Art in New York. After the war his style changed, becoming more abstract, philosophic, and symbolic. In the 1950s he devised a roster of characters: cats, sphinxes, and empty-looking men and women, then crocodiles, his emblem for primitive political society, horses, and knights. By the 1960s his work was filled with geometrical forms, baroque comic-strip balloons, letters of the alphabet, numbers, and punctuation marks. In the late 1960s and 1970s he did architectural fantasies, watercolor landscapes, and savage pictures of New York street life that indicated a pessimism about urban life. His art was shown at several important venues: Galerie Maeght in Paris (1953) and the Sidney Janis Gallery (1973) in New York, and he had a retrospective at the Whitney Museum of American Art (1978). For *The New Yorker*, he produced 85 covers and 642 drawings. But none was more famous than the New Yorker's conception of the world, which appeared on March 29, 1976, and shows a shortsighted view of the rest of the world, in which everything in the landscape recedes according to its cultural distance from Manhattan. The idea was copied in knockoffs made for London, Paris, Rome, Venice, and just about every other city. Steinberg, as he lamented late in life, was known as "the man who did that poster." More than once Steinberg was photographed with one of his paper-bag masks over his face. That, he once said, is what people do in America, "manufacture a mask of happiness for themselves."

[Stewart Kampel (2nd ed.)]

STEINBERG, WILLIAM (1899–1978), conductor. Born in Cologne, Steinberg became assistant to Otto *Klemperer and later first conductor at the Cologne opera. He was director at the Frankfurt opera (1929–33), and made it into one of the centers of progressive music. From 1933 to 1936 Steinberg was active as conductor in the *Juedischer Kulturbund, and in 1936 went to Palestine upon the invitation of Bronislaw *Huberman to organize the Palestine (later Israel Philharmonic) Orchestra for its premiere under Toscanini. In 1937 he became assistant conductor of the NBC Symphony Orchestra in New York, and subsequently conductor of the Buffalo Philharmonic, the Pittsburgh Symphony, and part-time conductor of the London Philharmonic orchestras. Steinberg was chief conductor of the Boston Symphony Orchestra from 1969 to 1972, when he resigned on account of ill health, but continued as musical director of the Pittsburgh Symphony Orchestra.

STEINBERGER, JACK (1921–), physicist, Nobel laureate. Steinberger was born in Bad Kissingen, Germany, and immigrated to the United States in 1935. He studied at the University of Chicago, from which he received his B.Sc. in chemistry in 1942 and his Ph.D. in physics in 1948. He was a professor at Columbia University from 1950 to 1971, with the title of Higgins Professor from 1967 to 1971.

He was affiliated with the European Center for Nuclear Research (CERN) from 1968, serving as its director from 1969 to 1972. In the early 1960s Steinberger and two colleagues, Melvin *Schwartz and Leon M. *Lederman, using the proton accelerator at Brookhaven National Laboratory near New York, developed a method to detect neutrinos, subatomic particles, with spin of one-half, no electric charge, very small mass, and therefore velocities very close to the speed of light, and very weak interactions, which make them elusive, difficult to detect, but also very useful in the study of the structure of the nucleon. In an experiment performed in 1962 they found a second variety of neutrinos in addition to the neutrino which was known to be emitted by some radioactive nuclei. This was an important step towards the present understanding that elementary particles are grouped in families. For this discovery they were awarded the Nobel Prize in physics in 1988.

STEINBRUCH, AARÃO (1915–1992), Brazilian journalist, lawyer, and politician. The son of a *shoḥet*, Steinbruch was born in Porto Alegre. He was elected as a labor deputy to the Federal Chamber of Deputies in 1950 (serving until 1962) and initiated the law known as "The Thirteenth Salary," which was designed to discourage absenteeism in factories. In 1963 he became the first Jewish federal senator in Brazil representing the Movimento Democratico Brasileiro party (Laborist; serving until 1969), and in 1964 he was elected president of his party. Steinbruch presided over the Federação Israelita do Estado de Rio de Janeiro (Federation of Jewish Societies of the state of Rio de Janeiro) from 1958 to 1962 and visited Israel on several occasions. He was also editor of three journals, *Revista de Justiça, Revista do Trabalho*, and *Tres Poderes*. His wife, JULIA VAENA (1933–), was also a member of the Federal Chamber of Deputies.

[Paul Link]

STEINEM, GLORIA (1934–), U.S. feminist, writer, speaker, co-founder and contributor to *Ms. Magazine*, which became the most prominent mass-circulation feminist journal published and edited by women, from its inception in 1972 until it was sold in the 1980s. Born in Toledo, Ohio, of a Jewish father and a non-Jewish mother, Steinem was baptized in a Congregational church. Educated at home by her mother, she did not attend school regularly until she was 10, when her mostly absent father left the family permanently. Steinem came to link her mother's depression and other psychological ailments to the fact that she had given up her career for marriage, a realization that reinforced Steinem's dedication to the women's movement.

Steinem graduated with highest honors from Smith College in 1956, where she had majored in government. Her 1956 engagement to a Jewish fiancé ended in 1958 after Stein spent two years in India, following an abortion in England. Her abortion experience fueled her later "conversion" to feminism, which she attributed to an abortion rights rally in New York City in 1969. Steinem began her career as a magazine and television writer and became a founding editor of *New York Magazine* in 1968.

A widely sought public speaker and campaigner for women's rights in employment, politics, and social life, Steinem was often characterized as a Jewish feminist. She became a participant in the first feminist women's *seders* which started in 1976 and supported women's and minority rights in other walks of life. Her six books include *Outrageous Acts and Everyday Rebellions* (1983), a bestseller that was translated into 11 languages; *Moving Beyond Words* (1986); *Revolution from Within: A Book of Self-Esteem* (1992); and *Feminist Family Values* (1996). Her numerous essays made a deep impact on the feminist movement and beyond.

Steinem helped found the National Women's Political Caucus in 1971, to encourage women to seek political office and to work for women's rights legislation; co-founded the Women's Action Alliance, to fight discrimination against women; helped found Ms. Foundation for Women in 1972, to assist underprivileged girls and women; and was a founding member of the Coalition of Labor Union Women in 1974. She planned and attended the first of its kind National Women's Conference in Houston, Texas, 1977. Steinem was honored as *McCall's Magazine*'s Woman of the Year, 1972, and was inducted into the National Women's Hall of Fame in Seneca Falls, New York, 1993.

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[Harriet Hartman (2nd ed.)]

STEINER, GEORGE (1929–), literary critic. Born in Paris, Steiner moved to the United States with his family in 1940 and was educated at American and French universities and at Oxford and Cambridge. From 1961 Steiner lived in England, where he was a fellow of Churchill College, Cambridge, and, later, Weidenfeld Professor of Comparative Literature at Oxford. He also held a wide range of visiting positions at universities in America and Europe. His early works include *The Death of Tragedy* (1961); *Anno Domini*, three short novels (1964); and *Language and Silence*, a volume of essays (1964). Steiner was appointed president of the English Association in 1975 and was a fellow of the Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton. His distinguished career was recognized by the universities of East Anglia and Louvain, which both awarded him honorary doctorates.

Steiner's later publications include *Extraterritorial: Papers on Literature and the Language Revolution* (1971) and *In Bluebeard's Castle: Some Notes Towards the Re-definition of Culture* (1971), which contains his most comprehensive theory of modern antisemitism. *After Babel* was published in 1975 and he also published *Martin Heidegger* (1980) and a collection of essays, *On Difficulty and Other Essays* (1978). His reputation as one of the world's leading literary critics was confirmed with the publication in 1984 of the anthology *George Steiner: A Reader.*

Steiner's literary criticism, in later years, was complemented by two works of fiction, *The Portage to San Cristobal of A.H.* (1979) and *Antigones* (1984). Both works won critical acclaim and the 1982 stage version of *The Portage to San Cristobal of A.H.* excited a prolonged exchange of letters and articles on the meaning of the Holocaust and modern antisemitism. Steiner exhibited both an astonishing range as a literary critic and incomparable understanding of Central European Jewish culture. His autobiography, *Errata: An Examined Life*, was published in 1997. He is one of the best-known public intellectuals in contemporary Britain. His wife, Zara Steiner, is also a well-known historian.

[Bryan Cheyette]

STEINER, HANNAH (1894–1944), Czech leader of women Zionists and social worker. She was born in Ceska Lipa. While studying in London before World War I, Hannah Steiner (née Dub), joined the Zionist movement. After her marriage in 1920 to Ludwig Steiner, a secondary school teacher, she settled in Prague. She was one of the founders of the WIZO in Czechoslovakia and its president from its foundation, as well as a member of the executive of world WIZO. From 1927 she edited, with Miriam Scheuer, the *Blaetter Fuer die Juedische Frau*, a women's supplement in **Selbstwehr,* the central Zionist weekly which appeared in Prague. As a result of her influence and leadership, the Czechoslovak WIZO played a central role in the pioneer training of young women, Hebrew education, and in caring for the impoverished Jews of *Sub-Carpathian Ruthenia, the eastern part of Czechoslovakia. Hannah Steiner also was active in general Zionist work, at first within the Radical Party and later within the General Zionists, and in fundraising. When thousands of Jewish refugees fled from Germany to Czechoslovakia in 1933, she and Marie *Schmolka became leaders of the relief committee for refugees (Juedisches Hilfkomité), which later became the Czechoslovak branch of HICEM.

On March 16, 1939, the day after the Nazi occupation of Prague, Hannah Steiner was arrested, but was released a few weeks later. While arranging the *aliyah* of their son and daughter she and her husband chose to remain with their oppressed coreligionists. They were interned in the ghetto of *Theresienstadt, where she was in charge of the relief service for women (*Frauenhilfsdienst*). In 1944 she and her husband were deported to *Auschwitz, where she died in the gas chambers.

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[Chaim Yahil]

STEINER-PRAG, HUGO (1880–1945), Czech painter, etcher, and designer. Steiner-Prag hyphenated his name with that of his native city, Prague, where he was educated. In 1907 he was appointed professor at the State Academy in Leipzig. Dismissed by the Nazis in 1933, he founded a school for applied art in Prague. After 1939, he fled to New York. Steiner-Prag contributed notably to the improvement of book production-typography, binding, jacket, and was known for his illustrations to the classics. In 1936 he designed a *Maḥzor* (a prayer book for the holidays). This proved to be his crowning achievement.

STEINFELD, J.J. (1946–), Canadian playwright, novelist, and short story writer. An only child, Steinfeld was born of Jewish survivors of the Holocaust, Esther (Biezunska) and Leon Steinfeld, in a displaced persons' camp in Munich, Germany. The family migrated to the U.S. in 1947. Steinfeld earned a B.A. from Case Western Reserve University in 1968, moved to Canada in 1972, and earned an M.A. from Trent University (Peterborough, Ontario) in 1978. After being enrolled for a Ph.D. at the University of Ottawa, Steinfeld left after completing his comprehensive exams and moved to Charlottetown, Prince Edward Island, to be a full-time writer. He continued to reside there.

Steinfeld published a novel, *Our Hero in the Cradle of Confederation* (1987) and nine short story collections: *The Apostate's Tattoo* (1983), *Forms of Captivity and Escape* (1988), *Unmapped Dreams: The Charlottetown Stories of J.J. Steinfeld* (1989), *The Miraculous Hand and Other Stories* (1991), *Dancing at the Club Holocaust: Stories New and Selected* (1993), *Disturbing Identities* (1997), *Should the Word Hell Be Capitalized?* (1999), *Anton Chekhov Was Never in Charlottetown* (2000), and *Would You Hide Me?* (2003).

Although his work does not always feature Jewish themes, many of the harrowed protagonists of Steinfeld's Kafkaesque fiction are members of the Second Generation (the children of Jewish survivors of the Holocaust), often artist figures. For these characters, Jewish identity, as refracted through their parents' experience and consciousness as Shoah survivors, threatens both sanity and life. Exploring the nuances of Jewish survival, displacement, memory, and meaning in a post-Shoah world, Steinfeld juxtaposes the horrors of his protagonists' inherited memories and knowledge of genocide with the more mundane reality of a mostly complacent and apathetic Canadian society – often to jarringly powerful effect. "Courtroom Dramas," a story in his latest collection (*Would You Hide Me?*), extends the legacy of the Shoah to the Third Generation. The unnamed protagonist has so fully identified himself with his beloved grandmother and her survival of the death camps that he, in an act of revenge, pushes a man he perceives to be a Nazi (he is wearing a swastika-armband) down an escalator at a Toronto shopping mall, killing him. The story is the poignant account of the protagonist's trial for murder.

Steinfeld won numerous literary awards for his plays (most unpublished) and his fiction, including the Norma Epstein Award for Creative Writing in 1979, the Okanagan Short Story Award in 1984, and the Creative Writing Award from the Toronto Jewish Book Committee in 1990.

[Alexander Hart (2nd ed.)]

STEINGUT, family of U.S. politicians who were leaders of the Brooklyn (New York) Democratic Party. IRWIN (1893–1952), born in New York, combined his law career and real estate and insurance business with diligent work for the Brooklyn Democratic Party, led by John H. McCooey, whom Steingut succeeded in 1934. Entering the state assembly in 1922, he became minority leader in 1930 and speaker in 1935. He was a sponsor of the Unemployment Act of 1935 and the State Social Security Bill (enacted in 1937). Both governors F.D. *Roosevelt and H.H. *Lehman found Steingut valuable in putting through reform legislation they sponsored, including greater state aid for municipalities, rent control measures and more state aid for education, and the establishment of a state university with a medical college. He was also true to his party in opposing many of the *La Guardia reforms of New York City's government. Steingut served as director of the Brooklyn Federation of Jewish Charities and as a trustee of the Hebrew Orphan Asylum. After his death, his son STANLEY (1920–1990) assumed the legislative position and political power of his father in Brooklyn politics, where he maintained the conservative structure and policies of the traditional Democratic machine (from 1953). In 1969 he was made minority leader of the state assembly. At that time he retired from the Democratic leadership of Brooklyn. Subsequently he instituted a statewide campaign against the legislature's cuts in support of education, health, and welfare, favoring tax reforms (specifically, the closing of loopholes) to supply the necessary funds. He served as speaker of the New York State Assembly from 1975 to 1978.

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[Judith S. Stein]

STEINHARDT, JAKOB (1887–1968), painter and printmaker. Born in Zerkow, Germany, he left home in 1906 to study in Berlin, first at the Museum of Arts and Crafts. Thanks to stipends he received from the Jewish community of Posen, he learned engraving under Hermann Struck. From 1909 he studied in Paris under Laurens and Matisse. He returned to Berlin in 1912 and, together with Ludwig Meidner and Richard Janthur, founded the *Pathetiker* Group, with whom he exhibited. Steinhardt was an early disciple of German expressionism, and his early subject matter was almost exclusively religious and social. He served as a soldier in Lithuania and Macedonia during World War I, and his on-the-spot drawings were exhibited in Berlin in 1917. During the war he had been exposed to the misery of Jewish life in the traditional little towns of Lithuania. This traumatic confrontation with the difficulties encountered by Jews was later significant to the content of his art. In 1933 Steinhardt immigrated to Ereẓ-Israel, choosing to live in Jerusalem. In 1949 he was appointed head of the graphics department of the Bezalel School of Art, of which he was director between 1954 and 1957. Awarded many international prizes for his outstanding woodcuts, in 1955 he received the first international prize in graphic arts at the SCO Paulo Biennale, and in 1960 the Arta Liturgica Prize at the Venice Biennale.

Steinhardt's art was recognized by his unique woodcut technique. This technique was adapted and developed in a very "primitive" way by the German Expressionists who influenced his art. Direct carving with sharp edges and forms, as well as strong contrasts of black and white, were part of his method (*Haggadah*, 1921). The romantic themes of death and suffering that appeared in Steinhardt's art were also a reflection of his Expressionist attitude. In 1925 colors were added to the woodcuts. Steinhardt chose a dark tonality instead of the bright sunlight colors he used in his oil paintings. In Jerusalem, during the 1930s and the early 1940s, the woodcuts expressed his depressed mood caused by the horrible information about the Jews in Europe, while they also were concerned with the shtetl atmosphere of the Old City of Jerusalem. Later he articulated his anger against God for allowing the Holocaust to happen, mostly by dealing with biblical themes.

The political situation in Israel became part of Steinhardt's content. A perusal of his art over the years reveals a complicated attitude toward the Arab figures. Hagar, Rachel, Jacob, and Esau expressed the suffering on both sides and the desire for peace. Studies by Prof. Ziva Amishai-Maisels have confirmed this complex process. His later work concentrated on rhythm and color was often introduced, as exemplified in his Ḥasidic scenes.

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[Yona Fischer / Ronit Steinberg (2nd ed.)]

STEINHARDT, JOSEPH BEN MENAHEM (1720–1776), German rabbi and *posek*, Steinhardt studied at the yeshivah of Jacob b. Benjamin ha-Kohen *Poppers, in Frankfurt. In 1746 he lived in Schwabach, Bavaria. He later served as rabbi of Alsace, with his seat at Rixheim. In 1755 he was appointed chief rabbi of Niederenheim in Lower Alsace, and from 1763 until his death served as rabbi of Fuerth. Among his pupils were Mordecai *Banet of Mikulov, Moses Tobiah Sondheimer of Hanau, and Benjamin Ze'ev Wolf *Heidenheim. His fame as a halakhic authority was such that problems were addressed to him from Hungary (his: *Zikhron Yosef* 4c, et al.), Italy (5c, 48a, 87b), Amsterdam (84c), and Switzerland (58b). He maintained a regular correspondence with his brother-in-law, Isaiah b. Judah Leib *Berlin, with whom he communicated on various problems. In his work Steinhardt quotes comments and novellae by his learned wife, Kreindel, Isaiah Berlin's sister; Kreindel also urged her husband to publish his work. He was the author of: *Zikhron Yosef* (Fuerth, 1773), responsa and rulings on the four divisions of the Shulḥan Arukh, with an appendix of his novellae and sermons: *Mashbir Bar* (1828), commentaries on the Pentateuch; and *Ko'aḥ Shor*, novellae to *Bava Batra*. The last two works were published by his grandson, Akiva Steinhardt, the rabbi of Kubin, Hungary. He declined to give a ruling on his own authority in difficult problems, emphasizing that he was one of "those apprehensive of giving rulings," and suggested that the concurrence of authoritative rabbis be sought (*Zikhron Yosef* 39a–b, 65b, 77b, et al.). He took a firm stand on fundamental issues that were likely to undermine morality and religion. He was especially opposed to mixed dancing, and stressed in his responsum that "any rabbi and instructor is obligated to protest and to abolish any type of mixed dancing that is planned for his city during a festival." In the course of his responsa, he describes how he canceled a dance arranged in Niederenheim, even after the Jewish community had obtained permission from the secular authorities (22d no. 17). In the introduction to his responsa he inveighs against the Shabbateans, and particularly against the *Ḥasidim. Because of his inimical attitude toward them, the Ḥasidim took steps to have those sections of his introduction directed at them removed, and in many editions the whole of the introduction is indeed missing.

Steinhardt mentions that he was "greatly punished by the death of children and grandchildren … and few of many remained to him." His son MOSES (d. 1799) was the author of a Judeo-German commentary to the *Sha'ar ha-Yiḥud* of Baḥya's *Ḥovot ha-Levavot* (Fuerth, 1765).

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[Yehoshua Horowitz]

STEINHARDT, LAURENCE ADOLF (1892–1950), U.S. attorney and diplomat. Steinhardt was born in New York City. After his admission to the bar in 1916 he entered the U.S. Army in 1917, moving up from private to a commission and service on the provost marshal general's staff. He was active for a time in the Federation of American Zionists and the American Zion Commonwealth. From 1920 to 1933 he practiced law in his uncle Samuel *Untermyer's firm, Guggenheimer, Untermyer, and Marshall, and wrote articles on medical jurisprudence, labor unions, and economics. One piece attacking President Herbert Hoover's budgetary and financial policies brought him to Franklin D. Roosevelt's attention, and Steinhardt worked for Roosevelt's election in 1932. Roosevelt appointed him minister to Sweden in 1933, the beginning of Steinhardt's 17 years in six diplomatic posts, all but the last of them requiring great resources of judgment in a series of delicate situations. He served in Sweden (1933–37), when the economic effects of the Depression and the political and military problems posed by the rise of Hitler were predominant; as ambassador in Peru (1937–39), when Roosevelt was seeking to solidify a policy of collective security for Latin America; and in the USSR (1939–41), from the time of the nonaggression pact to the German invasion of the Soviet Union. Steinhardt served in Turkey (1942–45), when that country's neutrality was pivotal to the Allied war effort. During his service in Russia Steinhardt lent his influence to the stringent U.S. immigration laws, which from 1940 operated virtually to exclude Jewish refugees. However, as U.S. ambassador in Turkey he vigorously cooperated with the U.S. War Refugee Board, the Jewish Agency, and Ira Hirschmann by persuading that government to permit the entry and passage of European Jews in ever-increasing numbers. The lives of tens of thousands were thus saved through his efforts. He also served in Czechoslovakia (1945–48), when communist pressure built up to the 1948 coup. Steinhardt's last ambassadorial post was in Canada, where he served from 1948 until his death in an airplane crash.

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STEINHARDT, MENAHEM MENDEL BEN SIMEON (1768–1825), rabbi and author. Steinhardt, a nephew of Joseph *Steinhardt, was born in Fuerth. He published his responsa, *Divrei Menaḥem* (Offenbach, 1804), while he served as rabbi in Minden, and in the same year he was appointed rabbi of Hildesheim. When the consistory of the kingdom of Westphalia was set up in 1808 in Cassel by Israel *Jacobson, Steinhardt was appointed one of its members, together with Leib Meir Berlin and Simeon Isaac Kalkar. They were requested by the government to adopt and formulate the constitution and theology of Judaism on the pattern of the French *Sanhedrin established on the initiative of Napoleon. Steinhardt, like the other members of the consistory, aspired to a moderate form of Judaism, an aspiration well reflected in *Divrei Menaḥem* and in *Divrei Iggeret* (Roedelheim, 1812). The latter work was published by his friend Binyamin Ze'ev *Heidenheim, who added notes and glosses to the book. Steinhardt was the first German rabbi to omit portions from the liturgy. One of his well-known lenient rulings – permitting the use of legumes on Passover – aroused the vehement opposition of the Orthodox rabbis. He was one of the first rabbis to deliver sermons in German. In 1810 he taught Talmud at the Teachers' Training Seminary in Cassel. In 1813 he was appointed rabbi of Warburg, and in 1815 became rabbi of Paderborn, where he spent the rest of his life.

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[Abraham David]

STEINHARDT, MICHAEL H. (1940–), U.S. financier. Steinhardt, who was born in Brooklyn, N.Y., became interested in the stock market when his father gave him 200 shares of Penn Dixie Cement and Columbia Gas System stock as a bar mitzvah present. At 13 he began studying brokers' reports. At 16 he enrolled in college, graduating from the University of Pennsylvania's Wharton School of Finance in three years. He began his Wall Street career as a research associate, staff writer, and securities analyst before starting his own company, Steinhardt Partners, where he made a fortune in the risky field of hedge-fund management. In 1995 Steinhardt dissolved four hedge funds managed by the Steinhardt Management Company. From 1967 to 1995, as the manager of nearly $5 billion, the average annual return of his investors was 31 percent, before fees. But in his final years he and his partners paid more than $70 million in fines to settle charges of collusion in a Treasury note-trading scandal. In the early years of the 21st century, his liquid assets of more than $300 million were managed by more than 30 other money managers spread among an array of investments.

A professed atheist, Steinhardt, who grew up in a Jewish household, is especially interested in finding a way to perpetuate what he calls the philosophy of Jewish culture for the next generation of American Jews without relying on theology. He spent millions of dollars financing Jewish day schools, Hillel activities at colleges, trips to Israel for young people, and a drop-in center for young adults in Manhattan. He also became involved with an assortment of higher education institutions. He joined the board of Brandeis University, was chairman of the board of Tel Aviv University, and gave $10 million to the School of Education at New York University, where he was a trustee. The gift, the largest in the school's history, was used to create an endowment to support faculty development, doctoral fellowships, and research. A portion was allocated to support fellowships in a newly established doctoral program in education and Jewish studies offered by the school in collaboration with the Skirball Department of Hebrew and Judaic Studies. The school was renamed the Steinhardt School of Education in 2001.

One of his passions was art. He collected in five areas: ancient art, Judaica, 20th-century works on paper, Peruvian feathered textiles, and Chinese art. A gallery of sixth-century Greek art at the Metropolitan Museum of Art was named after him and his wife, Judy. Horticulture and wildlife were also deep interests, flowing from his love of his estate in Bedford, New York, which he filled with 120 varieties of fruit trees and a large array of wildlife creatures.

[Stewart Kampel (2nd ed.)]

STEINHAUS, HUGO DYONIZY (1887–1972), Polish mathematician. Steinhaus was one of the founders of the so-called Lvov school in mathematics; with S. Banach he founded its organ, *Studia Mathematica*, which he continued to edit. From 1920 to 1941 he was professor at the University of Lvov, and in 1945 became professor at Wroclaw. In 1961–62 he taught at the University of Sussex, England. Apart from serious mathematical works such as *Theorie der Orthogonalreihen*

("Theory of Orthogonal Rows," with S. Kaczmarz, 1935), *Sur la localisation d'objets au moyen des rayons* (1938), and *Sur les fonctions indépendantes* (1948), Steinhaus popularized his subject in books such as *Kalejdoskop matematyczny* (1938; *Mathematical Snapshots*, 1960^2) and *Orzel czy rzeszka* ("Heads or Tails," 1961), and also wrote on the subject of establishing paternity, as in *Dochodzenie ojcowstwa i alimentów* (1958; *Remarks … on the Establishment of Paternity and Maintenance Rights*, 1958).

STEINHEIM, SALOMON LUDWIG (1789–1866), physician, poet, and theologian. Born near Hamburg-Altona, he studied at the University of Berlin and received his medical degree at the University of Kiel. He practiced medicine in Altona from 1813 to 1845 and was active in the struggle for Jewish emancipation in Germany, collaborating in political activity with Gabriel *Riesser (1806–63), and publishing essays in Riesser's literary journal *Der Jude*.

He spent the last 20 years of his life in Rome as a Jewish scholar. There he completed his magnum opus on revelation in Judaism, *Die Offenbarung nach dem Lehrbegriffe der Synagoge*, ("Revelation According to the Doctrine of Judaism"; 4 vols., 1835–65). Steinheim undertook this work to stem the tide of assimilation and conversion to Christianity by Jews emerging from the ghettoes in the post-Napoleonic era to become integrated in a more open society. He aimed to demonstrate the truths of Judaism's revealed religion as superior to the metaphysics of contemporary philosophies and Christian theology. He rejected the attempts of Jewish thinkers to reformulate the revealed doctrines of Judaism in terms or concepts of the philosophic systems of Schelling, Hegel, and other contemporary German philosophers.

The key to Steinheim's work is his contention that reason is deficient in its comprehension of reality. Reason's view of reality is bound by the law of causality. God is "necessarily" existent as the first cause initiating the chain of cause and effect which produced the world, life, and human beings. Reason is bound by another "necessary" principle, *ex nihilo nihil fit*, out of nothing comes nothing. The physical world could not have emerged out of nothing.

Reason is, therefore, compelled to assume the eternity of physical matter, an assumption that clashes with the law of causality, which demands some initiating cause, a beginning in time, contrary to the eternity of physical matter. There is no escape from this contradiction in which reason stumbles over itself except through the revealed doctrine of God as Creator who made the world out of nothing. The idea of God acting in absolute freedom, creating something out of nothing, and, derivatively, the idea of man's freedom of will, independent of the law of causality, cannnot be rationally conceived. Such knowledge can come to us only through revelation.

Steinheim recognized as revelation only doctrines, ideas, principles. Formulations of civil and cultic laws (*Halakhah*) are in Steinheim's view derivative, conditioned by time and place and secondary in importance.

Among his most original thoughts are his criteria for the validation of revelation. One of these is that revelation must have the character of novelty; it must be new truth not previously known, better yet, it must contradict previously held knowledge; it should not coincide with rational awareness since the supreme spirit would not solemnly announce to us truths which we already know or can determine for ourselves.

Another criterion of revelation is its historical appearance in time and place. Natural religion develops out of human consciousness in the course of generations. Divine revelation suddenly bursts upon the scene. It is an unprecedented illumination. Yeḥezkel *Kaufmann and Leo *Baeck also stressed the mystery of monotheism's sudden appearance as a radical departure from a pagan environment of polytheism.

Also cited as validation of revelation is the historical uniqueness of the Jewish people. The unparalleled survival of the Jews testifies to a supernatural element received through revelation.

Steinheim was not an anti-rationalist as charged by his critics, but a supra-rationalist. He used rational arguments with rigorous logic to demonstrate the superiority of revelation over *speculative* reason as a source of ultimate truths. At the same time, he recognized *critical* reason as an indispensable tool with which to detect misunderstandings of revelation and validate its truths. Nevertheless, the charge of anti-rationalism stuck and doomed his work to a century of neglect and obscurity.

Steinheim's isolation was further accentuated by his rejection of both Reform and neo-Orthodoxy. Reform, in his view, had embraced a shallow rationalism and degenerated into a "blind reforming mania." Neo-Orthodoxy was vainly trying to puff up Jewish tradition with zeal for ceremonial observance. Neither side addressed itself to the core of beliefs which is the essence of Judaism.

The revival of Jewish theological thought in the 20th and 21st centuries, initiated by Franz *Rosenzweig, and, in the wake of the Holocaust, disenchantment with the power of reason which had been so tragically overestimated, may make Steinheim's supra-rationalism more acceptable, and he may at last receive the recognition due him as a major Jewish thinker in keeping with Heinrich Graetz's judgment that "no one of his time or earlier, understood the foundations of Judaism as profoundly as did he."

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[Joshua O. Haberman (2nd ed.)]

STEINHERZ, SAMUEL (1859–1944), Prague medievalist. Born in Grassing (Burgenland), Steinherz taught history at the

Prague German University from 1901, and specialized in papal diplomacy, on which he published four volumes (between 1898 and 1914). When Steinherz was elected rector in 1922 he did not follow the custom of Jewish professors of declining the honor but declared that he felt and acted as a German. Antisemitic students' organizations asked for his resignation, organized a strike, occupied the buildings, and prevented Jewish students from entering them demanding the imposition of the *numerus clausus. The riots spread to German universities all over Europe, mainly in Austria. In February 1923, becoming aware of obstruction by his colleagues, Steinherz submitted his resignation, which the Czechoslovak minister of education, Rudolf *Bechyne, a Czech Social Democrat, refused to accept. Finally Steinherz went on leave. The "Steinherz affair" caused a crisis in Jewish circles in Czechoslovakia advocating assimilation into German culture, and influenced Steinherz himself. He turned to research in Jewish history, mainly the epoch of the Crusades. He edited *Die Juden in Prag* (1927) and was among the founders of the Society for History of the Jews in the Czechoslovak Republic in 1928. That year he retired from the university and became head of the society and editor of its yearbook (JGGJČ) throughout its existence, from 1929 until 1938. In 1942, nearly blind, Steinherz was deported to *Theresienstadt. In the camp he lectured on the history of the Jews in Bohemia. He died in Theresienstadt on his 85th birthday.

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[Meir Lamed]

STEINITZ, WILHELM (1836–1900), chess master. Born and educated in Prague, he went to London in the early 1860s and took an active part in the chess life of the city. Soon after his arrival he defeated Blackburne in a match and in 1866 challenged Anderssen for the unofficial championship of the world. Steinitz won, and is often regarded as having been world chess champion for 28 years, until he was defeated by Emanuel *Lasker in 1894. Formally, however, Steinitz became world champion only in 1886, when he defeated *Zukertort in the first official championship match. From 1866 until 1894 Steinitz won all the matches he played (some for title, some informally) against the greatest players including Blackburne, Zukertort (twice), Tchigorin (twice), Gunsberg, and Schiffers. In 1894 he lost the title to Emanuel *Lasker and failed to regain it. He was the first to be aware of the strategic elements in the great tactical performances of players such as Morphy, Anderssen, Blackburne, and Zukertort. On the basis of this analysis he developed the Steinitzian technique which is now a basic principle accepted by all chess players. Steinitz stressed in his teaching the importance (in the opening moves) of the center, the desirability of accumulating small advantages, and above all, the value of a well-integrated defense system, the main components of the so-called classical school of chess strategy. These teachings appear in his book *The Modern Chess Instructor* (2 vols., 1889–95), in the columns of the London *Field*, a journal in which he was the chess editor, and in *The Chess Monthly* which he edited. The latter years of his life were spent in New York, where he died in poverty.

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[Gerald Abrahams / William D. Rubinstein (2nd ed.)]

STEINMAN, ELIEZER (1892–1970), Hebrew writer. Born in Obodovka, Steinman was ordained a rabbi, and began to write at an early age, but it took some time before his first stories appeared in print. Steinman pursued literary work (provided by D. *Frischmann) and was also a part-time Hebrew teacher in Odessa. He contributed regularly to *Ha-Ẓefirah* and worked on translations, which were not published until a later date. During this period, he began to publish long stories ("*Bi-Ymei ha-Besht*," in: *Ha-Ẓefirah*), as well as essays and articles. In 1920 he left Russia. During those unsettled times, having been mistaken for the Yiddish writer Baynush Steinman, a rumor was spread of his death, and he was eulogized in the Hebrew daily press and in literary periodicals, as well as in foreign-language publications. Steinman published "*Teshuvah le-Maspidai* ("Reply to my Eulogists"), in *Ha-Ẓefirah*.

Settling in Warsaw, he continued his regular contributions of stories, essays, and articles to *Ha-Ẓefirah* and wrote for *Der Moment*. Steinman founded the monthly, *Kolot*, which provided a forum for young writers. It was also the first attempt (later expanded in *Ketuvim*) to compare the thought of R. *Naḥman of Bratslav and Aaron Samuel *Tamares (*Aḥad ha-Rabbanim ha-Margishim*; "one of the sensitive rabbis") with those of St. Francis of Assisi, Ibsen, and others. (Eleven numbers of *Kolot* were published in the period 1923–24.) During his Warsaw period he published a collection of stories (*Sippurim*, 1923), a novel (*Ester Ḥayyot*, 1922), a collection of articles (*Sefer ha-Ma'amarim*, 1924), and two Yiddish books of essays and stories on the pogroms against Ukrainian Jews.

In 1924, Steinman settled in Tel Aviv. He wrote for *Haaretz* and *Ha-Olam* and, together with other young writers, became active in the Writers' Union. On behalf of the Union he edited its literary collection *Mesibbah* (1926) and, afterward, its organ *Ketuvim* (1926–33). Here he continued his attempts to find a synthesis between ancient and modern Jewish literature and culture, and world literature. He published stories and novels, including *Zugot* (1930) and *Duda'im* (1931), and collections of essays: *Ha-Yesod ba-Ḥinnukh* (1930), *Meshiḥiyyut* (1930), *Be-Mizreh ha-Zeman* (1931), and *Sha'ar ha-Vikku'aḥ* (1933). When

Ketuvim closed, he became a columnist for *Davar,* also contributing regularly to literary periodicals and collections in Israel and abroad.

Steinman claims that the primary function of a critical essay is to improve man's view on life and art, and that therefore it is permissible and desirable to apply present-day views in studying works of the past. His memoirs contain a great deal of literary gossip. In his reconstruction of the "conversations," Steinman aims at giving a very subjective account of the conversants' views rather than a stenographic recording of their actual remarks.

Steinman was the most prolific Hebrew writer of his generation. While the essays published (in *Davar* and in the book form, *Perudot* (1965)), comprise a large part of his total output, works still in manuscript would fill dozens of volumes of fiction, memoirs, and autobiography. His books included *Sodot* (2 vols., 1938); *Sefer Me'ah Shanah* (with J.J. Trivaks and Y. Yaari-Poliskin, from 1938 onward), on the heroes and pioneers of Ereẓ Israel for the past 100 years and more; *Bi-Netivot ha-Emunah* (1943); *Be-Ma'agal ha-Dorot* (1944); *Koh Amar Frischmann* (1950), conversations and memoirs of Frischmann; *Kitvei Eliezer Steinman*: vol. 1, *Gan-Eden shel Anshei Shelomenu Sippur ha-Sippurim* (1956); vol. 2, *Ha-Beḥirah be-Ereẓ ha-Beḥirah* (1956); vol. 3, *Zeman Hayyeinu* (1956); vol. 4, *Alim me-Eẓ ha-Ḥayyim* (1958); *Perudot* (1965); *Ha-Har ha-Yarok* (1965), stories; *Barekhi Nafshi* (1965), essays; *Sippurim Keẓarim* (1966); *Ha-Yaḥid ve-ha-Olam* (1966), short essays; *Ayin Lo Ra'atah* (1967), stories; *Ha-Melech Ayef* (1968), a story on Saul and David, and *Le-Kol he-Ḥalil* (1968), essays.

In later years he also undertook a massive project designed to make the resources of Jewish culture more readily available by rendering the texts in his own version and adding his own introductory notes and essays. The first book, *Be'er ha-Ḥasidut* (1951), was followed by a series of nine books on Ḥasidism (1958–62) and a collection of ḥasidic stories, *Kankan ha-Kesef* (4 vols., 1969). He also wrote *Be'er ha-Talmud* (4 vols., 1963–65), on the Talmud.

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[Getzel Kressel]

STEINSALTZ (Even Yisrael), ADIN (1937–), Israeli rabbi and author. Born in Jerusalem, Steinsaltz acquired a background in Jewish studies, as well as chemistry, mathematics, and physics, at The Hebrew University of Jerusalem. He was also ordained as a rabbi. After working in education for 13 years in the Negev, he returned to Jerusalem where he taught, did research, and wrote for various periodicals. In 1988 he received the Israel Prize in Jewish Studies.

In 1965 he founded the Israel Institute for Talmudic Publications which undertook the production of a vocalized Babylonian Talmud, accompanied by Hebrew translation and commentary; over 30 volumes of a projected 42 had appeared by the early 2000s. An English translation of the series was begun by Random House, and volumes have appeared in French, Russian, and Spanish. Rabbi Steinsaltz founded the "Mekor Ḥayyim" yeshivah in 1984, an institute which has as one of its aims the bridging of the gap between religious and non-religious Jews. In February 1989 he initiated the founding of a yeshivah in Moscow, called the Center for the Study of Judaism.

Each year Rabbi Steinsaltz lectures widely outside of Israel, and his books, a number of which have been translated into English, such as *The Essential Talmud* (1976)*, The Thirteen-Petalled Rose* (1980), and *Guide to Jewish Prayer* (2000), reach readers the world over. He has published works on Talmud, biblical figures, repentance, stories of Rabbi Naḥman of Bratslav, and other topics. He has also published over 600 papers on Jewish and scientific subjects.

STEINSCHNEIDER, MORITZ (1816–1907), father of modern Jewish *bibliography, among the founders of the "Science of Judaism" (*Wissenschaft des Judentums). Born the son of the Talmud scholar Jacob Steinschneider (1781–1856) and Hani Zadek-Weizenkorn (1792–1859) in Prossnitz, Moravia, Steinschneider received his early education in his native town, where he was influenced by his uncle Gideon *Brecher. He also attended a Christian school and studied music, an interest he maintained throughout his life. At age 13, he entered the yeshivah of R. Nehemiah *Trebitsch and in 1833 he left for Prague to take up secular studies. By that time, Steinschneider had already acquired a thorough knowledge of French and Italian from private tutors. He became a tutor in these languages, and in 1836 received a teacher's diploma for Hebrew in the Hebraeische Lehranstalt in Prague. That same year he left for Vienna, where he began to study Semitic languages; there he made the acquaintance of Leopold *Dukes, who aroused his interest in the study of medieval literature, Hebrew manuscripts, and Jewish bibliography.

In 1839 Steinschneider went to Leipzig. Though he stayed only half a year, this short stay proved crucial for his career as he both studied and formed close relationships with Heinrich L. *Fleischer and Franz *Delitzsch. After six months Steinschneider went on to the university in Berlin, where he also made the acquaintance of Leopold *Zunz and Abraham *Geiger; Zunz especially encouraged the young scholar and provided other forms of assistance. Returning to Prague in 1841, Steinschneider earned a living for three years as a private tutor and teacher in a Jewish girls' school. In 1843 he received a formal rabbinical diploma from the rabbi of his native town, Hirsch B. Fassel, and also a very warm recommendation from Salomon L. *Rapoport. While in Prague, Steinschneider unsuccessfully applied for a number of positions, including censor of Jewish books. After his friend Michael *Sachs left Prague upon accepting an invitation to Berlin, Steinschneider soon followed in 1845. Later, the friendship with Sachs cooled due to his disapproval of Sachs' Orthodox religious tendencies. In Berlin Steinschneider gave private lessons, preached sermons, officiated at weddings, and engaged in occasional work as a translator and author of textbooks for the elementary study of Hebrew. In 1848 he received Prussian citizenship.

In 1859, he received his first regular appointment as lecturer at the Veitel-Heine-Ephraimsche Lehranstalt, where he taught for 48 years. Many of his students later became prominent Jewish scholars, including I. *Goldziher, Solomon *Schechter, Ḥayyim *Brody, Judah L. *Magnes, H. *Malter, A. *Marx, George A. *Kohut. From 1860 to 1869, he was in charge of administering the **oath more judaico*, the Jewish oath. Another regular appointment came in 1869, when Steinschneider became assistant at the Berlin Royal Library, a position he held until his death. In the same year, he also became the head of the girls' school of the Jewish community, a position from which he retired in 1890. In appreciation of his scholarly contributions, the Prussian government made him an honorary professor in 1894. Steinschneider also received several other honors from various universities and academies, including Columbia University in New York (1887). On the occasion of his 80th birthday, a *Festschrift* was published in his honor. Steinschneider was buried as an honorary member of the Berlin Jewish community at the Weissensee cemetery.

Steinschneider's literary output was tremendous; his bibliography contains more than 1,400 items. His main lifelong interest was the study of the relationship between Jewish and general cultures, especially during medieval times. Upon his early realization that the preliminary requirement for carrying out such studies was a thorough and scientific bibliographical record of all available printed and manuscript materials, Steinschneider devoted himself to the preparation of library catalogs and subject bibliographies. In addition to catalogs and bibliographies, he also provided general introductions to Jewish literary history and Jewish booklore. In collecting and organizing the materials for his studies on the role of the Jews in medieval culture, his research led him also to the study of the history of medieval philosophy, especially medieval medicine, the sciences, and mathematics. His works are not only a contribution to Jewish learning, but also to Arabic literature and to general medieval cultural history. Steinschneider regarded his bibliographical, philological, and Oriental studies in Jewish literature as a contribution to general cultural history, which in his opinion was the original object of world history and of all intellectual effort. With this scholarly program, he stood in the tradition of his fatherly friend Zunz.

The following works are of particular note: *Die hebraeischen Uebersetzungen des Mittelalters und die Juden als Dolmetscher* (1893), his magnum opus containing a wealth of information based on manuscripts and printed sources in many languages about the transmission of philosophy and the sciences throughout the Middle Ages. It also shows how classical Greek knowledge reached Europe and Western culture through the intervention of Arabic and Hebrew writers. *Die arabischen Uebersetzungen aus dem Griechischen* (1897) and *Die europaeischen Uebersetzungen aus dem Arabischen* (1904–05) supplemented this work and carried its subject far beyond purely Jewish interests. These three works together provided a pioneering contribution to the understanding of Western civilization's dependence on classical sources and the contribution of Muslim and Jewish civilizations to them.

Another of Steinschneider's major works, *Die Arabische Literatur der Juden* (1902), lists all of the Jewish authors who wrote in Arabic and includes detailed biographies and bibliographies. His lectures on the same subject appeared in English in the *Jewish Quarterly Review* (1897–1901). A further work dealing with the relationships between Jews, Arabs, and Christians is his *Polemische und apologetische Literatur in arabischer Sprache zwischen Muslimen, Christen und Juden* (1877). Not only is the typical full bibliographical and biographical apparatus provided in this work, but it also classifies and enumerates the main areas of religious controversy. Steinschneider's unbelievable industry and erudition also manifested itself in a series of catalogs and bibliographies, among which the most important is his *Catalogus Librorum Hebraeorum in Bibliotheca Bodleiana* (1852–60). Upon the request of the chief librarian of the Bodleian Library at Oxford University, Steinschneider prepared a catalog of all the printed books up to 1732 in that great library over a period of many years, during which time the library was also dynamically enriching its Hebrew collections through the acquisition of important private libraries. Over the course of five summers in Oxford, Steinschneider described all the Hebrew items there, at which time he also made generous use of all the Hebrew manuscript materials. The catalog is arranged according to the name of the authors (with the exception of anonymous works), gives all the available information on their lives, and is followed by a list of their works and all the references to them in the secondary literature available at that time. At the end follows a list of all printers, patrons, etc., who were associated with the publication of the works, as well as a geographical index providing the Hebrew forms of many geographical names. With this book, Steinschneider raised Hebrew bibliography to a scholarly level and corrected misinformation. Steinschneider also published classic catalogs of the Hebrew manuscript collections of the following libraries: Leiden (1858), Munich (1875; 2nd ed. enlarged, 1896), Hamburg (1878, reprint with new introduction, Hellmut Braun, 1969), and Berlin (1878–97). In all of these he identified many hitherto unknown writings and historical research.

Some aspects of his detailed, painstaking research were organized into more general presentations. For the *Ersch und Gruber Allgemeine Encyclopaedie*, he wrote a systematic survey of Jewish literature (1850) which was translated into English (*Jewish Literature from the 8th to the 18th Century*, 1857) and later into Hebrew by Henry *Malter, one of his pupils (*Sifrut Yisrael*, 1897–99). For the same encyclopedia, he co-wrote, together with David *Cassel, *Juedische Typographie und Juedischer Buchhandel* (1851), a still-valuable general survey of

Jewish printing and book trade. But both scholars failed to publish a planned *Real-Encyclopaedie des Judentums* (1843) for unknown reasons despite several years of intensive preparation. Another work of Steinschneider's which still remains the most systematic and broadest treatment of the subject, is *Vorlesungen ueber die Kunde Hebraeischer Handschriften* (1897; Hebrew translations, with additions by A.M. Habermann *Harẓa'ot al Kitvei Yad Ivriyyim*, 1965; also printed in *Aresheth*, 84 (1966)). Also significant are his contributions to the history of the study of the Hebrew language and his work on Jewish writers of history and historiography (*Die Geschichtsliteratur der Juden*, 1905). Finally, he published the journal *Ha-Mazkir* (*Hebraeische Bibliographie. Blaetter fuer neuere und aeltere Literatur des Judentums*, 1858–65, 1869–81) to which he contributed more than 500 articles concerning bibliography, library history, booklore, philology and cultural history.

Steinschneider's major works were reprinted several times in their original form in the 1930s, 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s; the last reprinting of his Bodleian Catalog dates from 1998. Unfortunately, the author's own numerous additions and corrections to his works, as preserved in the copies of his works at the Jewish Theological Seminary in New York, as well as other new materials, were not incorporated into these reprints. In the early 2000s, a web-based translation and revision of the *Hebraeische Uebersetzungen des Mittelalters* was in preparation by Charles H. Manekin (University of Maryland) in collaboration with Y. Tzvi Langermann (Bar-Ilan University), and Hans Heinrich Biesterfeld (Bochum University).

Steinschneider spent most of his life in the pursuit of his great scholarly projects, but he also wrote some lighter belletristic and journalistic works. He also commented – though rarely – on the major contemporary events of his day and for a while was actively involved in a society founded by his friend Abraham *Benisch, the aim of which was the promotion of Jewish resettlement in Ereẓ Israel. He withdrew from the group in the early 1840s and later assumed a very negative attitude toward political Zionism. However, he welcomed the 1848 Revolution in Germany, and even helped to build barricades in Berlin, but shied away from radicals. Steinschneider published some letters by Hirsch B. Fassel, dealing with Samson R. *Hirsch's religious views (*Hereb Zion*, 1839); for this edition he wrote under the pen name of M.S. Charbona, adding some of his own remarks that revealed his position toward the Reform movement, about which he maintained a rather conservative view, particularly in his advocacy of the Hebrew language in the synagogue and in Jewish scholarly literature. In this publication, he formulated his views on the tasks and methods of Jewish scholarship, aiming for objective truth and impartial research as well as the creation of the scholarly foundations of Jewish learning. He vehemently rejected superficial attempts at popularization and the replacement of original research by empty phrases. He also opposed, like Zunz, *rabbinical seminaries as centers of scholarly research, fearing the introduction of theological considerations into what he considered to be pure, objective scholarship.

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[Menahem Schmelzer / Gregor Pelger (2nd ed.)]

STEINTHAL, HERMANN HEYMANN (1823–1899), German philologist and philosopher. He studied in Berlin and Paris (where he spent three years in the study of Chinese language and literature), was appointed lecturer in philology and mythology at Berlin University in 1850 and in 1855 associate professor of general philology. In 1872 he was appointed to the chair of biblical studies and philosophy of religion at the Hochschule fuer die Wissenschaft des Judentums. Steinthal and his brother-in-law, Moritz *Lazarus, founded the science of racial psychology (*Voelkerpsychologie*) and the *Zeitschrift fuer Voelkerpsychologie und Sprachwissenschaft* (from 1860). Having studied under Wilhelm von Humboldt, he edited the latter's *Sprachwissenschaftliche Werke* (1884) and wrote extensively in this field, e.g., *Die Sprachwissenschaft Wilhelm von Humboldts und die Hegelsche Philosophie* (1848), *Die Klassifikation der Sprachen* (1850), *Der Ursprung der Sprache im Zusammenhang mit den letzten Fragen alles Wissens* (1851), *Die Entwicklung der Schrift* (1852), *Geschichte der Sprachwissenschaft bei den Griechen und Roemern* (1863), *Abriss der Sprachwissenschaft* (1871–78), *Gesammelte kleine Schriften* (1880), and *Allgemeine Ethik* (1885). Steinthal also retained a lifelong interest in, and devotion to, Judaism and Jewish life. Serving as a director of the *Deutsch-Israelitischer Gemeindebund he frequently lectured and wrote newspaper articles in his capacity as a Jewish spokesman. His essays *Zu Bibel und Religionsphilosophie* (1890, 1895) reflect his ethical and aesthetic (rather than higher critical) approach to the Bible. In his collection of essays and addresses, *Ueber Juden und Judentum* (1906), he showed his pride in his Jewish roots. Steinthal polemicized against Bruno *Bauer and others who showed Christian prejudice in their treatment of Judaism and he defended both Jews and Judaism against antisemitic attacks. He saw in prophetism the distinguishing mark of ancient Israel, setting it apart from other peoples, even as for him both Germanism and Judaism were inspirations for moral action.

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[Jakob J. Petuchowski]

STEKEL, WILHELM (1868–1940), Austrian psychoanalyst. Born in Vienna, Stekel was one of the small group of physicians who gathered around Freud from 1902 onward to learn the practice of analysis. In 1895, before having heard of Freud, Stekel had already written a paper on sexual activity in childhood. In about 1901 he was treated successfully by Freud for a neurotic complaint. He wrote a defense of Freud's theory of dreams and in 1903 began the practice of psychoanalysis. It was on Stekel's suggestion that the first psychoanalytic group met at Freud's home. In 1909 Stekel published *Dichtung und Neurose* and in 1911 his extensive *Sprache des Traumes*. E. Jones says it contained many "bright ideas but also many confused ones." Freud found it "mortifying." Stekel wrote prolifically in many fields, publishing papers on a wide range of subjects extending from the psychology of everyday errors to the psychological treatment of epilepsy. His books include *Der Wille zum Schlaf* (1915), *Der Wille zum Leben* (1920), and *Stoerungen des Trieb-und Affektlebens* (9 vols., 1924–27).

E. Jones wrote that Stekel had very little interest in theory, was very practical, and had a ready access to the unconscious. He was a naturally gifted psychologist, contributing greatly to our knowledge of symbolism, a field in which he had greater intuitive genius than Freud. Unfortunately, according to Jones, these talents went with an unusual incapacity for judgment, and his intuition and speculations were not to be depended on. When Freud founded the monthly *Zentralblatt fuer Psychoanalyse und Psychotherapie*, Stekel became its joint editor, but he resigned his membership from the Vienna society in 1912, and, Freud's group having withdrawn their subscriptions from the periodical, it ceased publication a year later. In 1933 Stekel wrote *Der Seelenarzt* and in 1938 moved to London where he wrote his last book, *Technik der analytischen Psychotherapie* (1938). In his preface to the latter book Stekel criticized the cult of orthodoxy in psychoanalysis, and the length and expense of its treatment, and foresaw the collapse of orthodox analysis if its practitioners could not adapt themselves. He considered medical training indispensable to the psychoanalyst, "since the boundaries between psychic and somatic determination can never be easy to establish."

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[Louis Miller]

STEKELIS, MOSHE (1898–1967), Israel archaeologist, born in Kamenets-Podolski in the Ukraine. He studied at Odessa, also serving as the deputy director of the Archaeological Museum and the director of the Archaeological Library there (1921–24). As a result of his Zionist activities, he was exiled to Siberia. In 1928 he settled in Palestine and was appointed lecturer (later professor) in prehistoric archaeology at the Hebrew University in 1948. He directed various archaeological expeditions to prehistoric sites: Bethlehem; Jebel al-Qafza (with R. Neuville); Abu ʿUṣba (Mt. Carmel); the megaliths in Transjordan; the Yarmukian site of Sha'ar ha-Golan; the Kabbāra cave and Naḥal Oren on Mt. Carmel; and al-ʿUbaydiyya in the Jordan Valley. Stekelis was the founder of a prehistory library in Jerusalem and a museum in Haifa.

[Michael Avi-Yonah]

STEMATSKY, AVIGDOR (1908–1989), Israel painter. He was born in Odessa, Russia, and was brought in 1920 to Palestine. He studied at the Bezalel Academy of Art and Design, Jerusalem, and in Paris. In 1947/48, he was one of the founders of the "New Horizons" group. He taught painting at the Avni Institute of Painting and Sculpture in Tel Aviv for several years. He was for many years a landscapist, but about 1948 began to work in an abstract style, using color contrasts, and constantly suggesting a link with nature. His watercolors are subtle, whereas his oils are violent and dramatic.

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[Yona Fischer]

STENCL, ABRAHAM NAHUM (**Avrom-Nokhem Shtentsl**; 1897–1983), Yiddish poet and editor. Born in Czeladź, Poland, his father was ḥasidic *dayyan* of Czestochowa and his brother head of the local yeshivah. To avoid military conscription, he fled to Holland in 1919, later living in Germany. Wrestling with secular culture, he came early to the vocation of poet and chose to write in Yiddish. Arriving in London in 1936, he lived the rest of his life in a council flat in Whitechapel, organizing the Friends of Yiddish and editing its journal, *Loshn un Lebn*. His poems and essays printed in Germany include *Un Du Bist Got* ("And You Are God," 1924) and *Fisherdorf* ("Fishing Village," 1933). His London writings appeared in his *Heftlekh* and *Loshn un Lebn* and in such collections as *Vaytshepl Lebt* ("Whitechapel Lives," 1951) and *Vaytshepl Shtetl Debritn* ("Whitechapel, A *Shtetl* of Britain," 1961). His papers are at the School of Oriental and African Studies, London.

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[Leonard Prager (2nd ed.)]

STENDAL, city in Brandenburg, Germany. A Jewish community existed around the middle of the 13th century. The Jews of Stendal held a key position among those of Brandenburg and adjacent territories, and the tax problems and customs of the community had crystallized by the latter part of the century. In 1297 its members were granted the privilege of acquiring property, for which they had to pay a low rent; only Jews owning ten silver marks were to be admitted as burghers. The community's total tax of ten marks was to be divided between the margraves and the city. On its part the city had to protect the Jews against any interference by ducal officers. Jewish law was to be respected, but the Jewish *oath in front of the synagogue had to be taken in German. This privilege was upheld by the Magdeburg court in 1331. The community continued to develop, the Jews' Street being first mentioned in 1327. About 1350 the Jews suffered persecution, either in consequence of the civil war or in connection with the *Black Death. The burghers, however, were granted amnesty for the misdeeds committed against the Jews, as well as permission to readmit Jews under the previous conditions. In 1446 all the local Jews were imprisoned and subsequently expelled from Stendal (presumably on papal and royal orders), but in 1453–54 they were readmitted. In 1490, too, a few new Jewish settlers were admitted; but in 1520 all Jews were banished from Brandenburg, including Stendal.

However, Elector Joachim II (1535–71) favored settlement of Jews in Stendal. Therefore, by 1564 nine Jewish families had settled in the city, but they were expelled after his death. Only after 1847 did Jews resettle there. By 1849, there were 38 Jews living in Stendal; 49 in 1871; 104 in 1892; 85 in 1903; and 93 in 1905. They formed a small community that had a cantor-teacher. Their number declined to 60 by 1913 (0.22% of the total population) and to 34 in 1925 (0.11%). In 1933 there were 61 Jews; 23 in 1939; and three in 1942. No Jews lived in Stendal after 1945. In 1995 a commemorative plaque was consecrated to the former synagogue, which is now privately owned. The Jewish cemetery is preserved.

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[Toni Oelsner]

STENGEL, ERWIN (1902–1973), psychiatrist. Stengel was born in Vienna, of East European parentage and was educated at Vienna University, where he received his M.D. in 1926. He studied with Sigmund *Freud and, before 1929, had worked together with Paul *Schilder and Heinz *Hartmann. In 1937, he became senior lecturer in psychiatry and neurology at Vienna University, where he worked with Wagner, V. Jauregy, and Poetzel and did research into the relation of frontal brain pathology to obsessional problems. In 1938, he left Austria for Britain as a refugee from Nazism, and after working with Mayer-Gross in Creighton (1942) he was appointed a research fellow in psychiatry at Edinburgh and, in 1949, became reader in psychiatry at London University, also serving as consultant to the Bethlehem Royal and Maudsley hospitals. In 1957, he was appointed to the newly established chair of psychiatry at the University of Sheffield, and on his retirement in 1967 was granted the title of emeritus professor. He served as president of the Royal Medico-Psychological Association in 1966, and was president of the International Association for Suicide Prevention.

In his earliest publications (with Hartmann), *Studien zur Psychologie des Induzierten Irreseins* (Arch. Psychia. Nervenkrank. (95), 1931) he maintained that certain paranoiacs have a specific motivation to establish a following, and his subsequent works were concerned with the examination of anxiety and compulsive wandering. In 1950, however, he began his researches on suicide, on which he became a world authority.

In 1958, he published a monograph (with N.G. Cook) on attempted suicide. His definitive work in the field, published in the Pelican series, appeared in 1964 as *Suicide and Attempted Suicide*. In 1969, Stengel addressed the opening session of the 11th Congress of the Israel Neuro-Psychiatric Society in Haifa, his subject being "recent progress in suicide research and prevention." He was active in the promotion of suicide prevention centers and techniques.

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[Louis Miller]

STENN, REBECCA, U.S. modern dancer and choreographer. She was born in Ohio and spent her childhood in Canada studying with Deanne Shorten; she later studied at the Juilliard School. As a member of Momix Dance Theater from 1989 to 1995, she toured extensively throughout Europe, the Far East, and the Americas and appeared as a feature performer in films for Italian, Spanish, and French television. She assisted in the choreography and performed in the Emmy award winning film *Pictures at an Exhibition*. In 1996 Stenn formed The Perks Dance Music Theater, a company performing with a live band on stage, integrating the musicians and their instruments. The Perks' repertoire includes over 30 works using original music ranging from funk/rock to ethnic and to the classically inspired; its *Left of Fall* (2003) is a contemporary choreographic and musical interpretation of the 1913 ballet *The Rite of Spring*. Improvisation has always been a strong force in her work. In 1990 she established the first improvisational group for Lincoln Center Institute. She collaborated with Moses Pendelton in the making of *Passion* to the music of Peter Gabriel, and assisted him in the choreography of Lina Wertmuller's *Carmen* at the Munich State Opera, also performing as a principal dancer. She also collaborated on a multimedia piece for the Copenhagen Festival 96, with Japanese and Danish musicians and dancers. Stenn was a contributing editor of *Dance* magazine and wrote for the *International Journal of Dance*.

[Amnon Shiloah (2nd ed.)]

STENT, GUNTHER SIEGMUND (1924–), U.S. molecular biologist. He was born Guenter Stensch in Berlin. He immigrated to the U.S. where he was educated at Hyde Park School, Chicago, and gained his Ph.D. in physical chemistry at the University of Illinois (1948). He worked on the synthetic rubber research program of the U.S. War Production Board (1944–48), apart from a period as a document analyst for the Field Intelligence Agency in Occupied Germany (1946–47). After post-doctoral fellowships at the California Institute of Technology, Pasadena (1948–50), the University of Copenhagen and the Pasteur Institute, Paris (1950–52), he returned to the faculty of the University of California at Berkeley (1952–94). He became professor of molecular biology from 1959, director of the virus laboratory (1980–86), and founding chairman of the department of molecular and cell biology (1987–92). From 1994 he was professor emeritus of neurobiology at Berkeley. Stent was an extraordinary polymath who achieved universal recognition in three fields of endeavor. His initial research in phage genetics (bacteria infecting viruses) made early contributions to the rapidly developing field of molecular biology. The significance of this research is summarized in the highly influential book *Phage and the Origins of Molecular Biology* (1966) he wrote with James D. Watson and John Cairns. His research on developmental neurobiology is based on the leech and dates from a sabbatical visit to Harvard University (1972). He is also distinguished for his writings on the history and philosophy of science. His many highly regarded books in this field include *Morality as a Biological Phenomenon* (1978) and his autobiography, *Nazis, Women and Molecular Biology* (1998). Stent made major contributions to the organization of biological research at the University of California at Berkeley. He was a visiting professor at many leading universities in the U.S., Europe, and Japan. He was a member of the U.S. National Academy of Sciences and the American Philosophical Society.

[Michael Denman (2nd ed.)]

STERLING, SIR JEFFREY, BARON STERLING OF PLAISTOW (1934–), British businessman. Sterling was educated at Reigate Grammar School and the Guildhall School of Music but became a stockbroker and established an investment house, the Sterling Guarantee Trust Company. He became a director of P. & O., one of Britain's oldest and most famous shipping lines, in 1980, and its chairman from 1983. He was instrumental in developing its cruise ship business and spearheaded the revival of sea cruises from the last few decades of the 20th century through P. & O. Cruises, which he headed. Sterling was chairman of the Queen Elizabeth Golden Jubilee Weekend Trust, responsible for the celebrations marking the British monarch's 50th year on the throne in 2002. He has been active in Jewish affairs and was chairman of World ORT in 1969–73. He was knighted in 1985 and received a life peerage in 1991.

[William D. Rubinstein (2nd ed.)]

STERN, family of English merchant bankers and philanthropists. Originally, several brothers born in Frankfurt established banks in different European countries. DAVID DE STERN (1807–1877) and his brother HERMANN DE STERN (1815–1887) founded the firm of Stern Brothers in London, a bank which was highly successful in handling loans for various governments. In 1869 the king of Portugal made David Stern a hereditary viscount (as "Viscount De Stern") and Hermann Stern a baron (as "Baron De Stern") in gratitude for such services and they added the prefix "de" to their names. David de Stern became a director of the Imperial Bank and the family bought Strawberry Hill, Horace Walpole's famous Gothic mansion near London. Although they were related by marriage to such "Cousinhood" families as the Rothschilds and Goldsmids, they were never fully accepted as part of the financial aristocracy and were certainly not household names. Nevertheless, they were among the most successful English merchant bankers of their day. Hermann de Stern left an estate of £3.5 million, one of the very largest Victorian fortunes. SYDNEY JAMES STERN, FIRST BARON WANDSWORTH (1845–1912), elder son of David de Stern, joined the family firm, but retired early. After several unsuccessful attempts he was elected a member of Parliament for Stowmarket in 1891 and was elevated to the peerage in 1895. Stern Brothers lost its previous prominence in later years. Hermann's son HERBERT STERN, FIRST BARON MICHELHAM (1851–1919) also became a partner in the family bank and was also made a peer, in 1905, but without having served in the House of Commons. SIR EDWARD STERN (1854–1933), younger son of David, held a number of Jewish communal offices, including the presidency of the Jewish Deaf and Dumb Home. He was knighted in 1904 and received a baronetcy in 1924. By the 1920s, Stern Brothers had sadly declined as a major City merchant bank and, indeed, became something of a byword for generational decline. HERMANN DE STERN, brother of David de Stern, was a generous benefactor of Jewish charities and also held several communal offices. He was a director of the Imperial Bank, the London and San Francisco Bank, the Bank of Roumania, and the East London Waterworks Co. LAURA JULIA DE STERN (d. 1935), a daughter of Hermann, took part in communal work and married the inventor Sir David Lionel *Salomons. Her cousin, SIR ALBERT GERALD STERN (1878–1966), who was educated at Eton and Oxford, was a pioneer of tank warfare in World War I.

ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY: ODNB online; DBB.

[John M. Shaftesley / William D. Rubinstein (2nd ed.)]

STERN, ABRAHAM JACOB (1762–1842), Polish *maskil* and mathematician. Stern was born in Hrubieszów (Lublin province) and then moved to Warsaw, where he was able to widen the scope of his education. While developing his interest in mathematics, he also acquired profound talmudic erudition. He revealed his technical talents in his improvements in the mechanism of the watch and his invention of a threshing machine and a calculating machine (1812). The senator N.

Norosiltsev introduced him to Czar Alexander I in 1815 and obtained an annual pension for him from the state treasury. Stern also wrote ethical and occasional poems of some linguistic originality. When the Committee for Jewish Affairs was established in 1825, Stern was a member of its consultative council. Submitting the project of the proposed rabbinical seminary to be established in Warsaw, he stressed its role in the campaign against Ḥasidism. In 1826, however, when he was offered the position of principal of this institution, he politely refused since he felt that it would produce rabbis who were not truly devoted to their religion and would be more active in Polonization than in propagating culture among the Jewish masses.

Remaining strictly Orthodox, Stern was opposed to assimilation, maintaining that rather than breaking with the past it was important to enrich general culture with the values of Judaism. He was one of the few *maskilim* who did not cut himself off from Jewish nationalism and because of his individuality was a popular figure in Warsaw. During his travels he visited various countries, especially Germany, and acquired a knowledge of foreign languages. The Poles and Russians respected his great erudition. He was the only Jew to be honored with membership in the Royal Society of the Friends of Science, where he demonstrated the operation of his calculating machine. Together with Jacob *Tugendhold he also acted as censor of Hebrew. Stern was the father-in-law of Ḥayyim Zelig *Slonimski, whom he influenced in the spheres of his interests and work.

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[Moshe Landau]

STERN, ADOLPHE (1848–1931), Romanian lawyer and political leader. Born in Bucharest, Stern studied law, and in 1891 became the secretary of Benjamin *Peixotto, the first consul of the United States in *Romania. In 1873 he was elected secretary of the Zion Brotherhood in Bucharest. In 1886 Stern became president of the B'nai B'rith lodge in Romania and in 1889 he headed the central board of all the lodges in Romania.

Stern took the initiative in creating the first political representation for Romanian Jews, the Union of Native Jews, in 1909, and served as its president until 1923. During World War I he made contact with G. Clemenceau and other political personalities informing them of the situation of Romanian Jews and asking for intervention in recognizing their rights of Romanian citizenship. From 1922 to 1926 he was a member of the Romanian parliament and chairman of the Jewish Club where he urged the inclusion in the constitution of provisions in the Paris peace treaty concerning naturalization for Jews in Romania. He published a series of judicial works, and translated into Romanian several plays of Shakespeare. The three volumes of his memoirs, *Insemnări din viața mea* (vol. 1, 1915; vol. 2, 1921; and vol. 3 fragmentarily in the paper *Renașterea Noastră* ("Our Revival"), are an important source for the political history of Romanian Jews of his time.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Sinai*, 2 (Bucharest, 1929).

[Theodor Lavi]

STERN, ALFRED (1846–1936), historian. Born in Goettingen, Stern immigrated to Switzerland where he was professor of history first at the University of Bern (1874–87) and thereafter (until 1928) at the Polytechnikum, renamed in 1911 Eidgenoessische Technische Hochschule of Zurich. His books involved the origins and development of European liberalism. Among them were a study of the Peasants' Revolt of 1525 (1869); a work on Milton (*Milton und seine Zeit*, 2 vols., 1877–79), which was followed by a history of England's mid-17th century revolution (*Geschichte der Revolution in England*, 1881). His major work was a ten-volume history of 19th-century Europe, *Geschichte Europas seit den Vertraegen von 1815 bis zum Frankfurter Frieden von 1871* (1894–1924), a politically oriented, fully documented, and dispassionate account in the tradition of Leopold von Ranke. Other works included a biography of Mirabeau (*Das Leben Mirabeaus*, 2 vols., 1889; *Viede Mirabeau*, 2 vols., 1895) and books on Swiss and Prussian history. Stern aided the Jewish community of Bern in a lawsuit involving the *Protocols of the *Elders of Zion*, and financially assisted numerous young Jewish scholars. He also treated Jewish historical topics such as the state of the Jews in Prussia. He contributed to the German *Encyclopaedia Judaica*.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: A. Stern, *Wissenschaftliche Selbstbiographie* (1936), obituary in: *Juedische Preßzentrale*, No. 887 (April 3, 1936), 3.

[Walter L. Arnstein]

STERN, ANATOL (1899–1968), Polish poet, author, and translator. Born in Warsaw, Stern was a political radical and a leading member of the futurist school, playing an important part in Polish literary life between the world wars. He was especially well known as a representative of Poland's new writing with strongly defined social tendencies. Stern's works include the verse collections *Futuryzje* (1919); *Anielski cham* ("Angelic Lout," 1924); *Ziemia na lewo* ("Earth to the Left," 1924), written in collaboration with Bruno *Jasienski; *Bieg do bieguna* ("Race to the Pole," 1927); *Europa* (1929); and *Rozmowa z Apollinem* ("Conversation with Apollo," 1938). He also published the novel *Namiętny pielgrzym* ("The Passionate Pilgrim," 1933) and the play *Szkoła genjuszów* ("School for Geniuses," 1933), which was staged in Warsaw. After the outbreak of World War II, Stern fled to the USSR, where he was promptly arrested and sentenced to a year's imprisonment. In 1942 he was transferred to the Middle East as a soldier in the Free Polish army and remained in Palestine until 1948, when he returned to Poland.

His later works include the novel *Ludzie i syrena* ("People and the Siren," 1955) and two volumes of verse: *Wiersze i poematy* (1956) and *Poezje* (1918–1968) (1969). Stern also published translations from French and Russian literature. A volume of his recollections and essays, *Poezja zbuntowana* ("Poetry of Revolt"), appeared in 1964; and *Legendy naszych dni* ("Legends of Our Time"), a collection of sketches, in 1969.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Słownik współczesnych pisarzy polskich*, 3 (1964), 214–20.

[Stanislaw Wygodzki]

STERN, ARTHUR C. (1909–1992), U.S. public health engineer. Born in Petersburg, Virginia, Stern became director of New York City air pollution survey (1935–38); chief industrial hygiene engineer, New York State (1942–54); and chief of the engineering laboratory of the U.S. Public Health Service Sanitary Engineering Center (1955–1962). From 1962 he was assistant director of the National Center for Air Pollution Control in Washington. He edited *Air Pollution*, 3 vols. (1962, second edition 1968–69). In 1968 Stern accepted an appointment as professor of air hygiene in the Department of Environmental Sciences and Engineering at the University of North Carolina in Chapel Hill. Although he retired from the position in 1978, he remained active until the day of his death.

Stern received many honors. These included chairmanship of the Electric Power Research Institute Advisory Committee and of the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency's National Air Quality Criteria Advisory Committee, and presidency of the International Unions of Air Pollution Prevention Associations. In 1976 he was elected to the National Academy of Engineering Societies.

STERN, AVRAHAM (underground name, **Ya'ir**; 1907–1942), leading underground fighter in Palestine, founder of the organization later called *Loḥamei Ḥerut Israel (Leḥi). Born in Suvalki (then Russian Poland), Stern studied at the Hebrew high school there. In 1925 he went to Palestine and continued his studies at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem. Active in the *Irgun Ẓeva'i Le'ummi (IẒL) from its formation in 1931, he collaborated with David *Raziel in compiling a Hebrew manual on the use of the revolver and wrote underground poetry, including *Ḥayyalim Almonim* ("Anonymous Soldiers," 1933), which became the anthem of IẒL and later of Leḥi. When IẒL split in 1937, he did not join the *Haganah, but became a member of the IẒL command. He went to Europe to acquire arms and to establish contact with the Polish authorities for the organization of courses for IẒL instructors in Poland. In August 1939 he was arrested together with the other members of the IẒL command and was imprisoned until June 1940. While in prison, his opposition to a suspension of the anti-British attacks for the duration of World War II caused a new split in IẒL and the formation of a separate group, which, after his death, called itself Loḥamei Ḥerut Israel (and which was also known as the Stern Group). He composed a manifesto for the new organization entitled *Ikkarei ha-Teḥiyyah* ("The Principles of Revival"). Early in 1942, the authorities offered a reward for his capture, and on February 12 the Palestine Police traced him, forced an entry into the house in Tel Aviv in which he was hiding, and killed him outright. The house now contains an archive in his memory established by ex-Leḥi members.

Stern was notable for his fanaticism in the armed struggle for Jewish independence, which, he contended, could succeed only if conducted by an underground force independent of all "legal" bodies (even that of *Jabotinsky and his movement). Because of his doubts that the Allies would win World War II, he tried to establish contact with the Italians and the Germans and to persuade the Axis to adopt a pro-Jewish policy in Palestine.

The final work by Moshe *Shamir was *Ya'ir* (2001), a biographical novel.

See also Irgun Ẓeva'i *Le'ummi; Loḥamei Ḥerut *Israel.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Jabotinsky Institute in Israel, *Avraham Stern (Ya'ir)* (Heb., 1956); D. Niv, *Ma'arekhot ha-Irgun ha-Ẓeva'i ha-Le'ummi*, 3 (1967), index; *Loḥamei Ḥerut Yisrael*, 1 (1959), passim; I. Eldad, *Ma'aser Rishon* (1950), passim; J. Banay, *Ḥayyalim Almonim, Sefer Mivẓa'ei Leḥi* (1958), passim; Yellin-Mor, in: *Etgar*, no. 23 (1962), 4–5; W.O. von Hentig, *Mein Leben – eine Dienstreise* (1962), 338–9.

[David Niv]

STERN, BERNHARD JOSEPH (1894–1956), U.S. sociologist. Born in Chicago, Stern was educated at universities in the U.S. and England and was also ordained as a rabbi at Hebrew Union College in Cincinnati. He taught at the City College in New York, the University of Washington, the New School for Social Research, and Columbia University, but failed to receive a permanent appointment because of his membership in the Communist Party. He was, however, secretary for many years of the Eastern Sociological Society and received research assignments. Stern was editor of *Science and Society*, a Marxist-oriented social science journal. Contrary to other Marxist social scientists in the United States, he was always outspoken about his adherence to the principles of historical materialism and his abhorrence of exploitation in any shape or form. Bearing in mind this background, his contribution to medical sociology and to the sociology of minorities is remarkable.

His major books were *Social Factors in Medical Progress* (1927), *The Family, Past and Present* (1938), and *Society and Medical Progress* (1941). He co-edited *When Peoples Meet* (1942, 1946^2) and *Outline of Anthropology* (1948). His selected papers, *Historical Sociology*, were published posthumously in 1959.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Science and Society*, 21 (1957), 1–9, 28–29, includes bibliography of his writings.

[Werner J. Cahnman]

STERN, BERTHA GLADYS (1890–1973), English novelist who wrote under the name "G.B. Stern" and also used the name "Bronwen Gladys Stern." Born in London, G.B. Stern became a writer and journalist after abandoning hopes of a stage career. A prolific author, she published over 50 books, beginning with *Pantomime* (1914). Her own home background and her travels in Germany and Italy provided color for many of her works, not least those on Jewish themes. Her *Matriarch Chronicles* (1936) was really the culmination of a series of novels about the Rakonitz family and the pre-Hitler world of assimilated, middle-class European Jewry, and on these works G.B. Stern's once-considerable reputation was based. They include *Children of No Man's Land* (1923), *Tents of Israel* (1924), *Mosaic* (1930), and *Shining and Free* (1935). The Jewish element is superficial, however, since the novelist's characters – whether they live in Vienna, London, or New York – jealously retain their family loyalties, but not their Judaism. *Tents of Israel* was published in the U.S. as *The Matriarch* (1925), and this was the title given to the book's successful stage adaptation (1929), a sequel being *The Young Matriarch* (1942).

G.B. Stern's other works, which range from novels to autobiography, include *Debonair* (1928), *Little Red Horses* (1932), *Ten Days of Christmas* (1950), and *Promise Not to Tell* (1964). Like several of her fictional heroines, G.B. Stern married a non-Jew and abandoned Judaism. *All in Good Time* (1954) dealt with her conversion to Catholicism.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: S.J. Kunitz, *Twentieth Century Authors*, first supplement (1955), incl. bibl. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** ODNB online.

STERN, BEZALEL (1798–1853), educator and pioneer of the *Haskalah in southern Russia. Stern, who was born in Tarnopol, Galicia, was educated in the school of Josef *Perl, where he later taught for ten years. During the late 1820s he was invited by the community of Odessa, which was headed by natives of Galicia (the "Brodyists"), to become director of the Jewish school which had been founded in 1826 by a group of moderate *maskilim* led by Simḥah *Pinsker and Isaac Hurwitz. Under Stern's direction, the institution expanded, the number of its classes was increased from four to six, sections for boys and girls were opened, and the number of pupils rose to 400. Stern instituted changes in the curriculum by expanding instruction in the sciences and languages (German and Russian) at the expense of Jewish studies. He rapidly won the approval of the Russian *maskilim*, who corresponded with him on the subject of changes and reforms in the life of the Jews of the country. The Orthodox elements of the community were opposed to these changes, but Stern relied on the support which he received from the municipal authorities, particularly from Governor-General Vorontsov.

In 1837 Nicholas I visited the school and expressed his satisfaction with the institution's course of studies. In spite of this, when the government decided to establish a network of governmental schools for the Jews, Max *Lilienthal, a newcomer to Russia, was appointed to supervise the project. This aroused the anger of Stern, who refused to collaborate with Lilienthal. In 1843 Stern was appointed member of the commission which was to ratify the curriculum of the Jewish governmental schools. The other members of the commission were R. Isaac b. Ḥayyim*Volozhiner, head of the yeshivah of Volozhin, R. Menahem Mendel *Schneersohn, the leader of Ḥabad Ḥasidism, and Israel Heilperin, an Orthodox banker of Berdichev. Stern represented the *maskilim* but his influence was equivalent to that of all his colleagues because he enjoyed the support of the government. In 1852 Stern was dismissed from his position as director of the Jewish school and its administration was assumed by Christian inspectors.

In addition to his educational activities, Stern also took an interest in Jewish history and archaeology. He maintained relations with Abraham *Firkovich. He also occupied himself with the problems of the Jewish community, as shown by his memorandum on the collection of the meat tax (**korobka*) in Odessa.

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[Yehuda Slutsky]

STERN, BILL (1907–1971), U.S. sports broadcaster, member of the Radio Hall of Fame, National Sportscasters and Sportswriters Hall of Fame, and American Sportscasters Hall of Fame. Stern began broadcasting in 1925, when he was hired to cover football games for WHAM in his hometown of Rochester, New York. His dramatic flair as an announcer was bolstered by his experience in theater and vaudeville, most notably his appointment as Radio City Music Hall's first stage director when it opened its doors in 1932. In 1937, Stern was hired by NBC and was given his own nationally syndicated, 15-minute radio show, *Bill Stern Review*. The show, which featured Stern rifling off sports scores, telling stories of amazing coincidences and heroism (some true, some concocted), and interviewing famous entertainers, became a fixture of the radio. From 1939 to 1951, he hosted *The Colgate Sports Newsreel*, and until 1956, *Bill Stern Sports*. Stern's voice was also made famous by his calling Friday night fights for NBC, as well as narrating MGM's *News of the Day* newsreels shown in movie theaters from 1938 to 1952. Stern also played himself in the 1942 movie classic *Pride of the Yankees*. At the height of his popularity, Stern was selected for 13 consecutive years (1940–52) as the top sports commentator by a poll of American radio editors. Stern broadcast the first-ever televised sports event – Princeton vs. Columbia in baseball – on May 17, 1939, as well as the first televised football game between Waynesburg and Fordham on September 30, 1939. After a health-related hiatus in the late 1950s, Stern returned to finish his broadcasting career as sports director for the Mutual Broadcasting System throughout the 1960s. He wrote *Bill Stern's Favorite Sports Stories* (1946), *Bill Stern's Favorite Football Stories* (1948), *Bill Stern's Favorite Boxing Stories* (1948), *Bill Stern's Favorite Baseball Stories* (1949), *Bill Stern's Sports Quiz Book* (1950), and an autobiography, *The Taste of Ashes: A Famous Broadcaster's Comeback from Addiction and Disaster* (1959).

[Robert B. Klein (2nd ed.)]

STERN, CHAIM (1930–2001) U.S., Reform rabbi, liturgist. Stern, acknowledged as the foremost liturgist of Reform Judaism, was born in Brooklyn, New York. He studied in Orthodox yeshivot as a child, but the Holocaust caused him to become far more secular than his family. He received a B.A. from City College (1952) and attended Harvard Law School, but left Harvard after a year to enroll in *Hebrew Union College, where he was ordained in 1958. In 1983, HUC-JIR awarded him an honorary D.D. While serving as rabbi of Temple Sholom in River Edge, New Jersey (1958–62), he taught at the HUC-JIR School of Sacred Music. An outspoken political activist, he traveled to Mississippi to fight for civil rights as a Freedom Rider in 1961. In 1962, he became rabbi of the Liberal Jewish Synagogue in London, England, returning in 1965 to assume the pulpit at Congregation Emanu-El B'ne Jeshurun in Milwaukee, Wisconsin. He spent the year 1967–8 back in London, lecturing at Leo Baeck College and serving as rabbi of Westminster Synagogue. From 1968 to 2000, he was the senior rabbi at Temple Beth El of Northern Westchester in Chappaqua, New York, where he also served as president of the Northern Westchester and Putman Rabbinic Council and the Chappaqua Interfaith Council as well as on the regional board of the Anti-Defamation League. He was serving as senior rabbi of Temple Israel in Miami, Florida, at the time of his death.

In 1971, as a result of Stern's having co-edited two new prayer books for the Liberal Movement of England – *On the Doorposts of Your House* and *Gates of Joy* – he was appointed by the *Central Conference of American Rabbis to edit the new liturgy of the Reform movement. Over the course of three decades, he compiled the entire *Gates* series of prayer books: *Gates of Prayer*, published in 1975, became the official year-round **siddur* of Reform Judaism's 800 congregations, while his **mahzor Gates of Repentance*, which appeared three years later, played the same role for the High Holy Days. (U.S. President Bill Clinton publicly quoted a passage on contrition from *Gates of Repentance* when he discussed atoning for the Lewinsky sex scandal.) The series also comprises *Gates of the House* (1977), containing prayers related to ritual observances in the home; *Gates of Heaven: Services for Children and Their Parents on the Days of Awe* (1979); *Gates of Forgiveness* (1980), a companion volume to *Gates of Repentance* focusing on the **selihot* service recited in the weeks preceding Rosh Ha-Shanah and the Day of Atonement; and *Gates of Freedom*, a popular *Passover **Haggadah*.

Stern translated many of the prayers from the original Hebrew, wrote passages himself and incorporated words of wisdom ranging from ancient Jewish texts to such eclectic modern voices as Martin *Buber, e.e. cummings, and Norman *Mailer. The old-fashioned "thee" and "thou" were rendered as "you," while references to "our fathers" in traditional prayers, considered sexist, became "our ancestors." All references to God as King were changed to Sovereign.

Stern also wrote *Pirke Avot: Wisdom of the Jewish Sages* (1992) and **Isaac: The Link in the Chain* (1977). In addition, he co-authored (with Gunther *Plaut) *The Book of Genesis*, a translation and commentary of the first book of the Bible (1974), and *The Haftarah Commentary* (1996). He co-edited (with Lisa Pemstein) *Day by Day: Reflections on the Themes of the Torah From Literature, Philosophy, and Religious Thought*, a collection of meditations to accompany the cycle of the Jewish year, and (with Rossel and Chanover) *When a Jew Seeks Wisdom: The Sayings of the Fathers* (1975). He adapted several of his works for special occasions, including *Gates of Prayer for Weekdays and a House of Mourning* (1992). His final work, *Paths of Faith: The New Jewish Prayer Book for Synagogue and Home* – containing devotions for weekdays, *the Sabbath and festivals – appeared in 2003.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: The Nearprint Files of the American Jewish Archives, Cincinnati.

[Bezalel Gordon (2nd ed.)]

STERN, DAVID (1942–), U.S. basketball executive, fourth commissioner of the NBA. Born and raised in the Chelsea section of Manhattan, Stern worked his way through school at his father's deli, near Madison Square Garden, which was open six days a week and closed only on the Jewish High Holidays. Stern was a passionate sports fan and developed his love for basketball and the skills and ease of dealing with the public while serving the diverse deli customers. After studying at Rutgers University and Columbia Law School, Stern noted: "Others talk about working as clerks for Supreme Court justices or federal judges, but I enjoy saying that my first clerkship was at Stern's Delicatessen." From the time he joined the legal firm of Proskauer and Associates in 1966 to his appointment as NBA legal counsel in 1978, Stern dedicated almost all his professional activities to NBA work. As an NBA executive, Stern was determined to radically renovate the league's image tainted by public perceptions of drug abuse, lazy work ethics, and astronomic salaries. Stern played a major role in changing popular perceptions in the early 1980s via two milestone agreements with the NBA Player's Association: drug testing, and instituting team salary caps. His tenure as commissioner, starting in 1984, reflects the unprecedented success of the NBA. In particular, the league's appeal to a young audience increased not only in the U.S. but also worldwide. The pinnacle achievement of this international enthusiasm was the unprecedented decision to include NBA players on the U.S. basketball "Dream Team" at the Barcelona Olympics in 1992. Highlighting the skills of stars such as Larry Bird, Magic Johnson, and Michael Jordan helped the NBA achieve not only equality with other American professional sports, but even seemingly to surpass them. NBA players were now the most famous athletes in the world, appealing to an international audience and starring in commercials all over the globe. Additional achievements by Stern include the expansion of the NBA to 30 teams (2005); the opening of international offices; the creation of the Women's National Basketball Association in 1997; and the 1999 launch of NBA.com TV, a 24-hour digital network. Stern also serves on the boards of numerous public institutions including Columbia University, Beth Israel Medical Center, and the NAACP, and is a contributor to various charities, including the United Jewish Appeal.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: D. Halberstam, *Playing For Keeps; Michael Jordan and the World He Made* (1999).

[Yitzchak Mais (2nd ed.)]

STERN, ELIZABETH GERTRUDE LEVIN (1889–1954), social worker and author of 13 books that received much popular and critical attention. Details of Stern's birth remain uncertain. Although she consistently maintained that she was born in Königsberg, Prussia, and came to the United States in 1892 with her parents, Sarah Leah (Rubenstein) and Aaron Kleine Levin, a cantor and rabbinical assistant, her oldest son later revealed that while raised by the Levins, his mother actually had been born out of wedlock in Pittsburgh to Lillian Morgan and Christian Limburg, a store owner and merchant.

After graduating from the University of Pittsburgh in 1910, Stern moved to New York City and enrolled in the New York School of Philanthropy (later renamed the New York School of Social Work) where she met, and in 1911 married, fellow student Leon Stern. From 1912 to 1913, they lived in Galveston, Texas, assisting Jacob Schiff's efforts to reroute American Jewish immigration from New York to the Southwest. A decade later, they co-authored *My Friend at Court* (1923), a "casebook" of a female probation officer based on cases with which they were familiar. The mother of two sons, Stern was an active professional and a writer. Her social work achievements were recognized with an honorary master's degree from the University of Pittsburgh in 1918.

Stern, who began writing for local newspapers as early as 1908, began to publish feature articles in *The New York Times* in 1914. By 1926, she was writing for the *New York Evening World* and the *Philadelphia Public Ledger*, for which she assumed the pen name Eleanor Morton. In 1926, she adopted the pseudonym Leah Morton for the popular and critically acclaimed *I am a Woman – and a Jew* (rep. 1986, with a new introduction by E.M. Umansky). This book purports to be the autobiography of an Eastern European Jewish immigrant who comes to America as a child and spends her youth in the Jewish section of a small city along the Ohio River. The focus is on the author's struggle to meet familial and professional demands while she struggles to come to terms with her Jewish identity. Contemporary reviewers assumed the book was Morton/Stern's personal story. However, Leah's struggle to establish a career despite her husband's objections and the conflicts created by marrying a non-Jew were fictional. Still, like Stern's earlier autobiographical novel, *My Mother and I* (1917), this book illuminated the spiritual journey and generational tensions experienced by many modern Jews, especially women.

Stern's religious attachment to Judaism remains unclear. By 1928 she had joined the Philadelphia Ethical Society, a branch of Ethical Culture, and she later became a member of the Religious Society of Friends, devoting much of her time and energy to Quaker organizations.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: T. Noel Stern, *Secret Family* (1988); E.M. Umansky. "Representations of Jewish Women in the Works and Life of Elizabeth Stern," in: *Modern Judaism*, 13 (1993), 165–76.

[Ellen M. Umansky (2nd ed.)]

STERN, EPHRAIM (1934–), Israeli archaeologist, expert on the Land of Israel during the Iron and Persian periods. Born in Haifa in 1934, he studied at the Reali High School and was a member of the local branch of scouts known as "the Carmel Wanderers." His military service was undertaken from 1952 and eventually he reached the rank of officer. In 1955 he began his studies at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem, taking courses in archaeology and the history of Israel, and finally receiving his Ph.D. in 1968 for "The Material Culture of the Land of the Bible in the Persian Period," supervised by Prof. Benjamin Mazar. His ground-breaking research on the Persian period is regarded as a milestone in the archaeology of Israel. He began teaching archaeology at Tel Aviv University in 1964, but in 1971 he returned to the Hebrew University and began teaching at the newly founded Institute of Archaeology at the request of his mentor, Yigael Yadin. He was appointed full professor there in 1984, eventually holding the Bernard M. Lauterman Chair in Biblical Archaeology, and continued teaching until his retirement in 2002. Stern was director of the Yad Ben-Zvi Institute in Jerusalem between 1993 and 1996. As a student Stern participated in numerous excavations in Israel, notably at Masada, Hazor, Beersheba, and En Gedi. He subsequently conducted his own excavations at a number of sites, including Gil'am, Tel Kadesh, and Tel Mevorakh, but most of his scientific energy was directed towards 20 years of digging at Tel Dor (Tanturah). Stern served as editor of the Hebrew archaeological journal *Qadmoniot* (published by the Israel Exploration Society), as well as editor of the distinguished *New Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land* (1988–93). Stern published numerous research papers, excavations reports, and books, including *Dor – Ruler of the Seas: Ten Years of Excavating a Phoenician Israelite Harbour Town on the Carmel Coast* (1994); *Archaeology of the Land of the Bible*, vol. II. *The Assyrian, Babylonian, and Persian Periods* (732–332 B.C.E.) (2001). He was the recipient of many awards and prizes, including the Ben-Zvi Prize (1979), the Biblical Archaeology Society Publication Award (1984), the P. Schimmel Prize (1994), two Irene Levi-Sala Book Prizes (1995, 2002), and the Emet Prize on behalf of the Prime Minister of Israel for Distinguished Scholarly Achievements (2005).

[Shimon Gibson (2nd ed.)]

STERN, ERICH (1889–1959), psychologist, physician, and educator. Born in Berlin, Stern was an associate professor at the University of Giessen from 1924 to 1928, when he went to Mainz to lecture at the Institute of Pedagogy and direct the Mainz Institute of Psychology. In 1933 he migrated to Paris, where he was active in the children's neuropsychiatry clinic of the University of Paris medical school. During the Nazi occupation of France he worked with the underground, and after the war, engaged in the rehabilitation of Jewish children. From 1950, he was in charge of research in the National Center of Scientific Research in Paris.

Stern was active with *OSE, and wrote some studies on the psychology of immigrants. His books include *Ein-*

leitung in die Paedagogik (1922), *Jugendpsychologie* (1923, 1951^5), and *Gesundheitliche Erziehung* (1928). He also published the *Jahrbuch der Erziehungswissenschaft und Jugendkunde*.

[William W. Brickman]

STERN, ERNEST (1876–1954), stage designer. Stern was born in Bucharest, going to Munich at the age of 19 to study under Franz van Stuck. He worked as a caricaturist for *Jugend* and *Simplizissimus* and began to contribute to political cabarets. He moved to Berlin in 1905 as illustrator on the *Lustigen Blatter* and in the same year began his historic collaboration with Max Reinhardt, with the famous production of Shakespeare's *Midsummer Night's Dream.* The following year he was taken on by Reinhardt as artistic director, a position he held for 16 years. There followed a series of remarkable productions which made both men world famous: works by Shakespeare, the pantomime *Samurun* (1910), *Faust* (1911), the remarkable *Miracle* (1914), *Danton's Death* (1916), *John Gabriel Borkman* (1917). Between 1919 and 1929 Stern also worked for the German cinema, including films by Ernst *Lubitsch. Before the advent of Nazism Stern was already famous on the London stage, designing Noel Coward's *Bitter Sweet* in 1929, followed by a series of spectacular musicals including Offenbach's *La Belle Héléne* and *White Horse Inn.* In 1934 he settled in London where he lived for the rest of his life. He continued to design the plays of Shakespeare, especially for the actor Donald Wolfit, and popular musical plays. An artist of deep historical knowledge and remarkable imagination, Ernest Stern had a profound effect on 20th-century stage design. He was regarded as one of the outstanding stage designers of the century.

[Charles Samuel Spencer]

STERN, SIR FREDERICK CLAUDE (1884–1967), British banker. Stern was a partner in the London banking house of *Stern Brothers. His father, James Stern, and his older brother, Sir Albert Stern, devoted their energies during World War I to the construction of the newly invented tank, while Frederick had a distinguished career on active service, mainly on the Turkish front. During World War I he came into contact with Lloyd George and served temporarily as his secretary during the Versailles Peace Conference. He was knighted in 1956. Outside his professional life he was widely known as a skillful and enthusiastic gardener, particularly as a breeder of lilies and daffodils. At his country mansion, Highdown House, near Worthing, West Sussex, Stern created a famous garden which has been the subject of several books. After his death, his widow left the house and grounds to the Worthing Council. He wrote extensively on botanic subjects and was prominent in the Linnean Society and the Royal Horticultural Society and was master of the Drapers' Co., one of London's ancient guilds. Among his writings are *Study of Genus Paeonia* (1946) and *Snowdrops and Snowflakes* (1956), a study of the general *Galanthus* and *Leucojum*.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Royal Horticultural Society Journal*, 92 (Sept. 1967), 379–81.

[Joachim O. Ronall]

STERN, FRITZ RICHARD (1926–), U.S. historian of German-Jewish background. Stern grew up in then German Breslau (Wroclaw) as the son of parents of Jewish background. He was brought up as a Protestant, his godfather being the Nobel Prize-winning chemist Fritz *Haber. His family had to leave Germany, and he settled in the United States in 1938. He received his Ph.D. in history at Columbia University, having studied with another German emigrant, Hajo Holborn. Stern spent most of his teaching career at Columbia University, first as Seth Low Professor, later as University Professor. He retired in 1997. He was a permanent visiting professor at the University of Konstanz and taught at numerous European universities. The main focus in his publications is the prehistory of the rise of National Socialism in Germany, which he analyzed mainly through illiberal tendencies in central European thought. His celebrated book *Gold and Iron* (1977) centered on the relationship between German Chancellor Bismarck and his Jewish banker Gerson von Bleichroeder. Stern was active in political debates and his voice was heard far beyond the scholarly realm. In Germany, he gave a public speech in the parliament, the Bundestag, in 1987 as the first non-German citizen at the anniversary of the failed East German revolt of 1953. He received numerous prizes, such as the Lionel Trilling Award and the Peace Prize of the German Book Trade (1999), Germany's most renowned literary award. He also served as assistant to Ambassador Richard Holbrooke during the latter's tenure in Germany in 1993/94. Stern always tried to understand the causes of the German catastrophe in the 20th century and draw lessons for a peaceful future for Europe. He was eager to build bridges between Germans and Jews, Europe and the United States.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Who's Who in America 2002*, 5092; *International Biographical Dictionary of Central European Émigrés 1933–1944* (1999), 1123–24.

[Michael Brenner (2nd ed.)]

STERN, GERSHON (1861–1936), Transylvanian rabbi and author. Stern was a pupil of Moses Schick and Abraham Judah ha-Kohen Schwartz. He served as rabbi of Marosludas from 1885. In 1881 he published in the *Ha-Tor* of Abraham Guenzler (fourth year, no. 6) an attractive article on the need to revive the Hebrew language and the joy that filled him on the appearance of Hebrew papers. He visited Ereẓ Israel and then wrote his small work, *Masei Benei Yisrael* (1910), in German with Hebrew script. In "*Ḥatimat ha-Sefer*" ("conclusion") of the *Yalkut ha-Gershuni, Hilkhot Terefot* (1907), he wrote in ornate language of his love and yearnings for Ereẓ Israel.

He also wrote of his ties with Ereẓ Israel in his testament (*Yalkut ha-Gershuni, al Aggadot ha-Shas*, pt. 1 (1922), 41a). He was very concerned about the yeshivot in his province and wished to raise their standards both economically and spiritually. To this end he published many articles in the *Allgemeine Juedische Zeitung*, and then issued them in a special pamphlet *Marbeh Yeshivah* (1902). His *Yalkut ha-Gershuni* is in 13 parts: three parts contain novellae and expositions of themes in the Talmud and *posekim*, arranged in alphabetical order (1894–96); two parts are on the Bible (1899–1900); four parts are on the Shulḥan Arukh (1901–08); three parts are on talmudic *aggadot* (1922–27); and one part is on *Avot* (1906). He also frequently published talmudic novellae in the *Tel Talpiyyot*. His *Masei Benei Yisrael* was translated into Hebrew by N. Ben-Menahem (*Mi-Sifrut Yisrael be-Ungaryah* (1958), 9–49), which gives a detailed bibliography of his writings (317–26).

[Naphtali Ben-Menahem]

STERN, GRIGORI (d. 1940), Soviet army officer. Stern was chief adviser to the Republican army in Spain from 1936 to 1937 when he was sent to the Far East as chief of staff of the Soviet Far Eastern forces. He defeated the Japanese at the battle of Lake Khasan and was promoted to colonel general and given command of the Soviet forces. In the following year he defeated the Japanese at the battle of Khalkhin-Gol and drove them out of Soviet Mongolia. Stern died during the Finnish campaign.

STERN, HANS (1922–), Brazilian jeweler. Born in Essen, Germany, Stern immigrated to Brazil in 1939 with his family and settled in Rio de Janeiro. In 1940 he found work with a firm that exported Brazilian semiprecious stones such as tourmaline, topaz, and aquamarine, and he soon rose to the position of manager. In 1945 he sold his accordion for $200 and used the money to start his own jewelry business, H. Stern Comercio e Industria, to buy, polish, set, and sell such stones in original designs. Aided by his flair for aggressive and imaginative promotion, the company developed within a few years into Brazil's largest undertaking in the field. It had an annual volume of many millions of dollars and more than 200 stores in principal cities all over the world, earning Stern the title of "the king of colored gems." The company is owned today in equal shares by his sons: Roberto, Ronaldo, Ricardo, and Rafael.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: S. and K. Seegers, in: *Reader's Digest* (Jan. 1968), 203–8.

STERN, HARRY JOSHUA (1897–1984), Canadian Reform rabbi. Stern was born in Eragoly, just outside Kovno, Lithuania. One of eight children, Stern describes in his memoir growing up in a traditional family and studying at his local *ḥeder*. After his mother died, Stern's father remarried and had four more children. Between 1906 and 1908 the family moved, in stages, to Steubenville, Ohio, from where Stern applied to study at Hebrew Union College. Unlike most of his fellow students, Stern was fluent in Yiddish and, like his role model, Stephen *Wise, became a Zionist, even though Zionism was treated with disdain by most HUC faculty. Stern earned a bachelor of Hebrew literature from HUC in 1919, a B.A. from the University of Cincinnati in 1920, and was ordained in 1922.

Stern assumed his first pulpit in 1922, in Uniontown, Pennsylvania. He developed a reputation for oratory, interfaith work, Zionist activism, and social welfare. In 1927 he moved to Montreal's Temple Emanu-el, where he remained until his retirement in 1972. Stern preached the principles of Reform Judaism with an emphasis on the social responsibility. During the Depression he chastised factory owners, including some of his own congregants, for firing employees in order to hire cheaper labor in the rural areas. Stern also supported adult education, establishing the College for Jewish Studies the year after his arrival. Stern hired Jews of various stripes, including avowed socialist David *Lewis, to teach both adults and children. Stern also exchanged pulpits with Protestant ministers. Even more remarkably, Stern had regular contact with French Catholics. His first meeting did not occur in Quebec but rather on a ship where Stern, traveling with some students to Palestine in 1929, met the Quebec Jesuit Joseph Paré, who was also traveling with students to Rome. The two continued their contact and on several occasions in the 1930s tried to turn the Quebec Church hierarchy against antisemitism. Because of these contacts, the Canadian Jewish Congress assigned Stern a prominent role in its Joint Public Relations Committee. If little headway was made during the 1930s, it was hardly for lack of effort. Stern also championed the end of discrimination at McGill University and in housing.

In the postwar years, Stern continued to work for better Jewish-Christian relations, calling on Jews to recognize the prophetic quality of some of the teachings of Jesus the Jew, and on Christians to abandon their negative attitudes to the Jewish faith. A number of volumes of Stern's sermons have appeared in print. Biographical details are contained in K.I. Cleator and H.J. Stern, *Harry Joshua Stern: A Rabbi's Journey* (1981). Stern received numerous awards for his work in Jewish-Christian relations.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Who's Who in Canadian Jewry* (1965), 93; G. Tulchinsky, in: M. Van Die (ed.), *Religion and Public Life in Canada* (2001), 313–28; P. Anctil, *Le Rendez-vous manqué* (1988).

[Richard Menkis (2nd ed.)]

STERN, HORACE (1879–1969), U.S. jurist. Born in Philadelphia, Stern graduated from the University of Pennsylvania Law School, where he went on to lecture in real estate law for ten years. In 1903 he formed a law partnership with Morris Wolf. He served in the U.S. army during World War I, rising to the rank of major. In 1930 he was appointed a judge of the Common Pleas Court of Philadelphia. The following year he was elected to a full ten-year term. In 1935 he was elected to the Pennsylvania Supreme Court, on which he served as chief justice from 1952 until his retirement in 1957. Generally liberal in outlook, his judicial opinions were characterized by their independence of mind and careful adherence to sound legal principles.

Besides acting as a trustee of the University of Pennsylvania, Stern belonged to numerous civic organizations and was highly active in Jewish affairs. He was director for many years of the Philadelphia Federation of Jewish Charities, served briefly as president of Dropsie College, and was vice president of the Jewish Publication Society of America from 1914 to 1965, when he was declared honorary president. A collection of his articles and addresses was published in 1953 as *The Spiritual Values of Life*.

STERN, HOWARD (1954–), U.S. broadcasting personality. Born in Jackson Heights, Queens, Stern was raised in nearby Long Island. He graduated from Boston University, where he produced bawdy comedy like the *King Schmaltz Bagel Hour* on the campus radio station. (Stern was first introduced to radio by his father, Ben Stern, a radio engineer.) Stern started at a tiny radio station in Briarcliff Manor, a New York City suburb, for $4 an hour and moved to stations in Hartford, Conn., and Detroit, Michigan, before landing a choice spot on a Washington, D.C., station, where his unadulterated, scrappy on-air personality was honed. Stern was fired but landed in New York City in 1982 in the coveted afternoon drive home slot on WNBC-AM. His outrageous humor on WNBC was terminated after two years, and he joined WXRK on the FM band in New York in 1985. There he produced one more outrageous program after another. Stern's audience grew as his show went into syndication, beginning in Philadelphia in 1985. Stern's conduct cost his employer Infinity Broadcasting $600,000 in fines for indecency. He was forced to apologize when he said that he prayed for the death of the chairman of the Federal Communications Commission. In 1990 Stern started a television version of his show, essentially a visual version of his radio show, although nudity was obscured. Nevertheless his popularity grew and the radio and television shows got high ratings in such cities as Los Angeles, New Orleans, Cleveland, Las Vegas, and Baltimore. In 1994 Stern ran for governor of New York on the Libertarian Party ticket on a platform that included bringing back the death penalty and eliminating daytime traffic construction. Stern abandoned the race but the newly elected governor signed the Howard Stern Bill, which restricted construction to nighttime on state roads on Long Island and in New York City. Stern wrote an autobiography, *Private Parts*, which became the basis for a movie of the same name in 1997. Another book, *Miss America*, was published, concentrating on the inner workings of the show. Both books reached the top of the bestseller list. After the World Trade Center attacks of September 11, 2001, Stern continued live broadcasts in a subdued tone and won praise from many listeners. In February 2004, Stern was indefinitely suspended by Clear Channel Communications, his syndicator, in six markets, supposedly because of his sex-charged conversation with an on-air guest. Fed up with constantly butting heads with the FCC and feeling unsupported by his corporate parent, Stern signed a five-year, $500-million deal with Sirius Satellite Radio, with broadcasts beginning in January 2006. The arrangement, in which Stern can be as uninhibited as he wants because he is not using public airways, relied on the potential for Stern to increase the Sirius subscribers from 1 million to 8 million. Sirius devoted two round-the-clock channels for Stern's show and other material he developed.

[Stewart Kampel (2nd ed.)]

STERN, IRMA (1894–1966), South African painter. Irma Stern was born of a German family in Schweizer-Renecke, Transvaal, but was taken to Europe as a girl. She studied in Vienna and Berlin. Back in South Africa after World War I, she shocked the public with her bold palette and expressionist method, which were regarded as aggressively modern. Within a few years, however, she came to be recognized for the vital qualities of her work and her paintings were bought for many public and private collections. She used exuberant harmonies and heavy draftsmanship. Sometimes her still lifes and flower pieces tended to grossness, but more often her compositions were relieved by a vein of tenderness and, especially in her watercolors, by poetry and simplicity of approach. She portrayed colored, Malay, and Indian types, and traveled to the Congo and Zanzibar, bringing back many African and Arab studies. She exhibited in Johannesburg and Cape Town and in Europe. In 1971 the University of Cape Town established an Irma Stern Museum to exhibit her work.

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[Lewis Sowden]

STERN, ISAAC (1920–2001), U.S. violinist. Born in Kremenets, Ukraine, the following year he was taken to San Francisco, where his mother worked as pianist and teacher. He took up the violin at the age of eight. Following his recital début (1935) Stern was soloist with the San Francisco Orchestra under Pierre *Monteux (1936). During the years 1943–4 he played for Allied troops. In America he acquired a reputation, which became worldwide after World War II. Stern made his European début in 1948 under Munch and thereafter he toured Europe regularly (except Germany, where he consistently refused to appear). His work with the cellist Pablo Casals at the Prades Festivals was important in his development. During the Cold War he toured the USSR. Stern had very strong ties with the State of Israel. He appeared frequently with the Israel Philharmonic Orchestra, most memorably in the concerts on Mount Scopus with Bernstein after the Six-Day War in 1967, and in the 1991 Gulf War, during which he continued his performance while sirens wailed to signal an Iraqi Scud missile attack. Stern founded the Jerusalem Music Center and became president of the America-Israel Cultural Foundation and a sponsor of Israeli artists, such as *Perlman, *Zukerman, *Fried, and *Mintz. In keeping with his long-standing commitment to working with young musicians, Stern held a number of chamber music workshops in Israel and at Carnegie Hall over the years. He was always active in chamber music with his piano partner Alexander Zakin and in a trio with *Istomin and *Rose (1961–1984); he performed regularly with Emanuel *Ax, Jaime Laredo and Yo Yo Ma and Yefim *Bronfman. For more than 60 years Stern appeared on the world's most prestigious concert stages. Recognized as one of the great violinists of his generation, he was particularly noted for his warm, rich tone in a repertoire that ranged from the Baroque to the modern. He premiered violin works by Bernstein, Penderecki, *Rochberg, Schuman, and Dutilleux and gave first American performances of works by Bartok and Hindemith. Stern is one of the most recorded musical artists of our time; he recorded all the great concertos, numerous chamber music recitals, and soundtracks for films (such as *Fiddler on the Roof*, 1971). He appeared frequently on television and documentaries. The film of his trip to China, *From Mao to Mozart*, received an Academy Award in 1981. Active in wider fields, he took part in the movement which saved Carnegie Hall in New York from demolition and became president of the Carnegie Hall Corporation. He was also a co-founder of the National Endowment for the Arts in 1964. Stern received many of the nation's and the world's highest honors, among them honors from the U.S., Japanese, Danish and French governments; the Albert Schweitzer Music Award for a life dedicated to music and devoted to humanity; a Fellow of Jerusalem (1986); Israel's Wolf Prize (1987); and the Presidential Medal of Freedom (1992). He received honorary degrees from many institutions, such as Columbia, Harvard, New York University, Oxford, the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, the Juilliard School, and Tel Aviv University. His biography, with Chaim Potok, entitled *My First 79 Years*, was published in 1999.

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[Uri (Erich) Toeplitz / Rohan Saxena and Naama Ramot (2nd ed.)]

STERN, JACK (1926–), U.S. Reform rabbi. Stern was born in Cincinnati, Ohio, and received a B.A. at the University of Cincinnati in 1948. In 1952, he was ordained at *Hebrew Union College, which awarded him an honorary D.D. in 1977. After ordination, he became assistant rabbi at Temple Beth El in Great Neck, N.Y. (1952–55), where his then soon-to-be father in law, Jacob *Rudin, was senior rabbi. Next he served as rabbi of Temple Emanu-El in Westfield, N.J. (1955–62), until he was appointed rabbi of Westchester Reform Temple in Scarsdale, N.Y. (1962–91, when he became emeritus). He also lectured in Modern Jewish Thought at the College of New Rochelle, New York, as part of the Jewish Chatauqua Society Lectureship program.

Stern was a social activist in both the Jewish and general communities, as a trustee of the Federation of Jewish Philanthropies of Greater New York, president of the Westchester Board of Rabbis, co-chairman of the Scarsdale Committee for Senior Housing, and a member of the Human Relations Advisory Council in Scarsdale. As a member of the board of the Scarsdale Family Counseling Service, he had a special interest in mental health and participated in a National Institute of Mental Health pilot project on "Religion and Mental Health." He extended his charitable efforts beyond Scarsdale by establishing an ongoing relationship with the poor Jewish elderly in the Bronx, finding clothing and jobs for refugee Vietnamese families, and participating in countrywide interfaith efforts to feed the hungry and shelter the homeless. He ventured forth from the suburbs in the service of his own congregants as well, as one of the pioneering rabbis to bring religious study to them at their places of business (on Wall Street, for example).

In the Reform movement, Stern was chairman of the Task Force on Jewish Ethics of the *Union of American Hebrew Congregations and chaired the *Central Conference of American Rabbis' Committee on Ethics. He also chaired the CCAR Committee on Youth and served on both the Joint CCAR-UAHC Commission on Social Action and the CCAR's executive board. In 1982, he was elected vice president of the CCAR; in 1984, he succeeded Gunther *Plaut as CCAR president. During his tenure in office, Stern worked at what he called "setting up dialogues" – with the goal of bringing together Christians and Jews in order to share Jewish values in interfaith settings, but primarily with his Conservative and Orthodox counterparts at the *Rabbinical Assembly and *Rabbinical Council of America, respectively. While defending Reform Judaism's position on patrilineal descent against vehement opposition from both the Conservative and Orthodox camps, Stern managed to hammer out with his colleagues a historic "Statement of Unity" that was read aloud in congregations affiliated with all three denominations on *Shabbat ha-Gadol. This step forward for the benefit of *Kelal Yisrael* was made possible by drawing a distinction between the "Covenant of Fate" – that all Jews share – and the "Covenant of Faith," about which the movements agreed to disagree.

Also during his presidency, Stern tackled the issue of intermarriage from two new perspectives: he called on the institutions of Reform Judaism to create an environment in which young Jews would consider dating outside the faith unacceptable *a priori*, thus adopting a proactive rather than reactive stance against serious interfaith relationships. Secondly, he prevailed on the *Union of American Hebrew Congregations to issue a statement asking its synagogues not to discriminate against rabbinic candidates who refused to officiate at interfaith weddings as a matter of principle.

Following his term of office, Stern served on the board of governors of HUC-JIR and was alumnus-in-residence at HUC-JIR in Cincinnati. In 1996, he was asked by the CCAR to chair the Committee on Sexual Abuse by Clergy, which recommended procedures and sanctions that were adopted by all the institutions of the Reform movement. He also served as a trustee of Mazon, a Jewish response to hunger.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: The Nearprint Files of the American Jewish Archives, Cincinnati.

[Bezalel Gordon (2nd ed.)]

STERN, JACQUES (1881–1949), French politician. Born in Paris, Stern became private secretary to Leon Bourgeois when the latter was minister of foreign affairs and was elected to the National Assembly in 1914. He established himself as an authority on financial affairs and devised a plan for a supranational organization to solve the problem of reparations and inter-allied debts after World War I. His scheme was frustrated largely because of the frequent change of government in France. Stern held office in several French governments as minister for the merchant marine (1930 and 1933) and minister for the colonies (1935–39). He immigrated to the United States in 1942 where he published *Les Colonies françaises, passé et avenir* (1943). He later committed suicide.

[Shulamith Catane]

STERN, JOSEPH (1803–1858), Hungarian rabbi. Stern was the son-in-law of Menahem *Stern. He studied with Ḥayyim of Kosov in the home of his father Menahem Mendel of Kosov. Stern claimed that he had studied the Shulḥan Arukh, *Yoreh De'ah*, 140 times and the other sections of the Shulḥan Arukh 111 times. He was ordained rabbi by the scholars Abraham David Wahrmann, rabbi of Buchach, and Nathan Nata Mueler, rabbi of Podgaytsy, and was first appointed *rosh bet din* ("head of the *bet din*") and then *av bet din* of Sighet. A bitter quarrel broke out in Sighet, as some of the community wanted to appoint in his stead Eleazar Nissin Teitelbaum, son of Moses Teitelbaum. Stern, who hated contention and strife, wanted to divide the rabbinic post, with Teitelbaum as rabbi and himself as head of the *bet din*. Nevertheless, this did not stop the dispute. Troublemakers accused Stern of attacking the government in his sermons, and he was imprisoned. Nearly all the inhabitants of the town condemned this step, and the government authorities were also convinced of his complete innocence. On the third day of his imprisonment the district officer, together with high government officials, entered the prison and asked forgiveness of the rabbi for the unpleasantness caused him and assured him that the transgressors would be severely punished. After six years of dissension and quarreling Teitelbaum left the town. The only one who supported Stern during difficult times was Jekuthiel Asher Zalman Ansel Zusmir, rabbi of Styria. Of Stern's writings only his introduction to his father-in-law's *Derekh Emunah* (vol. 1, 1856) and one responsum (no. 50) in the *She'elot u-Teshuvot* (1882, 48a–49a) of Zusmir are known.

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[Naphtali Ben-Menahem]

STERN, JOSEPH ZECHARIAH (1831–1903), Lithuanian rabbi and talmudist. Stern was born in Neustadt-Shirwint (Woldislovava) in the Suwalki district of Russia to a family which had produced many generations of rabbis. He married the daughter of Mordecai Gimpel *Jaffe and at the age of 20 was appointed rabbi of Jasenovko, Grodno district, where he remained for ten years. He was subsequently appointed rabbi of Shavli, Lithuania, which post he retained until his death. With his phenomenal memory, he mastered ancient and modern Hebrew literature and also interested himself in various branches of Jewish and general knowledge. He published articles on *halakhah* and topical matters (mainly in *Ha-Levanon*), some of them polemics against Moses Leib *Lilienblum who advocated religious reform (1869–70). The poet Judah Leib *Gordon, during his stay in Shavli as a teacher, came to know Stern and regarded him as a symbol of religious fanaticism and inflexibility, portraying him in his poem *Koẓo shel Yod* (in the character Vafsi Hakuzari – a name made by a transposition of the letters of Joseph Zechariah) as a fanatical rabbi with "the soul of a Tatar." This assessment of Stern was severely criticized by those who knew him. Many claimed that he was indeed one of the lenient rabbis, even though he was of a resolute mind and a nonconformist. He displayed a positive attitude toward the Ḥibbat Zion movement and settlement in Ereẓ Israel, but it was expressed only in his letters and writings, and not in actual activity. He wrote responsa and corresponded on halakhic topics with rabbis in many countries.

He was the author of *Zekher Yehosef* (1860), novellae on the Talmud; *Zekher Yehosef* (1899–1902), responsa on the Shulḥan Arukh in four parts; commentaries on the five scrolls (Song of Songs, 1875; Ruth, Lamentations, Ecclesiastes, and Esther, 1876); the Passover *Haggadah* (1898); and *Tahalukhot ha-Aggadot* (1902), on the *aggadah* (appended to *Zekher Yehosef*, pt. 4).

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[Benjamin Jaffe]

STERN, JULIUS (1820–1883), conductor and teacher. Born in Breslau, Stern founded the Stern'scher Gesangverein in 1847, and conducted it until 1874. The choir's performance of Mendelssohn's *Elijah* in 1847 established his reputation as a conductor. In 1850 he founded with Adolf Bernhard *Marx and Theodor Kullak the Berlin Conservatory, and was its sole director from 1856. It became one of the main centers of musical education in Germany. In 1869, he conducted the Berlin Symphony Orchestra and in 1873–75 he led the Reichshalle concerts. Stern composed an opera and works for voice, piano, and strings.

STERN, JULIUS DAVID (1886–1971), U.S. newspaper publisher. Stern, who was born in Philadelphia, worked as a reporter on several newspapers during 1908–10, and in 1911–12 was general manager of the Providence *News*. Stern purchased the New Brunswick, New Jersey, *Times* in 1912 and acted as its president until 1914; he then bought the Springfield, Illinois, *News* and *Record* and served as publisher of both from 1915 to 1919, when he bought the Camden, New Jersey, *Evening Courier*. His fast-paced, honest *Memoirs of a Maverick Publisher* (1962) begins with his purchase of the Camden *Morning Post* in 1926, to which he added the Philadelphia *Record* in 1928. Purchasing the New York *Post* in 1933, when it was losing $4,000 a day, Stern determined to make it the most liberal New York newspaper. He installed Ernest *Gruening as its editor, and then Henry Sayler, a long-time associate. Using puzzle competitions and low-priced book offers as well as more conventional features, he restored the paper's circulation before selling it in 1939. An advocate of crusading liberal journalism throughout his newspaper career, Stern supported Franklin D. Roosevelt before Roosevelt's first Democratic presidential nomination in 1932, and in 1940 and 1944 he produced a newspaper for the Democratic National Committee. Stern served as general chairman of the Publishers and Advertisers Division of the United Palestine Appeal in 1936, which raised $1,500,000. In his novel *Eidolon: A Philosophical Phantasy Built on a Syllogism* (1952), Stern pursued the theme of the compatibility of science and religion as paths to truth.

STERN, KURT GUNTER (1904–1956), U.S. biochemist. Born in Tilsit, Germany, Stern worked at the Rockefeller Institute, New York, at the Virchow Hospital, Berlin, and at the Courtauld Institute of Biochemistry, London, finally immigrating to the U.S. in 1935. He was at Yale University School of Medicine (1935–42), and from 1944 professor of biochemistry at the Brooklyn Polytechnic Institute. He also served with the Marine Biological Laboratory of Woods Hole from 1938. His research fields included the structure of genes, techniques of ultracentrifugation, and electrophoresis. He co-authored *Allgemeine Chemie der Enzyme* (1932) and *Biological Oxidation* (1939). He was chairman of the chemists' division of the United Jewish Appeal.

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[Samuel Aaron Miller]

STERN, LEONARD (1938–), U.S. entrepreneur. Born in New York City, Stern graduated from New York University. His initial wealth was inherited from his father, Max *Stern, vice chairman of the board of trustees of Yeshiva University, for whom its Stern College for Women was named. Max had emigrated from Weimar Germany to the United States in the 1920s, where he developed the family business, Hartz Mountain, the pet food supplier. After Leonard graduated from college in 1957, he bought out his brother's and sister's share of the family business. By the early 1960s he exercised absolute control of Hartz Mountain. Using questionable techniques that were later the subject of antitrust lawsuits, Hartz captured the pet supply market that catered to dog, cat, and bird owners. Stern broadened Hartz's distribution channels from variety stores into more than 30,000 supermarkets and mass merchandisers. Under his leadership, the Hartz trademark became the most widely known pet supply brand in the United States. By 1984 Hartz controlled 75 to 90 percent of the U.S. market for most U.S. pet supply goods. Its pet supply business was estimated to be worth $400 million and was earning $40 million in annual profits. But there were image problems. Over 20 years Hartz Mountain was the subject of more than a dozen antitrust suits and of investigation by the Federal Trade Commission and the Justice Department. Officials of the company pleaded guilty in March 1984 to a variety of white-collar crimes. In 1979 Hartz Mountain agreed to pay $42 million to A.H. Robins Company, which had accused Hartz Mountain of bribery, perjury, and antitrust violations such as strong-arming distributors and offering stores special deals to sell only Hartz Mountain products.

In 1966 Stern began a major diversification of his business interests by going into active real estate development. By the early years of the 21st century it had become one of the largest privately held real estate companies in the United States. Stern started the real estate operations by purchasing land in New Jersey's Meadowlands near New York City for $20,000 an acre. By 1987 Meadowlands real estate was selling for $500,000 an acre. The value of Stern's property there jumped from $10 million to over $1 billion by the late 1980s. Among the companies that moved their corporate offices from Manhattan to his Meadowlands commercial properties were Equitable Life Assurance Society, Paine Webber, Panasonic, and ITT. He completed a 24-story luxury office tower in Manhattan in 1987 and located the corporate offices there.

From 1986 through 1999, Stern successfully built Stern Publishing into the leading publisher of alternative weekly newspapers, with a total circulation of more than 900,000. Stern published *The Village Voice* in New York, *L.A. Weekly*, the *Seattle Weekly*, the *Cleveland Free Press*, and *City Pages* in Minneapolis. He sold his publishing interests in March 2000.

Over the years Stern built and sold numerous other businesses, including SM/Cork, the largest nonfoods service distributor in the United Kingdom, Harmon Homes, which published 180 free circulation local *Homes* magazines, and the Carpet Magic Company, which manufactured and serviced carpet cleaning machine rental centers in 20,000 retail stores.

In December 2000, in order to concentrate on the management of his growing real estate and financial interests, Stern sold the Hartz Mountain Pet Company, thus ending the family's 76 years of ownership. In recognition of a $30 million donation and his many years as a university trustee, NYU renamed its graduate and undergraduate schools of business the Leonard N. Stern School of Business.

[Stewart Kampel (2nd ed.)]

STERN, LINA SOLOMONOVNA (1878–1968), Russian physiologist and biologist. Born in Lithuania, Lina Stern qualified in Geneva and was later appointed professor of biochemistry at that university. In 1925 she was appointed professor of physiology at the Second Medical Institute of Moscow University and later chief professor and director at the Physiological Scientific Research Institute. In 1932 she was elected a member of the German Academy of Natural Sciences and in 1939 became the first woman to be admitted to the USSR Academy of Sciences. She was the recipient of the Stalin Prize and several Orders of Merit. During the 1948–49 purges in the Soviet Union she was accused of "rootless cosmopolitanism" and removed from her positions, but after the death of Stalin in 1953 was rehabilitated, with all her previous honors restored. Lina Stern made significant contributions to the study of the physiology of the central nervous system, the problems of sleep, the endocrine system, catalase, oxidation ferments, and related subjects. She investigated the hemato-encephalic barrier, described the role of the carotid plexus in the brain, the exchange of blood in the plexus and the liquid of the rachis. She published papers in German and Russian, among them "*Die Katalase*" (with F. Battelli, 1910); "*Ueber den Mechanismus der Oxydationsvorgaenge im Tierorganismus*" (1944); and others.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: S.R. Kagan, *Jewish Medicine* (1952), 175–6.

[Suessmann Muntner]

STERN, LOUIS (1904–1972), U.S. businessman and communal leader. Stern, born in Newark, New Jersey, was a partner in the New York stock brokerage firm of Stern and Byck. He was active in the Jewish community of South Orange, New Jersey. On a national level he was president of the *Council of Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds (CJFWF, 1962–64) and the Jewish Community Council of Essex County (1952–55), becoming president of the *National Jewish Welfare Board (JWB) in 1965 and chairman of the CJFWF Overseas Services Committee in 1971. Vice president of the Bureau for Careers in Jewish Service, he was a member of the Board of Governors of the American Jewish Committee and chairman of its Task Force on the Future of the Jewish Community. He was also a member of the Rockefeller Foundation Commission to Study Voluntary Health and Welfare Agencies.

STERN, MALCOLM HENRY (1915–1984), U.S. Reform rabbi, historian, genealogist. Stern, who has been called "the father of Jewish genealogy in America," was born in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. He received his B.A. from the University of Pennsylvania in 1935, and was ordained at *Hebrew Union College in 1941. In 1957, he earned his D.H.L. from HUC-JIR, which also awarded him an honorary D.D. in 1966. He began his rabbinic career as assistant rabbi at Reform Congregation Keneseth Israel in Philadelphia (1941–47), interrupted by three years of service as a chaplain in the U.S. Army Air Corps during World War II (1943–46), including more than a year in hospital recovering from a near fatal plane crash in North Africa. In 1947, Stern was appointed rabbi of Congregation Ohev Sholom in Norfolk, Virginia, where he remained for 17 years. His activity on behalf of civil rights and the Jewish community earned him the 1964 *B'nai B'rith Man of the Year Award in Norfolk. In 1964, he became the unanimous choice of his colleagues in the *Central Conference of American Rabbis to create their placement office and served as the first director of rabbinic placement for Reform Judaism, a position he held until his retirement in 1980. He also chaired CCAR committees that published three hymnals for Reform Judaism: *Union Songster* (1960); *Songs and Hymns for Gates of Prayer* (1977) and *Shaarei Shirah: Gates of Song* (1987).

In 1981, Stern joined the faculty of the New York campus of Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion, initially as counselor for student field work and subsequently as adjunct professor of American Jewish History. There he continued his research, begun in 1950, as genealogist for the American Jewish Archives and the American Historical Society. He was a founding member and president emeritus of the Jewish Genealogist Society, the first organization of its kind. He was also the first and only Jewish member elected a Fellow of the American Society of Genealogists, eventually rising to become that organization's president as well. In addition, he was a Fellow of the National Genealogical Society, and a board member and vice president of the Federation of Genealogical Societies. In 1978, he was appointed Genealogical Representative on the U.S. National Archives Advisory Council, where he served until the year of his death. In 1980, he organized the Genealogical Coordinating Committee, comprising the nation's major genealogical organizations; under their auspices, he established the National Archives Gift Fund, seeking $1.00 per year per genealogist to create finding aids for genealogical research at the National Archives and its regional branches. He was also president of the Jewish Historical Society of New York, and served on the Board of Trustees of the American Jewish Historical Society.

Stern compiled the pioneering volume *American Families of Jewish Descent* (1960), an eight-pound tome containing 26,000 names researched over the course of 10 years of labor. It was the first genealogical survey of Jewish families who settled in the United States between 1654 and 1840, and was lauded as an invaluable research tool in the fields of American and Jewish history. Many American Protestants and Catholics first learned of Jewish roots and branches in their family trees from Stern's data, which served as an important source for Stephen Birmingham's best-selling novel, *The Grandee*. For the United States Bicentennial, the American Archives and American Jewish Historical Society published a revised and enlarged edition, entitled *First American Jewish Families: 600 Genealogies, 1654–1977*. The latest updated third edition, *First American Jewish Families* (1991), contains 50,000 family trees of every Jewish family established in North America by 1840, traced to the present. Stern became such a popular lecturer at genealogical conferences that his speaking engagements were booked as far as 12 years in advance.

In addition to the three celebrated editions of his magnum opus, Stern contributed numerous articles to academic journals and co-authored two books: *American Airlines' Guide to Jewish History in the Caribbean* (with Bernard Postal) and *Life Begins at 40* (1980).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: The Nearprint Files of the American Jewish Archives, Cincinnati.

[Bezalel Gordon (2nd ed.)]

STERN, MAX (1898–1982), U.S. businessman and philanthropist. Stern, who was born in Fulda, Germany, went to the U.S. in 1926. In 1932 he became president of the Hartz Mountain Products Corporation, which subsequently became one of the largest pet food suppliers in the U.S. Extremely active in Jewish affairs and a major supporter of Orthodox institutions, Stern endowed the Stern College for Women of Yeshiva University (1954), was vice chairman of Yeshiva University, and was a founder and member of the board of governors of the University's Albert Einstein College of Medicine. He was president of the Jewish Center in New York and chairman of the International Committee of Shaarei Zedek Hospital. He was also a member of the board of directors of the American Fund for Israel Institutions, and chairman of the board of directors of the Union of Orthodox Congregations of America.

STERN, MAX EMANUEL (Mendel; 1811–1873), Hebrew publisher and writer. Born in Pressburg, he studied in a yeshivah and began teaching at the age of 14. In 1833 he went to Vienna and worked as a proofreader at a printing press; from 1838 he was director of its Hebrew division. He was editor and publisher of *Kokhevei Yiẓḥak* (36 vols., 1845–69), a Hebrew periodical which included poetry, prose, scholarly articles, and translations. He also issued old Hebrew texts with German translations.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Kressel, Leksikon, 2 (1967), 919.

[Getzel Kressel]

STERN, MENAHEM (d. 1834), Hungarian rabbi. Stern was born in a small village near Sziget (Sighet). Among his teachers were Moses Leib of Sasov, the *Maggid* of Kuzhnitz (Kozienice), and Menahem Mendel of Kosov, and he was ordained rabbi by Meshullam Igra of Tismanitz. Stern served as rabbi of Kalush, Galicia, and then, from 1802, as rabbi and *rosh bet din* ("head of the *bet din*") of Sziget. On the death of Judah ha-Kohen *Heller, author of the *Kunteres ha-Sefekot*, he was appointed *av bet din* of Sziget in 1819, a post in which he served until his death. He was most concerned at the lack of religious knowledge and observance in the Maramures region, and he traveled about the outlying villages and saw simple Jews, farm workers who had forgotten the Torah and were becoming indistinguishable from their Walachian and Ruthenian neighbors. He visited the villages once or twice a month, gathering the inhabitants together and giving them instruction. He established synagogues and ritual baths and arranged **eruvin* in every village of Maramures. He used to say: "Maramures is my garden; I planted it." Stern was the author of *Derekh Emunah* (1856–60), on the Torah and the festivals. He also wrote a book on the four parts of the Shulḥan Arukh, as well as one on the Psalms, but these were apparently lost in the Holocaust.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: J.J.(L.) Greenwald (Grunwald), *Zikkaron la-Rishonim* (1909), 16–20; idem, *Maẓẓevat Kodesh* (1952), 23–28; N. Ben-Menahem, *Mi-Sifrut Yisrael be-Ungaryah* (1958), 87–94.

[Naphtali Ben-Menahem]

STERN, MENAHEM (1925–1989), historian. Born in Poland, Stern immigrated to Israel in 1938. Stern's specialization was the period of the Second Commonwealth, and Greek and Roman texts dealing with Jews and Judaism. His main publications are *Greek and Latin Authors on Judaism and Jews from Herodotus to Plutarch*, (3 vols. 1974–1984); *Studies in Jewish History. The Second Temple Period* (Hebrew), ed. by M. Amit, I. Gafni, and M.D. Herr (1991); *Hasmonean Judaea in the Hellenistic World: Chapters in Political History* (Hebrew), ed. by D.R. Schwartz (1995) (published posthumously). Stern was awarded the Israel Prize in 1977 for the history of Ereẓ Israel and the Jewish people. While walking on his way to the National Library in Jerusalem, he was murdered by a terrorist on June 22, 1989.

[Emmanuelle Main (2nd ed.)]

STERN, MORITZ (1864–1939), German rabbi and historian. Stern, who was born in Steinbach, Germany, was rabbi at Kiel (1891–98), head of the Jewish secondary school in Fuerth (Bavaria) until 1899, and of a religious school in Berlin until 1905, when he was appointed librarian of the *Berlin Jewish Community Library. Under him, this library developed into one of the most important institutions of its kind in Europe with over 70,000 volumes. Stern also acted as curator of the art collection of the Berlin community from its inception in 1917 until 1930, and organized in 1929 the Moses Mendelssohn bicentenary exhibition.

Stern's main interests in scholarship were his researches into the history of German Jews in the Middle Ages, the blood libel, and communal, family, and individual histories. He compiled the "Bibliographie der Schriften A. Geigers," in Ludwig Geiger's *Abraham Geiger* (1910).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Shunami, Bibl., nos. 2271–72, 3549.

STERN, MOSHE (1935–). Born in Budapest, the son of Israel Stern, who was chief cantor, Stern immigrated to Israel in 1950. In 1955 he was appointed *ḥazzan* to the chief synagogue in Reḥovot, and in 1958 to the *Hechal Shlomo Synagogue in Jerusalem. From 1963 to 1968 he was chief cantor of the Great Synagogue in Johannesburg, and from 1968 to 1977 of Beth-El Synagogue in Boro Park, New York. In 1977 he returned to Israel. Subsequently the High Holidays saw Stern *daven* for more than a decade at Club Hebraica in Sao Paulo, Brazil, while the rest of the holidays would often find him presiding at the pulpit of the Great Synagogue on Allenby Street in Tel Aviv. Stern was regarded as one of the greatest cantors and extemporizers of our time and was constantly touring the Jewish world giving concerts of Jewish liturgical music.

He made many recordings, often of his own compositions, which though traditional in nature are always memorable and showstoppers.

[Akiva Zimmerman / Raymond Goldstein (2nd ed.)]

STERN, NOAH (1912–1960), Hebrew poet. Born in Jonava, Lithuania, he moved to the U.S. when he was 17. In 1935 he settled in Palestine where he worked as a news translator for **Davar* and as a teacher in a Tel Aviv high school. During World War II he served for four years in the Jewish Brigade. A growing mental depression, which was aggravated by the Holocaust, appears to have prevented him from striking roots in postwar Israel. His few poems, published in various periodicals, aroused little attention, though his translation of T.S. Eliot's *The Waste Land* (*Ereẓ ha-Shemamah*, 1940), was lauded by many critics. He served a prison term for attempted manslaughter, and in 1960 he committed suicide. His poems, *Bein Arfillim* ("In the Haze," Tel Aviv, 1966), a sheaf of prose sketches, and literary reviews were published posthumously. In his early verse, along with his attempts at more immediate and more intense expression, much is awkward, obsolescent, and graceless. In the poems written under the impact of his war experiences, sensitivity gives way to solemn rhetoric verging on the banal. The more personal imagery – recurring metaphors of decay and disease – sometimes appears as conventional trappings rather than a genuine expression of an immediate experience. But it would be unfair to measure Stern's poetry solely by the poem as a whole. The single phrase, the concise cluster of images that flare suddenly from the half-extinguished ashes are his most effective skills. It is here that the strange, unexpected epithet – at times, undoubtedly, a corollary of his unwieldy language – evokes a vital, highly suggestive presence. Perhaps his most impressive poems are those which, like *Mikhtav Beinayim* ("An Interim Letter," 1942), take to task the realities of Ereẓ Israel as they existed for the immigrant of the 1930s, with a keener awareness of conflict and contradiction and in a manner more outspoken and unadorned than that of many of his confreres who enjoyed wider popularity at the time. Here his poetic shortcomings are more than offset by the balance between the pungent statement and the resonant image. With the publication in 1966 of his collected work, interest in Stern greatly revived. A collection of poems, *Egrof ha-Goral*, appeared in 2002.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: A. Broides, in: N. Stern, *Bein Arfillim* (1966), 5–16. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** H. Schimmel, "*Demut ha-Sofer ha-Ivri N. Stern*," in: *Moznayim* 31 (1971), 358–62; B. Link, "*Shirato shel N. Stern ve-Zikkatah le-Merkazei ha-Sifrut ha-Ivrit bi-Shenot ha-Sheloshim,*" in: *Ha-Kongres ha-Olami le-Mada'ei ha-Yahadut, Yerushalayim* 10, 2–3 (1990), 289–294.

[Natan Zach]

STERN, OTTO (1888–1969), physicist and Nobel prizewinner. Born in Sorau, Stern worked with *Einstein in Prague and Zurich. From 1915 to 1921 he lectured in theoretical physics at the universities of Frankfurt and Rostock, and in 1923 was appointed professor of physical chemistry at Hamburg. This was his most fruitful period. Stern succeeded in making the molecular beam method a sufficiently sensitive tool for measuring nuclear magnetic moments. He provided proof that the movements of atoms and molecules could be represented by the propagation of de Broglie waves. His work confirmed Planck's quantum theory and the dual nature of matter. In 1933, at the first sign of Nazi interference in the affairs of his department, Stern left Germany for the U.S., and the Buhl Foundation built him a laboratory at the Carnegie Institute of Technology in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. There, with I. Estermann, a former colleague expelled by the Nazis, he carried on research in molecular physics. In 1943 Stern was awarded the Nobel Prize for his research in the development of the molecular beam method of detecting the magnetic moment of protons. From 1945 he lived in Berkeley, California.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Mc-Graw-Hill Modern Men of Science* (1966), 446–8.

STERN, PHILIP COHEN (1847–1933), Jamaican lawyer and politician. Stern was born in Kingston and educated at University College, London, becoming a barrister in London in 1869 and in Jamaica in 1870. He was also admitted as a solicitor in Jamaica, where he lived until 1878 and after 1893. In 1883 he founded and edited *Pump Court*, the Temple newspaper and review. Ill health forced him to leave England soon afterward and he returned to Jamaica where he rapidly established a reputation as an outstanding lawyer and was involved in most of the famous legal cases in Jamaica during the next few decades. Stern sat in the Legislative Council from 1895 to 1908. On his retirement from the council he was appointed its clerk (1908–24) and served as registrar of the Supreme Court (1909–10). He was three times mayor of Kingston.

[Bernard Hooker]

STERN, ROBERT A.M. (1939–), U.S. architect. Stern was born in New York City and received his bachelor's degree from Columbia University. He was appointed dean of Yale School of Architecture in 1999. In achieving this position, he returned to the school where he graduated in 1965 with a master's degree. He worked first with architects Richard Meier and John S. Hagmenn. From the time of his graduation, Stern emerged as a world-class architect as well as a prolific author of analytical books on earlier forms of architecture, especially the architectural development of New York City, and a fellow of the American Institute of Architects. His commentaries on New York's architecture also include extensive analysis of architectural designs of Manhattan synagogues. Stern suggested, for example, that the classical design of Congregation Shearith Israel on West 19th Street in New York marked a sign of assimilation and dissociation of the local Jewish community from the Moorish style in synagogue design. Stern suggests that Congregation Emanu-El on Fifth Avenue, which uses more of an Italian style, was designed to compete with major cathedrals in the city. In addition to analytical writing, Stern also hosted, in 1986, a multi-part public television series on architecture entitled "Pride of Place: Building the American Dream."

As with many architects who were schooled in this period, Stern was influenced strongly by Frank Lloyd Wright and the Bauhaus, particularly Le Corbusier. Wright's influence is most striking in the Jewish Center at Princeton University (1993), which echoes aspects of Wright's style as well as the Prairie School of architecture. In 1975, Stern wrote a biography of Philadelphia architect George Howe, famous for his design of the Philadelphia Savings Fund Society Building (1929–32), heralded as the first American skyscraper in the International Style, as well as his association with Louis Kahn and Oscar Stonorov.

Stern has suggested the need for architects to create what he calls "a compelling sense of place." His architectural achievements include the Center for Jewish Life at Princeton University, public libraries in Nashville, Bangor, Miami Beach, Jacksonville, and Columbus, Ga.; he has designed many country houses in his "Shingle-style" which harkened back to early 20th-century houses, American homes with a rambling character. In the mid-1980s, Stern developed an association with the Walt Disney Company, embarking on many projects including the planned community of Celebration in Orlando, Fla. Other educationally oriented buildings include the Brooklyn Law School Building, Darden School of Business at the University of Virginia, the Ohrstrom Library at St. Paul's School in Concord, N.H., and the American Revolution Center at Valley Forge, Penn. In 2004, Stern won the Palladio Award for the John L. Vogelstein '52 Dormitory at the Taft School in Watertown, Conn.

Stern's work has been exhibited extensively in American museums and he was also selected on three occasions (1976, 1980 and 1996) to be included in the Venice Biennale.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: P.M. Dixon, *Robert A.M. Stern: Buildings and Projects 1999–2003* (2003); V. Scully, *Robert A.M. Stern: Buildings and Projects 1987–1992* (1992).

[Stephen Feinstein (2nd ed.)]

STERN, SAMUEL MIKLÓS (1920–1969), Orientalist. Stern belonged to the great tradition of Hungarian Jewish Orientalist scholarship. After studies at the Hebrew University and in Oxford, he was employed on the new edition of the *Encyclopaedia of Islam* and in the coin room in the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford before becoming, in 1957, a fellow of All Souls College, Oxford, where he remained for the rest of his life.

Stern's large scholarly output encompassed many areas of Jewish and Islamic scholarship. He wrote on Islamic numismatics and history, on *Fatimid documents, on the so-called *Epistles of the Brethren of Purity*, and on early Islamic philosophy, as well as editing an English translation of Ignaz *Goldziher's *Muhammedanische Studien*, one of the foundation stones of modern Orientalist scholarship. But his prime achievement, accomplished at a very early stage in his career, was the recognition that the mysterious *kharjas*, or endings, to the *muwashshahāt*, a genre of strophic poetry in Arabic (or in Hebrew) produced in medieval al-Andalus, Islamic *Spain, were occasionally not in Arabic (or Hebrew), but in a form of early Spanish transliterated into Arabic letters. These were in fact among the very earliest witnesses to the character of early Spanish. His interpretation of the very difficult material aroused much controversy (some of it colored by antisemitism), and discussion of details in it continues, but its overall correctness is undisputed. The material contributes greatly to our understanding of medieval Iberian social relations, linguistic behavior, and much else.

Among Stern's other contributions to Jewish scholarship was a study (with A. Altmann) of *Isaac Israeli, a Neoplatonic Philosopher of the Early Tenth Century* (1958).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: S. Sela, "The Interaction of Judaic and Islamic Studies in the Scholarship of S.M. Stern," in: M. Kramer (ed.), *The Jewish Discovery of Islam* (1999), 261–71; Bibliography of Stern's writings by J.D. Latham and H.W. Mitchell, in: L.P. Harvey (ed.), S.M. Stern, *Hispano-Arabic Strophic Poetry* (1974), 231–45.

[David J. Wasserstein (2nd ed.)]

STERN, SIGISMUND (1812–1867), German teacher and leader of the Berlin Reform movement. After studying philology in Berlin, in 1835 Stern succeeded I.M. *Jost as headmaster of the Berlin Jewish boys' school. In 1845 he gave a series of lectures on the tasks of Judaism which aroused wide interest and controversy. He wished to bring about a revival of religious life, waking it from its then current lethargy, which he felt was caused by the contradictions and frustrations faced by Jews in the modern world. Following his proposal calling for the erection of a "German-Jewish church," leading classes of Berlin Jewry responded by forming an "Association for Reform in Judaism," in which Stern played a central role. Contending that Judaism must free itself from its national heritage, he initiated radical reforms and the separate organization of the reformers in Berlin. In 1848, after standing unsuccessfully as candidate for that year's National Assembly, Stern accepted the directorship of the Frankfurt on the Main Philanthropin Jewish school. He enlarged the institution, raised its academic standards, and introduced pedagogic (but not religious) innovations, which made him an acknowledged leader of the German methods.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: A. Galliner, *Sigismund Stern* (1930); idem, in: YLBI, 3 (1958), 177–81; W.G. Plaut, *Rise of Reform Judaism* (1963), 288. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** M.A. Meyer, *Response to Modernity: A History of the Reform Movement in Judaism* (1988), 125–29.

STERN, STEVE (1947–), U.S. novelist and short-story writer. Stern was born in Memphis and educated at Rhodes College, where he received his B.A., and at the University of Arkansas at Fayetteville, where he received an M.F.A. in creative writing. Among the most gifted writers of his generation, Stern brought an unusual locale to American-Jewish writing: the "Pinch," the once-vibrant East European Jewish community of Memphis. He had become acquainted with the Pinch while working at the Center for Southern Folklore, making transcriptions of oral histories. He became the director of the "Lox and Grits" project, one that involved preserving the recollections of those who lived in the Pinch.

It was only when he began to write in his mid-twenties that he discerned the echoes of the literature that became important to him. Among the influences on his work are Kafka and Peretz: he calls them "palate-cleansers." Babel and Malamud are what he terms "compasses" that he refers to when his work "goes awry."

His work keeps alive the grand traditions of mythographic narrative. In his fiction, Jewish characters find themselves confronting angels, the figure of death, and tales within tales that ensnare the teller and the listener. His writing can be placed in the long tradition of Yiddish folktales and *aggadah* that see our daily life as carried out within a culture's embroidered rendition of the sacred. His works can also be placed alongside Jewish writers who separated a strict realism from the poetics of the imagination: a choice between how the world empirically appears, as opposed to the possibilities we imagine the world to contain. Among his works are *Isaac and the Undertaker's Daughter* (1983); *The Moon and Ruben Shein: A Novel* (1984); *Lazar Malkin Enters Heaven: Stories* (1986); *Harry Kaplan's Adventures Underground* (1991); *A Plague of Dreamers: Three Novellas* (1994), *The Wedding Jester* (1999; National Jewish Book Award Winner), and *The Angel of Forgetfulness* (2005).

[Lewis Fried (2nd ed.)]

STERN, WILLIAM (**Louis**; 1871–1938), German philosopher and psychologist; grandson of Sigismund *Stern. Stern, who was born and educated in Berlin, was the founder of personalistic psychology and a pioneer in many other fields of psychology. He taught philosophy and psychology at Breslau (1897–1915), before becoming professor of psychology and philosophy at the University of Hamburg and head of the Institute of Psychology (1916). Stern co-edited *Zeitschrift fuer angewandte Psychologie* (1907–33). Expelled by the Nazis, he fled to Holland (1933) and from there went to the U.S. In 1934 he became professor of psychology at Duke University (North Carolina), where he remained until his death. At Breslau, Stern invented an instrument, the Tonvariator, to effect changes in pitch, and studied the perception of change in many sense modalities. His approach foreshadowed the methods of Gestalt psychology. Its importance lay in its opposition to the "constancy hypothesis," the notion that there has to be a simple one-to-one relationship between stimulus and response. Stern was also interested in the psychology of the courtroom and of the witness stand. Child psychology engaged his attention throughout his life, and formed a basis for his studies in IQ and personalistic psychology. He and his wife, Clara, studied their own and other children by making use of questionnaires and the direct observation technique. This work led to a study of intelligence, and it was in this connection that he improved the method of Binet by introducing the ratio of mental age to chronological age (IQ), as an age-independent index of intelligence (1912). Stern found that a wealth of influences arrayed themselves in a unified pattern in the developing individual. He called it a *unitas multiplex* ("a whole of many parts"). His convergence theory stressed the convergence of character traits with the totality of environmental influences. His studies of Helen Keller (1910) were an attempt to validate his theories.

Stern divided his energies between the applied work of his institute, famous for its early identification of gifted children, and his studies of the individual as a living, unique whole, capable of goal-directed behavior and experience, a concept intended to weld the multiplicity of psychological functions into a complex unity. It was in connection with this personalistic theory that he rejected his early formulation of the IQ as too narrow, although he defended its heuristic value. Although his ideas were not readily accepted in American psychology and he gained few disciples, his point of view foreshadowed many of the trends which later gained prominence in formulations of psychological theory.

His works include *Die Analogie im volkstuemlichen Denken* (1893); *Psychologie der Veraenderungsauffassung* (1898); *Psychologie der individuellen Differenzen* (1900); *Zur Psychologie der Aussage* (1902); "*Helen Kellers Persoenliche Eindruecke*" in *Zeitschrift fuer angewandte Psychologie*, 3 (1910), 321–33; *Die psychologischen Methoden der Intelligenzpruefung und deren Anwendung an Schulkindern* (1912); *Person und Sache* (3 vols., 1906, 1918, 1924); *Psychologie der fruehen Kindheit bis zum sechsten Lebensjahre* (1914) transl. as *Psychology of Early Childhood up to the Sixth Year* (1930); *Allgemeine Psychologie auf personalistitscher Grundlage* (1935), transl. by H.D. Spoerl as *General Psychology, from the Personalistic Standpoint* (1938). In collaboration with Clara Stern he wrote *Die Kindersprache* (1907) and *Erinnerung, Aussage und Luege in der ersten Kindheit* (1908).

[Helmut E. Adler]

Stern's wife, CLARA JOSEEPHY (1878–1945), was a child psychologist. She collaborated with her husband on research projects involving the growth and development of their three children. This joint effort resulted in two monographs on the mental and spiritual development of the child from birth through the primary school years. The first, *Die Kindersprache* (1907, 1922^3), an investigation from the psychological and linguistic standpoints, traced the development in children from the ability to articulate the first word to that of composing sentences. As source materials, Clara Stern used the diaries recording observations of her own children as well as available scientific literature. The second monograph, *Erinnerung, Aussage und Luege in der ersten Kindheit* (1908, 1931^4), interpreted children's statements in psychological and personal terms. Her diaries were the basis of her husband's *Psychology of Early Childhood up to the Sixth Year* (1928).

[William W. Brickman]

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *A History of Psychology in Autobiography*, 1 (1930, repr. 1961), 335–88; G.W. Allport, in: *Character and Personality*, 5 (1936/37), 231–46; H. Werner, *ibid.*, 7 (1938/39), 109–25; G.W.

Allport, in: *American Journal of Psychology,* 51 (1938), 770–4; idem, in: B.B. Wolman (ed.), *Historical Roots of Contemporary* (1940), 1–15 (Ger.); *William Stern bibliography*, compiled by Eva Michaelis-Stern (1971).

STERNBERG, ERICH-WALTER (1898–1974), composer. Sternberg was born in Berlin, where he studied law and also music (with Hugo Leichtentritt and Adolf Aber). His first compositions already incorporated material from East European Jewish folklore (the finale of the First String Quartet was based on Eliakum *Zunser's *Der Parom*, "The Ferry"). After a visit to Ereẓ Israel in 1924, he settled there permanently in 1932 with the first wave of composers trained in Western Europe.

Many of his works had biblical themes: *Joseph and his Brethren*, a suite for string orchestra (1938); *The Twelve Tribes of Israel*, variations for orchestra (1942); *David and Goliath*, a cantata for bass-baritone and chamber orchestra (text by Mathias Claudius, transl. by J. Aḥai); and *Noah's Ark*, a symphony. Others are connected by their themes or texts with liturgical traditions: *Yishtabbaḥ*, for choir, baritone solo, and speaker, to words by Judah Halevi (1945), and *Shema Yisrael*, a symphonic poem. Settings of texts from European literature are more frequent in Sternberg's work than in that of other Jewish composers: a major work is *The Raven* (based on Edgar Allan Poe's poem in the translation by Vladimir Jabotinsky), for baritone and orchestra. Other works of note are a children's opera *Dr. Dolittle* (1932); a suite for his stage music to the Habimah production of Shalom Aleichem's *Amkha* (1935); *The Resurrection of Israel*, for baritone and orchestra; and various vocal, choral, chamber, and orchestral works.

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[Bathja Bayer]

STERNBERG, JACOB (1890–1973), Yiddish editor, poet, and dramatist. Born in Lipkany, Moldova (former Bessarabia), Sternberg attended a Russian secondary school in Kamenets-Podolski. In 1908 he began publishing poetry and short stories in the Yiddish press, and in 1911 the Odessa daily *Gut Morgn* printed his translation of Ḥ.N. *Bialik's popular poem "*Hakhnisini Taḥat Kenafekh*" ("Take Me under Your Wings"). In 1914 he settled in Romania and wrote and produced nine short plays and satiric dramatic revues for the Yiddish theater in Bucharest in collaboration with Jacob *Botoshansky (1917–18). He directed the Vilna Troupe during its extended stay there (1924–26), staging plays by I.L. *Peretz, *Sholem Aleichem, Osip *Dymov, and Gogol. Between 1920 and 1930 he also edited several short-lived Yiddish periodicals. In 1935 he collected his lyrics and grotesques in the volume *Shtot in Profil* ("City in Outline"). In 1940 Sternberg moved to Bessarabia but soon fled from the Nazis to Uzbekistan. In 1945 he returned to direct the Yiddish theater of Kishinev, capital of the Soviet Moldavian Republic. Sternberg was a member of the *Jewish Anti-Fascist Committee in Moscow, and was thus arrested in 1948 and spent five years in a Siberian labor camp. His reputation was rehabilitated after the death of Stalin, and a collection of his poems was published in 1959 in Russian translation. After 1961 his Yiddish essays and critical articles were frequently printed in *Sovetish Heymland*, of whose editorial board he was a member. A volume of his collected poetry *In Krayz fun Yorn* ("In the Circle of the Years") appeared in Bucharest (1970), and his collected essays in Tel Aviv (1987); a selection of his lyrics in Hebrew translation appeared in 1967.

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[Sol Liptzin]

STERNBERG, JOSEF VON (1894–1969), film director. Von Sternberg, born in Vienna (though the "von" was a Hollywood addition), was one of the best-known film directors of the 1920s and 1930s. He used the camera as it had not been used before, capturing the play of light and the symbolism of shadow. Out of his struggle against the commercialism of the major studios came films of distinction and influence. He first drew attention with *The Salvation Hunters* (1925), a realistic presentation of the lower depths of American life. For Paramount studios he made the first gangster film, *Underworld*, in 1927. In 1930 he went to Germany to direct the Ufa company's first talking picture, *The Blue Angel*. He cast the unknown Marlene Dietrich in the leading role and the film became a part of cinema history. There followed six more films with Dietrich in Hollywood. During World War II, he made films for the Office of War Information. Von Sternberg amassed a noteworthy collection of 20th-century art. He published his autobiography, *Fun in a Chinese Laundry*, in 1965.

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[Stewart Kampel]

STERNBERG, KURT (1885–1942), German philosopher. He was born in Berlin and taught there at the Lessing Hochschule. A rigorous neo-Kantian advocating a faithful return to Kant, he was involved in the neo-Kantian discussions over the relationship between *Naturwissenschaften* and *Kulturwissenschaften* and wrote on the nature of historical studies, *Zur Logik der Geschichtswissenschaft* (1914). He criticized Spengler's pessimism in his *Idealismus und Kultur* (1923). Other writings deal with Hauptmann, Heine, and Rathenau. His last books treat philosophical problems in the Bible. Among his main works are *Beitraege zur Interpretation der kritischen Ethik* (1912), *Neukantische Aufgaben* (1931), and *Die Geburt des Etwas aus dem Nichts* (1932). He was murdered in Auschwitz.

[Richard H. Popkin]

STERNBERG, LEV YAKOVLEVICH (1861–1927), Russian anthropologist, born in Zhitomir. He was sentenced in 1886 to ten years' exile in Sakhalin as a member of the Narodnaya Volya (Populist Party). Like his friends V.G. *Bogoraz and V. *Jochelson, Sternberg studied ethnography and resolved to devote himself to this subject. He became an authority on the culture of the Gilyaks of northeast Siberia, and later he and his two friends participated in the great Jessup North Pacific Expedition headed by Franz *Boas, in which he was responsible for investigation of the Gilyak culture. After his return from exile (1897), Sternberg was appointed ethnographer at the St. Petersburg Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography and wrote a number of papers on the customs and languages of the east Siberian peoples. After the Russian Revolution Sternberg was appointed professor of ethnography at the University of Leningrad and of anthropology at the Geographical Institute, and with Bogoraz helped to develop these academic disciplines in the USSR. An energetic Marxist, he carried forward certain doctrines in that tradition, for example, primitive communism, and its familial correlate, group marriage, according to the theory of Engels; he polemicized on behalf of these views against the doctrines of Schmidt, *Freud, and *Lévy-Bruhl. Yet his ethnological theory was eclectic and "idealistic," stressing the creativity of the human spirit. As a result, his Marxist orthodoxy was impugned but he was permitted to continue his teaching. He was a member of the Academy of Science in St. Petersburg (later Leningrad), and with Bogoraz assisted in the cultural development of the Siberian peoples, utilizing his ethnological knowledge to foster the political modernization of indigenous peoples in transition. Sternberg took an active part in Jewish social and cultural life. He was one of the founders of the "Popular Jewish Group" (the *Vinawer-*Sliosberg group) and edited its periodicals, participated in the Jewish Historical Ethnological Society, and contributed to Jewish periodicals, such as *Yevreyskaya Starina*, which he edited and where he published papers on the anthropology and social psychology of Jews. Sternberg was one of the group of Jewish scholars in Leningrad who endeavored to continue research on Jewish subjects under the Soviet regime.

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[Ephraim Fischoff]

STERNBERG, SARAH FRANKEL (1838–1937), daughter of ḥasidic rabbi Joshua Heschel Teomim Frankel and wife of the *ẓaddik* Hayyim Samuel Sternberg of Chenciny, a disciple of the famed Seer of Lublin. Sternberg was one of the few women who attained any stature in the ḥasidic courts of the 19th century. After her husband's death, Sarah Sternberg functioned successfully as a *rebbe* in Chenciny and was highly regarded for her piety and asceticism. She fasted regularly and avoided meat, except on the Sabbath. She also became well-known for her wise parables, and other famous rabbis consulted her and requested her blessing. As a charismatic leader, Sternberg was most famous for her apparently miraculous powers. Many women made pilgrimages to see her and left *kvittlach* (written petitionary prayers), a common practice among ḥasidim, who believed that the intervention of a *rebbe* would assure that their request to God was granted. One of Sarah's original letters of blessing has been preserved in a late 20th-century authorized history of the Chencin-Ozherov ḥasidic dynasty; it is affirmed with her personal seal, evidence that suggests she was considered a legitimate *rebbe*. Sarah had many children and a number of her sons and grandsons were well-known *rebbes* and respected scholars. At least one of her daughters, Hannah Brakhah, also participated in the ḥasidic court, along with her husband Elimelekh of Grodzinsk. Hannah remains one of the few ḥasidic women who were active while married. Sarah Frankel Sternberg lived to the age of 99 and was survived by more than 250 grandchildren and great-grandchildren. According to contemporary reports 10,000 people attended her funeral.

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[Emily Taitz (2nd ed.)]

STERNBERG, SIR SIGMUND (1921–), British businessman, interfaith activist, and patron of Reform Judaism. Born in Budapest, Hungary, Sternberg came to England in 1939 when antisemitic laws made it difficult to receive a higher education in Hungary. After the war he became a leading metal recycler and smelter and was later president of the Metal Trades Industry Association. He also served as chairman, for 15 years, of ISYS Ltd., the computer firm. Sternberg is best known, however, for his remarkable activities on behalf of interfaith work in Britain. He was chairman of the executive of the International Council of Christians and Jews and was one of the founders of the Three Faiths Forum, which includes representatives of Islam. In 1988 Sternberg was awarded the Templeton Prize in Religion for having "advanced the public understanding of God and spirituality." He received numerous international honors and in 1985 became one of the few Jews to be made a papal knight. He was also one of the most important leaders of Reform Jewry in Britain, in 1981 endowing the Sternberg Centre for Judaism, the headquarters of Reform Judaism in the country, and he was president of the Reform Synagogues of Great Britain. He was knighted in 1976.

[William D. Rubinstein (2nd ed.)]

STERNE, HEDDA (1916–), U.S. painter, printmaker, educator. Born Hedda Lindenberg in Bucharest, Romania. Between 1932 and 1934 she studied art history and philosophy at Bucharest University, and then in Vienna and Paris. She affiliated herself with the Surrealists, especially Victor Brauner, and exhibited in the Paris Salon of Surrealist Independents in 1938. Sterne arrived in the U.S. in 1941. She exhibited at Peggy Guggenheim's Art of This Century Gallery that same year. The artist had her first solo exhibition at the Betty Parsons Gallery in 1943, a show consisting of assemblages recalling totems. Also in 1943, Sterne married cartoonist Saul Steinberg. She is probably most familiar to students of art history as the only woman featured in the famous photograph of the Abstract Expressionists, "The Irascibles" by Nina Leen, published in the January 15, 1951, issue of *Life* magazine. She often signed her work "H. Sterne" to mask her identity as a woman, a strategy necessary when the work of female artists in 1950s New York encountered the risk of being dismissed as "delicate." Sterne adopted many different styles throughout her career, often at the same time: While a painting like *Birds* (1944–45) recalled the simple, evocative shapes of Adolph Gottlieb, a composition titled *Fixtures* of the same year depicts a stylized, but definitively representational interior, complete with radiator. As late as 1997, Sterne returned to a motif she had established in the 1940s, that of a cruciform in *U.S.A*. Sterne also painted portraits throughout her career. She received a Fulbright Fellowship to study in Venice in 1973. Her work has been exhibited at the Art Institute of Chicago, the Corcoran Gallery, the Museum of Modern Art, and the Whitney Museum. A retrospective at the Krannert Art Museum, University of Illinois is scheduled for 2006. Her art is in the collections of the Art Institute, the Carnegie Museum, the National Museum of Women in the Art, and the Whitney Museum, among other institutions. She lives in New York.

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[Nancy Buchwald (2nd ed.)]

STERNE, MAURICE (1877–1957), U.S. painter, educator, printmaker, and sculptor. Born in Libau, Latvia, his family moved to Moscow; at the age of 10, the artist immigrated to the United States. In America, he first studied map engraving, then painting and drawing at the National Academy of Design (1894–99) under the tutelage of Thomas Eakins. He also studied at Cooper Union in New York City. After receiving a Mooney Traveling Scholarship from the National Academy, he traveled widely in Europe and Asia from 1904 to 1915, although maintaining a base in New York City. In fact, Sterne became an American citizen in 1904. He first traveled to Paris, absorbing the lessons of Degas, Renoir, and Cezanne, then to Italy, where he studied Mantegna and Piero della Francesca. Sterne next lived in Greece, studying 4th- and 5th-century statuary. In 1916, he traveled to Taos, New Mexico, where he and his wife Mabel Dodge devoted themselves to the study and preservation of American Indian culture. Sterne's images from this time include sensitive portraits of Indians, with great attention to details of dress. Two years later, he returned to Italy. By 1910, he was in Germany, where he executed many commissioned paintings. From 1910 to 1914, he visited Bali, Java, Burma, and India. Work from this time, characterized by a movement away from the lessons of academic painting to a more decorative and spontaneous use of line and form, and brighter palette, reflected Sterne's enchantment with the people and places he encountered here. He was elected president of the Society of American Painters in 1929. In this same year, Sterne won a competition to create a public sculpture in Worcester, Massachusetts. Made of limestone, the Rogers-Kennedy memorial depicts a couple pulling a plow atop a base featuring an array of bas-reliefs which illustrate events in the life of an agricultural community. In 1933 he had a retrospective show at the Museum of Modern Art, the first for an American artist. The critic Lewis Mumford praised Sterne's Balinese paintings as the highlight of the exhibition. Sterne worked in a variety of media: paint, charcoal, etching, and marble, among others. Sterne's subjects included portraits, still-lifes, genre-scenes, seascapes, as well as themes borrowed from the Impressionists. The latter include dancehall scenes such as *Entrance of the Ballet*, which appropriates the subject matter, and the economy of light and form characteristic of Degas and Toulouse-Lautrec. Sterne's talents as an artist emerge most forcefully in his depictions of women, whether the quietly luminous marble *Sitting Figure* (1932) or the water, crayon, and charcoal *Study of My Wife*, which captures a figure in a few emotive and economical strokes. Sterne's style underwent a radical change after an illness suffered in 1945, becoming looser, freer, and more colorful. Sterne taught at the California School of Fine Arts (1935–36) and the Art Students League in New York. He divided his time between New York and Provincetown. His work is in the collections of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, the National Gallery of Art, the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Art, the San Francisco Museum of Modern Art, the Smithsonian American Art Museum, and the Whitney Museum.

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[Nancy Buchwald (2nd ed.)]

STERNE, SIMON (1839–1901), U.S. lawyer and reformer. Sterne, who was born in Philadelphia, was admitted to the bar in Pennsylvania (1859) and New York (1860). He practiced law in New York and concurrently pursued the study and teaching of political economy, which he called the "science of liberty," and helped to introduce a number of practical reforms. On a visit to England in 1865, he encountered some of the leading personalities in social reforms, including John Stuart Mill, John Bright, and Thomas Hare, who were proponents of proportional representation. They encouraged Sterne's energetic espousal of a number of causes, including free trade, proportional representation, improvement in the drafting of legislation, democratizing political party methods and standards, and improving the accountability of railroads to the public, all of which he supported in his speeches, articles, and organizational activities.

Sterne was most widely known for the achievement of two successful reforms: demolition of the Tweed ring's hold on New York City politics and the regulation of railroads in the public interest through the creation of the Interstate Commerce Commission (ICC), the first U.S. regulatory commission. As the secretary of the Committee of Seventy, which for several years pursued New York City's boss Tweed and the "corrupt judges, venal legislators, and complacent lawyers" who had cooperated to put and retain him in power, Sterne was instrumental in obtaining Tweed's conviction in 1873 for forgery and larceny. Sterne's role in the creation of the ICC began with his drafting a state railroad regulation bill in 1874. He conducted the investigations of the New York State Hepburn Commission into railroad administrative abuses (1879–80), and in 1882 the legislature passed a railroad commission act along the lines of Sterne's draft.

The legislative commission's report became a model for local and national government investigation and regulation of railroads. When the U.S. Senate began preparing legislation for national regulation, Sterne was consulted. He drafted some of the provisions of what was to be the law establishing the Interstate Commerce Commission, and was retained as counsel in some of the commission's most important lawsuits. In his private law practice Sterne was counsel for a number of corporations, railroad companies, and businesses.

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STERNHARZ, NATHAN (1780–1845), disciple and companion of Naḥman of *Bratslav, organizer of Bratslav Ḥasidism, and its leader after Naḥman's death. Nathan was born in Neirov and was known as a scholar and talented writer even in his youth. In 1793 he married the daughter of David Ẓevi, rabbi of Shargorod and a *Mitnagged*. Nathan was drawn to Ḥasidism and visited some of the great Ḥasidim. The decisive event of his life was a meeting with Naḥman of Bratslav in 1802, when the two formed a deep and unique friendship that lasted until Naḥman's death. Nathan soon became Naḥman's most devoted disciple. He spread knowledge about his teacher and expounded his teaching. In fact, Naḥman's personal charisma became integral to the thought and habits of his followers through Nathan's devotion and efforts. Although Nathan became the actual leader of Bratslav Ḥasidim on Naḥman's death in 1810, he refused to assume the official title of ḥasidic rabbi, a gesture which established the special character of Bratslav Ḥasidim who acknowledged Naḥman as their only rabbi. Nathan worked arduously to spread Naḥman's teachings. He guided and extended the movement of Naḥman's followers. He often visited the Bratslav Ḥasidim and sent them numerous letters, thus spreading the rabbi's teaching and encouraging the Ḥasidim who suffered persecutions that culminated in their excommunication in 1835 by Moses Ẓevi of *Savran. With charm and moderation he refuted the calumnies against the movement and, at the same time, encouraged the Ḥasidim in their firm belief in the greatness of Naḥman and in the truth of his teachings. Despite violent personal persecution (including denunciation to the authorities and arrest), Nathan not only succeeded in establishing the basic patterns and direction of the movement (e.g., visiting Naḥman's tomb in Uman) but also succeeded in maintaining and even increasing the number of its followers. Nathan transcribed and edited Naḥman's teachings, everyday talks, and stories.

He published, on his own initiative, Naḥman's principal books, *Likkutei Moharan* (Ostrog, 1808), *Sefer ha-Middot* (Mogilev, 1811), and *Sippurei Ma'asiyyot* (Berdichev, 1895). His own literary activity was prolific and varied. He wrote, for example, *Ḥayyei Moharan* (1875), *Siḥot ha-Ran* (1864), and *Shivḥei ha-Ran* (1864), depicting his teacher's life and greatness. Fulfilling Naḥman's request "to turn his teaching into prayers," he wrote also *Likkutei Tefillah* (Bratslav, 1824–27), a poetic work based on *Likkutei Moharan*. He continued to expound and develop Naḥman's teaching in his great work, *Likkutei Halakhot* (1847–48). Nathan died in Bratslav and was buried in Uman beside his teacher.

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[Adin Steinzalts]

STERNHEIM, CARL (1878–1942), German playwright. The son of a banker, Sternheim was born in Leipzig and, after university studies, lived in several German cities. His early writing showed little originality, bearing the imprint of Hauptmann, Wedekind, Wagner, Nietzsche, and George. His creative breakthrough occurred in *Die Hose* (1911), the first in a series of witty and abusively anti-bourgeois comedies, later grouped together in the cycle *Aus dem buergerlichen Heldenleben* with plays such as *Buerger Schippel* (1913) and *Der Snob* (1914). Sternheim admired the feudal aristocracy but showed a distaste for the upper middle class. In attacking the bourgeoisie he was attacking the bourgeois in himself, just as his often vitriolic antisemitic outbursts were a form of self-abuse, as in his essays *Berlin oder Juste Milieu* (1920) and *Tasso oder Die Kunst des Juste Milieu* (1921). Sternheim thus unwittingly played into the hands of Hitler. His comedies are nevertheless remarkable for their immaculate construction and for the terseness of their diction. In his short stories, mostly collected in *Chronik des zwanzigsten Jahrhunderts* (2 vols., 1918), Sternheim allowed linguistic experimentation to get out of hand; this has made his only novel, *Europa* (1920), unreadable. A document of strange interest is Sternheim's autobiography, *Vorkriegseuropa im Gleichnis meines Lebens* (1936). He suffered from a nervous disorder and died in Brussels.

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[Wolfgang Paulsen]

STERNSCHUSS, MOSHE (1903–1992), Israeli sculptor and winner of the Dizengoff and Jerusalem prizes for sculpture. Born in Poland, Sternschuss immigrated to Palestine in 1926. He studied at the Bezalel Academy of Art and Design in Jerusalem, and developed as a sculptor. He began as a realist but later evolved towards a semi-abstract stylization of the human form.

STERNSTEIN, JOSEPH PHILIP (1925–), Conservative rabbi and Zionist leader. Sternstein graduated Brooklyn College (1944) and received his law degree from St. John's University and his rabbinic ordination from the Jewish Theological Seminary (1948) and a D.H.L. in 1961.

After serving as a rabbi in Glen Cove, Long Island (1948–50), Dayton, Ohio (1950–61), and New York City (Temple Ansche Chesed, 1964–69), he was appointed rabbi of Temple Beth Sholom of Roslyn Heights, New York. A prominent Zionist, he became a member of the executive of the World Union of General Zionists, and was president of the Zionist Organization of America (ZOA) (1974–78). He was president of the American Zionist Federation and served on the presidium of the World Zionist Council. He was also a national president of the Jewish National Fund. Sternstein wrote extensively on modern Jewish and Zionist affairs and is the author of *Diagnosis and Prognosis* (1956), a study of American Zionism. He also wrote on *The Theology of the Sfat Emet of Rabbi Yehudah Aryeh Leib of Ger (1847–1905)* (1961).

[Mordecai S. Chertoff / Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

STERN-TAEUBLER, SELMA (1890–1981), German historian. Selma Stern-Taeubler, born in Kippenheim (Baden), was the first girl to attend the Gymnasium in Baden-Baden. She then studied history and languages at the universities of Heidelberg and Munich, graduating in 1913. She specialized at first in general German history, but became interested in the history of German Jewry. In 1919 she was appointed a research fellow at the Akademie fuer die Wissenschaft des Judentums in Berlin at the invitation of its founder and director, the historian Eugen *Taeubler, whom she married in 1927. Her special field was compiling source material on the relationship between the Prussian state and its Jews from 1648 to 1812. Her scholarly publications were based on the premise that Judaism had to be studied in the context of the political and cultural environment.

The first two volumes of her chief work, *Der preussische Staat und die Juden*, were published in 1925, and a third volume followed in 1938, but almost the entire edition was destroyed by the Nazis. *Jud Suess. Ein Beitrag zur deutschen und zur juedischen Geschichte* was published in 1929 (repr. 1973), and many scholarly articles appeared in magazines. In 1934 the Akademie was closed by the Nazis, and in 1941 Selma Stern-Taeubler and her husband immigrated to the United States, settling in Cincinnati. In 1947 she became the first archivist of the American Jewish Archives (at the Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati), a post she held until her retirement in 1957. In 1960 Selma Stern-Taeubler moved to Basle, Switzerland, where, between 1970 and 1975, she completed the following four volumes of *Der preussische Staat und die Juden*.

During and after her stay in the United States she continued to write important scholarly works, including *The Court Jew; A Contribution to the History of the Period of Absolutism in Central Europe* (1950; repr. 1985) and *Josel von Rosheim, Befehlshaber der Judenschaft im Heiligen Roemischen Reich Deutscher Nation* (1959; Eng. 1965). Her historical novel, *The Spirit Returneth…* (1946; Ger. 1972: *Ihr seid meine Zeugen*), deals with the persecution of the Jews during the time of the Black Death and helped the author to understand the persecutions of her own time.

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[Frederick R. Lachman / Archiv Bibliographia Judaica (2nd ed.)]

STETTIN (**Szczecin**), city in Pomerania, N.W. Poland. Jews are first mentioned there in 1261 in a charter granted by Duke Barnim I which extended *Magdeburg law to the city. In all probability, however, they had been living there for some time. The charter was renewed in 1371 by dukes Casimir IV and Swantibor III. All Jews were expelled from *Pomerania in 1492/93 and they did not return until the 17th century. Jews were occasionally employed at the Prussian mint in Stettin; in 1753 the medalist Jacob Abraham of Strelitz worked there as a die cutter, while at the same time Moses Isaak and Daniel *Itzig supplied the mint with silver. Permanent residence was denied to the Jews throughout the 18th century. The modern community grew up from 1812. In 1818 it numbered 18, including the Hebrew grammarian Ḥayyim b. Naphtali Coeslin (J.H. Borchard), and by 1840 had increased to 381. The first synagogue was built in 1834/35. The community grew through emigration from Posen (Poznan) and West Prussia, reaching 1,823 in 1871; in 1875 a new synagogue was dedicated; an organ was introduced in 1910. From 1867 the community also had an Orthodox prayer room. During the course of the 19th century, Jewish books were printed in the city. The community maintained a religious school from 1850; the cemetery was opened in 1821. The Jewish population increased to 2,757 in 1910, then declined to 2,703 in 1930 and 2,365 in 1933. The following rabbis officiated in Stettin: W.A. Meisel (1843–59); Abraham Treuenfels (1860–79); Heinemann *Vogelstein (1880–1911); Max *Wiener (1912–26); Max Elk (1926–35); K. Richter (1936–38); and H. Finkelscherer, who served from 1938 until the deportation in 1940; he perished with the other deportees. On the eve of the Nazi accession to power, the community maintained an orphanage and an old-age home, as well as numerous charitable organizations.

During the night of Feb. 11/12, 1940, the Jews of Stettin were deported together with other Pomeranian Jews to Belzyce, Glusk, and Piaski. After the so-called population transfers of a few Jews, the remainder were murdered in Belzyce on Oct. 28, 1942. Only a very few survived. Following the departure of the last "non-Aryans" (partners of mixed marriages) after World War II, Jews from Poland settled in Stettin, which had become part of Poland. A new community was organized, numbering 1,050 in 1959. In 1962 two Jewish producers' cooperatives were active, and the community maintained a school and a synagogue. The majority of Jews left after the Six-Day War.

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[Bernhard Brilling]

STEUERMAN, ADOLF RODION (1872–1918), Romanian poet and journalist. Born in *Jassy, Steuerman became a physician there, but devoted himself mainly to literature and journalism. He became chief editor of the local newspaper, *Opinia*, and for three years also of *Răsăritul*, a Zionist weekly published in the city. He contributed to many Romanian journals and reviews as well as to almost all the Romanian Jewish periodicals of his day. He became known as one of the wittiest and most ironical social critics in his attacks on the tyrannical regime and his struggle for democracy. As a poet, Steuerman was noted especially for his collections: *Sărăcie* ("Poverty") and *O toamnă la Paris* ("An Autumn in Paris"), both published in 1897, and *Lirice* ("Lyrics"). Many of these poems deal with the theme of Jewish homelessness in an antisemitic society. In 1915 he collected all his poems on Jewish themes into a volume entitled *Spini* ("Thorns"). As a translator, he was often drawn to Jewish themes, publishing Romanian versions of poems by writers such as *Heine and Judah *Halevi. In World War I, Steuerman served as a medical officer. His experiences and reflections in those years are expressed in the sonnets published posthumously by his friend, the writer Eugen *Relgis, under the title *Frontul roșu* ("The Red Front", 1920). *Cartea băiatului meu* ("My Son's Book", 1924), another product of Steuerman's war experiences, contains autobiographical notes meant for his son; it contains much interesting material on Jewish life in Jassy during his early years. After his return from the front, Steuerman became increasingly depressed and committed suicide.

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[Abraham Feller]

STEUERMANN, EDWARD (1892–1964), pianist and teacher. Born in Lemberg, Poland, Steuermann studied piano with Busoni and theory with Arnold *Schoenberg in Berlin. Later he taught at the Jewish Conservatory in Cracow, Poland. In 1936 he settled in the United States where he taught at the Philadelphia Conservatory and at the Juilliard School of Music. Steuermann devoted himself to the dissemination of modern music, particularly that of Schoenberg. He gave the first performances of all of Schoenberg's piano works and chamber works with piano accompaniment, and transcribed his orchestral works for piano.

°STEUERNAGEL, CARL (1869–1958), Protestant German Bible critic. Born in Hardegsen, Steuernagel taught Bible at the University of Halle. In 1914 he was appointed professor at Breslau. A prolific writer, he wrote the commentaries on Deuteronomy (1899; 1923^{2}) and Joshua (1899; 1923^{2}) for the *Handkommentar zum Alten Testament* in addition to a general introduction to the Hexateuch (1900), and the volumes of Job (1923), Proverbs (1923), and Esther (1923) for *Die Heilige Schrift des Alten Testaments*. His *Der Rahmen des Deuteronomiums* (1894) and *Die Enstehung des deuteronomischen Gesetzes* (1895, 1901^{2}) are attempts to explain the composition of Deuteronomy as a composite redaction of a number of Deuteronomic strands which are characterized by forms of address and the usages of singular and plural elements of speech. He maintained that Isaiah 40–55 was written at the same time by the same hand, immediately before the Return (538 B.C.E.); that "the Servant of the *Lord" is a personification of the people Israel, a view which later influenced R. Kittel, L. Gautier, T.H. Robinson, O. Eissfeldt, and others; and that Hosea 3 is an account by the prophet of the incident reported in chapter 1 by people from his environment. In the *K. Marti Festschrift* (in: BZAW, 41 (1925), 266–73), he pleaded for the importance of biblical theology as a historical discipline in its own right which complements the historical study of the Hebrew religion.

From 1903 he edited the *Zeitschrift des deutschen Palaestina-Vereins*, and he wrote an introduction to the study of the Bible, Apocrypha, and Pseudepigrapha (*Lehrbuch der Einleitung in das Alter Testament, mit einem Anhang ueber die Apokryphen und Pseudepigraphen*, 1912) which stressed archaeological and textual insight. Besides numerous articles, he produced the following works: *Die Einwanderung der israelitischen Staemme in Kanaan* (1901); *Hebraeische Grammatik* (1903; 1948^{11}); *Methodische Einleitung zum hebraeischen Sprachunterricht* (1905); and *Neue Beitrage zu Colonia Agrippinensis* (1916, with R. Schultze).

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[Zev Garber]

STEUSS, DAVID (d. 1387 or 1388), head of a family of bankers in Austria. The Steuss were the most important financiers of their time, serving Austrian and foreign rulers, ecclesiastical lords, and noblemen. The grandfather of David, banker of the first Hapsburgs in Austria, moved from Klosterneuburg to Vienna in 1241. David, son of Hendlin, was the banker of Duke Albert II and archdukes Rudolf IV and Albert III, financing their campaigns and the construction of St. Stephen's in Vienna. Among other business ventures he lent a considerable sum to the city of Bruenn. Steuss had business relationships with the city of Vienna, heads of the Church, and government officials far from the borders of Austria. He was exempt from all jurisdiction excepting that of the archduke himself. He collected and allocated the contributions levied on the Jews and was able to amass great wealth, but was finally imprisoned in 1382 by Albert III in order to extort an exorbitant sum of money. The business records of the Steuss family with Hebrew marginals have been preserved, and the names of David, his sons Jonah, Jacob, and Hendlin, and other relatives appear frequently in debt registers. David's son-in-law was the celebrated Vienna rabbi *Meir b. Baruch ha-Levi. The archduke's treasurer Bishop John of Brixen characterized David as an honest and wise man. At one time in 1364 he lent money to Bishop John who designated his cathedral as collateral. David's son Jonah died a victim of the Vienna persecutions of 1420 (**Wiener Gesera*) when the Steuss properties were confiscated by the archduke.

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[Hugo Knoepfmacher]

STIEGLITZ (18th century), Russian bankers from Waldeck, Germany, where BERNHARD (HIRSCH) became court agent to the Prince of Waldeck in 1767. His sons NICOLAI (1772–1821) and LUDWIG (1778–1843) were baptized and immigrated to St. Petersburg, Russia. There they formed a successful banking house which acquired a virtual monopoly in Russian banking and the *Rothschilds transacted their Russian business through Stieglitz. In 1826 Ludwig Stieglitz, the head of the house, was made a baron. His son, ALEXANDER (d. 1884), was instrumental in establishing the Russian State Bank and served as its first president (1860–66). In 1863 he liquidated his father's bank. A great philanthropist, he founded the School of Arts in St. Petersburg. Members of the Stieglitz family married into the Baltic and Russian nobility, and their St. Petersburg house was a famous social and artistic center.

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[Joachim O. Ronall]

STIEGLILTZ, ALFRED (1864–1946), U.S. photographer. Stieglitz, who was born in Hoboken, New Jersey, led the way to the emergence of photography as an art form. His contributions to photography were closely matched with his efforts on behalf of modernist painters in their struggle for recognition. In the dual role of craftsman and prophet, Stieglitz took pictures thought to be impossible and gave a rising generation of modernist painters a place to show their work. His photography was hung in nearly every major museum, the first photographer to be so honored. After Stieglitz's family moved to New York in 1871, he enrolled at the City College of New York at 17 to study engineering. In 1881 he went to Berlin, but soon terminated his engineering studies after he bought his first camera there. He became the first amateur photographer in Germany, and he soon defied tradition. Instead of pictures by daylight, Stieglitz took them at night. He was the first to use a camera in snow or rain, the first to photograph skyscrapers, clouds, and airplanes and was a pioneer in the use of color. He left Europe in 1890 and returned to the United States with a large camera, a tripod, and a small box with a ground glass and bellows and a shutter that cost 50 cents. He made some of his greatest images with this unpretentious equipment. His first major collection traced the development of New York. Two of his most popular pictures were taken in 1892: a horsecar lumbering up Fifth Avenue in a raging blizzard and a driver watering his steaming horses at an old rail terminal. "Winter – Fifth Avenue" and "The Terminal – Street Car Horses" became internationally known. Stieglitz then turned to nature studies of clouds, trees, grass, and woods and branched out to things made by man: houses, barns, autos, planes. He allowed no retouching and no eccentric angle shots. Also, he took no money for his photographs, and later found himself living in poverty. His best photographic work ended in the 1920s.

Stieglitz also ran an art gallery, known as 291, where he showed the works of Cezanne, Matisse, Picasso, Braque, Brancusi, John Marin, and Marsden Hartley. He also launched the careers of Charles Demuth, Arthur Dove, Max Weber, and Georgia O'Keeffe, whom he married in 1924. Under Stieglitz, O'Keeffe's paintings of flowers and simple landscapes, many done at his retreat in Lake George, N.Y., found their way into American collections. A simple photograph of O'Keeffe's hands became a classic. Inside the gallery, Stieglitz took a number of portraits that rhymed the faces of his sitters with the shapes on the walls. His portrait of his daughter, Kitty, with a fuzzy hat on, rhymes with Picasso's "Head of a Woman" just behind her. The gallery was closed in 1917, but in 1929 Stieglitz opened An American Place, which also became an influential gallery. In 1934 *Equivalents* allowed celebrated poets, writers, artists, and leading photographers to contribute their interpretation of Stieglitz both as artist and personality. His brother was the chemist Julius Oscar *Stieglitz.

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[Stewart Kampel (2nd ed.)]

STIEGLITZ, JULIUS OSCAR (1867–1937), U.S. organic chemist. Born in Hoboken, New Jersey, Stieglitz was from 1892 professor at the University of Chicago, and from 1915 chairman of its chemistry department. He was attached to the U.S. Public Health Service 1918–31. He published papers on molecular rearrangements, catalysis, the theory of color production, and the application of the electronic theory of valency and wrote *The Elements of Qualitative Chemical Analysis* (2 vols.,

1911) and *Chemistry and Recent Progress in Medicine* (1926), and edited *Chemistry in Medicine* (1928). He was president of the American Chemical Society and of the Institute of Medicine of Chicago.

STIGLITZ, JOSEPH E. (1943–), U.S. economist, professor; joint winner of the 2001 Nobel Prize for economics. Born in Gary, Indiana, to parents Nathaniel and Charlotte, he received a B.A. from Amherst College, and a Ph.D. from Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT). Stiglitz began his academic career teaching at such prestigious institutions as Yale, Stanford, Oxford, and Princeton. Stiglitz was an economic adviser to President Clinton from 1992 to 1997, and then spent three years (from 1997 to 2000) as a chief economist and senior vice president at the World Bank. He then taught economics and international and public affairs at Columbia University in New York in the Columbia Business School, the Graduate School of Arts and Sciences department of economics, and the School of International and Public Affairs. In 2000, Stiglitz founded the Initiative for Policy Dialog (IPG), based out of Columbia University. Along with teaching and work with the IPG, Stiglitz was a prolific writer, with a number of books and articles on world and national economics.

Growing up in a middle-class family in industrial Gary, Stiglitz took note of the struggling steel town where plants were laying off hundreds of employees, or closing outright. He writes in his autobiography for the Nobel Prize that "the poverty, the discrimination, the episodic unemployment could not but strike an inquiring youngster: why did these exist, and what could we do about them." As to the Gary of Stiglitz's youth, he goes on to describe that he had "the good fortune of having dedicated teachers, who in spite of relatively large classes, provided a high level of individual attention." First physics, and then economics, were his interests at Amherst, where he felt he could marry his passion for history, writing, and applying mathematics to social issues. At MIT, Stiglitz had at least four Nobel Prize winners as professors, no doubt catalysts for his later becoming a Nobel Prize winner as well.

As chief economist at the World Bank, Stiglitz's outspoken criticism of policies undertaken by the World Bank's sister organization, the International Monetary Fund (IMF), caused a stir that led to his resignation in 2000. His issues with the IMF are discussed in some of his writings, including *Globalization and Its Discontents*.

Stiglitz founded the Initiative for Policy Dialogue (IPD) in July 2000 at Columbia University. A global network of economists, political scientists, policymakers and others, the IPD was created as a think tank for solutions to global economic policy-making. The IPD analyzes economic policies and alternatives, and helps countries solve growth and globalization problems through task forces, dialogues, workshops, and research.

The Royal Swedish Academy of Sciences awarded the Bank of Sweden Prize in Economic Sciences in Memory of Alfred Nobel (known as the Nobel Prize) to Stiglitz and two others (George A. Akerlof and A. Michael Spence) in 2001, based on their individual contributions to the field of research in markets known as "asymmetric information." Stiglitz's contributions were in the form of clarifying the opposite type of market adjustment, showing that asymmetric information offers keys to understanding market phenomena such as unemployment and credit rationing. Stiglitz's other recognitions include the American Economic Association's John Bates Clark Award (1979). He was also a fellow to the National Academy of Sciences, the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, the Econometric Society, the American Philosophical Society, and the British Academy.

Among Stiglitz's body of written work is *The Roaring Nineties* (2004); *Globalization and Its Discontents* (2002); *Whither Socialism?* (1994); and others, including titles edited by Stiglitz, and a variety of articles published in journals and magazines.

[Lisa DeShantz Cook (2nd ed.)]

°**STILES, EZRA** (1727–1795), U.S. scholar and theologian, and president of Yale. Stiles, born in North Haven, Connecticut, was ordained in 1749, and, after teaching at Yale College (1749–55), served as a minister in Newport, Rhode Island, until the Revolution of 1776. His early missionary urge led him to seek descendants of the *Ten Lost Tribes of Israel in the American Indians and clouded his attitude toward the Jews, but he soon entered into a close and friendly relationship with the Newport Jewish community, attending the dedication of the Touro Synagogue in 1763. From 1769 Stiles kept a *Literary Diary* (published in 3 vols., 1901) which contained a detailed account of Newport Jewry, its leading members (such as the merchant Aaron *Lopez, whom he greatly admired), and its synagogue, where he often attended services. One of the outstanding American scholars of his age, Stiles made his lifelong aim the pursuit of knowledge, studying Hebrew from 1767 and mastering the Bible commentators, some Talmud, the Zohar, Syriac, and Arabic within the next five years. When the Ereẓ Israel emissary Raphael Ḥayyim Isaac *Carigal visited Newport in 1773 and preached in the synagogue, Stiles, greatly impressed by the former's scholarship and personality, sought his company and maintained a correspondence with him for several years. From 1778 until his death Stiles was president of Yale – a post in which he had been preceded by an earlier American Hebraist, Timothy Cutler (1694–1765) – and was also professor of ecclesiastical history and divinity. He made the study of Hebrew compulsory for all freshmen at Yale, and at the commencement exercises of 1781 delivered an oration in Hebrew. To the end of his life Yale's president was devoted to the Hebrew language and culture, which he thought essential to a liberal education and sound grasp of the Bible.

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STILLER, BEN (1965–), U.S. writer, director, actor. Born in New York, N.Y., to comedy duo Jerry Stiller and Ann Meara, Stiller attended college at UCLA for just nine months, but made his acting debut in New York in John Guare's *The House of Blue Leaves* (1984). He followed this with his film debut in *Fresh Horses* (1986). In 1989, he went to work for *Saturday Night Live*, but lasted only five weeks, describing the backstage atmosphere as "very negative." Stiller returned to Los Angeles, creating a half-hour sketch comedy show, *The Ben Stiller Show*, which aired on MTV before being picked up by Fox. Although the show was canceled after 12 episodes, it won great critical acclaim, winning a 1993 Emmy for Outstanding Writing in a Variety or Music Program. Stiller next directed and acted in *Reality Bites* (1994) (also starring Winona *Ryder, Ethan Hawke, and Janeane Garofalo). He then played a young father searching for his birth parents in the comedy *Flirting with Disaster*, directed by David O. Russell. The film was both a commercial and critical hit. Two comedies followed: *The Cable Guy* (starring Jim Carrey and Matthew Broderick), which Stiller directed; and *There's Something about Mary*, a mega-hit, gross-out comedy in which Stiller starred with Cameron Diaz. Since 2000, Stiller has been incredibly prolific, starring in cult comedies such as *Zoolander* (2001), flops such as *Duplex* (2003) and *Envy* (2004), giant commercial successes such as *Meet the Parents* (2000) and its sequel *Meet the Fockers* (2004), as well as being the animated voice of Alex in *Madagascar* (2005).

[Amy Handelsman (2nd ed.)]

STILLING, BENEDICT (1810–1879), German pioneer in surgery and anatomy. Stilling, who was born in Kirchlain, Hesse, studied at Marburg, and in 1833 was appointed district surgeon in Cassel, where from 1840 he concentrated on his private practice. He was the first German surgeon to perform ovariotomy by the extraperitoneal method. However, this method did not immediately attract the attention of his colleagues and was "rediscovered" ten years later by the British surgeon Doffin. Stilling was the first to transplant a section of the cornea from the eye of one rabbit to that of another, and preserve the transparency. He coined the term "vasomotoric nerves" and was the first to prove the vasomotor function of the sympathetic nervous system. Stilling also studied the anatomy and physiology of the central nervous system and wrote numerous books on various aspects of the structure of the spinal cord. He introduced the sliding microtome and serial section into microscopic technique. His son JACOB BENEDICT STILLING (1842–1915) was born in Cassel. In 1884 he was appointed professor of ophthalmology at the University of Strasbourg. He first described pseudo-isochromatic tables and made significant contributions to the study of color sense, color blindness, and perimetry. His numerous publications deal mainly with the subjects of color sense and myopia.

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[Suessmann Muntner]

STILLMAN, LOUIS ("**Lou**" **Ingber**; 1887–1969), U.S. boxing gym manager and owner. In 1921, Stillman was hired by businessman Alpheus Geer to manage his Marshall Stillman Movement gym, despite Stillman's knowing nothing about the sport of boxing. Shortly after his appointment, an antisemitic incident at a nearby gym led to a mass transfer of the disaffected Jewish clientele, amongst them a number of quality fighters. Now calling himself Lou Stillman to simplify things, he started charging admission not only to those who trained, but also to those who wanted to watch. The scheme led to a cycle of increasing numbers of attention-hungry fighters and trainers, followed by more spectators willing to pay the famous 15-cent entrance fee. In 1931, Stillman purchased the gym outright from Geer and moved it to 919 8th Avenue in Manhattan, where it became a magnet for America's greatest boxers. Located two blocks from the old Madison Square Garden, "the University of 8th Avenue" boasted the likes of Joe Louis, Jack Dempsey, Gene Tunney, Sugar Ray Robinson, and Rocky Graziano. The attraction of Stillman's Gym was magnified by the regular presence of entertainment stars such as Frank Sinatra, Dean Martin, Jerry Lewis, Buddy Hackett, and Tony Bennett, who were all boxing enthusiasts. When asked to portray Rocky Graziano, Paul Newman spent many hours studying Stillman's Gym, and in the resulting film, *Somebody Up There Likes Me*, Matt Crowley played the role of Lou Stillman. Those who remember the gym in its heyday were struck not only by the quality of the fighters and constant stream of VIPs, but equally by the physical dilapidation and filth of the gym that Stillman relished as the perfect environment for grooming the next generation of toughened prize fighters. Stillman himself was remembered as a colorful if irascible character who always wore a .38 pistol at his side and who treated everyone with equal contempt, but who also enjoyed hosting unskilled boxers if their banter was particularly humorous. When Stillman finally sold his gym in 1959, over 35,000 boxers had trained in its legendary confines.

[Robert B. Klein (2nd ed.)]

STILLMAN, NORMAN ARTHUR (1945–), U.S. historian. Born in New York, Stillman was educated at the University of Pennsylvania (B.A. 1967, Ph.D. 1970), with postgraduate work at the Jewish Theological Seminary (1970–71). Stillman taught at New York University, 1970–73, the State University of New York at Binghamton, 1973–95, and from 1995 at the University of Oklahoma, where he was the Schusterman/Josey Professor of Judaic History. He was a visiting professor at Haifa University, 1979–80, and lectured at many universities. He was a fellow of the National Endowment for the Humanities, a Bronfman Fellow, and a Littauer Fellow. He was a member of the Middle East Studies Association of North America, the American Oriental Society, the Association for Jewish Studies, the Conference on Jewish Social Studies, the Society for Judeo-Arabic Studies, the Israel Historical Society, and the Societe de l'histoire du Maroc.

Stillman was a student of S.D. *Goitein, whom he considered his mentor, and his work carried on in the field of studies established by Goitein's work on Jewish life and culture in Islamic societies. He is a recognized authority on the history of the Islamic world and of Sephardi and Middle Eastern Jewish culture as well as an advocate of Israel and Zionism. While his account of Sephardi and Middle Eastern Jewish history is sympathetic, it has attracted some criticism from non-Ashkenazi Israeli Jews, who feel that he sees their history through a European Zionist framework that distorts it and minimizes the hardships and disabilities they experience in Israeli society.

Stillman has been quoted as having said that he affiliated himself with academic Jewish studies rather than Middle East studies because of "barely veiled antisemitism" in Middle East studies departments. His principal published works are *The Jews of Arab Lands: A History and Source Book* (1979), *Studies in Judaism and Islam* (edited with Shelomo Morag and Issachar Ben-Ami, 1981), *The Language and Culture of the Jews of Sefrou* (1985), *The Jews of Arab Lands in Modern Times* (1991), *Sephardi Religious Responses to Modernity* (1995), and *From Iberia to Diaspora: Studies in Sephardic History and Culture* (edited with Yedida K. Stillman, 1999). With his late wife Yedida Kalfon Stillman, a Moroccan-Israeli scholar, he published a translation of *Travail in an Arab Land* by Samuel Romanelli (1989), and he edited her posthumous work *Arab Dress: A Short History* (2000). He has also published numerous scholarly articles and reviews. For his publications in Hebrew, he writes under the name Noam Stillman.

[Drew Silver (2nd ed.)]

STINE, R.L. (1943–), U.S. author. Born in Columbus, Ohio, Robert Lawrence Stine graduated from Ohio State University, where he was renowned locally by the name Stine, the editor of the campus humor magazine, *The Sundial.* Upon graduation he moved to New York City, where he became head writer of the Nickelodeon series *Eureka's Castle,* and for 10 years was editor in chief of *Bananas,* a humor magazine for children. During that time, Stine wrote dozens of joke books and humor books for children under the name Jovial Bob Stine. Under the name Hammering Hank, Stine wrote a number of humor books for young readers, some of which are "instructional manuals" like *How to Be Funny: An Extremely Silly Guide* (1978) and *Don't Stand in the Soup* (1982). In the 1990s Stine was catapulted to fame with the bestselling *Goosebumps* series, which sold more than 220 million copies. The *Goosebumps* books feature spooky tales for ages 8–11 and became a popular live-action children's television show on the Fox network. They were translated into 16 languages in 31 countries. The plots of his books usually involve naïve teenagers or preteens who fall into situations having to do with the supernatural or the occult. His other major series, *Fear Street*, for ages 9–14, got more gory. The *Fear Street* books sold more than 80 million copies. This was considered the first horror series for teenagers. Stine's first hardcover collection of terrifying tales for children, *Nightmare Hour,* was published in 1999, and featured illustrations by well-known artists like Bernie Wrightson and Ed Koren. Stine published an autobiography, *It Came From Ohio! My Life as a Writer* (1997).

[Stewart Kampel (2nd ed.)]

ST. LOUIS, VOYAGE OF THE. In 1938 and 1939, the Nazi regime intensified its efforts to force Germany's Jews to emigrate by using terror, discriminatory legislation, and the expropriation of property. Tens of thousands of Jews lined up at foreign consulates to obtain visas and immigration papers, and in the space of some ten months, more than 115,000 Jews had left Germany.

In April 1939, Germany's Hamburg-America Line announced the upcoming departure of the passenger liner, the MS *St. Louis,* for Cuba. Within weeks all the tickets were purchased, mostly by Jews anxious to flee Germany. The shipping line calculated that more than 95 percent of the passengers were Jewish. On May 13, the *St. Louis* set sail from Hamburg, carrying 937 passengers, for a two-week trip to Cuba. The vast majority of the Jewish passengers had applied for U.S. visas, and had planned only to remain temporarily in Cuba until their quota numbers for the United States were called.

Unbeknown to those on board the ship, the political situation in Cuba was ominous. Some eight days before the *St. Louis* departed Hamburg, the Cuban president, Laredo Bru, had invalidated the landing permits which most of the passengers carried and required that henceforth only visas authorized by the Cuban Secretaries of State and Labor and the posting of a $500 bond were acceptable. Although the German government and the Hamburg–America Line had been informed of the new decree, the ship left port with the understanding that permits purchased prior to the decree would be accepted.

By May 1939, the political climate in economically depressed Cuba had turned against the increased influx of refugees. On May 8, the single largest antisemitic demonstration took place in Havana, attended by some 40,000 persons. News of the *St. Louis*'s pending arrival further fanned the flames of hatred and focused more public and official attention on the sale of landing permits by the Director-General of Cuba's immigration office, Manuel Benitez Gonzalez. Such certificates were to be given out *gratis* to tourists who were awaiting visas for the United States or other countries, but they were routinely sold for $150 or more to desperate refugees seeking haven from Nazi persecution. American officials in Havana estimated that Benitez Gonzalez had accrued a personal fortune of $500,000 to $1,000,000 through the sale of landing permits.

When the *St. Louis* docked in Havana harbor on May 27, 1939, Cuban officials allowed only 28 passengers holding proper visas to enter the country. The remaining passengers, all carrying landing permits signed by Benitez Gonzalez, were denied admittance. The following day, the American Jewish *Joint Distribution Committee dispatched Lawrence Berenson, an attorney with extensive business and political connections, to Cuba, to negotiate on behalf of the passengers.

Newspapers from around the world soon began printing stories about the plight of the passengers on board the ill-fated ship. Without breaking off the talks, Bru ordered the ship to leave Cuban waters. Several days later, after failing to reach agreement on the appropriate bond for each passenger, the Cuban president ended the negotiations.

In the hopes of gaining admission to the United States, the ship's captain, Gustav Schroeder, sailed close to the Florida coast, where the passengers could see the lights of Miami. The United States Coast Guard thereupon signaled the *St. Louis* to remain outside the country's territorial waters. Urgent appeals by the ship's passengers to the State Department and President Franklin Delano Roosevelt went unanswered. Concerned Americans, including Hollywood celebrities, such as Edward G. Robinson, Carl Laemmle, Melvyn Douglas, Sylvia Sidney, Luise Rainer, and writer Dashiell Hammett, also requested aid for the refugees. The State Department, however, was ordered by the White House not to officially intervene with Cuban authorities, only to stress the humanitarian aspects of the situation, and not to permit the ship to land in the United States. Its standard response to requests to grant the passengers haven was that they "must await their turns on the waiting list and then qualify for and obtain immigration visas before they may be admissible into the United States." American public opinion, though sympathetic to the plight of the refugees and increasingly antagonistic toward Nazi Germany, still supported immigration restrictions, and few politicians, including the president, were willing to challenge the prevailing mood of the nation.

With little hope of refuge in the New World, and supplies running short, the *St. Louis* was forced to head back to Europe on June 6. The passengers, fearing a return to Nazi Germany, continued their international appeals. Working with Jewish and other organizations in Europe, the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee negotiated with the governments of Great Britain, France, the Netherlands, and Belgium to arrange for temporary haven for the passengers in those countries. By June 14, agreement had been reached on the number of refugees for each country: Great Britain would accept 287, France, 224, Belgium, 214, and the Netherlands 181. (During the voyage to Cuba, one passenger died and another attempted suicide in the Havana harbor but was later transported to England.) The *St. Louis* docked in Antwerp on June 17, after being at sea for over a month, and the refugees were dispersed to their new homes.

At the time, European and American newspapers, Jewish organizations, and the passengers themselves viewed the ship's landing in Belgium as a major success story. A few months later, the plight of the passengers once again turned tragic. With the German attack on Poland in September 1939, and particularly after the May 1940 invasion of Western Europe, many of the former passengers found themselves declared "enemy aliens" because most still carried German passports. Dozens of them, even perhaps a few hundred, were interned by Belgian, British, and French authorities. Those detained in French camps often remained there after the country's surrender to Germany, awaiting permission to leave for the United States or elsewhere.

Like other Jews in German-controlled Europe, they were subjected to discriminatory legislation and deportation. Of the 908 passengers who returned to Europe, only those who were admitted to Great Britain were relatively safe. Although the outbreak of war severely restricted trans-Atlantic passages, a number of these refugees reached the United States when their numbers on the immigration quota came up.

The chances for survival on the European mainland were slim after the mass deportations from Western Europe to the Nazi extermination camps began in 1942. Some of the *St. Louis* passengers were hidden by non-Jews in France, Belgium, and the Netherlands, while a few managed to emigrate abroad. Those who could not find refuge were deported to the Theresienstadt ghetto and the Auschwitz and Sobibór killing centers. More than 250 of the former passengers died during the Holocaust.

[Steven Luckert (2nd ed.)]

°STOBBE, OTTO (1831–1887), German legal historian. Stobbe was a professor at the universities of Koenigsberg, Breslau, and Leipzig. His book on the legal, social, and economic conditions of medieval German Jewry, *Die Juden in Deutschland waehrend des Mittelalters in politischer, sozialer und rechtlicher Beziehung* (1886, repr. 1902, 1923), republished in 1969, prefaced by Guido *Kisch, is considered both a pioneer work and a classic. It received unanimous acclaim among Jewish scholars, who accepted its authority unquestioningly, as did nearly all contemporary legal and economic historians and latter-day sociologists. His influence can be discerned particularly in Max Weber. Stobbe influenced the historiography of medieval German Jewry to a very large extent. The importance of his work is in its definition of the status of Jewish serfdom as comparable to that of *ministerialis* and vassals and in his utilization of the records of medieval civic court proceedings and other archival material concerning Jews. In many respects Stobbe, nevertheless, transmitted the bias inherent in semi-scholarly general and historical works on the Jews of the 18th and early 19th centuries and gave it new currency. Many earlier errors were reintroduced. In depicting the Jews as the only merchants before the Crusades, Stobbe strengthened the image of the Jews as a commercial people. Proceeding from a misunderstanding of the canonic usury prohibition as prohibiting all credit dealings and ignoring the history of credit dealings among Christians, he vastly exaggerated the role of the Jews as moneylenders, while ignoring or minimizing evidence on landed properties held by them.

After Stobbe's work, many collections of medieval sources published by German regional commissions and individual cities, as well as improved texts of lawbooks, along with progress in solid Jewish scholarship on the history of medieval German Jewry, have helped to correct and supersede Stobbe's views. While a professor at Breslau University (1859–71), Stobbe was in close contact with H. *Graetz. In 1886 he joined the Commission on Research on the History of German Jewry and contributed an article on the privileges granted the Jews of Speyer and Worms (1084 and 1090) by the Holy Roman Emperor Henry IV, for the first volume of the commission's journal, *Zeitschrift fuer die Geschichte der Juden in Deutschland* (1887). His other works were in the field of general legal history.

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[Toni Oelsner]

STOCKADE AND WATCHTOWER (Heb. חוֹמָה וּמִגְדָּל, *Ḥomah u-Migdal*), type of settlement established in Palestine between 1936 and 1947 in planned surprise operations to provide immediate security against Arab attacks. The *Jewish National Fund had acquired large tracts of land in areas distant from Jewish population centers, where de facto possession was in jeopardy unless the land was settled and ordinary methods could not be used because of Arab antagonism. Convoys carrying hundreds of helpers, prefabricated huts, and fortifications set out at daybreak, protected by Jewish Settlement Police. By nightfall they completed the erection of the settlement, surrounded by a double wall of planks with a filling of earth and stones, dominated by a central tower equipped with a searchlight and electric generator to enable the countryside to be scanned for signs of hostility. The 118 settlements established in this way included Tirat Ẓevi, Nir David, and Sedeh Naḥum in the Beth-Shean Valley, Massadah and Sha'ar ha-Golan in the Jordan Valley, and Ḥanitah in Upper Galilee.

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[Misha Louvish]

STOCK EXCHANGES. Jews came to the stock exchange by way of their medieval occupation of *moneylending and their activity in the modern period as *Court Jews and in *banking. Soon after the founding of the first European international exchange at Antwerp (1536), **anusim* arrived there and for a short time played a prominent role in it until their expulsion by *Charles V. Many of them then moved to Amsterdam, the economic capital of Europe in the 17th and early 18th centuries. By 1674, 13% of the total number of investments on the stock exchange was in "Portuguese" Jewish hands, though the size of their individual investments was not great. A contemporary noted that many brokers refrained from visiting the stock exchange on Saturday, when the Jews were absent. The first book to describe the practices of the Amsterdam stock exchange was published in Spanish by Joseph *Penso de la Vega in 1688. Jews were excluded from most of the commodity exchanges in Germany. Benjamin and Abraham *Goldsmid were prominent on the Royal Exchange in London at the end of the 18th and the beginning of the 19th centuries, and after the Napoleonic Wars they were eclipsed by N.M. Rothschild who was the dominant figure on the London Exchange.

In the United States Ephraim *Hart was among the 22 founders of the first board of stockbrockers in New York in 1792. August *Belmont was the representative of the Rothschilds in the 19th century. In the mid- and late 19th century a number of German-Jewish underwriting firms were prominent on the board: J. and W. Seligman and Co., run by the eight *Seligman brothers and led by Joseph Seligman, and Kuhn, Loeb, and Co., which was raised to international repute by Jacob *Schiff, Otto *Kahn, and Paul M. *Warburg. The battle between Hill-Morgan and Harriman-Schiff for control of the Northern Pacific railway stocks resulted in the stock exchange crash known as "Black Thursday."

Even at the height of their activity, Jews were never the largest nor the most prominent group on the exchanges in England and the United States; by the mid-20th century their number and proportion had declined considerably. In Continental Europe Jews were more prominent on the stock exchange (see Isaac *Pinto). Jews attended the exchanges of Lyons and Paris as early as the 18th century but it was only with the rise of the house of Rothschild in the post-Napoleonic era that they became prominent there; the initiative of this house in floating railroad stocks was followed by the *Fould house and others. The *Pereire brothers founded the Crédit Mobilier, the first joint-stock bank. In the aftermath of the Panama Canal stock scandal (1892–93), in which Baron Jacques Reinach was incriminated, antisemitic attacks were made on Jewish activity on the exchanges.

Jews were not allowed into the Frankfurt stock exchange, the most important in Germany at the time, until 1811, but from then until the Nazi regime they played a dominant and later a leading role, partly attributable to the activity of the house of Rothschild and other Jewish financial magnates. The stock exchange of Berlin was a relative latecomer. The patrician Jewish families of Berlin – *Gomperz, *Veit, *Ephraim, Riess, and Wulff, who had amassed wealth as court jewelers, army contractors, and mint purveyors – played a predominant part from its foundation. The statutes of the bourse corporation of 1805 found it necessary to lay down that two of the four chairmen must be Christians. In 1807, 159 of the 174 member firms were Jewish. Such marked preponderance of Jewish firms continued for a short period only. As in banking, the role of the Jews on the stock exchanges declined rapidly with the founding of public banks. In 1882 there were 2,908 Jews in Prussia engaged in stocks and banking, 22% of the total; by 1925 the absolute number of Jews in these fields had increased to 5,620 but their percentage of the total was only 3.84%, although many of this small ratio were in key positions. The economic recession of 1873–76 was blamed on stock speculators, some of whom were Jews, and this was one of the factors behind the antisemitic movement led by A. *Stoecker. In Vienna H. *Todesco and other leading Jewish financiers were prominent from the foundation of the exchange, on which a Rothschild soon came to play a leading role. The number of Jewish stockbrokers was also high. In the stock exchanges of Budapest, Prague, and Bucharest, Jews filled important positions in the 19th and early 20th centuries. The Jewish role decreased as a result of antisemitic economic nationalism.

It was not only in times of economic crisis and financial speculation that the activity of Jews on the stock exchange was seized on as a pretext for antisemitic outbursts; anti-Jewish agitators magnified their influence out of all proportion, creating an anti-Jewish stereotype out of "Jewish mastery" over the stock exchange. In this they were aided by the theories of men like Werner *Sombart, who ascribed the creation and workings of the stock exchange to the "capitalist Jewish spirit."

For stock exchange in modern Israel, see Israel, State of: Economic *Affairs.

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[Henry Wasserman]

STOCKHOLM, capital of *Sweden. The first Jew to settle in Stockholm was the gem-carver and seal-engraver, Aaron Isaac, who arrived in 1774. A year later the Jewish community was founded when the right of residence in the Swedish capital was granted to him, his brother, his business partner, and their families. By 1778–79 there was already a community of 40 families. Land for a cemetery, which was named Aronsberg after Aaron Isaac, had been acquired in 1776. In 1780 the first rabbi, Levin Hirsch Levi, arrived in Stockholm from Strelitz, *Mecklenburg. Three years later, at his request, he was awarded the title of chief rabbi of Sweden, which was subsequently held by all the rabbis of the Stockholm community. Until 1838 the community was organized on the usual pattern of German communities of the time. It was at first headed by a committee of three laymen, which in 1807 was enlarged to five. In 1838, the year which marked the beginning of emancipation in Sweden, the authorities laid down new rules for the organization of the community, which were drafted in consultation with Aaron Levi Lamm, then president of the community. As in many other European places, equal rights were granted at the price of abrogation of autonomy. From then on communal records were kept in Swedish instead of in Yiddish, and sermons in the synagogue had to be delivered in Swedish, Danish, German, or French. The independent activity of the community was restricted to charity and Jewish education; the latter was steadily declining.

In 1832 a rabbi with an academic degree (Loeb Seligman) was appointed in Stockholm for the first time. He introduced innovations from the *Reform movement into the prayers and customs, but the movement did not gain strength in the community until the 1860s. A powerful trend toward assimilation, however, was evident even before then, and in 1843 between 80 and 90 men and women out of the 400 members of the community converted to Christianity. It was only toward the close of the century, after the achievement of complete emancipation in 1870, that the patriarchal structure of the Mosaic Congregation of Stockholm was replaced by a more democratic system of electing members to the communal board. From 1882 membership of the community was conditional on Swedish nationality. The rabbis of Sweden were always invited from abroad. The liberal Gottlieb *Klein (1882–1914), a scholar born in Hungary, was succeeded by the Zionist Marcus *Ehrenpreis (1914–48), formerly chief rabbi of Bulgaria. His successor, Kurt *Wilhelm (1948–65), was born in Germany and took up his post in Stockholm after living in Jerusalem. In addition to the Great Synagogue in Stockholm, which was inaugurated in 1870, there are two smaller Orthodox synagogues which are supported by the community.

The character of the Stockholm Jewish community changed between the late 19th century and the post-World War II period, due to the influx of immigrants and refugees fleeing the effects of persecution and war. In 1900 there were 1,631 members in the community (41% of all the Jews in Sweden), and in 1920 that number had risen to 2,747. Of these 1,353 were born in Sweden and 1,394 abroad. Until the rise of Hitler the situation remained unchanged. The principal activities on behalf of the refugees and negotiations with the authorities were necessarily concentrated in Stockholm. The community played a role in organizational activity and fundraising. In the most critical period, however – before 1939 and the first phase of the war – its success was very limited. Thousands of requests for entry permits remained unanswered and the community itself was compelled to give negative replies. This situation changed with the arrival of refugees from Norway in 1942, and in particular with the escape of Jews from Denmark in October 1943. At the end of the war, a significant stream of refugees arrived from the concentration camps. Between 1933 and 1950 Stockholm spent a total of 17,500,000 Swedish kronor (7 kronor = 1 U.S. dollar) in relief, the community providing slightly over 5,000,000 kronor from taxes and appeals, while the remainder was paid by international Jewish organizations (about 8,000,000 kronor) and the Swedish Ministry of Social Affairs. After the war the Jewish community of Stockholm numbered 7,000 (including children). With the assistance of the *Claims Conference a community center was erected, and on the initiative of Zionist circles, whose influence increased after the establishment of the State of Israel, a Jewish elementary school was established and recognized by the Ministry of Education. The importance of the Jews of Stockholm was apparent in commerce, science, the arts, the press, and in publishing (the famous publishing company of Bonniers was founded in 1831, and by the close of the century it had attained the important position which it continued to hold in the literary life of Sweden). A quarterly review, *Församlingsblad*, founded by the Stockholm community in 1940 and edited by David Köpniwsky, contained news of communal life and from time to time published articles on the history of Swedish Jewry.

In 2005 the Jewish community of Stockholm numbered just over 5,000 members, with estimates of at least another 3,000–5,000 Jews living in Stockholm who are not affiliated.

Paideia

One recent addition to the Stockholm Jewish community scene is the Paideia Institute, a pan-European initiative to revitalize Jewish knowledge and interest in Jewish culture. It came about through cooperation between European governments, Jewish organizations, and the business community towards the end of the 1990s, with the aim of examining and counterbalancing the consequences of the Holocaust and of reviving Jewish knowledge, culture, and traditions that were largely wiped out by the ravages of the Holocaust.

The Paideia Institute is a pan-European Jewish educational institution that has the recognition of the Swedish parliament and generous support from the World Jewish Congress and the Jewish Central Committee of Sweden, among others. In the first three years of its existence, it attracted 57 students from 17 countries – including Israel – who have returned to their home countries and helped nurture a flourishing revival of Jewish studies and Jewish-interest programs.

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[Leni Yahil / Ilya Meyer (2nd ed.)]

°STOECKER, ADOLF (1835–1909), German antisemitic preacher politician. Stoecker became a renowned figure in the 1870s as an influential and popular Protestant theologian and as an advocate for a conservative social reform movement. He founded the Christian Social Workers' Party in 1878 (renamed Christian Social Party in 1881), originally intended as an instrument against the Social Democratic Party, whose following he failed to attract. During the first year of its existence, the powerful, modern-style demagogue increasingly used the party to promote anti-liberal and antisemitic ideas. He was thereby able to create a right-wing mass movement of discontented artisans and small shop owners, who were later joined by members of the conservative educated classes, civil servants, officers, and students. In mass rallies Stoecker used stereotype slogans in attacking the Jews as the moneyed power in Germany and as a group which dominated German cultural life, and castigated the liberal press, in which he believed Jews to be prominent. Blending the religious issue with an extreme nationalism that stigmatized Jews as aliens, he advocated the limitation of Jewish civil rights, their exclusion from public office and from the staffs of public schools, and a *numerus clausus in high schools and universities, as well as the limiting of Jewish immigration. His inflammatory demagogy paved the way for the rampant antisemitic movement in Berlin in the early 1880s which spread to provincial cities and the countryside.

Imperial court chaplain from 1874, Stoecker was a member of the Prussian Diet from 1879 to 1898. In 1881 he was elected to the Reichstag for a Westphalian district which he represented (except for the years 1893–98) until 1908. After Stoecker had been invited to the Luther Festival in London in 1883, the lord mayor revoked his permission to speak at Mansion House; he thus suffered his first public defeat. Two libel suits in the following years brought him further adverse publicity. Public opinion began turning against anti-Jewish attacks and his influence declined from 1885. In 1889 he had to curtail his political activities, and in 1891 was forced to resign from his position as court chaplain. However, he continued to stir up antisemitic issues in the Reichstag. Stoecker's mass movement provided fertile soil for the more radical antisemitic parties which followed in the mid-1880s.

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[Toni Oelsner / Uffa Jensen (2nd ed.)]

STOICISM, one of the influential post-Socratic philosophies of antiquity, founded by the Hellenized Phoenician Zeno (335–263 B.C.E.). It was popular with Roman jurists and became a major ingredient in Greco-Roman rhetorical culture. As such it met Judaism, probably even before the Hasmonean revolt. The extent and nature of this meeting are still under debate. Stoicism lent itself to an explanation of how the bridging of the chasm between God and man, actualized in creation, revelation, and history, was accomplished in detail (mediation). The Stoic theory of the Logos ("Word," "Reason") became therefore central in Philo and after him in the Gospel according to St. John, and traces of it are found in the Midrash. The metabolism of elements, the World Soul, and Providence appear in the Wisdom of Solomon, shades of the quasi-material Spirit and of ecpyrosis (successive conflagrations of the world) in the Midrash. Less obvious is the possibility that the large-scale midrashic attempt to see latent "ethical" situations everywhere in cosmos and history may have been furthered by the panlogistic mood of Stoicism and its doctrine of cosmic "sympathy." Rabbinism, however, insisted on *hashgaḥah peratit* ("individual providence") and rejected the impersonal Stoic concept (Greek *pronoia*). Stoicism in all these adaptations has sometimes been regarded as an aid to the clarification of earlier Jewish beliefs. Occasionally, Jewish sources such as Josephus and the talmudic dialogues about *Antoninus Pius try to outdo the Stoicism of the Stoics (IV Macc.) or to portray Pharisaic Judaism as an up-to-date Stoicism. The Jewish and Hellenistic bureaucrat-scholar classes, i.e., the rhetorician-philosophers, Philo, and the rabbis, were compelled to reinterpret sacred writ in an age of change. Stoic allegory came to their aid. Both were involved in legal exegesis, and Stoic techniques of expounding and expanding law were useful. Some rabbinic hermeneutical rules have thus been regarded as having a Stoic-rhetorical coloring, at least in their terminology. Stoic casuistry was known to the rabbis, and the prevailing sense of "etiquette" is reflected in rules for table and toilet in Cicero and the Talmud alike.

Perhaps the Stoic mood is most strongly in evidence in rabbinic ethics, part of which could thus be considered as an intercultural ideology of a bureaucrat-scholar class elevating the ideal Sage. Here values and problems emerge that were not found (or not stressed) in the Bible: health, the simple life, self-improvement, fortitude, the ethos of work, *imitatio dei*, generosity, theory versus practice, the good versus the merely valuable, new interpretations of suffering etc. The biblical roots *amal* ("to labor") and *za'ar* ("to take pains") acquire positive connotations. Beyond these, however, the native ethos prevailed: empathy, repentance, hope, and rule over the emotions, not their extirpation. Strong, too, is the acceptance of Stoic-rhetorical literary forms in rabbinism, such as catalogs of virtues and vices, sorites, consolation formulae (life as a deposit), eristic dialogues, diatribic sequences, and certain similes (athletics, household, civic life). The *Letter of Aristeas* is an example of Stoic instructions for kings. The immediate source for rabbinism (and early Christianity) must have been Greco-Roman rhetoric rather than the ubiquitous Posidonius of earlier research. Yet, "what is received is received according to the way of the receiver," i.e., selectively, and is synthesized with the unaffected transcendental and humanitarian tradition of Judaism.

[Henry Albert Fischel]

Medieval Jewish Philosophy

Stoic influence on Jewish religious philosophy in the medieval period was mainly indirect, that is, through the Neoplatonic philosophers (see *Neoplatonism) and commentators on Aristotle who had undergone Stoic influence. The Stoic ideal of the cosmopolis, a state covering the whole of mankind, may have had some influence on the political ideas of al-Fārābī and through him on *Maimonides in his conception of the Law of Moses as the constitution of the ideal state and in his vision of the Messianic age (Yad, Melakhim, end). It is possible that Isaac *Abrabanel was influenced by Stoic views in his criticisms of luxurious living and its consequences for human life. In *Spinoza, one finds a material conception of God which is analogous to the Stoic conception, and Spinoza's ideal of the free man corresponds to that of the Stoic sage.

[Lawrence V. Berman]

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STOKES (Wieslander), ROSE PASTOR (1879–1933), U.S. socialist writer and lecturer. Born in Augustow, Poland, her impoverished family emigrated to London in 1882 and then settled in Cleveland, Ohio, when she was 12 years old. She educated herself while working as a cigar maker, and in 1903 moved to New York to work at the *Jewish Daily News*, which had earlier published some of her poems. Through an assignment to interview the prominent railway president, J.G. Phelps Stokes, she became active in the latter's social projects in the University Settlement on the Lower East Side, and she married Stokes in 1905. Both became socialists, but while her husband left the Socialist Party in 1917, Rose joined the left wing and was later one of the founders of the Communist Party. Rose Stokes toured the U.S., lecturing and writing articles expounding her radical views. She was a prominent figure in the hotel and restaurant workers' strike and in the shirtwaist workers' strike and was one of the leaders of the birth control movement. She divorced Stokes in 1925 and shortly afterward married Isaac Romaine, a language instructor with similar political views. She died in Frankfurt. Her works include a three-act play, *The Woman Who Wouldn't* (1916), and a translation of Morris Rosenfeld's *Arbeter-Lider as Songs of Labor* (1914).

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[Edward L. Greenstein]

STOLBTSY (Pol. **Stolpce**; Yid. **Stoybts**, **Shtoptsi**), town in Minsk district, Belorus; until 1793 and between the two world wars within Poland. Jews settled there from the end of the 16th century. In 1632 the Minsk community, among others, assisted the Jews in Stolbtsy in combating a blood *libel. Jewish merchants of Stolbtsy are referred to in legal archives of Minsk (1678) and of the supreme tribunal of Lithuania (1704), as traders in salt and salted fish. During the 18th century Jews there engaged in the export of agricultural products, flax, and lumber (floated down the Niemen River) to Koenigsberg in East Prussia, and the import of salt, spices, and cloths. The Jewish population numbered 259 in 1811; 1,315 in 1847; and 2,409 (64% of the total) in 1897. In the second half of the 19th century Jews developed the timber trade – from tree felling to sawing and other by-products – and in the 20th century founded sawmills which employed some Jewish workers. A Ḥovevei Zion society was established as early as 1885 and Zionist activity began from the beginning of the 20th century. A *Bund group was organized in Stolbtsy in 1905–06, and a branch of the Po'alei *Zion in which Zalman Rubashov (*Shazar) was active. In the same period Jewish youth and workers in Stolbtsy organized *self-defense against pogroms by the population of the neighboring villages.

During World War I about half of the Jews of Stolbtsy left the city. Those remaining suffered severely during the civil war in 1919–20 from the struggle for control of the area between the Red Army and those who opposed it. In 1921 Stolbtsy was incorporated within Poland as a border town. There were then 1,428 Jewish inhabitants (48% of the total). The Jewish economy was severely affected as a result of the city being cut off from its previous markets, and particularly as a result of the hostile attitude of the antisemitic government, as well as by the organized Polish competition. In the interwar period all Jewish parties were active in Stolbtsy and a *hakhsharah* farm of *He-Ḥalutz was organized. Jewish educational institutions were developed, and included a *Tarbut school and two Orthodox schools, "Ḥorev" for boys, and a Beth Jacob for girls.

[Dov Rubin]

Holocaust Period

After the outbreak of World War II, during the period of Soviet rule in Stolbtsy (1939–41), the Jewish community institutions were disbanded and all Jewish political activities were prohibited. In the spring of 1941 Jewish youth were mobilized in the Soviet army, and later fought against Germany. After the outbreak of war between Germany and the Soviet Union (June 22, 1941), groups of Jewish youth attempted to reach the Soviet interior, but were prevented by the Soviets. At the beginning of the German occupation there were more than 3,000 Jews in the town. As early as July 1941 about 80 of them were executed. A ghetto was established at the end of 1941. In February 1942 hundreds of Jews were murdered at the local Jewish cemetery. In the spring of 1942 an underground resistance group was organized in the ghetto, and attempts were made to acquire arms. On May 15, 1942, the first group left the ghetto for the forests to make contact with the partisans. In September 1942 most of the Jewish population was killed, about 500 skilled workers remaining in the ghetto. Some were sent to the camps at Baranovichi and Minsk. A few Jewish groups escaped to the forests, joined the partisans, and carried out important combat operations against the Germans and their collaborators.

[Aharon Weiss]

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STOLIN, city in Pinsk district, W. Belarus. Jews are assumed to have settled in Stolin in the 17th century. They acquired land from the owner of the estate, Stachowski, who had divided the area into building plots. They built houses and contributed toward the development of Stolin. At the end of World War I, the Jews suffered at the hands of armies passing through the town, such as the gangs of *Petlyura, the Germans, the Russians, and finally the Poles who took the town. The Jews earned their livelihood from minor trade and crafts. The economic occupations of Jews, however, hardly provided for their needs, and many were compelled to emigrate. During Poland's independence the hardships of Jews increased because of the government's Polonization policy which aimed to support and strengthen merchants and craftsmen. Social and cultural activity among the Jews was highly developed. During the 19th century Ḥasidism wielded much influence and a court of the Stolin-*Karlin dynasty was active. At the beginning of the 20th century Zionist influence was intensified. The last rabbis of the town were Israel Perlow (d. 1922) and his son Moses Perlow. In 1921 there were 2,966 Jews (62.4% of the population).

[Shimon Leib Kirshenboim]

Holocaust Period

Soviet authorities took over in Stolin in September 1939. When Germany attacked the USSR on June 22, 1941, the Soviet army retreated and Ukrainian nationalists took over the local government and began organizing pogroms against the Jews. The Jewish community, to ensure its safety, set up a committee (including Rabbis Moses Perlow, Aaron Dorczin, and Solomon Polak) which prevented the impending attacks. On August 22 the district German authorities arrived from Rovno, and imposed a fine of 1,000,000 rubles on the Jewish community. The Judenrat, headed by Nathan Bergner (a refugee from Lodz), used every means at its disposal, including personal contacts and bribes, in an attempt to aid the Jewish population. In the fall of 1941 all the Jews from the towns and villages in the vicinity were sent to Stolin but the Ukrainian authorities prevented their admission into the city. The Judenrat intervened with the authorities to allow the entrance of 1,500 refugees. Public kitchens were set up for them. The ghetto, containing 7,000 persons, was established on the eve of Shavuot 1942. On September 10 the Judenrat members were executed and the following day the Germans and their Ukrainian collaborators rounded up all the inmates in the market square. The sick and elderly were shot in their beds. All the Jews of Stolin and the vicinity were led off in groups of 500 and killed in the forest near Dolin. Some Jewish groups tried to reach the forests. Moses Glazer and Asher Shapira, who sought contact with the partisans, were turned over by Ukrainian peasants to the Germans and hanged. The few survivors made their way to partisan units in the vicinity. After the war the Jewish community of Stolin was not rebuilt. A society of former residents of Stolin functions in Israel.

By 2005, a Jewish community center had been established in Stolin.

[Aharon Weiss]

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STOLLER, SAMUEL (1898–1977), agronomist. Stoller was born in Moscow and after studying philology and history at the local university studied agriculture and science at the University of Simferopol. He immigrated to Ereẓ Israel in 1920, joining kibbutz Kinneret. He was one of the first agricultural settlers to do research on progressive farming methods. When banana planting was begun in Ereẓ Israel in 1922 he devoted his research to it, visiting the Canary Islands for this purpose; he also did pioneering research in conjunction with the first plantation of table grapes in Kinneret in 1925 and the date palm in 1933, and was largely responsible for the development of all three. From 1934 he applied himself to agricultural problems in the Jordan Valley and from 1947 headed the Ruppin Agricultural High School in Bet Yeraḥ in the Jordan Valley. A collection of his research papers appeared in 1960. He was awarded the Israel Prize for agriculture in 1965.

STOLYARSKI, PETER SOLOMONOVICH (1871–1944), violin pedagogue. Born in Lipovtsy, Ukraine, Stolyarski came from a family of *klezmorim* (see *Music). As a child he played with a band at Jewish wedding ceremonies and attracted the attention of the Polish violinist Barcewicz, upon whose advice he went to study at the music school in Odessa. After his graduation in 1900 he devoted himself to teaching talented children, often as young as four years old; he developed special teaching methods which gained recognition. In 1920 he became professor at the Odessa Conservatory. In 1933 he founded a music school for youths, which consisted of a ten-year course combining music studies with general instruction. His system was widely adopted in the USSR, and similar institutions, mainly at high school level, now exist in many countries. His most celebrated pupils, David *Oistrakh and Nathan *Milstein, exemplified and continued Stolyarski's tradition of purity and flawless technique in violin playing.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: M. Goldstein, *Shkola imeni Stolyarskogo* (1947).

[Michael Goldstein]

STOLZ, JOSEPH (1861–1941), U.S. rabbi. Born in Syracuse, he went to public schools and then to the University of Cincinnati, where he received his B.L. in 1883. A year later he was ordained in the second class of Hebrew Union College. In 1880 he received a D.D., writing on the "Funeral Agenda," and a half century later an honorary D.H.L. Upon ordination he was appointed rabbi in Little Rock, Arkansas, at B'nai Israel Temple and then in 1887 he moved to Chicago as assistant to Bernard Felsenthal at Zion Temple. After eight years, he moved to the South Side of Chicago, at a time when Jews were moving to that part of Chicago from the West Side, and formed a new congregation with his migrating members. Under his leadership they formed Temple Isaiah, meeting in the Oakland Club Hall in 1896. Two years later, they had built and dedicated a building. He remained there for the rest of his career. He was active in the affairs of his community, serving as a member of the Chicago Board of Education for six years (1899–1905), appointed by the mayor, Carter Harrison, and as a member of the Chicago Criminal Commission. He was president of the Chicago Rabbinical Association from 1920 to 1925 and of the Chicago Federation of Synagogues. On a national level, he was also active in the CCAR and was its president from 1905 to 1907. In 1921 he led the merger efforts of Temple Israel and Isaiah Temple.

His wife, BLANCHE A. STOLZ (née Rauth), brought the Union to Reform Judaism. A young man came to her husband in preparation for his marriage to a young woman coming from Germany. In the ensuing months he had to make all the wedding arrangements as well as assure his future in-laws that he could provide a simple home for their daughter. Rabbi and Mrs. Stolz took an interest in the young man and took him under their wing. Mrs. Stolz found it interesting that many messages of good wishes came for the bride and groom from Germany in identical envelopes. Later on, Rabbi and Mrs. Stolz learned from the bride that the Jewish girls' club she belonged to in Germany used a special message blank to raise funds for their charities. Some years later, after she became a delegate to the founding convention of the National Federation of Temple Sisterhoods (now Women of Reform Judaism), Mrs. Stolz recalled the messages sent to this couple and became convinced that identical message blanks could be used by sisterhoods and their members.

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STONE, DEWEY D. (1900–1977), U.S. business executive and communal leader. Stone was born in Brockton, Massachusetts. He went into business in his native state and rose to become president of the Harodite Finishing Company as well as a board member of various corporations. A personal friend of Chaim Weizmann, he was long active in Zionism. From 1955 to 1963 he served as national chairman of the United Jewish Appeal. He was also chairman of the United Israel Appeal and the Jewish Agency, and active in numerous cultural and economic enterprises for Israel. His main interest was the Weizmann Institute of Science in Reḥovot, of which he was chairman of the board of governors from the institution's establishment in 1944, as well as chairman of the board of directors of its American Committee.

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[Hillel Halkin]

STONE, I.F. (**Isidore Feinstein**; 1907–1989), U.S. journalist, born in Philadelphia. Stone edited the liberal weekly *The Nation*, 1940–46. From 1952 until 1971 he published *I.F. Stone's Weekly* written by himself and noted for its criticism of American society and policy. Regarded as one of the most influential liberal journalists of the postwar period, Stone has been quoted as saying, "If you want to know about governments, all you have to know is two words: governments lie." Originally pro-Israel, he reported the 1948–49 War of Liberation but became hostile after the Six-Day War.

Stone was the author of *Business as Usual* (1941); *Underground to Palestine* (1946); *This Is Israel* (with R. Capa, 1948); *The Hidden History of the Korean War* (1952); *The Truman Era* (1953); *The Haunted Fifties* (1963); *In a Time of Torment, 1961–67* (1967), a collection of pieces from his weekly; *Polemics and Prophecies, 1967–1970* (1970); *The Killings at Kent State* (1971); *The I.F. Stone's Weekly Reader* (1973); *The War Years 1939–1945* (1988); and *The Trial of Socrates* (1988).

[Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

STONE, IRVING (1903–1989), biographer and novelist. After he had written a number of plays, Stone interested himself in biography and produced a number of very successful works, including *Lust for Life* (1934), on Vincent Van Gogh; *The Agony and the Ecstasy* (1961) as well as other books about Michelangelo; *Lincoln, A Contemporary Portrait* (1962); and *The Passions of the Mind* (1971), about Freud. His other well-known works include *They Also Ran* (1943), *Clarence Darrow for the Defense* (1941), *Earl Warren* (1948), and *Those Who Love* (1965). He also edited *Dear Theo: The Autobiography of Vincent Van Gogh* (1937).

STONE, JULIUS (1907–1985), jurist and international lawyer. Born in Leeds, England, Stone studied in England and at Harvard, where he was assistant professor of law 1933–36. From 1938 to 1942 he was dean of the Faculty of Law at the University of New Zealand and in 1942 was appointed professor of international law and jurisprudence at the University of Sydney. His appointment to the Sydney chair was marked by controversy. Stone was attacked as a judicial radical by conservatives; these attacks often had antisemitic overtones. Stone was awarded the O.B.E. in the New Year's Honors of 1973. Stone's many books include *International Guarantees of Minority Rights* (1932), *International Court and World Crisis* (1962), *The Province and Function of Law* (1961^4), *Legal Controls of International Conflict* (1954), and *Aggression and World Order* (1958). His greatest contribution to the study of law is his trilogy, *Human Law and Human Justice* (1965), *Legal Systems and Lawyers Reasoning* (1966); and *Social Dimensions of Law and Justice* (1967), regarded as a milestone in the history of jurisprudence, which attempts to assess law in terms of logic, justice, and society, corresponding to analytical, ethical, and sociological jurisprudence.

An active figure in Jewish affairs in Australia, Stone published in 1944 a booklet, *Stand Up and be Counted*, in which he challenged the anti-Zionist views of Sir Isaac *Isaacs and called upon Australian Jewry to rally behind the Zionist cause. From 1968 to 1970 he was academic director and head of the Truman Center for the Advancement of Peace at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. He remained a staunch supporter of Israel in the Australian public sphere until his death. A *Festschrift*, *Legal Change: Essays in Honour of Julius Stone*, edited by A.R. Blackshield, appeared in 1983. Leonie Star's *Julius Stone: An Intellectual Life* (1992) is a comprehensive biography.

[Isidor Solomon]

STONE, OLIVER (1946–), U.S. film director. Born in New York, Stone spent two years in Vietnam (1967–68) as a U.S. Infantry Specialist 4th class and received both the Purple Heart and a Bronze Star with Oak Leaf Cluster honors. Stone began his feature film career at the highest level, writing the screenplay of Alan Parker's *Midnight Express* (1978), for which he received an Oscar. Stone then wrote the script for *Scarface* (1983) and then directed his first feature, *Salvador* (1986), which he also co-scripted and co-produced. Stone's next writing and directorial effort was the hugely successful *Platoon* (1986), which received the Academy Award for Best Picture of the year and an Oscar for Stone for Best Director. Stone then directed *Wall Street* (1987) and *Talk Radio* (1988), both of which he also co-scripted. His next film, *Born on the Fourth of July* (1989), won him his second Academy Award for Best Director. Stone then directed *The Doors* (1990); the highly controversial *J.F.K.* (Oscar nominations for Stone as writer, director, and producer, 1991); *Heaven & Earth* (1993); the even more controversial *Natural Born Killers* (1994); *Nixon* (Oscar nomination, 1995); *U Turn* (1997); *Any Given Sunday* (1999); *Comandante* (2003); *Persona Non Grata* (2003); the TV movie *Looking for Fidel* (2004); and *Alexander* (2004). In addition to writing the screenplays for many of his films that he directed, Stone also wrote the screenplay for *Conan the Barbarian* (1982); *Year of the Dragon* (1985); *8 Million Ways to Die* (1986); and *Evita* (1996).

Stone's published works include *A Child's Night Dream* (1997) and *Oliver Stone's U.S.A.* (2000).

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[Jonathan Licht / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

STONE, PETER (1930–2003), U.S. movie and theater writer. Born in Los Angeles, Stone went to Bard College in New York State and earned a master's degree from the Yale School of Drama. After a stint in journalism, he turned to writing for television. In 1956 he wrote an episode for the highly regarded *Studio One* series. He earned an Emmy award for a 1962 episode of *The Defenders*, a series about a father-son team of lawyers who often delved into social issues. In the early 1960s he wrote a movie script that was rejected all over Hollywood until he turned it into a novel. Hollywood beckoned, so he turned it back into a screenplay that became the 1963 movie *Charade,* starring Cary Grant and Audrey Hepburn. He won an Oscar the following year for his reprise with Grant, *Father Goose*. Subsequent film thrillers, *Mirage* (1965) and *Arabesque* (1966), were not so successful. Stone became known for his adaptations. In 1969 he adapted for the screen the Broadway musical *Sweet Charity.* For NBC television he adapted George Bernard Shaw's *Androcles and the Lion* (1967), and Billy Wilder's *Some Like It Hot* for Broadway as the musical *Sugar* (1972), as well as the novel *The Taking of Pelham One, Two, Three* for the screen (1974). Stone had been asked years earlier to write a Broadway musical about the Founding Fathers. By the late 1960s, he decided Americans could use a history lesson wrapped in a different package. The result was *1776*, an unlikely hit that told of the days leading up to the signing of the Declaration of Independence, which won him one of his three Tony awards. He was nominated six times for Tonys and won three, scoring on Broadway with the Lauren *Bacall musical *Woman of the Year* (1981) and *Titanic* (1997). He later worked sporadically in film, with his credits including *Who Is Killing the Great Chefs of Europe?* (1978), adapted from a novel. A much-respected craftsman, show doctor, and wit, Stone had legions of friends in Hollywood and New York and was the uncredited collaborator on dozens of major film and theatrical productions.

[Stewart Kampel (2nd ed.)]

STONE, RICHARD BERNARD (1928–), U.S. politician. Born in New York, Stone graduated from Harvard in 1949 and from Columbia University Law School in 1954. He was admitted to the Florida bar in 1955. He was city attorney of Miami 1966–67 and was elected to the Florida State Senate in his first try for office, serving 1967–70. He was then elected Florida secretary of state, serving from 1971 until he resigned to run for the U.S. Senate on the Democratic ticket in 1974. He was elected the first Jewish senator to serve Florida since 1845 but was defeated in the 1980 elections. Stone was active in Jewish and Zionist affairs.

In July 1975, he was named to the Presidential Committee on U.S. Participation in the Olympics by President Gerald R. Ford. Stone served as ambassador at large and special envoy to Central America (1983–84) and as U.S. ambassador to Denmark (1992–93).

STONE, STEVEN MICHAEL (**Steve**; 1947–), U.S. baseball player and sportscaster, 1980 Cy Young Award winner. Born in Euclid, Ohio, Stone was an all-around athlete as a child, shooting a hole in one at golf at age 11 and winning the Cleveland junior tennis title at age 13. In 1965, Stone graduated Bush High School in Cleveland, where he won All-State honors in baseball as a junior and captained the team as a senior, and was the winning pitcher in a state high school All-Star game. Stone attended Kent State University, and signed with the San Francisco Giants on February 15, 1969, before graduating. After three years in the minor leagues, Stone made his Major League debut on April 8, 1971. He played for the San Francisco Giants (1971–72), Chicago White Sox (1973), Chicago Cubs (1974–76), Chicago White Sox (1977–78), and Baltimore Orioles (1979–81). Stone had never won more than 15 games until he dazzled the baseball world in 1980 with a 25–7, 3.23 ERA season to win the Cy Young Award, and was named American League Pitcher of the Year by *The Sporting News*. He also started and pitched three perfect innings in the All-Star game, and in one stretch won 14 games in a row, two shy of the AL record. Tendonitis curtailed his season in 1981, and in June 1982 Stone announced that he was retiring from baseball. Stone finished with a 107–93 record, and an ERA of 3.96 in 1,789 innings, and 1,065 strikeouts. He is 3rd on the all-time list of wins and strikeouts by a Jewish pitcher, behind Ken *Holtzman and Sandy *Koufax, and fourth in games. Stone was the rare pitcher who called his own pitches from the mound, giving signs to the catcher on what he would throw. After retiring, Stone worked for the Cubs as a broadcaster from 1983 to 2000 and in 2003–4, when he left amid a controversy involving Cubs players who felt he was being overly critical of their performance. Stone was hired the next year by Chicago radio station WSCR to host a weekly talk show, and by ESPN to work some of the network's baseball telecasts.

[Elli Wohlgelernter (2nd ed.)]

STOPNICA, small town near Busko, in Kielce province, central Poland. Jews settled there in the 17th century. They owned 12 houses in the town in 1663. The Jews of Stopnica had certain trading rights in this period and were exempt from services to the governor (*starosta*). They were granted a royal privilege in 1752 authorizing their communal autonomy and rights to engage in trade and crafts, the latter being regulated by an agreement concluded in 1773 between the leaders of the community and the municipal authorities. The representatives of the province (*galil*) of *Sandomierz, within the framework of the *Councils of Lands, convened in Stopnica in 1754 and 1759. There were 375 Jews paying the poll tax in Stopnica and 188 in the surrounding villages in 1765. Between 1823 and 1862 the authorities of Congress Poland placed difficulties in the way of Jewish settlement in Stopnica because of its proximity to the Austrian border. In 1869 Stopnica lost its status as a city. During the 19th century *Ḥasidism gained influence within the community.

The Jewish population numbered 1,014 (49% of the total) in 1827; 1,461 (69%) in 1857; 3,134 (71%) in 1897; and 3,328 (76%) in 1921. They were mainly occupied in small-scale trade and crafts, including tailoring, shoemaking, and carpentry, and in carting.

[Shimshon Leib Kirshenboim]

Holocaust Period

During the German occupation Stopnica belonged to the General Government, *Radom District, in Busko County. At the outbreak of World War II there were about 2,600 Jews in Stopnica. In the course of the fighting the town center – mainly inhabited by Jews – was burnt down. After the Germans entered, shooting Jews on the streets became a common phenomenon. The Jews were compelled to pay a high "contribution" (fine) and in order to ensure payment the Germans took as hostage leading Jewish personalities, some of whom were killed. On the eve of Passover 1940, 13 Jews were dragged from their homes and shot. An "open" ghetto was set up but the Jews were forbidden under penalty of death to leave it. Tailoring workshops were established, providing the craftsmen with some employment and small wages. The number of Jews grew gradually with the influx of deportees and refugees from *Plock, *Gabin, Radom, *Lodz, and *Cracow, and in 1942 from the surrounding villages. By November 1940 there were 3,200 Jews in Stopnica; in May 1941, 4,600; in April 1942, 5,300; and in June 1942, 4,990. On the eve of Passover 1942, the police shot the president of the Judenrat and his son.

On Nov. 5–6, 1942, the liquidation of the ghetto took place. The German police and Ukrainian formations, with the help of the Polish police and the fire-brigade, shot 400 elderly and children at the Jewish cemetery, sent 1,500 young men to labor camps in *Skarzysko-Kamienna, and drove the remainder, about 3,000, on foot to the train station in Szczuczyn (Shchuchin). On the way many were killed. Jews caught in hiding in the ghetto were shot or included in the transport. The victims were sent by train to *Treblinka. In Stopnica itself about 200 young Jewish men and women remained alive, employed in workshops and on road building. This group was sent in January 1943 to labor camps in Sandomierz and Poniatow.

[Danuta Dombrowska]

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STORA (**Satorra**), Algerian family. ABRAHAM (15th century) spent time in several Algerian cities and eventually settled in Bougie, where he was a merchant and community leader. REUBEN (16th century) served as an interpreter for the Spanish forces during their conquest of *Oran in 1509. In 1512, he was given a house by the Spanish in the old Jewish quarter. His grandson succeeded him but was put to death in the mid-16th century for unknown reasons. The post was then given to Jacob Cansino. The Storas remained loyal to the Spanish during the Moorish invasions of Oran in the 17th century, despite Spanish injustices to the Jews. PAUL (20th century) was president of the consistoire of Algiers. During World War II, when offered the position of president-general of the Union of Algerian Jewry, which was organized by the Vichy government for collaborationist purposes, he courageously refused.

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STORAX (Gr. στύραξ), a sap with medicinal properties. According to Pliny (*Natural History* 12:81) and Dioscorides (*De materia medica* 1:79) it was extracted from trees growing wild in Syria and the vicinity. Some identify it with the "balm" enumerated among the "choice fruits of the land" that Jacob sent to Egypt (Gen. 43:11), and among the wares brought "from Judah and the land of Israel" (Ezek. 27:17) to Tyre. Balm of Gilead is mentioned (Gen. 37:25; Jer. 8:22, 46:11), and is praised by Jeremiah as a remedy for wounds (46:11; 51:8). Linnaeus, who determined the scientific names of plants, thought that storax was extracted from the tree called in modern Hebrew *livneh refu'i* which he termed *Styrax officinalis*. However in the light of tests made in Israel it is very doubtful if a sap with medicinal or aromatic qualities can be extracted from this tree. The storax of the ancients was probably extracted from a different tree, seemingly from the *Liquidambar orientalis* which grows wild in northern Syria and may even have been grown in Israel; from it is extracted an aromatic sap with healing qualities called *storax liquidis*. This may possibly be the biblical balm, though other sources led to the conclusion that *ẓori* ("balm"), *nataf*, and *ketaf* are synonyms for *balsam.

The *Styrax officinalis* is widespread in the forests of Israel, and Hosea (4:13) mentions "*alon*, *livneh*, and *elah*" (*oaks, *livneh*, and *terebinths) among the shady trees used as sites for idol worship. The reference seems to be to the tree called in Arabic *avḥar* and also *livnah* or *luvnah*, a name connected with the silvery white color of the underside of its leaves (for the *livneh* of Gen. 30:37 see *Poplar). The flowers of this tree are sweet smelling and similar in shape to citrus blossom. The poisonous fruit is used for trapping fish. Arabs do not fell this tree because of the legend that "demons recline beneath it."

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[Jehuda Feliks]

STORK (Heb. חֲסִידָה, *ḥasidah*). The stork, the *Ciconia ciconia*, has been identified with the *ḥasidah*, enumerated among birds forbidden as food (Deut. 14:18). According to the Talmud it derives its name ("the kindly") from the fact that it shows kindness to its fellows (Ḥul. 63a), a reference to the harmony of a flight of storks. These flights pass over Israel in the autumn and spring during their migrations to and from northern and southern countries. Jeremiah (8:7) notes that the bird has fixed times of migration. Small flights of the young birds remain in Israel during the summer, but the stork does not hatch its eggs in Israel and the verse "as for the stork the juniper trees [Heb. *beroshim*] are its house" (Ps. 104:17) refers to the stork's hatching its eggs on the *juniper trees in Lebanon. Although this identification of the *ḥasidah* can be taken as certain, it should be noted that some commentators took it to refer to a different bird, with the result that in certain localities in Spain the stork was mistakenly permitted by Jews as food. Generally however, the stork is regarded as an unclean bird (*Beit Yosef* to Tur, YD 92).

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[Jehuda Feliks]

STOROZHINETS (Rom. **Storojineţ**; Ger. **Storozynetz**), city in Chernovtsy district, Ukraine, in the historic region of Bukovina; until World War I, within Austria, and between the two world wars within Romania. Jews settled there at the close of the 18th century, but severe restrictions imposed by the Austrian authorities hindered the expansion of the Jewish settlement. The number of Jews nevertheless increased, mainly as a result of immigration from Galicia and Russia. In 1865, a Jew of Galician origin, who had established himself in the town in 1828, received a royal authorization, the first of this category to be granted there, to acquire real estate and trade without restriction. The Jewish population numbered 1,601 (32.9% of the total) in 1880, and 4,832 (48.3%) in 1910. The local Jews mainly engaged in commerce and industry connected with the products of the forest in the vicinity, and in timber processing, as well as in crafts and the liberal professions. At the beginning of the 20th century, 99% of the tailors, shoemakers, and carpenters of the town were Jews. Communal institutions were organized as the Jews became established. From 1890, the community was reorganized in accordance with the Austrian law concerning the communities which then came into force. A large main synagogue was erected at the beginning of the 20th century. There were also many ḥasidic and other houses of prayer. The members of the community, most of whom were Ḥasidim, belonged to various trends of Ḥasidisim, principally *Vizhnitsa and Sadagora. The community also had *ḥadarim* and yeshivot, but from 1871 many Jewish children also attended the general schools. In 1909 the community established a private Jewish secondary school for boys and girls that functioned, with a few interruptions, until 1938. In World War I, many Jews left the town during the fighting in the area. After the war, under Romanian rule, community life again flourished despite the antisemitic and oppressive regime. Zionist organizations were active there between the two world wars. Jews took part in municipal life.

Holocaust and Contemporary Periods

In 1940, Storozhinets was occupied by the Red Army. Many Jews lost their property as a result of nationalization, and relations between the local Jewish Communists and the other members of the community became strained. In 1941, the town was restored to the Romanian authorities, then collaborating with the Germans, During that year, most of the 2,482 Jews in the town were deported to the death camps in *Transnistria.

After World War II, at the commencement of the Soviet regime, a small number of Jews still remained in the town but this number subsequently declined.

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[Yehouda Marton]

°STORRS, SIR RONALD (1881–1955), British military governor (1917–20) and district commissioner (1920–26) of *Jerusalem. Storrs, who came from a distinguished English family, was a brilliant classics student at Cambridge University. In 1904 he joined the Egyptian service, became Oriental secretary, and during World War I was a member of the Arab Bureau at British military headquarters in *Cairo. After political service in Mesopotamia, he was appointed military governor of Jerusalem. There Storrs, who had a great sense of the historical occasion, was in his element. More of a diplomat than an administrator, he did a great deal for the city, founding the Pro-Jerusalem Society, with financial support from influential friends in Britain and elsewhere, to preserve and restore the Old City and revive its indigenous crafts. In 1926 he became governor of Cyprus and later of Northern Rhodesia.

His memoirs, *Orientations* (1937), and his work *Lawrence of Arabia: Zionism and Palestine* (1940) contain reservations about Zionism and the activities of the Zionist Commission, headed by Chaim *Weizmann. During the Arab riots of 1920 and 1921 the leaders of the *yishuv* and the Hebrew press accused Storrs of deliberate leniency toward the Arab rioters. Jewish leaders' demands for his resignation in 1921 were rejected by the high commissioner, Sir Herbert *Samuel.

ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY: ODNB online.

[Edwin Samuel, Second Viscount Samuel]

°STRABO (first century C.E.), Greek historian and geographer. Born in Pontus, he traveled widely, and received the conventional education of his day. He wrote a comprehensive history in 47 books. Of this work only a few extracts have been preserved, most of them in *Josephus' *Antiquities*. It is not surprising that the bulk of these extracts deal with matters relating to the history of the Jews, Josephus having used Strabo as a source for his history of the Hasmonean state. To what extent Josephus was further indebted to Strabo it is impossible to gauge. In any event, the history of Strabo, who was free from the pro-Herodian tendencies and the Syrian-Greek viewpoint of *Nicholas of Damascus, provided to some extent a counterbalance to the latter's writings. In his history Strabo frequently quoted the literary sources to which he had recourse; thanks to this the few extracts from him in *Antiquities* have preserved the evidence of other historians who wrote about the Jews (Timagenes, *Hypsicrates of Amisus).

The earliest event in Jewish history known to have been mentioned by Strabo was *Antiochus Epiphanes' attack on the Temple in Jerusalem (Jos., Apion, 2:84). His comments on the penetration of Jews throughout the entire inhabited world, on their status in Cyrene, and on the organization of the Jewish settlement in Egypt (Jos., Ant., 14: 115ff.) are particularly interesting. On the authority of Timagenes, Strabo depicts *Aristobulus I in a favorable light (*ibid.* 13:319), contrary to Josephus' previous assessment of him, which was based on Nicholas. The final quotation from Strabo's history deals with the execution of *Antigonus, and from it the affection of the Jewish people for Herod's rival can be gauged.

Strabo's other great work, his *Geographica* in 17 books, has survived in its entirety. It is a comprehensive geography in which Ereẓ Israel is described in the 16th book. Here, Strabo states that the most acceptable view about the origin of the Jews is that which regards them as descended from the Egyptians. According to him, the Jewish religion and nation originated with an Egyptian priest called Moses, who came to realize that the Egyptians were misguided in depicting their gods in the form of animals. The same applied to the Greeks, with their anthropomorphic conception of the gods. Moses held that God embraces all things, the earth and the sea, that He is in reality "what we call heaven, the universe, and the nature of things." Having succeeded in persuading intelligent men of this, Moses led them to the place now known as Jerusalem, where he established a just regime which his direct heirs maintained for a certain time. Later, however, they had priests who were superstitious and subsequently even tyrannical. These changes led to acts of brigandage, as a result of which Judea and the neighboring countries suffered. Strabo briefly mentions the kingdom of *Alexander Yannai and the conquest of *Pompey (Jos., Ant., 14:34–6). Generally he displays great respect for Moses and the ancient Jewish regime but rejects its later development. The last event in the political history of Judea quoted in Strabo's geography is the banishment of *Archelaus in 6 C.E. In his geographical survey, Strabo describes at some length the region of Jericho and the Dead Sea, which he confuses with the Sirbonian Lake. His knowledge of the geography of Ereẓ Israel is poor, and he apparently did not really know the country.

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[Menahem Stern]

°**STRACK, HERMANN LEBERECHT** (1848–1922), German Orientalist and theologian. Strack was born in *Berlin, where he became professor of Oriental languages and director-founder of the university's Institutum Judaicum. He was recognized as a leading non-Jewish scholar in the field of Bible and Talmud, Hebrew and Aramaic linguistics, Masorah, etc. Serving as an expert in German courts on a number of cases with antisemitic overtones, Strack took a firm line in defense of Judaism, and at the same time was active in the Protestant missionary movement (he edited *Jahrbuch der evangelischen Judenmission* and *Zeitschrift fuer die Arbeit der evangelischen Kirche in Israel*).

In the field of linguistics his main publications were *Grammatik des Biblisch-Aramaeischen* (1921^6); *Hebraeische Grammatik* (1952^{12}; also in English (1886)); *Juedisches Woerterbuch* (1916), a Yiddish dictionary; and *Lehrbuch der neuhebraeischen Sprache und Litteratur* (1884). Of importance for the study of Masorah was his *Dikduke ha-Te'amim des Ahron ben Moscheh ben Ascher* (1879), edited in cooperation with S. *Baer; *Catalog der hebraeischen Bibelhandschriften der… Bibliothek in St. Petersburg* (with A.E. Harkavy, 1875); and *Prophetarum posteriorum Codex babylonicus Petropolitanus* (1876). He also took part in the controversy surrounding the *Firkovich forgeries (*A. Firkowitsch und seine Entdeckungen*; 1876). Strack wrote *Einleitung in das Alte Testament* (1906^6) and edited, together with O. Zoeckler, a short Bible commentary (1891–1905^2), to which he contributed several biblical books; he also published a translation of and commentary on Ben Sira (1903). He wrote, with P. Billerbeck, a commentary to the New Testament which was based on Talmud and Midrash (4 vols., 1922–28) and demonstrated the Jewish rabbinic origin of most of Jesus' sayings. He also issued annotated translations of several Mishnah tractates with Billerbeck, including *Avot* (1915^4), together with a vocalized text. Strack's *Einleitung in Talmud und Midrash* (1921^5) became a standard reference work, the English edition, *Introduction to the Talmud and Midrash* (1931), which is based on the last but revised German one, being sponsored by the Central Conference of American Rabbis.

In fighting the malicious accusations against Judaism, Strack wrote *Das Blut im Glauben und Aberglauben der Menschheit* (1911^8), which was translated into English by H. Blanchamp as *The Jew and Human Sacrifice*… (1909). Works in the same vein include: *Sind die Juden Verbrecher von Religionswegen?* (1900); *Juedische Geheimgesetze?* (1925^9); *Herr Adolf Stoecker christliche Liebe und Wahrhaftigkeit* (1886^2); and *Die Aufhebung der Juden-Emanzipation und ihre rechtliche Begruendung* (1895; cf. also his *Das Wesen des Judentums*; 1906). Strack's courageous stand against growing German antisemitism brought him bitter denunciation by antisemitic writers such as K. Erbsreich and Th. *Fritsch; on the other hand his missionary activities came under attack from Jewish writers (P. Meyer, *Woelfe im Schafsfell*, 1893).

STRAKOSCH, MAURICE (1825–1887), pianist and impresario. Born in Gross-Seelowitz, Moravia, Strakosch toured Europe as a pianist and immigrated to the U.S. in 1848. From 1856 he worked chiefly as an operatic impresario, managed the concerts of his sister-in-law, the celebrated soprano Adelina Patti, and toured with his company in the U.S. and Europe. Strakosch composed one opera *Giovanni di Napoli*, and pieces for piano, and wrote *Ten Commandments of Music for the Perfection of the Voice* (posthumous, 1896), and *Souvenirs d'un Impresario* (1887).

STRAND, PAUL (1890–1976), U.S. photographer. The son of immigrants from Bohemia, Strand was born in New York City and given his first camera at the age of 12 by his well-to-do father. He was sent to the Ethical Culture School in 1904 for an education that gave equal weight to individual creativity and social engagement. There his teacher was Lewis Hine, who at the time was photographing immigrants arriving at Ellis Island. Hine introduced him to Alfred *Stieglitz, and in 1916 Strand had his first one-man exhibition at Stieglitz's famed "291" gallery. The last two issues of Stieglitz's *Camera Work* in 1917 were devoted to Strand's photography, whose principal early subjects were Manhattan life and 20th-century machinery. Several of his images from that period, including "Wall Street" (1915), "The White Fence" (1916) and "Blind" (1916), are considered revolutionary in their starkness and use of light and shadow. Strand's street photos of 1916, taken with a special camera designed to capture his subjects unawares, emulated Hines' engaged stance. He focused on the city's rich cultural mix (two Orthodox Jewish men deep in conversation; an elderly woman with a time-creased face in Washington Square Park), but he also portrayed the city's dispossessed, including a picture of a disheveled woman yawning and a man with dazed eyes in an Irish slum.

After service in the Army Medical Corps, where he was introduced to X-ray and other medical camera procedures, Strand collaborated with Charles Sheeler on the film *Manhattan*, released as *New York the Magnificent* in 1921. Strand made his exquisitely composed landscape and nature photographs in the 1920s. With the onset of the Depression, Strand became active in politics. A socialist, he worked with the Group Theater, which had been formed in New York by Harold *Clurman, Cheryl Crawford, and Lee *Strasberg in 1931. The Group was an attempt to create a theater collective with a company of trained players dedicated to presenting works by contemporary writers. Members of the group tended to hold left-wing political views and wanted to produce plays that dealt with important social issues. In 1935 Strand visited the Soviet Union and met the radical film director Sergei *Eisenstein. When Strand returned to the United States, he began to produce socially significant documentary films, including *The Plow That Broke the Plains* in 1936, his film on trade unions in the Deep South, *People of the Cumberlands* the following year, and *Native Land* in 1942. The latter evolved from a Congressional hearing on anti-labor activities. When it was released on the eve of World War II, its message was considered politically divisive.

In 1936 Strand joined with Berenice Abbott to establish the Photo League in New York, whose initial purpose was to provide the radical press with photographs of trade-union activities and political protests. The Museum of Modern Art in New York held a full-scale retrospective of Strand's work in 1945. Later in that decade, the Photo League was investigated by the House Un-American Activites Committee. Several members were blacklisted and Strand decided to leave the United States and live in France. There he produced *A Profile of France* with Claude Roy in 1952, *A Village* with Cesare Zavattini in 1955, and *Tir a'Mhurain*, about the Hebrides, with Basil Davidson in 1968.

[Stewart Kampel (2nd ed.)]

STRANGERS AND GENTILES. Ancient Israel was acquainted with two classes of strangers, resident aliens and foreigners who considered their sojourn in the land more or less temporary. The latter were referred to as *zarim* (זָרִים) or *nokhrim* (נָכְרִים), terms generally applied to anyone outside the circle the writer had in view (e.g., Ex. 21:8; 29:33). They retained their ties to their original home and sought to maintain their former political or social status. On occasion they came as invaders (II Sam. 22:45–46; Obad. 11). More often they entered the land in the pursuit of trade and other commercial ventures. The usual laws were not applicable to them, and they were protected by folk traditions concerning the proper treatment of strangers (cf. Job 31:32) and by special conventions resulting from contractual arrangements between the Israelites and their neighbors (cf. I Kings 20:34). In the legislation of Deuteronomy, an Israelite may charge a foreigner usury though he may not do so to a fellow Israelite (Deut. 23:21), and the septennial remission of debts does not apply to the debts of foreigners (Deut. 15:3). On the other hand, barred from the cult (Ex. 12:43), the foreigner was also not bound by the ritual laws, and it was permissible to sell him animals that had died a natural death (Deut. 14:21). The fact that Deuteronomy includes a special prohibition against foreigners' ascending the throne (Deut. 17:15) and that Solomon specifically requested that God listen to their prayers (I Kings 8:41) may indicate the important position some foreigners occupied during the age of the monarchy.

In contrast with the foreigner, the *ger* (גֵר), the resident alien, lived more or less permanently in his adopted community. Like the Arabic *jār*, he was "the protected stranger," who was totally dependent on his patrons for his well-being. As W.R. Smith noted, his status was an extension of that of the guest, whose person was inviolable, though he could not enjoy all the privileges of the native. He, in turn, was expected to be loyal to his protectors (Gen. 21:23) and to be bound by their laws (Num. 15:15–16).

Prior to the Exodus, resident aliens as a class were unknown in Israel. On the contrary, the Israelites themselves were *gerim* (Ex. 22:20) as were their ancestors (Gen. 15:13; cf. 23:4; Ex. 2:22). Aliens were apparently attracted to their ranks when they left Egypt (Ex. 12:38, 48), and their numbers were further augmented during the time of the conquest of Canaan (Josh. 9:3ff.). By far the greatest number of *gerim* consisted of the earlier inhabitants of Canaan, many of whom were neither slain as Deuteronomy commands (cf. e.g., 7:2) nor reduced to total slavery (cf. I Kings 5:29; II Chron. 2:16–17). Immigrants also were numbered among them – foreigners who sought refuge in times of drought and famine (cf. Ruth 1:1) and refugees who fled before invading armies.

Since all of the landed property belonged to Israelites (cf. Lev. 25:23–24), the *gerim* were largely day laborers and artisans (Deut. 24: 14–15; cf. 29:10). Both the Book of the Covenant which classed them among those who were dependent (Ex. 23:12) and the Decalogue which referred to them as "your stranger" (*gerkha*; Ex. 20:10; cf. Deut. 5:14) attest their inferior position in Israelite society. While a few acquired wealth (cf. Lev. 25:47), most of them were poor and were treated as the impoverished natives. Thus, they were permitted to share in the fallen fruit in the vineyard (Lev. 19:10), the edges of the field, and the gleanings of the harvest (Lev. 23:22; see also Poor, Provisions *for). Like the other poor folk they were also granted a share in the tithe of the third year (Deut. 14:29) and the produce of the Sabbatical Year (Lev. 25:6).

Since the foreigners' defenselessness made them vulnerable, the Israelites were frequently reminded of God's special concern for the weak (Ex. 22:21–22; cf. Deut. 10:17–19) and were enjoined not to molest them (Ex. 22:20; cf. Jer. 7:6). They were not to be abused (Deut. 24:14) and were to receive equal treatment before the law (Deut. 1:16; cf. 24:17; 27:19). In case of accidental homicide, the cities of refuge were open to them as well (Num. 35:15), for there was to be "one standard for stranger and citizen alike" (Lev. 24:22). Moreover, the Israelites were enjoined to be especially solicitous of the welfare of the *ger* and to befriend him as one of their own, since they could recall the sufferings of their own people in the land of Egypt (Lev. 19:34; cf. Deut. 10:19).

With the passage of time, the *gerim* were assimilated culturally and religiously. Doeg the Edomite, for instance, was a worshiper of YHWH by the time of Saul (I Sam. 21:8), as was Uriah the Hittite in the reign of David (II Sam. 11:11). Hence, the *ger*, in contrast to the *nokhri*, was required in many cases to conform to the ritual practices of the native Israelite. Thus, *gerim* were subject to laws dealing with ritual purification (Num. 19:2–10), incest (Lev. 18:26) and some of the food taboos (Lev. 17:10–16; but cf. Deut. 14:21). They were expected to observe the Sabbath (Ex. 20:10; Deut. 5:14), participate in the religious festivals (Deut. 16:11, 14), and fast on the Day of Atonement (Lev. 16:29). They were permitted to offer up burnt offerings (Lev. 17:8; 22:18; Num. 15:14ff.) and, if circumcised, even to sacrifice the paschal lamb (Ex. 12:48–49; Num. 9:14). Indeed, they, no less than the Israelites, were expected to be loyal to YHWH (Lev. 20:2; cf. Ezek. 14:5–8).

However, social differences did remain, and some *gerim* were better received than others. While third generation offspring of Edomites and Egyptians might "be admitted into the congregation of the Lord" (Deut. 23:8–9), Ammonites and Moabites were not to be admitted "even in the tenth generation" (23:4). Furthermore, even while the Holiness Code admonished Israelites not to subject their fellows to slavery (Lev. 25:39), they were specifically permitted to do so to the children of resident aliens (25:45–46). A Hebrew slave belonging to a *ger* could be redeemed immediately, and if not redeemed served until the Jubilee Year (25:47ff.), but one belonging to an Israelite served until the *Jubilee (25:39ff.). Correspondingly, a Hebrew could serve as a hired or bound laborer (25:40) of an Israelite, but only as a hired laborer of an alien (25:50). Indeed, the humble position of the *ger* generally was emphasized by the usage of the term in the Holiness Code: e.g., "The land is Mine; you are but strangers resident with Me" (25:23; cf. 25:35, but see *Proselyte).

In practice, of course, there were Israelites who became propertyless and destitute and had to support themselves as day laborers (Deut. 24:14; cf. Lev. 19:13), and no doubt there were also *gerim* who became prosperous and acquired land. This narrowed the gap between the two classes and resulted in frequent intermingling. Marriages between the two groups did take place, only marriages between Israelites and the aboriginal inhabitants of Palestine being prohibited in Deuteronomy 7:3–4. On close examination it appears that even in the theory (and it was hardly more) of the author of Ezra-Nehemiah only marital alliances with the non-Israelites of Palestine were illegitimate, because the laws of Deuteronomy 7:3–4 and 23:3–9 applied to them. The absorption of converts from other nations is reported with equanimity – Ezra 2:59–60 (= Neh. 7:61–62); Ezra 6:21; Nehemiah 10:29 ("and everyone who withdrew from the uncleanness of the peoples of the lands [note the plural] to the teaching of God"). The phenomenon of such conversions is alluded to in Isaiah 56:3 and Zechariah 2:15; 8:20ff., and the predictions of the conversion of the gentiles in Isaiah and Jeremiah are well known. In late Second Temple times, the term *ger* had become virtually synonymous with "proselyte," and strangers were admitted to the religious fellowship of Israel (Jos., Apion, 2:28).

[David L. Lieber]

Whereas, as stated, the word *ger* in the Bible was taken to refer to the proselyte, the *ger toshav*, the "resident stranger," was regarded as belonging to a different and special character. He was a non-Jew who accepted some, but not all of the commandments of the Torah, as a result of which he was permitted to reside in the land of Israel and enjoy many of the privileges of citizenship. Various views are expressed by the rabbis as to the qualifications which entitle the resident gentile to be accepted as a *ger toshav*, ranging from the renunciation of idolatry to one who accepts the whole of the discipline of the Torah with the exception of the dietary laws (Av. Zar. 64b). The *halakhah* was decided that it applies to the person accepting the seven "Noachide Laws" (Maim. Yad, Issurei Bi'ah 14:7; Sh. Ar., YD 124:1). The laws, privileges, and restrictions of the *ger toshav* are exhaustively dealt with in the Talmud. As, however, it was laid down that the acceptance of a *ger toshav* was permitted only during the period that the Jubilee was in force, and that law was no longer in power in talmudic times, the discussion was purely academic.

For a full discussion of the post-biblical period see *Gentile.

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STRÁNSKÝ, JAROSLAV (1884–1973), Czech politician. Stránský was born in Brno, the son of Adolf Stránský (1855–1931), one of the leading Jews in the National Democratic Party, who was a member of the Austro-Hungarian Parliament before World War I and became the first minister of commerce in Czechoslovakia when it became an independent state in 1918. He had abandoned Judaism, however, and his son was raised as a Christian. Jaroslav Stránský played a leading role in the Czech National Socialist Party (founded before, and having no connection with, the National Socialist Party of Hitler) and, on the outbreak of World War II, went into exile in England with the president of Czechoslovakia, Edvard Beneš. He served in the cabinet of the Czechoslovak government-in-exile in London and was deputy prime minister, minister of education, and minister of justice in the postwar government of the country. In 1948, he returned to Great Britain, and later settled in the United States, but again returned to England, where he died. Stránský was conscious of his Jewish origin. In 1922, he took over the ownership of the Czech-language daily *Lidové Noviny* in Brno, which had been founded by his father, and transformed it into a liberal daily of international standard. It was one of the few Czech newspapers to support Jewish aims in Ereẓ Israel under the Mandate and to defend Jews against antisemitism both in the pre-Hitler era and the period preceding the Nazi occupation of Czechoslovakia after the Munich agreement.

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STRANSKY, JOSEF (1872–1936), conductor and composer. Born in Humpolec, Bohemia, Stransky studied medicine (receiving his M.D. in Prague, 1896), and music in Leipzig and then in Vienna with Dvořák and Bruckner. Stransky conducted a student orchestra in Prague, and in 1898 had his first professional engagement at the Neues Deutsches Theater there. In 1903 he moved to the Hamburg Opera as principal conductor and in 1910 worked with the Bluethner Orchestra in Berlin. In 1911 he succeeded *Mahler as conductor of the New York Philharmonic Society (to the distress of Strauss, who thought Stransky would give German conducting a bad name abroad). A large bequest (by Joseph Pulitzer) enabled him to carry out successfully the sweeping reforms instituted by Mahler. He pleased his New York audience with his uncontroversial but not altogether unspiced programs. He conducted the première (1922) at the Philharmonic of *Schoenberg's Bach chorale-prelude transcriptions, despite having received a sulphurous letter from Schoenberg. In 1923, he became conductor of the newly formed New York State Symphony Orchestra, but gave up conducting in 1925 to work as an art dealer. Stransky published the book *Modern Paintings by German and Austrian Masters* (1916); composed an operetta, *Der General*; songs; orchestral and other instrumental music. His editions include an adaptation of Berlioz's *Béatrice et Bénédict*, which he felt needed reorchestration for modern taste.

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[Naama Ramot (2nd ed.)]

STRASBERG, LEE (1901–1982), U.S. theatrical director and teacher. Born in Budanov (then Austria-Hungary), his family moved in 1909 to New York, where Strasberg became entranced with the theater, largely through the influence of the Chrystie Street Settlement House. In 1923, after seeing a performance of the Moscow Art Theater then touring under the direction of Stanislavsky, he enrolled in the American Laboratory Theater, which followed Stanislavsky's realistic principles. He began his professional career in 1924 with the Theater Guild, first as assistant stage manager and then as an actor. In 1931 Strasberg, Cheryl Crawford, and Harold Clurman founded the Group Theater, which came to exercise a profound influence on the American stage. He directed several plays, of which *Men in White* (1933) won a Pulitzer Prize, but resigned in 1937 after a policy dispute. In 1947, he joined the Actors Studio and became its artistic director in 1948. The Studio was largely shaped by him and became famous for its "Method" approach to acting. Its pupils won acclaim for an intense personal style. Strasberg has said, "Acting is to live on a stage. This means an actor must be able to react to an imaginary stimulus just as hard as he would to a real stimulus." Strasberg maintained close ties with Jewish theater and directed several productions for *Habimah, the National Theater of Israel.

He made his film debut at age 73, portraying a Jewish mobster in *The Godfather, Part II* (1974), which garnered him an Oscar nomination for Best Supporting Actor. Subsequent films include *The Cassandra Crossing* (1976); the TV movie *The Last Tenant* (1976); *And Justice for All* (1979); *Boardwalk* (1979); *Going in Style* (1979); and the TV movie *Skokie* (1981).

His book *A Dream of Passion: The Development of the Method* was published in 1987.

His daughter, SUSAN (1938–1999), a film and stage actress, was best known for her performance on Broadway in the title role of *The Diary of Anne Frank* (1955), which earned her a Tony nomination for Best Actress. A close friend of Marilyn Monroe's, she wrote *Marilyn and Me* (1992), as well as *Bittersweet* (1990).

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[Raphael Rothstein / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

STRASBOURG (Ger. **Strassburg**), capital of the department of Bas-Rhin, Alsace, E. France. The earliest conclusive evidence on the presence of Jews in Strasbourg dates from 1188. During the anti-Jewish persecutions connected with the Third Crusade, the Jews fled from the town and a number of other towns, but they appear to have returned after a short while. The statutes of the town (from about 1200) mention the Jews, who were by then living in a special quarter. At the beginning of the 13th century at the latest, they already owned a cemetery; the oldest remaining epitaph belongs to the year 1213. The synagogue is not mentioned until 1292. The size of the Jewish community, as well as its economic power, is reflected in the fact that in 1242 it paid the highest tax of all the Jewish communities of the empire. Until about 1260, the Jews of Strasbourg were subjected to the authority of the bishop. From the first half of the 13th century, some Christians bore the surname of "Jew" (*Jude*), which probably attests to their Jewish origin. In spite of demographic losses due to conversions, the number of Jews in Strasbourg was constantly on the rise as a result of immigration from other Alsatian localities, as well as other Germanic localities, so that in 1306, with additional arrivals from France, the Jewish population numbered about 300. *Moneylending appears to have been their sole economic activity, their customers including Christian religious institutions and noblemen. Loans ran as high as 6,000 livres.

In his account of the massacre of the Jews of Strasbourg after they had been accused of propagating the *Black Death, a local chronicler points out that the real poison by which the Jews of Strasbourg had perished was usury. In addition, the Jews also suffered as a result of the battle for municipal power between the patricians and the master craftsmen. The patrician municipality sought to protect the Jews, and at the end of 1348, when rumors spread that the Jews were poisoning the wells in order to spread the plague, it preferred to refrain from any action until an inquiry had been conducted in the localities where similar accusations had been voiced (including *Lausanne, *Chillon, *Berne, *Colmar, *Cologne, and *Freiburg in Breisgau). Although the guilt of the Jews was taken for granted almost universally, the council of Strasbourg remained convinced of their innocence and even took up their defense. On Feb. 9, 1349, however, Mayor Peter Swarber and two counselors were compelled by the craftsmen to resign. On February 13, the new council decided to burn the Jews. According to tradition, the decision was enforced on Saturday, February 14, when 2,000 Jews perished. The only ones spared were those who accepted baptism; however, a number of those converts were the victims of a new persecution in the summer of 1349, when the plague actually reached the town and took a heavy toll of lives. On Sept. 12, 1349, Emperor Charles IV officially pardoned the town for the massacre of the Jews and the plunder of their possessions. Until the French Revolution, two calls upon a horn, played nightly, perpetuated the memory of the supposed treason of the Jews.

In spite of the town's decision to prohibit the settlement of Jews for a period of 100 years, a number of Jews were authorized to reside there from 1369 onward, though against the payment of extremely high fees. They numbered at least 25 families when they were again expelled from Strasbourg at the end of 1388, on this occasion "forever." Those banished established themselves in surrounding villages, from where they continued to maintain commercial relations with the inhabitants of Strasbourg. Magistrates frequently intervened (e.g., in 1570) to prohibit these relations completely or reduce them to a minimum. From at least 1512, and probably much earlier, the Jews who wished to enter the town were required to pay an expensive toll. In time, this admission fee was increased by an additional payment to the municipal servant who accompanied each Jew in all his movements and supervised the lawfulness of his activities. When the exceptional Jew was authorized to spend the night in Strasbourg – normally at the Corbeau Inn or at the Ours-Noir Hotel – he had to pay a double toll, that is, the fee which he would have paid had he returned the next day. On certain occasions, such as in 1639, this supervision was accompanied by an interrogation and a search at the gates of the town to determine the goods which the Jews brought and the persons with whom they intended to establish contact. The Jews endeavored to circumvent both the payment of toll rates and humiliating treatment by concluding their transactions outside the town. The municipality, in order to protect its handsome income, would then intervene against such practices. In 1648, for example, it prohibited the sale of horses at any site other than the horse market of the town.

Relations between the Jews and the Council of Strasbourg were not always hostile. Joseph Joselmann b. Gershom of Rosheim, in particular, succeeded through his diplomatic talents in obtaining the council's support. In 1537 he obtained a letter of recommendation to the prince-elector of Saxony, and in 1541 called the attention of the council to the anti-Jewish pamphlet of the Strasbourg preacher M. *Bucer, and in 1543 to the writings of M. *Luther, "Concerning the Jews and Their Lies" and "Concerning the Shem ha-Meforash" (Tetragrammaton). He thereby succeeded in obtaining an order against new publications of these writings.

Once the town came under French sovereignty (1681), the severity of the anti-Jewish measures was eased or they were even temporarily suspended, such as in time of war to enable the Jews of the surrounding area to take refuge in the town. The minister R.L. de Voyer Marquis d'Argenson, however, was compelled to intercede in favor of Moses Blim, a purveyor of the army, and his Jewish partners to enable them to reside in Strasbourg until 1748. Again, the intervention of the royal authorities was required in 1767 to permit *Cerfbeer, also an army purveyor, to reside in Strasbourg during the winter and, from 1771, during the entire year. The numerous members of Cerfbeer's family and the persons engaged in his service also benefited from this personal authorization, so that in 1785 he occupied three or four houses with 60–70 people. In the letters patent of 1785, which abolished the "corporal toll," a special mention was made of Strasbourg, where "the Jews are subjected to a corporal tax which reduces them to the level of animals… a levy which appears to debase humanity." In spite of the king's commitment to indemnify the town for the loss of income, Strasbourg was reluctant to apply this edict.

A few years later there was almost unanimous opposition to granting the rights of citizenship to the Jews. Immediately after the National Assembly had done so, however, many Jews established themselves in Strasbourg. In the revolutionary year II, it was especially the Jews who became the target of the antireligious campaign. A contradictory situation resulted: it was the Republic which revived medieval practices by seizing, together with religious objects, all the Jewish books, particularly those of the Talmud, to be burned in an immense auto-da-fé. In 1806 seven delegates represented the 1,500 Jews of Strasbourg at the *Assembly of Notables. Immediately after the constitution of the Consistories, Joseph David *Sinzheim, until then chief rabbi of Strasbourg, became chief rabbi of the Central Consistory. The community, which was constantly growing, soon developed exemplary institutions. In addition to the synagogues, it supported a vocational school from 1825, an old age home called "Elisa" from 1853, and a rabbinical seminary for a short while from 1885. The German annexation of 1871 was responsible for the departure of a number of Jews for France. There was a particularly rapid numerical growth between the two world wars. Immigration from abroad was much lower than in other towns. In 1931, of almost 8,500 Jews living in Strasbourg, over 60% were born in France.

[Bernhard Blumenkranz]

Hebrew printing

In 1504 Johann Grueninger published in Strasbourg G. Reysch's *Margarita Philosophica*, which included a Hebrew grammar by Pelican, a Hebrew alphabet, and other Hebrew texts, all printed by woodblocks. In 1541 Paul *Fagius was appointed professor of Hebrew at Strasbourg University, and this led to the production of Hebrew textbooks for his students by the press of Johann Knobloch (or his successors). Fagius' own edition of parts of *Targum Onkelos* appeared in these texts in 1546, probably together with reprints of other texts, which he and Elijah Levita had published at Isny and Konstanz in the preceding years. In 1589 Elias Schadaeus set up a Hebrew press for which he himself prepared the Hebrew type, and in 1591 printed an edition of Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and Song of Songs.

It was only toward the end of the 18th century that Hebrew printing resumed in Strasbourg, with the publication of Bezalel Ashkenazi's *Shitah Mekubeẓẓet* on *Ketubbot* and Solomon Algazi's *Leḥem Setarim*, by Jonah Lorenz in 1777. This printing venture was inspired and financed by Cerfbeer and his brother-in-law, David Sinzheim. The auxiliary personnel were experienced typesetters, correctors, etc. from other printing centers, such as Hanau.

Holocaust Period

With the outbreak of World War II in September 1939, the entire population of Strasbourg was evacuated to the southwest of France. After the French capitulation (June 1940), the Jewish community succeeded in making basic provisional arrangements in southwestern France – setting up a synagogue and a welfare bureau in Périgueux and a synagogue in Limoges. As a result, a large number of Jews from Strasbourg were able to survive the war. Chief Rabbi René *Hirschler, mobilized in 1939, continued in his post as an itinerant rabbi after the defeat and Nazi occupation, and visited the Strasbourg Jewish community dispersed in more than 50 localities south of the Loire. In Strasbourg proper, the Nazis set fire to the Quai Kléber synagogue erected in 1898 and systematically destroyed all traces of the structure. Strasbourg Jews played a major role in educational work, welfare, sanitation, and in armed resistance. They set up agricultural schools and helped to direct them in the framework of the Jewish French scouting movement (Eclaireurs Israélites de France). Under the auspices of *OSE, they helped open clinics and children's homes. They also organized flight to Switzerland or to Palestine (via Spain) for infants and older children and joined in the armed resistance. As a result of their participation in these activities, Rabbis Hirschler, Robert Brunschwig and Elie Cyper, along with youth leader Léo Cohn, were arrested and deported to death camps. Rabbis Samy Klein and Aron Wolf were also killed in the course of their resistance work.

Contemporary Period

About 10,000 Jews lived in Strasbourg on the eve of World War II. Eight thousand came back after the liberation, 1,000 died in concentration camps, and another 1,000 decided to settle elsewhere. In 1965 there were 12,000 Jews in Strasbourg (4.5% of the total population). This increase was the result of natural growth (300), immigration from smaller Alsatian centers (1,200), immigration from Central Europe (500), and settling of refugees from North Africa (2,000). The Jewish population had been diminishing since 1955; however, in the late 1960s the birthrate was 7.5% and the mortality rate 12%; the number of mixed marriages increased by 40% between 1960 and 1965. Nevertheless, the community was strengthened by the absorption of an independent Polish-rite group in 1948 and North African Jews, for whom oratories were built or arranged in several neighborhoods. By the turn of the century the Jewish population had increased to around 15,000. Strasbourg Jewry was one of the most active communities on the continent of Europe after World War II. Institutions created since 1945 stress Jewish education, contrary to the trend prevalent before. They included a kindergarten, a full-time school, two boarding houses for high school and university students, two yeshivot, a monthly bulletin, and a weekly radio program. The University of Strasbourg had a chair of Jewish studies held by André *Neher. The Synagogue of Peace was inaugurated in 1958. It includes a large community center, which has often been the site of national and international Jewish congresses. The latent antisemitism of the Alsatian population was expressed by the establishment of organizations to prevent the return of Jewish property (confiscated in 1940) to the owners, and later to prevent the erection of a synagogue on city land.

[Lucien Lazare]

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STRASBURGER, EDUARD (1844–1912), German botanist and one of the founders of modern plant cytology. Strasburger, born in Warsaw, was made director of the Botanical Institute at Jena in 1869, and two years later, when only 27 years of age, was appointed full professor there. In 1880 he became professor at Bonn, where he worked until his death. Under his direction, the botanical institute became a world center for research in botany and especially in the newly emerging science of cell biology.

Strasburger's early research dealt with the embryology of liverworts, ferns, and conifers. He recognized the homology of the archegonium of the fern with the embryo sac of conifers. This discovery helped lay the basis for one of the fundamental generalizations of plant evolution: the essential correspondence of the life cycles of higher and lower plants. Among Strasburger's pioneer contributions to cell biology were his description of mitotic cell division in plants and his observation of the longitudinal splitting of the chromosomes in the process. Strasburger arrived at the conclusion that the cell division process was the same in plants and animals and set forth the generalization that nuclei arise only from preexisting nuclei. His observation of the union of male and female nuclei in the reproduction of plants was of the utmost significance in establishing the universal character of the phenomenon of fertilization and the role of the nucleus as the vehicle of heredity. Strasburger was the author of the important book *Ueber Zellbildung und Zelltheilung* (1875), and an influential *Lehrbuch der Botanik fuer Hochschulen* (1894, 1967^{29}; *Textbook of Botany,* 1898, 1965^{7}).

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[Mordecai L. Gabriel]

STRASHUN, MATHIAS (**Mattityahu**; 1819–1885), talmudic scholar, founder of the Strashun Library. Mathias, the son of Samuel *Strashun, was born in Vilna. His family was well-to-do and at the age of 13 he married the eldest daughter of the wealthy Joseph Elijah Eliasberg and was financially independent during his whole life. According to his own testimony (*Ha-Maggid*, 3 (1859), 158), in his youth he already began to make marginal notes on every book he read and acquired a profound mastery of every branch of Jewish scholarship. He knew Greek and Latin, as well as Russian, Polish, and German, and had an extensive knowledge of philosophy, history, and astronomy. When H.M. *Pineles and H.S. *Slonimski had a difference of opinion on an astronomical-calendrical point, they agreed to submit the dispute to Strashun for his final decision (*ibid.*, 12 (1868), 149). He was approached to accept the position of rabbi of Berlin but refused. Besides his scholarly activities, he was a prominent communal leader, the head of the Ẓedakah Gedolah (which in effect was the official organization of the community of Vilna) of the *ḥevra kaddisha*, and was responsible for the collection of funds for Ereẓ Israel. He was one of the heads of the *Mekiẓe Nirdamim society. Independent, he adopted a firm attitude and showed considerable initiative. Strashun was held in esteem by the government authorities; he was appointed to the city council of Vilna and was a member of the Vilna branch of the Russian Imperial Bank in 1869, and was decorated by the government.

Only one work by Strashun has been published, the *Mattat Yah* (1892), a commentary on, and annotation to, the *Midrash Rabbah*, edited by his friend Shalom Pludermacher, who included it in a bibliographical list of Strashun's 316 periodical publications. It was in those publications, including *Pirḥei Ẓafon, Kerem Ḥemed, Ha-Maggid*, and *Ha-Levanon*, that, generally under the title *Minḥah Belulah ba-Shemen*, Strashun published his researches, but mostly not under his own name, using a wide variety of noms de plume, either initials, or such names as Ani Ve-Hu, Ve-Hu Ve-Hu, etc. They also appeared in the *Israelitische Literaturblatt* (1883) and his annotations to the Midrash were published in A. *Wuensche's German translation of the *Midrash Rabbah.* His selected writings appeared in Hebrew in 1969.

[Shillem Warhaftig]

Strashun was a devoted bibliophile and book collector and his extensive library, bequeathed to the Vilna community, contained over 5,700 volumes, many personally annotated by him. The library was opened to the public in 1892, and in 1901 it was transferred to a house specially erected for the purpose in the courtyard of the synagogue. The first director of the library, Samuel Strashun, edited and published a catalog of the library in his *Likkutei Shoshannim* (1889). After his death, the library was headed by his son Isaac Strashun. The librarian Khaykel Lunski, who supervised the reading room, became one of the most popular figures in Vilna. Over the years, many books were added to the library, mainly from the contributions and estates of authors and rabbis of Vilna. From 1928 the University of Vilna sent a copy of every book published in Poland in Hebrew or Yiddish to the library. By the late 1930s, there were over 35,000 books in the library, the overwhelming majority of them dealing with Hebraica and Judaica. There were also 150 manuscripts and five incunabula. The library served the vast number of students, teachers, journalists, and authors of Vilna. Various scientific circles convened in the library building. Zalman *Shneour described it in his poem "Vilna." When the Nazis occupied the town in the summer of 1941, they destroyed some of the books and transferred others to Frankfurt. Several thousand books were found after World War II and distributed among the YIVO Library in New York and the National Library and other libraries in Ereẓ Israel.

[Yehuda Slutsky]

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Me-ha-Getto ha-Vilna'i (1921), 54ff.; Ḥ.N. Maggid-Steinschneider, *Ir Vilna*, 1 (1900), 283–7.

STRASHUN (Zaskovitzer), SAMUEL BEN JOSEPH (1794–1872), Lithuanian merchant and talmudic scholar. Originally called Zaskovitzer, after the place of his birth, Zaskovitz, Strashun adopted the surname of his father-in-law, David Strashun. David Strashun acquired a business in Vilna, and also opened a *Klaus* named after him. Samuel, relieved by his father-in-law of all material cares, devoted himself to study there. His teacher was R. Abraham *Danzig, who refers to him in his *Binat Adam* and *Ḥokhmat Adam* under his original name. Even after his father-in-law's death in 1843, he was able to continue his studies while his wife and brothers ran a department store in Vilna. Strashun was also one of the leaders of the Vilna community. He refused to accept an appointment as rabbi of Suwalki, devoting himself entirely to study and teaching.

Strashun's fame rests upon his extensive annotations and glosses on almost every tractate of the Talmud and of the Mishnah. He followed the example of Elijah Gaon of Vilna, eschewing, as he himself testifies (in a letter to R. Heshel Levin), the method of *pilpul*, confining himself to giving sources, establishing the correct text, commenting, and giving original interpretations. He dealt with individual words and even letters, often pointing out how a mistake in explaining initials had distorted the text. He did not hesitate to suggest new halakhic rulings, not all of which were accepted. His annotations on the Talmud take up about 100 folio pages. In addition he annotated the *Midrash Rabbah*, adopting the same method. Strashun's commentary reveals his wide knowledge of Hebrew grammar and his acquaintance with history, geography, and foreign languages. In addition to the above commentaries, which are included in the Romm (Vilna) editions of the Talmud and Midrash, he wrote novellae to Maimonides' *Mishneh Torah*, to the Shulḥan Arukh *Oraḥ Ḥayyim*, and to the *Sifrei*. He also composed glosses to the *Ma'aseh Ray*, on the customs of Elijah Gaon of Vilna (1887).

Of his children the best known was Mathias *Strashun.

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[Shillem Warhaftig]

STRASSFELD, MICHAEL (1950–), U.S. rabbi and educator. Born to a rabbinic family, his father Meyer Strassfeld was an Orthodox rabbi in Dorchester, Massachusetts, who moved to a Conservative synagogue in Marblehead. A graduate of Brandeis University (B.A. 1971, M.A. 1972), Strassfeld was influenced by American anti-establishment "counterculture" in the late 1960s. He was active in the *havurah* (Jewish religious fellowship) movement as part of a Jewish counterculture, cultivating personal involvement and knowledge as alternatives to the passivity and superficiality of Judaism as practiced in the conventional American middle-class synagogue. Between 1973 and 1980, while a member of havurot in Boston and New York, he co-edited the three volumes of the highly popular *The Jewish Catalog*, a do-it-yourself guide to Jewish living designed to make Jewish knowledge and *havurah*-style practice accessible to Jews disaffected with the conventional synagogue. Between 1979 and 1982 he served as chairperson of the National Havurah Committee, the coordinating body of independent havurot in North America.

In 1982 Strassfeld assumed the first of a series of positions in Congregation Ansche Chesed in New York City, a run-down synagogue amenable to experimenting with innovative practices in order to survive. He opened the synagogue as a venue for several havurah-inspired *minyanin* (prayer quorums) accommodating different prayer styles, and applied insights derived from the Jewish counterculture to the congregational setting.

His realization that the synagogue as the central institution of American Jewry could be a venue for innovation in Jewish life led him to pursue rabbinical studies. In 1991 he was ordained by the Reconstructionist movement, which had cultivated havurot and a participatory spirit of innovation since its inception as a distinct denomination in the early 1960s. From 1991 to 2001 Strassfeld served as rabbi of Congregation Ansche Chesed. In 2001 he became rabbi of the Society for the Advancement of Judaism in New York, a congregation known for its creative approach to Judaism since its establishment by Mordecai M. Kaplan in 1922.

Strassfeld has been active in infusing elements of the ecstatic worship and intimate community associated with Ḥasidism into American Jewish life. The resulting synthesis, known as "neo-Ḥasidism," draws from the egalitarianism of the *havurah* while recognizing a role for the "rebbe," or charismatic spiritual leader. Neo-Ḥasidism originated in the late 1960s as a motif differentiating the Jewish counterculture from "establishment" Judaism of that time. In his books and teaching, and especially by assuming the rabbinate of an urban congregation, Strassfeld has embodied the principle of introducing neo-Ḥasidism into the mainstream of contemporary American Judaism.

His major publications include *A Book of Life* (2002); *A Night of Questions: A Passover Haggadah,* co-editor J. Levitt. (2000); *The Jewish Holidays* (1985); *A Shabbat Haggadah*, editor (1981); *The Third Jewish Catalog*, co-editor S. Strassfeld (1980); *A Passover Haggadah,* editor (1979); *The Second Jewish Catalog,* co-editor S. Strassfeld (1975); *The Jewish Catalog,* co-editors R. Siegel and S. Strassfeld (1973). He has also contributed articles to Jewish periodicals, notably *Response*, *Shma*, and *Tikkun*.

[Peter Margolis (2nd ed.)]

STRASSFELD, SHARON (1950–), U.S. Jewish educator, feminist, and community organizer. Educated at the Providence Hebrew Day School in Rhode Island and the University of Massachusetts (B.A. 1971), Strassfeld participated in the Jewish "counterculture" through the *havurah* movement as a member of "Havurat Shalom" in suburban Boston from 1971 to 1975. Drawing from this experience, she co-edited the three volumes of *The Jewish Catalog*, (1973, 1975, and 1980), inspired by the countercultural *Whole Earth Catalog* which had appeared several years earlier. Strassfeld was instrumental in establishing the annual Havurah Summer Institute, a week-long educational and cultural retreat first held in 1979, and an innovative Jewish day school, the Abraham Joshua Heschel School in New York, which opened in 1983.

Strassfeld is also noted for introducing women's sensitivities into the Jewish counterculture, which despite its purported egalitarianism had initially been male-dominated. Following the birth of her daughter, she (with then-husband Michael Strassfeld) pioneered the *simḥat bat* ceremony in the 1970s as the girls' equivalent of the male *brit milah*. Through her writing and educational activities she has become a proponent in the Jewish mainstream for the equality of women in Judaism that she originally voiced in the Jewish counterculture.

Strassfeld applied her business acumen to effect a synthesis between conventional financial activities and Jewish countercultural values of *tikkun olam* (repairing the world). As a businesswoman, her real estate and construction activities have generated resources that enabled her to support creative programs such as Ohel Ayalah (free High Holiday services for non-affiliated Jews in New York) and the Jewish Appleseed Foundation (outreach to isolated Jewish communities). She has headed Strassfeld Consulting, providing real estate services for non-profit organizations, and is a principal of the Soul Support Foundation, a philanthropic fund.

Her major publications include *Everything I Know: Life Lessons from a Jewish Mother* (1998); *The Jewish Family Book*, co-edited with K. Green (1983); *The Third Jewish Catalog*, co-edited with M. Strassfeld (1980); *Behold a Great Image,* co-edited with B. Aron (1980); *The Second Jewish Catalog,* co-edited with M. Strassfeld (1975); *The Jewish Catalog,* co-edited with R. Siegel and M. Strassfeld (1973). She also contributed articles to Jewish periodicals, notably *Response* and *Shma*, and wrote a weekly column syndicated in the Jewish press titled "Dear Molly."

[Peter Margolis (2nd ed.)]

STRAUBING, city in Bavaria, Germany. A Jewish community existed there by the 13th century. A tosafist, Solomon of Straubing, lived in the town. The tombstone of R. Azariah b. Hosea, with a Hebrew inscription of 1328, was located beside a house in the former Jews' street. In the privilege granted the town by Duke Stephen I of Bavaria in 1307, the Jews along with the Christians were designated as "free inhabitants." They were called upon to build or repair fortifications. In 1338, following a rumor of *Host desecration, the Jews in Straubing were massacred. The duke pardoned the burghers and awarded them the property of the victims. A new community came into being before 1400. In 1439 the Jews were expelled from the newly created duchy of Straubing-Bavaria. The *oath *more Judaico* is contained in the Straubing Town Book, or Red Book, compiled between 1472 and 1482 from older sources dating back to the 14th century. Straubing Jews are mentioned in Regensburg in 1466. After the emancipation in Bavaria (1872), Jews again moved to Straubing and the adjoining region. By 1890, 253 of them lived in the town and neighboring localities. In 1897 they formed the Lower Bavarian Jewish community. A synagogue and community center was consecrated in Straubing in 1907, and a cemetery was acquired in 1923. The community numbered 141 in 1913 (0.64% of the total population) and 115 in 1925–33 (0.5%), with approximately 110 in the affiliated localities. More than half subsequently emigrated. The synagogue was burned down in 1938. Fifty Jews from Straubing and 41 from the affiliated localities perished in the Nazi deportations. After the end of World War II approximately 700 Jews who had arrived in Straubing on their forced march from concentration camps stayed there; 100 of them remained until 1948. The community was reestablished and in 1968 numbered 112 persons and 119 in 1970. In 1964 a memorial plaque for the Holocaust victims was dedicated in the rebuilt synagogue. In 1988 a commemorative plaque was consecrated by the city of Straubing in memory of the Jewish victims of the Nazi era. The synagogue was restored in 1988–89. The Jewish community numbered 141 in 1989 and 1,729 in 2004. The increase is explained by the immigration of Jews from the former Soviet Union.

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[Toni Oelsner / Larissa Daemmig (2nd ed.)]

STRAUS, U.S. family of department store merchants, industrialists, public servants and philanthropists. Its founder, LAZARUS STRAUS (1809–1898), went to the U.S. in 1852 and settled in Talbotton, Georgia. Straus's three sons, all of whom were born in Otterberg, Rhenish Palatinate, and his wife joined him in 1854. Moving his family to New York City in 1865, Straus became a crockery importer there.

His eldest son, ISIDOR (1845–1912), was a merchant, congressman, and philanthropist. During the Civil War he worked as (aide to) a London-based Confederate agent and as a Confederate bond salesman there and in Amsterdam. After returning to the U.S. in 1865, Isidor entered the family business in New York. He and his brother Nathan became partners in the R.H. Macy Department Store in 1874, and the store's sole owners in 1887. Isidor subsequently became a partner in Abraham and Straus (1893). He was elected to Congress to fill an unexpired term (1894–95), served as a member of the New York and New Jersey Bridge Commission, and was a founder of the Reform Club of New York. Active in Jewish affairs, he was president of the Educational Alliance, a member of the American Jewish Committee, and a founder of an endowment fund for the Jewish Theological Seminary. He died in the sinking of the *Titanic*.

Lazarus's second son, NATHAN (1848–1931), was a merchant and philanthropist. He served as New York park commissioner (1889–93), health commissioner, and as a member of the New York Forest Preserve Board. Nathan's lifelong interest in public health manifested itself in his establishment in New York City of a milk pasteurization laboratory and milk distribution stations (1892, 1894, 1897); an emergency relief system for the distribution of coal and food to the poor (winter of 1892–93); and a chain of boarding houses which supplied a bed and breakfast to the poor for five cents (winter of 1893–94). During the severe winter of 1914–15 Straus served one-cent meals in the milk stations he had established earlier. He also established the Pasteur Institute in Palestine, and endowed Hadassah's Nathan Straus child health welfare stations and the Nathan and Lina Straus health centers in Jerusalem and Tel Aviv. It was estimated that Straus gave two-thirds of his fortune to various projects in Palestine; in recognition, *Netanyah was named for him.

The youngest brother, OSCAR SOLOMON (1850–1926), was a diplomat, author, public servant, and jurist. Oscar was educated at Columbia University (L.B. 1873). While his father and brothers were expanding their crockery store into a far-flung mercantile firm, he was drawn through his law practice into the circles of political reformers. A "mugwump" who worked for the election of Grover Cleveland in 1884, Straus was rewarded by the Democrats with the post of minister to Turkey. On that mission (1887–89) and during two subsequent missions (minister, 1898–1900; ambassador, 1909–10) he dealt with the problems of missionary rights, the protection of naturalized U.S. citizens, and the course of "dollar diplomacy."

In matters of foreign policy Oscar was usually the anti-imperialist and pacifist. Active in the organized peace movement, he labored continuously for the establishment of legal machinery for the amicable settlement of international disputes. During World War I and its aftermath he championed the idea of a league of nations. Theodore Roosevelt appointed Straus to the International Court of Arbitration at The Hague, an appointment which was renewed four times. In domestic affairs Straus stressed political reforms (e.g., direct primaries) as the best means to preserve the democratic system. A Cleveland Democrat who broke with the party when it backed free silver, he stood for sound money, low tariffs, liberal immigration policies, and civil service reform. He emphasized the interest of the public in the clashes between capital and labor, and, like Theodore Roosevelt, he advocated cooperation with business and regulation of trusts when he served as Roosevelt's secretary of commerce and labor (1906–09). In 1912 he followed Roosevelt into the Progressive Party, and he ran as that party's candidate for governor of New York.

The first Jew to hold a cabinet post, Straus displayed a strong sense of responsibility toward the Jewish community. On numerous occasions he interceded with U.S. and foreign statesmen on behalf of the suffering Jews of Russia and Romania. In 1906 he helped found the *American Jewish Committee. Opposed to political Zionism, he nonetheless contributed to various projects for the physical rehabilitation of Palestine and he supported territorialist schemes for the settlement of persecuted Jews. As a founder and officer of the Baron de Hirsch Fund he also worked to ease the plight of the newly arrived immigrants to the United States. Straus, a Reform Jew, found ideological similarities between the missions of Judaism and Americanism. As first president of the American Jewish Historical Society, and in numerous writings, particularly *The Origin of the Republican Form of Government in the United States of America* (1887, 1925), he stressed the impact of Hebraic concepts upon U.S. culture. His other writings include: *Roger Williams, the Pioneer of Religious Liberty in the United States* (1896) and *Under Four Administrations* (1922), an autobiography.

JESSE ISIDOR (1872–1936), the son of Isidor Straus, graduated from Harvard in 1893. He went to work for Macy's in 1896, was subsequently elected firm president in 1919, and supervised its growth into the world's largest department store. Governor Franklin D. Roosevelt appointed Straus to serve first on the New York State Commission for the Revision of Tax Laws and then as head of the New York State Temporary Emergency Relief Administration (1931). In his latter position he was responsible for supervising the disbursement of $20 million in unemployment funds. Straus, who organized the Roosevelt Business and Professional League to work for Roosevelt's election as president, was appointed ambassador to France by Roosevelt in 1933. As ambassador he urged the removal of trade barriers between the U.S. and France. He resigned in 1936 because of ill health. His son JACK ISIDOR (1900–1985) inherited the management of Macy's, of which he became director in 1928, vice president in 1939, president in 1940, and chairman of the board in 1956. A second son, ROBERT KENNETH (1905–1997), was active in New Deal politics in Washington, where he served as deputy administrator of the National Recovery Act before going into business.

NATHAN JR. (1889–1961), the son of Nathan Straus, was born in New York City and worked as a reporter for the New York *Globe* (1909–10). He resigned to devote himself to the family interests at R.H. Macy (1910–13), but soon resumed his editorial career. From 1913 to 1917 he was editor and publisher of the humorous magazine *Puck*. After World War I service as a navy ensign, Straus was assistant editor of the New York *Globe*. He resigned in 1920 in opposition to the paper's support for Harding and its anti-League of Nations stand. From 1920 to 1926 Straus served in the New York State Senate as a Democrat, where he became interested in public housing legislation. He subsequently served as state administrator for the National Recovery Administration (1934), was a member of the New York City Housing Authority (1936), and head of the U.S. Housing Authority (1937–42). He resigned from the latter position as a result of dissatisfaction among conservative congressmen over his leadership of the authority. As president of radio station WMCA, he steered the station into an increasingly liberal stance on public issues. Straus wrote *Seven Myths of Housing* (1944), and *Two-Thirds of a Nation – A Housing Program* (1952).

His son, R. PETER (1917–), took over the management of WMCA while purchasing additional radio stations to form the Straus Broadcasting Group. He also served as executive assistant to the director of the International Labor Organization in Geneva from 1950 to 1955 and director of the U.S. office from 1955 to 1958. In 1967 he was appointed by President Lyndon B. Johnson to be assistant director of the U.S. foreign aid program to Africa until 1969. Under President Jimmy Carter he served as director of the Voice of America (1977–79). After WMCA was sold in 1986, the company broadened into Straus Communications, a private chain that owns 11 radio stations and eight newspapers, of which Straus served as chairman. He was married to Ellen Sulzberger Straus for 45 years until her death in 1995. In 1998 he married writer Marcia Lewis, the mother of Monica Lewinsky. He wrote several books, including *Is the State Department Color Blind?* (1971); *The Buddy System in Foreign Affairs*; (1973); and *The Father of Anne Frank* (1975).

ROGER WILLIAMS (1893–1957), the son of Oscar Solomon Straus, graduated from Princeton in 1913. He married the daughter of Daniel *Guggenheim, and joined the American Smelting and Refining Company, owned by the Guggenheim family, becoming company president in 1941 and board chairman in 1947. Active in Republican Party politics, Straus was New York City manager for Thomas E. Dewey's 1948 presidential campaign and vice chairman of the Republican National Campaign Committee (1944). In 1954 he served as a member of the U.S. delegation to the UN General Assembly. Appointed in 1947 to the New York State Board of Regents, the supreme educational body in the state, Straus was named its chancellor in 1956. He was a founder of the National Conference of Christians and Jews (1928) and of the World Council of Christians and Jews (1947), and a member of the executive boards of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, the American Jewish Committee, and the American Financial and Development Corporation for Israel. His son OSCAR II (1914–) served with the State Department in Washington from 1940 to 1945 before going into his father's business. In 1963 he became president of the Guggenheim Exploration Company. He was the first chairman of the Board of Trustees of the Rensselaerville Institute think tank and served for many years, after which he became honorary chairman. His younger brother, ROGER WILLAMS JR. (1917–2004), went into publishing and in 1945 founded the prominent New York publishing house of Farrar, Straus, and Company in partnership with John C. Farrar.

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[Naomi W. Cohen and Hanns G. Reissner / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

STRAUS, OSCAR (1870–1954), composer. Born and educated in Vienna, Straus also studied in Berlin with Max Bruch. In 1901, after conducting various theater orchestras in Austria and Germany, he became conductor at the satirical cabaret "Ueberbrettl" in Berlin. There he began writing musical sketches and chansons, including *Die Musik kommt*, and quickly proceeded to full-scale operettas, joining the mainstream of the "silver age" of the operetta which had just begun to establish a vigorous school at Berlin that paralleled the Viennese productions. His first works, such as *Die lustigen Nibelungen* (1904), were Offenbach-like parodies of Wagnerian operas. In 1907 he composed the first of his international successes, *Ein Walzertraum* ("A Waltz Dream"), and in 1908 the second one, *Der tapfere Soldat*, based on G.B. Shaw's *Arms and the Man*; it was known in English as the *The Chocolate Soldier* (New York premiere in 1909). Further successes followed almost yearly. In 1927 Straus settled in Vienna. After his works were banned by the Nazi regime he lived in Switzerland and France, and stayed in the United States from 1940 to 1948, when he returned to Europe. His last work, *Božena* (premiere Munich, 1952), is a work in the style of a folk opera based on Slavic material; it emphasizes the use of ensembles and choral scenes. He also wrote some orchestral, chamber, and piano works, as well as music for films, of which the music to Max Ophuls' *La Ronde* (1950) yielded a perennial waltz favorite.

The original form of his name was Strauss, but the spelling was changed because of pressure from German nationalistic elements who resented the possibility of linking the composer's name with the presumably Aryan Viennese Strauss family of composers. Ironically, the Viennese Strauss family were also discovered to have been of Jewish descent – a fact which the Nazi authorities hushed up by a manipulation of the documentary evidence after their takeover of Austria. Genealogical research has not, however, established any direct relationship between Oscar Straus and the Viennese Strausses.

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[Bathja Bayer]

STRAUS, RAHEL GOITEIN (1880–1963), pioneering woman physician trained in Germany. Born and raised in an Orthodox family in Karlsruhe, Rahel Goitein was selected as valedictorian of the first graduating class of the first Girls' Gymnasium in Germany in 1899; she went on to become the first matriculated woman student at the University of Heidelberg. In order to complete her medical education, Rahel Goitein had to overcome many obstacles and much discrimination against her as a woman. Some faculty members, including the dean, tried to discourage her; she needed special permission to take courses and even to sit for her final exams. Nevertheless, she persevered; a month before her marriage to Eli Straus, a lawyer, in 1905, she passed her state medical boards and in 1908, she received her doctorate in medicine. For 25 years, Rahel Straus maintained a private medical practice in Munich, while at the same time running a model Jewish household and raising five children.

An ardent Zionist since her youth, Straus organized and led various women's Zionist groups in Munich, including the Association of Jewish Women to Support Cultural Work in Palestine before World War I and WIZO, the Women's International Zionist Organization, thereafter. She also served as vice president of the Jüdischer Frauenbund. She belonged to several radical feminist organizations, joining the German Association for Woman Suffrage in 1905 and the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom after the war.

Soon after the death of her husband in 1932, Straus emigrated to Palestine with her children. She set up a medical practice in Jerusalem, but, encountering difficulties adapting to a new language and environment, she retired in 1940, at the age of 60. Once again, she became involved in volunteer activities on behalf of women, establishing a homemaking school to train young immigrant girls, a service to collect, repair and distribute used clothing and furniture among the needy, and an occupational therapy workshop for handicapped women. She also established AKIM, a training institute for the rehabilitation of disabled children, which is still known as Beit Rahel Straus. In 1952, she helped found the Israeli branch of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom and remained its honorary president until her death.

After retiring from medical practice, Rahel Straus wrote her memoirs, *Wir lebten in Deutschland: Erinnerungen einer deutschen Jüdin* (1961), discussing life in Germany before the Nazi era. She began to paint and to write poetry; she also became the author of a popular children's book of fairy tales in Hebrew. Her papers are found in the Leo Baeck Institute Archives at the Center for Jewish History in New York City.

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[Harriet Pass Freidenreich (2nd ed.)]

STRAUS, RALPH (1882–1950), English novelist and biographer. Born in Manchester and educated at Harrow and Cambridge, Straus is best known as the author of *Dickens, a Portrait in Pencil* (1928) and *Dickens, the Man and Book* (1936). He also wrote a mystical fantasy, *The Dust Which Is God* (1907); *The Unseemly Adventures* (1924); *Married Alive* (1925); and *Five Men Go to Prison* (1935).

STRAUS, ROGER, JR. (1917–2004), U.S. publisher. Roger Williams Straus, Jr., was born in New York City, the son of two prominent German Jewish families. His father was a member of the R.H. *Straus family that owned Macy's department store, and his mother was Gladys Guggenheim of the mining company. His father was the president of the American Mining and Smelting Company and worked for his father-in-law, David Guggenheim, a copper mine owner and a philanthropist. Straus's paternal grandfather was Oscar S. Straus, U.S. ambassador to Turkey and secretary of commerce in President Theodore Roosevelt's administration. An indifferent student, young Straus left the boarding school St. George's because he felt uncomfortable there as a Jew, went to Hamilton College and left, and later graduated from the school of journalism at the University of Missouri. The next year he married a childhood friend, Dorothea Liebmann, granddaughter of the founder of the Rheingold brewery. With the security of two trust funds, Straus became a reporter for the *White Plains Daily Reporter.* During World War II he served in the U.S. Navy, doing public relations work and writing speeches. He rose to the rank of lieutenant.

Following the war, Straus and John Farrar founded a publishing company with additional funds from James Van Alen (who later invented the tiebreak in tennis). Van Alen's parents, though, did not want their son's name to appear as a partner because Straus was a Jew. Although the company achieved success with Gayelord Hauser's *Look Younger, Live Longer*, a nutritional manual, in 1950, Straus realized he did not have the capital to compete with more commercial publishers, so he decided to become a literary house, stressing quality writers. Straus went abroad and signed Carlo *Levi and Alberto *Moravia, which attracted Edmund Wilson, Shirley Jackson, and Marguerite Yourcenar. It acquired other companies and their well-known writers, including Marguerite Duras and Francois Mauriac. In 1964 the firm became Farrar, Straus & Giroux, and Robert Giroux brought more distinguished authors, including T.S. Eliot, Robert Lowell, Flannery O'Connor, and Bernard *Malamud. New editors brought in Tom Wolfe, Joan Didion, Philip *Roth, Arthur *Miller, Maurice Sendak, and William *Steig. Over the years his authors received the most important literary prizes. The Nobel Prize, Pulitzer Prize, and National Book Awards were won by Joseph Brodsky, Robert Lowell, John McPhee, Czeslaw Milosz, Isaac Bashevis *Singer, Aleksandr I. Solzhenitsyn, Scott *Turow, and Susan *Sontag.

In 1994 when he recognized that his house could no longer compete financially as an independent in a world of conglomerates, he sold Farrar, Straus to one of the foreign media companies he so scorned, Georg von Holtzbrinck Publishing Group, in Stuttgart, Germany, although, as he insisted in the wake of the deal, which reportedly brought him more than $30 million, the arrangement was such that for all practical purposes he remained in charge and the house remained virtually independent.

[Stewart Kampel (2nd ed.)]

STRAUSS, ARYEH LUDWIG (1892–1953), Hebrew and German poet, short story writer, and literary critic. Born in Aachen, Strauss first distinguished himself as the author of poems and stories in German, writing a volume of tales, *Der Mittler* (1916), and the verse collection *Wandlung und Verkuendigung* (1918). He became a Zionist and, after World War I, associated himself with the *Ha-Po'el ha-Ẓa'ir movement, serving as editor of *Ha-Avodah*, its German language periodical. Following his first visit to Ereẓ Israel in 1924, Strauss published the drama *Tiberius* (1924) and a story, "*Der Reiter*" (1929). During the years 1929 and 1933 he taught German literature at the University of Aachen and specialized in literary history. He paid a second visit to Palestine in 1934 and his impressions were recorded in a volume of German poems, *Land Israel* (1934), a Hebrew version of which appeared as *Sha'ot ve-Dor* (1951). Two other works of this period were the poem "*Nachtwache*" (1933) and *Die Zauberdrachenschnur* (1936), a collection of fairy tales. When the Nazis came to power, Strauss left Germany, settling in Ereẓ Israel in 1935. He first joined kibbutz Ha-Zore'a and taught at Ben Shemen. Later he moved to Jerusalem, where he taught at the Hebrew University. He was one of the first German-Jewish immigrants to write poetry in Hebrew.

Strauss specialized in textual analysis, applying modern critical methods to the whole of Hebrew literature. His critical essays profoundly influenced contemporary literary criticism in Israel. His work also afforded new insights into the poetry of Ḥ.N. *Bialik, which he translated into German. His last works include the poem *Heimliche Gegenwart* (1952) and *Wintersaat* (1953), a book of aphorisms. His collected German works were published posthumously by Werner Kraft (1962). T. Ruebner published his essays and lectures on aesthetics and on Hebrew and general literature in *Be-Darkhei Sifrut* (1959). Tuvia Ruebner and Yedidya Peles translated Strauss's *Ha-Adam ve-ha-Shirah* (1985). Dan Pagis translated *Ha-Kad ha-Atik: Aggadot* (1961; 1986). There has been a growing interest in the writings of Strauss in Germany, with a number of publications of his own German works as well as books on his life and writing. Among these are B. Witte, *Ludwig Strauss, Dichter und Germanist* (1982) and Hans Otto Horch (ed.), *Ludwig Strauss: Beitraege zu seinem Leben und Werk* (1995).

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[Getzel Kressel]

STRAUSS, BENNO (1873–1944), German inventor. Born in Fuerth, Bavaria, Strauss worked with the Krupp company at Essen, and from 1921 to 1934 was director of Friedrich Krupp A.G. In 1912 he was made a professor by the Prussian Ministry of Education. Strauss discovered the greater corrosion resistance of nickel-chromium steels, thus inventing stainless steel.

STRAUSS, EDUARD (1876–1950), German chemist, born in Kreuznach. Strauss worked as a nutritional chemist in Munich and in 1907 went to Frankfurt to the Biological Institute and the Georg Speyer Haus, working mainly on albumen and other nutritional factors. A communal leader and Zionist, Strauss did much to foster Jewish education in Frankfurt. He went to New York in 1939 and joined the Crown Heights Hospital in Brooklyn.

STRAUSS, GEORGE RUSSELL, BARON (1901–1993), British politician. The son of Arthur Strauss (1847–1920), who was a Conservative member of Parliament from 1910 to 1918, George Strauss was educated at Rugby and entered the family firm of tin merchants. He served as a Labour member of Parliament in 1929–31 and 1934–79. He was also a prominent figure in the London County Council, on which he served in 1926–31 and 1932–46. In 1945 he was made parliamentary secretary to the Ministry of Transport. Strauss became minister of supply in 1947, and was responsible for executing the nationalization of the steel industry in 1949. During the 1930s Strauss was on the left of the party, helping to fund the left-wing weekly *Tribune.* Later he moved to the party's center. In 1968 he helped secure the abolition of theater censorship. From 1974 to 1979 he was the "Father of the House," the longest-serving Member of Parliament. He was made a life peer in 1979.

ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY: ODNB online.

[Vivian David Lipman / William D. Rubinstein (2nd ed.)]

STRAUSS, GUSTAVE LOUIS MAURICE (c. 1807–1887), English author. Born in Trois Rivières, Canada, Strauss settled in England after serving as a surgeon with the French Foreign Legion and being expelled from France for alleged revolutionary activities. His works include *Moslem and Frank* (1854), *Reminiscences of an Old Bohemian* (2 vols. 1882), *The Emperor William* (1887), and various translations. The *Athenaeum's* attacks on his novel, *The Old Ledger* (1865), led to two famous libel actions. Strauss was well known in bohemian circles in London and was one of the founders of the Savage Club. He claimed to be of "Italian, French, German, and Sarmatian [sic] blood," and had no obvious connection with the Jewish community. He has an entry in *The Jewish Encyclopedia* of 1904, but did not receive an obituary in *The Jewish Chronicle.*

ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY: ODNB online.

STRAUSS, JOHANN, JR. (**Baptist**; 1825–1899), composer, conductor, and violinist. He was the eldest son of the celebrated composer and violinist Johann Strauss (1804–49), known as the "Waltz King." Strauss, Jr., who began composing when he was six, became an accomplished pianist. He wished to become a professional musician but his father intended him for a business career. His mother arranged for him to study secretly with the leader of his father's orchestra. He also studied harmony, counterpoint, and violin. In 1844 Strauss made his first public appearance as conductor of his own ensemble at Hietzing. In 1845 he was offered the honorary position of Bandmaster of the 2nd Vienna Citizens' Regiment and in 1847 begun his long and fruitful association with the influential Wiener Maennergesang-Verein for which he wrote the waltz *An der schoenen blauen Donau* (1867). During the 1848 Vienna Revolution he supported revolutionary elements and then switched his allegiance and tried to ingratiate himself with Emperor Franz Joseph. He consolidated his initial success after his father's death (1849), when he united his father's band with his own. With his brother Josef, Johann held sway over Vienna's dance-music scene from the late 1850s. He also performed in Russia and the United States and won numerous medals and honors. He brought the waltz to a height of musical artistry, endowing it with new melodic, rhythmic, and orchestral richness. He wrote more than 400 waltzes and numerous quadrilles, polkas, polka-mazurkas, marches, and gallops. Strauss composed a number of operettas, including *Die Fledermaus* (1874) and *Der Zigeunerbaron* (1885), and cemented his position as the leading figure of "Silver Age" Viennese operetta. Strauss also championed the music of Liszt and Wagner. When the Nazis realized the Jewish ancestry of the family, they falsified the parish register at St. Stephen's Cathedral in 1939 to make the family racially pure.

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[Naama Ramot (2nd ed.)]

STRAUSS, LEO (1899–1973), philosopher and political scientist. Born in Germany, Strauss began his association with the Academy of Jewish Research in Berlin in 1925, and ended it with Hitler's rise to power. On arriving in the U.S. he taught at the New School for Social Research, New York, from 1938 to 1949, and then joined the University of Chicago, where he was professor of political science until 1968.

Strauss's scholarship encompasses the tradition of Western political philosophy. Of particular interest is his work on the reception and adaptation of Greek philosophy by medieval Jewish and Muslim writers. He sees the most profound and intransigent confrontation as that between Athens and Jerusalem, between philosophic doubt and faith. In examining that conflict he studies ancient and modern texts with a presumption of their vitality, seriousness, and thoughtful composition. His wish to understand past authors as they understood themselves – explicit even in his earliest books, *Die Religionskritik Spinozas* (1930; *Spinoza's Critique of Religion*, 1965), and *Philosophie und Gesetz* (1935) – led him to investigate carefully those philosophers' manner of writing. Strauss revived the distinction (familiar from antiquity until the 19th century) between exoteric and esoteric speech – public orthodoxy, be it political or religious, and private heterodoxy. Through studies of Maimonides, Halevi, and Spinoza in *Persecution and the Art of Writing* (1952), he explicates the art of "writing between the lines" by illustrating the art of reading between the lines. In teaching and writing, Strauss has used these arts to restate for contemporaries the insights and relevance of classical political philosophy against prevailing modes of thought, and has attempted to state a systematic political philosophy in defense of classical natural law. In doing so he has rendered problematic much that was noncontroversial, because unexamined, in modern political science.

The range of Strauss's general and Jewish scholarship is shown in his *On Tyranny* (1948, 1963); *Natural Right and History* (1953); *Thoughts on Machiavelli* (1958); *What Is Political Philosophy?* (1959); his introduction to Pines' translation of Maimonides' *Guide* (1963); *Liberalism: Ancient and Modern* (1968). His writings are listed in J. Cropsey, *Ancients and Moderns* (1964), 317–22.

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[Ralph Lerner]

STRAUSS, LEVI (1829–1902), U.S. garment manufacturer and philanthropist. A native of Bavaria, Germany, Strauss followed his two brothers to New York in 1848. In 1850, during the gold rush, he started a dry goods business in Sacramento, California, and three years later in San Francisco. He began to manufacture pants from blue denim, reinforced with copper rivets, which under the trademark "Levis" became popular with gold miners. They were taken up by Western farmers and, as the years went by, were sold to an ever-widening public. By the mid-20th century they were being marketed all over the world. Strauss, a bachelor, took first his brothers, then his brother-in-law, David Stern, and finally the latter's four sons into partnership in Levi Strauss & Co. A multimillionaire, he assumed directorship of a bank, an insurance company, wool mills, and the San Francisco Board of Trade. His charities included scholarships at the University of California, and he left large sums to Jewish, Protestant, and Catholic orphanages. He was a member of Congregation Emanu-El, San Francisco. In 1968, with WALTER A. HAAS, SR. (1889–1979), a grandnephew of Strauss's, as chairman of the board, and his sons WALTER A., JR. (1916–1995), president, and PETER E. (1918–), executive vice president, Levi Strauss & Co.'s sales topped $200 million. The owners have participated in local and national public and charitable activities, both general and Jewish. In 1953 Walter and his wife established the Evelyn and Walter Haas Jr. Fund, dedicated to helping disadvantaged youths, families, and the elderly, reducing hunger and homelessness, and encouraging volunteerism and philanthropy. Peter was the director of the Levi Strauss Foundation and vice president of the Miriam and Peter Haas Fund. The Levi Strauss firm has been a leader in "equal opportunity" employment and actively encourages minority group enterprises in the ghettos. By 1995 the company had become the largest brand-name clothing manufacturer in the world, with 36,000 employees and an annual revenue of $6.1 billion.

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[Hanns G. Reissner / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

STRAUSS, LEWIS LICHTENSTEIN (1896–1974), U.S. governmental official, navy rear admiral, and banker. Strauss was born in Charleston, West Virginia, and grew up in Richmond. He became a traveling salesman for his family's wholesale shoe business. In 1917 he presented himself to Herbert Hoover, who was then organizing volunteers in the cause of Belgian relief. Strauss remained with the volunteers, and when Hoover became head of the Food Administration, Strauss became his secretary, later accompanying him on several European missions. Strauss caught the attention of Kuhn, Loeb & Co., which hired him in 1919. In 1923 he married Alice Hanauer, daughter of a partner in the firm, and in 1929 he himself became a partner. Avidly keeping abreast of technological developments, Strauss was an initial investor in Kodachrome. His interest in the atom was spurred by the deaths of his parents from cancer, and he funded the construction of a surge generator to produce isotopes for cancer treatment. From 1926 Strauss was in the Navy Reserve and was called to duty in 1941, becoming adviser to Navy Undersecretary Forrestal. He directed the development of the radar proximity fuse, conceived the Big "E" war production incentive program, and in 1945 was promoted to rear admiral by President Truman. In 1946 Truman appointed him to the Atomic Energy Commission (AEC) where he served through 1950. He was reappointed by President Eisenhower in 1953, this time as chairman. Strauss, who was then president of Temple Emanu-El, New York City, opened the first meeting under his chairmanship with a prayer, "that the fruits of our labor be peace and not war."

Strauss was thrust into public controversy twice during his tenure. In 1953 the White House suspended the security clearance of commissioner J. Robert *Oppenheimer. Strauss eventually voted against Oppenheimer's reinstatement but sought to have him retained in the Princeton Institute for Advanced Study and other nuclear undertakings. The second controversy flared a year later, when the AEC engaged the Dixon-Yates combine to erect a power plant in West Memphis, Arkansas. Strauss, a deeply conservative Republican, was eager then to admit private industry into the atomic field. But liberals saw in the Dixon-Yates contract a threat to the Tennessee Valley Authority and public power. They attacked the contract so vigorously that in 1955 President Eisenhower canceled it. In 1959 Eisenhower nominated Strauss secretary of commerce, but the Senate refused to confirm him. Soon thereafter he returned to private life.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Fortune* (Jan. 1955); *New York Times* (Feb. 25, 1959); L. Strauss, *Men and Decisions* (1962).

STRAUSS, ROBERT SCHWARZ (1919–), U.S. lawyer, businessman, Democratic political leader, member of the Cabinet, ambassador, statesman. Strauss was born in Lockhart, Texas, and raised in Stamford, a small town in West Texas where his immigrant father owned a small general store. His maternal great grandfather, Heinrich Schwarz, was the first ordained rabbi in the state of Texas (1873). The Strausses were the only Jewish family in Stamford, a town without a synagogue or rabbi, and although the Strauss home was deeply culturally Jewish, Bob Strauss received no formal Jewish education.

Robert Strauss received his undergraduate and law degrees from the University of Texas in Austin. During law school, Strauss began a life-long friendship with John Connally, who later was elected governor of Texas. After law school, he served as a special agent in the FBI until the end of World War II. He then moved to Dallas where he established his own law firm. Akin, Gump, Strauss, Hauer and Feld has become one of the great law firms in the United States, and has branches in 15 cities around the world. It is considered one of the premier law-lobbying firms in the nation's capital.

Strauss has become an icon of American politics. After serving as Democratic National Committeeman from Texas and Treasurer of the DNC, Bob Strauss was elected Chairman of the Democratic Party in 1972 following the electoral debacle of the McGovern presidential campaign, the first Jew to serve as chairman of a national political party. In that role Strauss worked tirelessly and brilliantly to reunite a badly splintered party, patiently coaxing disparate and hostile factions to work together around common programmatic goals. His almost mystical powers of persuasion and leadership were manifest at the hugely successful Democratic National Convention in New York City in 1976 which nominated a moderate southern governor, Jimmy Carter, who went on to win the presidency of the United States in a campaign that Strauss managed.

President Carter appointed Strauss to the cabinet level post of US Special Trade Representative, where he masterfully completed the Tokyo Round of Multilateral Trade Negotiations. Impressed by Strauss' negotiating skills, Carter then appointed him as his Personal Representative to the Mideast Peace Negotiations.

Although an unparalleled Democratic Party political leader, Bob Strauss was no stranger to Republican presidents. Indeed he served as a friend and advisor not only to Lyndon Johnson, Jimmy Carter, and Bill Clinton, but also to Ronald Reagan, George Herbert Walker Bush, and George W. Bush. President George H.W. Bush appointed Strauss to serve as the United States ambassador to the Soviet Union, and after the breakup of the Soviet Union in 1990, Strauss was appointed by President Bush to serve as the first United States ambassador to Russia. For Strauss' quietly effective work on the Wallenberg Holocaust case while serving as ambassador to the Soviet Union and Russia, he was awarded the prestigious Raoul Wallenberg Award

Strauss occupied the Lloyd Bentsen Chair at the Lyndon Baines Johnson School of Public Affairs at the University of Texas, and served on the Boards of major U.S. corporations, including Xerox and Archer Daniels Midland. He was the chairman of the U.S.-Russia Business Council, a member of the Council on Foreign Relations, and a Trustee of the Center for Strategic and International Studies.

Strauss is and will always be considered one of the true giants of American politics. Strauss – national party chairman, member of the Cabinet, ambassador, and statesman – who served as mentor to a new generation of American politics and advised six American presidents, has written that, at the end of the day he owes whatever he has accomplished in life to the experience of growing up in the only Jewish family in a small town in West Texas.

[Mark Siegel (2nd ed.)]

STRAUSS-KAHN, DOMINIQUE (1949–), French economist. Strauss-Kahn graduated in law and then specialized in economics. From 1980 to 1990 he was professor at Paris' Nanterre University. From 1986 he was a deputy in the National Assembly, where he was president of the finance committee before being appointed minister of industry and foreign trade (1991–93), being regarded as one of the leading experts in the Socialist party on economic affairs. Among his many activities as minister were special efforts to strengthen trade relations between France and Israel. In 1995 Strauss-Kahn was elected mayor of Sarcelles and in 1997 was appointed minister of the economy, finance, and industry, leading France to a period of prosperity. Accused of receiving a bogus fee from an insurance company, he resigned in 1999, denying any guilt. He became a deputy again in 2001.

[Gideon Kouts]

°**STRECKFUSS, ADOLF FRIEDRICH KARL** (1779–1844), Prussian official and writer. In 1833 Streckfuss published a pamphlet, *Ueber das Verhaeltniss der Juden zu den christlichen Staaten*, in which he stated that the 1812 edict emancipating the Jews had been premature, as had been demonstrated by the unanimous opposition of the provincial estates to full emancipation. He claimed that the Jews had remained an unassimilable foreign body or "nation" within the state because of their special ritual and belief in the forthcoming Messiah. Nevertheless Streckfuss was prepared to grant conditional political rights to individuals of the thin upper layer of Jewish society. But, according to Streckfuss, the remaining mass of ignorant and superstitious peddlers and innkeepers had to remain without rights until they proved themselves worthy of citizenship. Because of Streckfuss's official position as *Geheimrat* (government counselor), the leading young intellectuals of German Jewry, such as G. *Riesser, felt obliged to refute him at length. Ten years later, after his retirement, Streckfuss published a work under the title *Zweite Schrift ueber das Verhaeltniss der Juden…*, this time proclaiming his sincere conversion to the cause of complete and immediate emancipation of the Jews.

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[Uri Kaufmann (2nd ed.)]

°**STREICHER, JULIUS** (1885–1946), Nazi propagandist and antisemitic agitator, publisher of a crude antisemitic newspaper which characterized the Jews in quasi-pornographic fashion. Born in Fleinhausen, Swabia, Streicher was a teacher by profession. He was a founder of the German Socialist Party, which soon merged with the Nazi Party. Limited in his education, ambitious, and emotionally disturbed, he was enabled by the antisemitism of the Third Reich to give vent to his abnormal tendencies. In 1921 he founded the Nuremberg branch of the Nazi Party and participated in the attempt to remove Hitler from the party leadership. But he won Hitler's confidence by his participation in the Beer Hall Putsch (1923), which led to his arrest. In the same year Streicher founded *Der *Stuermer*, a weekly which achieved a circulation of 500,000 copies. He became its editor only in 1935 and was its owner. Hitler appointed him Gauleiter of Franconia (1928–40). He was elected to the Reichstag, made a general in the SA (storm troops) in 1932, and was charged with organizing the annual party convention, the Nuremberg Rally. Despite all his titles, Streicher had no real influence on policy making. Many of the party's leaders loathed him and plotted against him and his newspaper. In 1939 he was forbidden to make speeches and from 1940 was confined to his estate, Pleikershof. However, Streicher was esteemed by academic circles engaged in the "scientific" development of antisemitism. He achieved his fame and influence as a result of his fanatical incitement against the Jews. In hundreds of articles in *Der Stuermer* and in his speeches, in which he portrayed the Jews as the devil, the enemies of humanity, inferior beings, and dangerous germs, Streicher demanded their total extermination. He organized the economic boycott of the Jews (April 1, 1933), and his sadistic depictions of Jews in *Der Stuermer* as "defilers of the race" prepared the ground for the *Nuremberg Laws (1935). Even before **Kristallnacht* (1938), Streicher presided over the destruction of the Nuremberg synagogue, and on the morrow of the riots (Nov. 10, 1938) publicly justified it. Captured in 1945, after a period of hiding in disguise, he was brought before the Nazi war criminal court at Nuremberg and sentenced to death under the Crimes Against Humanity clause for his part in the preparation of German public opinion to accept the "*Final Solution." He was hanged in October 1946.

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[Nathan Feinberg / Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

STREICHMAN, YEḤEZKEL (1906–1993), painter. Born in Kovno, Lithuania, the son of Isaac, a wealthy timber merchant, and Hasia Streichman, Yeḥezkel Streichman already received personal training in art at the Hebrew Gymnasium. In 1924 he immigrated to Ereẓ Israel and studied at Bezalel in Jerusalem. From 1927 to 1931 Streichman continued his art training at the Brerra Academy in Florence, Italy. From Italy he returned to Kovno, where he lived and worked until 1936, when he returned to Ereẓ Israel. He lived most of his life in Tel Aviv with his wife, Tzilla, and was an art teacher in schools as well as at the Avni College. In 1945 he established The Studio atelier in Tel Aviv, together with *Stematzky, where many young artists received their art education. Together with other painters and sculptors, he founded the New Horizons group and participated in all its 11 exhibitions until 1964.

Streichman's art was sent to the Venice and the Sao Paulo Biennales more then once. In 1990 he was awarded the Israel Prize.

In his art Streichman enlarged the portrait genre. Most of his portraits described members of his family as well as friends. His wife, Tzilla, became a recurring subject for more than 30 years. Landscape was another theme appearing in Streichman's art.

While the paintings of his early years employed dark colors, using expressive brush movements, during the 1940s Streichman discovered the French painting style, which became one of the factors that led to the brightening of the tonal language and to the dominance of the contour line.

From the 1940s on, Streichman believed that modern art drew the artist's path toward the abstract, though he reached abstract style only around the 1960s. The starting point for his abstract work was the landscape, with the paintings' names being those of the painted places. Later he repeated the motif of the tree and the fenced windows (*Soaring Bird*, 1970, Israel Museum, Jerusalem). The reflections of local places expressed Streichman's belief in the existence of a unique Israeli painting. He described himself as an Israeli artist in that his style was open, bright, and happy. Zionist ideology had a powerful influence on his life, and he strongly believed that his painting style with its free vibrating and vital atmosphere was a part of the Zionist vision. All those tendencies found expression through the modernist language, the abstract.

Streichman's participation in the New Horizons group located him in the center of the Israeli art world. Streichman's power as an influential figure, however, was also forged thanks to his being an impressive, didactic figure. As a teacher, and later as an interlocutor, he influenced the young Israeli artists who were the next generation of the Israeli art world.

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[Ronit Steinberg (2nd ed.)]

STREISAND, BARBRA (1942–), U.S. singer and actress. Born in Brooklyn, New York, Streisand worked as a switchboard operator and theater usher until she won a singing contest at a Greenwich Village bar. After some appearances on television, she made her first Broadway success in the musical *I Can Get It for You Wholesale* (1962). Streisand made a great hit in the Broadway show *Funny Girl* in 1964, playing the part of Fanny Brice, and won an Academy Award for her role in the film version in 1968. Her television show, *My Name Is Barbra*, received a Peabody Award and five Emmy Awards in 1965.

Her subsequent film roles include *Hello, Dolly!* (1969); *On a Clear Day You Can See Forever* (1970); *The Owl and the Pussycat* (1970); *Up the Sandbox* (1972); *What's Up, Doc?* (1972); *The Way We Were* (Oscar nomination for Best Actress, 1973); *For Pete's Sake* (1974); *Funny Lady* (a sequel to *Funny Girl*, 1975); *A Star Is Born* (produced, 1976. Oscar for Best Song, "Evergreen," making her the first female composer to win an Academy Award); *The Main Event* (produced, 1979); *All Night Long* (1981); *Yentl* (wrote, produced, and directed, 1983), based on a story by Isaac Bashevis Singer in which she played a yeshivah student in pre-War Poland; *Nuts* (produced, 1987); *The Prince of Tides* (produced and directed; Oscar nomination for Best Picture, 1991); *The Mirror Has Two Faces* (produced and directed; Oscar nomination for Best Song, "I Finally Found Someone," 1996); and *Meet the Fockers* (2004). She was the first woman to produce, direct, write, and star in a major motion picture (*Yentl*).

In 1979 Streisand established her own film production company, called Barwood Productions. In addition to serving as the vehicle for the films in which she starred, Barwood produced other films as well, such as the 1995 TV movie *Serving in Silence*, a film about the attitude toward homosexuality in the military; *Rescuers: Stories of Courage*, (1997–98), a series of six two-part dramas about non-Jews who heroically saved Jews in the Holocaust; and *The Long Island Incident* (1998) on the issue of gun control.

As a singer, Streisand's record albums achieved wide popularity. She went on to achieve legendary status in the American entertainment world, commanding huge sums for her rare live performances and earning several Grammy Awards. Through 2005 she recorded 60 albums, of which 49 were gold and 30 platinum; 18 of her albums achieved multi-platinum status in record sales, surpassing any other female singer. Streisand rates an all-time second in topping the charts, exceeded only by Elvis Presley. For her single recordings, she had nine gold and five platinum records.

Among her many awards and accolades, Streisand won two Academy Awards, ten Grammys, six Emmys, a Tony, two Peabody Awards, eleven Golden Globes, and a Lifetime Achievement Award from the American Film Institute.

Beyond the realm of arts and entertainment, Streisand established the Streisand Foundation in 1986. Contributing to a wide variety of causes and charitable organizations, the foundation's scope includes gaining women's equality; the protection of human rights and civil rights and liberties; the needs of children at risk in society; and the preservation of the environment.

Streisand was married to actor Elliot Gould from 1963 to 1971. She was married to actor James Brolin from 1998.

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[Lee Healey / Jonathan Licht /
Rohan Saxena and Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

STREIT, SHALOM (1888–1946), Hebrew writer. Born in Tlumach (Galicia), Streit settled in Ereẓ Israel in 1908 and was one of the founders of the village Ein-Ḥai (Kefar Malal), serving as its secretary for many years. Later he taught, mainly at the Aḥad Ha-Am High School in Petaḥ Tikvah, which he founded in 1926. His house was a meeting place for Hebrew writers.

He began writing while still in Galicia, publishing articles on literature and feuilletons in *Ha-Mizpeh*. In Ereẓ Israel, encouraged by *Brenner, he continued writing, especially literary reviews, although he also tried his hand at fiction. Streit's criticism is a blend of impressionistic comments and pedagogical remarks. A collection of his essays was published under the title *Ba-Alot ha-Shaḥar* (1927) and *Penei ha-Safrut* (2 vols., 1939).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Waxman, Literature, 4 (1960^2), 429.

[Getzel Kressel]

STRELISK, URI BEN PHINEHAS OF (d. 1826), disciple of R. Solomon of *Karlin. Opposed to wonder-workers, Uri b. Phinehas required ethical perfection from his Ḥasidim. His ecstatic manner of praying brought him the name *Ha-Saraf* (the seraph). It was said of him that every day before saying his prayers he bade farewell to his wife and family for fear that he might die of ecstasy in the middle of his devotions. Once he said, "In the Torah there are 600,000 letters; and there are 600,000 souls among the People of Israel; and just as the Torah scroll is unfit for use if one letter is missing, so the *Shekhinah* [Divine Presence] does not rest upon the people if one soul is missing from Israel." His book is entitled *Imrei Kadosh* (1871). His son, R. Solomon, died several months after his father's death and Uri b. Phinehas's outstanding student, R. Judah Ẓevi *Stretyn, inherited Uri's post.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Dubnow, Ḥasidut, index; L.I. Newman, *Ḥasidic Anthology* (1963), index; M. Buber, *Tales of the Hasidim*, 2 (1966^3), 145–9.

[Zvi Meir Rabinowitz]

STRELISKER, MARCUS (1806–1857), Hebrew scholar and poet. Born in Brody, in his youth he was close to N. *Krochmal and I. *Erter and was greatly influenced by them. In the early 1850s he moved to Mihaileni, Romania, where he officiated as cantor and also engaged in commerce.

He contributed poems and research on the Bible and Talmud to many Hebrew periodicals, especially Galician publications. He published several collections of poetry; included among them were a number of occasional poems: *Ta'aniyyat Yeshurun* (1835), on the death of Franz I; *Zekher Olam* (1848), a dirge on his father, together with his biography; *Shirah le-Kohen* (1860); *Todah u-Verakhah* (1868); *Shenei ha-Me'orot ha-Gedolim* (1873).

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[Getzel Kressel]

STRETYN, JUDAH ẒEVI HIRSCH (Brandwein) OF (d. 1854), founder of a ḥasidic dynasty in eastern Galicia. Judah Ẓevi Hirsch was a scion of a prominent family of rabbis and *ẓaddikim* and the outstanding disciple of Uri (*Ha-Saraf*) b. Phinehas of *Strelisk. After the death of his teacher, he left his work as a *shoḥet* and succeeded Uri as leader of the Strelisk Ḥasidim. Like his teacher, he emphasized the importance of ecstatic prayer. Judah Ẓevi Hirsch did not deliver many ḥasidic teachings, and only a few were collected later in *Degel Maḥaneh Yehudah*.

His name is included in a list of 12 leading *ẓaddikim* in Galicia appended to a detailed memorandum on the ḥasidic movement which the chief of police in Lemberg sent to the provincial authorities. As an example of the negative elements in the ḥasidic "cult of the *ẓaddik*" the chief of police forwarded a remedy formula (*segullah*) which had been found during a search in the house of a Ḥasid, which Judah Ẓevi had written for a follower whose wife was having difficulties in childbirth. His son ABRAHAM OF STRETYN (d. 1865) succeeded him. His other sons, ELIEZER OF OZOPOL and SAMUEL ZANVIL (d. 1887), also continued as *ẓaddikim*, and their descendants established a small ḥasidic community in Ereẓ Israel. One of them was Yehudah Ẓevi *Brandwein, kabbalistic author and the "rabbi of the Histadrut." Their teachings and stories about them are found in Eliezer Brandwein's *Degel Maḥaneh Yehudah* (1912) and Israel Berger's *Eser Ẓaḥẓaḥot* (1909).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: R. Mahler, *Ha-Ḥasidut ve-ha-Haskalah* (1961), index.

STRICH, FRITZ (1882–1963), German literary historian. Born in Koenigsberg, East Prussia, Strich studied at the University of Munich, where he became a professor in 1915. He was elected to the chair of modern German literature at the University of Berne in 1929. Not until his encounter with the art historian Heinrich Woelfflin did Strich find the teacher he sought. In 1916 Strich published a pioneering essay, applying Woelfflin's method and insight to German literature of the 17th century, defining the style of literary baroque.

Strich broke new ground with *Deutsche Klassik und Romantik, oder Vollendung und Unendlichkeit: Ein Vergleich* (1922, 1928^3). Whereas the history of literature had hitherto largely been a chronicle of works and writers, origins and influences, Strich clearly regarded it as an art with basic forms and possibilities of artistic expression, such as the "classical" search for perfection and permanence, or the "romantic" effort to capture the ever changing variety, impermanence, and infinitude of the world. For Strich these fundamental literary styles and categories always represent expressions of the human mind and soul; and the individual work of literature always exists in the larger context of historical time and of national and social culture. In an essay on *Kafka, Strich called on the Jewish writer to speak in the authentic voice of Jewish commitment. There could be no dissociation of art from life, a conviction clearly expressed in the titles of Strich's collected essays – *Dichtung und Zivilisation* (1928); *Der Dichter und die Zeit* (1947); and *Kunst und Leben* (1960). He also edited the works of *Heine, Schiller, and Wedekind.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Weltliteratur: Festgabe… Fritz Strich zum 70. Geburtstag* (1952); S. Kaznelson (ed.), *Juden im deutschen Kulturbereich* (19623), 346ff.

[Ludwig W. Kahn]

STRICK, JOSEPH (1923–), U.S. film director and producer. Born in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, Strick started his career with documentaries and later applied documentary realism to feature films. He gained a reputation with such films as *Muscle Beach* (1948), *The Big Break* (produced, 1950), *The Savage Eye* (wrote and produced, 1960), and *The Balcony* (produced, 1963). The outstanding example of his method was *Ulysses* (wrote and produced, 1967), a version of the novel by James Joyce. He directed *Tropic of Cancer* (1970), *Interview with My Lai Veterans* (1971), *Road Movie* (1974), *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* (1977), and *Criminals* (1996).

Strick also produced *The Legend of the Boy and the Eagle* (1967); *Ring of Bright Water* (1969), a film based on Gavin Maxwell's book on porpoises; *The Darwin Adventure* (1972); and *Never Cry Wolf* (1983). He co-produced the TV movie *Survive the Savage Sea* (1992).

[Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

STRICKER, ROBERT (1879–1944), Zionist leader and journalist. Born in Bruenn (Brno), Stricker worked as an engineer for the state railways, rising to the position of chief surveyor. He was a member of the students' Zionist association, Veritas, and a contributor to the *Juedische Volksstimme* (Bruenn), founded by Max *Hickl. Stricker was a co-founder of Emunah, an association of Jewish shop assistants and clerks. Before World War I he edited the Vienna *Juedische Zeitung*, the official organ of Austrian Zionists, and in 1915 he founded the Jewish War Archives, of which Nathan *Birnbaum was secretary. After the collapse of the Austrian monarchy, Stricker became president of the Jewish People's Party (Juedische Volkspartei), and in 1919 was elected to the Constituent National Assembly of the Federal Austrian Republic, to which he belonged until 1920.

Stricker founded and edited the only German-language Jewish daily, the *Wiener Morgenzeitung* (1919–28), and from 1928 edited the lively Zionist weekly *Die Neue Welt*. In 1912 he was elected to the board of the Viennese Jewish community (Israelitische Kultusgemeinde) and in 1932 he became its vice president. He was a member of the Executive of the *World Jewish Congress and president of its Austrian section. At the 12th and 13th Zionist Congresses in Carlsbad (1921, 1923), he proposed that Chaim *Weizmann be elected president of the Zionist Organization, but in 1924 he opposed Weizmann's policy and resigned as vice president of the Zionist General Council. He was a co-founder of the Radical Zionist Faction. In 1931 he joined the *Union of Zionist Revisionists, and after it split in 1933 became one of the founders of the *Jewish State Party. After Austria was annexed to Nazi Germany (1938), he had the opportunity to leave the country, but refused, saying: "I cannot. I must stay with my constituents." He was arrested by the Nazis, and sent to Dachau, Buchenwald, and then to Theresienstadt. Even in the concentration camp he preached hope, maintaining his belief in the defeat of Hitler and in the establishment of a Jewish state. In the autumn of 1944 he and his wife Paula were transported from Theresienstadt to the gas chambers of Auschwitz. A selection of his speeches and essays, *Wege der juedischen Politik*, was published in 1929.

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[Josef Fraenkel]

STRIGLER, MORDECAI (**Motl**; 1918–1998). Yiddish and Hebrew writer and journalist. Born near Zamość, Poland, he attended a Musar yeshivah in that city and then studied in other yeshivot (e.g., Lutsk, and Kletsk under Rabbi Aaron *Kotler). In 1937 he settled in Warsaw and became a journalist, writer, and preacher in the Great Synagogue. Interned in 12 concentration camps, Strigler survived the Holocaust. In Buchenwald he worked in the Jewish cultural underground, which organized the education of 800 children. He edited the first periodical of Holocaust survivors (*Tkhiyas ha-Meysim*, May 4, 1945). He then settled in Paris (1945–52), where he was contributor to and editor of *Unzer Vort*. From 1953 he lived in New York, where he edited the Labor-Zionist *Yidisher Kemfer* (at first with Baruch Zukerman, later as sole editor until 1995, published in collaboration with Jacob *Glatstein). From 1987 until his death he edited the Yiddish *Forverts*. Strigler was one of the most learned and prolific Jewish writers of the second half of the 20th century. His works dealt with Jewish life in Poland before World War II and reported on and interpreted his experiences in the slave labor and death camps as well as the lives of Holocaust survivors in postwar Paris. His published books include *Tsu Aykh Shvester un Brider Bafrayte* ("To You Liberated Sisters and Brothers," 1945); *In a Fremdn Dor: Lider un Poemen* ("In an Alien Generation: Poems," 1947); *Maydanek* (1947); *In di Fabrikn Fun Toyt* ("In the Factories of Death," 1948); *Di Ershte Libe fun Kopl Matsh: Roman* ("The First Love of Kopl Matsh: A Novel," 1948); *Verk Tse* ("Factory 'C,'" 2 vols., 1950); *Goyroles* ("Destinies," 2 vols., 1952); *Georemt Mitn Vint: Historisher Roman fun Yidishn Lebn in Poyln* ("Arm in Arm With the Wind: A Historical Novel of Jewish Life in Poland," 1955); *Inzlen Oyf der Erd: Noveln* ("Islands on the Earth: Novellas," 1957); *Shmuesn Mit der Tsayt* ("Conversations With Time," 2 vols. 1959–61). Several of his Yiddish and Hebrew novels, as well as over a thousand short stories and essays, and thousands of articles in scores of Yiddish and Hebrew periodicals (under his name and more than 20 pseudonyms), have not yet been published in book form.

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[Yechiel Szeintuch (2nd ed.)]

STRISOWER, LEO (1857–1931), Austrian jurist. Born in Brody, Galicia, Strisower was appointed lecturer in international law at the University of Vienna in 1908. He rose to become full professor in 1924 and was made president of the Institut de Droit International. He represented Austria in a number of international arbitrations. Strisower was an active supporter of Jewish student organizations in Vienna. At the time of his death he was engaged in preparing a critical analysis of the legality of the British White Paper on Palestine of 1931.

The author of several books and articles on international law, Strisower's publications include *Der Krieg und die Voelkerrechtsordnung* (1919), and "*L'Exterritorialité et ses principales applications*," in: Académie de Droit International de La Haye, *Receuil des Cours*, 1 (1923).

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[Josef J. Lador-Lederer]

STRNAD, OSKAR (1879–1935), Austrian architect and interior decorator. Born in Vienna, Strnad was head of the department of architecture at the Wiener Kunstgewerbeschule, from 1914 until his death. He had received a classical training, and aspired to purity of form. One of his chief architectural works was the middle building in the Winarsky Hof, Vienna (1924–25). He was equally active designing interiors, furniture, and stage and cinema sets.

STROCHLITZ, SIGMUND (1916–), Holocaust survivor, businessman, and major figure in institutionalizing Holocaust commemoration. The eldest of three children, Strochlitz was raised in a Zionist home in Bendzin, Poland, and in 1936 graduated from the Furstenberg School, a Hebrew high school. He enrolled at the Jagiellonian University in Cracow, but his studies were interrupted by the war in 1939. During the partition of Poland, Strochlitz escaped into the Soviet zone but then secretly crossed back into the German zone to be with his family in Bendzin. In August 1943, he and his family were sent to Auschwitz-Birkenau. Strochlitz's parents, sisters, and wife were killed upon arrival. Strochlitz spent 15 months in Birkenau. He was then deported to the concentration camps at Stuthoff, Hailfingen, Dautmergen, and ultimately Bergen-Belsen, where he was liberated by the British army in April 1945.

After liberation, Strochlitz married Rose Grinberg (1913–2001), a Polish-born Holocaust survivor from the Radziner ḥasidic family. They emigrated to New York in 1951. In 1957, Strochlitz bought a Ford dealership in New London, Connecticut, naming it Whaling City Ford. He moved to New London, and the dealership became his principal business.

Strochlitz and the writer Elie *Wiesel formed a close working relationship after the war, undertaking many Holocaust commemoration projects as well as other Jewish and humanitarian ventures. In 1978, when President Jimmy Carter created the President's Commission on the Holocaust, he appointed Wiesel as chairman and Strochlitz as a Commission member. The two continued in those roles on the United States Holocaust Memorial Council, which established and oversees the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum. Strochlitz was the first chairman of the Commission's and later the Council's Days of Remembrance committee. He organized the first National Commemoration of the Holocaust, held in the Capitol Rotunda on Yom ha-Shoah. President Jimmy Carter, Vice President Walter Mondale, the speaker of the House, and the Senate majority leader participated in the first commemoration. It became the model of the annual ceremony held in Washington. Strochlitz persuaded state and federal officials to hold annual Holocaust commemorations in all 50 state capitals and in Washington, D.C. Strochlitz also led the international campaign in support of Wiesel's candidacy for the Nobel Peace Prize.

Among other distinctions, Strochlitz served as the president of the American Friends of Haifa University, a governor of Bar-Ilan University, a founding member of the American Society for Yad Vashem, a trustee of the American Jewish Congress, a member of the board of Lawrence & Memorial Hospital in New London, and, at the appointment of President George H.W. Bush, a member of the United States Commission on the Preservation of American Heritage Abroad. He endowed the Strochlitz Institute of Holocaust Studies at Haifa University and the Strochlitz Judaic Teaching Fellowship at Bar-Ilan.

[Richard Primus (2nd ed.)]

STROHEIM, ERICH VON (1885–1957), film actor and director. Born in Vienna, Austria, Von Stroheim, with his bullet-shaped head and his monocle, became famous for his Teutonic roles and was dubbed "the man you love to hate." He directed and acted in Hollywood, and his film *Greed* (1923) is still considered a masterpiece. Regarded as an indulgent, extravagant director, Von Stroheim directed such films as *Blind Husbands* (1919); *The Devil's Passkey* (1920); *Foolish Wives* (1922); *The Merry Widow* (1925); *The Honeymoon* (1928); *The Wedding March* (1928); *Queen Kelly* (1929); and *Hello Sister* (1933).

In 1937 he went to France to play in Jean Renoir's film *La Grande Illusion*. The son of a lower middle-class Jewish hat manufacturer, Von Stroheim had created his own "grand illusion" about himself in the film industry, fabricating the persona of a Prussian aristocrat and a decorated military officer. As his Jewish identity was not known, he was able to work in France after the Nazi occupation and appeared in some 30 films before going back to Hollywood to act in *Five Graves to Cairo* (1943); *The North Star* (1943); *The Lady and the Monster* (1944); *Storm over Lisbon* (1944); *The Great Flamarion* (1945); *Scotland Yard Investigator* (1945); *The Mask of Dijon* (1946); *Sunset Boulevard* (1950); and *Orient Express* (1954).

He was nominated for an Academy Award as Best Supporting Actor for his performance in *Sunset Boulevard*. In 1957 he was awarded the Legion of Honor in France.

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[Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

STROMINGER, JACK (1925–), U.S. biochemist. Born in New York, he graduated in psychology from Harvard University and received his M.D. from Yale University. After clinical training at Barnes Hospital (1948–49) and an American College of Physicians research fellowship in the department of pharmacology at Washington University School of Medicine, St. Louis (1949–51), he worked at the National Institutes of Health (NIH), Bethesda (1951–54). Next he visited the Carlsberg Laboratory, Copenhagen, and the Molteno Laboratory at Cambridge University, England, as a Commonwealth Fund Fellow (1954–55). He returned to Washington University School of Medicine (1958–64) where he was professor of pharmacology and microbiology from 1961. He moved to the University of Wisconsin Medical School, Madison, as professor of pharmacology and chemical microbiology and chairman of the department of pharmacology (1964–68). In 1968 he joined the staff of Harvard University as professor of biochemistry in the department of biochemistry and molecular biology (1968–83), where he was department chairman (1970–73), director of basic sciences in the Sidney Farber Cancer Center (1974–77), and head of the division of tumor virology from 1977. He became the Higgins Professor of Biochemistry. Strominger's early research clarified the mechanism by which penicillin kills bacteria by blocking the production of bacterial cell walls. His research interests then centered on immunology. With his colleague, the late Don Wiley, he investigated the structures on cell surfaces, called histocompatibility or "MHC" antigens, that largely distinguish one individual's tissues from another. Some of these antigens capture protein fragments derived from invading microorganisms. The immune system identifies and destroys these cells as a major defense mechanism against infection. MHC antigens are also central to the problems of organ transplant rejection and autoimmune diseases resulting from an immune attack against "self" antigens. Strominger and Wiley worked out the precise structure of the most important MHC antigens and the manner in which these combine with protein fragments to stimulate an immune response. Subsequently Strominger, who continued to work in his laboratory, and his colleagues investigated autoimmune diseases, especially multiple sclerosis, with the aim of using protein fragments to block harmful immune responses. He founded Peptimmune, a company that produces small proteins for therapeutic purposes. His administrative skills helped to establish Harvard's renowned department of molecular and cellular biology whose alumni have also had a major influence on teaching and research in other institutions. He has also contributed to the activities of WHO and other international organizations. His many honors include membership of the U.S. National Academy of Sciences, the Pasteur Medal (1990), the Lasker Award for Basic Medical Science (1995), and the Japan Prize (the last two prizes with Don Wiley).

[Michael Denman (2nd ed.)]

STROOCK, U.S. family of lawyers, philanthropists, and businessmen. MARCUS STROOCK immigrated to the U.S. from Germany in the mid-19th century and founded a large woolen mill in Newburgh, New York. His eldest son, LOUIS S. (1855–1925), was active in S. Stroock & Co. for 50 years, and eventually became its president. He was president of the Board of Trustees of Congregation Bnai Jeshurun and a treasurer and trustee of Beth Israel Hospital. Stroock was a generous philanthropist, and a year before his death he gave 20 scholarships to graduates of preparatory schools who would not otherwise have been able to afford college. His brother MARK (1863–1926) was a director and officer of S. Stroock & Co. MOSES J. (1866–1931), another brother, was a lawyer. Stroock was admitted to the bar in 1888 and practiced law at first with Platzek and Stroock and later with his brother, Solomon Marcuse (see below), in Stroock & Stroock. He was especially involved in the area of higher education, as a trustee of City College in 1911 and chairman of the board of trustees in 1925, and as chairman of New York City's board of higher education from its establishment in 1926. Stroock was active in Jewish organizations, especially the Federation for the Support of Jewish Philanthropic Societies.

Another brother, JOSEPH (1869–1946), was president and chief executive officer of S. Stroock & Co. He was a close friend of Stephen S. *Wise and helped him financially in setting up the Free Synagogue and the institution which ultimately became the Jewish Institute of Religion, later a part of Hebrew Union College. His second wife, REGINA (1875–1948), was chairman of the women's division of the United New York Appeal for the Joint Distribution Committee. She was on the board of the Hebrew Orphan Asylum and of the Jewish Child Care Association. Mayor La Guardia appointed her to the board of the Children's Center of New York. Regina Stroock founded the Girls Home Club, a residence organization for working girls.

SOLOMON MARCUSE (1874–1945), another brother, was a lawyer. By 1907 he and his brother Moses were practicing law together. He specialized in constitutional law and appeared before the New York State Supreme Court. He was chairman of a number of legal committees, including the legal education committee (from 1933) of the Bar Association of the City of New York. Stroock served as president (1924–26) of the YMHA of New York and from 1925 to 1930 headed the Metropolitan League of Jewish Community Centers while acting as president of the Federation for the Jewish Philanthropic Societies in New York City. In 1934 he was made chairman of the executive committee of the American Jewish Committee and in the year of his death became president of that organization. He was among the founders of the Jewish Agency for Palestine and a member of the non-Zionist section of that organization. His wife, HILDA (1876–1945), born in New York City, sponsored a cardiac clinic for children at Montefiore Hospital, of which she was a trustee, and was vice chairman of the City Work and Relief Administration and a member of the board of directors of the State Conference on Social Work. Actively involved in the Federation for the Support of Jewish Philanthropic Societies, she sponsored the first women's conference on Jewish affairs in 1938.

Solomon and Hilda Stroock's son ALLAN (1907–1985) became a lawyer. From 1934 to 1936 he was a law clerk for Supreme Court Justice Benjamin *Cardozo. Following that he joined Stroock & Stroock, first as an associate (1936) and later as a partner (1939), until 1942, when be became a member of Stroock & Stroock & Lavan. While remaining active in legal organizations, Stroock, like his father, supported the Jewish Theological Seminary of America – becoming chairman of the board in 1947 and president of the corporation of the Seminary in 1963; the Federation of Jewish Philanthropies; and the American Jewish Committee. In 1960 he was made trustee at large of the Federation. He served as vice president of the American Jewish Committee from 1948 to 1951 and from 1955 to 1958; in 1958 he became chairman of its administrative committee. He was also a trustee of New York University.

The Alan and Katherine Stroock Fund supports many projects in education and the arts.

°**STROOP, JUERGEN** (originally **Josef**; 1895–1951), SS general; the Nazi commander who destroyed the *Warsaw ghetto. Born in Detmold into a family of lower middle class Roman Catholic policemen, Stroop was educated in a nationalist and militarist spirit. He served in World War I, where he was wounded twice and reached the rank of captain. By profession a surveyor, he joined the SS in 1932, and embarked upon a meteoric career after Hitler's advent to power. At the outbreak of World War II he was appointed chief of the Selbstschutz ("self-protection") of the Germans in the Posen area, where he organized the terror against the Polish population. In June 1941, Stroop served first in the Waffen-SS. During 1942 and the beginning of 1943 he was SS and police chief for several towns of southern Russia. He hunted partisans and persecuted the local population. On Feb. 6, 1943, he was attached to the office of the police and SS in Galicia but not long afterward was dispatched to Warsaw to crush the ghetto revolt. Apparently, the commanders had little faith in Ferdinand Sammern-Frankenegg, the local commander. Stroop suppressed the revolt by physically destroying the ghetto, setting it on fire, house by house, street by street, and killing the inhabitants. He wrote a meticulous report detailing the revolt and conducted the action as a military campaign, employing some 2,000 troops. He concluded his report with the words: "The Jewish Quarter of Warsaw is no longer." He marked his victory by blowing up a synagogue. Appointed SS and police chief in *Greece in September 1943, Stroop ordered the registration of Jews and limited their freedom within the German zone (Oct. 3, 1943). In November 1943 *Himmler made him SS and police leader of Rheinland-Westmark, in which post he remained until the collapse of the Third Reich. In 1947 Stroop was condemned to death by a U.S. military court for his atrocities in Greece and the murder of U.S. prisoners of war, but Poland requested his extradition. He was then extradited to Poland, where he was sentenced and hanged for his crimes in the Warsaw ghetto.

His illustrated report on the suppression of the Warsaw ghetto uprising was published as *The Stroop Report: The Jewish Quarter of Warsaw Is No More* (1979), and in Hebrew as *Mered Getto Varsha be-Einei ha-Oyev*, with introduction and notes by J. Kermish (1966).

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[Yehuda Reshef / Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

STROUSBERG, BETHEL HENRY (**Baruch Hirsch Strausberg**; 1823–1884), German financier. Born in Neidenburg, East Prussia, he left Germany after his father's death, embraced Christianity, and went to England and the United States, where he worked as a journalist. He returned to Germany in 1855 and began his business career by forming railway companies on behalf of a group of English investors. The tracks eventually covered more than 1,500 miles (2,600 km.) through Prussia and Hungary. Strousberg undertook the construction of locomotive works, rolling mills, mines and collieries, sometimes using questionable business methods. At one time his concerns employed over 100,000 people and his speculations involved hundreds of millions of dollars, but when, in 1872, his public loan for railway construction in Romania was not granted, his empire collapsed overnight. Bankruptcy proceedings were begun against him in Germany, Austria, and Russia; his assets were sold at a fraction of their value, and he died impoverished in London, where he was earning a meager living as a journalist. The collapse had serious political and economic consequences. Public inquiries into the case showed that corruption connected with railway construction and financing had penetrated the highest and most respected circles in Germany; this contributed largely to the change in public opinion in favor of public control and ownership of railways.

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[Joachim O. Ronall]

STROUSE, MYER (**Meyer Strauss**; 1825–1878), U.S. congressman and lawyer. Born in Oberstrau, Bavaria, Strouse was taken by his father to Pottsville, Pennsylvania, in 1832. In 1848 he founded the *North American Farmer*, a Philadelphia newspaper, which he edited until 1852. After studying law, he was admitted to the bar in 1855. In 1862 and in 1864 Strouse was elected to the U.S. Congress as a Democrat from the 10th Pennsylvania Congressional district, serving on different committees: Roads and Canals; Territories; Expenses; and Mines and Mining. He returned to his law practice in 1867, and in 1876–77 defended the notorious miners' organization, the Molly Maguires.

[Max Vorspan]

STRUCK, HERMANN (1876–1944), graphic artist. Struck, born into an Orthodox Berlin family, studied at the Berlin Academy under Max Koner, where Hans Meyer introduced him to the art of etching. Struck joined the Zionist movement at an early age. in 1903, after several study trips throughout Europe, he visited Palestine and, on his way back to Germany, stopped in Vienna and met Herzl. This meeting inspired the famous portrait etching of the Zionist leader. During World War I Struck served with the German army in Lithuania. There he came in contact with East European Jews and was deeply impressed by their way of life. *Skizzen aus Litauen, Weissrussland und Kurland* (1916) and *Das ostjuedische Antlitz* (1920) reflect this experience. In 1923 he moved to Palestine and settled in Haifa. Struck's favorite technique was copper etching and its related processes although he did lithographs as well. His early work, done in pure etching, was usually signed with his Hebrew name, Ḥayyim Aharon ben David. From 1902 he mixed etching with *vernis mou* and aquatint. A master of his craft and an excellent teacher, Struck taught graphic techniques to such fellow artists as Chagall, Liebermann, Israels, and Corinth. His book *Die Kunst des Radierens* (1923^5), a popular guidebook for artists and connoisseurs, provides technical explanations and practical instruction. Struck excelled as a portraitist. Among his sitters were Ibsen, Nietzsche, Freud, and Einstein. He also did landscapes, Jewish types and scenes from Jewish life as well as many ex libris. Struck, who remained an Orthodox Jew, participated in Jewish public life and attended several Zionist congresses as one of the leaders of the Mizrachi Party. He was a member of the London Society of Painters, Etchers and Engravers.

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[Elisheva Cohen]

STRUG, KERRI (1977–), U.S. gymnast, Olympic medal winner, member of the U.S. Gymnastics Hall of Fame, and 1996 U.S. Olympic Spirit Award recipient. Strug was a gifted child in gymnastics, and at the age of 13 her parents allowed her to leave her home in Tucson, Arizona, to study in Houston, Texas, with the world-renowned coach Bela Karolyi. Over the next five years, Strug helped lead the U.S. women's gymnastics team to a series of high finishes, including a silver medal at the 1991 World Gymnastics Championships, a bronze medal at the 1992 Olympics, a silver medal at the 1994 World Team Championships, and a bronze medal at the 1995 World Championships. Strug also showed great ability in individual all-around competitions, winning several American championships, and finishing in the top 15 in a number of international contests, including the 1992 Olympics. On March 2, 1996, she won her first major international competition, the American Cup. But Strug's defining moment came at the 1996 Summer Olympics in Atlanta. In the finals of the vault competition, Strug fell on her first attempt, severely twisting her left ankle. Karolyi calculated that Strug needed a score of at least 9.6 and encouraged her with his now-famous, "You can do it, Kerri, you can do it." Having heard a popping noise, Strug knew that she was risking her chance to make a recovery in time for the all-around competition, but decided nevertheless to give her team a chance of ensuring the win. She limped back to the runway and then managed a near-perfect run, vault, and landing. Strug immediately lifted the injured leg and grimaced before collapsing to the canvas. She had torn two ligaments and now had a third-degree sprain. But Strug's score on the vault was 9.712, the U.S. had its gold, and Strug had won a place in Olympic lore. Reacting to people expressing surprise at her Jewishness, Strug wrote, "I think about the attributes that helped me reach that [medal] podium: perseverance when faced with pain, years of patience and hope in an uncertain future, and a belief and devotion to something greater than myself. It makes it hard for me to believe that I did not look Jewish up there on the podium. In my mind, those are attributes that have defined Jews throughout history." After retiring, Strug attended Stanford University. She is the author of *Heart of Gold* (1996) and *Landing on My Feet: A Diary of Dreams* (1997).

[Robert B. Klein (2nd ed.)]

STRUNSKY, SIMEON (1879–1948), U.S. journalist and author. Strunsky, Russian by birth, was an editorial writer for the *New York Evening Post* from 1906 to 1920 and editor until 1924. He then joined *The New York Times* and for 15 years wrote anonymously his urbane daily commentary on the news, *Topics of the Times*. His books include *The Patient Observer* (1911), *Belshazzar Court* (1914), *Professor Latimer's Progress* (1918), *The Living Tradition* (1939), *No Mean City* (1944), and *Two Came to Town* (1947).

STRY (Pol. **Stryj**), city in Lvov district, Ukraine. With the development of trade between eastern Poland and Hungary at the beginning of the 16th century, Jews were invited to settle in Stry by the governor, Jan Tarlowski, who wanted to counterbalance the number of Ruthenians (i.e., Ukrainians) in the city. In 1576 King Stephen Báthory (1575–86) issued the first legal confirmation of permanent Jewish settlement, granting the Jews the same terms as the other townsmen. The leaders of the city fought for almost 100 years against this privilege. In 1589 King Sigismund III Vasa confirmed the rights of the Jews, warning the townsmen not to harm them. Stry's Jews engaged in wholesale and retail trade, leasing of customs, brewing beer, and making and selling wine. At the end of the 17th and during the 18th century Jews imported wine and horses from Hungary, exported bulls, grain, and salt, leased estates and flour mills, bred cattle, and traded in cloth. A few of them were goldsmiths and tailors. The extent of their trade is reflected in the enterprise of Samuel Haymovich, who sold 18,000 barrels of salt annually between 1701 and 1704. The volume of their trade in Hungarian wines and horses is recorded in Ber of Bolechow's *The Memoirs of Ber of Bolechow 1723–1805* ((1922), index).

An organized Jewish community, subordinate to the district of *Przemysl, existed from the end of the 16th century.

In 1634 Stry's Jews were allowed to buy land for a synagogue (built in 1660) and a cemetery. There were 70 Jews (5% of the total population) living in the city in 1662. Between 1652 and 1670 Jews acquired 11 houses. The ruler of the city, John Sobieski (later king of Poland, 1674–96), ordered in 1663 that the municipal authorities include two representatives of the *kahal* in every consultation on the city's taxes. As king he ordered in 1676 that a second market day be held every Tuesday since the regular market day was on Saturday. Finally, in 1696, the city authorities reached a compromise with the Jews and transferred the market day from Saturday to Friday. The community was permitted to build a new wooden synagogue in 1689. Accusing them of stealing sacred objects from a church, Stry's Catholic priests brought certain Jews to trial in 1697; the case dragged on until 1708, when the charge was dropped. In 1714 the Jewish community paid a poll tax of 2,000 zlotys, and in 1756 there were 1,727 Jews in Stry and its district who paid this tax. The city became part of the Austrian Empire in 1772, remaining as such until 1918. In 1795 the community was composed of 444 Jewish families living in the city and nine in its suburbs. At the end of the 18th century Ḥasidism began to exert an influence in Stry. Notable rabbis of Stry were Aryeh Leib b. Joseph ha-Kohen *Heller (1788–1813) and Jacob *Lorberbaum (1830–32).

Since limitations were imposed on wine selling and leasing of estates in the 1820s, the number of Jewish families earning their living from tailoring, the fur trade, bakery, carpentry, and tinsmithing increased. In the 1870s Jewish entrepreneurs established a foundry, wood mills, a soap factory, and a match factory. In 1873 a Jewish hospital was built. In the mid-1880s the Hebrew author Isaac Aaron Bernfeld was a teacher of religion in the governmental secondary schools, which were attended by more than 400 Jewish students in 1910. In the same year a boarding school for 30 Jewish students from the area was opened. The nationalistic awakening among young educated Jews led to the foundation of the Admat Yisrael society (1891) to support Jewish settlement in Ereẓ Israel. In 1893 the first Jewish workers' association in Stry (Briderlekhkeyt) was organized.

At the beginning of World War I the Jewish community suffered during the Russian invasion of Galicia. With the disintegration of the Hapsburg Empire in 1918, a Jewish *self-defense group with approximately 40 members was organized. In 1918–19, during the period of the Ukrainian independence, a Jewish National Assembly, headed by E. *Byk and M. Binenstock (1881–1923), and a Jewish militia were established, and a weekly newspaper, *Yidishe Folksshtime*, was published in Stry. Between the two world wars, when Stry was part of Poland, all the Zionist parties and Agudat *Israel had branches there. A vocational school set up by the American Jewish Joint Distribution *Committee (Joint), a *Tarbut school, and a Safah Berurah school were founded during the 1920s. The historian and geographer Abraham Jacob *Brawer and the educator and poet Eisig *Silberschlag were born in Stry which was also the home of the Polish-Jewish author J. *Stryjkowski who describes Jewish life there prior to World War II in many of his works. The Jewish population of the city was 10,988 (40% of the total) in 1921, 10,869 in 1931, and approximately 12,000 in 1939.

[Arthur Cygieman]

Holocaust Period

When the city was occupied by the Soviet Union after the outbreak of World War II, organized Jewish life came to a standstill. All charitable, religious, and cultural institutions were closed, and some of the leaders of the community were arrested and deported. In 1941, before the Germans entered Stry, even official Soviet Jewish leaders were arrested, including Beni Garfunkel and Benjamin Klein, and some others were executed. When the Germans occupied Stry, on July 2, 1941, hundreds of Jews were immediately killed by the Ukrainians aided by the Nazis. Oskar Hutrer was appointed head of the *Judenrat. At the first mass execution, in November 1941, 1,200 Jews were shot in the Holobotow Forest. The winter of 1941–42 was marked by frequent manhunts for young Jews, who were sent to labor camps, where many of them died. The second mass *Aktion* took place in May 1942. On Sept. 1, 1942 thousands of Jews were sent to the *Belzec extermination camp. This was followed by the deportation of 2,000 Jews to the same camp on Oct. 17–18, 1942. Before the local ghetto was established, on Dec. 1, 1942, small numbers of Jews managed to escape to Hungary via the Carpathian Mountains. Further *Aktionen* took place in February 1943, when 2,000 Jews were killed in the city itself, and on May 22, 1943, when 1,000 Jews were murdered in the local cemetery. The ghetto was finally liquidated at the beginning of June 1943, Jewish houses were systematically burned down, and any Jews hiding in the ruins were killed. In July the labor camps were also liquidated, so that by August 1943 Stry became **judenrein*. In the following months Jews in hiding were caught and executed. When the Soviet army occupied Stry on Aug. 8, 1944, there were only a few Jewish survivors. No Jewish community was reestablished. Societies of Stry Jews were established in Israel and the United States.

[Aharon Weiss]

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STRYJKOWSKI, JULJAN (originally **Pesach Stark**; 1905–), Polish novelist. Born in Stryj, Galicia, Stryjkowski joined a Zionist youth movement as a boy, but later became a Communist. In 1939 he fled to the USSR, where he remained during World War II, returning to Poland in 1946. He was active in postwar Polish literary life and was a co-editor of the literary monthly *Twórczość*.

Stryjkowski's first major work was *Bieg do Fragala* ("Run to Fragala," 1951), which depicted the life of a poverty-stricken village in Calabria, Italy. A stage version was performed in

Wrocław (Breslau) by the Polish National Theater in 1953. This was followed by *Pożegnanie z Italji* ("Farewell to Italy," 1954); *Głosy w ciemności* ("Voices in the Dark," 1955), a novel about Jewish life in his native Stry before World War I; *Czarna Róża* ("The Black Rose" 1962); and the story *Imię własne* ("First Name," 1961). A later novel, *Austeria* (1966), portrayed the Jews of a town in eastern Galicia at the outbreak of World War I. Stryjkowski's works were translated into many languages and the writer himself translated works by the French author Louis-Ferdinand Céline and the Russian writer Leonid Maximovich Leonov.

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[Stanislaw Wygodzki]

STRYKOW (Pol. **Stryków**), town in the province of Lodz, central Poland. An organized Jewish community existed there from the early 18th century under the jurisdiction of the *Leczyca community. In 1765 there were 488 Jewish poll-tax payers in Strykow, and 137 (including nine persons in *Zgierz) in 21 surrounding villages. The Jews then owned 41 houses, including a synagogue and a hostel for the poor. In 1789 a Jewish merchant established a tannery. The Jewish population numbered 868 (70% of the total) in 1808, 1,394 (62%) in 1827, and 1,713 (65%) in 1857. They engaged in trade, and particularly in crafts, benefiting from the development of the town until the middle of the 19th century, when it declined as a result of the development of the industrial towns of *Lodz and Zgierz. In 1897 the community numbered 1,799 (58%). They were mainly engaged in tailoring, shoemaking, small trade, and transportation. During the 19th century Strykow became a center of Ḥasidism. At the beginning of the century the kabbalist Ephraim b. Isaac Fishel (d. 1825) lived in the town. The *ẓaddikim* Elimelech Menahem Mendel Landau (d. 1877) and Ze'ev Wolf Landau (d. 1891) had their "courts" in Strykow. In 1921 there were 1,998 Jews living in the town (48%). Between the two world wars there was a Jewish elementary school and a library.

[Shimshon Leib Kirshenboim]

Holocaust Period

On the outbreak of World War II, Strykow underwent heavy bombardment. Many of the nearly 2,000 Jews there fled to the outlying villages and some became the first victims of the advancing German troops. In December 1939 nearly 1,600 Jews were deported to Glowno, situated in the General Government territory. The deportees were turned away by the mayor of Glowno and obliged to look for shelter on the periphery of the town. They stayed until the spring of 1940, when the Glowno authorities drove them back to Strykow. The mayor of Strykow refused them entry and the deportees had to return once more to Glowno, where they probably remained and shared the fate of the Jews there.

After the first deportation of Jews in December 1939, only 378 Jews remained behind in Strykow. In time a number of refugees also arrived. In the years 1940–42 the Jews in Strykow were concentrated within a tiny ghetto. In April or May 1942 all the Jews were deported to Brzeziny (Loewenstadt) – the only other Jewish settlement still existing, besides Lodz, in the whole province. In the course of the liquidation of the Brzeziny ghetto and soon afterward, the 300 Jewish laborers from Strykow were sent with 3,000 "selected" Jews from Brzeziny to the Lodz ghetto.

[Danuta Dombrowska]

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STUDENTS' FRATERNITIES, GERMAN (Ger. **Burschenschaften**). Different types of German students' associations have existed since the establishment of universities. As part and forerunners of the German national movement the specific German students' fraternities called Burschenschaften were founded in Jena in June 1815. Fanned by the reaction against Napoleon, the Burschenschaften rapidly expanded to include almost all German universities. The movement's outlook was essentially romantic, imbued with Christian, patriotic, and radical sentiments. However, at the beginning the organization was not overtly anti-Jewish in tone and Jews even took part in the foundation of some local Burschenschaften, as in Freiburg in 1816, and as so-called Alte Herren (Old Boys) were active members of the alumni organizations. Later, though, antisemitic agitation – particularly of the *Stoecker brand – found eager supporters among the student generation. The Verein Deutscher Studenten (VDST) (Union of German Students) aligned itself with the antisemitic petition demanding from the government the suspension of the legal emancipation of the Jews. It was also distributed by and among German students and handed over to Bismarck in April 1881. As early as 1878 the Viennese fraternity, Libertas, had passed a motion excluding Jews on racial grounds. By 1890 fraternities declared themselves *judenrein*, both in Germany and in Austria. In 1896 the member-fraternities Waidhofener Verband "dishonored" Jewish students by refusing to give them satisfaction in duels. By 1908 alumni associations also joined in ostracizing Jews. In Austria *Schoenerer emulated Stoecker by setting himself up as an anti-Jewish mentor to the students. Jewish students reacted to the increasingly antisemitic climate from the late 1880s by forming separate organizations. The first to be established was the Viadrina in 1886 at Breslau University, later part of the *Kartell-Convent der Verbindugnen Detuscher Studenten juedischen Glaubens (KC). From the start Jewish fraternities were socially excluded and repeatedly dissolved by university administrations.

From 1900 to 1914 there was a recess in general antisemitic agitation, but the war and its aftermath reactivated *Volk* and racist fanaticism. In 1920, at their general convention in Eisenach, German fraternities extended their racial ostracism to all members who married Jewish or colored partners. Throughout the Weimar Republic German fraternities were predominantly right-wing, *voelkisch*, and antisemitic, as was the student corpus as a whole. After Hitler assumed power they widely embraced the new development, although they had to join in the National Socialist students' organization (Nationalsozialistischer Deutscher Studentenbund) and hence give up their own organizational framework. After World War II the student fraternities reestablished their pre-war organizations, the umbrella organization of the German fraternities, the Deutsche Burschenschaft (DB), became active again in 1950. They are still predominantly politically conservative but are no longer openly antisemitic. There are still different kinds of student associations in the sense of fraternities to be found on German campuses.

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[Emmanuel Beeri / Miriam Ruerup (2nd ed.)]

STUDENTS' MOVEMENTS, JEWISH. In Central Europe in the 19th and 20th centuries most gentile students' societies did not accept Jews (see *Students' Associations, German). This experience, which continued also after World War I, except in the less numerous left-wing student associations, was one of the powerful motivations which led Jewish students to adhere to prevalent ideologies, whether revolutionary-internationalist or Zionist.

In eastern Europe, and particularly in the Russian Empire with its **numerus clausus*, very few Jews could enter universities or even high schools. Many of them went to Swiss, German, or Austrian universities, and their associations and debating societies became nuclei of revolutionary and Zionist movements. In Poland between the two world wars Jewish students were often physically assailed by their antisemitic colleagues and sometimes even allotted segregated "ghetto" benches in the classrooms. As a result, many became either extreme revolutionaries (in practice, mostly members of illegal Communist cells), or Jewish nationalists, i.e., Zionists. Thus, Jewish students and students' societies played an important role at the inception of the Zionist movement, e.g., in Vienna (*Kadimah) and Prague (*Bar Kochba). Subsequently a number of other students' organizations and associations with cultural and literary aims played a significant part: in Berlin (e.g., the Russian Jewish Scientific Society), and in Russia and among Russian émigré students (e.g., *He-Ḥaver). In Germany the overall Jewish students' federation, *Kartell Juedischer Verbindungen (KJV), became Zionist, partly under the impact of the hostile "Aryan" ideology of their gentile colleagues. In the Baltic countries of the 1920s and 1930s *Revisionist students organized themselves in German-style "corporations" (such as "Hasmonaea" in Riga), including wearing "colors," collective beer drinking, fencing, etc., whereas Zionist and Labor Zionist students formed groups without these trappings (as He-Ḥaver and Ha-Shaḥar). Religious Zionist students formed the Yavneh society. After World War II no Jewish student groups were allowed to exist in Communist eastern Europe, except, for a short time, a semi-legal group in Poland in 1967–68, named after the Russian Jewish writer Isaac *Babel.

In Great Britain

Although Jews were admitted to British universities from the mid-19th century, their numbers did not at first encourage the establishment of Jewish student societies, and these were mainly inaugurated from the second decade of the 20th century. Immediately after World War I, in 1919, the Inter-University Jewish Federation (IUJF) was set up to coordinate the activities of Jewish student societies that had begun to spring up independently in London, Oxford, Cambridge, and the major provincial cities, such as Birmingham, Glasgow, Leeds, Liverpool, and Manchester. The Federation's aim was to foster an interest among Jewish students in Judaism and Jewish history and culture, members being encouraged to involve themselves after graduation in the social and religious life of the Anglo-Jewish community. The University of London Jewish Union Society (ULJUS), an "umbrella" organization for the various student societies in the metropolitan area, was founded in 1922.

Student Zionist activity, which dates in Britain from the years immediately following the First Zionist Congress, met sufficient resistance in some Jewish students' societies to encourage the formation of separate Zionist associations and, from about 1924, the Universities' Zionist Federation (UZF) functioned alongside, and to some extent in competition with, the IUJF. During the 1930s the UZF amalgamated with the Association of Young Zionist Societies (mainly a non-student body), but organizational and other difficulties led to the old UZF's revival as the Universities' Zionist Council (UZC) shortly before the outbreak of World War II. Student Zionist activity intensified during the war years and the late 1940s. Both IUJF and UZC helped to organize cultural activities for their members. IUJF also published various periodicals, while UZC issued publications of its own. The two student organizations began to work in harmony after 1948, later operating together as IUJF-UZC, and finally merging in the 1960s when Zionism became part of the IUJF platform.

With the rapid increase in the number of Britain's "redbrick" universities after World War II, many more Jewish student societies were founded, in new areas. Major support was given to the Jewish students' organizations by the B'nai B'rith Hillel Foundation in London, which eventually set up Hillel

Houses in London, Birmingham, Leeds, Liverpool, Manchester, Sheffield, and other university towns. From the early 1960s a chaplaincy commission operated with varying degrees of success, mainly in Oxford, Cambridge, and the smaller university towns, where Jewish students felt themselves to be isolated from the main community.

A high proportion of Jews studying at British universities took no part in the activities of the organized Jewish student body. Semi-independent religious groups existed within the general Jewish student framework, such as Liberal and Reform associations and the Orthodox Yavneh movement. There were in 1971 over 10,000 Jewish students in the British Isles, some two-thirds of whom had no connection with IUJF or any other Jewish student group. About 80 Jewish student societies and Israel societies were affiliated to IUJF. Jewish students were prominent in protest movements such as CND (the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament) in the 1960s and, later, in demonstrations on behalf of Soviet Jewry. They were active in the World Union of Jewish Students (see below). In recent decades the Union of Jewish Students has had to deal with venomous anti-Zionism at some British campuses, especially during the period in the 1980s when the militant left controlled much of student life. Since about 1990, British campuses have been more quiescent, although demands to boycott Israeli universities and goods surfaced again during the 2002–05 period. Many Jews have found the anti-Zionism of extreme left-wing groups on British campuses little different from right-wing antisemitism. The British Union of Jewish Students was affiliated with the European Union of Jewish Students.

[Godfrey Edmond Silverman / William D. Rubinstein (2nd ed.)]

In France

The Union of French Jewish Students (Union des Etudiants Juifs de France; UEJF) was founded in Paris in 1945 and is affiliated to the World Union of Jewish Students (WUJS). Before World War II there was no Jewish student movement in France. Organized Jewish life in France had mainly centered on religious or philanthropic activity, and entry to a university was thought of as a further step toward integration into French society. Only one institution provided a meeting place for Jewish students: this was the *kasher* canteen opened in Paris in 1921, intended for poor and Orthodox students. Pierre *Mendès-France, then a law student, was active in the establishment of this canteen, the Foyer israélite. The UEJF was formed by young Jewish resistance fighters, militants of the Eclaireurs israélites (see *Scouts), the Communist youth, and youth of Zionist organizations. It aimed to help needy students by offering scholarships, opening university canteens, and setting up a centralized employment bureau; to contribute to the revitalizing of Jewish life through the universities; and to develop an awareness of Jewish cultural values and Israel society through courses, publications, and trips to Israel. Branches were set up in various university cities: Paris, Lille, Nancy, Strasbourg, Lyons, Grenoble, Toulouse, Montpellier, Marseilles, etc. During the following ten years the Communists and Zionists struggled for the leadership in the administration of the UEJF. A measure of reawakening occurred between 1958 and 1962 due to political events associated with the war in Algeria. From 1967 the UEJF took an openly pro-Israel stand. The general student agitations in May 1968 stimulated its developments and confirmed it in its support for Israel.

The number of Jewish students attracted by the Jewish student movement never exceeded 10% of the total. The upheavals experienced in many French universities in 1969 and 1970 sometimes became confrontations between Jewish groups divided on the question of the Middle East conflict. Relations between the UEJF and communal institutions were often strained: the students complained that they were not allowed to participate in the direction of Jewish life and that they were not granted the funds necessary for the realization of their program. The communal leaders, on the other hand, suspected the Jewish youth movement of compromising with the Communist party and left-wing organizations. The achievements of the UEJF were modest. Private and communal initiative resulted in the establishment of residential buildings and university restaurants in Paris and Strasbourg, as well as a Jewish study center in the capital and clubs in a number of university cities. Although active in these institutions, the UEJF was not always associated with their foundation and direction. A periodical, *Kadimah*, was published sporadically by the UEJF and, in association with private publishers, it organized the printing and distribution of various works on Judaica. The UEJF continues to be active in such matters as Holocaust memorialization, antisemitism, and Israel.

[Lucien Lazare]

In the U.S.

The oldest Jewish student organization on a North American campus, Zeta Beta Tau (ZBT) fraternity, was founded in New York City in 1898 to encourage the study of Jewish life and culture among Jewish students. Soon afterward, however, it was converted into a Greek-letter fraternity. Additional Jewish student clubs emerged at the City College of New York (1902), Minnesota (1903), Harvard and Columbia (1905), Illinois and Texas (1907), Yale (1909), and California (1910). Most of these groups were gradually absorbed by the Intercollegiate Menorah Association, which was founded by Henry *Hurwitz at Harvard in 1906, and grew to 50 chapters by 1930. Designed to promote the academic study of Jewish culture in the university and to serve as a platform for the nonpartisan discussion of Jewish problems, the association sponsored a speakers' bureau, provided Judaica for several university libraries, tried unsuccessfully to stimulate university study of Jewish history and culture, and published the *Menorah Journal* (1915–62). No Menorah chapter remained in existence after World War II; the Menorah Association was dissolved in 1963.

Zionist societies sprang up at several major universities, independent of the Menorah Association. They formed the Collegiate Zionist League in 1905, which merged in 1915 with other Zionist student groups to become the Intercollegiate

Zionist Association. At its peak in 1919 it had a membership of 2,500 in 33 chapters, but it disbanded shortly after the Zionist Organization of America withdrew support in 1920. Five years later a successor organization, Avukah, was founded. It grew to 56 chapters in the United States and Canada by 1939 but was dissolved in 1942, largely as a result of the rapid turnover of student leadership and a persistent lack of funds.

Professional direction combined with organized program services and community support for Jewish collegiate activities were provided for the first time with the coming of the B'nai B'rith Hillel foundations to the American campus. Founded at the University of Illinois in 1923, and funded, since 1925, primarily by B'nai B'rith, with supplements from Jewish federations and welfare funds, Hillel maintained, in 1969, a network of 274 foundations (chapters with full-time professional staff) and counselorships (part-time staff). Of the total, 252 were in the United States and Canada and 22 were in Australia, Brazil, Great Britain, the Netherlands, Israel, South Africa, Switzerland, and Venezuela. Hillel also supported chairs of Judaic studies (Iowa, Missouri, Vanderbilt), and Hillel staff members taught accredited courses in Judaic studies at 40 additional institutions. Hillel's campus activities included lectures and classes in Jewish thought and life, the holding of religious services and holiday observances, the running and support of international, national, and regional student institutes, social service and social action projects, counseling services, student publications, and social programs. Hillel was governed by the B'nai B'rith Hillel Commission, and the international Hillel office in Washington, DC, provided resources and administrative guidance for the individual Hillel chapters.

In the 1970s and 1980s Hillel's effectiveness declined after a cutback in funding, but it revived in the late 1980s under the direction of Richard Joel. In the early 2000s it had approximately 250 affiliates in the U.S. and Canada serving college and university students on more than 500 campuses, an additional three dozen campus and community-based affiliates in other countries, and a global budget in excess of $60 million. Hillel was viewed widely as one of the early 21st century's major success stories in Jewish organizational life. Thirty-four percent of Jewish undergraduate students in the U.S. participate in Hillel activities, according to a market research study conducted in 2005.

Similar student programs, with full-time professional staff but independent of Hillel, existed at Rutgers-Newark, Columbia (Counselorship for Jewish Students, established in 1929), New York University (Jewish Culture Foundation, established in 1937), and Long Island University in Brooklyn. Unaffiliated Jewish student groups without professional guidance existed at more than 120 colleges and universities in 1969.

As the number of Jewish students increased, additional student groups were organized, mainly along denominational or ideological lines, among them Atid, the college-age organization of the Conservative movement (founded in 1960); Yavneh, an organization of Orthodox Jewish students (founded in 1960); and T'hiyah, a Reconstructionist university fellowship. The Reform movement maintained a college service department but no separate collegiate organization. In addition, the United Synagogue of America subsidized, and the National Council of Young Israel (Orthodox) sponsored or subsidized, student houses and kosher dining clubs.

Attempts were also made to reestablish an effective Zionist campus program. After Avukah's dissolution, the Intercollegiate Zionist Federation of America (IZFA) was founded in 1946 with the partial support of the American Zionist Youth Commission. During the period immediately preceding the founding of the State of Israel, IZFA's membership rose to 10,000, but it dropped after the state was established, and the organization was dissolved in 1953. A year later, it was succeeded by the Student Zionist Organization (SZO), which was sponsored and supported by the American Zionist Youth Foundation. SZO had about 2,500 members in 70 college chapters in the United States and Canada in 1963 but lost membership rapidly in the second half of the '60s and was replaced by American Students for Israel and similar, often radical, groups supported mainly by the American Zionist Youth Foundation.

Jewish participation in student activism became prominent from the middle 1960s on. Accurate statistics are not available, but several studies estimate that one-third to one-half of the committed identifiable radicals on the most activist campuses were Jewish. They were found to come largely from families which were urban, well-educated, professional, and affluent, with a high degree of permissiveness, a stress on democratic interpersonal relations and on values other than achievement – dominant characteristics of the urban middle-class Jewish group. Initially, Jewish students participated primarily in general activist or radical organizations. Many of them, unidentified with organized Jewish life, were motivated less by Jewish commitments than by their general social and political concerns. However, in the late 1960s Jewish students also began to form specific Jewish activist campus groups as a result of their rejection by the black movement, their disappointment with the growing anti-Israel stance of the New Left, and a growing self-awareness which turned them to the needs of the Jewish community as the arena for acting out their moral and social convictions. Their objectives included the establishment of accredited Jewish studies programs at universities, the development of "Free Jewish Universities" involving students and faculty in the study of Jewish thought and life, political action on behalf of Israel and Soviet Jewry, the stimulation of supportive action for peace and social justice by the Jewish community, and action countering the anti-Israel activities of the New Left and Arab students. In 1969–70 such groups were operating on about 80 campuses under various names – Jewish Student Bund, Concerned Jewish Students, Jewish Student Union, Jewish Activist League, Na'asseh. Many published campus newspapers; membership generally ranged from 10 to 50 in each branch.

Social and professional fraternities constituted still another facet of Jewish group life on the campus. ZBT, the first

Jewish fraternity, was followed by Sigma Epsilon Delta (1901) for dental students, Phi Delta Epsilon (1904) for medical students, and Iota Alpha Pi (1903), the first sorority. The number of social groups grew steadily with the increase in Jewish enrollment and the exclusion of Jews from the general fraternities and sororities. In 1941, 12 national social Jewish fraternities, five national sororities, and 17 professional fraternities had 540 local chapters and a membership of 85,000, in addition to several local organizations without national affiliation. Several national groups were nondenominational, but their membership was almost exclusively Jewish, and although most of them occasionally supported Jewish projects or programs, their chief purpose was social.

After World War II, in response to changing university policies and the growing public demand for the elimination of discriminatory restrictions, most Greek-letter societies began to accept members regardless of social, racial, or religious background. Deprived of one of their major reasons for existence, most Jewish groups experienced a significant drop in membership, leading to mergers of several national groups and the closing of local chapters by the late 1960s.

[Alfred Jospe]

In Israel

During the school year 1970–71 about 44,000 students (including Arabs, Druze, and Jews from abroad) were studying at ten universities and colleges. In 2004–5, 245,000 students were registered in eight universities, 23 colleges, and 26 teacher colleges. The Israel students' average age is higher than that of students in other countries because most of them serve in the army for three years prior to their university attendance. During their studies the students are frequently called to the army reserves. Many are married and most of them work to support themselves. All these are factors limiting political, social, and cultural activity. Social and political activity among students is often outside the framework of the students' organizations. About 15% of the students are active in student "cells" of the political parties, in local student unions, and in the National Union. A National Union of Students, to represent all the students, was first set up in the 1930s (local unions had begun to function in the 1920s). It is the roof organization of the local unions and is headed by a presidium composed of the chairmen of the local unions. Elections to the local unions and the National Union are held yearly. The National Union is the Israel branch of the World Union of Jewish Students and the chairman of the union is the vice chairman of WUJS.

WORLD UNION OF JEWISH STUDENTS. The World Union of Jewish Students (WUJS, or UMEJ in French and Spanish) was founded in 1924 by a number of European Jewish student unions and had among its early presidents and officers such personalities as Albert *Einstein, Chaim *Weizmann, Simon *Dubnow, Sigmund *Freud, Stephen S. *Wise, Ḥayyim Naḥman *Bialik, and Sir Hersch *Lauterpacht. Most of the archives of the organization were destroyed during the Holocaust, and afterward the officers themselves discarded old records. During its initial stages WUJS concerned itself with such problems as the numerus clausus in eastern European universities, the building of a student house at The Hebrew University campus on Mount Scopus in Jerusalem, etc. During World War II the center was transferred from Paris to Switzerland, and the most important activity of WUJS was to provide refuge for Jewish students, victims of Nazi persecution. After World War II, until 1948, WUJS had member organizations in Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, Egypt, Iraq, Lebanon, Poland, and Romania, as well as official connections with the youth of the Jewish Anti-Fascist Committee of the U.S.S.R. In 1948, back in Paris, WUJS involved itself in the work of the World Student Relief, the International Student Service, and UNESCO. In the late 1950s, after some years of lethargy, the organization recovered and remained centered in Paris until 1968, when the secretariat was moved to London.

The core of WUJS's activities until 1967 was the furthering of Jewish identity, but following the *Six-Day War (1967) WUJS became openly pro-Zionist, supporting *aliyah* and other activities centered on Israel, and it affiliated to the World Zionist Organization in 1968. A process of political radicalization characterized the Union during 1967–70. However, the decrease of the impact of the New Left in the early 1970s led to a renewed interest in furthering Jewish education. In 1971 WUJS comprised 30 national union members and correspondent student organizations, as well as individual Jewish student affiliates from countries where the functioning of Jewish institutions is not permitted. The total membership was estimated at 100,000 to 110,000, of which approximately 50,000 were represented through the North American Jewish Students' network and 35,000 are members of the National Union of Israel Students. The supreme authority of the union is the WUJS Congress, where national Jewish student unions are represented proportionately to their membership (with a maximum of eight delegates). The Congress generally convenes in Israel every three years.

The main activities of WUJS fall into three categories: educational, political, and Israel-oriented or Zionist. WUJS published numerous pamphlets and journals on basic Judaism. Political activity is centered mainly on action to combat antisemitism and neo-Nazism with the cooperation of non-Jewish student organizations, and action in connection with the Israel-Arab conflict. There were also protests, demonstrations, picketing, and the coordination of activities all over the world on behalf of Jews in Arab countries (especially after the Baghdad executions) and in defense of Soviet Jewry. Contacts were maintained with general international organizations, particularly with the International Students' Organization. Many WUJS activities are oriented around and centered in Israel. In addition to various summer schemes in Israel, in 1967 WUJS established an International Graduate Institute at Arad, its program allowing participants to learn Hebrew, basic Judaism, and Israel studies.

WUJS provides an umbrella framework for nearly all different trends existing in the Jewish world. The weight of each of its trends varies continuously, and it is therefore difficult to define the composition of its leadership. Student unions in Germany, France, Italy, and Belgium have usually provided an extreme-left Zionist approach. Unions in Switzerland, U.K., Ireland, South Africa, and Australia were strongly Zionist with a religious predominance. North America is mostly represented through the Radical Zionists. Latin America, constantly in a very isolated position, represents the "middle-way" Zionist.

[Edy Kaufman]

STUDENT STRUGGLE FOR SOVIET JEWRY (**SSSJ**), 1964–1991, the first American national movement to free Russian Jews. Its combination of imaginative demonstrations, Congressional lobbying, and information dissemination helped generate the wave of international public pressure which ultimately forced open the gates of the Kremlin to mass emigration and the release of refuseniks and Prisoners of Conscience. A grassroots effort, SSSJ became a unifying factor among the diverse streams of American Jewry, and continually challenged the Jewish Establishment to act with greater vigor on behalf of its Russian brethren.

SSSJ was founded at a meeting at Columbia University on April 27, 1964, initiated by Jacob Birnbaum, Glenn Richter, Arthur Green, and James Torczyner, all involved in the American civil rights movement, just months after the famed March on Washington and but two months before Mississippi Summer. Four days later, it staged a public demonstration of over 1,000 students at the Soviet Union's Mission to the United Nations, which garnered a page 2 story in the *New York Times* the next morning. Within months, SSSJ drew political figures to its rallies. In 1965, noted Jewish singer Rabbi Shlomo Carlebach penned SSSJ's marching tune "Am Yisrael Chai!" (the people of Israel live!) It became the signature song of the Soviet Jewry freedom movement, both without and within the U.S.S.R.

SSSJ saw four main pressure points: the Kremlin, the US government, public opinion, and the American Jewish community. From 1964 to 1971, much effort was spent sparking a slowly growing interest in the issue and pressuring Establishment Jewish organizations to allocate a budget and staff to deal with the crisis. After the notorious Leningrad Trials which began in December 1970 of Jews who sought to escape from the U.S.S.R., SSSJ initiated, along with its adult activist counterpart of the Union of Councils for Soviet Jews (UCSJ), widespread Congressional lobbying to first pass, then maintain, the Jackson-Vanik Amendment. The bill linked trade credits to the U.S.S.R. with freedom of emigration. Intense pressure was kept on Establishment Jewish bodies not to abandon the Amendment despite pressures from the Nixon Administration, which had been so supportive of Israel to do so.

SSSJ differed from many other Jewish groups in that its leadership consisted of activist young rabbis, such as Rabbis Shlomo Riskin, Yitz Greenberg, Charles Sheer, and Avi Weiss. They inspired many students, who were soon further motivated by books revealing American public political and Jewish inaction during the Holocaust. This generation, raised in less self-conscious times, swore to be different. Israel's spectacular victory during the Six-Day War spurred more visible young American Jewish identification, and SSSJ provided a suitable vehicle. SSSJ continually utilized overt Jewish symbols, such as the *shofar*, and biblical phrases, such as "Let my people go."

By the early 1970s, SSSJ had developed methods to bring out from the USSR. an increasing stream of information about and appeals by refuseniks (Jews denied exit) and Prisoners of Conscience (Prisoners for Zion), which were widely disseminated. These efforts bypassed the control of the Israeli government, which attempted to keep a lid on this documentation. SSSJ's method was to focus on individual stories to understand the plight of millions of Russian Jews. To that end, SSSJ encouraged both popular and legislative mail and phone communication with refusenik and prisoner families, despite widespread KGB interference, as well as missions into the USSR to visit these Jews.

The enthusiasm of SSSJ's many volunteers far exceeded the movement's meager budget, raised in part by sale of protest buttons, bumper stickers, stamps, Prisoner of Conscience and refusenik bracelets. The successful effort to rescue a fifth of world Jewry, so soon after the Shoah, became a transformative experience for many young American Jews. They learned advocacy skills that were soon put to use for Israel and other causes, and understood that in their hands could lie the seeds of Jewish redemption.

[Avi Weiss (2nd ed.)]

STUDY. The study of the Torah (*talmud Torah*) as a supreme religious duty is one of the most typical and far-reaching ideas of rabbinic Judaism. Talmudic literature is full of references to the *mitzvah* of Torah study, especially of the difficult halakhic portions which require the fullest application. C.G. Montefiore (*A Rabbinic Anthology* (1938), introd., 17), though more than a little unsympathetic to this side of rabbinism, observes: "For all these legal discussions, all this 'study of the Law,' all these elaborations and minutiae, were to the Rabbis the breath of their nostrils, their greatest joy and the finest portion of their lives."

An early Mishnah (Peah 1:1), after describing such duties as honoring parents and performing acts of benevolence among the *mitzvot* for which there is reward both in this world and the next, concluded that the study of the Torah is "equal to them all." A tannaitic treatise, *Baraita Kinyan Torah* (Avot 6), devoted to the ideal of Torah study, contains the advice (6:4): "This is the way of the Torah: a morsel of bread with salt to eat, water by measure to drink; thou shalt sleep on the ground, and live a life of hardship, whilst thou toilest in the Torah. If thou doest thus, happy shalt thou be, and it shall be well with thee; happy shalt thou be – in this world, and it shall be well with thee – in the world to come." Quoting the verse, "This is the Law (Torah): when a man dieth in a tent" (Num. 19:14), the third-century teacher Resh Lakish taught: "The words of the Torah become firmly established only for one who kills himself (in study) for it" (Ber. 63b). Dedicated students, "toiling in the Torah," were found to number in the thousands in the great Palestinian and Babylonian academies during the first five centuries of the present era. Only against such a background of unqualified devotion does the saying of the second-century R. Jacob become intelligible: "If a man was walking by the way and studying and he ceased his study to declare, 'How fine is this tree!' or 'How fine is this plowed field' Scripture reckons it to him as though he were guilty against his own soul" (Avot 3:7). Of Rava it was said (Shab. 88a) that he was once so engrossed in his studies that he was unaware that his fingers were spurting blood. It was taken for granted that a scholar would be incapable of diverting his mind from Torah study; hence it was ruled that a scholar is forbidden to remain in unclean alleyways where Torah should not be studied (Ber. 24b).

The ideal of Torah study had a twofold aim. First it was believed to lead to the practical observances, since without knowledge of what it is that the Torah enjoins full observance is impossible. "An empty-headed man cannot be a sin-fearing man, nor can an ignorant person be pious" (Avot 2:5). Secondly, Torah study was itself a religious duty of the highest order. This dual function of study is presumably given expression in the discussion said to have taken place in the early part of the second century: "R. Tarfon and the Elders were once reclining in the upper story of Nithza's house in Lydda, when this question was put to them: 'Which is greater, study or practice?' R. Tarfon replied: 'Practice is greater.' R. Akiva replied: 'Study is greater for it leads to practice.' Then they all answered and said: Study is greater, for it leads to practice" (Kid. 40b). Yet study without any intention of carrying out the precepts was seen as having no value. "Whoever says that he has only [an interest] in the study of the Torah, he does not even have [the study of] the Torah" (Yev. 109b). There is evidence of tension between the scholarly ideal and that of extraordinary piety without learning. The famous scholars were committed to Torah study as the highest pursuit, yet they were compelled to recognize the achievements of men of outstanding piety who were in no way renowned for their learning. The scholars yielded only grudgingly, as in the tale (Ber. 34b) of the miracle-working saint, R. Ḥanina b. Dosa, who prayed successfully for the recovery of R. Johanan b. Zakkai's son, whereas the prayers of R. Johanan would have accomplished nothing. When R. Johanan's wife asked him, "Is Ḥanina greater than you are?" he replied, "No; but he is like a servant of the king who can enter his presence at any time whereas I am like a nobleman who is allowed only to appear at fixed times."

The qualifications for study were carefully mapped out, 48 "excellences" by which the Torah is acquired being listed (perhaps for rehearsal by the prospective student):

> By study, by the hearing of the ear, by the ordering of the lips, by the understanding of the heart, by the discernment of the heart, by awe, by reverence, by humility, by cheerfulness; by attendance on the Sages, by consorting with fellow-students, by close argument with disciples; by assiduity, by knowledge of Scripture and Mishnah; by moderation in business, in worldly occupation, pleasure, sleep, conversation, and jesting; by long-suffering, by a good heart, by faith in the Sages, by submission to sorrows; by being one that recognizes his place and that rejoices in his lot and that makes a fence around his words and claims no merit for himself; by being one that is beloved, that loves God, that loves mankind, that loves well-doing, that loves rectitude, that loves reproof, that shuns honor and boasts not of his learning, and delights not in rendering decisions; that helps his fellow to bear his yoke, and that judges him favorably, and that establishes him in the truth and establishes him in peace; and that occupies himself assiduously in his study; by being one that asks and makes answer, that hearkens and adds thereto; that learns in order to teach and that learns in order to practice; that makes his teacher wiser; that retells exactly what he has heard, and reports a thing in the name of him that said it (Avot. 6:6).

The demands made on the student were thus both of intellect and of character. The successful student acquired in addition to factual knowledge the capacity for skill in debate. Of particularly brilliant scholars it was said that they were able to provide 24 answers to every problem (Shab. 33b; BM 84a). It was not unusual for teachers to encourage their disciples to cultivate alertness of mind by appearing on occasion to act contrary to the Law, to see whether the error would be spotted (Ber. 33b; Ḥul. 43b; Nid. 4b). The debators were compared to mighty warriors taking part in the "battles of the Torah" (Sanh. 111b). Another comparison was that to competent craftsmen. The "craftsmen and the smiths" (II Kings 24:14) were identified with the scholars and said to possess acute reasoning powers (Sif. Deut. 321). Of a text presenting severe problems of interpretation it was said that neither a carpenter nor his apprentice could provide the correct solution (AZ 50b). In similar vein keen scholars were compared to builders (Ber. 64a), to pearl divers capable of reaching great depths in pursuit of treasure (BK 91a), and to weavers (Ber. 24a). The purveyor of the difficult halakhic teachings was compared to a dealer in precious stones for the connoisseur, whereas the more popular but less profound aggadic teacher was compared to the retailer of cheap tinsel goods which all can afford to buy (Sot. 40a).

While the saying of R. Judah in the name of Rav, that a man should study the Torah even if his motives were not of the purest (*she-lo li-Shemah*), was generally accepted because the right motive would eventually emerge (Pes. 50b), the rabbinic ideal was that of Torah "for its own sake" (*li-Shemah*). R. Meir said: "Whoever labors in the Torah for its own sake merits many things; and not only that, but the whole world is indebted to him: he is called a friend, beloved, a lover of the All-present, a lover of mankind; it clothes him in meekness and reverence; it fits him to become just, pious, upright and faithful; it keeps him far from sin, and brings him near to virtue; through him the world enjoys counsel and sound knowledge, understanding and strength" (Avot 6:1). The *Sifrei* (Deut. 41 and 48) remarks: "Suppose you say, I am learning Torah that I may get rich, or that I may be called Rabbi, or that

I may gain reward (from God) – the teaching of Scripture is: 'To love the Lord your God' (Deut. 11:13)." "Suppose you say, I will learn Torah in order to be called learned, to have a seat in the academy, to have endless life in the world to come – the teaching is: 'To love the Lord your God.'"

From the rabbinic period and onward great centers of Jewish learning were established. In Palestine there was the academy at the sea-coast village of Jabneh, which came into especial prominence after the destruction of the Temple; at Lydda under the guidance of R. Eliezer b. Hyrcanus and R. Tarfon; at Bene-Berak under R. Akiva; at Usha in Galilee; and there were also centers in Sepphoris, Tiberias, and Caesarea. R. Yose b. Kisma said: "I was once walking by the way, when a man met me and greeted me and I returned his greeting. He said to me, 'Rabbi, from where are you?' I said to him, 'I come from a great city of sages and scribes.' He said to me, 'If you are willing to dwell with us in our place, I will give you a thousand golden dinars and precious stones and pearls.' I said, 'If you were to give me all the silver and gold and precious stones in the world, I would not dwell anywhere but in a home of the Torah'" (Avot 6:9). "Homes of the Torah" rose to a position of importance in third-century C.E. Babylonia. At the beginning of this century two Palestinian-trained scholars, Rav and Samuel, returned to their native Babylonia, the former to found the academy at Sura, the latter to revive the long-established academy at Nehardea. When Nehardea was destroyed during the Roman-Persian wars in the year 259 C.E., Samuel's disciple, R. Judah b. Ezekiel, founded an academy at Pumbedita which existed as a sister and rival institution of Sura for over eight centuries. After the decline of Sura and Pumbedita in the 11th century, new schools sprang up in North Africa and Europe to take their place. The schools of Paris, Troyes, Narbonne, Metz, Worms, Speyer, Altona, Cordoba, Barcelona, and Toledo were renowned in the Middle Ages. From the 16th century, Poland, with its own academies, emerged as the Jewish intellectual center.

Yet it should not be imagined that the rabbinic ideal of Torah study was for the scholar alone. It was binding on every Jew as a *mitzvah*. R. Johanan said in the name of R. Simeon b. Yoḥai, "Even though a man reads no more than the *Shema* morning and evening he has thereby fulfilled the precept of 'This book of the law shall not depart'" (Josh. 1:8). It is, however, forbidden to say this in the presence of the ignorant (who would draw the consequence that detailed Torah study is not important). But Rava said it is meritorious to say it in the presence of the ignorant (so that they should not despair of having no part in Torah study; Men. 99b). There is no doubt that the rabbinic ideal was devotion to Torah study on the part of every Jew. Maimonides follows his rabbinic mentors in ruling (Yad, Talmud Torah 1:8): "Every man in Israel is obliged to study the Torah, whether he is firm of body or a sufferer from ill-health, whether a young man or of advanced age with his strength abated. Even a poor man who is supported by charity and obliged to beg at doors, and even one with wife and children to support, is obliged to set aside a period for Torah study by day and by night, as it is said: Thou shalt meditate therein day and night."

The Laws of Study

Three benedictions are to be recited before studying the Torah (Singer, Prayer 5). Since the whole of the Jew's waking life is a time for study these benedictions are recited at the beginning of each day and suffice for the whole day's study. It is considered meritorious to set aside a fixed time each day for Torah study, preferably in the company of others. Each community is expected to have a special "house of study" (*bet ha-midrash*), the sanctity of which is greater than that of a synagogue. As evidence of this it is ruled that while it is not permitted to run from a *bet ha-midrash* to a synagogue it is proper to run from a synagogue to a *bet ha-midrash*. A person unable to study himself should assist in supporting students of the Torah, in whose learning he will then have a share (Sh. Ar., YD 246:1). The Psalmist (Ps. 19:19) speaks of the precepts as "rejoicing the heart." Consequently, it is forbidden to study the Torah during the week of mourning for a close relative or on the Ninth of Av. The rabbis believed in the psychological value of verbal expression and therefore advised that Torah study should not be a purely mental exercise but the words of the text should be uttered aloud, customarily with a chant. Since the study of the Torah is equal to all the other precepts, a man should not interrupt his studies to do a good deed unless there is no one else to carry it out. At the completion of the study of a whole tractate of the Talmud it is customary to celebrate the occasion with a festive meal.

Scope of Study

"At five years the age is reached for the study of Scripture, at ten for the study of Mishnah, at thirteen for the fulfillment of the commandments, at fifteen for the study of Talmud" (Avot 5:21). This may reflect the actual ages when the young students were gradually introduced to the more complex subjects of study. Elsewhere (Kid. 30a) it is said that a man should divide his study time so that a third is devoted to Scripture, a third to Mishnah, and a third to Talmud. In the Middle Ages, especially in France and Germany, most of the students' efforts were directed to the study of the Babylonian Talmud, in particular to its halakhic portion, with a certain neglect of other topics. Typical is the admission of Rabbenu Tam (Tos. Kid. 30a s.v. *lo*) that the rabbinic schools relied on the fact that the Babylonian Talmud is full of all matters, containing Scripture and Mishnah. This tendency toward a certain narrowing of studies to the virtual exclusion of all except *halakhah* became more and more the norm in Russia and Poland. The medieval thinkers, however, not only urged the study of their discipline but tended to identify philosophical investigation with the highest type of Torah study. Maimonides (Yad, Yesodei ha-Torah 4:13) identified the esoteric disciplines known as the "Work of Creation" and "Work of the Chariot" with Aristotelian physics and metaphysics, respectively, and ranked them higher in the Jewish scale of studies than talmudic debates. Similarly, the kabbalists zealously regarded their subject – the "soul of the Torah" (Zohar III 152a) – as the highest pursuit. The kabbalist Ḥayyim Vital (*Sha'ar ha-Hakdamot*, introd.) recommended that a man should spend an hour or two each day on halakhic casuistry in order to remove the coarse "shell" which surrounds the "fruit," but should devote the rest of his study time to the true science of the kabbalistic mysteries. In the 16th century R. Moses Isserles (YD 246:4) summed up the rabbinic attitude as follows: "A man should only study Scripture, Mishnah, and Gemara, and the Codes based on them. In this way he will acquire this world and the next. But he should not study other sciences. However, it is permitted to study other sciences occasionally, provided that this does not involve in the reading of heretical works. This is called by the Sages 'strolling in Paradise.' A man must not 'stroll in Paradise' until he has filled his stomach with meat and wine, namely, the knowledge of that which is forbidden and that which is permitted and the laws of the precepts."

The rise of the ḥasidic movement in the 18th century presented a serious challenge to the ideal of Torah study as the supreme religious duty. The early ḥasidic masters accused the conventional scholars of engaging in Torah study for motives of fame, wealth, and prestige. Prayer, in the traditional scheme inferior to study, was frequently elevated by the Ḥasidim above study. In addition, the rabbinic ideal of *Torah li-Shemah* ("for its own sake") was interpreted in early Ḥasidism to mean attachment to God (*devekut*), while studying, especially in the sense of intense concentration on the letters of the text, was believed to reveal on earth the divine forces by means of which God governs the world (see J.G. Weiss in: *Essays Presented to… I. Brodie* (1966), Heb. sec. 151–69). The comparatively large number of classical talmudic scholars among the second and third generations of ḥasidic masters prevented, however, any radical departure from the older ideal. In a statement which combines the older ideal with the new ḥasidic emphasis on attachment to God while studying, R. Shneour Zalman of Lyady describes (*Tanya*, ch. 5, *Likkutei Amarim* (1912), 17–19) the religious significance of even the legalistic debates:

> Behold, with regard to every kind of intellectual perception, when one understands and grasps an idea in one's mind, the mind seizes the idea and encompasses it in thought so that the idea is held, surrounded, and enclosed in the mind in which it is comprehended. Conversely, the mind is clothed by an idea it has grasped. For instance, when one understands fully a rule in the Mishnah or the Gemara, his mind seizes the rule and encompasses it and, at the same time, his mind is encompassed by the rule. Now, behold, this rule is the wisdom and will of the Holy One, blessed be He, for it rose in His will that, for instance, when A pleads thus and B thus the rule will be thus. And even if, in fact, a case of this kind will never come before the courts, nonetheless, seeing that it rose in the will and wisdom of the Holy One, blessed be He, that this is the rule, it follows that when a man knows and grasps this rule in his mind in accordance with the decision laid down in the Mishnah or the Gemara or the Codes he grasps, seizes hold of, and encompasses in his mind the will and wisdom of the Holy One, blessed be He, of whom no thought can conceive.

A less mystical approach is advocated in the famous broadside fired against the Ḥasidim by the disciple of the Gaon of Vilna, R. Ḥayyim of Volozhin (*Nefesh ha-Ḥayyim*). R. Ḥayyim reiterates the conventional view that Torah study even out of ulterior motives is not to be despised and that, moreover, Torah for its own sake does not mean that the student should have God in mind when he studies the texts (such an attempt, R. Ḥayyim argues, would interfere with the intense concentration required for the mastery of the difficult halakhic studies he favored above all else). The student should have a few moments of prayer and devout thoughts before his actual studies and then he should immerse himself in the texts. For R. Ḥayyim (*Nefesh ha-Ḥayyim* (1874), 4:9, 40a) the Torah student has little need for the moralistic and devotional literature (*Musar*) in order to become God-fearing. The Torah itself possesses the property of inducing the fear of God in the hearts of its diligent students. A work in similar vein, from the same school, singing the praises of traditional Torah study, is *Ma'alot ha-Torah* by Abraham, brother of the Gaon of Vilna. The book expresses the ideal taught in the yeshivah of Volozhin and in the Lithuanian yeshivot influenced by it in the 19th and 20th centuries, in which, however, *Musar* did eventually come to occupy a considerable place.

In Western Europe, from the beginning of the 19th century, more and more time had to be found for secular studies, frequently to the detriment of Torah study. Samson Raphael Hirsch adapted the rabbinic ideal of "Torah and *Derekh Ereẓ*" ("worldly occupation") so that the latter came to embrace Western learning and culture. Moreover, the critical investigation of the classical sources known as *Juedische Wissenschaft* posed problems of its own for the traditional ideal of Torah study. In a sense the objective, "scientific" scholarship that is the ideal of this school is opposed to that of study as a devotional exercise, if only because it is far more difficult to treat as sacred texts those that are critically examined, and, conversely, acknowledging the sanctity of a text tends to prejudge critical questions regarding its background and authorship. The achievements of *Juedische Wissenschaft* have shed new light on many obscure corners of Jewish thought and history, but critics such as G. Scholem (*Perakim be-Yahadut*, ed. by E. Spicehandler and J. Petuchowsky (n.d.), 312–327) have questioned whether the movement has ever had any real religious significance. There have undoubtedly emerged two vastly different worlds of Jewish studies: the world of the yeshivot indifferent or even hostile to critical scholarship, and the world of modern learning with no formal interest in study as an act of religious worship. To date there has been little meeting between these two worlds.

[Louis Jacobs]

Historical Aspects

The ideal of Torah study as a lifelong pursuit incumbent upon all Jews found ample concretization in the course of Jewish history. Indeed, *ḥevrot* (voluntary study groups) devoted to the regular study of one or another traditional text constitute a significant feature of Jewish social history. Although early medieval sources do not specifically mention the existence of such associations, it is clear from the responsa literature of the period that householders were in the habit of engaging tutors – where required – to give them regular instruction in the sacred texts (see Neuman, Spain, 2 (1942), 293 n. 31, for references to the relevant responsa). The first such study circles, which date back to talmudic and geonic times, appear to have been devoted to the perusal of mystical texts. There is some evidence that the initial impulse toward the formation of organized study groups for laymen originated with the 16th-century Safed school of mystics, who regarded daily study of the Torah in groups as an essential part of their program of mystical exercise; and this hypothesis is confirmed by the fact that the first references to such study circles come from early 16th-century Palestine (see B. Dinur, *Be-Mifneh ha-Dorot* (1955), 162–63). A visiting Italian rabbi, Obadiah of *Bertinoro, found the sight of such groups in Jerusalem sufficiently novel to warrant noting it in his travel diary. A letter from Palestine dating from the same period describes the local practice in these terms: "Even a hired laborer would not go out to his work or affairs in the morning after services, before studying Torah" (A. Yaari, *Iggerot Ereẓ Yisrael* (1943), 208).

From Palestine the practice spread to Italy. Thus, the *ketav rabbanut* (rabbinic contract) of a Veronese rabbi of the first half of the 16th century specified that he conduct classes in Jewish studies for laymen. In the last quarter of the century *Judah Loew b. Bezalel (the Maharal of Prague), inspired by the mystic significance which the Lurianic Kabbalah ascribed to the study of the Mishnah, organized groups for laymen to study Mishnah regularly. With the rapid spread of such circles, an early 17th-century author, Joseph Yuspa *Hahn (*Yosef Omeẓ*, Frankfurt, 1823, pt. 2, *Perek ha-Torah* (1928 ed.), 265 ff.), prescribes the regulations by which they should be governed. Shabbetai Sheftel *Horowitz, the early 17th-century rabbi of Frankfurt, urged every householder to join one of the local circles so that he might devote at least one hour daily to study. At that time such groups included the entire adult male population of the community. In some communities – Prague for example – participation in a study group was an obligation imposed by communal regulation (1611). A similar ordinance adopted in Worms in 1667 made it mandatory for every adult male to devote at least one hour a day to study.

By the end of the 17th century study groups, usually meeting daily, were to be found in virtually every community of any size. Similar groups were established in Poznan (Poland) under the influence of Shabbetai Horowitz, who had moved there from Frankfurt, and their example was soon followed throughout Poland. The community there developed a novel feature in its zeal for learning. In the *bet ha-midrash*, professional students, supported by the local community, were organized in relays so they might study in turn around the clock. This practice of marathon study, recorded by Jacob *Emden in connection with the Great Bet ha-Midrash of Vilna, was widespread in Poland; and in 1741 it was introduced into the Amsterdam community. The extent to which universal adult study was a matter of communal concern is seen in the minute book of the Lithuanian Council (see *Councils of the Lands) which prescribed that every layman had a duty to study at least one chapter of the Mishnah every day (*Pinkas ha-Medinah*, ed. by S. Dubnow (1925), pars. 590, 959). Study was not only carried on in societies specifically constituted for this purpose, but also in most voluntary associations, whatever their primary function. Thus, for example, the Ḥevrat Bikkur Ḥolim in 17th-century Mantua required its members to gather for study on Sabbaths and festivals (see S. Simonsohn, *Toledot ha-Yehudim be-Dukkasut Mantovah*, 2 (1964) 405–7). A similar practice prevailed among the guilds of Jewish artisans in Poland (see M. Hendel, *Melakhah u-Va'alei Melakhah be-Am Yisrael* (1965), 7 ff.)

A curious sidelight on the universal preoccupation with study is afforded by the opposition to it evinced by leading rabbinic authorities of the 18th century. Jacob Emden based his opposition on the grounds that the study of the Talmud was intended for scholars and not for mere laymen who were certain to become skeptics when they read some of the more fantastic aggadic tales found there. He argued, moreover, that these laymen used their own study of the Talmud as a pretext for exempting themselves from the support of those who devoted their full time to it (see J. Emden, *Siddur Yaveẓ Ammudei Shamayim Hilkhot Talmud Torah*). In a similar vein, Jonathan *Eybeschuetz, a contemporary of Emden, exhorted laymen to study *Oraḥ Ḥayyim* (the laws of daily religious life) and moralistic texts rather than the Talmud; and still others urged that Baḥya ibn Paquda's pietistic-philosophic text *Ḥovot ha-Levavot* ("Duties of the Heart") be read in place of the Talmud.

[Theodore Friedman]

Women and Torah Study

Most rabbinic texts presume that Jewish women are not obligated to engage in Torah study, just as they are exempt from other communal obligations such as public prayer at mandated times (Tosefta Sotah 7:6; Lieberman 7:9; similarly Ḥag. 3a), commenting on the commandment that the entire community must gather to hear divine teachings and so learn to observe them (Deut. 31:12), quotes R. Eleazar b. Azariah to the effect that the men come to learn Torah but women come only to hear. A frequently cited tannaitic Midrash claims that "And you shall teach them to your children (*binekhem*)" (Deut. 11:19) should be understood to mean, "Your sons, but not your daughters" (*Sifre Devarim* 46; similarly TJ, Eruv. 10:1, b. Ber. 20b; TB, Kid. 29b).

A central debate between the sages Ben Azzai and R. Eliezer over whether women should study Torah appears in Sotah 3:4, in reference to the ordeal of a woman accused of adultery. While the content of the debate has several ambiguities, the positions of the protagonists are clear. Ben Azzai says that a man is obligated to teach his daughter Torah while R. Eliezer disagrees, opining that "whoever teaches his daughter Torah teaches her *tiflut*" (obscenity or lasciviousness; sometimes translated as foolishness). And while it is possible to read this passage narrowly, as limited to its particular context, later rabbinic tradition read it broadly, as a wholesale exclusion of women from Torah study. The Palestinian Talmud (Sot. 3:4, Ḥag. 1:1) contrasts Ben Azzai's positive view with the negative opinion of R. Eleazar b. Azariah, cited above. This passage goes on to relate a story about the depths of R. Eliezer's antipathy to women studying Torah, in which he refuses to answer a question posed by a wealthy matron, telling her, "A woman's wisdom is only in her spindle." When his son expresses concern that R. Eliezer may jeopardize the financial support this woman provides to him, he replies, "Better the words of Torah be burned than be given to a woman."

The Babylonian Talmud on *Sotah* 3:4 (Sot. 21a) takes it for granted that women are exempt from Torah study: a woman who studies voluntarily is said to be meritorious but she does not merit the larger reward of fulfilling a commandment. Ideally, women should garner merit in this area by arranging for their sons to learn Torah and by waiting patiently for their husbands to return from studying with the rabbis (similarly Ber. 17a).

The medieval legal tradition also exempted women from study. *Maimonides (Laws of Torah Study, 1:13) writes that women are not obligated to learn Torah and goes on to say that "the sages have commanded that a man not teach his daughter Torah, since most women's minds are not properly directed to being taught, but rather they turn the words of Torah into words of triviality (*tiflut*) …" While distinguishing between different levels of Torah study, since it is the "Oral Torah" that a woman will especially fail to understand, Maimonides rules that a man should not even teach his daughter written Scripture. However, if he does so, he has not taught her *tiflut*. Maimonides goes on to say that a woman who studies Torah voluntarily receives merit, albeit less than a man who studies in order to fulfill the commandment. Joseph *Caro repeats Maimonides' rulings in the Shulḥan Arukh (YD 246:6); in his commentary for Ashkenazi Jewry, Moses *Isserles adds that a woman is, nevertheless, obligated to learn the laws that pertain to women's lives.

Some women did receive Torah education in both the rabbinic and medieval periods. For example, M. Nedarim 4:3 rules that if person A has vowed to receive no benefit from person B, person B may nonetheless "teach his (A's) sons and *daughters* Bible." Similarly, Kiddushin 4:13 discusses whether women may teach Bible to young children, which suggests that at least some women must have been sufficiently educated to do so. References to female Bible teachers also appear in the Cairo **Genizah* and in the responsa of Maimonides (Goitein, 64–65, 69–71). Tosefta *Berakhot* 2:12 includes menstruants and women who have recently given birth among those who may "read from the Torah, and study mishnah, midrash, and *halakhot*," despite being in a state of ritual impurity. The Babylonian Talmud includes several stories about the scholarly *Beruriah, whose accomplishments included learning "300 teachings in a day from 300 teachers" over three years (Pes. 62b).

Several medieval Ashkenazi sources rule that if a woman wishes to study Torah, she may do so and should say the appropriate blessing (*Maḥzor Vitry* 359; *Siddur Rashi* 267; Rashi, responsa 68). A Jewish school for girls is recorded in Rome in the 15th century. By the late Middle Ages, a literature of vernacular Bible translations, commentaries, and collections of ethical and aggadic materials, directed at a non-scholarly readership that included women, became popular in European communities, particularly following the invention of printing. There were also a few women throughout the medieval period who were noted for their advanced Jewish learning. The 12th-century Spanish traveler Petahiah of Regensburg (Ratisbon) reported that the daughter of Baghdad *gaon* Samuel ben Ali (d. 1194) taught Scripture and Talmud to men through a window (Goitein, 64). As in this case, such women were usually daughters, wives, and mothers of noted rabbinic scholars. It may be that it was precisely under such conditions that a woman could have access to advanced Jewish learning, or perhaps it is because of their connections to noted men that some such women were remembered to history.

It is in the modern period that most radical changes in women's relationship to Torah study have taken place. In the 19th and 20th centuries, particularly in Eastern Europe, opinions against teaching women any form of Torah knowledge were dominant. While boys and men could dedicate themselves to intense study of Jewish texts, girls received no formal Jewish education and sometimes attended secular schools. Concerned for the social effects this was having on girls' commitment to Jewish life and practice as they matured, Sarah *Schnirer founded a girls' school, *Beth Jacob, in Cracow in 1917. By 1924, there were 53 Beth Jacob schools in Poland; on the eve of World War II, nearly 40,000 girls across Europe and elsewhere were being educated in Beth Jacob schools.

Schnirer faced initial resistance from the religious establishment, but received support from a leading authority of the day, Rabbi *Israel Meir ha-Kohen (known as the Ḥafeẓ Ḥayyim). He wrote that Maimonides' ban on teaching women Torah could no longer hold in changing times: "It seems that this applies only in times before us, when everyone lived in the place of his ancestors and the tradition of the ancestors was very strong among all, to behave as their ancestors had behaved… and in such case one could say not to teach Torah [to a woman] and her behavior will rely on [the model of] her ancestors. But now, when our ancestors' tradition has become very weak… those women who are accustomed to learning foreign language and writing, certainly it is a great commandment to teach them Pentateuch, and the Prophetic books, and the Writings, and the ethical writings of the sages…" (*Sefer Likkutei Hilkhot Sotah* 21a).

The mandate to teach women advocated by the Ḥafeẓ Ḥayyim was limited in scope and excluded advanced subjects such as Talmud or other rabbinic writings; it remains the case that Talmud is not taught in schools affiliated with the Beth Jacob system. A few strict ḥasidic and Orthodox communities continue to refuse to teach girls any Torah subject beyond the necessary rules and customs of Jewish practice. In many other early 21st century Jewish communities, however, opportunities for Jewish girls and women to study Torah have continued to expand. In the Reform, Conservative, and Reconstructionist movements, it is generally expected that Jewish education will be egalitarian, up to and including rabbinic ordination. Similarly, a number of Orthodox Jewish day schools in the United States, Israel, and elsewhere teach Talmud and related subjects to girls as well as boys, either in separate or co-educational classes. A variety of women's yeshivot, notably in Jerusalem and New York City, teach college age and adult students at a variety of levels, including some offering advanced study in rabbinic literature.

[Gail Labovitz (2nd ed.)]

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STUERMER, DER, antisemitic German weekly, founded and edited by Julius *Streicher. It appeared in Nuremberg between 1923 and 1945, at first a local paper with a small circulation, but after 1935 with a circulation of 500,000. Its slogan, "*Die Juden sind unser Unglueck*" ("The Jews are our misfortune"), was pasted on walls in the streets and schools, thereby popularizing racial antisemitism among the masses. *Der Stuermer* encouraged the economic boycott and social isolation of Jews, further demanding that they be exterminated "root and branch." It contained sensational gossip tinged with sadism. It defined the Jews as "defilers" of the "pure and superior Nordic race," using crude lies, repetition of catchphrases, and caricatures depicting the stereotyped hideous *Rassenjude* ("Jew by race"), a devil in human form that destroyed everything good and healthy. In its "Ritual Murder" issue (May 1939), *Der Stuermer* revived the *blood libel accusation, with presumed proofs from the Talmud and frequent quotations from the Protocols of the *Elders of Zion. World War II was portrayed as the ritual murder of the whole of humanity by "World Jewry." Because of its vulgarity, *Der Stuermer* aroused distaste even among Nazi leaders, who occasionally tried to silence it. Though *Der Stuermer* was crude and vulgar, it was not ineffective in shaping the concept of the Jew in the minds of certain segments of the German Public.

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[Nathan Feinberg / Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

STULBERG, LOUIS (1901–1977), U.S. labor leader. Stulberg, a lifelong unionist, began as a teenage garment cutter and rose to become president of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union (ILGWU), leading that organization for 10 years. In contrast with his predecessor, the fiery, high-decibel David *Dubinsky, Stulberg was regarded as a quiet but efficient leader and an astute financial manager. He was born in Poland but his family immigrated to Toronto, Canada, when he was three. His first job was as a cutter, but he was blacklisted in Toronto because of union activities and the family moved to Chicago, where he joined the ILGWU. He attended the University of Chicago for one year, played semi-pro baseball, and briefly considered a career as a shortstop. Devoting himself instead to union activities, he moved around the Midwestern U.S., working as a cutter and organizer in Toledo, Ohio, and Chicago before settling in New York City in 1927 and joining Cutters Local 10. Within two years, he was a business agent for Local 10 and in 1933 was named its business manager. As head of the cutters' dress department, he helped bring thousands of new members to the union during an East Coast organizing drive just before the start of World War II. In 1945, Stulberg joined the union's general staff as assistant executive secretary. Two years later he became manager of Local 62, which made women's undergarments, and was elected a vice president and member of the general executive board. In 1956 he was appointed by Dubinsky as executive vice president of the ILGWU, a non-elective position. He was elected general secretary-treasurer in 1959, making him Dubinsky's heir apparent. Stulberg became president of the ILGWU in 1966 and was reelected three times. He resigned as president in 1975, citing health problems. Stulberg's decade as president was marked by a major shift in ILGWU membership, from largely Jewish and Italian workers to Hispanics and African-Americans. Although membership had reached an all-time high of well over 400,000 in 1968, it began to fall as more apparel makers moved their operations to low-wage countries. It was during Stulberg's administration that the ILGWU broke away from the Liberal Party, which it had helped found. The union's leaders, including Stulberg, said the party had weakened the liberal-labor political coalition, contributing to Republican victories in New York State. Stulberg was also a vice president of the AFL-CIO and was a U.S. representative at the United Nations. He was also a fellow at Brandeis University in Waltham, Mass., where in 1969 the Louis Stulberg Chair of Law and Politics was established. In 1973, on the 25th anniversary of the State of Israel, he was awarded the Prime Minister's Medal.

[Mort Sheinman (2nd ed.)]

STURMAN, ḤAYYIM (1891–1938), *Haganah leader in Ereẓ Israel. Born in the Kiev district, Ukraine, Sturman settled in Ereẓ Israel with his parents in 1906. He then became an agricultural worker at Sejara. He joined the founders of *Ha-Shomer and participated in the establishment of *Merḥavyah and afterward of the Ha-Shomer settlement of *Tel Adashim. During World War I Sturman participated in the secret activities to provide the *yishuv* with arms. He was discovered and arrested by the Ottoman authorities, and he returned to

Tel Adashim after his release. Following the war he moved to Kevuẓat *Kinneret and was one of the organizers of the *Gedud ha-Avodah (Labor Legion) settlement activities in the Harod area. In 1921 he participated in the founding of *En-Harod, of which he was a member until his death.

Sturman was among those primarily responsible for the defense of the Harod bloc and an active member of the national center of the Haganah. He traveled as a political and agricultural emissary to neighboring countries, aided by his fundamental knowledge of Arabic and the Arab way of thinking. During the Arab riots of 1936–38 he was constantly in responsible positions for the defense of his area. At the same period he was one of Orde *Wingate's advisers and friends. When he was returning from a visit to the *stockade and tower settlement of *Tirat Ẓevi together with two friends, all three were killed when their car went over a road mine near the Arab village of Samaria. The school shared by En-Harod and Tel Yosef, and the nearby Bet Sturman, which serves as a museum institute for research of the eastern Jezreel Valley, were established in his memory and kibbutz Ma'oz Ḥayyim was named after him.

His son, MOSHE, fell in the Israel War of Independence and Moshe's son, ḤAYYIM, was killed in 1969 in the Israel Defense Forces' commando action on Green Island at the mouth of the Suez Canal.

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STURMANN, MANFRED (1903–1989), Israeli author writing in German. Born in Koenigsberg (East Prussia), his first book, *Althebraeische Lyrik* – a rendering of biblical poetry into German – appeared in 1923 with an introduction by Arnold Zweig. This was followed by several books of his own lyrical poems, the first of which, *Die Erben* (1929), was awarded the Lyrics Prize of the City of Munich. After his immigration to Ereẓ Israel in 1938, he continued writing poetry as well as short stories in German. He dealt with the involved problem of an "Israel poet in the German language" in an essay published in *Meilensteine – Vom Wege des Kartells Juedischer Verbindungen KJV in der Zionistischen Bewegung* (Tel Aviv, 1972). He stated that both the serene landscape of the years of his youth and "the discovery of the Zionist dream" had a decisive influence on his outlook, his thinking, and his writing.

Some of the short stories Sturmann wrote in Israel were inspired by his experience in the war of 1948, his social work in Jerusalem, and his deep love of this city and the country: *Die Kreatur* (1952) and *Abschied von Europa* (1963) contain a representative selection of his short stories. He was the literary administrator of Else *Lasker-Schueler.

[Erich Gottgetreu]

STUTSCHEWSKY, JOACHIM (1891–1982), composer, cello player, and folklorist. Stutschewsky was born in Romny (Ukraine) to a family of musicians who had been *klezmerim* (entertainment players) for several generations. After studying at the Leipzig Conservatory (1909–11) he joined the Jena string quartet and played with the local orchestra. From 1918 to 1924 he stayed in Zurich, where he was active as soloist, chamber-music player, and cello teacher, and began to write his treatise on the art of cello playing which became recognized as one of the major modern manuals and has also been published as an official method in Russia. In Zurich, Stutschewsky began to promote lectures on and concerts of Jewish music, in cooperation with the movement begun by the Society for Jewish Folk Music. From 1924 to 1938 he stayed in Vienna and undertook concert tours dedicated to Jewish music in several countries. Going to Ereẓ Israel in 1938, he established himself as one of the most influential musical personalities in the country, continuing as a cello pedagogue, composer, lecturer, and writer.

Stutschewsky's style as a composer began in the East European vein and also absorbed in Israel the local influences of the Near Eastern Jewish communities and the emergent new folk-song styles. His earlier writings, as well as his many arrangements of folk and traditional melodies, were a part of the efforts made during the 1920s and 1930s to propagate the cause of Jewish music as such. In the later ones, such as the book *Ha-Klezmerim* (1959) and the collections *Zemer Am* (1940) and *120 Niggunei Ḥasidim* (1950), he turned to specific tasks of collection and preservation including, in *Ha-Klezmerim*, invaluable reminiscences and materials from his own family and regional traditions of the *klezmer*'s life and activities. In the field of general music Stutschewsky published a considerable number of arrangements and transcriptions for cello, which also became repertoire standards, and augmented his cello manual by several books of etudes. His other compositions include a symphonic poem *Safed* (1960) and other orchestral work; incidental music for the *Ohel Theater's *Fishke ha-Ḥigger*, based on *Mendele Mokher Seforim's novel (1939); cantatas to texts by S. Shenhod; chamber music for various combinations; piano pieces (including *Ze'eiriyyot*, Miniatures for Children, 1946); cello pieces; numerous original and arranged songs to Hebrew texts; and arrangements of East European Jewish songs. He also wrote *Mein Weg zur juedischen Musik* (1936), and autobiographical notes in *Taẓlil*, 8 (1968), 65–67.

[Bathja Bayer]

STUTTGART, city in Wuerttemberg, Germany. A small Jewish community with a synagogue was in existence by 1330–40. In November 1348 during the *Black Death persecutions, most of the Jews were burned to death, but some survivors were recorded in *Esslingen in 1385. In 1393 one Jew was recorded as living in Stuttgart. A new community had come into being by 1434, comprising eight families by 1470. Both a synagogue and a *mikveh* date from that period. Some time after 1492 Jews were banished in consequence of the will (enacted as a state law in 1498) of Count Eberhard Ill of Wuerttemberg. At the beginning of the 16th century Count Ulrich attempted to employ Jews in the economic development of the territory. However, the banishment was reaffirmed by Emperor Charles v in 1521. In 1597 Duke Frederick i invited the Italian-Jewish inventor Abraham Colorni to experiment with saltpeter potassium but imprisoned him after a few unproductive months; Colorni later escaped. The duke's attempt in 1559 to attract a Portuguese-Jewish manufacturer met with ecclesiastical opposition. By 1710 a few Jews doing business with the ducal court were allowed to reside in Stuttgart, and by 1721 there were seven families in residence there. In 1734 Joseph Suess *Oppenheimer was appointed financial adviser by Duke Alexander; he fell into disfavor after the duke's death in 1737 and was executed in 1738. Newly admitted Jews were expelled in 1739. By 1770, four Jewish families lived in Stuttgart, among them Nathaniel Seidel, director of the mint, and the two brothers Seligmann (see *Eichthal-Seligmann family), lessees of the salt-mine concession from 1758.

After the admission of the merchant-banking *Kaulla family in 1779, a new community came into being. In 1831 the Central Wuerttemberg Jewish Council was organized in Stuttgart under state and church supervision. In 1834 a cemetery was acquired (a new one in 1876); in 1835 Joseph Maier, the first Wuerttemberg rabbi with the required Ph.D. degree (from Tuebingen University), was appointed; a prayer hall was consecrated in 1837. The growth of the community followed the two emancipation laws of 1828 and 1864. In 1808, 109 Jews lived in Stuttgart; the numbers rose to 211 in 1844; 847 in 1861; 1,169 in 1864; 1,801 in 1871; 3,015 in 1910; and 3,818 (1.4% of the total population) in 1913. In nearby Cannstatt, incorporated with Stuttgart in 1905, there were 469 Jews in that year. In 1925 the Jewish population of Stuttgart and Cannstatt was 4,870 (1.4% of the total population) and 4,490 in June 1933.

A synagogue was consecrated in 1861, and a separate Orthodox group maintained a prayer hall from 1880. The rabbis Maier (1794–1873) and Moses Wassermann (1811–1892) were raised to the nobility by the Wuerttemberg kings. From the 1890s the community had youth and cultural associations and branches of political organizations. From 1924 to 1938 it published a monthly for the Wuerttemberg Jewish communities, and a *Lehrhaus* (adult education center) was open from 1925 to 1938. In 1933 Jews in public office (among them eight jurists) and in cultural institutions were dismissed. Karl Adler, director of the conservatory for 11 years, founded the Jewish Arts Council for lay choirs. A Jewish school was founded in 1933, and a school for teachers of physical education in 1935. The B'nai B'rith Stuttgart Lodge was dissolved in 1937, and Polish Jews were deported on Oct. 26, 1938. Following the November 1938 pogrom, Adler organized an Emigration Aid and Self-Help Agency, which was led, after his emigration in May 1941, by the jurist Alfred Marx. The Wuerttemberg Jewish Central Council was dissolved in 1943. By 1941, 2,690 Jews had emigrated. The remainder were concentrated in a Jewish quarter, the older members of the community being evacuated to small towns and villages. From late 1941 through early 1945 Stuttgart was the collection point for the deportation of all Wuerttemberg Jews, beginning on July 1, 1941, to Riga (where the deportees were subsequently massacred), in 1942 first to *Izbica, *Auschwitz (four transports 1942–43), and then to *Theresienstadt (Aug. 5, 1942 to Feb. 1945). About 1,000 Stuttgart Jews died in deportation or in concentration camps.

[Toni Oelsner]

Post-World War II

About 20 Jews survived in Stuttgart, some by going into hiding; 45 returned from Theresienstadt (among them Alfred Marx) and a few from other concentration camps. In two Displaced Persons' camps in the city in 1945 there were more than 2,000 Jews. By the end of 1946, 1,276 Jews remained in Stuttgart, decreasing to 569 in 1950; in 1968 the community had 480 members. A synagogue (built by the surviving architect Ernst Guggenheim), the only one in Wuerttemberg, was consecrated in 1952; the enlarged community center was completed in 1964. Among the survivors, Dr. Richard Perlen (d. 1961) was appointed president of the Wuerttemberg supreme court. The house of Albert *Einstein's mother's family in Cannstatt-Stuttgart has been preserved. Stuttgart is the seat of the Jewish community of Wuerttemberg, which numbered 677 in 1989. There were 2,881 in 2004, among them about 1,500 members living in Stuttgart. The increase is explained by the immigration of Jews from the former Soviet Union. In 1989 the majority were living in Stuttgart; in 2004 about 45% were living outside Stuttgart. In 1999 the community opened an old age home.

[Toni Oelsner /Larissa Daemmig (2nd ed.)]

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STUTTHOF (Pol. **Sztutowo**), German concentration camp established in a secluded area 22½ mi. (36 km.) E. of Danzig, which existed from Sept. 2, 1939, until May 9, 1945. Surrounded by water on three sides, the land was wet and almost at sea level. It was situated along the Danzig-Elbing highway. Initially a civilian camp, it became a concentration camp in January 1942. Jewish prisoners (several hundred men, mostly residents of Danzig) were brought there as early as Sept. 17, 1939. Among them were the writer and journalist Jacob Lange and the cantor of the Danzig synagogue, Leopold Schufftan. Almost all of these prisoners died within a few weeks. The initial population of prisoners were Poles; it also housed Soviet prisoners of war as well as Norwegians and Danes. Jews were a distinct minority. As it appeared that the war would last longer than planned and labor shortages would be prolonged, the work of these slaves became more valuable and thus conditions were slightly improved for the non-Jewish prisoner population precisely as the conditions of Jews became more lethal throughout German-occupied territory. The camp was expanded in 1943 and wooden barracks were replaced by concrete ones. Stutthof was a site of forced labor. Inmates worked at private industrial enterprises, foremost among them was the airplane factory of Focke-Wulff. They also worked in farming and in camp workshops. The camp staff were SS men and Ukrainian auxiliary police.

Until 1943 only small numbers of Jews from Warsaw, Bialystok, and some other places were deported to Stutthof. In the autumn of 1943, several hundred Jews found in hiding in Bialystok after the Bialystok ghetto uprising were brought there. Early in 1944 all the surviving Jewish prisoners were deported to the *Auschwitz concentration camp.

Besides the central camp 105 subcamps were built, notably in Stolp, Heiligenbeil, Gerdauen, Jesau, Schippenbeil, Seerappen, Praust, Burggraben, Thorn, and Elbing. About 20,000 Jewish prisoners, mostly women, were imprisoned there. In spring 1944 several thousand Jews from concentration camps in Ostland (in Latvia and Lithuania) were deported to Stutthof, and in the early summer thousands of Jewish women arrived from Hungary. The greatest increase of Jewish prisoners occurred in June–October 1944, when over 20,000 Jews were shipped to Stutthof from Auschwitz. These were mostly women from Hungary and the Lodz ghetto. Most of these people died in the first weeks from hunger and lack of water, or were gassed in the gas chamber, where, as in Auschwitz, Zyklon B rather than carbon monoxide was used. In the last months of 1944 about 12,000 Jewish prisoners (including almost 4,000 women) were deported from Stutthof to concentration camps in Germany: *Dachau, *Buchenwald, Neuengamme, and Flossenbuerg. In January 1945 forced evacuation – death marches – from Stutthof and its satellite camps began. At that time about 29,000 Jewish prisoners (including almost 26,000 women) were still alive in these camps. Five thousand marched to the Baltic sea coast and were executed by machine gun fire. The remaining prisoners were marched toward Lauenberg but were stopped by Soviet advances and returned to Stuthoff. In April 1945, with the front collapsing, the prisoners were again moved. Some were shot in the sea; others were transported by boat to Neuengamme. En route many died. When the camp was liberated on May 9 there were some 100 prisoners still alive at Stutthof.

About 26,000 Jews were killed or drowned during the evacuation. It is estimated that altogether over 52,000 Jewish prisoners passed through Stutthof and its satellite camps. Only about 3,000 of them survived.

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[Stefan Krakowski / Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

STYBEL, ABRAHAM JOSEPH (1884–1946), publisher and literary patron. Born in Zharki, Poland, Stybel engaged in the leather business. From his youth he was deeply interested in Hebrew literature. During World War I he moved from Warsaw to Moscow and became wealthy from his business dealings. He then decided to devote himself to fostering the advancement of Hebrew literature. In 1917 he founded the Stybel publishing house and invited David *Frischmann to be his chief editor. They began the systematic translation of some of the world's best literature by leading Hebrew writers, and also published a literary quarterly, **Ha-Tekufah*. After the October 1917 Revolution, when publishing of Hebrew literature was forbidden, Stybel moved to Warsaw and then to Berlin, and opened branches in New York (where he published the literary monthly *Miklat* under the editorship of Y.D. *Berkowitz) and in Ereẓ Israel. He published hundreds of books, both translations and original works (such as the complete works of M.J. *Berdyczewski and J.Ḥ. *Brenner). When his economic situation deteriorated, Stybel transferred his publishing and manuscripts to N. Twersky in Tel Aviv. In 1938 he renewed his publishing activities in Warsaw, and at the outbreak of World War II moved to the United States. There he reestablished his publishing house in 1945 under the name of The Institute of Goslava and A.J. Stybel, and printed an additional volume of *Ha-Tekufah* (vol. 36). He also published his notes and memoirs. His publishing house greatly advanced Hebrew book publication.

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[Yehuda Slutsky]

STYNE, JULE (1905–1994), U.S. songwriter and theatrical composer. Born in London as Julius Stein, he went to the U.S. as a young boy, settling in Chicago with his family. At eight he began studying at the Chicago College of Music and won a medal in a Chicago Symphony competition for children. He moved to New York and became a vocal coach and then joined 20th Century Fox in Hollywood coaching such stars as Shirley Temple. He wrote songs including "I Don't Want to Walk Without You," with Frank *Loesser. He met Sammy *Cahn and they turned out a stream of popular hits, including "It's Been a Long, Long Time" and "I've Heard That Song Before." Many of their songs were written for Frank Sinatra, including the Oscar-winning "Three Coins in the Fountain."

In 1987, Styne estimated that he had written 2,000 songs, had published 1,500, and had had 200 hits.

His tunes became standards for three generations and he composed such classic Broadway musicals as *Gypsy, Gentlemen Prefer Blondes, Bells Are Ringing*, and *Funny Girl*. The songs from the shows bore the stamp of the singers who introduced them: Ethel Merman, Carol Channing, Judy *Holliday, and Barbra *Streisand. His collaborators included Stephen *Sondheim and Betty *Comden and Adolph *Green. Styne was honored in 1990 by the John F. Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts for his cultural contributions to the nation.

[Stewart Kampel (2nd ed.)]

STYRIA (Ger. **Steiermark**), province in S.E. and central Austria, originally a duchy connected with the *Hapsburgs from 1186. The presence of Jews in Styria from the 11th century may be learned from place names such as *Judenburg (first mentioned c. 1080), Judendorf near *Graz (mentioned 1147), and Leoben (mentioned 1230). The existence of Jewish communities is attested only from the second half of the 14th century (in Graz, e.g., from 1389). The legal position of the Jews was based on the adaptation by Premysl *Otakar and Rudolph of Hapsburg of the Fridericianum of 1244 (see *Frederick II of Babenberg). In the early Middle Ages, Jews were occupied as traders, and later primarily moneylenders, and were instrumental in effecting Styria's shift to a money economy. Their moneylending activities often involved the formation of a consortium to lend money on a large scale to municipalities; even monasteries were frequently involved in such transactions. In 1310 or 1312 Jews were massacred in Fuerstenfeld (because of an alleged desecration of the *Host and blood *libel) and in Judenburg. After repeated requests by the Estates, *Maximilian I expelled the Jews from the region in 1496, the Estates undertaking to reimburse him for the consequent loss of taxes. The exiles settled primarily in *Burgenland and the north Italian Hapsburg provinces from which they traded intensively with Styria. Individual Jews settled in Styria in 1753 and 1775; a decree permitted the attendance by Jews at the Graz markets in 1781, but the expulsion edict of 1496 was renewed repeatedly, for the last time in 1828. Even after the 1848 Revolution their economic activities were restricted; only from 1861 could they acquire real estate.

In 1903 Jews lived in 47 localities. They took an active part in the development of heavy industry and the railway to Hungary; some engaged in farming. At the resort of Gleichenberg-Trautmannsdorf a Jewish hospital was founded in 1884. Antisemitism was strong in Styria, though not violent in its manifestation until 1938. Many holiday resorts would not admit Jews. After the *Anschluss* (March 1938), Polish citizens among the Styrian Jews were compelled to leave for Poland while others, mainly from Graz, were deported to the *Dachau concentration camp; Jewish businesses were "aryanized." From Aug. 1, 1939, no Jew was permitted to live on Styrian territory.

After the end of World War II a community was reestablished in Graz in 1949. Styria has been depicted in Hebrew literature in the writings of Gershon *Shofman, who lived in a village there between the two world wars.

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[Meir Lamed]

SUARÈS, ANDRÉ (**Félix André Yves Scantrel**; 1868–1948), French essayist, poet, and critic. Born near Marseilles, Suarès was of Portuguese-Jewish descent. At the Ecole Normale Supérieure in Paris he was a lifelong friend of the great writer Romain Rolland, to whom he apologetically revealed his Jewish origin. Except for scattered remarks, the fragmentary manuscript *L'Antisémitisme*, and letters written under a pseudonym in all of which he defends *Dreyfus and attacks injustice, his writings have no Jewish interest. A disciple of *Nietzsche, he adopted a negative attitude toward Judaism.

Possessed of an encyclopedic mind, Suarès was equally at home in literature, art, music, politics, and philosophy. He published poetry and several plays, including *La Tragédie d'Elektre et d'Oreste* (1905), *Cresida* (1913), and *Orphée* (1935), which were never performed. A solitary and secluded life enabled him to devote himself to writing prolifically on the historical, artistic, and literary figures who for him incarnated genius or the heroic soul, and reflected his ideal of grandeur and beauty. His portraits and studies include *Images de la grandeur* (1901), *Troits Hommes: Pascal, Ibsen, Dostoievski* (1913), *Debussy* (1922), *Goethe, le grand Européen* (1932), and *Trois grands vivants: Cervantès. Tolstoï, Baudelaire* (1937). Among his meditative writings are *Voici l'Homme* (1906), *Sur la Vie* (3 vols., 1909–12), and *Valeurs* (1936).

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[Sidney D. Braun]

SUAREZ, family of Egyptian bankers of Spanish descent, settled in *Egypt during the 19th century. About 1875 EDOUARD SUAREZ together with his brothers FELIX and RAPHAEL formed the Maison Suarez & Cie. which, after various reorganizations, carried on until its nationalization in 1956. During the 1880s, in cooperation with others of the family, he established the Crédit Foncier Egyptien, the leading mortgage lending institution, the Helwan and other railway constructions, the Cairo Omnibus Company, and the Tanta Water Supply. The Suarez family together with the *Cattaui family established Egypt's first successful sugar refineries and contributed to the country's agricultural development. They also took part in, and supplied managers to, important projects such as the Wadi Kom-Ombo Scheme and other industrial undertakings. LEON SUAREZ, son of Felix Suarez, entered his father's business in 1895. In 1903 he became administrator of two other Suarez business interests, the Société Cheikh Fadl and Société Wadi Kom-Ombo. He left the firm of Maison Suarez & Cie. on his father's death in 1906 to take the latter's place as administrator of the National Bank of Egypt and of the Crédit Foncier Egyptien. EDOUARD (EDGAR) SUAREZ, grandson of the firm's founder, served during 1914–17 as president of the *Alexandria Jewish community. Edgar had a great estate and was one of Egypt's great industrialists; he was president of the Eliyahu ha-Navi Lodge of B'nai B'rith in the years 1899–1903. EDMOND was the president of the Alexandria community; EMILE was the president of the *Tanta community in 1938; JOSEPH was a member of the school committee of Alexandria in 1854; CARLO was an author. His wife, NADIN TILCHE, was in 1913 the first woman to pass the matriculation exams and in 1921 the first woman physician in Egypt. MENACHEM was one of the wealthy Jews of 19th-century in Egypt.

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[Joachim O. Ronall / Leah Bornstein-Makovetsky (2nd ed.)]

SUASSO, family of bankers originally from Spain with branches in Holland and England in the 17th and 18th centuries. One of its most distinguished members was ANTONIO (ISAAC) LOPEZ SUASSO (second half of the 17th century), who lived in The Hague and was considered one of the wealthiest merchants in Holland. He was also one of the leading shareholders of the West India Company, his investments in 1674 amounting to 107,677 gulden. In recognition of his diplomatic services, King Charles II of Spain granted him an estate in Brabant, together with the title of baron, despite the fact that he was a Jew. An ardent supporter of the House of Orange, Isaac Lopez placed 2,000,000 gulden unconditionally at the disposal of William III when he set out for England in 1688. His son, FRANCISCO (ABRAHAM ISRAEL) LOPEZ, second baron of Avernas de Gras, acted as the trustee for the affairs of Queen Christina of Sweden (1632–54) in Hamburg during the years following her abdication. He married Judith, the daughter of Manuel de Teixeira de Sampaio, and his daughter married Isaac Teixera d'Andrade. His sons were ANTONIO (ISAAC) LOPEZ, who in 1714 married the daughter of Moses Mendes da Costa, the governor of the Bank of England, and ALVARO (JACOB ISRAEL) LOPEZ, who in 1735 became a member of the Royal Society. ANTONIO LOPEZ (1776–1857), great-grandson of the first baron of Avernas de Gras, was born in Amsterdam, and, in accordance with the will of his maternal grandmother, assumed his mother's name, Diaz de Fonseca, and was converted to Christianity. He joined the British army, fought against the French, and in 1829 retired with the rank of captain. His last years were devoted to writing about political and military matters, his most important work being *La Politique Dégagée des Illusions Libérales* (2 vols., 1838).

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SUBBOTIN, ANDREY PAVLOVICH (1852–1906), Russian economist and writer. In 1887 Subbotin made a journey to the *Pale of Settlement in order to determine the economic condition of the Jews. His findings first appeared in the *Ekonomicheskiy Zhurnal* in 1887, and in 1888 and 1890 were published separately as *V cherte yevreyskoy osedlosti*. In this work Subbotin described the life of the Jewish working people, giving statistical information on their commerce, handicraft, and industry. His study was considered one of the first serious efforts to describe the economic situation of the Jews of the area.

Subbotin also participated in the plans of the *Jewish Colonization Association (ICA) for a study of the Jews in Russia. In his work, *Yevreyskiy vopros v yego pravilnom osveshchenii* ("The Jewish Problem in its True Light," 1910; also in *Yevreyskaya Biblioteka*, 10 (1903), 63–123), he presented the main features of Ivan S. *Bliokh's writings on the situation of the Jews in Russia. Thus the important results of Bliokh's work were preserved when the bulk of Bliokh's writings were destroyed by fire during printing.

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SUBCARPATHIAN RUTHENIA (also known as **Ruthenia**, **Carpathian Ruthenia**, **Carpatho-Russia**, **Carpatho-Ukraine**, **Carpathia**, and **Transcarpathian oblast**; Rus. **Zakarpatskaya oblast**), historic region, part of (western) Ukraine. Its territory adjoined Romania, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, and Poland. Formerly part of Hungary, at the end of World War I the bulk of this territory passed to Czechoslovakia, becoming a province; a section of the county of Máramures was incorporated into Romania; in 1938, 1939, and 1940 most of the territory was gradually annexed by Hungary; after the reconstruction of Czechoslovakia, it was ceded in 1945 to the Soviet Union. The capital of the oblast is *Uzhgorod; its important towns are *Mukacevo, *Beregovo, *Vinogradov, and *Khust.

Documents confirm the presence of Jews in Subcarpathian Ruthenia from the first half of the 17th century. Some survivors from the *Chmielnicki massacres of 1648 who escaped from Poland to Hungary settled in this region and on the estates of noblemen there in this period. According to the government census of Jews in the region, there were about 100 families, or 450 persons, between 1725 and 1728. This number is, however, unreliable since, because of the numerous changes in sovereignty over sections of the region, it is difficult to determine the accuracy of the census lists; they were occasionally of a very general nature and referred to places and districts which became excluded from the present area of Zakarpatskaya oblast.

The almost exclusive occupations of the Jews during this period were the manufacture and sale of liquor and beer (see Wine and Liquor *Trade) on the estates of the noblemen, a limited amount of agricultural activity, and the maintenance of flour mills. The Jews were compelled to pay various taxes to both the owners of the estates and the government authorities. The taxes were a heavy burden, while the livelihood earned by the local population was meager. The number of Jews nevertheless steadily increased. In 1745 the government took the initiative of expelling the Jews from the Máramures district and sought to reduce their numbers in general. Despite this, further waves of Jewish immigration arrived from beyond the Carpathians – from Galicia and Poland, where the situation of the Jews had deteriorated. The new settlers scattered in many localities and there were some villages with only one or two Jewish families. This resulted in a degree of dissociation from the sources of traditional Jewish life. In most localities there was no *minyan* for the first few years, and there were few rabbis and Jewish teachers in the area. This cultural and spiritual desolation enabled the movement of Jacob *Frank to win many adherents in Subcarpathian Ruthenia. After the Frankist crisis, rabbis from beyond the Carpathians arrived and taught among the Jews of the towns and villages. Later the various trends of Ḥasidism also reached the Jews of the region. Its influence increased and remained strong until the liquidation of the Jews during the Holocaust.

Economic life also began to develop. The Jews of Galician origin were naturally inclined to establish commercial relations with their country of origin. During the early 19th century closer relations were also established with the center of the state, Hungary. During this period the influence began to be felt of the Orthodox disciples of the Ḥatam Sofer, Moses *Sofer, many of whom took up rabbinical office in communities of the region. In consequence, after the schism in Hungarian Jewry in 1868–69 (see *Hungary), most of the Jews in Subcarpathian Ruthenia and their community organizations remained Orthodox. The numerous Ḥasidim adhered to *ẓaddikim* of Galicia and Bukovina, predominantly to the ḥasidic "court" of *Kosov, as well as to those of *Vizhnitsa, *Zhidachov, and *Belz. Between 1825 and 1848 the Jewish population also increased in the smaller localities; a considerable number of villages had a Jewish population of over 100. In the public and political debates which then took place in Hungary, the question of the *emancipation of the Jews was also raised; many Christian leaders in the region supported the granting of equal rights to the Jews on condition that they would endeavor to assimilate from the external and cultural aspects into the Christian population. During the same period antisemitic criticisms were voiced against the Jews in Subcarpathian Ruthenia, their rapid natural growth, and their economic role within the general population.

In the four districts which in time formed the territory of the oblast (including Máramures, of which only a part belongs to this region from 1918 and at present) the Jewish population numbered about 93,000 in 1891, and about 120,000 in 1910.

In 1897 the Hungarian government investigated the impoverished social condition of the region's inhabitants. The investigator, E. Egán (1851–1901), an expert on agriculture, submitted antisemitic conclusions and sought discrimination against the Jews in the economic sphere. His conclusions became the basis of widespread violent anti-Jewish agitation, which was expressed in a series of articles by the publicist Miklós Bartha (1848–1905), later collected in *Kazár földön* ("In the Land of the Kazhars"). This work, published for the first time in 1901, was republished during the Nazi antisemitic period in 1939 and served as a manual for the renewed persecutions of the Jews of Subcarpathian Ruthenia. Despite the accumulation of obstacles against the Jewish population, there were large communities with numerous institutions, including yeshivot and charitable institutions, toward the close of the period of Hungarian rule at the end of World War I. Though the general cultural standard of the Jews was slightly inferior to that of the Jews in the other parts of Hungary, internal Jewish life flourished, and there were also frequent disputes between **Mitnaggedim* and Ḥasidim. The spoken language of most of the Jews in the region was Yiddish. The overwhelming majority of them, however, also knew Hungarian. Many Jewish professionals were to be found in the towns, mainly lawyers and physicians.

After the end of World War I almost the whole of the territory was incorporated into Czechoslovakia and the remainder into Romania. During this period the Jews rapidly adapted themselves to the democratic way of life of the new Czechoslovak state. According to the constitution of the Czechoslovak Republic, Jews were recognized as a national minority. They took part in municipal life and the political struggles. In many towns Jews were well represented on the municipal councils, and they also succeeded in sending a deputy to parliament in Prague. The Jews in the region numbered 93,341 (15.39% of its total population) in 1921, and 102,542 (14.14%) in 1930, when they formed 28.73% of Czechoslovakian Jewry.

Economically and socially, this period was characterized by extensive activity and development. A particular phenomenon of Subcarpathian Ruthenia was the considerable Jewish agricultural population. Two-thirds of the Jews lived in villages, and many of them engaged in agriculture. Their economic situation differed little from that of the Christian farmers. The region, in general, was poor and there were many unemployed among the Jews of the towns and villages. The American Jewish Joint Distribution *Committee established important institutions for the relief and assistance of the Jews of the region. The traditional yearning for the Land of Israel had already before this period prompted Jews to immigrate to the Holy Land where they joined the old *yishuv*, mainly in Jerusalem. From its inception, political Zionism found adherents in Subcarpathian Ruthenia. Between the two world wars the movement developed to considerable dimensions among both the adults and youth. There was a considerable *aliyah*, mainly of working-class people and farmers. Zionist initiative was also evident in internal political life, in both the municipal and national spheres, the framework for this activity being the Jewish Party (see Zidovská *Strana). To a smaller but noticeable extent, Jews were also active within the Hungarian minority movement. Exceptional in this part of Central Europe was the network of Hebrew schools established in Subcarpathian Ruthenia. The first Hebrew elementary school was opened in Mukacevo in 1920, to be followed by the Hebrew secondary school in the same town in 1925, and another secondary school in Uzhgorod, in 1934.

Hebrew printing presses also functioned. Jewish newspapers published in Hebrew, Yiddish, and Hungarian became the platforms for lively polemics between the representatives of the various trends among the Jews in the region. Zionist publicists were active and also fought Ḥasidism through this medium. It may be estimated that about 10,000 Jews from Subcarpathian Ruthenia emigrated between 1918 and 1938, and at least an equal number moved to the western parts of Czechoslovakia.

Holocaust Period

As various parts of Subcarpathian Ruthenia were annexed by Hungary (1938; 1939; 1940), anti-Jewish persecutions were immediately initiated. At first these took the form of administrative measures by the new Hungarian government; they subsequently reached the stage of physical annihilation. Jews of military age were conscripted into labor battalions and sent to the eastern front, where most of them perished. From the spring of 1944 the Hungarian Fascist regime and the German Nazis collaborated in concentrating the Jews in ghettos and deporting them to the death camps. After March 19, 1944, when the extermination of Hungarian Jewry was set in motion, the authorities began their activities in Subcarpathian Ruthenia. A special operational garrison was organized within the framework of the eighth zone of the Hungarian gendarmerie within which territory the region was situated. The pretext for the speeding up of these activities was that the Jewish population would most likely collaborate with the approaching Red Army. Ghettos were set up in Mukacevo, Uzhgorod, Khust, Vinogradov, Beregovo, and other places. After the deportations to the camps had been accomplished, one of the most flourishing and variegated Jewish populations was effectively liquidated.

Contemporary Period

Only 10,000 to 15,000 Ruthenian Jews, out of over 100,000, survived the Holocaust. Several thousands of these did not return to their former residence and joined the movement of Displaced *Persons (see also *Beriḥah); up to 8,000 moved upon the cession of Ruthenia to the Soviet Union westward to Czechoslovakia, most of them to towns in the Sudeten area depleted of their former German population. Some groups resettled in their former places of residence in Ruthenian towns and smaller localities. Later, other Jews arrived there from distant parts of the Soviet Union, mainly office workers and technical administrators employed in industry. Differences developed between the two Jewish groups, and they did not amalgamate. Culturally also, the character of the Jewish population changed. The Western Hungarian-Czech-German cultural influence was gradually replaced by Eastern Soviet culture. According to Soviet estimates, there were 13,000 Jews in the district in 1971, but there is reason to believe that their actual number was greater. They formed an amorphous group and Jewish life was in a process of disintegration, the remnant of the Jewish heritage being maintained mainly by the few survivors of the original population.

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[Yehouda Marton]

SUBOTICA (Hung. **Szabadka**), city in the district of Bačka, Vojvodina province, in Serbia, part of the federation of Serbia and Montenegro; formerly known as Maria-Theresiopol. Modern Subotica, with *Novi-Sad – the most important urban center of Vojvodina – was founded in 1775. At that time some Jews probably lived there as the treaty between the city and the royal authorities at Pressburg, concluded in 1743, already stipulated that "Greeks, Armenians, Jews, and gypsies may be admitted by the [city] senate" (*Judaeorum et Ziganorum admissio a solo oppidani huius magistratus arbitrio dependebit*). In fact, the senate granted such a permission in 1775 to Jacob Heschel, known as "Hirsch from Paksch [Hungary]." Barely ten years later Jews asked and obtained authorization to found their own religious community, and a "Jew's judge" was elected and subsequently confirmed in office. Before the end of the 18th century there was a synagogue, and 13 families had official status in the city.

At the beginning of the 19th century 43 Jewish families lived there, and the first rabbi, Lew Hirschmann, was installed, inaugurating an era of growth and prosperity. Jews were accepted as importers, middlemen, custom officials, etc. As they were not prevented from engaging in new fields, they became initiators of the food and spirits industries and gradually entered the liberal professions as well. Many Subotica Jews participated in the Austro-Hungarian war of 1848 on the Hungarian side, a large number losing their lives or becoming war invalids.

Under the leadership of the novelist Isidor Milko the community inaugurated a new synagogue in 1901, which is still standing (1971). A *talmud torah* was built soon after, and religious and communal life was intensified during the office of Rabbi Benat (Bernard) Singer. An exclusive achievement of Subotica's Jews was the opening of the Jewish Bernat Singer Hospital, named for the rabbi, in 1923. It operated until the Holocaust, when the Hungarian occupiers took it over. It served not only local needs but also those of other Yugoslav Jewry. In 1925 a short-lived Zionist weekly, *Szombat* (Sabbath), was published in Hungarian by Dr. Imre Vidor. Zionism became active under the leadership of the lawyer Moses (Moshe) Schweiger, son of Rabbi Hermann Schweiger of Zenta. In 1940 there were 6,000 Jews in Subotica out of a total population of about 100,000, and in addition to the numerous national and local communal organizations in the city there was a small Orthodox (ḥasidic) religious group.

Holocaust Period

When the Hungarian Fascist troops entered the city on April 11, 1941, the only resistance was made by several Jewish youths who threw bombs. Most of them were secretly tried and executed. During the occupation the fate of Subotica Jews was little different from that of Novi Sad and Vojvodina Jewry. They were arrested en masse, placed in an improvised ghetto nearby, transferred to Bacsalmas in old Hungary, and then deported to and murdered at *Auschwitz. The remaining Jews of Novi Sad and smaller places in the Bačka were first gathered in a four-story mill in Subotica – 3,500 people – before being herded into cattle wagons and sent to Poland. After the war the survivors tried to continue communal life. In 1948 about 800 of the remaining Jews left for Israel. The Jewish population of Subotica was approximately 400 in 1970 and 220 in 2004. The synagogue was partially restored and returned to use.

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[Zvi Loker]

SUBSTANCE AND ACCIDENT (Heb. עֶצֶם and מִקְרֶה respectively). According to Aristotle (*Categories*, ch. 5, *Metaphysics*, 5:8), substance is that which is neither predicable of a subject nor present in a subject, e.g., the individual man or horse; accident, something which may possibly either belong or not belong to any one and the selfsame thing (*Topics*, 1:5), e.g., the "sitting position," which may belong or not belong to one and the selfsame thing (the man may be sitting at one time, not sitting at another). Aristotle further distinguishes (*Categories*, ch. 5) between primary substances, such as the individual man or horse, and secondary substances, such as the species "man" and the genus "animal." Accidents occur in nine categories: quantity, quality, relation, place, time, position, possession, action, and affection. This account of substance and accident was generally accepted by medieval Jewish philosophers, as, for example, Abraham ibn Daud (*Emunah Ramah*, 1:1), Joseph ibn Ẓaddik (*Olam Katan*, 1:2), and Joseph Albo (*Sefer ha-Ikkarim*, 2:2).

Maimonides followed Aristotle in his definition of substance as the highest, most inclusive, genus, and of accident as the universal which can be either more general or more limited than the species. Thus, for example, movement in relation to man is more general than the species; blackness is both more limited than the human species, which is not all black, and also more general, since it is found also outside of man. There are two kinds of accidents: one inheres permanently and inseparably in its subject, like the blackness of pitch and the heat of fire; the other is a separable accident, like the standing or sitting of a person (*Millot ha-Higgayon*, 10, tr. by I. Efros, in: PAAJR, 8 (1937–38), 34–65; see also, Samuel ibn Tibbon's glossary to his translation of the *Guide of the Perplexed, Perush me-ha-Millot ha-Zarot*, s.v. *mikreh, sikhut*).

Whether substance and accident are relative or absolute terms forms a significant controversy between Solomon ibn Gabirol and Ibn Daud. Ibn Gabirol holds that some things are substance in one respect and accident in another respect, while Ibn Daud maintains that the same thing cannot be both. For Ibn Daud, since the substance of a thing determines what it is, the selfsame thing cannot both be and not be a substance without being and not being itself simultaneously, which is impossible. In Ibn Gabirol's system, however, the terms substance and accident do not refer to the internal constitution of individual things but to their external relation to each other. It is the relation of things to one another in the hierarchy of emanated substances which determines their relative self-sufficiency, and hence the sense in which they are either substances or accidents.

The distinction between substance and accident also had a bearing on the medieval discussion concerning God and His attributes, for medieval philosophers inquired whether these two notions, derived from an analysis of the created world, were equally applicable to God. In addition, medieval philosophers also distinguished between essential attributes, attributes closely related to the essence, such as existence and unity, and accidental attributes, independent of the essence, such as mercy and anger, and they inquired in what way these attributes may be applied to God.

Saadiah, a representative of Kalām philosophy, investigated in great detail whether substance and each of the accidents can be predicated of God and came to the conclusion that they cannot be (*Book of Belief and Opinions*, 2:8–12). God who created all substances and accidents must be unlike them and, hence, he cannot be described directly by any of them. If terms referring to substances and accidents are applied to both God and creatures, they must be applied to God figuratively. He also held that such terms as living, omnipotent, and omniscient do not introduce any multiplicity into the essence of God: while men use a multiplicity of terms, the properties to which these terms refer are identical with the essence of God (*Book of Beliefs and Opinions*, 2:4). In passing, Saadiah refers to the distinction between essential and active (accidental) attributes (2:12; cf. 2:4), seemingly holding that essential attributes are to be understood as negations, while accidental attributes are to be understood as referring to God's actions. The same position is also held by Baḥya ibn Paquda (*Ḥovot* *ha-Levavot*, 1:10). Judah Halevi, though differing from the Kalām in his overall position, follows this school of thought in his account of attributes. According to him, attributes applied to God must be understood as negations, relations, or actions (*Kuzari*, 2:2).

The question of divine attributes took a new turn with the beginning of the Aristotelian period in Jewish philosophy. The discussion now rested on a distinction between the views of the Islamic philosophers Avicenna and Averroes concerning attributes. Discussing essential attributes, Avicenna held that such attributes are "accidents" superadded to the essence to which they belong, while Averroes maintained that they are contained within that essence. It followed for Avicenna that essential attributes had to be understood as negations, while, for Averroes, they could have a positive meaning. Among Jewish philosophers Maimonides followed Avicenna and Levi b. Gershom, Averroes.

Maimonides inquired (*Guide*, 1:53) whether attributes applied to God can be understood as definitions, parts of definitions, qualities, or relations and came to the conclusion that the attributes can be none of these. Only attributes of action can be applied to God: all accidental attributes must be understood as attributes of action. In another discussion (*Guide*, 1:57–58) he maintained that all essential attributes must be understood as negations. Levi b. Gershom (*Milḥamot Adonai*, 5:3, 12) opposed Maimonides (Avicenna), holding that there exists a similarity between attributes applied to God and creatures, though such attributes (e.g., substance, one, existing, gracious, strong, mighty) are applied to God in a primary and more perfect sense than they are applied to creatures. Ḥasdai Crescas (*Or Adonai*, 1:3, 1–4) agreed with Levi b. Gershom that attributes applied to God can have a positive meaning though he differed from him in his understanding of God and the exact nature of the attributes.

With the decline of Aristotelian philosophy, the distinction between substance and accidents and the relation of these two notions to God and His attributes lost their importance in Jewish philosophy.

See also *Categories; Attributes of *God.

[Jacob Haberman]

SUCCESSION, devolution of the deceased person's property on his legal heirs.

Order of Succession

The Pentateuchal source of the order of succession is "If a man die and have no son, then ye shall cause his inheritance to pass unto his daughter. And if he have no daughter, then ye shall give his inheritance unto his brethren. And if he have no brethren, then ye shall give his inheritance unto his father's brethren. And if his father have no brethren, then ye shall give his inheritance unto his kinsman that is next to him of his family and he shall possess it. And it shall be unto the children of Israel a statute of judgment, as the Lord commanded Moses" (Num. 27:8–11).

Scripture makes no mention of the father inheriting from his son but this is laid down in the Mishnah: "The father has precedence over all his offspring" (BB 8:2). An interpretation that son and daughter inherit like shares in their father's estate – and that Scripture merely indicates that daughters inherit all of the estate in the absence of sons – was raised and rejected in the Talmud (BB 110a–b) and it was confirmed that the daughter only inherits if there is no son (see below). A daughter succeeding to her father's estate was enjoined to marry "only into the family of the tribe of their father… So shall no inheritance of the children of Israel remove from tribe to tribe; for the children of Israel shall cleave everyone to the inheritance of the tribe of his fathers" (Num. 36:6–7; cf. also Philo, Spec. 2:126). In the Book of Tobit (6:10–11) two additional elements were attached to the above law: firstly, the enjoinder that the daughter marry "someone from a clan of her father's tribe" was interpreted as a duty imposed not only on a daughter upon her father's death, but also on the father – if he had no sons – to marry his daughter to one of his kinsmen; secondly, the father's violation of the enjoinder was treated as punishable by death, "according to the law of the Book of Moses" (*ibid.*, 6:13). The sages of the Talmud laid down that the duty of the daughter to marry as above mentioned was applicable only to the particular generation to whom the enjoinder was directed (BB 120a and *Rashbam* ad loc.).

Jewish law has the parentelic system of succession, conferring the right of inheritance on all the kin of the deceased in the agnate (paternal) line of descendancy and ascendancy. Precedence among the heirs is determined, firstly, according to the degree of kinship with the deceased: the first parentela includes the deceased's children and their descendants, to the end of the line; the second includes the deceased's father and his descendants; the third, the father's father and his descendants; and so on in an ascending order – "that the estate may ultimately find its way to Reuben (the eldest son of the Patriarch Jacob)" (BB 8:2; TB, BB 115a–b). The nearer parentela takes precedence over and excludes more distant ones from the inheritance: "the lineal descendants of any one with a priority to succession take precedence" (BB 8:2).

The mother's family is not regarded as kin for the purposes of inheritance and therefore she does not inherit from her sons nor do her brothers or other relatives. Sons do, however, succeed to their mother's estate (BB 8:1). In post-talmudic times the mother too was recognized as a legal heir in a number of *takkanot* (see Gulak, Yesodei, 3 (1922), 94).

Relatives of the deceased, even if born out of wedlock or of an invalid marriage, are his kin and legal heirs for all purposes as if born of a valid marriage, except for the offspring of a bondswoman or a non-Jewess, who take the status of their mother and are not numbered among the father's family (Yev. 2:5; Sh. Ar., ḤM 276:6).

"Inheritance in the Grave" (Yerushah ba-Kever)

According to this principle, the place of a son who predeceases his father is taken by his children in inheriting the portion which he, but for his death, would have inherited (BB 115a; Yad, Naḥalot, 1:3, 5). If the deceased's sole survivors should be a daughter and a son's daughter, the latter will inherit the whole estate since she takes the place of her father to the exclusion of his sister; the Sadducees, however, held the opinion that in such event the inheritance is shared between the deceased's daughter and his granddaughter (BB 115–116a). A son who predeceases his mother "does not inherit from his mother to transmit the [inheritance] to [his] brothers on his father's side" (BB 114b).

Primogeniture

The firstborn son of the father takes a double portion in his estate: "… he shall acknowledge the firstborn,… by giving him a double portion of all that he hath; for he is the firstfruits of his strength; the right of the firstborn is his" (Deut. 21:16–17). The firstborn is entitled to the double portion even if he is a **mamzer.* On the other hand, the law of the firstborn does not apply to daughters who inherit in the absence of sons (Sif. Deut. 215). The firstborn only takes a double portion from the estate of his father and not from that of his mother or any other relative (Yad, Naḥalot, 2:8). If the firstborn predeceases his father, the double share which he would otherwise have inherited from his father's estate is taken by his heirs (Sh. Ar., ḤM 277:15). If the firstborn is born after his father's death (or in the case of twins) he does not receive a double portion (BB 142b).

The inheritance due to the firstborn equals the portions of two ordinary heirs. Thus if the deceased is survived by five sons including the firstborn, the latter takes a third, i.e., two-sixths of the estate, and the other four heirs take one-sixth each; if there are nine sons, the firstborn takes a fifth and each of the others takes one-tenth (Yad, Naḥalot, 2:1).

The portion of the birthright is fixed according to the state of the inheritance at the time of its devolution. Hence it is neither diminished by the birth of another son after the father's death, nor is it increased by the subsequent death of a son (BB 142b). The firstborn only receives a double portion out of the *muḥzakim*, i.e., estate assets already held by the deceased in his possession at the time of his death. With regard to *re'uyim*, i.e., assets contingent to come to the deceased but not held by him at the time of his death, the firstborn takes only the share of an ordinary heir. Hence the firstborn does not take a double portion of an inheritance that accrues to his father after the latter's death, nor of the unrecovered debts owing by others to the latter – whether verbal or witnessed by deed. The firstborn does, however, take a double portion of all such outstanding debts owing to his father as were secured by pledges held by the latter in his possession at the time of his death (Bek. 8:9; Sh. Ar., ḤM 278:7). Just as he takes a double portion, so the firstborn is obliged to defray a double portion of the outstanding debts owed by his deceased father (BB 124a).

The Husband as Heir to His Wife

The husband is heir to his wife and takes precedence over all her other heirs. Opinions are divided in the codes as to whether the husband's right to succeed to his wife's estate stems from the Pentateuchal or the rabbinical law (Yad, Naḥalot 1:8; Sh. Ar., EH 90:1 and *Beit Shemu'el* thereto, n. 1). The husband is heir to his wife even if their marriage was a prohibited one – as for example between a priest and a divorcee (Yad, Naḥalot 1:8) – provided only that they were still married to each other at the time of her death (Tur, EH 90). It does not matter that the husband was planning to divorce his wife, but if he had claimed that his marriage was based on a mistake, for example if he had raised a plea of blemish or defect on the part of his wife, he forfeits his right of inheritance (*Teshuvot Maimoniyyot*, Ishut, no. 35). In explaining this *halakhah* the *aḥaronim* expressed the opinion that although mere admission by the husband concerning his wife's defect does not suffice to dissolve their marriage, yet for the purposes of inheritance the husband's admission is like the testimony of 100 witnesses and therefore upon the death of the wife her husband will not be regarded as one who is heir to his wife's estate (*Ḥelkat Meḥokek*, EH 90, n. 15). According to some scholars, even a *mored* (see *Husband and Wife) or a husband who has refused to cohabit with his wife due to his vow, forfeits his right to inherit her estate (*Rema*, EH 90:5). The husband only inherits the part of his wife's estate in her possession at the time of her death and he does not take her place in inheriting her contingent inheritance (Sh. Ar., EH 90:1). If she became entitled to an inheritance during her lifetime but she died before gaining possession thereof, the inheritance will nevertheless be deemed to have been held by her and it will pass to her husband (Maharashdam, resp. EH no. 98).

The husband's right to inherit his wife's estate proved to be to the detriment of the wife's relatives and heirs since they received nothing at all from her estate. Various *takkanot* accordingly came to be made, aimed at defining the inheritance rights of the wife's heirs and limiting those of her husband. The first of these, dating from the mishnaic period, is known as the *ketubbat benin dikhrin* (i.e., *ketubbah* of male children). In terms thereof the husband inherited his wife's estate, but if the wife predeceased her husband leaving sons from the latter, these sons would upon their father's death inherit her *ketubbah* and dowry in addition to their portions in the estate of their father shared with his other sons. The object of the *takkanah* was "in order that all men might thereby be encouraged to give to a daughter as much as to a son" (Ket. 52b; Sh. Ar., EH 111), i.e., so that the father should not hesitate to give his daughter a large dowry since it would remain in the hands of his descendants and not with his daughter's husband. In geonic times the need for this *takkanah* fell away and it was abolished, since it had anyhow become customary for fathers to give more to their daughters (Tur, EH 111). Later many of the *posekim* sought to revive the validity of this *takkanah* but its abrogation was confirmed by Isserles (*Rema*, EH 111: 16).

In the period of the *rishonim* various *takkanot* were made to limit the husband's right to inherit his wife's estate. In some communities, if the wife died without issue, it became customary for the whole of the dowry given to her upon marriage to be inherited by her father or his heirs, and in other communities for the dowry to be divided between the husband and the wife's heirs on the paternal side (Sh. Ar., EH 118:19; *Teshuvot Maimoniyyot*, Ishut no. 35).

In France and Germany one of the ordinances known as the *takkanat *Shum* (שו"ם – Speyer, Worms, Mainz) came to be widely accepted. The effect thereof was to oblige the husband to return whatever remained of his wife's dowry – save for deduction of burial expenses – to the donor thereof or to her heirs, if she died childless within a year of her marriage; the second part of the ordinance laid down that upon the death of either husband or wife within the second year of their marriage, half of the dowry was to be returned to the heirs of the deceased if there were no surviving children (*Rema*, EH 52:4). In Spain similar *takkanot* were made. The most important of these, the *takkanah* of Toledo, laid down that if the wife was survived by her husband and any children of their marriage, her estate was to be shared equally between them; if there were no surviving children, her estate was to be divided between her husband and those who would have succeeded to her estate had she survived her husband. The object of the *takkanah* was to prevent the entire inheritance of the wife's family from going to her husband, and in this manner the scholars restricted the husband's rights as legal heir to his wife – in the opinion of some of the *posekim* even in accordance with the Pentateuchal law (see above) – and afforded him only one-half of her estate (Rosh, resp. 55:1,6; *Rema*, EH 118:8).

The Wife's Rights to Her Husband's Estate

The wife is not a legal heir to her husband's estate (BB 8:1) but has a number of rights which afford her a share therein and ensure provision for her sustenance and essential needs until her death or remarriage. The *widow receives from the estate her husband's *ketubbah* obligations, the *dowry increment, and her own property brought into the marriage and she is further entitled to maintenance from the husband's estate until her death or remarriage.

Important changes were introduced by the *takkanot* of Toledo and Molina with regard to the widow's rights to the estate of her deceased husband. These had the object of strengthening the hand of the husband's heirs against the widow's claims upon the estate, and laid down that if the husband was survived by any children the wife might claim no more than one-half of the total value of the estate toward payment of her dowry, *ketubbah*, and its increment. Thus the husband's heirs were afforded the option of settling the widow's claims in full – as was usually done when the total amount thereof did not exceed one-half of the estate – or settling her claims by paying her one-half of the value of the estate, even if less than due to her. If there were no children and the widow's claims were directed against the other heirs to her husband's estate, the latter would first return to her whatever remained – in specie, at the time of her husband's death – of the dowry she had brought him, and from the remainder of the estate she would recover her *ketubbah* and its increment in an amount not exceeding one-half of the value of the estate, the option as above mentioned again residing with the heirs (Rosh, resp. 50:9; Sh. Ar., EH 118:1; *Beit Shemu'el* ad loc. no. 1). In a *takkanah* of Castile it was laid down that a wife surviving her husband, without any children of their marriage, might take from the estate everything proved to have been brought by her as a dowry and remaining in specie at the time of her husband's death, and from the rest of the estate one-quarter, with three-quarters going to the husband's heirs (Rashba, resp., vol. 3, no. 432).

Inheritance Rights of Daughters

Since by law sons exclude daughters as heirs (see above), it became necessary to make provision for the support of daughters after the father's death. This was achieved by the scholars through an obligation imposed on the heirs of the deceased to maintain his daughters and by way of giving daughters part of the estate as a dowry.

MAINTENANCE OF DAUGHTERS. The rule is: "If a man died and left sons and daughters, and the property was great, the sons inherit and the daughters receive maintenance; but if the property was small, the daughters receive maintenance and the sons go a-begging" (Ket. 4:6; 13:3; 9:1). By mishnaic times this obligation had become part of the generally accepted law as a *tenai bet din* (i.e., a *takkanah* of the early scholars). Daughters are entitled to maintenance out of the estate of their deceased father until they reach the age of majority, or become betrothed (Ket. 4:11; 53b). Since the daughter's right to maintenance, as distinct from her right to a dowry, stems from the *ketubbah* deed (of her parents), any testamentary instruction of the deceased in deprivation of this right will have no legal validity (Ket. 68b; Sh. Ar., EH 112:10). Daughters only receive maintenance out of the estate of their deceased father if he is survived by sons as well; if the father is survived by daughters only, the latter share his estate – even though any of them be minors – and the question of their maintenance is no longer relevant (Sh. Ar., EH 112:18).

DOWRY. Sons are obliged to give their deceased father's daughters part of his estate as a dowry, as if the father were alive. This obligation is known as *issur nekhasim* (i.e., giving the daughter one-tenth of the estate), in terms whereof an assessment is made of what the father would have given his daughter as a dowry – according to his disposition, gathered from his friends and acquaintances, his transactions and standing – and if this cannot be established by the court, she is given one-tenth of the estate as the *parnasat ha-bat* (i.e., dowry; Sh. Ar., EH 113:1, based on Ket. 68a). According to some scholars, a daughter is also entitled to receive a dowry out of her deceased mother's estate (EH 113:1), but this is disputed by other scholars (*Rema*, EH 113:1). The father may deprive his daughter of a dowry by testamentary instruction since the *parnasat ha-bat* is merely an assessment of the father's disposition (Ket. 68b). Although the daughter's dowry is recoverable at the time of her marriage, the court may earlier decide on what she should be given upon her marriage (*Beit Yosef* and *Darkhei Moshe*, EH 113).

The dowry is regarded as a charge in favor of the daughter on the estate of her father, as at the time of his death, and she may seize from third parties any of the estate assets sold or mortgaged by her brothers. However, debts incurred by the deceased himself, as well as the obligations for the *ketubbah* of his widow and maintenance for the latter and her daughters, take preference over the daughters' dowry (Ket. 69a; Sh. Ar., EH 113: 5, 6).

See also *Parent and Child.

Shetar Ḥaẓi Zakhar

In post-talmudic times it became customary in the Ashkenazi communities for a father to allot to his daughter one-half of a son's share in his estate, for which purpose there was evolved a special deed known as the *shetar ḥaẓi zakhar* ("deed for half of the male child's share"). The deed was written by the father – and sometimes by the mother too (*Naḥalot Shivah*, no. 21, n. 1) – in favor of the daughter or her husband. It was generally written at the time of the daughter's marriage, the father undertaking to pay his daughter a specified sum of money, generally a very high amount, to fall due for payment one hour before his death, with a condition exempting his sons from liability for such debt after his death if they should give the daughter one-half of a son's share in his estate (*Rema*, ḤM 281:7). This development was an important step toward the regulation of the daughters' right of inheritance in Jewish law (for further details see Assaf, bibl.).

Proselytes as Heirs

A proselyte is regarded as a newborn person whose ties of kinship with his family have been severed for inheritance purposes. The scholars ruled, however, that a proselyte may accept an inheritance from his gentile father, lest the loss thereof tempt him to return to his former ways. A proselyte's estate is inherited by sons born after his conversion to the exclusion of his other sons, whether or not proselytized along with himself (Kid. 17b; BB 142a). The estate of a proselyte who dies without any legal heirs may be acquired in the same way as abandoned property, by the firstcomer, who is regarded as an heir for the purposes of estate liabilities in favor of third parties (*Rema*, ḤM 275:28).

Devolution of Inheritance and Renunciation

Upon death the estate passes automatically and immediately into the ownership of the heirs. Hence an heir cannot renounce his share by waiver thereof, since in Jewish law a person cannot waive something that already belongs to him but only that which is yet to come to him, and the heir can only transfer his share in the same way as any other property is transferred through one of the recognized modes for its assignment or alienation (see *Acquisition, Modes of). An exception to this rule is the birthright portion of the firstborn (see above), as distinguished from his ordinary share (Tur, ḤM 278; Sh. Ar.; ḤM 278:10). An heir may, however, abandon his share in the same way as he abandons any of his own property (*Sma*, ḤM 278, no. 27) and a husband's renunciation of his right to his wife's estate is valid if made prior to their marriage, but not thereafter (Ket. 9:1, 83a).

Debts of the Deceased

It is a *mitzvah* for the heirs of the deceased to pay his debts. They will be compelled to do so if they inherit land and, according to a *takkanah* of the *geonim*, the creditor may recover from the heirs even when they inherit movable property. If they inherit both, the heirs prevail if they want payment to be made out of the land rather than the movable property as desired by the creditor (Sh. Ar., ḤM 107:1). For the purposes of her dowry (see above) a daughter takes only from the land left by the deceased, a rule that survived the above-mentioned *takkanah* of the *geonim* (Sh. Ar., EH 113:2).

Payment is always recovered from the poorest quality land (i.e., *ẓibburit*, Sh. Ar., ḤM 108:18). A stipulation by the creditor to recover payment out of the debtor's best (*iddit*) or medium (*beinonit*) land is not binding on the latter's heirs unless this was expressly provided for in the stipulation (*ibid.*; see also *Execution). If the heirs of the deceased inherit nothing from him, they will not be obliged – not even morally – to defray his debts, since they do not have to do so out of their own property (Sh. Ar., ḤM 107:17). An heir is not heard if he should plead, "I do not take nor will I pay" (*Rema*, ḤM 107:1; and Sh. Ar., ḤM 278:10). The heirs are liable for debts of the deceased to the extent that these do not exceed the value of the assets held by the deceased at the time of devolution of the inheritance, his contingent assets (*re'uyim*) being excluded for this purpose (*Rema*, ḤM 104:16). However, a debt due to the deceased is considered part of the assets held by him at the time of his death. Some scholars have explained this special rule on the basis of the extensive development that took place with regard to credit transactions, with creditors coming to rely upon such as upon movable property rather than as contingent assets (Rosh, resp. 36:3), and other scholars have regarded loans due to the deceased as property held by him upon death since the money of the loan had previously been in his possession (*Beit Shemu'el*, EH 100, no. 3).

The creditor recovers his debt from each of the heirs on a pro-rata basis (Tos. to BB 107a s.v. *u-va ba'al ḥov*). A field hypothecated (see *Lien) by the deceased is recovered by the mortgagee from the heir who receives it as part of his share, and he may recoup from the remaining heirs (Sh. Ar., ḤM 175:4). Similarly, if a creditor should experience difficulty when seeking to recover a proportionate share of the debt from each of the heirs, he may recover the whole debt out of the share of any one of them, and that one may recoup from the others (Rosh, resp. 79:7).

A verbal debt (see *Obligations, Law of) is not recoverable from the heirs of the debtor except in the following cases: the debtor had before his death and from his sickbed admitted such indebtedness; the loan was for a fixed period and not yet due for payment; or the debtor had refused to make payment notwithstanding a judgment of the court, maintaining his refusal until death. In each of these three cases the creditor recovers without swearing an oath (Sh. Ar., ḤM 108:11). A debt witnessed by deed is only recoverable after the creditor has sworn that the debt is still outstanding (Sh. At., ḤM 108:17). If the heir should plead that he was left no property by the deceased and the creditor plead with certainty that the deceased did leave property, the heir will be exempted from liability upon taking the equitable *oath (*shevu'at hesset*; Sh. Ar., ḤM 107:2). A creditor holding a bond of indebtedness with a credency (*ne'emanut*) clause in his favor (see **Shetar*) will not be exempted from delivering an oath when seeking to recover from the debtor's heirs unless he was so exempted expressly with reference to the debtor and his heirs (Sh. Ar., ḤM 71:14–17). In case of a similar clause in favor of the debtor with regard to a plea of payment of the bond, the creditor will not be entitled to recover from the former's heirs on such bond (Sh. Ar., ḤM 71:21).

Debts of the deceased are not recoverable from his heirs as long as they are minors regardless of any clause whatever stipulated in the bond of indebtedness, lest contradictory evidence come to light (*ibid.*, 108:3). However, in the three events mentioned above in which a verbal debt of the deceased is recoverable from his heirs, his debts will be recoverable from the minor orphans too (*ibid.*). The court has the discretion to allow debts to be recovered from the minor orphans if this be to their advantage, e.g., because the creditor is prepared to waive part of the debt in return for recovering the balance forthwith (*Rema*, ḤM 110:1), and the minor heirs may also be recovered from when they are liable to a penalty for nonpayment on due date (*Siftei Kohen*, ḤM 110, no. 3). If some of the heirs are majors the creditor recovers from them pro-rata to their share in the estate. For the purpose of division of the estate the court will appoint a guardian for the minor (Sh. Ar., ḤM 110:1).

Commorientes

Where two persons die at or about the same time and it is unknown who died first, the rights of their heirs are determined in accordance with the following order of priority: If one of the claimants is a "certain" heir – i.e., whatever the sequence of the deaths – and the other a "doubtful" heir – i.e., only upon a particular sequence of death – the former claimant excludes the latter and takes all (*Rashbam*, BB 158b); if both claimants are doubtful heirs they take equal shares of the inheritance (Yev. 38a; Yad, Naḥalot 5:5); if one of the claimants is kin to the deceased himself and the other has become entitled through the death of a relative who is kin to the deceased, the former claimant takes all in both cases (Yad, Naḥalot 5:6), for the reason that the inheritance is not to be diverted from the kin of the deceased unless this is warranted by proof of a particular sequence of deaths (see M. Silberg, *Ha-Ma'amad ha-Ishi be-Yisrael* (1965), 314–22).

On the inheritance of public offices, see **Mishpat Ivri*; *Public Authority; on the inheritance rights of apostates, see *Apostasy (Family Law).

In the State of Israel

Matters of inheritance are governed by the Succession Law, 5725 – 1965, the provisions whereof accord with Jewish law in a number of respects and digress therefrom in others. Thus, as in Jewish law, the law lays down, inter alia, that children born out of wedlock and even *mamzerim* are included among the heirs (sec. 3 (c)). The Jewish law principles with reference to commorientes (see above) were adopted virtually without change. On the other hand the law differs from the traditional approach in laying down that the line of succession ends with the grandparents and their descendants, whereafter the state succeeds, and that both husband and wife are in the line of succession to each other. So too the law recognizes no distinction between sons and daughters, between the paternal and maternal lines (sec. 10), nor does it mention the double portion of the firstborn. (On the question of the absorption of Jewish law in these matters, see Elon, bibl.). An important principle incorporated in the law is that of the widow's right to maintenance out of the estate; unlike Jewish law, this right is extended to other relatives of the deceased besides the widow and daughter, and is also wider in scope (secs. 57, 58).

See also *Apotropos; *Wills.

[Shmuel Shilo]

In the Regulations of the Chief Rabbinate of Israel

In 1943 the first steps were taken to promulgate regulations by the Chief Rabbinate to provide for equal distribution of a decedent's estate between sons and daughters, and between husband and wife. The Mandatory Succession Ordinance of 1923 provided that, where a person died intestate, and owned land classified as *miri* at the time of his death, the provisions of the Ordinance – mandating an equal distribution to sons and daughters, to the man and the woman – were binding upon the religious courts as well. The Israeli rabbinical courts complied with this Ordinance, but it was difficult to anchor this custom in the rule of *dina de'malkhuta dina* (see **Dina de-Malkhuta Dina*), insofar the majority of halakhic decisors ruled that *dina de-malkhuta dina* does not apply to matters of inheritance. Thus, the rabbinical courts adopted an approach whereby the equal distribution was carried out on the basis of the agreement of both parties, entered into with a *kinyan*, to distribute the estate in a manner differing from the manner prescribed by Torah. (The rabbinical courts act in this fashion today as well, unless the parties have agreed that the rabbinical court adjudicate according to the rules set forth in Torah, pursuant to Section 155 of the Succession Law.)

In 1943, regulations were enacted setting forth the procedural rules in the rabbinic courts. Sections 182 and 183 of the regulations provide that, regarding *miri* land – the rabbinic court is to rule pursuant to the Succession Ordinance. Thus, the rabbinical courts accepted the regulations set forth in the Succession ordinance regarding certain portions of the inheritance as binding upon the parties by force of the Chief Rabbinate's regulations, and not only by force of rabbinical acquiescence de facto to an arrangement based on an authority external to the rabbinical court. However, the incorporation provisions of the Succession ordinance should not be understood as a halakhic-normative provision that henceforth, Jewish Law mandates equal rights in the distribution of an estate between the sons and the daughters, and husbands and wives – i.e. as a substantive change in the laws of succession in Jewish law.

An attempt to make that substantive change in Jewish Law was made by Chief Rabbi Isaac Herzog in the years preceding the establishment of the State of Israel, and in the first years thereafter. Rabbi Herzog proposed that the Chief Rabbinate, together with the other prominent rabbis of that generation, should enact regulations regarding inheritance to provide for equal distribution of the inheritance between sons and daughters. His suggestion was that, at the time of the parents' marriage, a condition should be written in the *ketubbah* stating that the distribution of the "*estate*" (and not "the inheritance") be carried out in such a manner that the daughter would "receive" (and not "inherit") an equal share with the son, so long as she is unmarried, rather than only a tenth of the assets. Rabbi Herzog assumed that, if such regulations were enacted, the rabbinic courts would be conferred jurisdiction to adjudicate matters of inheritance, whereas without such regulations – and insofar as the rabbinic courts would rule according to the Shulḥan Arukh – the Knesset would revoke the jurisdiction of the rabbinical courts over this issue and possibly over other issues relating to personal status. Rabbi Herzog hoped that, after promulgating these enactments, it would be possible to introduce a legislative proposal before the Knesset for the enactment of a Succession Law based on Jewish law. Beyond these considerations, Rabbi Herzog believed that such enactments were necessary as a substantive matter as well, just as he believed that enactments (*takkanot*) should be promulgated in many other areas. In view of the changes that had occurred in society over the course of time, as a result of which women were insisting upon their rights and demanding equality, it was the duty of the rabbinate to make efforts to find a solution that would address the feelings of women that they were discriminated against by Jewish Law. Rabbi Herzog proposed the promulgation of similar enactments regarding the inheritance of the eldest son and the inheritance by the husband of his wife's holdings. It should be emphasized that his proposals were based on halakhically acceptable measures and earlier regulations that had been promulgated in these matters.

Like Rabbi Herzog, Rabbi Ben Zion Meir Ḥai Ouziel, his Sephardi counterpart in the Chief Rabbinate, believed that equal distribution of the parents' property among sons and daughters could be provided for at the time of the marriage of the parents, through a will. Rabbi Herzog's proposals for rabbinical enactments were not accepted by the other members of the Chief Rabbinate Council, and the proposed enactments never proceeded beyond the "proposal" stage.

Regulations Promulgated by the Moroccan Sages in the Mid-Twentieth Century

In the 1950s, proposals were raised before the Rabbinical Council of Morocco, regarding the promulgation of regulations to equate the status of daughters and sons. The reasons invoked by the Moroccan sages to justify such regulations were the changes that had occurred over time in the general outlook and in the situation, status and role of women, which was equal to that of men in the workplace and in terms of earning a livelihood. The regulatory proposal included a grant of equality to married women as well as unmarried women, representing a novel approach in comparison to the regulations that had been promulgated throughout the ages in this regard. These proposals were never promulgated as regulations, because shortly after this proposal was raised, Morocco gained political independence and the rabbinic courts' jurisdiction over questions of personal status was revoked. Nevertheless, these proposals of the Moroccan Rabbinical Council are instructive regarding the approach of the North African sages to the promulgation of regulations in our time, as opposed to the stricter approach, limiting halakhic creativity, adopted by the Ashkenazi sages since the time of the Emancipation in Europe (see **Takkanot*).

[Menachem Elon (2nd ed.)]

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SUCCOTH (Heb. סֻכּוֹת; "booths"), name of two places mentioned in the Bible.

(1) A locality in the Jordan Valley; according to the etiological explanation in Genesis 33:17, it was named after the booths for cattle erected there by Jacob. It belonged to the kingdom of Sihon, from whom it passed to the tribe of Gad (Josh. 13:27). The city refused to aid Gideon in his pursuit of the Midianites and was consequently punished when he returned victorious; in this narrative it is also related that the city had 77 elders and there was apparently a high standard of literacy among its inhabitants (Judg. 8). It is mentioned with Zarethan as the metallurgic center where the brass vessels of the Temple were cast (I Kings 7:46; II Chron. 4:17, as Zeredah). According to Yadin, Succoth should be read in place of "booths" in II Samuel 1:11 and I Kings 20:12, 16. In his view, it served as David's secondary strategic center during his assault on Rabbath-Ammon and on the *Arameans; hence the reference to it in the Victory Psalm (Ps. 60:8; 108:8). Also according to Yadin's reading, it served as a base for *Ben-Hadad during his unsuccessful assault on Samaria. Succoth is identified in the Talmud (TJ, Shev. 9:2, 38d) with Ter'ela, the present-day Tell Deir ʿAllā to the north of the junction of the Jabbok and the Jordan. Excavations carried out at the site by a Dutch expedition under H.J. Franken revealed a settlement dating from about the 15th century B.C.E. to the period of the monarchy. A Late Bronze Age sanctuary discovered there was destroyed in the early 12th century, as dated by an Egyptian cartouche of the late 19th Dynasty. Unique and still undeciphered clay tablets were found in this level. In the levels of the Israelite period, traces of metallurgic industries were found, in accordance with biblical tradition.

(2) The second station of the Israelites, located between Rameses and Etham, on the route of the Exodus (Ex. 12:37; 13:20; Num. 33:5, 6). In Egyptian texts the name occurs as *t-k-w*. The favored identification is with Tell Maskhūṭa, a border fortress in the eastern part of Wadi Ṭumaylāt (the biblical land of Goshen, west of the Bitter Lakes).

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[Michael Avi-Yonah]

SUCCOTH-BENOTH (Heb. סֻכּוֹת־בְּנוֹת; LXX, *Socchôth/bainith/benithei/banitha, Rochchôthbaineithei*), unidentified deity worshiped by the Babylonians who were settled in Samaria after the fall of the Northern Kingdom (c. 722 B.C.E.; II Kings 17:30). Succoth-Benoth is a corrupted form of the name of a popular Babylonian god or goddess. A theory based on the Septuagint rendering proposes to identify Succoth-Benoth as *Sarpanītu*, Marduk's consort, popularly known as *Zêr-banitu*, "creative seed." Another theory sees in Succoth-Benoth the Babylonian *SAG. KU* (Ninurta?), as in Amos 5:26.

See also Sikkuth and *Chiun.

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SUCEAVA (Ger. **Suczawa**), town in Suceava province, Bukovina, N. Romania; formerly capital of Moldavia, from 1774 to the end of World War I under Austria. Jews lived there from the beginning of the 18th century. In 1774 there were 50 Jewish families (209 persons) living in the town. Although the Jews were oppressed by the Austrian authorities, their number increased as a result of immigration from Galicia and Russia. In 1782, 92 Jews were expelled from Suceava, the authorities claiming that they were unable to pay the taxes. Representatives of Suceava Jewry took an active part in the struggle of the Jews of Bukovina against the oppressions of the Austrian authorities. There were 160 Jewish families in Suceava in 1791, and 272, with the Jews in the vicinity, according to data of 1817. After 1848 their numbers increased rapidly, and the Jewish population numbered 3,750 (37.1%) in 1880; 6,787 in 1901; and 8,000 on the outbreak of World War I. With the advent of Romanian rule, many Jews moved to *Chernovtsy and other places; 3,496 Jews remained in 1930.

The communal institutions included a Jewish school, opened in 1790. A large synagogue was erected at the beginning of the 19th century. Jews also prayed in many *battei midrash* and a number of houses of prayer (*kloysen*). Ḥasidic influence in the community was strong. Zionist activity had been initiated during the Ḥibbat Zion period and an organization of Zionist students existed in Suceava before the First Zionist Congress. A number of smaller Jewish communities were affiliated to the Suceava community until they became independent. Jews engaged in the trade of liquor, wine, and beer. The cultural orientation was German. Jews played important roles in both municipal and national political life.

Holocaust and Contemporary Periods

The local Jews were persecuted by the Nazi German and Romanian authorities between 1940 and 1941. When deported to *Transnistria in 1941, they numbered 3,253. Only 27 remained in the town.

After World War II, when northern Bukovina was annexed by the Soviet Union, many Jews from Chernovtsy and other places in northern Bukovina who arrived in Suceava chose to remain there. Their numbers rose to 4,000 and community life was active during that period. The number of Jews subsequently declined as a result of emigration to Israel and other places. In 1971, there were still about 290 Jewish families in the town and Jewish life was maintained to a limited degree. Prayers were held in the central synagogue and a number of other places.

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[Yehouda Marton]

SUEDFELD, GABRIEL (1799–1872), private scholar, tutor, Hebrew writer; father of Max *Nordau. Born in Krotoszyn, he studied at the Lissa Yeshivah; although ordained, he never practiced as a rabbi. He became a follower of the Haskalah and published in the journal *Bikkurei ha-Ittim*, yet he remained strictly religious. After studying at the universities of Berlin and Breslau, he was a tutor in the households of *S.J. Rapoport in Prague, Rabbi M. *Schreiber (Sofer) in Pressburg, and the Fischhof family in Buda. Suedfeld eventually settled in Pest, where he earned a meager living teaching Hebrew and German. A master of the three classical languages, Hebrew, Greek, and Latin, Suedfeld also knew German, French, and Italian. He wrote philosophical and linguistic studies in Hebrew, as well as poetry, both original and translations, and miscellaneous prose in German. His Hebrew writings include *Aḥuzzat Mere'im* (1825), and *Reḥovot ha-Be'ur* (1850), a German translation of Ecclesiastes, with Hebrew commentary.

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[Gedalyah Elkoshi / Archiv Bibliographia Judaica (2nd ed.)]

SUESS, EDUARD (1831–1914), Austrian geologist and politician. Suess was born in London, the son of a Christian father and a Jewish mother, but spent most of his life in Austria. He became an assistant at the Hofmuseum in Vienna in 1852, and five years later joined the staff of the University of Vienna, where he held the chair of geology from 1867 to 1901. While his early specialty was invertebrate paleontology, once he began teaching at the university, he devoted himself mainly to geology. His study of the formation of the Alps, *Die Entstehung der Alpen*, appeared in 1875, but his great work was *Das Antlitz der Erde* (4 vols., 1885–1907; *Face of the Earth*, 1904–09), which had a major influence on modern geotectonics. Investigating geological, geographical, and historical sources from all countries, Suess was – and remains – the only researcher ever to master singlehandedly the regional geological literature of the entire world.

A liberal in politics, Suess was elected to the provincial diet of Lower Austria in 1869, and for over 30 years from 1873 was a deputy for Vienna in the lower house of the Austrian parliament. He was president of the Austrian Academy of Sciences from 1898 to 1911. Although he always declared that he was not a Jew, he was a member of the Austrian association for defense against antisemitism.

[Leo Picard]

SUESSKIND VON TRIMBERG (c. 1200–1250), German minstrel (*Minnesaenger*), identified as "Suesskind the Jew of Trimberg" and portrayed wearing a beard and a Jew's hat in the 14th-century Manesse Codex, which preserves six Middle High German lyrics ascribed to this otherwise unknown poet. In one of these lyrics, the *Minnesaenger* claims that since he has fallen out of grace with the lords, he will take up life in the manner of old Jews. These few lines, a variation of the conventional *Armutsklage* or minstrel's lament of his poverty, have given rise to much speculation about Suesskind's Jewishness and even about an alleged influence of biblical and rabbinical literature on his lyrics.

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°SUETONIUS (Caius Suetonius Tranquillus; c. 69–140 C.E.), Roman biographer. Suetonius' "*Lives of the Caesars*" (*De Vita Caesarum*) yields a good deal of information on the Jews under the Julio-Claudian and Flavian emperors. Details which do not occur elsewhere are his observations on the mourning by the Jews after the murder of *Julius Caesar (*Divus Iulius*, 84), the negative attitude of *Augustus to Judaism (*Divus Augustus*, 93), the anecdote about *Tiberius and the Jewish grammarian Diogenes on the island of Rhodes (*Tiberius*, 32), and the account of the interrogation of a Jewish nonagenarian in connection with the Jewish tax under *Domitian (*Domitianus*, 12). He mentions (contradicted by Dio) Claudius' expulsion of the Jews from Rome because of a riot caused by a certain Chrestus: this seems to constitute a reference to the early diffusion of Christianity. He also refers to Josephus' prediction that Vespasian would become emperor. While Suetonius' attitude toward Christianity is clearly derogatory (*Nero*, 16), he refrains from expressing an opinion on Judaism, and similarly does not explicitly censure the spread of Oriental cults in Rome. Suetonius, however, was closely attached to his ancestral Roman religion, and he stresses the negative attitude of Augustus, his ideal ruler, toward the Jewish and Egyptian cults equally. The general impression one gains of his attitude is that foreign cults are associated with unworthy emperors.

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[Menahem Stern]

SUFFERING. The presence of suffering in the world poses a problem for religion insofar as it seems to contradict the notion of an all powerful benevolent God. It would seem that if God were good, He would not want His creatures to suffer, and if, all powerful, He would be able to prevent their suffering. Judaism has attempted to cope with the problem of suffering in various ways. The Bible is from the very beginning aware of suffering as a characteristic of human existence (Gen. 3:19; Job 5:7), as is rabbinic Judaism (PR 189b). In kabbalistic doctrine the existence of the world and man as distinct from God by definition entails the pain of separation from God. A similar position is taken by Leibnitz when he defines suffering in the "best of all possible worlds" as a necessary feature of finiteness, and Paul *Weiss when he says "No matter how good and concerned God might be, there is always metaphysical evil to mark the fact that the universe is not God and God not the universe" (N. Glatzer (ed.), *The Dimensions of Job* (1969), 193).

Philosophical Explanations

Some religious philosophies overcome suffering by denying either its importance (Stoicism) or its reality (Spinoza), or by seeking release from existence in the world (Buddhism). A certain other-worldly emphasis is also characteristic of certain types of Christian thought. Augustine formulated the classic philosophical view of evil which states that since everything that exists must have been created by God and must be good, evil is not an existent but is merely privation, i.e., the absence of good. This essentially neoplatonic doctrine also has a long tradition in Jewish philosophy, Maimonides being among those who adopted this view (*Guide of the Perplexed*, 3:8–25). While he does not deny that suffering does exist, he believes that the particular evils which befall one are for the good of the universe as a whole. He opposes the doctrine that the innocent sometimes suffer in order to be rewarded in the **olam ha-ba*, holding that all suffering is punishment for priorly committed sins (*Guide*, 24). Among modern Jewish philosophers, Buber holds that evil is really only a "turning away" from the good toward "nothingness." He adhered to this view even after the Holocaust, explaining that there is a turning away that is so far gone that it can never be turned back (M. Buber, *Good and Evil*, 1952). Judaism in its nonphilosophic form acknowledges the utter reality of evil and suffering. Indeed, God Himself is often described as suffering with man. Man is challenged to remedy suffering wherever it can be remedied, and to endure it without complaining wherever it is irremediable. M. Bred in *Heidentum, Christentum, Judentum* (2 vols., 1921) considers the attitude toward suffering the major distinguishing factor between Judaism and Christianity.

Compassion for the Suffering of Others

Judaism demands that man extend active sympathy toward the suffering of others. So that it may be remediable, the essence of suffering must be perceived not in death or natural catastrophes but in illness and poverty. "The poor are God's people," and they exist so that others may help others out of their poverty (BB 10a). Man is admonished to share in the suffering of the community and not enjoy himself while others are suffering (Ta'an. 11a). The historic Jewish penchant for medicine and social reform may have its source in the biblical and rabbinic attitude toward suffering. It is forbidden, according to Jewish law, to inflict suffering on animals (*ẓa'ar ba'alei ḥayyim*; BM 32a; Ex. 20:10). With the coming of the Messiah, illness, poverty, and even death will be abolished (Ex. R. 46:4).

Punishment and Purification

The primary traditional explanation of suffering is that it constitutes punishment for sin: "When a man sees that he is being chastised let him examine his ways" (Ber. 5a; Sanh. 27b). There is a didactic element in this explanation insofar as it encourages man to refrain from sin in order to avoid suffering. However, it is difficult to uphold this explanation in the face of the suffering of the innocent and the prosperity of the wicked (Jer. 19:1, Eccles. 7:15, Job). One way of coping with the moral imbalance in the world is to formulate a doctrine of *reward and punishment in the *afterlife. Another explanation of the existence of suffering is that it is a process of purification. The Talmud terms such suffering "afflictions of love" (*yissurin shel ahavah*). Suffering was thought to be the ultimate form of divine purification leading to *unio mystica* (A. Rote, *Shomer Emunim*, 1 (1959), 111a, ch. 8). Nevertheless there is room within Judaism for protest to be leveled at God when suffering is thought to be undeserved. Among those who reproached God for inflicting suffering unjustly were *Abraham, *Job, and *Ḥoni ha-Me'aggel, and *Levi Isaac of Berdichev. The *Holocaust has in the 20th century aroused much concern with the problem of suffering.

See also *Good and Evil; *Reward and Punishment.

[Steven S. Schwarzschild]

SUFISM (Ar. **Taṣawwuf**). The Arabic form *Taṣawwuf* is the name by which Islamic mysticism has been known since the early 9th century C.E. and to which many paths (*ṭarīqa*, pl. *ṭuruq*) and individuals still adhere today. The name derives, most probably, from *ṣūf*, wool, and refers to the rough woolen garment (*jubbat ṣūf*) with which ascetics, mystics, and prophets have been associated since biblical times. Sufis themselves prefer to point to another derivation: the root *ṣ-f-w*, which, in various verbal forms, denotes "purity" (*ṣafā*) and "[divine] choice" (*ṣafwa, iṣṭifā*). In their self-appraisal Sufis see these latter principles as more crucial than ascetic practices such as wearing wool. Primarily, Sufis see themselves as seekers (*murīdūn*) and wayfarers (*sālikūn*) on the path to God. The search for God (*irāda*, *ṭalab*) and the wayfaring (*sulūk*) on the path (*ṭarīq*) involve a gradual inner and ethical transformation through a number of stages or stations (*maqāmāt*). These include repentance (*tawba*), scrupulous performance of the divine commandments (*wara'*), abstention (*zuhd*), poverty (*faqr*), perseverance (*ṣabr*), trust in God (*tawakkul*) and surrender (*riḍā*). Although some of these stations are ascetical in nature, their primary functions are ethical, psychological and educational: they are designed as a means for combating the lower-self (*mujāhadat al-nafs*) and as a tool for its training and education (*riyāḍat al-nafs*). The lower-self (*nafs*), being the seat of personal will and desire, is seen as the main obstacle for attaining God. In order to combat and train the lower-self, Sufis practice fasting (*ṣawm*), food and drink deprivation (*jū*ʿ), wakefulness at night for the recitation of koranic passages (*qiyām al-layl*), periods of seclusion (*khalawāt*), roaming uninhabited places in states of poverty and deprivation, and lengthy meditations (*murāqaba, jam' al-hamm*). The effortful path of self-denial and transformation through gradual stages (*maqāmāt*) is interwoven with effortless mystical experiences (*aḥwāl*). These are seen as spontaneous and intense inner occurrences in which divine truths are revealed to the heart (*qalb*, *sirr*). They portray the dynamic and ecstatic aspect of the mystical life and are richly depicted in Sufi literature, poetry and vocabulary. The culmination of the mystical states is the self-absorption, or annihilation (*fanāʾ*) in God. Mystical experiences often produce states of ecstasy (*wajd*) and drunkenness (*sukr*), which may result in the exclamation of poetic verses, uncontrollable utterances, involuntary bodily movements, fainting and even death. The ecstatic exclamations (*shaṭaḥāt*) are at times shocking and seemingly blasphemous. The most notorious among the latter are attributed to Abū Yazīd al-Bisṭāmī (d. ca. 875) and to Manṣūr al-Ḥallāj. One of the most traumatic events in the history of Sufism is associated with the ecstatic utterances of al-Ḥallāj, in particular his "I am the Truth" (*anā al-ḥaqq*), for which, among other accusations, he was publicly executed in *Baghdad in the year 922.

For their proper training Sufi seekers are urged to put themselves under the guidance of a master (*murshid*, *shaykh*). Spiritual masters are revered men, and occasionally women, who constitute a "sacred hierarchy" and are known as "the Friends of God (*awliyāʾ allāh*). These are the protagonists of many edifying stories, recorded in Sufi compilations, which narrate of their miraculous acts (*karāmāt al-awliyāʾ*). The master directs the disciples in religious, ethical, psychological, and spiritual matters, including the interpretation of their dreams, perplexities and mystical experiences. Under the guidance of the master, or his deputy, the disciples perform the ritual known as "Remembrance of God" (*dhikr allāh*), in which God's names, as well as certain sacred formulae, are invoked repeatedly. Another practice that is often associated with Sufism is the spiritual concert, or "listening," *samāʿ*, in which poetic recitations, music and dances are performed by the participants, sometimes in states of ecstasy and elation.

The early Sufi circles of the 9th–11th centuries became the *nuclei* for the large Sufi Paths, or Brotherhoods (*ṭarīqa, ṭuruq*), which emerged from the 12th century on. The Brotherhoods are named after their believed founders, who had passed the teaching down to their disciples; they, in turn, pass it on to their own disciples in an uninterrupted "chain of transmission" (*silsila*). Currently, in spite of the general decline of Sufism due to disapproval from both modernists and fundamentalists, Sufi Brotherhoods and their local branches are still active throughout the Muslim world, as well as in the West. At present, as in the past, Sufism is an important factor in the spread of Islam, especially among Western seekers.

In the Middle Ages, especially in Muslim *Spain and later on in *Egypt, Sufism left its mark on some Jewish pietistic writers and circles. The most popular Sufi-inspired Jewish work, written in *Judeo-Arabic in 11th-century Saragossa, is *Baḥya ibn Paquda's "The Duties of the Heart" (*Ḥovot ha-Levavot*). In Egypt, Sufism was highly regarded by the Pietist Circle of the Egyptian ḥasidim and their masters, in particular R. Abraham *Maimonides and his descendants, who saw in Sufi practices the continuation of biblical prophetic traditions.

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[Sara Sviri (2nd ed.)]

SUGAR, SIR ALAN (1947–), British businessman. Born in north London, the son of an East End tailor, Sugar left school at 16 and founded the Armstrad Home Electronics group in 1968. It became nationally known in 1983 when it sold the first inexpensive home computer, retailing at the time at £300. In the 1980s Armtrad was regarded as a serious competitor for other major international computer firms like Apple, but in the 1990s the firm ran into difficulties, and in 1997 it was divided into two separate concerns, Betacom and Viglen. In the early 1990s Sugar became the chief owner of the Tottenham Hotspur football club. Known for his aggressive style, Sugar was given a knighthood in 1999. In 2005 he became host of a popular BBC television series, U.K. Apprentice. In 2005 he was estimated to have been the 55th richest man in Britain, worth £760 million.

[William D. Rubinstein (2nd ed.)]

SUGAR INDUSTRY AND TRADE. In the Middle Ages sugar was a luxury article, and sugar for European consumption was produced in Syria, Palestine, Crete, Egypt, Sicily, and southern Spain. The Cairo **Genizah* records reveal that making and selling sugar from sugarcane was one of the most common occupations of Jews in the Middle Ages; Sukkari was a common family appellation from the beginning of the 11th until the end of the 13th centuries in Egypt and in North Africa. Sugar refineries were often in Jewish hands. Jews are mentioned as exporters of sugar from Crete in the 15th century. When sugar began to be used for everyday consumption (15th century), *Marranos played a leading role in introducing sugarcane cultivation to the Atlantic islands of Madeira, the Azores, the Cape Verde Islands, and São Tomé and Príncipe in the Gulf of Guinea, and in the 16th century to the Caribbean Islands. They also brought the cultivation of sugarcane from Madeira to America, and the first great proprietor of plantations and sugar mills, Duarte Coelho Pereira, allowed numerous Jewish experts on sugar processing to come to Brazil. Among them was one of the first important Jewish proprietors of sugar mills, Diego Fernandes.

In Europe Marranos who were active in international commerce, such as the merchant family of Ximenes, played an important role in the import of sugar to Lisbon and thence to northwestern Europe, especially *Antwerp. During the 16th and the beginning of the 17th centuries there were many Jews among the merchants of Antwerp, the Portuguese colony, which was central to the sugar trade in the port and played a vital part in the development of Antwerp as the central European sugar market, where many refineries were established. They made Brazil, where several Portuguese Jews had established sugar plantations and mills, the most important area of sugar production in the world. From around the 1620s *Amsterdam took the place of Antwerp in the sugar trade, and many Marranos left Brazil and Portugal to settle in Amsterdam. Some Jews (e.g., Abraham and Isaac *Pereire and David de Aguilar) owned refineries in Amsterdam. In 1639 ten of the 166 "*engenhos*" in Dutch Brazil belonged to declared Jews, while others belonged to Marranos who kept their Jewishness secret. The Jews of Brazil were not important as proprietors of mills but rather as financial agents, brokers, and export merchants. When Brazil came again under Portuguese rule in the second half of the 17th century, many Jews emigrated to Surinam, Barbados, Curaçao, and Jamaica, where they acquired large sugarcane plantations and became the leading entrepreneurs in the sugar trade. Benjamin d'Acosta introduced sugarcane to Martinique in 1655, bringing with him 900 Jews (who were expelled in 1683). Sugar production was introduced into South Africa in the 1840s by Aaron de Pass of Natal. From the beginning of the 17th century Hamburg played a growing role in the European sugar trade – to a considerable extent thanks to the activities of the Marranos who had settled there. Early in the 18th century Portuguese Jews lost their leading position in the sugar trade, in Hamburg because of the growth of competition, and in Brazil because of persecutions of the Marranos and the general decline of the trade in that country. In the first half of the 18th century, London gradually ousted Amsterdam as the center of the sugar trade; at the same time the role of the Jews became less important.

Jews also played a leading role in the development of the sugar-beet industry in Poland, Russia, the Ukraine, Hungary, and Bohemia. In eastern Europe Jews were the traditional buyers of agricultural produce from the estates and often leased the local refinery and mill from the landowners. Requests by Polish Jews to erect sugar refineries were turned down by the authorities in 1816, 1827, 1834, and 1837. Finally, Hermann Epstein built his first refinery in 1838 and by 1852 his was the largest and most modern in Poland. He was joined by L. *Kronenberg and other leading Polish Jewish industrialists and financiers. In the Ukraine Israel *Brodsky first helped finance Count Bobrinski, pioneer of Russian sugar-beet, and later he and his sons established numerous refineries. Other Jews entered this field (such as M. Halperin and M. Sachs) until, by 1872, one-quarter of the total sugar production in Russia was in Jewish hands. In 1914, 86 refineries in Russia (32% of the total) were owned by Jews; 42.7% of the administrators of the joint-stock sugar companies were Jewish, and two-thirds of the sugar trade was in Jewish hands. The percentage of Jewish workers, managers, technicians, and scientists employed in the field was correspondingly high. Between the two world wars, Jews in Poland were squeezed out of the sugar trade through the antisemitic economic policy. In Hungary a pioneering role in the development of the sugar-beet industry was played by Ignac Deutsch; his grandson Sándor de Hatvany Deutsch (1852–1913; see *Hatvany-Deutsch family) enlarged the firm and represented Hungary at international sugar conferences.

[Hans Pohl / Henry Wasserman]

In Israel

In the early 1950s two sugar-beet refineries were established in Afula and Kiryat Gat, both for economic reasons and for social considerations, such as providing employment in development areas. Sugar-beet production grew from 21,000 tons in 1955 to a peak of 295,000 in 1965 (when 37,000 tons of sugar were produced). In 1969 only 22,500 tons of sugar were produced (18% of consumption) because low international prices led to decreased profits for growers and benefits for the economy. Since that time Israel's sugar industry has continued to decline, though in 2006 Tate & Lyle formed a joint venture with Gadot Biochemicals to build and operate a sugar plant in Israel.

[Zeev Barkai]

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SUGERMAN, SIR BERNARD (1904–1976), Australian judge. Born in Sydney, the son of a salesman, Sugerman was educated at Sydney University and was a lecturer there on property law before becoming the first editor of the *Australian Law Journal* from 1927 to 1946. After a career at the bar (Sugerman became a KC in 1943), he was appointed to the Commonwealth Court of Conciliation in 1946–47 and then served as head of the New South Wales Land and Valuation Court from 1947 to 1961. He served as a member of the Supreme Court of New South Wales from 1961 to 1970 and was then president of the New South Wales Court of Appeal from 1970 until his death. He was knighted in 1970. Sugerman was active in many Jewish causes in Sydney.

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[William D. Rubinstein (2nd ed.)]

°SUGIHARA, CHIUNE-SEMPO (1900–1985), Japanese diplomat in World War II and Righteous Among the Nations. Sugihara served as consul-general of Japan in Kaunas (Kovno), Lithuania, from the fall of 1939 until August 31, 1940, when, after Lithuania's annexation to the Soviet Union, the Soviet authorities ordered all foreign legations closed. Before that, in early August, Sugihara was approached by a delegation of Jewish refugees from Poland, headed by Dr. Zeraḥ *Warhaftig, with a request for Japanese transit visas. These, Warhaftig explained, were needed in order for his group of people to acquire Soviet transit visas on their way, via Japan, to the distant Carribean island of Curacao – in the mistaken belief that no end visa was required for this island, under control of the Dutch government-in-exile. Staying in Lithuania meant for the refugees the prospect of having the Soviet authorities force them back to Poland, presently under German occupation. Sugihara asked for a few days to consider the request in the light of instructions from his superiors not to issue visas on a mass scale as well as to make sure that refugees would not prolong their stay in Japan on their way to a final destination. Recalling that momentous event years after the war, Sugihara related the struggle in his mind as he tried to come to a decision. "I really had a difficult time, and for two whole nights was unable to sleep. I eventually decided to issue transit visas.… I could not allow these people to die, people who had come to me for help with death staring them in the eyes. Whatever punishment might be imposed upon me, I knew I had to follow my conscience." Having decided positively, on August 10, 1940, Sugihara began issuing Japanese transit visas to anyone requesting them, the numbers reaching several thousand in an operation that continued to the day of Sugihara's departure from Kaunas at the end August for a different assignment. The visa recipients, which included hundreds of yeshivah students (notably those of the Mir Yeshivah), left the area in time, before the German attack on the Soviet Union on June 21, 1941, and were thus saved – passing through Russia and Japan enroute to various destinations (Shanghai, the Philippines, Canada, and Palestine). Ironically, none of them headed for Curacao. In 1985, Yad Vashem awarded the aged Sugihara Chiune-Sempo the title of Righteous Among the Nations.

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[Mordecai Paldiel (2nd ed.)]

SUICIDE. The duty of preserving life, including one's own, is one of the paramount injunctions of Judaism (see **pikku'aḥ nefesh*). The prohibition of suicide is a natural corollary to this, and yet it is nowhere explicitly forbidden in the Talmud. However, post-talmudic authorities considered suicide a most heinous sin, even worse than murder. It was thought to be a denial of the doctrines of reward and punishment, the world to come, and the sovereignty of God, and the opinion was expressed that the suicide forfeits his portion in the world to come. Suicide is sharply to be differentiated from martyrdom, which, under certain circumstances, is the greatest *mitzvah* of Judaism; a difference must also be made between letting oneself be killed and active suicide (see **Kiddush ha-Shem* and *Ḥillul ha-Shem*).

Four definite suicides are recorded in the Bible. Samson (Judg. 16:30), Saul and his armor-bearer (I Sam. 31:4–5), and Ahithophel (II Sam. 17:23). The first three are regarded as "suicide under mitigating circumstances," so to speak. The Midrash, which regards suicide as rare (Gen. R. 82:8), includes the prohibition of suicide ("self-strangulation") in the injunction "and surely your blood of your lives will I require" (Gen. 9:5), but specifically excludes Saul as well as *Hananiah, Mishael, and Azariah (Gen. R. 34:13). The Shulḥan Arukh (YD 345:3) takes Saul as an example of permitted suicide "because he knew that the Philistines would do with him as they wished, and put him to death" (*Siftei Kohen*, ad loc.). Samson's suicide, which brought in its train the death of the Philistines, is extolled as *kiddush ha-Shem*. The most famous act of suicide in Jewish history is the mass self-immolation of the garrison of *Masada in 73 C.E. as reported by Josephus (Wars, 7:320ff.). It has been suggested that they acted in accordance with their interpretation of the *halakhah* which included slavery and subjection to a foreign power as one of those principles concerning which one was enjoined "to be killed rather than transgress" (Rabinowitz, see bibl.). Other cases of suicide – such as the mass suicide in York in 1190 – which were motivated by either a desire to avoid forced conversion or fear, are considered to be acts of martyrdom.

It was only in the late post-talmudic tractate *Semaḥot* (Evel Rabbati 2:1–5) that the laws regarding suicide are formulated. It is laid down that no rites are to be performed in honor of the dead (e.g., **keri'ah* and **hesped*), but everything which appertains to respect for the mourners is permitted (YD 345:1; Maim. Yad, Evel 1:11). Solomon b. Abraham *Adret states that the "nothing to be done" does not include burial and shrouds (Rashba, Resp., vol. 2, no. 763). R. Ishmael states that an announcement was made concerning the suicide, "Woe, he has taken his life," but R. Akiva disagreed, saying to him, "Leave him in silence. Neither honor him nor curse him." Two cases are mentioned in the context of children (not necessarily minors) who committed suicide out of fear of punishment. The suicides were granted the full respects due to the dead. The moral which the rabbis derived from it was that it is better to punish than threaten punishment (Sem. 2:4–5).

A distinction is made between suicide while of sound mind (*la-da'at*) – to which alone these restrictions apply and suicide while of unsound mind (*she-lo la-da'at*), to which they did not apply; thus the suicide of a minor is not regarded as culpable. Only when there is the clearest evidence of felo-de-se, deliberate intent, is a suicide to be considered as being of sound mind. "Who is a suicide of sound mind? It is not so regarded if a man climbed a tree or a roof and fell to his death, but only where he states, 'I am climbing the roof or the tree and I am going to throw myself to my death,' and one sees him acting accordingly… a man found strangled or hanging from a tree or cast upon a sword is regarded as a suicide while of unsound mind" (Sem. 2:2–3). It was, and in some places still is, the custom to bury suicides in a special section of the cemetery, but in recent years the tendency has grown to remove this stigma from the suicide, since the verdict is usually suicide while of unsound mind. The slightest indication is enough to establish a state of "unsound mind" (J.M. Tukacinsky, *Gesher ha-Ḥayyim*, 1 (1960²), ch. 25, which also contains a full list of the laws regarding a suicide).

Apart from exceptional circumstances, such as during the Nazi persecutions, the incidence of suicides among Jews has been small. The mass suicides which took place during the Middle Ages to avoid forcible baptism, which are generally regarded as belonging to the category of *kiddush ha-Shem*, were not without their critics (see the incident recounted in *Da'at Zekenim*, to Gen. 9:5). The self-immolation of Meir Feinstein and Moshe Barazani who blew themselves to death in prison in Jerusalem in 1947 on the eve of their execution in order to cheat the hangman, was justified on the analogy of Saul. Their original intention, to commit the act on the way to the scaffold, causing the simultaneous death of their potential executioners, was based on the example of Samson. Rabbi S. *Goren (see bibl.), the chief rabbi of the Israel Defense Army, expressed the view that a soldier taken prisoner was entitled, and even obliged, to commit suicide if he feared that he might not be able to withstand torture, or that under it he might reveal military secrets. He was, however, subjected to considerable criticism for this view. However, with the growth of acculturation in the Western world, there is evidence that the rate among Jews is rising and approximating to that of the general population. See *Mental Illness.

[Louis Isaac Rabinowitz]

In Jewish Law

"But for your own life-blood I will require a reckoning" (Gen. 9:5) – these are the suicides whose blood is claimed by God (Gen. R. 34:13; Yad, Roẓe'aḥ 2:3). The "reckoning" is, of course, God's only, but on earth the suicide is denied certain honors due to the dead, provided the surviving mourners are not aggrieved by such denials (Sem. 2:1; YD 345:1). The suggestion that words of scorn be exclaimed at this grave was met by R. Akiva with the rejoinder, "do not abase him and do not praise him" (Sem. 2:1). In order to be reprehensible, the suicide must be voluntary and premeditated (*me'abbed aẓmo la-da'at*, that is, he must knowingly destroy himself). A person destroying himself is presumed to do so without the necessary premeditation (*she-lo la-da'at*) – whether from pathological depression and not being in possession of his mental faculties (cf. Yad, Sanhedrin 18:6), or from "duress" (see *Penal Law). Duress includes not only compulsion, such as the necessity to kill oneself rather than surrender to the enemy or violate God's laws (see below), but also the (subjectively) reasonable despair of life or the identification with a person who just died. Most of the suicides reported in Bible, Talmud, and Midrash fall into either of these categories, which may explain the fact that they are not adversely or deprecatingly commented upon. (For those in the Bible, to which the (possible) suicide of Zimri (I Kings 6:18) may be added, see above.) Examples in the Talmud are that of the servant of Judah ha-Nasi who killed himself when learning of his master's death (Ket. 103b), and of the pagan executioner who joined Hananiah (Ḥanina) b. Teradyon in the flames (Av. Zar. 18a).

Duress is also present where the suicide amounts to self-inflicted punishment for real or imagined sinfulness: the apostate Yakum of Ẓerorot is said to have entered paradise after having taken his own life in a manner devised to combine all four modes of judicial execution (Mid. Ps. to 11:7); and Ḥiyya b. Ashi is said to have caused his own death in despair over an offense he intended to commit and thought he had committed, though in fact he had not committed it at all (Kid. 81b). Where a man chooses to die rather than surrender to the heathen, no question of duress arises, because his conduct is highly praiseworthy (Git. 57b); the most notable instances are those related in the Books of the Maccabees (e.g., II Macc. 14:37–46) and the reported mass suicide at Masada (which has recently given rise to some halakhic discussion). As for the violation of Divine law, while every man has to decide for himself whether he will kill himself rather than commit any such violation (Git. 57b), the law was settled to the effect that where he is required to commit idolatry, adultery (*gillui arayot*), or murder, he must kill himself or let himself be killed rather than commit any of those crimes (Sanh. 74a; Sh. Ar., YD 157).

The scope of duress being as wide as it is, the law will presume that a man found dead from his own hand took his life involuntarily and without premeditation (Sem. 2:3), until the contrary is proved from what the man himself had been heard to say before his death (Sem. 2:2). As far as minors are concerned, the presumption of duress appears to be irrebuttable (Sem: 2:4–5; YD 345:3). So long as the presumption is not rebutted, a suicide may not in any way be discriminated against (Yad, Evel 1:11). The law, however, has to take cognizance of attempted suicide: a person who does any act by which he endangers his own life is liable to disciplinary *flogging (*makkat mardut*; Yad, Roẓe'aḥ 11:5). Opinions are divided whether a man may inflict nonfatal wounds on himself (BK 91b); and the law is that while he is not allowed to do so, he is not punishable if he does so (BK 8:6; ḤM 420:31); yet not only might he be punished at the hands of heaven (Tosef., BK 9:31), but the disciplinary flogging may always be imposed in lieu of punishment (Yad, Roẓe'aḥ 11:5; ḤM 427:10). If suicide attempts are epidemic or otherwise constitute a threat to national security, the court may exercise its emergency powers and impose not only floggings but also *imprisonment (cf. Yad, Roze'ah 2:4–5).

[Haim Hermann Cohn]

Suicide to Avoid Severe Torture

Throughout the generations halakhic authorities have confronted questions concerning the permissibility of suicide in situations other than when it becomes necessary to avoid committing one of the three cardinal prohibitions previously discussed. These questions arose during periods of anti-Jewish violence and pogroms and attempts to coerce Jews into to apostasy.

Rabbenu Tam (Tos. Avodah Zarah, 18a) ruled that it is a *mitzvah* to commit suicide in order to escape extreme pain and torture, especially when used against a person to coerce apostasy. According to other halakhic authorities, suicide under such circumstances, is not required but permitted (Maim., Torat ha-Adam), while according to other authorities, such suicide is prohibited (Maharshal, *Yam shel Shelomo*, BK 8:59).

During the *Holocaust, this question again arose in a practical context. In Resp. *Mi-Ma'amakim* (1.6), Rabbi Ephaim Oshry relates to a question submitted by a Jew from the Kovno ghetto who asked whether he was allowed to commit suicide to avoid a horrible death accompanied by severe suffering as well as to avoid witnessing the deaths of his family.

The responsum discusses the opinions of earlier authorities, and cites the incident of the suicide of King Saul (I Samuel 31:4), The answer given was that, under the circumstances, suicide was permitted, but the author requested that the responsum not be publicized to prevent it from providing assistance to Nazi murderers by sowing despair among the Jews.

The responsum concludes with the following comment: "Nonetheless we may take pride in the fact that there were no suicides in the Kovno ghetto with the exception of three people whose morale was completely shattered. The remaining Ghetto residents continued to believe and were fully confident that God would not abandon His people and would halt the murderers."

[Menachem Elon (2nd ed.)]

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SUKENIK, ELIEZER LIPA (1889–1953), Israel archaeologist. Born in Bialystok, Poland, he settled in Ereẓ Israel in 1912. In 1914, he began his teaching career, and eventually was appointed field archaeologist at the Hebrew University. He directed the excavations of the synagogues of *Beth-Alpha (1928) and *Hammath-Gader (1932) and participated with L.A. *Mayer in the clearance of the remains of the Third Wall in *Jerusalem (1925–27). From 1931 to 1933 he was a member of the expedition to *Samaria. In 1935 he was promoted to lecturer in archaeology and in 1938 he was appointed professor; in the same year he also became director of the University Museum of Jewish Antiquities. He excavated a number of synagogues and Jewish tombs in the vicinity of Jerusalem, the latter containing remains which he claimed were evidence of early Christianity, as well as Chalcolithic remains in Ḥaderah, including a tomb, and a Bronze Age site at Tell Jarisha. In 1947 Sukenik was instrumental in acquiring part of the *Dead Sea Scrolls – whose importance he immediately recognized – and he devoted the rest of his life to their study.

His many publications include excavation reports on Beth-Alpha, Hammath-Gader, Japhia and Salbīt Sha'alvim synagogues (published in the *L.M. Rabinowitz Bulletin*) and a study of the Dura-Europos synagogue, as well as the *Dead Sea Scrolls* (1958).

[Michael Avi-Yonah]

His wife, HASYA SUKENIK-FEINSOD (1889–1968), was a pioneer kindergarten teacher. Also born in Bialystok, she settled in Ereẓ Israel in 1912, where she was among the founders of the kindergarten system and served as supervisor of kindergartens and director of kindergarten teachers' seminaries. She was a member of the *Asefat ha-Nivḥarim and the leader of the Women's Equal Rights Association. Their sons were: Yigael *Yadin, soldier and archaeologist; Yoseph Yadin, actor; and Matityahu Sukenik, a pioneer Israel Air Force pilot who fell in the War of Independence.

[Abraham Aharoni]

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SUKKAH (Heb. סֻכָּה), booth erected for the festival of *Sukkot, in accordance with the biblical commandment "Ye shall dwell in booths seven days" (Lev. 23:42). The reason for the commandment given in the Bible is "that your generations may know that I made the children of Israel to dwell in booths, when I brought them out of the land of Egypt" (Lev. 23:43). Since the Israelites in the desert dwelt in tents and not in booths, the Talmud records a dispute between R. Eliezer and R. Akiva on whether the *sukkot* in Leviticus 23:43 were actual or metaphorical booths, the latter referring to the protective "clouds of glory" (Suk. 11b) which accompanied the Israelites throughout their 40-year sojourn. Details of the *sukkah's* construction are discussed in the talmudic tractate *Sukkah. According to *Bet Shammai (whose ruling is here accepted, Maim. Yad, Shofar, Sukkah ve-Lulav, 6:8), the *sukkah* must be large enough to contain a man's head, most of his body, and his table (Suk. 2:7), an area defined as seven handbreadths square (Sh. Ar., OḤ 634:1; Yad, loc. cit. 4:1; for a conical or circular shaped *sukkah*, see Suk. 8a). The height of the structure must not be less than ten handbreadths, nor more than 20 cubits (Suk. 1:1; see also *Weights and Measures). The most important section in the construction of the *sukkah* is the roof made of covering known as *sekhakh*. The *sekhakh* must be cut from that which grew in the soil and which is not susceptible to ritual impurity (Suk. 1:4; 9b; Rashi, ad loc.; Yad, loc. cit. 5:1). An overhanging tree, for example, is invalid as *sekhakh* (Suk. 1:2). The *sekhakh* must be so arranged that the shaded area within the *sukkah* will exceed the unshaded (Suk. 9b–10a; Sh. Ar., OḤ 626:1). Any material may be used in the construction of the walls (Suk. 1:5), at least two of which must be complete, while the third may be partial (Suk. 6b; Yad, loc. cit. 4:2; Sh. Ar., OḤ 630:2). It is particularly meritorious to begin construction of the *sukkah* at the conclusion of the *Day of Atonement (Isserles to Sh. Ar., oḥ 625:1). Despite the opinions quoted in the Jerusalem Talmud (Ber. 9:4, 14a, and see also Rashi to Mak. 8a), no benediction is said on the construction of the *sukkah* because the biblical commandment is fulfilled by "dwelling" in it and not in its construction (Sh. Ar., oḥ 641:1).

"Throughout the seven days ('and nights,' Suk. 43a) of the festival, the *sukkah* must be regarded as one's principal abode, and the house merely a temporary residence" (Suk. 2:9). Thus, it is forbidden to eat any major repast or to sleep outside the *sukkah* (Suk. 26a; Yad, loc. cit. 6:6; Sh. Ar., oḥ 639:2), and it is obligatory to eat in the *sukkah* on the first night of the festival (Suk. 2:6; Yad, loc. cit. 6:7; Sh. Ar., oḥ 639:3). These laws do not apply to women, slaves, and infants (Suk. 2:8; Yad, loc. cit. 6:1; Sh. Ar., oḥ 640:1); and if rain is likely to spoil one's food, it is permitted to transfer the meal to the house (Suk. 2:9; Yad, loc. cit. 6:10; Sh. Ar., oḥ 639:5). Each time one eats in the *sukkah* the blessing "to dwell in the *sukkah*" (Suk. 46a) is recited, usually after the blessing over bread (Sh. Ar., oḥ 643:3). On the first night of the festival these blessings are made before the *She-Heḥeyanu* *benediction, since the latter can thereby be made to apply both to the observance of the festival and to the first performance of the duty to dwell in the *sukkah* (Suk. 56a; Yad, loc. cit. 6: 12, Sh. Ar., oḥ 643:1). However, in the Diaspora, the order of the benedictions is reversed on the second day of the festival (*ibid.* 661). It is customary to decorate the *sukkah* with fruit (which may not be eaten during the festival, Suk. 10a–b), and with the symbols of Sukkot, and to recite special welcomes to the seven "guests of the festival" (the **Ushpizin*), Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Moses, Aaron, and David, on each day of Sukkot (see Zohar, Lev. 103b). According to the Midrash (Gen. R. 48:10), the Children of Israel were divinely protected in the wilderness by the shelter of the Tabernacles solely because the Patriarch Abraham had given shelter to three strangers beneath the tree on his property (Gen. 18:2–5). It is also customary to construct a *sukkah* at the synagogue (see *Oẓar ha-Ge'onim*, (1934), 33 nos. 51–53), where a token meal (usually a **Kiddush*), is held after the holiday services. In present-day Israel the Samaritans erect the *sukkah* inside their houses, while Jews construct *sukkot* on the sidewalks, roofs, and balconies of their houses reminiscent of what is described in Nehemiah: "So the people went forth… and made themselves booths, every one upon the roof of his house, and in their courts, and in the courts of the house of God…" (8:16–18).

*Philo suggested that the *sukkah* was built to show misfortune at a time of good fortune and to remind the rich of the poor (Spec. Leg. 2:208–9) and Maimonides similarly interprets the lesson of the Tabernacle (Guide 3, 43). There are modern scholars who see the origin of the custom in a reinterpretation of some ancient agricultural rite but the nature of this is disputed.

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SUKKAH (Heb. סֻכָּה; "booth"), sixth tractate of the order *Mo'ed* in the Mishnah, Tosefta, and Babylonian and Jerusalem Talmuds. It deals, in five chapters, with laws relating to the festival of *Sukkot (Tabernacles). The festival is sometimes referred to simply as the *ḥag* ("the holiday"; Num. 29:12; Neh. 8:14, etc.), and in fact, this name is employed throughout this tractate, indicating that it was considered the most outstanding festival. The observances with which this tractate is primarily concerned are the "dwelling in booths" and the taking of the four *species. Two other ceremonies dealt with are the ceremony of the willow branches and the rite of water libation.

Chapter one covers the making of the *sukkah*; chapter two continues the subject, and goes on to define the term "dwelling" in the *sukkah*. The question of exemptions is also touched upon. Chapter three deals with the four species. Chapter four gives further information on the various ceremonies, including the above-mentioned ceremony of the willow branches and the rite of the water libation, and chapter five describes vividly the festivities surrounding the festival of the water drawing. Information is also given about other occasions when the trumpets were sounded, as well as on how the various sacrificial duties were distributed among the priestly divisions and how they shared the sacrificial portions.

The Mishnah of *Sukkah* can be divided into two main sections: chapters 1–3 and chapters 4–5. Both the language and the contents as well as the places mentioned therein show that the latter belong to the period of the Second Temple. Nevertheless these two chapters are not of the same source, and differences in language are recognizable in them. The reason is that though in the main they belong to the time of the Temple, they were adapted and worded by later *tannaim*, some of whose names have remained there, such as R. Judah (5:4) and Johanan b. Beroka (4:6). The Babylonian *Gemara* to tractate *Sukkah* is unique compared with most other tractates. Especially numerous in this tractate are the "transposed themes," i.e., the themes which contradict the same themes found in parallel passages in other tractates, both in the circumstances attributed to them (*ukimta*) and the discussions themselves. On the other hand the *Gemara* displays a remarkable similarity to that of the Jerusalem Talmud, to which there is no parallel with regard to the other tractates of the Babylonian Talmud. On this basis, J.N. Epstein has come to the conclusion that despite the fact that it shows many similarities to other tractates, *Sukkah* is to be regarded as belonging to a class of its own. In addition *Sukkah* contains a considerable number of the disputes between Abbaye and Rava and a comparatively large number of additions of the *savoraim. Sukkah* was translated into English in the Soncino Talmud by I.W. Slotki (1938).

The tractate ends with an obscure reference to the priestly watch of Bilgah (see I Chron. 24:14), which was in various ways discriminated against. The alternate reasons for this are given in the Tosefta (4:28; variations in tj 5:8 and tb 56b), namely that they were disgraced by a female member, Miriam, who became an apostate and traitor and married a Greek captain during the Hasmonean struggle against the Syrio-Greeks. The other reason given is that they were negligent in their Temple service. Other aggadic points to be noted are the description of the splendor of the Great Synagogue in Alexandria, which is referred to as a Great Basilica (Tosef. 4:6), and the story of Trajan's persecution of the Jews and its reasons (TJ 5:1, 55b). Of interest also are the discussions of the relative merits of charity and sacrifices (TB 49b) and observations on the problem of freedom of will (TB 52b).

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[Arnost Zvi Ehrman.]

SUKKOT (Heb. סֻכּוֹת; "booths" or "tabernacles"), the festival, beginning on the 15th day of Tishre, which commemorates the *sukkot* in which the Children of Israel dwelt in the wilderness after the Exodus. The festival lasts for seven days, of which the first (and the second in the Diaspora) is a *yom tov* (a festival on which work is prohibited) and the other days *ḥol ha-mo'ed* (intermediate days on which work is permitted). Immediately after Sukkot, on the eighth day (and the ninth in the Diaspora), is the festival of Shemini Aẓeret ("the eighth day of solemn assembly") which is a *yom tov*.

In the Bible

Tabernacles, the "feast of ingathering" (Ex. 23:16ba; 34:22ba), was celebrated by the Israelites at the time of the ingathering from the threshing floor and wine press (Deut. 16:13; cf. Ex. 23:16b; Lev. 23:39a) "at the end of the year" (Ex. 23:16b; cf. "at the turn of the year," 34:22b). The last of the three Israelite feasts connected with the agricultural year (Ex. 23:16; 34:22; Lev. 23:34–36, 39–43; Num. 29:12–38; Deut. 16:13–15), Tabernacles was from ancient times one of the most important feasts of the Israelites and is therefore called "the feast of the Lord" (Lev. 23:39; Judg. 21:19) or simply "the feast" (I Kings 8:2, 65; 12:32; Ezek. 45:25; Neh. 8:14; II Chron. 5:3; 7:8). The seven-day feast (Deut. 16:13a; cf. I Kings 8:65 [= II Chron. 7:8]) was originally – like *Passover – congruent with the period of a week; the date (in the month of Etanim, i.e., the seventh month (Sept./Oct.), I Kings 8:2) was determined by the end of the harvest. After the Exile (Ezek. 45:25) it was dated to the 15th to the 21st of the seventh month (Lev. 23:34–36a, 39–41; Num. 29:12–38) and prolonged by one day, the *aẓeret*, on the 22nd day of the month (Lev. 23:36b; Num. 29:35; Neh. 8:18; II Chron. 7:9). The note that Jeroboam I celebrated this feast one month later, on the 15th of the eighth month (I Kings 12:32–33), did not have any climatic or calendaric reasons. It may be a Deuteronomistic reproach for the king's incorrect cultic behavior (cf. 12:33a). The third agricultural festival, like the other two, was taken over from the Canaanites. According to Judges 9:27, the Shekhemites celebrated a feast of joy at the end of the grape harvest; a similar Israelite feast in the vineyards, at which the girls danced, was celebrated every year in Shiloh according to Judges 21:19–21. Festival joy is shown in other places to be a main feature of the feast (Lev. 23:40; Deut. 16:14; Neh. 8:17). It is not yet mentioned in Judges 21:19–21, but later in the Bible the seven-day dwelling in booths became the central custom of the feast (cf. Lev. 23:42; in Jerusalem this was carried out at the Temple square according to Neh. 8:14ff.); hence the name "Feast of Booths" or "Tabernacles" (Lev. 23:34; Deut. 16:13, 16; 31:10; Zech. 14:16, 18–19; Ezra 3:4; II Chron. 8:13). As the main feast of the year, Tabernacles was the occasion for the consecration of Solomon's Temple (I Kings 8). According to the Deuteronomistic construction, in every seventh year the law was to be read before the gathered people on the same occasion (Deut. 31: 10–11). At the end of days all the peoples would assemble for the feast in Jerusalem to worship the Lord (Zech. 14:16ff.). Unlike Passover and Pentecost the Feast of Booths was rather late, its connection with the Exodus was, therefore, forced. According to Leviticus 23:42–43, the Israelites were to dwell in booths as they did during the Exodus from Egypt; but in the wilderness at the time they did not have booths, but tents.

Critical Theories Concerning Origin

According to the Bible, the Feast of Booths was a thanksgiving festival. Recent information concerning cult and feasts in Mesopotamia has led biblical sholars to use new methods of research to gain further knowledge about this feast. P. Volz and – independently – S. Mowinckel tried to understand the Feast of Booths as an old Israelite New Year's festival. Through the cultic-mythic explanation of the so-called "Psalms of Enthronement" (Ps. 47; 93; 96–99) and a number of other psalms, Mowinckel reconstructed a feast of YHWH's enthronement which was celebrated every year at the time of the Feast of Booths (1922); from the structure of the Sinai pericope he derived the ritual of this celebration which centered around the reading of the law as the expression of the divine will and covenant between God and people (1927). British and Swedish scholars have interpreted the Israelite Feast of Booths as a New Year's festival by connecting it with a so-called "cultic pattern" which they suppose to have existed in the Ancient Near East. The object of the ritual in which the sacral king had a central part was the securing of life (Johnson, Widengren, and others). On the other hand, G. von Rad, going beyond Mowinckel, found the structure of the "feast of the renewal of the covenant" ("*Bundeserneuerungsfest*") in the Book of Deuteronomy and in Joshua 24 (in connection with Deut. 27). Because according to Deuteronomy 31:10–11 and Nehemiah 8 the law was read during the Feast of Booths, it has been concluded that this feast is identical with the Feast of Booths. As Mowinckel supposed the feast of enthronement, including the procession of the ark, to be the highlight of cultic life in Israel and the "*Sitz im Leben*" of most of the psalms and their literary forms, so A. Weiser maintained that the "feast of the covenant," including a cultic theophany of YHWH, was the highlight. H.J. Kraus assumed that a "feast of tents" had been celebrated as a nomadic forerunner of the Feast of Booths in a cultic camp around the tent sanctuary (possibly in Beer-Sheba), as a reminder of the march through the wilderness from Egypt to Palestine. For the pre-Exilic period, Kraus, referring to II Samuel 6, 7 and Psalms 132, reconstructed a "royal Zion Feast" to be held on the first day of the Feast of Booths. This feast, held on the first day of the festival, which included a procession of the ark (cf. II Sam. 6 and I Kings 8), celebrated the election of Jerusalem and of the Davidic dynasty. Under the influence of Deutero-Isaiah, this feast became a celebration of the beginning of the kingship of God over his people, and, thus, the Feast of Booths secondarily became a feast of YHWH's enthronement.

These theses have – to varying extents – influenced research, but all of them also called forth important objections. Nowhere in the Bible is it said that one of these subjects is always connected with the Feast of Booths. The feast of ingathering was celebrated, according to Exodus 23:16, "at the end [not at the beginning] of the year" (E. Kutsch, in: ZAW, 83 (1971)). It was thought to be at the "beginning" of the year because it was dated on the 15th to the 21st of the seventh month, and the first day of this month – in the post-biblical period (RH 1:1, 2; but cf. already Lev. 23:24b, 25; Num. 29:1–6; Neh, 8:2) – became New Year's Day. The feast itself never was a New Year's feast; therefore it lacks any important equivalent in relation to Mesopotamian parallels. Further, the formula "*YHWH malakh*" (Ps. 93:1; 96:10; 97:1; cf. 47:9) does not mean "YHWH has become king" but "YHWH rules as king" (D. Michel, in: VT, 6 (1956), 40–68); it emphasizes God's kingship, but not an enthronement acted out in the cult. II Samuel 6 and I Kings 8 report two different transfers of the ark (to the City of David, to the Temple), each of which took place only once, and therefore do not reflect a regularly held procession of the ark. A "feast of the covenant," or "feast of the renewal of the covenant," cannot have existed because *berit* in the Bible does not mean "covenant" (E. Kutsch, in: ZAW, 79 (1967), 18–35), and because Israel did not interpret her relationship to YHWH as a "covenant" (E. Kutsch, in: *Tuebinger Theologische Quartalschrift*, 150 (1970), 299–320). Deuteronomy 31:10–11 prescribes a proclamation of the law before the people, which constitutes a statement of their commitment to YHWH (not a covenant), to take place – if at all – every seventh year on the Feast of Booths. After the Exile such an act could be dated to the first or second of the seventh month (Neh. 8:1ff.), to Pentecost (II Chron. 15:10ff.; cf. Ex. 19:1), to the 24th of the seventh month (Neh. 10:1ff. in connection with 9:1), or the beginning of the first month (II Chron. 29:10; cf. 29:3). Joshua 24:25 and II Kings 11:17a; 23:3 do not give any fixed date. Such an act of commitment was at no time bound to a certain feast, therefore it was not bound to the Feast of Booths. Furthermore, it is impossible to derive (cf. Weiser) from Joshua 24 or the Psalms a connection between the commitment of the people and the proclamation of the divine salvatory acting ("*Heilshandeln*") as the contents of the Feast of Booths. Kraus wrongly presupposes that the "Tent of Meeting" and the Ark were jointly used in an early Israelite cult (according to PC) and that the "Tent of Meeting" stood at some time in Shiloh (I Sam. 1:7, 9, 24; 3:3, 15 against Joshua 18:1; 19:51 (both belonging to PC); I Sam. 2:22). On the other hand the basis of the "royal feast of Zion" (the parallelism between II Sam. 6 and I Kings 8 (see above) and the traditional historical connection between II Sam. 6 and 7) cannot be proved.

In the New Testament the Feast of Booths in John 7 is the background of Jesus' appearance in Jerusalem. The fact that according to 7:37, Jesus "on the last [i.e., on the seventh] day of the feast" calls the ones who thirst to come to him is connected with the custom of pouring water from the first to the seventh day of the feast that was common in the time of Jesus. On the other hand, no motives of the Feast of Booths are presupposed in Mark 9:2ff.

[Ernst Kutch]

Sukkot in Rabbinic Literature

Two special observances are mentioned in the Book of Leviticus (Lev. 23:39–43): that the people should dwell in booths for seven days, so "that your generations may know that I made the Children of Israel to dwell in booths, when I brought them out of the land of Egypt," and that the people were to take on the first day "the fruit of goodly trees, branches of palm trees, and boughs of thick trees, and willows of the brook" to "rejoice before the Lord." Rabbinic authorities named these the *arba'ah minim*, "the *four species" (of plant); the "fruit of goodly trees" is the citron (*etrog*); the "boughs of thick trees" are myrtle twigs (*hadasim*); the palm branch is the *lulav*; and the willows are *aravot*. In the Book of Nehemiah, it is said that from the days of Joshua to Nehemiah, the people had not dwelt in booths (Neh. 8:17), but in the same chapter it is stated: "Go forth unto the mount, and fetch olive branches, and branches of wild olive, and myrtle branches, and palm branches, and branches of thick trees, to make booths as it is written" (Neh. 8:15). There is no mention of olive branches in Leviticus and none of willows in Nehemiah. Moreover, from Nehemiah it would appear that the various plants were used to cover the booths (and this was, in fact, the interpretation of the *Sadducees) whereas in the rabbinic tradition, the command to dwell in booths and the command to "take" the four species are treated as two separate precepts. In Zechariah's vision all the nations of the world will come to Jerusalem in the new age to celebrate the festival of Sukkot (Zech. 14:16).

According to the rabbis, biblical law obliges every male Jew to take *arba'ah minim* in the hand on the first day of Sukkot (based on Lev. 23:40). The rabbis, however, understood the reference in the verse to "rejoice before the Lord your God seven days" to apply to the Temple, where the *arba'ah minim* had to be taken each day. After the destruction of the Temple, Johanan b. Zakkai ordained that wherever Jews celebrate Sukkot, the *arba'ah minim* should be taken in the hand for seven days in commemoration of the Temple (Suk. 3:12). The four species were to be held in the hand while *Hallel* (Ps. 113–8) is chanted and they were to be waved at the beginning of Psalm 118 and while reciting verse 25 of the Psalm (Suk. 3:9). The *lulav* was to be held in the right hand together with three *hadasim* and two *aravot* and the *etrog* in the left hand (Suk. 3:4). The *lulav*, the largest of the four species, gives its name to the four so that the benediction is: "Blessed art Thou… Who has sanctified us with His commandments and commanded us to take the *lulav*." (Suk. 46a; for laws concerning the *sukkah*, see **Sukkah*.)

Rabbinic authorities mention a special ceremony of "water-libation" during the seven days of Sukkot (Suk. 4:9). The Sadducees rejected the ceremony because they could find no support for it in Scripture (Suk. 4:9 and 48b; Jos., Ant. 13:372). The special rites of "water-libation," accompanied by the playing of the flute, took place only on *ḥol ha-mo'ed* (except on the Sabbath), not on *yom tov*. The ceremony was known as Simḥat Bet ha-Sho'evah ("the rejoicing of the place of water-drawing"), based evidently on Isaiah 12:3 "Therefore with joy shall ye draw water out of the wells of salvation" (Suk. 5:1). There were said to be three huge golden candlesticks in the Temple court which were lit on these occasions "and there was not a courtyard in Jerusalem that did not reflect the light of the Bet ha-Sho'evah" (Suk. 5:2–3). "Men of piety and good works used to dance before them with burning torches in their hands, singing songs and praises" (Suk. 5:4). It was further said that whoever had not seen the Simḥat Bet ha-Sho'evah, had never witnessed real joy in his life (Suk. 5:1).

Laws and Customs of Sukkot

It is customary to use leaves or straw as the roof covering of the *sukkah*; the walls, however, may be of any material. The *sukkah* must be so well covered that there is more shade (i.e., covered space) than open space but the covering should not be so thick that even strong rain cannot penetrate. It must have at least three walls (the third need only be one handbreadth in width), and be beneath the open sky, not under a tree or inside a house. It should be decorated in accordance with the general rule that precepts be "adorned." On the first night of the festival, a person is obliged to eat at least the equivalent of an olive's bulk of bread in the *sukkah* but not during the remainder of the festival. If meals are eaten, they must be partaken of in the *sukkah*. In modern times, in colder regions, many do not sleep in the *sukkah* since the rules of *sukkah* do not apply where there is severe discomfort. The pious have heated *sukkot* so that they can fulfill the obligation of sleeping there. Not only is a person not obliged to sleep or eat in the *sukkah* when rain penetrates, but he is forbidden to do so, on the grounds that it is indelicate and presumptuous to insist on carrying out a religious duty from which there is exemption. It is customary to build a *sukkah* adjacent to the synagogue for the benefit of congregants who have no *sukkah* of their own. In some Reform congregations, a symbolic *sukkah* is erected in the synagogue itself, even though it has no validity as a *sukkah* in Jewish law. A custom, originating with the school of Lurianic Kabbalah in the 16th century, is to "invite" each day one of the biblical heroes to the *sukkah*. These **Ushpizin* ("guests") are: Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Moses, Aaron, Joseph, and David; they correspond to the seven *Sefirot* of lovingkindness, power, beauty, victory, splendor, foundation, and sovereignty.

The *lulav* is held with the spine facing the holder. On the first day it is necessary for each person to take his own *arba'ah minim*, but on the other days of the festival they may be borrowed. *Arba'ah minim* purchased by the congregation can, however, be taken even on the first day, since each congregant has had a share in them. The *arba'ah minim* are waved while the *Hallel* is recited. They are waved first toward the east, then the south, the west, the north, above and below. Toward the end of the service in the synagogue, a scroll is taken from the Ark and the congregation walks in procession around the *bimah* holding the four species as a reminder of the processions around the altar in Temple times. In liturgy, Sukkot is referred to as *zeman simḥatenu* ("the season of our rejoicing").

Hoshana Rabba

The seventh day of Sukkot is known as Hoshana Rabba ("the Great *Hoshana*"); the name is taken from the word *hoshana* ("Save, I Pray") which is frequently used in the prayers of the day. The *hoshana* prayers for a good harvest in the year to come are recited during a procession seven times around the *bimah* after which five *aravot* bound together are beaten. In Temple times, *aravot* were carried around the altar seven times on this day (Suk. 4:5). In post-talmudic times, the day became a supplement to the *Day of Atonement, a special day of judgment on which God's decrees for the coming year are finalized. Consequently, it is the custom to spend the night of Hoshana Rabba in prayer and study, particularly of the Book of Deuteronomy.

Shemini Azeret

"On the eighth day ye shall have a solemn assembly (*aẓeret*): ye shall do no manner of servile work" (Num. 29:35). The eighth day of Sukkot is treated by the rabbis as a separate festival, *regel bifenei aẓmo*. The *Yizkor* (Memorial service) and a special prayer for rain (*Tefillat Geshem*) are recited during **Musaf* (in Israel before it), in the synagogue. The Book of Ecclesiastes is read in the synagogue on the intermediate Sabbath of Sukkot or, when there is no intermediate Sabbath, on this day. Among the reasons given for the reading are: Its melancholy nature which makes it appropriate reading for the autumn festival; and the verse: "Divide a portion into seven, yea, even into eight" (Eccles. 11:2) applied by the rabbis to the seven days of Sukkot and to this eighth day (see The Five *Scrolls).

Simḥat Torah

The last day of the festival is *Simḥat Torah ("rejoicing in the Torah) which in Israel coincides with Shemini Aẓeret. On this day, the annual reading of the Torah from the scroll in the synagogue is concluded. Simḥat Torah is a post-talmudic festival, but was known in the geonic period. Over the years, a number of ceremonies have grown up around the day. The person called to the reading of the last portion of the Torah is known as *Ḥatan Torah* ("the bridegroom of Torah"). A new cycle of Torah reading is begun as soon as the old cycle is concluded. The person called to begin the new cycle is known as

Ḥatan Bereshit ("the bridegroom of Genesis"). The "bridegrooms" invite their fellow-congregants to a party in honor of the day (see *Bridegroom of the Law). On Simḥat Torah eve, and again during the day, all the scrolls are taken from the Ark and carried in procession around the synagogue while songs of praise are chanted. In many communities it is the custom to dance with the scrolls.

See *Simḥat Torah; **Hakkafot*; Festivals; **Hoshanot*.

[Louis Jacobs]

In Art

Elongated receptacles for the *lulav* are traditionally made of knotted palm leaves; silver receptacles are also found, sometimes similar to the short-lived palm leaf holder, but they are comparatively late. The use of containers for the *etrog* is also late. These most frequently take the form of a rectangular box ranging in style from the simple to the baroque; there are others, more unusual, shaped like the fruit and usually featuring a stem, the reason being that the stem of the *etrog* must remain intact throughout the duration of the festival. In Eastern Europe the *etrog* was very often kept in a silver box originally intended to be used for some secular object such as sugar.

Despite its austere associations, the *sukkah* has in traditional practice always been richly decorated. Different fruits hang from its roof of foliage, and very often there are pictures and tapestries on the wall. Some of these pictures are called *ushpizin*.

Some *sukkot* are collapsible. One of the best known originates from Fischbach in southern Germany and dates from the early 19th century. It is now in the Israel Museum. The structure is complete with numbered boards and beams, and its walls are elaborately decorated with paintings depicting the city of Jerusalem, the Temple, the Western Wall, the Levites, Moses on Mt. Sinai, Elijah in the valley of Kerith, and a secular scene of a man going hunting while his wife waits for him outside their house.

On the last day of Sukkot, which is also Simḥat Torah, the Scrolls of the Law are carried around the *bimah* and the members of the congregation wave gaily decorated flags, which have constituted a very attractive form of folk art.

[Abram Kanof]

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SULAMITH, first German-language periodical for Jews. Founded in 1806 by David Fraenkel (1779–1856), the Dessau educator, and Joseph Wolf (1762–1826), and edited by the former, it carried the masthead, "A periodical for the advancement of culture and humanism among the Jewish nation"; by 1810, however, the word "Israelites" had replaced the words "Jewish nation." Fraenkel viewed his creation as a continuation of the Koenigsberg **Me'assef* and fully supported *Mendelssohn and his program as interpreted by his radical followers. Through poems and edifying discourses, the paper advocated a return to a purified and tolerant Judaism. It endorsed the modern education of rabbis, emphasized preaching and sermons in the service, and supported the modern educational efforts made in *Seesen, *Frankfurt, and *Dessau, and the religious innovations introduced there. The list of subscribers (not confined to Germany alone) was relatively small, but it included financiers, manufacturers, and court advisers who were generally also leaders of their respective communities and advocates of the reforms proposed by *Sulamith*.

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[Andreas Kennecke (2nd ed.)]

SULEIMAN I (the Magnificent), Ottoman sultan 1520–1566, called al-Qānūnī, "the Legislator," "the Lawgiver," as the Turks referred to him for his extensive legislative achievements in fiscal and feudal law. The epithet "the Magnificent" was given to him by the Europeans as a tribute to the fact that his rule coincided with the golden period of the *Ottoman Empire. The Jews called him "King Solomon," not only because of his name, but also because of his wisdom and legislative activities. Suleiman conquered *Hungary and laid siege to Vienna in 1529. He annexed *Iraq and *Yemen and extended Ottoman control of North Africa from *Egypt to the borders of *Morocco. Generally he followed the positive system of his father and grandfather toward the Jews, but there were also some problems, caused especially by his tax policy and the pressure to get money from the Jewish population. The long years of his reign represented the pinnacle of Ottoman Jewry, and under his reign the Jewish communities achieved their highest political and economic status, and also benefited from the involvement of Jews in Suleiman's court. In these years thousands of Jews, many of them *anusim* from Portugal, immigrated into the Ottoman Empire. The Jewish population in his days achieved records in communal, social, economic, and intellectual life. Under Suleiman's rule the Jewish settlement in Ereẓ Israel, especially in *Safed, had a strong presence. Like his father and grandfather, Suleiman used the sürgün system, and transferred Jewish residents from their native cities to other cities. In 1523 he transferred 150 Jewish families from *Salonika to *Rhodes just after its conquest in 1522. According to one testimony, 150 of the richest and most respected Jewish landlords in Salonika (men, women, and children) were transferred at the command of Sultan Suleiman. He wanted to develop Rhodes and to establish it economically. The Jews were forced to remain on the island, but there were people who did succeed in escaping from there. Suleiman had followed this system after he captured Buda in 1526. Despite the fact that the Jews were among the few who had remained in Buda and had delivered the keys to the city into his hands, he still took the Jews with him, leading them off in boats as sürgün. The Jews were dispatched as sürgün, in the category of craftsmen and tradesmen. The Jews of Buda were settled in Sofia, Kavalla, and according to one source, in Salonika as well. Other Jews from Buda settled during Sultan Suleiman's reign in *Edirne (Adrianople), *Istanbul, and perhaps even in Safed. Joseph b. Solomon Ashkenazi, who handed Suleiman the keys to the city of Buda, was awarded, together with his descendants, tax exemption and special grants. The firman written by Suleiman to Ashkenazi was renewed during the Ottoman era by other sultans.

Generally Suleiman was strict, in accordance with the laws of *Islam and state legislation. Suleiman codified the regulations regarding the attire of his subjects, and during his reign the obligation of the Jews to preserve all *Omar regulations was discussed. The Jews had to obtain firmans from the sultan, permitting them to restore several synagogues in some cities. On the other hand, Suleiman did not enforce all of Omar's regulations. For example, Moses *Hamon, his physician and adviser, acquired the right to build a four-story house, and there are sources about Jews in Istanbul who felt free to dress in expensive wool and muslin, silky atlas and cotton cloaks and expensive shoes. Preserved in the Ottoman archives are dozens of firmans written by Suleiman dealing with the status of the Jews of Ereẓ Israel and other communities. Suleiman ordered local Ottoman officials to change their attitude toward the Jewish population and to prevent pressure and extortion. Many of these orders were written in response to letters of complaint sent to Suleiman by the Jews.

A number of Jews held important posts during Suleiman's rule, some acting as diplomatic agents of the Ottoman Empire in European capitals. As one of his Jewish advisers, the aforementioned Moses Hamon accompanied the sultan on his travels and campaigns. Hamon also interceded on behalf of the Jews with the sultan. Following the Amasya blood libel in 1553, Hamon persuaded the sultan to issue a special decree prohibiting provincial judges from trying cases of blood libel and requiring them to refer such cases to the Imperial divan for trial. Hamon was in close contact with the party in the court led by Hurrem Sultan (Roxelana), Suleiman's favorite wife, and Grand Vizir Rustem Pasha. Hamon is also believed to have interceded with Suleiman to exert pressure on Venice to facilitate the departure of the Mendes-Nasi family for the Ottoman Empire. Moses Hamon was the man who influenced Suleiman to bring Gracia Mendes to Istanbul in 1552 and to protect her on the way from Italy to the Ottoman capital. Hamon strived to assist Jews in the Ottoman Empire who requested his political help. But there is no proof that he took up the request of the impoverished clothiers of Salonika to intervene on their behalf at the court of the kadi of Istanbul. On the other hand, he did intervene in the quarrel in the community of Salonika about the activity of the wealthy Barukh.

Another Jew who had an important role in the state, especially in foreign affairs, was Don Joseph *Nasi. Deeply impressed by Nasi's erudition and financial and diplomatic talent, the sultan made him one of his confidants, and gave him his protection and several economic monopolies. In 1555 Suleiman, at Nasi's request, urged Pope Paul IV, who had burned a group of Portuguese *anusim* in Ancona, to release the Ottoman Jewish subjects who had been arrested. When the Nasi family declared that their agents, who were Ottoman subjects, were among the prisoners, Suleiman urged the pope to free them. Since some of the Ancona prisoners were Nasi's agents, they could be considered Ottoman subjects. The effort failed and the Jews were burned. Suleiman also made efforts in 1555 to release confiscated possessions of Jewish merchants in the papal territory. Suleiman protested, claiming that this act had caused many Jews of Salonika and Istanbul to go bankrupt, so they were unable to pay their taxes to the Ottoman treasury. In the last days of his reign, in 1666, Suleiman, under Jewish influence at his court, interceded concerning money interests of some Levantine Jewish merchants who owed debts to Venetian merchants. In the course of this crisis, Grand Vizier Mehmed Sokollu intervened, and a sultanic messenger was sent to Venice, with a special firman issued by Suleiman. This intervention was in favor of the Segura family, whose members were close to Joseph Nasi and possessed important businesses in the empire.

Finally the sultan gave Gracia Mendes, as a *multazima* during the years 1560–1566, the ruined city of *Tiberias and its environs, and permitted her to build the walls of the city. Details about this agreement are written in the orders of Suleiman to the governor of *Damascus and to other Ottoman officials. The chronicler Joseph ha-Kohen writes about the important role of Joseph Nasi in developing the city of Tiberias.

During Suleiman's rule the Jews of the Ottoman Empire made great cultural and economic progress. They developed the empire's commerce and succeeded in renting from the sultan the right to collect taxes, especially customs duties. Despite this, at the same time there were the first indications of financial pressure on the Jews by the authorities, and it required great efforts on the part of the Jews close to the court to keep such pressure to a minimum.

Suleiman had connections with two Jewish women called **Kiera* (kira) who had good relations with the wives in the harem. When he ascended to the throne, in 1520/1521, he gave the Jewish kira, Stronillah, who served his mother Hafsa Sultan, an exemption from taxes for her and her descendants. This woman adopted Islam at the end of her life and received the name Fatma. We do not know if her conversion was under pressure by the sultan. Another kira, Esther *Handali, was certainly active in the harem before the death of Suleiman, and served Nur-Banu, the favorite concubine of Selim II, continuing her services to that woman during the reign of Selim II. Under Suleiman's reign the two kiras did not gain political influence but did have opportunities to become wealthy.

The Ottoman censuses organized by Sultan Suleiman have considerable importance for the history of the Jews in the 16th century. In Ereẓ Israel four censuses were carried out in his time. Suleiman built the wall around the Old City of Jerusalem which still stands (see *Jerusalem, Under Ottoman Rule). This deed made a great impression throughout the Jewish Diaspora.

The attitude of Suleiman to the Jews of Salonika was described by many writers and historians. In 1537 Suleiman visited Salonika and granted the Jewish residents a decree exempting them from the obligation of being "celep" (that is, rich men chosen by the Ottoman officials to use their own money to buy thousands of sheep and to drive them to Istanbul, where they would sell the sheep to the butchers of the city at a fixed price, which often resulted in a financial loss) and from the obligation to be the operators of the silver mines in Siderokapisi, near Salonika. But in 1545 this document was burned in the Great Fire which broke out in Salonika, and the Jews lost these rights. For 20 years the Jews of Salonika sent emissaries to Istanbul to attempt to renew the old order, but their efforts failed. R. Moses *Almosnino did succeed in obtaining the reissue of the order.

The death of Suleiman in Transylvania (September 6, 1566) and his funeral (November 22, 1566) are described by the same Moses Almosnino, who was present in Istanbul at that time, in his book *History of the Ottoman Kings*. In a second work he described Sultan Suleiman's reign. The entire book is full of admiration for Suleiman's wisdom and statesmanship as well as his attitude toward his subjects, Muslim and non-Muslim. He calls Sultan Suleiman "Our great master Sultan Suleiman, may his memory live forever." The feelings of admiration toward Suleiman are noted also in the colophon of the response by R. Isaac Bar Sheshet published in Istanbul in 1556. The publisher, Shemuel ha-Levi, wrote at the time of the publication, "In Istanbul, the fine city, the city of a great king, a faithful shepherd, our master the Sultan Suleiman, may his splendor be exalted, and his honor grow, and in his times and ours Judea and Israel be redeemed, and may the redeemer come to Zion." Sultan Suleiman was the first Ottoman sultan in whose honor a special poem was written in Hebrew. This poem was written by the Istanbuli poet Shelomo ben Mazal Tov (d. 1545).The last book published in Istanbul during Suleiman's reign was *Sefer Yuḥasin* by R. Abraham *Zacuto. It was printed in 1566, a few months before Suleiman's death during his campaign in Hungary, and the publisher expressed his wishes for the sultan: "…May the Lord bring him back here in peace without obstacles, and may the Lord cause all his enemies to be defeated by him …"

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[Abraham Haim / Leah Bornstein-Makovetsky (2nd ed.)]

SULEIMANIYA (al-), Kurd province in N.E. *Iraq in which there were about ten Jewish communities and village settlements. The most important communities were in Suleimaniya, Ghūlambar, Zardiāwa, Halabja, Halībrūy, Mazūrān, Mīrwa, Sūrdash, Fishdal, and Franjawīn. In 1827 the traveler David d'Beth Hillel found about 100 Jewish families in the provincial town of Suleimaniya. They owned a beautiful synagogue, most of them were merchants, others were craftsmen, and the community was led by a *nasi* who was the banker (*ṣarrāf bāshī*) of the pasha. During the 1890s there were 180 Jewish families in the town and the number of Jews who spoke Jebel (mountain) Aramaic increased at the beginning of the 20th century. In 1906 the number of Jews was about 1,500. According to official statistics of 1930, however, there were 47,510 inhabitants in the whole of the al-Suleimaniya region, of whom 900 were Aramaic-speaking Jews. In 1948 they all immigrated to Israel.

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[Abraham Ben-Yaacob]

SULITA (Rom. **Sulița**), village in Botosani district, Moldavia, Romania. Founded in 1817, the town passed in 1840 to the ownership of the Moldavian ruler Prince Michael Sturza who was interested in developing the locality. In 1843 when a conflagration destroyed the town, the Jews there wished to leave but the ruler helped them to reestablish their dwellings and exempted them from taxes for 25 years. Their community increased from 496 in 1831 to 1,831 (63% of the total population) in 1899; 80% of the Jews were occupied as craftsmen, and others were merchants. Some were occupied in sheep raising and marketing. The community had five prayer rooms, a *ḥeder* and a primary school (founded in 1890 with the aid of the *Jewish Colonization Association), a ritual bath, and a hostel for poor travelers.

During the Peasants' Rebellion in 1907 nearly all the houses belonging to the Jews were pillaged and destroyed. By 1930 the Jewish population had decreased to 1,062, but their proportion in the population had increased to 76.1%. In 1932 the landlord of the estate on which the town was built brought a lawsuit to have the Jews expelled, but lost the case. In World War II the Jews in Sulița were deported to Botosani. A few returned after the war, numbering 380 in 1947, and 250 in 1950. In 1969 there were fewer than ten Jewish families in Sulița.

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[Theodor Lavi]

SULIȚEANU, GHISELA (1920–2006), Romanian ethnomusicologist. She played a very special role within the discipline of Romanian ethnomusicology. She joined the Institute of Folklore immediately after its founding in 1949 and was one of its most assiduous workers until her retirement in 1979. However, she continued to work on her incredibly large musical collections from the field as well as on her theoretical ideas. She earned her Ph.D. at the University of Bucharest in 1974; her thesis was on the psychology of folk music, a quarter of which was published in 1980. She collected a great deal of Sephardi and Ashkenazi folk music as well as religious (synagogal) music. The only anthology of Jewish folk music in Romania was published by Emil Săculeț in the late 1950s, but Sulițeanu also worked on this anthology, even writing the foreword for the book's first edition (1956), which was destroyed – withdrawn from the market immediately after it was printed, then recycled as scrap paper. Despite fears and lack of institutional support, Sulițeanu was the only one among the remaining Jewish colleagues who continued to collect, transcribe, write, and publish on Jewish music. In later years she very much wanted to see the publication of her long commentary and huge transcription of the *Purimspiel Joseph and His Brothers* that she identified and recorded in Romania in the early 1970s. She also worked hard on a book devoted to her studies from 1960 to 1980 on the folk music of the Turkish and Tartar communities in southeastern Romania. Sulițeanu embraced many modern subjects and approaches, familiarizing local academic research with ideas and books coming from the West (she was the first, and actually the only one to plead for the introduction into Romania of the ideas of the famous international ethnomusicologists Lomax, Ellis, Merriam, and Blacking). Although she was allowed to travel abroad and contribute papers read at various international congresses and conferences, she was never invited to teach in Romania at the university level. Thus, she shined individually and modestly without transforming or turning specifically Romanian scholarship toward the paradigms and perspectives she was capable of opening up. Among her numerous works are volumes devoted to the folk dance music in Muscel (1976), ballads in southeastern Romania – Brăila County (1980) – a huge lullaby anthology (1986), her *Psihologia folclorului muzical* ("Psychology of Folk Music"), and numerous academic essays found in various ethnomusicological journals, proceedings, and collective books.

[Marin Marian (2nd ed.)]

SULLAM, SARA COPPIO (1592?–1641), Italian poet. Born into a wealthy Venetian family – her father and uncle were benefactors of Leone *Modena and financed the printing of several of his works – Sara Sullam spent her life in Venice. She became known through the sonnets and letters she exchanged with Ansaldo Cebà, a Genoese nobleman and monk. This correspondence, which was conducted at a remarkably high literary level (somewhat resembling the platonic "game of love" then in vogue), arose from Cebà's publication of a verse epic on Queen Esther (1615–16). When this work came to Sara's attention it aroused her enthusiasm, and from 1618 to 1622 the two writers exchanged sonnets, letters, and gifts. Sara lavished praise on Cebà for choosing the tragic figure of Esther as a literary theme, thus departing from the conventional use of motifs drawn from classical Greek and Roman sources, and even declared her spiritual love for him. In reply, Cebà praised Sara who, "though a Jewess," revealed in her writings her thorough humanistic education and the purity of her soul. Cebà's replies were, however, primarily aimed at inducing her to convert. Shortly before his death, having despaired of these endeavors and in the hope of gaining merit for himself as a faithful Christian, he published the letters and poems which he had written to Sara (*53 Lettere di Ansaldo Cebà, scritte a Sara Copia Sullam e dedicate a Mare Antonio Doria*, Genoa, 1623). The letters written by Sara were, however, omitted from this publication.

In 1614 Sarah had married Jacob Sullam, a prominent member of the Venetian Jewish community, and she took an active part in the city's cultural life, her house serving as a meeting place for Jewish and Christian scholars. In 1621 Baldassar Bonifaccio (later Cardinal of Cape d'Istria) attacked her in a pamphlet, claiming that the poetess had denied the immortality of the soul, a belief shared by Jews and Christians alike. The religious liberty which Venetian Jewry then enjoyed enabled Sara to make public her reply in a witty and mordant manifesto refuting Bonifaccio's allegations. She also answered his charge with two caustic sonnets in which she declared her pride in her faith. In 1619 Leone Modena dedicated to Sara Coppio Sullam his Italian version of Salomon *Usque's tragedy *Esther*, and also composed her epitaph. A volume of her collected sonnets (ed. L. Modena) appeared in 1887.

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[Joseph Baruch Sermoneta]

°**SULPICIUS SEVERUS** (fourth century), Christian writer. Severus used the Bible and classical authors in his history of the world. He sees the siege of Jerusalem in 70 C.E. as divine retribution for the Jews' part in the crucifixion of Jesus. He disagrees with Josephus (perhaps following a lost passage from Tacitus) and blames Titus for the destruction of the Temple (*Chronica* 2:30).

[Jacob Petroff]

SULTANSKY, MORDECAI BEN JOSEPH (c. 1772–1862), Karaite scholar and writer. He was born in Lutsk, Volhynia. His father was a *ḥazzan* and a head of the *bet din* in Lutsk. Sultansky served as a teacher in his native town. At the age about 40, apparently after a large fire that broke out in 1813/4 in Lutsk, Sultansky moved to the Crimea where he functioned as *melammed* in *Chufut-Qaleh, and later as *ḥazzan* in *Yevpatoriya. At the end of his life he went to his son Isaac, who lived in Kherson, Ukraine. In Chufut-Qaleh Sultansky, together with A. Firkovich, was engaged in publishing Karaite books in the printing house of Eupatoria. Sultansky was widely read in both Karaite literature and such rabbinic authors as Maimonides, Abraham ibn Ezra, Judah Halevi, Bahya ibn Paquda, and Levi b. Gershom, and he also studied Talmud. The most important of his printed works is his *Zekher Ẓaddikim* (also entitled *Kiẓẓur Aggadah*; ed. by S. Poznanski, 1920), a detailed account of Karaite history from its beginnings to the author's time. This book demonstrates anti-rabbinic tendencies and contains numerous incorrect historical data and other errors. Since it lacks a critical approach it is of little scientific value. This book is an example of modern Karaite historiography, which demonstrates at the same time an interest in modern research and manipulation of the facts for the ideological and political purposes of the community. His main concepts concerning Karaite history, presented in this book, were adopted by Sultansky's disciple A. *Firkovich before the latter started his public and research activity.

Sultansky also published a Hebrew grammar entitled *Petaḥ Tikvah* (pt. 1, Yevpatoriya, 1857); *Tetiv Da'at* (ibid., 1858), a philosophical defense of Karaism, containing many quotations from old rabbinic and modern Hebrew authors, and polemics against Rabbanism and Ḥasidism; *Sefer ha-Ta'am* (IOS SPb A 132) – answers to questions posed by a counselor of Czar Alexander I about the origins of Karaites; *Palgei Mayyim*, a commentary on the Lamentations of Jeremiah (IOS SPb B 429). Most of his works remained unpublished, among them *Or ha-Ganuz* (philosophical composition); *Hod Malkhut* – the treatise about Karaism and against Rabbanism which he planned to present to Czar Nicholas I, but for some unknown reason did not; *Yalkut Yosef* (commentaries on the Torah); *Mikhtam Sur me-Ra* (ethical composition). Sultansky also studied new Hebrew written works belonging to the Haskalah. He was on a friendly terms with Peretz Smolenskin and Efraim Deinard.

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[Golda Akhiezer (2nd ed.)]

SULZBACH, town in Bavaria, Germany (united with the village of Rosenberg in 1934). A Jewish settlement is first mentioned in 1305. It suffered during persecutions in 1337, and during the Black *Death persecutions of 1349 it was probably annihilated. A community was reestablished only 300 years later, in 1666, under the rule of Duke Christian-August of Pfalz-Sulzbach. During the early history of the new community its settlers were mainly *Schutz juden* with limited residence permits. After the first three families had arrived, a cemetery was consecrated. In the wake of the expulsion of Jews from Vienna in 1670 additional settlers came to the town, and in that year the community's first rabbi, Joseph Moses Hause, took office. By 1682 the community had an organized school under the direction of David Brot. In 1685 a liberal charter of privileges was granted, and was renewed in 1712. According to the charter the recognized head of the community acted as its representative in all negotiations with the authorities. At first, public prayers were held in a private house, but in 1687 a house was converted into a synagogue, and in 1737 a new synagogue was built. By 1699 there were 15 Jewish families in Sulzbach. Among the important personages of the community was Joseph b. Eliezer Oettingen, author of *Edut be-Yosef* (Sulzbach, 1741), a Bible commentary. The Schwabacher family, its members noted for their work as court factors and merchants, also lived in Sulzbach in the 18th century. In 1745 there were 22 families in the community, in 1829, 65. The community possessed a *Memorbuch*, of importance in tracing its history and development. The synagogue was destroyed by fire in 1822 and another was built in 1824. An elementary school for Jewish children was founded in 1825, and functioned until 1923. In accordance with the *Toleranzpatent of 1813 there were to be no more than 65 families in the town, and that number was roughly maintained until the middle of the 19th century when the Jewish population was gradually reduced by emigration. By 1933 there were only eight Jews living in Sulzbach.

Hebrew Printing

The inclination of Duke Christian-August toward mysticism and Kabbalah aroused his interest in the Hebrew language and led him to grant an authorization in 1669 for the founding of a Hebrew press in his town. As a result Sulzbach became renowned in the Jewish world. The first of the Jewish printers was Isaac bar Judah Yudeh Katz of Prague. In 1684 the ownership of his press passed to the Bloch family, and from 1699 until 1851, the year the press shut down, it was held by the Frankel-Arnstein family. The Sulzbach press printed 702 works, which consisted mostly of *siddurim*, *mahzorim*, Bibles, three editions of the Talmud, and popular *musar* (ethical) literature in Judeo-German. The press first achieved fame as a result of its excellent edition of the Zohar, printed in 1684. The half-folio edition of the *maḥzor enjoyed a wide circulation ever since 1699 when it first appeared; there was hardly a community in southern Germany ("Ashkenazi ritual") where it was not employed as *maḥzor-kahal* (community *maḥzor*) by the *ḥazzan*. The publication of the Talmud in Sulzbach was the cause of a serious dispute with the Proops *brothers of Amsterdam. The demise of the press was due partly to the prohibition on importing Hebrew books into the Austrian Empire as well as to the excellent quality of work produced by Wolf *Heidenheim's press in *Roedelheim, with which the Sulzbach press could not compete.

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[Jacob Rothschild]

SULZBACH, ABRAHAM (1838–1925), educator and scholar. Sulzbach, born in Hamburg, studied rabbinics with the local chief rabbi (A. Stern), S.B. *Bamberger in Wuerzburg, and M. Landsberg in Berlin; in Wuerzburg and Berlin he also attended university, studying history and philology. From 1862 to 1912 he taught German, history, geography and talmudic subjects at the high school (*Realschule der Israelitischen Religionsgesellschaft*) that S.R. *Hirsch had established in Frankfurt.

Among his published works are *Renan und der Judaismus* (1867); *Dichterklaenge aus Spaniens besseren Tagen* (1873, 1903^{2}); *Die religioese und weltliche Poesie der Juden vom 7. bis zum 16. Jahrhundert* (1893; later in J. Winter and A. Wuensche, *Die juedische Literatur seit Abschluss des Kanons*, vol. 3); *Bilder aus der juedischen Vergangenheit* (1914, 1923^{2}); *Die Ethik des Judentums* (1923; extracts from R. Judah he-Ḥasid, *Sefer Ḥasidim*); and he edited an anonymous commentary on Job (1911). Sulzbach also translated the book of Esther (*Das Buch Esther*, 1904^{3}; 1906^{4}; incl. the evening prayer for Purim) and the *Targum Sheni* of Esther (1920) into German and edited some prayer books with translation, such as *Sefer ha-Ḥayyim* (1905^{8}, 1930^{10}; repr. 1983) and *Koheleth Schelomo* (1908).

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[Archiv Bibliographia Judaica]

SULZBACH, WALTER (1889–1969), sociologist. Sulzbach was born in Frankfurt and was a professor at the university there until the Hitler regime. In 1937 he immigrated to the United States, where he assumed various teaching and research positions. Sulzbach's writings are chiefly concerned with the sociology of nations, social classes, and political parties. He conceived of a nation entirely as a political unit, disregarding other criteria such as language and ethnicity. His position regarding imperialism and social classes was Marxist with the addition of socio-psychological components. It was from this point of departure that he wrote *Vorurteile und Instinkte; Eine Untersuchung ueber die Rassenabstossung und den Anti-semitismus* (1923). His most important contribution was an article on the concept of the nation, "*Begriff und Wesen der Nation*," in *Dioskuren*, 2 (1923). He also wrote *Nationales Gemeinschaftsgefuehl und wirtschaftliches Interesse* (1929) and *National Consciousness* (1943).

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[Werner J. Cahnman]

SULZBERGER, ARTHUR HAYS (1891–1968), U.S. publisher of *The New York Times*. Sulzberger, who was born in New York, married Iphigene B. Ochs, the only child of Adolph S. *Ochs, publisher of *The New York Times*, in 1917. He joined the staff of the paper in 1919, after his release from service in World War I as a lieutenant in the field artillery. Given wide-ranging training and responsibilities in all areas of the paper's operation, he was named publisher of the paper and president of The New York Times Co. when Ochs died in 1935. Under his direction, the paper was successful not only in perpetuating Ochs's high traditions of comprehensive, responsible, and impersonal journalism, but also in extending the scope and influence of its coverage through increased attention to interpretative reporting, news of consequence in political and economic affairs, and the world of culture and the arts. As the newspaper's top executive, he also played a dominant role in its affiliated operations, including: the Chattanooga *Times*, the paper published by Ochs at the time he went to New York; the Spruce Falls Power and Paper Co. Ltd., of Canada, the largest newsprint producer in the world; and Interstate Broadcasting Co.

As his father-in-law had done, he too trained a son-in-law to succeed him, Orvil Eugene Dryfoos (1912–1963), who had married his daughter Marian. When Sulzberger went into semi-retirement in 1961, he continued as chairman of the board but turned over day-to-day direction of the paper to Dryfoos as publisher. When Dryfoos died suddenly (in 1963), he was succeeded by ARTHUR OCHS SULZBERGER (1926–), son of Arthur Hays Sulzberger. Sulzberger had joined *The New York Times* staff after service with the U.S. Marines. He devoted several years to gaining extensive experience in both its editorial and business operations. After serving as a cub reporter on *The New York Times*, he worked for a year as a reporter for *The Milwaukee Journal*, and then returned to *The New York Times* for assignments on the foreign news desk, as a correspondent in London, Paris, and Rome. He returned to New York in 1955 as assistant to the publisher. He was named assistant treasurer in 1958, and was president and publisher from 1963 until 1992 and served as chairman until 1997. In 1972 he won the Pulitzer Prize for publishing *The Pentagon Papers*. In 2005 he received the Katharine Graham Lifetime Achievement Award from the Newspaper Association of America. His son ARTHUR OCHS SULZBERGER JR. (1951–) became the publisher of *The New York Times* in 1992 and chairman in 1997. Sulzberger's first cousin CYRUS LEO SULZBERGER (1912–1993) was a prominent *New York Times* foreign affairs columnist. He wrote a large number of books, among them *Seven Continents and Forty Years: A Concentration of Memoirs* (with A. Malraux, 1977).

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[Irving Rosenthal / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

SULZBERGER, MAYER (1843–1923), U.S. jurist and communal leader. He was born at Heidelsheim, Germany, and was to remember the cries of the mobs that were part of the anti-Jewish movement that followed the Revolution of 1848. His father, a *ḥazzan* and teacher, immigrated to the United States in 1849 and settled in Philadelphia. Sulzberger studied law in the office of Moses A. *Dropsie, was admitted to the bar in 1865, and became one of the leading lawyers of Philadelphia. He was elected a judge of the Court of Common Pleas in 1895. In 1909 President William Howard Taft wished to appoint him U.S. ambassador to Turkey but Sulzberger preferred to remain a judge. He served until 1915 when, by this time president judge of the Court of Common Pleas, he refused to run for reelection so that he might devote himself to his Hebrew studies. However, he was a member of a commission to revise the constitution of Pennsylvania in 1920. As a judge he impressed the lawyers practicing before him not only by his legal learning but by his impatience with words that lacked substance. He regarded judicial precedents as "more or less tentative hypotheses," to be followed only when they were socially serviceable and to be ignored or set aside when they led to conclusions at war with new social needs.

In 1906 he helped organize, and was the first president of, the *American Jewish Committee. As its president, he helped bring about the abrogation of the commercial treaty between the United States and Russia because of Russia's refusal to recognize U.S. passports when issued to Jewish citizens. He was also a founder and the first president of the Young Men's Hebrew Association of Philadelphia, a vice president of the Philadelphia Jewish Hospital, which his father had helped found, and a trustee of the Baron de Hirsch Fund. Although he believed in making Ereẓ Israel a place of refuge and a home for Jews, he was not a Zionist and did not believe in a Jewish state.

While still in his early twenties, Sulzberger had helped Isaac *Leeser in the publication of *The Occident* and *American Jewish Advocate* and, after Leeser's death in 1868, he continued its publication for a year. He was one of the founders of the *Jewish Publication Society of America and, for many years, chairman of its Publication Committee. He helped reorganize, in 1901, the *Jewish Theological Seminary of America in New York and was a governor of *Dropsie College in Philadelphia. He had been secretary of the board of trustees of Maimonides College, the first Jewish seminary in the United States (1867–73), and was a trustee of *Gratz College from its foundation. He was also one of the original members of the *American Jewish Historical Society. Among his other communal activities was that of trustee of the Jefferson Medical College. He collected an important library of Hebrew books and manuscripts and in 1902 presented this to the Jewish Theological Seminary as the nucleus of its library. Sulzberger lectured on Hebrew jurisprudence and government at Dropsie College and at the Jewish Theological Seminary.

The lectures, based principally on a study of the text of the Bible, were published as *The Am Ha-Aretz – the Ancient Hebrew Parliament, a Chapter in the Constitutional History of Ancient Israel* (1909); *The Policy of the Ancient Hebrews* (1912); *The Ancient Hebrew Law of Homicide* (1915); and *The Status of Labor in Ancient Israel* (1923). His conclusions in the lectures (so he wrote in the preface to the last of these publications) may at first sight seem "bizarre" and "will scarcely meet with ready acceptance since they depart from notions very generally entertained," but their object was to stimulate the students to follow them "without preconceived opinions," and also to stimulate research. It was in this last volume that he pointed out that "a great movement for the protection and improvement of the laboring mass was initiated in Israel more than three thousand years ago, and continued to promote its life and literature, becoming indeed a part of the mental condition of the people."

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[Charles Reznikoff]

SULZER, SOLOMON (1804–1890), Austrian cantor and reformer of liturgical music. He was cantor in his native town of Hohenems, Tyrol, at the age of 16, and from 1826 officiated at the New Synagogue in Vienna. His singing won the admiration of Schubert and Liszt. Sulzer adopted a path of moderate reform, for which he won the support of the head of the community, Isaac Noah *Mannheimer. He sought to "renovate" traditional *ḥazzanut* by taking into consideration the musical trends of the time. Sulzer applied his principles in his great work *Shir Ẓiyyon* (Song of Zion), in the first part of which, published in 1840, he purified many melodies of their unbecoming additions and trimmings. He allowed his choral music, however, to be dominated by the style of Christian church music of his time, even using Christian compositions. The second part, published in 1866, included recitatives in the ancient Polish style, taken from Polish or Russian cantors, with improvements.

Though his innovations aroused little sympathy among the cantors of Eastern Europe, they were not considered as foreign or "un-Jewish," like those of the Reform movement, and they were widely adopted in modern synagogues between 1835 and 1876. Actually, as was later to become evident, Sulzer offered his community only a compromise between his own musical compositions and prevailing practice. He himself would have preferred complete reform. In a memorandum written in 1876, he suggested the introduction of an organ, curtailment of the liturgy, the use of German hymns, and even abolition of the traditional cantillation of the Torah. His approach to *ḥazzanut* was that of a professional musician seeking a complete break with the old style. This brought him criticism from Eastern European Jewry or only partial acceptance. Nevertheless, Sulzer restored splendor to the prayer service and enjoyed wide respect in Central Europe.

A new scientific edition of Sulzer's *Shir Ẓiyyon* appeared in Vienna in the series *Denkmaeler der Tonkunst in Oesterreich.*

[Ernst Daniel Goldschmidt / Akiva Zimmerman]

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SUMAC (mishnaic Heb. אוֹג), the Arabic name for the *Rhus coriaria*. This shrub or low tree, belonging to the family Anacardiadeae, which includes the *terebinth and the *pistachio, grows wild in the groves of Israel. The tree is dioecious, with pinnate leaves containing a high proportion of tannin which is used in the manufacture of leather, whence its Hebrew name *og ha-bursaka'im* ("tanner's sumac"). The female trees bear reddish fruits (in Ar. *sumac* means "red") arranged in dense clusters. The fruits are shaped like lentils, and are hairy with an acrid taste. It is used as a spice by some Oriental communities. It was cultivated in mishnaic times and is therefore reckoned with those fruits to which the law of **pe'ah* applied (Pe'ah 1:5), but in Judea where it grew wild abundantly it was not very highly valued and a lenient attitude was adopted about *pe'ah* (Dem. 1:1).

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[Jehuda Feliks]

SUMBAL (Sunbal), SAMUEL (d. 1782), Moroccan diplomat. After a prosperous career in trade, Sumbal entered the service of the sultan of *Morocco as an interpreter and confidential adviser. Ultimately, he was responsible for the conduct of the sultan's foreign policy and was the Moroccan representative in all negotiations with the envoys of the European states. In recognition of his potential utility, the Spanish government granted him a yearly allowance. In 1751 he was sent on a special mission to *Denmark as ambassador.

Sumbal occupied an important position in the life of the Moroccan Jewish communities and was recognized as their **nagid*. In 1780 he fell into disgrace on the charge of smuggling currency abroad, but escaped from prison and made his way to Gibraltar. There he helped to provision the fortress during the siege which was in progress. He subsequently returned to Morocco, and died in *Tangier.

Sumbal's son JOSEPH ḤAYYIM SUMBAL (d. 1804) then went to Denmark, where he successfully asserted his father's financial claims. In 1787 he created a great stir by proclaiming a new syncretistic religion. Later he settled in *London where by his eccentricity he attracted great attention. In 1794 he was appointed Moroccan ambassador to the English court. In 1797 he married a well-known actress and journalist, Mary Wells, who converted to Judaism. Subsequently, they quarreled and separated, as she recorded in lurid detail in her autobiography. He ultimately settled in Altona (Hamburg), where he died.

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[Cecil Roth]

SUMER, SUMERIANS.

Prehistory

Sumer (Akk. *Šumer* ī Sumerian *Kengir*) is the earliest known name of the land corresponding roughly to the southern half of Iraq. It was first settled about 5000 B.C.E. by agriculturists from the hilly regions to the north and/or east, known as Ubaidians because their remains were first uncovered in al-Ubaid, a tell near Ur. Nothing is known about their language except for traces left in a number of geographical names and words, relating to agriculture and technology, borrowed by the Sumerians. Following the settlement of the land by the Ubaidians, nomadic Semites from the north and west infiltrated the land as settlers and conquerors. The Sumerians themselves did not arrive until about 3500 B.C.E. from their original home, which may have been in the region of the Caspian Sea. Sumerian civilization, therefore, is a product of the ethnic and cultural fusion of Ubaidians, Semites, and Sumerians; it is designated as Sumerian because at the beginning of recorded history it was the Sumerian language and ethos that prevailed throughout the land.

History

History of a legendary character begins in Sumer in the first half of the third millennium with the three partly contemporaneous dynasties of Kish, Erech (Uruk), and Ur. Some of the outstanding rulers of this era were: Etana of Kish, a figure of legendary fame; Enmerkar, Lugalbanda, and Gilgamesh of Erech, three heroic figures celebrated in a cycle of epic tales; and Mes-anne-padda of Ur, the first ruler from whom we have contemporary inscriptions. The three-cornered struggle among these cities so weakened Sumer that for a century or so it came under the domination of the Elamite people to the east. It recovered during the reign of Lugal-anne-mundu of Adab (c. 2500), who is reported to have controlled not only Sumer but some of the neighboring lands as well.

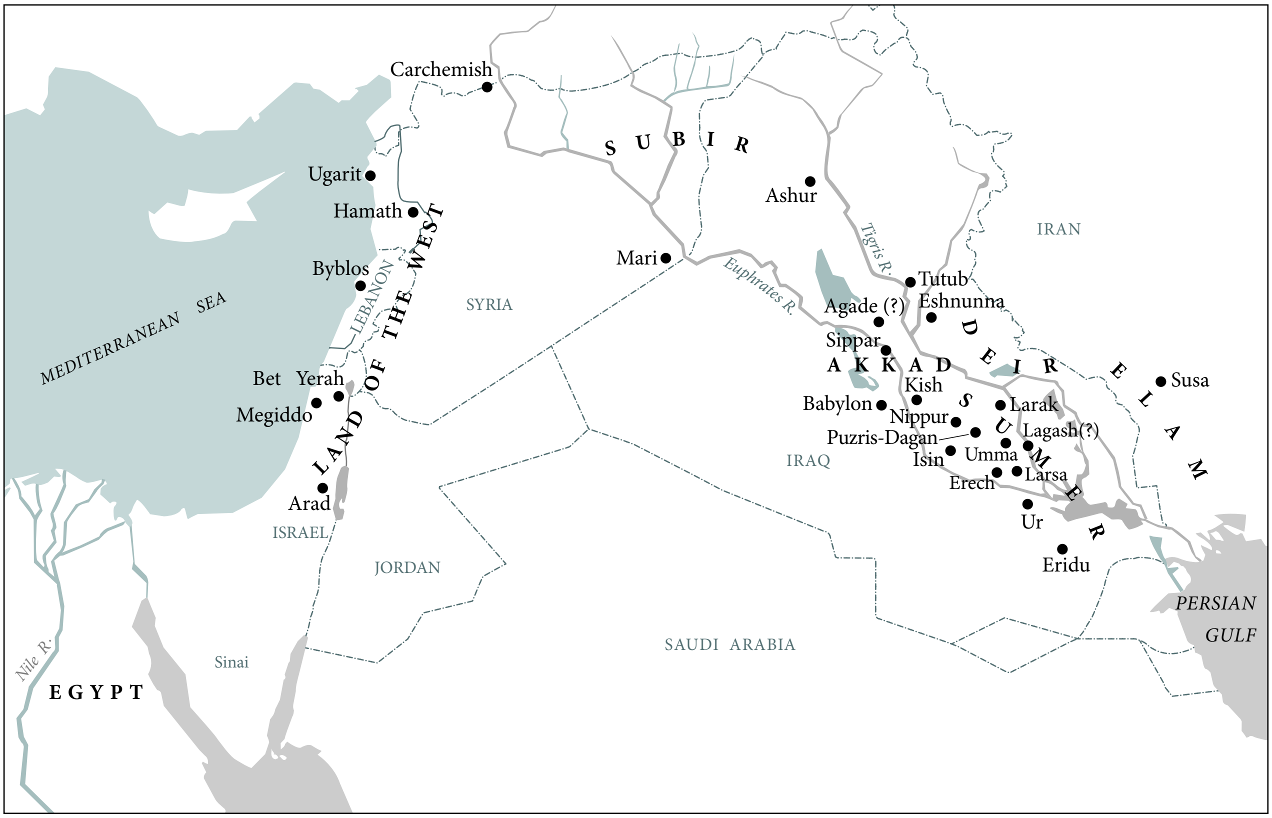
Carchemish
S U B I R
Ugarit
Hamath
Byblos
LEBANON
LAND OF THE WEST
SYRIA
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
Bet Yerah
Megiddo
Arad
ISRAEL
JORDAN
Mari
Ashur
Tigris R.
Euphrates R.
IRAN
Tutub
Eshnunna
Agade (?)
Sippar
A K K A D
Kish
Babylon
Nippur
Puzris-Dagan
Isin
Umma
Erech
Larak
Lagash(?)
Larsa
Ur
Eridu
D E I R
E L A M
Susa
S U M E R
IRAQ
SAUDI ARABIA
PERSIAN GULF
Nile R.
EGYPT
Sinai

The Near East in the third millennium B.C.E., *showing Sumer lying between the Tigris and Euphrates rivers. Boundaries of modern states are outlined in gray. After Y. Aharoni,* Carta's Atlas of the Bible*, Jerusalem, 1964.*

Authentic history, recorded on significant contemporary documents, begins with the second half of the third millennium. The earliest-known ruler from this period is Mesilim (c. 2475), noted for arbitrating a dispute between the two rival city states, Lagash and Umma. In the century that followed, Lagash played a dominant political role in Sumer; under one of its rulers, Eannatum (c. 2425), it became for a brief period the capital of Sumer. Its last ruler, Urukagina (c. 2360), was history's first-known social reformer; the documents from his reign record a sweeping reform of a whole series of bureaucratic abuses and the restoration of "freedom" to the citizens. Urukagina was defeated by Lugal-zagge-si (c. 2350) of Umma, an ambitious king who moved his capital to Erech and succeeded in making himself ruler of all Sumer. By this time, however, Semites from the north and west had infiltrated northern Sumer, and one of their leaders, Sargon (c. 2325), defeated Lugal-zagge-si and conquered all Sumer, and indeed much of ancient western Asia. Later generations claimed that his power extended even to Egypt and India. Sargon built a new capital, Agade (biblical, Akkad), and following his reign the land came to be known as "Sumer and Akkad."

The Dynasty of Akkad endured for over a century. Toward the end of its rule, Sumer suffered a humiliating invasion by the Gutians from the Zagros hills, and thus came under Gutian domination for close to a century (c. 2200–2100). Throughout much of this period, however, the city of Lagash seemed to flourish, and one of its rulers, Gudea (c. 2140), whose statues and inscriptions have made him one of the figures best known to the modern world, exercised considerable power in spite of the Gutian overlordship.

Sumer was finally liberated from its Gutian yoke and, under the Third Dynasty of Ur, founded by Ur-Nammu (c. 2100), a king noted as the promulgator of the first-known law code, it experienced a remarkable renaissance. Ur-Nammu's son, Shulgi (c. 2080), was one of the great monarchs of the ancient world. A rare combination of statesman, soldier, administrator, and patron of music and literature, he founded Sumer's two leading academies at Nippur and Ur. The last of the dynasty, the pious, pathetic Ibbi-Sin (c. 2015), was a victim of infiltration by the nomadic Amurru from the west, of unrelenting military attacks by the Elamites from the east, and of traitorous intrigues by his own governors and generals. Ur was finally destroyed and Ibbi-Sin carried off to Elam, a calamity long mourned by the poets of Sumer in dolorous laments. Following the destruction of Ur, Ishbi-Irra, one of Ibbi-Sin's traitorous generals, established a dynasty in Isin (c. 2000) that lasted for some 200 years. Isin was destroyed by Rim-Sin (c. 1800), a king of neighboring Larsa, who, in turn, was subjugated by Hammurapi (c. 1750) of Babylon. With the reign of

Hammurapi, the history of Sumer comes to an end, and that of Babylonia begins.

Society

Sumerian society was predominantly urban in character; large and small cities dotted the landscape and shaped its social, political, and economic life. Physically the city was rather drab and unattractive. Streets were narrow, crooked, and winding; they were unpaved, uncleaned, and unsanitary. Houses were thick-walled mudbrick compounds of several rooms, with here and there a more elegant two-story home. But the city had its broad boulevards, busy bazaar, and tempting public square. Above all, there was the sacred precinct with its monumental temple and sky-reaching ziggurat. The citizen took great pride in his city and loved it dearly, as is manifest from the heart-breaking laments in which the poets bewailed its destruction.

The population of the city, which may have varied from 10,000 to 50,000, consisted of free citizens, serf-like clients, and foreign and native slaves. Some of the free citizens were high temple functionaries, important palace officials, and rich landowners; together these formed a kind of noble class. The majority of free citizens were farmers and fishermen, artisans and craftsmen, merchants and scribes. The serf-like clients were dependents of the temple, palace, and rich estates; they were usually given small plots of land for temporary possession, as well as rations of food and wool. Slaves were the property of their owners, but had certain legal rights: they could borrow money, engage in business, and buy their freedom.

The basic unit of society was the family. Marriage was arranged by the parents, and the betrothal, often accompanied by a written contract, was legally recognized as soon as the groom presented a bridal gift to the bride's father. Women had high legal standing: they could hold property, engage in business, and qualify as witnesses. But the husband could divorce his wife on relatively slight grounds and could marry a second wife if the first was childless. Children were under the absolute authority of the parents and could be disinherited or even sold into slavery.

Politically, the cities were governed by a viceroy who was subject to the king. Kingship was hereditary, but usurpers were frequent, and capitals changed from time to time. The king's word and authority were supreme, but he was not an arbitrary despot; as intermediary between the people and their gods, it was his responsibility to insure the prosperity and well-being of the land by leadership in war, the upkeep of the irrigation system, the building and restoration of the temples and their ziggurats, and the preservation and promotion of law and justice. There were also city assemblies of free citizens which originally wielded considerable power, but later became consultative bodies.

Religion

The Sumerians believed that the universe and everything in it were created by four deities: the heaven-god An, the air-god Enlil, the water-god Enki, and the mother-goddess Ninhursag. To help them operate the universe effectively, these four deities, with Enlil as their leader, gave birth to, or "fashioned," a large number of lesser gods and goddesses, and placed them in charge of its various components and elements. All the gods were anthropomorphic and functioned in accordance with duly prescribed laws and regulations; though originally immortal, they suffered death if they over-stepped their bounds. Man was created for the sole purpose of serving the gods and supplying them with food and shelter, hence the building of temples and the offering of sacrifices were man's prime duties. Sumerian religion, therefore, was dominated by priest-conducted rites and rituals; the most important of these was the New Year sacred marriage rite celebrating the mating of the king with the goddess of love and procreation. Ethically, the Sumerians cherished all the generally accepted virtues. But sin and evil, suffering, and misfortune were, they believed, also divinely planned and inevitable; hence each family had its personal god to intercede for them in time of misfortune and need. Worst of all, death and descent to the dark, dreary netherworld were man's ultimate lot, and life on earth was therefore man's most treasured possession.

The Written Word

Sumer's most significant contribution to civilization was the development of the cuneiform system of writing into an effective tool of communication. It began about 3000 B.C.E. as a crude pictographic script used for simple administrative memoranda, in which the signs represented ideograms or logograms; it ended up a thousand years later as a flexible phonetic syllabary adaptable to every kind of writing: legal, historical, epistolary, and literary. To teach and disseminate it, schools were established throughout the land, and thus formal education came into being. For purposes of instruction, the schoolmen developed a curriculum consisting of copying and memorizing especially prepared "textbooks" inscribed with long lists of words and phrases that covered every field of knowledge available to them: linguistic, botanical, zoological, geographical, mineralogical, and artifactual. An important part of the curriculum was mathematics, since no scribe could function as a competent secretary, accountant, or administrator without a thorough knowledge of the sexagesimal system of notation current throughout the land; the students had to copy, study, and memorize scores of tablets involving all sorts of mathematical operations, as well as numerous problem texts involving their practical application.

See also *Mesopotamia.

Biblical Echoes

There are a number of biblical words that go back in all probability to Sumerian origin: *ʿanak* (Sumerian *naga*), "tin"; *ʿeden* (*edin*), "Eden"; *gan* (*gan*), "garden"; *hekhal* (*egal*), "palace"; *ḥiddeqel* (*idiglat*), "Tigris"; *ʾikkar* (*engar*), "farmer"; *kisse* (*guza*), "chair"; *malaḥ* (*malaḥ*), "sailor"; *perat* (*buranum*), "Euphrates"; *shir* (*sir*), "song"; *tammuz* (*dumuzi*), "Tammuz"; *tel* (*dul*), "mound"; *tifsar* (*dubsar*), "scribe"; *tomer* (*nimbar*), "palm-tree." Far more significant are the literary motifs, themes, patterns, and ideas that go back to Sumerian prototypes: the existence of a primeval sea; the separation of heaven and earth; the creation of man from clay imbued with the breath of life; the creative power of the divine word; several "paradise" motifs; the Flood story; the Cain-Abel rivalry; the Tower of Babel and confusion of tongues; the notion of a personal, family god; divine retribution and national catastrophe; plagues as divine punishment; the "Job" motif of suffering and submission; the nature of death and the netherworld dreams as foretokens of the building of temples. Not a few of the biblical laws go back to Sumerian origins, and in such books as Psalms, Proverbs, Lamentations, and the Song of Songs there are echoes of the corresponding Sumerian literary genres. Sumerian influence on the Hebrews came indirectly through the Canaanites, Assyrians, and Babylonians, although to judge from the Abraham story and the often suggested Ḥabiru-Hebrew equation, the distant forefathers of the biblical Hebrews may have had some direct contact with the Sumerians. The Biblical word for Sumer is generally assumed to be Shinar (Heb. שִׁנְעָר; Gen. 10:10). It has also been suggested that Shinar represents the cuneiform *šum*(*er*)-*ur*(*i*), i.e., Sumer and Akkad, and that the biblical equivalent of Sumer is Shem (from cuneiform *šum*(*er*)); hence the *anshe ha-shem* of the days of yore in Genesis 6:4.

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[Samuel Noah Kramer]

SUMMERS, LAWRENCE H. (1954–) U.S. economist, secretary of the Treasury, 27th president of Harvard University. Born in New Haven, Connecticut, Summers is the son of two noted economists, Robert and Anita Summers, and nephew of two Nobel laureates. His father's brother, Paul *Samuelson, won the Nobel prize in economics in 1970, and his mother's brother, Kenneth *Arrow, won the same prize two years later.

Larry Summers grew up in Penn Valley, Pennsylvania, in the Philadelphia suburbs, and attended the Lower Merion public schools. At 16 he was accepted for admission to Massachusetts Institute of Technology, where he majored in economics and was an active member of the debate team before graduating in 1975. For graduate school, Summers moved down the Charles River to Harvard University and studied under renowned economist Martin Feldstein. After completing his dissertation, "An Asset-Price Approach to Capital Income Taxation," Summers received his Ph.D. in economics in 1982. He had already been a member of the economics faculty at MIT for three years, where he had been named an assistant professor in 1979 and an associate professor in 1982.

Upon receipt of his Ph.D., Summers went to Washington to serve as a domestic policy economist for the President's Council of Economic Advisors. One year later, Summers, then 28, returned to Harvard as the youngest member of the economics faculty to be granted tenure.

Summers' research at Harvard was broad ranging, with many of his most important contributions coming in the fields of public finance, labor economics, financial economics, and macroeconomics. He also produced research on topics in international economics, developmental economics, economic demography, and economic history.

In 1987, Summers was named Nathaniel Ropes Professor of Political Economy at Harvard and was the first social scientist to win the Congressionally established Alan T. Waterman Award from the National Science Foundation. In 1993, Summers received the prestigious John Bates Clark Medal from the American Economic Association, an award given every two years to the outstanding American economist under the age of 40.

Summers returned to Washington in 1991, serving this time as vice president of development economics and chief economist at the World Bank. Summers guided the Bank's research, statistics, and training programs, and created strategies for assisting developing nations and the Bank's global loans. Among his highest profile efforts was a publication that demonstrated the tremendous return on investing in educating girls in developing countries.

Two years later, President Clinton appointed Summers undersecretary of the Treasury for International Affairs, under then-Secretary Lloyd Bentsen, giving Summers authority over building and executing U.S. international economic policy. In 1995, incoming Secretary Robert Rubin promoted Summers to the Treasury Department's number two post, deputy secretary of the Treasury, where he played a high-profile role handling many of the United States' economic, financial, and tax matters on the domestic and global stages. At this time, Summers worked closely with Alan Greenspan, chairman of the Federal Reserve, formulating governmental responses to several financial crises in developing nations around the world.

When Rubin announced his resignation in 1999, President Clinton chose Summers to be the next secretary of the Treasury, and the Senate confirmed him on July 2. Summers remained Treasury secretary until President Clinton's second term ended in January 2001. As secretary, Summers served as the president's chief financial advisor. He managed a diverse department with a workforce of almost 150,000 employees spread across over a dozen bureaus and offices in such areas as trade policy, law enforcement, and currency production.

Summers's efforts as secretary of the Treasury include helping build an enormous pay down of U.S. national debt, managing the enactment of the most sweeping financial deregulation in 60 years, reforming the International Monetary Fund and international financial architecture as a whole, and securing debt relief for the world's poorest nations. At the conclusion of his term, Summers received the department's highest honor, the Alexander Hamilton Medal, named after the first secretary of the Treasury.

After leaving Treasury, Summers served as the Arthur Okun Distinguished Fellow in Economics, Globalization, and Governance at the Washington-based think-tank, the Brookings Institution. His work there continued to focus on international financial crises.

In the spring of 2001, after a nine-month search to replace outgoing President Neil Rudenstine, the President and Fellows of Harvard College announced their election of Summers, then 47, as the 27th president of Harvard University. Summers officially assumed the office on July 1, 2001. His tenure as president was marked by such university priorities as enhancing financial aid for students from families of modest means, expanding opportunities for students to study and work outside the United States, encouraging a comprehensive review and renewal of the undergraduate academic experience, spurring a range of interdisciplinary initiatives in the sciences as well as other academic domains, and planning for a major physical expansion of the Harvard campus. His address focusing attention on antisemitism in the world from the Chapel of Harvard University generated international attention. Summers began these well-publicized remarks by expressing astonishment that the world situation had so changed that he would have to speak forthrightly of this problem. Summers resigned the Harvard presidency in March 2006.

[Sheryl Sandberg (2nd ed.)]

SUMPTUARY LAWS, enactments issued by communities against luxury and ostentation; frequently combined with a distinctly class aim – that each should dress according to his standing in the community – allied to the wish to help people withstand the temptation of conspicuous consumption beyond their means. The sumptuary laws were also designed to put an end to anti-Jewish agitations stemming from accusations of ostentatious living. **Takkanot* of a sumptuary nature referred either to dress and jewelry or to the size of banquets held at weddings and circumcision ceremonies and the number of guests permitted to attend them: e.g., the Rhenish *synods of 1202–23 limited banquets to those who participated in the religious ceremony. A conference held in 1418 at Forlí, Italy, limited the number of guests who could be invited to a wedding to 20 men, ten women, five girls, and all the relatives up to second cousins. They also permitted the wearing of fur-lined jackets, in any color other than black, provided that the sleeves and the garments themselves were not fringed with silk. The Castilian synod convened at Valladolid in 1432 forbade Jews aged 15 and over to "wear any cloak of gold thread, olive-colored material, or silk, or any cloak trimmed" with these materials on occasions other than "a time of festivity or at a reception of a lord or a lady, or at balls or similar social occasions." In the 16th and 17th centuries the communities of Salonika, Mantua, and Rome issued periodic anti-luxury regulations. The Cracow community ordinances of 1595 contained paragraphs on sumptuary laws. The Lithuanian Council (see *Councils of the Lands) in 1637, referring to its previous regulations which had been wholly disregarded, empowered local rabbis to decide how many guests might be invited to festive meals. The Polish Council of Four Lands in 1607 enjoined Jews from wearing gentile apparel "in order that the Jews be distinguished by their dress." In 1659 the number of invited guests at a circumcision was scaled according to the host's means: "a person who pays two zlotys in taxes may invite 15 persons, four zlotys 20 persons, six zlotys 25 persons, including the rabbi, the preacher, the cantor, and the beadle." In Moravia the cost of wedding clothes was determined by the amount of the dowry. In Carpentras, the papal possession in southeastern France, sumptuary regulations were adopted in three stages (1712–40). In many places these statutes were honored more in the breach than in the observance.

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[Isaac Levitats]

SUN (Heb., שֶׁמֶשׁ; poetical form חַמָּה; Isa. 24:23; 30:26; Song 6:10, et al.). A deity for Israel's neighbors, the sun is for Israel "the greater light to rule the day", created on the fourth day of creation (Gen. 1:16). In Joseph's dream, the sun and the moon personify his parents (Gen. 37:9–10). In Joshua 10:12–14, the sun is said to have stood still to give the Israelites time to defeat the Amorites.

Cult

In the Bible, the sun is either feminine or masculine in gender. As a deity it is masculine in Mesopotamia, and feminine in Ugarit, South Arabia, and other places. The Hittites worshiped a god and a goddess of the sun. Under the Sumerian name Uta or the Semitic Shamash, the sun, as the god of justice, was worshiped especially at the temple of Ebabbar in Sippar, in northern Babylonia. In the stele of Hammurapi's code from Susa, Hammurapi is depicted standing before Shamash who is seated on a throne (see Pritchard, Pictures, 175, no. 515).

The rare word for sun חֶרֶס (Job 9:7; cf. *har ḥeres* in Judg. 1:35, identical with *ir shemesh* in Josh. 19:41) has no known cognate in the Semitic languages.

The cult of the sun, very popular in Palestine – as is attested by place-names such as Beth-Shemesh, En-Shemesh, Ir-Shemesh – was forbidden in Deuteronomy 4:19 and 17:3. It was, nevertheless, introduced into Judah by Manasseh (II Kings 21:3, 5). King Josiah abolished the cult (II Kings 23:5) and destroyed the horses and chariots of the sun placed "by the kings of Judah at the entrance of the Temple" (23:11).

See Host of *Heaven; *Moon; *Sundial.

In the *Aggadah*

The usual word for "sun" in rabbinic literature is *ḥammah*, although *shemesh* also occurs. The sun and the moon were created on the 28th of Elul (PD-RE 8). Although they were originally equal in size, jealousy induced dissensions between them, each claiming to be greater than the other. This necessitated the reduction in size of one of them, and the moon was chosen to be degraded because it had unlawfully intruded into the sun's domain. This is based on the phenomenon that the moon is sometimes visible while the sun is still above the horizon (PD-RE 6; Gen. R. 6:3). Originally, the sun was designated as Jacob's tutelary luminary but later God assigned it to Esau, the moon being designated for Jacob. For this reason the Jewish people reckon by the lunar calendar (Gen. R. 6:3). It was God's original intention that the sun alone should furnish light to the earth. However, when He foresaw the future idolatrous worship of the heavenly objects, He decided that it would be better to have two large celestial bodies so that the danger of one becoming a central deity would be minimized (Gen. R. 6:1). For this reason, the sun and moon stand in judgment daily before God, ashamed to go forth, pleading "People worship us and anger the Holy One, blessed be He!" (Mid. Ps. to 19:11). When Joshua bade the sun stand still it first refused, but complied when Joshua said, "Faithless servant! Did not my ancestor [Joseph] see you in his dream, bowing down to him?" (Gen. R. 84:11).

God placed the sun in the second firmament because placing it in the one nearest the earth would have consumed all beings by its heat (Mid. Ps. to 19:13). Indeed, the sun is kept in a sheath. In the future, God will draw forth the sun from its sheath and the wicked will be consumed by its intense heat. Hence during that period there will be no Gehinnom (Ned. 8b). Simultaneously, the sun will heal the righteous of all ills, and will be a glorious ornament for them (Ned. 8b). The sun ascends by means of 366 steps, and descends by 183 in the east and 183 in the west. There are 366 windows in the firmament through which the sun successively emerges and retires. These windows are arranged so as to regulate the sun's movements in accordance with the *tekufot* ("seasons") of the year. The sun bows down before God and declares its obedience to His commands. Three letters of God's name are written on the sun's heart, and it rides in a chariot. One set of angels leads it by day and another set leads it by night (PD-RE 6).

The rotation of the sun causes the emission of beams and rays just as dust is produced by sawing wood. The sound which the sun makes during its rotations would be heard were it not for the din of the city of Rome (Yoma 20b). The rabbis differ as to the color of the sun. One holds that its natural color is truly red as it appears at sunrise and sunset, yet it appears white during the day because its powerful rays dim the sight of man. Another says the sun is actually white, but it appears red in the morning when it passes through and reflects the red roses of the Garden of Eden, and also toward evening when it passes through and reflects the fires of Gehinnom (BB 84a). The Talmud deduces the healing efficacy of sunlight from the verse "But unto you… shall the sun of righteousness arise with healing in its wings" (Mal. 3:20; Ned. 8b). Abraham possessed a precious stone which healed the sick. When he died God set it in the sphere of the sun (BB 16b). Sunshine on the Sabbath is considered a blessing for the poor because they have the leisure time to enjoy its rays (Ta'an. 8b).

An eclipse of the sun is an evil sign for the gentiles while an eclipse of the moon augurs evil for the Jews. When the solar eclipse occurs in the eastern horizon it forecasts bad tidings for the inhabitants of the East; if in the western horizon it betokens ill to those of the West; while if it occurs in the zenith it threatens the entire world. When the color of the eclipse is red it symbolizes war; when gray, famine; when changing from red to gray, both war and famine. When the eclipse occurs in the beginning of the day or of the night it signifies that evil will come soon; if late in the day or night, then it will arrive tardily. Jews who are true to their faith need not worry about these premonitions since the prophet already said: "….be not dismayed at the signs of heaven, for the nations are dismayed at them" (Jer. 10:2; Suk. 29a).

See also *Sun, Blessing of.

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[Alfred Rubens]

SUN, BLESSING OF THE (Heb. בִּרְכַּת הַחַמָּה), a prayer service in which the sun is blessed in thanksgiving for its creation and its being set into motion in the firmament on the fourth day of the world (Gen. 1:16–19). The ceremony is held once every 28 years. It takes place after the morning prayer, when the sun is about 90° above the eastern horizon, on the first Wednesday of the month of Nisan. The date is based on calculations by the *amora* *Abbaye, according to whom the vernal equinox cycle (called *maḥzor gadol*) always begins then (Ber. 59b). Although Abbaye's method became obsolete after the adoption of R. *Adda's calendar, the ceremony has not fallen into desuetude. The order of the recital is as follows: Psalms 84:12, 72:5; 75:2, Malachi 3:20, Psalms 97:6 and 148, the benediction: "Praised be the Maker of creation," which is followed by Psalms 19 and 121, the hymn *El Adon* (of the *Shaḥarit* prayer of the Sabbath), the *baraita* of Abbaye (Ber. 59b), and the quotation of an *aggadah* by R. Hananiah b. Akashya (Mak. 3:16). The rite ends with a short thanksgiving prayer in which the congregation expresses gratitude for having been sustained until this day, and the hope to live and reach the days of the Messiah and of the fulfillment of the prophesy of Isaiah "and the light of the sun shall be sevenfold, as the light of the seven days" (Isa. 30:26). The dates for the ceremony in the second half of the 20th century were April 8, 1953 and March 18, 1981. For the first half of the 21st century the dates are April 1, 2009 and March 18, 2037

See also *Calendar.

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SUNBAT (**Sambutia**), town of Lower *Egypt. The Jewish community seems to have been very old because one of *Abraham b. Sahlan's ancestors is mentioned in his family tree as having lived there in the ninth century. The community is also mentioned in the list of contributions for the redemption of prisoners in the middle of the 12th century. *Maimonides appealed to the Jews of Sunbat, in a circular letter addressed to the communities of the eastern region of the Delta, and Anatoli b. Joseph, the *dayyan* of *Alexandria at that time, wrote a poem dedicated to Shabbetai, a teacher in Sunbat. It seems that the community existed until the 17th century because Joseph b. Isaac *Sambari reports that in 1623 a *Sefer Torah* was transferred from Sunbat to a synagogue in *Cairo.

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[Eliyahu Ashtor]

SUNDERLAND, industrial city in N.E. England. The first Jewish settler in Sunderland was Abraham Samuel, a jeweler and silversmith. A community probably existed in the 1750s; a rabbi, Jacob Joseph, came from Holland in 1790, while the first cemetery dates from slightly earlier. Since in the 18th century Sunderland was a coal port of some importance, trading with Holland, Scandinavia, and Danzig, it attracted Jewish settlers from Holland, Bohemia (after foreign Jews were expelled in 1763), and Poland (between 1760 and 1780). The two congregations, Polish and Israelite (Dutch and Bohemian settlers), combined in 1857 to form the Sunderland Hebrew Congregation. Around the 1870s immigration began from Krottingen (Lithuania), again by way of the cheap sea route from Danzig. A larger influx followed the great fire in Krottingen in 1889. This element and other Orthodox Eastern European Jews in the 1890s formed the *bet ha-midrash* which has contributed to Sunderland's reputation for Jewish observance and learning. It has a yeshivah and a *kolel* (institute for higher talmudical studies). In 1968 there was an estimated Jewish population of 1,350. In the mid-1990s the estimated Jewish population dropped to approximately 210. The 2001 British census found 45 declared Jews in Sunderland. One reason for this apparent sharp decline in population probably lies in the fact that *Gateshead, with its famous yeshivah, is situated in the same conurbation in northeast England. Sunderland has an Orthodox synagogue.

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[Vivian David Lipman]

SUNDIAL. Although sundials can be traced back to earlier periods in Egypt and Mesopotamia, the earliest textual reference to a sundial appears to be II Kings 20:8–11 (cf. Isa. 38:7–8). There a shadow-tracking device, ascribed to Ahaz, is used for a sign that Hezekiah would be healed. The Masoretic Text speaks of *ma'alot ahaz*, literally "the steps of Ahaz." Various ancient versions and commentators disagree over whether the device is an actual sundial or a set of stairs attached to Ahaz's palace. Unfortunately, 1QIsa^a, which contains the variant *ma'alot 'lyt*, does not resolve this question.

A fragment of a portable, disk-shaped sundial excavated at Tel Gezer has been dated to the reign of Merneptah (1225–1215 B.C.E.) whose cartouches were inscribed on its back. Earlier representations of this type were found on the ceilings of the early 15th century tombs of Amenhotep I and Serenmuth. These appear as a circle subdivided by radiating lines into 24 equiangular sections.

A later development, the sundial found at Qumran, was shaped like a shallow bowl with three circular dials and a small vertical *gnomon* in its center. The upper dial was divided into approximately 90 sections. The middle dial resembled those known from I Enoch 72, with 18 equiangular 20° "parts." This appears to be a shallow form of the *hemisphaericum of Aristarchus* described by Vitruvius (end first cent. B.C.E.).

For the preceding two dials, since the increments were represented by equally spaced "steps" on each dial, and since the movement of the shadow of the gnomon travels faster at midday and slower at the day's beginning or end, the actual time that the shadow spent within each step varied accordingly. Also, the number of steps through which the shadow passed each day either increased or decreased depending on the season. The solstices, equinoxes, and months (or "gates") were tracked by noting where the first shadow of the gnomon became visible on the dial or by the rising of certain constellations at night.

The latest and most common sundials were the typical Greco-Roman, quarter-spherical *hemicyclium*, and the "conical" *conicum*. Twelve equiangular sections on these dials measured hours which in real time varied both according to the time of the day and season. Three concentric circles, running perpendicular to the hour lines, marked the full extent of the shadow at the four cardinal points of the year.

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[Stephen Pfann (2nd ed.]

SUPERCOMMENTARIES ON THE PENTATEUCH, commentaries mostly on the chief commentators of the Pentateuch – *Rashi, Abraham *Ibn Ezra, and *Naḥmanides. Supercommentaries began to be composed soon after the appearance of the original commentaries. By far the largest number of such supercommentaries are on Rashi, the most popular commentator on the Pentateuch. An early supercommentary was *Minḥat Yehudah* (Leghorn, 1783). It was compiled by *Judah b. Eliezer, probably in Troyes, in the year 1313. The author quotes comments on Rashi by his teacher and earlier authorities. The most extensive supercommentary is by Elijah *Mizraḥi. It was printed for the first time in Venice in 1527, some time after the author's death, and in itself is largely quoted and discussed by later supercommentators. Prominent rabbis who wrote supercommentaries on Rashi included: Israel *Isserlein (*Be'urim al Perush Rashi…*, Venice, 1519); Obadiah di *Bertinoro (*Amar Neke*, Pisa, 1810); Samuel *Almosnino, whose supercommentary was printed in c. 1525 in Constantinople with three other supercommentaries; Solomon *Luria (*Yeri'ot Shelomo*, Prague, 1608); Moses *Mat (*Ho'il Moshe, ibid.*, 1611); Mordecai *Jaffe (*Levush ha-Orah*, Prague, 1604); *Ḥayyim b. Bezalel (*Be'er Mayim Ḥayyim*, 1694–99); *Judah Loew b. Bezalel (*Gur Aryeh*, Prague, 1578–79); Issachar Baer Eilenburg (*Ẓeidah la-Derekh*, Prague, 1623–24); *David

b. Samuel ha-Levi, author of *Turei Zahav* (*Divrei David*, Dyhernfurth, 1689); David *Pardo (*Maskil le-David*, Venice, 1760); and Ḥayyim *Palache (Palaggi) (*U-Vaḥarta baḤayyim*, Smyrna, 1874). *Siftei Ḥakhamim* (Frankfurt on the Main, 1712) by Shabbetai *Bass is primarily a selection from other supercommentaries. A critical edition of the text of Rashi's commentary with a supercommentary, called *Zekhor le-Avraham*, was prepared by Abraham *Berliner (1866).

The concise, abrupt, and enigmatic style of Abraham ibn Ezra gave rise to numerous supercommentaries, not only on his commentary on the Pentateuch, but also on those to other books of the Bible. However, most of these have remained in manuscript. Small selections from some of them have been published in modern times. Early supercommentaries on Ibn Ezra's Pentateuch commentary which appeared in print were *Ẓafenat Pa'ne'aḥ* (complete edition 1911–30) by Joseph b. Eliezer Bonfils, *Mekor Ḥayyim* (Mantova, 1559) by Samuel *Zarza, and *Megillat Setarim* (Venice, 1554) by Samuel ibn *Motot – all three from the 14th century. Another 14th century product, *Perush ha-Sodot shel ha-RABE al ha-Torah* deals only with Ibn Ezra's enigmatic statements. An abridged version of it was published in 1903 (in I. Last, *Asarah Kelei Kesef*, pt. 2). The work has been doubtfully ascribed to Joseph ibn *Kaspi. Other supercommentaries on Ibn Ezra were written by Moses *Almosnino, Yom Tov Lipmann *Heller, and Solomon *Maimon. Modern supercommentaries includes those by Moses Cremieux, Judah Leib Krinski, Isaac Meijler, and Leopold Fleischer. The supercommentary of Solomon Zalman Netter, which was first published in 1859, is to a large extent based on early supercommentaries.

One of the chief commentators on the Pentateuch, Naḥmanides, was widely quoted and discussed by subsequent commentators. His critical observations on Rashi were dealt with by Rashi's supercommentators, while kabbalists elucidated his kabbalistic allusions. Special treatises dealing with these kabbalistic references were written by the 14th-century kabbalists Shem Tov b. Abraham *Ibn Gaon, Joshua *Ibn Shu'ayb, Meir ibn *Sahula, and *Isaac b. Samuel of Acre. Isaac *Aboab ("the last *Gaon* of Castille") wrote a supercommentary on Naḥmanides (Constantinople, 1525). Joseph *Caro was said to have written explanations on parts of Rashi's and Naḥmanides' commentaries. Among rabbis and scholars of modern times who wrote supercommentaries or explanatory notes on Naḥmanides may be mentioned Mordecai Gimpel *Jaffe, Abraham Lieblein, Jacob Aryeh Frankel, Isaac *Maarsen, Aryeh L. Steinhart, and Joseph Patsanovski. New critical editions of Naḥmanides' commentary accompanied by a supercommentary were prepared by Ẓevi Menahem Eisenstadt (1958–61; on Genesis only) and by C.D. Chavel (1959–60; on the whole Pentateuch).

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[Tovia Preschel]

SUPRASKY, YEHOSHUA (1879–1948), General Zionist leader in Ereẓ Israel. Born in Goniadz, Bialystok district, Suprasky engaged in trade and industry. He was a delegate to the Zionist Conference in Minsk (1902), was a member of the Zionist central committee in Russia, and worked for investment in Ereẓ Israel. He visited Ereẓ Israel in 1912 and in 1914 and settled there in 1920. He founded the Ha-Manḥil Company to build houses in Tel Aviv as well as the Tiberias Hot Springs Co. Ltd., and the Kinneret Company in Tiberias. He was a member of the Tel Aviv municipal council (1925–32), vice chairman of the community board, and a member of the Va'ad Le'ummi. A leader of the *General Zionists in Palestine and of the world movement, he advocated the encouragement of private initiative in the settlement and upbuilding of Ereẓ Israel. Suprasky was also a member of the Zionist General Council (1921–48), a delegate to 14 Zionist Congresses (from the fifth to the 19th), and a founder of the Mifdeh Ezraḥi (a building and loan fund). Neveh Yehoshu'a in Ramat Gan is named in his honor.

[Abraham Aharoni]

SURA, site of one of the leading Babylonian academies. In fact, two different settlements by the name of Sura are mentioned in the Babylonian Talmud. One was located in Syria at the northern extremity of the Euphrates, a 15-days' journey from *Pumbedita. It was an important station on the caravan route from Pumbedita to Ereẓ Israel (Av. Zar. 16b, which describes the journey and the encampment of R. Zeira during his *aliyah* to Ereẓ Israel from Babylonia). This settlement, however, was not a center of Torah study and therefore little is related about it.

The famous Sura, the important center of Torah studies for several centuries, was located in southern Babylonia, where the Euphrates divided into two rivers. The soil of Sura and its environs was noted for its great fertility. Agricultural activity was centered around vineyards, orchards, wheat, and barley, and the farmers of Sura, among them scholars, were intensively involved in these pursuits. They irrigated their fields with the waters of the Euphrates, planted vineyards, engaged in wine growing and its trade, and reared livestock.

The Persian Period

The growth of Sura was due to the Torah center which was established there by *Rav after going to Babylonia from Ereẓ Israel in 219. There is no knowledge of an earlier *bet midrash* in Sura, and it seems that Sura's earlier inhabitants were unfamiliar with Jewish laws. In the course of time, Rav succeeded in surrounding himself with hundreds of students from the Diaspora; his *bet midrash* and *bet din* became the basis of one of the two most important religious centers in Babylonia. Rav's *takkanot* and legal decisions, his halakhic and aggadic statements and the discussions which opened in their wake, and his actions in public and private life provided the foundation for the Babylonian Talmud. After Rav's death in 247 Sura lost its central role for seven years, during which time the decisive authority in matters of *halakhah* was wielded by Samuel in *Nehardea.

After Samuel's death in 254, Sura regained its prominence under the leadership of Rav *Huna, the disciple of Rav. It maintained this status until the end of the third century. At the end of the 290s the academy of Pumbedita rose in importance, and under the leadership of *Judah b. Ezekiel became the center of *halakhah* in Babylonia. A *bet midrash* for the study of the Torah and teaching continued to exist in Sura, but its importance and decisive authority were not regained until the days of Rav *Ashi (367–427), who even managed to broaden the scope of the academy. In addition to the masses of students who streamed there, especially during two months of the year, he also instituted the *Shabbeta de-Rigla* in Sura, which was attended by the eminent *ḥakhamim* of Babylonia, headed by the *exilarch and his retinue. Rav Ashi also built a new synagogue. During his time the academy was transferred to *Mata Meḥasya, which was very near Sura. After the death of Rav Ashi, who was one of the most important editors of the Babylonian Talmud, the central religious role of Sura diminished. In the period of the **savoraim* the number of *ḥakhamim* and students decreased as a result of the upheavals which followed the persecutions of Firūz and Yazdagird.

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[Eliezer Bashan (Sternberg)]

SURAT, port N. of Bombay. In the 17th century, Portuguese, Dutch, and English trading companies arrived in Surat, for centuries the main trading center between Europe and Asia. A few Jews were among them, often diamond merchants; Anglo-Portuguese Jews in London developed a flourishing trade with Surat though they were not allowed to settle there. A permanent Jewish settlement came into existence in the last decades of the 17th century. First to settle were Dutch-Portuguese merchants from Amsterdam, headed by Pedro Pereira who conducted widespread commercial transactions associated with both the Dutch and the English East India companies. Around 1740, they were followed by Anglo-Ashkenazi Jews, such as Abraham Elias and then, toward the end of the 18th century, by Arabic-speaking Jews from *Aleppo, *Baghdad, and *Basra. One of Surat's leading merchants was Moses *Tobias, who played a prominent role in the affairs of the city. When *Bombay became the British administrative center and *Calcutta rose to prominence, the Jewish settlement in Surat declined and most of its inhabitants moved to one of these two cities. In the 19th century a few individual Jews in government service settled in Surat. Some Jewish tombstones of the 17th and 18th centuries are still preserved.

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[Walter Joseph Fischel]

SURE, BARNETT (1891–1960), U.S. biochemist, born in Vilkomir (Ukmerge), Lithuania. Sure went to the U.S. in 1908. He became professor and head of agricultural chemistry department, University of Arkansas in 1927. Sure was an independent discoverer of vitamin E and of a new member of the vitamin B complex. He wrote *The Vitamins in Health and Disease* (1933) and *Little Things in Life: The Vitamins, Hormones and Other Minute Essentials for Health* (1937).

°SURENHUIS, WILHELM (Surenhuysen, Gulielmus Surenhusius; (1666–1729), Dutch Hebraist. Surenhuis was professor of Greek and Hebrew at the Amsterdam Athenaeum Illustre and was in close touch with the German Orientalist Johann Christof *Wolff of Hamburg. He published *Dissertatio de natura Pandectarum Hebraicarum* (1704), the exegetical "New Testament catalogue" *Sefer ha-Mashweh* (1713), and *De oratione Dominica Hebraica* (1715), a Hebrew version of the Christian "Lord's Prayer" (with various translations into other languages). However, he is best remembered for his monumental *Versio Latina Mischnae et Commentationes Maimonidis et Obadjae Bertinoro…* (6 vols., 1698–1703) in Hebrew and Latin. Although Surenhuis used a manuscript Spanish version by Jacob *Abendana in preparing his edition, much of the work was original and 40 tractates of the Mishnah were translated by the editor himself. An earlier Latin version by Isaac Abendana, Jacob's brother, remains in manuscript (University of Cambridge, 1663–75). A catalogue of Surenhuis' library appeared in 1730.

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[Irene E. Zwiep (2nd ed.)]

SURETYSHIP (Heb. עֲרָבוּת), one person's undertaking to fulfill the obligation of another toward a third person (called the *arev, ḥayyav*, and *nosheh*, respectively). In Jewish law fulfillment of an obligation is secured primarily through the assets of the debtor – "a man's possessions are his surety" (BB 174a; see *Lien) – and it is in addition to this that a person may serve as a surety for the fulfillment of the debtor's obligation toward his creditor.

Suretyship in the Bible and the Talmud

The biblical term *ʿeravon* ("pledge"), although philologically related to the term *ʿarev* or *ʿarevut*, occurs in the sense of an obligation secured by property and not personally (Gen. 38:17ff.; and see Targ. Onk. and Rashi thereto; cf. Neh. 5:3). The form of personal pledge mentioned in the matter of Judah's undertaking to Jacob to be surety for Benjamin's safe return (Gen. 43:9) has no bearing on the present discussion, since Judah was at one and the same time surety and principal debtor (ibid., 8; and see *She'iltot* 32). Detailed discussion of suretyship is to be found in Proverbs, where the surety's undertaking is described as given verbally and accompanied by a handshake (*teki'at kaf*; Prov. 6:1–5; 11:15; 17:18; 22:26; see also Job 17:3). It is likely that a handshake also served as the mode of establishing other kinds of obligations (see Ezra 10:19). In the Book of Proverbs there is a strong exhortation against undertaking a suretyship obligation because, if it is unfulfilled, the creditor might levy payment even on the surety's garments and bedding (20:16; 22:27; 27:13). Since this is the extreme consequence with which the surety is threatened, it may be deduced that the creditor is forbidden to subject the surety to personal bondage, just as he is forbidden from so subjecting the debtor (see *Obligations, Law of). Suretyship involving the bodily subjection of an individual is to be found only in the field of military law, with reference to the taking of hostages in time of war (II Kings 14:14; II Chron. 25:24).

A guarantee to present the debtor before his creditor and the court (on due date) is described in the Talmud as "the law of the Persians" (BB 173b). The existence of this phenomenon in Jewish law was hinted at in geonic times (*She'elot u-Teshuvot ha-Ge'onim*, no. 213), but Maimonides denied the validity of this form of suretyship (Yad, Malveh, 25:14; also see *Hassagot Rabad* and *Maggid Mishneh* thereto). The unfavorable attitude expressed in Proverbs toward the very act of undertaking a suretyship obligation is reflected also, although to a lesser degree, in the apocryphal books (Ecclus. 8:13; 29:17–20). Even in talmudic times suretyship is mentioned as one of the things a man is advised to avoid (Yev. 109a).

Formation of Suretyship

At first Jewish law recognized suretyship only insofar as it was undertaken before or at the time of the creation of the debtor's principal obligation (BB 10:7; "If a man loaned his fellow money on a surety's security…"), because in such an event "he had lent him the money through his trust in the surety" (ibid., 8). R. Ishmael decided that a written suretyship was valid even if it was given after creation of the principal obligation (ibid.; and cf. Ket. 101b–102b). Some of the early *amoraim* held that such a suretyship was valid even if it was undertaken verbally, but the *halakhah* was decided in accordance with the opinion of R. Naḥman, to the effect that a verbal suretyship is valid if given at the time of creation of the principal obligation ("at the time the money is handed over"); otherwise (i.e., "after the money has been handed over") it will only be valid if accompanied by a *kinyan sudar* (see *Acquisition, Modes of; BB 176a–b and Codes). The distinction stems from the general principle in Jewish law that the promissor's "final making up of the mind" (*gemirat ha-da'at*, see *Contract) is an essential precondition of a valid undertaking. Hence it may be presumed that this requirement is satisfied on the part of the surety whenever the loan is given "on his security" – even if undertaken verbally – since he is aware that the very loan is given on the strength of his suretyship; the position is different, however, if the suretyship is given after the execution of the loan transaction, since then the surety's final decision is not manifest unless his verbal undertaking is accompanied by the formality of a *kinyan sudar.* According to the view of the Babylonian *amoraim*, which was accepted as the *halakhah*, the possible absence of a *gemirat ha-da'at* was to be feared more with a suretyship undertaking than with any other kind of undertaking, since the very essence of the suretyship undertaking is tainted with the defect of **asmakhta* – i.e., the surety's confident assumption that the borrower will pay the debt and the claim against him will never materialize. The invalidating effect of *asmakhta* on suretyship was overcome by the scholars through reasoning that the surety derives pleasure from being regarded as trustworthy and a man of means.

In the following cases a verbal suretyship without a *kinyan* is valid even if it is undertaken after establishment of the principal obligation: if it is given on the instructions of the court (BB 176b and codes); if on the strength of the suretyship the lender has returned to the borrower the bond of indebtedness or pledge (Sh. Ar., ḤM 129:3); and if the surety is not an individual but the community or its representative (Resp. Maharam of Rothenburg, ed. Prague, no. 38; see also *Public Authority). Alternatives to a *kinyan sudar* also came in to being. Thus, according to some of the *posekim*, a written suretyship obviates any need for a *kinyan* (Nov. Ramban, and *Beit ha-Beḥirah*, BB 176; Sh. Ar., ḤM 129:4). Suretyship may also be established by handshake whenever custom decrees that an obligation may be established in this way (*Darkhei Moshe*, ḤM 129:5; *Rema*, ḤM 129:5). It is interesting to note the historical changes concerning the use of a handshake as a means of establishing a suretyship obligation. In biblical times it had this function; it fell into complete disuse during the talmudic period, and it appeared again in post-talmudic times under the influence of its use in other contemporary legal systems. According to some of the *posekim*, even a verbal suretyship undertaken after the establishment of the principal obligation is valid if it is the custom to dispense with the need for a formal *kinyan* (see **Minhag*).

Arev and Arev Kabbelan

The *tannaim* and the *amoraim* of Ereẓ Israel knew the regular form of surety (*arev*) in which the creditor must first sue and seek to recover payment from the debtor; only when the debt cannot be satisfied out of the debtor's property may the creditor turn to the surety for payment, because it is presumed that it was the surety's intention to become liable for the debt only in such an event. A creditor who wished to ensure effective recovery of the debt could stipulate with the surety that "I shall recover from whomever I choose," whereupon he could claim directly from the surety whether or not the debtor had sufficient property to satisfy the debt. R. Simeon b. Gamaliel's opinion, that as long as the debtor has property, payment must always be demanded from him first, was not accepted as *halakhah* (BB 10:7; TJ, BB 10:14, 17d, and see statements of R. Johanan, loc. cit.). The Babylonian *amoraim*, however, interpreted these mishnaic statements (in the light of R. Johanan's variant version) to mean that even when the creditor has stipulated with the surety as mentioned above, he may not, in the opinion of all, demand payment from the surety as long as the debtor's known assets, such as land, have not been exhausted. In their opinion, the only case in which the creditor may claim directly from the surety without first excusing the debtor (even if he has known assets) is when the surety is an *arev kabbelan*, that is, when he has carefully formulated his undertaking in a particular manner so as to avoid the use of terms such as "loan" or "suretyship," saying instead, e.g., "Give to him and I shall give to you." Thus, once more, R. Simeon b. Gamaliel's contrary opinion, that the debtor must first be excused if he has any property even if the surety is an *arev kabbelan*, was not accepted as *halakhah* (BB 173b and Tos. ad loc. s.v. *Ḥasurei Meḥasrei*).

An explanation for the restraint on the freedom of contract in suretyship, contrary to the general principle of Jewish law that "contracting out of the Torah" is permissible in matters of civil law, lies in the apprehension expressed by the Babylonian *amoraim* about the surety's lack of final resolve when making a suretyship undertaking, and the resulting inference that the surety does not seriously intend to be bound by his undertaking as long as the debt may be recovered from the principal debtor – even if he has expressly agreed to it (Rashba, Nov. BB 173b). In post-talmudic times the scholars sought ways in which to overcome the restriction on the freedom of stipulation in suretyship because of its limiting effect on the scope of credit transactions. Some scholars interpreted the statements of the Babylonian *amoraim* to mean that they, like the *amoraim* of Ereẓ Israel, held the opinion that the creditor might claim directly from the surety once he has stipulated with the latter to recover "from whomever I choose" (Ibn Miggash, quoted in *Sefer ha-Terumot*, 35:2; Yad, Malveh 25:4; and see Elon, bibl., 203 ff.). Other scholars considered the version "I shall recover from whomever I choose" to be ineffective and distinguished it from one worded "I shall recover first from whomever I choose," holding that this entitles the creditor to claim directly from the surety whether or not the debtor has any property (Ramban, Nov. BB 173b; Tur, ḤM 129:17, et al.). The *halakhah* was decided according to the former opinion (Sh. Ar., ḤM 129:14).

The post-talmudic socioeconomic realities spurred a number of further developments designed to enable the creditor to claim directly from the surety, including a regular surety, even without prior stipulation to this effect. Thus it was laid down that if the debtor is violent and does not comply with the judgment of the court, or if he is abroad and the suit against him involves many difficulties, or if he has died, the creditor may claim directly from the surety (Yad, Malveh 25:3; 26:3 and *Maggid Mishneh* thereto; Sh. Ar., ḤM 129:8–12). The creditor always retains the right to claim first from the debtor, even when he is entitled to claim directly from the surety, and the debtor is not entitled to refer him to the surety; however, if the surety is a *kabbelan* who has personally received the money of the loan from the lender and passed it on to the borrower, no legal tie will have been created between lender and borrower, and the lender will be entitled to recover the debt from the surety alone (Yad, Malveh 26:3; Sh. Ar., ḤM 129:15, 19).

Substance and Scope of Suretyship

The surety's obligation is secondary to that of the principal debtor; hence the validity of the suretyship obligation is coextensive with that of the principal obligation, and extinction of the latter automatically terminates the suretyship: "if there is no debt, there is no suretyship" (Resp. Maharashdam, ḤM no. 218). Thus, e.g., if the principal obligation is void because the debtor was acting under duress (see **Ones*), the suretyship will be equally ineffective – even though it was undertaken according to the law (ibid. and Resp. Reshakh, pt. 1, no. 44). Moreover, the same result follows even when the underlying principal obligation is essentially valid but cannot be realized against the debtor on account of a procedural defect, as may happen if the name of the debtor and other details mentioned in a bond of indebtedness fit two persons and do not allow for his proper identification, thus barring proceedings against him. In such an event the surety, too, cannot be called upon for payment, not even in the case where he is surety to two debtors who have identical names (Bek. 48a; Tur and Sh. Ar., ḤM 49: 10; cf. also the contrary opinion of *Rema*, ḤM 129:8 and *Baḥ* thereon).

On the other hand, suretyship may be undertaken in respect of only a part of the principal obligation, and the surety may also stipulate that his obligation shall only be in effect for a specified period after the debt has fallen due (Resp. Rashba, vol. 1, no. 1148; *Rema* and standard commentaries to Sh. Ar., ḤM 129:1 and Tur, ibid.; *Arukh ha-Shulḥan*, ḤM 129:7). Suretyship may be undertaken in respect of either an already existing principal obligation or one about to be established, the sole distinction between them being their two different modes of establishment (see above). The validity of suretyship in respect of a debt of an unfixed amount is a matter on which there is a division of opinion in the codes. It was held by some scholars that if the surety has said, "I am surety for whatever amount you shall give," he is liable for the whole amount, "even if one hundred thousand" (Yad, Malveh, 25:13; see Samuel b. Hophni, bibl., ch. 3). According to other *posekim*, the surety is not liable at all in such an event: "since he does not know what it is that he has bound himself for, neither can he have made a final resolve nor has he bound himself" (Yad, loc. cit.). A third opinion is that the suretyship is binding to the extent of the amount for which the surety may reasonably be presumed to have bound himself, with attention given to his financial means (*Hassagot Rabad* and *Maggid Mishneh* loc. cit.). The *halakhah* was decided to the effect that a suretyship for an unspecified amount is valid (Sh. Ar., ḤM 131:13).

Scope of the Surety's Liability

The suretyship obligation includes liability for the expenses incurred by the creditor in claiming payment, such as the costs of a legal suit (Sh. Ar., ḤM 129:10 and *Sma* n. 29), and for any other reasonable loss suffered by the creditor (Tur, ḤM 131:7–10 and Maharik, quoted in *Beit Yosef,* ibid., Sh. Ar., ḤM 131:7–8). According to the majority of the *posekim*, a regular surety is discharged from liability if the creditor, after due date of payment, neglects to recover the debt from the debtor when he has the possibility of doing so (Tur and Sh. Ar., ḤM 131:4; *Beit Yosef* and *Baḥ* thereto). Similarly, "if the debtor was present in the town when the debt fell due for payment and the creditor allowed him to depart the town, he cannot claim from the surety" (*Keneset ha-Gedolah*, ḤM 129; Tur no. 58). The surety is likewise discharged from liability if the creditor releases any of the debtor's property which he holds as a pledge (Resp. Rashba, vol. 1, no. 892; Sh. Ar., ḤM 129:8 and *Rema* thereto; *Sma* ḤM 129–26; *Arukh ha-Shulḥan* ḤM 129:26).

Suretyship in Respect of Different Kinds of Obligations

In general, suretyship may validly be undertaken with reference to all kinds of obligations, regardless of the manner in which they arise (for instance from loan, the most common case, tort (Git. 49b), and so on). In certain cases, however, this has been a matter of halakhic dispute, particularly with reference to the husband's **ketubbah* obligation. Among the *tannaim* and *amoraim* of Ereẓ Israel, and for most of the period of the Babylonian *amoraim*, there was never any doubt that a person could be surety for the husband's obligations toward his wife in respect of her *ketubbah* (BB 9:8; BB 174b, in the matter of Moses bar Azri). However, in the sixth generation of the Babylonian *amoraim*, following on their raising the problem of the invalidating effect of *asmakhta* on suretyship (see above), they likewise called into question the measure of final resolve and seriousness with which the surety might undertake his obligation in respect of a *ketubbah* liability. There were two reasons for this: firstly, because it was considered that in such a case the surety intends no more than to perform a *mitzvah* and to bring about a matrimonial tie between the couple concerned; secondly, because in this case the husband undertakes to give his wife an amount which comes out of his own pocket and not one which the wife has initially expended – unlike the case of a loan, for instance, in which the creditor is made to incur an actual expenditure. Special requirements were accordingly laid down for the validity of suretyship as regards the *ketubbah*. Some scholars held regular suretyship to be entirely ineffective here, except if the surety is the groom's father (because of the kinship the existence of *gemirat ha-da'at* may be presumed), in which case it is valid if executed by *kinyan sudar*; other scholars held that regular suretyship is effective when executed by *kinyan sudar*, and that this formality is unnecessary when the surety is the groom's father. If the suretyship is of the *kabbelan* type, the scholars agree that it is valid in all cases and there is no need for a *kinyan* (BB 174b; Yad, Malveh 25:6; Ishut 17:9 and *Hassagot Rabad* thereto).

With regard to a gift, the scholars are further divided on the question of whether the suretyship undertaking in respect of this is to be treated like suretyship for the *ketubbah* (because in gift also the donee will suffer no actual loss if the transaction is not carried out), or whether it should be regarded otherwise since in the case of a gift it cannot be said that the surety's intention is the performance of a *mitzvah*; (Tur, ḤM 129 and *Beit Yosef* thereto, no. 5; Sh. Ar., EH 102:6 and *Rema* thereto).

A Surety's Right of Recourse Against Debtor

A surety has the right to recoup from the debtor whatever he has paid to the creditor in discharge of the principal obligation. In order for him to succeed in his claim against the debtor, it will not suffice for the surety to present the bond of indebtedness as holder thereof; he must prove – by way of the creditor's certification or in some other equally persuasive manner – that he has actually discharged the debt (Tosef. BB 11:15; Yad, Malveh, 26:7–8; Sh. Ar., ḤM 130:1, 3). The surety's right of reimbursement is to be explained either on the basis of an implied agreement between the debtor and the surety that the latter will be entitled to reimburse himself from the former if he discharges the principal obligation, or that upon receiving payment from the surety the creditor assigns to him (by way of subrogation) his right of recovery against the debtor (BB 32b and *Rashbam* thereto; *Maggid Mishneh*, Malveh 26:8; and see below).

The right of recourse against the debtor is available to the surety only when his suretyship has been solicited by the former and, in the case of a regular surety, only after the creditor has already proceeded against the debtor (Yad, loc. cit. 6; Sh. Ar., ḤM 131:2). For if he is a surety on his own initiative, "any person who wishes to avenge himself of his neighbor might do so by becoming surety for him in order to turn to the latter after discharging his debt" (Resp. Radbaz no. 2084); an unsolicited surety is in the position of a volunteer who pays another's debt without the latter's knowledge or approval and as such also has no right of action against the debtor (Ket. 107b–108a; Yad, loc. cit.; Sh. Ar., ḤM 128:1; see also *Unjust Enrichment). Suretyship established in the debtor's presence will be presumed to have been undertaken with his approval (Resp. Radbaz, no. 2084; *Leḥem Mishneh* to Yad, Malveh 26:6). There is also an opinion that the surety has a right of recourse against the debtor even if he has not been solicited by him (Maggid Mishneh, relying on the opinion of Rabad to Yad, Malveh, 26:6; cf., however, Tur, ḤM 129 and Resp. Radbaz no. 2084, where this view is contested and Rabad's opinion interpreted differently). The surety's right of recourse extends not only to the amount of the principal obligation but also to the expenses he has incurred in the matter, because it is presumed that the debtor "takes upon himself… to compensate for and make good all loss… even without expressly stipulating to this effect" (Resp. Rosh 18:7; Tur and Sh. Ar., ḤM 131:7ff.), except for unreasonable expenses such as "interest much above the customary" (*Beit Yosef*, ḤM 131, n. 7; and see above with regard to the scope of the surety's liability).

Plurality of Sureties and Debtors

If there are several sureties, the creditor may not claim more from each than his proportional share of the debt, unless he has expressly contracted for the right to recover the whole amount of the debt from any of them (Tosef. BB 11:15). Maimonides, contrary to this *halakhah*, held that the creditor may recover the whole of the debt from any one of several sureties, and Abraham b. David of Posquières was of the opinion that the matter is determined by local custom, but other *posekim* confirmed that a proportional share only may be recovered from each (Yad, Malveh 25:10 and *Hassagot Rabad* thereto; Sh. Ar., ḤM 132:3 and standard commentaries). Where several debtors are jointly involved in a single legal transaction – such as "two who borrow on the same bond… or a partner who borrows on behalf of the partnership" – some of the *posekim* hold that each is a principal debtor in respect of the whole debt, but the majority opinion is that each is liable as principal debtor in respect of his proportional share only and must be considered a regular surety as regards the rest of the debt; i.e., the creditor must first claim from each his proportional share, and only if one of them is unable to pay will the other be liable as surety for him (TJ, Shevu. 5:1, 36a; Yad, 5:9 and standard commentaries; Tur and Sh. At., ḤM 77:1–2; for further particulars see *Obligations, Law of).

In the State of Israel

In 1967 the Knesset enacted the Surety Law, which replaces the provisions of the *Mejelle* (Ottoman law) on this subject. Although largely based on Jewish law, it nevertheless deviates from it on one central matter. The law provides that "the surety and debtor are jointly and severally liable to the creditor, but the creditor may not require of the surety fulfillment of his suretyship without first requiring the debtor to discharge his debt" (sec. 8). The creditor is not required to make prior demand of the debtor if this need is waived by the surety, or if it is clear that the debtor has no property, or if service of the demand against him involves special difficulties. The law accordingly allows the creditor to turn directly to the surety, even a regular one, since a demand from the debtor is a mere formality and it is not necessary that legal proceedings be instituted against him. This accords with the attitude of both the *Mejelle* (arts. 643, 644) and English law, both of which dispense even with the need for a prior demand from the debtor, a requirement which is indeed of little practical value (E. Jenks, *Digest of English Civil Law*, 1 (1938^3), 277, no. 682). On the other hand, Swiss law (*Code des obligations*, para. 495–6) and the Nordic Draft Code of 1963 (see V. Kruse, *A Nordic Draft Code* (1963), para. 1301) accord with Jewish law in this respect and require the creditor, in the absence of an express agreement to the contrary, to claim first from the principal debtor and to exhaust execution proceedings against him before turning to the surety, except if there are special difficulties involved in suing the debtor. Swiss law furthermore recognizes the institution of *Solidarbuergschaft* (ibid. para. 496), which is akin to the *arev kabbelan* in Jewish law.

[Menachem Elon]

Arevut and Asmakhta

According to Professor Berachyahu Lifshitz, a regular surety (hereinafter – guarantee) signifies a promise to pay a creditor if the debtor defaults, and is the prototype for all forms of promises. This is the case in Roman law as well as in Jewish law. Indeed, various sources indicate that the word *'arevut* did not originally connote a specific kind of undertaking, being rather a generic term for undertaking. This is also indicated by the verses from the Book of Proverbs cited in the relevant passage in Bava Batra 173b: According to their literal meaning, they deal with a commitment given by one person to another, and not necessarily in the context of a third party, the debtor.

In Jewish law there is a dispute whether a promise (= **Asmakhta*) is binding or not. This is the import of the Talmudic statement (ibid.) that the validity of a guarantee depends on the aforementioned debate. It is also the reason for Rabbi Ashi's statement (ibid.), which became the accepted explanation for the validity of the guarantee obligation – that the guarantor "assumes the responsibility." In other words: from that moment onward the guarantor becomes indebted, thereby removing the guarantee transaction from the category of a general promise, the fulfillment of which is contingent upon a future occurrence. The pleasure imputed to the guarantor by reason of the creditor's trust in him (upon the transfer of the money) causes him to agree to this type of undertaking. If the guarantee is given after the transfer of money, there is a requirement for a *kinyan sudar*, a symbolic act of transfer whose mode of operation, legally, creates a bond "as of now," due to some benefit purportedly derived by the person giving the undertaking. A conditional guarantee is invalid, just like any other conditional undertaking, unless given according to the halakhic rules governing conditions.

According to this approach, the *arev kablan* is also considered the recipient of the funds just like the "real" debtor, and therefore it is possible to collect payment directly from him without first attempting to collect from the principal debtor, for he too is considered a "debtor."

In the Decisions of the Israeli Supreme Court

Reliance on the laws of guarantee in Jewish law is found in the case of *Maor* (CA 8034/95 *Maor v. John*, 52 (4) PD 97; Justice Y. Englard). In that case, at the request of his creditor, a restraining order was issued against the debtor to prevent him from leaving the country. In order to obtain the creditor's consent to the debtor's leaving the country for a short period in order to raise funds, a third party signed a *shetar arevut* (deed of guarantee), in which he gave a commitment that the debtor would return to Israel by a specific date, and if not – the guarantor would be responsible for all his debts. The debtor delayed his return to Israel, and two weeks after the date he was supposed to return he was killed in a traffic accident abroad. His body was brought to Israel for burial. The guarantor argued that the guarantee had never taken effect, because the debtor had intended to return to Israel, even though he was late, and it was only because of his death that he had not returned; and if, on the other hand, the guarantee had gone into effect, then the return of his body to the country annulled it. The exceptional circumstances of this case made it difficult to find a solution in accordance with the Israeli Guarantee Law, and the Court drew inspiration from the provisions of Jewish law in this matter. The Court begins its argument by mentioning the distinction in Jewish law between *guarantee* involving the guarantor's personal liability (*shi'bud ha-guf*), as distinct from liability of his assets (*shi'bud mammon*), and refers to various sources that discuss this distinction (see bibliography). The Court interprets the significance of a guarantor's obligation to bring the debtor to court, in light of the statements of Rabbi Naḥshon Gaon quoted in the *Tur* (ḤM 129), in which he states that "upon his bringing him to Court the surety shall be exempted (from his obligation)… if he brought him on the Shabbat eve at dusk and he escaped after the Shabbat, then the guarantor is not exempted." The author of *Be'er Heitev* explains that the guarantor is not absolved from his obligation because the presentation of the principal debtor before the Court must be done in such a manner as to enable the conduct of a judicial hearing and to compel the principal debtor to pay, and in the case mentioned his presentation before the Court was only for the duration of the Shabbat, during which it was impossible to conduct a hearing, for "if it was impossible to adjudicate the case in his presence and to have him take an oath, then it was as if he had never been brought before the Court, and the guarantor is obliged to bring him again" (*Be'er Heitev*, ḤM 129:10,29). From this the Court infers that no significance attaches to the fact that the debtor's body was brought back to Israel after his death, and that in order for the surety to be released from the obligation of his guarantorship the debtor's presentation must be in a manner which enables the law to be enforced upon him.

In his minority opinion in the *Maor* case, Justice (Ret.) Yaakov Türkel opined that "the appellant in our case has taken a strictly legal approach, attempting to base it on the dry, lifeless wording of the deed of guarantee… it is incumbent upon us to 'release the shackles' imposed by the written words, and to plumb their true import, reflecting the intentions of the contracting parties. We must restore the 'spirit of life' to the words of the guarantee, and interpret it according to its real intention, in view of the duty of good faith mandated by section 39 of the Contracts Law. Consequently, the appellant's action to enforce the guarantee deed should be dismissed (ibid. 113, 114). Regarding the duty of good faith in Jewish Law, Justice Tirkel refers to the judgment of Justice Menachem Elon in CA 391/80 *Lasserman et al. v. Shikun Ovedim Ltd.* 38 (2) PD 197, 263–264 (see *Contract (the principle of Good Faith).

In another case the Supreme Court deliberated on principles of the laws of guarantee in Israeli law with respect to a third party's surety to indemnify the father for payment of maintenance for children, in case the father is sued for additional amounts beyond the maintenance determined in the divorce agreement, see CA 255/81 *Kott v. Kott*, 36(1) PD 236; FH 4/82 *Kott v. Kott*, 38(3) PD 197. That case concerned an indemnification agreement between the mother and the father which provided that the implementation of the agreement would be deferred until the child grew up. The judgment discussed the question of whether this deferral also affected the guarantor's undertaking – "Does the fact that the performance of the undertaking of the principal debtor (the mother) is deferred affect the guarantor's performance of his obligation, under the provisions of the Guarantee Law? Can the guarantor rely on the defense plea provided in section 7 (a) of the Guarantee Law, whereby "Any plea that the debtor may have against the creditor in relation to the obligation shall also be available to the creditor?" (*Kott*, p. 240). Deputy President Menachem Elon addressed this question basing himself on the Guarantee Law, 5732 – 1967 and the sources of Jewish Law (Yad, Creditor and Debtor, 26:2; Sh. Ar., ḤM, 129:9, *Siftei Cohen*, ḤM 129 (23). Justice Elon wrote that "in the case before us, the guarantor cannot invoke this claim. The wife's obligation to indemnify is deferred because her financial position does not enable her to discharge that obligation without impinging on the satisfaction of the child's maintenance needs, whereas the essence of the guarantee is to ensure the obligation of indemnification in the event that the woman – who is obliged to indemnify – is unable to do so. From that perspective, it is irrelevant if the temporary deferral of the wife's discharge of her obligation to indemnify was legally mandated, for reasons of the child's best interest" (*Kott*, p. 241).

On guarantee for the person in *geonic* literature and its connection to corresponding Muslim literature, see *Law, Jewish and Islamic, a Comparative Review, as well as the bibliography.

[Menachem Elon (2nd ed.)]

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SURGUN, ISAAC (1701–1791), merchant in the service of the Dutch East India Company. Originally from Constantinople, Surgun settled on the Malabar Coast in Calicut and *Cochin early in the 18th century. Dealing in a variety of commodities, he owned warehouses, factories, and ships. His commercial transactions brought him into contact with many native Indian and Muslim potentates and European merchants; Dutch, English, and Hebrew sources stress his linguistic abilities, including Arabic and Portuguese. When in 1759 the Dutch East India Company needed a spokesman to represent its interests before the new Mysore rulers, Haidar Ali Khan and his son Tipu Sahib, Surgun's ability and prestige made him a natural choice. In 1779 he secured the freedom of a group of English visitors who had been imprisoned in Calicut. With his death, the family fortunes declined.

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[Walter Joseph Fischel]

SURINAME, republic on the northeastern coast of South America, between Guiana (formerly British Guiana), Brazil, and French Guyana and bordered on the north by the Atlantic Ocean. The first permanent settlement was founded in 1652 by the English governor of Barbados, Francis Lord Willoughby, and three vessels with English and Jewish settlers were sent to Suriname. Jews leaving Remire in *French Guyana joined them in 1663. A second group from Remire was brought to Suriname by English ships in 1667. Maps from that same year show Jewish plantations in the colony. On August 17, 1665, the English authorities published an official grant of privileges to the Hebrew Nation in Suriname, to be considered English-born, to practice and perform all ceremonies and customs of their religion, including marriages and wills, the observance of Sabbath and holidays, to maintain a tribunal of their own, and a grant of a plot of land in the capital, Thorarica, for a place of worship, a school, and a cemetery.

In 1667, the Dutch occupied Suriname and confirmed the privileges given to the Jews; in 1669 additions were made to them giving permission to work on Sundays, with free passage on that day and also noting that Spanish-Portuguese Jews "having been plagued by debts on property seized by the Inquisition, should not be seized for non-payment." A special military unit was composed of Jews.

With these privileges the Dutch prevented the evacuation of the Jews as English citizens to *Jamaica, and only a small group left.

On a hill on the banks of the Cassipoera creek, where the majority of the Cayenne Jews had settled, a wooden synagogue was consecrated; downhill a Jewish cemetery was located, its oldest grave dating from 1667.

Gradually Jews moved to a healthier area on the banks of the Suriname River, where they were joined by the Jews in Thorarica. The region, still called the "Jewish Savanna," began to flourish. Jewish knowledge of planting and processing sugar and other tropical produce attained a high level. A township known geographically as "Jews Town" (Joods Dorp) was called by the Jews "Jerusalem on the Riverside." In 1685 a brick synagogue was built called Berakha ve-Shalom, which also housed communal authorities and the Jewish Court of Law. The plantations around it that became small settlements had biblical names, such as Mahanaim, Succoth, Gilgal, Beersheba, Carmel, Goshen. By 1694 the population of the Savanna was composed of 570 Jews employing 9,000 laborers in 40 plantations; in the mid-eighteenth century the Jewish population reached 2,000, the majority of the white population of Suriname, in 115 plantations, employing tens of thousands of workers. Portuguese Jews from Amsterdam and Ashkenazi Jews from Rotterdam joined their brothers in Suriname.

In 1759 a "siva" (brotherhood) of liberated slaves and mulattoes descended from Jewish planters was established, called "Darkhe Yesharim" (The Way of the Righteous), whose members gradually became assimilated into the Jewish community after following the Jewish faith and intermarrying with Jews.

A series of disastrous attacks by the French navy, slave rebellions, and the production of sugar from beets in Europe led to the decline of the Jewish Savanna at the end of the eighteenth century. The planters began moving to the capital Paramaribo; in the nineteenth century about one hundred impoverished Jews still lived in the Savanna, with Jewish residence continuing until the synagogue was destroyed by fire in 1932.

In Paramaribo the community became one of small shopkeepers, anti-Jewish feelings became more prominent, and in 1925 the special privileges of the Jews were discontinued. The Portuguese Jewish synagogue Zedek ve-Shalom was erected in Paramaribo in 1716, followed by the High German (Ashkenazi) synagogue Neve Shalom in 1735. The floors of the two synagogues are covered with sand and the Sephardi rite is followed in them. By the close of the 20th century the two communities were praying together. The Jewish population dropped to 1,500 at the beginning of the 20th century; in 1923, there were 1,818 Jews. By the time of the independence of Suriname (1975), it had declined to 500 and by the end of the 20th century it was about 200 among a general population of 400,000.

The Neve Shalom synagogue was restored at the end of the 20th century. The furnishings of Zedek ve-Shalom were transferred to the Israel Museum, and the building abandoned. Community life, however, still functions.

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[Mordechai Arbell (2nd ed.)]

°SUROWIECKI, WAWRZYNIEC (1769–1827), Polish aristocrat; the most celebrated Polish economist of the late 18th–early 19th century. In his book *On the Decline of Industry and Towns in Poland* (1810) he discussed the theory that the Jews had played a negative role in Poland, stating that certain characteristics criticized in them were caused by their bad living conditions and the influence of religious orthodoxy, and maintaining that these characteristics also appear in all groups engaged in commerce. The Jews, he considered, played a basic role in the historical development of the Polish economy and he concluded that they were bound to raise the level of Polish commerce, agriculture, and industry. In his view they had the necessary qualities to perform this task: industry, thrift, and the ability to learn new ways. The fact that they were able to survive difficult times was thanks to the close relationship between their personal and general interests which, Surowiecki averred, was a basic Jewish quality.

[Itzhak Goldshlag]

SURVIVORS OF THE SHOAH VISUAL HISTORY FOUNDATION, THE. The foundation was established in 1994 by filmmaker Steven *Spielberg, with the goal of recording the visual testimony of Holocaust survivors and eyewitnesses so that future generations will have direct unmediated access to their experiences. Spielberg was moved by the power of oral history during his experience creating *Schindler's List*. The oral histories provided him with specific details that made his movie only more vivid. He was beseeched by survivors coming forward to tell their stories, and he undertook a public commitment to record 50,000 testimonies and to disseminate such testimonies in five initial repositories: Yad Vashem in Jerusalem, the Simon Wiesenthal Center in Los Angeles, the Museum of Jewish Heritage in New York, the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington, and the Fortunoff Archives of Holocaust Testimonies at Yale University in New Haven, Connecticut. Since its inception, the task of dissemination has become both more modest and more extensive. Until the technology enables the entire archive to be available off site at a reasonable cost, segments of the archive, often site specific, are being made available at multiple sites.

This project was not the first oral history project. The Fortunoff archive was begun in 1978 and has been recording testimonies ever since. And during the 1980s and 1990s, as video technology evolved, regional and local projects were developed in many communities throughout the United States and Canada. The United States Holocaust Memorial Museum began its oral history project in the late 1980s, and the Hebrew University and Yad Vashem began their projects, which were audio and not video recording projects, as early as the 1950s. Still, no project of this size and scope had ever been developed regarding the Holocaust, and none was as global in reach, especially once the project fully developed.

It was a race against time. Survivors were rapidly aging. Within a few years, the last witnesses would be gone. Just after the war, many survivors had been anxious to tell the world about their experiences, their tragedies, but were silenced by disbelief or incredulity. In midlife, many wanted to share with their children, but they were afraid of upsetting them.

As they were approaching old age, these survivors were invited to give testimony to ensure that their stories would be preserved. They understood that it was time to relate their experiences. These memories would have to be shared if they were to go forth to the future. *Schindler's List* and Holocaust museums had heightened interest in the Event. The more distant we become from the Event, the more the significance of the Holocaust intensifies. In classrooms throughout the world the encounter between survivors and students – the transmission of memories, a discussion of values, and a warning against prejudice, antisemitism, racism, and indifference – has become intense.

Between 1994 and 2000, 51,700 Holocaust survivors and other victim groups and/or witnesses were interviewed. The testimonies were taken in 56 countries and in 32 languages. The Foundation interviewed Jewish survivors, homosexual survivors, Jehovah's Witness survivors, liberators and liberation witnesses, political prisoners, rescuers and aid providers, Roma and Sinti survivors, survivors of eugenics policies, and war crimes trials participants. Almost half of the archive's testimonies were collected in English – most of them in the United States. Among the 31 other languages, more than 7,000 are in Russian and more than 6,300 are in Hebrew. There are approximately 1,000 Dutch interviews, 1,800 French, 1,300 Hungarian, 1,400 Polish, and 1,300 Spanish interviews. The following languages are represented with approximately 500 to 1,000 testimonies: Bulgarian (600), Czech (500), German (900), Portuguese (500), Slovak (500), Yiddish (500).

Testimonies collected usually include discussions about one's prewar (20%), wartime (60%), and postwar (20%) experience. The Shoah Foundation had amassed 232,906 videotapes, more than 31,978 miles of tape – more than the circumference of the earth. It has collected more than 116,453 hours, which would take a viewer 13 years, 3 months and 12 days, working night and day, to see in their entirety. The longest interview is 17 hours and 10 minutes, and the average interview is two hours and fifteen minutes. The archive is diverse. It centers on the experiences of Jews but includes testimonies from each of the Nazis' victim groups, as well as rescuers, liberators, and other important eyewitnesses. It does not, however, include perpetrators, as perhaps a complete video record of the Holocaust should.

Why Oral History?

Without oral histories, we would know almost nothing of the death marches, the forced marches of the winter of 1944–45, in which beleaguered concentration camp victims walked hundreds of miles without food or shelter. They were stretched beyond the limits of human endurance. Oral testimony fills in the gaps, it gives us a more complete picture of the *gestalt*, it individualizes and personalizes the event. Without oral histories, how could we learn of the life of a hidden child, too young to write and to record, but later still able to remember? To many the victims were nameless and faceless. The survivors are not.

Oral history is an effective educational tool. Professional movie makers recognize its power and respect the effectiveness of oral history. In the decade between 1995 and 2005, seven documentaries based almost exclusively on oral history won Academy Awards. Some historians are uncomfortable with oral history. They contend the information is unreliable, or at best far less reliable than documentary evidence or evidence created at the time, such as diaries and notes. They are correct, yet they miss the point. No oral history should be viewed uncritically as historical evidence. It must be evaluated within the context of everything else people know. If some oral histories are self serving, so too are some documents, speeches, memos, and other accounts of the time. Oral histories should be considered alongside other forms of documentation, and they should at least be considered by historians, subject to verification and classification. However, even historians who most vociferously object to oral history do rely upon it to provide context and texture. They do interview people who were participants in historical events. They read their memoirs and review court testimony. And the material assembled by these oral histories will provide the possibility of a people's history of the Holocaust.

To date the Survivors of the Shoah Foundation has produced several movies from this material, including its Academy Award-winning film *The Last Days*, produced and directed by founding co-executive director James Moll, and several films in European languages. In early 2006 the Shoah Foundation became part of the University of Southern California, which will be responsible for the preservation and dissemination of this material, as well as of creative educational products from the archival holdings.

Since achieving its goal of more than 50,000 testimonies, the Foundation has struggled for a mission whose clarity resembles the original goal. It has spoken of not only teaching the Holocaust and teaching tolerance, but of transforming the attitude of students toward a more tolerant world. With the incorporation to USC, it has spoken of expanding the archival collection to include other genocidal events, such as Darfur and Rwanda.

[Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

SUSAN, ISSACHAR BEN MORDECAI (c. 1510–after 1580). Issachar Susan was a member of the Ben Susan family, which claimed descent from the tribe of Benjamin. He was born in Fez and about 1527 he and his father moved to Jerusalem where he studied under *Levi ibn Ḥabib. Some years later he went to Safed where he continued to study in very straitened circumstances. He was active in the Maghreb (North Africa) congregation and as a result became friendly with the leaders of the Mostarabian community (the original Jewish community which existed before the influx following the expulsion from Spain). During that period he occupied himself with research into the synagogue customs of the various Jewish communities, both in Ereẓ Israel and the Diaspora, particularly those connected with the scriptural readings, as well as with the calendar. In the hope of overcoming his poverty, he left Ereẓ Israel in 1538 and traveled to Egypt, Turkey, Italy, and other countries. It was during this period that he wrote his book, which contains a full and detailed summary of all the sources for the customs he gave. He wrote the first text in 1538, but was able to revise it from time to time before its publication, under the titles *Tikkun Yissakhar* (Constaninople, 1564) and *Ibbur Shanim* (Venice, 1579). The book was well received by the various Jewish communities and became a kind of code of synagogue customs. It circulated mainly among the communities of Yemen, India, and other countries of the east. Joseph Caro, who was at that time already compiling the Shulḥan Arukh, was able to include Susan's conclusions and deal with them extensively in his works. The book throws light on everything connected with Mostarabian custom in Ereẓ Israel and the adjoining countries, and contains much information on liturgical usage not given in any other sources, as well as customs first mentioned by him (e.g., the eating of fruit on *Tu bi-Shevat). It also contains vivid portraits of the unique way of life of the scholars of Safed of the time (among them Joseph Caro), and their discussions on subjects mentioned in his work.

In the period between the publication of the two editions of his work, Susan returned to Safed where he administered a yeshivah for youth, among whom were many from the Yemen and other countries. During this period he translated the whole Bible and the *Megillat Antiochus* into the Arabic spoken at that time in the east. This book, written between 1571 and 1574, was never published; manuscripts exist in the D. Sassoon collection and in the British Museum.

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[Nathan Fried]

SUSANN, JACQUELINE (1918–1974), U.S. novelist. Born in Philadelphia, Susann went to New York in 1936, a beauty contest winner anxious to break into show business. She got bit parts in movies and commercials and in 1939 married Irving Mansfield, a press agent, and got better jobs. In 1955 she acquired a pet poodle, Josephine, and a contract to be the fashion commentator of an overnight television show. In 1963 she published *Every Night, Josephine*, about her experiences with her poodle, whom she sometimes dressed up in outfits to match her own. The book was widely viewed as a novelty but sold well enough for her to get a contract for a novel, *Valley of the Dolls* (1966). The book channeled her inside show business savvy into a bestselling combination of romance, lurid sex, and sensationalism. The main characters were loosely based on the lives of the singers Judy Garland and Ethel Merman. Susann and her husband launched an all-out drive to publicize the book, effectively promoting it on television talk shows, and Susann became as famous as her books. *Valley of the Dolls*, a lurid saga of three young women coping none too well with the challenges of show business, was made into a film of the same name (1967). Susann also wrote *The Love Machine* (1969) and *Once Is Not Enough* (1973). Her books were hugely successful, despite savaging by critics, with *Valley of the Dolls* becoming one of the 10 most widely distributed books of all time.

[Stewart Kampel (2nd ed.)]

SUSANNA AND THE ELDERS, apocryphal work added to the canonical Book of Daniel in ancient versions. In several uncial Greek manuscripts (B A Q), the Old Latin, and the Bohairic, Susanna precedes chapter 1; its traditional position, however, in accord with the Septuagint and the Latin Vulgate (and versions based on it), is after chapter 12. The story of Susanna (whose name means "lily") concerns the virtuous and beautiful wife of a prosperous Jew of Babylon, named Joakim. Unjustly accused by two Jewish elders of having committed adultery, and condemned to death, she is proved innocent when the elders, interrogated by Daniel, disagree about the tree under which the adultery allegedly took place. In accord with Deuteronomy 19:18–19 the elders were executed, and God and Daniel are praised for Susanna's vindication. Scholars have debated the question whether the original language of the addition was in Hebrew or Greek. Already in the third century (C.E.) Julius Africanus, rebutting Origen's defense of the genuineness and canonicity of the account, pointed out that the play on words in verses 54f. and 58f. are possible only in Greek. During the Middle Ages the story attained great popularity.

[Bruce M. Metzger]

In the Arts

Susanna is one of the outstanding heroines of the Apocrypha, and her story has inspired many writers and artists. In literature, two of the earliest treatments are the mid-14th century English *Epistill of Swete Susane* and a 15th-century French play, *Une vie de Saincte Susanne*, staged at Chambéry in 1470. The subject particularly attracted Renaissance dramatists because of the religio-didactic significance of the central theme – the vindication of innocence and virtue. A work of high quality was Sixtus Birck's German drama, *Susanna* (1532), a neo-Latin version of which was published by the playwright in 1537. One of its novel effects was the insertion of appropriate Old Testament passages at certain points in the action which were sung by the chorus. Some other works of the period were *Susana čista*, a play by the Montenegrin religious poet Mavro Vetranović of Ragusa (1482–1576); a neo-Latin *Susanna* by the Dutch humanist Georgius Macropedius (c. 1475–1558) and Jan Kochanowski's early Polish epic, *Zusanna* (1562). It was in England that the theme attracted the greatest attention, beginning with Ralph Radcliffe's *The Delivery of Susanna*, performed at Hitchin in 1540. Outstanding among the English plays was Thomas Garter's *The Commody of the moste vertuous and Godlye Susanna* (London, 1578) which, though clearly influenced by Ovid's erotic works, righteously maintained the biblical notion of divine justice in its highly moral conclusion. The subject continued to attract writers throughout the 17th and 18th centuries. In France, Antoine de Montchrétien wrote the verse play, *Susane ou la Chasteté* (1601), and in Greece, M. Dephrana was the author of the poem, *Istoria tēs Sōsannēs* (1667, 1671^2). Fresh attention was paid to the story by a number of 20th-century writers, some of whom have displayed a satirical or frankly iconoclastic approach. Modern works include *Susanna im Bade* (1901), a German verse play by Hugo *Salus; and the Scottish playwright James Bridie's *Susannah and the Elders* (1937). Bridie made Susanna an incorrigible flirt, and, as Daniel himself is forced to admit, deserves less sympathy than the sorely provoked elders, who stoically accept their unjust condemnation. An original treatment of the post-World War II era was *Het boek van Joachim van Babylon…* (1947, 1948^4; *The Book of Joachim of Babylon*, 1951), a Flemish novel by Jan Albert Goris, to which a sequel was added in 1950.

Susanna and the elders is a theme that frequently occurs in early Christian art. In the second-century prayers of the *Commendatio Animae*, Susanna delivered from false accusation symbolizes the soul of the elect protected from various perils. Other symbols of this type are Daniel in the lions' den and the three Hebrews in the fiery furnace. All were common in the funerary art of the catacombs and sarcophagi. Susanna is generally shown flanked by the two elders; in a fresco from the fourth-century cemetery of Pretextat she is symbolized as a lamb between wolves. Two episodes from the history of Susanna especially caught the imagination of artists. The judgment of Daniel (Susanna 44–62), like the judgment of Solomon, appealed to the Middle Ages as an example of justice, and was often represented in law courts. It appears in early Christian as well as medieval art, and there is a painting of the subject attributed to Giorgione (Glasgow Art Gallery). The sequel – the stoning of the elders – figures in a painting by Albrecht Altdorfer (Munich Pinakothek). The other episode, Susanna bathing (Susanna 15), was popular from the 16th to the late 18th centuries, when subjects were chosen for human interest rather than for moral or iconographic significance. Accordingly, this apocryphal story was treated as an opportunity for painting a beautiful woman in the nude. There is a study by Altdorfer, and a number of paintings by the great Venetians of the 16th century, notably by Paolo Veronese (Dresden, the Prado, and the Louvre) and by Tintoretto (the

Louvre, Vienna Museum). Paintings by Rubens are in the art galleries of Munich and Turin, the Stockholm National Museum, and the Academia San Fernando, Madrid. The two versions of the subject by *Rembrandt are in The Hague and Berlin museums. Later paintings included the ribald, satirical interpretations by the German artist Lovis Corinth and that by Oskar Kokoschka.

IN MUSIC. Paul Rebhun's school play with music, *Ein geistlich Spiel von der gotfurchtigen und keuschen Frawen Susannen* (1536), has an important place in the history of so-called school drama and as one of the precursors of the oratorio movement (see *Musikbibliothek Werner Wolffheim*, 2 (1928–29), 310–1,340; MGG S.V. Schuldrama). At the same time the subject was taken up by many composers of motets and chansons. The Latin (Vulgate) text, beginning *Ingemuit Susanna*, was set by Thomas Crecquillon and Jacobus Gallus (Handl); for *Susanna se videns rapi* there are settings by Adriaen Willaert, Philippe de Monte, Orlando di Lasso, and Palestrina; the latter also wrote a motet, *Susanna ab improbis*. A French poem, *Susanne un jour*, which appeared in a collection of chansons by an unknown composer, published in 1548, was the most influential: the melody was reset by Orlando di Lasso, and also used by him in a mass and for a German adaptation, *Susannen frumb* (see G. Reese, *Music in the Renaissance* (1954), 393–4, 696f., 709, and index: S.V. *Susanne un jour*). The text, and very often also parts of Lasso's setting, were used by Nicolas Gombert, Cipriano de Rore, Claude le Jeune, and others, and the melodic material was reworked by several composers as a lute or keyboard piece. The popularity of the song in England is attested by William Byrd's *Susanna fayre sometime assaulted was* and other settings. Another English text began with the words "There dwelt a man in Babylon"; this appears in the central "song scene" of *Shakespeare's *Twelfth Night* (Act II, scene 3ff.), and the tune was probably that of the Lasso setting. In the 17th century the subject entered the field of oratorio, in works such as Virgilio Mazocchis' "intermedio," *L'historia di Susanna* (Rome, 1643), and Alessandro Scarlatti's *Il martirio di Santa Susanna* (Florence, 1706); it also appeared in Germany (Johann Franck, *Die in deutsche Tracht verkleidete Susanna*, 1658). The emphasis on the pious moral did not always prevail: Alessandro Stradella's *Susanna* (Modena, 1681) is called by Schering "one of the most lubricious pieces of the entire literature, frivolous to the end" (cf. A. Schering, *Geschichte des Oratorios* (1911), 109, and *ibid*. on the "oratorio erotico"). In the 18th century only Handel's oratorio *Susanna* deserves mention (première at Covent Garden, London, 1749; librettist unknown); and 19th-century works are also few and negligible. The 20th century has seen the appearance of several operas on literary variations and even parodies of the subject, in which the biblical story is seldom adhered to strictly, such as Jean Gilbert's operetta, *Die keusche Susanne* (1910; later turned into an Argentinian film); Paul Hindemith's *Sancta Susanna* (text by August Stramm, 1922); Paul Kurzbach's *Die Historia der Susanna* (1948); Knudage Riisager's *Susanne* (1948/49); and Carlisle Floyd's *Susannah* (1955), which was first performed in New York in 1956.

See also Daniel in the Arts.

[Bathja Bayer]

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SUSITA OR HIPPOS, Greek city established above the E. bank of the Sea of Galilee (Pliny, *Natural History* 5:15). The Greek name Hippos is a translation of the Semitic name Susita. The coins of the ancient city usually show a horse (Heb. *sus*, Gk. *hippos*). Officially, the city was known as "Antiochia by Hippos," because it was probably founded by the Seleucids. It was captured by Alexander Yannai (Jannaeus) and was later reestablished as a city of the Decapolis by Pompey (Jos., Ant., 14:75). Augustus gave the city to Herod, but the citizens bore Herodian rule unwillingly, and after his death, it reverted to Syria (Jos., Ant., 15:217; 17:320; Wars, 1:396; 2:97). The city was attacked by the Jews in the Jewish War against Rome (Jos., Wars, 2:459) and the Jews in the city were interned (*ibid*., 2:478). Some of them were found among the defenders of Taricheae (*ibid*., 3:542). The territory of Susita bordered on the Sea of Galilee (Jos., Life, 153). It was located 30 stadia (4 mi.; c. 6½ km.) from Tiberias, with which Susita lived in constant rivalry, despite the commercial relations between the two cities (Lam. R. 1: 17, no. 52; TJ, Shev. 8:3, 38a).

In Byzantine times, Susita was the seat of a bishop. The city was part of *Palaestina Secunda*. Jewish villages in its territory were freed from such obligations as tithes and the Sabbatical Year (Tosef., Shev. 4:10). It has been identified with Qalʿat Ḥuṣn, a ruin on a mountain above *En-Gev. Remains on the site include fortification walls, a gate, a colonnaded street, a forum, a sanctuary (temenos) with the remains of Hellenistic and Roman temples, four churches, and an aqueduct. A new survey of the city was made in 1999, and from 2000 excavations were conducted there by A. Segal on behalf of Haifa University.

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[Michael Avi-Yonah / Arthur Segal (2nd ed.)]

SUSMAN, MARGARETE (1874–1966), German essayist and poet. She lived in Hamburg (where she was born), Frankfurt, and – from the Nazi period – in Zurich. Margarete Susman combined scholarship and existentialist philosophy with considerable poetic talent.

Her verse collections include *Mein Land* (1901) and *Lieder von Tod und Erloesung* (1922) and a selection of her poetry is contained in *Aus sich wandelnder Zeit* (1953). Her essays on Jewish problems include *Das Buch Hiob und das Schicksal des juedischen Volkes* (1946), *Gestalten und Kreise* (1945), and *Deutung biblishcher Gestalten* (1955). Her major works include: *Vom Sinn der Liebe* (1912), a philosophical analysis of the tragic nature of love; *Frauen der Romantik* (1929), a collection of essays on Caroline and Dorothea von *Schlegel, Rahel (Levin) *Varnhagen von Ense, and Bettina Brentano; and *Deutung einer grossen Liebe* (1951), on the friendship between Goethe and Charlotte von Stein. In her 90th year she published her autobiography, *Ich habe viele Leben gelebt* (1964).

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[Sol Liptzin]

SUSSKIND, DAVID (1920–1987), U.S. producer. Born in New York, Susskind was press agent for Warner Brothers after World War II but later went into television, specializing in serious drama. By 1969 he had produced 26 plays, including Euripides' *Medea; Rashomon*; and *Othello*. He conducted his own discussion shows on television, notably *Open End* (1958–66) in which he talked with leading personalities about contemporary issues.

Susskind's TV series productions include *Armstrong Circle Theatre* (1950–63), *Goodyear Television Playhouse* (1951–57), *The Dupont Show of the Month* (1957–61), *Play of the Week* (1959–61), the sci-fi drama series *Way Out* (1961), the police drama series *East Side/West Side* (1963–64), the sitcom *Alice* (1976–85), and the Watergate miniseries *Blind Ambition* (Emmy nomination, 1979).

Among his many TV feature productions are *Pinocchio* (1957), *Ten Little Indians* (1959), *Meet Me in St. Louis* (1959), *The Power and the Glory* (1959), *A Month in the Country* (1959), *Our Town* (1959), *The Waltz of the Toreadors* (1959), *Miracle on 34th Street* (1959), *Death of a Salesman* (1966), *The Glass Menagerie* (1966), *Mark Twain Tonight!* (Emmy nomination, 1967), *The Crucible* (1967), *Johnny Belinda* (1967), *Laura* (1968), *A Hatful of Rain* (1968), *The Price* (Emmy nomination, 1971), *The Country Girl* (1973), *A Moon for the Misbegotten* (Emmy nomination, 1975), *Eleanor and Franklin* (Emmy Award for Outstanding Special, 1976), *Harry S. Truman: Plain Speaking* (Emmy nomination, 1976), *Eleanor and Franklin: The White House Years* (Emmy Award for Outstanding Special, 1977), *Johnny, We Hardly Knew Ye* (1977), *Who'll Save Our Children?* (1978), *Sex and the Single Parent* (1979), *The Bunker* (1981), *Mister Lincoln* (1981), *Ian McKellen* (1982), and *Rita Hayworth: The Love Goddess* (1983).

In 1960, Susskind won the Peabody Award for his production of *The Moon and Sixpence* (1959), which featured Laurence Olivier in his American television debut. The stellar cast included Judith Anderson, Hume Cronyn, Jessica Tandy, Cyril Cusack, Denholm Elliot, Geraldine Fitzgerald, and Jean Marsh.

Susskind also produced a number of feature films for the movies. Among these are *Edge of the City* (1957), *A Raisin in the Sun* (1961), *Requiem for a Heavyweight* (1962), *All the Way Home* (1963), *Lovers and Other Strangers* (1970), *Alice Doesn't Live Here Anymore* (1974), *Buffalo Bill and the Indians* (1976), and *Goldenrod* (1976).

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[Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

SUSSKIND, (Jan) WALTER (1913–1980), conductor, pianist, and composer of Czech birth. He studied composition with Suk and Karel Hába, piano with Hoffmeister at the Prague Conservatory, and conducting with *Szell at the Academy of Music in Prague. Susskind became Szell's assistant at the German Opera, Prague, and played piano with the Czech Trio (1933–38). After the German occupation he went to London where he served as pianist with the exiled Czech Trio until 1942. He resumed his conducting career (1941) and became a naturalized British subject (1946). He assumed directorships with the Carl Rosa Opera Company in London (1943–45), the Scottish National Orchestra (1946–52), the Victoria Symphony Orchestra (SO), Melbourne (1953–55), the Toronto SO (1956–65), the Aspen (Colorado) Music Festival (1962–68), and the St Louis SO (1968–75). His last position was with the Cincinnati Orchestra (1978–80). Susskind also appeared regularly as guest conductor with the major orchestras of Europe, the United Kingdom, and North America and taught at the University of Southern Illinois (1968–75). He was a highly accomplished conductor, being a technically secure and polished musician. During his time in Toronto he expanded the orchestral repertory widely, introducing new works such as Bruckner's and Mahler's symphonies. He continued this policy of exploratory program building with the St. Louis SO, which under his direction became a leading American orchestra. Together they made over 200 recordings. He founded the National Youth Orchestra of Canada (1960) and was known as a great mentor of young conductors. Susskind wrote several compositions among them *4 Songs for Voice and String Quartet* (1935), *9 Slovak Sketches for Orchestra*, *Passacaglia for Timpani and Chamber Orchestra* (1977), and scores for films and the theater.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: J. Hunt, Grove Music Online; *Baker's Biographical Dictionary of Musicians* (1997); *Makers of the Philharmonia* (1996).

[Naama Ramot (2nd ed.)]

SUSSMAN, ABRAHAM (1861–1943), Israel agronomist. Born in Odessa, Sussman joined the *Bilu movement, but was not among the original settlers in Ereẓ Israel. In 1885 he established and ran a model farm near Odessa on which he trained Jewish youth for about seven years. He accompanied *Aḥad Ha-Am on his visit to Ereẓ Israel in 1900 as an emissary of the Odessa Committee of Ḥovevei Zion. In this capacity Sussman toured the Jewish settlements and later published a detailed report of the journey together with his traveling companion. After the Russian Revolution (1917), Sussman was the director of a farm near Odessa that trained groups of pioneers, including the founders of Kibbutz *Kiryat Anavim in the Jerusalem Hills. He settled in Palestine in 1924 and, among other activities, engaged in agricultural research and training.

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[Yehuda Slutsky]

SUSSMAN, EZRA (1900–1973), Hebrew poet and translator. Born in Odessa, Sussman emigrated to Ereẓ Israel in 1922. He began writing poetry and prose in Russian, in a monthly that his father edited in Odessa. In Palestine, he was a regular contributor to *Davar* from its founding, and there published poems, both in original and translation, as well as drama criticism, and became a member of the editorial board. He translated Voltaire's *Candide* (1946), the selected poetry of Boris Pasternak, *Mivḥar Shirim* (1961), and poems by Anna Akhmatova. With S. Grodzensky he edited the periodical *Akhsanyah* (1956). Among his books are *Shirim* (1968), *Yalkut Shirim* (with a bibliography, 1984), and the posthumously published collection *Ḥaẓot ve-Neẓaḥ* (1998). A volume of translations appeared in 1985, preceded by a collection of theater reviews, *Aḥarei Bekhorah* (1981).

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[Getzel Kressel]

SUSSMAN, YOEL (1910–1982), president of the Israel Supreme Court. Born in Cracow, Poland, Sussman moved to Germany with his parents and completed his secondary education there and studied law. He settled in Palestine in 1934 and remained in private practice until the War of Independence, when he served as deputy judge advocate-general in the Israel Defense Forces with the rank of captain. In 1949 he became a district court judge in Tel Aviv and in 1953 was nominated to the Supreme Court. He lectured at Tel Aviv University and at the Hebrew University Law School in Jerusalem. His major studies are the following: *Das Wechselrecht Palestinas* (1937), *Bills of Exchange* (1945), *Dinei Shetarot* (1951), *Dinei Borerut* ("On Arbitration," 1953), *Sidrei Din ha-Ezraḥi* (1959). In 1970 he was appointed permanent deputy president of the Supreme Court and in 1976 its president. In 1975 he received an Israel Prize.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Jerusalem Post* Archives

[Alexander Zvielli]

SUTRO, ABRAHAM (1784–1869), German rabbi. He was appointed by the *Kassel consistory as a teacher in Reichenbach in 1811, and became one of the first rabbis to preach in German. In 1815 he became rabbi of *Muenster, and in 1828 of *Paderborn as well. An opponent of *Reform, Sutro objected to the introduction of the organ into the synagogue. However, he supported vocational training for Jews and persuaded A. *Haindorf to found a pedagogical institution bearing his name in Muenster. In 1853 he began to organize petitions to the Prussian authorities against discrimination in the appointment of Jews to governmental, particularly juridical, offices. Sutro wrote an anti-Reform work, *Milḥamot Adonai* (4 vols., 1836–65).

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SUTRO, ADOLPH HEINRICH JOSEPH (1830–1898), U.S. engineer and civic leader. Sutro, who was born in Aachen, Prussia, left school at 16, when his father died, to manage the family's woolen cloth mill. At the request of a Memel businessman who bought the factory, Adolph went to Memel to set up and run the mill for the new owner. In 1848 he immigrated with his family to the United States, traveling to California in 1850 and selling goods in Stockton and San Francisco. In 1860 he visited Nevada's silver mines and conceived of a tunnel through the Comstock Lode for drainage, ventilation, and more efficient silver mining. His Sutro Tunnel Company began construction in 1869 and completed the tunnel, which ran four miles from Sutro City, a "planned city," to Virginia City, in 1878. The great mining period of the Comstock Lode was over, however, and though Sutro was rumored to have made as much as $5 million through the sale of his tunnel stock in 1880, his profit was probably no more than $900,000. Sutro planned to run for a Senate seat from Nevada in 1880, but his scheme to embarrass his opponent was betrayed to the opposition by one of his advisers, and his campaign collapsed. Sutro then moved to San Francisco and invested his money in San Francisco land, eventually purchasing one-twelfth of the city's land and building up a fortune of several million dollars. He bought a home and grounds, known as Sutro Heights, which he landscaped, furnished with a seal pool, and decorated with statuary he believed to be edifying, and opened the grounds to the public. He built and ran a street railway from the city to the Heights so that San Franciscans could make the trip on a single fare rather than the double fare that the existing railway charged. He also built Sutro Baths, a public indoor pool opened in 1896 which would admit about 10,000 persons at a time. An obsessive book buyer, he amassed a library of about 125,000 bound books, including something under 3,000 of the existing 20,000 incunabula (largely destroyed in the 1906 fire), sometimes buying up whole bookstores in person or through his European agents. Only the Sutro Library, built after his death to house his collection and now a branch of the California State Library on the campus of the University of San Francisco, and the Medical Center at the University of California Medical School at San Francisco, for which he left a bequest, remain. In 1894 Sutro was elected mayor of San Francisco as a People's Party (Populist) candidate on a platform of maintaining the five-cent street railway fare and defeating a bill benefiting the Southern Pacific Railway, which Sutro consistently referred to as the Octopus. He served as mayor from 1895 to 1897. The inadequacies of the city's charter and Sutro's inability to work with others led the San Francisco *Examiner* to the judgment that "The Mayor's power is barely more than that given by his tact… He passed his term in a state of exasperation." A believer in charity rather than in any religion, Sutro gave land to the Home for Aged Israelites, as well as to other charitable causes, and left a personal bequest to the founder of *Ethical Culture to avoid supporting that organization.

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[Robert E. Levinson]

SUTRO, ALFRED (1863–1933), English playwright. The son of a German physician and grandson of a rabbi, Sutro was educated at the City of London School and in Brussels, and became a successful wholesale merchant. After his marriage – his wife was a sister of the first Marquess of *Reading – he devoted himself exclusively to writing. He made his reputation in 1904 with a social comedy, *The Walls of Jericho*, which was followed during the next quarter century by many other West End stage successes, generally on stock themes but always written with wit and polish.

His plays include *The Fascinating Mr. Vanderveldt* (1906), *The Perplexed Husband* (1913), *The Desperate Lovers* (1927), and *Living Together* (1929). Sutro showed a deeper vein in his essays and sketches – *About Women* (1931) – where satire is sometimes edged with bitterness. He was also a talented translator, mainly of the works of his lifelong friend, the Belgian dramatist Maurice Maeterlinck. Sutro was a friend of many noted writers of his day, including George Bernard Shaw and D.H. Lawrence. He wrote an autobiography, *Celebrities and Simple Souls* (1933).

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SUTTON, PHILIP (1928–), painter. Sutton was born in London, and studied at the Slade School of Fine Art where he subsequently taught. As a young man he was awarded scholarships for travel in France and Italy, and also spent some time in Israel. Between 1963 and 1965 he lived for two years on Fiji with his wife and four children. Sutton was influenced chiefly by Matisse and the German Expressionists. He was foremost a colorist and, apart from an early period of landscape painting, his chief subjects, like those of many Jewish artists, were firstly members of his family, and secondly the female nude. He was a bold draughtsman, particularly effective in his woodcuts, and a lover of hot, sensuous color, and was regarded as one of the most gifted English painters of his generation. He is represented in the Tate Gallery and leading museums throughout the world. He was elected a member of the Royal Academy in 1988. *Model with Yellow Hair* is one of his largest and most striking woodcuts. It was published in 1969 in a small, limited edition of 30 impressions. *Woodcuts by Philip Sutton: 1950s–1970s* appeared in 1998.

[Charles Samuel Spencer]

SUTZKEVER, ABRAHAM (1913–), Yiddish poet. Born in Smargon (Belorussia), Sutzkever fled with his family to Siberia to escape the German occupation of his hometown during World War I, returning to Vilna after the war. He was not educated in the city's secular Yiddish schools, but rather at a Polish-Hebrew secondary school. He taught himself about Yiddish literature as a teenager through disciplined self-study, later auditing classes on Polish Romanticism at University of Vilna and studying early Yiddish literature under Max *Weinreich at YIVO. He first discovered his poetic calling when, in 1930, he joined the Jewish scouts and befriended Leyzer *Wolf, a leader of the literary group *Yung-Vilne. His membership in that group was initially rejected because his poetry lacked political engagement, but in 1934, the year of his literary debut, he was accepted. He emerged as a defiant aesthetic voice that resisted the highly politicized nature of Yiddish writing in Poland in favor of a joyous, affirmative poetic. In 1935 he appealed to Yiddish modernist Aaron *Glanz-Leyeles in New York, who, impressed by Sutzkever's talent, invited him to contribute regularly to his prestigious monthly, *In Zikh*. Sutzkever's first book, *Lider* ("Songs," 1937), secured his reputation as a rising international literary star at age 24. The volume includes a sonnet sequence about Siberia that transforms the setting into a landscape of sound, color, and childhood wonder. His second volume, *Valdiks* ("Of the Forest," 1940), is an ecstatic hymn to nature and celebration of existence. During the initial weeks of the Nazi occupation of Vilna, he composed a cycle of poems while in hiding. He divided his energies in the ghetto between creative work (he received first prize in a ghetto literary competition in 1942) and his underground association with the United Partisans Organization. He also played a critical role in the rescue of treasures from YIVO's archive as part of the secret "Paper Brigade." His wartime writings range from private confessions of sorrow and rage to the crafting of collective myth. He and his wife, Freydke, escaped the liquidation of the ghetto in September 1943, joining Jewish partisan units in the Lithuanian forest. The *Jewish Anti-Fascist Committee in Moscow, with Ilya *Ehrenberg's assistance, arranged for his rescue. In the Soviet Union he was greeted as a symbol of Jewish sacrifice in the fight against fascism. After Vilna's liberation, he returned with Yung-Vilne colleague Shmerke *Kaczerginski to dig up treasures hidden by the Paper Brigade, which were sent to YIVO in New York to keep them out of Communist hands. In Moscow, he completed his memoir, *Fun Vilner Geto* ("From the Vilna Ghetto," 1946), and gathered his wartime poetry for the volumes *Di Festung* ("The Fortress," 1945) and *Lider fun Geto* ("Poems of the Ghetto," 1946). Additional writings from and about the Holocaust period include *Yidishe Gas* ("Jewish Street," 1948) and *Di Ershte Nakht in Geto* ("The First Night in the Ghetto," 1979). *Geheymshtot* ("Secret City," 1948), one of only two book-length epics in his career, crafts a mythopoeic universe of Jews hiding from Nazis in the sewers of Vilna, including the figure of the poet, who lives to bear witness to pain which must be transformed into beauty. The prose symbolism of "Green Aquarium," published in *Ode tsu der Toyb* ("Ode to the Dove," 1955), explores his faith in poetry as a regenerative force. *Lider fun Yam-Hamoves* ("Poems from the Sea of Death," 1968) is the official canon of his wartime writings. Sutzkever testified at the Nuremberg trials (1946), and represented Yiddish literature at the International PEN Congress in 1947, the same year he immigrated to Palestine, settling in Tel Aviv with his wife and young daughter. There he established and edited the world's most important postwar Yiddish quarterly, *Di Goldene Keyt* ("The Golden Chain," 1949–95). His life in Israel produced the most sustained engagement with Zionism in all of Yiddish poetry. *In Fayer Vogn* ("In the Chariot of Fire," 1952) communicates his ecstasy over his encounter with Jewish life reborn in Israel and his anxieties about the way European Jewry will be remembered. The volume *In Midber Sinay* (1957; *In the Sinai Desert*, 1987), about the 1956 Sinai Campaign, imagines direct links between the generation of ghetto fighters and Israel's fighting spirit. *Gaystike Erd* ("Spiritual Soil," 1961; with original woodcuts by Arthur Kolnik) tells of the birth of Israel and the War of Independence. A two-volume edition of his collected writings, *Poetishe Verk* (1963), appeared in honor of his 50th birthday. His mature period, best represented by *Lider fun Togbukh* ("Poems from a Diary," 1977), offers meta-poetic and philosophical musings that stake the highest claim for poetry. Additional volumes include *Sibir* (1953; with illustrations by Marc Chagall; *Siberia*, 1961), *Oazis* ("Oasis," 1960), *Firkantike Oysyes un Mofsim* ("Square Letters and Miraculous Signs," 1968), *Tsaytike Penemer* ("Ripe Faces," 1970), *Di Fidlroyz* (1974; *The Fiddle Rose*, 1990), *Dortn vu es Nekhtikn di Shtern* ("There Where the Stars Spend the Night, 1979), *Fun Alte un Yunge Ksav-Yadn* (1982; *Laughter Beneath the Forest*, 1996), *Tsviling-Bruder* ("Twin Brother," 1976), *Di Nevue fun Shvartsaplen* ("The Prophecy of the Inner Eye," 1989), *Der Yoyresh fun Regn* ("Heir of the Rain," 1992), *Baym Leyenen Penimer* ("Face Reading," 1993), and *Tsevaltike Vent* ("Shaky Walls," 1996). Other English translations include *Burnt Pearls* (1981), and the comprehensive *A. Sutzkever: Selected Poetry and Prose* (1991). Sutzkever's poetry distinguishes itself by inventive word-play, experimentation with sound and rhythm, mastery of form, and the poet's romantic sense of his artistic calling. For these and many other reasons, he was called the "Ariel" of Yiddish poetry at an early stage in his career, only to be proclaimed "the uncrowned Jewish poet laureate" by one recent critic. Honors include the Itsik Manger Prize (1969), an exhibition in recognition of his life at the Jewish National and University Library, Jerusalem (1983), and the Israel Prize (1985).

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[Justin D. Cammy (2nd ed.)]

SUWALKI (Pol. **Suwálki**; Yid. **Suvalk**), town in Bialystok province, N.E. Poland. The town began to develop toward the end of the 18th century under Prussian rule; Jews then settled there, numbering 44 (3.5% of the total population) in 1808. In 1815 Suwalki was incorporated within Congress Poland and between 1823 and 1862 restrictions of residence in some of the sections of the city were imposed upon a number of Jews. An organized community was formed at the beginning of the 1820s, and in 1827 numbered 1,209 (32% of the total population). A synagogue was built in 1821. During the 19th century Jews in Suwalki developed trade relations with Germany, in particular for *agricultural produce, timber, and horses. They also engaged in retail trade and crafts including tailoring, shoemaking, building, and transportation. In the second half of the 19th century, Jews in Suwalki engaged in the manufacture of prayer shawls, fulling, and tanning. During the Polish uprising in 1863 many Jews in Suwalki and the surrounding area took an active part in the struggle against the Russian army. Two of them, Leib Lipman and Leib Lejbman, were executed by the czarist authorities. Following persecutions and disasters of nature Jews emigrated from Suwalki, among them, in the early 1880s, a number of followers of the "*Am Olam" movement. In 1866 a "benevolent society for natives of Suwalki" was founded in New York. The Jewish population numbered 6,587 (62% of the total) in 1857, and 7,165 (40%) in 1897. From the latter year until 1914 Jewish traders and craftsmen supplied the garrison stationed in the locality.

Jewish national activity in the community began as early as the movement for settlement in Ereẓ Israel in 1881. In 1891 the Safah Berurah Society for the propagation of Hebrew in Suwalki had 70 members. A Jewish workers' association was formed in 1901. Members of the *Bund and *Po'alei Ẓion in Suwalki took an active part in the revolutionary period of 1905–06, and organized *self-defense against *pogroms.

In World War I the Jews in Suwalki suffered severely during the retreat of the Russian army in the beginning of the summer of 1915. In the interwar period, under Polish rule, Jews opened factories for woolen textiles, and timber and food products. The Jewish population numbered 5,747 (34% of the total) in 1921, and 5,811 in 1931. Jewish institutions in Suwalki included schools of the *Tarbut and CYSHO (see *Education), a *talmud torah* (founded in 1861), and a yeshivah (1936). A Jewish self-defense organization in 1936 prevented a pogrom by the Polish population.

Among distinguished rabbis who served in Suwalki in the second half of the 19th century were Isaac Eisik *Wildmann (Ḥaver) (1850–53); Jehiel b. Aaron *Heller (1853–57); Samuel b. Judah Leib *Mohilewer (1860–68); and David Tevel *Katzenellenbogen (in the 1890s). Personalities born in Suwalki or active there include the educator Alexander M. *Dushkin; Pinhas *Sapir (Israeli cabinet minister); and Avraham *Stern (leader of Leḥi).

[Dov Rabin]

Holocaust Period

Before the outbreak of World War II there were about 6,000 Jews in Suwalki. The Jewish community was liquidated at the end of November 1939 when the Jews were deported to *Biala Podlaska, *Lukow, *Miedzyrzec-Podlaski, and *Kock and shared the fate of these communities. After the war the Jewish community of Suwalki was not reconstituted.

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SUWALSKI, ISAAK (1863–1913), Hebrew writer and editor. He was born in Kolno, Lomza province, and from 1881 contributed articles to the Hebrew press (*Ha-Levanon, Ha-Ẓefirah, Ha-Meliẓ*), written in the spirit of religious orthodoxy. In 1890–91 he published in Warsaw a literary collection, *Keneset ha-Gedolah*. His book *Ḥayyei ha-Yehudi al pi ha-Talmud* (1889) gathered talmudic sayings, arranged by subject matter, that reflect the sages' views of man and society. This collection went through several editions and was translated into German and Danish. In 1895 he migrated to London where he single-handedly established the Hebrew weekly *Ha-Yehudi* (1897–1913), of which he was publisher, editor, compositor, and staff writer. He also dealt in Hebrew books and organized charitable institutions in the Jewish quarter in the East End of London.

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[Yehuda Slutsky]

SUZIN, SOLOMON MOSES (d. 1835), rabbi of Jerusalem. Suzin was appointed *rishon le-Zion* in 1824 as the successor of Yom Tov Danon. He did a great deal for the Jewish population of Jerusalem, and held the position until his death. He was responsible for a considerable number of *takkanot* and his approbations are included in many contemporary works. From them it would appear that at first he lived in Hebron. In 1826 he proceeded to the countries of North Africa as an emissary of Jerusalem.

He was the author of *Pinkas le-Inyenei Halakhah* (Jerusalem, National Library, Heb. 8° 378), halakhic novellae on various subjects. The work contains much material on the comtemporary history of Ereẓ Israel in general and of Jerusalem in particular. A number of his responsa are published in the works of the scholars of his day.

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SUZMAN (née **Gavronsky), HELEN** (1917–), South African politician and parliamentarian of liberal views. Born in Germiston, Transvaal, she lectured on economic history at the University of the Witwatersrand. She was first elected to Parliament as a member of the United Party, the official opposition (1953), but, with 12 other members, broke away in 1959, because of differences on race policies. They formed the Progressive Party and continued to sit in Parliament as a separate opposition group. Helen Suzman was reelected for the same constituency (Houghton) as a candidate of the Progressives in 1961, the only Progressive candidate to be successful. She was the sole representative of her party in Parliament for a total of 13 years until the election of 1974, when a further six Progressive candidates were elected to the house. A formidable debater, she was a determined opponent of discrimination based on race or color, and a champion of the rights of the African people. At the time of her resignation from Parliament in 1989, Suzman was the longest-serving South African MP. Her struggle for equal rights for South Africa's people of color resulted in her receiving two nominations for the Nobel Peace Prize as well as over 28 honorary degrees, including honorary doctorates from Oxford (1973), Harvard (1976), and Witwatersrand (1976) universities. She wrote two autobiographies, *Time Remembered* (1968) and *In No Uncertain Terms* (1993).

[David Saks (2nd ed.)]

SUZMAN, JANET (1939–), actress. Born in Johannesburg, Suzman was educated at the University of Witwatersrand. She first appeared on stage in 1962 in *Billy Liar*, but her modulated voice and diction, elegance and authority led quickly to classical theater, where she specialized in Shakespeare and Classical and 19th-century theater. Her roles with the Royal Shakespeare included Portia, Rosalind, Ophelia, and Cleopatra. In 1976 she received the *Evening Standard* Award for her portrayal of Masha in Chekhov's *The Three Sisters*. Her many television appearances included participation in the BBC Shakespeare series along with such varying roles as Charlotte Bronte, Florence Nightingale, Edwina Mountbatten, and Clytemnestra. In films she portrayed Alexandra in *Nicholas and Alexandra* (1971), receiving an Academy Award nomination for best actress for her portrayal of the imperious czarina. In Peter Greenaway s film *The Draughtman's Contract*, her portrayal of the sensual, decadent aristocrat brought great critical acclaim. She turned increasingly to character roles and has directed for television (*Othello*) and the theater. She was a civil rights activist following in the footsteps of her aunt, Helen *Suzman.

[Sally Whyte]

SVERDLIK, ODED (**Enrique**; 1938–1996), Argentinean-Israeli poet, author, literary critic, and journalist. His grandparents immigrated at the turn of the century to the Argentinean Jewish colonies established by Baron Hirsch. Born in Buenos Aires, Sverdlik was very active in leftist Zionism, one of the founders of the Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir "Mordehai Anilevich" youth group and editor of the newspaper *Nueva Sión*. His first book of poems, *Las hambres consumadas* ("The Accomplished Hungers," 1961) won him an award from the Argentine Writers Association. He published in Argentina *Las tremendas decisiones* ("The Tremendous Decisions," short stories, 1964) and *Memorias del transeúnte* ("Memories of the Passerby," poems, 1970), before he established himself in Israel in 1965. He lived in a kibbutz for five years. From 1970 to 1988 he was editor of information and study materials in Spanish at the World Zionist Organization Youth Department. His first book in Hebrew was *Ereẓ Lo Noda'at* ("Unknown Territory," short stories, 1972), followed by *Parashei ha-Ishon* ("The Riders of the Pupil of the Eye," poems, 1980) and *Ḥalonot ba-Saḥaf* ("Windows in Erosion," poems, 1986). From 1987 to 1991 Sverdlik was a member of the Hebrew Writers Association's Executive Board. In 1988 he was awarded the Levi Eshkol Prize for literary creation. In 1990 he published a Spanish anthology of self-translated poems, *Brindis* ("Toast"), and in 1992 a new book of poems in Hebrew, *Ad Kelot ha-Devash* (To the End of the Honey). At his death, he was working on another book of poems, *Ma'agal Kama'i* ("Primordial Circle"). In his last years, he became a member of the Mexican Academy of Literature and was general secretary of the Israeli PEN Club. Sverdlik also devoted himself to poetry translation from Hebrew to Spanish and vice versa, and was literary advisor and reviewer for newspapers, journals, and publishing houses in Spanish and Hebrew. His poems have been translated into English, French, German, Italian, Romanian, Hungarian, Serbian, Russian, and Lithuanian.

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[Florinda F. Goldberg (2nd ed.)]

SVERDLOV, YAKOV MIKHAILOVICH (1885–1919), Russian revolutionary and Communist leader. Born in Nizhni-Novgorod (now Gorki), Sverdlov founded the revolutionary movement in his youth. He established the Nizhni-Novgorod Revolutionary Committee on an organized basis. He was imprisoned on two occasions and in 1910 was exiled to Siberia. Sverdlov returned to Petrograd in April 1917 and was a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party. Shortly after the October Revolution he was elected chairman of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee and thereby titular head of state. He died suddenly on his way to a congress of the Soviets in Kharkov. Sverdlov was considered one of the outstanding figures of the Bolshevik Revolution. Lenin paid a warm tribute to him as a brilliant organizer. In 1924 the name of the city Yekaterinburg was changed to Sverdlovsk in his memory.

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SVETLOV, MIKHAIL (1903–1967), Soviet-Russian poet and playwright. Svetlov edited various periodicals of the Young Communist League before studying at the University of Moscow. His early volumes of lyrics, *Relsy* ("Rails," 1925) and *Korni* ("Roots," 1925), depict the heroism of the Revolution, and his famous poem *Grenada* (1926) glorifies the internationalism of the working classes. Two plays, *Skazka* ("Fairy Tale," 1939) and *Dvadtsat let spustya* ("Twenty Years Hence," 1940), portray the devotion of Russian youth to the building of the Socialist homeland.

Other poems and plays by Svetlov laud the heroism of those who fought in the Communist Revolution, the Russian civil war, and World War II. Svetlov's works reflect the conflict between his political identification and his feelings for Judaism. He frequently emphasized his Jewishness and praised the Revolution for having freed the Jews from oppression. In a series of eight poems in *Korni* called "Stikhi o rebe" ("Verses about the Rabbi"), he expressed Jewish melancholy and a yearning for the Jewish way of life which was being destroyed by the waves of revolution. He nevertheless argued that the Revolution was more important and declared that he would himself be prepared to burn the synagogue, if the Revolution required him to do so.

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[Irving Malin]

SVEVO, ITALO (pen name of **Ettore Schmitz**; 1861–1928), Italian novelist. Svevo's mother was an Italian, his father an Austrian. He was educated in Germany, and on returning to his native Trieste worked as a bank clerk. From 1889 he was a partner in an industrial concern which he managed until his death, carefully separating his business from his literary life. After publishing two unsuccessful novels, *Una vita* (1892; *A Life*, 1963) and *Senilità* (1898; *As a Man Grows Older*, 1932), Svevo immersed himself in commerce for over 20 years. His talent was first discovered by the Irish writer James Joyce, who spent some time in Trieste from 1903 onward. Their friendship was mutually fruitful, and the correspondence between the two novelists, *Carteggio inedito Italo Svevo-James Joyce*, was published in 1949. It was as a result of the favorable attention it attracted in England and France that Svevo's masterpiece, *La Coscienza di Zeno* (1923; *The Confessions of Zeno*, 1930), came to be recognized in Italy itself as a classic of modern Italian literature. Partly autobiographical, the book is in effect an extended monologue, self-analytical and deeply introspective, telling the story of a man's life as he observes it from the outside. A member of a middle-class mercantile family, the hero regards his life as empty of meaning, a succession of failures. Caught up in dreams and visions and beset by psychological complexes, he becomes a melancholic and ironical spokesman of the absurdity of the human condition. Like the people in similar condition with whom he comes in contact, he finds life full of irremediable disappointments. Svevo's own rejection of the unremitting flow of life is thus projected onto his hero. In spite of the fact that Svevo never explicitly related to Jews or to a Jewish milieu in his literary works, some scholars have considered them crypto-Jewish. This thesis appeared in the late 1920s in an article by Giacomo Debenedetti, one of the outstanding Italian literary critics of the last century (a Jew himself), and since then it has been proposed many times in several different versions. According to Debenedetti, Svevo symbolically describes in his works the uneasiness of the emancipated Jew not completely belonging to European Christian society, and his approach to Judaism is in some way close to the negative attitude of the Jewish-born philosopher Otto Weininger.

Svevo's colloquial style was something of an innovation in Italian writing. His cosmopolitan background and education undoubtedly contributed to his unique position in his country's literature. Immediately before and after his death in an automobile accident some of his short novellas were published. They include *Una burla riuscita* (1928; *The Hoax*, 1929) and *La novella del buon vecchio e della bella fanciulla* (1929; *The Nice Old Man and the Pretty Girl*, 1930), both successfully combining pessimism with humor and gentle irony. Two other posthumous publications are his *Corto viaggio sentimentale* (1949; *Short Sentimental Journey and Other Stories*, 1967), a collection of novellas; and a volume of essays, *Saggi e pagine sparse* (1954). His collected works, edited by B. Maier, appeared in 1954 (in English, 1962ff.).

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[Joseph Baruch Sermoneta / Ariel Rathaus (2nd ed.)]

SVIRSKI, ALEXEY IVANOVICH (1865–1942), author. After a nomadic youth, Svirski turned to literature, one of his early works being *Rostovskiye trushchoby* ("Slums of Rostov," 1893). Two of his best-known books were *Ryzhik, priklyucheniya brodyago* ("Ryzhik, the Adventures of a Vagrant," 1912), a popular children's story, and the autobiographical *Istoriya moyey zhizni* ("Story of My Life," 1930, 1947^3). *V Cherte* ("In the Pale") and Yevrei ("Jews," 1934) were collected short stories about Jews.

SVISLOCH (Pol. **Swisłocz**), town in Grodno district, Belarus; within Poland before 1795 and between the two world wars. A number of Jews settled there at the beginning of the 18th century on the invitation of the owners of the locality, the princes of Tyszkiewicz. In 1752 the Council of Lithuania (see Councils of *Lands) imposed a poll tax of 215 zlotys on the Svisloch community, which numbered 220 in 1766. Until the middle of the 19th century the Jews of Svisloch earned their livelihood mainly from trade in timber and grain, shopkeeping, and crafts; they later also engaged in innkeeping and the lease of public houses. After a great fire, in which most of the Jewish shops were destroyed, the fairs were no longer held in Svisloch and the Jews were deprived of their principal sources of livelihood. Around 1870 Jews began to pioneer in the tanning industry and improved methods of manufacture with the assistance of German experts whom they invited. By the end of the 19th century a number of tanneries had been established in Svisloch, which employed hundreds of workers. Many Jews from the surrounding areas went there in search of employment. As early as the middle of the 19th century Jewish craftsmen in Svisloch attempted to organize themselves into guilds. At the beginning of the 20th century the *Bund Movement developed in Svisloch and it embraced the whole of the Jewish working populace (tanners, tailors, shoemakers, carpenters. smiths, and bakers), who organized strikes for the amelioration of working conditions in tanneries and factories. In 1905 the workers' organization was established for Jewish self-defense against pogroms. After World War I Zionist Socialism gained ground within the community. A *hakhsharah* farm was established by the He-Ḥalutz movement. A *Tarbut school and a school of the CYSHO (see *Education) were established. The Jewish population numbered 977 in 1847; 2,086 (67.3% of the total) in 1897; and 1,959 (66.7%) in 1921. The community came to an end in the Holocaust. Its last rabbi, Ḥayyim Jacob b. Moses Judah Mishkinski, perished together with the members of his community.

Ẓevi Hirsch *Edelman (Ḥen-Tov) and Samuel *Belkin were born in Svisloch.

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[Dov Rubin]

SWABIAN LEAGUE, league of free cities in S. Germany. First formed in 1331, the league continued to exist in various forms for two centuries. Under the leadership of *Ulm, 14 cities were the basis of the revitalized league of 1376. When Charles IV put a ban on Jud *Jaecklin, a Jewish moneylender who had lent large sums to Ulm and to other member cities, Ulm refused to turn him over to the authorities, since Jaecklin had helped the city to increase its territory by forcing indebted nobles to sell their estates to it. Charles IV waged war against Ulm but was forced to acknowledge defeat, recognize the league, and repeal the ban. In 1384 the Jewish community of *Noerdlingen, a member city, was massacred and persecutions also took place in Windsheim and Weissenburg. The league forced the latter cities to indemnify the victims and ordered Noerdlingen to return the confiscated books of deceased Jews. The council of Noerdlingen procrastinated and finally paid a sum to the emperor *Wenceslaus in order to obtain a pardon; as a result, Noerdlingen was ejected from the league. Emperor Wenceslaus, who was deeply in debt and interested in enriching his treasury, opened negotiations with the league. The result of these negotiations (in which the Rhenish league also took part) was the decision to liquidate a portion of all debts owed to Jews (*Judenschuldentilgung*). On June 10, 1385 the cities agreed not to harbor any nonlocal refugee Jews. All Jews were arrested on June 16, 1385, and their books confiscated. The emperor received 40,000 gulden from the cities, but the total financial benefit was actually greater. The debts of the nobility were transferred to the cities for payment. Five years later. however, Wenceslaus declared a total moratorium on debts owed to Jews. This act in favor of the nobles was in effect a blow against the cities of the league, which lost much potential revenue as a result. In the process of Wenceslaus' financial manipulations, many Jews were ruined.

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SWADESH, MORRIS (1909–1967), U.S. anthropological linguist. Born in Holyoke, Massachusetts, Swadesh served as research associate at Yale from 1933 to 1937. He taught anthropology at various universities and was appointed research professor of prehistoric linguistics at Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, Mexico City.

His particular interest was in the recording and description of various languages, notably the American Indian dialects. He also studied the reconstruction of prehistory through comparative linguistics as well as methods of teaching languages, culture history, and general theories of culture. One of his major contributions was to glottochronology or lexicostatistics, which is a linguistic method for determining the relative time depth when related languages become separated from their common source. Swadesh was also an important contributor to the study of numerous American Indian languages.

[Ephraim Fischoff]

SWANSEA, second largest industrial city and seaport in Wales. Swansea's Jewish community (the first in Wales) was established in the mid-18th century; the first settler known by name was David Michael, who came from Germany in 1741. Religious services were held soon afterward and a cemetery acquired in 1768. The first synagogue was opened in 1780, being replaced by one erected in 1818. As in most British provincial centers, the community consisted of silversmiths, watchmakers, jewelers, and other shopkeepers and craftsmen; by 1850 it numbered around 100–150, increasing to 1,000 in 1914 as a result of immigration from Russia. In 1969 the Jewish population numbered 418 (0.3% of the total). In the mid-1990s the Jewish population was estimated at approximately 245. The 2001 British census found 170 declared Jews in Swansea. Its old synagogue was destroyed in an air raid in 1941 and a new one, which still functions, was erected after World War II.

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[Vivian David Lipman]

SWARSENSKY, HARDI (**Bernhard**; 1908–1968), journalist and publisher. Born in Berlin, Swarsensky graduated as a lawyer and practiced law briefly until he was debarred by the Nazis in 1933. During the next few years he devoted himself to Jewish communal life in Germany and was active in the leadership of the Reichsverband der Juden in Deutschland. In 1939 he immigrated to Buenos Aires, where in 1940 he founded the German-Jewish weekly *Juedische Wochenschau*, which he edited until his death. A passionate Zionist and supporter of Israel, he was president of the Theodor Herzl Gesellschaft from 1942 and of the large German-Jewish communal organization Nueva Comunidad Israelita from 1942 until 1953. He was also a leading figure in the World Jewish Congress and one of the founders of Centra, the umbrella organization of Central-European Jewish organizations in Latin America. In 1942 he founded the publishing house Estrellas, which issued works by German-Jewish and Argentine-Jewish authors, including many of his own writings: *Von Basel nach Jerusalem* (1945), *Eroberung durch Aufbau* (1949), *Walter Rathenau* (Sp., 1967), *Noche de Cristal* (1968), and *Pogrom ueber Deutschland* (1969).

SWEATSHOP POETRY, movement in American Yiddish literature whose main representatives are Joseph *Bovshover, David *Edelstadt, Morris *Rosenfeld, and Morris *Vinchevsky. The mass immigration of East European Jews to the United States beginning in the 1880s confronted many of the immigrants for the first time with a metropolis, where a large portion of them found employment in the garment industry, many in the sweatshops of New York City. The American Yiddish press, which developed during the same period, generally espoused radical political tendencies and sought to win over working-class readers to the causes of socialism, communism, and anarchism. Throughout the 1880s and 1890s, newspapers such as *Arbeter Tsaytung, Forverts*, *Di Varheyt*, *Der Folksadvokat*, and *Fraye Arbeter Shtime* published poems of social protest, describing the oppressive working and living conditions of their readers, which aimed at stirring their mass audiences to social revolution. The poetry produced within this context represents the first phase of Yiddish literature in America.

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[Marc Miller (2nd ed.)]

SWEDEN, kingdom in N. Europe, part of the Scandinavian peninsula. It is unlikely that there were Jews in Sweden in pagan times or in the Catholic Middle Ages, nor was their presence favored in Lutheran Sweden. Several regulations issued in 1685, directed against the presence of Jews in the country, seem to indicate that Jews had resided there illegally for certain periods. In the first ordinance, which referred to the Jews as "revilers of Christ and his communion" and justified their removal from the country in order to protect the pure Lutheran faith, permission to stay was granted in exceptional cases only. Some Jewish creditors of Charles XII, who had followed the king from Turkey, were allowed to stay in Sweden with their families for about ten years.

The position changed under the rule of the enlightened monarch Gustav III (1771–92). In 1774 Aaron Isaac, a seal engraver from Buetzow, Mecklenburg, arrived in Stockholm; in the following year he received the king's permission to settle there, along with his brother, his partners, and their families. A cemetery was consecrated with royal permission in 1776; subsequently it was named Aronsberg in honor of Aaron Isaac. In 1779 Parliament, with the king's support, granted Jews the right to settle in Stockholm, Göteborg, and Norrköping, under certain conditions and with a measure of religious freedom. Accordingly, in 1782 the royal office of trade and commerce issued "regulations governing those members of the Jewish people who wish to enter the country." The Swedish regulations were modeled on those of other European countries, especially *Prussia, but in certain respects they were more liberal, so as to attract potentially useful Jewish immigrants. Jews were allowed to settle only in the three cities mentioned above, where they could hold religious services, acquire real estate, and engage in industry and in those trades that were not subject to the guilds. According to the country's constitution, non-Christians were excluded from all government positions and were not entitled to vote. On the other hand, following the practice of other European countries, Jews were allowed autonomy in their own affairs, including religious worship and welfare activities, inheritances, guardianships, and marriages. Intermarriage was prohibited, with the exemption of a few wealthy Jews. While these laws were in force, Jews in the cities were regarded as rivals and intruders, while the predominantly liberal-minded officialdom came to their defense. The accusations against the Jews, as well as the arguments in their defense, were basically the same as those found on the European mainland. The financial crises which afflicted Europe after the Napoleonic wars led to antisemitic agitations in Sweden as elsewhere.

To those influenced by economic liberalism, including King Charles XIV John and his minister of finance, the 1782 regulation governing Jewish immigration appeared increasingly obsolete. It was repealed on June 30, 1838, and replaced by a royal decree by which the Swedish Jews, hitherto a colony of foreigners enjoying defined rights, were incorporated into the Swedish state. From then on they were to be called "adherents of the Mosaic faith," an appellation which remained officially valid. The former *kehillot* were termed Mosaic communities and Jewish autonomy was abolished. The restrictions on Jews contained in the constitution and the civil code could not be lifted without the approval of Parliament, but virtually all administrative practices detrimental to them were wiped out. However, the new decree aroused such strong and widespread opposition that in September of the same year the government was obliged to abrogate the regulation entitling the Jews to settle anywhere in the country. Henceforth, foreign Jews were permitted to reside only in Stockholm, Göteborg, and Norrköping as before, with the addition of Karlskrona. Despite these concessions to anti-Jewish feelings, no reform in the history of Swedish Jewry can compare in significance with the decree of June 1838, which marked the beginning of a development that led to complete political emancipation and basic acceptance as citizens and members of the community. This decree, albeit modified in a few points, governed the civil rights of Swedish Jews until 1951. Due to the conservative immigration policy of the government, the number of Jews in 1838 was still small, amounting to about 900 persons, more than 800 of whom lived in Stockholm and Göteborg.

During the 1840s, free trade principles prevailed in Sweden; this led to the lifting of almost all existing restrictions on Jewish occupations and, in turn, to the elimination of the conflict of interest between the Jews and the rest of the population. On the initiative of the government and liberal-minded members of Parliament, the emancipation of the Jews was completed during the ensuing decades. They were entitled to reside in any part of the country, to acquire real estate, to intermarry, and to participate in municipal elections. The last barrier fell in 1870. After long debates the Jews (and the Catholics) were given the franchise and entitled to hold political office. Nevertheless, until 1951 membership of the Swedish state church was a requirement for ministerial office. Paralleling emancipation, assimilation made rapid gains. Religious services were modeled on those of German Reform Jewry. The psalms were chanted in Swedish and sermons delivered in that language. The liturgy, although shortened, continued to be in Hebrew, but Swedish prayers were interpolated. The community of Göteborg led the way toward Reform and was the first to introduce the use of the organ in the synagogue (1855). Members of the Henriques and Warburg families were

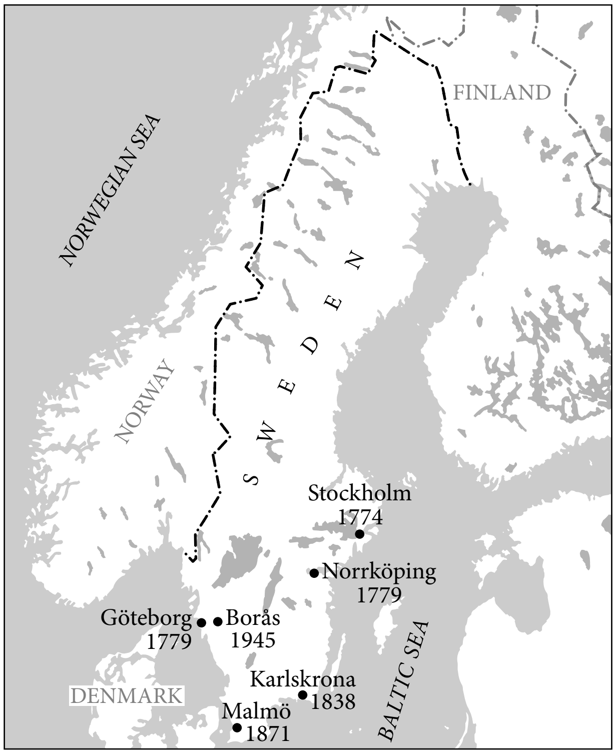

Jewish communities in Sweden, with dates of establishment.

especially active in favor of Reform, backed by the chief rabbi of Göteborg, Carl Heinemann (1837–68).

The rise of political antisemitism in Central Europe was of little significance for the Jews of Sweden. Their relationship with the non-Jewish population remained harmonious, although there was a perceptible increase in antisemitic manifestations. The Jews played a major role in the cultural life of Sweden, out of proportion to their numbers, especially in the fields of music, painting, and literary criticism. However, Jewish activities declined. During that period, the chief rabbi of Stockholm, Hungarian-born Gottlieb Klein (1882–1944), was the outstanding representative of liberal theology. Immigration from eastern Europe proved to be one of the most significant events of the period between the 1860s and 1933. The new immigrants were more pronouncedly Jewish than the old Swedish-Jewish families that dominated the congregations founded during the 18th century. They supported the existing congregations and founded new ones in the provinces, for example in Malmö. According to official statistics, in 1880 about 3,000 Jews lived in Sweden. The 1930 census recorded 7,044 Jews in the country, 1,391 of whom were non-citizens. About 4,000 resided in Stockholm, and the majority of the others in Malmö and Göteborg.

Holocaust Period

The victory of National Socialism in Germany (1933) created in Sweden a Jewish and a refugee problem. Efforts by Swedish Jewish refugee organizations to save German Jews by transferring them to Sweden were impeded by the country's restrained refugee policy. The authorities feared that the refugees would increase unemployment, from which Sweden suffered badly as a result of the 1929 world crisis, and that antisemitism would grow because of an increasing Jewish population. The upper echelon of Swedish society had been pro-German from earlier days, and although the Nazis were never powerful in Sweden, antisemitism increased as Hitler's power expanded. In 1938, when it became publicly known that the Jews in Germany were in imminent physical danger, the Swedish Jewish and other refugee organizations increased their pressure on the Swedish government to develop a more liberal immigration policy. The consequence was sensational counter-measures in business circles, polemics in the press, and even denouncements, by various student organizations and other bodies, of the so-called "Jewish invasion." The motivations behind these measures were usually not directly antisemitic, but stressed in particular the dangers connected with unemployment. The consideration of the so-called "racial question" was undeniable, however. The government yielded to public pressure, and the fact that Sweden abolished the regulation allowing every alien to remain in the country for three months without a visa was of far-reaching importance. The obligation to have a visa was from then on dealt with very strictly, especially for Jews, and thousands of requests were denied, even when the required material guarantees were provided by Swedish Jews. Up to the beginning of the war, about 3,000 refugees were able to leave Germany, Austria, and Czechoslovakia for Sweden, in addition to 1,000 so-called transmigrants who traveled on from Sweden to other countries. After *Kristallnacht* (Nov. 1938), 150 adults and 500 children (without their parents) were granted entry permits. A Jewish immigration committee was charged with the painful task of choosing out of the many applications, so that the quota would not be surpassed. Among those who were unable to continue their trip because of the outbreak of the war were a few hundred *ḥalutzim* (members of Zionist youth movements intending to settle in Palestine) who – following the Danish example – were admitted temporarily to agricultural and other training centers (*hakhsharah*). During World War II public opinion changed in favor of the refugees, for several reasons. The crimes of the Nazis, which many circles had previously refused to admit, became publicly known. Instead of unemployment there now was a shortage of workers. Moreover, it was realized that, with some good will, it would be possible to receive many more refugees than was previously thought. The turning point in the history of Swedish refugee policy and antisemitism came in November 1942, when Jewish persecutions in German-occupied Norway began. These provoked a general feeling of disgust and angry protests throughout Sweden. About 900 Norwegian Jews who were able to escape to Sweden were readily admitted.

How decisive the change of mind was became obvious in October 1943, when Danish Jewry took flight in order to escape deportation. After a fruitless démarche to the German Foreign Office, the Swedish government officially offered asylum to the fleeing Jews, setting an example of humane policy.

Encouraged by the turning tide of the war, the unanimous public opinion in Sweden, and the acclaim of the free world, the Swedish government not only received about 8,000 Jews and some of their relatives from Denmark, but also an almost equal number of Danes fleeing from the German occupation. Moreover, it tolerated the establishment of a clandestine organization on its soil, providing the Danish resistance movement with steadfast communication with the Allies. The communication lines were initiated and maintained with the organizational and financial aid of the Swedish and Danish Jews, among whom Ivar Philipson, a Stockholm lawyer, took a prominent part. Some leaders of the Jewish community in Stockholm were also instrumental in bringing about the mission of Raoul *Wallenberg to Hungary (1944), where he became one of the main benefactors and rescuers of the Budapest Jewish community. Under the guidance of the *World Jewish Congress (WJC), toward the end of the war, Sweden became an important center for the dispatch of food parcels to concentration camp inmates, mainly in Germany. Finally the ties formed by the representative of the WJC, Hillel Storch, with Himmler's masseur, Kersten, led to the historic meeting of Norbert Mazur with Himmler on the eve of Germany's final defeat (April 20–21, 1945). Following their negotiations, many more thousands of concentration camp inmates were included in the rescue operation of Count Folke *Bernadotte. Among the almost 21,000 thus rescued were 3,500 Jews, mostly women. After the war some 10,000 more were brought to Sweden by the Red Cross and UNRRA. Altogether, more than 200,000 refugees – Finns, Norwegians, Danes, Jews and others – reached Sweden during and after the war.

[Hugo Mauritz Valentin]

Post-War Period

Almost all the Jews of Norway and Denmark who escaped to Sweden returned to their native countries at the end of the war. About half the refugees liberated from concentration camps who went to Sweden toward the end of the war or immediately afterward emigrated overseas, mostly to the United States and Canada or to Israel, while half remained and became citizens of Sweden. As a result, the 1970 Jewish population in Sweden was double that of 1933 and was estimated at 13,000–14,000. According to a 1961 estimate, approximately 1,500 lived in Göteborg, 1,500 in Malmö, 7,000 in Stockholm, 350 in Borås (almost all survivors of the Holocaust), 150 in Norrköping, and the rest were dispersed in smaller centers. Of the total number, over 5,000 were considered veteran citizens and their descendants, i.e. Jews who had come to Sweden before 1933; over 2,000 were refugees from Central Europe from 1933–39; about 5,500 were survivors of the concentration camps; and approximately 500 were refugees who fled from Hungary in the wake of the 1956 revolution. To these should be added about 1,500 refugees from Poland who went to Sweden after 1968.

The absorption of the many refugees presented Swedish Jewry with new and difficult problems. At the end of World War II the Jewish communities levied an additional income tax on their members. Half of the revenue from this tax was designated for aid to refugees. Fifteen special schools were opened for refugee children and over 700 students were enrolled in 1946. The aid granted by the Swedish government and the Jewish community was augmented by international Jewish funds, mostly from the American Jewish *Joint Distribution Committee, and later from the *Conference on Jewish Material Claims. Gradually a considerable degree of amalgamation of the refugees and the veteran Jewish community was achieved. In the late 1950s it was possible to state that the majority of the refugees were absorbed in Sweden, from an economic and professional standpoint, and some even socially and culturally.

The shock of the Holocaust, which nearly reached the gates of Sweden, and the experience of encounter with the refugees left a deep impression on Swedish Jewry, in contrast to the isolationist trend that had predominated until the war. The consciousness that they were part of world Jewry and responsible for their brethren found expression in increased participation in world and European Jewish organizations, such as the *World Jewish Congress, ORT, and later the Conference on Jewish Material Claims Against Germany, as well as the Standing Conference of European Jewish Communities. Increased activity on behalf of the establishment of a Jewish state and support of the State of Israel after its establishment were also expressions of the new attitude of the Swedish community. The Zionist movement, which was supported only by a small minority before the war, expanded, and many refugees and veterans joined it. Even most professed non-Zionists participated in activity on behalf of the *yishuv.* A special appeal for the *Haganah in the winter of 1947–48 collected $300,000, the greatest amount ever reached by an Israel appeal in Sweden (with the exception of the emergency campaign during the *Six-Day War in 1967). A group of young Jews participated as volunteers in the *War of Independence in 1948. The movement on behalf of Israel was further strengthened by the attitude of the Swedish public, which supported the Jewish people's struggle for a state not only through moral and political support but also by providing material aid.

The law of freedom of religion in 1951 abolished the regulation of 1838 requiring that citizens affiliate with a religious organization, on the grounds that a citizen has the right to free decision. The new law aroused great concern among the Jewish communities, which feared that their economic position would be undermined. Apparently these fears were unjustified, for only 350 Jewish adults broke away from their communities. In the postwar period Jewish life was characterized by considerable activity in comparison with the prewar period. Particularly noteworthy were the women's organizations (*WIZO and the General Organization of Jewish Women), in addition to increased activity on the part of the Zionists. Other organizations included that of the Nazi victims, the Scandinavian Organization of Jewish Students (SJUF), and the *Bnei Akiva youth movement. Chapters of *B'nai B'rith were founded in the three major cities, Stockholm, Göteborg, and Malmö. The struggle within the communities between Zionists and non-Zionists continued, but the crux of the dispute was not support for Israel, but rather the question of separate Jewish education. On the initiative of the Zionists and the Orthodox, the Hinnukh association established the Hillel Day School in Stockholm. In addition, the communities provided religious instruction in the public schools and ran day camps and summer camps. Cultural activities expanded due to the establishment of a cultural institute on the initiative of newspaper editor Daniel Brick; the cultural club attached to the Israeli embassy; and a large community center established in Stockholm in 1963 with the aid of the Conference on Jewish Material Claims against Germany. Brick published the bi-weekly *Judisk Kronika* (1932–). A learned monthly, *Judisk Tidskrift*, was founded by Marcus *Ehrenpreis in 1928 and later edited by Hugo *Valentin, the veteran of the Zionist movement, a historian of Swedish Jewry, and perhaps the most admired figure among Sweden's Jews in his generation. Some time after his death in 1963, the monthly ceased publication.

The economic situation of Swedish Jewry is generally healthy. Jews are active in business, industry, and the liberal professions; they do not hold key positions in the economy, however, with the exception of department stores, which developed mainly through their initiative. Jews occupy a respectable position in cultural and literary life, in the theater, and in the graphic arts. Ragnar *Josephson was a member of the Swedish Academy, which numbers only 18 members and awards the Nobel Prize for Literature. There were no Jews outstanding in Swedish political life, with the exception of Hjalmar Mehr, who served as mayor of Stockholm in the early 1960s. Antisemitism was not widespread; indeed, the extremist antisemitic group led by Einar Åberg had merely a marginal influence on society. Most of the Swedish people rejected antisemitism and were sometimes active on behalf of persecuted Jews. From the 1960s there were conspicuous Swedish efforts on behalf of Jews in the Soviet Union and Arab countries. Swedish Jewry not only enjoys equality, but finds few cultural barriers as well, which has resulted in an increase in the number of intermarriages. While the Holocaust experience and the absorption of the refugees strengthened Jewish identity, the small number of Jews and the openness of Swedish society have worked in the opposite direction.

[Chaim Yahil]

By the mid-1990s, there were 18,000 Jews living in Sweden, a figure that remained stable. The main communities are Stockholm, Göteborg, and Malmö. There are also communities in Borås, Varberg, and Uppsala, and a number of Jews live in Helsingborg, Lund, Norrköping, and Växjö. A number of emigrants from the former Soviet Union have also settled in Sweden. The communities are linked by the Official Council of Jewish Communities in Sweden. Swedish Jewry is very active in international Jewish welfare and in supporting development projects in Israel. Stockholm has three synagogues (two Orthodox, one Conservative) and two rabbis. Göteborg has two (one Orthodox, one Conservative) and Malmö one. A Jewish primary school and a kindergarten operate in Stockholm. The community still publishes the bimonthly *Judisk Kronka*, and there is a weekly Jewish radio program. Göteborg has long had a Jewish kindergarten, Noah's Ark, which was relocated to new multi-purpose premises at a community center that also houses the Jewish retirement home and a kosher food store. In 2002 a Jewish primary school was opened in Göteborg, already doubling in size the following year. The Göteborg community also broadcasts a weekly hour-long Jewish radio program with music, interviews, cultural reviews, and news, repeated on the weekend.

The *Chabad movement established a small presence in Göteborg in 1991, and in 1992 opened a kindergarten, Gan Chaya Mushka, followed five years later by a primary school.

The Swedish legal system permits the expression of antisemitic, racist, and xenophobic ideas, including Holocaust denial, under liberal freedom of speech legislation. Right-wing extremist groups, often with neo-Nazi sympathies, number a few thousand members. The Palestinian Intifada in Israel in the early 2000s was accompanied by a sharp rise in antisemitic attacks in Sweden and a far harsher, less nuanced tone in both the Swedish media and among many of the country's politicians.

See also *Scandinavian Literature.

[Chaim Yahil / Ilya Meyer (2nd ed.)]

Relations with Israel

The supportive attitude of most of the Swedish people toward the Jews also found expression in Swedish-Israel relations. Because of Sweden's neutrality, her representatives more than once filled important positions in connection with the Palestine question. In 1947, Emil Sandström served as chairman of the special United Nations Committee on Palestine (UNSCOP), which recommended the partition of the country. Count Folke *Bernadotte was the first mediator on behalf of the United Nations on the Israel-Arab conflict in 1948. Dag Hammarskjöld, the secretary-general of the United Nations, was occupied with the problem of Palestine; General von Horn was chief of staff of the United Nations truce observers; and Gunnar Jarring was a special envoy of the UN after the Six-Day War. The assassination of Bernadotte in Jerusalem (1948) overshadowed Swedish-Israel relations for some time and contributed to a delay in the establishment of diplomatic relations between the two countries until 1950 (ambassadorial level, 1957). But this tragic affair did not alter the basic sympathy of most of the Swedish people toward Israel, and in the course of time regular, friendly relations were established. Swedish policy – traditionally framed by long-dominant Labor governments – has generally supported several principles which were the foundation of Israeli policy: the aspiration for peace, the principle of direct negotiations to solve the Israel-Arab conflict, condemnation of the Arab economic boycott, freedom of passage through the Suez Canal and the Straits of Tiran. On the other hand, Sweden has had – and often voiced – reservations about retaliatory raids and preventive acts on the part of Israel. Her sympathy toward Israel is traditionally echoed in all mainstream political parties – the liberal movement; the evangelical religious movements; the conservative movement. In the late 1960s a "New Left" movement developed with a critical or even hostile attitude toward Israel. Swedish sympathy with Israel has in the past been expressed by financial support from Rädda Barnen, the Swedish branch of Save the Children Fund, and special committees, the most important of which was founded by Selma Arnheim and has supported Youth Aliyah for many years. Swedish funds have established a village in the south of Israel and a children's institution in Jerusalem; women's organizations have participated in the establishment of a training center in Haifa, for communal work in developing countries; and professional unions at one time aided border settlements. Since the 1980s, much of this support has been eroded by increasing sympathy for the Palestinian cause, aided by widespread media and political activity. This general sympathy for the Palestinian cause has resulted in a sizable downturn in Swedish tourism in Israel, in stark contrast to the seven-fold increase in tourism between 1960 and the Six-Day War, for example. There are strong trade links between Sweden and Israel, although the traditional Israeli exports of fruit, vegetables, flowers, and chemicals have been replaced by high-tech products, mainly in the fields of advanced electronics, communications, and medical equipment. Mutual chambers of commerce have been established in both countries. A wide network of cultural connections between the two countries has been systematically expanded. Cultural relations were cemented with the granting of the Nobel Prize for Literature to S.Y. Agnon in 1966, and there is now a vibrant cultural exchange between the two countries, despite frequent calls for boycotts of all Israeli products as well as of sports and cultural exchanges by an increasingly polarized Left and the highly political pro-Palestinian, anti-Israel stance taken by the head of the Swedish Church, Archbishop K.G. Hammar. Leagues for Swedish-Israel friendship exist in both countries

[Chaim Yahil / Ilya Meyer (2nd ed.)]

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SWET, GERSHON (1893–1968), journalist. Born in the Ukraine, Swet went in 1921 to Berlin as a correspondent for the Warsaw Yiddish newspaper *Moment*. While increasingly active in the Zionist movement, he became an expert in two fields: international politics, especially Jewish, and music. After two years in Paris (1933–35) he went to Palestine and was a member of the editorial staff of *Haaretz*. He also served as chairman of the Association of Journalists in Jerusalem; in addition, in 1938, he edited the musical journal *Musica Hebraica*. In 1948 *Haaretz* sent him as a correspondent to the United Nations in New York. There he wrote regular columns for the German-Jewish *Aufbau* and the Russian *Novoye Russkoye Slovo*. He also conducted his own weekly news programs on the radio in Russian and Yiddish, and served as press officer of the Jewish Agency and foreign correspondent for *La Pensée Russe* in Paris.

SWIDNICA (Ger. **Schweidnitz**), town in Silesia, Poland. A synagogue existed in Swidnica in 1285 and a cemetery also served neighboring communities, its oldest gravestone dating from 1289. At the end of 1301 a dispute arose between a Christian butcher and the Jews; this was settled in early 1302 when six Jews were given limited slaughtering rights. In 1328 Duke Bolko II of Schweidnitz confirmed the liberal privileges granted by his grandfather in 1295, including the right to trade and to lend money without restriction, thus protecting the moneylending Jews after they were excluded from other trades by the guilds. A commission was constituted of four Jewish community leaders ("der Viere") which possessed wide powers; among other accomplishments, it foiled the town's attempt to open a brothel on the Jews' street. During the *Black Death the community was annihilated. In 1370 the new community was permitted to open a synagogue. Swidnica maintained an important yeshivah at which R. Israel *Isserlein and David Falkind, teacher of R. Israel *Bruna, were active. In 1453 John of *Capistrano appeared at Swidnica and accused the Jews of desecrating the *Host; 17 were burnt and the rest expelled. There was no community for three centuries and the synagogue was converted into a chapel.

A new community, organized in 1859, increased from 137 to 339 in 1880, and a synagogue was consecrated in 1877. The community declined to 130 by 1925 and came to an end under the Nazis.

After World War II the community was renewed by Polish Jews; in 1962 a Jewish producers' cooperative was recorded. After the Six-Day War (1967) communal life practically ceased to exist.

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SWIFT (Heb. סִיס, *sis*), a bird of the genus *Apus* of which three species are found in Israel, the most common being *Apus apus pekinensis*, a small black bird similar to the swallow. Large flights of swifts reach Israel at the end of February and frequent the populated places where their food – flies and mosquitoes – is to be found, filling the air with their cry of "sis-sis," whence their Hebrew name. Their cry sounds like that of a person in pain and to it King Hezekiah compared his groans during his illness (Isa. 38:14). Jeremiah (8:7) notes that the bird arrives in the land at a fixed date. In Israel the swift nests in the interstices of walls and roofs until, at the beginning of July when the fledglings are grown, it returns to South Africa.

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[Jehuda Feliks]

SWIG, BENJAMIN HARRISON (1893–1980), U.S. businessman and philanthropist. His father, Simon Swig, an immigrant from Lithuania, rose from an ordinary peddler to become a Republican member of the Massachusetts State Legislature and founder of the Tremont Trust Company of Taunton, Mass., for which Benjamin went to work in 1914. He remained with the company until 1920, when it went bankrupt in consequence of the Ponzi postal-coupon scandal. Swig then ventured into the real estate business, in which he prospered until the stock market crash of October 1929, which ruined him financially. He recouped his fortune, however, and in 1937 joined forces with his brother-in-law, J.D. *Weiler, a real estate broker from New York. By the 1940s Swig and Weiler had become one of the largest real estate firms in the United States. In 1945 Swig settled in San Francisco, a city with which his commercial and civic activities were thereafter largely identified. Among the properties acquired by him there were the Fairmont Hotel and the St. Francis; the Bankers Investment Building; and the giant Merchandise Mart.

He began to take an interest in Democratic Party politics, to which he contributed handsomely, was active in the Stevenson campaigns of 1952 and 1956, and was an early supporter of John F. Kennedy, and later, Robert Kennedy. He was a founding member of Brandeis University and gave generously to the State of Israel, as well as a large number of general and Jewish charities, especially the United Jewish Appeal, Israel Bonds, the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, and the national Reform movement. He also gave to many Catholic institutions, including the University of Santa Clara. In 1988, the Mae and Benjamin Swig Fund for Jewish Community Involvement was established as part of the Jewish Community Endowment Fund of the Jewish Community Federation of San Francisco, the Peninsula, Marin and Sonoma Counties. It is dedicated to seed funding programs that provide innovative models for the involvement of individuals in the Jewish community.

Swig's son RICHARD (1925–1997) managed the Fairmont Hotel from 1946. As chairman of the Fairmont Hotel Management Company, he expanded the Fairmont hotel chain into seven major U.S. cities. Following in his family's philanthropic footsteps, he served on numerous boards encompassing all religious, political, and cultural arenas, contributing generously to a wide array of causes. In 1998 the Swig Company sold its interests in three of its Fairmont hotels (in San Francisco, Dallas, and New Orleans), as well as its 50 percent interest in the Fairmont Hotel Management Company, to a hotel investment fund run by Maritz, Wolff & Co.

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[Hillel Halkin / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

SWITZERLAND, central European republic.

The Medieval Community

Since the frontiers of Switzerland have undergone a long process of evolution, it is difficult to determine where and when the Jews appeared for the first time.

In Kaiseraugst a finger-ring with a carved *menorah*, a *shofar*, and an *etrog* were found in Roman ruins. They are dated to the end of the fourth century. From then on there is no evidence of Jewish life until the 13th century.

Jews are first mentioned in *Basle from 1213, when the bishop of the town ordered the return of the pledges which he had deposited with a Jewish moneylender. In the list of the taxes due from the most important Jewish communities of the Holy Roman Empire (1241), Basle is mentioned as liable for 40 silver marks and 20 silver marks. In the course of the 13th century the first Jewish communities appeared in *Lucerne (1252), *Berne (1262–63), *St. Gall (1268), Winterthur (before 1270), *Zurich (1273), *Schaffhausen (1278), Zofingen and Bischofszell (1288), and Rheinfelden (1290). The number of communities increased in the succeeding century, when there were some 30 communities in the German-speaking part of Switzerland. At the same time, increasing numbers of communities were established in what has become the French-speaking area of Switzerland, then part of the region where the house of Savoy held sway: besides *Geneva, where the first Jewish settlement is mentioned in 1281–82, 14 communities were formed at the end of the 13th and beginning of the 14th centuries.

It is apparent that most of these Jews came from Alsace and southern Germany on the one hand and from France on the other, the stream of immigration gaining in intensity after the expulsion of the Jews from France in 1306. The taxes of the Jews were paid to the counts of Hapsburg in the north and to the dukes of Savoy in the south, with the towns often securing a portion of these revenues for themselves. On occasion, the Jews received the freedom of a city in the north, but this was of limited duration. The principal occupation of these groups of Jews was moneylending. The most important communities in Switzerland proper were those of Berne, Zurich, and Lucerne.

In Zurich a beautiful reception hall of a Jewish moneylender has been discovered. He painted the coat of arms of his noble clients with Hebrew inscriptions on the walls.

By the middle of the 14th century the right to authorize the existence of a community had been transferred to the towns. The communities appear to have been relatively small; Berne, Zurich, and some other communities seem to have owned cemeteries. The life of the Jews until the middle of the 14th century appears to have been free of any major upheavals, with the exception of Berne, where as the result of a *blood libel (c. 1294) some Jews were executed and the rest expelled. The tomb of the supposedly martyred child in the blood libel case was for a long time a place of pilgrimage for Christians. In 1403 another libel was voiced in Diessenhofen, leading to persecutions in Schaffhausen. In 1348 the whole of Swiss Jewry was threatened with extermination. The *Black Death having reached Savoy, a number of Jews of Chillon were tortured to confess to having caused the plague by poisoning the wells. As news of this spread to other communities on Lake Geneva, to German-speaking Switzerland, and to northern Europe, a wave of anti-Jewish persecutions ensued; as each town was struck by the plague, the Jews were burnt at the stake. This was the fate of almost all the communities on the shores of Lake Geneva. When the municipality of Berne learned of these accusations, it requested a copy of the confession, and soon after, the Jews of Berne too were burnt at the stake (November 1348). One local Jew was even accused of having sent poison to the Jews of Basle, and the municipality warned various towns to beware of the Jewish poisoners. Practically all the towns of Switzerland took up the accusation, burning or expelling the Jews, particularly Zurich (Feb. 22, 1349) and Lucerne. These persecutions also spread to Alsace and Germany. The community of Switzerland was thus dispersed, if not annihilated. A few years later, however, the survivors, together with newcomers, had reestablished themselves and reconstituted the former communities. However, as a result of the competition of the Lombards and the Cahorsins, the usefulness of the Jews as a source of credit soon diminished and they were expelled from those towns which required residence permits (Berne, 1427; *Fribourg, 1428; Zurich, 1436; Geneva, 1490). From Basle they fled out of fear of persecution (1397). Soon, only a few Jewish physicians were allowed to live in the Swiss towns. After expulsions from the big cities, Jews found refuge in small towns such as Bremgarten, Kaiserstuhl or the monastery village of Rheinau (1475). After then, their traces disappear.

The only Jewish scholar of note in Switzerland during the Middle Ages was Moses of Zurich, who, at the beginning of the 14th century, wrote notes and additions on the SeMaK (*Sefer Mitzvot Katan*).

In the 1560s the first Jewish families reappear in the region of Basle/Southern Alsace (Kembs, Weil), Waldshut (Tiengen), and possibly the Bodensee region (Rheineck). They lived at various places, e.g., Rapperswil, Mammern, Andelfingen, etc. In 1560, a Hebrew printing press was established in Tiengen, north of Zurzach. In the 17th century stable rural communities came into being. Most of the Jews resided on the border of Switzerland from western Alsace to the Rhine valley, from Basle to Hohenems in Vorarlberg, trading in cattle and peddling during weekdays. In Switzerland they were expelled from the bishopric of Basle (1694) and from Dornach (1736). In the territory of the "county of Baden," administered after 1711 by Berne, Zurich, and Glarus, the Jews concentrated themselves in the two villages of Endingen and Lengnau, having a full Jewish infrastructure and building representative synagogues in the 1750s. In Neuchâtel some Jews already tried to settle in the 1770s. The duke of Savoy attracted Alsatian Jews to Carouge, near Geneva. In 1780, some Jews also resided in Porrentruy and slowly the Jewish landscape of Switzerland began to change.

Slow Steps Toward Emancipation

The proclamation of the Helvetian Republic (1798) was a turning point in the history of the Jews in Switzerland. A year earlier, the Swiss confederation had been compelled to refrain from any discriminatory measures against French Jews. As the influence of the ideas of the French Revolution made itself felt, the problem of the rights of the Jews arose. During the ensuing debates, a majority emerged which refused to grant the Jews total *emancipation on the grounds that the Jews were a political rather than a religious body, insistent on preserving their particularism. Following protests by the Jewish communities, a new debate was held, but no conclusions were reached. In the meantime, the status of the Jews resembled that of the aliens residing in Switzerland. They were granted freedom of movement, residence, and trade.

Some Jews managed to receive a settlement permit in Basle (after 1799), Berne (before 1820), Zurich (1817), La Chaux de Fonds (1818), Avenches (1827), and elsewhere.

The publication of *Napoleon's "Infamous Decree" in 1808, which constituted a check to the civil rights of the Jews, strengthened the hand of their Swiss adversaries. The canton of Aargau dealt with the problem of the Jews in the following manner (May 5, 1809): They were subject to all laws and ordinances of the canton without receiving citizenship; their commercial activities were regulated and limited; and they were advised to engage in useful professions. They were also required to obtain a special authorization before marrying. This was obviously a serious lowering of their status, which also encouraged discriminatory police measures. In 1824, the canton reorganized the Jewish community: It was authorized to retain funds for education and worship, and the Jews were also ordered to provide for the needs of their destitute coreligionists without the assistance of the public authorities. The administrative body was to be nominated by the government of the canton. The freedom of the cities was still refused to them, but instead of being considered as aliens, they became dependents of the canton. In the meantime the situation of the Jews in Switzerland became increasingly paradoxical as certain foreign governments, especially that of France, became interested in safeguarding the rights of their citizens of Jewish religion who were discriminated against in Switzerland. The case of the Jews of Alsace, who were already numerous in Switzerland, was of profound importance for the situation of the Jews in the country. Finally, the revision of the federal constitution of 1866 granted the Jews freedom of residence throughout Switzerland, which henceforward was no longer

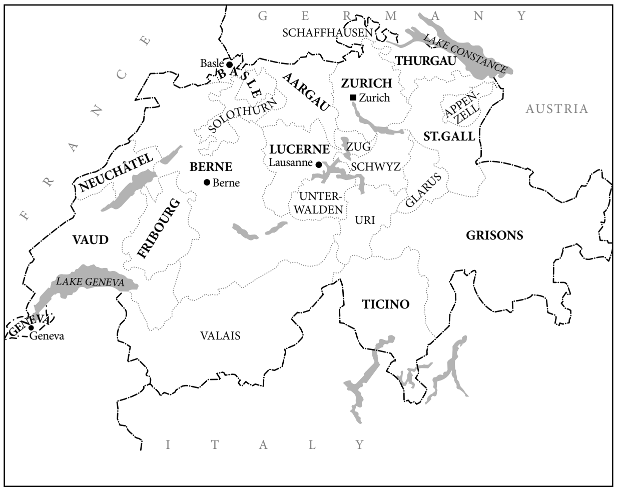

Major Jewish communities in Switzerland, 2004.

dependent on adherence to one of the recognized Christian sects. Federal intervention had become necessary as a result of contradictory votes in which the Jews of Aargau had been granted and then subsequently refused civic rights. In fact the regional Great Council had voted for their emancipation on May 15, 1862, but had been dismissed by a popular vote which had been solicited after a deliberate and active agitation. The emancipation decree having thus been repealed, a new law reintroduced most of the former conditions one year later. It abolished the discriminatory measures concerning residence and marriage and granted the communities the right of electing their own administrative bodies. There had thus been a very slight progress. Other cantons had already previously granted equal rights to their inhabitants and most other cantons followed suit from 1862, with the exception of Aargau, which did not grant full local citizenship rights until Jan. 1, 1879, following a campaign led by the famous historian Meyer *Kayserling, rabbi of Endingen and Lengnau between 1861 and 1871, and the intervention of the federal council, the high court and the diet (Bundesversammlung). Therefore the one canton which inherited two rural communities at its founding in 1803 was the last to grant them emancipation. However, the religious liberty of the Jews was incomplete. After a campaign against cruelty toward animals, in which the influence of the antisemitic movements of the end of the century could be detected, a popular vote decided to include prohibition of *sheḥitah* in the federal constitution (1893). As this decision was taken by plebiscite, it could only be abrogated by another plebiscite, and so the practice of *sheḥitah* on quadrupeds – the legislator neglected the case of fowls – is still prohibited in Switzerland.

Population

The Jewish population of Switzerland increased steadily. Southern Alsatian and south-Baden rural Jews could finally settle in the areas of commerce which they had already frequented from the end of the 16th to the middle of the 17th centuries. In 1888 8,069 persons declared themselves as Jewish; in 1910 20,797 were registered as such. After the 1870s immigration of Jews from Eastern Europe began. Students were attracted by Swiss universities. Women were allowed to study at the University of Zurich from 1867. Rosa *Luxemburg earned her Ph.D. in Zurich, Chaim *Zhitlowsky was active and Vladimir *Medem organized the BUND from Geneva. Jews were welcomed as university teachers, so Chaim *Weizmann taught chemistry, Moritz *Lazarus was university rector in Berne, Max *Buedinger dean in Zurich in 1863. A circle of Jewish students existed around the Hungarian-Jewish philosopher Ludwig *Stein in Berne. Most of the East European Jewish students left Switzerland between 1914 and 1917.

After granting freedom of residence in 1864/66 the communities of Endingen and Lengnau (where the synagogues, reconstructed during the middle of the 19th century, are to be seen and are still used for marriages and some Rosh Ḥodesh prayers) were broken up, and with the exodus from rural communitites of nearby Alsace and Baden, many new communities were formed in cities (Basle 1805, Avenches 1827, La Chaux de Fonds 1833, Berne and Bienne 1848, Geneva 1852, Yverdon 1850, Baden 1859, Zurich 1862, St. Gall 1863, Lucerne 1867, Lausanne 1868). However the number of Jews has remained small in relation to the general population (1920: 0.54%).

Jews were prominent in cattle trading but did not dominate it, constituting only one seventh of all dealers. Many entered the textile trade; some built up firms. Yet Protestant families had already established an international textile industry, when the Jews still were forced to be peddlers. Most banks were in Protestant hands, only the Dreyfus bank of Basle and Julius Bär of Zurich gained some importance. After the 1870s Swiss Jews began to enter liberal professions. They were prominent in founding department stores (Julius Brann of Berlin, the Maus. Nordmann and Loeb families) and held a good part of the St. Gall embroidery industry (until 1912). With the general crisis of the textile industry in Switzerland, the branch lost its importance. The regime of government rationing of food and its preference for peasants' organizations during World War II ruined the private cattle trade in general. In the beginning of the 21st century Jews were concentrated in white collar jobs.

As of 2000, 18,000 Jews were registered in Switzerland. The most important Jewish groups were in the cantons of Zurich (6,461), Geneva (4,356), Basle (city and canton, 1,739), Vaud (2,062), and Berne (807). Most of the Jews had received Swiss citizenship, so that the percentage was finally the same as among the non-Jews (80%).

They mostly lived in city agglomerations. Orthodox families had more children, but many of them remained at their later places of education (e.g., Israel) and left Switzerland. The Jews are no longer the only non-Christian minority. The Muslims surpass them by far (310,800 persons in 2000).

In 1904 13 communities, then consisting of about 1,500 heads of families, formed the Schweizerische Israelitische Gemeindebund (SIG) or Fédération Suisse des Communautés Israélites (FSCI). The SIG is the central body of Swiss Jewry, but all member organizations retain complete autonomy in their own affairs, notably in religious and administrative matters. Four ultra-Orthodox (*ḥaredi*) communities do not participate, two liberals were not accepted. In 2005 there were 23 communities with about 13,500 members. Some 4,500 others are not attached to any formal community, but often participate in other Jewish associations, such as B'nai B'rith.

In 1956, after the Hungarian uprising and Suez war, SIG looked after Jewish refugees from Egypt and Hungary. It also attended to the needs of Jews who had fled to Switzerland from Czechoslovakia after August 1968.

In the 1970s and 1980s Anglo-Saxon families moved to Geneva and Zurich/central Switzerland, thus giving impetus to founding liberal Jewish communities.

Well-to-do Sephardi Jews of North African origin immigrated to the region of Geneva and Lausanne between the 1950s and 1970s. In Geneva, in 1965 the Groupe fraternel séfaradi (est. in 1925) merged with the Communauté Israelite, having its own services in their "Hekhal ha-Ness." In Lausanne once a month a Sephardi service is held.

With the former Alsatian families of French Switzerland turning completely francophone and the Sephardi not knowing German at all, a huge cultural gap exists between the two groups in Switzerland.

[Simon R. Schwarzfuchs / Uri Kaufmann (2nd ed.)]

Jewish Attitudes 1933 to 1945

The SIG had to organize the import of kosher meat. At the end of the World War I *sheḥitah* was permitted, but banned again after 1920. The fight against antisemitism occupied the Jewish communities in the 1920s and after 1933. On April 1, 1933, hundreds of Jews fled to Switzerland from Germany (the day of the "*Judenboykott*"). In Lucerne, the synagogue was attacked and the Swiss government felt obliged to declare that it would respect all rights of Swiss Jews. After 1935 Swiss fascism lost its popularity since the Swiss recognized that they would lose sovereignty in a Nazi Europe. In the following years the Swiss government maintained a strict attitude toward Jewish refugees: only "politically" and not "racially" persecuted ones were welcomed, i.e., social democrats and many fewer communists, who could prove their direct personal danger. The Swiss government ruled that the SIG had to organize the funding for the costs of Jewish refugees. The very acculturated German Jews were perceived as a foreign danger for Swiss society ("*Ueberfremdung*"). After the annexation of Austria to Nazi Germany in March/April 1938 some 2,000 Jews fled to Switzerland. Thus the chief of Federal Foreigner's Police, Heinrich Rothmund, asked the Nazi authorities in October 1938 to mark the passports of all German Jews with a "J" for "Jude," so that Swiss border authorities could deny entry to Jews. Many of the accepted refugees, e.g., Kurt Tucholsky and Else Lasker-Schüler, were forced to leave by the Federal Foreigner's Police. After the outbreak of the war, Jewish refugees were engaged in "productive" labor, laying out streets, draining swamps, or helping the peasants. They had to live in military camps. Families were separated and local authorities forbade "émigrés" to visit parks and other public places.

In April/May 1942, as the first rumors of the Holocaust were spreading, a massive public outcry forced the Swiss government to soften its attitude on the Jewish refugees. The debate on how to respond led to bitter internal debate in the SIG, its president, Saly *Mayer, resigned in 1943. Some 20,000 refugees who managed to approach the Swiss border were turned back. Some 25,000 were welcomed and could survive with the 20,000 local Jews. Even if the *American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee helped support the refugees (52 million Swiss francs), the 4,000 wage-earning Jews had a heavy burden to shoulder supporting thousands of refugees, donating 18,5 million Swiss francs between 1933 and 1952.

After the war the Federal Foreigner's Police continued its harsh policy. The responsible Bundesrat, Eduard von Steiger, a member of the old Bernese patriciate, felt no pangs of conscience at all and resigned only as late as 1953. He is believed to be responsible for destroying files on the denial of admittance to Jews. Only about 2,500 refugees were allowed to stay. Swiss Jews felt very much obliged to help the survivors. Material aid was sent to Germany. Even a teachers' seminary was established in Basle but dissolved in 1948.

The Christlich-Juedische Arbeitgemeinschaft in der Schweiz (Swiss Conference of Christians and Jews) has played an important role in the struggle against antisemitism and neo-Nazism. The "assertions of Selisberg" (Selisberger Thesen), formulated in 1946, were crucial for building a new relationship between Christians and Jews in postwar Western Europe.

Debate on the Past

The first public debate on Swiss refugee policy began in 1953. A detailed report was written by Carl Ludwig, himself a police official in Basle, and published in 1957.

Following a series of representations made by the SIG, the problem of heirless property left in Switzerland by victims of the Nazis was legally resolved in a first step (1955/1962): Jewish social institutions in Eastern Europe, the Maghreb, and Israel received some funds.

In 1969 Alfred Häsler published his popular, moving book, *The Lifeboat is Full*. It was widely discussed, but most politicians were not interested in a debate then.

In his address at the dedication ceremony of a memorial to the victims of the Holocaust in Berne's Jewish cemetery on November 9, 1988, Flavio Cotti, a member of the Swiss federal government, gave what amounted to its first, although guarded, official apology for Switzerland not having saved more Jews during the Holocaust. In 1995, on the 50th anniversary of the end of the War, Swiss president Kaspar Villiger apologized to Jews in the name of the Swiss government for neglect towards Jewish refugees before and during the war years.

But only after 1995 did a debate begin, which ended with the establishment of an Independent Historian's Commission (1996), which published its findings in 2002 in 24 volumes and over 10,000 pages. No other European country made such a serious attempt at investigating national history.

Research by historians in Swiss archives found that at least 20,000 refugees were turned away by Switzerland during the War.

Many Swiss were embittered that their memory of Swiss resistance against Nazism was challenged. Nationalist resentment arose in the public. The SIG took a very hard line and demanded "justice for the Jewish people and fairness for Switzerland." Some of the American-Jewish attacks were not substantiated by facts, since Swiss politics is characterized by the compromises of a "Konkordanz-Demokratie" and is not accustomed to harsh public polemics as in the U.S.

Under strong pressure, the Swiss banks agreed to search for deposits made by Jews prior to World War II and during the Holocaust. It is thought that many of the depositors perished in the Holocaust and left no survivors. In February 1966, the Swiss banks claimed that they had found only some $32 million of such deposits. The international Jewish organizations dealing with the subject (World Jewish Congress and the World Jewish Restitution Organization) felt that this sum was only a small fraction of what really lies hidden. In May 1996, a memorandum of understanding was reached and Swiss banks paid over one billion dollars to the World Jewish Restitution Organization.

In addition, a special Swiss foundation for victims of Nazi persecution (non-Jews and Jews alike) was established in 1997; 273 million. Swiss Francs were donated to it by the Swiss national bank, three private banks, and private industry. Out of 312,000 victims, 255,000 were Jews. Until 2001, some 124,000 people living in Israel, 97,000 in Eastern Europe, and 70,000 in North America had received financial help from this Swiss foundation.

Antisemitism

Though there were some manifestations of antisemitism (attacks on *kippah*-wearing Jews in Zurich, desecrations of Jewish cemeteries and the synagogue of Lugano (2005)), the majority of the Swiss population felt more threatened by Muslim and Third World immigrants. Still antisemitic graffiti do occur, as do revisionist statements, to which the authorities tend to react quite strongly. A new anti-racist legislation, passed by parliament in June 1993, makes antisemitic propaganda and the denial of the Holocaust a criminal offense. Some right-wing politicians attacked the law as being a limitation of freedom of speech and called for a referendum in 1994. The fight to gain a majority of the votes was very hard for the SIG. In 2005 some populist politicians tried to vote down the law through another popular referendum.

From its inception, SIG also attempted to bring about the abolition of the ban on ritual slaughter. The Swiss government removed the ban against *sheḥitah* from the Swiss constitution and added a new law for the protection of animals (1973). When it tried to introduce an exception clause for the Jews, strong opposition was voiced in the Swiss media. The SIG abstained from fighting further in order to safeguard "confessional peace in Switzerland," as formulated by its president Alfred Donath in 2004. The animal protectors were so thoroughly scandalized that they gathered the necessary signatures for an initiative to ban even the import of kosher meat. However, the World Trade Organization prohibits import restrictions of this kind.

Internal Jewish Life

The Swiss Jewish community maintains care of the aged, in which it follows the most up-to-date methods, and promotes youth education through, inter alia, summer camps, meetings of young people and organized trips to Israel, and support for the youth movements. Swiss Jewry has also maintained since 1968 a museum in Basle (Juedisches Museum der Schweiz) which has an important collection of cultural and religious objects. In 1964, SIG participated in the Swiss Exhibition at Lausanne with a pavilion designed to express the basis tenets of Judaism, but the presentation of recent history was neither allowed nor desired by the organizers (i.e., refugee policy). After 1982 an exhibition on the history of Swiss Jewry was shown at various places and translated into French.

The SIG is a founding member of the *World Jewish Congress, and a member of the European Council of Jewish Community Services and maintains active contact with all world Jewish charitable organizations. Inspired by the American Young Leadership program, Swiss-Jewish youngsters are coached in how to represent Judaism and Jewish history to their non-Jewish peers.

After 1955 a movement establishing Jewish schools, inspired by the American example, was led first by the Orthodox community of Zurich. Basle followed (1961) and after 1970 Jewish schools were established in Geneva and Lausanne, a second one in Zurich (1979) and Basle, where there even is a small Jewish high school. Thus 53% of all Jewish children in Switzerland (1st to 4th grade) attend a Jewish school (2000). Some 30% frequenting general schools receive religious lessons, so that more than 80% of all Jewish children receive some kind of Jewish education.

Jewish youth movements have also made an impression. A wide range is active from the Aguda Youth (Zurich), to Bnei Akiva (Zurich), to centralist Ha-Goshrim (Zurich), Emuna (Basle) and Ha-Noar ha-Bone (Berne) to Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir (Zurich).

In 1952 a small yeshivah was established in Lucerne (later moving to nearby Kriens), parallel to the Lithuanian-type yeshivah of the Botschko family in Montreux (est. in 1927), which functioned until 1985. According to a 2002 Gallup poll, 27% percent of the Jews visit a synagogue at least once a week.

Polarization of Jewish life caused a breakup of Orthodox groups. New *minyanim* were founded. The Lubavitch movement established itself in Switzerland after 1982. Liberal communities came into being in Geneva (1970) and Zurich (1978). Egalitarian groups were also active in the Zurich Cultusgemeinde (Schabbat acheret) and Ofek in Basle. The "Einheitsgemeinde," combining all Jewish currents, is being seriously challenged. After 16 years of discussion, the SIG nearly split over the admission of liberal communities (2004); the Orthodox groups threatened to pull out. A majority did vote for admission but not the necessary two-thirds, so a liberal "faction" was established, which coexists with the SIG on equal footing.

Swiss Jews were definitely more integrated into Swiss society after 1945. They were very proud that the first Jewish member of Swiss government was elected in 1993, Ruth *Dreifuss, being of old Endingen-Jewish ancestry (in office until 2002). Still the number of mixed marriages went up to 60%. Many Jews moved to suburbs far from the Jewish communities. Since being Jewish became more socially accepted, the rate of membership in the communities rose from 50% (1960) to 75% (2000). Many Jewish communities received state recognition, Basle being the first in 1973. This is a matter dealt with by each canton individually.

In February 2005 a new constitution was adopted in Zurich and the way to recognition of the two democratically operating Jewish communities is now open. The first bid for recognition had been turned down in 1877.

Jewish studies were integrated in university curricula, the first being Geneva with a lectureship for Jewish thought held by Chief Rabbi Alexandre *Safran (after 1948). In 1981 the only cathedra of Jewish studies at a Catholic faculty in Europe was founded in Lucerne with Clemens Thoma, a specialist in rabbinic literature. Basle University opened its Institute for Jewish Studies in 1998, a cathedra is now active in Lausanne, and lectureships exist at the universities of Fribourg and St. Gall. Thus every Swiss university with the astonishing exception of Zurich has at least a lectureship in Jewish studies.

The Jewish press, which receives no state subsidies, was firmly established. To the *Israelitische Wochenblatt fuer die Schweiz*, the *Juedische Rundschau Maccabi* of Basle was added in 1942, and the (bi-)monthly *Das neue Israel* (1948–86), edited by the late Veit Wyler. In 2001 the *Rundschau* and the *Wochenblatt* merged into *Tachles*, which bought the American-Jewish *Aufbau* and tries to continue it as a monthly (2005). The French-speaking have their *Revue Juive*. Community bulletins have become much more professional.

Since 1980 there has been nearly no Jewish immigration to Switzerland, resulting in the problem of an aging community.

The situation of Swiss Jewry has been characterized by two seemingly contradictory developments: a strengthening of its institutions and a weakening of its demographic base. Yet Jewish life in Switzerland is quite active and stable, even if the future existence of small communities like St. Gall, Baden, Winterthur, and Fribourg is not secure.

Swiss Jews and Israel

Swiss Jews maintain active contact with Israel. Compared to 20,000 Jews in Switzerland, a high proportion of some 6,800 Swiss citizens are living in Israel. The Swiss-Israel Society is dedicated to the strengthening of relations between the two countries, and on the eve of the Six-Day War (1967) it took the lead in a spontaneous expression of solidarity with Israel on the part of all sectors of the Swiss people.

[Benjamin Sagalowitz / Uri Kaufmann (2nd ed.)]

Relations with Israel

Switzerland does not play any political role in Middle Eastern affairs and is wary of any move that might be interpreted as a breach of her neutrality. Nonetheless, Switzerland has frequently expressed support for Israel – first demonstrated by the holding of *Zionist Congresses on Swiss soil – and this feeling is shared by broad sectors of the Swiss public. These expressions of support reached their height during the Six-Day War (1967). Especially important in this context was the behavior of the Swiss press, cultural organizations, and mass media toward the incident of an Arab terrorist attack on an El Al plane in Zurich in 1969 and the objectivity of the Swiss authorities on all levels – political, legal, and judicial – by placing the responsibility for the attack on the governments of the Arab countries from which the terrorists operated. An act of sabotage in 1970 on a Swissair plane bound for Israel evoked a similar angry reaction. Diplomatic relations existed between the two countries from 1949 and were elevated to ambassadorial level. In addition to the embassy in Berne, Israel maintains a consulate in Zurich and a representative attached to the European office of the United Nations in Geneva.

Formal agreements over air transportation exist between the two countries, as do general scientific and cultural ties. When most of the communist countries severed diplomatic relations with Israel after the Six-Day War, Switzerland represented Israel's interests in Hungary and Guinea.

The broad solidarity with Israel dissipated by 1973, when of all public figures only Friedrich Dürrenmatt spoke out for Israel. The negative image of Israel in the Swiss mass media furthered this process. For many right-wing citizens, Jews are perceived as being enemies of Switzerland after the debate on refugee policy, lost property, and bank accounts. The important Swiss People's Party (Schweizerische Volkspartei, a bourgeois populist right-wing organization) withdrew its earlier ardent support of Israel.

Swiss Foreign Minister Mrs. Calmy-Rey hosted the Geneva conference trying to find a way out of the blocked peace process in 2004. In the Swiss parliament a boycott of weapons from Israel was discussed in the same year, thus marking a remarkable shift in foreign policy from the deep sympathy of 1967 to today's hostility.

[Uri Kaufman (2nd ed.)]

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SWOPE, GERARD (1872–1957), U.S. electrical engineer and industrialist. Born in St. Louis, Missouri, where his father was a watchcase manufacturer, Swope became fascinated with electricity as a child. He graduated from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology in 1895 and rapidly rose to the post of general sales manager of Western Electric, where he became responsible for opening additional branches in the United States as well as in China and Japan. In 1913 he was elected vice president and director of the company. During World War I, Swope was a member of the U.S. Army's general staff and was decorated. He also received medals from France and Japan. In 1919 he was named president of International General Electric and, in 1922, chairman of its board. From 1922 to 1939 he served successively as president and chairman. Under his leadership the company's success reached unprecedented levels. Swope was also associated with the development of radio and radio parts, and was a director of the National Broadcasting and Radio Corporation of America. In 1939 he retired from General Electric and became chairman of the New York City Housing Authority, one of many offices he filled in voluntary public service. In 1931 he published the "Swope Plan." This plan called for stabilizing industry and emphasized industry's responsibility for preventing unemployment and mitigating its results. He received a number of honorary degrees, the Hoover medal, and the gold medal of the National Academy of Social Sciences. He visited Israel in 1957 and bequeathed several million dollars to the Haifa Technion. He was the brother of Herbert Bayard *Swope.

[Joachim O. Ronall]

SWOPE, HERBERT BAYARD (1882–1958), U.S. journalist and public official; brother of Gerard *Swope. One of the leading newspapermen of his time, he continued to exert wide influence for 30 years after his retirement from journalism. A man of colorful personality and with a variety of interests, he was equally at home in journalism, business, politics, sports, the theater, and society. Born in St. Louis, he joined the staff of the liberal New York *World* in 1909 after short periods on other papers and was soon recognized as one of New York's outstanding reporters. When the Pulitzer prizes were established in 1917, he won the first award for reporting with his war dispatches from Germany. These were collected in the book *Inside the German Empire* (1917). In 1920 he became executive editor of the *World*, and directed a number of exposés, among them the Ku Klux Klan, working conditions in Florida, and crime in New York. Retiring in 1929, he became a policy consultant to corporations, individuals, and government agencies. He was also a member of the first State Racing Commission of New York, served as a consultant to the U.S. secretary of war from 1942 to 1946, and as an alternate United States representative to the United Nations Atomic Energy Commission.

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[Irving Rosenthal]

SYCAMORE (Heb. שִׁקְמָה), the *Ficus sycomorus*, of the same genus as the fig tree. There is no connection between it and the *plane tree, whose biblical name is *armon* and which is popularly called the sycamore. The sycamore is frequently mentioned in the Bible and in rabbinical literature. It is a tropical evergreen with a tall trunk, its tree top having long branches. The fruit resembles the fig, but is less sweet. Nowadays it grows wild in the Israeli coastal plain and the Negev, and the fruit is rarely eaten. In biblical and talmudic times the sycamore was one of the most valuable trees in the Ereẓ Israel Shephelah. David appointed an overseer "over the olive trees and the sycamore trees that were in the Lowland" on the royal estates (I Chron. 27:28). Its chief value was its wood which was used as building timber. Ordinary buildings were constructed of it, cedar being used for palaces and luxury edifices (I Kings 10:27; Isa. 9:9). The wood of the sycamore is light and porous compared with the heavy cedar, and it was therefore preferred for making ceilings (Tosef., BM 8:32; TB, *ibid.* 117b). This wood does not absorb damp and withstands rot; proof of this are the coffins of Egyptian mummies, which were mostly made from it and have been well preserved to the present day. The sycamore fruit, called *benot shikmah* or *gimziyyot*, was less valued than its timber (Tosef., Pes. 2:19; Men. 7 la). Special care had to be taken for its fruit to be edible: a few days before it ripened it was punctured. Fruit which has not undergone this process falls prematurely to the ground, and is therefore regarded as ownerless (Dem. 1:1; TJ, Dem. 1:1, 21d). The Bible refers to this puncturing as *belisah*, and the prophet Amos testifies of himself: "I am a herdsman and a *boles* [AV, "dresser," LXX, "piercer"] of sycamores" (Amos 7:14).

In the mishnaic period sycamores were widespread in the Shephelah, and Rabban Simeon b. Gamaliel makes the sycamore characteristic of the low-lying country (Tosef., Shev. 7:11; Pes. 53a): "Wherever sycamores do not grow is Upper Galilee … wherever sycamores do grow is Lower Galilee" (Shev. 9:2). The Mishnah (Shev. 4:5) describes the methods used for felling sycamore beams so that they should grow anew after a few years. A sycamore that had never been felled was called "a virgin sycamore" (Tosef., Shev. 3:15). Its roots spread sideways and "penetrate downward to the waters of the abyss" (TJ, Ta'an. 1:3, 64b). It is long-lived: "like the sycamore that lives 600 years" (Gen. R. 12:6), and the verse "as the days of a tree shall be the days of my people" (Isa. 65:22) was interpreted as relating to it.

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[Jehuda Feliks]

SYDNEY, capital of New South Wales, *Australia. Founded in 1788 as a British penal settlement, it was the cradle of Australian Jewry. Several Jews were sent there from England as convicts in the first transport and others subsequently. After release they played their part, at times under conditions of great hardship, in the colonization of the country. Some of them prospered and became leading citizens. When in 1817 a Jew died in Sydney there was no Jewish cemetery, but a religious service was held and a *ḥevra kaddisha* formed. P.J. Cohen may be considered the founder of the religious community. He carried the chief rabbi's authority to perform marriages, one of the first being that of Samuel Cohen, founder of a family prominent in both Jewish and general affairs for three generations. When the first congregation was organized in 1832, Joseph Barrow Montefiore – a cousin of Sir Moses *Montefiore – who played a pioneering role also in Melbourne, Adelaide, and New Zealand, was elected president. Services were held in private homes and hotels which were often owned by Jews; in 1837 a house was hired and converted into a synagogue. Soon the congregation was again homeless, until in 1844, when the Jews in New South Wales numbered about 900, the Sydney Synagogue, the first to be specifically built as such, was opened. The Great Synagogue, still in existence, was opened in 1878, when some 3,000 Jews lived in the state.

In the 1850s there was an influx of Jews to New South Wales, still mainly from England but including a number from Germany. Many first settled in the rural areas, often to keep the local store, and in 1861 only 61% of the Jews in New South Wales lived in the metropolis; a century later, however, only 4% lived outside Sydney. The obstacles to religious life were formidable: lack of ministers, difficulty in maintaining observance, and scarcity of women; intermarriage was thus the gravest danger. A.B. Davis served as minister at the Great Synagogue from 1862 to 1905, and Rabbi F.L. Cohen, author of a standard work on synagogal music, from 1905 to 1934. Immigration from 1933 on did much to change the pattern of the community, in which Western European and British immigrants predominated. In 1933 Sydney had four congregations, all Orthodox, and in 1970, 17 Orthodox and two liberal congregations; the *bet din* was under the chairmanship of Rabbi I. Porush. The Rabbi L.A. Falk Library at the Great Synagogue with its 7,000 volumes is the largest Judaica library in Australia.

[Israel Porush]

From the 1930s until the late 1950s Sydney experienced the same patterns of growth as did *Melbourne and other centers of Jewish life in Australia, but with significant differences. More Holocaust refugees and survivors came to Melbourne than Sydney, and, during the second half of the 20th century, Melbourne was clearly the leading Jewish community in Australia, with Sydney a close but perceptible second. Victoria (Melbourne) overtook New South Wales (Sydney) in population around 1939. By 1961, 23,106 declared Jews by religion lived in Sydney, according to the Australian census, compared with about 28,000 in Melbourne. In recent years this gap has remained. In 1996 there were 31,450 declared Jews in Sydney compared with 35,383 in Melbourne, and, in 2001, 32,941 in Sydney and 37,779 in Melbourne. The sources of immigration to the two centers of Jewish life also differed, with Melbourne taking in many more Polish Holocaust survivors and Sydney more Hungarians (following the 1956 Revolution) and also more British emigrées for normal professional reasons. The Jewish presence is also more marked in Melbourne than in Sydney. Sydney has a larger population than Melbourne, 4.2 million compared with 3.5 million, while Melbourne has a much larger, highly visible strictly Orthodox community. Although there are recognizable Jewish neighborhoods in Sydney, Melbourne's community is clearly centered in the Caulfield–East St. Kilda area, while Sydney's is dispersed in two geographically distinct areas, the Eastern suburbs (Bondi–Vaucluse–Rose Bay) south of Sydney harbor, and areas of the North Shore such as St. Ives and Bellevue Hill north of the harbor. Of the 17 postal districts in Australia with more than 1,000 declared Jews in 2001, seven were in Sydney and nine in Melbourne. Sydney's Eastern suburbs were home to nearly 13,000 declared Jews.

In recent years the cultural and political ambiance of the two communities also differed, with Sydney's Jewish community more moderate and conciliatory in its dealings with the government, Melbourne's more forthright and even militant. Sydney itself has also differed socially from Melbourne, the former a cosmopolitan harbor and metropolis well-known for its hedonism, the latter more conservative and containing a larger ideological left. As well, Judaism in Sydney has also been more moderate and centrist than in Melbourne, with stronger Anglo-Orthodox synagogues and, until recently, a weaker strict Orthodoxy.

Because of these factors, full-time Jewish day schools were founded later in Sydney than in Melbourne, and, until the 1980s, attracted smaller enrollments. Sydney had six full-time Jewish day schools: Moriah College (Orthodox), Yeshivah and Yeshivah Girls' High School (Lubavitcher), Masada (Orthodox) on the North Shore, Mount Sinai (Orthodox, in Sydney's southeast), and Emanuel (Liberal). Enrollments totaled nearly 4,000. In general, the evolution of Sydney in the postwar period may be seen as a process of "catching up" to Melbourne, an evolution reflected in increasing Jewish day school numbers in Sydney. It has also been reflected in the growth of Sydney's synagogues, which increased from around ten in 1960 to 25 in the mid-1990s and 33 by 2005. Of today's 33 synagogues in Sydney, 18 are mainstream Orthodox, nine strict Orthodox/Lubavitcher (including Chabad houses), four Sephardi, and two Liberal. Recent notable rabbis in Sydney include Israel *Porush and Raymond *Apple of the Great Synagogue in central Sydney, Brian Fox of Temple Emanuel, and Selwyn Franklyn of the Central Synagogue.

The representative body of the Jewish community in Sydney is the New South Wales Board of Deputies. Half of its members are selected by member bodies and half by a community-wide poll. Sydney has its own edition of the Australian Jewish newspaper, *The Australian Jewish News*, and there are Jewish community broadcasting slots on public radio. There is a well-presented Sydney Jewish Museum, opened in 1992, at 148 Darlinghurst Road, with exhibits on the Holocaust and on Australian Jewish history. The historic Great Synagogue, at 166 Castlereagh Street, offers guided tours to visitors.

[William D. Rubinstein (2nd ed.)]

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°**SYKES, SIR MARK** (1879–1919), British traveler and diplomat. Sykes was born in London and educated in Monaco, Brussels, and Cambridge. He served as a soldier in the Boer War (1902) and traveled for some time in Syria, Mesopotamia, and Kurdistan. Several years later he was appointed honorary attaché to the British embassy in Constantinople. In 1915 his special knowledge and qualifications, particularly with regard to the Middle East, won him an appointment as one of the two assistant secretaries to the British War Cabinet, a position in which he prepared regular intelligence summaries on the Middle East for the Cabinet's information. Thus, too, he came to participate in the Anglo-French talks in London on the "Syrian" question, talks that culminated in the *Sykes-Picot Agreement of 1916.

It was at some time between the provisional signing of the agreement in January 1916 and its official ratification in May of that year that Sykes first read the memorandum sent by Sir Herbert *Samuel to all members of the Cabinet the year before, suggesting British sponsorship of the Zionist cause. With the encouragement of Samuel, Moses Gaster, the chief Sephardi rabbi, began an exchange of views on Zionism with Sykes. Eager to see Britain gain a firm foothold in Palestine, Sykes felt that if Britain were to show active sympathy for the Zionist cause, it might be able to extricate itself from the Palestine provisions of the Sykes-Picot Agreement by pointing out that the Jews were overwhelmingly in favor of British trusteeship in the Holy Land.

In 1917 he first met Chaim *Weizmann and Nahum *Sokolow. By that time he had become attracted to Zionism per se, because he viewed it as a movement that would lead the Jews away from urban commerce and back to what he considered the healthier life and attitude of the tiller of the soil. He envisioned an eventual partnership between the Zionists and the Arabs and Armenians (whom he considered friendly toward the Entente) to preserve the stability of the Middle East after the collapse of the Ottoman Empire. At his first important meeting with nine Jewish and Zionist leaders in London on February 7, 1917, Sykes stated his conviction that the Arabs would come to terms with Zionism, particularly if they received support from the Jews in other matters. While in Rome in 1917, Sykes used his influence as a distinguished Catholic layman to explain to the Vatican authorities that Zionism would not clash with Christian or Catholic wishes concerning the holy places in Palestine. He participated in the drafting of the *Balfour Declaration; the final Zionist draft, submitted on July 18, 1917, had his approval, and Leopold S. Amery, a secretary of the War Cabinet, was to stress in future speeches and writings that the issuance of the declaration was due in large measure to Sykes's faith and energy.

Sykes addressed many Zionist meetings and, in a speech on December 2, 1917, said: "It might be the destiny of the Jewish race to be the bridge between Asia and Europe, and to bring the spirituality of Asia to Europe and the vitality of Europe to Asia." At the same time, he was on friendly terms with the Arabs. As a staff member of the Foreign Office he went on several missions to Egypt. In 1918 he went to Aleppo with the hope of reconciling French and Arab aims. His death, from influenza, at the Paris Peace Conference was greatly mourned by Zionists the world over.

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[Isaiah Friedman (2nd ed.)]

SYKES-PICOT AGREEMENT (in official terminology, **the 1916 Asia Minor Agreement**), secret agreement reached during World War I between the British and French governments pertaining to the partition of the Ottoman Empire among the Allied Powers. The terms were specified in a letter dated May 9, 1916, which Paul Cambon, the French ambassador in London, addressed to Sir Edward Grey, the British foreign secretary. It was ratified in a letter from Grey to Cambon on May 16. Russia was also privy to the discussions and consented to the terms. The agreement became official in an exchange of notes among the three Allied Powers on April 26 and May 23, 1916. In a subsequent stage Italy, too, gave her consent and the notes, which had been exchanged between April 10 and September 27, 1917, and were confirmed in the Treaty of St. Jean de Maurienne.

Background

When Sir Henry McMahon, the British high commissioner in Egypt, had reached a crucial stage in his negotiations with Sharif Hussein of Mecca (see *Israel State of: Historical Survey), Grey expressed concern that the advocated support of Arab demands on Syria would create the impression in France that the British merely intended to establish their own interests at the expense of the French. "Our primary and vital object," he emphasized, "is not to secure a new sphere of British influence, but to get the Arabs on our side."

An agreement with France was indispensable to avoid the impression that Britain had acted in bad faith. France regarded Syria as a dependency, and a separate arrangement with the sharif without France's participation could have had a chilling effect on the cordiality of the *entente*. Grey therefore suggested that Paris send a competent representative to discuss the matter.

The first round of discussions took place in London on November 23, 1915. The French government was represented by François-Georges Picot, a professional diplomat with extensive experience in the Levant, who before the war had been consul-general in Beirut. The British delegation was led by Sir Arthur Nicolson. Picot was uncompromising; he insisted that Syria was a purely French possession, and by Syria he meant the region bounded by the Taurus ridges in the north and the Egyptian frontier on the south.

The second round of discussions took place on December 21. The British were represented by Sir Mark *Sykes, a leading expert on the East. This time Picot was in a more accommodating mood. Having juxtaposed the desiderata of all the parties concerned, the British, the French, and the Arabs, the two statesmen worked out a compromise solution.

Terms of the Agreement

It was agreed that France was to exercise direct control over Cilicia, the coastal strip of Syria, the Lebanon, and the greater part of Galilee, up to the line stretching from north of Acre to the northwest corner of Lake Kinneret (Sea of Galilee), referred to as the "blue zone." East of that zone, in the Syrian hinterland, an Arab state was to be created under French protection (Area "A"). Britain was to exercise control over southern Mesopotamia (the "red zone"), the territory around the Acre-Haifa bay in the Mediterranean, with rights to build a railway from there to Baghdad. The territory east of the Jordan River and the Negev, south of the line stretching from Gaza to the Dead Sea, was allocated to an Arab state under British protection (Area "B"). South of France's "blue zone," in the area covering the Sanjak of Jerusalem, and extending southwards toward the line running approximately from Gaza to the Dead Sea, was to be a "brown zone" under international administration.

Assessment

In the years that followed, the Sykes-Picot Agreement became the target of bitter criticism, both in France and in England. Lloyd George referred to it as an "egregious" and a "foolish" document. He was particularly indignant that Palestine was inconsiderately mutilated. As seen from the perspective of 1917 this was, perhaps, true, but in the winter of 1915–16, when negotiations were in full swing, the strategic importance of Palestine had not yet been fully appreciated in British official circles. The overriding aim was to make an Arab uprising possible, and this hinged on French concessions to Arab demands in the Syrian hinterland. Nor could military operations on the eastern front take place without French concurrence. Without a British offensive, there could have been no Arab revolt, and without the Sykes-Picot Agreement there would have been no British offensive. The compromise solution with the French was the price that the British had to pay. The true progenitor of the Sykes-Picot Agreement was the McMahon-Hussein correspondence.

From this point of view Arab criticism is even less justified. The two negotiations showed meticulous consideration for Arab interests and blended it with healthy realism. The power vacuum created by the destruction of the Ottoman Empire had to be filled by a new authority; the alternative was chaos. Absolute independence for the Arabs would have invited anarchy or an outside invasion. There was no material incompatibility between the agreement and the pledges made to Sharif Hussein.

The Agreement and Zionism

During the discussions Sykes and Picot took note that the Jews throughout the world have "a conscientious and sentimental interest" in the future of the country. Zionist aspirations were passed over. This lapse was severely criticized by William R. Hall, head of the Intelligence Department of the British Admiralty. He pointed out that the Jews have "a strong material, and a very strong political interest in the future of the country and that in the Brown area the question of Zionism… [ought] to be considered."

It took Sykes several months to appreciate the fact that he had committed a blunder. The growing awareness of Germany's ambition to dominate the Middle East was the decisive factor that prompted him to embrace the concept of a Brit-

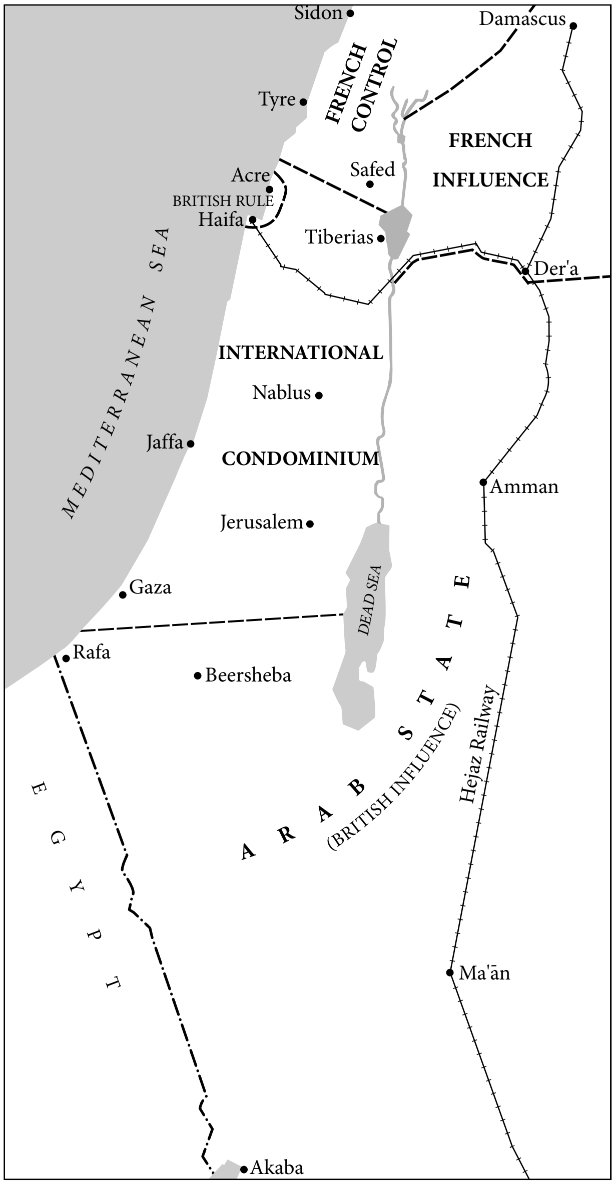

Proposed partition of the Middle East under the Sykes-Picot Treaty, 1916. Based on Zev Vilnay, New Israel Atlas*, Jerusalem, 1968.*

ish-controlled Palestine. A condominium with France in Palestine was fraught with danger, since the very principle of an international regime left the door open to Germany. Hence, as the historian Sir Charles Webster put it, "a situation had to be created in which the worst features of the Sykes-Picot Agreement could be got rid of without breaking faith… In these circumstances Dr. Weizmann's offer was an attractive one." Herein lay the *raison d'être* of the alliance with British Zionism. It provided a way to outmaneuver the French without a breach of faith, and was a useful card at the future peace conference to play against any move by Germany.

The agreement was officially abrogated by the Allies at the San Remo Conference in April 1920, when the Mandate for Palestine was conferred upon Britain.

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[Isaiah Friedman (2nd ed.)]

SYLVESTER, JAMES JOSEPH (1814–1897), British mathematician. Sylvester was "second wrangler" at Cambridge in 1837, but as a Jew, he was unwilling to subscribe to the Thirty-nine Articles and thus could not obtain a degree or fellowship. He was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society in 1839. Sylvester held a chair at the University of Virginia, U.S. (1841), but his outspoken sympathy for the slaves made it impossible for him to remain in Virginia. He accepted a chair at the Royal Military Academy, Woolwich, England (1855–70), then at John Hopkins (Baltimore, U.S. 1877–83), and at Oxford (1883). Sylvester and his colleague Arthur Cayley were considered the two leaders of pure mathematics in England during the 19th century.

Sylvester dominated the development of the theories of algebraic and differential invariants, and many of the technical terms now in use were coined by him. He was well versed in many languages. He founded, edited, and contributed to the *American Journal of Mathematics*. The Sylvester Medal established by the Royal Society commemorates his valuable services to the advancement of science. His collected mathematical papers were published in four volumes in New York during the years 1904–12.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: DNB; *Proceedings of the Royal Society, London*, 63 (1898), ix–xxv.

[Barry Spain]

SYLVIA, SARAH (1890–1976), South African actress and producer. Born in London, she was taken to Johannesburg as a child, and at the age of 12 played the lead in Goldfaden's *Shulamis*. In London, in 1912, she played opposite Maurice Moscovitch in his Yiddish production of *The Merchant of Venice*. Later in South Africa she organized Yiddish seasons, imported companies, and appeared in many plays including works of Gordin and Sholem Aleichem. Some of her outstanding performances were in English, in *Death of a Salesman* with Ben-Ami (1953) and *The World of Sholem Aleichem* (1960).

SYMMACHUS BEN JOSEPH (late second century C.E.), *tanna*. His patronymic is given only once in the aggadic statement, "Symmachus b. Joseph says: whoever prolongs the word *eḥad* ["one" in the *Shema*] has his days and years prolonged" (TJ, Ber. 2:1; cf. also TB, Ber. 13b). He was a disciple of *Meir, in whose name he transmitted two *halakhot* (BM 6:5; Ḥul. 5:3), and it was stated that he could adduce 48 reasons to support every rule of ritual cleanliness or uncleanness. Such attention to detail and keen legal reasoning, characteristic of

Meir's disciples, was apparently not fully appreciated by all his contemporaries. According to a talmudic *aggadah*, "after Meir died *Judah issued a decree to his disciples not to allow the disciples of R. Meir to enter, for they are disputatious and do not come to learn Torah, but come to embarrass me…." Symmachus nevertheless forced his way through and entered quoting a halakhic saying of R. Meir. R. Judah became angry, and *Yose commented: "People will say, 'Meir is dead, Judah is angry, Yose is silent; what is to become of the Torah?'" (Naz. 49b; Kid. 52b). That he was a recognized legal authority is evidenced by the fact that R. Nathan turned to him for a ruling (Ket. 52a). He is the author of the famous principle in monetary cases: "Money, the ownership of which cannot be decided, has to be equally divided" (BK 46a; et al.) which, however, is not accepted in practice. Although he apparently knew some Greek (Naz. 8b), he is not to be identified with the Symmachus who translated the Bible into Greek. Symmachus may have lived to old age, since the Talmud reports that *Rav, during a visit to Ereẓ Israel probably in the mid-third century, put a question to him (Ket. 81a).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Hyman, Toledot, 959–60.

[Michael Graetz]

SYMONDS, SAUL (1894–1952), Australian communal leader. Symonds was born in Sydney, the son of a Russian-born furniture dealer, and was educated at Sydney Grammar School and Sydney University. He was a barrister from 1921 to 1939 when he became head of his family's furniture business. Symonds was among the most important communal leaders in New South Wales of the immediate postwar era, when Australia's Jewish community was being transformed by the arrival of thousands of Holocaust survivors. He served as president of the New South Wales Jewish Board of Deputies from 1945 to 1952 and was president of the Executive Council of Australian Jewry in 1946–48, but is best known as president of the Australian Jewish Welfare Society from 1948 to 1952, which (despite its name) was the main body responsible for Jewish immigration. Symonds oversaw the successful arrival and acculturation of thousands of survivors, but was criticized at the time for an officious manner, in contrast to the allegedly more welcoming attitude of Melbourne's immigration leaders.

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[William D. Rubinstein (2nd ed.)]

SYMONS, JULIAN (1912–1994), British writer and critic. Born in London, the son of a Polish-born Jewish auctioneer, Symons left school at 14 and became one of the best-known writers and critics of detective stories of his day. Beginning with *The Thirty-First of February* (1950), Symons wrote many detective novels such as *The Man Who Killed Himself* (1967) and *Death's Dark Face* (1990). He also produced histories of the detective story such as the influential *Bloody Murder* (1972). Symons also wrote numerous biographies and works on recent history. From 1958 he was chairman of the Crime Writers Association and, from 1976 to 1985, succeeded Agatha Christie as president of the Detection Club. His elder brother, ALPHONSE JAMES ALBERT SYMONS (A.J.A. Symons, 1900–1941), was a noted book collector who founded the First Edition Club and, in 1930, *The Book-Collectors' Quarterly.* In 1934 he wrote *The Quest For Corvo*, a study of the literary eccentric Baron Corvo. A.J.A Symons died of heart failure at the age of 41.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: ODNB; J. Symons, *A.J.A. Symons: His Life and Speculations* (1950).

[William D. Rubinstein (2nd ed.)]

SYNAGOGUE. This article is arranged according to the following outline.

- **ORIGINS AND HISTORY**
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ORIGINS AND HISTORY

The synagogue, together with the *Temple, is the most important institution in Judaism. It has had a decisive influence not only on Judaism throughout the ages, but on organized religion as a whole. As C. Toy points out (*Introduction to the History of Religions* (1913), 546) "their [the Jews'] genius for the organization of public religion appears in the fact that the form of communal worship devised by them was adapted by Christianity and Islam, and in its general outlines still exists in the Christian and Moslem world." Nevertheless, there are almost no historical dates concerning its origin. As its birth is lost in the mists of antiquity and apparently took place unheralded, so it grew to maturity in conditions of obscurity, and makes its definite appearance about the first century of the Christian era as a fully grown and firmly established institution. There is, however, an almost universal consensus of opinion as to the place and origin of its birth and these best present the conditions under which its birth can be most naturally explained. It is natural that when the synagogue had become the central institution of Judaism, the ancient authorities ascribed it as going back to the very beginnings of Judaism. The Targum (Pseudo-Jonathan to Ex. 18:20), the Midrash (Yal., Ex. 408), and Josephus (Apion, 2:175), as well as the New Testament (Acts 15:21), all ascribe its origin to Moses. Basing itself on a passage in the Talmud (Shab. 32a) which castigates those who refer to a synagogue as "Bet Ha-Am," a Midrash, quoted by Rashi and Kimḥi, applies this phrase in Jeremiah 39:8 to the synagogue. Some have seen in Psalms 74:8 "they have burnt up all the meeting places (the A.V. actually has "synagogues" and it was so rendered by Aquila and Symmachus) in the land" as a reference to synagogue and, on this basis, ascribe the Psalm to the Maccabean period (but see below). All these references, however, must be regarded as merely homiletical attempts to push back the date of the origin of this important institution, and, with the exception of the reference in Ezekiel (see below), they can be disregarded from the historical point of view. It is to the period of the Babylonian Exile that one must look for the origin of the synagogue. Not only has it been assumed that the Exiles, deprived of the Temple, in a strange land, feeling the need for consolation in their distress, would meet from time to time, probably on Sabbaths, and read the Scriptures, but it is in Ezekiel, the prophet of that Exile, that one finds the first probable references to it. It has been suggested that in the repeated mention of the assembly of the elders before Ezekiel (8:6, 14:1, 20:1) one can point to the actual beginning of the synagogue. More definite, however, is the reference to the "little sanctuary" in 11:16, and it may have been a true instinct which made the Talmud (Meg. 29a) apply it to the synagogue. The Jews who had remained in Judea after the Exile of Jehoiachin taunted the Exiles that they were removed from the Temple, which still stood, and Ezekiel answered, "Thus saith the Lord God, Although I have removed them far off among the nations, and although I have scattered them among the countries, yet I have been to them as a little sanctuary in the countries where they are come." And although, as will be seen, there was an organic relation between Temple and synagogue during the period of the Second Temple, from the moment the Temple was destroyed, and in the Diaspora before then, the phrase "little sanctuary" faithfully indicates the role of the synagogue in the thoughts and lives of the people. There is in rabbinical literature no tradition or legend of any building in their time having been a synagogue during the period of the First Temple; in Babylonia there was a strong tradition that the famous synagogue Shaf Ve-Yativ in *Nehardea had been established by the Exiles of Jehoiachin, and that its name actually meant "that which has been moved and established" (Meg. 29a).

This view of the Babylonian Exile as the time and place of the emergence of the synagogue is not, however, universally accepted. Some have persisted in dating back its beginnings to the First Temple period (see Levy, bibliography, 7–14); Weingreen, basing himself on such passages as Psalm 116:17 and Isaiah 1:11, 15, which indicate that sacrifice in the First Temple was accompanied by prayer, that the prayer of Hannah at Shiloh (I Sam. 1:10 ff.) was unaccompanied by sacrifice, and that Solomon's prayer at the dedication of the Temple makes no mention of sacrifice, comes to the conclusion that in them one can see evidence that the synagogue originated during the First Temple. Similarly, according to him, sacrificial acts at the local shrines were accompanied by prayer; when Josiah banned sacrifices at those shrines (II Kings 22 and 23), religious worship without sacrifice continued. He finds the origin of all the elements of the synagogue – prayer, Scriptural readings, and the sermon – in the history of the First Temple. Friedlander regards it as an invention of the Hellenistic Diaspora, while S. Zeitlin dates it to that, or the Maccabean period.

Until the First Century

Although there is no mention of the synagogue in Ezra and Nehemiah and the post-Exilic prophets, it can be assumed that the returned Exiles brought with them the rudiments of that institution to which they had given birth during their exile. In this connection it is germane to draw attention to the fact that the establishment of the synagogue implies the evolution of standard forms of service, and the Talmud ascribes the formulation of the earliest prayers (the *Amidah*, *Kiddush*, and *Havdalah*) to Ezra and his successors, the Men of the Great Synagogue (Ber. 33a). Weingreen, however (bibliography, 69–70), draws attention to an ostracon discovered by N.

Glueck at Elath (Basor 82, 7–11), belonging, according to Albright, to the sixth century B.C.E., which C.C. Torrey (ibid., 84, 4–5) reads as Bet Kenisa bi-Yrushalayim ("the Synagogue in Jerusalem"). There is no mention of synagogues or their destruction during the persecutions of Antiochus Epiphanes which led to the Maccabean Wars, but this is possibly due to the fact that the main interest of the Books of Maccabees is the Temple in Jerusalem. The suggestion has been made that the reference to Mizpeh in I Maccabees 3:46 as "a place of prayer" τόπος προσευχῆ "where they prayed aforetime" is not to an altar or shrine, but to a synagogue, but this is probably another example of the tendency to ascribe to the shrines of old the function of the contemporaneous synagogue. However, there is mention of the fact of public readings from the scrolls of the Torah (I Macc. 3:48) and to the singing of hymns to the refrain "His mercy is good and endureth forever" (4:24). That it does not refer to the Psalms with this refrain is indicated by a whole hymn on this pattern in Ben Sira 51.

It is natural that in the Diaspora the need for local places of worship was much more keenly felt than in Ereẓ Israel, despite the huge throngs of Diaspora Jews who made the pilgrimages to Jerusalem on the festivals (see *Pilgrimages). In Ereẓ Israel the Temple attracted the main religious loyalties and affections of the people; no such rival existed in the Diaspora. It is true that there existed in Egypt the Temple of *Elephantine and of Onias (see *Onias, Temple of) but these did not have the sentimental hold exercised by the Temple in Jerusalem. It is therefore not surprising that it is in the Diaspora, and particularly in Egypt, that archaeological discovery has revealed the remains of the earliest synagogue. In 1902 there was discovered in Shedia, 26 km. from Alexandria, a marble slab stating that the Jews dedicated this synagogue to Ptolemy III Euergetes (246–221 B.C.E.) and his queen Berenice. The inscription gives the impression of an institution already long established. To the same period and country belongs a dedicatory inscription found in Lower Egypt granting rights of asylum to the synagogue (REJ45 (1902), 163–4). The mention in III Maccabees 7:20 of the founding of a synagogue at Ptolemais during the reign of Ptolemy IV (221–204) is therefore entirely credible.

First Century C.E.

It is in the first century C.E., however, that the synagogue suddenly emerges as a well established and ancient institution, the very center of the social and religious life of the people, unrivaled in the Diaspora, and harmoniously cooperating with the Temple in Ereẓ Israel. It is a remarkable literary phenomenon that all sources, Talmud, Philo, Josephus, the New Testament and, to some extent archaeology, afford evidence of the existence of the synagogue, with every indication that it is anything but a new institution. Philo (see Legatione ad Gaium, 132f.) states that the large population of Alexandria had many synagogues in many quarters of the city; a great synagogue there, where the members of the various craft guilds sat together and which was so huge that the voice of the precentor was inaudible and flags had to be waved to indicate to the worshipers when they should make the responses, is described in the Talmud (Suk. 51b; TJ, ibid. 5:1, 55a; Tosef., ibid. 4:6). It was destroyed during the reign of Trajan (98–117) and could not therefore be later than the first century.

In Ereẓ Israel Josephus mentions synagogues in Tiberias (Life, 280), Dora (Ant., 19:305), and Caesarea (Wars, 2:285–9). The New Testament adds those of Nazareth (Matt. 13:54) and Capernaum (Mark 1:21); the Talmud adds the synagogue in Jerusalem of the Alexandrians (Tosef., Meg. 3 (2): 6; TJ, Meg. 3:1, 73d) and of the "Tarsians" (Meg. 26a). (It has been suggested, however, that the two are identical, "Tarsians" meaning filigree workers and refers to the Tarsian carpet industry which flourished in Egypt. Synagogues of the Tarsians existed also in Tiberias and Lydda (see Krauss, *Synagogale Altertuemer*, 201).) One passage (TJ, Meg. 3:1) gives the number of synagogues in Jerusalem at the time of the destruction of the Temple as 480, another (Ket. 105a) gives what looks like an exact figure of 394. Most authorities dismiss these figures as "doubtless gravely exaggerated," but it must be borne in mind that archaeological investigations have proved beyond question that the synagogues of Israel were small (cf. Baron, Community, 1, 92). (The same applies to modern Israel, and Jerusalem today has more than the larger number quoted above and there seems no reason to dismiss the number as fanciful.) Most significant of all, however, was the existence of a synagogue on the Temple Mount itself (Sot. 7:7–8; Yoma 7:1).

Outside Ereẓ Israel, in addition to the above-mentioned synagogues of Shaf Ve-Yativ in Nehardea and the synagogues in Egypt, Philo refers to the synagogues of Rome (loc. cit., 156), and inscriptions have been found of no less than 13 of these synagogues (for details see Baron, Community, 1, 81–82). In 1963 the ruins of a fourth-century synagogue in Ostia built on the ruins of an earlier one, probably dating from the first century, were discovered. The most extensive evidence of synagogues in every community in the Diaspora is given in the New Testament. Paul preached in many synagogues in Damascus (Acts 9:20, 22), and he refers to synagogues in every city he visited in Asia Minor (Acts 13:5, 14, 14:1, 15:21, 17:1, 10, 18:4, 7), including a number in Salamis in Cyprus. Baron enumerates the following list of known ancient synagogues in the Diaspora, compiled about 1922, to which discoveries since then can be added: Syria and Phoenicia, Asia Minor, including Cyprus – 31; the Balkan Peninsula, including Greece and the Aegean Islands – 19; Italy, including Sicily – 181; Spain, Gaul, and Hungary – 5; North Africa – 21. The synagogue in Stobi, Macedonia, dates from 65 C.E. (Baron, Community, 1, 80; A. Marmorstein, JQR, 27 (1936–37), 373–38). In Delos, Greece, was a synagogue dating from the second pre-Christian century (Sukenik, bibliography, 37, and see below, Architecture). There is therefore no doubt but that by the first century the synagogue was a firmly- and well-established institution in every community, both in Ereẓ Israel and in the Diaspora. While the Temple stood there was an organic relationship between synagogue and Temple. The Mishnah (Sot. 7:7) gives full details of the service in the synagogue on the Temple Mount on the Day of Atonement: "The *ḥazzan* of the synagogue [see below] used to take the scroll of the Torah and hand it to the chief of the synagogue, who handed it to the prefect, who handed it to the high priest, and the high priest received it standing and read it standing, etc." Similarly, in his vivid description of the festivities during the Festival of Water Drawing (see *Sukkot), Joshua b. Hananiah describes the manner in which the day was spent, attending the sacrifices in the Temple alternating with prayer in the synagogue (Suk. 53a). In addition to this, however, the arrangements of the **mishmarot* and *ma'amadot* were that, while the *mishmar* of priests and levites and the Israelite representatives were present during the weekly rota of service of their *mishmar* in the Temple, the remaining members of the *ma'amad* who did not accompany the members of the *mishmar* to Jerusalem gathered in their local synagogues for prayer and fasting (Ta'an. 4:2; and see *Liturgy).

With the destruction of the Temple, however, and the consequent automatic cessation of the sacrificial service, the synagogue remained without a rival as the focus and center of Jewish religious life. Many of the customs and rituals of the Temple were deliberately and consciously transferred to the synagogue, and on the other hand, some of these rituals were forbidden just for the reason that they belonged to the Temple and the Temple only. Prayer was regarded as the substitute for sacrifice, and it was no accident that the word *avodah*, referring to the sacrificial system, was now applied to prayer which was the "*Avodah* of the heart" (Sif. Deut. 41). The service, functions, and the functionaries of the synagogue have remained remarkably consistent throughout the 2,500 years of its history. The order of service laid down in the first chapters of tractate *Berakhot* for daily and Sabbath service, and *Megillah* (3:4–end) for festivals, remains unchanged as the fundamental order of service, to which, in the course of the ages, only additions have been made. The function of the synagogue as a center not only for prayer and instruction, but as the communal center, dates from the earliest period. To the one permanent official of the synagogue in Temple and talmudic times, the *ḥazzan ha-keneset*, the beadle, there were added the professional cantor who was unknown in early times; the *ba'al keri'ah* who read the scriptural portion where previously the person called up read his own portion; and particularly in western countries, the preacher and/or rabbi of a synagogue, as distinct from the rabbi of the community. Owing to special circumstances, greater emphasis was laid on certain aspects of the synagogue in the Middle Ages and in the modern era. For instance, the function of the synagogue as a communal center is already to be noted in talmudic times, but under ghetto conditions, voluntary or enforced, it assumed much greater proportions. Similarly, social needs of the present day, especially in the United States, have tended to turn the synagogue with its ancillary institutions into an all-embracing social center.

Middle Ages

The Talmud justifies the reciting of the **Kiddush* in the synagogue, despite the fact that "*Kiddush* is recited only at a meal" (Pes. 101a; the custom is still universal except in Israel), on the grounds that it was recited for the benefit of visitors and wayfarers "who eat, drink, and sleep in the synagogue" (Pes. 101a). That the reference is not to the synagogue proper is clear from the explicit prohibition of eating and drinking in it (Meg. 28a), but to annexes provided for that purpose, and there has been discovered an inscription from a first-century synagogue recording the name of Theodotus son of Vettenos who built a synagogue "for the reading of the Torah and teaching of the commandments and also built the hospice and chambers and water installations for lodging needy strangers" (Sukenik, bibliography, 70). This aspect of the synagogue was greatly increased during the Middle Ages. There was practically no activity in the daily life of the Jews which was not reflected in the life of the synagogue. Any person having a private complaint could have the service interrupted, until he was promised redress (see **Bittul ha-Tamid*) and the results of lawsuits were announced, as were articles lost and found. Even the announcements of certain properties on the market were included in some synagogues. In Italy any man intending to leave the community had publicly to announce the fact, so that any claims against him could be put forward. Proclamations were made of stolen goods (that this was the practice in talmudic times is mentioned in Lev. R. 6:2). Announcements whose purpose was to enforce moral and conjugal virtues were included. In the synagogue mourners were officially and publicly comforted, a custom which prevails to the present day, and the appearance of bridegrooms on the Sabbaths preceding and following the wedding made occasions for congregational rejoicing. The most powerful social sanction was the **ḥerem* which, inter alia, banned the person against whom it was issued from participation in congregational worship.

[Louis Isaac Rabinowitz]

Modern Period

In the 18th century the rise of *Ḥasidism had a definite effect on the synagogue. The Ḥasidim downgraded the formality of the synagogue service, stressing in its stead the fervor and excitement which should accompany prayer. Their synagogues were much smaller and devoid of elaborate furnishings and decorations; in fact, they were more of the *bet ha-midrash* type, being places for meetings and study as well as for prayer. Communal meals, particularly the **se'udah shelishit*, were held there, and indeed the synagogue was known in ḥasidic parlance as the *shtibl* ("small room") or *Klaus* ("close," in the archaic sense). The ḥasidic synagogue did away with salaried officiants; members of the congregation led the prayers themselves, and generally the whole atmosphere was very informal. By and large pews were replaced by tables and benches, and the internal appearance was very much more austere than that of the regular synagogue.

With the *Reform movement a century later, the synagogue took a turn in the opposite direction. The Reform synagogues were elaborate, dignified, buildings, lavishly and formally furnished. Unlike the ḥasidic synagogue buildings, which were rarely constructed for that purpose but were existing buildings made over, the Reform synagogues were usually designed and built for the specific purpose for which they were to be used. The *ark was an impressive edifice within the sanctuary, as were the *almemar* and the pulpit. Most Reform synagogues, which were known as "temples," included an organ and choir loft, and the almemar was at the front of the auditorium (see below and **Bimah*). Pews were arranged in straight rows with no special section for the women. Officiants in such synagogues were salaried employees of the congregation. There can be no doubt that the Reform synagogues were influenced both in structural style and internal organization by prevailing trends in the various Christian churches. Decorum, dignity, and contemporary aesthetic values became important aims in the planning of the synagogues. These were achieved at the cost, to a large degree, of warmth, excitement, and spontaneity.

Orthodox congregations in western Europe, England, and the U.S. also began to erect elaborate synagogues, with the proviso, of course, that the halakhic requirements were met. A gallery was usually provided for the women from which they could see, as well as hear, the service in progress. Salaried officials led the services and great importance was placed on decorum and dignity. Most synagogues had, in addition to the main sanctuary which was used for sabbaths and festivals, a smaller, less lavish, synagogue, variously called a *bet ha-midrash* or chapel, for weekday services. In the chapel the service was less formal and usually conducted by the congregants. Most synagogue buildings began in the 20th century to have facilities attached for the synagogue school or *talmud torah*, as well as halls for meetings or banquets. These halls are, in many cases, utilized for "overflow" services on the High Holidays, when the seating in the main auditorium is inadequate. Many synagogues also have a "bride's room," in which the bride prepares herself for the wedding ceremony and in which the *yiḥud* takes place afterward (see *Marriage). Some ultra-Orthodox congregations include, in the synagogue building, a **mikveh*. An interesting development in modern times, particularly in the U.S., is the "expanding" synagogue; a hall is immediately adjacent to the main sanctuary divided from it by a movable wall. For the High Holidays the wall is removed, thus increasing, sometimes even doubling, the seating capacity and obviating the need for extra personnel to lead the "overflow" services. However, side by side with these large, formal synagogues, there continued to exist smaller, less elaborate prayerhouses and indeed, in attempting to establish statistical information, one is faced with the difficulty of defining what a synagogue is (see below).

DESECRATION AND DESTRUCTION OF SYNAGOGUES (HOLOCAUST PERIOD). The desecration of synagogues and Jewish cemeteries during World War II by the Germans and their collaborators was a carefully planned operation, executed with utmost thoroughness. It was accompanied not only by vandalism and looting, but by cruelty and malice. In many cases Jews were ordered to burn down their houses of worship for which they were afterward blamed, while those who refused to obey were punished. "Fire Brigades" were formed in some Polish towns, their task being to set fire to synagogues and religious articles, and sometimes even the worshipers, who were forced inside the building to be burned alive. It is impossible to ascertain the vast number of art and religious treasures destroyed or stolen by the Nazis and their fellow travelers and collaborators in the non-Jewish population. Synagogues were destroyed in thousands of communities in eastern Europe, in the large Jewish settlements in Poland, Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia, the Ukraine, Belorussia and such central European countries such as Germany, Austria, Czechoslovakia, and the Balkans. The religious art treasures of these synagogues ran into hundreds of thousands of items, for every synagogue was virtually a repository of ritual and traditional objects. These included Torah scrolls, Torah mantles, Torah shields and pointers, and Holy Arks, often made of carved wood or stone, with their curtains; there were also Chairs of Elijah, chandeliers, candlesticks, prayer books, and *megillot*. The comparatively sparse documentary evidence on the destruction to be found in various archives includes actual destruction orders, the names of those who issued and executed them, and the dates of destruction.

The first attempts to describe the extent of this destruction were made during the war by eyewitnesses, such as Emanuel *Ringelblum and Rabbi Simon Huberband. The latter participated in Ringelblum's "Oneg Shabbat" (code name for secret documentation work of the Warsaw Jewish underground movement). Huberband listed the destruction of Polish synagogues and Jewish cemeteries. According to data in the *Yad Vashem archives, the deportation and liquidation of the Jewish population of Europe was accompanied by the destruction of 33,914 Jewish communities, of which a few thousand were in Poland. It is estimated that 98% of movable Jewish art treasures in Poland, which had been preserved in synagogues or art collections, disappeared during the war. The first official attempt to list the losses in the domain of ritual art objects throughout Poland was made by the Ministerstwo Kultury i Sztuki (Ministry of Culture and Art) in a series of publications of the Claims and Reparations Office. A few of the synagogues in Poland were restored and converted by the authorities for cultural needs (libraries, museums, movie theaters, and cultural centers) or became cooperative grain stores. The architecturally interesting wooden synagogues in Poland were all destroyed by the Germans (see *Poland, and below, Architecture).

Testimony on the destruction of synagogues in Germany and Austria, especially with regard to **Kristallnacht* (1938), was given at the *Eichmann trial. On *Kristallnacht*, about 280 synagogues were destroyed and burned in Germany alone. Of the 23 Viennese synagogues that had existed before the *Anschluss*, the only remaining one was restored in 1964, and two *battei* *midrash* were left. The monetary value of 56 synagogues destroyed in Austria on November 10, 1938, alone, is estimated at 5,000,000 dollars.

[David Davidovitch]

ORIENTAL SYNAGOGUES. In Oriental countries and in Oriental communities in Israel the synagogue has hardly changed throughout the centuries. Low seating is generally provided around the walls of the room and the almemar is always in the center. Occasionally a special chair, of Moses or Elijah, is attached high up on the wall. Prayers are usually led by congregants, although in some of the modern Sephardi synagogues in Israel salaried officials are employed. In Europe and the United States the Sephardi synagogues are much as the Ashkenazi, except for the liturgical rite. (For further information, see *Ottoman Empire: Restrictions on Building New Synagogues.)

IN THE UNITED STATES. While the situation described above holds good for the United States, a further development took place there which in turn influenced the synagogue in the whole western world. Mordecai *Kaplan formulated the concept of the "synagogue center." He felt that the synagogue, if it were to continue to play its role in Jewish life, had to be more than a prayerhouse and, in view of the disintegration of traditional Jewish values in the U.S., more than a house of study. He therefore advocated that the synagogue become an all-embracing center of Jewish social and cultural activity, with the aim that the Jew spend a great deal, if not most, of his leisure time within the confines of the synagogue building. Such a building would no longer be a synagogue but a "Jewish center" and "instead of the primary purpose of congregation organizations being worship, it should be social togetherness…. The history of the synagogue… is a striking illustration of the importance of creating new social agencies when new conditions arise that threaten the life of a people or of its religion" (Mordecai M. Kaplan, "The Way I Have Come," *Mordecai M. Kaplan: An Evaluation* (1952), 311). According to Kaplan, the Jewish center should contain a swimming pool, gymnasium, library, club rooms, public hall, and classrooms, in addition to facilities for worship. It should provide professional club leaders to supervise groups for adults as well as children, and they should include all the activities in which the membership is likely to be interested, and not only of a Jewish nature, but such activities as photography, drama, music, sport, etc. Although most congregations were unable to provide this comprehensive program, both because of financial inadequacy and the fact that other existing organizations such as the YMHA already provided some of them, it remained the ideal for which to aim, with the results varying from synagogue to synagogue. The "center" idea, which was in fact a reformulation of what had always been the synagogue's role, has been generally accepted, and most synagogues provide such activities for their congregants.

According to a 2001 study published in the *American Jewish Year Book*, there were 3,727 synagogues in the United States, among them 1,501 Orthodox, 976 Reform, and 865 Conservative. New York City had 995 synagogues, followed by California with 425.

ISRAEL. Because of the fact that it is a "Jewish" country, many of the functions performed by the synagogue in other countries are provided in Israel by other agencies, often governmental. The nature of the country also obviates the need to affiliate with a synagogue to express one's Jewish identity. Education, including religious, is the concern of the state; burial is the concern of independent burial societies; *kashrut* is supervised and arranged by the *Rabbinate, at its different levels, which institution is financed by the government and independent of the synagogue. Thus, in the Jewish country, a paradoxical situation has arisen; one would have thought that the synagogue would flourish and expand its influence, when in fact it has become little more than a house of prayer. The population, even the religious section of it, finds its expression within other frameworks (see *Israel, State of; Religious Life).

[Raphael Posner]

While the main function of synagogues in Israel is to serve as places of worship, many also organize daily or weekly lectures or classes for their congregants. A vast variety of synagogue services can be found throughout the country, each community of the Diaspora bringing to Israel its own customs and manners. The multiplicity of traditions presents a peculiar problem for the army, since there is no possibility of establishing synagogues suited to the specific customs of diverse communities in every military camp and base. Nor can the army "melting pot" permit soldiers to be divided in prayer. Thus, by force of circumstances, a uniform type of synagogue has emerged, encouraged also by the way in which children from different communities join in prayer and study at religious schools and *yeshivot*.

This pattern has been followed by the younger generation in civilian life, and about 300 synagogues of a unified type have been set up, combining elements from the rituals of Ḥasidim and *Mitnaggedim*, and from Ashkenazim and Sephardim. Before the establishment of the State, there were few distinguished synagogue buildings in the country. Baron Edmond de *Rothschild erected a synagogue in every settlement that he endowed, and the buildings are still to be seen in Zikhron Ya'akov, Rishon le-Zion, Mazkeret Batyah, and elsewhere. The old *yishuv* in Safed, Tiberias, and Hebron had a number of poor synagogue buildings. The Jewish Quarter of Old Jerusalem contained 58 synagogues which had served the Sephardi and Ashkenazi communities from the time when *Naḥmanides renewed Jewish life in Jerusalem after the Crusades. Among them was the Sephardi Great Synagogue of Rabban Johanan ben Zakkai, which included four synagogues in a single large block. The largest synagogue of the Ashkenazi community was called the Ḥurvah ("Ruin"), since it was built on the ruins of the House of Study of Rabbi *Judah Ḥasid. Other notable synagogues were the Bet El synagogue of the kabbalists and the Tiferet Israel synagogue, also called Nisan Bak, after its founder. The oldest synagogue was that of the *Karaites, ascribed to the tenth or eleventh century. During and after the 1948 War of Independence, 55 of these synagogues were destroyed by the Arabs, but some others (Ramban, Ḥabad) were restored after the liberation of the Old City in June, 1967 (see *Jerusalem).

During the British Mandate (1917–48) synagogue building proceeded slowly, principally in the larger cities and with the financial assistance of the local community. Thus in 1923–24 the Great Synagogue and the Sephardi Synagogue Ohel Mo'ed in Tel Aviv, and Yeshurun in Jerusalem, were established, and in the 1930s the Central Synagogue of Haifa was founded. At the time of the establishment of the State in 1948, there were about 800 synagogues of all kinds throughout the country, serving a Jewish population of 650,000. The rapid growth of immigrant housing and the development of townships necessitated new synagogues, particularly where there were liturgical and ritual differences. New buildings were also erected to replace the provisional structures in the veteran religious settlements.

By 1970 there were about 6,000 synagogues. These new synagogues were jointly financed by the Ministry for Religious Affairs, the Ministry of Housing, the Jewish Agency, the Jewish Restitution Successor Organization, the Silverman Fund, the Wolfson Trust, and other agencies. The complete interior furnishing of nine synagogues from Jewish communities destroyed during World War II, and 28 arks from old synagogues in Italy, were transferred to Israel and reconstructed in various places throughout the country. The first of these came in 1952 from Coneglia, near Venice, and was reestablished as the Synagogue of *Benei Roma* in Jerusalem. Others came from Mantua, Padua, and Florence.

There is no distinctive form of synagogue architecture in Israel. Some local congregations have, however, evolved an architecture suited to their specific needs or exploiting local building materials – eucalyptus, olive wood, and marble from the Negev and Galilee. A modern Israel style seems to be emerging gradually, one of its features being the exterior *menorah* (candelabrum), which symbolizes the light of the Torah and is also the emblem of the State of Israel. The synagogue interiors usually conform to the pattern of the congregation's place of origin, and contain carpets and rugs and European or Oriental furniture. There is some new artistic expression in adornments by famous artists, such as Marc Chagall's stained-glass windows at the Hadassah Medical Center Synagogue in Jerusalem. The vast majority of synagogues in Israel are Orthodox, and the traditional partition between the main hall and the women's gallery (see **Meḥiẓah*) prevails in all of them, with variations as to the form and height of the grate or curtain. The *bimah* (platform) is situated in the middle of the synagogue, while the *ammud* (precentor's lectern) is close to the ark at the front wall. Sephardi synagogues, however, have no lecterns, and the entire service is conducted from the platform. In 1963, a Union of Israel Synagogues, embracing all the Orthodox synagogues, was established by Hechal Shlomo, Jerusalem. In 2005 there were about 50 Conservative and Reform synagogues in Israel. The most prominent of these is the *Hebrew Union College's synagogue in Jerusalem. The Karaites, who number about 25,000, have their own houses of prayer. They are concentrated mainly in Ramleh, but are also to be found in Ashdod, Ofakim, Beersheba, Ra'ananna, Maẓli'aḥ, Beth-Shemesh, and Acre.

[Benjamin Zvieli]

IN THE SOVIET BLOC. In the Soviet Union, where the constitution guarantees "freedom of religious worship and anti-religious propaganda," a group of 20 citizens was legally entitled to apply for permission to organize a religious congregation and to acquire a building or a plot for the erection of a building to serve as a place of prayer. Thus, those synagogues which still existed in the U.S.S.R. were each a separate society, not belonging to any federative or other country-wide framework (see below, Synagogue Organizations). Each of them was administered by a "committee of twenty" (in Soviet usage, *Dvadsatka*), which was responsible to the local authorities concerned with religious affairs that it should not engage in any illicit activity, such as "religious propaganda" (propaganda was explicitly reserved only for anti-religious purposes), religious education of children, social welfare work, etc.

In the early period of the Soviet regime, and particularly during the existence of the Jewish section (*Yevsektsiya) of the Communist Party, when suppression of the Jewish religion was regarded as part of the revolutionary remolding of Jewish society, the closing of synagogues and their transformation into "workers' clubs," cinemas, etc., became a mass phenomenon. In a matter of a decade or so, innumerable synagogues and other prayerhouses (of the *shtibl* or *minyan*-type) disappeared, and the meeting of Jews, particularly of the younger generation, for organized prayer or Torah study became a hazardous enterprise. After World War II, and especially during the rule of Khrushchev (1957–64), a drastic reduction of the remaining number of synagogues took place (from over 400 to about 60–65), some of them, mainly in Moscow and other larger cities, remaining intact in order to serve both as showplaces for visitors from abroad as well as centers for the supervision of the remnants of Jewish traditional life by the secret police. At the same time the authorities manipulated from behind the scenes the election of the congregation boards by the *Dvadtsatka*, so as to infiltrate them by agents or collaborators.

Paradoxically, at the same time in the early 1960s, while synagogues were closed down en masse – their congregants vilified in the press as "speculators" and criminals, and even previously tolerated *minyanim*, congregating in private homes on the High Holidays, brutally dispersed by the police – thousands, and later tens of thousands, of Jewish youth, reawakened to Jewish national consciousness, chose the synagogues and their courtyards and surroundings to demonstrate their Jewish identity by singing and dancing on Simḥat Torah and other holidays. These spontaneous gatherings in and around the few remaining synagogues, which at first were dispersed by the police, later became a constant feature of Soviet Jewish life, followed closely by diplomatic and press observers from abroad, which thus gave them, indirectly, some measure of immunity from persecution.

There were three synagogues in Moscow under the Soviet regime: the central Great Synagogue at Arkhispova Street and two small ones, in wooden houses, in the suburbs, Maryina Roshcha and Cherkizovo. In addition, a town near Moscow, Malakhovka, also had a synagogue of its own. There was no official connection whatsoever between these three, or four, synagogues, as no Jewish body of any character was allowed to exist in the U.S.S.R. outside its strictly circumscribed local function. Some cities in Georgia, Daghestan, and Uzbekistan also had more than one synagogue – one for the local, non-Ashkenazi community (Georgian Jews, Bukhara Jews or *Mountain Jews) and one for the Ashkenazi ("Russian") Jews who settled there, mostly as evacuees or refugees during World War II. There was a conspicuous difference in character between these two categories of synagogues.

Whereas the non-Ashkenazi synagogues served as prayer and meeting houses for the local Jewish population as a whole, comprising entire families and teeming with children and young people (similar to the prayer houses of their non-Christian neighbors), the Ashkenazi synagogues were, as in the European U.S.S.R., only visited by some elderly men and women (except sometimes for the demonstrative Simḥat Torah gatherings of the young). In all other places (such as, e.g., Leningrad, Kiev, Odessa, Riga, Vilna, Cemauti, Minsk, Novosibirsk, and others), there was only one synagogue in each. In some of them, such as Leningrad, Kiev, or Riga, the prerevolutionary buildings were still in use, and in addition to the large hall, used on holidays, there were also *shtibl*-type prayer rooms attached for weekday and Sabbath services. In others, such as Odessa or Minsk, shabby buildings at the outskirts of the town served this purpose. There were cities with large Jewish populations, such as Kharkov, in which the last synagogue was closed down some time after World War II and no other allowed to be established. There the militia (police) systematically persecuted Jews who congregated "illegally" on the High Holidays in private houses for prayer, but on the whole these persecutions did not succeed in deterring Jews from repeating this "misdemeanor" every year anew.

A specific trait of almost all the synagogues in the U.S.S.R. was the heavy atmosphere of fear of the secret police which was generally believed to listen to all conversations and keep a sharp eye on any contact between Soviet citizens and visitors from abroad. In many synagogues, including the central synagogue of Moscow, foreign visitors, including (until 1967) Israeli diplomats, were physically segregated from the rest of the congregation by specially erected wooden partitions, the *gabba'im* being responsible for preventing any contact with them. In other Communist countries in eastern Europe, the limitations imposed on the remaining synagogues were less stringent than in the U.S.S.R. In most of them countrywide federations of Jewish congregations, or religious communities, were allowed to exist and to cater to religious needs (baking of *maẓẓot*, distributing prayer books, etc.) through the synagogues. In Prague the famous Altneuschul was maintained by the authorities as a historical monument, at the same time still serving as a meeting place for prayer. In other Communist capitals possessing modern, imposing synagogue buildings from the 19th or early 20th century, such as Budapest, Bucharest, or Sophia, they were in use, and the atmosphere prevailing in them was less suffocating than in the synagogues of the Soviet Union, though the authorities supervised all of them for all kinds of "security" reasons. Most of them also served as showplaces for visitors from abroad.

With the collapse of Communism, Jewish religious life revived in a freer atmosphere, and numerous synagogues with officiating rabbis, often from Chabad, opened throughout the Russian Federation as well as in other former Communist countries. In 1992 a Rabbinical Alliance was formed, which by 2006 had 90 rabbis as members in 13 countries. In addition, 94 synagogues were affiliated with the Federation of Jewish Communities, which had purchased and restored 80 buildings for use as synagogues.

See also *Russia.

SYNAGOGUE ORGANIZATIONS. A modern phenomenon has been the organization of synagogues of a like type into a Synagogue Union. In the past, particularly in central and eastern Europe, there were periods in which *kehillot* were so organized (see *Councils of the Lands), but the organization of actual synagogues is comparatively new. The reason for this "unionization" is the fact that an individual synagogue is not able by itself to provide adequate educational and religious facilities, whereas several synagogues together have enough resources to take care of such things as religious education, *kashrut*, burial, etc. Another reason might be the influence of the Christian churches which are affiliated to different church organizations.

The *United Synagogue of England has a chief rabbi, a *bet din*, a *kashrut* division, and a religious educational framework. Salaries of the officials in its constituent synagogues are scaled, and candidates for such positions are required to obtain a certificate of competence from the chief rabbi. The rabbinical school, Jews' *College, is under its auspices and the chief rabbi is, ex officio, president of it. There are two other Orthodox synagogue organizations: The Federation of Synagogues, and, more extreme, the Union of Orthodox Hebrew Congregations (Adath Yisroel). Both these latter organizations provide services for their constituents, though not on the same scale as the United Synagogue. The Reform synagogues of England are organized, as are the Liberal synagogues.

In the United States there is a "Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations," a "United Synagogue" (Conservative), and "Union of American Hebrew Congregations" (Reform). Besides the above, orthodoxy in the U.S. has several other synagogue organizations varying in their degrees of orthodoxy.

A more recent development has been the creation of international synagogue organizations. The Conservative movement is organized into a "World Council of Synagogues," which embraces Conservative-type synagogues in several countries and meets every two years to discuss problems of mutual interest; there is also considerable movement of Conservative rabbis to synagogues in other countries due to the existence of this organization.

In Israel synagogues are organized into the "Union of Synagogues in Israel," and the Conservative and Reform synagogues have their own organizations. Most other countries with a sizable Jewish population have similar organizations to those described above.

Women and the Synagogue

Evolving redefinitions of women's place and role within the synagogue are an integral part of the institution's long history. Recent scholarship demonstrates that women were a regular presence in the ancient synagogues of the Hellenistic Diaspora during the first centuries of the Common Era, and that they were not separated from men during public worship. Greek, Aramaic, and Hebrew inscriptions identify women as regular donors and sometimes as synagogue officers, although scholars still debate whether these titles referred to honorary or actual posts. Although rabbinic sources indicate that women were not unknown as participants in synagogue ritual, the overwhelming tendency in rabbinic literature is against granting women active roles in communal worship.

Cairo **Genizah* documents describe the separation of men and women in 10th- and 11th-century Egyptian synagogues, but also reveal the full engagement of women in their synagogues as worshipers, community members, and contributors. Early medieval European synagogues, built without specific women's areas, do not give evidence either of women's presence or absence. In the 12th century, however, women's sections adjoining the sanctuary began to be added to existing buildings. It is unclear whether these new women's annexes, in spaces such as attached rooms, grilled balconies, and basements, represented greater inclusion of women or an expulsion from the main sanctuary, perhaps because of growing anxiety over the threat of women's ritual impurity (see **Niddah*).

Integration of women into the synagogue space came with the 1639 and 1675 synagogue buildings of the Spanish Portuguese Jews in Amsterdam. These synagogues, built as galleried halls, used their balconies as women's sections, thus integrating women's space into the buildings' symmetrical design. This influential architectural model found imitators around Europe resulting in many synagogues with women's galleries overlooking the sanctuary, although ubiquitous opaque screens, grilles, or lattice work obstructed the view of those within. In these women's sections, beginning in the Middle Ages, the **firzogerin* would lead other women in prayer, either by relaying the prayers and hymns recited in the sanctuary or by using Yiddish devotional prayers that paralleled the Hebrew liturgy. Although attendance at regular communal worship was not central to a Jewish woman's religious obligations, many married women did traditionally attend synagogue on Sabbath mornings and during festival services. Unmarried women were less likely to be present.

As Enlightenment ideas began to undermine traditional Jewish communities in western societies, a growing desire to demonstrate Judaism's bourgeois respectability brought accepted models of Jewish female religiosity into question. Jewish reformers assailed what they saw as Judaism's undignified treatment of women. Nineteenth-century German reformers, especially, lamented the demeaning nature of women's treatment in the traditional synagogue and championed new models of worship, including vernacular sermons, in which women could see themselves as welcome participants. When the pioneer Reform congregation, the Hamburg Temple in Germany, opened in 1818, its open women's gallery was also meant to integrate women into the congregation. It was chiefly in North America, however, that structural changes in women's place became fundamental elements in an evolving redefinition of the synagogue.

Colonial America's earliest synagogues adopted the women's gallery modeled in Amsterdam, yet the second synagogue built in what was to become the United States – in Newport, Rhode Island in 1763 – dispensed with the additional grilles and curtains that surmounted the balustrades of European versions of this space. The almost universal repetition of this innovation in subsequent American synagogues was not, however, a mark of reform; open galleries occurred in congregations which saw themselves as settings for traditional worship. Eighteenth-century American synagogue records indicate the growing presence of young unmarried women assertively attending worship services and suggest that many women began to see synagogue attendance as a central aspect of their Jewish identity. As these women adapted to a religious context where women were highlighted for their public piety, the closed-off women's gallery became increasingly problematic and was quickly abandoned.

By the mid-19th century, many traditionally inclined synagogues in western Europe had adopted open women's galleries. American synagogues, where women were an increasing proportion of the congregation, were moving on to mixed seating of men and women. First introduced in reforming congregations in Albany in 1851, and then in New York City in 1854, family pews had become an almost universal feature in the new synagogues of acculturated American Jews by the 1870s, resisted only by a few of the colonial-era Sephardi congregations.

Seats in the main sanctuary, however, did not confer additional religious agency upon women in the late 19th century. Religious and lay governance remained exclusively male prerogatives. Even the female mutual aid societies which animated female charitable activism before the Civil War faded in importance. It took the arrival of the first waves of what would become two million Jewish immigrants from eastern Europe and Russia between the 1880s and 1920 to spark meaningful public activism among acculturated American Jewish women. The first Jewish synagogue sisterhood groups emerged in the 1890s in Reform, Conservative, and Orthodox congregations to address the needs of, and to Americanize, immigrant coreligionists. Many of these groups also addressed the physical and social needs of their own congregations. This infusion of women's energy is reflected in the construction of large synagogue complexes in the 1890s and early 20th century – suddenly necessary to house the expanded institutional life significantly fueled by female activism.

Meanwhile, immigrant Jews established religious communities of their own, often storefront *shuls* that generally excluded women. But as immigrant synagogues Americanized, they understood that attracting and retaining members meant incorporating women and children into institutional life. The earliest grand immigrant *shul* buildings boasted large and open women's galleries – preserving traditional gender separation, but conveying the American message that women were expected to be present and seen in the synagogue.

As immigrant Jews moved away from their initial neighborhoods, many joined synagogues associated with the Conservative movement. Most of these synagogues adopted mixed seating as a key marker separating them both from the Old World and the ghetto. Another sign of the Americanized synagogue, whether Reform, Conservative, or Orthodox, was the presence of women's organizations as facilitators of congregational sociability and activity. National coordination of such synagogue groups was initiated with the founding of the *National Federation of Temple Sisterhoods within the Reform movement in 1913. This was followed by creation of the *Women's League for Conservative Judaism in 1918, and an Orthodox counterpart in 1926. For decades, these groups contributed energy and money that enabled a vital congregational life.

While American synagogues evolved in continuous dialogue with women's changing roles, synagogues elsewhere in the world did not share in the conversation. They generally maintained more traditional patterns of public worship, including gendered spaces and roles. Even highly acculturated European Jewish communities felt less compelled than their American counterparts to sweep away basic structures like the women's gallery. Mixed seating, even in Reform congregations, remained rare well into the 20th century, and only a few British and German synagogues featured this innovation prior to World War II. Postwar attempts to reconstitute a tiny fraction of the synagogue communities eradicated during the Holocaust have rarely reconsidered traditional gender roles in public worship. Similarly, in the Jewish settlement in Palestine, and then in the new State of Israel, the emphasis on creating a traditional religious establishment precluded efforts to consider women's changing roles.

In North America, however, women's engagement in the work and life of their congregations and growing equality in the religious education of boys and girls raised questions about limitations on Jewish women's religious opportunities. Progress toward equality for women in Reform and Conservative congregations advanced sporadically through the 1950s and 1960s. While Conservative leaders acted to remove some of the formal restrictions on women's ritual participation, Reform leaders discussed the possibility of female religious leadership. A few women did find their way into lay and spiritual congregational leadership during the 1940s and 1950s, but in general, apart from the increasing prevalence of *bat mitzvah ceremonies in the 1960s, little changed until the entry of women into the rabbinate and cantorate beginning in the 1970s (see **Hazzan*; **Semikhah*; *Rabbi, Rabbinate). Women's assumption of religious leadership had profound symbolic and practical implications for every variety of Judaism, reconfiguring expectations of what women should be allowed and encouraged to do. The influence of female rabbis ranges from a deepening emphasis on spirituality, a turn to the healing possibilities of Jewish tradition, challenges to continued exclusions within Jewish tradition and life of marginalized communities, including single people and gays and lesbians, and a general democratization of access to ritual participation, education, and leadership.

Orthodox congregations continue to segregate men and women and to prohibit women rabbis, but some of the most dynamic creativity in contemporary Jewish life can be found in Orthodox feminism. Recent decades have brought transformations in the Jewish education of traditional girls and young women. Unprecedented female engagement in advanced textual study has intensified challenges to what remains the largely male domain of Orthodox public worship. The first International Conference on Feminism and Orthodoxy held in New York City in 1997 led to the creation of the Jewish Orthodox Feminist Alliance, which continues to assert that traditional Jewish legal processes should be pushed to deal with questions of Jewish women's leadership and participation. Although these ideas and regular women's *tefillah* (prayer) groups face strong opposition from within Orthodoxy, they have nonetheless done much to shift both possibilities and realities in the traditional synagogue.

Great Britain's Reform movement ordained its first woman rabbi in 1975. Since then, the Liberal and Reform movements (representing a minority of British synagogues) have embraced the principle of gender equality, though they face the same struggles as North American synagogues in translating this commitment into true access for women to positions of status and authority as religious leaders. Among Britain's Orthodox Jews, women's prayer groups with the support of the chief rabbi have become an active mainstream movement. Women rabbis are just beginning to serve in small numbers of congregations in western Europe, and little change in women's roles has been seen in congregations further to the east. Yet as Jewish communities struggle with the continuing task of reconciling patriarchal traditions with contemporary values, it seems a certainty that the challenge of finding a place for women will continue to define the evolving shape of synagogues around the world.

[Karla Goldman (2nd ed.)]

IN HALAKHAH

Halakhah regulates the following aspects of synagogue construction and use: design and location of the building; furnishings and interior design; proscribed uses of the synagogues and its contents; and ownership and disposal of the building.

Design and Location

Halakhah governs only very specific components of synagogue design and makes no stipulations for the building's general external appearance. Historically, there does not seem to have been a conventional style of synagogue architecture. Synagogues, after satisfying the halakhic structural requirements discussed below, have been built in nearly every conceivable form, usually in the architectural styles prevailing at a particular time and place (see below, Architecture).

The synagogue must have windows, a requirement stemming from Daniel 6:11 which describes how Daniel prayed by windows facing toward Jerusalem. The Talmud (Ber. 34b) warned against praying in a room without windows and the *halakhah* (Sh. Ar., OḤ 90:4, from the Zohar, Parashat Pekudei), perhaps symbolic of the twelve tribes, states that a synagogue should have 12 windows – a stipulation that is rarely met because of architectural and other problems. Rashi commented that windows are required because they allow the supplicant to see the sky, the sight of which inspires reverence and devotion during prayer (Ber. 34b). Indeed, if a wall was built in front of the synagogue windows, it was not only demolished, but the usual requirement of its removal six feet (four cubits) away was insufficient because "… the synagogue needs a lot of light" (Sh. Ar., OḤ 150:4). The entrance to the synagogue, according to the Tosefta (Meg. 4:22), should be on the side of the building facing Jerusalem, i.e., the east side, reminiscent of ancient practice in Ereẓ Israel.

Excavations of early synagogues in the northern part of Israel have revealed that the main entrances are located in the southside, i.e., toward Jerusalem (see below, Architecture). The halakhic codes, however, require that the very opposite should be done because the Holy Ark is placed on the side facing Jerusalem, and it would be unfitting to enter the sanctuary from the same side on which the ark stands. In addition, doors thus located allow the supplicant to bow to the ark as he enters. This difference in the law can perhaps be explained by the institution of a fixed ark inside the synagogue (see below). When possible, it is required that one should go through a vestibule to the main sanctuary to preclude entering directly from the street (Ber. 8a).

In the vestibule, Judah Loew b. Bezalel (Maharal) of Prague explained, the thoughts and cares of the outer world are shed before entering the holiness of the inner sanctuary. Solomon's inaugural prayer (I Kings 8:30) and the fact that Daniel prayed facing Jerusalem (Dan. (Dan. 6:11) are the sources for the requirement that synagogues be oriented toward Jerusalem, and that those in the Holy City itself face in the direction of the Temple. The Talmud clearly demands this orientation for the recitation of the **Amidah* (Ber. 30a). Since it has not always been possible to orient the building in this direction, it became acceptable for the synagogue to be orientated as close to the ideal direction as circumstances would allow. The site on which the synagogue is to be built, according to the Tosefta (Meg. 4:23) and codified by the *posekim* (Sh. Ar., OḤ 150:2), should be the highest spot in the city, and the synagogue should also be the highest building. Jews have been unable to comply with this law in many times and places. As a result, Jews in the Middle Ages attempted to fulfill this law by erecting on the roof of the synagogue a pole or rod which would rise higher than the surrounding buildings. As long as the extension was a "built one" rather than just a simple attachment, this method of compliance was acceptable (Sh. Ar., OḤ 150:2, see Ba'er Heitev, ad loc., and Mishnah Berurah, para. 8). Rav said (Shab. 11a) that "any city whose roofs are higher than the synagogue will be ultimately destroyed, for it is written 'to exalt the house of our God' [Ezra 9:9]."

Jews generally construct their synagogue within the areas they inhabit. But as early as talmudic times some synagogues were built outside the city (see Kidd. 73b), which created a problem of personal safety. For this reason special prayers were inserted to lengthen the service, so that those who came in late could finish with the congregation and thus not have to return home alone. Among these prayers are "Blessed be the Lord for evermore…" recited during the weekday *Ma'ariv* service and the reading of *Ba-Meh Madlikin* during the Friday evening service.

Often synagogues were constructed near bodies of water. Josephus (Ant. 14:258) speaks of a custom of Hellenistic Jewish communities "who make their places of worship near the sea." Paul refers to prayer meetings held by a river where "prayer was usually made" (Acts 16:13). Perhaps the same idea which motivated the institution of the **Tashlikh* ceremony on Rosh Ha-Shanah also lay behind this custom, although the site may have been chosen to obviate the need for a *mikveh*. It has also been suggested that synagogues were built near water because the "contaminated" soil of the Diaspora would be "cleaner" near a body of water. (See Isaac Levy, bibl., p. 31 and n. 7, p. 48.)

Furnishings and Interior Design

The requirement to house the *Torah* scrolls was usually met in the form of an enclosure or closet known as the *aron kodesh* ("holy ark"). In ancient synagogues there was no permanent ark, and if there was one at all it was of a portable nature. There is evidence that the ancient custom was to house the scrolls either outside the building entirely – for reasons of safety – or in an adjoining room.

The reader's desk was placed immediately in front of the ark and sometimes below the floor level (see below, Architecture); since the ark was in an elevated position, the Talmud describes the prayer leader as *yored lifnei ha-tevah* ("he who goes down before the ark," Ta'an. 2:2).

The Torah should be read from the *bimah*, sometimes called *almemar*, an elevated platform, surrounded by a railing for safety, located at the center of the synagogue to enable the entire congregation to hear the reading and sermon properly (Sh. Ar., OḤ 150:5). The modern custom of placing the bimah at the front of the synagogue in order to create more seating space aroused much opposition (Responsa Ḥatam Sofer, OḤ 28; Meishiv Davar, OḤ, Be'ur Halakhah 150:5). In 1886 the rabbis of Hungary and Galicia issued a *ḥerem* against this practice. Nevertheless, the practice spread, especially in the U.S., even among the Orthodox who found a *hetter* ("permit") in Joseph Caro's remark that the position of the *bimah* may change "according to the place and time" (Kesef Mishnah to Yad, Tefillah, 11:3).

The Shulḥan Arukh (OḤ 150:5) specifies that the seating arrangement in the synagogue should provide for the elders to sit adjacent to the ark and facing the congregation, an arrangement which gave rise to the general desire to sit near the *mizraḥ vant* – the eastern wall – because it was the most prestigious place in the synagogue. However, commentators have since decided that this seating plan is no longer valid because people now buy seats, with the best seats going to those who can afford them. It was ruled that this provision of the Shulḥan Arukh applied when the seats were not sold but rather allocated by the community.

For the seating of women in the synagogue see *Meḥiẓah*.

Proscribed Uses of the Synagogue and Its Contents

Although not possessing the same holiness as the Temple, the rabbis have ascribed to the synagogue a holiness patterned after that of the Temple. Accordingly, the Shulḥan Arukh (OḤ 151) proscribes certain kinds of behavior in the synagogue; for example, frivolity, gossiping, eating, drinking, beautifying oneself, sleeping or napping, entering with an unsheathed knife, or to escape bad weather, or as a short cut, transacting business (other than charity and the redemption of captives), and delivering eulogies (unless for one of the city's great men). One may run going to synagogue, but on leaving one must walk, so as not to indicate a desire to get away from it (Ber. 6b).

Dirt and rubbish are not permitted to collect in the synagogue, and although one may enter with one's staff and satchel, it is first required that one clean one's shoes of mud. The upper stories of the building may be used only for purposes which do not violate its spirit as a sanctuary, and it is doubtful whether one may live on top of a synagogue. Even after a synagogue has become a ruin these regulations apply, except if specific conditions were made at the time of construction. These exemptions, however, must never result in the use of the ruin for "a degraded purpose" such as transacting business. If a private home is used as a synagogue, many of these stipulations do not hold.

A distinction in the degree of holiness is drawn between a *bet keneset* and a *bet ha-midrash*. Because Torah is studied in the *bet ha-midrash*, its sanctity is greater than that of the *bet keneset*. Yet teachers and students are allowed to eat and sleep in the *bet ha-midrash* because doing so increases the amount of time available for study. The holiness attributed to the synagogue and the analogy to the Temple led some authorities to rule that a menstruant woman (*niddah*) and a person suffering from leprosy be excluded. These views, however, were minority opinions, and the general rule was that such people were to be admitted since the actual laws of ritual impurity apply only to the Temple itself (see *Purity and Impurity, Ritual).

All objects in the synagogue acquire sanctity by virtue of the sacred purposes which they serve; therefore *halakhah* governs their use. The Shulḥan Arukh specifies that bookcases which held sacred books, the ark in which the Torah stood, and the curtain (*parokhet*) which hung in front of the ark are endowed with sanctity and, for this reason, when no longer usable must be stored away rather than destroyed (OḤ 154: 3).

The holiness of objects is determined by their proximity, in space and use, to the *Torah* scroll, the most sacred object in the synagogue. The Talmud forbids using synagogue objects in a way which would cause them to "go down" in holiness. Thus a discarded ark may not be used to make a chair on which to set the scroll – the chair's holiness being considered less than that of the ark. The reverse order of appropriation, to elevate an object in holiness, is permissible.

OWNERSHIP AND DISPOSAL OF BUILDING. The synagogue is owned by the congregation and those who contributed toward its construction. The concept of synagogue ownership in a small village differs from that in a large town or city. In the former it is assumed that there are no donations from outsiders; therefore a decision of the congregation or their representatives – the "seven good men" of the city – is sufficient in order to sell the synagogue building. But in the city the sale of the building is more difficult, it being uncertain as to whether strangers contributed to the building, and selling without their consent would deprive them of what is, in part, rightfully theirs.

Halakhah suggests ways to resolve this difficulty, e.g., selecting, at the time of construction, either a specific rabbi whose decision would be accepted by all, or reserving this power to whichever rabbi is serving when the decision must be made. It is forbidden to demolish a synagogue until another is provided to take its place, to preclude the possibility of being without a synagogue should the construction of the second building be delayed or interrupted. In the event that the first synagogue is in such a state of disrepair that it is in danger of collapsing, however, it is permitted to demolish the building and to begin construction of the new one immediately.

If a congregation decides to split into two, the holy objects must be divided between the two congregations in proportion to their membership. The rabbis, however, debated whether women and children are to be included in working out the proportions (OḤ 154; Mishnah Berurah, 59). Those who donate articles to the synagogue have the right to have their names inscribed on them. Such inscriptions are permitted only for the persons who actually gave money or contributed personal service for synagogue construction, maintenance, or beautification. Synagogue officers during whose term alteration or expansion is undertaken or completed are forbidden to inscribe their names on the improvements or additions.

IN AGGADAH

According to one talmudic tradition (Ber. 26b) *prayer is in place of the sacrificial cult. Even while the Temple was standing, prayer meetings used to take place in synagogues at the times the sacrifices were offered (see *Liturgy; **Mishmarot* and **Ma'amadot*), and after the destruction of the Temple the prayer services became a substitute for the sacrifices.

The rabbis also extended the concept of holiness which originally attached to the Temple to embrace the synagogue as well (for the halakhic manifestations of this, see above) and saw in the synagogue a substitute for that spiritual center. This idea applied even to the synagogues outside Ereẓ Israel which were seen as extraterritorial units in the foreign lands: "In the times to come the synagogues of Babylonia will be transferred to Israel" (Meg. 29a). The verse "Yet I have been for them as a little sanctuary (*mikdash me'at*) in the countries where they are come" (Ezek. 11:16) was taken to refer to synagogues (Meg. 29a), and one sage even went so far as to say that God is to be found in the synagogue (Ber. 6a), notwithstanding the accepted rabbinic theology that the whole world is full of His glory. Another sage interpreted "Lord, Thou hast been our dwelling place" (Ps. 90:1) as referring to the synagogue, thus extending the idea. One of the reasons for the esteem in which the rabbis held the synagogue was its central role in holding the community together and in perpetuating the Jewish people. Talmudic homilies by the score are aimed at encouraging attendance at synagogue. "A man's prayer is only heard in the synagogue" (Ber. 6a) and "anybody who has a synagogue in his city and does not attend there is called 'a bad neighbor' [cf. Jer. 12:14] and brings exile on himself and his children" (Ber. 8a). Furthermore, "a person who usually attends synagogue and misses a day causes God to inquire after him" and "God becomes angry when He comes to synagogue and does not find a quorum" (cf. Is. 50:2; Ber. 6a). One sage attributed the longevity of Babylonian Jews to the fact that they attended synagogue, and another recommended that one should pray simultaneously with the synagogue service if one is unable to attend (Ber. 7a, 8a).

[Raphael Posner]

ARCHITECTURE

Introduction

The synagogue is the longest surviving religious building type in the Western Hemisphere, spanning a history of over two and a half millennia. Still, due to historical circumstances and the nature of Judaism, the synagogue lacks the stylistic continuity and architectural readability of churches and mosques. Judaism was largely indifferent to the visual; its requirements regarding the synagogue were never enough to create a precise architectural program, which spurred the Jews to borrow some elements and solutions from their neighbors. The frequent migration of the Jews across the Mediterranean and the Middle East, as well as the European mainland, and their frequent political subordination to other people (host nations) also contributed to a fragmented architectural history of synagogues, particularly in terms of exterior. The different building customs, materials, and climates, as well as stipulations of the ruling population, resulted in divergent synagogue appearances.

A coherent style and codified interior space arrangement seems to have emerged only in the Polish region between the 16th and 19th centuries, when Jews lived in relative isolation. Attempts were made after the Enlightenment to create a similarly coherent genre, but this effort dissolved in the stylistic variety of 19th-century Europe and America. Twentieth-century modernism, on the other hand, washed away the stylistic particularity of synagogue architecture, and it became again an organic part of gentile architecture in terms of language.

The interior, however, has displayed a number of common features during most of synagogue history: the orientation of the Ark toward Jerusalem or the east; the separation of men and women; the duality of the Ark and *bimah*; the intimacy, relatively modest scale, and unpretentious design; the use of some specifically Jewish symbols or decoration – all of which justify the use of the term synagogue architecture.

[Rudolf Klein (2nd ed.)]

Historical Roots

In contrast to the Temple, in which the ritual was conducted inside the sanctuary by the priests only, while the rest of the worshipers were kept at a distance, the synagogue was a new type of religious building. It was based on the participation of all the faithful in a collective act of worship conducted around a focus inside the building. It had therefore to provide an ample interior space suited to the size of the congregation, well lit so that the Torah could be read and the precentor seen, and providing places for rest during the lengthy services. These considerations explain why the design of the synagogue was not found in any of the existing pagan sanctuaries of the Greco-Roman worlds. But it can be seen in the remains of the assembly hall of the Greek democracies, the *bouleuteria* or *ecclesiasteria*, in which large groups of people could gather and listen to the discussion. A further complication arose from the requirement of special accommodation for women based on a rigorous interpretation of the existence of women's galleries in the "women's court" of the Temple. This could be provided by the basilica plan, in which columns surrounded a central space, with a gallery on top of the interior porticoes. Another consideration which the synagogue architect had to take into account was the positioning of the building and its orientation. According to Tosefta *Megillah* 4:23, synagogues had to stand on the highest point of a Jewish town; another tradition, attested in Josephus (Ant., 14:258) and Acts (16:13), was the building of synagogues on the bank of a river or the shore of the sea. At Gush Halav in Galilee, for instance, one synagogue was built on top of the town hill, the other in a valley near the spring. The synagogue of Chorazin stands on a high terrace, those of Capernaum and Caesarea near the shore of the sea. In the matter of orientation, the rule implied in Daniel 6:11 that one should pray toward Jerusalem was interpreted in various manners.

The Earliest Synagogues

There is epigraphical evidence for the existence of a synagogue at Schedia, near Alexandria, in the time of Ptolemy Euergetes III (246–21 B.C.E.) and in Jerusalem before its destruction (the synagogue of Theodotus, possibly referred to in Acts 6:9 as the "synagogue of the Freedmen"). Archaeological evidence of synagogues has been discovered in the two Herodian fortresses of Masada and Herodium. At Masada the synagogue passed through two stages, the first probably from the time of Herod, the second certainly from the time of Zealot occupation. In the earlier, the E-shaped arrangement of columns is reminiscent of the transverse row of the Galilean synagogues; in the later synagogue at Masada a corner of the building was separated by a wall from the rest, probably to serve as a receptacle for the Torah scrolls. In both stages of development there were stepped benches along three of the walls, leaving the wall opposite Jerusalem for the entrance. The Herodium synagogue is similar in plan.

The Early Synagogues

This group includes the synagogues in the Galilee dating from the third and fourth centuries C.E. Over 15 have so far been identified. They are rectangular in plan, the largest (Capernaum) measuring 360 square meters (428 square yards), the smallest 110 square meters (131 square yards). The usual proportion of length to width is 11:10. The buildings are built of stone ashlars and paved with stone. The gallery, which ran along three sides of the building (excluding the facade), rested on two rows of columns going lengthwise and one row across. A staircase giving access to the gallery was provided outside the building. Some of the synagogues had an annex probably used for the storage of the (movable) Torah ark. Stone benches ran along two or three sides. In some synagogues there was a porch outside the facade, in others a terrace accessible by staircase. In some cases a courtyard surrounded by porticoes was adjacent to the synagogue. This might have served as a place of rest during the services, or as a sleeping place for wayfarers.

With regard to orientation, the early type of synagogue presents a unique feature: the facades of these buildings are toward Jerusalem. It follows that if the worshipers entered through the main doors (usually three) in this facade, and if they had to face the Holy City in prayer, they had to make an about-turn after entering. In these synagogues no trace of a fixed place for the Torah ark has been found, and it can be assumed that it was a movable object, carried or wheeled in for the services. The architectural origins of this type of synagogue, apart from its general basilica character common to the whole Greco-Roman world, are to be found in the Syro-Roman type of buildings. The architects of the synagogues were probably trained in the Syrian schools of architecture. We know from inscriptions the names of a few of them, in particular Yose the son of Levi "the craftsman" who built at Kefar Biram and Almah. In other cases it is not certain whether those who are mentioned as "making" (*abdun*) a synagogue were the builders or the donors. One feature is noticeable in synagogues of all types: no one seems to have been able to afford to donate the whole building. The various parts were offered by separate donors, and the gift of each was duly recorded in a column, lintel, or "chair of Moses." The execution of the buildings was in the hands of local craftsmen, who introduced a strong Oriental element into the classical orders (mainly Corinthian) of the columns ordered by the architect. The architectural ornament of the exterior facade of these buildings was rich and varied. The builders, it seemed, were interested in proclaiming the importance of the building in the life of the community, not only by its lofty position but also by the splendor of its decoration. Thus not only were the door and window lintels decorated with molded profiles, but they were often surmounted by conches set in a gable to which a rich floral decoration was added. The facade of the two-storied buildings was surmounted with a gable of the type

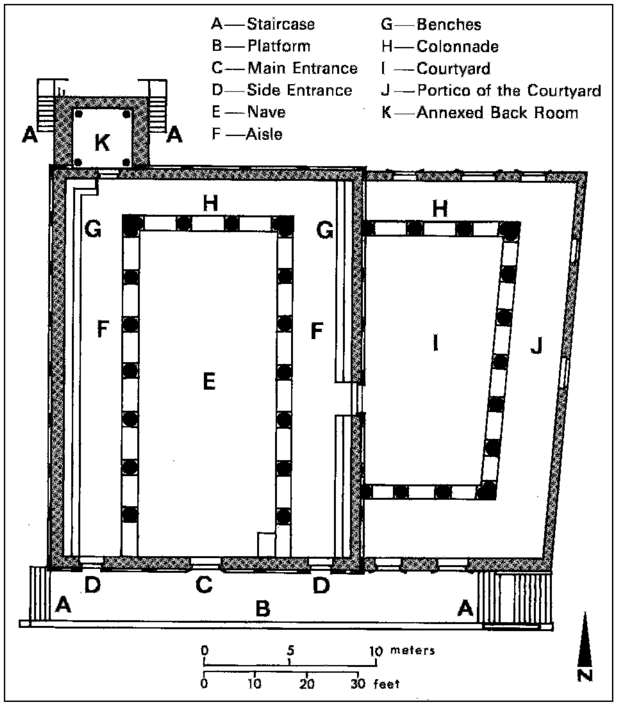

Drawing 1. Early type synagogue at Capernaum, c. third century C.E. After Encyclopaedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land, *Ramat Gan, 1970.*

known as "Syrian." It consisted of a triangular pediment with its base cut into by an arch. It seems probable that the corners of the building had decorations in the form of lions or eagles. Some of the lintels are of special interest because they had in the center a relief of a wreath held by two winged figures. Occasionally the consoles flanking the doors were made in the form of palm trees. In contrast with this rich, almost flamboyant, exterior, the interior of the building was kept deliberately bare. It was lit by windows above the doors, the one facing the source of all light, Jerusalem, being the largest. The columns within the building were smooth and stood on high pedestals; the double-corner columns at the meeting of the three rows had heart-shaped bases in section. The capitals were of a simplified Corinthian order. The architects, it appears, were interested in avoiding within the synagogue anything which could distract the worshipers while at prayer. One exceptional feature in this respect was the richly decorated frieze; scholars are still discussing the exact position of this architectural feature. Most of them are inclined to place it over the wall of the women's gallery. The frieze usually consisted of a running garland of acanthus or vine scrolls, with various images and symbols set within the medallions. The symbols include a number of Jewish religious objects, such as the *menorah*, the *shofar, etrog*, and *lulav*, and the holy ark. Geometric figures such as the hexagram (Shield of David) or the pentagram (Seal of Solomon), and the fruits of the land, in particular the "seven species" (Deut. 8:8), were also commonly used. Sometimes the tolerant attitude of the communities went so far as to include images derived from the world of Greek mythology. At Capernaum a griffin and a capricorn were included in the decorations, while the artists at Chorazin went still further and featured such pagan elements as Hercules with his club, a centaur, a Medusa, a human face, and a vintage scene. Occasionally, even the symbol of the Romans, the eagle, was represented on synagogue lintels. All these were, however, in relief; the only three-dimensional sculpture depicted lions (found, e.g., at Chorazin). It is clear that these symbols were used in a general and non-pagan sense.

The Transitional Type

In the second half of the third century C.E., architects attempted modifications of various kinds. Sometimes these were made in existing buildings; a typical case is the synagogue of Bet She'arim in which an extra structure was built against the central door, blocking it. The two side doors were left for the entrance, but a new focus of worship was evidently created in the direction of Jerusalem. Other synagogues show a number of architectural experiments. In one of the early-type synagogues, that of Arbel (Irbid), a niche was included in the wall facing the facade, presumably as a fixed receptacle for the scrolls of the Law. At Eshtemoa (el-Samu) in Judea, the problem of the relation of facade versus entrance was solved by changing the traditional plan. One of the long walls of the rectangle faced Jerusalem, while the entrance was through doors made in the short wall. A niche in the wall facing Jerusalem served as a focal point of worship. The same arrangement was adopted in the earlier of the two superimposed synagogues at Caesarea. At Hammath near Tiberias, two synagogues were excavated. One has a basilica plan, ending in a straight south wall – the direction of Jerusalem – with the entrance from the north. At a later date a square room was attached to the center of the south wall, to serve as Torah ark. Over this fourth-century synagogue a pure basilica type was built in the sixth century. The other synagogue at Hammath (excavated in 1924) also had a basilica plan, ending in a straight wall, with a small niche flanked with small columns in its center. The same arrangement (without the niche, as far as we know) was found at Yafi'a near Nazareth. Here the synagogue was apparently oriented west, with its facade east. If it is assumed that, being in the territory of the Tribe of Zebulun, Yaf'ia was presumed (in accordance with Gen. 49:13) to be in the coastal area, this would mean that the builders followed the earlier plan, with the entrance facing the Holy City. Another synagogue of the transitional type, at Usifiyya (Isfiya) on Mount Carmel, also had a plain back wall with no sign of niche or apse, but its entrance was likewise to the west – with the east wall orientated toward Jerusalem. The transitional type also introduced another innovation in the architecture of the synagogues – mosaic pavements which now replaced the former stone slabs. These pavements were first decorated with geometric designs only, but from the fourth century onward (as we know from a saying of R. Abun recorded in the Jerusalem Talmud (Av. Zar. 3:4, 42d) figurative drawings were permitted. Hammath has the earliest example of the standard type of synagogue pavement, figuring the signs of the Zodiac, with the sun in the center of the circle and the seasons in the four corners. The Zodiac circle was placed in the center of the pavement, with a representation of the ark flanked by two *menorot* beyond it. While the latter image is self-explanatory, it has been suggested that the Zodiac, representing the regular succession of months and seasons, also stood for the fixed holidays and the succession of priestly *mishmarot* and *ma'amadot* in the Temple.

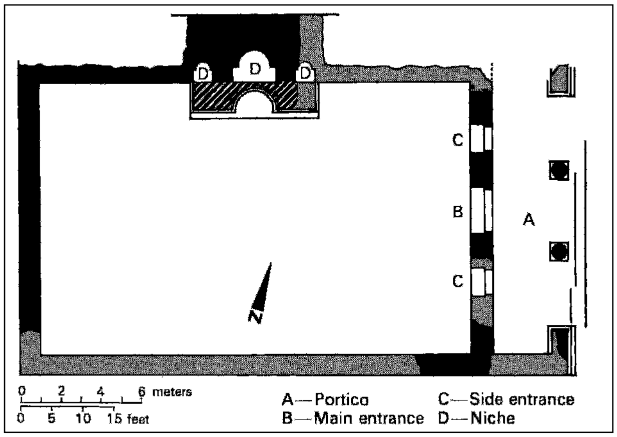

Drawing 2. Synagogue of the transitional period at Eshtemoa, c. fourth century C.E., Ibid.

Fifth-Century Synagogues

A new type may be said to have emerged in the fifth century. This dating is confined by the fact that the synagogue of Gerasa was rebuilt as a church in 530 C.E. Once established, this type continued to be built until the eighth century. This later type was based on the pure basilica plan of the same kind as that used in contemporary churches. The building was elongated, with an apse pointing in the direction of Jerusalem. It sometimes had a court (atrium) and forecourt (narthex). The entrance was through three doors in the facade opposite Jerusalem. The interior was divided into a central nave and two aisles by two rows of columns. At the apse end a space was separated from the rest by a chancel screen with columns and chancel slabs. Within, there is sometimes a lower space, probably in order to fulfill the verse "Out of the depths I cry to Thee O Lord" (Ps. 130:1). In the apse, which served as a receptacle for the Torah ark, was another depression, used either as a place for keeping worn-out sacred texts (*genizah*) or for the community chest. The exterior of the building was kept plain and usually had a staircase leading to the women's gallery above the aisles. The lack of external ornament in these later-type synagogues is explained by the fact that they were erected under Byzantine rule, at a time when harsh anti-Jewish laws forbade the erection of new synagogues and only allowed old ones to be repaired when they threatened to collapse. The law was not strictly observed, but certain precautions had to be taken; hence the inconspicuous outer aspect of the synagogues. As far as can be judged, the splendor of the buildings was now concentrated in the interior. This is shown by the mosaic pavements and the elaborate marble capitals and chancel screens. Naturally, plans of these latter synagogues are not identical, but many of them, Bet Alfa, Jericho, Naaran, seem to have followed a standard plan. There were minor changes: at Naaran the porch was altered in shape because of the exigencies of the site; at Gerasa the apse was square in plan, not circular. At Hammat Gader the synagogue was hidden inside a building complex, with indirect entrances from two sides, but the interior of the building was in the basilica plan. At Maon (Nirim), only part of the nave was paved with mosaics, while the aisles and the southern part of the nave had a stone pavement and served as a kind of ambulator. At Gaza the synagogue had apparently a series of additional aisles. In the design of the mosaic pavements of three synagogues of this later type, there is a combination of the Torah ark motif and the Zodiac, with biblical scenes from stories in the Bible: at Bet Alfa there is a representation of the Offering of Isaac; at Gerasa, Noah's Ark; and Daniel in the lions' den at Naaran. In these cases the Jews of that time do not seem to have had any qualms about treading on biblical imagery, including, in one case (at Bet Alfa), a hand symbolizing God. At the same time they seem to have had much more respect for the written explanations added to the figures. At Naaran, for instance, when the images were removed as offensive, the writing accompanying each of them was carefully preserved. Other mosaics in synagogues follow the prevailing Byzantine trend toward a closely knit design that divided the surface into a series of medallions. The basic element is usually an amphora flanked by peacocks; a twisted vine trellis issued from the mouth of the jug, and formed medallions with images of animals inside them. This decoration occurs at Maon and Gaza; both pavements are the product of the same Gaza factory. In the Gaza pavement (508/9 C.E.) the image of King David as Orpheus is added, while at Maon (c. 530) there are representations of animals to which a wedge-shaped part has been added, with specifically Jewish symbols, such as a *menorah* with lions guarding it, a palm tree, a *shofar*, an *etrog* and a *lulav*. In later synagogues (Hammat Gader, Jericho, and En-Gedi), there seems to have been an increasing reluctance to use representations of living beings: at Hammat Gader there are only two lions, and in Jericho all images are absent; at En-Gedi the designs have been replaced by an inscription. The only synagogues which carry actual dates are those of Gaza and Bet Alfa (518–27 C.E.). Of the artists, only the names of the makers of the Bet Alfa pavement have been preserved: Marinos and his son Hananiah. It is interesting to note that the same two artists worked on the pavement of a synagogue which was apparently Samaritan at Bet-Shean, not far from Bet Alfa. As could be presumed concerning the Samaritans, who were restricted in their biblical lore to the Written Law, the ornaments were much more austere than those in the Jewish synagogues: only the ark of the Law and flora or geometric ornaments were allowed. The same is true of the Samaritan synagogue at Shaalbim.

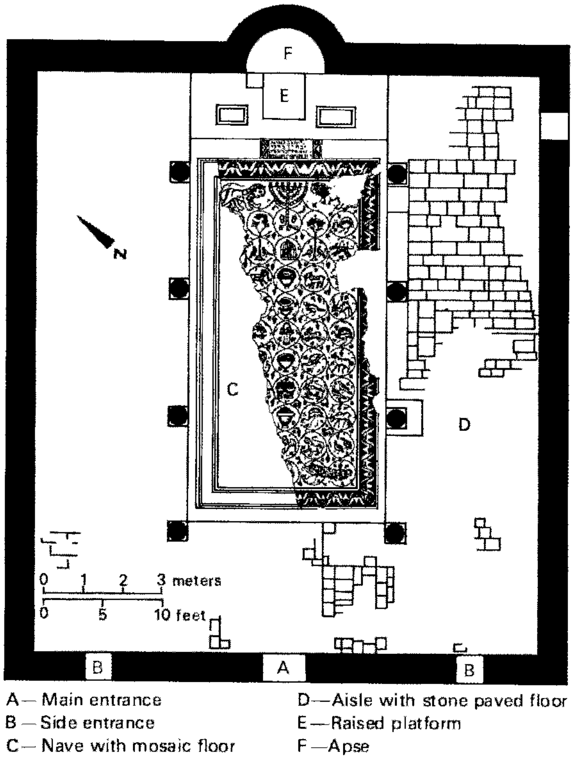

Drawing 3. Late type synagogue at Maon, c. sixth century C.E., Ibid.

Outside Ereẓ Israel

The finds of synagogues in the Diaspora cover a wide geographical and chronological range, from the Hellenistic to the Byzantine. Among the earliest is one at Delos, which must antedate 69 B.C.E., and one of the latest that of Aegina, sixth century C.E. On the whole the development of the Diaspora synagogue follows the same lines as those of Ereẓ Israel. The three earliest of the list, Delos, Priene, and Miletus, follow the basilica plan; at Priene there is a square apse and at Miletus none; in all cases the synagogues are built within a group of buildings and provided with a forecourt. The second-century synagogue of Sardis (Asia Minor), recently excavated, is the largest and most sumptuous of those of the Diaspora, as befits the wealthy community it served. It is integrated within the central marketplace of the town, together with a gymnasium and other public buildings, thus indicating the status of the Jews of Sardis. The synagogue consists of a courtyard and an elongated basilica, with an apse at its western end and the entrances at the east. Thus the elders sitting on semicircular benches within the apse faced Jerusalem, but the position of the rest of the congregation is in dispute. The synagogue had a reading table set in front of the apse and two raised platforms between the doors of the east side. The various ritual objects were beautifully worked. Of the later synagogues, one of the most famous is that of Dura Europos on the Euphrates. Two buildings were found there, one superimposed on the other; the later one is dated 244/5 C.E. They are similar in plan, with a broad central room and three entrances on the east side, a niche for the ark of the Law in the west (facing Jerusalem), and benches round the walls. The synagogue of Dura Europos was hidden between other houses and had an indirect entrance, which was even more obscure in the later building. This synagogue was decorated by famous frescoes; another possible indication of a liberal attitude was the absence of a women's gallery or a special room for the women. Of the synagogues of the fourth century in the Diaspora, three are outstanding: that of Ostia, in which the original arrangements resemble those at Sardis, had a semicircular *bimah* facing Jerusalem. The entrances were later changed by the addition of an aediculum to house the ark. The synagogue of Naro (Hammam Lif, in Africa) was biaxial, with the main entrance on the south and a subsidiary entrance on the west. There was a small interior apse with seats, a special room for the "instruments," a *bimah*, and a room for women. The principal donor was a woman, Julia. This synagogue is distinguished by a richly decorated mosaic pavement with images of animals and plants. The synagogue of Apamea (392 C.E.) was apparently entered from the side, while that at Aegina is a typical basilica.

[Michael Avi-Yonah]

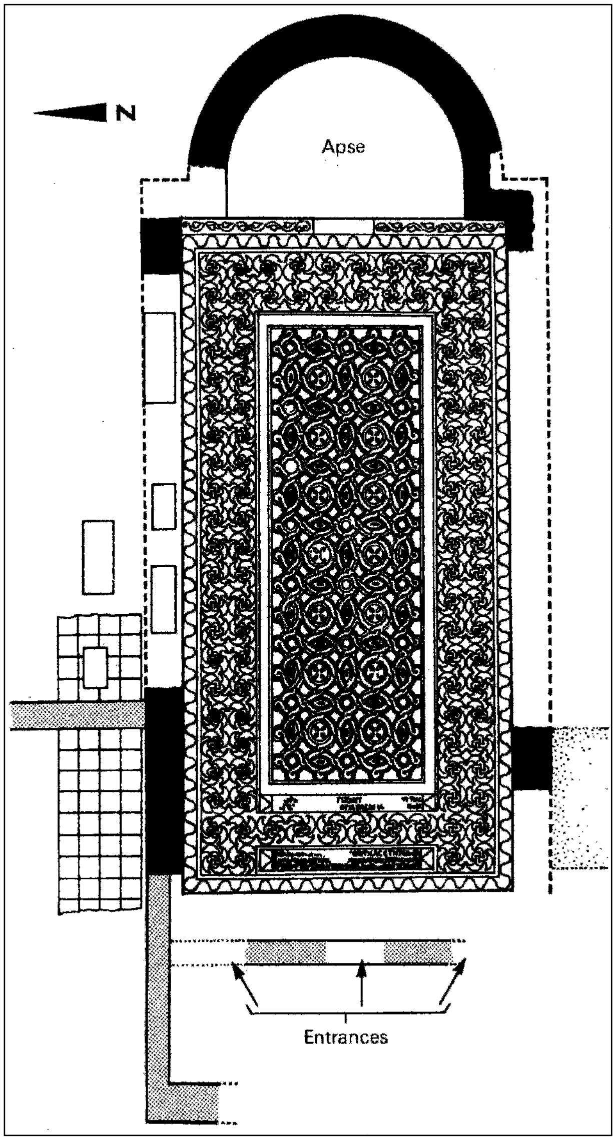

Drawing 4. The Theodoros synagogue in Aegina, Greece, fourth century C.E. From R. Wischnitzer, The Architecture of the European Synagogue, *Philadelphia, 1964.*

From the Middle Ages to the Emancipation

The first synagogues known to modern science in Ashkenazi space emerged concomitantly with the rising prosperity of European lands during the Romanesque period, in the 11th century. This was also the period when Christian-based European antisemitism appeared. In medieval conditions Jews could hardly follow halakhic requirements for the location and design of synagogues. Compromises characterize this period, in which great ingenuity is displayed in creating a space for Jewish worship.

The medieval Jewish communities of the period were small, and this determined the intimate scale of synagogue buildings, which sometimes were hardly more than rooms set aside for public prayer. Moreover, the insecurity of Jewish life, and the frequent threat and fear of the surroundings, were factors which determined building plans. In some places regulations by the Church authority or by the secular government often prohibited the building of new synagogues, and sometimes even the enlargement of old buildings. Further, while Jewish customs decreed that synagogues had to be higher than the surrounding buildings, ecclesiastical regulations required that they be lower than Christian places of worship. Frequently, such laws were spitefully interpreted. It can therefore be assumed that the tradition that grew up of lowering the synagogue floor below ground level was not simply in accordance with Psalm 130:1, referred to above ("Out of the depths I cry"), but was also the result of the need to increase the height of the interior without transgressing the law restricting the external height.

Up until the 18th century the Jews endeavored to retain a degree of external unpretentiousness in their synagogue buildings, however splendid they were internally. This phenomenon is found throughout the lands of the Jewish Diaspora – and the few exceptions (such as the "Altneuschul of Prague) are generally the product of a temporary relaxation on the limitations.

The synagogue interior presents a peculiar duality, the existence of two spatial foci characterized by the interrelationship between the Torah ark and the *bimah*. In many of the Diaspora communities of long standing, the ark appears in the form of a small apse or a niche in the east wall oriented theoretically to Jerusalem. In fact the ark is always facing east, even if Jerusalem is to the south or southeast, unlike the *qibla* in mosques, which strictly follows the direction of Mecca. Jerusalem in the synagogue architecture of Europe becomes a somewhat fictional direction. Although the ark housing the scrolls was one of the most salient features of the building, it did not as yet dominate the interior completely, for the synagogue was also a "house of assembly," a meeting place for the congregation. In the synagogue interior there is another focal item, namely the *bimah* – the dais from which the service is conducted. The relative proximity of two foci in one interior, the ark situated in the east wall and the *bimah* at the center, and the search for a balance between them constitutes the basic feature of the synagogue interior. The relationship between the two and their reciprocal relation to the entire interior space is the principal conceptual and ideological factor in synagogue design. This spatial duality reflects the existential duality of Diaspora Jews who lived between their ancient tradition (and the idea of the return to Ereẓ Israel) and the actual geographical location and indigenous gentile culture.

Later, when Europe was dominated by the late Renaissance and Baroque styles, the ark attained an importance expressed by its size and by the high level of its artistic execution. It was in this period that monumental built-in arks were created, such as can be seen in the Diaspora communities in modern times. Existing synagogues began to be rebuilt and fitted with arks in the new style. Generally, however, European Jewry was conservative in matters of form, still clinging to earlier cultural conceptions, and using medieval idioms while Renaissance architecture was at its height.

The segregation of sexes during prayer, introduced in ancient times and necessitating a women's section, attached but separate, continued in the synagogues of the Middle Ages. In the early synagogues a gallery sometimes served this function. Often the place allotted to women was a separate hall on the same level as the main space, as at Worms. Sometimes the women's section was below the level of the main congregation hall or even actually beneath it as, for example, in Provençal synagogues. In the synagogue of Don Samuel ha-Levi Abulafia in Toledo (subsequently the Church of El-Transito), built in the 14th century, there was an upper gallery alongside the rectangular hall. It was only at the end of the 16th century, when the presence of the woman in the synagogue became an accepted fact, that the women's section acquired full importance. Synagogues began to be built with well-planned women's accommodations, the first such being the major synagogues of Venice, and the Veneto and other Italian communities, and the synagogue of R. Isaac Jacobowicz at Cracow, Poland. Generally, in the medieval period, the *ezrat nashim*, as the women's section was named, was simply added to the existing building as an external "lean-to." The gallery (or galleries) pitched internally over a row of columns is a later development, of which the earliest famous example is the Spanish-Portuguese synagogue of Amsterdam (1685).

The synagogues of medieval Central Europe fall into two main types: synagogues with a twin-naved hall and those with a vaulted or timber-roofed single nave.

Similarly to Antiquity, Jewry borrowed a type of building suitable to its needs not from the Church but from the existing secular forms. The choice was usually a building which was as far as possible removed from the monumental religious character of the Christian church. Jews took as their models town halls or monastic refectories, which were usually vaulted structures with either a single or double nave, the latter distinguished by a row of columns carrying the intermediate portion of the double span. Some scholars pointed out that when copying the ribbed ceilings prevalent at the time, a fifth rib was sometimes added. This helped perhaps to avoid the cruciform vaulting but also contributed to the overall centralizing space-form tendency. However, there are churches to be found having this fifth rib also, but rarely.

THE MEDIEVAL DOUBLE-NAVED HALL IN CENTRAL EUROPE. The oldest building surviving in its original form until **Kristallnacht* (November 9–10, 1938) was the renowned synagogue of Worms. Its construction began in 1034, but the structure underwent a fundamental change at the end of the 12th century, when buildings in the city were marked by a transition from the early to the late Romanesque style. The cathedral of Worms was being built in the same period, and some architectural connection exists between the two buildings, especially in the details of the carvings, the column capitals, and the characteristic Romanesque adornments. The internal space arrangement, however, differs radically. While the cathedral shows a tripartite division – a larger nave and two narrower and lower isles – the synagogue avoids this arrangement by having two equal naves. The Worms synagogue is the prototype of the double-naved synagogue, characteristic of medieval central Europe. The ground plan is a simple rectangle in

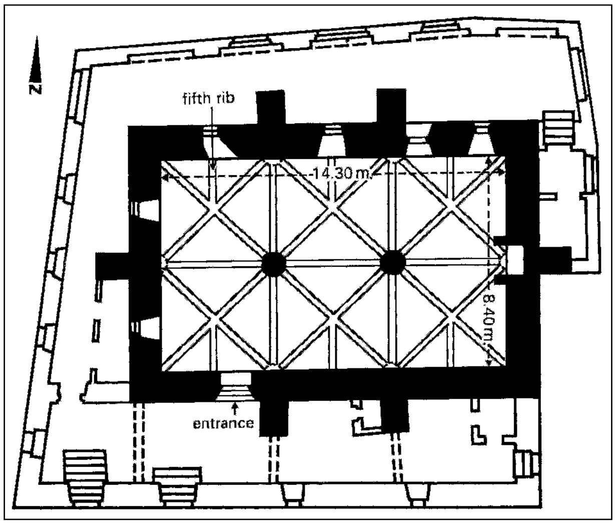

Drawing 5. The Altneuschul of Prague showing the five rib vaulting over each bay, 14th century. From R. Wischnitzer, The Architecture of the European Synagogue, *Philadelphia, 1964.*

which two centrally positioned Romanesque columns support the six groined and cross-vaulted bays. The columns and their capitals, and the portal whose details and decoration are identical with those of the columns (also the chandeliers, known from description only), may have been the work of a Jewish artist. An inscription preserved for nearly 800 years on one of the columns reads: "The pride of the two columns/He wrought diligently/Also the scroll of the capital;/And hung the lamps." The two-naved hall is a centralizing space, the *bimah* being placed midway between the two columns. The women's section attached to the main building's north wall at the same level is smaller and was built in 1213, not long after the completion of the second building of the main hall. This section is also a particular instance of a double-naved hall. The four bays are roofed by four groined cross-vaults, subdivided by the four arches supported on wall-corbels and converging on the capital of the central column. As a *bimah* was not needed in the women's section, it was possible to achieve spatial unity here by using only one column.

A double-naved hall of centralizing design, with four bays around a single pillar, was built in the 14th century for the Eger (today Cheb) synagogue in Bohemia. (It was destroyed in 1856.) In Germany itself few traces of this type remain. The interior and structure of the synagogue and porch at Regensburg, destroyed by order of the town council after the expulsion of 1519, are known from two engravings by the 16th-century artist Albert Altdorfer. The synagogue in Regensburg has three central columns which support eight bays of groined cross-vaults. A similar arrangement characterizes the great synagogue of Buda on the Castle Hill of Budapest, but with ribbed vaults built in the 14th century, severely damaged during the siege of Buda in 1686 when the town was liberated from the Turks and the Jews were expelled. This is the largest medieval synagogue known to modern science, and it was discovered after heavy bombardments during World War II, excavated and reburied in the Cold War era.

The second best-known central European synagogue besides Worms is the old synagogue in Prague, the Altneuschul (literally, the Old New Synagogue, or *Al tenai*, "on condition"). The very narrow windows cast a pall on the interior in keeping with the traditional folk stories woven around this synagogue. The Altneuschul was built in the 13th century and is unique in the Middle Ages for its impressive exterior – so different from the other synagogues of that period. This can be explained by the fact that the building was built in the heart of a large Jewish quarter and there was no fear of offending a hostile environment. It's rectangular plan and double-naved arrangement with two central columns is similar in layout to that of the Worms synagogue, but the vaults and arches are pointed, of rib and panel construction, five ribs to each vault. Only one other synagogue with similar fifth-rib vaulting is known – the double bay, single-nave building at Miltenberg on the Main.

The Old Synagogue (Alte-Schul or Stara Boznica) at Kazimierz, Cracow, was built under the direct inspiration of the Prague Altneuschul in terms of six-bay arrangement, in the second half of the 15th century. This is the largest still-standing medieval synagogue. It is also impressive from the outside with its Renaissance Polish parapet added after the fire in 1557. The *ezrat nashim* is also coupled to the men's prayer room with small windows on the western and northern sides.

THE SINGLE-CELL HALL IN CENTRAL EUROPE. Another type of synagogue building in central Europe in the Middle Ages was the vaulted single-cell hall, i.e., a structure consisting of one nave. There were, of course, timber-roofed synagogues without stone vaults, often with open woodwork, in rare cases with wood panel ceilings. The best-known single-nave synagogue, without stone vault and with visible roof trusses, was at Erfurt. Many were, however, proper stone-vaulted Gothic single-cell buildings. Among the few that still exist, or existed up to World War II, were Bamberg, Miltenberg, Leipnick, and also the still existing Pinkas-Schul in Prague ghetto first mentioned in 1492 and the newly renovated synagogue in Maribor (formerly Marburg a/d Drau) built probably in 1190, in the northeast of present-day Slovenia. The rest of the medieval single-cell hall type synagogues are known from records, drawings, and documents. They developed particularly in Bohemia and Galicia.

In time, throughout central Europe, synagogues began to show the influence of the non-Jewish environment. The ark in particular was influenced by the form of the altar in Catholic churches, and this influence later became common to all the European Jewish communities. German Jewry continued to live and create in earlier cultural conditions. The longitudinal axis was later often enhanced by the addition of the women's accommodation alongside the main building. It usually had small windows along the full length of the interior. These late medieval rectangular synagogues were equipped with built-in arks in a niche or small apse. The *bimah* remained in its central position. Direct descendants of the medieval single-cell hall type synagogue are the Renaissance and Baroque single-cell synagogues, like the ones in Trebic and Holesov in the Czech Republic.

In the central European area the change from the medieval to the Renaissance style exerted a relatively minor influence on the scale and space conception of synagogues and influenced mainly their architectural language.

The Meisel (Meysel) Synagogue in Prague was built in 1592 under a special license granted by Emperor Rudolph II to Mordecai Meisel in recognition of his philanthropic activities. The Meisel Synagogue was burned down completely in 1689 and rebuilt two years later on a basilical plan. The wide nave was barrel-vaulted with lunettes, and the two flanking galleried aisles were cross-vaulted. The building, in which characteristic early Renaissance elements and Gothic forms are intermingled, is a deviation from the previous practice. The Klauz, also in Prague, was built at the end of the 16th century and altered in the 17th. It was barrel-vaulted and stuccoed, with plant scroll and flower ornamentation in the local Renaissance idiom. The stylistic hesitancy of these two examples arose from the architectural setting of Prague, and its outstanding Gothic and Baroque traditions.

The Remo synagogue of Cracow-Kazimierz also falls into the category of the single-cell hall, built on the edge of the Jewish cemetery as a private prayer house in 1553 under special royal dispensation by Israel Isserles, head of the Cracow Jewish community and father of Moses *Isserles (Rema). The initial synagogue, possibly made of wood, burned down and was rebuilt in masonry in 1556–7, standing until 1940, when the Nazis burned it down. It was re-erected and serves as the synagogue of the Cracow Jewish community.

Between 1556 and 1563 the High Synagogue (Wysoka Boznica) was built in Kazimierz over a row of shops. Like the Visoka Sinagoga in Prague, it has no direct access from the ground floor, but via the staircase of the adjacent building.

In 1644 the Isaac synagogue (Ajzykova Boznica) of R. Isaac Jacobowicz was built. The architect was the Italian Francesco Olivieri, who designed many other buildings in Cracow. It had a western women's gallery over the entrance hall, screened off from the main hall by an elegant arcade on Tuscan columns. The structure was barrel-vaulted with high lunettes.

The synagogue of R. Isaac Nachmanovich in Lvov was built in 1582. It is a typical Polish Renaissance synagogue with a square, lunetted, monastic vault. This type of design was repeated in Poland in synagogues at Szczebrzeszyn (end of the 16th century), Zamosc (17th century), and Gusyatin (beginning of 18th century).

In Bohemia and Moravia the same type of square synagogue gained acceptance and spread to Germany (like the timber synagogues from Poland, for which see below) with one of the waves of immigrants at the beginning of the 18th century. These buildings, too, more particularly in Bohemia, were built and decorated in the pronounced Baroque style of south Germany and Austria. In 1757 a synagogue resembling the above was built in the town of Kuttenplan, situated in the center of the Jewish settlement of western Bohemia. The floor of the hall was still below the level of the street, as tradition dictated. A similar synagogue was erected in 1764 at Koenigswart, and other buildings of the same kind were built in many towns of that region. The synagogue in the town of Neuzedlisch (Nove-Sedliste) was built in 1786. It shows the Austro-Bohemian Baroque characteristic of the middle of the century and contained an ark resembling a Catholic high altar. The women's accommodation had two stories built as part of the original plan.

THE FOUR-PILLARED OR NINE-BAY HALL POLISH SYNAGOGUE AND ITS SPREAD TO CENTRAL EUROPE. Unlike the gradual change from the medieval to the Renaissance and post-Renaissance in central and western Europe, in eastern Europe these centuries witnessed the most dramatic change in synagogue design, the introduction of the four-pillared hall, also called the nine-bay arrangement. This type represents the apex of synagogue design before the Enlightenment. This arrangement can be found in stone/brick and also in timber structure. It started to appear in Poland in Renaissance times and spread gradually all over central and central-eastern Europe – Moravia, Hungary – and it was built in the eastern parts of the Hapsburg Empire as late as mid-19th century, as in Huszt, today Ukraine.

In eastern Europe, especially in Poland, the historical circumstances differed from the Renaissance and Baroque conditions of Bohemia and Moravia described above. The isolation of the Jews from the mainstream European environment, already perceptible at the end of the Middle Ages, grew. Jewry created a world of its own in the midst of Polish society. Within this Jewish region an independent art also arose. At first this was of a folk character, which expressed itself in decorative painting and in various arts and crafts, penetrating eventually into the building crafts.

The four-pillared or nine-bay arrangement can be ascribed to the influence of Renaissance central spaces, but in the hands of Jewish craftsmen and rabbis it became a genre of its own, clearly distinguishable from earlier centralized buildings, like Roman and Early Christian mausolea, Byzantine four-pillared churches on a square plan, Crusader "temple-churches," and baptisteries employing the columned or pillared "space-within-space" layout. In synagogue design the principal question was the placement of the *bimah* and giving it architectural emphasis. The advantage of the nine-bay arrangement was the connection of the *bimah* with the building's shell in a firm manner, by placing the *bimah* in the internal space formed by the four pillars. Thus, the bimah was integrated into the structural system of the building – pillars, vaulting, and buttressing – creating a four-pillared sub-space within the shell of the building.

Until mid-19th century this type spread over neighboring countries and is to be found today in Mikulov (Czech

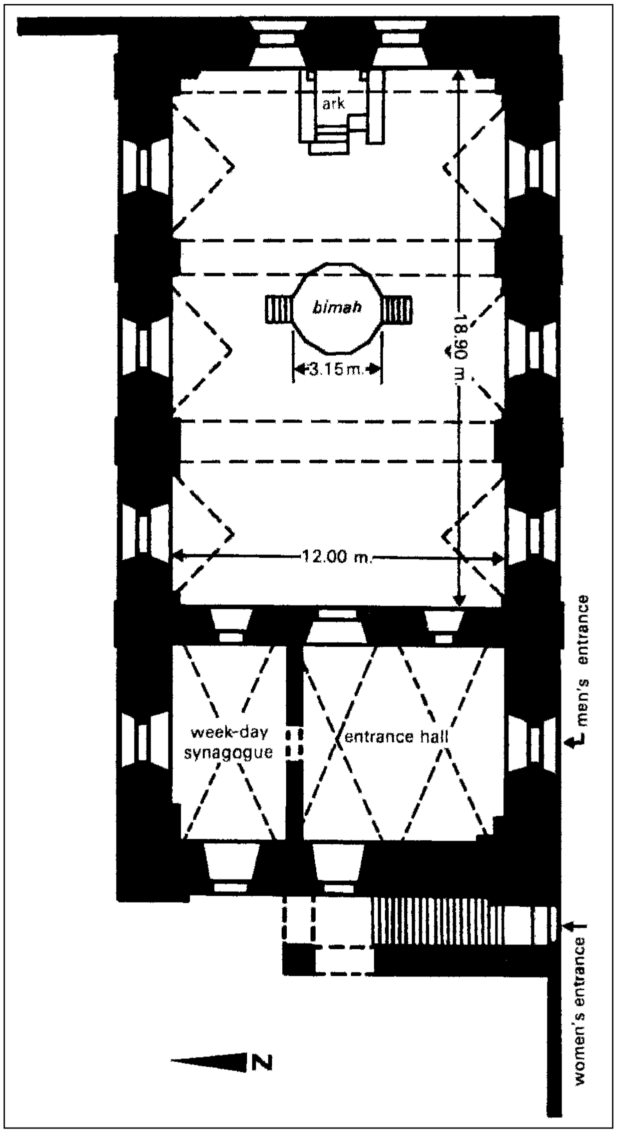

Drawing 6. The Isaac Jacobowicz synagogue at Kazimierz in Cracow, 1644. From R. Wischnitzer, The Architecture of the European Synagogue, *Philadelphia, 1964.*

Republic), Mád, Apostag, Bonyhád (Hungary), etc. The synagogue in Mikulov is an interesting case: it possesses the four columns, but they are very close to each other – there is even no real *bimah* among them and the vaulting has only four Baroque domical bays. This arrangement reinforces speculation, along with the similar timber structure, about the four pillars as representations of the divine throne, because here they are not functional.

In parallel to the nine-bay arrangement with unequal spans (a-b-a rhythm, in which b is smaller than a) described above, a less tightly knit layout type was in use in which the four supporting pillars which contained the *bimah* divided the hall into nine equal bays. The Vorstadt synagogue of Lvov and the synagogue at Zholkva are the most characteristic examples of this type of hall. This type is exemplified by Rzeszow (Reia), Maciejow, Vilna, Nowogrodek, Lutzk, Lancut, and other places.

The four-pillared synagogue can be considered one of the highlights of synagogue architecture. Its validity can be seen in the fact that many of the contemporary and later wooden synagogues were designed with four timber-posts surrounding a *bimah*. This was structurally superfluous, as timber can bridge relatively large spans. It is also interesting to note the prevalence of similar concepts in the vernacular synagogue architecture of far-away North Africa. The four-pillared, stone-vaulted 14th-century synagogue of Tomar, Portugal, has different proportions, but still reflects the basic idea of the four-pillar plan.

The exterior appearance of these buildings reflected both local conditions and influences of the architecture of the period. Many of the nine-bay synagogues, especially those which stood outside the city walls, were built as fortresses, as clearly expressed in the elevations. These included a roof surrounded by a fortified parapet equipped with loopholes and sometimes with small towers, as part of the arcaded attic-story typical of the Polish Renaissance. This exterior appeared in the Vorstadt (suburban) synagogue of Lvov, and in the Zholkva, Lutzk, Pinsk, and other 17th-century synagogues. These features were adopted for the needs of defense against the Cossacks or the Tatars.

Location of the synagogue in medieval and early modern times shows a great variety. When located in the core of a medieval town, it appears usually in the courtyard well hidden from the street façade, like the two synagogues in Sopron (formerly Ödenburg, in Hungary). But if the synagogue stands in a Jewish quarter it may have a quite exposed location like the Altneuschul in Prague. In some cases the synagogue may be

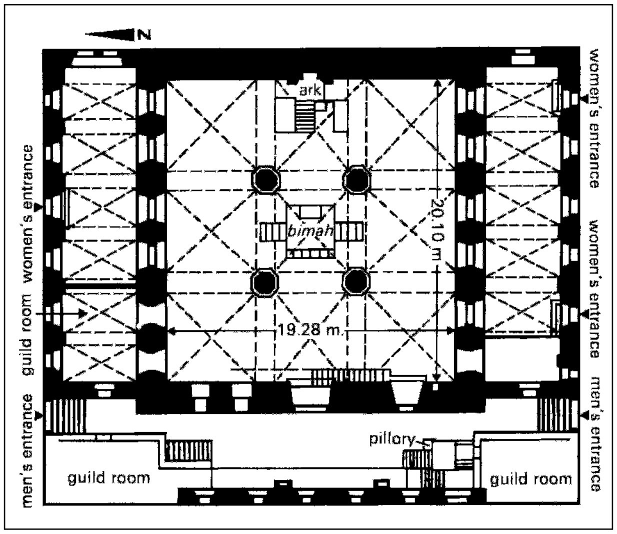

Drawing 7. The fortress-type Vorstadt synagogue in Lvov. Unusual features include two guild rooms on either side of the entrance, and a pillory. After A. Grotte, "Deutsche, boehmische und polnische Synagogentypen vom XI. *Bis Anfang des* XIX. *Jahrhunderts,"* MGEJK, VII–VIII, *Frankfurt on the Main.*

located on the city wall, like the medieval synagogue in Maribor or the Stara Boznica in Cracow-Kazimierz, in which case the synagogue's wall is the city wall at the same time, which may influence the synagogue's fenestration.

The location of the entrance of the synagogue varies according to the building's micro-location and the design of the interior. In the Altneuschul in Prague and the Alte-Schul in Cracow, the entrance is off-center in the southern wall. In other Romanesque and Gothic synagogues (Speyer, Worms, Fuerth, Frankfurt, and elsewhere) the entrance is in the sector furthest from the *bimah*. Only in the 16th century was a firm decision taken on the question of the location of the entrance, following the ruling in Joseph Caro's Shulhan Arukh, although for some time synagogues continued to be built with unorientated entrances. This informal location was typical of small medieval structures, notwithstanding the basic symmetry of the synagogue interior.

WOODEN SYNAGOGUES IN POLAND. The Polish wooden synagogues constitute a unique architectural genre, an expression of a Jewish folk art which developed especially from the mid-17th century under the influence of the Polish vernacular tradition. It spread over the entire Jewish settlement area of eastern Europe side by side with the four-pillar stone synagogues. Many of these synagogues were designed and built by Jewish craftsmen. The Jewish builder, aware of his special theme, began by giving the eaves an upward curve, and piled roof on roof. In a later period the form of building becomes quiet and restrained, but in the 17th century the synagogues were imaginative, dynamic compositions inside and out, of a complex design. The plan was generally simple, a square measuring in the interior about 15 by 15 meters. The women's hall was an annex, or sometimes built as an internal gallery. Characteristic is the special additional "winter room," designed as a shelter for very cold weather, which was generally plastered to facilitate heating.

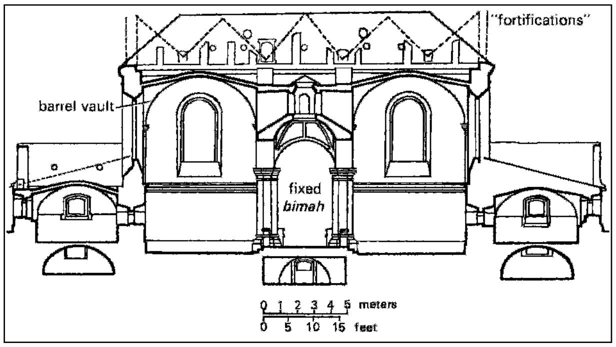

Drawing 8. Section of the fortress-type synagogue of Pinsk, 1640, showing the vaulting, the bimah *structure, and the outside crenellation. From M. and K. Peichotka,* Wooden Synagogues, *Warsaw, 1959.*

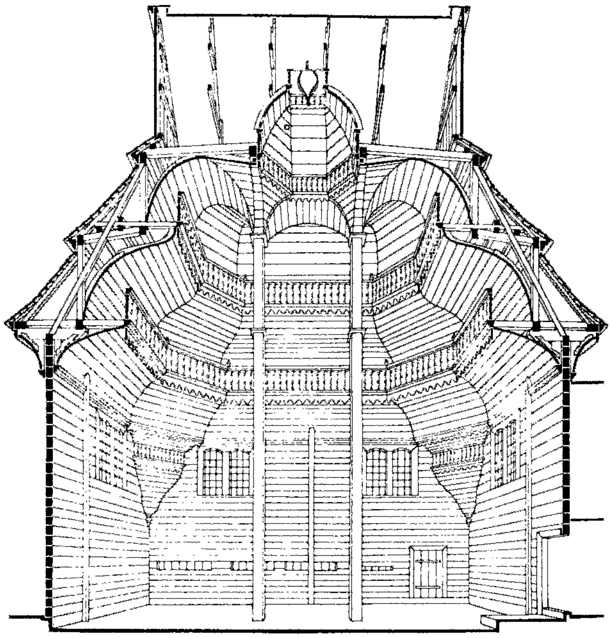

Drawing 9. Perspective section of the synagogue at Wolpa, Poland, built in the early 18th century. The four central timber posts enclose the bimah. *From M. and K. Piechotke,* Wooden Synagogues, *Warsaw, 1954.*

The oldest known timber building was at Chodorov near Lvov, built in 1651. The roof over the central chamber is internally lined with wooden planks, with the central portion shaped like a barrel-vault. The wall paintings were done by Israel b. Mordecai and Isaac b. Judah Leib. The same artists executed the drawings in the Gwozdziec Synagogue, which had an octagonal wooden dome over the center. Many other famous wooden synagogues were known, such as Jablonov, Lutomirsk, Zabludow, Wolpa, and countless more. Most of them were built at the end of the 17th or the beginning of the 18th century. The tradition also spread swiftly westward, and in 1767 a wooden synagogue was built at Kurnik near Posen. This synagogue had a quiet and restrained exterior and contained wooden columns in the classical Tuscan order, common in the manor houses of landed gentry in the region. Inside was a very complex timber vaulting, adorned with paintings and wood carvings. The wooden synagogues spread into Germany, the best known among them being at Beckhofen, Horb (presently at the Israel Museum, Jerusalem), and Kirchheim. The construction of the walls in eastern Poland was of horizontal beams of fir or pine, with dovetail joints at the corners and interior plank lining. The normal construction in western Poland was an oak frame covered with pinewood planks. The wooden synagogues built in south Germany according to the Polish tradition changed their exterior appearance due to the half-timber (frame and plaster fillings) system used in Germany. Internally, these buildings retained their traditional form and finish, and their wall paintings.

SPANISH SYNAGOGUES. Historical circumstances created two periods in the history of Spanish Jewry – the medieval period, until the expulsion in 1492, and the "Sephardi" period, associated with the Spanish-speaking communities established in various parts of the world after the expulsions.

A type of synagogue interior was created among Spanish Jewry which made a contribution to the recurring problem of balance between the ark and the *bimah*. This solution much later found further expression and development in Italy.

In terms of architectural language Spanish synagogues followed Islamic forms. Synagogues built during the Golden Age of Muslim Spain did not survive, but even those built in Christian Spain were of Moorish design and reveal only traces of western influence in their "mudejar" decorative schemes. To adorn their synagogue walls the Jews employed verses from the Bible, written in elegant Spanish characters, in emulation of their Muslim neighbors, who adorned their mosques with verses from the Koran. The two best-known synagogue buildings in Spain are at Toledo. One seems to have been built in the second half of the 13th century by Joseph ibn Shushan. It was confiscated at the beginning of the 15th century by the Church authorities and ultimately became known as the Church of Santa Maria la Blanca. Like most medieval synagogues, this building is modest in its exterior and splendid within. Its plan and structure are characteristic of a mosque. Four long arcades, which carry a flat beam-ceiling, divide the interior into five bays. The arches are horseshoe-shaped and the pillar capitals are richly carved. The pillar bases in the two central colonnades are adorned with glazed tiles. Small circular windows in the western wall apparently belonged to the women's hall, which no longer exists. Despite the building's relatively small size (22 × 28 m.) the interior still looks spacious, due to the rhythm created by the horseshoe arches and the columns. The second building (later the El Transito Church) is in the former ancient Jewish quarter of Toledo. It was the synagogue of Samuel ha-Levi Abulafia, minister of Pedro the Cruel, and built about the year 1357. The plan is that of a rectangular hall of long proportions, 9½ × 23 m. The walls are decorated with carved "mudejar" foliage. Lines of verses from the Psalms alternating with decorative patterns surround the hall beneath, and above is the arcaded clerestory. The walls of the women's section are also decorated with ornamental writings, verses from the Song of Miriam. The niche in the eastern wall was initially made for the ark, and inscriptions on each side of it record the erection of the building by Samuel Abulafia. The windows of the clerestory are fitted with alabaster grilles, admitting a diffused light.

The form of the *bimah* in medieval Spain is known from miniatures and 13th-century illuminated manuscripts. At first it seems to have been of minor importance: It was apparently of a light timber construction and found its place ultimately near the western end of the hall opposite the ark. It is possible that in the synagogue of Cordoba the *bimah* was even attached to the western wall. This initiated a longitudinal layout in which ark and *bimah* balance out, a method later fully exploited in Italy. The expulsion of 1492 put an end to any further evolution in Spain itself, but a tradition of an elegantly appointed, well-balanced interior and a memory of juxtaposed ark and *bimah* remained with the exiles.

THE SEPHARDI DIASPORA AFTER THE EXPULSION. The settlement of *Marranos exiled from Spain, who in the 17th century set up new communities in Holland and England, introduced new customs into Jewish religious tradition. Their connection with their Spanish past was broken and they had to build their life anew, and in their synagogue building the influence of local custom was strongly felt. The great synagogue of the Portuguese community at Amsterdam, built in the years 1671–75, was influenced by the building style of the Dutch churches of that time, just as the Spanish and Portuguese synagogue in Bevis Marks, London, built in 1701, resembled meeting houses of the Nonconformists in England. The form of women's gallery in both these buildings later became typical. But the seating layout, and above all the polarized ark-*bimah* relationship, reflected Italian practice and the legacy of Spanish synagogues.

PALESTINE SYNAGOGUES. In Palestine synagogues of the four-column hall type were built by both the Sephardi and Ashkenazi communities. This type was quickly absorbed, and was further modified by the use of the Byzantine internal space concept of four pillars carrying a dome on pendentives. The four-columned synagogues in Palestine are the Ashkenazi synagogue of the "Ari" and the Sephardi synagogue of R. Isaac Aboab at Safed, the Avraham Avinu Synagogue in Hebron (destroyed in 1929), as well as the Elijah and the Istanbul synagogues, both in the Old City of Jerusalem, destroyed in 1948 and rebuilt in 1971. These two synagogues are part of a unique ensemble of four synagogues: Yohanan ben Zakkai Synagogue, the Eliyahu Hanavi Synagogue, the Haistambuli Synagogue, and among them the Emtzai (Central) Synagogue. They occupy an area of 40 meters by 33 meters sharing common features: since at the time the synagogues had been built, the Jews were not allowed to erect structures higher than those of the Arabs surrounding them, consequently their floors are three meters lower than the surrounding street level and their roofs do not protrude in height, but form a continuous whole together with the surrounding roofs. They have no exterior windows, only windows facing the interior courtyards, and

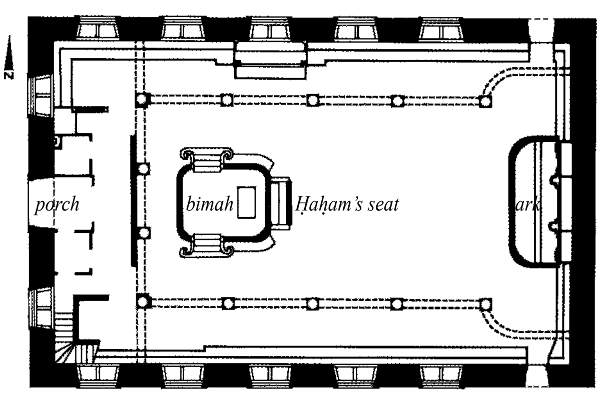

Drawing 10. Bevis Marks, London, built in 1701. From R. Wischnitzer, The Architecture of the European Synagogue, *Philadelphia, 1964.*

their entrances are modestly concealed. From the outside they appear to be an unremarkable agglomeration of buildings. The most important among them, the Yohanan ben Zakkai synagogue, has a double ark in the eastern wall. It has been explained in three ways: 1. As this synagogue is the continuation of the 13th-century Ramban Synagogue, which was a longish hall with two naves, this division called for two arks. 2. Bukharan Jews built double arks, because the Bukharan Emirate obligated the Jewish community to keep the Koran in the synagogue. As they did not want to keep the Torah and the Koran together, they built two arks. 3. The Jerusalem Talmud states that the children of Israel traveled through the desert with two arks in front of them. The second ark contained the broken tablets of the covenant.

The Ashkenazim built their spiritual center a short distance to the north of the old synagogue, in the courtyard later known as the Hurva (Ruin) Synagogue of Rabbi *Judah ha-Ḥasid.

SYNAGOGUES IN TURKEY AND IN THE ARAB COUNTRIES. Many thousands of Spanish Jews were welcomed to the Ottoman Empire in the 16th century. The 68 synagogues of Salonika were mostly destroyed in the great fire of 1917, but it is known that they were without any exterior ostentation. Beit Shaul, the most monumental, had a double-leveled façade with small windows and a segmental pediment over the central bay. The few synagogues in Istanbul, Edirne, and Izmir are similar, a kind of middle way between Byzantine and Sephardi traditions.

Cairo had some 30 synagogues between the two world wars, Alexandria had over 20, including the Eliyahu ha-Navi, the only one existing today, which was enlarged in 1865 by two side-aisles with galleries showing a strong western influence. The francophone Judeo-Egyptian culture created exquisite synagogues, which after 1956 fell into decay as Jews left the country.

In North Africa an autochthonous Jewish culture existed before the arrival of Spanish Jews, who soon became dominant in the region. Still, architecturally, the famous Danan synagogue and the Sadoun synagogue, both in Fez (Morocco), deployed autochthonous forms. The newly restored Danan synagogue, created in the 17th century, has an elongated rectangular floor plan, with three central columns carrying a timber roof. It is characterized by the bipolar arrangement having the ark in the eastern wall and the *bimah* sunk in the western wall, as well as a women's gallery on the southern perimeter wall. The Saba synagogue in Fez, along with a series of other, North African synagogues, displays four central pillars in the manner of Polish synagogues.

The Great Synagogue of Algier (1865, architect Viala du Sorbier) exemplifies European influence with its western-type Oriental style, which returns to its region of origin, but betrays the double condition of its constitutive elements. The synagogue in Rue de Paris in Tunis (1932–37) shows the same tendency, albeit in a 20th-century classicist-deco manner.

The Great Synagogue of Baghdad was described by the traveler Benjamin of Tudela in the 12th century as a building which apparently contained a columned hall opening onto a courtyard, as in a typical mosque, and magnificently adorned with ornamental lettering similar to that of Spanish synagogues. The famous synagogue at Fostat was a Coptic basilica built in the ninth century. In Damascus there existed a vaulted synagogue consisting of a hall with three bays, the only one of this type in eastern countries. The Aleppo synagogue (built in the ninth century and restored for the last time in 1992) resembled in principle the layout of the ancient mosques of Cairo – Amru and Ibn-Touloun – both of the internal courtyard type. The Aleppo synagogue had its separately roofed *bimah* in the middle of the courtyard, where normally the mosque well is placed. The congregation is here seated in the porticoes surrounding the courtyard, and the ark is placed analogically to the "mihrab." This is the most pronounced case of Islamic influence on synagogue design.

ITALIAN SYNAGOGUES. Jews had lived in Italy from the beginning of the Christian era and they preserved ancient local traditions. Italy had also absorbed Ashkenazi Jews who continued to reside there in growing numbers, and after the expulsion of 1492, exiles from Spain. Jews from the Levant also established merchant outposts, notably in Venice. The "bipolar" interior plan, whereby the ark and the *bimah* were placed at the opposing ends of an axial layout, was an important achievement in synagogue design. The synagogues in Italy, as in the other Diaspora centers, generally lacked exterior distinction, and there was nothing novel introduced in the way of structure. The popular methods of construction and covering were the "monastic vault," as in the Ashkenazi synagogue (Scuola Tedesca) at Padua; barrel-vaulting of various types with or without lunettes; coffered ceilings, and other components currently employed in Italy in the 16th, 17th, and 18th centuries.

The synagogue hall sometimes formed part of a large building, which included several additional units such as a *bet midrash*, the offices of the community, etc., and was frequently in the upper story. The decorative schemes were Renaissance, Mannerist, Baroque, or Rococo, the function of the ornamentation being to cover and to fill wall and ceiling surfaces without the use of representational art.

The bipolar hall of the Italian synagogues took final shape only in the 16th and 17th centuries; very little is known about the seating layout and place of the *bimah* in earlier synagogues. The unique contribution of Italian Jewry to architecture was in those intimate spatial schemes with ark and *bimah* at two opposite ends. In some of them highly imaginative variations occurred. In Pesaro and Ancona, the *tevah* (*bimah*) which is attached to the western wall is built on columns one story above the hall floor level, permitting axial entry into the hall facing the ark. (The only two remaining Provençal synagogues, of Carpentras and Cavaillon, both rebuilt in the 18th century in Rococo style, also have a similar layout,

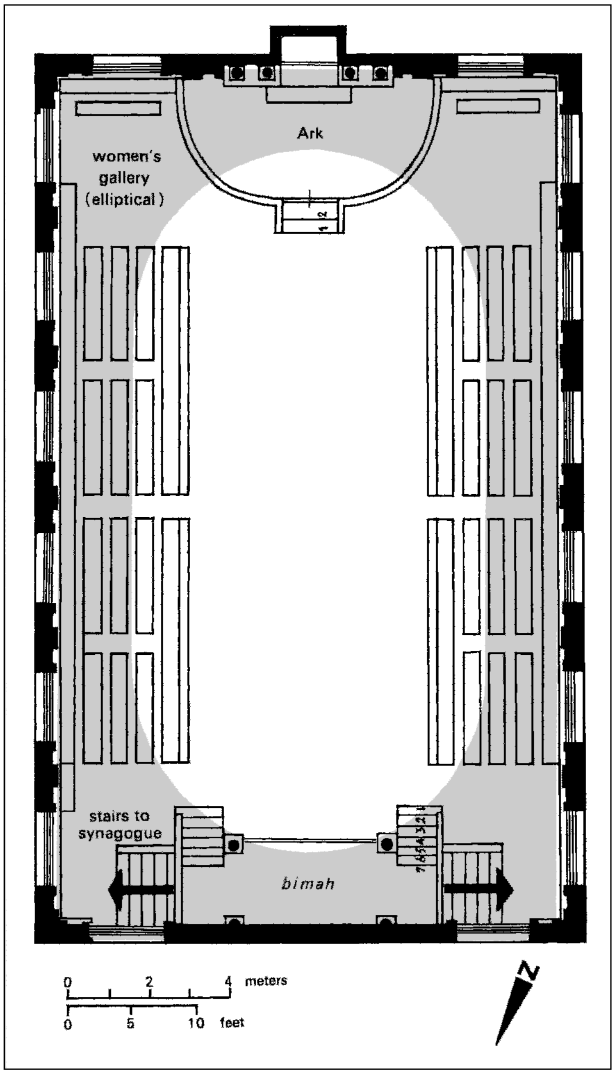

Drawing 11. The Spanish synagogue in Venice, following a bipolar plan. From J. Pinkerfeld, The Synagogues of Italy, *Jerusalem, 1954.*

with the *bimah* elevated on columns high enough to provide enough headroom for axial, direct access underneath.) This resembled the regional practice of placing the church high altars over a crypt.

One of the most beautiful examples was the Sephardi synagogue at Ferrara, built in the middle of the 17th century and later remodeled. Here the *bimah* was placed opposite the ark in the intersection of the main axis with the axis of entrance. But in most cities, especially in the north, a solution took shape which placed the *bimah* against the western wall and elevated it. Frequently it was not regarded as sufficient to place the ark against the wall, but it was placed in a niche or an apsidal space, as in the Canton Synagogue in Venice. The use of a symmetrical layout of two flights of stairs gave an opportunity for varied Baroque *bimah* arrangements. Most important was the almost universally practiced seating layout, like that of the British House of Commons, the congregation being seated in two equal parts facing each other and divided by the aisle or "walk" connecting *bimah* and ark. Thus every worshiper could equally face both foci, and the traditional space conflict was resolved. The most important of the north Italian synagogues is the Spanish synagogue in Venice, Scuola Grande Spagnola. Built in the middle of the 16th century, it was redesigned in the middle of the 17th by the famous Baldassare Longhena, architect of the Baroque church of Santa Maria della Salute and other monuments in Venice. Within the rectangular interior, an elliptical women's gallery surrounds the upper part of the hall. The ark and *bimah* are placed, respectively, at the eastern and western walls, with the typical Italian seating of the congregation on both sides of the aisle, as described above. This work of Venetian Baroque easily outshines other synagogues in Venice. Of a similar layout are the nearby Levantine, the Ashkenazi (Tedesca), the Scuola Canton, and the Italiana, all built in the 17th century in the ghetto.

Italian synagogues left to Jewish art a fine tradition of skilled craftsmanship and furnishing. The Baroque decoration schemes were of a standard equaling the finest Italian gentile work. Torah arks from Italy may be found in several museums in the world. Some of the small Italian communities, now finally dissolved, have transferred all their furnishings to Israel, in order to be set up anew in synagogues there. The furniture of the synagogue of Conegliano Veneto has now been refitted at the Italian Synagogue in Jerusalem; that of Vittorio Veneto has been fully reconstructed in the Israel Museum in Jerusalem.

[Aharon Kashtan / Rudolf Klein (2nd ed.)]

Enlightenment and Haskalah – Synagogues in the 18th Century

The 17th and 18th century Enlightenment brought about profound changes in western societies: the Christian outlook gradually weakened, rationalism came to the fore, and traditional social hierarchy started to lose its significance. All these developments prepared the ground for greater civil liberties for minority groups too – religious and ethnic alike – including the Jews, and eventually the French Revolution and Napoleonic Code granted full civil rights to the Jews for the first time in western history. Although after Napoleon the situation partially reverted to pre-Napoleonic conditions, in the long run the ideas of Liberty, Equality and Fraternity theoretically eradicated racial and religious prejudices. These external changes initiated further changes within Jewish society. The *Haskalah, the Jewish counterpart of the Enlightenment, came into being, bringing about secularism and fostering emancipation.

Although France was the leading country in implementing the aforementioned ideas, large-scale Jewish emancipation started in German lands, as these countries – particularly their eastern regions – had a sizeable Jewish population. The first synagogues emerged here during the early 18th century after the medieval expulsion. In the politically backward, strictly feudal Germany some rulers sought to attract Jewish traders and craftsmen to their territories, feeling they would stimulate economic development. They protected the Jewish communities under their care and sometimes took an interest in the building of synagogues, as in the Heidenreutergasse synagogue, Berlin (1714) and the synagogue at Ansbach, Bavaria (1746). At Woerlitz, Saxony, the Duke of Anhalt-Dessau built a synagogue in his park (1790) in the form of a circular Temple of Vesta. The *Haskalah* and the reform movement also started in Germany, changing slowly the traditional synagogue service, and consequently the interior arrangement of reform synagogues, from the early 19th century. Already in some neo-Classical synagogues the *bimah* was moved to the east, although this would become widespread only in the second half of the 19th century.

The synagogue of Leghorn in Italy was built in 1714 in a graceful southern Baroque style with two tiers of galleries. In England the chief synagogue built during this period was the Great Synagogue, London (1790), by James Spiller, a pupil of James Wyatt. Among the features of this neo-Classic building were rows of Ionic columns and a round-arched niche which contained the ark. Screened by two columns and flanked by Ionic pilasters, this motif was derived from Roman architecture via Andrea Palladio and Robert Adam. Some Georgian synagogues of interest were also built in the United States, such as the Touro Synagogue at Newport, Rhode Island (1763) and the synagogue at Charleston, South Carolina (1797), crowned with a double-tiered octagonal lantern.

19th Century to World War I

In 19th-century Europe more synagogues were built than during all the preceding periods together. This was due mainly to two factors: Jewish emancipation and the urbanization of Europe. Until the 19th century the vast majority of central and eastern European Jews lived in villages and small towns, erecting indistinct synagogues or gathering for prayer in homes. When they moved to major urban settlements, their concentration grew and major places of worship were needed. In many countries the gentiles even liked the idea of having the Jews gathered in fewer places for easier surveillance. The number of urban synagogues rose, their scale and prominence reaching hitherto unseen levels. Still, until the revolutions of 1848 they remained in a restrained framework of neo-Classicism or early Romanticism.

Neo-Classicism is the period which witnesses a breakthrough in synagogue architecture in central and eastern Europe: The famous German neo-Classicist architect, Friedrich Weinbrenner, created his synagogue in Karlsruhe (1798) in the spirit of French revolutionary architecture and quoted the Temple of Solomon, equating implicitly the synagogue with the Temple for the first time in modern central European history. Although the actual synagogue was built in the courtyard, there were two tapering pylons on the street front, recalling Egyptian architecture. The floor plan of the synagogue was an elongated rectangle with a central *bimah*. The adjoining buildings contained a ritual bath; community offices were added in 1810, and they created a monumental ensemble together with the actual synagogue.

Other neo-Classical synagogues of note were those in the Rue Notre Dame in Paris (1819–20), the Seitenstettengasse in Vienna (albeit with some Baroque traces, as the elliptical floor plan which suited the reform service, 1824) and in Munich (1826), the Óbuda Synagogue in the city today called Budapest (1820–21), the ponderous New Synagogue in London (1838), and the Beth Elohim in Charleston (1841), a particularly fine example of the Greek revival. A new flavor was added by Napoleon's campaign in Egypt (1798), which created a fashion for Egyptian details, sometimes combined with the Greek, as in Copenhagen (1833) or in some synagogues in the United States.

As early as 1838, Gottfried Semper, the great 19th-century German architect, created the synagogue in Dresden based on a Byzantine floor plan, a strict neo-Romanesque exterior and an Oriental interior. The exterior architectural language referred to the style of great German Romanesque cathedrals, though the proportions and scale were different. The interior referred to the Oriental origin of the Jews, particularly to the Spanish period before expulsion, to which all Oriental-style synagogues began to refer. This duality depicted the double-layered Jewish identity of the period, which corresponded with the idea of the Jews as the "Asiatics of Europe." Semper, as a theoretician, also paved the way for 19th-century synagogue architecture with his *Bekleidungstheorie* (theory of cladding), which served as a theoretical base for the Oriental-style synagogues, the most widespread genre of architecture created for Jews before modernism. The floor plan of the prayer room in his Dresden synagogue is a square with an eastern *bimah* in front of the ark.

The second half of the 19th century was the heyday of European synagogue building, as a result of a combination of fortuitous factors that contributed to the birth of large-scale representative synagogues almost all over Europe. First, the successful revolutions of 1848 led to full civil rights for the Jews in most of Europe, resulting in spectacular advances for Jewish entrepreneurs and intellectuals and their communities, which wished to display their success in architectural terms. Second, after neo-Classicism elapsed, the emergence of Romanticism and Eclecticism (Free Style) in particular changed the scale of architecture, which lost its previous coherence of style and compactness of form. The hitherto compact masses started to dissolve, the obligatory architectural language to vanish. This milieu amplified the Jewish tendencies toward representation, and synagogues became conspicuous elements of the townscape. The primary concern of synagogue design shifted from the interior to the exterior, becoming a great endeavor to create an appropriate appearance for the gentiles. The interior became more longish with, a *bimah* removed from the center and shifted to the eastern wall, where it created together with the ark an altar-like monumental composition. Consequently seating arrangements in the synagogue changed radically from concentrically placed benches/chairs around the bimah to a longitudinal arrangement in which all benches faced the east as in Catholic churches. Gradually the proportions got even closer to the longitudinal basilical layout of Catholic churches. Abolishing the duality of ark and *bimah* suggested that the duality between a given location in the Diaspora and the Holy Land had ended: Jews were accepted everywhere, they were at home among the gentiles. The wish to return to Jerusalem vanished among Reform Jews. A large altar-like *mizraḥ* uniting the *bimah* and ark answered the needs of the Reform service, with choral and organ music as well as preaching in local language. For the majority of secularized synagogue-goers Hebrew became as exotic as Latin for Catholic worshipers. Besides the basilical plan, the central plan gained ground again, albeit usually without its original raison d'être, the central *bimah*. The large external dome necessitated the central or nearly central floor plan.

In the 1850s major so-called Moorish-style synagogues came into being in German lands and regions under German influence – central and eastern Europe, the Balkans, and overseas. The two most grandiose examples, the Dohány Street synagogue in Budapest (1852–57) and the Oranienburgerstrasse Synagogue in Berlin (1855–66), seated over 3,000 worshipers, mainly middle-class people, as evidenced by period engravings. Although this spectacular development was fueled by the Reform Jews – mainly the very rich and assimilated – the Orthodox gradually followed these trends with a significant time lag. Still, they left the *bimah* in the center.

Nonetheless, synagogue style – so often discussed among 19th-century Jews, architects, and critics alike – has never come into being. This reflects the fact that Judaism cannot be translated into form even in its watered-down, "reform" version. Synagogues were built in a mixture of styles, which sometimes showed more Western revivals – neo-Romanesque, neo-Renaissance, neo-Byzantine – and sometimes more Oriental features – Islamic, Egyptian, Assyrian. The Gothic revival was rarely a factor, being considered Christian, as for instance in the cases of the Meisel Synagogue in Prague, the synagogue in Budweis (Ceškoje Budejovice), or the Gothic synagogues built by Max Fleischer in Vienna. The first, breakthrough generation of 19th-century synagogues was built mainly in Oriental style, as an association with the golden age of Spanish Jewry, like, for instance, the Cologne synagogue (1861), the Central Synagogue, London (1870), the Florence synagogue (1880), and the St. Petersburg (Choral Temple) synagogue (1893). The style was brought by German congregations to the United States, where it was widely adopted, as in Temple Emmanuel, New York (1868), Rodef Shalom, Philadelphia (1869–70), and Plum Street Temple, Cincinnati, Ohio (1866), with its 13 domes and two minarets.

Late in the century the Classical style sometimes returned to favor and was adopted by the U.S. architect Arnold *Brunner on the evidence of the newly published remains of ancient synagogues in Ereẓ Israel. There was a new spate of revivals, including Renaissance, Georgian, Baroque, and in continental Europe neo-Romanesque, propagated by the German Jewish architect Edwin Oppler. He maintained that, as Jews were Germans of Jewish faith and not Asiatics of Europe, they should use the local, national style. Oppler's thinking was influenced by the first major antisemitic waves of the 1870s and 1880s which swept over Europe. In the Hapsburg Empire and neighboring countries to the east and south, this antisemitic wave did not cause major changes in architectural style.

More importantly than style in the second half of the 19th century, composition of masses in synagogues was also a surrogate, an "as if" genre, loosely following forms of different gentile buildings. (A similar influence was at work at the medieval Altneuschul in Prague, but this was a singular case.) Architecturally, the Reform synagogue was a new genre which needed a new expression. In mid-19th-century Germany, for instance, the architects and Jewish community leaders launched competitions to create a suitable typology for the new synagogues, without actual building. These entries were published and served later as guidelines for designing synagogues. Based on these examples and the gentile templates – churches, public buildings, and factory buildings – a wide range of compositional types emerged. Thus, in terms of composition of volume, synagogues in the 19th century can be classified as village-house-type synagogues, burgher-house type, Protestant-church type, Catholic-church/cathedral type, Temple type (references to Solomon's Temple in Jerusalem), factory-hall type, central Byzantine type, palace type, and combinations of these types. The choice between these types depended on the urban location, the intention and standing of the local Jewish community, and the restrictions of the municipality.

Orthodox communities which came into being as a reaction to the rapid reform process in the second half the 19th century clung to older patterns – central *bimah* and somewhat restrained scale and decoration. However, they soon started to compete with the reformers, and by the end of the 19th century Orthodox synagogues often became indistinguishable in the exterior from their Reform counterparts in major cities.

Urban settings also changed remarkably in the 19th century. The hitherto hidden, or at least well-concealed, synagogue appeared on exposed urban locations, close to the town center on major street crossings, or even on the center of squares, sometimes on the main square of the town or city. In the beginning synagogues were still built behind fences – these fences were rather formal, i.e., transparent and richly decorated – but later this tradition was abandoned. In regions where virulent antisemitism was to be expected – numerous Berlin synagogues demonstrate this – the synagogue was in the courtyard, represented on the street façade by the community building.

Between the World Wars

Emerging modernism pushed aside the issue of style, stressing function and clear composition of simple volumes. Modernism can be read as a reaction against highly decorated neo-styles and at the same time seen as the right expression for the Jews – abandoning the visual representation (carved image), establishing universal, cosmopolitan expression by using abstract language.

During the first two decades of the 20th century, a period often labeled proto-modernism, this reaction limited itself to a simplification of design rather than complete abandonment of historical revivals. Later, generally after World War I, architects influenced by the theories of functionalism produced bare and stark synagogues, without conscious reference to any previous period. An early example of simplified design was the Anshe Maariv Synagogue in Chicago (1890–91) by the famous partnership of Dankmar *Adler and Louis Sullivan. Among the outstanding early 20th-century synagogues were those of Essen (1913) and Zurich (1923–24) and two Amsterdam synagogues, which aspired to simplicity and an ingenious use of the local Dutch brickwork: the Linnaeus Straat Synagogue by Jacob *Baars and the Jacob Obrechtsplein Synagogue by Harry *Elte (both 1928).

In his 1924 competition entry for a synagogue in Hietzing, a residential suburb of Vienna, architect Richard J. *Neutra produced one of the first synagogue designs consisting of a flat-roofed building organized around an interior open courtyard. Both Josef Hoffman, the Viennese architect, and Peter Behrens of Berlin submitted proposals in a competition held in 1926 by the Jewish community in Žilina (formerly Sillein or Zsolna) in former Czechoslovakia, today Slovak Republic. Peter Behrens got the commission, and his monolithic, low-domed, square, massive structure was built in 1931. Josef Hoffman made several submissions: one indicates the synagogue as a hemispheric dome resting on a low substructure; another design shows his intention to create a tent-shaped pyramid of glass rising out of an enclosing substructure of rectilinear form. These schemes preceded similar synagogue designs later built in the United States. Important modern synagogues, which were architecturally pioneering and prophetic, were built or proposed in Europe from the 1920s to World War II, when the open flexible plan with the expandable sanctuary space was first being realized.

In this period, once again Germany produced the artistically most advanced synagogues, until the Nazi takeover. Fritz Landauer built the compact and purist synagogue in Plauen (1929–30), which stood in the forefront of modern architecture with its simple monolithic mass, elevated on pillars, and industrial-looking rhythm of small windows and white undecorated walls, as well as a larger asymmetrically positioned modernist oculus containing the Star of David. A bit more conservative was the great Oberstrasse Temple in Hamburg (1931, F. Asher and R. Friedman), with its strict symmetrical massing and windowless walls covered with stone.

Functionalist simplicity characterized the Dollis Hill Synagogue, London (1937) by Sir Owen Williams. The seating arrangement reflected British tradition, and the hexagonal windows refer to the idea of the Star of David and represent a novelty in European architecture of the period. Here the architect dispensed with the gallery supports by means of corrugated walls and ceiling.

The early modern synagogue in Ereẓ Israel is a case in point. A synagogue in Ḥaderah (1935) includes a watchtower and a courtyard to provide shelter for 2,000 people in case of attack. Its architectural language is a combination of pure modernist volumes and traditional arcades, as well as small windows resembling Muslim tradition. The Jeshurun synagogue, Jerusalem (1934–35), features small windows, modernist masses clad with stone.

In America during the period between the two wars functionalist architecture was not very popular. Therefore, Temple Emmanuel in New York City, designed in 1930, possesses a combination of Romanesque portals, Gothic flying buttresses, and Moorish towers.

After World War II

World War II represented a watershed not only in gentile architecture but also in synagogue building throughout Europe. Modernism became officially accepted by the welfare states in Europe and lost its previous elitist aura, often becoming a simplified, cheap common language. War destruction necessitated the building of synagogues, but European Jewry, decimated by the Holocaust, did not need and did not want to erect manifest synagogues. Instead small-scale, modest, functional synagogues came into being. In the Communist Bloc religion was suppressed and very few synagogues were constructed; far more were destroyed – either directly, or by neglect.

These circumstances changed the manner of expression as well, which often concentrated on the correct display of function. Traditional visual symbolism in the circumstances of post-World War II synagogues lost its significance for two reasons: impressing the gentiles in the manner of 19th-century synagogues was pointless after the Holocaust; the significance and the coherence of the urban context which had previously necessitated a manifest synagogue also declined, and the need of declaration disappeared. All these and the puritanism of late modern architecture led to a minimal and austere language in the 1950s and 1960s in Europe.

In America, which became the leading country of synagogue construction after World War II, on the other hand, the large scale prevailed and a certain degree of representation, but on the other hand, suburbanization changed the previous form and expression of synagogues, turning them into multi-purpose buildings. Since 1945 the synagogue has not been merely a house of worship but, in many instances, a community center consisting of a school, administrative offices, a gymnasium, and an assembly hall.

[Rudolf Klein (2nd ed.)]

Later, however, ornament returned in another form. The complementary arts of painting, sculpture, textiles, mosaics, and stained glass were increasingly used in conjunction with architecture. Seeking to represent what the contemporary arts had to offer, the U.S. synagogue engaged the efforts of many eminent artists, who reinterpreted traditional Jewish ritual objects and symbols in a completely modern idiom.

SYNAGOGUES IN AMERICA. Park Synagogue in Cleveland, Ohio, designed by Eric *Mendelsohn in 1948, was conceived as a hemispheric dome enclosing the synagogue proper and rising from a long, low, flat-roofed structure, similar in form to the 1926 design of Josef Hoffman. From the time Mendelsohn went to the United States from Palestine in 1941, until his death in 1959, he designed seven synagogues and community centers, of which only four have been built. The temple and community center for Congregation B'nai Amoona, St. Louis, Missouri (1946), was Mendelsohn's first synagogue and also his first commission in the United States. In this design he expanded the sanctuary space into the entrance foyer and the social hall, thus increasing the Sabbath seating capacity of 600 people to 1,500 for the High Holy Days. First devised by Cecil Moore in Tucson, Arizona (1946), this solution was used by Mendelsohn in a variety of ways. One other example was in the copper-clad, ten-rib steel sanctuary structure for Mount Zion Temple and Community Center in St. Paul, Minnesota, where the rich interior sanctuary space is again expanded into the foyer and assembly hall. Mendelsohn's sketches for synagogues indicate clearly the ideas which are manifested in the distinctive character of each building.

In many synagogues which Percival *Goodman designed, beginning with B'nai Israel Synagogue in Millburn, New Jersey (1951), the strong architectural expression of the ark both on the interior and the exterior of the structure is a dominant recurring theme. In Congregation Shaarey Zedek, in Detroit, Michigan, which Goodman designed in association with Albert Kahn, the sanctuary, dominant because of its location and height (100 feet at the ark), is flanked at the sides by two social halls which form part of the same structure and serve as extensions of the space, since the congregation increases from 1,200 to 3,500 people on the High Holidays. The architects made the social halls triangular in shape and separated them from the sanctuary by folding walls, in order to place the maximum number of congregants in the closest proximity to the *bimah*. When necessary, simultaneous functions can occur without interference; the separation of the side halls permits one to be used as an auditorium while the other is the main dining hall. Both halls may be used for dining, since a separate serving kitchen is provided off the auditorium hall. The three halls are linked by a reception space which allows separate access to each. Just as the sanctuary is the focal point of the building, the ark is the focal point of the sanctuary; thus the seating arrangement of this building is characteristic of the assembly type of plan. Frank Lloyd Wright responded to the idea of creating the synagogue for Beth Shalom in Philadelphia (1954), as a tent on Mount Sinai. His pyramidal, tent-like structure is sheathed in glass, filling the interior with light. The scheme in the plan is capable of variations, so that it can be expanded or contracted as may be desired.

The Reform movement, which began in Germany, produced vital changes in the architecture of synagogues also in the United States. The simplification of the service, the new emphasis on the sermon, the mixed seating of men and women, and the introduction of the organ brought the synagogue closer to the outward forms of Protestant Christianity and resulted in an architectural arrangement similar to that in a church or theater. The *bimah* was consequently taken from its traditional place in the center of the room and put in front of the ark on a platform at one end of it. In the United States this scheme was widely adopted by the Reform and Conservative movements and also by some of the Orthodox congregations. Many later designs, however, have indicated a reaction to the auditorium plan organization of the synagogue with *bimah* placed in the front of the ark, and the seats arranged to face the ark. The above-discussed, difficult problems of the plan arrangement, the double use of the sanctuary space, and the basic disposition of the synagogue interior, perhaps cannot be completely answered by the architect. Kneset Tifereth Israel synagogue in Port Chester, New York, by Philip Johnson, is a well-executed design which directly confronts the problem of an expandable space. The building consists of a symmetrical plan in which the sanctuary and the social hall are actually combined in one large rectangular space, with the entrance at a passage separating the two. A movable screen isolates the sanctuary; the whole space can be opened when necessary. Buildings have been designed which have attempted to combine classrooms and the sanctuary, a social hall and the sanctuary, or a lobby, social hall, and the sanctuary, in order to increase the seating capacity for the High Holidays. This problem, of an expanding and contracting space, is evident in many contemporary synagogues. Those architects who have not had this problem, but instead have been given a single space to design, have usually created a more satisfactory structure, and the ancient central plan has been revived. This arrangement, which clearly provides a better architectural solution, does not provide for expansion of the seating space.

[Richard Meier]

Besides functional innovations in the United States, Louis I. *Kahn, one of the most talented architects in the country, dealt with symbolic aspects of synagogue architecture extensively, although little was constructed from these designs.

After the Enlightenment there were a number of "specialists" in synagogue architecture, such as, for example, the Austro-Hungarian architect Leopold Baumhorn, who created or rebuilt over 40 synagogues, or the American architect Percival Goodman, who was also prolific in the heyday of synagogue construction in the United States; but probably Louis Kahn has been the only world-class modernist architect who devoted major attention to the synagogue. In 1961 Kahn started working for Mikveh Israel and created until 1972 10 versions which demonstrate a transition from traditional boxy modernism, backed by a rational design philosophy, to a highly mystical never-built synagogue fiction: a complex of three detached units, a Sanctuary-House of Study; a Chapel – House of Prayer and School – and a House of the Community. From the fourth version Kahn introduced "light bottles," large cylinders making the building fortress-like from the outside, and in the interior showing up as large dark towers with light-emitting holes. This mystical symbolism was largely absent in post-Enlightenment synagogue history, but particularly in modern times.

The Hurva Synagogue in the Old City of Jerusalem represents Kahn's last word in this genre. He conceived the Hurvah as a new building and not as a ruin: "The new building should itself consist of two buildings – an outer one which would absorb the light and heat of the sun, and an inner one, giving the effect of a separate but related building. The inside building would be a single chamber, resting on four points … there are niches where candle services will be sung during certain ceremonies… the exterior will be visible through the niches which are in the stones. These stones are 16 foot square, the interior chambers are 10 foot square. The stones, like the stories of the Western Wall, will be golden in color; the interior will be rather silver in color. The spaces between them will be such as to allow a sufficient amount of light to enter from the outer chamber, and, completely surrounding the interior chamber, there will be an ambulatory from which people will also be able to witness a service taking place in the interior chamber. The construction of the building is like large leaves of a tree, allowing light to filter into the interior…." Kahn seems to have fallen into the same pitfall as had Herzl some seven decades earlier, the rebuilding of the Temple. No wonder his project was halted. It seems that Kahn has misunderstood Judaism – at least its post-Temple period – and its ambivalence and suspicion toward architecture as the materialization of ideas.

[Rudolf Klein (2nd ed.)]

SYNAGOGUES IN EUROPE. In the postwar period in Europe, few radical changes in planning were generally adopted, though from the late 1950s synagogues began to be constructed with main halls convertible for non-devotional purposes, and were built as part of a social complex including communal centers, old-age homes, and other buildings, as in the United States. Architectural techniques were much developed, however, with the use of reinforced concrete, steel-framed construction, glass walls, and other innovations. The visual effect was generally lighter than in the case of the solid and austere synagogues of the period between the wars. After World War II a number of synagogues were built by the small returning Jewish communities in Germany, where nearly all major synagogues had been destroyed by the Nazis. The synagogues at Offenbach (1956), Dortmund (1956), Duesseldorf (1958), Essen (1959), and Bonn (1959), and the Fasanenstrasse Community House in West Berlin (1959) are of importance. In the case of the last-mentioned building, fragments of the neo-Romanesque synagogue built on the site in 1912 and destroyed by the Nazis were preserved and placed in startling juxtaposition to the new building as a reminder of the tragic fate of the German Jews. In England a synagogue by Harold Weinreich at Woodford, Essex (1954), built out of prefabricated units, attracted attention. A somewhat unusual synagogue is that at the Bernard Lyons Community Center, Leeds (1963), where a paraboloid roof is placed diagonally over the hall. The New Central Synagogue, London (1958), with its round-arched windows, replacing that destroyed by German bombing, should also be mentioned. The largest postwar synagogue in Europe was built by Claude Meyer-Lévy in Strasbourg, France (1958); a traditional structure, it was essentially a classical basilica reinterpreted in terms of reinforced concrete. In Italy the 18th-century Leghorn synagogue, destroyed in bombing raids, was rebuilt by Angelo di Castro in 1962. The new building showed several innovations of plan and structure. The structural skeleton was exposed to view in the manner of Luigi Nervi, and the gallery was a bridge attached to the side walls only and spanning the hall. The seats surrounded the *bimah* on three sides in the shape of an amphitheater. Another interesting postwar Italian synagogue was that built in Milan by Monfredo D'Urbino and E. Gentile in 1954.

[Richard Meier]

In Livorno one of the most creative post-World-War II synagogues in Europe was created. While the commission was more for an American-style community center, Angelo di Castro, the Jewish architect from Rome, restated the concept of the European urban synagogue with a strong architectural identity in 1958. The main architectural feature of the building is a set of bent vertical "buttresses" – actually reinforced concrete frame structure – which project from the wall surface both on the interior and on the exterior. This structural solution created the interior as a single, undivided room in which everyone can hear and see easily, and which recalls the rhythm of pillars from the past. The seats, disposed around several sides of the elongated polygonal interior, give a sense of congregational unity, as do the central placement of the *bimah* and the absence of concealing grilles on the women's gallery. The organic form of the building recalls the tabernacle or Tent of the Wilderness, its billowing form is even more obvious inside, where the vertical lines and the pale-colored wall spaces between them combine with the light-filled interior space to give the impression of an airy and almost weightless tent.

After architectural modernism was eclipsed in the 1970s and 1980s, the austere style of synagogues was abandoned and a new eclecticism emerged in the framework of post-modernism. Many of the strictures of modernism were loosened or abandoned altogether, and architects became free to use elements of the past. Post-modern synagogues were built mainly in the "old countries" of the European Union and in the United States.

The Darmstadt Jewish Community Center, comprising a synagogue with 200 seats and adjacent buildings, was designed by Alfred Jacoby in 1988. It merges modernist purism of form and material with some historic elements – the use of a central dome over the prayer hall and small domes over the entrance, a symmetrical composition of the synagogue and the enclosing buildings, and the use of stone.

SYNAGOGUES IN ISRAEL. Probably the modern State of Israel is the place with the greatest variety of synagogue buildings, greater than the variety of churches or mosques in a Christian or Muslim country. This variety is due to the diversity of immigrant Jewish populations from Europe, Asia, Africa, and the Americas. Some synagogues are indistinct, following the boxy modernist forms and merging with the urban context; others are more visible either through the highlighting of some traditional features, like domes; or by expressively sculptural forms. Thus, the variety runs the spectrum from the tectonic Great Synagogue in Allenby Street to the utterly sculptural, shell-shaped Heikhal Yehudah Synagogue in Arlozorov Street (architects Toledano and Russo, 1980), both in Tel Aviv.

The Hebrew University Givat Ram Campus Synagogue (architects Heinz Rau and David Resnik) is surrounded by lush vegetation and some stones from which its white mushroom-shaped reinforced concrete shell emerges, recalling the tent in the desert. The two-story building contains a sumptuous lobby on the ground floor and in the upper story a windowless synagogue, which, besides artificial light, gets indirect sunshine from downstairs via floor windows. This synagogue is a genuine attempt in the spirit of the postwar modernism to overcome all traditions, to create a new spatial experience, which is unfortunately not suitable for the function of a synagogue.

The synagogue at the Military Academy, Negev Desert (architect Zvi Hecker, 1964–66) has an area of approximately 100 m^2 and accommodates at least 100 people within its polyhedral forms, which create a space progressively narrowing up to the top. The exterior is dominated by cell-like modules, but the interior gives the impression of a harmonious and integrated space. The plan is central, but reflects the double-focus arrangement of traditional synagogues – both Ashkenazi and Sephardi. Seats for the worshipers are placed along the sides of the axis and are inclined, so that both the *bimah* and the Ark can be seen simultaneously. A series of skylights supplies the interior with warm yellow light. The tilted walls render the space abstract, lifting it from its everyday experience. They negate tectonics that might be associated with the tent in the desert.

Ma'alot Synagogue, Jerusalem, Rehavia (architect David Cassutto, 1972) is built on a hexagonal floor plan, with a hexagonal *bimah* in the center. The dominant element of the interior is the set of reinforced concrete pillars and beams. In the center, where the latter meet, there is a hexagonal sculptural element supporting the lighting. Above this element the ceiling is perforated by a grilled skylight, resembling local Islamic architectural tradition.

The Har Nof New Synagogue, Jerusalem (architect David Cassutto, 1993) exemplifies the Israeli type of post-modernist synagogue which recalls the pre-modern language of architecture and a traditional spatial concept. The synagogue is incorporated into a community center, but is visually well distinguishable due to its *kippah*-like flat dome. The facade is covered with Jerusalem-stone, which is pierced through only by narrow slits. On the ground floor the windows are rectangular, on the first floor semicircular. The stern and closed masses are rendered soft by the use of semicircular forms – balconies and projections – recalling forms of the Old City. The approximately 200 m^2 prayer room incorporates the women's gallery. The dome has round glass inlays referring to the local Moslem architectural tradition. The *bimah* is set a little bit westward from the geometrical center of the space, according to the Sephardi tradition. The ark has circular access, with two round wings of stairs recalling the Italian Baroque.

The Cymbalista Synagogue and Heritage Center at the Tel Aviv University Campus (1998), designed by the Swiss architect Mario Botta, highlights Israel's opening to foreign architects. Botta, in the spirit of Italian *racionalismo* – a movement present in Italy since Mussolini – created cubes and cylinders clad with stone using the play of light. The complex is visually divided into three parts, a lower rectangular one from which the two bastion-like volumes grow out, which respond to the dualistic implications of the commission – the secular and religious. The twin fortress-like forms differ only in terms of their interiors: To the west is the Jewish Heritage Center, a lecture hall with its dais set in a small apse; to the east – on the Jerusalem side – is the synagogue, with its centrally located *bimah* and an apse for the Holy Ark. Light is brought into the interior of the paired volumes via series of small windows and a large skylight, spreading over the walls by a square panel set into each cylinder.

RESTORATION OF SYNAGOGUES IN CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE. While in Germany and in the occupied countries during *Kristallnacht* the vast majority of urban synagogues was destroyed or damaged beyond repair, some of them could be still rescued. The Westend Synagogue in Frankfurt, the synagogues in Pestalozzi Strasse and Rykestrasse in Berlin, as well as the Roonstrasse Synagogue of Cologne were restored. From some others only fragments remained, as in the case of Fasanenstrasse, and sometimes quite significant fragments, as in the complete façade section of the Oranienburgerstrasse Synagogue, both in Berlin.

Unlike the great urban synagogues, a certain percentage of the rural ones survived even in Germany and in the occupied lands, and in other central and eastern European countries a substantial number of synagogues were only slightly damaged during the war. Their actual deterioration started in the late 1940s and 1950s, because the Jews had been deported or emigrated, and their synagogues had become exposed to decay and vandalism. Some major synagogues were officially protected from demolition by the local authorities, but little was done to maintain the buildings.

As the tide of intense post-World War II construction receded and the former loathing of modern architectural theory abated, abandoned synagogues started to attract public interest. In the 1980s mainly the synagogues and adjacent community buildings were restored, but with the increasing awareness of the urban context, complete Jewish neighborhoods gradually began to re-emerge, albeit without the Jews. The most important examples of restored Jewish neighborhoods are in Mikulov and Trebic, both in the Czech Republic.

While small and middle-size Renaissance, Baroque, neo-Classical, and some 19th-century synagogues were relatively easily converted to cultural function, major 19th-century synagogues were more difficult to utilize. Unfortunately, in the 1960s and 1970s often the prayer room was divided into two floors by the extension of the women's gallery, and with that the original meaning of the synagogue space was lost, as for instance in the large Arena ut synagogue in Budapest, which functions as a sports club. From the 1980s more strict restorations became the norm by preserving the *bimah* and Ark and adding new functional elements less conspicuously. For instance, the synagogue in Novi Sad (Serbia) was successfully converted into a concert hall. The synagogue in Osijek (Croatia) is a Pentecost Church. The Hungarian synagogues in Baja, Apostag, became municipal libraries, the synagogue in Budapest-Obuda a TV studio, the Pava utca synagogue of Budapest became integrated into the Holocaust Center, the Romantic synagogue in Kecskemet became a house of technology. The early modern synagogue in Kosice (Slovakia) is the seat of the local philharmonic orchestra, the medieval synagogue in Maribor (Slovenia) is an exhibition space.

The Old Synagogue in Holesov, the old synagogue Velke Mezirici, the upper synagogue in Mikulov, all in Moravia (Czech Republic), serve exhibition purposes. The Prague synagogues have been restored. The Meisel synagogue is an exhibition space, and the Pinkas synagogue is a unique Holocaust Museum, with the names of all the victims inscribed on the walls.

In Poland the great synagogue in Zamosc houses a library and reading room, the synagogue of Tykocin houses a museum, Lancut synagogue houses the regional museum and an exhibition of Judaica, in Rzeszow the Old Town Synagogue presently houses archives, and the New Town Synagogue presently serves as an art center.

[Rudolf Klein (2nd ed.)]

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SYNAGOGUE, THE GREAT (Heb. כְּנֶסֶת הַגְּדוֹלָה, *Keneset ha-Gedolah*).

Chronology

The institution of the Great Synagogue, or perhaps, more correctly, the Great Assembly, belongs to that period of Jewish history which is still virtually a complete blank, namely the Persian period. Hence, very little is known of it with real certainty. In the chain of tradition recorded in *Avot* 1:1 it is said to come after the period of the Prophets, and that *Simeon the Just was of its "remnants." *Avot de-R. Nathan* (ARN^{1} 1:2) introduces a stage between the Prophets and the "Men of the Great Synagogue," namely that of *Haggai, *Zechariah, and *Malachi. Apparently, they bridged the transition between these two phases. Ezra (identified with Malachi in *Seder Olam*, etc.) was apparently regarded by the rabbis as leader of the Great Assembly, for in *Leviticus Rabbah* 2:11 "Ezra and his companions" are mentioned, while the parallel text in *Song of Songs Rabbah* (to Song 7:14) speaks only of the Men of the Great Synagogue. The Targum to Song of Songs 7:3 further designates *Ezra, *Zerubbabel, *Jeshua, *Nehemiah, *Mordecai, and Bilshan (cf. Ezra 2:2) as members of this assembly (cf. *Seder Olam Rabbah* and *Zuta*. See Ginzberg, Legends, 6 (1928), 447–9). From these and other sources (e.g., Yoma 69b) it appears that traditionally the idea of the Great Synagogue was linked with the narrative in Nehemiah 8–10, where its earliest beginnings are suggested. On the identification and date of Simeon the Just, who stands at the conclusion of this institution's history, opinion is sharply divided. Some identify him with Simeon I, high priest in 310–291 B.C.E., or 300–270 B.C.E., partly on the basis of rabbinic tradition (cf. Yoma 69a), in which case the Great Synagogue came to an end at the close of the Persian period. As rabbinic chronology telescoped this period of some two centuries into 34 years (SOR 30), the whole institution was thought to have lasted only one generation. Hence the rabbinic phrase "generation of the Men of the Great Synagogue" (Gen. R. 35:2). However, this identification raises serious chronological difficulties, especially as *Yose b. Joezer, who in *Avot* comes only two generations later, is firmly dated to the period of Alcimus who executed him about 160 B.C.E. Accordingly, Simeon the Just has been identified with Simeon II, 219–199 B.C.E., and this opinion (convincingly argued by G.F. Moore) is now generally accepted (see, e.g., V. Tcherikover, *Hellenistic Civilization and the Jews* (1959), 437, no. 1). Thus, the statement in *Avot* 1:4 that Yose b. Joezer and *Yose b. Johanan "received from them," and not "from him" – *Antigonus of Sokho (Avot 1:3) – possibly means that they still received traditions directly from the "remnants of the Great Synagogue." The term "remnants" is suggestive of disintegration, and probably this came about in the wake of the major political upheavals of about 201–198 B.C.E. (cf. Tcherikover, op. cit., 75–82).

Character

As noted, tradition associates the Great Synagogue with events recorded in Nehemiah 8–10. Modern scholarship too takes this as its starting point. However, some scholars (notably Kuenen) regarded the whole institution as legendary, its only source being the narrative in Nehemiah. Others (Krochmal) suggest that Nehemiah's assembly served as a model for future ones. L. Loew put forward a curious theory, that the Great Synagogue was identical with the *synagoge megale* of I Maccabees 14:28ff. in which Simeon the Hasmonean, whom he identified with Simeon the Just, was declared king. However, this view is wholly untenable, not least on chronological grounds. Englander interprets the phrase "Men of the Great Synagogue" as "leaders of the Community of Greatness" (*Keneset ha-Gedolah*), i.e., heads of the Jewish community. However, certain sources (e.g., Targ. Song 7:3, and the phrase "remnants of the Great Synagogue") suggest that the members of the Assembly constituted it, and were not merely a part of it. Finally, some (e.g., Finkelstein) regard the *Keneset ha-Gedolah* as a high court, the precursor of the *Sanhedrin ha-Gadol*; but rabbinic evidence (see below) suggests rather "a great legislative and administrative council rather than… a tribunal" (see Baron, Social^2, 1 (1952), 368). What emerges clearly, thus far, is that this institution, whatever it was, had its origins in the organizational framework set up in Ezra 's time. These first-generation developments (cf. Ezra 10: 14–17; et al.) were perpetuated probably in the form of a loosely knit representative body meeting at (irregular?) intervals to pass major enactments.

Enactments

A brief survey of the legislative achievements of the "Men of the Great Synagogue" (or rather those attributed to them) may cast further light on the character of the institution. Traditionally they introduced the **Shemoneh Esreh* (Meg. 17b; et al.), and further "instituted for Israel the *benedictions and prayers as well as the benedictions for **Kiddush* and **Havdalah*" (Ber. 33a). In fact, the traditional view is that the entire liturgy was given a definite form during this period. They established the festival of Purim (Meg. 2a), and they held 24 fasts to pray that *soferim* ("scribes") should not become wealthy, thus assuring a plentiful supply of *sifrei Torah, tefillin* and *mezuzot* for all time (Pes. 50b). They are said to have introduced the classification of the Oral Law into three fields of study, that of Midrash (in the broadest sense of the word), *halakhot*, and *aggadot* (TJ, Shek. 5:1, 48c). They were also active in the field of masoretic studies (Tanḥ. Shemot 17, for *Tikkun Soferim*) and canonization, and to them is attributed the inclusion in the canon of the Books of Ezekiel, Daniel, Esther, and the Twelve Minor Prophets (BB 15a, where "wrote" probably means included in the canon). Achievements such as the formulation of the liturgy, etc., are suggestive of a lengthy progressive development, stretched over a considerable period of time. Furthermore, decisions of such gravity as the canonization of biblical books, etc., could only have been taken by a body of supreme religious authority. These were not the rulings of small local synods (such as are mentioned by Hecateus of Abdera, c. 300 B.C.E.; Reinach, Textes, 17f.), but of a great all-embracing council justly called the "Great Assembly" (but see Yoma 69b, for the rabbinic interpretation of the phrase). There was probably no permanent membership to this council (hence "Men of the Great Synagogue," rather than the "Great Synagogue" itself), nor even a fixed number of participants at its meetings (Zeitlin's view). Thus while R. Johanan taught that "120 elders, including some prophets" instituted the *Shemoneh Esreh* (Meg. 17b), in TJ, Megillah 1:7, 70d, he states that 85 elders, among them about 30 prophets, established the feast of Purim (but see L. Ginzberg, *Perushim ve-Ḥiddushim ba-Yerushalmi*, 1 (1941), 327–30 for harmonistic emendations, following Krochmal). Perhaps out of this body evolved the **gerousia*, which is known to have existed in the time of Simeon (II) the Just (Jos., Ant., 12:142) and over which he probably presided (Tcherikover, op. cit. 81), and subsequent administrative bodies such as the Hasmonean *ḥever.* It probably had combined judicial and administrative authority, and indeed rabbinic tradition (Ḥag. 2:2) ascribes the division of functions to the post-Simeon period of the *zugot* ("pairs").

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[Daniel Sperber]

SYNAGOGUE COUNCIL OF AMERICA, THE, organization formally founded in 1926 on the basis of a suggestion made in 1924 by Rabbi Abram Simon, then president of the Central Conference of American rabbis, that there should be cooperation among the religious elements of American Jewry. In January 1925, Simon offered a resolution at the Union of American Hebrew Congregations calling for a meeting of congregational and rabbinical bodies to consider questions they had in common. Such a meeting was held in June 1925, and as a result the Synagogue Council of America was formed. A constitution was adopted in 1926 and Simon was elected chairman (a title later changed to president). The six organizations making up the Synagogue Council were the Central Conference of American Rabbis, the Rabbinical Assembly, and the Rabbinical Council, representing respectively the Reform, Conservative, and Orthodox rabbinates; and the Union of American Hebrew Congregations (Reform), United Synagogue of America (Conservative), and the Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations, representing the congregational bodies.

The original declaration of principles provided that the Synagogue Council speak with a united voice in furthering their common religious interests without in any way interfering with the autonomy of any of its constituents. The first project of the Synagogue Council was an exhibit, "Jewish Life in America," at the Sesquicentennial Exposition in Philadelphia. The Synagogue Council at first tried to grapple with religious problems, but the diversity of views prevented any constructive work. From the 1960s onward the Synagogue Council was active almost exclusively in representing the religious Jewish community to the government and Christian religious bodies. It was one of three sponsors of the National Conference on Religion and Race held in January 1963 in Chicago, a participant in the 1960 White House Conference on Children and Youth and in the 1961 White House Conference on Aging, and a sponsor, with the National Council of Churches and the National Conference of Catholic Bishops, of the Interreligious Conference on the Role of Conscience held in May 1967. It also spoke out on social and international issues, voicing the Jewish viewpoint. It also held convocations on matters of concern to the Jewish religious community. As the disappointment in ecumenical dialogue set in, particularly with mainstream Protestant Churches, in the aftermath of the Six-Day War and the perception that the Churches were silent in Israel's hour of need, there was a de-emphasis of the importance of the Synagogue Council and of its actual accomplishments. Other organizations, more narrow in focus and less cumbersome to maneuver, took up the slack and in the aftermath of Vatican II the Catholic-Jewish dialogue intensified but other institutions led the way.

There was always considerable controversy within the Orthodox community as to participation with non-Orthodox rabbis and the issue of the Orthodox granting legitimacy to what some considered non-Orthodox "non-rabbis." Rabbi Soloveitchik had permitted participation – or more accurately, had not forbidden participation – of the rabbis he ordained. When he left public life, even before his death the pressures on the Orthodox participants intensified and many felt more comfortable participating in avowedly secular organizations where similar work was undertaken.

The presidency of the Synagogue Council rotated consecutively among a Reform, Conservative, and Orthodox rabbi. Its role withered, as did its function and even the organization itself. The Council ceased to exist in 1994.

[Sidney L. Regner]

SYNGALOWSKI, ARON (1890–1956), a leader of *ORT. Born in a village near Baranovichi, Belorussia, at the age of 16 he joined the Jewish Socialist territorialist movement, in which he became known as a brilliant orator under the name "Aron Czenstochover." Shortly before World War I he moved to Germany. In 1920, David *Lvovich, a childhood friend, together with Leon *Bramson, arrived in Berlin representing Russian ORT. From that time onward Syngalowski devoted himself to the growth and development of that organization. In 1921, when the World ORT Union was organized in Berlin, he became vice chairman of the executive committee, and after Bramson's death, in 1941, he became chairman of the executive committee. Credit for the reconstruction of the ORT network after World War II and the establishment of its activities in Israel in 1948 is due largely to Syngalowski. He died in Paris and was buried in Geneva. The ORT school in Tel Aviv was named after him.

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[Vladimir Seev Halperin]

SYNODS, conventions of rabbis, with or without the participation of laymen, held to deliberate and adopt **takkanot* (regulations) and decide on ways and methods of exerting social and moral leadership. The synods originated from, and were activated by, the ideal of reference to a central halakhic authority and a unifying national leadership. The need was felt in the context of the Jewish dispersion and the breakup of the established central institutions, coupled with the diminishing influence of the *geonim* and exilarchs which had become manifestly evident by the second half of the 11th century.

The communities of northern France were the first to inaugurate a long series of synods, which resorted to the sanction of the *ḥerem* ("ban"). The dates on which these synods were held and the identity of their initiators cannot be clearly established because of the tendency to ascribe synodal activity to a single scholar; a whole series of synodal resolutions of a later period were attributed to *Gershom b. Judah and were known as the "*Ḥerem* of R. Gershom." Synods were often held at fairs, like those of Champagne. Like the later fairs in Poland and Lithuania, they were a convenient place to hold conventions.

The first full-fledged Ashkenazi synod should probably be dated around 1150. It was convened at *Troyes by Jacob b. Meir (*Tam) and his brother *Samuel b. Meir (Rashbam). Among questions of Jewish law discussed were those relating to *informers and litigation by Jews in non-Jewish courts. The phrasing of the *takkanot* shows that by "informers" the rabbis also understood ideological opponents who were ready to turn for support to Christian rulers. Another synod took place also at Troyes after 1160. Representatives attended from the communities of the Kingdom of France, and from Normandy and Poitiers. The subject discussed was the dowry of a wife who died within the first year of marriage. The French synods were followed by meetings in the three Rhine cities of Speyer, Worms, and Mainz (Heb. abbr. שו״ם * "Shum"). In 1196 David b. Kalonymus presided over a synod at one of these cities. It dealt with *ḥaliẓah* and other subjects. Some time later an assembly of rabbis adopted resolutions on 20 major legal, moral, and communal matters. In 1220 a gathering at Mainz reaffirmed some of the decisions of the previous synod and added a number of new items. Three years later another meeting at Speyer reenacted the regulations of the two previous conventions. No further synods are known to have taken place until one met at Mainz (c. 1250). Some time later *Meir b. Baruch of Rothenburg, after consulting Jedidiah of Speyer by letter, called a meeting of community representatives at Nuremberg to regulate the problem of wives who deserted their husbands, the so-called "intractable wife" (*moredet*).

In the 14th century the German *Ḥayyim b. Isaac "Or Zaru'a," convened an assembly to rule on the question of offering legal advice to a litigant. In July 1381, at a council in Mainz attended by the local rabbi Moses b. Jekuthiel and other prominent scholars, *ḥaliẓah* was the main topic discussed. Illustrative of the dangers under which synods then convened is the synod of 1386 held in Weissefels, Saxony, consisting of both rabbis and laymen who were to deliberate on religious matters. The travelers had obtained safe-conduct passes from the Saxon princes. Nevertheless a party of German robber-nobles plundered them of their possessions, and held them until a substantial ransom was paid. A complaint to the princes who had issued the safe-conduct brought no redress since all agreed that "the enemies of Christ" deserved no better treatment. Around 1400 a meeting at Erfurt forbade a *Kohen* to pass the city and cemetery at funerals until the dead had been carried through those gates. In 1530 an assembly at Augsburg, convened by *Josel of Rosheim, passed a resolution against usury, besides deliberating many other pressing issues. Twelve years later a synod at Worms, attended by delegates from Frankfurt, Landau, and other towns, renewed the old prohibition on rabbinical bans issued against nonresidents. Not until the synod in Frankfurt in 1603 were questions of Jewish law again discussed. Many significant *takkanot* were enacted there. An investigation by the government of the contents of these ordinances caused serious anxiety among the Jews who had been accused of high treason.

In southern Europe probably the earliest recorded synod took place in 1238 on the island of Crete (Candia). A rabbi Baruch b. Isaac from northern Europe, who visited the Jewish community there on his way to the Holy Land, was amazed at the laxity of religious and moral behavior among the local Jews; he was instrumental in having some 15 prominent Jews of the island adopt a series of ten ordinances to strengthen piety and adapt European *takkanot* to local needs. In 1289 *Hillel b. Samuel of Verona, a philosopher, attempted a very ambitious but abortive Jewish synod to bolster the Maimonidean position on religious issues (see Maimonidean *Controversy). A committee elected two years earlier at a convention in Bologna of delegates from the Papal States, Tuscany, Padua, and Ferrara, adopted in 1418 a number of sumptuary regulations. Several other meetings dealt with general communal problems. The synod at Ferrara in 1554 adopted many significant resolutions, among them a regulation on Hebrew book printing, all of which remained in force until the 18th century.

The French *Sanhedrin of 1807, though it concerned itself with questions of faith, was convened by the secular powers, not by the Jews themselves, and could not therefore exercise any considerable influence on the convictions of the Jewish people. Synods called in the 19th century were animated by the spirit of religious *Reform, such as the Reform rabbinical *conferences in Germany first held in Wiesbaden in 1837. They laid the foundations of liberal thinking on Jewish beliefs and practices.

These synods failed in their purpose of acting as central religious authorities. Each of the Reform groups followed its own course; the Orthodox were hostile to the whole procedure.

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[Isaac Levitats]

SYRACUSE, city in S.E. Sicily. Inscriptions and other archaeological evidence attest the presence of Jews in Syracuse from Roman times. Toward the middle of the fifth century, the Vandals destroyed the synagogue there, and in 655 the Jews asked the Byzantine authorities for permission to rebuild it. In the 12th century, the Jews of Syracuse received through their rabbi Anatoli b. Joseph a reply by *Maimonides to a legal question. The community was second in importance in Sicily after *Palermo. Two documents from the end of the 14th and beginning of the 15th centuries suggest that the number of Jews in Syracuse exceeded 5,600. The community attained its most prosperous period from the end of the 13th to the end of the 14th centuries, under the rule of the house of Aragon. The administration of the community, whose first regulations dating from 1363 have been preserved, was conducted by 12 *maggiorenti* and 12 *prothi* who had jurisdiction over the religious life of the community and its revenues. The *procuratores et nuncii* represented the community before the government. When in 1395 King Martin I established the office of judge-general for the Jews *(Dienchelele), a Jew of Syracuse, Joseph *Abenafia, was appointed to this office: on his death he was succeeded by Rais of Syracuse.

King Frederick III intervened in favor of the Jews of Syracuse who were harassed by the ecclesiastical authorities in 1375, and the regulations on their behalf were confirmed by King Marlin in 1392. The Jews obtained further privileges in 1399, when they were exempted from the obligation of supplying wax to the court and flags for the castles. When in 1455 various Jews from Syracuse made a clandestine attempt to immigrate to Ereẓ Israel, they were arrested. The community succeeded, however, in obtaining permission for Jews to emigrate in small groups. Among the scholars who lived in Syracuse was Isaac b. Solomon *Alḥadib, astronomer and translator, and Shalom b. Solomon Yerushalmi, for whom several manuscripts were copied. After the edict of expulsion of the Jews from Spanish domains was issued in 1492 it is estimated that about 5,000 Jews left Syracuse. They are said to have represented 40% of the city's population. The "Purim of Syracuse", still observed by some Sephardi Jewish families, probably refers not to Syracuse but to Saragossa in Spain. A number of tombstones dating from the Middle Ages with Hebrew inscriptions have recently been discovered in Syracuse, and the findings published.

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[Sergio Joseph Sierra]

SYRACUSE, industrial and transportation center in central New York State. The city's Jewish population in 1969 was approximately 13,000 out of a total of 563,000. (For figures for the 2000s, see below.) The first Jew known to have settled in Syracuse was Hesel Rosenbach, who arrived in 1824. Following the completion of the Erie Canal a year later, additional Jews were attracted to the city, and in 1839 a group of German-Jewish immigrants from New York City formed Congregation Keneseth Sholom, whose first rabbi was Abraham Gunzenheimer. More Jews came to settle in the 1840s and a second congregation, consisting of Polish and English Jews, erected a synagogue in 1854, when 184 Jewish families were recorded living in Syracuse. In 1864 a split between Orthodox and Reform factions at Keneseth Sholom led to the formation of a third synagogue, Adath Jeshurun. A local YMHA was organized in 1861 and a chapter of B'nai B'rith in 1867. By then some Jews had already achieved positions of economic importance. Marcus Cone was elected a director of the Merchants Bank when it was founded in 1850, and Joseph Falker was named second vice president of the Syracuse Savings Bank in 1860. A special Jewish company under the command of Captain Solomon Light was formed during the Civil War and served with the 149th Onondoga Regiment from 1862 to 1865.

A large influx of Lithuanian and Polish Jews in the years after 1870 swelled the Jewish population of Syracuse to five or six thousand by 1900. The new immigrants formed a number of charitable organizations such as a burial society, a wayfarers' inn, and a Jewish Ladies Aid Society, all of which were combined into a United Jewish Charities in 1891. The first local Zionist group, the Zion Society, was organized in 1896 and a Hebrew Free School, largely serving the Orthodox community, was established in 1897. The leader of Congregation Adath Jeshurun in the 1890s was Joseph H. *Hertz, later to become Chief Rabbi of Great Britain. During these years Jews began to play an increasingly prominent role in local economic and political life; by the end of the 19th century Sol *Rosenblum & Sons owned a large department store; Gates Thalheimer had one of the largest individually owned wholesale grocery businesses in the state; Moses Oberdorfer was in the process of building the Oberdorfer Foundries; and Danziger Brothers was operating a clothing factory employing over a thousand hands. Jacob Levi was elected a city councilman for four terms starting from 1870 and George Freeman for eight terms from 1880. Joseph Bondy was county supervisor from 1885 to 1890 and was later elected to the New York State Assembly. Louis *Marshall, whose father was an early settler in Syracuse, practiced law there until 1894.

Beginning with the 1900s, the early settlers began moving eastward away from the old Jewish neighborhood. The older synagogues followed them and a number of new ones were later built in the suburbs, such as Beth Israel (1962) and the Suburban Jewish Center of North Syracuse (1954). In 1968 a Jewish community center, which grew out of the original YMHA, had a membership of 5,000 and served the entire Jewish community. Fundraising was undertaken by the Syracuse Jewish Federation, whose Jewish Family Service Bureau helped settle some 200 refugee families from Europe in the city in the years before World War II.

Wage-earners in the Jewish community in 1968 were heavily concentrated in the professions. A study in 1966 showed that over 15% of Syracuse's lawyers and 20% of its doctors were Jewish. Many Jews worked as engineers and scientists in Syracuse's industrial plants. Many others were connected with the faculties of Syracuse University and the Upstate Medical College, both of which also had a high percentage of Jews in their student bodies. Jews continued to be active in local civic life as well.

In early 21st century the Jewish population numbered approximately 9,000.

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[Bernard G. Rudolph]

SYRIA, state in southwest Asia. Although constantly subject to changes, the country's boundaries were primarily: Ereẓ Israel to the south, Asia Minor (Turkey) to the north, Mesopotamia to the east, and the Mediterranean to the west.

Biblical and Second Temple Period

For its earlier history see *Aram; *Aram-Damascus. During the late biblical era the political history of Syria is somewhat similar to that of Ereẓ Israel, as both territories were either subject to the great powers of the east (e.g., Egypt, Assyria, Babylonia) or disputed by two or more prominent empires. (Under subsequent Roman rule the two districts were often considered one entity, with jurisdiction over the area in the hands of the Syrian governor). During the Hellenistic period Syria served as the administrative center of the *Seleucid Empire, with *Antioch as the capital. With the collapse of that empire the country passed briefly into the hands of the Armenians and was eventually conquered by *Pompey (64 B.C.E.). The defense of Syria became strategically vital to the Roman Empire because it was the eastern outpost bordering on the perennial enemy, in the form of the Parthian and subsequently the Sassanid empires. In 616, Syria was briefly controlled by the Persians under Chosroes II and was recaptured by the Byzantines only to fall to the Muslims in 636.

Dating back to biblical times, the Jewish community in Syria developed due to the proximity of the Jewish center in Palestine. Thus, according to Josephus, Ezra was commanded by the Persian Xerxes to appoint judges among the Jews "to hold court in all of Syria and *Phoenicia" (Ant. 11:129). During the Second Temple period, the Jewish community apparently thrived, and even Roman governors of Syria were known to fall under the influence of the Jewish multitudes (cf. Philo, *Legatio ad Gaium 355–367*). Similarly, Josephus, in describing the tribulations of the Jews of Antioch, begins by stressing that "the Jewish race, densely interspersed among the native populations of every portion of the world, is particularly numerous in Syria, where intermingling is due to the proximity of the two countries. It was at Antioch that they especially congregated, possibly owing to the greatness of that city, but mainly because the successors of King Antiochus [Epiphanes, 175–164 B.C.E.] had enabled them to live there in security" (Wars 7:43). These Jews therefore flourished and were in a position to send costly offerings to the Temple at Jerusalem. The community was granted citizen rights equal to those of the Greeks (*ibid.*; cf. Apion 2:39, where these rights were granted by the founder of the city, Seleucus I Nicator), and this probably caused considerable envy of the Jews, which erupted into violence upon the declaration in Palestine of the great war against Rome (66 C.E.). Jewish influence was also felt in *Damascus, where a majority of the female Greek population had strong leanings toward Judaism. This, however, did not prevent the Greeks of that city from slaughtering the entire Jewish population of 10,500 with the outbreak of the Jewish-Roman War (Wars 2:561).

Both the proximity to Ereẓ Israel and the great number of Syrian Jews subsequently convinced the rabbis to consider the area similar to Palestine in certain respects, and thus the *halakhot* "pertaining to the land" (מִצְווֹת הַתְּלוּיוֹת בָּאָרֶץ) were often applied to Syria. The Mishnah states that: "He who buys land in Syria is as one who buys in the outskirts of Jerusalem" (Hal. 4:11); "If Israelites leased a field from gentiles in Syria, R. Eliezer declares their produce liable to tithes and subject to the Sabbatical laws, but R. Gamaliel declares it exempt" (*ibid.* 4:7). Numerous tannaitic traditions discuss the particular halakhic status of Syria (cf. Tosef., Kelim BK 1:5, Ter. 2:9–13; Av. Zar. 2:8), and it appears that the rabbis differentiated between certain districts in Syria (Tosef. Peah 4:6). Nevertheless, the Jews of Syria probably considered themselves part of the Diaspora, and this would explain not only financial support of the Palestinian rabbis, but also the fact that a number of Syrian Jews were brought to *Bet Shearim for burial.

[Isaiah Gafni]

From the Arab Conquest

As far as can be deduced from the writings of Arab historians the Jews of Syria did not occupy a position of prominence at the time of the conquest of the country by the Arabs during the 630s. There is, however, no doubt that they preferred the conquerors, as did most of the population, to the Byzantine rulers. In the history of the conquest related by the Arab historians the Jews are occasionally mentioned among the groups of the population who negotiated with the Arabs; they were included in the surrender treaty of *Damascus in 635. Later, when the inhabitants of *Tripoli fled to Byzantium, the Arabs placed a Jewish garrison in this important coastal town. With the Arab conquest the situation of the Jews was improved in comparison to the former servitude and religious coercion. The Umayyad dynasty, which chose Damascus as the capital of the Muslim empire, treated non-Muslims with tolerance. As the number of Christians in Syria was far greater than that of the Jews, the Arab authors principally mention the Christian officials and counselors of the first *Umayyads; there were, however, several Jews in the royal court of Muʿāwiya. Although the last Umayyads, the descendants of Marwān, emphasized the Muslim character of the kingdom, they did not harass the Jews. With the advent of the *Abbasids (750) there was a decisive change in the attitude of the Muslim kingdom toward Jews and Christians – a situation which was acutely felt in Syria. The burden of the taxes was increased and growing pressure was exerted on non-Muslim groups to convert to *Islam. During this period the Muslim authorities began

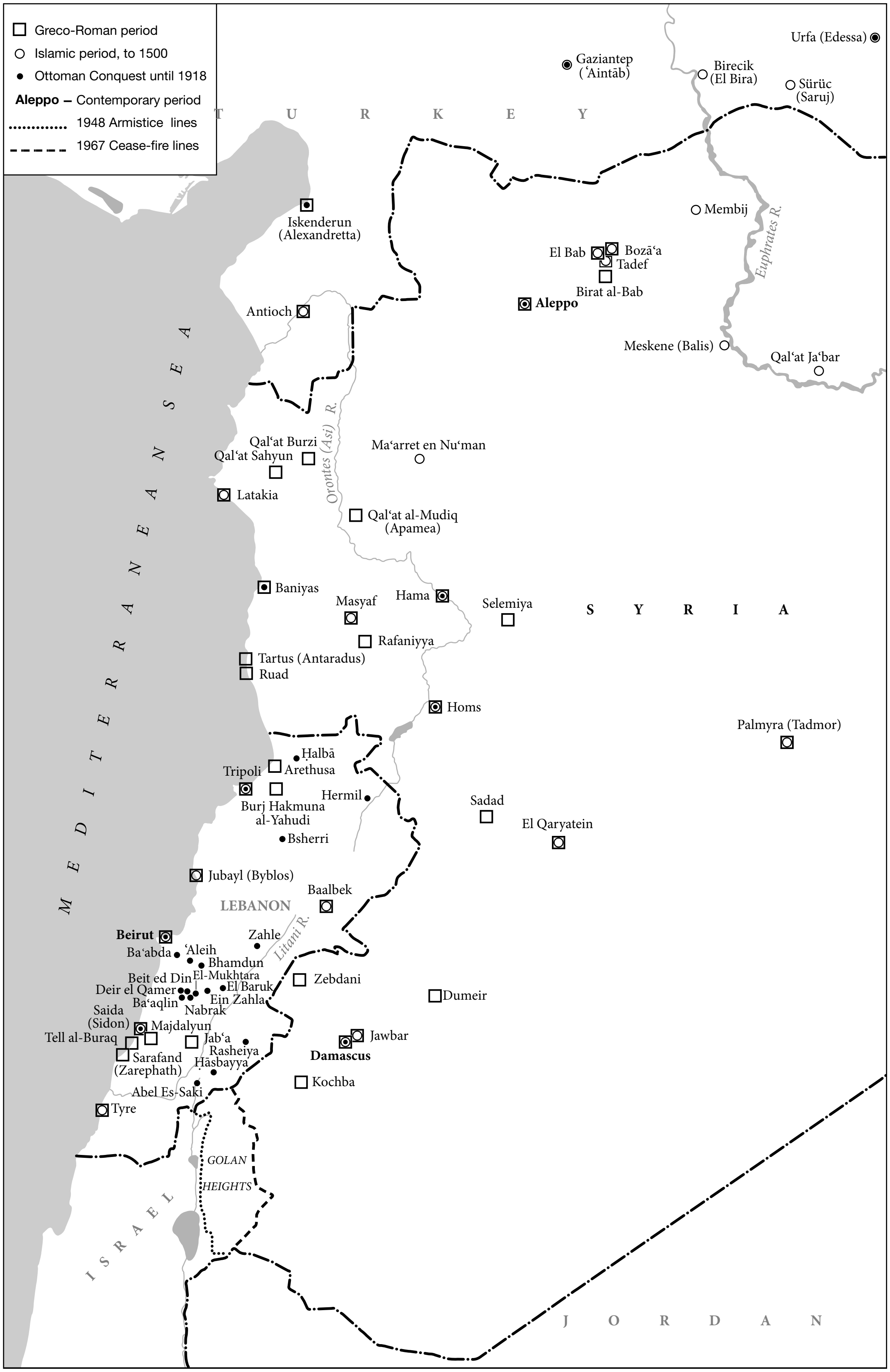

□ Greco-Roman period
○ Islamic period, to 1500
● Ottoman Conquest until 1918
Aleppo – Contemporary period
1948 Armistice lines
1967 Cease-fire lines
TURKEY
SYRIA
LEBANON
ISRAEL
JORDAN
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
GOLAN HEIGHTS
Euphrates R.
Orontes (Asi) R.
Litani R.
Gaziantep (ʿAintāb)
Urfa (Edessa)
Birecik (El Bira)
Sürüc (Saruj)
Iskenderun (Alexandretta)
Membij
El Bab
Bozāʿa
Tadef
Birat al-Bab
Antioch
Aleppo
Meskene (Balis)
Qalʿat Jaʿbar
Qalʿat Burzi
Qalʿat Sahyun
Maʿarret en Nuʿman
Latakia
Qalʿat al-Mudiq (Apamea)
Baniyas
Masyaf
Hama
Selemiya
Rafaniyya
Tartus (Antaradus)
Ruad
Homs
Palmyra (Tadmor)
Ḥalbā
Arethusa
Tripoli
Hermil
Burj Hakmuna al-Yahudi
Bsherri
Sadad
El Qaryatein
Jubayl (Byblos)
Baalbek
Beirut
Zahle
Baʿabda
ʿAleih
Bhamdun
Beit ed Din
El-Mukhtara
Deir el Qamer
El Baruk
Baʿaqlin
Ein Zahla
Nabrak
Zebdani
Dumeir
Saida (Sidon)
Majdalyun
Tell al-Buraq
Jabʿa
Rasheiya
Jawbar
Damascus
Sarafand (Zarephath)
Hāsbayya
Kochba
Abel Es-Saki
Tyre

Major Jewish communities in Syria.

to issue decrees against Jews and Christians, e.g., separation from Muslims by wearing distinctive signs on their clothing (see Covenant of *Omar).

The disintegration of the Abbasid caliphate began in the early ninth century. For a period of four centuries Syria became the scene of a struggle between various dynasties and the Jews, like the remainder of the population, suffered greatly. The local rulers and the governors of the caliphs who often regained control over Syria were incapable, for example, of preventing the invasion of the Karmatian hordes from Bahrain or of the Byzantines who penetrated into the country on several occasions and devastated it. In spite of this the tenth century was a period of numerical growth and economic progress for the Jewish population of Syria. The ruin which at the time befell *Iraq as a result of the political chaos prompted many of its Jews to immigrate to other countries, and a considerable number settled in Syria. The emigrants retained their identity and founded their own synagogues in the towns where their numbers were considerable. The Jews then began to play an important role in commerce and banking, even though most of them were craftsmen. The tenth-century Arab geographer al-Maqdisī wrote in his work that "in this land, most of the bankers, dyers, and tanners are Jews."

Immediately after their conquest of Egypt (969) the *Fatimids sent their armies to Syria, which they also succeeded in annexing. Their control over Syria, however, was unstable and the northern regions detached themselves from their authority after a short while. This Shiʿite dynasty, which sought to depose the orthodox caliphs of the Abbasid dynasty, displayed tolerance toward the members of other faiths either because this policy was in accordance with their religious outlook or under the force of circumstances. The period of Fatimid rule over southern Syria was a prosperous one for the Jewish communities. The first vizier of the Fatimids, Jacob *Ibn Killis, a Jew who converted to Islam but remained loyal to his former coreligionists, appointed a Jew, Manasseh b. Abraham al-*Qazzāz, to head the administration of Syria. He utilized his powers on behalf of the Jews and granted many of them positions in government. His son Aṣiya was also a high ranking official in the government. At the beginning of the 11th century the attitude toward the Jews changed for a time when the caliph al-Ḥākim issued various decrees against non-Muslims. In several towns synagogues were destroyed or converted into mosques. After a few years, however, al-Ḥākim reconsidered these moves and the synagogues were returned to the Jews or new ones were constructed. The leading communities in Syria at the time existed in Damascus, *Aleppo, and *Tyre; there were also smaller communities in *Tripoli, *Jubayl, Baalbek, Baniyas, Bazāʿa, and others. The Jews of Syria maintained regular contact with the Palestine academy and were guided by its leaders in all religious affairs. The communities of Syria themselves produced eminent scholars during the 11th century, among them R. *Baruch b. Isaac, who was rabbi in Aleppo during the second half of the century and wrote commentaries on the *Gemara*, as well as other intellectuals who wrote florid poems in Hebrew.

During the 1070s the *Seljuk armies invaded and conquered Syria, with the exception of the coastal strip to the south of *Tripoli. The Seljuk conquest brought disaster to the whole of Syria and Ereẓ Israel and the academy was consequently transferred from *Jerusalem to Tyre and then during the crusader invasion to Ḥadrak near *Damascus, and later to Damascus itself. At the close of the century the crusaders arrived in Syria and conquered the coastal strip. Many Jews fled to towns in the interior of Syria, which remained under Muslim domination. *Benjamin of Tudela, the 12th-century traveler, provides statistics on the number of the Jewish inhabitants in the towns of Syria, many of whom he states were dyers. The Jews of *Antioch and Tyre also engaged in the manufacture of glass, and other sources confirm that many of the Jews of Tyre earned their livelihood in this industry. Jews in Tyre were also engaged in international commerce. The spiritual and religious life of the Jews of Syria was concentrated around the academy, which Solomon, son of the *Gaon* *Elijah ha-Kohen, had transferred to Damascus. The academy continued to exist for several generations and its leaders were known as **geonim*. During the 1140s it was headed by *Abraham b. Mazhir and then by his son *Ezra, whom Benjamin of Tudela met. These heads of academies were the final authority in all matters pertaining to religious life, and the descendants of the Babylonian *exilarchs, who were referred to by the title of *nasi*, also played a role in the leadership of the Jewish population.

During the 1170s Sultan Ṣalāḥ-al-Dīn (referred to as *Saladin by the Christians) succeeded in uniting *Egypt and Muslim Syria under his domination and was thus able to conquer considerable territory from the crusaders. Saladin and his successors, who belonged to the Kurdish *Ayyubid dynasty, were not inclined to persecute non-Muslims and permitted Jews to return to Jerusalem in 1187 after they had conquered the city from the crusaders. Indeed the situation of the Jews improved during this period as a result of the lenient attitude of the Ayyubids and the economic prosperity of the state, owing to the close commercial ties with European countries, notably the Italian commercial colonies of the coastal towns. The Hebrew poet Judah *Al-Ḥarizi, who visited Syria in the late 1210s, mentions a lengthy list of physicians and government officials in the communities of Damascus and *Aleppo.

In 1260 Syria was invaded by the *Mongols, led by Hulagu Khan. They carried out massacres in several towns, but it appears that Jews, like Christians, suffered less than Muslims. In Arab historians' reports of the conquest it is indicated that the great synagogue in the town of Aleppo was one of the refuges which remained untouched by the Mongols and that all the Jews who had escaped to this place were saved. There was no bloodshed in Damascus since the town surrendered to the Mongols. The two largest Jewish communities in Syria thus remained unharmed. The Mongols also advanced into Ereẓ Israel but were defeated at Ayn Jalut (near Ein-Harod) by the Mamluk army coming from Egypt and retreated from Syria (1260). From then until the beginning of the 16th century the *Mamluk sultans ruled Syria. The Mamluks were inclined to accede to the requests of the Muslim theologians and frequently issued decrees against the non-Muslim communities, such as those pertaining to clothing and the dismissal of Jewish (and Christian) officials from government service (1301). The Mamluks, however, were unable to administer their affairs without the assistance of experienced officials and these were therefore restored to their positions after a short while. Yet these decrees intensified conversion to Islam within the non-Muslim intellectual classes.

After the Mamluks conquered *Acre (1291) and the other coastal towns which had remained in the hands of the Crusaders, they destroyed them so that they would not provide a foothold in the event of further invasions from the sea. The ancient communities in these towns, such as the large community of Tyre, thus disappeared. The Jews probably settled in Damascus and Aleppo, where from that time the majority of the Jewish population of Syria resided. The deputy of the **nagid* of Cairo, whose status was recognized by the Muslim authorities, stood at the head of the Jewish community in Syria, as did the *nesi'im* of the House of David, who were known as *exilarchs. On the occasion of the controversy between the kabbalists of Acre and R. David Shimoni during the 1280s, the exilarch of Damascus, R. Jesse b. Hezekiah, supported the Maimonidean faction, and in 1286 he issued a *ḥerem* (ban) against *Maimonides' opponents.

During the second half of the 14th century there were frequent changes in the leadership of the Mamluk State and certain rulers once more found it necessary to resort to decrees against the non-Muslim communities in order to mollify their subjects; in 1354 the decrees of 1301 (see above) were reintroduced in Syria. One of the officials, the Karaite Moses b. Samuel of Damascus, later expressed his experiences in Hebrew poems, particularly on how he went on a pilgrimage to Mecca in the retinue of a Mamluk minister. Non-Muslim officials were returned to their positions after a short while, but Muslim fanatics occasionally induced the authorities to renew the discriminatory decrees and thus caused Jews (and Christians) much suffering.

At the close of 1400 the Mongolian leader, Timur Lank (Tamerlane), invaded Syria with a powerful army, captured Aleppo, massacring its people, and then plundered Hama and Damascus. Before he returned to Central Asia his troops burned Damascus, while many craftsmen were taken captive and exiled to Samarkand. Arabic, Latin, and Hebrew sources indicate that the fate of the Jews was no different from that of the other inhabitants; many of them were killed or exiled. The Jewish population recovered very slowly from these misfortunes. During the 15th century trade in the region prospered once more and European merchants returned to Syria to buy spices and other goods from the Far East. Most Syrian Jews were craftsmen and small merchants, a certain number of whom were living in poverty. Extant information on the size of the Jewish community, which was recorded by Jewish travelers of the late 15th century, confirms its impoverishment during the Mamluk period. According to the writings of R. Joseph de Montagnana, R. Meshullam of Volterra, R. Obadiah of Bertinoro, and an anonymous traveler from Italy, there were about 400–500 families in Damascus (apart from *Karaites and Samaritans). The above-mentioned travelers left no data on other communities, with the exception of R. Obadiah of Bertinoro, who points out that there were 100 families in Tripoli. Thus, the Jewish population of Syria consisted of not more than 1,200 families, or approximately 7,000 persons.

In 1492, Jews were expelled from Spain and many went to countries like *Italy and *Turkey before settling in Syria and bringing about a decisive change in the composition and nature of the Jewish community. Once the number of Spanish Jews in the Syrian towns increased, various problems related to the organization of the communities appeared and the process of their assimilation with the native-born Arabized Jews, the *Mustarabs, raised considerable difficulties. The language spoken by the expellees, their way of life, habits, and outlook were different from the accepted Jewish way of life of Middle Eastern countries. In the large towns – where they resided in greater numbers – the Spanish Jews established their own communities, with independent synagogues, cemeteries, and *battei din*. The wide erudition of their rabbis and the relatively large number of scholars among the Spanish Jews helped them to become leaders of Syrian Jewry throughout the eastern part of the Mediterranean.

A new and significant era in the history of Syria started in 1516 with the defeat of the Mamluks by the Ottoman Turks, who had earlier, in 1453, captured Constantinople and put an end to the Byzantine empire. The 400 years of Ottoman rule (until 1917) greatly contributed to shaping politics, administration, economy, and society in the Syrian lands (including Lebanon and Palestine–Ereẓ Israel), particularly during the 19th century.

One of the largest Muslim empires in history, the Ottoman Sultanate, now controlled major Islamic, Christian, and Jewish centers – Jerusalem, Bethlehem, Damascus – as well as *Mecca, *Medina, and Constantinople-*Istanbul. The majority Muslim-Arabic speaking population and religious leaders developed, by and large, quasi-allegiance to the sultan, who was represented by Ottoman pashas, governors of several provinces – *eyalets* or *vilayets* of Aleppo, Damascus, Sidon, Acre, and *Beirut. These governors, however, controlled only the major cities and their rural neighborhoods, but were periodically challenged by local forces. In the countryside, notably the mountain regions, feudal lords, tribal chiefs, and large families assumed autonomous rule, collected taxes for the sultan and provided tolerable security. Only from the 1830s – under the brief Egyptian rule (1832–40) and the reformed Ottoman administration – was the country gradually put under central control. The growing security facilitated the expansion of foreign activities, diplomatic, economic, and educational, notably by Russia, France, and Great Britain as well as by various missionary organizations. Their main object was the Christian communities in the Syrian lands, some half a million (out of the total population of a million and a half, mostly Sunni Muslims, and small communities of Alawis, Druze, and Jews – some 30,000 by the mid-19th century). Russia supported the (Greek) Orthodox Arabic-speaking Christians – the largest Christian community; France helped the Catholics, mainly the Maronites on Mount Lebanon; while Great Britain backed the newly established Protestant community as well as the Druze in Lebanon and Syria and the Jews in Palestine.

European economic activities that grew significantly during the 19th century benefited mostly Christians (and some wealthy Muslim and Jewish merchants) but damaged the livelihood of Muslim artisans and traders, members of the traditional middle classes. They and members of the lower classes were also badly affected by the newly introduced Ottoman reforms of the Tanzimat in 1839, 1856, and 1876, namely, regular taxation, mandatory recruitment to the army as well as some reduction in the role of Islam and equal status granted to non-Muslims, particularly Christians. All these developments – European intervention, the Tanzimat reforms and periodically provocative Christian behavior – led to Muslim-Christian tension and violence, particularly in Aleppo in 1850 and in Damascus in 1860. In Damascus thousands of Christians were massacred by Muslims, assisted actively by Druze and passively by Jews. Around the same time Druze in Lebanon massacred many Christian Maronites in an ongoing attempt to curb their socio-political ascendancy in Mount Lebanon.

As a result of these events, many thousands of Christians emigrated from Syria and Lebanon to more tolerant places, including Europe and the Americas. Many others, who remained in their homes, sought the protection of foreign powers to enhance their separate communal life. Yet, a small number of Christian intellectuals, mostly educated by American missionaries, tried to find a common ground with their Muslim neighbors in the Arabic language and culture and in secular patriotism centered on Syria. This cultural and patriotic movement constituted a first phase of Arab nationalism that emerged in the early 20th century, but initially it did not attract Muslim intellectuals, let alone Jewish ones.

Some Jews traveled on extended journeys. The strengthening of the ties between the Jews of Syria and Jewish communities in other parts of the empire and the commercial ties as well as the mutual relations between the communities of Syria and Ereẓ Israel resulted in a continued immigration of Spanish Jews to Syrian towns. Aside from the two large communities of Damascus and Aleppo, various 16th-century sources mention the continued existence of smaller communities in ʿAyntāb and Alexandretta (*Iskenderun) in the north of the country and in Hama, Tripoli, Beirut, Sidon, Baalbek, and Baniyas. There were also village settlements in southern Lebanon, to the south of Sidon, where at least some of the Jews engaged in agriculture. The most important community from both the economic and the cultural points of view was that of Aleppo. During the first half of the 16th century the community was headed by R. Meir Anashikon (*Kore ha-Dorot*, 33b) and at the close of the century by R. Samuel *Laniado. The rabbis of Syria during this period maintained regular contact with the rabbis in Ereẓ Israel and exchanged opinions with them in all religious and legal matters. The influence of the *Safed kabbalists was also important, especially in Damascus, where R. Ḥayyim *Vital and R. Moses *Alsheikh lived for a long time. The teachings of the *Kabbalah were propagated with great facility because the Spanish expellees and the first generations of their descendants were carried away by a mood for ecstatic religion. The religious awakening was also expressed in the writing of many homiletical works. Most of the works of the Syrian rabbis were published in Leghorn, Venice, or Istanbul. In 1605 a Hebrew printing press was established in Damascus, but only one book was printed before it closed. At the time there were also intellectuals among the Jews of Syria who wrote secular poems in Hebrew; aside from R. Israel *Najara no other poet of any stature appeared.

The proponents of Shabbateanism succeeded in winning followers in the communities of Syria, and *Shabbetai Ẓevi found many fervent supporters among them. Nathan of Gaza went to Damascus and Aleppo, and even after Shabbetai Ẓevi's conversion, he pursued his activity and received support from within these communities. Due to Aleppo's extensive commerce, Jewish merchants from European countries settled there and by their contributions enabled scholars to devote their lives to the study of the Torah. The literary activity of the rabbis of Aleppo continued as before and for a long time was led by the members of the Laniado family. In the large community of Damascus, however, there were also rabbis who were universally recognized as reliable authorities; these included R. Mordecai Galanté (at the close of the 18th century) and his son R. Moses *Galanté.

During the second half of the 18th century there was great decline in the trade of Aleppo, but on the other hand a wealthy class of bankers emerged among the Jews of Damascus, favored by the authorities and playing an important role in the development of community life. During the middle of the 18th century Saul Farḥi was the banker (*ṣarrāf*) of the governor of Damascus; his son *Ḥayyim succeeded him and helped organize the Turkish defenses during Napoleon's siege of Acre (1799). He played an important role in Jazzār Pasha's government in Acre until he was killed in 1820 on the order of ʿAbdallah Pasha.

During the 1830s, the Jewish bankers were led by Raphael Farḥi, brother of Ḥayyim Farḥi, who skillfully protected their positions. The Jewish community in the mountains of Lebanon prospered during this period, particularly in Deir el-Qamar and Ḥāsbayya. In 1832 Ibrahim Pasha, the son of Muhammad ʿAli of Egypt, conquered Syria and introduced modern administration in the country. The direction of the finances of Damascus was entrusted to a Christian, Hanna Bahri, a rival of Farhi. Even though Ibrahim Pasha abolished the discriminatory laws against the non-Muslim communities, he allowed the notorious *Damascus blood libel to occur (1840). Once this traumatic event subsided, the life of the Damascus community, as well as that of Jewish communities in the other towns of Syria, improved under the renewal of Ottoman rule. Most of the Damascus Jews earned their livelihoods in various crafts, and a small class of wealthy Jews engaged in the wholesale and international trade of Persian and local products, as well as in the leasing of taxes. Christians periodically devised more blood libels against the Jews, but with little effect. During the 1860 events the Jewish community of Syria-Lebanon was affected in two ways: in Damascus Christians accused Jews of assisting the rioters and enriched themselves by purchasing the looted property after it was plundered. Some Jews were indeed imprisoned as a result of these accusations until their innocence was proven. In the mountains of Lebanon Jewish communities in Druze villages, such as Deir el-Qamar and Ḥāsbayya, were liquidated.

The end of the 19th century saw a considerable decline in the economic conditions of the Jews in Damascus. Local industries were ruined due to the growing importation of European goods and the opening of the Suez Canal, in particular, which dealt a severe blow to the trade with Persia through the Syrian Desert. Many Jews from Damascus and other places settled in Beirut, which became a large town and a commercial center. Others immigrated overseas, particularly to the Americas. In Damascus, adherence to the values of Judaism was greatly weakened and attempts at the turn of the century to maintain Hebrew schools were unsuccessful. In contrast, the Orthodox Jews of Aleppo kept their traditional educational institutions and a Hebrew press was also established there in 1865. The difference between these two Jewish Syrian communities was also reflected in their attitudes toward the resettlement of Ereẓ Israel. While many of the Aleppo Jews immigrated to Ereẓ Israel and became an active element in its reconstruction, the presence of the Jews of Damascus was almost imperceptible.

After World War I there were three large communities in the French protectorates of Syria and *Lebanon: Damascus, Aleppo, and Beirut. In the first two communities there were about 6,000 Jews and in Beirut about 4,000, while in the other small communities there were about 2,000 persons. There was little public activity among the Jews of Syria. From 1921 a fortnightly newspaper in Arabic, *al-ʿĀlam al-Isrāʾīlī*, was published. In 1946 its name was changed to *al-Salām* (Peace).

[Eliyahu Ashtor / Moshe Maʿoz (2nd ed.)]

Contemporary Period

After World War I, with the collapse of the Ottoman Empire, Syria became, in 1918, a semi-independent state under the leadership of Amir (later King) Faysal, the son of the Sharif of Mecca and commander of the 1916 Arab revolt against the Turks. He worked to create for the first time a Syrian-Arab national community, where Muslims and non-Muslims could live as equals. He also acknowledged the Jewish national home in Ereẓ Israel and in 1919 reached an agreement on this issue with Chaim *Weizmann, head of the Zionist movement. In 1920, however, Faysal was ousted by a military force dispatched by France, which claimed control of Syria and Lebanon. This claim was confirmed by the League of Nations and these two countries were put under French Mandate until World War II. The French endeavored to undermine the Syrian-Arab national community while encouraging local autonomous regions, notably for Druze and Alawis, as well as favoring Christian communities. Jews were treated fairly by the authorities and granted representation in local and regional councils. But they were periodically harassed and some were murdered by Arab nationalists and Muslim fanatics, mainly on account of the Arab-Jewish conflict in Palestine-Ereẓ Israel. Following Syrian independence (1946) and the establishment of Israel (1948), Jews in Syria were subjected to considerable violence (see below).

The independent republic of Syria was initially governed by nationalist leaders and parties who had struggled against the French Mandate. But these failed to tackle the crucial socio-economic problems of the new state and the rebellious minorities as well as to defeat Israel in the 1948 war. Consequently, these civilian politicians were ousted by three military officers in turn, who dominated Syria until 1954. Returning to power, the veteran conservative parties were challenged by radical-secular parties: the communists, Syrian nationalists (PPS), and Baʿthists, who also competed for influence among military officers. These circumstances, compounded by threats of a pro-Soviet or pro-Western takeover, respectively, led Syria in 1958 to create a union with Egypt, the United Arab Republic. However, in 1961 Syria broke away from this union, owing to Egypt's strict domination as well as to discriminatory economic and political measures. In March 1963, Syrian army officers organized another military coup in the name of the Baʾth Party. They established a Baʾthist regime which is still in power (2006), having been headed by four successive leaders: Amīn al-Ḥāfiẓ, a Sunni-Muslim officer, until 1966; Ṣalāḥ Jadid, an Alawi officer, between 1966 and 1970, Ḥāfiẓ al-*Asad, another Alawi officer, between 1970 and 2000, who was succeeded by his son, Bashār, an ophthalmologist by profession. All four leaders were dictators, each developing distinct domestic and foreign policies. Amīn al-Ḥāfiẓ consolidated Baʾthist rule but was caught in a severe conflict between civilian and military factions. Jadīd developed a Marxist-socialist orientation and a militant anti-Israel line which led to the 1967 war. Ḥāfiẓ al-Asad established for the first time a personal-presidential rule that lasted for 30 years, the longest in the modern history of Syria. He continued the socio-economic revolution of his predecessors and the Alawi domination of the military and security apparatuses that had started with Jadīd. He expanded education and other public facilities, but failed to improve the economy and combat corruption. More than his predecessors, he encountered Islamic militant rebellion and put it down with barbaric force, killing some 20,000 people – including women and children

– in the city of Hama (1982). Earlier, he joined Egypt's president, al-*Sadat, in attacking Israel in 1973, but was badly defeated. Subsequently, he tried to maneuver between the Soviet Union, Syria's military supporter, and the U.S., Israel's ally. In the 1990s Asad entered a peace process with Israel with intense American mediation, but peace was not reached after all. Asad died in June 2000 and was succeeded by his son Bashār, who has actually reversed several policies and gains of his father. He has reflected weakness as a leader-ruler, aborted some new political reforms, failed to improve the economy, and lost control of Lebanon, which his father had managed to turn into a Syrian protectorate. Above all he has been more openly involved with Islamic terrorism and with the Iranian Islamic regime. He vehemently opposed the U.S.'s war in *Iraq in 2003 and made some crude antisemitic remarks, even though he suggested renewing the peace negotiations with Israel.

[Moshe Ma'oz (2nd ed.)]

Attitude Toward Israel

Relations between Syria and Israel were marked by political and military tension from the start. Syria's hostility toward Israel was more extreme than that of other Arab states for the following reasons: its ideology of Arab nationalism and its declared aim of destroying Israel and retrieving Palestine. These notions became more influential with the ascension of the Pan-Arab Ba'th Party to power in 1963 and its tendency to achieve a central position in inter-Arab relations. Also, the struggle for power in Syria sometimes found expression in the instigation of clashes on the border with Israel. The 48-mi. (77-km.) border between Israel and Syria differed from Israel's frontiers with other Arab states. The Syrian forces on the Golan Heights (see *Ramat ha-Golan) had topographical superiority over the Israel villages in the Ḥulah and Jordan valleys, which also enabled them to dominate the sources of the Jordan River leading into Lake Kinneret. The *Armistice Agreement between the two countries created demilitarized zones along the major portion of the border, and the struggle over the status of these areas was a constant source of military conflict. The Syrian army was the only Arab force that succeeded in the 1948 war in capturing territories originally apportioned to the State of Israel in the UN Partition Plan (see *Palestine, Partition and Partition Plans). Syria intended to keep these territories, while Israel demanded the complete withdrawal of Syrian forces up to the international border as a condition for signing the armistice agreement. Following a suggestion by Ralph Bunche, the UN mediator, a compromise had been reached: those areas evacuated by the Syrians (as well as additional areas in the sector of Ein Gev and Dardara that were held by Israel) would become demilitarized zones in which "the presence of armed forces of both sides [would]… be absolutely forbidden and no activity of semi-military forces [would]… be permitted" (Israel-Syrian Agreement on a General Armistice, Article 5 (a), v). On both sides of the demilitarized zones were defined areas in which the maintenance of defensive forces was permitted (Article 6); the nature of these forces was defined in an addendum to the agreement; it also assured the revival of normal civilian life in the demilitarized zone, including the return of civilians and the establishment of a local police force (Article 5 (e), v); and a Mixed Armistice Commission was established to supervise the agreement (Article 7). The question of the three demilitarized zones – northern, central, and southern – was a point of military and political contention between Israel and Syria. Israel viewed them as areas under her sovereignty, in which she was free to implement any civilian activity, the only limitation being the above-mentioned military one. Syria, on the other hand, claimed that the sovereignty over these areas was still undecided and protested Israel's right to carry out civilian activities without the approval of the Mixed Armistice Commission and Syria's agreement. Moreover, Syria attempted to prevent any such activity, especially agricultural work and water projects, both by means of military attacks and by presenting complaints to the Mixed Armistice Commission and the UN Security Council. Syria succeeded in gaining control over part of the demilitarized zones, such as al-Ḥimma (after killing seven Israel police in April 1951), the Banyas slopes, the area between the Jordan River and the international border to the east, and on the northeastern shore of Lake Kinneret. A Syrian attempt to gain control over a piece of Israel territory outside the demilitarized zones (near the entrance of the Jordan into Lake Kinneret) in March 1951 was repulsed after a fierce battle at Tel al-Muṭilla. Israel's protest to the Security Council over these moves, like its protests against other Syrian aggressive actions later on, did not succeed in bringing about a denunciation of Syria in the United Nations.

The military and political struggle over the Israel-Syrian border centered on four issues: (1) *Cultivating agricultural areas in the demilitarized zones*. Each time Israeli farmers attempted to cultivate land that the Syrians claimed belonged to local Arabs, Syrian forces interrupted their activity by firing from outposts that overlooked Israel territory, and sometimes major incidents developed, especially in the southern demilitarized zone. On the night of Jan. 31, 1960, units of the Israel Defense Forces carried out an action to wipe out Syrian outposts in Khirbat Tawfiq in the southern zone, but the harassment of Israeli farmers continued, in spite of attempts by the United Nations to mediate the dispute. (2) *Fishing in Lake Kinneret*. In spite of the fact that all of Lake Kinneret was in Israeli territory and outside the demilitarized zones, the Syrians took advantage of their control over the northeastern shore and attacked fishing boats and police boats in this sector. Israeli units retaliated against Syrian outposts northeast of the lake on the night of Dec. 11, 1955 and against the Nuqayb outpost on March 16–17, 1962. The most serious incident in this sector was on Aug. 15, 1966, when Israeli police boats were attacked and, in retaliation two Syrian planes were shot down over the lake. Periodically, Israel would provoke Syria to attack boats in order to carry out fierce punitive actions against Syrian positions. (3) *Development projects in the demilitarized zones*. When Israel began a project to drain Lake Ḥulah in 1951, Syria objected to the implementation of works in the central demilitarized zone, claiming that they provided Israel with a military advantage and that some of the work was done on lands that belonged to Arabs. Armed clashes in March and April 1951, followed by deliberations in the Security Council, led to a stoppage of the work and Israel's leaving the Mixed Armistice Commission. Work was renewed in June 1951 after the chairman of the Armistice Commission ruled that these activities did not constitute a breach of the Armistice Agreement and Israel agreed to avoid using Arab lands; the drainage project was completed in 1957. In September 1953, Israel began digging a canal in the demilitarized zone near the Benot Ya'akov Bridge, as part of the plan for the Jordan-Negev Water Carrier. The Syrians again objected, claiming that this constituted a change in the status of the demilitarized zone, and following its complaint to the Security Council, Israel was requested to stop these activities. Israel then abandoned the original plan and in 1959 began work on the Kinneret-Negev Water Carrier. (4) *The National Water Carrier*. Some Arab states tended initially to accept the principle of sharing with Israel the waters of the Jordan according to the suggestion made by President Eisenhower's special envoy, Eric Johnston, in 1953. But the program was finally rejected by the *Arab League in October 1955. This rejection was influenced by Syrian pressures to prevent Israel's economic development, despite the fact that Syria was apportioned a good amount of water from the Jordan and Yarmuk rivers. When Israel was about to complete the National Water Carrier in 1964, the Syrian Ba'th government demanded that the Arab states declare war in order to prevent the implementation of the project. Syria's demand was rejected by the Arab Summit Conference in January 1964, which decided instead to adopt an alternate plan and divert the headwaters of the Jordan. Syria's role in the diversion plan was to absorb the waters of the Ḥaẓbani (which flowed from Lebanon), combine them with the flow from the Banyas sources, and direct them into the dam that would be built on the Yarmuk River on the Syrian-Jordanian border. Syrian efforts to prevent Israel from also using the Dan River sources led to serious border incidents in November 1964. Israeli attacks against the Syrian diversion works in 1965–66 eventually stopped the diversion project.

Syria was the first Arab state to support the terrorist activities of the Palestinian organization al-Fatḥ, starting in 1965. After the radical wing of the Syrian Ba'th Party – headed by Ṣalāḥ Jadīd – assumed power in February 1966, Syrian support for al-Fatḥ and other terrorist organizations increased; most of their actions were carried out across the Jordanian and Lebanese borders in order to prevent retaliatory action by Israel against Syria. The ideology of the Syrian Ba'th government called for a "popular liberation war" against Israel. The deterioration of Syrian-Israeli relations reached a climax on April 7, 1967, in land and air battles during which many Syrian planes were downed by Israel. Syria's aggressive propaganda, carried on with the support of the Soviet Union, was a decisive factor in the developments leading to the *Six-Day War (1967). Even after the Six-Day War and the occupation of the Golan Heights by Israel, Syria did not abandon the principle of a "popular liberation war," and continued to provide material and political support to the Palestinian terrorist organizations. Syria rejected the Nov. 22, 1967, Security Council resolution, namely, the notion of a peaceful settlement of the Arab-Israel conflict. This extremist position did not change officially when General Ḥāfiẓ al-Asad assumed power in November 1970, although his domestic and foreign policies were in fact more pragmatic than those of his predecessor. The deployment of Israeli troops on the Golan, some 55 kms from Damascus, induced Asad to be cautious and seek a political settlement with Israel. But this strategic predicament also motivated him to try and retrieve the Golan by force. Indeed, in October 1973 he joined Egypt's President Sadat in launching a military offensive against Israel. Syrian troops were able to capture the entire Golan Heights in several days before they were badly defeated and repulsed. In October 1973, Syria accepted UN Security Council resolution 338, which included UN Resolution 242 and the principle of peace with Israel in exchange for territories occupied by Israel in 1967 (and 1973). Subsequently, Asad suggested – mainly in interviews with U.S. media – a "peace agreement" (in fact a non-belligerency agreement) with Israel in exchange for the Golan and the settlement of the Palestinian problem. Israel ignored this offer, but in 1976 reached a tacit agreement with Syria, with U.S. mediation, regarding the deployment of Syrian troops in Lebanon, following the eruption of its civil war. Yet Asad's predicament vis-à-vis Israel grew further, after Sadat signed the Camp David Accords (1978) and the peace agreement (1979) with Begin, Israel's new prime minister, and after Israel officially annexed the Golan Heights in 1981. Asad then adopted a doctrine of strategic balance with Israel, obtaining massive military aid from the Soviet Union, but failing to reach his ambitious goal. Asad sought to improve relations with the U.S., and during the 1990 Kuwait war he dispatched military units to join the American-led coalition that attacked the Iraqi army. Accepting U.S. suggestions, Asad moderated his position and agreed to attend the 1991 Madrid Peace Conference without pre-conditions and to direct negotiations with Israel. Peace negotiations were indeed conducted with active U.S. moderation for some eight years, and in late 1999–early 2000 Syria and Israel almost reached a peace agreement. Asad died in June 2000 and his son Bashār succeeded him and expressed time and again his readiness to resume negotiations with Israel without pre-conditions. But Israel, backed by the U.S., rejected his suggestions due inter alia to his open support of Hizballah and Hamas, Syria's continual occupation of Lebanon, and, from Washington's point of view, Bashār's vehement opposition to America's intervention in Iraq and his indirect help to the Iraqi insurgents. For most Israeli Jews there exist two more reasons to oppose peace with Syria. They refuse to give up the Golan Heights and cannot forget the harsh mistreatment of Jews in Syria since its independence.

[Oded Tavor / Moshe Ma'oz (2nd ed.)]

The Jewish Community in Independent Syria

Following Syria's independence and the events leading to Israel's establishment, Jews in Syria were subject to violent attacks, resulting in many deaths as well as harsh treatment from the authorities. Aleppo in 1947 and Damascus in 1947 and 1948 witnessed many anti-Jewish actions: riots, burning of books and synagogues, bombings of Jewish neighborhoods, as well as killing and looting. Consequently, of about 15,000 Jews in Syria in 1947, only about 5,300 remained in 1957. Most of them left during the 1940s, especially after the 1947 pogroms in Aleppo. Immediately after the establishment of the State of Israel, the stream of Jewish emigration from Syria increased. Most Jews went to Lebanon, but a few were returned to Syria by the Lebanese authorities upon Syrian request. From 1948, the condition of Syrian Jewry continued to decline. The government issued a number of anti-Jewish laws, including a prohibition on sale of Jewish property (1948) and the freezing of Jewish bank accounts (1953). Jewish property was confiscated, and Palestinian refugees were housed in the dwellings vacated in the Jewish quarters of Damascus and Aleppo. Many Jews were put on trial because one of their relatives had succeeded in escaping from Syria, others were compelled to visit the police station daily, and not a few were imprisoned without trial. In addition, various limitations were imposed on them, in particular one forbidding them to leave the country. Only for a while in 1954 were Jews allowed to leave Syria, on condition that they renounce all claims to their property. After the first group had reached Turkey, however, in November 1954, the police forbade others to leave. Immediately after the union with Egypt (United Arab Republic) in 1958, the prohibition on the exit of Jews was again cancelled, on condition that they transferred their property to the government. Frozen bank accounts of Jews were also freed. However, shortly afterwards the frontiers were again closed to them, and in 1959 trials of those accused of helping Jews to leave Syria took place. In March 1964, a decree was enacted which prohibited Jews from traveling more than three miles beyond the limits of their home towns.

After the trial of the Israeli intelligence agent Eli *Cohen and his public hanging in Damascus (1965), Jews were assaulted. They suffered more during the Six-Day War (1967) and afterwards, when many were arrested and others attacked by the Muslim population. Jews were murdered in Damascus, Aleppo, and in Qamishli, near the Turkish border, but because of the strict censorship no precise details were known. Jews made many efforts to leave Syria, and between 1948 and 1961 about 5,000 Syrian Jews reached Israel; in 1968 the number remaining in Syria was estimated at about 4,000. Most lived in Damascus and Aleppo, and belonged to the middle classes and the poor.

The few Jews in Qamishli were not always persecuted since they lived among Muslim Kurds, who were not hostile. The economic situation of the remainder of the Syrian Jewish community worsened. The wealthy generally succeeded in escaping, sometimes even with their capital. The Zilkha Bank in Damascus and the Safra Bank in Aleppo were closed, the former by a government order in 1952.

Most of the Jewish educational institutions were closed. In 1968 only one school, which belonged to the *Alliance Israélite Universélle, functioned in Damascus. The Jews of Syria had no nationwide community organization, and each community had its own governing committee.

[Oded Tavor]

Developments since the 1970s

Approximately 4,000 Jews remained in Syria, of whom 2,500 were in Damascus, 1,200 in Aleppo, and 300 in Qamishli. After the Yom Kippur War the conditions of the Jews in Syria continued to be grim; the Syrian Jewish community was completely cut off from the outside world. The first attempt to break this isolation and escape was undertaken by four young Jewish women, all from Damascus – three sisters, Tony, Laura, and Farah Zaybak, and Eva Saad. They were raped, tortured, and then murdered, and their bodies brought to the Damascus ghetto on March 3, 1974. A week later the corpses of two Jewish boys who had also tried to escape were discovered near the place where the girls had been murdered. Following worldwide protests, the Syrian authorities, anxious to cover up the atrocity, arrested two prominent young members of the Syrian Jewish community, Yosef Shaluh and Azur Zalta, and charged them with murder and smuggling. Moreover, in an attempt to cut all means of escape, 11 Jewish mothers whose children had managed to escape in previous years were arrested, tortured, and interrogated for three successive days in order to extract from them the names of those who had helped their children to leave the country.

On July 3, 1974, an International Conference for the Deliverance of Jews from Middle East Lands, with representatives of 30 nations, convened in Paris at the initiative of the French Council, under the chairmanship of Alain Poher, president of the Senate of France. He called on the Syrian government to comply with the Universal Declaration on Human Rights and to put an end to discrimination against its Jews. The situation, however, continued to be oppressive, with a total ban on Jewish emigration. Even permission for rare cases to go abroad for medical treatment was canceled and Jews had to obtain special permission from the secret police to travel for more than 3 miles from their home. They were frequently searched by the secret police and held for interrogation and torture. A special branch of the secret police oversees the enforcement of anti-Jewish enactments.

Following the peace negotiations between Israel and Egypt, the situation of the Jews did not change much. Agents of the Mukhābarāt, the Syrian secret police, attended synagogue services, possibly also to protect Jews against maltreatment by Muslim fanatics.

At the end of the 1980s, the Jewish population of Syria had declined from about 4,000 in 1983 to about 1,400: 1,180 in Damascus, 150 in Aleppo, and 125 in Qamishli. For virtually the whole of Asad's period, there was no change in the position of the Jewish community. It was denied basic human rights and civil liberties. Mail, telephone, and telegrams were monitored by the Jewish Division of the Secret Police, which kept them under constant surveillance, subjecting them to search and arrest without warrant. Sales of property were prohibited, unless a replacement was being acquired; property belonging to deceased Jews with no surviving family was expropriated without compensation. Identity cards continued to bear the word *Mousawi* (Jew), while non-Jews had no religious identification on theirs. The one Jewish school in Damascus (Ben Maimon) and the one in Aleppo (Samuel) were both supervised by Muslims, and were allowed to teach only biblical Hebrew, limited to two hours a week. Contrary to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, to which Syria was a signatory, and unlike the rights granted to other Syrian citizens, the Jews were prohibited from emigrating. Except for six months in 1992 (see below), only a few Jews were permitted to travel abroad for medical or business reasons. In addition to paying bribes, large monetary deposits were required and family members had to be left behind, to guarantee the traveler's return.

The *Mukhābarāt* arrested and imprisoned several Jews, without charge or trial, for allegedly attempting to leave Syria or for "security offenses." These prisoners were exposed to torture and deprivation of food, clothing, and medicines. Typical of these were the brothers Elie and Selim Swed of Damascus, held for two years without anyone knowing of their arrest. Subsequently, in 1991, a form of "military trial" was held, where no charges were published and their lawyer was prohibited from addressing the "court." They were sentenced to 6½ years in prison, but were released in April 1992. Earlier, in December 1983, 25-year-old pregnant Lillian Abadi of Aleppo and her young daughter and son were brutally murdered and mutilated in their home. Other Jewish families received threats, but no definitive motive for the killings was ever established and nobody was charged. Nevertheless, the Jewish community believed that if the Asad regime was deposed, their treatment by any successor would be even harsher.

The custom of using *Shabbat Zakhor* as the Sabbath for Syrian Jewry, which originated in 1975 in Toronto, Canada, spread to synagogues throughout North America and other countries, highlighting the plight of Syrian Jews, which, over the years, had been substantially ignored by mainline national and international Jewish organizations.

Criticism of the Syrians' treatment of its Jewish citizens was later raised by several world governments, including Canada, the U.S., and France. The issue was brought before the United Nations Commission on Human Rights. In January 1992, for the first time in responding to the UN body, the Syrian government issued a detailed "accounting" of the "wellbeing of its Jews," including a listing of students in educational institutions, places of residence outside the ghettos, and occupations of Jews. During the Asad "re-election" campaign of 1992, the Jewish community was obliged to parade in his support, bearing banners in Hebrew – the first time that language had been permitted to be used in public. During Syria's participation in the Madrid Peace Conference in 1992, U.S. Secretary of State James Baker announced that Syrian Jews would be permitted to travel abroad. This change initially did not mean a right to emigrate. The "right to travel" was granted to individuals only under the strict control of the *Mukhābarāt* rather than through the normal channels always available to other Syrians to obtain passports. Permits, when granted, stated that "…the Jew X…" was permitted to travel, and the fortunate applicants were obliged to purchase return tickets.

A large number of Jews, about 2,600, managed to leave in 1992 and joined family in Brooklyn, New York, although some went to other countries. In the U.S., the new arrivals were welcomed by the well-organized long-standing Syrian community. However, the U.S. refused to admit them as refugees, but only as "visitors." Thus, they were denied the governmental resettlement facilities available to immigrants, placing a heavy burden on Jewish communal resources with respect to housing, education, and employment. By 1994, 3,565 Syrian Jews had immigrated to the U.S. The rest went to Israel, including the chief rabbi of Damascus. In 2005, few Jews remained in Syria: according to unofficial figures, fewer than 250.

[Judy Feld Carr / Moshe Ma'oz (2nd ed.)]

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SYRKIN, JOSHUA (**Grigory**; 1838–1922), Hebrew writer and Zionist, born in Shklov. His family moved to Brest-Litovsk when he was an infant. In 1875 he settled in Panevezys, Lithuania, where he became a close friend of Judah Leib *Gordon. He studied at the Moscow Academy of Agriculture and published two scientific works, *Devarim Aḥudim mi-Ma'arekhet ha-Domem* (1868), and *Ma'arekhet ha-Domem* (1869), in which he made the first attempt to create a modern Hebrew terminology in the field of mineralogy. During the 1870s he lost interest in Hebrew letters and went to work in Baron Horace *Guenzburg's gold mines in east Siberia. During the 1880s he became a department head of the Libau-Romny railway and settled in Minsk.

After J.L. Gordon's death Syrkin edited his works for publication. Syrkin joined the Ḥibbat Zion movement and was among the leaders of the Doreshei Zion society in Minsk. He took part in negotiations with barons *Rothschild and *Hirsch in 1891–92 and published a pamphlet entitled *She'erit Ya'akov* (1891), in which he drew up a program to establish a center (Beit Va'ad) to direct Jewish emigration from Russia and settlement in Ereẓ Israel. In 1894 Syrkin traveled to Ereẓ Israel to visit the settlement Ein Zeitim founded by his society. He participated in the first Zionist Congresses. In his book *Ḥezyonot Laylah* (1903) he advanced his views on the history of the Jewish people and closed with a utopian description of the reborn state of Israel.

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[Yehuda Slutsky]

SYRKIN, MARIE (1899–1989), U.S. writer, translator, educator, and Zionist activist. Syrkin was born in Berne, Switzerland, the only daughter of Nachman *Syrkin (1868–1924), theoretician of socialist Zionism, and Bassya Osnos, a feminist socialist Zionist who died in 1914. After sojourns in Germany, France, and Vilna, the Syrkin family immigrated to the United States in 1908. Marie Syrkin, who was fluent in five languages, attended public schools in New York City and received her B.A. and M.A. in English literature from Cornell University. She wrote poetry throughout her life; a collection, *Gleanings: A Diary in Verse,* was published in 1978. Her translations of Yiddish and Hebrew verse were widely anthologized. Twenty years of teaching high school in New York City led to her influential book, *Your School, Your Children* (1944), a study of the American public school system. Between 1937 and 1942, Syrkin reported on Nazi persecutions of Jews; in 1942 she wrote the first editorial in an American journal on Hitler's plans to annihilate European Jewry. After World War II she turned her attention to Jewish resistance movements under the Nazis and wrote an evocative study, *Blessed is the Match* (1947). She also recruited young people in displaced-persons camps to come to the United States as Hillel scholars. Syrkin's authorized biography of her close friend Golda *Meir, *Way of Valor*, appeared in 1955 (revised as *Golda Meir: Woman with a Cause*, 1963; and *Golda Meir: Israel's Leader*, 1969); other works include *Nachman Syrkin: Socialist Zionist* (1961); an anthology of the writings of Ḥayyim Greenberg (1968); and *Golda Meir Speaks Out* (1973). Between 1948 and 1955, she edited the Labor Zionist monthly *Jewish Frontier*. Syrkin became a professor of English at Brandeis University in 1950; she was the first to teach a university course on Holocaust literature, publishing the first theoretical discussion of the subject, "The Holocaust in Literature," in *Midstream* (May 1966). Following retirement in 1966, Syrkin became editor of Herzl Press. She was a member of the Jewish Agency executive (1965–68) and an elected member of the World Zionist Executive. Syrkin received honorary degrees from Brandeis University and the Reconstructionist Rabbinical College and the 1981 Solomon Bublick Prize from the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. Syrkin's first marriage to Maurice Samuel in 1917 was annulled and her second marriage to biochemist Aaron Bodansky ended in divorce. She married the poet Charles *Reznikoff in 1930. After his death in 1976, she spent the rest of her life in California. Her papers are located primarily in the American Jewish Archives in Cincinnati.

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[Carole Kessner (2nd ed.)]

SYRKIN, MOSES NAHUM SOLOMONOVICH (1878–1918), writer, orator, and Jewish national leader. Born in Bielsk, Russia, Syrkin completed his studies as a technological engineer at the Polytechnic of Warsaw, where he was among the founders of the first Jewish organization of academic youth, *Kadimah. He became acquainted with the Jewish authors in Warsaw (among them I.L. *Peretz and N. *Sokolow), and wrote political essays, popular scientific articles, and literary criticism for *Ha-Ẓefirah* and the *Sefer ha-Shanah* of Sokolow. He also contributed to *Voskhod and *Budushchnost*. He joined the Zionist movement and was from its beginnings one of the spokesmen for the Russian-Jewish intelligentsia, attending several Zionist Congresses as delegate and correspondent for *Ha-Ẓefirah*. Under the influence of I.L. Peretz, he became a supporter of the Yiddish language and wrote extensively for the Yiddish press. He was among those within the Zionist movement who fought for the preservation of the Yiddish language in Jewish schools and in 1905–06 he edited the daily *Der Telegraf* which was founded by N. Sokolow in Warsaw. In 1907 he moved to Kiev where he held a respected position in the public life of the community, making connections with the Ukrainian nationalist movement and contributing articles (mostly of a technical and scientific nature) to the general Russian press. During World War I he was among the organizers of relief activities for Jewish refugees from the battle areas. He was also one of the few Russian Zionists to support the policies of the Allies. During the 1917 Revolution he was chosen as delegate to the Russian Constituent Assembly on the Jewish National List and to the National Council of Ukrainian Jews. He was elected president of the Kiev community, and a member of the Rada (Ukrainian Parliament); he also edited the Zionist newspaper *Der Telegraf*, which was published in Kiev (1917–18). When head of the delegation of the Jewish community which went to receive *Petlyura in 1918, he caught pneumonia and died.

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[Yehuda Slutsky]

SYRKIN, NACHMAN (1868–1924), first ideologist and leader of Socialist Zionism. Born in Mogilev, Belorussia, Syrkin received a thorough Jewish education by private tutors, and when he moved with his family to Minsk (1884), he completed his studies at a Russian high school. There he joined Ḥovevei Zion (see *Ḥibbat Zion), while maintaining contact with Russian revolutionary circles. He was placed under arrest for several weeks, after which he went to London and then to Berlin (1888), where he studied psychology and philosophy. In Berlin he was a founder of the Russian-Jewish Scientific Society, from whose ranks a number of Zionist leaders emerged (Shemaryahu *Levin, Leo *Motzkin, Chaim *Weizmann, and others). His writing career began at the age of 19 as a contributor to *Ha-Meliẓ* while in Minsk; his first booklet, *Geschichts-Philosophische Betrachtungen* ("Reflections on the Philosophy of History," Berlin, 1896), in which he criticized Marx's concepts and stressed the voluntary element in historical processes.

Syrkin participated in the First Zionist Congress in 1897, leading the few representatives of Socialist Zionism. In 1898, two years after the appearance of *Herzl's *Der Judenstaat*, he published an article in the Austrian Socialist monthly *Deutsche Worte* and enlarged it in the same year into a pamphlet *Die Judenfrage und der sozialistische Judenstaat* ("The Jewish Question and the Socialist Jewish State"), in which he outlined for the first time the idea to which he adhered throughout his life: the realization of Zionism through cooperative mass settlement of the Jewish proletariat. In the press, as well as from the rostrum of the Zionist Congresses, Syrkin forcefully attacked the preponderance of "bourgeois and clerical" elements in the Zionist Organization, as well as Herzl's diplomatic overtures to "reactionary monarchs" (William II) and "tyrants" (Nicholas II). His speeches often caused loud protests and even scandals in the Congress sessions.

Syrkin was an early sponsor of the idea of the *Jewish National Fund and submitted a resolution to this effect to the Second Zionist Congress (1898). Herzl, who seemed to like Syrkin in spite of his provocative speeches, called him "that *exaltado*." From 1901 Syrkin worked for the establishment of Socialist Zionist groups in Germany, Austria, and Switzerland and attained modest results, such as Hessiona (1901, named after Moses *Hess) and Heirut ("Freedom," 1902). He founded short-lived journals in Yiddish (*Der Hamoyn*, 1901) and Hebrew (*Ha-Shaḥar*, 1903) and wrote Socialist-Zionist pamphlets (such as the "Call to Jewish Youth" in Russian), which were often smuggled illegally into czarist Russia. For some time Syrkin tried to support himself and his family by literary work, translating Tolstoy into German and publishing political and sociological articles in leading German magazines. His public activity, however, prevented him from persevering in this career. After an abortive attempt to study medicine he returned to philosophy and published his doctoral thesis, *Empfindung und Vorstellung* ("Sensation and Idea") in Berne in 1903.

In 1904 Syrkin was banished from Germany and spent some time in Paris and then, after the 1905 revolution, in Russia. At the Sixth and Seventh Zionist Congresses (1903, 1905) he strongly supported Herzl's *Uganda Scheme, eventually seceding from the Zionist Organization and for several years becoming a leader and spokesman of the socialist *territorialists, who, in Russia and among some Russian-Jewish émigré circles, insisted on calling themselves Zionist-Socialist (Russ., Sionisty-Sotsialisty, or SS). In 1907 he emigrated to the United States, where in 1909 he joined the Palestine-oriented *Po'alei Zion and returned to the Zionist Organization, having arrived at the conclusion that the revolution of the Young Turks had opened new perspectives for Jewish nationhood in Ereẓ Israel. He was the leader of American Po'alei Zion until his death.

During World War I Syrkin worked for the convention of the Jewish Congress in America, and supported the idea of the *Jewish Legion to fight with the Allies for the liberation of Palestine, at a time when his party still opposed it. In 1919 he became a member of the American Jewish delegation to the Versailles Peace Conference, which joined the *Comité des Délégations Juives. In 1919 Syrkin was the key figure at the world conference of Po'alei Zion in Stockholm, which elected him to head a study commission charged with visiting Palestine and drawing up a plan for mass settlement on a cooperative basis. He toured Palestine with the other members of the commission (whose secretary was Zalman (Rubashov) *Shazar) and was the principal author of the plan, which expressed the basic ideas later implemented by the Zionist labor movement.

Returning to the U.S., he founded a short-lived Po'alei Zion daily *Di Tsayt*, edited by David *Pinski, which existed for only about a year. Syrkin, who had always neglected his own economic interests and had lived as a "professional revolutionary," mainly by writing and lecturing, then intended to settle in Palestine, but he died suddenly in New York of a heart attack. In 1951 his remains were taken to Israel and buried at kevuẓat Kinneret, alongside the graves of other founding fathers of labor Zionism.

Syrkin was a prolific writer in Hebrew, Yiddish, Russian, German, and English. He wrote a political play in Yiddish, "The Jewish People," and began to write a monumental history of the Jews, but, except for brief chapters published during his lifetime, the manuscript has apparently been lost. His selected works were published in Yiddish (*Geklibene Tsionistish-Sotsialistishe Shriften*, 2 vols., 1926), Hebrew (*Kitvei Naḥman Syrkin*, edited by B. Katzenelson and Y. Kaufman, vol. 1, 1939), and English (preceded by a biography written by his daughter Marie *Syrkin, 1961). The moshav Kefar Syrkin and streets in various Israel towns are named after him. During World War II an American Liberty Ship was named "Nachman Syrkin" by the Jewish National Workers' Alliance (Farband) in the U.S.

At no later than the age of 20 (1888), Syrkin conceived the idea which became his lifelong creed and which at first seemed paradoxical: a complete synthesis of socialism with Jewish nationalism, as embodied in Zionism (or, for a while, territorialism). In his youth Syrkin attacked "the wealthy Jewish plutocrats of St. Petersburg, the Poliakovs, and the Guenzburgs, and others of their class who opposed Jewish emigration from Russia." In his early writings (1898) he postulated that "a classless society and national sovereignty are the only means of completely solving the Jewish problem." He criticized Jewish socialists to whom "socialism meant, first of all, the abandonment of Jewishness, just as the liberalism of the Jewish bourgeoisie led to assimilation…. Jewish socialism used internationalism as a cloak to cover its nakedness." He also attacked *Aḥad Ha-Am's concept of a "spiritual center" in Ereẓ Israel because it disregarded social realities like antisemitism and Jewish mass migration, which were the real forces pressing for a Zionist solution. In resolutions of his group Heirut and in articles in *Der Hamoyn* (1902), Syrkin expounded his ideas in unequivocal terms: "The Jewish masses consist chiefly of a proletariat which does not live from labor; only a small proportion belongs to the labor-proletariat …" Therefore, the Jews "bear the whole yoke of the 'slave of slaves,' the 'proletariat of the proletariat' – persecuted, driven from land to land, destined to perish physically and spiritually." This "proletariat" includes the miserable shopkeepers, peddlers, tailors and shoemakers, and their "sole redemption lies in Zionism." He warned (in 1903) that "emigration to free lands" will eventually be restricted, "even in democratic countries like America." But, though "the masses may be helped" by such emigration and the securing of equal rights in Russia, "it would be only momentarily, not historically." Therefore the Jewish proletarian masses are the "natural fulfillers of the Zionist idea," and their Zionism "is more than the colonization projects of Ḥovevei Zion with its bourgeois limitations; more than the longing for a spiritual center of the *maskil*; more than the philanthropic Zionism of the West Europeans. Their Zionism is social and bound up with the idea of a new society."

Syrkin differed in some fundamental respects from many of the later Socialist Zionists. He was not an orthodox Marxist, and his socialism was more the concept of a moral-voluntary effort than the necessary outcome of the class struggle. He also criticized *Borochov's Marxist analysis of Zionism and his concept that the "elemental" ("stychic") process of mass migration will by objective necessity produce a concentration of the Jewish masses in Palestine. He was a supporter of Hebrew (which he mastered perfectly) as the sole Jewish national language, and rejected Yiddish for this role (though he used it extensively in writings and speeches). On current issues – such as the question of taking sides in World War I and the question of the Jewish Legion, or the idea of co-opting "Jewish plutocrats" to the Jewish Agency (1923) – he often differed from the majority of his comrades. During the 1920s split in Po'alei Zion between those who remained faithful to the Zionist Organization and those who sought to affiliate with the new Communist Third International, Syrkin tried to reconcile both views by maintaining that only the "un-Jewish Jews" among the Communists were the cause of the Communist rejection of Zionism; but he never again abandoned his clear stand in favor of the adherence to the Zionist Organization. Even in matters of religion he went his own way. Though opposed to the "petrified" form of rabbinical practice, he was apparently a deeply religious man. On his death-bed, he called Chaim *Tchernowitz ("Rav Ẓa'ir") and recited with him the *viddui*, the traditional confession before death. Two days before he died, he even wrote a Hebrew prayer, *Birkat ha-Mavet* ("Blessing of Death"), in which his metaphysical sense found poetic expression.

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SYRKIN, YAKOV KOVOVICH (1894–1974), Russian physical chemist. Syrkin was a professor at the Ivanovo-Voznesensk Polytechnic Institute (1925) and at Institute of Fine Chemical Technology (1931). He was scientific chairman of molecular structure department at Karpov Physico-Chemical Institute (1931–52). He did research in chemical thermodynamics, kinetics of reactions in solution and in gas phase, molecular structure, and chemical bonds. Syrkin wrote *Khimicheskaya svyaz i stroyeniye molekul* ("Chemical Composition and the Structure of Molecules," 1946).

SZABÓ, IMRE (1882–1958), Hungarian author, playwright, and journalist. Szabó was born in Ersekujvar. He began his career as a journalist writing for the German-language daily *Neues Politisches Volksblatt*, and later worked on Hungarian and Jewish newspapers. After World War I Szabó settled in Kolozsvár (Cluj), Transylvania, and devoted himself to literature.

He wrote plays, novels, and biographies, mainly on Jewish subjects, and was strongly influenced by the major Hungarian writers, notably Kálmán Mikszáth. Szabó also published translations of plays from the Yiddish. His works include the story *A pozsonyi zsidó utca* ("The Jews' Street in Pressburg," 1938), a faithful picture of pre-World War I Jewish life; *Zsidó komédiások* ("Jewish Comedians," 1925); and *Kelet kapujában* ("At the Gate of the East," 1937). *Uj zsidók* (1937) contained biographies of Theodor *Herzl and other modern Jewish leaders. Szabó also published a Hungarian version of Louis *Golding's novel *Magnolia Street*. Two later works were *Erdély zsidói* ("The Jews of Transylvania," 1938) and *Róma és Judea* (1943).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Magyar Irodalmi Lexikon*, 3 (1965), 116.

[Baruch Yaron]

SZABOLCSI, BENCE (1899–1973), Hungarian musicologist. Born in Budapest, he was the son of Miksa *Szabolcsi and brother of Lajos *Szabolcsi, and studied at Budapest with Kodály. He was the first to collect the notated relics of old Hungarian music from manuscripts and prints, and began publishing them in 1929. From 1929 to 1930 he was the coeditor of *Zenei Szemle* ("Musical Review") and in 1930 edited, with A. Tóth, the first scholarly dictionary of Hungarian music. He was professor of music history at the Budapest Academy of Music from 1945 and director of the Bartók Archives there from 1961.

His research and publications were devoted to European art music; the history of music in Hungary; Hungarian national music; and the comparative study of folk music styles of the world. Szabolcsi's interest in Jewish music was expressed in three studies on Hebrew melody. During the difficult period of 1936 to 1944 he took part in the efforts of Hungarian Jewry to foster cultural activities within the community, and collaborated in the publication of numerous music booklets for Jewish youth. He also edited the music supplement to the *Haggadah* with a Hungarian translation which was published in Budapest in 1942 (Yaari no. 2293). His works include *A XVI. század magyar históriás zenéje…* ("History of 16th-Century Hungarian Music…" 1931); *A zene története* ("History of Music," 1940, 1968^4); and *A melódia története* (1950, 1957^2), reworked as *Bausteine zu einer Geschichte der Melodie* (1959).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: MGG, S.V., incl. bibl. to 1962; Grove, Dict, s.v., incl. bibl. to 1947; M. Berlász and I. Homolya, in: *Studia Musicologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*, II (1969), 7–25 (entire volume dedicated to Szabolcsi on his 70th birthday and includes a bibliography of his writings).

[Andre Hajdu]

SZABOLCSI, LAJOS (1889–1943), Hungarian poet, author, and editor. The son of Miksa *Szabolcsi, he was born in Budapest. From the age of 18, he wrote for his father's newspaper, *Egyenlőség*. In 1915 he succeeded his father as editor in chief and retained the position until the paper ceased publication in 1938. Lajos Szabolcsi continued his father's fight for full Jewish participation in Hungarian life and tried to root out antisemitism by publicizing any violation of Jewish rights. He was in the vanguard of the liberal movement and violently attacked persecution, showing considerable personal courage, particularly during the period of the "White Terror" (1919–22). Szabolcsi was a protagonist of the official line of Hungarian Reform (*Neolog) Jewry, and was violently and vocally anti-Zionist. Several of his works dealt with Jewish themes.

He published *Az új héber költészet története* ("A History of Modern Hebrew Poetry," 1908) and translations of medieval and modern Hebrew verse. Szabolcsi also wrote fiction on Jewish subjects, including the historical novel *A csillag fia* (1918), on *Bar Kokhba; *A levelekimenyegző* ("The Wedding in Levelek," 1920), and the historical drama, *Az áruló* (1923), on *Josephus. Another of his works was *Az emancipáció hatvan éves története* ("The 60-Year History of Emancipation," 1917).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Magyar Irodalmi Lexikon*, 3 (1965), 129.

[Baruch Yaron]

SZABOLCSI (Weinstein), MIKSA (1857–1915), Hungarian author, editor, and journalist. Born in Tura, Szabolcsi studied at yeshivot and spent some time at the Budapest rabbinical seminary. Deciding that he wanted to be a writer, he started working as a journalist. He first became known during the blood libel case at *Tiszaeszlár (1882–83), when he was acting as correspondent for the *Pester Lloyd* and other German-language newspapers. During the trial he succeeded in resolving an important problem, but the hostility and prejudice of the court led to his being expelled from the town in which the trial was being held, and there was even an attempt on his life. For a time he edited the *Pester Juedische Zeitung* and in 1886 bought the newspaper *Egyenlőség*, which in his hands became the main organ of Hungarian *Neolog Jewry. Szabolcsi supported the delivery of synagogue sermons in Hungarian and the Magyarization of Jewish names. He was, however, one of the instigators of the fight that succeeded in gaining official recognition of the Jewish religion in 1895. He campaigned vigorously against antisemitism and against misrepresentations of the Talmud and Jewish literature. He was an outspoken anti-Zionist. During the 1890s Szabolcsi maintained the high standard of his newspaper by bringing into the editorial board such talented young Jewish writers as Hugó *Ignotus, Emil *Makai, and József *Kiss. He was also responsible for the foundation of the Jewish literary society, Izraelita Magyar Irodalmi Társulat and the Hungarian Jewish cultural association Országos Magyar Közművelődési Egyesület.

Szabolcsi edited and largely translated Graetz's *History of the Jews*, which appeared in a popular Hungarian edition in 1906–08. His other works include *Olasz zsidók között* ("Among Italian Jews," 1904), *Német zsidók között* ("Among German Jews," 1903), and *Gyöngyszemek a Talmudból és a Midrásból* ("Pearls from the Talmud and Midrash," 1938).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Magyar Zsidó Lexikon* (1929), 818–9.

[Baruch Yaron]

SZAJKOWSKI, ZOSA (**Szajko Frydman**; 1911–1978), historian and bibliographer. He was born at Zareby, Poland and lived in France from 1927 until 1941. There he was active in Communist circles until 1937 when, influenced by a group of Russian-Jewish emigré intellectuals associated with YIVO, he left the Communist movement. In 1941 he went to the U.S. and served as a paratrooper in World War II. His historical work is noteworthy for its laborious collection of original sources and ample documentation. He wrote especially on French Jewish history but also on the modern history of the Jews in Eastern Europe.

His books include *The Language of the Jews in the Four Communities of Comtat Venaissin* (1948), *Autonomy and Communal Jewish Debts During the French Revolution of 1789* (1959); *Poverty and Social Welfare among French Jews, 1800–1880* (1953); *Franco-Judaica; an analytical bibliography of books, pamphlets, decrees, briefs and other printed documents pertaining to the Jews in France, 1500–1788* (1962); *Analytical Franco-Jewish Gazetter, 1939–45* (1966); and *Jews and the French Revolutions of 1789, 1830 and 1848* (1970).

°SZÁLASI, FERENC (1897–1946), leader of the antisemitic *Arrow Cross Party, chief of state of Hungary (October 1944–March 1945). Upon retirement from the army (1935) he founded the National Socialist "Party of National Will" and later the Hungarist movement. He was sentenced to three years imprisonment for these activities in 1938 but was released in 1940, whereupon he became the leader of the Arrow Cross Party.

Szálasi pressed for anti-Jewish measures, including extermination. He maintained close relations with the German Nazi party and Hitler made him the "Nation's Leader" and head of the government in Oct. 1944 some time after the Germans had occupied Hungary. His government immediately stepped up persecution of the Jews, and all over the country pogroms broke out, in which he sanctioned the atrocities of his Arrow Cross men. Szálasi aimed to remove all the Jews from the country; to this end he collaborated closely with *Eichmann and Veesenmayer on the "Final Solution." He installed additional ghettos in *Budapest and refused to recognize safe conduct passes or to exempt baptized Jews from living in these ghettos. He also stepped up the deportations and expropriated Jewish property. Seized by Americans on German territory, he was handed over to the Hungarian government, tried, sentenced, and hanged in 1946.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: R.L. Braham, *The Hungarian Jewish Catastrophe: a selected and annotated bibliography* (1962), index; J. Lévai, *Black Book on the Martyrdom of Hungarian Jewry* (1948), passim; A. Geyer, *A magyarországi fasizmus zsidóüldözésének bibliográfiája, 1945–1958* (1958), index.

[Jozeph Michman (Melkman)]

SZALIT-MARCUS, RACHEL (1894–1942), painter and book illustrator. She spent her childhood in Lodz. Her parents, simple working people, encouraged her artistic talent, and in 1911 sent her to Munich to study at the Art Academy. Here she met Julius Szalit, a successful Jewish actor, whom she married. Szalit later committed suicide. In 1916 Rachel moved to Berlin, where she exhibited with the artists of the Secession group and became a member of the November group, young avant-garde artists who joined forces after the November Revolution of 1918. When the Nazis assumed power Rachel Szalit-Marcus fled to France. In 1942 she was arrested and sent to a concentration camp where she died. She painted portraits, flower pieces, and still-lifes. Her best-known works consist of lithographic illustrations to books by Mendele Mokher Seforim, Shalom Aleichem, Israel Zangwill, Heinrich Heine, and Martin Buber.

[Elisheva Cohen]

SZÁNTÓ, GYŐRGY (1893–1961), Hungarian novelist and author. Szántó, who turned from art to literature after becoming totally blind, wrote autobiographical novels such as *Fekete éveim* ("My Black Years," 1934) and other prose works, notably *Bábel tornya* ("The Tower of Babel," 1926) and *Mata Hari* (1928). After World War II he conformed in his writings with the requirements of Marxist literature.

SZÁNTÓ, SIMON (1819–1882), educator and writer, born in Nagykanizsa, Hungary. Son of a rabbi, he received a strict religious upbringing in the talmudic schools of Lackenbach and Golcuv-Jenikov, and managed under great difficulties to obtain a secular education in Bratislava and at Prague University, where he studied German literature. He also studied Jewish theology under S.J. *Rapoport, and was ordained a rabbi in 1844. In 1845 he moved to Vienna, where he founded an elementary and secondary school for boys in 1849 which combined Jewishness with modern secular learning. It became the first Jewish school in Austria entitled to issue officially valid diplomas. Szántó taught Bible and Hebrew literature at the Vienna *bet ha-midrash*; he was also appointed inspector for Jewish religious instruction at public schools and official interpreter of the Hebrew language. In 1861 he founded, with Leopold *Kompert, a weekly journal, *Die *Neuzeit*, which he edited until his death. He contributed to the *Jahrbuch fuer Israeliten* and was its editor from 1865 to 1868.

Szántó was a prolific writer with a precise and lively style, writing a large portion of *Die Neuzeit* himself as well as many articles in the Jewish and Vienna daily press, chiefly on education. He wrote a bible commentary (1845), two historic novels, *Bilder aus Alexandrias Vorzeit and Judentum und Romantik*, and many essays on Jewish history, some in Hebrew. He was a devoted follower of Adolf *Jellinek and a forceful fighter for his ideas of Jewish reform. Szántó also participated in the Reform *synods of Leipzig and Augsburg.

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[Hugo Knoepfmacher]

SZASZ, THOMAS STEPHEN (1920–), U.S. psychiatrist and writer. Born in Budapest, Hungary, Szasz graduated from the Royal Hungarian Training Institute in Budapest shortly before the Nazi invasion of Austria prompted his family to move to the United States in 1938. He majored in physics at the University of Cincinnati and earned his M.D. degree in 1944. He then chose to specialize in psychiatry and psychoanalysis, training at the University of Chicago.

Szasz remained affiliated to the university's Institute for Psychoanalysis 1950–56, until he was appointed professor of psychiatry at the Upstate Medical Center of the State University of New York.

Szasz was a prolific writer but became well-known and controversial through *The Myth of Mental Illness: Foundations of a Theory of Personal Conduct* (1961), which called into question many of the fundamental assumptions of psychiatry. He contended that conditions conventionally described by psychiatrists as "mental illness" were more properly characterized as "problems of living" and that the concept of "mental illness" was in fact faulty, insofar as labeling a mind as "sick" was a metaphorical imputation of qualities properly reserved for discussion of the body, wherein diagnosis could be based on actual physical evidence of disease.

The "myth" of which Szasz spoke was the mistaking of this metaphor for reality. He argued in *Law, Liberty and Psychiatry* (1963) that the designation of aberrant behavior as an illness facilitated social control and impinged upon individual freedom. Szasz also argued that, on a practical level, involuntary hospitalization discouraged people from seeking help for fear that they might fall victim to it.

Szasz argued that the essence of his work is "that we have to replace a theological outlook on life with a therapeutic one," with analyst and client working together to increase the latter's self-knowledge and understanding. In his *Manufacture of Madness: A Comparative Study of the Inquisition and the Mental Health Movement* (1971), he developed the notion that repressive trends in psychiatry have their parallels in oppressive forces in the past. In 1970 he helped establish the American Association for the Abolition of Involuntary Mental Hospitalization. His critics argue that he underestimates the dangers inherent in allowing complete freedom of choice to mental patients or – another of his concerns – drug addicts.

After he retired from teaching, Szasz was named professor emeritus in psychiatry at the State University of New York Health Science Center. In 1998 he received the Rollo May Award, presented by the American Psychological Association.

Szasz's other books include *Ideology and Insanity: Essays on the Psychiatric Dehumanization of Man* (1970), *Ceremonial Chemistry: The Ritual Persecution of Drugs, Addicts, and Pushers* (1974), *The Second Sin* (1977), *The Theology of Medicine* (1977), *The Myth of Psychotherapy* (1978), *The Therapeutic State* (1984), *Insanity: The Idea and Its Consequences* (1987), *The Untamed Tongue: A Dissenting Dictionary* (1990), *Our Right to Drugs: The Case for a Free Market* (1992), *A Lexicon of Lunacy* (1992), *The Meaning of Mind* (1996), *Faith in Freedom* (2004), and *Words to the Wise* (2004).

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[Rohan Saxena and Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

SZCZEBRZESZYN (Rus. **Shchebreshin**; Yid. **Shebreshin**), town in *Lublin province, E. Poland. An organized community existed there from the first half of the 16th century. The Jews in Szczebrzeszyn traded in spices and frequently did business at the Lublin fairs. In 1583 King Stephen Báthory renewed the rights formerly granted to the Jews there to trade in the villages. In 1597 King Sigismund III Vasa prohibited the Jews from leasing tax collections. A magnificent synagogue, built in Renaissance style, was erected at the close of the 16th century. (It was set on fire in 1939.) The Jews of the town suffered at the time of the *Chmielnicki massacres, in 1648–49. Meir b. Samuel of Szczebrzeszyn, who escaped, gave an account of these events in his *Ẓok ha-Ittim* (Cracow, 1650). In 1701 a session of the *Council of the Four Lands was held in Szczebrzeszyn. There were 444 Jews living in Szczebrzeszyn in 1765. After 1815, when Szczebrzeszyn was incorporated within Congress Poland, there were no restrictions on Jewish settlement in the town. The Jewish population numbered 1,083 (31% of the total) in 1827; 1,605 (38%) in 1857; 2,449 (44%) in 1897; and 2,644 (42%) in 1921.

During the 19th century Ḥasidism had considerable influence in the community. The *ẓaddik* of Javorov, Elimelech Hurwitz, stayed there during the 1880s. The Hebrew scholar Jacob *Reifmann lived in Szczebrzeszyn in the first half of the 19th century.

In the municipal elections held in 1931 the General Zionists obtained three seats, Po'alei Zion one, *Agudat Israel one, and the *Bund five.

[Shimshon Leib Kirshenboim]

Holocaust Period

On the outbreak of World War II there were about 3,200 Jews in Szczebrzeszyn. The German army entered the town on Sept. 13, 1939, but withdrew on Sept. 27, when the town was occupied by the Red Army. On Oct. 9, 1939, the Red Army withdrew according to the new German-Soviet agreement on the partition line. Several hundred Jews, mostly young people, left the town for the east together with the Soviet army. The remaining Jews were immediately subjected to persecutions by the Germans. On Aug. 12, 1940, the Germans ordered 300 Jews to register for work in a forced-labor camp. Most of them did not obey the order and fled from the town. On May 8, 1942, the German police murdered about 100 Jews. On Aug. 8, 1942, several hundred Jews were deported to the *Belzec death camp. On Oct. 21, 1942, all Jews who did not manage to escape were transferred to Belzec and perished there. Hundreds of Jews, however, succeeded in escaping into the surrounding forests, where they organized small guerrilla units. Only a few survived until the liberation of the region in July 1944. After the war the Jewish community was not reconstituted.

[Stefan Krakowski]

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SZCZERCOW, village near Belchatow, in Lodz province, central Poland. Eighty-eight Jews were living in Szczercow in 1808 (17% of the total population). During the 19th century there were no restrictions on Jewish settlement in the locality, and the number of Jews grew to 186 (14%) in 1827, 371 (22%) in 1857, 962 (34%) in 1897, and 1,513 (35%) in 1921. In the latter half of the 19th century, Szczercow Jews engaged in crafts (weaving, tanning, tailoring, shoemaking), transportation, and petty trade.

Holocaust Period

In 1939 Szczercow had a population of 3,200 Jews and 1,800 non-Jews. During the first few days of World War II, the town was completely burned down, and the Jews, homeless and bereft of their possessions, escaped to the nearby town of *Zelow, while 150 found shelter in the city of *Belchatow. A small group of Jews apparently returned to the town and, according to one source of information, the Germans deported the remnant of the Jewish community at the end of 1941 or early in 1942.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: B. Wasiutyński, *Ludność żydowska w Polsce w wiekach XIX i XX* (1930), 51; D. Dabrowska, in: BŻIH, no. 13–14 (1955).

[Danuta Dombrowska]

SZEGED, city in S. Hungary. Jews settled there at a relatively late date, at the close of the 18th century. Previously, the Austrian emperor and Hungarian King Charles III had left the choice "whether or not to accept Jews and gypsies" in the hands of the "free royal cities," and these cities, including Szeged, took advantage of this right to exclude them. Hence the first Jewish family settled in Szeged only in 1781; their numbers grew to 18 in 1786; 38 in 1792; 58 in 1799; 62 in 1806; and 681 in 1840. The first house was acquired by M. Pollak in 1788. Houses could be purchased by them in an extremely small area (1813). In 1844 there were 24 Jewish house owners in the town. The first register, of 1799, records two goldsmiths, two tailors, and one distiller among the Jews. The majority of the Jews in Szeged were merchants and peddlers, who were excluded from participation in the fairs. By the 1860s and 1870s Jews were active in the establishment of companies, banks, and industries, or as craftsmen. A number of crafts, such as goldsmithing and upholstery, were mostly in the hands of Jews. From the 1850s Jews also engaged in agriculture.

Throughout the community's existence, particularly when members of the Loew family served as rabbis (see below), it had an exemplary organization. The regulations of the community were drawn up in 1791 and revised in 1863, and remained in force until the Holocaust. The erection of the first synagogue was planned for 1789, but because of opposition from the authorities was not built until 1803. It was replaced by another (the "Old Synagogue") in 1839, which stood until 1905, when the Great Synagogue was erected. Noted for its magnificence, it was built upon the instructions of I. *Loew (it has been declared an architectural monument).

The first rabbi of the community was R. Jehiel (officiated 1789–90); he was followed by Hirsch Bak (1790–1843), and Leopold *Loew (1850–75), leader of the Hungarian Reform movement (see *Neology) who introduced very moderate reforms in his community. After the latter's death, W. *Bacher (1876–77), a prominent figure in the *Wissenschaft des Judentums, served as deputy rabbi and then I. *Loew succeeded his father, who died in Budapest. After World War I, J. Frenkel (who later settled in Israel) was at first acting rabbi and later rabbi of the community (1927–49). He was succeeded by J. Schindler (1950–63), and then by T. Raj.

Although the community of Szeged joined the Neologists after the schism in Hungarian Jewry following the Congress of 1869 (see *Hungary), it remained united out of respect for the Loew family. In contrast to most of the Hungarian communities, the Szeged community also granted a free hand to Zionist activities and allocated considerable sums to the national funds. The school of the community was established in 1844 and remained open until the Holocaust (1944), at first under the supervision of the rabbis of the Loew family, who acted as its principals and maintained its high standard. After World War II it resumed its work in conjunction with the institutions of *Youth Aliyah.

The Jewish population numbered 3,628 in 1869; 3,618 in 1880; 4,731 in 1890; 5,863 in 1900; 6,903 in 1910; 6,958 in 1920; and 5,560 in 1930. M. *Karman, the leading educator in Hungary, and W. Loew (a brother of I. Loew), the talented translator of Hungarian literature in the United States, were born in Szeged. The liberal and tolerant tradition toward the Jews in Szeged was replaced by anti-Jewish agitation after the establishment of the Horthy regime in the town.

Holocaust and Contemporary Periods

There were 4,161 Jews living in Szeged in 1941. After the German occupation (March 19, 1944), the Jews were confined to a ghetto with the Jews of the immediate vicinity. From there around 3,000 were deported to *Auschwitz, and others to Austria when two transports were erroneously sent to Strasshof.

About half returned from deportation, numbering 2,124 in 1946 and 927 in 1958, with a synagogue, school, old age home, and orphanage for 400 Budapest children who had lost their parents in the Holocaust. Only a few hundred Jews remained by the early 1990s.

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[Baruch Yaron]

SZEKELY, EVA (1927–), Hungarian-born swimmer, member of the International Swimming Hall of Fame. During her 19-year career (1940–58), Szekely set 10 world records, five Olympic records, and over 100 Hungarian national records while winning two Olympic medals, 10 World University Championships, and 68 Hungarian National Championships. At the age of nine, Szekely was inspired to become an Olympic swimmer after hearing the Hungarian national anthem being played in honor of swimmer Ferenc Csik's gold medal performance at the Berlin Olympics. Despite her intense patriotism, Szekely's career was halted by her Hungarian swimming team which, in 1941, ousted her as a "religious undesirable." During the Nazi invasion of Hungary, she found refuge in a Swiss-run safe house in a section of Budapest known as the International Ghetto, an area set up in July of 1944 via the intervention of Raoul *Wallenberg and Swiss consul Charles Lutz. As it was forbidden for Jews to use the public swimming pools in the protected ghetto, Szekely maintained her fitness by running up and down the staircase in her five-story building a hundred times a day. Szekely resumed her career after the war, and three years later she qualified for the first of her three Olympic appearances, the 1948 London Olympics. There, she competed in the 200m breaststroke, the 100m freestyle, and the 400m freestyle, finishing fourth, fifth, and sixth, respectively. In May 1951, Szekely set a world record of 1:16.9 in a race which would not become an Olympic event until 1968, the 100m breaststroke. At the Helsinki Games in 1952, Szekely won a gold medal in the 200m breaststroke in a record time of 2:51.7, and also finished sixth in the 400m freestyle. In 1956, Szekely and her husband, superstar waterpoloist Dezso Gyarmati, left for the Summer Olympics in Australia the day before the Hungarian Revolution against Communist rule, on October 23. Szekely would later write in her memoirs that "we had no word of our two-year-old daughter, or my parents. I didn't get any real sleep for a week before I was due to race, and lost over 12 pounds." Despite the adversity, Szekely won a silver medal in her specialty, the 200m breaststroke, and even improved a notch in the 400m freestyle, to fifth place. After her retirement, Szekely went on to become a successful swimming coach, helping guide her daughter, Andrea Gyarmati, to a silver and bronze medal at the Munich Olympics in 1972.

[Robert B. Klein (2nd ed.)]

SZEKESFEHERVAR (Hung. **Székesfehérvár**; Ger. **Stuhlweissenburg**), city in W. central Hungary; during the early Middle Ages the capital of Hungary. Jews were living there in the 13th century, and the community, an important one during the 14th, played a role in Jewish affairs in the country as a whole. It interceded with the queen on behalf of the Jews of Pressburg (*Bratislava) in 1503. In the 16th to 17th centuries wealthy Jews who had escaped massacre in Buda (see *Budapest) settled in the town. After Buda passed to the Hapsburgs, Jews were not authorized to enter Szekesfehervar. The first Jews to be granted permission to reside there subsequently were members of a family which opened an inn for Jews attending the fairs. In the year following enactment of the law permitting unrestricted residence (1840) 20 Jewish families settled in the town. The first synagogue was erected in 1867, and in 1892 an organ and a female choir were introduced. The community of Szekesfehervar was one of the staunchest supporters of the *Reform movement. A split within the community occurred in 1861 when the Orthodox group was authorized to form a separate organization, even before the official separation within Hungarian Jewry in 1869. The Jewish population numbered 3,024 in 1910; 2,867 in 1920; and 2,450 in 1930. They were mostly merchants but there were also a number of lessees and landowners, as well as members of the liberal professions.

Holocaust and Contemporary Periods

From 1938 the community was affected by the restrictions and disabilities imposed on the Jews in Hungary. After the German occupation (March 19, 1944) about 5,000 Jews were concentrated in Szekesfehervar and with the 2,075 Jews in the town were deported to the death camp at *Auschwitz. Only 250 returned.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: B. Bernstein, in: *Magyar Zsidó Szemle*, 11 (1894), 508f.; *Etudes orientales à la mémoire de Paul Hirschler*, ed. by O. Komlós (1950), 1–15, 137–44 (Hung.); *Magyar Zsidó Lexikon* (1929), 834–6.

[Baruch Yaron]

SZELL, GEORGE (**Georg**; 1897–1970), conductor, pianist and composer. He was born in Budapest but grew up in Vienna, where he studied piano and composition with Richard Robert and Max Reger. As a composer and pianist, dubbed "the new Mozart," he turned to conducting at age 17. Szell assisted Richard Strauss at the Berlin State Opera (1915) and held conducting posts in German opera houses and in Prague, before his appointments as chief conductor of the Berlin State Opera (1924–29) and of the Neues Deutsches Theater in Prague (1929–37). From 1937 he conducted the Scottish Orchestra in Glasgow and the Residentie Orchestra of The Hague. Immigrating to the United States in 1939, he became principal conductor at the Metropolitan Opera, New York (1942–46), and was noted for his performances there of Wagner and Strauss. From 1946 until 1970 he was appointed permanent conductor of the Cleveland Orchestra and built its ensemble to one of world class by combining the profound European orchestral tradition with the brilliance of the great American orchestras. He won repute for his pedantic approach, his extensive repertoire of modern and classical works, and his lucid interpretations of the Viennese classics. Outstanding among his numerous recordings are the five Beethoven piano concertos (with *Fleisher), the four Brahms symphonies, and Dvořák's last three symphonies. His many world premieres included Hindemith's Piano Concerto (1947), Walton's Partita (1958), and Mennin's Symphony no. 7 (1964), and at the Salzburg Festival, operas by Liebermann and Egk.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Grove Music Online; *Baker's Biographical Dictionary of Musicians* (1997); D. Rosenberg. "George Szell: Portrait of a Perfectionist," in: *Symphony Magazine*, 31:6 (1980), 15–19; B. Surtees, "George Szell: 25 Years Later," in: *Classical Music Magazine*, 18:1 (1995), 30.

[Naama Ramot (2nd ed.)]

SZENDE, PÁL (1879–1935), Hungarian politician. Born in Nyirbátor, Szende joined the "Sociological Society" in 1907 and was secretary of the National Association of Commerce from 1908 to 1918. In 1914 he joined the Radical Party, which favored Hungary's withdrawal from World War I. Szende advocated land reform and the granting of universal suffrage. When the wartime regime ended in October 1918 he was made director general of the Ministry of Finance in the revolutionary coalition government of Michael Károlyi. A month later he was made minister of finance, and within a few weeks succeeded in stabilizing the economy by means of internal borrowing and a new taxation system. In March 1919, however, the communists led by Béla *Kun seized power and Szende followed Károlyi into exile. In his later years Szende lived in Vienna and Paris, where he lectured on sociology and philosophy.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Z. Horváth, *Irodalom és történelem* (1968), 19–35.

[Baruch Yaron]

SZENDE, STEFAN (1901–1985), Hungarian writer and journalist, who wrote in German and Swedish. Szende's *Den siste* *juden frän Polen* ("The Last Jew from Poland"), published in 1944, was among the first authentic Holocaust accounts. Its American edition was titled *The Promise Hitler Kept* (1945). After the war Szende lived in Sweden. Willy Brandt, the German politician, his lifelong comrade-in-arms, wrote the foreword to his memoirs *Zwischen Gewalt und Toleranz* ("Between Violence and Tolerance," 1975).

[Eva Kondor]

SZENES (originally **Schlesinger**), **BÉLA** (1894–1927), Hungarian author. Szenes was born in Budapest. He joined the editorial boards of various newspapers, and was noted for his feuilletons (known as "*Szenes-ember,*" which, in Hungarian, has the additional meaning of "coalman"). Szenes wrote humorous plays, which were successful on the Hungarian stage and also abroad. In his short life he was a gifted and prolific writer.

His stories include *A Szenes ember könyve* ("The Story of the Coalman," 1916), *Vidám irások* ("Humorous Writings," 2 vols., 1920–21), and *Csibi* ("To Young People," 1919). Among his plays were *A buta ember* ("The Stupid Man," 1921), *A gazdag leány* ("The Rich Girl," 1921), *Az alvó férj* ("The Sleeping Husband," 1926), and *Nem nősülök* ("I Won't Marry," 1927). His daughter was the World War II Palestinian heroine Hannah *Szenes.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Magyar Zsidó Lexikon* (1929) s.v.: *Magyar Irodalmi Lexikon*, 3 (1965), s.v.

[Baruch Yaron]

SZENES, ERZSI (1902–1979), Hungarian poet and author. Born in Nagymihály (then in Hungary) she lived in Kassa (Košice) between World War I and World War II but was in contact with literary circles in Budapest, and with the literary periodical *Nyugat*. At the beginning of the Slovakian mass deportations, she fled to Budapest, but was deported to Auschwitz. After World War II she returned to Czechoslovakia and from there moved to Israel in 1949.

Erzsi Szenes wrote verse in the biblical spirit, and Jewish themes were always present in her poetry; from the period of Nazi persecution onward, they formed the only subject of her work. Her writings include the poems *Selyemgombolyag* ("The Coil of Silk," 1924) and *Fehér kendő* ("White Shawl," 1928); and the stories *Nyártól nyárig* ("From Summer to Summer," 1943), and *Van hazám* ("I Have a Homeland," 1956).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Magyar Zsidó Lexikon* (1929), s.v.; *Magyar Irodalmi Lexikon*, 3 (1965), s.v.

[Baruch Yaron]

SZENES, HANNAH (1921–1944), poet and *Haganah fighter who parachuted into Nazi-occupied Europe. Hannah was born in Budapest of an assimilated family, daughter of the writer Béla *Szenes. She early revealed a remarkable intellect and literary talent; at 13 she began to write a diary, which she kept up until 1944. Under the impact of the antisemitic atmosphere in Budapest she became an ardent Zionist, and in September 1939 she went to Palestine and began her studies at the Nahalal agricultural school. Two years later she joined kibbutz Sedot Yam, where she wrote some of her most poignant poems (e.g., Toward Caesarea). At the end of 1942, deeply concerned with the fate of European Jewry and of her mother in Budapest, she joined the group of parachutists organized by the Haganah to rescue Allied prisoners of war and organize Jewish resistance. In March 1944 she was parachuted over Yugoslavia, where she stayed among Tito's partisans. In Srdice she wrote the poem *Ashrei ha-Gafrur* (Blessed is the Match). On June 7, at the peak of the deportation of Hungarian Jewry (see *Hungary, Holocaust) she crossed the border into Hungary but was arrested by the Hungarian police. Though cruelly tortured, she did not reveal any information, and after the fascist takeover in Hungary, a secret court hastily condemned her to death. On November 7, 1944 she was executed by a firing squad in a Budapest prison courtyard. Her remains were taken to Israel in 1950 and interred on Mt. Herzl. In Israel and in the Zionist movement her name became a symbol of devotion and self-sacrifice. Various books were written about her as well as a play by Aharon *Megged. Her diary was published in 1971 (in English).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: M. Syrkin, *Blessed is the Match* (1948); D. and P. Bar-Adon, *Seven who Fell* (1947), 81–124; N. Braslavski (ed.), *Hannah Szenes, Ḥayyeha, Sheliḥutah u-Motah* (196610); Y. Palgi, *Ru'aḥ Gedolah Ba'ah* (1956), passim; Y. Lewy (ed.), *Das Leben von Chana Szenes 1921–1944 nach ihren Tagebuechern* (1960); O. Besser, *Ha-Ẓanḥanit she-Lo Shavah* (1969).

[Livia Rothkirchen]

SZENWALD, LUCJAN (1909–1944), Polish poet and translator. Szenwald wrote revolutionary verse on themes such as the Nazi peril and the Spanish Civil War, outstanding for its cultural breadth and technical virtuosity. He also translated many works by leading foreign authors. *Z ziemi goücinnej do Polski* ("From the Friendly Land to Poland," 1944) appeared in the year of Szenwald's death in action with the Red Army. A posthumous selection of his works was *Pisma wybrane* (1955).

SZÉP, ERNŐ (1884–1953), Hungarian poet and author. Born in Huszt, Szép began writing poetry at a very early age and went into journalism, first in Debrecen and later in Budapest. His delicate, refined verse reflects the life of poor rural Jews and sees the world through the innocent eyes of a child.

Szép's works include *Elalvó hattyú* ("Drowsing Swan," 1924), a verse collection; *Lila akác* ("Purple Acacia," 1919), and *Valentine* (1927; *Marriage for One*, 1929), novels. His stories dealt with types that had not previously appeared in Hungarian literature – performers and circus artists, whose slang was accompanied by the rich, varied, and deep-rooted Hungarian of Szép's books. His novel *Dali-dali-dal* (1934) perpetuates the memory of his father. Szép also wrote the plays *Az egyszeri királyfi* ("Once Upon a Time There Was a Prince," 1914), *Patika* ("Pharmacy," 1919), and *Azra* (1930), based on a poem by Heine. His book *Emberszag* ("Human Smell," 1945) tells of the suffering of Jews in Budapest during the Holocaust.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Magyar Zsidó Lexikon* (1929), 843–4; *Magyar Irodalmi Lexikon*, 3 (1965), 212–4.

[Baruch Yaron]

SZER, SEWERYN (1902–1968), Polish jurist. Born in Warsaw, Szer was a lawyer and a senior official in the public notary's office. He went into hiding during the Nazi occupation and in 1944 worked in the legal department of the Polish Committee for National Liberation. Later he became head of the civil law department in the ministry of justice. He worked for the unification and codification of Polish civil law and was the author of works on family law. He also wrote the general part of a lexicon of civil law.

In 1947 Szer was appointed professor of civil law at the Warsaw Academy of Political Science. He became professor of law at Warsaw University in 1949 and then served as a High Court Judge until 1955. In 1956 he headed the civil law department at the Polish Academy of Sciences. An outstanding jurist, he left writings covering all branches of civil law, including succession, property, and private international law.

[Israel (Ignacy) Isserles]

SZERB, ANTAL (1901–1945), Hungarian author and literary scholar. Szerb, who was born in Budapest, became one of Hungary's greatest authorities on European literature. He began his career as an author by writing poetry and stories in the literary periodical *Nyugat* and essays on the Hungarian classics of the early 19th century designed for the educated reader. Szerb achieved his peak with his monumental work, *Magyar irodalom történet* ("The History of Hungarian Literature," 2 vols., 1934), which ran into 13 editions. Another important work was his *A világirodalom története* ("History of World Literature," 2 vols., 1941). Free from superficiality or generalization, these books developed an interesting and even exciting literary style. Szerb made a masterly attempt to integrate Hungarian writing into the mainstream of world literature. Three of his other works are *Stefan George* (1926), *Az udvari ember* ("The Courtier," 1927), and *Vörösmarty tanulmányok* ("Vörösmarty Studies," 1930). As a writer Szerb was a combination of the scholar-teacher and artist. His work was a fusion of meticulous accuracy and imagination, and his humor and irony, his lightness of touch, and his perspicacity make his books genuine classics. Szerb converted to Catholicism as a young man, undoubtedly under the influence of his teacher, the priest-poet Sándor Sik, himself a converted Jew. Toward the end of his life, however, according to his associates, he even became a "zealous Jew." During World War II he rejected opportunities of self-preservation and escaping, and late in 1944 was sent to the Balf concentration camp in western Hungary, where he was murdered by guards.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Magyar Irodalmi Lexikon*, 3 (1965), 222–4.

[Baruch Yaron]

SZERENCSÉS, IMRE (**Fortunatus**; 1460–1526?), Hungarian apostate; financial adviser to the royal house. His birthplace is unknown, but some scholars believe that Szerencsés was a Spanish exile whose real name was Solomon Seneor b. Ephraim. When he arrived in Hungary he was compelled to convert to Christianity and he married a Christian woman of aristocratic birth, although many believe that he secretly remained true to Judaism. Certainly he helped Jews on some occasions. The children of his first, Jewish, marriage remained Jews. As confidant of the chancellor Szalkai (later archbishop of Hungary), Szerencsés held important positions as vice treasurer, supervisor of the frontier estates, and counselor of King Louis II and the queen of Hungary. On his advice the king devalued the Hungarian currency to cover the expenses of the war against the Ottoman Empire. The public blamed the subsequent deteriorating financial situation on Szerencsés. When the state assembly demanded his execution in 1525, the king had Szerencsés imprisoned but ordered his release after a few weeks. In reaction the mob sacked Szerencsés' house. A short while later, Szerencsés was reconciled with the nobles and the king. During the summer of 1525, acting on his suggestion, the king confiscated the property of the Fuggers, the highly influential banking family.

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[Andreas Kubinyi]

SZERESZEWSKI, MOSES DAVID (1844–1915), merchant and leading Jewish banker in Warsaw. His business activities did not begin until the close of the 19th century, when he engaged in wholesale trade and the import of cloth from Russia. When the development of the Polish cloth industry at the beginning of the 20th century made import from Russia no longer profitable, Szereszewski turned to banking. In 1911 he opened a bank in Warsaw which granted loans to industrialists and which enabled him to invest a considerable part of his fortune in construction. The fact that Szereszewski had invested his wealth in such enterprises before World War I saved him from the harmful effects of interrupted credit activities which the war brought to many other less fortunate businessmen. His son RAPHAEL was a Warsaw banker and public official between the two world wars. He and his brother MICHAEL administered the family bank after their father's death. During the 1920s the two brothers set up an industrial compound which included sugar refineries, chemical factories, and textile works. Beginning in 1916, Raphael served six times as a member of the Warsaw municipal council. He was also a member of the *Sejm from 1922 to 1927. For many years he headed the union of Jewish tradesmen in Poland and was active in many Jewish charitable societies. When the "Society for the Propagation of Jewish Sciences in Poland" was established in 1925, Raphael was appointed a member of its executive. He left Poland at the outbreak of World War II in 1939 and in 1943 settled in New York, where he lived until his death.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: J. Shatzky, *Geshikhte fun Yidn in Varshe*, 3 (1953), index; Y. Gruenbaum, in: EG, 1 (1953), index; 6 (1959), index.

SZERMAN, PINCHAS (1887–1942), *ḥazzan*. Born in Staszow, Poland, he sang as a boy with his elder brother, Abraham Isaac, then *ḥazzan* in Krashnik. Szerman studied in A.B. *Birnbaum's school for *ḥazzanim* in Czestochowa, and in 1909 was appointed *ḥazzan sheni* (assistant *ḥazzan*) at the Tłómacka Street Synagogue in Warsaw. Holding this post until the outbreak of World War II, he served together with the chief *ḥazzanim*, Gershon Sirota and Moshe Koussevitzky, and the choral directors Leo Loew and David Eisenstadt. Szerman was held in high esteem not only for his flexible baritone voice and his unaffected style, but also for his learning and character. He was one of the founders of the *Aggudat ha-Ḥazzanim* (Cantors' Association), in Poland, and served as its president and the editor of its journal *Di Khazonim Velt*.

SZERYNG, HENRYK (1918–1988), Mexican violinist of Polish birth. On *Hubermann's advice he studied with Karl *Flesch in Berlin. He also studied with Jacques Thibaud in Paris, starting his career in 1933. From 1933 to 1939 he studied composition with Nadia Boulanger. During World War II he was liaison officer for the Polish government in exile in London, helped to relocate Polish refugees in Mexico, and performed for the Allied forces. In 1946 he was appointed professor of music at the National University of Mexico. Szeryng made his home in Mexico, and consistently championed the music of native Mexican composers. From 1954 he went on annual tours abroad. In 1970 he was made Mexico's special adviser to UNESCO. The Henryk Szeryng Foundation Career Award was created to help develop the careers of outstanding young violinists. A humanitarian and violinist of extraordinary gifts, Szeryng gained widespread admiration for his technical command, stylistic versatility, and musical intellect of rare insight. He gave the premieres of numerous works written for him, including compositions by Chavez and Penderecki and the first modern performance of Paganini's Violin Concerto no.3 (1971). His recordings include the major violin concertos, Bach sonatas and partitas, the complete Mozart works for violin and orchestra and chamber music, notably with Ingrid Haebler and Artur *Rubinstein. Szeryng visited Israel and made several recordings with the Israel PO. He wrote chamber music and edited baroque violin works, especially those of Bach. His article "La tecnica del violin" (1970) was republished in *Pauta Cuadernos de teoria y critica musical,* 9:34 (Apr–June 1990), 84–98.

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[Naama Ramot (2nd ed.)]

SZIGETI, IMRE (1897–1975), Australian graphic artist. Born in Hungary, Szigeti was forced out of Budapest University by antisemitism. He studied art in Berlin. Leaving Germany in 1933, he arrived in Sydney, Australia, in 1939 and worked at textile print designing. A fine graphic artist, his spidery, rhythmical lines show great depth. His work is mostly gouaches, pastels, and line drawings.

SZIGETI, JOSEPH (1892–1973), violinist. Born in Sighet, Szigeti studied with Hubay and made his debut at the age of seven. In 1917 he was appointed professor of violin at the Geneva Conservatory, and in 1926 settled in the United States. His playing was distinguished by ease and vigor, although his bow-arm position was very unusual – close to the body. Szigeti toured the world and participated in many festivals of modern music. He gave the first public performance of many modern works, including the violin concertos of Busoni (1912), Prokofiev (First Concerto, 1935) and Ernest *Bloch (1938). He also published numerous arrangements and a cadenza to Mozart's Third Violin Concerto. Szigeti wrote memoirs *With Strings Attached* (1947, 1967^2), *A Violinist's Notebook* (1965), and *The Ten Beethoven Sonatas for Piano and Violin* (1965).

SZILÁGYI, GÉZA (1875–1958), Hungarian poet. A native of Budapest, where he studied law, Szilágyi joined the editorial boards of various newspapers. He was the first poet in Hungary to portray unrestrained passion, and the publication of his first verse anthology, *Tristia*, led to his prosecution in 1896 and to the banning of his book. Szilágyi had a decisive influence on his great contemporary, the poet Entire Ady. Szilágyi belonged to the Hungarian modernist school, which published various periodicals, such as *Nyugat, Szerda, and Figyelő*. In his often satirical works, he tended to emphasize the more grotesque aspects of life. Of all the Hungarian-Jewish poets of the time Szilágyi adhered most closely to Judaism. He translated extracts from the books of Job and Ecclesiastes, and wrote poems on biblical themes.

His verse collections include *Válagatott régi és új versek* ("Selected Old and New Poems," 1948), *Holt vizeken* ("On the Waters of Death," 1903) and *Neked írtam* ("I Wrote for You," 1911). Three of his prose works were *Lepel nélkül* ("Uncloaked," 1910), *Ez Pest* ("This is Budapest," 1913), and *Menny, pokol, háború* ("Heaven, Hell, War," 1917). Szilágyi was also an active journalist.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Magyar Zsidó Lexikon* (1929), 851; *Magyar Irodalmi Lexikon*, 3 (1965), 240.

[Baruch Yaron]

SZILARD, LEO (1898–1964), Hungarian physicist and extraordinary polymath. He was born in Budapest and studied at the Minta School and at Budapest Technical University (1916–19). His engineering course was disrupted by World War I service in the Austro-Hungarian army (1917) from which he was discharged because of illness. Horthy's antisemitic policies persuaded him to leave Hungary for Berlin (1920) where he gained his Ph.D. in physics from the University of Berlin (1922). He worked in different departments of the University of Berlin and for the German General Electric Company (1922–33) before leaving for England with the rise of the Nazis. He did research at St Bartholomew's Hospital, London, and the Clarendon Laboratory, Oxford University (1933–38) before immigrating to the U.S. He worked at Columbia University, New York, before moving to the University of Chicago (1942). He was appointed professor of biophysics at the university's Institute of Radiobiology and Biophysics (1946) but changed to biology (1947) and started a molecular biology laboratory (1948–53). After a period without formal affiliation except as visiting professor to Brandeis University, Waltham, Mass., he again returned to the University of Chicago as professor of biophysics at the Enrico Fermi Institute for Nuclear Studies (1956–61). He became a resident fellow of the Salk Institute, La Jolla, California (1964–66). Szilard's scientific career began with an outstandingly original thesis on thermodynamics. In Germany he collaborated with Albert *Einstein (1926–33) in designing a novel domestic refrigerator and induction pump, filed patents on the linear accelerator, cyclotron, and electron microscope, taught quantum physics with John von *Neumann, and published his analysis of Maxwell's Demon. In England he conceived and patented (1934) the idea of a neutron chain reaction despite the skepticism of many physicists and was at once aware of the implications. After Hahn and Strassman's discovery of uranium fission, (with Walter Zinn) he showed that neutrons are emitted during this process. His experiments with Enrico Fermi led to the construction of the world's first nuclear reactor. He advised his colleagues in the Manhattan Project on reactor design and correctly predicted that radiation damage to reactor constituents could release stored energy; this accounted for the accident involving Britain's Windscale reactor (1957). He was later a creative contributor to the work on phages (viruses which infect bacteria) which initiated modern molecular biology and an influential theorist in the field of enzyme regulation. His World War I experience and the Japanese invasion of China made Szilard averse to militarism. However his alarm, shared by Eugene *Wigner and Edward *Teller, that the Nazis might develop nuclear weapons persuaded Einstein to write to Roosevelt, thereby initiating the Manhattan Project. Szilard's opposition to political interference with scientific freedom led to conflict with General Groves, the overall Project commander. After Germany's defeat he also expressed moral reservations over using nuclear weapons against Japan. After the war he was prominent among Project scientists opposing military control of atomic energy. He attended the first Pugwash conference (1957) and participated in the Pugwash movement and other movements for world security. His writings included the elegant essays *The Voice of the Dolphins* (1961). He was elected to membership of the U.S. Academy of Arts and Sciences (1954) and National Academy of Sciences (1961). When he fell ill, he designed the radiation therapy that cured his bladder cancer (1959).

[Michael Denman (2nd ed.)]

SZOBEL, GÉZA (1905–1963), Slovak painter. Szobel held his first exhibition of paintings at the age of eight. In 1927 he settled in Paris. From 1934 his painting became abstract. He spent World War II in England. His paintings on the Holocaust and war themes exhibited in 1944 were acclaimed by critics. He returned to abstract painting in France.

SZOLD, BENJAMIN (1829–1902), U.S. rabbi and scholar. Szold was born in Nemiskert, Hungary, where his family owned land. Although they were the only Jews in town, he received an excellent Jewish education from the rabbis in the area. At the age of 16, or 14 according to family tradition, he was granted the title *morenu* ("our teacher") by Rabbi Benjamin Wolf at the Pressburg Yeshivah. He went on to Vienna for further study but participated in the Revolution of 1848, and was expelled for his activities. He then returned to Pressburg and from 1849 to 1855 tutored privately. He began to study at the University of Breslau and at the newly founded rabbinical seminary in that city, where he came under the influence of Zacharias *Frankel, Heinrich *Graetz, and Jacob *Bernays, and decided to become a rabbi. In 1858, after applying unsuccessfully for a rabbinical post in Stockholm, he accepted an invitation from Congregation Oheb Shalom in Baltimore in the United States. Oheb Shalom was then on the verge of becoming Reform, but Szold led it to a Judaism which allowed for innovations in ritual practice, but not in basic tenets. He recognized and employed the educational potential of the regular Sabbath sermon. He introduced his own prayer book, *Avodat Yisrael* (1867), to replace the previously used *Minhag Amerikah* (1857) by I.M. Wise, and the traditional *siddur*. The *Avodat Yisrael* was widely adopted by congregations throughout the country. Under Szold's leadership Oheb Shalom became one of the foremost American congregations.

Szold's strong liberal and humanitarian convictions found expression in civic and Jewish communal affairs. He took part in founding charitable institutions and aiding the Russian refugees who streamed in during the 1880s. With his daughter Henrietta *Szold, he organized study groups and a library for immigrants. As early as 1893 he publicly advocated Zionism and was an active Hebraist. He published scholarly articles and commentaries on the Bible, especially on the Book of Job (1886).

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[Gladys Rosen]

SZOLD, HENRIETTA (1860–1945), founder of *Hadassah, the Women's Zionist Organization of America, and organizational leader and political figure in Palestine. Szold was born in Baltimore, Maryland. Her parents, Sophie (Schaar) and Rabbi Benjamin Szold, had arrived in Baltimore from Hungary in 1859, after her father was appointed rabbi of Congregation Oheb Shalom. Henrietta, the eldest of eight daughters, received the level of attention and education from her father that was usually reserved for a son. She was taught German (the household language), English, French, Hebrew, secular studies, and Judaism. In 1877, Szold graduated from Western Female High School. For nearly 15 years she taught French, German, botany, and mathematics at the Misses Adam's School in Baltimore. She also taught religious school and gave Bible and history courses for adults at Oheb Shalom. Szold attended public lectures at the Johns Hopkins University and the Peabody Institute, and served as Baltimore correspondent of the New York *Jewish Messenger*, signing her articles "Sulamith."

In 1880, Henrietta's father took her to Europe, where she was horrified to see the degrading conditions under which women prayed in Prague's Alt-Neu Shul. Upon her return to Baltimore, she witnessed the emergence of a Russian-Jewish ghetto as a product of mass immigration. Among these immigrants were Hebraists, Zionists, and other intellectuals who went on to organize the Isaac Baer Levinsohn Literary Society in 1888. With them, Henrietta Szold ran a model night school for immigrants, where she taught until 1893. Inspired by the Zionists she had met, she joined the newly organized Hebras Zion (the Zionist Association of Baltimore) in 1897. Because her father had trained her for a life in Jewish scholarship and had used her services for years as his literary secretary, she also began to volunteer for, and then became the paid secretary of, the editorial board of the *Jewish Publication Society (JPS), a position she held until 1916. The sole woman at the JPS, Szold's duties included the translation of a dozen works, writing articles of her own, editing the books, and overseeing the publication schedule. In 1899 she took on the lion's share of producing the first *American Jewish Year Book*, of which she was sole editor from 1904 to 1908. She also collaborated in the compilation of the *Jewish Encyclopedia*.

After her father's death in 1902, Henrietta and her mother moved to New York. In addition to continuing her work for the Jewish Publication Society, she enrolled at the Jewish Theological Seminary to study Hebrew and Talmud, which she hoped would help her edit her father's manuscripts. Henrietta's acceptance was contingent on her signing a formal promise not to study for the rabbinate. She also joined the New York Hadassah Study Circle, whose members prepared papers on Jewish history and held discussions about Zionism. The physical pressures of her grueling work, plus an unrequited emotional involvement with JTS professor Louis *Ginzberg, whose writings she was editing and translating, resulted in a breakdown. In 1909, Henrietta took a six-month leave from her duties, and she and Sophie traveled to Europe and Palestine.

During her tour of the Holy Land, Szold was shaken by the misery she witnessed. Inspired by her mother's suggestion that Henrietta and her reading group devote their energies to practical work, Szold gathered her friends Sophia Berger, Emma Gottheil, Lotta Levvensohn, Mathilde Schechter, Gertrude Goldsmith, and Rosalia Phillips, and issued an invitation to women interested in "the promotion of Jewish institutions and enterprises in Palestine." On February 24, 1912, 38 women constituted the Hadassah Chapter of Daughters of Zion, elected Henrietta Szold as president, and chose nursing as their focus. The name was changed to Hadassah, the Women's Zionist Organization of America, in 1914 at the second convention, by which time chapters in eight cities had already been established.

In 1916, Sophie died; at the same time, Judge Julian Mack and a group of fellow Zionists decided to offer Henrietta a lifetime stipend so that she could do her work unfettered. At the helm of the new organization of 4,000 women, Szold organized the American Zionist Medical Unit, consisting of doctors, nurses, administrators, vehicles, and drugs, which set sail for Palestine in June 1918 with support from the American Zionist Organization, Hadassah, and the Joint Distribution Committee. Szold was also placed in charge of Zionist educational and propaganda work for the Zionist Organization of America (ZOA). At the end of 1919 she agreed to go to Palestine as its representative. Her remaining 25 years were spent working in Palestine, with occasional trips back to the United States. She became the director of the ZOA's medical unit, ran the Nurses' Training School, and directed health work in Jewish schools.

In 1923 Henrietta Szold returned to the U.S. to see her ailing sister and resumed the active presidency of a steadily expanding Hadassah. In 1926 she resigned and became honorary president. A year later she went back to Palestine as a member of the powerful and prestigious three-person executive of the World Zionist Organization, with the portfolio for health and education. In 1930 she again visited the U.S., where, to her dismay, Hadassah celebrated her 70th birthday with great flourish. When the *Va'ad Le'ummi of Palestine Jewry offered her a seat on its executive committee, she returned to accept the social welfare portfolio, through which she achieved a hygiene program, the rehabilitation of juvenile delinquents, and the establishment of vocational schools. When The Hebrew University opened, however, she was denied a seat on the board, because of her sex.

With the Nazi rise to power in Germany, Henrietta Szold understood the threat to Jewish survival. In 1932, a plan called *Youth Aliyah was conceived to send German Jewish adolescents to Palestine to complete their education. Szold became director of this institution, set up by the Jewish Agency in cooperation with a German-Jewish youth organization to train youth between the ages of 15 and 17, for transfer to *kevutzot* in Palestine. She personally greeted the first group, which arrived in 1934, and Hadassah raised funds in the U.S. to support the organization. Despite obstacles in dealing with the British Mandate government in acquiring immigration certificates, and in working with Jewish communities in both Germany and Palestine, by 1948 the program had cared for 30,000 children. Henrietta Szold, who had always wanted to give birth to "many children," had in a sense become the "mother of the *yishuv*."

In October 1934 Szold laid the cornerstone of the new Rothschild-Hadassah-University Hospital on Mount Scopus.

In 1937 she traveled to Berlin in the interest of Youth Aliyah and went on to the Zionist Congress in Zurich to express her views against the British partition plan and in favor of the controversial notion of a bi-national Arab-Jewish state. During the Arab riots of 1936 and the accompanying "strike" against the government, and until the outbreak of World War II in 1939, Szold worked on behalf of Jewish children and local refugees fleeing Arab attacks. On her 80th birthday in 1940, Szold read her will to a group of friends and expressed her desire to provide for a center for research, publication, and coordination of national youth activities. After her death, the bureau was named Mosad Szold. On her 81st birthday, the Va'ad Le'ummi entrusted her with the planning of its Fund for Child and Youth Care. Two years later, with the help of her close associate, Hans Beyth, she supervised the arrival and care of Youth Aliyah children from all parts of Poland who had wandered for three and a half years. By 1944 Henrietta Szold's failing health prevented her from traveling to the U.S. to receive the degree of Doctor of Humanities from Boston University. It was awarded via a two-way radio broadcast. Later that year she contracted pneumonia and died after a prolonged stay in the hospital that she had done so much to build. To Henrietta Szold, Zionism was the balm for the wounds inflicted by history upon the Jewish people, "an ideal that can be embraced by all, no matter what their attitude may be to other Jewish questions."

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[Shulamit Reinharz (2nd ed.)]

SZOLD, ROBERT (1889–1977), U.S. lawyer and Zionist. Szold, who was born in Streator, Illinois, graduated from Knox College in Illinois (1909). He served as assistant attorney general in Puerto Rico (1915) and assistant to U.S. Solicitor General John W. Davis (1915–18) before returning to private practice. A Zionist from youth, Szold along with Harry *Friedenwald went to Palestine as members of the Zionist commission in 1919. In 1920 he went to London as a member of the Reorganization Commission together with Julius Simon and Nehemia de Lieme. Szold aligned himself with the Brandeis-Mack forces, which were nevertheless ousted by the Weizmann supporters from the Zionist Organization of America administration (1921). In 1930 the ZOA formally recalled the Brandeis-Mack leadership, and Szold served as chairman of the administration until 1932. In 1942 he became treasurer and chairman of the budget committee of the American Emergency Committee for Zionist Affairs. He was among those who opposed the 1937 proposal of partitioning Palestine between Jews and Arabs. Yet at the 22nd World Zionist Congress in 1946, Szold supported Weizmann in his desire to negotiate with the British instead of the more militant position of Abba Hillel Silver, which prevailed. Szold was a member of numerous organizations devoted to the economic development of Palestine, including the Palestine Endowment Funds, Inc. (est. 1922) and the Palestine Economic Corporation (est. 1926). He served for many years as a senior partner in the New York law firm of Szold and Brandwen. The Robert Szold Institute for Applied Science was established at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem.

Szold was the third cousin of Henrietta *Szold, the founder of Hadassah. He wrote *77 Great Russell Street: Recollections of Robert Szold* (1967).

[Simcha Berkowitz / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

SZOLNOK, city in E. central Hungary. Jews began to settle there around 1830; at first Jewish peddlers were only permitted to enter the city during the day. In 1848 there were 60 Jews in the city. A synagogue was built in 1850 (later used by the Orthodox congregation) and a second one in 1857. A *talmud torah* was founded in 1925. After the schism in Hungarian Jewry in 1868–69 the community of Szolnok joined the Neologists. In 1898 a magnificent synagogue was built. The community numbered 818 persons in 1869; 1,101 in 1880; 1,455 in 1890; 1,952 in 1900; 2,062 in 1910; 2,103 in 1920, 2,098 in 1930, and 2,590 in 1941. The Jews in Szolnok mainly engaged in trade and crafts, but also served as government and municipal officials. Rabbis of Szolnok were E. Klein (from 1854), V.I. Friedlieber (1887–91) and K. Heves (1898–1945), who died in Budapest.

Holocaust and Contemporary Periods

During World War II, after the German invasion on March 19, 1944, the 1,800 remaining Jews in Szolnok were confined in a ghetto and at the end of June deported to *Auschwitz and Austria. After the war 609 Jews returned to Szolnok. They numbered 320 in 1953 and 200 in 1970. The great synagogue was converted into a municipal library.

The mathematician G. Szegö and the author A. *Komor were born in Szolnok.

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[Baruch Yaron and Alexander Scheiber]

SZOMBATHELY (Ger. **Steinamanger**), city in W. Hungary. The Jewish community there was first organized as a branch of the Rechnitz (Rohonc) community. Jews lived there as merchants from 1687, but only in 1840 were they permitted to settle permanently. In 1846 a school was built where instruction was given in German, and after 1861 in Hungarian. The older synagogue was used by the Orthodox congregation. A new synagogue was built in 1880. The Jewish population numbered 59 in 1840; 1,154 in 1869; 1,678 in 1880; 1,639 in 1890; and 2,635 in 1900. They were mainly occupied as merchants and also included artisans, members of the liberal professions, some landowners, and farm proprietors. Rabbis of Szombathely were L. Koenigsberger, who was ordained as rabbi by M. *Banet; Bela *Bernstein (officiated 1892–1901), and J.

Horovitz (1911–52), who returned after being deported by the Germans and continued at his post.

Holocaust and Contemporary Periods

During World War II, after the entry of the Germans on March 19, 1944, the Jews, numbering around 3,000 in 1941, were crowded into a ghetto with Jews from the surrounding villages. On July 13, all were deported to the death camp at *Auschwitz, of whom some 250 returned. With the Jews of the surrounding district they numbered not more than 750 in 1946, and fewer than 80 in 1970 after emigration to Israel. The synagogue of the community was converted into a concert-hall.

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[Baruch Yaron and Alexander Scheiber]

SZOMORY (Weisz), DEZSŐ (1869–1944), Hungarian author and playwright. Born in Budapest, Szomory studied music and, while still a child, played before Liszt. In 1890 he deserted from the army and fled to Paris, where he lived until 1906, earning his living as a foreign correspondent. While in Paris, he was considered a disciple of the contemporary naturalist movement, but he only developed as a writer after returning to Hungary. Szomory evolved an elaborate and at times overelegant and artificial style in the decadent *fin-de-siècle* tradition. One of Szomory's outstanding prose works was *A párizsi regény* ("Paris Romance," 1929). He also dealt with Jewish subjects, especially Jewish provincial life, but most of his works about Jews, such as the drama *Péntek este* ("Friday Night," 1896), were aimed at Jewish readers only. A successful dramatist, he wrote plays on social problems, themes also reflected in his historical plays. His works include the short story collection *Elbukottak* ("Those Who Failed," 1892); *Az isteni kert* ("Divine Garden," 1910), *A pékné* ("The Baker's Wife," 1916), and *Levelek egy baratnőmhöz* ("Letters to a Lady Friend," 1927). His plays included *Bella* (1913), *Takáts Alice* (1930), and *Szegedy Annie* (1931).

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[Baruch Yaron]

°**SZTÓJAY, DÖME** (1883–1946), Hungarian general and statesman, prime minister of Hungary in 1944. Sztójay was an intelligence officer in Horthy's counterrevolutionary army, and later became the Hungarian military attaché in Berlin. From 1935 until March 1944 he was Hungary's minister to Germany. Already in 1942 Sztójay declared himself Hungary's foremost proponent of antisemitism. After the Nazi occupation of Hungary (March 19, 1944), Horthy and the German Foreign office jointly appointed Sztójay prime minister of the Budapest government. Sztójay established a pro-Nazi, anti-Jewish regime. The Nazis considered Sztójay a reliable collaborator, especially for carrying out the "Final Solution" in Hungary. Within a few days of his appointment, Sztójay called on the members of his government to approve formally severe anti-Jewish measures, including ghettoization and deportation. On March 29, the Hungarian information service announced the Sztójay government's decision to promulgate anti-Jewish laws. Among the many rulings signed by Sztójay was a decree obliging all Jews to wear the yellow badge (March 31, 1944). Sztójay was prime minister until Aug. 24, 1944, when conservative elements in Hungary succeeded in removing him from office after Romania broke away from the Axis (Aug. 23, 1944). When the Soviet army approached Budapest in January 1945, Sztójay fled to Germany. In 1945 he was arrested by American Intelligence, extradited to Hungary, and tried by a People's Court as a major criminal. He was given the death sentence and executed in 1946.

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[Yehouda Marton]

SZWARC, MICHAEL (1909–2000), U.S. physical chemist. Born in Bedzin, Poland, Szwarc graduated from the Warsaw Polytechnic in 1932 and then studied and taught at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem (1935–42) and Manchester University (1947–52). In 1952 he went to the U.S. as professor of physical and polymer chemistry at the College of Forestry of the State University of New York (Syracuse). In 1964 he was awarded a distinguished professorship by the State University of New York and in 1967 he founded and became the first director of the SUNY Polymer Research Center. He became professor emeritus in 1980. After his retirement in 1979, he joined the Loker Hydrocarbon Research Institute at USC.

Szwarc discovered living polymerization, a reaction that allows the resultant polymers to maintain chain-end reactivity even after completion of the reaction. This advance allows the synthesis of polymers with controlled molecular weights, and with functional groups placed at particular positions in the polymer chain. Szwarc also made fundamental contributions to the development of "block polymers," in which two or more different polymer chains are connected to each other through chemical bonds. This has led to the manufacture of a variety of unique polymeric materials, such as thermoplastic elastomers.

Szwarc was elected a fellow of the Royal Society (London) in 1966 and received two awards in polymer chemistry from the American Chemical Society (1969, 1990) as well as the Kyoto Prize for advanced technology in 1991 in recognition of his fundamental contributions to polymer science. He contributed papers to scientific journals, mostly concerning kinetics and mechanisms of organic reactions and polymerizations.

[Samuel Aaron Miller / Bracha Rager (2nd ed.)]

SZYDLOWIEC, town in Kielce province, E. central Poland. As a center of trade, smithery, and production of building materials, Szydlowiec attracted Jewish settlers from the end of the 15th century. By the end of the 17th century there was an organized Jewish community under the jurisdiction of the *Sandomierz-Krakow province. In 1765 the Jewish population of Szydlowiec and its environs numbered 902 persons. Johann Philippe de Carosi, a German in the employ of the Polish king, visited the town in 1779 or 1780 and found a densely populated Jewish quarter whose population constituted about 90% of the total inhabitants of the town. The Jews engaged mainly in commerce of agricultural produce as well as timber, building materials, beverages, hides, and ironware. In 1788 the owner of the town, Duke Radziwill, granted the Jews additional municipal land and the right to erect additional dwelling houses, a synagogue, and a cemetery. Between 1825 and 1862 Jews were not permitted to reside outside their quarter. The Jewish population of Szydlowiec grew considerably from the 19th century, numbering 2,049 (64.8% of the total population) in 1827; 2,780 (73.2%) in 1857; 5,298 (71.3%) in 1897; and 5,501 (77.1%) in 1921. In the second half of the 19th century Jewish contractors developed the building materials and tanning industries. In 1905–06 Jewish workers and youths, led by the *Bund and *Po'alei Zion, actively participated in the struggle against the czarist regime.

After World War I the town quickly developed into a shoe-producing center (with 14 tanneries), completely controlled by Jews, and provided work for many hundreds of shoemakers, fitters, and traveling salesmen. The ten stone quarries also belonged to Jews, and their products were widely distributed. The Jews in Szydlowiec also had a long tradition of trading in hardware. There were several Jewish libraries, trade unions – especially a strong leather workers' union – and groupings of all parties active among Jews in Poland.

Holocaust Period

On the outbreak of World War II there were about 7,200 Jews in Szydlowiec. On Sept. 23, 1942, 10,000 Jews from Szydlowiec and its vicinity were deported to the *Treblinka death camp. On Nov. 10, 1942, the Germans established four new ghettos in the region (at *Sandomierz, Szydlowiec, *Radomsko, and Vjazd). The Jews were encouraged to leave their hiding places in the forests, being promised security in these ghettos. Thousands of Jews, not seeing any possibility of surviving in the forests during the winter, responded to the German appeal. About 5,000 Jews were concentrated in the ghetto of Szydlowiec. The Jewish community was liquidated when the remaining 5,000 Jews were sent to Treblinka. After the war the Jewish community of Szydlowiec was not reconstituted.

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SZYK, ARTHUR (1894–1951), illustrator, miniaturist, and cartoonist. Born in Lodz, Poland, he studied at Cracow and in World War I fought in the Russian army and was taken prisoner; afterward he fought under General Sikorski against the Bolsheviks. Subsequently in Paris, he illustrated books, among them *The Book of Esther*, Flaubert's *Temptations of Saint Anthony*, Pierre Benoit's *Jacob's Well*, and Ludwig *Lewisohn's *Last Days of Shylock*. In 1934 the Polish government sent him to the United States, where he exhibited at the Library of Congress, Washington, D.C., and in many museums. His series of miniatures on the history of the American Revolution was sent as a gift by the Polish government to President Franklin D. Roosevelt. In England, at the outbreak of World War II, he turned his pen to caricatures for British papers and periodicals. In 1940 he went to the U.S., where he drew cartoons lampooning the Nazi leaders. These were collected in a volume, *The New Order* (1941). He also illustrated books such as the *Rubáiyát of Omar Khayyam* (1940). Szyk was noted for his refined draftsmanship and calligraphy, in the style of medieval manuscript-illumination, as shown in an edition of the Charter of *Kalisz, in a sumptuous edition of the *Haggadah* (executed 1932–36; published 1940), and in the highly decorated Declaration of Independence for the State of Israel (1948). These were executed in a close imitation of the illuminated manuscripts of the Middle Ages. His colors had the luminosity of Gothic stained glass windows. His Hebrew lettering was superbly decorative and his illuminations sometimes showed a close acquaintance with Jewish legend.

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[Alfred Werner]

SZYR, EUGENIUSZ (1915–), Polish economist and Communist politician. Born in Warsaw, Szyr joined the Communist youth movement at the age of 15 and volunteered for the International Brigade in the Spanish Civil War. During World War II he fled to Russia and served as political officer in the Soviet-sponsored Polish army. Szyr returned to Poland in 1945 and held important economic positions in the Polish government. He was vice chairman of the state commission for economic planning from 1949 to 1953 and was its chairman from 1953 to 1956. He became a member of the government economic council in the following year and in 1964 was made a vice premier. Szyr was a leading figure in the ruling Polish United Workers' Party as a member of its central committee and later of its political bureau. During the antisemitic campaign after the Six-Day War he was publicly attacked and was not reelected to the political bureau at the 1968 party congress although he remained vice premier.

[Abraham Wein]

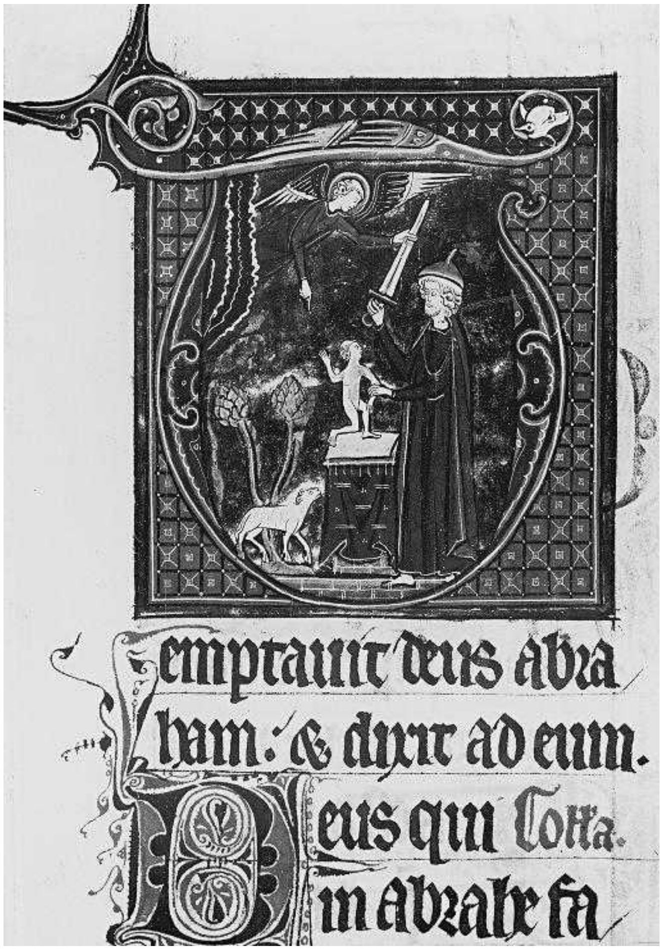

Initial letter "T" of the phrase Temptavit Deus Abraham *in a 14th-century Paris missal. The illumination shows the "sacrifice" of Isaac. Rheims, Bibliothèque Municipale, Ms. 2301, fol. 49v.*

Ta-Tn

TAANACH (Heb. תַּעֲנָךְ, תַּעְנָךְ), Canaanite city-state, identified with Tell Tiʿinnik, about 5 mi. (8 km.) S.E. of Megiddo. The earliest city flourished during the 27th–25th centuries B.C.E. (end of early Bronze Age II to the first half of Early Bronze Age III). Relations with Egypt may have been established at an early date, as is evidenced by a possible imitation of Egyptian tomb construction of the third dynasty. The city was abandoned in about 2500 B.C.E. and was only reoccupied in the second millennium (Middle Bronze Age II). In the Late Bronze Age, Taanach came under Egyptian domination. A palace, rebuilt several times in this period, attests the continuing prosperity of the city. Taanach appears in the list of cities subject to Thutmosis III (no. 42) and on a contemporary papyrus listing the envoys of the Canaanite kings (Ermitage papyrus 1115/6). Twelve cuneiform tablets, dating to the 15th–14th century B.C.E., were uncovered in the excavations. In them an Egyptian governor named Amenhotep (the pharaoh?) orders the king of Taanach to supply men and materials to Megiddo and Gaza. The city appears again in connection with Megiddo in the *El-Amarna letter no. 248 (as Tahnuka).

The king of Taanach is listed among the Canaanite kings defeated by Joshua (Josh. 12:21). While the city appears among those supposedly held by Manasseh in the territory of Issachar (Josh. 17:11; I Chron. 7:29), it follows from Judges 1:27 that the Israelites did not capture the city at the time of the conquest. The city played an important role in the war of Deborah. From the description in Judges 5:19 – "Taanach by the waters of Megiddo" – Albright has concluded that during an eclipse of the latter city, Taanach was predominant in the Jezreel Valley. Others doubt this interpretation, especially as the latest excavations indicate that the city was destroyed in about 1125 B.C.E. and lay in ruins for most of the 11th century. The city revived in the period of the United Monarchy, when David established it as one of the levitical cities (Josh. 21:25), which served as administrative centers. Solomon included it in his fifth district, administered by Baana the son of Ahilud (I Kings 4:12). To this period possibly belongs the pillared building similar to those found at Megiddo and Hazor, which some have regarded as a stable. Taanach was conquered by Shishak and it appears in his list of conquered cities between Shunem and Megiddo (no. 14).

The city's existence in later times is attested by Eusebius, who variously locates it 3 and 4 mi. (5 and 6 km.) from Legio (Onom. 98:12; 100:7ff.). In the crusader period, it was a *casal* (village) known as Tannoc, which was dependent on Legio and was a subject of dispute between the bishop and abbey of Nazareth. The present-day village of Tiʿinnik is located near the ancient site.

Tell Tiʿinnik was excavated by E. Sellin on behalf of the Vienna Academy (1902–04) and by an American expedition under the direction of P.W. Lapp (1963–68). Among the finds of the recent excavations are a cuneiform tablet in Ugaritic script and an early Israelite high place.

[Michael Avi-Yonah]

In Modern Israel

Although the village Tiʿinnik and the ancient site remained 1.3 mi. (2 km.) beyond the Jordanian border after the 1949 Armistice Agreement, the larger part of the southern Jezreel Valley came into Israel, and a comprehensive development project of the area was carried out from 1955 under the name Taanach Bloc. After the model of the *Lachish region, three clusters of moshavim, each with three villages grouped around a rural center, were established: in the west are Gadish, Mele'ah, and Nir Yafeh around Omen; in the center Addirim, Barak, and Devorah around Ḥever; in the east Avital, Meirav, and Perazon around Ya'el. The town of Afulah functioned as the urban center of the bloc. Farming in the region was based on intensive, mostly irrigated, field and garden crops (e.g., cotton, sugar beets, groundnuts, wheat, fodder plants, tomatoes, flowers, etc.), dairy cattle, poultry, and, in some of the moshavim, deciduous fruit orchards. In 1968 the moshavim of the Taanach Bloc had a combined population of about 3,200. The Arab village Tiʿinnik, which came under Israeli administration after the Six-Day War (1967), numbered 294 inhabitants in the autumn 1967 census. At the end of 2002 the populations of Taanach's moshavim were as followed: Gadish 280, Mele'ah 333, Nir Yafeh 316, Addirim 239, Barak 249, Devorah 216, Avital 423, Meirav 312, and Perazon 318.

[Efraim Orni / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

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TAʿANIT (Heb. תַּעֲנִית; "Fast"), tractate of the order *Mo'ed* in the Mishnah, Tosefta, and Jerusalem and Babylonian Talmuds. In manuscripts and the *editio princeps* of the Mishnah, the Tosefta, the Jerusalem Talmud, and the works of the *geonim*, as well as in medieval rabbinic literature, it is called *Ta'aniyyot* ("Fasts").

The Mishnah contains four chapters. The first two discuss fasts decreed because of drought, including the determination of the time when the rain should descend; the prayers for those fasts; those exempt from the fasts; and the days when fasts may not be decreed. Chapter 1, from the middle of *halakhah* 2 onward, derives completely from the Mishnah of *Meir. Chapter 2:6–7 is a source dealing with the men of the **mishmarot* and *ma'amadot*, an account given in its entirety although only the first part is relevant to the subject of fasting. The third chapter discusses fasts decreed for reasons other than drought. Chapter 4:1–5 deals with the recital of the priestly blessings on fast days. Although only the first *halakhah* is devoted to this subject, the whole of the source used by Judah ha-Nasi containing this *halakhah* is given. This too is derived from the Mishnah of Meir and also contains details of the description and the *halakhot* of the *ma'amadot* (4:2–4) during which the priestly blessings were uttered as they were on fast days. In connection with the *ma'amadot*, the times of the wood offerings of the priests and the people are described (4:5). Chapter 4:6–7 deals with the permanent fast days of the 17th of Tammuz and the Ninth of Av, their causes, and the detailed laws of the Ninth of Av and the preceding days. Chapter 4:8, dealing with the ancient ceremonies of betrothal on the 15th of Av and the Day of Atonement, is a supplement to 4:5 where the 15th of Av is mentioned. The tractate closes with a later aggadic addition about the Temple so as to end on a note of comfort.

The Tosefta of *Ta'anit* is greatly dependent upon the Mishnah and without it, it can be understood only with difficulty. Tosefta 1:1–2:7 parallels the first two chapters of the Mishnah, while chapter 3 of the Mishnah is possibly paralleled by Tosefta 2:8–17 (according to Mss. Erfurt and London to 2:8–3:2). Mishnah chapter 4:1–5 is paralleled by Tosefta 3:1–8, containing here *beraitot* in connection with the connotation of the *mishmarot* and the *ma'amadot* with the texts better than that of the Mishnah. There are also details of events that transpired in the time of the Greek kings (3:7–8), possibly in the time of the high priest *Jason. Mishnah 4:6–7 is paralleled by Tosefta 3:9–14, which also concludes with words of consolation. In the Jerusalem Talmud there are interesting references to Hadrian's persecution and particularly to *Bar Kokhba, as well as legends about the destruction of the Temple (TJ, 4:8, 68d–69b). Particularly well known is the third chapter of the Babylonian Talmud, which is almost completely *aggadah* and is called "the chapter of piety" because of the many stories about *ḥasidim* – men of piety and good deeds – that are scattered throughout it. *Ta'anit* is the only tractate of the Babylonian Talmud to be published in its entirety in a critical edition, according to manuscripts and the first edition, together with an introduction and philological notes by H. Malter (New York, 1930). Despite its faults and defects, this edition is of great value. Malter also published an *editio minor* together with an English translation.

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[Moshe David Herr]

TABACHNIK, ABRAHAM BER (1901–1970), Yiddish poet and literary critic. Born in a village near Mohilev-Podolsk (Ukraine), he immigrated to New York in 1921, taught in Yiddish schools, and worked for the Jewish Telegraphic Agency. He wrote his first poems in Russian, before turning to Yiddish. He co-edited the anthologies *Fayln* ("Arrows," 1928–31), and the literary quarterly *Vogshol* ("Scale," 1959). In the 1950s he made sound recordings of more than 20 Yiddish poets reading their works (17 cassettes, now in the National and University Library, Jerusalem). Some of Tabachnik's best studies as a critic dealt with M. *Rosenfeld, J. *Rolnick, *Mani-Leib, Z. *Landau, and A. Stolzenberg. A collection of his literary portraits was compiled in the volume *Dikhter un Dikhtung* ("Poets and Poetry," 1965).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: LSNYL, 4 (1961), 1–3; S. Niger, *Kritik un Kritiker* (1959), 156–62; S.D. Singer, *Dikhter un Prozaiker* (1959), 113–21; J. Glatstein, *In Tokh Genumen*, 2 (1960), 253–8. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** I. Oren (ed.), *Kratkaia evreĭskaia entsiklopediia*, 8 (1996), 676–7.

[Sol Liptzin / Jerold C. Frakes (2nd ed.)]

TABAK, SOLOMON LEIB (1832–1908), Hungarian *posek*. Born in Sziget of humble parents, Tabak was a pupil of Abraham Judah ha-Kohen *Schwartz in Beregszasz. He served as head of the *bet din* of Jekuthiel Judah *Teitelbaum and continued in that office for many years after Teitelbaum's death.

He was the author of a number of books, all with the title *Erekh Shai*: a commentary on the four parts of the Shulḥan Arukh (5 vols., 1891–1909); talmudic novellae (1910) on the Pentateuch (2 vols., 1912–1928) and on the Books of the Prophets and Hagiographa (1932); as well as two volumes of responsa, *Teshurat Shai* (2 vols., 1905–10). Nearly all his works were reprinted in a photocopy edition in New York from 1965 on.

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[Naphtali Ben-Menahem]

TABEEL, THE SON OF (Heb. טָבְאַל, pausal form of טָבְאֵל, "God is good" (in Aramaic), Ezra 4:7). When Pekah, king of Israel, and *Rezin, king of Aram, formed a coalition of states to resist the growing power of Assyria, Jotham, ruler of Judah, refused to join this coalition. Not wanting a neutral and potentially hostile state in their rear, Pekah and Rezin invaded Judah in 735 B.C.E. (II Kings 15:37). At this time of crisis, Jotham died, and his son Ahaz reigned in his stead. Isaiah the prophet came to the king with the message that the plans of Israel and Aram would not succeed. Their plan was stated by the prophet in this manner: "Let us go up against Judah, and vex it, and let us make a breach therein for us, and set up a king in the midst of it, even the son of Tabeel" (Isa. 7:6). Thus, Ahaz was to be removed from the Judean throne, and "the son of Tabeel," more congenial to Israelite-Aramean interests, was to become king.

Medieval commentators are agreed that the son of Tabeel is an important official of Israel or Aram, but differ on the exact interpretation of the name Tabeel. One view translates the name (following the Targum) as "the one good for us," regarding Tabeel as an abbreviation for *ha-tov ʾelenu* (Rashi, Kimḥi, Ibn Ezra). Another commonly held view explains Tabeel as referring to Pekah son of Remaliah, king of Israel. By the letter permutation *albam*, which exchanges a letter in the first half of the alphabet with the corresponding letter in the second half (ב–מ, א–ל), the name Tabeel yields רמלא (*rmlʾ*), i.e., Remaliah (Kimḥi, Rashi, Saadiah, Ibn Ezra in *Sefat Yeter*; cf. similar usage of the letter permutation *atbash* (אתב״ש) in the case of בָּבֶל for שֵׁשַׁךְ in Jer. 25:26 and 51:41, and לֵב קָמָי for כַּשְׂדִּים in Jer. 51:1). In his commentary to Isaiah, Ibn Ezra interprets the name Tabeel to mean "no good."

Modern scholars are almost unanimous in interpreting Tabeel as a Syrian-Aramean name. It follows the same pattern as the name Tabrimmon (I Kings 15:18; Rimmon is an Aramean deity, II Kings 5:18), combining the Aramaic adjective *ṭāb*, "good," with a theophoric element. H. Winckler identified "the son of Tabeel" with Rezin himself, but the evidence for such an identification is not compelling (so E.J. Kissane). Scholars generally agreed that Tabeel was an Aramean prince whom Pekah and Rezin wished to place on the Judean throne. W.F. Albright, however, published a text from the Assyrian archives at Calah (first published by H.W.F. Saggs), almost contemporary with the events in Isaiah and Kings, which shows that Tabeel is a region, located in northern Palestine or southern Syria. The "son of Tabeel" is thus presumably a Judean prince whose maternal home was the land of Tabeel (cf. II Sam. 3:3 concerning Absalom) – the son of Uzziah or Jotham by a princess of Tabeel. H.L. Ginsberg (in bibl.) rejects Albright's view, pointing to the fact that the "House of David" was thrown into panic by the Israelite-Aramean alliance against Judah (Isa. 7:2), and that Isaiah actually addresses the House of David as such in verse 13 (and verse 9b, where the verbs are in the plural); see his further arguments. Rezin and Pekah wished to depose the Davidic dynasty, and not merely to replace Ahaz with a Davidide who would join the anti-Assyrian alliance. B. Mazar also differs with Albright. He locates the land of Tabeel in southern Gilead and identifies its population as Judeans, from whom descended the famous Tobiads of the Hellenistic period.

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[Gershon Bacon]

TABENKIN, YIZḤAK (1887–1971), Israeli labor leader and one of the founders of *Ha-Kibbutz ha-Me'uḥad and *Aḥdut ha-Avodah, member of the First and Third Knessets. Born in Bobruisk, Belorussia, Tabenkin attended a *ḥeder* there. Later he went on to study in Warsaw, Vienna, and Berne. He helped to found *Po'alei Zion, belonging to the wing that favored agricultural settlement in Ereẓ Israel and participation in the Zionist organization. He settled in Palestine in 1911. Tabenkin worked on farms and joined *Ha-Shomer. He advocated collective settlement and was a member of Kinneret during World War I and of Gedudei ha-Avodah after the war. He also participated in the foundation of kibbutz *En Harod. Tabenkin favored large kibbutzim which would be open for mass membership.

In Palestine he belonged to the group that joined with Po'alei Zion in 1919 to form Aḥdut ha-Avodah, as a stage in the unification of the labor movement, and gave the programmatic address at its founding conference. He was a founding member of the *Histadrut in 1920 and of *Mapai in 1930. Tabenkin objected to David *Ben-Gurion's agreement with the Revisionists in 1934, opposed the 1937 partition plan for Palestine, advocated settlement in all corners of the country as part of the struggle for keeping Ereẓ Israel united, and fought for political activism, the independence of the Histadrut, the development of the labor economy, and loyalty to pioneering principles. When Mapai split in 1944, Tabenkin led the faction then called Ha-Tenu'ah le-Aḥdut ha-Avodah, which joined with *Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir in 1948 to form *Mapam, and was elected to the First Knesset on its list. Within Mapam he fought against the left-wing trend of empathy with the Communist bloc. He was not elected to the Second Knesset, but when Mapam split in 1954, he became the political and ideological leader of Aḥdut ha-Avodah-Po'alei Zion, and was elected to the Third Knesset on its list. In the early 1960s he retired from all his political and party activities, and devoted his time to teaching and writing. Following the Six-Day War Tabenkin opposed any withdrawal from the territories occupied during war, and participated in the establishment of Tenu'at ha-Avodah le-Ma'an Ereẓ Israel ha-Shelemah (The Labor Movement for Greater Israel), some of whose members joined the Likud in later years. He was a delegate at every Zionist Congress after World War I. He headed the Seminar Center of Ha-Kibbutz ha-Me'uḥad at Efal.

Tabenkin's son Moshe (1917–79) was a poet, and writer of children's books. Moshe served in the Palmaḥ, and was a teacher in kibbutz En-Harod.

Among his writings are *Ha-Medinah ha-Ivrit ve-ha-Derekh Eleha* ("The Jewish State and the Way Toward It," 1944); *Vegn un Umvegn* (Yid., "Ways and Roundabouts," 1947); *Ha-Ḥevrah ha-Kibbutzit* ("Kibbutz Society," 1954); *Devarim 1918–1934* ("Collected Works 1918–34," 1967); *Ein Le'an Laseget* ("There Is Nowhere to Retreat," 1967); *Devarim* ("Speeches and Writings," 1967); *Lekaḥ Sheshet ha-Yamim: Yishuvah shel Ereẓ Bilti Meḥulleket* ("The Lesson of the Six Day War: the Settlement of an Undivided Land," 1971).

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[Susan Hattis Rolef (2nd ed.)]

TABERNACLE (Lat. *tabernaculum*, "tent"; *taberna*, "hut"; the word renders the Heb. *mishkan*), the portable sanctuary constructed by the Children of Israel in the wilderness at the command of God. (The word has no connection with the Festival of Tabernacles – Sukkot – which should correctly be called the Festival of Booths.)

Terminology

The Bible designates the Tabernacle by a variety of Hebrew terms, each of which is significant in that it either describes the structure of the shrine or depicts its function. Primarily the names may be divided into two groups, one connected with the term *mishkan* and the other with the designation *ʾohel*, as follows:

(a) *Mishkan* ("Dwelling," i.e., God's Dwelling Place among Israel; e.g., Ex. 25:9).

(b) *Mishkan* YHWH ("The Dwelling of the Lord"; e.g., Lev. 17:4).

(c) *Mishkan ha-ʿEdut* ("The Dwelling Place of the Testimony," i.e., of the Tablets of the Covenant, inscribed with the Decalogue; e.g., Ex. 38:21).

(d) *ʾOhel Moʿed* ("Tent of Meeting," i.e., where the Lord meets with – reveals Himself to – man; e.g., Ex. 28:43). This designation is very common, occurring about 150 times.

(e) The terms are combined in *Mishkan ʾOhel Moʿed* ("Dwelling Place of the Tent"; e.g., Ex. 39:32). It should be noted that *ʾohel* and *mishkan* are synonyms in Hebrew (e.g., Num. 16:26, 27) and also in Ugaritic, and that in both literatures these designations continued to be applied to sanctuaries that were no longer mere tents. In the Bible these words sometimes occur as poetic expressions for residences that are permanent structures (e.g., Isa. 54:2; Jer. 30:18). With reference to the sanctuary, *mishkan* and *ʾohel* are used both in a general sense – to denote the entire structure of the Tabernacle – and in a restricted connotation, the former signifying the beautiful inner ceiling of the shrine, and the latter the covering of goats' hair immediately above this.

(f) Finally, the Tabernacle is also called *Miqdash* ("Sanctuary"; e.g., Ex. 25:8) and *ha-Qodesh* ("The Holy Place"; e.g., Ex. 28:29). The innermost sanctuary is known as the *Qodesh ha-Qodashim*, "The Most Holy Place" or "The Holy of Holies."

Sources

The main source for the account of the construction of the Tabernacle consists of two groups of verses: Exodus 25–31 and 35–40. Both groups are ascribed by the documentary hypothesis to P, but whereas the first takes the form of instructions, the second is largely a repetition of the first in the past tense, i.e., it describes the execution of the instructions. The order of the contents, however, is more systematic in the later chapters, and the Septuagint shows considerable divergences here from the Masoretic Text. There are additional references to the components of the Tabernacle and its furniture in Numbers 3:25 ff. and 4:4 ff. in relation to the duties of the levites (cf. also 7:1 ff.). The Temple built by Solomon (I Kings 6 ff.) and that envisioned by Ezekiel (Ezek. 40 ff.) provide interesting parallels and differences. Post-biblical sources, which nevertheless shed valuable light on the traditional conception of the Tabernacle structure, are to be found in Philo (II Mos. 91), in Josephus (Ant., 3:122 ff.), and especially in the *Baraita de-Melekhet ha-Mishkan* (third century C.E.).

Materials

The Tabernacle, its equipment, and the priestly vestments were made of a great variety of materials, which were voluntarily contributed by the people (Ex. 25:2 ff.; 35:4 ff.). These comprised gold (fine and ordinary), silver, bronze (an alloy of copper and tin), and acacia wood; violet (*tekhelet*), purple, and scarlet stuff; ordinary linen and fine twisted linen; goats' hair, tanned rams' skins, and goatskins; oil (for lighting and for anointing); spices (for the incense and for the anointing oil); and precious stones (for the ephod and the breastpiece). The value of the materials was in direct proportion to the degree of sanctity of the Tabernacle component or furniture for which it was used. In this way the conception of graduated holiness was preserved in every aspect of the shrine.

The Tabernacle Proper

The structure of the sanctuary (Ex. 26 and 36) was marked by a certain dichotomy – it was in part a tent and in part a wooden enclosure. Its appearance was that of a flat booth. It was comprised of ten curtains of violet, purple, and scarlet fabric with inwoven ("embroidered") figures of cherubim; each curtain measured 28 cubits (a cubit is about 1½ feet by 4.) They were joined (i.e., sewn) together, forming two sets of five curtains each. To one edge of each set (on the long side) were attached 50 loops of violet thread, and the two sets were connected by 50 gold clasps.

The curtains were supported by 20 *qerashim* of acacia wood on the north side, 20 on the south, and eight on the west (rear) wall. Each *qeresh* was ten cubits high and 1½ wide, and gold-plated. The thickness is not stated, but is variously estimated by the authorities as four figures (c. 3 inches), ½ cubit, and 1 cubit. The older view regarded the supports as solid boards, but such an assumption would make the structure unwieldy. Most exegetes now accept the view of A.R.S. Kennedy that *qeresh* denotes a light, open frame, consisting of two side arms joined together at the top, the middle, and the foot by cross rungs, with two tenons projecting below. Such frames would have the additional advantage of permitting the beautiful curtaining to be seen from the interior. Each frame was fitted, by means of the tenons, into two silver bases. Thus on three sides (north, south, and west) the frames formed a continuous framework and the bases provided an unbroken silver foundation. The fourth, or east, side, had no frames; it served as the entrance and was closed by a screen. The frames were further strengthened on each side by five bars of acacia overlaid with gold, which passed through gold rings; one bar ran across the whole length of the side, and above it were two bars of half this length, matched by two similar bars below it. It also appears (the instruction in Ex. 26:22–25 is obscure) that two frames were fastened to each corner on the west side, which served as buttresses. In all there were 48 frames and 100 bases.

The curtains were placed lengthwise across the frames, forming a roof over the sanctuary and providing an excess of nine cubits on the north and south sides (9 × 10 × 9 cubits) and completely covering the rear end to the ground (since the shrine runs 30 cubits long and the curtaining 40). It seems that the extremities of the curtains were fastened at each end by clasps or loops to pegs affixed to the frames.

Over the curtaining was spread a "tent" formed of 11 curtains of goats' hair, each measuring 4 × 11 cubits. These were made into two sets of five and six curtains respectively, fastened together by 50 loops (perhaps of goats' hair) and bronze clasps. On the east side the first curtain was doubled and suspended over the front of the Tabernacle; along the three other sides, this covering reached to the ground. Alternatively there were 12 cubits hanging down, like the train of a dress, on the west side and the overlap in front was tucked under the curtaining (see U. Cassuto, in bibl., 353). On top of this entire structure were spread, for protection from the weather, two more coverings (Ex. 26:14), one of rams' skins dyed red and the other of skins of **taḥash* ("dugong" or "dolphin"; the exact meaning is in doubt). Possibly, in view of Exodus 40:19, one covering composed of both kinds of skins is intended.

Veil (Ex. 26:31 ff.)

The sanctuary was divided into two unequal parts by means of the veil (or veil of the screen), which was a beautiful portiere, "skillfully worked," made of the same fabric as the curtains. It hung from golden clasps and was draped over four acacia pillars overlaid with gold and set in silver bases. This partition was placed 20 cubits from the entrance of the Dwelling exactly underneath the clasps that joined the two sets of curtains together. This inner room, a perfect cube of ten cubits, was called the "Holy of Holies" or the "Most Holy Place," while the outer room, measuring 10 × 20 cubits, was known as the "Holy Place." In Solomon's Temple the two compartments, designated respectively *devir* (the inmost sanctum) and *hekhal* (the outer sanctuary), were twice the size of the rooms in the Tabernacle, but in the same proportion of one to two.

Screen (Ex. 26:36–37)

The eastern end of the Tabernacle was closed by "a screen for the door of the tent." It was made of less costly material than the veil, the fabric being embroidered but not with cherubim; it was suspended from golden hooks on five pillars of gold-plated acacia set in bronze bases. The fabric and the bases were like those of the court screen.

Court

The sanctuary was surrounded by a rectangular enclosure, measuring 100 cubits from east to west and 50 cubits from north to south (a double square of 50 cubits each); it was called "the court of the Tabernacle" (Ex. 27:9). The area was screened by five white curtains "of fine twined linen" five cubits high, hung on 60 acacia pillars fixed into bases of bronze five cubits apart. Each pillar had a silver fillet at the top and the curtains were attached to the pillars by means of silver hooks. Added rigidity was given to the pillar by cords and bronze pegs. The curtains on the north and south sides were 100 cubits long, that on the west was 50 cubits long, while the east side had two short curtains 15 cubits long, suspended from three pillars, which extended from the corners toward the center. This left an opening of 20 cubits in the middle, which was closed by a screen of fine linen embroidered in colors and hanging from four pillars.

The perimeter of the court was 300 cubits and its pillars numbered 60. It was obviously intended that the pillars should be five cubits apart. Since the corner pillars served both adjacent sides, the number of pillars represents no problem; although the pillar at each corner helped to uphold a curtain on each side it was to be counted only once in the total (see Cassuto, in bibl., 366–7). The *baraita*, however, solves the problem by assuming the pillars to be placed in the middle of each length of curtain of five cubits.

The exact position of the Tabernacle within the court is not stated. The generally accepted view is that it was situated in the western square, its entrance being 50 cubits from the door of the court in the east, while on the north and south sides there was a space of 20 cubits between the Dwelling and the court curtains. This view is supported by rabbinic tradition (*Baraita de-Melekhet ha-Mishkan*, 5) and by Philo (II Mos. 91).

Furniture

The Torah describes the furniture before it depicts the structure of the shrine, because the "vessels" were considered the more important; the Tabernacle and court merely housed them. The Ark of the Covenant, which was the most sacred object, was kept in the Holy of Holies (Ex. 25:10ff.). It was an oblong chest of acacia wood 2½ × 1½ × 1½ cubits, overlaid within and without with pure gold. It had a gold molding running around its sides, and was provided with gold rings at the four corners (probably attached to the short sides, so that the Ark faced the way the camp was journeying) to receive the bearing poles. Within the Ark were placed the Tablets of the Decalogue ("testimony"), and in front of it were put, in the course of time, a pot of manna (Ex. 16:33ff.) and Aaron's rod (Num. 17:25).

On the Ark rested a slab of gold (2½ × 1½ cubits) called the "propitiatory" or "mercy seat" (*kapporet*), from the opposite ends of which – and "of one piece with it" – rose two figures of cherubim made of beaten work of fine gold. The faces of the cherubim were turned toward the mercy seat, while their wings arched overhead, thus covering the propitiatory. The cherubim represented the *Throne of God (cf. I Sam. 4:4; II Sam. 6:2; and see Cassuto, in bibl., 333). In the "Holy Place," on the north side, was placed the "table of the Presence" (Ex. 25:23ff.; Num. 4:7). It was made of acacia overlaid with pure gold. Its top measured 2 × 1 cubits, and it was 1½ cubits high. The legs were connected by a rail or frame one handbreadth wide, to which were attached four gold rings to receive the staves used for carrying the table. Its accessories included plates for the loaves of the Presence, bread (or shewbread), cups for incense (Lev. 24:7), and large and small vessels (flagons and bowls) such as were used for libations.

Although the table bears a resemblance to that used in idolatrous temples for offering food to the gods, there was a vital difference. The bread of the Presence was eaten by the priests each week (Lev. 24:9) and the various vessels remained empty. The offerings to God were reserved for the altar, where they were consumed by fire. The table and its equipment were only a symbol: the Tabernacle was the House of the Lord.

The lampstand (*Menorah; Ex. 25:31–40) stood on the south side of the Holy Place facing the table. It was made "of beaten work" from a talent of pure gold, and consisted of a central shaft (resting on a tripod or feet) from which branched out, at different heights, six arms (three on each side), which curved outward and upward and became level with the top of the shaft. The arms and the shaft formed stands for seven lamps (not apparently of gold). The stem and arms were decorated at intervals with ornamentations resembling almond blossoms (comprising the knob and the flower). The lamps were placed in the seven "cups shaped like almond blossoms" that formed the ends of the shaft and branches and were so arranged that the flames should illuminate the front side of the lampstand, i.e., the side facing the table. Snuffers and snuff dishes, as well as oil vessels (Num. 4:9), were provided and only the purest oil might be used (Ex. 27:20; Lev. 24: 1–4). The lamps were intended to give perpetual light (Ex. 27:20; Lev. 24:2), or were kindled each night only (Lev. 24:3; I Sam. 3:3).

The altar of incense (Ex. 30:1–5; 37:25–28), placed in front of the veil, was made of acacia overlaid with pure gold, and was one cubit long and wide and two cubits high. It had a gold molding, horns, rings, and bearing poles. Incense was offered on it perpetually, night and morning, and an annual atonement was carried on its horns. The description of this altar here, and not in Exodus 25, is considered by many exegetes out of place, but is justified by Cassuto (in bibl., 390). It is not mentioned in Leviticus 16, despite the reference to the Day of Atonement service in Exodus 30:10, and it is not included in the account of Solomon's Temple in I Kings 6ff., or in that envisaged by Ezekiel (Ezek. 40ff.). Hence many modern scholars consider the passage a late addition (but note the references in I Chron. 28:18; II Chron. 4:19). The altar (Ex. 27:1–8), or the altar of burnt offering (Ex. 30:28), or the bronze altar (Ex. 38:30) was a hollow chest of acacia overlaid with bronze, measuring five cubits in length and width and three cubits in height. It had horns at the corners and halfway down a ledge (Lev.

9:22); below the ledge was a grating on all sides against which the sacrificial blood was dashed. To facilitate its transport it was provided with bronze rings and bronze-plated poles. Its equipment included pots, shovels, bases, fleshhooks, and fire pans (Ex. 27: 1–8; 38: 1–7). It stood at the center of the court, its position in the eastern square corresponding to that of the Ark in the western square. To take hold of its horns was believed to afford asylum (I Kings 1:50–51). It is claimed by many exegetes that the altar as described here – a hollow box covered, it is assumed, by a thin metal top – could not have survived a single day. Moreover, its form appears to contradict the injunction in Exodus 20:24–25 [22–23] calling for an earthen or stone altar. Cassuto (in bibl., 362), however, points out that no top is mentioned and suggests that the chest was filled with earth or stones. Between the altar and the sanctuary a laver was placed (Ex. 30:17–21), which consisted of a bronze bowl resting on a bronze base. It was made of "the mirrors of the women who performed tasks" (Ex. 38:8). The antiquity of this reference is evidenced by the fact that there is no reference to these servingwomen after the destruction of Shiloh (I Sam. 2:22). Its purpose was to provide water for the ritual ablutions of the priests.

The Tabernacle Completed and in Use

The chief architect of the sanctuary and its furniture was *Bezalel, who was assisted by Oholiab and a number of skilled artisans (Ex. 31:2ff.; 35:30ff.). They also made the priestly vestments (Ex. 28). On the first of the first month in the second year of the Exodus the entire structure was erected by Moses (Ex. 40:17), and as soon as the task was completed, the cloud of the Lord covered the Tent of Meeting (Ex. 40:34). The consecration of the Tabernacle and the dedication of the priests by Moses are described in Exodus 29 and Leviticus 8–10. Once the Tabernacle was erected, it occupied a central position, physically and spiritually, in the midst of Israel. It stood in the center of the camp. On three sides (north, west, and south) resided the levite clans, while Moses and Aaron and his sons occupied the east side. Further away the 12 tribes were stationed, three on each side of the quadrilateral. The priests performed the sacrificial and other ritual services of the sanctuary; the levites (8,580; see Num. 4:48) were in charge of the components of the shrine when it was dismantled for each journey. During the stationary periods the cloud rested on the tent; the lifting of the cloud indicated that it was time for the camp to move (Ex. 40:36–38). A blast from the silver trumpets gave the signal to strike camp (Num. 10:1ff.). The holy furniture was carefully wrapped by the priests, special care being given to the Ark, and the levites – Kohathites, Gershonites, and Merarites – attended to the transport of the sanctuary and its sacred articles in accordance with their respective schedules (Num. 4:4–33). On the march six tribes preceded the levites and six formed the rear (Num. 2:17; cf. 10:17ff.). The functions of the Tabernacle may be divided into three categories:

(a) It was the dwelling place of the Lord among the Israelites (Ex. 25:8). The Children of Israel were compelled by force of circumstances to depart from the holy mountain, where the Lord had revealed Himself; nevertheless He continued to dwell in their midst, a fact of which the sanctuary was the visible symbol.

(b) It was the center of Israel's cultus in all its major aspects. Here sacrifices – both regular and occasional – and incense were offered up; here the lamp and the shewbread played their role; here the ritual of the great Day of Atonement, the one day in the year when the high priest was permitted to enter the Holy of Holies, was carried out. It was even the venue of the ordeal of *sotah* (wife suspected of faithlessness; see Num. 5:16, 17).

(c) It was the place where the Divine *Presence was revealed and where the cloud of the Lord manifested itself – over the propitiatory (Lev. 16:2), or over the Tent of Meeting (Ex. 40:34), or at the entrance to the tent (Num. 16:19). It was here that God spoke with Moses (Ex. 25:22).

Exegetical and Historical Problems

The biblical account of the Tabernacle and its history bristles with difficulties. Some of these have already been mentioned; but many more remain. Bible critics stress that the specifications of both the Tabernacle and its furniture are often obscure and full of omissions. For example, the shape of the cherubim, the nature of the *qerashim* and their thickness, the material of the lamps, and the size of the outer coverings are unknown. It is still a moot question whether the measurements are external or internal. Exegetes cannot understand how the great weight of the curtains could be borne by the wooden supports, or how the clan of Merari, who had but four wagons for the task, could transport more than four tons of silver (Ex. 38:24), hundreds of feet of curtaining, and 300 bronze bases. It is doubted whether the Israelites possessed the requisite skills in the wilderness period; they certainly needed Phoenician help for Solomon's Temple (I Kings 7:13–14, 40–45). The quantities of material required and their costliness seem beyond the means of a wandering people recently freed from bondage. Even the suitability of the form of the Tabernacle service for desert conditions is queried. Although the Tabernacle plays an important role in the desert, there is relatively little heard about it after the settlement in Canaan. Hence the authenticity of the scriptural account is questioned.

Against these arguments it should be noted that the biblical text does not purport to be a detailed blueprint. This is clearly indicated by the recurring phrase "according to the manner of it that you were shown on the mountain." Many specifications were omitted because they were already well known; others were probably not considered essential. As regards the materials and skills, it should be borne in mind that the Israelites left Egypt with considerable spoil (Ex. 12:35–36), that much could be purchased from passing caravan merchants, and that in Egypt the Hebrews must have been forced to learn, in connection with their building operations, quite a number of handicrafts. It is also noteworthy that the Tabernacle specifications exhibit various archaic features consonant with a desert origin. Thus the structure was essentially a tent; the red rams' skins find a parallel in the pre-Islamic *qubbah* (tent of red leather); the wood was acacia (not cedar, as in the Temple), which could be obtained in the wilderness. The frames recall the trelliswork in El's throne room mentioned in Ugaritic literature, while the cube shape of the Holy of Holies may display Egyptian influence. It is also possible that the three degrees of access to the Tabernacle correspond to the three limits of approach to Sinai (Ex. 19:17; 20:21 [18]; 24: 1–2).

But the crux of the criticism relates to the tent mentioned in Exodus 33:7–11, likewise called the Tent of Meeting, which appears to be of a wholly different character from that of the Tabernacle depicted in the so-called Presence. It is portrayed as an ordinary tent, to which the verb *naṭa* ("to pitch") is applied. It is sited outside the camp. No cultic services or appurtenances are mentioned in connection with it, and instead of priests or levites Joshua is in constant attendance. It was visited by all who sought the Lord, and the pillar of cloud descended at the door of the tent (not within it), where the Lord spoke with Moses. This divine revelation appears to be of an occasional, not of a regular, character. The verbal forms occurring in the passage are regarded by most commentators as frequentative; Cassuto (in bibl., 430), however, discerns a poetic usage here insofar as the initial verbs are concerned. These verses are ascribed to E or EJ, and certain scholars claim that three other texts (Num. 11:16–30; 12:4–13; Deut. 31:14–15), which refer to the Tent of Meeting, have the same essential characteristics; hence they all belong to E and present a concept of the Tabernacle that diverges radically from that of P.

Numerous solutions of the problems have been proposed, some highly fanciful and all necessarily conjectural. An old tradition, found in the Septuagint and supported by medieval Jewish commentators like Rashi, A. Ibn Ezra, and others, regards the tent of Exodus 33:7 as Moses' own dwelling (cf. Ex. 18:7; and see Cassuto, in bibl., 429 ff.). It was erected beyond the camp, because the latter had been defiled by the worship of the golden calf, and it was used as an oracle only until the Tabernacle was complete. In modern times J. Wellhausen and his followers advanced the extreme view that the Tabernacle of P is completely unhistorical and is merely a fictional portrayal composed in the post-Exilic period and based on the Temple structure, only smaller and with such adjustments as the wilderness was conceived to require. The tent of E contains a minute nucleus of historical tradition and probably reflects the existence of a wrapped Ark in the early era of Israel's history. Another exegetical school suggests the theory that the Ark originally belonged to the northern tribes and that the tent, outside the camp, served the southern tribes as a place of revelation. It was David who put the Ark in the tent (II Sam. 6:17), thus uniting the tribes. Subsequently the tent came to be regarded as the shrine of the Ark and the dwelling place of the Lord; the designation *ʾOhel Moʿed* finally became *Mishkan ʾOhel Moʿed* ("Dwelling Place of the Tent of Meeting"). Other scholars are of the opinion that both tents existed at the same time, the tent outside the camp serving as the locale for divine revelation and the tent inside the camp being the Lord's dwelling place; or that the phenomenon of revelation occurred in both sanctuaries, but it had a prophetic, occasional character in the tent outside the camp, where it took place outside the tent (*ʾOhel Moʿed*), while in the Dwelling (*Mishkan*) within the camp the theophany was a regular occurrence inside the sanctuary. There is also the view that there was actually only one tent, but the shrine was placed outside the camp in peacetime and inside, for protection, in an emergency; or that one school of tradition objected to the conception of God's Presence within the camp and another did not. Finally the theory has been put forward that there existed two traditions with regard to the Tabernacle. One emanated from the northern prophetic circles (hence the reference to Joshua) and conceived the Tabernacle to be an ordinary tent (situated outside the camp) where prophetic revelations were periodically vouchsafed. This tradition avoided the use of the term *mishkan* and made no reference to cultic services within it. The other view derived from a southern priestly source, which included the aspects found in the passages attributed to P. This tradition ascribed to the wilderness Tabernacle some of the developments introduced into David's shrine.

Ingenious as these conjectures are, it must be admitted that no completely satisfactory solution has yet been found. In the references to the Tabernacle in the post-settlement era the precise character of the sanctuary still remains in doubt. It was erected – perhaps as an amphictyonic tentshrine – at Shiloh, where the priest Eleazar and Joshua divided the land among the tribes by lot at the entrance of the Tent of Meeting (Josh. 18:1; 19:51). In I Samuel 2:22, in Psalm 78:60 (destruction of Shiloh), and in II Samuel 7:6 it is still a tent. But in I Samuel 1:7 it is called "House of the Lord," while in verse 9 it is termed *hekhal* ("temple") and reference is made to its doorposts. After the destruction of Shiloh, the Ark is no longer mentioned with the Tabernacle; but there is evidence that the tent was continuously in existence from the Exodus to David's time (II Sam. 7:6). The Ark was captured and taken to Philistia; then to Kiriath-Jearim; and finally to Jerusalem. David apparently provided a new tent for the Ark (II Sam. 6:17; I Chron. 16:1; 17:1). It is thought that the expression "in its place" (II Sam. 6:17) implied that the tent had a Holy of Holies, and from I Kings 1:39, 50, and 2:28 is to be inferred that it contained anointing oil and a horned altar. It has even been suggested that possibly II Samuel 7:18 implies that there was a veil to the Ark. The Tabernacle and Ark were undoubtedly moved to various sites in the Land of Israel (II Sam. 7:6; cf. I Chron. 21:29; II Chron. 1:3–6) until they were finally housed, together with the furniture, in the Temple at Jerusalem (I Kings 8:4). From time to time various renovations had to be made to the Tabernacle on account of decay, and at certain stages additions and improvements may have been effected. Nevertheless it was still regarded as the old wilderness shrine and retained its original designations.

The Theology of the Tabernacle

Unaffected by the exegetical and historical problems arising from the description of the Tabernacle ascribed to P and to E, and irrespective of the solutions proposed, is the question of the shrine's symbolism. The sanctuary is the embodiment of Israel's concept of holiness; all the minutiae of the specifications conjoin to illustrate how "the holy nation" and "the kingdom of priests" can serve the One Holy God "in the beauty of holiness."

The Creator of the universe also dwells among men. The problem of reconciling divine transcendentalism with immanence is a challenge to the conceptual reasoning of the philosopher; to the Israelite it was an intuitively accepted truth inherent in the mystery of faith. To God all things were possible (cf. Gen. 18:14; Num. 11:23; Jer. 32:17, 27). The way of holiness, leading to the Divine Presence, was graduated. Man must not approach holy things suddenly or irreverently (cf. Num. 4:19–20; II Sam. 6:6–7); nor could this be done by everyone or at all times (Lev. 10:1–2; 16:17). This truth is symbolically inculcated in various ways: first, by the position of the sanctuary. Within the great family of nations Israel was "a treasured people," the Lord's priests; within the framework of the 12 tribes – the camp – the priests and levites occupied the central position; the Tabernacle stood in the midst of the tribe of Levi. But the gradation did not end there. The court was the outer enclosure of the sacred structure. Within it stood the shrine, which was in turn divided into two compartments – the Holy Place and the Holy of Holies (or Most Holy Place). The Divine Presence rested on the throne of the cherubim in the Holy of Holies (similar concepts were symbolically expressed in Solomon's Temple and in the sanctuary visualized by Ezekiel).

The relativity of holiness was further pointed up by the materials. Fine or pure gold was used for the Ark, the propitiatory, the table of the Presence and its vessels; for the lampstand and its accessories; for the altar of incense; and for the high priest's garments. Ordinary gold was employed for the moldings, the rings, and the staves of the Ark, of the table, and of the incense altar; for the hooks of the curtains; for the frames and bars; for the pillars of the veil and screen; and for other parts of the high priest's vestments. Silver was reserved for the bases of the frames, for the pillars of the veil, and for moldings in the court. Finally there was bronze, of which metal the altar of burnt offering and its utensils, the bases of the court, and the laves were made. The same principle applied to the embroidered stuff and linen.

The theme of gradation was continued in respect of the three divisions of the people. The Israelites could enter the court only; the priests could serve in the Holy Place; the high priest alone could enter the Holy of Holies but once a year – on the Day of Atonement. Certain symbols are self-explanatory. The light of the lampstand, the purifying purpose of the laves, and the fragrance of the incense easily suggest their significance. The polarity between God and man is shown by contrast: the propitiatory, part of God's throne, is of pure gold; the altar, which receives the offerings of the people, is of bronze. No less important is the fact that the materials were voluntary contributions (Ex. 25:2). All parts of the sacred structure were a gift of the human spirit. Symmetry and symbolism are also manifest in many of the dimensions and ratios of the Tabernacle: the Holy Place was twice the size of the Holy of Holies, which was a perfect cube of ten cubits; the court was 100 cubits long and 50 cubits wide. The oft-recurring numbers of seven and ten (and their multiples and fractions) indicate completeness and perfection. Thus the Tabernacle proclaims that the divine design is perfect and that sanctity and size are in inverse proportion.

The sacrificial service, which was the central function of the cultus, embraced both regular and occasional offerings, expiatory as well as freewill sacrifices of thanksgiving and devotion. Man's relationship to God has many aspects; these were reflected in multi-faceted oblations and rites. The sacrificial cult, it should also be noted, was equalitarian: Heaven accepted the poor man's cereal offering on a par with the rich man's animal oblation. In seeking to bridge the gulf between the human and the divine, the cherubim were of particular significance: they symbolized the celestial beings that formed the heavenly throne of the Lord. The earthly sanctuary mirrored the heavenly domain (cf. Yal. Ps. 713). The concept found its highest expression in theophany and prophetic revelation in the sanctuary precincts. Such experiences were independent of ritual and priestly lineage, and in a sense contradicted the underlying idea of the complex cultic system. Ultimately God communicated with man not via the altar and ceremonial but directly. In M. Buber's terminology, it was an "I-Thou" relationship. This is essentially the thought of Exodus 29:42–45, which defines the Tabernacle's purpose. Sanctuary and ritual, priests and laity, merge in hallowed communion with God. He is not only the God of Genesis – of Creation – but the God of the Exodus – of history.

[Israel Abrahams]

In the Aggadah

Moses was mystified by God's command to build a tabernacle since it seemingly contradicted the omnipresence of God. Various justifications are given: God could not part with the Torah, and therefore He commanded that a house be constructed for Him wherein He could on occasion visit with the Torah; the Tabernacle was a sign to the world that God had forgiven the Children of Israel for the sin of the golden calf and that He would not abandon them even if they sinned; He expressed His love for the physical world by descending to dwell among those who are below; God wanted to be with His children (Ex. R. 33, 34). Lastly, the Tabernacle in no way confined God to only a single site. It is comparable with a cave by the sea which is constantly filled by seawater although the sea is not diminished thereby: so the Divine Presence in the world is not diminished by its filling the Tabernacle (PdRK 4). The structure of the Tabernacle symbolically resembles the heavenly abode, and the order of its construction corresponds to the order of the world's creation (Ex. R. 35:6; 34:2; Num. R. 12:13). The Israelites, who had previously answered the summons to fetch gold for the golden calf, now zealously responded to Moses' appeal for contributions for the Tabernacle. They were not content simply to donate objects from their houses and treasures, but forcibly snatched ornaments from their wives and children. In this way they thought they were atoning for their previous sin (Mid. Lek. Tov to Ex. 35:22). They brought all the material necessary for the construction in two mornings (Ex. R. 41:2). The women were also eager to participate and were especially active in producing the woolen hangings. They spun the fabric while it was still upon the goats (Shab. 74b, 99a).

After Bezalel had finished the construction, the edifice could not be erected by the elders or Bezalel and Oholiab. The people grumbled against Moses for this failure, denying that its construction had been commanded by God. Moses finally put his hand on the Tabernacle and it immediately stood erect (Tanḥ. B., Ex. 1:33). Before the building of the Tabernacle, the voice of God would strike Moses' ear as though through a tube. The people recognized only through Moses' reddened face that he was receiving a revelation. With the consecration of the sanctuary, however, Moses was first beckoned to the sanctuary by a sweet, pleasant, and melodious voice, and only in the sanctuary did he actually hear the divine message (Num. R. 12:4). After its erection, prophecy departed from the heathen nations of the world, Balaam alone being permitted to prophesy because his prophecy was for the good of Israel (Lev. R. 1:12).

[Aaron Rothkoff]

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TABGHA (Ar. *Al-Ṭābigha*), ancient site on the N.W. shore of the Sea of Galilee. Tabgha is an Arabic corruption of the Greek name Heptapegon ("the seven springs"), a site described by various Christian hagiographers and pilgrims as situated 2 mi. (3 km.) both from Magdala and Capernaum on the banks of the Sea of Galilee. According to Cyril of Scythopolis, it was situated between Paneas and Chorazin (*Vita Sabae*, 24). It is possible that the spring described by Josephus as that of Capernaum (Wars, 3:519–520) is really that of Tabgha. In Byzantine times, the miracle of the loaves and fishes and that of the last appearance of Jesus on the shores of the lake (Matt. 14:17; 15:32ff.; John 21) was located there.

At present, five of the springs are identifiable. They rise 164 ft. (50 m.) from the lake and have a temperature of 29–30° C (84–86° F), and were once used to run mills. In excavations at Tabgha in 1932, a church which had been built in two stages was uncovered. The floor of the later church (mid-fifth century) was paved with a mosaic representing two fish and a basket of bread, as well as two panels, first laid down in the earlier building phase (late fourth century), showing the fauna and flora of the Sea of Galilee. These mosaics are among the finest found in the country and mark a complete change in the style of mosaic art in churches. Over these remains and partly using some of the ancient mosaics on its floor is built the modern Church of the Multiplication of the Loaves and the Fishes. Close by is a Benedictine monastery and, overlooking the area, the church and convent of the Mt. of Beatitudes. The present name of the site is Ein ha-Shivah.

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[Michael Avi-Yonah]

TABI (late first–early second century C.E.), the slave of Gamaliel *II. Tabi was known for his learning. During the Festival of Tabernacles he would sleep in the *sukkah* under a bed, and Gamaliel explained: "Tabi, my slave, is a scholar; he knows that the law of Sukkot does not apply to slaves, and therefore sleeps under the bed" (Suk. 2:1). The Jerusalem Talmud adds that he did so to be able to listen in on the discussions of the sages (TJ, Suk. 2:1, 52d). Furthermore, he wore *tefillin*, usually the prerogative of free men, yet no one interfered with him in view of his well-known piety (TJ, *ibid.*; TJ, Er. 10:1, 26a). His master Gamaliel wanted very much to free him, and so when once (accidentally) he put out Tabi's eye he rejoiced thinking that now Tabi would go free (cf. Ex. 21:26–27). When, however, he happily announced this to R. Joshua, the latter replied that he was mistaken as there had been no witnesses, but he had confessed the act himself (BK 74b). In *Midrash Proverbs* to 9:2 (ed. Buber 62–63) it is related that once the elders were seated before Gamaliel, and Tabi stood serving them. Eleazar b. Azariah then said: "Woe to thee, Canaan, who brought guilt upon your descendants [a reference to Gen. 9:25]. In reality Tabi should be seated, and I should be standing…" (cf. Yoma 87a). When Tabi died Gamaliel received condolences, a rare occurrence in the case of a slave (Ber. 2:7).

The name Tabi (from the Aramaic for "deer"; cf. Acts 9:36) was common to all slaves in the house of Gamaliel, as was the name Tabita to all maidservants (TJ, Nid. 1:5, 49b; see also Lev. R. 19:4). Thus the Tabi mentioned in Pesaḥim 7:2 as being the slave of Gamaliel I was almost certainly an earlier one.

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[Daniel Sperber]

TABIB, AVRAHAM (1889–1950), leader of the Yemenite community in Ereẓ Israel. Born in Hawdan, *Yemen, Tabib went in 1907 to Ereẓ Israel, where he worked in agriculture and in the wine cellar of Rishon le-Zion. He was chosen to the settlement's council and represented the Yemenite community in the negotiations with the Zionist executive to establish Yemenite settlements near Rishon le-Zion, Ḥaderah, Petah Tikvah, Zikhron Ya'akov, and Reḥovot. He initiated the foundation of the Association of Yemenites in Ereẓ Israel, which looked after matters concerning settlement, education, and the encouragement of further *aliyah* from Yemen by Yemenite Jews in Ereẓ Israel. Tabib was active in the labor movement and was a delegate to the founding conference of the Histadrut (1920). He was also a delegate to the first Asefat ha-Nivḥarim and a member of the Va'ad Le'ummi. He was elected on behalf of Mapai to the First Knesset of the State of Israel (1949). Tabib published many articles in the press in Ereẓ Israel and in the press of the Yemenite community, and published two books, *Golat Teiman* (1931) and *Shavei Teiman* (1932). He was the father of Mordekhai *Tabib, the author.

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[Abraham Aharoni]

TABIB, MORDEKHAI (1910–1979), Hebrew writer. Born in Rishon le-Zion, Ereẓ Israel, Tabib worked in agriculture, industry, building, and guard duties. During World War II, he served in the British Army and later, during the War of Independence, was engaged in editorial work for the Israel Defense Forces. He was active in the central institutions of the *Histadrut and *Mapai and served in the Arab section of the Histadrut.

His first published poems and prose appeared, respectively, in **Davar* and in *Ittim*, and his stories in various Hebrew periodicals. Of Yemenite origin, his books which deal with the Yemenite community in Israel are *Ke-Esev ha-Sadeh* (1948; 1960), *Derekh shel Afar* (stories, 1953), and *Ke-Arar be-Aravah* (1957). He also wrote the play *Kinnoro shel Yosi* (1959) and a one-act play in the style of Bialik, *Shelomo ha-Melekh va-ha-Devorah* (1960). His book *Massa la-Areẓ ha-Gedolah* (1968) contains ten stories and a poem. Tabib was one of the editors of *Mevo'ot* (1953–56). With M. Ibrahim, he coedited *Mifgash* (1968), a Hebrew-Arabic anthology of essays on literature, art, and philosophy. A volume of stories was published after his death (1985) as well as *Beẓel ha-Yamim* (1987), a collection of poems and letters.

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[Getzel Kressel]

TABLETS OF THE LAW, the stones on which the *Decalogue was inscribed. In Exodus 24:12 it is stated that Moses was commanded to ascend Mount Sinai in order to receive "the tablets of stone and the Torah and the commandments which I have written." On them were inscribed the Decalogue Ex. 32:15, 16; "on both their sides; on the one side and on the other… and the writing was the writing of God" (32:16). These first tablets of stone were smashed by Moses when he beheld the orgy of the worship of the *golden calf (32:19). Subsequently he was commanded to hew two tablets of stone and with them ascend the mountain a second time. On these previously prepared tablets God wrote the words which had been inscribed on the first tablets (34:1–4). The tablets are also called "the two tablets of testimony" (34:29). The two tablets were housed in the *Ark of the Covenant which Solomon brought into the Temple when it was built (I Kings 8:9).

In the Aggadah

The Tablets of the Law were among the things created on the eve of the Sabbath of creation (Av. 5:6). Both tablets were of identical dimensions (TJ, Shek. 6:1, 49d). The rabbis differ as to the arrangement of the Decalogue on the tablets (*ibid.*). In the spaces between the Ten Commandments all the 613 *Commandments of the Torah were noted. Although they were fashioned out of the hardest stone, the sapphire taken from the throne of glory (see *Throne of God; *Lekaḥ Tov*, Ex. 31:18), the tablets could be rolled up like a scroll (Song R. 5:14). They weighed 40 *se'ah*, but as long as the writing was upon them they supported themselves, so that Moses could carry them. When, however, he saw the Children of Israel worshiping the golden calf, the letters vanished and the tablets dropped from his hands (TJ, Ta'an. 4; 5, 68c). The second tablets differed from the first in that they were the work of man, Moses having engraved them, while the first were the work of God (Deut. R. 3:17). Moreover, the second tablets included the *Oral Law (Ex. R. 46:1). Assuming that the text of the Decalogue in Exodus was that on the first tablets, while that in Deuteronomy 5 is the version on the second tablets, the rabbis point out the word ייטב ("that it may go well") occurs only in the second tablets, so that when the first tablets were broken "well-being" should not be lost to the world (BK 54b–55a). The broken tablets were kept in the Tabernacle and the Children of Israel carried them with them whenever they went to war (Tosef., Sot. 7:18). King Josiah, foreseeing the destruction of the Temple, hid the Holy Ark with the broken tablets in order to guard them against desecration at the hands of the enemy (Yoma 52b).

The two tablets have become a favorite Jewish symbol, which is usually placed over the ark in the synagogue, and is usually inscribed either with the first ten letters of the alphabet, or with the first words of the Ten Commandments.

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TABOR (Czech **Tábor**), town in S. Bohemia, Czech Republic. Its *Hussite founders named it after Mount Tabor in Ereẓ Israel. The first information about Jews there dates from 1572, when a Christian house owner was punished for harboring Jews. A plot for a cemetery was acquired in 1634, and a synagogue was opened in 1655. In 1675 an agreement on residence was signed between the town and the Jewish community. The community numbered eight families in 1725; 18 families in 1769; 212 persons in 1840; 72 taxpaying members in 1869; 455 persons in 1884; and 683 persons in 1893 (including Jews in 21 neighboring localities). Jiri Fielder, the author of *Jewish Sights of Bohemia and Moravia*, provides different details about Tabor: The earliest record dates from 1548 and mentions "Jew of Tabor," but the first Jewish family is recorded in the town only in 1594 (until that year, Jews were not permitted to stay in the town overnight). Three Jewish families are recorded in Tabor in 1618, eight families in 1653. From 1843 to 1884 Gutmann *Klemperer was rabbi of the community. During that time the community built a new, Reform-style synagogue and opened a second cemetery. From the end of the 19th century the community decreased, numbering 400 in 1921 and 311 in 1930, when most of the Jews identified themselves with the Czech-Jewish assimilationist movement.

During the Holocaust, in November 1942, there were 1,267 Jews in Tabor. They were deported from there to concentration and death camps.

After World War II a small congregation was reestablished in Tabor. A prayer room was dedicated in 1954. In 1955 a memorial to the victims of the Holocaust from Tabor and several nearby communities was unveiled on the site of the previous cemetery, which had been destroyed by the Nazis. A small congregation was still in existence in 1970. The former synagogue served as a storehouse.

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[Jan Herman / Yeshayahu Jelinek (2nd ed.)]

TABOR, DAVID (1913–2005), English physicist. Tabor was born in London and educated at the Quintin Hogg School. He graduated in physics from the Royal College of Science, London University and Caius College, Cambridge University. He joined the staff of the Cavendish Laboratory for Physics and Chemistry of Solids at the University of Cambridge and became deputy director. He worked in Australia (1939 –49) and returned to Cambridge where he became professor (1973). His field of research was tribology, the study of friction and wear between solid surfaces. His work with F.P. Bowden clarified the nature of the interactions between microscopic irregularities that create friction through adhesion between surfaces in contact. Later, in collaboration with Jacob Israelachvili, he developed methods for analyzing these processes on an atomic scale. His papers have become classics in this field and his findings have been of great practical relevance to machine design. In 1939 Tabor and F.P. Bowden set up the Tribophysics Laboratory in the University of Melbourne, Australia, which worked on ball bearings for military use during World War II and subsequently achieved an international reputation for the industrial applications of its research. Tabor was elected to the Royal Society of London (1963), from which he received the Royal Medal (1992) for his seminal contributions to the field of friction and wear between solids. Active in the Habonim movement, he was the first chairman of the Youth Department of the Australian Zionist Federation in Australia. He was a recognised Hebrew scholar.

His brother ISRAEL TABOR (1911–1991) graduated in electrical engineering from Imperial College, London and worked as an electrical engineer. On the invitation of Pinchas Rutenberg, he joined the Palestine (later the Israel) Electric Corporation in 1946, becoming its director of research. He retired in 1983. Another brother, Harry Zvi *Tabor (1917–) was an authority on the harnessing of solar energy.

[Michael Denman (2nd ed.)]

TABOR, HARRY ZVI (1917–), British and Israeli physicist. Tabor was born in London and educated at Quintin Hogg School London, London University and the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. He worked as a research physicist on defense projects in the World War II (1939–45), and was director of the National Physical Laboratory of Israel (1950–74). His main research interest was the harnessing of solar energy. His expertise was recognized internationally as well as in Israel. He served on many committees in Israel and abroad including the Research Council of Israel (1949–74) and UNESCO. He was president of the International Solar Energy Society (1981–83). His many honors include the Royal Society of London's Gold Medal Energy Award (1975) and the Israel Knesset's Quality of Life Award (1995).

[Michael Denman (2nd ed.)]

TABOR, MOUNT (Heb. תָּבוֹר), a dome-shaped mountain in the N.E. part of the Jezreel Valley, N. of the Afulah-Tiberias road. The peak rises approximately 1,750 ft. (563 m.) above sea level and approximately 1,500 ft. (c. 500 m.) above the surrounding plain. The mountain is 2 mi. (3⅓ km.) wide. It stands out in the plain in an isolated position and can be seen from a distance, giving rise to its renown. It is formed of stratified limestone, with a base of Lower Cretaceous in the west and Neogene in the south and east. Near the road on the eastern side of the hill, a stratum of Pleistocene basalt overlaps the Neogene limestone; the beginning of Naḥal Tabor passes along the division line between these strata. The mountain was once covered by an oak forest, of which only parts remain.

The name Tabor appears to be derived from Phoenician and recalls the name of the Semitic god known in Greek as Zeus Atabyrios (the Greek name of Tabor is Itabyrion). A cave near the top of the mountain may have been the original sanctuary of this god. This sanctuary was revived in Israelite times, calling forth the wrath of the prophet Hosea (5:1). Mt. Tabor may be the holy mountain mentioned in the Blessing of Moses (Deut. 33:19). A conspicuous landmark, Mr. Tabor served as a boundary point between the territories of the tribes of Zebulun (Josh. 19:22), Naphtali, and Issachar. There Barak collected the forces of the northern tribes at Deborah's command; when the forces of Sisera approached the hill from the south, the Israelites rushed down the slopes and routed the enemy (Judg. 4). Mt. Tabor is mentioned as a place reached by the Midianites in Gideon's time (Judg. 8:18), but this may refer to Chesulloth-Tabor, which was probably a levitical town (I Chron. 6:62). The mountain is singled out for its beauty in Psalms 89:13, where it is mentioned together with Mt. Hermon, and in Jeremiah 46:18, where it is described as outstanding among mountains and comparable to Mt. Carmel by the sea.

In post-biblical times, Mt. Tabor, called Itabyrion (Gr. ʾΑταβύριον or ʾΙταβύριον), served as a Hellenistic fortress and probably the capital of Galilee. It was taken by Antiochus III in 218 B.C.E. (Polybius 5:70, 9). In 66 C.E. Josephus fortified Mt. Tabor, which was later captured by Vespasian (Jos., Life, 188; Wars, 2:573; 4:54–61, where the given height of 30 stades (Gr. Λ; c. 16,650 ft.) should be corrected to 4 stades (Gr. Δ; c. 2,220 ft.)). Christian tradition, started by Cyril of Jerusalem (PG, 33:744), located the transfiguration of Jesus on Mt. Tabor (Matt. 17:1, et al.) and consequently a basilica was built there in the Byzantine period. A Benedictine community settled there in 1100 and remained on the site until 1187. The Arabs built a fortress on the hill (Ar. Jebel al-Ṭūr) which was dismantled in 1218. The Hospitalers held Mt. Tabor from 1255 to 1263. In 1873 the Franciscans began to rebuild the basilica on the old foundations and their church was consecrated in 1924. Near the basilica is a Greek Orthodox monastery. Remains of an earlier (Jewish?) wall are also visible.

Jewish settlements were first founded in the region of the Tabor in 1901 with the establishment of Kefar *Tavor. The region was captured by the Israel army during the War of Independence in a battle lasting from May 10 to May 15, 1948.

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[Michael Avi-Yonah / Abraham J. Brawer]

TABOR (Tábori), PAUL (1908–1974), Hungarian-born author and translator. Abandoning his journalistic career in Budapest, Tabor began working as a scriptwriter with Sir Alexander *Korda in England in 1937. He wrote anti-Nazi works, such as *Epitaph for Europe* (1942; U.S. edition, *A Wreath for Europa*, 1942); and his many novels include *Bricks upon Dust* (1945) and *Salvatore* (1951). Tabor also translated English and American writers into Hungarian and wrote accounts of several visits to Israel. He also wrote or edited such works as *The Social History of Rape* (1971) and *The Gazetteer of Scottish and Irish Ghosts* (1973).

TABORI, GEORG (1914–), Hungarian playwright, novelist, screenwriter, and theater director. Tabori was born in Budapest into a non-practicing Jewish family. His father, Cornelius, and his brother were both dedicated journalists subscribing to a liberal cosmopolitanism. In 1932 Tabori received training to become a hotel manager in Berlin and Dresden. After briefly returning to Budapest he immigrated to London in 1934 and became a British citizen. There he worked as a translator, journalist, and tourist guide. From 1939 to 1947 he was a foreign correspondent for the BBC in Bulgaria and Turkey and also worked for the secret service of the British army in the Middle East. In Jerusalem he met his first wife, Hannah Freund, whose family had all been murdered in Auschwitz. Tabori's first novel, *Beneath the Stone* (1944/45), about a German officer, was not well received. The novels *Companions of the Left Hand* (1945), *Original Sin* (1947), and *The Caravan Passes* (1949) followed. These early novels were only translated into German in the 1990s. They owe their background to Tabori's cultural encounter with the Middle East. He delineates the atmosphere of Cairo in *Original Sin*, and *The Caravan Passes* can be seen as a bridge between Europe and the Islamic world. The characters transcend socio-cultural boundaries, the European characters set against the strangeness of a multi-ethnic milieu.

In 1945 Tabori was invited to Hollywood, where he pursued his passion for history, working with Brecht on the English version of *Galileo*. Later, he wrote also film scripts for such directors as Alfred Hitchcock. Meanwhile his own plays were also beginning to be produced on stage, notably *Flight into Egypt* (1952), directed on Broadway by Elia Kazan. In 1953 Tabori married his second wife, the actress Viveca Lindfors. He initiated his own productions and founded a theater group, the Strolling Players, in 1966. His most famous play, *Die Kannibalen* (1969), received frosty reviews on its premiere in Berlin. In this outstanding play Tabori places his characters in an exceptional situation. A group of famished concentration camp inmates kill their comrade Puffy, who had gotten hold of a piece of bread. At first, the inmates are indifferent, then they decide to make a meal out of him. During the preparations stories are exchanged and memories are shared. However, only two of the characters are able to eat the human flesh. They survive and serve as witnesses. The whole play shifts erratically between disturbing and trivial elements and questions of morality, violence, and moments of dignity. Taboos are deliberately broken and the comical is shocking. Tabori's next disturbing play, *Pinkville* (1970), caused an outcry in the United States, as it was seen as an indictment of the war in Vietnam. In the late 1970s he unconventionally adapted pieces like Kafka's *Der Hungerkuenstler* (1977) or *Siegmunds Freude* and produced a series of experimental productions with his Bremer Theaterlabor. In the 1980s Tabori wrote his play *Peepshow* (1984), which contains many autobiographical elements and Tabori's black humor. The poet Willie is obsessed with sex and death. The play deals with the American-Jewish middle-class dream and the pathological condition of the famous. The character of Willie also enters the play *The Voyeur* (1990). The voyeur is an allegory of the Jewish Holocaust survivor. The play portrays the clichés, prejudices, and collective psychosis of minorities, which are embodied in the Jewish character Weisman, his mongoloid daughter Ruth, and the alleged Native American.

Tabori gained his ultimate recognition as a playwright with *Mein Kampf* (1987), which stages the meeting of Adolf Hitler and the Jewish bookseller Schlomo Herzl, another piece of disturbing and provocative theater. The spectator is drawn into the work despite himself. Tabori later took up residence in Vienna, married to his fourth wife, the actress Ursula Hoepfner. He was the recipient of a number of international prizes for his work such as the Kritikerpreis (1976), the Peter-Weiss Prize (1990), and the Buechner Prize (1992).

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[Ann-Kristin Koch (2nd ed.)]

TABRIZ, capital of the Third Province, N.W. *Iran. A Jewish community existed in Tabriz in the Middle Ages. Samauʾal b. Yahya al-Maghribī, 12th-century author of *Ifhām al-Yahūd*, mentions Tabriz, together with Salmas (Shahpur) and Khoi, as a place where the followers of the pseudo-messiah David *Alroy continued to adhere to his movement. From the time of Hulagu Khan, Tabriz became the capital of the realm of the Il-khan dynasty. There the Jewish physician *Saʿd al-Dawla was appointed vizier of the Il-khan ruler Arghūn, exercising considerable power until his assassination in 1291; and the vizier, historian, and physician *Rashid al-Din served three rulers until his tragic death in 1318. As attested by Hebrew manuscripts written by scholars in Tabriz and the vicinity, the Jewish community consisted of both Karaites and Rabbanites. The *Karaite physician Nafis b. Daud at-Tabrizi moved in 1354 from Tabriz to *Cairo, where he was converted to Islam. In the 16th century the Yemenite traveler *Zechariah al-Ḍāhiri visited Tabriz and described in his *Sefer ha-Musar* the deteriorating conditions of Jewish life there.

The wave of persecutions which swept over the whole of *Persia under the Safavid rulers *ʿAbbas I and ʿAbbas II severely affected the Jews of Tabriz also, as indicated by the Armenian historian Akel and the Judeo-Persian chroniclers *Babai ibn Lutf and Babai ibn Farḥad. However, the Jewish community survived these persecutions, since between 1711 and 1713 R. Judah b. Amram Diwan, an emissary from Hebron, included Tabriz among his visits to Jewish communities in Persia. Between 1790 and 1797, Jews in Tabriz were accused of a blood libel and massacred. When *David d'Beth Hillel visited Persia in 1828, the Jewish community in Tabriz had already ceased to exist.

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[Walter Joseph Fischel / Amnon Netzer (2nd ed.)]

°TABRIZI, MAHOMET ABU-BEKR-AT-BEN MAHOMET (probably second half of 13th century), Persian Muslim commentator on the 25 propositions appearing at the beginning of the second part of Moses Maimonides' *Guide of the Perplexed*. There is no information concerning Tabrizi's life. In his 25 propositions, Maimonides had presented a summary of the main doctrines of Aristotelian philosophy, which he used as the basis of his proofs for the existence, unity, and incorporeality of God. Tabrizi in his commentary set out to prove these propositions in detail, for Maimonides had presented only the doctrines themselves, indicating that proofs could be found in Aristotle's *Physics* and *Metaphysics* and their commentaries. Tabrizi based his proofs of the propositions on the works of Arabic authors rather than on the original works of Aristotle, but his discussions of the propositions are comprehensive. Written in Arabic, Tabrizi's commentary was translated into Hebrew twice. One translation, in Arabicized Hebrew, is by Isaac b. Nathan of Córdoba, and was probably composed in Majorca around 1347 (Venice, 1574). The other, in native rabbinic Hebrew, is anonymous and extant only in manuscript (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, cod. héb., 974). Ḥasdai Crescas relied heavily upon Isaac b. Nathan's translation of Tabrizi's commentary in his critique of Aristotelian philosophy in *Or Adonai*. It was also utilized by Moses b. Joshua of Narbonne.

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TACHOV (Ger. **Tachau**), town in W. Bohemia, Czechoslovakia. Jews from Tachov are mentioned in responsa of the 15th century and in documents from 1464 onward. The community had close connections with adjoining Bavaria, where Tachauer was a family name common among Jews. Five Jewish families are mentioned in the town in 1552 and 1570. The municipal records of 1605 include regulations concerning the inner life of the community. There were 17 families and 12 Jewish houses in the town in 1724. In 1749 the Jews formed an independent fire-fighting unit. An outstanding personality of Tachov was

R. Nahum Sofer (d. 1815); the inscription on his tombstone was later interpreted as a prophecy foretelling World War I. Ḥasidim from Eastern Europe visited the grave frequently on their way to nearby *Marienbad or *Karlsbad.

Rabbi Moses ben Hisdai, said to be one of the authors of the prayer *Avinu Malkeinu*, allegedly was born in Tachov in the 13th century.

In 1836 there were 266 Jews living in 15 houses in Tachov. Woodware, glass, and mother-of-pearl factories were founded by Jews in the 19th century. In 1911 the old Jewish quarter burned down and a new synagogue was built. The old community of Nove Sedliste (Neu-Zedlisch), affiliated to the Tachov community, was disbanded in 1914. The Tachov community numbered 273 in 1921 and 180 in 1930 (2.5% of the total population).

Most of the Jews left Tachov at the time of the Sudeten crisis; those remaining were sent to concentration camps. The synagogue was destroyed on November 10, 1938.

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[Meir Lamed / Yeshayahu Jelinek (2nd ed.)]

°TACITUS (c. 55–120), Roman historian. He viewed *Judea as yet another province of the Roman Empire, mentioning it with Syria as asking for a lighter tribute upon *Tiberius' accession (Annals 2: 42) and relating that it was added to Syria after *Agrippa I's death (Annals 12:23). Tacitus seems to think his readers would be interested in the geography of such a remote area (Histories 5:6–7). He describes events leading up to the Jewish War (66–73) as a series of maladministrations, dwelling on the roles of the procurator Antonius *Felix and his successors, and tells of the prosecution of the war by *Vespasian and *Titus against the background of the turmoil of "the year of the four emperors" (68–69 C.E.; Histories 2:1, 4–6, 73, 76, 79, 81–82; 4:3, 51; 5:1). Yet, despite the basically political setting of that war, from Rome's point of view, Tacitus uses the opportunity offered by his discussion of the sack of Jerusalem (Histories 5:11–13) to launch an attack on Judaism.

He gives a bizarre picture of Jewish national and religious origins (Histories 5:2–5), though in referring to traditions which variously make the first Jews Cretan, Egyptian, Ethiopian, or Assyrian exiles, or the nation of the Solymi celebrated by Homer, he is not wholly inaccurate, since the theory of Assyrian origin may fit with the biblical account of Abraham's wanderings from Chaldea. Nor is his account wholly unfavorable, since the Romans, whose own origins were questionable (see the preface to Livy's *History*), admired and envied peoples who had ancient origins. Tacitus agrees with an unspecified majority opinion which saw the Jews as plague-beset Egyptians driven into the desert by their countrymen. Their rituals, devised by their leader Moses (cf. *Hecataeus), are designed to set them apart from all other nations. Tacitus implies that Moses invented imageless monotheism because it differed so radically from polytheistic Egyptian practices. Though elsewhere (Histories 2:78; also reported by *Suetonius, *De vita Caesarum*, Vespasianus, 5:6) he relates without criticism that Vespasian received a favorable oracle from a deity which had an altar consecrated to its worship on Mt. Carmel but had no temple or cult image (probably a local cult of Zeus), here he seems to censure Jewish reverence directed to such a divine presence and not offered even to kings and Caesars (Histories 5:5). According to Tacitus (Histories 5:3), the desert wanderings of the Hebrews lasted only six days; the Sabbath commemorates the end of their tribulations; Moses led them into their new land, where they consecrated an image of an ass in their Temple (Histories 5:4) because asses led them to a spring in the desert (yet in the sketch of Jewish history from Hasmonean times to the Temple's destruction – Histories 5:1–10 – Tacitus notes that Pompey found no image in the Temple). This portrayal is almost certainly not original, but a composite biased picture derived from scandalmongers such as the anti-Jewish Alexandrian writers – *Manetho, *Chaeremon, *Lysimachus, and *Apion.

His basic contention is that Jews are aloof. Dietary laws, circumcision, Sabbath, and the ban against marrying outside their faith set them apart and, to Tacitus, make them hate non-Jews. Because Judaism attracted Romans, Tacitus, like his contemporary *Juvenal, saw this as a weakening of Roman morality since converts were taught to despise the gods, repudiate the fatherland, and disparage parents, children, and brothers (Histories 5:5). Since the Jew's way of life was synonymous with the practice of his religion, Tacitus' antipathy takes the form of an attack on that religion.

The emperors saw rebellious Judea as a political problem; but Tacitus, concerned with Roman morality, sees policy only in moral terms, and thinks a proper Roman political attitude grows out of proper ethical values in the tradition of earlier generations of Rome. Perhaps this is the reason why he cast the political Judean situation into a mold of condemnation of anti-Roman (to him), Jewish ethics. Walser (see bibliography) has shown that in his treatment of the Parthians, Britons, and Germans, Tacitus knew next to nothing about the psychology of the people on the periphery of the Roman Empire and that he hardly cared to know anything. Tacitus did not hesitate to modify or eliminate even facts of historical importance if they in any way impeded his customary dramatic account of events.

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[Jacob Petroff]

TADEF, village 24 mi. (40 km.) E. of *Aleppo, the site of an ancient synagogue named after *Ezra the Scribe. Popular tradition holds that on his return from Babylonia Ezra stopped in Tadef and wrote the Scriptures. The synagogue walls bear inscriptions relating to the repairs carried out in the last years of the 14th century. Aleppo Jews were accustomed to make a Ziyāra (annual pilgrimage) to the synagogue. A Jewish community also grew up near the synagogue, and according to the traveler Benjamin the Second there were 20 Jewish families living there in the middle of the 19th century.

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[Eliyahu Ashtor]

TADMOR (Heb. תַּדְמֹר; **Palmyra**), an oasis city at the point of intersection of the caravan roads in the central Syrian desert and the steppe land between Lebanon and Jabel Bishri, halfway between the Euphrates and the Orontes River in the Mediterranean Sea area. In classical sources it is called Palmyra, a direct translation of its Semitic name *Tadmor*, which is obviously connected with the word *tamar*, "palm tree." Josephus calls it Ταδάμορα (Ant. 8:154). Its modern name is Tadmura.

Tadmor was situated on the crossroads between Syria-Canaan and Mesopotamia, on the one hand, and between these areas and Arabia on the other. Its resulting importance goes back to the Old Babylonian period. Without doubt the rich trade between the "West" and Mesopotamia, well known from the *Mari documents and other sources, flowed through Tadmor.

In periods of "law and order" during the Old and Middle Babylonian periods, Tadmor served as a well-protected central station for commercial caravans, diplomatic envoys, and royal tours, and as a crossroads for cultural influences. Because it was situated in the desert and steppe land, Tadmor was subject to sudden attacks of Western Semitic desert nomads, such as the Sutaeans, or movements of Western Semitic tribes (as can be deduced from the Mari archives and also, indirectly, from Hittite-Babylonian correspondence). During the Aramaic invasion at the end of the second millennium, Tadmor, being the key point of connection between east and west and north and south, was one of the chief sites of clashes between King Tiglath-Pileser I of Assyria and the nomadic Aḥlamû-Arameans: "On the territory which extends from the feet of the Lebanon mountain to the city of Tadmar (!) of the land of Amurru, [to] the [city of] Anat [on the Euphrates] of the land of Suḥi, and to the city of Rapiqu [on the Euphrates] of the land of Karduniaš [= Babylon] I defeated them decisively" (Annals, lines 31ff.; Weidner, in bibl.).

From this inscription it can be learned that Tadmor belonged to Amurru, which here means not simply the "West" but is connected in some way to the (by then dissolved) state of Amurru, founded by the dynasty of Abdasrita in the 14th century (see *El-Amarna Tablets and *Amorites). This territory was inherited by the Arameans.

The place of Tadmor in the history of pre-Exilic Israel is a direct continuation of the situation described above. I Kings 9:18 reads: "King Solomon rebuilt [fortified and reorganized]… Tamar [*kere* Tadmor; cf. below] in the desert [*midbar*] in the land" (see below). In II Chronicles 8:3–4 "Solomon went [in a military-political campaign] to Hamath-Zobah and took it, and he built [see above] Tadmor in the desert and all the store-cities which he built in Hamath." Even if one considers Tamar of I Kings as one of the fortification enterprises of Solomon in the south, in the Judean Desert on the Arabah route (that passed through Tamar, Ein Hasab, and Hasebah), it seems that from the point of view of defense and control it is part of the same plan as that reflected in the II Chronicles passage. The northern enterprise in Syria was at first a political move but later was motivated by economic considerations. The difficulty in the mention of friendly Hamath-Zobah (LXX, Beth Zobah) can be overcome by supposing that Solomon took control over this city as a countermeasure against the renewed independence of Aram-Damascus (I Kings 11:23–25). Tadmor, as a center of routes in every direction including Arabia and Palestine, was all important for Solomon to hold, in order to maintain at least commercial control over the west up to the Euphrates. By holding and rebuilding Tadmor, he assumed control of the flow of commerce for some time, thus giving a new turn to the economic development of the whole "west" that persisted even after his period. Tadmor was no less important to Solomon than it had been to Tiglath-Pileser I; in fact it was even more so because it was a key point in his north-south control plan.

[Pinhas Artzi]

In the Hellenistic-Roman Period

A neutral city located on the borders of two large empires – the Roman and the Persian – it traded with both (Appian, *Historia Romana*, 5:37–38, 42), and levied duty on all entering and departing caravans for the use of its water and lodging facilities. During the rule of *Odenathus and Zenobia in the third century, Palmyra – as it was known at this period – became an important power for a short time after its armies conquered Palestine and Egypt. After Emperor Aurelian entered into battle against it and destroyed the city in 273, however, it lost its importance.

During the period of its efflorescence, Palmyra had a Jewish community, as is clear from various documents and inscriptions of the period. The mention of Miriam of Palmyra in the Mishnah (Naz. 6:11) as a contemporary of the first-century R. Eliezer indicates that a Jewish community may have existed there at an earlier date. In literal obedience to biblical command the *Shema* (Deut. 6:4–9) is carved on the stone lintel of a building in Palmyra which E.L. Sukenik believes to have been part of a synagogue (CIJ no. 821). Other house inscriptions have also been found; they contain the following biblical texts: (a) Deuteronomy 7:15 and 25:5; (b) *ibid.* 28:4b–5; (c) *ibid.* 7:14; and (d) *Shema Yisrael* in large letters (CIJ nos. 821–3).

All of them predate the third century C.E. A number of Jewish funerary inscriptions have also been found (cf. Cooke, bibl., and CIJ no. 820). They are dated second and third century C.E. From them it seems that the Palmyrene Jewish community was fairly large and conscious of its Judaism, although non-Jewish personal names became increasingly common (as in Egypt), e.g., Wahb'allāth ("the gift of [the goddess] Allāt").

In addition, graves of Palmyrene Jews are to be found in *Bet She'arim and Jerusalem although it is not known whether the bodies were brought to Jerusalem for reburial or whether a community of Palmyrene Jews had settled there. The cemetery of Bet She'arim has a large number of graves of Palmyrene Jews, including spacious, decorated burial chambers. This cemetery was in use for about 150 years, until its destruction by Gaulus in 352. Palmyra's brief rule over Palestine during that period may have made the transport of bodies for burial easier.

The Palmyrene pantheon was a syncretism of Canaanite, Greek, and Syrian deities. One of the latter was the moon god, ʿAglibol (i.e., "calf-ba'al"; Gr. ᾿Αγλίβαλος; cf. Cooke, bibl., nos. 139, 140), who is identified with the Ugaritic god mentioned in the "Hymn to Rpu" called ʾgl-il ("calf god") connected with tr-il ("bull god"; cf. C.F.A. Schaeffer, *Mission de Ras Shamra*, 16 (1968), 551–5). ʿAglibol is thus connected with the ancient calf god which appeared in the Bible as the golden calf (Ex. 32:4). In Palmyra the month of Tammuz is called "Qnyn," just as Tammuz is lamented with *kinah* in Ezekiel (8:3, 14).

The Talmud (Yev. 16a; Nid. 56b; TJ, Kid. 4:1, 65c, and Yev. 1:6, 3b) mentions Palmyrene converts to Judaism. Buechler suggests this is connected with the conversion of the Adiabene dynasty in the first century C.E. Many Palmyrenes also came into contact with Jews while accompanying commercial caravans to the Persian Gulf along a route which led through such large Jewish centers as *Pumbedita, *Nehardea, *Sura, and *Maḥoza. M. Lidzbarski (*Ephemeris fuer semitische Epigraphik*, 1 (1902), 247f., 2 (1908), 295, 298) points out that specifically Jewish phrases had crept into Palmyrene inscriptions. A number of them (Février, Religion, bibl., 120–7) are dedicated to an anonymous god with the words לבריך שמה לעלמא ("May his name be praised forever") which is generally assumed to be a Jewish influence on Palmyrenes against profaning the name of a god. The Talmud reports that the rabbis looked upon converts from Palmyra, who evidently retained customs of idol worship, with suspicion and viewed the city itself with animosity. "The future destruction of Palmyra will be a day of rejoicing for Israel" (Yev. 17a). Aggadic tradition holds that Palmyrenes participated in the destruction of the First and Second Temples. The brief ten-year rule of Palmyra over Palestine was not a peaceful or happy one, and R. Johanan said: "Blessed be he who will witness the downfall of Tarmod (Tadmor)" (TJ, Ta'an. 4:8, 69b). The Babylonian rabbis also suffered from the Palmyrenes, who, during the reign of Odenathus, fought with Rome against Persia and destroyed Nehardea in the process. The Talmud refers to Odenathus as Ben Naẓer and also mentions Queen Zenobia, who was considered to be sympathetic to the Jews. (For a discussion on the alleged Judaism of Zenobia and of a number of inscriptionary Palmyrene names which are preceded by בת see Février, Religion, bibl., 220).

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TADMOR, HAYIM (1923–2005), Assyriologist and historian of the Ancient Near East. Tadmor was born in Harbin, China, and arrived in Palestine with his family in 1935. He studied at the Hebrew University where he received his doctorate in 1954 for his dissertation on problems in chronology of the Ancient Near East. His postdoctoral studies took him to the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago where he studied Assyriology under Benno Landsberger.

From 1958 he lectured at the Hebrew University – until 1965 in the Department for Ancient and Near Eastern Studies and then in the Department of Assyriology. In 1971 he was appointed professor of Assyriology and history of the Ancient Near East.

Tadmor was a foremost authority on the history of the first millennium B.C.E. who made notable contributions to the study of chronology, historiography, and institutions in antiquity as well as to understanding the interrelations between Assyria and the West and the place of Israel in the Ancient Near East.

He applied canons of criticism to inscriptions and historical texts, viewing texts in their broad cultural perspective and emphasizing the value of historiography and literary forms of historical texts. One of his major contributions was his work on Assyrian and Babylonian royal inscriptions.

He edited, with Moshe Weinfeld, and was a contributor to *History, Historiography and Interpretations – Studies in Biblical and Cuneiform Literature* (1983). He edited *The World History of the Jewish People*, volume 5 (The Restoration, The Persian Period). Tadmor served as a chief editor of the *Enẓiklopedya Mikra'it* (1971–82) and was a major contributor to *A History of the Jewish People* (edited by H.H. Ben-Sasson, 1969) and the Russian version (edited by S. Ettinger, 1967). He collaborated with M. Cogan to produce a *Commentary on Kings* (1988) and served as an editor of the *Shorter Jewish Encyclopedia in Russian*.

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[Elaine Hoter]

TADZHIKISTAN, one of the independent states of the CIS. In 1989 the Jewish population was 14,800, mainly in the capital, Dushanbe. A large proportion of the republic's Jews belonged to the Bukharan Jewish community. Almost all left for Israel during the mass exodus of the 1990s. The rise of Islamic fundamentalism in the republic, which led to civil war, was the major factor in Jewish emigration.

[Michael Beizer]

TAENZER, ARNOLD (**Aaron**; 1871–?), rabbi, author, and historian. Taenzer, born in Pressburg, served as *Landesrabbiner of Tyrol and Vorarlberg at Hohenems (1896–1904) and at Merano (1904–07), and at Goeppingen, Wuerttemberg (from 1907), where from 1910 to 1914 he edited the *Israelitische Wochenschrift*.

His published works include *Die Religionsphilosophie Joseph Albos* (1896), *Der israelitische Friedhof in Hohenems* (1901), *Judentum und Entwicklungslehre* (1903), *Geschichte der Juden in Tirol und Vorarlberg* (1905), *Mischehe in Religion, Geschichte und Statistik der Juden* (1913), *Geschichte der Juden in Brest-Litowsk* (1918), *Geschichte der Juden in Jebenhausen und Goeppingen* (1927), and *Geschichte der Juden in Wuerttemberg* (1937). Taenzer also wrote a *Gedenkschrift* for J. and F. Strassburger (1928) and published sermons and some humorous plays.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Wininger, Biog, s.v.

TAEUBLER, EUGEN (1879–1953), historian and classical and biblical scholar. Taeubler, born in Gostyn (Poznan), went to school at Lissa; he studied bible and talmud at the rabbinical seminary and the Lehranstalt (Hochschule) fuer die Wissenschaft des Judentums in Berlin. At the University of Berlin he studied classical philology and Semitics under Wilamowitz-Moellendorf, and ancient history and archaeology under T. Mommsen, Eduard Meyer, and Norden. During Mommsen's last years Taeubler served as his scientific secretary. Founder of the *Gesamtarchiv der deutschen Juden* (1906; see *Archives), Taeubler served as its director during 1906–18 and edited its *Mitteilungen* (1908–11). From 1910 to 1916 he lectured on ancient Jewish history at the Lehranstalt until he was called up for military service in 1916; during 1919–22 he directed the research section of the *Akademie fuer die Wissenschaft des Judentums, having played a prominent role in its establishment. During the same period he lectured at the University of Berlin on ancient history. He was assistant professor at Zurich (1922–25) and full professor at Heidelberg (1925–33), becoming a member of the Heidelberg Academy of Sciences in 1929. When the Nazis came to power, Taeubler returned to the Lehranstalt; in the spring of 1941 he gave his last lesson in Berlin. Later that year he immigrated to the United States with his wife Selma *Stern-Taeubler. He became research professor at Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati, teaching Hellenistic Jewish literature until 1953

Among his important works on ancient history are: *Imperium Romanum* (1913); *Die Vorgeschichte des zweiten punischen Kriegs* (1921); and a collection of essays, *Tyche* (1926/27). He wrote numerous studies and essays in Jewish history. *Biblische Studien*, dealing with the period of the Judges, appeared posthumously in 1958, as did *Aufsaetze zur Problematik juedischer Geschichtsschreibung 1908–1950* (1977), essays on Jewish historiography, and *Ausgewaehlte Schriften zur Alten Geschichte* (1987). Taeubler's influence on modern Jewish historiography was considerable. His mastery of ancient history and the methods of historical scholarship was reflected in his understanding of the geographical and geopolitical elements in early Jewish history, the relations between Jews and the lands in which they lived, and the nature of Jewish autonomy in the Diaspora.

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[Benzion Dinur (Dinaburg) /
Archiv Bibliographia Judaica (2nd ed.)]

TAGANROG, city in S.W. Rostov district, Russia. Jews first settled in Taganrog at the beginning of the 19th century, when "New Russia" was settled by Jewish immigrants from the northwest area of the *Pale of Settlement. In the 1860s a synagogue with a choir was built. In 1887 Taganrog was incorporated in the administrative region of the Don army, which was beyond the Pale of Settlement; consequently, Jews were henceforth forbidden to live in Taganrog, excepting those who had been living there previously. In 1897 there were 2,960 Jews in Taganrog (6% of its total population); in 1926 they numbered 2,673 (about 3%). In 1939 there were 3,124. Under the Soviet regime the Jewish community and institutions were abolished. When the Germans occupied the city in World War II, all the Jews who did not manage to escape were killed.

By 2005 the new Jewish community of Taganrog had established a community center, a youth club, a women's club, a veterans' club, a Sunday school, and a burial society, as well as a Holocaust Scientific Educational Center.

[Yehuda Slutsky / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

TAGGER, SIONAH (1900–1988), first Israeli-born woman artist. She was born in Jaffa, daughter of Shmuel and Sultana Tagger. The family had immigrated to Ereẓ Israel from Bulgaria in 1880, and her parents were among the founders of Aḥuzat Bayit. After her attendance at evening classes at Constant's Studio in Tel Aviv, Tagger turned to study in the Bezalel School of Art and Design in Jerusalem (1921). Two years later she traveled to Paris, studied at the Academie L'hote, and participated in the exhibition of the *Salon des Independents*. When Tagger returned to Israel, she took part in the main exhibitions of the young modern artists, such as the Tower of David exhibition in Jerusalem as well as three of the Ohel exhibitions in Tel Aviv. Over the years Tagger continued to exhibit her paintings in Israel as well as outside of the country. From 1940 to 1942 she volunteered to serve in the British ATS, and later joined the Haganah.

In 1948 at the Venice Biennale Tagger represented Israel. In 1952 she settled in the Artists Colony in Safed.

Tagger's art style was created of dialectical tendencies – on one hand, a quest for the universal, turning to the European Modern Art, and on the other, a return to her own roots and to the local. Tagger remained a figurative painter; even in her most abstract phases she remained loyal to practicality.

Tagger's best-known genre was portrait painting. The portraits she painted in the 1920s were created from many sketches. Their artistic style was a combination of Cubistic and Naïve art. A three-dimensional attention to volume, with powerful light-dark contrasts and well-defined stains of color, together magnified the emotional impact of the work (*Portrait of a Boy in White*, 1926, Israel Museum, Jerusalem).

A similar artistic style was a component of her landscape paintings. Tagger liked to draw the view of Tel Aviv and until the 1960s she chose to rent penthouses in Tel Aviv, in order to watch the city's vista, seashore as well as skyline. The exaggeration of the colors, the perspectives as well as the compositions of those paintings expressed the extreme feelings that rose from her gazing. The train movement and tempo in one of her paintings reminds one of the Futuristic's excitement regarding this vehicle (*The Train Passing through Neve Tzedek*, 1928, Collection of Joseph Hackmey, Tel Aviv).

During the 1960s Tagger painted on the matte side of shining transparent Plexiglas sheets. The products of that special technique looked like paintings on glass. Tagger was drawn to this technique owing to her perception of traditional ethnic and folk art. She used bright Oriental colors and a shiny Mediterranean light. The decorative style was dominant in those works and the subjects were usually traditional Jewish themes: the Tablets of the Covenant, Sukkot, Purim, and so on.

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[Ronit Steinberg (2nd ed.)]

TAGIN (Aram. תָּגִין; sing., *tag*), special designs resembling crowns placed by a scribe on the upper left-hand corner of seven of the 22 letters of the Hebrew alphabet in a Torah, *tefillin*, or *mezuzah* scroll. A *tag* is generally composed of three flourishes or strokes, each of which resembles a small "*zayin*" – thick on top with a thin line extending downward to the letter. The center stroke is slightly higher than the two end ones. The letters which receive the *tagin* are שעטנזגצ (Men. 29b), including the final ן and ץ (Rashi ad loc.). According to Maimonides the omission of *tagin* does not invalidate the scroll since its inclusion is considered as an "exceptionally beautiful fulfillment of the *mitzvah*" (Yad, Sefer Torah 7:9). Ashkenazi custom, however, holds that the scrolls are invalid without the appropriate *tagin* (*Magen Avraham* and *Ba'er Heitev* to Sh. Ar., OḤ 36:3).

Kabbalah places great stress on the mystical meanings of the *tagin*. Together with the letters and words of the Torah, every additional stroke or sign is a symbol revealing extraordinary secrets of the universe and creation. The importance of the *tagin* is already emphasized by the Talmud in its vivid description of Moses ascending on high to find God engaged in affixing *tagin* to the letters of the Torah (Men. 29b).

Simḥah b. Samuel, a disciple of Rashi, copied a *Sefer Tagin* into his *Maḥzor Vitry* (ed. by S. Hurwitz (1923^2), 674–83). According to tradition, this *Sefer Tagin* authored by Joshua recorded the proper usage of the *tagin* as they appeared on the 12 stones which he first set up in the Jordan River and later transferred to Gilgal (Josh. 4:9, 20). On these stones were inscribed the books of Moses with the required *tagin* (Naḥmanides to Deut. 27:8). An annotated edition of the *Sefer Tagin* was issued by S. Sachs in 1866.

The *tagin* are the "tittles" mentioned in the New Testament (Matt. 5:18; Luke 16:17, translated as "stroke" in the New English Bible).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Eisenstein, Dinim, 300f., 433.

TAGLICHT, DAVID ISRAEL (1862–1943), Austrian rabbi and scholar. Born in Nagy Berzna (now Veliki Berezny, Ukraine), Taglicht attended yeshivot before going to Berlin, where he studied at the university and at the Orthodox rabbinical seminary. After a tenure (1889–93) in Ungarisch-Ostra (Uhersky-Ostroh), he received a post in Vienna; in 1910 he succeeded to Max *Grunwald's rabbinical office and was able to devote himself to historical studies, the most important of which were *Nachlaesse der Wiener Juden im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert* (1917; continued in 1936), on the wills and testaments of Vienna's leading Jewish families (the *Arnsteins, *Eskeles, *Wertheims, *Oppenheimers, etc.). In 1932 he became rabbi of Vienna's main synagogue, the Leopoldstadt Tempel, and was noted for his oratorical talents and his stand above party struggles. After the Anschluss, Taglicht was forced to scrub the sidewalks and to carry a placard on which was written "I am a Jew." He was humiliated and beaten. He was allowed to leave as a result of foreign pressure and went to England, where he died at Cambridge.

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TAHAL (Heb. תַּהַ"ל), a corporation whose name is compounded from the initials of the Hebrew words for Water Planning for Israel (*Tikhnun ha-Mayim le-Yisrael*). Established by the government of Israel in 1952 by merging the water resources department of the Ministry of Agriculture with the engineering division of the *Mekorot water company (Israel's national water supply agency), Tahal was founded under Israel's company law. The majority of shares (52%) are held by the government; the remainder are divided equally between the *Jewish Agency and the *Jewish National Fund. The policy of the company is determined by a board of directors. In 1961 the company established a subsidiary, Tahal Consulting Engineers Ltd., to undertake work on a commercial basis in Israel and abroad.

Tahal draws up long-, medium-, and short-term plans for the development of Israel's water resources and drainage facilities. It plans and designs the country's main water supply, irrigation, and drainage works, and advises the government on all issues connected with water resources. In this capacity, Tahal has planned and designed Israel's major groundwater developments, river-water projects, and flood and sewage reclamation projects, including all the installations incorporated in Israel's National Water Carrier (the Jordan Project). It has also carried out extensive research programs on water conservation, including cloud seeding to increase rainfall, evaporation suppression, increase of the water obtainable from uncultivated areas, improved management of groundwater basins, and the utilization of surface and groundwater resources.

In 1968 Tahal designed the last phase of the development of Israel's natural and reclaimed water resources, and studied the engineering and economic aspects of the construction of a large-scale plant for desalting sea water. In 1956, the company was entrusted to design the first crude-oil pipeline (between Eilat and Haifa). Since then, oil and gas transportation and storage have remained one of Tahal's activities, and in 1967 it carried out all engineering studies for the major international pipeline from Eilat to Ashkelon, which was completed and operative in 1970. Over the years, the company has entered other fields such as highway and industrial engineering.

From the early 1960s, Tahal extended operations to an increasing number of developing countries in the Middle East, Africa, Latin America, and Southeast Asia. Its projects, sometimes supported by other Israel agencies, include national and regional development plans for water supply and irrigated agriculture, major water supply, irrigation and drainage projects, the planning and management of regional irrigation schemes, and groundwater development and management. A number of foreign branch offices and partially owned subsidiaries were set up in the company's principal areas of activity. In the early 2000s, Tahal employed approximately 500 engineers, agronomists, scientists, technicians, and administrative workers. Its areas of specialization continued to cover a wide spectrum, encompassing water management, agricultural planning, wastewater treatment, environmental engineering, civil engineering and infrastructure, industrial engineering and energy as well as turnkey projects in the water and sanitation sectors. Tahal's operations are divided as follows: 27% of projects in Israel, 24% in Latin America, 21% in the Mediterranean basin, 21% in Europe, and the rest in Africa and Asia. The total value of projects undertaken by TAHAL in 2001 amounted to US $1 billion.

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[Aaron Wiener / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

TAḤANUN (Heb. תַּחֲנוּן; "supplication"), name of a prayer which is a *confession of sins and a petition for grace. It forms part of the daily morning and afternoon services and is recited after the *ḥazzan's* repetition of the **Amidah*. The *Taḥanun* begins with a silent recital of David's utterance after being rebuked by the prophet Gad for his sin of numbering the people (II Sam. 24:14), "let us fall, I pray thee, into the hand of the Lord, for His mercies are many, but let me not fall into the hand of men." It is, therefore, also called *nefilat appayim* ("prostration prayer," lit. "falling on the face"). Since prostration during petitions is mentioned in the Bible (Deut. 9:18; Josh. 7:6), it was customary to recite the *Taḥanun* prostrated. In modern times, however, the prayer is recited in a seated position with lowered head and face buried in the bend of the arm. This position is assumed only where there is a Torah Scroll to designate the sanctity of the place. In the Sephardi ritual, it is customary to start the *Taḥanun* with a silent confession of sins (*Viddui*), followed by II Samuel 24:14 (as in the Ashkenazi ritual). The central part of *Taḥanun* is a penitential psalm, Psalm 25 in the Sephardi, and Psalm 6 in the Ashkenazi ritual. The *Taḥanun* is supplemented by additional penitential prayers and *piyyutim*. In the Ashkenazi rite there follows part of a *piyyut* (*Shomer Yisrael*) which also occurs in the **seliḥot* liturgy. The last passage of the *Taḥanun*, starting with a quotation from II Chronicles 20:12 (*Va-anaḥnu lo neda mah na'aseh*), is a shortened form of the whole prayer and was instituted so that latecomers to the morning service could attend the reading from the Torah. The *Taḥanun* prayer is omitted on Sabbaths, festivals, semiholidays, New Moons, from the *Minḥah* service preceding these special days, during the month of Nisan, and on the Ninth of Av. At a circumcision in the synagogue, when a bridegroom attends the service during the first seven days after his wedding, and at prayers held at the homes of mourners, the *Taḥanun* is also omitted.

The origin of the *Taḥanun* dates back to the talmudic period in Babylonia. Although the prayer was known as *nefilat appayim*, many rabbis, such as Eleazar b. Hyrcanus (BM 59b), *Abbaye, *Rava, and especially *Rav refused to prostrate at this prayer, either because they considered complete prostration forbidden outside the Temple in Jerusalem or because they regarded it as not obligatory for a distinguished personage (Meg. 22b; Ta'an. 14b). By the time of the *geonim* the posture had already been modified to sitting (or half-sitting), with the head inclined on the arm. The exact date of the various parts making up the *Taḥanun* cannot be established with certainty. The view that the *Taḥanun* was originally a supplication supplemented by confession of sins recited in private without fixed form is strengthened by the fact that there is considerable variety in the versions given in the various prayer books (e.g., *Saadiah Gaon, *Maimonides, etc.). Its final version evolved only in the 16th century.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Eisenstein, Dinim, 270, 435–6; Baer, S., Seder, 112–9; Elbogen, Gottesdienst, 73–81; Hertz, Prayer, 168–87; E. Levy, *Yesodot ha-Tefillah* (1952²), 177–9; E. Munk, *The World of Prayer*, 1 (1961), 161–70; Abrahams, Companion, lxxviff.

[Meir Ydit]

TAHARAT (Tohorat) HA-MISHPAḤAH (Heb. טָהֳרַת הַמִּשְׁפָּחָה; lit. "family purity"), the term popularly given to the laws of **niddah*, which involve a married couple's abstinence from sexual relations during the period of menstruation until the wife's immersion in the **mikveh*. These regulations are considered by the Orthodox to be basic to the Jewish way of life, and R. Akiva went so far as to declare the son of a *niddah* a **mamzer* (Yev. 29b). Although his viewpoint is not accepted as the *halakhah*, it nevertheless indicates the importance of these laws. In more modern times, many psychological, medical, and physiological reasons have been given for the observance of this precept, and all of them stress the benefits that are gained by the couple practicing abstinence during part of each month. Societies have been organized in many communities for the purpose of instructing people in these laws and supervising the daily functioning of the *mikveh*.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: I.J. Unterman, *Tohorat ha-Mishpaḥah ve-Heikef Hashpa'atah* (1970); D. Miller, *The Secret of the Jew* (1930); N. Lamm, *A Hedge of Roses* (1966); K. Kahana, *Tohorat Bat Yisrael* (1963³).

TAḤASH (Heb. תַּחַשׁ), animal mentioned in the Bible. The skins of the *taḥash* were used as a covering for the Tent of Meeting (Ex. 35:23; 36:19; et al.). According to Ezekiel (16:10) the Children of Israel made shoes of *taḥash* while journeying in the wilderness. Many conjectures have been made as to its identity. In Egyptian *tḥs* means well-tanned leather, and on this basis some are of the opinion that *taḥash* too was merely leather tanned in a certain way. The *tanna* Judah thought it to be skin dyed *altinon* (Greek ἀληδινον) seemingly purple (Eccles. R. 1:9). R. Meir maintained that the *taḥash* was a legendary creature that existed in the time of Moses and was afterward hidden: "The *taḥash* of Moses' day was a separate species and sages could not decide whether they were beasts or domestic animals, and it had one horn on its forehead" (Shab. 28b). Some gave additional signs: that it was a clean animal, that it had multicolored skin, and that it was identical with the *keresh*, the legendary unicorn (*ibid.*; Eccles. R. loc. cit.). Based on these indications, many suggested identifications for the *taḥash* have been proposed, such as the fleet-footed antelope (taking *taḥash* from *ḥish*, "fleet"), or the giraffe, which has many of the signs given by R. Meir, multicolored skin, a horn-like protrusion on its forehead, and some of the signs of a clean animal. Because the Arabic *tukhesh* means the sea mammal *Dugong hemprichi*, some endeavor to identify it with the *taḥash*. This appears at intervals on the shores of Sinai and is hunted by the Bedouin, who make curtains and shoes from its skin. Others identify the *taḥash* with another sea mammal, *Monodon monoceros*, which occasionally reaches the shores of the Red Sea. It has mottled skin and a single tooth-horn on its forehead. These, however, are all conjectures and the identity of the *taḥash* remains obscure. The AV and JPS translation of "badger" has no basis in fact.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: I. Aharoni, in: *Tarbiz*, 8 (1936/37), 319–39; J. Furman, *ibid.*, 12 (1940/41), 218–29; J. Feliks, *Animal World of the Bible* (1962), 50.

[Jehuda Feliks]

TAILORING. The Hebrew word for "tailor," חַיָּט, first appears in mishnaic and midrashic literature. Tailors are mentioned more frequently in the Talmud (Shab. 1:3, 11b; BK 10:10), and Jewish tailors were to be found in Muslim countries at this period, but rarely in significant numbers. Almost every Jewish community had its own tailor whose presence was necessitated by the obligatory ritual commandments such as **sha'atnez*. The Church was also interested in enforcing the wearing of special Jewish garments. Moneylending entailed some knowledge of tailoring since it was necessary to keep pawned clothes in good repair. Although both Church pressure and moneylending were absent in Islamic countries, tailoring on a small and medium scale became an important element in Jewish society. In *Yemen entire Jewish villages subsisted on weaving and tailoring until 1948 (S.D. Goitein, in: JSOS, 17 (1954), 3–26). The main obstacles to Jewish tailors in medieval Europe were raised by the guilds, who continuously tried to restrict their activity to producing their own distinctive clothing for Jewish clients alone. However, in Christian Spain, where there were many Jewish tailors as the Christian guilds were comparatively weak, the rulers often intervened on their behalf when their livelihood was threatened by the encroachment of local guilds and authorities. In 1489 Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain annulled an ordinance enacted in *Burgos which prohibited Jewish tailors and other craftsmen from plying their trade outside the Jewish quarter. The connection between tailoring and the trade in *secondhand goods and old clothes, which had to be repaired and resold, was most clearly in evidence in Italy, especially in *Rome, where a Jewish tailors' guild existed from the 15th century and between one-quarter and one-half of the Jewish community was engaged in various branches of the clothing trade in the 16th century. Bernardino Ramazzini (1633–1714), an early authority on occupational diseases, noted that many Jews suffered from weak eyesight, legs, and lungs, caused by repairing old clothes in poorly lit and badly ventilated rooms. Many Italian cities tried to prohibit Jews from refurbishing old clothes because this often provided a springboard for the prohibited manufacture and sale of new garments. The nexus of tailoring and trading in old clothes remained important in Italian Jewry until the 20th century.

Jewish tailoring in central Europe, as elsewhere, was conditioned by *sha'atnez* laws and the tie with the repair and sale of used clothing, but it grew in scope wherever conditions became more favorable. In *Prague a continuous struggle was waged between the Christian and the Jewish guilds because the Jewish tailors were accused of illegally selling new clothes. The banner of the Jewish tailors' guild, a colorful patchwork of cloth, bore a pair of scissors embroidered in gold. These conflicts were operative in the expulsion of the Prague community (1745), but the move affected the Christian tailors since the expelled Jews now produced wares for the countryside and nobody came to Prague to buy new clothes. Among the 1,418 Jewish families who returned to Prague were 91 tailors and tailoresses, eight trouser sewers, seven linen menders, and 37 button makers, as well as dozens of artisans and merchants dealing in a variety of haberdashery and clothing articles. In rural Bohemia in 1724 there were 182 tailors among 3,093 heads of Jewish households (butchers were the second largest craft with 179); many of these were *peddlers who plied their trade in villages. In *Moravia Jewish tailoring developed along different lines. In 1673, in *Mikulov (Nikolsburg), there were eight Jewish master tailors, each with one apprentice and assistant, and around 1713, in *Prostejov (Prossnitz), there were 12 Jewish tailors (and 18 Christian ones), though they were mainly engaged in selling articles produced by Christians. This activity grew during and after the Thirty Years' War (1618–48) when Jewish military *contractors supplied thousands of uniforms. The number of Jewish tailors in Moravia increased from between one and three in each community at the beginning of the 18th century to between four and 12 at its end. The development from selling old clothes to a modern clothing industry is best demonstrated by the Mandel family of Prostejov. Abraham Mandel (d. 1836) was a dealer in old clothes who specialized in converting uniforms into suits. His son Moses (1792–1862) opened his own old clothes shop and around 1840 began selling new clothes as well. Moses' son, Mayer Mandel (1820–1888), though employing dozens of tailors, had to buy membership in the Plumenau tailors' guild. In 1859 he opened the first clothing factory in Europe and was able to supply uniforms to the whole Turkish army as well as to those of other Balkan states. Jewish enterprise made Prostejov the center of the modern clothing industry in Czechoslovakia.

In *Poland-Lithuania tailoring was one of the first crafts plied extensively in the 16th and 17th centuries and the earliest in which independent guilds were formed by Jews. Their ranks were reinforced by the embroiderers and cap makers, almost exclusively Jewish crafts. Jewish tailors were soon locked in fierce and often bloody competition with their Christian competitors, particularly in *Lublin. Riots were often provoked by artisans who accused Jews of selling ready-to-wear clothing or of selling to Christians. In *Warsaw in 1795 there were 74 Jewish tailors supplying custom-made garments and 53 tailors and 36 sellers of ready-to-wear clothing. The number of tailors in other cities was also large: *Vilna had 88 in 1765 and Lublin 90 in 1759. In *Poznan province they were particularly numerous: in the late 18th century 48 of the 50 tailors in *Krotoszyn were Jews, as were 32 of 51 in *Leszno (Lissa), 31 of 46 in Ostrow Wielkopolski, and 56 of 57 in Rogozno. In the *Pale of Settlement tailoring both at home and as an itinerant craft in the villages became the mainstay of a growing section of the impoverished population of the shtetl. The life-style, songs, and folklore of the *amkho sher un ayren* ("the simple people of the scissors and ironing board") became in Yiddish literature the expression of the joys and sufferings of Jewish workers. This way of life was carried overseas in the mass emigrations to France, England, and the U.S. (see below). In Poland in 1931, 504,570 Jews constituted 44.1% of all those active in the clothing industry; these were fairly evenly divided into employed manual and white-collar workers and home workers. About 52% of the independent employers in the clothing industry were Jews, though most Jewish firms were small or medium sized. Polish antisemitic policy in the 1930s compelled them to adopt new forms of work and organization.

In Germany – except for the production of clothes for Jewish needs and the repair of clothing held in pawn – Jews entered the general field of tailoring as sellers: 41 Christian tailors were employed by Jews in *Frankfurt on the Main in 1611. During the 17th century protests were heard throughout the country that Jewish peddlers were selling new clothes, above all at the *Leipzig fairs and other such *markets. With the growth of cities in the 19th century Jews gradually established stores for haberdashery and the like, then moved into large-scale wholesale clothing manufacture. Between one-third and one-half of the manufacturing firms in the German clothing industry were owned by Jews, and the same proportion of wholesale houses; their share in this trade was highest in Berlin. The production of hats and caps was almost entirely Jewish owned. Various Jewish clothing stores were set up in different places, forming the basis of the later *department stores. In 1644, in Vienna, Christian tailors complained that Jewish tailors were making ready-to-wear garments and employing Christian tailors (A. Pribram, *Urkunden und Akten*, 1 (1918), 143 f.), but in fact Jewish tailors did not become significant until the 19th century. The sale of used European clothing to the Balkans and the Near East, which was centered on Vienna, was managed by Jews. The production of hats, caps, and umbrellas was almost exclusively Jewish, as was that of underclothes, which had been freed of guild restrictions by *Maria Theresa.

Though Jews in France (*Avignon, *Bordeaux, and *Alsace) had long been engaged in buying, repairing, and selling old clothes, this activity declined after the French Revolution. The mass emigration of Jews from Eastern Europe after the pogroms of 1881–83 and 1903–05 and between the world wars brought to *Paris thousands of impoverished Jews who, driven by both experience and necessity, turned en masse to certain sectors of the clothing industry, particularly hat- and cap-making. Since they worked for low pay in "sweatshops" and doing piecework at home, Jews were in the forefront of the unionization of Parisian clothing workers. When 55 Jewish hat makers wanted to found a union in 1892, they had to wait until some of them were naturalized for none of these workers were French. This union remained entirely Jewish

(289 members) until 1936, when the proportion of Jews became 53.6% of the 1,445 members. In the hosiery union their percentage – 90.9 (200 out of 220) before 1936 – declined to 39.6 (720 out of 1,820). The handbagmakers' union was 80% Jewish (160 out of 200) before 1936 and remained so afterward as well (2,400 out of 3,000). After World War I Polish Jews gained a prominent share of the knitware and hosiery industries. However, the role of Jews in the French clothing industries, particularly in production in small family firms, declined after World War II. Jews did not penetrate the field of haute couture in Paris.

[Henry Wasserman]

England

Jews were first connected with the clothing trade in England to a substantial degree as secondhand clothes dealers in the 18th century. At the end of the 18th century there were 1,000–1,500 Jewish dealers in old clothes and even in 1850 between 500 and 600 were still active. They either sold complete garments, or, where these were too worn, cut them up into smaller articles, such as waistcoats. That Jews in this period were particularly concerned with cheap clothing is confirmed by their activity as buyers at the East India Company's auctions of imported cloth, where they seem to have dominated the market in cheap or damaged cloth. Their activity as navy agents (supplying ships with stores at a time when the governments left such matters to contractors) naturally made them suppliers of "slop clothing" for sailors' dress – a connection with the supply of uniforms which persisted to contemporary times. Jews were also prominent in the hat trade, both as sellers and makers.

As the community grew, efforts were made by the communal authorities to cut down the number of hawkers and to apprentice Jewish youth to trades, particularly tailoring, hat-making, and shoe-making. Thus by 1850 *London (perhaps the first large city to do so) had developed an indigenous Jewish artisan class, as well as middle-class clothing entrepreneurs, contractors, and middlemen. By enabling the working classes to buy new clothing in the same styles – although not of the same quality – as those worn by the rich, they began a social revolution. Two firms especially, Hyam, which employed 6,000 people and had a payroll of £200,000 a year, and E. Moses & Son, famous for its advertising techniques, pioneered the new development. These and similar firms supplied outfits for emigrants to the colonies. To supply the needs of these firms small tailoring workshops proliferated, encouraged by the import of the Singer sewing machine in the 1850s and 1860s. The waves of immigrants from Eastern Europe from the 1880s increased the number and concentration of Jews in tailoring. The 1901 census figures of Russian-Polish immigrants show that about 40 out of every 100 men (and 50 out of every 100 women) who were gainfully employed worked in tailoring and 12 or 13 in the boot, shoe, and slipper trades.

Cap-making in London and *Manchester was almost exclusively a Jewish immigrant trade. In Manchester, too, waterproofing had been developed by earlier Jewish immigrants, first in workshops and then in factories, but waterproofing was superseded by the technologically superior rainproof garment. The immigrant tailors had no effect on the bespoke trade; in London, they supplied ready-made garments for merchants and wholesale clothiers and they virtually introduced the ladies' jacket and mantle-making industry to Britain. The principle was subdivision of labor, whereby each operative's task was graded to his skill (or lack of it). Working long hours in small, badly ventilated workshops, the immigrant employees strove to become masters in their turn. This pattern delayed in London and Manchester the introduction of a factory system such as had operated from about 1860 in *Leeds, where at the beginning of the 20th century Montague *Burton adapted bespoke tailoring to factory production and opened a chain of shops for retail distribution. In this he anticipated the Jewish role in the clothing trade of the 20th century with its tendency toward the organization of mass production and of distribution. The Marks & Spencer chain of stores may be cited as an outstanding example (see Simon *Marks and Israel *Sieff). Jews were also active in large-scale distribution in the textile trade, as clothing retailers, and as manufacturers of a wide range of women's ready-made garments. It is noteworthy, however, that Jewish women and girls who before 1939 worked as dressmakers or in tailoring, in the mid-20th century preferred office work. For two centuries, Anglo-Jewry has been connected with the clothing industry. Only the roles have changed: from hawker to retailer, from operative to manufacturer, and from merchant to wholesaler.

[Vivian David Lipman]

United States

Before 1880 Jews from Germany had already become the leading manufacturers of ready-made clothing. German Jewish immigrants had often been connected with the secondhand clothing business in Europe, and many moved into the same occupation upon arriving in America. After the Civil War the market for ready-made clothing expanded among the increasing number of urban dwellers, and the mechanical cutting knife of the 1870s permitted more rapid production of the basic portion of the garment. Ready-made clothing was distributed through secondhand garment merchants, many of whom were German Jews. Some of these men soon began to manufacture ready-made clothing as well as to distribute it. However, it would be erroneous to make too close a connection between the movement of Eastern European Jews into the clothing industry after 1880 and the presence of German Jewish employers in this area. In *Chicago, Bohemian immigrants were the first workers in the ready-made clothing industry. The entry of Eastern European Jews into the clothing industry was primarily the result of their need for work immediately after their arrival in America – a condition shared by all immigrant groups – and the availability of the clothing industry because of its rapid growth in the late 19th century and its particular manufacturing methods.

Unlike many American industries, the garment trades were not mechanized. Manufacturers quickly discovered that clothing could be finished through a series of simple processes that could be learned easily even by inexperienced workers. As the demand for ready-made clothing grew, the East European Jew who arrived in America found the clothing industry to be a source of immediate work, especially since many immigrant Jews often had had some experience in tailoring. Italians, Poles, Lithuanians, and Bohemians who entered the United States from 1894 to 1914 also entered the clothing industry and competed with the Jewish worker. The lack of expensive equipment allowed the clothing industry in most cities to fragment into numerous small shops, most of which finished the goods supplied by the manufacturers. These shops appeared throughout the ghetto areas as they followed the labor supply, and within them developed the "sweatshop" conditions that marked this industry for many decades. These small, overcrowded, poorly maintained shops were operated by a contractor who secured the unfinished garment from the manufacturer and completed the work. The contractors competed with each other for work from the manufacturers, and they in turn tried to make a profit by subdividing the finishing of the clothing and lowering the cost per piece to a minimum. This produced continuous pressure on the piece rates, and long hours of hectic labor in the "season," followed by stretches of unemployment. There was constant friction between the worker and the contractor over the piece rate and the amount of work required to earn the rate. Contractors often sought out the newly arrived immigrants in the expectation that they would accept lower wages. In addition, many contractors gave out part of the finishing work to be done in the homes of the workers. This encouraged the conversion of overcrowded tenement apartments into extensions of the shop, resulting in child labor and continuous work by entire families for minimal piece rates.

Although the older trade unions in the clothing industry opposed these developments, they represented only small groups of skilled workers, and it was not until the formation of unions such as the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union in 1900 and the Amalgamated Clothing Workers' Union in 1914 that the efforts to organize the immigrant workers achieved any permanent success. These labor organizations, which had a strongly Jewish leadership, were divided on political grounds as moderate trade unionists, Socialists, and Communists contended for control. The dominant tendency was for a mildly Socialistic rhetoric to be combined with trade unionist bargaining procedures. The garment unions also became social and educational institutions, and this contributed significantly to the Americanization of the immigrant membership. As immigrant Jews from Eastern Europe accumulated some experience in America, and a small amount of capital, they attempted to become employers within the garment industry. By World War I East European Jews dominated the ranks of the employers, particularly among the contractors and jobbers where capital requirements were minimal. This persisted until the 1970s, but the character of the work force did not remain ethnically stable. Jewish workers still comprised a significant portion of the employees, but few young persons from Jewish families entered these trades. Thus the proportion of Jewish workers declined steadily as older workers left the industry. Italian workers had become a major group in the needle trades by World War I, but their percentage of the work force also declined as African-American and Puerto Rican workers were increasingly employed in New York City and some of the other metropolitan centers. In addition, as the ladies' garment industry decentralized in search of cheaper labor its ethnic character became more diverse. Thus despite the continued participation of Jews in the garment trades, by 1970 the crucial role of the clothing industry in the lives of American Jews was past.

[Irwin Yellowitz]

In Israel

Tailoring and allied industries developed rapidly in Israel, particularly because of (1) the fast increase in local demand as a result of the increase in population and purchasing power; (2) restrictions on imports, especially in the 1950s and early 1960s, which opened up the market for local manufacturers; and (3) large-scale government aid in financing investments, guaranteeing prices, etc.

Since the market demanded more than it was in the power of this industry to offer, it was in its early stages characteristically a sellers' market. The manufacturers did not endeavor, therefore, to promote new models in order to attract buyers, but were content to copy foreign models. The quality, too, was not always up to the required standard.

In the early 1960s a number of developments occurred, mainly in the policy of the government, which encouraged a change in the manufacturers' outlook and in their general attitude, as regards both fashion and quality. The main change in governmental policy took place in 1962, and allowed for the gradual import of competitive goods from abroad, as well as encouraging more extensive exports. The competition for the local market and the need to export provided an impetus for improving quality, and increasing fashion consciousness and internal efficiency. In relatively few years Israel succeeded in achieving a position in the world fashion industry with a considerable number of products: swimsuits and beach wear, knits, women's underclothes (brassieres, panty hose, panties, etc.), men's neckties, sports clothes, raincoats for men and women, leather coats, etc.

Most Israeli fashions are the work of Israeli fashion designers, and Israel has succeeded in penetrating the world fashion centers of France, Italy, and the American continent. Israel regularly takes part in fairs and fashion weeks both at home and abroad. Sales offices have been opened in the chief exporting countries (e.g., U.S., Germany, France, and Scandinavia). In order to increase exports and ensure the quality of the products, a fashion center has been established by the Export Institute. The center especially tries to increase the manufacturer's know-how, create contacts among importers, buyers, and manufacturers, and guide foreign investors. In the early 2000s Israel's fashion exports reached $670 million a year.

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TAITAẒAK, JOSEPH (16th century), talmudist, Bible scholar, and kabbalist of *Salonika. The dates of his birth or death are not known. The dates usually given, 1487/88–1545, are based on Rosanes (see bibl.), but *Scholem is of the opinion that he was born at least ten years earlier, and there is evidence that he died considerably before 1545. Joseph's father Solomon, himself a talmudic scholar and one of the exiles from Spain, had settled with his family in Salonika. There are no biographical details of Joseph's early life, but from the year 1520 he rose to eminence as an outstanding scholar and the halakhic authority of Salonika. Joseph Caro addressed a question to him merely to inquire as to the rulings of previous scholars of Salonika validating a *mikveh* which Caro considered invalid. Taitaẓak replied that he had not been in Salonika at the time, but gave his reasons for supporting their view. Caro seems to have been greatly impressed by Taitaẓak's learning, and, although he did not accept his view, in his reply refers to Taitaẓak in terms of the greatest esteem and respect, "the light and the holy one of Israel, the crown of the Diaspora," etc. Henceforth Taitaẓak was regarded as an authority, and contemporary scholars addressed their problems to him and gave full weight to his views (for the above, see Caro's responsa *Avkat Rokhel*, nos. 50–51). In his *Maggid Meisharim* Caro refers in laudatory terms not only to his "scholarship and saintliness" but to the fact that "he deserved well of the community by raising many disciples" (see below); among the many students attracted to his yeshivah were Isaac *Adarbi, Samuel de *Medina, Eliezer *Ashkenazi, Isaac *Arollia, and Solomon *Alkabeẓ. Taitaẓak can also be regarded as one of the founders of the kabbalistic circle established by his disciples in *Safed. About 1531 he was in Constantinople, where he was involved in a violent controversy (Rosanes, Togarmah, 2 (1937–38), 23f.) and where he may possibly have met Caro. He later returned to Salonika, however, where he remained for the rest of his life.

Taitaẓak's extant halakhic works are confined to his responsa which appear in the works of his contemporaries – the *Avkat Rokhel* of Joseph Caro (who also refers to him in his *Beit Yosef* to YD 65 and 201), the *She'erit Yehudah* of Taitaẓak's brother Judah (p. 70) – and an unpublished commentary by him on the *Halakhot* of Isaac Alfasi is mentioned, as well as a commentary on *Avot*. His main published works are his biblical commentaries *Porat Yosef* on Ecclesiastes (Venice, 1529) and *Leḥem Setarim* on Daniel and the Five *Scrolls (*ibid.*, 1608), while others remain in manuscript.

Porat Yosef is a philosophical commentary and it is remarkable in the fact that in the philosophical views the author follows the scholastic philosophical system of Thomas Aquinas and Aegidius Romanus (sometimes referred to as Aegidius of Colonna; 1247–1316). He quotes Aquinas by name or as "the sage" and even refers to one of his interpretations as "a fine exposition" (*derush na'eh*). So completely does he follow him that, unlike Ḥasdai Crescas, he accepts none of the development of Aristotelianism in Christian theology by later authorities such as Duns Scotus and William of Ockham, or the Paris school. He accepts the doctrine of Aristotle as expounded by Aquinas. Taitaẓak's thorough familiarity with the subject gives the impression that he knew Latin and possibly studied it in Spain, but it is equally possible that he used the translation of the 14th-century translator of Aquinas, Judah *Romano, which was known particularly in Greece.

Taitaẓak's chief importance, however, is as a kabbalist. He indulged in ascetic practices and is said never to have slept in a bed for 40 years, apart from Sabbaths (Elijah de Vidas, *Reshit Ḥokhmah*, Sha'ar ha-Kedushah 7). He gathered around him a circle of scholars of the Kabbalah. It has hitherto been assumed that it was the visit of Solomon *Molcho to Salonika in 1529 and the messianic sermons which he delivered and published in that year (later called *Sefer ha-Mefo'ar*) which attracted Taitaẓak to esoteric study (cf. Werblowsky, bibl., p. 97f.) but Scholem tends to the contrary opinion that Taitaẓak was already a renowned kabbalist when Molcho arrived in Salonika and this attracted Molcho to him and his circle. Molcho corresponded with Taitaẓak after he left Salonika, informing him of his visions. His famous epistle from Monastir, later published as *Ḥayyat Kaneh* (Amsterdam, 1658), was sent to Taitaẓak.

To Taitaẓak is ascribed the first crystallization of the idea of the **maggid*, a divine voice which spoke or dictated to scholars, the *Maggid Meisharim* of Joseph Caro being the best known example. That Taitaẓak had such a *Maggid* is attested by Joseph Sambari (*Divrei Yosef*, in: A. Berliner, *Quellenschriften zur juedischen Geschichte und Literatur* (1896), 70f.) and by Ḥ.J.D. Azulai in the name of his grandfather (Azulai, 1 (1852), 79 no. 134). However, a manuscript has been discovered which purports to be the revelation of the *maggid* to Taitaẓak. Although more research must be undertaken before it can definitely be ascribed to him, there are grounds for accepting its authority. Taitaẓak's *maggid* differs from that of Caro in that it claims to be the Divine Voice itself and not an angelic personification of the Mishnah, as was the case with Caro, and its language is Hebrew and not Aramaic. Joseph Caro's *maggid*, while praising Taitaẓak for his scholarship, piety, and for the fact that he gathered many disciples (see above), makes the statement that a *maggid* does not communicate "in this manner" with Taitaẓak because of his "love of money" and his "lust for authority" (*Maggid Meisharim* (Amsterdam, 1708), 34a–b). Werblowsky regards the words "in this manner" as an acknowledgment by Caro that Taitaẓak did have a *maggid* but that it was of an inferior order, since the communications came to him through automatic writing. Scholem, however, regards it as denying that he had a *maggid* and that all one can deduce from the statement is that Caro was unaware of Taitaẓak's *maggid*. Caro's statement regarding Taitaẓak's failings is so out of keeping with other information about him that it is not impossible that there was a personal element involved.

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[Louis Isaac Rabinowitz]

TAKKANOT (Heb. תַּקָּנוֹת pl.; sing. תַּקָּנָה). This article is arranged according to the following outline:

Definition and Substance
Legislation in the Halakhah
Nature of Halakhic Legislation
Rules of Legislation
Role of the Public
Annulment of Takkanot
Takkanot until the End of the Tannaitic Period
In the Amoraic Period
In the Geonic Period
In Post-Geonic Times
Legislation in Different Centers
Post-Geonic Legislation in Family Law
Takkanot of the Chief Rabbinate of Ereẓ Israel
Status of Knesset Legislation as Enactments for the Public Welfare
Procedural Regulations in the Rabbinical Courts
Legal Status of Women
The Plight of the Agunah

Definition and Substance

A *takkanah* is a directive enacted by the halakhic scholars, or other competent body (see **Takkanot ha-Kahal*), enjoying the force of law. It constitutes one of the legal sources of Jewish law (see **Mishpat Ivri*). A law which has its creative source in *takkanah* serves as the motivated addition of a new norm to the overall halakhic system, whereas a law originating from the legal source of *midrash* (exegesis, i.e., from construing a biblical passage or other existing law; see *Interpretation) serves to reveal the concealed content of existing law within the aforementioned system. The consequence of this substantive difference between these two legal sources of Jewish law is that a law created by means of Bible exegesis mostly belongs to the category of laws called *de-oraita*, whereas a law deriving from *takkanah* always belongs to the category called *de-rabbanan* (see *Mishpat Ivri*). The *takkanah* in Jewish Law is akin to that part of legislation which in other legal systems is termed subordinate. The Written Torah is the constitution – the supreme legislation – of Jewish law, and in the Torah itself power is delegated to the halakhic scholars to enact *takkanot*. Similarly, in the primary legislation of other legal systems, authority is delegated to certain bodies to be subordinate legislators (e.g., to cabinet ministers by way of regulations, to municipal councils by way of by-laws, etc. – see Salmond, 12th ed., 116–124). The authority of the halakhic scholars to enact *takkanot* is said to derive from the Pentateuchal enjoinder, "According to the law which they shall teach thee and according to the judgment which they shall tell thee, thou shalt do; thou shalt not turn aside from the sentence which they shall declare unto thee, to the right hand, nor to the left" (Deut. 17:11), or, according to another opinion, to the enjoinder, "Ask thy father and he will declare unto thee, thine elders, and they will tell thee" (*ibid.*, 32:7; Shab. 23a; Yad, Mamrim 1:1–2; *Hassagot Ramban le-Sefer ha-Mitzvot*, Principle 1). The authority of the scholars to impose *gezerot* (decrees, see below) is held to have been entrusted to them in the enjoinder, "Therefore shall ye keep My charge" (Lev. 18:30), interpreted to mean, "Make a safeguard to keep My charge" (Sifra, Aḥarei Mot 10:22; Yev. 21a).

The legislative activity of the halakhic scholars is sometimes termed *takkanah* and sometimes *gezerah*. The term *gezerah* is generally applied to the determination of directives aimed at deterring man from the prohibited, at making "a fence around the Torah" – i.e., directives of a negative nature prohibiting the performance of a particular act. The term *takkanah*, on the other hand, generally refers to directives aimed at imposing a duty to perform a particular act, i.e., directives of a positive nature enjoining the doing of a particular matter (Maim., Comm. to Mishnah, Intr.). This distinction is not, however, consistently observed in the use of the two terms (see, e.g., Git. 4:2; Shab. 15b). Sometimes a *takkanah* is termed a *tenai bet din* or simply *tenai* (Ket. 4:12; BK 80b), because the *bet din* (court) circumscribes – "conditions" as it were – a particular directive in the manner of a *takkanah* and because sometimes the creation of a *takkanah* is preceded by a condition imposed between the parties to a matter. Sometimes a *takkanah* is also termed *minhag* (see RH 4:1, and cf. Tosef., RH 4:3; Beẓah 4b, etc.). The two terms share in common the factor of legislation save that in the case of *takkanah* the legislative activity is deliberate and open whereas in *minhag* it is anonymous and undirected (see **Minhag*).

Legislation in the Halakhah

Halakhic legislation generally functions with two principal objectives:

(1) to fill a lacuna in the law created in consequence of changed social and economic realities and the emergence of problems which find no answer in the existing *halakhah*; in this event the *takkanah* generally serves to add to the existing *halakhah*;

(2) to amend and vary the existing *halakhah* to the extent that this is dictated by the needs of the hour; in this event it cannot be said that the existing law fails to provide guidance but, on account of changed circumstances, the law as it stands creates difficulties of a social, economic, or moral nature, which the *takkanah* seeks to rectify and resolve.

These two objectives are pursued by legislation, whether *takkanah* or *gezerah*, in all the different fields of the *halakhah* – certain areas whereof are wholly founded on such legislation while in other areas its influence is felt to a greater or lesser degree. The latter phenomenon is largely a reflection of the extent to which it proved possible to resort to interpretation (*midrash*) for a solution to the problems that arose. In seeking the solution to a problem that arose the scholars had recourse, first and above all, to the legal source of interpretation, since by so doing the solution would be forthcoming from scriptural passages or from existing *halakhah*. Only when interpretation was not a means to a solution did the scholars resort to *takkanah* – which represented an innovation in the world of the *halakhah*. Thus a substantial part of the laws of tort, of unlawful possession (*gezelot*), and bodily injury (*ḥavalot*), originate from *midrash*, since these matters are extensively dealt with in the Torah. On the other hand, the laws of property and obligations – which are scantily dealt with in the Torah – developed mainly through the legal source of legislation. At times exegesis and legislation functioned with more or less equal efficacy in the development of a particular field of the law, as for instance in the area of family law.

The scholars dealt extensively with the question how to reconcile the aforementioned objectives of legislation with the fundamental norm of the Torah that "ye shall not add unto the word which I command you, neither shall ye diminish from it" (Deut. 4:2 and 13:1). Did not a rule derived by means of a *takkanah* or *gezerah* in some manner add to or detract from the laws of the Torah? Two of the principal answers given by the scholars to this question may be mentioned. In Solomon b. Abraham *Adret's opinion, the enjoinder against adding to or subtracting from the Torah law is directed against any addition to the precepts of the Torah on the part of an individual acting without due authority, but not against the halakhic scholars acting under the authority entrusted to them as regards the interpretation and continued creativity of the *halakhah*; that, as regards the latter, they are expressly enjoined (Deut. 17:8–11) to solve new problems, also by way of legislation, and once they have done so the individual must not depart from their enactments (Nov., Rashba, RH 16a). A different answer was given by *Maimonides, and other scholars sharing his view, in holding that the aforementioned Pentateuchal prohibition is directed against the individual as well as the halakhic scholars and the courts, and that the solution to the problem posed lies in the strict care taken by the halakhic scholars as regards their manner of exercising the legislative function. According to these scholars, the enjoinder against addition to, or subtraction from, the law of the Torah applies to circumstances in which it is sought to hold that a particular law is one which also has its origin in the Torah and is equal in standing to a law of the Torah; however, when the scholars expressly state that according to the Torah the law is so, and that they, by virtue of the authority entrusted to them, are enacting or decreeing such and such as a law of the rabbis, the matter is permissible (Yad, Mamrim 2:9; Intr. to *Mishneh Torah*) – "for 'ye shall not add' only applies to an addition to the Torah meant to be equal therewith, but making fences and restrictions is not an addition, for these are not to be equated with the Torah" (*Ramban*, Deut. 4:2). Thus in making their enactments the scholars are prohibited from acting within the sphere of primary legislation since this is the domain of Pentateuchal enactment alone, which is everlasting and stands for all time. The legislative activity of the scholars is operative only in the area of subordinate legislation, in which area they are authorized and enjoined to make enactments and decrees of a transient nature – "as a temporary measure" (*le-fi sha'ah; hora'at sha'ah*, etc.) – but not to lay down immutable directives (although this distinction is theoretical only, having regard to the very many *takkanot* which have become transformed into an integral part of the laws comprising the halakhic system and have been accepted as decided law in the Talmud and codificatory literature).

Nature of Halakhic Legislation

The basic principle underlying the legislative activities of the halakhic scholars also serves as the basis for the other legal sources of the *halakhah*, namely, that the Torah and its continuing creativity was entrusted to the authority of the halakhic scholars (*Ramban*, Deut. 17:11; see also Interpretation; **Ma'aseh*; *Authority, Rabbinical; **Sevarah*). This exclusive authority led the halakhic scholars to a complete identification with the spirit and purpose of the Torah. Such an identification at once obliged them to act with great care and responsibility in their exercise of the legislative function, while also rendering possible their enactment of daring and decisive *takkanot* when persuaded that these indeed reflected the spirit and purpose of the Torah. With the sense of responsibility of a physician, entrusted with the well-being and perfection of the *halakhah* (Yad, Mamrim 2:4), the halakhic scholars made penetrating and far-reaching statements which have become well-known maxims of the *halakhah*. An illustration is their interpretation of the verse, "It is time for the Lord to work; they have made void Thy law" (Ps. 119: 126), as meaning: "it is better that one letter of the Torah should be uprooted than that the entire Torah become forgotten to Israel" (Tem. 14b; see also Ber. 9:5, Yoma 69a, and Rashi, ad loc.); similarly, "there are times when the disregard of the Torah may be its foundation" (Men. 99a/b), and – "that he shall live by them and not die because of them" (Sanh. 74a; Yoma 85b), and so on.

No discussion concerning the measure of the scholars' legislative authority, or the determination of rules for their exercise of the legislative function, is to be found until the end of tannaitic times. The sole explanation accompanying many *takkanot* is the factual background and circumstances leading to their enactment. Thus the defilement of oil by the Greeks is the background to the *takkanah* relating to the festival of Ḥanukkah (Shab. 21b). Natural disasters and war are the background to the *takkanot* of the **agunot* ("deserted wives"; Yev. 16:7). Abstention from giving credit explains the institution of the *prosbul (Shev. 10:3–4). "For the sake of good order" (*tikkun olam*) or "for the sake of peace" (*darkhei shalom*) is the general explanation for many other *takkanot* (e.g., Git. 4:2–7; 5:3 and 8–9). When the halakhic scholars were persuaded of the need of the hour they enacted and decreed accordingly, in order that the Torah, its ways and precepts, should not become strange to the Jewish people.

Rules of Legislation

Besides the above mentioned basic principle, the *amoraim* laid down a number of rules and guidelines which determined the scope and authoritative force of the legislative activities of the halakhic scholars.

(1) ABSTENTION FROM FULFILLING A MITZVAH. The rule was established that the court may determine by *takkanah* that a (positive) precept prescribed by the law of the Torah shall not be fulfilled, i.e., that it may direct to abstain from performing an act – "sit and do not do" (*shev ve-al ta'aseh*). A commonly quoted example is the *takkanah* to abstain from blowing the *shofar* on Rosh Ha-Shanah falling on a Saturday (RH 29b, and see Yev. 89a–90b for other examples). In R. Ḥisda's opinion the court is even entitled to enact a *takkanah* which entails the uprooting (*akirah*) of a Pentateuchal prohibition, i.e., that the scholars may direct to "arise and do" (*kum va-aseh*) an act the doing whereof is prohibited in the Torah. Rava expressed a contrary opinion and the *halakhah* was decided that "the court may not make a provision uprooting a matter in the Torah by way of a direction to "arise and do." In the talmudic discussion centering on the above difference of opinion a number of exceptions to the stated rule are laid down, each of which constitutes a self-standing rule of legislation (Yev. loc. cit.).

(2) HEFKER BET DIN HEFKER. This rule lays down that in matters of the civil law (*dinei mamonot*), and in every other matter – even in the field of ritual prohibitions and permissions – which is based on the ownership of property, the scholars have authority to enact even such *takkanot* as involve the uprooting of a law of the Torah by directing to "arise and do." The scholars deduced from the passage, "and that whosoever came not within three days, according to the counsel of the princes and the elders, all his substance should be forfeited, and himself separated from the congregation of the captivity" (Ezra 10:8), that the court has authority to divest the individual of his rights of ownership in property (TJ, Shek, 1:2, 46a; TJ Pe'ah 5:1, 8d). This authority was interpreted to extend not merely to a divestment of proprietary rights but also to the transfer of such rights to new owners of the same property – a conclusion based also on Joshua 19:51 (Yev. 89b; Nov. Rashba, Git, 36b). The principle was the basis for the enactment of very many *takkanot* in different fields of civil law – property, tort, succession, and wills – in terms whereof the ownership of property due to a person according to the law of the Torah was shorn from the latter and vested in favor of another. Thus by virtue of the rule of *hefker bet din hefker* the scholars enacted that a woman validly married in accordance with *derabbanan* enactment, but not the strict law, is inherited by her surviving husband – thereby divesting her father's kin, her legal heirs under the strict law in the absence of a valid marriage, of their ownership of the estate in favor of the husband (Yev. loc. cit.). This is likewise the explanation for the validity of all those modes of *acquisition instituted in the enactments of the scholars. According to the strict law such a mode of acquisition would not avail to extinguish the transferor's title, but the scholars enacted that ownership should nevertheless pass to the transferee by the use of such mode – the authority for such a transfer of ownership deriving from the rule of *hefker bet din hefker*.

This rule is also the basis on which the *amoraim* explained the institution of the prosbul. The Torah enjoins the remission (*shemittah*) of monetary debts in the seventh year, forbids the lender from claiming his debt thereafter, and expressly adjures him not to refrain from lending money for fear that the debt will be wiped out in the seventh year (Deut. 15:1–6). Hillel the Elder, when he saw that the people transgressed the law by refraining from lending to each other, enacted that the lender should write out a prosbul, whereupon the debt would not be wiped out in the seventh year and the lender remain entitled to recover it even thereafter (Shev. 10:3–4). In the Talmud it is asked how it was possible for Hillel to enact a *takkanah* contravening a law of the Torah by prescribing permission to do that which was prohibited. One of the given answers is that Hillel had authority to ordain thus by virtue of the rule of *hefker bet din hefker*, that is the scholars laid down that the money of the debt in the ownership of the borrower passes into the ownership of the lender so that the question of claiming a debt exposed to the Sabbatical year does not arise because the lender seeks to do no more than claim money of which he has already acquired ownership (Git. 36b, *Rashi* and Nov. Rashba thereto). The latter example is an illustration of the use of the said rule in relation to a matter of ritual prohibition – i.e., the lender's claim for the money – based on the factor of property ownership. Another example of a *takkanah* of this kind is the annulment of a woman's marriage in certain circumstances on the basis of a retrospective change in the husband's ownership of the *kiddushin* ("marriage") money (see *Marriage; Yev. 90b and *Rashi* ad loc.; BB 48b and *Rashbam* ad loc.).

(3) IN CRIMINAL LAW. The halakhic scholars are entitled to enact *takkanot* in the area of the criminal law even though they involve the uprooting of a law of the Torah by way of "arise and do," when this need is dictated by the exigencies of the time, that is when such enactment amounts, in the words of the Babylonian *amoraim*, to making a safeguard for the Torah (*migdar milta*). The rule is transmitted in the name of Eleazar b. Jacob: "I have heard that the *bet din* imposes flogging and punishment not prescribed in the Torah (*bet din makkin ve-onshin she-lo min ha-Torah*); not to transgress the law of the Torah but to make a fence for the Torah" (Yev. loc. cit.; Sanh. 46a). By virtue of this rule it was held permissible to lay down punishment by *flogging, and even the capital sentence, when rendered necessary by the prevailing social and moral realities (Sanh. loc. cit.). This was so despite the fact that the Torah law prohibits the flogging of any person for whom such punishment was not reserved (Yad, Sanhedrin 16:12) and that certainly it is prohibited to kill a person not liable to the death sentence according to Torah law since it involves a transgression of "Thou shalt not murder" (Radbaz, Mamrim 2:4). Thus in terms of this rule there were prescribed special punishments (such as incarceration – Sanh. 9:5; see *imprisonment) and procedural rules (for instance, admitting circumstantial evidence and dispensing with the need for prior warning – see TJ Ḥag. 2:2, 78a), when this was necessary for the preservation of good order and the public weal. This legislative guideline served the halakhic scholars throughout the ages as a valuable means toward the ordering of Jewish society. It was instrumental in the development – insofar as the judicial autonomy extended to the different Jewish centers allowed for it – of a proliferous legislation in different fields of the Jewish criminal law and procedure answering the social needs of the time (see, e.g., the statements of Judah b. Asher in *Zikhron Yehudah*, no. 79). At the same time the scholars stressed the need to guard, in the exercise of such wide legislative authority, against doing undue injury to man's image and dignity: "all these matters apply to the extent that the *dayyan* shall find them proper in the particular case and necessitated by the prevailing circumstances; in all matters he shall act for the sake of Heaven and he shall not lightly regard the dignity of man…" (Yad, Sanhedrin 24:10; see also Resp. Rashba, vol. 5, no. 238).

(4) EMERGENCY MEASURES TO RESTORE THE PEOPLE TO THE FAITH. This legislatory guideline, operative also in the area of ritual prohibitions and permissions even as regards enactments involving the uprooting of a law of the Torah by directing to "arise and do," is derived from the act of Elijah in offering a sacrifice on the Mount of Carmel in order to bring back the people from the worship of Baal to worship of the Lord (I Kings 18:19–46), notwithstanding that the Torah prohibits such sacrificial offerings except at the Temple in Jerusalem and that sacrificial slaughter elsewhere is a transgression of two Pentateuchal prohibitions (Yev. 90b, *Rashi* and Tos. ad loc.). Legislative authority of this kind is summarized by Maimonides as follows (Yad, Mamrim 2:4): "And if they (the *bet din*) have seen fit for the time being to abrogate a positive precept or to transgress a negative precept so as to bring back the public to worship of the faith, or to save many in Israel from stumbling in other matters – they do according to the need of the hour. Just as the physician severs a person's hand, or foot, so that he shall survive at all, so the *bet din* at times instructs temporarily to transgress some of the precepts in order that all of them shall be fulfilled, as it was laid down by the early scholars (Yoma 85b); 'Profane on his account one Sabbath so that many Sabbaths shall be observed.'"

(5) ENACTMENTS FOR WHICH "THERE IS REASON AND JUSTIFICATION" (IN MATTERS OF RITUAL PERMISSIONS AND PROHIBITIONS). A study of the rabbinical enactments reveals that the rules of legislation enumerated above do not exhaust the full measure of the halakhic scholars' legislative authority. From time to time there is found a *takkanah* which the former were unable to relate to any of the stated rules and they explained them on special legal and social grounds. Classic examples thereof are the *takkanot* of the *agunot* ("deserted wives") – some of the most important *takkanot* in Jewish law, from the aspect both of their social and humanitarian implications and of the conclusions deriving therefrom as regards the substance of legislation in the *halakhah*. The *takkanot* concern the matter of a married woman whose husband is missing and cannot be traced, and there is lacking sufficient evidence as required by the Torah – two witnesses at least (Deut. 19:15; Git. 26) – to establish the husband's death, so as to permit her to remarry. In ancient times this legal situation

had already created many practical difficulties since it happened more than once that a married man lost his life in circumstances of natural disaster or war but the fact could not be confirmed by the testimony of two witnesses, thus leaving the wife an *agunah* for the rest of her life. The halakhic scholars sought the answer to the problem by resorting to the different legal sources of the *halakhah*, above all through institution of a series of *takkanot*.

The earliest of the series appears to be the one laying down that the wife is believed – and permitted to remarry – if after having gone abroad with her husband she returns alone and declares his death (Yev. 15:1; Eduy. 1:12). Quoted as the factual background to the enactment of this *takkanah* is the case of a woman who returned reporting the death of her husband, it being mentioned that the court investigated the facts finding her report to be true (Yev. and Eduy. *ibid.*; Yev. 116b and Tos.). This *takkanah* failed to meet the existing exigencies, since often, and particularly in times of war, the wife did not accompany her husband and therefore was not in a position to testify to the circumstances of his death. Hence a further *takkanah* was enacted – dating to the time of Gamaliel the Elder in the first half of the first century C.E. – prescribing the testimony of a single witness to the husband's death to suffice in order to permit the wife's remarriage. This *takkanah* apparently was not generally accepted, and even two generations later – in the time of Gamaliel of Jabneh, grandson of Gamaliel the Elder – the *tannaim* were still divided on the matter of permitting the wife's remarriage on the testimony of a single witness to her husband's death. Yet the increasing number of *agunot* left behind by the frequent wars led in the end to the general acceptance of this *takkanah* (Yev. 16:7; Eduy. 6:1 and 8:5).

The *amoraim* were much occupied with the legal substantiation of these *takkanot* which directed to "arise and do" in disregard of the law of the Torah on a matter of ritual prohibition – by permitting a woman, regarded in strict law as still married to her first husband, to marry another. The general explanation of the *amoraim* is that the rabbis relaxed the law in favor of an *agunah* (Yev. 88a). The legal explanations offered are that a woman is presumed to be careful herself to make sure that her husband is dead before remarrying (Yev. 25a; 93b; 115a; 116b), and that it need not be feared that people will lie about a matter the truth whereof is bound to be discovered (*ibid.*). These explanations nevertheless do not suffice in themselves to render permissible the remarriage of an *agunah*, i.e., in accordance with the law of the Torah. The halakhic reason given for the authority of the scholars to so enact concerning *agunot* is this: "For even if the scholars lack authority to uproot a law of the Torah by way of 'arise and do' – certainly all agree that there is such authority to uproot when there is reason and justification for the matter" (Tos. to Naz. 43b; Tos. to Yev. 88a; some of the *rishonim* base their explanation of the *takkanah* on the principle that anyone who married does so subject to the consent of the scholars and the scholars annulled the marriage of a missing husband (see below), but this does not appear to be correct in view of the opinion that the *agunah* who has remarried must be divorced from her second husband if the first should appear – Rashba, quoted in *Shitah Mekubbeẓet*, Ket. 3a). The laws concerning *agunot* were added to in many other enactments. In tannaitic times, and later in amoraic and post-talmudic times, numerous other relaxations of the law were laid down, such as the admission of hearsay evidence, of the testimony of various kinds of disqualified witnesses, and so on (Yev. 16:6–7; Tosef., Yev. 14:7–8; TJ, Yev. 16:1. 15c; RH 22a and Codes; see also **agunah*) – "so that the daughters of Israel shall not remain fettered (*agunot*)" (Yad, Gerushin 13:29; for further instances of *takkanot* of this kind, see Av. Zar. 13a and Tos. thereto; Yad, Nedarim 3:9 and *Kesef Mishneh* thereto).

Role of the Public

The main legislative factor in Jewish law is the authority exercised by the courts and the halakhic scholars in all succeeding generations. Another factor is the legislative authority of the public and its representatives. The source of legislative authority exercised by other than halakhic scholars is to be found in the powers conferred on the king (Deut. 17:14–20; I Sam. 8; see also *Ramban*, Lev. 27:29), which, among others, embrace also legislative activity in different fields of civil and criminal law (Sanh. 20b; Yad, Melakhim, 3 and 4; Gezelah, 5:9–18, Roẓe'aḥ 2:4, Sanhedrin 4:2, and 18:6; see also **Mishpat Ivri*). The earliest manifestations of legislative activity on the part of the public and its representatives are to be found in ancient *halakhot* relating to "the townspeople" (*benei ha-ir*). With the rise of the Jewish community from the tenth century onward and the enactment of *Takkanot ha-Kahal*, this legislative activity became a factor of wide scope and importance in Jewish law. Its field of operation extended to the residents of a particular community or federation of communities, or particular districts, and it functioned in the areas of civil, criminal, and public law, but not in that of ritual prohibitions and permissions.

It is true that the public also exercises a decisive influence on legislation emanating from the halakhic scholars. However, in this case the influence is exercised after the legislative act, whereas in the case of communal enactments – and legislation in other legal systems – the public initiative precedes the legislative act. This conception finds expression in the two Talmuds in different versions: in the Babylonian Talmud – "no decree (*gezerah*) is imposed on the public unless the majority is able to abide thereby" (Av. Zar. 36a); in the Jerusalem Talmud (Av. Zar. 2:9, 41d) – "any decree (*gezerah*) which is imposed by the *bet din* and not taken upon themselves by the majority of the public is not a decree." In a combination of the two versions the principle is summarized by Maimonides thus: "A court which sees fit to institute a decree or enact a *takkanah* or introduce a practice must consider the matter and know beforehand whether or not the public is able to abide thereby… If the court has instituted a decree believing the majority of the public able to abide thereby, and thereafter it is found to be scorned by the people and not followed by a majority of the public – it will be void, and it will not be permissible to compel the people to its observance" (Mamrim 2:5–6, and see commentaries thereto).

Annulment of Takkanot

In the Mishnah the rule was laid down that "one *bet din* may not overrule the statements of another unless it exceeds the other in wisdom and number" (Eduy. 1:5). This rule was construed as applying to a court in its exercise of the legislative function, but in its exercise of the interpretative function the second court has authority to arrive at a different conclusion through an alternative interpretation of a biblical passage or ancient *halakhah* (Yad, Mamrim 2:1). However, a number of exceptions were laid down in terms whereof one court may annul the *takkanah* of an earlier court even though lacking the attributes specified in the above rule. The main exceptions are the following:

(1) if at the time of making its enactment the court expressly prescribed that it could be annulled by any court wishing to do so (Ma'as. Sh. 5:2; MK 3b; see also Tos. to BK 82b);

(2) when an enactment believed to have spread among all of Jewry is later found not to have spread among the majority of the Jewish people (Yad, Mamrim 2:7);

(3) when the original reason and justification for the enactment have ceased to be valid (Beẓah 5a/b; *Hassagot Rabad* on Yad, Mamrim 2:2; *Rashi* and *Beit ha-Beḥirah*, cf. the contrary opinion of Maimonides, loc. cit.).

The rule precluding one court from overruling another has the effect of lending the enactments of the scholars a stability and validity equaling, but not exceeding, that of the laws of the Torah itself. Hence, all the rules and guidelines concerning the authority of the halakhic scholars as regards legislating in connection with a law of the Torah obviously apply also as regards their authority to legislate in connection with a rule originating from earlier enactment by the halakhic scholars: "And if circumstances require it is seeming for the *bet din* to uproot even such matters (enactments and decrees of other courts) – even though it be of lower standing than the earlier (*battei din*) – so that such decrees shall not be of greater stringency than the laws of the Torah itself, since even the latter may be uprooted by any *bet din* as an emergency measure" (Yad, Mamrim 2:4).

Takkanot until the End of the Tannaitic Period

Jewish law has experienced legislative activity in all periods of its history, although in varying degrees of intensity. It should be stressed that the actual number of laws originating from legislative activity by the scholars greatly exceeds the number of laws expressly stated to have been derived from *takkanah*. When a particular law is quoted without designation of its legal source, it is only rarely possible to ascertain such a source – by comparing the statement of the same law in other literary sources – and it may reasonably be assumed that *takkanah* is the legal source of a substantial proportion of such laws. It is possible that even laws construed by way of *midrash Torah* (Bible exegesis) had their creative source in *takkanah*, and that such *midrash* served only to integrate such laws with the relevant Pentateuchal passages (see *Interpretation). Sometimes the halakhic scholars themselves mentioned this possibility (see, e.g., TJ, Shev. 10:1–2, 39b, c, concerning the prosbul); at other times it may be gathered from comparison with other sources dealing with the same subject matter. It is likewise possible that laws presented as having their legal source in *minhag, ma'aseh* or *sevarah* may have had their original source in *takkanah*.

(1) IN THE SCRIPTURAL PERIOD. Talmudic tradition attributes various *takkanot* to most ancient times, for instance to the Patriarchs (their institution of prayers – Ber. 26b); to Moses and Joshua (various enactments concerning relations between the individual and the public in matters of property – BK 80b–81b and cf. Joshua 24:25); to Samuel, Boaz, David, Solomon, Jehoshaphat, Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi, and others. Certain *takkanot* are expressly designated in the Books of the Prophets and the Writings (see, e.g., the ordinance of King David in the area of military law – I Sam. 30:24–25).

(2) THE KENESET HA-GEDOLAH ("GREAT ASSEMBLY"). One of the principal tasks of the men of the Great Assembly was to make legislation "… and make a fence around the Torah" (Avot 1:1). Talmudic tradition attributes to the times of Keneset ha-Gedolah numerous *takkanot* in different fields of *halakhah* – benedictions and prayers (Ber. 33a; BB 15a), family law (incest in the second degree – Yev. 2:4; Yev. 21a). *Takkanot* pertaining to procedural rules and other fields of the *halakhah* are attributed to Ezra the Scribe (BK 82a; TJ, Meg. 4:1, 75a).

(3) THE SANHEDRIN AND THE PERIOD OF THE TANNAIM. The Great *Sanhedrin fulfilled the function of a legislative body. The *takkanot* it enacted in the Temple period, as well as those enacted by the **nasi* and his *bet din* after the destruction of the Temple, are of material importance and served to prescribe the modes for the development of the *halakhah*, fashioning its character and evolutionary path for generations to come. A very substantial part of these *takkanot* are embraced in the different fields of Jewish law – civil, criminal, and public. The overwhelming majority of the *takkanot* of the Sanhedrin have come down anonymously, having been ordained by the Sanhedrin as a legislative body. In restricted cases the name of the halakhic scholar heading the Sanhedrin is recalled – for instance Simeon b. Shetaḥ (in *takkanot* concerning family and criminal law, etc. – Shab. 14b–16b; Ket. 82b; TJ, Ket. 8:11, 32c), Hillel the Elder (concerning the prosbul – see above, and others), Gamaliel the Elder (particularly in the area of family law – Git. 4:2–3, and concerning the *agunot*, see above), Johanan b. Zakkai, Gamaliel of Jabneh, and so on. The aforementioned *takkanot* were also enacted by the Sanhedrin as a body, but they have been traditionally transmitted in the name of the contemporary head of this body. Around the middle of the second century the Sanhedrin sitting at Usha in Galilee enacted a number of *takkanot* known as the "*Takkanot Usha*." This was a time of warfare and hardship following on the decrees of the emperor Hadrian,

and it brought in its train a certain disintegration of family life. A large number of the Usha *takkanot* are concerned with the determination of different family law directives in the area of rights and obligations between spouses and between parent and child (Ket. 49bf.; BK 88b; BB 139b). There are also *takkanot* dating from the end of the tannaitic period attributed to particular scholars, such as Yose b. Ḥalafta of Sepphoris and Judah ha-Nasi.

A decisive majority of the *takkanot* known to have been enacted until the end of tannaitic times have not come down in the names of the bodies or scholars who enacted them. Consequently it is difficult, as regards a large proportion of the *takkanot*, to establish their exact stage of enactment during this long and significant period. These anonymous *takkanot* embrace whole areas of Jewish law, such as family law, property and obligations, labor law, tort, procedure and evidence – in which fields the directives thus laid down constitute basic principles of the aforesaid legal system (see Bloch, bibliography).

In the Amoraic Period

In addition to the already mentioned rules of legislation laid down by the *amoraim*, in which they circumscribed the legislative authority of the halakhic scholars, they also enacted many *takkanot* in all fields of the *halakhah*, laying down additional legislative guidelines in this connection. An illustration is their adoption of the enjoinder to "do that which is right and good" (Deut. 6:17–18) as a legislative guideline decreeing the need, at times, to supplement the law – "His testimonies and His statutes" (*ibid.*) – through the enactment of directives answering the demands of social and economic justice (cf. Ramban, Deut. 6:18). On this principle the *amoraim* based their institution of the law of the abutter's preemptive right (BM 108a), which gives the abutter the right of not only preempting neighboring land put up for sale, but also of claiming such land from a third party purchaser in return for the amount paid by the latter to the seller; "…even if the purchaser is a scholar or a neighbor or relative of the seller and the abutter is an ignorant person and not related to the seller, the latter nevertheless takes priority and evicts the purchaser; this because it is said, 'thou shalt do that which is right and good' and the scholars have held that since the sale is the same, it is right and good that the owner of the abutting land rather than an outsider should buy this place" (Yad, Shekhenim 12:5). It was laid down that for the very reason of doing "right and good," constituting the foundation of the abutter's right, the latter right is not available in certain cases. This applies, for instance, when the purchaser is an orphan – "because greater right and good is done by kindness to these rather than the abutter" – or a woman – because she is not in the habit of constantly exerting herself to buy and therefore once she has bought the land, it is a kindness to let the land remain with her" (Yad, Shekhenim 12:13–14, based on BM *ibid.*). The principle of "right and good" is also the basis of the *takkanah* (concerning matters of *execution (civil)) laying down that property assessed in satisfaction of a debt is always returnable to the debtor against payment (BM 35a; Yad, Malveh 22:15–16).

Another legislative principle of the *amoraim* is that stated by them in matters of marriage and divorce that "a man who marries a woman does so subject to the conditions laid down by the rabbis and his marriage is annulled by the rabbis." The meaning of this is that since every marriage takes place according to "the law of Moses and Israel," it takes place subject to the consent of the scholars who laid down the relevant laws and therefore the scholars have the power, in circumstances deemed proper, to annul the marriage and hold it to have been invalid *ab initio.* The *amoraim* relied on this principle in explaining an earlier *takkanah* of Gamaliel the Elder. According to the strict law, the husband who dispatches a bill of divorcement to his wife may cancel it any time before actual delivery thereof to the wife – it being permissible for him to do so before the court even in the absence of his wife. However, Gamaliel the Elder enacted, "for the general good," that there should be no cancellation of the *get* ("bill of divorcement") in the wife's absence (Git. 4:1–2), because the wife might receive the bill without learning of its cancellation and perhaps marry again, at a time when she is in fact still a married woman so that the children of her second marriage will be *mamzerim* (Get. 33a). Simeon b. Gamaliel held the husband's act of canceling a *get* in the wife's absence contrary to the *takkanah* of R. Gamaliel to be ineffective, i.e., that the divorce is valid and the wife free to remarry. In the talmudic discussion on the matter it is asked how the scholars could possibly rule that a *get* ineffective according to the strict law (because of its valid cancellation as aforesaid) should nevertheless be effective and thereby render the wife free to remarry. In answer to this question it was stated that "a man who marries a woman does so subject to the conditions laid down by the rabbis, and his marriage is annulled by the rabbis" – i.e., since in such case the husband has disregarded the enactments of the scholars by canceling the *get* contrary to their directives, therefore they retrospectively annul the *kiddushin* so as to obviate any need at all for the wife to receive a *get* (Git. loc. cit.). Basing themselves on this principle the scholars laid down various rules in the area of marriage and divorce (see, e.g., Ket. 2b–3a) and even, in a case involving no question of a prior *get*, annulled the *kiddushin* celebrated between a man and a woman forcefully "snatched" by him (Yev. 110a).

In the Geonic Period

In geonic times Jewish life in Babylonia was overtaken by significant social and economic changes. The central authorities imposed heavy taxes on land held by Jews, often even expropriating such land, with the result that cultivation was steadily abandoned by Jews in favor of commerce and the trades. This in turn gave rise to many new problems in different fields of Jewish law, the answers to which – when they were not forthcoming by way of interpretation – were found by the *geonim* through resorting to the legal source of *takkanah*. Thus the *geonim* enacted that a debt is recoverable out of the debtor's personal as well as his real estate – contrary to the talmudic law that it is recoverable out of the real estate only, "since here most of the people (i.e., Jews) have no land and the later scholars made a *takkanah* so that the door should not be bolted before borrowers" (*Ḥemdah Genuzah*, no. 65). With the development of commercial life it was found expedient to enact a *takkanah* creating the possibility of the plaintiff's giving a power of attorney extending to litigation with the defendant on all manner of claims – a possibility which is restricted under the talmudic law (Yad, Sheluḥin 3:7). Many other *takkanot* were enacted in different fields of the law, such as property, obligations, family law, evidence, and civil execution (for particulars see Tykocinski and Schipansky, bibliography, see also *Execution (civil)). In the geonic period there was expressed a solitary opinion – the first recorded – casting doubt on the authority of the post-talmudic halakhic scholars to make enactments expressly contrary to the existing law on matters affecting the validity of a marriage or divorce. This was in connection with the *takkanah* enacted at the beginning of the tenth century by Judah Gaon, requiring the *kiddushin* ceremony to be performed in public along with the recital of the *erusin* ("betrothal") benediction (see *Marriage) and signing of the *ketubbah* ("marriage deed") by witness. The enactment was designed to avoid the doubtful validity of marriages which were hastily contracted on festive occasions by placing a ring on the woman's finger with the object of *kiddushin*. This *takkanah* quoted the amoraic principle that a marriage takes place subject to the conditions laid down by the rabbis (see above), in laying down that a marriage not celebrated in the manner prescribed by the *takkanah* need not give rise to any apprehension (of possibly being valid), since any such marriage contradicted the requirements of the contemporary scholars. Against this sanction there is recorded the aforementioned solitary opinion holding that the authority of the scholars to annul a marriage by virtue of the principle stated by the *amoraim* is confined solely to those cases mentioned in the Talmud (see Freimann, bibliography, p. 20).

A like opinion was expressed in the 12th century by Jacob Tam. In an early geonic *takkanah* it had been laid down, contrary to the talmudic *halakhah*, that the husband could be compelled to give his wife an immediate *get* when the latter claimed such on a plea of *ma'us alai* ("he is repulsive to me"). The background to this *takkanah* was caused by the socio-moral realities of the time, since the wife would invoke the aid of the gentile courts toward compelling her husband to grant her a *get* the effect whereof was to render such a divorce invalid in Jewish law as an unlawful *get me'usseh* ("coerced" *get* – i.e., not falling within one of the halakhically recognized cases of *get* by coercion, see *Divorce). The *geonim* consequently enacted that the case of *ma'us alai* should also be included among the cases of lawful *get* by coercion. R. Tam negated the validity of this *takkanah* because, in his opinion, no authority had been carried over to the post-talmudic scholars to enact a *takkanah* serving to validate a *get* invalid according to talmudic *halakhah*, the post-talmudic legislative authority in the area of family law being confined solely to the pecuniary aspects such as the manner of recovering the *ketubbah* and the like (*Sefer ha-Yashar*, Resp. no. 24). However, the majority of the other *rishonim* – including Naḥmanides and Asher b. Jehiel – did not question the stated legislative authority in matters of marriage and divorce as a matter of principle. They held the *geonim* to have relied on the principle that a marriage is subject to the requirements of the halakhic scholars and the latter consented to annul a marriage on a plea of *ma'us alai* (Resp. Rosh, 43:8). Yet the former too were opposed to applying the above *takkanah* in their own times – but for different reasons. The special background giving rise to enactment of the *takkanah* by the *geonim* had ceased to exist, and its application had not spread among the majority of the Jewish people (Nov. Ramban (Rashba), Ket. 63; Resp. Rosh loc. cit.; cf. also Yad, Ishut 14:8).

In Post-Geonic Times

A material change in the historical reality of the Jewish dispersion asserted itself from the tenth century onward. A Diaspora had existed even in most ancient times, but there had always been one predominant Jewish center exercising spiritual hegemony over all the other centers of Jewish life. Its first location was Ereẓ Israel. Afterward Babylonia enjoyed this standing until the close of the geonic period. The close of this period saw the decline of the Babylonian Jewish center with no other center assuming its predominant influence. Instead there had come into being, and there continued to develop, a number of small centers existing and functioning alongside each other. Beside the North African Jewish centers there arose in the course of time centers of Jewish life in Spain, Germany, France, Italy, Turkey, the Balkan countries, Poland, Lithuania, and elsewhere. From time to time outstanding scholars were still able, by force of their personal standing and influence, to link one center with another or more, but there was no longer one single center recognized by all the others as exercising authoritative influence. This new historical reality found expression in different fields of Jewish life, also as regards the substantive nature of law-making in the *halakhah*. Whereas legislation until this time – whether in Ereẓ Israel or in Babylonia – had enjoyed a national dimension as being applicable to the whole of the Jewish people, it was now to assume a local character and extend only to the particular center of activity of the halakhic scholar or court enacting the *takkanah*. This phenomenon is classically illustrated through the well-known *takkanah* of R. Gershom b. Judah (and see below), prohibiting polygamy (see *Bigamy), which although introducing a decisive change in Jewish family law was not accepted – until comparatively recent times – in a number of sizeable Oriental Jewish centers. The post-geonic enactments, despite their local character, nevertheless became, like the decree of R. Gershom, an integral part of the overall system of Jewish law. This body of local legislation is at the same time indicative of the vitality of Jewish law, of its sensitivity and adaptation to the changing needs of the place and hour. This too can be learned from the enactment of R. Gershom, which was influenced by the prevailing conditions in Germany and the surrounding countries and the fact that in these countries polygamy was prohibited under the general law, whereas the prevailing conditions and outlook in the Muslim countries of the East were different, and there polygamy was a customary and lawful practice. Another material phenomenon in post-geonic Jewish legislation was the gradual consolidation of the view that the legal source of *takkanah* should not be resorted to in order to affect, in any manner contrary to the existing *halakhah*, the validity of a marriage or divorce. The already mentioned isolated opinions to this effect were reinforced, from the 14th century onward, by numerous other opinions holding that the operation of the guiding principle stated by the *amoraim* (on marriage subject to rabbinical requirements and its retrospective annulment) should be confined to the cases of its application in talmudic times. Also, this phenomenon is largely attributed to the fact that the *takkanot* of this period were of a local character, obliging only a limited and defined public, a fact fostering the apprehension that this sensitive area of Jewish family law might come to be governed by many different laws lacking in uniformity.

Legislation in Different Centers

Commencing from the 11th century it is possible to distinguish two main legislative directions in Jewish law:

(a) legislation invested with halakhic authority, i.e., enactments by the courts or halakhic scholars; and

(b) legislation by the public, i.e., communal enactments (*Takkanot ha-Kahal*).

Often there was close cooperation between the two legislative bodies – the halakhic scholars and the public – and many *takkanot* were jointly enacted by them. This was a natural and understandable phenomenon considering that Jewry as a whole represented a traditional society which looked upon the *halakhah* as the supreme value governing its way of life.

A brief outline of legislative activity on the part of the two stated bodies, acting either separately or in cooperation, is given below.

(1) IN GERMANY AND FRANCE. Among the earliest *takkanot* enacted in the above centers are those of the late 10th- and early 11th-century German scholar, Rabbenu Gershom b. Judah – known as the "Light of the Exile" (*Me'or ha-Golah*), because "he brought light to the eyes of the exile through his enactments." To him are attributed many *takkanot* which have left a lasting imprint on Jewish law, particularly in the area of family law. Whether all the *takkanot* attributed to R. Gershom were in fact enacted by him is a matter of dispute among research scholars. The prevailing opinion is that at least two of these, both of substantive importance, were indeed enacted by him. One is the *takkanah* prohibiting a married man from taking another wife. In talmudic times it had already been hinted that polygamy was an undesirable phenomenon in Jewish life, and some scholars of this period even made the husband's right to take a second wife conditional on the consent of his first wife. However, the prohibition of polygamy as a matter of law was first instituted by R. Gershom – on pain of ban, hence the *Ḥerem de-Rabbenu Gershom*, by which name the *takkanah* is known. In so doing he put the stamp of monogamy on the Jewish family save, as already mentioned, in certain Oriental communities where the *takkanah* was not accepted. The second *takkanah* is that in which R. Gershom, contrary to the ancient *halakhah*, prohibited the husband from divorcing the wife against her will.

Some time after R. Gershom's death there were enacted various *takkanot* which are attributed to Rashi. Later, in the 12th century, two great rabbinical conferences took place in Troyes, each headed by Rabbenu Tam (the first also by his brother, Samuel b. Meir (Rashbam)) – at which were enacted important *takkanot* in different fields of Jewish law. At the commencement of the 13th century the outstanding scholars of the generation participated in a number of *synods held in Germany at which were again promulgated *takkanot* on matters of basic principle in different areas of the law. These *takkanot*, known as the "*Takkanot Shum*" (שו"ם = Speyer, Worms, Mainz), were accepted by all the Jewish communities of France and Germany, and later also by those of Poland and other Eastern European countries. Thereafter many more *takkanot* were enacted at various other synods, for instance, at Mainz toward the end of the 14th century, and by individual scholars – among others Meir of Rothenburg and Perez of Corbeil in the 13th century, Jacob Weil and Israel Bruna in the 15th century, and others. Various *takkanot* were also enacted by the great synod at Frankfurt at the beginning of the 17th century, the last of its kind held in Germany. From then on Poland replaced Germany as the main center of Ashkenazi Jewry.

(2) IN SPAIN, ITALY, ETC. From the 11th to the 13th centuries legislative activity in the Spanish Jewish center was mainly initiated by the outstanding contemporary scholars or by individual communities, and not – for various political and social reasons – at inter-regional or wider synods as with Ashkenazi Jewry (see Finkelstein, bibliography, pp. 99ff.). The *takkanot* thus enacted also laid down important matters of principle, and among others may be mentioned those of Toledo and Molina relating to family law. Toward the middle of the 14th century numerous *takkanot* were adopted at a conference attended – apparently in Barcelona – by representatives of the communities in Aragon. A complete collection of *takkanot* resulted from a conference of Castilian communal representatives held at Valladolid in 1432, initiated and headed by the Castilian court rabbi, Don Abraham Benveniste. The collection is divided into five parts, approximately one-half consisting of *takkanot* having an important bearing on different legal matters. Extant too is a collection of *takkanot* of the Spanish exiles in Fez, North Africa, enacted during the period from the end of the 15th century until the end of the 17th century in connection with different aspects of Jewish law (the collection is to be found in *Kerem Ḥamar*, vol. 2).

In Italy many *takkanot* were enacted at different national Jewish conferences called during the 15th century (Forli, Florence, etc.) and the 16th (Ferrara). *Takkanot* were also enacted in other smaller centers such as Crete (see Artom and Cassuto, bibliography), Corfu (see Finkelstein, bibliography, p. 96), and others.

(3) IN POLAND, LITHUANIA, ETC. Toward the end of the 16th century there came into being the Council of Four Lands (*Va'ad Arba Araẓot*; see *Councils of the Lands), the central communal and legislative body of the Polish Jewish center for some 200 years (for details, see Halpern, Pinkas, bibliography). The meetings of the council were attended by delegates and leading scholars representing the Jewish communities in each of the participating regions or lands. As such the Council was, among its other functions, the supreme legislative body of Jewish autonomy in Poland.

The central body of Jewish autonomy in Lithuania was the *Va'ad Medinat Lita*, from early in the 17th century. Whereas very few of the *takkanot* of the Polish council are extant, there has come down a full collection of *takkanot* of the *Va'ad Medinat Lita*, covering the period from 1623 to 1761 and constituting a detailed repository of laws and decisions embracing the different fields of Jewish law (see Dubnow, bibliography). A similar central body of Jewish autonomy, though of smaller scope compared with the other two, was that representing the Jewish communities of Moravia. This body too engaged in a ramified legislative activity of which there is extant a collection of *takkanot* over the period 1650–1748 (see Halpern, bibl.).

Over and above the aforementioned central legislation, there was also legislative activity on the part of the local courts and individual communities (inter alia, the *takkanot* of the communities of Cracow, Nikolsburg (Mikulov), Tiktin (Tykocin), etc., see, e.g., M. Elon, *Ḥerut ha-Perat*… (1964), 280). Much of this great mass of material is scattered, and recalled in various ways, in the different branches of halakhic literature, particularly in the literature of the *responsa and in historical material. In this connection it may be mentioned that special attention to this matter is devoted in the indices to the responsa literature published by the Hebrew University's Institute for Research in Jewish Law.

Post-Geonic Legislation in Family Law

(1) DIFFERENT BRANCHES OF THE LAW. The post-geonic legislative activity comprehended the civil law, family law and succession, administrative law, and evidence and procedure. There was also wide legislative activity, though in lesser measure, in criminal law, its scope having greatly depended on the measure of judicial autonomy enjoyed by the different communities in criminal matters. (For particulars of enactments in various branches of the law, see bibliography, and see under the relevant branch as enumerated in the article *Mishpat Ivri*.)

(2) SPECIAL TREND IN FAMILY AND SUCCESSION LAW. Legislation in the area of family and succession law reflects a special trend. On the one hand a very wide legislative activity is evidenced as regards the pecuniary aspects of these legal branches, including the enactment of *takkanot* contradicting existing law. On the other, scholars came to restrict authority to make enactments contradicting existing law on matters affecting the validity of a marriage or divorce.

The position is illustrated in the following examples: according to talmudic law the husband inherits his wife's entire estate in preference to all other heirs. In answer to the prevailing social realities in different centers, the husband's rights to his deceased wife's estate were restricted in a long series of *takkanot* of Troyes. The "*takkanot Shum*" (see above) laid down that the property brought by the wife at the time of her marriage should be returned by her husband to the person who gave her the property, or to her heirs, in the event of her dying childless within a year of the marriage – if within the second year, the husband to return half of such property. In the Spanish *takkanot*, as expressed in the *takkanot* of Toledo and Molina, the husband's right was restricted to one-half of the estate of his deceased wife, regardless of how long after the marriage she died, the other half to go to the children of the marriage – and if none, to the wife's relatives. In dealing with the substance of these *takkanot* Simeon b. Ẓemaḥ Duran held as follows; "By this *takkanah* the husband's right of inheritance, which is *de-oraita*, is infringed, yet they are entitled to do so for it is found that the scholars instituted the *ketubbat banin dikhrin* [Ket. 52b; see *Succession], so as to encourage a person to give to his daughter as to his son, and since it has been the custom to be generous in giving a dowry, they made the enactment infringing somewhat the husband's right of inheritance" (*Tashbeẓ* 2:292).

A different trend is evidenced as regards legislative authority to annul a marriage. By the commencement of the rabbinical period some scholars held that the principle, already mentioned, of the authority of the scholars of the talmudic period to annul a marriage should not be applied in relation to a marriage valid according to the talmudic law but not conforming to requirements laid down by the scholars in post-talmudic times: "if the rabbis (in the talmudic period) had authority to annul a marriage, we for our part have no authority to do so" (opinion of the Mainz scholars, see *Raban* (= *Even ha-Ezer*), part 3, p. 47; see also the opinion of R. Tam, above). However, the majority of the scholars held that the post-talmudic scholars also enjoyed such authority (opinion of the scholars of Worms and Speyer, see *Raban*, loc. cit., see also the opinions of Naḥmanides and Asher b. Jehiel, under the Geonic Period, above). Later the opinion was expressed that while the authority of the post-talmudic scholars to annul a marriage was not the same as in the talmudic period, yet if the manner of celebrating a marriage be prescribed in a *takkanah* specially enacted for this purpose – for instance with a view to the prevention of deceit and bad faith, by requiring the presence of at least ten persons and the consent of the bride's parents – in which it is expressly provided that a marriage not celebrated in the prescribed manner shall be invalid, then a marriage so celebrated will be invalid (Resp. Rosh, 35:1–2; Resp. Rashba, vol. 1, nos. 551, 1162, 1185; *Sefer Teshuvot ha-Rashba ha-Meyuḥasot le-ha-Ramban*, 125, 142). It was added that a marriage would be invalid not only when celebrated contrary to a *takkanah* of the court but also when contrary to a communal enactment (Rosh and Rashba, loc. cit.; *Toledot Adam ve-Ḥavvah*, Ḥavvah 22:4). This was in fact the practice in different communities. Some 100 years after the above opinion was expressed, it was held by Isaac b. Sheshet Perfet that though this was the law in theory, "in practice I would tend toward greater stringency and because of the stringency of the matter I would not rely on my own authority alone to hold her unmarried without a prior *get*, but do so only if all the scholars of the regions consent thereto and share the responsibility" (Resp. Ribash, no. 399). This distinction between the theoretical statement of the law and decision in a practical case came increasingly to be accepted by the halakhic scholars (see, e.g., Resp. *Yakhin u-Vo'az*, Pt. 2, no. 20). The *halakhah* was decided in this special way: "If a community has made assent and enacted that no person shall marry save in the presence of ten, or the like, and a person nevertheless marries in transgression thereof – it is apprehended that his marriage is valid and the wife requires a *get*; even though the community may expressly have provided that the marriage shall be invalid and have nullified [ownership of] his money [i.e., with retrospective effect so that the *kiddushin* money was not that of the bridegroom and the marriage therefore invalid – see above], nevertheless it is necessary that the greatest stringency be applied in a practical case" (*Rema*, EH 28:21). After this ruling *takkanot* decreeing a marriage to be invalid unless celebrated in a prescribed manner were still enacted from time to time in the Oriental Jewish centers, but there too it was generally decided that the marriage was not invalid.

It appears that the development of the trend toward restriction of legislative authority as regards marriage annulment is connected with the substantive nature of legislation in the post-geonic period. The fact that legislation had a mere local scope led to a proliferation of laws on the same legal subject, enacted by each Jewish center – and even community – acting independently of the others. In general this variety of laws created no insurmountable difficulties, and even greatly stimulated the development of the Jewish law rules of the *conflict of laws. The position was different, however, in the case of laws affecting matters of marriage and divorce. The possibility that a woman regarded in one place as married could be regarded elsewhere as unmarried – in terms of a local *takkanah* – entailed an inherent serious threat to the upholding of a uniform law in one of the most sensitive spheres of the *halakhah*, that of the *eshet ish*. The only way for its prevention was through a restriction of legislative authority in this area (see Resp. Ribash, loc. cit.; Resp. Maharam Alashkar, no. 48).

Takkanot of the Chief Rabbinate of Ereẓ Israel

The spread of the Emancipation and the abrogation of Jewish judicial autonomy, from the end of the 18th century onward, saw a sharp decline – almost to the point of complete cessation – in the resort to the legal source of *takkanah*. This was a natural outcome of the new Jewish historical reality following on the Emancipation. Since the legislative function is a natural accompaniment to governmental organization and judicial autonomy, the loss of the one obviated the need for the other (see **Mishpat Ivri*).

A certain change took place as from the 1930s, coinciding with the establishment of the organizational institutions of the Jewish settlement in Ereẓ Israel, notably the Chief Rabbinate Council. The Jewish judicial authority in matters of family and succession introduced a period of legislative activity on the part of the halakhic institutions. The Rabbinical Supreme Court of Appeal had been established in 1921. When it was later contended before this body that the *halakhah* did not allow for lodging an appeal against the judgment of a court, it was held that "the matter of an appeal has been accepted as an enactment of the scholars, the validity whereof is as that of the law of our holy Torah" (OPD, 71). In 1943 procedural *takkanot* were enacted, most of them based on the *halakhah* and "some of them enacted by the Chief Rabbinate Council for the purpose of ordering procedure in the courts of Ereẓ Israel and for the public good" (introductory note to the *takkanot*). Thus payment of court fees was imposed in connection with litigation – contrary to the existing *halakhah*. Similarly, the introduction of adoption as a legal institution represented an innovation in Jewish law (see *Adoption). Another important innovation introduced by *takkanah* was the engagement by the rabbinical courts to hold equal the rights of sons and daughters and those of husband and wife for purposes of intestate succession. In 1944 the following three matters were enacted in different *takkanot*: the minimal amount of the *ketubbah* was increased "having regard to the standard of living in the *yishuv* and economic considerations"; the levir refusing to grant the widow of his deceased brother *ḥaliẓah* was rendered obliged to maintain her until releasing her; the legal duty was imposed on the father to maintain his children until reaching the age of 15 – not merely until the age of six years as prescribed by talmudic law. Included in the matters laid down by *takkanah* in 1950 was the prohibition against the marriage of a girl below the age of 16. The introductory remarks to the *takkanot* of 1944 emphasize the twofold basis of their enactment, halakhic authority and the assent of the communities of the *yishuv* and their representatives.

Since then there has been no further legislative activity on the part of the bearers of the *halakhah* in the State of Israel. This may be regarded as regrettable since there still remain diverse halakhic problems awaiting solution by means of the legal source of *takkanah*. There is particular need to give attention to a number of problems concerning the *agunah* and other cases involving hardship to women – among others, of the married woman whose husband is unable to give her a *get* on account of his mental illness and cases in which difficulties arise in connection with the granting of *ḥaliẓah*. Solutions to these problems are capable of being found through the enactment of *takkanot* leading to an annulment of marriage in special cases, in the manner and by virtue of the talmudic principle described above in some detail. The already mentioned threat of a proliferation of laws and lack of uniformity on a matter of great halakhic sensitivity, which inhibited past generations from acting on the stated principle, has much abated in modern times in the light of the central spiritual standing which may be allocated to the halakhic authority in Israel in its relations with other centers of Jewry in the Diaspora.

[Menachem Elon]

Status of Knesset Legislation as Enactments for the Public Welfare

In recent generations, halakhic authorities have occasionally expressed their opinion that laws legislated by the Israeli Parliament (Knesset), may also be valid under Jewish Law, subject to the fulfillment of certain necessary requirements, for example, that the legislation enhances public welfare, and is approved by a halakhic scholar (*adam ḥashuv*). Under these conditions, such Israeli legislation has standing similar to that of *Takkanot ha-Kahal* (enactments of the public) in Jewish law (see **Takkanot ha-Kahal*). For example, Rabbi Ovadia Hadaya wrote in one of his responsa that a law of the Knesset – the Tenants Protection [Consolidated Version] Law, 5732 – 1972, promotes the welfare of protected tenants in Israel, and hence the legal arrangements it prescribes have the status of a *Takkanat Kahal* (public enactment) made for the public welfare (see Resp. Yaskil Avdi, Pt. 6, *Ḥoshen Mishpat* 8). This outlook found expression in a ruling of the Rabbinical Court of Appeals, cited in the *Wiloszni* decision of the Israeli Supreme Court. (HC 323/81 (App. 533/81) *Wiloszni v. Rabbinical Court of Appeals et al*, 36 (2) PD 733, 740). The *Wiloszni* case concerned a husband's petition to the High Court of Justice against a decision of the Rabbinical Court of Appeals, which the husband claimed contradicted the Tenants Protection [Consolidated Version] Law 5732 – 1972. In adjudicating the husband's claim, Justice Elon focused on the statement of the Rabbinical Court whereby tenants protection legislation, "is given halakhic validity like any *sitomta* (i.e., customary practice) or *massi'in al-kiẓatan* (i.e., enforcement of communal enactment)." As such the Rabbinical Court of Appeals had taken the provisions of this law into account in its ruling (see **Mishpat Ivri* in the State of Israel). In his decision Justice Menachem Elon commented that the principles of this law could apply in Jewish law by virtue of their having been accepted as a custom, or because they have been accepted by the public as a binding norm, analogous to *Takkanat Kahal.* Justice Elon commented on the status of public legislation in Jewish law, and stated that by virtue of public legislation in Jewish law various laws from the Israeli legal system, in the fields of civil, criminal and public law, could become part of the system of rules of Jewish law with a similar status to that of *Takkanot Kahal* that are recognized by halakhic authorities (see also **Minhag*).

Procedural Regulations in the Rabbinical Courts

The legislation of the Council of the Chief Rabbinate of Israel and of the members of the Rabbinical Court of Appeals also finds expression in the Rules of Procedure for the Rabbinical Courts in Israel. The updated version of these regulations was enacted in 5773 – 1993, during the period of Chief Rabbis Avraham Kahana-Shapira and Mordechai Eliyahu. These regulations prescribed arrangements for a number of issues, such as place of adjudication, summons of litigants, power of attorney to represent litigants in Rabbinical Courts, conduct of court sessions, testimony, oaths, non-appearance of litigants or witnesses, postponement, lien and temporary injunctions, compromise, *ex parte* proceedings, nullification of verdict and rehearing a case, appeals, divorce, confirmation of marriage and divorce, *ḥaliẓah*, ameliorating the plight of *aggunot*, permission to marry a second wife, probate, estates, guardianship, endowments, adoption, conversion (See extensive discussion under *Practice and Procedure.)

Legal Status of Women

In 1951 the Knesset enacted the Woman's Equal Rights Law, 5711 – 1951. In the amendment of the law in 2000, a number of significant new rules and principles were added. Under Section 1B, titled "Permitted Distinction and Affirmative Action," the following situations will not be regarded as infringement of equality or prohibited discrimination: (1) distinction between a man and a woman where the distinction is dictated by substantive differences between them, or the nature of the matter; (2) a directive or act intended to rectify prior or existing discrimination, or a directive or act intended to promote women's equality […]. Section 6C, titled "Appropriately Representation" provides that all tenders and appointments in public bodies must give expression to the appropriate representation of woman. Section 6D titled "Equality in the Security Forces" states that all women who are candidates, or currently in the Security forces, shall have a right equal to that of a man, to serve in any position…[…] The main purpose of this legislation was to ensure statutory anchorage of equality between men and women with regard to various legal rights and other matters. Some scholars held that the provisions of this law conform with the Jewish Law as it has evolved over the generations. They held that where contradictions between traditional Jewish Law and the needs of contemporary society still remain, the halakhic authorities are empowered to enact appropriate *takkanot* to meet those needs. However, they argued that with respect to the contemporary imperative of equalizing woman's status, the Chief Rabbinate did not adequately respond to the situation and failed to enact detailed and comprehensive *takkanot* (see Menachem Elon, *Jewish Law – History, Sources, Principles* (1994), 1656–1657). These scholars likewise noted that Rabbi Abraham Isaac ha-Kohen Kook, the first chief rabbi of the Land of Israel, desired to see the continued creativity of Jewish law in the rabbinical courts, by utilizing two major legal sources that contributed to the development of the *halakhah* in every age: (1) midrash – in the expanded sense of interpretation and application of traditional law to actual cases so that the law continues to develop, and as Rabbi Kook expressed it, "within the category of received laws," finding new legal solutions through the interpretation of existing law (see *Interpretation), and (2) *takkanah*, i.e., legislation, by which Jewish law meets the needs of new legal and social situations through the enactment of new laws that are added to existing law. These scholars held that the legislative activities of the Council of the Chief Rabbinate and the Rabbinical Courts prior to the establishment of the State of Israel in the areas of judicial procedure and personal status (regarding which the government granted jurisdiction and enforcement powers to these courts), yielded a number of creative and positive results. However, even in these branches of the law creative development was sporadic, fragmentary, and overly cautious, and did not achieve the progress that might have been possible had the halakhic leaders fully exercised their authority and power to meet the needs of the time. Regarding all other areas of Jewish law, particularly in the various branches of civil law, almost nothing was accomplished (ibid, *Jewish Law*, 1598). Justice Elon held that the refusal of the Rabbinate and the rabbinical courts to innovate in the field of equality of woman, and specifically with respect to spousal property relations, yielded unfortunate results in the *Bavli* case. (See HC 1000/92 *Bavli v. Rabbinical Court of Appeals*, 48(2) PD, 221; M. Elon, *The Status of Woman* (Tel Aviv, 2005), 248–250).

The Plight of the Agunah

Numerous members of Israel's parliament, the Knesset, looked to the Chief Rabbinate to exercise its traditional halakhic legislative authority by adopting, at its own initiative, appropriate *takkanot* to resolve a number of problems connected with the refusal of husbands to grant a divorce writ or that of the wives to accept such a writ (see **Agunah;* cf. Menachem Elon, *Jewish Law – History, Sources, Principles* (1994), 1657–1658). Although these *takkanot* were not enacted, the Chief Rabbinate did support Knesset legislation intended to ameliorate, insofar as possible, the plight of the refused spouse.

The legal arrangement that applied until 1995 regarding the enforcement of divorce judgment in Israel is set forth in Section 6 of the Rabbinical Courts Jurisdiction (Marriage and Divorce), 5713 – 1953. The original wording of Section 6 of the law was as follows: "Where a rabbinical court, by final judgment, has ordered that a husband be compelled to grant his wife a *get* or the wife to accept such a document from her husband, the district court may, upon expiration of six months from day of the making of order, on application of the Attorney General, compel compliance with the order by imprisonment." This legislation was viewed as desirable in the writings of a number of leading halakhic authorities, inter alia Chief Rabbis Herzog and Yosef (see Rabbi Herzog's letter in Z. Warhaftig, "Coercion To Grant a Divorce in Theory and in Practice," in: *Shenaton ha-Mishpat ha-Ivri*, 3–4 (1977), 153, 174–175 (in Hebrew), and the responsum of Rabbi O. Yosef, Resp. *Yabi'a Omer*, vol. 3, Even ha-Ezer 20).

The Rabbinical Courts Law (Enforcement of Divorce Judgments), 5755 – 1995, authorizes the rabbinical courts to issue a variety of restrictive orders against a recalcitrant spouse, including limitations on the following: (1) leaving the country; (2) obtaining an Israeli passport or transit pass, holding these travel documents or extending their validity; (3) obtaining, maintaining, or renewing a drivers license; (4) appointment or election to, or service, in an office regulated by law, or in an office in a supervised authority; (5) working in a profession regulated by law, or legal operation of a business requiring a license or legal permit; (6) opening or maintaining a bank account or drawing checks from a bank account. It also included: (7) denying various privileges to a prison inmate; (8) imprisonment to compel compliance; (9) solitary confinement of a prison inmate.

These restrictive orders were mentioned in Israeli legislation after consultation by the legislating organs in Israel with several prominent rabbis in Israel, including Chief Rabbis Avraham Kahana-Shapira and Mordekhai Eliyahu. They are, in essence, an attempt to implement in Israel the principles first suggested by Rabbenu Tam, who held that in suitable circumstances isolating measures (*harḥakot*) be implemented against a recalcitrant spouse (see *Sefer ha-Yashar*, Responsa, 24). The draft law that preceded enactment of the Rabbinical Courts Law (enforcement of Divorce Judgments), 5755 – 1995, explicitly noted that the law was aimed at harnessing a halakhic tool – Rabbenu Tam's *harḥakot* – in order to alleviate the plight of a spouse who was refused a *get*. (See the explanation of the goal of the Draft Bill: Legislative Proposals of the State of Israel – 5754, no. 2281, p. 493.)

[Yehiel Kaplan (2nd ed.)]

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Afrikah (1986) (II), 540–43; B. Lifshitz and E. Shochetman, *Mafte'aḥ ha-She'elot ve-ha-Teshuvot shel Ḥakhmei Ashkenaz, Ẓarefat ve-Italyah* (legal digest) (1997), 361–66, 386–92; Y.S. Kaplan, "Continuing Validity of Public Norms," in: *Shenaton ha-Mishpat ha-Ivri*, 18–19 (1992–94), 329–96; idem, "Enforcement of Divorce Judgments by Imprisonment: Principles of Jewish Law," in: *Jewish Law Annual*, 15 (2004), 57–145; E. Shochetman, "The *Halakhah*'s Recognition of the Law of the State of Israel," in: *Shenaton ha-Mishpat ha-Ivri*, 16–17 (1991), 417–500 (in Heb.).

TAKKANOT HA-KAHAL (Heb. תַּקָּנוֹת הַקָּהָל).

Legal Aspects

THE CONCEPT. The *Takkanot ha-Kahal* embrace that part of legislation in Jewish law which is enacted by the public or its representatives in contradistinction to the *takkanot* enacted by a halakhic authority, i.e., by the court and halakhic scholars (see **Takkanot*). The enactment of legislation by the public is already to be found in ancient *halakhah*. Thus it was stated that the *benei ha-ir* ("townspeople") have authority to pass enactments obliging all residents of their town in matters such as the prices of commodities, weights and measures, and laborer's wages, and to impose fines on those transgressing their enactments (Tosef. BM 11: 23; BB 8b). The same sources (Tosef. BM 11:24–26) disclose that legislative authority was entrusted also to more restricted bodies, such as various artisans' and traders' associations within the town, such regulations obliging only the members of the particular association.

For as long as a single Jewish center – first Ereẓ Israel and later the Babylonian Jewish center – exercised hegemony over the entire Diaspora, there was little legislative activity of a local nature, both from the aspect of quantity and in the degree of authority carried. The great impetus to legislation by the public came at the end of the tenth century with the emerging stature of the Jewish community. The community enjoyed a substantial degree of autonomy. It had its own internal governing bodies, saw to the social and educational needs of its members, maintained a *bet din* possessing jurisdiction in the areas of civil, administrative, and ritual law, and to some extent also criminal jurisdiction. It also imposed and collected taxes, both to satisfy the fiscal demands of the ruling power and to finance communal services. The legal order governing the fulfillment of these manifold tasks was in large measure derived through the enactment of *takkanot* by the community. To ensure that the communal enactments be capable of fulfilling their envisaged objectives, the halakhic scholars saw the need to found these *takkanot* on principles belonging to the sphere of the public law and, from the aspect of their legal validity, to free them from the requirements and restrictions found in the private law. In consequence the scholars evolved basic principles in the area of Jewish public law constituting an impressive part of their wide legal creativity in this field, against the background of the social and economic realities of Jewish autonomy (see **Mishpat Ivri*; *Public Authority; **Takkanot*; *Taxation; **Hekdesh*).

SOURCE OF AUTHORITY. The earliest manifestations of non-halakhic legislative authority are to be found in the powers vested in the king (see *Mishpat Ivri*) and in the already mentioned *benei ha-ir*. The authority of the community to make enactments was substantiated by the scholars thus: "In respect of each and every public the position is that the individuals are subject to the majority, and according to the latter they must conduct themselves in all their affairs; and they [i.e., the majority] stand in the same relationship to the people of their town as the people of Israel to the great *bet din* or the king" (Resp. Rashba, vol. 3, no. 411; also vol. 1, no 729; vol. 5, no. 126, et al.). It was held that just as the court is competent to enact *takkanot* in the area of civil and criminal law, even though their content contradict a particular rule of the *halakhah*, so the community too is competent to make enactments in these areas, even though contrary to existing law (Resp. R. Gershom Me'or ha-Golah, ed. Eidelberg, no. 67; Responsum of Joseph Tov Elem quoted in Resp. Maharam of Rothenburg, ed. Lemberg, no. 423; idem, ed. Berlin, no. 220, p. 37; idem, ed. Prague, no. 368; Resp. Rashba, vol. 4, no. 311; Resp. Rosh, 101:1; Resp. *Yakhin u-Vo'az*, pt. 2, no. 2). Sometimes the scholars are found to have employed the expression *hefker ẓibbur hefker*, as an alternative parallel to the rule of *hefker bet din hefker*, in terms whereof legislative authority is conferred on the courts and halakhic scholars (see **Takkanot*; Resp. Rashba, vol. 4, no. 142; Resp. Ribash, no. 399). This parallel between the public and the court was not, however, meant to have application to legislative authority in matters of ritual prohibitions and permissions. In this area the community has no authority to enact a *takkanah* contradicting the *halakhah* (Resp. Rashba, vol. 3, no. 411; *Tashbeẓ*, 2:132 and 239). Here the community was likened to the individual. Just as the individual may contract out of the law of the Torah in matters of the civil law (*mamon*) but not in those of ritual prohibition (see *Contract), so the community cannot make an enactment which is contrary to the law of the Torah on a matter of ritual prohibition, legislative authority on matters of the latter kind being entrusted to the halakhic scholars alone (Resp. Ribash, no. 305).

MAJORITY AND MINORITY. From 11th-century responsa it may be gathered that at that time communal enactments were passed by the majority of the community, thereupon binding also the minority opposed to their passage (Resp. Rif, ed. Leiter, no. 13; idem, ed. Biadnowitz, no. 85; Responsum of Joseph Tov Elem, quoted in Resp. Maharam of Rothenburg, ed. Lemberg, no. 423). In the 12th century Rabbenu Tam held that the majority was not empowered to impose a *takkanah* on the minority opposed thereto and only after the latter's acceptance of it – expressly or by implication – could the majority compel the individual by fine and punishment to compliance therewith (*Mordekhai*, BK no. 179 and BB no. 480; Resp. Maharam of Rothenburg, ed. Cremona, no. 230; *Teshuvot Maimuniyyot*, Shofetim, no. 10). This view was not accepted by the majority of the scholars (Resp. Ḥayyim Or Zaru'a, no. 222; *Mordekhai*, BB no. 482; Resp. Rashba, vol. 2, no. 279; vol. 5, nos. 270, 242; Resp. Re'em, no. 57). Some of the scholars distinguished between *takkanot* of the community enacted by majority opinion and the *takkanot* of professional associations, for which the consent of all members was required. This distinction was explained on the ground that the latter associations involved only a restricted public not having the responsibility of a community, and because of the serious likelihood that the professional interests of the minority might be prejudiced by the majority (Nov. Ramban, BB9a; *Beit Yosef*, Tur ḤM 231:30; Sh. Ar., ḤM 231:28; *Leḥem Rav*, no. 216). The doctrine that the majority prevails derives from the exegesis of the words *aḥarei rabbim lehatot* ("to follow a multitude") in Exodus 23:2 (see *Majority Rule). In talmudic *halakhah* the above passage is interpreted in relation both to a majority judgment of the court (Sanh. 2a–3b) and to a majority as a matter of legal presumption (Ḥul. 11a). From neither case can it be deduced that the majority of the public may impose its enactment on the opposing minority. The scholars did, however, conclude that "in respect of a matter concerning the public the Torah enjoined to follow a multitude and in any matter assented to by the public the majority is followed and the individuals must uphold all that is assented to by the majority" (Resp. Rosh. 6:5). This wide interpretation was held to be a matter of practical necessity "because if it were not so and the minority had the power to set aside the assent of the majority, the community would never agree on anything… for when would the community ever be in unanimous agreement?" (Resp. Rosh, 6:5, 7; see also *Kol Bo*, no. 142). It was similarly decided by a majority of the scholars that a *takkanah* enacted by majority opinion also binds the minority, even though it has not participated in the enactment of the *takkanah*, since those absent at the time thereof are deemed to have implicitly consented to it and because such is the accepted custom (Resp. Mabit 1:264; *Mishpat Shalom*, no. 231, letter *Vav* and references there quoted). Here again the explanation was given that "they must perforce bow to the majority and bear the burden of its enactment, for otherwise no room would be left for applying the rule, to follow a multitude, if those who dissent were to absent themselves [at the time of enactment of the *takkanah*]… a possibility that reason rejects" (Resp. Abraham Alegre, ḤM no. 5; see also Resp. Ribash, no. 249; Resp. Ḥatam Sofer, ḤM no. 116).

THE ROLE OF THE COMMUNAL REPRESENTATIVES. The Jewish community was headed by its duly appointed or elected representatives, called by various names such as *tovei ha-ir* (lit. "good citizens"), *parnasim*, and so on, and sometimes also *shivat tovei ha-ir* (lit. "seven good citizens") – a concept already known in talmudic times (Meg. 26a; see also Jos., Ant., 4:214) – although their number varied from time to time. The *tovei ha-ir* were required to be "… persons chosen not on account of wisdom, wealth or honor, but simply… persons sent by the public to be in charge of public matters" (Resp. Rashba, vol. 1, no. 617; see also *Public Authority; *Taxation). Some scholars held it necessary that the enactment of *takkanot* by the *tovei ha-ir* take place in the presence of the public as the only means of ensuring their enactment with the consent of a majority of the local public (*Mordekhai*, BB no. 480). However, the majority of the scholars took the view that public representatives chosen to be in charge of all public matters are deemed to represent a majority of the public, "by virtue of being sent by the majority of the public which has elected them," and therefore may enact *takkanot* in the public absence (Rashba, loc. cit.; Resp. Mabbit, 1:84); but representatives chosen for limited purposes only cannot always be said to represent the majority and their enactments must be made in the public presence.

SCOPE OF THE TAKKANOT. A problem facing the halakhic scholars was how to invest the communal enactments with the legal efficacy to bind also the classes of persons incapacitated by the rules of the private law from being party to a legal obligation – such as minors and those yet to be born – efficacy without which the *takkanot* would have little practical value. The solution was found through an assimilation of the *takkanot* to the case of customs on various matters instituted by past generations (e.g., concerning festivals, fasts, etc.) – the observance whereof is enjoined also on sons, i.e., succeeding generations (Pes. 50b) since "the fathers are the source of their children" (Resp. Rashba, vol. 3, no. 411; Resp. Ribash, no. 399). The matter was also substantiated with the aid of other analogies from the laws of the oath, and so on (Rashba and Ribash, loc. cit.; see also Resp. Maharam Alashkar, no. 49; *Tashbeẓ* 2:132). At the root of these analogies lay the conviction that the orderly operation of communal enactments demanded their general applicability and continuity, "for if not so… it would become necessary to renew them daily since every day there are minors who reach their majority, and that is an unacceptable matter" (Ribash, loc. cit.). So too it was held that those taking up residence in a particular community are subject to all its existing communal enactments, since "they are deemed to have expressly taken upon themselves all the enactments of that town… when coming to live there, hence they are the same as the other townspeople and embraced by their *takkanot*" (Ribash, loc. cit.). The stated three factors – the rule that in enacting a *takkanah* the majority also binds the minority opposed thereto, investment of the communal representatives with legislative authority, and investment of the communal enactments with validity even in relation to persons lacking in legal capacity – jointly operated to confer fully on the communal enactments the standing of norms of the public law just as legislation is part of the public law in other legal systems. Consequently the validity of the communal enactments was not measured by the standards and requirements applying to a matter of the private law.

HALAKHAH AND THE TAKKANOT HA-KAHAL. The communal enactments share the general objective of all other *takkanot* – to add a directive in answer to a problem which finds no solution in the *halakhah*, or to sanction a departure from the *halakhah* when dictated by the needs of the hour (see **Takkanot*). The halakhic scholars endowed communal enactments with full legal sanction, whether these added to existing *halakhah* or provided contrary thereto. Reference to the halakhic sources, particularly the responsa literature, will reveal a most extensive range of directives on matters of the civil as well as criminal law, laid down in communal enactment, and accepted even when contrary to the *halakhah* on such matters. The following are a few examples (others are mentioned above, s.v. under the heading Source of Authority).

In matters affecting communal property, or other public matters, such as taxation, charitable endowment, and so on, communal enactments made provision, contrary to talmudic *halakhah*, for admitting also the testimony of witnesses residing within the community concerned. This applied notwithstanding the fact of their own pecuniary interest in the matter since, for instance, the tax exemption of one member of the community served to increase the burden on his fellows, and despite the frequent fact of their kinship with the litigants, on account of communal intermarriage (Resp. Rashba, vol. 5, nos. 184 and 286; vol. 6, no. 7; Resp.Rosh, 5:4). This legal situation was accepted as *halakhah* in the codes (Sh. Ar., ḤM 7:12, 37:22; see also *Taxation).

In different communities *takkanot* were enacted whereby the signature of the town scribe on various kinds of deeds was imparted the same efficacy as the signature of two competent witnesses. Such enactments were designed to prevent a number of possible complications, among others the impossibility of verifying deeds on account of the death, or absence abroad, of the witnesses thereto. Deeds signed by the town scribe were held fully valid, since "the public is entitled to assent [i.e., enact] in any wise on a matter pertaining to the civil law *[mamon]*, and it is accepted and valid as if it were an absolute law, for the duly given assent of the public on a matter renders it law" (*Sefer Teshuvot ha-Rashba ha-Meyuḥasot le-ha-Ramban*, no. 65; Resp. Rashba, vol. 3, no. 438). The possibility of illiteracy on the part of a witness was the background to communal enactments which laid down that the town scribe could sign in the name of a witness, on the latter's instructions (Resp. Rashba, vol. 2, no. 111; see also vol. 4, no. 199).

Another communal enactment made provision for the court to proclaim a specified period within which any interested party could submit his claims in respect of a particular asset put up for sale, failing which he would forfeit his rights to such property. This *takkanah* was required to ensure the more efficient transaction of business. Although amounting to a departure from the law – since no support is found in the *halakhah* for the proposition that a person should forfeit his rights on account of failure to lodge his claims thereto within a specified period (see *Limitation of Actions) – it was nevertheless held valid because "an enactment of the community sets aside the *halakhah*, for the townspeople are entitled to stipulate among themselves as they please" (Resp. Rashba, vol. 4, no. 260). Many examples of communal enactments of this kind are to be found in the area of tax law (see *Taxation), and the laws concerning the legal standing of a public authority and its relationships with its employees and the community in general (see Public *Authority). They are also found in the laws pertaining to the administration of consecrated and other public property (see *Hekdesh*). These legal branches developed particularly from the tenth century onward in the different Jewish centers, and communal enactments provided the answer to many of the legal problems arising in connection therewith.

TAKKANOT HA-KAHAL AND HALAKHIC AUTHORITY. That communal enactments whose contents contradicted the *halakhah* could be laid down with a large measure of independence, as already described, held out the possibility that these enactments might become divorced from the living body of the *halakhah*. On the surface, there existed the likelihood that the legal directives originating from communal enactments might, if uncontrolled, evolve into a legal system parallel to the halakhic legal system, leading inevitably to the exclusion of the former directives from the regular framework of the halakhic system. This threat was countered through the development in Jewish law of a number of safeguards serving to link the communal enactments to halakhic authority. These safeguards were not calculated to prejudice the community's legislative independence as regards the possibility that its enactments might conflict with one or other rule of the *halakhah*, yet they served to subjugate such enactments to the spirit and objective of the overall halakhic system. There were three such safeguards, each of which is outlined below, one functioning prior to the enactment of a *takkanah* and the other two thereafter.

APPROVAL BY "A DISTINGUISHED PERSON." The first safeguard, accepted by the majority of the halakhic scholars, was the need for a *takkanah* to be approved – prior to its enactment – by "a distinguished person" (*adam ḥashuv*) residing within the community concerned. The need for such approval was designed to ensure the halakhic scholars some measure of control, even if qualified, over the communal enactments (see below). Support for the need for a distinguished person's approval was found in the talmudic law pertaining to the enactment of a *takkanah* by a professional association. The butchers of a certain town made a *takkanah* to regulate their workdays in a particular manner, enforceable by imposition of a fine in the form of tearing the hide of the animal slaughtered by the offending butcher. In a case where this punishment was carried out, the offending butcher instituted an action against his fellows to recover compensation for the damages resulting therefrom. His claim was upheld by Rava on the ground that there was present a distinguished person in that town but no approval of the regulation had been obtained from him, and it was therefore invalid (BB 9a). Some of the scholars held the need for the aforesaid approval, apparently innovated by the *amoraim*, to exist only with reference to a *takkanah* enacted by a restricted section of the public, such as a professional association, this for the reason of preventing the adoption of resolutions calculated to cause loss to the consumer public, and so on (Nov. Ramban, BB 9a; Nov. Ran, BB loc. cit., Resp. Ribash, no. 399; Resp. Maharam Alashkar, no. 49). However, the majority of the scholars took the view that the stated approval must be also obtained in respect of communal enactments, since the fact of such approval would serve to stress the link between the *takkanah* and halakhic authority, and the *halakhah* was decided accordingly (Resp. Rashba, vol. 1, no. 26; vol. 4, no. 185; *Piskei ha-Rosh*, BB 1:33; Sh. Ar., ḤM 231: 28 – *Rema, Sma* and *Siftei Kohen*, ad loc.). Presumably this safeguard was actually practiced in the different Jewish communities, and sometimes a special directive on the matter is to be found in the body of a *takkanot* collection (see, e.g., J. Halpern (ed.), *Takkanot Medinat Mehrin*, nos. 176, 286, 335). There are, however, also references to the fact that certain communities (see, e.g., Resp. Maharalbaḥ, no. 99), and even a representative body such as the *Council of Four Lands (see Resp. Bah Ḥadashot, no. 63), did not consistently observe the need to obtain the approval of a distinguished person to their *takkanot*. The halakhic scholars were at pains to convince the communal leaders of this need (see Resp. Maharalbaḥ, no. 99 and Resp. Baḥ Ḥadashot, no. 3). Yet at the commencement of the 19th century it was still held by Moses *Sofer that the stated approval was a requirement not of the strict law but of the custom followed by the communities (Resp. Ḥatam Sofer, ḤM 116).

Different opinions were expressed as regards the attributes of "a distinguished person" from whom approval of a *takkanah* must be obtained. One opinion held that he may be either a *talmid ḥakham* ("scholar") or a *parnas* appointed by the community, and the presence of either in the town serves to withhold validity from a *takkanah* until his approval thereof can be obtained (Resp. Rashba, vol. 4, no. 185, et al.). According to another opinion, "a distinguished person" is "a *talmid ḥakham* who is also in charge of the public" (opinion of Ibn Migash, quoted in *Shitah Mekubbeẓet*, BB 9a and in Resp. Rashba, vol. 5, no. 125) – i.e., a person who combined in himself the qualities both of being a learned scholar and of having been accepted as a leader of the public. This opinion was accepted by a majority of the halakhic scholars who interpreted "a distinguished person" thus: "a distinguished scholar able to order the affairs of the community concerned and help its inhabitants to prosper in their ways" (Yad, Mekhirah 14:11); "a learned scholar and leader" responsible for public affairs (*Piskei ha-Rosh*, BB 1:33; Tur ḤM 231:30; Sh. Ar., ḤM 231:28). Thus if locally there be present no person blessed with both these qualities, then the communal enactment should be fully valid even without the approval of a distinguished person (*Yad Ramah*, BB 9b, no. 103; *Maggid Mishneh*, Mekhirah 14:11).

PRINCIPLES OF JUSTICE AND EQUITY. The decisive factor in the integration of communal enactments within the overall framework of Jewish law has been the supervisory authority exercised by the halakhic scholars so as to ensure that the enactments, even when contradicting the contents of a specific halakhic directive, should not depart from the general principles of justice and equity underlying the entire Jewish legal system. These substantive principles served as the common basis of the *halakhah* and of the communal enactments, the zealous preservation of these principles ensuring that the latter become an integral part of the overall Jewish legal system.

These principles find expression in various ways. Thus, for instance, Solomon b. Abraham *Adret stated with reference to a particular communal enactment, "if it is a matter which makes no fence to the law and brings no real good, then even if it was instituted by the representatives and leaders of the public – the public will not need to act in accordance with their wishes" (Resp. vol. 7, no. 108; also vol. 5, no. 287 and vol. 7, no. 340). In another case the communal leaders enacted a *takkanah* serving to enjoin a member of the community from obtaining the ruling power's permission to continue his duties or supervising against the commission of various offenses; a sector of the public objected to the *takkanah* as opening the door to moral laxity on the part of the public. In his responsum on the matter, Adret held that the *takkanah* would have been valid if it had made provision for the position itself to remain but prescribed its entrustment to someone else; however, since the *takkanah* purported to abolish entirely a position of such vital nature, it had to be regarded as of no effect; "and even if the *takkanah* was enacted by the people responsible for most of the needs of the public, yet the fact is that they have to make enactments which enable the community to uphold and not breach the law, and they may not breach the fences of the Torah" (Resp., vol. 2, no. 279). Just as it is forbidden that a *takkanah* should contain anything tending to encourage moral laxity on the part of the public, so it is forbidden that a *takkanah* should be unduly onerous – even though it serves a laudable purpose and remedies a particular situation; hence, according to Adret, in the same way as there had been laid down the principle that a *takkanah* of the halakhic scholars must not be imposed on the public unless the majority is able to abide thereby (Av. Zar. 36a; see **Takkanot*), so too the community may not enact a *takkanah* by which the majority of its members is unable to abide (loc. cit.; also vol. 7, no. 108).

A material principle guarded by the halakhic scholars with the utmost care was that ensuring the right of the minority in general, and of the individual in particular, not to be prejudiced by the majority in arbitrary manner and without justifiable cause. In several centers it happened that the community sought to enact a *takkanah* purporting to impose tax on a local resident in respect of his property situated elsewhere, thereby rendering him liable for double taxation since he was also liable for tax at the place of situation of his property. In this regard it was held by Adret that it was not within the power of the minority to make an enactment – notwithstanding the consent thereto of the majority – imposing an obligation that involved a "robbing" (*gezel*) of the individual, which would be the inevitable but unacceptable result of the individual having to pay tax twice on the same property (Resp., vol. 1, no. 78; vol. 5, no. 178; Resp. Maharam of Rothenburg, ed. Prague, no. 106; see in detail under *Taxation). A like conclusion was stated by Isserles in unambiguous manner: "It is an accepted matter that the *tovei ha-ir* are not authorized to deal high-handedly with the individuals, nor may the majority forcefully dispossess [lit. "rob"] the individual… since the townspeople have no power to make enactments except as conferred on them by law; but to do as they please, that is something that never was nor ever will be!" (Resp. Rema, no. 73). There was also applied to communal enactments the principle that they must apply equally to all and not single out particular persons (*Sha'arei Ẓedek*, no. 16, p. 57a). The rule was formulated that a *takkanah* is valid when two conditions are fulfilled: it must be "a *takkanah* [i.e., to mend matters] for the public, and it must apply equally to all" (Nov. Ritba, Av. Zar. 36b; cf. the principle of equality before the law in relation to the doctrine of **dina de-malkhuta dina*; see **Mishpat Ivri*).

The requirement that legislation accord with the principles of justice and equity led to the observance of the further rule that the provisions of communal enactments should only be made to take effect from the time of their enactment onward, and not retroactively to any earlier period. There was frequent application of this rule in relation to tax laws (see, e.g., Resp. Ribash, no. 477; see also *Taxation), and also in other legal fields (see, e.g., *Zikhron Yehudah*, no. 78).

INTERPRETATION OF TAKKANOT HA-KAHAL. The third factor which safeguarded the integration of communal enactments into the overall Jewish legal system was the fact that the authoritative interpretation of these enactments was usually entrusted to the same body or persons who interpreted the rules of the *halakhah* in general, namely the competent halakhic scholars. In their interpretative activities the latter relied on the different Jewish law rules of interpretation, and examined the content and formulation of a *takkanah* before them by analogy to the talmudic *halakhah* and codificatory literature. In consequence the integration of the communal enactments into Jewish law was affected not only as regards subject matter but also from the literary aspect, as expressed in the responsa literature. For particulars, see *Interpretation.

TAKKANOT HA-KAHAL AND THE JEWISH LEGAL SYSTEM. The phenomenon of a community enacting a *takkanah* which remained subject to halakhic scrutiny and became integrated with the *halakhah*, even though it did not always accord with one or another rule of the *halakhah* itself, is understandable and in keeping with the image of Jewish society until the coming of the Emancipation at the end of the 18th century. Both the community and the bearers of the *halakhah* acknowledged the existence of a single ultimate and guiding value – the authority of the Torah and the *halakhah*. The communal leaders never regarded their enactments as a means of undermining or evading in any way the sanctity of the *halakhah*. On the contrary, they saw their enactment as a special means – adapted to the needs of their time and place – toward modeling public and private life in their community on the principles, objectives, and spirit of Jewish law. These enactments not only constituted a means of ordering – within the wider framework of the *halakhah* – special legal problems arising from particular social and economic trends in the different periods and centers of the Jewish dispersion. They also served toward the evolution of basic principles pertaining to the modes of legislation by a Jewish public in accordance with Jewish law, and toward the development and crystallization of principles of justice and equity, of safeguarding minority rights, and equality before the law, as well as other principles to which the communal enactments were required to conform. For further general details see **Takkanot*.

[Menachem Elon]

Historical Aspects

In the Middle Ages and early modern times the term *takkanah* denoted both a constitution or a statute proposed or adopted by a competent authority in the Jewish community as a general framework of behavior, and also a resolution relating to a single issue adopted by such an authority. In Sephardi communities the terms *haskamah* or **ascama* were used for such enactments. *Takkanot* were issued by synods and councils of scholars or laymen or both: the local community, **ḥevrah*, a synagogue congregation, and a **bet din*. They were also issued on the authority of a leading scholarly personality and obeyed by reason of this authority. All aspects of social, economic, political, and religious life of the Jews were embraced by *takkanot*.

GEONIC PERIOD. During the geonic period the *exilarchs and **geonim* enacted numerous *takkanot* in such areas as civil, family, and liturgical law, which were not only verification of evolving customs but in fact were very often departures from talmudic law. Many customs were made law as a means of counteracting the schismatic teaching of the *Karaites: for example, although the Talmud never mentions a benediction over the Sabbath candles, the *geonim* made this obligatory to demonstrate that the *Rabbanites not only considered the use of candles lit before the Sabbath permissible but also festive and sacral. The use of the ring as a specific symbol of betrothal, instead of cash or "money's worth," as prescribed in the Talmud, was also a geonic innovation. A clear-cut example of a geonic ordinance *takkanah* reflecting a socioeconomic change relates to debts inherited by an orphan not yet of age.

SPAIN. Judah b. Barzillai al-Bargeloni's *Sefer ha-Shetarot* contains a formula expressing the accumulated experience of enactment of *takkanot* in 11th-century Spain. This is a *takkanah* writ to be used when a group (*edah*), community (*kahal*), yeshivah, or the fellows of a *bet midrash* (*benei midrash*) or a synagogue (*keneset*) have agreed to enact a *takkanah* in their yeshivah, synagogue, or *bet midrash*, or the heads of the yeshivah have agreed to enact a *takkanah* "for [all] Israel." In these cases all the abovementioned write a *takkanah* writ in unambiguous terms and sign it, and, if they are so agreed, write that anyone who transgresses this *takkanah* will be excommunicated (ed. S. Halberstam, 1858, 132). In the same collection there is a *takkanah* by a craft guild containing detailed agreements on preventing competition and including financial sanctions against any transgressor (p. 190). *Takkanot* continued to be made mainly by local communities. Statutes adopted at Tudela in 1305 invested power in the community in eight prominent families; no enactment was valid unless eight men representing these families concurred. They decreed that "all judicial decisions rendered in this city shall be based upon the code of R. Moses (Maimonides), of blessed memory." Various 14th-century *takkanot* from *Barcelona reflect the bitter social and political struggle in the community between the rich and the poor, mainly over the composition of the community councils and commissions. Similar problems and *takkanot* are found from *Saragossa. In *Majorca, which was a major maritime center, the *aljama* (*kahal*) adopted *takkanot* in 1356 concerning marriage, inheritance, and commerce which were a compromise between talmudic law and the laws and customs of the country. In 1354 representatives of the province of Valencia and of all the Jewish communities of Catalonia met in Barcelona and proposed many organizational *takkanot*. These proposals reveal the motivations and arguments for centralized leadership as well as those of the diplomatic activity of the communities (see **Shtadlan*). A conference in Valladolid in 1432 proposed a group of *takkanot* for the communities of Castile. Its five sections, regulating education, communal officialdom, punishment of informers, taxation, and sumptuary behavior, were drawn up with the aid of Don Abraham *Benveniste, *rab de la corte* of the kingdom of Castile. *Takkanot* were often copies of rules of a neighboring *aljama*. Some followed the *fueros*, or constitutional charters, of municipalities, and the Spanish rulers played a part in drafting or approving Jewish statutes. *Isaac b. Sheshet Perfet defined the relation between the communities' *takkanot* legislation and royal assent: "no doubt, without the approval of our lord, the king… according to the law of our Torah the community may enact the *takkanot* on its own authority, and also excommunicate and punish the transgressor" (Resp., no. 228). Royal assent was requested only to avoid an accusation of infringing on the sovereignty of the king and also to provide an additional sanction. These *takkanot* were validated through their being inscribed in a minute book (see **pinkas*), by the signatures of scholars and communal leaders, and by proclamation. Rabbinic authorities usually gave unhesitating support to the communal *takkanot*. R. Solomon b. Abraham *Adret (13th century) stated that "no man is entitled to withdraw and disregard a communal ordinance by saying 'I shall not take part in the promulgation of the statutes,' and the like, because the individual is subject to the majority will." The language of the *takkanot* is generally Hebrew. In the Muslim period Arabic, with an admixture of Hebrew, was used. In Toledo Arabic was used as late as the 14th century. Most of the 1432 Valladolid constitution is written in Castilian. When the adopted resolutions were proclaimed before the entire congregation in the synagogue, they usually responded with "Amen." When the *takkanot* were inscribed in the *pinkas* they were generally organized into sections and articles. *Takkanot* were designed to be permanent or temporary: a Saragossa regulation concerning tax exemption was to remain in effect for 50 years; Toledo adopted an ordinance to be effective for 20 years; the Valladolid statutes of 1432 were to be valid for ten years. If no definite period of time was stated, a *takkanah* was to be permanently binding. Interpretation of *takkanot* was the province of either the legislating body or an accepted rabbinical authority. The proclamation of a *ḥerem* as an integral sanction clause of the *takkanot* was a customary procedure, and in early texts *ḥerem* is synonymous with *takkanah*. The conception of the *ḥerem* as divine expulsion from God's grace sufficed to make most Jews obey such *takkanot*, even when, in practice, the offender against communal enactments was often not treated as an excommunicate. Solomon b. Abraham Adret reported: "When I observed the practice of the communities to include the clause of the *ḥerem* in their various *takkanot*, and yet, in all my observations, they never treated the transgressor as an excommunicate, I put the question to my teachers whether such a person was really under the ban or not, and they made no reply." In serious matters the community did not hesitate to make the violator liable to various penalties.

ASHKENAZ AND ẒAREFAT (FRANCE). *Takkanot* appear in the Rhineland and in districts to the west of it early in the history of Jewish settlement in the area. In Ashkenaz in the 11th and 12th centuries *takkanot* sometimes stem from a community to include both itself and its environs (e.g., *Troyes in the time of Rashi), sometimes from a central community attempting to assert its authority over minor communities (a practice sharply rejected by Joseph b. Samuel *Bonfils in the 11th century). They were sometimes adopted by *synods (in France in the 12th century, in Germany in the 13th, and on several occasions in Germany right down to the 17th century). French *takkanot* of the 12th century are sometimes called after Jacob b. Meir (Tam). The topics dealt with in these *takkanot* are as variegated as the problems of Jewish life and autonomy current in those centuries.

MEDITERRANEAN LANDS. *Maimonides enacted a series of *takkanot* directed against *Karaite practices. The community of the island of Crete (Candia) had sets of detailed *takkanot* from the 13th century onward. *Takkanot* were also enacted in Italy. A conference of north Italian communities meeting in Forli in 1418 adopted a set of far-reaching regulations relating to *sumptuary laws. Other conferences of the 15th and 16th centuries confirmed this activity. After the expulsion from Spain (1492) the communities of the Sephardi Diaspora shaped many *takkanot* (*ascamot*) to solve problems specific to their new settlements.

EASTERN EUROPE. In the communities of Eastern Europe and the Councils of the Lands, *takkanot* continued creatively on a greater scale. The *takkanot* of *Moravia embody a codification of a series of enactments, touching on most aspects of social and communal life. This is true to an even larger degree of the resolutions of the Councils of Lithuania and of Poland. The communal authorities (*kesherim*) of *Poznan consistently noted down over the years their proposals for *takkanot* as well as their criticisms of the mode of their implementation. In 1595 the Cracow community codified *takkanot* covering a wide range of problems. Although, as in all cases, they based their *takkanot* on the *halakhah*, they introduced sweeping changes. The court system and method of payment of judges established in Cracow and Poznan reflect a great deal of the social and financial practices of the leading circles of large Jewish communities but little of halakhic principles. The right of **arenda*, in particular, and many other comprehensive economic arrangements, were established by *takkanot*. In 1607 a means of permitting a Jew to take interest from a Jew – *hetter iska* – was introduced in Poland and empowered in many communities by *takkanot*. In Moravia it was arranged that their *takkanot* "shall be in force so long as they are not abrogated by the unanimous decision of the heads of the council (*rashei medinah*) and the fifteen elected officers or by the nine guardians of the *takkanot* then in office, provided it is done with the consent of the chief rabbi *[*Landesrabbiner]* or a scholarly leader, in the event that there is no chief rabbi." The Councils of Four Lands resolved in 1671 that "in any controversy arising between an individual and his *kahal* it shall be resolved in accordance with the provisions of their own *takkanot* and *pinkasim* without interference by the council." In 17th-century Poland-Lithuania Samuel Eliezer b. Judah ha-Levi *Edels voiced opposition to the use of the *ḥerem* as an integral part of a *takkanah*. Some of the first leaders of Ḥasidism – e.g., Aaron of *Karlin – tried to use *takkanot* to effect social amelioration but this trend was not continued. The *Sanhedrin convened by Napoleon enacted radical *takkanot*. In the main, the spread of the *Haskalah and the break-up of traditional autonomy structures combined with a weakening of the authority of the *halakhah* to bring about a gradual cessation of the enactment of *takkanot* in modern times, beginning in Western and Central Europe and spreading to Eastern Europe. It was only in scattered communities in Eastern Europe or the Near East that *takkanot* appeared in the 20th century. The association or *ḥevrah*, however, continued to make use of the *takkanah* to regulate its actions and the life style of the group.

See also *Autonomy; *Community.

[Isaac Levitats]

Research into Takkanot ha-Kahal

Since the very beginning of (modern) research in Jewish studies and Jewish law, various scholars have engaged in the study of *takkanot ha-kahal*, communal enactments. Initially, attention was paid primarily to the historical material found in this literature. In recent times, great attention has been given as well to the vast quantity of legal material found in this literature. The publication of entire collections of public enactments from various centers and different periods – such as the communal ledgers (*pinkasim*) from Italy (see Boxenbaum; Hartom-Cassuto; Carpi; Simonson; Hacohen, Livorno, in the Bibliography below); the Balkan countries, Greece and Turkey (among them see Bornstein); Poland, Germany, Bohemia and Lithuania (see Evron, Heilprin, Roth), and North America (see Amar) – most of them in manuscript, created a fitting infrastructure for study in greater depth. The various legal researchers (Elon, Naḥlon, Hacohen, Kaplan) focused on the study of legal institutions and arrangements as reflected in the communal enactments. In this context, the issue of the authority to make enactments, the mode of their enactment, the scope of their applicability, and the means of their interpretation were all considered. The appearance of detailed legal indexes to the responsa literature, in which a special place is given to the communal enactments, made a special contribution in this field (see Bibliography: Elon-Lifschitz, Lifschitz-Shochetman).

Contribution of the Takkanot ha-Kahal to the Formulation of Israeli Law

The multiplicity and variety of communal enactments and the fact that they were living law and actual practice, and not merely just theory, make them a source of primary importance for the integration of Jewish law into that of the State of Israel. This is particularly prominent in the sphere of public law. In the absence of extensive legislation in the matter, the field of public law in the State of Israel – both legislative law and administrative law – remains based to a great extent not on *legislation* but on *court rulings*, a sort of Israeli version of "common/conventional law." This situation provides abundant room for anchoring many rules in the field of public law on the principles of "justice, freedom, integrity and peace of the Jewish heritage" (in the words of the Foundations of Justice Law, 5740 – 1980, cf. **Mishpat Ivri*) and on "the values of a Jewish state" (in the words of the Basic Law: Human Dignity and Freedom), as expressed in Jewish law in general and in the public enactments in particular.

Reflecting as they do autonomous Jewish community life, with its plethora of styles, there exist in the communal enactments many varied arrangements for the conduct of community life and the modes of decision-making therein, vis-à-vis, for example, issues of majority and minority, manners of elections, appointments to public office, and ousting of a public official from his position, as well as the various basic rights, such as freedom of expression, freedom of movement, and the like (see *Rights, Human: Public Authority).

Furthermore, there are some who wish to view the laws of the Knesset as a kind of *takkanat ha-kahal* and are consequently prepared to grant them halakhic validity (Shochetman, *Hakarat ha-Halakhah*). In one case, the Supreme Court (as expressed by Justice Elon) pointed to the tenant protection laws as valid in Jewish law by virtue of their being viewed as "communal enactments" (HC 323/81 *Vilozhny v. Rabbinical Court of Appeals*, PD 36 (2) 740–743) (see at length under **Takkanot*).

In the Courts in Israel

On more than one occasion, the courts in the State of Israel have made use of communal enactments as a source for interpretation of Israeli law and for the creation of legal arrangements in various spheres. Thus, for example, the Supreme Court (as expressed by Justice Silberg) pointed to various arrangements made in the *takkanot ha-kahal* and intended to share the damage caused as the result of the depreciation of the currency between lender and borrower (CA 248/53 *Rozenbaum v. Zeger*, PD 9, 533). In another case, the Supreme Court (per Justice Kister) used the *takkanot ha-kahal* as a possible source for allowing a judge in a religious court to deal with a certain matter, even though it was liable to concern his own interests (e.g., determination of the tax rate for which members of the community, he among them, would be liable; see HC 21/66 *Katabi v. Chairman of the Kiryat Ekron Local Council*. PD 20 (2) 108). In another case, the Supreme Court (Justice Elon) noted the great power of communal enactments in formulating the material relationships of a couple in view of the changing economic and social reality (CA 2/77 *Ezogi v. Ezogi*, PD 33 (3) 16–17), as well as in creating arrangements allowing daughters to receive a portion in their father's inheritance (Motion 427/78 *Sobol v. Goldman*, PD 33 (1) 800–803). In yet another case, the Supreme Court (Justice Elon) based its interpretation of tax legislation on the principles of interpretation of *takkanot ha-kahal* in Jewish law. The court concluded that the law should be construed according to its actual language rather than from the intention of the legislator, which is not clear from the explicit language of the law (HC 333/78 *Trust Company of Bank Leumi v. Director of Estate Duty*, PD 32 (3) 212–13; see at length *Interpretation). On yet another matter, the Supreme Court (Justice Elon) upheld the conviction of a person on a criminal charge on the basis of a confession given outside the courtroom, inter alia, on the basis of communal enactments from Spain that recognized the need to deviate from the usual laws of evidence under certain circumstances in order to punish the offender (according to 543/79 *Najar et al. v. State of Israel*, PD 35 (1) 163–170; see at length *Capital Punishment). Finally, in another case, the Supreme Court (Justice Elon) made use of an interpretation given by the Ribash to a public enactment from Catalonia in Spain concerning the delegation of powers (see *Public Authority), to construe the limits of the mayor's right to delegate his authority in a matter requiring use of judgment (HC 702/79 *Goldberg v. Head of the Ramat Hasharon Council*, PD 34 (4) 85).

[Aviad Hacohen (2nd ed.)]

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TAKU, MOSES BEN ḤISDAI (13th century), tosafist, commentator on *piyyutim*, and author of the polemical treatise, *Ketav Tammim*. Taku probably wrote in the fourth and fifth decades of the 13th century. The surname "Taku" has not been explained satisfactorily; it may be derived from the town Dachau; or it may be assumed that it comes from Tachov (Tachau) in Bohemia, but neither conjecture has been proved. There have been some doubts whether the same Moses b. Ḥisdai wrote all the halakhic, exegetical, and polemical works ascribed to him. It has been suggested that there was more than one writer of this name in the 13th century. However, comparison of the quotations from his writings in the *Arugat ha-Bosem* of *Abraham b. Azriel prove conclusively that the writer in the three fields of scholarship is the same person. Only one fragment of *Ketav Tammim* has survived, the end of the second part of the work and the beginning of the third. Quotations from the book are also found in Ashkenazi literature of the 13th century. Taku's polemic is unique in medieval European Hebrew literature. He fiercely opposed any innovation in the realm of beliefs and theology, rejecting both philosophy and the esoteric doctrines of the Ḥasidei Ashkenaz, and stated his unqualified acceptance of talmudic tradition at its face value. The main target of his attack was *Saadiah Gaon. He quoted extensively from his *Emunot ve-De'ot* and from his commentary on **Sefer Yeẓirah*, to prove the heresy inherent in the Saadianic doctrine of the revelation of the Divine Glory. Taku thought that Saadiah's teachings were the source of the doctrines of the Ashkenazi Ḥasidim, Abraham *Ibn Ezra, and *Maimonides, which include ideas which seem to him to threaten Orthodox belief – especially the doctrine of the immanence of God, which he understood to approach pagan pantheism. He mourns the new phenomenon of theological study in Judaism, and points at the catastrophic results for Judaism of previous theological inquiry – namely, Christianity and Karaism. His opposition to theological speculation caused him to suspect the authenticity of some parts of the traditional literature on the subject, mainly the **Shi'ur Komah* and other early speculative and mystical works. He calls upon the reader to accept literally the main body of talmudic tradition, to believe in what is explicitly stated there, and to reject any speculation about what is not explicit. It is unknown whether Taku's polemical work had any direct results on Ashkenazi Jewry. However, it is very probable that his arguments reflect the attitude of a considerable segment of the Jewish people of the time, who took no part in the then current controversies.

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[Joseph Dan]

TAL (Gruenthal), JOSEF (1910–), composer, pianist, and teacher. Born in Pinne (Pniewy), Poznania, where his father was rabbi of the community, Tal studied at the Hochschule für Musik in Berlin, with Tiessen, Hindemith and others. He settled in Palestine in 1934 and after a short stay in Kibbutz Gesher, he moved to Jerusalem, where he taught at the Palestine Conservatoire (founded 1933) and was among the founders of the Academy of Music there. He also performed frequently as piano soloist with the Palestine Orchestra (later the Israel Philharmonic Orchestra) as well as playing there as substitute harp player. In 1950 he was appointed as the first lecturer on music at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. In 1965 he was among the founders of the Department of Musicology at the Hebrew University, which was the first in the country.

Tal was the pioneer of electronic music in Israel, having won a UNESCO fellowship in this field. He set up a studio at the Hebrew University where in addition to composing he conducted an extensive research project on the notation of computer music. As one of the founders of Israeli art music (see *Music: In Modern Ereẓ Israel), Tal was consistent in maintaining his close association with the music of *Schoenberg and his school. He strongly opposed any external ideological pressures in the direction of the artificial concoction of a supposed "national style," maintaining his conviction that the very fact of his living and creating in Israel made him a genuine Israeli composer. An early manifestation of this attitude may be found in the second movement of his Piano Sonata (1952), which is based on an ostinato quote of a simple modal folk song by his friend Yehudah *Sharett, on which a set of atonal, chromatic variations is superposed. Tal kept abreast of all subsequent developments in western music, including serial techniques. His musical style has always been sincere, intense, extremely elaborate, and dominated by powerful individual expression, especially salient in his five symphonies. From 1970 Tal concentrated on the composition of operas, most of them, including *Ashmedai* and *Das Experiment*, commissioned by the Hamburg and Munich Opera Houses, whereas *Yosef* was commissioned by the Israel Opera. Tal used electronic sounds always in conjunction with instruments, such as in his concertos for piano and tape, or with voices, such as in his opera *Massada* and the choral work *Death Came to the Wooden Horse Michael* (poem by Nathan *Zach).

In 1970 Tal was awarded the Israel Prize. In 1981 he was honored with a certificate and honorary membership in the American Academy of Arts and Letters as an individual who had made an outstanding contribution to music. He wrote an autobiography, *Der Sohn des Rabbiners* (1985), and *Ad Yosef – Zikhronot, Hirhurim, Sikumim* ("Memories, Reflections, Summations"), with Ada Brodsky (1997)

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[Jehoash Hirshberg (2nd ed.)]

TAL, MIKHAIL (1936–1992), Soviet chess master. Born in Latvia, Tal showed promise at an early age. By the time he was 21 he had already won the Soviet championship (1957). He followed this by winning the series of zonal, interzonal, and candidates' tournaments which qualify a challenger for the world championship. In 1960 he qualified to play *Botvinnik and secured the title by winning six games, losing two, and drawing 13. The match was followed by a year of serious illness, which might have partially accounted for Botvinnik's recapture of the title in the return match. Playing brilliantly, Botvinnik won ten games, lost five, and drew six. In 1965 Tal won matches against the Hungarian chess master Laios Portisch and the Danish Bengt Larsen in the new type of candidates' tournaments, but was defeated by Boris Spassky in the final. In 1968 he again qualified to participate in the Candidates' Match tournament. Tal's play was characterized by a remarkable awareness of balances and imbalances. He exploited the imbalances repeatedly in extraordinary long-range combinative attacks. As a result, his chess suggested the tradition of Emanuel *Lasker and Alekhine rather than the more patient playing styles of Capablanca and Botvinnik. Tal's chess articles in the Soviet press contained some profound analyses of opening variations and of endgame position.

Tal went on to win the International Chess Tournament in Tallinn five times (1971, 1973, 1977, 1981, 1983) and tied with Karpov for first place in Montreal's Tournament of Stars in 1979.

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[Gerald Abrahams]

TALAVERA DE LA REINA, city in central Spain. The importance of the Jewish community there lay mainly in its connections with nearby *Toledo, the capital of the kingdom of Castile. When the Jewish settlement was established in Toledo, Jews probably settled in Talavera also; its community was under the jurisdiction of Toledo Jewry until the 13th century, achieving independence in the 14th century when it prospered and increased in size. Of the Jews of Talavera during the 13th century, noteworthy was Don Çulema Pintadura, who was *alfakim* in the service of King Alfonso x. Don Joseph Pimetiela, the royal *alfakim* who signed the agreement with the town of Burgos in the king's name in 1279, came from Talavera. It was also the home of Abu Amar (Joseph) b. Abi Elhassan, a friend of Todros b. Judah ha-Levi *Abulafia, who invited R. Todros to settle in Talavera. After 1280 R. Todros settled in Talavera in order to live at a distance from politics and within proximity of the kabbalists. *Isaac b. Samuel of Acre, who arrived in Spain after 1291, encountered him there. In 1291 the community paid 24,771 maravedis in annual tax; it was then a medium-sized community.

The fate of the community during the persecutions of the Jews in Spain of 1391 is not known. However, *Conversos were living in Talavera whose descendants were tried by the *Inquisition when its tribunal was transferred to Toledo in 1485 (see below). Documents concerning the debts owed by Jews to Christians for the purchase of houses and grain bought from the archbishop of Toledo are extant from 1432. Apparently after 1449 Jews of Toledo settled in Talavera, whose community subsequently did much to assist the inhabitants of the capital. Between 1477 and 1487, 168 families lived there. A precise description of the community's economic structure during that period has been recorded: 13 of the "wealthy" Jews owned property valued at more than 30,000 maravedis, the majority of them earning their livelihood from basket weaving; three were goldsmiths; two were shopkeepers; some were physicians or contractors; most, however, were craftsmen and included a blacksmith, a shoemaker, a tailor, and a cobbler. Only 37 of those who paid taxes had capital of more than 10,000 maravedis; 70 disposed of 1,000–10,000 maravedis, and 60 disposed of 100–500 maravedis. The files of seven Conversos from Talavera who were tried by the Inquisition of Toledo are extant. Some were sentenced to expulsion, with Jews also being called upon to testify against them. The close relations between the Jews and the Conversos there are evident in all the trial proceedings. The Jews of Talavera left Spain when the Jews were expelled from the country in 1492.

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[Haim Beinart]

TALHEIM, village in Wuerttemberg. Jewish refugees from *Heilbronn settled in Talheim in 1437. At the end of the 15th century, Jews from Talheim were permitted to trade at markets in Heilbronn, although they were not allowed to stay overnight. In the middle of the 16th century Jews were permitted to settle in Heilbronn; a number remained in Talheim, where most made their living as moneylenders. Their major occupation later became trading in livestock, although in 1729 the Count of Flein prohibited his subjects from trading in livestock with Jews from Talheim. The effects of the Thirty Years' War depleted the number of Jews, but Jews continued to live in Talheim until the middle of the 18th century.

In 1778 four Jewish families came to the village from nearby Horkheim and established themselves in an old castle (thereafter termed "*Judenschloss*") in the western part of the town. The Jewish settlement was under the jurisdiction of the dukedom of Wuerttemberg, then liberally disposed toward the Jews. Their entry was resented by the burghers in the eastern portion of the town, under the separate jurisdiction of Christopher von Gemmingen. When a new prayer room for the Jewish community was to be dedicated in 1793, they stormed the building, confiscated the sacred objects, and held them until 1803. The entire town came under the jurisdiction of Wuerttemberg in 1806, and Jews were no longer restricted to their small area of settlement. The number of Jews had grown to 40 in 1790, to 62 in 1828, and 122 in 1860. In 1832 the Jewish community of Talheim was included in a district that encompassed Sontheim and Horkheim. From 1849, the community was independent until its dissolution in 1939. The building that housed the prayer room was enlarged and converted into a synagogue in 1836. A *mikveh* and a school were added in 1851, and a school building was constructed in 1857.

From 1873 on, the community began to decline, partly due to a large emigration to the United States. There were only 82 Jews left in 1933. Nazi discriminatory legislation stimulated emigration still further. On Nov. 10–11, 1938, storm troopers demolished the interior of the synagogue. In 1941–42 the 32 Jews left in the town were deported to concentration camps; none returned after the war. During the war the synagogue was used as a prison, and in 1952 it was finally demolished. In 1983 a plaque was mounted to commemorate the former Jewish community and the synagogue.

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[Alexander Shapiro]

TALION, a concept of punishment whereby the prescribed penalty is identical with, or equivalent to, the offense. Identical (or "true") talions are death for homicide ("Whosoever sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed": Gen. 9:6), wounding for wounding ("an eye for an eye": Ex. 21:23–25; Lev. 24:19–20), and doing to the false witness "as he had purposed to do unto his fellow" (Deut. 19:19). Equivalent talions conform to some feature characteristic of the offense, but not to its essence or degree: the hand that sinned shall be cut off (Deut. 25:12) – not a hand for a hand, but the hand for what it had done. In the case of the adulteress, it is that part of her body with which she is suspected of having sinned that will be visited with divine punishment if she is guilty (Num. 5:21 as interpreted in Sot. 8b–9a, and see *Adultery). (For further biblical equivalent punishments see Ex. 32:20; Judg. 1:7; II Sam. 4:12; II Kings 9:26; Dan. 6:25.) While most identical talions were abolished by talmudic law (see below), equivalent talions survived through talmudic times (cf. Sanh. 58b; Nid. 13b) into the Middle Ages (cf. Rosh, Resp. 17:8 and 18:17; *Zikhron Yehudah* no. 58; et al.), and traces can even be found in modern law (e.g., the confiscation, mostly as an additional punishment, of firearms, vehicles, or other objects by means of which an offense was committed, or of smuggled goods; or the suspension of trading or driving licenses for trading or driving offenses).

True talionic punishments were undoubtedly practiced in biblical and post-biblical times. To retaliate measure for measure is God's own way of meting out justice (cf. Isa. 3:11; Jer. 17:10; 50:15; Ezek. 7:8; Obad. 15; et al.), and is defended by Philo as the only just method of punishment (Spec. 3:181–2). The account of the talion in Josephus (Ant. 4:280) supports the theory that, as in ancient Rome (Tabula 8:2), the victim had the choice of either accepting monetary compensation or insisting on talion (cf. Ex. 21:30 for an analogous case). Even in the talmudic discussion on the talion, one prominent dissenter consistently maintained that "an eye for an eye" meant the actual physical extraction of the offender's eye for that of the victim (BK 83b–84a). The majority, however, settled the law to the effect that talion for wounding was virtually abolished and replaced by the payment of damages (BK 8:1), primarily because the justice of the talion is more apparent than real: after all, one man's eye may be larger, smaller, sharper, or weaker than another's, and by taking one for the other, you take something equal in name only, but not in substance. Not only is the ratio of talion thus frustrated, but the biblical injunction that there should be one standard of law for all, would also be violated (Lev. 24:22). Also if a blind man takes another's eye, what kind of eye could be taken from him? or a cripple without legs who did injury to another's leg, what injury can be done to his? Nor can an eye or any other organ be extracted from a living man's body without causing further incidental injury, such as making him lose vast amounts of blood or even endangering his life; "and the Torah said, an eye for an eye, and not an eye and a soul for an eye" (BK 83b–84a). The very risk, unavoidable as it is, of exceeding the prescribed measure, is enough to render talion indefensible and impracticable (Saadiah Gaon, quoted by Ibn Ezra in his commentary on Ex. 21:24).

The monetary compensation replacing talion was not wholly in the nature of civil damages, however, but had a distinctly punitive element. This is clear from the rule that the penalty for inflicting injuries not resulting in pecuniary damage was *flogging (Ket. 32b; Sanh. 85a; Mak. 9a). The only reason why flogging could not be administered where any damages were payable was that two sanctions could never be imposed for any one offense (Ket. 37a; Mak. 13b; et al.).

While talionic practice was effectively outlawed, the talionic principle, as one of natural justice, was reaffirmed in the Talmud: the measure by which a man measures is the measure by which he will be measured (Sot. 1:7; Tosef. Sot. 3:1 as to punishments and 4:1 as to rewards). The famous precept of Hillel's, said to embody the whole of the Torah, that you should not do to another what you would not like to have done to you (Shab. 31a) is derived from the same principle.

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[Haim Hermann Cohn]

TALKER, EZEKIEL SAMUEL (1836–1929), Indian Jewish scholar. Talker, who belonged to the *Bene Israel community, was born in Bombay, and in 1867 published in Hebrew and Marathi (the vernacular of the Bene Israel) a book of prayers to be recited on all occasions, from birth to death, and a listing of the dietary laws. The title of the book, translated from Marathi, is *The Book of Ceremonies*, and was the first Hebrew book printed in India from type imported from England. The book became indispensable to all Indian Jews. Talker moved to Karachi where there was a small Bene Israel community and was instrumental in enlarging and rebuilding the Karachi synagogue, built in 1893. He gave it the name Magen Shalom. He served as *ḥazzan* and trained several assistants in order that "the eternal light should be kept burning continuously and eternally." Talker was buried in Karachi.

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TALLAHASSEE, Florida's capital city, about 160 miles west of Jacksonville in north Florida. The earliest record of a Jew in Tallahassee is 1837 when Raphael Jacob Moses had a store. By 1860 Tallahassee had 15 Jews, according to the *American Israelite*. Three were merchants, two were harness makers, and two were bookkeepers. After the Civil War (1865), Robert Williams and his wife Helena Dzialynski of Jacksonville moved to Tallahassee from nearby Jasper. Williams bought a store, and started three cotton plantations. A traditional Jew, Robert Williams provided the Torah and was civically active as well. The couple had five daughters and all of them found Jewish spouses. In 1877 when Rachelle Williams married Jacob Raphael Cohen of Orlando, a rabbi was brought from Charleston, South Carolina, and Jews from throughout the south attended. Henrietta married Tallahassee merchant Julius Diamond and their daughter Ruby Diamond was born in 1886. She graduated from Florida State College for Women (now FSU) in 1905 with a B.A. in chemistry. Miss Ruby was a legend in her lifetime, Florida's "Miss Daisy." Another daughter, Mena, was the first Miss Florida in 1885.

William Levy, who arrived in 1872, operated a store. In his memory, his wife Sarah gave the property for Temple Israel's first building (1937). Jacob Burkeim and his wife came in 1873 and two years later Jacob started a Sunday school. In March 1878, a Purim Ball was held when there were nine Jewish families and nine single men in town. Alfred Wahnish of Morocco and his wife Carrie came to Tallahassee in the 1880s. He began a 3,600-acre tobacco plantation; today there is a Wahnish Way (street) that designates the site. One of the Wahnishes six children was Sam, president of the American Legion and the Elks, who was elected mayor of Tallahassee in 1939. By the 1890s two lots were designated for Jewish burial in the Old City Cemetery and the Hebrew Benevolent Society was founded (1896). Peddler Sam Mendelson of Romania settled in Tallahassee with his wife Jennie and four children around 1910 because "it was a larger town than Miami." Sam was the founding president of Temple Israel in 1937. Jews living in outlying towns such as Quincy, Live Oak, Monticello, and Perry were mostly involved in dry goods stores or growing tobacco and were closely tied to the Jews living in Tallahassee. The Fleets and Mendelsons are examples of Live Oak Jewish families from 1903 who had some members settle in Tallahassee in later years. In the early 1920s Hyman Myers was a fur and hide trader who also sold pecans and scrap metal. Rose Printing, established in 1932 by Sam and Fannye Rosenberg, is one of the largest specialty printers and book manufacturers in the southeast. Albert Block who married Evelyn Rosenberg, the founders' daughter, was one of the fathers of the state's Minimum Foundation Program guaranteeing a basic level of education for every Florida school child and helped develop the state's community college system.

David Sholtz of Daytona Beach was inaugurated in Tallahassee as Florida's 26th governor on January 3, 1933. He had served in the legislature in 1917 and to date is the only Jew to have served as governor of Florida.

In the early days religious services were held in the Masonic Temple.

Temple Israel was founded in 1937 when Tallahassee's population was 16,000 with fewer than 30 Jewish families. Rabbi Max Eichorn was engaged for Temple Israel and for the 100 female students on the campus of FSCW. In 1939, there was a front-page story in the local paper, "The Grand Lodge of Florida Masons yesterday laid the cornerstone of the first Jewish place of worship to be built here."

B'nai B'rith Lodge 1043 was founded in 1938. The first Jewish cemetery in Tallahassee was established in 1942. During the WW II period, Tallahassee Jewry hosted Jewish soldiers from military bases in the area.

After World War II, Tallahassee grew quickly. Drawn by state government, universities, and the military, the Jewish population also expanded. Shopping in downtown Tallahassee in the 1950s, you could find many "Mom and Pop" Jewish businesses – Turners, Fleets, Mendelsons. and Gilbergs. Groundbreaking for Temple Israel's religious school building was in 1955. Albert B. Block donated the site and Rabbi Stanley Garfein served the congregation for 30 years beginning in the late 1960s. In the 1950s and 1960s Jews were involved in the Civil Rights movement and in anti-discrimination legislation. Gene Berkowitz served as mayor twice (1968 and 1972) and was instrumental in laying the groundwork for the Civic Center. Many Jews throughout Florida have been elected to state government, moved to Tallahassee, and become active in the Jewish community. Richard Stone was secretary of state from 1972 to 1974. He and his wife, Marlene, strongly supported and encouraged Jewish community life. Florida State University also brought many Jews to the community; for a quarter century Richard L. *Rubenstein, the post-Holocaust theologian who authored the controversial work *After Auschwitz*, made Tallahassee his home.

The Jewish population has grown with Jewish faculty at Florida State University and state government. In 2005 Tallahassee, a city of 151,000, had a Jewish population of approximately 4,400. It supports three congregations: Temple Israel

(Reform with about 360 families), Shomrei Torah (Conservative) and Chabad; Hillel and several Jewish organizations: National Council of Jewish Women, Hadassah, and B'nai B'rith. Since the Tallahassee Jewish Federation's inception in the 1980s, the Ruby Diamond Foundation has been the single largest contributor to its campaigns.

[Marcia Jo Zerivitz (2nd ed.)]

TALLINN (Ger. **Reval**; Rus. **Revel**), capital of Estonia. Jews are mentioned in municipal documents from the 14th century. In 1561, when Tallinn was captured by the Swedes, Jewish settlement was prohibited and remained so until 1710, when the city was annexed by Russia. Although outside the *Pale of Settlement, Jewish merchants visited Tallinn and some even settled there, only to be expelled subsequently. In 1828 Jewish conscripts were brought there to be educated in a *Cantonist institution. These youths, as well as other Jewish soldiers stationed in Tallinn, founded the local Jewish community. There was a synagogue founded in 1856 as well as a Jewish cemetery. At that time there were about 60 families of Jewish soldiers in the city. After 1856 they were joined by other Jews permitted to reside outside the Pale of Settlement, and thus the Jewish population grew considerably. In 1897 it numbered 1,193 (2% of the total). The community continued to develop after the establishment of independent Estonia, numbering 1,929 in 1922, and 2,203 in 1934. By that time there was a network of Hebrew educational institutions from kindergarten to secondary school. With the annexation of Estonia to Soviet Russia in 1940, organized Jewish life came to an end (see *Estonia). In 1959, 3,717 Jews were registered in Tallinn (1.3%), of whom 25% declared Yiddish to be their mother tongue. In 1970 there were 3,754 Jews, dropping to around 1,000 in 2005 due to emigration mainly to Israel. In 2005 the Jewish community of Tallinn had a synagogue, community center, kindergarten, Sunday school, summer camp, and burial society. In September of 2005, ground was broken in Tallinn to build the first new synagogue in Estonia in almost a century

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[Yehuda Slutsky / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

TALLIT (Heb. טַלִּית, pl. *tallitot*; Yid. *tales*, pl. *talesim*), prayer shawl. Originally the word meant "gown" or "cloak." This was a rectangular mantle that looked like a blanket and was worn by men in ancient times. At the four corners of the *tallit* tassels were attached in fulfillment of the biblical commandment of **ẓiẓit* (Num. 15:38–41). The *tallit* was usually made either of wool or of linen (Men. 39b) and probably resembled the *abbayah* ("blanket") still worn by Bedouin for protection against the weather. The *tallit* made of finer quality was similar to the Roman *pallium* and was worn mostly by the wealthy and by distinguished rabbis and scholars (BB 98a). The length of the mantle was to be a handbreadth shorter than that of the garment under it (BB 57b). After the exile of the Jews from Ereẓ Israel and their dispersion, they came to adopt the fashions of their gentile neighbors more readily. The *tallit* was discarded as a daily habit and it became a religious garment for prayer; hence its later meaning of prayer shawl.

The *tallit* is usually white and made either of wool, cotton, or silk, although *Maimonides and *Alfasi objected to the use of the latter. Strictly observant Jews prefer *tallitot* made of coarse half-bleached lamb's wool. In remembrance of the blue thread of the *ẓiẓit* (see **tekhelet*), most *tallitot* have several blue stripes woven into the white material (see Zohar, Num. 227a). Until a few decades ago, however, they only had black stripes.

Frequently the upper part of the *tallit* around the neck and on the shoulders has a special piece of cloth sewn with silver threads (called *atarah*, "diadem"), to mark the upper (i.e., the "collar") and the outer parts of the four-cornered prayer shawl. Some *tallitot* have the benediction, recited when putting on the *tallit*, woven into the *atarah*. Others, especially those made of silk, are often richly embroidered and some have the benediction woven into the entire cloth of the *tallit*. The minimum size of a *tallit* is that which would suffice to clothe a small child able to walk (Sh. Ar., OḤ 16:1).

The *tallit* is worn by males during the morning prayers (except on the Ninth of *Av, when it is worn at the afternoon service), as well as during all *Day of Atonement services. The *ḥazzan*, however, according to some rites, wears the *tallit* also during the afternoon and evening services (as does the reader from the Torah during the *Minḥah* prayer on fast days). Before putting on the prayer shawl, the following benediction is said: "Blessed art Thou, O Lord, our God, King of the universe, Who hast sanctified us by Thy commandments, and hast commanded us to wrap ourselves in the fringed garment." When the *tallit* is put on, the head is first covered with it and the four corners thrown over the left shoulder (a movement called *atifat Yishme'elim*, "after the manner of the Arabs"). After a short pause, the four corners are allowed to fall back into their original position: two are suspended on each side. On weekdays, the *tallit* is donned before putting on the **tefillin*. Among strictly observant Jews, it was the custom to put on *tallit* and *tefillin* at home and to walk in them to the synagogue (Isserles, to Sh. Ar., OḤ 25:2). They also pray with the *tallit* covering their head; to be enfolded by the *tallit* is regarded as being enveloped by the holiness of the commandments of the Torah, denoting a symbolic subjection to the Divine Will (see also RH 17b). Generally, however, people pray with the *tallit* resting on their shoulders only. The *kohanim*, however, cover their heads with the *tallit* during their recital of the *Priestly Blessing. It is customary in the morning service to press the fringes to the eyes and to kiss them three times during the recital of the last section of the **Shema* (Num. 15:37–41) which deals with the commandment of *ẓiẓit* (Sh. Ar., OḤ 24:4).

The custom of wearing the *tallit* differs in many communities. In the Ashkenazi ritual, small children under bar mitzvah age dress in *tallitot* made according to their size, whereas in the Polish-Sephardi ritual only married men wear them (Kid. 29b). In most Oriental rites, unmarried men wear *tallitot*.

In *Reform synagogues, the *tallit* is part of the synagogue service garments of the rabbi and the cantor. For male congregants, the wearing of a small prayer shawl, resembling a scarf and worn around the neck, is optional. Those called to the reading from the Torah, however, always don a *tallit*.

In some communities, it is customary for the bridegroom to dress in a *tallit* during the **ḥuppah* ceremony. It is likewise customary to bury male Jews in their *tallit* from which the fringes have been removed or torn (see *Burial).

The **ẓiẓit* worn by men with their daily dress is known as **tallit katan* ("small *tallit*").

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TALLIT KATAN (Heb. טַלִּית קָטָן; "small *tallit"; Yid. *tales koten, arba kanfot*, or *arba kanfes*; and *tsidekel*, from the Ger. *Leibzudeckel*), a rectangular garment of white cotton, linen, or wool with *ẓiẓiyyot* ("fringes") on its four corners. Whereas the ordinary *tallit* is worn only at the morning service, strictly observant Jews wear the *tallit katan* under their upper garment the whole day, so as constantly to fulfill the biblical commandment of **ẓiẓit* (Num. 15:39), a reminder to observe all the comandments of the Torah. The *tallit katan* is, therefore, often worn in a manner that it may be seen; if not, that at least the *ẓiẓiyyot* hang freely and are visible (Sh. Ar., OḤ 8:11). The minimum size of a *tallit katan* ought to be ¾ ell long and ½ ell wide (15 in. × 10 in.). According to another opinion, it should be one square ell (20 in. × 20 in.). The *tallit katan* is put on in the morning, and the following benediction is said: "Blessed art Thou, O Lord our God, King of the universe, Who hast sanctified us by Thy commandments and commanded us [to wear] the *ẓiẓit*." The *tallit katan* must always be clean and, in reverence for its sanctity, should not be worn on the bare flesh but over an undershirt. If one of the *ẓiẓiyot* is torn, the whole *tallit katan* becomes ritually unfit (*pesulah*) until the torn *ẓiẓit* is replaced.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Shulḥan Arukh, OḤ 8:3, 6; Eisenstein, Dinim, 151–2.

TALMACIU (Rom. **Tălmaciu**; Hung. **Bántolmács**), village in central Romania; until the end of World War I within Hungary. Its name is connected with a theory concerning the ancient Jewish settlement in Transylvania, which supposedly existed during the reign of Decebalus, king of Dacia (d. c. 107). Some have attempted to derive the name Talmaciu, without any philological basis whatsoever, from the word "Talmud." This theory originated in an epos entitled *De oppido Thalmus*, written in Latin by Joannis Lebel, a Christian priest who held office in Talmaciu in the mid-16th century. The work was written in 1542 but was published for the first time in Sibiu in 1779. However, it was known to scholars while still in manuscript and upon the basis of the data it contained, historians and authors began to propagate information on the ancient Jewish settlement. In the epos itself, it is said that a Jew of the tribe of Dan, with several other Jews, came to the assistance of King Decebalus in his struggle against the Romans so as to avenge in this fashion the Roman conquest of Jerusalem. In appreciation for their support, these Jews, of whom Decebalus was very fond, received authorization to settle in the above village. They established a settlement in which there was a thriving Jewish life.

Even though there is so far no substantiation for this theory in any source, or any historical proof, the argument has been repeated since 1557, and particularly after the publication of the work, to the present time. Among historians who seriously discussed this theory were Sulzer in *Geschichte des transalpinischen Daciens* (vol. 2, p. 148) and S. *Kohn, the leading Jewish historian in Hungary, in *A zsidók története Magyaroszágon* ((1884), 6–7). An attempt to investigate the theory and refute it was published by the Romanian Jewish historian Carol Blum in *Evreii din Thalmus* (Sinai Anuar (1928), 73–77). The theory nevertheless lives on and is mentioned in general articles, as well as in publications which deal with the history of the Jews in Transylvania, Romania, and other places.

[Yehouda Marton]

TALMI, IGAL (1925–), Israeli physicist. He was born in Kiev, Ukraine, in the former Soviet Union and immigrated to Palestine the same year. On leaving school he joined the Palmaḥ after which he studied physics under G. *Racah. Sponsored by the newly formed Israel Atomic Energy Commission, he worked with W. Pauli at the Federal Institute of Technology in Zurich (1949–52) followed by a research fellowship at Princeton University, U.S. (1952–54). From 1954 he was a member of the department of nuclear physics of the Weizmann Institute of which he was appointed director (1967); he became professor emeritus. Talmi's research concerned nuclear structure and the manner in which protons and neutrons of nucleons are held together despite the electrostatic repulsion of the positively charged protons. He developed the shell model in which nucleons move in orbits within the core of the nucleus determined by interactions with other nucleons. This model is supported by theoretical and experimental data in good agreement. He continued to work to support his description of the shell model with further physical data. He was awarded the Israel Prize for exact sciences (1965), jointly with his collaborator Amos *De-Shalit, and was elected to the Israel Academy of Sciences. He was a member of the Israel Atomic Energy Commission.

[Michael Denman (2nd ed.)]

TALMID ḤAKHAM (Heb. תַּלְמִיד חָכָם; pl. *talmidei ḥakhamim*; lit. "a disciple of the wise" rather than "a wise student"), the appellation given to a rabbinical scholar. The Talmud expresses the preference of the aristocracy of learning over that of distinguished descent or position by stating that "a *talmid ḥakham*, even though a *mamzer [who is on the lowest rung of the ladder of descent] takes precedence over the high priest [who represents the highest degree of aristocratic descent] who is an ignoramus" (Hor. 3:8, TJ, *ibid.*, 48c, end). The Jerusalem Talmud (Hor. loc. cit.) in extending that list of precedences puts the *talmid ḥakham* (though the word *ḥakham* alone is used) at the top of the list of protocol, preceding the king.

The *talmid ḥakham*, however, represented not only the aristocracy of learning, but much more significant, the learned aristocrat. Although his basic qualification was a comprehensive knowledge of the whole Bible ("the 24 books," Ex. R. 41:5) and the whole of the Oral Law ("Mishnah, Talmud, *halakhah*, and *aggadot*," Song R. 5:13), scholarship alone did not suffice. There were two essential additional qualifications – one was *shimmush*, attending upon, and thus coming under the personal influence of, his teacher and learning from his deportment (Yoma 86a). It was conceivably this duty which lay behind the connotation "disciple of the wise." The other qualification was piety, "Woe unto the enemies of the *talmidei ḥakhamim* (a euphemism for *talmidei ḥakhamim*) who occupy themselves with the Torah and do not possess the fear of heaven" (Yoma 72b).

In Babylonia Rav attempted to lay down a list of attainments that the *talmid ḥakham* should acquire. R. Judah said in his name that they should include a knowledge of writing (a scroll), *sheḥitah*, and circumcision, while Hananiah b. Shelemiah added, also in the name of Rav, the ability to tie the knot of *tefillin* and of *ẓiẓit*, as well as the blessings of the marriage ceremony (Ḥul 9a) – these are not to be regarded as qualifications for being a *talmid ḥakham*, but accomplishments which it was desirable that he should possess. The whole conception of the *talmid ḥakham* in rabbinical literature is based upon the principle of *noblesse oblige*. If on the one hand the rabbis insisted upon the privileges, both material and of status to which the *talmid ḥakham* was entitled, on the other hand they equally insisted upon his maintenance of a rigid and exalted standard of conduct and ethical behavior which was not demanded of the ordinary person.

The material advantages which accrued to the *talmid ḥakham* were considerable. Whereas the Jerusalem Talmud makes the list of preferences which puts the *talmid ḥakham* first apply to both social precedence and such material benefits as redemption from captivity, providing for his means, including clothing, the Babylonian Talmud confines it to the latter. He was exempt from communal taxation, and from all corvées or levies of manpower. One *amora*, interpreting the *ḥanikhim* of Gen. 14:14 as referring to *talmidei ḥakhamim*, states that exile was decreed on the descendants of Abraham because he pressed them into the *angaria* (Ned. 32a), a word which, though in the context refers to military service, applies to all forced labor. As long as he devoted himself only to study, "his stint was performed by the other citizens of the town" (Shab. 114a). He was even exempt from, or forbidden to, indulge in fasting, since "he thereby reduces his toil for the sake of heaven" (Ta'an. 11b). Where an ordinary claimant of lost goods had to produce evidence of identification, the *talmid ḥakham* could claim it solely on his assurance that he recognized it as his (Shab. 114a – this is the real meaning of the phrase, which is often wrongly explained as meaning that he had a "discerning eye"). He was appointed to communal positions (Shab. 114a; Git. 60a).

All the regulations and injunctions with regard to the *talmid ḥakham* bear the unmistakable stamp common to every conscious aristocracy, which finds its expression not only in a rigid standard of ethical conduct (and, of course, in this case the requirements of the ceremonial and ritual law), but a whole host of regulations which belong to the sphere of etiquette and even elegance. To this category, for instance, belong the injunctions that he should be moderate in his sexual life, not "frequenting his wife like a cock" (Ber. 22a) but limiting himself to once a week, on the eve of Sabbath (Ket. 62b). Not only should he wear a distinctive dress; his undergarment should be such that his skin is not visible, his upper garment so long that only a handbreath of his undergarment is visible (BB 57b). He had to be immaculate in his dress, and so insistent were the rabbis on this that they actually stated that "a *talmid ḥakham* on whose garment there is a stain is deserving of death" (Shab. 114a). He should not wear patched shoes, indulge in casual conversation with women in the marketplace, or be found in the company of ignoramuses (Ber. 43b), nor eat in the street or marketplace (TJ, Ma'as. 3:5, 50d). Whereas the *am ha-areẓ* put so many things under his bed that it was like "a packed storehouse," the *talmid ḥakham* kept under it only his sandals in summer and shoes in winter (BB 58a), and whereas the table of the *am ha-areẓ* was like "a hearth with pots all round it," that of the *talmid ḥakham* had to be only two-thirds covered, the other third should be cleared for placing on it the dishes and vegetables (*ibid.*, 57b). Although it was regarded as praiseworthy to bring him gifts (Ber. 54b; Ket. 105b, 111a), the *talmid ḥakham* was enjoined to refrain from benefiting from the public (*Tanna de-Vei Eliyahu* 18). In general he had to be "externally as he was internally" (Yoma 72b), and he had to be entirely beyond reproach (Song R. 6:2 no. 2). He was permitted an "eighth part of an eighth part of pride" (Sot. 5a). It is therefore not surprising that the most compact and comprehensive of the qualities expected of the *talmid ḥakham* are to be found in the post-talmudic tractate *Derekh Ereẓ Zuta*, which treats of etiquette. "The *talmid ḥakham* should be modest in his deportment but renowned for his actions; pursuing truth and not falsehood, faithfulness and not violence, humility and not arrogance, peace and not war, following the counsel of the elders and not of children, a lion rather than a woman" (ch. 7, cf. also ch. 1 which is more comprehensive and poetical).

The praise of the *talmidei ḥakhamim* is unbounded. They are the builders who "occupy themselves with the building up of the world during their whole life" (Shab. 114a); they "increase peace in the world" (Ber. 64a); this passage too is connected with the idea of the *talmid ḥakham* as a "builder"); they are compared to the prophets (Shab. 119b). The *talmid ḥakham* had to be held in the utmost respect. R. Akiva went so far as to interpret the "*et*" (אֶת) of Deut. 6:13, "thou shalt have reverence for (*et*) the Lord," to include the *talmidei ḥakhamim* (Pes. 22b). He had to be provided with an escort when going out at night (Ber. 43b), and one of the reasons put forward for the destruction of the Temple was that they held the *talmidei ḥakhamim* in light esteem (Shab. 119b). If in the sphere of social status the lowest rung of the ladder was the *mamzer*, in the social and intellectual sphere he was represented by the *am ha-areẓ*, and "he is an *am ha-areẓ*" (e.g., "he who has studied Bible and Mishnah but has not done *shimmush*") is a synonym for "he is no *talmid ḥakham*" (Ber. 47b; Suk. 22a). There is ample evidence of a tension and even enmity between the *am ha-areẓ* and the *talmid ḥakham,* and similar expressions of hatred for the *am ha-areẓ* on the part of the *talmidei ḥakhamim*, especially in later traditions of the Babylonian Talmud (Pes. 49b). In the Palestinian rabbinic tradition we often find a different tone, such as in the passage where the *talmid ḥakham* who "enters the houses of the *amei ha-areẓ* and delights them with words of Torah" is praised (Lev. R. 34:13). These contradictions have long been the subject of scholarly debate (see: *Am ha-Areẓ). In general, however, it was clear that the *talmid ḥakham* should not associate with the *amei ha-areẓ*, by sitting in their company (Ber. 43b) and, all the more, by dining with them (Pes. 49a). If one could not belong to this aristocracy by virtue of one's attainments, at least one could follow the time-honored practice of "marrying into the aristocracy," and with unusual frequency the advice is given to "marry one's daughter to a *talmid ḥakham*" (cf. Ket. 111b; Pes. 49a) and even the purpose of this "marrying into the aristocracy" would be fulfilled; "the children will be *talmidei ḥakhamim*" (*Tanna de-Vei Eliyahu R.*, 5).

Especial consideration was given to the apparent incongruity of the *talmid ḥakham*, who was supposed to "increase peace in the world," indulging in wordy and often heated controversy with his colleagues in debate. The many references to it are evidence of the desire to solve this apparent contradiction. They point to the fact that whereas the scholars in Ereẓ Israel conducted their debates in an atmosphere of pleasantness, those of Babylonia conducted them with vehemence, not sparing one another's feelings, and "wounding" one another (Sanh. 24a), and it was a Palestinian scholar who taught that "when two *talmidei ḥakhamim* are amiable to one another in their halakhic debates, the Holy One, blessed be He, gives heed to them" (Shab. 63a). The Babylonian scholars, however, while admitting the sharpness and vigor of their discussions, regarded it as a virtue (Ta'an. 7a). Despite the opposition between them they were permitted to combine to form a *zimmun* (the minimum of three for reciting the Grace After Meals in unison) which presupposes a harmony of mind between those participating, and both R. Ḥisda and R. Sheshet who, representing two different trends, the one a reliance on tradition and the other the method of keen dialectics (Er. 67a), cited themselves as examples of halakhic disputants who nevertheless were of common mind (Ber. 47b). In fact, it was insisted that *talmidei ḥakhamim* (the text has "even a father and son" and "a master and a disciple," but the reference is obviously to *talmidei ḥakhamim*) who "study together and become enemies to one another, at the end come to love each other" (Kid. 30b).

An idealized picture of the *talmid ḥakham* is presented; but there is ample evidence that the sages consciously strove to live up to these exalted ideals. In a discussion on what constitutes *ḥillul ha-Shem* (see **Kiddush ha-Shem* and *Ḥillul ha-Shem*), Rav stated that "in my case [i.e., because he was a *talmid ḥakham*] it would constitute *ḥillul ha-Shem* if I took meat from the butcher and did not pay him on the spot," while R. Johanan applied it to personal deportment, "walking four cubits without speaking in Torah or wearing *tefillin*" (Yoma 86a). R. Eleazar rejected gifts sent to him by the *nasi* and refused invitations to be his guest, excusing himself wittily by saying, "Do you not want me to live? – as it is written (Prov. 15:27), 'He that hateth gifts shall live'" and R. Ze'eira and R. Neḥunya b. ha-Kanah did likewise (Meg. 28a; Ḥul. 44b). Innumerable examples could be given of each and every one of these virtues and manners of deportment being not only preached but practiced. The significance of the *talmid ḥakham* as the ideal type of the aristocracy of Judaism is reflected in the fact that the *Oẓar ha-Aggadah* of H.D. Gross lists no less than 281 dicta from the Talmud and Midrashim in which the *talmid ḥakham* is mentioned, yet the list is incomplete, and it can also be supplemented, as he indicates, by those on the synonymous terms, or related subjects of *ẓurva mi-rabbanan*, *ḥakham*, *rav* and *talmid*, etc.

In the modern vernacular the term *talmid ḥakham* merely conveys the person who is learned in Talmud.

See also *Sages.

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[Louis Isaac Rabinowitz]

TALMON, JACOB LEIB (1916–1980), Israeli historian. Born in Rypin, Poland, Talmon went to Ereẓ Israel in 1934 and in 1939 graduated from the Hebrew University, later studying at the Sorbonne, and the London School of Economics. From 1944 to 1947 he was secretary to the Palestine Committee of the Board of Deputies of British Jews. In 1949 Talmon was appointed lecturer at the Hebrew University and in 1960 professor. Talmon is best known for his contribution to the history of ideas, the analysis of the intricate texture of political and social trends in 19th-century Europe, which contained the roots of the apparently new ideological phenomena of the 20th century, particularly totalitarianism.

His main work is contained in his *The Origins of Totalitarian Democracy* (1952) and *Political Messiahism: The Romantic Phase* (1960). Its theme is the struggle between the empirical-liberal and the totalitarian-messianic types of democracy. Both are shown to stem from 18th-century philosophical premises and the clash in the French Revolution. The political and ideological currents since 1800 are seen as variations of these types. Modern revolutionary movements including Marxism and its offshoots are thus presented as expressions of political messianism which still dominates a large part of the world. In another work, *Romanticism and Revolt* (1967), Talmon portrays the age of Romanticism. He delineates the movement of the forces released by the revolution of 1789 toward the tragic clash and denouement of 1848. *The Unique and the Universal* (1965) is a collection of essays designed to bring out the significantly modern tensions between those developments – technological, social, and ideological – which lead to universal uniformity on the one hand and the self-assertion of racial and national peculiarities on the other. In these essays the Jewish phenomenon is highlighted as the outstanding sample of this dilemma, "ultimately a sample of the great human condition."

In his books as well as in numerous essays, articles, and public debates, Talmon proved himself an outstanding interpreter of Zionism in a changing world context. His exchange with Toynbee attracted the attention of the intellectual world. Talmon took an active and determined stand on topical questions of Jewish life such as the Arab-Israel conflict, religion and state, Jewish and Israel identity, continuity and innovation, and Jews and revolution. He showed himself a confirmed believer in the principles of political liberty, freedom of conscience, religious toleration, self-determination, and mutual respect among nations.

After the *Six-Day War (1967) Talmon resolutely advocated a compromise solution of the conflict based on territorial concessions and primarily on the mutual recognition of the Jewish and Palestinian-Arab right of self-determination. Talmon received the Israel Prize for social sciences and law in 1956. He was a member of the Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities.

TALMON (Zalmonovitch), SHEMARYAHU (1920–), Bible scholar. Born in Skierniwice, Poland, Talmon received his primary and high school education at the Jüdisches Reform-Real Gymnasium in Breslau, Germany. He immigrated to Palestine in 1939, after being interned for three months in Buchenwald concentration camp.

Talmon obtained his doctorate from the Hebrew University in Jerusalem in 1946, focusing in his doctoral thesis on the text and versions of the Hebrew Bible and in particular on "double meanings" in biblical texts. He refined and supplemented these studies over the years, contributing to many areas of biblical study, applying text-critical procedures to the cultural and literary history of ancient Israel.

His sociological approach to text history advanced the understanding of various aspects of the biblical text, especially with regard to the Qumran scrolls found in the Judean Desert. His interests in the texts found in Qumran and in sociological research were combined in the study of the nature and history of the Qumran monastery.

Talmon was active in the field of biblical education both in Israel and elsewhere. He held the position of director for educational institutions in the "Illegal" Immigration Camps in Cyprus (1947–48). He taught at the major Israeli universities and served as a visiting professor at many institutions throughout the world. He was the dean at Haifa University and of the Faculty of Humanities at the Hebrew University and rector of the Institute of Judaic Studies in Heidelberg.

Talmon was also involved in forging cultural and intellectual links with the World Council of Churches and the Vatican and was prominent in international Jewish-Christian dialogue.

He held various editorial positions, published hundreds of articles, and edited numerous books, including *Qumran and the History of the Biblical Text* (1975). His books include *King, Cult, and Calendar* (1986), *Gesellschaft und Literatur in der Hebräischen Bibel* (1988), and *The World of Qumran from Within* (1989). A Festschrift written in his honor, *Sha'arei Talmon*, appeared in 1990.

[Elaine Hoter]

TALMON, ZVI (1922–), *ḥazzan*, composer, conductor. Born in Jerusalem, Talmon obtained his basic cantorial education in the *Shirat Israel* choir there with Cantor Solomon Zalman *Rivlin. He studied at the Eẓ Ḥayyim yeshivah and at the Mizrachi teachers' seminar, both in Jerusalem. He learned composition and conducting at the Jerusalem Institute of Music and at the Academy of Music. He set to music scores of selections from the prayers, biblical passages, Hebrew songs and also arranged the music for the Yad Vashem memorial services for *Yom ha-Shoah* (Holocaust Remembrance Day). He led synagogue choirs, including that of the Hekhal Shelomo synagogue in Jerusalem. His melodies for Sabbath prayers appeared in the *Rinat ha-Heikhal* anthology published by the Cantors Assembly in America. These works are based on traditional chants for prayers and cantillations for Torah reading interwoven with original Israeli tunes. Among his publications are *La-Menaẓeiah Mizmor,* biblical songs, and *Mizmorei Shem ve-Yefet*, Israeli, Jewish, and Italian songs for choirs, and an additional volume of his works for the Sabbath and the Festivals. He has written linguistic studies on the Hebrew and Aramaic languages for which he received his academic degree. Talmon served as an instructor in cantorial music and texts of the prayers at the cantorial school affiliated to the Great Synagogue in Jerusalem.

[Akiva Zimmerman]

TALMUD (Heb. תַּלְמוּד). The word "Talmud" means primarily "study" or "learning" and is employed in various senses. One refers to the opinions and teachings which disciples acquire from their predecessors in order to expound and explain them (*Seder Tanna'im ve-Amora'im*; cf. Rashi to Suk. 28b; BM 32a–b, et al.). Another sense comprises the whole body of one's learning; e.g., "He from whom one has acquired the greater part of his Talmud is to be regarded as one's teacher" (BM 33a). A third meaning is in the technical phrase *talmud lomar*, which is used to indicate a teaching derived from the exegesis of a biblical text. A fourth meaning is the analytical aspect of the commandment of Torah study (cf. Maim., Yad, The Laws of Torah Study 1:11). The word "Talmud" is most commonly used, however, to denote the bodies of teaching consisting largely of the traditions and discussions of the *amoraim* organized around the text of the *Mishnah of R. *Judah ha-Nasi (see *Talmud, Babylonian, and *Talmud, Jerusalem).

In popular parlance two other phrases are used as alternative names for the Talmud. The first is **Shas*, an abbreviation consisting of the initial letters of *Shishah Sidrei* (Mishnah), i.e., the "Six Orders" (of the Mishnah) which serve as the literary foundation for the *talmudim*. The second is **Gemara* (for a full discussion see Albeck, *Mevo ha-Talmud* (1969), ch. 1).

[Eliezer Berkovits / Stephen G. Wald (2nd ed.)]

TALMUD, BABYLONIAN (Heb. תַּלְמוּד בַּבְלִי), a literary work of monumental proportions (5,894 folio pages in the standard printed editions), which draws upon the totality of the spiritual, intellectual, ethical, historical, and legal traditions produced in rabbinic circles from the time of the destruction of the Second Temple in the first century until the Muslim conquest at the beginning of the seventh century. The Babylonian Talmud (Bavli) is often described as being a commentary to the *Mishnah of Rabbi *Judah ha-Nasi, but the actual relationship between these two works is far more complex. The external form of the Bavli is indeed organized in the shape of a vast literary superstructure which rests on the firm foundation of the Mishnah (see *Mishnah, The Mishnah as a Literary Work) – or more precisely on four of the six orders of the Mishnah: *Mo'ed*, *Nashim*, *Nezikin*, and *Kodashim*, there being no Talmud Bavli to the first order of the Mishnah, *Zeraim* (with the exception of *Berakhot*), or to the sixth order of the Mishnah, *Tohorot* (with the exception of *Niddah*). Moreover, the long dialectical arguments called *sugyot*, which make up much of the literature of the Bavli, often take the text of the Mishnah as their starting point. On the other hand, the Bavli includes and discusses two additional bodies of rabbinic sources: (1) *baraitot* – tannaitic sources which were not incorporated in the Mishnah of Rabbi Judah ha-Nasi, deriving for the most part from the same tannaitic period as the sources of the Mishnah (1st–2nd centuries), and almost equal to them in authority (see **Baraita*); (2) the teachings of all the generations of the **amoraim* (3rd–5th centuries), both Babylonian and Palestinian. The Bavli cites and discusses these sources for their own sake, and not merely insofar as they enlighten some obscure point in the Mishnah. The inclusion of these different strata of authoritative religious sources in the Bavli, together with the anonymous and largely post-amoraic editorial literary level of the Bavli – the so called *setam ha-talmud* – make the Bavli into an autonomous and comprehensive work of *halakhah* and *aggadah* (see: Mishnah, *Halakhah* in the Mishnah, *Aggadah* in the Mishnah). In effect, the Bavli incorporates both of the fundamental levels of rabbinic tradition which are represented in the two similar works of talmudic literature which were redacted in Ereẓ Israel – the *Tosefta and the *Jerusalem Talmud (Yerushalmi) – and in so doing both comprehends and transcends these earlier works.

The Talmud Bavli represents the crowning literary achievement of this entire period of Jewish history – which is in fact often simply referred to as the "talmudic period." It was ultimately accepted as the uniquely authoritative canonical work of post-biblical Jewish religion (see: *Talmud, Jerusalem – Acceptance of the two Talmuds), providing the foundation for all subsequent developments in the fields of *halakhah* and *aggadah*, up to the time of the Shulḥan Arukh (16th century) and beyond. Despite manifest difficulties of language and content, the study of the Bavli has also achieved an unparalleled place in the popular religious culture of the Jewish people. It has served as the primary vehicle for the education of countless Jews over the centuries, professional scholars and laypeople alike. Recently it has even filled sports arenas both in the United States and in Israel with devotees, celebrating the conclusion of the 7-year cycle in which the study of the entire Bavli is regularly completed.

The Bavli as a Literary Work

The literary form which is most characteristic of the Bavli as it stands before us today is the *sugya*. The *sugya* is a kind of free-wheeling dialectical argument, conducted in a dialect of Eastern Aramaic, in which various tannaitic and amoraic sources are brought and analyzed, and other similar sources are cited in order to prove some point which came up in the course of the discussion. The Aramaic language of the *sugya* is often long-winded and repetitive. It weaves its way in-between these various well defined literary sources, joining them together into an interconnected series of questions, objections, answers and justifications. The resulting literary structure is a continuous dialectical chain of reasoning in which the distinct literary components imbedded within it often lose their individual identities. The anonymous literary level of the Bavli – the *stam ha-talmud* – favors discursive language and even abstract conceptual formulations. The *sugya* often engages in far-reaching comparisons and analogies between issues and concepts drawn from widely disparate and often apparently unrelated areas of *halakhah*. As they stand, the *sugyot* of the Bavli represent the absolute antithesis of the Mishnah in virtually every respect. The *halakhot* and *aggadot* of the Mishnah are expressed in succinct and concrete language. They are arranged as a series of discrete statements, and organized neatly by topic into chapters and tractates. The *sugya* in its final form, on the other hand, is discursive and abstract, continuous and associative, jumping from topic to topic, as the flow of the argument dictates. As antithetical as these two literary forms may seem, the roots of the full-blown Babylonian *sugya* lie deep within earlier forms of rabbinic discourse, and the transition from the one to the other was in all likelihood a gradual one.

The *Sugya* as a Literary Construct

The *sugyot* of the Bavli are often described as records of discussions and debates between the *amoraim* which took place in the Babylonian and Palestinian rabbinic academies during the talmudic period. This description is, however, not entirely accurate. The many extended halakhic and aggadic *sugyot* which fill the Bavli are not transcriptions or protocols of amoraic debates as they actually occurred in the Babylonian or Palestinian academies. Rather, they are carefully crafted literary creations, idealized reconstructions of these debates as remembered, redacted, and reformulated in the process of integrating them into the official curriculum of one or many of the amoraic and post-amoraic academies, both in Babylonia and in Ereẓ Israel. Moreover, the almost universally dialectical character of the Babylonian *sugya*, as described above, is often a literary façade, superimposed by later secondary redactors upon earlier quite different forms of talmudic discourse, which did not always possess a dialectical character. In order to understand this phenomenon more fully it is necessary to distinguish between several distinct literary levels which are found in the talmudic *sugya*, which probably also represent distinct historical stages in the evolution of the literature of the Babylonian Talmud.

The Elements of the *Sugya* (1): Tannaitic Sources

The most fundamental building blocks of Babylonian talmudic literature are the extra-mishnaic tannaitic sources – the *baraitot* – which may be associated in one way or another with some particular *mishnah*. That *baraitot* were already collected and arranged in the order of the Mishnah at a very early period – as a sort of proto-Talmud to the Mishnah of Rabbi Judah ha-Nasi – is clearly demonstrated by the example of the Tosefta. Like the Tosefta, the *baraitot* of the Bavli can relate to text of the Mishnah in a number of different ways. In the Bavli a given *baraita* may be literarily dependent on the *mishnah* with which it is associated, presupposing the specific language of the *mishnah* and expanding or commenting upon it. Alternatively, it may represent an independent but parallel tradition, addressing or formulating the *halakhah* of the *mishnah* in a different language, or reporting alternative or even contradictory opinions on the same halakhic or aggadic issue. It can even contain an earlier and more original version of the very same tradition which has been included in the Mishnah in an abbreviated or revised form (Friedman, *Tosefta Atiqta*). Unlike the Tosefta, *baraitot* in the Bavli regularly transmit **midrashei halakhah*, which derive the *halakhah* of the *mishnah* (or an alternative but related *halakhah*) from the text of the Torah by means of one of the traditional hermeneutical rules. Again like the Tosefta, a *baraita* in the Bavli need not relate directly to the specific halakhic or aggadic content of the *mishnah* at all, but rather may transmit some other tannaitic tradition, which may be intimately related to the issue discussed in the *mishnah*, or alternatively loosely connected to this particular *mishnah* in an associative fashion.

Taken by themselves, the *baraitot* of the Babylonian Talmud are not arranged in a question and answer format, and do not constitute a *sugya*. This is not to say that individual tannaitic sources do not possess any explicit dialectical character. In fact *mishnayot* and *baraitot* sometimes report brief or extended discussions and debates between the *tannaim*, in which objections to particular positions are raised and justifications are offered in their defense. *Midrashei halakhah*, especially those which parallel the *midrashim* of the *Sifra, often contain extended dialectical analyses of both actual and hypothetical halakhic positions. A group of *baraitot* may build one upon the other, representing an extended examination of a single unified issue or set of issues.

All of these phenomena anticipate different aspects of the talmudic *sugya*. Nevertheless, the familiar technical terms which serve to define the role of a *baraita* within the talmudic *sugya* – e.g., *hatanya* (= objection), *detanya* (= proof), etc. – all belong to the amoraic and post-amoraic editorial framework of the talmudic text. Taken by themselves, the *baraitot* which are imbedded within a particular talmudic *sugya* have no more dialectical structure than the parallel group of *baraitot* included in the Tosefta. For the historical relation between the *baraitot* of the Bavli and the Tosefta, see below.

The Elements of the *Sugya* (2): Amoraic Sources

The second major family of constitutive elements which make up the talmudic *sugya* is composed of those sources which report the teachings of the post-tannaitic *Amoraim*. These teachings are transmitted in the Bavli in a number of different literary forms, each of which represents an outgrowth of elements which already existed within tannaitic literature. We can group these literary forms under four headings: (1) *memrot* – the direct statements of the *amoraim* in *halakhah* and *aggadah*; (2) *ba'yot* – formal questions posed in the amoraic academies; (3) *'uvdot* – stories or precedents which report (in the third person, and usually in Aramaic) the actions or decisions of the *amoraim*; (4) amoraic *sugyot* – brief debates between the *amoraim*.

The first literary category – the *memrot* of the *amoraim* – shows the highest degree of continuity with the earlier tannaitic halakhic and aggadic literature. These *memrot* are relatively succinct, discrete statements, usually expressed in a characteristic dialect of mishnaic Hebrew. In many cases these *memrot* are virtually indistinguishable in form and content from similar tannaitic statements included in the Tosefta and in the talmudic *baraitot*. In fact we often find a statement transmitted in the Yerushalmi as a *memra*, while in the Bavli the same statement appears as a *baraita*. Alternatively we find tannaitic statements which are included in the Tosefta, but which are cited in the Bavli as amoraic *memrot*. (For these and similar phenomena see **Baraita*, The *Baraita* as a Literary Source within the Talmudic Sugya; *Baraitot* and *Memrot*.) Like talmudic *baraitot*, *memrot* also can be categorized as either directly dependent on an earlier (usually tannaitic) literary source, or as independent *memrot*, which introduce new halakhic or aggadic topics.

The second literary category – the amoraic *ba'ya* – is rooted in the logical structure of the tannaitic *halakhah* it-

Orders and Tractates of the Mishnah and Talmud

		Mishnah	Babylonian Talmud[1]		Jerusalem Talmud[2]	
		No. of Chapters	No. of Folios	Folios Munich Ed.	No. of Folios	Subject matter
ORDER ZERA'IM	Berakhot	9	64	19	14	Benedictions
	Pe'ah	8	–	3	7	Gleanings (Lev. 19:9–10)
	Demai	7	–	3	6	Doubtfully tithed produce
	Kilayim	9	–	4	7	Diverse kinds (Deut. 22:9–11)
	Shevi'it	10	–	4	7	The Sabbatical Year (Ex. 23:10–11)
	Terumot	11	–	4	9	Heave offering (Lev. 22:10–14)
	Ma'aserot	5	–	2	5	Tithes (Num. 18:21)
	Ma'aser Sheni	5	–	3	5	Second tithe (Deut. 14:22ff.)
	Ḥallah	4	–	2	4	Dough offering (Num. 15:17–21)
	Orlah	3	–	2	4	The fruit of young trees (Lev. 19:23–25)
	Bikkurim	3	–	3	3	First fruits (Lev. 26:1–11)
ORDER MO'ED	Shabbat	24	157	28	18	The Sabbath
	Eruvin	10	105	17	9	The fusion of Sabbath limits
	Pesaḥim	10	121	18	11	Passover
	Shekalim	8	–	6	7	The Shekel dues (Ex. 30:11–16)
	Yoma	8	88	16	8	The Day of Atonement
	Sukkah	5	56	9	5	The Feast of Tabernacles
	Beẓah	5	40	11	5	Festival laws
	Rosh ha-Shanah	4	35	7	4	Various new years, particularly Rosh Ha-Shanah
	Ta'anit	4	31	8	7	Fast days
	Megilah	4	32	9	7	Purim
	Mo'ed Katan	3	29	7	4	The intermediate days of festivals
	Ḥagigah	3	27	6	5	The festival offering (Deut. 16:16–17)
ORDER NASHIM	Yevamot	16	122	24	16	Levirate marriage (Deut. 25:5–10)
	Ketubbot	13	112	20	12	Marriage contracts
	Nedarim	11	91	10	7	Vows (Num. 30)
	Nazir	9	66	8	8	The Nazirite (Num. 6)
	Sotah	9	49	11	9	The suspected adulteress (Num. 5:11 ff.)
	Gittin	9	90	16	7	Divorce
	Kiddushin	4	82	14	9	Marriage
ORDER NEZIKIN	Bava Kamma	10	119	22	7	Torts
	Bava Meẓia	10	119	20	6	Civil law
	Bava Batra	10	176	21	6	Property law
	Sanhedrin	11	113	24	14	Judges
	Makkot	3	24	5	3	Flagellation (Deut. 25:2)
	Shevu'ot	8	49	9	7	Oaths
	Eduyyot	8	–	4	–	Traditional testimonies
	Avodah Zarah	5	76	13	7	Idolatry
	Avot[3]	5	–	2	–	Ethical maxims
	Horayot	3	14	4	4	Erroneous ruling of the court (Lev. 4:22 ff.)

		Mishnah	Babylonian Talmud[1]		Jerusalem Talmud[2]	
		No. of Chapters	No. of Folios	Folios Munich Ed.	No. of Folios	Subject matter
ORDER KODASHIM	Zevaḥim	14	120	21	–	Animal offerings
	Menaḥot	13	110	21	–	Meal offering
	Hullin	12	142	25	–	Animals slaughtered for food
	Behorot	9	61	13	–	Firstlings (Deut. 15:19 ff.)
	Arakhin	9	34	9	–	Vows of valuation (Lev. 27:1–8)
	Temurah	7	39	8	–	The substituted offering (Lev. 27:10)
	Keritot	6	28	9	–	Extripation (Lev. 18:29)
	Me'ilah	6	22	4	–	Sacrileges (Lev. 5:15–16)
	Tamid[3]	7	9	4	–	The daily sacrifice (Num. 28:3–4)
	Middot[3]	5	–	3	–	Measurements of the Temple
	Kinnim[3]	3	–	2	–	The Bird offering (Lev. 5:7 ff.)
ORDER TOHOROT	Kelim[3]	30	–	11	–	Uncleanness of articles
	Oholot (Ahilot)	18	–	7	–	Uncleanness through overshadowing (No. 19:14–15)
	Nega'im	14	–	7	–	Leprosy (Lev. 13, 14)
	Parah	12	–	5	–	The Red Heifer (Num. 19)
	Tohorot	10	–	5	–	Ritual cleanness
	Mikva'ot	10	–	5	–	Ritual ablution
	Niddah	10	73	14	4	The menstruant
	Makhshirin	6	–	3	–	Liquid that predisposes food to become ritually unclean (Lev. 11:37–38)
	Zavim	5	–	2	–	Fluxes (Lev. 15)
	Tevul Yom	4	–	2	–	Ritual uncleanness between immersion and sunset (Lev. 22:6–7)
	Yadayim	4	–	3	–	The ritual uncleanness of the hands
	Ukẓin[4]	3	–	2	–	"Stalks"; parts of plants susceptible to uncleanness

[1] The number given is the last page number. The pagination, however, always begins with page 2; one page should therefore be deducted.

[2] The number of pages is given in accordance with the Krotoschin edition.

[3] There is Tosefta to all the tractates with the exception of *Avot*, *Tamid*, *Middot*, *Kinnim*, *Kelim*. In the Tosefta, *Kelim* is divided into three sections, respectively called *Bava Kamma*, *Bava Meẓia* and *Bava Batra*.

[4] As will be seen, the tractates are generally arranged in the orders according to the descending numbers of chapters. For departures from this rule see the articles on the individual tractates concerned.

self. Tannaitic *halakhot*, while formulated in terms of specific and concrete cases, almost always involve an implicit judgment concerning some conceptual distinction which underlies its specific rulings (see: Mishnah, The Structure of Tannaitic *Halakhah*). During the amoraic period, the analysis of these tannaitic *halakhot* was often expressed in the form of explicit questions – *ba'yot* – which examine the way in which these conceptual distinctions would apply in closely related but nevertheless slightly different cases. In its simplest form the *ba'ya* merely states the new case to be considered and posits the bare question: *mahu?* – i.e. what should the ruling be in such a case? In a slightly more developed format, the *iba'ya lehu* also explicitly states the different alternative rulings which could apply to this case. In the most developed and elaborate form it also examines in detail the alternative conceptual principles which could be used to decide the issue in one direction or another. These *iba'ya lehu* passages can be quite lengthy, representing highly ramified conceptual analyses of entire areas of *halakhah* (e.g., Ket. 5b–6a). At the same time they almost always remain within the concrete framework of specific cases and rulings, and rarely engage in abstract generalization. Despite the intimate interconnection between the three elements of the talmudic *iba'ya lehu* – (1) the question itself; (2) the statement of alternative possible answers; (3) the reasoning involved in adjudicating the question – only the first element, usually formulated in mishnaic Hebrew, should be counted among the amoraic sources of the Bavli. The second and third levels, which are almost always expressed in Aramaic, probably belong to the anonymous literary level of the Bavli, the *stam ha-talmud* (see below).

The third literary category, the *ʿuvda*, is in many ways parallel to the tannaitic *ma'aseh* – a story which serves as a legal precedent, either supporting or contradicting a formal halakhic statement quoted earlier. This phenomenon is more highly developed in the Bavli, which often brings an individual *ʿuvda*, or a series of *ʿuvdot* – almost always in Aramaic – in order to examine how the abstract halakhic content of a *memra* or *baraita* can be translated into practical terms in the context of specific cases (e.g., Pes. 49a). Since the black and white distinctions of the formal *halakhah* often must give way to a variety of shades of gray (or other brighter colors) when applied in practice, these *ʿuvdot* often break out of the limited framework of halakhic precedents, growing and expanding into a full-blown aggadic exposition of the ethical and spiritual principles which underlie the *halakhah* (e.g., Ket. 61b–63a, and see: Mishnah, *Aggadah* in the Mishnah).

The fourth literary category – the amoraic *sugya* – also has clear precedents in tannaitic sources. The Mishnah and Tosefta transmit scores of brief formal debates, usually presented as face-to-face discussions between the parties to a dispute which was presented earlier. In these debates, one side attempts to convince the other of the correctness of its opinion, either by force of reason, or by relying upon some accepted and authoritative *halakhah*. After each side has taken its turn in the debate, one side may concede defeat, in whole or in part, or the two sides may remain unconvinced and continue to maintain their respective positions. Starting from the 2nd–3rd generations of *amoraim*, this "*memra* plus debate" format becomes an increasingly prominent form of amoraic literature. After citing a *memra*, which either reports a halakhic dispute between two *amoraim*, or the opinion of an individual *amora* which is then attacked by a colleague, the Bavli will often analyze the dispute by means of a formal debate presented as a face-to-face discussion between the disputing parties. Each side brings proofs for its own positions and objections against the opposing side, defends itself and responds with counterattacks. Unlike their tannaitic counterparts, the *amoraim* had at their disposal an almost unlimited body of authoritative sources which could be exploited in order to attack the positions of their opponents – the entire corpus of *mishnayot* and *baraitot*. According to the accepted canons of talmudic jurisprudence, *amoraim* may not in principle disagree with *mishnayot* and *baraitot*. This formal legal principle no doubt encouraged the *amoraim* to search far and wide for any tannaitic source which could serve – either directly, or indirectly by analogy – to support their own positions or to refute the positions of their opponents. In this way the amoraic *sugya* introduces a second set of tannaitic sources (both *mishnayot* and *baraitot*) into the discussion of a given *mishnah* which were not originally associated with it in the pre-amoraic tannaitic stratum of the Talmud. Whether these debates actually took place in fact, or are themselves literary constructs of the amoraic academies, this kind of discussion provided the impetus for a more abstract form of conceptual analysis – one which looks for common principles of law underlying radically different spheres of *halakhah*.

Despite the importance of the *sugya* for the later development of talmudic literature as a whole, it must be emphasized that at this stage the amoraic *sugya* is still relatively limited in length, and it is only one among a number of different forms of literary sources which are found in the amoraic stratum of the Bavli. Individual *memrot*, or groups of *memrot* organized by topic, standing either by themselves or attached to *mishnayot* or *baraitot*; collections of *memrot* associated with the name of a particular *amora*, often appearing in groups of three, seven, or even ten; *ʿuvdot* and *ba'yot* – all these literary forms continue to exist *beside* the amoraic *sugya*, not as part of it.

The Framework of the *Sugya*: Stam ha-Talmud

These tannaitic and amoraic literary sources are the building blocks out of which the literature of the Talmud is constructed. No less important, however, to an understanding of the Talmud is an appreciation of the highly creative and pervasive activity of the generations of redactors who combined these elements into more and more complex, lengthy, and continuous dialectical literary structures. As noted above, an amoraic *memra* may often contain an interpretation of a tannaitic source, to which it is immediately appended. The anonymous talmudic editor (*stam ha-talmud*) will interpose a question (in Aramaic) between the *memra* and the tannaitic source (both in Hebrew). This practice serves to highlight a problem in the text of the tannaitic source which may have prompted the amoraic comment. It also turns a non-dialectic structure (text plus comment) into an explicitly dialectical one (question plus answer). Sometimes it affords the *stam ha-talmud* an opportunity to redefine the issue of the *sugya* in line with an agenda which may not have been shared by the amora who authored the original *memra* (cf. Wald, Pesaḥim III, 215–221). The *stam ha-talmud* also introduces editorial comments and technical terms which explicitly define the function of individual sources within the *sugya* (e.g., as questions, objections, proofs, or additional supports), thus creating a continuous line of discussion out of what were originally discrete and unconnected *baraitot, memrot, ba'yot, ʿuvdot*, etc.

The *stam ha-talmud* augments the relatively brief amoraic *sugyot* by appending additional objections, justifications, counter-objections, etc. to the original discussion. These additions may not be ascribed directly to the original amoraic disputants, but rather obliquely (e.g., "R. Johanan could have said in response" etc.) or anonymously ("they objected" etc.). Another common way in which the *stam ha-talmud* augments a *sugya* is by transferring existing blocks of talmudic dialogue – either amoraic or "stammaitic" – from place to place in a given chapter, tractate, or even from tractate to tractate (e.g., Wald, Shabbat VII, *sugyot* 3, 7, 10). Certain textual difficulties (*kushiyot*) are often caused as a by-product of the moving of entire passages from place to place, since the language of a passage may be in certain respects context-specific, being more appropriate in the original context, and less appropriate in the new context into which it was introduced secondarily. Other techniques characteristic of the *stam ha-talmud* include the addition of editorial links between a number of originally distinct *sugyot*, thus transforming them into a "super-*sugya*" (Friedman, BM VI, Text, 101–159), or alternatively combining a number of distinct amoraic *sugyot*, which originally dealt with a family of related halakhic issues, thus giving the impression of a single extended amoraic debate on a unified topic (Wald, Pesaḥim III, 137–168).

One of the most prominent tendencies of the *stam ha-talmud* is to employ isolated technical terms – e.g., *gererah* (Shabbat 70b–71b), *ho'il* (Pes. 46a–48a) – as explanations for the concrete *halakhot* of the tannaim and the amoraim. These terms – which have little meaning on their own (*gererah* = dragging; *ho'il* = since) – serve as names for abstract principles which tend to replace the more concrete and implicit form of case-oriented conceptualization characteristic of the earlier *halakhah* (see: Mishnah, The Structure of Tannaitic *Halakhah*). This striking intellectual trend of the *stam ha-talmud* has been singled out for extensive analysis, both for its own sake, and as a possible historical precedent for much of the later brilliant intellectual achievements of post-talmudic halakhic scholarship (Moscovitz). All the same, it should be noted that this use of isolated abstract phrases by the *stam ha-talmud* can also lead to the extension of specific halakhic notions beyond the concrete contexts in which they were originally formulated and originally made sense. In this way the *stam ha-talmud* sometimes introduces conceptual problems into the halakhic framework of the talmudic discussion (Wald, Pesaḥim III, 168–72).

The Place of the Bavli in Rabbinic Literature

An examination of the Bavli reveals that it contains at least two distinct strata of defined literary sources – tannaitic and amoraic – as well clear evidence of multiple layers of redactional activity. This literary analysis, important in its own right, also has important consequences for our understanding of the place of the Bavli in the history of rabbinic literature as a whole. Prior comparisons of the Bavli to the other extant works of ancient talmudic literature, especially the Yerushalmi, have tended to emphasize the striking differences between them, concentrating on the dialectical, discursive and conceptual character of the Bavli, as opposed to the more discrete, concise, concrete, and reserved character of these parallel talmudic texts. Once it is made clear that most of these dialectical, discursive, and conceptual elements belong primarily to the latest literary stratum of the Bavli – the *stam ha-talmud* – it becomes essential to reexamine the historical relationship between the earlier literary strata of the Bavli and these parallel works of Palestinian rabbinic literature.

THE BAVLI AND THE EXTANT TANNAITIC WORKS. It has often been noted (see above) that the *baraitot* of the Bavli bear a striking resemblance to the parallel sources found in the ancient tannaitic collections – the Tosefta and the *Midrashei Halakhah*. On the other hand, there are also significant differences between the language and content of the talmudic *baraitot* and the parallel texts found in our tannaitic collections. The question has naturally arisen whether these extant tannaitic collections served as the sources for the *baraitot* of the Babylonian Talmud, or whether the Bavli used other collections of tannaitic sources otherwise unknown to us. Scholars have offered very different answers to this question, and their disagreement is ultimately rooted in a single issue: whether later talmudic scholars intentionally modified the original text of ancient tannaitic sources. Some scholars have rejected this notion out of hand, and seem to view its rejection almost as an article of faith (see: Mishnah, The Redaction of the Mishnah). Others scholars have brought considerable evidence in support of this notion.

Those who assert that later sages did not allow themselves to interfere in any way with the internal composition of their authoritative tannaitic sources explain the differences between the talmudic *baraitot* and the parallel tannaitic texts by positing that the Bavli drew upon alternative collections of *baraitot* – both *halakhot* and midrashim – which are not to be identified with the extant collections which we possess today. A corollary of this position drawn by many of these scholars is that the extant tannaitic collections – the Tosefta and the extant *Midrashei Halakhah* – were unknown to the redactors of the Bavli. This view asserts, in effect, that our extant collections of tannaitic literature, which were apparently all copied and studied in the geonic Babylonian academies during the period following the final redaction of the Babylonian Talmud, were for some reason unavailable to these same Babylonian redactors. At the same time it asserts that the alternative collections of tannaitic *halakhah* which were actually used (according to this theory) to the very end in the talmudic Babylonian academies were all, for some equally unexplained reason, totally lost, leaving no tangible trace behind among the Babylonian *geonim* who immediately succeeded the final redactors of the Bavli.

The alternative position holds that the final versions of the *baraitot* in the Bavli are the end-product of a long process of study and interpretation, emendation, and reformulation, evidence for which can usually be found within talmudic literature itself. As a result, the scholars who hold this position find no compelling reason to posit the wholesale existence of entire collections of ancient tannaitic sources which have not survived in our hands today. Rather they consider that the extant collections, or other very closely related versions of the same, are the actual sources for the *baraitot* of the Bavli, and that the explanation of the differences between the existing versions of a given tradition is more likely to depend on an analysis of the history of talmudic *halakhah* and *aggadah*, rather than on the chance rediscovery of some hypothetical long-lost work.

One cannot overestimate the depth of this scholarly dispute. The first approach leads to a profoundly pessimistic attitude toward the entire history of talmudic literature. According to this view the vast majority of the ancient tannaitic sources which once existed, and which were actually studied in the academies of the *amoraim*, are almost certainly irretrievably lost. It also leads to a highly skeptical attitude toward higher critical talmudic methodology, since this methodology involves a comparison of the tannaitic traditions preserved in amoraic works with the supposedly more original parallel traditions preserved in the ancient tannaitic collections, in order to understand the ways in which the *amoraim* interpreted and reworked their sources. Since, according to this first view, the tannaitic collections which we possess today were not in fact used by the *amoraim*, they are quite useless in this regard. In any case this view is convinced that the *amoraim* never actually reworked or reformulated any of their ancient and authoritative sources.

According to the second view, the overwhelming majority of the tannaitic sources which were redacted by the central rabbinic yeshivot at the end of the tannaitic period are still in our possession and have been preserved more or less in their original tannaitic form. Moreover these extant collections provide fairly reliable evidence for the form and content of authoritative tannaitic sources which were studied in the amoraic academies. Against this background, it then becomes possible to identify and to analyze the later amoraic and post-amoraic developments of each tradition, as documented in the Yerushalmi (Jerusalem Talmud) and the Bavli.

Finally, it should be noted that the collections of *baraitot* which are embedded in a given *sugya* in the Bavli frequently closely resemble – in number, in order, in form, and in content – the parallel groups of *baraitot* associated with the same *mishnah* in the Tosefta (e.g., Wald, Pesaḥim III, 97–99). This phenomenon gives further credence to the historical hypothesis that at the root of the *sugyot* of the Bavli lies a tannaitic literary stratum which is intimately connected to the tannaitic traditions preserved in our Tosefta. For an authoritative and exhaustive treatment of this issue, see: Friedman, Baraitot; *Tosefta Atiqta*.

THE BAVLI AND THE YERUSHALMI. It has also long been noted that there is a considerable overlap between the amoraic traditions preserved in the Talmud Bavli and those preserved in the Talmud Yerushalmi. These parallel traditions were pointed out for every page of the Bavli by R. Aryeh Leib Yellin in his commentary, *Yefeh Enayim*, which is printed in the Romm edition of the Bavli (see below). When, however, the tannaitic and amoraic literary strata of the Bavli are isolated from the anonymous literary level of the *stam ha-talmud*, this striking and fundamental similarity between the Bavli and the Yerushalmi becomes even more pronounced (Friedman, Yevamot X, 283–321). Detailed analyses of extended portions of the Bavli have revealed that at the root of virtually every *sugya* of the Bavli lies some earlier, more primitive amoraic *sugya* which is documented somewhere in the Yerushalmi (see: Wald, Pesaḥim III). Sometimes this literary dependence extends to an entire chapter, where *sugya* after *sugya* in the Bavli is built on the foundation of an identical series of earlier and simpler parallel *sugyot* found in the same chapter in the Yerushalmi (see: Wald, Shabbat VII). These earlier and simpler *sugyot*, however, do not consist of the *memrot* and discussions of Palestinian *amoraim* only, but rather as often as not include alternative versions of the *memrot* and discussions of early Babylonian *amoraim* as well. The relation between these two Talmuds is not, therefore, one of a later Babylonian tradition building on an earlier Palestinian tradition. Rather, the Yerushalmi regularly provides clear evidence for the earlier and more primitive state of a *common Babylonian-Palestinian talmudic tradition* shared by both of these major centers of rabbinic culture – one which preceded the pervasive additions and revisions of the anonymous redactors of the Bavli.

Moreover, the Yerushalmi itself preserves an even earlier redactional level of this shared talmudic tradition – in the three tractates (BK, BM, BB) commonly referred to as Yerushalmi *Nezikin* (see: *Talmud, Jerusalem – Yerushalmi *Nezikin*). Yerushalmi *Nezikin* not only is free of the discursive and conceptual discussions characteristic of the *stam ha-talmud* in the Bavli; it also lacks much of the extended amoraic *sugya* structure common to both the Bavli and the rest of the Yerushalmi. Instead Yerushalmi *Nezikin* consists mostly of *baraitot*, *memrot*, and other brief amoraic literary sources. Formerly, the explanation of the difference between Yerushalmi *Nezikin* and the rest of the Yerushalmi was sought in a different *place* of redaction. More recently, it has been sought in a different *time* of redaction – reflecting an earlier stage in the development of the shared talmudic tradition, prior to the combination of the isolated amoraic sources (see above) into larger, more involved and elaborate *sugya* structures. At the same time, even the radically different redactional form of Yerushalmi *Nezikin* cannot obscure the common elements of tradition which it shares with the fully elaborated parallel versions of the Bavli (Sussmann).

The relationship between the parallel traditions held in common by both the Bavli and the Yerushalmi is somewhat more complex than that which holds between the *baraitot* in the Bavli and in the Tosefta. On the one hand, the literary evolution of the Bavli and that of the Yerushalmi overlap to a very large extent. So it is to be expected that the Bavli preserved versions of amoraic traditions that are not found in the Yerushalmi as it stands today. On the other hand, later Babylonian *amoraim* (and anonymous redactors) are unlikely to have treated the words of their amoraic predecessors with the same respect that they accorded to ancient tannaitic traditions, and so are more likely to have revised and reformulated them. Therefore, while the Yerushalmi's version of a shared tradition is usually more original than the parallel version found in the Bavli – and so can be used to reconstruct the internal development of amoraic talmudic tradition – this is by no means a hard and fast rule. The Bavli sometimes preserves the more ancient and original version of an amoraic tradition, or of a *sugya*, while the version in the Yerushalmi reflects later developments of the tradition, which were not incorporated into the Bavli.

THE FOUR STAGES OF TALMUDIC TRADITION. Beneath the discursive and conceptual surface structure of the *stam ha-talmud*, one can distinguish three cumulative literary levels within the text of the Bavli: (1) the *baraitot*; (2) the *baraitot* plus the isolated amoraic sources; (3) the *baraitot*, the amoraic sources, plus the expansion and combination of these elements into more or less continuous *sugyot*. To these three literary levels correspond three earlier bodies of talmudic tradition. To the first level in the Bavli, consisting of *baraitot* alone, correspond (more or less) the extant collections of tannaitic sources – Tosefta and the *Midrashei Halakhah*. To the second level, consisting of *baraitot* plus the isolated amoraic sources, corresponds (more or less) the redactional level represented by Yerushalmi *Nezkin*. To the third level of the Bavli, consisting of *baraitot*, the amoraic sources, plus the expansion and combination of these elements into more or less continuous *sugyot* – without extensive additions and explanations by the anonymous redactor – corresponds (more or less) the redactional level represented by the rest of the Yerushalmi. The fourth and final stage in the development of the Bavli is, of course, represented by the editorial and literary activity of the anonymous redactors of the Bavli in its final form – the *stam ha-talmud*.

However one wishes to explain the differences between these three earlier redactional levels and the parallel bodies of tradition, the most striking feature is the surprising degree of uniformity between them. The overall impression made by the Tosefta, the Yerushalmi, and the Bavli is one of successive stages in the literary development of a single common talmudic tradition, rather than independent and distinct traditions. This impression of relative uniformity stands in sharp contrast to the radical multiplicity of master-disciple circles and competing academic centers which are described in the talmudic texts themselves, and testifies to a large degree of centralization in the preservation and distribution of the talmudic traditions which were produced by the many different personalities and centers described in the sources.

The Textual Transmission of the Bavli

Unlike the Tosefta and the Yerushalmi, which during most of the Middle Ages were studied only by professional scholars, the Bavli was widely studied by countless Jews throughout the centuries. It is therefore not surprising to find that the text of the Bavli is preserved in scores of medieval manuscripts, whereas the medieval manuscripts of the Tosefta and the Yerushalmi taken together can almost be counted on the fingers of a single hand. Aside from the relatively large number of extant manuscripts in which the Bavli is preserved (many of which include a single tractate, some more than one, and only one manuscript – Munich 95 – the entire Bavli), the text of the Bavli is characterized by the large number of significant variant readings which are preserved in these manuscripts. For years it was tacitly assumed – apparently under the influence of European classical scholarship – that these variant readings were caused by the errors of ignorant or careless scribes, and that they entered into the textual tradition of the Bavli during the process of copying and distributing the Talmud, especially in medieval Europe. While no manuscript of the Bavli is free from scribal errors, the phenomenon of progressive accumulation of shared scribal errors (so important in the methodology of classical philology) is almost totally absent in manuscripts of the Bavli. Unlike their gentile counterparts, the scribes who copied the Bavli seem to have been familiar with both the language and the content of the Bavli. This situation gave rise to certain very striking and unexpected forms of "scribal errors," such as copying (part of) a sentence which occurs in another tractate from memory, in place of the similar sentence which actually stood before the scribe in the text from which he was copying. Alternatively we find the annoying scribal practice of "serial abbreviations" which the scribe assumes that the reader will easily be able to decipher on the basis of his familiarity with the terminology and content of the Talmud. In any case, simple scribal errors, which usually yield a corrupt and unintelligible text, are regularly corrected (more or less successfully) by attentive scribes, and rarely are they passed on to the next generation of talmudic copies. Today these isolated scribal errors can easily be identified by means of a simple comparison to other manuscript traditions.

Far more important for an understanding of the Bavli is another totally different category of variant readings, one which does not reflect isolated errors in the transmission of a fixed and final text, but rather fundamentally divergent versions, i.e., different parallel formulations of extended passages within the text as a whole. The first scholar who addressed this issue seriously was E.S. Rosenthal, who correctly concluded that the text of the Bavli must have retained a certain element of fluidity well into the 6th–7th centuries (and perhaps even beyond), in order to explain the presence of such divergent readings in the medieval manuscripts of the Bavli. One of the most striking features of these extended "alternative versions" is that they often reflect the same or similar content, expressed in significantly different language. They seem to reflect an attitude of relative freedom and independence toward the talmudic text, one which allows itself to rephrase or reformulate the language of the tradition. These important and extensive textual variants therefore in all likelihood derive from a relatively early period in the history of the transmission of the Talmud, before the exact wording of the Talmud became sanctified in the eyes of the scholars and the students. It is therefore also highly likely that these variants do not derive from careless scribes who operated on the periphery of the talmudic world, but rather represent authentic alternative traditions which were originally propagated at the very center of talmudic authority – the Babylonian yeshivot themselves. This suggestion has been confirmed somewhat by the surprising discovery that "eastern" (Yemenite) manuscripts and *ge-*

onic traditions, rather than representing the earlier and more original talmudic texts, often reflect the latest and most "up to date" traditions, while isolated medieval manuscripts from the periphery of the talmudic world, in Spain or France, often preserve the more original and "unrevised" talmudic textual tradition (Wald, Pesaḥim III, 319, 336–46).

Rosenthal held that these extended alternative textual variants must have derived from an early period, before the text of the Bavli was formulated in exact language, and almost certainly while its transmission was still oral – and not by the medium of fixed written documents. However, Shamma Friedman's comprehensive studies in this field have shown conclusively that even these extended alternative textual variants are universally limited in extent – they are always localized modifications which have been introduced at a specific point into an otherwise fully formed and stable textual tradition. Since these changes in all likelihood represent a conscious process of intentional editorial revision of a fixed text, the much bandied question of "oral" vs. "written" tradition in the transmission of talmudic literature is relatively insignificant in explaining this phenomenon. (For an examination of the broader cultural significance of the tension between written and oral transmission of rabbinic texts, see: Friedman, Printing the Talmud.)

The systematic recording of the variant readings of the Babylonian Talmud began in the 19th century, with the *Diqduqei Soferim* of R. Rabbinovicz, continued in the second half of the 20th century with the ongoing *Diqduqei Soferim Hashalem* of the Institute for the Complete Israeli Talmud (Yad Harav Herzog), and has culminated today in the complete computerized databank of all extant manuscripts and early editions of the Babylonian Talmud, produced and regularly updated by the Saul Lieberman Institute of Talmudic Research of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America. Facsimile editions of many talmudic manuscripts, which are still of value in confirming the transcriptions in these various works, are available, as are digital images of many manuscripts, on the web-site of the Jewish National and University Library in Jerusalem.

The Redaction of the Bavli

The Bavli states, in its characteristically laconic style (BM 86a): "R. Nathan and R. Judah ha-Nasi are the end of Mishnah; Rav Ashi and Ravina are the end of instruction (הוראה)." Whatever the exact meaning of this rather obscure statement may be, the parallelism between its two halves has led various scholars to ascribe to Rav Ashi and Ravina a role in redacting the Bavli analogous to the role which R. Judah ha-Nasi played in the redaction of the Mishnah. From the preceding discussions it should be clear, however, that there is very little basis for this analogy – for the simple reason that the Bavli never was subjected to a single authoritative, comprehensive, and decisive revision comparable to R. Judah ha-Nasi's redaction of the Mishnah. As noted above, the tannaitic and most of the amoraic literary strata of the Bavli had probably already been formulated to a large degree and accepted as authoritative by many yeshivot in Bavel and Ereẓ Israel long before the time of Rav Ashi. Similarly, many *amoraim* are mentioned in the Bavli whose activity must have extended into the period after Rav Ashi. Moreover, most of the literary activity of the *stam ha-talmud ha-bavli* took place in all likelihood long after Rav Ashi's time. To this we must add the evidence mentioned above which indicates that extensive editorial revision of the text of the Talmud was still going on into the 6th–7th centuries at least. In line with all this evidence we must understand the literary formation of the Babylonian talmudic tradition as an ongoing process which took place over many centuries and in many yeshivot, both prior to and subsequent to the time of Rav Ashi. As such, the impact of any individual scholar – even one of the stature of Rav Ashi – on this process as a whole should not be seen as amounting to a "redaction" of the Bavli in the sense in which we ascribe this term to R. Judah ha-Nasi and his Mishnah.

The *Aggadah* of the Bavli

It has been observed that most of the aggadic material in the Babylonian Talmud is predominantly of Palestinian origin. The contribution of the Bavli in the field of *aggadah* consists largely of the extensive reworking of these earlier Palestinian aggadic themes, often achieving new levels of imagination and originality, which are frequently striking, engaging, and earthy. Sometimes a "mere" linguistic clarification can be the occasion for developing and elaborating a fragmentary tradition in new and unexpected directions (see: Friedman, BT Bava Meẓi'a VI, Commentary, 148). In the area of rabbinic cosmology, the Bavli constructs, out of fragmentary traditions preserved in earlier Palestinian sources, a continuous description of the world order, starting from the lowest levels underlying the earth, proceeding through the seven celestial spheres, and culminating with the highest heaven and the Throne of Glory, including a description of the various populations which inhabit each sphere, and the activities with which they occupy themselves (Ḥag. 12a–b). In the area of historical *aggadah*, the Bavli takes the earlier and rather brief traditions concerning a dispute between R. *Eliezer ben Hyrcanus and the sages over a matter of ritual purity, combines them with the merest suggestion that the sages once considered excommunicating R. Eliezer (TJ MK 3:1, 81c–d), and transforms these story-fragments into an elaborate and continuous narrative: the justly famous drama concerning the "oven of Akhnai" (BM 59b), in which R. Eliezer calls upon supernatural forces in order to decide the *halakhah* in his own favor, while R. Joshua boldly defends the autonomy and integrity of the earthly halakhic process in the face of such heavenly intimidation, and finally, almost against their wills, the sages are forced to excommunicate Eliezer, the resultant affront to Eliezer's honor almost resulting in R. Gamaliel's death at sea, and in fact finally leading to the death of R. Gamaliel, who according to the Bavli is also Eliezer's brother-in-law. Similarly, out of two laconic and fragmentary Palestinian traditions concerning R. *Meir

(TJ Bik. 3:3, 65c, MK 3:1, 81c), the Bavli constructs an elaborate, continuous narrative concerning a plot concocted by Meir and *Nathan to depose the *nasi*, Rabban *Simeon ben Gamaliel, because of the latter's desire to enhance his own honor and status at the expense of the honor of these two sages. The *aggadah* of the Bavli is capable of constructing colorful narratives concerning individuals whose very existence is hardly attested in earlier Palestinian sources. For example, a women named *Beruryah is mentioned in Tosefta *Kelim* (BM 1:6) as having expressed a halakhic position – which was approved by R. *Joshua (!) – in response to the opinion of R. *Tarfon. A similar story is told, also in Tosefta *Kelim* (BK 4:17), concerning a daughter of R. *Hananiah ben Teradyon, who clearly lived two generations after the previously mentioned Beruryah, and who, according to another tannaitic tradition (Sifre Deut. 307), was apparently also taken captive at the time of her father's martyrdom. A third, later midrashic tradition makes mention of the profound wisdom of R. Meir's (unnamed) wife (Midrash Proverbs 31). Out of these three apparently unconnected learned women the Bavli forges a single figure, the famous woman-scholar, Beruryah, who was also the daughter of Hananiah ben Teradyon, and also the wife of Meir. At the same time, the Bavli does not identify Beruryah with the daughter of Hananiah ben Teradyon who was taken captive at the time of her father's martyrdom, and so posits that he also had another daughter, and identifies this second daughter as Beruryah's sister (AZ 18a–18b). The creative and synthetic force of the Babylonian *aggadah* is felt even with respect to characters which have already undergone significant literary development in the earlier Palestinian aggadic tradition. Thus the figure of the arch-heretic *Elisha ben Avuya – whose historical existence is highly questionable – is developed by the Palestinian aggadic tradition in two contradictory directions. According to one tradition (TJ Ḥag. 2:1 77b, and cf. Song R. 1) he is described as an arch-villain who intentionally forces Jews to desecrate the Sabbath and prevents Jewish children from learning Torah, or even – according to an extreme version of this tradition – kills children who learned Torah. This figure is so evil that it is even forbidden to mention his name, and so he is called *aḥer*, "the other." According to a second tradition (TJ Ḥag. 2:1 77b–c; Ruth R. 6; Eccles. R. 7), Elisha was a tragic figure, a great scholar and the teacher of Meir, who lost his faith, and so himself stopped observing the Sabbath and stopped learning Torah. This latter figure – who is still called by his proper name, Elisha – is the focus of a debate whether a sage who has abandoned the Torah can repent (cf. Tosef. Dem. 2:9). According to this tradition, R. Meir continues to maintain a relationship with his former master in the hope of convincing him to repent. In the Bavli these two traditions are fused together, such that the evil arch-villain whose name is not mentioned is the very same figure with whom Meir maintains a relationship and from whom he continues to learn. This paradoxical (or contradictory) figure is obviously far more complex than either of the two distinct figures described in the Palestinian tradition, and the theological and dramatic issues which the Babylonian version of the story raises are far richer than those which emerge from the separate Palestinian traditions out of which the Bavli built its narrative. One who is already familiar with the literary character of the Bavli as a whole and its place in the development of rabbinic tradition (as described above) should have no difficulty in recognizing the nature of the *aggadot* of the Babylonian Talmud: on the one hand they are clearly dependent literarily on the earlier and simpler parallel Palestinian traditions; on the other hand the creative and synthetic editorial techniques which their Babylonian redactors used in revising and reformulating them yield, as often as not, what could easily be seen as new and original creations. This double insight offers a challenge to the literary critic, on the one hand, and should serve, on the other hand, as a warning to the historian not to assume that these Babylonian *aggadot* represent reliable sources for the history of the 1st–3rd centuries in Ereẓ Israel, or for the biographies of the tannaitic and early amoraic figures mentioned in these *aggadot*, unless their contents can first be corroborated by a comparison to earlier, independent Palestinian traditions.

The History of Interpretation

From the time when the *halakhah* and the *aggadah* of the Bavli first took on the final literary form in which we recognize it today, there has never been a generation in which it was not studied and interpreted, and the history of its interpretation would in many respects coincide with much of the history of post-talmudic *halakhah*, *musar* (ethics), Jewish philosophy, *Kabbalah*, and so on. Nevertheless, an overview of the main tendencies of post-talmudic Talmud interpretation would not be totally out of place here. Post-talmudic Talmud interpretation is usually divided into three periods: *geonim* (up to about the 10th century); **rishonim* (11th–15th centuries); **aḥaronim* (16th–20th centuries), to which we add a fourth category: the *ḥokerim* – the modern historical interpreters of the Talmud who have been active since the end of the 19th century.

GEONIM. The activity of the *geonim* was concentrated in the old Babylonian yeshivot, which, despite changes in organization and location, continued to exist. The *geonim* who stood at the head of these academies claimed to have inherited the mantle of religious authority from their amoraic predecessors. From this center they exercised a significant degree of influence over the rapidly developing Jewish communities in Christian Europe, Moslem Spain, North Africa, and the Levant. The *geonim* did not publish (and apparently did not compose) any comprehensive commentaries to the Talmud, but rather kept their tradition of interpretation primarily within the institutional framework of their own academies. Nevertheless many of their individual responsa containing explanations of specific passages and difficult phrases in the Talmud have been preserved, and these, together with certain fragmentary *geonic* commentaries and explanations to the Talmud, have been collected and organized in the order of the text of the Bavli by B.M. Lewin in his *Oẓar ha-Ge'onim*, and by others in similar works which have been published since his death. Prior to these relatively recent publications, the writings of the *geonim* were largely known indirectly, through the citations and discussions of their views in the writings of the *rishonim*.

RISHONIM. Following the decline of the centers of Babylonian scholarship in the 10th century, new centers of Talmud scholarship began to form in Western Europe and in North Africa, and afterwards in Moslem Spain – the academies of the *rishonim*. The most prominent names of the European school are Rabbenu *Gershom b. Judah of Mainz in the tenth century, *Rashi in France in the 11th century, and the *ba'alei ha-tosefot* – "the men of the additions" (**tosafot*) – in the 12th and 13th centuries, the most famous of whom were Rashi's grandsons, Samuel b. Meir (Rashbam), and Jacob *Tam, and his great-grandson, R. Isaac the Elder (the Ri Hazaken). The most prominent names of the North African-Spanish school are Rabbenu *Hananel b. Ḥushi'el and Rabbenu Nissim ben Jacob in Tunisia at the beginning of the 11th century, R. Isaac Alfasi in Algeria and afterwards in Spain who was active during almost all of the 11th century and into the very beginning of the 12th century, and Moses Maimonides at first in Spain and then finally in Egypt during the 12th century. While drawing on common *geonic* traditions, these two schools developed independently and in relative isolation from each other over a period of some 200 years. As a result they formed significantly different approaches to the interpretation of the Bavli.

The major literary works of the European school – the comprehensive commentary of Rashi and the additional localized comments of the *tosafot* – have been printed on the page of the Talmud itself ever since the first complete edition of the Talmud was published in Venice in 1520–23, and have therefore had an extraordinary impact on the basic assumptions of generations of students. The most striking tendency of this school is the assumption that the Bavli is a complete, thoroughly edited, self-contained and self-consistent work of law and literature. This school does not distinguish between different literary levels within the text of the Bavli, nor does it engage in any systematic comparison of the Bavli to the parallel traditions in the Tosefta, the Yerushalmi, or the midrashic collections. On the other hand it seeks out every single real or supposed parallel within the Bavli itself in order to "resolve" – by means of ingenious interpretations and subtle distinctions – any contradictions which might be found to exist between these parallel texts. The result of this school of interpretation is a comprehensive and close analysis of even the smallest details of each and every passage in the Talmud, with the aim of demonstrating an essential unity of thought within the Bavli as a whole. This unity is often left unexpressed in the actual text of the Talmud, but this school is convinced that it does exist implicitly, remaining hidden beneath the semblance of a chaotic collection of disparate opinions which the Talmud presents to the superficial reader, and waiting to be revealed to the eye of reason, after exhaustive analysis and comparison of the relevant parallel texts in the Bavli.

The North African-Spanish school adopted from the very beginning a totally different approach to the interpretation of the Talmud. From its inception this school engaged in a systematic comparison of the sources and *sugyot* of the Bavli to the parallel *sugyot* in the Yerushalmi and to the parallel sources in the ancient tannaitic collections (Rabbenu Ḥananel and Rabbenu Nissim). This tendency toward critical comparison of alternative traditions was carried forward by Alfasi and Maimonides, who not only refrained from harmonizing alternative traditions, but even sought to clarify and to highlight both explicit and implicit contradictions. Their purpose in this endeavor was mostly halakhic, and not literary. They sought to construct a consistent body of Jewish law based on the most convincing interpretations of the most reliable opinions. To this end they needed to unravel the web of contradictory views preserved in the totality of talmudic literature (primarily but not only the Bavli), to single out these most reliable traditions (*ṣaḥaiḥ* in Arabic), and to reject the others, whether they expressly contradicted the views explicitly contained in these select traditions, or whether they tacitly assumed some abstract legal principle which stood in contradiction to one of the legal principles presupposed by one of these accepted *ṣaḥaiḥ* traditions. Alfasi and Maimonides also seem to have regularly distinguished between the various literary levels within the text of the Bavli itself, interpreting tannaitic and amoraic sources by themselves, without necessarily accepting the interpretation of the *stam ha-talmud*, or even tannaitic sources by themselves, without necessarily accepting the interpretation of some particular *amora*. The result is often a remarkably critical and philologically accurate interpretation of *a portion* of the talmudic traditions contained in the Bavli, an achievement unfortunately gained at the cost of the elimination of the rest of the competing and contradictory views from the field of vision.

A third school of Talmud interpretation developed during the latter period of the *rishonim* (13th–14th centuries). This school is associated with the name of Moses Naḥmanides in Christian Spain, who synthesized the achievements of these two earlier schools, combining the detailed and comprehensive literary analysis of Rashi and Tosefot, with the source-comparison and philological criticism of Rabbenu Ḥananel and Alfasi. This school is responsible for some of the most insightful and brilliant interpretations of the Talmud ever produced.

AHARONIM. The transition from the period of the *rishonim* to that of the *aḥaronim* is marked by the publication of the Shulḥan Arukh (1565) of Joseph *Caro. From this point on the development of the normative halakhic tradition was no longer centered on the independent interpretation of the Talmud itself, but rather focused its attention on the determination of the consensus of the halakhic views of the *rishonim*, as expressed in the Shulḥan Arukh and the literature which developed around it. One the one hand, this new situation led to a devaluation of the independent study of the Talmud text itself, which only rarely would be brought to bear in a normative halakhic debate. On the other hand, it freed the study of the Talmud from the artificial limitations of practically oriented normative halakhic interpretation. The Talmud interpretation of the *aḥaronim* moved in various directions. Super-commentaries were composed to the commentaries of Rashi and Tosefot. Works of abstract conceptual jurisprudence were composed, usually as super-commentaries to some highly regarded systematic halakhic work from the period of the *rishonim* (such as Maimonides' Code), or even to the Shulḥan Arukh itself. At the same time the liberation of talmudic scholarship from the narrow restraints of normative halakhic discourse gave impetus to a broadening of the range of talmudic studies, which now included Tosefta, Yerushalmi, *Midrashei Halakhah* and *Midrashei Aggadah* – not merely the Bavli itself.

ḤOKERIM. At first these new directions did not directly influence the interpretation of the Bavli. Starting, however, at the end of the 19th century the increased interest in and familiarity with these earlier documents of talmudic tradition began to arouse a new interest in their possible significance for the understanding of the Bavli itself. The *Yefeh Enayim* of Aryeh Leib Yellin, published in the Romm edition of the Bavli, made available for the first time an easily accessible listing of parallel traditions in the Yerushalmi and Tosefta, the *Midrashei Halakhah,* and *Midrashei Aggadah*. The *novellae* of R. Joseph Ẓvi Dünner attempted an integrated reconstruction of the historical evolution of the parallel versions of talmudic *sugyot*, and together these works can be seen to mark the beginning the period of the *ḥokerim.* Building on the achievements of such giants as Ḥanokh *Albeck, J.N. *Epstein, and Saul *Lieberman, the historical interpretation of the Bavli has been carried forward since the 1970s by the two great *ḥokerim* of the Bavli, David Weiss *Halivni and Shamma Friedman. The work of Halivni and Friedman was of course preceded by the critical literary and historical research of scholars like Julius Kaplan, Hyman Klein, and most especially by the monumental studies of Abraham Weiss. In their critical commentaries both Halivni and Friedman at first emphasized the same central point: the necessity of separating the tannaitic and amoraic sources of the Bavli from the literary framework of the *stam ha-talmud* in which they are imbedded, in order to interpret each level of the Bavli in its own right. While Halivni has remained largely within the framework of this original insight, applying this method over the years to a wide range of talmudic texts (extending over half of the Bavli), Friedman has expanded the critical field of Bavli study to include the lower-critical problems of textual criticism, the higher-critical problems of the synoptic relations between parallel versions of the same tradition, issues of talmudic lexicography, Babylonian Aramaic grammar, and so on. In the early 1990s, Friedman established the Society for the Interpretation of the Talmud, a collaborative venture in which a group of scholars has undertaken the preparation of an edition of the Babylonian Talmud with commentary based on modern scholarly standards and aimed to a wide reading audience.

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[Stephen G. Wald (2nd ed.)]

TALMUD, BURNING OF. Despite the mass of restrictions imposed on the Jews by the Church in the political, social, and economic spheres, and the attacks on the Oral Law by Christian theologians, the campaign to proscribe Jewish literature was not launched until the 13th century. An attempt had been made to prevent teaching of the "second tradition" (δευτέρωσις) by Emperor *Justinian in 553 (novella 146), and in 712 the *Visigoths in Spain forbade converts to Christianity to read Hebrew books. The first condemnation of the Talmud to burning was preceded by a period in which new forces of rationalism had made their appearance in Western Europe as well as an upsurge of sectarian movements such as the Cathari or *Albigenses. Such trends were countered with strong measures by the Church. In 1199 Pope Innocent III declared that since Scripture contained lessons too profound for the layman to grasp, Christians should rely wholly on the clergy for its interpretation. The Church also directed its attention to Jews as potential subversive elements. One outcome of the suppression of rationalistic tendencies was the burning of *Maimonides' *Guide of the Perplexed* at Montpellier, southern France, in 1233. The *Guide* was originally denounced to the Dominican inquisitors by Jewish leaders who opposed the study of Maimonides' works. Although the connection between the burning of the *Guide* and the subsequent burning of the Talmud is tenuous, it set a dangerous precedent.

Paris

In 1236 a Jewish apostate, Nicholas *Donin, submitted a memorandum to Pope *Gregory IX listing 35 charges against the Talmud. These included allegations that it contained blasphemies of Jesus and Mary, attacks on the Church, pronouncements hostile to non-Jews, and foolish and revolting tales. They asserted that the Jews had elevated the Oral Law to the level of divinely inspired Scripture, and that this impeded the possibility of their conversion to Christianity. Gregory thereupon ordered a preliminary investigation, and in 1239 sent a circular letter to ecclesiastics in France summarizing the accusations and ordering the confiscation of Jewish books on the first Saturday of Lent (i.e., March 3, 1240), while the Jews were gathered in synagogue. Any other persons having Hebrew books in their possession who refused to give them up were to be excommunicated. He further ordered the heads of the Dominican and Franciscan Orders in Paris to ensure that "those books in which you find errors of this sort you shall cause to be burned at the stake." Similar instructions were conveyed to the kings of France, England, Spain, and Portugal. It was in response to Gregory's circular that the first public religious *disputation between Jews and Christians was staged in Paris on June 25–27, 1240. The chief Jewish spokesman was R. *Jehiel of Paris, the most eminent French rabbi of the period. An inquisitorial committee condemned the Talmud two years later. In June 1242, 24 wagon loads of books totaling thousands of volumes were handed to the executioner for public burning. Copies may also have been seized and destroyed in Rome.

Subsequently the burning of the Talmud was repeatedly urged by the popes. In France, Louis IX ordered further confiscations in 1247 and 1248 and upheld the principle in an ordinance of December 1254. It was confirmed by Philip III in 1284 and Philip IV in 1290 and 1299. A further burning was ordered in Toulouse in 1319 by the inquisitor Bernard Gui and in Perpignan. In his manual for inquisitors Gui also singled out the works of *Rashi, David *Kimḥi, and Maimonides for condemnation. The conflagration in Paris was compared by the contemporary scholar *Meir b. Baruch of Rothenberg to the destruction of the Temple in an elegy *Sha'ali Serufah* ("Ask is it well, O thou consumed in fire") included in the *kinah* of the Ninth of Av. *Jonah Gerondi, who had led the anti-Maimonists, is said to have connected the burning of the Talmud with the burning of the *Guide* in Montpellier and to have bitterly repented his attacks on Maimonides.

Outside France little action was taken in response to the papal appeals. Confiscations may have taken place in England and were ordered in Sicily. There seems to have been widespread destruction in southern Italy in 1270. After the disputation of *Barcelona in 1263, James I of Aragon ordered the Jews to delete all blasphemous references to Jesus and Mary from their copies of the Talmud under penalty of burning the work. Condemnations of the Talmud were issued by popes *Innocent IV in his bull of 1244, *Alexander IV, John XXII in 1320, and *Alexander V in 1409. The restrictive legislation imposed on Aragonese Jewry after the disputation of *Tortosa, 1413–14, contained a condemnation of the Talmud. Pope *Eugenius IV issued a bull prohibiting Jews from studying the Talmud following the Council of Basle (see *Church Councils), 1431–43.

Although the orders of the popes were not effectively upheld by the secular authorities, copying of the Talmud and its study could not be carried out openly and proceeded with difficulty. However, in the new spirit of liberty engendered by the Renaissance, the great German humanist Johann *Reuchlin defended Jewish learning and the Talmud, which had again been condemned to destruction by the emperor in 1509 because of charges leveled against it by the apostate Johann *Pfefferkorn. The polemical battle which ensued between supporters of the humanists and the obscurantists involved leading Christian scholars, and was a prelude to the Reformation.

Rome

It was during the Counter-Reformation in Italy in the middle of the 16th century that the attacks on the Talmud had the most far-reaching consequences. In the reactionary climate, a quarrel broke out between rival Christian printers of Hebrew books in Venice. One of them, with the connivance of certain apostates, denounced the works produced by his competitor as containing matter offensive to the Holy Catholic Church. It developed into a wholesale attack on Hebrew literature. After a council of cardinals had examined the matter, the pope issued a decree (August 1553) designating the Talmud and related works as blasphemous and condemning them to be burned. On Sept. 9, 1553, the Jewish New Year, a huge pyre was set up in the Campo de' Fiori in Rome of Hebrew books that had been seized from Jewish homes. Subsequently the Inquisition ordered all rulers, bishops, and inquisitors throughout Italy to take similar action. The orders were obeyed in the Papal States, particularly in Bologna and Ravenna, and in Ferrara, Mantua, Urbino, Florence, and Venice, the center of Hebrew printing, and also in 1559 in Cremona. Representations by the rabbis gained a reprieve of the indiscriminate destruction. A papal bull issued on May 29, 1554, specified that while the Talmud and works containing blasphemies of Christianity were to be burned, other Jewish works were to be submitted for *censorship. The Talmud was included in the first *Index Expurgatorius* in 1559. The ban against publication of the Talmud, with certain excisions or without them, under a different name, was temporarily lifted (1564) by Pius IV. However, confiscation of Hebrew works continued in Italy, especially in the Papal States, down to the 18th century. The same was the case in Avignon and the papal possessions in France. Renewed interdictions were issued by popes Gregory XIII (1572–85) and Clement VIII (1593). The burning in Rome was commemorated by an annual public fast day observed on the eve of Sabbath of *ḥukkat* (*Shibbolei ha-Leket* 263).

The events in Italy were described by the contemporary chronicler *Joseph ha-Kohen in *Emek ha-Bakhah* and by a number of other writers. Mattathias *Delacrut, who managed to escape with his own books to Brest-Litovsk, relates that in Venice over 1,000 complete copies of the Talmud, 500 copies of the code of Isaac *Alfasi, and innumerable other works were burned. Judah b. Samuel *Lerma lost all the copies of his newly printed *Leḥem Yehudah* in Venice and had to rewrite it from memory. The burning also aroused protest in Christian circles. The Hebraist Andrea Masio openly voiced his resentment of the pope's ruling, saying that the cardinals' report condemning a literature of which they knew nothing was as valueless as a blind man's opinion of color. The proscription of the Talmud in the main center for Hebrew printing was felt throughout the Diaspora. The Jewish centers in Poland and Turkey were prompt to answer the challenge, and printing of the Talmud commenced in Lublin in 1559 and shortly afterward in Salonika. Scholars in Italy subsequently turned to other branches of Jewish learning, and the study of *Kabbalah in particular spread rapidly in Italy after the Talmud had been condemned.

The last auto-da-fé of the Talmud took place in Poland, in Kamenets-Podolski in the fall of 1757, following the spread of the *Frankist movement in Podolia. Bishop Nicholas Dembowski intervened in the controversy between the Frankists and Jewish leaders and ordered a disputation to be held between them. He subsequently condemned all copies of the Talmud found in his diocese to be seized and burned after they had been dragged through the streets in mockery. A search was made with the aid of the clergy, the police, and the Frankists for the Talmud and other rabbinical writings. Nearly 1,000 copies of the Talmud were thrown into a pit at Kamenets and burned by the hangman.

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[Yvonne Glikson]

TALMUD, DAVID L. (1900–), Russian physical chemist, educated at the Odessa Chemical Institute; Talmud joined the Leningrad Institute of Chemistry and Physics in 1930 and from 1934 worked at the Institute of Biochemistry of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Science. In 1934 he became a corresponding member of the Academy, and in 1943 was awarded the Stalin Prize. He wrote extensively, mainly on surface chemistry, colloids, and proteins.

TALMUD, JERUSALEM (תַּלְמוּד יְרוּשַׁלְמִי), also called the Palestinian Talmud, *Talmud di-Venei Ma'arava* (The Talmud of the West), or *Talmud de-Ereẓ Yisrael*. Like its better known "eastern" counterpart – the Babylonian Talmud (Bavli) – the Yerushalmi is an extensive literary work consisting of both *halakhah* and *aggadah* (see: *Talmud, Babylonian), built upon the foundation, and in the order, of the *Mishnah of Rabbi *Judah ha-Nasi (see *Mishnah, The Mishnah as a Literary Work, *Halakhah* in the Mishnah, *Aggadah* in the Mishnah). Neither the Bavli nor the Yerushalmi encompass the entire Mishnah, but rather only four of its six orders – though not the same four. There is both Talmud Bavli and Talmud Yerushalmi for *Moed*, *Nashim*, and *Nezikin*. Unlike the Bavli, however, the Talmud Yerushalmi includes the entire first order of the Mishnah, *Zeraim*. Again, unlike the Bavli, which has *talmud* for most of the fifth order of the Mishnah, *Kodashim*, the Yerushalmi has none. Neither the Bavli nor the Yerushalmi possess a fully edited and organized *talmud*, redacted according to the order of *seder Tohorot* (with the exception of *Niddah*), though both works contain many talmudic discussions (*sugyot*) which deal at length with the sources and issues of *seder Tohorot*. Several chapters of the Yerushalmi are missing from our editions – Shabbat 21–24, Makkot 3, Niddah 4–10) – but these were probably lost in the early middle ages.

Like the Bavli, the Yerushalmi is not primarily a commentary to the Mishnah of R. Judah ha-Nasi. Rather it is an autonomous and comprehensive work of *halakhah* and *aggadah*. Building upon the text of the Mishnah, it includes two additional strata of rabbinic sources: (1) *baraitot* – tannaitic sources which were not incorporated in the Mishnah of Rabbi Judah ha-Nasi, deriving for the most part from the same tannaitic period as the sources of the Mishnah (1st–2nd centuries), and almost equal to them in authority (see **Baraita*); (2) the teachings of five generations of Palestinian **amoraim* (and a few sixth generation scholars), and the first three generations of Babylonian *amoraim*. Like the Bavli, the Yerushalmi cites and discusses these sources for their own sake, and not merely insofar as they enlighten some obscure point in the Mishnah.

Also like the Bavli, the predominant literary form in the Yerushalmi is the *sugya* – a continuous, and sometimes quite lengthy, series of questions and answers, objections and justifications, in which the isolated tannaitic and amoraic sources of the Yerushalmi are combined and unified into a synthetic and dialectical whole. However, unlike the Bavli, the *sugyot* of the Yerushalmi do not contain a great deal of anonymous editorial additions, comments, interpretations, and explanations. It is reasonable, therefore, to assume that the Yerushalmi was redacted at about the time of the latest *amoraim* that are mentioned in it, or about the year 400 C.E. There are no explicit traditions concerning the place of the Yerushalmi's redaction, though it is usually assumed that it was redacted in Tiberias, perhaps with material deriving from Sepphoris and Caesarea also included.

Bavli and Yerushalmi – Similarities and Differences

In comparing the Bavli to the Yerushalmi, scholars have frequently pointed out that the discussions in the Bavli are more long-winded and discursive, involving extensive explanation and abstract conceptualization, forced interpretations of early sources, and so on. The *sugyot* of the Yerushalmi by comparison are more focused, concrete, and succinct. This comparison, while true insofar as the final texts of these two works are concerned, is nevertheless extremely misleading. As later critical scholarship has pointed out, the Bavli is composed of several distinct literary levels – (1) tannaitic; (2) amoraic; (3) *stam ha-talmud* – i.e. the literary work of several generations of anonymous redactors (cf. Talmud, Babylonian, The Babylonian Talmud as a Literary Work). Nearly all of the most prominent features which differentiate the Bavli from the Yerushalmi belong to the largely post-amoraic *stam ha-talmud* stratum of the Bavli. As scholars have pointed out, if one isolates the tannaitic and amoraic strata of the Bavli from the literary embellishments of the *stam ha-talmud*, the Bavli turns out to be remarkably similar to the Yerushalmi. A comparison of these two works as they stand, therefore, cannot contribute much to an understanding of the difference between two different, but contemporary, talmudic traditions, one in Babylonia and the other in Ereẓ Israel. Rather, such a comparison would primarily serve to highlight the difference between two different stages in the development of a single shared talmudic tradition, which was preserved both in Babylonia and in Ereẓ Israel. Since the Yerushalmi was redacted at least one hundred years before the Bavli, it preserves (by and large) a more original form of this shared talmudic tradition, closer in time and in form to the Talmud of the early and middle *amoraim* (both Babylonian and Palestinian). The Bavli, on the other hand, represents a later version of this same shared talmudic tradition, one which has incorporated later (mostly Babylonian) amoraic traditions and interpretations, as well as additions, interpretations, and revisions of the *stam ha-talmud* – all of which stem from the period following the redaction of the Yerushalmi (see Talmud, Babylonian, The Place of the Babylonian Talmud in Rabbinic Literature).

There are, nevertheless, a number of real differences between these two talmudim. First of all, the textual tradition of the Mishnah which is presupposed by the *sugyot* of the Bavli is often different from that presupposed by the Yerushalmi (see: Mishnah: The Later Development of the Text of the Mishnah; and cf. Epstein, Mishnah, 18–25, 195). Second, the Aramaic language of the Yerushalmi differs from that of the Bavli. The language of the Bavli, which is familiar to most Talmud students, belongs to the eastern branch of Aramaic (which includes Mandaic and Syriac). The language of the Yerushalmi, on the other hand, belongs to the western branch of Aramaic (which includes Samaritan and Palestinian Christian Aramaic), and is unfamiliar to most students trained in the Bavli. This dialect was thoroughly investigated by Dalman, whose work was criticized by Kutscher. However, given the fragmentary nature of Kutscher's own contributions in this field, it would seem that his criticism of Dalman was somewhat exaggerated (Macuch, xxxvii). Stevenson's popular grammar of Palestinian Jewish Aramaic is largely based on Dalman's work, and though it too was dismissed by Kutscher, his judgment is relevant primarily for the professional linguistic scholar, and does not relate to the value of this small book for teachers and students. In the field of lexicography, the situation has been vastly improved by the publication of M. Sokoloff's *Dictionary of Jewish Palestinian Aramaic* (1990). Third, the technical terminology of the Yerushalmi is very different from the far more familiar and well-documented terminology of the Bavli. L. Moscovitz has already made a significant contribution toward the clarification of the technical terminology of the Yerushalmi, and it is to be hoped that his continued efforts in this field will soon become available to a wider community of Talmud students.

Only about one-sixth of the Jerusalem Talmud consists of *aggadah, compared with one-third of the Babylonian. This may be due to the fact that in Ereẓ Israel the aggadic element was assembled in special collections, out of which the later Midrashim evolved. There are in fact many aggadic passages in the Yerushalmi which closely resemble parallel passages found in the classic aggadic collections – **Genesis Rabbah*, **Leviticus Rabbah*, **Pesikta de-Rav Kahana*, etc. – though the precise literary and historical relationship between these parallel texts is not always clear (see **Genesis Rabbah*). For the relative originality and historical reliability of the Palestinian aggadic tradition as a whole, in comparison with the *aggadah* of the Bavli, see: Talmud, Babylonian – The *Aggadah* of the Babylonian Talmud. In the Yerushalmi there is a marked lack of demonology or angelology which looms so large in the Babylonian Talmud, although, contrary to the statement of Ginzburg, *shedim* ("devils") are mentioned (TJ, Shab. 1:3, 3b; Git. 6:8, 48b). There are many references to sorcery (cf. Sanh. 7:13, 25c and even in a halakhic context, Naz. 7:1, 57a); magic (Shab. 6:9, 8d; cf. TB, Shab. 66b) and astrology (Shab. 6:9, 8d) are also mentioned. There is reference only to the two biblical angels Michael and Gabriel.

Yerushalmi Nezikin

It is immediately evident that the text to the three tractates of *Nezikin* ("Damages") – *Bava Kamma, Bava Meẓia*, and *Bava Batra* – differ in a fundamental and striking way from the remainder. The difference extends to style, terminology, and even to the names of the *amoraim* who are mentioned there. The vast majority of *amoraim* quoted belong to the first and second generations; those of the next two generations are hardly mentioned at all; and many of those mentioned in this order are rarely mentioned in the other orders. *Nezikin* has a different terminology and includes old Hebrew words which do not occur elsewhere. It is distinguished by its brevity and shows every sign of being in an unfinished state. Where discussions are found on an identical passage in this and the other orders, that in *Nezikin* often comes to an entirely different conclusion, or gives different answers to those given in the other discussion. Moreover, discussions left incomplete in this order are found completed in the others.

That the Talmud to *Nezikin* is fundamentally different from the rest is universally accepted. Originally explanations of this phenomenon focused on identifying a different location for the redaction of these three tractates. The first to suggest that it emanated from a different source was I. Levy (*Jahresbuch des juedischen theologischen Seminars*, Breslau, 20/21 (1895)). Although it was previously maintained that it was compiled in Tiberias and represents the teachings of the school there, the brilliant research of S. Lieberman argued vigorously against this conclusion. In his opinion, the Jerusalem Talmud to *Nezikin* represents the school of Caesarea, where it was compiled about the middle of the fourth century C.E., half a century before the compilation of the rest. Among the evidence put forward by Lieberman the following may be mentioned. In the Jerusalem Talmud to tractate *Shabbat* (which emanates from Tiberias), the "rabbis of Caesarea" are contrasted with "the local rabbis"; R. Nasa, who is elsewhere (Est. R. 2:9; TJ, Shab. 7:1, 9b; Pes. 2:2, 29a, etc.) mentioned as hailing from Caesarea, is mentioned no less than 14 times in *Nezikin*; the only time the word "here" is mentioned in *Nezikin* (BM 6:3, 11a) the reference is clearly to Caesarea; and lastly, statements attributed in the three *Bava* tractates to *amoraim* without any qualification are in other parts of the Jerusalem Talmud attributed to "the rabbis of Caesarea" (cf., e.g., BB 3:1, 13d with Kid. 4:2, 65d; BK 8:4, 6b with Ket. 5:5, 30a). Recently, however, the focus has moved away somewhat from the aspect of location, and more attention has been given to the aspect of time – that the redaction of Yerushalmi *Nezikin* represents an earlier stage in the development of the talmudic tradition, before the isolated *memrot* and *baraitot* were incorporated into extended synthetic and dialectical compositions (Sussmann, *Meḥkare Talmud I*).

Acceptance of the Two Talmuds

The Jerusalem Talmud was completed at least a century before the compilation of the Babylonian Talmud – c. 400. Its close was probably due to the situation which prevailed in Ereẓ Israel. In 351 the Roman commander Ursicinus wreaked vengeance on the Jews of Tiberias, Sepphoris, and Lydda, the seats of the three academies, because of their revolts against the army. It was the beginning of the end of organized Jewish learning in Ereẓ Israel. The activities of the main school, that of Tiberias, came to an end with the extinction of the patriarchate in 421, as a result of the troubles and persecution which followed the Christian domination. Although study of the Torah did not cease entirely, conditions were not conducive to the flourishing of *halakhot* or the creation of halakhic works. It was, in fact, almost a miracle that the Torah of Ereẓ Israel was not forgotten entirely. Until the rise of Islam each Talmud was probably authoritative in its own sphere. With the spread of Islam and the establishment of the caliphate at Baghdad in the eighth century, however, the *geonim* of Babylon succeeded in establishing the authority of the Babylonian Talmud throughout Europe. Students flocked to the academies of Babylon from Spain, Provence, Italy, North Africa, and the Byzantine Empire. Hai Gaon (d. 1038) had already laid it down that decisions of the Jerusalem Talmud are to be disregarded when they conflict with those of the Babylonian (*Teshuvot ha-Ge'onim*, ed. Lyck, no. 46; *Sha'arei Teshuvah*, no. 39; cf. *Ha-Eshkol*, Hilkhot Sefer Torah, 60b). It was in North Africa that the relationship of the Babylonian Talmud to the Jerusalem Talmud was finally determined. The Jerusalem Talmud was studied intensively in the school of *Nissim b. Jacob ibn Shahin and *Hananel b. Ḥushi'el. It has been suggested, but without any corroborative evidence, that Ḥushi'el, the father of Hananel, brought it from his native southern Italy, where Palestinian influence was strong. Nissim maintained that many passages in the Babylonian Talmud could be understood only when compared with the parallel passage in the sister Talmud. But it was Isaac Alfasi, the most prominent halakhic figure in North Africa following Hananel, who formalized the role of the Jerusalem Talmud in the emerging world of the **rishonim*. On the one hand, in his classic and decisive work *Hilkhot ha-Rif* he quotes the Jerusalem Talmud extensively, yet at the same time he states unequivocally (Er. 104b) that "since our Talmud [the Babylonian] permits it [the causing of sound on Sabbath] it is of no concern to us that the Talmud of the west forbids it, because we rely upon our Talmud since it is later (*batra'ei*) in time, and they were more versed in that Talmud than we are. Were they not convinced that one need not rely upon that statement of the Jerusalem Talmud they would not have permitted it." The Jerusalem Talmud was not extensively used by Rashi; his quotations from it are very often secondhand, culled from other works. It was, however, better known among some of the tosafists. For example, Solomon ibn Adret and Simeon b. Ẓemaḥ Duran both state that Judah b. Yakar, who lived in France around 1200, wrote a commentary on it. In the 13th century, the talmudic school of Naḥmanides, following the precedents of Hananel and Alfasi, continued to study the Yerushalmi in conjunction with their exposition of the Bavli.

Manuscripts and Editions

The editio princeps of the Jerusalem Talmud is the Venice edition printed by Daniel Bomberg (1523–24), published after the completion of the printing of the Babylonian Talmud (1523) and before he undertook the printing of the Yad of Maimonides which was completed the following year. This edition is based upon the sole extant manuscript of the Jerusalem

Talmud, the Leiden manuscript, which was written by Jehiel b. Jekuthiel b. Benjamin ha-Rofe in 1289. The scribe explicitly states that he copied it from a woefully corrupt text, full of errors; although he had attempted to correct it as much as possible, "I know that I have not corrected even half of the mistakes," and he begs the indulgence of his readers. In addition to those mistakes, it is evident from statements and quotations of the *rishonim* that the scribes in many cases freely changed the orthography characteristic of the original text to make it accord with the accepted spelling and terminology of the Babylonian Talmud. For instance it is specifically stated that in the Jerusalem Talmud אדם is spelled אדן, yet those differences have been eliminated from the manuscript.

This manuscript was the basis of the printed text, but its editor, Jacob b. Ḥayyim ibn Adoniyahu, had at his disposal three other manuscripts, which he calls "accurate" ones. All of these have been completely lost, with the exception of the Yerushalmi to tractate *Horayot*, which was printed by Bomberg in his edition of the Babylonian Talmud and which, according to Lieberman, is the text of one of those three manuscripts. Jacob b. Ḥayyim was not conversant with the language and style of the Jerusalem Talmud and in many places spoiled the text by amendments due to his lack of understanding. It is clear that he did not examine the text before him with sufficient care, or correct it when necessary. Nor did he hesitate to omit passages which he did not understand or add sentences which are not found in the Leiden manuscript (though possibly their source is the other manuscripts mentioned; see J.N. Epstein, in: *Tarbiz* (see bibl.) (with additions by E.Z. Melamed), and his *Amora'im*, pp. 335 ff.). An examination of the Leiden manuscript reveals glosses by the scribe and by the editor – both of which have been included in the printed text – and glosses from a third hand which did not find their way into it. When added that printing errors are not lacking, it will be realized that the existing text is hopelessly corrupt.

The task of establishing a correct text is almost an impossible one. Two sources are available. One can be obtained through a collation of all texts in the works of the *rishonim*, as was done by B. Rattner in his valuable *Ahavat Ẓiyyon vi-Yrushalayim*. The other is the fragments on the orders *Zera'im, Mo'ed*, and *Nezikin* of the Jerusalem Talmud in the Cairo *Genizah*. These were collected by S. Schechter who gave them to L. Ginzberg; the latter published them in *Seridei Yerushalmi*, and some in Volume I of *Ginzei Schechter*. In addition, J.N. Epstein and especially S. Lieberman have done valuable work in the reconstruction of the original text of part of the Talmud.

In addition to the Leiden manuscript and the *Genizah* fragments there exists a manuscript in the Vatican of *Zera'im* (except *Bikkurim*) and tractate *Sotah*, in all comprising about one-quarter of the Leiden manuscript. It is full of scribal errors. In 1976 E.S. Rosenthal discovered in the margins of the Escorial Manuscript of the Bavli, an almost complete copy of Yerushalmi Nezikin. This important find was eventually edited and published with a commentary by S. Lieberman in 1984. Later, the Academy of Hebrew Language published an exact transcription of the Leiden manuscript of the Yerushalmi, with carefully annotated corrections and an introduction by J. Sussmann.

Commentaries

Until recently the earliest commentator on the Jerusalem Talmud whose work has been preserved was Solomon Sirilio. There has also been published by A. Sofer a commentary to *Shekalim* by R. Meshullam, who lived in the 12th–13th century and another to the same tractate and belonging to the same period, by "the disciples of Samuel b. Shneor" (New York, 1954). Sirilio was a native of Spain who emigrated to Ereẓ Israel after the expulsion in 1492 and composed his commentary in Ereẓ Israel about 1530, seven years after the first edition was printed in Venice. He apparently never saw that, however, and his commentary is based on a manuscript. His commentary to the order *Zera'im* and some other tractates was published separately by Dinkels; that to *Berakhot* and *Pe'ah* are included in the Romm edition. During the next century only desultory commentaries were written on the Talmud. In 1590 Samuel Jaffe Ashkenazi wrote a commentary on the aggadic portion of the Jerusalem Talmud only, which is valuable for the variant readings he gives from manuscripts in his possession, and for his emendations. An older contemporary, Eleazar *Azikri, wrote one on *Berakhot* and *Beẓah* (the latter published in 1967) and possibly on *Pesaḥim*, which has been lost. R. Yom Tov Lipman *Heller, the famous commentator on the Mishnah, states that his son Abraham wrote a commentary on it, but not a trace of it has been found.

The first extensive commentary was that of Joshua Benveniste of Turkey who commentated on the legal portions of only 18 of the tractates. Part of this was published with the text during the author's lifetime (Constantinople, 1662) and the rest nearly a century later. The revival in the study of the Jerusalem Talmud, especially in Eastern Europe, is due to Elijah b. Loeb of *Fulda. His commentary (Amsterdam, 1710) covers 15 treatises. It stimulated the marginal notes by David *Oppenheim which are clearly a supplement to and a criticism of Elijah's work. Moreover only a few years were to pass before two major commentaries appeared. David b. Naphtali Fraenkel of Berlin (1704–1762) commented on practically the whole of the Talmud which was not covered by Elijah of Fulda (but including *Shekalim*, on which Elijah also wrote: vol. 1, Dessau, 1743; vol. 2, Berlin, 1757; vol. 3, *ibid.*, 1760–62); his work is entitled *Korban ha-Edah* with additions entitled *Sheyarei Korban*.

The first to publish a commentary to the whole of the Jerusalem Talmud was Moses *Margoliot (d. 1780) of Kaidan (Kedainiai), Lithuania. Half was published in his lifetime (vol. 1, Amsterdam, 1554; vol. 2, Leghorn, 1770; vol. 3 (part, no place)) and the remainder in the Zhitomir edition under the title *Penei Moshe* and *Mareh ha-Panim*. The commentaries of Fraenkel and Margolies are regarded as the two standard commentaries to this Talmud, and paved the way to an understanding of the text. They fulfill the same function as Rashi's commentary to the Babylonian Talmud. The commentary of Elijah Gaon of Vilna is invaluable.

The *No'am Yerushalayim* of Joshua Isaac of Slonim contains some brilliant interpretations but it is interspersed with casuistic discussions. A valuable contribution was made by Ephraim Dov Lapp of Jaroslaw who provided a digest of this work which, like all the above commentaries and many others, is published in the Romm edition of the Jerusalem Talmud (1922) under the title *Gilyon Efrayim*, as is the penetrating commentary of Jacob David *Willowski (the Ridbaz). The *Netivot Yerushalayim* of Israel Ḥayyim Daiches (BK, Vilna, 1880; BM, London, 1926; BB, *ibid.*, 1927) combines profundity and learning with a highly developed critical sense. Appended to the photostat edition of the Krotoschin Talmud (1969) is what purports to be a complete list of the commentators on the Jerusalem Talmud, compiled by Rubinstein. The list, however, is largely of works in which commentaries on passages in the Jerusalem Talmud occur incidentally. Special mention, however, should be made of two excellent commentaries in the last century, the *Sefer Nir* of R.M. Kobrin to *Zera'im* and *Mo'ed* and part of *Nashim*, and that of Joseph Engels (1859–1919) in his *Gilyonei ha-Shas*. Most important is Lieberman's *Yerushalmi ki-Feshuto*, and his commentary to *Yerushalmi Nezikin*, mentioned above, as well as the numerous explanations of difficult passages from the Yerushalmi that can be found in Lieberman's monumental commentary to the Tosefta, *Tosefta Kefshuta*.

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[Louis Isaac Rabinowitz / Stephen G. Wald (2nd ed.)]

TALMUD, MUSICAL RENDITION.

TALMUD, MUSICAL RENDITION. The Mishnah and *Gemara* were called the Oral Law (*Torah she-be-al Peh*) and continued to be called thus even after they had been put in writing. The transmission of an unwritten text depends on constant repetition (one of the meanings of the term Mishnah), and the more formal such a text becomes, the more its rendition will tend to develop into a formal – and soon also formulaic – sequence of quasi-melodic phrases. According to the Tosefta, R. Akiva enjoined the students to "sing it, constantly sing" (*zemer bi tadira zemer*; Tosef., Oho, 16:8 and Par. 4:7; also Sanh. 99a–b). The most explicit reference found is (Meg. 32b; also Sof. 3:13): "He who reads without melody (*ha-kore be-lo ne'imah*) and studies without a tune (*ve-shoneh be-lo zimrah*), about him the Bible says 'And I also have given you laws that are not good.'" This seems to refer first to biblical cantillation and then to the study of the Oral Law. The two terms *ne'imah* and *zimrah* might imply that the musical character of the two was not identical (*zammer* is also the term in R. Akiva's saying, above); and since *zammer* in the Talmud is usually connected with true singing it is reasonable to assume that the sentences of the Oral Law were rendered then, as they still frequently are, to a set melodic phrase, which was thus felt to be more in the nature of a "tune" than the constantly changing sequence of little motives which make up the cantillation of a biblical text. The warnings against making the Law "as a mere song" may therefore not be wholly metaphorical (Shab. 106b, 113a; Er. 60a). Even after the Mishnah had been put into writing it was studied aloud – as all books were in antiquity; silent reading seems to have been almost inconceivable at that time (cf. M. Hadas, *Ancilla to Classical Reading* (1954), 50–52). The "learning tune" could thus continue in use and be immediately applied to the additional body of oral commentary and discussion which accrued around each

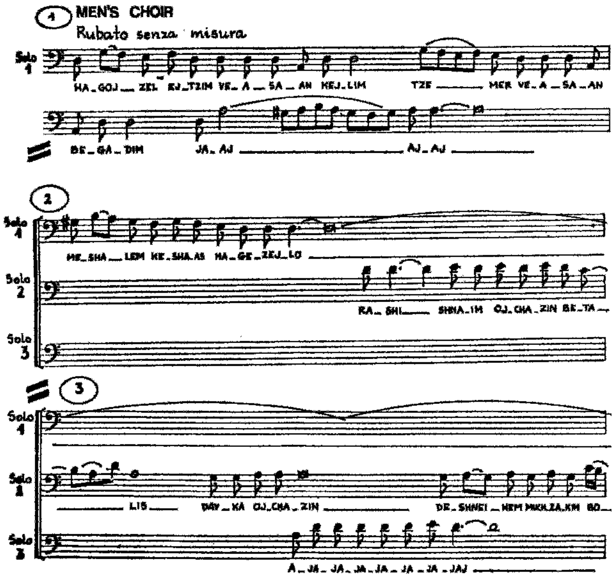
1
MEN'S CHOIR
Rubato senza misura
Solo 1
HA_GOJ_ZEL EJ_TZIM VE_A_SA_AN KEJ_LIM TZE_ MEK VE_A_SA_AN
BE_GA_DIM JA_AJ AJ_AJ
2
Solo 1
ME_SHA_LEM KE_SHA_AS HA_GE_ZEJ_LO
Solo 2
RA_SHI_ SHNA_IM OJ_CHA_ZIN BE_TA_
Solo 3
3
Solo 1
Solo 1
LIS_ DAY_KA OJ_CHA_ZIN DE_SHNEI_HEM MKH_ZA_KM BO_
Solo 3
A_JA_JA_JA_JA_JA_JA_JAJ

Opening section of Ludas Paschalis *by André Hajdu (1970). This reproduces, with only slight stylization, the typical individual and comulative melodic pattern created in the East Ashkenazi tradition of collective Talmud study. Courtesy Israel Music Institute, Tel Aviv.*

mishnaic passage and was finally codified in writing as the *Gemara*. Other factors which strengthened this practice were the formal connection of the Talmud with the Bible, which was cantillated (cf. *Masoretic Accents, Musical Rendition), and its practical connection with the *derashah* ("homily"), in which at least a quasi-musical delivery always tends to appear as the structure acquires a set rhetorical pattern. A few passages in manuscripts and even prints appear furnished with masoretic accents, such as a *genizah* fragment of the Jerusalem Talmud's *Avodah Zarah* (see J.N. Epstein, *Li-Seridei ha-Yerushalmi*, in: *Tarbiz*, 3 (1931)) or the mishnaic passages in the Babylonian Talmud's *Kiddushin* (Sabbioneta edition 1553), but these have not yet been investigated with a view to discovering whether they represent mere experiments to make precise the divisions of the sentence or have some connection with the "learning tune." Neither have the living traditions of the "learning tune" been investigated and compared.

The developments outlined above only support the contention that the study of the Talmud was carried out from the earliest times by melodic (or rather melodized) rendition; but whether a certain pattern was the standard one, and how and where it survived cannot be stated. The "learning tune" is mentioned in several rabbinical works but here too the evidence has not as yet been collected (Idelsohn, *Melodien*, vol. 8, preface xvii, states that it is often mentioned, but gives only one source – Isaiah Hurwitz's *Shenei Luḥot ha-Berit*, fol. 256b in the Amsterdam edition of 1698). The melody also became customary for talmudic passages used in the liturgy (such as *Ba-Meh Madlikin*). It seems, however, that in many communities these liturgical renditions of a talmudic text acquired a special melody or at least a more elaborate form of the ordinary "learning tune." In Ashkenazi parlance it is called *lernshtayger*, although it cannot properly be classified among the **shtayger* patterns. Owing to their having a place in the liturgy, certain of these talmudic passages also became vehicles for individual cantorial elaboration. The earliest notated evidence of the "learning tune" is featured in the form of a parody – a haggling dialogue between a Jew and a herring seller – in *Chelec oder Thalmudischer Juedenschatz* by the convert Christian Gerson von Recklinghausen (Helmstedt, 1610). Very few specimens were notated in later times or recorded and transcribed in the modern period. Idelsohn's *Melodien* includes some from Yemen (vol. 1, nos. 4, 23, 35, 37, 92), Morocco (vol. 5, nos. 58, 72, 75), and Eastern Europe (vol. 8, nos. 234–6, the last two numbers being cantorial creations; see also in his *Music*, example 17 on p. 189 and pp. 191–2). A rendition from Djerba – the special intonation for the study of *Pirkei Avot* between Pesaḥ and Shavu'ot – was recorded and transcribed by A. Herzog (*Renanot*, facs. 8 (1961), 9–11).

[Bathja Bayer]

TALMUD AND MIDDLE PERSIAN CULTURE.

Jews and Persians lived in close proximity in Mesopotamia for over 12 centuries; for nearly all that time one or another Iranian dynasty ruled the country as a province of its empire. For nearly the entire amoraic period (220–500 C.E.), Babylonia was ruled by the Sasanian dynasty (224–651 C.E.) (Frye). By and large, the two communities coexisted peacefully; as the late third-century R. Huna put it, the Babylonian "exiles" were at ease in Babylonia, as the other exiles – those in the Roman world – were not (Men. 110a). The Persian king of kings wanted it that way. The Jews were a large minority in a vital province; Mesopotamia was both the breadbasket of the Empire and the province most vulnerable to Roman invasion. Jews, unlike the Christians who could become a fifth column once Christianity became the state religion of the Roman Empire in 317, would support the regime if they were satisfied. Indeed, Mesopotamia was so important that the capital was at Ctesiphon, right across the River Tigris from Babylonia. The Jews were thus a bulwark of the Empire – if they were kept satisfied and politically quiescent. As a result, the Sasanians resisted pressure from the Zoroastrian Church to persecute these minorities.

Again, the official religion of the Persian Empire, Zoroastrianism, was comfortable and even familiar to the Jews, with its theological doctrines of creation by the benevolent and omniscient Ohrmazd, reward and punishment, heaven and hell, judgment, creation, the fight against evil, the coming of the messiah, the ultimate defeat of evil, the renewal of creation, and the resurrection of the dead. This was true of its ethical system as well, with its emphasis of right thought, right speech, and right action, and its ritual system with the stress on the avoidance of idolatry, its hatred of sorcery, sodomy, and contact with menstruant women and dead bodies, as well as its valorization of such rabbinic doctrines as the importance of oral transmission and the authority of the rabbis. True, the operation of the sociological/psychological principle of the narcissism of small differences would have meant that leaders of both religions would have stressed their differences rather than similarities, but as the evidence preserved in the Babylonian Talmud indicates, Jewish acculturation to Persian religion, mores and culture was high. Its positive valuation of life in this world – procreation, agricultural and economic activities, as opposed to the world-denying views of Gnosticism and Manichaeism, was also in tune with Jewish values.

As a result of this long-term peaceful coexistence and basic similarity in world-view, we might well have expected what in fact we find: a large number of parallels, mutual and one-way influences and borrowings, etc. These manifest themselves in several areas of Babylonian-Jewish rabbinic life: in lifestyle, in legal and theological borrowings, and in sensibility.

Thus, two prominent Babylonian rabbis – Rav and R. Nahman – adopted the Iranian institution of temporary marriage in their own lives, and contracted such marriages when away from home (Yoma 18b, Yev. 39b), without a trace of moral disapproval from colleagues or the Babylonian Talmud's redactors. Rav and Rava and others permitted polygyny in a much more positive way than do Palestinian sources (Yev. 65a, Pes. 113a), and in general, Babylonian sources betray a much more positive, less ascetic attitude to sex than do Palestinian ones.

However, cultural influences are much more complicated than mere influence one way or another. As James Russell has observed, "influences from one quarter…do not preclude promiscuous intermingling with material from another tradition…; influences need not be a graft, but can be also a stimulus that brings into prominence a feature that had been present previously, but not important" (Russell, 6). Thus, the Babylonian Talmud's attitude to women, as expressed by some of its most influential figures, such as Abaye and R. Papa, echoes exactly the sentiments of a Middle Persian wisdom text, the Book of *Joisht i Friyan* (70–71, ll. 252–256): "It is not what you think, but what I think. You think that wives have great joy from various sorts of clothes and the suitable station as mistress of the house, if she can call such a thing her own. Now, it [is] not so. Wives [have] great joy being with their husbands." The last is later identified with sex. Compare the Babylonian Talmud: "Abaye said: With a husband [the size of] an ant her seat is placed among the great. R. Papa said: Though her husband be a flax beater she calls him to the threshold and sits down [at his side to show her married status]. R. Ashi said: Even if [her husband] has a demeaning family name [she accepts it and] requires no lentils for her pot. And all of them fornicate and attribute [the offspring] to their husbands" (Yev. 118b and Ket. 75a). "A man is obligated to make his children and household happy on the festival, as it is written, 'You shall rejoice on your festival' (Deut. 16:14). How does he make them happy? With wine. R. Judah says: Men with what is suitable for them and women with what is suitable for them. Men with wine, and women – with what? R. Joseph taught: In Babylonia with colored garments, and in the Land of Israel with linen garments"(Pes. 109a). Finally, there is the famous statement recorded in the Mishnah in the name of R. Joshua: "A woman prefers a *kab* [of food] and nine *kabs* of sex to nine *kabs* [of food] and abstinence" (M. Sot. 3:4; see TB Sot. 20a). Whether or not these statements are "merely" folk-sayings transmitted by these authorities, or their own, or falsely attributed to them, is irrelevant. The redactors thought enough of the statements to transmit them in the names of three of the most prominent *amoraim* in the Babylonian Talmud, whose immense prestige then lay behind them, and R. Joseph adds clothes to the mix in a halakhic context. This conglomeration of statements expresses the same mindset as the Middle Persian text. In the end, the "truthful Hifrih" adds R. Joshua's observation to the mix. Women want clothes, social position – but without sex, the others are hardly worth it. Both these texts relate to the same social context.

In this context we may note the rabbinic institution of the "rebellious wife," the *moredet* (Ket. 62a–b), which finds its exact counterpart in the Sasanian *atarsagāyīh,* "insubordination," to which an entire chapter of the Sasanian Law Book is devoted, with similar definitions (refusal of marital relations and domestic "work" and personal spousal service) and penalties (Macuch II, 25–29, 97–120, Perikhanian, 252–259). In this case, as in others, the differences are sometimes as illuminating as are the similarities, and historians of Jewish and Sasanian law ignore them at their peril (see: Elman, "Marital Property in Rabbinic and Sasanian Law"). The rabbinic concept of *ona'ah,* "overreaching" in sales, may be paralleled by MHD 37:2–10, with the same three-day period stipulated, but with a quarter rather than a sixth of the price (TB BM 49b–51a, 69a). Then there is the institution of *me'un* ("refusal"), whereby a underage girl could be married off by her mother or brothers, but could, upon reaching her majority, leave her husband (M. Yev. 13:1, 4, 7 and TB Yev. 107a); for the parallel, see MHD 89:15–17. Examples could be multiplied, and the reader is referred to the studies referred to above.

In the legal sphere we find the same phenomenon. Some parallels involve matters with which every legal system must deal, and are most likely the result of independent development. Similar conditions – economic, social, and religious – produce similar concerns. But studying each in isolation prevents us from gaining a complete picture of the conditions under which each system developed, and the way that each responded to common problems. Is it not unlikely that the rabbis and the Iranian jurisconsults were faced with a rash of fraudulent land-sales, with people claiming to own land they did not, as evidenced by TB BM 14a–b and the Sasanian Law Book 8:13–9:5 The hunger for arable land, certainly in short supply in the Persian Empire, would likely yield such a scheme in Jewish Babylonia (because of the density of population) and Iran (because of the arid conditions of its plateaus and mountains).

The adoption into the rabbinic system of the Sasanian institution of temporary gifts is another noteworthy event. According to both Talmuds (Suk. 41a and TJ Suk. 3:10 [54a]), this innovation was introduced by R. Nahman, who is criticized elsewhere in the Babylonian Talmud for being too Persianized by half (see Kid. 70a–b). It is not surprising that even his close disciple, Rava, expressed hesitations in this regard (Kid. 6b and BB 137b).

This influence extended to the theological realm as well. Thus, the Babylonian Talmud is much more concerned than the Jerusalem Talmud with the vexatious problem of theodicy, with the influential amora, Rava, taking the lead, as Y. Elman has demonstrated in a series of studies published in the early 1990s. The reason for this seems clear. Zoroastrianism's dualistic theology would seem to provide a relatively simple solution to the problem. Why do the righteous suffer? It is the doing of the Evil Spirit, Ahreman. The Babylonian Talmud, in the person of Rava, provides us with a portrait of his highly acculturated hometown, Mahoza, a suburb of the Persian capital, Ctesiphon, whose inhabitants were skeptical of rabbinic authority (see Sanh. 99b–100a, Mak. 22a). Rava himself seems to have fashioned a theological response to the problem, one which included at least one borrowing of a popular Zoroastrian theme, the dependence of vital elements of human life on fate, and not mitzvoth.

One of Rava's most radical statements on the topic fits perfectly within the context of the Middle Persian debate on "fate" and "works." Rava attributes to the workings of fate –

mazzal – the three elements that we may see as components of individual contentment: "[length of] life, [surviving] children, and sustenance" (MK 28a). Rava asserts that these three aspects of human life are astrologically determined and are not dependent on religious merit; he proves this by contrasting the lives of two great – "righteous" – authorities of the previous generation, Rabbah, the head of the Pumbeditan school, and his own father-in-law, R. Hisda.

Rava said: [Length of] life, children, and sustenance depend not on merit but [rather on] *mazzal*. For, take Rabbah and R. Hisda [as examples]. Both were absolutely righteous rabbis; [the proof of this righteousness is that] each master prayed for rain and it came. [Despite this,] R. Hisda lived to the age of 92; Rabbah only lived to the age of 40. In R. Hisda's house – 60 marriage feasts, in Rabbah's – 60 bereavements. At R. Hisda's house there was purest wheat bread for dogs, and it went to waste; at Rabbah's house there was barley bread for humans – and that could not be found.

This statement is not Rava's sole contribution to the matter, however. Rava reshapes R. Joseph's statement in Sot. 21a as to the limited utility of Torah-study and the performance of *mitzvot*; he asserts (in Ber. 5a) that in some cases one's merit may bring upon him yet more suffering, albeit "sufferings of love." As if all this were not enough, he reflects on the perilous nature of Israel's life in exile as played out in his own life (Hag. 5a–b). All of these (the limited protection from the exigencies of human existence afforded by Torah study and the performance of *mitzvot*, humanity's own frail nature, and the "sufferings of love") contribute to the tragic dimensions of the human condition – a recognition that lies at the heart of Zoroastrianism's dualistic view of the universe.

Rava's saying fits extremely well with the situation in Zoroastrian thought, where the theme of astrology versus merit, or "works," as the Middle Persian phrase has it, appears in many Middle Persian compilations, though, as usual, preserved only in post-Sasanian compilations. Still, Rava's apparent citation of a Babylonian Aramaic proverb has a striking parallel in a Middle Persian one. A saying attributed to Ādurbād ī Mahraspandān, the high priest roughly contemporary with Rava, but also transmitted anonymously, provides a striking parallel, though, of course, parts of the following may well include folk sayings, and statements taken from oral tradition but attributed to the high priest: "They say that the blessed Adurbad, son of Mahraspandan, divided the things of the material world into twenty-five parts: five (he assigned) to fate, five to action, five to habit, five to substance, and five to heredity. Life, wife, children, authority, and wealth are mostly through fate. Righteousness and wickedness and being a priest, warrior, and husbandmen are mostly through action. …" (Shaked, *Wisdom*, 174–175). Thus Rava's dictum has its direct referent in a Middle Persian saying. Moreover, while Rava's position is a *novum* in the Babylonian Talmud and in rabbinic literature in general, it is common in Iranian sources. Whether personal reflection impelled Rava's theological musings in this direction, or whether it was the pressure of the more acculturated members of his community, or whether his own encounters with Zoroastrian theology that motivated this conclusion – or, more probably, a combination of all of these – it is clear that Rava's statement, and the many later passages that follow this line in the Babylonian Talmud, relate to this interdenominational discussion In fine, then, the stark difference between the Babylonian Talmud and the Jerusalem Talmud, to which Elman called attention then also, must be laid at the door of the Middle Persian background of the Babylonian Talmud.

Middle Persian attitudes and doctrines made inroads in the Babylonian rabbinic elite culture, in law, in theology, and in general cultural attitudes, as well as in non-rabbinic Jewish attitudes. If anything, the ease that Babylonian Jews felt in the Iranian Exile extended to language as well, but an evaluation of the evidence requires a somewhat different paradigm than historians have developed for the Jewish encounter with Graeco-Roman culture. In any case, the Babylonian rabbinic elite display the influence of Persian culture, law, theological and general *Weltanschauung*. This is all to be expected, not only because of their long, relatively peaceful sojourn in Mesopotamia, but also because Zoroastrianism was, if anything, on the whole, a more benign presence than either Roman paganism or Christianity. Moreover, its theological and ritual structure was more in tune with that of Rabbinic Judaism than Roman paganism was, and while it shared an expectation of a messianic advent with Judaism, that advent was in the future, and therefore not a subject for acrimonious debate as it was with Christianity.

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[Yaakov Elman (2nd ed.)]

TALNOYE, city in Kiev district, Ukraine. In 1847 there were 1,807 Jews in Talnoye. By 1897 their number reached 5,452 (57% of the total population). During the 19th century, R. David *Twersky lived in Talnoye. Thousands of Ḥasidim in Ukraine adhered to Twersky and subsequently to his sons. The melodies of the *ḥazzan* of the ḥasidic court, R. Yossele Tolner, became popular among the masses in Russia and Poland. The city suffered severely from bands of peasants who ravaged the region in 1919–20. The soldiers of the White Army who passed through Talnoye during the summer of 1919 rioted and burnt down a large part of the city. In 1926 there were 4,169 Jews (39% of the population) in Talnoye. The Jewish settlement was destroyed after the region was taken by the Nazis in 1941.

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[Yehuda Slutsky]

TALPIR, GABRIEL JOSEPH (1901–1990), Hebrew art critic and poet. Talpir was born in Stanislav, Galicia, and after teaching in secondary schools in Vilna and Zamosc immigrated to Palestine in 1925, and from 1932 became editor of *Gazit*, a periodical for art and literature.

He published poems in Israel's newspapers and literary journals, as well as essays and articles on literature and art, mostly in *Gazit*, perhaps the first periodical in Hebrew devoted to the plastic arts. His volumes of poetry include *Jazz Band* (1927) and *Ra'av* (1928). Among his works in the field of art are: *Ḥannah Orloff, Ḥayyeha vi-Yẓiratah* (1950) and *Ommanut Bereshit* (1952). He also published two art albums, with introductions: *Ẓayyarim Yehudiyyim bi-Zemanneinu* (1937) and *Ẓayyarim be-Yisrael* (1964). In addition, Talpir translated several books on art into Hebrew.

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[Getzel Kressel]

TAL SHAḤAR (Heb. טַל שַׁחַר), moshav in central Israel east of Ḥuldah, affiliated with Tenu'at ha-Moshavim. Tal Shaḥar was founded in 1948 by a group from Romania as one of the first settlements established to secure the Jerusalem Corridor. The moshav, which absorbed immigrants from many different countries, had 400 inhabitants in 1970 and 729 in 2002. Its farming was partly intensive. Tal Shaḥar ("Morning Dew") is named after the U.S. leader Henry *Morgenthau, Jr.

[Efraim Orni]

TAM, JACOB BEN MEIR (**Rabbenu**; c. 1100–1171), tosafist and leading French scholar of the 12th century. Rabbenu Tam was the grandson of *Rashi and the son of Meir b. *Samuel, Rashi's son-in-law. His teachers were his father, his brother *Samuel, and Jacob b. *Samson, a pupil of Rashi. Little is known of the members of his family, save that his wife Miriam was the sister of R. Samson b. Joseph of *Falaise and that four of his sons were named Joseph, Moses, Solomon, and Isaac, about whom nothing is known. R. Tam lived in Ramerupt where he engaged in moneylending and viticulture, typical occupations of the Jews there at that time, and became well-to-do. His business affairs brought him into contact with the nobility and the authorities, who occasioned him much trouble. To a great extent his attitude toward non-Jews in various halakhic questions was conditioned by his direct contact with them and his knowledge of their character. During the Second Crusade he was attacked by Crusaders who were passing through, and was miraculously saved from death (1146). After this experience R. Tam left Ramerupt.

Tam was recognized by all contemporary scholars, even by those in remote places, as the greatest scholar of the generation. Abraham *ibn Daud of Spain, and *Abraham b. Isaac and *Zerahiah ha-Levi of Provence, refer to him with great esteem, while the scholars of southern Italy, some his senior in years, submitted their halakhic problems to him. Pupils came to his *bet midrash* from as far away as Bohemia and Russia, and took Tam's teachings back with them on their return to these lands. He won this great renown although he never moved or traveled far from his place of residence in northern France. Nor was he unaware of his outstanding reputation as a scholar, for on it he based the claim that his *bet din* had the authority to issue decisive pronouncements. He even "wrote a prosbul declaring that it had to be done by the foremost *bet din* of the generation" (Tos. to Git. 36b, s.v. *de-allimei*). Tam violently attacked scholars, even in distant places, who refused to accept his decisions and pronouncements, revealing a desire to impose his halakhic authority also on Provence and Germany, a tendency which R. Abraham b. David of Posquières vehemently opposed.

His attitude on this is reflected in the correspondence between him and *Meshullam b. Nathan of Melun. The original subject at issue was not of the greatest halakhic and practical importance, but it gradually developed into a controversy about several customs followed and instituted by Meshullam in his community, that differed from those of Tam. Writing in an extremely aggressive style, Tam threatened to excommunicate anyone who adopted the customs of Meshullam, and severely rebuked the latter for the lack of respect he had shown toward the French scholars including Rashi, and for what Tam regarded as his irresponsible attitude in emending talmudic texts. The extant correspondence is fragmentary and its chronological order cannot be established, but from it as a whole there emerges a clear picture of Tam's bitter fight against Meshullam and his aggressive attempt to impose his own views and decisions on him. Of a similar nature was the correspondence between Tam and Ephraim b. Isaac of Regensburg.

R. Tam proved to be a high-handed leader of his generation who did not refrain either from abolishing several customs which did not appeal to him or from introducing important ordinances and legal permissions dictated by the times. Despite this, he was in principle extremely conservative on questions of custom as is clearly evident from his correspondence with Meshullam. Among later scholars these decisions of Tam at times occasioned great surprise, while some of the earlier authorities contended that they had merely a theoretical character, and that he himself never applied them in practice. On the basis of these lenient pronouncements by him, some scholars of the Haskalah even sought to make him a "reform" rabbi in the spirit of the later Haskalah, but in doing so they completely ignored the sources which indicate that he adopted a strict approach especially as regards unimportant customs observed by ignorant people or women, and that there are no grounds for maintaining he adopted a systematically lenient or a strict attitude. The leader of his generation, he was permeated with the consciousness of this leadership and animated by a desire to maintain communal unity and peace through a life based on the teachings of the Torah and on faith. R. Tam had many pupils and some of his contemporaries, among them also those older than he, regarded themselves as his disciples although never taught by him. Among his best known pupils were *Ḥayyim b. Hananel ha-Kohen, *Moses b. Abraham of Pontoise, Joseph *Bekhor Shor of Orleans, *Yom Tov b. Isaac of Joigny, and *Eliezer b. Samuel of Metz.

The *tosafot* of the Babylonian Talmud are based on Tam's explanations, glosses, and decisions, and are pervaded throughout by his statements. In addition to this, his literary production was large and ramified. His principal work is *Sefer ha-Yashar* (Vienna, 1811) which consists of two parts, the one, responsa (issued in a scholarly edition by S.P. Rosenthal, Berlin, 1898), and the other, novellae on the Talmud (a scholarly edition was published by S. Schlesinger, Jerusalem, 1959). But this work contains only a small part of his responsa, others being scattered throughout the entire literature of the earlier halakhic authorities and in various manuscripts. There is still no complete edition of his responsa. The main trend of his novellae is to corroborate the talmudic texts and to prove that nothing is to be emended, either by deletions or by addenda, whether on the basis of logical argument or on that of other works or parallel sources. Preserved in an extremely corrupt state, *Sefer ha-Yashar*, even after the great labor expended on editing it, still contains many obscure and inexplicable passages. In its present form it comprises excerpts collected in the days of the earlier halakhic authorities and represents the work of many hands, including that of Tam himself, who repeatedly emended and improved much of it. The earlier authorities also refer to Tam's *Sefer ha-Pesakim*, which is no longer extant. It is doubtful whether he wrote a special commentary on the Pentateuch, although biblical comments of his are quoted by the earlier tosafists. It is, however, clear that he composed a commentary on the Book of Job. His *Hilkhot Sefer Torah* are printed in *Maḥzor Vitry* (1923), 651–73.

Tam was also the first French scholar to compose rhymed poetry, in which he was undoubtedly influenced by the Spanish and southern French scholars with whom he came into contact. He exchanged poems with Abraham *ibn Ezra. His *piyyutim* were written largely in the Franco-German style.

[Israel Moses Ta-Shma]

Tam also devoted himself to Hebrew grammar. His *Sefer ha-Hakhra'ot* (1855), the purpose of which was to decide the points of dispute in grammar between *Menahem ibn Saruk and *Dunash b. Labrat, is particularly well known. Tam defended Menahem against the 160 criticisms of Dunash and mostly decided in his favor. Tam's knowledge of grammar was far from perfect, and it is difficult to assume that he discovered the triliteral nature of the Hebrew root himself, independently of Judah b. David *Ḥayyuj, as suggested by some scholars. Joseph b. Isaac *Kimḥi wrote his *Sefer ha-Galui* in answer to the *Sefer ha-Hakhra'ot* justifying the criticisms of Dunash. Tam also wrote a didactic poem on the cantillation of the Torah. *Sefer ha-Yashar ha-Katan*, which deals with ethics, was wrongly ascribed to Tam.

[Nisan Netzer]

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TAMAKH, ABRAHAM BEN ISAAC HA-LEVI (d. 1393), Spanish paytan, talmudist, and philosopher; d rabbi of Gerona. Abraham may have come from Provence, although according to some he originated from Barcelona. Abraham with other scholars was requested by Pedro IV of Aragon to decide on the family purity of the family of one Isaac Castellon. He lived in Gerona, where he was one of the leaders of the community. He was a contemporary and colleague of Profiat *Duran who eulogized him after his death in a letter written to Tamakh's son Joseph which was intended to be read publicly at the memorial service for his father. The academy he headed in Gerona and its library were destroyed in the wave of anti-Jewish violence in 1391. He fled from Gerona, passed through Narbonne, and made his way to Ereẓ Israel. It is known that during his journey he stayed in various communities in Italy and Egypt and also held office in these towns. After reaching Ereẓ Israel, he returned for unknown reasons to Spain, where he died. His fame rests mainly on his commentary to the Song of Songs, published with the biblical text (Sabbioneta, 1558; Prague, 1611). In modern times it has been published with variae lectiones from manuscripts and printed editions by L.A. Feldman (1970). In his commentary Abraham cites by name only Maimonides and Naḥmanides, and the influence of the former's *Guide of the Perplexed* is especially noticeable. There is also a substantial affinity between it and Joshua *ibn Shuaib's homily on the Song of Songs that was included in his large book of sermons. Abraham belonged to the circle of *Nissim b. Reuben Gerondi and *Isaac b. Sheshet Perfet and exchanged letters and poems with them. Abraham's correspondence with Nissim Gerondi and his circle has also been published by Feldman in *Koveẓ al Yad* (see bibliography). There are different views as to the meaning of the name Tamakh. It may have been an acrostic of the words showing respect for the dead, *Tehei Menuḥato Kavod* ("may he rest in honor"), or it may be an ordinary family name, found among many families of levites.

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[Leon A. Feldman]

TAMAR (Heb. תָּמָר), locality on the borders of Judah, appearing as Hazazon-Tamar in Genesis 14:7, where it is described as a dwelling place of the Amorites between Kadesh and Sodom. This precludes the identification with En-Gedi attempted in II Chronicles 20:2. According to the Masoretic Text of I Kings 9:18, Solomon built "Tamar in the wilderness," but this reading is not certain as the parallel verse in II Chronicles 8:4 has Tadmor (Palmyra). Ezekiel lists it as a boundary point of the land of Israel, together with Meribath-Kadesh (47:19; 48:28). A Roman fort called Thamara is indicated on the Tabula Peutingeriana, a Roman road map, and is also mentioned by the geographer Ptolemy and by Eusebius (Onom. 8:6ff.), who places it one day's journey from Mampsis (Kurnub). It is also shown on the *Madaba Map. Alt has identified the fort of Tamar with Qaṣr al-Juhayniyya (present-day Mesad Tamar), but Aharoni has argued convincingly for an identification with ʿAyn al-Ḥuṣb (En Hezeva), where there are remains of a Roman fort garrisoned by Cohors I Centenaria. Excavations were made at the site of the *castellum* by M. Gichon in 1973–76. The fort was apparently founded prior to the Roman annexation of the area from the Nabateans in 106 C.E., with the corner towers added at the time of Trajan. Abandoned during the time of Hadrian, the fort was seized at the time of Aurelian's conquest of the Palmyran Empire in 271–73 C.E. The fort was in use, with minor repairs, until the Muslim conquest of 635 C.E.

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[Michael Avi-Yonah / Shimon Gibson (2nd ed.)]

TAMAR (Heb. תָּמָר; "date palm"), the name of three biblical figures.

(1) Judah's daughter-in-law, the wife of his firstborn son, Er (Gen. 38:6; II Chron. 2:3–4). After *Er's early death, Tamar became the wife of his brother, *Onan, in accordance with the custom of levirate marriage (Deut. 25:5ff.). But because the firstborn son of such a marriage would not count as his (Deut. 25:6), Onan, when cohabiting with her took measures to prevent her from becoming pregnant (Gen. 38:9). When Onan also died young, Judah, fearing now that marriage to Tamar was unlucky, told her to go and live in her father's house until his third son, Shelah, grew to manhood, but did not give her to Shelah even when he had grown up. Tamar therefore laid aside her widow's weeds and sat, veiled so as not to be recognized by Judah, in the gate of a town that she knew Judah would have to pass. A woman sitting in the city gate was bound to be taken for a prostitute, and Tamar supposed that Judah, who had recently been widowed, would probably be attracted. He was, and he offered her a kid for her favors. As pledge of payment, he left with her his seal, cord, and staff. Tamar became pregnant by Judah, but he, thinking that she had become pregnant through harlotry, ordered her to be burned to death. Tamar thereupon sent the seal, cord, and staff to Judah with the message that she was pregnant by the man to whom they belonged. Judah thereupon declared "She is more in the right than I, inasmuch as I did not give her to my son Shelah" (Gen. 38:26). Tamar duly gave birth to twin boys, *Perez and *Zerah. According to Ruth 4:1822, *David was descended from Perez.

[Harold Louis Ginsberg.]

In the Aggadah

Tamar was the daughter of Shem (Gen. R. 85:10). Endowed with the gift of prophecy, Tamar knew that she was destined to be the ancestress of David and of the Messiah, and therefore determined to ensure the fulfillment of her destiny (Zohar, Gen. 188a–b). Judah failed to recognize her because in her modesty she always kept her face covered in his household (Sot. 10b). As a reward for this she became the mother of the royal line of David and the ancestress of Isaiah (ibid.). When she became pregnant she boasted to all that she would be the mother of kings and redeemers (Gen. R. 85:10). Charged with unchastity before a tribunal made up of Isaac, Jacob, and Judah (Tanḥ. B, Va-Yeshev 17), she refused to reveal the name of Judah in order not to humiliate him, preferring to die rather than incriminate him publicly (Ber. 43b). She was condemned to be burned to death as her father Shem was a priest (Gen. R. 85:11). Only at the moment of ultimate danger to her life did she try to save herself. However, when she searched for Judah's pledges, she could not find them, as the evil angel *Samael had taken them away in order to prevent the birth of David, but the angel *Gabriel restored them (Sot. 10b). Judah subsequently married her.

(2) A daughter of David and Maacah, and full sister of *Absalom (II Sam. 13). Her half-brother *Amnon conceived a passion for Tamar and by a ruse got her to come to his room and forced her to lie with him. Then his love turned to loathing and he drove her from his house (II Sam. 13:15). She was later avenged by Absalom, who had Amnon murdered (*ibid.* 13:23–29).

(3) The daughter of Absalom, famed for her beauty (II Sam. 14:27). In the Septuagint version (*ibid.*), Tamar was given in marriage to *Rehoboam, the son of Solomon, to whom she bore *Abijah (but cf. I Kings 15:2; II Chron. 13:2).

[bustanay Oded]

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TAMARES, AARON SAMUEL (1869–1931), rabbi, writer, and philosopher. Born near Maltsh in the district of Grodno, Tamares became known as the "prodigy from Maltsh." Upon the death of his father-in-law (1893), he inherited his post as rabbi in the village of Milejczyce (Grodno district), which he occupied until his death. With the emergence of political Zionism, Tamares joined the new movement and responded to rabbinical opposition in a series of articles entitled "*Shillumim le-Riv Ẓiyyon*" (*Ha-Meliẓ*, nos. 56–70, 1899). He said that the religious leadership of the people was becoming petrified and incapable of moving with the spirit of the times; this, he argued, was the reason for its loss of mass support.

Tamares participated in the Fourth Zionist Congress in 1900 but returned disillusioned with Zionism, especially its political aspects, and was also unable to find his place in the *Mizrachi movement, which he considered essentially no different from political Zionism. He began to denounce nationalism, and to preach pacifism. This was the subject of his first book *Ha-Yahadut ve-ha-Ḥerut* (1905). At the core of Tamares' outlook was his concept of Judaism as a moral code. He preached acceptance of the *galut* because of its "spiritual purification of our people" by liberating it from the urge for power and war. He also attacked the rabbis for clinging to the superstitions of the masses. These views were expounded in his books *Ha-Emunah ha-Tehorah ve-ha-Dat ha-Hamonit* and *Musar ha-Torah ve-ha-Yahadut* (both in 1912), as well as in many articles in Hebrew and Yiddish signed "Aḥad ha-Rabbonim ha-Margishim." With the outbreak of World War I the attainment of world peace, which he saw as the mission of the people of Israel, became his central concern (expounded in his books *Keneset Yisrael u-Milḥemot ha-Goyim* (1920) and *Sheloshah Zivvugim Bilti-Hagunim* (1930)). He stepped up his attacks on Zionism for its aspirations to make the people of Israel "a nation like other nations," and for its objectives to attain statehood and military power. He also published a book on *halakhah, Yad Aharon* (1923). Tamares was an unusual figure in the rabbinical world: an Orthodox rabbi who fought against the fossilized *halakhah* in a completely original style and who attacked nationalism and political Zionism as anti-Jewish phenomena.

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[Yehuda Slutsky]

TAMARISK (Heb. אֶשֶׁל, *eshel*). Several species of the genus *Tamarix* grow wild in Israel. The tree resembles the *cypress in that its leaves are very small and in one species are barely visible. Unlike the cypress, however, the tamarisk belongs to the Angiospermae, having seeds in a closed ovary. Since in Arabic the tamarisk is called *athl*, which corresponds to the biblical *eshel*, the tree planted in Beer-Sheba by Abraham (Gen. 21: 33), the *eshel* has so been identified. Saul judged the people beneath an *eshel* (I Sam. 22:6), and the bones of Saul and his sons were buried under this tree in Jabesh in Transjordan (I Sam. 31:13; in I Chron. 10:12 the reading is *elah*, a *terebinth). Some rabbis understood *eshel* to be a general name for a tall tree, and some took it to be the *shittim* trees from which the tabernacle was constructed (Yal., Song 985). The tamarisk trees of Israel grow in the warmer regions. Some, like the *Tamarix jordanis* which covers extensive stretches in the thickets of Jordan, grow near water, whereas the *Tamarix tetragyna* grows extensively in the swamp in the vicinity of the Dead Sea. Other species grow in the coastal lowlands and in the sandy stretches of the Negev. In the Sinai Desert grows the species *Tamarix mannifera*, upon which is found a sweet extract of insects that some believe to be the biblical *manna. It would appear that the biblical *arar*, mistakenly identified with the *juniper, is in fact the tamarisk growing in the desert or in salty soil, and it is called *ʿarʿar* in Arabic. The name *arar*, from the root ערה meaning "empty" or "naked," fits the tamarisk for it has only tiny leaves covered with a gray coating of salt which exudes from them. Jeremiah compares a person who puts his trust in man and not in God to "an *arar* in the desert." The tree appears to be suffering and "shall not see when good cometh" (Jer. 17:6). In contrast to the pessimistic Jeremiah, the psalmist (Ps. 102:18) sees hope even for it, for "He hath regarded the prayer of the *arar*" ("destitute"). It has been suggested that this reference is to the brief period of the tree's flowering when it is covered with thousands of pinkish-white blossoms as if wrapped in a *tallit* and praying for the improvement of the hard conditions of its life in the desert.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Loew, Flora, 3 (1924), 398ff.; H.N. and A.L. Moldenke, *Plants of the Bible* (1952), index; J. Feliks, *Olam ha-Ẓome'aḥ ha-Mikra'i* (1968^{2}), 82–83, 94–95.

[Jehuda Feliks]

TAM IBN YAḤYA, JACOB BEN DAVID (c. 1475–1542), Turkish rabbi and codifier. Leaving Lisbon with his father after the expulsion from *Portugal in 1496, he settled in Constantinople where he achieved a reputation for his comprehensive talmudic knowledge (responsa, *Oholei Tam*, 142). He was appointed a member of the *bet din* presided over by Elijah *Mizraḥi, chief rabbi of *Turkey, and after the latter's death Ibn Yaḥya was recognized, even beyond his own country, as the spiritual leader of Turkish Jewry (*ibid.*, 110 and 147). In his responsa he adopted "the clear and concise style characteristic of the French and German rabbis … who weigh every word" (*ibid.*, 36 and 147). Ibn Yaḥya adopted a rigid attitude in his decisions, but at the same time went to great lengths to seek relief for an *agunah* (*ibid.*, 142). He opposed the view that the *Karaites were not to be regarded as Jews, but a group whose place, halakhically speaking, was intermediate between that of Jews and non-Jews, maintaining that they were to be regarded as Jews upon whom the precepts of Judaism were binding (*ibid.*, 127). Although he had a knowledge of *Kabbalah, he opposed its being taught. He also studied medicine and had a knowledge of Arabic, Turkish, and Spanish, while "his knowledge of Islamic law was so great that their judges frequently consulted with him with regard to their decisions" (G. ibn Yaḥya, *Shalshelet ha-Kabbalah*). Ibn Yaḥya was a prolific writer, but most of his works were destroyed in the conflagration which overtook Constantinople a year before his death. The remnants of his responsa were collected and published after his death in the *Tummat Yesharim* collection (Venice, 1624), under the title *Oholei Tam*, along with his glosses to Alfasi, entitled *Derekh Tamim*.

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[Ephraim Kupfer]

TAMID (Heb. תָּמִיד), the ninth or tenth tractate of the order *Kodashim* in the Mishnah and the Babylonian Talmud. *Tamid* is an abbreviated form for *olat tamid* ("daily burnt-offering") and refers to the daily (morning and evening) sacrifices as set out in Exodus 29:38–42 and Numbers 28:1–8 (cf. II Kings 16:15; Ezek. 46:13–15; Neh. 10:34, and II Chron. 13:11). This tractate is not actually concerned with these sacrifices; it gives a description of the morning work in the Temple, from the moment the priests set about their work early in the morning until after the *tamid* sacrifice was organized later in the morning. Little controversy is recorded here in the Mishnah, a sign of an early redaction, probably from just before or soon after the destruction of the Temple. In current editions of the Mishnah and Talmud, *Tamid* has seven chapters, but originally it seems to have had only six, the present seventh being included in the sixth, and this explains its position after *Keritot* and *Me'ilah,* which also have six chapters each.

Chapter 1 discusses the priestly night watches and the preparations for the morning sacrifice, in particular the clearing of the ashes of the previous day's offerings from the altar. Chapter 2 deals mainly with laying a new fire on the altar. Chapter 3 deals with casting lots to determine which priests have to perform the various sacrificial duties. Chapter 4 describes in detail how the lamb was slaughtered and prepared for the sacrifice. Chapter 5 states that the recital of the *Shema prayer in the Temple was preceded by a blessing and was followed by three others, including the biblical priestly benediction. Chapter 6 treats of the offering of incense. Chapter 7 first discusses the high priest's entry, his prostration and the accompanying ceremonials, and the way in which the high priest and common priests administered the priestly benediction. Then follows a long paragraph setting out in detail the special ceremonial, when the high priest himself participated in the sacrificial service. At the end of the chapter is the phrase, "this is the order of the *Tamid*…," which seems to conclude the tractate. Yet, in current editions, there is an additional passage giving the list of psalms sung by the levites on different days of the week. The Mishnah of *Tamid* is that of *Simeon of Mizpah as is established by the Talmud (Yoma 14b). The Mishnah of *Yoma* 2:3–4 derives from that of *Tamid*, and a comparison between them indicates that the text in *Tamid* is a later compilation. The Mishnah of *Tamid* has a distinct Hebrew style containing expressions not found elsewhere in the Mishnah. *Tamid* was translated into English by M. Simon in the Soncino edition (1948).

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[Arnost Zvi Ehrman]

TAMIR (Katznelson), SHMUEL (1923–1987), Israeli lawyer and politician, member of the Sixth to Ninth Knessets. Tamir was born in Jerusalem, the son of Dr. Reuben Katzenelson, but later adopted the name he had assumed while a member of the *Irgun Ẓeva'i Le'ummi. He grew up under the influence of the atmosphere that followed the massacre of Jews in *Hebron in 1929, and believed that those accused of Haim *Arlosoroff's murder were innocent. Tamir joined the IẒL in 1938. He was a radio announcer on the Voice of Jerusalem but was fired in 1944 when his membership in the IẒL was discovered, after he had commanded an operation to blow up the income tax office in Jerusalem. In 1946 he was appointed deputy commander of the IẒL in Jerusalem, and the following year was arrested by the British authorities for the third time, and deported to Kenya, where he was allowed to study for his final law examinations. In July 1948 Tamir was returned to Israel, but was not mobilized to the IDF in the War of Independence. He joined the *Ḥerut Movement when it was founded in 1948, and belonged to the La-Merḥav faction that supported unity with the General Zionists. Tamir left the Ḥerut Movement in 1952 and concentrated on his legal career. Among the important cases in which he was involved was the Ẓerifin trial in 1953, in which he defended an underground group called "Loḥamei Malkhut Yisrael" responsible for an explosion in the Soviet Embassy in February 1953. In 1954 Tamir defended Malki'el Grunwald, in a libel suit brought against him by Israel *Kasztner, whom he had accused of collaborating with the Nazis. In 1962 he represented the Herzliya film studios in an appeal against the decision of the censorship to prohibit the screening of a newsreel showing a demonstration in the Arab village of Sumayil that was crushed with violence. In 1957 Tamir was one of the founders of a movement called "Ha-Mishtar he-Ḥadash" that sought to bring about changes in the Israeli political system. In 1964 he returned to the Ḥerut movement, and participated in the founding of *Gaḥal, on whose list he was elected to the Sixth Knesset in 1965, but he was expelled from the Ḥerut movement after criticizing the leadership of Menaḥem *Begin. In March 1967, together with two additional members who broke away from Gaḥal, he established the Free Center Party, which ran in the elections to the Seventh Knesset in 1969 and won two seats. The Free Center joined the Likud when it was formed in 1973 prior to the elections to the Eighth Knesset, and the following year Tamir called upon the Likud to accept the principle of territorial compromise in a settlement with the Arabs. It was against the background of this initiative that the Free Center fell apart. In January 1977 Tamir resigned his Knesset seat, and joined the new *Democratic Movement for Change, which won 15 seats in the elections to the Ninth Knesset. After the DMC joined the government, Tamir was appointed minister of justice. After the DMC disintegrated in September 1978 Tamir became part of the Democratic Movement parliamentary group. In August 1980 he resigned from the government, since he felt that the Democratic Movement, with only four Knesset members remaining, ought not to have three portfolios in the government. In March 1981 he left the Democratic movement and remained in the Knesset as a single MK. He did not run in the elections to the Tenth Knesset in 1981, and returned to his law practice. In the years 1983–85 he was head of the team that negotiated the exchange of prisoners deal with the PLO, in the aftermath of the Lebanese War.

His autobiography *Ben ha-Areẓ ha-Zot* appeared in 2002.

[Susan Hattis Rolef (2nd ed.)]

TAMIRIS, HELEN (née **Becker**; 1905–1966), U.S. choreographer and pioneer in the development of modern dance. Helen Tamiris, who was born in New York, made her debut as a concert dancer in 1927. Her interest in American themes and rhythms was expressed in her *Negro Spirituals* in the 1930s and in her works of social protest. In 1930 Helen Tamiris, together with Martha Graham, Doris Humphrey, and Charles Weidman, formed the Dance Repertory Theater. She served as dance director for the Group Theater in 1932. As chief choreographer of the W.P.A. Federal Dance Theater, she created *How Long Brethren?* (1937). She did the choreography for Broadway musicals including *Annie Get Your Gun* (1946). In 1957 she returned to the concert dance field. She established a company in 1960 with her husband Daniel Nagrin, who was noted for his solo portrayals and had appeared in several Broadway shows.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *New York Times* (Aug. 5, 1966), 31.

[Marcia B. Siegel]

TAMM, IGOR YEVGENYEVICH (1895–1971), Russian physicist and Nobel Laureate. Tamm was born in Vladivostok and graduated in physics from Moscow University (1918). He worked in different universities and institutes in Moscow and the Crimea including the Moscow State University (1924–37). He was appointed professor and head of the theoretical division of the P.N. Lebedev Institute of Physics of the (then) U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences (1934–71). Tamm was a theoretical physicist whose early work concerned light and quantum theory. He is best known for his explanation of the Cerenkov effect, the blue glow produced by charged particles from radioactive decay when these penetrate fluids. Tamm showed that the effect is attributable to a "bow wave" of photons created by fast particles exceeding the speed of light in a fluid medium. This explanation did not simply explain an aesthetically beautiful phenomenon but had implications for the subsequent progress of particle physics including the discovery of anti-protons. He was awarded the 1958 Nobel Prize in physics for this discovery, shared with Pavel Cherenkov and Il'ja Frank. Subsequently he continued his work on the theory of light, transistors, the nature of showers in cosmic rays, and, in collaboration with Andrei Sakharov, methods for controlling thermonuclear fusion reactions. He also collaborated closely with Professor L. Mandelstam between 1920 and 1944. Tamm's honors include election to the (then) U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences (1953), the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, and the Swedish Physical Society, and also the State Prize of the former U.S.S.R. (1946) and the title of Hero of Socialist Labor.

[Michel Denman (2nd ed.)]

TAMMUZ (Heb. תַּמּוּז; from Sumerian *Dumuzi*, "Invigorator of the Child"), the Sumerian-Babylonian fertility god. He is the invigorating power in dates, grain, and milk, and hence his role as a shepherd in Sumerian literature (Th. Jacobsen).

In ancient Mesopotamia sacred marriage rites were conducted in the spring to ensure Tammuz' presence as manifest in the fertility of flocks and earth. The climax of the rites was the performance of the marriage act between the king or governor and the chief priestess. Depictions on seals from the Proto-Literate period (3500–3200 B.C.E.) indicate the great antiquity of this rite. Numerous sacred marriage texts revolving around fertility rites have survived from later periods.

The death of vegetation in the intense heat of the summer was interpreted as Tammuz' departure to the netherworld. It is described in the Sumerian myth "Inanna's Descent into the Netherworld," which is also extant in an Akkadian version.

During the Babylonian Exile the Jews named the fourth month of the Hebrew calendar (c. July) after Tammuz (see next entry). In pre-Exilic Judah, Isaiah (17:10–11) has been supposed (very questionably) to allude to the Tammuz rites, which included planting of anemone seeds. Ezekiel (8:14) in a vision of the Jerusalem Temple, which he had in his Babylonian exile, saw women, at the gate of the inner forecourt, weeping for Tammuz.

Tammuz' summer departure was also mourned by the Phoenicians, who called him Adon, i.e., "Lord." They passed the ritual on to the Greeks who Grecized the name into Adonis.

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[Raphael Kutscher]

TAMMUZ (Heb. תַּמּוּז), the post-Exilic name of the fourth month of the Jewish year. The word, but not the month, occurs in Ezekiel 8:14 and is held to be identical with the Babylonian Dumuzi corresponding to Adonis of the Greeks. Tammuz as the name of the fourth month occurs frequently in rabbinic literature, as in *Megillat Ta'anit. Its zodiacal sign is Cancer. In the present fixed Jewish calendar it invariably consists of 29 days, the first of Tammuz never falling on Monday, Wednesday, or the Sabbath (see *Calendar). In the 20th century Tammuz in its earliest occurrence extended from June 10th to July 8th and in its latest from July 9th to August 6th. Traditionally historic days in Tammuz are: (1) the festive 14th of Tammuz, the anniversary of a Pharisaic victory over the Sadducees (Meg. Ta'an. 331); (2) the 17th of Tammuz, a fast commemorating five calamities which befell Israel (see *Tammuz, Fast of). With the 17th of Tammuz commences the three-week mourning period over the destruction of Jerusalem which ends with the Ninth of *Av.

[Ephraim Jehudah Wiesenberg]

TAMMUZ, BENJAMIN (1919–1989), Israeli writer and journalist. A native of Kharkov (Russia), Tammuz went to Ereẓ Israel in 1924. He studied at a yeshivah while attending the Herzlia secondary school in Tel Aviv. Later he worked as a laborer in British army camps, a press censor for the Mandatory government, and a reporter for *Mivrak*, the *Loḥamei Ḥerut Israel newspaper. He was also a member of the Palmaḥ. Tammuz spent a year living among the Bedouin, an experience which left a deep impression upon him. In 1950–51 he studied art history at the Sorbonne in Paris, further developing his talent as a sculptor. From 1965 he was editor of the weekend literary supplement of **Haaretz*, and wrote occasional art criticism. Tammuz was appointed cultural attaché at the Israel embassy in London in 1971.

He gained literary acclaim with his first book, *Ḥolot ha-Zahav* ("Golden Sands," 1950), a collection of lyrical, impressionistic short stories of childhood, and the stories in *Gan Na'ul* ("A Garden Enclosed," 1957). In his subsequent works, emotional and even sentimental elements vie with his penchant for satire and social criticism. His picaresque sequence, the trilogy *Ḥayyei Elyakum* (1965, 1966, 1969) recounts the adventures of an anti-hero, who remains an outsider in Israeli society, follows his beloved to Spain and returns to his homeland only to find himself in an institution for the mentally ill. While the novel *Pundako shel Yirmiyahu* ("Jeremiah's Inn," 1984) is written in the genre of the grotesque, some of Tammuz's later novels are distinctly symbolic. Thus, for instance, *Yaakov* (1971) and the novella *Ha-Pardes* ("The Orchard," 1973), which tells the story of two brothers, sons of a Jewish father and two mothers, one Jewish, the other Muslim. The brothers' struggle over the love of Luna, the beautiful daughter of a Turkish effendi, symbolizes the struggle of Jews and Arabs over the land of Israel. *Requiem le-Na'aman* (1978) is a satirical dystopia, a family saga which stands for the hopes and disillusionment in Israel. The founder of the Abramson dynasty represents the revolutionary change in Jewish history, as he leaves the Diaspora behind and settles in Palestine as an ardent believer in Zionism. His son, Na'aman, a sensitive musician, points to the decadent disintegration of the family, as he chooses to live in France and goes mad. Grandson Elyakum is killed in the War of Independence while great-granddaughter Bella-Yaffah loses her mind. *Minotaur* (1980) is the intriguing story of Alexander Abramov's obsessive, platonic love for Thea, an embodiment of the ideal of beauty and of European culture. Many of Tammuz's prose works have been translated into English, among them: *A Castle in Spain* (1973), *Minotaur* (1981; 1982), *Requiem for Naaman* (1982), *The Orchard* (1984), and *A Rare Cure* (1981). Information about translations is available at the ITHL website at www.ithl.org.il.

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[Gitta (Aszkenazy) Avinor / Anat Feinberg (2nd ed.)]

TAMMUZ, FAST OF, communal fast occurring on the 17th of Tammuz, commemorating the breaching of the walls of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar (586 B.C.E.) and Titus (70 C.E.). The Jerusalem Talmud (Ta'an. 4:8, 68c) maintains that both catastrophes occurred on this date, and that Jeremiah's sorrow caused him to err when writing that "the city was broken up" by Nebuchadnezzar on the 9th of Tammuz (Jer. 52:6–7).

This, however, is not the view of the Babylonian Talmud (Ta'an. 28b), which accepts Jeremiah's dating as correct, and simply considers the destruction of the Second Temple more important (Sh. Ar., OḤ 549:2). According to the Mishnah (Ta'an. 4:6), four other calamities happened on the 17th of Tammuz: the tablets of the law were broken by Moses; the daily offering ceased in the First Temple; the heathen *Apostomos burned the Torah in the sanctuary, and erected an idol there (but some texts read "an idol was set up," Rashi, Ta'an. ad. loc.).

The Fast of Tammuz is closely linked with that of the 9th of Av. The Midrash commenting on the verse "all her persecutors overtook her between the straits" (Lam. 1:3) says, "these are the days of distress from the 17th of Tammuz to the 9th of Av." These 21 days are known as *bein ha-meẓarim* ("between the straits") or as the three weeks of mourning. However, the Fast of Tammuz is also traditionally associated with "the fast of the fourth month" mentioned by Zechariah (8:19; TJ, Ta'an. 4:8, 68c) which in the messianic era "shall be to the house of Judah joy and gladness and cheerful feasts" (see Maim. Yad., Ta'anit, 5:4 and 19). The liturgy for the day is similar to that of the other fast days, i.e., **selihot* are recited, the Torah is read, and a special insertion is made in the **Amidah*.

See *Fasting and Fast Days; *Av, the Ninth of; *Three Weeks.

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TAMPA, city in Hillsborough County, located on the west coast of Florida on Tampa Bay. Tampa was graced by early Spanish explorers in the 16th century. It has its origin in 1824 when Fort Brooke was erected to keep watch on the Seminole Indians. Probably the first permanent Jewish settler in the area was Emmaline Quentz Miley in 1846, whose husband was a Scotsman whom she made sell his slaves before their marriage. They had 12 children; she died in Hillsborough County in 1907. With the arrival of Henry Plant and the South Florida Railroad in 1884, the discovery of vast deposits of phosphates, and the relocation of the cigar industry from Key West in 1886, Tampa became a center of growth. Glogowski, Maas, Kaunitz, Brash, Oppenheimer, Wolf, and Wohl are some of the Jewish families who settled during this boom period. Most lived in Ybor City and were active in commerce, a few in the cigar industry. Herman Glogowski, a Jew who served as mayor for four terms, officiated in 1888 at the cornerstone ceremony for the Tampa Bay Hotel that opened in 1891. Glogowski had emigrated from Germany and established a clothing store in Tampa by 1884. He became "permanent president" of the first congregation. In 1894, 31 men and women met in the home of M. Henry Cohen to organize Schaarai Zedek as an Orthodox congregation; a Torah was purchased for $75. Rabbi D. Jacobson became the first spiritual leader and Abe Maas was among the founders. The Maas family came from Germany in the 1880s. The first store of Abe and Isaac Maas in Tampa opened in 1886, marking the beginning of one of the largest department store chains in Florida that lasted 105 years. Morris Wolf of Germany immigrated to Tampa in 1895. He worked at Maas Brothers until 1898 when he left to open a custom clothing store that became Wolf Brothers in 1899; his brother, Fred, joined him. The Cuban War of Independence in 1898 brought prosperity to local businessmen. Relatives from Key West, Ocala, and Jacksonville gravitated to Tampa, many from Romanian background. Isadore Kaunitz who opened Blanco Clothing Store in 1891 in Ybor City first employed most Romanian Jews. The Rippa family emigrated from Romania to Key West, then to Tampa when the cigar industry declined in Key West, and opened their own cigar factory in Ybor City in 1904. German-born Henry Brash came with his family first to Marianna, FL, where in 1879 he was elected mayor (Florida's earliest known Jewish mayor). Henry married Sarah Zelnicker in 1888 and they settled in Tampa in 1894. He opened a haberdashery store and was a founder of Congregation Rodeph Sholom in 1903, when there was dissension between the Reform and Orthodox members of Schaarai Zedek. A 1902 lawsuit brought by the Orthodox faction of the congregation regarding "dirty tricks" used by the "Reformers" to take control of the congregation and the building resulted in Schaarai Zedek becoming Reform and a new Orthodox congregation, Rodeph Sholom. Sarah Brash organized the Tampa section of the National Council of Jewish Women in 1924. Max Argintar, another Romanian, arrived in Tampa in 1902, opened his store in 1908; son Sammy continued what was to be a 96-year-old operation in the same location.

By the end of World War I, Tampa's Jewish community was the second largest in the state, partly as a result of a dizzying real estate boom. Growth propelled the Jewish community to dedicate new synagogues, expand their synagogue school programs, and inaugurate youth clubs. Jews were active in civic affairs and held leadership positions. "Salty" Sol Fleischman, "The Dean of Florida's Sportscasters," got behind a microphone on radio WDAE in 1928, wrote sports columns for the *Tampa Tribune* and went on television in 1957. He broadcast almost every sports event in the area for more than 50 years. With the advent of World War II, Tampa's shipyards were reactivated and MacDill Air Force Base was established, as was Drew Field, now Tampa International Airport. Tampa's Jews patriotically joined the war effort. The Young Men's Hebrew Association had been started in 1906 and after the war, the YMHA became the Jewish Community Center. Hadassah began and the Dictators Club was one of the Jewish fraternities in Tampa in the 1930s. It became the Tampa chapter of AZA, a youth group of B'nai B'rith. Rabbi David L. Zielonka served Congregation Schaarai Zedek from 1930 to 1970. He and Clarence Darrow joined with other religious leaders in 1931 in an interfaith debate. When the University of Tampa opened in 1931, Rabbi Zielonka served on the faculty, and in 1963 he became head of the department of Religious Studies. B'nai B'rith Women began in the mid-1940s to work on projects to aid Israel and the local community. Post-World War II development and migration from the north spurred growth in the Jewish community. During the 1950s and 1960s, civil rights led to intense debate within the Jewish community while Zionism received near unanimous support. The full impact of the Holocaust intensified educational programs in synagogue and organizational life. In 1958 Stanford and Millard Newman bought a cigar factory and actively participated in the resurgence in cigar manufacturing in the 1960s. Dr. Richard Hodes was elected to the Florida House of Representatives in 1966, where he served for 16 years and gave the nominating speech for Jimmy Carter at the Florida Democratic Convention in 1975. Attorney Harry N. Sandler served in the Florida legislature from 1932 to 1935 and was a sponsor of the Homestead Exemption Amendment. Appointed to the Thirteenth Judicial Circuit Court in 1935, he served until 1964. Sandra Warshaw Freedman entered politics in 1974 as a city councilwoman and became the chair in 1983. In 1986, Sandra Freedman was elected the first woman mayor of Tampa. Jerome Waterman played a major part in the growth of aviation in Tampa, was an associate of Capt. Eddie Rickenbacker in the formation of Eastern Airlines and wrote books and newspaper columns. The Tampa Jewish Welfare Federation served as the coordinating agency for charitable and philanthropic work in the Jewish community under the Tampa Jewish Community Council, which was formed in 1969. By the 1970s, the Jewish community dedicated new congregations (Beth Am, Kol Ami, Temple David, Jewish Congregation of Sun City Center, Chabad Lubavitch, and Young Israel), established Hillel Day School and built facilities for the elderly (Mary Walker Apartments, Jewish Towers, and Menorah Manor). A Fred Shochet publication, *The Jewish Floridian*, made its Tampa debut on April 6, 1979; the local editor was Judy Rosenkranz. Jews have remained in the forefront of political life and have rallied to support all civic and cultural causes. Frank Weaner sued the Ku Klux Klan in 1977. Helen Gordon served in the Florida Legislature beginning in 1974 both in the House and Senate. Ron Glickman won his first election in 1984 as a Hillsborough County commissioner, then was elected to the Florida House of Representatives in 1986. James Shimberg was inducted into the National Housing Hall of Fame in 1985. Native Tampa brothers Martin and Myron Uman have made significant contributions in science. Martin is an internationally known expert in lightning research at the University of Florida. Myron joined the National Research Council in 1975, and in 1986 was appointed executive director of the research panel advising NASA on the redesign of the shuttle's booster rockets. Growing up in Tampa in the 1930s, Elinor Rosenthal Ross advanced to stardom at the Metropolitan Opera in New York; among her famous performances was the lead in *La Traviata* in 1965. In 1984, J. Leonard Levy was chair of the Super Bowl XVIII Task Force; in 1991 he served as co-chair of Super Bowl XXV. Malcolm Glazer, who owns the NFL team, the Tampa Bay Buccaneers, in May 2005 purchased the world's largest soccer team, Manchester United, and has attracted to Tampa the 2009 Super Bowl. Many of the families who settled over a century ago have fourth generations living in Tampa. In the early 21st century the Jewish population was approximately 25,000 in a general population of about 330,000. In 1995 the Jewish Community Center and the Jewish Federation merged on the 21-acre campus that also houses the Weinberg Village Senior Residences. *The Jewish Press of Tampa*, established in 1985, is published in cooperation with the Jewish Federation. The community is growing and new congregations are forming in areas outside the core of the city. Current congregations include Schaarai Zedek (Reform), Rodeph Sholom (Conservative), Bais David (Orthodox), Bais Tefilah (Orthodox), Beth Am (Reform), Kol Ami (Conservative), and Young Israel (Orthodox). In operation are a Hillel at University of South Florida, two day schools, two *mikva'ot*, and branches of many national and Israeli organizations.

[Marcia Jo Zerivitz (2nd ed.)]

TANAKH (Heb. תַּנַ"ךְ), the usual Hebrew collective term for the Old Testament. The term is composed of the initial letters of the words *Torah* ("Pentateuch"), *Nevi'im* ("Prophets"), and *Ketuvim* ("Hagiographa"). This threefold division of the Bible is commonly found in the Talmud (e.g., Shab. 88a; Sanh. 101a; Kid. 49a; MK 21a), and arguments are often supported by quoting individual verses from each of the sections (e.g., Meg. 31a; Mak. 10b).

TANDLER, JULIUS (1869–1936), anatomist and social politician. Born in Iglau, Moravia, Tandler studied medicine in Vienna, receiving his M.D. degree in 1895. He was an assistant at the Anatomical Institute of Prof. Emil Zuckerkandl in Vienna and succeeded him as head of the institute in 1910, remaining there until 1934. He was dean of the medical faculty from 1914 to 1917 and developed ideas toward the reform of medical education. Tandler conducted research in various fields of anatomy, such as the heart, the prostate, and the uterus, and was interested in the close connection between anatomy and clinical work. Among his publications are *Topographie des weiblichen Ureters* (1901) and *Anatomie und Ätiologie der Genitalprolapse beim Weibe* (1907), both of which were written together with Joseph Halban; *Die Biologischen Grundlagen der sekundaren Geschlechtsmerkmale* (1913); and his well-known, four-volume *Lehrbuch der systematischen Anatomie* (1918–1929).

In 1919 Tandler, as a social democrat, became under-secretary of state in the Ministry of Social Administration of the Republic of Austria and reorganized hospital legislation. From 1920 to 1934, he was a city councilor in Vienna and made significant contributions to modern social medicine by creating a new system of welfare which became known the world over. His system was based on the idea that it is society's duty to help, on the right of those in need to receive welfare, and on social responsibility. All kinds of welfare were included with advisory boards being set up to deal with problems of young couples, pregnant women, mothers, war invalids, babies, and the elderly. He was responsible for the building of new kindergartens as well as the Kinderübernahmsstelle, the largest children's home in Europe.

Having earned an international reputation, he was a participant on the Health Committee of the League of Nations (1929–1933). In 1933 he responded to a call to China, where he helped develop modern social medicine. Frequent antisemitic riots in his Anatomical Institute as well as his advancing age prompted him to continue his work outside Austria. After the Austrian Civil War (1934) he had to retire. He again went to China and then on to Moscow, to reorganize the hospital system. He died in Moscow.

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TANENBAUM, family of three generations of Canadian entrepreneurs and philanthropists. According to family lore, the family's patriarch, ABRAHAM TANEBAUM (1877–1957) left Parczew, Poland, north of Lublin, for New York in 1911. Instead of going to New York, two Toronto-bound acquaintances from Parczew convinced Abraham to join them. Soon after arriving in Toronto, Abraham was driving a horse and cart through residential and industrial areas of the city in search of scrap metal. By 1914, on the eve of war in Europe, Abraham had saved enough to bring his wife, Chippa Sura, and two young sons, JOSEPH TANENBAUM (1906–1992) and MAX TANENBAUM (1909–1983), to join him in Toronto. Two daughters were born there.

Industrious and hard-working, Abraham progressed from peddling for scrap metal to recycling of scrap metal from demolition sites and eventually building his Runnymede Iron and Steel Company into a major steel fabrication firm and real estate empire. An observant Jew, Abraham Tanenbaum also remained close to his roots. He was a founder of Knesset Israel Synagogue, house of prayer to many in the small working-class Jewish community in the junction area of then northwest Toronto, and was an active supporter of Toronto's Eitz Chaim Talmud Torah.

While his two sons were still only boys, Abraham brought them into the family business, Joseph just twelve and with only a six-grade education and Max after finishing eighth grade and only two days beyond his bar mitzvah. They learned the business from the ground up, and as Runnymede Steel expanded rapidly though the war years and into the postwar era, the two brothers assumed control of the firm from their father. In 1951 the two brothers parted company. Joseph, or JT as he was popularly known, stayed on as head of Runnymede while Max established his own company, York Steel. Each was soon a major and successful industrialist in his own right and involved in major public construction projects that underpinned the rapid economic expansion of Toronto and southern Ontario in the 1950s and 1960s. Joseph's firm, Runnymede, was especially prominent in high-level bridge building including the mammoth Burlington Skyway Bridge project completed in 1958. Max also profited from the stream of public and private infrastructure projects. For example, Max landed the contract to supply fabricated steel for an upgrading and expansion of the Toronto Airport, at that time the largest contract of its kind let out by the Canadian government.

As their separate business holdings grew larger and more diverse, the brothers were also influential in Jewish community affairs, giving generously to Jewish and non-Jewish causes. In Toronto, which both men called home, their altruism helped ensure the growth of Jewish parochial education, comprehensive care for the Jewish elderly, and expanded funding for university-based health care research. Their generosity was also directed to a number of Jewish religious institutions. Although the brothers often demonstrated different funding priorities, their generosity left its marks on Jewish institutions in the United States and Israel as well. This tradition of community engagement continued to the next generation.

Among Max's children are JOEY TANENBAUM (1932–) and LARRY TANENBAUM (1945–). Joey was born in Toronto. A graduate in engineering from the University of Toronto, as president and CEO of Jay-M Holdings, he had a successful career in real estate development and construction. Joey and his wife, Toby, have also been prominent in the Jewish and non-Jewish communities. In addition to their generous support of health care research, they are highly regarded and influential patrons of arts and culture in Canada. Their financial contribution was critical to the construction of a new opera house in Toronto named in their honor. Avid art collectors, they have donated major art collections to the Art Gallery of Ontario, the Royal Ontario Museum, and the Art Gallery of Hamilton. Interested in his family's history, Joey also funded the restoration of his grandparents' Knesseth Israel Synagogue in Toronto. It is now Ontario's oldest purpose-built synagogue still in use.

Joey's brother, Larry, who earned a B.Sc. in economics from Cornell University, had a successful career as chairman and CEO of Keler Van Nostrand, a private investment holding company with diversified interests in construction and infrastructure, electronics and technology and sports and entertainment, including a controlling interest in several major league sports franchises. Larry was also deeply involved with the United Jewish Appeal of Greater Toronto, Toronto Mount Sinai Hospital, the Canadian Council of Christians and Jews, and the Baycrest Centre for Geriatric Care. In 2004 he helped organize the Canadian Council for Israel and Jewish Advocacy to conduct and direct a wide range of non-partisan public advocacy initiatives on behalf of the Canadian Jewish Community.

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[Harold Troper (2nd ed.)]

TANENBAUM, SIDNEY HAROLD ("**Sid**"; 1925–1986), U.S. basketball player, New York University first team All-American 1946–47, two-time winner of the prestigious Haggerty

Award (1946–47), recipient of the Bar Kochba Award for the best Jewish athlete of 1947. A native of Brooklyn, NY, Tanenbaum was a gifted shooter and ball handler first at Thomas Jefferson High School and then NYU, which he helped lead to two NCAA tournament appearances, including a trip to the championship game in 1945. After completing his career as NYU's all-time leading scorer (992 pts.), Tanenbaum played in the NBA's precursor, the BAA, for two seasons, appearing in a total of 70 games with the New York Knicks and Baltimore Bullets. He showed promise, scoring nine points per game while shooting 83 percent from the free throw line, but Tanenbaum – who married right after graduating – chose to cut his professional basketball career short due to the excessive travel. Tanenbaum found work in his father-in-law's metal spinning and stamping shop, eventually becoming the owner, and managed to turn it into a very successful business. It was in this very shop that Tanenbaum was tragically stabbed to death. Bob Gottlieb, long-time friend and coach of the Branch West Recruiting Service, said that "Sid was just a peach of a person; great two-hand set shooter, but an even greater human being. God did not make better people than Sid." Each year, NYU awards its top student-athlete the Sid Tanenbaum Memorial Award. An annual half-court basketball tournament is held in Woodmere, N.Y., in memory of Tanenbaum, who continued to play in pick-up games until his death. A plaque at the entrance to the courts used in the tournament reads: "Sid Tanenbaum Memorial Courts. NYU All-American, New York Knicks. He touched us all."

[Robert B. Klein (2nd ed.)]

TANGIER(S) (**Tanja**), Moroccan town situated at the entrance of the Straits of Gibraltar; known in antiquity as Tingis. Tangier's site was inhabited by the Phoenicians and then by the Carthaginians. A number of historians believe that a Jewish community existed in Tingis, an opinion corroborated by ceramic finds with *menorah* stamps. Abraham ibn Daud mentions that the Jews were wiped out by the *Almohads (c. 1148) from Tangier to Mahdia (*Sefer ha-Kabbalah*, 96). Many refugees arrived after the expulsion from *Spain. The *Rote family maintained a commercial house in the town about 1535. In 1541, when the town was ruled by the Portuguese, small sections of the communities of Azemmour and *Safi settled there; the Inquisition, however, outlawed their presence and their stay was thus of brief duration. In 1661, when the Portuguese ceded Tangier to England, the British attracted Muslim and Jewish inhabitants from the neighboring towns of Larache and Ksar el-Kabir. The Jewish community was composed of these new elements, in addition to Jews from the *Netherlands. In 1675 a serious controversy broke out between the Moroccan-born Jews and those of foreign origin; a *ḥerem* ("ban") was issued against the latter by the rabbis of *Tetuán, to whom the community of Tangier was subordinate. In 1677 the Jews were expelled from the town, not returning until 1680. The principal adviser and interpreter to four successive governors, however, was Solomon *Pariente. Samuel de Paz, a diplomat in the service of the British, lived in Tangier and Jacob Falcon, leader of the Tetuán community, was entrusted with delicate missions by the governors of Tangier. The Jews carried on an extensive trade in the town. However, when the English abandoned the town (1684), this trade came to an end and, with the exception of a few craftsmen, all the Jews left.

In 1725 there was only one important Jewish merchant, Abraham Benamor of *Meknès, who organized a new community of about 150 people, most of whose members were of the same origin as himself; the community appointed R. Judah Hadida, the first *dayyan* of Tangier, as its leader in 1744. Moses Maman of Meknès, the treasurer of the sultan, encouraged a number of important Jewish merchants of Tetuán, and particularly of *Salé-Rabat, to settle representatives in Tangier, where they were exempted from certain taxes. When Christians were excluded from Tetuán in 1772, a number of European consuls established their consulates in Tangier. They were followed by their Jewish interpreters who enjoyed certain privileges in that capacity. The majority of the community, however, lived in poverty. It was headed by the *dayyan* R. Aaron *Toledano, who was succeeded by his son R. Moses Toledano and his grandson R. Abraham Toledano. As a result of the presence of delegates of the European nations in Tangier, a number of the Jewish advisers of the sultans were required to reside there: Samuel *Sumbal died there during one of his stays (1783); Jacob Attal was executed there by the sultan Mūlāy Yazīd. This sultan imposed a fine on the poor community which it was incapable of paying. There were fewer than 800 Jews living in Tangier in 1808 and over 2,000 in 1835. The community, however, continued impoverished, in spite of the presence of the *Nahon family, who were engaged in the wax trade on a large scale; Joseph *Chriqui of Mogador, the most influential member of the community; and the *Abensur, Sicsu, Anzancot, and *Benchimol families, who were supported by the European powers to whom they rendered important services. In commemoration of its escape during the French bombardment of Tangier in 1844, the community celebrated a *Purim known as *Purim de las bombas*, since it did not suffer any losses. By 1856 the situation of the 2,600 Jews in Tangier was still generally distressing, but a definite improvement occurred with the arrival of a new group of Jews from Tetuán. By 1867 the community had increased to 3,500 persons and was headed by the *dayyan* R. Mordecai Bengio. A wider and more prosperous middle class financed the establishment of the schools of the *Alliance Israélite Universelle (1864).

The Spanish influence, however, which was exerted by the Jews of Tetuán, left a decisive imprint on the community: Spanish was the language spoken by all. The Moroccan press, whose sole center was in Tangier, was controlled by dynamic Jewish elements among whose characteristic personalities were Ben-Ayon, editor of the first newspaper in Tangier (1870); Levy *Cohen, founder and editor of the second newspaper, *Le Réveil du Maroc* (1884); Phinehas Assayay; Abraham Pimienta; and Isaac Laredo. Other newspapers made their appearance after 1886. This press, which was published in English, Spanish, French, and Arabic, called for the Europeanization of *Morocco and supported the "Junta" (the committee of the Jewish community). Jewish authors and poets, especially those writing in the Spanish language, flourished in Tangier. In December 1923 Tangier was declared an international zone. It was governed by a commission composed of representatives from Great Britain, France, Spain, Portugal, Belgium, the Netherlands, Sweden, and, later, the United States. There were then over 10,000 Jews living there. Many, however, had emigrated to South America or settled in *Casablanca. In Tangier the Jewish middle class founded hospitals and numerous welfare institutions. The Jewish intelligentsia brought about a revival of a distinctively Jewish culture. The initiators of this revival were José *Benoliel, the learned historian and last leader of the community, Abraham Laredo (d. 1969), and the kabbalist Samuel Toledano. *Zionism was well represented in this revival. During 1939–40 many Jews of Eastern European origin took refuge in Tangier, and the community made great efforts to assist them to settle there. A number established themselves permanently. In 1940, Tangier lost its international status following Spain's temporary annexation of the Zone. This spelled anxiety for the Jews although, in contrast to what had happened in French Morocco, no racial laws, Vichy-style, were enacted against them. During World War II, Nazi propaganda and pro-Franco fractions dominated Tangier's political scene but, once again, despite some anger vented against Jews no particular harm came to them.

Approximately 12,000 Jews lived in the International Zone of Tangier in 1948, and by 1950 about 2,000 Spanish Moroccan Jews joined them, bringing their total to about 15,000 in 1951. Pre-1956 Tangier also had a highly heterogeneous population that included 40,000 Muslims, 20,000 Spanish, 6,000 French, and 5,000 other Europeans. The Jews of Tangier had the highest proportion of bearers of foreign passports in comparison to the rest of the Moroccan Jewish communities. In fact, politically, during the colonial era, the Jews of Tangier enjoyed an autonomy unheard of throughout the country. They possessed rights granted by the international zone's legislative assembly and approved by Morocco's sultan. After Morocco gained independence in March 1956, Tangier still retained its international zone status until October of that year before being annexed into a unified Moroccan Kingdom. Several Jewish personalities of Tangier, including Solomon M. Pinto, attempted to preserve the community of about 17,000 persons. A powerful movement for emigration had, however, already been set in motion. During the 1950s and early 1960s, when Morocco prevented Jews from leaving, suspecting that their final destination was Israel, the Israeli Mossad in conjunction with local activists used Tangier as an underground center to smuggle people – by land and sea routes – to Algeciras (southern Spain) and Gibraltar. Jews from Tangier helped build up a new Jewish community in Madrid, while others settled in Geneva, Canada, or the United States. Only a few hundred emigrated to Israel. After Tangier had been annexed by Morocco the number of Jews fell to about 4,000 in 1968. Before the annexation, the Jewish community had three representatives on the Tangier Legislative Assembly; the head of the rabbinical court was the officially recognized representative of the community. In the 1950s and 1960s the *Alliance Israélite Universelle and the Oẓar ha-Torah maintained schools there. A vocational school was supported by the American Joint Distribution Committee. The community also had a rabbinical seminary and social welfare institutions. There were only about 250 Jews in Tangier in 1970. Since then Jewish institutions have gradually disappeared. Even though a campus of the American University was established there, Jewish schools closed down. Tangier of the post-1970 period was no longer the cosmopolitan international zone of the Maghreb. This period saw the rise of Islamic radicalism, abject poverty, and the departure of most Europeans. Antisemitism was on the rise in the 1990s. With the outbreak of the second Palestinian Intifada (uprising) in September 2000, an angry mob marched in the streets, chanting for a holy war against the Jews and the U.S. King Muhammad VI responded and warned Muslims not to abuse Jews, placing armed guards around remaining Jewish institutions. In 2005 fewer than 150 Jews remained in Tangier, most of them elderly persons. It is likely that within a decade no Jews will remain there.

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[David Corcos and Haim J. Cohen /
Michael M. Laskier (2nd ed.)]

TANḤUMA BAR ABBA (second half of the fourth century C.E.), Palestinian *amora*. Tanḥuma, to whom the *Tanḥuma Midrash has been ascribed, was one of the most prolific aggadists. His principal teacher in *halakhah* and *aggadah* was R. *Huna. Nothing is known of his private life. In his public activities he was distinguished for his defense of Jews and Judaism against non-Jews. In one of Tanḥuma's conversations with non-Jews, the emperor suggested that Jews and non-Jews become one nation. To this Tanḥuma replied, "But we who are circumcised cannot possibly become like you." The emperor answered, "You have spoken well. Nevertheless, whoever gets the better of the emperor in debate must be thrown into the *vivarium*" ("arena of wild beasts"). Tanḥuma was thrown in, but came out safely (the well-known motif of Daniel). A heretic who was present maintained that this was because the animals were not hungry, whereupon he was thrown in and was eaten (Sanh. 39a). Its contents indicate that this conversation was between Tanḥuma and a Christian: thus in Yalkut, Zephaniah 567, the emperor bases his remarks on the verse (Zeph. 3:9): "For then will I turn to the peoples a pure language, that they may all call upon the name of the Lord, to serve Him with one consent"; this verse has significance only when quoted by a Christian and not a pagan ruler. (For another conversation between Tanḥuma and non-Jews on matters of faith, see TJ, Ber. 9:1, 13b). In Antioch he argued with those who believed in dualism (Gen. R. 19:4). It has been suggested that the title "pleader" (σχολαστικός), given Tanḥuma, refers to this activity (TJ, Ber. 4:2, 7d).

Tanḥuma is noted especially for the proems with which he introduced his discourses. The phrase "R. Tanḥuma began his discourse with this biblical text" occurs frequently in the Midrashim (particularly in *Pesikta Rabbati*). The structure of his discourses was as follows: after a halakhic question, which he did not answer immediately, he quoted a biblical verse, usually from the Hagiographa, which he then connected with the first verse of the current Sabbath's portion of the Pentateuch and only reverted at the end of his discourse to the question that had been raised at the outset. Among the principal ideas that distinguished his many discourses are the signal value of studying the Torah and of charity, and the future redemption of the nation. The following is an example of his teaching: "'Who deliverest the poor from him that is too strong for him' (Ps. 35:10). This applies to Israel, who falls into the hands of the nations of the world, and God delivers them. For 'the poor' refers to Israel.… David said, 'A sheep among 70 wolves, what can it do? Israel among 70 powerful nations, what can Israel do, were it not that You stand by them every hour'" (PR 9:2).

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[Moshe Beer]

TANḤUMA YELAMMEDENU (תַּנְחוּמָא יְלַמְּדֵנוּ), a category of midrashic literature, including the following works: *Tanḥuma* (to the entire Pentateuch), extensive parts of *Exodus Rabbah*, *Numbers Rabbah*, *Deuteronomy Rabbah* and *Pesiqta Rabbati*. Many medieval quotations (often citing "*Tanḥuma*" or "*Yelammedenu*") and fragmentary manuscripts (many from the Cairo *Genizah*) of other partially preserved versions, testify to the diversity and popularity of this type of midrashic work.

Tanḥuma-Yelammedenu Midrash consists primarily of literary homilies to the triennial cycle of weekly biblical lections. Unlike structurally similar works such as *Leviticus Rabbah* and *Pesiqta de-Rav Kahana*, *Tanḥuma-Yelammedenu* Midrash has relatively little Aramaic, being written in late Rabbinic Hebrew though still employing many Greek and Latin loan-words. Another distinguishing feature is the special halakhic proem (often beginning with the expression *yelammedenu rabbenu* "Let our master teach us") which precedes the series of proems, each beginning with a different verse, with which each composite homily normally begins. Many passages are attributed to the renowned homilist, Rabbi Tanḥuma bar Abba, who was active during the second half of the fourth century in Palestine.

Earlier scholars made conflicting claims about the date and identity of the "early" *Tanḥuma* or *Yelammedenu* which was thought to be the "original" source of the all the surviving works of this type. Later research tends rather to distinguish relatively early traditions and sources within early, middle, and late redactional strata running through the various works. *Tanḥuma-Yelammedenu* literature is best regarded as a particular midrashic genre which began to crystallize toward the end of the Byzantine period in Palestine (5–7th century C.E.), but continued to evolve and spread throughout the Diaspora well into the middle ages, sometimes developing different recensions of a common text. For example, *Tanḥuma* (printed version, first published in Constantinople, 1520–22) seems to have undergone final redaction in geonic Babyonia. While *Tanḥuma* Buber (first published by Solomon Buber, Vilna 1875), which is considerably different in the books of Genesis and Exodus, seems to be a European (Italian-Ashkenazi) recension of similar midrashic material. We find a similar phenomenon with regard to *Deuteronomy Rabbah*, which survives in at least two different versions both of which belong to the *Tanḥuma-Yelammedenu* category of midrashic literature. *Deuteronomy Rabbah* (regular or printed version) found in the printed editions of *Midrash Rabbah*, MS. Parma De Rossi 1240 and fragments, circulated primarily in France and Germany; it contains 27 literary homilies on the triennial cycle weekly lections of Deuteronomy. On the other hand, *Deuteronomy Rabbah* Liebermann (as published by Saul Liebermann) found in most manuscripts of *Midrash Rabbah*, contains alternate or additional midrashic material (the extent of which varies in different manuscripts) of the *Tanḥuma-Yelammedenu* type that circulated primarily in Spain and North Africa.

An English translation of *Tanḥuma* "Printed Version" was published by Samuel A. Berman: *Midrash Tanhuma-Yelammedenu: An English Translation of Genesis and Exodus from the Printed Version of Tanhuma-Yelammedenu With an Introduction, Notes, and Indexes* (1996), and an English translation of *Tanḥuma* Buber by J.T. Townsend, *Midrash Tanhuma*, vols. 1–3 (1989–2003). An English translation of the printed version of *Devarim Rabbah* was published by J. Rabbinowitz, in the Soncino edition of *Midrash Rabbah* (1939; reprinted 1961).

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and edited by M. Bockmuehl (1995), 303–7, 333–35; M. Bregman, "Stratigraphic Analysis of a Selected Pericope from the Tanhuma-Yelammedenu Midrashim," in: *Proceedings of the Tenth Congress of Jewish Studies*, Division C, vol. I: Jewish Thought and Literature (1990), 117–124 (Heb.); idem, *The Tanhuma-Yelammedenu Literature – Studies in the Evolution of the Versions* (2003) (Hebrew with English abstract).

[Marc Bregman (2nd ed.)]

TANḤUM BEN ELIEZER (1746–1819), Lithuanian rabbi. Tanḥum was the son of Eliezer b. Ẓevi Hirsch (d. 1791) of Orla, the author of *Mahadura Kamma u-Vatra*, talmudic novellae. When his father relinquished the rabbinate of Orla, Tanḥum was appointed *av bet din* there, and when his father was subsequently appointed rabbi in Grodno, he became *av bet din* in Grodno. When he failed to be appointed to succeed his father as rabbi after his death, he decided to engage in business. His signature appears first on a *takkanah* of 1818 in connection with the election of three delegates who were to be stationed permanently in St. Petersburg to defend Jewish rights before the czarist government.

Tanḥum left three works, the manuscripts of which were in the possession of his grandson Elijah Perez of Vilna: a kabbalistic commentary on the Pentateuch, entitled *Menuḥat Emet; Menuḥat Shalom*, consisting of casuistic expositions and halakhic novellae; and *Neḥamat Ẓiyyon*, notes on the talmud. Tanḥum's son, Issachar *Baer (1779–1855), served from 1819 until his death as *dayyan* of Vilna.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: S.E. Friedenstein, *Ir Gibborim* (1880; repr. 1969), 54, 69–70; S.J. Fuenn, *Kiryah Ne'emanah* (1915), 277, n. 37; *Yahadut Lita*, 3 (1967), 266, 270.

[Yehoshua Horowitz]

TANḤUM BEN ḤANILAI (**Ilai** or **b. Hanila** in the Jerusalem Talmud), Palestinian *amora* of the second half of the third century. The name Ḥanilai suggests a Babylonian origin. He was a pupil of Joshua b. *Levi (BK 55a). A prominent aggadist, his teachings were of a high ethical and moral character. He taught that God says to Israel, "My daughter [the Torah] is in thy hands; thy daughter [the soul] is in My hands. If thou protect Mine, then I shall protect thine" (Tanḥ. Ki Tissa, 28). At meals he would remind his family "to set aside a portion for the poor" (Tanḥ. Mishpatim, 8). "A man who has no wife," he stated, "lives without joy, without blessing, and without goodness" (Yev. 62b). "One should never break away from the accepted custom," for when Moses ascended to the angels, he ate no bread, but when the angels visited Abraham, they appeared to eat and drink (BM 86b). A characteristic of his *aggadah* is a system of connecting the last words of one Bible verse with the opening words of the next. Thus by connecting Leviticus 1:16 with 2:1, he deduces that the crop of a bird-offering is unworthy of the altar, since the food in it is obtained by robbery and violence (Lev. R. 3:4). R. Tanḥum died on Ḥanukkah (TJ, MK 3:9, 83d).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Bacher, Pal Amor, 1, 3; Hyman, Toledot, s.v.; Ḥ. Albeck, *Mavo la-Talmudim* (1969), 192.

TANḤUM BEN ḤIYYA (end of the third and beginning of the fourth centuries C.E.), Palestinian *amora*. In Babylonian sources he is referred to as Tanḥum "of Kefar Akko" (MK 16b; Yev. 45a), which, according to S. Klein (*Ereẓ ha-Galil*, 42), is in Lower Galilee. Elsewhere, however (Gen. R. 100:7), his birthplace is given as Kefar Agin (today Umm Jūnī, south of the Sea of Galilee), which was, apparently, not well-known in Babylon and was therefore referred to as Kefar Akko. He also seems to have spent some time in Tiberias, and on one occasion he and Aḥa, the trustee of the local castle, ransomed some captive Jewish women who had been taken there from Armenia, probably by Roman troops (Yev. 45a, see Dik. Sof.). While in Galilee, he was appointed a member of the commission which determined the intercalation of the calendar (TJ, Sanh. 1:2, 18c). Tanḥum was wealthy and charitable, and it is related that whenever his mother purchased meat for her household, she would also purchase an equivalent amount for distribution among the poor (Lev. R. 34:5). Among his colleagues was Ḥanina b. *Papa (TJ, MK. 3:7, 83c), and he transmitted sayings in the name of Joshua b. Levi (TJ, Shek. 3:1, 47b), and Johanan (TJ, Ta'an, 2:1, 65b), Three of his explanations of *halakhot* are recorded (Bek. 57b; TJ, Meg. 4:1, 75a twice), and among his many aggadic sayings are: "When one who has learnt, taught, and observed the Law fails to prevent evil when it is in his power to do so, he shall be smitten with the curse: 'cursed be he that confirmeth not all the words of the Torah, to do them'" (Deut. 27:26; TJ, Sot. 7:4, 21d). The *aggadah* relates that when he died, "all human statues were dislodged" (MK, 25b).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Hyman, Toledot, s.v.; Ḥ. Albeck, *Mavo la-Talmudim* (1969), 271–2.

TANḤUM BEN JOSEPH (**Ha**-)**YERUSHALMI** (c. 1220–1291), philologist and biblical exegete. Few biographical details are known of him. As his name indicates, either he or his family originated from Jerusalem, and according to Bacher, he lived for some time in Ereẓ Israel and subsequently went to Egypt, where he died. Tanḥum had an extensive knowledge of philosophy, and knew a number of languages, including Arabic and Greek, and it would appear that he knew medicine (*Al-Murshid al-Kafi*, s.v. *tavlul*). He had a profound knowledge of all the biblical exegetes and grammarians who had preceded him (there are more than 250 references in the section of his *Al-Murshid al-Kafi* to the letter *tav* alone, many of which are not identifiable). He was the last representative of the rational school of biblical exegetes in the East, but the "central pillars" upon which he based his works were "the words of the revered Rabbi Moses b. Maimon in his scientific outlook and his religious beliefs, and the words of R. Jonah *Ibn Janaḥ in grammar and philology."

One of his works which has survived is *Kitab al-Bayān*, consisting of commentaries on the books of the Bible, with an introduction (or first part) called *Al-Kaliat* ("General Principles"), a work which earned him the title of "the Ibn Ezra of the East." Portions of this commentary are scattered in various libraries, such as the Bodleian and the Guenzburg libraries. In addition to fragments which have been published in various learned periodicals, there have appeared his commentary on Judges, Samuel, Kings, and Jonah (T. Haarbruecker, 1842–62); Habakkuk (S. Munk, 1843); Lamentations (G. Cureton, 1843); Ecclesiastes (S. Eppenstein, 1888); and Psalms (idem, 1903). Another extant work is the above-mentioned *Al-Murshid al-Kafi*, a lexicon giving in alphabetical order the nouns and verbs in Maimonides' *Mishneh Torah*. This work is of considerable importance on account of the new Hebrew terms which he coined, and it constitutes the greatest codex of Maimonides' work. Most of the introduction, as well as a number of entries in the work, was published by W. Bacher under the title *Aus dem Woerterbuche Tanchum Jeruschalmi's* (1903).

Joseph b. Tanḥum *ha-Yerushalmi was his son.

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[Ephraim Kupfer]

TANNA, TANNAIM (Aram. תַּנָּא, תַּנָּאִים), the sages from the period of *Hillel to the compilation of the *Mishnah, i.e., the first and second centuries C.E. The word *tanna* (from Aramaic *teni*, "to hand down orally," "study," "teach") generally designates a teacher either mentioned in the Mishnah or of mishnaic times (Ber. 2a). It was first used in the Talmud in this sense to distinguish such teachers from later authorities, the **amoraim*. However, not all teachers mentioned in the Mishnah are called *tannaim*; the frequently found phrase *zekenim rishonim* ("former elders"; Shab. 64b, Naz. 53a, etc.) probably refers to scholars who precede the schools of Hillel and Shammai, i.e., the *zugot*, etc. Thus, the tannaitic period covers a period from about 20 to about 200 C.E., the approximate date of the final redaction of the Mishnah by Judah ha-Nasi. These two centuries are generally divided into five generations – corresponding to the five generations of *zugot* (Avot 1), also spanning some two centuries – with a sixth transitional generation of semi-*tannaim*, contemporaries of Judah I, who, while not appearing in the Mishnah, are mentioned in the Tosefta or *baraita*. Of course, such a division is necessarily arbitrary, and many *tannaim* cannot be easily fitted into their rigidly compartmentalized periods. Often they span two or more successive generations. Nevertheless, the "five-generation grid" is a useful frame of reference and has been used by successive chronographers since it was first introduced by Ibn Daud in his classic *Sefer ha-Kabbalah* (second half of 12th century; see, *Sefer ha-Qabbalah*, ed. by G. Cohen, 1967, LVI).

In this somewhat artificial system of division there are two major landmarks: 70 C.E., the year of the fall of Jerusalem, and 135, the year of the fall of Betar. The first marks the end of the Temple period, and is followed by one of reconstruction. Johanan b. Zakkai established a flourishing center at Jabneh, and his most important disciples were Eliezer b. Hyrcanus (who founded a school at Lydda), Joshua b. Hananiah, Yose ha-Kohen, Simeon b. Nethanel, and Eleazar b. Arakh (Avot 2:8). Among their younger contemporaries were Ishmael (b. Elisha), Tarfon, and Johanan b. Nuri, but undoubtedly the most outstanding of them was Akiva (whose school was at Bene-Berak). This highly creative phase came to a savage end around 130. It remained to the pupils of Ishmael (e.g., Josiah and Jonathan) and of Akiva (Judah b. Ilai, Yose b. Ḥalafta, and Simeon b. Yoḥai) to regroup, moving the centers of learning to Galilee (Usha, Tiberias, etc.). In this second period, Meir, a pupil both of Ishmael (first) and (then) Akiva, emerges as the most prominent personality, and it is primarily his tradition that is continued by Judah I (at Bet She'arim and Sepphoris). Judah's death (c. 220) brings to a close the tannaitic period.

The crippling defeats of 70 and 135 were both followed by a period of military oppression and spiritual repression, and by a general depression, and both periods of reconstruction had to contend with a society splintered by shifts of population from Jerusalem to other Judean centers (c. 70–130) and from Judea to Galilee (135 onward). Furthermore, not only was there social disintegration in the communities and their administrative bodies, but also a serious danger of the collapse of a central Jewish authority. Both the destruction of the Temple and later that of Jabneh left a vacuum of authority that had to be replaced rapidly. Thus, Johanan b. Zakkai had to contend with considerable initial antagonism on the part of several strata of society – the priestly faction, elements of the aristocracy, and a number of rabbis (see Alon, Meḥkarim, 1 (1957), 253–73). He and, after him, Gamaliel of Jabneh made it their prime objective to consolidate their authority, to make it accepted by the whole populace, and at the same time to gain the recognition of the Roman civil authorities. When Simeon b. Gamaliel set up his academy at Usha in the middle of the second century, he followed much the same policy.

The establishment of such a centralized authority, in the form of a great Sanhedrin that would convene on special occasions to discuss and give rulings and directives on basic issues, brought together scholars from varying backgrounds and differing traditions. A period of political calamity and spiritual depression is also one in which there is a grave danger of the loss of traditional knowledge; leading scholars are killed, there is a diminution of study, established bodies of learning – the yeshivot or *battei midrashot* – are dismantled, and their members scattered. Thus the central authorities appreciated the urgent need to collect the different strands of tradition and weave them into organized bodies of material. In this way, out of chaos and destruction there arose a new order, in the form of the great bodies of halakhic tradition. These, the literary production of the *tannaim*, may be roughly grouped under two main headings: that which belongs to the genre of the codex, i.e., succinct halakhic formulations arranged under abstract legal categories, or other mnemonic devices; and **Midreshei Halakhah*, halakhic Midrashim arranged as some kind of extended exegetical commentaries to the books of the Pentateuch.

In the former category comes, first and foremost, the Mishnah. This began as a collection of "evidences" (*eduyyot*) on different legal topics, which was put together during the Jabneh period. During this time also, certain primary editorial guidelines were drawn up (Eduy. 1:4–6). Akiva was a key figure in the continued collection, collation, and classification of the *halakhot*, or *mishnayot*, which at times came together in groups, linked to one another by mnemonic devices, such as a common catchword, parallel structure, etc. (see *Mnemonics). The work was continued by Akiva's pupils, the most important among them being Meir, until it reached its consummation in the final editorship of Judah ha-Nasi in the early third century. This superb work of codification forms the basis of that vast corpus of amoraic law and lore known as the *Talmud or *Gemara*, and indeed of all subsequent codices. It remains the supreme monument to the tannaitic achievement. Judah ha-Nasi was selective in his editorship, excluding a great many *halakhot* from his Mishnah codex. These were subsequently assembled about a decade or two later by the semi-*tannaim* Ḥiyya and Oshaiah and arranged in a parallel corpus titled the *Tosefta. Even so, a great many *halakhot* were omitted from this secondary collection too, and they subsequently appear in the Talmud. They are termed *beraitot* ("excluded" or "external" *halakhot*; see Epstein, Tanna'im, 13–262).

Now while the Mishnah and to a slightly lesser extent the Tosefta represent material reflecting in the main the Akiva tradition, as passed on by his pupils and taught in his academies, the other major body of tannaitic literature, the halakhic Midrashim, reflect to a great extent the tradition of Akiva's great contemporary opponent, Ishmael, and the latter's pupils. A number of such compilations survive to this day: the *Mekhilta de-R. Ishmael* and one of Simeon b. Yoḥai to Exodus; the *Sifra* (or *Torat Kohanim*) to Leviticus; the *Sifrei* (edited by the school of Rav) and the *Sifrei Zuta* (cf. the school of Lydda) to Numbers; and the *Sifrei* and *Midrash Tannaim* to Deuteronomy. Each of these works is individual in style, character, and halakhic tendency, but they are all unified in the basic form, that of an exegesis from the verse to the abstract halakhic formulation. As such they form a valuable complement to the Mishnah and are frequently cited in the Talmud to help elucidate the Mishnah's sources (see Epstein, Tanna'im, 495–746). The basis of these exegetical Midrashim were the various hermeneutical rules (see *Hermeneutics) laid down at different times by a number of leading authorities – Hillel, Naḥum of Gimzo, Akiva, and Ishmael, It has been suggested that the 32 rules of interpreting the Bible for aggadic purposes, attributed to Eliezer b. Yose Ha-Gelili, are also of the tannaitic period.

Finally mention should be made of a very particular kind of work, the **Seder Olam Rabbah*, compiled (for the main part) by the great *tanna* *Yose b. Halafta in the middle of the second century. This is a systematic chronology of world history from the time of Adam till the destruction of the Second Temple. In parts it is an exegesis of biblical verses and in parts engenders ancient chronological oral traditions. It has already been pointed out that the greater part of the tannaitic period was one of extreme economic hardship, when poverty was rife and taxation a crippling burden. One might expect that under such circumstances scholars would have been deterred from learning, especially since the community could ill-afford to support them. However, quite to the contrary, the study of Torah became even more intensive in the period after Bar Kokhba. While in Temple times scholars had either supported themselves, or been paid a pittance out of Temple funds, during the Jabneh period a policy emerged of encouraging the community to regard the support of the sages as a religious-communal function. Nonetheless, many scholars still plied their crafts as cobblers, smiths, scribes, etc., supporting themselves in this way in their spare time. In the aftermath of the Bar-Kokhba war, Simeon b. Yoḥai developed the doctrine that scholars should devote themselves to the study of Torah to the exclusion of all else. By the amoraic period public support of poor scholars through regular and generous contributions to the academies was already an established custom (see M. Beer, in: *Sefer ha-Shanah*, Bar Ilan (1968), 167–80).

The *tannaim* were both scholars and teachers. They expounded the law and taught it to the people in academies and synagogues. They encouraged the people, raised their spirits, and exhorted them to higher moral aims. Numerous fragments from the homilies of the *tannaim* survived in the later aggadic compilations. Furthermore, the leaders among them represented the people before the Roman civil authorities, even going to Rome to plead their causes and bring ease to their hardships. Thus their involvement was not merely with the spiritual but also with the social and political developments of the nation. Their achievements in all these spheres in the face of overwhelming objective difficulties are eloquent testimony to their great spirit and ability (for creative activity of the *tannaim* and their importance, see *Sages and *Mishnah).

The term *tanna* has a secondary meaning of someone of the amoraic period, who hands down tannaitic statements, knows and memorizes them, and teaches them in the *bet ha-midrash* (e.g., Pes. 100a). These later *tannaim* served as living libraries, and were spoken of as "baskets full of books," in contrast to the eminent scholars. It was said of them that they ruin the world (*ha-tannaim mevalleh olam*, Sot. 22a) in that they give decisions based on traditions they have learned without knowing their reasons and their application to practical cases.

For a list of the more important *tannaim* see Chart: Tannaim.

For the issue of biographical historicity, see **Aggadah*; *Talmud, Babylonian.

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[Daniel Sperber]

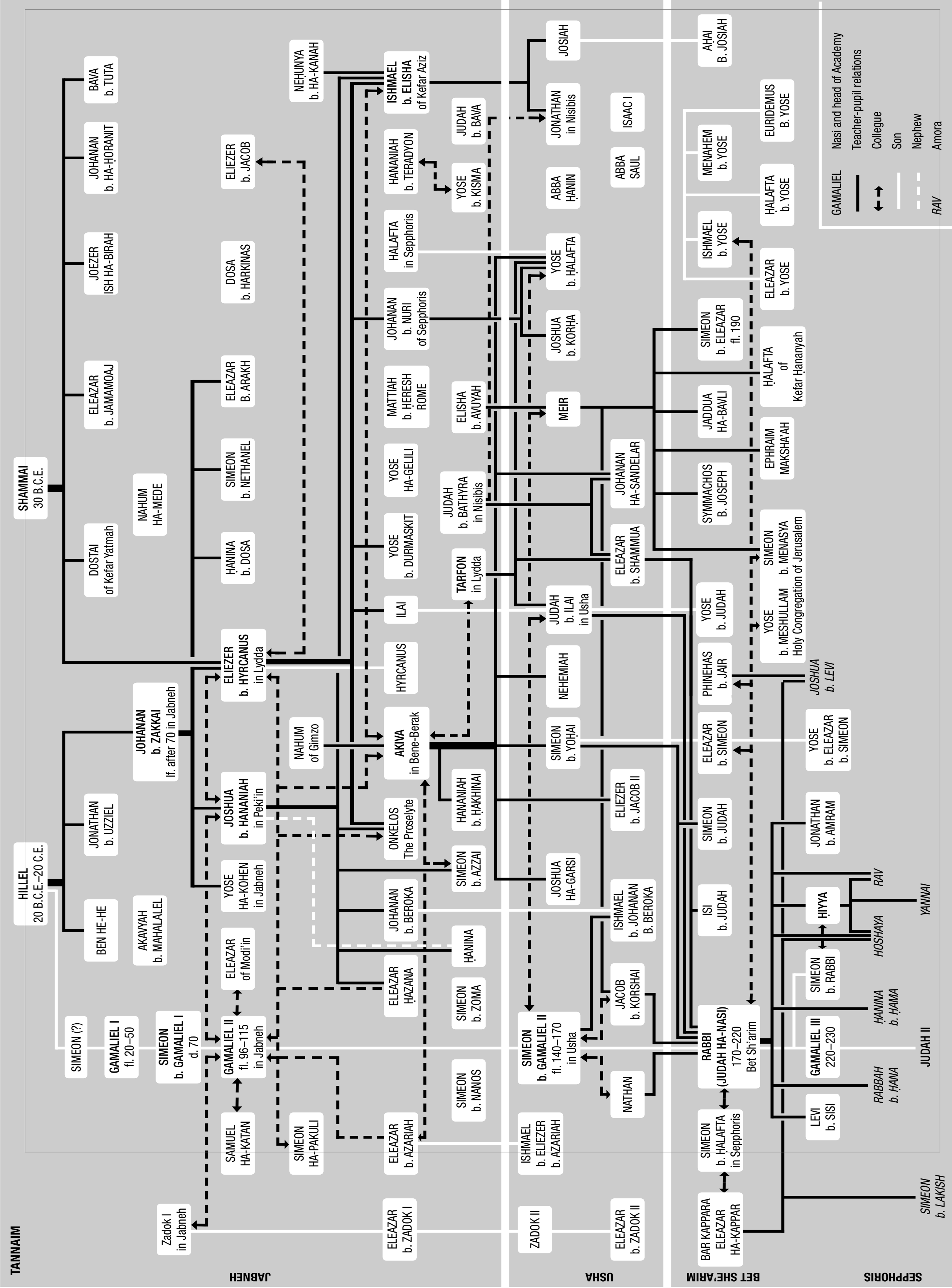
TANNAIM
JABNEH
USHA
BET SHE'ARIM
SEPPHORIS
SHAMMAI 30 B.C.E.
BAVA b. TUTA
JOHANAN b. HA-ḤORANIT
JOEZER ISH HA-BIRAH
ELEAZAR b. JAMAMOAJ
DOSTAI of Kefar Yatmah
NAHUM HA-MEDE
HILLEL 20 B.C.E.–20 C.E.
JONATHAN b. UZZIEL
BEN HE-HE
AKAVYAH b. MAHALALEL
JOHANAN b. ZAKKAI fl. after 70 in Jabneh
SIMEON (?)
GAMALIEL I fl. 20–50
SIMEON b. GAMALIEL I d. 70
Zadok I in Jabneh
ELIEZER b. JACOB
DOSA b. HARKINAS
ELEAZAR B. ARAKH
SIMEON b. NETHANEL
ḤANINA b. DOSA
ELIEZER b. HYRCANUS in Lydda
JOSHUA b. HANANIAH in Peki'in
YOSE HA-KOHEN in Jabneh
ELEAZAR of Modi'in
GAMALIEL II fl. 96–115 in Jabneh
SAMUEL HA-KATAN
SIMEON HA-PAKULI
NEḤUNYA b. HA-KANAH
NAHUM of Gimzo
ISHMAEL b. ELISHA of Kefar Aziz
HANANIAH b. TERADYON
HALAFTA in Sepphoris
JOHANAN b. NURI of Sepphoris
MATTIAH b. ḤERESH ROME
YOSE HA-GELILI
YOSE b. DURMASKIT
ILAI
HYRCANUS
AKIVA in Bene-Berak
ONKELOS The Proselyte
JOHANAN b. BEROKA
ELEAZAR ḤAZANA
ELEAZAR b. AZARIAH
ELEAZAR b. ZADOK I
JUDAH b. BAVA
YOSE b. KISMA
ELISHA b. AVUYAH
JUDAH b. BATHYRA in Nisibis
TARFON in Lydda
HANANIAH b. ḤAKHINAI
SIMEON b. AZZAI
ḤANINA
SIMEON b. ZOMA
SIMEON b. NANOS
JOSIAH
JONATHAN in Nisibis
ABBA ḤANIN
YOSE b. ḤALAFTA
JOSHUA b. KORḤA
MEIR
JUDAH b. ILAI in Usha
NEHEMIAH
SIMEON b. YOḤAI
JOSHUA HA-GARSI
SIMEON b. GAMALIEL II fl. 140–170 in Usha
ISHMAEL b. ELIEZER b. AZARIAH
ZADOK II
ISAAC I
ABBA SAUL
JOHANAN HA-SANDELAR
ELEAZAR b. SHAMMUA
ELIEZER b. JACOB II
ISHMAEL b. JOHANAN B. BEROKA
JACOB b. KORSHAI
NATHAN
ELEAZAR b. ZADOK II
AḤAI B. JOSIAH
MENAHEM b. YOSE
ISHMAEL b. YOSE
SIMEON b. ELEAZAR fl. 190
JADDUA HA-BAVLI
SYMMACHOS B. JOSEPH
YOSE b. JUDAH
PHINEHAS b. JAIR
ELEAZAR b. SIMEON
SIMEON b. JUDAH
ISI b. JUDAH
RABBI (JUDAH HA-NASI) 170–220 Bet Sh'arim
SIMEON b. ḤALAFTA in Sepphoris
BAR KAPPARA ELEAZAR HA-KAPPAR
EURIDEMUS B. YOSE
ḤALAFTA b. YOSE
ELEAZAR b. YOSE
ḤALAFTA of Kefar Ḥananyah
EPHRAIM MAKSHA'AH
SIMEON b. MENASYA
YOSE b. MESHULLAM
Holy Congregation of Jerusalem
JOSHUA b. LEVI
YOSE b. ELEAZAR b. SIMEON
JONATHAN b. AMRAM
ḤIYYA
SIMEON b. RABBI
GAMALIEL III 220–230
LEVI b. SISI
RAV
YANNAI
HOSHAYA
ḤANINA b. ḤAMA
JUDAH II
RABBAH b. ḤANA
SIMEON b. LAKISH
GAMALIEL Nasi and head of Academy
Teacher-pupil relations
Collegue
Son
Nephew
RAV Amora

TANNA DE-VEI ELIYAHU or **Seder Eliyahu** (Aram. תַּנָּא דְבֵי אֵלִיָּהוּ or Heb. סֵדֶר אֵלִיָּהוּ), a midrashic work. Unlike all the other Midrashim it does not consist of a compilation or collection of individual homilies but is a uniform work stamped with a character of its own. The work, which is characterized by original expressions and rhetorical constructions couched in poetic and even flowery language, is distinguished by its didactic moral aim: the author deals with the divine precepts and the reasons for them, and the importance of knowledge of Torah, prayer, and repentance. He is especially concerned with the ethical and religious values which are enshrined in the Bible and in the trials and lives of the patriarchs.

The problem of the date and place of composition of *Seder Eliyahu* has not yet been resolved. It has been variously dated almost anywhere between the third and tenth centuries. S.J. *Rapoport suggested the tenth century, on the basis of three considerations: the number of its chapters does not tally with that given by the *Arukh*, which he believed to be the *Tanna de-Vei Eliyahu* mentioned a number of times in the Talmud (e.g., Ket. 106a; from the collection of geonic responsa published by S. Assaf, it is now clear that the *Arukh* quoted Natronai Gaon, who lived in the ninth century); some of the quotations in the Talmud from the *Tanna de-Vei Eliyahu* are not found in the present work; and the dates given in the work (chap. 2, p. 6; chap. 7, p. 37; chap. 29, p. 163) indicate the tenth century. While Zunz agreed with Rapoport, M. Friedmann refuted two of his arguments; proving that the original number of chapters in the manuscripts conforms to that mentioned in the *Arukh* and maintaining rightly that the dates were altered by later copyists. However, he conceded the third point and held that the *Tanna de-Vei Eliyahu* of the Talmud is distinct from the present work. In his view, in its original form it dates from the third century but contains late additions. Despite the determined attempt of Margalioth to prove that the two works are identical and the fact that the nine passages from the *Tanna de-Vei Eliyahu* cited in the Babylonian Talmud do in fact occur in the present work, an examination of the sources of the Midrash as a whole makes it clear beyond question that it utilizes both the Babylonian Talmud and Midrashim which are later than it (Urbach, see bibl.). The other proofs which Margalioth puts forward as indicating an early date (in his view, the first half of the third century) – the names of the scholars mentioned, all of whom are *tannaim*, as well as the expressions used, which he believes are all tannaitic – are not decisive. As the author often omits to mention the name of the sage who delivered the homily, it is therefore possible that he gave only the names of the most famous of the *tannaim* to whom he ascribes his statements. Margalioth's conclusions with regard to expressions are also far from irrefutable (Urbach).

Similarly all attempts to infer the date from the historical references are inconclusive. Mann and Epstein fix its date at the end of the amoraic era (Epstein is of the opinion that it was arranged then.) Aptowitzer fixes the date of its composition as the ninth century. All that can be stated with certainty is that the Midrash was compiled before the ninth century (Albeck), and that Natronai Gaon refers to the present work and not, as Rapoport and Zunz thought, to the talmudic.

Eliyahu is the speaker in the work but there is no suggestion of a pseudepigrapha, nor should it be inferred that its author is a certain Abba Eliyahu. The name is mentioned only in chapter 15 of *Seder Eliyahu Zuta* and this chapter is a later addition by a copyist. The author relates that he came from Jabneh, that he resided in Jerusalem, and that he wandered in Babylon. He disputes with a fire worshiper and with those who accept the Bible but not the Mishnah (whether he was referring to Christians or to Karaites is a disputed point). His halakhic conclusions, which contain interesting deviations from accepted *halakhah*, constitute a problem on their own, but in general his *halakhah* approximates to that of Ereẓ Israel.

The work is in two sections: *Seder Eliyahu Rabbah* and *Seder Eliyahu Zuta*, and the original parts of the second appear to be by the same author as the first. There are a number of editions: Venice, 1598; Prague, 1676–77 with Samuel Heida's commentaries *Zikkukin de-Nura* and *Bi'urin de-Esha*, according to which there were many other editions; Vienna, 1901 with introduction and notes by M. Friedmann, from a Rome manuscript of 1073; *Tanna de-Vei Eliyahu Zuta* (19 chapters) edited by H.M. Horowitz from a Parma manuscript and published in part 2 of *Beit Eked ha-Aggadot*; appendixes to *Seder Eliyahu Zuta*, being three chapters of *Derekh Ereẓ* and seven of *Pirkei de-R. Eliezer* (Vienna, 1904) by M. Friedmann; and *Likkutei Seder Eliyahu Zuta* from a **Genizah* manuscript, published by L. Ginsberg in *Ginzei Schechter* part 1, 238–45.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: M. Friedmann (Ish-Shalom) (ed.), *Seder Eliyahu Rabbah ve-Seder Eliyahu Zuta* (1904), introd.; Zunz-Albeck, Derashot, 55–57, 292–98; J. Mann, in: HUCA, 4 (1927), 249–51, 302–10; M. Kadushin, *The Theology of Seder Eliahu* (1932); V. Aptowitzer, in: *Jewish Studies in Memory of G.A. Kohut* (1935), 5–39; Epstein, Mishnah, 762–4, 1302f.; M. Margalioth, in: *Sefer Assaf* (1953), 370–90; R.J.Z. Werblowsky, in: JJS, 6 (1955), 201–11; E.E. Urbach, in: *Leshonenu*, 21 (1957), 183–97; S.K. Mirsky, in: *Shanah be-Shanah* 5725 (1964), 215–22.

[Jacob Elbaum]

TANNENBAUM, FRANK (1893–1969), U.S. economic historian. Born in Austria, Tannenbaum was taken to the United States in 1905. He was a member of the research staff of the Institute of Economics in Washington (1925) and subsequently made economic and social surveys of Puerto Rico (1928–30) and Mexico (1931). In 1939 he was appointed professor of history at Columbia, where he taught economic history until his retirement in 1961. Tannenbaum's numerous writings include: *Peace by Revolution* (1933), *Crime and the Community* (1937), *Mexico: The Struggle for Peace and Bread* (1950), and *Ten Keys to Latin America* (1962).

TANSMAN, ALEXANDER (**Alexandre**; 1897–1986), composer, pianist, and conductor. Born in Lodz, Poland, Tansman studied at the conservatories of Lodz and Warsaw. In 1919 he submitted two works in competition for the Polish National Prize and won the first and second prizes. He settled in Paris in 1921 and appeared as pianist and conductor. His works of the 1920s retained Polish features such as Mazurka rhythms and Polish folk melodies. In the same years he was strongly influenced by the neo-classicism of Igor Stravinsky. From 1941 to 1946 Tansman lived in the U.S., where he wrote music for films, until he returned to France in 1946. His music evinces a strong lyrical feeling and is moderately modern in style. Many of his works were inspired by his Jewish origin, among them Isaïe le prophète (1950), an oratorio; Sabbataï Zévi, le faux messie (1958), an opera; and many others. He also wrote *Igor Stravinsky, ouvrage…* (1948, *Igor Stravinsky, the Man and His Music*, 1949). His honors included the Coolidge Medal (1941), election to the Académie Royale of Belgium (1977), and the Polish Medal of Cultural Merit (1983).

ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY: NG^2; MGG, S.V.; J. Segiella, *Child of Fortune: Alexander Tansman and His Life and Times*, 1–2 (Pol., 1996).

[Claude Abravanel / Yulia Kreinin (2nd ed.)]

TANTA, town in Lower *Egypt, situated between *Alexandria and *Cairo. A prosperous Jewish community, noted for its loyalty to Jewish tradition, existed in Tanta at least from the beginning of the 17th century and it is possible that the community was founded in earlier times and grew considerably during the second half of the 19th century. At one time, it was the third-largest Jewish community in Egypt, after Cairo and Alexandria. A document from the Muslim court of law in Tanta from 1871 deals with the case of the merchant Joseph Levi of Cairo, who purchased real estate in the vicinity of Tanta. In 1897 there were 883 Jews in Tanta and in 1917, 1,183. Most of the Jews in Tanta were of North African origin. During the period of the community's prosperity, there were three synagogues, a Jewish school, and a women's charitable society. The Jewish population in the city grew because of its location on the railroad line connecting Alexandria and Cairo. The *Alliance Israélite Universelle founded a school in Tanta in 1903 and in 1905–6 232 students of both genders were enrolled, some of whom were Muslims. This school remained after the Alliance Israélite Universelle had left Egypt in 1922. After World War I, the number of Jews decreased when many of them left for Cairo and Alexandria and others went to Ereẓ Israel. Only the poor remained and they too eventually died or departed. In 1912 the Jews of the town contributed to the Kuppat Pidyon Shevuiim of Jerusalem for the young Jews who joined the Ottoman army. The rabbi of Tanta at the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th was David Nahmias, who submitted a number of halakhic questions to R. Raphael Aaron ben Simeon. He received one answer in 1900 about an ice factory which had been opened. In 1901 the rabbis of Cairo traveled to Tanta to publish there the new *kiddushin* regulation. Emile *Suarez was the president of the Tanta community in 1938.

ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY: J.M. Landau, *Jews in Nineteenth-Century Egypt* (1969), index; S. DellaPergola, in: J.M. Landau (ed.), *Toledot ha-Yehudim be-Miẓraim ba-Tekufah ha-Otmanit (1517–1914)* (1988), 41–42; Z. Zohar, in: ibid., M. Winter, in: ibid., 408. G. Pozailov, *Ḥakhmeihen shel Arbaʿ Arei ha-Kodesh*, 2 (2001), 601.

[Eliyahu Ashtor / Leah Bornstein-Makovetsky (2nd ed.)]

TANUJI, family in Tunis. Ishmael Ha-Kohen *Tanuji, was a rabbi in Tunis. Joseph *Tanuji wrote *Benei Yosef* (1793) for his nephew JUSTO COHEN, the leader of the Tunisian community in Leghorn. His son SHALOM was a rabbi and a commentator on the Talmud. JOSHUA COHEN (mid-late 18th century) was caid, official tax collector, and leader of the Jewish community in Tunis. Ḥ.J.D. *Azulai who stayed in Tanuji's home, located outside the ghetto, during his visit in Tunis, drew a vivid picture of both Joshua and his son MOSES, describing the great wealth and hospitality of the Tanujis and their respect for learning. A Talmud class met in their home every Sabbath in which rabbis and dignitaries participated. Joshua Tanuji ordered and financed the shipping of a Hebrew printing press from Leghorn to Tunisia. The Tanujis led the struggle against the Leghorn community in Tunis and opposed the study of Kabbalah. Joshua Tanuji even had R. Solomon Uzan imprisoned in a dispute over taxes. JUDAH COHEN (d.c. 1835), rabbi in Tunis, was known for his piety.

He wrote ten works, mainly commentaries on tractates of the Talmud; his major compositions were *Ereẓ Yehudah* (Leghorn, 1797) and *Admat Yehudah*, the latter published with David *Najar's *Ẓemaḥ David* (Leghorn, 1828).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: D. Cazès, *Notes bibliographiques sur la littérature juive-tunisienne* (1893), 117–36; Hirschberg, Afrikah, 2 (1965), 135–7, 155–7.

TANUJI, ISHMAEL HA-KOHEN (16th century), Tunisian rabbi and author. Ishmael was apparently the first rabbinic scholar and author in *Tunis. As a result of the difficult political situation prevailing there, he left Tunis and went to *Egypt. From his approbations to the works of others it would appear that he was chief rabbi of Egypt (cf. Responsa Elijah b. Ḥayyim, pt. 2, no. 55). Ḥ.J.D. *Azulai states that there was a synagogue in Egypt in his time where Ishmael used to pray which was called after his name. He completed his well-known book, *Sefer ha-Zikkaron* (Ferrara, 1555) in 1543. It is a collection of rulings and laws selected from the early halakhic authorities and arranged in the order of the talmudic tractates. While he was engaged in the writing of this work, the rulings of *Jacob b. Asher, author of the *Turim*, came to his notice, and realizing that they followed the same pattern as his work he quoted them frequently.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Azulai, 1 (1852), 56a; D. Cazès, *Notes bibliographiques sur la littérature juive-tunisienne* (1893), 117–20; Hirschberg, Afrikah, 2 (1965), 155.

TANUJI, JOSEPH BEN SHALOM HA-KOHEN (early 18th century), Tunisian rabbi. Both he and his father bore the title of caid. Tanuji studied under Abraham Tayyib. He was the author of *Benei Yosef*, which was published 70 years later

(Leghorn, 1793) at the expense of a member of his family, the caid Judah Tanuji.

It consists of a brief commentary on parts of the tractates *Bava Kamma, Bava Meẓia, Avodah Zarah*, and *Me'ilah*, together with notes on the *Mishneh Torah* of *Maimonides and on Elijah *Mizraḥi. The editor appended (p. 35a–b) some notes by Abraham Tayyib on Maimonides and by Ẓemaḥ Sarfati on *Sanhedrin*.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: D. Cazès, *Notes bibliographiques sur la littérature juive-tunisienne* (1893), 121–8.

TANZHAUS ("dance hall"; Heb. *bet ḥatunnot* or *bet nissu'im*, "wedding hall"), a communal institution mainly in Germany. It served as a place for wedding festivities. The sexes never mixed in dances, except for a modest ritual of dancing with a bride. During the 15th and 16th centuries, debates on mixed dancing took place in different communities and at times even contributed to a split between the community and its leaders. Dancing was a favorite entertainment, and although the *Tanzhaus* was designated only for weddings, many towns used it as a public dance hall and held celebrations there from time to time. Most Jewish quarters in Germany and France had a *bet ḥatunnot.* (See also *Dance.)

BIBLIOGRAPHY: I. Abrahams, *Jewish Life in the Middle Ages* (1920), 75, 380; H.H. Ben-Sasson, in: *Zion*, 27 (1962), 189–94.

[Natan Efrati]

TAPPUAH (Heb. תַּפֻּחַ, תַּפּוּחַ)

(1) a city of the tribe of Judah, located in the district of the northern Shephelah with Zanoah and Enam (Josh. 15:34). The Tappuah listed with the sons of Hebron (I Chron. 2:43) is perhaps identical with the Beth-Tappuah of Joshua 15:53. Its assumed identification with post-biblical Bethletepha (present-day Beit (Bayt) Nattīf) is doubtful.

(2) A city in Ephraim, the territory of which was in Manasseh. It was situated south of Shechem near the brook of Kanah (Josh. 16:8; 17:7, as En-Tappuah; 17:8). Although the king of Tappuah is listed among the kings defeated by Joshua (Josh. 12:17), and his territory fell to Manasseh, the stronger Ephraim was needed to capture the city itself. The suggested identification with the Tappuah fortified by Bacchides (I Macc. 9:50) is based on a misreading (see *Tekoa). The accepted identification is with Sheikh Abu Zarad near a spring called ʿAyn al-Tuffūḥ in the vicinity of the village of Yāsūf (the Yashub of LXX and perhaps of the Samaria Ostraca). Late Bronze and Iron Age pottery has been found on the site.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: F.M. Abel, in: RB, 45 (1936), 103ff.

[Michael Avi-Yonah]

TARAGAN, BEN-ZION (1870–1953), writer, teacher, and journalist in Ereẓ Israel and *Egypt. Born in Jerusalem, he received a traditional education at the Bet-Midrash Doresh Zion and yeshivot, learned printing, and began to work in the printing press of E. *Ben-Yehuda. When the latter was imprisoned, Taragan became manager of the press, and, after Ben-Yehuda was freed, helped him in preparing his dictionary. Taragan also contributed to Ben-Yehuda's periodical *Hashkafah*. In 1906 he left for *Alexandria, where he worked as secretary of the rabbinate and as a teacher of Hebrew in the first school to use the teaching method of Ivrit be-Ivrit (Hebrew in Hebrew) in Egypt. Taragan took an active part in Jewish communal life, especially among the youth of Alexandria. He also served as a reporter-correspondent for Hebrew periodicals in the Diaspora. Taragan published textbooks on teaching Hebrew. However, more important are his histories of the Alexandria community – *Les communautés israélites d'Alexandrie; aperçu historique depuis les temps des Ptolémées jusqu'à nos jours* (1932) and *Korot ha-Kehillah ha-Yehudit be-Alexandria, 1906–1946* (1947) – as an eyewitness record of contemporary trends and developments there.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: J.M. Landau, *Jews in Nineteenth-Century Egypt* (1969), 14–15.

[Haïm Z'ew Hirschberg]

TARANTO, city in Apulia, S. Italy. A series of tombstone inscriptions in Hebrew, Latin, and Greek from the third century until the 12th testify to the existence of a Jewish colony in Taranto. The chronicle of *Josippon (tenth century) states that Titus settled Jewish prisoners from Palestine in Taranto. During the Middle Ages Taranto became one of the most important Jewish centers of southern Italy, although the city suffered from Arab raids in 839 and 925, when Shabbetai *Donnolo was ransomed there. *Benjamin of Tudela, who passed through Taranto c. 1159, found approximately 300 Jewish families whose economic condition was good. During the anti-Jewish persecutions of 1290–94, 172 families of Taranto Jews converted to Christianity. In 1411 the people attacked the Jews, sacked their houses, and killed the town captain when he came to their rescue. In 1463 King Ferrante I approved the city's demands, among them a request that the Jews should live separately from the Christians, and that the New Christians be allowed to postpone the payment of their debts and not be persecuted by the Inquisition. In 1464 the king, responding to the city's demand, ordered that the Jews wear a distinctive sign, as they did in Lecce. But in 1465 the king approved the Jews' request to renew their privileges, promised to refrain from inquisitorial procedures, pardoned past transgressions, and forbade the painting of the images of saints in the Jewish quarter; the king also promised not to permit New Christians to exercise authority over Jews. In 1474 in response to the city's requests the king imposed restrictions on the Jews' usury. Several copyists operated in Taranto, among them the physician Samuel ben David Samuel Ibn Shoham il Medico, Burla of Corfu, Menahem ben Joseph Vivante, Isaac Cohen ben Nathan. The latter copied the *Be'ur Sitrei Torah* of Naḥmanides. Among the privileges granted the city council of Martina in 1495, King Frederick of Aragon forbade New Christians to press charges against those who robbed them (probably during the riots of 1494–1495 during the French invasion of the Kingdom of Naples) and prohibited their coming to live in that city. In 1510–11 Taranto's Jews and New Christians were expelled together with those of the entire kingdom of *Naples. A small number returned in 1520, but in 1540 they were expelled again.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Milano, Italia, index; Vacca, in: *Rinascenza Salentina*, 4 (1936), 221–9; Antonucci, *ibid.*, 3 (1935), 103–5; N. Ferorelli, *Ebrei nell'Italia meridionale*… (1915), passim; Adler, in: JQR, 14 (1901/02), 111–5; Frey, Corpus, nos. 620–31. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** D. Abulafia, "Il mezzogiorno peninsulare dai bizantini all'espulsione," in: *Storia d'Italia. Annali 11, Gli ebrei in Italia. Dall'alto Medioevo all'età dei ghetti, ed. Corrao Vivanti* (1996), 5–44; C. Sirat and M. Beit Arié, *Manuscrits médiévaux en caractères hébraiques portant des indications de date jusqu'à 1540* (1972–1986), 1; C. Colafemmina, "Copisti ebrei a Taranto in XV," in: *Cenacolo,* 19 (1995), 53–62; C. Colafemmina, *Gli ebrei a Taranto* (2005).

[Arial Toaff / Nadia Zeldes (2nd ed.)]

TARASCON, town in S. France, south of Avignon. The earliest evidence of Jews in Tarascon is a fragment of a Hebrew inscription dating from 1193, probably from a tombstone, encased in the St. Gabriel Tower. The oldest written document concerning the Jews of Tarascon dates from 1283, but the community essentially gained in importance with the influx of Jews expelled from the kingdom of France. The Jews enjoyed complete commercial freedom and were authorized to possess real estate and hold the public office of toll gatherer, broker, or seller at auctions. A relatively large number of Jewish physicians lived there; at least four at the beginning of the 14th century, and at least six at the beginning of the 15th century. The Jews made up almost 10% of the total population, with about 100 families at the close of the 14th century and possibly more than 150 families in 1487. The present-day Rue des Juifs commemorates the old Jewish quarter – the *carrière* or *Carrieyra dels Jusieus* or *Juzataria* – which from 1378 became the compulsory quarter for the Jews. The community owned a synagogue, a slaughterhouse, and a cemetery.

The charter (or *coutumes*) of Tarascon of 1345 which was ratified by Queen Jeanne already points to a deterioration in the condition of the Jews; although it prescribes that the Jews would only pay for the local taxes, it was, on the other hand, forbidden to them to sell meat slaughtered according to the Jewish law on the general market (compared here to the meat of animals which had died of disease, or to contaminated meat!) or to slaughter animals for Christians; lastly, they were not allowed to work on Sundays and on Christian festivals. When accused of having propagated the *Black Death (1348–49), the Jews of Tarascon were the victims of bloody persecutions. From 1382 they were no longer authorized to possess land and vineyards, and from the second half of the 15th century they were excluded from public office.

As a result of the vigorous protective measures taken by the municipal council, the Jews of Tarascon were spared the anti-Jewish persecutions which broke out in several towns of *Provence from 1484. However, after the example of other towns of Provence, the inhabitants of Tarascon accused the Jews in 1496 not only of being the enemies of the Christian faith but also of having committed usury and robbery. Charles VIII, king of France – who had acquired Provence a short while before – reacted with an expulsion order which came into force on July 15. Almost all the Jews of Tarascon took refuge in *Comtat Venaissin. Only a few converted so as to remain in Tarascon. Scholars of great renown had stayed in Tarascon for periods of various length, including Joseph b. Abba Mari *Kaspi (1297–1340), the philosopher, exegete, and author of *Sefer ha-Sod* and *Adnei Kesef.* During the 18th century Jews who had chosen to settle in Tarascon were expelled by the Parliament of Provence of December 11, 1775. By 1970 there was no Jewish community in Tarascon.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Gross, Gal Jud, 248–50; S. Kahn, in: REJ, 39 (1899), 95–112, 261–98; D. Siderski, *ibid.*, 99 (1935), 123–6; B. Blumenkranz, in: *Bulletin philologique et historique … congrès 90* (1965, pub. 1968), 622; A. Drouard, in: *Archives Juives*, 4 (1967/68), 15–18; Z. Szajkowski, *Franco-Judaica* (1962), no. 339.

[Bernhard Blumenkranz]

TARAZONA, city in Saragossa province, N.E. Spain. Its Jewish community was one of the most important in the kingdom of Aragon. The proximity of the town to the border of the kingdoms of Castile and Navarre offered its inhabitants extensive commercial opportunities, and the community had lengthy periods of prosperity and expansion. There were two Jewish quarters: an old and a new, each having a synagogue and located near one another; the new was really an extension of the old among houses of Christians. The old quarter was situated between the Conde and Rua Alta Streets up to the Iron Gate; a street there is still known as the "Street of the Jews." The new one began to form in 1371 between the Aires Street, the town square, and the Rebate Square (at present known as de la Merced). The Jewish cemetery was in its vicinity.

The Jewish settlement in Tarazona was an ancient one; in 1123 Alfonso I granted the bishop of Tarazona a tithe from the taxes of the Jews of his bishopric. However, it began to increase in importance in the 13th century, and members of the *Portella family were active there during that period; Don Musa de Portella acted as the bailiff of the town during the reign of James I until being appointed bailiff of the kingdom; after him, Ishmael de Portella acted as the executor of the infante Pedro, son of Alfonso III. Baer states that this family was capable of financing the taxes and budget of the whole community (see bibliography).

Pedro III took a special interest in the organization of the community and in 1285 ratified a communal regulation which established procedure for the payment of taxes on real estate and movable property, as well as stipulating persons exempted from such payments, the declaration of the assessed serving as the basis for taxation.

After the *disputation which he conducted in Pamplona with Cardinal Pedro de Luna (1375), R. Shem Tov b. Isaac Shaprut settled in Tarazona, where he probably wrote *Even Boḥan* during the early 1380s and served as physician. However, he became involved in a controversy, of which the details are unknown. A number of Jews in Tarazona engaged in moneylending and provided loans for the municipal council and to the inhabitants of nearby towns in Navarre and Castile.

After the Persecutions of 1391

The community of Tarazona was unaffected by the persecutions of the Jews in Spain in 1391, through the energetic protection given by the crown. The wave of conversions among the Jews in Spain in this period also affected this community, and after the disputation of *Tortosa (1413–14) many of its members abandoned the Jewish faith, including some of the most prominent local Jews. There were other members of these families, however, who remained loyal to Judaism and continued to take important roles in the community administration.

The community had apparently regained its strength by the 1430s. Jews built houses there, the building contractors being apostate Jews and Moors. To assist the community further, in 1457 Alfonso V granted its request for alleviations and exempted it from payment of taxes and other levies. Alfonso's favorable attitude was guided by his desire to rehabilitate the communities in the kingdom as a whole (as in Saragossa, Jaca, Teruel, etc.). John II also adopted this policy with regard to the Jews of Tarazona. However, like the rest of the Jews in the kingdom, Tarazona Jewry suffered from the internal policy of Ferdinand V. In 1484 Ferdinand ordered the Jews of the town to testify before the *Inquisition if they knew of any *Conversos who observed the Jewish precepts. In 1491 several members of the Santa Fé (Asniel) family were burned at the stake; others were sentenced in 1497 and 1499.

When the Jews were expelled from Spain in 1492, those of Tarazona probably left for nearby Navarre. The collection of their outstanding debts was entrusted to Luis de Alkalá and Fernando Núñez Coronel (Abraham *Seneor).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Baer, Spain, index; Baer, Urkunden, 1 (1929), index; J.M. Sanz Artibucilla, *Historia de la Ciudad de Tarazona*, 2 vols. (1929–30); idem, in: *Sefarad*, 4 (1944), 73–98; 5 (1945), 337–66; 6 (1946), 374–6; 7 (1947), 63–92; 9 (1949), 393–419; F. Cantera, *ibid.*, 3 (1943), 240 f.; L. Piles Ros, *ibid.*, 10 (1950), 107 ff.; F. Cantera, *Sinagogas españolas* (1955), 311–3; Suárez Fernández, Documentos, 30, 486.

[Haim Beinart]

TARBIZ, Hebrew quarterly for Judaic studies; published since 1930 by the Hebrew University, Jerusalem. *Tarbiz'* founder and first editor was J.N. *Epstein (1930–52), who was assisted by E.Z. *Melamed, under whom articles in the general humanities were also accepted. Epstein's successor was Ḥ. *Schirmann (1954–69), who edited the quarterly with the assistance of E.J. Goleh (Fleischer), J. Heinemann, and I. Yeivin. From 1970 the editorship was taken over by E.E. *Urbach, assisted by Goleh. Subsequent editors were J. Dan, M. Haran, and M.D. Herr (1982–86); M. Idel, D. Rosenthal, and J. Yahalom (1987–91); W.Z. Harvey, Y. Kaplan, and I.M. Ta-Shma (1992–96); M. Ben-Sasson, M. Kahana, and C. Turniansky (1997–2001).

Several larger monographs appeared as supplementary volumes to *Tarbiz*, e.g., S. Assaf, *Sefer ha-Shetarot le-Rav Hai Ga'on* (1930); J.N. Epstein, *Perush R. Yehudah b. Nathan li-Ketubbot* (1933); and S. Lieberman, *Talmudah shel Kisrin* (1931).

[Baruch Yaron]

TARBUT (Heb. "culture"), Hebrew educational and cultural organization maintaining schools in most Eastern European countries between the two world wars. Especially active in Poland, it maintained there 183 elementary and nine secondary schools, 72 kindergartens, four teachers' seminaries, an agricultural school, and four evening schools (1934–35), and published periodicals, curricula, and textbooks. Instruction was given in Hebrew, and biblical and modern Hebrew literature, and the education was Zionist oriented, promoting pioneer settlement in Ereẓ Israel. Tarbut started activities in Russia, particularly after the February 1917 Revolution, but was soon proscribed, with all Hebrew activity, by the Soviet authorities.

TARES (Heb. זוּנִים, *zunim*), the darnel – *Lolium temulentum*, weed which grows among grain, particularly wheat. The grains resemble those of wheat so that it is very difficult to separate them by sifting, and as a result they are sown together with the wheat and grow with it in the field. Darnel flour is poisonous and gives a bitter taste to bread in which it has been mixed. The tares do no harm to birds, especially to doves (TJ, Kil. 1:1, 26d). Nobody would consciously sow tares in his field. Hence the parable in the New Testament about the peasant "who sowed good seed in his fields… and his enemy came and sowed tares in the midst of the wheat" (Matt. 13:24–30). According to the *halakhah* wheat and tares do not constitute **kilayim* with one another (Kil. 1:1). The Jerusalem Talmud (*ibid.*) quotes a view that tares are called *zunim* because as a result of them the wheat *mezannot* ("commit[s] adultery"), i.e., it changes its characteristics and is turned into tares. This view had already been propounded by Galen (*De Alimentis*, 1:27), but Basilius argued with him: "Tares and other wild weeds are not formed by cultivated species changing into wild species" (*Hexameron* 5:5a). It has been demonstrated that by a thorough separation of the darnel seeds from the wheat seeds tares do not grow.

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[Jehuda Feliks]

TARFON, *tanna* in the generation after the destruction of the Temple in 70 C.E.; one of the leading scholars of *Jabneh. Tarfon was a priest. The Temple was still standing in his youth, and he recounts what he saw there (TJ, Yoma 1:1; 3:7; et al.). He may have studied under *Johanan b. Zakkai, but in any case it is certain that he already occupied an honored place among the scholars of the second generation of *tannaim* (Yad. 4:3), and his greatness is expressed in the designations given him: "the father of all Israel" and "the teacher of all Israel." On several occasions he appears as chief spokesman among the contemporary scholars (Yoma 76a; et al.). His place of residence was *Lydda, where he taught and judged monetary cases (BM 4:3; Ta'an. 3:9; et al.). Tarfon's main disputant was *Akiva and many halakhic discussions between them are recorded. He is also mentioned among the scholars who were with Akiva in Bene-Berak on the night of Passover "and spoke about the Exodus from Egypt the whole of that night" (according to the Passover *Haggadah*, cf. Tosef. Pes. 10:12). Akiva esteemed Tarfon as "a publicly recognized expert" (Sanh. 33a), and was most particular about his dignity, calling him *ha-zaken* ("the elder"; Sif. Num. 148; Men. 68b). This esteem was mutual, and Tarfon addressed Akiva as "my teacher and master" (Kal.) and said to him: "anyone who is separated from you is as if he is separated from life" (Sifra, Nedavah 4:5; et al.). On the other hand there is a difference of opinion in the Talmud (Ket. 84b) as to whether Tarfon was the teacher or the colleague of Akiva. Among Tarfon's pupils were Judah b. Ilai who transmitted dicta in his name, Yose ha-Gelili, Eleazar of Modi'in, and Ishmael; Simeon b. Yoḥai quoted his sayings (TJ, Meg. 1:6).

Much is told of Tarfon's humane character. Possessed of considerable means (Ned. 62a), he betrothed 300 women during a year of drought in order that they should be able, as the wives of a priest, to eat **terumah* (Tosef., Ket. 5:1). It is also related that on one occasion, when he went to eat figs on his own property, the watchmen, failing to recognize him, struck him. When they discovered his identity and asked forgiveness he replied: "As each stick came down on me I pardoned you for each successive blow" (TJ, Shev. 4:2). On one occasion he saved himself from assault by revealing his identity, and as a result was distressed all his life and used to say, "Woe is me that I made use of the crown of the Torah." He distinguished himself in the exemplary manner in which he honored his mother (TJ, Kid. 1:7, see also Kid. 31b) and his care to avoid transgression (Kid. 81b). In several matters he acted strictly in accordance with Bet Shammai, for which he was punished (Ber. 1:3; et al.). Tarfon was distinguished by his great erudition: "When a scholar came to him and said, 'Teach me' he would cite Scripture, Mishnah, Midrash, *halakhot* and *aggadot*; when he left he was full of blessing and goodness" (ARN^1, 18, 67). He was methodical in his learning and once remarked to Akiva: "How long will you rake words together and use them against us, Akiva? I cannot bear it" (Sif. Num. 75; cf. his statement to Eleazar of Modi'in, Yoma 76a), but when he was convinced, he praised him greatly (*ibid.*). In his teaching he used the method of instructive dialogue; he put a question to his pupils who replied, "teach us, Sir," and Tarfon retorted: "You answer." Occasionally he began with "I shall ask" (Tosef., Ber. 4:16–17). A number of phrases were coined by Tarfon. When he wished to express his approval of a statement, he would exclaim, "*kaftor va-feraḥ*" ("knob and flower"; cf. Ex. 25:33); for disapproval, "my son shall not go down with thee" (Gen. 42:38); to express distress, "your ass has gone, Tarfon"; for an oath he would say, "May I ruin my son." His best known aggadic saying is: "The day is short, and the work is great, and the laborers are sluggish, and the reward is much, and the Master is urgent. It is not your duty to complete the work, but neither are you free to desist from it" (Avot 2:15). He also stated: "God did not cause His divine presence to rest upon Israel until they had worked" (ARN^1 11, 45). On the question of whether study or observance is greater, he decided in favor of the latter (Kid. 40b).

There is no information about his death, but according to one *aggadah* (Lam. R. 2:4), he was one of the *ten martyrs. The Tarfon to whom *Judah Nesiah brought the firstborn of an ass (Bek. 11a) was not the *tanna* but a later *amora* of that name, nor is he to be identified with the Jew Tryphon who appears in the dialogue of the Church Father *Justin. For Tarfon's descendants, see *Bava Meẓia* 85a (with caution).

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[Zvi Kaplan]

TARGUM. In its verb form the Hebrew root *tirgem* means both "to explain" and "to translate." The nominal form means "translation." Although technically it can apply to translation into and from any language, the word is employed in rabbinical literature almost exclusively for Aramaic biblical text, both the Aramaic translation of the Bible's Hebrew (cf. Meg. 3a) and the originally Aramaic portions, including individual words (e.g., Gen 31.47; cf. Shab. 115a; Yad. 4:5). The Targum, i.e., the Aramaic translation par excellence, is the Targum *Onkelos, which was regarded as so authoritative that worshipers were enjoined to read the weekly portion privately "twice in the original and once in the Targum" (Ber. 8a), a custom which is still maintained in orthodox circles. To such an extent was "targum" regarded as synonymous with Aramaic that the Kurdistani Jews, who speak Aramaic, refer to their language as "Targum."

For the language, see *Aramaic; for the Aramaic Bible translations, see *Bible, Translations.

TARGUM SHENI (Heb. תַּרְגּוּם שֵׁנִי; lit. "Second Translation"), a collection of homilies in Aramaic on the Book of Esther (*Scroll of Esther). It is so extensive that despite its name it can hardly be regarded as a translation. Only about 75 of the verses have been translated literally, the remainder being an extensive midrashic paraphrase. The author makes free use of the *aggadot*, adapting them and embellishing them with his own additions. Hai Gaon writes: "Here in Babylon there are several Targums of Esther which differ from one another. One has many additions and Midrashim, and the other none" (L. Ginzberg (ed.), *Ginzei Schechter* (1929), 86). The former refers to the *Targum Sheni*, while the latter to the *Targum Rishon*. Rashi (to Deut. 3:4) and the *Arukh* of Asher b. Jehiel both quote it.

Outstanding among the stories interwoven into the *Targum Sheni* is the variegated description of Solomon's throne (1:2). Mention is made, in incorrect chronological order, of

Nebuchadnezzar, Alexander, Shishak, and Antiochus, all of whom wanted to sit upon this splendid throne but did not succeed and were punished. In the end Cyrus, king of Persia, "as a reward for occupying himself with the Temple succeeded in occupying it." This description is intended to call to mind the glorious past of the people of Israel, and there is substance for the view that its purpose was to provide a story for home reading on Purim, with the aim of strengthening Jewish national pride (G. Salzberger, *Salomos Tempelbau und Thron* (1912), 70f.). Some of these motifs are also found in the Koran (27:20–40), and it has been suggested that the author also made use of Arabic sources.

Summary

The following passages may be mentioned as examples of the homilies. Ahasuerus was one of ten kings who reigned or who were to reign over the world (cf. PdRE 11). There were four kings who reigned over the whole world: Solomon and Ahab of Israel, and Nebuchadnezzar and Ahasuerus among the gentiles (1:1). There are eulogies of Solomon: all kings feared him, and every type of demon was in his power. Solomon's throne is described: in front of it stood 12 golden lions and 12 golden eagles, and it had six steps of gold. On the first step crouched a golden ox together with a golden lion, on the second a golden wolf together with a golden sheep, and so on with each step. Above the throne stood a golden candelabrum, from one side of which protruded seven arms upon which were depicted the seven patriarchs – Adam, Noah, Shem, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, and Job – and the other side depicted seven pious men – Kehat, Amram, Moses, Aaron, Eldad, Medad, and Hur (1:2). The *Targum Sheni* contains the most detailed description of the Queen of Sheba found in aggadic literature (cf. W. Herz, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, pp. 413–55), and also has *aggadot* on the destruction of the Temple.

Ahasuerus demanded that Vashti appear naked wearing only her crown. Vashti refused to comply as she was a king's daughter and moreover her consent would endanger his life because the other kings would kill him (1:11–12). Ahasuerus regretted killing Vashti and ordered those who had counseled it to be executed (2:1). The genealogy of Mordecai is given (2:5). Mordecai concealed Esther from the king's officials, and when this became known to the king, he issued an order that whoever hid Esther was to be put to death (2:8). The reason the virgins were assembled a second time was that the ministers advised the king that if he wanted to know Esther's birthplace he must make her jealous through other women (2:19). Haman's descent is from Eliphaz, the firstborn of Esau (3:1). The accusations made by Haman against the Jews are quoted at great length (3:8). They include interesting details of the manner in which the Jews celebrate the Sabbath and festivals: e.g., on Shavuot, Jews ascend to the roofs of their synagogues and throw down apples, and when these are picked up, they say: "Just as these are gathered so may our children be gathered from among the gentiles"; on Sukkot they "go into gardens and orchards … ruthlessly tear the branches, rejoice, make a circuit crying 'Save, O Lord' [*hoshanah*] and dance like goats." The work says that on the Sabbath and festivals the Jews read their books and translated their prophets, which proves that at the time the *Targum Sheni* was compiled it was customary to read the Targum of the prophets.

In 4:1 Ahasuerus tells the people that Haman offered him 600,000 shekels for the sixty myriads who left Egypt, and that he accepted this in agreement to slay the Jews. In 4:13 Mordecai's call to Esther to entreat God's mercy gives a large number of examples from Jewish history that God is stronger than Israel's oppressors. In 5:1 Esther's prayer is given, and in 5:14 it is told how Zeresh proposed that Mordecai should be hanged, because Abraham was saved from fire, Isaac from the sword, Moses and the Israelites from water, and Daniel from the lions. In 6:1 the cry of the Israelites reached Heaven, and even the angels were alarmed, saying that the end of the world had come. The attribute of mercy intervened with God on Israel's behalf, whereupon God yielded and immediately sent the angels appointed over confusion and panic to alarm Ahasuerus in a dream. In 6:9 it is related that when the king heard Haman's proposal of what should be done to the man faithful to the king, the suspicion arose in his mind that Haman wanted to take his life. In 6:11 there is a long dialogue between Haman and Mordecai. Haman admits to Mordecai that "your sackcloth and ashes have been more powerful than the 10,000 talents of silver I promised to bring to the king's treasury." When Mordecai mounted the horse, 12,000 chosen youths, each holding a cup and goblet of gold in their hands, called by order of the king: "Thus shall be done to the man…." In 6:13 Haman is told by the wise men and by Zeresh that Mordecai is a descendant of Hananiah, Mishael, and Azariah, and that just as their calumniators were destroyed, so would Haman be. In 7:10 the trees meet in council, and all refuse to have Haman hanging from them, but finally the cedar agrees.

The author of the *Targum Sheni* knew the Targum of Onkelos, the Targum of Jonathan to the prophets, and the *aggadot* of the Talmud and the Midrash, which he quotes. *Targum Sheni* has a number of points in common with the *Midrash Panim Aḥerim*, version 2 (Buber's ed. 1886), and with the *Midrash Abba Guryon* (*ibid.*). The author of the *Targum Sheni* was fond of long speeches and also integrated into the Targum extensive prayers with biblical verses and with examples from the past. A poetic tone is also noticeable in his words (cf. 3:2; 4:1, 17; 5:1; 6:11; 7:9; 8:18), and the work's poetic character is also testified to by the alphabetic acrostic (1:2; 5:1, 7, 10). The language of the Targum is close to Western Aramaic, and contains many Greek words. D. Heller distinguished in it several narrative motifs (see MGWJ, 70 (1926), 485).

Date

The date of the work cannot be determined exactly. The view of S. Gelbhaus (see bibl.) that it belongs to the amoraic period, in the fourth century, is disproved by the fact that it contains later material. P. Cassel (see bibl.) dates it in the sixth century and explains its mention of Edom to be the rule of Justinian

(527–565). However, this view of Edom can also apply to other periods. A basis for dating was also found among the accusations made by Haman: "They come to the synagogue … and curse our king and our ministers." This statement is regarded as an allusion to the suspicion that Jews combine a curse with the prayer said in the synagogue for the welfare of the kingdom. Since this prayer is thought to have been composed in the eighth century it is conjectured that the *Targum Sheni* postdates that century. L. Munk (see bibl.) puts its date still later, in the 11th century, but he gives no proof. It seems that the most acceptable view is that which places its composition at the end of the seventh or the beginning of the eighth century, a view that is strengthened by its relationship to the *Pirkei de-R. Eliezer*. Regarding its relationship to the *Targum Rishon*, there are features common to both Targums, but there are also many differences, and there are many *aggadot* in the *Targum Rishon* not included in the *Targum Sheni*. The view of P. Churgin (see bibl.) may be accepted that they are two independent compositions.

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[Yehuda Komlosh]

TARGU-MURES (Rum. **Tîrgu-Mureş**; Ger. **Neumarkt**; Hung. **Marosvásárhely**), town in Transylvania, central Romania; until the end of World War I and between 1940 and 1945 within Hungary. As Jewish residence in Targu-Mures was prohibited from 1650, Jews at first established themselves in the neighboring villages of Náznánfalva (Nasna) and Marosszentkirály. Beginning in the 16th century, and more so in the 17th, Jews from the Ottoman Empire (Sephardim) arrived in large numbers. In 1836 Jews began to settle in the town itself, most of them coming from these villages. There were 23 Jews living in Targu-Mures in 1837, and 36 in 1841. During the period of the 1848–49 revolution, their number increased to 169. An organized community was founded in 1851. After the legal emancipation of the Austro-Hungarian Jews the majority of Targu-Mures Jews used Hungarian as their everyday means of communication, making a marked contribution to Hungarian culture. Between 1869 and 1879 there was a *Neologist community. An *Orthodox community was established in 1871. The original community decided to remain *status quo ante. The Great Synagogue, later taken over by the Orthodox congregation, was erected in 1873. Another large and magnificent synagogue was opened in 1899. A school maintained by the community was open between 1880 and 1940. There was also a yeshivah maintained by the Orthodox community. The Jewish population numbered 802 (6.1% of the total) in 1869; 1,036 (7.1%) in 1890; 2,755 (10.8%) in 1910; 3,246 (10.7%) in 1920; and 5,193 (13.6%) in 1930. One of most important characteristics of the Jews in Targu-Mures was their openness toward cultural innovation.

A Jewish club was organized in the town between the two world wars where a variety of cultural activities took place. Zionist organizations were active, and the national headquarters of the Zionist youth movement Avivah-Barisia was situated for a while in Targu-Mures.

Holocaust and Contemporary Periods

During World War II the Jewish population, which numbered 5,963 (12.7%) in 1941, increased when a number of Jews from the surrounding area, including a small number of proselytes from nearby villages, were concentrated in a ghetto there. Around 1,200 Jewish men were drafted into labor battalions, over half dying. The remaining Jews were ghettoized. Starting in late May 1944, 7,000 of them were deported to Auschwitz; 1,200 survived. Among those murdered in Auschwitz were the two rabbis of the town, the Orthodox rabbi Menahem Emanuel Sofer, who had held office from 1918, and Dr. Ferenc Loewy (b. 1869) who had held office from 1903, and who wrote a number of studies on the history of the Jews of Transylvania.

After the war, in 1947, 820 survivors of the camps or former inhabitants of the surrounding region gathered in the town. Their number gradually declined as a result of emigration to Israel and other countries. In 1971 about 200 Jews remained in Targu-Mures. There was still limited community life but no rabbi. In the beginning of the 21st century the remnants of the Targu-Mures Jewish community inaugurated a splendid monument consecrated to the memory of those who disappeared in the Holocaust.

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[Yehouda Marton / Paul Schveiger (2nd ed.)]

TARIF, AMIN (c. 1898–1993), Druze leader. Tarif was the spiritual leader of the Druze community in Israel and the president of its High Court. He was born in Julis, a Druze village in the Galilee, and became a sheikh in 1928 after his father's death. He became head of the Druze community after the *War of Independence, head of the Druze religious council in 1957, and head of the Druze court of appeals in 1963. He was an outstanding spiritual leader and a fine personal example for his community and Israeli society at large. He was awarded the Israel Prize in 1990 for his special contribution to national and social life.

[Fern Lee Seckbach]

TARN, NATHANIEL (1928–), English poet and anthropologist. Tarn was born in Paris and in 1960 became a lecturer in anthropology at London University, specializing in the culture and ethnology of Latin America and the Pacific islands. In his early poetry, primitive peoples and rituals play an important part, often being identified by means of biblical symbolism or by its evocation of Eden as a contrast to the savagery of modern life. His first volume of verse, *Old Savage/Young City,* appeared in 1964. In 1967 he became an editor at the London publishing house of Jonathan Cape.

Tarn's poetry which displays a certain metaphysical quality is deeply influenced by *Ḥasidism and the *Kabbalah. This is apparent in poems on R. Abraham *Abulafia, R. *Simeon Bar Yoḥai, and *Israel b. Eliezer the Ba'al Shem Tov. Tarn sees in Jewish mysticism a means of defining and, perhaps, assuaging the existential crisis of modern man. In "Where Babylon Ends" he visualizes the 20th-century situation in terms of a confrontation between Babylon and Jerusalem, and in "Noah on Ararat Again" he finds in the Bible story an image of survival after flood and holocaust which is pointedly relevant to mid-20th-century experience. His *Selected Poems: 1950–2000* was published in 2002 and another book of poetry, *Recollections of Being,* in 2004. In later years Tarn lived in Santa Fe, New Mexico.

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[Harold Harel Fisch]

TARNOBRZEG (**Dikow**), town in Rzeszow province, S.E. Poland. The city is referred to as Dzikow in the 1765 census. At that time 569 Jews paid the poll tax in the city and the surrounding villages. In 1655 all the Jews of Tarnobrzeg were massacred. A special prayer was recited annually in the synagogue at *Sandomierz on the anniversary of their death. There were 2,768 Jews (80% of the total population) in 1880; 2,840 (80.7%) in 1890; 2,537 (78%) in 1900; 2,642 (96.3%) in 1910; and 2,146 (67.7%) in 1921. In the latter half of the 19th century, Ḥasidism had considerable influence in the community. Outstanding in the spiritual leadership of the community at that time was R. Meir Horowitz, author of *Imrei No'am*. The *Baron de Hirsch Fund established a school in Tarnobrzeg before World War I.

[Nathan Michael Gelber]

Holocaust Period

At the outbreak of World War II there were about 3,800 Jews in Tarnobrzeg. The Germans occupied the town on Sept. 17, 1939, and immediately instigated pogroms. In October 1939 the Germans concentrated the Jewish population in the town market. They robbed the Jews of all their possessions and expelled them to the newly established German-Soviet border. Many were killed on the way but some succeeded in crossing into Soviet-occupied territory. In August 1941 part of the Jewish population returned to Tarnobrzeg. The final liquidation of the Jewish community took place in July 1942. After the war the Jewish community of Tarnobrzeg was not reconstituted.

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TARNOGROD (Rus. **Tarnograd**), village near Bilgoraj, Lublin province, E. Poland. Tarnogrod was founded in 1567. In 1569 King Sigismund II Augustus granted the village a charter which banned Jews. In 1580 King Stephen Báthory allowed Jews to settle in the village, buy houses, and run businesses, especially in the liquor and beer trade, justifying this permission as essential to the development of the locality. In 1648 the Cossacks massacred all Jews in Tarnogrod. The community was later renewed, and by the end of the 17th century there were Jewish merchants from Tarnogrod who traveled to fairs at *Leipzig. In 1686 an attractive stone synagogue was erected which still stands. In the 17th and early 18th centuries representatives of Tarnogrod held important positions in the *Councils of the Lands. They included Solomon, Abraham b. Isaac, and R. Azriel b. Moses ha-Levi Ashkenazi, author of *Naḥalat Azri'el* (Frankfurt, 1691). Azriel's successor in the rabbinate of Tarnogrod, R. Nathan Nata b. Jacob of Lublin, participated in council meetings from 1718 to 1733. In the 1750s Aryeh Leib b. Samuel served as rabbi of Tarnogrod. The 1765 census records 1,606 poll-tax paying Jews in Tarnogrod and neighboring villages.

The village passed to Austrian rule in 1772, and in 1815 it was included in Congress Poland. The Russian government limited Jewish settlement in Tarnogrod between 1823 and 1862. In the early 19th century Moses Joshua Heshel b. Mordecai Orenstein, author of *Yad ha-Talmud* (Lvov, 1827/28), was rabbi of the community. Some 1,260 Jews lived in Tarnogrod in 1827 (32% of the total population); in 1857 there were 1,673 Jews (41%); in 1897 there were 1,635 (32%); and in 1921 there were 2,238 (47%). All the Jewish parties were active in Tarnogrod between the two world wars.

[Nathan Michael Gelber]

Holocaust Period

On the outbreak of World War II there were about 2,500 Jews in Tarnogrod. The Jewish community was liquidated on Nov. 2, 1942, when 3,000 Jews from Tarnogrod and its vicinity were deported to the *Belzec death camp. After the war the Jewish community was not reconstituted.

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TARNOPOL (Rus. **Ternopol**), city in Ukraine, formerly in the province of Lvov, Poland. Jews began to settle in the city shortly after its foundation in 1540. They were granted special privileges by the lord of the city, the hetman Jan Tarnowski, as Jewish residents of his personal domain. The charter granted to Tarnopol in 1550 indicates that Jews were permitted to live in all parts of the city, apart from the marketplace. An organized community had already formed before 1648–49. Jews took an active part in the defense of the city during the many attacks to which it was subjected in the mid-17th century. The royal grant authorizing the erection of a fortified synagogue – already constructed by this time – stipulated that the community was to install artillery loopholes on all sides and to acquire cannon. The members of the community, among whom artisans were singled out, were required to defend the synagogue under the direction of a "Jewish hetman." During the attacks by *Chmielnicki, however, most of the Jews fled, and those who remained were massacred.

Privileges renewed in 1740 allowed the Jews of Tarnopol to live in, and conduct trade in, any part of the city. Jews were permitted to purvey alcoholic liquor and to keep taverns on payment of a liquor duty to the manorial lord. Jewish artisans could engage in crafts, provided that they observed the rules of the Christian guilds and paid a specified sum into the guild funds. The charter also regulated Jewish judicial jurisdiction. The Tarnopol community built up a flourishing economy, controlling the grain and cattle trade, with Jewish business predominating in the city fairs. It also played an important role in Jewish *autonomy in 18th-century Poland-Lithuania (see *Councils of Lands).

Noted rabbis of Tarnopol of this period included Joshua Heshel Babad, who was deposed from the rabbinate in 1718 and returned to office in 1724. He was followed by Jacob b. Isaac Landau, in office until 1777, and Joshua Heshel b. Isaac *Babad between 1809 and 1838.

The position of the Jewish community deteriorated after Tarnopol passed to Austria in 1772. The authority of the manorial lord diminished, and was eventually terminated. Taxation became increasingly burdensome. The census for 1788 registered 6,380 Jewish males and 6,374 females for the district of Tarnopol, including eight subsidiary communities. The Jews were mainly occupied as taverners and retailers, with a considerable number of artisans.

In 1788 Naphtali Herz *Homberg founded the first modern Jewish school in Tarnopol, in which Hirsh Eisenstaedter taught, but it was closed down with similar institutions in 1806. At this time Joseph *Perl began his efforts to establish a Jewish school along his own lines with emphasis on instruction in German and secular subjects, with the assistance of the *maskil* Dov Ginzburg, and others. Perl only succeeded in 1813, when Tarnopol was under Russian rule (1809–15), and then mainly by financing it himself, and donating the building. From 1814 to 1816 Perl also published a Hebrew periodical, *Ẓir Ne'eman* (1814–16), in Tarnopol. Perl transferred the school and its prayer house to the community in 1818. It received official recognition as a public school, and its syllabus was revised to conform to that of the general school system. The school met violent opposition from Orthodox circles. It was banned along with the school at *Brody in 1816 by the rabbi of Lvov, Jacob *Ornstein. The *Ḥasidim also opposed it.

About 1813 a Hebrew printing press was set up in Tarnopol by Naḥman Pineles and Jacob Auerbach, the type as well as some of the personnel coming from *Zbarazh. In all, some 25 works were printed in Tarnopol. This printing venture came to an end about 1817, due apparently to the boycott by the Orthodox of a press supporting Haskalah.

In 1838 a bitter conflict flared up in the community between the *maskilim* and the Orthodox members over the choice of a rabbi. The candidate put forward by the *maskilim*, S.J. *Rapoport, was nominated with the support of the authorities. However, Perl died in 1839, and Rapoport relinquished the office a year later. The circle of *maskilim* who had gathered around Perl found increasing adherents, and gained a new intellectual leader in Nachman *Krochmal, who moved to Tarnopol in 1838. Other *maskilim* were Samuel Leib Goldberg (1807–46), Bezalel *Stern, Isaac Michael Munis, Moses Ḥayyim Katz, Nathan Horowitz (Krochmal's son-in-law), and many more.

In 1843–44 a change in Jewish civic status accorded Tarnopol Jewry electoral and elective rights in the municipality. In the elections to the Austrian parliament following the revolution of 1848 Tarnopol Jews elected one of their number as a delegate. The community was headed by Jacob Atlas, a doctor, from 1846 to 1849, and until 1858 the community was led by the *maskilim*, to be subsequently replaced by the Orthodox. The school founded by Joseph Perl was extended after 1848, and a girls' school was added.

From the 1860s, the *maskilim* in Tarnopol, as in the whole of Galicia, showed a growing tendency to assimilate into Polish national life and culture. Simon Dankowicz, a major advocate of *assimilation who had taken part in the Polish uprising of 1863, was nominated in 1890 as preacher in the synagogue founded by Perl. During the 1860s a number of welfare and philanthropic institutions, hospitals, and orphanages were founded in Tarnopol. The rabbi in this period was Joseph *Babad. In 1894 a Zionist society was formed.

The Jewish population of Tarnopol numbered 1,161 in 1765. In the district of Tarnopol it numbered 11,997 in 1827 (out of 197,296); all but one of the 76 commercial establishments were Jewish-owned; 205 Jews were occupied as taverners, and 364 as shopkeepers, while a considerable number were artisans. There were 11,000 Jews living in Tarnopol (52% of the total population) in 1869; 13,842 (50.5%) in 1890; 13,490 (44.2%) in 1900; 14,000 in 1910 – the last official census conducted by the Austrian government – 16,320 in 1921, and 14,000 in 1931.

Tarnopol Jews suffered severely during World War I, as the city changed hands seven times in the fighting. With the dissolution of the Hapsburg monarchy, a Ukrainian government was organized in Tarnopol, and in December 1918 a Jewish militia of 800 men was formed. In the elections to the Jewish National Council in Western Ukraine, held in March 1919, the Zionists won a clear majority. The council was active until Tarnopol was taken by the Poles, who encouraged the Polish assimilationists within the community and turned over the leadership to them. Between 1922 and 1932 the community was led by representatives of the national lists. Pressure was exerted by the regime in Poland, and commissars were nominated in the leadership.

[Nathan Michael Gelber]

Holocaust and Postwar Periods

According to an unofficial source, *Bleter far Geshikhte*, there were 18,000 Jews in Tarnopol in 1939. As in other communities under Soviet occupation (1939–41), the Jewish community organization was dissolved, political parties were prohibited, Hebrew education was discontinued, and the Yiddish schools were nationalized. After the outbreak of the German-Soviet war (June 1941), a few days after Tarnopol was occupied by the German army, 5,000 Jews were massacred (July 4–11). The Germans fined the Jewish community 1,500,000 rubles. Sixty-three Jews belonging to the intelligentsia were invited to the *Gestapo on the pretext of receiving public appointments, but were all murdered in the Gestapo office. The ghetto established in Tarnopol in September 1941 was the first to be set up in Galicia. Over 12,500 people were crowded into a small area, and for a while it seemed that Jewish life, though extremely difficult, would continue. Attempts were made to renew the Jewish school system, and several orphanages and old age homes were established in the ghetto. The *Judenrat was headed by Gustav Fischer, who was succeeded by Karol Pohoryles. At the same time the ghetto inmates were gradually murdered; on March 25, 1942, 1,000 Jews were shot in the nearby forest. Thousands of Jews were seized in the streets or taken from their homes for forced labor at labor camps in the Tarnopol district. On August 29–31, 1942, over 4,000 Jews from Tarnopol were sent to the *Belzec death camp. On Sept. 30, 1942, a further 1,000 Jews were sent there. During the following winter the remaining able-bodied Jews were separated and put into a labor camp near the ghetto. The final liquidation of the ghetto took place on June 20, 1943, followed by that of the nearby work camp (Aug. 6, 1943). Small numbers of Jews fought from bunkers or joined the partisan fighters in the district.

When the Soviet forces recaptured Tarnopol, about 150 Jews came out from hiding and 200 returned from the Soviet Union, where some of them had served in the Soviet army. A memorial book to Tarnopol Jewry was published as volume 3 of the *Enẓiklopedyah shel Galuyyot* (1955; Heb; partly Yid; Eng. summary). Tarnopol societies were established by former Jewish residents in Israel and the United States.

A monument erected to the memory of the Jewish martyrs in the Holocaust was completely destroyed in the 1950s. In the late 1960s there were about 500 Jews in Tarnopol. The old Jewish cemetery served as a building site and the later cemetery housed nine garages.

One of the main administrative centers in western Ukraine, by 2005 Tarnopol had a Jewish community center, a Jewish Sunday club, and a women's club.

[AharonWeiss]

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TARNOPOL, JOACHIM ḤAYYIM (1810–1900), *maskil* in *Odessa, author, communal worker, and wealthy merchant. At the beginning of the reign of Alexander II, he began his endeavors for the emancipation of the Jews and their reconciliation with the Russian people. In 1855 he published his pamphlet *Notices historiques et caracteristiques sur les Israélites d'Odessa*. In 1856, together with his friend Y. *Rabinowitz, he approached the Russian authorities and requested permission to publish a Jewish periodical in Russian which would propagate the ideologies of the Haskalah and reconciliation with the Russian people. In May 1860, Tarnopol, together with Rabinowitz, edited the first Russian-Jewish newspaper, **Razsvet* ("The Dawn"). A dispute, however, immediately broke out between them as to whether a Jewish newspaper in the country's language should publicly condemn the internal deficiencies of the Jewish people and thus arm the hands of its enemies outside the community and estrange the youth that had received a foreign education. Tarnopol, who was against criticizing Jewish internal affairs before outsiders, resigned from the editorship of the newspaper (from the 20th issue). He published his reasons for this step in a letter to the editorial board of **Ha-Maggid* (nos. 45–46, 1860). In 1868 his book on "an attempt at cautious reform within Judaism, meditations on the internal and external way of life of Russian Jews" was published in Odessa in Russian. It was a summary of his outlook on the road to be followed by Russian Jewry.

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[Yehuda Slutsky]

TARNOPOLSKY, SAMUEL (1908–), Argentinean physician, historian, and novelist. Born in the town of Bernasconi, province of La Pampa, to Russian immigrants, Tarnopolsky studied medicine in Buenos Aires, becoming a professor of rheumatology and founder of the Argentine Society for the Study of Rheumatology. He was listed by the World Health Organization as one of the world's best rheumatologists. The author of numerous medical textbooks, including *Reumatismo y Enfermedades Relacionadas* ("Rheumatism and Related Diseases," 1950), Tarnopolsky expanded the conventional borders of his discipline by writing several books on the indigenous medicines (and medicine men) of his native province, most prominently in *Los Curanderos, Mis Colegas* ("The Witch Doctors, My Colleagues," 1994).

Tarnopolsky's identification with the rural, gaucho roots of Argentinean history resulted in several texts on the war between Spanish *conquistadores* and the Pampa Indian tribe, the prologue to Dionisio Schoo Lastra's groundbreaking book *El Indio del Desierto* ("The Indian of the Desert," 1928), the fictionalized stories *Alarma de Indios en la Frontera Sud – Epi-*

sodios de la Conquista del Desierto ("Indian Alarm on the Southern Frontier: Episodes from the Conquest of the Desert," 1952), and *La Rastrillada de Salinas Grandes* ("The Path of Salinas Grandes," 1944) garnered him the first invitation presented to any Jew to address the Círculo Militar, Argentina's military academy.

He dedicated his intellectual output to the three peoples who shared his loyalty: the Spanish conquerors, whose prowess he admired, the Pampa Indians whom he revered, and the Jewish nation, to which he belonged. He wrote a prize-winning study *Indios pampas y conquistadores del desierto en la novela* ("Pampa Indians and Conquerors as Literary Figures," 1996), and numerous works relating to Jewish life in Argentina, including a study of antisemitism among the Argentinean elites and intellectuals, *Los Prejuiciados de Honrada Conciencia*, ("The High-Minded Bigots," 1971), an essay titled *Nosotros, los judios que colonizamos el desierto Pampa* ("We, the Jews who Conquered the Pampa Desert," 1992), and the novel for which he is best known, *La Mitad De Nada* ("Half of Naught," 1969), a meditation on the predicament of young urban Jews in the 1960s Buenos Aires.

[Noga Tarnopolsky (2nd ed.)]

TARNOW, city in Poland, 45 mi. (72 km.) E. of Cracow. Jewish merchants in Tarnow are mentioned in a few sources of the 15th century. The growth of the community and development of its institutions in the 1630s was based on grants of privileges successively endorsed by the magnates who owned Tarnow as their private domain (see *Poland-Lithuania). Its first privilege dating from 1581 exempts Tarnow Jewry from the municipal jurisdiction, entitles Jews to engage in trade in their own buildings and shops, and to distill and deal in alcoholic liquor. They were to pay taxes directly to the magnate and might own a cemetery near the city. The municipality was responsible for securing the synagogue and cemetery from attack. This grant met with strong opposition from the townsmen.

The ravages of the Swedish invasion in 1655 and a fire which broke out in 1663 caused much suffering to the community. As a result of the decrease of population and general economic deterioration, the Christians reached an agreement with the Jews in May 1670 to settle matters in dispute, including the question of importation of goods purchased outside the city bounds at the fairs. The agreement allocated to the Jewish community between 25% and 30% of the total tax paid by the townspeople. It prohibited the community from allowing newcomers to settle in Tarnow, excepting religious functionaries it was deemed necessary to invite from elsewhere (after informing the municipality), and assured the Jews of a water supply from the city wells. The Christian guilds on their part reached an understanding with the Jewish artisans. These agreements helped to mitigate the tensions existing between the Jewish and Christian populace. The same year (1670) the city overlord ratified the former privileges granted to the Jewish community; they were endorsed in 1676 and again in 1684.

There were four conflagrations in Tarnow in the first half of the 18th century: during the first, in 1711, all 23 buildings in the Jewish street and goods in the Jewish-owned shops were destroyed, and the community was exempted from the poll tax for four years to alleviate its plight. The lord of Tarnow was subsequently persuaded to allow Jews to reside and construct buildings outside their designated area. Jewish *guilds were established in 1740 which reached an agreement with their Christian counterparts on payment of special dues. The Tarnow community belonged to the Land of Lesser Poland (Kracow-Sandomierz) in the framework of the *Council of the Four Lands. The *parnas* of the community, Benjamin Ze'ev Wolf b. Ezekiel Landau, took an active part in the conventions of the council and represented Jewish interests before the secular authorities between 1718 and 1737. The census of 1765 records 900 Jews in Tarnow and 1,425 living in the villages within its communal jurisdiction.

Tarnow's annexation to Austria after the first partition of Poland in 1772 created new political conditions and weakened the authority of the manorial lord. In 1788 a Jewish school with secular educational trends under the direction of Naphtali Herz *Homberg was established in Tarnow, which continued until 1806. In 1833 the community asked the governor of Galicia for permission to widen the Jewish street and allow Jews to reside on the market square. Their request was strongly opposed by the municipal council which countered by suggesting the establishment of a *foermliche Judenstadt*, the setting up of an official Jewish quarter outside the city where the Jews were to move. No specific instructions followed, and Jews began to move beyond the old quarter shortly afterward, despite resistance from the citizens. *Blood libels were leveled against Jews in Tarnow in 1829 and 1844, but the accused were later released. A Jewish hospital was founded in 1842; in the 1890s the *Baron de Hirsch foundation established a school in Tarnow which continued in existence until 1914.

The majority of the Tarnow community were Ḥasidim, but in the 19th century the influence of the Enlightenment (*Haskalah), made itself felt in Tarnow, where the Hebrew writer Mordecai David *Brandstaedter was prominent. Zionism spread among the youth and a number of *maskilim* in the 1890s, and a society of Ahavat Zion was founded in Tarnow in 1891 with the object of immigrating to Ereẓ Israel and founding a Galician settlement there; the Zionist movement was headed by Abraham *Salz up to 1914. The community numbered 1,200 in 1772 (34% of the total population), 7,914 in 1846, 11,677 in 1890 (42.4%), 15,108 in 1910 (41.2%), 15,608 in 1921 (44.2%), and 19,330 in 1931. Around the beginning of the 20th century the expanding cloth and hat industry in Tarnow occupied 300 Jewish workers.

In 1921, of the 593 Jewish-owned workshops and light industrial plants in Tarnow, 320 employed hired labor and 261 were owner-operated; the total of Jewish hired workers was 830 (555 males, 227 females, 48 minors). The majority of enterprises were garment-manufacturing, mainly hats (360, employing 1,088 persons, 573 of them Jews). Economic conditions deteriorated for the Jewish sector after Poland regained its independence in 1919, and the community was eventually forced to provide social assistance. The income of the community in 1928 was 271,890 zlotys and the expenditure 396,264 zlotys. The Polish authorities intervened in communal affairs; elective offices were abolished and commissars appointed who administered communal matters for over six years. The Zionist movement in Tarnow was headed by Shmuel Shpan and Ḥayyim Neiger. Communal elections were held in February 1937, and a Zionist leadership was returned, of which Abraham Chomet was elected chairman, the last to hold this office.

[Nathan Michael Gelber]

Holocaust Period

Before the outbreak of World War II there were over 25,000 Jews in Tarnow. The German army entered on Sept. 8, 1939, and terrorization of the Jewish population began. In May 1940 leading Jewish personalities (the lawyers Emil Wieder and Isaac Holzer and the director of the local Hebrew school, Maximilian Rosenbusch) were deported to *Auschwitz; they were among the first Jewish victims of that camp. In March 1941 a decree proclaiming the establishment of a ghetto was issued. At the beginning of June 1942 Jews from all surrounding smaller places were concentrated there. A few days later, on June 11–13, 1942, about 12,000 Jews from Tarnow were deported to the *Belzec death camp and exterminated there. After that deportation the ghetto was divided into two parts: Ghetto A, which became a forced-labor camp; and Ghetto B, a family camp, where many died from hunger.

On Sept. 10, 1942, the second deportation took place and another 8,000 Jews met their deaths in Belzec. On Nov. 15, during the third deportation, about 3,000 Jews died. The last deportation took place on Sept. 2, 1943, when 5,000 Jews were sent to Auschwitz and another 3,000 to the Plaszow concentration camp. Almost all of them perished. Over 500 Jews who tried to hide were shot and another 700 were shot on the way to the Szebnia camp. Only 300 Jews were left in Tarnow in a newly established forced-labor camp (so-called *Saeuberungskommando*), but in December 1943 they were transferred to the Plaszow concentration camp, where almost all of them were murdered. After the war over 700 Jews settled in Tarnow but soon left the city due to the inimical attitude of the local Polish population. In 1965 only 35 Jews lived there. Organizations of former Jewish residents of Tarnow are active in Israel, the United States, France, and Canada.

[Stefan Krakowski]

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°**TARONJI Y CORTÉS, JOSÉ** (1847–1890), Spanish priest and poet. Born of *Chueta parents in Palma, Taronjí y Cortés was descended from an old Jewish family, several members of which had been martyred by the Inquisition during the late 17th century. Though ordained in 1872, he was denied a position in the cathedral of Palma de Mallorca because of his Jewish ancestry.

From 1876 to 1877 Taronjí y Cortés launched a series of attacks on the racial prejudices of the island's ecclesiastical hierarchy, in articles published in the *Almanaque Balear* and in his book *Una mala causa a todo trance defendida* (1877). These were reprinted in 1967 with introductory notes which suggest that anti-Chueta prejudice was still alive in the mid-20th century. His *Algo sobre el estado religioso y social de la isla de Mallorca* (1877) created a nationwide furor and resulted in some liberalization of official policies in Majorca. Taronjí y Cortés also gained renown as a Catalan poet.

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[Kenneth R. Scholberg]

TARRAGONA, Mediterranean port in Catalonia, N.E. Spain. The Jewish settlement there was of ancient date; Jews apparently established themselves in the harbor town during the Roman era. A laver discovered there bearing the inscription "Peace over Israel, over ourselves, and our children" probably belongs to this period. Coins with Hebrew inscriptions also testify to the existence of a Jewish settlement under the Visigoths. During the period of Arab rule, Jews in Tarragona engaged in commerce and agriculture, and some owned lands and properties. Apparently for this reason it was known as a "Jewish city" (al-Idrisi, 1152). In 850, the Jews of Tarragona aided the Arabs in the capture of Barcelona, but it was later reconquered for the Christians by Ramón Berenguer. Tarragona passed to Christian rule in the 11th century. Its proximity to *Tortosa must have influenced the size of the Jewish population in Tarragona since a number of Jews had already moved to Tortosa under Arab rule.

Jewish Quarter

Most of the Jewish population lived in the upper town which was surrounded by a wall, to the northeast of the present built-up area. In the course of time, the quarter was transferred to the southern part of the town, to the streets now called En Granada, and En Talavera, including some of the alleys in this area, and the square now known as Plaza de los Angeles. The square of the Jewish quarter is in the central part of En Talavera. This district was recently restored. In 1239 there were 95 houses in the quarter. Deeds of sale drawn up in Hebrew for lands situated in the "Quarter of Israel" near the city wall, and for lands and houses beyond the wall, have been preserved. On the road known as dels Fortins in the vicinity of the "Beach of the Miracles" (Playa de los Milagros), a Jewish cemetery existed for many generations; several of its tombstones have been preserved from the 13th to 14th centuries. Apparently the stone of a washing well which was probably situated in the courtyard of the synagogue should also be attributed to this period;

it bore the inscription: "He brought streams out of the rock [cf. Ps. 78:16] to minister in the sanctuary [cf. Ezek. 44:27]." A unique seal for endorsing the *kashrut* of *maẓẓot shemurot* was discovered in the neighborhood of Tarragona.

After the Reconquest

In Tarragona, as in other places of Catalonia, Jews held the position of bailiff (Vidal bar Judah, 1187; Bonafos bar Judah, 1192); several deeds of sale bearing their signatures are extant. In 1235 delegates of the Church convened in Tarragona to discuss the interest rates charged by Jewish moneylenders. At this convention the rates which had been fixed in 1228 (20%) were ratified, but Christians were still authorized to take an interest rate of 12%. Any Jew who disobeyed this order was to be condemned to servitude and confiscation of his property. It was then also decided that any Jew who adopted Islam would be condemned to servitude for life; the same sentence would be applied to a Muslim who adopted Judaism. This anti-Jewish policy is also expressed in a bull which Benito de Rocaberti, archbishop of Tarragona, obtained from Pope Urban IV in which the Jews were ordered to wear a *badge to distinguish them from Christians. On frescoes in the cathedral of Tarragona paintings are found in which Jews are distinguished from the other personalities by a white circular sign. In 1267 Pope Clement IV ordered the archbishop of Tarragona to collect the books of the Jews throughout the kingdom of Aragon and to hand them over to the Dominicans and Franciscans; Pablo *Christiani was proposed as his assistant in this activity.

In its relations with the monarchy, the community of Tarragona obtained from James I in 1260 an exemption from the obligation to accommodate the royal house and to provide it with linen and other objects at the time of his visit to the city. The king even authorized the community to close the gates of its quarter. In taxation matters, Tarragona belonged to the *collecta* of Barcelona; the regulations by which the community was governed were also modeled on those of Barcelona (Solomon b. Abraham Adret, Responsa, pt. 3, no. 411).

In 1313 the archbishop of Tarragona and the inquisitor Juan Llotger issued a decree ordering that Jews of Tarragona and Montblanch who had been involved in assisting proselytes and Conversos to return to Judaism should have their properties confiscated and be banished for life from the kingdom. However, the expulsion order was limited by James II to the region of Tarragona. The order was issued against ten Jews. A heavy fine was imposed on the community and one of its synagogues was confiscated and converted into a church. Even Jews who had been forcibly converted at the time of the *Pastoureaux persecutions (1320–21) and later returned to Judaism were called to account by the *Inquisition. Many of them fled, while others were condemned to death and their houses to be destroyed by fire. The king, however, ordered an alleviation of their punishment; he fined them and permitted their heirs to redeem their confiscated property for a sum of 15,000 sólidos.

In the persecutions which followed in the wake of the *Black Death in 1348, 300 Jews of Tarragona and neighboring Solsona were massacred. The Jews of the town were nevertheless ordered to pay 150 sólidos in Barcelona currency to the royal treasury. In 1363 Pedro IV demanded a further 1,000 livres in Barcelona currency. Despite this grave situation, a Jew was still holding the position of municipal physician in 1374. In 1388 King John I of Aragon granted the community of Tarragona the same rights as those of Barcelona.

The 1391 Persecutions and Subsequent Period

Shortly before the outbreak of the anti-Jewish persecutions which swept Spain in 1391, the archbishop of Tarragona instituted legal proceedings against a number of works of *Maimonides "because it is said that certain errors against the Christian faith had been found in them." When the persecutions broke out, the Jews of Tarragona took refuge in the citadel in fear of attack by the rioters. They addressed a letter of appeal to the king, asking for his protection, and John I notified the community (July 24) that he had placed them under special protection of the archbishop, the royal officials, and the municipality, and ordered that rioters and agitators be tried and condemned as rebels against the royal authority. On September 22, however, he commanded the *vicarius* of Tarragona to gather information on the heirless Jewish property which had remained after the disorders and to transfer it to him. He expressed a particular interest in the property of those who had been martyred and the property of the community.

After the persecutions, measures were taken to reestablish the Jewish settlement in Tarragona. Queen Violante promised the Jews "who lived there or who would settle there in the future" a tax exemption for a duration of five years (Aug. 13, 1393). On October 27 she authorized the Jews who had settled there to raise funds in other communities for the erection of a synagogue, the purchase of a Torah scroll and other books, and for the redemption of the cemetery.

During the second half of the 15th century – a difficult period for the Jews of Aragon, as for the whole of Spanish Jewry – Isaac *Arama held rabbinical office in Tarragona. He maintained a yeshivah and fostered observance of the precepts within the community. At the time of the expulsion of the Jews from Spain in 1492 Tarragona was a port of embarkation for the exiles from the kingdom of Aragon.

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[Haim Beinart]

TARRASCH, SIEGBERT (1862–1934), German chess master. Born in Breslau, Tarrasch became a physician and practiced in Nuremberg. A man of great culture, he became one of the most successful chess players of his period. His tremendous ability was proved by his many victories in tournaments. In matches he defeated Frank James Marshall and Jacques Mieses and drew with Mikhail Tchigorin and Carl Schlechter. But he was overshadowed by Emanuel *Lasker and when in 1908 he played Lasker for the world championship he was convincingly defeated. His doctrine, which he expressed in his book *Die moderne Schachpartie* (1916), was influenced by *Steinitz. The difference is that he laid greater emphasis on the strong center and maneuvering space. His other important books were *Dreihundert Schachpartien* (1909) and *Das Schachspiel* (1931; *The Game of Chess*, 1935).

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[Gerald Abrahams]

TÁRREGA, town in Catalonia, N.E. Spain. Like others in that region, the community of Tárrega reached its greatest prosperity in the 13th century. There is little data on the Jews of Tárrega up to the days preceding the *Black Death (1348–49). In 1346 a new synagogue was built there, but the community then suffered heavily from the Black Death persecutions. In his book *Emek ha-Bakha* Joseph *ha-Kohen tells of the riots which broke out there on the tenth of Av. Three hundred Jews fell on that day, and the survivors were left destitute after giving all their money in exchange for shelter. Pedro IV strove with the utmost energy to quell the rioting and punish its instigators, but he pardoned all the rioters in April 1350. The same month the town council was requested to build the Jewish quarter anew within two years at the place called La Font. In order to defray the expenses caused by the riots, Pedro allowed the town council to impose a special tax on foodstuffs. Also in 1350 the community of Tárrega paid 400 sólidos in Barcelona currency as annual tax. As the Black Death epidemic did not cease for a long time, the Jews of Tárrega continued to be in danger. In 1362 Pedro ordered that measures be taken to protect the community, with guards being selected by the community's trustee (*ne'eman*). No data are available concerning the condition of the Jews in Tárrega following the persecutions of 1391. At any rate, there was a Jewish community there throughout the 15th century, probably existing until the general expulsion from Spain in 1492, as shown by the fact that in the late 1470s the physician Abraham Shalom was asked to come and settle in Tárrega from nearby *Cervera.

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[Haim Beinart]

TARSHISH (Heb. תַּרְשִׁישׁ),

(1) A distant port from which silver, iron, tin, lead, ivory, monkeys, and peacocks were brought to Palestine (cf. I Kings 10:22; Jer. 10:9; Ezek. 27:12). The location of Tarshish is uncertain, since the biblical references to it are vague and apparently contradictory. (The word may mean a "refinery," from the Akk. *rašāšu*, "to be smelted.") According to Genesis 10:4 (cf. Isa. 23:1), it must be a Mediterranean port, since Tarshish is said to be a "son of Javan" (Greece). Some identify it with the mining village in southwestern Spain called Tharsis (Tartessus, which was, according to Herodotus 4:152, "beyond the Pillars of Heracles," and according to Plinius and Strabo, in the Guadalquivir Valley; this is very probable). Jonah, fleeing from his mission in the east (Nineveh), took, from the Jaffa port, a boat going to Tarshish, i.e., westward (Jonah 1:3). On the other hand, Solomon had a "fleet of Tarshish," whose home port was Eẓion-Geber on the Red Sea (I Kings 10:22); some explain the expression "fleet of Tarshish" as a fleet composed of big and strong ships, capable of long voyages (cf. Isa. 60:9), but not necessarily to Tarshish – Solomon's fleet went to *Ophir as well. According to II Chronicles 20:36, however, the fleet of Jehoshaphat intended to sail to Tarshish from the port of Eẓion-Geber, in which case Tarshish would lie somewhere along the Red Sea or the Indian Ocean (cf. II Chron. 9:21; I Kings 22:49).

(2) Tarshish is also the name of a Benjamite, son of Bilhan (I Chron. 7:10), and of one of the "seven princes of Persia and Medea" in Esther 1:14.

TARSKI, ALFRED (1902–1983), mathematical logician and founder of logical semantics. Born Teitelbaum in Warsaw, Poland, he studied logic at Warsaw University, a course disrupted by the events of World War I. In 1923 he changed his name to Tarski and became a Roman Catholic. Despite his growing international reputation, his academic advancement in Poland was slow. The Germans invaded Poland while he was attending a Harvard conference; he remained in the U.S. After prestigious but temporary appointments, he joined the University of California at Berkeley in 1942, becoming professor of mathematics in 1949. He remained at Berkeley for the rest of his career. Tarski was a logician ranked by his peers as the equal of Aristotle, Frege, and Godel. He pioneered the field of metamathematics. His most important contribution to logic is the semantic method, which allows a more exacting study of formal languages and especially the concept of truth. He also contributed to algebra and measure theory. His precise, energetic but at times acerbic teaching was enthusiastically received in the department he established at Berkeley and internationally as a visiting professor. His publications include *An Introduction to Logic*, which has been translated into many languages including Hebrew in 1957, and many monographs on basic mathematics and mathematical logic, as well as his collected papers (edited by Steven R. Givant and Ralph N. McKenzie). His many honors include election to the U.S. National Academy of Sciences and the British Academy.

[Michael Denman (2nd ed.)]

TARTAKOVER, SAVIELLY GRIGORYEVICH (1887–1956), chess master. Born in Rostov-on-Don, Russia, Tartakover, a lawyer, spent most of his life as a chess player, living in

France. In World War II he served in the Free French Forces. After the war he represented France in chess tournaments. He was an original and creative player. Tartakover attained master rank at Nuremberg in 1906 and established himself as an experimentalist of genius. He became associated with Nimzovitch, Breyer, Reti, and Alekhine in the development of modern subtleties of strategy. Tartakover won several prizes before World War I, but most of his tournament successes were achieved between the world wars. After World War II he won at Venice, Hastings, Beveryk, and other places. He contributed to opening theory, to endgame techniques, and created many fine combinations. A very witty and cultured man, Tartakover is renowned for his epigrams, one of which is: The mistakes are all there, waiting to be made.

He wrote several books on chess, the best known being *Die Hypermoderne Schachpartie* (1924), *Schachmethodik* (1928), *500 Master Games of Chess* (with J. Du Mont, 1952), *My Best Games of Chess 1905–1930* (1953), and *My Best Games of Chess, 1931–1954* (1956).

[Aharon Weiss]

TARTAKOWER, ARIEH (1897–1982), sociologist, demographer, and communal leader. Tartakower was born in Brody, E. Galicia. He lectured on the sociology of the Jews at the Institute of Jewish Sciences in Warsaw. Tartakower was founder and chairman of Hitaḥadut, the Labor Zionist organization in Poland, and also served as an alderman of the city of Lodz during 1938–39. He was a member of the World Zionist Actions Committee from 1927. Emigrating to the United States in 1939, he served as director of relief and rehabilitation of the *World Jewish Congress and deputy director of its Institute of Jewish Affairs. Tartakower settled in Palestine in 1946 and lectured on Jewish sociology at the Hebrew University. From 1948 until 1971 he was chairman of the Israel section of the World Jewish Congress, and from 1959, of the executive committee of the World Hebrew Confederation. In 1971, he headed the World Jewish Congress' Cultural Department. He was a founding member and president of the Israel Association for the United Nations. He was one of a small group of scholars, including A. *Ruppin and J. *Lestschinsky, who developed the study of Jewish sociology. Tartakower wrote many books in Hebrew, Yiddish, Polish, and English and frequently contributed to periodicals in different languages.

Among his main works are *Toledot Tenu'at ha-Avodah ha-Yehudit*, 3 vols. (1929–31), *Nedudei ha-Yehudim ba-Olam* (1947^2), *Ha-Adam ha-Noded* (1954), *Ha-Ḥevrah ha-Yehudit* (1957), *Ha-Ḥevrah ha-Yisre'elit* (1959), *In Search of Home and Freedom* (1958), *Ha-Hityashevut ha-Yehudit ba-Golah* (1959), *Am ve-Olamo* (1963), and his survey of contemporary Jewish communities *Shivtei Yisrael*, 3 vols. (1963–69).

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[Natan Lerner]

TARTAN (Heb. תַּרְתָּן; from Akk. *turtānu* or *tartān*), title of the Assyrian commander in chief who came immediately after the king. The title is attested as early as the reign of Adad-nirari II (911–891 B.C.E.). A general bearing the title *tartan* was sent by Sargon II in 711 against Ashdod (Isa. 20:1); another *tartan* headed a delegation sent by Sennacherib to Hezekiah (II Kings 18:17).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: E. Ebeling and B. Meissner, in: *Reallexikon der Assyriologie*, 1 (1932), 460.

TARTU (Ger. and Swed. **Dorpat**; Rus. **Yuryev**), city in E. Estonia. A small Jewish community was founded there by demobilized soldiers from the army of *Nicholas I in the 1860s. A synagogue was erected in 1876. The community numbered 1,774 (4% of the total population) in 1897, 1,115 in 1922, and 920 in 1934. There were both Jewish elementary and secondary schools in the city. Jews studied at the University of Tartu from the 1840s; there were 235 Jewish students in 1886 (14.8% of the total number of students). With the Russification of the university and the introduction of a *numerus clausus, the number of Jewish students was reduced, and a further reduction occurred after the establishment of independent Estonia following World War I; from 188 Jewish university students in 1926 their number decreased to 96 in 1934. In 1934 a seminary for Jewish studies was opened at the university under the guidance of the scholar L. Gulkowitsch. He was succeeded by the scholar and educator M.J. Nadel (1893–1936) and by the Hebrew author H.J. Port (1892–1940). The Association for the Study of Jewish History and Literature, founded in 1884, held an important place in the life of the Jewish students. Among the association's first members were Jacob *Bernstein-Kogan (Cohan) and A. Broide; it became a center particularly for the national minded and Zionist students. When Estonia was incorporated in the Soviet Union in 1940, Jewish communal life in Tartu was brought to an end. After the German occupation in 1941 the Jews who did not succeed in escaping from Tartu were murdered.

Some 200 Jews returned to Tartu from the Soviet Union, later joined by Russian-born Jews. In 1967, many of them immigrated to Israel. The city has a Jewish community center.

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[Yehuda Slutsky / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

TARUSKIN, RICHARD (1945–), U.S. musicologist and critic born in New York. He graduated from Columbia University with the M.A. thesis "Vladimir Vasilievich Stasov: Functionary in Art" (1968). He studied at the Moscow State Conservatory (1972) and continued his Russian studies, receiving a Ph.D. in 1975. He published thereafter articles and books on Russian music, including *Opera and Drama in Russia as Preached and Practiced in the 1860s* (1981; 1993^2); *Musorgsky: Eight Essays and an Epilogue* (1992); *Stravinsky and the Rus-*

sian Tradition: A Biography of Works through Mavra (1996); and *Defining Russia Musically: Historical and Hermeneutical Essays* (1997). He developed parallel studies in the history of Western music and wrote a masterwork in six volumes, *The Oxford History of Western Music* (2004), in which he focused on the history of musical culture rather than on the selected classic repertoire as the traditional German concept taught. In his other activity as performer he was a choral conductor (director of the Columbia University Collegium Musicum and Cappella Nova) as well as viola da gamba soloist. He also recorded and edited numerous compositions of early and Renaissance music and wrote critical essays collected in his book *Text and Act: Essays on Music and Performance* (1995). His teaching career developed first at Columbia University (from 1973 to 1987), then at the University of California, Berkeley, where he was appointed professor of music in 1997. Taruskin was a constant contributor to the *New York Times*, *New Republic*, *Opus*, *Atlantic Monthly*, and *Opera News*. His phenomenal erudition, consistent historical thinking, and writer's gift made him unrivaled in the musicology of our time. He was awarded the Greenberg Prize (1978); the Alfred Einstein Award (1980), the Dent Medal (1987), and the Kinkeldey Prize (1997). He was a member of the American Philosophical Society.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Grove Music Online.

[Marina Rizarev (2nd ed.)]

TARUTINO, village in *Bessarabia, Ukraine. Tarutino was founded as a German colony at the beginning of the 19th century. As a result of Jewish emigration to Bessarabia in the first half of the 19th century Jews began to settle in Tarutino despite the fact that after 1839 the law prohibiting Jews from settling in border regions applied there. The *May Laws of 1882 forbidding Jews to reside in rural areas also applied there. Occasionally Jews were expelled on the grounds that they were living there illegally. Nevertheless, the Jewish community continued to grow and in 1897 there were 1,873 Jews (36% of the total population) in Tarutino, most of them engaged in business. In 1925 the 285 members of the local loan fund included 17 farmers, 57 artisans, and 172 tradesmen. There were 1,546 Jews (26.7% of the total population) in 1930. The community was destroyed in 1941 when the Germans and Romanians entered Bessarabia during World War II.

[Eliyahu Feldman]

TASHKENT, capital of Tashkent district, Uzbekistan. Tashkent was conquered by the Russians in 1865. Previously there was a small community of Bukharan Jews living in a special quarter there. Russian rule improved the legal status of the Jews, and many Jews from neighboring *Bukhara consequently settled in Tashkent. Although Jews from European Russia were prohibited from settling in Tashkent under czarist rule, a small community of Russian Jews who belonged to categories permitted to settle outside the *Pale of Settlement was formed there during the second half of the 19th century. In 1897 there were 1,746 Jews in the region of Tashkent, most of whom lived in the town itself. On the eve of World War I about 3,000 Jews lived there and maintained Jewish educational and cultural institutions in which the language of instruction was Hebrew. A Tajiki-language Zionist newspaper, *Raḥamim*, was published. With the establishment of the Soviet regime, the Jewish cultural and religious institutions were gradually liquidated and the Zionist newspaper was replaced by a Communist one, *Bairaki Huriet* ("The Flag of Freedom"). During the 1920s and 1930s Tashkent became one of the centers to which active members of the Zionist Organization and members of the pioneering youth movements were exiled. During World War II Tashkent became one of the most important absorption centers for refugees from the German-occupied regions. Many remained in the town after the war, and a large Jewish settlement was thus created.

Contemporary Period

In the 1959 census 50,445 Jews were registered in Tashkent (5.5% of the total population), most of them newly arrived Ashkenazi Jews and a minority of old-time Bukharan Jews. There was one synagogue for Ashkenazim and two for Bukharans all in the same compound. In 1963 the organized baking of *maẓẓot* was prohibited, but Jews continued to bake them at home. The synagogue buildings were damaged in the 1966 earthquake in the area; the Bukharan Jews repaired their synagogue, while Ashkenazim moved to a new synagogue building. Tashkent Jews applied for exit permits to Israel, particularly from 1968. After the mass exodus of the 1990s only a few thousand Jews remained in Tashkent, which maintained an active community center as part of the general revival of Jewish life.

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[Yehuda Slutsky]

TASHLIKH (Heb. תַּשְׁלִיךְ; lit. "thou shalt cast"), ceremony held near a sea or a running stream on the first day of *Rosh Ha-Shanah, usually late in the afternoon. When the first day occurs on the Sabbath, the ceremony is deferred to the second day, to ensure that no prayer book be carried to the riverside on the Sabbath (*Peri Megadim* to Sh. Ar., OḤ 583:2). The term itself is derived from Micah 7:19: "Thou wilt cast all their sins into the depths of the sea." The core of the ceremony is the recitation of Micah 7:18–20. Psalms 118:5–9; 33; 130; and Isaiah 11:9 are added in some rites. Kabbalists added quotations from the Zohar and there were other variants in different communities (e.g., in Kurdistan Jews actually entered the water; in certain parts of Bulgaria the ceremony was performed on the afternoon of the Day of Atonement).

The origin of the custom – not mentioned by talmudic, geonic, or early authorities – is uncertain. J.Z. Lauterbach (*Rabbinic Essays* (1951), 299–433) suggests a pagan origin, and Schulman (*Ha-Meliẓ*, 8 (1868), 106–7) even claims that Josephus hints at the custom (Ant., 14:10–23). There is no direct reference to the custom, however, until Jacob *Moellin (d. 1425), in his *Sefer Maharil* (Warsaw ed. (1874), 38a), explains it as a reminder of the midrashic tale (Tanḥ. Va-Yera, 22) of Abraham's refusal to be deterred from his mission to sacrifice Isaac even after Satan had transformed himself into a brook obstructing his path. Other authorities suggest that, as fish never close their eyes, so the ceremony is symbolic of God's eyes, ever-open (Isaiah Horowitz, *Shenei Luḥot ha-Berit* (Josefow ed. (1878), 139); or, as the fate of fish is uncertain, so is the ceremony illustrative of man's plight (cf. Eccles. 9:12; Moses of Przemysl, *Matteh Moshe*, Warsaw ed., 1876, 166). Moses Isserles (*Torat ha-Olah*, 3:56, Lemberg, 1858 ed., part 3, 48b) saw the ceremony as a tribute to the Creator, to Whose work of creation (this actually starting on Rosh Ha-Shanah) the fish were the first witnesses. Thus it was recommended that the ceremony be performed on the banks of a river where living fish are found (*Magen Avraham* to Sh. Ar., OḤ 583:2). However, when this is impossible, the ceremony is performed even by a well of water as is customary in Jerusalem.

The custom of shaking the pockets of one's garments during the ceremony is popularly taken as a rite of transferring the sins to the fish, but other authorities connect it with the talmudic saying that cleanliness of garments is a sign of moral purity (see Shab. 153a). To feed the fish during the ceremony is forbidden (Maharil, loc. cit.).

Oriental-Sephardi Jews have practiced the custom since the time of Isaac *Luria.

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TA-SHMA, ISRAEL MOSES, (1936–2004), a prominent Israeli scholar of talmudic and rabbinic literature. Ta-Shma was born in Tel Aviv into a Religious Zionist family. He attended the Yeshivat ha-Yishuv he-Ḥadash high school, afterwards studying at the Hebron Yeshivah in Jerusalem. At the age of 21 he received rabbinic ordination and left the yeshivah world to study at the Hebrew University where he received his B.A. and M.A. He received his doctorate from Bar-Ilan University in 1973. He taught at Bar-Ilan in the Talmud Department until 1981 when he was hired to teach at Hebrew University and to be the director of the Institute of Microfilmed Hebrew Manuscripts at the Jewish National and University Library on the Givat Ram campus, Jerusalem. At the same time, Ta-Shma was the academic secretary of Mekiẓe Nirdamim, the 200-year-old organization that publishes Jewish scholarship from manuscript. Throughout his academic career, Ta-Shma used manuscripts as the basis of his work. He was one of the first modern scholars to do so, thus forging new paths in Jewish academic research. Beginning in 1963, for 18 years, Ta-Shma was one of the editors of the *Hebrew Encyclopedia*. In 1984 he founded the journal, *Alei Sefer*, at Bar-Ilan University. He was the journal's editor for ten years. In 1991, he received tenure from Hebrew University and retired from teaching in 1999. In 2002 he received the Bialik Prize. In 2003, he received both the Prime Minister's EMET Prize and the prestigious Israel Prize for his work in Talmud.

Along with over 150 articles and numerous collections that he co-edited with others, Ta-Shma wrote a number of important works including *Rabbi Zeraḥya Ha-Levi: Ba'al ha-Ma'or u-Venei Ḥugo*, based on his Ph.D. dissertation (1992); *Halakhah, Minhag u-Meẓi'ut be-Ashkenaz 1000–1350* (1996); *Minhag Ashkenaz ha-Kadum: Ḥeker ve-Iyyun* (1999); *Ha-Sifrut ha-Parshanit le-Talmud be-Eiropa u-vi-Ẓefon Afrika: Korot, Ishim ve-Shitot – Ḥelek Alef 1000–1200* (1999); *Ha-Sifrut ha-Parshanit le-Talmud be-Eiropa u-vi-Ẓefon Africa: Korot, Ishim ve-Shitot – Ḥelek Bet 1200–1400* (2000); *Ha-Niglah she-be-Nistar: Le-Ḥeker Sheki'ei ha-Halakhah be-Sefer ha-Zohar* (expanded edition, 2001); *Rabbi Moshe ha-Darshan ve-ha-Sifrut ha-Ḥiẓonit* (2001); *Ha-Tefillah ha-Ashkenazit ha-Kedumah: Perakim be-Ofyah u-ve-Toldoteha* (2003); and a collection of his articles edited by Y. Hovav, *Knesset Meḥkarim: Iyyunim be-Sifrut ha-Rabbanim bi-Yemei ha-Beinayim* (2004). It is interesting to note that his first publication was a religious song book for IDF soldiers (1960) issued by the Chief Rabbinate of the IDF.

The judges of the 2003 Israel Prize said, "Ta-Shma was graced with very broad knowledge in all aspects of Talmudic and rabbinic literature both in print and in manuscript, brilliant ability and a sharp intuition for creating an integration between various and different fields of knowledge, and a voluminous output of research."

[David Derovan (2nd ed.)]

TASHRAK (Heb. תשר״ק; 1872–1926), most common pseudonym of **Israel Joseph Zevin**, a humorist and pioneer of the Yiddish press in America. Born in Horki (Belorussia), Zevin immigrated to the U.S. in the late 1880s. From 1893 until his death he was on the staff of the Orthodox daily *Yidishes Tageblat* in New York, and wrote under his own name and the pseudonym Yudkovitch. He became a member of the paper's editorial board and for a time served as its editor-in-chief. From 1924 he wrote, under the names Dr. A. Adelman and Meyer Zonenshayn, for the *Morgn Zhurnal*, also in New York. His writings – stories, feuilletons, and articles on current affairs – appeared in other American newspapers and in the foreign press. He won recognition principally for his humorous tales about the typical Jewish immigrant's adventures in the U.S. (later these appeared in book form as *Y.Y. Zevins Geklibene Shriftn* ("Selected Works of Y.Y. Zevin," 1906); *Geklibene Shriftn* ("Selected Works," 1909); and *Tashraks Beste Ertseylungen* ("Tashrak's Best Stories," 4 vols., 1910). He also published anthologies of *aggadot*, *midrashim*, and proverbs (*Ale Mesholim fun Dubner Magid* ("The Complete Proverbs of the *Dubner Maggid*," 2 vols., 1925); *Ale Agodes fun Talmud* … ("The Complete *Aggadot* of the Talmud," 3 vols., 1922); *Der Oytser* *fun Ale Medroshim*, ("The Complete Treasury of Proverbs," 4 vols., 1926)), which he had collected and translated into Yiddish toward the end of his life. Zevin wrote children's stories (*Mayselekh far Kinder*, "Stories For Children," 1919), a number of stories in Hebrew, and a posthumously published novel. From 1905 he began to write in English, mainly translating his own stories which appeared in the English section of the *Tageblat* and in the weekly *American Hebrew*. Between 1914 and 1917 he was a regular contributor to the Sunday issue of the *New York Herald*, and became known for his essays, interviews, and humorous pieces on New York Jewish life.

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[Chava Turniansky / Benjamin Sadock (2nd ed.)]

TASMANIA, island S. of Australia and Australian state; established as a penal colony in 1803. Jewish names appear in its early history. Solomon, reported to be in safe custody (1819); a land grant to Emanuel Levy (1820); the charter granted for the Bank of Van Diemen's Land with Judah and Joseph Solomon among the shareholders (1823); a letter of recommendation as a settler to A. Aaron (1824). A petition from Bernard Walford was granted for a Jewish burial ground (1828). Ikey Solomons, a famous convict, may have been the model for Fagin in Dickens' *Oliver Twist*. In 1837 there was a total of 132 Jews, of whom 124 were free. By 1854 the Tasmanian Jewish population was 435, of whom 259 were free. In 1847 it was arranged that all Jews in Hobart and Launceston prisons should have the privilege of attending synagogue and refraining from work on the Sabbath. Pass holders were permitted to be counted in a *minyan*, but they could not have honors bestowed on them. By 1891 the number of Jews had fallen to 84. Most of the early settlers were illiterate and stated their occupation as farmers. Some, however, rose to prominence. Samuel Benjamin, born in southern Tasmania in 1839, attained the position of an alderman of Hobart City in 1897; John William Israel, born in Launceston in 1850, became auditor-general in 1895 and was elected president of the Civil Servants' Association at its foundation in 1897.

With the arrival of Orthodox newcomers from England, and spurred on by the need to distribute charity, the community consecrated its first synagogue in Hobart on July 4, 1843. In March 1864 the Hebrew Proprietary School was permanently incorporated with the synagogue. The first *bet din* in the city dates from 1911. The Hobart synagogue is the oldest standing synagogue within the British Commonwealth outside of England. The Tasmanian Hebrew Benevolent Society was formed in 1847. The Hobart synagogue celebrated the 120th anniversary of the laying of its foundation stone in 1963. The community remained small and has been constantly reduced by intermarriage. The Launceston synagogue was consecrated in 1846, with D. Benjamin as its president. It flourished for some years, serving about 100 families, but eventually the Jewish population of the town dwindled, the trustees died, and the religious articles were removed to Hobart. The synagogue was closed down in 1871, but it was reopened in 1939.

Tasmania failed to benefit from the arrival of thousands of refugees in Australia during and after the Nazi period, and its Jewish population steadily declined during the first post-1945 decades. The number of declared Jews in Tasmania, according to successive Australian censuses, totaled 158 in 1954, 136 in 1961, and only 98 in 1971. Since the 1970s, however, the community has grown again, thanks to migration from the mainland and from overseas, and stood at 145 in 1981, 160 in 1986, 167 in 1996, and 180 in 2001. An Orthodox and Reform synagogue currently exist in Hobart, as well as an Orthodox synagogue in Launceston, and a Chabad House in Sandy Bay.

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[Shmuel Gorr / William D. Rubinstein (2nd ed.)]

TATLIN, VLADIMIR E. (1885–1953), Russian painter, sculptor, and architect. Tatlin was born in Moscow. He is chiefly remembered for his design for a memorial to the Third International (1920), a leaning steel and wire spiral of 1,300 ft. The design is regarded as an early example of constructivism.

TATTENAI (Aram. תַּתְּנַי; I Esd. 6:3, 7, 26, Sisinnes), governor (*peḥah*) of the territory known as "Beyond The River" (*eber nahara* in Aramaic; Coele-Syria and Phoenicia in I Esd.) under Darius I. Tattenai was subordinate, at least at first, to Ushtannu (Hystanes), governor of Babylon and "Beyond The River." Learning that work had been resumed on the Jerusalem Temple in 520 B.C.E., he came, together with Shethar-Bozenai and his colleagues the investigators, to inquire as to the Jews' right to build. They informed the officials that permission had been granted by Cyrus. The permit was confirmed and renewed by Darius who wrote to Tattenai and his colleagues, "Keep away from there! Let the work on this Temple alone!" Tattenai and his men withdrew and the Temple was completed (Ezra 5:3ff.; 6:13ff.).

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[Bezalel Porten]

TATTOO (Heb. *ketovet ka'ka*), a sign made by puncturing the skin and inserting pigment. A mark of slavery or of submission to a deity (Isa. 44:5, although tattooing is not explicitly mentioned) in the ancient Near East, Greece, and Rome, tattooing is prohibited in Leviticus 19:28. The anonymous Mishnah in *Makkot* (3:6) states that one is culpable of the transgression of tattooing only if it consists of writing and is done with indelible ink. However, R. Simeon b. Judah in the name of R. Simeon, in accepting this view, states that one is guilty only if he tattoos the name of an idol (according to the interpretation of the Talmud; Mak. 21a). In this way he explains the last words of Leviticus 19:28, "I am the Lord." The *halakhah* is in accordance with the anonymous Mishnah (Sh. Ar., YD 180:1). Maimonides agrees but adds that although all tattooing is forbidden, the origin of the prohibition is that it "was the custom of idolaters to inscribe themselves [by tattooing] to an idol, to indicate that they were bondslaves to it and devoted to its service" (Yad, Avodah Zarah 12:11).

TAU, MAX (1897–1976), publisher and author. Tau, who was born in Beuthen, Upper Silesia, was for many years the literary director of the publishing house of Bruno Cassirer and a book reviewer for the *Frankfurter Zeitung* and other journals. In 1938 he immigrated to Norway and in 1942, during the persecution of the Jews there, he took refuge in Sweden. After World War II he attained an important position in Norwegian publishing. Among the important authors he introduced in Norway, there were many Jews and some Israelis. He also introduced Norwegian authors in Germany (even before the war). Among his most significant achievements was the creation of a "Peace Library" which, he hoped, would become internationally important and would help revive respect for the human being. His many honors included the first award of the German publishing trade's peace prize (1950), and a school in Kiel, Germany, that was named after him.

Tau himself wrote several novels and autobiographical books in German, published in Norwegian and German, in which he described his parental Jewish home, German-cultural life, his absorption into Norwegian society and, above all, his faith in humanity. They include *Tro på mennesket* (1946; *Glaube an den Menschen*, 1948), *Denn ueber uns ist der Himmel* (1955), *Das Land, das ich verlassen musste* (1961), *Ein Fluechtling findet sein Land* (1964), and *På forsoningens vei* (*Auf dem Wege zur Vesoehnung*, 1967).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *En Mosaikk – Max Tau* (Norwegian, 1967); *Baumeister einer bruederlichen Welt. Max Tau: Dokumente einer Ehrung* (1966).

[Oskar Mendelsohn]

TAUBE, MICHAEL (1890–1972), conductor. Born in Lodz, Poland, Taube conducted in Bonn and Cologne, in 1924 became assistant to Bruno Walter at the Berlin Opera, and in 1926 founded the Taube Chamber Concerts. In 1933 Taube was among the founders of the Juedischer Kulturbund. He emigrated to Palestine in 1934 and led a symphony orchestra in Jerusalem, which was later disbanded with the founding of the Palestine (later Israel) Philharmonic and the Palestine Broadcasting Service orchestras in 1936, which he frequently conducted. In 1956 Taube established the Ramat Gan Chamber Orchestra. He also organized the Israel Bach Society and the Israel Mozart Society which were active for several years.

TAUBE, MOSHE (1927–), *ḥazzan*. Born in Cracow, at the age of eight he had already absorbed the traditional cantorial melodies from the cantors Samuel Kaufman and Joseph Mandelbaum. As a youth he began to study music and piano at the Cracow Conservatory. These studies were abruptly interrupted by the Holocaust which he survived. After World War II he immigrated to Palestine and joined the Haganah. He was drafted into the Israel army as soon as the state was declared and fought in the battles to liberate Jerusalem. Taube resumed his musical education at institutes in Jerusalem and Haifa and also appeared in concerts and led services throughout Israel. He took part in Kol Yisrael and Kol Ẓiyyon la-Golah and became chief cantor at the Bograshov Street Synagogue in Tel Aviv. He developed a special cantorial style combining traditional and innovative approaches and composed melodies for prayers. In 1957 he went to the United States and became senior cantor at the Shaarey Ẓedek congregation in Manhattan, serving there until 1965, when he became chief cantor at Beth Shalom in Pittsburgh. Taube studied at Juilliard School of Music and taught at the cantorial school of the Jewish Theological Seminary as well as the University of Pittsburgh. He produced records of his original cantorial works and belonged to the Cantors Assembly.

[Akiva Zimmerman]

TAUBE, SAMUEL BARUCH (1914–), *ḥazzan*. Taube was born in Zelov, near Lodz in Poland. His family moved to Austria when he was a child. In Vienna he studied cantorial liturgy and music; among his teachers was the cantor Emmanuel Frenkel. His first cantorial position was in the Montefiore Synagogue in Vienna. He then went to Paris, where he held the position of cantor in the Synagogue de la Rue Montevideo. During World War II he was deported to a concentration camp, but his talents saved him. After the war he served as cantor to the Jewish community of Goeteberg in Sweden. He held cantorial positions in London from 1947 until 1958 when he moved to Washington, to the Beth Sholom Synagogue. In 1963 Taube moved to Montreal, Canada, where he was cantor to the Beth Orah Congregation until 1975, when he moved to Israel, where he trained cantors. For over a decade, he was also a faculty member of the Tel Aviv Cantorial Institute. He made recordings of cantorial music available through Musique Internationale Chicago. The hundreds of cantorial recitatives that Taube has transcribed over the decades are models of perfection in this art.

[Akiva Zimmerman / Raymond Goldstein (2nd ed.)]

TAUBENSCHLAG, RAPHAEL (1881–1958), papyrologist and legal historian. Born in Galicia, in 1913 Taubenschlag began to lecture at the University of Cracow, from 1921 as professor of Roman law. He devoted most of his research to Egyptian legal documents and Greek inscriptions, also making important contributions to the study of Roman law and research on Polish law during the Middle Ages. When World War II broke out, he fled to France and then to the United States. There he wrote his main work, *The Law of Greco-Roman Egypt in the Light of the Papyri 332 B.C.–640 A.D.* (1944, 19552). He served as chair of papyrology at Columbia University. During that time he founded the *Journal of Juristic Papyrology* (JPP) in 1946, which he edited until his death. In 1947 he returned to

Poland and was appointed professor of Roman law and ancient codes at the University of Warsaw. Since 1947 the JPP has been published annually in Warsaw under the auspices of the Department of Papyrology at Warsaw University.

Some of his numerous publications were collected posthumously by his students and published as *Opera Minora* (2 vols., 1959).

[Reuven Yaron / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

TAUBER, RICHARD (**Ernst Seiffert**; 1892–1948), singer. Born in Linz, Austria, Tauber studied at Frankfurt. In 1913 he was engaged under a five-year contract by the Dresden opera, where he sang leading tenor parts. He also sang at various other renowned opera houses in Germany and Austria, and at the Salzburg Mozart festivals. From about 1925 he turned to light opera, especially the Lehar operettas (e.g., *Land of Smiles*) in which he became internationally famous; and after 1928, also appeared in musical films. In 1938 he settled in England, where he appeared at Covent Garden. His voice charmed audiences by its tenor quality, pleasant tone, and graceful inflections. Tauber composed an operetta, *Old Chelsea* (1942), and appeared in its leading role.

TAUBERBISCHOFSHEIM (**Bischofsheim on the Tauber**), town in Baden, Germany. The first documentary evidence for the presence of Jews in Tauberbischofsheim dates from 1235 when eight Jews of Lauda and Tauberbischofsheim, accused of murdering a Christian, were tortured and executed. The city had an established community by the end of the 13th century when 120 Jews were martyred during the *Rindfleisch disturbances of 1298. The community recovered relatively soon, only to suffer again during the *Armleder persecutions of 1337. The community was annihilated in the *Black Death persecutions (1348–49). Jews resettled in Tauberbischofsheim in 1373; in later centuries, however, Jews are only briefly recorded. A synagogue is mentioned in the 18th century, but the Jewish community was then very small. It increased from 109 in 1825 to 200 by 1880 (6.51 percent of the total population) but decreased to 106 by June 1933. In 1827 the community was affiliated with the district rabbinate of Wertheim. Until 1875 the cemetery of Kuhlsheim was used by the Tauberbischofsheim community. Jewish industrialists and merchants contributed significantly to the economic life of the city. In 1931 the cemetery was desecrated. On *Kristallnacht*, Nov. 9–10, 1938, the synagogue was not among those burnt down in Germany because it abutted on houses owned by Christians. The interior of the synagogue was desecrated, although the Torah scrolls were rescued by Christian clergy. Many of the Jews had left the town before the outbreak of World War II. On Oct. 22, 1940, 22 Jews there were deported to *Gurs, only four of whom survived the war; another ten died in *Auschwitz.

The building of the synagogue was transformed into a residential building after 1950.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Salfeld, Martyrol, index, s.v. *Bischofsheim*; F. Hundsnurscher and G. Taddey (eds.), *Die juedischen Gemeinden in Baden* (1968); *Germania Judaica*, 1 (1963), 372–3; 2 (1968), 815–6; 3 (1987), 1450–53; PK, Germanyah. **ADD BIBLIOGRAPHY:** F.-J. Ziwes, *Studien zur Geschichte der Juden im mittleren Rheingebiet waehrend des hohen und spaeten Mittelalters* (Forschungen zur Geschichte der Juden. Abteilung A, Abhandlungen, vol. 1) (1995); F. Gehrig and H. Mueller, *Tauberbischofsheim. Beitraege zur Stadtchronik* (1997), 285–97. **WEBSITE:** www.alemannia-judaica.de.

TAUBES, AARON MOSES BEN JACOB (1787–1852), Polish and Romanian rabbi. Taubes was a pupil of Jacob *Ornstein of Lemberg. After serving as rabbi of Snyatyn, he was appointed rabbi of Jassy and district in 1841, in which office he exercised considerable influence on Romanian Jewry. The historian Ḥ.N. Dembitzer praises him as the outstanding rabbinical authority of his time to whom the most famous rabbis turned with their problems.

His published works are *To'afot Re'em* (1855), responsa; *Karnei Re'em* (1864), novellae and notes on the Talmud and its commentators, published in the standard editions of the Talmud, together with notes by his son Samuel; and *Karnei Re'em* (1881) on the Pentateuch with additions by his grandson Isaac Eisik (Shor). This work makes considerable use of Kabbalah. Many of Taubes' descendants served as rabbis in Jassy and in other communities in Romania. His sons Samuel Schmelke and Jacob, after serving in other communities, succeeded their father in Jassy.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: S. Buber, *Anshei Shem* (1895), 27; EIV, 18 (1966), 380–1.

[Itzhak Alfassi]

TAUBES, ḤAYYIM ẒEVI (1900–1966), rabbi and scholar. Born in Chernelitsa, Ukraine, Taubes served as rabbi in Odesburg, at the Pasmaniten Temple in Vienna – lecturing also at the teachers' seminary – and in Zurich, Switzerland. In 1965 he settled in Israel. A pupil of H.P. *Chajes, Taubes was an ardent Zionist from his youth and prominent in the Mizrachi movement.

Among his published works are *Lebendiges Judentum* (1946); *Ha-Nasi ba-Sanhedrin ha-Gedolah* (1925); *Likkutei Yiẓḥak ibn Ghayyat* (1952), an annotated edition of a work by the 11th-century Spanish talmudist; and *Ma'amad Hakhel be-Tifarto* (1953). Taubes edited the geonic material on the tractate *Sanhedrin* in his *Oẓar ha-Ge'onim al Massekhet Sanhedrin* (1966).

His son JACOB TAUBES (1923–), historian of religion, was born in Vienna, and became professor of Jewish studies and the sociology of religion at the Free University of West Berlin in 1959.

He published *Abendlaendische Eschatologie* (1948), *Psychoanalysis and the Future* (1957), and *Religious Experience and Truth* (ed. S. Hook, 1961), and edited the *Review of Religion* (1957–60), and the *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* (from 1961).

TAUBES, LOEBEL (1863–1933), pioneer Galician Zionist. Born in Bendery, Bessarabia, Taubes was raised in Galicia, where his father was the rabbi of Otynya. His Zionist activities began at the end of the 1880s, and in 1890 he began publishing the first Yiddish newspapers in Galicia (*Di Yidishe Folkstsaytung*, and later *Der Folksfraynd*, first in Kolomiyyo and then in Czernowitz). He was one of the first to fight for the Austrian government's recognition of Yiddish as the spoken language of the Jews of Galicia. For decades Taubes was the best known Zionist propagandist in Galicia and Austria, where his speeches in hundreds of towns and villages attracted mass audiences and did much to spread Zionism, especially among Orthodox circles. He was closely associated with *Herzl and published a Yiddish translation of *Der Judenstaat* (1897). He was one of the initiators of the Conference for the Yiddish Language and Culture, which met in Czernowitz in 1908. He lived in Kolomyia, in Czernowitz, and from 1914 in Vienna. In 1920 Taubes published the Hebrew version of the proceedings of the *Kattowitz Conference and his memoirs, and in 1928 he brought out a book on talmudic motifs in Yiddish proverbs.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: LNYL, 4 (1961), 44–45; N.M. Gelber, *Toledot ha-Tenu'ah ha-Ẓiyyonit be-Galiẓyah* (1958), 270 and index; G. Bader, *Medinah va-Ḥakhameha* (1934), 108–9.

[Getzel Kressel]

TAUBMAN, A. ALFRED (1924–), U.S. entrepreneur. Taubman, who was born in Pontiac, Mich., attended the University of Michigan without graduating and the Lawrence Institute of Technology, where he studied architecture. He became a store designer. In 1950, with a $5,000 loan, he formed the Taubman Company, a real-estate development and property management concern, and built it into one of the most prominent developers and managers of giant regional shopping malls in the United States. His first project in 1953 was a 26-store open-air shopping center in Flint, Mich. A few years later, he built an enclosed mall in Hayward, Calif., and then put together what was widely considered one of the finest collections of shopping malls in the world. In 2004, the average American mall had annual sales of around $340 a square foot. Taubman's malls, with high-end stores, averaged close to $500 a square foot. One of his prize malls was in Short Hills, N.J., which he bought in 1980 when there were only seven stores that were still in business. He renovated it four times until he got the right store mix: Neiman Marcus, Saks, Nordstrom, and Macy's. The mall had average annual sales of $800 a square foot. By the early years of the 21st century Taubman operated 19 shopping malls in nine states, including five in the Detroit area. In the 1970s Taubman went into business with Max *Fisher, the Detroit financier and adviser to Republican presidents. He had been Taubman's mentor since the 1950s, when he asked him to develop a chain of Speedway gas stations. Fisher and Taubman bought the Irvine Ranch in Southern California, which became one of the most profitable residential and commercial ventures in American history. It allowed Taubman, along with a group of investors that included Henry Ford II, to buy the majority share in Sotheby's, the famed auction house, in 1983 for $130 million. The move gave Taubman entrée to the art world and to European society. In 1993 Taubman became chairman and a director of Sotheby's but in 2001 he stood trial on charges that from 1993 to 1999 he had colluded with his chief rival, Christie's, to fix sellers' commissions, violating antitrust laws and cheating customers out of $400 million. A year earlier, to settle a civil class-action suit, Taubman stepped down from his Sotheby's post and paid one-third of the more than $500 million settlement made to former clients out of his own pocket. In the criminal trial, Taubman was convicted and spent a year in prison. Taubman was a major philanthropist, giving to educational and Jewish causes. A part-time resident of Bloomfield Hills, outside Detroit, Taubman was one of the two largest all-time contributors to the Jewish Federation of Metropolitan Detroit, mostly anonymously. In 1999, the federation named one of its Jewish community center campuses after Taubman, a member of Shaarey Zedek, a Conservative congregation in Southfield, Mich. With a $30 million gift, Taubman endowed the program in architecture and urban affairs at the University of Michigan, where a wing of the hospital is named after him. Brown University boasts the A. Alfred Taubman School for Public Policy and American Institutions, while Harvard University has the Taubman Center for State and Local Government.

[Stewart Kampel (2nd ed.)]

TAURAGE (Ger. **Tauroggen**), town in W. Lithuania (referred to by Jews as Tavrig). From 1795 until the establishment of independent Lithuania after World War I, it was a town in the province of Kovno within the limits of the *Pale of Settlement. In 1847 there were 410 Jews in the town; after 1850 the community increased and in 1897 numbered 3,364 (54.6% of the total population). At the beginning of the 20th century the local rabbi, Abraham Aaron Burstein, founded a yeshivah which existed until World War I. When the Jewish population was expelled from the battle zone during the war the Jews of Taurage were also evacuated (May 1915) to inner Russia, and the community ceased to exist. After the war the community did not recover its former status. In 1923 there were 1,772 Jews (32.5% of the population) and the community supported a Hebrew secondary school. In 1936 a *blood libel was circulated and riots were prevented only because of the community's *self-defense organization. When the Germans occupied Taurage during World War II, the Jews were concentrated in a ghetto, and after a few months they were massacred. S.P. *Rabbinowitz was born in Taurage.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Lite*, 1 (1951), 1221–23, 1584–85; *Yahadut Lita* (1959), 61.

[Yehuda Slutsky]

TAUSIG, KARL (1841–1871), pianist. Born in Warsaw, Tausig first studied with his father, Aloys Tausig, who had been a pupil of Sigismund *Thalberg, then from the age of 14 with Liszt and became his favorite pupil. In 1865 Tausig settled in Berlin, where he opened the Schule des hoeheren Klavierspiels (School of Advanced Piano Playing). His playing was in a grand and impassioned style with remarkable tone and technique described by Liszt as "infallible." He wrote *Taegliche Studien* and also composed some virtuoso pieces and arrangements.

TAUSK, VIKTOR (1877–1919), Austrian psychiatrist, and one of Sigmund *Freud's early pupils. Tausk, already a judge in Croatia, went to Vienna in 1908 to study medicine and psychiatry. He became a member of the group around Freud, and in spite of his involvement in the dissension in the group, Freud had a high opinion of him. In 1914 Tausk read a paper on melancholia to a meeting of the Vienna Psychoanalytic Society. As an army psychiatrist in World War I he used psychoanalytic methods in the treatment of war neuroses. In 1918 he returned to Vienna, where Freud refused to psychoanalyze him himself and arranged for his analysis by one of his pupils, Helene Deutsch. The treatment was not a success and shortly after Tausk committed suicide.

Tausk published a number of papers in 1913–14 on infantile sexuality and dreams. His outstanding contribution was in the psychoanalytic interpretation of schizophrenia which he published in 1919, *Ueber die Entstehung des "Beeinflussungsapparates" in der Schizophrenia* ("On the Origin of the 'Influencing Machine' in Schizophrenia," 1933). In 1991 a collection of his psychoanalytical papers was published in English as *Sexuality, War, and Schizophrenia.*

BIBLIOGRAPHY: P. Roazen, *Brother Animal: The Story of Freud and Tausk* (1969); K.R. Eissler, *Talent and Genius: The Fictitious Case of Tausk contra Freud* (1971).

[Louis Miller / Elisabeth Dessauer (2nd ed.)]

TAUSSIG, family of U.S. naval officers. EDWARD DAVID TAUSSIG (1847–1921) was born in St. Louis, Missouri, and was appointed to the U.S. naval academy in 1863. He fought in the Union Navy during the Civil War and served on a number of ships between 1867 and 1898, when he was given command of the gunboat *Bennington*. Taussig retired as a rear admiral in 1908. A destroyer was later named in his honor. His son, JOSEPH KNEFLER TAUSSIG (1877–1947), who was born in Dresden, Germany, fought in the Spanish-American War of 1898 as a naval cadet and was given his first command in 1911 on the USS *Amen*. During World War I he commanded escort vessels protecting convoys in submarine-infested waters. From 1933 until 1936 Taussig was assistant chief of naval operations. He then commanded the flagship USS *Idaho* for a year. He retired with the rank of vice admiral in September 1941 but was recalled to service in 1943. After his death a warship was named in his honor.

TAUSSIG, FRANK WILLIAM (1859–1940), U.S. economist, born in St. Louis, Missouri. Taussig's father was an immigrant from Prague, who had become president of a successful railroad company, and his mother was a daughter of a Protestant teacher from the Rhineland. In 1885 Taussig began a teaching career at Harvard, where he became professor of economics in 1901. He served as the first chairman of the United States Tariff Commission in Washington from 1917 to 1919 and was a close adviser to President Wilson.

Taussig's principal field was the theory, history, and practice of international trade and trade policy. His major work *Principles of Economics* (1911) was for many years a standard textbook. Other writings include *The Tariff History of the United States* (1888), *Wages and Capital* (1896), and *International Trade* (1927).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: J.A. Schumpeter, *Ten Great Economists From Marx to Keynes* (1951), 191–221.

[Joachim O. Ronall]

TAUSTE, town in Aragon, N.E. Spain, close to the border of the former kingdom of Navarre. The earliest information about the community of Tauste is from about 1271. It concerns the payment of 600 sólidos as yearly tax, which attests to a certain prosperity. This decreased to 332 sólidos in 1304 and further dwindled during the 14th century. In 1357 the Inquisition held trials in Tauste, and several Jews were condemned to life imprisonment. The nature of their offenses is not known. Nothing is known of the fate of the community during the persecutions of 1391. In 1402 the Jews of Tauste were requested to give a loan to the king. In 1405 there was an attempt to set up a burial society for the community. In 1414 the infante Alfonso (later Alfonso V) confirmed a royal decree restricting the area of the Jewish quarter; a time limit of six months was set for carrying out the resulting changes of residence. In 1458 this community figured among those granted a series of concessions by John II. Toward the end of the century, however, the community dwindled and experienced great poverty. In 1483 Ferdinand of Aragon appointed the surgeon Yuce Atorcar to head the community, which was placed under the supervision of the *merino* of *Saragossa.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Baer, Urkunden, index; Neuman, Spain, index; I. de las Cagigas, in: *Sefarad*, 6 (1946), 74; L. Piles Ros, *ibid.*, 10 (1950), 105, 372f., 383f.

[Haim Beinart]

TAV (**Taw**; Heb. תָּו;ת), the twenty-second and the last letter of the Hebrew alphabet; its numerical value is 400. The basic pictographic shape of this letter consisted of two strokes crossing each other x or +, i.e., the simplest mark and hence its name *taw.* While in the Proto-Canaanite and in the early Phoenician scripts, until the tenth century B.C.E., both the x-shaped and the cross-shaped *taw* were used; in the ninth century B.C.E. the letter's stance was stabilized. The Hebrew script preserved the x-shaped and did not alter its form, but in the Samaritan script it became . On the other hand, the late Phoenician script adopted and developed the cross-shaped *taw* 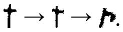. and in the Aramaic script it evolved as follows: 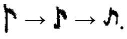. The last form was the prototype of the Jewish *taw* ת and Arabic ت which developed through the Nabatean 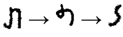. The Greek (and Latin) "T" is a variation of the cross-shaped *taw*. See *Alphabet, Hebrew.

[Joseph Naveh]

TAVUS, JACOB BEN JOSEPH (16th century), author of a Judeo-Persian translation of the Pentateuch, written in Hebrew characters. This work was included in one edition of the polyglot Bible printed in Constantinople in 1546 by Eleazar b. Gerson *Soncino together with the Hebrew original, the Aramaic Targum, and the Arabic version of *Saadiah Gaon. Another edition comprises Judeo-Greek and Judeo-Spanish. It has not been established whether Tavus actually worked in Constantinople, for nothing else is known of his life. The Tavus Pentateuch translation was based on a long tradition of Judeo-Persian Bible translations. Transcribed into Persian characters, it was incorporated in Bishop Walton's polyglot Bible (London, 1654–57).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: S. Munk, *Notice sur R. Saadia Gaon… et sur une version persane* (1838), 62–87; A. Kohut, *Kritische Beleuchtung der persischen Pentateuch-Uebersetzung des Jacob ben Joseph Tawus* (1871); Fischel, in: HTR, 45 (1952), 3–45.

[Walter Joseph Fischel]

TAWIOW, ISRAEL ḤAYYIM (1858–1920), Hebrew author. Born in Druya, Belorussia, he moved with his parents to Riga, where he remained most of his life. In 1889 he began publishing serials in *Ha-Meliẓ* which excelled in their biting satire and wit. Tawiow quickly acquired a reputation as a brilliant essayist. He became a regular contributor to the weekly *Ha-Dor* and during 1905–08 lived in Vilna, serving on the editorial staff of the daily *Ha-Zeman*. He also published a vocalized daily Hebrew newspaper for children called *He-Ḥaver* (1908).

Tawiow's many essays on language and folklore, displaying both erudition and acuity, were posthumously published under the title *Kitvei I.Ḥ. Taviov* (1923). Of significance is his book *Oẓar ha-Meshalim ve-ha-Pitgamim* ("Treasury of Proverbs and Sayings," 1919, 1922^2), in which he collected, explained, and annotated over 3,000 Hebrew and Aramaic proverbs. He also wrote a number of textbooks on the Hebrew language and literature which were widely used. Among them are *Eden ha-Yeladim* (1896 and over 15 subsequent editions), a chrestomathy; *Moreh ha-Yeladim*, rules of the Hebrew language; *Ha-Mekhin* (1899), a beginner's text in the Hebrew language; *Mivḥar ha-Sifrut* (1899); *Oẓar ha-Shirah ve-ha-Meliẓah* ("Treasury of Verse and Metaphor," 1922); *Moreh ha-Signon ve-Shimmush ha-Lashon ha-Ivrit* ("Instructor in Hebrew Style and Usage," c. 1890), and others; and *Torat ha-Nikkud* ("Laws of Vocalization," 1904). Tawiow also tried his hand at belles-lettres, writing, among other works, a comedy called *Ha-Sorer be-Veito* (1900). He also translated works by Berthold Auerbach, Oscar Wilde, and Charles Dickens.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: M. Bobé, in: *He-Avar*, 16 (May 1969), 141–63; N. Slouschz, *Renascence of Hebrew Literature* (1909), 281; Waxman, Literature, 4 (1960^2), 85. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** G. Shaked, *Ha-Sipporet ha-Ivrit*, 1 (1977), 219–50.

[Gedalyah Elkoshi]

TAWRIZI, JUDAH MEIR BEN ABRAHAM (d. before 1646), Karaite physician and author living in Jerusalem. His works comprise an Arabic commentary on the Book of Esther, in which he frequently quotes *Rabbanite authors and cites Rabbanite customs, and mentions the *blood libel; and glosses to the code of Karaite law (entitled *al-Murshid*) of *Samuel al-Maghribī, in which he too refers to Rabbanite codes. He also composed Hebrew liturgical hymns. The appellation Tawrīzī (less correctly Taurīzī) is said to be a dialectal form of Tabrīzī, indicating that the family originated in the Persian city of *Tabriz. Judah Meir's son, ABRAHAM MEIR, also practiced medicine and wrote liturgical poetry.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Steinschneider, Arab Lit, 258; Mann, Texts, 2 (1935), 70f., 106–8.

[Leon Nemoy]

TAX, SOL (1907–1995), U.S. anthropologist. Born in Chicago, Illinois, Tax received a Ph.B. from the University of Wisconsin (1931) and a Ph.D. from the University of Chicago in 1935. He joined the faculty of the University of Chicago in 1940, where he taught until his retirement in 1974. He was appointed chairman of the anthropology department in 1955 and served as dean of the adult education extension school from 1962 to 1968. He served as editor of *American Anthropologist* (1952–55). In 1957 he founded the international journal *Current Anthropology*, which he edited until 1974. He served as director of the Fox Indian Project in Iowa (1948–62). He did fieldwork among the Mescalero Apache (1931), the Guatemalan Indians (1934–41), and the Chukas Indians of Mexico (1942–43). In 1961, Tax coordinated the American Indian Chicago Conference, which assembled 700 Native Americans from more than 80 tribal groups at the University of Chicago. They prepared a Declaration of Indian Purpose, which sought to present a unified position on the relation of native people to the American government. In the 1960s and 1970s, Tax's work included research in developing countries and the former Soviet Union.

Tax was an acknowledged head of the "action anthropologists," a school that holds that the task of the field worker is not just to undertake research but also to assist in the acculturation of the native populations he studies. He repeatedly called for the improvement of living conditions on American Indian reservations in accordance with the Indians' own desires and aspirations.

In another vein, Tax organized a conference on the military draft in 1968, bringing together military leaders and political figures to discuss the issue of the draft and its alternatives.

Tax was president of the American Anthropological Association (1958–59). He also served as director of the Smithsonian Institution's Center for the Study of Man; served on the U.S. National Commission for UNESCO; and served on President Johnson's special task force on American Indian Affairs. Tax was a consultant for the U.S. Office of Education; the U.S. Bureau of Indian Affairs; the National Institute of Mental Health; and the Smithsonian Institution. In 1962 he received the Viking Fund Medal and Award from the Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research.

Among his books are *Acculturation in the Americas* (1952), *Penny Capitalism: A Guatemalan Indian Economy* (1953), *The Evolution of Man* (1960), *Acculturation in the Americas* (1967), *Heritage of Conquest* (1968), and *Cultures beyond the Earth* (1975). The books he edited include *An Appraisal of Anthropology Today* (1954), *Evolution after Darwin* (1960), *The Draft* (1967), *The People vs. the System* (1968), and *Horizons of Anthropology* (1977).

ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Representative Papers of Sol Tax, 1937–1977* (1977); R. Hinshaw (ed.), *Currents in Anthropology: Essays in Honor of Sol Tax* (1979); R. Rubinstein (ed.), *Fieldwork: The Correspondence of Robert Redfield & Sol Tax* (1991).

[Ephraim Fischoff / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

TAXATION. This article is arranged according to the following outline:

HISTORICAL ASPECTS
LEGAL ASPECTS
- **The Biblical Period**
- **The Talmudic Period**
- **The Post-Talmudic Period in General**
- **Yardsticks of Tax Assessment**
- **Taxable Property**
- **Place of Residence, Business, or Situation of Property**
- **Date of Accrual of Liability**
- **Tax Relief and Immunity**
- **Methods of Tax Assessment**
- **Tax Appeals**
- **Adjudication and Evidence**
- **Principles of Interpretation**
- **Tax Collection Procedure**
- **Ethics of Tax Payment**
- **Halakhic Compilations of Tax Law**
- **In the State of Israel**

Special taxation imposed on the Jews by the state or ruler of the territory in which they were living has played a most important part in Jewish history.

HISTORICAL ASPECTS

It is self-evident that a section of the population of a country which pays special taxes must receive special organization and hold a special status (see *autonomy). On the other hand, the abolition of such special taxation implies an approach at least to parity of status and ultimate *emancipation. The state generally tended to impose the tax burden on the Jews by as simple and mechanical a means as possible – per capita, on houses, and the like. Hence the Jewish community body, which had the collective responsibility for the tax, usually tried to redistribute the amount to be paid on more equitable and less mechanical principles; this led to constructive social developments as well as tensions within the community.

Talmudic literature is filled with complaints against the severity of the taxation in Ereẓ Israel during the period of Roman domination. However intolerable this may have seemed, it was not discriminatory, and the pagan population of the area doubtless had similar complaints. On the other hand, the **Fiscus Judaicus* introduced after the fall of Jerusalem in 70 C.E., diverting to the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus in Rome the half-shekel formerly paid voluntarily each year by every Jew to the Temple in Jerusalem, was definitely discriminatory, paid by no other than Jews. It was thus the forerunner of the discriminatory taxation of the Jews in Europe in the Middle Ages, and it was precisely imitated in the **opferpfennig* poll tax exacted by the Holy Roman Emperors in Germany, as successors to the Roman caesars, from 1342. On the other hand, the Temple tax was in a way revived in the semi-voluntary **aurum coronarium* levied by the Palestinian patriarchs from the Jewish communities to which their authority reached.

In the Dark Ages, especially in south Italy and Sicily, the Jews were so far identified with the dyeing industry that the special dye tax was known as the *tincta judeorum*, etc., implying that it was paid in effect only by Jews: this, which was claimed by the local bishops as their perquisite, thus became in effect a discriminatory Jewish tax. The Muslim world meanwhile imposed on the Jews, as on other nonbelievers, two special taxes – the **kharaj*, a land tax in lieu of military service, calculated according to the productivity of the holding, and the *jizya*, a poll tax levied on unbelievers as the price of the free exercise of their religion. It is a moot point long discussed whether Jews paid special taxes in the Byzantine Empire. But when *Benjamin of Tudela was in Rome around 1169 he recorded as noteworthy that the Jews there paid no special tax to any authority.

With the development of Jewish finance in northern Europe the special taxation of the Jews entered on a new phase. One of the reasons for the toleration and protection they now received from the authorities was, precisely, their utility to the treasury. Every financial transaction was now subject to a tax in order to regularize it. Every phase in daily life – such as marriage or betrothal – required the royal license. Death duties ("reliefs") of as much as one-third were imposed on the estates of wealthy financiers. Fines were imposed on individuals, on communities, or on the entire body of Jews of a country to atone for misdemeanors, real or fictitious. In due course, in countries such as England, the system of "tallage" was introduced: theoretically an impost to meet some special contingency, it became, so far as the Jews were concerned, a regular source of royal revenue. Most detailed information regarding the method of exaction is available from England. The heads of the community were assembled and the royal demands intimated to them. The total amount would be divided among the various communities, which in turn would apportion the assessment among individuals. The so-called Jewish Parliament of *Worcester (1240–41) under Henry III consisted of from two to six representatives of every community of England, convened to apportion a tallage of 20,000 marks imposed on them. With the development of the financial organization of the *Exchequer of the Jews, a preliminary to the imposition of a tallage would be the closing of the *archae,* or chirograph chests, which would be sent to the Exchequer for their contents to be investigated and the capability of each individual to pay determined; on some occasions this would be accompanied by wholesale arrests among the Jews to forestall evasion.

The systematic cancellation of debts due to the Jews in return for some immediate monetary payment from the debtors, especially in Germany from the close of the 14th century, was in effect an indirect method of taxation. In the same country a special poll tax similar to that levied on animals, and included in the same list of tolls, had to be paid by Jews at the entrance to every town and state. Even when dead, there was a special toll to be paid at the city boundary on the way to the cemetery. In *Frankfurt, no fewer than 38 different imposts were levied on the Jews, mostly additional to those payable by the other townsfolk. Any Jew encountered on the highway could be compelled to pay the dice tax to atone for the casting of lots for the garments of Jesus at the crucifixion. The tolls on the road, known as the *impôt du pied fourchu* ("toll of the cloven hoof"), were abolished in the eastern provinces of France only in 1784.

In medieval Spain, taxation covering both payments due to the treasury and those for the maintenance of communal institutions was levied generally on incomes, estimated either by assessors (*posekim*) or by individual declaration under oath. As a result of complaints, in 1300 James II of Aragon imposed the method of declaration in his dominion. Henceforth, all taxes both communal and royal were to be apportioned by a board representing the three economic strata of the community (*manus*) before whom every taxpayer was to declare his income under oath. Groups of small Spanish communities were combined by the treasury as a *collecta* for taxation purposes. For the system as it applied in a typical Spanish community see *Huesca.

In *Sicily there were a large number of special levies – apart from the poll tax (*jizya*) still retained from Saracenic times – on animals slaughtered in the Jewish fashion, on wine and cheese prepared for Jewish use, on cloth of Jewish manufacture, a "beam tax" on the sale of houses, a tax for permission to have musicians at weddings, and even a tax on childbirth. This was apart from the obligation to provide banners for the royal galleys and similar exigencies. A "Jewish Parliament," for the purpose of allocating taxation among the Jewish communities, similar to that held at Worcester in England in 1240–41, was convened at *Palermo in 1489 (Lagumina 754). In the ghetto period in Italy a graduated tax was originally levied on income or capital, it being left largely to the individual to assess the contribution he should make. In Venice, Padua, and other cities the assessments were made by a secret commission of *transadori*, whose identity was concealed from the contributors. At the close of the 17th century, a new system was widely introduced, known as the "*cassella*," or chest, in which the amounts were deposited at stipulated times in the presence of officials sworn to secrecy. A sermon would be delivered by the rabbi on the previous Sabbath emphasizing the moral duty of meticulous honesty. In some places money boxes were to be found also in certain buildings, where the prescribed percentage on brokerage could be deposited immediately. The conditions governing the system, which differed widely in details from place to place, were usually printed at intervals, in Italian or in Hebrew, for the guidance of the contributors. In Rome, in addition to the extraordinary impositions, regular taxes included a levy for the upkeep of the House of *Catechumens, another for the expenses of the carnival, and so on. Here as elsewhere in the Papal States the basis of the financial system was a tax not on income but on property, fixed for *Rome at 5 percent; at *Ferrara at 3 percent; at *Ancona at 1 percent, ultimately raised to 1¼ percent.

A meat or *sheḥitah* tax was very common throughout the Jewish world, sometimes payable not in currency but in tokens (see *medals). In effect, this was also in its way a tax graduated according to means, it being assumed that the wealthy ate more luxuriously than the poor. Where the system of voluntary assessment was used in Italy, it was reinforced by a ban of excommunication on any person who knowingly made a fraudulent declaration of his income, and he would thus bear a constant burden of sin of which he alone was aware. Throughout the Jewish world, rabbis and scholars were supposed to be exempt from communal taxation, this often leading to complications and internal disputes. The Council of the Four Lands in Poland-Lithuania (see *Councils of Lands) owed its origin to the need for having a recognized and authoritative body for the assessment of the state taxes on the Jewish population, and, formally, this was the sole function of the council in the eyes of the state. The overall sum was distributed among the "provinces" which in turn divided their quotas among the individual communities. In the first half of the 19th century special taxation, e.g., on *kasher* meat (**korobka*) and the Sabbath candles (*candle tax), was used in Russia as an instrument to discourage traditional observances in the Jewish communities.

After the Resettlement of the Jews in England, various proposals were made for the separate taxation of the Jews for the benefit of the Exchequer. None however was implemented, and this was of great importance in establishing for the Jews the equality of status which was the preliminary to emancipation. The example of the mother country, with the same implications, was imitated in the American colonies; though in *Jamaica and the *West Indies special taxation of the Jews was the rule until the early 19th century. The abolition of special taxation was a corollary to the admission of the Jews to civil rights in France and elsewhere on the continent of Europe at the end of the 18th and beginning of the 19th centuries.

After the emancipation and the end of the special levies on the Jews, some sort of communal taxation remained necessary to defray the cost of communal institutions. The synagogues were generally maintained by membership dues, pew rentals, and voluntary offerings. In the Sephardi communities of northern Europe, etc., the system of *finta* assessed on estimated income by *fintadores* was widely used. The United Synagogue in London imposed a heavy levy on tombstones in order to defray the costs of education. In countries such as Germany and Italy, where the officially recognized Jewish communities were regulated by law, they had the right to impose taxation on all members, which was exacted by the governmental agencies, for the maintenance of essential institutions: refusal to pay hence became equivalent to withdrawal from the Jewish community. In *Argentina the Ashkenazi community paid a small due fee and most of the money for community affairs came from the high taxes on tombstones, whereas in the Sephardi community the percentage of intake was almost reversed. The situation was not much different in other South American communities.

For taxation in modern Israel see *Israel.

[Cecil Roth]

LEGAL ASPECTS

The Biblical Period

Although no detailed description has come down of the taxation system practiced during this period, various particulars of it can be gathered from a number of scriptural references to the subject. Thus the prerogatives enumerated in I Samuel 8:11–17 give an indication of the servitudes, levies, and obligations which the king was entitled to impose on the population, including the following: a tenth of the yield of the field and of the vineyard and the flock, a levy on the vineyard and the olive grove, and compulsory personal service. The biblical description reflects the fiscal system in operation in the Canaanite city kingdoms. The First Book of Kings (4:7–15) tells of King Solomon's division of the kingdom into 12 administrative units, each under the charge of an officer responsible for providing the king and his household with victuals for one month in the year.

TERMINOLOGY. Matters of taxation are mentioned in the Bible under a variety of terms, a number of which continued to be in use in later times. One of these, *mekhes* (Num. 31:28, 37–41), is mentioned in connection with the tribute paid to the priests from the spoil of the war with the Midianites. The like term in Akkadian, *miksu*, described both a tribute from the yield of the fields and a toll levied on travelers and their goods (EM, 4 (1962), 964f.), and in the latter sense the term *mekhes* was employed by the sages of the Talmud (see, e.g., Kil. 9:2; Shab. 8:2, Sem. 2:9) and is still in use in modern Hebrew in the State of Israel. It is clear that a toll of this kind was levied by the kings of Israel on goods imported from abroad or those in transit (cf. I Kings 10:15). In the Bible the term *mas* (mod. Heb. for "tax") occurs in the sense of compulsory labor in the king's service (Ex. 1:11; II Sam 20:24; I Kings 4:6 and 5:27), and is synonymous with the term *mas oved* (JPS, "taskwork"). The main taxes imposed for the benefit of the Persian kingdom were the *mindeh, belo*, and *halakh*, which are mentioned in the letter of the Persian king to the scribe Ezra, exempting all the priests, levites, and other servants of the "house of God" from their payment (Ezra 7:24). The *mindeh* was a general tax payable in money, the *belo* a tax in specie, and the *halakh* apparently a tax on land. Besides the regular taxes, the king apparently from time to time imposed taxes on the people for special purposes, such as those exacted by Menahem and Jehoiakim for payment to the conquerors (II Kings 15:19–20 and 23:35).

Some of the tax alleviations mentioned in the Bible include exemptions given to "the father's house" in reward for a person's act of special bravery (I Sam. 17:25), the general release granted in celebration of a special occasion – as in the case of Queen Esther's coronation (Esth. 2:18) – and the exemption given to the servants of the Temple. At times the tax burden weighed heavily on the people and the oppressive fiscal policy followed in the time of King Solomon was a cause of the rebellion against his son Rehoboam (I Kings 12) and led to the killing of Adoram, the officer in charge of the levy. In a sense the concept of tax, as an imposed duty to contribute toward the needs of an individual, or of the public, is reflected also in the laws relating to matters of **terumah* ("heave offering"); *ma'aser* ("tithe"); **leket, *shikḥhah*, and **pe'ah* ("gleanings," "the forgotten sheaf," and "the corner of the fields," respectively); **ẓedakah* ("charity"), the half-and third-**shekel*; *shemittah* ("the year of the release"); and *yovel* ("*Jubilee").

The Talmudic Period

The Talmud discusses both those taxes imposed by the Jewish local authorities on the Jewish town residents and those imposed by the central governmental authority on the Jewish public. The material on the laws of taxation during this period is scant, but the laws discussed nevertheless formed the basis of a number of post-talmudic tax rules.

JEWISH MUNICIPAL TAXES. "The resident of a town may be compelled to contribute to the building of a [town] wall, doors, and a crossbar" (BB 1:5), and to the building of a prayer house, to the purchase of the Scrolls of the Law and of the Prophets (Tosef., BM 11:23), and to the hire of the town guards (BB 8a). Similarly, he may be compelled to contribute toward the cost of the town's water supply and drainage system, an expense which must also be borne by a person who owns a dwelling in the town even though he is not resident there (Tosef., BM 11:17 according to the Vienna MS; see also Yad, Shekhenim 6:3; Resp. Maharam of Rothenburg quoted in *Mordekhai*, BB 475; Sh. Ar., ḤM 163:2). In the same way the townsmen have to contribute toward the cost of providing the poor with food and clothing and toward the communal charity box and *ma'ot ḥittin* (money for the poor to buy wheat on Passover; BB *ibid.*; TJ, BB 1:4, 12d). For the purpose of liability for some of these taxes – namely for repair of the wall or *ma'ot ḥittin* – a person is regarded in the Talmud (TJ and TB, *ibid.*) as a resident if he has lived in a town for 12 months; if he has bought a dwelling there he immediately becomes liable; as regards certain contributions, e.g., to the charity box, he becomes liable upon shorter periods of residence (*ibid.*, see also *Domicile; with regard to *ma'ot ḥittin* on Passover, see further *Or Zaru'a*, Hilkhot Pesaḥim, no. 255).

The *amoraim* of Ereẓ Israel discussed the principle of yardsticks for determining the rate of such taxes, deliberating whether a tax should be levied as a poll tax (according to the number of persons in the family), or according to financial means, or "according to the proximity of the dwelling" (that is according to the measure of benefit the taxpayer derived from his relative proximity to the wall), the first method being rejected in favor of one of the other two (BB 7b). The majority of the *posekim* held that these two yardsticks should be combined in such a manner that the rate of contribution would first be apportioned according to the financial means of each resident and then according to the measure of benefit derived from his relative proximity to the wall, so that "a poor man nearer the wall shall pay more than one further away; a rich man nearer the wall shall pay more than one further away, but a rich man further from the wall shall pay more than a poor man nearer the wall" (Tos. to BB 7b; Tur and Sh. Ar., ḤM 163:3; for a different opinion, see Yad, Shekhenim 6:4 and R. Hananel, BB *ibid.*). A similar problem is discussed in the Talmud in connection with a caravan in the wilderness threatened by a band of robbers and it is stated that: "the contribution to be paid by each [for buying them off] shall be apportioned in accordance with the amount of money which each has and not in accordance with the number of persons there"; but if they hire a guide to go in front of them, the calculation will have to be made "also according to the number of souls" in the caravan since a misstep could involve danger to life (Tosef., BM 7:13; BK 116b; in the TJ, BM 6:4, 11a the word "also" is omitted before the words "according to the number of souls"); however all this only applies if the manner of apportionment of the contribution is not determined by local custom, since this always prevails (BK 116b; see also Tosef., BK, and TJ, loc. cit.).

TAXES OF THE CENTRAL GOVERNMENT. The tannaitic and amoraic sources mention various kinds of taxes imposed by the general government. Some of those imposed by the Roman authorities in Ereẓ Israel included the *tributum soli*, a land tax, the *tributum capitis* or poll tax, *arnona*, and a customs toll on the transit of goods, as well as a toll on highways and bridges (see Alon, bibl.). Among the taxes levied by the Persian authorities were the *taska*, a land tax, and the *karga*, a poll tax (see J. Newman, bibl.).

The Persian Government in Babylonia. The Babylonian halakhic scholars upheld the various taxes imposed by the governmental authorities, in reliance on the rule of **dina de-malkhuta dina* ("the law of the land is law," BB 55a, et al.), even giving effect to certain acts which were valid under general law but not in Jewish law. Thus under Persian law a person's land became charged in the king's favor for payment of the *taska,* and if it was not paid the land could be sold by the royal officials to anyone paying the tax in the landowner's stead. The *amora* Samuel upheld the validity of such a sale on the basis of the above-mentioned rule (BB 55a; see also BM 73b); Similarly upheld was the rule of Persian law that not only the king could enslave a person who failed to pay the *karga* but anyone else paying the tax in the debtor's stead (Yev. 46a; BM 73b) – except that in Jewish law "he shall not treat him as a slave" (Yad, Gezelah, 5:16; Sh. Ar., YD 267:16).

The Roman Government in Ereẓ Israel. The scholars of Ereẓ Israel, however, looked upon the Romans as foreign conquerors whose rule should be rebelled against and whose taxes were an instrument of robbery and extortion leveled against the Jews. Hence tax evasion was customary in Ereẓ Israel (Ned. 3:4; TJ, Sot. 5:7; BB 127b, R. Johanan) and there the *tannaim* discussed the question of whether or not it was permissible to avoid paying customs in certain circumstances (BK 113a). A certain change of attitude is manifest at the time of R. Judah ha-Nasi, who, like some other men, instructed his sons not to elude customs (lest they be detected and the authorities confiscate everything they had; Pes. 112b; cf. TJ, Ket. 12:3). Regarded in a similarly unfavorable light were the *gabba'im* and *mokhesim* – Jewish officials and publicans who collected taxes and imposts on behalf of the Roman authorities – who were looked upon as robbers and disqualified from being witnesses or judges (Sanh. 25b), whose money could not be taken for charitable purposes (BK 10:1), and who were not acceptable as **ḥaverim* (Tosef., Dem. 3:4; TJ, Dem. 2:3). At a later time the opposition to Roman rule became less intense and the *halakhot* permitting customs evasion came to be interpreted as applying to customs dues imposed without any specified limit or those imposed without the authority of the ruling power (but by the customs collector himself) – in which case it was held that the rule of *dina de-malkhuta dina* did not apply (BK 113a; Ned. 28a). Customs evasion eventually became strictly prohibited: "a person who evades customs is as one who has shed blood – and not only shed blood, but also worshiped idols, committed acts of unchastity, and profaned the Sabbath" (Sem. 2:9). Similarly, it was laid down in the codes: "If the king fixes a tax of, say, a third or a quarter or another fixed measure and appoints to collect it on his behalf an Israelite known to be a trustworthy person who would not add to what was ordered by the king, this collector is not presumed to be a robber, for the king's decree has the force of law. Moreover, one who avoids paying such a tax is a transgressor, for he steals the king's property, whether the king be a gentile or an Israelite" (Yad, Gezelah, 5:11; cf. Sanh. 25b).

TAX IMMUNITY. Just as the Persian rulers exempted priests, levites, and other servants of the Temple from the payment of taxes, so the sages of the Talmud laid down that *talmidei ḥakhamim* should be exempted from contributing toward the upkeep of the town guard – for the reason that they did not need any protection since the Torah was their guard (Ned. 62b; BB 7bff.). However, some of the sages did not exempt rabbinical scholars from such imposts (R. Judah ha-Nasi and R. Naḥman b. Ḥisda, BB *ibid.*) and the fact that there were scholars who paid these is confirmed in several talmudic sources (see e.g., Yev. 17a; Sanh. 27a–b; Yoma 77a – expunged by the censorship and quoted in *Ein Ya'akov* and *Dikdukei Soferim*, Yoma 77a). Exemption of scholars from tax payments was known in other contemporary legal systems (see S. Lieberman, in: JQR, 36 (1945/46), 360–4) and was also a practice in later times (see below). It was laid down that rabbinical scholars must pay taxes levied for the upkeep of roads and streets (BB 8a; Yad, Shekhenim, 6:6; Sh. Ar., YD 243:2, and ḤM 163:4). *Orphans (whose liabilities are lightened in a number of respects in Jewish law) must contribute taxes for purposes of the town guard, the digging of a well, the supply of water to the town and fields, and toward all other matters from which they derive benefit; if the expenditure fails to bring about the desired result, the orphans will be entitled to a refund of whatever they paid, since in the absence of a benefit such payment amounts to a waiver of their money, an act beyond their legal capacity (BB loc. cit. and *Rashi* thereto; Yad, and Sh. Ar., loc. cit.). In the case of an unemployed person who has no income (a *pardakht*) the town residents may approach the government tax collector to release him from his tax contribution; sometimes he is held liable like all other residents and sometimes released (BB 55a; see also *Rashbam*, Tos., *Beit ha-Beḥirah* and *Shitah Mekubbeẓet* thereto; Kohut, Arukh, s.v. "אנדיסק" and supplement thereto s.v. "פרדכש"; M. Beer, bibl., pp. 250f.).

The Post-Talmudic Period in General

The main development of Jewish tax law came in the post-talmudic period, both as regards the determination of general principles and detailed rules and as regards the volume and compass of the material. At the same time this development was an important factor in the evolution of Jewish public law and a number of basic principles in this field evolved from the discussions on the laws of taxation. Therefore a comprehensive discussion of the laws of taxation offers some insight into the evolution of Jewish public and administrative law (see also *Public Authority).

In the post-talmudic period the distinction between Jewish municipal taxes and those imposed by the government was maintained as the basis for discussion of the laws of taxation, and the great development in this branch of the law is mainly to be ascribed to two historical factors affecting the Jewish people, one internal, the other external. From the close of the geonic period onward, Jewish autonomy found its main expression in the various Jewish communal organizations or in a roof organization embracing a number of communities. Starting from this time Jewish life was molded by the new historical reality that hegemony was no longer exercised over the whole Jewish dispersion by a single center – as previously in Ereẓ Israel and Babylonia – and different centers, functioning alongside or in succession to one another, came into existence in Spain, Germany, North Africa, the Balkan countries, Poland, Western Europe, and so on. The result was the strengthening of the individual community and the development of its organizations, and this led in turn to great development in the fields of administrative law and communal enactment (see *Takkanot ha-Kahal*), and to the creation of a proliferous collection of decisions concerning relations between the citizen and the public. The community provided various social services and maintained religious, educational, and judicial institutions, as well as its own administrative and governing bodies, all of which had to be financed through various methods of taxation.

The decisive external factor was that the central governments of the various countries of Jewish settlement in the Middle Ages imposed heavy taxes on the Jews (as "toleration money") in return for their right to live in these countries, and the halakhic scholars stressed their factual purpose so far as the Jewish community was concerned: "the various taxes are for the purposes of protection and they guard us amid the nations; for what reason would the nations have to protect us and to settle us in their midst if not for the benefit they derive by exacting taxes and imposts from the Jews?" (Resp. Ran, no. 2; *Piskei ha-Rosh*, BB 1:29). These taxes were not imposed on the individual directly, but collectively on all the communities in a particular area or on a specific community, and the authorities held the communal leaders responsible for payment of the overall amount. Thus "in all matters of taxation each community has been obliged to make a partnership of its members… since the king makes a general demand and not from the individual" (Resp. Rashba, vol. 5, no. 270). Normally the central authority periodically imposed a "fixed tax" of a comparatively reasonable amount. Sometimes however – on account of special circumstances such as war – an "unlimited tax" of a very large sum of money was imposed, and in these cases the scholars laid down different rules from those governing the regular tax (see illustrations below; on the two types of taxes, see, e.g., *Terumat ha-Deshen*, beginning of Resp. no. 341 and conclusion of no. 342). The fact that taxes were collected by the community both for its own purposes and on behalf of the central authority was instrumental in the development of a refined tax law system governing matters such as determination of the rate of contribution to the tax and tax classification, assessment adjudication and collection, and determination of tax alleviations and exemptions, a system which was evolved in close cooperation between the halakhic scholars and communal leaders.

LEGAL FOUNDATIONS OF THE TAX LAW SYSTEM. In part, the tax law of this period was based on the legal principles determined by the scholars in talmudic times, but in the main it was derived from additional legal sources.

Dina de-Malkhuta Dina. This doctrine was relied upon and its application extended to meet the new and changing needs of the time. Thus, for instance, many scholars found it necessary to decide – contrary to the rule in the Talmud that the doctrine of *dina de-malkhuta dina* does not apply to an unlimited tax – that a tax exacted for the waging of war and "other costly needs" should be heeded even if it was an unlimited tax (R. Isaac the Elder, quoted in *Haggahot Mordekhai*, BB no.

659 end, and in *Teshuvot Maimuniyyot*, Gezelah, no. 9). This change resulted from the strong hand displayed by the ruling power, particularly in the case of German Jewry: "even if our taxes at the present time have no fixed rate but are imposed at the will of the ruler, it is necessary that they be paid and whoever fails to do so is liable to suffer punishment of death, plunder, or imprisonment… for in these times these are all called taxes" (*Mordekhai*, BK no. 190, in the name of Meir of Rothenburg; see also Resp. Ḥayyim Or Zaru'a, no. 253, and cf. his criticism, no. 110; Resp. Maharil, no. 71; Resp. Maharyw (Jacob Weil), no. 38). In Spain, too, in the 14th century, a similar opinion was expressed although in a different context: "all government decrees concerning Jews, even as regards a monetary fine, are a matter of *pikku'aḥ nefesh*" (Resp. Ribash, no. 460). From the legal standpoint this approach was justified by the scholars on the grounds that since it was known that the ruling power behaved in the manner described and that with that knowledge "we establish residence under them and take upon ourselves the hardships and burdens they impose, all of these shall henceforth fall under the rule of *dina de-malkhuta dina*" (*Terumat ha-Deshen*, Resp. no. 341; see also Resp. Maharam Mintz, no. 1; Resp. Maharik, no. 4; for further illustrations see below).

Tax Rules from the Talmudic Period. The principle that the town residents must contribute toward the costs of their security needs, the provision of social and religious services, sanitation, and so on, was applied and extended in post-talmudic times to the payment of various other taxes (Meir of Rothenburg, quoted in *Mordekhai*, BB, 478) and generally to "any matter of the town's needs" (*Mordekhai*, loc. cit.; Resp.Rosh, 6:22) so as to cover the whole spectrum of the community's requirements (Sh. Ar., ḤM 163:1, and see below).

The Community as Partnership. In addition, the post-talmudic scholars applied to the legal relationship between different members of the community the law of *partnership, and by virtue of this deduced a number of conclusions pertaining to the field of tax law. Thus, for instance, they based the legal right to oblige a community member to swear that his declaration of taxable assets was correct (see below) on the rule that one partner may oblige his fellow to swear an oath even in the case of a "doubtful" plea (*ta'anat shema*; *Terumat ha-Deshen*, Resp. no. 341). The rule that a community member might not secure a personal tax waiver except through the mediation of the community was justified likewise on the principle of partnership law restricting a partner's right to enjoy personally a benefit which should be enjoyed by the whole partnership without the consent of his partners (Resp. Maharam of Rothenburg, ed. Prague, no. 918, 932). Similarly, the scholars followed the rule that partners are jointly liable for the whole of a partnership debt in laying down that all members of the community bore collective responsibility for the whole amount of the tax imposed (Resp. Rosh 5:9; for further illustration see, e.g., *Mordekhai*, Ket. no. 239; *Rema*, ḤM 163:3, 6 and 176:25; *Noda bi-Yhudah*, Mahadura Tinyana, ḤM no. 40, and see below).

Communal Enactments (Takkanot ha-Kahal) and Custom. The scholars found the methods outlined above insufficient to overcome the wide array of tax law problems with which they and the communal leaders were confronted. Application of the private law rules of partnership offered no comprehensive basis for solving the myriad tax law problems that arose and belonged, by their very nature, to the field of the public law – not only because partnership law offered no analogy for the overwhelming majority of tax law matters but also because a legal arrangement governing relationships between two or three partners was often unsuited to regulation of the legal relationships between all the different units comprising the community. They found the way to settling most of the laws of taxation through using the authority vested in the public to make enactments (see **Takkanot ha-Kahal*), and by means of the legal source of custom (see **Minhag*). A certain initial hesitation over the binding nature of a custom when it was contrary to "an established and known *halakhah*" of the Talmud on a matter of tax law (see the statement of R. Baruch of Mainz in the 13th century, quoted in *Mordekhai*, BB no. 477) was overcome, and every rule and usage deriving from communal enactment or custom was given full legal recognition. The fact that these two legal sources were instrumental in the development of most of the post-talmudic tax laws accounts, therefore, for the great diversity found in Jewish tax law, which reflects the *takkanot* and customs of the various Jewish communities.

The existence of this fact was constantly stressed by the halakhic scholars of all communities. Thus Solomon b. Abraham *Adret, leader of Spanish Jewry in the 13th century and one of the main formulators of Jewish public law, stated: "Nowhere are the tax laws founded on talmudic sanctity and everywhere there are to be found variations of such laws deriving from local usage and the consent of earlier scholars who 'set the landmarks,' and the town residents are entitled to establish fixed *takkanot* and uphold recognized customs as they please even if they do not accord with the *halakhah*, this being a matter of the civil law. Therefore if in this matter they have a known custom it should be followed, since custom overrides the *halakhah* in matters of this kind" (Resp. Rashba, vol. 4, nos. 260, 177; vol. 3, nos. 398, 436; vol. 5, nos. 180, 363, 270; vol. 1, no. 664, et al.). A similar view was expressed by R. *Meir b. Baruch of Rothenburg, a contemporary of Adret and leader of German Jewry: "tax matters are dependent neither on analogy from nor on express talmudic law, but on the custom of the land… since tax laws are part of the law of the land… and the product of many different customs" (Resp. Maharam of Rothenburg, ed. Prague, nos. 106, 995; see also the statements of R. Avigdor Kohen Ẓedek, quoted in *Mordekhai*, BB, 477). R. Israel *Isserlein added the following explicit remarks: "In all matters affecting the public, their custom shall be followed in accordance with the order they set for themselves, as dictated by their needs and the matter under consideration – for if they be required to follow the strict law in every matter, there will always be strife among themselves; furthermore, at the outset they allow each other to waive the strict law and make up their minds to follow the imperatives of their own custom" (*Terumat ha-Deshen*, Resp. no. 342). This idea was restated in a responsum of the 16th-century Greek halakhist, Benjamin Ze'ev (*Binyamin Ze'ev*, 293), who added: "a custom of the town residents overrides [a decision of] a court of talmudic scholars, even though it has relied on Scripture, and not merely the custom of scholars but also the custom of ass drivers is to be relied upon" (see also Resp. Maharashdam, ḤM nos. 369 and 404; *Noda bi-Yhudah*, Mahadura Tinyana, ḤM no. 40).

In the context of tax law, important principles pertaining to custom in general were laid down. These included the stipulation that a custom must be established and widespread: "that the town residents practiced the custom at least three times, for often the public reaches a conclusion according to need without intending to establish a custom at all" (*Terumat ha-Deshen*, Resp. no. 342). Similarly, it was decided that the established existence of a custom need not be proved in the formal ways prescribed by the laws of evidence: "although it is necessary to inquire whether a custom is established or not, the inquiry itself need not be overly formal and hearsay evidence as well as the evidence of disqualified witnesses is admissible" (*ibid.*). These principles were accepted as decided law (*Darkhei Moshe*, ḤM 163, n. 7; *Rema*, ḤM 163: 3). (For validity of a "bad custom" in the tax law field, see **Minhag*.)

An exaggerated proliferation of local *takkanot* and customs was prevented by the fact that these were usually enacted for or adopted by all the communities in a particular region. Thus Solomon b. Abraham Adret relates that the Jewish community of Barcelona and its environs enacted uniform *takkanot* in the matter of taxes, their assessment and collection – "one chest and one pocket for us all" – and he describes how the community of Barcelona proper, the largest in the region, first consulted with all the surrounding communities on the *takkanot* to be enacted, although in other areas the main community sometimes neglected such prior consultation (Resp. Rashba, vol. 3, no. 412). Other regional enactments of this kind are evidenced in the *takkanot* of Vallidolid (of 1432) and those of the German communities (see Finkelstein, bibl.; also Halpern, Pinkas; *Takkanot Medinat Mehrin; Pinkas ha-Medinah*, bibl.; see further Resp. Maharam of Rothenburg, ed., Prague, no. 241; *Massa Melekh*, 5: 1, 1–3).

INTEGRATION OF TAX LAW INTO THE JEWISH LEGAL SYSTEM. The creation of tax laws in this manner carried with it the danger that the link between this branch of the law and the overall system of Jewish law, which was based on the talmudic *halakhah* and its evolution, might become weakened. This aspect was stressed by the halakhic scholars, and Solomon b. Abraham Adret, for instance, pointed out the diversity in tax laws and noted that this was because the communal enactments were not based on binding talmudic law, "for if so there would be one measure for all the communities, as there is in regard to all other laws of the Torah" (Resp. Rashba, vol. 5, no. 270; and see also vol. 3, no. 412). The scholars and communal leaders nevertheless succeeded in preserving the proliferous body of the tax laws that developed in the Diaspora during this period as an integral part of the Jewish legal system, mainly through adherence to the principles enumerated below.

Reliance on Halakhic Sources. The halakhic scholars were understandably anxious to establish a link between the various *takkanot* and customs and the strict law: "even though it has been said… that in tax matters custom overrides the law, it is at any rate desirable and proper to examine carefully whether we can reconcile all the customs with the strict law, and even if not entirely so it is yet preferable that we find support in the teachings of the scholars and substantiate them with the aid of reason and logic" (*Terumat ha-Deshen*, Resp. no. 342). Thus, for example, support in the form of several talmudic references, was found for the widely accepted custom that a person appealing against a tax assessment has first to pay as assessed before the legal hearing could take place, even though this custom was in contradiction to the Jewish law principle that the burden of proof is on the claimant (see below). Similarly, a *takkanah* aimed at extending the creditor's lien to cover also a tax debtor's money in the hands of a third party even when it was no longer held in specie – and contrary to a rule of the Talmud – was justified by R. Nissim by way of an interpretation which lent a specific legal character to a tax debt (see below). An interesting expression of this general trend is found in two responsa of the 17th-century German halakhic scholar Jair Ḥayyim *Bacharach (Resp. *Ḥavvot Ya'ir*, nos. 57, 58), who was consulted in both cases by the communal leaders on the procedure to be followed upon their discovery that the taxpayer's assets in fact far exceeded the amount on which he had been assessed. After giving a detailed exposition of the talmudic law and existing custom concerning tax assessment, Bacharach went on to describe his approach to the question of integrating law and *takkanot* in the field of taxation: "although certainly in assessment and related matters the community has authority to act as it thinks proper, and it is not necessary to hearken to the voice of a person who seeks to find the original approach of the law [on these matters], yet you should endeavor to examine the reasoning of our scholars and call it to your aid… and thereafter do as you see fit, keeping close to the law of the Torah." Having dealt with the attitude of the *halakhah* and with the existing *takkanot* and customs, Bacharach concluded by stating: "So my humble opinion tends to be like the decisions which are given by lay tribunals [*piskei ba'alei battim*; see **Mishpat Ivri*] together with some measure of application of the strict law."

Legal Interpretation by the Halakhic Scholars. Another reason for the orderly integration of tax enactments and customs into the Jewish legal system was the fact that in most cases the problems and disputes arising from them were brought before the halakhic scholars. In answering these problems and in their interpretation of the various *takkanot* and customs, the scholars applied the accepted rules of interpretation as well as the general principles of Jewish law normally applied in the courts (see below) and a problem that fell outside the purview of an existing custom or *takkanah* was dealt with according to talmudic law and the codes (see, e.g., Resp., Rashba, vol. 4, no. 260; Resp. Maharam of Rothenburg, loc. cit., and further illustration below), since "in all matters that have not been explicitly stated [in communal enactments] we are obliged to adhere as close as possible to the law of the Torah" (Resp. Rama da Fano, no. 43; Resp. Maharashdam, ḤM no. 442).

Principles of Equity and Justice. Also instrumental in the maintenance of an organic link between tax laws and the general system of Jewish law was the scholars' practice of scrutinizing customs and enactments and invalidating them when they were contrary to Jewish law principles of equity and justice. Thus a *takkanah* aimed at rendering the taxpayer liable for double taxation on the same property – both at his place of residence and at the place where the property was situated – was rendered null since "this is nothing but robbery, and it is not possible to stipulate contrary to the law of robbery" (Resp. Rasba, vol. 5, no. 178; vol. 1, no. 788; see also Resp. Maharam of Rothenburg, ed. Prague, no. 106). On the strength of the said principles the scholars also invalidated another *takkanah* which purported to lend a tax obligation retroactive effect, and further, excluded the possibility of combining two methods of tax assessment in a manner drastically increasing the taxpayer's burden (see below). Similarly, a tax custom whose purpose was "to extract vengeance from an individual or individuals" was held to be of no force and effect (*Massa Melekh, Ne'ilat She'arim, Minhagei Mamon*).

Accumulation of Tax Takkanot and Customs in Halakhic Literature. Another reason for the close link between the tax law and the general halakhic system is to be found in the fact that a very substantial part of tax customs and *takkanot* were quoted, often in full, and discussed in the vast responsa literature and other compilations of the halakhic scholars (see below).

Yardsticks of Tax Assessment

The problem of the yardstick to be applied in the assessment of an individual's tax liability continued to occupy the attention of the post-talmudic halakhic scholars.

POLL TAX. This tax, apparently imposed throughout the post-talmudic period, was "a fixed per capita allocation" (Resp. Rashba, vol. 5, no. 220) and was often referred to during this period by its talmudic name, *karga* (Resp. Rashba, vol. 5, no. 178, et al.).

ASSESSMENT ACCORDING TO FINANCIAL MEANS. Generally, most taxes were levied in accordance with the taxpayer's means, a principle the scholars regarded as fundamental to Jewish law. Thus it was decided that the individual members of the community should contribute according to their means toward a specified sum required for their own security needs, contrary to the practice in the case of an amount collected by the central authority: "and if at first, when the gentiles were appointed to be in charge of the guards, they departed from Jewish law in equating the poor with the rich, yet now that they entrusted this matter to ourselves we should not change the law of the Torah that in matters dependent on money the calculation must be made according to means… and it may not be said… that the rich shall not make increase, nor the poor decrease" (*Mordekhai*, BB no. 475 in the name of Maharam of Rothenburg, and no. 497). This approach was fortified by a legal explanation with an interesting historical background: "whatever new decrees and afflictions the gentiles may impose on Israel, even if they should be minded to afflict us by having us refrain from food and drink, yet all is collected according to financial means, for their main concern is the money" (*Piskei ha-Rosh*, BB 1:22; cf. also *takkanot* of the Saragossa community, in Dinur, Golah, 2, pt. 2 (1966^2), 366f.).

ASSESSMENT IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE TAX PURPOSE. Some scholars held that individual tax liability should be assessed in accordance with the purpose for which the tax was imposed. Thus if the purpose was to raise a specific sum in order to bribe the authorities to prevent riots against the Jews on the eve of their festivals, "the law holds that they should pay [tax] according to means as well as souls, since on these days both persons and property are endangered – all this in accordance with the need of the hour and the local situation." In the case of regular taxes imposed by the authorities, means alone was to be the criterion: "for the kings and governments only impose taxes on people with means, and they protect their means by payment of the taxes." If a specified sum was to be raised for the purpose of bribing the authorities not to forbid ritual slaughter or the sale of bread to Jews, assessment was to be according to souls alone, since in this case rich and poor would suffer equal harm. All these distinctions, however, were to remain subject to local custom and enactment (Resp. Rashba, vol. 3, no. 401). All were not consistently observed, and in another responsum Solomon b. Abraham Adret himself (*ibid.*, no. 381) laid down that the cantor's emolument was to be paid out of the community chest; although he fulfills the duty for rich and poor alike the poor cannot afford as much as the rich, and in all matters of the public weal which are dependent on money the contribution must be made according to means. On the other hand, in a later period the opinion was expressed that in the case of the cantor's emolument, the assessment required a combination of two methods – one-half according to souls – for although the poor had as much need of the cantor as did the rich, yet the rich were prepared to pay more to a cantor with a better voice, and "therefore they made this compromise" (Sh. Ar., OḤ, 53:23 and Taz, *ibid.*, no. 14). As a result of the multiplication of possible distinctions of this nature, it was laid down that these matters had to be decided "on the merits of each case, as the judges see fit" (*Rema*, ḤM 163:3); "since these matters are not clearly dealt with in the *halakhah* as found in books only, but must be dealt with by the judges… in taking account of the abnormal and emergency situation and the decrees of the authorities" (*Terumat ha-Deshen*, Resp. no. 345). It was held that liability for tax existed even when the taxpayer had no need for the services financed thereby and therefore could not expect any return consideration. Thus it was decided that the cost of educating children – if this was beyond their fathers' means – should be borne by the whole community, each member contributing according to his means (Resp. Ramah, no. 241; Sh. Ar., loc. cit.); moreover, it was held to be the rule that all the needs of the town must be financed by the whole community, even if some were not in need of certain services, such as a wedding hall or ritual bath, and so on (Resp. Mahari Mintz, no. 7: Sh. Ar., loc. cit.). At different times when the rich sought to evade their tax duty, the halakhic scholars responded in various ways (see, e.g., Dinur, Golah, 2, pt. 2 (1966), 393–5).

TAX PURPOSES. The purposes for which taxes were levied during the post-talmudic period embraced a wide spectrum of municipal needs – such as maintaining the town guard, providing health, educational, and religious services, and for judicial and civil execution institutions, funds for combating informers, funds for charity to the poor, for hospitality, and for *ma'ot ḥittin* on Passover – in addition to various taxes, fixed or otherwise, imposed by the central authorities on the Jewish community and collected by the communal authorities from its members (see illustrations cited and see also Tur, Sh. Ar., ḤM 163, and standard commentaries). These taxes were known by various names, some corresponding to those mentioned in the Talmud, and other taxes were called by the names customary in the various countries of Jewish settlement.

Taxable Property

Taxes were mainly direct and based on income from property, movable or immovable: "for property which cannot be utilized and earned from is not properly taxable" (Resp. Ran, no. 2:21). Non-income-bearing property was subject to tax reduction in the case of a special property tax or a non-recurrent "unprescribed" tax imposed in a very large amount in the event of a special false accusation or other emergency. The increasingly severe fiscal burden imposed by the ruling power, particularly in the case of German Jewry, fostered the tendency toward imposing taxes on non-income-bearing property also, as will be detailed below.

LAND. "It was accepted in ancient times that taxes should not be imposed on land, for tax derives only from a business transaction" (Maharam of Rothenburg, quoted in *Mordekhai*, BB no. 481), and this continued to be the practice in 13th-century Germany although unsuccessful efforts had been made to bring about a change (*ibid.*). A land tax, in Meir b. Baruch's opinion (*ibid.*), could exist only in the event that "the land itself is tax-burdened," that is if the tax was expressly imposed as a property tax on land, or if the tax was imposed in a time of emergency when there was reason to fear "the plunder of courtyards and land, and the burning and destruction of houses" (Sh. Ar., ḤM 163:3). Similarly, in the case of a person buying and selling land, "it is the universal custom that tax is payable on everything that a person may wish to sell, whether household articles or land… for anything that is for sale is like merchandise" (Resp. Maharyw, no. 84, and see below).

HOUSES. In the case of houses it was decided that local custom should be followed, and when there was no such custom the issue depended on the nature of the tax: if imposed to finance the expenses of the town guard the tax would extend also to houses, i.e., to owners of houses in the town even if they did not reside there (see below); however, if the tax "be like all other fixed taxes payable annually – to the ruling power or municipal authorities – on account of the income earned in the town, houses will not be subject to tax; yet if a person should own two or three houses, he must pay tax on them for this is no different to any other income, but he shall not pay tax on his own dwelling, save in the case of a tax in a large amount or when the ruler has determined that they shall pay tax on everything they own" (Maharam of Rothenburg, quoted in *Mordekhai*, BB no. 475 and see Resp. Maharyw, no. 84).

In certain areas of Spain in the 13th century, tax was payable on land even independently of its sale (Resp. Rashba, vol. 5, no. 182). In one case it was decided that on land and all else from which no income was derived, tax was payable at one-quarter of the regular rate (*Teshuvot ha-Rashba ha-Meyuḥasot le-ha-Ramban*, no. 184); this was apparently a property tax expressly imposed as such. On houses, however, no tax was imposed (Resp. Rashba, vol. 5, no. 179, 182).

VINEYARDS AND FIELDS. The rule was established that even income-bearing movable property from which a loss could more commonly be anticipated than a profit – such as the yield from a field or vineyard – should not be taxable. Hence it was decided as early as the 11th century that a tax which the town residents sought to impose on a woman's vineyard was contrary to law because the great effort and expense involved in the vineyard's cultivation did not necessarily assure an income, and it was wrong that an asset should be consumed by the tax levied on it (Resp. Joseph Tov Elem (Bonfils), quoted in Resp. Maharam of Rothenburg, ed. Prague, no. 941 and in *Mordekhai*, BB no. 481; see also *Takkanot Rashi*, quoted in Resp. Maharam of Rothenburg, ed. Berlin, no. 866 and in Finkelstein, bibl., p. 149). However, in 15th-century Germany there was a change in the profitability of vineyards: "in these countries, in the main the people sustain themselves by their vineyards and derive their wealth from them." Thus a situation arose in which there was no possibility of exempting vineyards entirely from taxation yet frequent heavy losses from such property could nevertheless be anticipated. It was decided, therefore, that tax was to be assessed on one-half of the value of the property, but that no exemption was to be granted in the case of a "very large and exaggerated" emergency tax (*Terumat ha-Deshen*, Resp. no. 342). In Salonika, in the 17th century, tax was payable on the full value (*Massa Melekh*, 3: 2, 1).

MONEY LOANED ON INTEREST. This was an obvious category of taxable property: "there is no more convenient class of merchandise; since the lender holds his pledge and his money grows, he benefits without effort or strain, or any need to supervise, nor does he have any expense…" (R. Yom Tov Elem, quoted in Resp. Maharam of Rothenburg, ed. Prague, no. 941). In the course of time, when it became increasingly likely that money loaned to non-Jewish borrowers would never be repaid, it was decided that the interest was not to be taxed (as in the case of vineyards), except that exemption was not to be granted on the whole amount of the loan, for since "in our time we mostly earn our livelihood from lending money on interest, what other source of taxation is there?" If interest was reflected as capital and compounded thereon, the interest was to be regarded as capital and taxable (*Terumat ha-Deshen*, Resp. no. 342). A person was held to be liable for tax on income derived not only from his own property but also from the property of others held in his possession (*Mordekhai*, BB no. 481; *Nimmukei Menahem* of Menahem Merseburg, Din. 5; see also various opinions in *Terumat ha-Deshen*, Resp. no. 342 and *Rema*, ḤM 163:3). It was held that a debt which the creditor despaired of recovering might be excluded from his list of taxable property provided that he assigned his right in the matter to the communal trustee; if the debt was recovered by the community, two-thirds of it had to go to the community and the remainder to the creditor (*Terumat ha-Deshen*, loc. cit.; for a different ratio, see Resp. Maharyw, nos. 84 and 133). In another *takkanah* debts were declared completely tax-free (Resp. Rama da Fano, no. 43).

MONEY IN DEPOSIT OR TRUST. It was *Hai Gaon's opinion (quoted in *Terumat ha-Deshen*, Resp. no. 342) that money deposited with a trustee was not taxable, since no profit was derived from it by its owner. From the 13th century onward, the majority of the German *posekim* came to hold the converse opinion (Resp. Ḥayyim Or Zaru'a, no. 253; *Terumat ha-Deshen*, loc. cit.; Resp. Maharyw, no. 133; cf. the contrary opinion in *Nimmukei Menahem* of Menahem Merseburg, Dinim 10, 18), and it was stated: "Our custom is that a person is liable on all that he owns, whether openly or concealed" (Resp. Maharil, no. 121). In a special *takkanah* of the Mantua community in the 16th century, even a "hidden portion [*maneh kavur*] earning no income" was declared taxable. It was necessary to decide that no tax was payable for the period of the theft on a sum of money stolen and later returned to its owner, since the particularly stringent nature of the rule which – contrary to the general law and custom – rendered taxable such money "from which its owner certainly derives no income," required that it be narrowly interpreted and its operation confined to the case of an asset "guarded in the owner's possession" (Resp. Rama da Fano, no. 43; see also *Rema*, ḤM 163:3).

RIGHTS AND OBLIGATIONS. Some scholars held that a property right recoverable by action, such as a right to payment of a dowry, was taxable (Resp. Maharyw, no. 82), but not a right which its owner was uncertain of recovering; nor were the unpaid wages of a teacher, laborer, or employee taxable – even if already due – until they were actually paid (*Terumat ha-Deshen*, Resp. no. 342). A debt was held to be deductible from the amount of a person's taxable assets (Resp. Rashba, vol. 1, no. 1074, et al.), and apparently the deduction was allowed only after the debt had matured, although in 15th-century Germany it was allowed even before maturity of the debt (*Terumat ha-Deshen* and *Rema*, loc. cit.).

JEWELRY, GOLD, AND OTHER VALUABLE ARTICLES. It was deduced from the statements of "some of the *geonim*" (quoted in *Terumat ha-Deshen*, loc. cit.) that no tax was payable on property of this kind since no profit was derived from it; an 11th-century *takkanah* nevertheless records the assessment of such articles at half value for tax purposes (*Takkanot Rashi*, quoted in Resp. Maharam of Rothenburg, ed. Berlin, no. 866), and in the 15th century it was the practice to assess these articles at their full value on account of the "swindlers" who used to invest the money they earned in precious stones and jewels in order to gain tax exemption (*Terumat ha-Deshen*, loc. cit.).

BOOKS. Solomon b. Abraham Adret ruled that book manuscripts which were of very great value, were taxable at one-quarter of their value, i.e., at the same rate as land, even though they were not income producing (*Teshuvot ha-Rashba ha-Meyuḥasot le-ha-Ramban*, no. 184); however the majority of the scholars exempted them entirely – both because books were not income producing and "lest in future people refrain from hiring scribes to write books" (*Terumat ha-Deshen*, loc. cit.).

MEAT AND WINE. A tax on the purchase and sale of wine and meat is mentioned in various medieval *takkanot* and responsa (Resp. Rashba, vol. 2, no. 213; Resp.Rosh, nos. 6: 14, 102:6; Resp. Ritba, no. 44; *Takkanot Castile*, in Finkelstein, bibl., p. 371).

TAX CEILING. At first it was considered that there was no ceiling on the amount of a person's tax liability: "it has been the custom since ancient times… that a person is liable for tax, however high the amount, on all of his business transactions" (Resp. Maharam of Rothenburg, ed. Berlin, no. 127). Later, in certain areas, such a ceiling was provided for, but was only applied in respect of regular taxes and not of those specially imposed in times of emergency or in other special circumstances (*Massa Ḥayyim, Missim ve-Arnoniyyot*, nos. 27, 61).

CONSECRATED PROPERTY. Property dedicated to the needs of the poor, or to religious and educational needs, and the like (see *Hekdesh*) was regarded as exempt from tax on various grounds: since consecrated property was deemed to belong to the community it was not logical for the community to tax its own assets (Resp. Ran, no. 2); such property was not intended for profit-making purposes – a precondition to taxation (*ibid.*); and in order to encourage the consecration of property (to strengthen the hands of those "who perform a *mitzvah*" (*ibid., Terumat ha-Deshen*, Resp. no. 342). It was decided that the exemption only applied in respect of property that had already been dedicated and set aside at a particular place, but not otherwise, in order to discourage fraudulent acts (Resp. Rashba, vol. 5, nos. 142 and 141, 143; vol. 2, no. 57; Resp. Rosh. 13:6; Sh. Ar., ḤM 163:3; for further particulars, see *Massa Melekh*, pt. 3).

Place of Residence, Business, or Situation of Property

It was laid down that tax was payable at the place where the taxpayer was resident. In general, a person was regarded as a resident of the town in which he had lived for a period of 12 months or more; a lesser period entailed the duty to contribute toward some of the town's needs, and a person immediately became the resident of a town in which he purchased a dwelling (see above). In the 12th century the *posekim* disagreed on the criteria of residence for purposes of tax liability. According to one view, "even if he has rented a house he is not to be likened to one who has purchased a dwelling there [in the town], since in the latter case the *kinyan* proves that he has made up his mind to settle, but if a dwelling is rented it may not be his intention to settle and he should not be held liable"; another opinion was that "a person who comes to dwell and settle there is like one who purchases a dwelling there" (opinions quoted in *Mordekhai*, BB no. 477 and in Resp. Maharyw, no. 124), and this latter became the accepted opinion (*Terumat ha-Deshen*, Resp. no. 342; Resp. Maharik, no. 17). It was held that at all events a fixed local custom to impose tax liability, even upon residence in the town for a period of less than 12 months, was to be followed (*Mordekhai*, loc. cit.), and in various places other periods were prescribed (see, e.g., *takkanot* of the Saragossa community, 1331, in Dinur, Golah, 2, pt. 2 (1966^2), 345 f.; Resp. Rashba, vol. 3, no. 397; see also Sh. Ar., ḤM 163:2; for further particulars, see *Massa Melekh*, pt. 1).

SITUATION OF PROPERTY. A property tax was regarded as payable at the place where the property was situated regardless of the owner's place of residence (Resp. Rashba, vol. 5, 178; Resp. Ritba, no. 157). This principle was deduced from the talmudic rule that a person owning property (a *ḥaẓer*) in a town of which he is not a resident must contribute toward the costs of the town's water supply (Maharam of Rothenburg, quoted in *Mordekhai*, BB no. 475, on the authority of Tosef., BM 11:18). Meir of Rothenburg's reasoning in this matter is interesting. Starting from the mishnaic *halakhah* that "the [upkeep of the] water channel, the city wall, and the towers thereof and all the city's needs… were provided from the residue of the shekel-chamber" (i.e., from the money of all Israel; Shek. 4:2), he poses the question, "and why shall the city not be built by the Jerusalemites themselves, on their own?" His answer is "because no tribal division was made of Jerusalem and it is a dwelling place for all the house of Israel, therefore the funds come from the residue of the shekel-chamber, contributed by all Israel" (*ibid.*).

PLACE OF BUSINESS TRANSACTION. Tax on profits derived from a business transaction was likewise held to be payable at the place where the business was transacted and the profit made (Resp. Rashba, vol. 5, no. 263), for the reason of *dina de-malkhuta dina*, since according to the general law of the land the king may "decree that no person shall carry on business in his country unless he pay so-and-so much" (Resp. Rashba, vol. 3, no. 440; vol. 1, no. 664; vol. 5, nos. 263, 286); even talmudic law entitled the residents of a town to call upon a person not to carry on his business there "in order not to diminish their profit" unless he paid them tax on his profits, and his refusal to do so gave the townspeople authority to restrain him from carrying on business in their community (Resp. Rashba, vol. 5, no. 270; see also Resp. Ritba, no. 157). The community was at all events held to be entitled to enact a *takkanah* that anyone carrying on business in their town should pay them tax on this, since "on this matter all communities have rules and *takkanot* not derived from talmudic law" (Resp. Rashba, vol. 3, no. 397). Moreover, even people coming to a particular town in circumstances of **ones*, for instance when fleeing from the enemy, with the intention of returning to their own town once the danger had passed, could be liable to contribute toward the taxes of that town after they had sojourned there for more than 12 months and transacted business like the townspeople, although perhaps not at the same rate as the permanent residents of the town (*Binyamin Ze'ev*, no. 293, with detailed discussion and quotation of different opinions; for further particulars, see *Massa Melekh*, 1:2, 1–2).

DOUBLE TAXATION. It was held to be clear that a person who was not resident in the town where he transacted business could only be taxed by that community on business transacted locally and not on business transacted in the town of his residence or on property he owned there (Resp. Rashba, vol. 3, no. 440). Furthermore, even the community where he lived could not tax him on business transacted in another community, "for if this be permitted an injustice will be done in that he is made to pay twice" (*ibid.*), and it was an important principle that "the same asset cannot be taxed in two different places" (Resp. Rashba, vol. 5, no. 270). In one instance the leaders of a certain community sought to enact that a resident of the local community was to be taxed also on his property situated in the area of another community because "the community has authority to make enactments and rules so that no one shall escape liability." Notwithstanding the right of a community to make enactments in tax matters even if they were contrary to a rule of the *halakhah*, Solomon b. Abraham Adret rejected the validity of this *takkanah* because it was "nothing less than robbery and it is not possible to contract out of the laws of robbery… for the community has no right to rob an individual of his money and take it for itself" (Resp. Rashba, vol. 5, no. 178). This decision of principle led to the enactment, in certain communities, of *takkanot* aimed at one and the same time at avoiding double taxation while minimizing, as far as possible, loss of tax income to the community in which the taxpayer resided. Thus the *takkanah* of a certain community rendered local residents liable for tax even on their property situated elsewhere, but as they were allowed first to deduct from their tax assessment the tax payable to the other community and the balance went to the local community, the *takkanah* apparently brought little benefit to the local community (Resp. Rashba, vol. 5, no. 282, also no. 178). This distinction between property situated at the taxpayer's place of residence and property situated elsewhere naturally also influenced the laws concerning the declaration of assets for purposes of tax payment. Thus it was laid down that a taxpayer owning property in another country where he also had a creditor was to deduct the debt in question from the property declaration he submitted to the foreign country and not from the declaration he submitted to the authorities at his place of residence (Resp. Rashba, vol. 1, no. 1074).

The objection in principle to double taxation was apparently not always generally accepted in the Jewish community in Germany. In the 14th century it was stated: "some hold that money which is retained by a person outside the town of his residence… is tax exempt… and others say that a person who has money outside his town, even abroad, must pay tax on all his money, and must also pay tax in the other place on the same money, even if the money has never come into his hands, and this is the custom of the majority of the people" (Menahem of Merseburg, quoted in Resp. Maharyw, no. 133). This was still the case in the 15th century: "It is the custom in all these countries that taxes and impositions are payable also on property that has always remained outside the country, and I am accustomed to dealing accordingly" (*ibid.*).

Date of Accrual of Liability

The halakhic scholars were much occupied with the question of whether liability for a tax obligation accrued on the date when the basis for its existence came into being or on the date when the tax payment became due for collection. The difference related mainly to two events of common occurrence in daily life: firstly, when a resident left or joined a community after imposition but before collection of the tax; secondly, when the taxpayer's financial position changed between the time of imposition of the tax and the time of its collection.

LEAVING OR JOINING THE COMMUNITY. *Leaving the Community*. A minority opinion held a person to be exempt from paying tax to the community which he left after the imposition but before the collection of such a tax (R. Tam, quoted in *Mordekhai*, BB nos. 475–476 and in Resp. Maharik, no. 2; see also *Massa Melekh*, 1:2; 3:2). However, the majority of the *posekim* disputed this view: "It seems to me to be as a law of the Torah that when the king has called for a tax… everything that one possesses becomes charged in the king's favor, and, even if one should run away before collection of the tax, everything is already so charged – for the law of the land is law and even the measure that is within the jar becomes charged in favor of the *karga*" (Isaac the Elder, quoted in *Mordekhai*, BB no. 476 and in *Teshuvot Maimuniyyot*, Gezelah, no. 9; Judah of Paris, quoted in *Mordekhai*, BB no. 659); similarly, "the *geonim* of France decided that when a man leaves his city, he must pay the tax imposed on him" and, in any event, "such is the custom in all the communities that a person cannot, upon leaving the city, gain exemption from a tax for which he has already become liable" (see *Mordekhai*, BB nos. 656 and 476).

This question was also disputed in Spain in the community of Solomon b. Abraham Adret, and there the matter was decided in accordance with the above-mentioned principle, after "they investigated and inquired from other communities and ascertained from all the communities and their leaders that they follow the opinion of those who exempt persons who come into the community [after imposition of the tax] and hold liable those who leave the community; since then the dispute has become resolved and in accordance with this we apply the law in all the communities in our area" (Resp. Rashba, vol. 5, no. 179). In other places *takkanot* were enacted to the express effect that anyone intending to leave the city had first to pay all the taxes for which liability had already accrued (*ibid.*, vol. 3, no. 406; see also vol. 3, no. 405 and vol. 4, no. 260) and the *halakhah* was thus decided in all later periods: "The law obliges him to pay in full, on all his property, the taxes that have already been imposed, along with all the expenses involved, since he has already become liable for them as one of the taxpayers and he cannot rid himself of them by departing from the city" (Resp. Ritba, no. 157). A similar decision was given by Joseph Colon in Italy in the 15th century: "The prevailing *halakhah* among the Jewish people is that those who run away after imposition of a tax are not thereby exempt from paying their share of the tax" (Resp. Maharik, no. 2); moreover, "anyone escaping from the tax so as not to contribute along with his neighbor will not in the long run, if he returns to the country, derive any reward from his action" (*Leket Yosher*, OḤ, p. 139; see also Sh. Ar., ḤM 163:2). Since a person leaving a city was liable for the payment of his share of the tax, it was held, in a certain case where the authorities refunded part of the tax collected to residents of the community that such person was also entitled to claim his share of the amount refunded by the authorities (Resp. Rashba, vol. 3, no. 405).

In the German community the scope of tax liability of a departing resident was even extended. It was laid down that the tax liability existed not only if the amount payable had been finally determined at the time of the resident's departure, but it sufficed if it had been known that a tax was going to be imposed, even though the amount had not yet been settled between the community and the authorities (Resp. Ḥayyim Or Zaru'a, no. 80). In the 15th century the matter was more precisely defined: "A person leaving the city or the country to settle in another country must share equally with the residents of his former place of domicile the burden of any new tax imposed on them within 30 days of his departure" (*Terumat ha-Deshen*, Resp. no. 342); this was because it had to be assumed that the tax had been "under preparation" for some time prior to its imposition, at which time the departing resident was included in the reckoning, and also that the tax was under discussion in the community for some time prior to its imposition; therefore to exempt from such a tax any person leaving the city a few days before the imposition of the tax would amount to encouraging many to evade taxes by leaving the city and returning there in due course (*ibid.*; see also *Rema*, ḤM 163:3; *Massa Melekh*, 1:2, 3–4).

Joining the Community. The natural corollary of this rule was to exempt a person from liability for a tax imposed before he had joined the community even though the tax fell due for collection after his arrival, "since it is not possible to burn the candle at both ends by holding newcomers liable at the time when the tax is collected and departing residents liable at the time when the tax obligation is created" (Resp. Rashba, vol. 5, no. 179). This was also the custom followed in various other communities ("the custom of the community in Crete is not to reduce the tax for the departing resident nor to exact it from the newcomer," quoted in *Mordekhai*, BB no. 656). It was further decided that a community could not demand that a newcomer contribute toward the payment of any particular tax imposed for a reason clearly connected with an event preceding his arrival – as in the case of a tax imposed by one authority because the community had made a similar tax payment before to another authority, at a time when the newcomer was not yet a resident of the community (Resp. Rashba, vol. 4, no. 260).

Retroactive Tax Liability. The majority of the halakhic scholars held that the imposition of retroactive tax liability – that is imposition of liability on a person not resident in the community at the time of creation of the underlying tax obligation – -was invalid even though it was sanctioned by custom or express *takkanah*. In a certain case it was held that a tax imposed by the community for the purpose of repaying an existing loan could not be exacted from a person who came to live in that community after the loan had been taken, even though he came there before the imposition of the tax: "for why should he repay that which he has not borrowed and how shall he restore that which he has not himself taken ['robbed']?" (Rashba, quoted in Resp. Ribash, no. 477). Moreover, this principle could not be set aside even by an express communal enactment, since "the community cannot make any law or *takkanah* to the detriment of an individual member and contrary to the accepted law, except with the latter's consent, because the community cannot stipulate to 'rob' others" (Ribash, *ibid.*; see also Resp. Rashba, vol. 3, no. 412). On the other hand, the German scholars regarded as valid "a *takkanah* that anyone coming to live with us in the city within a given year shall pay retroactively the tax paid by the others at the beginning of that year" (Resp. Ḥayyim Or Zaru'a, no. 226; in this particular case the individual concerned was exempted because he came to live not in the city itself but in a nearby village; cf. however Resp. Rashba, vol. 4, no. 260 where the validity of an express *takkanah* of the type mentioned above was apparently recognized in certain cases).

CHANGE IN THE TAXPAYERS' FINANCIAL POSITION. In principle, the date of creation of the underlying tax obligation was recognized as the crucial time for the purpose of determining the measure of individual liability for the tax. Hence the taxpayer had to be assessed according to his financial position at that time, regardless of any change in his financial position at the time of collection of the tax. The halakhic scholars justified this rule by likening the residents of the community to partners, who remain liable for repayment of the debt according to the rate of individual participation in the original obligation and not according to their respective financial positions at the time of repayment. However, while the community had no authority to determine by *takkanah* that the time of the collection of the tax and not the time of its imposition was to be deemed the crucial date for purposes of the essential liability for the tax obligation, it was held that so far as the measure of individual contribution toward the tax was concerned the community was entitled to enact by *takkanah* that the individual taxpayer be assessed according to his financial position at the time of collection, and this was the practice followed (Rashba, quoted in Resp. Ribash, no. 477). This *takkanah* was explained on the basis of the difference between the rules of private law concerning a loan taken by individual partners and the rules of public law concerning a loan taken by the community: "for the community that borrows for communal purposes is not like those who borrow for themselves personally, but it borrows for the community chest" (*tevat ha-kahal*; for particulars of this concept, see Resp. Rashba, vol. 3, nos. 400, 411; vol. 4, no. 309 and other references to it in this article), "and this debt it has to repay from whatever is available in the chest at the time of payment; such is the custom all over, and neither the poor who have become rich nor the rich who have become poor… pay except according to their means at the time of payment; this is also our practice and in any event it is impossible to do otherwise" (Resp. Rashba, vol. 3, no. 412; for particulars of this development from private to public law, see Public Authority; *Takkanot ha-Kahal*). However, it was pointed out that this explanation lacked validity in the case of a person who was not a resident of the city at the time when the loan was taken, since he could in no way be said to have borrowed "for the community chest" (Rashba and Ribash, loc. cit.).

Other scholars determined the crucial date for purposes of tax liability according to the substantive nature of the tax in question. Thus, in the case of a tax of the kind that was regularly imposed from year to year by the authorities, it was held that a person coming to live in the community in the middle of the tax year should be liable for payment of a share pro rata to the remainder of the tax period, since for the duration of that period he would benefit on account of the tax imposed; hence there was all the more reason why a resident who became rich in the course of the tax period had to contribute in accordance with his current means. However, in the case of a nonrecurring tax only those who were resident in the city at the time it was imposed had to contribute (Resp. Rosh 6: 12; see also *Rema*, ḤM 163:3).

Tax Relief and Immunity

Tax relief on a personal basis is recognized in Jewish law, sometimes for financial reasons and sometimes for social or demographic reasons.

PERSONS OF LIMITED MEANS. It was held that the poor had no obligation whatsoever to pay tax (Resp. Rosh, 6:4, 12), neither on their income from business transactions nor in the form of a poll tax (see *takkanot* of the Saragossa community in Dinur, Golah, 2, pt. 2 (1966^2), 366f.). Elsewhere it was laid down that widows, unmarried orphans, and the disabled were not to be taxed unless their property exceeded a certain amount, and then on the excess only (*Takkanot* Castile (Finkelstein, bibl. p. 371)). A 15th-century German *takkanah* exempted from tax all persons who owned less than a certain amount, but rendered those who owned more than the specified amount liable for tax on all their property (*Terumat ha-Deshen*, Resp. no. 342). In 13th-century Germany it had been the practice to exempt orphans until their majority and marriage (Or Zaru'a, quoted in *Terumat ha-Deshen*, loc. cit.), but in the time of Israel Isserlein orphans also were taxed in accordance with their financial means, on account of the increased tax burden and because tax payment was a matter of safeguarding the security of the community, an obligation regarded as devolving on orphans also (*ibid.*); however, it was laid down that orphans were exempt from the duty of contributing toward the building of a synagogue (*Rema*, ḤM 163:4).

In cases where persons of limited means were held liable for tax, the communal leaders and halakhic scholars sought legal ways to ease their burden (see, e.g., Resp. Rashba, vol. 5, no. 220). An interesting illustration of this can be found in the *takkanot* of the Huesca community of 1340. These prescribed a detailed and onerous list of diverse taxes, apparently aimed at financing communal services as well as raising the amount levied by the crown. The list included poll tax; property tax on houses, vineyards, fields, and gardens; a business and profits tax on wine and various other commodities; and taxes on leases and loans, on gold and silver jewelry, expensive garments, and the like. At the same time, "50 Jews who do not today own property to the value of 50 solidos" were exempted from the poll tax; also exempted were "those who study day and night and have no other occupation" (Dinur, loc. cit., pp. 349–53, and see below with reference to exemptions granted to scholars). On the other hand, the scholars were opposed to exempting a person from tax liability on the grounds of alleged straitened financial circumstances when in fact there was no more at stake than the interests of a man of means under whose patronage such a person was working. Thus Isserlein mentions that in Germany in the 15th century "some of the *ba'alei battim* ['householders'] have to some extent been forcing the custom of having their servants made exempt even though they have money on which they earn, because they eat at the table of the *ba'alei battim*." Criticizing this custom, he declared "that it ought not to be followed" (*Terumat ha-Deshen*, Resp. no. 342; for further particulars, see *Massa Melekh*, 4:4; as regards tax liability and exemption of "an idle person transacting no business in the city," see Tur and Sh. Ar., ḤM 163:6 and standard commentaries; *Massa Melekh*, 1:1, 4; this case was one that had become of little practical importance, "to be in the position of an idler is something that is not so common – I have skimmed over it" (loc. cit.)).

ENCOURAGING SETTLEMENT IN EREẒ ISRAEL. In Germany in the 12th century it was decided that a person remained liable for a tax imposed before he left his place of residence, even though he intended to settle in Ereẓ Israel, since "the upholding of life (*pikku'aḥ nefesh*) is a more important *mitzvah* than settling in Ereẓ Israel… and the tax for which he is liable should not be imposed on the public for the sake of the *mitzvah* of settling in Ereẓ Israel" (quoted in *Mordekhai*, BB no. 656). It is possible that in this case the tax was required in circumstances of special urgency. On the other hand, it is mentioned that in the Turkish countries in the 16th century – the period following the expulsion from Spain and the mass immigration to and consolidation of the Jewish settlement in Ereẓ Israel – it had been the fixed custom for many years in the city that "anyone migrating to Israel to take up residence there had his property exempted from all kinds of taxes, even if it was left behind in that city" (quoted in *Paḥad Yiẓḥak*, s.v. *Missim zeh Yammim*). In one case the residents of the city sought to abrogate the custom in question by an express *takkanah*, but it was decided that they had no authority to do so "especially because by enacting such a *takkanah* they would deter the public from fulfilling the *mitzvah* of living in Ereẓ Israel" (*Paḥad Yiẓḥak*, loc. cit.; *Massa Melekh*, 1:2:3, 4; 5:2, 6; see also *Massa Ḥayyim Missim ve-Aroniyyot*, no. 2).

LARGE FAMILIES. Another kind of tax exemption was that granted to "a person who has 12 children" (quoted in *Paḥad Yiẓḥak*, s.v. *Missim, Mi she-Hayu Lo*). In a certain case in Italy it was decided that the father of such a large family was to be entirely exempted from tax payment and that the tax collected from him had to be returned, "since this is not something decreed by the king contrary to law, but it is the law of the land" (*ibid.*). This exemption apparently had its roots in the general law of taxation in Italy.

TALMIDEI ḤAKHAMIM (HALAKHIC SCHOLARS). The circumstances of a scholar's immunity from taxation, based on the talmudic *halakhah* (see above), remained a subject of much discussion in post-talmudic times. As in talmudic times, there continued to be a measure of reciprocity on this subject between Jewish law and the surrounding legal systems. Influenced by Roman law, tax immunity was customary in the case of scholars and the Catholic clergy and such immunity was also extended in the Muslim countries, although in a more restricted manner (see Baron, Social^2, 5 (1957), 76; idem, Community, 2 (1942), 14f., 274; cf. *Tashbeẓ* 3:254).

Reservations. In the geonic period it was laid down that rabbis were to be exempted from taxes imposed on the community by the king and his ministers (*Zikkaron la-Rishonim*… 1, pt. 4 (1887), ed. Ḥarkavy, no. 537), an exemption which apparently extended to all kinds of taxes. Starting from the tenth century, some of the scholars greatly reduced the scope of this exemption in holding that it should apply only in the case of an inclusive tax imposed on the community as a whole; a tax imposed on an individual basis was to be borne by halakhic scholars also and the community had no obligation to pay for them (R. Hananel, quoted in Nov. Ramban, BB 8a; *Beit Yosef*, ḤM 163:11). Notwithstanding his earlier ruling, which ran counter to the view prevailing in his day that a scholar was forbidden to seek sustenance from the public in order to devote himself to study (as this amounted to a profanation of God's Name), Maimonides decided that in the matter of taxation, "the Torah has exempted all *talmidei ḥakhamim* from all governmental dues, such as a levy, *arnona*, or special personal tax… which must be paid for them by the community, including [a tax for] the building of a wall and the like; and even if the *talmid ḥakham* be a man of great financial means he is not to be held liable for any of these" (Comm. Avot 4:5). To exact a tax payment from a *talmid ḥakham* would amount to "robbing" him (idem, Resp. (ed. Blau) no. 325; cf.Yad, Talmud Torah, 6:10). Many of the scholars followed the opinion of R. Hananel (Nov. Ramban, *Beit ha-Beḥirah* and Nov. Ran, BB 8a), but others accepted Maimonides' view (*Yad Ramah*, BB 8a; *Sefer ha-Ḥinnukh*, no. 222), as did the majority of the *posekim* (Resp. Rosh 15:7–8; Tur and Sh. Ar., YD 243:2–3; ḤM 163:4–6; R. Jeroham, *Sefer Meisharim* 32:2). Asher b. Jehiel averred: "In these generations I see the need, *a fortiori*, to apply this rule; in the time of the talmudic sages, *talmidei ḥakhamim* – of whom there were thousands – were exempt from various burdens and taxes; all the more reason in these generations – when it is hard to find one in a city and two in the same family – to exempt them from such burdens" (Resp. Rosh, loc. cit.). This was indeed the practice followed and even where the most onerous tax burden was imposed, "those who study day and night and have no other occupation" (*Takkanot* Huesca of 1340, in Dinur, loc. cit. p. 349) were exempted even from poll tax. In the Castilian *takkanot* of 1432 the widows of certain scholars and communal leaders were also exempted from tax, a concession partly based on the rule that "the wife of a *ḥaver* is as a *ḥaver* himself" (Av. Zar. 39a), and because the widow of a *ḥaver* remained entitled to some of the rights formerly enjoyed by her husband (Finkelstein, see bibl. p. 369).

"The Torah is his Occupation" (Torato Omanuto). In the Talmud the term *rabbanan*, in the context of tax exemption, is employed without qualification, but the *geonim* established the requirement of "*torato omanuto*" (quoted in *Terumat ha-Deshen*, Resp. no. 342). Differing opinions were expressed on the interpretation of this phrase. One view was that it meant, "they fulfill *ve-hagita bo yomam va-laylah* with all their strength and ability, and do not leave off studying the Torah except to fulfill a *mitzvah*, to seek a livelihood and sustenance for themselves and their families" (Responsum of Meir ha-Levi in: *Sefer Kol Bo*, 108b; see also Naḥmanides and *Piskei ha-Rosh*, BB 1:26; *Terumat ha-Deshen*, Resp. no. 341; Resp. Israel of Bruna, no. 102). Other scholars held it to be a precondition of the exemption of a *talmid ḥakham* that "he is not occupied at all with worldly needs" (*Beit ha-Beḥirah*, BB 8a; *Sefer Ḥasidim*, no. 293; see also *takkanot* Huesca, above).

The Role of Custom. It was decided that although the law concerning a *talmid ḥakham* was no longer practiced with regard to certain matters (e.g., the special fine imposed on a person who shamed him), it still remained in effect as regards his exemption from taxation (*Terumat ha-Deshen*, Resp. no. 341). The exemption was taken to apply not only to a scholar holding office as a rabbi or head of a yeshivah, but also, as appeared from the talmudic source from which the exemption was derived, to scholars who "'trudge from city to city and from country to country'… those are scholars who go from yeshivah to yeshivah, because it is not customary for one who is qualified to be at the head to trudge from city to city" (*Terumat ha-Deshen*, Resp. no. 342; Resp. Maharit, vol. 2, ḤM no. 59 et al.). However, by the 15th century there were places where no scholars except those serving as the heads of yeshivot were exempt from taxation (*Terumat ha-Deshen*, loc. cit.) and, in consequence, the *halakhah* was decided that "there are places where it has been the practice to exempt *talmidei ḥakhamim* from taxation and other places where the practice has been not to exempt them" (Sh. Ar., YD 243:2).

Cantor of the Synagogue. Differences of opinion were also expressed concerning the position of a synagogue cantor, who usually also served as teacher of the children and therefore could be regarded, to some extent, as a scholar. Isaac b. Sheshet Perfet held that he was exempt from tax but other scholars disagreed (Resp. Ribash, nos. 475–7); Isserlein testifies that "in no community have I found them to hold their cantor liable for tax, even if he should have some means, and this is a worthy and proper custom" (*Terumat ha-Deshen*, loc. cit; see also *Rema*, ḤM 163:5).

In the State of Israel. The tax liability of a *talmid ḥakham* has been discussed under existing circumstances in the State of Israel. It was held that since rabbis and heads of yeshivot receive full salaries and a substantial proportion of the taxes of the state went toward the provision of various services to which *talmidei ḥakhamim* also had to contribute, and since tax exemption was a matter of custom, it was necessary that "the custom be upheld to exact tax, at the appointed rate, from rabbis, heads of yeshivot, and *talmidei ḥakhamim* who earn salaries" (see K.P. Tekhorsh, bibl., p. 279. For further particulars concerning taxation of scholars, see *Massa Melekh*, 4:1–3; 5:2, 5).

GOVERNMENTAL OR COMMUNAL EXEMPTION. A common problem in post-talmudic Jewish life was that which arose when individuals, generally those who were influential in governmental circles, gained for themselves a personal tax immunity from the authorities. The halakhic scholars and communal leaders fought against this phenomenon although German and Spanish Jewry differed in their approaches to the matter.

Governmental Exemption in Germany. As early as the 11th century a German *takkanah* decreed, on pain of ban, that "no local male or female resident shall be entitled to secure his/her exemption from the public burden" (*Takkanot Rashi*, quoted in Resp. Maharam of Rothenburg, ed. Berlin, no. 866). A 13th-century *takkanah* laid down that "no person shall secure exemption from the tax because he moves in the royal court" (Finkelstein, bibl., p. 226). In one of his responsa, R. Simḥah of Speyer – after discussing the tannaitic *halakhah* concerning a customs waiver granted to partners (Tosef., BM 8:25–26) – laid down that as far as the community was concerned any governmental exemption had to be shared equally between all its members (as was the custom followed by his uncle, Kalonymus b. Meir), since "all Israelites are sureties for each other to accept the burden of their exile and will share with each other in their comfort and redemption" (quoted in *Or Zaru'ah*, BK no. 460, and in Resp. Maharam of Rothenburg, ed. Prague, no. 932). Similarly, the case was cited of "R. Eliakim, who was close to the royal court and shared with the community any exemption given him by the king" (Resp. Maharam of Rothenburg, ed. Prague, no. 930).

Meir of Rothenburg strongly criticized those who secured any form of tax relief without sharing the benefit of this with the community. In a case where a person acted on his own initiative and came to an arrangement with the authorities "to pay tax independently [of the community]" he laid down that all members of the community had to be regarded as partners for all tax purposes, and a partner could not enjoy personally a benefit due to the whole partnership without the approval of his other partners even if this was not the law of the Torah, "since it has been the custom in the whole kingdom for them to be partners, they are not entitled to act separately, for if everyone were to do so it would lead to evil consequences because everyone would throw off the burden from himself and impose it on his neighbor and endless quarrels shall come about… therefore it is necessary to protest against Reuben who saw fit to act separately" (Resp. Maharam of Rothenburg, ed. Lemberg, no. 108). In a similar case he added that the consent of the authorities was of no effect because "it is not *dina de-malkhuta* but *gezelah de-malkhuta*, like a tax collector exacting a tax in an unspecified amount… since it is the custom in the city for all the Jews to participate in the tax"; he held that the person who made the separate arrangement was to return to the authorities and explain that it was the law of the Jews not to act separately but to carry the burden jointly, that all his fellow-Jews were quarreling with him on this account, and that he no longer wished to pay tax independently. In R. Meir's opinion it was necessary to take a more stringent approach in such matters, even if there was no support for this in the Talmud (Resp. Maharam of Rothenburg, ed. Cremona, no. 222; idem, ed. Prague, no. 915). At the same time he ruled that the prohibition was only to apply when the individual was granted an exemption prior to the final determination of the amount of the tax imposed on the community, for in this case it could be assumed that the reduction granted to the individual would have to be made up by the community in general; if, however, an individual exemption was granted after the final determination and it was known that this fact had in no way increased the amount of the tax for others, the individual concerned could not be required to participate with the others (Resp., ed. Prague, no. 134; ed. Lemberg, no. 358; *Mordekhai*, BK no. 177; *Teshuvot Maimuniyyot*, Kinyan, no. 1). This distinction of principle was accepted, with slight modifications, by the majority of the *posekim* (Resp. Ḥayyim Or Zaru'a, nos. 80 and 206; Resp. Ribash, no. 132; Resp. Maharil, no. 71; Resp. Maharyw, no. 38; *Terumat ha-Deshen*, Resp. no. 341 and *ibid.*, *Pesakim u-Khetavim*, no. 144).

Governmental Exemption in Spain. The Spanish halakhic scholars apparently took a less stringent view of personal exemption from taxation. In one case Solomon b. Abraham Adret dealt with the scope of a tax exemption granted to an individual by the authorities and concluded that it did not extend to taxes connected with the protection and security of the Jewish public; on the question of individual tax exemption itself, he stated: "I do not put myself forward in the matter – this has been and remains a disputed topic – until the court asks for my opinion" (Resp. Rashba, vol. 5, no. 183; vol. 1, no. 644; but cf. vol. 5, nos. 279, 281). A 14th-century *takkanah* of the Alcolea community ruled that a ban of one year could be imposed on any person seeking from the authorities exemption or relief from taxation, and this was also applicable to a person availing himself of such a privilege which had been arranged by a friend, "even without his knowledge" (Resp. Ribash, no. 460; see also *Rema*, ḤM 163:6; for further particulars, see *Massa Melekh*, pt. 2; 4:8).

Exemption by the Community. Clearly, the reasons for objecting to a personal tax privilege granted by the authorities had no relevance in the case of a personal exemption granted by the community itself. The scope of this kind of exemption, however, was discussed in a number of instances (see, e.g., Resp. Rashba, vol. 1, no. 967; vol. 5, no. 281; Resp. Rosh, 6: 19). In these cases the problem of the legal validity attaching to the act of waiver arose and it was ruled that the matter depended on local tax usage (Resp. Rashba, vol. 5, no. 180). It was decided that since a waiver of this kind was effected by the public, it had to be regarded as fully valid: "all matters agreed to by the community or its duly appointed representatives require no *kinyan* or deed, but the statements of the former are regarded as written and delivered" (Resp. Rosh, 6:21; see also *Rema*, ḤM 163:6; *Public Authority; **Takkanot ha-Kahal*; for further particulars, see *Massa Melekh*, 5:1, 4–8).

Methods of Tax Assessment

The halakhic scholars were greatly preoccupied with the problem of the method of assessing the taxpayers' assets, which formed the subject matter of many communal *takkanot*. Two principal methods were followed: the first based on a declaration of assets submitted by the taxpayer, called a *hoda'ah*, and the second on an evaluation of assets by communal assessors or trustees, which was called a *pesak*, the assessors being referred to as *posekim* (for a comparison, see, e.g., Resp. Rashba, vol. 3, no. 411, and Resp. Ribash, no. 457). These two methods had much in common and other variations were also in use (Ribash, loc. cit.).

DECLARATION BY THE TAXPAYER (HODA'AH). Detailed descriptions of this method of assessment are to be found in a number of responsa. In Spain a date was fixed for submission of the declaration to the trustees (*ne'emanim*; for particulars of this office see below), as well as a later date for submission of a supplementary declaration (Resp. Ritba, no. 114). In another Spanish responsum it is indicated that the community used to appoint 12 persons to determine procedure and supervise submission of the declaration. Among their tasks was determining the date, place, and person to whom the declaration had to be submitted, and in what language it should be made. These 12 persons were given authority to make occasional changes in the details concerning completion and submission of the declaration, but not to change the essential method itself: "they may not change from the method of the *hoda'ah* to that of the *pesak* or to any other method" (Resp. Ribash, no. 457, also nos. 458, 459). The taxpayers (*pore'ei ha-mas*) were required to set out in the declaration full details of their property, business transactions, debts, pledges, and the like (Resp. Rashba, vol. 3, nos. 383, 396, 399, 408; Resp. Ribash, loc. cit.).

It was required that a reasonable and uniform period be prescribed for completion and submission of the declaration, "since some may arrange this in a day and some need ten days or more" (Resp. Ribash, nos. 458 and 459). The taxpayer would bring his declaration form (*pinkas hoda'ato*) to the trustees for them to examine its contents in his presence and then to record the total amount declared in the communal register (*pinkas ha-kahal*); they then returned to the taxpayer "a token of his declaration" (*mazkeret hoda'ato*; Resp. Rashba, vol. 1, no. 1074; vol. 3, no. 383). The amount that each individual had to contribute toward the tax could be ascertained from the communal register; the names of those who did not have to pay were followed by a blank space and no mention of any amount (Resp. Rosh, 5:9; 6:4). From time to time a new declaration of property had to be submitted and, in case of increase, tax had to be paid on the increment (Resp. Rashba, vol. 3, no. 407); in the event that there was a large decrease as compared with the amount previously declared, the trustees would inquire into the matter, which often led to acrimonious dispute (Resp. Ritba, no. 114).

EVALUATION OF ASSETS BY TAX ASSESSORS. There is early testimony that the community appointed trustees for the purpose of faithfully assessing each member of the community, so as to avoid complaints of an unjust apportionment of the tax (Yom Tov Elem, quoted in Resp. Maharam of Rothenburg, ed Lemberg, no. 423). These had to be "knowledgeable in the tax" so as to assess each individual according to his assets (*Teshuvot Ge'onei Mizraḥ u-Ma'arav*, no. 205). Sometimes the city elders and judges who were knowledgeable in all local transactions would prepare a "deed of comparison" (*shetar hashvayah*) so as to "compare between them and see how much tax or charity each would have to pay and thereby avoid dispute among the taxpayers" (*Sefer ha-Shetarot* of Judah b. Barzillai, ed. by S.J. Halberstam, p. 137f.). After assessment of the tax a *shetar pesika* would be written to the effect that the communal leaders had determined that X was to pay so-and-so much tax each year and that no one, not even the court or the communal leaders, should have the authority to vary such a determination (*ibid.*, p. 75).

In various responsa of a later period details are given of the functions of these assessors (*posekim*) and of the *pinkas ha-pesika* they kept (see, e.g, Resp. Rashba, vol. 5, no. 279, 281). The assessors recorded the assessed amount of each taxpayer – based on their estimate – in the communal register (*pinkas ha-kahal*; Resp. Rosh, 6:4). Without doubt this assessment too was based on various particulars available to the assessors, although at times they erred grossly in their estimates (Resp. Rosh, 6:4) and on occasion their assessment was followed by protracted argument with the taxpayer which occasionally ended in a very substantial correction of the original assessment (e.g., from 800 *zehuvim* to 150: Resp. Maharyw, no. 124). When a person was assessed as having no taxable assets, a blank space was left beside his name in the communal register (Resp. Rosh, 6:4).

THE TRUSTEES. The number of tax assessors (called trustees and by several other names) varied from place to place (the responsa collections of various scholars mention the figure of three, four, ten, and so on) and they were generally chosen by lot from a number of candidates (Resp. Rashba, vol. 3, no. 417). They were required to have expert knowledge of the tax system and to perform their duties faithfully: "and it is the custom in the communities that they appoint the shrewd… they examine minutely to impose justly on everyone, according to the efforts and activities of each, and they must judge others as they would themselves as it has been said (Shab. 31a) 'do not unto your neighbor that which is hateful to you'" (Joseph Tov Elem, quoted in Resp. Maharam of Rothenburg, ed. Prague, no. 941). Those who assessed the tax liability of each according to evaluation of his assets were warned "to guard against favoring one who is liked or dealing onerously with one who is disliked, in order not to be disqualified from testimony or the oath" (Or Zaru'a, quoted in Resp. Maharashdam, ḤM 442).

Generally, such an appointment was looked upon as an honorable one: "all families in the city would like one of their members to be appointed, for the honor of the family alone" (Resp. Rashba, vol. 3, no. 399), but there is no doubt that such an appointment also served personal economic interests. In a case where the wealthy families insisted that their interests be represented by two of the five appointees, Israel Isserlein saw fit to accede to their request since the other three would still compose an impartial majority; also, letting the rich have their representatives would show them that their contentions were being taken into account and they would therefore refrain from strictures and appeals; this was possible, however, only if the two men chosen by the rich were "men of truth, certainly not those reputed to be swindlers and cunning men" (*Terumat ha-Deshen*, Resp. no. 342). Sometimes a candidate for election would give notice of his unwillingness to accept the position, and in a case where such a person was nevertheless elected, Solomon b. Abraham Adret held that "his withdrawal from the assent is of no effect, and he is obliged to take up his trusteeship since the community has seen fit to disregard his wishes" (Resp. Rashba, vol. 3, no. 417; see also vol. 4, no. 309). At times an appointee sought to be released from his position after having served for a period (Resp. Ribash, no. 461).

This dual attitude toward appointment as a trustee found legal recognition in the determination that the trustee's liability for any damage he himself caused had to be equated with that of a gratuitous bailee and not a bailee for reward (see **Shomerim*; Resp. Rashba, vol. 5, no. 10). Cases of refusal to accept appointment as a trustee are mentioned in particular in circumstances where the central authorities imposed special emergency taxes on the community – e.g., for the purpose of waging war – and the latter found itself unable to bear the burden of the tax and the means employed for its collection (as in the case of the tax imposed in Prague in 1751: see Elon, *Ḥerut ha-Perat*, pp. 221 f.).

In a case where one of the three trustees was unable to read the contents of the declarations, he was nevertheless held to be fit for his position on the ground that the other two could read the contents to him and that they could be trusted to do so without distortion; since the main task of the trustees was to apply the same standards to all, it was held that the trustees who could not read remained as competent as the other two, and sometimes more so, as far as expertise in matters of collection, payment, loans, and the accumulation of other related knowledge was concerned (Resp. Rashba, vol. 3, no. 399). This was an expression of Solomon b. Abraham Adret's general objective of involving all members of the public in communal administration; elsewhere he added: "in many places individuals are not so literate, yet they are appointed along with those who are knowledgeable" (a similar view was taken with regard to signature by the town scribe in place of a witness who could not sign his own name: Resp. Rashba, vol. 2, no. 111; the same held good even for the appointment of a judge from among the residents of a village where "there is no one who knows even one letter" if the man was accepted by the public: *ibid.*, no. 290). The trustees were enjoined to observe total secrecy concerning details which came to their knowledge in the execution of their duties (*Avodat Massa*, no. 1:2). Apparently this office led to the emergence, in the course of time, of special experts in tax matters. Thus in one of his responsa Asher b. Jehiel mentions that he was asked to give his decision "after consulting with tax specialists" and that he saw fit to do so and to uphold their conclusion (Resp. Rosh, 6:4). This phenomenon is probably to be attributed to the fact that the tax laws were based largely on the various *takkanot* and customs in this field, an area in which the experts had gradually acquired special knowledge.

DOCUMENTARY EVIDENCE. In various *takkanot* provision was made concerning the right or otherwise of the assessors to demand documents from the taxpayer. In one instance it was laid down that the ten trustees were sworn "to act faithfully and truthfully to the best of their knowledge and not to seize the records (*kitvei zikhronot*) of any individual" unless it was agreed by a majority of the ten "to inquire into the affairs of such an individual and to punish him" (Resp. Rashba, vol. 5, no. 126; vol. 3, no. 411).

Erroneous Assessment. Asher b. Jehiel held that in the case of error, even gross error, made by the assessors in the taxpayer's favor – for instance "if they taxed Reuben on 1,000 *zehuvim*,… and later ascertained that he had 10,000 *zehuvim*" – the taxpayer was to benefit from the erroneous assessment and did not have to add to it since he had paid according to the estimate and "had divine assistance" (Resp. Rosh, 6:4). Samuel di Medina, the 16th-century scholar of Salonika, found this decision difficult to comprehend but followed it nevertheless, out of high regard for his predecessor (Resp. Maharashdam, ḤM 442). Around 100 years later a different decision was given in Germany in a case where an assessment of property had been made for tax purposes, and on the taxpayer's death two years later "many times this amount was found in his estate" (Resp. *Ḥavvot Ya'ir*, no. 57). The question that arose was whether to deal with the matter in a manner favoring the assessed party "and say that during the two years in question he had prospered greatly or had an unexpected windfall," or to hold that he had "deceived" for purposes of the assessment and therefore additional tax had to be exacted from him. In his decision Jair Ḥayyim Bacharach reviewed at length the *halakhah* and contemporary customs concerning tax assessment and laid down that the decision in a matter of this kind had to take into account a number of factors, such as the nature of the business carried on by the assessed (that is, whether or not it allowed for the possibility of such sudden enrichment), his previous conduct in tax matters, and the general position as regards the prevalence of tax fraud and concealment. (The same approach was followed in another case, *ibid.*, no. 58.)

Information under Oath and Ban. In order to ensure the veracity of the taxpayer's declaration, it was customary in many places to impose a ban on a person filing an inaccurate declaration, or to require the taxpayer to take an oath on the truth of his declaration. Solomon b. Abraham Adret decided that in strict law an individual could not be compelled to swear to the truth of his declaration: "as in the case of a debtor pleading a lack of means to pay his creditor, when the court cannot, in law, ban or compel him to take an oath, and instead tells the claimant: 'go seek him out and recover from him'!" However, in the same way as it had been ordinated that a ban could be imposed on a debtor pleading a lack of means (*ein li*: see *Execution (Civil); Yad, Malveh, 2:2), in this case too "the ban may be imposed without any qualification… so that everyone who has some means shall pay his proportional share to the community chest." Since the *geonim* had ruled that a debtor pleading a lack of means could be made to take a solemn oath to this effect, "it is possible that in this matter too [i.e., the taxpayer's declaration] the same may be done on the basis of a *takkanah*" (Resp. Rashba, vol. 3, no. 392).

The practice of swearing such an oath in accordance with various *takkanot* came to be expressly recognized by Solomon b. Abraham Adret (see, e.g., *ibid.*, no. 408). Asher b. Jehiel was opposed to an individual's swearing an oath of this kind in tax matters, distinguishing between such an oath and that which one partner could require from his fellow partner even in the case of *ta'anat shema* ("doubtful plea"; see *Oath); he was only prepared to recognize the custom whereby in communal enactments of this kind, "they impose a ban on the whole community to observe them, but do not require an oath from each individual" (Resp. Rosh, 6:13). This ban was imposed in general terms in the presence of all persons above the age of 15 who were called upon to make payment honestly (Resp. Rashba, vol. 5, no. 222). However, Asher b. Jehiel's opinion was not accepted and in the 15th century Isserlein based the community's right to require an individual to swear an oath to the truth of his tax declaration on the premise that the members of a community were comparable to partners and one partner could require an oath from his fellow even on a *ta'anat shema* (Terumat ha-Deshen, Resp. no. 344 and see below). This was also the decision of Isserles (*Rema*, ḤM 163:3) and of later *posekim* (see, e.g., *Noda bi-Yhudah*, Mahadura Tinyana, ḤM no. 40). Bacharach expressed the opinion that after the conduct of the taxpayer and the general position as regards honesty in tax payment were taken into account, it was in the absolute discretion of the community "to prevent one from taking an oath even if he should wish to do so, and to require an oath, according to their discretion, from one who should wish to do so; and no explanation is called for, provided only that their hearts shall be turned toward heaven" (Resp. *Ḥavvot Ya'ir*, no. 57 and see particulars cited there of cases in which the oath was taken).

ALTERNATING BETWEEN DIFFERENT TAX METHODS. It was held that where it was customary for the whole community to follow the self-assessment method (i.e., by way of a declaration) an individual had to be refused a request that his liability be assessed by assessors: "impose on me as you see fit, and I shall do as you wish" even if he made his request because "I am afraid I shall not on my own be able to do as required by law." The reason for this was that an individual was not entitled to choose his own method but had to follow the one agreed upon by the public (Resp. Rashba, vol. 3, no. 392). The trustees too were held to have no power "to change from the method of declaration to that of assessment *pesak* or to any other method" (Resp. Ribash, no. 457); only the community itself could do so (*Terumat ha-Deshen*, Resp. no. 343, and see below; *Rema*, ḤM 163:3) and sometimes it exercised this power. This fact is illustrated, for instance, in the extant records of the tax system practiced in the Mantua community from the end of the 16th century until the beginning of the 18th. The tax code of this community, the "order of assessment" (*seder ha-ha'arakhah*), dating from the end of the 16th century, deals in detail with the various kinds of taxable property and income, and sets out the order of assessment of property and tax by the assessors, the manner of their election, and so on. Yet it appears that from the end of the 18th century this community practiced the *casella* system – named after the case or box into which the tax payment was deposited – which introduced many changes into the tax collection procedure, mainly a changeover to the method of individual self-assessment (see Simonsohn, bibl. vol. 1, pp. 272–301).

The community, however, was not entitled, when it varied the tax method, to adopt indiscriminately the stringencies of different methods in determining the taxpayer's liability: "so far as concerns the wish of his community to do something that is new and completely unheard of, namely to combine the stringencies of two systems by both assessing and imposing a ban, and then not allowing him any reduction in the assessed amount while obliging him to pay the difference (if he be under-assessed at a time when he himself knows that he owns more than the assessed amount) this is robbery and extortion, and a person is not put to death in two ways… we must not innovate further stringencies and once they have made their assessment they cannot any more impose a ban on him and there is no substance in the statements of those who would insist on combining the stringencies of both systems" (*Noda bi-Yhuda*, loc. cit.). This is one more illustration of a restriction on the community against departing from the general principles of equity and justice (see above).

TAX METHODS AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC CLASS DISPUTE. To a large extent both the choice of tax method and the desire to change from one to the other were an outcome of communal dispute of a social and economic nature, and it was no easy task for the halakhic scholars to conciliate between the conflicting class interests. Isserlein, who in a certain case saw fit to uphold the demand of the wealthy that two out of the five trustees be their own representatives (see above), gives a further interesting description of the manner in which the actual tax method was determined (*Terumat ha-Deshen*, Resp. no. 343).

A "heavy tax" had been imposed on the community; for the purpose of its collection, the community prescribed the method of individual self-assessment, by declaration, the latter to be affirmed under oath. A wealthy section of the community (*ba'alei kissin*) objected to this method and demanded that the assets and tax liability of each be determined by assessors, "as has been the custom for some years." Alternatively, they demanded that even if the declaration method was applied the taxpayer should not be required to detail all particulars of his assets in the declaration: "out of concern for the fact that this might cause them harm in a number of ways"; instead the taxpayer should merely have to specify the general amount at which he assessed his assets and affirm under oath that he had no more. This time Isserlein rejected the demands of the wealthy. As regards the first, he held that the community members had to be regarded as partners and since each partner had the right to require an oath from his fellow partner even on a doubtful plea (because otherwise a partner would permit himself to depart from the truth by reason of his activity on behalf of the partnership business), therefore there certainly existed grounds for the same reasoning in respect of the wealthy members of the community, who were likely to permit themselves an untruthful declaration because they were active on behalf of the community and represented it before the authorities, and because each of them would assume that none of the others submitted a truthful declaration. Furthermore, if assessment were to be made by assessors without the oath of the taxpayer, it would be impossible to ascertain the true state of affairs: "human beings are not prophets who are able to know what the next man has in his money-box… a person may become rich unbeknown to anyone else… and people are likely to conceal their assets so as to avoid being regarded as having reached satiety." So far as the alternative demand was concerned, Isserlein held that it was indeed proper according to talmudic law, but that it had already been laid down by the *geonim* and later scholars that a person taking any oath was required to give details of the matter sworn to, so as to avoid error or deceit; this was all the more so in tax matters, when "people are in the habit of employing all kinds of stratagems to evade payment." Therefore if the taxpayer were allowed a general oath without providing details, it would open the way to error and abuse: "hence it is necessary to set out in detail and explain clearly all the assets, their quality and substance… and this has been the practice since long ago in all our borders."

It may be noted that this reasoning provided a basis not only for the determination of a method of tax assessment where none had previously existed, but also for the variation of a method of tax collection practiced for some time (this was also the conclusion of *Rema*, ḤM 163:3. For further particulars of tax assessment methods, see *Massa Melekh*, 5:2).

Tax Appeals

The communal fiscal system allowed for the taxpayer to appeal against his assessment to a higher instance, on both the amount and questions of law. In many communities there were special tribunals for this purpose (e.g., in the Mantua community: see Simonsohn, bibl., vol. 1, pp. 283f.) and often appeals of this nature would be aired before the halakhic scholars, who dealt with the matter at issue according to the *halakhah* and the pertinent customs and *takkanot*.

PRESUMPTION OF POSSESSION (DIN MUḤZAK) IN FAVOR OF THE COMMUNITY. In this connection a fundamental problem with an important bearing on the relationship between the community and the individual in Jewish law was discussed. A *takkanah* attributed to R. *Gershom b. Judah laid down that a person could not object before the courts in respect of a tax imposed on him, "until he pays what was imposed on him, either in cash or in pledges." This rule was equated with the general rule applicable to all appeals against a judgment, namely that payment is not to be delayed until the appeal is heard (*Binyamin Ze'ev*, no. 295; cf. *Takkanot Medinat Mehrin*, no. 214). It was laid down that only in the event that the city elders agreed with the individual that the tax imposed on him was unlawful would the legal hearing have to be disposed of first (*takkanah* quoted in Resp. Maharik, no. 17 (cf. also nos. 1, 2) and in *Binyamin Ze'ev*, no. 295). Meir of Rothenburg thought that this presumption in favor of the community had no talmudic basis, but on further consideration he concluded that this was "a custom according with the Law of the Torah." On the basis of the doctrine of *dina de-malkhuta dina* (BM 73b; and see above), he held that the king was "presumed to be in possession of [*muḥzak*] the tax [demanded] of each individual" and therefore "also the community wishes to be presumed in possession, to be defendants and not plaintiffs… with regard to the rule that the burden of proof is on the person who seeks to recover from another… for thus it will at all times have the upper hand" (Resp. Maharam of Rothenburg, ed. Prague, nos. 106, 915; ed. Lemberg, no. 371). He also held that his reasoning contributed to the good order of the public, "for if we were to hold otherwise, everyone would reply to the community, saying: 'I am exempt from the law' or 'I have already paid my tax'… everyone would do wrong and think in his heart 'who shall sue me?'… since a shared pot is neither hot nor cold" (see BB 24b). In his opinion this additional substantiation could also be based on various analogies from the talmudic law (idem, ed. Prague, no. 106; *Mordekhai*, BB no. 552). However, the presumption only operated in the community's favor in case of doubt about the true legal position; if *prima facie* it appeared that the law was against the community, the individual would not have to comply except after conclusion of the legal hearing: "justice shall not be perverted against the individual for the sake of the public, nor is robbery permissible because it is committed by the public" (Maharam, loc. cit., and cf. BB 100a). Therefore, if the individual pleads, "this is the law of the community and this has been their practice until now," while the community contends otherwise, and the matter is uncertain, "then why should the community be in a stronger position? And the position of the claimants is not worsened even if they are not many, since they are representative of the community" (*Nimmukei Menaḥem* of Menahem Merseburg, Din 37).

Solomon b. Abraham Adret reached the same conclusion, except that he emphasized that in law the principle which placed the burden of proof on the claimant was also applicable between the community and the individual; however, "it is an ordinance for the sake of good public order, that it shall not be possible for every person to say, 'I shall not pay until adjucation of my plea that I am not liable,' otherwise everyone shall do so with the result that the tax will never be collected, and only the swindlers shall be encouraged. We here [in Barcelona] have also ruled that any person who denies liability must first make payment before the matter can be adjudicated upon." In such a case it did not suffice for the individual to provide a surety for the amount in dispute (Resp. Rashba, vol. 3, nos. 398 and 406).

PRESUMPTION AND THE RIGHTS OF THE INDIVIDUAL. Later the scholars became concerned that this presumption, which was necessary as an effective deterrent against tax evasion, should not prejudice the rights of the individual in disputes with the community. Thus, for example, it was decided that in a case where there were two differing halakhic opinions, one rendering the individual liable for tax and the other exempting him from it, the law had to be applied in favor of the community which is presumed to be in possession – as is the law in any other case of actual possession (see *Extraordinary Remedies; also *Codification of Law, s.v. the plea of *kim li*; Resp. Maharyw, no. 133). Similarly, it was decided that in a dispute between the individual and the tax trustees concerning the statements made by the former in his deliberations with them, the trustees had to be believed because they were representatives of the community, "and the community is [presumed to be] in possession… and because of this they are believed" (Resp. Maharyw, no. 84). Concern that the operation of the presumption might prejudice the rights of the individual was particularly real because, theoretically, the justification for affording the community a favored status in this respect was capable of being applied in every case of dispute between the community and the individual and not necessarily in tax matters only, as in fact could be deduced from the talmudic sources quoted as an analogy for the presumption (see *Terumat ha-Deshen*, Resp. no. 341).

LIMITING THE SCOPE OF THE PRESUMPTION. As a way of safeguarding the rights of the "defenseless" individual in disputes with the "powerful" community, the scholars laid down several material reservations, by means of which the presumption that the community was in possession was restricted. First was that the presumption only operated in favor of the community in respect of a tax imposed by the ruling power and "all other payments for governmental purposes" embraced within the rule of *dina de-malkhuta dina*, so far as "all other public matters and needs" was concerned the presumption did not apply. With a view to safeguarding the interests of the public, it was held to be sufficient if the individual gave a *pledge for the amount in dispute, "so that he shall be the plaintiff and the one in pursuit of justice, and the public not be occasioned loss." It was also laid down that the presumption could not be held to operate in favor of the public with regard to the plea of *kim li* (see above; *Terumat ha-Deshen*, loc. cit.). Secondly, since the explanation for the presumption in favor of the community was based on the theory that the king was presumed to be in possession of the tax by virtue of the rule of *dina de-malkhuta dina* (the community being the agent of the king), therefore if the community had already paid the tax to the government and then sought to collect the tax from individual members of the community, it could no longer rely on the operation of the presumptions in its favor, since on making payment to the king it had ceased to be his agent (*Nimmukei Menaḥem* of Menahem Merseburg, Din. 37). On the basis of this distinction Joseph b. Ezra, the 16th-century scholar from Salonika, concluded: "accordingly we learn at this time, when the communities do not distinguish between the king's taxes and other taxes, that there is no room for presuming in favor of the public unless there is a custom to this effect and such custom is not called into question" (*Massa Melekh*, pt. 6, 3rd *Tenai*). Thirdly, if there was still time for it the individual was entitled to have the legal hearing take place prior to the due date of the tax payment and in this event no pledge was to be taken from him (*Massa Melekh*, pt. 6, 3rd *Tenai*; see also *Terumat ha-Deshen*, Resp. no. 341). Fourthly, in the 16th century it was concluded, from the thesis that the community acted as the agent of the government, that in circumstances where it could be assumed that the community made its plea in order to safeguard its own interests and because it acted as the agent of the government, the presumption would not avail the community: "and there is no distinction between the kings' due and other public needs – they [the community] are the ones who claim and seek to cover payment and the burden of proof is theirs." The only difference between the community and the individual, in case of a dispute between them, lay in the fact that the former could demand a pledge from the individual in order to ensure a legal hearing of their dispute (Resp. Menahem da Fano, no. 43; already in R. Gershom's *takkanah* the matter of taking a pledge was mentioned, although apparently in satisfaction of the debt and not only for the purpose of securing its repayment. For further particulars see *Massa Melekh*, pt. 6).

Adjudication and Evidence

The special circumstances which formed the background to the development of the tax law system led to the appearance of *takkanot* and customs which introduced into this field of the law far-reaching changes that also affected matters of adjudication and the laws of evidence. Apart from the fact that special tax courts, composed of communal leaders adjudicating "in accordance with their own custom" (Resp. Rosh, 7:11; and see below), existed in many places, significant changes were introduced into the *halakhah* concerning *dayyanim* and witnesses even in the courts presided over by the halakhic scholars.

DISQUALIFICATION OF WITNESSES AND JUDGES. Jewish law lays down stringent requirements governing the competency of *witnesses, and disqualifies relatives of the litigants as well as other interested parties from acting as witnesses in a suit (Tur and Sh. Ar., ḤM 33 and 37 and standard commentaries). Hence in strict law the testimony of a member of the community was inadmissible in any matter connected with local taxes, since any tax ruling for or against an individual member of the community inevitably affected the tax rate for the rest of the community also. According to talmudic law, a town resident was disqualified from testifying in a matter concerning the property common to the residents in his town, such as the public baths, unless he renounced all benefit from the particular property (BB 43a; Sh. Ar., ḤM 37:18ff.). In post-talmudic times, however, the existing realities of Jewish life made the strict observance of this rule impossible, certainly as regards a number of public matters (see *Takkanot ha-Kahal*), particularly the adjudication of tax disputes. As late as the 12th and 13th centuries it was still decided in Germany that the testimony of communal leaders to the effect that a person had made a declaration before them in regard to a tax matter was not to be admitted, "as long as they [the communal leaders] have not paid their share of the tax," in view of their interest in the matter (*Mordekhai*, BB no. 483, in the name of Avi ha-Ezri and of Meir of Rothenburg). In one instance Asher b. Jehiel decided that a member of the community was not competent to testify unless he "genuinely" renounced all personal benefit in the matter concerned (Resp. 58:1, 3), and in another case he went to the extent of holding that so far as tax was concerned, it was quite inconceivable for a member of the community to renounce effectively (or exclude himself from) all benefit deriving from his testimony: "for this matter of tax payment will ever be customary, and it is impossible for them to effect a renunciation in such manner as never to benefit from the tax that will be paid" (*ibid.*, 6:15, also 6:21). In addition, the question of the disqualification of witnesses on the grounds of their kinship with one or other of the parties, or with the judges, often presented problems, since members of the community intermarried and created ties of affinity with each other. For all these reasons judges themselves were often in a similar position of being disqualified by law from hearing a matter (BB loc. cit.; Tur and Sh. Ar., ḤM 7:12; *Beit Yosef* and other standard commentaries).

ABROGATION OF DISQUALIFICATIONS. The problems outlined above were overcome by means of communal enactments which expressly qualified members of the community as witnesses and judges in matters concerning their fellow-residents. The question of the validity of a *takkanah* of this kind was raised before Solomon b. Abraham Adret, and answered in the affirmative: "This too is clear, that the enactment of the community is conclusive; in tax matters it has been the practice of all the communities to adjudge the town residents and to gather testimony from them, even though they be relatives of the judges or the litigants; moreover, it may be that the interests of the court and of the witnesses are at stake in their judgment and testimony, but they nevertheless testify for themselves; all this derives from the law of communal enactment" (Resp. Rashba, vol. 6, no. 7). He held that a *takkanah* of this kind was vital for the proper administration of justice in tax matters in particular and in matters of the public domain in general, "for otherwise you annul all communal enactments, yet the custom of the communities is law and in all matters of this kind it must be held that custom overrides the *halakhah*" (*ibid.*, vol. 5, no. 286); furthermore, *takkanot* of this nature were common "and no community has ever called this matter into question" (*ibid.*, no. 184; cf. the like opinion in Resp.Rosh, 6:15).

The impact of these *takkanot* became part of the fixed law: "Tax matters are not dealt with by the local judges, since they and their relatives have an interest therein… but if they have made a *takkanah* or the local custom is that the local judges deal also with tax matters… then this is the law" (Sh. Ar., ḤM 7:12); likewise as regards witnesses: "in these times it has been the practice to accept witnesses from among members of the [local] community… in regard to all their matters, and they are competent even in matters involving their relatives, for the reason that they [the communities] have accepted this for themselves" (ḤM 37:22). This *halakhah* became so widely accepted that at the beginning of the 20th century it was stated: "In our time we have never seen or heard that a matter affecting the community shall not be adjudged by the local *dayyanim*… and the local *dayyanim* are competent to deal with all matters of the community" (*Arukh ha-Shulḥan*, ḤM 7:22. For further particulars see *Minhag*; *Takkanot ha-Kahal*; *Massa Melekh*, pt. 7.).

Principles of Interpretation

The fact that a substantial part of the Jewish tax law system became based on written *takkanot* enacted in the various communities, contributed toward great creativity in the field of the interpretation of laws. In tax disputes between the individual and the community, and between different communities, the halakhic scholars were frequently called upon to interpret these *takkanot* and in so doing they not only decided the concrete matter before them, but also established guiding principles of interpretation of importance to Jewish law in general (see *Interpretation). It may be noted that the scholars based the principles they applied in the interpretation of the communal enactments on a wide discussion of and reliance on various analogies from talmudic law, as can be seen from the responsa mentioned below.

INTERPRETATION OF COMMUNAL ENACTMENTS. Interpretation of the communal enactments was, in the main, the task of the halakhic scholars before whom a particular matter was brought, and very many of the responsa concerning tax matters include detailed discussions on such interpretations (see, e.g., Resp. Rashba, vol. 5, nos. 277, 279; Resp. Ritba, nos. 114, 120; Resp. Maharyw, no. 84; and see illustrations below). Sometimes, however, a *takkanah* included an express provision that any doubt concerning the meaning of a matter mentioned in it was to be resolved by the interpretation of the incumbent communal leaders (called *muqaddimūn* or *berurim*), and the scholars decided that in this event the interpretative authority was entrusted to the aforesaid leaders (Resp. Rashba, vol. 3, no. 409; vol. 5, no. 221). Notwithstanding such an express provision there remained the possibility that in certain cases the issue had to be left to the decision of the halakhic scholars. This happened, for instance, in a case (Resp. Ritba, no. 134) which arose from a *takkanah* laying down that a person giving in marriage "a daughter or sister" to someone who did not pay tax in that community was liable, in certain circumstances, to pay tax on the amount given as a dowry. A resident of the community gave his granddaughter in marriage and the community demanded tax from him, contending that this case too was covered by the *takkanah* since "grandchildren are as children." The grandfather challenged this demand, pleading that such a construction was valid "in the language of the Torah" (see, e.g, Yev. 62b with reference to the *mitzvah* of procreation), "… but in human parlance and dealings, grandchildren are not called children," and therefore when a person bequeathed his property to his "children" his grandchildren were not included in the bequest (BB 143b). The communal leaders rejected this plea and, on the basis of the provision that anything in the *takkanah* whose meaning was doubtful must be interpreted as the communal leaders saw fit, contended that their own interpretation was binding. In his responsum Yom Tov b. Abraham Ishbili (Ritba) proved from talmudic law that in all matters concerning business transactions, vows, and communal enactments, the standards of "human parlance" had to be applied, and by these standards grandchildren were not to be equated with children (cf. also Yad, Nedarim, 9:23; Sh. Ar., YD 217: 46). On this basis he held that there was no further room for the communal leaders to interpret the term under dispute, "since the language used is not doubtful but clear" and the communal leaders' interpretative authority was confined solely to a case where doubt existed about the meaning of a particular term.

AMBIGUITY IN TAX ENACTMENTS. In a case of conflicting provisions in a *takkanah* dealing with tax liability, it was held that the *takkanah* in question had to be interpreted in favor of the taxpayer (Resp. Rashba, vol. 5, no. 281) and so too if the text of the relevant provision allowed for alternative interpretations. The basis for this statement was as follows: since the *takkanah* purported to impose on the individual a payment for which he would not otherwise be liable, therefore "everything that falls outside the ambit of the strict law cannot be made to apply to him except when this is clearly justified, and until this is so talmudic law has to be applied… because the burden of proof is on the plaintiff" (Resp. Rashba, vol. 3, no. 397; Ritba, no. 157). For the same reason an ambiguity in the text operated to the disadvantage of the individual if in strict law he was liable for the tax. In a case where the community had agreed to grant one of its members a tax exemption without specifying the period of its duration, Asher b. Jehiel rejected the member's plea that his had been an exemption for life and held that the law was in favor of the community if it pleaded that the exemption had been intended for one year only: "since he is obliged to pay along with the others but seeks to escape liability on the plea that he was granted an exemption, therefore he is at a disadvantage… and since he was given an undefined exemption, we have to interpret this exemption as restricted to the minimum that we have to adjudge him" (Resp. Rosh, 6:19).

LANGUAGE OF THE TAKKANAH AND INTENTION. It was held to be a basic principle that a *takkanah* must be interpreted in accordance with the knowledge and understanding of those who had authority to do so – the halakhic scholars or the communal leaders (*muqaddimūn*), as the case might be – and not according to "the intention of those who enact the *takkanah*" (Resp. Rashba, vol. 3, no. 409; in this particular case authority was entrusted to the *muqaddimūn*). However, exaggerated adherence to this principle was to be avoided, since "at all events there are times when the intention is common knowledge and is like a stake that cannot be uprooted, so that all know that a certain condition or matter was instituted, beyond any doubt, with a specific intention, even though the language allows for a contrary interpretation" (*ibid.*). This rule was illustrated in a dispute involving the interpretation of a *takkanah* stating that tax declarations had to be brought to the synagogue on a particular day of the week. In actual fact, however, the tax trustees sat in the courtyard (*ḥaẓer*) in front of the synagogue and on one of the upper floors (*aliyah*) but not inside the synagogue itself. Therefore it was averred that this was not in keeping with the language of the *takkanah* since places such as the *ḥaẓer, aliyah, azarah*, and so on had their own separate names and identities. This contention was rejected out of hand by Solomon b. Abraham Adret, for the reason that the relevant text had to be interpreted, in each case, in its own substantive context; thus if the *takkanah* in question had been concerned with prayer, the intention would have been to refer to the synagogue itself, that is the place where the congregation was led in prayer, but in a *takkanah* concerned with the submission of tax declarations, "the intention was not that they should actually be inside [the synagogue], for what need is there for them to be inside? On the contrary, no more was intended than that they should be in one of its areas, so as to be available to all" (Resp. Rashba, vol. 5, no. 222).

Various kinds of formalistic sophistry in interpreting the text were rejected. A certain *takkanah* stated: "If at the time of accounting it shall be found that a person shows an increase in his capital and money and all his property, beyond what was shown at the time of accounting in the previous year, he shall pay so-and-so much on such increase." A member of the community who showed an increase in respect of some items but not in respect of "all his property" therefore contended that his case fell outside the ambit of the *takkanah*. Again Solomon b. Abraham Adret rejected this as "an idle plea… devoid of all reason or substance," since the meaning of the *takkanah* was not that the taxpayer had to show an increase in everything actually mentioned, but merely in one or other part of his assets, "and it is the way of the world to speak in this manner… the intention is plain, that everyone shall every year supplement his account with the increase over the previous year" (Resp. Rashba, vol. 3, no. 407). In the case of another *takkanah*, enforced by ban, it was provided that the taxpayer had to submit an annual declaration affirmed under oath, "and he shall not add thereto nor detract therefrom in any event whatever," until submission of the next annual return. A member of the community discovered in the middle of the year that he had forgotten to declare a certain asset but voiced his fear of rectifying the matter in view of the ban accompanying the stated provision. Solomon b. Abraham Adret replied that it was inconceivable for a person to escape tax liability on account of his own forgetfulness: "this is something which the ear, the heart, and reason all reject," hence the said condition could not reasonably be given its plain meaning, namely that nothing at all could be added to the declaration: "how does it matter to them [the community] that he shall not add when he wishes to do so?" There was no choice, he held, but to say that principally it was intended that there should be no detraction, and that the words "he shall not add thereto," represented no more than a routine and customary form of expression (loc. cit., no. 408).

Tax Collection Procedure

SECURING AND RECOVERING A TAX DEBT. It was laid down that a tax debt, "from the moment of its assessment by the trustees," must be regarded in the same way as a debt "by deed" and was to be recovered out of the debtor's "free" property (*nekhasim benei ḥorin*), and failing this from his "alienated and encumbered" property (*nekhasim meshu'badim*), that is from property which the debtor had transferred to a third party after becoming liable for the tax (see *Lien; Resp. Rashba, vol. 5, no. 136; vol. 4, nos. 64, 65). The free property included all the property, movable or immovable, in the debtor's possession, except that he had to be left with his basic needs for survival (Resp. Rashba, loc. cit.; see also *Execution (Civil)) and except as otherwise provided in any *takkanah*. An instance is recorded in which the community enacted that a debtor's seat in the synagogue could not be attached in payment of a debt, not even a tax debt; later a special *takkanah* was enacted in connection with an extraordinary tax imposed by the central authorities, to the effect that even a synagogue seat could be taken in satisfaction of such an unpaid tax debt (Resp. Rosh, 5:4; at that time a synagogue seat entailed a proprietary right: see *Ḥazakah*).

For the purposes of recovering a tax debt, the concept of *nekhasim meshu'badim* had a wider scope than in the case of a regular debt. Thus it was held: "It has been the custom of all the communities… that when a person's money is subject to a debt owed to the community and this money is given to another, then the party becoming entitled to it takes the place of the first owner"; therefore the tax could be exacted from such money – even though this was not the law in case of any other debt – since "the tax obligation is imposed on the money, and all money which is so obligated and acquired by the second owner is still subject to the obligation of the first owner" (Resp. Ran, no. 10). It was also the practice to oblige the tax debtor to provide a surety or pledge for repayment of the debt (see, e.g., Resp. Rashba, vol. 3, no. 398; Resp. Rosh, 6:29; 7:11).

FINE, BAN, OR IMPRISONMENT. The customary means of coercion in post-talmudic times, a fine or ban (*niddui* or *ḥerem*), were also adopted against errant taxpayers (see, e.g., Resp. Ramah, no. 250; Resp. Rosh, 6:29, 28:4). Another means of enforcing a tax debt was imprisonment. Originally, in Jewish law imprisonment was not employed as a means of enforcing repayment of a debt, no matter what kind, since this was looked upon as prejudicial to the debtor's personal freedom and inimical to the fundamental principles of Jewish law governing the creditor-debtor relationship. It was only from the 14th century onward – in consequence of changed socio-economic conditions and influenced by the surrounding legal systems – that the Jewish communities came to adopt imprisonment for debt, and then with material reservations designed to protect an impoverished debtor (see *Imprisonment for Debt). However, in the case of a tax debt, imprisonment as a means of coercion had come into practice at an earlier date, apparently as early as the 11th century (see Rashi to Pes. 91a and Elon, *Ḥerut ha-Perat*…, p. 113). At any rate, it is recorded that in the 13th century it was "the custom of the communities to imprison any person who failed to pay the king's tax because the law of the land is law" (Resp. Rosh, 68:10). Some scholars explained this law on the basis that since the tax in question went to the government and since the general law of the land required that the debtor be imprisoned until he paid the tax, it followed that the community had to do likewise as "the king's agents" (Resp. Ranaḥ, no. 58; cf. the same concept above). However, as regards a tax debt, imprisonment was customary, not only in respect of "the king's tax," but also in respect of a communal tax: "The custom is widespread, in all countries of the Diaspora, that a person who owes [and fails to pay] tax to the community is incarcerated in prison; he is not brought before the court, but the communal leaders adjudge him in accordance with their custom, and he is not set free until he pays or until he provides a surety or binds himself by deed… for such is the tax law" (Resp. Rosh, 7:11). This continued to be the practice in the following century (see, e.g., *Zikhron Yehudah*, no. 79; see also the charter of rights for Majorcan Jewry, of 1315, in Dinur, loc. cit., vol. 2, pt. 2, p. 354).

After imprisonment had become an accepted means of enforcement in the case of regular unpaid debts, that is from the 14th century, it continued to be used, sometimes with increased severity, in respect of tax debts. Joseph Colon, the 15th-century Italian halakhic scholar, stated that it was permissible to have a recalcitrant tax debtor imprisoned and compelled to pay his debt, even through intervention of the gentiles; this he explained on the basis that a Jew who refused to submit to the internal Jewish government was as one who refused to be adjudged before a Jewish court and whom it was permissible to sue in the civil courts, and under the general law of the land it was the practice for debtors to be imprisoned (Resp. Maharik, no. 17; here this rule was attributed to R. Gershom b. Judah; see also *Rema*, ḤM 163:1). Even in such a case, however, it was forbidden for all of the debtor's property to be handed to the civil authorities in a manner that caused him loss far beyond the measure of his tax liability (Resp. Maharik, no. 127); furthermore, it was forbidden to coerce, through the general authorities, any individual who was not a resident of the community claiming the tax from him, since such an individual was not subject to the jurisdiction of that community: "shall robbery be permitted because it is committed by the public?" (Resp. Maharik, loc. cit.). From the end of the 16th century onward, there are instances of particular severity in the enforcement of tax collection methods. Tax evasion had become a severe hindrance to the effective organization of autonomous Jewish life and to the maintenance of proper relations with the central government. Thus, for example, the following procedure was adopted: if a tax debt remained unpaid for three days, the debtor was declared "obdurate" (*sarvan*); if he persisted in his refusal, a ban was imposed, with various degrees of severity (see **Ḥerem*); if thereafter the debt remained unpaid for a specific period of time, the debtor was imprisoned until the debt and the expenses involved were paid. This procedure was justified thus: "therefore we have taken such a stringent approach as concerns the tax *takkanah* because we see that many stumble in this respect and permit themselves latitude in tax matters, without taking to heart that this amounts to robbery of the public; hence we very carefully warn the public about this matter" (see *takkanot* of the Cracow community and of Moravia in the 17th century in Elon, *Ḥerut ha-Perat*…, pp. 178–80, 195 f.). In another *takkanah* provision was even made for various sanctions, including imprisonment, to be adopted against communal leaders in the event of their failure to transfer the tax monies ("*Toleranzgelder*") to the proper destination in time, so as to avoid "great wrath" on the part of the government (Elon, *ibid.*, p. 221). A similar detailed description has come down of the onerous tax collection procedures which, in the middle of the 18th century, the leaders of the Prague community were compelled by the government to adopt in order to raise the amount the latter prescribed for financing a war (see Elon, *ibid.*, pp. 221 f.).

Ethics of Tax Payment

At all times the halakhic scholars sought to educate members of the public toward genuine payment of their taxes, and emphasized the basic premise that anyone who evaded payment of his share of the tax increased the burden of the remaining members of the community by obliging them to pay more than their due share, and that this was the case whether the tax went to the government or toward financing the various services provided by the community. Hence it was held that tax evasion entailed not only ordinary robbery, but also "robbery of the public" (*gezel ha-rabbim*), which had to be most severely punished (see BB 35b, 88b). This transgression is repeatedly warned against (see, e.g., *Sefer Ḥasidim*, nos. 671, 1386, 1451), and not only the offender was held to be subject to punishment but also the communal leaders (even when they had paid their own due share of the tax) who failed to enact suitable *takkanot* designed to discourage others from tax evasion (loc. cit., no. 671). Samuel di Medina concluded that tax evasion rendered a person "a robber and disqualified as a witness and profit gained in consequence is to be weighed against the loss of the world to come" (Resp. Maharashdam, ḤM no. 442).

The multiple exhortations against tax evasion were aimed at counteracting a common human weakness to justify such conduct on a variety of grounds (see, e.g., *Terumat ha-Deshen*, Resp. no. 343). Hence in various *takkanot* a strict ban was imposed on all persons evading tax payment or aiding and abetting the evasion (see, e.g., *takkanot* of Valladolid of 1432, in Finkelstein, loc. cit., p. 371). Indeed, many were most careful to meet their tax liability in full, and often, after having submitted declarations of their taxable property, they returned to advise the trustees of any particulars they had forgotten to mention, in order to fulfill "the duty toward Heaven" and pay the true amount that was due (Resp. Rashba, vol. 3, no. 408). However, there were also instances where means of special severity had to be adopted to cope with tax evasion: "In these times fraud is prevalent and it is right to act with great severity so as not to encourage those who practice it" (Resp. Maharil, no. 121 and see above). A detailed and instructive illustration of the demand for integrity in tax payment is to be found in the "order of assessment" of the Mantua community of 1695. After it is stressed that the individual must faithfully render his tax "report" in all its details – lest he commit "robbery of the public" and his transgression be "beyond bearing" – it is stated: "for he shall not permit himself to do so and think that others too do not submit their report honestly and justly, and therefore he may act like them and withhold for himself… it is forbidden to do so for two reasons: firstly, this is simply a vain answer and an unfounded judgment, for how can he have clear information about the others… and secondly if it were true as he thinks, I would be surprised to know who permitted the robbery of those of good and upright heart because of someone who acts dishonestly, or who permitted a man to forfeit his right in the world to come because of that sinner or sinners?" (ch. 15; see further *Massa Ḥayyim, Missim ve-Arnoniyyot*, no. 16).

Halakhic Compilations of Tax Law

The special development that took place in the field of tax law also left its mark on the literary sources of Jewish law. The fact that this development took place mainly in the 12th and 13th centuries can be clearly deduced from a review of the classic halakhic compilations of Jewish law. Thus, for example, there is very little mention of tax law in Alfasi's *Sefer ha-Halakhot* or in Maimonides' *Mishneh Torah* (11th and 12th centuries respectively). The subject is discussed more widely in Jacob b. Asher's *Turim* (ḤM 163) from the 14th century, and the scope of the discussion is progressively wider in Joseph Caro's *Beit Yosef* and Shulḥan Arukh, in Moses Isserles' *Darkhei Moshe* and glosses (ḤM 163) from the 16th century in Ereẓ Israel and Poland respectively, and in Ḥayyim Benveniste's *Keneset ha-Gedolah* to the *Tur* and *Beit Yosef* in the 17th century in Turkey. In the responsa collections also, particularly those dating from the 13th century onward, whole sections are devoted to tax law, which provide a great deal of informative material on this field of Jewish law (see indexes to the responsa collections; for particulars of all the above-mentioned works, see *Codification of Law).

The emergence of compilations specially devoted to the subject of tax law is of interest. As early as the 11th century a small work of this kind was compiled by Joseph Tov Elem (quoted in Resp. Maharam of Rothenburg, ed. Prague, nos. 940, 941). In the 14th century some 50 tax *halakhot*, in summary form, were quoted in the *Nimmukim* of Menahem of Merseburg (printed as an addendum to Resp. Maharyw). The most comprehensive and interesting compilation of this nature is the *Massa Melekh*, written by the 16th-century scholar from Salonika, Joseph b. Isaac ibn Ezra. Divided into seven parts, the work is a comprehensive review of tax law, titled and subtitled according to subject matter. At the end of these seven parts the author added a concluding section, *Ne'ilat She'arim*, containing a detailed exposition of the laws of custom with the author's explanation that tax law was based, first and foremost, on the legal source of custom. An interesting literary feature is the author's condensation of his own detailed discussions within the body of his work, into brief summarized *halakhot*, each containing the conclusion drawn from the preceding discussion (see summaries of the seven parts, pp. 65, 1–70, 2 and of the *Ne'ilat She'arim*, pp. 70, 2–72, 4). This method corresponded to that adopted by Joseph Caro, whose Shulḥan Arukh contains the summarized conclusions of the discussions in his *Beit Yosef*. Another such compilation is the *Avodat Massa*, written by the 19th-century scholar from Izmir, Joshua Abraham Judah. His book is composed of 24 sections subdivided into paragraphs and contains collections of tax *takkanot* and customs from Joseph Escapa, a rabbi of Izmir in the 17th century, and subsequent scholars. Some time later a work called *Massa Ḥayyim* was compiled by Ḥayyim *Palache, also of Izmir. It is divided into three parts, the first containing a very large collection of diverse *takkanot* and customs, particularly in the tax law field, the second dealing with various laws concerning tax matters, and the last part with the law of custom in general; each part is arranged in alphabetical order. In addition, tax laws are dealt with in detail in the *takkanot* collections of the various communities (see bibl.).

In the State of Israel

For a discussion of the sources and details of the tax laws in the State of Israel see *Israel, State of: Taxation, as well as the work of Witkon and Ne'eman (bibl.). It may be noted that terms such as *mas, mekhes, belo*, and *arnona* are still current in the State in the context of tax matters, although they generally have a different meaning from that attributed to them in the course of this article (see Witkon-Ne'eman, pp. 4–8, et al.). In 1964 a tax museum was established in Jerusalem for the preservation of historical material relating to Jewish tax law and all matters touching on taxation in Ereẓ Israel in its earlier and later periods and in the State of Israel. In addition to various research projects, a periodical, *Rivon le-Inyenei Missim*, devoted to tax matters, is published regularly under the auspices of the museum.

[Menachem Elon]

ARTIFICIAL TRANSACTIONS. Article 86 of the Income Tax Ordinance (New Version) stipulates that when a tax official concludes that a particular transaction which effectuates a reduction in the tax due is "artificial or invented," that transaction may be disregarded in fixing the amount of tax to be paid. In interpreting the term "artificial transaction," the Israel Supreme Court relied on Jewish Law (CA 265/67 *Mapi Ltd. v. the Tax Assessor for Large Businesses, Tel Aviv*, 21 (2) PD 593, per Justice Moshe Silberg).

Justice Silberg noted that Jewish Law holds a rather liberal attitude toward circumvention of the law through means of the law itself, in order to maintain the "flexibility and vitality of the ancient law, so as to enable it to incorporate changing patterns of life." Circumvention of the law by using the law is referred to in *halakhah* as *ha'aramah*, and there are various instances of its practice in Jewish law: for example, *ha'aram*ah to circumvent the prohibition against taking interest on a loan (see *Usury). In some instances, the *halakhah* upheld *ha'aramah;* in others, it was rejected.

In his opinion, Justice Silberg discusses two examples, one of which was halakhically accepted, the other rejected. The first example involves the second tithe (*ma'aser sheni*). The Torah provides that one-tenth of an individual's yearly produce is to be set aside and taken to Jerusalem to be consumed there (Lev. 27:30–31; Deut. 14:22). The Torah likewise provides that the tithe may be redeemed for an amount of money equal in value to the produce, which is then taken to Jerusalem where it is used to purchase food; however, in that case an additional sum of money equal to one-fifth of the value of the produce must be added. The Mishnah, however, considers various methods for avoiding payment of the extra fifth. One such method is to give a sum of money equal to the value of the produce as a gift to a friend, who then uses the money to redeem the produce, after which he returns the money to the owner, relying upon the rule that if the tithe is redeemed by someone other than the owner of the produce, the additional fifth need not be given. Thus, through this fictive gift, the owner of the produce circumvents his obligation to add a fifth to the redemption money. This result was planned in advance, as the purpose of the gift of the money was to evade the obligation to add the fifth. The Mishnah itself cites this method as achieving this result.

The second example discussed by Justice Silberg, one rejected by the *halakhah*, involves the first tithe (*ma'aser rishon*). This tithe, also a tenth of the produce, is set aside prior to the second tithe and given to the Levites. According to an interpretation of the biblical passage (Num. 18:21f.), the obligation to set aside the first tithe only applies to that produce that is brought into the house through its entrance. If it is brought in by a circuitous way, such as through the roof, the first tithe need not be given. However, this method of evading the obligation was rejected.

Justice Silberg analyzes the difference between the two cases: viz. the acceptance of the *ha'aramah* involving the second tithe, and the rejection of that involving the first tithe. He concludes that "with regard to the second tithe, although the purpose was to obviate the obligation to give the additional fifth, the mechanism used and its legal effects are much broader and deeper. The ownership of the object (i.e., the money used to redeem the produce) must actually be transferred to the recipient (i.e., the one who actually performs the redemption) and all the necessary requirements must be satisfied. If anything related to the substance or scope of the transfer is omitted… the *ha'aramah* does not achieve its purpose." On the other hand, bringing the produce through the roof involves nothing beyond the exemption from paying the tithe. This act has no other significance.

Using the same standard, Justice Silberg concluded that the term "artificial transaction" in the tax law should be interpreted as referring to a transaction that has no substance or purpose other than the desired reduction in the amount of the tax. (See also Cr. A. 1182/99 *Hurvitz v. State of Israel* 54 (4) PD 85–88, per Justice Yitzhak Englard).

INTERPRETATION OF TAX LAWS. An example of the rule that communal enactments (*takkanot ha-kahal)* in the area of tax law be interpreted according to their language and not according to their intention which did not receive expression in the *takkanah,* appears in a responsum of R. Solomon b. Abraham Aderet. The question submitted concerned a communal enactment whose purpose was to increase the amount of taxes collected by the community. However, application of the terms of the enactment had the unforeseen result that a particular taxpayer's obligation was reduced. Rashba ruled that the clear language of the enactment must be applied (Resp. Rashba vol. 5 no. 282). The Israeli Supreme Court relied on this ruling as to statutory interpretation in general, and to tax law in particular (HC 333/78 *Trust Association of Bank Leumi of Israel v. Administrator of Estate Taxes*, 32 (3) PD 202, Justice Menachem Elon; for extensive discussion, see *Interpretation).

[Menachem Elon (2nd ed.)]

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TAX GATHERERS. In Jewish history in the period of Roman rule two categories should be distinguished under this heading: (1) *mokhesim*, farmers-general (see *publicani*), by preference of the equestrian order, and (2) *gabba'im*, their agents employed in collecting the taxes (sometimes also called *pub-*

licani, as in the New Testament). The first Roman organization of taxes in Syria and Palestine was begun by Pompey (c. 65 B.C.E.). Under Gabinius' administration there was almost no place for the *publicani* in Judea, as Gabinius was their bitter enemy and tried in every way to eliminate them from the tax gathering in his province. However, during the Herodian period, Julius Caesar made the rulers of the new Jewish state responsible for the taxes (Jos., Ant., 14: 163ff., et al.). The Herodian rulers farmed the taxes out to individual farmers or to associations. In the period of the Roman principate poll taxes and land taxes were collected directly by officials (cf. Tosef., Dem. 6:3) and only customs, tolls, and similar taxes were farmed out to *publicani*. In the second and third centuries the *bouleutai* (= *curiales*), and the *decemprimi* of the towns and villages, and notable persons of the *strategiae* had to answer for the full payment of taxes imposed on their districts (see BB 143a). Often, to evade these duties, they took to flight. R. *Johanan even advised crossing the Jordan and leaving Ereẓ Israel rather than assuming such duties (TJ, MK 2:3, 81b).

As the burdens of taxation became ever more intolerable, so did the tax farmer or collector become a more hateful and dreaded personality (cf., Sanh. 92b, where a *gabbai* is likened to the bear in Amos 5:19). At times they even contrived to extract payments by torture (see Num. R. 17:5; cf. Philo, Spec. 3, 153–63). Being so unpopular, the collector's job was no easy one; indeed at times he ran great personal risk, as an enraged populace was quite likely to lynch him (Gen, R. 42:4). Since both *mokhesim* and *gabba'im* were classed with "robbers," talmudic law disqualified them from acting as witnesses (Sanh. 25b). Neither was their money accepted for charity (BK 10:1). Sometimes however, tax collectors were unwilling agents of the *publicani*. Thus, Tosefta Demai (3:4, et al.) reads: "At first [the sages] said, 'A *ḥaver* who becomes a *gabbai* is expelled from the order.' Subsequently they declared, 'As long as he is a *gabbai* he is not trusted, but if he withdraws from being a *gabbai* he is [again] trusted.'" A number of Jewish tax collectors and farmers are mentioned, e.g., Johanes from Caesarea (Jos., Wars, 2:287), Zechariah on the Jordan near Jericho (Luke 19:2), the tax gatherers at Capernaum on Lake Tiberias, probably responsible for customs, port duties, and fishing tolls (Matt. 9:9), etc. Tax collectors formed themselves into companies (*societas publicanorum*), each member taking a share (a quarter or less) of the collection and its profits, according to the capital invested.

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[Daniel Sperber]

TAYLOR, ELIZABETH (1932–), U.S. actress. Taylor was born in London, England, to American art dealer Francis and actress Sara Taylor (stage name Sara Sothern). The family moved to Los Angeles in 1939, where with her mother's encouragement, Elizabeth appeared in her first film, *There's One Born Every Minute* (1942). A year later she signed with Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer, where she appeared in *Lassie Come Home* (1943). In 1943, she starred in *National Velvet* with Mickey Rooney; during the filming a horse riding accident left her with a broken back and the pain would plague her for the rest of her life. Critical acclaim for the film led to roles in *Little Women* (1949), *Father of the Bride* (1950), and *A Place in the Sun* (1951). In 1950, she married hotel heir Conrad Hilton Jr., divorcing him less than a year later in 1951. In 1952, she married British actor Michael Wilding, divorcing him in 1957. In 1956, she starred opposite James Dean in *Giant,* and received her first Oscar nomination for *Raintree Country* (1957). She married producer Michael *Todd in 1957. Taylor turned to Todd's rabbi, Max Nussbaum of Temple Israel of Hollywood, to convert her to Judaism in early 1959, taking the Hebrew name Elisheba Rachel. On March 24, 1958, Todd was killed in a plane crash in New Mexico. A grief-stricken Taylor poured her emotions into playing Maggie in *Cat on a Hot Tin Roof* (1958), which earned her a second Oscar nod. While on the set, she met Eddie *Fisher, and following Fisher's divorce from Debbie Reynolds, the two were married by Rabbi Nussbaum at Temple Beth Shalom in Las Vegas on May 12, 1959, with Mike Todd, Jr., as best man. *Suddenly Last Summer* (1959) earned her a third Academy Award nomination. One year later, her turn as a call girl in *Butterfield 8* (1960) won Taylor her first best actress Oscar. In 1961, Taylor signed with 20th Century Fox for $1 million to star in *Cleopatra* (1963). Taylor had an affair with co-star Richard Burton during the shoot that the Vatican even addressed. In 1962, a distraught Taylor attempted suicide. But following a divorce from Fisher, Taylor married recently divorced Burton on March 15, 1964. *Who's Afraid of Virginia Woolf?* (1966) earned Taylor her second Oscar. Taylor divorced Burton in 1974, remarried him in 1975, but divorced again a year later. She married Republican Senate hopeful John Warner in 1976, but the two divorced following media scrutiny of her weight gain. Taylor turned to Broadway, where she appeared in *Little Foxes* (1981) and later in *Private Lives* (1983) with Burton. In 1983, Taylor admitted herself to the Betty Ford Clinic for alcohol addiction. After many of her friends, including Rock Hudson, died of AIDS, Taylor became the first celebrity to support AIDS research and co-founded the American Foundation for AIDS Research. In 1988, she returned to the Betty Ford Clinic, where she met 40-year-old construction worker Larry Fortensky, whom she married in 1991 and divorced in 1996. In 2000, Queen Elizabeth dubbed Taylor Dame Commander of the Order of the British Empire.

[Adam Wills (2nd ed.)]

TAYLOR, SIR PETER MURRAY, Baron Taylor of Gosforth (1930–1997), British jurist. Born in Newcastle-on-Tyne, Taylor was educated at Tyne Royal Grammar School and Pembroke College, Cambridge. He served as a captain in the Army Education Corps and captained Northumberland at rugby. Called to the bar in 1954, he was appointed a Queen's Counsel in 1967 and was a prominent prosecutor, involved in the high-profile cases of John Poulson and Jeremy Thorpe. He served as recorder of Huddersfield and of Teesside. In 1979–80, he was elected chairman of the Bar. Taylor became a judge of the High Court of Justice in 1980 and was a Lord Justice of Appeal, 1988–92. He achieved national prominence when he conducted the inquiry into the 1989 Hillborough (Sheffield) Football Stadium Disaster, and his findings led to the establishment of the Football Licencing Authority. In 1992 he was created Lord Chief Justice of England, the first Jew to hold the post since Rufus Isaacs (Lord *Reading) in 1921, serving until his death. He was a member of the United Hebrew Congregation of Newcastle and was active in the Soviet Jewry campaign in the late 1970s. Taylor was knighted in 1980 and made a life peer in 1992.

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[David Cesarani / William D. Rubinstein (2nd ed.)]

TAYLOR, SYDNEY (1904–1978), U.S. author of the *All-of-a-Kind Family* children's book series; a founder of American Jewish children's literature. Born Sarah Brenner, Taylor was the third child of Morris and Cecilia Marowitz Brenner, who immigrated to New York City in 1900. The Brenners raised their seven children in an Orthodox Jewish home. As a teenager, Sarah began to assimilate, and by the time she began writing in the 1940s, she was no longer an observant Jew. However, she always maintained her Jewish identity.

As a young woman, Taylor became involved with the performing arts, acting on stage with the Lenox Hill Players and dancing with Martha Graham's modern dance troupe. She married Ralph Taylor in 1925 and had a daughter, Joanne, in 1935. Taylor began to record stories of her childhood when Joanne asked her why the books she read had only gentile characters. *All-of-a-Kind Family* was published in 1951 after it won a contest sponsored by Follett Publishing.

Although children's books with Jewish themes and characters had been published since the early 20th century, Taylor's were the first to reach a large, mainstream audience comprised of both Jewish and non-Jewish readers. She was also the first American author to depict observant Jewish children in realistic situations. Published until 1978, Taylor's *All-of-a-Kind Family* books were in wide circulation throughout the country.

The books presented Jews, the Lower East Side, and, in later books, the Bronx, in positive terms and a warm light. While at times Taylor elided the difficulties her family experienced or made writing decisions that romanticized actual incidents, she also depicted real pressures and conflicts that she and her family went through, such as poverty, inter-generational disagreement, and even the beginnings of assimilation. To millions of readers, she provided a bridge between the present and the past and supplied them with role models for a strong and proud American Jewish identity.

In addition to publishing the five novels that comprised the *All-of-a-Kind Family* series (*All-of-a-Kind Family* (1951); *More All-of-a-Kind Family* (1954); *All-of-a-Kind Family Uptown* (1958); *All-of-a-Kind Family Downtown* (1972), and *Ella of All-of-a-Kind Family* (1978)), Taylor also wrote several other children's books and short stories. She was the dance and drama director at Camp Cejwin in Port Jervis, New York, for over 30 years and wrote dozens of plays for the Cejwin campers, who performed them every summer from the late 1940s to the early 1970s. Today, the Association of Jewish Libraries gives out two awards for outstanding Jewish children's literature in Sydney Taylor's name.

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[June Cummins (2nd ed.)]

TAYMA (**Tema**), an oasis in northwest *Arabia, already mentioned in the Bible (Isaiah 21:14; Jeremiah 25:23; Job 6:19) with another close oasis, Dedan, as a center of water and food in Arabia, through which the caravans made their way from South Arabia (Sheba) to the Land of Israel and to Mesopotamia. Tema is mentioned as well as a descendant of Ishmael (Genesis 25:15; I Chronicles 1:30) and with the same function in an Assyrian text from the eighth century B.C.E. Tema was one of the oldest Jewish communities in northern Arabia. Nabonidus, the last Babylonian king (539–555), recounts in one of his inscriptions that he built his house in Tema (542–552); this raised the conjecture that some of the Jewish exiles in *Babylonia settled with him in Tema. This conjecture was supported by Nabonidus' prayer found with the *Qumran Scrolls. According to inscriptions, Arabs settled among the Jews in Tayma in about the mid-fifth century, and many of them adopted Jewish ways, as Jews owned most of the land and the date palms in the area. Tema became the central Jewish settlement in northwest Arabia in the two or three centuries before Islam, alongside two other oases: Dedan (al-ʾUlā) and Hajrah (Madāʾin Ṣāliḥ). It seems that Tema was the place where the first Judeo-Arabic biblical translation was produced for the Arabic-speaking Jewish communities in pre-Islamic Arabia. In that area the earliest Judeo-Arabic inscriptions were found, from the fifth or the sixth century B.C.E. About the importance of Tema as a Jewish settlement during that time we can learn from the verse of the 6th–7th century Arab poet Aʿshā Maymūn who called the town "Taymā; of the Jews." The most famous Jew of the pre-Islamic era is the poet *Samuel ibn Adiya who built his castle, al-Ablaq, near Tema; his name is still known for his faithfulness. Because of their special status among the Arabs, the Jews of Tema were allowed to retain their land even after *Muhammad's conquest. The results of the extensive excavations carried out recently in Tema and its vicinity may uncover new information about Jewish settlements.

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[Yosef Tobi (2nd ed.)]

TAYMOR, JULIE (1952–), U.S. director. Born in Newton, Mass., Taymor had a passion for theater beginning at age seven with backyard performances of *Cinderella.* She began working with masks at 16 when studying at L'Ecole de Mime in Paris. Then she went to Oberlin College, where she joined Herbert Blau's experimental theater company and also studied folklore and mythology. After graduation, she went to Indonesia, staying for four years on fellowships, and developed a mask-dance troupe, Teatr Loh, living with one of the actors in a small compound with a dirt floor and no running water or electricity. The tensions she witnessed as a slow-moving individualistic culture confronted the fast pace of consumer-driven change inspired her first major theater work, *Way of Snow*, performed by an international company of actors, musicians, dancers, and puppeteers. Taymor designed her first American production, *The Odyssey* (1979), at the Baltimore Stage and achieved her first acclaim in New York City as production designer for Elizabeth Swados' *The Haggadah* (1980), creating a giant seder tablecloth that billowed up, Beijing Opera-style, to become the Red Sea, not to mention life-size puppet rabbis debating Passover scholarships, and alarmingly graphic plague effects projected through shadow puppets. She and a composer, Elliot Goldenthal, who later became her companion, collaborated on *Juan Darien, A Carnival Mass* (1988), which was revived at Lincoln Center in 1996, giving Taymor her first Broadway credit. From there, Taymor was engaged by the Disney company to take a story that many people know, *The Lion King*, a 1994 film that grossed $450 million worldwide, and elevate it to a theatrical event of enduring magnitude. The musical blended actors in masks and African costumes and life-size animal puppets operated by actors in full view of the audience. A giraffe is actually an actor wearing a conelike giraffe neck and head, balanced on arm and leg stilts. The show opened in 1997 and was a huge hit. It received 11 Tony Award nominations, including best musical, book, score and direction. Taymor won in two categories, direction and costume design. Besieged with opportunities after her overwhelming success, Taymor turned to film, directing *Titus* (1999), an adaptation of Shakespeare's *Titus Andronicus*, starring Anthony Hopkins and Jessica Lange. Taymor's edgy and avant garde take on Shakespeare's early drama, with music video-style editing, offended some by its goriness and supposed lack of reverence for the source material. The film was not a success, but Taymor triumphed with her next film, *Frida* (2002), a biographic portrait of the half-Jewish Mexican artist Frida Kahlo starring Salma Hayek. The film won six Academy Award nominations and won in two categories, for best makeup and original score.

[Stewart Kampel (2nd ed.)]

TAY-SACHS DISEASE (Amaurotic Familial Idiocy). Amaurotic Familial Idiocy, known as the Tay-Sachs Disease after W. Tay, an English ophthalmologist who discovered it in 1881, and B. Sachs, a U.S. neurologist who followed in 1887, is a hereditary disease, characterized by the onset during the first year of life of progressive retardation of development, followed by dementia, blindness, and paralysis. The outcome is invariably fatal by the third or fourth year of life.

The disease has a predilection for children of Ashkenazi Jewish families, with about 90 percent of all cases occurring in Jewish children whose antecedents are from families originating in the Polish-Russian provinces of Grodno, Suwalki, Vilna, and Kaunas (Kovno).

The disease is carried by autosomal recessive genes and occurs only when both parents are carriers. The combination of both affected genes in the child occurs, according to Mendelian Theory, in 25% of cases, with all these children developing the disease.

The eponym Tay-Sachs, while originally all-inclusive, is today restricted to the infantile type of amaurotic idiocy, while five other variants of this disease which have been described are associated with other eponyms.

The clinical signs and symptoms primarily affect the central nervous system. Recent research has demonstrated that the disease is caused by a genetically determined metabolic defect, leading to the accumulation within cells of the brain of abnormal quantities of gangliosides, complex fatty substances of the sphingolipid family. The genetic defect is caused by the deficient activity of a specific enzyme (Hexosaminidase A) required in biochemical reactions for the breakdown of a ganglioside, GM_2. This deficiency leads to accumulation of these fatty substances in the blood and their deposit in the tissues, subsequently associated with degenerative changes.

The Kingsbrook Jewish Medical Center (formerly the Jewish Chronic Disease Hospital) in New York City has been a center for research and treatment of the disease and has the largest experience in caring for its victims. There is no specific treatment of the disease, but supportive care in units especially skilled in handling such children provide considerable help to parents and temporarily improve the immediate prognosis of the affected child.

The development of methods for the assay of blood serum Hexosaminidase A activity has led to the introduction of tests which make it possible to discover carriers of the gene causing the disease. Jewish community organizations and health centers in various parts of the United States and in Israel have sponsored screening programs for the detection of the carrier state in couples considering marriage. When both are carriers, they may be counseled to avoid marriage or not to have children.

Similar biochemical studies are possible on the amniotic fluid of pregnant women to determine if the fetus is affected by the disease. This test permits near-accurate prenatal diagnosis of the disease. In such cases abortion is often advised.

Since Tay-Sachs disease is primarily a disease of Jews and the performance of abortion has religious and moral aspects, the permissibility of abortion where the disease has been diagnosed in the fetus has been discussed by rabbinic authorities. Rabbinical responsa in general oppose abortion in Tay-Sachs. As the detection of the disease in the fetus is still very difficult before the completion of three months of pregnancy, those rabbinical authorities who limit interruption of pregnancy in cases of fetal malformation (German measles) to the first three months of pregnancy, do not consent to an abortion in Tay-Sachs disease.

Rabbi E.J. Waldenberg, however, permits abortion because of Tay-Sachs up to seven months of pregnancy, in view of the tragic nature and inevitable effect upon a child born with this disease.

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[David M. Maeir]

TAYYIB, ISAAC BEN BENJAMIN (d. 1830), rabbi, kabbalist, and author from *Tunis. No biographical details are known of him and his reputation rests on his works.

They are: (1) *Erekh ha-Shulḥan*, a commentary on the Shulḥan Arukh: *Oraḥ Ḥayyim* (1791), *Yoreh De'ah* (1798), *Ḥoshen Mishpat* (1815), *Even ha-Ezer* (1844), all published at Leghorn; (2) *Vavei ha-Ammudim* (1858), a commentary on the *Sefer Yere'im* of *Eliezer of Metz; (3) *Ḥukkat ha-Pesaḥ* (1853), a commentary on the Passover laws in the Shulḥan Arukh; (4) *Sefer ha-Zikkaron* (2 parts, 1892). Part 1 consists of novellae and part 2 is a kabbalistic commentary on *Avot* and the Passover *Haggadah*; (5) *Ḥelev Ḥittim* (1896), talmudic novellae; (6) *Va-Yizra Yiẓḥak* (Djerba, 1941), novellae to Genesis.

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ṬAYYIBA, AL-, Muslim-Arab community, with municipal council status in central Israel, bordering on the Samarian hills. Al-Ṭayyiba, the largest village of the "Little Triangle" was included in Israel's borders following the armistice agreement with Jordan in 1949. It quickly expanded, reaching a population of 10,000 in 1968 and 30,400 in 2002, with an area of 7.3 sq. mi. (19 sq. km.). It received municipal status in 1990. Its farming progressed considerably, consisting mainly of field crops, vegetables, and fruit orchards. It also had a number of small industrial enterprises, mainly in the food and agricultural service branches. The site is possibly identical with a village Tivata (טִיבָתָא), mentioned in the Talmud (TJ, Dem. 2:1, 22c).

[Efraim Orni]

TCHERIKOVER, VICTOR (**Avigdor**; 1894–1958), historian. Tcherikover was born in St. Petersburg, Russia, into a family of *maskilim*. Graduating from the humanistic high school in Moscow, he studied philosophy and later ancient history at the University of Moscow, then left for Germany in 1921 and studied ancient history at Berlin University. Emigrating to Palestine in 1925, Tcherikover became one of the first teachers at the Hebrew University, and the first professor of ancient history. During the 1950s he headed the departments of general history and classical studies.

A general historian by training, Tcherikover first wrote in the field of Hellenistic history; his *Die Hellenistischen Staedtegruendungen von Alexander dem Grossen bis auf die Roemerzeit* (1927) became the basic work in this field. Later he devoted himself entirely to the study of Jewish history during the Graeco-Roman period and became one of the most distinguished scholars in the field. His two special interests were the history of Palestine from the Macedonian conquest until the establishment of the Hasmonean state and the history of the Jewish Diaspora in Egypt during the Hellenistic-Roman period. Tcherikover's fundamental research in the first field was *Palestine under the Ptolemies* (1937). In this study papyri relating to Palestine were fully utilized and analyzed for the first time, giving a new insight into the administration of Ptolemaic Palestine, methods of trade, the non-Jewish population, and the Greek towns. In addition, in his *Ha-Yehudim va-ha-Yevanim ba-Tekufah ha-Helenistit* (1931; *Hellenistic Civilization and the Jews*, 1959; second revised and enlarged Hebrew ed., 1963) Tcherikover gave a general picture of the Jewish history of the Hellenistic period – including the period of the Seleucid rule, the revolt of the Maccabees, and the rule of the Hasmonean dynasty. The second edition of this work contains a general synthesis of Tcherikover's views on the relationship between the Jews and the Greeks.

The other important field of Tcherikover's work on the history of the Diaspora in Egypt was based on his research of papyri. Among the tens of thousands of Greek papyri found in Egypt from the end of the 19th century onward, papyri which mentioned Jews or matters connected with Jews were also discovered. Tcherikover initiated systematic research of the Jewish papyri, publishing many studies and a comprehensive research work, *Ha-Yehudim be-Miẓrayim ba-Tekufah ha-Helenistit-ha-Romit le-Or ha-Papirologyah* ("The Jews in Egypt in the Hellenistic-Roman Age in the Light of the Papyri," 1945, 1963^{2}, with Eng. summary). At the outset of his work on papyrology, Tcherikover realized that without a complete collection of the documents concerning the Jews there would be no solid basis to research on Jewish papyri. Consequently, starting in 1935, the preparation of his *Corpus Papyrorum Judaicarum* held a central place in Tcherikover's work. The first volume of the work was published in 1957, while volumes two and three were published posthumously in 1960 and 1964. Nearly 600 documents pertaining to Egyptian Jewry during the Hellenistic, Roman, and Byzantine periods are reproduced in the Greek original, accompanied by a translation and a scholarly commentary. Tcherikover's general introduction is a book in itself, reconstructing the millennium of the Egyptian Diaspora's existence with much historiographic expertise. Tcherikover's scholarly work is outstanding for construction, clarity of thought, lucidity of presentation, precision of detail, and general historic perception.

[Alexander Fuks]

TCHERIKOWER, ELIAS (1881–1943), historian. Tcherikower was born in Poltava, Ukraine, where his father was a pioneer of the Ḥibbat Zion movement. Graduating from the art school in Odessa in 1904, he decided to give up painting for writing. While in Odessa he joined the Zionist-Socialist circle, and after the 1905 Revolution, while a student at the University of St. Petersburg, he was arrested for participating in an illegal Russian Social-Democratic Labor Party conference, spending nearly a year in prison. In 1905 Tcherikower published his first study, a Marxist interpretation of *Mendele Mokher Seforim, in *Yevreyskaya Zhizn*. He contributed to the Russian-Jewish press and to the *Yevreyskaya Entsiklopediya*, and edited the pedagogical *Vestnik* OPE (1910–14). In 1914 his first book was published, the first volume of a history of the *Society for the Promotion of Culture among the Jews of Russia. In 1915 Tcherikower moved to New York, where, influenced by Ber *Borochov, he began to write in Yiddish. He was also active in the Jewish Congress movement.

Returning to Russia after the February Revolution, he settled in Kiev and became the leading spirit of a small group of Jewish intellectuals who, despite the many dangers, compiled many thousands of eyewitness reports and documents on pogroms and other phases of Jewish life in the Ukraine. In 1921 Tcherikower and the other members of the group left for Berlin, where they founded the Ostjuedisches Historisches Archiv with the plan to publish a seven-volume history of the pogrom movement in the Ukraine in the years 1917–21. Among the volumes published simultaneously in Yiddish and Russian was Tcherikower's *Anti-semitizm un Pogromen in Ukraine 1917–1918* ("Antisemitism and Pogroms in the Ukraine 1917–1918," 1923), with an introduction by S. Dubnow. Tcherikower completed a second volume during the 1930s, *Di Ukrainer Pogromen in Yor 1919* ("The Pogroms in the Ukraine in 1919"), which was published in 1965. One of the founders of the YIVO Institute in 1925, Tcherikower established its history section and edited three acclaimed volumes of *Historishe Shriftn* (1929–39) published by it.

Together with his wife Rebecca (1884–1963) he was a key figure in the preparation of the defense for Shalom *Schwartzbard during 1926–27; in the Berne trial on the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion (1934–35); and in the defense for David *Frankfurter (1936). Moving to Paris after Hitler's rise to power, Tcherikower, with Israel *Yefroykin, published the periodical *Oyfn Shaydveg*, which aimed at fostering a reappraisal of Jewish emancipation among Jewish intellectuals. He arrived in New York in 1940, continuing his activities with YIVO. He edited *Yidn in Frankraykh* (1942; *The Jews in France*, 1942), and the two-volume *Geshikhte fun der Yidisher Arbeter Bavegung in di Faraynikte Shtatn* ("History of the Jewish Labor Movement in the United States," vol. 1, 1943, vol. 2, 1945). A one-volume version of this work in English was published in 1961 as *The Early Jewish Labor Movement in the United States*. The bibliography of Tcherikower's works, compiled by A. Kin and Z. Szajkowski (1948, suppl. 1951) contains 470 titles.

TCHERNICHOWSKY, SAUL (1875–1943), Hebrew poet. Born in the village of Mikhailovka, Russia, Tchernichowsky grew up in the home of pious parents who were, however, open to the influences of the *Haskalah and *Ḥibbat Zion. He attended a modern Hebrew school, where he studied mainly Hebrew and the Bible, and at ten entered a Russian school. The many-sidedness of his education left a distinctive mark on his poetry in which the village, its life, and its landscape are also intrinsic components. Opening wide intellectual vistas for the young poet, his learning and knowledge were a source of inspiration as well as a wealth of material which Tchernichowsky transformed into aesthetic experiences. His education developed and nourished his critical attitude toward Diaspora Jewish culture and the yoke of the Jewish exile; cultivated his interest in other cultures; inspired his devotion to the Hebrew language, Jewish nationalism, and Zionism; and influenced his attitudes toward the traditional Jewish way of life.

His literary life may be divided into five periods:

The Odessa Period (1890–99)

At 14, Tchernichowsky was sent to Odessa to further his education: first in commercial secondary schools, and later through independent study in preparation for entry into the university. He was especially interested in languages and his studies of German, French, English, Greek, and Latin later stood him in good stead when he translated poetry from these languages into Hebrew. An avid reader of poetry, he was particularly influenced by the works of Pushkin, Lermontov, Goethe, Heine, Shakespeare, Byron, Burns, Longfellow, and later the Greek classics. In Odessa, Tchernichowsky was drawn to Zionist circles as well as to the younger Hebrew literary circles; the latter stimulated his interest in modern Hebrew literature, especially in the poetry of M.J. *Lebensohn, J.L. *Gordon, Ḥ.N. *Bialik, and the stories of S.Y. *Abramovitsh (Mendele Mokher Seforim). These left their mark on the writings of the young poet who at that time started publishing in various periodicals. His first two poems were "*Masat Nefesh*" in *Ha-Sharon* (Cracow, 1892/3) and "*Ba-Ḥalomi*" in *Ha-Pisgah* (Baltimore, 1892/3); and his first published book of verse – *Ḥezyonot u-Manginot* ("Visions and Melodies," 1898). This full-length work reflects the poet's deep involvement with the poetry of different nations and the influence it had on both the form and the content of his original poems, as well as his translations.

Characterized by a variety of classical poetic forms and complex rhythms, Tchernichowsky's poetry reveals his sensitivity to the sound and rhythm of language and his flair for accurate epithets. In this first collection of poems, the Tchernichowsky style is already clearly expressed. While most of his contemporaries developed their style through a struggle with classical Hebrew sources, Tchernichowsky put special emphasis on formal elements in both the choice of language and forms of verse. He drew his images from direct observation. Though his style has a biblical flavor and is replete with biblical imagery, he did not draw on the multifarious traditional implications and overtones that Hebrew terms and stock phrases could yield. Tchernichowsky's concept of love and nature, major themes in *Ḥezyonot u-Manginot*, is in the spirit of the Romantic poets. This quality added a new dimension to contemporary Hebrew poetry. The ideological concepts of his poetry may be traced to the poet's early Haskalah education and to the influence of Zionist and Hebrew literary circles with which he associated in Odessa. His reflective poems strongly call for a revolt against the fate of the Jewish people in exile, and even more, against the futility of the people's struggle for freedom. Criticism of Diaspora Jewish culture, an important motif in Tchernichowsky's later poetry (see "*Be-Leil Ḥanukkah*," "*Ḥarbi Ei Ḥarbi?*" and others) is already anticipated in this early work. The socialist influence (as in "*Ani Ma'amin*" and "*Me-Ḥezyonot ha-Navi*"), although found in these poems, was to remain marginal.

The Heidelberg-Lausanne Period (1899–1906)

Failing to gain admission to a Russian university, Tchernichowsky studied medicine in Heidelberg. He completed his medical studies in Lausanne in 1905. During this period, the poet came under the influence of the works of Goethe and Nietzsche. His own writings at that time are contained in two volumes: *Ḥezyonot u-Manginot* (Book 2, 1900), and the first part of *Shirim* ("Poems," 1910, which subsequently appeared in four enlarged editions). The motifs and stylistic peculiarities of the first volume of *Ḥezyonot u-Manginot* are also basic to the second, but the work is characterized by a more profound insight. Formalistically, the poet experiments with the long poem (the ballad and the epic). The form and structure of "*Bein ha-Meẓarim*," "*Amnon ve-Tamar*," and "*Barukh mi-Magenẓah*" are an extension of the ballad; while "*Levivot*," "*Berit Milah*," and "*Ke-Ḥom ha-Yom*" are narrative poems of wide scope. These poems are marked by the poet's close involvement expressed through his identification with his protagonists (spiritual personages in Jewish history) whose victory in defeat epitomizes the tragedy of the Jewish destiny.

In his narrative poems (the idylls), he lovingly describes the traditional Jewish way of life as he remembers it from his village childhood. His reflective poems, influenced by Nietzsche, are a criticism of Diaspora Jewish culture and Jewish religion which he contrasts with the Hellenic ideal of beauty, advocating an absolute response to the life impulse which imbues earthly existence (e.g., in "*Le-Nokhaḥ Pesel Apollo*," "*Me-Ḥezyonot Nevi'ei ha-Sheker*," and "*Le-Nokhaḥ ha-Yam*"). The motifs of enjoyment of the life of the senses and corporeal existence, whose tragic undertones are already felt in these early poems, are also dominant in the love and nature poems of the period ("*Ha-Navah mi-Dilsberg*," "*Lenchen*," "*Aggadot ha-Aviv*," "*Si'aḥ Kedumim*," and "*Mi-Tokh Av he-Anan*"). Tchernichowsky's romantic tendencies evidenced in the poems in the first collection are here replaced by an outspoken and consistent pantheistic and worldly view of life. His poetry at this time, infused with an underlying tension between two extreme yet mutually complementary motifs, embodies two different, possibly contradictory attitudes to reality. Ideologically, this tension is manifest through the poet's ambiguous attitude toward the Jewish heritage and the Jewish destiny. In terms of poetic experience and style, it is marked by a simultaneous double play of expression – sentimental lyricism and the restrained epic narrative.

The Russian Period (1906–22)

His personal experiences and the contemporaneous historical events left a deep impact on the poet; they form the subject of many of his works, and are a crucial factor in the molding of his outlook during these maturing years. Upon completion of his studies in Lausanne, he returned to Russia but had difficulty in finding a permanent post since he did not have a medical degree from a Russian university. He wandered from place to place, holding various posts. In Melitopol, he was arrested as a "political agitator" (1907). He settled in St. Petersburg in 1910, after his medical degree had finally been recognized. At the outbreak of World War I, he was drafted and served as an army doctor. After the Bolshevik revolution his economic situation deteriorated and in 1919, he settled in Odessa after a long journey through the Crimea. There he earned a scanty livelihood as a physician, and after three years of hardship left Russia.

Despite the years of adversity, there was no letup in Tchernichowsky's literary creativeness. In addition to poems, most of which were written in the latter part of the period, he composed stories, a number of scholarly essays and, of particular importance, translated a number of literary works from the Greek: Anacreon's lyrics (1920), Plato's *Symposium* (1929), and part of Homer's *Iliad*; and various English works, including Longfellow's "Evangeline" (he had previously translated the "Song of Hiawatha" which appeared in Odessa in 1912–13).

His poems of this period were collected and published under the title *Shirim* (Part 2) and *Shirim Ḥadashim* ("New Poems," 1923). Few of the poems in this volume, however, directly reflect the contemporaneous events that agitated the world; they are rather marked by Tchernichowsky's deliberate tendency to evade a confrontation with his time. In *Shirim Ḥadashim*, the poet expresses himself mostly in the rigorous form of the sonnet, but the poetic content does not complement the form. In his long narrative poems, especially those written in the later part of the period ("*Ba-Goren*" and "*Ḥatunnatah shel Elkah*"), he reverts back to the past and its tranquility, particularly his childhood years. These poems are free of the tragic undercurrent that lurked in his early "idylls," instead they highlight the comic ("*Ma'aseh be-Mordekhai ve-Yukhim*," "*Eli*," and "*Simḥah Lav Davka*").

Tchernichowsky also continued to write in the vein of the nature poetry of the Heidelberg period ("*Kismei Ya'ar*") with his detailed and minute descriptions of landscape (the Crimea sonnets) and the recrudescence of his "pagan" motifs, especially in the first part of the period ("*La-Ashtoret*

Shir ve-la-Bel," "*Olat Regel*," and "*Mot ha-Tammuz*"). Through withdrawal and by delaying and restraining his reaction he responded to contemporary historical events, which had undermined his naive attitude toward reality; they were reflected in a literary retrogression (e.g., in "*Al Tivez li-Meshorer*"). The shock finally finds direct expression in "*Ha-Kaf ha-Shevurah*" where for the first time he describes the experience of his arrest; in some of his stories based on his experience as an army doctor; and, especially, in the two sonnet sequences "*La-Shemesh*" (1919) and "*Al ha-Dam*" (1923). The aesthetic moment in these sonnets is kindled by a powerful tension between two diametrically opposed, incompatible, and irreconcilable attitudes. In "*La-Shemesh*," Tchernichowsky affirms life in all its manifestations, despite the disease and death that surround him; he accepts civilization: religion, art, and philosophy, despite fading ideals and the degeneration of the times. This is a crystallization of the ideal of the poet's cultural universalism which characterizes his previous works and now also includes the religious aspects of Jewish culture. In "*Al ha-Dam*," however, civilization is seen as a manifestation of the degeneration of the creative life force and is rejected with the same vigor as it had been affirmed in "*La-Shemesh*." The poet spurns any ideology which claims to bring salvation to the world but which, in fact, only leads to more bondage and death. The redemptive power of art is man's only hope and the poet's only asylum in the wreckage of his universe.

The Berlin Period (1922–31)

After a brief stay in Constantinople where he tried in vain to secure a position as a doctor in Palestine, Tchernichowsky moved to Berlin. He visited Palestine (1925) on behalf of the newly founded World Red Magen David Organization and tried to find permanent employment there; unable to do so, he returned to Berlin. In 1928, he visited the United States. In Berlin he earned a meager living from his literary work. For some time he edited the natural sciences and medicine section of the *Eshkol Encyclopaedia* and the literary section of the quarterly *Ha-Tekufah*. During this period, he wrote stories and articles which were published in the collection *Sippurim* (including also works he had written in Odessa, 1921–22) and in *Sheloshim u-Sheloshah Sippurim* (1941–42). In the main, he devoted himself to translation. Among the works he rendered into Hebrew are Goethe's *Reineke Fuchs*; Molière's *Le Malade Imaginaire*; Shakespeare's *Twelfth Night* and *Macbeth*; the Babylonian epic *Gilgamesh*; the Finnish epic *Kallevvallach*; Sophocles' *Oedipus Rex*; and he completed the translations of Homer's *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. Tchernichowsky also wrote children's poems, published in the collection *He-Ḥalil* (1922–23), a literary study of *Immanuel of Rome (1925), and a play *Bar Kokhva*. Many of his writings of the period were collected in a ten-volume jubilee edition of his works (1928/29–1933/34). These were edited by him and published by the Zionist General Council as a mark of appreciation to Tchernichowsky. Most of Tchernichowsky's poems of the period were printed in the third volume of his collected works.

"*Mayim she-Lanu*" ("Stale Water"), a narrative poem which bears a thematic link with the poet's earlier literary periods, has for its subject an episode that occurred during his stay in Odessa after the revolution. It describes the physical but mostly the spiritual distress of an intellectual who had become superfluous in the new social order and seeks escape in his memories of the distant, stable, and peaceful past. The keen awareness of historical perspective, missing from the earlier work "*Ḥatunnatah shel Elkah*," is one aspect of a general tendency in Tchernichowsky to retrospect now through a tragic consciousness. This casts his themes in a new light. His despair "of God and of gods," the general theme of "*Al ha-Dam*," also forms a background to his love poems "*Shirim le-Ilil*" and "*Ha-Na'ar ha-Kushi*"; the motif of the poems is the tragic nature of a fateful, ephemeral chance meeting expressed through desire and longing for another and fateful dependence on him. This motif does not form part of the exultant and egocentric love lyrics of his earlier works. Love now takes the place of faith and has become almost a cult. His serious poetry on nature and the theme of sensual existentialism have taken a mystical bent. The affirmation of the redemptive mission of art and of the gospel of beauty are the subject of several poems in this collection. This affirmation the poet has also filtered through his tragic consciousness in which he has come to realize that total achievement is impossible (see "*Ha-Pesel*"). His tragic ballads are an external expression of this mood.

Tchernichowsky also develops the tragic theme in his nationalist poetry of this period. At the beginning of his career, he had expressed sorrow at his alienation from his people and its culture, brought on by the futility of their struggle for freedom; now his sorrow is caused by his inability to be in Ereẓ Israel and to participate in the national rebirth to which he was so committed. During this period, he wrote some of his most fervent Zionist poems ("*Omerim Yeshnah Ereẓ*," "*Ẓedaktem ha-Bonim ha-Ẓe'irim*," and "*Al Harei Gilbo'a*"). In his tragic absence he recognizes the inexorable fate of the eternal wanderer. Only through acceptance of his fate and identification with it, is he able to overcome its tragedy. The entire universe now becomes the scene of his wanderings (see "*Ha-Adam Eino Ella*").

The Ereẓ Israel Period (1931–43)

In 1931 Tchernichowsky was commissioned to edit (in Latin, English, and Hebrew) *Sefer ha-Munnaḥim li-Refu'ah u-le-Madda'ei ha-Teva* ("The Book of Medical and Scientific Terms") on the basis of material collected by A.M. Masie, and was thus able to settle in Ereẓ Israel. Upon completion of the work (1934), he was appointed physician of the municipal schools in Tel Aviv. In 1936, he signed a contract with Schocken Publishing House, and moved to Jerusalem where he lived until his death in August 1943.

Despite economic and social difficulties which led to his silence during his early years in Ereẓ Israel, he soon found himself at home in the country and its public life. Three times he was elected to represent the Hebrew branch of the PEN

Club, an international literary organization, at its world conference, and he expressed his opinions freely on current political questions. During this volatile period of Arab rioting, the struggle for Jewish labor and land settlement, controversy over defense policy and partition, World War II, and the beginning of the Nazi Holocaust, Tchernichowsky supported the Jewish maximalist-nationalist position. His poems were imbued with deep nationalist pathos (see the one-volume *Kol Shirei Sha'ul Tchernichowsky*, 1937); the collection *Re'i Adamah* (1940); and his last volume of poetry *Kokhevei Shamayim Reḥokim* (1944), many of them expressing his direct reaction to the struggle of the Jewish *yishuv* for its rights. This change in the poet's outlook is also discernible in the development of constantly recurring themes in his poetry on love, on nature, and of contemplation. Tragic retrospection gives way to direct and optimistic identification with contemporary life, in many respects recalling Tchernichowsky's early poetry with its critical attitude to religion and its "pagan" credo. This apparent retrogression to his earlier view, however, seems to have been prompted by an attempt at identification with the life in Ereẓ Israel which he saw as a regeneration of the ancient myth of settlement in the homeland.

In this last period, the poet, retracing his literary path, arrives at a second culmination: a more comprehensive and balanced tragic retrospection. With the outbreak of World War II and the Holocaust of European Jewry, he relives the shock of the World War I period and the Bolshevik revolution. As in his earlier works, Tchernichowsky reacts with ballads whose themes were taken from the tragic history of Jewish persecution in the Diaspora ("*Harugei Tirmunya*," "*Nisset ba-Olam*," and "*Balladot Vormaiza*"), seeking in the past an explanation for the tragedy of the present. No less characteristic is his return to early narrative poetry ("idylls") describing his childhood and village life. These poems served as a vehicle both to express the poet's present emotional state and, in a way, to escape it. His identification with the tragic Jewish fate, emphasized by the moral victory of the innocent victim devoted to truth and righteousness, however, overpowers pagan triumph. There is also a recrudescence of the idyllic love for the traditional Jewish way of life. This return to memories of a European childhood may possibly explain the poet's sense of estrangement from the renascent Jewish life in Ereẓ Israel. This tragic consciousness is apparent in many of Tchernichowsky's later poems ("*Ani-Li mi-Shelli Ein Kelum*," "*Amma de-Dahava*," his most comprehensive epic work, and his last poem "*Kokhevei Shamayim Reḥokim*") which bear parallels to the poet's tragic retrospective poetry of the Berlin period. For the third time, the poet comes to feel alienated from his people, due to his culture, his emotional reactions, and his national and social outlook. Though he reverted to the tragic evaluation of the national and individual destinies, Tchernichowsky's later poetry also shows a tendency toward reconciliation and acceptance. In "*Amma de-Dahava*" there is an attempt to bridge the gaps between the experiences of the child and those of the aging poet, and between the experiences of the alien homeland and that of alienation in the historical homeland.

Tchernichowsky's work, as a poet and as a translator, reveals a consistent tendency to break the constricting bonds of Hebrew literature and expand its content and form. In his translations, the poet presented the Hebrew reader with some of the finest classics of world literature: in the fields of epic and lyric poetry, of folk literature and drama. In this way, he realized the logical consequence of his proclivity for a universal culture which does not contradict one's national loyalties. His work as a translator had a direct influence on his original poetry which, with every successive collection of poems, showed a greater command of form; it was in consonance with his avowed program for widening the horizons of Hebrew poetry through the mastery of classical poetic forms (see his critical essay on the poetry of Immanuel of Rome). Tchernichowsky's concern with the aesthetic form is one of his important contributions to modern Hebrew poetry. This deliberate program to come to grips and to control the classic poetic form and structure was undoubtedly connected with the poet's national, social, and cultural outlook with which every critical evaluation of his work must contend. It is easy to perceive the connection between his criticism of stagnant Jewish culture in the Diaspora and his admiration for the ideal of Hellenic beauty or paganism on the one hand, and his concern with aesthetic form on the other. It is also easy to understand the effect that these extreme ideological criticisms had on the Hebrew reading public. This inconsistent and often self-contradictory ideology is, however, one of the fundamental premises which underlie the total poetic experience in Tchernichowsky. The national, social, or cultural ideology is not merely a central characteristic which may be isolated and separately recorded; it is an integral and consistent feature of all his poetry. Tchernichowsky's "ideology" is, in effect, a rejection of life bound by ideology; its aim is to justify the unmediated expression of experience by its own inner logic. His sensitivity to sound and rhythm, and his predilection for realistic narrative stem from this view. This "ideology" is the basic motif in his earthy love and nature poetry in which he expresses the feelings of a Jew of his time. This poetry among all his works is his most individual and characteristic contribution to modern Hebrew literature, and it produced a lively and enthusiastic reaction among his younger contemporaries.

His aspiration for an unmediated expression of the totality of existence, of which man is a part, also explains the poet's vacillation between idyllic contemplation, which conceives man as a being who belongs to the universe, and tragic contemplation, which sees man as a stranger in the universe. One view or the other may at times be emphasized, but each element (tragic or idyllic) is alternatively present in the poetry of the other. The duality, inherent in a view of reality where the idyllic and the tragic are components, apparently explains Tchernichowsky's changing evaluation of Jewish and world cultures. The interchangeability of the sense of belonging and the sense of alienation, which ideologically is contradictory, in the sphere of experience is a fluctuation between extremes. Tchernichowsky comes to accept his people's heritage within the framework of human culture. In "*Amma de-Dahava*" and "*Kokhevei Shamayim Reḥokim*," the poet welded out of the contradictory experiences and evaluations that constituted his universe as a Jew who is devoted both to the culture of his people and to European culture a balanced and harmonious acquiescence. These two works are among his most complete artistic achievements, and his most important contributions to Hebrew poetry. Various editions of Tchernichowsky's work were published through the close of the 20th century. In 1990 a new edition of *Kol Kitvei S. Tchernichowsky* appeared. A list of the English translations of his works appears in Goell, Bibliography.

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[Eliezer Schweid]

TCHERNOWITZ, CHAIM (pseudonym **Rav Za'ir**; 1871–1949), talmudic scholar and Hebrew author. Tchernowitz, born in Sebesh (district of Vitebsk), Russia, studied in Lithuania and obtained *semikhah* from Isaac Elchanan *Spektor of Kovno in 1896. Moving to Odessa the following year, he founded his own yeshivah, eventually transforming it into a rabbinical seminary (1907) which attracted many students from the Jewish intelligentsia in Russia, including Ḥayyim Naḥman *Bialik and Joseph *Klausner. Tchernowitz's ambition was to combine traditional study with modern research in order to rejuvenate Jewish learning. His pseudonym Rav Ẓa'ir (young rabbi) reflects his aims. Tchernowitz received a Ph.D. from the University of Wuerzburg in 1914. Settling in the United States in 1923, he taught Talmud at the Jewish Institute of Religion in New York.

Tchernowitz's writings may be classified under two headings: scholarly and publicistic. His first scholarly article appeared in *Ha-Shilo'aḥ* 3 (1898), entitled, "*Ha-Sanegoryah be-Vattei Dinin shel Yisrael.*" He subsequently published studies on the codes of literature preceding R. Joseph Caro, "*Le-Toledot ha-Shulḥan Arukh ve-Hitpashetuto*" *(Ha-Shilo'aḥ*, 4 (1898); 5 (1899); 6 (1899)). In a more popular vein he wrote a series of general articles on the Talmud, "*Ha-Talmud*" (*Ha-Shilo'aḥ*, 7 (1901); 8 (1901–2); 10 (1902)), His first books were methodological studies aimed at modernizing the teaching of Talmud: *Shi'urim be-Talmud* (2 vols., 1903), on Bava Kamma, and *Kiẓẓur ha-Talmud* (vol. 1, 1919; vol. 2, 1922). Tchernowitz's primary interest was to produce a full historical account of the development of the *halakhah*. Although he did not discount the works of his predecessors, I.H. *Weiss and I. *Halevy, he thought that they neglected the long era preceding the late Second Temple period and that they overlooked sociological, ideological, and political factors. His concern was to present the *halakhah* not in its final crystallization but in its development beginning in pre-Mosaic times. His *Toledot ha-Halakhah* (4 vols., 1935–50) covers the period up to the destruction of the Second Temple, and *Toledot ha-Posekim* (3 vols., 1946–47) deals with the post-talmudic, geonic, and medieval periods. These works are widely used by students of the history of Jewish law.

As a publicist, Tchernowitz showed deep interest in the Zionist movement and in contemporary Jewish problems. He published articles and essays, many of them controversial and polemic, in scores of Hebrew and Yiddish periodicals which appeared later in book form: *Be-Sha'arei Ẓiyyon* (1937). *Ḥevlei Ge'ullah* (1949) is a collection of his essays on the struggle for Jewish political independence. In 1940 Tchernowitz founded the Hebrew monthly *Bitzaron* in New York, which he edited until his death. Toward the close of his life he published a series of vivid autobiographical articles in *Bitzaron*, posthumously issued under the title *Pirkei Ḥayyim* (1954). His *Masekhet Zikhronot* (1945) is a collection of essays on Mendele Mokher Seforim, Aḥad Ha-Am, Bialik, and other well-known personalities with whom he associated during the early stages of his career.

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[Jacques K. Mikliszanski]

TCHERNOWITZ, SAMUEL (1879–1929), Hebrew journalist, brother of Chaim *Tchernowitz. Born in Sebesh, Samuel Tchernowitz participated there in Zionist activities. In 1903, he moved to Warsaw, where he became the secretary of the children's weekly *Olam Katon*, and then joined the editorial board of *Ha-Zeman*. With the renewed publication of *Ha-Ẓefirah* in 1910, he joined its editorial board, replacing Sokolow as editor, and was active in the Hebrew movement and at the Congress of the Hebrew Language and Culture Organization in Vienna (1913). When *Ha-Ẓefirah* ceased publication during World War I, he returned to Russia, and became one of the editors of the daily *Ha-Am*. He emigrated to Palestine in 1921, served on the editorial board of *Haaretz*, and was secretary of the Va'ad Le'ummi. He began to write in *Ha-Meliẓ* in 1897 and until his death contributed to Hebrew periodicals. His chief contribution was to *Ha-Zeman* and *Ha-Ẓefirah*, and he was one of the first modern correspondents of the Hebrew press. *Ha-Ẓefirah* published in serial form his monograph on the *Benei Moshe, which was later published as a book, *Benei Moshe u-Tekufatam* (1914). Of his numerous essays and articles, only one small collection, *Im Shaḥar*, was published (1927). His son was the Israeli diplomat Jacob *Tsur and his daughter was the Hebrew writer Yemimah *Tchernowitz-Avidar.

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[Getzel Kressel]

TCHERNOWITZ-AVIDAR, YEMIMAH (1909–1998), Israeli author of children's books, daughter of Samuel *Tchernowitz. Born in Vilna, she immigrated to Palestine in 1921. She published stories, poems and legends for children in *Eden* (ed. by D. *Persky), as well as stories about Argentinian Jewry. She wrote a regular column for children in the newspaper *Davar* and many popular books for children. Among these are *Muki* (1943); *Eḥad Mishelanu* (1947), *Shemonah be-Ikvot Eḥad* (1945). Rama Zuta edited Tchernowitz-Avidar's diaries of the years 1919–1936 (2004). For English translations of her work see Goell, Bibliography, 2575–2580, 3139–42.

Her husband, Yosef Avidar (1906–1995), was deputy chief of the General Staff of the Haganah in 1946 and later deputy chief of staff of the Israel Defense Forces. He was Israel ambassador to Moscow (1955–58) and Buenos Aires (1960–65), and controller of the Histadrut (1968–71). He is author of the book *The Party and the Army in the Soviet Union* (1985).

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[Getzel Kressel]

TEACHER OF RIGHTEOUSNESS (Heb. מוֹרֶה צֶדֶק *moreh ẓedek*), the organizer of the *Qumran community or *Yaḥad. His designation may have been derived from such biblical passages as Hosea 10:12, "it is time to seek the Lord, till He come and cause righteousness to rain [*yoreh ẓedek*] upon you," or Joel 2:23, "rejoice in the Lord, your God; for He giveth you the former rain in just measure" – *et ha-moreh li-ẓedakah*, which has sometimes been translated "teacher of righteousness" (see AV margin). He is never indicated by his personal name, so far as can be told from surviving records; it has been suggested that his name was Zadok, and that it was for this reason that his followers were called *Zadokites (so H.J. Schoeps, *Urgemeinde, Judenchristentum, Gnosis* (1956), 74); but this is uncertain. Knowledge of him is derived from two principal sources – the Zadokite Fragments (or Book of the Covenant of *Damascus) and various Qumran commentaries on books or sections of the Bible.

(1) The Zadokite Fragments

At the beginning of the Zadokite Admonition in a time of apostasy, God "remembered the covenant of the forefathers and caused a remnant to remain for Israel." For 20 years this remnant groped for a way like blind men, "and God took note of their deeds, for they sought Him with a perfect heart; and He raised up for them a teacher of righteousness to direct them in the way of His heart, that He might make known to the last generations what He was about to do to the last generation" (CD 1:4–12). While the godly remnant had a distinct existence of 20 years before the Teacher of Righteousness arose, he was the effective founder of the community, for they appear to have had no leader before him.

To the community which he organized, the voice of the Teacher of Righteousness was as the voice of God; the reward of ultimate salvation and victory is held out to those who "listen to the voice of the Teacher of Righteousness" (CD 20:28, 32). The Zadokite Admonition, in the form in which it has survived, apparently dates from a period after the death of the Teacher of Righteousness: an interval of indefinite duration runs "from the day when the Unique Teacher was gathered in until a Messiah stands up from Aaron and from Israel" (CD 20:1). It has been suggested that "Unique Teacher" (*moreh ha-yaḥid*) should be emended to "Teacher of the Community" (*moreh ha-yaḥad*), but this is probably unnecessary. If the Unique Teacher is identical with the Teacher of Righteousness – and it is difficult to think that anyone else could have been so designated by the community – he was evidently thought of as a preparer of the way for the messianic age but not as a messianic personage himself. There is a further passage in the Admonition which interprets the "nobles of the people" in the Song of the Well (Num. 21:17ff.) as "those who have come to dig the well with the staffs which the Staff [lawgiver] instituted [*bi-meḥokekot asher ḥakak ha-meḥokek*] to walk thereby… and without which they will not grasp instruction until there stands up one who teaches righteousness [*yoreh ha-ẓedek*] in the latter days" (CD 6:8–11). If the section in which these words appear is of the same date as the other passages quoted, then the community evidently expected at the end-time either another teacher of righteousness to arise or else the first Teacher of Righteousness to return to earth – in the latter case a comparison may be made with the similar expectation of the return of Elijah cherished in other Jewish circles.

In the Qumran texts themselves a parallel to the past and future Teacher of Righteousness is provided by the past and future Expounder of the Law (*doresh ha-Torah*). The "Staff" (*meḥokek*) in the Song of the Well is "the Expounder of the Law" who ordained the rules by which the men of the covenant live (CD 6:7); he is conceivably identical with the Teacher of Righteousness who organized the community. Later in the Zadokite Admonition the "star" of Amos 5:26 and (more especially) Numbers 24:17 is "the Expounder of the Law [*doresh ha-Torah*] who is to come to Damascus" (CD 7:18ff.). This coming Expounder of the Law is mentioned also in 4Q *Florilegium*, in an interpretation of II Samuel 7:11–14. In both of these passages he is to be accompanied by the Davidic Messiah, called "the prince of all the congregation" in CD 7:20 and "the shoot of David" in 4Q *Florilegium*. Since Torah is to be sought from the priest's lips (Mal. 2:7), this coming Expounder of the Law may be the great priest of the new age who will act as colleague to the great king; he may also be tentatively identified with the Teacher of Righteousness who is to stand up in the latter days (CD 6:11).

(2) The Commentaries

In the very fragmentary commentary on Micah from Cave 1 (1Qp Micah) the words "What are the high places of Judah? Are they not Jerusalem?" (1:5) are interpreted of "the Teacher of Righteousness, the one who [teaches the law to his] [council] and to all who volunteer to join the elect ones [of God, who keep the law] in the council of the community, who will be saved from the day [of judgment]."

Some fragmentary comments on Psalm 37 found in Cave 4 interpret certain statements in that psalm with reference to the Teacher of Righteousness. Verse 23, "It is of the Lord that a man's goings are established…" is said to concern "the priest, the Teacher of [Righteousness,… whom God] established to build for himself the congregation…"; and verses 32ff., "the wicked watcheth the righteous and seeketh to slay him…," are interpreted of "the Wicked [Priest] who [rose up against the Teacher of Righteousness] to put him to death [because he taught…] the law… He laid hands on him, but God 'will not abandon [him into his hand or let him be condemned when he is] brought to trial.'" Parallel to this last comment is one from another fragment, in which Psalms 37:14ff., "the wicked have drawn out the sword, and have bent their bow; to cast down the poor and needy…," is read as a reference to "the wicked of Ephraim and Manasseh, who will seek to lay hands on the priest and the men of his council in the hour of trial which is to come upon them. But God will redeem them out of their hands." From these fragments it is learned that the Teacher of Righteousness was a priest and that among his opponents was one outstanding figure called the *Wicked Priest.

These two facts are confirmed, and further information is supplied about the Teacher, in the commentary on Habakkuk from Cave 1 (1Qp Hab.). From the prophet's complaint in Habakkuk 1:4 that "the wicked doth beset the righteous" (interpreted of [the Wicked Priest] and the Teacher of Righteousness) onward, the Teacher plays a prominent part in the exposition. Those among the nations who are called upon in Habakkuk 1:5 to wonder and be astonished at the work which God is about to do, which they "will not believe though it be told," are the unfaithful ones who paid no heed to the words which the Teacher of Righteousness spoke from the mouth of God, refusing to believe "when they hear all that is [coming upon] the last generation from the mouth of the priest into [whose heart] God put [wisdom] to interpret all the words of his servants and prophets" (1Qp Hab. 2:7–9). This is in line with what is already known about the Teacher's mission from the Zadokite Admonition. The Teacher understood the course of future events by divine illumination: on Habakkuk 2:1ff. the commentator states that "God commanded Habakkuk to write the things that were coming on the last generation," but did not inform him when the epoch would be fulfilled. And as for the words, "so he may run who reads it," their interpretation concerns the Teacher of Righteousness, to whom God made known "all the mysteries of the words of His servant the prophets" (1Qp Hab. 7:1–5). The words of the prophets remained mysteries (*razim*), even to the prophets themselves, until the interpretation (*pesher*) was revealed to the Teacher; after that, the mysteries were mysteries no more, at least to those who heard and believed him. Of them the words of Habakkuk 2:4 ("the righteous shall live by his faith") were spoken: "Their interpretation concerns all the doers of the law in the house of Judah, whom God will save from the house of judgment because of their toil and their faith in the Teacher of Righteousness" (1Qp Hab. 8:1–3).

Of the occasions when "the Teacher of Righteousness and the men of his council suffered iniquity" at the hands of the Wicked Priest (1Qp Hab. 9:9, cf. 8:17) one is singled out for special mention. This was when "the Wicked Priest pursued after the Teacher of Righteousness to swallow him up in his hot fury, even to his place of exile, and on the occasion of the sacred season of rest, the Day of Atonement, appeared among them to swallow them up and to make them stumble on the fast-day, their Sabbath of rest" (1Qp Hab. 11:4–8, on Hab. 2:15). It is usually held that this implies that the Teacher and his followers observed the Day of Atonement according to a different calendar from that followed by the official priesthood in Jerusalem, and there is other evidence to confirm this (see *Calendar). The reference to "swallowing them up" recalls Habakkuk 1:13, "wherefore lookest Thou when they deal treacherously and holdest Thy peace when the wicked swalloweth up the man that is more righteous than he?" – a passage which the commentary interprets of "the house of Absalom and the men of their council, who were struck dumb when the Teacher of Righteousness was chastised, and did not aid him against the *Man of Lies who rejected the law in the midst of all their congregation." This occasion may not be the same as the last, for the Man of Lies is probably not the Wicked Priest, and the problematic house of Absalom figures here but does not in the comment on Habakkuk 2:15. The Teacher of Righteousness, then, was persecuted by the Wicked Priest, but (as the commentary on Ps. 37:14ff., 32ff. suggests) was delivered from his malice.

(3) Attempts to Identify the Teacher

It has been argued that the title "Teacher of Righteousness" designates a succession of leaders of the Qumran community, but even so, it is apparently used especially of the community's first organizer. As for his identity and date, suggestions range from Ezra (so T.H. Gaster, *The Dead Sea Scriptures* (1956), vi *et passim*; C.T. Fritsch, *The Qumran Community* (1956), 83ff.) and Nehemiah (so L. Rabinowitz, in JBL, 73 (1954), 11ff.) at one end, and Menahem son of Judah the Galilean (or his kinsman and successor, Eleazar b. Jair) killed by Eleazar captain of the Temple in 66 C.E. at the other (so C. Roth, *Historical Background of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (1958), 12ff.; G.R. Driver, *The Judaean Scrolls* (1965), 267ff.). A number of scholars have identified him with Onias III, the last legitimate high priest of the house of Zadok, assassinated at the instance of the illegitimate high priest Menelaus in 171 B.C.E. (so H.H. Rowley, *Zadokite Fragments and the Dead Sea Scrolls* (1952), 67ff.; M. Black, *The Scrolls and Christian Origins* (1961), 20); others have suggested Onias the rain-maker, killed by partisans of Hyrcanus II in 63 B.C.E. (so R. Goossens, *La Nouvelle Clio*, 1–2 (1949–50), 336ff.; cf. A. Dupont-Sommer, *Essene Writings from Qumran* (1961), 359 with notes 2, 3), or Judah b. Jedidiah, one of the sages massacred by Alexander Yannai (so W.H. Brownlee, in: BASOR 126 (1952), 10ff., where this Judah is further identified with Judah the Essene, contemporary of Aristobulus I). The mention of "the house of Absalom" in 1Qp Hab. 5:10ff. does not help much, because, even if "Absalom" be a real name of the period and not a figurative one, an "Absalom" can be produced from contemporary history to suit almost every suggested identification of the Teacher. Perhaps the Teacher of Righteousness is not mentioned outside the Zadokite and Qumran literature and must be thought of as an otherwise unknown religious leader who had his following in or after the time of the Hasmonean dynasty. If, as is not unlikely, it is his voice that can be heard speaking in the first person in some of the Qumran *Thanksgiving Psalms, they throw further light on his devotion and struggles.

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[Frederick Fyvie Bruce]

TEACHERS' ASSOCIATION IN ISRAEL, organization founded in 1903 at a meeting of teachers in Zikhron Ya'akov, convened by Menaḥem *Ussishkin, who was then visiting Ereẓ Israel. It was attended by 59 of the approximately 100 teachers in the country. The aims of the association were declared to be:

(a) Improvement of educational facilities in Ereẓ Israel and standardization of the schools;

(b) Revival of the Hebrew language and the instilling of a national Jewish spirit into schools;

(c) Improvement of teachers' conditions.

During the first decade of its existence, the Teachers' Association contributed greatly toward the foundation of the Hebrew school system. It decided in favor of using the Sephardi pronunciation of Hebrew, and formed a committee of linguists whose task was to establish the new Hebrew terminology for the teaching of various academic subjects. The association also organized training courses for unqualified teachers, determined a syllabus for eight-grade elementary schools, devised teachers' qualifying examinations, and published textbooks and teaching manuals. Its organ, *Ha-Ḥinnukh* ("Education"), founded in 1910, reached a circulation of 18,000 (1968).

The outstanding achievement of the Teachers' Association was the establishment of Hebrew as the language of instruction in the schools of Ereẓ Israel. The first attempt to teach in Hebrew was made by Eliezer *Ben-Yehuda in 1889, and teachers in the early settlements followed his example. However, urban schools, maintained by the *Hilfsverein der deutschen Juden and the *Alliance Israélite Universelle, refused to use Hebrew for instruction. When the central committee of the Teachers' Association learned that the Board of Governors of the Haifa *Technion, controlled by the Hilfsverein, had decided that the language of instruction in the new institution would be German, they declared a boycott of Hilfsverein institutions in Ereẓ Israel (1914). The association proceeded to assist in establishing Hebrew schools which formed the nucleus of a national school system.

During the 1920s the association began campaigning for better working conditions for teachers. At the time, the Jewish community in Palestine had gained a large measure of autonomy under the British Mandate; but, as a result of the financial difficulties of the Zionist Organization, which was responsible for Hebrew education, and the lack of material support from the Mandatory authorities, teachers' salaries were paid belatedly. The Teachers' Association called its first strike in 1925, in order to ensure prompt payment of salaries. When the State of Israel was established in 1948, kindergartens and elementary schools became state-controlled, and their teachers became state employees. Nevertheless, the struggle for an improvement in working conditions continued for many years, and only in the second decade after the establishment of the state was there a significant improvement in conditions. Among the important achievements of the association are the linking of teachers' salaries to those of other university graduates in Israel, the reduction of overcrowding in classes, compensation for teachers on extension courses, and the application of the Pensions Law to teachers.

In the 1930s the association set up branches all over Israel, and specialized affiliated bodies were established (organizations of kindergarten teachers, secondary school teachers, headmasters, etc.). In 1951 Arab teachers joined the association, and a special department was opened for them. The issue of whether the association should join the Histadrut was debated for 27 years. However, in 1950 a majority decided in favor of joining the Histadrut, provided the association retained a large measure of autonomy.

When education became state-controlled, the association increased its pedagogic activities. It began by organizing its own in-service training for kindergarten and other teachers; in 1957 a joint committee was formed by the Teachers' Association and the Ministry of Education to plan teachers' extension courses, and their administration and inspection. In 1959 the association set up a central archive documenting the history of Hebrew education and the Teachers' Association. *Hed ha-Ḥinnukh* ("Education Echo"), first published by the association in 1927, became a weekly publication in 1949. In 1967 it had a circulation of 22,000. A quarterly on kindergarten education, *Hed ha-Gan* ("Kindergarten Echo"), was also published. The association's publishing house, Oẓar ha-Moreh, began activities in 1950, and has since published numerous teachers' aids, teaching manuals, anthologies and studies in psychology and education.

In 1951 the association established contacts with international teachers' associations, and, in 1961, it was host to the Conference of the Federation of Teachers' Associations.

In 1968 it had a membership of approximately 20,000 elementary-school teachers, 3,000 kindergarten teachers, 3,000 secondary-school teachers, 700 instructors at teachers' training colleges, and 500 school inspectors. It also had 2,000 Arab members. In 2005 it had 100,000 members, making it the largest trade union in Israel. In 1990 the Association established the Association of Teachers for the Advancement of Teaching and Education. Its activities include study weekends, workshops, conventions, educational tours in Israel and overseas, theater evenings, lectures, the creation of a code of ethics, surveys, and research; it had 65,000 members.

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[Shalom Levin]

TEC, NECHAMA (1931–), U.S. sociologist and authority on rescue and resistance during the Holocaust. Tec devoted her scholarly career to understanding altruistic and cooperative behavior under extreme conditions. Her path-breaking research, which emphasizes the matrix of personal, social, and cultural contexts that motivated instances of altruism, questions earlier attributions of such behavior to class, politics, or religion. Drawing from sources including memoirs, interviews, and archival documents in German, Polish, and Yiddish, Tec suggests that factors such as social marginality, independent-mindedness, and empathy for the vulnerable were critical to Jewish and Christian rescuers and resisters.

Tec's research originated in her family's World War II experiences. Born in Lublin, Poland, to Roman Bawnik, a businessman, and Esther (Hachamoff) Bawnik, Tec lived for three years during the war under an assumed Christian identity. With the aid of Catholic Poles, her sister and parents also survived by passing as Christians. She married Leon Tec, a child psychiatrist, in 1950 and immigrated to the United States in 1952, where she had two children. Educated at Columbia University, she received her B.A. (1954), M.A. (1955), and Ph.D. (1963) in sociology.

A thematic continuity weaves through Tec's numerous articles and books; each research project grows out of the previous one. Tec's first books on gambling and drug use reflected her early interest in fringe behavior. With the 1984 publication of her memoir, *Dry Tears: The Story of a Lost Childhood*, Tec began to integrate this interest with the nascent field of Holocaust studies. In *Dry Tears* and her subsequent books (*When Light Pierced the Darkness: Christian Rescue of Jews in Nazi-Occupied Poland* (1986); *In the Lion's Den: The Life of Oswald Rufeisen* (1990); *Defiance: The Bielski Partisans* (1993); and *Resilience and Courage: Women, Men, and the Holocaust* (2003)), Tec explored marginal behavior in the context of World War II. Her studies illuminate the rare but vitally important phenomenon of Jews and Christians risking their lives, and often those of their families, to help others escape Nazi persecution. In the critically acclaimed *Resilience and Courage,* Tec considers these and other aspects of the Holocaust from the perspective of gender, noting that, "even though the Germans were committed to sending all Jews to their deaths, for a variety of reasons women and men traveled toward that destination on distinct roads" (12) and often employed different coping strategies.

Tec received numerous awards, honors, and prizes, including appointment to the Council of the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum; two Pulitzer Prize nominations; a National Jewish Book Award; a First Prize for Holocaust Literature by the World Federation of Fighters, Partisans and Concentration Camp Inmates; and an International Anne Frank Special Recognition Prize. She served on the sociology faculty at the University of Connecticut for over three decades, and held several senior research fellowships, scholar-in-residencies, and international lectureships.

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[Rona Sheramy (2nd ed.)]

TECHNION, ISRAEL INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY, Israel's major engineering university; situated in Haifa. Paul *Nathan of Berlin, one of the leaders of the *Hilfsverein der deutschen Juden, was the father of the plan for a technical school in Haifa. Aided by a 100,000 ruble gift from the heirs of Kalonymus *Wissotzky of Moscow and a $100,000 contribution from Jacob *Schiff of New York, the Hilfsverein proceeded to construct a building, with Alexander *Baerwald as architect. The cornerstone was laid on the slopes of Mt. Carmel in 1912. Zionist personalities like *Aḥad Ha-Am, Jehiel *Tschlenow, and Shmarya *Levin sat on the governing board, in addition to leaders of the Hilfsverein.

As the date approached for the opening of the school, then known by the German name Technikum, a struggle broke out in the governing board over the language of instruction. The Zionist minority insisted on Hebrew, but the majority voted for German. The decision aroused a storm of controversy, in which the Hebrew *Teachers' Association took the lead. Meetings were held throughout the country; resolutions of protest were passed by practically all Jewish institutions and organizations; the Teachers' Association issued a ban against the acceptance of posts or the registration of students in the Technikum; pupils at the Hilfsverein's other schools struck in support of a demand to institute Hebrew as the sole language of instruction, and many of the teachers resigned. This "language conflict" helped to accelerate the establishment of a network of national Hebrew schools. The opening of the Technion was delayed, and before the controversy could be settled, World War I broke out. The unoccupied building served as a military hospital, first for the Turkish forces and later for the British. After the war, the Zionist Organization acquired the property from the Hilfsverein and the first classes on a university level were held in December 1924.

In the period preceding the establishment of the state, and especially during the administration of Shlomo *Kaplansky as head of the institution (1931–50), the school developed as a technological university training engineers on Central European standards. Yaakov *Dori, who was president from 1951 to 1965, with the assistance of Sydney Goldstein, who was vice president for some years, altered the educational patterns of the Technion, modeling it more on similar institutions in Western Europe and the United States. In addition to the faculties of engineering and architecture, a faculty of natural sciences and mathematics was opened in 1953. In 1952 the Technion began conferring masters' and doctors' degrees, in addition to those of bachelor and ingénieur. A school of graduate studies was formally established in 1957. In 1953 the Technion began its move from the original building in midtown Haifa to a 300-acre campus on Mt. Carmel, popularly known as Technion City. Dori was succeeded as president by Alexander *Goldberg in 1965. Successive presidents have been Gen. (Res.) Amos Horev (1973–82), Prof. Josef Singer (1982–86), Dr. Max W. Reis (1986–90), Prof. Zeev Tadmor (1990–), Amos Lapidot (1998–2001), and Yitzhak *Apeloig (2001–).

The following faculties and departments exist at the Technion: Aerospace Engineering, Agricultural Engineering, Architecture and Town Planning, Biology, Biomedical Engineering, Chemical Engineering, Chemistry, Civil and Environmental Engineering, Computer Science, Education in Technology and Science, Electrical Engineering, Food Engineering and Biotechnology, General Studies, Industrial Engineering and Management, Materials Engineering, Mathematics, Mechanical Engineering, Medicine, and Physics, and Teacher Training.

Research is carried on in all faculties and departments. Projects are sponsored by industry, the government of Israel, and foreign governments and foundations through the Research and Development Foundation. The Foundation operates field laboratories and offers consultant services, testing facilities, quality control, and technological surveys. Important research institutes on the campus are the Samuel Neaman Institute for Advanced Studies in Science and Technology, the Rappaport Family Institute for Research in the Medical Sciences, the Asher Space Research Institute, the Solid State Institute, and the Transportation Research Institute. In 1994–95 there were 10,581 students, comprising 7,763 in undergraduate studies and 2,818 in the Graduate School. In addition, some thousands are enrolled in external studies and extension courses given in various parts of the country. In 2005 the Technion had 12,818 students, among them 9,306 undergraduates, 2,683 studying for a master's degree, and 829 for doctoral degrees. In 2005 it had 76,510 alumni. The vast majority of engineers and architects practicing in Israel are graduates of the Technion. This is the chief reservoir of skilled manpower for Israel's burgeoning high-tech industries. Over 70% of Israel's founders and managers of high-tech firms are Technion graduates and 74% of the managers in the electronic industries hold Technion degrees. An innovation was the establishment of a medical school in 1970; by 1995 close to 500 M.D. degrees had been granted. Among the medical school faculty are Avram *Hershko and Aaron *Ciechanover, the Nobel Prize laureates who received the prize in 2004 for their discovery of the crucial role of ubiquitin in the process of protein breakdown in cells. The Technion also has a special program for students to design, build, and launch their own satellite. Student facilities on campus include dormitories, a sports center, student union building, swimming pool, and a network of libraries. The language of instruction is Hebrew, but foreign students often get along with English, especially in the Graduate School. Over the years the Technion has offered many degree programs in English for students from developing countries in Africa and Asia. The Technion serves as a venue for national and international conferences and symposia on technology and science.

The Technion is an independent institution under the authority of its Board of Governors, which includes civic and industrial leaders, representatives of the teaching staff, the alumni, the government, and Technion Societies in various parts of the world. It is recognized for the conferment of academic degrees by the Israel Council for Higher Education. The executive body is the council, which meets monthly, and the chief executive officer is the president, appointed by the Board of Governors. Academic authority is vested in the senate, composed of the president, the vice presidents, all full professors, and other representatives of the academic staff.

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[Yaakov Dori]

TECHNOLOGY AND HALAKHAH. *Halakhah* deals with the prescription of the behavior of the individual, the family, the community, and a Jewish state. It encompasses all the actions in one's life. It sets forth both the principles and the guidelines along which day-to-day problems, both legal and ethical, have to be solved. Until the 19th century, rabbis well versed in *halakhah* were able to apply these legal principles to the ever-changing environment in which Jews lived. For instance, new methods of financing brought about the widespread application of *hetter iskah*, in which a legal way was found to use modern banking concepts which include interest, without transgressing the law forbidding the use of interest (see *Moneylending). The economic necessity to compete with non-Jews in the industrial and commercial fields resulted in the rather widespread use of non-Jews as Shabbat *goyim*, so that legally a business or factory could operate and produce on the Sabbath, for example, by having the non-Jew as an official legal partner. These solutions were all developed within religious communities in the Diaspora, and involved no special strain on the main body of the *halakhah*.

During the 19th and 20th centuries, modern technology advanced rapidly. This advance brought about many problems and many strains. These were particularly felt in the State of Israel where none of the solutions that are applicable in the Diaspora could be easily applied.

Modern technology affects the life of every individual. It creates not only ideological and ethical problems but poses real problems in keeping the commandments expounded in detail in the Shulḥan Arukh and amplified further by generations of rabbis in their responsa. The main problems are in the observance of the Sabbath, in *kashrut*, in personal and family life, e.g., birth control and other medical problems. Of course, educational and philosophical problems occur as well, since any new technological advance brings about a reorientation of thought and concepts of large segments of the population, concepts which sometimes are seen to be in conflict with stated precepts of ethical principles exposed by the leading religious ethical thinkers of previous generations. During the last 150 years, many responsa have been written trying to find solutions, sometimes technical and sometimes halakhic, to the problems that modern technology has brought about. Most of these responsa deal with the adaptation of the individual to changing situations. These responsa are, in general, marked by a greater restraint than those of previous generations. They have, therefore, given the impression that the *halakhah* does not keep up with the times. Some of the reasons for this impression, however, are the following:

Communication and Language Problem

Modern technology has advanced rapidly in nearly all fields of human activity. The rabbi, who until the 18th century may have been familiar with all the major aspects of science and life, cannot be expected today to have this knowledge or even keep up with the rapid advances of knowledge in a particular field. He needs, therefore, an "interpreter" to explain the technology to him so that he can interpret the legal halakhic implications concerned with the observance of the *mitzvot* in modern society. Since each field of science or technology has its own language, communication between those who interpret the *halakhah* and the specialists in technology has been difficult and has often led to incorrect evaluation of details. This problem is particularly acute in the understanding of new instruments utilizing all forms of new energy sources such as electricity or nuclear energy (and hence the permission or prohibition to use these instruments on the Sabbath).

Fear of Cultural Assimilation

Accommodation of religious individuals to changes in their standard of living may bring about acceptance of the cultural milieu of the community in which the technological advances are made. Halakhic solutions may be found which render it possible to use modern technology and keep all the religious commandments. However, the fear of undermining Jewish faith through the cultural influence emanating from the non-Jewish communities by the vehicle of technology sometimes underlies the reluctance to find solutions to technological problems.

Religious Minority

Responsa in general were written for a Jewish religious community, or for an individual living within a religious community. However, religious congregations in the Diaspora often set themselves apart from those of non-observant Jews. Response to technological changes might be readily acceptable to a religious community which fully accepts the *halakhah*, but not so much to a mixed community of which the majority are not observant. Halakhic solutions must be fulfilled in every detail. Small deviations, sometimes for the convenience of the consumer, may lead to wider prohibitions than were imposed before such a solution was found. Only persons well versed, trained, and used to the legal framework of the *halakhah* may be willing to accept these solutions, but new halakhic regulations may lead to friction within the community. This fear of either causing additional friction or non-observance of all the details often acts as a deterrent to publication of halakhic solutions in response to changes in technology. The last reason is probably the most dominant factor as to why the rabbis have not concerned themselves with the problems of application of the *halakhah* to the Jewish secular state. It has been felt, and probably correctly, that a secular legal arm of the state may adopt only part of these regulations. The result would be a secularization and adulteration of the *halakhah* in such a way as would be palatable to a majority of Jews but not conforming to the exact prescription of the *halakhah*.

A few major aspects of these problems will be considered here: (a) Sabbath observance; (b) *kashrut*; (c) medical problems; (d) agriculture.

SABBATH OBSERVANCE. Probably the major problem facing the religious Jew in the State of Israel and abroad is that of Sabbath observance. In Israel it is relatively easy for a factory to obtain a license to operate on the Sabbath. The result of this is that employment of religious Jews in certain well-defined areas in industries becomes a problem. An objective employer naturally prefers the worker or engineer who is available all days of the week. Additionally, even if the religious Jew could overcome this natural bias, he would be reluctant to work until Friday with the knowledge that his fellow workers would continue his work on the Sabbath. According to the *halakhah* even preparation of work for another Jew to work on the Sabbath is forbidden. The result of all this is the beginning of an economic ghetto for religious Jews in Israel. In selective occupations in heavy and light industries, or in the communication industry, one cannot find many Orthodox Jews, certainly much fewer proportionately than their percentage in the population. The situation is likely to become more acute with the increase of the industrial capacity of Israel.

Institute for Science and Halakhah

The Institute for Science and Halakhah (Makhon Madda'i Tekhnologi li-Ve'ayot Halakhah) was founded by four organizations – the Orthodox Scientists of Israel, the Religious Engineering Association, the Harry Fischel Institute and the Yad ha-Rav Herzog in Jerusalem – with the aim of rectifying this situation. As an independent organization with no political affiliations, it is dedicated solely to solving the basic problems of a modern religious society in a modern technological state, without compromising halakhic principles.

The institute was established to engage in research and development. The research unit defined the main problems regarding Sabbath observance in industry and agriculture. These current problems center around general maintenance and repairs on the Sabbath for plants operating on that day. The problems that have been considered by this Institute are (a) the use of automation and servomechanisms; (b) the problem of transmitting information (writing not being permitted on the Sabbath); exploratory work on the use of tape recorders and magnetic recording has been instituted; (c) the possibility of using hot water systems on the Sabbath; (d) problems connected with the use of photoelectric cells, with microphones, and with electric switches. Though a five-day work week could easily solve most of the problems, in the early 21st century Israel had not shifted completely to it. (On-line maintenance is not sufficiently known or utilized in industry.) The institute was faced with formulating a more exact definition of "work" and "causation" as far as the Sabbath is concerned. The utilization of these concepts and the subsequent development of computer technology has wide implications for work in defense, for police work and for hospitals, and may make it possible for observant Jews to be employed more widely in these fields without being obliged to transgress fundamental religious principles.

After two or three years' work, members of the Institute felt that they had established enough halakhic and technological know-how to apply this knowledge to such industries as demand it and have the goodwill to utilize it.

THE HALAKHIC DEFINITION OF WORK. The basic aspects and halakhic interpretation dealing with the definition of direct and indirect (גורם, *gorem*) work (מלאכה, *melakhah*) on the Sabbath have been evolved. On the Sabbath only certain types of work are not forbidden and these must be performed in a certain manner with a good purpose and under certain conditions. Physical work is not always forbidden. Hence it is necessary to have a clear definition of the traditional 39 categories of work and their derivatives, and a sort of compendium of the law with application to modern technology. The *halakhah* does not forbid the performance of work on the Sabbath *per se*; it forbids the performance of constructive work by a Jew. The main emphasis is on "*Thou* shalt not work," i.e., on the person who performs the action. This is the basis of the permission to use electric lights or place cooking food on the stove before the Sabbath and keep it there on the Sabbath. It is also the basis for permitting the use of an automatic switch ("the Sabbath clock") for turning electricity on and off on the Sabbath. The principle of the Sabbath clock can be generalized to micro- and mini-computers to perform many functions on the Sabbath, provided the program is already set before the Sabbath. This generalization has been worked out by the institute and successfully applied to a number of industrial systems

The practical implications of the definition of the concept of "work" or "causation" are enormous. They clearly imply a new type of Sabbath technology which would enable automated operation of factories in which an absolute shutdown is not feasible.

However, the institute is also engaged in technological innovations which will benefit the individual family, of which the following are examples:

(1) Cooking with Gas on the Festivals: The lighting of fire from an existing flame is permitted on the Festivals (but not on the Sabbath) in order to heat or cook food. It is forbidden, however, to extinguish the flame, under normal conditions. The institute has developed an inexpensive device to extinguish the gas flame at any desired interval, and to kindle the flame whenever desired.

(2) Use of Hot-Water Heaters on the Sabbath: The use of hot water from hot-water heaters on the Sabbath presents problems of *halakhah*. Commercial water heaters are so constructed that by opening the hot-water faucet, cold water automatically enters the heater. The inflow of cold water is again heated by the heating element and also by the hot water remaining in the boiler. In many cases the inflow of cold water triggers a thermostat which in turn ignites the heating element. The institute has developed a system whereby the inflow of cold water is regulated automatically and is independent of the outflow of hot water. Hence, the person who uses the hot water is not the direct cause of activating the heating of cold water. The method is particularly useful for hotels and other large institutions.

(3) Operation of Automatic Elevators on the Sabbath: There are two schools of thought on the question of use of an automatic elevator on the Sabbath. One school disregards the influence of the weight of the individual on the functioning of the elevator. When the elevator ascends, the individual's weight necessitates increased electric consumption, and when it descends it may also require generation of electricity. Nevertheless, this school of thought does not consider the influence of the individual's weight as a direct action prohibited in the commandment, "Thou shalt not perform (constructive) work." The other school of thought feels that the influence of the individual's weight cannot be disregarded, and it is as though the person himself actually generated the electricity. The institute has taken all those points into consideration with regard to various types of elevators and has developed modifications which can be built into commercial elevators to permit their use on the Sabbath.

(4) Transmission of Vital Records and Information on the Sabbath: Communication in one form or another is essential in increasing areas of modern life. In a number of institutions, such as the police force and in hospitals, careful records must be kept. Writing on the Sabbath is forbidden according to the *halakhah.* The institute has therefore developed automatic record-keeping devices connected to tape recorders or other small computers.

In addition, the institute deals with many problems in the field of the dietary laws (*kashrut*).

Two important research monographs on the halakhic definition of work were published in the late 1970s: *Action and Causation* by Rabbi L.I. Halperin (1977) and *Primary, Secondary and Chains of Action* by Prof. W.Z. Low (Mosad ha-Rav Kook, 5738).

KASHRUT. Modern foods contain many types of synthetic ingredients. The purpose of these ingredients is sometimes medical but more frequently to permit the on-line production of preserved foods. Some of these ingredients are not *kasher* and even the admittance of minute quantities may in certain cases cause the whole food to be non-*kasher.* In the Diaspora, the tendency has been to induce major food manufacturers to find substitutes which are *kasher.* In the United States *kasher* food may have a U sign surrounded by a circle, Ⓤ. (the sign of the supervision of the Union of Orthodox Congregations of America), the letter K in combination with other letters or geometric symbols (circle, triangle), and so forth, depending on whether the *kashrut* supervision is under any one of a number of national or local rabbinic bodies. Large U.S. food companies have met the demand of Orthodox Jewry because of the fear of losing sales of their products. In Israel there is no law at present which demands the food producer to list exactly all the ingredients contained in his product, and the penalties for stating that non-*kasher* food is *kasher* are not very severe. There is no control mechanism, apart from the interest of the individual rabbi, for finding out whether the ingredients are really *kasher* or not, nor are there laboratories advanced enough to test these ingredients. The technological problems in this case are, on the whole, far simpler than the Sabbath problem, since the difference in cost between *kasher* and non-*kasher* ingredients for such minute additives is small.

MEDICAL PROBLEMS. Here again this problem involves both the individual and the total community.

On the subject of *birth control, the rabbis in the last 150 years have been divided into two camps – those who do not permit birth control under any circumstances and those who permit the women to practice birth control under certain circumstances. To a large extent most responsa since the 1950s have dealt with permission to use certain birth control techniques for individual cases. The general rule is that each individual case should be judged on its merits. Under certain circumstances, the rabbi may give permission to use birth control not only because of direct medical reasons but also because of psychological needs. There is a certain amount of conservatism in halakhic rulings in permitting the use of new contraceptives such as the "pill," since the medical problems involved have not been sufficiently explored. A halakhic decision to use the pill may, in certain selective cases, lead to sickness and possibly even death and few rabbis would permit this unless the demand is advocated by the family doctor. Here, also, is an inherent fear that the widespread use of contraceptives may undermine, to some extent, Jewish family life. This is buttressed by the feeling that after the Holocaust in Europe, the natural increase of the Jewish people should be encouraged rather than discouraged.

The question of *artificial insemination has been extensively dealt with by many rabbis and the consensus of opinion today is that artificial insemination using the semen of the husband is permitted but using the semen of unknown donors causes considerable controversy, and the majority of rabbis oppose it. In general, it can be said that the technological innovations of family planning have been adequately dealt with in the responsa of rabbis all over the world, since these involve day-to-day problems affecting both the religious and nonreligious Jew alike. The new medical technologies of the last decades of the 20th century, from *transplants to surrogate motherhood and genetic engineering, have posed new halakhic challenges and are the subject of ongoing debate. (See also *Medicine and the Law.)

AGRICULTURE. Technological problems connected with agriculture arise because of new types of hybrid seeds and foods which have been developed. Jewish law does not permit *kilayim* such as the sowing of two different types of seeds in a given field or the crossbreeding of two different types of animals (see *Mixed Species). Many types of hybrid grains and foods are, of course, very popular but many of these cannot be produced by a religious person. Religious kibbutzim and moshavim in Israel strictly adhere to these prohibitions. An additional problem is the observation of the seventh year of rest (*Shemittah*, see *Sabbatical Year). Here the rabbinical authorities have adopted the attitude that the best solution is to sell the agricultural land to non-Jews during this seventh year and, under these circumstances, a large fraction of the work in the field can be performed and the produce eaten. Other rabbis, however, feel that the land should lie fallow and only work should be performed which would preserve the earth and the trees and prevent their deterioration. This prohibition has resulted in considerable experimentation in hydroponics, to which the prohibition does not apply. It is employed, for example, in kibbutz Ḥafeẓ Ḥayyim. It is not impossible that the implications of this research may be of importance to Israeli agriculture in the future. Similarly the prohibition of milking by hand on the Sabbath – the selective crossbreeding of cows renders daily milking imperative – causes religious kibbutzim to use milking machines which, with certain changes dictated by the *halakhah*, can be used on the Sabbath. This, again, was a spur to nonreligious kibbutzim to use milking machines both on the Sabbath and during the week. However, without technical adaptation the milking machine is not permitted to be used on the Sabbath.

Service in the armed forces has also given rise to many technological problems.

There is a general feeling that the *halakhah* has not kept pace with the demands of modern technology. Solutions have been found and numerous responsa all over the world have been written in cases where technology infringes on prohibitions of the Jewish law, but in most, partial solutions have been found for the individual. In some cases, the *halakhah* has anticipated such problems as the question of the definition of death or the question of whether the computer should be regarded in the same light as a person insofar as some Jewish commandments are concerned. In most cases these responsa came as answers to individual inquiries. There has also been, to some extent, a lack of caution in these responsa in defining the prohibition of or permission for using a modern technological device by not stating clearly the brand name, the manufacturer, and a detailed description of the instrument itself. Since modern technology advances very rapidly, the lifetime of such a gadget may be very brief. Small changes in the internal parts may even result in a halakhic transgression which did not apply to a previous model. The converse may hold true as well. The *halakhah* has not yet produced a body of scholars who systematically analyze the needs of a modern society as distinct from the individual and the applications of the *halakhah* to such a society. The demand for such work would only arise if a community should come about in which the majority observed the *halakhah*.

The Secular State of Israel and the Day of Rest: Sabbath

The establishment of a secular modern Jewish State of Israel brought into sharp focus a number of central problems, such as the identity, the ideological content of the State, and its relationship to *halakhah*. These problems had already existed during the Mandatory period; however, the state had to enact new laws. Very often the laws were copies of the laws of other democratic countries to which only some religious Jewish overtones or content were added, and such laws were often in conflict with the *halakhah.* While the main issue centered on the problems of personal status, such as a definition of "Who is a Jew," other issues, such as the nature of the Sabbath – the day of rest – also brought the secular and religious elements into conflict. Traveling on the Sabbath may be taken as an example.

Whereas the secular law merely declares the Sabbath as a day of rest for Jews, with provision for exemption, the *halakhah* forbids not only all constructive work (*Melekhet Maḥshevet*) on the Sabbath, but also traveling, even for pleasure and recreation. Public transportation in most of the country is forbidden (except for bus transportation in Haifa and some other places). However, affluence has brought about an increase in private travel and in concomitant work in the operation of various leisure and recreational services on the Sabbath. The increase in the number of tourists also increased the pressure to provide them with entertainment on the day of rest. However, the most serious problem revolved around work on the Sabbath in various essential industries.

The Knesset Law of Work Permits on the Day of Rest

The Knesset enacted a number of regulations which established norms as to which workers and places of employment would be permitted to operate on the Sabbath and Jewish holidays. The law equivocally states that the day of rest of 36 hours must include the seventh day – the Sabbath – for Jewish workers. (For non-Jewish workers the day of rest is the day chosen by each denomination.) The minister of labor is empowered by law to grant permission to factory owners to operate on the Sabbath and to employ workers, provided the work is related to defense of people or of property, or if shutting down would cause considerable damage to the economy of the country or disrupt services considered by the minister of labor to be essential to the public or part of it. The ministry of labor had been dominated by the Labor Party, with its various nuances, for 30 years, and during the period of its hegemony the tendency was to interpret the law liberally so as to classify many important services as either essential or of such a nature as to qualify them as being of significance to the economy of the country. As a result, many industries received permits to operate on the Sabbath even though relatively simple technological innovations exist which would render it unnecessary. In addition, the Knesset enacted specific laws exempting a number of cooperatives, particularly those engaged in public transport, as well as companies engaged in oil prospecting and drilling, from the above ordinances.

The new coalition government, appointed after the elections in May 1977 and headed by Begin and the Likud, effected a change in atmosphere. The new coalition agreement on these issues provides for a review of all Sabbath work permits granted in the past and intends to use a narrower interpretation of the phrases "essential services" and "economic necessity." The Institute of Science and Halakhah which, under the chairmanship of Prof. W.Z. Low, had in the past specialized in finding technical and halakhically acceptable solutions for such problems, was given official status by the new government and was appointed to design alternative solutions in order to obviate the need for workers to be employed on the Sabbath.

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[William (Ze'ev) Low]

TEDESCHI (**Tedesco,** "Ashkenazi"), name of several Italian families whose members were found particularly in Ancona, Rovigo, Veneto, Piedmont, Rome, and Ferrara. The Tedeschi families, however, did not originate from a single stock, and the name is also common among Christian families, especially in Sicily. ISAAC and MOSES TEDESCO were among the representatives of the Catalan School in Rome in 1581. From the 18th to the 20th centuries the family produced some distinguished rabbis, jurists, physicians, and writers, among them NATHAN TEDESCHI, author of a *ḥidah* (enigmatical poem) for Purim (1765).

MARCO TEDESCHI (1817–1869) was rabbi in Nizza-Monferrato, Saluzzo, Asti, and Trieste, having been appointed to the last position by Cavour in 1858. He was a preacher of renown and translator of prayers into Italian (*Le preghiere di un cuore israelita*). His poems were published by Rabbi V. Castiglioni as *Yelid Kinnor* (1886).

DAVID VITA TEDESCO (1820–1849), of Venice, edited a text of prayers for the five fast days with an Italian translation (1845); he also translated and wrote commentaries on several books of the Bible, which were not published, and was among the disciples of Samuel David *Luzzatto. Moses Isaac *Tedeschi (Tedesco), was a teacher, translator, and biblical commentator. ELIEZER LAUDE TEDESCHI, rabbi of Turin, was the author of a chant for the inauguration of the Hebrew school there (Scuola ebraica), in 1884.

ISAAC REFAEL TEDESCHI (1826–1908) was born in Ancona and became the first rabbi of the Jewish community (Universita ebraica) of Bologna after its reestablishment in 1860. He was a propagator of pre-Zionist ideas from as early as 1871. He was appointed rabbi at Corfu in 1865 and succeeded Rabbi David Vivanti in Ancona in 1877. Tedeschi energetically defended Jewish Orthodoxy, often polemizing with Italian rabbis of liberal tendencies. He contributed to the main Italian Jewish newspapers and *Ha-Ẓefirah*. Some of his works were collected by his disciple, Rabbi H. Rosenberg, and were published (in Italian, 1929; as *She'elot u-Teshuvot*, 1932). However, many remained unpublished, among them a commentary to the Torah and an addition to Isaac Lampronti's *Paḥad Yiẓḥak* (*Avnei Zikkaron*).

Gad (Guido) *Tedeschi (1907–1992) was professor of civil law at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem.

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[Alfredo Mordechai Rabello]

TEDESCHI (Tedesco), MOSES ISAAC BEN SAMUEL (1821–1898), translator, and teacher. Tedeschi was born in Trieste. He engaged in teaching most of his life except for a short period (1861) when he served as a rabbi of Spoleto. During his 34 years as a teacher he compiled his *Ho'il Moshe*, consisting of expositions of most of the books of the Bible (published between 1870 and 1892). This commentary was based both upon traditional commentaries and the modern commentaries from the era of *Mendelssohn to Samuel David *Luzzatto (with whom he was on friendly terms). In his introduction Tedeschi points to the difference of approach in the various commentaries which were written at different times of his life "but there is no absolute contradiction between them and they can be regarded as one corpus."

He also published *Musar Melakhim* (1878), ethical sermons based upon the tractate, *Avot; Zekher Rav* (1878), of Benjamin *Mussafia with an Italian translation and a dictionary called *Mafte'aḥ ha-Shorashim; Oẓar Nirdefei Leshon Ivri* ("Hebrew synonyms," 1879); *Simḥat ha-Regel* (1886), sermons for the festivals and notes on the Targum of Proverbs, includes his autobiography (pp. 51–61); and *Ru'ah Yisrael* (1894), a translation from Italian to Hebrew of a collection of studies by Mordecai (Marco) *Mortara, rabbi in Mantua.

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[Yehoshua Horowitz]

TEFILLIN (Heb. תְּפִלִּין; usually translated "phylacteries"; sing. *tefillah* – see Men. 4:1; Mik. 10:3), two black leather boxes containing scriptural passages which are bound by black leather straps on the left hand and on the head and worn for the morning services on all days of the year except Sabbaths and scriptural holy days (see below). In four passages of the Bible (Ex. 13:1–10 and 11–16; Deut. 6:4–9 and 11:13–21) there occurs the almost identical passage requiring the Jew to put "these words" (of the Law) for "a sign upon thy hand and a frontlet between thine eyes." (Only in the first does "*zikkaron*" – "memorial" – occur instead of *totafot* – "frontlets.") Both the passages of Deuteronomy state explicitly, "and thou shalt bind them," while the two passages in Exodus merely say, "and they shall be."

Of all the commentators on the Bible only the 12th-century commentator Samuel b. Meir takes this command as a figurative one. In his commentary on Exodus 13:9 he says: "according to the essence of its literal meaning it means 'it shall ever be as a memorial as though it were written upon thy hand,' as in the verse: 'Set me as a seal upon thy heart as a seal upon thine arm.'" (Song 8:6; Abraham ibn Ezra suggests the same explanation but rejects it.) Apart from this, it was accepted that the verse had to be taken literally and that the words of the Scripture had to be bound on the hand and placed (on the forehead) between the eyes. The portions selected for the fulfillment of this commandment were the four above-mentioned passages which constitute the *tefillin.*

The rabbis were aware of the fact that apart from these verses there is no explicit reference to this ceremony or the manner in which it was to be fulfilled in the Bible, and they regarded it as the classic example of a biblical law whose details are wholly "of the Scribes" and immutable (Sanh. 88b); it is, indeed, a perfect example of an injunction whose method of performance is the result of the Oral Law. The Samaritans did not wear them (Men. 42b).

The *tefillin* are first mentioned in the Letter of *Aristeas (159), but only the *tefillah* of the hand: "and upon our hands too, He [God] expressly orders the symbols to be fastened." Josephus (Ant. 4:213) mentions both, that of the head before the hand. The rabbis regarded them as having been instituted at the earliest times, and in a discussion as to whether the incident of Ezekiel in the Valley of Dead Bones was a vision or a fact, "Judah b. Bathyra stood up and said, 'I am one of their descendants and these are the *tefillin* which my grandfather handed down to me from them'" (Sanh. 92b).

Tefillin are mentioned once in the New Testament under the peculiarly inappropriate name of "phylacteries" (Gr. φυλακτήριον, "amulet"), and this name has been universally adopted as the English equivalent of the word. (For the meaning of the word, see later.) It is part of the diatribe against the Pharisees, "But all their works they do to be seen of men; they make broad their phylacteries" (Matt. 23:5). This charge of the demonstrative nature of the commandment is, in fact, confirmed by the rabbis, who interpret the verse "and all the peoples of the earth shall see that the name of the Lord is called upon thee" (Deut. 28:10) to refer to "the *tefillin* of the head" (Ber. 6a).

The *tefillin* were worn by day, but not at night; it is even stated that "he who wears *tefillin* at night transgresses a positive commandment" (TJ, Ber. 2:3, 4c), but it is doubtful whether they were generally worn all day. Both of Rabban Johanan b. Zakkai (Suk. 28a) and his disciple Eliezer b. Hyrcanus (TJ, Ber. 2:3, 4c) in Ereẓ Israel, as well as of Ada b. Ahavah in Babylon (Ta'an. 20b), it is stated that they "never walked four cubits without wearing phylacteries," suggesting that this was an act of special piety. They were worn only by men, but according to a *baraita*, "Michal the daughter of the Cushite [i.e., Saul, cf. MK 16b] wore *tefillin* and the sages did not protest" (Er. 96a).

There is evidence of a certain laxity in the fulfillment of this commandment during the talmudic period. It is stated that because the Jews did not risk martyrdom for them during the Hadrianic persecution "the precept is still weak with them" (Shab. 130a). It is, however, certain that the injunction was largely disregarded both in France and in Spain in the 12th and 13th centuries. This is specifically stated (Tos. Shab. 49a), and Jacob Tam actually quotes the talmudic passage in extenuation of this laxity (*ibid.*), contending that the statement that "a head which does not wear *tefillin* is of a willful sinner of Israel" (RH 17a) refers only to one who refuses to wear them out of defiance or contempt. Little more than half a century later Moses of Coucy states: "In the year 1236 I was in Spain to reprove them…and there was a wholesale repentance and thousands and tens of thousands accepted the duty of donning *tefillin*… and so it was in other lands, and afterward my admonitions were accepted in all these places" (*Sefer Mitzvot Gadol*, Positive Commandment 3).

Nevertheless, it would be erroneous to regard the difference of opinion between Rashi and his grandson Tam as to the correct order of the paragraphs in the *tefillah* of the head as proof that it was a re-innovation at the time, as the discovery of the *tefillin* in the Dead Sea area shows (see later).

Order of Passages

As stated, both the *tefillin* of the hand and of the head contain the four paragraphs. Whereas in the *tefillah* of the hand they are written on one piece of parchment and in the order of their occurrence in the Bible, the *tefillah* of the head is instead divided into four compartments, and the four paragraphs – each written on a separate piece of parchment and tied – are inserted in them. Only according to Rashi are they inserted in the order of their occurrence; according to R. Tam, the passage from Deuteronomy 11:13–21 precedes that of Deuteronomy 6:4–9.

This is practically the only difference of opinion found with regard to the *tefillin*. Rashi's order has been universally accepted, although a small but diminishing number of individuals of especial piety, in view of possible doubt, substitute "R. Tam's *tefillin*" for those "of Rashi" for the concluding part of the service. Apart from that there is a remarkable uniformity of custom and procedure which applies to all rites and communities, and, with a few differences which will be noted, the details which follow are universal.

Both the *tefillin* are cubical boxes ("square") of leather painted black (Men. 35a). The parchment must be made from the skins of ritually clean animals (*ibid.*, 42b, Sanh. 48b), preferably of a calf (OḤ 32:44), and the scriptural passages written on them in square ("Assyrian") script, like that of the *Sefer Torah*. The aperture into which the parchment is inserted is closed with a square piece of thick leather (*titora*) and stitched with 12 stitches of gut made from clean animals (Shab. 8b). Protruding from the back of the *tefillin* case is a hollow extension (*ma'barta*) through which the straps are passed. These straps must also be made from the hide of clean animals and be black on the outside.

The arrangement of the straps is conditioned by the purpose to which they are put. That of the hand *tefillah* is in the form of a noose to enable it to be tightened on the arm; that of the head has a circlet, tied with a knot, its size adjusted to the circumference of the head, the two ends hanging loosely.

Under the influence of the Kabbalah the word שַׁדַּי (*Shaddai*; Almighty) is represented on both *tefillin*. In the case of the *tefillin* of the head it is represented by the letter ש inscribed on the box on both sides, that on the right having the normal letter with three strokes, that on the left with four. The knot is made in the shape of a ד while the י is represented by the end of the strap. In the case of the hand *tefillah* the strap is wrapped on the hand in the shape of the ש and the ד and the knot at the end is in the shape of the י.

The order of donning the *tefillin* is meticulously laid down. They are put on after the *tallit*. That of the hand is put on first, placed on the upper arm ("opposite the heart"), and the noose is tightened when the blessing to lay the *tefillin* is recited. The plain spelling of the word "thy hand" (יָדְכָה) in Exodus 13:16 was interpreted to mean "the weak hand" (יָד כֵּהָה), and a left-handed person therefore places it on his right hand, though it is not "opposite the heart"; the strap is wound seven times round the arm between the elbow and the wrist. The Ashkenazim wind it anti-clockwise, in an inward manner, the Sephardim (followed by the Ḥasidim) clockwise. The head *tefillah* is then put on, care being taken that it lies above the middle of the forehead and all on the hair of the head, the knot resting on the nape of the neck, the two loose ends being made to hang down in front. The blessing "on the commandment of the *tefillin*" is recited at the time. Since, however, according to one opinion, the second blessing is superfluous, it was instituted that after reciting it, it be, so to speak "neutralized" by adding the words "blessed be the name of His glorious kingdom for ever." The remaining part of the strap of the hand *tefillah* is then wrapped in a prescribed manner on the hand and the middle finger of the hand to form the abovementioned ש and ד, while Hosea 2:21–2 is recited. Palestinian scholars in the talmudic period were accustomed to recite a benediction (*Lishmor ḥukkav* – to observe His commandments) when they took off the *tefillin* (Ber. 44b). However, *tosafot* (*ibid.*) point out that they used to wear *tefillin* all day and recite the benediction at night.

Tefillin are worn on all weekdays, but not on Sabbaths and festivals. The reason given in the Talmud (Men. 36b) is that they are called "a sign," but the Sabbath itself is so called (Ex. 31:17), and the same rule was applied to festivals. In the Diaspora, Ḥasidim do not don *tefillin* during the intermediate days of the festivals while *Mitnaggedim* do; in Israel, it is the universal custom not to wear them on the intermediate days.

The duty of laying *tefillin* begins when a boy reaches his religious majority, i.e., at the age of 13 years and a day, but he usually begins to do so a few weeks earlier for practice. Among Oriental communities a special ceremony is held to celebrate it. Since the *tefillin* are a "*pe'er*" (a "diadem of glory"; see later) they are not worn on the morning of Tishah be-Av, their donning being postponed to the *Minḥah* service (in some German congregations this applies to other fast days also), nor by a bereaved person before the burial; various other categories are temporarily exempt, either because of inability to concentrate (e.g., a bridegroom on his wedding day) or because the body is unclean (Shab. 49a). Similarly, they must not be worn in a cemetery, in an unclean place (Ber. 18a), or while asleep.

The Talmud stresses the supreme importance of the *tefillin*. Even God dons them (Ber. 6a), hearing the verse, "who is like thy people Israel, one people on earth (I Chron. 17:21)" (Ber. 62). A person who does not put them on is a willful transgressor. God surrounded Israel with seven precepts, including "*tefillin* on their heads, *tefillin* on their arms," and "whosoever has the *tefillin* on his head, the *tefillin* on his arm, *ẓiẓit* on his garment and the *mezuzah* on his doorpost is fortified against sinning" (Men. 43b). Their sanctity was stressed by regarding them as "rendering the hands unclean" as is the case with the *Sefer Torah* (Yad. 3:3), and if they are accidentally dropped, the person responsible is obliged to fast for that day.

The wearing of *tefillin* induces a serious frame of mind, preventing levity (Ber. 30b). According to Bet Hillel the *tefillin* had to be examined every year, but Bet Shammai disagreed (Mekh., Pisḥa, 17, p. 157, vol. 2; cf. TJ, Er. 10:26a, where other rabbis are mentioned). The law was later established to examine them once (or twice) every seven years (Tos. Men. 43a).

The kabbalists instituted a meditation before putting on the *tefillin* which is a perfect example of the spiritualization of a ceremonial precept. It includes the statement, "He hath commanded us to lay the *tefillin* upon the hand as a memorial of His outstretched arm; opposite the heart to indicate the duty of subjecting the longings and designs of our heart to His service; and upon the head, over against the brain, thereby teaching that the mind, whose seat is in the brain, together with all senses and faculties, is to be subjected to His service."

The word *tefillah* is identical with the word for prayer, but it may be a homonym, and some have interpreted it as derived not from the root of this word פלל ("to intercede") but from פלה (to "separate", "distinguish") indicating that thereby the Jew is distinguished from the non-Jew. One *mishnah* (Mik. 10:2) mentions the *tefillah* together with an amulet but does not suggest any connection between them. Some scholars have suggested that the phylacteries derive from some form of amulet or charm (see Trachtenberg, *Jewish Magic and Superstitions* (1961^2), 145–6), but others feel that there is no evidence that it was regarded as an amulet, as the word "phylacteries" suggests.

The main exposition in the Talmud on the laws of *tefillin* is found in Men. 34a–37b, in a discussion of the statement of the Mishnah 3:7 that if one of the four paragraphs is missing the *tefillin* are invalidated. All references, except where otherwise stated, are from this passage. The small tractate called *Tefillin* is a late composition which merely assembles the material scattered in the Talmud and belongs to the geonic period.

The Tefillin of the Dead Sea

Before 1968 a number of fragments of *tefillin* found in the various caves of the Dead Sea were published (for a list see bibl., Yadin, 7, n. 1). All apparently belonged to the *tefillin* of the hand and were found without their original containers or capsules. (Previous fragments, however, include *tefillin* of the head, and some empty capsules of head *tefillin* have been found.) They did, however, reveal one important point, namely that the difference of opinion between Rashi and his grandson Jacob Tam as to the order of the scriptural passages did not originate with them, but they transmit different traditions which go back to the first century at least, both systems being found among those fragments, and both were therefore in use concurrently. In point of fact the *Piskei Tosafot* to Men. 34b has the statement that "In Nehardea and in Jerusalem they found two sets of *tefillin*, one according to the order of Rashi and the other according to that of Tam."

In 1968, however, Yigael Yadin acquired the only known capsule of the head *tefillin* of this period, found together with the portions of the text. It was almost certainly found in one of the Qumran caves, probably Cave 4, and its importance lies in the fact that exhaustive scientific tests proved that of the four passages, all tied, three were in the original positions in the capsules in which they were found, and they thus afford undeniable evidence of both the manner in which the slips had been folded and tied, and the materials used for the tying. Of additional importance is the fact that they include the text of the Decalogue. This last discovery confirms an assumption which was made on the basis of certain passages in the Talmud. According to the Mishnah (Tam. 5:1), in the Temple the priests used to recite the Decalogue together with the three paragraphs of the *Shema, but the addition of the Decalogue to the *Shema*, which "according to the law should be part of the daily service," was discontinued "because of the errors of the sectarians that they should not say 'these alone were given to Moses in Sinai'" (TJ, Ber. 1:8, 3c; cf. also TB, *ibid.*, 12a). The *Nash Papyrus of the second century (JQR, 15 (1902–03), 392–408) contains the Decalogue with the first paragraph of the *Shema*. The *Sifrei* to Deuteronomy 4:6, which deals with the *tefillin*, used two exegetical interpretations to justify the exclusion of the Decalogue from the *tefillin*, and it was plausibly assumed that originally, or in some quarters, the *tefillin* actually included the Decalogue, but it was excluded for the same reason as from the daily service, the exegetical justifications for the exclusion being merely a rationalization. The order of the passages in those *tefillin*, apart from their additions, follow the order given by Rashi, with one exception, that the order given by him for the second and third paragraphs is transposed, a change which is expressly permitted in the Talmud (Men. 34bf.).

S. Goren (see bibl.) has examined the *tefillin* of the Dead Sea Scrolls from the point of view of the *halakhah*, and has established that whereas the *tefillin* of Murabba'at accord with the *halakhah*, those of Qumran 1 and 4 are sectarian in nature.

It therefore seems probable that during the first century there were considerable variations and differences of custom as to the order, and additions to, the four basic paragraphs of the *tefillin*, but by the beginning of the second century, uniformity was established as to the text, while two traditions remained and persisted as to the order in which these paragraphs were to be written.

The form of the *tefillin* and the materials used, both the parchment and the tendons used for tying the passages, not only confirm the regulations given in the Talmud but in many cases throw new light on obscure passages.

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[Louis Isaac Rabinowitz]

TEHERAN, capital of *Iran. Situated near the ancient biblical site of Rages (mentioned in the Book of Tobit), Teheran did not rise to prominence until the Kajar dynasty established its capital there about 1788. It soon attracted Jews from many provincial villages and towns, and according to the Jewish traveler *David d'Beth Hillel the Jewish population in Teheran amounted to about 100 families in 1828. Travelers, *sheliḥim*, missionaries, and other European visitors (including J. *Wolff, *Benjamin II, E. *Neumark, and G.K. Curzon) who came throughout the course of the 19th century, all indicate the growth of the Jewish community in Teheran. At first the Jews lived in a very poor, unsanitary quarter (*mahallah*), where they established synagogues and other religious and social institutions. The development of their economic life was greatly hampered by the concept of the ritual uncleanliness of non-believers (Jews and Christians alike) held by Shiʿite Islam, the religious basis of the dynasty. The Jews engaged in handicrafts and small businesses, and were itinerant peddlers dealing in carpets, textiles, antiquities, and luxury articles; very few of them were able to reach positions of economic importance. Some native Jewish physicians in Teheran in the time of Shah Nasr-ed-Din achieved a measure of prominence even before the shah appointed the Austrian Jew J.E. *Polak as professor at the Teheran Medical College, and his personal medical adviser (1851–56).

The political and legal status of the Jews improved in the second half of the 19th century thanks to the intervention of European Jewry under the leadership of Sir Moses *Montefiore and A. *Crémieux, who during the shah's visits to Europe in 1873 and 1889 presented petitions and demands for the amelioration of the life of their coreligionists. This intervention led to the establishment of Jewish schools by the *Alliance Israélite Universelle; the first Alliance school in Teheran was opened in 1898 with J. Cazès as director. As a result of the constitutional reforms under Shah Muzaffar-ed-Din in the early decades of the 20th century, the Jews were granted citizenship in 1906, though they were not permitted to elect their own representative to the Persian parliament until a few years later. Under the Pahlevi dynasty (1925–1979), the position of the Jews throughout Iran improved considerably. In Teheran they were assisted not only by the Alliance, but also by *ORT, *Oẓar ha-Torah, and above all by the American Jewish *Joint Distribution Committee, which in 1947 laid the foundation for all social, medical, and educational activities of the Jews of Teheran and Iran as a whole. A Zionist organization was established in Teheran a year after the Balfour Declaration (1917). A cultural and spiritual revival also led to a considerable *aliyah* to Ereẓ Israel in the early decades of the 20th century. Among Teheran's prominent leaders were Solomon Kohen Ẓedek, author of the first Hebrew grammar for Persian Jews (1918); Mullah Elijah Ḥayyim Moreh, author of three *Judeo-Persian books on Jewish tradition and history (1924–27); Shmuel Ḥayyim, editor of a Jewish newspaper in the Persian language and an ardent Zionist; Aziz Naim, author of the first history of the Zionist movement in Persian; Kermanyan, translator into Persian of A. Bein's biography of Theodor Herzl; and Soliman Hayyim, a great Jewish-Iranian lexicographer and author of several Persian dictionaries. One of the earliest immigrants to Ereẓ Israel was Mullah Ḥayyim Elijah Mizraḥi, whose son, Ḥanina Mizraḥi, wrote several books on Persian Jews in Ereẓ Israel and other monographs.

[Walter Joseph Fischel]

Contemporary Period

The Jewish population of Teheran in 1948 consisted of approximately 35,000 persons and constituted 37% of the total Jewish population of Iran. Although there was considerable emigration to Israel, the number remained stable, as Jews from the provinces migrated to the capital. Much poverty continued to exist in the Jewish quarter (*mahallah*), although with the economic development of the country generally improved, the economic situation of Jews there improved. Teheran had a network of schools run by the Alliance Israélite Universelle; 15 elementary and two high schools, as well as schools run by Oẓar ha-Torah and ORT. In 1961, 7,100 pupils attended the Alliance Israélite Universelle and Oẓar ha-Torah schools. Hundreds of Jews (700–800 in 1949) studied also in Protestant mission schools, and approximately another 2,000 in government schools. In 1961 the number of Jewish students at Teheran University was estimated at 300; however, in 1957 it was estimated that about 3,000 Jewish children in Teheran were receiving no education, although this number probably dropped in the 1960s. The community ran the Kanun Kheir Khah Hospital for the needy (founded in 1958), and a Jewish soup kitchen financed by the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee. The headquarters both of the youth organization, Kanun Javanan, which extended aid and sponsored lectures to poor children, and of the Jewish women's organization were located in Teheran. Community affairs were run by a council, elected by prominent members of the community, which was headed by Enayatollah Montakhab in 1951 and by Arieh Murad in 1959. The head of the rabbinical court in 1959 was Rabbi Jedidiah Shofet. His judge's salary was paid by the government, and his judgments put into effect by government law courts.

Under the Pahlevi dynasty, the Jews in Teheran enjoyed complete freedom and equality, and many rose to positions of influence in the social and economic spheres. In 1957 the first Iranian-Jewish Congress was organized in Teheran and branches of the World Jewish Congress were established. In 1970, 40,000 Jews (55% of the total Jewish population of Iran) lived in Teheran, and the community was composed of Jews from various Iranian provinces including *Meshed, and from *Bukhara, *Baghdad, and other Oriental communities, as well as of Ashkenazim from Russia, Poland, and Germany. In the early 21st century a large proportion of Iran's estimated 11,000 or so Jews lived in Teheran.

[Hayyim J. Cohen / Walter Joseph Fischel]

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TEḤINNAH (Heb. תְּחִנָּה), a *piyyut* form which originated in the *taḥanun* prayer for the fasts of Monday and Thursday. The term was also transferred to *piyyutim* for the *seliḥot* days, and indeed both the construction and subject of the *teḥinnah* are similar to *seliḥot*. The *teḥinnah* is usually said quietly, its subject being the relationship between God and the people of Israel. It is sometimes constructed in rhymed verses, sometimes in rhymed rhetoric, or even unrhymed, in the style of a *bakkashah*. In addition to Hebrew *teḥinnot*, there were early modern Yiddish **tkhines* for women published in small brochures from the beginning of the 17th century in Bohemia (Prague), Switzerland (Basle), Germany (Sulzbach, Fuerth, Roedelheim), and many towns of Russia and Poland. Occasionally *teḥinnot* were added as appendixes to editions of the prayer book.

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[Abraham Meir Habermann / Chava Weissler (2nd ed.)]

TEHOMI (Zilberg), AVRAHAM (1903–1990), Zionist underground fighter. Tehomi was born in Odessa, Ukraine, and in 1919 joined *He-Ḥalutz, and participated in the defense of the Jewish population in Odessa during its civil war. In 1922 he escaped from Russia, and arrived in Palestine the following year where he worked as a laborer and joined the *Haganah. From 1929 to 1931, he was Haganah commander for the Jerusalem district. In 1931 he formed the Irgun Ẓeva'i Le'ummi (IẒL), and was its commander-in-chief until 1937. During this period he was also active in smuggling into Palestine huge quantities of arms from Finland and Poland. In 1937 he rejoined the Haganah, and was appointed to the High Command, in charge of training. In 1939 he was involved in bringing into Palestine Jewish "illegal" immigrants, and during World War II, he organized a Jewish Intelligence group working for the Allies. After World War II, he was active in the Hebrew Committee for National Liberation headed by Hillel Kook (Peter Bergson) in the U.S.

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[Joseph Nedava]

TEICHOLZ, BRUCE B. (1914–1993), U.S. communal worker. Teicholz was born in Rzeszow, Poland, and from 1936 to 1939 was director of Polski-Lloyd, AG. After the Nazi invasion of Poland he joined the Polish underground, fighting in a partisan group called Skole-Lawdezne. He reached Budapest in 1942, where he worked with the Polish Rescue Committee, and subsequently became president of the Committee for Jewish Inmates of the Concentration Camps, Austria (1945–51) and president of the Zionist Organization of Austria (1948–50). He immigrated to the U.S. in 1952 and devoted himself to communal work, particularly in ORT, of which he had been president in Vienna from 1945 to 1948. In 1970 he became president of the National ORT League and vice president of the American ORT Federation.

In 1988 a Holocaust memorial was dedicated at the Dohany Utca Synagogue in Budapest, where Teicholz received an award for his work on behalf of Hungarian Jewry.

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TEIF, MOSHE (1904–1966), Soviet Yiddish poet. Born in Minsk, he contributed to Soviet Yiddish journals from 1924. His most prolific period was in the years immediately preceding the first purge of the Minsk writers (1937), when he published poems and short stories for children, his collection of lyrics *Lider un Poemes* ("Songs and Poems," 1933) for adults, and translations of Schiller's *Wilhelm Tell* (1935) and Scott's *Ivanhoe* (1937). His *Milkhome-Lider* ("War Poems," 1947) mirrored his experiences at the front in World War II. He was imprisoned from 1937 to 1941 and from 1948 to 1953 but survived. After the death of Stalin, his poems appeared in Russian translation, in 1958, and again in Yiddish in 1965. He participated in **Sovetish Heymland* from its inauguration in 1961. His translation of the Song of Songs and his autobiography appeared posthumously in 1967.

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[Sol Liptzin]

TEITEL, JACOB (1851–1939), jurist and communal worker. Teitel, the son of a wealthy family of *maskilim*, was born in Cherny Ostrov, Podolia. He graduated in law at the university of Moscow in 1875 and was appointed examining magistrate in the region of *Kuibyshev (Samara) and, in 1904, judge of the district tribunal of *Saratov, and was one of the first Jews in Russia to be employed in the judicial service during the czarist regime. He was often urged to convert. He was compelled to resign (1912), but continued to participate in the public life of the Volga region and maintained contact with the Russian intelligentsia, authors and artists, many of whom praised him in their works and memoirs (including M. *Gorki). He devoted himself to communal and philanthropic work, especially in assisting Jews oppressed by the authorities, and was among the founders of a large relief enterprise which supported the Jewish youth who felt compelled to leave to be able to pursue their studies at higher institutions in Western Europe. Teitel left the Soviet Union in 1921. He became president of the Union of Russian Jews in Germany, and collaborated with the relief organization for Russian-Jewish refugees. When the Nazis came to power, Teitel transferred his activities to France, where his memoirs, *Iz moyey zhizniza sorok let*, were published in 1925. A festschrift, edited by N.L. Aronson and others, was published for his 80th birthday in 1931.

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[Yehuda Slutsky]

TEITELBAUM, family of rabbis and dynasty of *ẓaddikim* in Hungary and Galicia. Its founder, MOSES BEN ẒEVI OF UJHELY (*Satoraljaujhely in Hungary; 1759–1841), was born in *Przemysl, Galicia. A pupil of *Jacob Isaac ha-Ḥozeh (the Seer) of Lublin, he first served as rabbi at Sieniawa (Galicia) and from 1808 at Ujhely. Moses was among the first to spread Ḥasidism in the northern and central districts of Hungary. He won renown as a learned man and a wonder-working *ẓaddik* among all sectors of the Jewish community, both Ḥasidim and others. He wrote *Yismaḥ Moshe* (Lemberg, 1848–61), considered one of the classic homiletic works of Ḥasidism, and responsa, *Heshiv Moshe* (Lemberg, 1866).

His only son, ELEAZAR NISAN OF DROGOBYCH (1788–1855), served as rabbi at *Sighet (Marmaros-Sziget), Hungary, and for 15 years at *Drogobych. He wrote no works himself, but his teachings are recorded in works written by his father and one of his sons. Of these SAMUEL was rabbi at Gorlice, and Nahum Ẓevi succeeded his father as rabbi at Drogobych; the best known, Jekuthiel Judah of Sighet (1) (1808–1883), became one of the greatest *admorim* in Hungary. Born in Drogobych, he studied with his grandfather, Moses, and served first as rabbi at Stropkov. After his grandfather's death in 1841 he was rabbi in Ujhely, but was forced to leave under pressure by the *Mitnaggedim. He then officiated in Gorlice and Drogobych. However, he became known chiefly as rabbi at Sighet, where he moved in 1858; he subsequently gathered around him many Ḥasidim, and also founded a yeshivah. Jekuthiel Judah wrote many works, among them *Yitav Lev*, on the Torah (in five parts, 1875); *Yitav Panim*, on the festivals (in two parts, 1881–83); responsa *Avnei Ẓedek* (in two parts, 1885–86); and *Rav Tov* on the Torah (1889).

His sons were ABRAHAM AARON (d. 1910), rabbi at Kolbuszowa; MOSES JOSEPH (d. 1897), rabbi at Ujhely; ELIJAH BEZALEL (d. 1918), rabbi at Havasmezö and Tecsö (Tyachevo); the best known was HANANIAH YOM TOV LIPA OF SIGHET (b. in the 1830s–1904) born in Stropkow. At first he served as rabbi at Tecsö, but after his father's death in 1883 left for Sighet, where he became involved in the dispute which broke out in the community over the question of joining the national organization of Orthodox congregations of Hungary which had its headquarters in Budapest. Like his father he became known as a learned man and *ẓaddik*, and many sought him out. He wrote *Kedushat Yom Tov*, on the Torah and festivals (in two parts, 1895). His son, ḤAYYIM ẒEVI OF SIGHET (b. in the 1870s–1926), born in Sighet, was also a rabbi and *ẓaddik*. He wrote *Aẓei Ḥayyim* on the Torah and the festivals (in three parts, 1927–34); responsa *Aẓei Ḥayyim* (in two parts, 1939); and *Aẓei Ḥayyim*, on tractate *Gittin* (1939). His son, JEKUTHIEL JUDAH OF SIGHET (2), the last rabbi to serve in Sighet, perished in the Holocaust at *Auschwitz in 1944.

JOEL(ISH) TEITELBAUM OF SATMAR (1888–1979), son of Hananiah Yom Tov Lipa Teitelbaum, served in communities in the Carpathians and northern Transylvania, and from 1928 at Satmar (*Satu Mare). He became involved there in fierce controversies with both Zionist circles and Ḥasidim attached to other *ẓaddikim*, who violently opposed him. During the Holocaust, in 1944, he was saved in the rescue train arranged through R.R. *Kasztner and from *Bergen-Belsen reached Ereẓ Israel. In 1947 he settled in the Williamsburg quarter of Brooklyn, New York, which was the center of a ḥasidic congregation that continued the way of life of a ḥasidic town in Hungary. In 1953 Teitelbaum became rabbi of the ultra-Orthodox *Neturei Karta community in Jerusalem, although he remained in New York and only visited Israel every few years. Later his ties with the community weakened and it ceased to regard him as rabbi.

Teitelbaum continued to be one of the most vigorous opponents of Zionism and the State of Israel, and engaged in intensive activity against the latter both in Israel and abroad, in his writings and sermons, and by demonstrations. While his opposition to Zionism and the State of Israel was based on halakhic grounds, most of which had been raised from the beginning of the Zionist movement, he added objections to the way of life and the social and political order in Israel, which in his opinion contradict the principles of *halakhah*. According to Teitelbaum, Zionism and the establishment of the State of Israel constitute a violation of the three oaths which the people of Israel were made to swear (see Ket. 3). This has delayed the coming of the Messiah and complete redemption, and resulted in all the troubles affecting the Jewish people in the 20th century. The Holocaust also was a punishment for the sins of Zionism and the State of Israel. Hence Teitelbaum denounced the secular character of the state, objecting to its democratic regime and legislature as not being founded on *halakhah*.

Teitelbaum also opposed the use of Hebrew as the spoken language, since this has secularized the holy tongue, and the adoption of the Sephardi pronunciation instead of the Ashkenazi. However, Teitelbaum did not express opposition to settlement in Israel provided that it was not through a mass *aliyah* movement but carried out by individuals only, from this point of view Ereẓ Israel being no worse than other countries. *Naḥmanides' opinion that to settle in Ereẓ Israel is a positive commandment is interpreted by Teitelbaum as referring to those who live in the country and observe the commandments of the Torah. If, however, a person living in the country does not observe the commandments, but is sinful, he defiles it, and those who fear the word of the Lord have a duty to see that he leaves. Teitelbaum forbade the Ḥasidim living in his community to cooperate with state institutions, while ordering those living in Israel not to take the oath of loyalty to the state, not to take part in the elections to its parliamentary institutions, and not to make use of its law courts or legal system.

An eminent scholar and sharp polemicist, Teitelbaum combined extreme fanaticism with a forceful personality. His public stand and at times his actions gave rise to much dissension and opposition. He succeeded in gathering round him a large ḥasidic community, exercising authority over his Ḥasidim even in matters which were really political. His discourses and sermons, mainly devoted to an explanation of his position on various matters, could be regarded for the most part as polemics against the State of Israel.

In 1970 Teitelbaum founded *Kiryas Joel in Monroe, New York, where many of his tens of thousands of Satmar followers moved. After his death he was succeeded by his nephew Moshe Teitelbaum (1914–2006), who divided the control of the Williamsburg and Monroe Satmar communities between two of his sons: Rabbi AARON TEITELBAUM (1948–), chief rabbi of Satmar-Kiryas Joel, his eldest son, and Rabbi ZALMAN LEIB TEITELBAUM (1952–), chief rabbi of Satmar-Williamsburg, his third son.

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[Avraham Rubinstein]

TEITELBAUM, AARON (1890–1950), U.S. rabbi and communal worker. Teitelbaum was born in Jerusalem but was a citizen of the United States since his father had acquired American citizenship before Aaron's birth. After being ordained by R. Ḥayyim *Berlin and Rabbi A.I. *Kook in 1911, Teitelbaum proceeded to the United States and in 1914 was appointed secretary of the Union of Orthodox Rabbis of the U.S. and Canada. In this capacity he arbitrated in a labor dispute between the garment workers and their employers. On the outbreak of World War I Teitelbaum took the initiative in establishing the Central Relief Committee for relief work on behalf of rabbis and Orthodox institutions. Simultaneously the American Jewish Relief Committee was formed for general relief, and in November 1914 these two bodies, together with the Peoples' Relief Committee, amalgamated to form the *American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (the "Joint"), with Teitelbaum appointed to its executive. From this time until his death he was regarded as the representative of Orthodox Jewry in the Joint, and later in the Jewish Agency, being appointed a member of the Jewish Agency Council on its foundation in 1929 and a member of its Administrative Committee from 1929 to 1931. In 1918 he was appointed by Woodrow Wilson as the only Jewish member of the Hoover Commission, set up to investigate conditions in Europe and the Near East, serving as commissioner of relief, Near East Relief Mission. He used the authority of this position, and the large amounts of money made available to the Joint, to reestablish the yeshivot in Eastern Europe which had been destroyed during the war. Teitelbaum was responsible for persuading the State Bank of New York to buy up the whole issue of $150,000 in bonds issued by the municipality of Tel Aviv, the first transaction of this kind. In 1930 he returned to Jerusalem, but on the outbreak of World War II he returned to the United States to set up relief programs for European Jewry. He returned to Jerusalem in 1950, where he died the same year.

TEITELBAUM, ABRAHAM (1889–1947), Yiddish and English actor. Born in Warsaw, Teitelbaum worked in London with Maurice *Moscovitch. This led to his appearance in English in a West End production of *Cumberland's *The Jew*, and *Daughters of Shem* by Samuel Gordon and Carmel Goldsmid. After World War I he joined the *Vilna Troupe, and staged Eugene O'Neil's *Desire under the Elms* and Strindberg's *The Father.* In 1919 he went to New York and the rest of his career was spent at Schwartz's Jewish Art Theater.

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TEITELBOIM VOLOSKY, VOLODIA (1913–), Chilean politician. Born in Chillan, he became a lawyer in 1945 and was also a journalist and writer. He was editor of the Catholic daily *El Diario Ilustrado de Santiago.* He was active in the Communist Party from his youth and was one of the founders of the party's daily, *El Siglo.* He was a member of the Central Committee of the Chilean CP from 1946 and acted as a member of its Political Delegation for many years.

Between 1961 and 1965 he was an MP for Valparaíso.

Teitelboim was a poet, novelist, and author of several books. He was elected to the Senate in 1973 and following the fall of Allende settled in Moscow where he directed subversive activities against Pinochet. He returned to Chile when democracy was reestablished (1989). In the new democratic era, he wrote many books, including a biography of Pablo Neruda, of whom he was an intimate friend, and a two-volume autobiography.

[Moshe Nes El (2nd ed.)]

TEITLER, SAMUEL (1900–1990), Swiss jurist. Teitler, born in St. Gall into a family of Polish-Jewish origin, he graduated as a lawyer and lectured in law at the St. Gallen School (today university) for Economics and Political Science and was a prominent figure in the Swiss Social Democratic Party. A judge of the State Court of Appeals, he was appointed alternate judge of the Swiss Supreme Court in 1957. He was president of the St. Gallen Jewish community and a member of the central committee of the Swiss Zionist Federation. He was also president of the Swiss Friends of the Hebrew University. He established a philanthropic foundation in St. Gall. His bequest is in the Archiv fuer Zeitgeschichte, Zurich.

[Uri Kaufmann (2nd ed.)]

TEITSH, MOYSHE (1882–1935), Yiddish journalist, poet, novelist, and dramatist. Born near Vilna, Teitsh began his Yiddish career in 1902 under Abraham *Reisen's influence, becoming a journalist in Warsaw in 1904. His sad, autumnal lyrics and his short stories were popular before World War I, while after the 1917 Revolution he wrote proletarian lyrics and tales, a biblical drama, *David un Bathsheba* (1920), articles for the Moscow Yiddish daily *Emes*, and was the Moscow correspondent of the New York daily *Frayhayt* and the Buenos Aires daily *Di Prese*. From the mid-1920s, he reinvented himself as a prose realist devoted to pre-1917 Jewish life and contemporary events. His most significant books were *A Hoyf oyf Tshebotarske* ("A Courtyard on Tshebotarske," 1926) and *Der Toyt fun Khaver Vili* ("The Death of Comrade Willie," 1931); a selection of his 1903–23 writings, *Far Tsvantsik Yor* ("Twenty Years Ago") appeared in 1927; his selected works appeared posthumously in 1936.

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[Sol Liptzin / Gennady Estraikh (2nd ed.)]

TEITZ, (MORDECHAI) PINCHAS (1908–1995), U.S. rabbinic leader. Born in Subat, Latvia, where his father was the rabbi, Teitz studied at yeshivot of Slobodka and Telz, being ordained in 1931. He was active in communal work in Latvia, founding the Yavneh Yeshiva in Livani and the Yavneh youth movement in Latvia, and editing a newspaper, *Unzer Shtime.* He worked with Mordechai Dubin, a member of the Latvian parliament, and for a year with Rabbi Joseph Rosen, the Rogachover, in Dvinsk From his father, whose synagogue had a room for ḥasidim on one side, a room for *mitnaggedim* on the other, with the rabbi and his family living in rooms between the two, he learned to unite the community. From Dubin he learned how to get Jews and non-Jews to work together for shared benefit. From his father's brother, Rabbi Eliyahu Akiva Rabinowich, editor of *Ha-Peles* and *Ha-Modi'a*, with whom his family found refuge during WWI, he learned to analyze problems, to think of solutions and to turn them into reality.

A charismatic speaker, he came to the U.S. in 1933 with Rabbi Elijah M. Bloch to spend a year visiting major Jewish centers in behalf of Telz Yeshiva. Soon after he became rabbi of Elizabeth, N.J. He and his wife built a classic *kehillah*, starting with a *talmud torah,* a *mikveh*, and a day school in 1940, one of the first outside a major city. They united the various entities under the title Jewish Educational Center (JEC), which grew to include yeshivah high schools for boys and girls and a *kollel* for college students. In a unique structure for an American community, one rabbi led five synagogues and the JEC, all joined in one *kehillah*. He helped Princeton students found the Yavneh kosher dining hall at their university. He built two synagogues in Elizabeth, one in 1947, the second in 1955.

In 1953 he founded *Daf Hashavua*, a weekly radio broadcast of Talmud that continued until 1988. Tapes of the broadcasts were aired in other cities in the U.S. and Canada, and reached the U.S.S.R. on *Kol Zion la-Golah*. He also pioneered the use of long-playing records to teach Talmud with *Bas Kol*.

He was active in Va'ad Haẓẓalah, trying to rescue Jews during the Holocaust, spending two months in London and Paris in 1945 helping refugees. Beginning in 1944 he urged the American Jewish community to forge ties with Jews in the U.S.S.R. In 1964 he and his wife made the first of 22 trips to the Soviet Union. He raised money privately to bring physical and religious necessities to Jews behind the Iron Curtain, including special *siddurim* that would enable a Jew in Russia to learn to read Hebrew and to observe *mitzvot*. He obtained permission to bring in *tefillin* as long as one side would be transparent. He taught Rabbi Eliyahu Essas and worked with him and others to preserve cemeteries and restore the graves of great scholars.

He was treasurer of Ezras Torah for over 30 years and co-founder in 1980 of Merkaz Harabbanim, an effort to move young rabbinic couples out of the yeshivah and into the communities that needed them. His son, Rabbi Elazar Mayer Teitz, succeeded him as rabbi of the *kehillah* in Elizabeth.

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[Rivka Blau (2nd ed.)]

TEIXEIRA, PEDRO (c. 1570–c. 1650), Portuguese Marrano explorer and author. Born in Lisbon, Teixeira was one of the greatest travelers of his age, circumnavigating the globe during the years 1585–1601. His first journey, begun in 1585–86, took him to China and the Philippines, from there to the Americas, and finally back to Lisbon, in 1601; his second took him to India, Persia, and other parts of the Orient between the years 1603 and 1609, when he is thought to have settled in Antwerp. Teixeira published a detailed account of these travels, *Relaciones de Pedro Teixeira…* (Antwerp, 1610), containing data long considered authoritative. It was translated into French in 1681 and the first English version appeared in 1708–10. A complete English translation, *The Travels of Pedro Teixeira*, was published in 1902. The book is still held to be one of the most important sources of information about the Orient at the beginning of the 17th century. Apart from the descriptive material, it contains a history of the rulers of Persia and demographic information about the Jews of Baghdad, Aleppo, and Persia. In Baghdad, Teixeira found two or three hundred Jewish families, mainly poor people, living in a district of their own. Aleppo had a larger and wealthier community of a thousand families, for the most part merchants, but including also craftsmen, silversmiths, and lapidaries. The Jews managed the Aleppo mint and customs house and possessed an impressive synagogue. In the provinces of Persia, Teixeira located some 8,000–10,000 Jewish families. Teixeira is said to have arrived in Brazil in the early 1620s and to have led successful forays against the English and the Dutch. In July 1637, at the request of Philip III of Portugal (Philip IV of Spain), he undertook a journey of exploration in the country. In what was to be his last expedition, Teixeira set out from Pará (Belém) with a party of 2,000 men and made the first continuous voyage up the Amazon, finally reaching Quito after an adventurous trip lasting ten months. In the course of this journey he extended the boundaries of Brazil and established a line of demarcation between the Spanish and Portuguese possessions in South America. There are conflicting accounts of the last years of Teixeira's life. Some authorities claim that he finally became governor of Pará and died there; others maintain that he returned to Europe and settled in Antwerp, where he reverted to Judaism. A description of his expedition to the source of the Amazon is found in the *Nuevo descubrimiento del Gran Rio de la Amazonas* (1641).

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[Kenneth R. Scholberg]

TEIXEIRA DE SAMPAIO, ABRAHAM SENIOR (formerly Diego; 1581–1666), Portuguese Marrano nobleman. Born in Lisbon, Teixeira was the son of Dom Francisco de Melo, a gentleman of the Portuguese royal house, and Dona Antonia de Silva Teixeria, lady-in-waiting to the queen. In 1643 he moved to Antwerp, where he was appointed consul and paymaster for the government of Spain. After the death of his first wife, he married Dona Anna (Sarah) d'Andrade, a noblewoman who had borne him a son, Manoel, 20 years before. Soon after, Teixeira and, even more, his wife felt a compelling need to practice Judaism. They moved to Hamburg and there Teixeira and his sons were circumcised (c. 1648), creating a scandal in the Catholic world. The imperial Viennese court indignantly demanded the confiscation of Teixeira's property, assessed at over 250,000 crowns. The Hamburg senate, however, objecting to the loss of this new-found capital, thwarted its confiscation. Teixeira prospered, founding the international banking house that became known as Teixeira de Mattos. Taking a prominent part in Jewish public affairs, Teixeira in 1657 interceded with King Frederick III of Denmark to secure civil rights for the Jews of Glueckstadt, a Danish port on the Elbe. For a time he headed Hamburg's Sephardi congregation and in 1659 arranged for the construction of a new synagogue. When the officials of Hamburg's St. Michael Church asked him to acquire the copper sheets they needed for roofing, he did so and refused to accept payment. Called "the rich Jew," he maintained an aristocratic home, traveling in a luxurious carriage attended by a retinue of liveried servants. Whenever Queen Christina of Sweden visited Hamburg after 1654, she stayed in his home. From 1655 until his death he was resident diplomatic and financial minister for the Swedish crown, a post inherited by his son Manoel. Two charities founded by Teixeira and Sarah, one for poor brides and the other for captive Jews, continued to function in Hamburg into the 20th century.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: H. Kellenbenz, *Sephardim an der unteren Elbe* (1958), 278–300, 483; Graetz, Gesch, 4 (1894), 690; Roth. Marranos, 301; I. da Costa, *Noble Families among the Sephardic Jews* (1936), 81, 110.

[Aaron Lichtenstein]

TEIXEIRA PINTO, BENTO (c. 1545–1600), Portuguese Marrano author and martyr. The son of a New *Christian, Manoel Alvares de Barros, Teixeira Pinto was born in Oporto and educated at a Jesuit college. He evidently left Portugal as a youth and spent about 30 years in Brazil, where he became a teacher. In 1565 he accompanied Jorge de Albuquerque Coelho, the governor of Pernambuco (Recife) on a voyage to Lisbon in the course of which the two men were shipwrecked. This experience is described in Teixeira Pinto's *Relaçâo do naufrágio…* (1601), which was later republished in the *História Trágico-Marítima*, 2 (1736), and again in 1872. From 1584 he lived in Ilheús, Bahia. Teixeira Pinto was first denounced to the Inquisition in 1591–92 and again in January 1594, the charges including Judaizing and possessing of a copy of the pastoral novel *Diana* by the Converso author Jorge de Montemayor (see *Spanish and Portuguese Literature). After his arrest in August 1595, Teixeira Pinto was sent from Brazil to Lisbon. He appeared at an auto-da-fé in 1599 and died at the hands of the Inquisition the following year.

Teixeira Pinto is best known for his epic poem glorifying the city of Pernambuco, *Prosopopéa* (1601; ed. A. Peixoto, 1923). Though clearly influenced by the Portuguese poet Camões, it was the first literary work of note to be written in Brazil and was dedicated to Teixeiro Pinto's old traveling companion, the governor of Recife. Printed at the end of this volume is the emblem of a phoenix and a telling quotation from Song of Songs 8:6. The phoenix arising from its own ashes was the symbol of the Portuguese synagogue *Neveh Shalom* in Amsterdam, and its use in this book, published in Lisbon a year after the writer's death, would seem to have been intended as a gesture of defiant mockery of the Inquisition. Teixeira Pinto has been falsely credited with the authorship of the *Diálogos das Grandezas do Brasil*, which was probably the work of his contemporary and fellow-Marrano, Ambrósio Fernandes *Brandão.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: A. Wiznitzer, *Jews in Colonial Brazil* (1960), 20, 25, 28–32.

[Godfrey Edmond Silverman]

TEKA (**Tecanus**; **Techanus**), moneylender of diplomatic standing in Vienna at the beginning of the 13th century. In the peace treaty between Duke Leopold VI of Austria and King Andrew II of Hungary of 1225, Teka appears as the sole guarantor (*fideiussor*) of Leopold VI for the sum of 2,000 marks. In 1232 he is mentioned as "*comes camerae*" (royal fiscal agent) and possessor of a manor in Hungary. In 1235 real estate which had been donated to a monastery was designated as collateral in a loan he negotiated in conjunction with some Viennese burghers. At the time Teka had a house in Vienna.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: J.E. Scherer, *Rechtsverhaeltnisse der Juden in den deutsch-oesterreichischen Laendern*, 1 (1901), 126–7; MHJ, 1 (1903), index s.v. *Tekanus*; H. Gold (ed.), *Gedenkbuch der untergegangenen Judengemeinden des Burgenlandes* (1970), 7–9.

[Meir Lamed]

TEKHELET (Heb. תְּכֵלֶת; "blue"), *argaman* ("purple"), and *tola'at shani* ("*crimson worm") are frequently mentioned together in the Bible as dyestuffs for threads and fabrics, including the curtains of the Tabernacle (Ex. 26: 1), the veil (Ex. 26:31), the veil for the tent (Ex. 26: 31) and the ephod (Ex. 28:6). A thread of *tekhelet* had to be included in the fringes (Num. 15: 38). Princes and nobles wore garments of *tekhelet* (Ezek. 23:6) and it was used for the expensive fabrics in the royal palace (Esth. 1:6). The Tyrians were expert dyers with these materials (II Chron. 2:6; cf. Ezek. 27:7). According to the talmudic *aggadah*, the dwellers in Luz (a legendary locality) were experts in dyeing *tekhelet* (Sanh. 12a; Sot. 46b). *Tekhelet* was extracted from the *ḥillazon* – a snail found in the sea between the promontory of Tyre and Haifa (Shab. 26a; Sif. Deut. 354). Members of the tribe of Zebulun engaged in gathering it (Meg. 6a), and according to the Midrash, it is this which is referred to in that tribe's blessing that their inheritance would include "the hidden treasures of the sands" (Deut. 33: 19). The *baraita* notes that the *tekhelet* multiplies like fish, i.e., by laying eggs, "and comes up once in 70 years, and with its blood *tekhelet* is dyed, and that is why it is expensive" (Men. 44a; cf. Sif., *ibid.*). The statement reflects the fact that the snail reaches the shore in shoals infrequently and the extraction of the dye is a very expensive process. For this reason "a garment made wholly of *tekhelet*" was considered expensive and rare (Men. 39a, etc.).

The color of *tekhelet* was between green and blue and was thus described: "*Tekhelet* resembles the sea, the sea resembles grass, and grass resembles the heavens" (TJ, Ber. 1:5, 3a). It is like the color of the *leek. *Tekhelet* was usually dyed on wool (Yev. 4b). The color was fast and withstood oxidization (Men. 42b–43a). The best dye was obtained when extracted from live snails (Shab. 75a) and to make it fast various materials were added (Men. 42b). In the time of the Mishnah another dye, *kela ilan*, extracted from the Indian indigo plant, was introduced into Ereẓ Israel. This dye is very similar in color to *tekhelet* but is much cheaper. Thenceforth indigo was frequently used to counterfeit, and was sold as, *tekhelet*. Ways of testing to distinguish them were indeed suggested, but the *baraita* concluded that "There is no way of testing the *tekhelet* of *ẓiẓit*, and it should be bought from an expert" (Men. 42b). It is worthy of note that dyed *ẓiẓit* were discovered in the Bar Kokhba Caves. The testing of them by modern methods proved almost with certainty that they were in fact dyed with indigo – the aforementioned *kela ilan*. For all these reasons –

the high cost of *tekhelet*, the difficulty of gathering the snails and extracting the dye, and because of the fear of counterfeiting with *kela ilan* – some *tannaim* permitted *ẓiẓit* made without a thread of *tekhelet* (Men. 4:1; cf. Men. 38a). It is probable, however, that many continued to fulfill the biblical precept. In the time of the *amora* Abbaye, Jews still engaged in dyeing with the *tekhelet* and Samuel b. Judah, a Babylonian *amora* who had resided in Ereẓ Israel, explained the dyeing process to him. In the time of the *savora* Aḥai the differences between *tekhelet* and *kela ilan* were tested (Men. 42b). The Midrash, however, notes that "nowadays we only possess white *ẓiẓit*, the *tekhelet* having been concealed" (Num. R. 17:5).

Gershon Ḥanokh Leiner, the ḥasidic rabbi of Radzin, proposed in his books *Sefunei Temunei Ḥol* (1887) and *Petil Tekhelet* (1888) that the precept of the *tekhelet* in *ẓiẓit* be reintroduced. He came to the conclusion that *tekhelet* had been extracted from the cuttlefish, *Sepia officinalis* (*vulgaris*), which has a gland in its body that secretes a blue-black dye, and his suggestion was adopted by his followers. From the sources, however, it seems that the *tekhelet* dye was much lighter, and the descriptions of *tekhelet* in rabbinical literature do not fit this creature, which is common on the shores of Israel, its dye being neither expensive nor fast. It is also difficult to identify it with the *ḥillazon*. *Ḥillazon* in rabbinical literature is a land or sea snail (Sanh. 91a). Among the latter there are species in whose bodies is a gland containing a clear liquid, which when it comes into contact with the air becomes greenish: this is *tekhelet* which, after the addition of various chemicals, receives its purple color, the "royal purple" of literature. The Phoenicians in particular specialized in it, Phoenicia in Greek meaning the land of purple. Around Tyre and Ras-Shamra – the site of ancient Ugarit – large quantities of shells of the purple snail have been found. These belong to the species *Murex trunculus* and *Murex brandaris*, which are found along the length of the eastern shore of the Mediterranean and whose quantities change from time to time. A modern investigator extracted 1.4 gram of the purple dye from 12,000 such snails, thus explaining the high cost of the *tekhelet* and purple dyes. Isaac *Herzog, in a study of *tekhelet* ("The Dyeing of Purple in Ancient Israel," 1919; see bibliography), reached the conclusion that it was extracted from the snails *Janthina pallida* and *Janthina bicolor* that are found a considerable distance from the shore and only reach it at long intervals. This in his opinion explains the statement that the *tekhelet* comes up once in 70 years (Men. 44a). The dye extracted from these snails varies between violet blue and the blue of the heavens. Most investigators incline to the view that *tekhelet* and *argaman* were extracted from the *Murex* snails.

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[Jehuda Feliks]

TEKI'ATA (**Teki'to**; Heb. תְּקִיעָתָא, תְּקִיעוֹת), three series of scriptural verses included in the **Musaf* service of Rosh Ha-Shanah, designated **malkhuyyot, *zikhronot*, and **shofarot*, and concerned respectively with the Kingdom of Heaven, the remembrance of the Covenant, and the sounding of the horn of Redemption. Each series of verses concludes with an appropriate benediction: "Blessed art Thou … King of the whole earth…," "… Who remembers the Covenant," and "… Who hears the sound of the horn of his people Israel."

The *teki'ata* are first mentioned in the Mishnah of Rosh Ha-Shanah (4:5–6). According to the first opinion of the Mishnah, each of the series comprises ten verses – three from the Pentateuch, three from the Prophets, three from the Hagiographa, and a final verse from the Prophets. Another view expressed in the Mishnah, that of *Yose b. Ḥalafta, is that the final verse may also be from the Pentateuch. R. *Johanan b. Nuri maintained that each *teki'ata* should contain only three verses – one from the Pentateuch, one from the Prophets, and one from the Hagiographa. Halakhic practice conforms to Yose b. Halafta's opinion; and each *teki'ata* contains ten verses, the final one being from the Pentateuch. The Ashkenazi and French custom differs, however, in that the hagiographic verses in each series precede those from the Prophets. In the course of time, introductory *piyyutim* were added to the *teki'ata: Aleinu le-Shabbe'aḥ* and *Ve-Al Ken Nekavveh* before the *malkhuyyot, Attah Zokher* before the *zikhronot*, and *Attah Nigleita* before the *shofarot*. These introductions are attributed to *Rav (second and third centuries C.E.) and are therefore called *Teki'ata de-Rav* or *Teki'ata de-Vei Rav.*

In the age of the *paytanim* more *piyyutim* were added, corresponding to the theme of each *teki'ata*. It may be assumed that these *piyyutim* were first used as alternatives to those of Rav, but eventually both old and new were incorporated jointly into the liturgy. The oldest *piyyutim* are those of *Yose b. Yose (*Ahallelah* … Davidson, Oẓar, 1 (1924), 69 no. 1494). Saadiah b. Joseph Gaon praised them in his *siddur* (ed. by I. Davidson et al. (1941), 225), stating that he chose them in preference to all others. They have been adopted into the Ashkenazi and French rites; and so also have the *piyyutim* of Eleazar *Kallir. *Teki'ata* by Solomon ibn Gabirol beginning *Ansikhah malki* (Davidson, *ibid.*, 310 no. 6823) are also well known. Several *teki'ata* were discovered in the Cairo *Genizah*, outstanding among them being those composed by a Palestinian *paytan*, Mishael, who lived after Kallir; and still other *teki'ata* exist in manuscript.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Elbogen, Gottesdienst, 142, 216, 264; D. Goldschmidt (ed.), *Maḥzor le-Rosh Ha-Shanah* (1970), introd. 44–48.

[Abraham Meir Habermann]

TEKINALP, MUNIS (1883–1961), pseudonym and later officially adopted name of **Moiz Kohen**, political ideologue and economist. Born into an Orthodox Jewish family in Serres, Macedonia, he devoted his life and writings to promoting the political interests of the *Ottoman Empire, then those of the Republic of *Turkey. As a youngster, he went to *Salonika to study at the school run by the *Alliance Israélite Universelle, later in the Jewish Teachers' College (where he was ordained as a rabbi, although he never practiced), finally at the École Impériale de Droit. He lived in Salonika until 1912, when it was conquered by the Greeks; thereupon, he moved to *Istanbul, where he remained for most of his life.

Salonika and Istanbul were then hotbeds of intellectual activity and Moiz/Munis became involved in political writing for various Turkish newspapers, focusing on socioeconomic issues, socialism, nationalism and (briefly) Zionism; he even attended, as a delegate, the World Zionist Congress in Hamburg. He preached fraternization between Muslims and Jews via the complete Ottomanization of the latter, e.g., by urging Jews to adopt and employ Turkish rather than their communal languages (a subject to which he reverted frequently).

In addition to the above propaganda for the Turkification of Jews in the Ottoman Empire, then in the Republic of Turkey, Tekinalp's main writings were devoted to serve the advance of the empire, or of Turkey. Besides numerous newspaper articles in Turkish, French, and German, he wrote several books. *Türkismus und Pantürkismus* (1915), of which Turkish and English versions also exist, was an impassioned plea for saving the embattled Ottoman Empire through the mobilization of support by all peoples and groups of Turkic origins. *Türkleştirme* (i.e., Turkification) (1928; 2001^2) appealed to all ethnic minorities – and, most especially, to Jews – to integrate into the recently founded Republic of Turkey. *Kemalizm* (1936), translated a year later into French as *Le Kémalisme*, was the first detailed systematic analysis of Kemalism, the republic's new official ideology. Finally, *Türk Ruhu* (i.e., the Spirit of the Turks, 1944) presented his views on the Turkish past, present, and future.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: J.M. Landau, *Tekinalp, Turkish Patriot 1883–1961* (1984; Turkish translation 1996), includes bibliography; idem, *Pan-Turkism* (1881; 1995^2), index; L. Behmoaras, *Bir kimlik arayişinin hikâyesi* (2005).

[Jacob M. Landau (2nd ed.)]

TEKOA (Heb. תְּקוֹעַ), city of Judah connected with the family of Hezron, the son of Perez (I Chron. 2:24; 4:5). It was the birthplace of Ira the son of Ikkesh, one of David's "mighty men" (II Sam. 20:26; I Chron. 11:28; 27:9). From Tekoa came the wise woman who, at the instigation of Joab, persuaded David to pardon Absalom (II Sam. 14). Rehoboam included it in his line of fortifications; it is mentioned together with Etam and Beth-Zur (II Chron. 11:6). In this way, he hoped to safeguard the road leading from En-Gedi to Jerusalem; it proved effective later when Jehoshaphat warded off there an invasion of the Moabites and Ammonites who came from the Dead Sea (II Chron. 20:20). Jeremiah refers to Tekoa as being on the southern approaches to Jerusalem (6:1). It was renowned, above all, as the birthplace of the prophet Amos (1:1); in later times, his tomb was worshiped there and in the Byzantine period, a church was built in his honor, remains of which are still visible. According to the Greek version of Joshua 15:59, it was in the district of Beth-Lehem in Judah. After the return from the Babylonian exile, it was possibly the capital of one of the districts of Judah. The people of Tekoa – but not its nobles – repaired sections of the walls of Jerusalem, one part near the Old (Yeshanah) Gate, the other on the Ophel (Neh. 3:5, 6, 27). In the time of the Maccabean revolt, Bacchides fortified it (Jos., Ant., 13:15; I Macc. 9:50, as Tepho (Tappuah), which should be corrected to Theko). In the First Jewish War, it served as an encampment for Simeon Bar-Giora (Jos., Wars, 4:518) and later for Cerealis, the Roman commander (Jos., Life, 420). Eusebius places the village 12 mi. (c. 19 km.) from Aelia. It was a benefice of the Holy Sepulcher in Crusader times. It is identified with Khirbet et Tuquʿ, a ruin southeast of Bethlehem and 2,760 ft. (850 m.) above sea level. The site was surveyed by M. Kochavi in 1968 and by Y. Hirschfeld in 1981–82. The ruins cover an area of about 17 acres and overlook an ancient road leading to En Gedi. The visible ruins are mainly from the Byzantine period, with two churches, houses, and hostels or markets. Pottery found dates from the Hellenistic to medieval times.

[Michael Avi-Yonah / Shimon Gibson (2nd ed.)]

The modern Taqqūʿ is a Muslim-Arab village on the edge of the Judean Desert south of Bethlehem. In 1967 there were 1,362 inhabitants, growing to 4,890 in 1997. The nearby Jewish village of Tekoa was founded in 1975 as part of Gush Eẓyon and had a population of 1,179 in 2004.

[Efraim Orni]

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Suetterlin, in: PJB, 17 (1921), 31–46; Beyer, in: ZDPV, 54 (1931), 219; Avi-Yonah, Land, index. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** Y. Hirschfeld, *Archaeological Survey of Israel: Map of Herodium (108/2)* (1985), 39*: Site No. 37; Y. Tsafrir, L. Di Segni, and J. Green, *Tabula Imperii Romani. Iudaea – Palaestina. Maps and Gazetteer.* (1994), 248, s.v. "Thecoa I."

TEKOAH (Tuckachinsky), YOSEF (1925–1991), Israeli diplomat. Tekoah was born in Belorussia, but emigrated as a child with his family to Shanghai, where he graduated in law. He joined the Israel Foreign Service at the inception of the State and held the posts of deputy legal adviser to the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, legal adviser to the Israel Defense Forces on Armistice Affairs, and director of armistice affairs. In the last capacity he headed Israel's delegations to the Mixed Armistice Commissions with Egypt, Lebanon, Jordan, and Syria from 1948 to 1958.

In 1958 he was appointed deputy permanent representative of Israel to the United Nations with the rank of minister plenipotentiary, and from May 1959 was acting permanent representative. He served as ambassador of Israel to Brazil in 1960–62, and to the U.S.S.R. from 1962 to 1965. In 1966 he was appointed assistant director-general of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, and in January 1968 permanent representative to the United Nations. On his retirement in 1975 he was appointed president of the Ben-Gurion University of the Negev.

TEKUMAH (Heb. תְּקוּמָה; "Resurrection"), moshav in Israel's western Negev, 3 mi. (5 km.) N.W. of Netivot, affiliated with the Moshav Association of Ha-Po'el ha-Mizrachi. Tekumah was founded on Oct. 6, 1946, by survivors of the *Holocaust in Poland and Hungary, on a site 5 mi. (8 km.) further south, as one of the 11 settlements established in the same night in the South and the Negev. In 1949, the moshav moved to its present locality while the former site was taken over by moshav Sharsheret ("Chain"), also affiliated with Ha-Po'el ha-Mizrachi and composed of newcomers from Tunisia. In 1970 Tekumah had 248 inhabitants (including families from Romania) and Sharsheret 545; by the mid-1990s, Tekumah's inhabitants numbered 343, while Sharsheret's population dropped to 248, and at the end of 2002 the population of Sharsheret was 283 and Tekumah's 421. Farming in both settlements was partly irrigated and in Tekumah it included vegetables, flowers, citrus groves, sheep, and poultry, while Sharsheret's farming was based on honey production, vegetables, flowers, and citrus. One of the main pumping stations of the *Yarkon-Negev water pipeline was located nearby. Both moshavim had begun to expand and absorb newcomers.

[Efraim Orni / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

TEL ADASHIM (Heb. תֵּל עֲדָשִׁים), moshav in northern Israel, in the Jezreel Valley 3 mi. (5 km.) north of Afulah, affiliated with Tenu'at ha-Moshavim. In 1913, the site became Jewish property and members of *Ha-Shomer set up a camp there. In 1923 pioneers from Eastern Europe and Ha-Shomer veterans founded the moshav, which expanded after the *War of Independence (1948) with the settlement of new immigrants. In 1970 Tel Adashim numbered 400; in 2002, 477, with expansion subsequently underway. Farming consisted principally of flower growing. Other sources of livelihood were guest rooms, an events garden, and a hydraulic equipment plant. The name, literally "hill of lentils," was adapted from the Arabic name of the site.

[Efram Orni / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

TEL AVIV-JAFFA (Heb. תֵּל־אָבִיב-יָפוֹ), second biggest city in Israel, in the central part of the Coastal Plain, created in 1949 by the merger of Tel Aviv and *Jaffa. Tel Aviv itself, the "first all-Jewish city" (הָעִיר הָעִבְרִית הָרִאשׁוֹנָה) in modern times, was founded in 1909, originally as a garden suburb of Jaffa, but it evolved over several decades, particularly beginning from the 1930s, to become the largest urban settlement of the new *yishuv* and the core of conurbation which is, in fact, a kind of "megalopolis" stretching from *Herzliyyah in the north to *Reḥovot in the south. Tel Aviv-Jaffa is a bustling city, with 384,000 inhabitants in 1970 and 360,500 in 2002. The municipal area is around 20 sq. mi. (50 sq. km.). Tel Aviv-Jaffa serves as the business, entertainment, press and publishing center of the country. Despite efforts to transfer more and more government and administrative offices to Jerusalem, it remained the site of the Ministry of Defense and of the *Histadrut executive, and also contained, in the large perimeter of its conurbation, the towering diamond-exchange building and a great number of medium and small industries and workshops. It lacks a homogeneous character. Its oldest central part, originally (before World War I) an idyllic cluster of one-story family houses surrounded by gardens, with the Herzlia High School (the Gymnasia) as their center, is now an agglomeration of overcrowded, narrow streets of a typically Mediterranean character, whose old houses have disappeared to make room for office buildings, including several skyscrapers, among them what was once the tallest building in the Middle East – Migdal Shalom, on the original site of the Gymnasia. The southern parts of Tel Aviv are the poorest, housing – often in slum like buildings – tens of thousands of old-time immigrants, mostly from Afro-Asian countries. These immigrants streamed to Tel Aviv en masse in the early 1950s, due to their inability to adjust to the initially harsh conditions of agricultural settlement in the outlying parts of the country.

On the other hand, there are the newer parts of the city, from Allenby Road northward, and particularly the quarters and suburbs erected in the later 1950s and the 1960s. Among these are Ramat Aviv, which also houses *Tel Aviv University. These sections have had a Central and Western European, and often somewhat "Americanized," character. Tel Aviv's commercial and bohemian center was Dizengoff Street and it was, on the whole, the only place in Israel with a pronounced "metropolitan" rhythm of life. During the 1990s the bohemian center of Tel Aviv shifted to Shenkin Street and its surroundings farther south, where a diversified population of artists and secular and religious people lived together.

Tel Aviv has struggled with the typical problems of a city of its kind: sea and air pollution (an outmoded sewage system and the enlargement of its power station, "Reading D," whose character changed from an old, peripheral, out-of-town building into a modern plant with a huge chimney dominating large parts of the city), traffic jams, juvenile delinquency, beggars, etc. Politically, control of the municipal government of Tel Aviv was always a major objective of the contending parties, mainly in the tug-of-war between the Labor and non-Labor camps. Tel Aviv's main period of development from a suburb into a city occurred under the mayoralty of moderate non-Labor personalities, General Zionists such as Meir *Dizengoff and Israel *Rokach. However, in the 1960s its elections resulted in a Labor-dominated municipal council, with labor leaders such as Mordekhai *Namir occupying the post of mayor. Tel Aviv often evokes extremely contradictory feelings. There are people who flee from its noise and heat into quieter suburbs (thus diminishing the number of its inhabitants, though not of the conurbation as a whole), or those who regard it as a drab "upstart" in comparison with the eternity and beauty of Jerusalem. On the other hand, it has its devoted local patriots, including well-known poets, who have regarded it as a realistic embodiment of the renewed Jewish nation, consisting of the "ingathered exiles from all corners of the earth" and who are attracted by its very life and liveliness.

Background to Tel Aviv's History and Development

Tel Aviv attained its preeminent position in less than three decades after its founding. Its progress is particularly striking because modern conditions deprive it of most of the advantages which allowed Jaffa to thrive in antiquity: its straight, shallow shore is unsuitable for the construction of a modern port, and low, narrow sandstone ridges bar the cooling sea breeze, making the summer climate sultry, and impeding the drainage of rainwater from certain sections of the city. Only its location at a focal point of the country's communications network can be valued as a positive factor. Tel Aviv's phenomenal growth is therefore to be attributed to historical circumstances rather than to geographical assets. The fact that until 1948 Tel Aviv constituted the first and only modern all-Jewish city, while all the country's other towns had either a mixed or a totally non-Jewish population, gave the city its special character and imposed on it unique tasks in the *yishuv*'s social and cultural life – eventually making it the principal workshop for preparing Israel's independent statehood.

Tel Aviv's beginnings go back to the revival of the Jewish community of Jaffa in 1820. In that year, a Jewish traveler from Constantinople named R. Yeshaya Adjiman brought the first house in Jaffa into Jewish possession (among the local Arabs it soon became known as "Dār al-Yahūd," i.e., "the Jewish house," and it served as a temporary hostel for newcomers). The Dār al-Yahūd served as the nucleus around which grew the new Jewish community at the beginning of the 19th century. The first Jewish settlers were merchants and artisans originating from North Africa who preferred living from their own handiwork instead of being dependent on **ḥalukkah* in Jerusalem. In the second half of the 19th century, Jews coming from Europe attached themselves to the Sephardi community and laid the ground for the Ashkenazi community; the two communities were amalgamated in 1891. After the city wall was completely demolished in 1888, Jews began to live beyond the confines of Jaffa's Old City.

Throughout the ages, Jaffa served as the "gate to Zion," even in periods when it had no permanent Jewish inhabitants. Travelers and immigrants intending to settle in Jerusalem and the country's other "holy cities" entered the country via its port, which continued to constitute the gateway for the first two large waves of Zionist immigration, from 1882 onward. The First Aliyah caused a profound change in Jaffa's Jewish community. It was there that the first signs of "political Zionism" appeared, that the first Zionist public institutions were established, and that foundations were laid for both Hebrew education and Jewish industry. While Jaffa's Jewish community previously totaled about 1,000 persons, 5,000 new immigrants settled there, thronging the narrow and dirty lanes of the town and living in alien and often hostile surroundings where they were dependent on the whims of Arab landlords.

To alleviate their lot, the Jerusalemite Shimon *Rokach founded a welfare society named Benei Ẓion in 1884, simultaneously establishing (together with his brother Eliezer) a second society, Ezrat Israel, whose functions went beyond giving alms: it aided in establishing a hospital, and also initiated the building of Jaffa's first Jewish quarter, Neveh Ẓedek, in 1887. For this purpose, an area of about 14,000 sq. yds. was acquired from Aharon Chelouche, one of the founders of Jaffa's Jewish community. Jaffa Jews were delighted with this quarter, dubbing it "the Parisian houses," although with its narrow lanes, tightly packed houses, and absence of sanitary facilities, it differed little from Jaffa's other quarters. Its importance, however, lay in the fact that it assembled Jews in a geographical community framework based on fraternal relations. Jaffa's second Jewish quarter, Neveh Shalom, was founded in 1891 by Zeraḥ *Barnett. It extended over about 10,000 sq. yds., and was acquired from Arabs. The homes put up for sale remained empty until the rabbi of the Jaffa community, Naphtali Herz Halevi, bought the first house. Others followed him, and a *talmud torah*, Sha'arei Torah, was opened there in 1896 by the Ashkenazi community. The quarters soon combined their religious character with the new national spirit. Absorbing more inhabitants from among the Sephardi Jews, they expanded and linked up with each other and with Arab Manshiyeh. More Jewish quarters were added to Jaffa in 1904–05, including Maḥaneh Yosef, Kerem ha-Teimanim, and Ohel Moshe. The lands for this purpose had been secured by the founding families of the Jaffa Jewish community, such as Matalon, Moyal, and others.

The Second Aliyah arriving in those days swelled the community's numbers to 7,000, again making dwellings scarce in both the Arab and Jewish sectors and apartment rents excessive. This provided the impetus for founding another Jewish suburb within the boundaries of Jaffa's precincts. The idea had been in the air for a time and was forwarded from various sides, but practical results were achieved only in a meeting on July 5, 1906, which took place in the Yeshurun Club, Jaffa. It was attended by more than 100 Jaffa Jews, both veterans and new immigrants, including merchants, artisans, teachers, and members of other free professions. On the spot they founded an Aguddat Bonei Battim (House Builders' Society), elected a steering committee, and drew up a membership list. Later in the same year, with the number of members reaching 60, the society was renamed Aḥuzzat Bayit (Housing Property). Meanwhile, the Jaffa Jewish community had increased to 8,000, out of a total population of 47,000. The Anglo-Palestine Bank had opened its Jaffa office, as had the Palestine Office of the Zionist Organization under Arthur Ruppin (1908), and the E.L. Lewinsky Seminary for women teachers, all strengthening the middle-class and intellectual element in the community.

The founders' idea was to establish a garden suburb where they could retire every evening after their day's work in noisy Jaffa. It was to be modeled after similar suburbs of European cities, and was not regarded as an extension of the original Jaffa as the earlier Jewish quarters had been. This firm resolution ultimately transformed the small garden settlement of Aḥuzzat Bayit into the "first all-Jewish city." When the founders prepared the basis for urban development, they could hardly hope to be reckoned as Zionist pioneers, as the Zionist Movement then directed its resources exclusively toward agricultural settlement. They also had to overcome the numerous obstacles placed in their path by the Turkish authorities. The members deposited the sum of 100,000 francs with the Anglo-Palestine Bank in order to purchase the "Karm Jabali" land northeast of Jaffa. The society also obtained a loan of 300,000 francs from the Jewish National Fund Head Office in Cologne, in order to construct the first 60 houses. On April 11, 1909, the housing plots were portioned out by lottery, at a meeting on the Aḥuzzat Bayit land which was henceforth regarded as Tel Aviv's founding day.

Within a year, the suburb's main streets – named after *Herzl, *Aḥad Ha-Am, *Judah Halevi, *Lilienblum, and *Rothschild – were laid out, the first 60 houses were completed, and the foundations were prepared for the Herzlia Gymnasia. On May 21, 1910, the suburb's name was changed to Tel Aviv, based on the name of a Babylonian city mentioned in Ezekiel 3:15, and chosen by Nahum Sokolow as the title of his Hebrew translation of Herzl's novel *Altneuland*.

1909–1917

Until World War I, Tel Aviv grew as more small suburbs came into being around the first nucleus: in the east, Naḥlat Binyamin (named after Edmond de Rothschild) and Merkaz Ba'alei Melakhah (Artisans' Center), and in the north, Ḥevrah Ḥadashah (New Society, later becoming Allenby Street) and Ge'ullah. The last brought Tel Aviv's area up to the seashore, and the former created the contact with the Neveh Ẓedek and Neveh Shalom quarters. Until 1914, Tel Aviv's area had increased 20-fold to over 1,000 dunams, and its population had grown from 300 to 2,026. There were 182 houses, mostly one-story. Zionist institutions began to move out of Jaffa to Tel Aviv.

The war halted the town's progress. The attitude of the Turkish authorities deteriorated from suspicion to open hostility. Tel Aviv's local council tried to meet emergencies by providing food for local and other Jews, speeding their naturalization as Turkish citizens, regulating their mobilization for the Turkish army, etc. Official hostility culminated in the wholesale expulsion of the Jews from both Jaffa and Tel Aviv on March 28, 1917. The evacuees were absorbed in the moshavot of the country's interior, and some of them migrated as far as Damascus and Egypt. The few people remaining in Tel Aviv set up an "emigrants' committee," and formed a guardsmen's group to protect the evacuees' property.

1918–1939

On Nov. 16, 1917, Jaffa and Tel Aviv were occupied by British forces. Soon after the Jews could return, and a year later they joyfully celebrated the end of the war. In 1919, young penniless immigrants of the Third Aliyah came to Tel Aviv but found neither housing nor work. Tents were put up for them on the seashore and elsewhere. The Arab riots which broke out in Jaffa on May 1, 1921, caused many Jews to abandon their homes and shops and seek refuge in Tel Aviv. Hundreds of these families were also temporarily housed in tent camps on newly acquired lands of the later New Commercial Center – the "Merkaz Misḥari," the Tschlenow quarter, and the "Homeless' Quarter," or Nordiyah. Jaffa remained without Jewish merchants. On May 11, 1921, Tel Aviv was accorded "town council" status with partial administrative and judicial autonomy, and the right to maintain a local police force. A municipal court was set up, as well as a fire brigade and a first aid station. For municipal transportation, small buses of the "Sunbeam" type were introduced. In 1922, six quarters of Jaffa, among them Neveh Ẓedek and Neveh Shalom, were annexed to Tel Aviv, whose population reached 15,000. A year later a power station was opened by the Palestine Electric Corporation (founded by Pinḥas *Rutenberg), and electric lights replaced hurricane lamps.

In 1924, the Fourth Aliyah composed mostly of middle-class elements from Poland began to arrive, and many of its members took up residence in Tel Aviv, establishing small industries in its southern reaches (Wolowelsky Street, Givat Herzl). In 1925, the town's population had jumped to 34,000, construction of houses progressed rapidly, and the southern Tschlenow, Schapira, and Neveh Sha'anan quarters came into being. Cultural institutions, such as Habimah, the Ereẓ Israel Opera, and the Kumkum satirical theater group were founded. The *Histadrut and its local council (Mo'eẓet Po'alei Yafo) became an important factor in the city's development. The built-up area expanded in two directions, southeast and north, as the first three-story houses began to appear, and a commercial center crystallized along the Tel Aviv-Jaffa and Petaḥ Tikvah roads, and Herzl and Naḥalat Binyamin streets. A break in this quick expansion came with the economic crisis of 1927–30, which affected particularly the middle class of the Fourth Aliyah, caused many of the new enterprises to close down and unemployment to spread, and brought building activities to a halt.

Between the 1920s and 1940s, the city's expansion was constricted in the east and southeast by the Arab villages of Sumeil, Salameh, etc., and the German colony of Saronah, with their plantation belt. The inhabitants of these areas, enjoying mounting prosperity thanks to the expanding market in the nearby city, saw no reason to sell their land even at speculative prices. This left the narrow strip of sand dunes and sandstone ridges in the north as the principal reserve for the city's growth. To overcome the haphazard expansion which had followed opportunities of land acquisition, the British town planner Sir Patrick Geddes was invited in 1925 to prepare a blueprint. Although he knew that the original idea of Aḥuzzat Bayit as a garden suburb had by then become obsolete, he followed the old layout of two north-directed main roads, extending Ben Yehudah and Dizengoff beyond Bograshov Street to the Yarkon River bed, thus bringing the south-north length of Tel Aviv to over 3 mi. (5 km.), while the west-east width measured only a few hundred meters. The short side streets in the latter direction became blind alleys, often ending in tennis and other sports courts. This layout made services (communications, water, electricity) relatively expensive for the city's northern part. The shortage of building ground engendered land speculation, making north Tel Aviv the domain of the relatively well-to-do, who could afford higher apartment rents.

After the economic crisis, a new development arrived with the Fifth Aliyah from Germany, which began in 1933 and reached its high point in 1935. The newcomers brought managerial and technical know-how, as well as financial means. The city's population leaped from 45,564 in 1931 to 120,000 in 1935. The building and industrial prosperity attracted laborers and professionals from the moshavot and from other urban centers to Tel Aviv. The establishment of larger industrial enterprises was aided by the *Haavara agreement, which enabled immigrants from Central Europe to transfer to Palestine part of their capital in the form of goods and machines. The last remnants of the Aḥuzzat Bayit suburb disappeared, with industry taking up more of the city's southern reaches. On May 12, 1934, Tel Aviv was officially recognized as a city, receiving municipal corporation status. It increasingly became the *yishuv*'s economic, financial, political, and cultural center. The Philharmonic Orchestra was founded, the Tel Aviv Museum was opened in the home of the city's long-time mayor, Meir Dizengoff, and the cornerstone was laid for the Habimah building. Tel Aviv severed its last ties with Jaffa. Its growth continued, bringing its population in 1939 to 160,000 inhabitants, who then constituted 35.9 percent of Palestine's total Jewish population.

1939–1948

While World War II paralyzed building, it stimulated the city's industrial development, as enterprises had to be geared to the production of goods for the Allied war effort. Urban and interurban communications improved with the opening of the Central Bus Station in south Tel Aviv in 1942. In 1943 the Palestine high commissioner issued an order doubling Tel Aviv's municipal area from 630 hectares (1,556 acres) to 1,260 hectares (3,112 acres), whereby both the rest of Jaffa's Jewish quarters in the south and vacant land in the north were included in its boundaries. During the same period, the seat of all the country's Hebrew newspapers and of most of its publishing houses also became the center of the *yishuv*'s political life and its defense activities. A "civil guard" was established. The anti-Zionist policy of the British authorities was violently opposed. The first "illegal" immigrant ships (*Patria, Tiger Hill*) anchored off Tel Aviv's shore. The city played a prominent role and suffered much in the struggle with the British authorities after World War II, when both the *Haganah and the dissident underground organizations (IẒL and Leḥi) had their headquarters there.

When Israel's *War of Independence broke out, Tel Aviv numbered 210,000 inhabitants. While in the first months of the war the city was incessantly shelled from Jaffa's Arab quarters, which interlinked with Tel Aviv's central sections, the situation changed dramatically after the conquest of Jaffa, the flight of the great majority of its Arab inhabitants, and the signing of its capitulation in the Tel Aviv Haganah headquarters on May 13, 1948. One day later the State of Israel was proclaimed in Tel Aviv's museum building.

From 1949

The city renewed its expansion even before the war ended: on April 24, 1949, Tel Aviv's and Jaffa's areas were amalgamated, and the city's official name became Tel Aviv-Jaffa; one of the world's youngest cities had thus incorporated one of its oldest. Simultaneously, abandoned Arab villages in the east and northeast (Shaikh Muwannis, Jamūsin, Sumail) were also included in the united city's boundaries, whose area thus grew to 4,242.5 hectares (over 10,000 acres). Although the incorporation of Jaffa – with its destitute, empty quarters, dilapidated structures, and winding lanes – demanded great efforts in reconstruction, the new areas added to Tel Aviv opened vistas in rational planning. Building quality improved perceptibly from the 1950s. In that decade the first suburbs north of the Yarkon River came into being (Yad ha-Ma'avir, Ẓahalah, etc.). From the early 1960s, multistoried structures began to go up, particularly in the center of the city. The focus of social and commercial life gradually shifted northward and particularly northeast, from Naḥalat Binyamin Street and Allenby Road to Ben-Yehuda Road, Dizengoff Square, Dizengoff Road, and Ibn Gabirol Road, where the new municipality building was erected. Tel Aviv's waterfront (Ha-Yarkon Street) became, with the construction of large hotels, the country's primary center of tourism.

The flight of most of Jaffa's 100,000 Arab inhabitants (of whom only 4,000 remained in the summer of 1948 – 2,000 of them Muslim Arabs, 1,500 Christians, and the rest Armenians and others) enabled the united city to house, often under difficult conditions, the first great wave of postwar immigration. In the 1950s, 65,000 Jews lived on Jaffa's 6,050 hectares (14,943 acres). A joint body was set up by the government and the municipality in the 1960s to deal with Jaffa's reconstruction. Under its auspices, thousands of families were transferred from its slum quarters to new housing projects; the swampy ground of the Basa and Givat Aliyah quarters was drained; public gardens were planted; and educational, youth, sports, and cultural facilities were installed. The Jaffa Hill ("Ha-Shetaḥ ha-Gadol") was transformed into an attractive tourist, art, and entertainment center, with its ancient structures refitted to house galleries, restaurants, and nightclubs; and a park was planted on the steep hill slope adjoining Jaffa Museum and the churches, mosques, and archaeological excavation grounds of Jaffa Hill.

Among Tel Aviv's ambitious projects begun between 1968 and 1971, the following are outstanding: the "Lamed" project, a housing zone on the poor sandy soil stretching north from the Yarkon River to the outskirts of Herzliyyah; other housing zones in the north, east, and southeast (Tel Kabbir, Givat ha-Temarim, Neveh Afekah, Neveh Sharett); two new industrial zones, one of which, in the north, was reserved for science-based enterprises; and the planting of more parks and recreation grounds, among them one covering 180 hectares (444 acres) in the "Lamed" zone, and another, the Histadrut Park, in the south. Particular attention was paid to easing transportation problems: a huge, seven-story Central Bus Station with 2,691,000 sq. ft. (250,000 sq. m.) of floor space was built in the city's south. An arterial, multilane speed road, called the Netivei Ayyalon (since it makes use of the bed of the Ayyalon) simultaneously serves for rainwater drainage from low-lying areas and thus prevents inundations. Tel Aviv's port was transformed into a recreation and commercial center after the opening of the Ashdod port in 1966.

Over the years, Tel Aviv's population declined due to two main factors: lack of land for new neighborhoods, and the resulting high prices for apartments. In order to solve this problem, the municipality promoted the construction of high-rise apartment buildings, which now dominate the city's skyline.

Tel Aviv-Jaffa in the 21st century continues to maintain its position as the economic and cultural center of Israel. The city's industry moved to other places, but it still serves as a business and commercial center in which economic institutions such as main banking offices and the stock market are located. Each day about a million people work in Tel Aviv-Jaffa. In addition, the majority of foreign embassies are located there. As a cultural center, the city houses four theaters (Habimah, the Cameri, Beit-Lessin, and Gesher); three major museums (Tel Aviv Museum of Art, Eretz Israel Museum, and Beit Hatefusoth) and many small museums and art galleries; the Israel Opera; the Israel Philharmonic Orchestra; and the Suzanne Dellal Center for Dance and Theater. The main newspapers have their main offices in Tel Aviv. The city is also a center for tourism, with 60 hotels and 5,000 rooms.

In July 2003, UNESCO named Tel Aviv a world heritage site, thanks to the city's unique Bauhaus architecture, which has caused it to be called "the white city."

The Tel Aviv Conurbation

Tel Aviv's municipal boundary, contiguous with satellite towns almost in its entire length, merges with them into a solid built-up area for 7 mi. (12 km.) in the east and even larger distances from north to south. In the east, the satellite chain stretches through Givatayim and Ramat Gan and reaches Petaḥ Tikvah. In the south, the cities of Ḥolon and Bat Yam link up with Jaffa. In the southeast only the fields of the Mikveh Israel farming school form a curtain of green between the mother city and the industrial or semi-industrial centers of Azor, Bet Dagan, etc. In the northeast, Ramat ha-Sharon forms the continuation of Tel Aviv's new suburbs and connects them with the town of Herzliyyah. The communities of Ra'anannah, Hod ha-Sharon, Kefar Sava, Petaḥ Tikvah, Yehud, Or Yehudah, Lydda, Ramleh, Rishon le-Zion, Nes Ẓiyyonah, and Reḥovot form the "outer ring." With the relatively small decrease of the population of Tel Aviv proper in the 1960s, there was a simultaneous rapid expansion of the southern satellites in the same decade (Bat Yam 7% annually, Holon 6.2%), while the growth in the east was more modest (Bene-Berak 4.1%, Givatayim 3.6%, Ramat Gan 2.2%). In 1970 the conurbation contained over 30% – and together with the outer ring over 42% – of the State of Israel's population (not including the regions under Israel administration after June 1967). In 2003, the Tel Aviv conurbation included 1,167,500 inhabitants, consisting of 17.3% of Israel's population.

[Hanna Ram / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

Tel Aviv's mayors:

Meir Dizengoff (1921–1925)
David Bloch (1925–1927)
Meir Dizengoff (1928–1936)
Israel Rokach (1936–1952)
Chaim Levanon (1953–1959)
Mordechai Namir (1959–1969)
Yehoshua Rabinowitz (1969–1974)
Shlomo Lahat (1974–1993)
Ronnie Milo (1993–1998)
Ron Huldai (1998–)

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TEL AVIV UNIVERSITY (TAU), Israel university. Its name was first established in 1956, but its antecedents go back to 1935, when the Tel Aviv School of Law and Economics was established. In 1953 and 1955 the Tel Aviv municipality founded University Institutes of Biological Studies and of Jewish Studies, which in 1956 referred to themselves as faculties of Tel Aviv University. In the late 1950s, the Tel Aviv School of Law and Economics became a branch of the Hebrew University faculties of Law and Economics. In 1956 this branch, together with the faculties of Biological and Jewish Studies, were combined into Tel Aviv University, first as a municipal institution and, from 1962, as an autonomous body supported by the municipality, the government, and friends in Israel and abroad. The new university grew rapidly from about 1,650 students in 1962–63 to some 29,000 in 2005–06 – the largest in Israel – with an academic staff of around 1,200.

In 2004–05, the university comprised nine faculties, over 100 departments, three super-centers and over 90 research institutes. The faculties were of Humanities (including schools of Jewish Studies, History, Cultural Studies, and Education); of Law; Engineering; Exact Sciences (with schools of chemistry, physics and astronomy, and mathematical sciences); Life Sciences; Faculty of Management (including the Graduate School of Business Administration); Faculty of Social Sciences, including school of Economics and Social Work); Medicine (embodying schools of Medicine, Dental Medicine, the Continuing Medical Education, and the School of Health Professions); and the Faculty of Arts (including the School of Architecture and the Rubin Israeli Academy of Music).

TAU's encouragement of interdisciplinary research is reflected in its three super-centers, involving faculty from various fields. These are the Adams Brain Studies, Cardiac Research and Medical Engineering, and Ecological and Environmental Studies. The university's 220-acre campus at Ramat Aviv comprises faculties and research institutes, students' dormitories and facilities, a sports center, zoological and botanical gardens, an art gallery, and a statue garden. The university owns and operates the Wise Observatory near the Ramon crater in the Negev, and takes part in research at the Steinitz Interuniversity Institute Marine Laboratories in Eilat.

The university encourages communal involvement of students and staff. It operates a clinic providing legal aid in criminal cases, a center for legal advice on human rights, a clinic for ecology legal counseling, and community theater programs. Some 2,000 students were tutoring disadvantaged children, and many provided volunteer services to the elderly and aid the community through several social involvement programs.

TAU has special links with Jewish communities abroad, offering programs of Jewish studies to teachers and students from various countries. It is also involved in Jewish special education, research and teaching worldwide. The university also maintains academic supervision over a few academic institutions in the Tel Aviv area: the Center for Technological Design in Holon, the New Academic College of Tel Aviv-Yaffo, and the Tel Aviv Engineering College. The university also awards each year the Dan David Prize (three prizes, each $1 million) for achievements having an outstanding scientific, technological, cultural or social impact on our world.

The Overseas Student Program gives students from abroad the opportunity to study at Tel Aviv University for limited periods. The program is available in English and Spanish, and offers a wide choice of courses. Students may elect to combine university study with kibbutz experience. Other study opportunities for students from abroad are a Graduate Program in Middle Eastern Studies, a Summer Law Program, the Sackler School of Medicine New York State/American Program, the Medical Elective program, and the Wharton-Recanati-INSEAD-York Project in Management.

The Middle East peace process and ensuing regional cooperation opportunities are important research fields at the university, notably through its research institutes – mainly the Dayan Center for Middle Eastern and African Studies, the Jaffee Center for Strategic Studies, the Steinmetz Center for Peace Research, the Curiel Center for International Studies, and the Hammer Fund for Economic Cooperation in the Middle East.

The university has a Board of Governors, headed by Michael H. Steinhardt in 2005, which has an international membership of scientists, scholars, entrepreneurs, and public figures. The board elects the president (Prof. Itamar *Rabinovich, elected in 2003), vice presidents, chancellor of the university (Sir Leslie Porter), and the executive council, of which Dov Lautman is chairman. The supreme academic body is the Senate, which elects the rector (Prof. Shimon Yankielwics) and vice rector, approves elections of deans, and deals with all major academic issues. Website: www.tau.ac.il.

TELENESHTY (Rom. **Telenești**), town in Central Moldova in the region of Bessarabia. Teleneshty was founded at the end of the 18th century by Jews invited by the estate's owner. In 1794, a *ḥevra kaddisha* was founded, the register of which was preserved until World War II. In 1796 the owner of the estate concluded an agreement with the Jews laying down their privileges and obligations and fixing the amount of taxes to be paid for wine and spirits brought into the place and sold there. The community grew during the 19th century as a result of the large Jewish immigration to Bessarabia. In 1897 there were 3,876 Jews (89% of the total population), many of them engaging in viniculture, wine processing, and tobacco production. The 636 members registered in 1925 in the local fund included 205 tradesmen, 188 artisans, and 156 farmers. In 1930 there were 2,811 Jews in Teleneshty (73.9% of the total population). The communal institutions included a hospital founded in 1870. The community was destroyed when the Germans and Romanians invaded Bessarabia in July 1941. In the late 1960s the Jewish population was estimated at about 800. There was no synagogue. The writer S. *Ben-Zion was born and began his literary activities in Teleneshty which is described in his story "*Nefesh Reẓuẓah*" ("A Crushed Soul", 1952).

[Eliyahu Feldman]

TELEVISION AND RADIO.

In the U.S.

In the U.S. Jews have played a major role in the development of television and radio as they have in other entertainment industries. They have been well represented in all executive and technical aspects of the industry, as well as among performers. As in motion pictures, one factor encouraging their participation was the development of a new field at a time when Jews were available to enter it, and for which they had a penchant. It was not encrusted with fixed traditions and prejudice. In an era when discrimination blocked opportunity for Jews in many other fields, broadcasting had room for those with individual ability and original ideas and initiative.

In the early days of the development of broadcasting, Jewish inventors, experimenters, and promoters already played significant roles. As early as 1877 Emile *Berliner patented a telephone receiver which produced a clear sound and extended the range of communications. This was the forerunner of the microphone and was purchased by the Bell Telephone Company, which engaged Berliner for three years as the company's chief instrument inspector. Berliner also made important inventions for the gramophone, replacing the cylinder with a flat disc made of hardened rubber material that could be produced cheaply in large quantities. The Berliner gramophone was developed into the Victor Talking Machine.

Jews held key positions in the emergence and shaping of the three major U.S. networks. David *Sarnoff started the first U.S. radio chain, the National Broadcasting Company, in 1926 as a service of the Radio Corporation of America. He became president of RCA in 1930. When he retired in 1970, he was succeeded by his son Robert, who had earlier served as president of NBC. Comparable in influence and competitive to NBC is the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) which was founded under the presidency of William S. *Paley two years after NBC was organized. Both NBC and CBS pioneered in the introduction of television – black-and-white and later color. The third major network, the American Broadcasting Company (ABC), was an outgrowth of the NBC network. It was bought out by United Paramount Theater, and Leonard H. Goldenson became its president. Apart from the heads of the major networks, many Jews worked at all levels in the organizations as well as in the smaller networks, educational services, local stations, etc.

Many Jews came to the fore as radio and television stars. Such stars as Al *Jolson, Ed Wynn, Eddie *Cantor, Jack Benny, Groucho *Marx, Milton Berle, and Sid Caesar became top entertainment figures in the new media, and personalities such as Walter *Winchell, David Susskind, and Leonard *Bernstein became household names. In addition, there were popular Jewish situation comedies, notably "The Goldbergs," in which Gertrude Berg starred for years. Producers such as David Wolper achieved great influence. Many Jewish communities sponsored their own regular shows which brought local and general Jewish news, reports from Israel, and Jewish music. Another feature in towns with large Jewish populations was the presentation of programs in Yiddish (such as on the New York station WEVD, owned by the *Jewish Daily Forward*) and sometimes in Hebrew.

As part of their responsibility, radio and television outlets devoted part of their time to public service programs, some of which have been religious. In this framework Jewish organizations shared time with representatives of other religions. NBC and ABC worked with the Jewish Theological Seminary to present programs of interest to both the Jewish community and to non-Jews ("The Eternal Light," "Frontiers of Faith") and CBS worked with the New York Board of Rabbis (similar arrangements were made with rabbis in other major towns). The American Jewish Committee, the Anti-Defamation League, and other Jewish organizations maintained relationships with the broadcasting media within the scope of their areas of interest.

By the end of the 20th century and beginning of the 21st, Jews had assimilated into the television and radio industries as the companies became part of larger corporations. At one point, when the Disney Corporation owned ABC, its president was Michael *Eisner. At CBS, Leslie *Moonves, a Jew, held the reigns and at NBC Jeff *Zucker was in the second-highest post at the network. On radio, one personality who emerged was Howard *Stern, who, saying he was fighting censorship, moved his controversial programs to Sirius satellite radio, avoiding governmental oversight.

In Latin America, where the emphasis was more on independent stations than on networks, Jews played a small role in broadcasting of Jewish interest. The type of programming, however, was such that many communities were able to sponsor regular programs in Spanish, Portuguese, and Yiddish.

In Europe

In Europe, regular Jewish broadcasts were directed mainly to Jewish audiences abroad and not to the domestic Jewish population. In fact, these broadcasts could rarely be heard in the countries of origin, their main object being the projection of a particular line of thought or political policy in other regions. The Hebrew Service of the BBC ("Kol London") continued daily for 19 years, from 1949 to 1968. Its main purpose was the projection of British political thought and culture. It was beamed not only to Israel and the Middle East but also to Eastern Europe.

A daily Yiddish broadcast from Bucharest, Romania, to the United States covered current affairs and news and often included matters of specifically Jewish interest. During the period of the Six-Day War, Moscow started broadcasting in Hebrew and Yiddish (15 minutes each). This daily broadcast was listed as transmitted by "Radio Station Peace and Progress." It was beamed to Israel and devoted to promoting official Russian policy on the Middle East. The Yiddish broadcasts were almost the same as those in Hebrew.

Radio Birobidjan also sent out a broadcast in Yiddish, but it could hardly be heard outside its area. It had practically no Jewish content, except for occasional reviews of new editions of **Sovetish Heymland* (the Yiddish monthly published in Moscow) and occasional interviews with Jewish workers in the territory's industry and agriculture on their achievements. Jewish records were also played.

The French Overseas Radio directed its daily Yiddish broadcasts to Eastern Europe. It contained a daily news bulletin and a commentary on current affairs.

All the broadcasts mentioned fell into the category of foreign or external broadcasting. Jewish communities in Europe had few special programs, either on radio or television, devoted entirely to Jewish affairs or matters of Jewish interest. Only now and again was a program of specifically Jewish interest presented, and then it usually came under the heading of "religious broadcasting." One of the best known was a regular program over the French television network.

In Britain, there were very few Jewish names among the radio or television "personalities" appearing regularly before a camera or a microphone. Among those better known was the actor David Kossoff and the compere David Jacobs. Jews who reached important positions in radio or television were engaged mainly in scriptwriting, production, and administration. John Jacobs (David's brother) became head of drama at Anglia Television in 1964. In the field of current affairs, Jeremy Isaacs became known for his work on programs like "This Week" (Rediffusion) and "Panorama" (BBC). Elkan Allan, writer and producer, was head of entertainment of Rediffusion Television from 1962 to 1965. Cyril Bennett (d. 1977) became controller of programs at London Weekend Television and Brian Tessler director and program controller of ABC Television. Among the prominent administrators were Lord (Sidney) Bernstein, chairman of Granada Television Ltd., Sir Lew Grade, joint managing director of Associated Television Ltd., and Bernard Delfont, TV executive and impresario.

[Erwin Bienenstok]

For Israel, see *Israel, State of: Cultural Life (Radio; Television).

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TEL ḤAI (Heb. תֵּל־חַי), settlement in N. Israel, on the N.W. rim of the Ḥuleh Valley, S. of Kefar Giladi. Tel Ḥai, founded in 1918, was originally one of three outposts established in this area to guard outlying Jewish land. The "Shepherd's Group" of *Ha-Shomer Association constituted the first settlers; one year later this group dispersed and another took its place. After the Ḥuleh Valley was marked for inclusion in the French Mandate territory of Syria, Arabs revolting against the French attacked the cluster of small Jewish settlements there. Joseph *Trumpeldor and seven comrades fell in the defense of Tel Ḥai on 11 Adar 5680 (1920). His last words, "It is good to die for our country," are engraved on the pediment of the statue of a roaring lion marking their grave. The defense of Tel Ḥai has become a part of Israel's national lore, and each year Tel Ḥai day is celebrated by youth gatherings and visits to Tel Ḥai and similar sites. In 1926 the settlement compound was merged with *Kefar Giladi. The original quadrangular compound was preserved, and a youth hostel and a *Haganah museum were set up there. The name Tel Ḥai means roughly "hill of life," a hebraicized version of the former Arabic name Talḥa.

[Efraim Orni]

TEL KAẒIR (Heb. תֵּל קָצִיר), kibbutz in northern Israel, S.E. of Lake Kinneret, affiliated with Iḥud ha-Kevuẓot ve-ha-Kibbutzim. Tel Kaẓir was founded in 1949 by members of the Israel Scout Movement on a site which had served during the *War of Independence (1948) as an advanced fortified enemy position in the Syrian attack on the Jordan Valley settlements. Until the *Six-Day War (1967), Tel Kaẓir, lying close to and beneath the Syrian positions beyond the border, was continually subject to Syrian attacks. While the gravest danger was overcome when the Golan Heights fell to Israel's forces in June 1967, the kibbutz continued to lie within artillery range from beyond the Jordanian border in the south. In 1967 kibbutz lands to which the Syrians had barred all access were reclaimed and intensively cultivated. Bananas, fruit orchards, dairy cattle, poultry, and ostrich raising constituted its prominent branches of farming. The kibbutz also developed a tourism industry, including a holiday resort, guest rooms, and organized trips. In the mid-1990s, Tel Kaẓir's population numbered 364, dropping to 225 in 2002. The name, meaning "Mound of Harvest," was adapted from the former Arabic name of the site.

[Efram Orni / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

TELLER, EDWARD (1908–2003), physicist, U.S. citizen from 1941. Teller was born in Budapest but left Hungary because of Horthy's quota system for university entrance, ostensibly to study chemistry in the Karlsruhe Technical Institute (1926). He changed to mathematics at Munich University before moving to the University of Leipzig in 1928 after a break occasioned by the loss of most of his right foot in a trolley car accident. Teller received his doctorate in Leipzig (1930), where his career interests were determined by Heisenberg's teaching of quantum physics to extraordinarily gifted students. He held a research appointment at the University of Gottingen (1929–33), where he worked on molecular structure, notably of hydrogen, and collaborated with Niels *Bohr in Copenhagen and Enrico Fermi in Rome. Foreseeing the fate of Jewish scientists in Nazi Germany, he moved to the U.K. in 1933, where he was sponsored by the British scientists Frederick Lindenmann and George Donnan. After further work on nuclear structure in the Institute for Theoretical Physics, Copenhagen, and University College, London, he moved to George Washington University (1935) with support from the Rockefeller Foundation. His work on nuclear structure and particle behavior in radioactive decay (with George Gamow) made him receptive to the momentous consequences of the newly discovered phenomenon of nuclear fission. In 1939 Teller accompanied Leo Szilard to the meeting with *Einstein which resulted in the letter to President Roosevelt and eventually to the Manhattan Project. In 1942 he joined Fermi in Chicago, where the world's first nuclear reactor was constructed and where they discussed the possibilities of a sustained nuclear fusion reaction. In 1943 he was recruited to the Manhattan Project team at Los Alamos. His contribution to the development of fission weapons was often ambivalent but he showed immense insight in helping to solve the problems of his collaborators. He was, however, preoccupied with the problems of nuclear fusion reactions. Teller's contribution to the eventual production of fission weapons was partly political. His experience of antisemitism in Hungary, the Nazi regime in Germany, Communist persecution of fellow scientists accused of disloyalty, and the Communist regime in postwar Hungary convinced him of the necessity to compete with the Soviets in the race for thermonuclear weapons. His views overcame the doubts of many scientists and politicians. His practical contribution was to design (with Stanislaw *Ulam) a fission trigger for sustained hydrogen nuclear fusion. He advocated the establishment of the Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory, which he later directed (1958–60), as a second center for nuclear weapons research. From 1960 to 2003 he held senior, later emeritus positions at Livermore and in the University of California. His interests concerned the practical applications of nuclear technology to power units in ships and submarines, often rather speculative civil engineering projects such as a Red Sea to Dead Sea canal, and anti-missile defense. He was a pioneer of safety measures in nuclear power stations. His passion for science education established the University of California at Davis as a leading school. Temperamentally unpredictable, Teller was shunned by many colleagues who opposed the development of thermonuclear weapons, his opposition to test ban treaties, and his enthusiasm for antimissile defense systems. Many were appalled by his testimony to the Gray Committee (1954), when he opposed *Oppenheimer's access to classified information. Despite this opposition he was a major influence on U.S. defense policy. He was awarded the Fermi Prize (1962), the National Medal of Science, the Herzl Prize given to descendants of Hungarian Jewry who have distinguished themselves on behalf of Israel and the Jewish people, and the Presidential Medal of Freedom (2003).

[Michael Denman (2nd ed.)]

TELLER, ISRAEL (1835–1921), Hebrew writer, grammarian, and teacher. Born in Zolochev, Galicia, he moved to Romania, where for 30 years he was a teacher and a director of Hebrew schools in various Jewish communities. He was among the first to join the Ḥovevei Zion when they became active in Romania; he also contributed to Hebrew periodicals, as well as the Yiddish press. In 1896 he came to Israel and was a teacher in Reḥovot. His works include *Mabbat Ḥofshi ba-Dikduk* (1906), in which he maintains that Hebrew grammar should conform to the modern spoken language, and *Torat ha-Lashon* (1912), in which he expounds his method of Hebrew grammar. Teller's poetry, didactic and tendentious in quality, has slight literary merit. A collection of his articles, entitled *Ben-Oni*, was published in 1914.

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[Yehuda Slutsky]

TELLER, ISSACHAR BAER (b. c. 1607), physician and surgeon. Teller, a barber-surgeon in the Bohemian capital Prague, was the author of what is believed to be the first printed medical book in Yiddish, *Be'er Mayim Ḥayyim* ("Well of Living Water"). The book was printed in Prague without any date, but it must have been before 1655. This is an extremely rare book: the only complete copy known is the one in the Bodleian Library, Oxford; another copy, with the title-page missing, is in the Rosenthaliana Library in Amsterdam. Teller wrote his book as a practical manual of therapeutics. He chose the Yiddish idiom for readers not sufficiently acquainted with Hebrew. In a rhymed introduction and an epilogue he explained his main object: to help poor people who could not afford doctors' fees. Teller was well-versed in the Latin literature of his time, as his quotations – in Hebrew characters – show, and was progressive enough to oppose the astrological medicine so popular in his time. The small book is interesting not only from a medico-historical point of view, but also as source material for linguistic studies of the Yiddish of the period. The portrait of Teller which appears in the book is probably the only authentic portrait of a Jewish barber-surgeon in existence.

A facsimile of *Be'er Mayim Ḥayyim*, produced in Jerusalem in 1968 with prefaces in Hebrew and English, includes as an appendix the *Aphorisms* of Hippocrates translated into Hebrew by Teller's teacher, Joseph Solomon *Delmedigo.

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[Joshua O. Leibowitz]

TELLER, ẒEVI LAZAR (originally **Hirsch Lazar**; 1840–1914), Hebrew educator and writer. Born in Zolochev, Galicia, he taught in Jewish schools in Romania (1866–86), and later in Galicia. In Romania he was an active member of the Ḥibbat Ẓion movement and upon his return to Galicia became a leader of the Zionist movement there. Beginning in the 1870s, he published poems, translations of poems, and articles on current affairs in the Hebrew press.

His books include *Te'udat Yisrael* (1878); *Leshon Limmudim* (a grammar, 1884); *Za'akat Shever* (1885); *Siftei Renanot* (poems, 1892); *Kol Elohim* (poems and prose, 1897); *Eḥarti Lavo* (novel, 1908); and *Hed ha-Am* (poems, 1913). He also edited and published the first pedagogic periodical in Hebrew, *Eitanim* (3 issues; 1898).

[Getzel Kressel]

TEL MOND (Heb. תֵּל מוֹנְד), moshavah with municipal council status in central Israel, in the southern Sharon, 6 mi. (10 km.) N. of Kefar Sava. Its area is about 3 sq. mi. (8 sq. km.). Tel Mond was founded in 1929 upon the initiative of Sir Alfred Mond (later Lord *Melchett), who planted large citrus groves and enlisted the participation of other British Jews through his Palestine Plantations Company. Tel Mond became the center for a group of smallholder villages (the "Tel Mond Bloc"). After 1948 many immigrants were absorbed there, partly from a *ma'barah* (immigrant transit camp) which was later transformed into a permanent housing scheme. In 1954 Tel Mond received local council status. In 1970 the village had 3,060 inhabitants. Its economy was based principally on citriculture. By the mid-1990s its population had increased to 4,060, rising further to 7,260 in 2002. The majority of residents now worked outside the moshavah.

[Efraim Orni /Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

TELSIAI (Rus. **Telshi**; Ger. **Telschen**; Yid. **Telz**), city in N.W. Lithuania. Jews began to settle in Telsiai in the 17th century, when they were under the jurisdiction of the community of *Kedainiai. During Russian rule (1795–1915) Telsiai was a district town in Kovno province. J.L. *Gordon, who was a teacher in the state-controlled Jewish school from 1866 to 1872, describes the community in his letters and poems as conservative and attached to tradition. The number of Jews in the community increased from 2,248 in 1847 to 4,204 in 1864. The years of famine in Lithuania in the 1850s and the lack of railroad connections contributed to the decline of Telsiai and emigration from the town. In 1897 3,088 Jews (51% of the total population) lived there.

The community was wiped out when the Germans invaded Lithuania. In July 1941 all the men were brutally tortured and killed by the Lithuanian Fascists and within six months the women too were murdered. In 1970, the Jewish population of Telsiai was estimated at around 150.

Telz Yeshivah

Telsiai became important for the Jews and Jewish history because of the yeshivah which existed there from 1875 to 1941. Established by the community's scholars, it developed into a central institution of traditional Jewish scholarship under the leadership of Eliezer *Gordon, rabbi of the community from 1883 to 1910, and after his death, of Joseph Leib Bloch (1910–30). New methods were introduced in the yeshivah; the division of the pupils into five classes according to their knowledge, periodic tests, and compulsory attendance at classes. The study of **musar* was instituted under Gordon and became especially prominent under Bloch. The reputation of the yeshivah was furthered by Simeon Shkop (to 1904) and Ḥayyim Rabinowitz, who shaped the "way of Telz" in Torah study, which concentrated on the development of acuity and skill in profound logical analysis. After the *Volozhin yeshivah was closed by the authorities in 1892, Telz became one of the central yeshivot in Russia and had 300–350 students. A new building was completed in 1897 (it was rebuilt after the great fire of 1908). When some Telsiai Jews were expelled during the general expulsion from Lithuania in 1915, the yeshivah continued its activities. During the period of Lithuanian independence (1918–40) the yeshivah was one of the three largest in the country, serving as a Torah center for all Orthodox Jewry.

In a community of 1,545 Jews in 1923 (approximately one-third of the town's total population) and 2,800 Jews in 1939, the yeshivah had a decisive influence. A complete educational network was established under its control: an Orthodox kindergarten, an educational institution for boys, a school for girls, an Orthodox secondary school for girls called Yavneh, a seminary for Orthodox teachers, also called Yavneh (transferred in 1924 from Kovno to Telz), headed by Yiẓḥak Raphael Holzberg-Eẓion, and a Hebrew seminary for teachers. Near the yeshivah a *kolel* was established in which graduates of the yeshivah were trained for the rabbinate. The Orthodox Hebrew monthly *Ha-Ne'eman* (1928–31) and the bulletin of *Agudat Israel in Lithuania, *Der Yidisher Lebn*, were issued in the town. Yeshivah students were sent to Lithuanian towns to establish "small yeshivot" (i.e., schools for children) in which they prepared children for study in the Telz yeshivah. In the 1930s Abraham Isaac Bloch and Azriel Rabinowitz, the sons of its first leaders, were the heads of the yeshivah. With the Soviet annexation of Lithuania in 1940 the yeshivah building was confiscated and the students dispersed to several Lithuanian towns, where they continued their studies under their rabbis. A few teachers and students managed to reach the United States.

In 1941 the Telz yeshivah was reestablished in Cleveland, Ohio, under E.M. *Bloch, and in 1971 it had about 400 students and was directed by M. *Gifter. In 1959, a girl's school by the name of Yavneh, counterpart of the yeshivah, was founded in Cleveland, and two years later a teachers' seminary was opened there.

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[Yehuda Slutsky]

TELUSHKIN, NISSAN (1882–1970), rabbi. Born in Bobrosk, Minsk Province, Lithuania, Telushkin attended yeshivot in Kursov and Slutsk, Lithuania, under some of the leading scholars of the time, including Rabbi Baruch Baer Leibowitz and Rabbi Isser Zalman Meltzer. In 1902 he received ordination from several rabbis, including Rabbi Samuel Moses Shapiro, Rabbi Joseph Bakst, and the Lubavitcher *rebbe*, Rabbi Shalom Dov Schneersohn.

After that, Telushkin served as a congregational rabbi in Europe until 1924, when he immigrated to the United States. There, he assumed the leadership of Congregation B'nai Yitzchak in Brooklyn, where he remained until retirement in 1967.

Telushkin was unusual in his dual support of religious Zionism and Ḥasidism. He was involved with Mizrachi, the religious Zionist organization of America, and the Lubavitch community and functioned on behalf of the Vaad ha-Rabbonim of New York. He became editor of the Vaad's Torah journal, *Hamsiloh.*

Part of his life's work was to improve the conditions of *mikva'ot* in New York. In that realm, Telushkin wrote a book, *Taharat Mayim*, about the laws of *mikveh*. It received wide praise from his colleagues. Telushkin also wrote a three-volume commentary on the Bible titled *Ha-Torah ve-ha-Olam*.

[Lynne Schreiber (2nd ed.)]

TEL YIẒḤAK (Heb. תֵּל יִצְחָק), kibbutz in central Israel, near Even Yehudah, affiliated with Ha-No'ar ha-Ẓiyyoni. Tel Yiẓḥak was founded by a group from Galicia in 1938. Since 1963, Neveh Hadassah, a youth village belonging to Hadassah and *Youth Aliyah, has been included in the area of Tel Yiẓḥak. In 1970 Tel Yiẓḥak had 510 inhabitants, increasing to 622 in 2002. Farming branches included irrigated citrus groves, field crops, and avocado plantations. Other sources of livelihood were a small supermarket, a pub, and catering. The kibbutz also operated a factory for building materials. Masoha, an institute for Holocaust studies, and the Zionist Youth Archive were located at the kibbutz. Its name commemorates Yiẓḥak Steiger, the founder of the Ha-No'ar ha-Ẓiyyoni movement in Galicia.

[Efraim Orni]

TEL YOSEF (Heb. תֵּל יוֹסֵף), kibbutz in northern Israel, in the Harod Valley, 8 mi. (13 km.) S.E. of Afulah, affiliated with Iḥud ha-Kevuẓot ve-ha-Kibbutzim. Named in memory of Joseph *Trumpeldor, Tel Yosef was founded in 1921 as a work camp of *Gedud ha-Avodah ("Labor Legion"), together with *En-Harod, at the foot of Mt. Gilboa. Its members participated in draining the local malaria-infested swamps. In the ensuing years, En-Harod seceded from Gedud ha-Avodah. After 1928 Tel Yosef joined Ha-Kibbutz ha-Me'uḥad. In 1929 both kibbutzim moved to their present site on the slope of the Ẓeva'im Ridge. In the 1936–39 Arab riots, Tel Yosef suffered frequent attacks. In the 1951–52 split in Ha-Kibbutz ha-Me'uḥad, Tel Yosef joined Iḥud ha-Kevuẓot ve-ha-Kibbutzim, and a group from the kibbutz moved to nearby Bet ha-Shittah. In 1970 the kibbutz had 515 inhabitants; in 2002, 400. Its economy was based on irrigated field and fodder crops, mainly cotton and sugar beet; deciduous fruit orchards, carp ponds, etc. It housed the Iḥud ha-Kevuẓot ve-ha-Kibbutzim printing press and was a partner with En-Harod in a truck garage and cooperative. Bet Trumpeldor, containing the archives of Gedud ha-Avodah and other historical documents, was located in Tel Yosef. The kibbutz, together with En-Harod, maintained the regional museum, Bet Sturman, and a regional theater stage. Tel Yosef has educated Youth Aliyah groups.

[Efram Orni / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

TEMA (Heb. תֵּמָא, תֵּימָא), son of Ishmael and a locality in Arabia (Gen. 25:15; 1 Chron. 1:30). Tema is identified as Taima, an outlying town and oasis in the Jebel Shammar province of Nejd, a major region of Saudi Arabia, 200 mi. (320 km.) west of Hail. Tema was a caravansary on the junction point of the highways to Damascus and the Persian Gulf (Isa. 21:14; cf. Job 6:19). Jeremiah prophesied against Tema (25:23), as one of the nations among other northern Arabian people (see *Rodanim). Tema became part of the Assyrian (Babylonian) sphere of interest in the Arabian war of Tiglath-Pileser III (732 B.C.E.) when he dispersed the coalition headed by Samsi, the queen of the Arabs. The coalition was comprised of Masʿa (cf. Massa, Gen. 25:14), Tema ((*ālu*) *temaj*) and Haiappa (Ephah of *Midian, Gen. 25:4). One of the gates of Nineveh rebuilt by *Sennacherib was called *katrê Summ'an/il u Têmê quiribša irrub abul madbari*, "'The Gifts of Sumuʿan/il and Têmê, enter through it,' the Desert Gate." Much information about Tema in the neo-Babylonian period has been gained from the publication of the Harran Inscriptions of *Nabonidus, the last king of Babylon before the Persian period (already partially known from the Verse Account of Nabonidus). Nabonidus destroyed Tema (522 B.C.E.), rebuilt it, and made it his residence for about ten years. From there he went further and reached Yathrib (later Medina). Cyrus II conquered the entire region a few years later (c. 540 B.C.E.). Tema around that time was a cosmopolitan town, as is attested by the proper names cited in the Taima Stele (Louvre).

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[Pinhas Artzi and Laurentino Jose Afonso]

TEMAN (Heb. תֵּימָן, from יָמִין; "right, south"), grandson of Esau and name of a place in Edom (Gen. 36:11, 15, 34; Amos 1:12). Teman and Bozrah represented the whole land of Edom (Amos 1:12; Obadiah 9). Its inhabitants were famous for their wisdom (Jer. 49:7; cf. Job 2:11).

Teman is identified with Ṭawīlān, below Jebel Heidan, northeast of Elji. A great amount of Edomite Early Iron I–II pottery (1200–600; see Glueck in bibl.) was discovered at its site. One of the "kings who reigned in the land of Edom, before any king reigned over the Israelites," was a Temanite (Gen. 36:34). At least from the period of the *geonim* the term was used for the South Arabian region of *Yemen.

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TEMERLS, JACOB BEN ELIEZER (also known as **Jacob Ashkenazi**; d. 1666), rabbi and kabbalist. Temerls was born in Worms, but in his youth went to Poland. He taught in Lublin, but later moved to Kremenets, where he resided for the greater part of his life. He spent his last years in Vienna, where he died. He was greatly revered as an outstanding talmudist and kabbalist; some of Europe's leading rabbis turned to him for advice. It was said of him that "he did not leave the house of study but engaged in the study of the Torah in purity, fasting daily for 40 years."

He was the author of a short kabbalistic commentary on the Pentateuch, *Sifra di-Ẓeni'uta de-Ya'akov* (published by his son Eliezer Lipmann, Amsterdam, 1669). Eliezer Lipmann, who added to the volume rules for the study of the Kabbalah, expressed the hope that it would be vouchsafed him to publish also his father's other writings, which included a larger commentary on the Pentateuch and the Five Scrolls, a commentary on the expositions of passages in the Prophets and the Hagiographa, the Jerusalem and Babylonian Talmuds, and the Zohar, including the *Idrot*, as well as commentaries to the works of Isaac Luria. However, none of these was published; nor was a collection of his responsa, mentioned by Aaron Samuel *Koidanover in *Emunat Shemu'el* (Frankfurt, 1683). An approbation by Temerls, written in 1660, appears in Ḥayyim Bochner's *Or Ḥadash* (Amsterdam, 1771 or 1775).

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[Tovia Preschel]

TEMIANKA, HENRI (1906–1992), U.S. violinist and conductor. Born at Greenock, Scotland, Temianka studied with Blitz in Rotterdam (1915–23), at the Berlin Hochschule fuer Musik in Berlin (1923–34), and with Carl *Flesch and *Rodjinsky (conducting) at the Curtis Institute, Philadelphia. He made his debut as violinist in New York in 1928. He was leader of the Scottish orchestra (1937–38), and the Pittsburgh SO (1941–42), but he essentially devoted himself to a career as a soloist and appeared throughout Europe and the United States. In 1935 he was a prizewinner at the Wieniawski Competition in Warsaw and was invited to play in the USSR. In 1946 he founded the Paganini String Quartet and was its leader and first violinist until 1966; the quartet gave premieres of works by *Castelnuovo-Tedesco, *Milhaud, and Lees, and counted Beethoven's Razumovsky Quartets among its finest recorded performances. In 1958 he founded the Temianka Chamber Symphony Orchestra, which he conducted. He was also musician-in-residence at the University of California and professor of music at California State College. Temianka made a number of educational films, edited several quartets, and published an autobiography, *Facing the Music* (1973). In his elegant interpretations he combined the best elements of the French tradition and the Flesch school.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Grove Music Online.

[Amnon Shiloah (2nd ed.)]

TEMIN, HOWARD MARTIN (1934–1994), U.S. Nobel laureate in medicine. Temin was born in Philadelphia and graduated in biology from Swarthmore College. He received his Ph.D. at the California Institute of Technology, studying Rous sarcoma virus. His mentors included Renato Dulbecco and Harry Rubin. This work shaped his lifelong interest in animal viruses and their role in cancer induction. In 1960 he moved to the McArdle Laboratory for Cancer Research at the University of Wisconsin, Madison, where he worked for the rest of his life. He formulated the hypothesis that RNA viruses direct virus synthesis in infected cells through a DNA provirus. This contradicted the contemporary central tenet that RNA synthesis is invariably DNA-directed, and it was ignored for six years. His discovery in 1970 of RNA-directed DNA polymerase (reverse transcriptase), confirmed simultaneously and independently by David *Baltimore, indicated the mechanism by which viral RNA directs new viral synthesis. This led to general acceptance of his ideas and has profoundly influenced subsequent animal virology, including HIV research. He was awarded the Nobel Prize in medicine for this work in 1975 (jointly with David Baltimore and Renato Dulbecco). For the rest of his career he studied viral replication and its role in cancer induction, and in particular retroviral sequences which are cellular ("endogenous") components but may be implicated in cancer. Temin's many honors included membership of the U.S. National Academy of Sciences, the National Medal of Science, and the Gairdner and Lasker awards. A nonsmoker, Temin campaigned against smoking in public places. He died of lung cancer in Madison.

[Michael Denman (2nd ed.)]

TEMKIN, family in Ereẓ Israel. MOSHE (1885–1958), Hebrew writer, was born in Siedlce, Poland. He emigrated to Palestine in 1906, where he worked at various trades before becoming a physician in 1922. He was a member of the central committee of Ha-Po'el ha-Ẓa'ir and the secretary of the Galilee (1916) and Samaria (1918) workers' organizations. He began to publish articles and stories during the Second Aliyah, writing also on medical subjects in Hebrew and French.

His books are: *Negu'ei ha-Moledet* (1936, a novel on the *Nili group); *Ha-Holekhim la-Mavet Sho'alim li-Shelomkha* (1943, a novel about *Trumpeldor); *Ha-Na'arah min ha-Emek* (1944, stories); *Neshamah Mefo'eret bi-Kheli Mekho'ar* (1944, on Van Gogh); *Sha'ul Tchernichowsky* (1944); *Sofer ha-Ẓa'ar ve-ha-Za'am* (1945, a work about *Brenner); *Be-Ma'gelei ha-Kesem* (1954, stories).

His brother, MORDECAI (1891–1960) was a Hebrew poet. In 1909, after teaching for two years, he emigrated to Ereẓ Israel but went back to Poland as a result of ill-health. He returned to Ereẓ Israel in 1911, and devoted himself to teaching. After his first poem in *Ha-Po'el ha-Ẓa'ir* (1909), many others were published in *Reshafim* (ed. by. D. *Frischmann) and in the newspapers and periodicals of the country over several decades.

His books of poems are: *Netafim* (selected poems of 1912–26, 1927), *Shirim u-Tefillot* (1934), *Sefer ha-Shirim ve-ha-Tefillot* (1942), *Be-Elem Kol* (1956), *Eged Kat* (selected poems, 1961), and *Shirei Yerushalayim* (1965). He also translated works of Mann, H. von Kleist, Chekhov, and Max Brod and produced a Hebrew translation of Gottfried Keller's novel *Der gruene Heinrich (Heinrikh ha-Yarok*, 1969).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: S. Halkin, *Modern Hebrew Literature* (1950), 139, 194; Kressel, Leksikon, 2 (1967), 25–26.

[Getzel Kressel]

TEMKIN, ASHER (19th century), small trader in Mogilev, converted to Christianity in 1832. His pamphlet defaming the Talmud (*Derekh Selulah*) was published in Hebrew and Russian by order of Czar Nicholas I in the printing house of the Academy of Sciences and distributed free of charge. I.B. *Levinsohn (Ribal) in his work *Yemin Ẓidki* (clandestinely circulated in manuscript and printed only in 1881) argued against the work of Temkin, showing the positive contribution of the Talmud to Jewish ethics. To show their appreciation of Temkin's defamatory work, the Russian authorities first appointed him *psalomshchik* (low-grade clergyman) and then censor.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: J. Raisin, *The Haskalah Movement in Russia*, 6 (1913), 146; Ginsburg, in: *Forward* (Jan. 27, 1935).

TEMPLE

The article is arranged according to the following outline:

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In ancient times, a central building for the worship of God in Israel. The most common biblical names for the Temple are: "the House of the Lord" (I Kings 3:1); "the House of God" (Dan. 1:2); "the Holy Temple" (Jonah 2:5[4]); "the Temple of the Lord" (II Kings 24:13); and "the Sanctuary" (Ezek. 45:4). In the Mishnah (e.g., Ma'as. Sh. 5:2) and Tosefta (e.g., Tosef., Ber. 3:16), the name commonly used is *Beit ha-Mikdash* (*Miqdash*), which occurs only once in the Bible (II Chron. 36:7).

FIRST TEMPLE

HISTORY

Following the destruction of Shiloh (c. 1050 B.C.E.), the need for a central Temple was felt. The military defeat suffered by the Israelites at Eben-Ezer, which ended in the capture of the ark by the Philistines, brought about a severance of the ark from the altar. For a generation and more, the ark wandered from place to place until David finally brought it to Mount Zion, where he erected a tent for it (II Sam. 6:17). The high places set up at Nob (I Sam. 21), at Gibeon (I Kings 3:4), and at other sites, e.g., Beth-El and Mizpah, were unable to serve as a unifying center for the divided tribes who were competing for national supremacy. These high places could not, in consequence, become the permanent site for the ark. However, with the capture of Jerusalem and the establishment of the royal palace on Mount Zion, a suitable place for this purpose was found. Jerusalem was situated on the border between the Rachel tribes and the Leah tribes; and on the border between Judah, the tribe to which David belonged, and that of Benjamin, the tribe from which sprang Saul, the first king of Israel. As a newly conquered city, it had not been incorporated into the territory of any one tribe (cf. Meg. 26a). By its very nature it was, therefore, the one and only place likely to satisfy the claims of all the tribes. The threshing floor of Araunah the Jebusite was chosen as the site of the Temple. There it was that David had built an altar to check a plague that had broken out among the people (II Sam. 24; I Chron. 21). From II Chronicles 3:1, it appears that the spot selected for the altar was also the place which tradition had identified as the site of the binding of Isaac. David had wanted to build the Temple there, but, according to the biblical narrative, he was dissuaded by the prophet Nathan (II Sam. 7) on the grounds that it would be more proper to leave the project for his son. Solomon pursued the task and completed it with the assistance of King Hiram of Tyre under the supervision of a craftsman who was the son of "a man of Tyre" and "of a widow of the tribe of Naphtali" (I Kings 7:14; "of a woman of the daughters of Dan," according to II Chron. 2:13 [14]). The copper required for the columns and the vessels came (as the investigations of N. Glueck have shown) from Solomon's copper mines in Edom, on the shores of the Red Sea (I Kings 7:46). It was from Solomon's commercial enterprises and especially from David's war booty that the ample silver needed for the project was acquired. Thirty thousand Israelites took part in the operation (I Kings 5:27–32), together with 150,000 Canaanites who served as porters and quarrymen (II Chron. 2:16, 17; cf. I Kings 9:20–22), and "chief officers who were over the work," who numbered 3,300 men (I Kings 5:30; 3,600 in II Chron. 2:17 [16]). The work was begun in the month of Iyyar in the fourth year of Solomon's reign and was completed in the 11th year of his reign in the month of Bul (= Marḥeshvan, I Kings 6:1, 38). The dedication of the Temple, which took place in the presence of the elders of Israel, the heads of the tribes, the "leaders of the fathers' houses" (I Kings 8:1–2; II Chron. 5:2–3), and "a great assembly, from Lebo-Hamath unto the Brook of Egypt," lasted 14 days (I Kings 8:65; II Chron. 7:8). It was then that the ark was brought to its permanent abode in the Holy of Holies, and Solomon offered up a prayer in the presence of the entire people.

The deterioration in the political situation, which set in at the end of Solomon's days, also had an adverse effect upon the fortunes of the Temple. In order to offset the importance of Jerusalem as a religious center, Jeroboam found it politically expedient to reinstate the shrines at Beth-El and Dan (I Kings 12:26–33). With the political and military reverses suffered after the reign of Solomon (by the Kingdom of Judah), the Temple, as a depository of money and as a sanctuary rich in its ornaments and vessels of gold, was exposed to periodic spoliation. Shishak king of Egypt (I Kings 14:25–26; II Chron. 12:9), Ben-Hadad (I Kings 15:18; II Chron. 16:2) and Hazael (II Kings 12:19), kings of Aram-Damascus, as well as Jehoash king of Israel (II Kings 14:14; II Chron. 25:24), all obtained money from the Temple treasuries, either as plunder or as tribute. It was apparently to send tribute to the king of Assyria that Ahaz removed the lavers from their bases and the "brazen sea" from its support of brazen oxen (II Kings 16:17). Hezekiah, too, stripped the gold from the doors of the Temple and from the doorposts and sent it to Sennacherib (II Kings 18:16). On the other hand, the Temple needed renovation from time to time. Most often referred to are the repairs executed in the days of Jehoash under the supervision of Jehoiada the high priest, which led to the institution of a permanent "chest" for a Temple repair fund (II Kings 12:5ff.; see above), as well as the reconstruction undertaken in the reign of Josiah, when, according to the Bible, the "Book of the Law" (= Deuteronomy; II Kings 22:3ff.; II Chron. 34:8ff.) was discovered.

However, more important changes than these physical changes were those changes introduced into the Temple service as a result of the religious struggle waged throughout that period. Although the service of God continued in the Temple even under Athaliah, that service, as well as the Sanctuary itself, was endangered by the temple of Baal which had been erected by the queen and by the priests of Baal who were active under her protection. This provoked a revolt against the queen under the leadership of the high priest Jehoiada, as a result of which Baal worship was eradicated from Jerusalem (II Kings 11). Under Hezekiah, the Temple at Jerusalem was confirmed as the sole place of worship in Judah (II Kings 18:4–6, 22; Isa. 36:7; II Chron. 32:12), and in a large measure it also served as the religious center for the other Israelite tribes, from among whom pilgrims (after the destruction of the Northern Kingdom) would go up to the Temple for Passover (II Chron. 30:1ff.). Under Manasseh, the use of high places was revived and idolatry penetrated the Temple itself (II Kings 21:2ff.; II Chron. 33:2ff.). However, with the accession of Josiah, the Temple was finally established as the one and only sanctuary for the whole nation. The Passover celebration which was held during his reign, and which, in the words of the Bible, was unparalleled since "the days of the Judges," was a strong demonstration of the nation's religious uniqueness and the preeminence of Jerusalem (II Kings 23:21–23; II Chron. 35:1–18). However, the Temple did not long retain this exalted position. A few years after Josiah's death, Nebuchadnezzar removed from the Temple "the vessels of the house of the Lord… and put them in his palace in Babylon" (II Chron. 36:7; Dan. 1:2; cf. Jer. 27:19–22; Dan. 5:3ff.; Ezra 1:7; 6:5). Eight years later Nebuchadnezzar attacked Jerusalem a second time and took away "all the treasures of the house of the Lord, and the treasures of the king's house, and cut in pieces all the vessels of gold in the Temple of the Lord which Solomon king of Israel had made" (II Kings 24:13; Jer. 28:3; II Chron. 36:10). Eleven more years went by – and then came total destruction. Nebuzaradan, Nebuchadnezzar's captain of the guard, stormed the Temple (586), smashed the pillars of brass and the bases and the brazen sea, and after having stripped the building of all its brass as well as of its sacred vessels of bronze, silver, and gold in order to send them to Babylon, burned the Temple to the ground. The day of the destruction of the Temple is given in one passage as the seventh of Av (II Kings 25:8) and in another (Jer. 52:12) as the tenth of Av. Traditionally (Ta'an. 29a), this discrepancy is reconciled by the statement that "On the seventh [of Av] the heathens entered the Temple and ate therein and desecrated it throughout the seventh and eighth, and toward dusk of the ninth day set fire to it and it continued to burn the whole day." It is further related: "The day on which the First Temple was destroyed was the eve of the ninth of Av, a Sunday, and in a year following the Sabbatical Year, and the course of the family of Jehoiarib were on duty and the levites were chanting the Psalms standing on their dais" (*ibid.*).

The destruction of the Temple marked the end of an epoch in the history of the people and its religion. From the days of Micah (3:12; Jer. 26:18) the prophets had never ceased (cf., e.g., Jer. 7:14; 26:4–6; Ezek. 5:11) to warn the people that, in punishment for its religious and moral transgressions, the Temple would be destroyed, despite the belief, prevalent among the masses, that "the Temple of the Lord" could not but continue forever (Jer. 7:4). The destruction of the Temple and the Exile to Babylon which followed it represented, in some measure, a triumph for the prophetic position. In consequence, the destruction was attended by renewed zeal in the observance of the commandments of the Law, coupled with an awakening of the hope for the rebirth of an independent religious-national life in the spirit of the prophecies of consolation. “In the 14th year after the city was conquered,” Ezekiel, the prophet of the Exile, foretold the reconstruction of the Temple and beheld in a vision (Ezek. 40–48) the details of the restored edifice, its service, its procedures, and so on. In that same generation, too, four annual fasts were appointed in commemoration of the destruction of the Temple and the events which accompanied it (Zech. 7:1ff., 8:19; see Tosef., Sot. 6:10–11; Sif. Deut. 31). One of these, the fast of the Ninth of Av (the fast of the fifth month), was instituted for the day on which the Temple was burnt (see above). In memory of this event, lamentations over the destruction (see *Lamentations) were composed, which were apparently recited in public already in the days of the Babylonian Exile (cf. II Chron. 35:25).

[Yehoshua M. Grintz]

STRUCTURE

The two principal sources for the plan of the First Temple erected on Mt. Moriah in Jerusalem between the fourth and the 11th years of Solomon’s reign are I Kings 6–8 and II Chronicles 2–4. These differ in several important details; in addition to the Book of Kings, the editor of Chronicles apparently used another source whose description of the Temple plan varied considerably. A third independent description is found in the Book of Ezekiel (40ff.).

The Temple was not originally intended to serve as a place of prayer, but to house (or as an abode for) the *ark of the Lord, symbol of the Covenant between the people and its God (I Kings 8:21). Hence it was called “the House of the Lord,” in the same way that one would speak of “the house of the king” or any ordinary domicile. As a tabernacle it was not necessary for it to be large. Its structure had to meet the requirements of a symbolic tabernacle of God and a repository for the sacred furniture and the offerings brought to God by His worshipers. As a place for divine worship the Temple was not judged by its size but by the splendor and massiveness of its construction, and indeed, the dimensions of the main hall of the First Temple, which in II Chronicles 2:4[5] is called “great,” did not exceed 40 × 20 cubits (approximately 66 × 33 ft.). It should be noted that the roof of the Temple was not supported by pillars set in the center of the room as was the practice in palaces of this period and its width was the maximum which was structurally possible. Without pillars the rooms were impressive in their spaciousness. The Temple was also relatively high – 30 cubits (about 50 ft.) – much taller than most Canaanite temples. The courtyard of the Temple, however, had to be extensive, for it served as the place of assembly for the public which came to inquire of God, to bring sacrifices, and to pray. The “House of the Lord” was built originally by Solomon as a royal chapel, like the temples which kings in the Near East built adjoining their palaces. The Temple of Solomon, however, was quickly transformed into a national religious center and the symbol of the Covenant between the people of Israel and its God.

The Ground Plan of the Temple

The Temple was oblong in shape and composed of three sections of equal width: a porch or hall (the vestibule, *ʾulam*), a main room for divine service *heikhal* (*hekhal*), and the “Holy of Holies” (*devir*). Attempts to find parallels to this plan in Egypt, Assyria, Babylonia, and in areas of Aegean culture have not been too successful. Most scholars today recognize an affinity between the Temple of Solomon and the Canaanite and Phoenician cultures current in Palestine in the second part of the second millennium and beginning of the first millennium B.C.E. These cultures had a strong influence on the culture and art of the Israelites. The Bible as well stresses the great contribution of Hiram, king of Tyre, to the Temple in supplying building materials and artisans. The most important evidence, however, is derived from excavations of temples of the Late Bronze period. Several temples in Palestine, such as the Late Fosse Temple at Lachish, the temple at Beth-Shean in Stratum VI, and especially the temple at Hazor in Stratum 1b (Area H), while they cannot be compared in size and splendor with the Temple at Jerusalem, already show – several centuries before Solomon – the general scheme of the main elements of the Temple, the porch, main hall, and Holy of Holies (which is often only a niche in which a statue of the deity stands), built one after the other on the long axis of the building.

Original Israelite elements are also contained in the design of the Temple, particularly in the Holy of Holies, which continue the tradition of the early *Tabernacle. The biblical descriptions of the Tabernacle, however, are not clear nor are the dates of the texts.

A shrine found at Arad in southern Judah has been attributed to the ninth-eighth centuries B.C.E. by its excavator, who suggests that its foundations may even date back to the tenth century B.C.E., i.e., to the time of Solomon. These dates, however, have not yet been definitely established. The shrine at Arad consists of a large court containing an altar, a small hall, and a niche with steps leading up to it. Thus it differs from the Temple of Solomon in plan but it is identical in orientation (for details see *Arad).

A small temple discovered at Tell Tainet in northern Syria provides evidence of the wide distribution of the plan of the Temple of Solomon. This is a small royal chapel built adjoining the palace of the king (as was the Temple of Solomon) and although it is much smaller and of a later date (ninth–eighth centuries B.C.E.) than the Temple at Jerusalem there is a striking resemblance between their general plans as well as in many construction details. This method of construction was followed for a long period of time and it can also be seen in the ground plan of the Second Temple whose builders tried to adhere as closely as possible to the biblical source.

Although the physical structure of the Temple was influenced by the design of Near Eastern architecture, in function it differed radically from all other foreign shrines. According to Israelite belief, God did not dwell in His Temple. The Temple was no more than a place wherein He chose to have his *Divine Presence (*Shekhinah*) rest, in order to prevail upon man to direct his heart to his God. Unequivocal expression of this view is already given in "the prayer of Solomon" (I Kings 8).

The Detailed Plan of the Temple

GENERAL DESCRIPTION. According to Ezekiel 41:13–14, the Temple was 100 cubits (about 165 ft.) long and 50 cubits wide (without the platform on which it was built). Adding together the dimensions of the rooms of the Temple, the inner and outer wall, the width of the storehouse – a three-story side structure (*yaẓiʿa*) divided into cells and chambers which surrounded the Temple on three sides – and its walls, brings us almost exactly to the dimensions mentioned by Ezekiel. The 2:1 proportion between the length and width of the outer measurements of the Temple was also followed in the interior: the porch measured 20 cubits in width and ten cubits in length (1:2); the main hall, 40 cubits in length and 20 cubits in width (2:1); while the Holy of Holies was a square (1:1). The 20 cubits width of the Temple was, as stated above, almost the maximum width which could be roofed without supporting pillars. Thus the dimensions are not arbitrary but were arrived at through precise planning.

THE PORCH. The function of the porch (Heb. *ʾulam*; apparently borrowed from Akk. *ellamu*, "front") was to separate the sacred precinct from the profane. The Septuagint version of Ezekiel 40:49 cites the number of steps which led to the Temple: "and they ascended it by ten [*ʿeser*] steps" instead of the original text "and it was by steps that [*ʾasher*] it was ascended." The width of the porch – alongside of which the entrance was located – was 20 cubits, and its depth was 10 cubits. The height of the porch is not certain. The only source which mentions its height – 120 cubits – is II Chronicles 3:4 and the text is apparently corrupt. One proposal corrects this to 20 cubits on the basis of the Syriac translation and largely on conjecture, but this is not accepted by all scholars. Some suggest that the porch rose above the main hall, like a tower, following the description in II Chronicles (this interpretation was followed by the builders of the Second Temple). Others lower the porch and still others conclude from the silence on this point in the main source in the Book of Kings that the height of the porch was the same as the general height of the building (30 cubits). On both sides of the entrance stood supporting pillars (see *Jachin and Boaz), each 3 cubits wide and 5 cubits thick; the width of the entrance gate was 14 cubits (23 ft.).

THE MAIN ROOM (HEKHAL) OR HOLY PLACE. The main room was entered from the porch through a gate, 10 cubits wide, in which two doors of cypress wood were set. The doorposts, made of olive wood, were apparently composed of four frames set one within the other, like those found in the temple of Tell Tainet. The thickness of the walls between the porch and the *hekhal* was 6 cubits. The latter was the largest chamber of the Temple, measuring 40 × 20 cubits (approximately 66 × 33 ft.) × 30 cubits in height. These dimensions were considerable in comparison with those of other Near Eastern temples. The *hekhal* served as the main chamber for divine service. The world *hekhal* is borrowed from the Akkadian (*ekallu* – derived ultimately from the Sumerian *é.gal*, "great house"). W.F. Albright maintains that the ancient Canaanite temples initially consisted of one large hall only, called *hekhal*, and that when porches were eventually added on both ends, the name *hekhal* came to denote the principal middle chamber.

The windows of the *hekhal* were set in its upper part, since the flanking structure mentioned above rose to about half the height of the *hekhal*. In the Bible they are called "windows with recessed frames" (I Kings 6:4), terms which are not entirely clear and which have been variously interpreted. By analogy with ivory reliefs found at Samaria, Arslan-Tash, and Nimrūd, it may be assumed that these windows were of the type common in that period in Syria and Palestine, i.e., wide on the outside and narrowing toward the inside, an effect achieved by the use of window frames set one within the other.

THE HOLY OF HOLIES (DEVIR). The Holy of Holies, the rear part of the Temple, was designed to serve as a tabernacle for the ark of the Covenant and the *cherubim. Its interior measurements were 20 × 20 × 20 cubits. The 10 cubits difference in height between the Holy of Holies and the main hall has been explained in various ways. Busink suggests that the Holy of Holies was laid as an independent unit – the tabernacle – under the main roof of the Temple. According to K. Galling, the floor level of the Holy of Holies was raised 10 cubits, but the most reasonable solution is perhaps the combination of a slight elevation of the floor, as was common in Canaanite temples, and a lowering of the roof beneath the level of the roof of the main hall. It may be assumed that the raised floor of the Holy of Holies served as a sort of platform on which stood the ark and the cherubim (a hint of this may be found in Isa. 6:1).

The jambs of the *devir* gate, in which olive wood doors were set, were constructed like the *hekhal* gate and the Temple windows, that is, of five frames set one within the other (I Kings 6:31). There were no windows in the Holy of Holies.

R. de Vaux maintains that the wall between the main hall and the Holy of Holies was merely a thin partition of cedarwood, since the Bible treats the *hekhal* and the Holy of Holies as one unit and gives their combined length in one figure – 60 cubits, with that of the *hekhal* 40 cubits, and that of the Holy of Holies 20 cubits. Had a dividing wall separated them, their combined length would have exceeded 60 cubits by the addition of the width of that wall. De Vaux accordingly emends the text of I Kings 6:16 to read: "He built twenty cubits on the rear of the house with boards of cedar from the floor to the rafters, and they were a separation (reading ויבדלו instead of ויבן לו, "he built them for himself") within the *devir*, as the most holy place." De Vaux regards the "boards of cedar" as a partition; however, a gate made of five frames would necessitate an extremely thick wall, and evidence of such a substantial wall is provided by the Canaanite and Greek temples and by that of Tell Tainet.

THE ADJACENT BUILDING (YAẒIʾAH). This building, whose walls ran parallel to those of the Temple and surrounded it on all sides except the front, was of three stories of varying widths. The inner width of the rooms of the lowest story was 5 cubits and to lay the beams of the roof which formed the floor of the second story, the thickness of the walls was reduced so that the width of the rooms of the second story was 6 cubits and of the third story, 7 cubits. Each story was divided into about 30 chambers. The entrance to this side structure was, according to I Kings 6:8, on the south side, while, according to Ezekiel 41:5–6, it was entered on both sides. The upper stories were reached by *lulim*, i.e., apertures in the shape of holes. In this building the numerous Temple vessels, utensils, and treasures were stored. The building was a little over 15 cubits high with each story 5 cubits (about 8.2 ft.) high. A later date for this building has been proposed by some scholars: K. Galling suggests the period of the later kings of Judah; M. Moehlenbrink, the time of Zerubbabel; but there seems to be no sound reason for not attributing it to the time of Solomon.

The Temple Furniture

THE ALTARS. The small altar (2 × 2 × 3 cubits), made of cedar and overlaid with gold, stood before the entrance to the Holy of Holies. It resembled the altars of the ancient Canaanite temples. The large, main altar for burnt sacrifices and the fat of peace offerings, was made of bronze and stood in the court of the Temple, before the porch (II Chron. 8:12). Somewhat of a parallel can be found in the altars discovered in the shrine at Arad. Two small incense altars were set within the building and a sacrificial altar stood in the courtyard. The large altar at Jerusalem was 10 cubits high and was built in stepped tiers. The lowest tier, which was sunk in the earth and was called "the base on the ground" (Ezek. 43:14), was set off from the floor of the court by a channel, and measured 20 × 20 cubits. The length and width of the three tiers above it were 16 × 16, 14 × 14, and 12 × 12 cubits, respectively; the height of the lowest tier was 2 cubits; that of the middle 4 cubits; and that of the uppermost, called *harʾel*, 4 cubits.

Set at the four corners of the *harʾel* were "horns," exactly as on small Canaanite incense altars. The altar is described by Ezekiel, who apparently refers to the altar erected by Ahaz which was modeled after the one he had seen at Damascus (II Kings 16:10). Ascent to the altar was by steps on its east side (Ezek. 43:17). The fact that its base was called "bosom of the earth" while its uppermost tier was called *harʾel* ("mountain of God"), together with its striking resemblance to the Babylonian ziggurat ("temple tower," "mountain peak"), has led several scholars to conjecture that the plan of the altar expressed something of the cosmic symbolism typical of the religions of the Ancient Near East. W.F. Albright sees a connection between "bosom of the earth" and the Akkadian *irat erṣetim* or *irat kigalli*, which is found in the Babylonian temples and which also means "bosom of the earth," "bosom of the underworld." The same applies to the name *harʾel* which, according to him, derives from the Akkadian *arallû*, a poetic name for the netherworld.

THE BRAZEN SEA. This bowl, of huge dimensions, which stood in the Temple court, southeast of the Temple proper, was doubtless one of Hiram's greatest technical achievements. As it was 10 cubits in diameter and 5 cubits high, it could hold (on the assumption that its bottom was flat and its walls vertical) 1,765.78 cu. ft. of water. However, in the light of the statement in I Kings 7:26 that the "sea" held 2,000 bath (II Chron. 4:5 has 3,000 bath), i.e., nearly 2,825.25 cu. ft., it may be assumed that it had sharply convex sides. From the thickness of its walls (approximately 7.5 cm., about 3 in.) its weight can be calculated at some 33 tons. Some scholars believe that both the form and name of the vessel are connected with the mythological "sea," known from the Bible and Canaanite documents. The division of the 12 oxen, on which the "sea" stood, into four groups of three, each of which faced one of the points of the compass, has been interpreted as symbolic of the four seasons. Due to its great weight, the "sea" was eventually dismantled. Ahaz gave the oxen, together with the other Temple utensils, as tribute to the king of Assyria (II Kings 16:17). In 586 B.C.E. the Chaldeans broke the "sea" and carried its metal off to Babylon (II Kings 25:13).

THE COLUMNS. Different views have been expressed concerning the bronze columns, *Jachin and Boaz. Did they support the roof of the porch or were they freestanding columns at the entrance, of purely ornamental or cultic purpose? According to II Chronicles 3:15, the second supposition is the more acceptable, but on the basis of the detailed description of the capitals, the special names given to them, and also their great diameter (4 cubits), which rendered them large enough to block the entrance, some scholars incline to the first supposition. Were they pillars, obelisks, fire altars, "trees of life," or the like? W.F. Albright has suggested that they should be regarded as two huge incense stands. Opinions also differ as to the meaning of their names. An original suggestion is that of R.B.Y. Scott – that the words *yakhin* (Jachin) and *boʿaz* (or *be-ʿoz*) were the first words of inscriptions engraved on the columns: יכין ה׳ כסא דוד ומלכותו לזרעו עד עולם; "May the Lord establish (*yakhin*) the throne of David and his kingdom for his seed for ever"; and perhaps: בעז ה׳ ישמח מלך; "In the strength (*be-ʿoz*) of the Lord shall the king rejoice" (cf. Ps. 21:2).

THE BASES AND THE LAVERS. Archaeological discoveries have helped greatly toward understanding the design of the ten brass bases described in detail in the Book of Kings, especially the Larnaca (in Cyprus) "base" which, in most of its details, resembles the bases of the Temple. The latter measured 4 × 4 × 3 cubits. Their upper parts were shaped like round "collars," into which the "lavers" were fitted. These lavers, which were concave, are also known from excavations at Ugarit and Megiddo.

THE CHERUBIM. In the Holy of Holies there were two "cherubim" of olive wood which hovered over the ark of the Covenant. They were each 10 cubits high and the combined spread of their four wings was 20 cubits. Archaeological discoveries indicate that the *cherub was a form of sphinx, with the body of a lion, the head of a man, and two wings. In ancient mythology it was commonly believed that the cherubim served God (cf. II Sam. 22:11), and that their main task was to guard the ark of the Covenant in the Holy of Holies and the "Tree of Life" in the Garden of Eden (Gen. 3:24). The depictions of the thrones of Ahiram, king of Byblos, of the ruler of Megiddo, and of others, in which the thrones rest upon the cherubim, provide a concrete representation of the concept "enthroned upon the cherubim."

The Temple's Site and Orientation

On the basis of a tradition thousands of years old, the site of the First Temple can be fixed on the "Temple Mount," on the east side of Jerusalem, north of Ophel. From earliest times, the "Rock" (or "Foundation Stone") was regarded as the most sacred object on the mount and was associated with memorable events in history and with manifestations of the Divine Presence. (See also Yoma 5:2, "After the Ark was taken away a stone remained there [in the Holy of Holies] from the time of the early Prophets and it was called *Shetiyyah* ["foundation"].") Nevertheless, scholars are divided on the exact site of the Temple. The main issue is whether the altar, which stood to the east of the Temple, was built on the Rock. Some maintain that the Rock itself served as an altar in ancient times, for, according to II Samuel 24:18, 25, David set up an altar in the threshing floor of Araunah the Jebusite – on the very spot where, according to II Chronicles 3:1, Solomon erected the Temple. Against this others argue that had the altar been situated on the Rock, the area would not have sufficed for the Temple which was the west of it, as has been shown by topographical research on the formation of the mount at the time of the First Temple. Contemporary scholars generally accept the second opinion, according to which the Holy of Holies was erected on the Rock. The Rock itself, whose present height is 5 ft. 9 in. above the floor of the mosque of the Dome of the Rock, may have served as the platform of the Holy of Holies.

There is no doubt that the building was oriented from east to west, so that the porch faced eastward. Evidence of this can also be found in the words of Ezekiel: "And he brought me into the inner court of the Lord's house, and, behold, at the door of the temple of the Lord, between the porch and the altar, were about five and twenty men, with their backs toward the temple of the Lord, and their faces toward the east; and they worshipped the sun toward the east" (8:16). (It may be observed that the temple of Tell Tainet also faces east.) The exact position of the Temple in relation to the royal palace is not certain, although it was south of the Temple.

Building Materials and Ornamentation

Biblical sources provide evidence of the following main building materials: cedarwood, floated down in rafts to the neighborhood of Jaffa, and "finished stones," "stones from the quarry," "costly stones – hewn stones" (I Kings 5:31), which were used for the foundation of the structure. A detailed account is also given of the stones which were used in building the king's palace which were "sawed with saws" as well as of "great stones, stones of ten cubits, and stones of eight cubits" (I Kings 7:9–10) which were used for the Temple foundation. In addition, Solomon is said to have built the inner court of the Temple "with three rows of hewn stone, and a row of cedar beams" (I Kings 6:36). The Bible further tells how the Temple was erected and of the crews of masons and the thousands of laborers which Solomon conscripted for the work.

The method of construction in both stone and timber, whereby the timber was used to brace and strengthen the walls and also to face the interior of the building, was prevalent in Palestine and in the neighboring countries. A building of masonry and timber was found also at Ugarit, and there too a row of timber is inserted between the third and fourth course; the same is true of the buildings found at Megiddo (in Solomon's time) and Senjirli.

The biblical account leaves no doubt that the lower courses of Solomon's building were of large hewn stones, that its exterior walls were also of masonry, and that its interior walls were paneled with cedarwood. Within the courses, beams and cedar planks were set to brace and strengthen the building. The same account mentions various decorations: carvings, cherubim, palm trees, open flowers, and chainwork. All these terms, which were quite obscure up to recent years, have now become comprehensible thanks to archaeological discoveries that uncovered the ivory reliefs at Samaria, Arslan-Tash, Megiddo, and elsewhere.

Conclusion

The general picture of Solomon's Temple is clear in its major outlines. It has been seen that the plan of the Temple, its array of utensils, its decorative motifs, and the method of its construction are to a certain degree rooted in ancient traditions of the Near East. It should not, however, be deduced from this that Solomon's Temple was a stereotyped building, similar in all respects to the Canaanite temples. The distinct Israelite form of divine service also left its mark – both on the general structure of the Temple and on a number of details.

[Yigael Yadin]

RITUAL

The Service in the Temple

In addition to the sacrificial worship (for details see *Sacrifice), it was customary for the levites to sing ("they shall stand every morning, thanking and praising the Lord, and likewise at evening," I Chron. 23:30) to the accompaniment of "lyres with harps, and with cymbals" (I Chron. 25:1; II Chron. 29:25). Many of the psalms in the Book of Psalms are ascribed to these levite singers (the descendants of *Asaph, *Heman, and *Jeduthun). This singing constitutes something of an innovation, for the Pentateuch makes no reference to it (see *Music).

Primarily, however, the Temple was a place of assembly for the entire people for purposes of sacrifice, prayer, and thanksgiving. The people would come to the Temple to bring both sin and guilt offerings as well as burnt offerings and peace offerings and meal offerings with frankincense either in fulfillment of vows, as freewill offerings, or as peace offerings of thanksgiving. These sacrifices, which had to be eaten within a day or two of their slaughter, were apparently brought to the accompaniment of songs (Ps. 26:6–7; 56:13; 100:2, 4; 116:17; 118:19) and in procession ("the voice of those who sing… 'Give thanks to the Lord of hosts, for the Lord is good, for His steadfast love endures for ever'," Jer. 33:11). Many psalms which call upon man to give thanks to God ("Give thanks unto the Lord," e.g., Ps. 107, 118, 136) and to praise Him ("Praise the Lord," Ps. 113–116, 135, et al.), as well as others (e.g., Ps. 26, 27, 56, 100), were certainly associated with the bringing of these thanksgiving or freewill offerings. Individuals (or the entire community after a war, I Sam. 15:15) would bring objects set apart for sacred use (חֲרָמִים) for sacrifice.

Special importance was attached to public processions in celebration of the festivals. The people would come to the Temple "to worship before the Lord" on Sabbaths and New Moons (Isa. 1:13; 66:23; Ezek. 46:3; cf. II Kings 4:23). Particularly at the appointed seasons and at the three pilgrim festivals, large numbers would stream to the Temple (Isa. 33:20; Ezek. 46:9; Lam. 1:4; 2:6). They would come not only from Jerusalem but also from all of Judah (Jer. 7:26; 26:2; cf. Ps. 122:1–2) and even from beyond, from Shechem, from Shiloh, and from Samaria (Jer. 41:5). The number of pilgrims to Jerusalem increased especially after the destruction of Samaria (II Chron. 30:1ff.; 35:1ff.). The festal crowd would proceed in a "throng… with glad shouts and songs of thanksgiving" (Ps. 42:5 [4]) and would enter the Temple gates "with thanksgiving and… praise" (Ps. 100:4; cf. 95:1–2; 118:19; Isa. 26:1–2). The procession would be accompanied by the playing of musical instruments (with "gladness of heart, as when one sets out to the sound of the flute to go to the mountain of the Lord," Isa. 30:29), and this may also have been the custom at the time of the bringing of the firstfruits (cf. Bik. 3:4). During these pilgrimages, Jerusalem was filled with a multitude of people and animals ("like the flock at Jerusalem during her appointed feasts," Ezek. 36:38). The celebrants would solemnize the festival with singing which would, at times, continue into the night (Isa. 30:29; cf. Pes. 85b). Pilgrims to the Temple were particularly numerous on the Feast of Tabernacles, celebrated at the time of the ingathering of the harvest (e.g., I Kings 8:2; Zech. 14:16; II Chron. 7:9) and at Passover.

The Temple assumed special importance also on fast days. Then too large numbers would flock to it from Jerusalem and the border cities (Jer. 36:6–9). These gatherings would usually be held "in the court of the Lord's house" (Jer. 19:14), in the outer gate (Jer. 7:2), and on these occasions the prophets (see below) would address the people (Jer. 26:2; II Chron. 24:20–21).

The Temple Treasury

The funds for the maintenance of the Temple were kept in permanent *treasuries in the Sanctuary (I Kings 14:26; II Kings 12:19; 14:14; 18:15; 24:13; I Chron. 9:26; 26:20; II Chron. 5:1). The payment of tribute exacted by foreign enemies would be made from these funds. There was, furthermore, "the treasury of dedicated things," which was guarded by a special official of levitical descent. It consisted of war booty and other allocations assigned to the Temple by kings and generals (II Sam. 8:11–12; I Kings 7:51; II Chron. 26:27), as well as dedications made by individuals. The sources enumerate three types of such dedications: the money valuation based on the age of the individual male or female, which would be given to the priest as "holy to the Lord" (Lev. 27); money donations which a man's heart prompts him to bring into the house of the Lord"; and the money "for which each man is assessed" (II Kings 12:5[4]), which according to II Chronicles 24:6 is to be identified with the tax of a half-shekel imposed by Moses on every Israelite from the age of 20 upward, for the building of the Tabernacle (Ex. 30:13). This money would first be handed to the priests who would take it "each [man] from his acquaintance" (II Kings 12:6[5]) and deposit it in the treasury. In the 23rd year of Jehoash's reign, the high priest Jehoiada issued a decree whereby the "money of the dedicated things" was to be deposited, through the medium of "the priests who guarded the threshold," in a special chest by the bronze altar (12:10[9]). He also directed that this money was to be applied exclusively to the repair of the Temple (12:7–16 [6–15]). This regulation remained in force, apparently, to the end of the period of the First Temple (see II Kings 22:4, et al.). The supreme trustee of this money (as of the Temple administration as a whole) appears to have been the king, since the regular sacrifice was offered "from his own possessions" (II Chron. 31:3; cf. Ezek. 45:17).

The Temple treasures seem to have included stores of produce, the tithe (of grain, cattle, and sheep) and the dedicated things which, according to II Chronicles 31:4ff., would be brought to the chambers of the Temple (of this there is evidence particularly in the early period of the Second Temple – see below), and from which allocations would be made to the priests and the levites. The Temple also served as a storehouse for the royal weapons (e.g., the spears and shields of King David – II Kings 11:10; II Chron. 23:9; cf. I Sam. 21:10).

The Ministers in the Temple

The right to serve in the Temple was assigned to the priests who where descended from Aaron (as mentioned frequently in the Pentateuch; see also Ps. 115:10; 135:19). Even before the building of the Temple, the star of the priestly families of Abiathar and Eli had set, and only members of the family of Zadok served as high priests. The levites, "the house of Levi" (Ps. 135:20), included the singers to the accompaniment of instruments, as well as the gatekeepers and those appointed to be "in charge of the treasuries of the house of God and the treasuries of the dedicated gifts" (e.g., I Chron. 26:20). The levites also assisted the priests in various services (for details see *Priests).

In addition to these Israelite functionaries, non-Israelites, Nethinim, also served in the Temple (for details see *Gibeonites and Nethinim). They were descendants of the Gibeonites (cf. Josh. 9:23, 27) and of the "Servants of Solomon" (Ezra 2:58; Neh. 7:60), i.e., members of the other Canaanite peoples whom David and Solomon had made "a levy of bondservants." Ezekiel (44:9) expresses opposition to the service in the Temple of "all the foreigners who are among the people of Israel," but this opposition proved fruitless (see Ezra 2:43–58). The duty of the Nethinim was apparently to perform menial tasks such as the hewing of wood and the drawing of water (see Josh. 9:27).

The king also enjoyed a certain status of holiness in the Temple (I Kings 8:64; 9:25; cf. II Sam. 6:17; 8:18, and see above), but in contrast to the priests, he was not permitted to enter the *hekhal* or to burn incense (II Chron. 26:16). Nevertheless, he had the right to draw up the plan for the building of the Temple (I Kings 6–7; I Chron. 28:11ff.), to determine the celebration of festivals (I Kings 8:65 – 66), to consecrate the inner court when occasion demanded it (I Kings 8:64), to alter the form and position of the altar (II Kings 16:10–16), to add sacrifices for given purposes (II Chron. 29:20–21), and to designate the courses of the priests and the levites (II Chron. 29:25).

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE TEMPLE FOR THE PEOPLE

The Temple was regarded as a national center, and since it was, moreover, the abode of the ark, it was considered to be the site of the revelation of the Divine Presence and hence also the preferred place for prayer (I Kings 8:22–53; cf. Josh. 7:6–9; I Sam. 1:10–16; II Sam. 7:18–29). To it, the individual Israelite would direct his supplications even from afar (I Kings 8:44–48; cf. Dan. 6:11), in the belief that man's prayer would reach it even from the most remote places (Jonah 2:5, 8). There the people would gather in times of distress (Joel 2:15–16), when the priests would weep "between the vestibule and the altar" (Joel 2:17).

The growth of the Temple's importance as a religious center was bound up in large measure with the struggle against the high places, which appears to have become intensified in Judah with the political breach in the nation after the death of Solomon. During the reign of the dynasty of Omri the practice of idolatry gained ground in Israel, even as it did in Judah in the days of *Athaliah. By the very nature of things, idolatrous practices were concentrated especially in localities not subject to official supervision, that is, at the local high places. This brought about a sharpening of the conflict, which, in turn, led to an increased emphasis upon the special significance of the Temple in Jerusalem, and, ultimately in the reign of Hezekiah and Josiah, to the prohibition of the use of the high places and to the centralization of worship in the Temple.

This enhanced significance of the Temple in Jerusalem is apparent especially in the statements of the prophets. Although they opposed sacrifices and prayer as "a commandment of men learned by rote" (Isa. 1:10–15; Jer. 14:11–12, et al.), there is not the slightest trace in their utterances of any intention of belittling the Temple itself. The *Temple Mount, Mt. Zion, is, in their words, the mountain of the Lord, the holy mountain (Isa. 11:9; 56:7; 65:11, 25; Joel 2:1; 4:17; Zeph. 3:11, et al.), wherein the Lord dwells (Ps. 74:2), and the Temple is the house of the God of Jacob and the Lord's house (Isa. 2:2–3; Jer. 23:11; Ezek. 8:14, 16; Joel 1:13–16; Micah 4:1–2; Haggai 1:14, et al.). Like its earlier counterpart, Shiloh, the Temple is the place whereon God's name is called (Jer. 7:12, 30; 34:15), "a glorious throne set on high from the beginning" (Jer. 17:12), the habitation of the Divine Presence (Ezek. 9:3; 43:5–9; Joel 4:17, 21; Hab. 2:20, et al.), the place from which the Divine Presence reveals itself to the prophet (Isa. 6:1; Amos. 1:2; 9:1); and in "the end of days" the Temple is destined to be the place of prayer for Israel (Isa. 27:13; Jer. 31:5; 33:10–11) and for all the nations (Isa. 2:2–3; 56:7; 66:20, 23). With the destruction of the Temple, much prophecy begins to center around the vision of its reconstruction. The beginning of this transition is to be found in Ezekiel, who has a vision of the future Temple (chs. 40–48); its climax and culmination are reached in the later prophets, who are the chief advocates of its rebuilding in their own day (Haggai 1–2; Zech. 1:16; 2:15; 6:12; 8:3; 22:23) and of the purification of its worship (Mal. 1–3).

[Yehoshua M. Grintz]

SECOND TEMPLE

HISTORY

The Temple of Zerubbabel

The Jerusalem Temple is a major focus of attention in post-Exilic biblical books. Deutero-Isaiah foretells that Cyrus shall be divinely charged with the task of restoring the Temple (Isa. 44:28). The Chronicler ends his account (II Chron. 36:22–23) and the Book of Ezra begins its account with the fulfillment of this prophecy (Ezra 1:1ff.), referring to the earlier word of Jeremiah (cf. Jer. 29:10). Issued in 538 B.C.E., after his conquest of Babylon, Cyrus' rescript relates the return exclusively to the reconstruction of the Temple. The repatriates were to be aided by the Jews remaining behind and by their gentile neighbors. Temple vessels taken as booty by Nebuchadnezzar were delivered by the treasurer Mithridates to the Davidic prince Sheshbazzar for return to Jerusalem (Ezra 1:7ff.).

Although one source speaks of Sheshbazzar, with the title of governor, as having indeed laid the foundations for the Temple (Ezra 5:14ff.), another credits his nephew (?) Zerubbabel and the priest Jeshua with the honor. Despite intimidation from their neighbors they established an altar in the seventh month (year ?), reinstituted the sacrificial cult, and offered up the special sacrifices required for the festival of Tabernacles. All was performed "as written in the Torah of Moses the man of God" (Ezra 3:1ff.).

Masons and carpenters were engaged for the construction, and cedars from Lebanon were ordered from the Sidonians and Tyrians, to be shipped to Jaffa. Expenses were to be borne by the royal treasury and a memorandum of a royal decree to this effect was recorded in the archives in Ecbatana in Media. It included the dimensions of the Temple and the architectural feature that it was to be built with three courses of stone and one of timber (Ezra 3:7; 6:1ff.). A similar feature was recorded for the courtyard of Solomon's Temple (I Kings 6:36; 7:12). Unfortunately the figures for the dimensions appear to be corrupt; they are "its height sixty cubits, its width sixty cubits" (Ezra 6:3). On the basis of the dimensions of the Solomonic Temple (I Kings 6:2) and the *Peshitta*, the text has been restored, "its height [thirty] cubits, [its length] sixty [cubits], its width [thirty] cubits."

Levites were appointed to direct the work. The laying of the foundations was accompanied by a ceremony, the priests blowing the trumpets and the levites, sons of Asaph, handling the cymbals. They chanted psalms of praise in fulfillment of the word of Jeremiah (Jer. 33:10–11) and the people raised their voices in mixed cries of joy and sounds of weeping (Ezra 3:8ff.). When the neighboring peoples heard that building was actually under way, they asked to participate in the project. They claimed to have been settled on the land by the Assyrian king Esarhaddon (681–669 B.C.E.) and to have been worshiping the God of Israel since then. Their request was rejected on the grounds that to the repatriates only had Cyrus given permission to build. Thus rebuffed, the neighbors turned into enemies and by one means or another brought the building operation to a halt (Ezra 4:1ff.).

The work on the Temple, begun in the second month of the second year of the Exiles' return (Ezra 3:8), was not resumed until Elul 24 in the second year of King Darius (Haggai 1:15). If it is assumed that the chronological calculation in the periphery of Judah was the same as that in the center of the Persian Empire, then this date would have been September 21, 520. Rebellions in the eastern provinces had been put down, but Egypt was still in revolt. On Elul 1 (August 29) Haggai turned to Zerubbabel and Jeshua and rebuked them for listening to the people who said "the time has not yet come to rebuild the Temple." The prophet attributed recent drought and poor economic conditions to failure to build the Temple. Undertaking the task would bring prosperity, he assured them (Haggai 1:1ff.). Shortly after work was begun, a second prophecy of encouragement was uttered on Tishri 21 (October 17 – Haggai 2:1ff.), and the words of Haggai were soon taken up by Zechariah (Zech. 1:1ff.). The laying of the foundation is dated to Kislev 24 (December 17 – Haggai 2:18), and both prophets foresaw the onset of earthshaking events and hinted at the establishment of Zerubabbel's independent rule (Haggai 2:6ff., 20ff.; Zech. 1:16–17; 4:6ff.; 6:12–13).

Connected as it was with thinly veiled messianic aspirations, the renewed building of the Temple aroused the suspicions of Tattenai, governor of Trans-Euphrates and his subordinate Shethar-Bozenai. The two rulers came to Jerusalem with their staff to investigate the situation. They were informed of the decree by Cyrus, and wrote to Darius for corroboration (Ezra 5). Word came back confirming the decree and authorizing the work to continue, now as before at royal expense. Regular sacrifices for the welfare of the king and his family were likewise to be subsidized by the royal treasury. Interference in the building project was subject to the penalty of death (Ezra 6:1ff.). As the work proceeded apace, Jews became anxious to abolish the days of mourning for the Temple's destruction (Zech. 7). Work was finally completed on the third of Adar in the sixth year of Darius (March 12, 515). The dedicatory sacrifices consisted of 100 bulls, 600 small cattle, and 12 he-goats as purificatory sacrifice. The last number signified the unity of the 12 tribes, and the amount of all three sacrificial groups was worked out in proportion to the number of sacrifices offered at the dedication of Solomon's Temple (I Kings 8:63).

Although there is no description of the construction of the Temple or its layout, as there is for Solomon's Temple (I Kings 6–7) and for that projected by Ezekiel (Ezek. 40ff.), scattered references permit a partial picture. Around the Temple there were two courtyards with chambers, and gates, and a public square. The assembly convened by Ezra to dissolve the mixed marriages was held in the Temple plaza (Ezra 10:9). On the Ophel and in the area between the outer Temple wall and the city wall to the east the temple servants (Nethinim) and priests had their dwellings. This northeastern part of the wall, beginning with the Horse Gate, was repaired, under Nehemiah's direction, by the priests, "each one in front of his own house." Among these were Shemaiah son of Shecaniah, keeper of the East Gate (of the Temple courtyard), and Meshullam son of Berechiah who worked opposite his chamber. Malchijah the goldsmith worked across from the Muster Gate of the Temple courtyard (Neh. 3:26ff.).

Temple chambers played a prominent role in the events of the period. Ezra brought with him from Babylon silver, and gold, and vessels for deposit in the Temple chambers (Ezra 8:25ff.). His confessional concerning mixed marriages took place in front of the Temple. Upon conclusion, he repaired to the chamber of Jehohanan son of Eliashib where he spent the night in fasting and mourning (Ezra 10:1–6). Another Eliashib, in charge of the Temple chambers and related to Tobiah, assigned him a large chamber where vessels, meal offerings, and frankincense, tithes of grain, wine, and oil for the levites, singers, and gatekeepers, as well as the priestly offerings were ordinarily stored. The assignment of this chamber had been made during Nehemiah's absence from Jerusalem, and upon his return he expelled Tobiah and his possessions from the chamber, purified it, and once again he stored the Temple vessels, meal offerings, and frankincense there (Neh. 13:4ff.).

The earlier pact to observe the Torah, pushed through by Nehemiah, had sought to provide for the orderly functioning of the Temple cult and the sure support of its personnel. It stipulated an annual contribution of one-third of a shekel to finance the regular daily and festal sacrificial service and obligated everyone to supply, in rotation by lots, wood for the altar. Firstfruits were to be brought to the Temple annually not only from the produce of the soil but also from the orchard. The redemption of the human firstborn and of the impure animals was to be carried out at the Temple. There the priests were to receive the firstborn of the clean animals. Other offerings brought to them and stored in the Temple chambers included the meal offering (cf. Num. 15:17ff.) and the priestly offering from the produce of the soil and from the fruit of the tree (cf. Num. 18:12ff.; Deut. 18:4). The most far-reaching requirement was the tithe offering, formerly voluntary (Num. 18:21ff.) but now obligatory annually, to be given not only to the levites (contrast Deut. 14:22ff.) but also to the singers and gatekeepers. The levite was to go out to the fields and collect the tithe in the presence of a priest. A tenth of the tithe was due the priest and was deposited in the Temple chambers along with the other priestly offerings (Neh. 10:33ff.).

In view of the relatively small number of levites in contrast to the large number of priests (cf. Ezra 2:37ff. = Neh. 7:39ff.; Neh. 10:2ff.; 12:1ff.), it was utopian to have believed that the levitical tithe could be made obligatory. Initial efforts to have the tithe, like the priestly offerings, brought to the Temple chambers (Neh. 12:44) for distribution there failed. The portions of the levites were not being delivered, and out of economic need they and the singers fled Jerusalem to work their fields in the country. During Nehemiah's second tour of duty he sought to rectify the situation by firm action. He rebuked the Jerusalem officials for neglecting the levites, gathered them again into the city, reinstituted the practice of bringing the tithe to the Temple storeroom, and appointed special officials – Shelemiah the priest, Zadok the scribe, Pedaiah the levite, and Hanan son of Zaccur son of Mattaniah – to supervise the collection and guarantee the distribution (Neh. 13:9ff.). Now that all the sacred offerings, of priests and levites, were being brought to Jerusalem, it was necessary to organize these cultic officials into fixed groupings with regular periods of service. Earlier lists of priestly families varied from two (Ezra 8:2) to four (Ezra 2:36ff. = Neh. 7:39ff.) to 21 (Neh. 10:3ff.; 12:1–7). The list of 24 divisions attributed by the Chronicler to David (I Chron. 24–25) may have originated from the organizational activity of Nehemiah. He determined that the regular supply of wood for the altar was to follow a fixed plan and not be determined by lots, and he also organized the manner by which the firstfruits were to be brought to Jerusalem (Neh. 13:30–31).

Nehemiah, then, more than any other person, was responsible for the organization of the Temple cult, and he concluded his memoirs by an appeal to God to remember him favorably (Neh. 13:29–30). A very discouraging picture of the cult, however, is presented by the prophet Malachi, who may have prophesied after Nehemiah. The people are accused of not bringing the tithes and priestly offerings to the Temple storehouse and of bringing to the altar unfit animals, the likes of which they would not dare bring to the governor. The priests are rebuked for betraying their charge (Mal. 1:7ff.; 2:8; 3:8ff.). Intermarriage was considered by him a profanation of the sanctuary and excessive divorce reason for rejection by God of the people's offerings (2:10ff.). But the Lord would appear in His Temple, punish the wicked, and purify the priesthood so that "the offering of Judah and Jerusalem would be pleasing to the Lord as in the days of old and as in former years" (3:1ff.).

The restoration of the Temple cult was closely bound up with the efforts of the repatriates, or at least certain of their leaders, to maintain a sacred exclusivity. Yet the policy that was ultimately to prevail in Judaism was that proclaimed by Deutero-Isaiah on the eve of the Return. The foreigner who observed the covenant of God, especially the Sabbath, would be entitled to sacrifice in His Temple – "for my House shall be called a House of prayer for all peoples" (Isa. 56:6–7).

[Bezalel Porten]

The Hellenistic Period

When Judea came under Greek rule, following the campaign of Alexander the Great, there was a closely knit Jewish population centered around the Temple in Jerusalem. Simeon the Just (Jos., Ant. 12:43, 157, 158), fortified the sanctuary (apparently by the erection of the *Western Wall, which served to defend it from the city side), and dug a large reservoir within the confines of the Temple Mount (Ecclus. 50:2ff.). Ben Sira's description (loc. cit.) of Simeon's officiating in the Temple reflects the early stages of the highly impressive service which in time became customary (see later). The Hellenistic kings respected the Temple and lavished gifts upon it. Antiochus III was particularly generous; he donated wine, oil, frankincense, fine flour, ordinary flour, and salt from his own revenues and also provided wood for the Temple's construction and repair. Like the Persian rulers before him, he exempted all Temple functionaries, including scribes, from the payment of royal taxes (Jos., Ant. 12:140–2). Seleucus IV followed in his footsteps in this respect, covering all the expenses connected with the offering of the sacrifices (II Macc. 3:3); although this did not deter him, when he was later in financial straits, from sending his officer Heliodorus to Jerusalem to seize the contents of the Temple treasury (his design was frustrated: see II Macc. 3:5ff.). The attitude of the Seleucid monarchs changed radically in the days of Antiochus IV Epiphanes. On his way back from Egypt in 169 B.C.E., Antiochus broke into the Temple, and carried off its precious vessels; two years later he erected the "abomination of desolation" on the altar, turning the building into a temple of Zeus. The sacred services were suspended for over three years, being renewed only after the conquest of Mount Zion and the Temple by *Judah Maccabee, celebrated in the institution of the festival of *Ḥanukkah (I Macc. 4:58; II Mac. 1:9; 2:18). Judah also fortified Mount Zion, surrounding it with a wall in order to defend the Temple (I Macc. 4:59), especially from danger from the west, where the Greek-held Acra fortress was situated. From that time on the Temple service continued to be held without interruption, even when the Greeks succeeded in reasserting their control. In the days of Simeon the Hasmonean (141–135 B.C.E.) the Acra was razed, making the Temple henceforward the highest point in the city (Jos., Ant. 13:217). Important innovations were made in the Temple service in the time of John Hyrcanus II (TJ, Sot. 9:11; Tosef., Sot. 10:3).

[Yehoshua M. Grintz]

From the Roman Conquest until the Destruction

When Pompey conquered Jerusalem he entered the sanctuary and penetrated into the Holy of Holies (Jos., Wars 1:152), but left everything undisturbed. However, when Crassus passed through the country on his way to Parthia several years later, he plundered the Temple treasury of 2,000 silver talents (Jos., Ant. 14:105). An important landmark in Temple history is its renovation by Herod. Agrippa II renewed the eastern porticos (Ant. 20:220). During his reign the priests erected a wall on the western side of the inner court, in order to screen the altar service from the eyes of those feasting in the new royal banquet hall which the king had constructed in his palace in the Upper City (Ant. 20:189–92). The Temple porticos were damaged several times during the period of unrest preceding the rebellions against Rome in the days of Varus (Jos., Wars 2:49) and later those of *Gessius Florus (*ibid*., 2:330, 405); each time, however, they were repaired. In Pontius Pilate's time, the aqueduct which ran from the Hebron area to Jerusalem entered the Temple Mount (Wars 2:175). During the Roman war, in 70 C.E., *John of Giscala fortified himself in the Temple (the inner court was held for a time by Eleazar b. Simeon). In his struggle with Simeon b. Giora, John erected towers at the corners of the Temple (Wars 4:58).

The appointment of the high priests by the civil authorities – a custom which was inaugurated by Herod – led to a decline in the status of the office but also increased the Pharisees' control over the details of the service. The appointment of an honorary guard over the vestments of the high priest, originally made by the royal authorities and then taken over by the Roman governors, was a source of friction between the Roman government and the Temple authorities. A special rescript promulgated by Claudius (c. 46 C.E.) transferred the appointment of this guard of honor to the Temple authorities. The outbreak of the Roman war was signalized by the cessation of the sacrifice offered for the well-being of the Roman emperor (Wars 2:409ff.; Git. 56a).

With the siege of Jerusalem, the Temple became the focus of the whole war. The Romans' first step toward capturing the Temple Mount was their breach of the wall of the Fortress of Antonia (on the third of Tammuz). On the ruins of this fortress, they constructed a ramp which reached the inner wall of the court in four places (Wars 6:150–1). On the 17th of Tammuz the *tamid* sacrifice ceased to be offered (Ta'an. 4:6) – possibly because there were no priests available capable of performing the prescribed service (Wars 6:94). The Temple porticos were destroyed by fire between the 22nd and 28th of Tammuz (*ibid.*, 164–8; 177–9, 190–2). The frequent Roman assaults on the wall of the court were repulsed until the eighth of Av, when Titus gave orders to set fire to the gates of the court (*ibid.*, 241). The next day a council was held at the Roman headquarters to decide upon the fate of the Temple. According to Josephus (*ibid.*), Titus did not want the Temple to be demolished, but a different source, probably based on Tacitus, states that he demanded its destruction. In Josephus' account the burning of the Temple is accidental, resulting from a Roman soldier having thrown a burning torch through a window into one of the Temple chambers on the north side. In spite of Titus' efforts to contain the flames (so Josephus says), another torch was thrown against the Temple gate (apparently the gate of the sanctuary because the entrance hall was not closed by a gate), and the entire building went up in flames, except for two gates (Wars 6:281). The Jewish defenders fought with desperate bravery until the very last, and when they saw the edifice go up in flames many threw themselves into the fire. According to Josephus (Wars, 6:248–50) the catastrophe occurred on the tenth of Av in the year 70 C.E.; according to the Talmud (Ta'an. 29a) on the ninth. Some of the Temple vessels were saved from destruction and fell into the hands of the Romans. They are depicted on one of the reliefs on Titus' victory arch in Rome (see *Titus, Arch of).

[Michael Avi-Yonah]

STRUCTURE

The First Building

Those who returned from the Exile looked upon the Second Temple as a continuation of the First and tried to reconstruct an exact replica of it. Due to their poverty, however, they were not able to adorn it with all its original splendor, and many of the old men who had seen the First Temple in all its glory wept when they saw the modest proportions of the new foundation (Ezra 3:12; Tob. 14:5). At the beginning of the Persian period, therefore, the Temple was of modest proportions and simply adorned, but as the economic position of the Jews in Judea improved and the number of Jews the world over increased, they continued to add to the Temple structure and to beautify it. In Ben Sira (50:1–2) it is related that in the days of Simeon the son of Onias the high priest (first half of the second century B.C.E.) "the Temple was fortified [and]…the wall was built [having] turrets for protection like a king's palace." The Greek text of Ben Sira tells that in the author's day the "Temple Mount" was established – i.e., the open flat area around the Temple proper was created; foundations were laid and earth was piled on top of them until the level of the square surrounding the Temple was increased to twice its original height. A wall was also built along the southern and western perimeters of the Mount. On the east and north it was fortified by the city wall.

At the time of the internecine struggle between the *Hassideans and the Hellenizers, in the days of Antiochus IV and during the period when his decrees forbidding the practice of Judaism were in force, the daily offering was suspended, and the altar was profaned. When Judah the Maccabee and his men succeeded in reentering Jerusalem and reconsecrating the desecrated Temple, they pulled down the altar, and placed its stones in one of the chambers in the Temple precincts (Mid. 1:6). Later the Hellenizing high priest Alcimus (who was appointed in 161 B.C.E. by Demetrius I to succeed Menelaus)

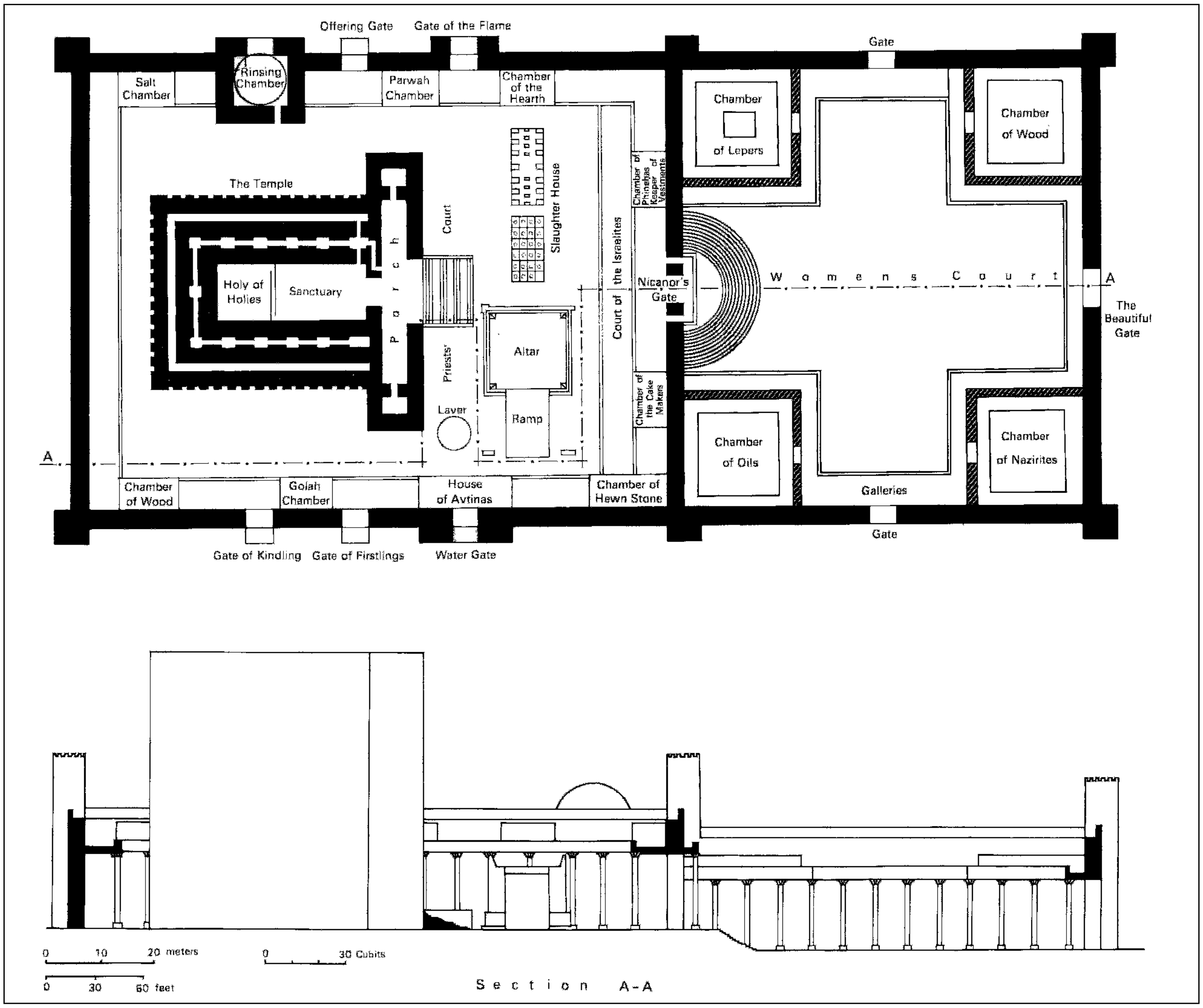
Offering Gate
Gate of the Flame
Gate
Salt Chamber
Rinsing Chamber
Parwah Chamber
Chamber of the Hearth
Chamber of Lepers
Chamber of Wood
The Temple
Slaughter House
Court
Porch
Chamber of Phinehas Keeper of Vestments
Court of the Israelites
Holy of Holies
Sanctuary
Nicanor's Gate
Womens Court
A
The Beautiful Gate
Priests' Court
Altar
Laver
Ramp
Chamber of the Cake Makers
Chamber of Oils
Chamber of Nazirites
A
Chamber of Wood
Golah Chamber
House of Avtinas
Chamber of Hewn Stone
Galleries
Gate
Gate of Kindling
Gate of Firstlings
Water Gate
0 10 20 meters
0 30 Cubits
0 30 60 feet
Section A-A

Suggested restoration of the Second Temple, according to Mishnah Middot and Josephus, Jewish Antiquities. *Based on* Atlas of Israel, *Jerusalem, 1970.*

made breaches in the *soreg* – the fence cutting off the portion open to gentiles, beyond which they were forbidden to go – but later, in the days of Jonathan the Hasmonean, the breaches were repaired. (This is the background of Mid. 2:3 "And there were 13 breaches which had been made by gentile kings. They mended them and in connection with them they ordained 13 prostrations.") In Hasmonean times the walls of the Temple Mount were also fortified, so that it became the highest fortification in the city (Jos., Wars 5:245). The first bridge (i.e., the northern one) connecting the Upper City and the Temple Mount was probably also constructed at this time.

Reconstruction by Herod

In the 18th year of his reign, Herod decided to rebuild the Temple (Ant. 15:380), and in order to allay the fears of the people and avoid their wrath, he completed all the preparations for the new building before demolishing the existing structure. A thousand priests were trained to be stonemasons and builders, so that they could do the necessary work in the inner portions of the Temple where non-priests were forbidden to enter, and all the building materials were assembled, as well as around a thousand wagons to transport the stones (Ant. 15:390–1). The Mishnah has preserved various traditions concerning the extreme care with which the *halakhah* was kept in all that related to the Temple's construction in Herod's day. For the erection of the altar and the ramp by which the priests ascended to it, unhewn stones were quarried from under the virgin ground of the Beth-Cherem Valley. No iron touched them in the process (Mid. 3:4). While sacrifices were being offered curtains were drawn before the sanctuary (*hekhal*) and the courts, both so as to enable the worship to continue undisturbed and to conceal the inner portion of the Temple from the eyes of the multitude (Eduy. 8:6). In spite of the large-scale preparations and the diligence of the workmen, the building operations continued for 46 years (John 2:2), and shortly before its destruction various finishing touches were still being put to the edifice (Ant. 20:219). During the Herodian renovation the area of the Temple Mount was doubled. This was accomplished by constructing gigantic supporting walls and filling in the intervening area. Around the forecourt thus created, porticos were built. The second bridge, which connected the southern portion of the Temple Mount with the Upper City, was built at this time. The sanctuary itself was raised 40 cubits and broadened 30 cubits and its facade was renewed. The edifice was built of white stone. Its gates and many of its decorations were plated with silver and gold (Wars 5:223). Talmudic tradition too emphasizes the splendor of the building: "He who has not seen the Temple of Herod has never in his life seen a beautiful building" (BB 4a). The descriptions of the Temple found in Jewish literature, talmudic and other, from the end of the Second Temple period reflect, for the most part, the building as it was after the Herodian reconstruction. There are three main sources for details of the Temple: talmudic literature, particularly the tractates *Middot, Tamid, Yoma*, and *Shekalim*; Josephus' *Antiquities* (15:380–425 and his *Jewish Wars* (5:184–247); and archaeological findings, including especially inscriptions.

The *Temple Mount is surrounded by the remnants of a wall. With the exception of the northern side and northern half of the western side this wall was examined by Warren during 1864–67, and from 1967 by B. Mazar; they reached the conclusion that it dates from Herodian times. Its foundations are at present deep underground (25 meters at the southeast corner and 21 meters at the Western Wall), but in ancient times, too, part of it was below ground level. These lower layers were built of ashlars with wide marginal dressings and protruding surfaces, whereas those visible to the eye while the Temple stood were of stones with low, smooth projections and double margins. The largest stone found in the Western Wall is 12 meters (c. 40 ft.) long, but the most massive is in the 28th layer on the southern side which is the level of the threshold of the gates to the Temple: it is 7 meters (c. 24 ft.) long, 1.85 (c. 6 ft.) high, and weighs over 100 tons. Herod's aim was to create a rectangular platform and this necessitated large-scale changes in the topography of the Temple Mount. In order to level the ground, 5–14 meters (17–58 ft.) of the stone at the northwestern corner were hewn away. On the other hand, a small valley which ran in a southeasterly direction along the length of the old wall of the Temple Mount down to the Kidron had to be filled in. A wall 38 meters (c. 124 ft.) high was constructed and then the pit thus created was filled in with earth. At the southwest corner the direction of the Tyropoeon Valley, which used to cut across the Temple Mount, was deflected. The highest point of the rock at the southeast corner, which faces the Kidron Valley, was 47 meters (c. 154 ft.) lower than the level of the planned Temple area. Herod therefore had this space filled with stones and earth to the height of 30 meters (c. 98 ft.), on top of which he built a vaulted structure 88 meters (c. 290 ft.) long (known today as "Solomon's Stables").

The Mishnah (Mid. 1:3) mentions only five gates to the Temple Mount: the two gates of Huldah on the south, Coponius' Gate in the west (called after *Coponius the first Roman procurator of Judea), the Gate of Tadi in the north, and the Shushan Gate in the east. This description fits the archaeological findings except for the western side. Two gates and a bridge have been found on this side. According to the statement of Josephus there were four gates on the west (Ant. 15:401). On the south the remains of two gates have been found, known today as the "Double Gate" and the "Triple Gate." From these gates vaulted underground passageways lead up to the area on the Temple Mount. Of the "Double Gate" there remains the threshold to the lintel, which is from the period of the Second Temple, and also the entrance hall containing a central pillar and four arches, in two of which some decoration is still discernible; this too apparently dates from Temple times. Of the "Triple Gate" only a portion of the original doorpost remains. The width of the passageways is 5.5 meters (c. 18 ft.), and in the "Double Gate" 11 meters (c. 36 ft.). In the Western Wall an arch and a bridge have been discovered (Wilson's Arch) which connected the Temple Mount with Herod's palace (at the site of the present "citadel"). Another gate, on the southern side of the Western Wall, is now known as Barclay's Gate. The length of its lintel is 7.5 meters (c. 25 ft.) and its height 2.08 meters (c. 7 ft.). The threshold of this gate is lower than all the others and steps apparently led down from it to the Tyropoeon Valley. One of these two gates may possibly be identified with the Coponius Gate of the Mishnah. At the southern end of the Western Wall remains are still visible which are known as "Robinson's Arch" (see *Jerusalem). The Gate of Tadi had no lintel, but consisted of two stones slanting against each other, a triangular form witnessing to the gate's antiquity (Mid. 2:3). On the doors of the Shushan Gate was a picture of Persepolis. This gate, which was undoubtedly on a direct axis with the Temple, was south of the "Mercy Gates" (i.e., the "Golden Gates") which can be seen in the Eastern Wall today. The Eastern Wall was lower than all the others, so as not to obstruct the view of the sanctuary from the eyes of the priest burning the *red heifer on the top of the Mount of Olives (Mid. 2:4).

From the Eastern Gate a bridge supported by arches spanned the Kidron Valley; it was called "the heifer's gangway" (Par. 3:10; Shek. 4:2). A second bridge, called "the scapegoat's gangway," extended from the southern end of the Eastern Wall toward the desert. Remains of it have been found close to the southeastern corner of the Temple Mount (Shek. 4:2).

The length of the walls of the Temple Mount were 281 meters (c. 915 ft.) on the south, 466 meters (c. 1520 ft.) on the east, 488 meters (c. 1590 ft.) on the west, and 315 meters (c. 1,025 ft.) on the north, a sum total of 1,550 meters (5,050 ft.; the area of the Temple Mount is 144,000 sq. m. (c. 169,000 sq. yds). Marks on the inside face of the Western Wall indicate that buttresses divided the upper portion of the wall into niches (like the wall surrounding the Cave of Machpelah at Hebron which is also Herodian). The wall had embrasures, and guards chosen from among the levites were posted at its corners and gates. Around the wall – at least at the southwestern end – was an adjoining plaza whose different levels were connected by steps. Shops were built on the lower levels underneath this plaza.

The Temple Square

The Temple square, which was open to everyone, including gentiles, lay within the wall. It was surrounded by porticos which at the northwest corner joined up with the Fortress of Antonia. The porticos consisted of two rows of columns, each one 25 cubits high, and their roofs were flat. The one on the east was thought to be the most ancient, and Josephus ascribes it to Solomon's day. It was known as "The Street of the House of the Lord," and as early as Ezra's day was used as a place for mass gatherings (Ezra 10:9). The largest and most famous of the porticos was that situated on the southern end of the Temple Mount, known as the "Royal Portico." According to Josephus (Ant. 15:415) it was 185 meters (c. 620 ft.) long. Since the southern wall of the Temple Mount is longer, it was apparently reached by steps leading up to it at either end. The "Royal Portico" had the form of a basilica, i.e., a central oblong hall with a colonnade leading out from each side. Between them ran four rows of columns, 7 meters (c. 23 ft.) high (hewn columns of this height have been found lying on stony terrain in several places in the Jerusalem area, such as have been discovered in Jerusalem in the Russian Compound, Maḥaneh Yehudah and elsewhere; they seem to have cracked in the course of being quarried and were therefore abandoned). The width of the central hall was 15 meters (c. 50 ft.), and its height 30 meters (100 ft.); the colonnades were 10 meters (c. 33 ft.) wide and 16 meters (c. 53 ft.) high. The porticos of the square as far as the *soreg* were thronged with people, and both merchants and *money changers were to be found there. The money changers (whom Jesus tried to remove; see Matt. 21:12; Mark 11:15; Luke 19:45) converted the light Roman coins to the Tyrian shekel which was thought to be equivalent in value to the "Holy Shekel." The merchants sold doves and whatever else was needed for the sacrifices. Here too preachers harangued the multitudes (Matt. 21:23ff.).

At the end of the court was a *soreg* (a stone lattice work) which surrounded the consecrated area – the Temple Mount proper in the narrow mishnaic sense, i.e., the "500 cubits by 500 cubits" (Mid. 2:1). According to the Mishnah (Mid. 2:3) the height of the *soreg* was 10 handbreadths (70 cm. = 28 in.), but Josephus states that it was 3 cubits (1.5 m. = 5 ft.); this latter measurement seems more appropriate for a fence to which were attached plaques written in Greek and Latin forbidding gentiles to pass that point on pain of death. Remains of these inscriptions bearing the Greek text (one complete plaque and one partly preserved) have been discovered in Jerusalem (in 1870 and 1936). Beyond the *soreg* were 14 steps and then the *ḥel* ("rampart"), which was 10 cubits (5 m. = 17 ft.) broad (Mid. 2:3; Wars 5:195–7). Beyond the *ḥel* were the wall of the main forecourt (*azarah*), and the Court of the Women (*ezrat nashim*). In the outer court were the store-chambers for the shekels and the Temple vessels, and also "*shofarot*" (chests in the form of horns, i.e., narrow at the top, where the opening was, and wider lower down) for the donations (*terumot*) of the people (Shek. 2:1).

The Courts

The Court of the Women (Mid. 2:5) was situated at the east of the Temple Court (before the Court of the Israelites and Priests). It was square, each side being 135 cubits long, and was not roofed over. In each of its four corners were square chambers (40 × 40 cubits) also unroofed (but apparently surrounded by porticos as a protection against the rain). At the southeast corner was the Nazirites' chamber, at the northwest the lepers'; the southwestern chamber was used for the storage of oil and that on the northeast for wood. A balcony surrounded the Court of the Women, from which the women used to watch the celebrations of the Feast of the Waterdrawing (*Simḥat Bet ha-Sho'evah*) on the nights of Sukkot. The Court of the Women had four gates: the eastern one was very large (35 m. = c. 115 ft. high) and like the rest of the gates of the Temple (except for "Nicanor's Gate") was overlaid with plates of silver and gold (Wars 5:204–5). Secondary doors led into the Court of the Women from the north and from the south. The western gate was called *Nicanor's Gate. Josephus uses the name Corinthian Gate – apparently because its brass plating was embossed with a highly artistic decoration of Corinthian work, and this is why Acts (3:2, 10) refers to it as the "Beautiful Gate." It was reached by an ascent of 15 steps, which were not rectangular, as were all the other stairs on the Temple Mount, but in the form of a semicircle (Mid. 2:5). On either side of the staircase (whose height was 3.5 m. = c. 12 ft.) were chambers (underneath the Court of the Israelites) in which the levites stored their musical instruments. Nicanor's Gate had two wicket doors. Next to it the *sotah* ("wayward woman") was given the "waters of bitterness" to drink. According to the Mishnah, *Yoma* 3:6, Queen Helena had a golden tablet made on which the biblical passage concerning the *sotah* was engraved, and it was probably set up here.

From the Court of the Women one ascended to the Court of the Israelites, which was actually that portion of the Court of the Priests open to all male Jews. Both of these courts were enclosed by an inside wall 20 meters high, on top of which were exhibited enemy spoils taken by the Hasmoneans and Herod. The Court of the Israelites' was long and narrow (135 × 11 cubits). It was set off from the Court of the Priests by blocks of large polished ashlars and according to others by the levites' stand and stairs leading up to it, so that the Court of the Priests was 2½ cubits higher than that of the Court of Israelites. At the back of the Court of the Israelites, on either side of Nicanor's Gate, were two chambers: the northern one (to the right) was the chamber of Phinehas, keeper of the vestments, and the southern one (to the left) the chamber of the makers of the *ḥavitin* ("cakes"; Mid. 1:4); these chambers seem to have opened on to the Court of the Priests. On the holidays the public used to crowd the narrow area allotted them – particularly on the Festival of Passover, and on the Festival of Sukkot at the close of the Sabbatical Year, when the king used to stand upon a wooden dais erected for the occasion (Sot. 7:8), to read the biblical portion traditionally assigned to him. Non-priests used to enter the Court of the Priests only for the purpose of "laying their hands" on the animal being sacrificed, for its slaughtering, and in the waving of the portions of the sacrificial animal (Kelim 1:8).

Most of the sacrificial rites took place in the Court of the Priests. The measurements of this court were 187 × 135 cubits, and it surrounded the sanctuary proper on all sides. In it stood the large altar which had a square base, each side measuring 32 cubits. It was at least 16 cubits high and at each of its four corners were "horns." The base was whitewashed. At the southwest corner of the altar were two vents – one on each side – through which the blood of the sacrifices drained, flowing from there through a conduit which eventually led to the Kidron. Underneath this corner, a slab a cubit square was set in the floor, which could be raised in order to reach underneath the altar to clean the conduits (Mid. 3:3). At this same corner there were also two cups into which the wine and the water libations were poured (Suk. 4:9). The altar was ascended by means of a ramp on its southern side, which was about half as wide as the altar itself. To the west of the ramp was an aperture where were placed the birds intended for a sin offering which had become disqualified for sacrifice prior to their removal to the place of their burning (Mid. 3:3; Tosef., Zev. 7:6). Between the altar and the front of the sanctuary proper was the laver, a copper appurtenance with twelve spigots, from which the priests washed their hands and feet. North of the altar was the slaughtering area where six rows of four rings were set in the floor, or perhaps four rows of six rings (Mid. 3:5). In front of the rings were light small marble pillars to which cedar beams were attached. Iron hooks were set into these blocks for the purpose of hanging sacrificed animals while they were skinned. Between the pillars were marble tables to facilitate preparing the sacrifices.

As indicated, the Court of the Priests was surrounded by a wall. There is a difference of opinion as to the number of gates which were to be found in it. According to *Middot* 1:4–5, and Josephus, *Antiquities* 15:418, there were seven gates (if one includes the Gate of Nicanor which properly speaking was not found at the entrance of the Court of the Priests, but rather in the Court of the Israelites which was open to the Court of the Priests). However elsewhere, in *Middot* (2:6), in *Shekalim* 6:3, and in Josephus' *Jewish Wars*, 5:198, the number is eight. The smaller number seems more likely. The names of the gates were as follows. From west to east on the northern end were the Gate of the Flame (*bet ha-moked*), the Gate of the Offerings, and the Gate of the Kindling (*niẓoẓ*) which had an upper story where a priestly guard was stationed, whereas the guard below was made up of levites. On the southern side were the Gate of the Fuel, the Gate of the Firstlings, and the Water Gate (which was situated close to the laver within the Court of the Priests and the water conduit on the outside). The chambers of the *azarah* (the Temple Court) were between the gates (and sometimes above them). Their number too is uncertain. According to *Middot* 5:3 there were six. In addition, two "houses" were situated near the outer wall, one of which (the *bet ha-moked*) contained four chambers. Some of the chambers were situated partly inside and partly outside the sanctuary. Others were entirely within its area and some entirely without. If it is assumed that the order of the chambers in the *azarah* coincides with the order of the gates, then to the north were the chamber of the salt, the *parvah* chamber (Jastrow, following Maimonides, takes it to be a Persian proper name; others assume it comes from the Hebrew word *parvah* "animal skin"), and the rinsing chamber. Between the first two chambers stood the *bet ha-moked*, which also served as an entrance to the court, and contained four chambers, two inside and two outside the consecrated area, with blocks of polished stone separating them.

On the southwest was the Chamber of the (Lamb) Sacrifices, on the southeast the Chamber of the Shewbread Makers. On the northeast was the chamber containing the remnants of the defiled altar stored by the Hasmoneans, and on the northwest corner was the descent to the Chamber of Ritual Immersion (*bet ha-tevilah*; Mid. 1:6). The approach to it was through a *mesibbah* (a winding staircase going underground) which is perhaps to be identified with the long cistern (no. 1) that extends northward from under the Dome of the Rock. The Chamber of Ritual Immersion itself may be the cistern (no. 3), which contains several rooms. The *bet ha-moked* was a sizable edifice covered by a dome. Broad slabs of stone were set into the inner circumference of the building, and upon them the priests of the watch slept. From the Rinsing Chamber (*lishkat ha-madiḥim*) another *mesibbah* led to the roof of the *parvah* chamber, where was situated the ritual bath in which the high priest immersed himself on the Day of Atonement. In spite of the fact that it was in an upper story, it was nevertheless on a lower level than the aqueduct reaching the Temple Court from the spring of Etam (Yoma 31a). South of the Temple Court was the Wood Chamber, the Chamber of the Bowl (containing the Cistern of the Bowl), and the Chamber of Hewn Stone, where the Sanhedrin sat (this chamber certainly adjoined the Court of the Israelites). Between these two chambers was the chamber of the house of *Avtinas, where the incense was prepared. It was situated above the Water Gate and the high priest's chamber was outside it. The gates of the *azarah* were 20 cubits high and 10 cubits wide; they were approached from the *ḥel* by means of 12 steps (Mid. 2:3; according to Josephus five steps, but this number seems to be too small). The western side, where the *devir* (Holy of Holies) was, had no gates or steps, but *Shekalim* 6:3 concludes with the statement: "…and two in the west which had no names" (but cf. Mid. 1:4).

The Temple proper had the "form of a lion, narrow in the rear and broad at the front" (Mid. 4:7). The facade was square: 100 cubits wide and 100 cubits high. The rear of the building was the same height but it was only 70 cubits wide. The additional 30 cubits in the front consisted of two compartments, one on each side of the entrance hall. The facade was adorned with four pillars, possibly two stories high. Their capitals were certainly Corinthian. The building had a flat roof. The gate of the entrance hall was open and a large curtain was visible through it. Over the entrance were five wooden beams, narrow at the bottom and widening out at the top, laid between tiers of stone. The height of the entrance was 40 cubits and its breadth 20 (Mid. 3:7). The entrance hall itself was narrow, only 11 cubits. Along the ceiling joists of cedar were set, from which were suspended crowns (*atarot*) of gold, as well as golden chains which the young priests used to climb in order to clean and polish the crowns. Behind the entrance hall was the sanctuary (40 × 20 cubits), all of whose walls were plated with gold. The gate of the sanctuary was the "Great Gate" of the Temple, the turning of whose hinges was heard from afar (Tam. 3:8 "to Jericho"). It was 20 cubits high and 10 cubits broad and was shut by a bolt. It also had two wickets: the southern one was closed up, but the northern one served as a passageway to the compartment (*ta*) which led into the sanctuary. Over the gate of the sanctuary was the golden vine, to which the people used to donate a leaf or a pip of gold, or an entire cluster of grapes, which the priests would attach to it (Mid. 3:8).

Within the sanctuary stood the altar of incense, the table of shewbread, and the golden candelabrum with its appurtenances (the tongs and snuff-dishes). In the floor of the sanctuary was a loose marble slab, the dust from underneath which was used in the preparation of the "waters of bitterness." Around the sanctuary were 38 compartments arranged in three stories. Since the width of the walls diminished as they rose, the compartments in the upper stories were deeper than those below. On the north and south side there were five compartments on each level (i.e., 15 on either side), and on the western side there were eight compartments (three on the ground floor and the first floor, respectively, and two on the upper story). Within the wall against which the compartments were situated, there was a *mesibbah* which was reached through the compartment at the northeastern corner. This *mesibbah* led to the upper story of the sanctuary, which was 40 cubits high and contained wooden columns by means of which the flat roof of the upper story could be reached. With the upper story the height of the entire edifice was brought to the stipulated 100 cubits. The upper story was empty, and a row of polished ashlars (*pesifasin*) indicated the boundary between the sanctuary and the Holy of Holies below. Beyond this line were apertures in the floor of the upper story. When necessary, workmen were let down to repair the walls of the *devir* (Mid. 4:5). The Holy of Holies, which was situated at the western end of the sanctuary, was square (20 × 20 cubits). Two curtains separated it from the sanctuary. It contained no objects at all, and even the high priest entered it only once a year, on the Day of Atonement, in order to offer incense. The Mishnah (Kelim 1:6) defines ten degrees of sanctity which pertained to the different parts of the Temple and its environs: the Temple Mount was holier than the city of Jerusalem as a whole, the *ḥel* was holier than the outer portions of the Temple Mount, and so on in ascending degrees of sanctity, culminating in the Holy of Holies.

[Shmuel Safrai and Michael Avi-Yonah]

RITUAL

Sources

Tannaitic and amoraic literature contains a wealth of material describing the Temple ritual. Several mishnaic tractates, such as *Tamid, Middot*, and *Yoma*, are devoted to the description of the Temple ritual or they are based on the recollection of sages who lived when the Temple still stood, e.g., Simeon of Mizpah and Eliezer b. Jacob I, while priests and levites gave personal testimony as eyewitnesses. Eliezer b. Jacob is quoted as saying: "I forget for what purpose the Wood Chamber was used" (Mid. 5:4). Other rabbis who served as levites and priests in the Temple, such as R. Hanina Segan ha-Kohanim, R. Zadok, R. Johanan b. Gudgadah, and R. Joshua b. Hananiah, also report miscellaneous details. Many rabbinic traditions relating to the Temple ritual have been preserved and transmitted in almost every midrashic work and talmudic tractate. Second only to the Mishnah are Josephus' works: the *Wars*, several of the books of the *Antiquities*, particularly books 3, 5, and 20, and his *Contra Apionem*. Much information is to be found in the New Testament and in early Christian tradition. Because of the Temple's central position in the life of the people, almost all of the literature dating from the Second Temple period, such as the Letter of Aristeas, *Ben Sira (ch. 50), the Books of the Maccabees, the Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs, et al., make at least some mention of the Temple, and many of them treat it at length. The Greek and Roman writers also make passing mention of it in their writings concerning the Jews. Information with details of the Temple ritual dates for the most part from the generations immediately preceding its destruction. However, the general outlines of the ritual were set at the very beginning and the form of the Temple service hardly changed. Evidence of this continuity is the fact that the names of some of the most important functionaries in the Temple, such as the *segan, amarkal*, and the *gizbar* ("treasurer"), are of Persian and Assyrian origin and stem from long before the Hellenistic period.

Functionaries and Participants

PRIESTS. The priests officiated at the daily service. They alone were permitted to enter the sanctuary (*hekhal*) to approach the altar. They offered congregational sacrifices as well as those brought by individuals, burned the incense, lit the lamp in the sanctuary, and blessed the people. Even in respect to the tasks assigned to the levites, such as the singing of psalms and acting as gatekeepers, the priests participated, although maintaining their superior status. It was they who sounded the trumpets at the commencement of the singing and in the intervals between chapters. Wherever both priests and levites stood guard, the priests were stationed above, in the higher story, and the levites below (Mid. 1:5). Even those tasks whose performance was permitted by the *halakhah* to

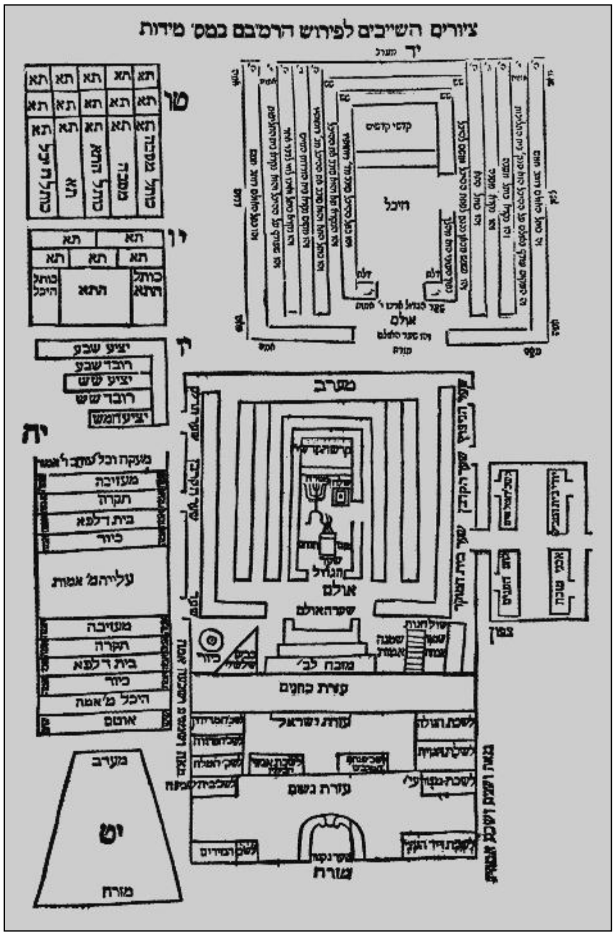

Floor plans of the Temple according to Maimonides. Lower right, general plan showing the various implements; upper right, detailed plan of the inner area. From the Babylonian Talmud, tractate Middot.

levites and Israelites at large – such as ritual slaughter of the animals to be sacrificed, and the accompanying of the scapegoat to the wilderness on the Day of Atonement – were not as a rule given over by the priests to others (Yoma 1:3). The priests were divided into 24 *mishmarot* ("divisions"), each of which served for a week at a time (see **Mishmarot and Ma'amadot*). About 20 priests were chosen by lot – the method used to assign the tasks connected with the Temple service – to offer the daily burnt offering (*tamid*), and in addition many more priests served in connection with offerings of individual sacrifices (Yoma 2; Tam. 3). Priests who came from the Diaspora were permitted to join their *mishmar*, except for those who had served in the Temple of Onias in Egypt (Men. 13:10). According to the letter of the law, a youth might begin to participate in the work of the Temple service as soon as he reached puberty, and was not disqualified "until he became old," no specific age being mentioned. However, "his brethren priests do not permit him to serve until he reaches the age of 20" (Ḥul. 24b; cf. Sif. Num. 63). Priests who were disqualified from participating in the Temple ritual because they had a physical blemish nevertheless went up with their *mishmar*, assisted in the work permitted them, in various secondary services, joined the other priests in the blessing of the people, and received their portion of the sacrifices since they were permitted to eat of them (Mid. 2:5; Tosef, Suk. 4:23). There is a wealth of sources attesting the faithfulness of the priests to the Temple and the Temple service, both in normal times and in hours of emergency. Even in times of famine the altar was served, nor did the priests touch the Temple food stores. When Pompey conquered Jerusalem and besieged the Temple, the priests continued with their ritual tasks in spite of the battering of the rams, and even when the Roman soldiers broke into the Temple and massacred the assembled people they went on with their sacred duties (Jos., Ant. 14:67).

LEVITES. During the Second Temple period all tasks directly connected with the offering of the sacrifices were taken away from the levites. In the descriptions of the Temple service in books dating from the beginning of the period, such as Ezra, Nehemiah, and Chronicles, the levites are always mentioned too, but in similar descriptions in later writers, such as Ben Sira and I Maccabees, the levites no longer appear. During the greater part of the Second Temple period, the only functions of the levites were as singers and gatekeepers; whereas the priests with their trumpets stood right by the altar, the choir of levites was stationed on a dais located on the boundary between the Court of the Priests and the Court of the Israelites (Mid. 2:10). The division of the levites by family, mentioned in I Chronicles 9, into choir members and gatekeepers was strictly preserved until the destruction of the Temple (Ar. 11b; Jos, Ant. 20:218). The gatekeepers were responsible for the supervision of the Temple visitors with a view to forbidding anyone ritually impure from entering its precincts. They also saw to the physical cleanliness and the general servicing of the Temple (Philo, Spec. 156, Praem. 6). They stood guard within the Temple day and night, and locked the Temple gates at the proper times. Shortly before the Temple's destruction, the Sanhedrin ruled that the levites were permitted to wear the priestly linen garb (Ant. 20:216). Like the priests, the levites were also divided into 24 divisions, but the further subdivision into *battei av* ("families") does not seem to have existed.

ISRAELITES. Jews who were neither priests nor levites, namely, Israelites, visited the Temple either:

(a) in order to offer sacrifices and to fulfill other ritual obligations connected with the Temple such as the bringing of gifts and offerings, the stipulated sacrifice after childbirth, or upon the purification from the defilement of leprosy, and so on;

(b) in order to pray there, particularly at the hours of the sacrifices but at other hours as well; or

(c) to serve in the Temple in addition to the priests as members of the *ma'amadot* (divisions of popular representatives deputed to accompany the daily services in the Temple with prayers).

In addition to the offering of the regular sacrifices, and the optional ones, such as those brought in connection with vows and freewill offerings, Nazirites came to the Temple when they completed the period of their vow bringing their sacrifice and cutting their hair; the lepers after their period of defilement brought an offering; and many came to the Temple to become purified from the defilement of contact with a dead person; etc. However, many people came to the Temple, not because of any ritual obligation, but simply to witness the service, most of which was performed in the open court. According to Luke (1:10) the people used to gather for prayer particularly at the time of the offering of the incense in the sanctuary, after the sacrificing of the daily burnt offering (*tamid*), in order to receive the priestly benediction, since the priests blessed the people after offering the incense. They also came to prostrate themselves before God at the time of the intonement of the daily hymn at the completion of the Temple service (Ecclus. 50; Tam. 7). The institution of the *ma'amadot* (see **Mishmarot and Ma'amadot*) was based upon the idea that the daily and festival sacrifices were obligatory upon the community as a whole, and that the priests were the emissaries not of God, but of the people (Sif. Zut., Shelaḥ, beginning). Every individual was obliged to give the half-shekel for the communal offerings and, contrary to the views of the Sadducees, "no individual may donate the daily sacrifice" (Men. 65a), nor could "the sacrifice of an individual be offered if he was not present." For the same reason the members of the *ma'amad* stood by the priests while they offered up the daily sacrifices, and afterward they assembled for prayers and scriptural readings, and also fasted (Ta'an. 4:2; et al.).

Before a non-priest entered the Court he ritually immersed himself even if he was levitically clean (TJ, Yoma 3:3, 40b). A person had to remove his shoes before entering the Temple Mount, and many people made a point of dressing themselves in white (Jos., Wars beginning of Book II et passim). The Temple was open to all Israelites. Only those who had been excommunicated were prevented from entering the Temple (Eduy. 5:6; Jos., Ant. 19:332). Except for perpetrators of particularly heinous sins, sacrifices were also accepted from everyone: "sacrifices are accepted from the hands of transgressors so that they may repent" (Ḥul. 5a). In contrast to the customary practice in the other temples in the Orient, a person coming to the Temple in Jerusalem to offer a sacrifice did not have to make any payment for the privilege of sacrificing. He even received the necessary wood gratis from the Temple's stockpile (Sifra 14; Men. 21b). Those who visited the Temple did not turn their backs upon it when they went out, but rather went round the Temple Mount, keeping to the right and emerging by the gate on the left. On their way they prostrated themselves 13 times. According to one tradition, these prostrations corresponded to the 13 gates, but according to another they corresponded to the 13 breaches which the kings of Greece had made, and in this way they gave thanks to God for the repair of the breaches (Mid. 2:2; Shek. 6:1).

THE OFFICERS OF THE TEMPLE. A regular staff supervised and instructed the divisions of priests and levites, who were relieved every week. These officials distributed the various duties among the priests of the *mishmar* by lot, supervised the watch, announced the opening and locking of the gates, regulated the sale of the libations and the birds for the sacrifices, and directed the details of the service. A partial list of these regular officials has been preserved in *Shekalim* chapter 5 and in the Tosefta chapter 2. The list contains mostly priests, but for the less important tasks levites are also mentioned. The positions seem to have been largely hereditary. Thus it is related that *Bet Garmu, who were appointed over the preparation of the shewbread, and the *Avtinas family, who prepared the incense, kept the technical details a secret within their own clan and refused to divulge them to others (TJ, Shek. 5:2, 49a). Besides those appointed over specific tasks, *gizbarim* ("treasurers") and *amarkalim* ("trustees") are mentioned. They did not deal with the daily work, but were responsible for the general administration of the Temple, as well as for the various Temple magazines and treasuries. In the hands of the *amarkalim* were the keys to the storehouses, and the *gizbarim* assessed the value of people, animals, or objects dedicated to the Temple, for the purpose of their redemption, superintended the collection of the half-shekel, the provision of the requirements for the altar, etc. The *gizbarim* and the *amarkalim* are usually mentioned together in the sources. Constituting a sort of governing body at the head of the Temple, they were related by blood to the high priesthood (Tosef., Men. 13:21), and represented the priestly order as a whole. To the list of Temple officials should be added two *catholici* (controllers of the Temple treasury). In order of importance the *catholicos* was between the high priest and the *amarkal* and the *gizbar* (TJ, Shek. 5:3, 49a), but the sources do not contain any details concerning the functions of this office. The officials served in pairs (except for two offices expressly stated in the Mishnah to have been held by a single official) since "authority may not be exercised over the community [in matters of money] by less that two [officers]": there were never fewer than three *gizbarim* and seven *amarkalim*.

THE HIGH PRIEST AND HIS DEPUTY. At the head of the Temple was the high priest. Since in the days of the Second Commonwealth, the Second Temple enjoyed a central position in the life of the people, the high priest stood at the head of the people during most of this period. His position in the Temple found expression in his unique golden garb (which consisted of eight golden vestments), in the offering of the *ḥavitin* ("cakes") in the name of the high priest together with the *tamid* sacrifice in the morning and in the afternoon, and in his independence of the division of the service among the *mishmarot* and *battei av*, for he could offer animal sacrifices and incense whenever he chose (Tam. 7:3). The high priest officiated at the Temple on the Sabbath and on holidays, particularly on Sukkot, which was celebrated in great pomp with the participation of great masses of people (TJ, Ḥag. 2:4, 78b; Jos., Wars 5:230; I Macc. 10:15–21). Especially striking was the part he played in the service of the Day of Atonement, which was performed entirely by the high priest himself. The most awesome moment of the service was the entrance of the high priest into the Holy of Holies to offer the incense – this being the only time during the entire year that anyone at all entered the Holy of Holies. The high priest also officiated on special occasions, such as the burning of the red heifer, and he read from the Torah at the close of the Sabbatical Year (see *Hakhel*).

Second in importance to the high priest was the *segan*, the chief of the priests. He attended the high priest when he ministered (Tam. 7:3) and supervised the sacrificing of the *tamid* and the regular daily Temple service in general. The *segan* is identical with the *strategos* mentioned by Josephus and the Christian Gospels. At the end of the Second Temple period the Pharisees ensured that the high priests, who were of the Sadducean faction, nevertheless performed the service in the proper Pharisaic manner. One of the means of Pharisaic control was the *segan*, who attended the high priest when he ministered and so could see that he did not deviate from the form prescribed by Pharisaic teaching. The holders of the office of *segan* who are known by name were all Pharisees.

The Daily Service

The essential element of the daily Temple service was the offering of the *tamid* sacrifice of two lambs, one in the morning, with which the service began, and one in the afternoon, with which it concluded. Between the two, sacrifices offered by individuals were brought: freewill offerings (*nedavah*), burnt offerings (*olah*), peace offerings (*shelamim*), thanks offerings (*todah*), and meal offerings (*minḥah*) of various sorts; and obligatory sacrifices: sin offerings (*ḥatta'ot*), guilt offerings (*asham*), and all the various sacrifices connected with the rites of levitical purification of both men and women. The Bible contains no allusion to prayers accompanying the sacrifices. In the Second Temple, prayers, blessing, and Pentateuchal readings were added to the Temple service. After the offering of the incense, the priests gathered together on the steps of the entrance hall and blessed the assembled people with the *Priestly blessing (Tam. 7:2). As the high priest entered the Holy of Holies on the Day of Atonement, he used to say a short prayer, and at the conclusion of his ministration he read certain portions from the Bible. During the offering of the incense the people used to gather in the *azarah* for prayer. The libation of wine at the conclusion of every *tamid* sacrifice was accompanied by levitical singing. After the service the members of the division of Israelites deputed to accompany the daily Temple services gathered for Scripture reading and prayer.

On the Sabbath, new moons, and festivals, a *musaf* ("additional sacrifice") of the day was offered immediately following the morning *tamid*. The number of animals offered at the *musaf* sacrifice differed on the different holidays. Besides the *musaf*, the special ceremonies peculiar to the festival were performed, such as the bringing of the *Omer* on the second day of Passover, the two breads on Shavuot, the procession with the *lulav* ("palm branch") and the libation of water on Sukkot. The special ceremonies performed on the festivals, both those of biblical origin and those which were instituted only during the Second Temple period, were for the most part related to the changing seasons of the year, and the masses of pilgrims who had gathered in Jerusalem for the holiday usually took part in them as spectators if not as actual participants.

THE MORNING TAMID. The daily service began shortly after dawn with the proclamation: priests to their service (*avodah*); levites to their stand (*dukhan*), and Israelites to their post (*ma'amad*) (TJ, Shek. 5:2, 48d). The first act was the removal of ashes of the burnt sacrifices (*deshen*), since the whole night through a fire burned on the altar and consumed the limbs of the sacrifice placed upon it. Those who wished to draw lots for the privilege of performing this service arose early and performed their ritual ablution (*tevilah*) before the appointed official arrived. After the lots were drawn, the officer would open the wicket in the gate leading from the *bet ha-moked* to the *azarah* and the priests entered the court, "and they took with them two burning torches, and they divided into two groups. One went around the *exedra* [covered porch] eastward, and the other westward, seeing to it that all was in order, until they met at the chamber of the makers of the *ḥavitin* [situated at the southern side of the Gate of Nicanor which was at the east]. After both groups arrived and announced: 'All is in order,' they set the makers of the *ḥavitin* cakes to their task" (Tam. 1:3). The priest who had drawn the lot to remove the *deshen* approached the altar alone, but immediately after he began the task his fellow priests ran up and joined him until all the ashes had been removed. The priest who removed the ashes also arranged the wood on the altar for the burning of the sacrifices and the coals for the incense. After placing the wood on the altar, the priests gathered in the Chamber of Hewn Stone, where lots were then drawn for the privilege of performing the different tasks connected with the offering of the *tamid* sacrifice. Of the 13 priests chosen, nine were assigned to the sacrificial animal itself and four to the ancillary tasks of removing the ashes from the inner altar in the sanctuary, the offering of the meal offerings, and the wine libation (Tam. 3; Yoma 2:3). After the sanctification of their hands and feet they awaited the time appointed for the slaughtering. When the priest who had gone up to look out announced that the entire eastern horizon had become light "even unto Hebron," they began to bring the lamb and the necessary instruments and vessels, and at this time too those who had drawn the privilege of performing the necessary tasks within the sanctuary went to perform their appointed duties: to remove the ashes from the inner altar and from the candelabrum and to open the gates of the sanctuary, which remained open during the entire service.

Trumpets were sounded as the gates were opened. The priest whose task it was to remove the ashes from the inner altar and cleanse the candelabrum was first to enter. The priest who removed the ashes from the altar put them into a basket (*tene*) which he set by the side of the altar. The residual matter removed from the candelabrum was placed in a *kuz* (an oil vessel the shape of a large wine cup). If he found the two easternmost wicks burning the priest did not rekindle the rest, since the candelabrum as a whole was filled and lit only in the evening. But if he found them extinguished he cleaned them first, and then lit them from the flame of the other wicks, or, if necessary, from the altar fire, afterward cleaning the rest of the lights and preparing them for lighting in the evening. He then set the *kuz* on the second of the three steps leading up to the candelabrum and departed. It was then that the *tamid* was slaughtered (Tam. 3; Suk. 3:5). After the slaughter of the *tamid* and the preparation of its limbs for offering upon the altar, the priests gathered in the Chamber of Hewn Stone and with the people read the Ten Commandments, the three paragraphs of the *Shema*, and their benedictions (Tam. 5:1; Yoma 37b; and cf. Ber. 11b–12a).

When they finished, the Temple official called out: "New candidates for the offering of the incense come and draw lots." Only those who had never had the privilege of performing this function participated in the drawing. Then the last lot, which was for the privilege of bringing the limbs of the sacrifice to the altar, was drawn. The distribution of all the tasks connected with the *tamid* sacrifice completed, those priests who had not been chosen to take part in the service departed and took off their sacred vestments (Tam. 5). The priest who had drawn the lot for the offering of the incense gave the *maḥtah* ("firepan") to the priest who stood next to him for him to gather coals from the outer altar and help in the preparations for the offering of the incense. When the two priests reached the point between the entrance hall and the altar, one took the *magrefah* (apparently a musical instrument in the Temple, shaped like a shovel) announcing with it to the priests and the assembled multitude in the Temple to be ready for the solemn moment. The priests drew nearer in order to enter the sanctuary and prostrate themselves following the offering of the incense, the levites readied themselves for their choir duties, and the head of the *ma'amad* took the ritually unclean who had come to the Temple in order to be cleansed and brought them to the Gate of Nicanor. Then the two priests ascended the steps of the hall, preceded by those who had cleared the ashes from the altar and the candelabra. They now removed the vessels which they had previously set down. The priest who had cleaned the candelabrum now also cleaned the two easternmost wicks. The westernmost one was left burning – for this was the eternal flame which burned day and night. The priest who had gathered the coals entered the sanctuary first, scattered them over the incense altar, prostrated himself, and departed. Then the priest who was chosen by lot to offer the incense entered, bearing the pan of incense in his hand. He was accompanied by a priest appointed for this task who instructed him in the proper ritual, and he did not offer it until he was told: "Offer the incense!" The officiating priest waited until the space between the hall and the altar was cleared of people, offered up the incense, prostrated himself, and departed (Tam. 6; Kelim end of ch. 1). During the offering of the incense in the sanctuary, the people used to gather in the *azarah* for prayer, and even outside the Temple these times were set aside for prayer (cf. Luke 1:10; Judith 9:1). After the departure of the priest who had offered the incense, all the priests filed into the sanctuary, prostrated themselves, and went out again. Those who had served inside the sanctuary stood with their serving vessels on the steps of the hall while the rest of the priests, upon leaving the sanctuary, stood to their left and blessed the people with the priestly blessing (Num. 6:23–25), with outstretched hands, pronouncing the ineffable name as it is written (Tam. 7:2; Sot. 7:6; Kid. 71a; Philo, Mos. 114; Jos., Ant. 2:275). In earlier times the high priest himself used to bless the people, but at the end of the Second Temple period, even when the high priest was present the blessing was pronounced by all the priests together (Kid. 71a). When the ineffable name was pronounced, the people fell upon their faces (Ecclus. 50:21., Eccles. R. 3:11).

After the priestly benediction came the last part of the service, the lifting of the limbs of the sacrifice on to the outer altar, the offering of the meal offering (*minḥat solet*), and the libation of the wine upon the altar. Before the libation, trumpets were sounded. When they were about to pour the libation, the *segan* signaled with a scarf (as a flag), and Ben Arza sounded the cymbal, and "the levites raised their voices in song." The levites' choir completed the service attendant upon the offering of the *tamid* of the morning (Tam. 7).

THE AFTERNOON TAMID. At the eighth and a half hour the private sacrifices were concluded and the offering of the afternoon *tamid* was begun. The order of the service was the same as that of the morning *tamid*, except for the arrangement of the wood on the altar and the priestly benediction, which took place in the morning only. In the evening two logs were placed upon the altar to keep the fire burning all night, the oil in the candelabrum was replenished, and all seven lights were lit. All those who were chosen by lot for the morning service also served in the evening, except for the priest who had offered the incense (TJ, Yoma, 2:3, 39d; Sif. Zut., Pinḥas, end). Following the afternoon *tamid* the gates of the sanctuary were closed. The exact hour for this is not mentioned but from various talmudic references it may be concluded that it was close to sunset. The gates of the Court were shut, but some priests remained inside to offer the limbs and entrails which had not been consumed during the day. They also replenished the altar with wood so that the flame should not die out. Probably they entered the *azarah* through one of the wickets which led from the *bet ha-moked*, where the priests spent the night (Zev. 9:6; Ber. 1:1). Toward evening the priests partook of their meal of the sacrificial meat and bread. The *tamid* sacrifice was the essential part of the Divine Service. All sections of the populace were most loyal and devoted to the Temple and its service and were willing to go to extreme measures in order that the regular sacrifice of the daily *tamid* should continue uninterrupted – even in the days of the direst distress which fell upon the city and the Temple (Sot. 49b).

The Sabbath

Individual sacrifices were not brought on the Sabbath, but all the work attendant upon the offering of communal sacrifices was permitted; fire was lit on the altar, the *tamid* was slaughtered, the incense was offered, and the lights were lit, but care was taken that whatever could be done beforehand was done on the eve of the Sabbath. In addition to the *tamid* sacrifice, the additional Sabbath sacrifice of two sheep was offered and the shewbread was laid out (Men. 11 and Tosef. ad loc.). On the Sabbath the *mishmar* changed after the *musaf* sacrifice (Tosef., Suk. 4:24), but the priests of the second *mishmar* came to the Temple in the early morning, since in the morning prayer the outgoing *mishmar* blessed the incoming one: "May He Who caused His name to dwell in this House, let dwell among you love and brotherhood, peace and friendship" (Ber. 12a). The daily hymn of the *musaf* sacrifice was the biblical portion "*Ha'azinu*" (Deut. 32), which was divided into six sections, one section being sung each Sabbath (RH 32a). After the *musaf* sacrifice, the shewbread was set out; the new bread being brought in and the old bread removed and distributed among the priests. This was the first task performed by the new *mishmar.* The loaves, baked before the eve of the Sabbath and placed upon a marble table in the entrance hall, were set out by four priests, two of whom held the two sets of loaves (six to each set), and two the two censers of white frankincense (*levonah*). Four other priests preceded them in order to remove the bread and censers from the preceding Sabbath. While one set of priests removed the old shewbread, the other immediately replaced it with fresh loaves. The bread was laid out in two rows and the censers of incense placed next to them. The loaves which had been removed were placed upon a golden table in the entrance hall and the old white frankincense was offered up, which made the old shewbread permitted to the priests for their consumption. The bread was divided among the outgoing and the incoming *mishmar* alike. Legend relates that in olden times, in the days of Simeon the Just, "a blessing was bestowed upon… the shewbread, so that every priest, who obtained a piece thereof as big as an olive, ate and became satisfied, some even leaving something over. From that time on a curse was sent… so that every priest received a piece as small as a bean; the decorous [priests] withdrew their hands from it, while the voracious ones took and devoured it" (Yoma 39a).

The sacrificial meat apportioned to the priest when he officiated, had for the most part to be eaten in the Court by men only; no more than a small portion of it was permitted to be eaten outside the Temple precincts but within the boundaries of Jerusalem, and even some of this could not be brought home for the private consumption of the priest's family. All that he could take with him were the hides, which were distributed among the priests of the officiating division, and the Pharisaic sages contended bitterly with the aristocracy of the priesthood in an attempt to make them deal fairly with the ordinary priests in this matter (Tosef., Men. 13:18–19).

The Pilgrim Festivals

During the festivals, when great multitudes went up to Jerusalem, the order of the service was different because, in addition to the statutory sacrifices, time had to be found for the offering of the many sacrifices brought by the pilgrims. Their obligatory offering (*olat re'iyyah*) was sacrificed on the festival itself, while their voluntary sacrifices were offered during the intermediate days (Beẓah 2:4 and the ensuing discussion in both the Jerusalem and Babylonian Talmuds). To make time for all these sacrifices, the service was begun at an earlier hour. Normally the ashes were removed from the altar when the *gever* (either "cock" or "Temple crier") sounded, or approximately at that time, either slightly earlier or later. On the Day of Atonement they were removed at midnight, and on the festivals at the beginning of the first watch; "by the time the cry of the *gever* was heard, the Temple Court was already teeming with visitors [Israelites]" (Yoma 1:8). Josephus (Ant. 18:29) states that on the festivals the Temple gates were opened for the public from midnight on. In order to encourage uninhibited access to the Temple, a lenient view was taken on the festivals with regard to laws of ritual purity, both in the city and in the Temple itself (Jos., Ant. 18:29; Ḥag. 3:7). During the festival the curtain which normally hung at the entrance to the sanctuary was rolled up to enable the people to view the Holy of Holies, and the holy vessels and appurtenances were even brought out into the *azarah* in full view of the pilgrims (Jos., Ant. 3:128; Yoma 54b; Ḥag 3:7). On the festivals priests of all the *mishmarot* came up to Jerusalem, both from Ereẓ Israel and from the Diaspora, and they were all permitted to partake of the meat from the festival sacrifices (Suk. 5:7; Men. 11:7. For the sacrifices offered on the different festivals see under their respective titles.)

Temple Music

This included both choir singing and musical instruments. Music accompanied the daily *tamid* offering both on weekdays and holidays, the *musaf* sacrifices, the offerings of the people, their processions, and their assemblies. The texts sung were mostly Psalms, selected poetical sections of the Pentateuch such as the *Shirat ha-Yam* (Ex. 15) and *Ha'azinu*. The Pentateuch mentions only two trumpets in connection with divine service. In the later biblical books all the musical instruments are already mentioned, though not in conjunction with the *tamid* sacrifice. The masoretic text of the Bible contains a specific heading for Psalm 92 only, which was "For the Sabbath day," but in the Septuagint similar headings are found to the psalms for all the days of the week except for the psalm for the third day (i.e., Tuesday), which is chapter 82. Mishnaic sources mention lutes, lyres, and a cymbal in conjunction with the offering of the *tamid*, and on festivals flutes were added, particularly on occasions when there was large-scale public participation, such as the slaughtering of the Passover sacrifice, the *Simḥat Bet ha-Sho'evaḥ*, and the bringing of the firstfruits.

In the *baraita* appended to the end of the tractate *Tamid* the daily psalms chanted are enumerated: "The song which the levites used to sing in the Temple: On the first day [i.e., Sunday], they used to say [Ps. 24]: 'The earth is the Lord's and the fullness thereof, the world and they that dwell therein'" (Tam. 7:4), and so on for each day of the week. Other *beraitot* (in RH 31a; Suk. 55a) mention the psalms recited on most of the holidays and some of these are also confirmed by the headings found in the Septuagint. In addition to the daily psalms the *Hallel* (Ps. 113–118) was recited on the three festivals and on the eight days of *Ḥanukkah. On the festivals the *Hallel* was sung during the offering of the sacrifices of the people, and the flute was sounded at the same time. Special psalms were appointed for each festive occasion in the Temple: at the bringing of the firstfruits, Psalm 30; during the *Bet ha-Sho'evah* festivities, the 15 Songs of Ascent (Ps. 120–34); and so on.

The Mishnah states: "There may be no fewer than 12 levites participating on the [levite choir's] stand, and minor children from the families of the elite of Jerusalem were added to them to make the result more melodious." As for the musical accompaniment, the Mishnah states: "There may be no fewer than two lyres (*nevalim*) nor more than six; no fewer than nine harps (*kinnorot*), but as many as desired may be added; there is only one cymbal (*ẓilẓal*)" (Ar. 3:3–6). The flute (*ḥalil*) is always mentioned in the singular.

Gentiles and the Temple

Biblical law expressly permits the acceptance of sacrifices from gentiles (Lev. 22:25), and this was apparently the practice in the First Temple (I Kings 8:41–43). The number of such sacrifices became very large in the days of the Second Temple, and special regulations were made with respect to them. The rule is: "Vow offerings (*nedarim*) and freewill offerings (*nedavot*) are accepted of them" (Shek. 1:5). Gentiles are frequently mentioned as coming to the Temple from near and far in order to bring sacrifices (Pes. 3b; Jos., Ant. end of Book 3; John 12:20). It was decided that if a gentile sent a burnt offering from overseas, without the necessary accompanying libations, these must be provided out of public funds (Shek. 7:6; Sif. Zut. 15:2). The names of various gentile kings and princes who offered sacrifices in the Temple are known: e.g., Ptolemy III (Jos., Apion 2:5); Antiochus VII Sidetes, when he besieged Jerusalem in 133 B.C.E. (Ant. 13:242); Marcus Agrippa who offered up a hecatomb (100 burnt offerings) in the year 15 B.C.E. (Ant. 16:14); and Vitellius, the Roman governor of Syria who went up to Jerusalem especially in order to offer sacrifice in the Temple on Passover (Ant. 18:122). Josephus categorically states that the altar of the Temple in Jerusalem was held in high esteem by all Hellenic and non-Hellenic peoples (Wars 5:17), and the fame of the Temple reached all parts of the world (Wars 4:262; cf. Suetonius, *De Vita Caesarum*, Augustus 93). Besides the sacrifices received from gentiles, from the days that the exiles returned from Babylon a special sacrifice was offered for the welfare of the gentile ruler. Thus, sacrifices were offered for the well-being of the Persian monarch (Ezra 6:9–10), for Hellenistic kings, such as Demetrius I (I Macc. 7:33), and afterward for the well-being of the Roman emperors (Wars 2:197); according to one source (Philo, Embassy to Gaius 317) two lambs and a bull were offered daily (and cf. *ibid.* 157).

The Temple Treasury

The Temple had need of considerable amounts of gold and silver (II Macc. 3:4) for the purchase of the required sacrifices, for the ritual vessels, garments, and other utensils, for the administration, and for miscellaneous public expenses. In the course of time a great treasure accumulated in the storechambers appointed for this purpose (Wars 6:282). Just as in the period of the First Temple, so during the days of the Second Temple money and precious vessels reached the Temple from various sources. When Judea was subject to foreign hegemony, the gentile kings sometimes covered the Temple expenses from their own treasury, or at any rate presented it with gifts to defray the cost of the upkeep. Darius donated the funds required for the completion of the Temple structure, and for the regular sacrifices, from the taxes gathered from the province "Beyond the River" (Ezra 6:8–17). Details are given of the gifts made by Artaxerxes (Ezra 7:20–23). According to the Letter of Aristeas 33, 40, 52–82, and Josephus (Ant. 12:40ff.), Ptolemy Philadelphus presented a golden table and beautiful golden vessels to the Temple. Seleucus IV gave enough of his income to defray the entire costs of the sacrifices (II Macc. 3:3), and so did other Hellenistic kings (Ant. 13:78; Apion 2:48). Antiochus III donated 20,000 shekels for sacrifices and in addition great quantities of wheat, flour, and salt and all the materials which were necessary for repairs, including cedars of Lebanon (Ant. 12:140–1). Similarly Demetrius promised the "Jewish Nation" to consecrate the town of Acco (Ptolemaïs) to the Temple in order to defray the expenses from its taxes, and in addition 15,000 shekels from his own income (I Macc. 10:39–45). Roman rulers, like Sosius, who conquered Jerusalem for Herod (Ant. 14:488), Marcus Agrippa (Philo, Embassy to Gaius 37), Augustus Caesar and his wife Julia (Wars 5:562; Philo, Embassy to Gaius 157ff.), and others (Jos., Wars 4:181; 2:413) gave all manner of gifts to the Temple (golden bowls, golden wreaths, etc.). Among the Jewish donors was Ben Kattin who donated 12 spigots and a machine (a pulley) for the laver (Yoma 3:10). King *Monobaz had the handles of all the vessels used on the Day of Atonement made of gold. His mother, Helena of Adiabene, commissioned a golden candelabrum and set it over the door of the sanctuary. Ben Gamala replaced the boxwood lots cast on the Day of Atonement in connection with the scapegoat which was sent off into the wilderness with gold ones (*ibid.*). The alabarch Alexander, Philo of Alexandria's brother, donated the gold and silver plating of the gates of the sanctuary (Wars 5:53). Nicanor of Alexandria donated the famous copper gates of Corinthian workmanship (Yoma 3:10). At the time of the construction of the Second Temple, Heldai, Tobijah, and Jedaiah from the *golah* (the returning Babylonian exiles) donated the golden crowns which were hung from the ceiling of the Temple (see above). Many people devoted houses and fields to the Temple, but since the Temple at Jerusalem did not keep landed property, it was sold and the proceeds deposited in the Temple treasury (Tosef., Shek. 2:15; Mish., Ar. 8). The Temple treasury also contained the deposits of individuals, such as widows and orphans (II Macc. 3:10), but particularly of the wealthy (such as Hyrcanus the Tobiad: II Macc. 3:11) "who deposited there the entire wealth of their house" (Jos., Wars 6:282). This portion of the treasure house was so vast that Josephus wrote that "it was the general repository of all Jewish wealth" (*ibid.*). However, the most important, or at any rate the steadiest, source of income was the half-shekel tax paid annually by every Jewish adult male from the age of 20 (on the basis of Ex. 30:14–15; cf. Philo, Spec. 1:76–78). These moneys were used to defray the expense of the offerings sacrificed for the entire community and other expenses (see later). The half-shekel was levied upon everyone – except women, slaves, and minors, and even from these it was accepted if offered (Shek. 1:5) – whether they lived in the land of Israel or in the Diaspora, but the wealthy used to give "golden drachmas" (Tosef., Shek. 2:4). In spite of temporary difficulties caused by gentiles on occasion (Jos., Ant. 14:110ff.) the flow of money never stopped for any length of time. In the Roman period, rulers of cities and governors of provinces attempted to lay their hands on the funds or at least to place difficulties in the way of their collection and remission to Jerusalem, and one of the important privileges granted the Jews in the days of Julius Caesar and Augustus was the permission to collect and send the half-shekels to Jerusalem without hindrance. Augustus even included them in the category of "sacred money" and thus anyone stealing them was subject to the death penalty on the grounds of sacrilege (Cicero pro Flacco, 28; Jos., Ant. 14:215 et al.; 16:163ff.). Collections made in Babylon were first deposited in the fortified cities of *Nisibis and *Nehardea and later transferred to Jerusalem under armed guard (Ant. 18:310–3). Every year, on the first of Adar, the *bet din ha-gadol* (the high court in Jerusalem) used to send out messengers to the provincial areas (in Judea), to announce publicly the obligation to bring the half-shekels in due time for them to be delivered to the Temple chamber on the first of Nisan (TJ, Shek. 1:1, 45d). On the 15th of Adar tables of money changers were set up in the country at large (Shek. 1:3), and on the 25th day they were set up in the Temple, and pledges were taken from those who could not pay (with the exception of the priests; *ibid.*). Both in the Temple and in the country at large *shofarot* were set up for this purpose. There were 13 *shofarot* in the Temple (Shek. 6:1, 5), each inscribed with the object for which the money collected was to be spent (i.e., "new shekels" for use during the coming year, "old shekels" to defray the expenses of the outgoing year, others for specific types of sacrifice, such as wood for the altar, incense, and the like). The money collected was divided into two parts: three *kuppot* ("large containers") of nine *se'ah* each were set aside as the *terumat ha-lishkah* (contribution to the Temple treasury chamber) and the rest was collected in a special container called the *sheyarei ha-lishkah* ("surplus funds"). The appropriations were made from the shekels in the Temple treasury chamber three times a year, 15 days before Passover, 15 days before Shavuot, and on the 29th of Elul. The money was used mainly for the purchase of the communal offerings and the incense (Shek. 4:1), but it was used as wages for those who watched the aftergrowths in the seventh year, with the object of gathering them for use in the communal offering, and for the women who wove curtains for the gates of the Temple (TJ, Shek. 4:3, 48a; Ket. 106a). In addition, the red heifer, as well as the scapegoat which was sent out into the wilderness on the Day of Atonement, were bought from these funds, as were the vestments of the high priest. The inspectors of animal blemishes in Jerusalem were also paid from the *terumot ha-lishkah*, as were the experts who taught the priests the laws of ritual slaughtering and those who examined the scrolls for mistakes. The money from the *sheyarei ha-lishkah* was used to defray the expenses of the erection of a special bridge across the Kidron Valley, and for the expenses connected with the altar of the burnt offerings, the sanctuary, and the courts (Shek. 4:2; TJ, Shek 4:3; 48a; according to Ket. 106b these expenses were covered by the funds donated for the maintenance of the Temple). The money was also for all the needs of the city of Jerusalem, especially the maintenance of the water system and the repair of the towers (Shek. 4:2; TJ, Shek. 4:3, 48a).

There was another treasury chamber in the Temple, where funds were collected for Temple repair. The income here was from the *arakhin* ("vows of valuations") and the consecrations in general (see Lev. 27 and Ar. 24a). There were also special chambers for freewill offerings. One was the chamber of anonymous gifts for those who wished to give charity anonymously: "sin-fearing persons used to insert their gifts therein secretly, and the poor of good family would be supported therefrom secretly" (Shek. 5:6). Another treasury was the "chamber of vessels" (in which 93 silver and gold vessels were stored which were used in the Temple service: Tam. 3:4) where donations of vessels to the Temple were received. Once every 30 days the treasurers would open it and any vessel they found inside that was of use for the repair of the Temple they left there; but the others were sold and their price went to the chamber of the repair of the Temple (Shek. 5:6).

A special store was created as a result of the obligation which the priests, levites, and people at large took upon themselves in the days of Ezra and Nehemiah (Neh. 10:35; 13:31) to bring "the wood offering at set times, every year, to keep the fire on the altar of the Lord our God, as it is prescribed in the Torah." Particular families undertook the obligation to donate wood on specific days of the year, because, according to tradition, "when the exiles to Babylon returned to Judea they found no wood in the Temple wood-chamber and the families here mentioned came forward and offered wood of their own. The prophets among them thereupon made it a condition that even should the chamber be full of wood at any time they should still continue to bring their offerings" (Ta'an. 28a). When they brought the wood they would offer freewill burnt offerings and that day was a festival for the family – one on which manifestations of mourning, fasting, and work were prohibited (*ibid.*). The Mishnah (Ta'an. 4:5) enumerates nine families who used to bring wood offerings on specific dates (which are also mentioned). Since almost all these families were among the returning exiles listed in the books of Ezra and Nehemiah, the list is based upon a tradition going back to the beginning of the Second Temple. The 15th of Av (Meg. Ta'an. to the 15th of Av; Jos., Wars 2:425) was set aside as the day of the "wood offering," on which all the people brought wood, and the atmosphere of the day was festive: "On that day the felling of trees for the altar fire was discontinued… because [from then on] they would not dry properly" (Ta'an. 31a). Generations after the destruction, the descendants of these families still celebrated the anniversary of their family's bringing the wood offering (Tosef., Ta'an. 4:6). The wood was stored in the wood chamber, and the priests who were physically blemished cared for and sorted the wood, because wormy wood was unfit for setting on the altar (Mid. 2:5).

Provision of the Temple's Needs

It was the duty of the Temple treasurers to purchase the animals for the communal sacrifices and to make animals available for purchase for private sacrifices when the potential donors found difficulty in bringing them themselves. Wine, fine flour, and oil were sometimes bought from the treasuries of the Temple because of the difficulties in bringing them posed by considerations of ritual purity. This was particularly so in respect to those from the Diaspora, since the Diaspora per se is defiling, and for gentiles it was impossible altogether. Many obligatory personal sacrifices consisted of doves, and many people also brought them as a freewill offering. Measures seem to have been taken to lessen the commercial traffic within the Temple precincts. The New Testament relates that Jesus chased the money changers and vendors of doves from the Temple precincts (Matt. 21:12; et al.). Toward the end of the Second Temple period, doves were no longer sold in the Temple precincts. Instead *shofarot* were set up in the Temple and anyone who was obliged to offer a pair of doves or wished to do so as a freewill offering dropped the appropriate sum into it, and each day sacrifices were offered in accordance with the amount in the *shofarot* (Shek. 6:5 and Tosef., Shek. 3:2–3). The Mishnah describes how those who came to sacrifice obtained their libation offerings. The individual came first to Johanan who was appointed over the seals, and gave him the proper sum, for which he received a seal. He then took the seal to Ahijah, who was appointed over the libations, gave it to him and received the libation in exchange (Shek. 5:4).

All sacrifices, whether individual or communal, could be brought either from Ereẓ Israel or from the Diaspora, and from new or old produce, except for the *Omer* (Men. 8:1), which had to be from barley grown in Ereẓ Israel. The Mishnah and Tosefta *Menaḥot* contain detailed traditions concerning the provenance of these communal offerings. The places were chosen either because the crop ripened early there, or because they were famous for the quality of their produce. Fine flour and wine came mainly from Judea, oil from Galilee, rams from Moab, calves from the Sharon, and lambs from the Hebron area. The doves were raised on the Mount of Olives and the King's Mountain (Men. 8, Tosef., Men. 9:13; Men. 87a; TJ, Ta'an. 4:8, 69a). The sources describe the salt as "the salt of Sodom." The Pentateuch mentions only four ingredients for the preparation of the incense (Ex. 30:34), but the tannaitic tradition which was considered to have Mosaic authority mentions 11 elements, to which were further added various other ingredients to make the smoke rise (Ker. 6a). According to a late tradition there were groves in the vicinity of Jerusalem for the cultivation of herbs for the incense (Song R., ed. Gruenhut to 4:13).

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE TEMPLE FOR THE PEOPLE

The returning exiles organized their lives around the altar and the Temple in Jerusalem, and, at least officially, the aim of those who returned to Judea in the wake of Cyrus' declaration was merely to restore the Temple (Ezra 1:1–5). In the course of time the Temple worship, which centered around the sacrificial rites, lost some of its position as the sole means by which the religious and communal life of the nation could find expression. To a considerable extent the center of gravity shifted to the study of the Torah, and the *synagogue and *bet midrash* gradually assumed an even greater importance. In the course of time the leadership of the people and the judicial functions ceased to be the sole prerogative of the priestly class. However, since all of these institutions and the basic concepts behind them were organically connected with the Temple service, it was through this channel that they became part of the life of the people. The synagogue, which is first mentioned during the Second Temple period, apparently had its foundation in the assembly called by Ezra (Neh. 9). A synagogue, or at least something very similar to it, was to be found in the Temple Court, and the prayers and Torah readings were woven into the Temple service. The stipulated hours of prayer were set according to the times of the sacrifices, and those who stood in prayer, no matter where they might be, turned their faces to Jerusalem and to the Temple (Ber. 4:5). Other liturgical forms such as the priestly blessing, the waving of the *lulav* on Sukkot, and the blowing of the *shofar*, were also taken from the Temple service, and their practice had already spread to the synagogue both in Ereẓ Israel and in the Diaspora even while the Temple was still standing. In the course of time homiletic Midrash and Torah study, which were also connected with the Temple, were added to the reading of the Torah. On the Sabbath and holidays, the Sanhedrin convened – not as a court of law, since it was forbidden to pronounce judgment on the Sabbath or on a holiday, but as a *bet midrash*, a center of study (Tosef., San. 7:1). Both Josephus and tannaitic tradition clearly reflect the fact that sages used to teach the law to the people in the Temple Courts (Ant. 17:149; Pes. 26a). The Gospels also relate that Jesus taught the law daily in the Temple Courts whenever he was in Jerusalem, and that after his death the apostolic Christian community continued to do so (Luke 21:37; Acts 2–4). The Holy Scriptures and other national historical literature were kept in the Temple, which acted not only as a repository but also as an agency for their careful preservation and dissemination. The redaction of the *Megillat Ta'anit* and the Book of *Megillat Beit Ḥashmonai* took place in the chambers of the Temple, (*Halakhot Gedolot*, ed. Venice, 141d). Whenever a doubt arose about the correct reading of the text of the Holy Scriptures, it was determined on the basis of the consensus of the ancient manuscript kept in the Temple (Sif. Deut. 356), and many scribes and proofreaders were kept in the Temple employ (TJ, Shek. 4:3, 48a). Various sources clearly reflect the existence of a *sefer ha-azarah* – i.e., a manuscript kept in the Temple Court – which was read before the assembled multitude on festive occasions and according to which other texts were regularly corrected (TJ, San. 2:6, 20c, MK 3:4). The Temple authorities also sent copies to the Diaspora communities when they so requested (cf. II Macc. 2:15). The Sanhedrin and the various law courts connected with it sat in the Chamber of Hewn Stone and in the outer courts. The full prerogatives were invested in the Sanhedrin only when it sat in the Temple precincts and while the sacrificial system was in operation (Sif. Deut. 152; Sanh. 14b). These religious elements and values were added to the Temple, but basically it continued to be looked upon as the "dwelling place" of the Divine Presence, and as the only fitting place to bring sacrifices in His name, both communal and individual. The offering of sacrifices and the attendant purification atoned for the sins of the nation as a whole and for those of the individual, and served as a means by which the spiritual purification and uplifting of man was furthered. The Temple and its appurtenances were pictured as symbolizing the entire universe, including the stars of the firmament, and the Temple service was considered to be a source of blessing to all the nations of the world and even to the heavens and the earth and all it contains (Philo, II Mos. 84–93; Jos., Ant. 3: 179–87; Suk. 55b).

[Shmuel Safrai]

IN THE ARTS

The Tabernacle, Temple, and Temple implements provided the background to many literary and artistic works. In literature, one of the earliest instances is "*Le Tabernacle*," a mystical extended section of *L'Encyclie des secrets de l'éternité* (1571) by the French poet and Bible scholar Guy *Le Fèvre de la Boderie. Among Jewish writers the Western Wall of the former Temple has been a chief source of inspiration, as in Heinrich *Heine's poem, "*Jehuda ben Halevy*" (one of the *Hebraeische Melodien* in *Romanzero*, 1851), where he writes of the very stones mourning on the Ninth of Av. Other themes connected with the Temple have attracted the attention of Jewish writers. Edmond *Fleg's story, *L'Adultère*, translated by Louis Zangwill as "The Adulteress," in: J. Leftwich (ed.), *Yisrōel* (1933), is a dramatic and moving account of the "Ordeal of the Bitter Waters" inflicted on an unfaithful wife in the time of the Second Temple. Isaac *Rosenberg's "The Burning of the Temple" was one of the poems published in his posthumous *Collected Works* (1937). A sub-theme is that of the Temple candelabrum or **menorah*. Stefan Zweig's short novel, *Der begrabene Leuchter* (1937; *The Buried Candelabrum*, 1937), recorded that "The Candelabrum we are burying will one day come to life again and give light to the children of Israel when they have found their way back to their homeland…" The search for the "true *menorah*" is also the subject of a modern detective novel by the English writer Lionel Davidson in *A Long Way to Shiloh* (1966, U.S. edition, *The Menorah Men*, 1966).

The Temple has often been portrayed in Christian art, and plans and implements of the Temple have figured in many Jewish manuscripts, where they sometimes symbolize the city of Jerusalem. In Christian sources the Temple forms the setting for the following subjects, taken sometimes from the Hebrew Bible, but more generally from the New Testament: Solomon Constructing the Temple (I Kings 6 and II Chron. 3); the (apocryphal) Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple, which, however, often showed only the steps outside the building; the (apocryphal) Marriage of the Virgin (or *spozalio*), popular with early Renaissance, particularly Umbrian, painters and shown as taking place in the open air outside the Temple, as in the famous painting by Raphael (Brera Gallery, Milan); the Circumcision of Jesus (Luke 7:21) by Mantegna, Bellini, *Rembrandt, and others; the Presentation of Jesus in the Temple (Luke 2:22–40), popular with 15th-century painters, including Rogier Van Der Weyden, Memlinc, Fra Angelico, Mantegna, Bellini, and Carpaccio, and also treated by Rembrandt; the Child Jesus Confuting the Doctors (Luke 2:4–51), by Bosch, Duerer, Veronese, and Ingres among others (in a medieval Spanish version, the interior of the Temple is visualized as a contemporary synagogue interior with a high *bimah*, reached by a flight of steps); and Jesus Casting the Money Changers out of the Temple (John 2), treated by several Renaissance artists including Lucas Cranach, Pieter Breughel, and Jacopo Bassano, but above all by El Greco, who painted several versions. Representations of the Tabernacle and Temple interiors, and of the Ark of the Covenant and *menorah*, are also not uncommon in Christian ecclesiastical art of the 11th–15th centuries. Some of the earlier documents allegorize the structure as the "Temple of Wisdom." A colorful and imaginative evocation of the Temple, notable for its portrayal of Jewish types, is the English pre-Raphaelite William Holman Hunt's *The Finding of Christ in the Temple* (1862; Walker Art Gallery, Liverpool).

The Hebrew Bible was frequently illustrated in engravings of the 17th century, particularly in Holland. Among these were a number representing scenes which included the Temple. There were also engravings of imaginary reconstructions of the Temple. The Dutch rabbi and artist, Jacob Judah Leon (1603–1675), was called "*Templo" on account of his models of Solomon's Temple which he afterward painted and engraved. Since the real appearance of the Temple was unknown, it was often imagined as a round or polygonal domed structure, resembling Dome of the Rock which stood on its site (cf. the printer's mark of Marco Antonio *Giustiniani). It was sometimes represented in this way in Jewish as well as Christian sources. The outstanding feature of the interior of the Temple as imagined by artists was the twisted columns, commonly thought to have existed in the Temple and associated with Jachin and Boaz. These figure in the miniature representation of Pompey's entry into the Holy of Holies from the illustrated *Josephus* by the 15th-century French artist Jean Fouquet. On the other hand, there was always a tendency on the part of artists to represent Jerusalem and the Temple as cities and churches of their own era and country. In Fouquet's *Josephus* the exterior of the Temple is represented as that of a French late Gothic cathedral, and in Renaissance and baroque times it was often visualized in a classical form, or in the style of the period. Rembrandt's painting of the *Woman Taken in Adultery* (National Gallery, London) evokes an exuberant, though dimly lit, baroque interior, heaped with barbaric gold. See also: *Jerusalem in the Arts; *Titus in the Arts; *Zerubbabel in the Arts.

Temple Implements in Illuminated Manuscripts

Full-page miniatures depicting Temple implements were a common feature in Spanish Bible decoration in 13th- to 15th-century *illuminated manuscripts. Illustrations of Temple implements, however, appear in earlier Oriental Bibles as well as in 13th- and 14th-century Ashkenazi and Italian Bibles. In most of these there are two full pages depicting individual vessels arranged decoratively, sometimes on different colored backgrounds. Every vessel is shown in a traditional stylized way and, in most cases, the same vessels are grouped together on one page. Among the most important utensils shown are the seven-branched candelabrum (*menorah*), consisting of a central shaft, branches, bowls, knobs, flowers and a three-legged stand. Next to the *menorah* there are, usually, tongs (*melkaḥayim*) and firepans (*maḥtot*) (Ex. 25:31–40; 37:17–24). Flanking most *menorot* are two small stone steps (*even*). The two rectangular tablets of the Law represent the Ark of the Covenant (*aron*; Deut. 10:5) which has the mercy seat (*kapporet*) and above it an elongated rectangular panel with two stylized cherubim or wings on top (Ex. 25:10–22; 37:1–9). Other essential implements are: the sacrificial altar (*mizbaḥ ha-olah*) with a brass mesh (*ma'aseh reshet*) and a ramp (*kevesh*) leading to it. Also represented are the altar's main implements: firepans (*maḥtot*), flesh-hooks (*mizlagot*), pots (*sirot*), basins (*mizrakot*), and shovels (*ya'im*; Ex. 27:1–8; 38:1–7), as well as the gold incense altar (*mizbaḥ ha-ketoret*) with its incense shovels (Ex. 30:1–7; 37:25–29) and the shewbread table laid with twelve loaves of bread, six on each side (Ex. 25:23–29; 37:10–16). On top, or on the side of the table, are two incense pans (*bazikhei levonah*) which were placed with each row of the shewhreads (Lev. 24:7). Other elements are the jar of manna, Moses' staff, and Aaron's flowering rod, which according to the Bible should be put into the Ark of the Covenant (Ex. 16:33; Num. 17:25), trumpets and horns (Lev. 25:9; Num. 10:2), the laver (*kiyyor*) and its stand (*kan*), usually similar to the manna jar (Ex. 30:18; 38:8).

Most of these implements are mentioned only in respect of the Tabernacle in the desert. There are, however, some manuscripts in which implements are depicted from both the First and Second Temples. Such examples are the two pillars, Jachin and Boaz, of the First Temple (I Kings 7:15–22, e.g., British Museum, Ms. BM King's 1, fol. 4) and the Golden Vine of the Second Temple (Mid. 3:8; e.g., Ms. King's 1, fol. 3v, 4).

The idea of depicting the Temple implements was probably inspired by the messianic hope of rebuilding the Temple. This is shown by the use of a picture of the Mount of Olives, where according to Jewish tradition the Messiah would make his first appearance (Zech. 14:4). The Mount of Olives is usually depicted by a stylized tree on top of a mound. The presentation of implements of the Temple in Bible manuscripts probably originates from the East. A Karaite Bible from Cairo of 930 C.E. (Leningrad, Ms. II, 17) has two full pages with highly stylized plans of the Tabernacle or the Temple. The implements included are the *menorah*, the Ark of the Covenant, the altar, Aaron's rod, the jar of manna, the laver and its stand, pots, shovels, basins, and possibly Solomon's Temple columns and the Golden Vine. As C. Roth has suggested, the origin of the implements in the Oriental Bibles may have been late antique Jewish art either from surviving mosaic synagogue floors (*Bet Alpha synagogue, sixth century) or from illuminated manuscripts which have not survived. The relationship between the illustration of the implements and actual plans of the Temple has not been sufficiently studied. Observing some fragmentary plans both in Hebrew (e.g., British Museum, Ms. Or. 2201, fol. 2, Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Ken. 2, fols. 2v, 3) and Latin manuscripts, mainly Nicholas de Lyra, *Postillae in Biblia* (e.g., Oxford, Ms. Bod. 251) and Petrus Comestor (e.g., Florence, Bibliotheca Laurentiana, Ms. Plut. 2.1), it seems that both the implement illustrations and the plans were drawn from the same source. Similarities can be seen in the sacrificial altar, the *menorah*, and their accessories.

The influence of illustrations of the implements on Spanish Latin Bibles was observed by C. Nordström. Some similar influence can be found in Hebrew Bibles of Ashkenazi and Italian origin. In most cases only the *menorah* is depicted in France (e.g., British Museum, Ms. Add. 11639, fol. 114), in Germany (e.g., Paris, cod., heb. 36, fol. 283v), and in Italy (e.g., British Museum, Ms. Harley 5710, fol. 136), but in some cases there are double-page miniatures of the implements; this is also the case in German manuscripts such as the Regensburg Pentateuch (Israel Museum Ms. 180/52, fols. 155v, 156).

[Bezalel Narkiss]

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TEMPLE MOUNT, the trapezoid-shaped (approximately rectangular) walled-in area (approx. 140 dunams) in the southeastern corner of the Old City of Jerusalem. The four walls surrounding it (see *Western Wall) date – at least in their lower parts – from the time of Herod's Temple (end of first century B.C.E.; see *Temple: Second). These huge supporting walls, partly buried underground (except for the northern one), were built around the summit of the eastern hill (see *Jerusalem) identified as Mount *Moriah, the traditional site of the **Akedah* and the known location of the two Temples. The gaps between the walls and the mount were filled in to create a large surface area around the Temple. Its eastern wall and the eastern half of its southern wall form part of the city wall on those sides. Deep valleys (now partly filled by debris) run outside the walls (northeast, east, south, west), thus separating the Temple Mount from and elevating it above its surroundings, both inside and outside the city.

The dimensions of the Temple Mount (north, 313 m. (1,020 ft.); east, 470 m. (1,530 ft.); south, 280 m. (910 ft.); west, 485 m. (1,578 ft.)) extend considerably beyond those given in the Mishnah (Mid. 2:1), which describes a square of approximately 250 × 250 m. (815 × 815 ft.), referring only to the sanctified area within the Temple Mount as known today (also known by its Arabic designation Ḥaram al-Sharīf, i.e., the noble sanctuary). The entire enclosure consists of an esplanade or courtyard (the most important structure on its southern side being the Mosque of al-Aqṣā), surrounding an elevated platform (4 m. (13 ft.) higher) occupying approximately 23 dunams and decorated by arched structures around the central structure (the Dome of the Rock). In each of the walls there are a number of gates. Some are ancient gates (see *Temple: Second; *Jerusalem), which are blocked, and some are newer gates, from the Arab conquest (638) onward which are still in service (the latter are only in the northern and western walls).

Within the area of the Temple Mount there are about 100 different structures from various periods, among them great works of art and craftsmanship, including open Muslim prayer spots (some of them with small domes), arches, arched porticos, Muslim religious schools, minarets, and fountains (some for drinking and others for worshipers to wash their hands and feet before prayer). Underneath the present-day surface, in the "artificial" parts of the mount, there are 34 cisterns (the largest of these holds as much as 12,000 cu. m. (168,000 cu. ft.)). There are also other substructures, the largest of which is known as "Solomon's stables."

Caliph Omar prayed on the Temple Mount after he conquered Jerusalem in 638, accompanied by the Yemenite Jewish apostate Ka'ab al-Akhbar. In 684 (or 687) the Ummayyad caliph Abd-al-Malik began to build the Dome of the Rock (wrongly called the Mosque of Omar), a shrine over the rock believed to be the **even shetiyyah* of Herod's Temple, located approximately in the center of the Temple Mount. This monumental piece of architecture of octagonal shape was completed in 690–91. Abd-al-Malik built the Mosque of al-Aqṣā in about 700 on the spot where Omar is supposed to have offered his prayers. (According to some historians, al-Aqṣā was only completed in 795 by his son Al-Walid.) The present building was constructed in 1033. After the conquest of Jerusalem by the crusaders, the Dome of the Rock was converted into a church and called Templum Domini (the Temple of the Lord) and al-Aqṣā became a church called Templum Solomonis (Solomon's Temple). They were reconverted into Muslim houses of worship after Saladin's conquest of Jerusalem in 1187 and have remained so ever since.

[Jacob Auerbach]

In Jewish Law

The special status of the Temple Mount in *halakhah* derives from its being the site of the Temple, which stood approximately in its center. The special status applies not only to the actual site of the Temple and its courts, but to the whole of the mount. Jerusalem, the whole of which is holy, is regarded as equivalent to the "camp of Israel" that surrounded the sanctuary in the wilderness; the Temple Mount as a whole is equivalent to "the camp of the levites," which in the wilderness immediately surrounded the sanctuary; and the Temple with its courts, from the entrance of the court of the Israelites and beyond (see *Temple), is regarded as representing the "camp of the Divine Presence" there, in respect of the *halakhot* applying to each of these "camps" (Sif. Naso 1; Zev. 116b).

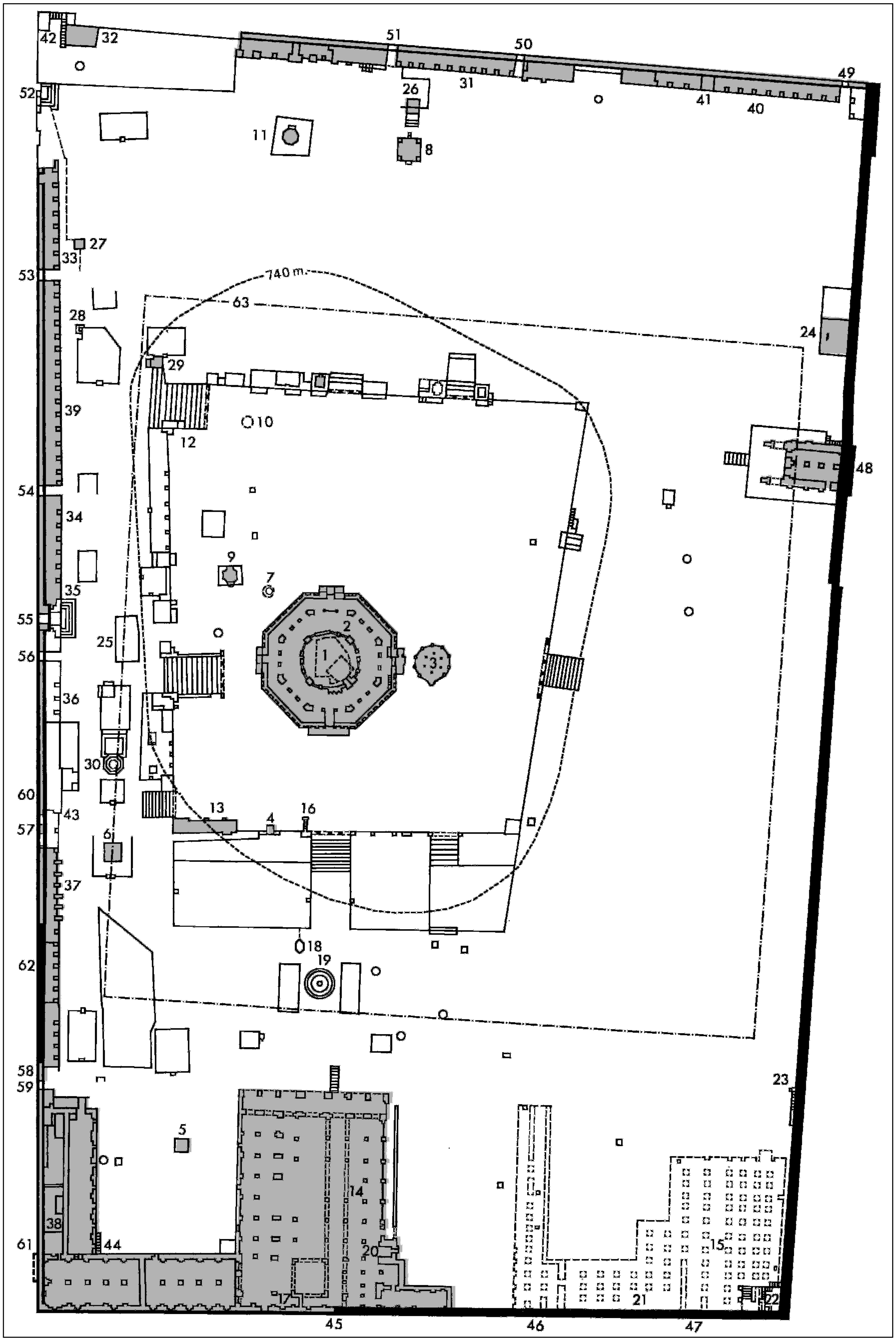
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Key to plan of Temple Mount

1. "The Rock"
2. Dome of the Rock
3. Dome of the Chain
4. Dome of Joseph
5. Dome of Yūsuf
6. Dome of Moses
7. Dome of the Prophet
8. Dome of Suleiman Pāshā
9. Dome of the Ascension
10. Dome of the Spirits
11. Dome of Solomon
12. Al-Khiḍr (Elijah) Dome
13. Al-Naḥawiyya Dome
14. Al-Aqṣā Mosque
15. Solomon's Stables
16. Summer Pulpit
17. Pulpit of Nūr al-Dīn
18. Olive Tree of the Pophet
19. Al-ka's ("The Goblet")
20. Miḥrab of Zechariah
21. Miḥrab of David
22. Cradle of Jesus
23. Seat of Muhammad
24. Seat of Solomon
25. Fountain of Qāyt-Bāy
26. Fountain of Sultan Suleiman
27. Fountain of 'Alā' al-Dīn al Baṣīr
28. Fountain of Sheikh Budayr
29. Fountain of Sha'lan
30. Fountain of Qāsim Pāshā
31. Al-Madrasa al-Dawīdāriyya
32. Al-Madrasa al-Jāwiliyya
33. Al-Madrasa al-Manjikiyya
34. Al-Madrasa al Arghūniyya
35. Al-Madrasa al Khātūniyya
36. Al-Madrasa al Uthmāniyya
37. Al-Madrasa al Tankiziyya
38. Al-Madrasa al Fakhriyya
39. Western Porch
40. Northern Porch
41. Minaret of Israel
42. Minerat al-Ghawānima
43. Minerat of the Gate of the Gate of the Chain
44. Minerat al-Fakhriyya
45. Double Gate (blocked)
46. Triple Gate (blocked)
47. Single Gate (blocked)
48. The Golden Gate (blocked)
49. Gate of the Tribes
50. Gate of Forgiveness
51. The Dark Gate
52. Ghawānima Gate
53. Gate of the Inspector
54. The Iron Gate
55. Gate of the Cotton Market
56. Gate of the Bath
57. Gate of the Chain, Gate of Peace
58. Barclay's Gate (blocked)
59. Gate of the Mughrebins
60. Wilson's Arch
61. Robinson's Arch
62. Western (Wailing Wall)
63. Balustrade (Second Temple)

During the Period of the Temple

There were differences in degree of sanctity between the different sections of the Temple Mount. Into the most holy section, the Holy of Holies, only the high priest was permitted to enter, and then only once a year, on the Day of Atonement, for the service, and even this was dependent upon definite conditions. Besides this, those who were ritually unclean were forbidden to enter the Temple, as well as the courts of the priests and of the Israelites, by a positive precept (Num. 5:2) and a negative one (Num. 5:3). Those ritually unclean as the result of an unclean issue from their bodies were forbidden by a positive and negative precept from entering any part of the Temple Mount. By rabbinic enactment anyone ritually unclean was equally forbidden to enter the rampart (*ḥel*) and the court of the women. According to one opinion, anyone unclean, whether by biblical law or rabbinic enactment, was forbidden to enter any part of the mount. It was however permitted to enter the Temple, even the Holy of Holies, in order to execute necessary repairs, but under defined conditions. In addition, there are precepts which derive from the respect in which the area is to be held. It was forbidden to enter the area of the Temple Mount in a disrespectful manner or for mundane purposes: "A man should not enter the Temple Mount with his staff or wearing his shoes or with his feet dust-stained; nor should he make of it a short cut, and spitting [is forbidden] a fortiori" (Ber. 9:5). It was permitted to enter the Temple Mount from the right side only and to depart from it on the left side only, except in special circumstances (Mid. 2:2; Maim. Yad, Beit ha-Beḥirah 7:3).

The Status of the Temple Mount After the Destruction of the Temple

This raised a special halakhic problem, as can be gathered from most of the talmudic sources dealing with the subject (Eduy. 8:6; Meg. 10a–b). It appears that the most accepted view – and this too is the view of most commentators and halakhic authorities – is that the sanctity of the Temple site, and of the other parts of the Temple Mount according to their grades, and of Jerusalem as a whole – including any prohibitions against entry arising from these – remained even after the destruction. This is especially stressed by Maimonides (Yad, Beit ha-Beḥirah 6:14–16), but *Abraham b. David of Posquières (the Rabad, *ibid.*) criticizes this view and rules that "one entering there nowadays is not liable for the penalty of **karet*." Some have understood the latter to mean that no part of the Temple Mount is nowadays sacred, and unrestricted entry is permitted; and some acted accordingly, as reported by Menahem b. Solomon ha-*Meiri (*Beit ha-Beḥirah* to Shevu. 16a) that the "the custom is widespread to enter there, as I have heard." However, generally speaking, his statement was understood to refer only to the liability for *karet* but not to the permission to enter. In any case his opinion was not accepted as the *halakhah* (Magen Avraham to OḤ 561:2).

A secondary problem, not discussed, is to what extent the permission to enter which applied in Temple times obtains after the destruction. However, it is held that in general there is no one who has not been rendered ritually unclean by direct or indirect contact with the dead and there is no possibility of becoming cleansed, since there are no ashes of the *red heifer, which are indispensable for such purification. According to the view that all ritually unclean persons are forbidden to enter the entire Temple Mount, the prohibition against entrance is clear-cut. Yet according to the view that the prohibition against entry in the case of one rendered unclean by contact with the dead is restricted to the area within the rampart, while the area outside is forbidden only if the uncleanness could have been avoided or if it is a form of uncleanness from which cleansing is possible even today, there are apparently grounds for permitting entry to that area. The problem remains, however, of identifying that permitted area, since no unequivocal conclusions on this can be derived from the sources. It is discussed by *David b. Solomon ibn Abi Zimra (Responsa, pt. 2, no. 691) on the assumption that the Dome of the Rock is on the exact site of the Temple. With this as a starting point and with the aid of the measurements found in talmudic sources, he established into which area of the Temple Mount entry is forbidden nowadays and into which it is permitted. However, his premise about the exact site of the Temple is not universally accepted and many doubts remain. Most authorities take the view that entry is forbidden today to the entire area of the Temple Mount. In recent generations, the rabbis of Jerusalem – particularly A.I. *Kook – strongly upheld this prohibition.

A vehement controversy on the question of entry into the Temple area took place after the liberation of Jerusalem in 1967. It did not apply to the armed forces who captured and held the site, since their presence there was regarded as a security necessity involving *pikku'aḥ nefesh* in relation to others. The chief rabbi of the Israel army, S. Goren, maintained that on the basis of his study of the sources he had succeeded in identifying an area south of the Temple Mount that was definitely outside the area forbidden to one unclean through contact with the dead. As a result, he stated that in his opinion it was permitted to enter that area after cleansing oneself from other forms of uncleanness, as is possible nowadays, and observing those injunctions applying to reverence for the Temple. Most rabbis disagreed with him, however, and took the accepted view that entry into the whole Temple area is forbidden (except for security reasons). Similarly, a special halakhic problem arose as to whether entry is permitted for the purpose of offering congregational *sacrifices, on the halakhic basis that "they may offer sacrifices although there is no Temple" (Eduy. 8:6), and in accordance with the rule that "uncleanness is superseded [or overridden] by the congregation"; i.e., if the whole congregation have become unclean by contact with the dead and there is no possibility of their being cleansed. Communal sacrifices which are offered at specific times, particularly the paschal lamb (Tem. 2:1; Pes. 79a–80b; Maim. Yad, Bi'at ha-Mikdash 4:10–12; Korban Pesaḥ 7:1), would be permitted. The problem had already been discussed by *Estori ha-Parḥi in his *Kaftor va-Feraḥ* (ch. 6). In the modern period it was examined by S. *Kalischer in his *Derishat Ẓiyyon* (*Ma'amar ha-Avodah*; par. 3 (1964), 124), and he expressed the view that "if permitted by the ruling powers," it would be permissible and even obligatory to offer communal sacrifices nowadays, including the paschal lamb, on the Temple Mount, upon an altar built on the site of the altar at the time of the Temple. Ẓevi Hirsch *Chajes concurred to some extent, but the majority of the authorities, including Akiva *Eger and David Friedmann of Karlin (*She'ilat David*, 1 (1913), 27ff.; *Kunteres Derishat Ẓiyyon vi-Yrushalayim*), rejected the suggestion – either because the exact site of the altar cannot be established, or because precise knowledge of the priestly garments being lacking they cannot be prepared, or because of doubts of the priestly lineage of present-day kohanim (see *Yiḥus*; *Priests and Priesthood). This problem too was revived after the Six-Day War. There were some who favored the offering of at least the paschal lamb on the Temple Mount. Those who rejected the possibility on halakhic grounds were again a majority (quite apart from external considerations) and the suggestion was not implemented.

The rending of garments, obligatory upon one "who sees the ruins of the Temple" for the first time or after a lapse of 30 days without seeing it (see MK 26a; TJ, Ber. 9:2), is discussed in detail by the halakhic authorities. They also discuss to which part of the Temple Mount it applies: whether to a view of the Temple site from a distance without seeing the area of the Temple or of the court, or to the Western Wall, which is a remnant of the wall of the Temple Mount; or if it applies to one who lives in Jerusalem. The accepted custom is that a man living permanently in Jerusalem does not rend his garments even if he has not seen the ruins for 30 days (see Sh. Ar., OḤ 561; *Pe'at ha-Shulḥan* 3:1–7; J.M. Tykocinski, *Ir ha-Kodesh ve-ha-Mikdash*, pt. 2, ch. 17; idem, *Sefer Ereẓ Yisrael* (1955), no. 22). The problem of whether the sanctity of the Temple Mount applies to the Western Wall is also discussed (see A. Bornstein, *Avnei Nezer*, YD pt. 2, no. 450).

[Zvi Kaplan]

Location

Various attempts have been made from time to time to determine the exact location of the Temple. The preservation of a large part of the original external walls of the Temple compound (including the Western Wall) enables the overall area to be determined, for the most part, with precision, but controversy surrounds all suggestions concerning the exact siting of the Temple building within the compound. By popular tradition the *even shetiyyah* over which the Temple stood is now covered by the Dome of the Rock (the Mosque of Omar). However various archaeologists over the past century have questioned this location. In 1975, a Jerusalem physicist, Prof. A.S. Kaufman of the Hebrew University, put forward a new theory, based on technological investigation as well as examination of the sources. His views have evoked widespread interest: some scholars of the period have declared themselves convinced; others have found the theory "not proven." The following summary has been written by Prof. Kaufman:

Method

The principal features of the Second Temple as reconstructed by Herod can be determined by combining a knowledge of Jewish texts, notably Tractate **Middot* of the Mishnah, with information derived from finds in the Temple area and simple calculations. The finds, located in the northwestern part of the area and exposed above ground, consist of a mass of rock hewn and dressed in Herodian style, a hewn rock-ledge, remains of a small stone structure, and rows of dressed stones. The mass of rock, the remains of a small stone structure, and certain rows of dressed stone possess two common features; they are aligned at an angle of 9° south of west and dimensions are an integral multiple of a certain unit of length (see below, Standard Cubit).

Plan

The Temple was of rectangular shape at its eastern side, while by the *heikhal* (sanctuary) it narrowed toward the west. The northwestern corner of the inner court (*azarah*), including the gate there (*Middot* 2:3, 2:6), was built on the rock mass which was hewn in the shape of a right angle. The form of the *heikhal* was similar to that of the inner court in that it was "narrow behind and broad in front" (Middot 4:7), while the porch protruded at both ends. The thickness of the northern wall of the inner court and Court of the Women was five cubits whereas that of the Western Wall (*kotel ma'aravi*) of the inner court was eight cubits.

Conclusion

The Temple was located on a secondary peak of the Temple Mount toward the northwestern corner of the Temple area. The existing platform on which the Dome of the Rock is situated (subsequently referred to as the platform) conceals from view most of the area of the two courts. The Dome of the Rock itself, according to this, is not built on the site of the Temple. The small Dome of the Spirits or of the Tablets which stands on bare rock to the northwest is the existing indication of the position of the Holy of Holies: the rock there would then be identified as the *even shetiyyah* or Foundation Stone (Yoma 5:2). The position of the apex of the inner face of the Western Wall of the inner court is almost coincident with the eastern face of the northwestern archway at the top of the staircase leading to the platform. The axis of the Temple which divided it into two equal parts (the altar excluded) was aligned exactly in the geographic east-west direction. The center of the Dome of the Spirits is situated 1.7 m to the south of the axis, with an estimated uncertainty in position of about 10 cm.

Standard Cubit

The length of the cubit (*ammah*) used in the construction of the Second Temple was 43.7 cm. This was determined from dimensions of the finds on the site, with a correction factor introduced to account for the dimensions of an ancient vault discovered by Warren in 1868.

Confirmation of the Results

Great significance is attached to the existence of a cemented cistern beneath the platform. The position of the Temple axis as determined from the location and shape of this cistern is identical with that determined from the finds above ground (see Method, above). The cistern apparently served several functions. One part suits the description of the water reservoir in the Chamber of the Exile (*Middot* 5:4). The northern portion conforms to the ritual bath for the immersion of the veil (Shek. 8:4), while the western wing was probably the place for overnight immersion of the laver (*Yoma* 3:10).

Location of the Altar

The location of the altar was determined by accepting the tradition of Eliezer ben Jacob (Zev. 59a; Yoma 37a) and from a fundamental understanding of the Temple dimensions as recorded in Tractate *Middot*. There was a space of 5½ cubits between the edge of the ramp leading to the Altar and the inner face of the southern wall of the inner court. Another cemented cistern below the platform conforms to the description of the pit for libation offerings and was situated 1.2 m from the southwestern corner of the Altar (*Middot* 3:3). The platform completely obscures from view the place of the Altar and the ramp, as well as the two cisterns.

Predictions

By superimposing an exact plan of the Temple on a map of scale 1:500, the position of the Temple in relation to existing topography can be determined. For example, just beyond the northeastern edge of the platform, the wild plant growth is stunted across a strip of ground of width five cubits. The position of this strip would coincide with that of the northern wall of the Court of the Women. Moreover, it appears that the same clear strip extending over most of the distance between the northeastern corner of the platform and the rock mass is visible in a German aerial photograph taken in 1918.

Additional Results

The continuation eastward of the Temple axis in a straight line passes over the Mount of Olives at a spot which is compatible with the position of the priest during the ceremony of the burning of the red heifer (*Middot* 2:4). The approximate position of the buried Ark of the Covenant is indicated on the map close to the clear strip of ground referred to above (see Shek. 6:1). Below the inner court there are indications of the existence of a vault which apparently continues under the *heikhal* (Parah 3:3; *Tosefta Kelim* BK 1:1).

Scientific Parameters

The essential features of the plan and location of the Temple can be reconstructed from the following parameters in conjunction with Tractate *Middot*:

(a) standard cubit, 43.7 cm;

(b) direction of the axis, geographic east-west;

(c) coordinates of the apex of the inner face to the western wall of the inner court on the national grid, 131 788.8, 172 318.9;

(d) angle of inclination of the inner court by the *heikhal*, 9.0;

(e) thickness of the partition wall between the two courts, 11 cubits (provisional).

The overall inaccuracy is estimated as that of the map, 1:500, or about 20 cm.

First Temple

There are indications that the First Temple was in the same locality as the Second Temple. Apparently, its axis was inclined at an angle 6° south of west, and the continuation of the axis in a straight line eastward passed through the center of the Golden Gate. The standard cubit used in the construction of the First Temple ("cubits after the first measure" (II Chron. 3:3), and that in use at the time of Moses (Kelim 17:9) was 42.8 cm.

[Asher S. Kaufman]

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TEMPLERS (**Tempelgesellschaft**), German sect which founded settlements in Ereẓ Israel in the 19th and 20th centuries. The sect, which had its origin in the Pietist movement, was expelled from the Lutheran Church in 1858 and established itself under the name of Tempelgesellschaft ("Temple Society") as an independent religious community. Its aim was to realize the apocalyptic visions of the prophets of Israel by establishing colonies in the Holy Land. In 1860, when it had a membership of 5,000, four of its members went to Ereẓ Israel to study conditions, and six years later several farming families belonging to the Templers made an abortive attempt to settle in what is today the Nahalal area. Two years later, in 1868, several dozen Templer families from Wuerttemberg established a colony in Haifa, at the foot of Mt. Carmel. For some time the leader of the sect, Christoph Hoffmann, tried to persuade the Turkish government to make the sect a free grant of agricultural land, and in 1871, when his attempts had failed, he purchased a tract of land on the site of what is today the Kiryah (government offices' area) in Tel Aviv, and founded an agricultural settlement there, naming it Sarona. Although the settlers suffered great hardship and many (especially infants) succumbed to malaria and the unaccustomed climate, they eventually became prosperous farmers.

Individual Templers also settled in Jerusalem and in 1878 founded a residential quarter (the German Colony) in the Emek Refaim district; others settled in Jaffa and Haifa. In 1875, according to figures given by the founders of the sect, there were 750 Templers living in Ereẓ Israel, who maintained two schools and a hospital. In 1902 they founded a settlement in the Lydda plain, naming it Wilhelma (after the Kaiser), and in 1906 two small villages, Bethlehem and Waldheim, were established in Lower Galilee by Templers who had rejoined the Lutheran Church. In the towns, Templers and ex-Templers (who had returned to Lutheranism) owned hotels, stores, and workshops. By 1914 their number had risen to 1,200. When the British conquered Palestine in 1917/18, the German settlers were deported as enemy aliens, but they were allowed to return after the war. In the summer of 1938 there were 1,500 Germans of Templer origin living in the country, owning a total of 6,700 acres of land. When World War II broke out, they were interned and by 1943 they were repatriated to Germany – in exchange for Palestinians who had fallen into German hands – or deported to Australia. Their property was taken over by the Israel government in 1948, and was taken into account in the *Reparations Agreement concluded with the German Federal Republic.

At no time did the Templers succeed in formulating a uniform religious ideology. In 1845 Hoffmann founded a weekly, *Sueddeutsche Warte* ("South German Lookout"), which acknowledged the divine origin of the prophetic books, but denied the historical authenticity of the Bible stories. The weekly had a large circulation. In the wake of the Crimean War, Hoffmann, like other visionaries of the period, came to believe that the Day of Judgment was at hand, and that the people of Jesus – not the Jews – would inherit the Holy Land. After he had settled in Ereẓ Israel, Hoffmann's views underwent a further development and he gave up his belief in the Trinity, and in the divinity of Jesus and his expiation of man's sins. In Germany itself the sect did not last long, and it continued to exist only in Ereẓ Israel. Even there the Templers, especially those living in the towns, failed to preserve their distinctive character: the second generation, and even more so the third, adopted a levantine way of life. On the other hand, they kept up their ties with Germany and became ardent German nationalists.

[Abraham J. Brawer]

German National Socialist Party in Palestine

Decreasing religious fervor and strong German nationalism made the Templers receptive to the Nazi ideology introduced by the Auslands Organisation der NSDAP (Organization of Nazis Abroad). A Templer in Haifa, Karl Ruff, became the first member and local leader of the Palestine National Socialist Party in January 1932. Fearing economic repercussions from the *yishuv*, few settlers joined the party formally; but sympathy for *National Socialism was widespread, particularly among the younger settlers. By 1934 the seven German colonies in Palestine were linked by a network of officials, and Nazi party activities penetrated all spheres of the community life. Dissension grew among the colonists after the Nazi Party failed in having one of its members elected to the post of president of the Temple Society in January 1935. Cornelius Schwarz, however, a National Socialist from Jaffa, became *Landesgruppenleiter* of the Nazi Party for Palestine in October 1935. Meanwhile local party pressure had secured the dismissal of Heinrich Wolff, the German consul-general in Jerusalem, whose more extreme successor, Walter Doehle, actively supported the local leaders. By September 1939, only about 350 Palestinian Germans were of the Nazi Party, but approximately half had joined the Deutsche Arbeitsfront (the German labor organization created by the Nazis) or similar organizations. By mid-1938 all full-time German teachers in Palestine were enrolled in the Lehrebund (German teachers' organization) which, along with the rest of the educational system and youth organizations, had been pervaded by National Socialism.

Nazi agents distributed antisemitic literature (e.g., Hitler's *Mein Kampf*) in Arabic among the population of Palestine. Some of them actively aided the Arab revolt (1936–39). The younger generation especially identified itself with the aims of the Nazi Party in Germany, and 400 of them entered the German army, some as volunteers. From the outbreak of World War II the colonists were interned as enemies, and, as a result, the party was paralyzed; but they maintained their loyalty to Hitler till the end.

[Ann Ussishkin]

Further Information

The Templers who were deported from Palestine to Australia in 1943 by the British authorities joined the local community, which grew to some 1,350, mostly in Melbourne, Sydney, and Adelaide. In Germany they numbered some 800 with their center in Stuttgart, and continued to issue their periodical, which first appeared in 1845. The Australian group also produced a periodical. The Templers in Russia disappeared after the 1917 Revolution, while those in the U.S. joined the Unitarians.

Some scores of the Templers who remained in Israel were deported in 1950, and the few permitted to remain are no longer associated with the sect. The number of Templers throughout the world has remained comparatively stable during the last decades at some 2,200, with a slight tendency to increase. They have never engaged in missionary activity.

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TEMPLE SCROLL, scroll of the *Dead Sea Sect. In 1967 Yigael *Yadin acquired for the "Shrine of the Book," through the generosity of the Wolfson foundation, a scroll which almost certainly came from the Qumran caves. It is one of the most important of the Qumran finds and has been named the Temple Scroll. The longest scroll hitherto discovered, it measures over 28 ft. (8.6 m.) in length and consists of 66 columns (of text). It has been dated to the end of the second century B.C.E. The author of the scroll evidently believed, or wanted his readers to believe, that it was part of the Torah (given by God to Moses) since he always lets God speak in the first person. Furthermore, the Tetragrammaton is always written in full and in the same (square) script as in the scroll, which was the practice of the Qumran scribes only when copying biblical texts. The scroll is also unique in its contents, which concern four groups of topics:

Halakhot on Various Subjects

The arrangement of these laws – of which the scroll contains a large collection – differs from that in the Torah and many additional rules are given, some of sectarian and polemic nature and others concerning, though at many times disagreeing with, rulings of the Mishnah. Of special interest are the many passages dealing with rules of cleanness and uncleanness, both because they contain quotations from the Pentateuch with interesting variations from the masoretic text and because they manifest greater strictness in these matters than the parallel injunctions in the Mishnah. The scroll also has a special chapter on the rules of burial and regulations with regard to cemeteries.

Festivals and Festival Practice

A considerable part of the scroll is devoted to a detailed prescription of rules concerning the celebration of the various festivals, their sacrifices, and offerings. It decrees, however, the celebration of two festivals additional to those in the traditional Jewish calendar, namely that of the New Wine and that of the New Oil (the latter is known also from other Qumran documents) to be celebrated 50 and 100 days respectively after Shavuot.

Temple Plan and Practice

The commandment to build the Temple and the detailed instructions provided follow the manner and style of Exodus 35ff., which deals with the Tabernacle. The scroll differs, however, from all hitherto known ancient sources concerning the First, Second, and Herodian Temples, and it appears that its author endeavored to supply the "missing" Torah concerning the Temple which was given to David by God (I Chron. 28:11ff.; cf. TJ, Sanh. 29a for reference to such a scroll). The Temple of this scroll is a man-made one to be built as ordained by God until the day that God will create His own Temple. It is particularly in this section of the scroll that the terminology (words like *ris* ("stadium"), *roved* ("a tread of a stair"), *kiyyur* ("entablature"), *mesibbah* ("spiral staircase")), betrays the period of its writing.

The main interest of this section lies, however, in the detailed prescriptions for the courts and the sacrificial machinery, and in the instructions for Temple procedure during festivals, notably Sukkot. There were to be three exactly square courts, one inside another, being respectively about 280, 500, and 1,600 cubits long. The middle and outer courts were to have 12 gates corresponding to, and named after, the 12 tribes of Israel. A considerable portion of the Temple section is devoted to a variety of rules of cleanness and uncleanness to be observed in the city itself, even going into such detail as to prescribe location and architectural details for public toilets.

The Statutes of the Kings

Another section of the scroll deals at first with the king's bodyguard, which is to consist of 12,000 soldiers – 1,000 per tribe. These must be without blemish, "men of truth, God-fearing, hating unjust gain" (cf. Ex. 18:21 where the text concerns judges). The main purpose of this guard is to protect the king against the gentiles. The scroll also prescribes death for acts of espionage. Finally, the scroll gives detailed mobilization plans, the size of the army to be called into action varying from one-tenth to one-half of the nation's force – depending on the seriousness of the threat of war facing the king and the people – while the remainder are to stay in the cities and protect them.

Further Research

Further research on the Temple Scroll, which culminated in its publication with a detailed commentary in three volumes, confirmed the main conclusions given in the original article above. The suggested date of its composition, the second half of the 2nd century B.C.E., is confirmed on paleographic, linguistic, syntactical and historical grounds. It was the formative period of the Hasmonean dynasty, that of John *Hyrcanus I (135–104 B.C.E.), his son *Aristobulus (104–103) and Alexander Yannai (103–76), the last two of whom were High Priests and temporal rulers.

The attainment of independence, the problems raised by this dual role, the need for the reconstruction of the *Temple, the necessity for promoting regulations for the civil administration, the judicial system, the army, relations between the king and the people constitute the background to the two largest portions of the Scroll – the details of the building of the Temple and its practice and the *Statutes of the Kings, details about both of which are sparse in the Bible. To give but one example: the prohibition against the use of foreign mercenaries is to be viewed in the light of the fact that according to *Josephus (Ant. 12:244), John Hyrcanus was the first to employ those mercenaries.

The Scroll can be divided into two parts – editorial and additions.

The first part is characterized by the superb skill of the author in assembling and harmonizing into a whole the different and sometimes contradictory passages in the Bible on a given subject. He does not hesitate to emend the traditional text or to add words and phrases in order to gain his point. In this section biblical Hebrew largely predominates. It is the second part, dealing largely with contemporary matters, that contains post-biblical words, and phrases and syntax which are found only in the Mishnah.

This second part consists of the additions enumerated in the original article: the *halakhah* laid down by the sect; the festivals and their regulations; the plan of the Temple and its rules; the monarchy and its administration.

The Halakhah

All the evidence points to the fact that, unlike the other *Qumran documents, the Scroll was not a sectarian commentary on the Scriptures, but was regarded as a canonical work, part of their Torah, possibly to be identified with the "Book of Hegu" mentioned in the Damascus Covenant (10. 12.14), or even with the *Mishneh Torah* mentioned in the Bible, regarded by the Pharisees as referring to the Book of Deuteronomy, and having the same status as the Pentateuch.

The Scroll thus constitutes what might be called the *halakhah* of the *Essenes, written when the *halakhah* of the *Pharisees, which became normative Judaism, was being transmitted only orally, and its importance lies in the fact that for the first time we have an exposition of Jewish practice other than that of normative Judaism.

Many of its regulations stand in direct conflict with those of the Pharisees and always reveal a more extreme attitude. Thus, where the *Mishnah* (Hul. 4:3) says that a dead fetus in the womb does not render the mother ritually unclean, the Scroll says the opposite; where Pharisaic law limits the contamination from animal carcasses to the flesh, but explicitly excludes "the bones, the teeth, the nails and the hair," the Scroll equally explicitly includes them. Where the rabbis interpret Deut. 21:22 to mean that the body of a criminal on whom the death sentence was carried out was to be suspended from a tree after death (Sanh. 46b), basing themselves on the order of the words, the Scroll deliberately inverts that order to state: "You shall hang him on the tree and he shall die" (Col. 64). It is in the laws of ritual purity and impurity that the extremism of the Essenes is most marked.

The Festivals

As stated in the original article, where normative Judaism provides for only one festival of the first fruits, on the 50th day after "the morrow of the Sabbath" (Lev. 23:15) after which first fruits could be brought regularly, the Scroll provides for four such festivals, at 50-day intervals, for barley, wheat, wine and oil. Since they interpreted the words "the morrow of the Sabbath" not only, like the Sadducees, as Sunday, but as the Sunday after the conclusion of the whole Festival of Passover, i.e., the 26th of the first month, and since according to their calendar the 1st of the first month always fell on Wednesday, all these festivals fell on Sunday: the First Fruit of Barley, Sunday the 26th of the first month; the First Fruit of Wheat, Sunday the 15th of the third month; the First Fruit of Oil, Sunday, the 22nd of the sixth month. In addition there were the festival of the wood offering (cf. Neh. 10:35, and Mishnah Ta'an 4:4, 5) which lasted for six days, and an annual seven-day festival of the ordination of the priests. It was based on the ordination of the priests mentioned in Lev. 6, which normative Judaism regarded as a one-time act.

The Temple and its Regulations

The Scroll deals with the building of the Temple in such exhaustive detail that half of it is devoted to this, justifying the title "Temple Scroll" given to the document as a whole. It was to be an earthly Temple, built by man, as distinct from the Temple to be built by God "at the end of days." Its main aspect was that it was to be surrounded by three concentric squares.

It is in this section that the extremism of the sect with regard to ritual purity is most marked. The Pharisees applied the word "camp" in the Bible, in which ritual purity was to be maintained, to three "camps" of descending order of sanctity: the Temple itself, the Levitical camp, i.e., the Temple precincts, and the "camp of Israel," which was the city, thus permitting leniency in the laws of ritual uncleanness in Jerusalem.

The Essenes, however, declared that the whole city of the Temple constituted that camp, with the result that all acts involving ritual contamination, including sexual intercourse, body evacuation, and the bringing of animal products other than those for sacrifices, were forbidden within the city boundaries. As a protest against the disregard of these laws they refrained from participating in the Temple cult and withdrew to the desert until such time as their rules would be accepted.

The Statutes of the Kings

It is in these statutes that the contemporary historical situation is most strongly in evidence, pointing to the date of the composition of the Scroll. It deals with (1) the king's guard; (2) the obligation of the king to organize an army; (3) the appointment of a judicial council; (4) the number of wives permitted to a king; (5) the relations between the king and the people; (6) regulations for conscription in case the country is attacked; (7) regulations for an offensive war; (8) the division of booty; and (9) the obligation of the king to adhere to the Divine Commandments.

An important aspect of the Temple Scroll is the light it throws on the relations between the Essenes, to whom the Temple Scroll undoubtedly belongs, and early Christianity. It had previously been assumed that the common denominator between them was the rejection of the Temple cult. The scroll, however, reveals beyond question that not only did the Essenes uphold this cult, but they were its most extreme adherents, regarding the Pharisees as heretics.

It is therefore to be assumed that the early Christians came into contact with the Essenes during the later period of their existence when, in rejection of the administration of the Temple of their time, they withdrew from Jerusalem and evolved a theology and a practice which enabled them to live without it. This was, however, only a temporary measure, until such time as the Temple would be rebuilt and their principles put into practice. What was a temporary solution to the Essenes was accepted by the early Christians as their permanent standard.

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[Yigael Yadin]

TEMPLO, JACOB JUDAH (Aryeh) LEON (1602–1675), Dutch rabbi, teacher and scholar. Born in Portugal in the area of Coimbra to a Marrano family and educated under Isaac Uziel, together with the future leaders of the Amsterdam Sephardi community Isaac *Aboab da Fonseca and *Manasseh Ben Israel, Templo was his nickname at the end of his life; his descendants adopted it as their family name. He went to Hamburg, where in 1628/29 he became a rabbi of the house-synagogue of the Cardozos. Afterwards he taught in the congregational school in Amsterdam until the union of the three Sephardic communities in 1639. Then he was appointed *ḥakham* at Middleburgh, Holland, where he was financially supported by the Christian Orientalist and collegiant Adam Boreel with whom he collaborated in translating the Mishnah into Spanish, a chiliastic project. In connection with this work he constructed a wooden model of the Temple of Solomon which made him famous. Thanks to a print in a Dutch States Bible of 1682, illuminated by the master illuminator Dirk van Santen, even the colors used in this model are known. In 1643 he returned to Amsterdam to serve as teacher in the Ets Ḥaim academy. There he collaborated at Manasseh Ben Israel's press, punctuating the 1646 Hebrew edition of the Mishnah. While in Middleburgh he published a work in Dutch and Spanish on the Jerusalem Temple, *Afbeeldinghe vanden Tempel Salomonis* (1642, reprinted in 1644 and 1669) and *Retrato del Templo de Selomoh* (1642), some copies being illustrated with copper engravings, which might be the work of Pieter Willemsz and other artists. The book also appeared in Hebrew (*Tavnit Hekhal*, 1650), French (1643), German (1665) and Latin (1665, reprinted in 1674). It was followed by similarly illustrated treatises on the Ark (*Tratado del Arco del Testamento*, 1653), the cherubim (*De Cherubinis tractatus*, 1647 and *Tratado de los Cherubim*, 1653/54), and the Tabernacle (*Afbeeldinge van den Tabernakel*, 1647 and 1669, *Retrato del Tabernaculo de Moseh*, 1654; Eng. tr., 1675). Templo was not only an artist, who illustrated his books himself, but a collector of pictures. For his private museum at Amsterdam where he sold his books and the copper engravings, he also constructed a model of the Tabernacle and a scale model of the Israelites in the desert. Two illustrated posters with information on his exhibits are known, from which it appears that he traveled with his models to other places. His exhibition was visited by many people from the Netherlands and abroad, who sometimes reported about it, such as John Dury, Philipp von Zesen, William Lord Fitzwilliam, Philip Skippon. He showed the temple model to Queen Henrietta Maria of England when she visited Amsterdam in 1643. He took his model with him to England in 1671 with letters of recommendation by the famous Dutch poet and statesman Constantin Huygens, who was instructed in Hebrew literature by him in his youth. The letters were directed, among others, to the Portuguese ambassador, the archbishop of Canterbury, and the architect Sir Christopher Wren; possibly Leon hoped to show the model to King Charles II. (While there, he is said to have designed the coat of arms used by the English freemasons. This, however, seems unlikely.) The model remained on show in London for over a century but is now probably lost. In 1670/71 he published *Kodesh Hillulim* (*Las alabanças de santidad*) in Amsterdam – the Hebrew text of the Psalms with translation, paraphrase, and annotations in Spanish. Among his unpublished works, which mostly dealt with the Temple and its worship, was a series of drawings illustrating the Mishnah, subsequently used by Wilhelm *Surenhuis for his Latin translation. He left behind some polemical materials in manuscript, but his connection to the Latin disputation with Philip Limborch, generally called the *Colloquium Middleburgensis*, is no longer believed. He died on July 19, 1675, in Amsterdam, shortly before the inauguration of the great Sephardi Esnoga. His portrait (in two versions and dating from the 1640s) was drawn and engraved by Salom Italia. A third portrait from 1652 is anonymous. The earliest portrait was copied by the German engraver C. Buno (Baum) for the Latin translation of the book on the Temple. His son, SOLOMON JUDAH LEÃO TEMPLO (d. c. 1733), also taught in the Jewish congregational schools in Amsterdam. He composed a Hebrew grammar in Portuguese (*Reshit Ḥokhmah, Principio de sciencia*, 1703) for their use, besides publishing a number of sermons.

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[Cecil Roth / A.K. Offenberg (2nd ed.)]

TEMUNAH, THE BOOK OF (Heb. סֵפֶר הַתְּמוּנָה), a kabbalistic book whose method represents a particular trend in the *Kabbalah. Written round about the 1270s, when printed it was attributed to Ishmael, a high priest, but in the numerous early manuscripts of the book this attribution is not found. It is clearly recognizable that the author had no pseudepigraphic intentions. *Temunah* is one of the most difficult works in kabbalistic literature, despite the fact that it is written in very good Hebrew. The author concealed his daring opinions behind obscure and solemn phraseology. Some small degree of penetration in understanding the central ideas in the book is made possible by the excellent commentary, written apparently soon after its appearance. One should not exclude the possibility that the anonymous interpreter of the book knew of an oral tradition which enabled him to penetrate its secrets.

There are two editions of the book, published at Korets in 1784 and Lemberg in 1892. But there is evidence from the year 1743 that it had already been printed in Cracow in 1549. In fact, one version was also printed in Casablanca in 1930 without the editors realizing what it was. In a book erroneously entitled *Sefer ha-Malkhut* there are three or four early kabbalistic works, and from page 4b to page 20d one finds a text of the *Temunah*, identical to that printed in the above-mentioned Lemberg edition, under the heading *Nosaḥ shel ha-Ketav Yad*.

The author of *Temunah* is apparently the author of *Sod Shem ha-Meforash* (The Secret of the Tetragrammaton; see *God, Names of), which appears from page 72a to page 75b. Another work following the same trend, and perhaps even by the author of *Temunah*, is the commentary on the 72-lettered Name of God. Like *Temunah*, which contains three interpretations of the forms of the Hebrew alphabet, this work contains three commentaries on the 72-lettered Name. In many MSS these three commentaries appear in synoptic form, each with a different name: *Ha-Gemara, Ha-Pe'ullot, Perush Shelishi*. To the same group belongs the esoteric commentary on the Passover **Haggadah* which can be found in several MSS (such as Bodleian, Cat. Neubauer no. 1557; Parma, Cat. Perreau no. 87, etc.). This work was certainly not written by the author of *Temunah*. Another book of the same trend was *Sod Ilan ha-Aẓilut* of the middle of the 14th century. This text appeared in an abbreviated version entitled *Sefer Sod ha-Shem* at the end of *Zohar Ḥadash*, printed in Constantinople in 1740. The influence of *Temunah* persisted until the spread of the Kabbalah of Moses *Cordovero and Isaac *Luria. In his book *Magen David*, *David b. Solomon Abi Zimra (Radbaz) made extensive use of the *Temunah*. Its renewed influence could be discerned in Shabbatean literature (see *Shabbetai Ẓevi).

The main importance of *Temunah* is in the theory of *Shemittot* (cosmic cycles; see *Kabbalah). This pivotal point of the book takes the form of the commentary on the forms of the alphabet, which is an expression of the manifestation of God in His *Sefirot and His creative power.

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[Efraim Gottlieb]

TEMURAH (Heb. תְּמוּרָה; "exchange"), sixth tractate in the Mishnah order of *Kodashim*, with Tosefta and *Gemara* in the Babylonian Talmud. In seven chapters (the Tosefta has four), it deals with the regulations concerning the exchange of an animal consecrated for sacrifice and with associated problems (based on Lev. 27:9–10).

Chapter 1 considers the persons and sacrifices that are included in the laws of *temurah*. In chapter 2, which lists several differences between congregational and individual sacrifices – one of which is that the law of *temurah* applies to the latter but not to the former – there is a digression on the chronology of the reign of King David. The regulations applicable to the offspring of animals dedicated as sacrifices are covered in chapter 3. In the next chapter there is a discussion of a sin-offering whose owner had died or which belonged to a man whose sin had been expiated by another sacrifice – the first one having been lost, and then found – and similar cases. Chapter 5 covers various formulas of dedication and their effects. Chapter 6 touches on animals which are not only unfit for being offered as sacrifices, but also render unfit those with which they have become mixed. Special consideration is given to the offerings of "the hire of a harlot or the price of a dog," which are specifically prohibited in the Bible (Deut. 23:19). The last chapters deal first with the differences between the dedication of offerings to the altar (i.e., specifically for sacrifices) and those dedicated for the maintenance of the Temple (e.g., building repairs), the law of *temurah* applying only to the former. It then discusses the manner of disposing of things which are forbidden, not only as food but for any use (e.g., meat cooked in milk or bread found on Passover) – whether by burning or burial. Of particular interest are two passages in the Babylonian *Gemara* dealing with the Oral Law and its transmission (14b, 16a).

The final redaction of the Mishnah of *Temurah* took place in the school of Judah ha-Nasi, even though chapter 4 mentions later *tannaim*, including *Eliezer b. Simeon, *Yose b. Judah, and even Judah ha-Nasi himself (4:3; 6:2). Many of its anonymous *mishnayot* represent the views of R. Simeon b. Yoḥai, as a comparison with parallels proves. The Talmud to *Temurah* is composed in the main of tractates that were redacted at an early date. On the other hand, its style resembles that of the tractates *Nedarim*, *Nazir*, *Keritot*, and *Me'ilah*, whose editing certainly took place later than that of the rest of the Talmud. Among its stylistic features is the frequent appearance of "alternative readings," which occur in it much more often than "alternative readings" do in other tractates. In the manuscripts the "alternative readings" do not differ from one another in content but simply in elaboration and language and style. This phenomenon is already mentioned in the **tosafot* included in the *Shitah Mekubbeẓet*, which states (ad 17a): "It is difficult to understand wherein all these versions of *Temurah* differ from one another." Different opinions are given to explain this phenomenon. Some hold them to be additions of the **savoraim*, others that they are part of a very late amoraic arrangement of the Talmud and are not supplements but an integral part of the text. The tractate also contains several other unique terminologies, e.g., *tiba'i* instead of *teiku; bazya* instead of *zila* (7a), *lai* instead of *la* (8b), etc. *Temurah* was translated into English by L. Miller in the Soncino edition (1948).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Epstein, Tanna'im, 457 f.; Epstein, Amora'im, 131–44.

[Arnost Zvi Ehrman]

TEN DAYS OF PENITENCE (Heb. עֲשֶׂרֶת יְמֵי תְּשׁוּבָה; *aseret yemei teshuvah*), the first ten days in the month of Tishri, i.e., from *Rosh Ha-Shanah until the *Day of Atonement, inclusive. According to the Talmud (RH 18a; cf. Maim. Yad, Teshuvah 2:6), this is the most appropriate time for repentance. Rosh Ha-Shanah is regarded as the day of annual judgment, on which God opens the "book of life." He "seals" it, however, only on the Day of Atonement and repentance in the intermediate period is therefore held to be particularly timely for obtaining God's pardon to be inscribed in the "book of life."

The concept of repentance is reflected in the following changes in the liturgy during the Ten Days of Penitence: (1) In the third benediction of the **Amidah*, the closing formula is changed from "Holy God" to "Holy King"; in the eighth, from "the King who lovest righteousness and judgment" to "the King of judgment." (A similar change is made in the *Magen Avot* prayer of the Sabbath eve liturgy; Sh. Ar., OḤ 582:1–3). (2) Petitions for inscription into the "book of life" are inserted in the *Amidah* before the closing formulas of the first, second, and last two benedictions (Sof. 19:8). (3) The **Avinu Malkenu* prayer is recited daily, except on the Sabbath, in the morning and afternoon prayers in public worship. (4) Early at dawn (in Sephardi and Oriental communities also after midnight), special penitential prayers, **Seliḥot* (or *Ashmorot*) are recited before the **Shaḥarit* prayer.

It is thought meritorious to fast on these days and to devote oneself in an increased measure to prayer, to study of Torah and to the performance of good deeds (Sh. Ar., OḤ 602–603).

The third of Tishri is the *Fast of Gedaliah, observed as a public fast day (see: *Fasting and Fast Days).

On the ninth of Tishri, the eve of the Day of Atonement, only a small part of the *Seliḥot* is recited in the morning; the greater part is included in the traditional liturgy of the evening prayer after **Kol Nidrei*.

The rabbis prohibited fasting on the eve of the Day of Atonement and declared that "for those who eat and drink on the ninth of Tishri, it is reckoned to them as if they had fasted on both the ninth and the tenth of Tishri (i.e., the Day of Atonement)" (RH 9a–b). Strictly Orthodox Jews observe the ritual of **kapparot* on the eve of the Day of Atonement, the ceremony of absolution from vows (*hattarat nedarim*), and some even the custom of voluntary flagellation.

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TENDLER, MOSHE (1926–), biochemist, professor of Talmud, one of the world's leading experts on medical ethics. He was *rosh yeshivah* at Rabbi Isaac Elchanan Theological Seminary and University Professor of Medical Ethics at Yeshiva University. From 1965 he was the spiritual leader of the Community Synagogue of Monsey.

He received a B.A. from NYU in 1947, and a masters degree in 1950. He was ordained at RIETS in 1949 and in 1957 received his Ph.D. in biology from Columbia.

He married Shifra Feinstein, the daughter of Rabbi Moses *Feinstein. Rabbi Tendler was for more than 35 years the close associate of his father-in-law and a principal interpreter of his views on medical ethics issues; he, in turn, also deeply influenced his father-in-law's view on the issue of death and also of transplants.

Tendler wrote dozens of articles on a broad range of medical ethics. But his greatest contribution to medical ethics has been in his oral lectures and rabbinic decisions on ethical problems. He was the first to teach Medical Ethics as part of a formal university curriculum.

He was a forceful advocate for greater organ donor contribution on the part of the Jewish public on the grounds that saving human life – Jew or Gentile – is halakhically mandated as first priority.

His rulings have not gone without controversy, as for instance in his recommendation after a death from herpes that *meẓiẓah ba-peh*, or oral suction of the circumcision wound, be conducted with a sterile tube.

He was also involved in another medical ethics controversy, being a strong advocate of pre-embryo stem cell research, which he argues is essential for the development of remedies for major illness.

He was also involved in the controversy over the question of definition of death, and objected to the term "brain death." He has argued that the Jewish view is that cessation of cerebral functioning is not sufficient but rather that all brain stem activity must have ceased for death to be determined.

Tendler was chairman of the Bioethical Commission of the Rabbinical Council of America and served on the Medical Ethics Task Force of the Federation of Jewish Philanthropies. He was medical ethics consultant for the American College of Chest Physicians and the National Association of Bioethics of Embryo Research. He was chairman of the Medical Ethics Commission of the Jewish Philanthropies of New York.

With over 50 children and grandchildren living in Israel, Tendler was involved in Israeli political issues. He most strongly criticized the Orthodox Union of America for not taking a stand and opposing Israel's unilateral disengagement from Gaza in August 2005.

He is the author of *Pardes Rimmonim: A Marriage Manual for the Jewish Family* (1977) and co-author of *Responsa of Rav Moshe Feinstein: Translation and Commentary: Care for the Critically ill* (2001). He is co-editor with Fred Rosner of *Practical Medical Halachah* (1997).

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[Shalom Freedman (2nd ed.)]

TENE, BENJAMIN (1914–1999), Hebrew poet. Born in Warsaw, Tene settled in Ereẓ Israel in 1937. His first poems appeared in the Warsaw publication *Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir* (1933). His subsequent work was published in *He-Atid* and in the Israel press.

Tene's books of poetry include *Mekhorah* (1939); *Massa ba-Galil* (1941); *Temolim al ha-Saf* (1947); *Shirim u-Fo'emot* (1967); and two books of poetry for children, *Dani Dan u-Telat Ofan* (1952), and *Keẓir ha-Pele* (1957). His two books of folktales for children are *Leket Pele* and *Ẓeror Pela'im* (both in 1968). His translations into Hebrew include several books of poetry and collections of Polish and Soviet prose, several children's books, and I. *Manger's *Shirim u-Valladot* (1968). From 1948, Tene was editor of *Mishmar li-Yladim*. His memoir of a childhood in Poland before World War II appeared in English, *In the Shade of the Chestnut Tree* (1981).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Kressel, Leksikon 1 (1967), 27. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** M. Regev, "*Yoman Sheme-Ever la-Zeman*," in: *Ma'agalei Keriah,* 10–11 (1984), 123–30; idem, "*Al Shetei Yeẓirot,*" in: *Sifrut Yeladim ve-No'ar,* 11:2–3 (1985), 43–46.

[Getzel Kressel]

TENENBAUM, JOSEPH L. (1887–1961), U.S. urologist, Zionist leader, and author. Tenenbaum was born in Sasov, Poland, and in 1919 he was a delegate to the Paris Peace Conference, representing the Jewish National Council of Poland. Immigrating to the United States in 1920, Tenenbaum became a urologist and surgeon, teaching at Columbia University (1922–24) and subsequently working in several New York hospitals. Along with his distinguished medical career, Tenenbaum was a leader in U.S. Jewish life, serving as chairman of the executive committee of the American Jewish Congress (1929–36), as vice president of that organization (1943–45), and as a member of the administrative committee of the World Jewish Congress (1936). He was the founder and chairman of the Joint Boycott Council (1933–41), an organization that promoted the boycott of German materials in the United States before and during World War II. As president of the American and the World Federation of Polish Jews, Tenenbaum twice visited Poland after the war to bring aid to the remaining Jews there.

His writings include *Peace for the Jews* (1945); *In Search of a Lost People* (1948); *Underground* (1952), a book about World War II; and *Nazi Rule in Poland and the Jewish Medical Profession*, which appeared as one part of a three-part work entitled *Martyrdom of Jewish Physicians in Poland* (ed. by Louis Falstein, 1964). His most comprehensive and fundamental work, *Race and Reich* (1956, reprinted and enlarged Hebrew edition, 1960), explains the racial character of the German people, its roots, and its integration into the National Socialist movement. Although dealing primarily with the persecution of the Jews throughout the whole occupied area of Europe, it also deals with the religious and economic policy of Hitler.

[Moshe Gottlieb]

TENENBAUM, JOSHUA (**Shia**; 1910–1989), Yiddish writer. Born near Lublin, Tenenbaum trained as a typesetter and immigrated to Belgium, where he published his first poem, "Mayn Gelibte" ("My Beloved") in 1926). In 1932 he co-edited the journal *Yung Belgye*. From 1934 he lived in the U.S. Tenenbaum wrote widely and in almost every prose genre but is perhaps most admired for his memoirs (in *Yizker Bukh Koriv*, "Koriv Memorial Book," 1955, and *Der Emes Zol Zayn Dayn Shtern*, "May the Truth Be Your Star," 1960) and his impressionistic sketches such as those comprising *In Gots Geshtalt* ("In God's Image," 1951).

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[Leonard Prager / Lily O. Kahn (2nd ed.)]

TENENBAUM (Tamaroff), MORDECAI (1916–1943), resistance and ghetto fighter. Born in Warsaw, he went to *Tarbut Hebrew schools and then studied Semitic languages at the Warsaw Oriental Institute. His linguistic skills would later help him pass as a non-Jew on the "Aryan" side of Warsaw. In 1935 he joined the *Po'alei Zion youth movement Frayhayt. From 1938 he was a member of the central committee of *He-Ḥalutz in Warsaw. He trained for kibbutz life and underwent military training in the movement. At the outbreak of World War II he went to Vilna, where he hoped to escape the Germans and immigrate to Palestine. Permits were limited and Tenenbaum gave them to others. He remained behind to help. He participated in the January 1, 1942, meeting at which Abba *Kovner issued his proclamation of resistance. It spoke to Jewish youth, urging them to recognize the situation: "Jewish youth, do not believe those that are trying to deceive you. Out of 80,000 Jews in the 'Jerusalem of Lithuania' (Vilna) only 20,000 are left." The proclamation spelled out what was happening at Ponar, the killing field of Vilna: "All the Gestapo roads lead to Ponar, and Ponar means death." It foresaw the "Final Solution" three weeks before the *Wannsee Conference: "Hitler plans to destroy all the Jews of Europe, and the Jews of Lithuania have been chosen as the first line." And it called for resistance: "We will not be led like sheep to the slaughter. True, we are weak and helpless, but the only response to the murderer is revolt! Brothers! It is better to die fighting like free men than to live at the mercy of the murderers. Arise! Arise with your last breath!"

Tenenbaum had become active in the pioneer resistance movement under the Soviet regime and continued after the German occupation. He obtained forged papers and posed as a Tatar named Tamaroff. He went to Grodno and Bialystok to organize the movement. In March 1942, he returned to Warsaw, bringing with him important information as to what was happening elsewhere. In Vilna and the environs the killing of Jews had begun. Polish Jews were still ghettoized, systematic slaughter had not commenced. Tenenbaum was not quite believed by all, but confirmation was received from Lublin and news of the gassing at Chelmno. Together with Itzhak *Zuckerman, he edited *Yediot*, a clandestine newspaper, and also helped found the Jewish Fighting Organization (ZOB) in the summer of 1942, acquiring weapons and training recruits in the use of arms. In November 1942 he was sent to Bialystok, where he worked to set up a Jewish Fighting Organization within the ghetto underground. He attempted to reach Grodno but was shot by the Germans, who discovered his forged papers. Still he escaped, reached the only remaining ghetto in Grodno, and then returned to Bialystok, where he gained the support of Judenrat chairman Ephraim Baraz for resistance activities. With the help of Ẓevi Marsik, he founded the ghetto archive in Bialystok and kept a diary, *Dappim min ha-Delekah* (1948), thus uniting in his person two forms of resistance, armed and spiritual. As in Warsaw, Vilna, and other ghettos, armed resistance did not begin in Bialystok with the onset of deportations, which had begun in January. It occurred toward the end in a desperate last stand. Tenenbaum united all the underground forces and became their commander. A Communist, Daniel Moszkowicz, was his deputy. Leading the Bialystok Ghetto Revolt (August 16, 1943), his strategy was to break the German siege and enable as many Jews as possible to escape to the forest. It is said that he and his deputy committed suicide when his ammunition gave out after three days of fighting. Sporadic fighting continued for a month. The fighters of Bialystok invoked the memory of Musa Dagh, the stronghold in the Armenian resistance featured in the Franz Werfel novel and which served as an inspiration.

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[Nathan Eck / Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

TEN LOST TRIBES, legend concerning the fate of the ten tribes constituting the northern Kingdom of Israel. The Kingdom of Israel, consisting of the ten tribes (the twelve *tribes excluding Judah and Benjamin who constituted the southern Kingdom of Judah), which fell in 722 B.C.E. and its inhabitants were exiled to "Halah and *Habor by the river *Gozan, and in the cities of the Medes" (II Kings 17:6 and 18:11; for details and conjectures as to their ultimate fate, see Assyrian *Exile), but in general it can be said that they disappeared from the stage of history. However, the parallel passage in I Chronicles 5:26 to the effect that the ten tribes were there "unto this day" and the prophecies of Isaiah (11:11), Jeremiah (31:8), and above all of Ezekiel (37: 19–24) kept alive the belief that they had maintained a separate existence and that the time would come when they would be rejoined with their brethren, the descendants of the Exile of Judah to Babylon. Their place in history, however, is substituted by legend, and the legend of the Ten Lost Tribes is one of the most fascinating and persistent in Judaism and beyond it.

The belief in the continued existence of the ten tribes was regarded as an incontrovertible fact during the whole period of the Second Temple and of the Talmud. *Tobit, the hero of the apocryphal book of his name, was depicted as a member of the tribe of Naphtali; the Testament of the 12 Patriarchs takes their existence as a fact; and in his fifth vision, IV Ezra (13:34–45) saw a "peaceable multitude… these are the ten tribes which were carried away prisoners out of their own land." Josephus (Ant., 11:133) states as a fact "the ten tribes are beyond the Euphrates till now, and are an immense multitude and not to be estimated in numbers." Paul (Acts 26:6) protests to Agrippa that he is accused "for the hope of the promise made unto our fathers, unto which promise our twelve tribes, instantly serving God, hope to come," while James addresses his epistle to "the twelve tribes which are scattered about" (1:1). The only opposing voice to this otherwise universal view is found in the Mishnah. R. Eliezer expresses his view that they will eventually return and "after darkness is fallen upon the ten tribes light shall thereafter dwell upon them," but R. Akiva expresses his emphatic view that "the ten tribes shall not return again" (Sanh. 10:3). In consonance with this view, though it is agreed that Leviticus 26:38 applies to the ten tribes, where R. Meir maintains that it merely refers to their exile, Akiva states that it refers to their complete disappearance (Sifra, Be-Ḥukkotai, 8:1).

Their inability to rejoin their brethren was attributed to the fact that whereas the tribes of Judah and Benjamin (the Kingdom of Judah) were "scattered throughout the world," the ten tribes were exiled beyond the mysterious river *Sambatyon (Gen. R. 73:6), with its rolling waters or sand and rocks, which during the six days of the week prevented them from crossing it, and though it rested on the Sabbath, the laws of the Sabbath rendered the crossing equally impossible. According to the Jerusalem Talmud, however (Sanh. 10:6, 29c), the exiles were divided into three. Only one-third went beyond the Sambatyon, a second to "Daphne of Antioch," and over the third "there descended a cloud which covered them"; but all three would eventually return.

Throughout the Middle Ages and until comparatively recent times there were claims of the existence of the ten lost tribes as well as attempts by travelers and explorers, both Jewish and non-Jewish, and by many naive scholars, both to discover the ten lost tribes or to identify different peoples with them. In the ninth century *Eldad ha-Dani claimed not only to be a member of the tribe of Dan, but that he had communicated with four of the tribes. David *Reuveni claimed to be the brother of Joseph the king of the tribes of Reuben, Gad, and the half-tribe of Manasseh who were settled in Khaybar in Arabia, which was identified with the Habor of II Kings. Benjamin of Tudela has a long description of the ten tribes. According to him the Jews of Persia stated that in the town of *Nishapur dwelt the four tribes of Dan, Asher, Zebulun, and Naphtali, who were then governed "by their own prince Joseph Amarkala the Levite [ed. by N.M. Adler (1907), 83], while the Jews of Khaybar are of the tribes of Reuben and Gad and the half-tribe of Manasseh" (*ibid.*, 72), as was also stated by Reuveni. Persistent was the legend that they warred with Prester John in Ethiopia, a story repeated by Obadiah of *Bertinoro in his first two letters from Jerusalem in 1488 and 1489. The kabbalist Abraham Levi the elder, in 1528, identified them with the Falashas (see *Beta Israel). Abraham *Farissol gives a long account of them based upon conversations with David Reuveni not to be found in the latter's diary, while the most expansive is that of Abraham *Jagel, an Italian Jew of the 16th–17th centuries, in the 22nd chapter of his *Beit Ya'ar ha-Levanon*.

Jacob *Saphir (1822–1888) cherished the hope that he would discover the lost tribes. He tells the story in great detail of Baruch b. Samuel, a Jew of Safed who, sent to seek them, had visited Yemen and after traveling through an uninhabited desert established contact with a Jew who claimed to belong to the "sons of Moses." However, Baruch was murdered before he could visit them (*Even Sappir*, 1 (1866), 41), and in the following chapter Saphir transcribes word for word the evidence given by a certain Baruch Gad to the rabbis of Jerusalem in 1647 that he had met the "sons of Moses" in Persia, who gave him a letter to Jerusalem. He concludes wistfully, "Were I able to give full credence to this letter… I would subject it to a meticulous analysis and would learn from it matters of supreme importance, but the recollection of the fraud of Eldad ha-Dani brings suspicion upon Baruch the Gadite, for one supports the other… I have done my duty by putting the facts down and you may judge for yourselves and I will hear also what contemporary scholars say about it."

Various theories, one more farfetched than the other, have been adduced, on the flimsiest of evidence, to identify different peoples with the ten lost tribes. There is hardly a people, from the Japanese to the British, and from the Red Indians to the Afghans, who have not been suggested, and hardly a place, among them Africa, India, China, Persia, Kurdistan, Caucasia, the U.S., and Great Britain. Special interest is attached to the fantastic traveler's tale told by Aaron (Antonio) Levi de *Montezinos who, on his return to Amsterdam from South America in 1644, told a remarkable story of having found Indians beyond the mountain passes of the Cordilleras who greeted him by reciting the *Shema*. Among those to whom Montezinos gave his affidavit was *Manasseh Ben Israel, then rabbi of Amsterdam, who fully accepted the story, and to it devoted his *Hope of Israel* (1650, 1652^2) which he dedicated to the English Parliament. In section 37 he sums up his findings in the following words:

"1. That the West Indies were anciently inhabited by a part of the ten Tribes, which passed thither out of Tartary, by the Streight of Anian. 2. That the Tribes are not in any one place, but in many; because the Prophets have fore-told their return shall be into their Country, out of divers places; Isaiah especially saith it shall be out of eight. 3. That they did not return to the Second Temple. 4. That at this day they keep the Jewish Religion. 5. That the prophecies concerning their return to their Country, are of necessity to be fulfilled. 6. That from all coasts of the World they shall meet in those two places, sc. Assyria and Egypt; God preparing an easier, pleasant way, and abounding with all things, as Isaiah saith, ch. 49, and from thence they shall flie to Jerusalem, as birds to their nests. 7. That their Kingdom shall be no more divided; but the twelve Tribes shall be joined together under one Prince, that is under Messiah, the Son of David; and that they shall never be driven out of their Land."

The Latin work was translated into English the same year it was published, and ran through three editions in as many years, and Manasseh Ben Israel used this "evidence" of the dispersal of the Jews throughout the world as an argument to Oliver *Cromwell in his appeal to permit the return of the Jews to England, then the only country which had no Jews. As long as this situation existed, the fulfillment of the prophecy that the coming (or the second coming) of the Messiah would take place only when the Jews were scattered in the four quarters of the world (section 35). Both through the translation and the correspondence which the story initiated between Manasseh Ben Israel and theologians in England, it played a significant role in creating the atmosphere which eventually brought about the return of the Jews to England.

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[Louis Isaac Rabinowitz]

TEN MARTYRS, THE (Heb. עֲשָׂרָה הֲרוּגֵי מַלְכוּת, *asarah harugei malkhut*), name given to ten sages put to death by the Romans. A number of late Midrashim, such as *Elleh Ezkerah* (A. Jellinek, *Beit ha-Midrash*, 2 (1938^2), 64–72; 6 (1938^2), 19–35), relate that the Roman emperor decided to execute ten great Jewish sages, corresponding to the ten sons of Jacob who had sold Joseph. After one of those sages ascended to Heaven and heard that it had been a heavenly decree irrevocably sealed, they accepted it, and by the emperor's orders were, one after another, tortured and executed in various violent manners. Among them were *Akiva and *Hananiah b. Teradyon, who, according to tannaitic sources, were tortured and put to death at the time of the Hadrianic persecutions. There is no mention in early sources, however, of a collective sentence passed upon a group of sages tried together. Moreover, neither tannaitic literature nor the Jerusalem Talmud and the early amoraic aggadic Midrashim know the term *harugei malkhut* in this aggadic connection, while in halakhic sources this term denoted people condemned and put to death by a Jewish king (Sanh. 48b). A list of ten martyrs is first enumerated in *Lamentations Rabbah* (2:2) with no description of the manner in which they were put to death, and without being referred to as *harugei malkhut*, this appellation (with no mention of the number ten), the list, or the story itself being employed, meaning martyrs, in *Song of Songs Rabbah* (8:9) and in the Babylonian Talmud (Sot. 48b; BB 10b). The story of the "ten" appears for the first time in *Heikhalot Rabbati*, composed in the circles of the "*Ba'alei ha-Merkavah*" (the mystics who studied Ezekiel's vision of the Heavenly Chariot, in which circles were, even later still, composed of the particular Midrashim of the Ten Martyrs, including *Elleh Ezkerah*).

The various versions of the legend, all bearing a distinct mystical stamp, contradict one another in certain details and are often at variance with early accounts. For example, the description of the martyrdom of *Judah b. Bava conflicts with the early tradition according to which he was killed by Roman soldiers after ordaining students between Usha and Shefaram (Sanh. 14a). The list of the martyrs differs in practically all of the sources, and not all of the alleged victims are contemporaries. As early as the tenth century the legend could not be accepted at its face value (*Iggeret de-Rav Sherira Ga'on*, ed. Lewin, 74–75). Some of the Jewish chroniclers of the 16th century, such as Abraham Zacuto (*Yuḥasin ha-Shalem*, 38 (ed. Filipowski, 1857), Gedaliah ibn Yaḥya (*Shalshelet ha-Kabbalah*, s.v. *Akiva*), and David Gans (*Ẓemaḥ David*, for the year 3838), who considered the question of the historical veracity of this legend, all came to the conclusion that it does not conform to historical fact or stand up to critical examination (*Shalshelet ha-Kabbalah* states that only some of the sages mentioned were actually put to death). Modern research accords with this view, after the attempts of some scholars to make the legend conform to historical fact have been unsatisfactory.

It seems that the martyrdom of different sages during the times of the Hadrianic religious persecutions served as the themes of different *aggadot*. Over the generations there was a blurring of the boundaries between accounts of events in the time of Hadrian and traditions concerning individuals killed during the War of Destruction and in the time of Trajan. These various traditions were combined. The occupation of some of the martyrs with mystic speculation, a fact which earned for them an important role in the *heikhalot* literature, led the circles of the mystics known as the "*Ba'alei ha-Merkavah*" to create a legendary *aggadah* which entered the later Midrashim and which described the successive tortures and executions of ten martyrs, giving as reason for all this the sin of Jacob's sons in selling their brother Joseph into slavery (Mid. Prov. to 1:13 – the attribution to R. Joshua b. Levi is evidently pseudepigraphic). This legend soon became very important. It was added by copyists of the Middle Ages to several manuscripts of early aggadic Midrashim. It served as a much favored theme for *piyyutim* from the time of *Kallir, the best known being "*Elleh Ezkerah*" (which is found in the liturgy of the Day of Atonement and the Sephardi liturgy of the Ninth of Av) and "*Arzei ha-Levanon Addirei ha-Torah*" (included in the Ashkenazi *kinot* of the Ninth of Av).

In the Middle Ages Jews killed by gentiles were named *harugei malkhut*, and there was even a codifier who learned from the legend the law that martyrs are not to have a funeral oration (Tur, YD 345, but cf. Beit Yosef, ad loc.; cf. also "Chapter of Fast-days" (in *Halakhot Gedolot* et al.)). The legend of the Ten Martyrs mystically united various affairs, creating an artificial harmonization, while obliterating real actual and historical background. This is no wonder, for its creators had no interest in historical accuracy, but were mystics. The creators of this legend meant to create a mystical legend, but in fact handed down to future generations an epic work which filled an important role in the life of the Jews in the Middle Ages. In a world of religious persecution and its attendant acts of martyrdom, the *aggadah* of the Ten Martyrs became most popular, as it set before the oppressed and the persecuted an example of the exalted images of the greatest of the sages, who, though innocent, submitted themselves to martyrdom and in the very extremity of their torture voiced with love the justice of Heaven's decree. Especially from the time of the First Crusade, the Ten Martyrs served as a model for contemporaneous martyrs, who were also called *harugei malkhut*. The Ten Martyrs, along with *Hannah and her seven sons, became the archetypes of Jewish martyrology.

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[Moshe David Herr]

TENNENBAUM (Tannenbaum), JACOB (1832–1897), Hungarian rabbi. Born in Szendrö, Tennenbaum served in several important communities: Tallya (1858–69), Mezöcsat (1869–73), and Putnok (1873–79). He was the author of *Naharei Afarsemon* (2 vols., 1898–1911), comprising responsa, novellae on talmudic topics and on tractate **Beẓah*, and of *Shemen Afarsemon* (1899), on the *Pentateuch. He was one of the main pillars of Hungarian Orthodoxy, for which he fought strenuously. He conducted a large yeshivah and educated a generation of important scholars. His son MEIR served as rabbi in Fülek (Filakovo) and Torna (Turna), and on his father's death succeeded him as rabbi of Putnok, where he died in 1928. Meir published the books of his grandfather, Ze'ev Wolf Tennenbaum, *Ayyelet ha-Shaḥar* (1876), on the Book of Esther, with his own additions. He was the author of the *Imrei Me'ir* (1929), sermons. Meir's son MENAHEM was also rabbi of Fülek and Torna.

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[Naphtali Ben-Menahem]

TENNESSEE, S. central state of the U.S.; general population in 2001, 5,702,000; Jewish population of 18,000. The first known Jewish child was born in 1795. Jewish immigrants, many petty merchants or craftsmen from rural Germany, arrived in Tennessee from Central Europe between 1820 and 1848. They moved to rural areas remote from Jewish life. In 1851 a small group of Jews, the Hebrew Benevolent Burial Society, bought a cemetery in *Nashville. They petitioned for a charter as Kaal Kodosh Mogen David, it was granted in 1854. Their stated their purpose as "establishing in the city of *Mem-

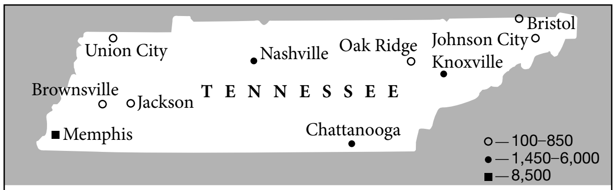

Total Jewish population of Tennessee	18,000
% of Jews in general population of Tennessee	0.3
% of Tennessee Jews in Jewish population of U.S.	0.29

Jewish communities in Tennessee. Population figures for 2001.

phis a church for the worship of Almighty God according to the rites and creed of the Hebrew sect."

The Civil War split Jewish families as it divided the United States. Tennessee Jews were included in *Grant's infamous Order No. 11 expelling all Jews from his military department, quickly rescinded by Lincoln. About 1861 the seven Jewish families of Knoxville received land for a cemetery. A Hebrew Benevolent Association was organized. In 1877 it became a synagogue but without a building or a full-time rabbi until 1922. Chattanooga's Civil War veterans inspired the Jewish community in 1866 to form Chabra Gamilas Chesed, later the Hebrew Benevolent Association, and established a cemetery. In 1882 the first Reform Temple was built. In 1866, the 18 Jews of Murfreesboro organized Kahl Kodesh Bene Sholom. In 1867 a Jewish burial ground was bought in Brownsville, and Congregation Adas Israel was founded. In 1885 a congregation, B'nai Israel, was organized in Jackson.

In 1867 Congregation Mogen David in Nashville merged with Congregation Ohava Emes, and this congregation became Ohavai Shalom and later in 1876 the Vine Street Temple. Adopting Reform Practice in 1876, they became one of the first members of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations.

Congregation B'nai Israel in Memphis was founded in 1858. Their first rabbi, Jacob Peres, moonlighted as a grocer, and kept his store open on Saturday. He was fired, but sued the congregation, He lost his libel suit, but set legal precedent before the Tennessee State Supreme Court, which ruled that "a religious institution is sovereign;…its policies and practices may not be challenged by legal action of a court of law."

There were two yellow fever epidemics in Memphis during the 1870s. Jews from all over the United States contributed $60,000 for relief. The Jewish population of Memphis was reduced from 2,100 to 300 as Jews fled the epidemic or died. Rabbi Max Samfield courageously stayed. Jewish orphans were sent from Memphis to orphanages in Cleveland and New Orleans.

Maimonides Lodge of B'nai B'rith, was founded in Nashville in 1863. By 1878 there were six active lodges: Brownsville, Chattanooga, and Nashville, and three in Memphis.

The second wave of immigration to the state came between 1880 and 1924 from Eastern Europe. Orthodox and Yiddish-speaking, these new arrivals established a whole array of organizations, Zionist groups, newspapers, Yiddish theater, and Yiddish schools. German Jews established Settlement Houses to facilitate their Americanization. Some Jews arrived by choice; others were sent by philanthropists and agencies such as the Industrial Removal Society in an effort to diffuse Jewish immigrants throughout the country. In 1892, a new Orthodox congregation began in Memphis, the Baron Hirsch Benevolent Society; over time it became the largest Orthodox Jewish congregations in the country.

East European immigrants actually formed entirely new communities in the Ti-Cities area, which includes Kingsport, Bristol, and Johnson City. Bristol seemed to have two congregations, one Reform and one Orthodox. It was 1905 before land was purchased for a cemetery. The Oak Ridge community was founded in 1943 by scientists sent in to work on the Manhattan Project. to develop the atomic bomb. By 1944, the young Jewish scientists were hauling cinder blocks to do the actual construction themselves.

The Jewish population increased after World War II as Jewish men who had passed through Middle Tennessee from 1942 to 1944, when the Second Army trained there, married local Jewish women who had run a snack bar with Jewish food for the soldiers. After the War, Jews came to Tennessee as managers and professionals. Their social, political, and organizational skills changed many Jewish communal organizations from immigrant social-service organizations, to organizations active in the political, social, and religious life of the state. Jewish communities in small Tennessee towns disappeared as older members died and the younger generation left for college and careers in larger cities.

Tennessee Jews emulated their Southern brethren. Denied membership elsewhere they established their own clubs, which became a central part of Jewish life. Jews often meet in synagogues and in business, in country clubs and in philanthropic endeavors. In each, leadership overlaps. Living in the Bible belt where church membership was routine most communities have high rates of synagogue membership.

Although Jewish organizations did not officially support civil rights, many individuals did so and individual rabbis spoke out forcefully, not without significant peril. In 1958, the Nashville Jewish Community Center was dynamited. In 1980 a Ku Klux Klan splinter group's attempted to bomb The Temple in Nashville, with Rabbi Falk inside, was averted. A full page ad which included 600 signatures of local leadership decried the attempt.

In the early 21st century, Memphis had about 8,500 Jews, Nashville, some 6,000, Knoxville 1,800, and Chattanooga 1,450. There were also congregations in Bristol, Brownsville, and Jackson.

[Annette Ratkin (2nd ed.)]

TEOMIM, AARON BEN MOSES (c. 1630–1690), rabbi. Teomim was a member of the well-known Teomim-Fraenkel family of Vienna, which had settled in Prague. In 1670 he succeeded Samson *Bacharach as rabbi of Worms. After refusing a call to Lissa in 1677, he accepted one from the Cracow community in 1687. At that time the French army was besieging Worms and it was only with the greatest difficulty that Teomim succeeded in leaving, and for three years he had to travel from place to place before reaching Cracow in March 1690. A few months later, on his way to a meeting of the *Council of the Four Lands, he was arrested at Chmielnik on a Sabbath on the orders of a Polish nobleman, probably in order to blackmail the Cracow congregation. As a result of the ill-treatment to which he was subjected, he died before reaching prison.

Teomim's best-known work is a commentary on the *Haggadah, Matteh Aharon* ("the rod of Aaron"; Frankfurt, 1678) which he wrote in fulfillment of a vow should he recover from a serious illness which had befallen him on Passover 1675. It has been reprinted many times (26 entries in Ya'ari's bibliography of *Haggadot*). Teomim also wrote *Bigdei Aharon* (Frankfurt, 1710), sermons, and a volume of unpublished responsa, some of which are quoted in contemporary works. These writings found a severe critic in Jair Ḥayyim *Bacharach, son of Samson. His motives were probably not disinterested, as he claimed the rabbinate, which had been held by both his father and grandfather. He accused Teomim of distorting the import of the Talmud and falsifying the true meaning of the *aggadah*.

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TEOMIM, ARYEH LEIB (d. 1831), Galician rabbi and author. In his youth Teomim became famous as a prodigy and while still very young was chosen rabbi of Lyzhansk (Lezajsk) in Galicia. Despite his youth he vigorously opposed Ḥasidism which began to spread in Galicia, with its center at Lyzhansk, headed by *Elimelech of Lyzhansk, author of *No'am Elimelekh*. However, he did not remain there long. After the death of his wife, he married the daughter of Samuel Bick, at that time one of the wealthiest men of Galicia. Teomim moved to Brody, where he occupied no official rabbinic position. In 1815 he was appointed rabbi of the town and, being a man of wealth and property, conducted his rabbinate with great firmness, without fear of the wealthy lay leaders. When in 1818 the grammar school in Brody was established under orders from the emperor of Austria, Teomim was among those who welcomed it, since "the Torah has to be combined with general knowledge." The Ḥasidim were vigorously opposed to this school. In 1827 he became ill and as a result was unable to carry out his rabbinic functions. The community appointed Eliezer Landau as its rabbi, but out of fear of angering Teomim did not inform him. However, the latter died during Teomim's lifetime. According to the tradition in Brody, Teomim saw a large funeral passing by his house. He asked the maid: "Whose funeral is it?" She innocently replied, "The rabbi of the city." Sorely hurt, his condition deteriorated, and he died two months later. He was the author of commentaries on the Torah, Esther, Ruth, and the Passover *Haggadah*; *Ayyelet Ahavim*, novellae on talmudic tractates, and *Ya'alat Ḥen* were both published in Zolkiew in 1802.

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[Itzhak Alfassi]

TEOMIM, JOSEPH BEN MEIR (c. 1727–1792), rabbi, author, and halakhic authority. Born in Steritz (Szczerzec), near Lvov, Galicia. Teomim was educated by his father, who was *dayyan* and *darshan* ("preacher") in Lvov and the author of *Birkat Yosef.* Despite his distinction as a talmudic scholar, which he already evinced in his youth, Teomim had to resort to teaching to eke out a precarious livelihood. For some years he lived in Komarno, but then returned to Lvov, and in 1772 moved to Berlin, where he continued his studies in the well-known *bet ha-midrash* of Daniel Jaffe. This was the most fruitful period of his life. Although he became renowned for his scholarship, he evaded all who turned to him on halakhic or practical affairs, and devoted himself entirely to his studies. In 1774 he was called to succeed his father in Lvov, and in 1781 acceded to the request of the community of Frankfurt on the Oder to accept the position of rabbi, stipulating at the same time that they provide for the maintenance of 10–12 yeshivah students. It was requested that he agree to remain with them for at least six years, but in fact he remained there for the rest of his life.

Teomim's fame rests upon his classic commentary to the Shulḥan Arukh, the *Peri Megadim*, and he is referred to by that name alone. *Peri Megadim* on *Yoreh De'ah* is a supercommentary on the two main commentaries of the Shulḥan Arukh, the *Turei Zahav* and the *Siftei Kohen*, and its parts are entitled, respectively, *Mishbeẓot Zahav* and *Siftei Da'at*. The work was first published in Berlin in 1771–72 and has since appeared in all large editions of the Shulḥan Arukh. The *Peri Megadim* on *Oraḥ Ḥayyim* similarly consists of *Mishbeẓot Zahav* on the *Turei Zahav*, and *Eshel Avraham* on the *Magen Avraham*, and was first published in 1787 in Frankfurt and subsequently in all editions of the Shulḥan Arukh. Three aims can be distinguished in *Peri Megadim*; to explain the *Turei Zahav* and the *Siftei Kohen*, to add to them those laws which they had omitted, and to add forewords and principles to all the *halakhot*. In connection with the first aim he cites all the *rishonim* upon whom these commentators based themselves, subjecting their statements to a thorough and painstaking analysis. Although he decides between differing views, at the same time he emphasizes that his decision is not to be taken as a definitive *halakhah*. His "Introduction and Principles of the *Peri Megadim*" to the literature of the *posekim* is of considerable value, since he collates and presents in a complete form the various principles hitherto scattered in the different works. Of particular importance is the introduction to the laws of the admixture of forbidden and permitted foods in the section *Yoreh De'ah*, entitled *Sha'ar ha-Ta'aruvot*. In it he collects all the scattered *halakhot* on this topic and at the same time summarizes the minutest details to be derived from them. The work became a standard one in the rabbinic world, was accepted by all circles of Jewry, and numerous commentaries have been written on it. Even ḥasidic authorities postulated that "the Heavenly *bet din* too" decided *halakhah* in accordance with Teomim.

In addition to *Peri Megadim*, Teomim compiled other works, all of which went through many editions: *Porat Yosef* (Zolkiew, 1756), novellae to tractates *Yevamot, Ketubbot*, and *Bava Kamma*, as well as expositions of Alfasi's code and of Maimonides' *Mishneh Torah*; *Ginnat Veradim* (Frankfurt on the Oder, 1767), 70 methodological rules for understanding the Talmud – both works compiled in his youth; *Tevat Gome (ibid.*, 1782; *Gome* is derived from the initials of *Gemara*, Midrash, *Aggadah*), a new edition of novellae on the Torah, contained in *Rav Peninnim* (*ibid.*, 1772), a work by his father on the Pentateuch; *Shoshannat ha-Amakim*, a talmudic methodology, comprising expositions of 24 talmudic principles which appeared first in the *Rav Peninnim* and then separately (*ibid.*, 1782): *No'am Megadim* (in *Seder Hegyon Lev*, 1845), sources for the prayers and their laws; and *Notarikon* (1910), completed in the last year of his life, consisting of ethical sayings, novellae, and sermons. He also wrote *Rosh Yosef* to tractate *Ḥullin* (Frankfurt on the Oder, 1794); to *Berakhot, Shabbat, Megillah, Pesaḥim, Beẓah* (1863); and to the remainder of the order *Mo'ed* (1883). Some of his novellae were also published in his father's work *Birkat Yosef ve-Eliyahu Rabba* (Zolkiew, 1747). Teomim's responsa that appear in his various works were collected and published under the title *Teshuvot Peri Megadim* (1935). A collection was also made of his sayings on reward and punishment, entitled *Mattan Sekharan shel Mitzvot* (1874). He also wrote *Ha-Maggid*, comments on the Pentateuch and **haftarot*; and *Em la-Binah*, a lexicon of Hebrew and Aramaic roots in alphabetic order. Teomim also mentions unpublished works.

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[Itzhak Alfassi]

TEPLICE (Czech **Teplice-Šanov**, Ger. **Teplitz** or **Teplitz-Schoenau**), city in N. Bohemia, Czech Republic. The Jewish community of Teplice was one of the largest and most important in Bohemia from the 16th century onward, one of the few places from which Jews were not expelled until the Nazi regime. The first evidence of Jewish settlement dates from 1414, when there were 20 Jews in the city. In 1480 the community had a cemetery and a synagogue. In 1570, 23 families resided in Teplice. The old cemetery had to be abandoned in 1669 and a new one was opened. In 1667 there were 262 Jews in Teplice. After the persecutions at the end of the 17th century their number had diminished to 187 in 1702. In 1823 there were 496 Jews dwelling in 50 houses. The community flourished under the benevolent patronage of the Clary family. During the period of industrial development, Jews engaged in the glass, ceramic, and coal-mining industries, as well as in developing the noted spa. Rabbis who served in Teplice included Z. *Frankel (1832–36), who left for Dresden after encountering local opposition; his successor, David Pick (1836–78), who gave sermons in German and was the first in Austria to use the organ during services; Adolf Rosenberg (1878–87); Adolf Kurrein (1887–1919); and Friedrich Weiss (1920–38), who wrote the history of the community. In the second half of the 19th century, the Teplice community became the second largest in Bohemia (after Prague), numbering 1,718 (11.6% of the total population) in 1880, 2,704 (10.1%) in 1910, and 3,213 (10.4%) in 1930, the highest percentage in Bohemia. The increase was due to the influx of East European Jews, who organized their own Orthodox community and reconsecrated the old synagogue for their use in 1925. There was also a strong Zionist center in Teplice.

The rabbi and the majority of the community left in summer and fall 1938, as Teplice was situated in the Sudeten region, scene of bitter Czech-German strife and Nazi agitation. After the Munich agreement, almost no Jews remained. The old cemetery (dating from 1669) was destroyed by the Nazis; the new one, opened in 1862, was still extant in the late 1960s. The synagogue, built in 1883, was also destroyed by the Nazis. After World War II a new community was organized, mainly by refugees from Subcarpathian Ruthenia, and totaled 1,200 in 1948. In 1965 about 500 community members remained, employing a cantor and holding services in the communal center prayer room. After 1967 the community declined.

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[Jan Herman]

TEPLITZ, SAUL I. (1921–), U.S. Conservative rabbi. Teplitz was born in Vienna, Austria, and was brought to the United States in 1922. He received a B.A. from the University of Pittsburgh in 1941 and was ordained in 1945 at the Jewish Theological Seminary, where he earned a D.H.L. in 1956 and a D.D. in 1971. He served as rabbi of Laurelton Jewish Center in Laurelton, N.Y. (1944–60) and the Jewish Community Center of Harrison in Harrison, N.Y. (1960–63) before becoming rabbi of Congregation Sons of Israel in Woodmere, N.Y. (1963, emeritus since 1991). He also served as chairman of the Board of Education of the Hebrew High School of the Five Towns and president of the Commission on Synagogue Relations, Federation of Jewish Philanthropies of New York. In addition, he was a judge for the Jewish Conciliation Board of America, and associate professor of homiletics at the Jewish Theological Seminary (1981–94). In 1975, he was named chairman of the Rabbinical Advisory Committee of New York UJA-Federation, and chairman of the New York Rabbinic Cabinet of Israel Bonds in 1976. In 1978, he was elected vice president of the New York Board of Rabbis.

At the same time, Teplitz assumed national Jewish leadership positions as well, serving as chairman of the United Synagogue Youth Commission (1974–76), before becoming president of the Synagogue Council of America (1977–79). In 1978, he was elected president of the *Rabbinical Assembly. As president, he met with Israeli Prime Minister Menachem *Begin to protest proposed amendments to the *Law of Return that would deny recognition in Israel of conversions performed by non-Orthodox rabbis anywhere. During his tenure in office, Conservative Judaism's *Passover Haggadah: Feast of Freedom* was published, as well as the second volume in the series *Emet ve-Emunah: Studies in Conservative Jewish Thought*, and a *festschrift* honoring RA executive vice president Wolfe *Kelman. He also created a Blue Ribbon Committee to develop a blueprint for the future of the RA and chaired the Task Force on Halachic Guidance and Conservative Ideology. In 1982, he was the recipient of the Louis Marshall Award from the Jewish Theological Seminary.

Teplitz wrote *Life is for Living* (1970) and *The Courage to Change* (1999). He also edited *The Rabbi Speaks*, two volumes of sermons for the New York Board of Rabbis, and *Best Jewish Sermons*, 11 edited volumes of selected sermons.

[Bezalel Gordon (2nd ed.)]

TEPPER, KOLYA (1879–?), Yiddish writer. Born in Odessa, Tepper became a Zionist in his youth and a member of the circle of *Aḥad Ha-Am and a delegate to the Second Zionist Congress (1898). He lived in Switzerland 1901–3, where he was a propagandist for the Zionist movement. He then returned to Russia, where he renounced Zionism for the ideology of the *Bund. He was arrested later that year in Pinsk but freed a day later by a group of Jewish workers. In 1907 Tepper fled Russia for the United States, where he began writing essays under the pseudonym "Duke D'Abruzzi" in the radical press, including the *Fraye Arbeter Shtime* (publ. as *Zigzagn*, "Zigzags," 1915). He was also a prolific translator of foreign literature, including works by Chekhov, Brandes, and Ibsen. In New York, Tepper befriended several of the poets associated with Di *Yunge and contributed to their literary efforts. Following the 1917 Revolution, he returned to Russia, then lived in Vilna and Warsaw in 1920–22, before moving back to the Soviet Union. It is not known when or how he died.

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[Melech Ravitch / Marc Miller (2nd ed.)]

TEPPER, MORRIS (1916–), U.S. meteorologist. Tepper was born in Palestine and moved with his family to New York in 1922. He graduated with an M.A. in mathematics from Brooklyn College and gained his Ph.D. in fluid dynamics from Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore (1952). He served as a meteorologist in the U.S. Air Force in the Pacific Theater (1943–45) during World War II. He joined the U.S. Weather Bureau as a research meteorologist in 1946 and was head of a team conducting research on local storms (1951–59). In 1959 he joined the National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA) as a meteorologist in the office of space flight development, and later became director of meteorological systems and deputy director of the earth observations programs division. He was a special project officer at NASA's Goddard Space Flight Center (1978–79). In 1979 he left NASA to become professor of mathematical physics at Capitol College in Laurel, Maryland. Tepper's research has concerned the origins and prediction of severe local storms. With NASA he supervised the introduction of satellite systems for forecasting local storms and global weather patterns, essential for terrestrial and space travel. He worked through the UN Committee on Space Research to promote international cooperation on space meteorology.

[Michael Denman (2nd ed.)]

TERAH (Heb. תֶּרַח), father of Abraham, Nahor, and Haran. Terah is mentioned in the Bible chiefly in genealogical lists (Gen. 11:24–28; Josh. 24:2: I Chron. 1:26–27). The only biographical material is contained in Genesis 11:31–32; the Bible tells of Terah's migration from Ur toward Canaan and his stopping at Harran (see *Haran), where he died at the age of 205 (in the Samaritan Pentateuch 145). Since both Ur and Harran were centers of moon worship in Mesopotamia, attempts have been made to connect the personal name Terah to the word *yare'aḥ*, "moon" (Akk. (*w*)*arḥu*), and similar etymological connections with lunar terminology have been sought for the names of other members of Terah's household.

At an early stage of the interpretation of literary texts in Ugaritic, some scholars mistakenly construed the verb *trḥ*, "to take as a wife," as the proper name Terah. Now that it is clear that the proper name Terah – either as moon-god or eponymous hero – does not appear in Ugaritic literature, the only remaining extra-biblical attestation of the name Terah is in the neo-Assyrian place-name *tīl turaḥi*. The latter was situated in the Balikh Valley in Mesopotamia, in the general vicinity of Harran. The correspondence of Terah's name with the name of a site in the Harran area is paralleled by the correspondence of the name Nahor, the name of Terah's father and of one of his sons, with that of the city of Naḥur, and of the name of Terah's grandfather Serug with that of a city called Sarugi in cuneiform sources.

The name Terah also appears in the Bible (Num. 33:27, 28) as the name of a site in the Sinai Peninsula.

[Murray Lichtenstein]

In the *Aggadah*

Terah's wife, the mother of Abraham, was Amathlai, the daughter of Karnebo (BB 91a). Terah was a manufacturer of idols and during his absence he left Abraham to sell them in his place. When, on his return, he discovered that Abraham had destroyed the idols, he delivered him to Nimrod (Gen. R. 38: 12).

Abraham later attempted to convince his father to leave the service of Nimrod and accompany him to the Land of Canaan. Noah and Shem aided Abraham in persuading Terah, and he finally consented to repent and to leave his homeland (Yashar, No'aḥ 27b–28a). For many years Terah continued to witness his son's glory, for his death did not occur until his grandson Isaac was 35 years old (SER 5:28). God accepted his repentance, and when he departed this life he immediately entered into Paradise. He was spared from hell even though he spent the majority of his days in sin (Gen. 11:27; Gen. R. 38:12).

[Aaron Rothkoff]

In Islam

Āzar (Terah) is the name of Abraham's father according to Sura 6:740. It is derived from Elāzār or Elieser. *Muhammad understood that those names were determined by the article *al* (Āzar), Āzar was a heathen (19:43–49). Abraham tried to teach his father the true religion, showing him that his idols were powerless by smashing them (21:53–58). It is clear that the tales about Āzar are connected with those about *Abraham's wars against the heathens.

[Haïm Z'ew Hirschberg]

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TERAPHIM (Heb. תְּרָפִים), household gods. The etymology of the word teraphim has defied commentators from ancient times until the present. W.F. Albright suggests the possible rendering of "old rags," based on the Canaanite *trp*, "to wear out." L. Koehler and W. Baumgartner also suppose that teraphim has obvious odious connotations and that its root *trp* means to act ignominiously. H.A. Hoffner has pointed to a Hurro-Hittite source for the word (Hittite: *tarpis*, "protective or malevolent spirit"). That these figurines were small and portable is obvious from the way Rachel managed to hide them in the camel cushion (Gen. 31:34). On the other hand, the fact that Michal could deceive her father's messengers by leading them to believe that the teraphim on the bed were David's figure, makes it seem that some were of considerable size (I Sam. 19:13). There is nothing in this incident, however, to show conclusively whether such a figure represented an entire human form or simply a head or bust.

The teraphim are both condoned and condemned in biblical writing. From the story of Rachel's flight and her appropriation of her father's teraphim, it seems to have been the accepted custom among the people in Mesopotamia to have objects of worship in their house and to take them along when going abroad (see Greenberg, in bibl.). Furthermore, in the story of Michal, teraphim seem to be a usual piece of household furniture and were most probably tolerated by the Israelite religion of that time.

The tablets from Nuzi proved to have direct bearing on knowledge of teraphim since the Akkadian term *ilāni*, "gods," was used in Nuzi legal texts in ways that closely paralleled some of the occurrences of the word *ʾelohim* or its interchangeable partner teraphim (Gen. 31:30; cf. 31:19, 34, 35). In an adoption contract from Nuzi it is stated that on the death of the adoptive father the adopted son shall be heir. If, however, a natural son is born, he shall be the primary heir and receive his father's *ilāni* ("gods"); otherwise, the *ilāni* go to the adopted son. In cases where a normal heir was lacking, the possessor of the *ilāni* was entitled to a large share of the inheritance.

Rachel's theft of her father's teraphim may be viewed as an attempt to secure her own right to her father's inheritance. Then again, since Laban had begotten sons, Jacob, who may have been adopted by Laban, would have had no right to the gods, and thus Rachel might have stolen them in order to secure the right of paterfamilias for her husband. The idea that possession of the household gods was in some way connected with rights to property inheritance has found widespread acceptance. M. Greenberg, however, has cast serious doubts on the validity of this interpretation, and maintains that since both the adopted son and the legitimate heir divide the inheritance equally, the possession of these household gods does not determine a title to inheritance but rather leadership of the family, and a claim to paterfamilias.

Apart from the household gods already discussed, a different sort of teraphim is encountered in the Bible; their place is not in the home but in the sanctuary, and they were used by the Israelites in cultic ritual. Teraphim were employed in divination in the period of the Judges (Judg. 17:5; 18:17), like the divining ephod with which they are compared, and their use in divination is particularly obvious in the condemnation of teraphim in I Samuel 15:23, where the iniquity of teraphim is placed on a par with the sin of divination. Josiah, known for his far-reaching cultic reforms, did away with all the cultic objects of abominable idolatry, including teraphim (II Kings 23:24). Zechariah further rejects the teraphim by including them among the sources of false prediction (Zech. 10:2). Divination teraphim are assumed by Ezekiel to have been among the devices consulted by the king of Babylon (Ezek. 21:26).

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TEREBINTH, a tree of the genus *Pistacia* of which four species grow in Israel (for two of them see *Mastic (Lentisk) and *Pistachio). Most important of them are *Pistacia atlantica* and *Pistacia palaestina*, which are among the largest and most widespread forest trees of Israel. Their biblical name, *elah* – like *allon*, the *oak – is derived from *el*, meaning strong and sturdy. Certain terebinths are singled out for special mention in the Bible because of events associated with them. Jacob buried the idols of Laban's house "under the terebinth which was by Shechem" (Gen. 35:4); the angel of the Lord appeared to Gideon under a terebinth (Judg. 6:11); and the bodies of Saul and his sons were buried beneath one (I Chron. 10:12; in I Sam. 31:13 the reading is *eshel*, *tamarisk). The vale of Elah (I Sam. 17:2), where David slew Goliath, was so called because of the terebinths which grew in the district. These beautiful tall trees also served as sites of idol worship and are mentioned deprecatingly in Hosea (4:13), Isaiah (1:29), and Ezekiel (6:13). The word *elah* also occurs in the Bible as a personal name, and it is possible that the word *elon* also refers to the terebinth (though some identify it with the oak). The *elah* referred to in Scripture as a tall tree is the *Pistacia atlantica*, which develops a tall trunk and widespread foliage and branches; it was by those branches that Absalom was caught by his long hair (II Sam. 18:9). The terebinth is deciduous, shedding its leaves in winter (Isa. 1:29–30). Isaiah compares the remnant of Israel to the *mazzevet* ("trunk") of the oak and the terebinth which grew in the vicinity of the Shallekhet Gate in Jerusalem; though continually felled, the trees renewed themselves, putting forth lowly and fresh branches (6:13; see Rashi ad loc. and Feliks, p. 104, n. 9).

The Mishnah (Shev. 7:5) mentions the terebinth as one of the trees whose *lulavim* ("shoots") were eaten, apparently after being pickled in salt or vinegar. In Arabic the terebinth is called *butm* and in Aramaic *butma*; the Jerusalem Talmud notes that the latter is related to the pistachio (TJ, Kil. 1:4, 27a) and even today it is sometimes customary to graft the pistachio on to the wild terebinth. The *Pistacia atlantica* is among the largest and oldest trees of Israel. Particularly well known is the ancient tree in Tel Dan near the source of the Jordan, which is about 1,000 years old and has a girth of about 20 ft. (6 m.). The species *Pistacia palaestina* is common in the Judean Hills and in Upper Galilee. Since its branches are gnawed by goats, it is mostly stunted and looks like a shrub.

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[Jehuda Feliks]

TEREFAH (Heb. טְרֵפָה; lit. "torn" by beast of prey), an animal whose death is due to physical defects or injuries is said to be *terefah* (Maim. Yad, Ma'akhalot Asurot, 4:8). The biblical prohibition, "Ye shall not eat any flesh that is torn of beasts (*terefah*) in the field; ye shall cast it to the dogs" (Ex. 22:30), applies to a clean animal that has suffered a mortal injury from wild beasts but is not yet dead, since if it is dead it is carrion (**nevelah*). Such an animal, even ritually slaughtered before dying, is forbidden since it would have not recovered from its injury. The rabbis considered the scriptural verse merely as a particular instance of a general principle applying equally in the case of an animal sustaining a mortal injury from any other cause, or suffering from a fatal illness. It is *terefah*, whatever the cause of the defect (Mekh., Mishpatim, 20). The rabbis therefore laid down that "if an animal with such defect cannot live, it is *terefah*" (Hul. 3:1), i.e., any clean animal sustaining an injury from which death must result within 12 months (Rashi, *ibid.*) is *terefah*. An animal which is about to die from natural causes, such as age, is not *terefah* since the defect must be similar to that inflicted by a wild beast (Ḥul. 37a).

This broad concept of *terefah* is very old, being known already in the days of John Hyrcanus (second century B.C.E.). The Mishnah (Sot. 9:10) relates that this high priest abolished the "stunners," who, the *baraita* (Sot. 48a) explains, used to strike the sacrificial calf with clubs to bring it to the ground. Johanan asked them how long they would supply the altar with *terefah* (in that the clubbing might have caused a perforation of the membrane of the brain) and he thereupon installed rings to hold fast the animal's neck.

The Eight Types of Terefah

According to the Talmud, eight types of *terefah* were revealed to Moses at Sinai: clawing, perforation, deficiency, missing organs, severed organs, falling, tearing, fracturing (Ḥul. 43a). Their mnemonic is *DaN ḤaNaK NeFeSh* ("Dan strangled a soul" = *Derusah, Nekuvah, Ḥaserah, Netulah, Keru'ah, Nefulah, Pesukah, Shevurah*). The definitions of the types are as follows: (1) clawing, the clawing of an animal by a wild beast or of a bird by a bird of prey; (2) perforation, a perforation to the cavity of one of the following 11 organs: the pharynx, the membrane of the brain, the heart and its aorta, the gall bladder, the vena cava inferior, abomasum, rumen, omasum, reticulum, intestines, the lung and trachea; (3) deficiency, the absence from birth of one of the lobes of the lung, or one of the feet; (4) missing, the absence of converging sinews in the thigh, or the liver, or the upper jaw; (5) severing, the severing of the membrane covering the spinal cord whether the spinal column be broken or not; (6) falling, the crushing of one of the internal organs of an animal as the result of a fall; (7) tearing, the tearing of most of the flesh covering the rumen; (8) fracturing, such as the fracturing of most of its ribs.

All *terefot* are included in these 8 principal categories. The Mishnah (Ḥul. 3:1) adds 10 subsidiary forms of *terefot*, making 18 in all. They are further subdivided, and Maimonides (Yad, Sheḥitah, 10:9–13) lists in detail all the 70 *terefot* mentioned in the Talmud and concludes: "One may not in any circumstances add to this list of *terefot*, for in the case of any other defect in an animal, beast, or bird, beyond those which the sages of former generations have enumerated, and which the authorities have established, it is possible for the animal to continue to live, even if in the light of our own medical knowledge it cannot survive. Conversely, as regards defects that the sages have enumerated as *terefah*, even if according to present medical knowledge some of these are not fatal and the animal can survive, one must be guided only by what the sages have enumerated, as it is said, 'according to the law which they shall teach thee' [Deut. 17:11]."

See *Dietary Laws.

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[Abraham Arzi]

TERKEL, STUDS (**Louis**; 1912–), U.S. writer and interviewer. Born in New York, the son of immigrant parents, he moved at age eight with his parents to Chicago, a town with which he remained closely associated. His parents opened a boarding house in an Italian district where he went to school. He attended the University of Chicago and then law school. At the time of the New Deal he got a job on a writers' employment program and began to dabble in music, theater, and acting. Gradually he turned to radio and later to television, first as a news commentator and sportscaster, and from the mid-1940s, hosting interview shows. In 1949 he had his own television show, *Studs' Place*, an improvised sitcom where he played himself as a restaurant owner. In 1953 he was investigated by the House Un-American Activities Committee. When he refused to name names, he was barred from appearing on television. The resourceful Terkel eventually found a job at the *Chicago Sunday Times* writing a regular jazz column. During that period he also acted in various plays, such as *Of Mice and Men*.

In 1958 Terkel launched his long-running daily one-hour radio program on Chicago's WFMT-FM, the *Studs Terkel Show*, which was broadcast throughout the U.S. until 1998. In the 1960s Terkel saw the applicability of the tape recorder to social research and utilized oral history as a tool for writing social history. He tracked down everyday men and women and recorded their story, dramatizing the experience of anonymous Americans who would otherwise have remained anonymous.

He made a great impression with *Hard Times: An Oral History of the Great Depression* (1970), following this with other oral histories including *Working* (1974) and *Race* (1992). He also published *Giants of Jazz* (1957); *Division Street: America* (1967); *Talking to Myself: A Memoir of My Times* (1977); *American Dreams* (1980); *Chicago* (1985); *The Great Divide* (1988); *Coming of Age* (1995); *My American Century* (1997); *Will the Circle Be Unbroken?* (2001); *Hope Dies Last* (2003); and *And They All Sang* (2005).

A collection of six CDs, spanning the 1950s to 1997, titled *Voices of Our Time: Five Decades of Studs Terkel Interviews,* was released in 2005. Terkel's book *The Good War* (1985) won the Pulitzer Prize.

[Geoffrey Wigoder / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

TERNI, DANIEL BEN MOSES DAVID (late 18th–early 19th century), Italian rabbi and poet. Terni came from Ancona, and served as rabbi in Lugo, Pesaro, and Florence. His most important work is *Ikkerei ha-Dat* (a reference to the initials of his name ד"ט), an anthology of halakhic rulings found in the works of the **posekim* and in responsa. It is largely confined to new rulings evolved in the 18th century after the publication of the *Leket ha-Kemaḥ* of Moses *Ḥagiz, and differs from the works which were its predecessors in that Terni also added his own views. The only parts of the work published were on *Oraḥ Ḥayyim* (Florence, 1803) and *Yoreh De'ah (ibid.*, 1806). The book has been republished a number of times and was also included in later editions of the Shulḥan Arukh.

Terni also wrote *Se'udat Mitzvah* (Venice, 1791), homilies for the festivals and special occasions; *Mattenat Yad* (Florence, 1794); and *Shem Olam* (Piotrkow, 1929), homilies and novellae on the Torah. He composed *Ketav ha-Dat* (Leghorn, 1791), psalms and prayers of thanksgiving for the deliverance of the Jews of Florence from attack in June 1790, and was the author of secular poetry, as well as a musical play, *Simḥat Mitzvah* (Florence, 1793), on the occasion of the dedication of the synagogue in Florence.

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[Abraham David]

TERRACINI, BENVENUTO ARON (1886–1968), Italian philologist. Terracini, who was born in Turin, was a lecturer in Italian at the Akademie fuer Handels-und Sozialwissenschaften in Frankfurt. After serving in the Italian army in World War I, he was in charge of linguistics at the University of Genoa and then held professorships successively at the universities of Cagliari and Padua and the State University of Milan. In 1941 he went to the Argentine as a refugee from Fascism, and served until 1946 as professor of general linguistics and Romance languages at the National University of Tucuman. He returned to Italy in 1947 and was professor of linguistics at the University of Turin until 1961. Terracini was editor of *Archivio Glottologico Italiano* and director of the Instituto per l'Atlante Linguistico. He took an active part in the affairs of the Jewish community of Turin and from 1948 to 1961 served as a member of the board of the Union of Italian Jewish Communities. His published works include *Guida allo studio linguistica storica* (1949), *Conflictos de lenguas y de cultural* (1957), and *Pagine e appunti di linguistica storica* (1957).

TERRACINI, UMBERTO ELIA (1895–1983), Italian Communist leader. Terracini joined the Socialist Party as a youth and became a member of its executive as a representative of the radical wing. In 1921 he joined the newly formed Italian Communist Party. In 1926 Terracini edited the radical newspaper *L'Unità* of Milan and the same year was sentenced to 23 years' imprisonment by the Fascist administration. Pardoned in 1937, he was exiled to a remote part of the country. On his release in 1943 he took refuge in Switzerland. He returned to Italy in 1944 to take a leading part in the resistance in the Ossola Valley. When World War II ended, Terracini became a member of the Consultative Assembly. He was elected a deputy to the Constituent Assembly and after the resignation of Giuseppe Saragat served as speaker from 1947 to 1948. In 1948 he became a senator and distinguished himself as one of the foremost orators in the Communist Party. In 1965–66 he was the party's candidate for the presidency of Italy. He took an independent, sympathetic position in the controversy about the persecution of Jews in the Soviet Union and showed himself favorably disposed toward the State of Israel. He wrote the preface to the reader on Soviet Jewry, *Gli ebrei nell' URSS* (1966).

[Giorgio Romano]

TERRITORIALISM. Jewish movements in the 20th century aiming to establish an autonomous settlement of Jews in a sufficiently large territory "in which the predominant majority of the population shall be Jewish." In contrast to Zionism, Territorialism regarded Ereẓ Israel as one of these territories but not the only one. Any other attempts in the past and present by Jews or non-Jews, by organizations or governments, to assist in finding a refuge for oppressed Jews do not fall within the scope of Territorialism as defined above. They are dealt with under separate headings (see Agricultural Settlement, *Migration, *Jewish Colonization Association (ICA), *Birobidzhan, *Crimea, Baron Maurice de *Hirsch, *Evian Conference, Paul *Friedmann, Davis *Trietsch, *Madagascar Plan).

ITO

Territorialism was a child of the Zionist movement. It came into existence after the death of Theodor *Herzl, during the Seventh Zionist Congress (Basle, July/August 1905), which decided not to proceed with the Guas Ngishu projects in East Africa (commonly called the *Uganda Scheme) offered by the British Government in 1903 for an autonomous Jewish settlement. Twenty-eight delegates who refused to accept the rejection of the British offer withdrew from the congress, and with additional delegates met in a separate conference (July 30 and August 1) where they decided to secede from the Zionist Organization and to establish an independent Jewish Territorial Organization (abbr. ITO). Israel *Zangwill, their leader, at first opposed secession but accepted it after the general meeting of the Anglo-Palestine bank had refused to expand its activities beyond the Palestine area. He became president and remained in that capacity until the dissolution of the ITO in 1925. The first conference in Basle defined the objects of ITO as follows:

> I. To procure a territory upon an autonomous basis for those Jews who cannot, or will not, remain in the lands in which they at present live. II. To achieve this end the Organization proposes (a) to unite all Jews who are in agreement with this object; (b) to enter into relations with Governments and public and private institutions; (c) to create financial institutions, labor-bureaus, and other instruments that may be found necessary.

It appeared at first that a peaceful coexistence of the ITO and Zionist Organization was possible. ITO was one of the few movements which participated in the Brussels Conference (Jan. 29, 1906) called by the Zionist Organization to discuss a constructive solution of the Jewish migration problem. But the conference ended without any tangible results and the two movements quickly drifted apart. Subsequently, in the first few years, ITO constituted a definite threat to the Zionist Organization, and bitter controversies ensued between the two movements in meetings and in the Jewish press.

ITO secured the collaboration of a great number of influential Jews and some leading Zionists all over the world. Among the latter were Israel *Jasinowski, Max *Mandelstamm (Russia), Karl Jeremias, Alfred *Klee (Germany), and Nahum *Slouschz (France). Some anti-Zionist leaders joined, for instance, Lucien *Wolf, obviously with a view to fight Zionism from this newly created platform. Some Socialist Zionists, headed by Nachman *Syrkin and the *Zionist Socialists in Russia (abbr. SS), also known as Zionist Territorialists, also joined the ITO. Within a short time ITO established numerous branches all over the world and, in Russia alone, over 280 emigration centers. The headquarters were in London. It concentrated organizational activities in various commissions among which the international council, consisting of 31 members, attended to political and administrative work, while suitable territories were selected by a geographical commission, consisting of such prominent men as Lord *Rothschild (England), Paul *Nathan and James *Simon (Germany), Max Mandelstamm (Russia), and Daniel *Guggenheim, Judge Mayer *Sulzberger, and Oscar S. *Straus (U.S.).

ITO's first efforts were directed to a continuation of the negotiations with the British Government regarding East Africa. However, notwithstanding the sympathies for ITO expressed publicly by members of the government (as for instance, Winston S. *Churchill, Lord Elgin, Herbert Gladstone), no success accompanied these negotiations. Further attempts were made to procure "ITO Land" in Angola (1907), Cyrenaica (1908), Mesopotamia (1909), as well as in Australia, Mexico, and many other localities. "There was not a land on earth that we did not think about," Zangwill confessed years later. All these attempts ended in failure. The only practical success of ITO was the establishment of an assembly-point in *Galveston (Texas). This, however, constituted an abandonment of the original program which aimed at a compact autonomous settlement, because Galveston served as a transition harbor for individual Jewish immigrants on their arrival from Europe, whence they were sent to southern and western areas of the United States and thus diverted from New York and other crowded centers in the east. The scheme was financed by Jacob H. *Schiff ($100,000), and Lord Rothschild of London and Baron Edmond de Rothschild of Paris ($10,000 each). During World War I, ITO at first declined cooperation with the Zionists in England but after the issuance of the *Balfour Declaration (1917), the ITO delegated David *Eder to join the *Zionist Commission in Jerusalem, simultaneously ceasing any activities of its own. In 1925 it was formally disbanded.

AIKO

Independent of ITO and with less organizational ability and success was the "Allgemeine Juedische Kolonisations-Organisation" (abbr. AIKO) which was initiated by Alfred *Nossig soon after the revolution of the Young Turks in 1908. Nossig also seceded from the Zionist Organization, of whose General Council he was a member, to pursue his activities independently. AIKO rejected the national and political aspect of Zionism and differed from ITO insofar as it sought a compact Jewish settlement in Palestine, Syria, and the Sinai Peninsula only, and did not emphasize the autonomous aspect. On the other hand, it did not reject autonomy should it develop through gradual immigration into the area. AIKO was established in Berlin and was joined by a number of prominent persons in Germany and other countries (primarily in Austria, England, Poland, and Russia). It counted among its members leading Zionists such as the future president of the Zionist Organization Otto *Warburg, Adolf Friedemann, Moses *Gaster, and Selig Eugen *Soskin, as well as some leaders of the Orthodox *Agudat Israel. However, these Zionists soon left AIKO because of its anti-Zionist stance. Unlike ITO, however, AIKO never became a threat to the Zionist Organization. It created subsidiary institutions: the Orient Colonising Company (London, 1909), the Juedisches Hilfskommittee Roter Halbmond fuer Palaestina, and the Deutsch-Israelitisch-Osmanische Union (both in Berlin, 1915). AIKO tried to reopen negotiations with the British Government (1911) regarding settlement in the Sinai Peninsula (contemplated and abandoned in 1902–03 by Herzl), and before (1909) and during World War I with the Turkish authorities for a compact settlement in Palestine; but it failed. AIKO's only practical result was the financial assistance rendered in the land acquisition for *Kefar Uriyyah. An "international Colonization Conference" called by AIKO in 1914 had to be canceled owing to the outbreak of the war. The organization was dissolved in 1920.

After the Balfour Declaration (1917) and in the 1920s the efforts of Jewish settlement centered on Palestine. The economic crises resulting from the world depression in 1929–32, as well as the increase of antisemitic policies, particularly in Central and Eastern Europe, greatly stimulated the urge of Jewish emigration. These conditions and the restricted immigration quotas to Palestine led to a revival of territorialist activities. The ascent of Nazism in Germany considerably speeded up this revival, and in various parts of the world Jewish groups were established which sought to alleviate these conditions by territorialist methods.

International Jewish Colonization Society

Shortly before World War II efforts were made to centralize all territorial and settlement activities into one organization to comprise all groups seeking autonomous or compact Jewish settlements as well as individual settlement schemes. On the initiative of Daniel Wolf in Amsterdam, the "International Jewish Colonization Society" was formed in November 1938. A number of important individuals and organizations, for instance, the "Freeland League" (see below), the ICA, and others, agreed to associate themselves with these efforts. The society's aim was "to finance settlements of Jews in suitable areas in the world." As this also included Palestine, Zionists agreed to cooperate. At a conference in London (Dec. 4, 1938) a representative international board was elected to head the society's activities. A number of prominent non-Jews also agreed to serve on the board. Some substantial amounts were raised, most of which had been used for investigations in various territories throughout the world regarding their suitability for Jewish settlement. The only area that promised certain possibilities was Surinam; but it came to nothing. (This proposal was reopened in 1948 by the Freeland League.) The outbreak of World War II brought the society's activities to an abrupt end.

Freeland League

On July 26, 1935, representatives of a number of societies met in London and established the "Free Land Movement, a League for Territorial Organizations," which subsequently became the Freeland League for Jewish Territorial Colonization. Its purpose was defined as:

> aiming to find and obtain large scale room in some sparsely populated area for the Jewish masses where they could live and develop according to their own views and culture and religion.

The league thus did not expressly demand autonomy, but did not exclude it. Simultaneously the league made its position clear toward Zionism and Palestine, stressing that its work applies "to those Jews who seek a home and cannot or will not go to Palestine." In contrast to pre-World War I conditions, Zionists did not oppose these activities, recognizing a justification of some temporary alleviation of Jewish misery if it was attainable. All the efforts of the league ended in failure. It negotiated for settlements in Angola (1938), Ecuador (1935), Kimberley, Australia (1938–44), and Surinam (1948), and sent out commissions to investigate these and other territories for their suitability for compact settlement. However, in all instances, the governments concerned declined to accept large Jewish immigrant groups in their territories. The Freeland League had its first headquarters in London (1935–41) and since then in New York. Its moving spirits and leaders were *Ben-Adir (Abraham Rosin) and Isaac Nachman *Steinberg. After the latter's death (1957) the leadership fell to Mordkhe Schaechter. Although without an obvious purpose and without pursuing practical settlement efforts, the league still (1971) maintained a central office in New York and published *Oyfn Shvel*, a bimonthly (from 1941); *Freeland* (from 1944); *Boletin* (from 1957); and *Freyland* (from 1957).

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[Oskar K. Rabinowicz]

TERTIS, LIONEL (1876–1975), violist. Born in England, Tertis was a viola soloist. This instrument, popular in the 18th century, had been neglected, and it was due to Tertis' exceptional playing that the viola was recognized as a solo instrument. Pieces were written especially for him and he designed a viola that was widely manufactured (the Tertis model).

TERTULIAN, NICOLAE, originally **Nathan Veinstein** (1929–), Romanian literary critic and editor. One of Romania's most respected literary scholars, Tertulian edited the weekly *Contemporanul* (1948–54) and from 1954 was an editor of *Viata Românească*, the organ of the Romanian Writers' Union. He was a prominent figure at many international literary congresses. Tertulian's works include *Probleme ale literaturii de evocare istorica* (1954), *Esseuri* (1968), and *Evolutia spirituala a lui George Lukacs* (1969). From the 1980s he lived in France, where he wrote about Romanian culture. He also published several works on Heidegger there as well as focusing on the literary and esthetic works of Lukacs and on Croce's basic concepts of the role played by culture in the life of a society.

TERUEL, city in *Aragon, E. Spain. No data are available about the beginning of the Jewish settlement in Teruel, which formed one of the most important communities in Aragon. It was already prosperous in the Muslim period and recovered quickly after the conquest of the town by *Alfonso II in 1171. The Jewish quarter was located in the vicinity of the present street called Calle Ainsa, extending toward the city wall, in the northeastern section of Teruel. The excavations in 1925–26 on the site of the old Jewish cemetery revealed several tombstones and a few golden rings engraved with feminine names, one of which was inscribed in Hebrew. The status of the Jews is apparent from the *fuero* (charter) granted by Alfonso II to Teruel (1176), regulating questions pertaining to mixed Jewish-Christian administration and defining the Jews as "slaves of the king, belonging entirely to the royal treasury." In 1285 Pedro III exempted invalids and paupers from taxes but clamped taxes on non-movable property, Muslim slaves, cattle, moneylending, etc.

During the 14th century frequent quarrels broke out within the community concerning the apportionment of taxes and their manner of collection. Between 1310 and 1313 it was agreed that each individual would pay a permanent tax of six dinars and an additional impost estimated according to his property and debts. Shortly before the persecutions of 1391, Queen Violante requested the community heads to carry out a new assessment in view of further taxation, as the indirect taxes already in force did not suffice to cover the community's debts. The community was headed by *muqaddimūn* and *clavarii* ("collectors") who collected taxes and saw to the strict observation of Jewish rites, thus winning the praise of *Isaac b. Sheshet Perfet (Ribash). The wave of anti-Jewish riots of 1321 affected Teruel when the Jews there were accused of poisoning the wells. In July 1348 Pedro III ordered the bailiff of Teruel to shut off the Jewish quarter in order to ward off rioters. The Jewish community was accused of an alleged *Host desecration in 1377. Permission was given in 1382 to the Najari (or Nafari) family to build a synagogue in Teruel. Prior to the 1391 riots the community lent 24,000 sólidos to King Pedro. In August 1391 Queen Violante ordered the town authorities to protect the Jews from hostile villagers. In the days of the *Tortosa disputation the preacher Vicente *Ferrer stayed in Teruel and induced the authorities to issue laws providing for the segregation of Jews from Christians. He was also accountable for the conversion to Christianity of many Jews, among them the Najari family, who at the end of the 14th century leased the crown taxes in Aragon.

In 1417 Alfonso V intervened on behalf of the Jews in Teruel to protect them from the admonitions of overzealous converts. Various privileges and facilities were granted by the king to the Jews of Teruel during the 1450s, especially in 1457 when together with the other communities of Aragon they were exempted from taxes and services. A change for the worse occurred in 1484, with the coming of the inquisitors Juan de Colivera and Marín Navaro to the town, both sent by *Torquemada. Between 1484 and 1486 more than 30 Conversos were condemned to burn at the stake. The activities of the Inquisition came to a climax when Jews were ordered to leave Teruel in 1486. Their expulsion, however, did not take place until 1492, as part of the general expulsion from Spain. Several scores of Jews in Teruel were then pressured by the *Franciscans to convert to Christianity.

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[Haim Beinart]

TERUMOT (Heb. תְּרוּמוֹת; "heave offerings"), sixth tractate of the order *Zera'im*, in the Mishnah, Tosefta, and Jerusalem Talmud. There is no Babylonian Talmud on this tractate. It details the laws of *terumah* (the heave offering) to be given to the priest in accordance with the biblical injunctions (Lev. 22:10–14; Num. 18:8, 11, 12, 26, 30; and Deut. 18:4). There were two basic types of *terumah*: one was the regular heave offering or *terumah gedolah* ("great *terumah*") which the Israelites were required to separate from their own crops and to give to the priest; the other was the "tithe heave offering" or *terumat ma'aser* which the levites had to separate for the priests from the tithes they received (see **Terumot* and *Ma'aserot*). The tractate gives a precise definition of these two obligations, although its chief subject is the *terumah gedolah*.

The Mishnah is divided into 11 chapters. Chapter 1 enumerates the five classes of persons who may not set aside *terumah* and the different cases in which the separation is considered valid, although the method utilized in selecting the *terumah* was not the correct one. Chapter 2 consists of further enumeration of cases in which the heave offering is valid, although the method of procedure followed in selecting it was not in consonance with the *halakhah*. An example of this is selecting clean grain as the *terumah* for unclean grain. Chapter 3 quotes some cases where *terumah* had to be given twice. The owner could empower his servant to set aside the *terumah* for him. The order for giving the various dues such as the first fruits, the heave offering, and the tithe is detailed, as is the procedure to be followed when one makes a slip of the tongue while separating *terumah* or taking an oath. Chapter 4 discusses the selection and measuring of the great heave offering and the tithe heave offering. Chapter 5 discusses the mixing of other fruits with ritually clean and unclean *terumah*. Chapter 6 deals with the compensation that must be made by one who has eaten or otherwise derived benefit from a heave offering (cf. Lev. 22:14). Chapter 7 is a continuation of this discussion and gives cases in which only the value of what has been eaten need be paid, without the additional fifth (*ḥomesh*). Chapter 8 deals with how long heave-offering wine and other liquids may be left uncovered and the dangers of their becoming poisoned. Regarding this, Josephus (Apion, 1:165) quotes from a Greek writer of the third century B.C.E. that Pythagoras followed the custom of the Jews in not drinking a certain water. Lieberman suggests that the reference is to this exposed water (cf. Albeck, Mishnah, Zera’im 390). Also discussed is that one may not deliberately defile *terumah*. Chapter 9 outlines the procedure when seeds of *terumah* produce have been deliberately or unwittingly sown. Chapter 10 enumerates the cases in which the flavor of *terumah* prohibits other food and the regulations regarding other cases in which lawful foods become forbidden through the flavor they acquire from prohibited foods. Chapter 11 discusses the usage that may be made of clean and unclean *terumah* in both solid and liquid forms.

Epstein has pointed to several sources and strata in *Terumot. Mishnayot* 4:8–9 and 4:10 record two contradicting traditions concerning a dispute between Eliezer b. Hyrcanus and Joshua b. Hananiah. According to the Jerusalem Talmud, the former represent the teachings of the school of R. Judah and the latter the school of Meir. It is noteworthy that the statements of Eliezer (the last of the school of Shammai) and Joshua were so often interchanged that a prohibition was eventually imposed on any changes of this nature (Sif. Deut. 188).

The Tosefta consists of ten chapters. It corresponds in general to the Mishnah, but there are 26 *mishnayot* which have no corresponding Tosefta. It contains an interesting and extensive definition of the boundaries of Ereẓ Israel (2:12). One of the few aggadic passages in the Jerusalem Talmud to the tractate relates that before *Diocletian became the emperor of Rome (285–305 C.E.), he was originally a swineherd in Tiberias. Whenever he came near the school of Judah II, the young pupils would beat and mock him. When he became emperor he determined to avenge himself on the Jews and their scholars. He went to Paneas, a place at some distance from Tiberias, and from there sent a summons to Judah II, ordering him to appear before him, together with the other scholars, at the conclusion of the Sabbath. He directed his messenger to deliver the summons to Judah on Friday evening so that the scholars, who would not travel on the Sabbath, would be unable to make the journey in time and would therefore be liable to punishment for disobedience. A miracle happened, and the scholars succeeded in appearing before the emperor at the proper time. They appeased his anger by proclaiming that they scorned only the swineherd Diocletian, but obeyed and honored Emperor Diocletian. Diocletian responded that they should be cautious and never insult even a lowly Roman, since he might rise in rank and take revenge (8:10, 46b). A similar story is recorded in *Genesis Rabbah* 63:8. *Terumot* appeared in English in *The Mishnah* (1933, trans. by H. Danby).

TERUMOT AND MA’ASEROT (Heb. תְּרוּמוֹת, “heave offerings,” and מַעַשְׂרוֹת, “tithes”), dues given to the priests and the poor. A number of passages in the Bible deal with *ma’aser* and according to the *halakhah* they refer to different categories: the first tithe is given to the levites (Num. 18:21–24); the second tithe is eaten in Jerusalem or redeemed (Deut. 14:22–26); and the tithe that is given to the poor (Deut. 14:28–29 and 26:12). In order to render agricultural produce fit for ordinary consumption (*ḥullin*), *terumot* and *ma’aserot* had to be allocated from it in the following manner: first *terumah* was set aside for the priests, and from the remainder a tenth, the first tithe, was given to the levites. The levites then had to give a tithe of this first tithe, called *terumat ma’aser* or *ma’aser min ha-ma’aser* (“a tithe of the tithe”) to the priests. After *terumah* and the first tithe were set aside, a second tithe had to be given of the remainder. In the first, second, fourth, and fifth years of the sabbatical cycle this constituted the second tithe, while in the third and sixth years it became the poor man’s tithe. The second tithe had either to be taken up to Jerusalem to be eaten there, or redeemed for money and the money plus an added quarter taken to Jerusalem, where it could be spent at the owner’s discretion for his upkeep. The tithe given to the poor is not regarded as sacred. On the last day of Passover of the fourth and seventh years a declaration in line with the biblical injunction (Deut. 26:13–15, called “the declaration of the tithe”), which was applied to all tithes, was made.

Produce from which *terumah* and *ma’aser* have not been set aside is called *tevel* and may not be eaten either by its owner or by priests. The produce of an **am ha-areẓ*, who is “unreliable as to tithes” so that it is uncertain whether its *terumot* and *ma’aserot* have been set aside as prescribed, is called **demai*.

The Bible does not prescribe a given quantity of *terumah*. Hence, according to the letter of the Law, the offer of a single ear of wheat should be enough for the whole. However, the rabbis established a quota: “The proper amount of *terumah*: if a man is liberal it is one-fortieth – Bet Shammai say one-thirtieth – for the average man it is one-fiftieth, and for the niggardly, one-sixtieth” (Ter. 4:3).

Although biblical law confines the duty of giving *terumot* and *ma’aserot* to grain, wine, and oil (cf. Deut. 12:17, “the tithe of the corn, the wine, and the oil”), the sages deduced from the Bible that it applied to other produce and fruits and, according to the *halakhah*, it was further applied to vegetables. The halakhic rule is that “whatever is food and guarded [i.e, does not grow wild] and grows from the earth is liable to tithes” (Ma’as. 1:1). At the close of the tannaitic era the duty of giving tithes was extended to money as well. Similarly there is evidence of *terumah* and *ma’aser* being set aside from all foods, and it would seem that this was “the custom of the pious.”

The Bible prescribes a tithe to be set aside from cattle (Lev. 27:32), but this the *halakhah* treated as a sacrifice (Zev. 5:8). On the other hand, a substantial number of sources in the apocryphal *halakhah* indicate that a tithe of cattle was given to the priest (Jub. 32:15, cf. Philo, Virt. 95, etc.; cf. also II Chron. 31:6). Apparently this was the practice at the beginning of the Second Temple era, while the *halakhah* that regards the tithe of cattle as a sacrifice consumed by the owner reflects the practice of a later period. Some of the apocryphal sources (Jub. 32:11; Tob. 1:7; etc.) explain the verses of the Bible as if the second tithe was set aside every year (as does also Targ. Jon.), and that three tithes were set aside in the third and sixth years. It seems, however, that this was written according to their understanding of the verses, without subsequent exegesis, and should not be regarded as reflecting actual conditions.

According to theoretical *halakhah*, the owner of produce can give the *terumah* and *ma'aser* (first tithe) anywhere and to any priest or levite he pleases. This *halakhah* was not in force at the beginning of the Second Temple period. It is seen from the post-Exilic biblical books (Mal. 3:10; Neh. 13:5, etc.), the Apocrypha (Judith 11:13; Tob. 1:6–7; etc.), and Philo (Spec. 1:132–5) that the *terumot* and *ma'aserot* were taken to the Temple in Jerusalem (cf. also LXX, Ex. 1:21). It is almost certain that the regulations concerning the bringing of the priestly and levitical gifts to Jerusalem were made in the time of Ezra and Nehemiah, as part of their general tendency to enhance the national and economic status of Jerusalem. These regulations also seem to be connected with the working procedures of the priests and levites in the Temple, for in this way the priestly and levitical gifts could all be collected at the Temple and fairly distributed among the priests and levites engaged at the time in the divine service.

No definite time was fixed for carrying the *terumot* and *ma'aserot* to Jerusalem, but it may be assumed that they were taken there during the pilgrimage festivals. The second tithe, too, was taken up at that time, as were such other gifts as the firstborn of cattle and the fruit of the fourth-year planting, probably for the purpose of "adorning the streets of Jerusalem with fruit" (RH 31b).

According to the *halakhah*, the first tithe is given to the levites, but there is ample evidence of a practice by which it went to the priests. This is first mentioned in Nehemiah (13:4–13), and the Talmud explains it as a penalty imposed upon the levites because so few of them had returned to Zion (Yev. 86b). The practice of the priests taking tithes continued during the Persian and Hellenistic epochs, and there are echoes of it in the Apocrypha (Judith 11:13; Jub. 13:25–27; etc.). Presumably, however, they were not the only recipients, but the tithes were distributed proportionately among the priests and levites on duty in the Temple. It is possible that the following dictum in a highly problematic *baraita* more or less represents the position with regard to the division of the tithes during these periods: "At first the tithe was divided into three parts, one-third for known priests and levites, one-third for the treasury, and one-third for the poor and to **ḥaverim* who were in Jerusalem" (TJ, Ma'as. Sh. 5:9, 56d).

The Hasmonean kings tried to seize control of the tithes for their own purposes. The edict of Johanan the high priest (Ma'as, Sh. 5:15) must be understood with this in mind as well as the subsequent edict of Julius Caesar to Hyrcanus II stating: "and in addition they shall also pay to Hyrcanus and his sons the tithes that they also paid to their forefathers" (Jos., Ant., 14:203). It may be assumed that the halakhic provision that *terumah* and *ma'aser* could be given everywhere and to any priest or levite was not only congenial to the owner of the produce but also expressed Pharisaic opposition to the use the Hasmonean kings were making of the tithes. The Pharisees wanted to retain the precept of setting aside these dues while preventing their being taken by the Hasmonean rulers in Jerusalem. This *halakhah* seems to have been fairly widely followed and there are sources, both internal and external, from the end of the Temple period, showing that tithes were given at the various localities. It is against this background that the term "priests and levites who stood by the threshing floor" came into being.

Terumot and *ma'aserot* continued to be set aside also after the destruction of the Temple, when tithing became a kind of substitute for the sanctity of the Temple and the sacrificial service. This is evident from the following incident: "Once Tarfon was late in coming to the *bet midrash*. Rabban Gamaliel said to him, What is the reason for your delay? He replied: I was performing the [Temple] service. He then said to him: How come? Is there any service nowadays? He answered: It says in the Bible: 'I give you the priesthood as a service of gift' [Num. 18:7], making the eating of food within the borders of Ereẓ Israel equivalent to the service in the Temple" (Sif. Num. 116).

The dispute on whether tithes should be given to the priests or to the levites also continued after the destruction of the Temple. Toward the end of the tannaitic era a new tendency developed: the tithes were given especially to those priests and levites who were scholars, too, and in the course of time even to scholars who were not priests and levites. The idea behind this is clear: to endow those who held communal appointments and were in charge of the spiritual leadership of the nation with the perquisites which before had belonged to the priests and levites.

The commandment of *terumah* was throughout strictly observed by most sections of the people; but this was not so with the first tithe. The main reasons for the failure to offer the prescribed tithes were (1) the economic hardship involved; (2) their utilization as taxes by the Hasmonean rulers; (3) the fact that many priests and levites were landlords in their own right; (4) the difficulty of carrying the tithes to Jerusalem at the time when this was the common practice; (5) the process of urbanization that began in Herod's time, when the farmers considered themselves discriminated against in favor of the town dwellers who were not tithed; (6) the reduced significance of the tithes after the destruction of the Temple.

The sages themselves appreciated the difficulty of complying exactly with the commandments relating to tithes, and within the framework of the *halakhah* evolved various exemptions and means of evasion. But there also was an opposite tendency. Many sayings of the sages and *halakhot* emphasize the great importance of the commandments and their full observance, as well as punishments incurred by transgressors, and the rewards accruing to the observant. The commandment was no doubt not extolled solely on theoretical grounds, but there must have been many who followed it scrupulously. Observance of tithes was one of the elements that united the groups of *ḥaverim* who tended to be even more strict than the original commandment. In the light of the punctiliousness of these groups, the concept of one "trustworthy in tithes" was created, with whom the *ḥaverim* could have commercial intercourse "without fear of *demai*." In the time of Bar Kokhba, the observance of the tithe rules was well established in wide circles; this can be inferred from the tenancy contracts signed in the name of Bar Kokhba stipulating that the quantity of produce due to the landlord be delivered after deduction of tithes. The great importance attached to the tithes by the sages and the *ḥaverim* on the one hand, and their widespread neglect on the other, resulted in "untrustworthiness in respect of tithes" coming to be considered one of the characteristics of the *am ha-areẓ*. Thus the observance or neglect of the rules of tithing turned into a class distinction.

According to the *halakhah*, the duty of setting aside *terumot* and *ma'aserot* did not apply outside Ereẓ Israel, following the principle: "Every precept dependent on the land [of Israel] is in force only in that land, and one not so dependent is in force both within and without the land [of Israel] except for **orlah* and **kilayim*" (Kid. 1:9). In fact, however, there is ample evidence that *terumot* and *ma'aserot* were set aside in the Diaspora as well – in Egypt, Babylon, and in various places in Asia Minor. It may be assumed that this applied in the Diaspora as a whole (evidence of the practice in Syria is irrelevant since in this respect it was almost considered part of the Land of Israel). It seems that in the Diaspora *terumot* and *ma'aserot* were not, as a rule, given to the local priests and levites but were brought to the Temple in Jerusalem. This was almost certainly done at the time of the pilgrimage when the half shekel was also brought there. Since it was impossible to carry the actual *terumot* and *ma'aserot* to Jerusalem, it may be assumed that they were converted into money, frequently at a symbolic amount, which was then taken to Jerusalem. It may be noted, too, that in the Diaspora it was customary to set aside *terumot* and *ma'aserot* in the Sabbatical year. There is evidence that in Egypt this certainly "applied to the poor man's tithe, that the poor of Israel could be supported by it in the Sabbatical year" (Yad. 4:3).

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[A'hron Oppenheimer]

TESCHEN (Czech český Těšín, Pol. Cieszyn), town in Silesia. Capital of the duchy of Teschen in the Middle Ages, Teschen was divided between Czechoslovakia and Poland in 1920, incorporated entirely in Poland in 1938, and redivided in 1945. Jews are mentioned in connection with the town at the end of the 14th century. It used to be mistakenly assumed that the oldest tombstone in the Jewish cemetery dated from 1392. The first Jew received permission to settle there in 1575, and in 1640 the Jewish customs collector of the duchess was permitted to acquire a cemetery for the community. In 1785 the cemetery was sold to the 88 *Familiants of the district. The community of *Ostrava buried their dead there until 1872. In 1848 the authorities expelled some of the Jews living in the town, and those living in the vicinity were attacked by the populace. Before the plebiscite determining the future of the town was held in 1918, Polish nationalists threatened the Jews with pogroms if they voted for Czechoslovakia; the Czechoslovakian government dispatched Alfred *Fuchs, then a Czecho-Jewish functionary (see Svaz *čechů-židů) to influence the Jews in favor of the Czechs. There were 1,313 Jews in the town (8.5% of the total population) in 1890; 1,666 (9%) in 1900, 2,063 (10%) in 1910, and 1,148 (10.8%) in 1930. In the Polish part of the town (Cieszyn) the Jewish community numbered 1,591 (10.4% of the total population) in 1921.

Before the outbreak of World War II the community had two synagogues, two cemeteries, and a communal center. Two representatives of the Jewish National Party were returned to the municipal council in May 1938. The community was dissolved in September 1939. The Jews remaining there in 1943 were deported to death camps. A small congregation was reestablished after World War II, affiliated in 1959 to the Ostrava community.

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[Meir Lamed]

TET (Heb. ט; טֵית), the ninth letter of the Hebrew alphabet; its numerical value is therefore 9. The early, Proto-Canaanite form of this letter has not yet been attested, but in the tenth century B.C.E. it consisted of crossing strokes (compare with the *taw*) surrounded by a circle ⊕, ⊗. In the cursive scripts there was a tendency to open the circle. Thus in the Hebrew script it was drawn 𐤈; in the Samaritan ࠈ; Phoenician 𐤈, 𐤈: Aramaic 𐡈; Jewish ט; Nabatean 𐢊 → 𐢊 → Arabic ط. The Greek *theta* preserved the closed circle. See *Alphabet, Hebrew.

[Joseph Naveh]

TETRARCH, Greek term meaning vassal-ruler, given to minor rulers in the provinces of Judea and Syria in the Roman period. The original meaning of the word was "head of the four," and it was used in this sense in Thessaly. However, in the course of time it lost its original meaning and during the Roman era was used for a ruler of a rank lower than that of king. The tetrarchs were appointed by the Roman emperor and were subject to him. The region ruled by the tetrarch was called a tetrarchy. Within the tetrarchy and in all internal affairs the tetrarch had the rights of a king, as well as a fixed yearly income. In all foreign affairs, however, he was subject to Rome. Among the better known tetrarchs of Jewish history were *Phasael, his brother *Herod, later to become king, and the latter's sons – Herod *Antipas, tetrarch of Galilee and Transjordan with a yearly income of 200 talents, and *Herod Phillipus, tetrarch of the Bashan, Argob, and Hauran with a yearly income of 100 talents.

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[Edna Elazary]

TETUÁN (ancient name, **Tamuda**), town and port in N. *Morocco. It was destroyed by the Spanish in 1399 but rebuilt a few years before 1492 by an Andalusian chieftain, al-Mandārī, who used it exclusively as a refuge for Moors and some Spanish Jews. The Jewish community began to grow in importance from 1511. Due to the positive attitude of the rulers of Tetuán, the sea outlet gave great impetus to the development of maritime trade. Trade remained exclusively in the hands of the local Jewish community almost until the beginning of the 20th century. The relations between Jews and Andalusian Muslims always remained excellent. Both communities had occasion to suffer from the incursions of the *Rif Berbers and other elements: in 1610 they were suddenly impoverished by the exorbitant tax which was imposed by the sultan; in 1665 the town was raided by a rebellious army, and the splendid Bibas Synagogue was burned and razed. By 1727 there were seven synagogues in the town. Serious persecutions took place in 1790: robberies, acts of rape, murders of Jewish notables, and other atrocities were perpetrated by order of Mūlāy Yazīd, the new sultan, in an act of revenge against the prosperous community, as it had refused to loan him money some years earlier – he had intended to use the money to raise an army and rebel openly against his father's rule. One of Mūlāy Yazīd's own sons, a pretender to his father's throne, in 1822 looted the Jewish community, whose considerable wealth was found sufficient to keep a considerable army. Another wave of atrocities and lootings took place in 1860 during the Spanish-Moroccan war.

Until 1772 Tetuán was the residence of the representatives of the European nations. After their forced departure for Tangier and the exclusion of all Christians from Tetuán, the Christian representatives were replaced by consuls and consular agents, who were chosen from among the members of the local Jewish community. This community appears to have always been comprised of at least 3,000 persons, and occasionally it soared to 8,000 and more. Its first *av bet din* was R. Ḥayyim Bibas, one of the expellees from *Spain. For many generations the spiritual and temporal leadership of the community was entrusted to members of the same families – *Abudaraham, *Almosnino, Bendelac, *Bibas, Cazès, Coriat, Crudo, Falcon, Hadida, *Hassan, *Nahon, and Taurel.

In the 19th century the community venerated the *dayyan* R. Isaac ben Walid, author of *Va-Yomer Yiẓḥak* (2 vols., Leghorn, 1855), an inexhaustible source of information about the social, economic, and religious history of the Jewish community of Tetuán. In no other community were Jewish descendants of Spanish and Portuguese refugees able to preserve so well their language (Castilian Spanish), the integrity of their customs, and the purity of their traditions. Until the middle of the 18th century the Jews of Tetuán gave shelter to Portuguese Marranos, who returned to Judaism when they settled in the town. In the same century an influx of Jews from other Moroccan communities, attracted by the great prosperity enjoyed by that town, started to flow into Tetuán. Generally, these newcomers were easily assimilated into the original Spanish-Portuguese nucleus, but at the same time they also introduced superstitious beliefs and spread among the Jews throughout northern Morocco a dialect called "Ḥakétie," a mixture of corrupted Castilian, Arabic, and Hebrew.

Although they generally tended to return, the Jews of Tetuán often left their native town. They formed early elements of communities such as Melilla, Oran, Gibraltar, Buenos Aires, Montevideo, Rio de Janeiro, Lima, and Caracas. During the 19th century Tangier owed its own prosperity to Tetuán. Emigration increased drastically when the Jews of Tetuán were consigned to a single quarter of the town (August 1807), the *Juderia*, where they were forced to live until 1912. The community had its own private schools, where subjects were taught in Castilian. There were also several important yeshivot in the town. The first *Alliance Israélite Universelle school was founded in Tetuán in 1862, with the support of R. Isaac ben Walid. The major part of the budget needed for the upkeep of the school was provided by the notables of the community. From 1912 – under the Spanish protectorate and until the present day – several families have maintained a considerable influence on the affairs of the town.

[David Corcos]

Tetuán was the largest Jewish community in Spanish Morocco. Of 14,196 Jews in Spanish Morocco in 1949, 7,630 lived in Tetuán. In 1951, however, after emigration to Israel and to the international zone of Tangier, only about 8,000 Jews remained in Spanish Morocco; 4,122 lived in Tetuán. The 1960 census indicated 3,103 Jews in the town and by 1968 their number had dropped to about 1,000. The Jewish community in Tetuán had three Alliance Israélite Universelle schools, which in 1950 were attended by 746 pupils, but by 1957 the number had dropped to 430. There was also a vocational training school, *Or Yeladim*, at which 250 children studied in 1957. In 1961 the total number of pupils attending Jewish schools was 565. The community's affairs were run by a council, headed by Jacob Benarroch until 1954. In 1955 a new council was appointed by government order, and Jacob Serfaty (d. 1978) was appointed its head, serving in this capacity until his immigration to Israel in 1972. The rabbinical council was headed by R. Judah Halfon. After his retirement R. Abraham Bibas was appointed *dayyan*. By 1968 most of the community's institutions had closed. In the early years of the 21st century only a handful of Jews remained in Tetuán. Those who left settled either in the nearby Spanish enclaves, in parts of Spain, or in Latin America. Others migrated to the community of *Casablanca.

[Haim J. Cohen / Michael M. Laskier (2nd edition)]

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TEUBAL, EZRA (1886–1976), leader of the Aleppan and the general Jewish community in *Argentina. Born in *Aleppo, *Syria, the eldest of the Teubal brothers, Ezra immigrated to Buenos Aires in 1903. He received a traditional religious education and studied French in the *Alliance Israélite Universelle and English in an American Protestant School in Aleppo. No sooner had he established himself in Argentina than he took steps to bring his brothers and all the family to Buenos Aires.

In 1912, he set up, together with his brothers, a textile imports company: Ezra Teubal Hermanos. In the 1920s, when most Syrian Jews were still peddlers and the most successful were importers or merchants, the Teubal brothers' business became one of the most renowned industrial textile factories in Argentina. Among his many activities, Ezra was appointed treasurer of the Textile Section in the Argentine Industrial Union for many years.

Moreover, he took an active role in Jewish communal affairs. He supported and sponsored numerous and different kinds of Sephardi and Ashkenazi religious, philanthropic, cultural, and sports organizations. He participated in the foundation of almost all the early Aleppan institutions, such as the burial society, Hessed Shel Emeth, which changed into the communal organization Asociación Israelita Sefaradi Argentina (AISA), and was its first president in 1924–30. He supported, among others, organizations such as Hospital Israelita, Asilo de Huérfanos Israelitas, Club Náutico Hacoaj, B'nai B'rith, Alliance Israélite Universelle, the Museo Judío, and the local Friends Association of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem.

Furthermore, he was fully committed to anti-Nazi campaigns and to the promotion of the early Zionist activities of the Sephardi Jews. He was very active in the support of the foundation of the State of Israel. He participated in the establishment in 1918 of Geulat Sion, the first Zionist group constituted by Sephardim, and was its first president. In 1936 he was one of the Argentine delegates to the World Jewish Congress elected by DAIA – the roof organization of all the Jewish associations. Teubal was president of the Comité Intercomunal Sefaradi pro "Geulat Haaretz," established to found a Sephardi settlement in Palestine, to be named "República Argentina." He was president of the local Jewish Agency. Like all of his brothers, he was a strong supporter of the Centro Sionista Sefaradí, the JNF, and the Comité Sefaradí Pro-Keren Hayesod. He was the first contributor to the establishment of Beit Harashal Seminary in Jerusalem for the instruction of rabbis and spiritual leaders for the Sephardi communities in Israel and the Diaspora.

In the 1950s and 1960s, as the Aleppans took their first steps toward a process of Orthodox religious revitalization under Rabbi Itzhak *Chehebar, Ezra Teubal, as well as other modern-oriented leaders, began to exert less influence on the community. Afterwards he gave his support to the foundation of Conservative and Reform synagogues in Buenos Aires, such as Bet El and Emmanuel. When he died, the central religious ceremony was organized by more than 30 institutions in an Ashkenazi Temple, the Congregación Israelita de la República Argentina.

[Susana Brauner (2nd ed.)]

°TEUCER OF CYZICUS (c. 100–50 B.C.E.), Greek author. He wrote historical works on various subjects, including a Jewish history, as reported by Suidas. None of his works survive.

TEUTSCH, DAVID (1950–), U.S. Reconstructionist rabbi. Teutsch was born and raised in Salt Lake City, the son of refugees from Germany. He received a bachelor's degree from Harvard University and was ordained in 1977 by Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion in New York. In 1991 he received a Ph.D. from the Wharton School of the University of Pennsylvania for work in organizational ethics.

From 1974 to 1979 he was rabbi of Ramat Shalom congregation in Spring Valley, N.Y. From 1978 to 1980 he was on the staff of the National Jewish Resource Center (later CLAL). After 1980, his professional career centered on the Reconstructionist movement. In that year he became assistant director of the Federation of Reconstructionist Congregations and

Havurot (later Jewish Reconstructionist Federation), serving as executive director from 1982 to 1986. In 1986 he became a dean, and later vice president, of the Reconstructionist Rabbinical College (RRC) near Philadelphia. From 1990 he chaired the department of contemporary civilization. Teutsch was the fourth president of RRC, serving from 1993 to 2002. After that, he continued as a professor and director of the Center for Jewish Ethics. Teutsch also served as an organizational consultant and leadership trainer for Jewish and non-Jewish organizations.

Teutsch was one of the leading figures in Reconstructionism after the retirement of Ira Eisenstein. In addition to his organizational leadership, he was editor of the *Kol Haneshamah* series of liturgy, including seven volumes, beginning with *Kol Haneshamah: Erev Shabbat* (Sabbath eve) in 1989. This series expressed a contemporary Reconstructionist view, offering modified traditional texts along with interpretations, *kavvanot* (intentions or spiritual guidance), and contemporary readings. Many of the additions were by women. A central feature was a gender-neutral English translation, avoiding masculine terms such as "Lord" and "he." The *Kol Haneshamah* series continued with volumes including Shabbat and Festivals (1994), Weekdays (1996), and High Holy Days (1999).

Teutsch also devoted considerable efforts to Jewish ethics and practice. A major contribution to both was his articulation of values-based decision-making (VBDM), a method for reaching ethical decisions in a Jewish framework for those who do not accept the binding nature of *halakhah*. This framework includes articulating values (for example, *kevod ha-beriyyot* – respecting people; democracy; and *kelal Yisrael*, the wider Jewish people) that might apply, or be in conflict, in a given situation. An individual, family, or community can apply the methodology. Teutsch published a number of booklets on ethics and Jewish practice, some with commentary by rabbis and lay people, eventually to be combined in a larger publication.

David Teutsch is married to Betsy Platkin Teutsch, a Judaic artist. Together they were among the founders in 1986 of Minyan Dorshei Derekh, a Reconstructionist community within Germantown Jewish Centre, a Conservative congregation in Philadelphia. He described his vision and experience in *Spiritual Community* (2005).

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[Robert P. Tabak (2nd ed.)]

TEVET (Heb. **טֵבֵת**), the post-Exilic name of the tenth month of the Jewish year. Mentioned in Esther 2:16, in Josephus' *Antiquities* (11:148), and frequently in rabbinic literature (e.g., *Megillat Ta'anit*), it is linked with the Assyrian-Babylonian *tebetum*. The root of the name is possibly related to *tava* (Heb. **טבע**, "to dip" or "to sink"), Tevet being the month of "sinking in" or "the muddy month," because of its abundant rainfall. The zodiacal sign of this month is Capricorn. In the present fixed Jewish calendar it invariably consists of 29 days, 1st of Tevet never falling on Thursday or the Sabbath (see *Calendar). In the 20th century, Tevet, in its earliest occurrence, extended from December 4th to January 1st, and in its latest, from January 2nd to the 30th. Apart from the last two or three days of the festival of *Ḥanukkah coinciding with 1st–2nd or 1st–3rd of Tevet, and 28th of Tevet, commemorating the *Pharisees' success in ousting their Sadducean opponents from the Sanhedrin (Meg. Ta'an. 342–43), all the historical days in Tevet are fasts: (1) 5th of Tevet, when the report of the fall of Jerusalem at the hands of Nebuchadnezzar reached the Judean exiles in Babylonia (Ezek. 33:21); and, according to an antiquated tannaitic view (RH 18b; and see below), the "fast in the tenth month" (Zech. 8:19); (2) 8th of Tevet, marking the completion of the *Septuagint, an event regarded as fateful as the construction of the *golden calf in the wilderness (Sof. 1:7; Meg. Ta'an. 13); (3) 9th of Tevet, the reason for this fast being suppressed in the oldest sources. According to later sources, Ezra and Nehemiah died on that day (*Kol Bo*, Fuerth ed. (1782), 52c no. 63). It is also said to have coincided with *dies natalis* in 3761 A.M. (on the basis of a calculation in Abraham b. Ḥiyya's *Sefer ha-Ibbur,* ed. by H. Filipowski, (1851) 109); (4) 10th of Tevet, commemorating the beginning of the siege of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar (Jer. 42:4, et al.), the "fast in the tenth month," according to the accepted talmudic view (RH 18b, et al.). This fast can never fall on the Sabbath (contrary to JE 12 (1905), 72).

[Ephraim Jehudah Wiesenberg]

TEVET, NAHUM (1946–), Israeli sculptor. Born in Kibbutz Mesilot, Tevet began his art studies at the Oranim kibbutz seminar and later went on to the Avni Art Institute in Tel Aviv. One of his most influential teachers was Raffi Lavie, who taught him for three years (1967–70). In 1979, thanks to a scholarship from the America-Israel Cultural Foundation, he lived for a year in the United States. Tevet lived and worked in Tel Aviv. From 1980 he taught at the Bezalel Academy of Art and Design in Jerusalem. Over the years he was awarded many art prizes.

Tevet's sculptures are recognized by their material – wood – and by their complex assemblage.

In his early works it was clear that Tevet had turned to the language of Minimalism. He used ready-made objects taken from the kibbutz environment. Beds, chairs, and tables were placed at the gallery first as simple objects and later in a more complicated construction. One of the main installations of the early period was at the Bertha Urdang Gallery in New York. Two separate rooms each contained a complex network of thin wood beams that established a basic structure. The linear quality of these wood constructions evoked a drawing in three dimensional space. Tevet noted that in the process of creating this work he began with the idea of a two-dimensional drawing on the floor of the gallery and then it grew to fill the room. This upward movement from the floor was one of the typical features of Tevet's works (*Sound for a Silent Movie*, 1986, Collection of the Artist).

Tevet's works demanded a long process of looking and deciphering. Through the connection of the parts and the repetition of colors, the coherency of the work is clear, but the ready-made details and the other completed forms draw the gaze into its depths.

One of the recurring forms in the sculptures is the table. As a metaphor the table could symbolize the dining table (of the kibbutz dining room for instance), or the desk of the artist, the poet, the teacher, or the philosopher. Through its minimalist form it became a bench or a column. Positioned on its side it became almost figurative and placed one above the other the tables created an open-closed form. The colors of the tables also changed the meanings, and their position on the walls altered all the spaces in the gallery.

As a highly esteemed teacher Tevet influenced young Israeli sculptors (for instance, Drora Dominey and Yehudit Sasportas), and his works became an important part of the heritage of the Israeli art world.

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[Ronit Steinberg (2nd ed.)]

TEVET, SHABBETAI (1925–), Hebrew writer. Born in Tel Aviv, he was associate editor of *Ba-Maḥaneh* during the War of Independence. From 1950 he was a member of the editorial board of *Haaretz*.

His books include *Ha-Mishpaḥah ha-Gedolah shel Shin Tet* (articles, 1954); *Ha-Yeled she-Kare'u Lo Rivkah* (stories for children, 1956); *Massa Ẓahal be-Sinai* (1957); *Ḥamishim Shenot Tel Aviv* (1959); *Shefa va-Ḥaradah* (1963); *Gidonim* (1968); *Kilelat ha-Berakhah* (1969), on the relations between Jews and Arabs after the Six-Day War, particularly on the West Bank; *Sha'ashu'a u-Vitto* (1970). His book on the Six-Day War appeared in English translation as *The Tanks of Tammuz* (1969). Several of his plays were staged but not published. Among his other books are a biography of Moshe Dayan (1972) and of David Ben-Gurion (1977), a study of Ben-Gurion's attitude to the Arabs in Ereẓ Israel (1985), and a study of the first political murder in Ereẓ Israel, that of Chaim *Arlosoroff (1982).

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[Getzel Kressel]

TEVUL YOM (Heb. טְבוּל יוֹם; lit. "one who has bathed that day"), tenth tractate in the order *Tohorot* in the Mishnah and the eleventh in the Tosefta. There is no *Gemara* either in the Babylonian or the Jerusalem Talmud. In four chapters (two in the Tosefta) it deals with problems arising out of Leviticus 22:6–7, which lays down that a person ritually unclean (or a ritually unclean vessel according to Lev. 11:32) remains unclean until sunset, even after ritual immersion during the day. The degree of impurity of such a person between immersion and sunset (the *tevul yom*) is slight. For example, if he touches food of *ḥullin* (i.e., not holy food), it does not become defiled; yet the priests may not eat holy food (e.g., *terumah* or *ḥallah*) in that state. Nevertheless, though the *tevul yom* defiles the holy food by touching it, if this food touches other food, the latter does not become unclean, as is the case with regard to uncleanness of a higher degree.

The Mishnah contains four chapters. Chapter 1 first considers the case of two portions of *ḥallah* adhering to one another, the *tevul yom* having touched one portion; the question is whether because of the *ḥibbur* ("connection") between the two, both become defiled. A long discussion follows as to what is considered a *ḥibbur* in this respect. Chapter 2 deals with the problems arising from the contact of the *tevul yom* with liquids. Chapter 3 reverts to questions of *ḥibbur* and discusses cases such as one in which vegetables of *ḥullin* cooking in oil of *terumah* are touched by a *tevul yom* as to whether the whole dish becomes defiled or only the part he actually touched. Chapter 4 discusses a great variety of questions, for example, how a woman who was a *tevul yom* and was kneading dough should set aside the *ḥallah* without defiling it. Another case, which has nothing to do with the general subject of this tractate, concerns a man setting out in a caravan who commands, "Write a bill of divorce for my wife," without stating specifically "and hand it to her." The question arises as to whether one may presume that he meant it to be given but forgot to say so because of his excitement. Caravans were fraught with danger, and if he disappeared, his wife would remain an *agunah* unless it was established that he meant the divorce (*get*) to be given to her. The concluding *mishnayot* of the tractate (4:5–7) thereupon deal with the problem of presumption, namely that there is a *tenai bet-din* (a kind of *praesumptio iuris*) to the effect that under certain circumstances, if one intended to make a stipulation, it is considered as having been made even if it was not done explicitly. These *mishnayot* form a group unrelated to the general content. They consist of laws which, according to R. Joshua b. Hananiah, were the work of the *soferim* (Epstein, Tannaim, 63ff.; and Tosafot Yom Tov, who disagrees). Mishnah 1:1 is a combination of two sources recorded unchanged by the editor. Both sources relate to a common dispute between the schools of Shammai and Hillel. In the Tosefta there are several independent groups of *beraitot* such as 1:4–7, similar in content to Mishnah 2:2b. Many of the *mishnayot* of this tractate remain without corresponding Tosefta. *Tevul Yom* was translated into English by H. Danby, *The Mishnah* (1933).

[Arnost Zvi Ehrman]

TEWELES, JUDAH (1808–1869), *rosh yeshivah* in Prague, a watchmaker by profession. He was a grandson of Lipmann Teweles, mintmaster of the kingdom of Bohemia. His father, David, was a scholar and Judah wrote novellae at the age of 15. After learning his trade as an apprentice to a Christian watchmaker, he was accepted after much opposition as master in the Prague watchmakers' guild. He studied Talmud under Nehemiah *Trebitsch and Samuel *Landau. Although he held no official post, every Saturday he lectured to such Prague scholars as Samson Raphael *Hirsch, Nathan *Adler, Solomon Judah *Rapoport, and Saul Isaac Kaempf, who accepted him as an authority. In 1863 he gave up the watchmakers' trade and accepted an appointment as *rosh yeshivah*. After his death, the *Afike Jehuda society was founded in his honor. Significant of the esteem in which he was held was the remark at his funeral that the Torah itself was being buried. None of his writings was printed.

[Meir Lamed]

TEWI, THEA (1915–), U.S. sculptor. Born in Berlin, Tewi received a degree from the Staatliche Kunstakademie in 1935. She and her husband Charles Kalman Schlachet fled from the Nazis to the U.S. in 1938. Between 1953 and 55, Tewi studied at the Sculpture Center, the Art Students League and, under the tutelage of Seymour Lipton, at the New School for Social Research. She began a custom-made lingerie business and by 1945 was voted the best lingerie designer in the U.S. In 1950 she returned to sculpture, and worked in various media, with an emphasis on marble. She frequently used Jewish subjects and in 1966 won the National Arts Club award for religious sculpture for a work which referred to the forms and shapes of the Hebrew alphabet. The artist's works are quietly emotive. For example, *Three Figures* (1965) is a white marble sculpture depicting three robed and hooded figures of indeterminate gender whose bodies remain fused by the stone. Simple and highly evocative, this work has an elegance and solemnity heightened by the tall black plinth which elevates the work to almost eye-level. Another marble work of 1965, *The Gordian,* suggests the eponymous knot with its depiction of form composed of convolutions and interlacings. In 1969, Tewi was awarded the first prize and medal of honor in the National Association of Women Artists Annual Exhibition. In 1975 and 1979, she won first prizes at two different exhibitions at the National Arts Club. Her *Cactus Couple* (1990), a representation of two cactus plants hewn out of green serpentine marble, is located on the roof of the Arsenal in Central Park, New York. She served as chair of the Sculpture Jury of the National Association of Women Artists (1973), and as president of the Sculptors League (1971–1991). Tewi's work has been exhibited at the Brooklyn Botanic Garden, the Museum of Modern Art, Paris, the National Academy of Design, the National Arts Club, and New York University. Examples of her work are in the collections of the Cincinnati Art Museum, Kew Gardens, New York, the National Museum of American Art, and the Snite Museum of Art, Notre Dame University, among other places.

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[Nancy Buchwald (2nd ed.)]

TEXAS, state in the southwest U.S., the second largest in area and population, with a total estimated population (2000) of 20,851,820. The state's Jewish population was approximately 131,000 (0.6% of the state total), with 22 communities having 100 or more Jewish residents. Approximately 68% of Jewish Texans lived in either the *Houston or *Dallas metropolitan areas, with the remainder in *Austin, *San Antonio, Fort Worth, *El Paso, Corpus Christi, and smaller communities.

While a handful of pioneers with Jewish ancestry passed through or lived briefly in Texas as early as the years of Spanish and Mexican rule, organized Jewish life did not appear until the 1850s, after the region had been annexed into the United States. The state's southern portion, extending as far north as San Antonio, was part of a massive 1590 land grant issued to Luis de Carvajal y de la Cueva, a Spanish adventurer several of whose family members were executed by the Mexican Inquisition as secret Jews; Carvajal himself was a devoted Catholic but was imprisoned until his death for sheltering his crypto-Jewish relatives. Still, no Carvajal settlements existed north of the Río Grande in present-day Texas, and Spanish colonization left no record of Sephardic practice there.

The first North American Jew known to have been in Texas was Captain Samuel *Noah of New York, who commanded a Mexican force against Spain at San Antonio in 1811 though he only remained in the area briefly. After Mexico, then including Texas, achieved independence from Spain in 1821, a small number of individuals (perhaps no more than 10 or 20) of Jewish background appeared in the region, though none practiced the faith openly or consistently. Adolphus Sterne opened a general store in Nacogdoches in 1826 and served as a local official to the Mexican government. Sterne formally converted to Catholicism as required by Mexican law, but was raised in a Jewish home in Germany before immigrating to America. Jacob de Cordova, a land merchant, arrived in 1839 and operated businesses in Galveston and Houston. Like Sterne, de Cordova married a Christian woman, as was common in frontier settings, and he neither practiced the Jewish faith openly nor identified himself as a Jew. The first report of self-identified Jews was in the early 1830s at Velasco, on the Gulf Coast near present-day Freeport, where Abraham Labatt, who had been active in large Jewish communities in the U.S., recognized residents Jacob Henry and Jacob Lyons as fellow Jews.

A handful of Jews from the United States fought in the Texas war for independence from Mexico and remained afterward in the new republic which, with constitutionally guaranteed religious freedom, began to attract more Jewish settlers, mostly Central European immigrants who had lived for a time in the U.S. After Texas joined the United States in 1846, the Jewish population grew still faster, and as Jews gathered in the state's largest cities they began to shape the rudiments of institutional Jewish life. In Galveston, the Dyers and Ostermans formed the core of a growing Jewish merchant class that also included Michael Seeligson, who was elected Galveston's mayor in 1853. When a Dyer child passed away in 1852, the

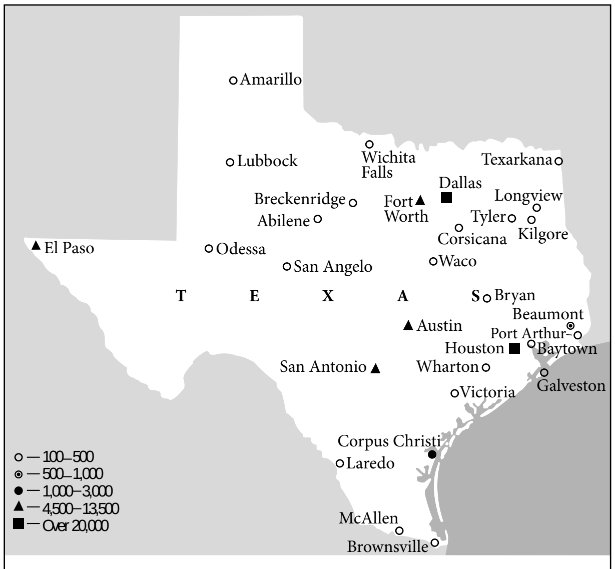

Total Jewish population of Texas	131,000
% of Jews in general population of Texas	0.6
% of Texas Jews in Jewish population of U.S.	2.13

Jewish communities in Texas. Population figures for 2001.

family established a cemetery and invited a New Orleans rabbi to perform the burial, the state's first recorded Jewish religious service. In nearby Houston, the city's first permanent Jewish residents, Lewis A. and Mary Levy, had purchased a plot of land for use as a Jewish cemetery as early as 1844; Lewis Levy later spearheaded the creation of a Hebrew Benevolent Society in 1855. In 1856, San Antonio Jews led by Henry Mayer and Louis Zork began meeting as an informal congregation, and three years later Houston's Beth Israel was formally chartered as the state's first Jewish congregation. B'nai Israel in Galveston was founded in 1868, followed by other Jewish congregations in Victoria (1872), Jefferson (1873), San Antonio (1874), Dallas (1875), Austin (1876), Waco (1879), Brenham (1885), Tyler (1887), Marshall (1887), Fort Worth (1892), and El Paso (1900). Jewish communal institutions flourished alongside the synagogues: B'nai B'rith chapters were active in every major city, and in 1898 the state's first chapter of the Council of Jewish Women was formed in Tyler. In 1908, the *Texas Jewish Herald* was established in Houston. Published today as the *Jewish Herald-Voice*, it is among the longest-running Jewish newspapers in the country.

While most of the state's first congregations observed Reform worship services, there was a strong traditional presence, and many cities also sustained Orthodox synagogues. Congregation Beth Israel in Houston was founded on the Orthodox ritual, though it later changed to Reform, and the state's larger communities also supported *talmud torahs*, *shoḥatim*, and traditional *minyan* services. The predominance of Classical Reform in part explains the anti-Zionist sentiment that prevailed in Texas until World War II, but Zionist organizations were nonetheless strong in many Texas communities, often led by European-educated rabbis and sustained by a growing influx of Eastern European immigrants. In 1905, the Texas Zionist Association was formed to coordinate Zionist efforts across the state, and in 1914 the state's first Hadassah chapter was chartered in Wharton.

As in other southern and western states, Jews were initially attracted to Texas for the enormous commercial opportunities of an expanding region. From the coastal commercial centers of Galveston and Houston, where Jews participated heavily in the cotton trade, Jewish retailers followed the state's burgeoning rail system: by the early 20th century Jews were present in at least 70 communities, many operating the town's only retail establishment. In larger cities, Jews dominated the retail industry and built many of the state's premier retailing institutions including Sanger Bros. and Neiman-Marcus. In several cases, as frontier customers paid in barter rather than cash, retail businesses led Jewish families into the state's signature industries: cattle and oil.

The Galveston Plan, directed from New York but managed locally by Galveston's beloved Rabbi Henry *Cohen, sought to divert the flow of European Jewish immigration to the Texas Gulf Coast, bypassing the overcrowded ghettos of New York, and between 1908 and 1914 some 10,000 European Jews passed through the city to destinations throughout the western states. Of these, about 2,000 settled in nearly 100 Texas communities, providing a burst of social and religious development statewide. Despite this effort, however, and despite the general southerly migration of American Jews to sunbelt states after World War II, relatively few Jews were drawn to Texas. Today, although Texas is the state with the second-highest population, it ranks tenth in Jewish residents. In part this is because the Texas economy remained heavily agrarian even after World War II, leading migrants to seek the greater mercantile opportunities and stronger Jewish communal life of California and Florida. But as the contemporary Texas economy strengthens in fields like electronics, computing, and aerospace, the Jewish population is growing rapidly, especially in high-tech centers like Austin.

Following national trends, Jewish communities in small Texas towns are disappearing as the population clusters in metropolitan areas and their suburban and exurban outgrowths, though congregations remain active in smaller cities including Abilene, Amarillo, Brownsville, Corpus Christi, El Paso, Longview, Lubbock, Odessa, and Tyler. In large cities, Jews maintain a variety of religious and social institutions which sustain virtually every political, social, and worship style. Lubavitchers are organized in Austin, Dallas, Houston, and San Antonio; Holocaust museums and research centers have been established in Dallas (1984), Houston (1996), El Paso (1992), and San Antonio (1990); Jewish newspapers serve the communities of Dallas, Houston, San Antonio, and Fort Worth; the Texas Jewish Historical Society was created in 1980, while Dallas, Houston, and San Antonio support local Jewish historical societies; and all of the major cities and several smaller ones maintain Jewish charitable federations and/or community centers. While Jews remain a much smaller proportion of the Texas population than is the case in other large states, the Lone Star State is home to Jewish life of increasing richness and complexity.

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[Bryan Edward Stone (2nd ed.)]

TEXTILES. In the biblical period garments were produced from both animal and vegetable materials. The most common garments were made of animal furs, especially of the less expensive sheepskin and goatskin, though rarer skins were also used. The pelts were processed to make them soft and hairy. Simple garments were sewn from these skins with the hairy surface worn either against the body or outward. Skins were prepared in two fashions: hard and thick for footwear, and soft, thin, and more delicate for clothing. Skins were also used for military dress and various military accessories. Beginning with the second millennium B.C.E., leather and fur were processed by specialists, who maintained facilities for this purpose. Natural silk, bought from India and Arabia, was used only in the most expensive garments, such as royal raiment. The most common, however, and almost the sole materials used for textiles were wool and linen. (The identification of *meshi* (Ezek. 16:10, 13) with silk, by Rashi, followed by all other commentators, is almost certainly a mistaken one. The first reference to silkworms is by Aristotle in his *De Animalibus Historia*, 5.) The preparation of cloth required several operations. The raw material was cleaned, and if necessary dyed (see *Dyeing). It was then used for the spinning of threads which was done on a spindle – a short, narrow rod at whose end is a circular weight which maintains the rod suspended in a vertical position and serves as a small fly wheel to turn the rod on its axis. By turning the suspended spindle with deft finger motions, the fibers were inwoven into threads of uniform thickness. The threads thus produced were bound about the spindle stick as on a bobbin (H. Gressman, *Altorientalische Bilder zum AltenTestament* (1926^2)). Spinning was done by old people or women at home in their spare time (cf. Prov. 41:19). Some excavations have revealed perforated weights, generally made of stone.

The next process in the production of clothing was the weaving of the woolen or flaxen threads into cloth. For this purpose there were vertical or horizontal looms, and for larger cloths, the mobile looms were attached to the ground. The base for the woven cloth consisted of the warp strands that stretched through the length of the cloth. On a vertical loom the warp strands were closely spaced over the two horizontal bars of the fame. Larger vertical looms used only one horizontal bar, with perforated clay or stone weights attached to the other end of the warp strands. On horizontal looms, the tension in the warp was maintained by two bars held in place on the ground or on a table. The woof strands were passed alternately above and below the warp threads. More complex patterns were produced by picking up several warp strands at a time or by multidirectional weaving. The most advanced looms permitted more complex methods such as separating warp groups by attaching them to several upper or lower bars whose positions could be exchanged. The woof thread was bound about a beam, which served as a bobbin that was passed back and forth over the warp all the while unwinding the thread. To make the cloth more opaque, a rough comb was passed along the taut warp strands, to make the woof adhere more thoroughly. The proximity of the threads determined the strength of the cloth, while the thickness determined its coarse or delicate structure. Much use was made of colored threads which could be woven into particular patterns. Clothing was sewn by hand with metal or bone needles, also used for coloring embroidery on the fabric, which was an integral part of its decoration. Clothing was fastened with laces tied to one another by means of special pins. The use of buttons was very rare.

In the Talmud

During the talmudic period wool and linen continued to be the main sources for textiles. Whereas, however, wool was more plentiful in Ereẓ Israel, linen was so abundant and cheap in Babylon that its cheapness was regarded as one of the main material attractions of the country (Ta'an. 29b). To such an extent did the economy depend upon it that public prayers were offered when its value dropped by 40% (BB 91a). There were special districts where flax was soaked and where it was sold (Git. 27a). The difference between Ereẓ Israel and Babylon with regard to those two materials is reflected in the statement that whereas in Babylon colored woolen garments were regarded as the most expensive, in Ereẓ Israel white linen was so regarded (Pes. 109a). During this period a considerable number of new materials appear. However, it is interesting that two passages in which these new materials are mentioned are explicitly connected with this extension.

Mishnah *Kilayim* 9:1 states that "Wool and linen alone are forbidden under the law of *mixed species," and the subsequent *mishnayot* deal with the new textiles common at the time. They are camel hair (cf. Matt. 3:4), hemp (9:1), silk and floss silk (9:2), and a textile made of a mixture of hemp and linen. Garments made of hemp were usually imported (9:7). In Babylonia hemp was even cheaper than linen (Ket. 8b). Similarly, on the law enjoining that the *ẓiẓit* must be attached to one's "garments" (Num. 15:38), the Talmud, acknowledging that the word in the Bible applies only to wool, continues "Whence then can I include camel hair, rabbit hair, goat hair, floss silk [*kallakh*], raw silk [*Sirikon* = Lat. *Sericom*], fine silk (*Shira'in* – Men. 39b; cf. also Sifra, *Tazri'a*, Perek 16)." *Kallakh* occurs in Mishnah *Shabbat* 2:1 as one of the materials forbidden for use as wicks for the Sabbath lamp. The Babylonian *amoraim*, uncertain of its identification, in their discussion mention a number of varieties of silk used in Babylon such as "*metuksa*" (Gr. μέτυξα) and *peranda* silk (Late Gr. πράνδιοι). In addition cotton was extensively used. It should be noted, however, that the talmudic word *kutnah*, or *kitnah*, is not cotton, but linen. The Arabic form of the word *qutn* was adapted by traders for the Arab cottons which they introduced into Europe. The talmudic name for cotton is *ẓemer gefen* ("vine wool"; Kil. 7:2, TJ, Ket. 2:4, 27d).

Home weaving was so essential an aspect of the domestic menage, at least in mishnaic times, that it is stated that even a wealthy woman "even if she brought a hundred maidservants" into the house, should still be obliged to engage in wool-spinning, "since idleness leads to lewdness" (Ket. 5:5); nevertheless, there is ample evidence of the existence of textiles, and specifically woolen goods, manufactured on a commercial scale. "Ben Zoma said, 'how many labors did Adam have to perform before he obtained a garment to wear! He had to shear, wash, comb, spin, and weave (the wool) before he had a garment to wear, whereas I get up early and find all that done for me. All kinds of people come betimes to my house, and … I find all these ready'" (Ber. 58a).

[Louis Isaac Rabinowitz]

Medieval Period

The prominence of Jews in the manufacture of textiles in the Mediterranean Basin in the Middle Ages was connected with the widespread commerce in textiles, particularly silk and the more expensive fabrics, in general, and with Jewish commercial activity in this sphere in particular. Cheaper types of cloth were also an important article of trade; thus, in the sources of the period, wherever a Jewish merchant is mentioned plying his trade he was most commonly dealing in textiles. In medieval Egypt the silk trade "fulfilled a function similar to that of stocks and bonds in our own society. In other words, it represented a healthy range of speculation, while providing at the same time a high degree of security" (S.D. Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society* (1967), 223).

In Muslim Spain, where many Jews engaged in the silk industry, there "were two brothers, merchants, the manufacturers of silk, Jacob *Ibn Jau and … Joseph … they became successful in the silk business, making clothing of high quality and pennants that are placed at the tops of standards of such high quality as was not duplicated in all of Spain" (Ibn Daud, Tradition, 68–69). To King Roger of Sicily was attributed the introduction of the silk industry into his lands by means of captured Jewish craftsmen from the Balkans (1147). *Benjamin of Tudela describes the Jews of Thebes as "the good craftsmen in making silk and purple clothes in the land of the Greeks"; at *Salonika he also noted that "they deal in the craft of silk," while among the Jews of *Constantinople he found "craftsmen in silk" (ed. Adler (London, 1907), 12–16). The occupation of *dyeing, then widespread among Jews and often mentioned by him, was connected with textiles. In Spain woolen cloth, produced from the famed local merino sheep, was produced by Jewish weavers, particularly in *Majorca and the eastern cities of *Barcelona, *Valencia, and *Saragossa. The weaver's guild in *Calatayud had its own synagogue. *Moneylending in Western and Central Europe brought Jews into contact with valuable textiles given in pawn which they had to maintain in good state, and also often to sell.

In the Ottoman Empire

Many of the exiles from Spain and Portugal (1492, 1497) continued their former occupations in the textile trade or crafts in their new places of settlement in the Ottoman Empire, or turned to them when they arrived in the Balkans and came into contact with the old tradition of Jewish occupation in this field. Salonika had been established as a center of the textile industry before the arrival of the refugees, many of whom joined in manufacture of the produce of the Balkan hinterland. Thus in the 16th century thousands of Jews engaged there in all stages of the production of cloth (known as "*abba*"). A textile workshop could be found in almost every Jewish home, where the head of the household worked with his wife and children. Jews also distributed and sold the local cloth. Textile workshops were bequeathed to synagogues and charitable institutions. At Ḥanukkah it was customary to donate pieces of cloth to poor yeshivah students. The scope and problems of the industry and trade in textiles in Salonika is shown in the many communal regulations and rabbinical injunctions issued against price slashing, the sale of wool to foreigners, and the purchase of raw wool with cash (which only the wealthy could afford to do). Locally made garments only could be put up for sale, and every Jew over 20 years old had to wear clothes locally produced. From 1586 the tax on Salonika Jewry levied by the Ottoman authorities was payable by a quota of cloth (1,200 standard pieces of cloth), which was presented to the janissaries.

The most flourishing period for the Jewish textile industry in Salonika was between 1500 and 1580, but afterward it gradually declined. A financial crisis in 1584, and others that succeeded it, forced many Jewish artisans to leave for other textile centers (Verria, *Rhodes, Smyrna). The Ottoman authorities afforded the industry no protection against the superior, foreign-made, European textiles, which swamped the market. Hence the Salonika Jews began to specialize in carpets and other local wares.

At the peak period of activity in the Safed textile center in Ereẓ Israel (1530–60), the majority of earners among the approximately 15,000 Jews there were employed in the manufacture of high-quality woolen cloth, produced from raw, short-fibered wool sent from the Balkans to Safed via *Sidon. All stages of production were carried out in Safed; the fulling mills (known as *batan*) utilized the many local springs; one is still standing. Tales of the leading Safed mystics show that many owned such textile mills. Both the trade and the community itself began to decline rapidly after 1560, for the same reasons as had operated against Salonika and because of transport hazards at sea.

Eastern Europe

Their occupation in *arenda* and their predominant role in the grain and forest produce export trade in Poland-Lithuania, enabled Jews to take an important part in the import trade of textiles there. From the 16th century Jews traded extensively in textiles on every level of the trade and in all types and qualities of cloth. Though never occupied directly in weaving or spinning, Jews were predominant in the trade in raw wool, yarn, and textiles of all types. Three Jewish weavers are mentioned in Plotsk in the 16th century. In *Mezhirech the Christian weavers attacked some Jewish rivals in 1636. The Poznan community declared the trade in raw wool produced in the region to be a *ḥazakah*, and appointed a special wool *parnas* in the 17th century to prevent foreign merchants from buying it up. In the Poznan region Jewish merchants would advance money, or farm out herds of sheep, in order to obtain the raw wool, which they gave out to local Christian craftsmen to make up into cloth for them. This expertise in capitalist entrepreneurship was in modern times transposed by many Jews of this region to Germany after the partitions of Poland-Lithuania at the end of the 18th century. Jewish *peddlers, in particular in the *Pale of Settlement and parts of Austria-Hungary, bought up raw materials in the villages, and supplied them to large-scale Jewish traders, and also sold fabrics and clothes in the villages.

Under Russian rule in modern times Jews were active on various levels in the development of the Polish textile industry, and in its celebrated center at *Lodz. In 1842, 39 of 82 Jews engaged in commerce in Lodz were suppliers of wool or yarn to artisans. In the early 1840s Jewish wool and yarn merchants and cotton importers began founding firms of their own. In 1864 there were more than 50 independent Jewish manufacturers in Lodz. The early 1860s witnessed a growing increase in Jewish investment and industrial ventures in textiles, with Jews leading in technological innovations and business organization methods at Lodz as well as at *Bialystok. In 1867 about 11% of the factory owners in Lodz were Jewish, but these accounted for only 8.5% of the total production. However, entrepreneurs such as Israel Poznanski, Bielchowsky, Joshua Birnbaum, and others forged ahead to become the leading Lodz textile manufacturers. Jewish participation in the textile industry there reached its peak before World War I, when 45.6% of all Lodz textile factories were owned by Jews and almost 27,000 Jewish workers were engaged in various branches of the industry and trade. Of these, one-third were still using manual looms, living in indescribable poverty in the Balut suburb of Lodz. Very few were employed in factories and virtually none in specialized technical work.

In independent Poland between the two world wars, Jewish participation in the Lodz and Bialystok textile industry was hard hit by the anti-Jewish discriminatory policies of the state. Some, however, like Oscar Cohn, managed to develop their factories with foreign capital. By 1931 textile enterprises in Jewish ownership were mainly on a smaller scale, and Jews were employed in the industry in clerical posts rather than as workers. In 1931, 16% of those employed in the textile industry in Poland were Jews, and 71.4% of the independent employers.

Central Europe

Jewish traders, generally from Poland-Lithuania, played a considerable role both as buyers and sellers of fabrics and clothes on *market days and at the fairs in Central Europe. At *Vienna, the entrepôt of all types of textile goods, Jewish merchants from the wool-producing provinces, Hungary, and Galicia, traded there with Jews from the textile-manufacturing areas of *Bohemia and Moravia, while the imperial army, and the city itself, took a large part of the products. Among the Viennese privileged manufacturers were Hermann *Todesco, who developed the silk industry there (further developed by S. Trebitsch and sons), and Michael L. *Biedermann, by whose single-handed efforts Vienna displaced Budapest as center of the wool trade in the Hapsburg Empire. Another privileged merchant manufacturer who was ennobled was M. *Koenigswarter. In 1846, 33 of 133 textile printing firms in Vienna were Jewish-owned, 11 of 72 cotton producers were Jews, as were also 27 of 53 textile commission agents, primarily for the Balkans and the Orient. In 1855 there were 89 Jewish-owned printing and weaving enterprises, about 5% of the total. After the official abolition of all restrictions on Jewish trade (1859; 1867) the participation of Jews in the Viennese textile trade became virtually a monopoly; even after World War I, when each of the Hapsburg successor states developed and protected its own textile industries.

In Hungary

The Hungarian wool trade was conducted almost entirely by Jews, who were thus in a position to establish textile industries. Adolf and Heinrich Kohner, originally Moravian feather merchants, established Hungary's first modern wool textile factories. Other notable textile manufacturers were Robert Szurday (originally Weiss, ennobled in 1899), Leo Buday (originally Goldberger), and Samuel Goldberger (ennobled in 1867).

Bohemia and Moravia

These areas, the most industrialized in the Hapsburg Empire, also produced most of its textiles, and Jews played a prominent role in this industry. From the 17th century Jews had been almost the sole dealers in raw wool, from the peasants together with furs, hides, livestock, and other agricultural produce. The peddler, who maintained immediate contact with the peasant, sold his wares to a Jewish merchant who had the wool washed and bleached, spun by peasants, and woven by artisans, and then sold it at the fairs. One of the earliest cloth manufacturers was Feith Ehrenstamm of Prossnitz (*Prostejov), who supplied the imperial army with large quantities during the Napoleonic wars by organizing the production of hundreds of local weavers.

In *Brno three of the first seven modern steam weaving factories were established by Jews, who had previously been supplying weavers with wool. Among the larger firms was that of L. *Auspitz, inherited and expanded by Phillipp *Gomperz, as well as the *Loew-Baer factories, and those of the Popper brothers and Salomon Strakosch. The textile industry also followed the same pattern in Reichenberg (*Liberec) where the earliest suppliers of wool there were the sons of Jacob *Bassevi of Treuenberg in the 17th century. Jews not only supplied the raw material but sold off the finished goods, primarily in Prague, where almost all the textile merchants were Jews (459 compared with 39 gentiles in 1772). Some of them established factories for cloth printing and other end processes, among them Moses and Leopold Porges, Salomon Brandeis, Simon *Laemel, and many members of leading Prague Jewish families. In Czechoslovakia after World War I Jewish activity in textiles continued and developed. The nationalization of the jute industry after 1918 was organized by Emanuel Weissenstein and Richard Morawitz, who remained president of the "Juta" concern until 1939. In Trutnov, the center of the flax industry, Alexander Videky was chairman of the flax exchange for many years.

Germany

The mercantilist policies of 18th-century Prussia encouraged *Court Jews and other Jewish financiers and purveyors to become entrepreneurs of various branches of the textile industry there. Levi Ulff brought Dutch artisans to Brandenburg in 1714 and founded a ribbon factory, which was soon commissioned to supply all the royal regiments. The elders of the Berlin Jewish community proposed setting up woolen cloth factories in Pomerania at their own cost (and to import 3,000 workers), in return for freeing the Jewish community from a newly imposed silver tax, but their proposal was rejected. Many Jews initiated new factories, some in new branches of textiles, such as Pinthus Levi of Rathenow, a horse and grain purveyor, who set up a canvas factory in 1763, which employed more than 1,000 workers. Isaac Bernhard, who imported silk from Italy, received state support in establishing a factory which soon employed 120 looms (his trusted bookkeeper was Moses *Mendelssohn, whose residence in Berlin depended on his employment). David *Friedlaender was a large-scale silk manufacturer. After the first partition of Poland (1772) Benjamin Veitel *Ephraim utilized the semi-professional local labor of Jewish women and girls in the Netze district, where Jews formed 6% of the total and one-quarter of the urban population. He established schools for teaching pillow-lace manufacture, and by 1785 was employing about 700 Jewish women and girls.

At *Stuttgart, center of the south German textile industry, there were in 1930 about 170 Jewish manufacturers and the same number of merchants; mainly in processing semi-raw products, semi-finished goods, and finishing, and particularly in the manufacture and trade in tricots and knitwear. Jews were also active in the nearby textile centers of Untertuerkheim, Bocholt, Westphalia, and Landeshut, Silesia, where the linen-manufacturing firm of H. Gruenfeld was well known. Jews participated in the trade and import of wool and in the finishing stages of the industry. Generally, Jewish entrepreneurs tended to concentrate in specific sectors, such as the manufacture of jute sacks, and drapery – lace ribbons, suspenders, garters, neckties, etc. – knitwear, and carpets. Between the two world wars the most important Jewish textile merchant in Germany was James *Simon, multi-millionaire philanthropist. A distinguishing feature of the Jewish participation in the German textile trade was its close connection with Great Britain, from which goods were imported, methods followed, and designs imitated, by means of agents and relatives. Jewish participation in the trade in finished textile goods (about 40%) was twice as high as their participation in the industrial sector of the textile industry.

Great Britain

Jews had mainly entered the textile industry and trade in Great Britain after the industrial revolution. One of the first was Nathan M. *Rothschild who established himself as a cotton-goods manufacturer (especially of uniforms) in Manchester in 1797. He was followed by many Jewish buyers from Jewish and non-Jewish firms from Germany and the continent, many of whom became independent exporters of cotton goods. At Bradford, Jacob Behrens became important after 1838, and several other German Jews were active there, as well as in other textile centers. In Scotland, they were prominent in the local jute industry in the last quarter of the 19th century, Sir Otto *Jaffe (see also *Tailoring) was a leading figure in Northern Ireland.

United States

In the United States few Jews entered the textile industry, an outstanding exception being the *Cone family of Carolina. However, Jews became prominent in raw cotton and wool brokerage, as well as in the wholesale and retail trade in fabrics. None of the large producers of synthetic fibers was Jewish-owned.

[Henry Wasserman]

In Israel

In the late 1960s the textile industry became one of the largest industrial branches in Israel, second only to the foodstuff industry. The output in 1969 was 10% of the total industrial output, amounting to IL 925,000,000. At the same time textile products constituted about 12% of industrial exports, totaling $66,000,000, the second largest export branch after diamonds.

By 1937 there were already 86 spinning and weaving plants in Ereẓ Israel, with about 1,500 employees. The necessary capital and technical knowledge were brought by Jewish professionals from Europe, an example of such enterprise being the Ata plant near Haifa. The development of the textile industry received considerable impetus in World War II which cut off the European supply, stimulating local manufacture for army needs. In 1943 the number of factories had grown to 250, employing about 5,630 workers; invested capital had grown fourfold and the output value tenfold.

After the establishment of the State of Israel, during the government's drive to step up industry, the textile industry expanded, and special emphasis was put on its establishment in development areas. By 1965, 25% of the textile workers were employed in the three large cities – Jerusalem, Tel Aviv, Haifa – while the rest were concentrated in new industrial areas, in particular in the development areas of Lachish, Ashkelon, and in the Negev and Galilee. The new plants were equipped with the latest machinery, including improved automatic weaving looms, which gave employment to hundreds of workers. While the older plants located in the central part of Israel employed about ten workers each, plants in the development areas employed an average of 50 workers each. There was a rapid growth in production, which before 1955 was mainly concerned with finishing processes. The products were then processed from the raw cotton stage. Apart from increase in quantity of production, there was an improvement in design and techniques. Export of textiles was expanded, and in 1971 exports had increased to one-fifth of the industry's output. In 1965 there were 1,007 textile factories employing 26,300 workers, including 100 plants employing more than 50 workers each. In 1970 there were 300,000 cotton-spinning machines and 50,000 wool-spinning machines, compared with 55,000 cotton-spinning machines before the outbreak of World War II. The number of mechanical looms grew from 2,000 before 1948 to 6,000 in 1970, more than half of them automatic and up-to-date.

The expansion of Israel's textile industry was also a result of the development of cotton growing in Israel as a profitable agricultural branch. Following successful experiments in 1953, the cotton-planted areas were expanded from 300 dunams in 1953 to 290,000 dunams on irrigated land and 32,000 dunams on unirrigated land, a total of approximately 330,000 dunams. The output of cotton fiber grew from 95 kg. per dunam in 1955 to 130 kg. per dunam in 1969. The total output of cotton grew from 2,000 tons in 1955 to 39,200 tons in 1969, when 21,000 tons of cotton were exported and about 18,000 tons were sold to the local industry. The carding machines were set up in various places in the cotton-growing areas. About 400 tons of wool were produced in 1969 by local sheep, but of this only 100 tons were sold to the local textile industry. The majority of the raw material for Israel's wool industry is therefore imported. Other raw materials for the textile industry are also imported.

[Zeev Barkai]

In the 1990s Israel's textile industry faced a crisis as cheap East Asian labor made it uncompetitive. At that time around 400 Israeli Arab sewing shops handled the brunt of the subcontracting work. These began to close down. The turnaround came when Israeli firms began doing their sewing work in Jordan and Egypt. The giant Delta company led the way, followed by Polgat, Argeman, Kitan, and others. In the early 2000s Israeli companies had 30 plants in Jordan employing 6,000 workers while employment in the industry in Israel dropped from a peak of 45,000 to 38,000. Israel's growing exports reached $370 million a year as it continued to supply such retailers and designers as Marks & Spencer, The Gap, Victoria's Secret, Wal-Mart, Sears, Ralph Lauren, Calvin Klein, and Donna Karan.

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THAILAND (**Prathet Thai**), kingdom in S.E. Asia, formerly known as Siam. Jewish merchants occasionally visited the court of Siam. In 1683 the London Jew Abraham *Navarro, sent by the East India Company as interpreter to China, spent several months in Siam. During his travels in the Far East in 1920–21, Israel Cohen tells of meeting a Russo-Jewish diamond merchant from Antwerp on his way there, and of a Jewish musician who had performed before the king. The Siamese foreign minister wrote in 1921 expressing his government's accord with the establishment of a national home for the Jewish people. In the 1920s a few refugees from Soviet Russia arrived from Harbin and settled in the capital Bangkok. The size of the community was temporarily increased after 1933 by some 120 refugees from Nazi persecution, most of whom left after World War II. Communal activities were organized by P.B. Jacobsohn, who became Israel's honorary consul-general in 1953. An Israel embassy was opened in 1958, and friendly relations between Thailand and Israel were expressed through technical and economic cooperation. In 1964 a Jewish Association was incorporated, and in 1966 a Jewish community center with a synagogue was established. A number of Torah scrolls were presented to the community by the *Singapore Jewish Welfare Board in 1960. Sabbath eve services were conducted by a U.S. Army chaplain, who cared for the community's religious needs. There is no Jewish cemetery, and burials are conducted in a corner of the Protestant graveyard. In 1969 the permanent Jewish community of Thailand consisted of some six families in a total population of 31 million, with another 250 temporary residents. In the early 21st century a total of 250 Jews lived in Thailand, comprising Sephardim from Syria and Lebanon and Ashkenazim from Europe, the United States, and Shanghai. The Jewish Association of Thailand was housed in a three-story building in the residential area of Bangkok. It incorporated the Ashkenazi synagogue and the rabbi's home. There were also Sephardi and Chabad synagogues.

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[Shaul Ramati]

THALBERG, IRVING GRANT (1899–1936), U.S. film producer and executive. Born in New York, Thalberg joined Universal Pictures soon after leaving high school and was the studio's general manager at 24, when he produced *The Hunchback of Notre Dame* (1923). A year later he was Louis B. Mayer's right-hand man, and soon after the Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer merger in 1924 he became the company's production chief. He produced *Ben-Hur* in 1926.

Thalberg guided MGM in its transition from the silent screen to sound, breaking box-office records with the pioneering musical *Broadway Melody* (1929). He was responsible for some of the most celebrated films of his time, such as *Greed* (1924); *The Big Parade* (1925); *Mata Hari* (1931); *Grand Hotel* (1932); *Strange Interlude* (1932); *Bombshell* (1933); *The Barretts of Wimpole Street* (1934); *The Merry Widow* (1934); *China Seas* (1935); *Mutiny on the Bounty* (1935); *San Francisco* (1936); *Camille* (1936); *Romeo and Juliet* (Oscar nomination for Best Picture, 1936); several *Marx Brothers comedies; and the much-acclaimed *The Good Earth* (Oscar nomination for Best Picture, 1937). He brought many performers to fame, among them John Gilbert, Greta Garbo, Clark Gable, Joan Crawford, and Norma Shearer, whom he married in 1927 on her conversion to Judaism. (She returned to Christianity in 1942.)

Thalberg was one of the 36 founders of the Academy of Motion Picture Arts and Sciences, established in 1927. Others were Douglas Fairbanks, Mary Pickford, Harold Lloyd, Cecil B. DeMille, Louis B. Mayer, and the Warner brothers, Harry and Jack.

Thalberg's final project for MGM was *Marie Antoinette* (1938), which was in the early stages of production at the time of his death. The title role went to Shearer, who took a keen interest in the film and considered it an ode to her husband. Dubbed "the boy wonder" early in his career, Thalberg died of pneumonia at age 37.

Although he produced almost 90 films, Thalberg did not permit his name to appear in any of the film credits, believing that "credit you give yourself is not worth having."

After his death, credit was awarded him in the form of the prestigious Irving G. Thalberg Memorial Award. Created by the Academy of Motion Pictures Arts and Sciences, the annual award is presented to acknowledge "creative producers, whose bodies of work reflect a consistently high quality of motion picture production."

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[G. Eric Hauck / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

THALBERG, SIGISMUND (1812–1871), pianist. Thalberg was born in Geneva to Joseph Thalberg and Fortunee Stein of Frankfurt. He himself always claimed to be the illegitimate son of Count Moritz Dietrichstein and Baroness von *Wetzlar (of the ennobled Jewish Viennese family), but the claim is disproved by the birth certificate. At the age of ten he was taken to Vienna by Count Dietrichstein and there studied composition with Sechter and piano with Hummel. He later studied with Pixis and Kalkbrenner in Paris. Between 1830 and 1836 he undertook his first concert tours in Germany, France, and England and became one of the foremost virtuoso pianists of his time; several serious critics even put him above Liszt. He evolved a fingering technique for the brilliant piano pieces composed in the fashion of the period (his own, Liszt's, and others) which separated the melody, bass line, and accompanying voices and arpeggios in a way that gave the impression of a three-handed playing. For this purpose he also elaborated the technique of notating such pieces on three staves.

Thalberg composed two operas, a string trio, a duo for violin and piano, piano duets, songs, and over 80 piano pieces, many of them fantasies, variations, and arrangements based on operatic melodies. They are mostly of the salon-piece genre, and Thalberg himself exemplified the 19th-century figure of the "pianistic lion."

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[Bathja Bayer]

°**THALLUS** (Gr. θαλλος), a first century C.E. author (probably heathen) of a lost Greek universal chronicle in three books of which eight fragments survive. Thallus' main theme was Hellenic rather than biblical history. Freudenthal suggested that Thallus was a Samaritan, because his Euhemeristic tendencies resembled those of the Samaritan Pseudo-*Eupolemus and because according to an emended text on Thallus, a Samaritan imperial freedman is said by Josephus to have loaned a million drachmae to King Agrippa I (Ant., 18:167). There is no reason to assume, however, that Euhemeristic tendencies as such indicate Samaritan origin, while the reading "Thallus" in Josephus is an uncertain emendation. The fact that Thallus recorded the eclipse of the year 29 – the year of Crucifixion – does not prove a link with the Christians. It is even probable that Thallus did not mention Moses in his history, though he may have known him from the Oriental chronicles.

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[Ben Zion Wacholder]

THANKSGIVING PSALMS, common designation for one of the *Dead Sea Scrolls. It was bought in Jerusalem in 1947 by Eleazar Lipa *Sukenik who, from the contents, designated the scroll *Hodayot* (Heb. הוֹדָיוֹת). Scientifically its registration is 1QH (Cave 1, Qumran, *Hodayot*). It is now in the Shrine of the Book, Jerusalem.

The Scroll

The leather scroll was in two separate parts. One consisted of three sheets, each with four ink-written columns, the other of approximately 70 fragments, of which 5 formed one sheet with 5 columns, while 3 were the main part of one column. When published in 1955 the text appeared in 18 more or less complete columns and 66 fragments. The length of the scroll is uncertain as is the original sequence of the columns. There are several holes in the leather, and the top and bottom of the columns have disintegrated. This sometimes leads to uncertainty about the length of the individual poems of which the text consists, because the end and beginning of poems may have been located in the weathered away parts. Often it is possible with reasonable certainty to reconstruct the missing text, especially by means of fragments from a second manuscript from Cave 4. The scroll was written by at least two scribes working more or less accurately. The change is distinct in col. 11:22. In several cases the text was corrected first by the scribes or by later correctors. The script is Hebrew square characters, except that *El* (God) sometimes is in the old cursive script. Paleographically the scroll is considered to date from the 1st century B.C.E.

Contents

Because of the Scroll's fragmentary character it is impossible to tell the number of poems it contains. In columns 1–18 something like 30–35 poems may be represented varying in length from 8 to 50–60 lines. There are no headings, the division being marked only by a blank space. The majority of the poems begin with the introductory formula: "I thank Thee, O Lord" (or: "my God"), the rest: "Blessed be Thou, O Lord." In col. 5:20 the words: "I thank Thee" have been corrected to "Blessed be Thou." To judge from the contents, the two formulas do not signify different psalm groups. The substance is thanks to God for the salvation He has bestowed upon mankind, which is perceived as totally distinct from God. Radically man is described as sinful by nature; he is formed of clay and kneaded with water (1:21; 3:21), and returns to dust (10:4, 12:36); he is carnal (15:21; 18:23), born of a woman (13:14). The concept of sin does not concern only the external side but comprises man's whole existence, even spirit and heart being perverted (3:21; 7:27). Man cannot justify himself (1:25), and has no right before God (7:28; 9:14ff.). Natural man cannot comprehend God nor proclaim His glory (12:30), his heart and ears being dust and uncircumcised (18:4, 20, 24). Man's destiny is entirely governed by God (15:13, 22), and he can do nothing apart from the will of God (10:5ff.). As distinct from man, God is the almighty creator (1:13f.; 15:13f.). From His foreknowledge and foreordination He has established the activities of creation (1:7), and appointed the destiny of man (15:13f.), even man's thoughts (9:12, 30). His wisdom is unlimited (9:17), though incomprehensible for natural man (10:2). Man's only possibility lies in the revelation of God. Those to whom God from His preordination has revealed Himself are able to get insight into God's mysteries (12:20), to sanctify themselves to God (11:10f.), and to praise His name (11:25). They are not identical with the people of Israel – "Israel" does not occur in the preserved text – but are the remnant who accept the revelation, not by their own will but by God's predestination (6:8); they have been cleansed of their guilt by God (3:21). Mankind is thus divided into two groups: the elected who belong to God and for whom there is hope (2:13; 6:6), and the ungodly who are far from God (14:21) and allies of Belial (2:22); with all their might they war against the righteous (5:7, 9, 25). Naturally salvation is only meant for the chosen, and it is significant that it is talked of as a salvation which has already taken place (2:20, 5:18). This concept of man's situation originates in the existence of the religious community in Qumran, and this becomes especially evident in comparing the poems with other Qumran writings, first of all the *Manual of Discipline with which the psalms have dogmatically close similarities. Acceptance into this community is in itself salvation (7:19f.; 18:24, 28). No wonder, therefore, that there is no clear distinction between this and the eschatological salvation. The idea of the resurrection of the righteous is found (6:34), but does not play a great part. Eschatologically the main subject is not the salvation of the righteous but the final destruction of the ungodly. Neither is any stress laid upon messianic expectations. The phraseology of col. 3:13–18 is greatly influenced by late Jewish messianic expectations, and is often believed to describe the coming into the world of the Messiah. But even here there is no description of any messianic activities, and the main point is the usual description of the ruins of ungodliness.

Relations to the Bible

The dependence upon biblical literature, which is significant for the Qumran literature, is especially valid for the *Thanksgiving Psalms*. They have sometimes been indicated as a mere mosaic of biblical quotations; this is a misinterpretation. Direct references to biblical texts and authors, as in the New Testament, are never found, and only col. 2:29 f. can be called a proper quotation (Ps. 26:12). In some cases the wording is so general and frequently found that it is hardly due to literary dependence, but rather to usage of traditional religious language. But apart from this the poems often allude to and rely on biblical passages. Sometimes expressions of similar meaning or wording from scattered places in the Bible are combined into a meaningful piece of writing. This is no dull imitation, but indicates to how great an extent the community in Qumran felt itself tied to biblical tradition. The Bible was read and interpreted from the community's own existence; those enlightened by the revelation of God would understand that the holy writings originally referred to the community and its history. But this point of view should not be misinterpreted; it has often been assumed that from the wording of the texts one could extract an explicit account of the history of the community and its founder and leaders. Col. 4:8 f., e.g., reads "But they have expelled me from my country like a bird from its nest, and all my friends and relatives have been driven from me, and they esteem me as a broken vessel"; this has commonly been taken to refer to the author's fleeing from Jerusalem under the persecution of the priesthood. The source in this case is evidently Psalms 31:12 f., but similar expressions occur elsewhere in biblical Psalms as traditional material for portrayals of misery. One must avoid reading into the texts. Poetical literature should not be treated like historical or juridical literature; it follows its own regulations, and must allow for biblical phraseology being used to a wide extent as images and symbols. Naturally the poems first of all borrow from the biblical Psalms. Next come the prophetic writings, and especially Isaiah, whereas the Torah is used proportionally rarely. From a stylistic point of view the poems are dependent upon the biblical Psalms with their different motives of complaint, thanksgiving, confidence, repentance, and prayer, but there is a marked loosening of the classical composition, as is also the case in other late Jewish psalm literature, e.g., Psalms of *Solomon. The term "Thanksgiving Psalms" should not be confused with the biblical thanksgiving psalms, which belong in a specific situation and follow fixed stylistic rules. Most of the Qumran psalms may well be termed thanksgivings, or, even better, hymns, but they are strongly influenced by motives of misery, complaint, and prayer as a result of the dualistic attitude to life in the community.

Use of the Psalms

While it is nowadays commonly accepted that the biblical Psalms were originally created for cultic purposes in the Temple, it is mostly assumed that the late Jewish Psalm literature, including the *Thanksgiving Psalms*, had no such function, but was "private" poetry expressing personal misery or happiness, or else was meant for spiritual and didactic edification. This, however, is no necessary alternative; the biblical Psalms were in later times used for edification and instruction along with their use in the Temple service. One has to reckon on the possibility of the Qumran psalms, or at least some of them, being used in the divine services in Qumran. This is especially valid for the poems in cols. 14, 16, and 17, which seem to refer to the community's internal life in an almost "technical" way. They may have been used as liturgies in the annual feast for renewal of the covenant, at which also new members were initiated into the community, which is expressly stated in cols. 1–2 in the *Manual of Discipline*. It is significant that the dependence upon biblical literature is much less marked in these liturgies.

Literary Origin

Neither in the poems themselves, nor in the other Dead Sea Scriptures, is any direct or indirect information given as to the authorship of the psalms or of the time and place of their composition, and one therefore has to judge from the contents. Mostly the whole collection has been considered to be an original literary unit with a single author, whose identity was to be sought in the "I" constantly occurring as the subject, and whose history of misery and suffering was told in the poems (e.g., 2:10 f., 4:8 ff., 6:19 ff). Frequently this person has been identified with the *Teacher of Righteousness, or, possibly, some other leading personality within the community. There are, admittedly, passages in which "I" is talked of in such personal modes of expression in relation to the community (e.g., 4:23 f.; 7:20 f.; 8:21 ff.), that it is reasonable to interpret them in terms of some leading individual. But even in these cases there is no clear indication of such a person being identical with the Teacher of Righteousness. And generally "I" occurs in such a way that it hardly can represent any single historic person, but is to be understood collectively in terms of the community and its individual members. Again in this respect the *Thanksgiving Psalms* belong to a tradition which goes back to the biblical Psalms, in which the "I" is not to be understood as referring to an individual author but to those who at any time take the psalm into their mouth. Nothing indicates that "I" in these late psalms should not be understood in the same way.

It cannot even be proved either that all the psalms originate from the same author, or that they date from the same time and place. Study of these poems shows that their apparent uniformity is not substantial. They express the same doctrines, but in style, phraseology, and vocabulary, as well as in their relation to biblical literature there are so many variations that it is reasonable to assume different authors. The majority of the psalms seem to presuppose the existence of the community; but some of them are so general in their expressions that they could well date from a time when the pious individuals had not yet segregated themselves as a separate religious group in Qumran. The only certainty is that this manuscript dates from the first century B.C.E. But the existence of another manuscript in Cave 4 may indicate that this may not be an original, but copies of earlier manuscripts.

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[Svend Holm-Nielsen]

°THARAUD, JÉRÔME (1874–1953) and **JEAN** (1877–1952), French novelists and essayists. The two are generally spoken of together because they wrote all their books jointly under the name J.-J. Tharaud.

An early Tharaud work on a Jewish theme was *Bar-Cochebas* (1907), but it was not for another decade that they embarked on the series of books that were designed to explain Judaism and traditional Jewish life to the average Frenchman.

From their studies of Jewish life in Central Europe, the Tharauds were inspired to describe, within the framework of loosely constructed novels, the picturesqueness of the ghetto, and the role of the synagogue and the yeshivah. The novels include *L'Ombre de la croix* (1917); *Un royaume de Dieu* (1920), an admiring account of East European Jewry's high ethical and cultural standards; *Quand Israël est roi* (1921); and *La Rose de Sâron* (1927). In *L'An Prochain à Jérusalem* (1924), an enthusiastic survey of Zionism's spiritual and messianic roots, the Tharaud brothers derided those Western Jews who were happy to dispatch their brethren to a Promised Land with which they themselves felt only nominal links. Another work of nonfiction was their *Petite histoire des Juifs* (1927). In 1933 the Tharaud brothers suddenly reversed their attitude in *Quand Israël n'est plus roi*, which presented Jews in an extremely unfavorable light. The Tharauds had finally chosen to adopt the antisemitic view that ancient Israel and modern Jewry were two separate entities, and that the solution to the "Jewish problem" was the enforced physical separation of the Jews from gentile society.

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[Sidney D. Braun]

°THATCHER, MARGARET, BARONESS (1925–), British prime minister. The daughter of a Methodist grocer in Grantham, Lincolnshire, and an Oxford graduate, Margaret Thatcher entered Parliament in 1959 and served as Conservative prime minister from 1979 to 1990, winning three general elections. Her government was remarkable for the number of Jews she appointed to senior positions and for her respect for the British Jewish community. In the late 1930s her father had taken in a German Jewish refugee as a maid, which Margaret Thatcher credited with raising her awareness of the plight of Jews. At one time Thatcher had five Jews in her cabinet of 20 or so members, among them holders of the very senior positions of chancellor of the exchequer and home secretary. This led former Prime Minister Harold Macmillan to make his famous bon mot that the Thatcher cabinet "had more old Estonians than old Etonians." Thatcher also warmly admired Chief Rabbi Immanuel *Jakobovits, awarding him a peerage, and viewed the upward social mobility of Britain's Jews within a few generations, largely through their own ability and without state aid, as holding wider lessons for British society. It is estimated that up to two-thirds of Britain's Jews voted for the Conservative Party during the Thatcher years, which also coincided with the movement of the Labour Party to a hard-left position on many issues and the growth of an anti-Zionist left hostile to Israel.

The movement of most British Conservatives to the right might also be contrasted with the situation 20 or so years earlier, when Jews had a visible profile in the Labour government of Harold *Wilson.

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[William D. Rubinstein (2nd ed.)]

THEATER.

ORIGINS
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ORIGINS

Neither biblical nor talmudic literature contains anything which can be described as "theater" or "drama" in the modern sense of these terms. The Song of Moses (Ex. 15), with its choric refrain in the Song of Miriam, has often been cited as containing the rudiments of drama, which began as a combination of song and dance. The same has been suggested for the Song of Songs, and various attempts have been made with limited success to arrange this book for performance. It would be rash to suggest that writers of the Bible were quite untouched by the Athenian drama which had developed on the fringes of the Israelite world in the fifth century B.C.E. The Book of Job (dating probably from the fifth or fourth century B.C.E.) conforms in a general way to dramatic principles. It is written largely in dialogue, it shows expression of character, and it contains dramatic incidents. If there were in biblical writing tendencies toward formal dramatic composition, they reached their furthest development in Job. However, presentations of the Book of Job on the stage have fallen short of proving that it was written for performance.

POST-BIBLICAL PERIOD

Dramatic intentions are not manifest in post-biblical writing, except in the work of *Ezekiel of Alexandria, who lived in the first century B.C.E. and wrote tragedies on biblical themes. He wrote in Greek, and the known fragments of his work owe their survival to non-Jewish scholars. On the whole, post-biblical literature is without any works intended for performance in a theater. But the rabbis were fully aware of and generally disapproved of the theaters, amphitheaters, and circuses that existed in their Hellenistic-Roman world. They discouraged attendance at the theater except in certain circumstances. The Midrash indicates contemporary opinion when, in reference to the Bible story of Joseph in Egypt, it quotes two rabbis relating how, on the day of the Nile festival, a day of theatrical performances which all flocked to see, Joseph "went into the house to cast up his master's accounts" (Gen. R. 87:7).

The rabbis of the Talmud taught that one should not go to theaters or circuses because sacrifices were offered in honor of the idols. Where no such sacrifices were offered it was still prohibited to be present since persons watching the clowns and buffoons performing would transgress the prohibition against sitting in "the seat of the scornful" (Ps. 1:1). Nevertheless Rabbi Nathan thought Jews should be allowed to attend circuses and shows to watch gladiatorial contests since the members of the audience usually had the right of saving the life of the victim (Av. Zar. 18b).

Other evidence suggests that though the pious kept aloof from the theater, many others did not. It is considered that one of the purposes of Ezekiel of Alexandria in writing his biblical tragedies was to divert Jews from attendance at pagan theaters. This indicates that Jews were regularly to be found among the theater-going public.

Women were forbidden to go to shows of any kind. There is a touching passage in the Midrash (Ruth R. 2:22) in which Naomi tells Ruth that if she insists on conversion to Judaism, she will have to deny herself certain pleasures. "My daughter," she says, "it is not the custom of the daughters of Israel to frequent theaters and circuses."

The theaters that arose in Palestine during the Hellenistic period were largely swept away by the Maccabean War (167 B.C.E.), but a revival of forms of entertainment took place in the next century under Herod, and the larger cities including Jerusalem had theaters, amphitheaters, and hippodromes. These were gentile institutions. There was no attempt at creating a Jewish playhouse.

By the second century of the Christian Era, performance of tragedy had practically vanished from the Palestinian theater, and had been replaced by buffoonery, ribaldry, and coarse comedy which sometimes ridiculed Jews and their customs (Lam. R. 3:13). The hostility of the rabbis was such that they declared it sinful for a Jewish workman to take part even in the building of a stadium or amphitheater (Av. Zar. 16a).

In Rome during the time of Nero (first century C.E.), there were Jews on the Roman stage as well as in the auditorium. A Jewish actor *Aliturus (or Alityros) is known to have been among the emperor's favorites. He is mentioned by *Josephus without any apparent surprise at finding a Jewish actor in high favor in court. The sarcophagus of an actress, Faustina, in the Roman catacombs of the first or second century C.E. displays Jewish symbols and the word "*shalom*" in Hebrew. Another player, Menophilus (first century), lampooned by the Roman epigrammatic poet Martial, appears to have been a Jewish comedian. In the third century the rabbinical scholar Simeon b. Lakish (also known as Resh Lakish) earned his living as a strong man in a circus at Sepphoris, as related in the Talmud (BM 84a; Git. 47a, et al.). All this suggests that Jews were not uncommon in the theatrical profession. As Jews became increasingly unpopular, however, during the Jewish War, they, like the early Christians, tended to conceal their origin.

Jewish theatrical activity at this early period thus remains largely conjectural. The Bible, nevertheless, played a very positive role both as a source of dramatic inspiration and as an influence on content in all forms of theatrical representation. The Bible has had a primary and enduring role in the history of the Western theater. In the first place it provided the starting point of modern theater in the medieval mystery plays, and secondly it continued to provide subjects and ideas to which playwrights, poets, composers, and choreographers have turned again and again. (See *Bible, in Arts.)

In the history of the Jewish theater, the mystery play has great relevance. The two came into contact in Italy in the early Renaissance period when the ducal heads of the city-states often sponsored the entertainments held at ducal weddings or other festive occasions. In their ghettos the cultural life of the Jewish communities tended to follow the gentile pattern. The Purim play was a counterpart to the kind of show the gentiles enjoyed at their carnivals (see *Purim-Shpil). In time it was turned into an elaborate theatrical presentation played by Jewish theatrical companies who acquired considerable fame. (See also below: The Jew as Entertainer.)

In Italy, in the 16th century, Mantua became famous for its court pageantry and was the center of the new Italian drama.

The Jewish community, about 2,000 people, often provided and most likely paid for dramatic spectacles for ducal entertainments. On Fridays, the performances began early since they had to end before Sabbath. The Jewish company of the Mantua ghetto acquired a high reputation as did companies in other Italian cities where there were Jewish communities. The Venetian diarist, Marin Sanudo, records on Saturday, March 4, 1531, the day after Purim, that "there was performed among the Jews in the 'Geto' a very fine comedy; but no Christian could be present by order of the Council of Ten. It ended at ten o'clock at night." This was almost certainly an annual event, which gentiles must have attended in earlier years, thus arousing the disapproval of the Council. In 1489, as a special request, the story of Judith and Holofernes from the Apocrypha was staged in Pesaro by the Jewish community at its own expense as the main show in the elaborate wedding celebrations of Giovanni Sforza, lord of Pesaro, to the sister of the marquess of Mantua.

In 1525 two obviously famous Jewish actors, Solomon and Jacob, were sent for from Ferrara to act in a comedy at a great banquet given by Cardinal Ercole Gonzaga in Mantua. By 1525 participation of Jews in state performances was regarded as a normal thing. In 1549 the Jews presented a comedy at the wedding of Duke Francesco in Mantua. In 1563 they performed Ariosto's *I Suppositi*, in 1568 *Le Due Fulvie* by Massimo Faroni of Mantua. In 1583 they presented a comedy *Gli Ingiusti Sdegni* by Abbé Bernado Pino with dances by the Jewish ballet master, Jacchino *Massarano. Under Duke Vincenzo of Mantua (from 1590) the Jews were required to perform almost annually. As many as 80 members took part in one performance. The success of the Mantuan community's theater company was due in large part to one man, Leone Portaleone Sommi, an impresario, well known all over Europe, who stands at the threshold of modern times and modern theater.

[Lewis Sowden]

FROM 1600 TO THE 20TH CENTURY

The Jew's participation in 17th-and 18th-century theatrical productions was at best insignificant. As a stage character, however, the Jew, portrayed by non-Jewish actors, became a popular figure in the European theater. He was generally a villain, although occasionally, in plays by authors opposed to Jew-baiting, a supernoble being. Jewish actors, until 1900, were isolated figures, facing prejudice and often abuse. It was not until the second half of the 19th century that Jews gained prominence as actors and directors in Europe and in the United States and made their mark as they had in other professions.

England

The bleak period is typified by the theater in England, where the Shakespearean age had made drama the most important art form in the country. Jews, who had been expelled in 1290, were little known in England until their return in the mid-17th century, but they were known on the stage. Early representations of Jews as villains gave way to stage characters who, because they were Jews, were either usurers or fools, and almost always ridiculous.

The first English secular play which included a Jewish character was *The Three Ladies of London* by R.W. (possibly Robert Wilson), published in 1584, in which a Jew, portrayed as decent and honorable, was nevertheless defrauded. Shortly afterward, *Marlowe's *The Jew of Malta* (1591) and *Shakespeare's *The Merchant of Venice* (1596), in both of which a Jew was the villain, set a pattern which was to endure. There are on record 80 plays published in England from 1584 to 1820, in which at least one character was recognizable as being Jewish; most of them were written after 1700. After 1800 plays with Jewish characters appeared at the rate of almost one year. (See *English Literature.)

Shakespeare's Shylock was first played comically, until, in 1741, the Irish actor Charles Macklin caused a sensation by defying tradition and playing him as a tragic character and according to the original text.

When the English theaters, closed by the Puritans in 1642, were reopened after the restoration of the monarchy in 1660, King Charles II extended his protection to Jews, and playwrights were therefore discouraged from lampooning them. More important than mere protection was the fact that King Charles continued Cromwell's benevolent policy of allowing Jews to resettle in England. This meant in fact that Jews could now live and work openly in the country. It was some time, though, before Jews made their way in the theater. Samuel Pepys' Diary for Aug. 12, 1667, refers to a "Mrs. Manuel, the Jew's wife, formerly a player," and praises her as "a mighty discreet, sober-carriaged woman"; but it is probable that Mrs. Manuel was not herself Jewish.

The first Jewess to win a name on the English stage was Hannah *Norsa, daughter of an Italian Jew from Mantua who kept a tavern in Drury Lane. She played the part of Polly Peachum in *The Beggar's Opera* in 1732 with great success. Another popular actor on the London stage was *Leoni (Myer Lyon), a singer who made his debut at Drury Lane on Dec. 13, 1760, in a play called *The Enchanter*. When Leoni played the lead in *The Duenna* by Richard Sheridan it could not be performed on Friday night as Leoni sang in the Duke's Place Synagogue. When it opened in 1775 at Covent Gardens at Leoni's insistence, the name of the principal male singing part was changed from Cousin Moses to Don Carlos.

Both Leoni and another actor who played the part of the rich and absurd Isaac Mendoza in *The Duenna* are reported to have used the exaggerated foreign accent that had become standard for Jewish characters from at least 1715, when the character Mordecai used it in Charles Knipe's *A City Ramble*. Among the leading actors who played accented Jewish roles was Ralph Wewitzer who played in Garrick's and Edmund Kean's companies and who may have been of Jewish birth. The broken accent was considered hilarious by 18th- and 19th-century audiences. From the end of the 18th century on, however, there were several plays of importance that presented

Jews in a favorable light, among them those by C.Z. Barnett (1802–1890), a Jew who was a playwright and an actor.

A small number of Jewish performers who became known as "Astley's Jews" also played at Astley's circuses at the end of the 18th and the beginning of the 19th century. Chief of the troupe was Jacob De *Castro, a comedian, who wrote an autobiography, *Memoirs* (1824).

One book changed the atmosphere for Jews in the arts and profoundly influenced their portrayal. In *Oliver Twist*, Charles Dickens drew Fagin as an unrelieved picture of evil, which set the tone in drama for most of the rest of the 19th century. The first adaptation of *Oliver Twist* reached the stage in 1838, the very year of the novel's publication. Fagin was followed by an almost unrelieved procession of Jewish stage distortions, and even helped to popularize a lisp for stage Jews that lasted until 1914.

Nevertheless, the Jews were beginning to protest. They comprised a considerable portion of theater audiences at the time, and during one performance in 1839 their resentment overflowed into a disturbance that drowned the play completely. A riot stopped Dibdin's *Family Quarrels* at its 1802 opening when the audience took offense at a Jewish reference. Jews often expressed their disapproval of a play by staying away. A revival of *The Jew of Malta* in 1818 led to a Jewish boycott of London theaters for the rest of the season.

In contrast to their portrayal on the stage, Jews were winning distinction as actors, singers, and even writers. Maria Bland, an actress, won fame at Drury Lane toward the end of the 18th century. Mary Anne Goward Keeley (1806–1899), her husband, Robert Keeley (1793–1869), and Henry Sloman (Solomon; 1793–1873) played in London theaters. John *Braham sang at Covent Garden and in 1835 built St. James' Theatre. Edward Stirling (1811–1894) and Morris Barnett were actors and playwrights. Adelaide Neilson (1846–1880) appeared twice on tour in the U.S.

The Jewish stereotype on the London stage was finally broken in 1914 by three plays that treated Jews in some depth: Israel *Zangwill's *The Melting Pot*, Harold F. *Rubinstein's *Consequences*, and Herman Scheffauer's *The New Shylock*. In 1922 came Galsworthy's *Loyalties*, which treated the Jew and the prejudices surrounding him with dignity and objectivity. Leon M. Lion the actor-producer, played in a revival of the play in 1928.

With the rise of the Nazis on the Continent, the Jew became a tragic figure and could no longer be treated on the English stage in a spirit of caricature or ridicule. Jewish actors came to the fore without having to aver or deny their Jewishness, among them Alfred Marks, Alfie Bass (d. 1987), David Kossoff, Yvonne Mitchell, and Leonard Sachs. Among directors the most important was Sir Herbert Beerbohm-Tree (1853–1917).

France

In most 19th-century French plays Jews were either caricatured or romanticized, the men portrayed as ugly, old, and dirty, and the women as noble, beautiful, and heroic, but there were three important exceptions. *Le Juif* by Marc-Antoine-Madelaine Desaugiers (1772–1827) produced in 1823 included the benevolent character Isaac Samuel. The playwright Adolphe Philippe d'Ennery (1811–1899), who had been a public notary and was said to be a Jew named Jacob, criticized the convention that a Jew must be grotesque and repulsive. Catulle *Mendes (1841–1909), whose father was a Jew, painted a sympathetic Jewish character in *Les Mères Ennemies* (1880). But there was no Jewish character in French drama as memorable as the English Shylock or the German Nathan the Wise.

Foremost among France's Jewish actors was Sarah *Bernhardt who, though Roman Catholic by upbringing, was proud of her Jewish heritage; and Eliza (*Rachel) Felix who died young, having become famous as an interpreter of French classic roles.

There were, of course, many more Jewish actors on the French stage: René Alexandre (1885–1945) who was noted for Corneille and Victor Hugo roles; Harry *Baur who began at the Grand Guignol and went over to films; George Berr (1867–1942), an actor, director, and author of fame whose beautiful voice contributed to his success; Marthe Brandes (1862–1930) whose original name was Josephine Brunschwig, and whose grace was famous; Daniel Gelin (1921–2002), a Comédie Française stage actor and director of films; Robert Hirsch (1921–), actor; Romanian-born Edouard Alexander de Max (1862–1930) who became well known in roles of young tragic figures like Schiller's Don Carlos; Simone Simon (1914–2005), equally at home on stage and screen; Gustave Hippolite Worms (1836–1910); the athletic Eugène Silvain (1851–1930), noted for his Roman profile; and Suzanne Reichenberg (1853–1924) who for 30 years specialized in young roles. Jules Claretie (1840–1912), dramatist and journalist, was from 1885 to 1912 the administrator of the Comédie Française. Gustave Cohen (1879–1958) was the great French historian of the theater.

In a special category belong Jean Gaspard Deburau (1796–1846) and his not-quite-so-famous son Jean Charles (1829–1873). Jean Gaspard, whose father Philippe Germain (1761–1826) had a theater of marionettes, was born in Bohemia in 1811 and came to Paris where he became a mime at the Théatre des Funambules ("Theater of the Tightrope-Walkers"), which once had been a circus. He created Pierrot, a new type which, because of its originality and the excellence of the performer, became a sensation overnight. He himself wrote the plays in which Pierrot was the tragic hero, and his art of pantomime was considered unique. His son continued in his father's career with success, but did not equal his reputation.

Germany

In no other country in modern times did the theater play as important a role as in Germany (see *German Literature). And in no other country did the Jew figure so prominently in dramatic literature, in acting or directing. His beginning was early and on a hostile note. In 1573 97 boys, five to 17 years old, performed a play called *Ein Schoen Christlich new Spil von Kinderzucht* in Ensisheim (Upper Alsace). The play, written by Johann Rassern, the parson of Ensisheim, tells the story of two boys, one of whom, spoiled by his mother and corrupted by a Jew, Ulmann, ends his life on the gallows. An unknown artist illustrated the manuscript with 63 woodcuts which depict the action of the play: Ulmann and the boy at a dice game; Ulmann dragged to the gallows; and Ulmann being removed from there by the devil (F.R. Lachman, *Die "Studentes" des Cristophorus Stymmelius und ihre Buehne*, 1926).

In 1616, *Das Endinger Judenspiel*, dealing with the trial and burning of Jews for murder after the disappearance of a Christian family, was performed in Endingen (Baden). Following that Andreas Gryphius (1616–1664) presented his *Horribilicribrifax* (1663; after Plautus' *Miles Gloriosus*) featuring the boasting Jew Issachar; and, decade after decade from 1634, the Bavarian Oberammergau Passion Play has been staged, latterly in the face of energetic Jewish protests. The 17th and 18th centuries produced a considerable number of villainous or at least reprehensible Jewish figures in dramatic literature.

Nevertheless, Germany, at a relatively early time, provided exceptions to the general attitude. *Die Juden* (1749), written by Gotthold Ephraim *Lessing, boldly attacked Christian prejudice. Much more important, however, was Lessing's *Nathan der Weise* (1779) in which Jewish, Christian, and Muslim characters present the idea that virtue is not bound to religion and that all religions are equally important. The play was banned from the stage for a number of years. A considerable number of writers for the stage followed Lessing's example and created sympathetic Jewish figures in their plays. The caricatured Jew remained popular in the 19th and 20th centuries. An example is quoted by S.M. Dubnow (*Die neueste Geschichte des juedischen Volkes 1789–1914*, vol. 2, p. 12): in 1815–16, a very bad comedy, *Die Judenschule* or *Unser Verkehr* had enormous success. A popular actor, Wurm, aping the Jewish "jargon," and mocking Jewish peculiarities, was applauded nightly. When the play was scheduled to be produced in Berlin, Israel *Jacobsohn obtained a prohibition against the performance from Chancellor Hardenberg. The public became furious and held nightly demonstrations until the prohibition was revoked.

It was only toward the end of the 18th century, the time of the Emancipation, that Jewish actors appeared on the German stage. Their number, however, increased rapidly, a fact noted by the German actor and historian of the theater, Eduard Devrient, in his *Geschichte der deutschen Schauspielkunst* (5 vols., 1848–74). It seems that Jacob Herzfeld (1769–1826), who was admired by Goethe and Schiller and corresponded with both, was the first serious Jewish actor on the German stage. He was followed by members of three generations of his family. Eduard Jerrmann (1798–1859) had equal success on the French and on the German stage, Heinrich Marr (1797–1871) was the first Mephisto, Anton Ascher (1820–1884) the first Jewish comedian. Moritz Rott (1797–1867), Ludwig *Dessoir, and especially the Polish-born Bogumil *Dawison, followed by Siegwart Friedmann (1842–1916), Maximilian Ludwig (1847–1906), and the Budapest-born Max Pohl (1855–1935) were outstanding actors in Germany. Adolf von *Sonnenthal, born in Budapest, was the uncontested star of the Vienna Hofburg-theater.

Great stage managers soon began to appear in the German theater. Berlin was without doubt one of the two capitals of world theater, the other being Moscow. Hebrew actors from Palestine who met in Berlin gave the first performance of Henie Rochet's play *Belshazzar* and created the Teatron Ereẓ Yisre'eli. While in other European countries all theaters of importance were concentrated in the capital, in Germany leading theaters existed in more than a dozen cities, many under Jewish managers who often doubled as outstanding stage directors. An important development in stagecraft was brought about by the Jewish director of the theatrical company of Duke George II of Saxony Meiningen (1826–1914), Ludwig *Chronegk, who, when the Meininger toured the country, staged more than 250 plays, introducing new precision, discipline, and natural behavior and creating a closely knit ensemble. In the company were Ludwig *Barnay who later had a theater of his own in Berlin, and Hungarian-born Leopold Teller (1844–1908).

The next step in the development of the German stage was taken by another Jewish director, Otto *Brahm (Abrahamsohn), who became a pioneer of the naturalistic theater. Emanuel Reicher (1849–1924) and Else Lehmann (1866–1940), among others, acted under his direction. Together with two other Jews, the publisher Samuel *Fischer and the critic Alfred *Kerr, Brahm prepared the way to fame of such non-Jewish authors as Frank Wedekind and Gerhart Hauptmann.

The name of Max *Reinhardt, who moved away from Brahm's naturalism and allowed free play to fantasy, became closely associated with a great number of Jews acting under his direction: Victor Arnold (1873–1914), Ernst *Deutsch, Max *Pallenberg, and Rudolph *Schildkraut were among them. At the same time there were actors like Elizabeth *Bergner, Maria Fein (1896–1965), Alexander Granach (1890–1945), Paul Graetz (1890–1966), Ludwig Hartau (1872–1922), Peter *Lorre, Fritzi Massary, Grete Mosheim (1905–1986), Luise Rainer (1912–), Gisela Werbezirk (1875–1956), and many others. The last director who changed the outlook of the theater in Germany before Hitler's rise to power was Leopold *Jessner, pioneer of expressionism on the stage. It was under his direction that actors like Fritz *Kortner reached the zenith of their careers.

During the 19th and at the beginning of the 20th centuries many names of Jewish theater directors in Berlin and elsewhere became widely known. Carl Friedrich Cerf (1771–1845) created the first private theater in Berlin; Victor *Barnowsky, Oscar Blumenthal (1852–1917), and Gustav Lindemann (1872–1960) in Duesseldorf are among them. Alfred Kerr was the most notable representative of a generation of Jewish theater critics who had enormous influence on the development of the theater in Germany and made the reviewing of plays a quasi-independent art form. Romanian born

Ernst Stern (1876–1954) was, during the last pre-Hitler decades, Berlin's and Reinhardt's most honored scenic artist and stage designer. Jewish audiences played an important, sometimes decisive role, as developments after Hitler's take-over illustrate. On April 10, 1933, the Berlin correspondent of the *Daily Telegraph* reported: "The theaters are beginning to suffer from the impoverishment of the Jews, who have always been lavish patrons. A new production at the Deutsches Theater, enthusiastically praised by the entire press, has been taken off after a few performances before a nearly empty auditorium."

When Hitler came to power, there were about 2,400 Jewish actors and theater directors in Germany. On April 1, 1933, an organized anti-Jewish boycott began and Jewish actors were ousted. These actors and the public reacted by forming the *Juedscher Kulturbund ("Jewish Cultural League"). From 1933 on, Jews who fully understood the situation and were able to do so, left Germany; but "the Jewish Cultural League from 1933 to 1938 (in a limited way until 1941) supported three theater ensembles, an opera, two symphonic orchestras, one cabaret, a theater for Jewish schools, some choirs, numerous chamber music groups, and lectures and art exhibits. About 2,500 artists (actors, singers, instrumentalists, poetry readers, directors, dancers, graphic and plastic artists) and lecturers belonged to this organization set-up, and nearly 70,000 people in about 100 cities formed the public, the largest voluntary union of Jews in Germany" (H. Freeden, *Juedisches Theater in Nazideutschland*, 1964, p. 1). The first performance, on Oct. 1, 1933, was Lessing's *Nathan der Weise*. When Allied Powers reopened the Deutsches Theater in Berlin in 1945, the first performance was again *Nathan der Weise*. The director was Vienna-born Fritz Wisten, one of the few surviving members of the Juedischer Kulturbund. Very few Jewish actors and directors returned to Germany after the war; the most important of those who did were Fritz Kortner and Ernst Deutsch.

Italy

Jewish theaters in the Italian ghettos continued their performances until well into the 18th century. Later on, a few Jewish playwrights appeared on the scene. Among the actors, Gustavo Modena (1803–1861) was an interesting personality, a revolutionary who had to flee Italy and was only able to return after an amnesty had been granted. He was especially brilliant in recitation. Giovanni Emanuel (1848–1902) toured in Berlin, Vienna, and Russia, but had his greatest triumphs in Shakespeare and Schiller parts in South America. Claudio Leigheb (1848–1903), who specialized in comedy roles, was an actor's son. Giuseppe Sichel (1849–1934) helped to make French comedy popular in Italy. Enrico Reinach (1851–1929) mostly played the part of the young lover. Virginia Reiter (1868–1937) achieved fame largely thanks to her Jewish features which could give dramatic expression to any kind of emotion and to her beautiful voice. Anche Oreste Calabresi (1857–1915) was equally at home in drama and in comedy. Ugo Piperno (1871–1922) acted on the stage and in a number of films. The great Italian historian of the theater, Alessandro d'Ancona (1835–1914), was a Jew.

Holland

In Holland, writer and dramatist Herman *Heijermans (also Heyermans) dedicated his prose works and his plays to the problems of the proletariat and the lower middle class, especially Jews. In one of his plays, *Ghetto* (1898), the role of Sachel was played by the Jewish actor Louis de Vries (1871–1940) who was also a director and theatrical organizer. He was outstanding in such roles as Shylock, Hamlet, Fuhrmann Henschel, and Higgins in Shaw's *Pygmalion*. Holland's most outstanding actors, however, belonged to the Bouwmeester family which provided actors from the second half of the 18th century to the first half of the 20th. The first acting members of this family were Frederik Adrianus Rosenveldt (1769–1847), a comedian, and his son Frederik Johannes Rosenveldt (1798–1867) who married Louise Francina Maria Bouwmeester. Their children took their mother's name. Louis Frederik Johannes *Bouwmeester (1842–1925) came to be considered Holland's greatest actor. Other acting members of this family include Theodora Antonia Louis Bouwmeester (1850–1939), who acquired fame as Schiller's Maria Stuart, as Madame Sans-Gêne, and in other roles; Frederik Christianus Bouwmeester (1885–?), and Lily Bouwmeester (1901–1993), a stage and film actress.

Russia

In czarist times, Jewish actors on the Russian stage in Moscow and St. Petersburg were usually members of foreign touring companies. But there were Jewish actors in the provincial troupes mostly under Russian names. Some of them had come from the Yiddish theaters when they were closed by czarist edict in 1883 and most of them took Russian names (if not baptism). The lifting of the ban for a few years before the Russian Revolution changed the situation little, though the rising film industry did provide further scope. By 1914, Ossip Runitsch, who had started on the stage, had become a star of the Russian cinema. A well-known Jewish player in czarist companies was Alla *Nazimova, who left for the U.S. in 1905. The revolution brought other Jewish personalities into the open. Zinaida Raikh, the wife of V. Meyerhold, the Russian director, achieved a triumph in Meyerhold's production of *The Lady of the Camellias* in the 1930s. She was murdered in her Moscow flat in 1940 after Meyerhold's arrest and execution by Stalin's agents. After the Stalinist period, the outstanding Jewish actor on the Russian stage was the comedian Arkadi Raykin.

[Lewis Sowden and Frederick R. Lachman]

United States

The theater in the United States, especially on New York's Broadway, was during the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century strongly influenced by Europe and especially by England, but gained independence fast and developed largely under the stimulus of Jewish directors and players. An early if atypical figure was the actress Adah Isaacs *Menken, who created a sensation in the title role of Byron's *Mazeppa* in 1861.

Before the end of the century, the playwright David *Belasco and the producers *Frohmans brothers were important names in the New York theater world, the first of the great line of personalities that was subsequently to arise on Broadway.

Jewish influence in a city with a growing Jewish population was among the sources from which the New York theater was enriched. During the 1890s, Yiddish theater was developing rapidly on Second Avenue and growing into a training ground for actors, among them personalities such as Paul *Muni, who were inevitably to turn their eyes toward Broadway. Another source of trained actors was the music hall or variety theater. It abounded in Jewish comedians and sent much talent to the "legitimate" stage. Derogatory references to Jews were largely absent from the music halls because of the pressure from Jewish performers.

The early and middle years of the 20th century saw the rise of Jews to unequaled prominence on Broadway, where they distinguished themselves as actors, playwrights, songwriters, and composers. Early outstanding figures were the playwrights Clifford *Odets, Elmer *Rice, S.N. *Behrman; the showman Billy *Rose; and the producers *Sam and Jed *Harris. Others were Arthur Leroy Kaser, who wrote monologues, Elmer C. Levinger, who wrote 19 short plays about Jewish history before World War II, and Samson Raphaelson, who in 1925 wrote *The Jazz Singer* about a Jewish boy who had to choose between being a cantor and a musical comedy actor. Al *Jolson made the lead role famous. Later in the century playwrights who were Jewish made a major impact on the drama. (See also *United States Literature.)

Of the hundreds of Jews who achieved fame as actors and actresses in the half-century from 1920, practically none remained basically a stage actor. Writers, producers, directors, and actors divided their time between stage, film, and television, whereby the importance of film and television continuously increased. In addition, on the stage, the musical absorbed a high percentage of the Jewish theatrical people, and a number of them, such as the *Marx brothers or the *Ritz brothers, stayed on the thin borderline between acting and entertaining. There are a few, among the many, who remained equally at home in all the media, Zero *Mostel, Danny *Kaye, and Sid Caesar among them.

Among the producers were Max Liebman, discoverer of Danny Kaye and Sid Caesar; and Alexander H. Cohen, who became known as Broadway's "Millionaire Boy Angel" and produced more than 30 stage shows in New York and London. During the 1960s Mike *Nichols became one of the outstanding stage and film directors. Jules Irving and Herbert Blau, who had founded in the early 1950s the Actors' Workshop, an avant-garde group in San Francisco, became in 1965 co-directors of the Lincoln Center Repertory Theater in New York. Blau resigned that post in 1967. Florenz *Ziegfeld and the *Shubert brothers, Mike Todd, Lee Strasberg, and many others were important and successful producers, directors, and teachers of generations of actors. Boris *Aronson, who began his career in the Yiddish theater when he came to New York in the early 1920s, became America's best-known stage designer. Jean Rosenthal was the leading lighting designer of the theater in the 1950s and 1960s.

[Mark Perlgut]

Jews continued to play a prominent role in the New York theater, particularly on Broadway, largely through the ownership of theaters. The Shubert organization, run by Gerald Schoenfeld and Bernard *Jacobs, controlling the largest houses, which offered the prospect of higher profits, were a significant force in the economics of the theatrical offerings. Despite the absence of Joseph *Papp, who had died, his Public Theater continued to present provocative Shakespeare comedies and dramas and other works. Arthur Miller died in 2005 but his major works, including *Death of a Salesman, All My Sons*, and *A View from the Bridge*, were produced throughout the United States. Younger Jewish playwrights, like Tony *Kushner, Jon Robin Baitz, Richard Greenberg, and Wendy *Wasserman emerged as serious dramatists.

[Stewart Kampel (2nd ed.)]

Jews in the Musical

The musical comedy, later called musical play or simply musical, has its sources in the European operetta and in vaudeville. The musical comedy moved from England to the United States where in the 20th century the genre expanded and underwent its greatest development. Already in the earliest forms of musical theater, the revue or vaudeville, Jews had played an important role: Florenz Ziegfeld with his *Ziegfeld Follies*, which, between 1907 and 1931, introduced many singer-actors and composers like Irving *Berlin and Jerome *Kern. Elaborate revues were presented by the Shubert brothers, theatrical entrepreneurs who, by 1956, owned 17 theaters on Broadway and about half of the nation's legitimate theaters. In the field of operetta, Rudolf Friml and Sigmund *Romberg, both immigrants from Europe, dominated: Friml, born in Prague, with *The Firefly* (1912) and *Rose Marie* (1924), Romberg, Vienna-born, with *The Student Prince* (1924) and *The Desert Song* (1926). Jerome Kern, whose works include the *Princess Theater Shows* (1915–18), was one of the earliest composers for musical comedy. So was Irving Berlin with *Yip, Yip, Yaphank* (1918). He and producer Sam H. Harris built the Music Box Theater in 1920 and here they put on their sophisticated and lavish *Music Box Revues* (1921–24).

The 1920s saw composers such as Richard *Rodgers, George *Gershwin, and Arthur Schwartz (d. 1984), with Lorenz Hart, Oscar Hammerstein II, E.Y. Harburg, Howard Dietz, Ira Gershwin, George S. *Kaufman, and Morrie Ryskind as lyricists and librettists. The team of Rodgers and Hart became one of the most fruitful in American musical history, producing 27 musicals. Dietz wrote the music for the *Grand Street Follies* (1925). George Gershwin, one of the most celebrated composers of the era, wrote, in addition to several large works for orchestra, the music to more than 20 Broadway musicals. His brother, Ira, wrote the lyrics for many of George's shows.

Early important examples of the musical play were *Dearest Enemy* (1925) and *A Connecticut Yankee* (1927), both by Richard Rodgers and Lorenz Hart; still more important was *Showboat* (1927) by Jerome Kern and Oscar Hammerstein II, based on a book by Edna *Ferber, and destined to become a classic of the American musical theater.

Musical plays of the 1930s mirrored the reality of American life, the slump and the Depression; *Of Thee I Sing* (1931), a satire on American politics by Morrie Ryskind (d. 1985), George S. Kaufman, and George and Ira Gershwin, was the first musical to win the Pulitzer Prize for drama. Kurt *Weill was the composer for *Johnny Johnson* (1936), an anti-war comedy, and for *The Eternal Road* (1937), a pageant of Jewish history produced by Max Reinhardt. George Gershwin reached a new high with *Porgy and Bess* (1935). *Pins and Needles* (1937), an amateur revue presented by the heavily Jewish International Ladies Garment Workers, became a Broadway hit. Harold Rome wrote most of the music and lyrics.

In the 1940s the American musical play came fully into its own. *Pal Joey* (1940), a Rodgers and Hart work, was an "adult" musical, one of the first to deal with the seamy side of life. *Lady in the Dark* (1941), dealing with the hitherto theatrically unexplored world of psychoanalysis, had libretto by Moss Hart, score by Kurt Weill, lyrics by Ira Gershwin, and was produced by Sam Harris.

In 1943 Richard Rodgers and Oscar Hammerstein II wrote *Oklahoma*, which fully demonstrated the use of music in telling a story and delineating character. It was followed by other productions equally triumphant in the new form: *Carousel* (1945) and *South Pacific* (1949 Pulitzer Prize winner) both by Rodgers and Hammerstein; *Annie Get Your Gun* (1946; music by Irving Berlin); and *Brigadoon* (1947), with book and lyrics by Alan Jay Lerner.

Jewish writers and composers continued to make brilliant use of the musical play in the same years. E.Y. Harburg wrote the lyrics for *Finian's Rainbow* (1947). Frank Loesser wrote the music and lyrics for *Guys and Dolls* (1950). *The Pajama Game* (1954) and *Damn Yankees* (1955) were hits by the songwriting team of Richard Adler and Jerry Ross. *The Threepenny Opera* (1954) with score by Kurt Weill, and libretto modernized by Marc Blitzstein, had a fabulously successful off-Broadway revival. It ran for over six years. Frederick Loewe composed for Alan J. Lerner's *My Fair Lady* (based on Shaw's *Pygmalion*) in 1956. Leonard *Bernstein, who had had earlier successes such as *Wonderful Town* (1953), introduced new trends in *West Side Story* (1957). *The Sound of Music* (1959), another Rodgers and Hammerstein collaboration, brought a story of the Nazi invasion of Austria to the musical stage. In 1961 *How to Succeed in Business Without Really Trying*, with words and lyrics by Frank Loesser, was the fourth musical play to win the Pulitzer Prize for drama. The 1964 hit *Fiddler on the Roof* emphasized once more the Jewish contribution to the new form in a play based on Yiddish stories by Shalom Aleichem, with a score by Sheldon Harnick and Jerry Bock, and choreography by Jerome Robbins. Zero *Mostel created the role of Tevya and the play had one of the longest runs of the 1960s. *Milk and Honey* (1961), with music and lyrics by Jerry Herman, was a musical with an Israel setting starring Molly Picon. Herman also contributed the smash hit *Hello Dolly*! (1964), *Mame* (1965), and *Dear World* (1968). *No Strings* (1962), about an interracial love affair, had music and lyrics by Richard Rodgers. Among performers, Barbra Streisand skyrocketed to fame as the Broadway singing sensation of the 1960s through her roles in *I Can Get It For You Wholesale* (1962) and *Funny Girl* (1964). Subsequently Julie *Taymor made a significant impact on the Broadway musical with her daringly original staging of *The Lion King*, a musical that had a long life. And the grandson of Richard Rodgers, Adam Guettel, began a promising career as a Broadway composer with *A Light in the Piazza*.

In other countries, too, Jewish talent was attracted by the scope offered in the musical. In England, one of the most successful stage shows of the 1960s was *Oliver!* with lyrics and music by Lionel Bart and the book based on Dickens' *Oliver Twist*. It was followed by the same composer's *Blitz* in 1962. In South Africa, the African musical *King Kong* was produced and directed by Leon Gluckman in 1959 with a story by Harry Bloom. It reached London in 1961.

In Israel too the musical play proved a success in the commercial theater. One of the first such hits was the Chamber Theater's production of *King Solomon and the Cobbler* (1966) based on a play by Sami Gronemann. Giora Godik, after winning the public with American musicals, presented the all-Israel musical play *Casablan* in 1967. Since that time musicals have been a staple of Israeli theater.

[Harvey A. Cooper]

The Jew as Entertainer

From the early Middle Ages on, entertainers were mimes, storytellers, clowns, singers, dancers, acrobats, jugglers, and tamers of wild animals. Beginning in the 13th century, or even earlier, Jews in Italian cities were compelled to participate in the carnival-time buffooneries as mounts for soldiers or for the general populace. The *Corso degli ebrei* ("race of the Hebrews") became a regular carnival feature. Jews played their role as clowns or buffoons for the diversion of powerful men in the Christian world, and from the 16th century on, in the Muslim world (e.g., for the sultan in Constantinople). The role in most cases was not a chosen one. Vagrant mimes, musicians, players, and jugglers began to appear in Europe as early as the 11th century. They were called minstrels in England and France, *Spielleute* in Germany. Jews grouped together and began to entertain predominantly Jewish audiences. Their performances became particularly associated with Purim festivities. The professional jokers were called *leẓim* ("mockers"), or later on, *marsheliks* ("buffoons"). During the 14th and 15th century, some of these *leẓim* gradually developed into actors; their performance evolved into the Yiddish word-drama which originally was based on biblical themes.

For a long time, however, the entertainment performed between the acts of a play was more popular than the play itself. During these interludes the performers were in their element, clowning as rabbis, medical men, pharmacists, midwives, or even as devils, at times severely mocking Jewish peculiarities. The *leẓim-marsheliks* continued, together with the Purim plays, until far into the 19th century. Their name gradually changed to *badḥanim* ("fools"). They appeared in the Jewish settlements in Galicia, later on in the Jewish villages of Russia, the Bukovina, and Romania. A new type of itinerant entertainers assumed the name of the place they had come from and were called *Broder Singers. In comic disguises, they sang, danced, and, occasionally, performed short one-act plays.

In modern times, entertainment has developed into a world of its own, and an extremely high percentage of its population is Jewish. London's music halls produced artists such as Lottie Collins (1866–1910). In Berlin Hermann Haller (1872–1943) became famous as creator of revues and shows. Florenz Ziegfeld in New York with his spectacular *Ziegfeld Follies* gave the first big chance to artists such as Fanny Brice and Eddie *Cantor.

In addition to Jewish professional entertainers in the 20th century in Europe and the U.S. who often were actors as well as entertainers (Jack Benny, Milton Berle, Victor Borge, Danny Kaye, the Canadian comedian team Johnny Wayne and Frank Shuster), there were artists who specialized in forms of entertainment which had very little or nothing to do with acting: the magician Samuel Bellachini; the clown Grock; the athletes Josef and Siegmund Breitbart; Harry *Houdini, escape artist; Harry Reso, the step-dancer; Sophie *Tucker, the last "red hot Mamma," and an immense number of others for whom, more and more, television became an ideal forum.

[Frederick R. Lachman]

YIDDISH THEATER

Theatrical performances in Yiddish have taken place for at least half a millennium, and in modern times have spanned six continents. Yiddish drama and theater absorbed virtually every major trend that emerged in Western drama, and Yiddish playwrights and performers have been deeply influenced by, and have exerted their own influence on, the drama and theater of broad swaths of Europe, the Americas, and to a lesser extent, Australia and South Africa. For millions of Yiddish speakers, theater has long been a lively form of entertainment, but it has always been something more than that as well. Particularly at its height, from the late 19th century to the middle of the 20th, the Yiddish theater provided millions of Jewish theatergoers with a powerful tool to help understand the ever-changing world in which they lived.

Premodern Performance in Yiddish

For many centuries, Judaism placed significant barriers in the way of the development of a full-fledged, professional Jewish theatrical tradition, and as a result the process was slowed significantly. Similar to early Christian commentators like Augustine and Tertullian, the rabbis of the talmudic period and the early Middle Ages harbored a deep suspicion of theater, influenced in no small measure by the excesses of Roman entertainments. In the Christian world, such objections were overcome by pedagogical necessity, as theater came to fill a void left by the illiteracy of the masses in ways that few sermons could. The fact that antisemitic attitudes figured prominently in medieval Christian drama did little to endear the theatrical art to Jewish authorities, however.

Yet long before scripted dramas were written and performed in Yiddish, Yiddish speakers could enjoy the performances of entertainers who performed at Jewish events, particularly weddings. In German-speaking countries arose the figure of the *leyts* or *marshelik* (influenced by the German *Narr*, "fool"), known in Slavic countries as the *badkhn*. This was part of a wider fabric of performers in the medieval Jewish world, including magicians who performed at fairs, wandering troubadours, and wedding musicians (at times interchangeable with the *badkhn*). Over time, the *leytsim* and *badkhonim* developed their own repertoire of wedding songs, riddles, parodies, and serious and comic songs; the *leyts* thus became an important forebear of the Yiddish musical theater. The collections of Menachem Oldendorf and Isaac Wallich preserve examples of the medieval *badkhn*'s repertoire.

Scholars have been unable to determine with precision when formally scripted performances in Yiddish began taking place. A number of texts in Old Yiddish, including some in both the Oldendorf and Wallich collections, seem suitable to performance, but whether they were put to such a use is not clear. Certainly by the end of the 16th century, however – and possibly much sooner – dramatic dialogues were being publicly performed in Yiddish. A short farce, *Dos Shpil fun Toyb Yeklayn, Zayn Vayb Kendlayn, un Zeyere Tsvey Zinlekh Fayn* ("The Play of Deaf Yeklayn, His Wife Kendlayn, and Their Two Fine Children") was performed in Tannhausen in 1598, probably as an interlude within a larger performance. While this play was a farce that commented on contemporary social types, the dominant type of work performed in Yiddish from the Middle Ages to the 19th century was the *purimshpil* ("Purim play"). Extant manuscripts of Yiddish poems about the Purim story date back to the 15th century, and printed versions as early as the 16th; it is generally believed that performances of the *purimshpil* date back as least as early as the late 15th century. The earliest extant manuscript of a performance text of a full-scale *purimshpil* is an *Akhasheyresh-shpil* ("Ahasuerus Play") dating to 1697. This play and many others retell the Purim story in a spirit of earthy irreverence befitting the jovial mood of the holiday; the humor of such plays relied heavily on scatological and sexual jokes and puns, which not infrequently drew the wrath of religious and communal authorities. By no means all Purim plays, however, were based on the Book of Esther; other popular subjects included the sale of Joseph into slavery, the binding of Isaac, David and Goliath, and Samson and Delilah.

The form of the earliest extant *purimshpil* resembles the German *Fastnachtspiel* in many ways, including not only the aforementioned profanity and eroticism, but the central role of a narrator (here known as the *loyfer*, *shrayber*, or *payats*). The traditional *purimshpil* was performed entirely by men and boys – often yeshivah students. Since most performances took place in the homes of wealthy families, the plays needed to be short so that companies could make their rounds. Masks and primitive costumes were the norm, and extant early texts do not tend to indicate changes of costume or scenery. Beginning in the 16th century, *purimshpiln* gradually became more elaborate, and in some places, they expanded beyond the one-day festival itself, with performances being offered for up to two weeks on either side of the holiday. By the early 18th century, *purimshpiln* reflected many trends in the contemporary European theater in literary style, subject matter, and scene design. Most of the extant Purim plays from the period indeed resemble Baroque *Staatsaktionen* far more than they do the folk plays that preceded them: their plots are complex and politically charged, their language ornate (Latinate and French-influenced); one of the plays is identified as an opera; another is provided with a description of the instrumentation of the orchestra that accompanied the performance. Nevertheless, the plays maintained a connection with Purim and were performed during the appropriate season. Though the development of the modern Yiddish theater altered the function of the *purimshpil* among Yiddish speakers, it did not altogether supplant this performance form, which continues to be staged to this day, particularly in many Ḥasidic communities.

Haskalah Drama

The carnivalesque atmosphere that prevailed on Purim was critical for loosening restrictions that made it impossible for theatrical performance to take root in the Jewish community during the rest of the year. Though women could still not perform in public on Purim, that holiday at least suspended the traditional prohibition (from Deut. 22:5) against men wearing women's clothing, and it was common for yeshivah students – whose traditional learning equipped them well to make learned, extempore ad libs – to perform the roles in Purim plays. As long as the Jewish community as a whole adhered to rabbinic law, however, Jewish theatrical performances would have to remain confined to one season only. The sea change that transformed the place of theater in the Jewish world came about in the late 18th century, when the Haskalah movement was born in Germany. In essays, pamphlets, fiction, poetry, and drama, the *maskilim* exhorted their fellow Jews to become less insular, to integrate more fully into European society (at least to the extent that the law and their non-Jewish neighbors allowed), and to reap the fruits of secular thought in politics, philosophy, science, and the arts. While the movement initially met with fierce resistance from religious Jews, it ultimately paved the way to new forms of religious expression and a new orientation toward the non-Jewish world.

Although no professional Jewish theater existed when the Haskalah began, a number of *maskilim* voiced their polemics in dramatic form – possibly with the intention of performances in literary salons or Jewish schools. This phenomenon began with two of the leading figures of the Berlin Haskalah, Isaac Euchel and Aaron Halle-Wolfssohn. Both Euchel's *Reb Henokh, oder Vos Tut Men Damit?* ("Reb Henokh, or What Can Be Done with It?" *ca.* 1792) and Wolfssohn's *Leichtsinn und Frömmelei* ("Frivolity and False Piety," *ca.* 1796) helped set the tone for decades of Haskalah dramas. Both of these satires make rich use of a wide palette of social types and attitudes, and varying levels of language. Almost all subsequent Haskalah plays were comedies; among the most accomplished and influential were the anonymous satire *Di Genarte Velt* ("The Duped World," *ca.* 1810); Solomon Ettinger's comic melodrama *Serkele* (1838), featuring a gallery of comic types ranging across the social spectrum; Avrom Ber Gottlober's grotesque and wickedly anti-ḥasidic *Der Dektukh, oder Tsvey Khupes in Eyn Nakht* ("The Bridal Veil, or Two Weddings in One Night," 1839); several comedies and melodramas by Israel *Axenfeld written in the 1830s and 1840s, including *Der Ershter Yidisher Rekrut in Rusland* ("The First Jewish Recruit in Russia," *ca.* 1840), which in fact expresses considerable ambivalence about the goals and methods of the Haskalah; and S.Y. *Abramovitsh's scathing social satire, *Di Takse* ("The Tax," 1869).

Broder Singers

The 1850s also saw the rise of a type of performer known as the Broder Singer. Taking their name from the Galician city of Brody (or Brod) – the home town of the reputed "father" of the form, Berl Broder (Berl Margulis) – Broder Singers would come to play a direct role in the formation of the modern, professional Yiddish theater. Like the *purimshpil*, the performances of the Broder Singers became more elaborate over time. Initially, songs telling a story – often based on familiar character types and situations from everyday Jewish life – were accompanied by facial expressions and gestures. From there it was a short step to embedding the songs into theatrical situations with a couple of performers, quick changes of costume to suit the characters described in the lyrics, and simple make-up. As the Broder Singers' fame grew, so did their geographical reach. They spread throughout Galicia and Romania, and from there into Russia. The repertoire and performance styles of the most renowned of these figures, including Berl Broder and Velvl Zbarzher, inspired the first generation of professional Yiddish playwrights.

The Goldfaden Era

Though Yiddish companies managed to perform in places like Warsaw (in the 1830s and 1860s) during seasons completely unconnected with Purim, such efforts met with stiff resistance from Jewish community leaders, and left no direct legacy. Abraham *Goldfaden, on the other hand, would earn the title of "Father of the Yiddish Theater" by forming the first relatively stable professional Yiddish troupe and proceeding to write its plays, compose its music, and direct the actors. Goldfaden's background prepared him in many ways for the task. He claimed to have begun composing songs as a young boy and was a published poet and dramatist by the time he completed his rabbinical studies in the 1860s. His first full-length play, *Di Mume Sosye* ("Aunt Sosya," 1869), bore the clear influence of Ettinger's *Serkele* – not entirely surprising, since Goldfaden had played the title role in a production staged at his seminary in Zhitomir in 1862. And one of Goldfaden's early teachers was none other than the noted satirical writer and dramatist Abraham Baer *Gottlober. After trying his hand at various careers, Goldfaden assembled his first company in Jassy, Romania, in 1876. His star performer, Israel Grodner, was a seasoned Broder Singer. Over the next several years, the playwright would turn out a stream of vaudevilles, burlesques, and full-length comedies. His early plays were often crude, but among them are several of his masterpieces: *Shmendrik* (1877), *Di Kishefmakherin* ("The Sorceress," 1879), and *Der Fanatik, oder di Tsvey Kuni-Leml* ("The Fanatic, or the Two Kuni-Lemls," 1880). In these musical comedies, Goldfaden sharply critiqued, in the spirit of the Haskalah, religious hypocrisy, fanaticism, and insularity. He did so with lively music, witty lyrics, deftly drawn characterizations, and the increasingly assured hand of a skilled *farceur.* Within the first year of his company's existence, Goldfaden hired his first actress, and two rival troupes were formed, one led by Joseph Lateiner and the other by self-styled "Professor" Moyshe Hurwitz. These two men would become Goldfaden's lifelong rivals. Though critics would always favor Goldfaden, Hurwitz and Lateiner would become as popular as they were prolific, each with an enormous number of musicals and melodramas to his credit. Lateiner's plays include *Aleksander, Kroyn-Prints fun Yerusholayim* ("Alexander, Crown Prince of Jerusalem," 1892), *Blimele, di Perle fun Varshe* ("Blimele, the Pearl of Warsaw," 1894), *Dovids Fidele* ("David's Violin," 1897), Dos Yidishe Harts ("The Jewish Heart," 1908); Hurwitz's plays include *Tisza Eszlar* (1887), *Ben Hador* (1901). In addition to this trio, other playwrights who contributed to the foundation of the professional repertoire were Nahum-Meyer Shaykevitsh (*Shomer), a prolific writer of melodramas and light comedies, and Yoysef-Yude Lerner, who adapted a number of works on Jewish themes from other languages; these included Karl Gutzkow's *Uriel Acosta*, Jacques F. Halévy and Eugène Scribe's opera *La Juive* (as *Zhidovka*), and Salomon Hermann von Mosenthal's *Deborah*. Other writers active during this period were Sigmund Feinman, Israel Barski, Rudolph Marks, and Reuben Weissman.

Westward Exodus

The pogroms that followed the assassination of Czar Alexander II in 1881 helped spark a Jewish exodus from Russia. Over the next few decades, several million Jews left their homes in Eastern Europe in search of more favorable social and economic surroundings The Yiddish theater moved with the masses. To be sure, this shift was given a firm push by the czarist authorities, who banned Yiddish theater in 1883. Though the ban would turn out to be capricious and inconsistently enforced, it made a difficult business all the more precarious, and many performers and playwrights headed for places where they could pursue their work more freely. Companies were created or expanded in Eastern European cities outside the Russian empire, like Warsaw and Lemberg, while new centers of Yiddish theater arose further west. By far the most important homes of Yiddish theater in Western Europe were Britain and France. In London, performances were staged at such venues as the Whitechapel, Grand Palais, and Pavilion theaters. During the westward exodus from Eastern Europe, London become both a haven in its own right, and a way station for refugees ultimately planning to settle in the U.S. Stars such as Jacob Adler, David Kessler, M.D. and Fanny Waxman, and Sigmund and Dina Feinman made London their home for a time, enriching the quality of performance in the East End theaters – and in Feinman's case, also penning a number of dramas. London was also well positioned to serve as both a destination for visiting companies – both the Vilna Troupe and New York's Yiddish Art Theatre made numerous visits in the 1920s and 1930s – and as a launching pad for performers and companies heading to northern British cities such as Manchester, Leeds, and Glasgow. The most prolific London-based Yiddish playwright was Joseph Markovitsh, while the single most successful work written for the London Yiddish stage was journalist S.Y. Harendorf's *Der Kenig fun Lampeduze* ("The King of Lampedusa," 1943), which ran for months at the Pavilion Theatre before that venue was permanently put out of business by the German bombs that carpeted London during the Blitz. Paris was more of a stopover than a destination in itself for many East European Jews. By the time Goldfaden first visited Paris in 1889 and assembled a company there, the French capital had already hosted Yiddish performances for several years. But the city never developed a distinctive tradition of professional Yiddish theater, although it did provide fertile ground for a number of amateur or semi-professional drama groups tied to specific political movements – for example, the anarchist Frayhayt group, the Labor Zionist Fraye Yidishe Bine, and the Bundist Fraye Yidishe Arbeter Bine. Members of such groups were workers and artisans. While little French Yiddish drama was home grown, Paris was the longtime home of Chaim Sloves, author of notable dramas like *Homens Mapole* ("Haman's Downfall," 1949), *Borekh fun Amsterdam* ("Baruch of Amsterdam," 1956), and *Nekome Nemer* ("Avengers," 1947).

The Gordin Era

The nature of the early professional Yiddish repertoire, as well as the uneven production values by which such plays were staged, sparked ongoing tensions among critics, playwrights, and audiences. Reviewers constantly lamented the "low" taste of the Yiddish audience (pejoratively nicknamed "Moyshe") and the dominance of *shund* (popular theater; literally, "trash"). In common parlance, "Moyshe" was frequently described as "licking his fingers" in delight at such offerings. Yiddish playwrights, for their part, often shrugged off the critics' complaints, suggesting that such niceties as aesthetic ambitions had to take a back seat to practical concerns like putting food on the table. Not all playwrights, however, were so disdainful of social and aesthetic criteria for drama, and when Jacob Gordin emerged on the scene with his first drama in 1891, many critics – along with more serious-minded actors and playwrights – felt that a new era was dawning. Gordin, a new Russian immigrant to New York with a background in utopian politics and intellectual activity, also deplored the existing repertoire, but was pleasantly surprised by the sophistication of performers like Jacob P. Adler, whom he met not long after arriving in New York. Gordin was persuaded to write a play for Adler, and the result was *Sibirya* ("Siberia," 1891), a work with its share of melodramatic touches, but far more naturalistic than anything that had previously been seen on the Yiddish stage. Gordin would be hailed in many circles as the great reformer of Yiddish drama; successes such as *Der Yidisher Kenig Lir* ("The Jewish King Lear," 1892), *Mirele Efros* (1898), *Got, Mentsh un Tayvl* ("God, Man, and Devil," 1900), and *Khasye di Yesoyme* ("Khasye the Orphan Girl," 1903) would become fixtures on Yiddish stages for decades, and their main roles became proving grounds for leading men and women as well as character actors. The effectiveness of Gordin's best plays derives in large measure from the fact that he wrote for outstanding actors like Jacob Adler, Sarah Adler, Keni Liptzin, Dovid Kessler, and Bertha Kalish. Like the European playwrights he emulated, such as Henrik Ibsen, Gerhart Hauptmann, and Maxim Gorky, Gordin often sparked controversy for his treatment of delicate social issues. Both his social engagement and his dramaturgical technique drew a following not only among audiences and critics but also among fellow playwrights. By the time of Gordin's death in 1909, the most obvious heirs to his mantle were Leon Kobrin (*Yankl Boyle* (1913), *Riverside Drive* (1928), *Tsurik tsu Zayn Folk* ("Back to His People," 1914), and *Di Nekst-Dorike* ("The Woman Next Door," 1916)) and Zalmen Libin (Yisroel-Zalmen Hurvits) (*Hanele oder di Yidishe Medea* ("Hannele or the Jewish Medea," 1903), *Tsebrokhene Hertser* ("Broken Hearts," 1903)), though neither would achieve Gordin's level of influence. Other popular contemporaries of Gordin included Nokhem Rakov (*Der Batlen* ("The Idler," 1903), *Di Grine Moyd* ("The Green Girl," 1904), *Khantshe in Amerike* ("Khantshe in America," 1913)); Isidore Zolotarevsky (*Der Yeshive Bokher* ("The Yeshivah Student," 1899), *Di Yidishe Ana Karenina* ("The Jewish Anna Karenina," 1901–2), *Di Vayse Shklavin* ("The White Slave," 1909)); Avrom-Mikhl Sharkanski (*Kol Nidre* ("All Vows," 1896)); the brothers Anshl and Moyshe Shor (*A Mentsh Zol Nen Zayn* ("Be a Decent Person," 1909)); and Moyshe Richter (*Moyshe Khayat* ("Moyshe the Tailor," 1903) and *Sholem Bayis* ("Domestic Tranquility," 1904)). Such works became popular on Yiddish stages worldwide.

For all of Gordin's achievements, he did not manage to drive *shund* from the Yiddish stage, one of his explicitly stated goals. The Yiddish critics tended to attribute this fact to *Moyshe*'s low taste, but they failed to appreciate that *shund* – or to use a less value-laden term, musicals and melodramas – could succeed for positive reasons as well. Though the acting on Yiddish stages was often uneven and overblown, many Yiddish performers possessed extraordinary talent. Audiences worshiped specialists in musical theater like Boris and Bessie Thomashefsky, Sigmund and Dina Feinman, Clara Young, and Regina Prager; comedians like Berl Bernstein and Zelig Mogulesco; and character actors like Boaz Young and Bina Abramovitsh. And because of the importance of music in the Yiddish repertoire, its composers contributed as much to its success as its performers. Among the most important composers of music for the Yiddish theater were Arnold Perlmutter and Herman Wohl (who had many of their greatest successes as a team), Dovid Meyerovitsh, Louis Friedsel, Joseph Rumshinsky, Abe Ellstein, Sholem Secunda, and Peretz Sandler.

New York to World War II

As long as westward migrations continued, New York would continue to assert itself as one of the world capitals of Yiddish theater. Almost all of the most important actors and performers in the American Yiddish theater were foreign-born, many having started their careers in cultural centers like Warsaw and Odessa. Among the playwrights in this category were David Pinski and Peretz Hirschbein. Both men were talented journalists and prose writers, and both generated a distinguished body of dramatic work as well. Pinski could write biting satires, like *Der Oytser* ("The Treasure," 1911), but often wrote in a darker vein, in dramas like *Der Eybiker Yid* ("The Eternal Jew," 1929), *Di Familye Tsvi* ("The Family Tsvi," 1905), and *Ayzik Sheftl* ("Isaac Sheftl," 1904–5). He also wrote popular dramas revolving around tempestuous human passions in works like *Yankl der Shmid* ("Yankl the Blacksmith," 1909) and *Gabri un di Froyen* ("Gabri and the Women," 1905). Hirschbein experimented with various dramatic modes and registers, but is best known for his idylls of village life, relying more on deftly developed characters and convincing dialogue than on plot. These include *A Farvorfn Vinkl* ("A Forsaken Nook," 1918), *Di Puste Kretshme* ("The Idle Inn," 1919), and *Grine Felder* ("Green Fields," 1918). Other accomplished members of this new wave of dramatists working primarily in New York were Osip Dimov (*Shma Yisroel* ("Hear, O Israel," 1907), *Bronx Express* (1919), *Yoshke Muzikant* ("Yoshke the Musician"; the first of numerous versions premiered in 1914 as *Der Gedungener Khosn* ("The Hired Bridegroom")); H. Leivick (*Shmates* ("Rags," 1921), *Shop* (1926), *Der Goylem* ("The Golem," 1925)); Fishl Bimko (*Ganovim* ("Thieves," 1919), *Dembes* ("Oaks," 1922)); Harry Sackler (*Yizkor* ("Remembrance," 1922), *Mayor Noyekh* ("Major Noah," 1928), *Rakhav fun Yerikho* ("Rahab of Jericho," 1928)), and Avrom Shomer (*Aykele Mazil* ("Ikey the Devil," 1911), *Style* (1913), *Der Griner Milyoner* ("The Green Millionaire," 1915)). These playwrights often wrote for companies that joined the assemblage of notable Yiddish troupes. Foremost among these in New York was Maurice Schwartz's Yiddish Art Theater, which subsisted on a diet of Western and Yiddish classics, new Yiddish dramas, and – most lucratively – adaptations of Yiddish novels, like *Shalom Aleichem's *Tevye der Milkhiker* ("Tevye the Dairyman," 1919) and I.J. *Singer's *Yoshke Kalb* (1932), dramatized by Schwartz himself. Schwartz's company was in theory an ensemble, but in practice it belonged very much to the 19th-century star system. For true ensemble acting, New York Yiddish audiences went to Artef (from the Yiddish acronym for Workers' Theater Collective), which opened its doors in 1928 with a production of Soviet Yiddish playwright Beynush *Shteiman's *Baym Toyer* ("At the Gate," 1928). The company established itself as the avant-garde answer to commercial offerings with innovative productions of such works as Israel Axenfeld's *Der Ershter Yidisher Rekrut in Rusland* (aka *Rekrutn* / "Recruits," 1934) and Sholem Aleichem's *Dos Groyse Gevins* ("The Jackpot," 1936; often going by the alternate title *200,000*). Artef never managed to launch any major new playwriting talent, however.

Latin America

Many performers based in the United States regularly made their way to Latin America. While companies were also formed in such places as Mexico City, Uruguay, Chile, and Brazil, Buenos Aires was by far the largest and most significant Latin American hub for Yiddish performers and eventually emerged as a major center for Yiddish theater. Productions of plays from the European repertoire began there by 1901, and soon popular performers from North America and Europe, including Boris Thomashesfky, Maurice Schwartz, Celia Adler, Rudolph Zaslavsky, Zygmunt Turkow and Ida Kaminska, and Joseph Buloff added Buenos Aires and other cities and town in Argentina and neighboring countries to their list of touring destinations. The Yiddish theater in Buenos Aires had a long-standing connection to the seedier side of Latin American life, for pimps and prostitutes in this major center of the "white slave" trade invested heavily in the theater, and had some control over its contents. In his memoirs, Peretz Hirschbein recalls how the many prostitutes in the audience for the Buenos Aires production (*ca*. 1910) of his drama *Miryam* were moved to tears by the plight of his heroine, an innocent *shtetl* girl who falls into a life of prostitution. Leyb Malekh's *Ibergus* ("Remodeling," 1926) hit even closer to home, for that drama specifically addresses the connections and conflicts among different strata of Argentinean society: the respectable folk, prostitutes and gangsters, and actors. The play caused an uproar when it premiered in Buenos Aires in 1926. That city rose to greater prominence as a center of Yiddish theatrical activity in the 1930s, particularly with the founding of organizations like IFT (*Idisher Folks Teater*, "Jewish People's Theatre") in 1932, in the tradition of left-wing, artistically ambitious troupes like its notable contemporaries, Yung Teater in Warsaw and Artef in New York. IFT continued to offer its audiences plays addressing social issues, until demographic changes forced it to switch to Spanish performances in the mid-1950s. Though the Argentinean Yiddish theater enjoyed years of prosperity following World War II, when many talented refugees made their way there, the seeds of its decline had already been sown. Young Argentinean Jews, like their counterparts in North America and Western Europe, were being raised in a native language other than in Yiddish, and one theater after another either closed its doors forever, or abandoned Yiddish in favor of the local language.

The Art Theater Movement in Eastern Europe

In New York, Gordin was often praised for breathing fresh life into Yiddish drama. This was particularly true in the 1890s; later, prominent critics like Abraham Cahan, who had championed Gordin early on, reversed course and harshly attacked his dramaturgy. European critics like I.L. Peretz and Noyekh Prilutski, however, never warmed to Gordin in the way that many American critics had. Peretz regarded Gordin as little better than a *shund* playwright, and felt that a different type of dramaturgy was needed to help Yiddish drama take a seat of honor at the table of Western dramatic literature. Peretz sought to remedy this situation partly by articulating ambitious critical criteria, partly by writing plays himself, and partly by championing new talent. As a playwright, Peretz was influenced most notably by naturalism in his short plays and symbolism in his full-length, poetic dramas. The latter include *Baynakht afn Altn Mark* ("A Night in the Old Marketplace," 1907) and *Di Goldene Keyt* ("The Golden Chain," 1907); among his best-known one-acts are *Shvester* ("Sisters," 1905) and *Es Brent* ("It's Burning," 1901). But Peretz, like other classic Yiddish writers such as Sholem Aleichem, would never achieve the success as a dramatist that he did in prose (at least not during their lifetimes, though many of Sholem Aleichem's plays enjoyed successful revivals in later years). While flashes of brilliance frequently make their presence felt in Peretz's plays, they often lack an effective dramatic structure to give the action a focus and propel it forward.

Whatever Gordin's shortcomings, he showed a far surer hand as a dramatist, and actors loved to play his characters. One sign thereof is the fact that even in Eastern Europe, with different sorts of commercial pressures and audiences quite different from those in the U.S., Gordin's plays featured prominently in the performed repertoire, while Peretz's tended to be invisible. This was true of the first ensemble companies to try to elevate the level of artistry in Yiddish drama and theater, starting with the troupe led by Esther-Rokhl Kaminska in the early 1900s. Gordin's plays were the bread and butter of the Kaminska Troupe (later known as *Di Fareynikte* – "the united ones"). When Kaminska left Europe to tour in the U.S. in 1909, she left a void that could not be filled, but both as performer and as matriarch of a theatrical dynasty, she continued to help shape Yiddish theater as well as film for many decades.

As a mentor of young talent, Peretz left an indelible mark on the development of Yiddish drama. Sholem *Asch, for example – arguably Peretz's most successful protégé – penned a number of plays, most notably *Got fun Nekome* ("God of Vengeance," 1907), though he would become far better known as a novelist. Another student of Peretz's, as well as of Polish playwright Stanislaw Przybyszewski, was Mark Arnshteyn, who would write and direct productions in both Polish and Yiddish, including his most successful work, *Der Vilner Balebesl* ("The Little Householder of Vilna," 1908). In 1907, Arnshteyn and Avrom-Yitskhok Kaminski, in an effort to infuse 'literary' plays into the Yiddish repertoire, founded the *Literarishe Trupe* ("literary troupe"), with which they toured with plays by Gordin, Arnshteyn, David *Pinski, and Sholem Aleichem. A similar effort was undertaken a couple of years later by yet another of Peretz's protégés, Peretz *Hirschbein. Having earned the blessing of figures like Peretz and Bialik at the outset of his career, Hirschbein founded a company in Odessa in 1908 that became known as the Hirschbein Troupe. His company, which performed works by its founder, as well as by Asch, Pinski, Gordin, and Sholem Aleichem, stayed in business for only two years, but achieved an impact out of proportion to its short life through its earnest striving for higher artistic standards in Yiddish drama and theater. During this same period, other notable companies in Russia and Poland included those led by Aba Kompanayets, Misha Fishzon, Dovid-Moyshe Sabsay, and Yankev-Ber Gimpel.

Interwar Poland

Hirschbein's troupe served as a forerunner for the *Vilna Troupe, founded in 1916 with the express purpose of carrying on Hirschbein's reforms. The Vilna Troupe brought to light what was to become the most famous play in the Yiddish repertory, S. Anski's *Der Dibek* ("The Dybbuk," 1921), directed by Dovid Herman, who had encouraged Hirschbein to write in Yiddish. The play caused a sensation at its Warsaw premiere, just weeks after the author's death. It has been translated into and performed in many languages, and inspired several adaptations as well. The company's further successes included Osip Dimov's *Yoshke Muzikant* ("Yoshke the Musician," or "The Singer of His Sorrow"), Asch's *Kiddush ha-Shem* ("Sanctification of the Name," 1928), Peretz's *Baynakht afn Altn Mark* ("A Night in the Old Marketplace"), and *The Merchant of Venice*. Although the Vilna Troupe suffered the loss of many talented performers who left for other opportunities, it continued to be vital until the Holocaust, when its remaining members were trapped in the Vilna Ghetto and liquidated along with their neighbors. Before that, however, interwar Poland became as rich a breeding ground for significant new ventures in Yiddish theatrical performance as any that had ever existed. The 1920s brought the creation of such companies as VYKT (*Varshever Yidisher Kunst Teater* "Warsaw Yiddish Art Theatre"), founded in 1924 and led by Zygmunt Turkow and his wife Ida Kaminska; VNYT (*Varshever Nayer Yidisher Teater* "Warsaw New Yiddish Theatre"), founded by Zygmunt's brother, Jonas Turkow, in 1929; and *Yung Teater* ("Young Theater"), established by Mikhl Weichert in 1932. VYKT used modern techniques for to stage both new and classic plays from the European repertoire, and Yiddish classics by Ettinger and Mendele. Turkow and Kaminska put their stamp on roles from within and beyond the Yiddish repertoire – he in such parts as Molière's Harpagon to Sholem Aleichem's Tevye, she in Yiddish standards like *Mirele Efros* (continuing in her mother's footsteps) and roles from the world repertoire, like Bertolt Brecht's *Mother Courage*. More political and experimental was Mikhl Weichert's *YungTeater*, whose first production, *Boston*, used innovative environmental theater techniques to tell the story of the Sacco and Vanzetti trial. *Yung Teater* commented further on American travesties of justice with Leyb Malekh's effective agitprop drama *Mississippi*, based on the Scottsboro affair. Weichert's politics often made him run afoul of the censors, a situation he commented on obliquely in the production of his own play, *Trupe Tanentsap* (1933), a play-within-a-play that used a production of Goldfaden's *Two Kuni-Lemls* to comment on contemporary censorship. Other notable productions included Jacob Preger's *Simkhe Plakhte* (1935), and Georg Büchner's *Woyzeck* (1936), in a Yiddish translation by Itsik Manger. Those with less experimental tastes had many other options in cities like Warsaw, including the Theater for Youth – founded in 1926 under the direction of Thea Artishevski and the producer David Herman – which became the most popular of the music theaters. Adding to the vitality of the Polish Yiddish theater scene between the two World Wars was *kleynkunst*, "a sort of cabaret revue, witty, gay, and irreverent, rapidly winging from music to dance to monologue to sketch" (Sandrow, 323). *Kleynkunst* theaters included Azazel in Warsaw, Ararat in Lodz, led by writer/performer Moyshe Broderzon, who discovered such talents as the comedians Shimen Dzigan and Yisroel Shumakher, who would enjoy a long career together – the most successful double act of its kind in the Yiddish language – in sketches filled with political and social commentary.

Poland had become arguably the world's richest soil for Yiddish theater by the 1930s, so the annihilation of Polish Jewry by the Nazis destroyed a particularly vibrant theatrical culture. Yet during the war, performers made valiant efforts to carry on their activities in the face of the gravest danger. Warsaw ghetto leader Emmanuel Ringelblum's diaries chronicle all measure of cultural undertakings, from journalism to the visual arts to musical and theatrical performance. Jonas *Turkow gave a list of 138 performers who perished in the Warsaw ghetto, including Mazo, director of the Vilna Troupe, and his wife Miriam Orleska. As the Nazi ghettoes were liquidated and the survivors were sent to concentration camps, they continued to perform, when possible, even in the camps. After the war, surviving actors resumed activity, first in DP camps, and then to the many places to which the performers dispersed.

Soviet Yiddish Theater

After the Russian Revolution, state-sponsored Yiddish theaters were founded in a number of major cities of the Soviet Union. Some were established quickly, as in Vilna and Odessa. Others were created later, after the political situation stabilized. A total of 14 state Yiddish theaters were ultimately established; the most noteworthy included the Minsk State Theater (*Bilgoset*), directed by M. Rafalski, and the Yiddish State Theater in Kharkov, directed first by Ephraim Loyter, and later by M. Norvid.

Other companies were established in such cities as Tarnopol, Lviv, Zhitomir, Dnepropetrovsk, Bialistok, Grodno, Vilna, Kovno, Riga, and Czernowitz. In addition, many of these companies traveled widely, so that Yiddish theater reached communities throughout much of the Soviet Union. The most celebrated Soviet Yiddish theater company was the Moscow State Yiddish Theater (best known by the Russian acronym for "state Jewish Theater," GOSET). Starting as a small studio in St. Petersburg just after the revolution, and moving to Moscow a couple of years later, GOSET revolutionized Yiddish theater with avant-garde productions of Yiddish classics, new Yiddish plays, and works from the European repertoire. The company's founder, and its leader for much of the 1920s, was Alexander Granovsky, who put his mark on Yiddish standards like Goldfaden's *Di Kishefmakherin*, Sholem Aleichem's *Dos Groyse Gevins*, and Peretz's *Baynakht afn Altn Mark*. Marc *Chagall was also briefly involved with the company as designer, but made an impact all out of proportion to the time he spent with GOSET. The company also had the input of significant musical talent in Joseph Achron and Leyb Pulver. After Granovsky defected to the West in 1928, actor Solomon Mikhoels took the reins and guided the company ably, focusing for a while on new works like Moyshe *Kulbak's *Boytre* (1936) and Dovid *Bergelson's *Der Toyber* ("The Deaf Man," 1930) and *Prints Ruveyni* (1945). When the Soviet authorities used Kulbak's underworld drama as an excuse to crack down on the troupe – Kulbak was arrested and disappeared into the gulag – GOSET responded with politically correct versions of Goldfaden's *Shulamis* (1938–9) and *Bar Kokhba* (1939). This strategy may have bought the troupe some time, but it did not avert disaster forever. Mikhoels was murdered in a staged accident in 1948, and Benjamin Zuskin was killed in a purge of Jewish intellectuals in 1952.

Other Centers

As Yiddish speakers spread across the globe in search of most hospitable environments, they established theatrical activity on six continents. For every major metropolis with multiple theaters and cabarets, there were numerous smaller cities and towns with less sizable and diverse offerings, but which helped provide a lifeline for performers and companies who needed audiences beyond their local ones in order to make a decent living, and which brought Yiddish theater to avid theatergoers living off the beaten path. The American "provinces," for example, included cities like Philadelphia, Chicago, and Baltimore, and countless cities and towns between and beyond. Among the places where Yiddish theater was performed, several important secondary hubs are worth noting: South Africa, where Sarah Sylvia reigned as the leading star, and where visitors like Maurice *Schwartz, Molly *Picon, and Meir Tselniker sojourned; Australia, dominated for decades by the artistic leadership of Polish immigrants Yankev Weislitz and Rochl Holzer, and playing host to numerous guest artists, from Shimon *Dzigan to Dina Halpern to Ida Kaminska and Zygmunt Turkow; and Montreal, which had long served as a "provincial" theater on the North American circuit. The leading figure of the Montreal Yiddish theater in the second half of the 20th century was Ukrainian-born Dora Wasserman, who established the Yiddish Drama Group in the 1950s; later renamed the Dora Wasserman Yiddish Theatre, control of the company passed to her daughter Bryna after Dora Wasserman's death in 2003. Israel became home to countless native Yiddish speakers, but proved problematic for Yiddish theater. The language wars that raged in Mandate Palestine and later in the State of Israel made public theater performances in Yiddish difficult to stage; so despite an abundance of talent, Yiddish theater was often suppressed. Nevertheless, it played a role in Israeli life. Yiddish performances in Palestine began as early as the 1890s, and in spite of both widespread scorn for Yiddish and special taxes imposed on "foreign-language" theaters, Yiddish theater was performed regularly in the early decades of the state. Immigrants from Eastern Europe like Shimon Dzigan, Mary Soriano, Max Perlman, Eni Litan, and Gita Galina were popular with Israeli audiences, who also welcomed visitors like Avrom Morevsky, Ida Kaminska, Joseph Buloff, and Maurice Schwartz. As of the early 21st century, little regular activity remains, but Shmuel Atzmon's *Yiddishpil* company, based in Tel Aviv, continues to carry the flame.

The Late 20th Century

In spite of social and economic pressures that drove millions of Jews westward, Yiddish theater continued to thrive in Poland, Romania, and the Soviet Union up to the outbreak of World War II. After the war, though, the soil that had been so fertile for such performances was largely scorched earth. Yet until a new wave of antisemitism broke out in Poland in the 1950s, many Polish Jews attempted to rebuild their lives in their native land, and two companies arose in Poland in 1946. The Nidershlezis Yiddish Theater, directed by S. Zack, produced Hirschbein's *Grine Felder* and Sloves's *Homens Mapole*. The Lodz Theater, directed by Moyshe Lipman, presented Dzigan and Schumacher and Ida Kaminska. In 1950 these two companies joined forces as the Jewish State Theater, working with a government subsidy under Kaminska's direction. It achieved success with the Manger-Fenster adaptation *A Goldfaden Kholem* ("A Goldfaden Dream," 1950) and Gordin's *Mirele Efros,* with Kaminska in the title role.

While Yiddish culture was decimated by Hitler and Stalin, it did not always fare well in countries where its speakers were free to perpetuate it – for they were also free *not* to. Everywhere that Ashkenazim went in search of greater economic opportunity and religious freedom, they faced ongoing dilemmas about how to strike a desirable balance between maintaining a connection to their religious roots and adapting to new surroundings. More often than not, they pursued the latter at the expense of the former, and Yiddish was often neglected as part of the bargain. What allowed the Yiddish theater to continue developing in places like New York was a steady supply of new immigrants. When the U.S. Congress enacted strict immigration quotas in the early 1920s, that supply largely dried up, and the American Yiddish theater began a slow but steady decline (which might have happened anyway, given the rise of new competition like film, radio, and television). Yet many of the stars of this period continued performing for a long time. Artef was an important force throughout the 1930s, as was the Yiddish Art Theatre in the 1930s and 1940s. By the 1930s, more performers who had started their careers in the Yiddish theater were crossing over successfully to Broadway and Hollywood than had actors in earlier generations. English-language audiences embraced such actors as Paul Muni (born Muni Weisenfreund) and Joseph Buloff, and numerous Yiddish actors enjoyed success in character roles. With the graying and shrinking of the Yiddish-speaking audience, Yiddish theater in the late 20th century increasingly became more a labor of love than a business. The one American company continuing to offer Yiddish performances on anything like a regular basis as of the early 21st century is the Folksbine. Elsewhere, Jewish theaters make occasional forays into producing Yiddish drama in English, just as some of the Yiddish classics have made their way into the repertoire in Hebrew, Polish, German, and other languages.

Conclusion

For hundreds of years, the *purimshpil* provided a Jewish counterpart to the dramas of the medieval Church, and as different as the contents and purposes of such performances were, Yiddish theater absorbed influences from its Christian neighbors from the very beginning, while putting a distinctly Jewish mark on the proceedings. That combination continued to lend the Yiddish theater its special character well into the modern era. The *purimshpil* and other performance forms originating in pre-modern times set other precedents as well: the centrality of music to much of Yiddish theatrical performance, the roots of Yiddish theater in Jewish texts and traditions, and challenges that Yiddish performances often presented to communal authorities. Jewish law kept the Yiddish theater from growing into a professional, year-round phenomenon for several centuries, by which point other European cultures had long-standing secular theatrical traditions. The Yiddish theater had a great deal of catching up to do, and it took to this process with relish. Pioneers like Goldfaden poured their knowledge of both Jewish materials and non-Jewish texts, music, and theatrical techniques into their work. Yiddish actors learned their craft partly from watching their counterparts perform in Russian, Romanian, Polish, German, and other languages, and partly from simply rolling up their sleeves and going to work. The most talented figures of the first generation of modern Yiddish theater could hold their own with contemporaries coming out of cultures with much more extensive theatrical traditions. The development of Yiddish theater and drama turned out to be remarkably compressed. Joining other European theatrical cultures only late in the 19th century, Yiddish theater took little time to diversify its repertoire, from the early musicals and melodramas that dominated the marquees to the many theatrical styles that would arise in the 20th century: naturalism, symbolism, expressionism, constructivism, etc. The combined forces of annihilation and persecution in Europe, and acculturation and assimilation of Yiddish speakers worldwide, conspired to cut short the remarkably rapid maturation of Yiddish theater and drama. It seems impossible to imagine a world in which Yiddish theater will ever play as vital a role in Jewish life as it did at its height, yet performers, scholars, and audiences continue to explore its legacy in many ways. Several of the best-known Yiddish dramas (for example, An-Sky's *Der Dibek* and Asch's *Got fun Nekome*, in many different translations as well as in adaptations by playwrights like Paddy Chayefsky, Donald Margulies, and Tony Kushner) have a long history of performances – some of them quite distinguished – in multiple languages. There is reason to believe that as translators make additional works available for non-Yiddish-speaking readers and audiences, other Yiddish plays will take their proper place in the world repertoire. The Yiddish theater has also attracted the attention of a number of distinguished historians and literary critics, including Yitskhok Schiper, Max Erik, Shmuel Niger, Jacob Shatzky, Noyekh Prilutski, and Zalmen Zylbercweig. The late 20th century witnessed a dramatic increase in scholarly books and articles on Yiddish theater and drama, a trend that shows no sign of abating in the early 21st century. The confluence of scholars, translators, playwrights, and audiences willing to give the Yiddish theater a fresh look suggests that long after the Yiddish theater's most vital period has passed, our understanding of the phenomenon it represented continues to grow.

For theater in Israel, see *Hebrew Literature, Modern (Drama); *Israel, State of: Cultural Life (Theater).

[Joel Berkowitz (2nd ed.)]

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THEBEN (**Mandl**), **JACOB KOPPEL** (1732–1799), head of the community of Pressburg and renowned **shtadlan* (the name of Theben is derived from the town of Devin (Ger. Theben) situated near Pressburg). Born in Pressburg, Theben inherited from his father the exclusive representation of the textile industry and the status of **parnas* and delegate of the Jews at court. He maintained relations with the court of the Austrian emperor and the noblemen of his retinue. Theben was elected *parnas* of the community of Pressburg in 1783. He waged a struggle against the decrees of Empress *Maria Theresa and the degrading projects of *Joseph II, which included shaving off the beards of the Jews. When the bridge toll was raised for Jews only, he acquired a lease of the collection of custom duties and reduced the fee. He was particularly renowned for his political struggle against compulsory military service by the Jews (one of the decrees of Joseph II). He did not demand the abolition of this service in exchange for a payment, but equal rights in exchange for equal obligations. He regarded military service and sacrifice by those deprived of rights as absurd. In 1796 Theben presented Emperor Francis I with a gift of 20,000 gold ducats in the name of the Jews and thus obtained the exemption from military service, but no rights, for them. In his private life he was the typical wealthy Jew of his period; his house was frequented by the poor and his table was always ready to welcome them. When he was received in audience by kings, his *takhrikhim* (funeral shrouds) were among his personal objects. His father ABRAHAM THEBEN (d. 1768) carried the Hebrew title *Manhig u-Farnas ha-Medinah*. He exploited his wide influence for the benefit of the Jews and interceded in favor of those tortured as a result of the *blood libel in the village of Orkuta (1764).

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[Baruch Yaron]

THEBES, ancient city in Upper *Egypt. A provincial backwater during the Old Kingdom, the small town of Wase rose to national prominence as the city of the 11th-Dynasty kings who founded the Middle Kingdom (c. 2134–1786 B.C.E.). The cult of the god Amun (biblical, *Amon) took root and flourished there after its introduction by succeeding kings of the 12th Dynasty, although they transferred their own residence to the north. At the outset of the 18th Dynasty (c. 1575) and, simultaneously, of the Egyptian Empire, the city became an international metropolis and Amun became the most important deity in the Egyptian pantheon. Amun granted victory to the pharaohs of the New Kingdom, and in gratitude they built splendid temples to him. When the Greeks first visited the city, its numerous temples and palaces so reminded them of their own storied "Thebes of the Hundred Gates" that they bestowed that name on the Egyptian city. To the Egyptians, however, from the New Kingdom on, Thebes was called either Wase, or more frequently simply "the City" (*niwe*) or "the City of Amun" (*niwe Amun*) whence the biblical No (Jer. 46:25 and Ezek. 30:14–16) and No-Amon (Nah. 3:8). The brutal sacking of this city by the Assyrians in 663 B.C.E. made such an impression that 50 years later, likening the forthcoming fate of Nineveh to it, the prophet Nahum (3:810) declared "Are you better than No-Amon that was situated among the rivers, that had the waters around her?… Cush and Egypt were her strength, and it was infinite;… Yet was she carried away."

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[Alan Richard Schulman]

THEBES, city in E. central Greece. Benjamin of Tudela, the 12th-century traveler, found 2,000 Jews in Thebes. They worked in silk dyeing. The city was renowned throughout Greece for these artisans and for its weaving mills. Judah Al-Ḥarizi, who visited the city in 1218, mentions the poet, Michael b. Caleb, a native of Thebes. The community was led by five officials (*ephori*) and was famous for its scholars. Jewish tombstones of the 14th–16th centuries have been discovered there. In 1613 anti-Jewish agitation took place in the city. During the 17th century an agreement was reached not to wear silken clothes for seven years in order to prevent the jealousy of the gentiles. As a result of the Greek rebellions against the Turks during the 18th century, the Jewish community was destroyed.

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[Simon Marcus]

THEBEZ (Heb. תֵּבֵץ), city attacked by Abimelech, the son of Gideon, after suppression of the revolt of the Shechemites. It may therefore be assumed that the place was not far from Shechem and was perhaps under its jurisdiction. Abimelech captured the city and attacked the tower (citadel or *migdal*) by burning the doors of the gate; there he was killed by a millstone thrown on him by a woman (Judg. 9:50–57). This event was remembered even in the time of David (II Sam. 11:21; cf.

Jos., Ant., 5:251–53; 7:142). Eusebius locates the village of Thebez 13 mi. (c. 21 km.) from Neapolis in the territory of that city, on the way to Scythopolis (Onom. 100:11ff.). This place was called Thopas under the Crusaders (1108 C.E.). It is the present-day Arab village of Ṭūbās (see below). However, the identification of this village with the biblical Thebez is doubtful, as no remains of that time were discovered there and as the similarity of the names is only superficial. Some scholars view Tirzah as a corruption of Thebez.

[Michael Avi-Yonah]

Ṭubas

Tubas (Teveẓ; Heb. תֵּבֵץ) is a Muslim-Arab village with municipal council status in Samaria, near Nablus (Shechem). The village, which had served in the 1936–39 Arab riots as a center for armed bands, was taken in the *Six-Day War by Israeli forces (June 7, 1967). According to the 1967 census, it had 5,262 inhabitants. By 1997 its population had grown to 11,760, including 6% refugees. Its economy was based on field crops, vegetables, fruit orchards, and sheep and goat flocks. The inhabitants of Ṭūbās owned large tracts of land on the eastern slopes of Samaria and in the lower Jordan Valley, which were worked by tenants.

[Efraim Orni]

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THEFT AND ROBBERY (Heb. גְּנֵבָה וּגְזֵלָה). An object which is in the possession of a person without the consent of its owner or any other person having a right thereto, when that person knows – or should know – that the latter does not consent, is considered to be stolen or robbed by him, regardless of whether the person holding it intends to restore it to the possession of the person entitled to it after a time or not at all (Sh. Ar., ḤM 348:1). The thief differs from the robber in the fact that the former steals furtively, when unobserved, whereas the robber takes openly and forcefully (BK 79b). This distinction is of practical significance for criminal law only; in dealing with civil cases the law relating to a robber applies equally to a thief and vice versa.

Civil Aspects

To establish that the object is in his possession, it is necessary for the thief or robber to perform an act of *acquisition (*kinyan*), such as a "lifting up" or "pulling" thereof, in the same manner as a person who wishes to acquire ownership of ownerless property; without this the object does not enter his possession and no theft or robbery is committed (BK 79a and Tos. thereto). In terms of this definition, land is never robbed (Suk. 30b), as it remains in the possession of its owner and never of the robber because it cannot be carried away, and the owner, who can always restore it to his possession by judicial means (BM 7a and Tos. to BM 61a), retains control thereof. On the other hand, a bailee who, without the owner's consent, overtly converts an object to his own use or denies the ownership of the bailor is thereby stealing it (Yad, Gezelah 3:11 and 14). This rule applies in the case of any person, such as a borrower or hirer, who has acquired possession of property with the owner's consent and thereafter refuses to return it (*Maggid Mishneh*, Gezelah 1:3). Many of the scholars of the Talmud are of the opinion that anyone who borrows a thing without the owner's consent is a robber (BB 88a). Moreover, some of them hold that anyone into whose hands a thing comes with the consent of its owner who afterward changes or departs from the use intended for it by the owner is a robber (BM 78a), for his possession thereof is contrary to the owner's wishes. Similarly, a man who finds a lost article and takes it with the purpose of keeping it is a robber (BM 26b), but a bailee who fails to return a thing, falsely pleading that it was stolen from him, is a thief and not a robber (BK 108b).

Certain things are not subject to the law of robbery because people do not mind their being taken; therefore a man who takes them without permission becomes entitled to them, as in the case of a tailor appropriating part of the thread with which he sews a suit, or a carpenter appropriating the sawdust from timber (BK 119a), or a son supported by his father who gives a morsel of food to a friend (Tosef., BK 11:4). In some cases the rabbis, for the sake of peace and order, regulated for the extension of the laws of robbery to property not legally subject thereto, because the ownership is not effective in law – as in the case of property found by a deaf-mute, idiot, or minor – as well as animals, birds, and fishes caught in certain snares set for them (Git. 59b).

RESTITUTION. The thief or robber is obliged to restore the stolen property itself (in specie) to the owner. The obligation comes into being from the time that the robbery is committed and is not fulfilled until the stolen property is returned in such a manner as to enable the owner to know that it has been restored to his possession (BM 31a).

SHINNUI. If the thing robbed is damaged while in the robber's possession, he is obliged to compensate the owner for the loss in accordance with the law applicable to a tort-feasor (see Tashba in: *Shitah Mekubbeẓet*, BK 97a); if improved while in the possession of the robber, it must be returned with all improvements, for which the robber is entitled to be compensated. If the thing is lost or destroyed while in the possession of the robber (cf. Sanh. 72a), or is changed to such an extent that it can no longer be put to its former use and is not fit for the owner's purpose (Rashba and Ramah in: *Shitah Mekubbeẓet*, BK 96a), the robber must pay the value of the thing robbed at the time of the robbery. The Talmud records disputing opinions on the law of *shinnui*. As indicated, *shinnui* ("transmutation," "*specificatio*") is constituted when the stolen property has undergone a change, whether an improvement or deterioration, to the extent that it is no longer fit for its former use, such as wood converted into utensils, wool into clothes, stones which are cut (BK 93b), an animal which has grown old, a coin which has cracked and is not fit to be used, fruit which has rotted, and wine that has gone sour (BK 96b). An accepted criterion for testing whether the *shinnui* is such that the stolen property is rendered unfit for its former use is to examine whether it has undergone a change of name (BK 65b), for people customarily call something which has a specific use by a particular name, so that a change of name denotes a *shinnui*. Yet some scholars are of the opinion that *shinnui* is subject to no special law: the robber must restore the changed object itself; if it is damaged by the change, he must compensate for it; if improved, he is entitled to compensation. However, most scholars hold that the return of the changed stolen property does not serve to restore the owner to the position he held prior to the robbery, inasmuch as the thing is no longer fit to be used by the owner as before and is therefore as if lost to him; thus the robber has to compensate for the thing according to its value at the time of the robbery, thereby acquiring ownership of the changed article. A third opinion is that in law the robber must restore the changed thing itself, but the rabbis – in order to encourage contrition on the part of the robbers – regulated that stolen property, if improved, need not be returned and the robber must only pay compensation for it (BK 66a, 93b, 94a). Again, others are of the opinion that even when the possibility of restoring the thing to its prior use remains – and therefore by law the *shinnui* does not transfer title – still if the loss which the robber would sustain in restoring the thing to its former use exceeds the benefit which the owner would derive from it, then the rabbis regulated that the robber need not restore it. In such an event the robber need only compensate for its value. An example of such a case is where the robber would have to demolish a whole structure in order to return a stolen beam which he had built into it (BK 95a).

Any profits which the stolen property may yield while detained by the robber belong apparently to the robber and he is not required to account for them to the owner (see *Rema*, ḤM 354:1). Moreover, any loss suffered by the owner as a result of being deprived of the use of the stolen property while it was detained by the robber is an economic loss, for which the robber is not required to compensate him (ḤM 363:3 and *Sma* thereto). Similarly the robber does not pay for a sickness from which a beast recovers (ḤM 363:1).

YE'USH. Apart from *shinnui* the robber may also acquire ownership of the stolen property and be required merely to pay compensation for it in the event of the owner's **ye'ush* ("despair"). Once the owner has lost all hope of the stolen property being restored to his possession, his ownership thereof is extinguished and title thereto is acquired by the robber, who is required only to pay its value at the time of the robbery. Opinions are divided in the Talmud on the question as to when exactly *ye'ush* is constituted and title conferred on the robber. Some scholars hold that *ye'ush* follows mere theft but not mere robbery: some hold the opposite view; and still others aver that *ye'ush* follows either (BK 114a–b). Another view is that despair alone does not suffice as it cannot be ascertained whether the owner has truly abandoned hope; to be recognized as real, *ye'ush* must therefore be accompanied by something more: either *ye'ush* with a change of possession, the stolen property having passed from the robber to a third person, or *ye'ush* accompanied by a change in the name by which the stolen article is called, i.e., when it has changed to such an extent, that people will incline to call it by another name even if it were possible to restore the article to its prior name. Mere *ye'ush* is nevertheless held by some scholars to suffice and to confer title to the stolen property on the robber (BK 66a–67a, 115a).

In strict law, when the thief delivers the stolen property into the possession of a third party prior to the owner's *ye'ush*, the latter may recover possession of his property from the third party without payment, for he has remained owner thereof. This law, if unamended, would have caused hardship to a bona fide purchaser on the open market, who could never be certain that he would not be deprived of his purchase by its true owner; as a result, since they had no means of taking precautions, people would never be in a position to buy anything with certainty. The rabbis accordingly enacted the *takkanat ha-shuk* ("open market rule") to protect both the purchaser in good faith and the owner. It provided that a man who purchases and pays for an article in the market without being in a position to know that it was stolen, while obliged to return it to the owner, is also entitled to demand a refund of the price from the latter. The owner accordingly recovers his pro-perty without causing the purchaser any loss (BK 115a).

In a case where the robber has transferred the stolen property into the possession of a third party and it is consumed by the latter prior to the owner's *ye'ush*, the Talmud records a dispute over whether the owner may demand compensation from one or the other at his option or from the robber only (BK 111b). Again, opinions are divided on the question of whether the heirs (of the robber) are considered as strangers, in the same position as a third party into whose possession the stolen property has come, or whether their possession is as that of the robber from whom they inherited (*ibid.*). In the post-talmudic period, the courts adopted the practice of restoring the stolen property itself to the owner even after *ye'ush* and a change of possession (*Rema*, ḤM 356:7).

[Shalom Albeck]

The Criminal Law

Stealing is repeatedly prohibited in the Bible. As the prohibition contained in the Decalogue (Ex. 20:13; Deut. 5:17) appears in the context of capital offenses, such as murder and adultery, it has been held to constitute the capital offense of man-stealing (see *Abduction), while the prohibitions of theft (Lev. 19:11) and robbery (Lev. 19:13), which appear in the context of fraudulent and oppressive dealings with men, were held to constitute the non-capital offense of larceny of money or chattels (Mekh. Yitro 8; Sanh. 86a; BM 61b; Yad, Genevah 1:1). The differentiation between theft and robbery is the same as in civil law (see above): theft is committed clandestinely, robbery openly (Yad, Genevah 1:3). It does not matter whether or not the thief (or robber) intended to enrich himself, permanently or at all, or whether he committed the offense only to annoy the owner or as a practical joke, or with the intention of borrowing and returning the thing taken, or with the resolve to pay all damages and penalties (BM 61b; Tosef., BK 10:37; Sifra Kedoshim 2); and it is said that the prohibition extends also to stealing one's own from the thief (BK 27b; Tosef., BK 38).

Criminal misappropriations are classified as falling into seven categories:

(1) *Fraud, that is, "stealing another man's mind";

(2) stealing by way of falsifying *weights and measures;

(3) stealing things which are useless or the use of which is forbidden to their owner, which is not punishable;

(4) misappropriating bills, lands, or consecrated property – for which only restitution has to be made;

(5) stealing chattels, for which the penalty is double payment (Ex. 22:8);

(6) stealing and selling or slaughtering oxen or sheep, for which the penalty is five or fourfold (Ex. 21:37); and

(7) man-stealing for which the punishment is death (Mekh. Mishpatim 13; Tosef., BK 7:8–17).

Although stealing and robbery constitute violations of negative injunctions by overt acts, they are not punishable by *flogging, because they entail monetary sanctions and one species of sanction always excludes all others (Yad, Genevah 3:1, Sanhedrin 18:2). But flogging was administered to a thief where the thing stolen had already been returned by him prior to his conviction and he has committed the theft for purposes other than self-enrichment (cf. *Minḥat Ḥinnukh*, no. 224); or where the offender (e.g., an infant or slave) was not capable of owning property from which reparation could be made (Yad, Genevah 1:10). Where the offense of stealing is merged in a graver offense, as for example where stealing is committed by slaughtering on the Sabbath an animal belonging to another, the capital punishment for the violation of the Sabbath absorbs and nullifies any monetary liability for stealing (Ket. 31a; Yad, Genevah 3:1–2); but where the offense is completed before the graver offense is commenced, as where pork is first stolen and then eaten, the monetary penalties for the theft are incurred in addition to the liability to be flogged for eating pork (Ket. 31b; Yad, loc. cit.).

The main difference between civil and criminal misappropriation is that while the civil remedy is restoration *in statu quo ante*, the criminal sanction is the payment of "double" (Ex. 22:8) or quadruple or quintuple (Ex. 21:37). While restitution may be ordered even where no witnesses are available to testify to the theft and to the previous warning administered to the thief (see *Penal Law), as, for example, on the *admission of the thief himself, the sanction of double, fourfold, or fivefold payment may not be imposed on him otherwise than upon judicial conviction (Ex. 22:8) on the strength of the testimony of witnesses (BK 64b; Yad, Genevah 1:4–5). The purpose of imposing the penalty of double restitution has been said to be that the thief should lose what he had intended his victim to lose (Yad, loc. cit.), and the reason for quadruple or quintuple that he who not only steals, but also sells or slaughters the animal stolen, has proved himself a persistent offender (Tosef., BK 7:2).

Payments recovered as penalties for theft are paid over to the victim ("he shall pay double unto his neighbor": Ex. 22:8). Execution is levied on the chattels of the thief first; if these are found insufficient, then execution proceeds to the best of his lands (Ex. 22:4; BK 7a–b). If he has neither movable nor real property, then the court orders that the thief be sold into slavery ("if he have nothing, then he shall be sold for his theft": Ex. 22:2) and the proceeds of the sale be paid out to the victim; but no such sale is ordered where only the penalties exceeding the value of the thing stolen are irrecoverable: once restitution has been made, the court waits for recovery of penalties until the thief attains the means to make the payments (Kid. 18a). Nor is a woman thief ever sold into slavery (Sot. 3:8). As the thief is sold "for his theft" only (Ex. 22:2), he may not be sold where his value exceeds that of the thing stolen; but where the value of the thing stolen exceeds the proceeds of the sale of the thief, he remains indebted for the balance, which may be recovered from him as a civil debt if and when, after his release (Ex. 21:2; and see *Slavery), he acquires property of his own (Yad, Genevah 3:11–14). A thief sold for several thefts from different victims may be held in partnership by all of them, or the proceeds of his sale will be distributed among them *pro rata* (*ibid*. 3:16).

In later talmudic and post-talmudic times, the sale of thieves into slavery became, of course, obsolete. Already in the seventh and eighth centuries, convicted thieves were flogged (*Halakhot Pesukot min ha-Ge'onim*, no. 94), presumably because nothing could be recovered from them. Later, there are ever-increasing indications to the effect that thieves became a grave menace to society, not so much because of the monetary damage they caused within the community, but because of the ill-repute their misconduct brought upon the Jews at large: they were ostracized and expelled from their cities (see **Ḥerem*), and delivered to non-Jewish authorities for adjudication and punishment (cf. e.g., *Takkanot Medinat Mehrin*, no. 265; *Pinkas Hekhsherim shel Kehillat Pozna*, nos. 1614 and 1655) quite apart from such routine punishments as floggings, *fines (*Takkanot Medinat Mehrin*, no. 263) and *imprisonment (*Tashbeẓ* 3:168) administered to them.

[Haim Hermann Cohn]

State of Israel

The law appertaining to theft and robbery is the Criminal Code Ordinance of 1936. The Ordinance is based on the rules of English criminal law and provides for a maximum penalty of three years imprisonment for theft while robbery, which is defined as the use or threat of force in the course of theft, is punishable by 14 years imprisonment.

Distinction between Theft and Robbery

The Talmud states that the distinction between theft and robbery is that the thief steals surreptitiously while the robber takes overtly and by the use of force (BK 79b). In the *Gali* case (*Gali v. State of Israel* (40 (4) PD 169, 1986), the defendant approached the victim and, without warning, snatched a box containing jewelry worth half a million dollars from the victim's hand. The defendant then quickly escaped and disappeared. The issue in this case was how to classify this act. In his opinion, Justice Elon discussed the question in terms of both Jewish Law and the Israeli statutes, arriving at the conclusion that, under both systems, such an act constitutes robbery, even though forceful power was not used in the taking. In such instances, he held, the deciding factor in classifying the act is the victim's perception. If the victim is aware of the snatching, the act is robbery, as there is perforce an element of violence, even if slight. If the victim is unaware of the snatching, as when he or she is pick-pocketed, there is no element of violence, and the act is considered as theft.

The opinion commends the lower court judge, and the attorney who appeared there, for relying on Jewish Law, in compliance with the Foundations of Law Act, 1980. The opinion states:

> The laws of theft and robbery in Jewish Law are numerous, and many of them are particular to this legal system and extremely instructive. Concerning the question at hand, the position of Jewish Law is concise and well defined. Let us examine Maimonides' illuminating words in his *Mishneh Torah*:
>
> > Who is a thief? One who takes someone's money secretly, without the knowledge of the owner, such as one who puts his hand into the purse of his neighbor and takes money without the owner seeing it, and similar cases. But if he takes it openly and publicly by force, he is considered not a thief, but a robber (Yad, Genevah 1:3).
> >
> > Who is a robber? One who takes someone's money by force, such as snatching an object from his hand (Yad, Genevah 1:3)

The opinion concludes with the following remarks:

> These words of Maimonides, which summarize the position of Jewish law as it emerges from the talmudic sources (BK 57a, 79b), and as it was subsequently formulated in the codes (Sh. Ar., ḤM 348:3, 359:7) define the act of robbery as theft which includes an element of force… This occurs when the act is done openly, i.e., when the victim from whom the object is snatched is aware of the snatching.

Penalties for Theft

Under Jewish law, there is a penalty of double and sometimes quadruple or quintuple payment for theft. In post-talmudic times, other penalties were imposed, as the situation required.

The case of *Anon. v. State of Israel* (35 (4) PD 438, 1981) dealt with the proper punishment for acts of embezzlement that occurred over a three-year period. The defendant was a member of the foreign service of the State of Israel who embezzled a sum of $80,000 dollars by means of an elaborate scheme of fraudulent practices. Upon conviction, the trial judge sentenced the defendant to imprisonment for three years. The defendant argued before the Supreme Court, inter alia, that prior to these acts he had been a constructive member of society, that he had returned the embezzled funds, and that he would not commit such acts in the future. Therefore, he argued, a prison sentence should not be imposed on him.

In his opinion, Justice Elon asserted that, "Crimes in which the criminal takes advantage of the authority and trust reposed in him by deceiving those who relied upon him are counted among the most serious crimes which undermine the foundations of civilized society." In particular, he added, "One who embezzles the funds of the general public is guilty of a more serious crime than one who embezzles funds belonging to an individual."

Jewish law emphasizes the distinction between stealing from the public and stealing from a private individual: "Theft from the public is more severe than theft from an individual, for one who steals from an individual can compensate him by returning what he has stolen, while one who steals from the public cannot compensate them by returning what he has stolen" (Tosefta, BK 10:14, ed. Zuckermandel). In light of the great damage to the public, the serious nature of the defendant's acts, and in order to deter potential criminals, the Supreme Court upheld the sentence imposed by the lower court.

The Rabbinic Law of Robbery

"The Rabbinic Law of Robbery" refers to various acts which are considered theft by force of rabbinic enactment, even though in terms of biblical law these acts did not constitute theft, and were not prohibited. A prime example of the rabbinic law of robbery is money taken by means of gambling. Under biblical law, taking such winnings is not theft, since the loser has consented to the taking. However, the Rabbis enacted that, inasmuch as the winner takes money without giving anything in return, and there is actually no unreserved consent by the loser, such taking is regarded as theft.

One of the differences between robbery under rabbinic law and robbery under biblical law is that, in the former, a court does not have the power to effect a restoration of the money taken (Yad, Gezelah va-Avedah 6:16).

A responsum by *David ibn Zimra (Resp. Radbaz 1:503) explains that in such cases, none of the parties acted with the intent of following the rabbinic law. In this respect, the rabbinic law of robbery differs from other rabbinic enactments, such as the methods instituted by rabbinic law for acquiring property, in which the parties act in reliance on rabbinic law and its enforcement. In such instances, a court enforces the enactments of rabbinic law.

David ben Solomon ibn Abi Zimra (Radbaz) ruled that the rabbinic law of robbery is subject to the sanction of a ban as well as other religious and moral sanctions.

For example, a gambler who lives by gambling is disqualified as a judge or a witness in court, and in order to have the disqualification removed he must pay back or give to charity the money he has accumulated from his gambling (see *Gambling).

[Bernard Auerbach (2nd ed.)]

Robbery by the State

Halakhic authorities expanded the application of the law governing robbery, so that in addition to the private law concerning robbery of one individual by another, the law also included robbery from the individual by a public authority, as a matter of constitutional and public law.

In connection with the doctrine *dina de-malkhuta dina* ("the law of the state [lit. the kingdom] is law"), by which the *halakhah* acknowledges the binding nature of the laws of the state, a basic distinction was established. This doctrine applies to the expropriation of property by the king under general legislation that applies to all inhabitants of the state equally and in a non-discriminatory manner. Such expropriation is within the king's power. But the doctrine does not apply if the expropriation does not conform to a general law promulgated by the state, and such a situation is considered as theft.

Maimonides states (Yad, Gezelah va-Avedah 5:14): "The principle of the matter is this: Any law enacted by the king that applies generally and not only to a single individual is not robbery; but whenever he takes discriminatorily from a particular individual only, and not by law applicable to everyone, he acts lawlessly against that individual, and this is robbery."

Maggid Mishneh (by *Vidal Yom Tov of Tolosa, fourteenth century) comments: "The *law* of the land is law, but *thievery* by the 'land' is not law." The practical application of this distinction mainly concerns whether one may derive any benefit from property expropriated by the government, such as purchasing it. If the property has been taken lawfully by the state, one may obtain the property and benefit from it. But if it has been taken unlawful ly, by thievery, it may not be obtained or used, "for anyone who does these or similar things strengthens the hands of law violators." (Yad, Gezelah va-Avedah 5:1; Sh. Ar., ḤM 369).

Similarly, R. *Isaac b. Sheshet Perfet (Resp. Ribash ha-Ḥadashot, 9) ruled that a fine levied against all Jews in a particular locality, due to the acts of a few Jews who were guilty of monetary fraud, was "utter robbery," as it was collective punishment. This could not be seen as falling under the rubric of "the law of the land is law" in the same way as does ordinary tax law.

Robbery by the Community

From the 11th century onward, with the rise in the authority of the *kehillah* (the Jewish community) in the various diasporas, the monetary relationship between the individual and the community became a subject of discussion. Responsa on this question emphasize that unlawful seizure by the community of individual property is robbery.

A responsum by the halakhic authority of 12th-century Mainz (Resp. Or Zaru'a, 222) rejected the community's claim that it may require the members of the community to pay the taxes assessed against them, without giving them the opportunity to declare under oath the value of the property that they possess. This ruling rested on the ground that the community is subject to the same laws concerning robbery as the individual. As the community may not rob the individual, the communal enactment was therefore void.

The responsum relies on the talmudic dictum, "Does the fact that they are many give them a license to be robbers?" This maxim was stated to support the rule that the public may not establish a path through the property of an individual without his consent (BB 100a).

A similar ruling concerning the obligation to pay a tax (Resp. Maharam of Rothenburg, ed. Prague, 106) held that where it is clear that a tax assessment is incorrect, we do not apply the principle that the tax payer must first pay and only afterwards litigate his right to a refund. Maharam also relied on the Talmudic dictum referred to above, and concluded that the arbitrary infringement by the community on the individual's rights constitutes robbery.

A responsum by Ribash (Resp. Ribash, 477) held that a community may not require an individual to pay a tax that was levied to cover expenditures incurred before the individual became a resident of the community. Ribash concluded that such a requirement would entail robbery. The community has no authority to adopt an enactment that would unjustifiably take an individual's property, as "the public may not legislate to rob others" (see **Takkanot ha-Kahal*).

Ḥamas (Violence)

The Bible makes no distinction between the terms *ḥamas* and *gezel* (robbery). God tells Noah, "the end of all flesh has come before me, for the earth is filled with *ḥamas* on account of them" (Gen. 6:13). The Sages and biblical commentators interpret *ḥamas* to refer to robbery. The prophets often referred to *ḥamas* in conjunction with the term *shod* (robbery, plunder). However, the two terms were differentiated in the tannaitic period and the term *ḥamas* was used to connote an act that borders on robbery, although biblically permitted.

The Babylonian *amoraim* interpreted the term *ḥamsan* to refer to one who forcefully takes someone else's property against his will, but pays him for the property (BK 62a). The Jerusalem Talmud states that a *ḥamsan* is one who intentionally steals property that is worth less than a *perutah*, so that a court will not hear the action (TJ, BM 4:2)

The act of a *ḥamsan* is not robbery under biblical law, but it is a violation of the commandment, "You shall not covet" (Yad, Gezelah va-Avedah 1:9, cf. Rabad's gloss, ad loc.). However, the act constitutes robbery under rabbinic law. A *ḥamsan* may therefore not be a witness, although he is competent to be a witness under biblical law (Sanh. 25b; Yad, Edut 10:4).

If the victim of an act of *ḥamas* states that he consents to transfer the property to the *ḥamsan* or he indicates this by his conduct, the transfer is legally valid (see **Ones*). However, if the victim does not so state or indicate, the transfer is invalid. According to some halakhic authorities, a transfer under compulsion is invalid only under rabbinic law; therefore, a court does not have the power to effect a restoration of the property (*Biur ha-Gra*, Sh. Ar., ḤM 205:1)

[Menachem Elon (2nd ed.)]

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THÉMANLYS, PASCAL (1907–), French author. Descended from an old Bordeaux family, Thémanlys was born in Paris. A Zionist and a mystic, he believed in the reestablishment of Ereẓ Israel as Jewry's spiritual center. Settling in Israel in 1949, Thémanlys was cofounder with Joseph Milbauer of the Association des Amitiés Israël-France. His works include *Figures passionees* (1930), *Les merveilles du Becht* (1934), *Grands d'Israël, des Pharisiens à nos jours* (1938), *Influences* (1949), and *Un itinéraire de Paris à Jérusalem* (1963).

°THEMISTIUS (317–c. 388 C.E.), statesman, rhetorician, and philosopher, known to medieval Jewish philosophers as a major interpreter of Aristotle; the author of commentaries which Maimonides recommends highly (see Maimonides' letter to Samuel ibn Tibbon, in S. Pines' introduction to his translation of *The Guide of the Perplexed* (1963), lix).

Themistius lived in Constantinople most of his life. A pagan, he held the office of senator and even prefect in the new Christian capital, and celebrated its emperors in several panegyrics. The pliant nature of Themistius' personality is also evident in his philosophical writings, in which he shows familiarity with the various currents of Greek philosophy and, in the tradition of late Greek thought, he believes Plato and Aristotle to be in substantial agreement.

Only two of Themistius' commentaries were translated into Hebrew (from earlier Arabic translation): his paraphrase of Aristotle's *De caelo* by Zerahiah b. Isaac *Gracian, in 1284; and his paraphrase of Book 12 of the *Metaphysics* by Moses ibn *Tibbon, in 1255 (both edited by S. Landauer, *Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca*, 4 (1902), 1–167; 5 (1903), 1–35). Themistius' other commentaries, to the *Prior* and *Posterior Analytics*, the *Physics*, and *De anima*, were known either through Arabic translations or through secondary sources. He is often quoted by other late Hellenistic writers, notably John Philoponus, and by Islamic philosophers, particularly *Averroes. It is through supercommentaries to Averroes' writings that Themistius' views often find expression in the works of such late medieval Jewish figures as Levi b. Gershom and Moses of Narbonne.

Themistius' own contribution to Peripatetic philosophy lies in the interpretation, not completely consistent, which he gave to Aristotle's doctrine of the *intellect. He considered the "potential intellect" of Aristotle to be an independent, separate substance, though closely related, as matter is to form, to the similarly separate "agent intellect." He saw the intellect's bridge to corporeal forms and to man as accomplished through a "common," "passive intellect," neither separate nor immortal. Averroes was later to build upon this notion of an independent political intellect, identifying its substance completely with the universal Agent Intellect.

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[Alfred L. Ivry]

THEOCRACY, literally the "rule of God," but generally applied to mean a state ruled by religious law. In the first century C.E. Josephus created the term "theocracy" to describe the people of Israel's polity. "Some peoples have entrusted the supreme political power to monarchies, others to oligarchies, yet others to the masses. Our lawgiver, however… gave to his constitution the form of what – if a forced expression be permitted – may be termed a 'theocracy,' placing all sovereignty and authority in the hands of God" (Apion, 2:165). That description is entirely accurate, if taken literally. The Torah repeatedly refers to God as the immediate ruler of the Jewish people and gives only passing attention to human self-rule in the form of a monarchy (Deut. 17:14–20). The Book of Joshua and particularly the Book of Judges depict a pure theocracy.

The period of such direct divine rule was, however, limited. Divine sanction was given to the new monarchy, although the latter was said to imply a rejection of God's direct kingship (I Sam. 8:7). From that time on, what is in effect Jewish theocracy is understood to be one of various forms of indirect divine rule, which generally acted through the official religious institutions. Thus, in the Second Temple era there were times when the high priesthood united political and religious power, as in the Hasmonean rulers. In such priestly rule, theocracy was transformed into heirocracy, a priestly rule. It may be contrasted with the nomocracy, in this instance rule by sacred law, of the post-Temple period. Josephus seems to have recognized this when he wrote, describing Torah law, "be content with this, having the laws for your masters and governing all your actions by them; for God sufficeth for your ruler" (Ant., 4:223).

In the talmudic period and the Middle Ages the polity of the Jewish community, though built on religious law, was not strictly speaking a theocracy since it was not ruled exclusively by the rabbis. In fact, there was continual tension between the rabbis and the lay leadership.

Contemporary Israel

The question of the character of the Jewish polity, largely theoretical for nearly two millennia, became a matter of practical concern with the establishment of the State of Israel. Secularists and most non-Orthodox theoreticians have maintained that religious institutions in Israel should refrain from exercising a direct role in the government. The overwhelming majority of Orthodox thinkers have been willing to accept the essentially non-religious structure of the Jewish state, provided that Orthodoxy has certain political rights and power. A tiny minority, insisting upon a rigorous interpretation of God as sole ruler, rejects the present State of Israel as blasphemous and insists that a Jewish state can be established only with the coming of the king-messiah.

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[Eugene B. Borowitz]

THEODOR, JULIUS (1849–1923), rabbi and researcher of the *aggadah* and Midrash. Theodor, born in Schalleninken, E. Prussia, studied at Breslau Rabbinical Seminary under Z. Frankel and H. Graetz. After teaching religion in Tarnowitz and Bromberg (Bydgoszcz), he served as rabbi in Brant and in *Bojanowo (1888–1919). He was active in communal life and rabbinical organizations, following a traditional line. After World War I he moved to Berlin. His scholarly work was devoted almost entirely to research in the *aggadah*, in which field he published articles in Hebrew and German. His life work was the publication of the *Midrash Bereshit Rabbah* in a scholarly edition entitled *Minḥat Yehudah*, based upon manuscripts and first editions with variant readings and a comprehensive commentary. Theodor did not succeed in preparing the entire Midrash, but more than half was published during his lifetime (1903–17); the remainder of his literary estate was published in 1926 by Ḥ. Albeck, who also published the last part of the Midrash with a comprehensive introduction (1928–36). Theodor had the distinction of being the first to publish a text of rabbinic literature in a scientific and amended edition in accordance with the philological methods then current. This edition, in which both his talmudic scholarship and classical philological knowledge found expression, serves as an instructive example of accuracy and care and is a most important contribution to the study of the *aggadah*.

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[Moshe David Herr]

°**THEODORE OF MOPSUESTIA** (c. 350–428 C.E.), Christian Bible exegete and theologian. Born in Antioch, Theodore was bishop of Mopsuestia in Cilicia from 392 C.E. until his death. Of all his commentaries, only that on the minor prophets is wholly extant. Theodore interpreted the biblical narrative as historical and not allegorical, but always in the light of Christian salvation history. He recognized few direct messianic prophecies, and he showed little regard for the Books of Esther and the Song of Songs. His commentary on Psalms is considered his most important exegetical work.

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[Zev Garber]

THEODOSIUS, spokesman for the Samaritan community of *Alexandria in the second century B.C.E. During the reign of Ptolemy VI Philometor (180–145 B.C.E.) a dispute arose between the Jews and Samaritans of Alexandria. The quarrel centered around the respective temples in Jerusalem and Mount Gerizim, and appears to have been a continuation of an earlier dispute (Jos., Ant., 12:10). Whereas the Jews wished to send sacrifices to the Temple at Jerusalem, the Samaritans held that their temple on Mount Gerizim was the only legitimate one. Both sides agreed to bring the dispute before Ptolemy Philometor, and Theodosius was among those appointed to present the Samaritan case. The Jewish party, however, represented by one Andronicus the son of Messalamus, succeeded in persuading the king "that the Jerusalem Temple alone was built in accordance with the laws of Moses." As a result, Theodosius and the other Samaritan participants are said to have been put to death (Jos., Ant., 13:74–79).

[Isaiah Gafni]

°**THEODOSIUS I**, Roman emperor, 379–395 C.E. Although Theodosius, an orthodox Christian, was responsive to the influence of the church, he subordinated it to his authority. During his reign, and in the reigns of his sons Arcadius and *Honorius, the civil position of the Jews greatly deteriorated. In 388 the bishop of Callinicus on the Euphrates incited a crowd to burn a synagogue; the emperor commanded the governor of the East to punish the culprits and have the bishop rebuild the synagogue. *Ambrose, bishop of Milan, however, by his spiritual influence and by threats of damnation, persuaded the emperor both to reconsider his decision and repeal it (Ambrose, Epistula XL). In 393 Theodosius prohibited polygamy for Jews. Although this law corresponded with actual practice, it constituted an imperial intervention in the private life of the Jews (C. Justiniani 1:9, 7). The same year Theodosius asked the governor of the East to suppress with due severity the excessive zeal of those who usurped rights for themselves in the name of the Catholic religion. He stressed that Judaism was a lawful sect and forbade destruction of its synagogues (C. Th. 16:8, 9). From 393 to 426 there were at least ten imperial interventions against damaging synagogues, which indicates clearly the actual position of the Jews.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: F.-M. Abel, *Histoire de la Palestine*, 2 (1952), 300ff.; M. Avi-Yonah, *Bi-Ymei Roma u-Bizantiyyon* (1970), 180, 182f.; Baron, Social², index.

[Alfredo Mordechai Rabello]

°**THEODOSIUS II** (**Flavius Theodosius Junior**), Roman emperor of the East, 408–450 C.E. Theodosius II edited the first official collection of the imperial statutes from the time of Constantine to the year 438, the year of publication of the Theodosian Code (C. Th.). The Code was accepted and published by Emperor Valentinian III also in the West, where it enjoyed wide circulation. The Jews are dealt with particularly in chapters 8 and 9 of book 16: (*"De Judaeis, Caelicolis, et Samaritanis"*; *"Ne Christianum mancipium Judaeus habeat"*). The reign of Theodosius II marks a serious deterioration in the position of the Jews. His first law, of May 408, is directed against the feast of Purim, since it was believed that the Jews then burned images of the cross (C. Th. 16:8, 18). In 415 the patriarch Gamaliel was deposed (C. Th. 16:8, 22); construction of new synagogues was forbidden and destruction of the existing ones ordered, provided this did not result in disorder. The office of patriarch disappeared in the subsequent years, and in 429 the emperor took advantage of this by imposing a new tax which was to be paid by the community (a much easier and safer system for the treasury; C. Th. 16:8, 29; see *Honorius). Nevertheless, Judaism was proclaimed a tolerated cult in 423 (C. Th. 16:8, 26), provided it did not offend the Christian religion. Synagogues were protected, the reconstruction of synagogues that had been destroyed was ordered, and observance of the Sabbath was permitted (C. Th. 16:8, 10, 25, 27). However, in 438 an important statute was issued in which the Jews were defined as "enemies of the Roman laws and of the supreme majesty." Consequently they were forbidden to hold any high office, military or civil, and they lost all jurisdiction over Christians; the prohibition to build new synagogues was reinstituted, and the destruction of those that were unsafe was ordered. Jews, however, were not to be exempted from the burdensome curial offices. The civil inferiority of the Jews and discrimination against them were thus legally sanctioned.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Juster, Juifs, 1 (1914), 162–6, 237; 2 (1914), 101–3; F. Nau, in: REJ, 83 (1927), 184–206; C. Pharr et al. (eds. and trs.), *The Theodosian Code* (1952); Baron, Social², index; J. Gaudemet, *L'Eglise dans l'Empire Romain* (1958), 623ff.; M. Simon, *Verus Israel* (Fr., 1964²) J.W. Parkes, *Conflict of the Church and the Synagogue* (1964).

[Alfredo Mordechai Rabello]

THEODOSIUS OF ROME ("**Todos Ish Romi**"; see Jastrow Dict. 1650), the spiritual leader of the Roman Jewish community some time during the late first century C.E. Yose b. Ḥalafta relates that he instituted in Rome on the nights of Passover the eating of "helmeted goats," i.e., goats roasted with entrails and legs on the head, like a helmet, the manner in which the paschal lamb was sacrificed. They (i.e., the sages, not Simeon b. Shetaḥ, as in Ber. 19a) sent to him, declaring that were he not Theodosius, they would have declared a ban against him, because he was "making Israel eat sacred flesh outside[the Temple]" (Pes. 53a; cf. Tosef., Beẓah 2:15). This story demonstrates the degree to which the central religious authorities in Palestine (probably Gamaliel and the *bet din* at Jabneh) kept a strict check on Diaspora Jewry. In the amoraic period, the question arose whether Theodosius was a "great man" (*gavra rabba*) or merely a "powerful man" (*ba'al egrofin*). They proved that he was a "great man," citing a teaching of his: "What did Hananiah, Mishael and Azariah see that they delivered themselves for the Sanctification of the[Divine]Name into the fiery furnace…–" It is surely indicative that the only teaching recorded of this prominent Diaspora leader deals with the problem of "the sanctification of the Name" (implying martyrdom), one no doubt of very topical import. According to another amoraic tradition, Theodosius gave financial support to scholars (Pes. 53b).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: M. Vogelmann, in: *Sefer Zikkaron li-Shelomo S. Mayer* (1956), 196–200; M. Beer, in: *Zion*, 26 (1961), 238–40; S. Lieberman, *Tosefta ki-Feshutah*, 5 (1962), 959–60.

[Daniel Sperber]

THEODOTUS (second century B.C.E.), Samaritan author of an epic on the rape of Dinah (Gen. 34). The long fragment extant preserves a summary together with 47 lines of the original poem (Eusebius, *Praeparatio Evangelica*, 9:22, quoting Alexander Polyhistor). The epic's title is not known; the heading *On the Jews* is not the author's. It is not specific enough nor would Theodotus, a Samaritan, have given it this title. Modern writers sometimes refer to it, without evidence, as *On Shechem*. Theodotus' reference to Shechem as "the holy town" makes it certain that he was a Samaritan. It is unlikely, therefore, that this is the Theodotus to whom Josephus referred in his list of pagan authors who wrote about the Jews (Jos., Apion, 1:216). Neither is it reasonable to identify him with the Phoenician writer by the same name mentioned by the second-century church father Tatian (*Oratio ad Graecos*, 37).

The epic opens with a panoramic view of Sicima (Shechem) and its majestic surroundings, followed by an introduction of Jacob as he is received hospitably into the city. The epic here reverts to the patriarch's journey to Mesopotamia to escape from his brother's wrath. As he crosses the Euphrates, rich in cattle, Laban welcomes him, but then proceeds to cheat him. After Dinah, fair and noble, is born, Jacob recrosses the river and becomes a landowner in the vicinity of Shechem. His sons are shepherds and Dinah joins the women in weaving wool. Dinah is curious to see the city during a festival; there she is raped by Sychem (Shechem), who later asks Jacob for her hand; Jacob agrees on condition that all inhabitants of Shechem be circumcised. Again and again the significance of this rite is stressed, suggesting that the author was attempting to combat intermarriage. Meanwhile, Symeon (Simeon) recalls God's promise to Abraham that his seed would inherit the land of ten nations, inciting Levi to avenge their sister's shame from this Sodom-like city, where guests are ravished. The last nine lines depict vividly the slaying of Emmor (Hamor) and Sychem. The epic ends with a description of how the brothers joined in the sacking of the city and how Dinah was restored to her father.

Theodotus was a master of the classical epic, with a touch of the real poet. The poem was rooted in Homer, whose lines are sometimes paraphrased. But he was not necessarily a syncretist like Pseudo-*Eupolemus. The manuscript's reading that the father of Sicimius (Shechem) was Hermes (which lends credence to Theodotus' syncretism) is usually emended to Emmor (Hamor).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Schuerer, Gesch, 3 (1909^4), 499–500 (includes bibliography); J. Guttmann, *Ha-Sifrut ha-Yehudit ha-Hellenistit*, 1 (1958), 245–61.

[Ben Zion Wacholder]

THEOLOGY.

Introduction

Defined by Richard Hooker, the Renaissance theologian, as "the science of things divine," theology (from the Greek word *theos*, "God," and *logos*, "word," "doctrine") is a sustained, rational discourse on *God, His nature, His relationship to man and the universe, the manner in which He communicates His will to mankind, including such kindred topics as providence, *miracles, prayer, worship, *free will, *sin, *repentance, the problem of *evil, immortality, and angelology. Theology has been particularly prominent in Christian thought, the Christian thinkers having devoted a good deal of reflection to the implications of their faith. For historical reasons (the heritage of the Bible with its strong practical emphasis; the influence of the Talmud, in which the ideal of law is paramount; the absence of doctrines such as the Trinity calling for precise definition; the dispersal of Jews in many different communities with varying patterns of thought), the genius of Judaism has been directed more toward the practices of the faith than toward abstract speculation, more to what God would have men do than to what God is. Therefore it has been frequently asserted that Judaism has no theology. Attempts at constructing a Jewish theology have sometimes been met with fierce opposition both by secularists, who object to the *theos* of theology, seeing it as retrogressive and as leading to heresy hunting, and by the Orthodox, who object to the *logos* of theology as harmful to faith, which, they claim, demands only obedience to the law and which can only be disturbed through an inquiry into its roots. Some declare, therefore, that the whole theological exercise is un-Jewish. While there may be some truth to the contention that Judaism does not know of any systematic theology (even this is belied by the efforts of the medieval Jewish thinkers), it is obvious that God has been at the center of Jewish life and thought since the beginnings of Judaism. Jews have thought profoundly about God and there is a Jewish theology even if some prefer to call it by some other name. There is the further point that the halakhic approach can only be defended on non-halakhic grounds. "Pan-Halakhism," to use a phrase coined by A.J. *Heschel, is self-defeating.

Theology in the Bible

The whole of the Hebrew Bible has God as its concern: the only biblical book containing no direct reference to God is the Book of Esther. The Bible does not, however, stand on its own in the Jewish tradition. The Torah is the Bible as interpreted in and by the historical experiences of the people of Israel. This goes a long way toward explaining why there have been no serious attempts among Jews at writing a biblical theology. For example, in discussing the theological difficulties of God "…visiting the iniquity of the fathers upon the children unto the third and fourth generation…" (Ex. 20:5), the Jewish theologian will not be content with this text on its own but will seek to discover how it ties up with other texts, such as Deuteronomy 24:16 and Ezekiel, chapter 18. Above all, he will wish to know how the biblical doctrines fared at the hands of their Jewish interpreters throughout Jewish history. The modern Jewish theologian also accepts the insights provided by biblical criticism, archaeology, and philology. He recognizes the developing nature of biblical thought. His theology builds on the Bible but utilizes all the tools provided by modern scholarship for the understanding of the Bible. The study of biblical theology is, then, for him not a means of acquiring a ready-to-hand series of infallible texts, but a method of discovering how it all began, how the impact of the Divine first made itself felt in Israel's collective life, how man quested for God, and how God allowed Himself to be found. While biblical theology has succeeded in establishing itself as a legitimate branch of biblical studies (H.H. Rowley (ed.), *Old Testament and Modern Study* (1951), 311–45; E. Jacob, *Theology of the Old Testament* (1958), 11–26) those who engage in it, all of them Christian scholars, generally approach the Old Testament from the point of view of the "New" and the interpretations of the Church. The criteria for determining the "permanent values" inherent in the biblical record, adopted by the Jewish theologian, are those provided by the Jewish tradition.

The key theological idea in the Bible is the sovereignty of God. He is the "living God," Creator of the world and all that is in it: One, All-powerful, All-good and Holy, demanding of His creatures that they practice justice and righteousness. He chooses Israel to be a "light to the nations." He is both transcendent and immanent, uncontained by the highest heavens and yet "tabernacling" (i.e., dwelling as in a tent; see Cross, in: *Biblical Archaeologist Reader*, 1 (1961), 201–28) in the midst of the Children of Israel. He has many names but His special name is YHWH. Myths are not attached to Him as they are to pagan gods. He has no feminine partner and there is no name in the Bible for "goddess." He is beyond birth and death and all similar human manifestations, though He is frequently described in anthropomorphic terms. These terms are, however, in no way incompatible with a highly spiritual outlook.

The Bible contains no systematic treatment of theological problems. Even the Books of Job and Ecclesiastes, with their majestic probing into the terrible question of why the righteous suffer, have little to say on the more fundamental difficulty of why there should be any suffering or evil at all. That nothing is impossible for God is stated in the Bible (Gen. 18:14; Jer. 32:27), but it is foreign to biblical thought to consider the problem, widely discussed by the medieval thinkers, whether this means that God can do the logically impossible, and whether things involving a contradiction fall under the scope of divine omnipotence. With very few exceptions the biblical books are silent on the whole question of the hereafter. The biblical picture is of the all-pervading presence of God: His footsteps heard in the wind and storm, His being felt in the dealings of man. The Bible, however, contains no command to believe and has no interest in theological speculations as to His true nature. All this is largely due to the severely concrete, "organic" nature of ancient Hebraic thought which hardly bears any resemblances to the philosophical thinking that is the heritage of the Greeks and to which the Western world owes its theology. To a greater or lesser extent the same is true of rabbinic thought.

Rabbinic Theology

The rabbinic period saw the emergence of new theological ideas and the strengthening of older ones. The Torah became the name for the sum total of Jewish religious teaching and its study the supreme religious duty. Rabbinic Judaism, according to some interpretations, is not a "religion of salvation": for the rabbis, this life is good in itself, not merely a school for the eternal life, yet the rabbinic approach to Judaism is distinctly otherworldly. The "eternal life" of the world to come is always contrasted with the transient nature of this life. The biblical doctrines of sin and repentance are deepened, especially by the doctrine of the two inclinations in man: the "good inclination," *yeẓer ha-tov*, which pulls him upward, and the "evil inclination," *yeẓer ha-ra*, which drags him down. In the thought of this period biblical universalism is to some extent obscured by a particularistic emphasis typical of a minority group struggling for its survival. Anthropomorphic descriptions of God abound in rabbinic literature, though they are generally qualified by the suggestion that they cannot really be applied to God. In his dealings with man God operates by the principle of "measure for measure": as man behaves so does God behave toward him. The notion of God as king is found in the Bible. In rabbinic literature, however, the term "the kingdom of God" (*malkhut shamayim*) expresses both an attitude of mind in which man acknowledges God's sovereignty and the ultimate reign of God over all His creatures.

In dealing with the difficult subject of rabbinic theology one must always be aware of the rough and ready spontaneous nature of rabbinic thinking and guard against imposing on the sources a system that is basically alien to them. G.F. Moore's warning (*Judaism*, 1 (1927), 357) is apposite:

> Judaism, in the centuries with which we are concerned, had no body of articulated and systematized doctrine such as we understand by the name theology. Philo, indeed, endeavored to harmonize his hereditary religion with a Hellenistic philosophy, but the resulting theology exerted no discoverable influence on the main current of Jewish thought. As in the case of the Bible itself, any exposition of Jewish teaching on these subjects, by the very necessity of orderly disposition, unavoidably gives an appearance of system and coherence which the teachings themselves do not exhibit, and which were not in the mind of the teachers. This fact the reader must constantly bear in mind. It must further be remarked that the utterances of the rabbis on this subject are not dogmatic, carrying an authority comparable to the juristic definitions and decisions of the Halakah; they are in great part homiletic, often drawing instruction or edification from the words of Scripture by ingenious turns of interpretation, association, and application, which seized upon the attention and fixed themselves in the memory of the hearers by the novelty, not of the lesson, but of the way the homilist got it into the text and out again. Large liberty in such invention has always been accorded to preachers, and every one knows that scholastic precision is not to be looked for in what is said for impression.

The warning has been so strongly reinforced by Max *Kadushin's researches (*Rabbinic Mind*, 1965^2) into the nature of rabbinic thought and the extreme difficulty of distinguishing between authentic rabbinic dogma and the mere operation of concepts as a dynamic exercise, that a case can be made for denying altogether that there is a rabbinic theology. Summing up, it may be said that the rabbis were certainly much concerned with theological themes, but one would look in vain in rabbinic literature for any kind of systematic treatment of these themes.

Medieval Jewish Theology

Influenced by Aristotelian and Neoplatonic philosophy and by the Arabic *Kalām, the medieval Jewish thinkers produced important systematic treatises on Jewish theology. It was in this period that Jewish theology had its true birth. The term "medieval Jewish philosophy" is, in reality, a misnomer. The medieval thinkers pursued theology rather than philosophy in that, despite being undoubtedly influenced by Greek thinking, they began and ended with faith. Their use of reason was not consciously directed toward the working out of new philosophical positions, but to establish traditional ones, securely grounded in faith. They were religious believers writing for religious believers. What they sought to offer their readers was a reasoned defense of Jewish beliefs even if in the process they arrived at very unconventional attitudes.

The first great systematic Jewish theologian, *Saadiah b. Joseph Gaon, wrote his *Emunot ve-De'ot* ("Beliefs and Opinions") in Arabic in 933. *Baḥya b. Joseph ibn Paquda's *Ḥovot ha-Levavot* ("Duties of the Heart"), though in the main an ethicoreligious tract, is theological in content, especially in its treatment of the unity theme in the first part (*Sha'ar ha-Yiḥud*, "Gate of Unification"). *Judah Halevi's able defense of Judaism in the *Kuzari* deals with many theological topics. The work of the Jewish Aristotelian thinker Abraham *Ibn Daud, *Emunah Ramah* ("Sublime Faith"), is entirely of a theological nature. All of *Maimonides' writings, with the exception of his medical treatises, are of theological import; the three most important works, from the theological point of view, are a commentary to the Mishnah (the most significant of the three) in which he expounds the 13 principles of the Jewish faith as he saw them and accords theology the status of law; *Moreh Nevukhim* ("Guide of the Perplexed"); and a code of Jewish law, *Mishneh Torah* or *Yad ha-Ḥazakah* ("The Strong Hand"). *Levi b. Gershom's *Milḥamot Adonai* ("Wars of the Lord") is a particularly bold series of theological speculations. Ḥasdai *Crescas wrote *Or Adonai* ("Light of the Lord"), a theological statement in which Aristotelianism is vigorously criticized. His pupil, Joseph *Albo, wrote *Sefer ha-Ikkarim* ("Book of the Principles"), a full-scale investigation into the dogmas of Judaism. Isaac b. Moses *Arama's *Akedat Yiẓḥak* ("The Sacrifice of Isaac") is a collection of philosophical sermons on the Pentateuch containing much, though not very original, theological material. Isaac *Abrabanel produced a number of similar works. Joseph b. Ḥayyim *Jabez was a Spanish theologian, hostile to philosophy. R. Moses b. Joseph di *Trani (*Mabbit*) in his *Beit Elohim* ("House of God") deals with three major theological themes: prayer, repentance, and the dogmas of Judaism.

The God of the medieval thinkers is, in the main, impersonal, impassionate, and utterly beyond all human associations. His is a unity "simple to the furthest extent of simplicity" with not the slightest trace of multiplicity. Granted such a conception, the biblical anthropomorphisms presented a serious obstacle. How could one speak of God as "good" and "wise" or even as "one" or say that He "exists," since all these are terms taken from human experience and their attribution to God *in toto* suggests plurality in His being? A dominant theme, consequently, though not followed by all the medieval thinkers, is the negation of God's attributes in any positive form. It is permitted to say what God is not; never should an attempt be made to describe Him as He really is. Typical of this approach are Maimonides' observations: "All men, those of the past and those of the future, affirm clearly that God, may He be exalted, cannot be apprehended by the intellects, and that none but He Himself can apprehend what He is, and that apprehension of Him consists in the inability to attain the ultimate term in apprehending Him. Thus all the philosophers say: We are dazzled by His beauty, and He is hidden from us because of the intensity with which He becomes manifest, just as the sun is hidden to eyes that are too weak to apprehend it" (Guide 1:59). "If I knew Him I would be Him" (Albo, *Ikkarim*, 2:30) is another typical medieval summation of theological limitation. Yet so much thought is given to the doctrine of negation in these works that this, too, has to be treated as an important branch of medieval Jewish theology.

Medieval thought is even more otherworldly than that of the rabbis. The dichotomy of body and soul is especially pronounced. The pleasures of the world are seen as a hindrance to spiritual perfection. The sage has to resort to them but only in great moderation and to keep body and soul together. Eternal bliss is in direct proportion to man's efforts on earth to grasp metaphysical truth and make it his own. The contradiction between these ideas and those of traditional Judaism, as found in the Bible and the Talmud, was acutely sensed and the usual device adopted was to declare that the Bible and the rabbis, when they dealt with theological matters, were not to be understood literally but allegorically. For the first time the mechanics of revelation were discussed in detail. Can one become a prophet even after the close of the Bible? Is prophecy a gift or an attainment? How does God communicate with the prophet? Since God has no vocal organs, what meaning can be given to those biblical passages in which He is said to "speak" to man? What is the difference between the state of prophecy attained by Moses and that of the other prophets? In what way can apparently irrelevant passages in the Pentateuch be considered the word of God? What were God's reasons for ordaining rules such as the dietary laws which on the surface seem to have no rational or ethical justification?

The problems of creation and free will exercised the minds of these thinkers to an extraordinary degree because it was in these areas especially that philosophical thought appeared to contradict traditional Jewish views more strongly. Is matter eternal, as Aristotle suggested, or is it created? Can the believing Jew agree with Plato that from all eternity there exists a hylic substance upon which God imposed form or is the doctrine of *creatio ex nihilo* essential to Jewish faith? Is time a creation or was it always "there"? Is man really free and, if he is, how is this compatible with God's foreknowledge of his actions? Can a man be blamed for entertaining false beliefs since he cannot have any control over what he believes? These questions were not only new in the history of Jewish thought but entirely inconceivable in the earlier, unreflective biblical and rabbinic periods.

The kabbalists produced their own systems, but insofar as these are closed, with little room for rational or critical assent or dissent and with many a warning against the introduction of human reason into the spheres of the divine mysteries conveyed by revelation, they belong to theosophy rather than to theology. For all that, profound theological themes were considered by the kabbalists. The central problem to which the kabbalists addressed themselves was theological. It comprised such queries and answers as: How can the finite world of error and multiplicity have emerged from the Infinite? The reply of the Zohar in terms of emanation and the Lurianic answer in terms of God's withdrawal "from Himself into Himself" to leave room for the emergence of the finite; the Lurianic contemplation of how evil has its source in the divine contraction; the kabbalistic views on man's soul and its relationship to God; the aim of divine worship as conceived by the kabbalists – for God's sake not for man's. All of these questions are theological and demand that a Jewish theology examine them, albeit in a critical light; accepting the insights they contain and rejecting those ideas which cannot defend themselves at the bar of consistency and coherence.

Another theological question raised by kabbalistic teachings is how far Judaism can sustain dualistic ideas. The doctrine of the Ten **Sefirot*, for example, comes close to affirming that there is multiplicity and dynamism in the Godhead and was, in fact, attacked on these grounds by the opponents of the Kabbalah. They went so far as to compare kabbalistic ideas on these matters with Christian speculations on the Trinity. The kabbalists themselves are naturally at pains to deny any suggestion of dualism. *Ein Sof* and the *Sefirot*, they repeatedly declared, are one, expounding their ideas in the famous illustration of water poured into bottles of different hue.

Audacious theological speculations are to be found in ḥasidic thought. R. *Naḥman of Bratslav, for instance, believed that it is inherent in man's finite situation that he encounter difficulties when confronted by the Infinite. For this thinker, doubt, paradoxically, is not faith's foe but its vindication (J.G. Weiss, in *Alei Ayin… li-Shelomo Salman Schocken* (1952), 245–91). R. Mordecai Joseph Leiner of *Izbica was a religious determinist, holding that, in reality, "everything is in the hands of Heaven, even the fear of Heaven" (J.G. Weiss, in: *Sefer Yovel le-Yiẓḥak Baer* (1960), 447–53). In Ḥabad Ḥasidism God alone enjoys ultimate existence, all creatures being included in His blessed unity. The attitude approaches Far Eastern religious ideas on the illusionary nature of worldly existence and it was attacked by the opponents of Ḥasidism as rank heresy. This type of ḥasidic pantheism (more correctly, panentheism) finds its consistent advocacy in the writings of *Shneur Zalman of Lyady and his disciple R. *Aaron b. Moses ha-Levi of Starosielce. The acute ḥasidic explorations into the nature of the love and fear of God and the ḥasidic teachings on contemplative prayer are major contributions to a Jewish mystical theology.

Modern Jewish Theology

From the days of Moses *Mendelssohn onward the scope of Jewish thought in the Western world embraced theology. The closer contacts with Christian thought brought in their wake a fresh consideration of the vexed question of dogma in Judaism; of the true significance of ethical monotheism; of the relationship between Judaism and Christianity and between religion and culture; and of the meaning of revelation. Mendelssohn himself wrote on these topics and on the immortality of the soul. In the 19th century the main theological thinkers were in Germany. They were influenced by the philosophers Kant and Hegel, especially, and by the theologians Friedrich Schleiermacher and Albrecht Ritschl. Thinkers such as Abraham *Geiger, Zacharias *Frankel, Leopold *Zunz, Nachman *Krochmal, Solomon Ludwig *Steinheim, Samuel *Hirsch, Solomon *Formstecher, Samson Raphael *Hirsch, and Hermann *Cohen made their contribution to theology even though many of their interests lay in other directions such as history, philosophy, or apologetics. In particular, the thinkers of the Reform movement were compelled to think through the logic of their new positions and hence were moved to concentrate on theological questions. An incidental result was that the Orthodox leaders were obliged to treat theological problems seriously. An outstanding Orthodox theologian in the 20th century, Rabbi A.I. *Kook, placed the problems of religious Zionism and the challenges presented by modern science and technology at the center of his thought. For example, Kook saw evolutionary theory as being compatible with the optimistic views of the Kabbalah. Isaac *Breuer was another 20th-century Orthodox thinker, with an interest in the religious interpretation of human history and with a view of the Jewish people as "meta-historical." The Lithuanian *Musar movement produced a galaxy of religious thinkers, operating, to be sure, within strictly traditional limits, but striving to uncover the psychological motivations of religious life. The writings of the somewhat nonrepresentative members of this school, Rabbi J.L. *Bloch (*Shi'urei Da'at*, 2 vols., 1949–56) and Rabbi E.E. *Dessler (*Mikhtav me-Eliyahu*, 3 vols., 1955–64), contain detailed and searching examinations of purely theological problems, such as the nature of miracles, free will and God's foreknowledge, and the relationship between human time and God's eternity.

For the majority of contemporary Jewish theologians the central theme is the defense of traditional theism. This is the doctrine of God as both transcendent and immanent in the universe, involved in all its processes, but also beyond the universe. If there were no universe there would still be a God, but without God there could be no universe. Theism involves the rejection of the following doctrines as untrue: deism – God is only wholly immanent; polytheism – there are many gods; dualism – there are two gods, one good, the other evil; atheism – there is no God; and agnosticism – man by his nature cannot know whether or not there is a God. Many Jewish theologians have followed Kant and Protestant theologians in declaring that the truth of God's existence cannot be determined by rational proofs, as in medieval theology, but that it is to be accepted through mystical intuition, tradition, or the existentialist "leap of faith."

Twentieth-century interest in existentialism is reflected in Jewish theological works. Of the three outstanding theologians produced by German Jewry in this century, Leo *Baeck is the exponent of the more classical type of religious thought; Franz *Rosenzweig represents the "new thinking" associated with existentialism; and Martin *Buber can be described as a religious existentialist. Less influenced by continental philosophy, Milton *Steinberg, on the other hand, is emphatic that the views of a Kierkegaard, for example, are incompatible with the Jewish approach to religion and ethics, and some thinkers have scorned Jewish preoccupation with religious existentialism, dubbing it "Kierkegaard with a *yarmulka*."

Two prominent theologians with a worldwide influence are A.J. *Heschel and J.B. *Soloveitchik. Heschel's numerous theological works have as their theme "God in Search of Man," which is the title of his best-known book. Heschel is opposed to that liberal theology which avows that man is capable of raising himself spiritually by his own unaided efforts. Like Reinhold and Helmut Richard Niebuhr, and with an almost Barthian ruthlessness, Heschel roundly declares that an over-optimistic view of man's potentialities is thoroughly unbiblical. The nature of man's heart is evil from his youth. Even the saintliest of men is tainted by sin and God alone gives man the power to survive in the struggle. Heschel also stresses the sense of wonder as an essential ingredient in religious life.

With the exception of his two essays, *Ish ha-Halakhah* ("The Man of Law," 1965) and *Ish ha-Emunah* ("The Man of Faith," 1968), Soloveitchik wrote little, but as the mentor of more than a generation of Orthodox rabbis he was responsible, above any other contemporary thinker, for defending the sober, painstaking, unemotional approach typical of halakhic Judaism. The halakhic man sees his greatest good and highest privilege in obeying God's will as it is revealed in Jewish law. Religious ecstasy is viewed with a degree of suspicion and as supererogatory. Of all Jewish thinkers, Soloveitchik is undoubtedly closest to the idea of Kierkegaard's "knight of faith."

Religious naturalism finds its most powerful advocate in Mordecai M. *Kaplan. The doctrine of a finite God has its Jewish followers, notably in Levi Olan. Among other modern theologians mention should be made of Louis *Jacobs and Will *Herberg. There is also considerable influence on Jewish thought, especially in the United States, of the ideas of A.N. Whitehead and of process philosophy. The more recent "death of God" theology is generally rejected by Jewish theologians with the exception of Richard L. *Rubenstein. Two questions of especial concern, for obvious reasons, to contemporary Jewish theologians are the Holocaust and the State of Israel. How can theology make sense out of the horrors in which a third of the Jewish people was murdered? Can it still be maintained that God works in human history? If the hand of God is to be discerned in the emergence of the State of Israel why was it powerless to intervene during the Hitler regime? Modern scientific theories raise theological problems of their own, particularly in the area of miracles and petitionary prayer, and these have been considered by Jewish theologians. While the logical positivists have been refuted, there has hardly been any reaction in the Jewish theological camp to the problems of religious language rendered acute by modern linguistic analysis.

A number of symposia on Jewish beliefs have been published, notably, *Rediscovering Judaism: Reflections on a New Jewish Theology* (ed. by A.J. Wolf, 1965); *Varieties of Jewish Belief* (ed. by I. Eisenstein, 1966); and *The Condition of Jewish Belief* (1966) originally published in *Commentary* (Aug. 1966). The questions in the *Commentary* symposium, addressed and replied to by rabbis of the Orthodox, Conservative, and Reform groups in the United States, throw light on the particular subjects of contemporary theological interest. They are the following:

(1) In what sense do you believe the Torah to be divine revelation?

(2) In what sense do you believe that the Jews are the chosen people of God?

(3) Is Judaism the one true religion?

(4) Does Judaism as a religion entail any particular political viewpoint?

(5) Does the "God is dead" question have any relevance to Judaism?

There is, and has been, no Jewish journal devoted only to Jewish theology but *Judaism, Conservative Judaism, Central Conference of American Rabbis Journal*, and *Tradition* in the United States, and *Perozedor, Petaḥim*, and *De'ot* in Israel contain many articles of a theological nature.

[Louis Jacobs]

Feminist Theology

First articulated in the 1980s by a number of U.S. Jewish feminists trained in a variety of academic disciplines, this theological discourse turned the feminist critique of American society, religion, and culture inward by focusing on Judaism itself. While specific concerns differ, Jewish feminist theologians share an understanding of religion as rooted in personal experience, leading to a reluctance, if not refusal, to assert universal truths or make universal claims. Their goal is not to persuade others to share any predetermined vision, but to articulate their own understanding of the self, God, and the world, and to view these realities through the lens of Jewish female experience.

This theology is feminist because it is consciously rooted in the conviction that personal experience is shaped by gender as well as by cultural, historical, and economic factors. It presupposes, as well, that traditional Jewish theology, like traditional Christian theology, is androcentric. Using the experiences of Jewish men as a lens through which the world is viewed, such theology minimizes or ignores ways in which Jewish women's piety has gained expression. The Jewish feminist theologian attempts to hear her own voice and feel her own presence within the sources of Jewish tradition. Before she can reform or transmit Judaism's religious teachings, she tries to discover what women's religious experiences have been. She does so by reading between the lines of traditional texts, filling in stories, writing new ones, and making conjectural leaps. Consequently, Jewish feminist theology, as Jewish theology in general, can best be described as responsive. Its commitment to Judaism need not be a commitment either to the past norms of Jewish tradition or to their current articulations as expressed by Judaism's major religious movements. Rather, its allegiance is to the fundamental categories of God, Torah, and Israel, shaped by the experiences of the theologian as woman and as Jew.

Since feminist theology is self-consciously rooted in the theologian's life story, it can also be understood as contextual. Instead of attempting to create theological systems that transcend personal experience, feminist theologians have firmly grounded their theologies in the realities of their lives. The similar concerns of such contemporary Jewish feminist theologians as Judith Plaskow, Marcia *Falk, Rachel Adler, Rebecca Alpert, and Ellen Umansky can thus be attributed to their writing in a similar context, as white, middle-class, religiously liberal, university-educated U.S. women of the late 20th and early 21st centuries. This does not mean that feminist theological claims have relevance only for the theologian herself. On the contrary, she hopes that by drawing on her experiences and sharing her stories, she will encourage others to draw on their experiences as well. In so doing, she offers women and men a means of formulating their own articulated and unarticulated responses to the categories of God, Torah, and Israel. She also offers women and men a means of viewing their own experience as Jewish experience, enabling them to recognize, as Rabbi Laura Geller has written, the "Torah of our lives as well as the Torah that was written down."

One of the greatest contributions of Jewish feminist theology is its insistence that it is possible for diverse groups of people to talk seriously about Jewish theology outside of a legal framework. While religiously liberal rabbis have long discussed the creation of a non-halakhic Jewish self-identity, feminist theologians have been the first to create, however loosely, a network of religiously liberal theologians, both modern and post-modern, who have formally and informally examined traditional and liberal Jewish theological claims together. Further, in attempting to ground this theology in their experiences as women, feminist theologians like Plaskow, Adler, Melissa Raphael, Laura Levitt, and Miriam Peskowitz have called into question not only traditional male, hierarchically dominant, theological language, but also the ways in which theology is created. Through new blessings (Falk), midrashim (Plaskow, Adler, Umansky), poems (Merle Feld), and rituals intended for specific moments in women's lives (Levitt, Penina Adelman, Savina Teubal et. al.), feminist theologians have added a vibrancy to late 20th and early 21st century liberal Jewish theology.

[Ellen M. Umansky (2nd ed.)]

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°THEOPHILUS. Josephus (Apion, 1:216) includes one Theophilus in a list of Greek authors who mentioned the Jews at some length and whose writings testify to the antiquity of the Jewish people. His date and nationality are unknown but he may be identical with the Theophilus whom Alexander Polyhistor cites as a source for the story that King Solomon sent the gold left over from the building of the Temple to the king of Tyre. It is also possible that he is the Theophilus who is known to have been of the school of Zenodotus, the great Alexandrian scholar of the third century B.C.E.

THEOPHILUS (Heb. **Yedidiah**), high priest from 37 to 41 C.E. Theophilus, the son of Hanan son of Seth, was appointed by Vitellius, the Roman governor of Syria, in place of his brother Jonathan (Jos., Ant., 18:123) and served in that office until removed by King *Agrippa I (*ibid.*, 19:297). Mattathias, the son of Theophilus, was high priest when the war against Rome broke out (66 C.E.).

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[Uriel Rappaport]

°THEOPHRASTUS OF ERESOS (372/369–288/285 B.C.E.), a pupil of *Aristotle and his successor. The Jews, he said, are "philosophers by race," a comment reminiscent of remarks ascribed to Aristotle and *Megasthenes. Quotations from him are found in various authors; two of these deal with Jewish sacrificial practices (Jos., Apion, 1:167, and Eusebius, *Praeparatio Evangelica*, 9:21). The main purpose of these descriptions is to demonstrate the incongruous nature of the customs of different peoples, a point made by ethical and legal relativists since Herodotus, if not earlier. Little importance is to be attached to the details he gives with regard to Jewish sacrifices which are in conflict with the injunctions of the Bible, e.g., that the Jews offered sacrifices at night and that honey was used for libations (cf. Lev. 2:11). Such details were subordinate to his main purpose.

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[Daniel E. Gershenson]

THERAPEUTAE, a name given to a group of Jewish ascetics who lived in a community close to Alexandria in the first century C.E. This particular group is described specifically only by the Hellenistic Jewish philosopher Philo in his treatise *De Vita Contemplativa* ("On the Contemplative Life"). The treatise explores one of the perfect philosophical lives as defined by the Stoics, and follows on from a lost treatise on the active life of philosophy in which the Essenes were used as the definitive Jewish example of excellence. The group of *De Vita Contemplativa* may itself have used the name *therapeutai* as a self-reference, though Philo indicates that all those who follow a contemplative life of philosophy may be called *therapeutai* (*Contempl.* 2). In Greek *therapeutai* has a general meaning of "one who serves [God/the gods]," a sense found widely in Philo's work and elsewhere in contemporaneous Greek literature and inscriptions. This relates to the life they lead of total service to God through an ascetic and spiritually focused existence. Philo also plays on the double-entendre of the word in noting that people engaged in a contemplative life in some way "heal" souls.

Philo describes those who follow the contemplative lifestyle as leaving behind their ordinary lives and homes, distributing their belongings to their children, relatives or friends, in order to pursue philosophy elsewhere. They find a place away from their home city in a quiet, rural location in which their contemplative practice can be pursued. While Philo notes that those who follow this lifestyle exist in many parts of the world, he stresses that it is abundantly seen in Egypt, particularly around Alexandria. At this point in the treatise Philo introduces the Jewish group he would focus upon as "the best" of all the contemplative philosophers (*Contempl.* 22). He notes that their particular community is situated in a healthy, breezy spot on a flat, low-lying hill (probably south-west of Alexandria), in between Lake Mareotis and the Mediterranean Sea. Philo writes that their location is surrounded by dwellings and villages and implies that there are cultivated fields and pastures (factors that differentiate them from later Christian ascetics who sought more extreme solitude in desert regions). The architecture of the community settlement is described as consisting of a central building – most likely originally a country villa – incorporating a sacred meeting room (*semneion*) and dining hall (*sumposion*), along with numerous individual hut-like dwellings divided into two rooms: an outer and an inner, the latter called a *monasterion* or *semneion*. In the inner room they keep sacred writings for study and inspiration.

In terms of their spiritual and philosophical exercises, Philo describes the Therapeutae as praying twice every day, at sunrise and sunset. At sunrise they pray to have their minds illuminated by heavenly light, and for the soul to be relieved of the disturbance of the physical senses, in order to follow truth. They interpret "the sacred instructions of the prophet Moses" (*Contempl.* 64) allegorically in order to discover deeper meanings, using works written by predecessors as guides. They compose and write down hymns. Engaged in this practice, they remain within their rough huts for six days, and on seventh days (Sabbaths) they assemble in the meeting room to hear a discourse from the most senior elder. Philo notes that both men and women are equally members of the group, and that this meeting room is divided by a wall 3–4 cubits high, probably with men on one side and women on the other.

They do not eat until after sunset, since the body and its needs are associated with darkness, while their practice of spiritual philosophy is associated with light. They eat only bread seasoned with salt (and sometimes hyssop), and drink only spring water. Philo notes that some Therapeutae can be so preoccupied with contemplation that they do not think of food for three days, and that they can utter precepts of philosophy in their sleep while dreaming. Their clothing is very basic: a short *exomis* or linen wrap in summer, covered with a cloak of woolly sheep or goat skin in winter. It is clear from such comments that Philo wished to emphasize aspects of the group that would impress those who followed Stoic philosophy, in which asceticism, detachment from the world, intellectual clarity, and concentration on the essence of the universe (Nature/God) were prime interests.

A large part of Philo's treatise is taken up with a description of a special event that takes place every 49th evening (the Sabbath of Sabbaths). Like the Pythagoreans, the group apparently venerated not only the number seven but its square. On this occasion, they dress themselves in white clothing (also like Pythagoreans, and also serving Levites or Egyptian cultic priests). At this point in the treatise it becomes clear that the community Philo describes is hierarchical with each member allocated a particular place. There is a lower order of Therapeutae: the "dailies" (*Contempl.* 66). These junior members are chosen to maintain the senior members and wait on them during dinner as *diakonoi* who take the place of slaves. The dining hall is divided, like the meeting room, into two parts, with men on the right and women on the left. They recline on very rough couches: wooden benches strewn with local papyrus, slightly raised for leaning upon.

The procedure at the 49th evening celebration is carefully described by Philo. The president of the community, while reclining, gives a lecture, using allegorical interpretation, on a passage of Scripture or on a philosophical proposition. The community listens in silence, with occasional utterings of approval. The seniors recline and the juniors stand during the address, and afterwards the president is applauded by clapping. He then stands up and sings a hymn, either an ancient one or something recently composed, and then all the others take a turn in singing, with everyone joining in for closing lines and choruses. The meal – bread, salt, hyssop, spring water – is then brought in on a table and served out by the juniors. The table seems to be symbolic of the table of shewbread in the Temple sanctuary. After dinner, the entire company stand and join together in the middle of the dining room in two choirs, one of men and one of women, each with their own choir-leader. The leaders stand in the places of Moses and Miriam respectively who led Israel in songs of praise after the escape from Egypt (Exod. 15). Everyone sings, claps and dances, eventually forming one harmonious choir, singing songs of thanksgiving to God in an ecstatic state. At dawn they greet the arrival of the 50th day by all standing turned toward the rising sun. They pray for a bright day of truth and intellectual illumination, after which they return to their huts.

Questions have been raised about how much Philo is creating an ideal community out of hearsay or accurately representing an actual group. Philo is clearly using elements he believed would appeal to a Stoic audience and others trained in Graeco-Roman philosophy, but it is not improbable that Philo visited such a community close to Alexandria himself and reported what he saw. Philo himself may not have agreed with every aspect of the group's practice. The group seemed to have followed an older or heterodox solar calendar that has the new day beginning at dawn, and its repetition of the 49th evening as the time for festivity is difficult to reconcile with the usual feasts of the Jewish calendar. The group reveres the number 50 as "the most holy and natural of numbers" (*Con-*

templ. 65), like the Pythagoreans, and celebrates the 50th day's regular arrival. The presence of women in the group on an equal or near equal footing with men is striking, but nothing is provided by Philo to explain the group's rationale for such inclusivity, though there may be some implication that both men and women, divested of material connections, aim to be cultic attendants (*therapeutai*) in a true, spiritual Temple. Philo works hard to ensure that the women are presented as a modest ideal, describing them as "mostly elderly virgins" (*Contempl.* 68) and thereby somewhat de-sexualized.

It seems likely that if a real group is in fact described in *De Vita Contemplativa* then it should be seen as part of a larger exegetical and philosophical tradition within Alexandrian Judaism, in which allegorical exegesis, asceticism and an accommodation with Graeco-Roman philosophy is attested. The individual group Philo describes would represent one school of thought within this tradition, but at present much still needs to be learnt about the characteristics of Alexandrian Judaism in the late Hellenistic and early Roman periods before the place of the Therapeutae in this context is properly understood.

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[Joan E. Taylor (2nd ed.)]

THERESIENSTADT (Czech **Terezín**), town in the Czech Republic, which served as a ghetto between 1941 and 1945. About 150,000 Jews, mainly from Central Europe, Holland, and Denmark were deported there by the Nazis. The town, located near the point where the Eger flows into the Elbe, was built as a garrison in 1780 by Emperor Joseph II and half of its inhabitants were soldiers. The first Jew arrived there after 1848. In 1852 there were three Jewish families in the town and in 1930, 98 Jews, mostly soldiers, were recorded there. In 1941, before the town became a ghetto, it had 3,700 inhabitants, including ten Jewish families.

The first indication of the Nazi plan to establish a ghetto in Theresienstadt is to be found in a document dated Oct. 10, 1941. According to acting *Reichsprotektor* Reinhard *Heydrich, Theresienstadt would serve as a temporary transit camp for Jews of the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia until their final deportation to the East. At the *Wannsee Conference of January 21, 1942, Heydrich mentioned the second purpose of Theresienstadt: Jews from the Reich and the Ostmark over the age of 65, invalids of World War I, and Jews with war decorations would be concentrated there in a ghetto for the elderly (while all the other deportees were to be sent "for work" near the eastern front). The third purpose, to represent Theresienstadt as a model ghetto and show the world how humanely the Jews were treated, came to the fore after the first official proclamation of the Allies about the destruction of the Jews of Europe was published on December 17, 1942.

The Jews of the Protectorate hoped that the establishment of the ghetto in Theresienstadt would halt the deportations to Poland, which had started in October 1941, and that they would remain in their native country until the war ended. The first deportees reached Theresienstadt from Prague late in November 1941, and by the end of May 1942, one third of the Protectorate Jews (28,887) had been deported there. During the first seven months of the ghetto's existence, living conditions differed little from those in Nazi concentration camps. Families were torn apart; men and women with children were housed in separate barracks and were not allowed to meet. The hopes that the ghetto would serve as a safeguard against future deportations were soon dashed. In January 1942 the first two transports of 1,000 deportees each left Theresienstadt for Riga and from then on the threat of deportation to the East hung over the ghetto inhabitants. Conditions in the ghetto improved after the entire non-Jewish population of Terezin was evacuated and from July 1942 the inmates were at least free to move inside the ghetto walls and to meet their families after work. In June 1942 thousands of Jewish deportees from Germany and Austria began arriving. Most of them were in the special categories mentioned above. They were brought to Theresienstadt under the pretext they would be well taken care of in old age homes. The populations of the ghetto reached its height in September 1942, when 53,000 persons were crowded into its approximately 150,000 sq. yds. (114,000 sq. m., an average density of 2.9 sq. yds – 2.15 sq. m. per person). During that months 18,639 person arrived in Theresienstadt; 3,941 persons, mostly the old, died in the ghetto itself and 13,004 were deported from there to Sobibor, Treblinka, Maly Trostinec, and other extermination camps in the Lublin region. From October 1942 all transports from Theresienstadt were sent to Auschwitz-Birkenau. Deportations from the ghetto were stopped between February and September 1942. After the interlude 17,500 Theresienstadt inmates were sent in September

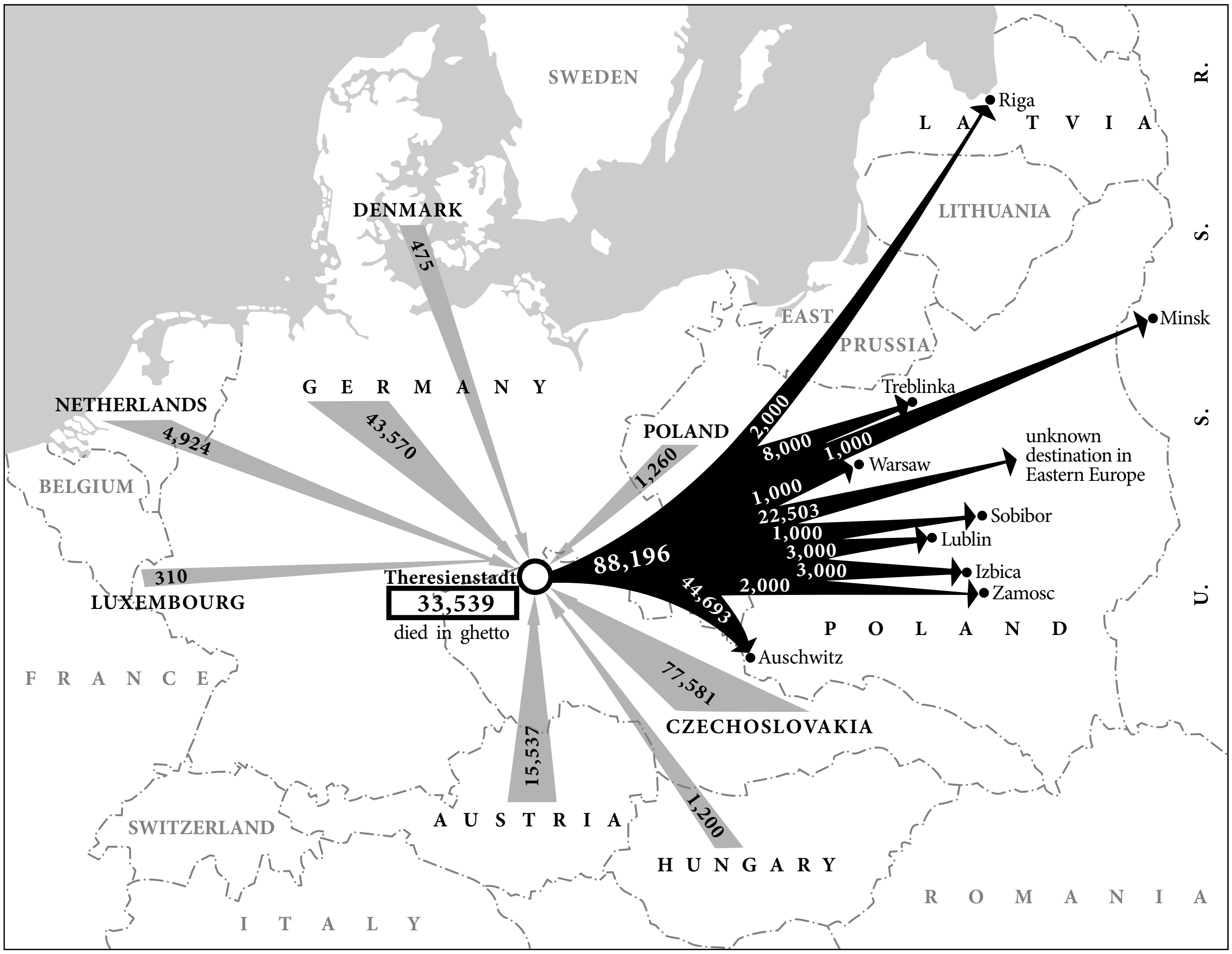
SWEDEN
Riga
LATVIA
LITHUANIA
DENMARK
475
EAST PRUSSIA
Minsk
GERMANY
NETHERLANDS
4,924
43,570
POLAND
1,260
Treblinka
2,000
8,000
1,000
Warsaw
unknown destination in Eastern Europe
1,000
22,503
Sobibor
1,000
Lublin
3,000
3,000
Izbica
2,000
Zamosc
BELGIUM
310
LUXEMBOURG
Theresienstadt
33,539
died in ghetto
88,196
44,693
Auschwitz
POLAND
FRANCE
77,581
CZECHOSLOVAKIA
15,537
SWITZERLAND
AUSTRIA
1,200
HUNGARY
ROMANIA
ITALY
U. S. S. R.

Deportations of Jews to Theresienstadt, and from it to death camps and other ghettos. Territorial boundaries are those of 1937. Main sources: Z. Lederer, Ghetto Theresienstadt*, London, 1953; H.G. Adler,* Theresienstadt 1941–1945*, 1960*^{2}.

and December 1943 and in May 1944 to the so-called "family camp" in Auschwitz-Birkenau and most of them were sent to the gas chambers in March and July 1944. In the last wave of deportations 18,412 ghetto inmates were sent to Auschwitz; only 1,496 of them survived. In Theresienstadt there remained 11,068 inmates, including 456 Danish Jews who were protected from deportation.

Most of the deported to Theresienstadt were assimilated Jews, but there were some strictly Orthodox and many partly observant Jews too. The Zionists constituted a small minority, but influenced ghetto life strongly, because some of them had come to the ghetto voluntarily with Jacob *Edelstein, the first *Judenaeltester* (elder of the Jews), an ardent Zionist, and took special care of the young and the working population as the kernel of future Jewish life.

Organization and Administration

The ghetto was administered by the SS. The first commandant appointed by Reinhard Heydrich was Siegfried Seidl (December 1941–June 1943), who was replaced on Adolf Eichmann's orders by Anton Burger (June 1943–February 1944). The last commandant was Karl Rahm (February 1944–May 1945). Seidle and Rahm were executed after the war. The ghetto was guarded by Czech gendarmes, but internal affairs were run by the *Aeltestenrat* (Council of Elders), composed of Jewish leaders. It was headed by the *Judenaelteste,* appointed by Eichmann and his superiors. Jacob Edelstein, the first elder of Jews (Dec. 4, 1941–Jan. 28, 1943), was executed in Auschwitz in June 1944; the second, Paul *Eppstein (Jan. 28, 1943–Sept. 9, 1944), was shot by the SS in September 1944; the last, Benjamin Murmelstein (Sept. 7, 1944–May 3, 1945), survived. During the third period and after the liberation, the Council was composed of representatives of five groups according to country of origin, i.e., German, Austrian, Czech, Dutch, and Danish Jews, headed by Rabbi Leo *Baeck. On May 10, 1945, Jiri Vogel was appointed head of the community by the Council and was responsible for the liquidation of the ghetto.

The various departments of the Council dealt with the organization of work, food distribution, accommodation, sanitation and public health, care of the aged and the young, and cultural activities. Its greatest achievements were in public health, education of the children, and organization of cultural life. One of the cruel duties imposed on the Council of Elders was the compilation of candidates for deportation after receiving instructions from the SS command as to the number of persons, their age groups, and country of origin to be included in the next transport.

Education and Cultural Life

One of the main concerns of the Jewish administration was the education of the young, which was carried out mainly by young instructors, members of the Zionist youth movements. Children's homes were established, inhabited by a large proportion of children between the ages of 10 and 14 where the instructors tried to shield them from the harsh realities of the ghetto as far as possible. Despite the prohibition of teaching, a school curriculum was secretly followed in the children's homes. The educational system of Theresienstadt was imbued with a spirit of dedication and optimism that the children would survive. The deportees to Theresienstadt included many musicians, painters, actors, writers, and scholars, with whose aid an intensive cultural life was gradually organized in the ghetto. This included several orchestras and theater groups, opera performances (without staging), choirs, and satirical entertainment. Series of lectures and study circles were organized, and a library of 60,000 volumes (confiscated from their deported owners) was established. The study programs, which comprised any Jewish subject, opening for the participants new dimensions in Judaism and strengthening their moral and religious life in the Theresienstadt ghetto, was conducted under difficult conditions, but was not officially restricted. A small Catholic and Protestant community of inmates also existed in the ghetto.

Concealment of Extermination

The intensive effort of the ghetto inhabitants to improve their living conditions was exploited by the Nazis for their own ends. In 1943, when information on the extermination camps began to spread in the free world, the Nazi authorities decided to show off Theresienstadt to representatives of the International Red Cross. For this purpose the external appearance of the ghetto had to be improved: overcrowding was lessened by additional deportations to Auschwitz-Birkenau; a bank, fictitious shops, a café, and a kindergarten were set up and the town underwent the *Verschoenerungsaktion*, a beautification action. The visit of the committee, whose schedule was fixed to the last detail in advance (June 23, 1944), was successful from the Nazi point of views: its three members saw only what the SS wanted them to see and the report of its head, Dr. Maurice Russell, spoke about Theresienstadt as a town like any other. After the visit, a propaganda film on the "new life of the Jews under the protection of the Reich" was filmed. After the filming was finished, most of its participants, almost all the members of the ghetto administration, and most of the ghetto children were sent to the Auschwitz gas chambers.

End of the Ghetto

In the last six months of its existence, 1,454 Jews arrived in the ghetto from Slovakia, 1,200 from Hungary, and 5,932 from the Protectorate, Germany, and Austria who were married to gentiles and had been exempted from deportations until then. The International Red Cross was able to transfer 1,200 Jews from Theresienstadt to Switzerland in February 1945 and 413 Danish deportees to Sweden in April 1945. A last shockwave hit the ghetto when in late April 1945 about 12,700 prisoners of various concentration camps in Germany were dragged by foot or loaded onto freight cars before their liberation by the Allied forces and arrived in Theresienstadt more dead than alive. From them the ghetto inmates heard for the first time the truth about the gas chambers and the extermination of their families and friends. On May 3, 1945, five days before the liberation by the Soviet army, the Nazis transferred command of the ghetto to the Red Cross representative. The last Jew left Theresienstadt on Aug. 17, 1945. After the war a national Czechoslovak cemetery and memorial was established in the Small Fortress outside Theresienstadt which had served as a Gestapo prison. Only after the Communist regime in Czechoslovakia ended in 1989 was a ghetto museum established in the town itself, in the former school which had served as a boys' home in ghetto times. The former main administrative building in the Magdeburg barracks, was renovated and now houses permanent exhibitions on the cultural life of the ghetto.

Between Nov. 24, 1941, and April 20, 1945, around 144,000 Jews were deported to Theresienstadt, of whom approximately 33,000 died in the ghetto and about 88,000 were deported to the death camps; only 4,889 of them survived. There were 18,967 inmates in the ghetto when it was liberated; 12,737 prisoners arrived there from the camps. Of the total deportees to Theresienstadt 76,036 came from Bohemia and Moravia, 43,570 from Germany, 15,537 from Austria, 4,924 from Holland, 475 from Denmark, 1,545 from Slovakia, and 1,200 from Hungary.

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[Otto Dov Kulka / Ruth Bondi (2nd ed.)]

THEUDAS, a false prophet in Judea during the administration of the Roman procurator Cuspius *Fadus (44–46). Josephus describes how Theudas persuaded the masses (in Acts 5:36 it is stated that they numbered 400) to gather up their possessions and follow him to the Jordan, where at his command the river would part and provide easy passage. Fadus, however, sent a squadron of cavalry after them, and many of the impostor's followers were slain or captured. Theudas himself was caught and decapitated, and his head was sent to Jerusalem. There are certain discrepancies between the accounts of Theudas in Josephus and in Acts. Whereas the former places the incident in 45–46 C.E., the allusion to Theudas in Acts is made by *Gamaliel several years earlier. Furthermore, Acts 5:37 states that Judah the Galilean (d. 6 C.E.) appeared in Galilee after Theudas. Josephus, on the other hand, immediately after recounting the Theudas incident, describes the crucifixion of Judah's sons. It would seem that Josephus is correct (Ant., 20:97–99).

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[Isaiah Gafni]

THIEBERGER, FRIEDRICH (1888–1958), writer and translator. Son of the rabbi of Golčův Jenikov, Bohemia, Thieberger intended to become a rabbi himself, but instead became a teacher of modern languages in German secondary schools in Prague. Influenced by Martin *Buber's visit to Prague in 1910, Thieberger became interested in Jewish religious philosophy, on which he published numerous articles. He was active in *B'nai B'rith and edited its monthly *B'nai B'rith Monatsblaetter fuer den čechoslovakischen Staat*. In 1939, when the Germans entered Prague, Thieberger left for Jerusalem, where he became librarian of the B'nai B'rith library.

Thieberger translated Morris *Rosenfeld's poems into German (1907). His *Juedisches Fest, juedischer Brauch*, published in Germany (1936), was accepted with interest by Jews who had become aware of their Jewish heritage under Hitler's regime. His *King Solomon* was published in English (1947); and *Die Glaubensstufen des Judentums* was published in 1952. He translated Joseph *Klausner's *From Jesus to Paul* into German (1950).

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[Meir Lamed]

°**THIEME, KARL OTTO** (1902–1963), historian and theologian. Born in Leipzig, Thieme was a professor at German universities from 1927 to 1933. Believing that the Lutheran Church in Germany was more amenable to National Socialism than the Catholic Church, he converted to Catholicism. His opposition to National Socialism resulted in the loss of his professorship soon after the Nazi ascent to power. In 1935 he immigrated to Switzerland and thereafter devoted the major part of his life's work to bringing about a better understanding between Jews and Christians. He became especially active in pursuit of this ideal on his return to post-World War II Germany where, together with Gertrud Luckner, he founded the *Freiburger Rundbrief*. He also participated in many conventions and inter-denominational dialogues. Although a missionary trait toward the Jews was not entirely absent from his early work, the more he concerned himself with Jewish faith and existence, the more this point of view changed, until he became one of the few Catholics who really prepared the way for Jews and Christians to meet as equals. He played a considerable part in preparing the document of the Vatican Council which revised the attitude of the Catholic Church toward the Jews.

His principal writings on Judaism are *Kirche und Synagoge; Die ersten nachbiblischen Zeugnisse ihres Gegensatzes im Offenbarungsverstaendnis* (1945); *Dreitausend Jahre Judentum; Quellen und Darstellungen zur juedischen Geschichte* (1960). He edited *Judenfeindschaft* (1963), and Franz Rosenzweig's *Die Schrift* (1964).

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[Willehad Paul Eckert / Elisabeth Dessauer (2nd ed.)]

THIONVILLE, town in the department of Moselle, N.E. France. There is evidence confirming the presence of Jews in Thionville beginning in the 15th century. In 1546 the physician of the Count of Nassau-Sarrebruck was a Jew who originated from Thionville. A place known as the "cemetery of the Jews" is mentioned about 1560, but by then the Jews had disappeared from the town. After the French conquest, two Jewish families from Metz were authorized to settle in the town in 1656, in spite of the objections of the inhabitants. In 1780 there were about 20 Jewish inhabitants. Four Thionville Jews were compelled to give up their merchant licenses, which they had purchased in 1767, in spite of a famous speech by their counsel Pierre Louis de Lacretelle. There were 14 Jewish families in Thionville in 1795; 40 in 1812; 310 in 1831; 183 in 1880; 332 in 1910; and 281 in 1931. From 1909 to 1940, Thionville was the seat of the regional rabbinate. During the Nazi occupation five Jews were shot and about 30 families were deported. In 1970 the Jewish community consisted of some 450 people. The synagogue, established in 1805, has been rebuilt on several occasions, most recently in 1957, after it had been burned down by the Nazis during World War II.

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[Gilbert Cahen]

THISTLES AND THORNS. Israel, being a Mediterranean and partly a desert country, is rich in prickly plants, which in various locations dominate the landscape. The thorns protect the plant from damage through grazing and in many cases prevent it from drying up, because the prickly leaves or branches limit the surface of the plant and diminish the amount of evaporation. Thorns are found on trees, shrubs, and perennial and annual plants.

Many names are used for prickly plants in Scripture. The identification of the thorns of the Bible is more difficult than that of other plants, because some of the names are general ones and others synonyms. This is especially so with those prickly plants which are mentioned in pairs, such as *koẓ* and *dardar* ("thorns and thistles," Gen. 3:18), *shamir* and *shayit* ("briers and thorns," Isa. 7:24), and *na'aẓuẓim* and *nahalolim* ("thorns and brambles," *ibid.* 19). *Koẓ* ("thorn") is a comprehensive name for plants whose leaves or stalks have prickly projections which pierce anyone touching them (Ezek. 28:24) so that they cannot be taken in the hand (II Sam. 23:6). Thorns of the wilderness (*koẓei ha-midbar*) were used for flagellation (Judg. 8:16). Thorns grow quickly in the fields and supplant the cultivated crop (Jer. 12:13), and only with great labor does the peasant succeed in eradicating them. This is the curse of Genesis 3:18–19, "Thorns also and thistles shall it bring forth to thee… In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread." The industrious peasant tries to uproot the thorns by plowing before sowing his crop (Jer. 4:3), while in desolate lands they spring up in masses (Isa. 32:13; Hos. 10:8). They catch fire easily and spread the flames to the fields of grain (Ex. 22:5). Thorns were used for fuel (Isa. 33:12).

In addition to those prickly trees or shrubs on which there are separate articles (*caper, *jujube, *acacia, *burning bush), the following may be noted. The hawthorn, *Crataegus azarolus*, is a prickly tree which is widespread in Israel. It is not mentioned in the Bible, but in the Mishnah is called *uzrar* or *uzrad* (Ar. *Zaʿrūr*). Growing freely in mountainous areas, it has fruit like a small apple, and fruit trees of its family, the Rosaceae (such as the apple, pear, and quince) can be grafted onto it. The Mishnah states that the *quince belongs to the same species as the hawthorn (Kil. 1:4).

The *atad* ("bramble") is mentioned several times in the Bible. In Jotham's parable of the trees approaching the fruit trees to appoint one of them as king, only the *atad* agrees, on condition that they take refuge in its shadow (Judg. 9:14–15). The reference is to the buckthorn bush – *Lycium eopaeum* – a wild shrub which is common throughout almost the whole of Israel, and is grown by some as a fence around gardens and the threshing floor (cf. Gen. 50:10). Its small berry is eaten by birds. Its thorns are very prickly and it catches fire easily (cf. Judg. *ibid.*; Ps. 58:10). One of the prickly plants exceptionally widespread in Israel is the lowly bush *Poterium spinosum*, the biblical *sirah, sirim* ("thorns"), a name derived from the pot-like shape of the fruit (Lat. *poterium*, "pot"). It flourishes in desolate localities (Isa. 34:13) and densely covers fallow fields, especially in the mountains, in this way preventing soil erosion. It was used for firewood (Nah. 1:10) and for burning lime (cf. II Sam. 3:26). While burning it makes a crackling noise: "As the crackling of thorns under a pot, so is the laughter of the fool" (Eccles. 7:6). The Midrash (Yal. Eccles. 973) comments: "The *sirim* [which are lowly plants] when burning make a noise, as if to say: 'we too are trees.'"

Another lowly prickly bush – the *Alhagi maurorum* – which has long piercing thorns and whose tiny leaves fall off in the summer, grows freely in the vicinity of this plant. It apparently is the *na'aẓuẓ*, of which Isaiah (55:13) prophesied that the *juniper (*berosh*) would spring up in its stead along the path of the redeemed. The word is derived from נעץ ("to pierce"). In heavy soil this shrub is found together with a lowly shrub called *Prosopis farcata*. This is a weed among summer plants which cannot be uprooted because of its deep roots. According to Saadiah Gaon this is the *nahalolim* mentioned together with the *na'aẓuẓim* as the dwelling place of the fly and the bee to which the Egyptian and Assyrian armies coming to conquer Israel were compared (Isa. 7:18–19). Possibly the locality Nahalal in the inheritance of Zebulun was called after this shrub (Josh. 19:15, 21: 35). An exceptionally tall prickly bush that beautifies the forests of Israel in the spring with its yellow blossoms is the *Calycotome villosa*. This apparently is the *ḥarul* ("nettle") described as growing in neglected fields and vineyards (Prov. 24:31; Zeph. 2:9; Job 30:7). According to the Targum it is the *higi*, frequently mentioned in rabbinical literature, whose description fits the plant *Calycotome*. These three species as well as the *Ononis leiosperma*, which is apparently *barkanim* ("briers," Judg. 8:7), belong to the family of Leguminosae. The name *barkanim* is connected with *shabraq*, the Arabic name for this plant. It is recognizable by its pinkish blossoms and long thorns and is widespread in all districts of Israel.

All the thorns mentioned above are perennials. There are many annuals in Israel that burgeon in winter and are conspicuous in spring by their prickly leaves and large inflorescence. Most of them belong to the family of Compositae, including the *dardar* ("thistles," *Centaurea*) whose many species are common in the fields throughout Israel (cf. Gen. 3:18; Hos. 10:8). The *ḥo'aḥ* of the Bible is apparently *Scolymus maculatus*, a tall thorn which grows in heavy soil (cf. Job 40:26). Two species which flourish in fallow fields and are recognizable by their large leaves and whitish veins are the *Silybum marianum*, which is possibly *kommosh* (*kimmosh*, "nettles," Hos. 9:6), and *Notobasis syriaca*, the most common of Israel's thorns, which is possibly the *koẓ* of the Bible when mentioned alone. The plant *Gundelia tournefortii*, the biblical *galgal*, has a unique way of scattering its seed. At the end of the summer it detaches from the ground, and its prickly leaves, resembling sails, fly in the wind and scatter the seeds. This is *galgal lifenei sufah* ("whirling before the wind"; Isa. 17:13; cf. Ps. 83:14).

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[Jehuda Feliks]

THOMAS, MICHAEL TILSON (1944–), U.S. conductor and pianist. Thomas was born in Hollywood, his grandparents having been leading players in the New York Yiddish theater. He entered the University of Southern California in 1962, studying both music and scientific subjects. While a student, he accompanied *Heifetz, played at *Piatigorsky's master classes, acted as conducting assistant to Pierre Boulez, and conducted student orchestras. He became chief conductor of the Ojai Festival in 1968 and 1969. After Thomas won the Koussevitzky Prize (1968), his debut came unexpectedly in October 1969, with the Boston Symphony Orchestra, when William *Steinberg was taken ill, and in consequence he was appointed the orchestra's assistant conductor in 1970. Thomas was music director of the Buffalo SO (1971–79), led the New York PO Young People's Concerts on CBS Television (1971–74), and was principal guest conductor at the Los Angeles PO from 1981 to 1985. He was founder and artistic director of the Florida-based New World SO, which gave its first concert in 1988. From 1988 to 1995 Thomas was principal conductor of the LSO. During that time he established an international reputation for innovation and breadth of repertory. In 1990 Thomas and Bernstein co-founded the Pacific Music Festival in Sapporo. Five years later Thomas became music director of San Francisco SO where he performed a great deal of 20th-century music, especially of the American composers. His performance was impressive for its intelligence, emotional energy, and immediate contact with the audiences (whom he often addressed from the podium). Thomas's composition *From the Diary of Anne Frank*, for narrator and orchestra, commissioned by UNICEF, premiered in 1990.

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[Max Loppert / Yulia Kreinin (2nd ed.)]

THOMASHEFSKY, BESSIE (1873–1962), renowned Yiddish actress and comedienne. Thomashefsky, who was born Brokhe Baumfeld in Tarashcha, Ukraine, to a Talner ḥasidic family, settled in Baltimore with her family in 1883. She was an enthusiast of English-language theater, enjoying both Shakespeare and African American singers.

Bessie was introduced to Yiddish theater by Boris *Thomashefsky, whose family troupe she joined in 1888. Although she worked briefly with Abraham *Goldfaden in Boston, she rejoined Thomashefsky and married him in Philadelphia at age 16. Bessie Thomashefsky enjoyed her first critical success in Chicago, where she and her husband lived with Jacob P. *Adler. In Chicago, she first performed with legendary comic actor Sigmund *Mogulesco, who influenced her significantly. Settling in New York in 1891, she and her husband established themselves alongside other prominent actors, performing operettas and potboilers by Lateiner [Latayner], Professor Hurwitz, and others, as well as the "literary" dramas of Jacob *Gordin.

In 1900, her husband became a partner in the People's Theater, where Bessie Thomashsky achieved considerable fame. Substituting for the ailing Mogulesco, she proved herself a great comic presence. Though popularly associated with farcical trouser roles, she was acknowledged by critics and colleagues for her dramatic acting. She also played in audacious Yiddish translations of European plays, such as Oscar Wilde's *Salome*. In 1912, she separated from Boris Thomashefsky, an inveterate womanizer. After a brief seclusion, she returned to the stage to reinvent her career, singing and wisecracking in the title role to Rakov's comic operetta *Khantshe in amerike* (Khantshe in America). Its musical score, by Joseph Rumshinsky, has been described as the first to bring American rhythm to the Yiddish stage. Her character, Khantshe, became a template for the many brassy, self-confident working-class women she would play over the next decade, such as Minke the housemaid in *Dem doktors vayber* ("The Doctor's Wives") by Leon *Kobrin. In these roles, she engaged women's suffrage, equal rights, class conflict, gender roles, and even birth control.

From 1915 to 1918, Thomashefsky managed her own theater, in direct competition with her estranged husband, and enjoyed new levels of celebrity. The daily *Warheit*, a New York Yiddish newspaper, serialized her memoirs, which offered candid comments on her marriage and on theater politics. Subsequently published as *Mayn lebns geshikhte: di laydn un freydn fun a yidisher star aktrise* (1916), this autobiography, written with A. Tenenholtz, provides an invaluable history of early Yiddish theater in America. Through the 1920s, Thomashefsky reprised her well-known roles, effectively retiring from the stage by 1930. She moved to Hollywood in retirement, where she made at least one unsuccessful attempt to enter films.

Bessie Thomashefsky was the mother of Yiddish actor Harry Thomashefsky and Hollywood writer Ted Thomas, and grandmother of conductor Michael Tilson *Thomas.

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[Ronald Robboy (2nd ed.)]

THOMASHEFSKY, BORIS (1868–1939), U.S. actor and stage director. Thomashefsky was a pioneer of the Yiddish theater in America and one of its most active figures for nearly 50 years. The son of Pincus Thomashefsky, a Yiddish actor and playwright, he left his native Ukraine for the U.S. in 1881 and a year later sang in a New York synagogue choir. He persuaded a saloon-keeper, Frank Wolf, who was one of the synagogue's trustees, to finance the visit of a Yiddish company from London. This tour is believed to mark the beginning of professional Yiddish theater in the U.S. In 1882 Thomashefsky himself was given a singing part in the first production, Abraham *Goldfaden's *Di Kishefmakhern* ("The Witch"), and as there was a shortage of women on the Yiddish stage, he later often played feminine roles. Thomashefsky's career spanned both highbrow and popular productions. He himself wrote or arranged numerous stage pieces, produced and acted in sentimental melodramas, and revived Goldfaden's operettas. At the same time he brought to the Yiddish-speaking public (often in adaptation) plays like Shakespeare's *Hamlet* (1893), *Richard III* (1895), and Goethe's *Faust* (1902). He also introduced actors of stature, arranged for the Vilna Troupe to perform in the U.S., and staged Israel *Zangwill's *Children of the Ghetto* in Yiddish under Zangwill's supervision (1905).

A flamboyant personality, Thomashefsky liked to appear in romantic, swashbuckling parts. Almost from the start he commanded a large popular following, though critics often deplored the quality of his material, while acknowledging his genuine gifts. His first wife, the actress Bessie (Kaufman) *Thomashefsky (1873–1962), left him in 1912 and opened a rival theater; but in the same year Thomashefsky built the National

Theater in New York, where Yiddish show business flourished for another forty years. With his company he toured other American cities and several European countries. Although some of his productions were ephemeral and even tawdry, Thomashefsky had a reverence for the classics which often launched him on ventures from the world repertoire. In 1923 he made an unsuccessful attempt to establish a Yiddish theater on Broadway. Thomashefsky's autobiography, *Mayn Lebns-Geshikhte*, appeared in 1937.

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[David S. Lifson]

°**THOMSEN, PETER** (1875–1954), German Orientalist. From 1894 to 1898 he studied theology at Leipzig University. In 1903 he obtained his doctorate there for a dissertation on the Onomasticon of Eusebius. He remained on the university staff until his death. He visited Palestine in 1909 and 1912 as a member of the German Evangelical Institute.

His works include *Loca Sancta* (1907), an alphabetical list of sources; *Palestina und seine Kultur in fuenf Jahrtausenden* (1909); *Kompendium der palaestinischen Altertumskunde* (1913); a list of Roman milestones in Palestine (1917); and two works on the Greek and Latin inscriptions of Jerusalem (1920, 1941). His main work was the *Systematische Bibliographie der Palaestina-Literatur*, covering the years 1878–1938 (7 vols., 1916–60).

[Michael Avi-Yonah]

THON, ALBERT (1899–1942), Polish lawyer, author, and public worker. Born in Lemberg (Lvov), Thon was a founder of the Zionist youth movement in Austrian-ruled Galicia. After World War I, within the framework of the *American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee, he worked for the rehabilitation of Polish Jews affected by the war. He also participated in the elaboration of aid programs for emigration, such as the establishment of a bank for emigration purposes. In 1922 Thon moved to Lodz, where he became a Zionist leader and was active among the Jewish intelligentsia. With the advent of Hitler, he devoted himself to the organization of the anti-Nazi *boycott, especially in industry. In his capacity as a lawyer, he defended Jews accused of political offenses and published books on law. Arrested by the Gestapo in 1939 because of anti-Nazi activities, he escaped to Lvov in 1941, but was captured a year later and sent to a death camp.

[Moshe Landau]

THON, OSIAS (**Jehoshua**; 1870–1936), rabbi, early Zionist, and Polish Jewish leader. Born in Lemberg (Lvov), Thon studied philosophy and sociology and was one of George *Simmel's most brilliant students. During his student years, he joined Theodor *Herzl, whom he assisted in preparing the First Zionist Congress. In 1897 he published a philosophical study, the first of its kind, on Zionism, *Zur geschichtsphilosophischen Begruendung des Zionismus*. His Zionist views did not prevent him from being appointed in 1897 to the rabbinate of Cracow, which, like most of the Jewish communities at the time, was under the control of assimilationists. He continued to hold this post until his death. Thon's activities were initially educational and literary. He was a gifted orator, and his influence was not confined to the Jews of Cracow, but spread throughout Galicia and Poland. His literary and scientific activities were conducted in Hebrew, Yiddish, German, Polish, and English and encompassed journalistic essays and articles, as well as academic philosophy. He wrote a book on the philosophical and sociological method of Herbert Spencer (Heb., 1910).

Thon regarded himself as a faithful disciple of *Aḥad Ha-Am, despite the fact that he was not prepared to accept his exclusive concentration on cultural matters. His articles and essays from the 1890s until his death were published in many Jewish newspapers and journals. Thon played a prominent role as the president of the West Galician Zionist Federation and as a member of the Zionist General Council, as well as one of the foremost speakers at the Zionist Congresses. He also dedicated himself to Zionist work in the Diaspora in accordance with the program of the *Helsingfors Conference (1906). In the same year Thon stood as a candidate of the Jewish National Party in the town of Kolomea, East Galicia, in the elections to the Austrian parliament. Although he lost the election to his Polish opponent, Thon continued his political activities and intensified them after World War I. He represented the West Galician Jewish National Council on the Comité des Delegations Juives at the Versailles Peace Conference and shortly afterward (1919) was elected to the first Polish parliament (the Sejm). His parliamentary activities continued until 1931. His speeches in the Sejm received undivided attention and were not interrupted by the many antisemites present. In 1925 Thon, together with Leon *Reich, conducted negotiations with the Polish government and agreed that Jewish members of parliament would guarantee their support of government policy in exchange for certain domestic concessions in favor of Polish Jewry. This agreement (called **ugoda*) aroused a storm of protest in wide sections of the Jewish public, which regarded it as endangering the principle of an independent progressive Jewish policy. In the end the agreement came to nothing due to the coup that established a new regime in Poland and the reactionary and antisemitic direction of Polish policy in the 1930s.

Thon was also one of the leaders of the Hebrew language movement. He helped found the network of *Tarbut schools in Poland and officiated as its president for five years. He was also among the founders of the Institute of Jewish Studies in Warsaw, the foremost academic institution of Polish Jewry. Collections of his articles on Zionism appeared in German in 1930, including the memorable monographs on Zionism and Herzl (the latter first appeared in print in 1914 and was translated into Hebrew, Polish, Yiddish, and Hungarian in 1922). An anthology of his sermons appeared in Polish in 1938. His memoirs appeared in the anthology *Pirkei Galizyah* (edited by I. Cohen and Dov Sadan, 1957, 343–85). Bet Yehoshu'a in Israel is named after him.

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[Aryeh Tartakower]

THON, YA'AKOV YOḤANAN (1880–1950), *yishuv* leader. Born in Lemberg, the younger brother of Osias *Thon, he studied law. In 1904–07 he worked together with Arthur *Ruppin in the Bureau for Jewish Statistics and Demography in Berlin. Thon settled in Ereẓ Israel in 1907 and a year later he was nominated Ruppin's deputy in the management of the Palestine Office of the Zionist Organization. From 1916 to 1920 he filled Ruppin's place during the latter's exile in Turkey. During World War I, Thon adopted a neutral stand toward the conflict and developed contacts with German and Austrian representatives in the country; he thus opposed *Nili's clandestine pro-British activities. In 1917, after the British conquest, he organized the Jewish community council in Jerusalem and became its first chairman. Two years later Thon prepared a long and detailed report on the conditions in Ereẓ Israel during the war entitled *Ereẓ Yisrael bi-Shenot ha-Milḥamah ha-Olamit*. He was a founder and afterward the first chairman of the Provisional Council (Ha-Va'ad ha-Zemanni) of the Jewish community and later of the Va'ad Le'ummi presidium (until 1930). Thon was moderate in his approach to the Mandatory government and tried to come to terms with the Arab National Movement. A founder of *Berit Shalom (from which he later resigned), he was a leader of *Ha-Po'el ha-Ẓa'ir and later joined *Mapai.

Thon's main activities were connected with the Palestine Land Development Corporation, and he was its managing director from 1921 until his death. Under his directorship, the company facilitated the purchasing of land and development and building projects throughout the country. His main works include *Die Juden in Oesterreich* (1908) and *Otto Warburg* (in *Sefer Warburg* (1908), 2–24).

His first wife, SARAH (1881–1920), was a pioneer in the establishment of the handicraft industries employing Oriental women and a leader of the Association of Women for Equal Rights. His second wife, HELENA HANNAH (1886–), was a social worker in Jerusalem and leader in the Women's League for Equal Rights.

THORN, SIR JULES (1899–1980), British industrialist. Born in Vienna, Thorn fought in the Austrian army in World War I and then settled in England about 1920. In 1928, with a modest investment, he opened a retail business in London which sold imported electric light bulbs and radio tubes. Over the next 40 years he built up Thorn Electrical Industries, which became one of Britain's largest concerns.

In 1933, Thorn began to manufacture lamps and lighting products in order to offset the high customs duty on imported varieties. Two years later he started making radio receivers and acquired several famous brands (Ferguson, HMV, Marconi, and Ultra). Concurrently he challenged the light-bulb monopoly of the 1930s and succeeded in breaking it by 1956. After World War II he acquired gigantic holdings through a series of spectacular "takeovers." He built a powerful group of companies producing electric light bulbs, radio valves, domestic appliances, kitchen installations, and catering and fire-fighting equipment. His group of companies led in supplying radio and TV sets in Britain, later controlling 50 percent of the sales of color TV and dominating the TV rental field. His acquisition of Metal Industries led, in 1967, to stricter governmental supervision of stock market deals. He was knighted in 1964. Thorn gave generously to Jewish causes such as the Haifa Technion.

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[Julian Louis Meltzer]

°**THRASYLLUS OF MENDES** (d. 36 C.E.), mathematician, astrologer, and philosopher, author of a chronicle quoted by *Clement of Alexandria (Stromateis, 136. 3 = Jacoby, FGr H 2 B. 253), which, according to Jacoby, should perhaps be attributed instead to *Ptolemy of Mende. In it he dates the Exodus as occurring during the reign of the legendary Greek king Inachus, 345 years before the Sothiac cycle (i.e., 1676 or 1666 B.C.E.). The use of the Sothiac cycle suggests an Egyptian origin for the chronology. A similar synchronization of Moses and Inachus was made by Ptolemy of Mende, *Apion, *Justus of Tiberias, *Polybius, *Thallus, and *Varro.

[Louis Harry Feldman]

THREE WEEKS, the period between the 17th of *Tammuz and the Ninth of *Av inclusive. It is a time of mourning called in Hebrew *bein ha-meẓarim* ("between the straits," i.e., the two fasts), and commemorates the destruction of the First and Second Temples in Jerusalem.

The traditional mourning rites during these three weeks are: (1) Not to buy or wear new garments and to abstain from music and entertainment, as well as from bathing for pleasure or sport (except for immersion in a ritual bath, *mikveh*). (2) No new fruits of the season over which the *She-Heḥeyanu* blessing must be pronounced are eaten. (3) Abstention from shaving and from cutting of the hair. (4) No weddings are celebrated. (5) Some very pious Jews abstain also from the consumption of meat and from the drinking of wine, save on the Sabbath.

Generally, these rites are observed only from the first of Av onward (see *Magen Avraham* to Sh. Ar., OḤ 551:18). On the Sabbaths of the Three Weeks ("The Three Sabbaths of Affliction," *Telata de-Furanuta*), special *haftarot* are read from Jeremiah 1:1–2:3; 2:4–3:4 and Isaiah 1:1–27, in which the prophets announce the impending punishment of Israel (see *Sabbaths, Special). Evil spirits were thought to be active during this period, particularly from the first of Av to the ninth. A person is, therefore, advised not to enter into litigation and come before a non-Jewish court in this period, since the result is a matter of luck. Teachers are enjoined not to beat pupils in this period. (Sh. Ar., OḤ 551:18).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Eisenstein, Dinim, 38–39; H. Schauss, *The Jewish Festivals* (1938), 101–4; ET, 3 (1951), 116–21.

THRONE (Heb. כִּסֵּא, כִּסֵּה, כֵּס; Dan. כָּרְסֵא; cf. Akk. *kussû*), an elevated chair symbolizing the importance and supreme authority of the person seated on it. Thrones were usually elaborate, made from the most expensive materials, and adorned with the personal symbols of the king, of the patron gods of the king, or of the land in which he ruled, or with a description of his deeds and the deeds of his forefathers. In general the throne was set up in a special hall in the palace, the throne hall, which was considered the final and most important place which a common man could reach in his lifetime. Both gods and kings are depicted on various monuments as seated on high thrones. With the widespread use of the word "throne" it became equivalent in meaning to the kingdom itself. In the story of Pharaoh and Joseph, Pharaoh emphasizes to his viceroy: "only with respect to the throne shall I be superior to you" (Gen. 41:40b). The establishment of David as king of Israel is described as the establishment of the throne of David (II Sam. 3:10), and the act of occupying the throne came to indicate the succession to the kingship (I Kings 1:46).

The God of Israel is described metaphorically as sitting upon a royal throne. That He is all-present is expressed by the figure of speech, "Heaven is My throne and earth My footstool" (Isa. 66:1a). From another point of view, however, Jerusalem is called the throne of the Lord (Jer. 3:17).

Only one throne is described in detail in the Bible: the throne of Solomon (I Kings 10:18–20; II Chron. 9:17–19). This throne is described as an elevated seat which had six steps leading up to it. It was made partly of ivory and was overlaid with gold. The throne had a backrest and arms, alongside which were statues of lions. There were also six statues of lions on either side of the steps. According to the Bible no other contemporary king had a similar throne.

Most of the royal thrones which are depicted on monuments from the Ancient Near East are elevated, have high backrests and numerous decorations, and together with their footstools constitute each a single entity.

A very elaborate throne was found in the tomb of Tutankhamen in Egypt. It is made of wood; its feet are in the shape of lions' feet, and its arms are shaped like lion heads. The back and the sides are decorated with the symbol of the king and of the kingdom (see Carter and Mace, in bibl.). The throne of the king of Tyre is depicted on his coffin (see Montet, in bibl.). This throne has a handrest decorated with sphinxes with outstretched wings. The throne of the king Barrakab of Samʾal is square and decorated and has no handrests (see von Luschan, in bibl.). An Assyrian throne is depicted on the relief of the conquest of Lachish by *Sennacherib. In this graphic description, the king sits on a high elevated throne and his feet rest on a wooden footstool. The legs of the throne and its other features are carved and ornamented with various decorations. King Darius is depicted sitting on a throne which has no arms but has an upholstered backrest.

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[Ze'ev Yeivin]

THRONE OF GOD. The vision of God sitting on a throne (*kisse*) is described by several prophets, among them Micaiah (I Kings 22:19), Isaiah (Isa. 6), Ezekiel (Ezek. 1), and Daniel (Dan. 7:9). Talmudic and midrashic sources developed this theme further, and it entered into religious poetry, liturgy, and mystical *heikhalot* tracts of the early centuries C.E., which speak of the throne as the *merkavah*, or "chariot" (see *Merkabah Mysticism). Among Jewish philosophers, Saadiah and Maimonides, who objected to all anthropomorphic descriptions of God, attempted to explain the visions of the throne allegorically, in contrast to Judah Halevi who accepted a more literal interpretation of the chariot vision (*Kuzari*, 3:65) and who used the image of the throne in his religious poems.

Saadiah did not dismiss the throne vision completely, since he viewed it as part of the true tradition of the prophets, but he gave it a new meaning. In accordance with his principles of biblical interpretation, Saadiah maintained that these visions of the throne of God are not to be taken literally, just as "the sea has spoken" (Isa. 23:4) is a metaphor and should not be understood literally. Saadiah quotes an opponent who asks how it is possible "to put such constructions on an anthropomorphic expression, when the Bible itself mentions a form like that of a human being that was seen by the prophets," and when Ezekiel and Micah describe God being seated on a throne and borne by angels on top of a firmament (*Book of Beliefs and Opinions*, 2:10). In answer to this opponent, who asks Saadiah further whether the prophets did not mean what they said, Saadiah states that a form was created especially for that vision, and it was this form, and not God Himself, that was seen by the prophets. He maintains that "…the throne and the firmament, as well as its bearers, were all produced for the first time by the Creator out of fire for the purpose of assuring His prophet that it was He that had revealed His word to him…. It is a form nobler even than that of the angels, magnificent in character, resplendent with light, which is called the glory of the Lord" (*ibid.*, 2:10: see also Judah b. Barzillai al-Bargeloni, *Perush Sefer Yeẓirah*, ed. by S.Z.H. Halberstamm (1885), 20ff.). It is this form that Daniel describes (Dan. 7:9) and that the talmudic sages characterized as the *Shekhinah*. Thus according to Saadiah, the prophets did not actually see God seated on a throne but they saw either a fire created by God in the form of a throne, or lights that were created by God to give the impression of a throne.

Saadiah described the throne as being of fire rather than of some other material because fire was considered by the Neoplatonists to be the most noble and ethereal of the material substances. He specified that the fire was created, in order to indicate that nothing is coeternal with God. He also wanted to avoid the notion of the logos, i.e., of an intermediary between God and the world which is coeternal with Him. J. Dan suggests that Saadiah's created fires, intermediaries between God and the world, are not hypostases, i.e., they do not have a permanent existence (J. Dan, *Torat ha-Sod shel Ḥasidei Ashkenaz* (1968), 106ff.), and are thus different from Maimonides' ten created separate intelligences that are permanent existents.

Maimonides distinguishes between *Ma'aseh Merkavah* – the account of the chariot – and the specific visions of the throne of God. Dressing his Aristotelian philosophy in traditional terminology, he uses the mishnaic terms (Ḥag. 2:1) *Ma'aseh Bereshit* – the account of creation – and *Ma'aseh Merkavah* to refer to the science of physics and metaphysics respectively (*Guide*, introd., and introd. to pt. 3). The awe that the rabbis associated with *Ma'aseh Merkavah* is related by Maimonides to metaphysics, which he believed was above the understanding of the masses, and should therefore be hidden from them.

Whereas Saadiah considered the throne one of the created forms, Maimonides in his *Mishneh Torah* (Yad, Madda, 2:7) places the throne above them. Dividing the universe into changing substances composed of matter and form, unchanging substances composed of matter and form, and incorporeal intelligences, Maimonides identifies the angels with the incorporeal intelligences. The *ḥayyot* are the highest angelic beings and only God is above them. However, Maimonides also states that the *ḥayyot* are said to be beneath the throne, implying thereby that the throne is identical with God. In his analysis of the term throne in chapter 9 of the first part of the *Guide*, Maimonides gives the term two meanings. According to the first meaning, the throne in biblical usage refers to the sanctuary or the heavens, which are called throne because the grandeur of God manifested itself in these places, and His light and glory descended there. The biblical verse "the heaven is my throne" is interpreted by Maimonides as "the heaven indicates my existence, grandeur, and power": just as a throne indicates the greatness of the individual who is considered worthy of it, so the heavens indicate the existence and grandeur of God. According to the second interpretation, the throne is an allusion to God Himself. For example, when Moses swore "Hand upon the throne of the Lord" (Ex. 17:16), he swore by God Himself. Pointing out that the throne should not be imagined as a thing outside God's essence or as a created being, Maimonides maintains that the throne signifies God's essence. In another passage he identifies the throne with the *aravot* upon which God is said to ride. The *aravot*, according to him, are identical with the all-encompassing celestial sphere, and God's "riding" upon it is interpreted to mean that He exists beyond it and in separation from it (*Guide*, 1:70). Maimonides' interpretation of the throne in his analysis of Ezekiel's vision of the *ḥayyot* (*Guide* 3:7) is different from his interpretation in the other parts of the *Guide* and resembles that of Saadiah. He does not relate the throne to the essence of God, but places the visionary chariot on the level of the separate intelligences. Thus Ezekiel's vision, according to Maimonides, is an apprehension of the glory of God (not of God Himself), of the angels, and the separate intelligences – "the chariot and not the rider." The two meanings of throne in the *Guide* should be compared to the similar meanings of glory in the *Guide* (1:64).

[Rivka G. Horwitz]

THUNDER AND LIGHTNING. Thunder and lightning were looked on as magnificent, awesome, and ominous and hence early man connected these phenomena with the direct activity and manifestation of God. In the Bible the term *barak*, "lightning," is more widespread than the term *ra'am*, "thunder." However, both are mentioned as impressive divine phenomena. In addition, the Bible recognizes the connection between lightning and *rain (e.g., Jer. 10:13; 51:16). The phenomena of thunder, lightning, and rain are also attributed in the Ancient Near East to a single major god: Baal in Canaanite mythology, Hadad in Assyrian and Marduk in Babylonian. Each of these is depicted holding in his hand a lightning trident, as a symbol of his power and of his bestowal of the rain on which the earth depends for fertility and life for survival. The description of the theophany at Mount Sinai is associated with thunder and lightning, cloud and smoke (Ex. 19:16). In biblical poetic literature, lightning is considered to be the arrows of God, which He hurls to the earth in His anger (e.g., II Sam. 22:15; Ps. 144:6; Zech. 9:14). In the same way that lightning is the manifestation of God's power, so also thunder is one of His means of expression (Ps. 81:8).

There are realistic descriptions of lightning in biblical literature: "the lightning, lightening up the world" (Ps. 77:19). The lightning is associated in these descriptions with fire and great bright light (Ezek. 1:13; Dan. 10:6).

[Ze'ev Yeivin]

In the Talmud

Thunder and lightning are classed together in the Mishnah (together with shooting stars, earthquakes, and tempests) as manifestations of the might of God, on seeing or experiencing which one is obliged to recite the blessing "whose strength and might fill the world" (Ber. 9:2). The following varying explanations of the cause of thunder are given: "Clouds in a whirl, clouds pouring water into one another," or "the result of a powerful flash of lightning striking the clouds and breaking off hailstones," or "a blast of wind blowing across the mouth of the clouds." The passage, however, concludes that the third explanation is the most probable one, since "the lightning flashes, the clouds rumble, and then the rain falls." According to Rava, the lightning of which one has to be apprehensive (and therefore utter the prayer to avert danger) is "a single flash, blue lightning, clouds rising in the west and coming from the south, and two clouds facing one another." Thunder was instituted that man should fear God (Bet. 59a).

THURINGIA, state in Germany. Jewish merchants are recorded in Thuringia as early as the 10th century. Jewish communities, however, appeared relatively late. *Erfurt, the oldest Jewish settlement, dates from the 12th century. It became the religious and social center of Thuringian Jewry and constituted one of the largest Jewish communities in Germany in the 13th and 14th centuries. In 1287 *Rudolf I of Habsburg gave jurisdiction over Thuringian Jewry to the archbishop of Mainz. Emperor Louis of Bavaria (1314–47) transferred the jurisdiction to Landgrave Frederick II in 1330. This act, confirmed by *Charles IV (1347–78) in 1350, did not affect the majority of the Jews concentrated in the cities, who did not recognize the landgrave's authority. The southern parts of Thuringia suffered during the *Rindfleisch persecutions (1298). In 1303 Landgrave Frederick I, the Peaceful, personally led the massacre of 126 Jews in Weissensee. Frederick II, the Grave (1323–49), who was deeply in debt to Jewish moneylenders, sent letters to *Dresden, *Meissen, *Nordhausen, and *Muehlhausen during the *Black Death persecutions (1348–49) urging them to massacre the Jews and confiscate their property. The Jewish communities in Thuringia rapidly recuperated, however, and in 1368 Frederick's son extended his protection to the Jewish community. In 1391 a rabbinical assembly took place in Erfurt. That same year the Jews of Eisenach, *Gotha, Langensalza, Jena, Weimar, and Weissensee were freed for six years on the annual payment of 40 gulden from attending the ecclesiastical court of the archbishop of Mainz. In 1416 Rabbi Heller of Erfurt was nominated "Judenmeister" of Thuringian Jewry, with the power of excommunication. In this period, Isaac the Rich of Jena, a moneylender, was agent of Duke Frederick of Saxony, who bought up and annexed estates of nobles who were hopelessly in debt to Isaac.

During the Middle Ages Thuringia produced many scholars who contributed significantly to Jewish learning. Among them were Alefaden b. Isaac ha-Kohen (killed in Erfurt in 1349); Abraham ha-Kohen, rabbi in Erfurt at the end of the 14th century and author of the halakhic work *Kelalot Issur ve-Hetter* (Basle, 1599); and Israel b. Joel Susskin, author of a dirge on the martyrs of the Black Death persecution. In the mid-15th century Thuringia passed to *Saxony. The position of the Jews deteriorated through the expulsions of Jews from Arnstadt (1441), Erfurt (1458), and other cities, and through the preaching of John of *Capistrano (1452). John Frederick the Brave, a fervent supporter of the *Reformation, ordered the total expulsion of Jews in 1536, but this was not enforced finally until 1559. The order was reissued in 1556 and regularly thereafter.

The landgravate of Thuringia subsequently went through a period of disintegration and emerged divided into a large number of minor duchies and principalities, the most important of which were Saxe-Weimar-Eisenach and Saxe-Meiningen-Hildburghausen. Though Jews were prohibited from living in the cities, they were allowed in the latter half of the 17th and in the 18th centuries to settle on the estates of the nobility. In 1737 the duke of Saxe-Weimar was induced by C.F. August, an apostate rabbi and teacher at the University of Jena, to allocate the city of Doenburg for the use of Jews requesting Christian instruction. The former rabbi absconded after a successful tour to raise funds for this project. The **Leibzoll* ("body tax") was abolished in 1808, through the influence of Israel *Jacobson. In 1823 the Jews of the duchy received a charter wherein the office of **Landrabbiner* was established, general education made compulsory, and the use of German in services obligatory. The *Landrabbiner* at the time was Mendel *Hess, publisher of the pro-Reform *Der Israelit des 19 Jahrhunderts* (1840–48). The situation of the Jews of Saxe-Meiningen-Hildburghausen was typical of all the Thuringian principalities (see *Meiningen).

The various principalities granted protection to *court Jews and rich merchants while poor Jews, mostly peddlers, lived on the country estates of the nobility where they constituted between a quarter and a fifth of the population. The cities jealously guarded their privilege of not tolerating Jews. A Jewish charter in 1811 contained modern and medieval elements; the Jews became subjects of the state but citizenship was granted sparingly. In 1833 the Jews numbered 1,524 (of whom only 11 were citizens) and constituted 10 percent of the total population; their decline to 1,487 in 1905 was caused by backward conditions, as well as antisemitism, which encouraged Jewish emigration. The *Burschenschaft* (see *Students Associations) movement was founded at the University of Jena by J.F. *Fries; emancipation became law only with the North German Constitution (1869).

The Thuringian principalities were amalgamated into one state, Thuringia, after World War I. The Jewish population remained stable: 3,335 in 1895 and 3,600 (0.2 percent of the population) in 1932. Thuringia was the first German state where Nazis achieved ministerial office. Dr. Wilhelm Frick (sentenced and executed in 1946) became minister of the interior in 1930. He nominated notorious antisemites and racists to the universities and proposed anti-*Sheḥitah* laws and the dismissal of all Jews from the state bureaucracy. The principal Jewish communities of Thuringia were in *Gotha, Arnstadt, Aschenhausen, Eisenbach, Altenburg, and *Meiningen. These, and many rural Jewish settlements, were annihilated during World War II. After the war a few Jews resided again in Thuringia, East Germany, and there was a synagogue in Erfurt. In 1945 there were 227 Jews living in Thuringia. The membership of the Jewish community declined continuously. It numbered 65 in 1969; 40 in 1982; and 26 in 1990. However, owing to the immigration of Jews from the former Soviet Union, the membership increased to 180 in 1994 and 633 in 2004. Most of the members live in Erfurt.

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[Henry Wasserman / Larissa Daemmig (2nd ed.)]

TIBBON, IBN (**Tibbonids**), a family of translators, philosophers, and exegetes, based in southern France ("Provence," the Midi, Occitania). JUDAH B. SAUL IBN TIBBON (c. 1120–1190), called the "father of translators," was born in Granada, but fled (most likely due to the Almohad persecutions) and resettled in Lunel, where he worked as physician and merchant. Encouraged (and perhaps supported financially) by *Meshullam b. Jacob, *Abraham b. David of Posquières, and *Asher b. Meshullam, Judah produced Hebrew translations of Bahya Ibn Paquda's *Duties of the Heart* and Solomon Ibn Gabirol's *Improvement of Moral Qualities*. He also translated Saadiah Gaon's *Book of Beliefs and Opinions*, Jonah Ibn Janah's *Book of Roots* and *Sefer ha-Rikmah*, Ibn Gabirol's *Choice of Pearls*, Judah Halevi's *Kuzari*, and possibly a logical work by the Islamic philosopher al-Farabi (his summary of Aristotle's *Posterior Analytics*). Judah's only surviving original composition is his ethical testament, a lively account of his efforts to educate his son according to his cultural and literary ideals. In this testament, he also refers to his book on grammar (no longer extant). A treatise on divine unity, entitled *Sefer Sha'ar ha-Yiḥud*, has been attributed to him.

SAMUEL B. JUDAH IBN TIBBON (c. 1165–1232) was born in Lunel, traveled to Arles, Toledo, Barcelona, and Alexandria, and lived in Marseilles (where he taught his son-in-law and most famous disciple Jacob Anatoli). Like his father, Samuel was a physician, merchant, and translator. His most important translation was the Hebrew rendering of Maimonides' *Guide of the Perplexed*. He issued a first edition in 1204 and revised version, with glossary (*Perush ha-Millot ha-Zarot*), in 1213. But he also translated other writings by Maimonides (Eight Chapters, Commentary on Avot, Letter on Resurrection, Letter to Yemen, Letter on Translation, and possibly the preface to the commentary on Mishnah Sanhedrin, Chapter Ḥelek); and he produced the first Hebrew versions of Aristotle (*Meteorology*) and Averroes ("Three Treatises on Conjunction"). Other translations attributed to him, such as ʿAli b. Ridwan's commentary on Galen's *Ars parva*, are evidently not his work.

Samuel produced original works as well. His *Commentary on Ecclesiastes* (between 1213 and 1221) was the first extensive philosophical commentary written on the book in Hebrew. He explains that Solomon wrote it in order to defend the doctrine of immortality against ancient skeptics who argued that conjunction with the active intellect is impossible. His second major book, *Ma'amar Yikkavu ha-Mayim*, is a similar work of philosophy and exegesis. It begins with a question of cosmology (why is the earth not completely covered by water), then proceeds to answer this question in light of verses from Genesis, Isaiah, Ezekiel, Job, and the Book of Psalms. In addition to these two works, Samuel also wrote a brief "Treatise on the Table and Shewbread," a "Letter on Providence," and "Annotations" to his translation of the *Guide*. He planned two additional projects that were never completed: A commentary on the internal meanings of Proverbs, and an esoteric commentary on Genesis, entitled *Ner ha-Ḥofesh* (see Prov. 20:27).

MOSES B. SAMUEL B. JUDAH IBN TIBBON (fl. 1244–1283) resided in Montpellier, but spent some years in Naples with his brother-in-law Jacob Anatoli. He was the most prolific translator in the family; he produced translations of philosophical as well as technical scientific treatises. The authors he rendered into Hebrew, from Graeco-Arabic, Arabic and Judaeo-Arabic, include the following: Euclid, Geminus, Theodosius, Themistius, Maimonides, Hunayn b. Ishaq, Abu Bakr al-Razi, Ibn al-Haytham, al-Hassar, Ibn al-Jazzar, Al-Farabi, Avicenna, Ibn al-Sid al-Batalyawsi, Averroes, Jabir Ibn Aflah, and al-Bitruji. Like his father, Moses also wrote original works of philosophy and exegesis. Best known is his commentary on Song of Songs, in which he explains the biblical book allegorically as a story about the human intellect's pursuit of conjunction with the active intellect. He wrote several additional works as well, including a commentary on select rabbinic *aggadot* (*Sefer ha-Pe'ah*), a "Letter on Providence" (responding to his father's letter), a responsum on the elements (relating to *Ma'amar Yikkavu ha-Mayim*), various explanations of passages from *Mishneh Torah*, *Book of Knowledge*, *Guide* 2:17, and Psalm 69:32, a philosophical-exegetical work entitled *Sefer ha-Teninim,* a supercommentary on Ibn Ezra, and possibly a treatise about the microcosm (*Olam Katan*) and commentary on the "work of the beginning" (*Ma'aseh be-Reshit*).

JACOB B. MAKHIR (Don Prophet Tibbon, Profatius/Prophacius Judaeus; c. 1236–1306), probably a nephew of Moses, likewise lived in Montpellier, where he had close contacts with Christian physicians in the medical school. In addition to translating Arabic and Graeco-Arabic philosophical and scientific writings (including works by Euclid, Menelaus, Autolycus, Theodosius, Qusta b. Luqa, Ibn al-Haytham, Ibn al-Saffar, Azarquel, Jabir ibn Aflah, and Averroes), he seems to have rendered into Hebrew a Latin medical treatise by his contemporary Arnold of Villanova. Jacob was also engaged in original scientific research. He wrote works of mathematics and astronomy and invented the Quadrant of Israel (*Roba Yisra'el*; *Quadrans novus*), an astronomical instrument that marked an improvement upon the astrolabe. During the communal controversy of 1303–6, he was an outspoken defender of philosophy and the philosophical culture represented by his family.

Three additional members of the Ibn Tibbon family are worthy of mention:

SAMUEL B. MOSES IBN TIBBON was involved in a lawsuit, mentioned in a responsum by Rashba, concerning the marriage of his cousin. JUDAH B. MOSES IBN TIBBON, together with Jacob b. Makhir, was a defender of philosophy during the controversy of 1303–1306. A certain ABRAHAM IBN TIBBON, otherwise unknown, is identified as the translator of Aristotle's *Oekonomika*.

Influence

It is hard to overestimate the influence of the Ibn Tibbon family. With their translations, they created a philosophical library in Hebrew and coined a technical terminology that would be used by translators and original authors throughout the middle ages. Their original works were important as well. This is especially the case with Samuel, Moses, and Jacob Anatoli, who laid the foundations for a Maimonidean tradition of philosophy and exegesis in Europe. Their imprint is found especially in Provence, in the writings of figures such as Levi b. Abraham b. Ḥayyim, Gershom b. Solomon of Arles, Menahem ha-Meiri, and David ha-Kokhavi, but they were important in Italy as well. Moses of Salerno, Zerahiah Hen, Judah Romano, and especially Immanuel of Rome, owe much to the work of their philosophical predecessors. Although some scholars in Spain opposed their work – Jacob b. Sheshet wrote a full-length refutation of *Ma'amar Yikkavu ha-Mayim* – others, such as Isaac Ibn Latif, used them extensively, and in the 14th century they were cited frequently in commentaries on the Bible and supercommentaries on Ibn Ezra. Although their importance, as original philosophers and exegetes, waned in the 15th and 16th centuries, they were still consulted and discussed. Thus Judah Abarbanel (Leone Ebreo) owned a copy of Samuel's *Commentary on Ecclesiastes*, while Judah Moscato cited it several times in *Kol Yehudah*, his commentary on Judah Halevi's *Kuzari*.

See also *Translations and Translators.

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[James T. Robinson and Uri Melammed (2nd ed.)]

TIBERIAS (Heb. טְבֶרְיָה), city on the western shore of Lake Kinneret (the Sea of Galilee), and the largest settlement in the Jordan Valley. The name usually appears in the Jerusalem Talmud as *Tivveryah*, and in the Babylonian Talmud as *Teverya*. The city is built upon a terrace of alluvial soil, lake sediment, and layers of basalt; the last is used as building material. It lies on a broad strip of land along the shore, where the ascent to the top of the mountains is relatively easy. Tiberias is situated approximately 8½ mi. (c. 13½ km.) from the northern tip of Lake Kinneret, and approximately 6 mi. (c. 10 km.) from the southern tip. It is geographically placed to serve as a trade, administrative and cultural center for the surrounding settlements. Because of the steep slopes of the mountains, the built-up part of the city is spread over a relatively large area. The old city lies only a few feet above the level of the lake and 690 ft. (c. 210 m.) below sea level, while the newest part of the city, on the Poriyyah Ridge to the west, reach to approximately 817 ft. (249 m.) above sea level, thus lying 1513 ft. (461 m.) above the level of the lake. This results in noticeable differences in temperature, rainfall, and vegetation within the city limits.

History

Tiberias was founded by Herod *Antipas, son of Herod, king of Judea and tetrarch of Galilee, on the remains of biblical Rakkath (Josh. 19:35, where Rakkath is described as a city of Naphtali between Hammath and Chinnereth; TJ, 1: 1, 70a). The site of Rakkath is probably to be identified with Khirbat

Qunayṭira, N. of the modern city of Tiberias. The city was built between 14 and 18 C.E. It was inaugurated in 18 C.E. and it is from this date that the age of the city was counted; it was named after the then-reigning Roman emperor Tiberius. It was originally unfortified and was planned in the Hellenistic style, with a palace at the highest point overlooking the rest of the city. The new city was declared capital of Galilee, and the government offices and treasury were transferred to it; the richer classes followed. The original population was mixed (Jos., Ant., 18:36ff.), including landless people and freed slaves. Since tombs were found while clearing the area for the building of the city, it was shunned by observant Jews. At the time of the First Jewish War, Jewish fishermen comprised the majority of the population. The territory of Tiberias stretched from the Jordan northward, but its cultivable area was not large and the city relied more on fishing and industry, including glass and pottery making, mat weaving, woodwork, wool weaving, and fish raising in ponds. The city was organized on the Greek model, with a council (*boulé*) headed by an archon, whose members attended a special synagogue. Two royal officials, the hyparchos and agoranomos (market overseer), supervised the city administration; in later centuries there was also a board of strategoi.

From Antipas, Tiberias passed to Agrippa I in 39 C.E.; after his death it came under direct Roman administration. After the death of the Emperor Claudius, it was called Tiberias Claudiopolis ("City of Claudius") in his honor. In 61 C.E. Nero separated Tiberias from Galilee and gave it to Agrippa II, with whom it remained until his death. In 66 the city was split between the Zealots led by Jesus the son of Sapphias, who were opposed to Josephus, the commander in Galilee, and the well-to-do, who favored the Romans and surrendered to them in 67, when Vespasian and his army reached the city. At that time, Tiberias was already the most important city on the lake, which was sometimes called after it (John 6: 1). It had a mint which coined under Antipas (from 19/20 onward) and Claudius (in 53), and from 99 to the reign of Elagabalus, when coinage was municipal. The earlier coins show a wreath of reeds (symbol of the lake), and the later ones have images of Zeus, Tyche, Sarapis, Hygiea, and Poseidon, thus indicating the stronghold of the Romans on the city; Hygiea symbolizes its warm springs, and an anchor or galley its connection with the lake.

The character of the city changed completely in the first half of the second century, when R. Simeon b. Yoḥai purified it; soon afterward it was chosen by the Jewish patriarch and his Sanhedrin as their residence. Tiberias remained the capital of the Jews in the country until the transfer of the religious authorities to Jerusalem after the Arab conquest in the seventh century. The patriarch dominated the city, deciding in tax disputes and raising funds for the building of a wall in the late second century. The so-called Jerusalem Talmud was composed largely at Tiberias. It was the seat of the famous rabbinical academy presided over by R. Johanan and R. Simeon b. Lakish, R. Ammi and R. Assi, and their successors. Thirteen synagogues are mentioned in the sources, including those of the Babylonians and Tarsians residing there. The influence of the rabbis was so strong that the Hadrianeum (temple in honor of Hadrian) was never completed, and the statues in the public baths were destroyed by order of R. Johanan. The attempts of Comes Joseph, a Christian convert, to build a church in Tiberias under Constantine were in vain. The city revolted in 351 against Gallus Caesar; it was occupied by the Roman commander Ursicinus, but suffered no damage.

In the fifth century the Christians established a community with a bishop in Tiberias. At the beginning of that century the Patriarchate was abolished, but in 520, Mar *Zutra, the son of the exilarch of Babylonia, settled in Tiberias and became head of the academy (*Rosh ha-Perek*). *Benjamin of Tiberias was one of the heads of the Jewish uprising against the Byzantines at the time of the Persian invasion in 614. In 636 the city was taken by the Muslim Arabs, and it became the capital of the province of al-Urdunn. In the seventh century it was a center of the Masoretes, who developed a special vocalization there. The great poet Eliezer *Kallir probably lived there at the time. The Jewish community continued to exist under Arab rule, when Tiberias was a center of the tapestry and textile industry, and even under the Crusaders, 50 Jewish families survived. It was the capital of the principality of Galilee from 1100 to 1247. The medieval city, now surrounded by an 18th-century wall, extends north of the Roman town into the cemetery. It was to succor besieged Tiberias that the Crusaders ventured on the expedition which ended in disaster at Hattin in 1187. In the 12th century, Maimonides visited Tiberias and was buried there in 1206. In 1562 the city was given by the Turkish sultan Suleiman I to Don Joseph *Nasi, who tried to reestablish it as a Jewish city, but in the 17th century it fell into complete ruin. It was rebuilt in the 18th century by Sheikh Ẓāhir al-ʿAmr, ruler of Galilee. The Jewish community, which regarded Tiberias as one of the four holy cities of the Land of Israel, revived and was strengthened in 1777 by a group of Ḥasidim. Its walls were built by Ibrāhīm Pasha in 1833.

Tiberias was severely damaged by the violent earthquake of 1837, which destroyed most of the 16th-century city wall and caused the death of many inhabitants (according to one source, 1,000 Jews then lost their lives). Many of the surviving Jews fled to Jerusalem, but returned to Tiberias in the following years; in 1839 the city had 600 Jewish inhabitants. On the site of the old settlement, in addition to the inhabitants belonging to the old *yishuv*, a modern Jewish community was established, given impetus with the founding of Jewish villages in the surrounding areas in eastern Lower Galilee at the beginning of the 20th century. Tiberias served as the center of these settlements. In 1912–14, the first Jewish quarter outside the Old City confines, Shekhunat Aḥvah, was built. After World War I, the town served as a base for *Gedud ha-Avodah ("The Labor Legion"), which was then employed in road building in the vicinity. Throughout Mandate times it was the headquarters of a sub-district. In 1920 the ground was laid for the new Jewish quarter of Kiryat Shemu'el on the slope above the Old City in the northwest; the site was chosen with a view to its relatively cooler climate, and was named after the High Commissioner Sir Herbert Samuel on the occasion of his visit to Tiberias. In the same year, the Tiberias hot springs came into Jewish possession, and the city began to be developed as a modern recreation center. In 1922 the Jewish population of Tiberias was 4,427 out of a total of 6,950.

In the 1936–39 Arab riots, there were repeated Arab assaults on Jews and over 30 persons were killed, although relations between the two communities remained generally tolerable. In 1944 the Jewish population was 6,000 out of a total of 11,310. At the beginning of the War of Independence, an undeclared truce existed between local Jews and Arabs. However, it was broken in April 1948 with an attack by Arabs who anticipated the Syrian invasion of the area. Following the *Haganah's counterattack, all Arab inhabitants left in the same night, making Tiberias the first town of mixed population in the country to become all Jewish in the wake of the war; approximately 4,000 Jewish citizens remained.

In the fall of 1948, many of the Old City's dilapidated buildings were blown up as a first step toward comprehensive city planning. In 1949 a large transit camp for new immigrants (*ma'barah*) was established on the slopes above Kiryat Shemu'el, which absorbed newcomers from southeastern Europe, Yemen, Iraq, Morocco, etc., bringing the number of Tiberias' inhabitants to 16,200 in 1952. In 1960 it increased to 20,843, and in 1968 to 23,600; in the mid-1990s the population reached 35,900, rising further to 39,800 in 2002 and occupying an area of 4 sq. mi (10 sq. km.). After 1952, construction of "Upper Tiberias" (the Poriyyah quarter) centered on a large hospital previously built there, in order to provide permanent housing for the inhabitants of the *ma'barah*, which gradually shrank, to disappear in the early 1960s. Kiryat Shemu'el expanded uphill without, however, linking up with the Poriyyah quarter. Parts of the upper slopes were afforested and an avenue of trees and flower beds was laid out along the shore to the hot springs in the south. Tourism and recreation, based on the hot springs and centering on the winter months, constituted Tiberias' principal economic foundation. New hotels were constructed, mostly in Kiryat Shemu'el, but also on the shore and on the Poriyyah ridge. In the tourist slump that accompanied the al-Aqsa Intifada (see *Israel, State of: Historical Survey), the city experienced severe economic hardship. Fishing continued to be the occupation of some of Tiberias' inhabitants. Local industry was of modest size.

In Tiberias are the traditional and venerated tombs of R. *Johanan b. Zakkai, R. *Meir Ba'al ha-Nes (with two synagogues in its vicinity), R. *Akiva, R. *Ammi, and R. *Assi. *Maimonides and Isaiah *Horowitz are also buried in a Tiberias cemetery.

Excavations were carried out in the southern environs of the city between 1945 and 1956 by Bezalel Rabani and in 1973–74 by G. Foerster. Architectural remains include a colonnaded street (*cardo*), a bathhouse (referred to in talmudic sources), a market place, a large building, possibly a basilica, as well the southern fortified gateway flanked by two round towers (see *Fortifications). Rich finds in pottery, metal and glass, jewelry and coins attest to the city's prosperity until the 11th century C.E. The pottery from Foerster's excavations have been studied by D. Stacey. About 80 meters northeast of the bathhouse A. Druks uncovered in 1964 the remains of a large urban villa complex; it was re-excavated in 1993 by Y. Hirschfeld. A two-chambered mausoleum of the Roman period was uncovered by F. Vitto in 1976 in the Kiryat Shemuel neighborhood. A Roman theater that could have seated 5,000 spectators was probed by Y. Hirschfeld between 1990 and 1994 at the foot of Mount Berenice. Nearby was a rectangular building, dated to between the early third century C.E. and the middle of the Byzantine period, with an adjacent ritual bathing pool (*mikveh*). Hirschfeld has identified it as the *bet midrash* founded by Rabbi Johanan, leader of the Sanhedrin, where the Jerusalem Talmud was redacted. On the summit of Mount Berenice a church and monastery was uncovered by Hirschfeld between 1990 and 1992. The adjacent city wall was constructed during the reign of Justinian in 527–65 C.E., according to Procopius (*Buildings*, 5, 9:21). An excavation led by A. Berman in 1978–79 uncovered a sixth-century building with mosaic floors at the northern edge of the site, which has been identified as one of the 13 synagogues of Tiberias mentioned in the Talmud.

Close to the excavations of 1989 a new excavation was conducted in 1998 by Y. Hirschfeld and O. Gutfeld with the discovery of dwellings from the Abbasid-Fatimid period and a portion of a street with a drainage channel under it. Beneath one of the houses was an incredible find: one of the largest hoards of bronze vessels ever found in the Levant. This hoard included 700 objects consisting of lanterns of different types, table ware, jewelry, and other assorted items.

South of the city are the hot springs of *Hammath Tiberias where two synagogues were uncovered by M. Dothan between 1961 and 1963.

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[Michael Avi-Yonah, Abraham J. Brawer, and Efraim Orni / Shimon Gibson (2nd ed.)]

TIBERIUS JULIUS ALEXANDER (b. c. 14/16 C.E.), procurator of Judea. Born in Alexandria, Egypt, Tiberius was the son of the *alabarch *Alexander Lysimachus, the brother of *Philo. When a young man he entered Roman military service, thereby becoming in Jewish eyes a man who "did not continue in the religion of his forefathers" (Jos., Ant., 20:100), but there is no knowledge of any formal act of apostasy on his part. In 42 he was appointed *epistrategos* (military commander) of the Thebaid (Upper Egypt). In 46–48 he was appointed procurator of Judea. Josephus (Ant., 10:100 – 03) records only two events about his term of office: the great famine in Judea, relieved with the help of Queen *Helena; and the crucifixion of the sons of *Judah the Galilean at the order of Tiberius, which points to some national ferment at that time, although Josephus states elsewhere (Wars, 2:220) that Tiberius kept the nation at peace "by abstaining from all interference with the customs of the country." In 63 he is mentioned as a high-ranking officer on the staff of the eastern army group of Corbulo. Tiberius reached the peak of his civil service career in 66 when he was appointed by Nero as prefect of Egypt. Shortly after his appointment there was a severe clash between the Jewish and Greek populations of *Alexandria (Jos., Wars, 2:487ff.). Tiberius first tried to mediate, but when his attempt was scornfully rejected by the Jews, he ordered his soldiers to quell the rebels with the utmost rigor. The number of Jewish dead is said to have reached 50,000. In July 69, Tiberius was instrumental in acclaiming *Vespasian, then the commander of the Roman army in Judea, as emperor. Late in 69 or early in 70, Tiberius reached the climax of his military career, when he was promoted by Vespasian to be the highest-ranking officer in *Titus' army in Judea, second only to Titus himself. He is mentioned by Josephus (Wars, 6:236f.) as taking part in the council summoned by Titus to decide about the fate of the Temple, and is said to have voted not to destroy it. There is virtually no information about him after this event.

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TIBNI (Heb. תִּבְנִי, "man of shredded straw"), *Omri's rival, son of Ginath. He reigned over part of Israel for four years, from the suicide of *Zimri in the 27th year of King Asa of Judah until the accession of Omri in the 31st year of Asa of Judah (c. 873 B.C.E.). Eventually the supporters of Omri prevailed, Tibni died, and Omri's rule was unchallenged (I Kings 16:21–22).

[Mayer Irwin Gruber]

°**TIBULLUS, ALBIUS** (48?–19 B.C.E.), Roman elegiac poet. He mentions Saturn's sacred day in a list of supposed impediments to his leaving Rome (*Elegies* 1:3, 17–18, cf. Ovid). Reinach thought he meant the Sabbath. This is quite possible, for there is no evidence of restriction of movement on Saturday in Roman ritual, and *Augustine (*De consensu Evangelistarum* 1:30) also thought that some pagans confused Saturn and the Jewish God because the Sabbath falls on Saturn's day (cf. Tacitus, *Histories* 5:4).

[Jacob Petroff]

TICHO, ANNA (1894–1980), painter. Born in Brno, Moravia, Ticho began drawing at the age of 12 in Vienna where she was exposed to the 16th-century masterworks in the great museums of the city. At 18 she married her uncle Abraham Albert Ticho, an eye doctor who had immigrated to Ereẓ Israel some months before (see below), and settled with him in Jerusalem. During World War I she moved with her husband to Damascus.

Ticho's artistic style was connected to Jerusalem and its environs. During her initial years in the city Ticho was unable to draw. The harsh sunlight that dimmed the contrast between the color and the outline of the landscape was extremely different from the softly contoured scenery of her childhood years in Europe. The spectacle of indigent people, poverty, and neglected streets paralyzed her desire to paint. Only in Damascus did she return to drawing.

During the 1920s and 1930s she produced mainly pencil drawings of objects in the landscape and portraits of people, some of whom she had met in her husband's clinic. Those drawings are distinguished by their faithfulness to the subject and their accuracy of details (*The Old City of Jerusalem*, 1927, Israel Museum, Jerusalem).

In the 1940s, while most of her Jerusalem scenes were drawn in black and white, she created a series of flower paintings in watercolors. This was her first step toward abstract art, which became more prevalent for her during the 1950s when she stayed at home with her ill husband and painted in a freer style. She used larger sheets of paper than before, and the details in the views she painted spread out almost as if they became pure abstracts.

In her last years, no longer able to go out, she drew landscapes based on her personal interpretation and memory. Towards the end of her life she used new materials such as pastels with very intensive volume. Only in this period did she finally begin to exhibit her works.

Shortly before her death in 1980 Ticho was awarded the Israel Prize.

The Ticho house functioned as a hospital as well as a cultural salon for the German-Jewish immigrants of Jerusalem. Artists, politicians, authors, poets, philosophers, and others, gathered as guests of the Ticho couple. The walls of the home were decorated with her husband's Hanukkah lamps as well as with her pictures. After the Ticho couple passed away the house was dedicated to artistic activities as a part of the Israel Museum.

Her husband, ABRAHAM ALBERT TICHO (1883–1960), founded and headed an ophthalmic hospital in Jerusalem. He was born in Boskovice, Moravia, and immigrated to Palestine in 1912. Until 1918 he was head of the Jerusalem Le-maan Zion society's hospital and eye clinic where he fought an intensive campaign against the scourging disease of trachoma. In 1917 he served as an oculist in the Turkish army. From 1919 to 1921 he was head of the eye department of the Hadassah hospital in Jerusalem, and directed his own hospital and clinic for eye diseases. Part of his Ḥanukkah candelabra collection is now in the Israel Museum.

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[Ronit Steinberg (2nd ed.)]

TIDHAR, DAVID (1897–1970), Israeli author and police officer. Born in Jaffa, Tidhar volunteered in 1918 for the Jewish Legion and was also among the defenders of Jaffa Jews during the 1921 Arab riots. He was an early member of the Haganah and joined the Palestine Police in 1922, serving as the commanding officer in the New City of Jerusalem. In 1926 he opened a private investigation bureau. Throughout the years he put his particular knowledge of Arab affairs and of the Mandatory government at the disposal of the *yishuv* institutions and of the Jewish Agency. In 1950 he turned to full-time writing and publishing.

Tidhar was the hero of the first published Hebrew detective stories in a series of 28 stories, *Balash* ("Detective"), written by Shelomo Ben-Israel (Gelfer). Tidhar's major work is *Enẓiklopedyah le-Ḥalutzei ha-Yishuv u-Vonav* (1947 ff., of which 19 volumes appeared in his lifetime), a detailed *Who's Who* of Ereẓ Israel. His other writings include *Hot'im veḤata'im be-Ereẓ Yisrael* ("Criminals and Crimes in Ereẓ Israel," 1924); *Bein ha-Pattish ve-ha-Saddan* ("Between Hammer and Anvil," 1932), a collection of articles; *Be-Maddim u-ve-Lo Maddim* ("In and Out of Uniform"), memoirs of public activity from 1912 until 1937, and *Be-Sherut ha-Moledet* ("In the Service of My Country," 1960–61), containing memoirs, documents, and photographs from the period 1912–60.

[Mordechai Shalev]

TIEMPO, CÉSAR (pseudonym of **Israel Zeitlin**; 1906–1980), Argentinean poet and playwright. Born in Yekaterinoslav, Ukraine, he was only nine months old when his family immigrated to Argentina. He became one of the most famous Jewish authors of his generation and was active in literary circles and journalism and known for his struggle against antisemitism both in Argentina and abroad. As a poet, he was aligned with the left-wing literary group Boedo. He published his first volume of poetry as a hoax. Titled *Versos de una…* (1926), it purported to be the poetry of a Jewish prostitute named Clara Beter. The collection was highly praised, and it caused quite a scandal when César Tiempo revealed he was in fact the author. Subsequent volumes of poetry include *Libro para la pausa del sábado* (1930), *Sabatión argentino* (1933), *Sabadomingo* (1938), and *Sábado pleno* (1955), all marked by a deep sense of religiosity. These works constitute a poetic project by the author to critically examine the relationship between immigrant Jewish culture and homegrown Argentine culture, often questioning, criticizing, and praising different aspects of that fusion of identities.

His plays are equally defined by his social conscience. Two of his plays, *Alfarda* (1935) and *Quiero vivir* (1941), feature the return of Clara Beter. His best-known plays are the experimental *El teatro soy yo* (1935) and *Pan criollo* (1938). Tiempo also wrote 14 nonfiction works; one of the most influential was his *La campaña antisemita y el director de la Biblioteca Nacional* (1935), a forceful response to the extreme antisemitism in Argentina at the time. He also wrote a biography of the famous Argentinean actress Berta Singerman, and a number of tangos. Tiempo's major works of poetry, along with a biography and chronology of his life and a CD of the author reciting some of his most famous poems, are collected in *Buenos Aires: esquina Sábado* (1997), edited by Eliahu Toker.

[Darrell B. Lockhart (2nd ed.)]

TIENTSIN, city in Hopeh province, N. China. Before 1917 there were less than ten Jewish families in Tientsin. Refugees from Russia swelled this number until by 1939 there were between 2,000 and 2,500 Jews there, including between 50 and 100 from America and various parts of Europe. The Tientsin Jews generally engaged in commerce, though a few were physicians, teachers, or consular officials. The community had its own synagogue, a Jewish school, and four short-lived journals established between 1930 and 1939. Among them was the weekly supplement *Yevreyskaya Stranitsa* ("The Jewish Page") of the Russian daily *Nash Golos* ("Our Voice"). With the advent of Communism after World War II all Jews left Tientsin.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: H. Dicker, *Wanderers and Settlers in the Far East* (1962), index.

[Rudolf Loewenthal]

TIETZ, German family of department store owners. The development of department stores in Germany was largely the work of two brothers from Birnbaum (Miedzychod), LEONHARDT TIETZ (1849–1914) and OSKAR TIETZ (1858–1923). Each built his own merchandising organization but on the same principle of low but fixed prices, made possible through the direct purchase from manufacturers of a great volume of goods. In 1882, Oskar Tietz, together with an uncle, HERMANN TIETZ (1837–1907), opened a dry goods store in Gera, Thuringia. Hermann soon withdrew from the partnership. The store gradually added other lines and subsequently opened branches in Weimar and Berlin. To defend department stores against discriminatory taxation and attacks, Oskar Tietz became a founder of the Verein Deutscher Waren und Kaufhaeuser, and remained its president until his death. He was succeeded in his business by his sons Georg (1889–1953) and Martin (born c. 1895), and his son-in-law Hugo Zwillenberg, who added the five-store Jahndorf chain and the well-known Kaufhaus des Westens in Berlin to their 13 stores. In 1934 they were forced to relinquish ownership of the group, whose name was changed to Hertie. Leonhardt Tietz started his first small dry goods store in the northwest German town of Stralsund in 1879. Ten years later he opened a branch in Elberfeld, in the economically important Ruhr area. Still carrying mostly textiles, this store developed into one of the largest German department stores with branches in various parts of the country, including Cologne, which became the firm's headquarters. The firm was incorporated in 1905 and in 1909 was the first department store chain to become a public company. At the beginning of the century, operations were extended to Belgium, where the firm of Leonhardt Tietz S.A. remained in the founder's hands until 1918, when it was seized as enemy property. A connection with the De Bijenkorf department store in Amsterdam was retained. Leonhardt was followed as president of the corporation by his son, ALFRED TIETZ. A new era of expansion began in the 1920s, and by 1929 there were 43 stores with 15,000 employees. In 1925 a chain of variety stores called Ehape was started, the first German enterprise of its kind. With the advent of the Nazis in 1933, the members of the family were forced out of control and the organization was renamed West-Deutscher Kaufhof.

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[Edith Hirsch]

TIFLIS (Georgian **Tbilisi**), capital city of Georgia. Members of the Georgian Jewish community have lived in Tiflis for many generations. During the 19th century Jews from Russia began to settle there. They were mostly craftsmen and descendants of soldiers who had served in the Caucasus in the Russian army. There was also a small community of Jews of Persian origin. The Georgian Jews maintained their own community which was headed by a *ḥakham*. The attitude of the local Russian authorities to the Jews was favorable because of their usefulness as craftsmen. In 1876 there were 1,276 Jews in Tiflis, increasing to 3,668 (about 2.5% of the population) in 1897. During the early 1920s Tiflis was a transit station for *ḥalutzim* from Russia on their way to Palestine. In the 1959 census 17,311 Jews (2.5%) were registered in Tiflis, of whom 9,328 declared Georgian and 7,600 Russian to be their mother tongue. The Georgian Jews preserved their particular Jewish way of life, many adhering to religious tradition. There were two synagogues, a larger one for the Georgian Jews and a smaller one for the Ashkenazi Jews. The Tiflis Jewish community was regarded as the wealthiest in the Soviet Union. It employed 17 community workers for the synagogue, the *mikveh, maẓẓah* bakery, ritual slaughtering, and cemetery services. About ten students in the Moscow yeshivah (1956–62) came from Tiflis of whom only two or three finished their studies and were appointed as *shoḥatim*. Many Jews in Tiflis applied for exit permits to Israel in the framework of the reunion of families, particularly after 1968. By the early 21st century most of Georgia's remaining 5,000 Jews were living in the city.

Jewish activities in Tiflis are vigorous, and an infrastructure has been established to preserve and develop the heritage of the Georgian Jews. The rabbi and the other heads of the Jewish community participate in all state activities and events, as well as in social events intended to foster a stronger connection between the Georgians and the Jews. There is a synagogue, a Jewish community center, a yeshivah, kindergarten, Sunday school, a women's center, and a youth center.

[Yehuda Slutsky / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed)]

TIGAY, JEFFREY H(OWARD) (1941–), U.S. Bible and ancient Middle East scholar. Born in Detroit, educated at Columbia University (B.A. 1963), the Jewish Theological Seminary of America (M.H.L., rabbinical ordination 1966), and Yale (Ph.D. 1971), Tigay taught from 1971 at the University of Pennsylvania, where he was the Ellis Professor of Hebrew and Semitic Languages and Literatures and graduate chair of the Department of Near Eastern Languages and Literatures. He was the chairman of the Jewish Studies Program (1995–98) and a visiting professor at the Jewish Theological Seminary. He was a scholar in residence of the Jewish Publication Society and a fellow of the Institute for Advanced Studies of the Hebrew University, Jerusalem, and the Center for Judaic Studies at the University of Pennsylvania.

Tigay is widely recognized as a leading Bible scholar and historian. His work on the Gilgamesh epic has been described as "groundbreaking," and his critical, historically informed line-by-line commentary on Deuteronomy, probably his best-known work, is erudite and comprehensive. Tigay believes that the book was written by conservative religious elements to oppose tendencies toward assimilation promoted by the upper classes in the eighth–seventh centuries B.C.E.; his discussion considers linguistic development, literary sources, the evolution of ideas, comparative legal codes, previous commentaries, and much else. Tigay has also been recognized as an outstanding teacher.

Tigay's principal publications are *The Evolution of the Gilgamesh Epic* (1982), *Empirical Models for Biblical Criticism* (principal author and editor, 1985), *You Shall Have No Other Gods: Israelite Religion in the Light of Hebrew Inscriptions* (1986), and *The JPS Torah Commentary: Deuteronomy* (1996). He also co-edited Judah Goldin's *Studies in Midrash and Related Literature* (with Barry L. Eichler, 1988) and *Tehilla le-Moshe: Biblical and Judaic Studies in Honor of Moshe Greenberg* (with M. Cogan and B.L. Eichler, 1997). Tigay is the author of the commentary on Exodus in the Oxford *Jewish Study Bible* (2003) and has published numerous scholarly articles, contributions to symposia and reference works, and reviews. Among his many essays is a 1999 debunking of the recent craze for *Bible Codes as a modern form of bibliomancy.

[Drew Silver (2nd ed.)]

TIGERMAN, STANLEY (1930–), U.S. architect. Born in Chicago, Tigerman studied at MIT, and by his own admission "flunked out." From 1950 to 1954, Tigerman served in the U.S. Navy. After his return to civilian life in 1954, he worked for a number of architectural firms. He returned to study architecture at Yale University and graduated with a master's degree in 1961. His first venture on his own was a small firm in Chicago, Tigerman, Rudolph and Young. In 1962 he established a partnership with Norman Koglin, which lasted two years. After 1964 he was the principal of Stanley Tigerman and Associates Ltd., in Chicago and by 2004 was a principal in the Chicago architectural firm of Tigerman McCurry. He has also taught at several universities in the United States.

Tigerman is best known as founding member of the "Chicago Seven" group of architects who challenged the teachings of Ludwig Mies van der Rohe. Tigerman spoke out about the arrogance and prejudices of the American architectural leaders, especially the American Academy in Rome, which resisted having women members for its first 70 years, as well as no Catholics, Jews or people of color as members.

Tigerman was first recognized for his skill with line and later with organic shapes. From the beginning, he was concerned with the social and political aspects of architecture. The housing project Woodlawn Gardens was sensitive to the issue of density and political empowerment of racial minorities who were the presumed tenants of the complex. Tigerman's firm became known for having a large number of people of color on the permanent professional staff. One of his latest commissions was the Illinois Holocaust Museum and Educational Center in Skokie, the home of many Holocaust survivors in the second half of the 20th century. Tigerman also served on the jury for the Jewish Heritage Community Center to be built near Babi-Yar, a Holocaust killing site in Kiev.

He is the author of several books, including *Architecture of Exile, The Chicago Tribune Tower Competition and Late Entries; Versus: An American Architect's Alternatives; Stanley Tigerman: Buildings and Projects 1966–1989*; and *The California Condition: A Pregnant Architecture*.

Tigerman was chosen to represent the United States at the 1976 and 1980 Venice Biennales and was part of the "New Chicago Architecture" exhibition at the Museo di Castelvecchio in Verona. He received Yale University's first Alumni Arts Award in 1985. In 1976 he was both chairman of the AIA Committee on Design and coordinator of the exhibition and book entitled Chicago Architects. In 1989 he was awarded the Dean of Architecture Award, and in 1992 he received the Illinois Academy of Fine Arts Award. In 1996 he received the American Jewish Committee's Cultural Achievement Award. The International Union of Bricklayers and Allied Craftworkers honored Mr. Tigerman with the Louis Sullivan Award in September 2000. In 1990, his work was exhibited at the Art Institute of Chicago.

In 1994, Tigerman and his wife, Eva Maddox, established Archeworks – the multidisciplinary design school in Chicago. Its aim is to bring a social consciousness to the realm of architecture and design.

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[Stephen C. Feinstein (2nd ed.)]

°**TIGLATH-PILESER II** (**Tukulti-apil-Esharra** ("My trust is [in] the son of [the Temple] Esharra")) the Third; reigned 745–727 B.C.E.), founder of the Assyrian Empire, which profoundly affected the history of the ancient Near East and in particular the fate of Israel. He is mentioned six times in the Bible (II Kings 15:29; 16:7, 10; I Chronicles 5:6, 26; II Chronicles 28:20), the latter book spelling his name Tillegath-pilneser. He is also mentioned by the name Pul (II Kings 15:19; I Chronicles 5:26), which he assumed upon becoming king of Babylonia in 729 B.C.E.

The Assyrian sources from this period present many difficulties. In 1845, H.A. Layard discovered Tiglath-Pileser's annals in the excavations at Tell Nimrud, ancient Calah (cf. Genesis 10:11), which was the first capital of the Empire. The inscribed stone slabs had already been removed from their original site by *Esarhaddon (680–669 B.C.E.) for reuse in his own palace. Furthermore, since Assyriology was not yet a science, 20 years were to pass before George *Smith was to decipher these inscriptions from Layard's handwritten copies and squeezes and from the few actual inscriptions taken back to the British Museum, the original inscriptions for the most part having been lost. This material has been supplemented by more recently discovered administrative letters and annal fragments found at Calah and at other sites.

In addition to the annals, the Eponym Chronicle for Tiglath-Pileser's reign provides an almost complete framework for reconstructing the king's military activity:

745 – On the 13th of Iyar Tiglath-Pileser sat upon his throne. In Tishri he campaigned against the Land of the Two Rivers
744 – Against Mamri
743 – Defeat of Ararat in the land of Arpad
742 – Against Arpad
741 – Against Arpad. Conquered after three years
740 – Against Arpad
739 – Against the land of Ulluba. The fortress established
738 – Calneh taken
737 – Against the Medes
736 – To the foot of Mount Nal
735 – Against Ararat
734 – Against Philistia (Pilishta)
733 – Against Damascus (Dimashqa)
732 – Against Damascus
731 – Against Sapiya
730 – The king remained at home
729 – The king took the hands of Bel
728 – The king took the hands of Bel
727 – Against the city [….]

Tiglath-Pileser, though probably descended from a collateral royal line, usurped the throne and thereby ended a long period of Assyrian military and economic weakness. During his period, most of *Syria and the Land of Israel had come under the direct influence of *Hazael and his son Ben-Hadad *III of Damascus and later under the northern Israelite kings *Jehoash and *Jeroboam II and finally *Uzziah of Judah. During the latter period, the kingdom of Urartu (*Ararat) challenged Assyrian hegemony by extending its political influence into Syria, forcing Mati'-ilu of Arpad and with him various states of "upper and lower Aram" into vassalage.

Tiglath-Pileser's earlier campaigns were therefore directed against Ararat. After reducing this enemy, he was faced with a new coalition of Syrian states which he subsequently defeated at *Calneh in 738 B.C.E. (cf. Isaiah 10:9). Of importance is the fact that the leader of this league was "Azariyau of Yaudi," who is to be identified with the prominent military and political figure of the day – King Uzziah (Azariah) of Judah. This piece of information sheds light on Uzziah's sphere of influence and military might, documented so far only in the Bible (II Chronicles 26:6ff).

Furthermore, the mention of Minihummu the Samarian, bringing tribute at this time, provides a synchronism between the biblical account (II Kings 15:19–20) which should be dated to Menahem's ninth year and the Battle of Calneh.

Tiglath-Pileser returned again to the western front between 734 and 732 B.C.E., where he either annexed or reduced to vassalage all the small kingdoms of Syria, Philistia, and *Transjordan. The background of this offensive must be found in a new coalition of these minor kingdoms. The leaders of the resistance were now *Rezin of Damascus and *Pekah the son of Remaliah who had deposed the pro-Assyrian *Pekahiah the son of Menahem (II Kings 15:25). They were joined by Philistine and Edomite allies (see II Kings 16:6; II Chronicles 28:17–18). *Ahaz's refusal to join this alliance precipitated the Syro-Ephramite invasion of Judah and the attempt to place the otherwise unknown Ben *Tabeel on the throne (Isaiah 7:5–6; II Chronicles 28:5ff.). The latter may have been a Davidic prince of a Transjordanian mother.

While the biblical text suggests that Ahaz initiated Assyrian intervention (II Kings 16:7), the episode must be viewed in the larger context of Tiglath-Pileser's expansionist policy in the west. His strategy was to isolate Rezin by first attacking the Philistine cities. The strategy was the more appropriate since the Phoenician coast, the province of Hamath, and the Judean kingdom already encircled the anti-Assyrian forces. After a two-year campaign *Damascus was taken in 732 B.C.E.

Judging from the contemporary inscription of Barrakab of Sam'al in memory of his father Penamu II, Tiglath-Pileser's vassals were obliged to take part in the siege of Damascus. This might explain Ahaz's presence there as well (II Kings 16:10). Certainly, by this time, Ahaz had accepted Tiglath-Pileser as his suzerain, as suggested already by the treaty terminology found in II Kings 16:7.

The most far-reaching achievements of Tiglath-Pileser were the administrative innovations which became the hallmark of the Assyrian Empire. He reorganized the provincial administration, introduced a more complex tax system, and secured the international lines of trade and communication. The most consequential innovation was the reintroduction of a more efficient method of deportation. This served the dual purpose of removing groups of dissidents from their homeland and also exploiting them for the welfare of the Empire. These exiles were employed in the bureaucracy or army or resettled on farmland in depopulated or border areas.

Tiglath-Pileser was the first who deported large segments of the northern tribes in 732 B.C.E. The Bible specifically mentions that the tribes of *Reuben, *Gad and half of *Manasseh were removed to northwestern Mesopotamia (I Chronicles 5:6,26), which had been depopulated by Ashurnasirpal II (883–859 B.C.E.). Moreover, the Book of Kings gives a more detailed list of his activities in the Galilee. "In the days of Pekah king of Israel, came Tiglath-Pileser king of Assyria, and took Ijon and Abel-beth-maacah, and Janoah, and Kedesh, and Hazor, and Gilead and Galilee, all the land of Naphtali, and he carried them captive to Assyria" (15:29). This list is supplemented by the annals which name among other northern cities Hannattion, Akbara, and Yodefat, probably following the main arteries to the Mediterranean coast.

The recorded number of exiles taken from each site is important, since it provides the first evidence of the population density in this area of Israel.

It was Tiglath-Pileser's success in military and administrative matters that laid the groundwork for the pattern of government that characterized the Assyrian, Neo-Babylonian, and Persian empires over the next 400 years.

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[Aaron Demsky]

TIGRID, PAVEL (**P. Schönfeld**; 1917–2003), Czech author, publicist, essayist, politician. Born in Prague, Tigrid started publishing in the *Studentský časopis* ("Students' Review"); his studies at the Faculty of Law were interrupted by the Nazi occupation. His family perished in the Holocaust. He lived in exile in London 1939–45, where he worked for the BBC and for the Czechoslovak government-in-exile. He returned to Prague in 1945. He founded the weekly *Obzory* ("Horizons") with I. Ducháček, editor-in-chief of the journal *Vývoj* ("Progress"). After 1948, Tigrid's second exile was spent in Munich, where he worked for Radio Free Europe; the U.S., where he studied at Columbia University; and Paris from 1960. In 1956 he founded the exile quarterly *Svědectví* ("Testimony"), the main political and cultural review of the Czechoslovak exile. After 1989 he returned to Czechoslovakia and became an adviser to President Václav Havel (1991–92) and minister of culture of the Czech Republic (1994–96). He was also active in Czech-German relations (1998–2000) and was a holder of the T.G. Masaryk Order. For almost five decades, Tigrid provided commentaries on the political and cultural situation in Czechoslovakia as well as analyzing and influencing it from exile or at home.

He published numerous articles and commentaries in the press, on radio and TV, and wrote a considerable number of books, such as *Ozbrojený mír* ("An Armed Peace," 1948); *Marx na Hradčanech* ("Marx at the Castle," 1960, 2001); *Politická emigrace v atomovém věku* ("A Political Emigration in the Era of the Atom," 1968, 1974, 1990); *Le Printemps de Prague* (1968); *La chute irrésistible d' Alexander Dubcek* (1969); *Amère* *révolution* (1977); *Dnešek je váš, zítřek je náš. Dělnické revolty v komunistických zemích* (1982, 1990; French, *Révoltes ouvrières à l'est 1953–1981*); and *Kapesní průvodce inteligentní ženy po vlastním osudu* ("A Pocket Guide of a Cultured Woman to Her Own Fate," 1988, 1990). A legend of the anti-Communist struggle, Tigrid died in France and was buried there in the presence of Václav Havel, former president of Czechoslovakia and the Czech Republic.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Slovník českých spisovatelů* (1982); *Slovník českých spisovatelů* (2000).

[Milos Pojar (2nd ed.)]

TIGRIS (Heb. חִדֶּקֶל; from Old Persian, **Tigra**; Sumerian **Idigna**; Akk. **Idiglat**; Aramaic **Diglat**; Ar. **Dijla**), a major river of S.W. Asia (c. 1,150 mi. (1,850 km.) long). The Tigris is mentioned twice in the Bible, once in Genesis 2:14, as one of the four rivers flowing out of the Garden of Eden: "and the name of the third river is Tigris, which flows east of Ashur"; and a second time in Daniel 10:4, as the scene of Daniel's major vision. In the Targum and the Talmud the Tigris is referred to as Diglat, the earlier form of the name, and Neubauer regards the name Ḥiddekel as compounded of *ḥad* and *Dekel*, i.e., "the swiftly flowing Diklah." Homiletically R. Ashi interprets it in the Talmud as compounded of *ḥad* and *kal*, "sharp and quick." The waters of the Tigris were regarded as healthy both for body and mind (Pes. 59a). Since it is mentioned with regard to creation, it was enjoined that on seeing it one had to recite the blessing "who hath made the work of creation" (Yev. 121a). The Tigris formed the boundary of Babylonia in talmudic times from Baghdad to Apamea (Kid. 71b).

TIKKUN, a Bimonthly Jewish Critique of Politics, Culture, and Society, emerged in the late 20th century as the U.S. leading Jewish leftist magazine. Under the editorial stewardship of Rabbi Michael Lerner, *Tikkun* magazine serves as the literary centerpiece of a larger movement for Jewish social activism and Judaic spiritual renewal. Fashioned as "the voice of Jewish liberals and progressives" and as "the alternative to *Commentary* magazine and the voices of Jewish conservatism," it has published continuously since 1986. After its launching in the San Francisco Bay area, *Tikkun* moved to New York City for a brief stint before returning to its northern California roots.

The magazine adopted the Hebrew word *tikkun* for its masthead, incorporating the Jewish mystical mandate to heal or repair the world. Based upon a kabbalistic notion that viewed the world as a broken vessel, the mandate for *tikkun olam* (repairing the world) obligates every person to fix the world around them. For Lerner, that ethic demanded a magazine steeped in the social protest movements of the 1960s, committed to progressive Jewish political activism, and anchored by the overarching need for greater spirituality in human life.

Tikkun traced its political lineage back to the civil rights movement, the peace movement, feminism, environmentalism, and the labor movement. Yet, the magazine's editorial staff remained concerned about what it perceived as a lack of attention to the spiritual dimension of worldly repair. Positioning itself as an alternative to "society's ethos of selfishness, materialism, and cynicism," *Tikkun* hoped to create a social protest movement "founded on and giving central focus to a spiritual vision." To that end, the magazine features regular contributions in the fields of poetry, literature, and the arts.

In the political world, *Tikkun* has focused much of its attention on the conflict between Israel and the Palestinians. An advocate for a two-state solution, *Tikkun* demanded that the Israeli government end its occupation of the West Bank and Gaza Strip and return to pre-1967 borders. It has also called upon the Palestinians to renounce terror and help build trust with the Israelis. *Tikkun*'s editorials on the Mid-East conflict have positioned the magazine within the awkward and often conflicted left. In an era when some on the left embrace anti-Zionism and sometimes antisemitism, *Tikkun* seeks to define a Jewish and Zionist leftism that will "stand in favor of the rights of Palestinians" just as it will critique "the anti-religious and anti-spiritual biases of the secular Left." The magazine has sought to define a form of left-wing Zionism that envisions co-existence within a two-state solution. For its public condemnations of right-wing Israeli government policies and decisions, *Tikkun* has often been the object of Jewish communal scorn. For its public embrace of Zionism as a legitimate form of Jewish expression, it has often faced rejection from anti-Zionist and non-Zionist American leftist groups.

Much of *Tikkun*'s spiritual activism has been focused on the "Tikkun Community," an interfaith organization (which welcomes, as well, atheists and agnostics) launched by the magazine to foster spiritual consciousness in its larger movement for social change. It recognizes as its central tenet that "the sources of external injustice, suffering, and ecological numbness are to be found not only in economic and political arrangements, but also in our alienation from one another, [and] in our inability to experience and recognize ourselves and each other as holy." With support from intellectuals such as Dartmouth University professor Susanna Heschel and Princeton University professor Cornel West, the *Tikkun* community launched regional conferences and organized college students around the country. *Tikkun* has sought to achieve its political and spiritual reform goals by advancing a post-denominational approach to American Jewish life and politics, and has succeeded in attracting progressive Jewish voices from the Orthodox, Conservative, Reform, Reconstructionist, and Renewal movements in its pages and on its editorial board.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: M. Lerner, *Healing Israel/Palestine: A Path to Peace and Reconciliation* (2003); idem, *Socialism of Fools Anti-Semitism* (1992); idem, *Spirit Matters* (2002); idem, *Tikkun: To Heal, Repair, and Transform the World: An Anthology* (1992).

[Marc Dollinger (2nd ed.)]

TIKKUN ḤAẒOT (Heb. תִּקּוּן חֲצוֹת; lit. "institution of midnight [prayer]"), prayers recited at midnight in memory of the destruction of the Temple and for the restoration to the Land of Israel. This custom developed from the rabbinic description of God mourning the destruction. It is recorded that during the night He "sits and roars like a lion, exclaiming: 'Woe to the children, on account of whose sins I destroyed My house and burnt My temple and exiled them among the nations of the world'" (Ber. 3a). The hour of midnight was chosen because David arose at this hour to study and pray, as it is said, "At midnight I will rise to give thanks unto Thee" (Ps. 119:62; Ber. 3b–4a).

This practice became formalized under the influence of the Kabbalah during the period of Isaac *Luria. Two separate forms of the service developed known as *Tikkun Raḥel* and *Tikkun Le'ah. Tikkun Raḥel*, consisting of Psalms 137 and 79 and **Teḥinnot* on the destruction of the Temple, is recited on days when **Taḥanun* is said. On the Sabbath, festivals, and days when *Taḥanun* is omitted, *Tikkun Le'ah*, consisting of more joyful psalms, such as 111 and 126, and selections from the Mishnah (Tamid ch. 1), is recited.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Eisenstein, Dinim, 142; G. Scholem, *Zur Kabbala und ihrer Symbolik* (1960), 193ff.

TIKKUN SOFERIM, certain changes in the text of the Bible made by the early **soferim* in places which are offensive or show lack of respect to God. Ezra is the first to be referred to as a *sofer* in the Bible. This designation signifies not merely someone expert in the art of writing but also the scholar versed in the Torah. The members of the Great *Synagogue were also *soferim*, and the rabbis attribute to them 18 such *tikkunim*. These are enumerated in *Midrash Tanḥuma* and *Midrash Rabbah*, and Rashi in his commentary on the Bible quotes eight of them on the relevant passages. *Midrash Tanḥuma* begins with the verse: "He that toucheth you toucheth the apple of his eye" (Zech. 2:12); it should have said "My eye," but the Bible puts it in the third person to avoid referring it to God, this being a *tikkun soferim* of the men of the Great Synagogue. On completing the listing of these verses in the Bible, *Midrash Tanḥuma* continues: "but the men of the Great Synagogue altered these verses. And that is why they were called *soferim*, because they counted [Heb. *sofer*] all the letters of the Bible and expounded them." Similarly in Ezekiel 8:17, "Lo, they put the branch to His nose," was adjusted to "their nose." Again with the verse (Gen. 18:22) "but Abraham stood yet before the Lord." R. Simeon said: "This is a *tikkun soferim*, for the *Shekhinah* was actually waiting for Abraham and it should really have read: 'And the Lord stood yet before Abraham.' Similarly the verse (Num. 11:15) 'And if thou deal thus with me, kill me, I pray thee, out of hand, if I have found favor in thy sight; and let me not look upon my wretchedness' should have read 'their wretchedness.'" Rashi *(ad loc.)* language of the Bible. It should have been written 'and they condemned the Omnipresent by their silence,' but the text was amended. Also: 'Thus they exchanged their glory for the likeness of an ox' [Ps. 106:20] should have been written 'His glory' but it was amended."

Words with Diacritical Points above Them

Avot de-Rabbi Nathan, 1 (34,100f.) indicates ten passages in the Bible which have diacritical points over some of the letters. In the view of the rabbis these points were inserted by Ezra the Scribe. "Why? Ezra reasoned thus: 'If Elijah should come and say to me, "Why did you write so?" I shall reply, "Have I not already put dots above them? The dot indicating that the word is as though erased?"' "The dot is an indication that the word is to be omitted." This is the source of the view of Hezekiah b. Manoah in his biblical commentary *Ḥazzekuni*, that dots over words are an indication that Ezra was doubtful about them.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: S. Lieberman, *Hellenism in Jewish Palestine* (1950), 28–37.

[Abraham Arzi]

TIKTIN, rabbinical family originating in Tykocin (Tiktin), near Bialystok, Poland. ABRAHAM BEN GEDALIAH (1764–1820) became a rabbi in his birthplace Schwersenz (Swarzędz), in Łęczyca, and from 1803 in *Glogau (in Silesia). In 1816 he was appointed *Oberlandrabbiner* of Silesia at Breslau. Of 12 rabbinic works, only his *Petaḥ ha-Bayit* was published (Dyhernfurth, 1820; republished 1910, Warsaw). His son SOLOMON (1791–1843) succeeded his father in the Breslau and Silesian rabbinate. He became involved in controversy with the Reform movement when, in 1836, he prohibited the publication in Breslau of M. Brueck's *Reform des Judenthums* (Nagy-Becskerek, 1848), and opposed two years later the appointment of Abraham *Geiger as assistant rabbi, preacher, and *dayyan* in Breslau. He and his son, Gedaliah, conducted a bitter campaign against Geiger, mustering Orthodox circles and having the support of the Prussian conservative bureaucracy and clergy; this struggle became a cause célèbre in both Jewish and gentile circles. Geiger was supported primarily by the patrician, educated Jewish leadership while Tiktin had the support of the majority of the community.

GEDALIAH (c. 1810–1886), Solomon's son, was elected rabbi of Breslau by the Orthodox faction in 1843; this election was confirmed in 1846, and in 1854 his nomination as *Landrabbiner* was confirmed, the government identifying his religious Orthodoxy with political loyalty. When Geiger left Breslau for Frankfurt in 1863, Gedaliah came to terms with his successor Manuel *Joel and a compromise was reached by which separate communal institutions were maintained for both Orthodox and Reform. HEINRICH (1850–1936), Gedaliah's son, was a philologist and Romanian grammarian.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: M. Brann, in: *Jubelschrift … H. Graetz* (1887), 277f.; E. Schreiber, *Abraham Geiger* (1892), 20ff.; S. Tiktin, in: AZJ, 84 (1920), 452–4 (on Abraham); M. Wiener, *Abraham Geiger and Liberal Judaism* (1962), 17–33.

TIKTINSKI, Lithuanian family associated with the foundation and development of the famous yeshivah of *Mir. In 1815 SAMUEL TIKTINSKI (d. 1835), a merchant of considerable means and a talmudic scholar, gathered together some of the youth of Mir and district and began to lecture regularly to them, defraying from his own pocket the expenses involved in their maintenance. His son ABRAHAM (d. 1835) helped with the teaching and the administration, but with the increase in the number of students, his father in 1823 transferred to him the whole burden of administration. To this task he applied himself with selfless devotion. In addition to teaching, he took particular care to initiate a spirit of concentration in prayer, himself serving as an example. He abolished the prevalent custom of students having meals with a different family each day, in this way raising their status. The fame of the yeshivah spread, and when Abraham could no longer finance it from his own means, he sought outside help. The supporters of the *Volozhin Yeshivah accused Mir Yeshivah of encroaching upon its supporters. The case was put before Abraham *Abele of Vilna who decided in favor of Mir. Both Samuel and Abraham died in 1835 and Joseph David, the rabbi of Mir, was appointed *rosh yeshivah* and was followed in both positions by his son Abraham Moses. In 1850, however, Samuel's second son ḤAYYIM LEIB (1824–1899) was appointed joint principal of the yeshivah with him, and with this appointment a new era began. In addition to his great scholarship, Ḥayyim Leib was distinguished by a gift for teaching and by his method. He eschewed *pilpul*; he insisted that the student must devote himself solely to the texts and the commentaries if he wished to arrive at an understanding of them. Israel *Lipkin said that anyone who wanted to learn a page of Talmud properly should attend Ḥayyim Leib's lectures. On the death of Abraham Moses in 1867, the whole responsibility of Mir Yeshivah devolved upon Ḥayyim Leib. His son SAMUEL (d. 1883) began to help in 1877, but he died six years later, whereupon Ḥayyim's younger son ABRAHAM was appointed lecturer; in the following year his daughter's son, Judah Spira, became *mashgi'ah*. In 1878 and again in 1892 the yeshivah was burnt down in fires which swept the town, and his writings, which were still in manuscript form, were also destroyed. Ḥayyim Leib worked untiringly to replace the buildings. He was able to gain the assistance of Clara de *Hirsch and of the Rothschild family. Among his distinguished disciples was Simeon *Shkop. Ḥayyim Leib died in Warsaw where he had gone for medical treatment.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: M.J. Goldberg, *Toledot … Ḥayyim Yehudah Leib Tiktinski* (1902); *Yahadut Lita*, 1 (1960), index; 3 (1967), index; Zinovitz, in: *Shanah be-Shanah 5723* (1962/63), 555–9.

[Mordechai Hacohen]

°**TILLICH, PAUL JOHANNES** (1886–1965), Protestant philosopher and theologian, born in Starzeddal (Silesia), the son of a Lutheran pastor. He received his education at the universities of Berlin, Tübingen, Halle, and Breslau. Often compared to Martin Buber because they shared a kind of existentialist thought, Tillich made an impact on American Jews comparable to Buber's influence on Christians. Tillich began his teaching career in his native Germany at various universities, but his opposition to Hitler's National Socialism led to him being dismissed from his teaching activities. Vehemently opposed to Nazism, he subsequently went to the United States in 1933 after having, in his own words, "the honor to be the first non-Jewish professor to be dismissed from a German university." Throughout his years of work at the Union Theological Seminary in New York, Harvard University, and the University of Chicago, he maintained his many friendships with Jewish refugees from his native land.

Paul Tillich's numerous writings culminate in his great three-volume *Systematic Theology* (1951–63). In all his work, he employed a "method of correlation" to bring together philosophy and theology. Part idealist, part existentialist, he was a gifted analyst of the human condition in its modern setting. Tillich's concept of "the Protestant principle" self-consciously reproduced elements of Hebrew prophetic tradition, particularly in its stress on criticism of one's own achievements and institutions. Careful to distinguish between Jewish and Christian thought on the messianic question, Tillich was preoccupied with the problem of particularism ("chosenness") and universalism in Judaism. Out of a deep respect for Judaism, he was among the first Christian spokesmen to call for the replacement of attempts at conversion by attempts at dialogue between Christian and Jew.

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[Martin E. Marty / Shimon Gibson (2nd ed.)]

TIM (**Louis Mitelberg**; 1919–2002), French cartoonist and caricaturist. Born in Kaluszyn, Poland, Tim went to Paris to study at the Ecole des Beaux Arts but fled to England at the beginning of World War II. He returned to Paris at the end of the war and became a regular contributor to some of the world's leading newspapers and news magazines, such as the French *L'Express* and *Le Monde* and the American *Time, Newsweek*, and *The New York Times.*

Known for his incisive, courageous, and sometimes poignant style, Tim first achieved world fame in 1967 with his illustration of the words of General de Gaulle describing the Jewish people as "domineering and sure of itself": a skeleton-thin man in the striped garb of the concentration camp inmates throwing out his chest in a swaggering attitude, with his foot on the barbed wire fence. Tim has illustrated the works of Kafka and Zola and published *Pouvoir civil* (1961) and *Autocaricature* (1974) as well as an album on De Gaulle, *Une Certaine Idee de la France* (1969). In 1984 an exhibition of his works was held at the Musee des Arts Décoratifs de Paris, an almost unprecedented honor for a cartoonist.

[Gideon Kouts]

°**TIMAGENES OF ALEXANDRIA**, historian of Alexandria who also lived in Rome during the Augustan Age. Timagenes was the author of a general history centering on Alexander and his successors. He refers to the Jews and possibly devoted a special section to Jewish history. The three relevant passages preserved from his writings deal with the policy of Antiochus Epiphanes of Judea, *Aristobulus I, and the wars of Alexander Yannai. Timagenes is the only Alexandrian Greek historian who does not evince hostility toward the Jews.

TIME AND ETERNITY. On the subject of time, Jewish medieval philosophers were divided into two broad camps: Those who subscribed basically to the Aristotelian concept of time, and those who favored a concept that goes back ultimately to Plotinus. Included among the former are Isaac Israeli, Saadiah Gaon, Abraham ibn Daud, Maimonides, and Levi b. Gershom, and among the latter are Ḥasdai Crescas and Joseph Albo. Maimonides may be taken as representative of the first group and Crescas of the second.

Maimonides, whose discussion of time appears in his *Guide of the Perplexed* (notably, 1:73), accepts the definition of time laid down by Aristotle as "the number of motion according to 'before' and 'after'" (*Physics* 4:11, 219b). Time, therefore, is neither an independent substance nor identical with motion, although it is totally dependent upon the latter and constitutes an accident of motion, which is itself an accident of body or corporeal substances. Time, consequently, possesses only a quasi-reality. Not only is it an accident of an accident, but it is composed of a past that is gone, a future that does not yet exist, and a present that serves only as a limit between the two. Accordingly, Maimonides rejects the concept of time proposed by the Mutakallimun (see *Kalām) who, basing their thought generally on the atomism of Democritus, maintained that time is composed of time-atoms or instants, which are real entities.

Despite Maimonides' basic agreement with Aristotle on the definition of time, he rejects the latter's attempt to prove the eternity of the universe from the nature of time, and argues instead that time came into existence with the creation of the universe. Prior to creation, God existed alone in timeless eternity, for inasmuch as God is absolutely incorporeal, He has no relation to motion, and consequently none to time.

Crescas' discussion of time appears in his *Or Adonai* as part of his massive critique of the Aristotelian philosophy. The essential distinction between Crescas and Aristotle is that Crescas divorces the existence of time from its essential dependence upon motion. Time, rather than being an accident of motion, is the continuance or duration of the stream of consciousness of a thinking mind. Thus Crescas defines time as "the measure of the continuance [duration] of motion or rest between two instants." Time, therefore, as duration, exists independently of motion. The relation of motion to time is that the former serves to determine or measure some length or part of time. Moreover, as the duration of the activity of mind, time has no extra-mental reality, not even the quasi-reality of Aristotle.

Crescas' definition has two major theological implications. First, it is not the case, as Maimonides, for example, believes, that God cannot be described as existing in time. Since duration is a quality of mind rather than of motion and body, time can be ascribed even to an absolutely incorporeal entity such as God. Second, by similar reasoning, it may be concluded that time did not come into existence with the creation of the universe, but has existed from eternity as the duration of God's infinite consciousness.

Although Albo agrees with Crescas that duration is independent of motion, he maintains that true time is only determinate or measured duration. Hence there was no real time until the creation of the celestial spheres whose corporeality provided the motion necessary to determine a length of duration.

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TIMERMAN, JACOBO (1923–1999). Argentinean journalist. Born in the small Ukrainian town of Bar, he migrated to Argentina at the age of five with his family. During the years 1948–50 Timerman was a member of the editorial board of *Nueva Sion*, a Socialist-Zionist left-oriented biweekly published in Buenos Aires. He achieved his first great success with the newsmagazine *Primera Plana* (1962–66), followed by *Confirmado* (1965–66), both inspired by *Time* and *Newsweek*. In 1971 Timerman founded the liberal newspaper daily *La Opinión*, on the model of *Le Monde*, and edited the paper until it was shut down by the military regime in 1977. Between 1973 and 1976 *La Opinión* had been closed on a few occasions, because it campaigned against the right-wing populist supporters of the antisemite minister José López Rega as well as the neo-fascist squads known as Triple A (AAA). *La Opinión* was one of the few important newspapers in Argentina to extensively denounce government corruption, state-tolerated antisemitism, and the Junta's flagrant violation of human rights during the repression. Timerman condemned the arbitrary arrests and abductions by military forces, and published the writs of habeas corpus presented to the courts by the families of the *desaparecidos* (the disappeared ones), particularly of journalists. In July 1977 Timerman was arrested, tortured, and held until 1979, first clandestinely, then in a regular military prison, and finally under house arrest, although he was cleared by the judiciary of charges brought against him. Timerman was deported and stripped of his acquired Argentinean citizenship by the military Juntas. During his stay in prison he received moral and spiritual assistance from both Rabbi Marshall *Meyer and diplomats of the Israel Embassy in Buenos Aires. Timerman was released from prison by the Junta thanks to the joint diplomatic efforts of the State of Israel and the United States.

His first place of exile was Israel, and he later moved to New York and Spain. His testimony *Prisoner without a Name, Cell without a Number* (1981) became a worldwide bestseller, describing his personal ordeal and documenting the Argentine institutionalized violence of the military dictatorship in Argentina and its violation of human rights, including the antisemitism among the rank and file of the repressors.

Timerman was outraged by the Israeli invasion of Lebanon, and published a critical book, *Israel, the Longer War* (1982), denouncing the unjust treatment of the Palestinians. This book aroused severe criticism of the author in Israel.

He returned to Argentina in 1984, one year after the restoration of democracy, and testified against the Juntas and violators of human rights. He became editor of the daily *La Razón*. In 1988 Carlos Saul Menem, then governor of the province of La Rioja and presidential candidate, sued him for libel and defamation. He was acquitted in two separate trials, but during the administration of President Menem the case was reopened by the Supreme Court of Argentina, and Timerman decided to flee to Uruguay. The charges against him were finally dropped in 1996.

Timerman wrote books critical of Augusto Pinochet (*Chile, el galope muerto*, 1988) and Fidel Castro (*Cuba, a Journey*, 1990).

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[Leonardo Senkman (2nd ed.)]

TIMISOARA (Rom. **Timişoara**; Hung. **Temesvár**), city in the Banat, Transylvania, W. *Romania; between 1552 and 1716 an important center of the Turkish administration; subsequently within *Hungary until 1918. The city comprises several quarters, whose individual development is still evident and affected the history of the local Jews who established separate communal organizations in them. The first Jews arrived in Timisoara before the Turkish conquest by the trade route between *Turkey and Central Europe. At first they came temporarily, on business, but by the first half of the 16th century there were permanent Jewish settlers. The oldest tombstone in the Jewish cemetery dates from 1636 commemorating the "rabbi and surgeon" Azriel Asael. The beginnings of communal organization date from that era. When the Austrians captured the city from the Turks in 1716, the peace treaty included a provision permitting the Jews there to choose either to retreat with the Turks or to remain under the Austrians. Some chose to remain. There were then about 12 Turkish-Sephardi families. In 1736 R. Meir *Amigo of Constantinople and four other Sephardi Jews were authorized to settle in the city. Amigo organized communal life and did much to help the Jews of Timisoara. As the economic situation of Timisoara began to improve, Jews were attracted to the city from other parts of Hungary and as far away as Austria and Moravia. They mainly engaged in commerce.

When under direct Austrian rule, however, the situation of the Jews in Timisoara was more difficult than in any other part of Hungary. The Jewish legislation (Judenordnung) of 1776 for Jews in the Banat region placed many restrictions on the Jews of Timisoara but their situation improved when the region was returned to Hungary in 1779.

Two synagogues, one Sephardi and one Ashkenazi, were built in 1762. The Sephardi congregation continued to exist independently until after World War II. A magnificent synagogue was erected for the main Ashkenazi congregation in 1862. After the Hungarian General Jewish Congress of 1868–69, the community of Timisoara declared itself Neologist. A separate Orthodox congregation was formed in 1871. An Orthodox synagogue was built in 1895. After World War II the congregations were unified by government order.

The Jewish population numbered 155 in 1716; 220 in 1739; 72 families in 1781; 1,200 persons in 1840; 2,202 in 1858; 4,870 (c. 15% of the total population) in 1890; 6,728 (9.2%) in 1910; and 9,368 (10%) in 1930.

In general, the Jews of Timisoara were well-to-do and were able to finance ample communal activities. A ramified educational network was established. Efforts were made to found a Jewish school in 1825. Two schools were opened in different quarters of the city in the 1840s. Between the two world wars, under Romanian administration, two Jewish high schools were established, one general and one commercial. The language of instruction was Romanian, although Hebrew was also taught. The Jews continued to speak Hungarian and German in Timisoara, where German culture was more widespread than in the other towns of Transylvania.

Timisoara was an important Zionist center. A Zionist organization was founded there between the two world wars. Timisoara was the headquarters of the Zionist Organization, *Jewish National Fund (Keren Kayemet le-Israel), and Palestine Foundation Fund (*Keren Hayesod) in Transylvania. The National Jewish Party was active in the city, and won support in the elections. Between 1920 and 1940 the periodical of the Transylvanian Zionist Organization, Uj Kor, was published in Timisoara. These organizations tried to continue after World War II but in 1947–48 they were forced to disband.

Throughout the period between the two world wars the community suffered from antisemitism. In 1936 the *Iron Guard attacked a Jewish theater audience, exploding a bomb in their midst; two Jews were killed and many were wounded.

Holocaust and Contemporary Periods

From 1940 the position of the Jews deteriorated, because of economic restrictions and confiscations. In 1941 many Jewish men were sent to forced labor. The Jewish population, which numbered 10,950 in 1940, increased to 11,788 in 1942 because many Jews from surrounding areas were concentrated in Timisoara, the local Jewish community having to support them. Later all the communal property was confiscated, including land. Until 1945 Timisoara was the center of the German organizations of the Banat region. In 1944 the local German civilian organization also took action against the Jews, but in September of that year the Red Army entered the city.

After the war the National Jewish Organization, formed to assist the Communist Party program, established a branch in Timisoara, and its leaders attempted to liquidate Zionism and impose Communism. Jews were accused of underground Zionist activity, and some were imprisoned, including the author Ezra Fleischer. There were 13,600 Jews in Timisoara in 1947, but their number gradually decreased through emigration to Israel and other countries; 3,000 Jews remained in 1971. The communal organizations still functioned, there was a rabbi, and religious services were held. Although their numbers continued to dwindle, Jews played a part, mostly after 1989, in the renewal of the city's and district's general cultural life.

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[Yehouda Marton]

TIMNA (Heb. תִּמְנַע), site of intensive ancient copper mining and smelting activities. The Timna Valley (Ar. Wadi Manʿiāyya) is located 12½–18¾ mi. (2030 km.) north of Eilat, and three wadis run through it into the *Arabah: Naḥal Mangan, Naḥal Timna, and Naḥal Neḥushtan. The horseshoe-shaped area, created by tectonic plate movement, spreads out over an area of 23 sq. mi. (60 sq. km.) and is part of the Syrian-African rift. Explorations on the site were carried out by F. Frank and N. Glueck in 1932–34, and by B. Rothenberg from 1959. The ancient mines are situated in the western part of the Timna Valley, and malachite and chalcocite ores can still be found there in white sandstone formations. The mines and mining camps are spread over an area of approximately 4 sq. mi. (c. 10 sq. km.). The ancient smelting camps, where crude copper was produced, are located in the center of the valley, west of Mt. Timna.

During the Chalcolithic period (fourth millennium B.C.E.), tribes of shepherds and hunters with a good knowledge of copper metallurgy settled around Timna, collecting copper ore nodules and smelting them in well-built bowl furnaces. The Chalcolithic copper smelting furnace excavated on the fringes of the Arabah, east of the modern Timna copper mines, is the earliest smelting installation so far found. The next industrial installations for the smelting and casting of copper date to the Late Bronze and Early Iron I periods. These large installations include workshops, storehouses, cisterns, furnaces, and slagheaps. The date of this complex, called "King Solomon's Mines" by N. Glueck, was for some time much disputed. The discovery of numerous hieroglyphic inscriptions in Timna dating to the 14th–12th centuries B.C.E. now indicate that the copper industry of Timna, and probably of most of the other copper-producing sites in the Arabah, was developed by Egyptian mining expeditions during the 19th and 20th Dynasties. The inscriptions were found inside an Egyptian temple dedicated to the Egyptian goddess Hathor and located at the foot of "Solomon's Pillars" in the center of the mining and smelting area; it was probably the central sanctuary of Timna. This temple was built in the reign of Seti I at the end of the 14th century B.C.E. Gifts were also sent to it by Ramses II, Merneptah, and Seti II. It was destroyed in 1216–1210 B.C.E. and was restored only during the reign of Ramses III (1198–1166 B.C.E.). The second temple was short-lived and came to an end with Ramses V (1160–1156 B.C.E.).

Timna, and perhaps also the other copper plants in the eastern Arabah, not yet explored, can now be identified with "Atika, the great copper mines," described in the Papyrus Harris I dating to the time of Ramses III. According to this source, Egyptian copper mining expeditions traveled to Timna from Egypt by way of the sea and by overland caravans. The bay of Jazīrat Farʿun, the only natural anchorage in the Gulf of Eilat, can be identified as the Egyptian mining port before it became the shipyard of King Solomon (see also *Ezion-Geber).

Numerous temple gifts, including a partly gilded copper snake, a *neḥushtan* of Midianite origin, and finds in the smelting camp indicate that the Egyptians operated the copper industry of Timna together with the Midianites, Kenites, and, probably, the Amalekites from the central Negev, i.e., the indigenous inhabitants of the area, possessing metallurgical traditions going back to prehistoric times, as reflected in Genesis 4:22. The Egyptian-Midianite temple and copper industry, built in the Arabah at a time close to the Exodus, and the numerous objects found in the excavations contribute materially to understanding of the cultural and social relations between the tribes of Israel at the time of Moses and the Midianites and Kenites, through the Midianite priest Jethro, father-in-law and adviser to Moses.

The mines of Timna were not operated after the 12th century B.C.E., except during the second to fourth centuries C.E., apparently by soldiers of the third Roman legion (of Cyrenaica). At this time copper ore was transported from Timna to the large copper furnace at Be'er Orah (Ar. Bīr Hindis), south of Timna, the site of which was excavated in 1969.

[Beno Rothenberg]

The modern Timna Copper Works in the hills of Eilat, 15 mi. (25 km.) north of Eilat, were opened in 1959 and produce copper cement (with a content of approximately 80% pure copper) from sedimentary ores mined in open pits and shafts over an area of approximately 8½ sq. mi. (22 sq. km.). The works, employing more than 1,000 persons, increased its production from 5,000 tons (equivalent of pure copper) in 1962 to 14,000 tons in 1968. Nearly all the employees of the

Timna Works were residents of Eilat; the site itself did not have a permanent population. The modern works were first closed in 1976 owing to an economic crisis in the copper industry. They was reopened in 1980 and permanently closed in 1985.

Subsequently the Timna site became a tourist and recreation site, with a park offering visitors numerous attractions: the archaeological antiquities of the Shrine of Hathor and the Chariot Rock Drawings (drawings dating from the Egyptian-Midianite period carved on stones and describing the rituals and lifestyles of people who used to live in the area); the natural phenomenon of The Arches (natural arches formed by erosion); Solomon's Pillars (red sandstone cliffs that have been sculpted into pillar-shaped ridges jutting outward and formed by centuries of water erosion); The Mushroom (a mushroom-shaped rock that was carved by the natural forces of humidity and wind); and a few others, such as the multimedia "Mines of Times" shown in the new visitors' centers and the Timna Lake, an artificial lake designed for recreational activities.

[Efraim Orni / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

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TIMNAH (Heb. תִּמְנָה), the name of a number of places mentioned in the Bible.

(1) A Danite city (Josh. 19:43) located on the northern boundary of Judah between Beth Shemesh and Ekron (Josh. 15:10). In the time of the struggle between Dan and the Philistines, Timnah and its vineyards apparently belonged to the latter; Samson went there to marry the daughter of "the Timnite," the lord of Timnah (Judg. 14; 15:6). Later, probably in the days of David, it became an Israelite city, as is evident from its inclusion in the list of cities seized by the Philistines in the time of Ahaz (II Chron. 28:18). Sennacherib conquered it after the battle of Eltekeh in 701 B.C.E. (Annals 2:240). Eusebius places the city between Diospolis (Lydda) and Jerusalem, mistakingly identifying it with (2) below (Onom. 96:24ff.). It is now identified with Tell al-Baṭṭāshī in the Sorek Valley, an almost square mound west of Beth Shemesh with traces of Iron Age pottery and fortifications. Nearby excavations revealed Neolithic to Middle Bronze Age remains.

(2) A Judean city fortified by *Bacchides (I Macc. 9:50). This may be the Timnah to which Judah went for sheepshearing and on the way to which he met Tamar (Gen. 38); some, however, locate this event at (1) above. It is identified with Khirbat al-Tibnā near Beit Nattif.

(3) An unidentified city in the southeastern mountain district of Judah (Josh. 15:57).

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[Michael Avi-Yonah]

TIMNATH-HERES or **TIMNATH-SERAH** (Heb. תִּמְנַת חֶרֶס, תִּמְנַת סֶרַח), city in the hill-country of the territory of Ephraim, given to Joshua as his inheritance after the division of Canaan among the tribes; he was later buried there. The place is called both Timnath-Heres ("of the sun"; Judg. 2:9) and Timnath-Serah (Josh. 19:50; cf. the name of Asher's daughter, Serah, in Gen. 46:17; I Chron. 7:30). In the Herodian period, it became the headquarters of a toparchy, formerly that of Arimathea (Pliny, *Natural History*, 5:15, 70; Jos., Wars, 3:55). Cassius sold its inhabitants into slavery (Jos., Ant., 14:275). In the Jewish War of 66–70 the city was included within the command of John the Essene (Jos., Wars, 2:567); in the spring of 68 it was occupied by Vespasian (Wars, 4:444). The city continued in existence until Byzantine times (Eusebius, Onom. 100:1ff.). It is identified with Khirbat Tibna, about 7½ mi. (12 km.) north of Beth-Horon; pottery of the early Iron Age and later periods was found there and the traditional tomb of Joshua is shown at the site.

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[Michael Avi-Yonah]

°**TIMOCHARES** (date unknown), author of a lost history in Greek of Antiochus IV Epiphanes (175–164 B.C.E.) or Antiochus VII Sidetes (138–128). His remarks on Jerusalem's topography are preserved in Eusebius, *Praeparatio Evangelica*, 9:35.

°**TINNEIUS RUFUS**, Roman governor of Judea at the outbreak of the Bar Kokhba War in 132 C.E. In rabbinic sources he is known as "Turnus Rufus." Having failed with the assistance of the Tenth Legion to suppress the revolt, he sought aid from Publicius Marcellus, governor of Syria, and from other provinces. He failed to overcome the rebels, however, and finally the Roman emperor, Hadrian, was obliged to dispatch *Julius Severus, governor of Britain, to Judea.

Talmudic tradition refers to Tinneius Rufus concerning the decree against circumcision (*Bereshit Rabbati* of *Moses ha-Darshan) and as being responsible for plowing up the Temple Mount (Ta'an. 29a). Various Midrashim record his disputations with Akiva, his questions displaying some knowledge of the Torah and of Jewish life, such as: Why does God hate Esau (Tanḥ. Terumah, 3)? Why is man not born circumcised if such be God's will (Tanḥ. Tazri'a, 7)? Why does God not provide sustenance for the poor if He loves them (BB 10a)? Wherein is the Sabbath distinguished from other days (Sanh. 65b; Gen. R. 11:6; Tanh., Tissa, 33; et al.)?

All his questions display an abrasive quality though Akiva is always able to provide an answer. According to the *aggadah* these discussions so disturbed Tinneius Rufus that his wife sought to use her charm in bringing about Akiva's downfall but failed; in the end she became a proselyte, marrying Akiva, to whom she brought a considerable fortune (Av. Zar. 20a; Ned. 50b). Although Tinneius Rufus emerges in Jewish tradition as a wicked man, all the existing sources bear a legendary character, and there are few historical facts about him.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Eusebius, *Ecclesiasticae Historiae*, 4:6, 1; Pauly-Wissowa, 6 (1937), 1376–79, no. 6.

[Lea Roth]

TIOMKIN, VLADIMIR (**Ze'ev**; 1861–1927), Zionist leader in Russia. Born to an assimilated family in Yelizavetgrad, Ukraine, Tiomkin qualified as an engineer at the Technological Institute in St. Petersburg in 1886. He was active at first in the Russian revolutionary movement, but the pogroms in southern Russia in 1881 prompted him to join the Jewish national movement, and he was one of the founders of the Ahavat Zion society in St. Petersburg. He was delegate to the Ḥovevei Zion conferences at Druskieniki (1887) and Vilna (1889). In 1891 he was appointed the representative of the *Odessa Committee of Ḥovevei Zion in Ereẓ Israel, and he became head of the executive committee of the Russian Ḥovevei Zion in Jaffa. He initiated land purchases in Ereẓ Israel, but his plans were soon foiled by land speculations and the financial losses incurred by many investors. Tiomkin returned to Russia, where he became **kazyonny ravvin* of Yelizavetgrad in 1893 and did much to develop the institutions of the community. With the appearance of Theodor *Herzl, he joined the Zionist movement and became one of its outstanding supporters and speakers in Russia. He participated in Zionist Congresses, was a member of the Zionist General Council, and was Zionist representative for the Yelizavetgrad region. During the controversy which broke out over the *Uganda Scheme, Tiomkin was a leading member of the oppositionist Ẓiyyonei Zion (1903).

During World War I Tiomkin headed the relief projects in southern Russia on behalf of the Russian Jewish refugees who were expelled from the front region. After the February 1917 Revolution he renewed his activities in the Zionist movement, which had become legalized. During the short period of freedom that followed until the October Revolution, he was one of the foremost speakers at conferences and congresses. He was a member of the presidium of the National Assembly of the Jews of the Ukraine (1918). Due to his great popularity with the Jewish masses, he was not persecuted by the Jewish Communists when in control over the Jews of the Ukraine (1919). In 1920 Tiomkin left Russia and settled in Paris. He became a member of the editorial board of the exiled Russian Zionists' periodical *Razsvet* and joined Vladimir Jabotinsky's *Revisionist Zionist movement. Tiomkin was the first president of the World Union of Zionist-Revisionists. He was an impressive witness in the *Schwarzbard trial. The settlement Ramat Tiomkin near Netanyah is named after him.

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[Yehuda Slutsky]

ṬĪRA, AL-, Muslim-Arab village in central Israel, in the southern Sharon Plain N.E. of Kefar Sava. Al-Ṭīra is thought to be the relay station, Mutatio Betthar, mentioned by the fourth-century "Bordeaux Traveler." Under the *Mamluks (14th century) it was a wayfarers' inn (*khān*). The village expanded in the early part of the 20th century, as the spreading of Jewish settlements in its vicinity provided work opportunities and a market for its farm produce. Included within the State of Israel's borders, the village grew from 2,000 inhabitants in 1948 to 7,100 in 1968 and 19,300 in 2002, occupying an area of about 4 sq. mi. (10 sq. km.). Irrigation was introduced, farm branches were variegated, artisan shops and small industries established, and housing conditions greatly improved. Al-Ṭīra's agriculture was based mainly on citrus groves and other fruit orchards, and vegetable and field crops. In 1991 Al-Ṭīra received municipal status.

[Efraim Orni]

TIRADO, JACOB (ca. 1540–1620), one of the founding fathers of the Portuguese community in *Amsterdam. Tirado was born in Portugal into a *Converso family. In 1598 he was living in Amsterdam where he returned to Judaism. In notarial documents he appears as a wealthy merchant under the name of James (Gammez) Lopes da Costa. His trade concentrated on Portugal and Venice. Synagogue services were held in his house, at least in 1610. In about 1608 he must have been among the founders of the Sephardi community, together with Samuel *Palache and the poet Jacob Israel *Belmonte. The community was named Bet Ya'akov. He was among the first *parnassim* of the community and donated a Sefer Torah. After 1612 he left Amsterdam and moved to Venice, where he was active in charity and fund raising for Ereẓ Israel. He might have spent the last years of his life in Jerusalem. According to legendary tradition Tirado left Portugal in 1593 along with a group of Conversos and reached Emden, where R. Moses Uri b. Joseph Ha-Levi helped them to return to Judaism and accompanied them to Amsterdam. Their religious practices led the authorities to suspect that they were holding Catholic services – at that time forbidden – and on the Day of Atonement, 1596, the group was arrested. Tirado was able to communicate with the authorities in Latin and, when he told them the truth, they authorized Jewish worship.

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TIRASPOL, city in S.E. Moldova. In 1847 the number of Jews amounted to 1,406 and by 1897 it had risen to 8,668 (27% of the total population). In 1910 Tiraspol had two Jewish private schools, one for boys and one for girls. In 1926 there were 6,398 Jews (29.1%) in the town. During the Nazi occupation Tiraspol was under Romanian administration; almost all its Jewish population perished. In the late 1960s the Jewish population of Tiraspol was estimated at about 1,500. The only synagogue was closed by the authorities in 1959, but *kasher* poultry was still available.

TIRAT HA-KARMEL (Heb. טִירַת הַכַּרְמֶל; "Castle of the Carmel"), city in northern Israel. Tirat ha-Karmel is located on the southern slopes of Mt. Carmel, near Haifa. The settlement was established in 1949, received municipal council status in 1951, and municipal status in 1992. Its area is 2.3 sq. mi. (6 sq. km.) and its population in 2002 was 18,700, among them 20% new immigrants. The city has an industrial area housing hi-tech companies.

WEBSITE: www.tirat-carmel.muni.il.

[Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

TIRAT ẒEVI (Heb. טִירַת צְבִי), kibbutz in central Israel, 6 mi. (10 km.) S.E. of Beth-Shean, affiliated with Ha-Kibbutz ha-Dati. Tirat Ẓevi was founded in 1937 as one of the first, and the southernmost, of the *stockade and watchtower outposts in the Beth-Shean Valley, by Ha-Po'el ha-Mizrachi pioneers from central Europe. In the 1936–39 Arab riots, Tirat Ẓevi had to repulse frequent attacks. In the early stage of the *War of Independence (1948), strong Arab forces commanded by Fawzi al-Kaukji assaulted Tirat Ẓevi but were beaten back after suffering heavy casualties. After the *Six-Day War (1967), the kibbutz became the object of repeated shelling from beyond the nearby Jordan border. Since its founding, Tirat Ẓevi has occupied a central place in the religious settlement movement, and its members are active in religious study and education. In 1968, the kibbutz had 385 inhabitants; in 2002, 666. Kibbutz farming was based on field corps, dates, olives, turkeys, and fishery. The kibbutz also operated a sausage and smoked-meat factory and catering service and developed tourism with a visitor's center and guest rooms. Its name, "Castle of Ẓevi," commemorates Rabbi Ẓevi Hirsh *Kalischer.

WEBSITE: www.tiratzvi.org.il.

[Efraim Orni]

TIRGU-FRUMOS (Rom. **Târgu-Frumos**), town in Jassy district, Moldavia, Romania. In 1763 Jews were granted a special privilege to settle there in order to restore the declining economy of the town. In 1769 Tirgu-Frumos is mentioned in connection with the trade developed by the Jews, who sold cereals, butter, milk, honey, leather, flax, and hemp at the weekly fair. In 1815 the privilege was confirmed and more Jewish settlers arrived; from 280 in 1803 their number increased to 1,258 (31% of the total population) in 1859, and 2,123 (45.6%) in 1899. At the beginning of the 19th century Jews assumed responsible positions in the local council. At the end of the century, however, proceedings were opened against them. For 30 years the Romanian parliament refused to raise Tirgu-Frumos to the status of a town, keeping it a village, because in such a rural environment the Jews had no rights to acquire immovable property. During the Peasants' Revolt in 1907 the synagogue as well as the houses of 59 Jewish families were destroyed. Between the two world wars antisemitism increased, and in consequence many Jews left Tirgu-Frumos. In 1930 there were 1,608 Jews (26.4% of the total) in the town. The members of this community held a central position in trade (cereal, cattle, timber, grocery and other stores, alcoholic beverages), crafts (tailors, cobblers, potters, bakers, furriers, leather cutters, smiths, etc.), small industry and professions (doctors). In 1939 students from the University of Jassy, led by A.C. *Cuza and his son George, attempted to organize anti-Jewish riots but were deterred by an effective *self-defense organization. Among the rabbis of the town were Shalom b. Samuel Shmelke Taubes (1825–1888), who officiated later in Botosani. Three synagogues – the Big Synagogue (of the merchants) founded in 1813, the Cobblers' (1883) and the Poor's – lasted several years more than the community.

In World War II most Jews were expelled to Roman and some also to Botosani. Some 650 victims from the "Death Train" traveling between Jassy and Roman in the days of the Jassy massacre, July 29, 1941, were taken from the train and interred in the Târgu-Frumos cemetery. After the war a community was reconstituted (amounting to 530 persons in 1947) but diminished rapidly through migration to larger cities or emigration. In 1969 about 10 Jewish families remained. The last Jewish inhabitant died in 1998.

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[Theodor Lavi / Silviu Sanie (2nd ed.)]

TIRGU NEAMT (Rom. **Târgu-Neamț**), town in Moldavia, Romania. According to local tradition, Jews were authorized to settle by the sovereign Stephen the Great, who ruled from 1457 to 1502. Later, the king (Peter the Lame) issued a decree expelling Jews from the country (1579). Jews returned to Tirgu Neamt in the 17th century. The oldest tombstones date from 1677 and 1689; there were three cemeteries, the last founded in 1838.

In 1859 the Jewish population was 3,006 and in 1899 it reached 3,671 (42% of the total). The oldest synagogue and the *mikveh* were demolished in 1849 by order of the abbot of a nearby monastery. The Jews opposed the order by force and six of them fell during the incidents. The Jewish community then sent a delegation to Constantinople, and obtained an order from the vizir compelling the monastery to pay damages. In 1855–56 the community received from the monastery land, money, and bricks to rebuild the synagogue and the *mikveh*. Among the rabbis who officiated in Tirgu Neamt, most prominent is R. Ḥayyim Mordecai Roller, rabbi between 1895 and 1941. He died in Jerusalem in 1946. Besides the *talmud torah*, a Jewish primary school was founded in 1890 but it was closed down in 1893 because of opposition from the religious circles, supported by the ḥasidic rabbi of *Buhusi. The school was reopened in 1897.

Anti-Jewish feelings in Tirgu Neamt were encouraged by the monks of the local monastery. In 1710 there was a *blood libel, which resulted in the death of five Jews and the pillaging of many Jewish houses. Additional blood libels were instigated in 1765, 1806, 1816, 1836, and 1859. In 1803 the monastery printed pamphlets propagating anti-Jewish agitation. In 1821 Romanian Greeks, in rebellion against Turkish rule, crossed Moldavia, set fire to the town, and assassinated half the Jewish population.

Between the two world wars, after naturalization rights were granted to the Jews, two Jewish representatives served on the local council. In 1931 a Jew acted as vice mayor. On the eve of World War II the community supported eight prayerhouses, an old-age home, a *mikveh*, and premises for a school.

In World War II the Jews were expelled to *Piatra-Neamt. After the war the community gradually came to an end through emigration. The Jewish population numbered 2,900 in 1947, 1,800 in 1950, and about 50 families in 1969. Shalom Dramer was the community's rabbi in 1954. There was one synagogue.

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[Theodor Lavi]

TIRHAKAH (Heb. תִּרְהָקָה), the "king of *Cush" who, according to the Bible (II Kings 19:9), took part in *Hezekiah's revolt against Sennacherib. These references to Tirhakah (690/89–664 B.C.E.), the fourth pharaoh of the Twenty-Fifth (Ethiopian) Dynasty, appear to be an anachronism. According to a careful interpretation of the problematical biblical passages and Assyrian inscriptions, Hezekiah's uprising started in 703 B.C.E. Sennacherib undertook a successful punitive expedition against Judah's Philistine (II Kings 18:13ff.) and Egyptian allies in 701, and then besieged all the fortified cities of Judah, ultimately forcing Hezekiah to pay a heavy indemnity. The appearance of "Tirhakah" at the head of another Egyptian contingent only served to cause Jerusalem to be immediately besieged a second time. Although the siege was interrupted because of a plague in the Assyrian camp, Sennacherib, nevertheless, again made Hezekiah and Judah his vassals. In the light of the above-mentioned dates the pharaoh who thus unsuccessfully assisted Hezekiah can only have been Tirhakah's brother and predecessor Shebitku, the Sithos of Herodotus' account of Sennacherib's expedition (2:141). The Bible's references "Tirhakah, king of Cush" however, are not inappropriate, since the citations symbolize the historical role of the entire Ethiopian Dynasty. It was the fate of these kings to make a prolonged but unsuccessful stand against Assyria's advance toward the Mediterranean, and it was Tirhakah who suffered the final defeat 30 years later. Egypt was invaded by Esarhaddon in 671 and by Ashurbanipal in 667; Tirhakah had to withdraw into exile in Nubia, and Thebes was destroyed in 664. Typically, Egyptian historical consciousness refused to recognize the Assyrian invasion; Tirhakah was still considered king of Lower Egypt in 666, and later was listed, like Sesostris, among Strabo's heroes of antiquity (1:3, 21; 2:1, 6). While recognizing the weakness of Egypt vis-à-vis Assyria (cf. the warnings of Isa. 30:1–5; 31:1–3), the Bible also reflects Egypt's gallantry when it telescopes Tirhakah, mythical defender of Egypt, and Shebitku, King Hezekiah's ally.

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[Irene Grumach]

TIRZAH (Heb. תִּרְצָה), Canaanite city whose king is mentioned at the end of the list of those defeated by Joshua (Josh. 12:24). Eventually, the city seems to have been joined peacefully to the territory of Manasseh, as is indicated by the story of the daughters of Zelophehad, one of whom is named Tirzah (Num. 26:33; 36:11; Josh. 17:3). In the days of the divided monarchy, it became the residence of Jeroboam I after he left Shechem (I Kings 14:17). Some, however, hold that this is an anachronism and that Tirzah became the capital of Israel only in the days of Baasha. Baasha's son Elah was assassinated when drunk in the house of his steward in Tirzah. Zimri, his assassin and usurper, was besieged by Omri and burnt to death in the palace in 878 B.C.E. (I Kings 15–16). In the sixth year of his reign (c. 872), Omri transferred the capital to Samaria (I Kings 16:24). The rebel Menahem marched from Tirzah against Shallum in 748 B.C.E. (II Kings 15:14, 16). It seems to have been destroyed by the Assyrians at the same time as Samaria (721 B.C.E.). An earlier attack by Shishak in 925 B.C.E. is uncertain, as part of the name is missing in his list of conquered towns, but it is probable in view of the importance of the city at that time.

Tirzah has been identified with Tell al-Fāriʿa (Fārica), about 7 mi. (11 km.) northeast of Shechem, on an important highway near a plentiful spring. Excavations directed by R. de Vaux in 1946–60 revealed remains from the Chalcolithic period and an important Early Bronze Age town with a sanctuary, city wall, and fortified gates. After a gap of several centuries beginning in about 2500 B.C.E., occupation was resumed in the Middle Bronze Age. The town of the Late Bronze Age is poorer. The city was rebuilt in the Israelite period, and in a later phase, a palace was constructed which apparently remained unfinished; this may be due to the removal of the capital to Samaria. The later Israelite level is characterized by large private houses which are in sharp contrast to those of the poor, from which they are separated by a wall. This level was destroyed by the Assyrians in c. 723 B.C.E., after which settlement continued, but on a smaller scale. The site was eventually abandoned in c. 600 B.C.E.

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[Michael Avi-Yonah]

TISCH, U.S. brothers, entrepreneurs and philanthropists. LAURENCE ALAN TISCH (1923–2003), the older of two brothers, was born in Brooklyn, N.Y. His father, Abraham (Al), was an All-American basketball player at the City College of New

York and owned a garment factory and two summer camps that his wife, Sadye, helped him run. Laurence graduated cum laude from New York University at 18 and a year later earned a master's degree in industrial management from the Wharton School at the University of Pennsylvania. After World War II service in the Office of Strategic Services, he enrolled at Harvard Law School but dropped out after a year. In 1946, the Tisch parents entrusted Larry, as he was known, with $125,000 to invest. He used the money to buy a lackluster resort called Laurel-in-the-Pines in Lakewood, N.J. that he found listed in a Business Opportunities advertisement in the *New York Times*. His brother, PRESTON ROBERT (1926–2005), known as Bob, joined him as a full partner in 1948. The Tisches refurnished the hotel, added amenities like a swimming pool, and dreamed up promotional stunts like importing three reindeer from Finland to pull sleighs in the snow. Over the next dozen years the brothers acquired a dozen hotels in New York, New Jersey, and Florida and in 1956 built the Americana at Bal Harbour, Fla., spending $17 million of their own money. It was in the black the first year, thanks to convention business. In 1961 the brothers gained control of Loews, one of the larger movie-house chains in the country, which was forced to separate its theaters from its filmmaking unit. Larry was attracted to Loews' underlying real-estate assets. In 1961 the brothers knocked down the old Loews Lexington Theater in New York City and used the site to build the 800-room Summit Hotel, the first hotel built in Manhattan in 30 years. In Times Square, they built the Americana, which at 50 stories was the world's tallest hotel upon completion in 1962. In 1968 the Tisches bought Lorillard, then the fifth-largest cigarette company in the United States. Larry shed its non-tobacco interests to increase profit margins. In 1974 Larry acquired a controlling stake in the CNA Financial Corporation, a nearly bankrupt Chicago-based insurance company. Within a few years he transformed it into a company with $16.5 billion in assets and an A-plus credit rating. By 1980 Loews vaulted to more than $3 billion in annual revenue from $100 million a decade earlier, from its 14 hotels, 67 movie theaters, insurance operations, shipping, Bulova watches, and popular cigarette brands like Kent, Newport, and True. Larry did have some setbacks, however. In 1971 Loews invested $40 million in the Franklin National Bank, which was sold to an Italian financier who was later convicted of looting its assets. Loews was sued by the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation for breach of fiduciary duty and misuse of information. The company paid $1.2 million in an out-of-court settlement. In 1986 Larry was thrust into a new arena when he was invited to discourage a hostile takeover of the Columbia Broadcasting System network. Using Loews as his investment vehicle, Larry acquired almost 25 percent of CBS for $750 million. After a series of disputes with officers of CBS, Larry became acting chairman. Within months he presided over the ouster of 230 of the 1,200 news employees and cut the news division's budget by $30 million. He sold CBS's book publishing units in 1986 to Harcourt Brace Jovanovich for $500 million and its magazines to Diamandis Communications for $650 million the next year. And he also sold CBS Records, the second-largest record company in the world at the time, to the Sony Corporation of Japan for $2 billion. While CBS stock did well, the network faltered, falling to third place among the three major networks. After ten years, CBS was sold to the Westinghouse Electric Corporation for $5.4 billion. In the years after he left CBS Larry took a bearish position in the stock market and posted $2 billion in trading losses for Loews. Larry turned to civic affairs and philanthropy. He was a trustee of the Whitney Museum of Art, the Metropolitan Museum of Art, and the New York Public Library. He was also president of the United Jewish Appeal of New York and was a director of the Legal Aid Society. He became a prolific fundraiser for NYU, helping to provide it with endowment and new buildings. He spent his leisure time with his family, in frequent discussions of Jewish traditions with talmudic scholars. He often invited a rabbi to his Fifth Avenue office to discuss Bible passages and talmudic interpretations.

Bob Tisch worked with his brother to build the multibillion-dollar business empire, but he himself was postmaster general of the United States, half-owner of the New York Giants football team, and leader of many of New York City's top business groups. He was chairman of the host committees for the 1976 and 1980 Democratic National Conventions and led the way in building a new convention center on Manhattan's West Side. His last campaign, Take the Field, to revitalize the ragged athletic fields of the city's public high schools, raised $140 million. Bob Tisch's enthusiasm for convening the city's movers and shakers began during New York City's fiscal crisis in the 1970s with breakfasts at his Park Avenue hotel, the Regency. Major players in that municipal drama such as Lewis *Rudin and Felix G. *Rohatyn were the first regulars and Tisch was credited with coining the term "power breakfast." Among the city organizations Bob Tisch headed were the New York City Convention and Visitors Bureau, the New York City Partnership, and the New York City Chamber of Commerce and Industry. The Tisches were known for their generosity. The medical center and arts school at New York University bear the family name. So does a gallery at the Metropolitan Museum and the children's zoo in Central Park as well as namesake institutions at the University of Michigan, Tufts University, and elsewhere. Bob Tisch attended Bucknell University briefly, joined the army and earned a bachelor's degree from Michigan after his discharge in 1944. When Tisch was postmaster general, from 1986 to 1988, he used his marketing skill to sell stamps by phone and stressed the sale of commemorative stamps, which are financially advantageous for the Postal Service because collectors seldom use them as postage. Bob also founded Meals-on-Wheels in New York, served as its president for 20 years, and many times personally delivered meals to the elderly. His habit of working Sundays prevented him from seeing a professional football game until 1961, but he made up for it. After buying into the Giants in 1991, he loved to attend practices and confer with coaches.

He improved the team's business by sharpening marketing strategies and raising ticket prices.

[Stewart Kampel (2nd ed.)]

TISCHLER, HANS (1915–), musicologist. Born in Vienna, he settled in the United States in 1938 and studied musicology at Yale University with Schrade and Hindemith where he received his Ph.D. in 1942. He held positions in West Virginia at Wesleyan College (1945–47), Roosevelt University in Chicago (1947–65), and Indiana University (from 1965 until his retirement). He was guest lecturer at Tel Aviv University (1972) and Bar-Ilan (1986). Tischler was a leading scholar of late medieval music, editing complete editions and philological studies of the Notre Dame organa as well as of troubadour and trouvère music. His other fields of study were Mozart's piano concertos and the music of Gustav *Mahler. Among his writings are *The Perceptive Music Listener* (1955); *Chanter m'estuet, Songs of the Trouvères* (1981); *The Earliest Motets* (1982); and *Conductus and contrafacta* (2001). His important editions include *A Medieval Motet Book* (1973) and the *Monpelier Codex, PRMMA*, II–VII (1978).

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[Jehoash Hirshberg (2nd ed.)]

TISCHLER, MAX (1906–1989), U.S. industrial research chemist. Tischler was born in Boston. In 1957 he became president of a group of research laboratories. He contributed many papers in the fields of pharmaceuticals and chemical processes. In 1960 he edited the *Organic Syntheses*. He received many medals and awards including the award of the Swedish Royal Academy of Science.

TISHBY, ISAIAH (1908–1992), scholar of *Kabbalah, *Shabbateanism, ethical Hebrew literature, and Ḥasidism. Born as Sándor Schwartz in Sanislo, Hungary, Tishby received a traditional rabbinic education but soon became interested in secular literature and scholarly work. He wrote stories, articles, and poems in Hungarian, publishing a collection of Hungarian poems. He settled in Palestine in 1933 and studied at the Hebrew University, joining its department of Hebrew literature in 1951 (professor from 1955).

His main works include Zohar anthologies (*Mishnat ha-Zohar*, 2 vols., 1949–60); *Pirkei Zohar* (1969); *Torat ha-Ra ve-ha-Kelippah be-Kabbalat ha-Ari* ("The Idea of Evil… in Lurianic Kabbalah," 1942); Azriel of Gerona's exegetical *Perush ha-Aggadot* (1945); and a critical edition – begun by A.Z. Schwarz – of Jacob Sasportas' anti-Shabbatean tract *Ẓiẓat Novel Ẓevi* (1954). A collection of his studies in the fields of Kabbalah and Shabbateanism was published in 1964 as *Netivei Emunah u-Minut* ("Paths of Belief and Heresy"). In 1970 Tishby published *Perakim mi-Sifrei Musar Kabballiyyim*, an anthology of ethical works, with prefaces and commentary, covering from Saadiah to Maimonides. He wrote the article on ḥasidic thought in the *Encyclopaedia Hebraica*, which was also published as a separate book – *Torat ha-Ḥasidut ve-Sifrutah* (1966). Other studies of his deal with the messianic element in Ḥasidism, kabbalistic messianism in 16th-century Italy, and the messianic theology of M.Ḥ. *Luzzatto and his circle. In 1979 he was awarded the Israel Prize for Jewish studies.

[Joseph Dan]

TISHMAN, U.S. family in real estate and construction. Founded by JULIUS TISHMAN (d. 1936) in the United States in 1898, the Tishman family companies constituted a construction behemoth that built 400 million square feet of hotels and skyscrapers that started with tenements. Julius had five sons and six grandsons and, in various guises, the company continued as a major force through the early years of the 21st century. PAUL TISHMAN joined his father's company in 1924 after graduating from Harvard and doing graduate work at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and Columbia University. He left the company in 1949 to form Paul Tishman Inc., which specialized in urban renewal, buildings for universities and hospitals, and buildings for Federal, state, and local governments. Among his projects was Washington Square Village, where modern apartment buildings replaced several blocks of older housing in Greenwich Village. He retired in 1969 and died in 1996 at the age of 96. He collected African art and the collection was acquired by Walt Disney Productions for Epcot Center in Orlando, Fla.

The Tishman company went public in 1928 and was dissolved in 1978 by a third-generation president, ROBERT TISHMAN, who launched a partnership with his son-in-law, Jerry Speyer. The company was reconstituted in 1980 as a private concern under Robert's cousin, JOHN, who became chief executive officer. John Tishman, a teacher whose father died when he was four, was put in charge of construction, a job the other cousins showed no interest in. In 1965 the Tishmans got a shot at managing the construction of Madison Square Garden in New York. Such high-profile projects begat others, including the first 100-story tower, the John Hancock, in Chicago. The Tishmans were called in as consultants on the World Trade Center. When they suggested ways to cut costs, the Port Authority hired the company as the builder. Tishman continued to develop its own properties but also emphasized research. It invented body-heat detectors that turn lights on and off when people enter or leave rooms. It developed a new roofing installation with Owens Corning Fiberglas, and with U.S. Gypsum it developed an inexpensive fireproof process. During a downturn in the economy John Tishman diversified the company into services. It began managing hotels such as the St. Moritz on Central Park South. It took on financial consulting jobs. John brought in his son, Daniel R., who had been running Tishman's New England projects out of Boston in 1994, and he was put on a direct path to succeed his father. DANIEL TISHMAN (1955–) joined the company in 1990 to lead it into the 21st century. Another Tishman, ALAN V. (1917–2004), was in charge of the leasing arm. The Tishmans were prominent in Jewish philanthropies. Among many campaigns, Alan was a vice president of UJA Federation of New York. Daniel was president of Israel Bonds' Greater New York appeal.

MARGARET (PEGGY) TISHMAN (1919–2004), who was married to Alan V. Tishman, played a prominent role in American Jewish affairs. She was an organizer of the merged UJA-Federation of New York and served as its first president, from 1986 to 1989, becoming one of the first women to gain national recognition as the chief executive of a major charitable federation. She helped found the Jewish Association for the Aged (JASA) in 1968, and she developed an endowment program to support that work. She served on the boards of the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee and the Jewish Home and Hospital and was president of the Jewish Community Relations Council of New York. As Peggy Westheimer, she graduated from Wellesley College and received a master's degree in education and psychology from Fairfield University. She gained a national reputation in 1954 when she joined the board of the Jewish Home and Hospital amid a growing debate over how society cared for its elderly, and she helped persuade the Jewish Home to build one of the country's first assisted-living residences for older adults. She also served on New York City's Commission on Heroin Addiction and twice was a delegate to the White House Conference on Aging.

[Stewart Kampel (2nd ed.)]

TISHRI (Heb. תִּשְׁרֵי), the post-Exilic name of the seventh month of the Jewish year according to biblical usage which has been retained until the present day even though Tishri is the first month of the chronological year in the current way of dating. Frequently mentioned in Assyrian-Babylonian records and in rabbinic literature (e.g., *Megillat Ta'anit*), it is derived from the Aramaic *shera* or *sherei* ("to begin"). Hence, this name means "beginning of the year." Its zodiacal sign is *Libra*. In the present fixed Jewish calendar it invariably consists of 30 days, 1st of Tishri never falling on Sunday, Wednesday, or Friday in accordance with the system of calendric "postponement" (see *Calendar). In the 20th century, Tishri, in its earliest occurrence, extended from September 6 to October 5 and, in its latest, from October 5 to November 3. Memorable days in Tishri are mainly feasts laid down in the Pentateuch: (1) 1st and 2nd of Tishri, the New Year, Rosh Ha-Shanah (Num. 24:1–6), the second day applying in Ereẓ Israel as well as in the Diaspora (at least since about the tenth century); (2) 10th of Tishri, the *Day of Atonement (Lev. 16:29–34); (3) 1st–10th of Tishri, the *Ten Days of Penitence; (4) 15th of Tishri (in the Diaspora 15th–16th), the first day of Sukkot (the Feast of Tabernacles; Lev. 23:33–43); (5) 16th–21st of Tishri (in the Diaspora 17th–21st), the days of *ḥol ha-mo'ed* ("intermediate days"; Num. 29:17–34), the last of which (6) 21st of Tishri, known as Hoshana Rabba, is of special significance (Suk. 4:4–7); (7) 22nd of Tishri, Shemini Aẓeret ("The Eighth Day of Assembly"; Num. 29:35–38), combined with Simḥat Torah ("Rejoicing with the Torah," which is of post-talmudic origin). In the Diaspora 22nd of Tishri is observed as Shemini Aẓeret, and 23rd of Tishri as Simḥat Torah; (8) 3rd of Tishri, once observed as a minor feast in commemoration of the omission of the Hasmonean title "Priest to the Most High God" (modeled on the title of Melchizedek (Malki Ẓedek) in Gen. 14:18) from the dating of secular documents in the terms of the era of the regnal years of the Hasmonean high-priest kings (Meg. Ta'an. 337, et al.). Later this day reverted to its previous status of a fast in commemoration of the assassination of *Gedaliah (Jer. 41:1–2, et al.), the "fast in the seventh month" in Zechariah 7:5 and 8:19 (RH 18b, et al.) possibly postponed from 1st of Tishri (see Ibn Ezra and Kimḥi, *ibid.*).

[Ephraim Jehudah Wiesenberg]

TIŠMA, ALEKSANDAR (1924–2003), author, novelist. Born in Novi Sad, he had a Jewish mother and a Serbian father. In his novels he depicts, in a realistic style, the multiethnic and multireligious milieu of the mixed population of the Pannonian plain of the Vojvodina Province, including the relative harshness of Jewish existence. In particular he treated the problems of acculturation, identity conflicts, discrimination, and the racial and antisemitic persecutions during the Holocaust. These social phenomena are presented with accuracy and psychological insight. His testimony reveals horrid episodes of murder which occurred during the infamous razzia perpetrated by the Hungarian occupation forces in Novi Sad in January 1942.

Tišma won much praise and many prizes for his work and is counted among the most translated and better-known contemporary Yugoslav writers.

Among his works the following merit mention: *Krivice* ("Guilt," 1961); *Knjiga o Blamu* ("A Book on Blam," 1972); *Upotreba čoveka* ("The Use of a Man," 1976), and *Kapo* (1987).

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[Zvi Loker (2nd ed.)]

°TISO, JOSEF (1887–1947), prime minister (March–October 1939) and afterward president of Nazi-protected "independent" Slovakia. Trained as a priest, he was an excellent student and earned a doctorate in theology in 1910. A Slovakian nationalist, he began calling for an independent, authoritarian Catholic Slovakia in 1918. Elected to the Czechoslovakian Parliament in 1927, he became minister of health but was dismissed because of his ideology in 1929. Tiso was a Catholic priest at Bánovce and *vôdca* ("leader") of the fascist People's Party of Hlinka. Slovakia became autonomous in 1938 after the Munich Conference and Tiso later became its president. At Hitler's urging, he declared independence in March of 1939 but closely allied Slovakia with Germany. Ironically, he opposed the radicals of the Hlinka Guard and won a power struggle with them. He was one of the people primarily responsible for the deportation of Slovakian Jews to the death camps. His attitude to the "Jewish question" was evident by 1940, when he himself directed the "aryanized" estates in his own parish.

In March 1942 he rejected the appeal of the rabbis of Slovakia imploring him to prevent the mass deportations of Slovakian Jews. The Vatican was embarrassed by his leadership but took no steps to remove him from the priesthood or to excommunicate him. In August 1942, in a speech delivered at Holič, Tiso justified the deportations as "for the good of the Slovak nation, to free it of its pests." He had the power to issue exemptions from deportations and did so for 1,100 people, among them people who had been baptized and also wealthy Jews. After World War II, the National Tribunal of Bratislava found him guilty of several charges, including crimes against humanity, and he was hanged. His record is still a matter of contention in Slovakia and his role still an embarrassment to apologists for the Roman Catholic Church.

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[Livia Rothkirchen / Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

TISZAESZLAR (Hung. **Tiszaeszlár**), town in N.E. Hungary, not far from the provincial capital, Nyiregyhaza. The town became notorious in Jewish history in connection with a *blood libel there which aroused public opinion throughout Europe at the time and became the subject of stormy agitation in Hungary over many years. Its effects were disastrously clear during the White Terror period (1919–21), and even later during the antisemitic activity which culminated in Hungary with the expulsions of World War II. In 1882, when the blood libel occurred, there were about 25 Jewish families living in Tiszaeszlar, which had a total population of approximately 2,700. In 1944, the year of the expulsions, there were 61 Jews in the village.

On April 1, 1882, one of the village inhabitants, Eszter Solymosi, a Christian girl aged 14, disappeared. It was later discovered that she had committed suicide by throwing herself into the River Tisza. A short time after her disappearance, rumors were spread that some of the local Jews had murdered her in the community synagogue for religious requirements in anticipation of the Passover festival. The accusers included the leading local official, the provincial deputy in the parliament in Budapest, and the local Catholic priest, who also published an article which, by implication, accused the Jews of ritual murder. The authorities opened an investigation. The examining magistrate and other representatives of the state, who in principle believed the accusation, carried out their investigation with brutal methods. They succeeded by a ruse in convincing a local 14-year-old Jewish youth, Móric Scharf, to give false evidence: namely that with his own eyes he had witnessed how his father, with local Jews and others who had come from the vicinity, had murdered the girl in the synagogue and gathered her blood in a bowl. The investigation was much publicized, as was the trial which followed. There were also stormy debates on the subject in the Budapest parliament. Antisemitic deputies, such as Győző (Viktor) *Istóczy, fomented a violent agitation. The prime minister Kálmán Tisza did not believe in the libel, but because of political considerations did not dare to impede the judicial proceedings. The minister of justice, Tivadar Pauler, did indeed believe that a few uncivilized Jews employed Christian blood for their religious worship. The state prosecutor-general, Sándor Kozma, a man of liberal opinions, was opposed to the charge. A representative of the prosecution at the trial itself, Ede Szeyffert, also supported this opinion.

The trial was held in Nyiregyhaza during the summer months of 1883. In his summing-up speech the prosecutor proposed that the accused should be acquitted, and the verdict subsequently exonerated the 15 Jews accused. The counsel for the defense was brilliantly led by a non-Jewish advocate, Károly Eötvös, who was also a noted author, politician, and member of the Hungarian parliament. It was as a result of his interventions that the tribunal invalidated the false evidence which had been submitted. After appeals, the verdict was finally upheld by the supreme court of Budapest on May 10, 1884. Instead of subsiding, the wave of antisemitism gathered momentum throughout Hungary after the verdict of the district tribunal. In 1883, there were attacks on Jews in Budapest itself and other localities. These outbreaks reached such proportions that in certain districts the authorities were compelled to proclaim a state of emergency in order to protect the Jews and their property. In the wake of the antisemitic movement concentrated around the trial, and led by Istóczy, a specifically antisemitic party was founded (see *Antisemitism: Antisemitic Political Parties and Organizations), which in the parliamentary elections of 1884 won 17 seats. In the same elections, Eötvös, the defense advocate, was unsuccessful as candidate for the Liberals.

A variety of books and articles on the trial were written by both Jewish and antisemitic authors. In 1904, Eötvös published a history of the trial, a work of literary merit, which was published in a second handsome edition in 1968. The youth who had accused his parents and the members of his community underwent a spiritual and mental crisis. He remained for a while with his parents in Budapest and then left for Amsterdam, where he brought up a family in traditional Judaism and found employment in the diamond industry. His memoirs were published (M. Scharf, in: *Egyenlőség* (Dec. 3, 1927), 13). Numerous articles on the trial appeared in the general and Jewish press in Hungary and the rest of Europe. Its events form the plot of Arnold *Zweig's novel *Ritualmord in Ungarn* (1914). A young Hungarian historian, Sándor Hegedüs, published a monograph on the trial in Budapest in 1966. In the conclusion, he points out that he visited the village in search of material and to his regret still found "negative memories" of the trial among the elderly inhabitants.

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[Yehouda Marton]

TITANS, Greek mythological figures, offspring of Uranus and Gaia. They warred against Zeus and were afterward imprisoned in Tartarus. The Septuagint translated Emek Refaim (II Sam. 5:18, 22) as "valley of the Titans" (elsewhere it is translated "valley of the Giants," I Chron. 11:15; 14:9; see also Jos., Ant., 7:71). In the apocryphal book of *Judith the phrase "sons of Titans" is used to represent forces of great power (16:7). *Philo in interpreting Genesis 10:8–9, makes reference to the Titans (*Quaestiones et Solutiones in Genesin* 2:82) and *Josephus alludes to them in *Contra Apionem* 2:240, 247. The Jewish author of the *Sibylline Oracles* describes the war between the Titans and the sons of Cronos, which ends with God's punishing the warring parties (3:106 ff.).

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[Howard Jacobson]

TITHE.

General

The rendering of tithes of property for sacral purposes was common all over the ancient Near East, though well-documented and first-hand evidence concerning tithes comes mainly from Mesopotamia (*ešrû/eširtu*; cf. Dandamaev, in bibl.). Although these Mesopotamian documents come from the neo-Babylonian period (sixth century B.C.E.), there is no doubt that the institution as such is much older. In the Syro-Palestine area the tithe (*mʿa šārtu*; cf. Heb. *maʿser*) is found in Ugarit in the 14th century B.C.E. (*Palais royal d'Ugarit*, 3 (1955), 147:9–11). The tithe was not assigned to temples only. As may be learned from I Samuel 8:15, 17 and from Ugarit (in the aforementioned example), the tithe could also be a royal tax which the king could exact and give to his officials. This ambiguity of the tithe, as a royal due on the one hand and as a sacred donation on the other, is to be explained by the fact that the temples to which the tithe was assigned were royal temples (cf. esp. Amos 7:13) and, as such, the property and treasures in them were put at the king's disposal. This can best be exemplified by the two instances of tithe mentioned in older sources of the Pentateuch (JE). In Genesis 14:20 Abraham gives a tithe (after his battle with the four kings of the north) to Melchizedek the king-priest of Shalem (= Jerusalem) and in Genesis 28:22 (cf. also Amos 4:4) Jacob vows to pay a tithe at Beth-El, the "royal chapel" of the Northern Kingdom (Amos 7:13). The mention of specifically these two "royal temples" in connection with the tithe is not a coincidence. It seems that these two traditions have an etiological slant. The institution of collecting tithes in the northern royal chapel Beth-El is linked to Jacob, the ancestor hero par excellence of the northern tribes, while the institution of the tithe in the royal sanctuary of Jerusalem is traced back to Abraham, whose traditions are mainly attached to the south. As is well known, the kings controlled the treasures of palace and temple alike (I Kings 15:18; II Kings 12:19; 18:15), which is understandable, since they were responsible for the maintenance of the sanctuary and its service not less than for the service of the court (cf. Ezek. 45:17, etc.). It stands to reason that the tithe, which originally was a religious tribute, came to be channeled to the court, and was therefore supervised by royal authorities. This is actually attested in II Chronicles 31:4 ff. where Hezekiah is said to organize the collection and the storage of the tribute including the tithe. Though the description of the event comes from a late and tendentious source, its authenticity is supported inasmuch as the Mesopotamian tithe was organized along similar lines (cf. also the organization of Neh. 10:38; 12:44, 47; 13:5, 12). The annual tithe of the Carthaginians, which was sent to the Temple of Melqart in Tyre (Diodorus 20:14), is to be understood in a like manner. The Temple of Melqart was the state treasury of Tyre, and so the tribute paid by the Carthaginians had a political character besides its sacred one.

A further analogy between the sacred tithe and the royal one may be found in the priestly ordination, according to which the tithes of grain and "flow from the vat" are allocated to the levites in return for the services that they perform in the Tabernacle (Num. 18:21). A similar procedure is attested in the Ugaritic grants where the king of Ugarit gives the tithe of a whole city to his official for his loyal service (*Palais royal d'Ugarit*, 3 (1955), 16:153, 244; cf. 16:132, etc.), and, like the tithe given to the levites, it consists of grain and beverage. The same phenomenon is encountered in I Samuel 8:15 where the king is said to give away the tithe (grain and wine) taken from the people to his servants. The levites were actually the faithful officials of David whom he put in charge of the sacred treasures (I Chron. 26:20 ff.; cf. B. Mazar, in: VTS, 7 (1960), 197 ff.) and the law in Numbers 18 might reflect a Davidic grant (see JAOS, 90 (1970), 202) of a tithe to the levites. Grants to temple personnel are also known from Mesopotamia, and, as in the case of the levites, the property given passes on to their sons.

The property that was subject to tithe in Israel was grain, new wine, and new oil (Deut. 14:23, etc.), as well as cattle and sheep (Lev. 27:32). However, in a general context the tithe appears to embrace all kinds of property. Abraham gives Melchizedek a tenth of everything, which seems to refer to the booty of the war, and Jacob vows that "he will set a tithe from all that God will give him" (Gen. 28:22). In Mesopotamia, there is evidence of tithes from agricultural produce, cattle and sheep, slaves, donkeys, wool, cloth, wood, metal production, silver, gold, et al. It seems, therefore, that the specification in the Priestly and Deuteronomic codes refers only to the most common objects of tithing in Israel.

From the foregoing, it might seem that the tithe was an obligatory tribute, as is actually stated in Deuteronomy 14:22 and as conceived at the time of the Second Temple. However as Y. Kaufmann observed (see bibl.), the impression gained from the earlier sources (JE and P) is that the tithe is a kind of vow or voluntary gift. Thus Jacob's tithe in Genesis 28 is clearly linked to a vow, and by the same token Abraham gives the tithe to Melchizedek of his own free will (Gen. 14:19–20). Amos also mentions the tithe within the framework of voluntary offerings (4:4–5), while the law of tithe in Leviticus 27:32–33 occurs in a chapter dealing with sacred free gifts of various kinds (the firstlings there, verses 26–27, are an exception to the rule: these cannot be dedicated since they are holy by virtue of their birth as firstlings). The evidence of Numbers 18:21ff. is less conclusive. The general impression of the tithe here is one of an obligatory gift because it occurs side by side with first fruit and firstlings due to the priests (18:12ff.). It seems that the tithe, whose main purpose was the maintenance of the Temple and its personnel (see below), was provided by way of an obligatory tax as well as by voluntary donation. It is only Deuteronomy which stripped the tithe of its original purpose and turned it into an obligatory gift to the destitute and the poor (see below).

The Way of Processing and Spending the Tithe

Underlying all the sources in the ancient Near East dealing with the tithe is the notion of a tax indispensable for the maintenance of the temple and its personnel (except Deuteronomy to be discussed below). As may be learned from the Mesopotamian documents, the tithe was stored in the treasuries of the temple, and some of the temple representatives were put in charge of these stores. The cattle were marked with a temple mark, and the tithe of grain and dates could be converted into money when desirable. In the Babylonian documents, evidence is also to be found on the question of how the tithe was spent by the temple. Agricultural produce was mostly destined for consumption by the temple personnel but was also applied to the maintenance of various enterprises and institutions attached to the temple. Cattle and sheep were mainly used for sacrificial purposes. The tithe was collected by representatives of the temple authorities, who were also responsible for the transportation of the products to the temple. Every citizen was obliged to pay tithes and even the temple personnel and the collectors of the tithes themselves were not exempted from the due.

A similar picture is obtained when the biblical sources dealing with the tithe are examined in conjunction with the outside sources. Admittedly, as will be shown, one has to take into account the different attitudes to tithe in the various sources of the Pentateuch, and also the development of this institution at the period of the Second Temple. However, in general, the nature of the tithe and the way of processing and spending it is quite similar to that known from the outside sources, as presented in the previous paragraph. That the tithe was stored in the storehouse of the Temple may be learned from Malachi 3:10; Nehemiah 10:38–39; 12:44; 13:5, 12–13; and II Chronicles 31:4ff. The same sources provide information about the custodians of these stores and about the way in which the tithe was distributed among the Temple personnel (Neh. 13:13). Furthermore, the evidence in Nehemiah 10:38 about levites as tithe collectors in the provincial cities, which some have regarded as a gloss, is now corroborated by Mesopotamian data, according to which tithe collectors were recruited from the temple administration. Although this data is from later sources, this does not mean that the whole procedure was a late invention, especially in view of the fact that the same procedure is attested in outside sources. In fact this is the only realistic way in which the tithe can be conceived. The conversion of tithes of the produce of the land into money found in Mesopotamia is also mentioned in Leviticus 27:31 and Deuteronomy 14:24–25 (though with the difference that in Deuteronomy one is not bound to pay an additional fifth of the tithe for the redemption), and the fact that the tithe collectors themselves are bound to pay tithes is quite instructive for understanding the law about the tithes that the levites have to remove from their income (Num. 18:25ff.).

The Tithe According to the Various Pentateuchal Sources

There is no law about the tithe in the JE source (see *Pentateuch), but its view of the tithe is revealed in Genesis 14:20 and 28:20–22. As already indicated, the tithe in these passages is seen as tribute to the royal chapel.

In the Priestly literature, laws of tithe are found in two places: Leviticus 27:30–33 and Numbers 18:21–32. According to the former law, the tithe is given from "the seed of the ground," from "the fruit of the tree," and from "the cattle and the sheep." The tithe is "holy to the Lord," and if one wishes to redeem the tithe from the seed or from the fruit, he must add one fifth; the tithe from the herd or the flock cannot be redeemed. Here the tithe turns into the property of the Sanctuary, which also accounts for the fact that the tithe of the animals cannot be redeemed since these are considered as potential sacrifices. The tithe of the seed and fruit is mainly assigned to the priests and their household (cf. Lev. 22:11), and this actually explains the fifth one has to add if he wishes to redeem the tithe. According to Leviticus 22:14, if a layman consumes sacred food (unwittingly), he has to pay the value of the food plus one fifth. That gifts "to the Lord" are identical with gifts "to the priest" may be deduced clearly from those instances in which the phrase *le-YHWH* is supplemented with the word *la-Kohen* (Lev. 23:20; Num. 5:8), and from the verses in which it is explicitly said that donations brought to the Lord belong to the priests (Num. 18:12, 13, 14). Indeed the whole chapter of Leviticus 27 deals with dedications to the Temple treasury, which include the holy donations assigned to the priest (cf. verse 26).

According to the law in Numbers 18:21ff., the tithe of the grain and "the flow from the vat" (i.e., wine and oil) has to be given to the levite, who in turn has to set apart one-tenth of the tithe which they received "to the Lord," that is to the priests. It is thus apparent that in the Priestly literature two different views concerning the tithe are to be discerned. According to the stratum embodied in Leviticus 27 (an appendix to the Holiness Code which chronologically antedates the Priestly Code), the tithe is considered the property of the Sanctuary and the priesthood. According to the later stratum (Num. 18:21ff.), the tithe is given to the levites who were the non-officiating class of the Temple personnel. It is not known exactly what caused this change. According to M. Weinfeld, the tithe given to the levites is related to the levitical cities (see bibl.), which were given to the levites (Num. 35:1–8) out of the land apportioned to the Israelites. As is now known, the levitical cities as listed in Joshua 21 (cf. I Chron. 6:39–66) reflect the Davidic period. Some of the listed cities were not occupied before David, and, on the other hand, the geographic scope of the list could not be imagined in the post-Solomonic period (see W.F. Albright, in: *L. Ginzberg Jubilee Volume* (1945), 49–73 (Eng. sect.)). According to B. Mazar (in: VTS, 7 (1960), 193–205), these were the fortified cities where royal granaries and warehouses were kept under the supervision of the levites. Since the tithe in its original form was a tax associated with palace and Temple alike (see above), it stands to reason that these cities, which were counted as temple cities (cf. the high priest in the levitical cities of refuge, Num. 35:9ff. and see Mazar, *ibid.*), served as storages of the tithe. As already indicated, the practice of granting a city together with its tithe to the loyal official of the king is known from Ugarit, which might corroborate evidence concerning David's granting of cities with their tithes to the levites. These were his loyal functionaries and representatives, especially in the newly occupied areas and on the borders (I Chron. 23–26, esp. 26:20ff.; cf. Mazar, *ibid.*), and therefore were entrusted with supervising the collection of the tithe and guarding it. It seems that the tithe given to the levites was not only assigned to them for private consumption but was mainly destined for the upkeep of these royal temple cities. On the other hand, the tenth of the tithe which was given by the levites to the priesthood was needed for the maintenance of the central shrine in Jerusalem. (Before the Temple had been built, the "tent of David" served as the central sanctuary of Israel, II Sam. 6:17; I Kings 3:15; cf. Isa. 16:5; Amos 9:11.)

The Wellhausenian view that the priestly tithe is a reflection of post-Exilic reality (see Wellhausen, Proleg, 152ff.) does not hold for several reasons. (1) The general hypothesis about the post-Exilic background of the Priestly literature has been severely questioned (see *Pentateuch; cf. Kaufmann, Y., Religion). (2) The number of the levites in the Second Temple period was very small, and it is inconceivable that at this time the tithe would be assigned to this small minority, while the priests who exceeded the levites in large proportion received only a tenth of the levite tithe. (3) Even in the period of the Second Temple, the tithe was not given to the levites but to the priests (see below), and there was a general slackness in the fulfilling of the tithe duty in this period because of the justified feeling that the allocation of the tithe to the levites did not fit the new reality, i.e., the period of Restoration. (4) The evidence about the tithe from the ancient Near East, especially from Mesopotamia, completely refuted the arguments of Wellhausen, according to which the tithe was originally eaten by its owner and only during the Second Temple period appropriated by the priests and the Temple personnel. As the evidence cited above indicates, the appropriation of the tithe by the Temple and its personnel was a natural feature of this institution and not vice versa. (5) Wellhausen's contention that the tithe of the cattle and sheep is a late invention which was not in existence even at the time of Nehemiah (10:38–39, etc.) is very strange and actually contradicted by the evidence of the Bible (I Sam. 8:17 – although this refers to royal tithe) and by the Mesopotamian texts in which tithe of animals is referred to very often. (6) As will be shown below, the development of the tithe – like other sacred institutions in ancient Israel – reflects a trend toward secularization and not as Wellhausen argued toward sacralization (see *Pentateuch).

Tithe in the Deuteronomic Code

The law of Deuteronomy (14:22ff.) prescribes the setting aside of a tithe of grain, wine, and oil every year and its consumption at the chosen place (i.e., the central sanctuary). The tithe may be converted into money which is to be spent on the festive meal in the chosen place. Every third year, however, the tithe has to be left in the local settlement, for the benefit of the levite, who has no land of his own, and the stranger, the fatherless, and the widow (14:28–29). After giving away the tithe to these *personae miserabiles*, the owner has to proclaim a confession in which he declares that he has given it to the indigent and not desecrated it by using it for impure purposes (26:12–14).

This novelty of eating the tithe instead of giving it away to the Sanctuary and its ministrants (as was the case before) is to be explained against the background of the cultic reform which stands at the basis of the Deuteronomic law code and especially Deuteronomy 12–19. After the abolition of the provincial sanctuaries (in the levitical cities) and the provincial cultic officials there (levites), there was no more need for the tithe, which was destined for the maintenance of these institutions. However, in order to preserve this old sacred institution, the Israelite is commanded to observe the custom of setting aside a tithe from his yield and guarding its holiness by eating it only in the chosen place and not letting it be defiled. The preservation of another old feature of the tithe is also expressed by the allocating of the tithe every third year to the levite. This year is called "the year of the tithe" (26:12), which seems to preserve the old notion of the connection between the levite and the tithe. It must, however, be admitted that the levite appears here not as a sacred official but as a destitute person, that is, on the same level as the stranger, orphan, and widow.

A similar development in the Deuteronomic code may be recognized in connection with the law of the firstling (15:19–23). The JE law code (Ex. 13:2, 12, 15; 22:29; 34:19) prescribes the allocation of the firstling "to the Lord," that is to the Sanctuary, as a sacrifice (cf. Ex. 13:15), while the Priestly code commands that it be given to the priest who offers the blood and the fat on the altar but keeps the meat for himself (Num. 18:17–18). The Deuteronomic code prescribes the eating of the firstling by its owner at the chosen place (15:19–23), but he is also warned not to violate the holiness of the firstling before bringing it to the chosen place (15:19). A gradual severance of the institution from the sanctum may be discerned here, similar to the development of the tithe.

One must say that the Deuteronomic type of tithe is unique and unprecedented. Whereas the tithe is always a tax or gift for the maintenance of a temple or its personnel, here it is simply a philanthropic gift. The question, of course, is what the sources for the maintenance of the central sanctuary were if tithe did not continue to fulfill its normal function. One wonders whether the law of tithe in Deuteronomy was not formulated in a utopian manner (like a few other Deuteronomic laws, cf., e.g., 15:7–11). In fact, even the tithe according to the Priestly Code seems to contain utopian features. The law (Num. 18) might fit well – as shown above – the period of the United Monarchy, but there is no evidence concerning the levites and their cities after this period, and it is quite possible that the priestly law was not implemented at all after the disruption of the monarchy. One has to keep in mind the fact that the Israelite law codes, like the Mesopotamian ones, were formulated in an idealistic way and therefore cannot be judged against a realistic and pure historical background.

Tithe at the Period of the Second Temple

At the beginning of the Second Temple period the tithe was considered indispensable for the maintenance of the Sanctuary and its personnel. Thus Malachi urges the people to bring "the whole tithe into the storehouse" that there may be food in the house of God (3:10), apparently for the priests. Nehemiah stands on guard so that the people give their tithe to the levites and do not neglect it (Neh. 10:38; 12:44; 13:10–13). As has already been indicated, the method of organizing the tithe in this period was not different from what is known about the organization of the tithe in Mesopotamia. Representatives of the Temple were in charge of collecting the tithes from the fields (Neh. 10:38b), and the tithes were stored in the storehouses of the Temple (Mal. 3:10; Neh. 10:39–40; 12:44; 13:5, 12–13; cf. II Chron. 31:6ff.) under the supervision of priestly officials, who were in charge of their proper distribution (cf. Neh. 13:13). In contrast to the common view, there is no real contradiction between Nehemiah 10:38, which says that "the levites are collecting the tithe in all the cities," and Malachi 3:10; Nehemiah 12:44; 13:12, etc. which speak of the people bringing tithes to the storehouses. The latter statements mean that people made their contribution and not that the people brought the tithes with them in the literal sense of the word. According to the Mesopotamian practice, the temple authorities were responsible for the transportation of the tithe and there is no reason why the same practice should not have prevailed in Judah, especially when this is explicitly stated in Nehemiah 10:38. Moreover, this is supported by the rabbinic tradition, according to which the tithe was given to the levites (or rather to the priests, see below) on the threshing floor (Tosef., Pe'ah 4:3–6; Ket. 26a; TJ, Ket. 2:7, 26d; cf. Jos., Ant., 20:181, etc.). On the other hand, it is possible that the petty farmers brought their tithes with them to Jerusalem.

Though the purpose of the tithe and its method of organization in the discussed period seem quite clear, serious problems from the religious-halakhic standpoint complicated the issue. From Ezra's time the whole pentateuchal literature was considered a total unity (the Law of Moses) and the people had to comply with the Torah as a whole. The various attitudes toward the tithe as reflected in the different sources and especially in the Priestly code, on the one hand, and the Deuteronomic code on the other, had to be combined and the contradictions to be harmonized. Thus for instance the two types of tithes prevalent at this period: "the first tithe" (*maʿaser riʾshon*) and "the second tithe" (*maʿaser sheni*) are the outcome of the contradiction between Numbers 18:21ff. and Deuteronomy 14:22ff. According to the priestly ordination, the tithe is to be given to the levite, whereas according to the Deuteronomic code, it is to be consumed by the owner at the central sanctuary. The rabbis, taking it for granted that both laws are of Mosaic origin and therefore equally binding, interpreted them as two different tributes: one to be given to the levite, "the first tithe"; and the other to be brought to Jerusalem and consumed there, "the second tithe." Theoretically, this was an excellent solution. However, from the practical point of view the implementation of these laws was almost impossible. The excise of 20% of the yield was too high, while a more serious problem was the destination of the tithe. There were very few levites in the Second Temple period – in contrast to the situation at the monarchical period – and so the tithe was automatically shifted to the priests. Because this does not comply with the Law, all kinds of explanations had to be provided in order to do away with this legal anomaly. A common explanation was that Ezra punished the levites because they did not go up from Babylon to Jerusalem and therefore allocated the tithe to the priests (Yev. 86b). There were other harmonistic solutions, for example, that the priests are also levites since they are also descended from the tribe of Levi. But for obvious economic reasons, very few people observed the laws of tithe properly, and the common people were suspected for not putting aside the sacred portion from their yield, so that a conscientious observer of the Law could not partake of it without first tithing it himself. This situation caused a lot of problems whose legal aspects are dealt with extensively in a special tractate called *Demai*.

For post-biblical aspects, see **Terumot* and *Maʾaserot*.

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[Moshe Weinfeld]

TITHES, CHURCH, customary institution or article of canon law according to which one tenth of the income from buildings of every category was to be paid to the parish church. The theorists of canon law claim that the ecclesiastic tithe was derived from the tax instituted in the Bible (Lev. 23:30ff.; Deut. 14:22ff.). The real estate owned by Jews in Western Europe during the tenth and eleventh centuries, particularly the agricultural land and vineyards, was substantial. From the second half of the 11th century, there was a migration of Jews from the countryside to the towns and a consequent voluntary and progressive abandonment of agricultural occupations, Jews increasingly restricting themselves in this sphere to occupations of a ritual interest (particularly those connected with vineyards for the production of *kasher* wine). It was precisely at that time that the obligation to surrender the tithe on the produce of their lands to the local church was first imposed on the Jews. The Church Council of Gerona of 1067 (or 1068) restricted this obligation to the lands purchased from Christians. In 1078 another Council of Gerona extended the obligation of the ecclesiastic tithe to all the land in the possession of the Jews. The Fourth Lateran Council held in 1215 (canon 67) declared that this decision was applicable in all the lands of Christendom, with respect to estates formerly owned by Christians that were in the possession of Jews at the time. It appears to have been enforced with considerable severity in southern France. In Spain, however, the Jews were supported by Alfonso VIII, king of Castile, in their refusal to make the payment; in 1205, Pope Innocent III intervened in connection with this.

When the payment of the tithe was first imposed, the Jews adopted a subterfuge in the case of houses: they destroyed the old houses acquired from Christians and erected new ones. In 1219 Honorius III intervened in this matter, at least where the diocese of Toledo was concerned. In 1233 Gregory IX once more enforced the prescription laid down by the Council of Gerona of 1078; even with respect to Jewish land in formerly Muslim regions, where there was no reason to assume that it had been purchased from Christians, the tithe obligation was fully applied. In England, and in the Germanic countries, the tithe appears to have been exacted from the Jews with severity. In England the problem was solved from the second half of the 13th century by the general prohibition on the owning of land by Jews. When the Jews returned to France during the 14th century, they could no longer own any lands, while in the German countries, the prohibition was applied only from the first half of the 14th century. The problem could have arisen again in France from the time the Revolution granted the Jews the rights of citizenship, which included the right of owning land, had not the Revolution already abolished ecclesiastic tithes, by a law of April 4, 1789.

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During World War II he served in the Office of Strategic Services (OSS). In 1954 he was a Fulbright professor at the Australian National University. After retiring from teaching he was named professor emeritus at the University of Michigan.

His principal academic interests were the ethnology of the Hopi Indians, the social organization of the Japanese in Japan and Peru, and the ethnology of the Araucanian Indians of Chile. He conducted research in East Asian anthropology and participated in founding the Japanese Study Center at the University of Michigan. Titiev was so highly respected by the Hopi Indians that he was adopted into the tribes of the Third Mesa and the Sun Clan.

Among his written works are *Old Oraibi* (1944); *Araucanian Culture in Transition* (1951); *The Science of Man* (1954, 1963^2); and *Introduction to Cultural Anthropology* (1959).

The Mischa Titiev Library, established in 1976 at the College of Literature, Science, and the Arts (LSA), regents of the University of Michigan, contains a wide collection of material for anthropological research.

[Ephraim Fischoff / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

TITLES.

In the Talmud

The many titles appearing in talmudic literature may be roughly classed into two (sometimes overlapping) categories: titles of respect and titles of office. Almost all these titles make their first appearance not earlier than in the middle or late part of the first century C.E. Thus all "pre-tannaitic" personalities, with the exception of Simeon the Just, bore no titles, unless the term *ish* (lit. "man [of]") in *Avot* 1:4 designates some high office rather than merely meaning "native of." Other titles of the Temple period refer mainly to the priestly hierarchy, e.g., *Kohen gadol, segan ha-kohanim*, among others.

TITLES OF RESPECT. The most important in this category is a group of three related terms: *rabban*, *rabbi*, and *rav*.

According to the Tosefta (Eduy. end) "he who has disciples, and his disciples have disciples, is called *rabbi*. If his disciples are forgotten (but his statements are handed down) he is called *rabban*. If both are forgotten he is quoted by his name." No such use of *rabban*, however, occurs in rabbinic literature, and Allon suggests that this *baraita* refers to the manner in which a disciple referred to the teachings of his teacher which he had heard or which had been transmitted to him, but not to the titles accorded them by the people as a whole. In point of fact, the only sages upon whom the title *rabban* was conferred were heads of the central academy, or the Sanhedrin after Hillel, including Rabban Johanan b. Zakkai and Hillel's descendants, Gamaliel I, II, III, and Simeon b. Gamaliel III (cf. *Iggeret Sherira Ga'on*, ed. by B.M. Lewin (1921), 125 f.). It was then a title of supreme distinction granted to the head of the academy. The term *rabbi* was granted to all Palestinian scholars from the late first century onward who had received **semikhah* ("ordination"). Its use in Matthew 23:7, 8 is generally regarded as anachronistic. (Rabbi, without a proper name, refers to Judah ha-Nasi I.) The Ashkenazim vocalize the name as *rabbi* (רַבִּי), which may mean "my master." The Sephardim, however, vocalize it *ribbi* (רִבִּי) with no suggestion that it is the first person suffix of "master." Some of the talmudic sages, in fact, have the cognomen *be-ribbi* added to their name; cf. Yose b. Ḥalafta (Suk. 26a), Judah b. Ilai (Men. 34b), Eleazar ha-Kappar (Av. Zar. 43a), and Joshua b. Levi (Kid. 80). Rashi explains *be-ribbi* as "a scholar of outstanding acumen" (Suk. 26a) and Samuel b. Meir as "a leading scholar of his generation" (Pes. 100a). Ezekiel Landau (*Noda bi-Yhudah, mahadura tinyana*, OḤ no. 113) differentiates between *be-ribbi* as a title added to a name, which means a leading scholar, and *biribbi* unattached to a name, which refers to an individual. In Babylon, however, where scholars were not ordained, they were only called *rav* ("master"; see Arukh, s.v. **אביי**, but cf. Tosef., Eduy. ad. fin.).

The term *abba* ("father"), originally an address of esteem and affection, came to mean something less than *rabbi* (*Abba* Saul, Judah, etc.). The term *mar* (or *mari*, "my lord") seems to have had a similar semantic history, though when used in Babylon (*Mar* Samuel, Ukba, Zutra) probably meant more than just *rav*. Other appellations of respect are *he-ḥasid* ("the righteous"; cf. Suk. 52b), and the more technical *ḥakham, talmid ḥakham* ("scholar") and others.

TITLES OF OFFICE. The biblical *nasi* ("prince") was used in tannaitic times to designate the president of the Palestinian community. In Babylon, the exilarch was called *resh galuta* (lit. "head of the Diaspora"). The head of the Sanhedrin was entitled *av bet din*, and members of the court *zekenim* ("elders"). There were also the following Palestinian titles: *rosh keneset* ("head of a synagogue"?); **parnas* ("communal administrator"); and *gabbai ẓedakah* ("public collector and distributor of charity"). A *ḥazzan* was a synagogue sexton (Suk. 51b), a school superintendent (Shab. 1:3) or, in collegiate debates, a chairman (TJ, Ber. 4:1, 7d). In Babylon, the president of the students assembled to study in Adar and Elul was called *resh kallah*, and was second only to the *resh sidra*; an assistant teacher was called *resh dukhan* (BB 21a), a college janitor *maftir keneset*, and the town guard *ḥazzan mata*.

Finally, "a member of the order for the observance of levitical purity in daily intercourse" was known as a **ḥaver*. However, in amoraic times, both in Palestine (TJ, Ta'an. 1:6, 64c: "fellow of the rabbis") and Babylon (Beẓ. 25a), it could simply mean a fellow student. Often honorific epithets were assigned to outstanding personalities, but these are descriptive rather than titles proper.

[Daniel Sperber]

In the Middle Ages

Among Jews in the Middle Ages, titles stemmed from community leadership, from scholarship, or from a pious way of life. Titles would be transferred from one of those spheres to express admiration for an individual. Among titles designating both scholarship and office was the *archipherecites or *resh pirka*, head of the academy, mentioned in the sixth century. From the academies of Babylonia, as well as from participation in the leadership functions of the geonic period, come the titles **gaon, *av bet din* (ABaD), **alluf* or **resh kallah*, as well as the leadership titles *resh golah* ("*exilarch") in Babylonia, *nasi* in other lands, and **nagid* in Egypt, Kairouan, and Spain. The community leaders held a variety of titles in many languages. Some of the Hebrew ones are **parnas*, *kahal*, *rosh*, *ne'eman*, *manhig*, *tuv*, *ikkor*, **alluf*, and **gabbai*. The communal functionaries were *shoḥet u-vodek*, *moreh ẓedek*, **dayyan*, **shammash*, **ḥazzan*, **rav*, *rosh yeshivah*, and **maggid*. Since the 15th century, among Ashkenazi Jewry the titles *ḥaver*, *morenu*, and *rav* appear in connection with the Ashkenazi **semikhah*. The rabbi of the local community is defined as the *mara de-atra*. In the 15th century the title *manhig* ("leader") for rabbis appeared, only to disappear in the 16th, and for a short period *rosh golah* reappeared as an honorific title. Appellations denoting special attributes were *ha-navi*, *he-ḥasid*, *ha-sar ha-gadol*, *ha-go'el ha-malakh*, *ha-kadosh* ("martyr"). For Sephardi Jewry **ḥakham* and *marbiẓ torah* are the main functional titles for scholars. Among the ḥasidic appellations are **admor (adonenu morenu ve-rabbenu)*, and *ba'al shem tov*. Among the Sephardi Jews **ḥakham bashi* was in use for the Turkish chief rabbi. In modern times the appellation *rav rashi* ("chief rabbi") appears.

[Isaac Levitats]

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TITLES OF NOBILITY. Titles of nobility in Europe were originally bound up with land tenure, and if only for this reason Jews were automatically excluded from holding them in the Middle Ages. A Jew, Ḥayyim (Cham), is referred to in a fifth-century epitaph found in Venice as *clarissimus*, which implies that he had the rank of knight (*eques*), but in the circumstances this may have been no more than a formal courtesy (Frey, 103, p. 593). A number of Jews in 12th- and 13th-century England were designated *miles*, which in the opinion of Joseph Jacobs implied "soldier," but in fact was the common agnomen of the Hebrew "Meir," e.g., Meles of Marseilles (Samuel b. Judah b. Meshullam). There were also various scholars and others called Sir Leon (i.e., Sir Judah, referring to Judah called a lion by his father: Gen. 49:9). This was probably no more than a conventional title attached to the name Judah in accordance with the biblical designation of Judah's supremacy (Gen. 49:10; Deut. 33:7), e.g., Judah Sir Leon of *Paris, Judah Sir Leon le Blund of London (12th century), and *Judah b. Jehiel ("Messer Leon"). Sir Morel, presumably a slurring – possibly jocular – mispronunciation of the biblical Samuel, was also popular, e.g., *Samuel b. Solomon of Falaise (Sir Morel). Sometimes lands which were held as knights' fees passed into Jewish hands, whether by mortgage or otherwise, but that Jews enjoyed or used the knightly title attached to them is out of the question. In Spain many Jews in the Middle Ages had a status not dissimilar to that of the court nobility, but it is certain that none had a title conferred on him. Noah-Manuel Norsa (of the *Norzi family of Ferrara, Italy) was referred to in an official document in 1409 as *nobilem virum*, implying a patent of nobility.

The earliest Jew to be formally ennobled was apparently Joseph (Ippolito) da *Fano (late 16th century) who according to Immanuel Aboab was created – presumably by the Holy Roman Emperor – marquis of Villimpenta (in Mantua), but the circumstances are obscure. About 1622 the financier Jacob *Bassevi of Prague was ennobled by Emperor Ferdinand II, receiving the title Von Treuenburg, in recognition of his financial assistance at the time of the Thirty Years' War. *Marranos, who at this time escaped from Spain and Portugal and professed Judaism abroad, sometimes already enjoyed nobiliary titles: Mordecai da Modena had been created Knight of the Golden Fleece by Charles V. Others were or fancied themselves to be closely connected with Spanish and Portuguese noble families, so that personal titles of nobility came naturally to them. More than one member of the Spanish and Portuguese community in Holland was raised, somewhat paradoxically, to the nobility for his services, while a Jew, to the Spanish crown, among them Manuel (Isaac Nuñez) *Belmonte, who was created Count Palatine by Leopold III in 1693 and passed on the title to his heirs, pillars of the synagogue; and Antonio (Isaac) Lopes *Suasso, who was made baron of Avernas de Gras by Charles II of Spain. Francisco da Silva Solis, son of the Portuguese Marrano financier Duarte da Silva Solis, was created marquis de Montfort in 1682 in return for his military services; his son, the second marquis, returned to Judaism under the name Isaac (Fernando) da Silva *Solis, naturally preserving the ancestral title. King William III of England, following Dutch precedent, knighted the financier Solomon de *Medina in 1711, but this precedent was not followed in England for over a century. In France titles were attached to some estates: hence when Liefmann *Calmer purchased certain lands from the duc de Chaulnes in 1774, he automatically became viscomte d'Amiens and baron de Picquigny. By a similar process there emerged in the period of Enlightenment the barons *d'Aguilar, von *Arnstein, *Eskeles, etc., and the baron Albert Treves in Italy. Turkey, however, had long before conferred not merely the title but the substance of nobiliary status on professing Jews, when Joseph *Nasi was created duke of Naxos in 1566, to be followed not long after by the Marrano Solomon *Abenaes, who as a Christian had been a knight of Santiago but after reverting to Judaism was created duke of Mytilene by the sultan.

Although the 13th-century kings of Hungary had given titles of nobility along with estates to their Jewish chamberlains (e.g., Woelfel of Komárom), there were comparatively few Jewish nobles in the Austro-Hungarian Empire up to the end of the 18th century; outstanding among them were the barons Dirsztay, Kohner, *Hatvany, and Weiss, and the Austrian barons *Koenigswarter, *Hofmannsthal, and *Morpurgo. In Germany as well (especially Prussia) most Jews were granted titles only after baptism, as were Cohn-Oppenheimer, Von Weinberg, Von *Simson, Fritz Victor von Friedlaender-Fuld, Von Heine-Geldern, and Von Mendelssohn, though notable exceptions were Gerson *Bleichroeder, Maximilian Goldschmidt Rothschild, and Jacob von Hirsch. The ennobling of Jewish families was greeted contemptuously by the German antisemites, who recorded the process in the Semi-Gotha, a handbook of the "nobility" who were Jews or of Jewish blood, closely imitating the annual Gotha Almanac which chronicled Europe's aristocracy.

The 19th century witnessed two tendencies: on the one hand the acquisition of nobiliary titles by some wealthy Jews from impoverished governments, and on the other hand the elevation of Jewish notables to the nobility in recognition of public services.

In England, Sir Moses *Montefiore was knighted by Queen Victoria in 1837, when he was sheriff of London; Isaac Lyon *Goldsmid, the first Anglo-Jewish baronet (1841), was made baron de Palmeira in 1846 by the Portuguese government. An interesting case is that of the Jamaican Jew Issac de Lousada (d. 1857), descended from the 17th-century Spanish New Christian duke de Lousada, chamberlain to Charles III, who succeeded in getting this title revived in 1848. This is the highest title of nobility ever granted to a Jew in the West. The first Russian Jew to be ennobled was Baron Horace *Guenzburg in 1871, while his father, Joseph Yozel *Guenzburg, was likewise created a baron three years later; shortly afterward Alexander III made the title hereditary. The Rothschild family, ennobled in Austria early in the 19th century, bore in most countries the formal but not very meaningful hereditary title of baron. Nathaniel Mayer de Rothschild was created the first Anglo-Jewish peer in 1885 as Lord (Baron) Rothschild. Thereafter the elevation of English Jews to the peerage for social or political services was not uncommon; Rufus Isaacs, after being made baron in 1914 and viscount in 1916, was created marquis of *Reading in 1926. Similarly, Herbert *Samuel's political career was crowned by his being created Viscount Samuel in 1937. Lords Swaythling, *Melchett, Wadsworth (see Sydney James *Stern), *Silkin, M.S. *Bearsted, *Jessel, *Mancroft, and H.L. *Nathan also exemplify this process. On the other hand, it is noteworthy that many of the Jewish peerages in the English creations are now extinct through lack of male issue, while in some cases the present holders of the titles are no longer Jews. After the institution of life peerage began in England, in order to strengthen the House of Lords, a number of Jews had their distinction recognized in this fashion.

[Cecil Roth]

TITUS, ARCH OF.

(1) A triumphal arch commemorating *Titus' victory over the Jews and his conquest of Jerusalem, erected in 80 C.E. during his reign as emperor, apparently at the eastern end of the Circus Maximus in Rome. This arch, no longer extant, is known from its inscription, which was copied in the Middle Ages. Dedicated by the senate and the Roman people in honor of Titus, the inscription enumerates his virtues and refers to the submission of the Jews and the destruction of Jerusalem as a feat unparalleled among the achievements of former kings and commanders.

(2) At a later stage, during the reign of Titus' brother Domitian, another triumphal arch was either erected or completed to commemorate this victory. This arch, which is extant, was set up at the western end of the Via Sacra. While it may have been started before the time of Domitian, it was definitely completed after Titus' death, since the inscription refers to him as divine (*Divo Tito*). Regarded as an architectural masterpiece, it influenced the architecture of the following period. It has a dedicatory inscription and various bas-reliefs, the best known being the one on the inner wall of the arch which shows the Temple vessels carried in a triumphal procession as spoils. These consist of the table of shewbread, the trumpets, the censers, and the seven-branched candlestick, which is especially conspicuous, being carried aloft by the victors. The design of the candlestick has raised many problems and much has been written on it, the authenticity of the base in particular being called in question, as it consists of two hexagons, the one superimposed on the other, on whose sides dragons are depicted. Some regard this design as authentic, others as the fruit of the artist's imagination (see *Menorah). On the inner wall, opposite the bas-relief of the Temple vessels, Titus is portrayed as the victor riding in a chariot drawn by four horses and being garlanded by the goddess of victory. The arch of Titus, symbolizing and glorifying the victory of Rome, has been for the Jews the symbol of their defeat and tragedy consequent on the failure of the war against Rome and the destruction of Jerusalem and the Temple. During the Middle Ages no Jew was allowed to, or would, pass under the Arch, paying instead a fee to be allowed to go through a neighboring house.

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[Uriel Rappaport]

°TITUS, FLAVIUS VESPASIANUS, emperor of Rome, 79–81 C.E., destroyer of the Second *Temple in 70. Titus was the son of *Vespasian and accompanied him to Judea when he was appointed by *Nero to suppress the uprising there (66). Arriving in Judea with legions from Alexandria, Titus took an active part in the conquest of Galilee, under the command of Vespasian. He captured Jotapata (where he spared the life of *Josephus, who had been in command) and other cities, including Tarichea and Gamala, leaving Giscala (גּוּשׁ חָלָב) the only Galilean city still to be subdued. Seeking the surrender of the city without resort to battle, he succumbed to a ruse of its commander *John of Giscala, who asked for surrender negotiations to be delayed until after the Sabbath and used the opportunity to escape to Jerusalem together with those of his followers who survived the pursuit of Titus. When Vespasian became emperor in 69, he entrusted Titus with the suppression of the revolt. Titus was in Egypt at the time, and left by sea for Caesarea, where he organized his forces.

At Jerusalem

Titus had at his disposal four legions, supplemented by auxiliary forces, including the army of *Agrippa II. *Tiberius Alexander acted as the Roman commander's chief adviser and assistant. Moving on Jerusalem, he encamped on Mount Scopus shortly before Passover, 70, and after surveying the scene decided to make his way to the city's walls through the less densely populated new city. He gave orders for embankments to be built from which to attack the (outer) wall, for which purpose most of the trees in the vicinity were uprooted.

The Roman soldiers were constantly harassed by the Jews, who succeeded in undermining and destroying the embankments. The enraged Titus led a cavalry charge against the Jews, in which he personally killed 12 of his opponents (Jos., Wars, 5:287 ff.; Suetonius, Titus, 5). Titus then launched his attack on the second wall, from an area known as the "Assyrian Camp," the Romans being obliged to storm the wall for a second time, after it was recaptured from them by the Jews. Titus gave instructions that everything was to be destroyed. Realizing that the city could not be conquered by storm, Titus decided to vanquish its citizens by starvation, calling for the erection of a further wall to seal off all access to and from the Jews concentrated in the Temple area. At the same time the Romans again erected embankments, which necessitated the carrying of logs over great distances. Many Jews who sought to escape the rigors of the famine were caught and severely tortured by the Romans, who even disemboweled their victims in the hope of extricating gold which they believed the Jews to have swallowed (Jos., Wars, 5:548 ff.).

The daily sacrifices in the Temple, which had continued without interruption, finally ceased on the 17th day of Tammuz. At various stages during the battle for Jerusalem, Josephus was sent by Titus to appeal to the Jews to surrender. The Jews scornfully rejected his pleas, but in the end some members of the high priestly families were persuaded to surrender (Jos., Wars, 6:96 ff.). Titus harangued his own troops, offering prizes to the first of them to scale the wall surrounding the Temple court, which he set about battering as a prelude to his final assault on the rebels.

Destruction of the Temple

Various degrees of responsibility have been assigned to Titus for the events that followed his order (on the Ninth of Av) to set the Temple gates on fire. Josephus (*ibid.*) relates that (on the eve of the Ninth of Av) Titus called a council of war to determine the Temple's fate, and after hearing divided opinions, decided that it should be preserved. Josephus ascribes the actual setting alight of the Temple to the unauthorized act of a Roman soldier who flung a burning torch at the Temple, and states that Titus' subsequent efforts to persuade his soldiers to extinguish the flames were in vain, their desire for revenge allegedly overcoming their sense of discipline. *Sulpicius Severus, however, maintains that the destruction of the Temple was the premeditated act of Titus, based on his conviction that its fall would be accompanied by that of the rebellious people, whose fount of strength it was. His source is thought to be the lost writings of Tacitus, to which he lent a Christian interpretation. This version appears to approximate the truth rather than that of Josephus, which was probably written with the desire to clear Titus of blame.

The Temple's destruction signaled the end of organized Jewish resistance and Titus, after capturing also the upper city, ordered the destruction of the whole city and its walls. Only three towers were left as a reminder of past glory. Titus was hailed as emperor by his soldiers; he distributed awards and held a three-day victory celebration and other festivities, including gladiatorial contests, at which many of the Jews who had been taken prisoner were killed. He held similar festivities in the capital and other cities of Syria, from where he continued his journey through the Euphrates area to Alexandria and Rome. In Antioch he rejected a request to have the Jews banished from the city. Josephus ascribes this to his humanitarian feelings (Wars, 7:100ff.) but more probably, it was to avoid incurring the enmity of the Jews in various parts of the empire toward Rome. He took with him the two leaders of the revolt, John of Giscala and Simeon b. Giora, together with a large number of young and healthy prisoners, who were included in the victory procession given by Rome to conquerors, at which sacred vessels taken from the Temple were also displayed. An arch (depicting scenes from the procession) was erected to commemorate Titus' victory over the Jews, and is still to be seen in Rome (Arch of *Titus).

When he became emperor, Titus severed his relationship with *Berenice, sister of Agrippa II, whose lover he had been while in Judea. Tacitus and Suetonius testify to the general approval he met with during his short reign, remarking on the great generosity he displayed when a number of disasters struck Rome and other parts of the empire. He is described by Suetonius as the "delight of the human race," whose death caused much sorrow to the whole world. Jewish scholars, however, see him as a ruthless enemy of their people, to whom he displayed no feelings of mercy or generosity, and the cruel treatment he meted out to his prisoners is reflected even in the writings of Josephus. In talmudic tradition he is termed "the wicked descendant of the wicked Esau," and is denounced for insulting and blaspheming the God of Israel and for not hesitating to enter and desecrate even the Holy of Holies (cf. Jos., Wars, 6:260). His name is engraved in Jewish memory as the destroyer of the Temple.

[Lea Roth]

In the *Aggadah*

After the fall of the Temple, Titus entered the Holy of Holies, his drawn sword in his hand, slashed the *parokhet*, and spreading out a Scroll of the Law on the top of the altar, had intercourse with two harlots he had brought in. Titus attributed the bloodstains on his sword to his having slain the Almighty (Git. 56b). Some of the sources, however, point out that in reality it was either the blood of the daily sacrifices or of those of the Day of Atonement (Lev. R. 22:3). Titus began to revile and blaspheme God, boasting that he had vanquished "the king in his own palace." He next collected all the vessels of the Temple, placed them in a net, and sailed for Rome. After he embarked a violent gale blew, and Titus claimed that God possessed power only over water since He had smitten the generation of the flood and Pharaoh by water. Thereupon the Almighty caused the sea to cease from its raging. When Titus landed, a tiny gnat entered his nose and fed on his brain for seven years, growing in size until it caused his death. When he died, the physicians opened his skull and found a creature resembling a sparrow weighing two selas, or according to another account, a young dove two pounds in weight. Its beak was of brass and its claws of iron. Before his death, Titus commanded that his remains be burnt and scattered over the seven seas so that the God of the Jews would not find him and bring him to trial.

When *Onkelos, who according to the Talmud was the son of Titus' sister, desired to convert to Judaism, he raised Titus from the dead to seek his guidance. Titus informed him that Israel is the most reputable nation in the other world, but that their observances are burdensome. He advised his nephew to attack them so that he would become a leader in the temporal world, since adversaries of the Jews become masters. Titus informed him that his punishment was, ironically, in accordance with his own wish that his body be burned and his ashes scattered (so as to escape *punishment after death). Every day his ashes are collected, sentence is passed, and he is burnt and his ashes scattered again over the seven seas (Git. 56b–57a; Lev. R. 22:3; ARN2^{7}, 20f. et al.).

[Aaron Rothkoff]

In the Arts

From medieval times onward Titus has played a double role in literature, art, and music: as the lover of *Berenice and as the conqueror of Jerusalem. Literary exploitation of the first theme, based on *Josephus, Suetonius, and other ancient sources, mainly dates from the 17th century. Probably the earliest serious treatment of the Titus-Berenice romance was *Bérénice* (1648–51), a four-volume French novel by Jean Renault de Segrais which is said to have partly inspired the dramatic interpretations of Pierre Corneille and Jean *Racine. Racine's outstanding five-act tragedy, *Bérénice*, was performed eight days before Corneille's *Tite et Bérénice* in November 1670. The former's drama maintains that Titus finally gave up Berenice in deference to Roman public opinion, while the latter's (staged by Molière's troupe) makes Berenice voluntarily give Titus his freedom. The appearance of these two dramatic works gave rise to considerable interest and debate, not least on account of the topical theme of a monarch's conflict between love and duty. The contemporary literary discussions gave rise to an anonymous three-act prose comedy, *Tite et Titus, ou Critique sur les Bérénice* (Utrecht, 1673), and to Fatouville's parody, *Bérénice* (Paris, 1683). The works that followed include Thomas Otway's *Titus and Berenice*, a tragedy based on that of Racine, which was staged in London in 1677, and *La clemenza di Tito* (1734), an 18th-century text by Pietro Metastasio that was often copied or adapted by other writers. In the late 19th century, Heinrich Vollrat Schumacher wrote the German novel *Berenice* (1892^2), an abridged Hebrew version of which (*Be-a'arat ha-Milḥamah*, 1905) was published in Jerusalem. Hans Kyser's German tragedy, *Titus und die Juedin* (1911), was a significant modern treatment of the subject. Other works by 20th-century writers include John Masefield's play, *Berenice* (with *Esther*, 1922), which was based on Racine; *Birinikah* (1945), Eisig *Silberschlag's Hebrew translation of an unpublished German drama by Carl de Hass; and the U.S. novelist Leon Kolb's *Berenice, Princess of Judea* (1959) and *Mission to Claudius* (1963), the latter of which was illustrated by Jakob *Steinhardt.

The second theme, that of the destruction of Jerusalem, attracted many writers not only because of its theological implications for the Christian – who saw in the Jewish disaster the fulfillment of Jesus' prediction – but also by virtue of its sheer drama and pathos. The subject was mainly exploited by English and French poets during the Middle Ages. An early English (15th-century) poem on the theme, attributed to John Lydgate and Adam Davy, was *Titus and Vespasian; or, The Destruction of Jerusalem*. In France, *Le livre Titus et Vespasianus*, an epic *chanson de geste*, possibly dates from the 14th century. During the Puritan era, English writers anxious to circumvent religious objections to the staging of biblical plays often found it convenient to acknowledge their indebtedness to Josephus' *Jewish Wars* in preambles to works on the theme. William Heminge (or Hemings), son of an actor friend of Shakespeare, wrote a drama based on Josephus and *Josippon entitled *The Jewes Tragedy, or their Fatal and Final Overthrow by Vespasián and Titus his Son…* (1662). Two other 17th-century treatments were Joost van den Vondel's drama, *Hierusalem Verwoest* (1620), and an anonymous Mexican (Aztec) *Auto de la destrucción de Jerusalén* (published in 1907).

The Roman assault on Jerusalem inspired many notable works of the 19th and 20th centuries, several of which were written by Jews. Two English treatments were Lord *Byron's poem, "On the Day of the Destruction of Jerusalem by Titus" (in *Hebrew Melodies*, 1815), and *The Fall of Jerusalem* (1820), a dramatic poem by Henry Hart Milman, dean of St. Paul's. A work of the same period was Manoel Caetano Pimenta de Aguiar's Portuguese tragedy *Destruiçãao de Jerusalem* (Lisbon, 1817). Two treatments that followed were *Titus; oder, Die Zerstoerung Jerusalems* (1855), a four-act German verse drama by Julius Kossarski, and *Az utolsó próféta* ("The Last Prophet," 1869), a historical play by the Hungarian convert Lajos *Dóczy. The South African rabbi and author Judah Loeb *Landau's five-act Hebrew drama, *Aḥarit Yerushalayim* (1886), was written when the author was barely 20. Among 20th-century treatments were Sir Henry Rider Haggard's late novel, *Pearl Maiden; A Tale of the Fall of Jerusalem* (1903), and J.A. Herbert's poetic *Titus and Vespasian* (1905), which was based on the 15th-century *Bataile of Jerusalem*. Max Jacob's French poem, *Le siège de Jérusalem, drame céleste*, appeared in 1914. The destruction of Jerusalem also forms the background to Lion *Feuchtwanger's trilogy about Josephus.

In art Titus is chiefly celebrated in the famous Arch of *Titus in Rome. Reliefs adorning the arch depict the victories and glory of Titus, most notably his campaign in Judea. A later, more stylized depiction of the fall of Jerusalem and the capture of the Temple by Titus is contained in a panel of the *Franks Casket* (c. 700 C.E.; British Museum), a remarkable example of early English carving in whalebone. Josephus' description of the triumphal procession after Jerusalem's fall inspired *The Triumph of Caesar*, a painting by Andrea Mantegna (1431–1506; Hampton Court Palace, England).

The subject has provided less significant inspiration in music. Metastasio's libretto, *La clemenza di Tito*, was first set by Antonio Caldara (1734) and subsequently by other 18th-century composers, including Scarlatti, Hasse, and Gluck. Mozart's setting of a libretto by C. Mazzola after Metastasio (*La clemenza di Tito*, 1791; Koechel 621) in the year of his death was already an anachronism in its time. This composition for Leopold II's coronation as king of Bohemia was both Mozart's last opera and the last of its kind in European musical history to follow the baroque *opera seria* style.

See also *Josephus in the Arts.

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TIVOLI, SERAFINO DA (1826–1890), Italian painter, founder and leader of the *macchiaioli* school. He was a leader of the young Italians who, inspired by the political revolutions of 1848, wanted to change the character of Italian painting. They hoped to lead it in a new direction, away from outworn neoclassic formulas. Da Tivoli went to Florence at the age of 12 and soon decided that painting was his vocation. He adopted the *macchiaioli* method of painting: that is, he applied his paint in rapid dots or spots (*macchie*). He painted fresh, spontaneous landscapes, full of movement, but the critics and public were hostile to his technique. Da Tivoli fought in the wars of the Italian Risorgimento. From 1860 until his death he lived in Paris. There his art became increasingly realistic, and landscapes such as "The Seine at St. Denis" and

"The Old Fish-House at Bougival" were painted under the influence of Corot.

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TIVON (Heb. טִבְעוֹן), a locality in Galilee. Tivon is mentioned several times in talmudic literature in connection with various sages, some of whom lived there, including Abba Yose, R. Hanina son of Gamaliel, R. Judah of Tivim, R. Zadok the physician, and others, like R. Meir, who visited the local synagogue (Makhsh. 1:3; Tosef., Meg. 2:5; Tosef., Nid. 4:3; Meg. 24b). The people of Tivon were said to have suffered from a defect in their pronunciation which rendered them unsuitable for officiating as precentors. The site of Tivon has been identified with the ruins of Ṭabʿun 10 mi. (16 km.) east of Haifa. The lands of Tabʿun were acquired by the Jewish National Fund after long litigation, and a garden city, originally called Tivon but later *Kiryat Tivon, was established in the vicinity in 1936.

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[Michael Avi-Yonah]

TKATCH, MEIR ZIML (1894–1967), Yiddish poet. Born in Priborsk (Ukraine), Tkatch immigrated to New York in 1913. He began his literary career with Russian lyrics in 1914, later changing to Yiddish, in which language he published poems and fables in dozens of Yiddish periodicals, and nine volumes of poetry between 1927 and 1960. In 1963 he published his selected poetry in the two-volume *Mayn Hob un Gob* ("My Belongings and Bounty," 1962–63); additionally, *Elterfrukht fun Yugntsvit* ("Old Age's Fruit from Youth's Bloom," 1971) and *Eygns un Fremds* ("One's Own and Another's," 1977). Tkatch's fables, among the finest in Yiddish, are cast in the form of dialogues and miniature dramas. Each teaches a lesson by means of a vivid picture of animal life and affords bitter insight into the psychic realms that are the substratum of human behavior. Tkatch's mastery of difficult verse forms is also evident in his sonnet sequences, triolets, and translations of Yessenin and Robert Frost.

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[Sol Liptzin / Jerold C. Frakes (2nd ed.)]

TKHINES (Yid., from Hebrew *teḥinnot*, "supplications"), private devotions and paraliturgical prayers in Yiddish, written by women and men, recited primarily by women. As texts in the vernacular, *tkhines* are important sources for the history of popular Judaism in the 17th, 18th, and 19th centuries, and are particularly useful in studying the history of women's religion. Most Jewish men attained basic literacy in Hebrew, and a significant minority went on to full mastery of the classic literary tradition. However, only a small number of women learned more than the rudiments of Hebrew, and those Central and East European Jewish women who could read were usually literate only in the vernacular Yiddish. Jewish liturgy and other devotional and scholarly works were written by men and were almost always in Hebrew or Aramaic, making them inaccessible to most women.

In books of *tkhines*, each individual prayer begins with a heading directing when and sometimes how it should be recited: "A pretty *tkhine* to say on the Sabbath with great devotion"; "A confession to say with devotion, not too quickly; it is good for the soul"; "A *tkhine* that the woman should pray for herself and her husband and children"; "When she comes out of the ritual bath"; "What one says on the Eve of Yom Kippur in the cemetery." Scholars are divided as to whether these prayers were meant as a women's substitute for the Hebrew liturgy, or as voluntary, supplementary prayers, recited when women wished. Although some *tkhines* were intended to be recited in the synagogue ("When the shofar is blown on Rosh ha-Shanah, say this"), and a few were for male worshipers ("A lovely prayer for good livelihood to be said every day by a businessman"), the majority were associated with women's domestic lives: prayers to be recited privately daily and on Sabbaths, festivals, fasts, and New Moons, for the three so-called "women's commandments" (**ḥallah, *niddah, hadlakat ha-nerot* [candle lighting]); for pregnancy and childbirth, for visiting the cemetery; for private griefs such as childlessness and widowhood; for recovery from illness; for sustenance and livelihood; for confession of sins. *Tkhines* framed women's domestic lives and roles as sacred, and also connected them with grander themes from Jewish thought, especially the hope for the messianic redemption and the end of exile.

Background

During the 16th and 17th centuries, new rituals and new genres of religious literature emerged, whose audience was a sort of intellectual "middle class." This parallels the emergence of similar literature in Christian Europe, enabled in part by the rise of printing. Works of *musar*, collections of *hanhagot*, *tikkunim*, and other new liturgies and rituals, often in abridged and simplified form, were published both in Hebrew, for an audience of men with a basic education in classical Jewish texts, and in Yiddish, the vernacular, for women and non-scholarly men. Many of these new publications (including Hebrew **teḥinnot*, supplemental prayers for men) developed out of and popularized a mystical pietism originating among the kabbalists of Safed, Palestine, in the 16th century; others originated among secret Shabbetians. *Tkhines* were an important form of women's participation in this pietistic revival and its popular literature. By contrast, however, *tkhines* published in the 18th and 19th century show little evidence of influence from Ḥasidism.

History of the Genre

Although there are manuscript *tkhines*, this is primarily a print genre. The two main groups of *tkhines* comprise those that were printed in Western Europe in the 17th and 18th centuries, which, although published anonymously, were probably written or compiled by men for women; and those that appeared in Eastern Europe in the 17th, 18th, and early 19th centuries, often with named authors or compilers, some of whom were women. The geographical designation refers primarily to place of *printing,* rather than place of *composition,* which is more difficult to determine; it is also intended to suggest a rough periodization, with certain overlaps. The language of the *tkhines* (known from the 17th century on as "*tkhine-loshn*") is relatively fixed, rather like an increasingly archaic "prayer-book English," and displays few of the distinctive linguistic features of the developing East European varieties of Yiddish; thus, linguistic analysis is of little help in determining place of composition.

Other differences between Eastern and Western *tkhines* include the fact that West European *tkhines* were published in collections addressing many topics, either in small books or as appendices to Hebrew prayer books. The first major collection (containing 36 prayers), entitled simply "*Tkhines*," was published in Amsterdam in 1648; reprints (usually entitled *Seyder Tkhines*), expansions, and additional collections followed. In the mid-18th century, a comprehensive collection containing 123 prayers emerged, entitled *Seyder Tkhines u-Vakoshes* ("Order of Supplications and Petitions" (Fuerth 1762), although there may be one or two earlier editions) and was repeatedly reprinted, with alterations, over the next 150 years, first in Western and then in Eastern Europe. The West European texts depict the holiness to be found in the domestic and the mundane, in the activities of a wife and mother, but they also invoke the angels, the patriarchs and heroes of Jewish history, and the ancient Temple that stood in Jerusalem. The very earliest East European *tkhines* were published in Prague. *Eyn Gor Sheyne Tkhine* ("A Very Beautiful Tkhine," ca. 1600) is one of the first to claim female authorship: it is attributed to "a group of pious women." Two other Prague imprints, one from the turn of the 18th century, and the other from 1705, are attributed to women: Rachel bat Mordecai Sofer of Pinczow, and Beila bat Ber Horowitz. Like many other East European texts, all three of these Prague *tkhines* were short, and dealt with only a single subject each, such as a *tkhine* "to be recited with devotion every day." However, one notable work, *Seyder Tkhines* (Prague 1718), was written by a man, Matthias ben Meir, formerly rabbi of Sobota, Slovakia, explicitly for a female audience. "My dear women," he writes, "…I have made this *tkhine* for you in Yiddish, in order to honor God and … to honor all the pious women. For there are many women who would gladly awaken their hearts by saying many *tkhines*." This work contains 35 prayers, on a variety of topics. Many later editions, entitled *Preger Tkhine* ("Prague Tkhine"), were published without the name of the author.

Except for the Prague imprints, the East European *tkhines* were usually small pamphlets printed on bad paper with poor type, often with no imprint, making their bibliographic history difficult to trace. Books of *tkhines* originating in 18th-century Eastern Europe, especially in Galicia, Volhynia, and Podolia (now parts of Poland, Belarus, and Ukraine), tended to deal with a smaller number of subjects (such as the High Holidays and the penitential season), often by a single author, and were usually under 20 pages long. Because a significant number of these authors were women, these texts allow us to hear women's voices directly. Important examples include *Tkhine Imohes* ("*Tkhine* of the [Biblical] Matriarchs") for the Sabbath before the New Moon, by Leah *Horowitz (18th century), which argues for the power of women's prayer and quotes from rabbinic and kabbalistic sources; *Tkhine Imohes fun Rosh Khoydesh Elul* ("*Tkhine* of the Matriarchs for the New Moon of Elul" [and the entire penitential season]; Lviv, n.d.), by Serl daughter of Jacob ben Wolf Kranz (the famed Preacher of Dubno, 1741–1804), which calls on the four biblical matriarchs (Sarah, Rebecca, Rachel, and Leah) to come to the aid of the worshiper and plead her case before the heavenly court; and *Shloyshe Sheorim* ("The Three Gates"), attributed to the legendary Sarah *Bas Tovim (she probably lived in Podolia in the 18th century), which contains three sections: one for the three "women's commandments," one for the High Holidays, and one for the Sabbath before the New Moon. Some East European *tkhines* suggest that women should take part – in some fashion – in such traditionally male activities as synagogue prayer and Torah study.

By the mid-19th century, the genre had undergone significant change. Jews in Central and Western Europe had largely abandoned Yiddish; books comparable to *tkhines* were published first in Germanized Yiddish, then in German in Yiddish characters, and finally in German. However, these texts exhibited an entirely new sensibility, influenced by the rising ideal of the bourgeois family, with its stress on sentiment and emotional family ties, and its new definition of gender roles. Similarly, in Eastern Europe, the ideal of the bourgeois family came into play, but in a somewhat different fashion. *Maskilim* wrote *tkhines* to reach the "benighted" traditional women with their reform program. Unlike earlier *tkhine* authors, female or male, they scorned their audience and the genre. Often, because they thought they could sell more books, they attributed their works to female authors, either those who had actually written *tkhines* a century earlier, or to creations of their own imagination. (Because the maskilic practice of using female pseudonyms was well known, earlier scholars were skeptical of any attributions to female authorship. However, many 17th and 18th century women authors can be authenticated.) Alongside these newer maskilic *tkhines*, older texts and collections, both those originally published in Western Europe and those originally published in Eastern Europe, continued to be reprinted in Eastern Europe in numerous editions, often revised or garbled by the printers.

Significance

The *tkhines* reveal a whole world of women's religious lives, concerns, customs, and settings for prayer. The women (and men) who composed these prayers for women addressed the spiritual issues of their day, whether on the level of domestic piety or national redemption. The *tkhines* themselves are at home in the literature produced for the intellectual "middle class" of this period; they belong among the guides to the upright life, books of customs, condensations of guides to pious practices, and digests of mystical teachers that were read by householders and artisans. Indeed, the *tkhines* show just how much women were a part of this intellectual and spiritual world.

Recent Developments

As the use of Yiddish declined among emigrants from Eastern Europe in the late 19th and the 20th centuries, and the Yiddish-speaking heartland was destroyed by the Holocaust, the genre of *tkhines* nearly disappeared, except among Ḥasidim and other isolated traditional Yiddish-speaking populations. Since the 1980s, however, the *tkhines* have aroused new interest both in scholars and in members of the Jewish public in Europe and North America. Jewish women, in particular, have sought to find a "usable past" in which to root themselves. Orthodox women have turned to the historical *tkhines* as a direct expression of "traditional" Jewish women's spirituality. This has occurred despite the fact that, unlike their European ancestors, many young Orthodox women in America today are well educated in the Hebrew prayer book and classical sources in Hebrew, and may not know Yiddish at all. Liberal Jewish feminists have sought role models in the *tkhines* uncovered by scholars, and some have also written and published new *tkhines*, some of which have been incorporated into recent editions of Conservative and Reconstructionist prayer books.

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[Chava Weissler (2nd ed.)]

TLEMCEN (Lat. **Pomaria**), city in N.W. *Algeria; Judeo-Berber center. The *Berber tribes in the neighboring areas of Tlemcen professed Judaism. Judeo-Muslim saints were worshiped there for a long time. In the 10th and 11th centuries scholars of the community corresponded with the *geonim* of Mesopotamia. The city was destroyed by the *Almohads in 1146. Jews settled there again only in 1248, when it became the capital of the Zeiyanid kingdom. The Jews of Tlemcen lived outside the city in a suburb or village called *Agadir. Abraham Ben-Jalil, ambassador of Aragon, settled there with his family in 1291. In 1415 R. Saadiah ha-Cohen Sullal served as a rabbi in Tlemcen. In the middle of the century his son Nathan took the rabbinate. The community's rabbis in the 14th century were Abraham b. Ḥakun and Moses b. Zakar. When Ephraim b. Israel Al-Nakawa (Enquaua), a Spanish refugee who was the son of the author of *Menorah*, settled in Agadir, he obtained permission for Jews to settle in the city of Tlemcen, where he built a synagogue. Among its outstanding scholars were Judah Najjār, Marzuk b. Tāwa, Saadiah Najjār, the Ankawas, Zerahia Zalmati, and the Alashkars. The Arab traveler ʿAbd al-Bāsit remarks that he studied medicine with the famous teacher, Moses *Alashkar (1465). However, in 1467 this coexistence was disrupted by persecutions of the Jews by Muslim religious brotherhoods. At this time many Jews left for Castile. The appointment of R. Isaac bar Sheshet as a *dayyan* of Algerian Jewry was issued in Tlemcen. In the 15th century well-known rabbis lived there. Rabbi Joseph Sasportas (son of Abraham Sasportas) was born in the first decade of the 15th century in Tlemcen. He was the student of the *dayyan* R. Ephraim Enquaua. His son Judah and his grandson Moses studied in Tlemcen. Their teacher was R. Amram Najjari. The Jews had political influence in the court in Tlemcen during the 15th century. R. Joseph Sasportas was appointed *dayyan* by the king. The family of R. Abraham *Gavison settled in Tlemcen 50 years after the death of R. Ephraim Enquaua. In 1493, the Spanish rabbi Judah Khalass (Chalaz, *Khalaz), the author of *Mesi'aḥ Illemim,* settled in the city. In 1492 many Spanish refugees settled in Tlemcen, including the *Gavison, *Levy-Bacrat, and Khallas families. Some of them, including Stora, Ben-Mahiya, and Sasportas, assumed important diplomatic functions. The *nagid* Abraham ben Saadon helped the refugees, aiming to make Tlemcen a center of Torah study. R. Jacob Beirav and his son Joseph settled for a short time in Tlemcen after 1492. R. Jacob served there as a rabbi. Jacob Alegre was sent on a mission to Charles V (1531). In the treaties they negotiated a clause granting religious liberty to the Jews who wished to settle in Spanish territory. In the mid-15th century Rabbi Jacob ha-Kohen Ashkenazi from Ashkenaz settled in the city. He became a famous figure in the community, a kabbalist and teacher. His best-known student was R. *Jeshua ben Joseph ha-Levi, the author of *Halikhot Olam*. In the early 16th century Tlemcen suffered a series of disasters, from which it never completely recovered. In 1517 the Turks pillaged the city, destroyed Jewish property, and obliged the Jews to wear a piece of yellow material on their headgear. By 1520 there were no more than 500 "houses" (families) of Jews. In 1534 the Spanish army captured the town; massacres took place and 1,500 Jews were enslaved. Their coreligionists of *Fez and *Oran paid a ransom to set them free. In the second half of the 16th century the *dayyan* Solomon Khallas II was active in Tlemcen. Other scholars in that period were Solomon Enquaua, Maimon Khallas, and Judah Khallas III. At the beginning of the 17th century the *dayyan* Moses Shuraqi lived in Tlemcen. Although the Jewish community of Tlemcen was sacked by the Turks in 1670, it still produced such scholars as Nathan Djian and Isaac Moatti in the 1700s. When the French entered the city in 1830, they found 1,585 Jews and five synagogues, one of which they turned into a church in 1842. In the 18th century the community was organized and the local rabbis were David Djian, Jacob Benichou, Shalom Elashkar, Judah Djian, Nissim Elhaik, Messas Touati, and Joshua Allkabetz. The leader of the community was called *Sheikh -al-Yahud.* At the beginning of the 19th century, the chief rabbi of the community was Ḥayyim Kasbi, the author of *Ẓeror ha-Ḥayyim* (published in 1807). He immigrated to Oran. In the 19th century R. Abraham Enquaua founded a yeshiva, Eẓ Ḥayyim. In the second half of the century the rabbis Ḥayyim Blia'h, Nathan Assiag, and Masud Benishou lived there. The French authorities (from 1842) set up a consistoire in Tlemcen. In 1846 the Muslims slaughtered Jews in a pogrom. In 1851, 2,688 Jews lived in Tlemcen with eight synagogues and two schools. In the 19th century modernism spread in Jewish society. In 1866, 200 Jewish students studied in the French-Jewish school. The president of the consistoire was Simon Kanoui. There were local parents who sent their children to Christian schools. Jews from Tlemcen served in the French army. During the 1881 uprisings the Jews fought back their Christian adversaries. They were not attacked again until 1940, when legal discrimination was instituted. Their rights were restored later along with those of the rest of Algerian Jewry. In 1911 the Jews in Tlemcen numbered 5,000 and, in 1941/42, 4,907. The community was never larger than 6,000 persons, and its members were mostly workers and salaried employees. The *Alliance Israélite Universelle founded schools in the city, but at the end of the 19th century no yeshivah existed there. In 1902, the local rabbi, Abraham Meir, who came from France to Tlemcen in 1890, published a book there. He criticized the *minhagim* of the community and emphasized the backward character of the native Jews and the cultural difference between them and the European Jews in the city, in spite of the *Crémieux Decree giving Algerian Jews French citizenship. The local Jews in response to the book dismissed R. Meir and he returned to France. At the end of the 19th century the French rabbi Moïse Weil served in Tlemcen. He was the consistoire rabbi and after his departure R. Ḥayyim Blia'h (1832–1919) served as the local rabbi. Other rabbis of the period were Isaac Shuraky, Zemah Amselem, Aaron Alkobi, Saadiah Shuraki, and Judah Sultan. Another important rabbi was David Cohen Sekely. His disciples were the rabbis Ḥayyim Touati, Jacob Sharvit, Saadiah Sharvit, and Samuel Benichou. The traveler Jacob Goldman visited Tlemcen in 1890 and published a description of the community in the Jewish press in Europe. The Jews lived in a crowded quarter in single-story buildings. The wealthy Jews lived in other quarters in large houses. The Jewish cemetery on the outskirts of Tlemcen was the most important place of pilgrimage for Jews and non-Jews. Located there is the tomb of Rabbi Ephraim Enquaua. Sometimes more than 10,000 people from many parts of the world convened there on Lag ba-Omer. In 1903 there is a description of the community as a conservative entity. Rabbi Ḥayyim Serehen published a phonetic *siddur* there in 1931. In 1924–40 the chief rabbi of Tlemcen was Joseph Mashash. The Alliance Israélite Universelle school was closed down in 1934. The last local rabbis of Tlemcen were Jacob Sharvit and Isaac Rouch. After 1962 no Jews lived in Tlemcen. A yeshivah was active in Tlemcen in the 20th century. R. David Ibn Halifa (b. 1906) studied in this yeshivah in his youth.

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[David Corcos / Leah Bornstein-Makovetsky (2nd ed.)]

TLUMACH (Pol. **Tlumacz**; Yid. **Tlomats**), town in Ivano-Frankovsk (formerly Pol. Stanisławów) district, Ukraine; passed to Austria in 1772, and reverted to Poland between the two world wars. An organized community existed there from the 18th century. In 1765, there were 102 houses, of which 59 belonged to Jews; 372 Jews then lived in Tlumach and 148 in the surrounding area. The Jews in Tlumach were mainly occupied in small-scale commerce and crafts, the wealthier ones engaging in trade in timber and the production of alcoholic beverages. Ḥasidism gained adherents there during the 19th century. The Jewish population numbered 1,756 (43% of the total) in 1880; 2,097 (39%) in 1900; and 2,082 (36%) in 1910. The *Baron de Hirsch Fund established a school and a bank in the town. During World War I the Jews in Tlumach suffered from the invasion of the Russian armies, and in 1918 from the Ukrainian nationalists. There were 2,012 Jews living in Tlumach (35% of the total) in 1921. In the interwar period Zionism gained influence within the community.

[Shimon Leib Kirshenboim]

Holocaust and Contemporary Periods

On July 7, 1941, after the outbreak of the German-Soviet war, Tlumach was taken by the Hungarian allies of Germany. At the beginning of August 1941 Jewish refugees from Hungary were brought to the city. During the same period the Ukrainian population expelled the Jews from the city and robbed them of their property. They returned only after the intervention of the Hungarian army. In September 1941 Tlumach was handed over to direct German administration. The leaders of the Jewish intelligentsia were killed, including the chairman of the Judenrat, Eliasz Redner. In the winter of 1941–42 many Jews were seized and sent to work camps in the area. On April 3, 1942, 1,200 Jews were deported to Stanislav, where they were murdered. Subsequently a ghetto was established, in which 3,000 Jews, including those from the surrounding area, were concentrated. On May 18 another *Aktion* took place, in which about 180 Jews were killed on the spot and about 350 were deported to work camps in the area. The murder of individuals in the ghetto continued, and many there suffered from disease and hunger. At the end of November 1942 the ghetto was destroyed. A few escaped to the forests, but fell victims to Ukrainian nationalists.

The community in Tlumach was not reconstituted after the war.

[Aharon Weiss]

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TNUVA (Heb. תְּנוּבָה; "produce"), a cooperative association affiliated to the *Histadrut, which markets the agricultural produce of most of the Jewish villages in Israel. It operated at first as the agricultural marketing department of *Hamashbir, and became an independent organization in 1927. Any village, whatever its political color or organizational affiliation, can join Tnuva and market its produce through it. In 1968, 500 settlements marketed their produce through the cooperative. In addition, individual farmers, fishermen, and food-products industries, etc., availed themselves of Tnuva's services. It had departments for milk and milk products, poultry and poultry produce, vegetables, fruits, and other branches of agriculture, each department having a separate administration. Tnuva also operated through subcompanies and by having a share in industrial enterprises, commercial enterprises, and various services.

The governing body of the cooperative is a general assembly of its members that must convene at least once every two years. The general assembly elects a council, whose membership in 1969 was 105. The council chooses a governing board of 35 members and a secretariat of 17 members. The *Ḥevrat ha-Ovedim of the Histadrut is represented in Tnuva by Nir Shittufi, which is a member of the cooperative without responsibility for its debts and without the full rights of membership (profit sharing, etc.). Nir Shittufi participates in the general assembly, however, with the right to reject candidates for membership in Tnuva. It is also responsible for guarding the cooperative principles of Tnuva.

Tnuva markets approximately 70% of local agricultural produce. In 1968 the cooperative's turnover (not including subcompanies) reached $180,000,000). The company maintained a laboratory for the improvement of quality and for industrial processing of agricultural produce. In addition, much agricultural produce was processed through its dairy industry, fruit and vegetable canning industries, etc.

Tnuva's marketing policy attempted to ensure a suitable balance between supply and demand, in order to ensure that the producer receives a reasonable price, that there be a balance between prices in various parts of the country, and that marketing be speedy and complete while scrupulously supervising quality.

In the early 2000s Tnuva was the biggest marketing and trading company in Israel, with sales of $1.5 billion. Though still owned as a cooperative by the kibbutzim and moshavim it operated as a profit-oriented company under modern management, in four major divisions: milk and dairy; meat; fruit and vegetables; and eggs. It also had a number of subsidiaries, such as Sunfrost, Tiv Tirat Zvi, and Harduf Organic Foods.

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[Leon Aryeh Szeskin / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

Interior view: "Holy" of the El Ghriba synagogue, Djerba, Tunisia, 1981.
Photo: Jan Parik. By courtesy of Beth Hatefutsoth Photo Archive, Tel Aviv.

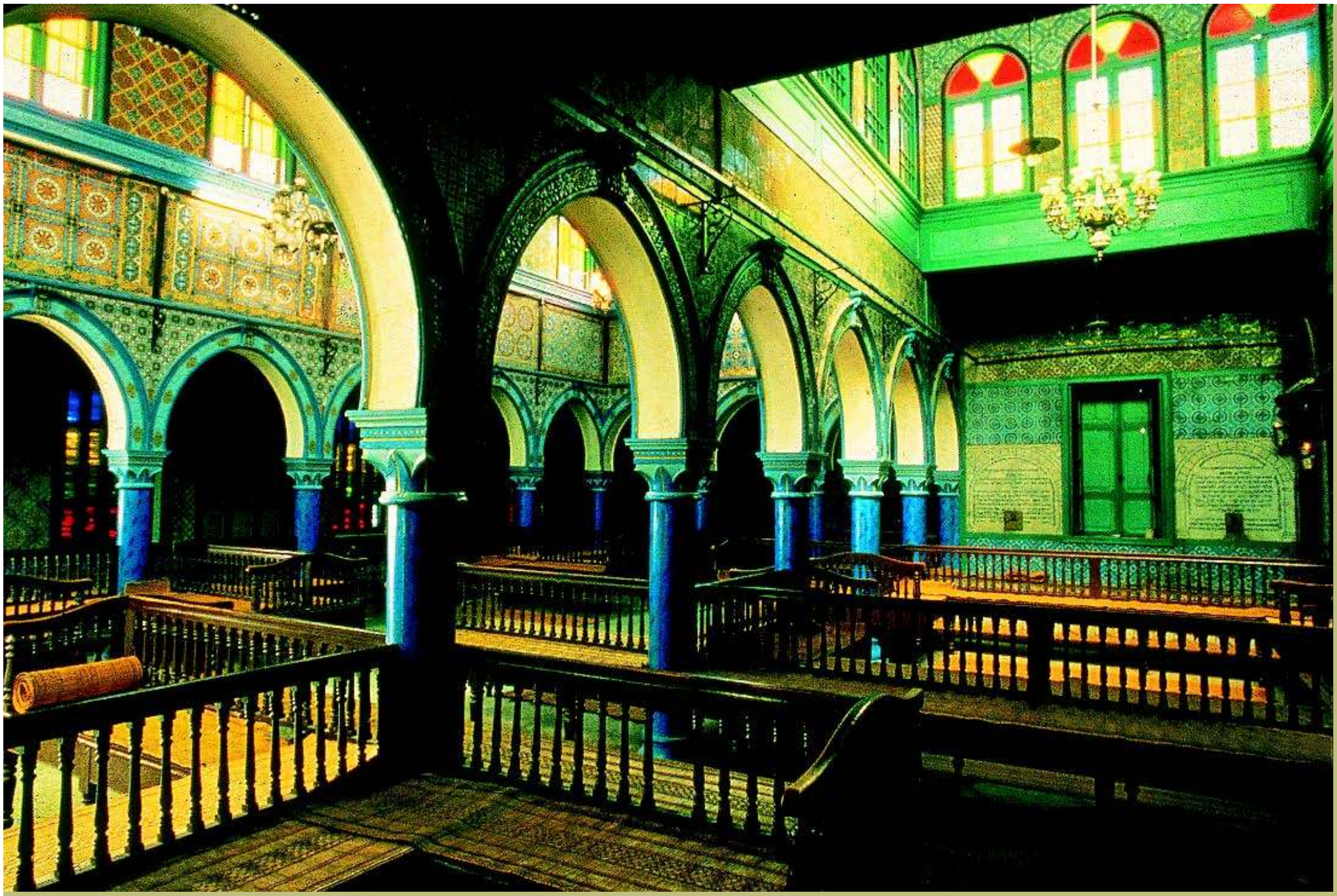

The synagogue, a gathering place for the Jews, became a substitute for the Temple of Jerusalem after its destruction (70 c.e.), and the idea of holiness extended to synagogues outside Israel as well. The institution of the synagogue played a central role in preserving the community and perpetuating the Jewish faith. Over the generations, exterior synagogue design varied depending on the location of the Diaspora, with the interior design falling into broad eastern and western styles. The internal appurtenances and decorations became a venue for Jewish artistic expression.

SYNAGOGUES

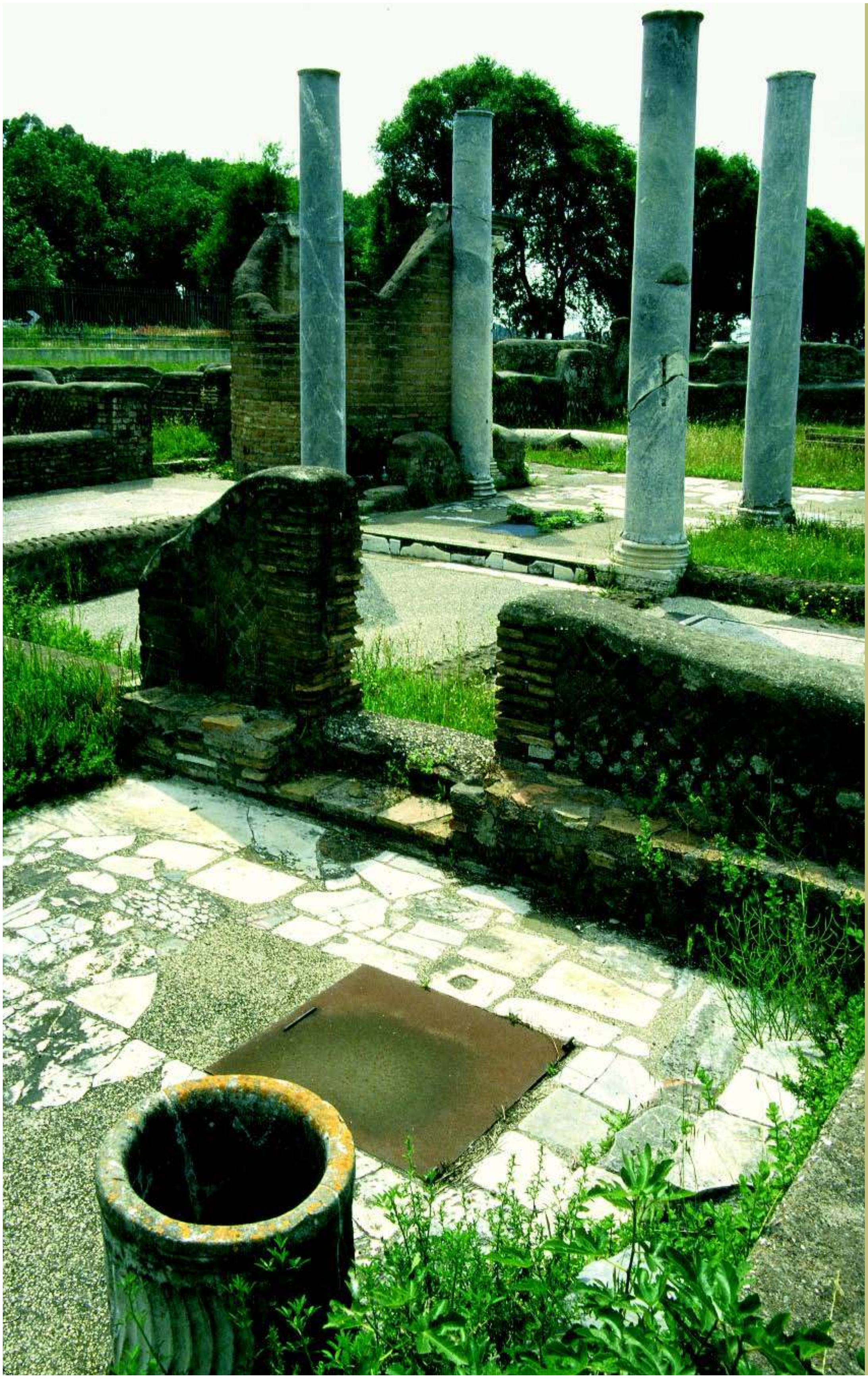

(opposite page) TOP: **Interior of synagogue in Veroia (Veria), Greece. Built originally in the 18th century, the synagogue underwent expansions and alterations as the community grew and dwindled. In this interior view to the northeast we see the Ark under a carved wooden canopy and along the north wall, three plastered rectangles that replaced the grills of the former *mehiza*, or women's gallery.** *Photo: Rivka and Ben-Zion Dorfman, Synagogue Art Research, Jerusalem.*

(opposite page) BOTTOM: **Third-century synagogue excavated at Capernaum.** *Photo: Z. Radovan, Jerusalem.*

(this page): **The ruins of the synagogue in Ostin, Italy.** *Photo: Z. Radovan, Jerusalem.*

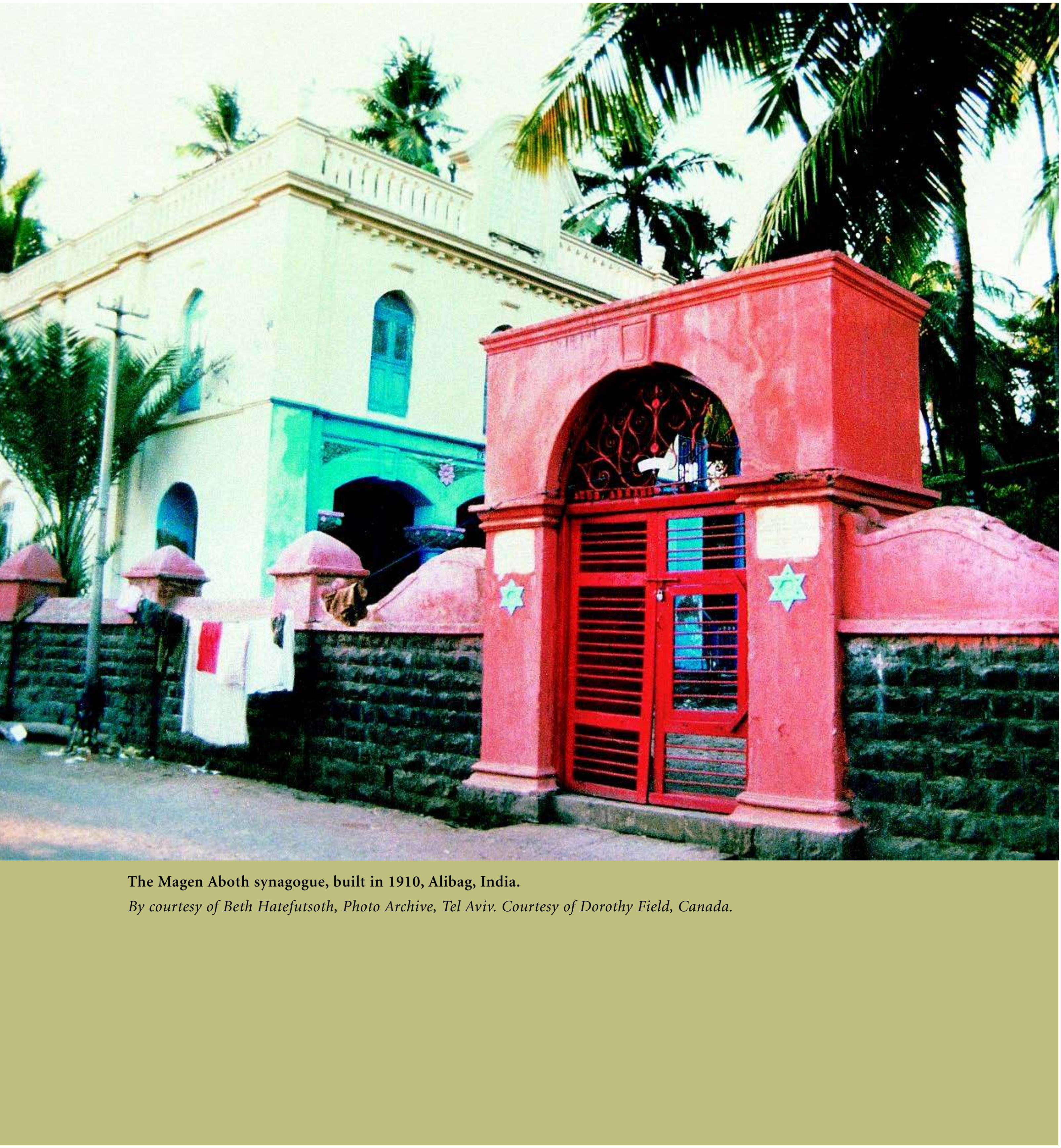

The Magen Aboth synagogue, built in 1910, Alibag, India.
By courtesy of Beth Hatefutsoth, Photo Archive, Tel Aviv. Courtesy of Dorothy Field, Canada.

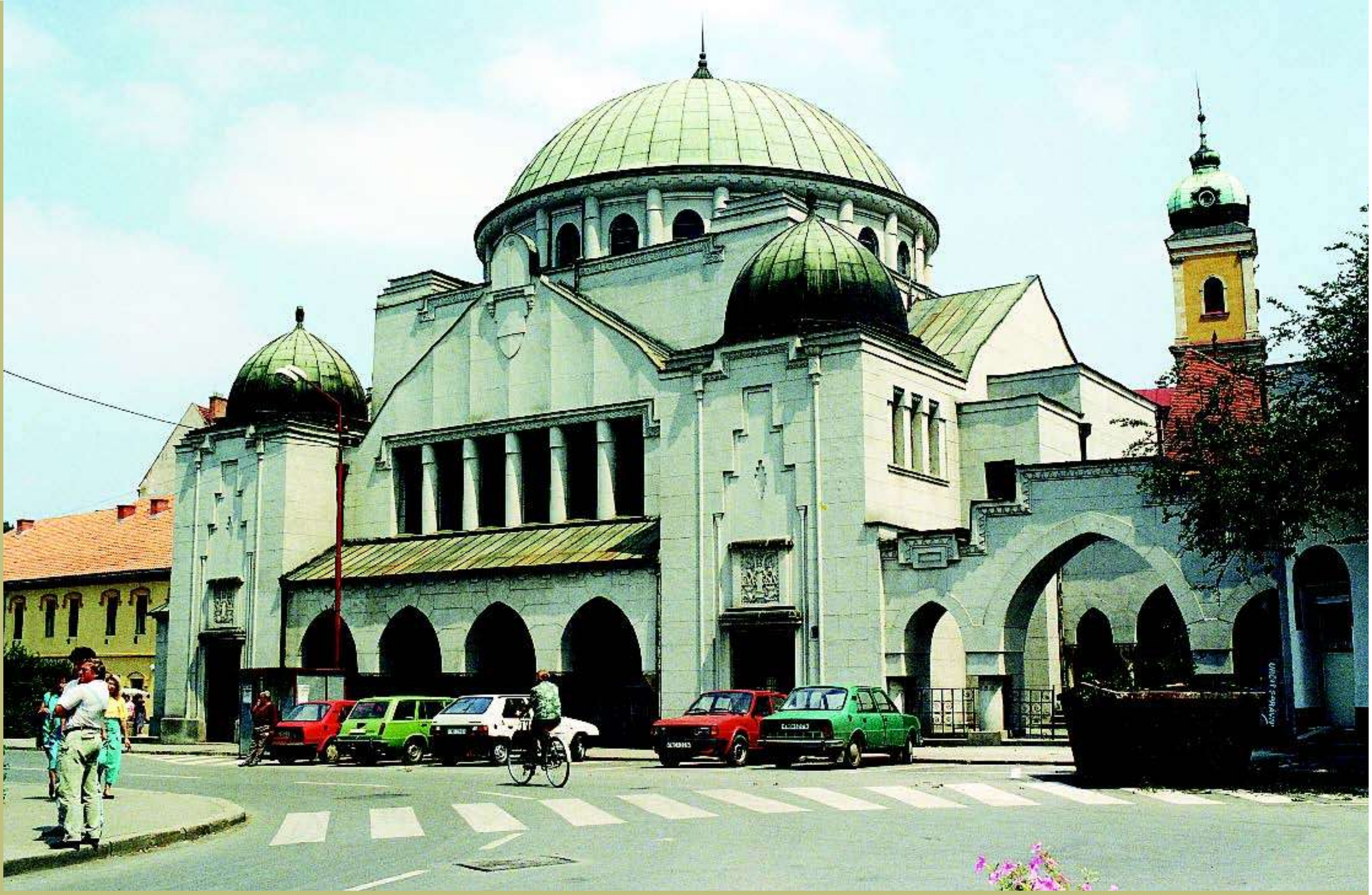

Synagogue (now an art gallery) in Trencin, Slovakia. This imposing edifice was completed in 1913 to replace a 125-year-old building and to serve the needs of some 1,500 Jews, about 16 percent of the town's population. With lavish dome and Oriental decorative motifs, the synagogue contains a spacious winter prayer-room on the southern side, shown here, where a small *kehillah* of fewer than two dozen members met weekly for Shabbat prayers in the 1990s. *Photo: Rivka and Ben-Zion Dorfman, Synagogue Art Research, Jerusalem.*

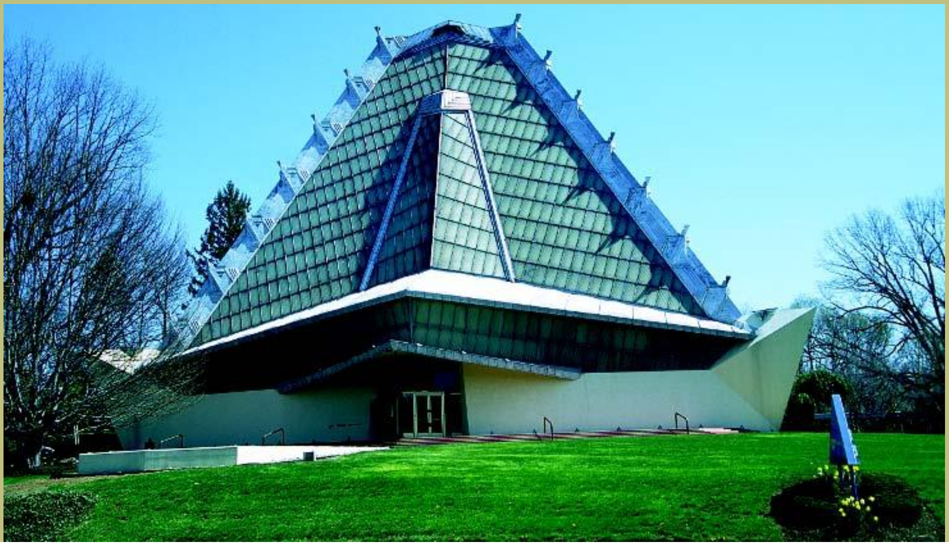

Beth Sholom, Elkins Park, Pennsylvania, United States, synagogue designed by Frank Lloyd Wright, 1954. *Photo: Jeffrey Howe, Fine Arts Department, Boston College, USA.*

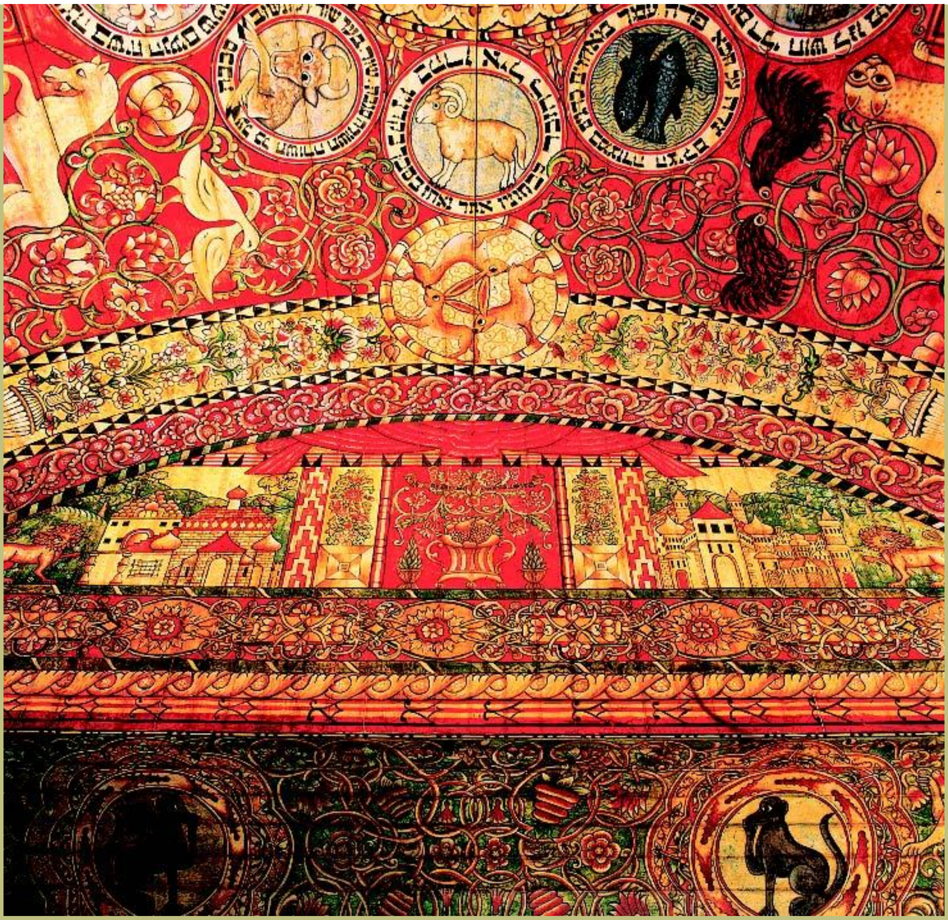

Part of the painted ceiling of the synagogue in Chodorow, near Lvov, Poland (now Ukraine). The paintings were by Israel Ben Mordechai Lisnicki of Jaryczow in 1714. The synagogue was destroyed during the Holocaust. Reconstruction in Beth Hatefutsoth. *By courtesy of Beth Hatefutsoth Photo Archive, Tel Aviv, Permanent Exhibition.*

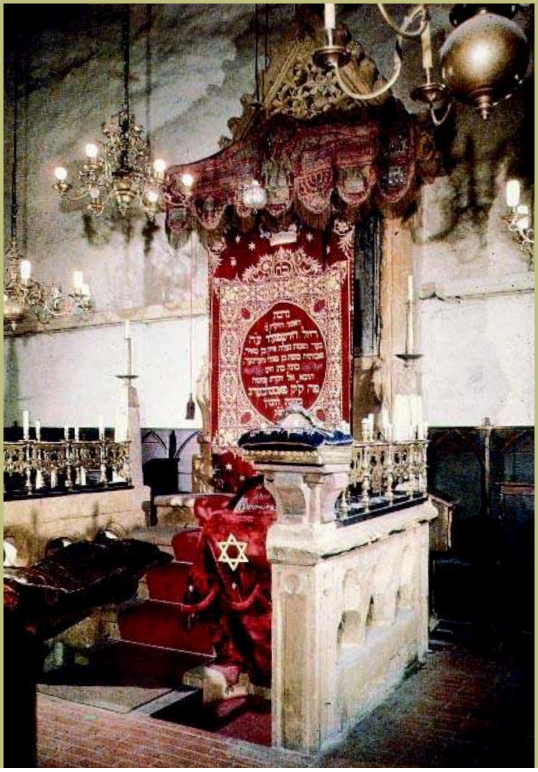

The 14th-century Ark of the Law in the Altneushul in Prague. The synagogue is one of the oldest in Europe, dating at least to the 12th century. *Photo: Z. Radovan, Jerusalem.*

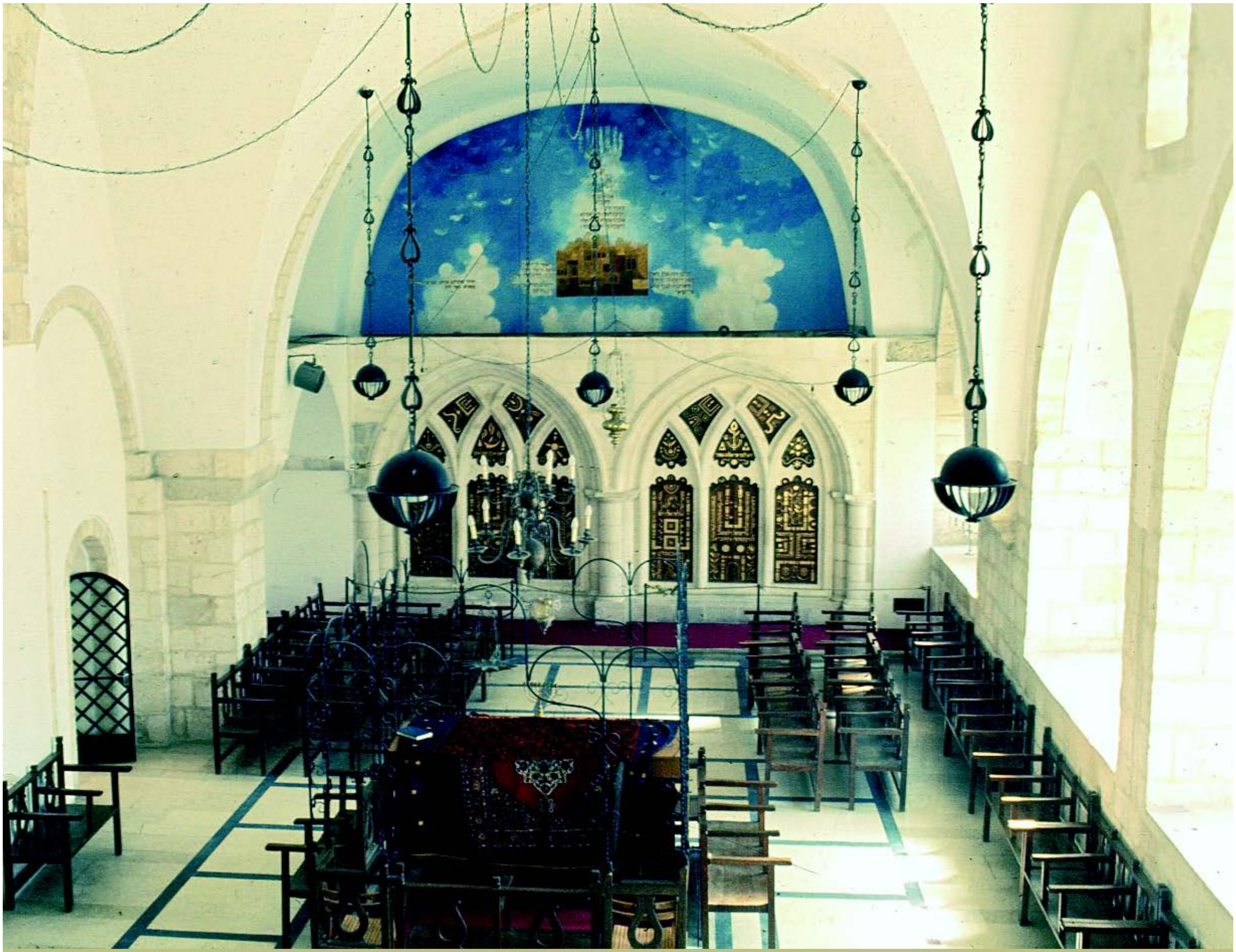

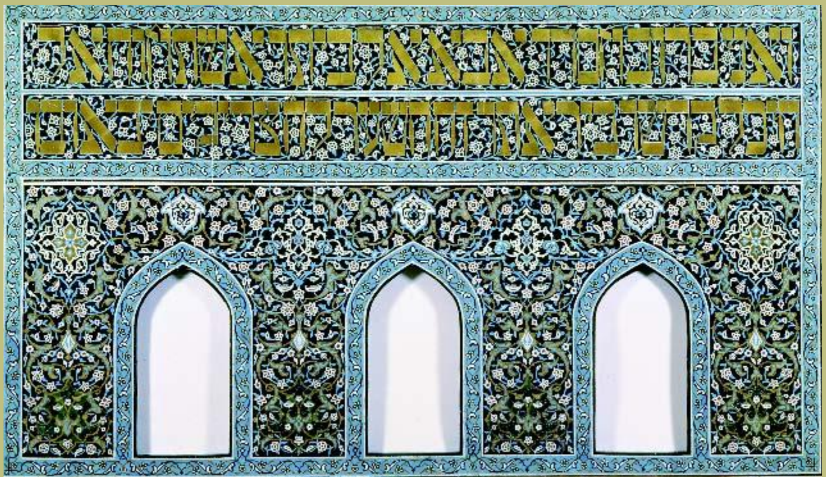

ABOVE: **Johanan ben Zakkai synagogue, built in the early 17th century by descendants of Jews expelled from Spain, Old City, Jerusalem.** *Photo: Z. Radovan, Jerusalem.*

LEFT: **Torah scroll niches in a faience-tiled wall from a synagogue in Isfahan, Iran, c. 1550.** *Photo: H. R. Lippmann, NY. The Jewish Museum, New York.*

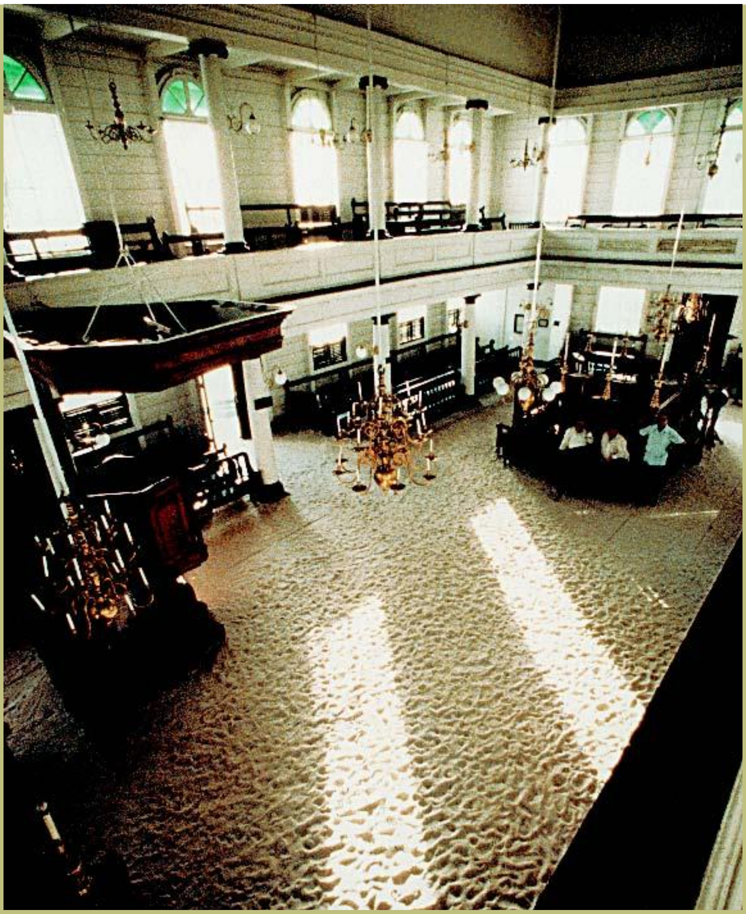

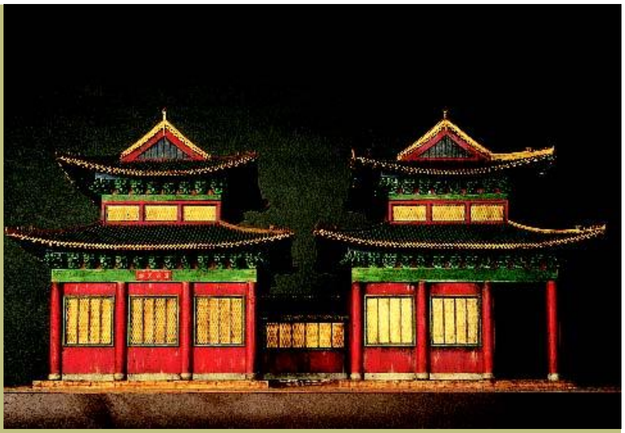

A model of the synagogue of Kai-Feng, China. The synagogue was first constructed in 1163 and rebuilt in 1653. In the 18th century, after the community had disintegrated through assimilation, the synagogue fell into decay. *By courtesy of Beth Hatefutsoth Photo Archive, Tel Aviv. Permanent Exhibition.*

ABOVE and BELOW: **Interior and exterior views of the "Zedek Veshalom" Synagogue, founded in 1716, Paramaribu, Surinam. According to beliefs, the floor of sand inside this synagogue remains as such until the community goes back to Jerusalem.** *Photo: Micha Bar-Am. By courtesy of Mordechai Arbell.*

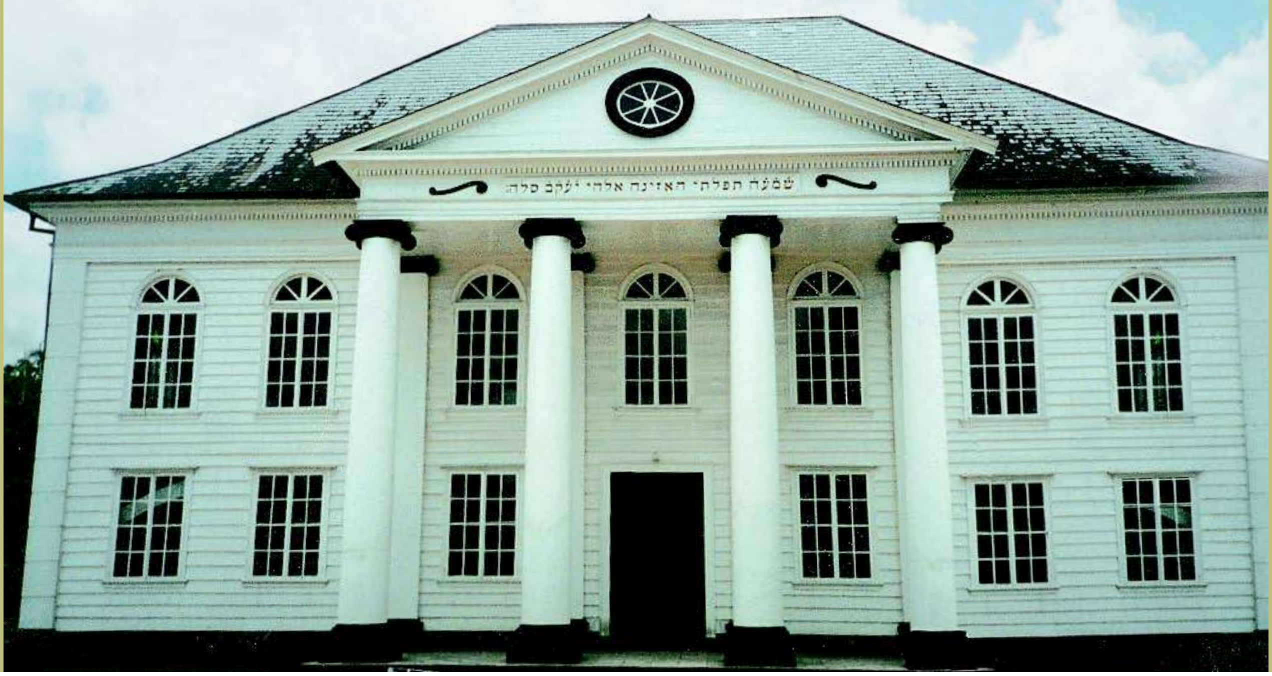

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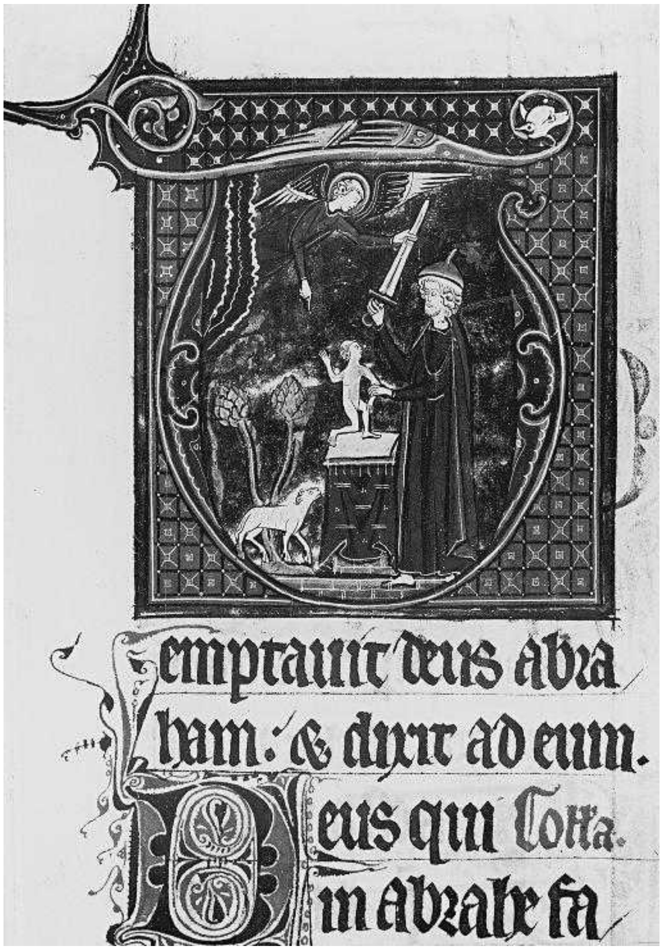

Initial letter "T" of the phrase Temptavit Deus Abraham *in a 14th-century Paris missal. The illumination shows the "sacrifice" of Isaac. Rheims, Bibliothèque Municipale, Ms. 2301, fol. 49v.*

To-Tz

TOAFF, Italian family of rabbis. ALFREDO SABATO TOAFF (1880–1963) was born in Leghorn and studied under R. Elijah *Benamozegh at the Leghorn Rabbinical College, where he was made professor, and in 1923 succeeded Samuel *Colombo as chief rabbi of Leghorn. A member of the Italian Rabbinical Council for many years (from 1931), he was several times its president. He headed the Leghorn Rabbinical College and was head of the *Collegio Rabbinico Italiano in Rome from its reopening in 1955 until his death, which occurred in his native city. He was the author of many works on, and translations into Italian of, biblical and post-biblical Hebrew literature, as well as of writings on the history and traditions of the Leghorn Jewish community (such as *Cenni storici sulla Comunità Ebraica e sulla Singagoga di Livorno*, 1955). Many of his writings show the influence of E. Benamozegh, whose *Scritti Scelti* (1955) he edited. A bibliography of the writings of Alfredo Toaff appears in: E. Toaff (ed.), *Annuario di Studi Ebraici* (1965), 215–6.

His son, ELIO TOAFF (1915–), was born in Leghorn and was the last rabbi ordained by its Rabbinical College, before its closure by the Fascist regime (reopened 1955). He was rabbi of Ancona (1941–46) and of Venice (1946–51) and was called to Rome to succeed David *Prato as chief rabbi of that community in 1951. A member of the Italian Rabbinical Council and head of the Collegio Rabbinico Italiano from 1963, he edited the *Annuario di Studi Ebraici* at the college. Elio was a member of the executive of the Conference of European Rabbis. On April 13, 1986, he welcomed Pope John Paul II on the first visit ever by a pope to a synagogue. He wrote articles and translated studies on Jewish, biblical, and historical topics from Hebrew into Italian.

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[Sergio DellaPergola]

TOB (Heb. טוֹב), biblical place name. When *Jephthah the Gileadite was expelled from his father's house, he went to the land of Tob (Judg. 11:13). "A man of Tob" (Heb. *ish Tov*) is mentioned alongside the Aramean armies which came to the aid of the Ammonites during their war with David (II Sam. 10:6, 8). The phrase "a man of Tob" apparently refers to the people of the land of Tob (cf. the usages "man of Israel," "man of God"), or to a Tobite ruler (cf. the terms for Canaanite rulers in the *El-Amarna tablets).

Documents from the second millennium B.C.E. mention a place called Ṭby or Ṭubu, along with cities in *Bashan. It has been suggested, therefore, by B. Mazar, that the land of Tob is to be located in the vicinity of the settlement of Taiyibeh, east of Edrei. It seems that the land of Tob was back country, and that it served as an asylum for outlaws.

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[Bustanay Oded]

TOBACCO TRADE AND INDUSTRIES. Throughout the first two centuries after the discovery of tobacco for Europe through Christopher Columbus, *Marranos took part in spreading its cultivation and in introducing it to Europe. Jews took up smoking (widespread from the 17th century) and snuff taking (widespread from the 18th), and entered the trade in tobacco, which, starting out as a luxury article, became a mass consumer commodity.

At Amsterdam, the first important tobacco importing and processing center in the 17th century, Isak ltaliaander was the largest importer, and 10 of the 30 leading tobacco importers were Jews. Ashkenazi and poor Sephardi Jews were employed in processing tobacco for snuff: the profession of 14 out of 24 bridegrooms in a list of 1649–53 was tobacco dressing. In this period Jews took an active part in the tobacco trade of the *Hamburg center. The first Jews to settle in *Mecklenburg in the late 17th century were tobacco traders from Hamburg who leased the ducal tobacco monopoly; outstanding was Michael Hinrichsen nicknamed "Tabakspinner." Sephardi Jews filled an important role in the "*appalto*" system of contracting for the monopoly on the tobacco trade (or other products). The monopoly concession system was also practiced in the Austrian provinces and the southern German states. In this, Sephardi Jews were often the contractors because of their previous experience. The business carried considerable risks, including fluctuating prices, varying quality, deterioration through adulteration, and the hazards of war.

Diego d'*Aguilar managed to hold the tobacco monopoly in Austria in 1734–48, using Christian nobles as men of straw. In the second half of the 18th century the tobacco monopoly of Bohemia and Moravia was in the hands of members of the *Dobruschka, *Popper, and *Hoenig families, whereby they rose to importance and amassed wealth. Jews succeeded in holding the tobacco monopoly in only a few principalities in Germany. In the 19th century Jews entered the open tobacco market. In 1933 Jews engaged in about 5% of the German tobacco trade and industry, primarily as cigar manufacturers.

In Eastern Europe snuff processing was widespread, and tobacco was a staple ware of the Jewish *peddler. When in the mid-19th century cigars and cigarettes entered the mass market Leopold *Kronenberg, the Jewish industrialist and financier, was one of the main entrepreneurs in Poland, owning 12 factories in 1867 and producing 25% of the total. Of 110 tobacco factories in the *Pale of Settlement in 1897, 83 were owned by Jews, and over 80% of the workers were Jewish. This participation continued into the 20th century, and the Jewish tobacco workers were active in the ranks of socialism. The huge Y. Shereshevsky tobacco factory in Grodno employed, before World War I, some 1,800 workers. The nationalization in Poland of the tobacco and liquor industries in 1923–24 was a severe blow to the many Jews who gained their livelihood from them. The leading tobacco factories in Riga, Latvia, were owned by two wealthy Karaites, Asimakis and Maikapar.

On the American continent Jews traded in tobacco as early as 1658. It frequently served as legal tender and was a stock retail article of the Jewish peddler. However, Jews played a considerable part only in the snuff trade, among them the firms of Asher and Solomon, and Gomez. Judah Morris, who wrote the first Hebrew book to be printed in North America, became a snuff trader. The last quarter of the 19th century brought an influx of impoverished Jewish immigrants from Eastern Europe who entered the cigar and cigarette industry, and, after the garment industry, it had the largest concentration of Jewish workers in the United States. The first professional cigar makers were generally Jews of Dutch or German origin, who employed the immigrants in their factories or in sweatshops. The Jewish firm of Keeney Brothers, makers of "Sweet Caporals," employed approximately 2,000 Jewish workers. The Durham factory almost exclusively employed Jews. Tobacco workers, organized by Samuel *Gompers, became the spearhead of the labor union movement in the United States in the 1870s and 1880s. Subsequently Jewish participation in the cigarette industry declined through the creation of large concerns, though many cigar firms remained under Jewish ownership. In New York and the major cities the tobacco retail trade occupied a high proportion of Jews. A survey by *Fortune* magazine (*Jews in America*; 1935) stated that "Jews have practically blanketed the tobacco buying business, where Jews and buyer are synonymous words, and they control three of the four leading cigar-manufacturing concerns, including Fred Hirschhorn's General Cigar, which makes every seventh cigar smoked in America." The *Culman family of Philip Morris, involved in American tobacco from the mid-19th century, was a giant of the industry. In Canada Jews played a leading role in introducing the tobacco industry; Mortimer B. Davis was known as the "tobacco king" of Canada.

In Great Britain cigar making was traditionally associated with Dutch Jews, who formed the main body of Jewish immigrants in the mid-19th century; cigar making was the most widespread occupation in London's East End in 1860. In 1850, 44% of the meerschaum pipe makers were Jewish, and 22% of the cigar manufacturers. East European Jewish immigrants introduced cigarette making into England. In 1880 Jacob Kamusch, an Austrian Jewish cigarette entrepreneur, brought

310 workers, mainly Jewish, to his Glasgow cigarette factory. Isidore Gluckstein founded his first tobacconist shop in 1872 and became the biggest retail tobacconist in England, up to 1904. Bernhard *Baron was a large-scale cigarette manufacturer in America and England.

Sephardi Jews played an active role in the tobacco trade from its beginnings in the Ottoman Empire. The *Recanati banking family began as *Salonika tobacco merchants. Thrace and Macedonia were major tobacco-growing areas; the *Alatino (Alatini) family became sole suppliers of the Italian tobacco monopoly.

[Henry Wasserman]

In Israel

Tobacco growing was first introduced in the country in 1923/24, in order to solve problems of unemployment. New immigrants from Bulgaria and Greece took an important part in the development of the industry. All kinds of tobacco products are manufactured in Israel. In 1969 the overall production included 3,700 tons of cigarettes, 15,000 kg. of cigars, 60,600 kg. of tumbak, 40,100 kg. of snuff, and 16,600 kg. of pipe tobacco. In the same year the consumption of tobacco products amounted to nearly IL 200,000,000 (about 2% of the total private consumption in Israel), including mainly locally produced products but also about $6,000,000 worth of imported products. There were 15 manufacturing plants in Israel, employing 875 workers and processing mostly locally grown tobacco of Oriental aroma. Tobacco was grown mainly in the non-Jewish sector in northern Israel. In 1950 tobacco-growing areas amounted to 9,000 dunams, and tobacco-product manufacture reached 600 tons. By 1969 tobacco was grown in 35,000 dunams and production increased to 2,200 tons. Since that time tobacco production has dropped radically, to 150 tons on 5,000 dunams by 1990, but cigarette imports have risen dramatically, by about 2,500% between 1970 and 2000 along with a 33% increase in tobacco leaf imports. Local cigarette production rose from 3,668 million cigarettes in 1970 to 4,933 million in 1995. The industry employed around 600 workers in the late 1990s.

[Zeev Barkai]

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TOBACH, ETHEL (1921–), U.S. leader in the field of comparative psychology and the use of psychological knowledge for the public good. Tobach was born in the Ukraine to Fanya (Schecterman) and Ralph Wiener. Two weeks after her birth her parents fled with her to Palestine to escape pogroms. When Tobach's father died nine months later, her mother immigrated with her to Philadelphia and became an activist in the garment workers' union. Tobach also worked at blue-collar occupations while attending Hunter College in New York City, from which she graduated Phi Beta Kappa in 1949. Shortly after World War II she married Charles Tobach, a fellow radical who belonged to her union. He encouraged her to pursue graduate work in psychology at New York University, where she received a Ph.D. in 1957.

Tobach spent her entire career at the American Museum of Natural History, rising to the rank of curator. Although she taught at a number of universities in the New York City area, for most of her professional life she was a full time researcher in animal behavior. Her research was voluminous and broad in scope. Her empirical articles focused on the link between stress and disease in rats; she also contributed extensively to the study of emotionality in rats and mice, and explored the biopsychology of development and the evolution of social behavior. Tobach was a consistent critic of genetic determinism; one of her most important contributions to psychology was the book series, "Genes and Gender," initiated in 1978 with Betty Rosoff. These books critically examined psychology's relatively unsophisticated view of the interactions between biological and social processes.

Tobach was vice president of the New York Academy of Sciences in 1972, president of the American Psychological Association Division of Comparative and Physiological Psychology in 1984–85, president of the Eastern Psychological Association in 1987–88, and president of the APA Division on Peace in 2003–4. In 1993 she received the Kurt Lewin award from the Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues and in 2003 she received an award for Life Time Service for Psychology in the Public Interest from the American Psychological Foundation.

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[Rhoda K. Unger (2nd ed.)]

TOBACK, JAMES (1944–), U.S. writer, screenwriter-director, and producer. Born in New York City, Toback was educated at Harvard University (A.B., 1966) and Columbia University (M.A., 1967). He served as an instructor in English at the City College of the City University of New York and wrote *JIM: The Author's Self-Centered Memoir on the Great Jim Brown* (1971). He was also the author of a sports column appearing in *Lifestyle*, a film critic for *Dissent*; and contributed articles to numerous magazines, including *Esquire, Sport,* the *Village Voice, Harper's,* and *Commentary*. Toback wrote the screenplays for *The Gambler* (1974) and *Bugsy* (1991) and was the writer and director for *Fingers* (1978), *Love and Money* (1982), *Exposed* (1983), *The Pick-Up Artist* (1987), *The Big Bang* (1989); *Two Girls and a Guy* (1997), *Black & White* (1999), *Love in Paris* (1999), *Harvard Man* (2001), and *When Will I Be Loved* (2004). Subsequently he wrote the screenplay for the French remake of his film *Fingers*, translated into English as *The Beat That My Heart Skipped* (2005).

[Amy Handelsman (2nd ed.)]

TOBENKIN, ELIAS (1882–1963), U.S. journalist and author. Born in Russia and taken to the U.S. as a boy, he served as Russian expert for the U.S. Committee on Public Information. He was correspondent for the *Herald Tribune* in Eastern Europe and Germany, and in 1926 spent five months in the U.S.S.R. and wrote an uncensored account of the Communist regime. His first novel *Witte Arrives* (1916) described the Americanization of an immigrant Jewish family. *God of Might* (1925) dealt with the problems of intermarriage. Among his other books were *Stalin's Ladder* (1933) and *The Peoples Want Peace* (1938).

TOBIADS, dynastic family of political importance from the time of Nehemiah to the end of the Hasmonean revolt. The name Tobiah remained in the family on the basis of pappyonomy, handed down from grandson to son, for many generations. There is good literary evidence for at least four prominent members of the family and archaeological evidence of their country seat in Transjordan for several hundred years in the Hellenistic period. The family may have had earlier ancestors, such as Tobijah, returnee from the Exile, mentioned by Zechariah (6:9 and 14); Tubyahu, "arm" and "servant" of the king, mentioned in the Lachish letters of 588 B.C.E.; and even the "son of Tabeel," a usurper planning to replace King Ahaz (Isa. 7:6), all as claimed by Mazar (1957).

The Tobiad estate was at Tyros (Ẓur, or "rock"), some 13 mi. (20 km). west of Rabbat-Ammon (Philadelphia) and was rediscovered by Willam Bankes in 1818 (Irby and Mangles 1823), thanks to a full account of it by Josephus. He described it as a *paradeisos*, a kind of Persian country estate, consisting of a marble fortress (*birta*) with animals carved on the walls, and surrounded by a moat; a long series of defensible caves; some enclosed halls and vast parks; and located between Arabia and Judea, not far from Heshbon (Ant. 12:222–34). His account is accurate, though not in all details. The site is known today as Airaq (or 'Iraq) al-Amir ("Cliff of the Prince"), based on the cliff of caves, and the name Tyros, or Ẓur, is still preserved in that of the adjacent valley, Wadi Sir. Two of the cave entrances carry a large Aramaic inscription, TOBYAH, to the right-hand side of their doorways. The chief building, of monumental size though plainly not a fortress, sported at each corner a frieze of lions (with two eagles above) and had two unique panther fountains (Lapp 1963). It is called the Qasr al-Abd ("Castle of the Slave") and was largely restored by a French team in the years 1976 to 1986 (Will and Larché, 1991). It was built by Hyrcanus, the last of the Tobiads, and largely completed, but much of its megalithic construction was toppled by later earthquakes (Amiran 1996).

The earliest Tobiad to be described in some detail is Tobyah, "the servant, the Ammonite" (Neh. 2:10). He was one of the chief opponents of Nehemiah, when he came to rebuild the walls of Jerusalem in 445 B.C.E. As Tobyah was allied to *Sanballat of Samaria and Geshem the Arabian (2:19), all major landowners, it is likely that their opposition was mainly due to the land reforms being forced through by Nehemiah (5:11). Tobyah was well connected to other Jewish aristocratic families by oath (6:17–18) and to the priesthood by marriage. He was given rooms in the offerings chamber of the Temple by the High Priest Eliashib, but Nehemiah had him expelled and insisted that the place be ritually cleansed thereafter (13:4–11). The title given him by Nehemiah, "the servant, the Ammonite," is generally taken to be a rank implying ministerial service to the Persians in Ammon, and some have claimed that he was governor of the Persian province of Ammon. But that post is not attested to and the title could also be pejorative, as implying that Tobyah's pedigree was not faultless, seeing that, on their return from the Exile, the Benei Tobyah clan had not been able to prove "they were of Israel" (7:61–62).

The second known prominent member of the family was Toubias, who was visited by Zenon, acting on behalf of Appolonius, chief minister to Ptolemy II Philadelphos of Egypt. The papyri records of his journey through Palestine and Transjordan are dated to 259 B.C.E. He visited Surabit (Ẓur bayit), the birta of Ammonitis, where he conducted trade with its chieftain Toubias. Zenon brought grain from Egypt and several contracts record that he received slave boys and girls and exotic animals in return. The animals, consisting of horses, dogs, donkeys, and asses, were sent as gifts to Appolonius and to Ptolemy directly (Tcherikover and Fuks 1957). The contracts were witnessed by Persian and Greek soldiers and indicate that Tyros was then a military camp as well as an animal breeding center under Toubias and well known to the Egyptians.

Josephus wrote extensively on the subject of Joseph, son of Tobias, and his son Hyrcanus (Ant. 12:154–236) in a section that is generally known as the Tobiad Saga, or the "Tales of the Tobiads" (Goldstein 1975). His account had been seen as mainly fictional, as it contains many fabulous deeds of the two Tobiads, but when the evidence of the Zenon Papyri (as above) came to light in 1918, and when Josephus's description of Tyros was seen to accord with the facts on the ground, it was necessary to take him seriously. He tells us that Joseph's mother was a sister of the High Priest Onias, and that as a young man he was elected as *prostastes* (chief magistrate) of the Jews in place of Onias, who had refused to pay tribute to Ptolemy, the Egyptian Pharaoh. Joseph went to Alexandria and obtained the office of tax farmer to Ptolemy for Coele-Syria (Palestine) and, with the help of Egyptian troops, extracted tax sums that pleased his master. He also enriched himself and, according to Josephus, enhanced the status of his Jewish brethren. He carried out this work for 22 years. In his old age he sent Hyrcanus, the youngest of his seven sons, to Alexandria to attend the birthday celebrations of the new Pharaoh's son. Hyrcanus took the opportunity to supplant his father as tax farmer by offering a huge sum of his father's funds to the new Pharaoh, thus outbidding all others, and excluding his older brothers, who had not been interested in making the journey. His father and brothers naturally took umbrage and on his return Hyrcanus had to flee Jerusalem to Tyros, where he set up the family estate, as previously described. He dwelt there in conflict with his Arab neighbors for seven years and eventually committed suicide when Antiochus IV Epiphanes came to the Seleucid throne in 175 B.C.E., and made an end of the Tyros estate.

This detailed account raises as many questions as it answers. Much of the inconsistencies are due to the continuing wars between the Ptolemies and the Seleucids, who eventually gained control of Palestine from the Ptolemies in 200 B.C.E. It appears that Joseph the tax farmer was pro-Ptolemy and managed to supplant his uncle Onias, who was unwilling to pay tribute to Ptolemy when he saw the Seleucids in the ascendant. Later his sons sided with the Seleucids, while the youngest, Hyrcanus, remained loyal to the Ptolemies. Hyrcanus had to retreat to Tyros in the face of the Seleucid victory and when the Seleucids started to expand their Empire under Antiochus IV, he thought his fate was sealed. But it may not have been so.

After the discovery of the Zenon Papyri in 1918, it was assumed that Joseph, the son of Tobias was the son of the Toubias of the Zenon Papyri. However, that places him at too early a date, and it is more likely that he was the son of a grandson of that Toubias, who carried the same name. It was Onias II who had refused to pay tribute to Ptolemy III Eurgetes, and when his successor Ptolemy IV Philopater won a surprise victory against the Seleucids in 222 B.C.E., Joseph was appointed in place of his uncle, Onias II. Twenty-two years later, he sent Hyrcanus to the birth celebrations of the son of Ptolemy V and Cleopatra I, and Hyrcanus took the tax farmer post from Joseph. This may not have been such a coup, as in exactly that year, 200 B.C.E., Antiochus III finally wrested Palestine from the Ptolemies, so the taxes should now have gone to the Seleucids. However, he generously transferred those taxes to Cleopatra, his daughter (Schwartz 1998), and it seems that Hyrcanus was astute enough to see they would then go to her husband, his master, Ptolemy V. Meanwhile Ptolemy's general Scopas tried to retake Jerusalem but failed to do so in 198 B.C.E., and it is then that Hyrcanus was ousted from Jerusalem and spent the rest of his days, and his wealth, in developing the family estate at Tyros.

It is unlikely that Hyrcanus committed suicide or even died in 175 B.C.E. The Seleucids were too busy, in Jerusalem and Egypt, to take notice of him and it is more likely that he survived until at least 169 or 168 B.C.E., when Antiochus IV returned from Egypt and punished the Jews for believing him to be dead. He may then have turned his attention to the remaining pockets of Ptolemaic resistance. In any case we know that the estate stood until 163 B.C.E., when it was overrun by the Seleucid general Timotheus, who massacred about a thousand men of "our fellow Jews in the region of Tubias"(II Macc. 5:13). It also appears that Jason, the hellenizing high priest, who displaced his brother Onias III, and built the gymnasium in Jerusalem (II Macc. 4:12) had, in his turn, to flee in 171 B.C.E. from the more extreme usurper Menelaus, and came to find sanctuary in "Ammonite country" (II Macc. 4:26), probably in Tyros with his cousin Hyrcanus.

From the archeological evidence it is clear that it was Hyrcanus who built the Qasr al-Abd, it being in the Hellenistic style of the late second century B.C.E., similar to palaces at Alexandria and Ionia (Butler 1907, Nielsen 1994). For many years it was considered to be an unorthodox temple built to challenge Jerusalem, but no altar has been found and the interior, now reconstructed by the French team, is quite unsuitable for use as a shrine. The French have concluded that it is "Le Château du Tobiade Hyrcan" but that is unlikely. It was designed to stand in the center of a lake, for which there is good evidence, and was a grand monumental building whose lower floor, of small rooms surrounded by massive monoliths, could only, in their opinion, be designated as mere storerooms (Will and Larché 1991). And access via the lake would have been cumbersome. Therefore it is more likely to have been intended as a mausoleum to his distinguished family by its last scion, Hyrcanus, as surmised many years ago by W.F. Albright. The group of lion sculptures at each corner represent the guardians of a typical Ionian mausoleum, and the upper eagles represent the messengers that carry the souls of the dead to heaven. The small rooms of the monumental lower story were for burials and the columnated upper story for funereal banquets (Rosenberg 2004).

Hyrcanus turned the whole of the family estate into a Hellenistic garden city (*paradeisos*) as Josephus claims (Ant. 12:233). He renovated the ancient caves and turned two of them into *triclinia*, or feasting chambers. He built a small aedicule, as a shrine or tomb (Butler 1907), a vast dike to the lake he intended to form around the Qasr al-Abd, a *nymphaeum* (water source) on the hillside, and a monumental gateway to the estate. He converted the older buildings on the upper site – which go back to the Iron Age, and which had been the original *birta* (fortress) of the estate (Gera 1990) – into spacious halls with plastered walls (Lapp 1963). It is impossible that he could have done all this in the seven years allocated to him by Josephus, though it is clear that he did not live to finish the Qasr.

The two TOBYAH cave inscriptions are now safely dated to the fourth century B.C.E. (Naveh 1976) and show that the estate was that of the Tobiads well before the time of Hyrcanus. It was a true *paradeisos*, in that its development began in the Persian period, adjacent to the original *birta* on the upper site.

The Tobiads were clearly Hellenizers from the time of the Tobyah of the Zenon Papyri and played an important role in the events leading up to the Hasmonean revolt. Joseph, son of Tobias, in particular would have brought customs of Alexandrian life and luxury, in the wake of his increased wealth, to Jerusalem. And the Tobiads would have supported the High Priest Jason in building a gymnasium and designating Jerusalem to be a Greek *polis*. Nevertheless, when it came to the war against the Seleucids, the Tubian Jews sided with the Hasmoneans and *Judah Maccabee crossed the Jordan to avenge the death of the thousands slain by the Seleucids in the land of the Tubians (II Macc. 12:23).

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[Stephen G. Rosenberg (2nd ed.)]

TOBIAS, ABRAHAM (1793–1856), Charleston businessman and civic leader. Born in Charleston, Tobias received little formal education. He prospered as an auctioneer, vendue master, and commission merchant. He was a director of the Union Bank of South Carolina for 21 years, a member of the City Board of Health (1833–37), and a commissioner of pilotage for Charleston harbor (1838–43). He participated in the turbulent politics of the period as a States Rights Party member, supporting John C. Calhoun's position. As a trustee of Beth Elohim synagogue, of which his great-grandfather, Joseph *Tobias, was a founder (1749), he was a key figure in the 1840s when the congregation split over installing an organ and making other ritual reforms.

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[Thomas J. Tobias]

TOBIAS, JOSEPH (1684–1761), colonial settler of Charleston, South Carolina. Tobias, whose parentage and birthplace are unknown, was of Spanish lineage. He served as Spanish interpreter in the British navy prior to coming to Charleston in the early 1730s. During the long-standing hostilities between the English and the Spanish in the South, Tobias served the South Carolina government as a Spanish interpreter. In 1741 he became a naturalized British subject, being one of the first Jews in the colonies to apply under an act passed by Parliament in 1740. Tobias was one of the founders and first *parnas* of Charleston's congregation Beth Elohim, organized in 1749. His wife, Leah, was the daughter of Jacob De Oliviera, one of the original Savannah Jewish settlers in 1733.

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[Thomas J. Tobias]

TOBIAS, MOSES (1694–1769), merchant of *Surat, India. A native of Cochin, Tobias was appointed in 1728 director of the Surat Portuguese factory by the Portuguese viceroy and undertook many important negotiations with the neighboring native rulers as accredited "agent of the Portuguese nation." The Portuguese archives in Goa have preserved many documents attesting to his diplomatic role in Surat, in which he was succeeded by his son Isaac and other members of his family throughout the 18th century. Moses Tobias conducted commercial transactions on a large scale and was a shipowner whose vessels sailed the Arabian Sea and the Indian Ocean. Dutch records of the day frequently register the movements of the "Jew's ships of Surat" under the command of presumably Jewish captains such as Jacob Moses and Moses Alexander. Tobias' tombstone inscription, in which he is styled "*nasi*," i.e., president, of the Surat Jewish community, is one of the few preserved in the old Jewish cemetery in Surat.

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[Walter Joseph Fischel]

TOBIAS, PHILLIP VALLENTINE (1925–), South African anatomist and paleoanthropologist. His paternal grandfather Phillip Tobias served the Central Synagogue of London from 1854 to 1904. Professor Tobias was the great-great-grandson of Isaac Vallentine (1793–1868), founder of the *Jewish Chronicle*. Born in Durban, South Africa, Tobias taught at the Witwatersrand Medical School from 1951. From 1959 until 1990 he served as head of the department of anatomy. He was dean of the Faculty of Medicine (1980–82), member of the Witwatersrand University Council (1971–84), and the only simultaneous holder of three professorships at Witwatersrand University, Anatomy, Zoology, Palaeo-anthropology. From 1994 he was Professor Emeritus of Anatomy and Human Biology. He was founder and president of the Institute for the Study of Mankind in Africa (1961–68, 1983–84), president of the Royal Society of South Africa (1970–72) and of the South African Archaeological Society (1964–65), founder and first president of the Anatomical Society of Southern Africa (1968–72) and

South African Society for Quaternary Research (1969–73). From 1994 to 1998, he was president of the International Association of Human Biologists. Protégé and successor of Raymond Dart, who discovered the first African australopithecine, Tobias was from 1959 closely associated with Louis and Mary Leakey, who found early hominid remains in northern Tanzania. Some of these fossil hominids Leakey, Tobias, and Napier identified as a new lowly species of man, which they named *Homo habilis* (handy man) representing a more hominised lineage than the australopithecines. Tobias later adduced evidence that *Homo habilis* was the world's earliest primate with a capacity for spoken language. To a series of volumes on Olduvai Gorge, Tanzania, Tobias contributed a monograph on the biggest-toothed australopithecines, *Australopithecus boisei*, and two volumes on *Homo habilis*. His oeuvre of over 1,100 published works includes nearly 500 articles in periodicals, 125 chapters in books, and over 50 books and monographs. He is recognized internationally as a leading authority in palaeo-anthropology and has received 17 honorary doctorates, the Carmel Award of Merit of the University of Haifa, and many medals, honorary professorships, civil decorations, and memberships of academies. He has written inter alia on living Africans, genetics, race and racism, academic freedom, and the harmful effects of apartheid on South African education. Tobias was active in Jewish communal affairs, including the Board of Deputies and the Great Synagogue of Johannesburg.

[Gali Rotstein and Bracher Rager (2nd ed.)]

TOBIAS BEN MOSES HA-AVEL (or **ha-Ma'tik**, "the translator"; 11th century), *Karaite scholar. He laid the theoretical and educational foundations for establishing the Karaites in the Byzantine milieu. According to Elijah *Bashyaẓi (*Iggeret Gid ha-Nasheh*, 4a) Tobias studied under *Jeshua b. Judah, translated his works from Arabic into Hebrew, and brought them to Constantinople. He would therefore seem to have lived in the second half of the 11th century. However, two letters in Tobias' own handwriting found in the *Genizah* of Cairo indicate that he went to Jerusalem as early as the 1030s (or possibly the 1020s). At any rate he had returned by 1041, after he, like other Karaites, became involved in a bitter controversy which split the *Rabbanite community in Ereẓ Israel between the supporters of *Nathan b. Abraham and the followers of *Solomon b. Judah Gaon. Tobias could not have been a pupil of Jeshua b. Judah since both apparently studied under Joseph b. Abraham ha-Kohen "ha-Ro'eh" (al-*Baṣīr), Tobias even translating some of al-Baṣīr's letters into Hebrew. A few years later, at all events before 1048, Tobias headed the Karaite community in Byzantium. He went to Egypt, perhaps as an emissary, and there instituted regulations for the synagogues of his community. His authority was recognized by all "the communities of Edom [i.e., Byzantium] both near and far" (letter to Abraham b. Yashar *Abu Sad al-Tustarī in Egypt; see Z. Ankori, in: *Essays… S.W. Baron* (1959), 38). As the independent leader of the first Karaite center in the Byzantine Empire, he several times addressed questions on halakhic matters to the scholars in Jerusalem. Their answer to his query on intercalation was kept as a ruling for the Diaspora communities (Judah Hadassi, *Eshkol ha-Kofer*, 76a).

Epithets

The epithets by which Tobias is remembered in Karaite history are an indication of his personality and activities. His membership of the *Avelei Zion of Jerusalem while he was a student in the academy there led to his designation *ha-avel* ("the mourner") and *ha-oved* ("the worshiper"); his role as commentator and decisor on the laws of his community gained him the honorific *ha-baki* ("the erudite"), in addition to the conventional appellations *he-ḥakham* ("the sage") and *ha-maskil* ("the teacher"). Tobias attests that he was also called *ha-sofer* ("the scribe"), possibly in reference to his art (as demonstrated by his fine calligraphy in manuscripts which have survived). The title *ha-ma'tik* ("the translator") best describes Tobias, which then meant both translation and knowledge of tradition (*masoret*).

Works

With the exception of several liturgical poems (two of which were included in the Karaite prayer book), Tobias' works consist for the most part either of actual translations of works by his teacher Joseph al-Baṣīr from Arabic into Hebrew – *Sefer Ne'imot*, i.e., *Kitāb al-Muḥtawī* ("Book of Melodies"); *Sefer Maḥkimat Peti*, i.e., *Kitāb al-Tamyīz* (or *al-Manṣūrī*, "Book for the Enlightenment of Fools"); and *Sefer ha-Moladim*, one of eight chapters from *Kitāb al-Istibṣār* ("Book of Festivals") – or of compilations of Arabic material from other "Jerusalemite scholars" and its adaptation in Hebrew as the basis for Tobias' original work. This applies to his philosophical treatise *Meshivat Nefesh* (extant in manuscript), and his halakhic commentary, in many volumes, *Sefer Oẓar Neḥmad le-Va-Yikra* (only the first part, on Lev. 1–10, has survived in manuscript; passages from it have been published by Neubauer, Poznański, Mann, and Ankori). In this case Tobias himself states (at the end of the work) that his investigation is based "on Arabic works which I would have rendered into Hebrew," particularly on the Arabic commentaries of *David b. Boaz and *Japheth b. Ali ha-Levi, tenth-century Karaite scholars.

Halakhic System

In the legal field, the term *ha'takah* (Ar. *al-naql*) denotes the principle of tradition (precedence) in the determination of law. Its original (i.e., Rabbanite) meaning naturally refers to the Oral Law. But the tenth-century Karaite polemical writers, who borrowed this term from their Rabbanite opponents, attributed to it, in accordance with the classic standpoint adopted by this sect, two separate aspects and designated them as follows: on the one hand, there is acknowledgment of "*ha'takah* which all regard as authoritative," i.e., the prophetic tradition which has been preserved for posterity "in the books and prophecies transcribed with the Torah in the possession of Israel" (according to the definition of *Sahl b.

Maẓliaḥ ha-Kohen in S. Pinsker (ed.), *Likkutei Kadmoniyyot* (1860), 34); on the other, the authority of non-biblical tradition is rejected and it is laid down that "any *ha'takah* which has no support from Scripture is worthless" (Aaron b. Elijah of Nicomedia, *Gan Eden*, 8b/c, and Elijah Bashyaẓi, *Adderet Eliyahu*, 9d, 48c, 82b. All further citations are taken from the latter source). The original version of Tobias' definitive treatise on the theory of *ha'takah* has not survived and its position among his lost works is not known. However, its inherent boldness and revolutionary consequences were perceived by subsequent generations of scholars who preserved his text, with slight linguistic changes, and interpreted it repeatedly as they saw fit. In his endeavor to establish an intellectual and legal criterion for compromise solutions necessitated by time and place, Tobias recognized in both theory and practice the positive and dynamic function of the principle of *ha'takah* for his contemporaries, as it was also understood by the Rabbanites. In order to mollify conservative Karaite opinion, Tobias based this awareness on the fictitious assumption that all the activities of the Karaites, even seeming innovations, must have a foundation in and derive proof from Scripture, and "those who say that *ha'takah* exists without support from Scripture merely show that they lack the intelligence to find its legal validity in the Torah."

At the same time as the Karaite concept of tradition was in the process of being enriched, there existed in Karaism a corresponding trend whereby the concept of "community" (Heb. *edah* or *kibbutz*; Ar. *al-ijmāʿ*) was assimilated within the comprehensive context of tradition. Thus Tobias' fundamentally broader concept of *ha'takah* absorbed the ingredients of the Karaite principle of "consensus of the community," one of the earliest sectarian impediments to authoritative halakhic initiative. On the strength of this twofold development, *ha'takah* (which Tobias also called *kabbalah*, i.e., chain of tradition, while others called it *sevel ha-yerushah*, i.e., traditional custom) was harnessed in its new context to the positive process of later Karaite legislation. In the course of time *ha'takah* was to rise to the level of the two other fundaments of Karaism, the Torah (Scripture) and comprehension (*da'at* or analogy; *hekkesh*, Ar. *al-qiyās*), and even to become the leading principle. It completely changed the attitude of the Karaites toward the Talmud and its place in Jewish history, and ended by paving the way to the radical reforms effected in Byzantine-Turkish Karaism in the 15th century.

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TOBIT, BOOK OF, one of the books of the *Apocrypha included in the Septuagint and Vulgate in the canon.

It is the story of Tobit, an honest, upright man of the tribe of Naphtali, who observed the precepts and was exiled to Assyria by Shalmaneser (III?). When he came to the land of his exile and the king of Assyria (Sennacherib) put many of the Jewish exiles to death, Tobit endangered his own life by defying the royal decree and arranging for the burial of the victims. His action came to the knowledge of the government and he was compelled to go into hiding until Esarhadon ascended the throne and *Ahikar, Tobit's nephew, was restored to his post as the king's scribe. Tobit then resumed his beneficent activities. It happened that on one occasion, when he had returned from burying an abandoned corpse, and lay down to sleep in his courtyard, bird's droppings fell into his eyes and he became blind. In his distress he remembered that some time before he had lent his relative in Rages of Media ten talents of silver. He therefore requested his son – called Tobias – to claim the money. The young man went in the company of a guide. On the way, as they passed the River Tigris, the guide advised him to catch a fish and preserve its heart, liver, and gall. Later as they passed Ecbatana in Media, the guide told him that his kinsman Raguel (Reuel) dwelt there, and that he had an only daughter, Sarah. She had already been married seven times, but the bridegroom had died each time on the night of the wedding, and according to the law of the Torah, since she was the young Tobias' kinswoman she was bespoken to him and not to a stranger. In order to drive away *Ashmedai, the demon who slew the grooms, the guide advised him to burn the heart and liver of the fish. Tobias did as ordered and was successful. His father-in-law, who was glad to see him alive, doubled the duration of the festivities from seven to 14 days. Meanwhile the guide, who had gone to Rages to bring the debt, came back, and they returned together to the home of Tobit the elder. When they reached Nineveh the son smeared the gall on his father's eyes, and his eyesight was restored. Tobit wanted to pay the guide his hire, but then it became known to him that the guide was none other than the angel Raphael, one of the seven angels who carry up prayers to Heaven. The aged Tobit, being aware that the end of Nineveh was near, commanded his son to leave the city and to go to Media after his father's death, which he did.

Various conjectures have been put forward with regard to the source of the tale. In the past it was usual to give the historical explanation that the story reflects the prohibition in some period against burying the dead, whether in the Persian era, or the Greek (under Antiochus IV), or the Roman (cf. Graetz; cf. Katznelson). However, the Roman era is much too late (the book is now known from the Dead Sea scrolls); there is even no reflection of the religious persecution of Antiochus IV, nor has the story any visible connection with the Persian custom of not burying the dead (moreover, its author praises Media). In recent decades the conjecture has gained acceptance that there is a connection between the story and the widespread folkloristic motif of a young man who saved a dead body from creditors who wanted to prevent its burial, and was then rescued by the deceased's spirit from mortal peril. The story of Tobit, however, does not speak even of a single creditor but of people put to death because of their devotion to burying the corpses of those executed by royal decree (as in the story of Antigone), and the bride is not a legendary king's daughter, but a kinswoman bespoken to her relative; nor is there mention of the many fabulous deeds which characterize the folklore tale. Probably, what the author really had in mind were the two popular "precepts," known from both the apocryphal and early talmudic literature: the first that one is in duty bound (even if he be a Nazirite or a high priest, who must keep away from any uncleanness) to bury a corpse found at random (*met mitzvah*, "the burial of the dead that is a precept"); and the second that there is special merit in marrying a kinswoman (cf. Tosef., Kid. 1:4; TJ, Naz. 7:1; and there are many stories of scholars who did so).

The book itself appears to be as early as the Persian era. It contains a prophecy on the building of Jerusalem, but there is no allusion to the Hasmonean wars. It appears to have been compiled in Media. To this the Iranian name "Ashmedai" (from Aeshma-Dawa) seems appropriate. There is also the very fact that the whole story turns around descendants of the ten tribes. From talmudic and other sources, it is clear that until a very late period the ten tribes were believed to thrive in Media and in the surrounding countries. Furthermore, in Babylonia (in a wide sense) more than in any other place, they were concerned about the genealogical purity of the Jews of the Exile. Moreover, and connecting of Tobit with Ahikar shows that in that place and time Ahikar was a well-known personality, which again lends support to the earlier date. The book is regarded as the most artistic story of the Apocrypha. Though dealing with various motifs, it retains a simple style and character. The original language was either Hebrew or Aramaic. Several fragments of the book were found among the Qumran scrolls both in Hebrew and in Aramaic. The Greek text is preserved in many versions, a long one (S) which is attested to in the Qumran library, a short one (A and B), and a third one, which is represented in many minuscules. Several Hebrew versions were preserved in the Middle Ages, but they all seem to be later adaptations. A very shortened version of the tale found its way into the well-known *Midrash* *Tanḥuma.

[Yehoshua M. Grintz]

In the Arts

The book's ethical message was congenial to the early Christian Reformers, notably Martin Luther (who recommended Tobit as a subject for comedy). A pioneer of the drama in Sweden was the Lutheran writer and preacher Olaus Petri (Olof Petterson), whose *Tobiae Commedia* appeared in 1550. Other works of the period were a Danish play by Hieronymus Justesen Ranch of Viborg, the German *Meistersinger* Hans Sachs' comedy, *Die gantz histori Tobie*, Joerg Wickram's German prose comedy, *Tobias* (1551), and a mystery staged at Lincoln in 1564. These were followed by several more works in the 17th century, but interest in the theme later waned, although the 19th century saw the appearance of Milovan Vidahoric's Serbian epic, *Mladi Tovija* (1825). In recent times, however, the subject has been revived in works such as James Bridie's *Tobias and the Angel* (1931) and Gonzalo Torrente Ballester's modern Spanish miracle play, *El viaje del joven Tobias* (1938). Bridie succeeded in revitalizing the Apocryphal story by injecting humor and colloquial speech into his realistic interpretation of the old theme.

In art there have been several cycles of works illustrating the story of Tobias, such as the fourth-century sarcophagus of St. Sebastian in the Appenine Way, Italy; 13th-century carvings at Chartres Cathedral; eight scenes in the Berlin Museum by Pinturiccio or Giulio Bugiardini; and paintings by Francesco Guardi for the Church of the Angel Raphael in Venice. The story of Tobias particularly appealed to *Rembrandt: the blind Tobit with his wife Anna (Tobit 2:11–14) is the subject of a meticulous early Rembrandt in the Moscow Museum and of several later works, including one in Berlin. These are studies of humble Dutch interiors, with a soft light filtering through the windows. There is also a painting by Rembrandt (Hermitage, Leningrad) of the younger Tobias taking leave of his parents as he sets out on his journey (5:17–22). Tobias and the angel (ch. 6) was a favorite subject in early Renaissance Italy. Merchants sometimes had their sons painted as Tobias accompanied by a guardian angel if they went away on business. The youth would be shown dangling his fish, followed by a little dog. The subject inspired paintings by Pollaiuolo (Pinacoteca, Turin); Filippino Lippi (Bension Collection, London); a follower of Verrochio (National Gallery, London); Botticelli (Academy, Florence); and Perugino (National Gallery, London). In "The Virgin with the Fish" by Raphael (Prado, Madrid), the kneeling Tobias holding his fish is presented by the angel to the Madonna. A painting by Rembrandt in the collection of the duke of Arenberg, Brussels, of the restoration of Tobit's sight (ch. 11) has been admired for the exactitude with which it depicts an operation for cataracts in the 17th century; and one in the Louvre shows the archangel Raphael taking leave of Tobit and his family (12:16–22).

In music Tobit's song of praise, *Magnus es Domine in aeternum*, is included among the Cantica of the Roman Catholic rite, and sung to a simple psalmodic melody. In the 16th century, a motet, *Domine deus patrum nostrorum*, is found among the works of the composer Jacobus Gallus (Handl), and there is a *Historia Tobiae* in the manuscript of Hungarian historico-biblical songs known as the Hofgreff Collection. The subject was sometimes used for oratorios by minor 17th-century composers: a work often mentioned in the history of the oratorio, Matthias Weckmann's dialogue *Tobias und Raquel*, was for long attributed to his better-known contemporary, Johann Rosenmueller (c. 1620–1684). More prominent composers turned to the subject for oratorios in the 18th century: Antonio Caldara (*Tobia*, text by Apostolo Zeno, 1720), Antonio Lotti (*Il ritorno di Tobia*, Bologna, 1723), Georg Reutter the Younger (*Il Ritorno di Tobia*, Vienna, 1733), Joseph Mysliveczek (1737–1781), and Baldassare Galuppi (1782). The outstanding work of this period was Haydn's oratorio *Il ritorno di Tobia* (text by Giovanni Gastone Boccherini, written in 1774–75). Haydn produced an augmented version in 1784 (a revised version was made by Sigismund Neukomm in 1806); and the work is still occasionally performed, as is its overture. A charming curiosity is Beethoven's jocular canon, *O Tobias, heiliger Tobias!* (1823), addressed to his publisher and friend Tobias Haslinger: according to the composer, he conceived the canon in a reverie on a coach ride during which he dreamt that he was transported to the Holy Land, felt very saintly, and through further flights of association came to think of "Saint" Tobit and his friend's good qualities. In the 19th century, the subject was taken up by several French composers in short succession, following upon Pierre-Louis Deffés' cantata (1847); Bizet (*L'ange et Tobie*, cantata, c. 1885–87, unfinished, text by Léon *Halévy); Gounod (*Tobie*, small oratorio, c. 1866, text by H. Lefèvre); and E. Ortolan (another setting of Halévy's libretto, 1867). Works of the 20th century include the opera *Tobias and the Angel* by Arthur Bliss (1959–60; text by Christopher Hassall); and Darius *Milhaud's *Invocation à l'ange Raphaël*, a cantata in four parts for women's voices and orchestra (text by Paul Claudel, published 1965).

[Bathja Bayer]

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TOBY, JACKSON (1925–), U.S. criminologist and sociologist. Toby received his Ph.D. from Harvard University in 1950. He taught at Brooklyn College, N.Y., and at Harvard. He then took on the position of professor of sociology at Rutgers University, where he became chairman of the Sociology Department in 1961. He specialized in problems of adolescence and deviant behavior and was chief consultant to the Ford Foundation youth development program (1959–63). In 1966 he prepared a report on "Affluence and Adolescent Crime" for the President's Law Enforcement Commission. He served as director of the Institute for Criminological Research at Rutgers from 1969 to 1994. His subsequent research focused on undergraduate education and the causes of and remedies for school violence.

His publications include *Social Problems in America* (with Harry C. Bredemeier, 1960); *Contemporary Society: Social Process and Social Structure in Urban Industrial Societies* (1964); *The Evolution of Societies* (with T. Parsons, 1977); and *Higher Education as an Entitlement* (2005).

TOCH, ERNST (1887–1967), composer. Born in Vienna, Toch studied medicine and philosophy and was self-taught in music. After studying piano with Rehberg, he became a teacher of composition at the Mannheim Hochschule fuer Musik (1913). In 1921 he received his Ph.D. with the dissertation *Beitraege zur Stilkunde der Melodie* (published as *Melodielehre*, Berlin, 1923). In 1929 he moved to Berlin, and in 1934 he settled in the United States. From 1937 he lived in Hollywood and taught at various universities. Though his earlier compositions show a rather romantic style, he later turned to a more modern idiom and also experimented in compositions such as *Gesprochene Musik* (1930).

His music is strongly lyrical and shows a classical sense of form; in piano compositions, his style is more brilliant. Toch's works include four operas; orchestral works; chamber music; incidental music for plays, films, and radio plays; and choral works (including *Cantata of the Bitter Herbs*, a Passover oratorio, 1938). The overture to his opera *Die Prinzessin auf der Erbse* (1926) is often played.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: MGG; Grove, Dict; Riemann-Gurlitt; Baker, Biog Dict.

[Claude Abravanel]

TOCH, MAXIMILIAN (1864–1946), U.S. paint chemist. Born in New York, Toch graduated in chemistry and law before entering his father's paint business. He became an expert on the authenticity of paintings. He was professor of industrial chemistry at Cooper Union, New York (1919), and professor of the chemistry of artistic painting at the National Academy of Design, New York (1924). During World War I he invented the "Toch system" of camouflage. Among his books are *Chemistry and Technology of Mixed Paints* (1907), *How to Paint Permanent Pictures* (1922), and *Paint, Paintings and Restoration* (1931).

TOCHNER, MESHULLAM (1912–1966), Israeli literary critic. Born in the Ukraine, Tochner was taken to Bessarabia by his family during World War I. In 1925 he went to Palestine, settling in Jerusalem. He taught at the Teachers' Seminary of Beit ha-Kerem, Jerusalem.

He published literary research articles in Israel's newspapers, literary periodicals, and anthologies, and in the jubilee volumes for S.Y. *Agnon. Tochner was one of the most perceptive critics and interpreters of Agnon's works; *Pesher Agnon* (1968), a collection of his essays on Agnon, with the addition of critical remarks by D. Sadan, was published posthumously.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: S.Y. Agnon et al., *'Al Meshullam Tochner* (1967).

[Getzel Kressel]

TODD, MIKE (**Avrom Hirsch Goldbogen**; 1909–1958), U.S. producer and impresario. Born in Minneapolis, Minnesota, Todd was the son of a Polish-born rabbi. He produced 21 shows on Broadway, largely light musicals. These include *Call Me Ziggy* (1937); *The Hot Mikado* (1939); *Star and Garter* (1942); *Something for the Boys* (1943); *Mexican Hayride* (1944); *Up in Central Park* (1945); *As the Girls Go* (1948); *Michael Todd's Peep Show* (1950); and *The Live Wire* (1950). His production of the tragedy *Hamlet* (1945), starring Maurice Evans, set the record at the time for the longest run of any Shakespearean play on Broadway (131 performances).

Todd was a financial promoter of two motion picture filming innovations, Cinerama and Todd-AO, the latter of which he codeveloped. Cinerama was introduced to film audiences in 1952 with the stomach-churning *This Is Cinerama*. Todd-AO was introduced in 1955 with the wide-screen film *Oklahoma!* In 1956 Todd made the $6.5 million film of Jules Verne's *Around the World in 80 Days* (Academy Award winner for Best Picture) which, by the time of his death in a plane crash, had grossed $33 million.

Of his three marriages, the second and third were to the film actresses Joan Blondell (from 1947 to 1950) and Elizabeth Taylor (from 1957 until his death).

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[Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

TODESCO, HERMANN (1791–1844), Austrian industrialist and philanthropist. Todesco was born in Pressburg (Bratislava) to Babette, née Pick, of Breslau, and Aaron Hirschl Wellisch (Welsche) of Pressburg, a silk merchant, who acquired the surname Todesco after numerous trips to Italy (*tedesco* is Italian for "German"). In 1789 he was included in the list of Jews permitted to reside in Vienna. Hermann's business abilities soon brought him appreciable wealth and position. He was an efficient military contractor and established one of the first cotton mills in Marienthal (near Vienna), introducing modern machines and methods from abroad. In 1835 he bought an estate in Legnaro, Italy, where he planted mulberry trees for raising silk worms. Todesco was one of the founders of the Vienna temple in 1826 and was distinguished by his munificent philanthropic activities. He donated a school to the Pressburg community, made a magnificent bequest for a Jewish hospital in Baden, and gave large sums to the Vienna Jewish community to develop handicrafts. Shortly before his death he was nominated a member of the *Kollegium* of the community and opened a public kitchen for the poor. Hermann's banking firm was managed after his death by two of his seven children, Eduard (1814–1887) and Moritz (1816–1873). Eduard continued his father's philanthropic policies by establishing generous foundations to help needy army officers and impoverished Jewish students.

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[Albert Lichtblau (2nd ed.)]

TOEPLITZ, OTTO (1881–1940), German mathematician. Toeplitz was professor of mathematics at Kiel (1920) and Bonn (1928–35) until his dismissal by the Nazis. He immigrated to Palestine in 1939 and held an administrative post at the Hebrew University. He contributed to many branches of research in pure mathematics; his main interest was in matrix algebra. He wrote *Von Zahlen und Figuren* (1930) and published articles on Plato's mathematical ideas in *Quellen und Studien zur Geschichte der Mathematik, Astronomie und Physik*, a periodical which he helped found.

TOHORAH (Heb. טָהֳרָה; "cleansing," "purification"), the ceremony of washing the dead before burial, performed by *mit'assekim* ("attendants"), members of the **ḥevra kaddisha*. The body is laid on a special *tohorah* board, the feet toward the door to indicate the escape of the impurity. While the body is undressed, thoroughly rubbed and cleansed with lukewarm water, the *mit'assekim* recite biblical verses (Zech. 3:4; Ezek. 36:25; Song 5:11, etc.). Then the head and the front part of the body are rubbed with a beaten egg, a symbol of the perpetual wheel of life. (This part of the ceremony is only observed nowadays in very Orthodox circles.) Thereafter, "nine measures" (9 "*kav*," 4½ gallons) of water are poured over the body while it is held in an upright position. This process is the essential part of the *tohorah* ceremony. The body is then thoroughly dried and dressed in shrouds. The *tohorah* rite for great rabbis and scholars, called *reḥiẓah gedolah* ("great washing"), is more elaborate. "Nine measures" of water are used several times: the body may even be immersed in a *mikveh* ("ritual bath"). This custom, however, was strongly opposed by leading rabbis because it discouraged women from attending the *mikveh*. In addition to the washing of the body, the hair is combed and the fingernails and toenails are cut (Sh. Ar., YD 352:4). The basis for *tohorah* is in Ecclesiastes 5:15, "as he came, so shall he go" (meaning: as when man is born, he is washed, so too when he dies, he is washed; *Sefer Ḥasidim*, ed. by R. Margaliot (1957), no. 560). The ceremony of *tohorah*, as well as all other burial details, is not mentioned in the Bible. At the burial of kings, however, sweet odorous spices were used (II Chron. 16:14) and the Tombs of the Kings in Jerusalem have a bath below the entrance to the courtyard, which may have been built either for cleansing the dead or for the ritual use of priests. *Tohorah* was observed in mishnaic times, as can be derived from the statement that limited washing and anointing of the body is permitted on the Sabbath (Shab. 23:5). Talmudic literature mentions the cleansing of the body with myrtle and the cutting of the hair of the deceased (cf. Beẓah 6a; MK 8b). *Tohorah* for women is performed by the female members of the *ḥevra kaddisha*. After *tohorah*, the attendants clean their hands with salted water. Most traditional cemeteries have a special annex to the cemetery called *bet tohorah* ("cleansing house"). In recent times, however, *tohorah* is generally performed at the mortuary of hospitals (or by the undertaker). *Reform Judaism has discarded the ritual of *tohorah*.

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TOHOROT (Heb. טָהֳרוֹת; lit. "cleannesses"), the last of the six orders of the Mishnah, according to the traditional arrangement mentioned in the homily of *Simeon b. Lakish (Shab. 31a), but the fifth order according to R. *Tanḥuma (Num. R. 13:15). *Tohorot* discusses the *halakhot* of the different categories of ritual purity and impurity.

It contains 12 tractates, arranged in descending order according to the number of chapters: **Kelim*, containing 30 chapters, on vessels susceptible to impurity; **Oholot*, 18 chapters, on ritual impurity arising from the overshadowing of a dead person; **Nega'im*, 14 chapters, on uncleanness relating to leprosies; **Parah*, 12 chapters, on the *red heifer; **Tohorot*, ten chapters, mainly on conditions rendering foods unclean; **Mikva'ot*, ten chapters, on the pools for ritual immersion; **Niddah*, ten chapters, on uncleanness relating to the menstruant; **Makhshirim*, six chapters, on the fluids rendering food susceptible to becoming ritually impure; **Zavim*, five chapters, on uncleannesss from gonorrhea; **Tevul Yom*, four chapters, on uncleanness, lasting until the sunset, of one who has gone through ritual immersion during the day; **Yadayim*, four chapters, on the uncleanness of unwashed hands and their purification; and **Ukẓin*, three chapters, on the uncleanness transferred by the stalks or husks of fruits or plants – 126 chapters in all. Because of its length, some divided *Kelim* into three *bavot* ("gates"), namely *Bava Kamma, Bava Meẓia*, and *Bava Batra*, each containing ten chapters, as was done with **Nezikin* (see **Bava Kamma*). In the Tosefta of *Tohorot, Kelim Bava Kamma* has seven chapters, *Kelim Bava Meẓia* 11, and *Kelim Bava Batra*, seven chapters; *Oholot* has 18, *Nega'im* nine, *Parah* 12, *Niddah* nine, *Mikva'ot* seven (or eight), *Tohorot* 11, *Makhshirim* three, *Zavim* five, *Yadayim* two, *Tevul Yom* two, and *Ukẓin* three chapters. Apart from the tractate *Niddah, Tohorot* has no *Gemara* in either the Jerusalem or Babylonian Talmud.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Epstein, Mishnah, 980ff.; Ḥ. Albeck (ed.), *Shishah Sidrei Mishnah, Seder Tohorot* (1959), 9f.

[Abraham Arzi]

TOHOROT (Heb. טָהֳרוֹת; lit. "cleannesses"), fifth tractate in the order of the same name according to the enumeration in the standard Mishnah. According to *Hai Gaon it is the seventh. It is also the seventh in the Tosefta, if the three sections into which *Kelim* is divided there are counted as one.

The name *tohorot* ("ritual cleannesses") is actually a euphemism for *tumot* ("ritual uncleannesses") since *Tohorot* deals essentially with the rules of the lesser degrees of uncleanness, effects of which last until sunset only. It details the laws of cleanness and uncleanness regarding foodstuffs and liquids, persons engaged in their preparation or consumption, and vessels employed in the process.

Chapter 1 begins with the 13 regulations concerning the carrion of clean birds, and those relating to unclean birds and cattle. It continues with a discussion of the extent to which foodstuffs of major and minor grades of uncleanness may be combined to form the prescribed minima. Also discussed are the conditions under which the same or different grades of uncleanness may be conveyed to a number of loaves or pieces of dough that cling to one another. Chapter 2 discusses uncleanness that may be conveyed to wet or dry **terumah* by the hands of clean and unclean persons, the various grades of uncleanness a person may contract through eating, and the resultant uncleanness of foodstuff in contact with other foodstuff possessing various grades of uncleanness. Chapter 3 deals with the grades of uncleanness and minimum amounts applicable to foodstuffs capable of changing their state of fluidity to one of solidity and vice versa. Also discussed is the cleanness or uncleanness of those objects whose bulk is increased or decreased by weather conditions. The chapter concludes with an exposition of doubtful uncleanness, and this continues to the end of chapter 4 which deals with cases of doubtful uncleanness as a result of which *terumah* is to be burned, and doubtful instances that are finally regarded as clean. Chapters 5 and 6 are mainly concerned with doubtful cases of uncleanness in which a distinction is made between location in a private domain and location in a public domain. In the former, all doubtful cases are declared unclean, while in the latter, they are considered clean. Also discussed are instances in which both a private and public domain are involved. Chapter 7 discusses forms of doubtful uncleanness which result from the presence of an **am ha-areẓ* or his wife. Chapter 8 concludes the discussion regarding the *am ha-areẓ*. Rules regarding the stages when foodstuffs begin and cease to be susceptible to uncleanness are next specified. A discussion concerning the uncleanness of beverages concludes the chapter. Chapters 9 and 10 conclude the tractate with the regulations concerning the stages at which olives become susceptible to uncleanness, and the laws of cleanness and uncleanness that apply to an olive-press and a winepress. The Tosefta to this tractate is divided into 11 chapters. Since there is no *Gemara* to *Tohorot*, the Tosefta is extremely valuable for the elucidation of many difficult passages in the Mishnah. All the commentators therefore made extensive use of the Tosefta in their explanations of the Mishnah. The Tosefta does not totally correspond to the Mishnah. It does not contain any laws that correspond to Mishnah 1:1–4 or 2:1. Tosefta 4:1–4 includes material which is not contained in the Mishnah. It was translated into English by H. Danby (*The Mishnah*, 1933), and J. Neusner published a translation of both the Mishnah (1991) and the Tosefta (2002) of *Tohorot*.

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[Aaron Rothkoff]

TOHOROT HA-KODESH, an important work of ethical literature. First printed in Amsterdam in 1733, this anonymous work has been wrongly attributed to Benjamin Wolf b. Mattathias. The error arose from the fact that Benjamin's name is mentioned on the title page, not as the author but as the person who brought the work to the press, and, it seems, collected the funds necessary to finance the printing. According to his introduction, the author chose to remain anonymous in order to avoid pride of authorship, and probably also because of the harsh criticism of contemporary rabbis, institutions, and customs contained in the work. The original title of the work, the introduction indicates, was *Hanhagot Yesharot* ("Right Ways of Behavior"). Evidence in the book shows that the author was from Poland, and in the work he occasionally compares the customs of Eastern Europe with those of the Orient. It seems that the author was poor, wandered from place to place, and knew Russian. I. Halpern attempted to prove that the author lived in Poland during the *Chmielnicki persecutions (1648–49), which left a deep impression on him, and that he finished the work a decade or two later. B.Z. Dinur and D. Tamar, however, hold that the work was probably written in the first decade of the 18th century. The later date is somewhat more credible in view of the historical and biographical facts recorded in the work itself. The writer, a Lurianic kabbalist like most authors of ethical works at that time, divided the book into six parts: (1) daily behavior, including the proper way to study at night and to perform the morning rites; (2) synagogue and prayer; (3) business and ethics, and the necessity to study and pray even while attending to daily tasks; (4) evening rites; (5) behavior during Sabbath and festivals; and (6) all aspects of social conduct. Social criticism holds a central place in this work. Ethical literature's preoccupation with just social behavior as the supreme religious goal is clearly presented, especially in the criticism of contemporary rabbis. In fact, the author emphasizes that right social behavior takes precedence over study of the Torah. Dinur included *Tohorot ha-Kodesh* among those East European ethical works which anticipated modern Ḥasidism and carried some of its social and religious message.

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TOKAT, capital city of the province bearing the same name in northern Anatolia, situated on the banks of the Yeşil Irmak. The community was founded by Jews from *Amasya in 1530. After the Amasya blood libel in 1553, most of them returned to Amasya in 1565. During the Ottoman period there existed a small Jewish community in Tokat. Tokat then was also the scene of a blood libel, instigated by Armenians; as a result of an intervention by Moses *Hamon, Sultan *Suleiman's chief physician, the Jews were able to prove their innocence. In the 16th century Jewish silk merchants traveled via Tokat to *Aleppo and *Persia. A document from 1574/75 noted 29 Jewish households and 27 Jewish bachelors in the community. The traveler Tevernier visited the city in the 17th century, but wrote only about Muslims, Christians, and Armenians who lived there. Yet it is known that R. Zemach Narvoni lived in Tokat in 1642, and we can assume that there existed an organized Jewish community. Hebron emissaries R. Moshe Halevi Nazir and R. Yosef Hacohen visited Tokat between the years 1668 and 1671 and 1675–1677. The latter spent a short time in Tokat in 1684 when he traveled to many communities to collect money for himself. At the beginning of the 18th century the Shabbatean Ḥayyim Malach met *Shabbetai Ẓevi on his way from Bursa to Tokat. At that time Rabbi Joseph ben Mordechai from *Jerusalem lived in the city. At the beginning of the 19th century about 100 families lived in the community; by 1927 only 20 families were left. There are two Jewish cemeteries and an old synagogue, where a *genizah* was found. Jews originally handled the town's commerce, but they were gradually replaced by the Armenians who used more up-to-date methods and mastered the foreign languages required for the export-import trade. As a result of this, the Jewish community scattered.

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[Abraham Haim / Leah Bornstein-Makovetsky (2nd ed.)]

TOKER, ELIAHU (1934–), Argentinean writer, poet, translator, and researcher in Jewish literature and lore. The scope and spirit of his works are oriented both to Jewish traditions of the past, and to the building of a contemporary Jewish-Latin American identity. His eight books of poetry include *Lejaim* ("To Life," 1974); *Piedra de par en par* ("Wide Open Stone," 1974); *Padretierra* ("Fatherearth," 1977); *Homenaje a Abraxas* ("Homage to Abraxas," 1980); *Papá, mamá y otras ciudades* ("Dad, Mom and Other Cities," 1988); and *Las manos del silencio* ("The Hands of Silence," 2003). His translations include valuable anthologies such as the following: from Yiddish – *El resplandor de la palabra judía: antología de poesía ídish del siglo XX* ("The Radiance of the Jewish Word: Anthology of 20th Century Yiddish Poetry," 1981); *Poesía de Avrom Sútzkever* ("Poetry by Avrom Sutzkever," 1983); *El ídish es también Latinoamérica* ("Yiddish is also Latin America," 2003); from Hebrew – *El Cantar de los Cantares* ("The Song of Songs," 1984); *Pirké Avot* ("The Sayings of the Fathers," 1988), and anthologies of kabbalistic, talmudic, and rabbinical texts. He also published critical editions of the Argentinean Jewish writers César Tiempo, Carlos M. Grünberg, and Alberto Gerchunoff; collections of Jewish proverbs and jokes; and volumes devoted to the Holocaust and to the victims of the attack on the Buenos Aires Jewish Community building in 1994. His poems have been translated into Yiddish, Hebrew, French, German, and Portuguese. Toker received several awards in Argentina and Mexico. He was also active in Jewish cultural and community life in Argentina, and participated in national and international conferences on Jewish Latin American issues.

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[Florinda F. Goldberg (2nd ed.)]

TOKHEḤAH (Heb. תּוֹכֵחָה; lit. "reproof"), the name given to the two comminatory passages in the Pentateuch (Lev. 26:14–45; Deut. 28:15–68). The Mishnah referred to them as the "chapters of curses" and they were designated as the Torah reading for fast days. These sections must not be divided, but must be read by one person (Meg. 3:6, 31b). In order to begin and end with more favorable sentences (Meg. 31b; TJ, Meg. 3:8, 74b), the reading is commenced before the curses and concluded after them (e.g., Lev. 26:10–46; Deut. 28:7–69). The Deuteronomy chapter was considered the more severe since it contains no verses of consolation and is written in the present tense. The public reading of these passages on their appropriate Sabbaths generated fear among the listeners, and it therefore became customary for the reader to recite them quickly in a low voice. People were reluctant to be called to the Torah for these portions. In some communities it became customary to give this *aliyah* to poor people who could not afford to pledge donations for the more desirable *aliyot*. The person was not called up by his name, but the sexton simply said "May anyone who wishes rise to the Torah" (Rema to Sh. Ar. 428:6). It later became the general practice for the sexton or the reader of the Torah to accept this *aliyah*. However, in some communities, the rabbis insisted on receiving these *aliyot* to demonstrate that the word of the Torah need not be feared.

[Aaron Rothkoff]

TOKYO, city in *Japan. Jewish history, culture, and religion were generally unknown to the Japanese of Tokyo before the end of World War I. Although the city had been designated the imperial capital in 1868, Jews who took up residence in Japan before World War I settled in the great port cities of *Kobe, *Yokohama, and *Nagasaki. Acquaintance with things Jewish was largely limited to Christian missionaries and their converts. This state of affairs changed somewhat after 1918 when a small number of Jews fleeing from the Bolshevik revolution in Russia made their homes in Tokyo, and many Japanese encountered Jews and witnessed antisemitism during Japan's military expedition in Siberia (1918–22). During the 1920s a handful of Japanese antisemites founded organizations and engaged in publication, mostly in Tokyo, but their work was generally ineffectual. With the spread of Nazism in Germany and the drift of Japan after 1932 toward closer relations with Hitler, professional antisemites – military and civilian – attempted with little success to spread their message of hatred among the Japanese people. When Japan surrendered to the allied powers in 1945, Tokyo soon emerged as a center of Jewish life and activity in Japan. Many of the Jews who helped to stimulate a wide variety of Jewish activities were among the thousands of American troops stationed in Tokyo during the American occupation of Japan (1945–52). The civilian Jewish community grew slowly during and after this period as hundreds of Jews, mainly from the United States and Western Europe, settled in the city for professional and commercial purposes. Jewish life gravitated toward the Tokyo Jewish Center which was established and maintained by the local community. In the late 1950s some American Jews studied briefly the feasibility of "missionary" work in Japan, especially in Tokyo, but the idea was soon abandoned. A Jewish community, supplemented by a steady stream of temporary residents from abroad, continued to exist in Japan's capital city. In 1971 there were approximately 300 Jews living in the city. In the first years of the 21st century the permanent Jewish population of Tokyo amounted to fewer than 200 people, though the transient Jewish population brought the total up to somewhat fewer than 1,000. These included representatives of businesses and financial institutions, as well as journalists and students, mostly from the U.S. and Israel. The Jewish community center houses the only synagogue in Japan as well as a school (with classes twice a week up to the eighth grade), a library, and a *mikveh*.

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[Hyman Kublin]

°**TOLAND, JOHN** (1670–1722), Irish-born deist, active in the theological and political controversies in England at the beginning of the 18th century. Toland was born in County Donegal, supposedly the illegitimate son of a Roman Catholic priest. At the age of 16 he rejected Catholicism, became a Presbyterian, and studied at Scottish universities. A friend of John Locke, he eventually became a Deist and, later, a Pantheist. Among his many publications was *Reasons for Naturalising the Jews in Great Britain and Ireland on the Same Footing with All Other Nations* (anonymously published in London in 1714, reprinted 1939). This was not as has frequently been stated a plea for the naturalization of the Jews, but for facilitating the naturalization of foreign-born Jews and thereby attracting them to England. The economic and philosophic arguments that Toland used to demonstrate the utility of the Jews to the country showed a tolerance in advance of his day. Toland also translated into English *The Agreement of the Customs of the East Indians with Those of the Jews* (London, 1705).

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[Cecil Roth]

TOLANSKY, SAMUEL (1907–1973), English physicist and world authority on optics and spectroscopy. Tolansky was born in Newcastle-on-Tyne, England, to Russian parents. He received his education in Newcastle and at the Imperial College in London, where he was appointed assistant lecturer in physics in 1934. He subsequently held various appointments at Manchester University, where he conducted important research work in the field of atomic energy during World War II. He joined the Royal Holloway College of London University in 1947, becoming professor of physics. He became a fellow of the Royal Society in 1952.

Tolansky was a principal investigator for the American NASA lunar research project, and was one of the first group of scientists chosen to examine and evaluate the dust brought back by the Apollo moon astronauts. His prediction in 1969 that the moon is covered with glasslike marbles was verified a year later. Tolansky wrote a large number of works in his special field, many of which were translated into Russian, German, Japanese, and other languages. They include *Optical Illusions* (1964); *Curiosities of Light Rays and Light Waves* (1964); *Interference Microscopy for the Biologist* (1968); *The Strategic Diamond* (1968); *Microstructures of Surfaces* (1968); and *Revolution in Optics* (1968). He also published over 300 scientific papers.

Keenly interested in Jewish affairs, Tolansky was an active member of the academic advisory council of the cultural department of the World Jewish Congress, and was generally associated with Israeli scientific institutions. He was also a vice president of the British Technion society. He visited Israel on a number of occasions, delivering scientific lectures and advising on scientific affairs.

[Michael Wallach]

TOLEDANO, family of rabbis and *ḥakhamim* which originated in Toledo, *Spain. After the expulsion from Spain in 1492, the Toledanos were to be found in Safed, Salonika, and Morocco. According to a family tradition, they arrived in Fez during the 16th century from Salonika, and from there went to Meknès and became leaders of the community from the 16th century until the present day. They were prominent in the community in religious affairs, producing renowned rabbis and poets who enriched the literature of Moroccan Jewry with their works and greatly influenced the western communities, particularly those of Meknès, Salé, Tangier, and even Gibraltar; in political affairs, producing men who served as ministers and counselors to kings and were entrusted with diplomatic missions; and in economic affairs, producing outstanding merchants who developed and maintained varied commercial relations with European countries which contributed to the economic progress of Morocco.

(1) DANIEL BEN JOSEPH (c. 1570–1640) arrived in Fez from Salonika with his sons (2) ḤAYYIM and (3) JOSEPH, from whom the two principal lines of the family branched out. He is described in sources as the "head of the yeshivah of Fez" and as the "head of the Castilian scholars."

(2) Ḥayyim's sons were (4) ḤABIB (d. c. 1660) and (5) DANIEL (1600–1670?). The former was rabbi and *nagid* in Meknès and was referred to as *He-Ḥasid* ("the Pious"). He was a signatory to a *takkanah* of 1640, whose efficacy he strengthened by securing for it a royal order. The latter was a rabbi and legal authority in Meknès. (3) Joseph's sons were (6) DANIEL (d. c. 1680) and (7) BARUCH (d. 1685). The former was a rabbi and *dayyan* in Meknès and counselor of Moulay Ismāʾil together with his colleague Joseph *Maymeran. He fought Shabbateanism with R. Aaron ha-Sabʿuni and his son-in-law R. Jacob *Sasportas, and he signed legal decisions together with (9) R. Hayyim b. Habib (see below). Baruch (7) was a rabbi in Meknès, father of seven sons, including (8) MOSES, the father of four *ḥakhamim*. Among Baruch's other sons were (16) Ḥayyim and (17) Abraham, leading merchants who traded with the royal family.

(9) ḤAYYIM BEN ḤABIB HE-ḤASID (d. c. 1680), rabbi and kabbalist, copied kabbalistic and ethical works, including *Yeraḥ Yakar* of R. Abraham Galanté which was brought to him by the emissary Elisha Ashkenazi – the father of Nathan of Gaza – and *Sha'arei Ḥokhmah* of an Ashkenazi author, thus contributing to their circulation in the West. It is almost certain that he fought the Shabbatean movement, as did his relative Daniel, with whom he shared the position of *dayyan*. He maintained contact with R. Aaron ha-Sabʿuni and copied the marginal notes of the latter's copy of the Shulḥan Arukh. One of his daughters married R. Abraham Berdugo and was the mother of R. Moses Berdugo ("ha-MaSHBIR"), and the other married R. (8) Moses b. Baruch (see above) and gave birth to R. (18) Ḥayyim ("MaHaRḤaT") and R. (21) Jacob Toledano ("MaHaRIT"). Ḥayyim (9) signed legal decisions together with his relative Daniel. His son (10) MOSES (1643–1723) was the leading rabbi of Meknès and corresponded on halakhic questions with R. Menahem *Serero, R. Vidal ha-*Sarfati, and others. Some of his responsa and legal decisions were published in the works of Moroccan *ḥakhamim*. He held rabbinical office together with his brother (11) ḤABIB (1658–1716). The latter corresponded extensively with the *ḥakhamim* of Fez. R. Judah (1660–1729), a scholar of Meknès, was known as a great talmudist.

(12) JOSEPH TOLEDANO BEN DANIEL (b) (d. c. 1700) was also a counselor of the Moroccan king Moulay Ismāʾil, who sought to develop foreign trade and exchange Christian captives for arms as well as for other goods. He sent Joseph to the Netherlands to conduct negotiations which would lead to a peace treaty and a commercial agreement between the two countries. His mission was successful and the treaty was ratified in 1683. In 1688 Joseph presented his credentials as Moroccan ambassador to the States General. The presence in Holland of his brother-in-law Jacob Sasportas obviously assisted him in the fulfillment of his mission. His brother (13) ḤAYYIM TOLEDANO (d. c. 1710), also a royal counselor, accompanied him on the mission. Once the treaty was ratified in the Netherlands, he returned to Meknès and together with the *nagid* Abraham Maymeran convinced the king to accept its conditions

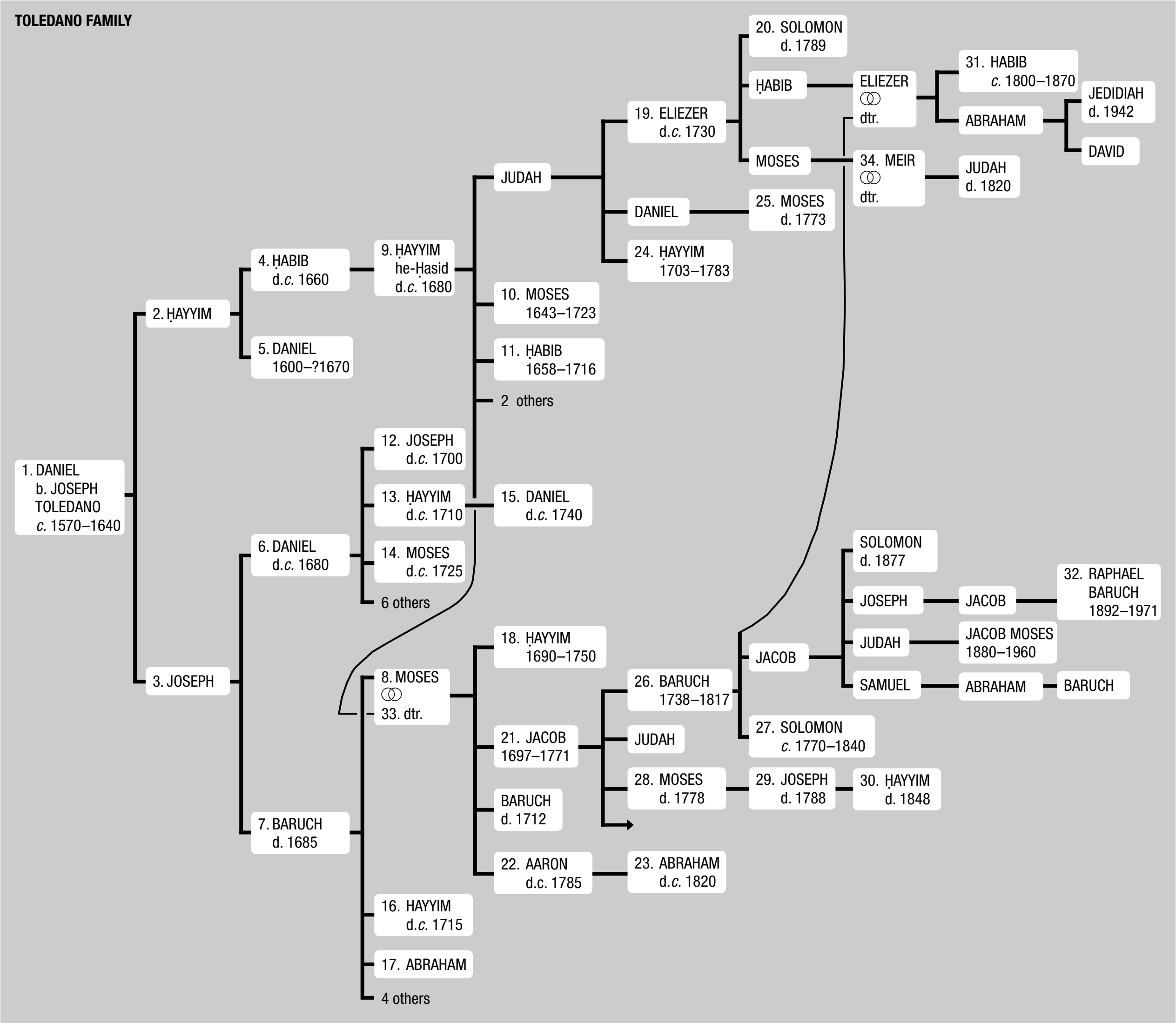
TOLEDANO FAMILY
1. DANIEL b. JOSEPH TOLEDANO c. 1570–1640
2. ḤAYYIM
3. JOSEPH
4. ḤABIB d.c. 1660
5. DANIEL 1600–?1670
6. DANIEL d.c. 1680
7. BARUCH d. 1685
9. ḤAYYIM he-Ḥasid d.c. 1680
JUDAH
10. MOSES 1643–1723
11. ḤABIB 1658–1716
2 others
12. JOSEPH d.c. 1700
13. ḤAYYIM d.c. 1710
14. MOSES d.c. 1725
6 others
15. DANIEL d.c. 1740
8. MOSES ⚭ 33. dtr.
16. ḤAYYIM d.c. 1715
17. ABRAHAM
4 others
18. ḤAYYIM 1690–1750
21. JACOB 1697–1771
BARUCH d. 1712
22. AARON d.c. 1785
23. ABRAHAM d.c. 1820
19. ELIEZER d.c. 1730
DANIEL
24. ḤAYYIM 1703–1783
25. MOSES d. 1773
20. SOLOMON d. 1789
ḤABIB
MOSES
ELIEZER ⚭ dtr.
34. MEIR ⚭ dtr.
31. HABIB c. 1800–1870
ABRAHAM
JEDIDIAH d. 1942
DAVID
JUDAH d. 1820
26. BARUCH 1738–1817
JUDAH
28. MOSES d. 1778
29. JOSEPH d. 1788
30. ḤAYYIM d. 1848
JACOB
27. SOLOMON c. 1770–1840
SOLOMON d. 1877
JOSEPH
JACOB
32. RAPHAEL BARUCH 1892–1971
JUDAH
JACOB MOSES 1880–1960
SAMUEL
ABRAHAM
BARUCH

and sign. In 1690, when a crisis between the two countries appeared imminent, he traveled to the Netherlands and succeeded in renewing the treaty, afterward convincing the king to accept the conditions of the treaty. (14) MOSES TOLEDANO (d. c. 1725) was one of the favorites at the court. Together with the *nagid* Abraham Maymeran, he traded with the European countries, especially in firearms. In 1699 he traveled to the Netherlands and submitted complaints to the States General concerning his dealings with them. He won his suit and was awarded considerable compensation.

(15) DANIEL TOLEDANO (d. c. 1740), son of (13) Ḥayyim, traded, together with his father, in the Netherlands and other European countries. He dealt mainly in wax and was known as "one of the country's magnates." In about 1720, after the death of his father, he was arrested by the king. The king confiscated his family's belongings in payment for his debt, including (18) R. Ḥayyim Toledano's property, thus bankrupting him. (16) ḤAYYIM TOLEDANO BEN BARUCH (d. c. 1715), a wealthy merchant, was associated with his brother (17) ABRAHAM in various business transactions and was a favorite of the royal family. He died childless and bequeathed his estate to (18) R. Ḥayyim (MaHaRḤaT; see below), the son of his brother (8) Moses. (19) ELIEZER TOLEDANO BEN R. JUDAH (d. c. 1730) was among the wealthiest Moroccan merchants and a member of the circle of *negidim* which included Abraham Maymeran and Moses ibn Attar. Together with Maimon Toledano, he leased the meat tax of the community. He was the father of (20) R. Solomon (MaHaRshaT; see below). (18) ḤAYYIM TOLEDANO BEN MOSES BEN BARUCH (MaHaRḤaT; 1690–1750), rabbi in Meknès, became wealthy after he inherited his uncle Ḥayyim's fortune. He wrote some legal decisions which were published in Fez under the title *Ḥok u-Mishpat* ("Law and Judgment," 1931).

His brother (21) R. JACOB TOLEDANO (MaHaRIT; 1697–1771) was a prominent rabbi in Meknès and a disciple of R. Moses Berdugo, holding rabbinical office for 50 years. He was the most important halakhic authority in the Maghreb during the second half of the 18th century and played a central role in the leadership of his community. A crisis occurred in the relations between himself and his community in 1764, but the difficulties were settled and he continued to serve the community. He wrote a commentary on the Torah, a commentary to Rashi on the Torah, a work on the Shulḥan Arukh, novellae on the Talmud, legal decisions, some of which were published in the works of Moroccan *ḥakhamim*, and sermons. Another brother, (22) AARON TOLEDANO (d. c. 1785), was rabbi in Meknès. Toward the end of his life he left for Tangier, where he was appointed rabbi. His son (23) R. ABRAHAM TOLEDANO (d. c. 1820) was rabbi in Tangier after his father's death.

(24) R. ḤAYYIM BEN R. JUDAH (1703–1783), renowned for his piety, was rabbi in Salé. He was a disciple of R. Moses Berdugo and wrote legal decisions (*Teshuvot MaHaRḤat shel Salé*), *kinot*, and *piyyutim*. His nephew (20) R. SOLOMON BEN ELIEZER (MaHaRShaT; d. 1809) was a leading rabbi in Meknès and a member of the *bet din* of (21) R. Jacob b. Moses (MaHaRIT). He is said to have performed miracles, and to the present day the sick prostrate themselves and pray at his tomb. He wrote a work of legal decisions entitled *Piskei MaHaRShat*. His cousin (25) MOSES BEN DANIEL (d. 1773) was a disciple of the brothers (18) R. Ḥayyim and (21) R. Jacob Toledano (see above). From 1769 he was a member of the *bet din* of the MaHaRIT (21). He left many works on the Torah which his son-in-law (34) R. MEIR TOLEDANO edited, summarized, and published as *Melekhet ha-Kodesh* (Leghorn, 1803). His legal decisions were published as *Ha-Shamayim ha-Ḥadashim*.

(26) R. BARUCH TOLEDANO (1738–1817), son of MaHaRIT, was appointed *dayyan* after the death of his father. The opponent of R. Raphael Berdugo he wrote legal decisions and responsa. His son (?), (27) R. SOLOMON TOLEDANO (c. 1770–1840), was rabbi in Meknès. Many of his legal decisions were published in the work *Shufrei de-Ya'akov* of R. Jacob Berdugo. (28) R. MOSES TOLEDANO (d. 1778), son of MaHaRIT, was rabbi in Meknès. He wrote *Meginnei Shelomo*, on Rashi's commentary to the Torah, as well as sermons. His son (29), R. JOSEPH, collected, arranged, and copied the writings of his grandfather (MaHaRIT). (30) R. ḤAYYIM BEN R. JOSEPH (d. 1848), rabbi in Meknès, was very active in the community's administration. In Iyyar 5608 (1848) he was arrested by the sherif (ruler) – as a result of a denunciation – together with his colleague R. Joseph Berdugo and ten of the community's leaders. About two months later he died in the prison of Fez. He wrote a brief commentary on the Torah, legal decisions, responsa, a work on the *Tur* Shulḥan Arukh, a commentary on the *Haggadah*, and a collection of letters and writings.

(31) R. ḤABIB TOLEDANO BEN ELIEZER (c. 1800–1870) was brought up in Meknès. Prior to 1825 he traveled to Gibraltar, where he collected funds to save the members of his community from the famine which then ravaged Morocco. From there he went to Tunis and Italy, where he published his commentary on the *Haggadah, Peh Yesharim* (Leghorn, 1834), and *Terumat ha-Kodesh* (Leghorn, 1842). R. JACOB TOLEDANO BEN MOSES (d. c. 1928) was a rabbinical authority in Meknès and a poet. His *piyyutim* and poems were published as *Yagel Ya'akov* (in: *Yismaḥ Yisrael*, 1931). (32) R. RAPHAEL BARUCH BEN JACOB (1892–1971) was rabbi in Meknès. After his father's death he was appointed to the *bet din*, and from about 1940 he was *av bet din* of Meknès. He was very active in community affairs, and founded yeshivot. He immigrated to Israel in 1965. Toledano wrote a summarized version of the complete Shulḥan Arukh (1966), as well as a number of poems and *piyyutim*, some of which are recited by Oriental communities and Sephardim. Rabbi Jacob Moses *Toledano was also a member of the family.

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[Haim Bentov]

TOLEDANO, JACOB MOSES (1880–1960), rabbi and scholar. Toledano's father Judah had immigrated to Ereẓ Israel from Morocco. Jacob was born, educated, and ordained in Tiberias. During 1899–1909, his first articles appeared in the Jerusalem Hebrew paper *Ḥavaẓẓelet*, under the title *Ḥiddushei Torah*. They were written in elegant Hebrew and in a scholarly style. Toledano was also interested in ancient manuscripts preserved in the libraries and yeshivot of Oriental countries. He conceived the idea of founding a society to publish them and with this aim in mind entered into correspondence with scholars in western countries who encouraged him to implement the project. As a result of the cholera epidemic in Tiberias in 1903, he and his family left the town and settled in Peki'in. During the seven years he lived there he devoted himself to the study of the history of Oriental Jewry and its personalities, as well as to the affairs of the Peki'in community, and published his *Ner ha-Ma'arav*. At the beginning of World War I, together with 700 "French" Jews (of North African descent) from Galilee, he was exiled from Ereẓ Israel to Corsica because of his French citizenship. As the representative of the Alliance Israélite Universelle and the French government, he headed the committee of exiles and worked for their material and spiritual benefit. In 1920 he returned to Tiberias and took part in activities to revive communal life in the town; he represented it in 1921 at the rabbinical conference held in Jerusalem to establish the chief rabbinate of Ereẓ Israel. In 1926 he was appointed a member of the Tangier rabbinate, and in 1929 *av bet din* and deputy chief rabbi of Cairo. In 1933 he was appointed to the similar office in Alexandria, as well as deputy head of the rabbinical court of appeals in Cairo, and in 1937 he became chief rabbi of Alexandria. In 1942 he was elected Sephardi chief rabbi of Tel Aviv-Jaffa, succeeding Ben Zion *Ouziel. In 1958, when the religious parties had left the government coalition, he was appointed minister of religious affairs.

His *Ner ha-Ma'arav* (1911), the history of the Jews in Morocco from the commencement of their settlement and the biographies of its great rabbis, is a basic work for research into the origins of Jewry in North Africa. His other books included *Appiryon* (Jerusalem, 1905), a bibliography of the supercommentators to Rashi's commentary to the Pentateuch; *Yedei Moshe* (Safed, 1915), a commentary on the Mishnah *Pesaḥim* by Maimonides from a manuscript; *Yam ha-Gadol* (Cairo, 1931), responsa; *Sarid u-Falit* (Tel Aviv, 1945), giving passages from manuscripts on ancient works dealing with the Talmud, Jewish scholarship, the history of the settlement in Ereẓ Israel, and bibliography; and *Oẓar Genazim* (1960), a collection of letters on the history of Ereẓ Israel from ancient manuscripts, with introductions and notes.

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[Itzhak Goldshlag]

TOLEDO, city in Castile, central *Spain; capital of Castile until 1561.

Early Jewish Settlement and Visigothic Period

There is no substantive information available on the beginnings of the Jewish settlement in Toledo, which was only a small village in the period of Roman rule over Spain. According to a Jewish tradition dating from the period of Muslim rule, the Jewish settlement in Toledo was the most ancient in the Iberian peninsula. This tradition was accepted by Isaac *Abrabanel who states (in his commentary to the Book of Kings, at the end, and to Obadiah 20) that the first settlers were exiles from the tribes of Judah and Benjamin, who had arrived there after the destruction of the First Temple, and were associated with a legend concerning Pirus and Hispan who took part in the siege of Jerusalem. Hence the name "Tuletula" (Lat. *Toletum* = Toledo) has been explained as deriving from their wanderings (Heb. *taltelah*) when they were expelled from their land.

Jews probably established themselves there when the town became the capital of the Visigoths, or during the preceding fourth to fifth centuries C.E. The Jewish settlement was, however, inconsiderable, the Jews then being mainly concentrated in the towns on the east coast. Once the Visigoths became converted to Christianity, the *Church councils held in Toledo, particularly from the reign of Sisenand onward, directed many decrees against them, which the Visigothic kings strictly applied. The legislation indicates that there were Jewish settlements in Toledo and the vicinity mainly engaged in agriculture. When the danger of a Muslim invasion seemed imminent, the 17th Church Council, held in Toledo in 694, accused the Jews of plotting, in collaboration with their coreligionists living across the straits, to destroy the Christian kingdom. There is, however, no foundation to the accusation that the Jews delivered the town to the Muslims at the time of its capture (c. 712). Information on the conquest and the presence of Jews in the town is extant from a later period: during the 13th century, Ibn al-Adhari wrote that there had been only a few Jews in the town at the time of its conquest.

[Haim Beinart]

The Jewish Quarter

The first sources referring to the Jewish quarter of Toledo are from the 12th century. At that time its size was much smaller and was in the district of San Martín. The Jewish population of Toledo increased considerably and with it the size of the Jewish quarter, which expanded as far as San Tomé and later reached San Román. The Jewish quarter in Toledo was situated in the western part of the town, where it remained throughout the existence of the Jewish settlement. Its location has been always known in the city. The documents related to the Jews of Toledo published by León Tello make it possible to define with a great degree of precision the boundaries of the quarter. In this area, a number of streets bear names recalling the magnificent past of the community: Samuel ha-Levi, Travesía de la Judería. The quarter spread as far as the gate known today as Cambrón, formerly named "Gate of the Jews." The principal artery of the Jewish quarter, at present known as Calle del Angel, was formerly named Calle de la Judería. This street led to a spacious square which was presumably the center of the quarter. The wall which surrounded the quarter was built as early as 820. There was also a fortress in the quarter for the protection of the Jewish population. Because of the form of its construction, the quarter constituted a kind of independent town which could provide support and assistance to the king when necessary. The Jewish quarter reached the peak of its development and size in the middle of the 14th century. A mistaken reading of one of the sources misled some scholars into thinking that there was a second, smaller quarter near the Cathedral.

The Jewish quarter of Toledo was not exclusively inhabited by Jews. Several well-known Christian noblemen had houses in the precincts of the Jewish quarter. The size of the Jewish population of Toledo cannot be estimated from the area of the Jewish quarter. Baer estimates that the community consisted of 350 families during the 14th century, including those who lived in villages in the vicinity. The historian Ayala concluded that 1,200 Jewish men, women, and children of Toledo died in the persecutions of 1355, in the Alcana quarter only, though Baer does not consider that there were so many Jews living here. In 1368, during the siege of Henry of Trastamara against the town, 8,000 Jews including adults and children died in Toledo, showing the magnitude of their numbers at that time. The community of Toledo was one of the largest in the Iberian peninsula, and at the height of its prosperity the Jews probably formed one third of the city's population, which was then over 40,000.

Jewish Edifices and Ancient Remnants

Toledo is one of the few towns of Spain where remnants of Jewish edifices have been preserved. Toward the close of the 15th century the sources (see Cantera, in bibliography) mention ten synagogues and a further five *battei midrash*. The synagogues included the Great Synagogue situated in the old quarter, which was destroyed by fire in 1250; the Old Synagogue, renovated in 1107, an event which Judah Halevi immortalized in a poem; the Ben-Ziza Synagogue, and many others, some of whose names have not been recorded. In addition, there was a synagogue founded by Joseph Abu ʿOmar *Ibn Shoshan in 1203, converted into a church named Santa Maria la Blanca in 1411 by Vicente *Ferrer (see below). Another synagogue was built by Don Samuel Halevi in c. 1357; transferred to the Order of the Knights of Calatrava in 1494, it later belonged to the priory of San Benito and is at present named El Transito. These two synagogues, still standing, are built in pronounced Mudéjar style and are distinguished for the beauty of their arches and general appearance. They were evidently built by Moorish craftsmen, and underwent structural alterations to adapt them to church requirements. Both were declared national monuments toward the middle of the 19th century. Repairs have been carried out in the Samuel Halevi Synagogue, and the women's gallery and other parts have been restored. In 1964 it was decided to transform the synagogue into the Sephardi Museum. The museum contains very important Jewish tombstones and various articles of great historical value. The synagogue is decorated with passages from the Psalms and beautiful dedicatory inscriptions to the benefactor and builder of the synagogue and King Pedro, during whose reign it was erected. The house of Samuel Halevi, still standing, was for a while inhabited by the painter El Greco.

Toledo also has many remnants of Jewish tombstones, some of which are preserved in the archaeological museum of the town and others in the Sephardi Museum. Copying of the inscriptions on these tombstones was begun from the end of the 16th century; many of the tombstones have since been lost. During the 19th century these reproductions were seen by S.D. *Luzzatto, who published them (*Avnei Zikkaron*). A scholarly edition of these inscriptions was published by Cantera and Míllas with the addition of inscriptions and findings discovered after Luzzatto's publication. Of the tombstones whose inscriptions were published, noteworthy are those of Joseph Abu ʿOmar ibn Shoshan (builder of the synagogue mentioned above) who died in 1205; several members of the *Abulafia family; *Jonah b. Abraham of Gerona (d. 1264); David b. Gedaliah ibn Yaḥya of Portugal (d. 1325); *Jacob b. Asher, author of the *Turim* (d. 1340), son of *Asher b. Jehiel (see below); his brother, *Judah b. Asher, and members of his family who died in the Black Death in 1349; the woman Sitbona (a unique tombstone preserved in the archaeological museum of Toledo); and R. Menahem b. Zerah author of *Ẓeidah la-Derekh* (d. 1385).

Other findings include a pillar with the inscription "Blessed be thy coming and blessed be thy going," with an Arabic version of a blessing, which belonged to one of the synagogues of the town; its architectural form indicates that it dates from the late 12th or early 13th century. The bath house of the Jews of the town was handed over to the San Clemente monastery in 1131 by Alfonso VII but its location is unknown. This abundance of findings is exceptional in Spain, where few Jewish remains have been preserved. All the efforts in looking for a *mikveh* or ritual bath have led to no concrete or certain results. Of special interest is a fresco in one of the exits of the Cathedral describing the blood libel leveled against the Jews, accused of murdering a child of La Guardia.

[Haim Beinart / Yom Tov Assis (2nd ed.)]

Period of Muslim Rule

During the 11th century, when Toledo was ruled by the Berber Ibn Danun dynasty, it had a large Jewish population of about 4,000, divided into separate communities generally according to place of origin (e.g., the Cordobans, Barcelonese, etc.), and a group to which was attributed *Khazar descent. Toledo was also the center of the *Karaites in Spain. Jewish occupations included textile manufacture, tanning, and dyeing, military professions, and commerce. Jews in the villages near Toledo were known for their skill in agriculture and viticulture. A wealthy class of Jewish merchants, bankers, and agents for foreign Christian rulers lived in Toledo. Toledo became a center of Jewish scholarship, translation, and science; the astronomer Zarkal (Abu Ishaq Ibrahim b. Yaḥya) lived there for a time in the mid-11th century, and the biblical commentator Judah b. Samuel *Ibn Bal'am was born and educated in Toledo in this period.

Toledo under Christian Rule

The situation of the Jews in Toledo remained unchanged after the town was conquered by Alfonso VI in 1085. During the 12th century it continued as a center of learning and Jews and apostates were among those who translated works of mathematics, astronomy, and other subjects from Arabic into the spoken vernacular and from that language into Latin. The capitulation terms of the town show that Alfonso promised the Muslims that they could retain their mosques and would only transfer to him the fortified places. There is, however, no information available on the terms affecting the Jews although the fortress situated in their quarter remained in their possession. At this time and throughout the reign of Alfonso, Don Joseph *Ferrizuel (Cidellus) held office in the royal court and was particularly active in favor of his coreligionists.

From then on, the community developed until it became the most prominent in the Kingdom of Castile and one of the most important in Spain. In 1101 Alfonso granted the Arabized Christian population a privilege establishing that the fines they might pay should amount to only one-fifth of those paid by others, excepting in the case of murder or robbery of a Jew or Moor. When Alfonso VI died in 1109, the inhabitants of the town rebelled and attacked the Jews. Alfonso VII, the crown prince, reached a compromise with the townsmen and issued a series of laws discriminating against the Jews, and laid down that lawsuits between Jews and Christians were to be brought before a Christian judge. In 1118 he actually reintroduced the Visigothic law of the fourth council of Toledo in 633, which excluded "those of Jewish origin" from all public positions.

During this period some of the most distinguished personalities of their time lived in Toledo: Isaac *Ibn Ezra who apparently left the town in 1119; Moses *Ibn Ezra who stayed there; and Joseph ibn Kamaniel, the physician, one of the wealthiest members of the community who was entrusted with an important diplomatic mission to the king of Portugal. There were also the families of Shoshan, Al-Fakhar, Halevi, Abulafia, Zadok (who were given land in a village near Toledo in 1132), and Ferrizuel. Because of their importance, the last regarded themselves as descendants of the House of David and as being of noble birth: they assumed the title of *nasi* and thus became a kind of oligarchy within the Jewish community. This family produced the leading tax lessees in the city, in the surrounding area, and in the whole kingdom, as well as other courtiers almost throughout the community's existence. During the reign of Sancho III (1157–58), the position of *almoxarife* in Toledo was held by Judah Joseph ibn Ezra (referred to as Bonjuda in documents); the king granted him lands and exempted him from the payment of tithes on these estates and taxes. R. Judah is known for his energetic activity to remove Karaism from Castile. During the reign of Alfonso VIII (1158–1214), when Toledo was again threatened by the *Almohads, the Christian soldiers maltreated the Jews, although these had actively participated in the defense of the town. Joseph Al-Fakhar and his son Abraham, originally from Granada, then acted as *almoxarifes* in Toledo, as did also members of the Ibn Ezra family and Joseph Abu Omar ibn Shoshan.

The language spoken by the Jews of Toledo and employed in their documents during the 11th to 13th centuries was partly Arabic; they customarily wrote their documents in Arabic with Hebrew characters. These sources reveal a well-developed economic life. Jews of Toledo are recorded as having sold or purchased land, as lenders and borrowers, and are also found in partnerships with Christians in real estate transactions and in commerce. The documents show that the Jews of Toledo did not turn to the non-Jewish tribunals, as was customary in other communities, in matters which involved both Christians and Jews. The Jews owned fields and vineyards and occasionally leased land and pastures in partnership with Christians; they maintained slaves, owned shops, and engaged in every kind of craft. In conjunction with Christians they even occasionally leased the revenues of churches and monasteries. The documents also indicate the status of several of their signatories within the framework of the community. Some of them bear the title of *sofer* or *ḥazzan*, as well as honorifics such as *al-ḥakim* and *al-vazir*. Apparently until the close of the 12th century, the community's style of life resembled that of a Jewish community under Muslim rule. It was only in the course of the 13th century that the prevailing Arab titles lost their luster. By the beginning of the 14th century, use of Arabic in deeds and documents was abandoned.

The administrative organization of the community does not appear to have changed throughout its existence. There is no information on the administrative organization during Muslim rule, but a responsum attributed to R. Joseph ibn Migash mentions the existence, in the early 12th century, of an organization headed by seven notables and elders and a *bet din*. During that period there were also administrative leaders in the community. Gonzalez Palencia has shown that these positions were held by members of distinguished families. From the 13th century the community was administered by ten **muqaddimūn*. Under the influence of Don Joseph ibn Wakar, changes were introduced into the procedure for the election of the community leaders: two arbitrators were elected to choose the *muqaddimūn*. After the expulsion of the Jews from Spain the regulations of Toledo became a model for the organization of the communities of Spanish refugees who settled in North Africa and throughout the territories of the Ottoman Empire.

The decisions of the Fourth *Lateran Council of 1215 influenced the relationship between the Church and the Jews of the town. Rodrigo, the archbishop of Toledo, reached an agreement with the Jews of the archdiocese according to which every Jew aged over 20 would pay one sixth of a gold coin to him as an annual tax; it was laid down that doubtful cases were to be decided by four elders, the *muqaddimūn* of the community, and two Jews chosen by the archbishop; the Jews of Toledo would be exempted from all tithe payments as decided by the Lateran Council, and any property sold by a Jew to a Christian throughout the archdiocese would be exempted from tithe payment. The archbishop undertook to protect the Jews, and the elders of the community were responsible for observance of the agreement by the Jews. Ferdinand III ratified this agreement.

In the 13th century, under the auspices of Alfonso X, the Wise, Jews were involved in translating scientific, philosophical, and medical works from Arabic into Castilian. Out of the 12 translators engaged in the program 5 were Jewish, and they translated 40 percent of all the works.

A period of crisis occurred at the time of the revolt of Crown Prince Sancho against his father (1280–81). A contemporary author relates that the community of Toledo was shaken "as Sodom and Gomorrah." Alfonso X ordered the imprisonment of the Jews in their synagogues, from which they were not to be released until the community paid him a special tax. Notables of the community remained in prison for many months. Attempts were even made there to convert them and several were executed. The distinguished poet Todros b. Judah Ha-Levi was among the prisoners, who after some self-examination decided to repent. He called on the community to amend its evil ways in transactions and commerce, and to separate from non-Jewish women, among other practices. The community accepted his appeal, and a *ḥerem* ("ban") was proclaimed in the synagogue against anyone committing these offenses. This was an act of repentance on the part of a whole community. One of the scholars of Toledo, Jacob b. Crisp, turned to Solomon b. Abraham *Adret (Rashba) and requested his opinion and sanction for the administration of "this province and the penalization of offenders." The latter advised that the same rule could not be applied to everyone: at first a gentle manner should be adopted, but if this proved of no avail, then the strict letter of the law was to be applied.

The same conditions prevailed within the community of Toledo during the reigns of Alfonso and Sancho. The main figure among the Jewish courtiers was Don Abraham El Barchillon, a native of Toledo, first mentioned in state documents as having leased the minting of coins in the kingdom. Others included Don Abraham ibn Shoshan who had already risen to importance during the reign of Alfonso x, and was the *almoxarife* of the queen. The poet Todros ha-Levi Abulafia also resumed his public activities and for a period headed a group of personalities who leased the state revenues: the port customs duties, payments to the royal office, and others.

During his own lifetime, Maimonides was challenged in Toledo by a notable adversary, Meir b. Todros ha-Levi Abulafia, whose opinions were shared by the physician Judah b. Joseph al-Fakhar, and Joseph b. Todros Ha-Levi, the brother of R. Meir. They regarded the writings of Maimonides to be dangerous in that they could undermine faith. The controversy over the study of the writings of Maimonides (see *Maimonidean controversy) received particular impetus in Toledo in 1304–05, at the time of the publication of the correspondence between Solomon b. Adret and Abba Mari *Astruc on the subject of the *ḥerem* issued against the study of the *Guide of the Perplexed*. The correspondence was published by Samson b. Meir, who went to Toledo to obtain the signatures of the community leaders to this *ḥerem* and the support of R. Asher b. Jehiel (Rosh), who from the beginning of the 14th century occupied the rabbinical seat in Toledo. During his lifetime and that of his son R. Judah, Torah learning flourished in Toledo; another of his sons, R. *Jacob b. Asher, wrote the *Turim* there. Israel b. Joseph *al-Nakawa, author of *Menorat ha-Ma'or*, was also active there.

At the beginning of the 14th century, an attempt was made by the clergy in Toledo to compel the Jews to cease from engaging in moneylending; they also compelled the Jews to return the interest which they had taken and to cancel the obligations of payment which Christians had undertaken. Ferdinand iv notified the clergy that he would bring them to account if they continued to impose a boycott on the Jews or sought to prosecute them before the Church tribunals. Nevertheless in a number of cases the king accepted the arguments of the clergy, and Jewish moneylenders of Toledo were arrested, tried before Christian judges, and condemned to lengthy terms of imprisonment. During that period there were wealthy Jews who earned their livelihood by renting houses to other Jews, a practice until then unknown. Toledo was also one of the rare places where Jews owned Muslim slaves. The reign of Alfonso xi (1312–50) was favorable to the community. Don Joseph ha-Levi b. Ephraim (identified with Don Yuçaf de Ecija) and Samuel ibn Wakar, the king's physician who in 1320 leased the minting of coins in the kingdom, were then active at court. They competed for influence there and for the leasing of the revenues of the kingdom. Don Moses *Abzardiel (or Zardiel) was a third personality of importance; as *dayyan* in Toledo and scribe of the king, his signature in Latin is found on deeds and documents concerning taxes and financial affairs, and on privileges issued to bishops, monasteries, noblemen, and towns during the 1330s.

The *Black Death (1348) took a heavy toll among the community of Toledo. During the reign of Pedro the Cruel (1350–60), Don Samuel b. Meir ha-Levi *Abulafia acted as chief agent and treasurer of the king. It was presumably he who built the synagogue in 1357 which bears his name (see above). In 1358 he left for Portugal to negotiate a political agreement, and he was signatory to several royal edicts. He was suddenly arrested in 1360 (or 1361) upon the order of King Pedro, and removed to Seville, where he died at the hands of his torturers. Other Jews after him were lessees and courtiers, more particularly members of the ha-Levi and *Benveniste families of Burgos.

In 1355, when the king entered Toledo, Christians and Muslims attacked the Jewish quarters. The Alcana quarter, near the cathedral, suffered heavily. During the civil war between Pedro and Henry (1366–69), the town changed hands several times; when Pedro once more besieged the city, in 1368–69, 8,000 Jews perished. In June 1369 he ordered that the Jews of Toledo and their belongings be sold to raise 1,000,000 gold coins. The community was ruined, and every object which could find a buyer was sold. By 1367, however, the Christian congregations had already complained that they had sunk into debts to the Jews and called for a moratorium on their debts and reduction to half of their value. Henry had remitted their debts for two years and reduced them to one third.

The Persecutions of 1391

While the Toledo community was still endeavoring to recover from the effects of the civil war, it was overtaken by the persecutions which swept Spain in 1391 and brought down upon it ruin and destruction. The riots against the Jews in Toledo broke out on 17 Tammuz (June 20) or, according to Christian sources, on August 5. Among the many who were martyred were the grandchildren of R. Asher, his disciples, and numerous distinguished members of the community. Almost all the synagogues were destroyed or set on fire, and the *battei midrash* became mounds of ruins. Many abandoned Judaism at that time, and Toledo became filled with Conversos (see below). The impoverishment of the community is also evident from the order of Henry iii, according to which certain incomes totaling 48,400 maravedis were handed over to the New Kings Church of Toledo in 1397 instead of the income provided for it by his father and grandfather from the annual tax of the Jews, which could not be collected as a result of the destruction of the community. During that year Jewish houses were also auctioned. There were, however, still Jews of Toledo who held important leases. In 1395 the archbishop of Toledo appointed his physician Pedro, who was an apostate, chief justice of the communities of his archdiocese. This was a unique case in which an apostate became a judge to dispense Jewish law. Don Abraham ibn Shoshan protested to the crown against this appointment.

The community of Toledo did not recover throughout the 15th century. In 1408 John II transferred several revenues to the chief *adelantado* of the kingdom of Castile to replace his revenues formerly derived from the communities of Toledo, Madrid, and Alcalá de Henares which had been destroyed and were so impoverished that all income from them had disappeared. Vicente Ferrer visited Toledo in 1411. He entered the Jewish quarter with an armed escort and converted the Ibn Shoshan Synagogue into a church. There is reason to believe that a number of Jews converted to Christianity as a result of the sermons he delivered. The annual taxes of Jewish Toledo amounted to only 7,000 maravedis in 1439. There were, however, still a number of Jews who held leases in the town and outside it, survivors of the old families: Don Isaac Abudraham in the archdeaconry of Alcaraz near Toledo (1439); Don Ephraim ibn Shoshan who leased taxes in Toledo in 1442 and continued to do so after the attacks on the Conversos in 1452 and 1454. When Isabella ascended the throne and the country became united with the kingdom of Aragon, Jews of Toledo again held important positions in the kingdom as lessees and courtiers. Don David Abudraham leased the tax on meat and fish in Toledo between 1481 and 1484. Don Moses ibn Shoshan leased the taxes of Molina. During that year Don Abraham *Seneor of Segovia leased the taxes of Toledo. While in Toledo in 1480, the Catholic monarchs *Ferdinand and Isabella decided on their anti-Jewish policy and the Cortes convened there adopted a series of decrees.

The Jews of Toledo were expelled with the other Jews of Spain in 1492, and the last exiles left Toledo on the seventh of Av. They left behind them the debts owed to them by Christians, and the government determined the procedure for their collection. Luis de Alcalá and Fernando Nuñez (Abraham Seneor) Coronel were entrusted with this task. At that time 40 houses in their ancient quarter were owned by Jews, who apparently were not sufficiently numerous to occupy all of them so that some were inhabited by Christians. No information is available about the destinations of the exiles, but as the regulations of the Toledo community are found in Fez and other places in North Africa they obviously settled there. Jews from Toledo settled in Turkey and also reestablished communities in Ereẓ Israel. In Toledo in 1494 Rodrigo de Marcado, the king's representative, proclaimed that the property of the community would be transferred to the crown. This included communal property, the debts owed to Jews, real estate, butchers' shops, and the lands and consecrated properties which the Jews of the town had entrusted to the municipal council or handed over to several of its citizens.

The Conversos of Toledo

Jews were living in Toledo as forced converts (see also **Anusim*) during two periods. The first was under the Visigoths, and the second period of religious persecution and forced apostasy was from the end of the 14th century. The Conversos of Toledo continued to live in the quarters they had formerly occupied as Jews, until the 1480s, when the residential area of the Jewish quarter was greatly reduced, while the Conversos were dispersed among the Christian parishes of the town.

The revolt of Pedro *Sarmiento against John II in 1449, and the attempt by the crown to have taxes collected from the inhabitants of the town by Conversos, resulted in attacks on the latter. These were followed by a trial of 12 Conversos which gave impetus to the publication in Castile of a widespread literature on the subject, as part of a public campaign both for and against the Conversos, concerning their place within Christian society. Many pamphlets of satire which ridiculed the Conversos were composed, while forged letters were circulated of a supposed correspondence between Chamorro, the "head" of the community of Toledo, with Yusuf, the "head" of the Jews of Constantinople, concerning a project to destroy Christianity.

Attempts to conduct inquiries in Toledo against suspected heresy, in *Inquisition style, were inspired by the monk *Alfonso de Espina during the 1460s. *Alfonso de Oropesa, head of the Order of St. Jerome, was appointed by the archbishop to investigate heresy in Toledo. During a whole year he interrogated Conversos and penalized them, but the overwhelming majority evidently returned to the fold of the Church. On July 19, 1467 riots again broke out against the Conversos in the Magdalena quarter, and there was again an open conflict between Conversos and Christians in various quarters of the town. When the Christians gained the upper hand, many Conversos hid in the houses of the Jews. Several of the Converso leaders were arrested and executed.

In 1485 the rabbis of Toledo were ordered to proclaim a *ḥerem* against Jews who refused to testify before the Inquisition if they knew of Conversos who observed the Jewish precepts. In 1486 and the beginning of 1487, 4,000 of the inhabitants of the town and the vicinity were involved in five autos-da-fé; some of them returned to the fold of the Church and others were burned at the stake on the site known as Sucodovar. However, the files of only 85 executions are extant for the period between 1485 and the 1660s. The Conversos sentenced in Toledo belonged to two categories: the cultured persons, holders of public office, and the ordinary craftsmen. Among the intellectuals sentenced were Alvaro de Montalbán, father-in-law of the poet Fernando de Rojas, author of the *Celestina*; and Martín de Lucena, to whom R. Solomon ibn Verga refers as a scholar. His son Juan de Lucena was one of the first in Spain to print Hebrew works and diffuse them outside the country. Juan de Pineda, a commander of the Order of Santiago and the delegate of the Order at the papal court, was also among those tried. Craftsmen tried by the Inquisition included cobblers, shoemakers, tailors, and blacksmiths. Many merchants and women were also executed. Attempts were also made to implicate the Conversos of Toledo in the *La Guardia blood libel.

[Haim Beinart]

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TOLEDO, city in Ohio, U.S. The estimated population (2005) was 315,000, with the Jewish population somewhat less than 4,000 (5,900 in the metropolitan area), approximately 6,000 fewer than cited in the 1972 *Encyclopaedia Judaica*. Local legend has it that the name of the city, borrowed from the Spanish city, was suggested by the Jewish citizens as it derives from the Hebrew *toledot* which connotes history and continuity.

The history of the development of the Toledo Jewish community began with a handful of German and Dutch Jews who arrived via Cincinnati. They were joined by several Hungarian Jews. In 1837 when the city was chartered there were several Jewish families. Toledo and Cincinnati were connected by a series of canals and the local Jews were largely in commerce with goods that were ferried from Cincinnati. Happily, there was no need for a Jewish cemetery until 1867 when the Hebrew Benevolent and Cemetery Association was founded. The first cemetery was interdenominational. Since then, the three congregations have created separate burial grounds for their members. There is a *ḥevra kaddisha* that serves all the Jews of the community.

Among the first Jewish families were the Marx brothers. Emil, Guido, and Joseph published the *Ohio Staatszeitung* intended for the largely German-speaking population of the area. Emil was an early volunteer at the beginning of the Civil War. Joseph was appointed U.S. consul to Amsterdam by President Abraham Lincoln in 1864.

The first settlers were staunchly individualistic free thinking or atheistic Jews who were bound to the community through a network of family business and shared capital. Attempts to form synagogues were spasmodic and short lived.

The first mention of the observance of High Holidays was in 1865 but it wasn't until 1867 that Congregation B'nai Israel, now affiliated with the Conservative movement, was founded. It has been served by Rabbis Halper, Glazer, Herowitz, Epstein, Lichtenstein, Goldberg, Perlmutter, Bienstock, Ungar, Kaiman, and Leff.

Eight years later Reform Congregation Shomer Emunim ("keeper of faithfulness"; Isaiah 26:2) was founded. The name was suggested by Isaac Mayer Wise, the initiator and organizer of the then incipient Reform movement in the United States. It was assumed that a Jewish community in such a remote section of the mid-west United States deserved a name affirming its faithfulness. It appears to be the only synagogal congregation in the world with that name. The rabbis of the congregation have been Schanfarber, Meier, Freund, Alexander, Coffee, Harris, Kornfeld, Feuer, Sokobin, and Weinstein.

Congregation Etz Chaim was founded by the merger of smaller Orthodox congregations. Its rabbis have been Katz and Garsek.

Several of the rabbis of Toledo have had contributory positions in Toledo to the nation and national Jewish organizations. Following World War II when Israel was struggling to create its independence Rabbi Leon *Feuer was the chief lobbyist in Washington seeking American political support for the establishment of a Jewish State. He later became president of the Central Conference of American Rabbis. Rabbi Morton Goldberg served as both president of the Toledo Public School System and the Toledo Library system. Rabbi J.S. *Kornfeld was ambassador to Persia and Rabbi Alan Sokobin was chair of studies of the educational system as well as the court and justice systems of the City of Toledo. Both Rabbi Feuer and Rabbi Sokobin taught at the University of Toledo.

In response to the large number of Jews arriving in Toledo the need to organize led to the establishment of the Toledo Federation of Jewish Charities in 1907. The Jewish Banner Boys Club had previously been organized to assist 12 and 13 year olds integrate into the community. A Banner Club for girls was formed and the boys and girls met together on a weekly basis for a discussion group. The many social and cultural activities thrived and the need for a building was becoming apparent. In 1911 the Council of Jewish Women was given permission to solicit funds for a building. In 1912 a building was erected by the Jewish Educational League for the programs directed at children and newcomers to the area. The purpose of the league had the lofty goal "to develop and maintain a high standard of American citizenship among the Jewish Residents of Toledo."

In 1936 the Jewish Educational League, the Jewish Family Service, and the Transient Service became a part of the Jewish Community Center. Since that time the Jewish community of Toledo has been exceedingly well represented in national Jewish organizations. There are active chapters of Hadassah, ORT, and B'nai B'rith as well as chapters of Young Judea and Synagogue Youth. The United Jewish Council is the governance body for the Toledo Board of Jewish Education that maintains a Jewish day school as well as an afternoon Hebrew program serving the Orthodox and Conservative congregations. In 2004 the athletic programs of the Jewish Community Center were combined with those of the Toledo YMCA.

Jews have become an integral part of the general Toledo community. There are Jews who have been elected to important judicial as well as legislative posts. While the community began largely with merchants, today the majority of Toledo Jewry is engaged in the professions. Like many Ohio communities, elderly Jews have migrated toward the sunbelt and younger Jews have left for college and not returned home.

[Alan Sokobin (2nd ed.)]

TOLEDO, MOSES DE (fl. first part of 17th century), Jerusalem *ḥakham* and emissary. In 1628 Toledo traveled through the Greek islands, reaching the island of Corfu at the beginning of winter. He was one of the numerous emissaries who were sent out from Jerusalem after the brutalities of the governor, Muhammad ibn Farukh, in 1625. The latter impoverished the Jews, who lost all of their possessions, and as a result of his extortions he even enslaved them to the Muslims for many years. The community of Corfu was generous with all the emissaries, but since Toledo was the third emissary from Jerusalem within a brief period, the community in a special letter to Jerusalem requested that no more emissaries be sent. Furthermore, it stated that the Corfu community would send its contributions directly to Jerusalem by the safest method available, in order to save the commissioning of an emissary and his expenses.

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[Avraham Yaari]

TOLEDOT HA-ARI (Heb. תּוֹלְדוֹת הָאֲרִ״י), a legendary biography of Isaac *Luria of *Safed. It is one of the most detailed and richest hagiographies written in Hebrew.

Found in many manuscripts, it seems to have been a popular work, was translated into Ladino (printed 1766), and even adapted into the story genre having a single plot (e.g., a Yemenite story based on it). It first appeared in print under the title *Kavvanot u-Ma'aseh Nissim* (Istanbul, 1720). The relationship between this work and the *Shivḥei ha-Ari*, another collection of stories about Luria (first printed in Joseph *Delmedigo's *Ta'alumot Ḥokhmah*, Basle, 1629–31, and again in a different version in *Emek ha-Melekh* by Naphtali *Bacharach, Amsterdam, 1648) is a point of discussion in modern scholarship. Benayahu maintains that the letters constituting *Shivḥei ha-Ari* (the letters of Solomon Shlumil of Dresnitz) were written in Safed in the first decade of the 17th century, and were taken from *Toledot ha-Ari* which, according to him, already existed then as a collection of stories. However, the first manuscripts of *Toledot ha-Ari* were written in the second half of the 17th century, decades after R. Shlumil's letters.

Toledot ha-Ari is a more fantastical, romantic, and imaginative work than *Shivḥei ha-Ari*. It includes, for example, a version of "The Story of the Jerusalemite," a 13th-century tale about the marriage between a man and a demon, adapted to serve as a vehicle to demonstrate Luria's greatness. The famous story of the **dibbuk* (a spirit which entered a girl's body) which appears in *Shivḥei ha-Ari* as an addendum, and is not among Shlumil's original letters, is an integral part of *Toledot ha-Ari*. The supernatural tales found in *Toledot ha-Ari* are also not in *Shivḥei ha-Ari*. In *Toledot ha-Ari*, Luria is sometimes portrayed as a famous rabbi and judge, respected in Safed and all over the Jewish East. This is not a historical fact, and nothing of the sort is mentioned in Shlumil's letters. It may therefore be inferred that *Shivḥei ha-Ari* is a compilation of intimate accounts told by Luria's pupils, whereas *Toledot ha-Ari* is a collection of fantastical and imaginary hagiographies which were associated with Luria by later admirers, after his fame had spread all over the Jewish world. At the same time, there is little doubt that *Toledot ha-Ari* also includes some true stories about Luria which Shlumil either did not know, or did not include in his extant letters. It must therefore be considered also as a source on Luria's life and works. It served as an example for later Jewish compilers of hagiographies, and, undoubtedly, influenced *Shivḥei ha-Besht* (Berdichev, 1815), the hagiographies of the founder of Ḥasidism, and other similar works.

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[Joseph Dan]

TOLEDOT YESHU (Heb. "The Life of Jesus"), medieval pseudo-history of the life of *Jesus. The inherent nature of the Christian version of the birth, life, and death of Jesus called forth a "Jewish" view. Beginnings to an approach can be found in the talmudic tractates *Sotah* (47a) and *Sanhedrin* (43a; 67a; 107b). When confronted by Christian critics and censors, however, Jewish scholars explained that these references were to another Jesus who had lived 200 years before the Christian era. From the geonic period at the latest, and throughout the Middle Ages, many versions on the life of Jesus were written and compiled by Jews. The authors used as sources talmudic sayings and Christian stories. The different writings merged into a single narrative of which nearly a dozen versions are extant. Most of these were printed by Samuel *Krauss, whose *Das Leben Jesu nach juedischen Quellen* (1902) includes a detailed study of nine versions of the story, and has remained the main scholarly work in the field.

The complete narrative, which could not have been written before the tenth century, used earlier sources, some of which have been preserved in the Cairo **Genizah* documents. A chronological examination of the various fragments and versions reveals the development of the narrative. The complete medieval story has versions which are so different from each other in attitude and in detail that it is impossible that one author could have written it. Undoubtedly, several storytellers wove their separate tales out of the same early material; these were then compiled. In all the versions, Miriam (Mary), Jesus' mother, is described in a favorable light. She is of a good family and marries a nobleman whose ancestry goes back to the House of David. According to the narrative, Jesus' father, a neighbor of the household, was a bad man. Some versions state that he raped Miriam, others relate that he succeeded in pretending to be Miriam's husband. The names of the husband and the villain vary in the different versions. If the husband is Joseph, the villain is Johanan, and in those which name Johanan as the husband, Joseph is the villain. All versions concur that when it became known that Mary was raped, the husband ran away, and the infant was born to his lonely mother.

The narrative in all its versions treats Jesus as an exceptional person who from his youth demonstrated unusual wit and wisdom, but disrespect toward his elders and the sages of the age. This part of the story bears some similarities to Ben Sira's youth described in *Alphabet of *Ben Sira*, leading some scholars to believe that the latter was also an anti-Christian satirical medieval work. The narrative does not deny that Jesus had supernatural powers; these, however, he obtained when he stole a holy name from the Temple. After a long struggle, in which conflicting magical powers contested for preeminence, Jesus' magic was rendered powerless by one of the sages. Naturally, the narrative intends to divest Christian tradition of any spiritual meaning. Some of the miracles, therefore, like the disappearance of Jesus' body after death, are explained either as acts of deception or as natural phenomena. In the more developed versions of the narrative, the hatred toward Jesus and his followers is not the only motif in the story. Many unnecessary details were added, secondary characters were developed, and the story became a romance about the tragic fate of a young man mistaken in his ways.

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[Joseph Dan]

TOLERANZPATENT, edict of tolerance issued by Emperor Joseph II on Jan. 2, 1782 for Vienna and Lower Austria (and subsequently for other provinces of the empire). It was one of a series of patents granted to the major, non-Catholic denominations of Austria, guaranteeing existing rights and obligations and laying down additional ones. The final version was less liberal than Joseph II's original drafts. The *Toleranzpatent* confirmed existing restrictions against any increase in the number of tolerated Jews; however, they were encouraged to engage in large-scale business, to set up factories, and to learn trades (although becoming master craftsmen remained prohibited); to establish schools and attend universities. Upper-class Jews were encouraged to integrate socially. The concluding article exhorted the Jews to be thankful and not to misuse their privileges, particularly not to offend Christianity in public, an offense which would result in expulsion. At the same time insult or violence done to a Jew would be punished.

With its leitmotif of making the Jews useful to society and the state through education and the abolishment of economic restrictions, the *Toleranzpatent* influenced much contemporary legislation in Germany. Although welcomed by N.H. *Wessely and other luminaries of the *Haskalah, it was viewed with misgiving in conservative Jewish circles, in particular by Ezekiel *Landau, who characterized it as a *gezerah* ("a disaster"); he was especially troubled by the order that within two years no document in Hebrew would be legally valid. Even Moses *Mendelssohn expressed misgivings over the new type of Christian enticement. Nonetheless, the edict was a significant milestone on the road to full emancipation.

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TOLKOWSKY, SHEMUEL (1886–1965), agronomist and Israel diplomat. Born in Antwerp, Belgium, Tolkowsky settled in Ereẓ Israel in 1911. In 1916–18 he served under Chaim *Weizmann in London as member of the Zionist Political Committee, which negotiated the *Balfour Declaration, and was an advisor on political matters. In 1918–19 he was the secretary of the Zionist delegation in the Versailles Peace Conference. Tolkowsky was active in various economic and public fields in Tel Aviv. In 1949–56 he was consul general and later minister of Israel in Berne, Switzerland. His books include *The Gateway to Palestine – History of Jaffa* (1924); *Hesperides, A History of the Culture and Use of Citrus Fruits* (1938); and *They Look to the Sea* (1964). His son DAN (1921–), born in Tel Aviv, was a mechanical engineer, and served in the British Royal Air Force as a flight lieutenant during World War II. From 1948 he served in the Israel air force and from 1953 until 1958 was its commander, attaining the rank of *alluf.*

[Benjamin Jaffe]

TOLLER, ERNST (1893–1939), German playwright and revolutionary. Born in Samotschin, Prussia, Toller was raised in an assimilated Jewish family which prided itself on being representative of German culture in a region heavily populated by

Poles. He volunteered for the army at the outbreak of World War I and after 13 months in the trenches at Verdun, was released as unfit for service. Toller's war experiences converted him from ultranationalism to pacifistic socialism. In Berlin he met Kurt *Eisner, and joined him in Munich as a member of the Independent Socialist Party (USPD), participating in strikes and anti-war agitation, as a result of which he was briefly imprisoned. Toller was a leader of the short-lived Bavarian Soviet Republic of 1919 and he succeeded Eisner after the latter's murder. Later he headed the Red Guard, but opposed needless violence. In June 1919, when the revolution collapsed, he was hounded by the authorities and spent five years in prison. It was while he was in jail that Toller wrote his celebrated expressionistic dramas: *Masse-Mensch* (1921; *Masses and Man*, 1923), *Die Maschinenstuermer* (1922; *The Machine-Wreckers*, 1923), *Hinkemann* (1924; *Brokenbrow*, 1926), and *Der entfesselte Wotan* (1923), which called for a new and more humane society and for man's liberation from the tyranny of the machine. The verse collection, *Das Schwalbenbuch* (1923; *The Swallow-Book*, 1924), contains some of the best poetry written during his imprisonment. After his release, Toller visited the U.S.S.R. (1926) and the U.S. (1929), shedding some of his utopian ideas. His later plays, such as *Hoppla wir leben*! (1927; *Hoppla*, 1928), and *Feuer aus den Kesseln* (1930; *Draw the Fires*, 1935), were less successful. Another drama, *Wunder in Amerika* (1931), was written in collaboration with Hermann *Kesten. Hitler's rise to power drove Toller into exile. His autobiography, *Eine Jugend in Deutschland* (1933; *I Was a German*, 1934), vividly depicted the hopes and frustrations of his generation. Toller continued the struggle against the Nazis, who regarded him with special hatred, throughout his years of exile, first in Switzerland, then in France, England, and finally, from 1936, in the U.S. He was engaged in unremitting efforts to help the cause of Spanish democracy but the fall of Republican Madrid to Franco's troops brought him a feeling of increased isolation and despair which led him to commit suicide in New York. Toller's last works include *No More Peace* (1937) and *Pastor Hall* (in English only, 1939).

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[Sol Liptzin]

TOLSTOYE (Pol. **Tłuste**), town in Tarnopol district, W. Ukraine. Jews first settled in Tolstoye in the late 17th century. In the mid-1720s *Israel b. Eliezer, Ba'al Shem Tov, came to settle with his family and from there he started to preach his doctrine (1736). The gravestone of his mother was in the old local cemetery until World War II. From the first partition of Poland in 1772 until 1918, Tolstoye was under Austrian rule. In the 19th century the Jews traded in agricultural produce, timber, cloth, and beverages. They numbered 2,157 (67% of the total population) in 1880; 2,172 (59%) in 1900; and 1,196 (46%) in 1921. Ḥasidism was preponderant in Tolstoye; the wealthy members of the community (estate owners, contractors, and merchants of forest produce and hides) were followers of the *ẓaddik* of Chortkov, whereas shopkeepers, grain merchants, brokers, and scholars adhered to Viznitsa Ḥasidism, and the artisans were followers of the *ẓaddik* of Kopychintsy. In 1914 and 1916 the Jews suffered at the hands of the Russian army. Between the two world wars, in independent Poland, all the Zionist parties were active in the town and there was a *Tarbut Hebrew school.

[Shimshon Leib Kirshboim]

Holocaust Period

With the outbreak of war between Germany and the U.S.S.R. (June 22, 1941), groups of Jewish youth attempted to escape to the Soviet Union with the retreating Soviet army, but only a few succeeded. The city was captured by the Hungarian army, which was an ally of Germany. The Ukrainians attacked the Jews and looted their property, and Jews were drafted into work camps and agricultural farms in the area. In March 1942 the remnants of the Jewish communities of the entire area were concentrated in Tolstoye. In July 1942, 200 people were arrested and sent off in an "unknown direction." On Oct. 5, 1942, about 1,000 people were transported to the *Belzec death camp and about 150 were killed on the spot. On May 27, 1943, about 3,000 people were concentrated in the market square and were taken from there to the Jewish cemetery, where they were killed. About 1,000 people remained in the city, and they were murdered in an *Aktion* on June 6, 1943. The last 80 Jews were transported to Czortkow and found their deaths there. Many of the Jews who had fled to the forests fell into the hands of the fanatic Ukrainian Bandera gangs, but some of them joined partisan units. The remnants of the Tolstoye community were liberated from the camps in the area in March 1944. They soon immigrated to Palestine and the West. Jewish life was not reconstituted in Tolstoye after the war.

[Aharon Weiss]

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TOLUSH (pseudonym of **Iser Muselevitsh**; 1887–1962), Yiddish writer, born in Dvinsk, Latvia. Orphaned at an early age, he was virtually self-educated. Upon arriving in the U.S. in 1920, he shifted from writing in Russian to Yiddish. He worked at numerous occupations and wandered across much of Europe, Palestine, and the U.S. The designation Tolush (Heb. "detached" / "displaced") was given him by Z. *Shneour to characterize his itinerant life. His writing, influenced by Gorky and reflecting his wandering, introduced into Yiddish literature bohemian and unusual characters and settings. His works include *Der Yam Roysht* ("The Sea Roars," 1921), *A Zump* ("A Swamp," 1922), *Voglenish* ("Wandering," 1938), *Yidishe Shrayber* ("Yiddish Authors," 1953), and *Mayn Tatns Nign* ("My Father's Melody," 1957).

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[Leonard Prager / Jerold C. Frakes (2nd ed.)]

TOMA, A. (originally **Moscovici**; 1875–1954), Romanian poet. Toma contributed to Romania's socialist and Jewish press and one of his poems, "Sion" ("Zion"), was often recited at Zionist gatherings. His verse collections include *Poezii* (1926, 1930^2) and *Cîntul vietii* (1950); a volume of children's poems, *Piuici si fratii lui mici* ("Piuici and his Little Brothers"), also appeared in English (1956). A member of the Romanian Academy after World War II, he was a prolific translator and gained many awards.

TOMAR (formerly **Thomar**), city in central Portugal. The earliest record of Tomar Jews, a tombstone of a rabbi, Joseph of Thomar, dated 1315, is found in *Faro's Jewish cemetery. A magnificent 15th-century synagogue on Rua de Joaquin Jacinto, referred to in an old document as "Rua Nova que foi judaria," reveals that there was a dynamic Jewish community in Tomar prior to the forced baptisms of 1497. The residents of the *judaria*, called *gente da naçao* or "people of the nation," were generally upper-class citizens. An *Inquisition tribunal was established at Tomar in 1540, and the first *auto-da-fé was held on May 6, 1543. After a second *auto-da-fé*, on June 20, 1544, the tribunal was suspended, owing perhaps to the discovery of administrative abuses. It was closed altogether with the publication on July 10, 1548 of a bull of pardon directing the release of all persons then held by the Inquisition.

On July 29, 1921, Tomar's historic synagogue building – which had been confiscated and used by a Christian order throughout the Inquisition period – was declared a national monument by the Portuguese government. In 1922 the antiquarian Samuel *Schwarz took title to the building, establishing there a museum for Judeo-Portuguese artifacts and inscriptions. Named Museu Luso-Hebraico Abraham Zacuto, it contains a good collection of inscriptions from early synagogues, including the notable stone from *Belmonte's 13th-century synagogue inscribed "And the Lord is in His holy Temple, be still before Him all the land," where the Divine Name is represented by three dots, in a manner also found in the *Dead Sea Scrolls.

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[Aaron Lichtenstein]

TOMASHPOL, town in Vinnitsa district, Ukraine; before the 1917 Revolution in the administrative province of Podolia. In 1847 there were 1,875 Jews living in Tomashpol. The town developed extensively as a result of the sugar industry and trade there. Between 1883 and 1918 Judah Leib *Levin (Yahalal) lived there, employed as an accountant in the factory owned by the *Brodski family. There were 4,518 Jews (over 90% of the total population) in the town in 1897. During the civil war many Jews in Tomashpol fell victims of the pogroms perpetrated by the armies of *Denikin in February 1920. By 1926 the number of Jews in the town had decreased to 3,252 (54.3%).

After the German occupation of Tomashpol in 1941, the Jews who remained there were murdered.

In the late 1960s the Jewish population was estimated at 1,000. There was no synagogue, the last remaining synagogue having been confiscated in 1956 and converted into a tailoring workshop.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: A.D. Rosenthal, *Megillat ha-Tevaḥ*, 3 (1931), 60–63.

[Yehuda Slutsky]

TOMASZOW LUBELSKI, town in Lublin province, E. Poland; from 1772 to 1809 under Austria, and from 1815 within Congress Poland. An organized Jewish community existed in Tomaszow Lubelski from the 1630s, but it was almost entirely annihilated in the *Chmielnicki massacres of 1648. The community was reorganized in the late 1650s. Its members earned their livelihood from trade in agricultural produce, the fur trade, tailoring, and inn keeping. The *parnas* of the community, Jacob Levi Safra, was its delegate at the Council of Four Lands (see *Councils of Lands) in 1667. In the 1670s the rabbi of the town was Isaac Shapira; he was succeeded by Judah b. Nisan. R. Phinehas bar Meir of Tomaszow was martyred in Lublin in 1677. There were 806 Jews in the town and its surroundings who paid the poll-tax in 1765. From the beginning of the 19th century the community was increasingly influenced by Ḥasidism. The Jewish population numbered 1,156 (43% of the total) in 1827; 2,090 (57%) in 1857; and 3,646 (59%) in 1897. At the close of the 19th century the Jews of Tomaszow Lubelski, among whom were many laborers, engaged in the operation of flour-mills, processing wood, weaving, tailoring, baking, and tanning. Between the two world wars, the Jewish population increased from 4,643 (65%) in 1921 to 5,669 in 1931. A library and Jewish sports club were established; branches of all the Jewish parties were active.

[Arthur Cygielman]

Holocaust Period

On the outbreak of World War II there were about 6,000 Jews in Tomaszow. On Sept. 6, 1939, the Jewish quarter suffered heavy German bombardment. The local synagogue was burned down, and about 500 houses inhabited by Jews were destroyed. The German army entered Tomaszow on Sept. 13, 1939, but withdrew within two weeks, and the Soviet army entered, only to return the town to the Germans after a few days. Many Jews (over 75%) seized the opportunity of leaving the town with the withdrawing Soviet army, and only 1,500 remained when the Germans returned. On Feb. 25, 1942, most of them were deported to the forced-labor camp in Cieszanow, where almost all died. Many Jews fled into the surrounding forests and attempted to hide there. A group of young Jews under Mendel Heler and Meir Kalichmacher organized a Jewish partisan unit, which fought the Germans for some time, but was betrayed by local Poles and annihilated.

The Jewish community was not reconstituted in Tomaszow Lubelski after the war.

[Stefan Krakowski]

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Halpern, Pinkas, index; B. Wasiutyński, *Ludność żydowska w Polsce w wiekach XIX i XX* (1930), 11, 16, 33, 60, 71; S. Bronsztejn, *Ludność żydowska w Polsce w okresie miedzywojennym* (1963), 278; M. Weinreich, *Shturmvint* (1927), 176–80: *Tomashover Yisker Bukh* (1965).

TOMASZOW MAZOWIECKI (also called **Tomaszow Rawski**), city in Lodz province, central Poland. The owner of Tomaszow Mazowiecki, Count Antoni Adam Ostrowski, invited Jewish weavers and entrepreneurs to settle there in the 1820s. Jacob Steinman from Ujazd acted as the count's agent in charge of the area. Jewish merchants who came to settle received building plots. They soon organized trade in local textile products. On the initiative of the manufacturer Leib Zilber a Jewish community was officially founded in 1831, and was granted sites for a synagogue, *mikveh*, hospital, and cemetery. The first dozen Jewish families in the city earned their livelihood as hired workers in the local weaving mills; later several became managers and owners of various textile plants. After the defeat of the Polish uprising of 1831, the Russian government of Nicholas I confiscated the Ostrowski estates, including Tomaszow Mazowiecki. Antoni Ostrowski went into exile in France, where he published *Pomysfy o potrzebie reformy towarzyskiej* ("Thoughts on the Necessity of Social Change," 1834), in which he formulated a plan for improving the conditions of the Jews in Poland.

The town grew from the early 1850s. The 1,879 Jews who lived there in 1857 comprised 37% of the population. By 1897 the number of Jews had grown to 9,320 (47% of the population); it increased to 10,070 in 1921 and 11,310 in 1931. The great synagogue was built between 1864 and 1878. In 1889 a *kasher* kitchen was built to cater for 120 Jewish soldiers serving in the Russian army who were stationed in the area. The manufacturer and community leader A. Landsberg paid for the building of a community center and donated another building to house the city's first Jewish high school. The community's first rabbi was Abraham Altschuler; Jacob Wieliczkier served there from 1857 to 1888 and Hersh Aaron Israelewicz from 1890 to 1916. In the 1880s David Bornstein founded a textile mill to employ Jewish workers, thus assuring their Sabbath observance. Besides weaving and spinning, the Jews engaged in carpentry, dyeing, and construction; many were employed as bookkeepers and foremen. In the early 20th century a Jewish workers' movement was organized. Between the world wars all the Jewish political parties were active in the city, especially the *Bund, *Po'alei Zion, and *Agudat Israel. Ludwik Frucht served as deputy mayor from 1926. In 1921 two schools merged to form the Hebrew high school. A Yiddish weekly, *Tomashover Vokhenblat*, appeared between 1925 and 1939. Samuel ha-Levi Brot, a Mizrachi leader in Poland, officiated as rabbi between 1928 and 1936. In the 1930s the Jews were damaged economically by the growing antisemitism. Natives of Tomaszow Mazowiecki include Leon *Pinsker, whose father taught in the city, the writer Moshe Dolzenovsky, and the chess champion Samuel *Reshevsky. The mathematician Ḥayyim Selig *Slonimski lived there between 1846 and 1858.

[Arthur Cygielman]

Holocaust Period

On the outbreak of World War II there were 13,000 Jews in the town. In December 1940 a closed ghetto composed of three isolated parts was established there. On March 11, 1941 the Jews from Plock were forced to settle there, so that the town's Jewish population grew to over 15,000. On April 27, 1942 about 100 people, including many members of the local underground, were arrested and shot. About 7,000 Jews were deported to the *Treblinka death camp and murdered on Oct. 31, 1942. Three days later another 7,000 Tomaszow Jews met their death in Treblinka. Only about 1,000 were left in the ghetto, which became a forced-labor camp. In May 1943 the ghetto was liquidated and its inmates transferred to the forced-labor camps in Blizyna and Starachowice, where almost all of them perished. No Jewish community was reconstituted in Tomaszow Mazowiecki.

[Stefan Krakowski]

BIBLIOGRAPHY: B. Wasiutyński, *Ludność żydowska w Polsce w wiekach XIX i XX* (1930), 28; S. Bronsztejn, *Ludność żydowska w Polsce w okresie międzywojennym* (1963), 278; M. Wejsberg (ed.), *Tomashov-Mazovyetsk Yisker Bukh* (1969); A. Rutkowski, in: BŻIH, 15–16 (1955).

TOMBS AND TOMBSTONES. Regular burial of the dead in tombs was customary even in prehistoric times as a manifestation of the beginnings of religious ritual, both among nomads and among settled peoples. In the Neolithic period, deceased tribal heads were regarded as family or tribal totems as attested by clay skulls, with human features, found at Jericho (Kenyon, in bibl.). In the Chalcolithic period it was customary to bury the bones in dry ossuaries after the flesh had disintegrated. There were various forms of ossuaries. Sometimes human features were engraved on the front of the ossuary. *Cemeteries of ossuaries were found mainly on the coastal strip of Ereẓ Israel. Death was viewed as a transition to a different world, where life was continued. The dead and their departed spirits were thought of as powerful, incomprehensible forces threatening the living with a limitless capacity for harm or for good. It was thus customary to place offerings of food and drink in special vessels, which were then buried in the tomb together with the corpse. For example, a platter with a lamb's head upon it has been found in a tomb at Afulah. Gifts given to the dead, either for their use or to propitiate them, were the items most highly prized by the person during his lifetime. Thus, during the Middle Canaanite period it was customary to "kill" the sword of the deceased after its owner's death by bending it and making it useless. During the Late Canaanite period, a man's war horse and chariot were symbolic of his noble status. It was therefore customary to bury a nobleman's weapons and horse with him. In a number of graves at Beth-Eglaim (Tell-ʿAjūl) horses are buried with their riders (Petrie, in bibl.). Burial customs were the most important aspect of the early Egyptian cultic practices. These customs accompanied the death of the king-gods, nobles, and upper classes. The monumental architecture of the Egyptian burial cities, the mummification of the kings, and the embalming of sacred animals, all developed around the Egyptian burial cult (Dawson, in bibl.). Such practices were employed in the great, powerful, and stable kingdoms and in Mesopotamia, though they were not found among the tribes who arrived in Palestine with the wave of ethnic wanderings, during the patriarchal period of the second millennium B.C.E. These wandering tribes did, however, continue the practice of burying various offerings together with their dead, as was customary from the Early Canaanite period on.

During the time of the Patriarchs, when there was a change from tribal wanderings to permanent settlement, a new element was added to the burial customs. A permanent grave site was purchased in the vicinity of the settlement which was a significant indication of permanent settlement. Herein lies the importance of Abraham's purchase of a family tomb (Gen. 23:4). Jacob's request that he be buried at this place rather than in Egypt may be understood against this background (Gen. 47:29). Joseph's burial in Shechem in the land of his ancestors (Josh. 24:32) must be seen as part of the process of Exodus from Egypt and the conquest and settlement of Palestine. This identification of the patriarchal tomb with the Promised Land may be discerned in Nehemiah's remark to the Persian king from whom he requested permission to go to Palestine to rebuild its ruins: "… the place of my father's sepulchers lies waste…" (Neh. 2:3). For a long period of time, from the Patriarchs until the establishment of the monarchy, it was customary to bury the dead in a family plot (Heb. *bet ʾavotam*) in an effort to maintain contact with the place (e.g., Judg. 2:9; I Sam. 25:1).

During the period of the kingdoms of Judah and Israel, sepulchers for kings and nobles were established: "and they buried him [Uzziah] with his fathers in the burial field which belonged to the kings" (II Chron. 26:23). Special mention should be made of the discovery of an engraved tablet bearing the name of Uzziah king of Judah. The tablet cannot be the original one which marked the grave, since its script and its general form are of the Second Temple period. It appears that for various reasons the king's bones were transferred during this period. Noblemen and officers also merited lavish burial. The prophet, fighting the corrupt nobility, denigrates the elegant tombs, hewn out of the rocks (Isa. 22:16). The carving of tombs in elevated places is reminiscent of the grave sites above the Kidron Brook in Jerusalem (Avigad, in bibl.). A number of hewn graves dating to the period of the kings have been found at this location. The most striking of them is a hewn tomb, upon whose lintel appears a dedication to some person who held an administrative position: "…who was over the household." The name of this person ends with the syllable *yhw*. Conceivably, it may be the same Shebna (Shebaniahu) mentioned in Isaiah 22:16 [15]. Another tomb from the same period is the one called "the grave of Pharaoh's daughter." This tomb is cut from rock into the shape of a cube. It has a small entrance and contains the remains of a striking structure, perhaps pyramidal, on its roof. During certain periods grave markers or tombstones were part of the grave itself (Gen. 35:20). The most luxurious graves from this period found, for example, at Achzib, are hewn according to Phoenician design. The burial cave has a vaulted ceiling, cut as much as 10 m. (33 ft.) deep into the rock. At its end is a catafalque hewn out of rock, upon which the corpse was placed. In order to elevate the head of the corpse, a stone was placed beneath it, or a projection shaped like a raised pillow was left on the catafalque. As a result of the custom of burying items of value from the deceased's lifetime along with him, there arose a class of grave robbers in the Ancient East. To prevent such incursions, complicated grave sealing techniques were developed, along with difficult entrance and exit passages from the interior of the tombs. In many instances it was customary to warn grave robbers against entering. The tomb of "…*yhw* who was over the household" (mentioned above) contains the inscription: "Cursed be he who opens this." This is similar to the inscriptions common in the Second Temple Period, which contained the name of the deceased and a warning not to open the grave.

Thousands of tombs have been unearthed and investigated during the years of archaeological activities in Israel. Several characteristic grave types have been found:

(1) A communal grave within a cave from the Middle Canaanite period, like one found at Jericho. Dozens of skeletons were found in the cave as well as the offerings buried there (Garstang, in bibl.). In this case, a household or family used a natural cave, which served it for several generations. This type of mausoleum, consisting of some land and a cave, was no doubt the kind acquired by Abraham from Ephron the Hittite near Hebron, when he came to settle permanently in Palestine. The patriarchal sepulcher remained traditional among the people even as late as Herod's time. Among his massive building projects throughout the land, he constructed a Roman-style monument over the patriarchal tomb in Hebron. This monument was intended as an architectural marker of the site and its sanctity.

(2) During the same Middle Canaanite period pit burials were common. For this purpose either natural caves were used or circular or rectangular pits were dug out of the earth to a depth of one to 2 m. (3–6 ft.). The walls of the pit contained the burial niches into which were placed the bodies and the offerings. Each niche would be sealed with a single large stone, and the central pit would be filled in up to ground level, thus preventing any approach to the graves themselves.

(3) In addition to family graves, individual tombs have been found. These too contain gifts to accompany the deceased to his new life. Generally, these gifts were eating and drinking utensils, jewelry, personal seals, etc. The finds from tombs are many and variegated, and by their nature are better preserved than finds from the usual, exposed ancient sites.

(4) Among the graves unearthed from the Late Canaanite period are pit tombs, of the style of the prior period, both of family as well as of individual types and simple inhumations. Graves from this period have been found at Tell Abu Hawām (Hamilton, in bibl.), Achzib, and elsewhere. Special attention was given to the manner in which the body was placed in the grave. Generally, the hands were folded and the legs stretched out. The custom of burying gifts with the dead continued into the Late Canaanite period. Offerings in these graves are either local or imported implements.

(5) At the end of this period another form of burial appears. The corpse is placed into two large ossuaries, or jugs, whose necks have been removed, so that the bodies of the jugs enclose the corpse from the feet up and from the head down. These graves, too, contain offerings and weapons that served the deceased during his lifetime.

(6) At the end of the second millennium B.C.E., with the advent of the Philistines in the land, sites with Philistine population, such as Beth-Shean, exhibit different burial methods. The corpse was provided with a clay coffin, longer than the body. The coffin had a cover near the head, decorated with human features. Such decoration was intended to symbolize the personality of the deceased. The engraved hats and diadems resemble the headdress of the Philistines portrayed on ancient Egyptian monuments (Dothan, in bibl.).

(7) A large quantity of graves, including pit tombs, burial caves, rock-hewn tombs, and individual grave sites, from the Israelite period, have been found at Megiddo, Hazor, Beth-Shean, and other sites. The offerings placed in these graves are usually pottery vessels, such as jars and flasks, some of them imported, as well as jewelry and seals.

(8) The Israelite II and the Persian periods reveal tombs hewn into caves with ledges provided for the corpses, known mainly from the Shephelah and the coastal strip. Tombs of Phoenician style are especially to be found in the Athlit area (Hamilton, in bibl.). These are in the shape of a four-sided pit hewn into the hard rock, with ladderlike sockets for hands and feet, to be used in climbing down the pit. At the bottom of the pit there are one or more hewn openings to the burial niches themselves. These are sealed with large stones. The entrance pit itself is filled with earth and stones to block off the entrance to the graves.

(9) With the close of the Persian period and the beginning of the Hellenistic, the most common form of grave consisted of rock tombs, with raised shelves or ledges, or troughs resembling coffins, near the walls. The typical cave ceiling of this period is in the form of a large camel hump, as in the case of a grave found at Marissah. The walls and ceiling of this grave are decorated with drawings. A tomb of similar design has been found at Nazareth.

See also *Death, *Mourning.

[Ze'ev Yeivin]

Tombstones

The first tombstone mentioned in the Bible is the *maẓẓevah* ("monument") which Jacob set up over the grave of Rachel (Gen. 35:20; see Tomb of *Rachel). The custom continued during the First Temple period as is clear from II Kings 23:17, where King Josiah saw the *ẓiyyun* over the grave of the prophet who had prophesied that Josiah would undertake the religious reformation (cf. I Kings 13). Ezekiel (39:15) also uses *ẓiyyun* for a sign placed over the grave. The custom continued during the period of the Second Temple and the Talmud. I Maccabees 13:27–29 describes the ornate tombstone and monument which Simeon the Hasmonean erected over the grave of his father and brothers at Modi'in, of which Josephus (Ant. 13:211) also gives a detailed description. However, apart from a vague reference in the Talmud stating that one of the things which adversely affects one's study is "the reading of an inscription on a grave" (Hor. 13b), there is no evidence that these tombstones bore inscriptions either in the biblical or early Second Temple periods (but see below). In the later period their main purpose seems to have been to indicate the position of a grave in order to obviate the fear of a kohen becoming ritually unclean by being in its vicinity (cf. Tosef. Oholot 17:4). The custom of erecting these tombstones was widespread. R. Nathan ha-Bavli ruled that a surplus of the money provided for the burial of the dead was to be applied to erecting a memorial over the grave (Shek. 2:5), and the 15th of Adar was selected as the day of the year when graves were marked (Shek. 1:1) by daubing them with lime (Ma'as. Sh. 5:1). In addition to those *ẓiyyunim* which were apparently simple markers there were two kinds of more ornate tombstones (called *nefesh*, literally, "a soul"). One was a solid structure over the grave without any entrance (Er. 55b); the other had an entrance to which a dwelling chamber, probably for the watchman, was attached (Er. 5:1).

During the later Hasmonean period, under Greek and Roman influence, there developed the custom of erecting ornate monumental tombstones for the nobility, notable examples being the Yad Avshalom (Monument of Absalom), the sepulcher of Zechariah, and that of the Sons of Hezir in the Kidron Valley. The last bears the inscription "this is the grave and the *nefesh* ["soul"] of," giving the names of the members of the family buried there. For many years this was the only known inscription on a tombstone of the Second Temple period, but recent excavations have revealed a large number, including the Tomb of Jason in Reḥavyah in Jerusalem and that of Simeon the builder of the Sanctuary, among others (see *Epitaphs, and the reproductions in *Sefer Yerushalayim*, 1957, pp. 220–321 and 352–3). It has been suggested that it was this ostentation, so foreign to the spirit of Judaism, and the desire to abolish it which caused Rabbah Simeon b. Gamaliel to declare that "one does not erect *nefashot* to the righteous, for their words are their memorial" (Gen. R. 82:10; TJ, Shek. 2:7, 47a).

In view of the extensive discovery of such inscriptions, the suggestion can no longer be upheld that it was only outside Ereẓ Israel that the Jews adopted the custom from the Greeks and Romans of adding inscriptions to tombstones in addition to Jewish symbols (see below on tombstone art), and the custom is to be regarded as common from at least the second century B.C.E. Jacob Moellin (the Maharil) states that in Mainz he discovered a fragment of a tombstone over a thousand years old (i.e., of the fourth century) bearing the Hebrew inscription "a designated bondmaid" (cf. Lev. 19:20; *Likkutei Maharil* at the end of his book of that name). The earliest known tombstones bearing the inscription *shalom al Yisrael* ("Peace upon Israel"), dated 668, was found at Narbonne, one at Brindisi dates from 832, and one at Lyons from 1101. Maimonides (Yad, Avel 4:4) adopts the abovementioned view of Simeon b. Gamaliel that tombstones are not erected over the graves of the righteous. Solomon b. Abraham Adret, however (Resp. 375), regards the tombstone as a mark of honor for the dead, while Isaac Luria (*Sha'ar ha-Mitzvot, Va-Yeḥi*) even regards it as contributing to the *tikkun ha-nefesh* ("the perfecting of the soul") of the deceased. It is forbidden to derive material benefit from a tombstone (Sh. Ar. YD 364:1). At the present day it is the universal custom to erect tombstones, and a special order of service for the consecration of the tombstone has been drawn up. In Israel its main content is the reading of those portions of the alphabetical 119th Psalm which constitute the name of the deceased and the letters of the word *neshamah* ("soul"); in Western countries it consists of a selection of appropriate Psalms and biblical passages; and in both cases it concludes with a memorial prayer and **Kaddish* by the mourners. In the Diaspora it is the custom to erect and consecrate the tombstone during the 12th month after death; in Israel on the 30th day. Ashkenazi tombstones are usually vertical; among the Sephardim they lie flat (for inscriptions on tombstones see *Epitaphs; see also *Burial; *Catacombs; *Cemetery).

The tombstones of many ancient communities have been published.

Art

A desire for originality allied to an emphasis on tradition is characteristic of the tombstones in Jewish cemeteries. Here the anonymous Jewish craftsman succeeded perhaps better than in most other fields of art in establishing an individual style. There are few branches of Jewish art which are distinguished by such richness of decoration, and by such a variety of symbolism, as tombstone art. Thus a study of Jewish tombstones is a rich source of material for the study of Jewish art from ancient times to the present. The artistic and traditional development of the tombstone and of its individual style is based on two factors: (a) the desire for perpetuation; (b) artistic expression and the participation of the various branches of the plastic arts in its creation. Hence the great value of the tombstone not only lies in the study of epitaphs, but also in its ornamentation.

TOMBSTONE ART IN THE ANCIENT WORLD. The oldest graveyards are found in Ereẓ Israel. Here the original form of the cemetery, consisting of rock vaults intended for a group of graves, has been preserved. The so-called Tombs of the Sanhedrin in Jerusalem, dating from the first and second centuries C.E., are outstanding for the ornamentation at the lintel to the graves. Similar ornamentation exists at the entry to the burial chamber of the royal line of Adiabene in Jerusalem, traditionally known as the "Tomb of the Kings." At the same period, under the influence of Egyptian and Greek art, individual monuments were erected to mark graves. Examples are the monuments known as "Absalom's Tomb," "The Tomb of Zechariah," and others, all in the Valley of Kidron in Jerusalem. In Galilee, the *Bet She'arim necropolis has a wealth of ornamentation, both Jewish and mythological. In the Roman catacombs of the classical period the Jewish tomb was recognizable by symbols such as the **shofar* or the *menorah*. A very few Roman sarcophagi have been preserved which combine this Jewish symbolism with classical motifs – e.g., the *menorah* supported by putti in pure pagan style, found in the Catacomb of Vigna Randanini. The early tombstones erected over graves in the western world after the classical period were on the whole severely plain, sometimes merely embodying (in Spain and Italy) a crudely engraved *menorah* whether as a symbol of Jewish allegiance or of eternal light. In the Middle Ages, even this slight ornamentation disappeared, and the decorative element was entirely provided by the engraved Hebrew characters. In most cases, however, the inscriptions were crudely carved by inexpert hands. There now developed a tendency for the tombstones in Germany and the lands of Ashkenazi civilization to be upright, those in Spain and the Sephardi world to be sometimes horizontal, sometimes built up in the form of altar-tombs.

LATER SEPHARDI TOMBSTONES. A more elaborate form of tombstone began to emerge in the Renaissance period. While in North Africa and the Orient the utmost simplicity continued to prevail, in some of the Sephardi communities of Northern Europe (especially Amsterdam, though not London) and of the West Indies (especially Curaçao) an elaborate Jewish funerary art developed. In these places the recumbent tombstones were often decorated with scenes in relief depicting events connected with the biblical character whose name was borne by the deceased (the sacrifice of Isaac or the call of Samuel), and in Curaçao sometimes even with the actual deathbed scene. In Italy, the vertical tombstone was often surmounted by the family badge, and in the case of families of Marrano descent with the knightly helm or with armorial bearings.

ASHKENAZI TOMBSTONES. The Ashkenazim, on the other hand, used symbols which illustrated the deceased's religious status, his virtues or his trade. These then were special symbols to denote a rabbi, a kohen, a levite; an alms-box would be shown on the tombstone of a philanthropist; and a pair of scissors on that of a tailor. The depiction of the human figure is unknown on Ashkenazi tombstones, and allegorical figures are very rarely found. As in medieval Spain, Ashkenazi Jewry in Bohemia and in parts of Poland sometimes used vertical and horizontal stones together to form a sarcophagus. This sarcophagus monument was usually intended for important personages. Another type of tombstone intended for an important person, a *ẓaddik or an *admor, is to be found in Polish cemeteries, and in neighboring Ashkenazi countries. This was in the form of an *ohel* ("tent" or "tabernacle"). These tabernacles generally had no artistic or architectural distinction; they were built in the form of a small stone or wooden house, or of a simple hut standing on four posts, inside which the tombstone itself was placed. Sometimes the tabernacle was encircled by a wrought iron fence. But the most common form of tombstone among Ashkenazi Jewry is the vertical, rectangular stone. A few cast-iron tombstones are known, and in small, poor communities, particularly in Eastern Europe, there are wooden tombstones. The tombstones in Prague, Worms (Germany) and Lublin (Poland), dating from the mid-15th and early 16th centuries, have no special ornamentation. Most of them are in the form of square stone tablets, and were seldom topped with a semicircular or triangular decoration. From the mid-16th century onward, tombstones have more elaborate decoration, particularly in the ornamentation of the frame for the epitaph. The most common designs resemble those of the ark curtains in the synagogue, with two columns flanking the tombstone and enclosing the text. It is in this period that flora and fauna make their first appearance, mostly around the frame, while the epitaph is engraved on the main part of the stone, below the two-columned portico. Nevertheless, with its beautiful lettering the epitaph constitutes the main decoration of the tombstone. From the early 17th century, the tombstone of Eastern European Jewry developed a definite style of ornamentation. There is a clear post-Renaissance influence in the form of the tombstone and the ornamentation. In the design of this ornamentation, and the manner in which it is placed on the tombstone, there are the beginnings of the rich Jewish decoration, baroque in essence, which is characteristic of the century in Eastern Europe, and particularly in Poland. This decoration is reminiscent in both subject matter and execution of the wall-paintings of the wooden synagogues, which in fact were first built during this same period. This similarity is particularly apparent after the 1648–49 massacres in Poland. The number of Jewish motifs on tombstones was increased and more honorific descriptions of the deceased taken from the Holy Scriptures or the Talmud were added to the epitaph. Other new decorations included anagrams at the beginning and end of the text The late 17th and early 18th century tombstones, though still outstanding for their floral decoration – full-blown roses, and baskets or bowls filled with ripe fruit – have lost their Jewishness and are lacking in originality. Some of the common symbols used on the Jewish tombstone continued to appear in most Jewish communities. These were the hands of the priest in an attitude of blessing. This marked the grave of a kohen, while an ewer and basin or a musical instrument marked the grave of a levite. In Bohemia and Poland they still used occupational symbols such as chains on the grave of a goldsmith, a parchment with a goosefeather on the grave of a Torah scribe, an open book or a row of books with engraved titles on the grave of a learned rabbi or author. Apart from this, there were also animal, bird or fish motifs representing the name of the deceased, such as a lion on the grave of a man named Leib, a deer on the grave of a man named Hirsch, a bird in memory of Jonah (dove), and a fish on the tombstone of Fischel. The engraver occasionally emphasized the decorative and sculptural aspect by the addition of colors. The anonymous tombstone artists who worked in Jewish communities were excellent craftsmen, sometimes inheriting their craft from their fathers. Their work has a primitive charm and occasionally even a certain degree of professionalism. Some were gifted sculptors, whose work showed sensitivity and a poetic quality. All the religious and philosophical ideas connected with death, the phenomenon of death itself, man's mortality, his ways on earth and his relationship with God and eternity, were given artistic expression in stone. Sometimes death was depicted as a flickering flame, as a shipwrecked vessel, an overturned and extinguished lamp, or a flock without a shepherd. The fear of death was sometimes symbolized by fledglings nestling under their mother's wing. Heraldic designs were also used on tombstones, particularly in Eastern Europe. They took the form of a pair of lions, deer or even sea-horses holding the crowns of the Torah. Other animals also appeared occasionally, such as bears, hares, squirrels and ravens – the raven being the harbinger of disaster. One particular tombstone is of such exceptional beauty that it merits special mention. It is that of Dov Baer Shmulovicz, the son of Samuel Zbitkower, the founder of the Bergsohn family in Warsaw. The tombstone was made by the Jewish artist, David Friedlaender. The main decoration is two bas-reliefs, one on each side of the stone. One depicts a landscape with a river and cargo boats signifying the trade of the deceased and a walled city with towers, houses, including a synagogue, **bet midrash* and windmill, while on the horizon is a palace, which the ancestors of the deceased received as a gift from the last king of Poland, Stanislaus Augustus. The other bas-relief shows the tower (of Babylon) and a grove of trees, on whose branches are hung musical instruments, recalling the passage from Psalm 137, "By the waters of Babylon…."

In recent years there has been a tendency, at least among the orthodox, for tombstones to be increasingly simple, notwithstanding an occasional exuberance of architectural forms. In Eastern Europe they are without exception severely plain.

[David Davidovitch]

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TOMSK, main city of Tomsk district (Siberia), Russia. Before the October Revolution the district of Tomsk was beyond the *Pale of Settlement and no Jewish settlement was allowed there until the cancellation of the Pale enactment. A Jewish community was nevertheless established in Tomsk in the first half of the 19th century by exiled prisoners and Jewish soldiers who served there (among them several Jewish *Cantonists who were brought to a Cantonist institute there). A number of these soldiers settled in Tomsk after their release from the army. In the second half of the 19th century, Jews of all professions who were allowed now to reside beyond the Pale began to settle in Tomsk. In 1897 the number of Jews in the entire district of Tomsk was 7,900, of whom 3,214 (6.4% of the total population) lived in the town of Tomsk proper. In October 1905 there were in Tomsk organized attacks on Jews and members of the Russian intelligentsia, fomented by the local administration. At the end of 1969 the Jewish population was estimated at about 5,000. The last synagogue was closed down by the authorities in 1959. After the mass exodus of the 1990s fewer than 1,000 Jews remained in the entire Tomsk district. However, Jewish life was revived, including an active community center and officiating rabbi.

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[Yehuda Slutsky]

°**TONNA, CHARLOTTE ELIZABETH** (1790–1846), British philosemitic writer and editor. Born Charlotte Browne in Norwich, England, the daughter of an Anglican vicar, she became an extreme Protestant Evangelical writer and edited *The Christian Lady's Magazine* from 1834 until 1846 as well as other religious journals. Tonna was an outspoken philosemite who, most unusually, discarded the normal aim among Evangelicals of converting the Jews, instead adopting the position that Jews remain a Covenant people and that Judaism represented a valid alternative means of attaining salvation. Her magazine reproduced articles on Judaism by Jacob *Franklin, the editor of the Jewish newspaper *The Voice of Jacob*, and she supported the efforts of British Jews to assist persecuted Jews overseas. Tonna also believed that Protestants should themselves practice the Jewish rites, including circumcision. In contrast, she was an outspoken opponent of Roman Catholicism. Well known in her day – a collection of her works was published in 1845 with an introduction by Harriet Beecher Stowe – she was largely forgotten until recently, when her remarkable views attracted renewed interest.

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[William D. Rubinstein (2nd ed.)]

TOPARCHY (τοπαρχία), the basic administrative district in Palestine during the major part of the Second Temple period. Under the Ptolemies the division of Palestine was fashioned after that of Egypt, although the names given to each administrative district were not always identical. Thus, whereas in Egypt the largest unit was the *nomos* (νομός) which was divided into smaller districts called *topos* (τόπος), the major unit in Palestine under the Ptolemies was the *hyparchia*, subdivided into smaller units called toparchies (cf., however, I Macc. 10:30; 11:57, where the larger units of Palestine are also called *nomos*). At times the toparchy was in effect the combined territory of a number of neighboring villages, and each toparchy had a capital city or town which was probably the seat of the local governor, known as *strategos toparchos* or simply *strategos*. Under Herod Jewish Palestine was divided into approximately 21 toparchies. As for Judea, two lists are given. Pliny (Natural History 5:70) lists ten toparchies, whereas Josephus enumerates 13 (Wars, 3:54–5), including two toparchies of Idumea. Perea was probably divided into three toparchies and Lower Galilee into four, while Upper Galilee was considered a separate unit.

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[Isaiah Gafni]

TOPLPUNKT: FERTLYOR-SHRIFT FAR LITERATUR, KUNST UN GEZELSCHAFTLEKHE FRAGES (Yid. "Colon: Quarterly of Literature, Art and Social Questions"), Yiddish literary journal published since 2000 in Tel Aviv by Der Natsyonaler Instants far Yidisher Kultur ("The National Instance for Yiddish Culture"). Nos. 1–5 were edited by Yankev Beser and co-edited by Yisroel Rudnitski, the latter becoming editor with no. 6 (Winter 2003). The closing down of the journal *Di Goldene Keyt* in 1995 created a vacuum in international Yiddish literary culture. Many of the participants in *Toplpunkt* would have been – or would have aspired to become – contributors to *Di Goldene Keyt*. *Toplpunkt* partly fills a void left by that prestigious journal's surcease and can also lay claim to a character of its own – a greater emphasis on graphic design and on a fruitful exchange between older and younger Yiddish writers. *Toplpunkt* is a serious magazine that radiates a certain vitality: two-thirds of its material is original Yiddish work, while the other third comprises translations from

Hebrew and major European languages. Of the 60–70 Yiddish-writing participants, almost a third are relatively young (mainly late-wave immigrants from former Soviet lands). The folio-size journal is visually attractive, each number featuring work by a particular artist. Those represented in issues 1–9 are among Israel's major artists: Yosl Bergner, Menashe Kadishman, Yossef Zaritsky, Arye Arokh, Tsiona Tagger, Mula Ben-Khayim, Mordecai Ardon, Reuven Rubin, Moshe Rozentalis (in that order). Each issue contains more than 100 pages of a lively variety of genres. Some readers may sense a "last Mohican" strain in this 21st-century subsidized international Yiddish literary periodical.

[Leonard Prager (2nd ed.)]

TOPOL, CHAIM (1935–), Israeli actor, who won international fame as the Shalom Aleichem character, Tevye in the musical *Fiddler on the Roof.* Born in Tel Aviv, Topol began to appear on the stage during his period of army service. He first gained a reputation at the Haifa Municipal Theater, which he co-founded and where he appeared in the Hebrew versions of Ionesco's *Rhinoceros*, Shakespeare's *Taming of the Shrew*, Brecht's *Caucasian Chalk Circle*, and the Japanese *Rashomon*. In Tel Aviv he appeared in the Hebrew production of *Fiddler on the Roof.* This led to his starring in the London West End production in English (1967), which brought him wide acclaim and the lead in the movie (1971). His films made in Israel include *Sallah Shabbati* (1964) and *Ervinka* (1967). He also appeared in *Galileo* (1975), *The House on Garibaldi Street* (1979), *Flash Gordon* (1980), and *For Your Eyes Only* (1981). He also appeared in the TV versions of Herman Wouk's *Winds of War* (1983) and *War and Remembrance* (1988). His autobiography, *Topol by Topol*, was published in London. He has illustrated 20 books.

[Dora Leah Sowden]

TOPOLCANY (Slovak **Topolčany**; Hung. **Nagytapolcsány**), town in Slovakia. The first documentary evidence of the Jewish appearance in Topolcany is from the 14th century. In the following centuries Topolcany was not a pleasant place to live because of the many wars and battles in the area.

The first Jews arrived in Topolcany from Moravia and Uhersky Brod in 1649 and established families. The anti-Jewish legislation of Emperor Charles VI (1711–1780) and of his daughter Maria Theresa (1740–1780) encouraged further settlement of Moravian Jews in upper Hungary. Jews in the city engaged in trade, including international trade. Attempts to expel Jews in 1727 and in 1755 failed. Jewish community life expanded and by 1755 there were a cemetery, a synagogue, and a *ḥevra kaddisha*. In the census of 1735, there were 50 Jews in Topolcany. The "*Toleranzpatent*" (1782) of Emperor Joseph II (1780–90) permitted further settlement of Jews and commerce. By the end of the 18th century a yeshivah was established, under the supervision and instruction of Rabbis Asher Anshel Roth (Ruta) and Abraham Ullmann.

The community grew quickly. In 1830 there were 561 Jews in Topolcany; in 1840 there were 618; and in 1850 there were 760. In 1880 there were 1,119 Jews and in 1910 there were 1,934. The 1930 census records 2,991. On the eve of World War II the number was 2,700. Toward 1942, the number reached 3,000, which included Jews from surrounding villages who moved there, concerned for their safety.

Jews lived a quiet life in Topolcany in the 19th century; but in 1848 during the Spring of Nations, Jews were attacked and robbed. In 1918–19 pogroms took place and Jewish property was looted and destroyed.

After the 1868 Congress of Hungarian Jewry, the Topolcany congregation chose the Orthodox stream. Zionist activity centered on the youth movements, and the Maccabi sports movement organized the young people. A Jewish school, a *talmud torah*, an old-age home, and women's associations extended the social life of the congregation. The Communist Party was also active, particularly among the youth. The Jewish political party clashed with parties representing the Orthodox (mainly the Agrarian Party).

About 80% of the retail trade was in Jewish hands, largely in the horse and cattle trade, wood, food and beverages, and construction material.

In 1938 Hlinka's nationalistic fascist Slovak People's Party gained supreme power in the country. On March 14, 1939, it proclaimed the Slovak state with Nazi support. Jews were the primary target. The Hlinka Guard, with a storm trooper unit, cast a dark shadow on social and political life. Under the guise of "Aryanization," the Jews lost their property and livelihoods. In 1942 the Slovak authorities began to deport the Jews to the extermination camps in Poland. The local population took the opportunity to pillage and divide up Jewish property left in the apartments and stores and grabbed Jewish real estate.

When the deportations stopped in fall 1942 about 2,500 Jews had been deported. Only several hundred Jews were left in the town. They were joined in the spring of 1944 by several dozen Jewish families transferred from eastern Slovakia when the Soviet army closed in. By August 1944 an anti-Nazi uprising spread in parts of Slovakia. Jews from Topolcany in labor camps were liberated and returned home. Thus before German troops arrived to quell the uprising, 1,000 Jews gathered in the city. A few days later, the Germans sent all the Jews to Auschwitz. Fifty who hid were found by the Slovak inhabitants and were shot by the Nazis in a field in nearby Nemcice.

In 1947, there were 320 survivors living in Topolcany. A memorial to the Holocaust victims was erected in the Jewish cemetery. One of the synagogues was restored. Antisemitism continued to plague the Jews. The gentiles who had stolen Jewish property were resentful of the Jews' demands to return their belongings. In September 1945 rumors spread that a Jewish doctor was poisoning children and that Jewish teachers were replacing nuns. A pogrom swept the town. Jewish property was pillaged and destroyed, and 47 people were injured. An army unit sent to disperse the rioters joined the mob. In 1945–49 most of the surviving Jews emigrated. The Great Synagogue was turned into a warehouse.

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[Yeshayahu Jelinek (2nd ed.)]

TOPOLEVSKY, GREGORIO (1907–1986), Argentine politician and physician. Born in Grodno, Russia, Topolevsky immigrated to Argentina as a child and became a physician specializing in otorhinolaryngology. Between 1933 and 1945, he was frequently arrested for political agitation against the dictatorial governments in Argentina and was again imprisoned in 1951. In 1937 he fought on the republican side in the Spanish Civil War. After World War II he was a member of the Unión Civica Radical del Pueblo party and was appointed Argentine ambassador to Israel (1955–58). Later, during the presidency of Arturo Illia, Topolevsky was appointed director general of social welfare in the Ministry of Communications. Active in Jewish communal affairs, he was chairman of a number of local Jewish organizations, among them the Instituto de Intercambio Cultural Argentino Israelí.

[Israel Drapkin-Senderey]

TOPOLSKI, FELIKS (1907–1989), pictorial chronicler and muralist. Topolski, the son of Edward Topolski, a well-known actor, was born in Warsaw and studied art at the Warsaw Academy, and also studied at the Officers' School of Artillery. He later traveled in Italy and France, studying the old masters, before he settled in England in 1935. He developed an outstanding reputation as a draughtsman, writer, muralist, and portrait painter, and also worked in the theater. Appointed an official war artist during World War II, he recorded the British and Allied forces in Russia, the Middle East, the Far East, and Europe. His drawings were used widely in the press and have appeared in a series of books he published on these wartime experiences. Topolski also excelled as a mural painter, for which he received commissions all over the world. His most famous murals are *Cavalcade of Commonwealth*, 60 × 20 feet, painted in 1951 for the Festival of Britain, and *Coronation of Elizabeth II*, 100 × 4 feet, painted between 1958 and 1960 at the request of Prince Philip, which is now in Buckingham Palace, London. Another important commission was for 20 portraits of English writers in 1961, from the University of Texas. Topolski illustrated numerous books, notably the plays of George Bernard Shaw, as well as his own 20 works, including *Was Paris Lost* (1973). From 1953 he published *Topolski's Chronicle*, a hand-printed, pictorial broadsheet on current events. In 1969 he made a television film *Topolski's Moscow* and his environmental painting, *Memoir of the Century*, in London's South Bank Arts Centre was begun in 1977. He was elected to the Royal Academy in the year of his death. Topolski wrote an autobiography, *Fourteen Letters* (1988).

[Charles Samuel Spencer]

TORAH (Heb. תּוֹרָה).

The Term

Torah is derived from the root ירה which in the *hifil* conjugation means "to teach" (cf. Lev. 10:11). The meaning of the word is therefore "teaching," "doctrine," or "instruction"; the commonly accepted "law" gives a wrong impression. The word is used in different ways but the underlying idea of "teaching" is common to all.

In the Pentateuch it is used for all the body of laws referring to a specific subject, e.g., "the *torah* of the meal offering" (Lev. 6:7), of the guilt offering (7:1), and of the Nazirite (Num. 6:21), and especially as a summation of all the separate *torot* (cf. Lev. 7:37–38; 14:54–56). In verses, however, such as Deuteronomy 4:44, "and this is the Torah which Moses set before the children of Israel" and *ibid.* 33:4, "Moses commanded us a Torah, an inheritance of the congregation of Jacob" and the references in the Bible to "the Torah of Moses" (cf. Josh. 1:7; Ezra 3:2; 7:6; 8:1, 8; Mal. 3:22), it refers particularly to the Pentateuch as distinct from the rest of the Bible. In later literature the whole Bible was referred to as *Tanakh*, the initial letters of Torah (Pentateuch), *Nevi'im* (Prophets), and *Ketuvim* (Hagiographia), a meaning it retained in halakhic literature to differentiate between the laws which are of biblical origin (in its Aramaic form, *de-Oraita*, "from the Torah") and those of rabbinic provenance *(de-rabbanan)*. The term is, however, also used loosely to designate the Bible as a whole.

A further extension of the term came with the distinction made between the Written Torah (Torah *she-bi-khetav*) and the Oral Torah (Torah *she-be-al peh*). The use of the plural *Torot* (e.g., Gen. 26:5) was taken to refer to those two branches of divine revelation which were traditionally regarded as having been given to Moses on Mount Sinai (Yoma 28b, and see *Oral Law). Justification was found in the verse of Exodus 34:27, which can be translated literally as "Write thou these words for by the mouth of these words I have made a covenant." The word "write" (*ketav*) was regarded as the authority for the Written Law (hence Torah *she-bi-khetav*, i.e., the Torah included in the word *ketav*) while "by the mouth" (*al pi*) was taken to refer to the Torah *she-be-al peh* (i.e., the Torah referred to in the phrase *al pi*; cf. Git. 60b). Lastly, the word is used for the whole corpus of Jewish traditional law from the Bible to the latest development of the *halakhah*. In modern Hebrew the word is used to designate the system of a thinker or scholar, e.g., "the *torah* of Spinoza."

See also *Judaism.

[Louis Isaac Rabinowitz]

Origin and Preexistence

"Moses received the Torah from Sinai" (Avot 1:1). Yet there is an ancient tradition that the Torah existed in heaven not only before God revealed it to Moses, but even before the world was created. The apocryphal book The Wisdom of Ben Sira identified the Torah with preexistent personified wisdom (1:1–5, 26; 15:1; 24:1ff.; 34:8; cf. Prov. 8:22–31). In rabbinic literature, it was taught that the Torah was one of the six or seven things created prior to the creation of the world (Gen. R. 1:4; Pes. 54a, et al.). Of these preexistent things, it was said that only the Torah and the throne of glory were actually created, while the others were only conceived, and that the Torah preceded the throne of glory (Gen. R. 1:4). According to Eliezer ben Yose the Galilean, for 974 generations before the creation of the world, the Torah lay in God's bosom and joined the ministering angels in song (ARN^1 31, p. 91; cf. Gen. R. 28:4, et al.). Simeon ben Lakish taught that the Torah preceded the world by 2,000 years (Lev. R. 19:1, et al.) and was written in black fire upon white fire (TJ, Shek. 6:1, 49d, et al.). Akiva called the Torah "the precious instrument by which the world was created" (Avot 3:14). Rav *Hoshaiah, explicitly identifying the Torah with the preexistent wisdom of Proverbs, said that God created the world by looking into the Torah as an architect builds a palace by looking into blueprints. He also took the first word of Genesis not in the sense of "In the beginning," but in that of "By means of the beginning," and he taught that "beginning" (probably in the philosophic sense of the Greek *archē*) designates Torah, since it is written of wisdom (= Torah), "The Lord made me the beginning of His way" (Prov. 8:22; Gen. R. 1:1). It was also taught that God took council with the Torah before He created the world (Tanḥ. B. 2, et al.). The concept of the preexistence of the Torah is perhaps implicit in the philosophy of Philo, who wrote of the preexistence and role in creation of the Word of God (*logos*; e.g., Op. 20, 25, 36; Cher. 127) and identified the Word of God with the Torah (Mig. 130; cf. Op. and II Mos.).

*Saadiah Gaon rejected the literal belief in preexistent things on the grounds that it contradicts the principle of creation ex nihilo. In his view, Proverbs 8:22, the verse cited by Rav Hoshaiah, means no more than that God created the world in a wise manner (*Beliefs and Opinions* 1:3; cf. Saadiah's commentary on Proverbs, ad loc.).

*Judah b. Barzillai of Barcelona raised the problem of place. Where could God have kept a preexistent Torah? While allowing that God could conceivably have provided an antemundane place for a corporeal Torah, he preferred the interpretation that the Torah preexisted only as a thought in the divine mind. Ultimately, however, he expressed the opinion that the Torah's preexistence is a rabbinic metaphor, spoken out of love for the Torah and those who study it, and teaching that the Torah is worthy to have been created before the world (commentary on *Sefer Yeẓirah*, pp. 88–89; cf. Solomon b. Abraham Adret, *Perushei Aggadot*).

Abraham *Ibn Ezra raised the problem of time. He wrote that it is impossible for the Torah to have preceded the world by 2,000 years or even by one moment, since time is an accident of motion, and there was no motion before God created the celestial spheres; rather, he concluded, the teaching about the Torah's preexistence must be a metaphoric riddle (cf. Commentary on the Torah, introd., "the fourth method" (both versions); cf. also Judah Hadassi, *Eshkol ha-Kofer*, 25b–26a; and cf. Abraham Shalom, *Neveh Shalom*, 10:8).

*Judah Halevi explained that the Torah precedes the world in terms of teleology; God created the world for the purpose of revealing the Torah; therefore, since, as the philosophers say, "the first of thought is the end of the work," the Torah is said to have existed before the world (*Kuzari* 3:73).

*Maimonides discussed the origin of the Torah from the standpoint of the epistemology of the unique prophecy of Moses (*Guide of the Perplexed* 2:35; 3:51; et al.; cf. Yad, introd.). The tradition of the preexistence of the Torah was not discussed in the *Guide of the Perplexed*; however, the closely related tradition of the preexistence of the throne of glory was (2:26, 30, et al.). The discussions of Moses' prophecy and of the throne of glory are esoteric and controversial, and each reader will interpret them according to his own views, perhaps inferring Maimonides' position concerning the origin of the Torah.

Within the framework of his Neoplatonic ontology, Isaac ibn Latif suggested that the Torah precedes the world not in time, but in rank. He cited the aggadic statements that the Torah and the throne of glory preceded the world, and that the Torah preceded the throne of glory, and he intimated that the Torah is the upper world (wisdom or intellect) which ontologically precedes the middle world (the celestial spheres, the throne of glory) which, in turn, ontologically precedes the lower world (our world of changing elements; *Sha'ar ha-Shamayim*).

While the tradition of the preexistence of the Torah was being ignored or explained away by most philosophers, it became fundamental in the Kabbalah. Like Ibn Latif, the kabbalists of Spain held that the Torah precedes the world ontologically. Some kabbalists identified the primordial Torah with *Ḥokhmah* (God's wisdom), the second of the ten *Sefirot* in emanation. Others identified the Written Torah with the sixth *Sefirah, Tiferet* (God's beauty), and the Oral Torah with the tenth *Sefirah, Malkhut* (God's kingdom). Emanational precedence signifies creative power; and it was with the Torah that God created the angels and the worlds, and with the Torah He sustains all (Zohar 3, 152a; Num. 9:1).

Ḥasdai *Crescas, who in the course of his revolutionary critique of Aristotelian physics had rejected the dependence of time on motion, was able to take preexistence literally as chronological. He interpreted the proposition about the preexistence of the Torah as a metonymy, referring actually to the purpose of the Torah. Since, according to him, the purpose of the Torah and the purpose of the world are the same, namely, love, and since the purpose or final cause of an object chronologically precedes it, it follows that the purpose of the Torah (i.e., love) chronologically preceded the world. As its final cause, love (= the purpose of the Torah) is a necessary condition of the world; and this is the meaning of the talmudic statement, "Were it not for the Torah [i.e., the purpose of the Torah, or love], heaven and earth would not have come into existence" (Pes. 68b; *Or Adonai* 2:6, 4; cf. Nissim b. Reuben Gerondi, Commentary on Ned. 39b).

Joseph *Albo also interpreted the preexistence of the Torah in terms of final causality, but his position was essentially that of Judah Halevi, and not that of his teacher, Crescas. He reasoned that man exists for the sake of the Torah; everything in the world of generation and corruption exists for the sake of man; therefore, the Torah preceded the world in the Aristotelian sense that the final cause in (the mind of) the agent necessarily precedes the other three causes (*Sefer ha-Ikkarim* 3:12; cf. Jacob b. Solomon ibn Ḥabib, *Ein Ya'akov*, introd.; Joseph Solomon Delmedigo, *Novelot Ḥokhmah*, 1).

The theory, based on the statement of Rav Hoshaiah, that the Torah was the preexistent blueprint of creation, was elaborated by Isaac Arama, Isaac Abrabanel, Moses Alshekh, Judah Loew b. Bezalel, and others.

In modern Jewish philosophical literature, Nachman *Krochmal analyzed the interpretation of the Torah's preexistence by the author of *Sha'ar ha-Shamayim* (Ibn Latif and not, as Krochmal supposed, Ibn Ezra), and his analysis bears implications for his own idealistic concept of the metaphysical and epistemological precedence of the spiritual (*Moreh Nevukhei ha-Zeman*, 17; cf. 12, 16).

Franz Rosenzweig, in his existentalist reaction to the intellectualist interpretation of the Torah by German rabbis, appealed to the *aggadah* of the preexistence of the Torah in an attempt to show the absurdity of trying to base the claim of the Torah merely on a juridical or historical reason: "No doubt the Torah, both Written and Oral, was given to Moses on Sinai, but was it not created before the creation of the world? Written against a background of shining fire in letters of somber flame? And was not the world created for its sake?" ("The Builders," in: N. Glatzer (ed.), *On Jewish Learning* (1955), 78).

Nature and Purpose

In the Bible, the Torah is referred to as the Torah of the Lord (Ex. 13:9, et al.) and of Moses (Josh. 8:31, et al.), and is said to be given as an inheritance to the congregation of Jacob (Deut. 33:4). Its purpose seems to be to make Israel "a kingdom of priests and a holy nation" (Ex. 19:6). It was said that "the commandment is a lamp and the Torah is light" (Prov. 6:23). The Torah was called "perfect," its ordinances "sweeter than honey and the flow of honeycombs" (Ps. 19:8, 11; cf. 119:103; Prov. 16:24). Psalm 119, containing 176 verses, is a song of love for the Torah whose precepts give peace and understanding.

In the apocryphal book The Wisdom of Ben Sira, the Torah is identified with wisdom (see above). In another apocryphal work, the laws of the Torah are said to be drawn up "with a view to truth and the indication of right reason" (Arist. 161). The Septuagint rendered the Hebrew *torah* by the Greek *nomos* ("law"), probably in the sense of a living network of traditions and customs of a people. The designation of the Torah by *nomos*, and by its Latin successor *lex* (whence, "the Law"), has historically given rise to the sad misunderstanding that Torah means legalism.

It was one of the very few real dogmas of rabbinic theology that the Torah is from heaven (Heb. *Torah min ha-shamayim*; Sanh. 10:1, et al.; cf. Ex. 20:22 [19]; Deut. 4:36); i.e., the Torah in its entirety was revealed by God. According to the *aggadah*, Moses ascended into heaven to capture the Torah from the angels (Shab. 89a, et al.). In one of the oldest mishnaic statements, Simeon the Just taught that (the study of the) Torah is one of the three things by which the world is sustained (Avot 1:2). Eleazar ben Shammua said: "Were it not for the Torah, heaven and earth would not continue to exist" (Pes. 68b; Ned. 32a; cf. Crescas' interpretation above). It was calculated that "the whole world in its entirety is only ⅓,₂₀₀ of the Torah" (Er. 21a; cf. TJ, Pe'ah 1:1, 15d). God Himself was said to study the Torah daily (Av. Zar. 3b, et al.).

The Torah was often compared to fire, water, wine, oil, milk, honey, drugs, manna, the tree of life, and many other things; it was considered the source of freedom, goodness, and life (e.g., Avot 6:2, 3, 7); it was identified both with wisdom and with love (e.g., Mid. Ps. to 1:18). Hillel summarized the entire Torah in one sentence: "What is hateful to you, do not to your fellow" (Shab. 31a). Akiva said: "The fundamental principle of the Torah is the commandment, 'Love thy neighbor as thyself'" (Lev. 19:18). His disciple Simeon ben Azzai said that its fundamental principle is the verse (Gen. 5:1) which teaches that all human beings are descended from the same man, and created by God in His image (Sifra, Kedoshim 4:12; TJ, Ned. 9:3, 41c; Gen. R. 24:7).

Often the Torah was personified. Not only did God take council with the Torah before He created the world (see above), but according to one interpretation, the plural in "Let us make man" (Gen. 1:26) refers to God and the Torah (Tanḥ. Pekudei, 3). The Torah appears as the daughter of God and the bride of Israel (PR 20; 95a, et al.). On occasion, the Torah is obliged to plead the case of Israel before God (e.g., Ex. R. 29:4).

The message of the Torah is for all mankind. Before giving the Torah to Israel, God offered it to the other nations, but they refused it; and when He did give the Torah to Israel, He revealed it in the extraterritorial desert and simultaneously in all the 70 languages, so that men of all nations would have a right to it (Mekh., Yitro, 5; Sif. Deut. 343; Shab. 88b; Ex. R. 5:9; 27:9; cf. Av. Zar. 3a: "a pagan who studies the Torah is like a high priest"). Alongside this universalism, the rabbis taught the inseparability of Israel and the Torah. One rabbi held that the concept of Israel existed in God's mind even before He created the Torah (Gen. R. 1:4). Yet, were it not for its accepting the Torah, Israel would not be "chosen," nor would it be different from all the idolatrous nations (Num. 14:10; Ex. R. 47:3, et al.).

In the Hellenistic literature contemporaneous with the early rabbinic teachings, Philo considered the Torah the ideal law of the philosophers, and Moses the perfect lawgiver and prophet and the philosopher-ruler of Plato's *Republic* (II Mos. 2). His concept of the relationship of the Torah to nature and man was Stoic: "The world is in harmony with the Torah and the Torah with the world, and the man who observes the Torah is constituted thereby a loyal citizen of the world" (Op. 3). He wrote that the laws of the Torah are "stamped with the seals of nature," and are "the most perfect picture of the cosmic polity" (II Mos. 14, 51). Josephus, in his *Against Apion*, discoursed on the moral and universalistic nature of the Torah, emphasizing that it promotes piety, friendship, humanity toward the world at large, justice, charity, and endurance under persecution. Both Philo and Josephus wrote that principles of the Torah, e.g., the Sabbath, have been imitated by all nations.

Saadiah Gaon expounded a rationalist theory according to which the ethical and religious-intellectual beliefs imparted by the Torah are all attainable by human reason. He held that the Torah is divisible into

(1) commandments which, in addition to being revealed, are demanded by reason (e.g., prohibitions of murder, fornication, theft, lying); and

(2) commandments whose authority is revelation alone (e.g., Sabbath and dietary laws), but which generally are understandable in terms of some personal or social benefit attained by their performance. Revelation of the Torah was needed because while reason makes general demands, it does not dictate particular laws; and while the matters of religious belief revealed in the Torah are attainable by philosophy, they are only attained by it after some time or, in the case of many, not at all. He taught that the purpose of the Torah is the bestowal of eternal bliss (*Beliefs and Opinions*, introd. 6, ch. 3). He held that Israel is a nation only by virtue of the Torah (see below).

In the period between Saadiah and Maimonides, most Jewish writers who speculated on the nature of the Torah continued in the rationalist tradition established by Saadiah. These included Baḥya ibn Paquda, Joseph ibn Ẓaddik, Abraham Ibn Ezra, and Abraham ibn Daud. Judah Halevi, however, opposed the rationalist interpretation. He allowed that the Torah contains rational and political laws, but considered them preliminary to the specifically divine laws and teachings which cannot be comprehended by reason, e.g., the laws of the Sabbath which teach the omnipotence of God and the creation of the world (*Kuzari* 2:48, 50). The Torah makes it possible to approach God by awe, love, and joy (2:50). It is the essence of wisdom, and the outcome of the will of God to reveal His kingdom on earth as it is in heaven (3:17). While Judah Halevi held that Israel was created to fulfill the Torah, he wrote that there would be no Torah were there no Israel (2:56; 3:73).

Maimonides emphasized that the Torah is the product of the unique prophecy of Moses. He maintained that the Torah has two purposes; first, the welfare of the body and, ultimately, the welfare of the soul (intellect). The first purpose, which is a prerequisite of the ultimate purpose, is political, and "consists in the governance of the city and the well-being of the state of all its people according to their capacity." The ultimate purpose consists in the true perfection of man, his acquisition of immortality through intellection of the highest things. The Torah is similar to other laws in its concern with the welfare of the body; but its divine nature is reflected in its concern for the welfare of the soul (*Guide of the Perplexed*, 3:27). Maimonides saw the Torah as a rationalizing force, warring against superstition, imagination, appetite, and idolatry. He cited the rabbinic dictum, "Everyone who disbelieves in idolatry professes the Torah in its entirety" (Sif. Num. 110; Guide 3:29; Yad, Ovedei Kokhavim 2:4), and taught that the foundation of the Torah and the pivot around which it turns consists in the effacement of idolatry. He held that the Torah must be interpreted in the light of reason.

Of the Jewish philosophers who flourished in the 13th and early 14th centuries, most endorsed Maimonides' position that the Torah has as its purpose both political and spiritual welfare. Some, like Samuel ibn Tibbon and Isaac *Albalag, argued that its purpose consists only or chiefly in political welfare. Others emphasized its spiritual purpose, like Levi b. Gershom, who taught that the purpose of the Torah is to guide man – the masses as well as the intellectual elite – toward human perfection, that is, the acquisition of true knowledge and, thereby, an immortal intellect.

While Maimonides and the Maimonideans generally restricted their analyses of the nature of the Torah to questions of its educational, moral, or political value, the Spanish kabbalists engaged in bold metaphysical speculation concerning its essence. The kabbalists taught that the Torah is a living organism. Some said the entire Torah consists of the names of God set in succession (cf. Naḥmanides, *Perushei ha-Torah*, Preface) or interwoven into a fabric (cf. Joseph Gikatilla, *Sha'arei Orah*). Others said that the Torah is itself the name of God. The Torah was identified with various *Sefirot* in the divine body (see above). Ultimately, it was said that the Torah is God (Menahem Recanati, *Ta'amei ha-Mitzvot*, 3a; Zohar 2, 60a [Ex. 15:22]). This identification of the Torah and God was understood to refer to the Torah in its true primordial essence, and not to its manifestation in the world of creation.

The first Jewish philosopher to construct a metaphysics in which the Torah plays an integral role was Ḥasdai Crescas, who, notwithstanding his distinguished work in natural science, was more sympathetic to the Kabbalah than to Aristotle. He taught that the purpose of the Torah is to effect the purpose of the universe. By guiding man toward corporeal happiness, moral and intellectual excellence, and felicity of soul, the Torah leads him to the love of neighbor and, finally, the eternal love of God [*devekut*], which is the purpose of all creation (*Or Adonai*, 2:6). Like Judah Halevi, he took an ultimately anti-intellectualist position, and maintained, in opposition to the Maimonideans, that the very definition of the Torah as the communication of God to man implies beliefs about the nature of God and His relation to man which cannot, and need not, be proved by philosophy.

Joseph Albo, developing some Maimonidean ideas, taught that the Torah, as divine law, is superior to natural law and conventional-positive law in that it not only promotes political security and good behavior, but also guides man toward eternal spiritual happiness (*Sefer ha-Ikkarim*, 1:7).

In the writings of Isaac Arama, Isaac Abrabanel, Moses Alshekh, Judah Loew b. Beẓalel, and other late medievals, the conflicting approaches to the Torah of Maimonideanism and the Kabbalah converged to give expression to the theme, already adumbrated in Philo, that the Torah exists in the mind of God as the plan and order of the universe (Arama, *Akedat Yiẓḥak*, 1; Abrabanel, *Mifalot Elohim*, 1:2; Alshekh, *Torat Moshe* to Genesis 1:1; Judah Loew, *Netivot Olam*, 1:1; *Tiferet Yisrael*, 25; cf. above). In Italy, *Judah b. Jehiel (Messer Leon), influenced by the Renaissance emphasis on the art of rhetoric, composed the *Nofet Ẓufim*, in which he analyzed the language of the Bible and, in effect, presented the first aesthetic interpretation of the Torah (cf. Judah Abrabanel, *Dialoghi di Amore*).

Influenced by Maimonides, Baruch *Spinoza took the position taken by some early Maimonideans that the Torah is an exclusively political law. However, he broke radically with those Maimonideans and with all rabbinic tradition by denying its divine nature, by making it an object of historical-critical investigation, and by maintaining that it was not written by Moses alone but by various authors living at different times. Moreover, he considered the Torah primitive, unscientific, and particularistic, and thus subversive to progress, reason, and universal morality. By portraying the Torah as a product of the Jewish people, he reversed the traditional opinion (but cf. Judah Halevi) according to which the Jewish people are a product of the Torah.

Like Spinoza, Moses *Mendelssohn considered the Torah a political law, but he affirmed its divine nature. Taking a position similar to Saadiah's, he explained that the Torah does not intend to reveal new ideas about deism and morality, but rather, through its laws and institutions, to arouse men to be mindful of the true ideas attainable by all men through reason. By identifying the beliefs of the Torah with the truths of reason, Mendelssohn affirmed both its scientific respectability and its universalistic nature. By defining the Torah as a political law given to Israel by God, he preserved the traditional view that Israel is a product of the Torah, and not, as Spinoza claimed, vice versa.

With the rise of the science of Judaism (*Wissenschaft des Judentums*) in the 19th century, and the advance of the historical-critical approach to the Torah, many Jewish intellectuals, including ideologists of Reform like Abraham *Geiger, followed Spinoza in seeing the Torah, at least in part, as a product of the primitive history of the Jewish nation. Nachman Krochmal, in his rationalist-idealist philosophy, attempted to synthesize the historical-critical thesis that the Torah is a product of Jewish history, with the traditional thesis that the entire Torah is divinely revealed. He maintained that, from the days of Abraham and Isaac, the Hebrew nation has contained the Absolute Spiritual, and this Absolute Spiritual was the source of the laws given to Moses on Mt. Sinai, whose purpose is to perfect the individual and the group, and to prevent the nation's extinction. The Oral Torah, which is, in effect, the history of the evolution of the Jewish spirit, is inseparable from the Written Torah, and is its clarification and conceptual refinement; which is to say, the true science of the Torah, which is the vocation of the Jewish spirit, is the conceptualization of the Absolute Spiritual (*Moreh Nevukhei ha-Zeman*, esp. 6–8, 13).

The increasing intellectualization of the Torah was opposed by Samuel David *Luzzatto and Salomon Ludwig *Steinheim, two men who had little in common but their fideism. They contended – as Crescas had against the Maimonideans – that the belief that God revealed the Torah is the starting point of Judaism, and that this belief, with its momentous implications concerning the nature of God and His relation to man, cannot be attained by philosophy. Luzzatto held that the foundation of the whole Torah is compassion. Steinheim, profoundly opposing Mendelssohn, held that the Torah comes to reveal truths about God and His work.

While Spinoza and Mendelssohn had emphasized the political nature of the Torah, many rationalists of the late 19th and early 20th centuries emphasized its moral nature. Moritz *Lazarus identified the Torah with the moral law, and interpreted the rabbinical statement, "Were it not for the Torah, heaven and earth would not continue to exist" (see above), as corresponding to the Kantian teaching that it is the moral law that gives value to existence. Hermann *Cohen condemned Spinoza as a willful falsifier and a traitor to the Jewish people for his claim that the Torah is subversive to universalistic morality. He held that the Torah, with its monotheistic ethics, far from being subversive to universalism, prepares a Jew to participate fully and excellently in general culture (in this connection, he opposed Zionism and developed his controversial theory of "Germanism and Judaism"). He maintained that in its promulgation of commandments affecting all realms of human action, the Torah moves toward overcoming the distinction between holy and profane through teaching all men to become holy by always performing holy actions, i.e., by always acting in accordance with the moral law.

In their German translation of the Bible, Martin *Buber and Franz Rosenzweig translated *torah* as *Weisung* or *Unterweisung* ("Instruction") and not as *Gesetz* ("Law"). In general, they agreed on the purpose of the Torah: to convert the universe and God from It to Thou. Yet they differed on several points concerning its nature. Buber saw the Torah as the past dialogue between Israel and God, and the present dialogue between the individual reader, the I, and God, the Thou. He concluded that while one must open himself to the entire teaching of the Torah, he need only accept a particular law of the Torah if he feels that it is being spoken now to him. Rosenzweig objected to this personalist and antinomian position of Buber's. Taking an existentialist position, he maintained that the laws of the Torah are commandments to do, and as such become comprehensible only in the experience of doing, and, therefore, a Jew must not, as Buber did, reject a law of the Torah that "does not speak to me," but must always open himself to the new experience which may make it comprehensible. Like Cohen – and also like the Ḥasidim – he marveled that the law of the Torah is universal in range. He contended that it erases the barrier between this world and the world to come by encompassing, vitalizing, and thereby redeeming everything in this world.

The secular Zionism of the late 19th and early 20th centuries gave religious thinkers new cause to define the relationship between the Torah and the Jewish nation. Some defined the Torah in terms of the nation. Thus, Mordecai *Kaplan translated *Aḥad Ha-Am's sociological theory of the evolution of Jewish civilization into a religious, though naturalistic, theory of the Torah as the "religious civilization of the Jews." Others, like Buber and Rosenzweig, considering secular nationalism dangerous, tried to "interdefine" the Torah and the nation. Whereas Buber saw the Torah as the product of a dialogue between the nation and God, he held that the spirit of the nation was transfigured by that dialogue. Rosenzweig, whose position here resembles Judah Halevi's, stated both that the nation's chosenness is prior to the Torah, and that the acceptance of the Torah is an experiential precondition of its chosenness. Other thinkers defined the nation in terms of the Torah. Thus, Abraham Isaac *Kook, whose thought was influenced by the Kabbalah, taught that the purpose of the Torah is to reveal the living light of the universe, the suprarational spiritual, to Israel and, through Israel, to all mankind. While the Written Torah, which reveals the light in the highest channel of our soul, is the product of God alone, the Oral Torah, which is inseparable from the Written Torah, and which reveals the light in a second channel of our soul, proximate to the life of deeds, derives its personality from the spirit of the nation. The Oral Torah can live in its fullness only when Israel lives in its fullness – in peace and independence in the Land of Israel. Thus, according to Kook, modern Zionism, whatever the intent of its secular ideologists, has universal religious significance, for it is acting in service of the Torah (see esp. *Orot ha-Torah*).

In the State of Israel, most writers and educators have maintained the secularist position of the early Zionists, namely, that the Torah was not revealed by God, in the traditional sense, but is the product of the national life of ancient Israel. Those who have discussed the Torah and its relation to the state from a religious point of view have mostly followed Kook or Buber and Rosenzweig. However, a radically rationalist approach to the nature of the Torah has been taught by Yeshayahu Leibowitz who, in the Maimonidean tradition, emphasizes that the Torah is a law for the worship of God and for the consequent obliteration of the worship of men and things; in this connection, he condemns the subordination of the Torah to nationalism or to religious sentimentalism or to any ideology or institution. Outside the State of Israel, a similarly iconoclastic position has been taken by the French phenomenologist Emmanuel *Levinas, who has gone further and written that the love for the Torah should take precedence even over the love for God Himself, for only through the Torah – that knowledge of the Other which is the condition of all ethics – can man relate to a personal God against Whom he can rebel and for Whom he can die.

ETERNITY (OR NONABROGABILITY). In the Bible there is no text unanimously understood to affirm explicitly the eternity or nonabrogability of the Torah; however, many laws of the Torah are accompanied by phrases such as, "an everlasting injunction through your generations" (Lev. 3:17, et al.).

The doctrine that the Torah is eternal appears several times in the pre-tannaitic apocryphal literature; e.g., Ben Sira 24:9 ("the memorial of me shall never cease") and Jubilees 33:16 ("an everlasting law for everlasting generations").

Whereas the rabbis understood the preexistence of the Torah in terms of its prerevelation existence in heaven, they understood the eternity or nonabrogability of the Torah in terms of its postrevelation existence, not in heaven; i.e., the whole Torah was given to Moses and no part of it remained in heaven (Deut. 8:6, et al.). When Eliezer ben Hyrcanus and Joshua ben Hananiah were debating a point of Torah and a voice from heaven dramatically announced that Eliezer's position was correct, Joshua refused to recognize its testimony, for the Torah "is not in heaven" (Deut. 30:12), and must be interpreted by men, unaided by the supernatural (BM 59b). It was a principle that "a prophet is henceforth not permitted to innovate a thing" (Sifra, Be-Ḥukkotai 13:7; Tem. 16a; but he was permitted to suspend a law temporarily (Sif. Deut. 175)). The rabbis taught that the Torah would continue to exist in the world to come (e.g., Eccles. R. 2:1), although some of them were of the opinion that innovations would be made in the messianic era (e.g., Gen. R. 98:9; Lev. R. 9:7).

Philo saw the eternity of the Torah as a metaphysical principle, following from the Torah's accord with nature. He believed that the laws and enactments of the Torah "will remain for all future ages as though immortal, so long as the sun and the moon and the whole heaven and universe exist" (II Mos. 14; cf. Jer. 31:32–35). The belief in the eternity of the Torah appears also in the later apocryphal works (e.g., I Bar. 4:1; Ps. of Sol. 10:5) and in Josephus (Apion, 2:277).

With the rise to political power of Christianity and Islam, two religions which sought to convert Jews and which argued that particular injunctions of the Torah had been abrogated, the question of the eternity or "nonabrogability" of the Torah became urgent.

Saadiah Gaon stated that the children of Israel have a clear tradition from the prophets that the laws of the Torah are not subject to abrogation. Presenting scriptural corroboration for this tradition, he appealed to phrases appended to certain commandments, e.g., "throughout their generations, for a perpetual covenant" (Ex. 31:16). According to one novel argument of his, the Jewish nation is a nation only by virtue of its laws, namely, the Torah; God has stated that the Jewish nation will endure as long as the heaven and earth (Jer. 31:35–36); therefore, the Torah will last as long as heaven and earth (cf. Philo, above). He interpreted the verses, "Remember ye the Torah of Moses… Behold, I will send you Elijah…" (Mal. 3:22–23), as teaching that the Torah will hold valid until the prophet Elijah returns to herald the resurrection (*Beliefs and Opinions* 3:7).

Maimonides listed the belief in the eternity of the Torah as the ninth of his 13 principles of Judaism, and connected it with the belief that no prophet will surpass Moses, the only man to give people laws through prophecy. He contended that the eternity of the Torah is stated clearly in the Bible, particularly in Deuteronomy 13:1 ("thou shalt not add thereto, nor diminish from it") and Deuteronomy 29:28 ("the things that are revealed belong unto us and to our children for ever, that we may do all the words of this Torah"). He also cited the rabbinic principle: "A prophet is henceforth not permitted to innovate a thing" (see above). He offered the following explanation of the Torah's eternity, based on its perfection and on the theory of the mean: "The Torah of the Lord is perfect" (Ps. 19:8) in that its statutes are just, i.e., that they are equibalanced between the burdensome and the indulgent; and "when a thing is perfect as it is possible to be within its species, it is impossible that within that species there should be found another thing that does not fall short of the perfection either because of excess or deficiency." Also, he mentioned the argument that the prophesied eternity of the name of Israel ("For as the new heavens and the new earth, which I will make, shall remain before Me… so shall your seed and your name"; Isa. 66:22) entails the eternity of the Torah (cf. Saadiah above). He held that there will be no change in the Torah after the coming of the Messiah (commentary on Mishnah, Sanh. 10; Yad, Yesodei ha-Torah 9; cf. *Sefer ha-Mitzvot; Guide of the Perplexed* 2:29, 39; Abraham ibn Daud, *Emunah Ramah*).

Ḥasdai Crescas listed the eternity of the Torah as a nonfundamental true belief, i.e., required by Judaism, but not essential to the concept of Torah. Unlike Saadiah and Maimonides, he did not try to found this belief directly on a biblical text (but cf. his *Bittul Ikkarei ha-Noẓerim*, 9), but solely on the rabbinic dictum: "A prophet is henceforth not permitted to innovate a thing" (see above). To elucidate the belief from the point of view of speculation, he presented an argument from the perfection of the Torah, which differed markedly from its Maimonidean precursor. The argument proceeds as follows: The Torah is perfect, for it perfectly guides men toward the ultimate human happiness, love. If God were to abrogate the Torah, He would surely replace it, for it is impossible that He would forsake His purpose to maximize love. Since the Torah is perfect, it could be replaced only by an equal or an inferior; but if inferior, God would not be achieving His purpose of maximizing love; and if equal, He would be acting futilely. Therefore, He will not abrogate the Torah. Against the argument that replacement of the Torah by an equal but different law would make sense if there were an appreciable change – for better or worse – in the people who received it, he retorted characteristically that the Torah is the excellent guide for all, including both the intellectuals and the backward (*Or Adonai*, 3, pt. 1, 5:1–2).

Joseph Albo criticized Maimonides for listing the belief in the eternity of the Torah as an independent fundamental belief of Judaism. In a long discussion, which in many places constitutes an elaboration of arguments found in Crescas, he contended that nonabrogation is not a fundamental principle of the Torah, and that moreover, no text can be found in the Bible to establish it. Ironically, his ultimate position turned out to be closer to Maimonides' than to Crescas'; for he concluded that the belief in the nonabrogation of the Torah is a branch of the doctrine that no prophet will surpass the excellence of Moses (*Sefer ha-Ikkarim*, 3:13–23).

After Albo, the question of the eternity of the Torah became routine in Jewish philosophical literature (e.g., Abraham Shalom, *Neveh Shalom* 10:3–4; Isaac Abrabanel, *Rosh Amanah*, 13). However, in the Kabbalah it was never routine. In the 13th-century *Sefer ha-Temunah* a doctrine of cosmic cycles (or *shemittot*; cf. Deut. 15) was expounded, according to which creation is renewed every 7,000 years, at which times the letters of the Torah reassemble, and the Torah enters the new cycle bearing different words and meanings. Thus, while eternal in its unrevealed state, the Torah, in its manifestation in creation, is destined to be abrogated. This doctrine became popular in later kabbalistic and ḥasidic literature, and was exploited by the heretic Shabbetai Ẓevi and his followers, who claimed that a new cycle had begun, and in consequence he was able to teach that "the abrogation of the Torah is its fulfillment!"

Like his contemporary Shabbetai Ẓevi, but for much different reasons (see above), Spinoza committed the heresy of advocating the abrogation of the Torah. Subsequently, in the 19th century, Reform ideologists held that the abrogation of parts of the traditional Torah was not a heresy at all but was necessary for the progress of the Jewish religion. Similarly, many intellectuals and nationalists held that it was necessary for the progress of the Jewish nation. Aḥad Ha-Am called for the Torah in the Heart to replace the Torah of Moses and of the rabbis, which having been written down, had, in his opinion, become rigid and ossified in the process of time.

Jewish philosophers of modern times have not concentrated on the question of the eternity or nonabrogability of the Torah. Nevertheless, it is not entirely untenable that the main distinction between Orthodox Judaism and non-Orthodox Judaism is that the latter rejects the literal interpretation of the ninth principle of Maimonides' Creed that there will be no change in the Torah.

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TORAH, READING OF.

History

The practice of reading the Pentateuch (Torah) in public is undoubtedly ancient. The sources, however, do not permit the definite tracing of the historical development of the custom. The command to assemble the people at the end of every seven years to read the law "in their hearing" (Deut. 31:10–13) is the earliest reference to a public Torah reading. A second mention is made in the time of *Ezra when he read the Torah to all the people, both men and women, from early morning until midday, on the first day of the seventh month (Neh. 8:1–8). These two occasions are isolated instances, and do not help to establish when the custom of regular Torah readings arose.

Moses' command that the Israelites should read the Torah on the Sabbath, on festivals, and on new moons, and Ezra's that it should be read on Mondays, on Thursdays, and on Sabbath afternoons (TJ, Meg. 4:1, 75a; BK 82a) are not historical statements in themselves; they point, however, to an early date for the introduction of regular readings. It may be assumed that the custom dates from about the first half of the third century B.C.E., since the Septuagint was apparently compiled for the purpose of public reading in the synagogue. Josephus (Apion, 2:175) and Philo (II Som. 127) refer to public Torah readings as an ancient practice. This contention is supported by evidence in the New Testament: "For Moses of old time hath in every city them that preach him, being read in the synagogue every Sabbath day" (Acts 15:21). Elbogen is of the opinion that originally the Torah was read only on the festivals and on certain Sabbath days before the festivals; the reading was to instruct the people as to the significance of these days. If this is correct, the original Torah reading was didactic rather than liturgical.

The Mishnah shows that by the end of the second century C.E. there were regular Torah readings on Mondays, on Thursdays, and on Sabbaths; special readings for the Sabbaths during the period from before the month of Adar to before Passover; and special readings for the festivals, including those of Ḥanukkah and Purim, and for fast days (Meg. 3, 4–6). The length of the reading, however, seems not to have been fixed by that time. R. *Meir states, for instance, that the practice was to read a short portion on Sabbath mornings, the portion that followed on Sabbath afternoon, and further portions on Monday and Thursday, beginning on the following Sabbath morning from the end of the Thursday portion. According to R. Judah, the procedure was to begin the reading each Sabbath morning service where it had ended on the morning of the previous Sabbath (Meg. 31b).

The passage in the Babylonian Talmud (Meg. 29b) is the earliest reference to a fixed cycle of consecutive readings. It states that "in the West" (Palestine), they completed the reading of the Torah in three years. The old division of the Pentateuch into 153, 155, or 167 *sedarim* ("divisions") is based on this triennial cycle. Buechler, with great ingenuity, attempted to reconstruct the weekly portions of the *triennial cycle, assuming the cycle to have begun on the first day of Nisan. On the basis of his reconstruction, he proceeds to explain various traditions regarding events of the past (e.g., that Moses died on the seventh day of Adar and that Sarah was "remembered" on the first day of Tishri). Buechler contends that since the portions describing these events were read once every three years at these times, the tradition grew that the events themselves had taken place then.

In Babylon and other communities outside Palestine, an annual cycle was followed according to which the Pentateuch was divided into 54 *sedarim* (sing. *sidrah*, i.e., *parashah*). This became the universal Jewish practice, except for certain isolated instances. In Palestine, the triennial cycle was also superseded by the annual, possibly under the influence of Babylonian immigrants. However, the eminent traveler *Benjamin of Tudela writes about the community of Cairo (c. 1170): "Two large synagogues are there, one belonging to the land of Israel and one belonging to the men of the land of Babylon… Their usage with regard to the portions and sections of the law is not alike; for the men of Babylon are accustomed to read a portion every week, as is done in Spain, and is our custom, and to finish the law each year; while the men of Palestine do not do so but divide each portion into three sections and finish the law at the end of three years. The two communities, however, have an established custom to unite and pray together on the day of the Rejoicing of the Law, and on the day of the Giving of the Law" (M.N. Adler (ed.), *The Itinerary of Benjamin of Tudela* (1907), 70). Similarly, in the 12th century Maimonides (Yad, Tefillah 13:1) writes that the universal custom was to follow the annual cycle; he states, however, that the triennial cycle was nevertheless followed in some places.

The Mishnah rules that three persons read the Torah on Sabbath afternoons, on Mondays, and on Thursdays; four on *ḥol ha-mo'ed* of the festivals and on the new moon; five on a festival; six on the Day of Atonement; and seven on a Sabbath morning (Meg. 4:1–2). The privilege of reading the first portion of the day was given to a priest, the second to a levite, and the others to Israelites (Git. 5:8). Originally, each person read his own portion. In time, with the deterioration of Torah learning among the lay people, a special official of the synagogue read the portion while the person called to the reading recited the benedictions. At an early period, it was customary to translate the Hebrew text into the vernacular at the time of the reading (e.g., in Palestine and Babylon the translation was into Aramaic). The **targum* ("translation") was done by a special synagogue official, called the *meturgeman* (Meg. 4:4–10). Eventually, the practice of translating into the vernacular was discontinued.

Table of Scriptural Readings on Sabbaths

	PENTATEUCH		PROPHETS
	GENESIS		
	Bereshit	1:1–6:8	Isa. 42:5–43:11 (42:5–21)[1]
	No'aḥ	6:9–11:32	Isa. 54:1–55:5 (54:1–10)
	Lekh Lekha	12:1–17:27	Isa. 40:27–41:16
	Va-Yera	18:1–22:24	II Kings 4:1–37 (4:1–23)
	Ḥayyei Sarah	23:1–25:18	I Kings 1:1–31
	Toledot	25:19–28:9	Mal. 1:1–2:7
	Va-Yeẓe	28:10–32:3	Hos. 12:13–14:10 (11:7–12:12)
	Va-Yishlaḥ	32:4–36:43	Hos. 11:7–12:12 (Obad. 1:1–21)
	Va-Yeshev	37:1–40:23	Amos 2:6–3:8
	Mi-Keẓ	41:1–44:17	I Kings 3:15–4:1
	Va-Yiggash	44:18–47:27	Ezek. 37:15–28
	Va-Yeḥi	47:28–50:26	I Kings 2:1–12
	EXODUS		
	Shemot	1:1–6:1	Isa. 27:6–28:13; 29:22, 23 (Jer. 1:1–2:3)
	Va-Era	6:2–9:35	Ezek. 28:25–29:21
	Bo	10:1–13:16	Jer. 46:13–28
	Be-Shallaḥ	13:17–17:16	Judg. 4:4–5:31 (5:1–31)
	Yitro	18:1–20:23	Isa. 6:1–7:6 ; 9:5 (6:1–13)
	Mishpatim	21:1–24:18	Jer. 34:8–22; 33:25, 26
[2] {	Terumah	25:1–27:19	I Kings 5:26–6:13
	Teẓavveh	27:20–30:10	Ezek. 43:10–27
	Ki Tissa	30:11–34:35	I Kings 18:1–39 (18:20–39)
{	Va-Yakhel	35:1–38:20	I Kings 7:40–50 (7:13–26)
	Pekudei	38:21–40:38	I Kings 7:51–8:21 (7:40–50)
	LEVITICUS		
	Va-Yikra	1:1–5:26	Isa. 43:21–44:23
	Ẓav	6:1–8:36	Jer. 7:21–8:3; 9:22, 23
	Shemini	9:1–11:47	II Sam. 6:1–7:17 (6:1–19)
[2] {	Tazri'a	12:1–13:59	II Kings 4:42–5:19
	Meẓora	14:1–15:33	II Kings 7:3–20
{	Aḥarei Mot	16:1–18:30	Ezek. 22:1–19 (22:1–16)
	Kedoshim	19:1–20:27	Amos 9:7–15 (Ezek. 20:2–20)
	Emor	21:1–24:23	Ezek. 44:15–31
{	Be-Har	25:1–26:2	Jer. 32:6–27
	Be-Ḥukkotai	26:3–27:34	Jer. 16:19–17:14
	NUMBERS		
	Be-Midbar	1:1–4:20	Hos. 2:1–22
	Naso	4:21–7:89	Judg. 13:2–25
	Be-Ha'alotkha	8:1–12:16	Zech. 2:14–4:7
	Shelaḥ Lekha	13:1–15:41	Josh. 2:1–24
	Koraḥ	16:1–18:32	I Sam. 11:14–12:22
	Ḥukkat	19:1–22:1	Judg. 11:1–33
	Balak	22:2–25:9	Micah 5:6–6:8
	Pinḥas	25:10–30:1	I Kings 18:46–19:21
{	Mattot	30:2–32:42	Jer. 1:1–2:3
	Masei	33:1–36:13	Jer. 2:4–28; 3:4 (2:4–28; 4:1, 2)
	DEUTERONOMY		
	Devarim	1:1–3:22	Isa. 1:1–27
	Va-Ethannan	3:23–7:11	Isa. 40:1–26
	Ekev	7:12–11:25	Isa. 49:14–51:3
	Re'eh	11:26–16:17	Isa. 54:11–55:5
	Shofetim	16:18–21:9	Isa. 51:12–52:12
	Ki Teẓe	21:10–25:19	Isa. 54:1–10
	Ki Tavo	26:1–29:8	Isa. 60:1–22
{	Niẓẓavim	29:9–30:20	Isa. 61:10–63:9
	Va-Yelekh	31:1–30	Isa. 55:6–56:8
	Ha'azinu	32:1–52	II Sam. 22:1–51
	Ve-Zot ha-Berakhah[3]	33:1–34:12	Josh. 1:1–18 (1:1–9)

[1] Parentheses indicate Sephardi ritual. [2] Brackets indicate portions that are sometimes combined. [3] This portion is not read on Sabbath but on Simḥat Torah.

Table of Holiday Scriptural Readings for the Diaspora and for Ereẓ Israel

	PENTATEUCH	PROPHETS
Rosh Ha-Shanah		
1st Day	Gen. 21:1–34; Num. 29:1–6	I Sam. 1:1–2:10
2nd Day	Gen. 22:1–24; Num. 29–1–6	Jer. 31:2–20
Shabbat Shuvah	Weekly portion	Hos. 14:2–10; Micah 7:18–20 or Hos. 14:2–10; Joel 2:15–17 (Hos. 14:2–10; Micah 7:18–20[1])
Day of Atonement		
Morning	Lev. 16:1–34; num. 29:7–11	Isa. 57:14–58:14
Afternoon	Lev. 18:1–30	The Book of Jonah; Micah 7:18–20
Sukkot		
1st Day	Lev. 22:26–23:44; Num. 29:12–16	Zech. 14:1–21
2nd Day	Lev. 22:26–23:44; Num. 29:12–16 [Num. 29:17–19][2,4]	I Kings 8:2–21 [none]
3rd Day	Num. 29:17–22 [29:20–22][2,4]	
4th Day	Num. 29:20–28 [29:23–25][2,4]	
5th Day	Num. 29:23–31 [29:26–28][2,4]	
6th Day	Num. 29:26–34 [29:29–31][2,4]	
7th Day	Num. 29:26–34 [29:32–34][2,4]	
Shabbat during the Intermediate Days	Ex. 33:12–34:26; Daily portion from Num. 29	Ezek. 38:18–39:16
Shemini Aẓeret 8th Day	Deut. 14:22–16:17; Num. 29:35–30:1 [as for Simḥat Torah]	I Kings 8:54–66 [as for Simḥat Torah]
Simḥat Torah 9th day	Deut. 33:1–34:12; Gen. 1:1–2:3; Num. 29:35–30:1 [none]	Josh. 1:1–18 (1:1–9) [none]
Ḥanukkah		
1st Day	Num. 7:1–17	
2nd Day	Num. 7:18–29 [7:18–23][5]	
3rd Day	Num. 7:24–35 [7:24–29][5]	
4th Day	Num. 7:30–41 [7:30–35][5]	
5th Day	Num. 7:36–47 [7:36–41][5]	
6th Day	Num. 7:42–53 [7:42–47][5]	
7th Day	Num. 7:48–59 [7:48–53][5]	
8th Day	Num. 7:54–8:4	
First Shabbat Ḥanukkah	Weekly Ḥanukkah portions as for Ereẓ Israel	Zech. 2:14–4:4:7
Second Shabbat Ḥanukkah	Weekly Ḥanukkah portions as for Ereẓ Israel	I Kings 7:40–50
Rosh Ḥodesh during Ḥanukkah	Weekly Ḥanukkah portions as for Ereẓ Israel and Num. 28:1–15	
Rosh Ḥodesh and Shabbat Ḥanukkah	Weekly Rosh Ḥodesh, and Ḥanukkah portions as for Ereẓ Israel	Isa. 66:1–24
Shekalim	Weekly portion; Ex. 30:11–16	II Kings 12:1–17
Zakhor	Weekly portion; Deut. 25:17–19	I Sam. 15:2–34 (15:1–34)
Purim	Ex. 17:8–16	
Parah	Weekly portion; Num. 19:1–22	Ezek. 36:16–38 (36:16–36)
Ha-Ḥodesh	Weekly portion; Ex. 12:1–20	Ezek. 45:16–46:18 (45:18–46:5)
Shabbat Ha-Gadol	Weekly portion	Mal. 3:4–24
Passover		
1st Day	Ex. 12:21–51; Num. 28:19–25	Josh. 5:2–6:1
2nd Day	Lev. 22:26–23:44; Num. 28–19:25	II Kings 23:1–9; 21–25 [none]
3rd Day	Ex. 13:1–16; Num. 28:19–25	
4th Day	Ex. 22:24–23:19; Num. 28:19–25	
5th Day	Ex. 33:12–34:26; Num. 28:19–25	
6th Day	Num. 9:1–14; 28:19–25	
Intermediate Shabbat	The order to allow for the reading as on the 5th day above	Ezek. 36:37–37:14 (37:1–14)
7th Day	Ex. 13:17–15:26; Num. 28:19–25	II Sam. 22:1–51
8th Day	Deut. 15:19–16:17[3]; Num. 28:19–25 [none]	Isa. 10:32–12:6 [none]
Shavuot		
1st Day	Ex. 19:1–20:23; Num. 28:26–31	Ezek. 1:1–28; 3:12
2nd Day	Deut. 15:19–16:17[3]; Num. 28:26–31 [none]	Num. 3:1–19 (2:20–3:19)

[1] Parenthesis indicate Sephardi custom.
[2] Square brackets indicate Ereẓ Israel custom.
[3] On Shabbat, 14:22–16:17.
[4] Ereẓ Israel portion read four times.
[5] Ereẓ Israel portion read three times.

Table of Holiday Scriptural Readings for the Diaspora and for Ereẓ Israel (cont.)

	PENTATEUCH	PROPHETS
Ninth of Av		
Morning	Deut. 4:25–40	Jer. 8:13–9:23
Afternoon	Ex. 32:11–14; 34:1–10	Isa. 55:6–56:8 (Hos. 14:2–10; Micah [7:18–20]
Other Fasts		
Morning and afternoon	Ex. 32:11–14; 34:1–10	Isa. 55:6–56:8
Rosh Ḥodesh	Num. 28:1–15	
Shabbat and Rosh Ḥodesh	Weekly portion; Num. 28:9–15	Isa. 66:1–24
Shabbat immediately preceding Rosh Ḥodesh	Weekly portion	I Sam. 20:18–12

The practice of "completing" the Torah reading with a passage from one of the prophetic books, the **haftarah* ("completion"), is mentioned in the Mishnah (Meg. 4:1–2); the origins of the custom, however, are obscure. The custom is referred to as early as the New Testament period (Luke 4:17; Acts 13:15). The particular chosen prophetic passage accorded in theme with the day's Torah reading (see Meg. 29b). There is evidence that in some communities, selections from the Hagiographa were also read. This explains the frequent quotations from this part of the Bible found in the various midrashic passages which comment on Pentateuchal themes. The saying of R. *Akiva (Sanh. 10:1) that one who reads the external books has no share in the world to come refers, in all probability, to the public readings of such books as those of the Apocrypha.

The Reading of the Torah Today

The Pentateuch is divided into 54 portions; one is to be read each Sabbath. Two such portions are sometimes read on a single Sabbath; otherwise the cycle could not be completed in one year. (See Table: Scriptural Readings on Sabbaths.) On festivals, a special portion dealing with the theme of that festival is read from one scroll and the relevant portion of Numbers 28:16–29:39 from the second scroll. (See Table: Holiday Scriptural Readings.) The regular portion is not read on a Sabbath coinciding with a festival. Each weekly portion is divided into seven smaller ones; the actual point of division, however, varies in the different rites. The Ashkenazi and Sephardi Jews do not read the same *haftarot* on certain Sabbaths. There are also occasions when different portions are read in Israel and the Diaspora (as a consequence of the observance of second days of festivals outside Israel). The cycle of readings begins on the Sabbath after *Sukkot and is completed on the last day of this festival (Simḥat Torah). Since the early part of the 19th century, various attempts have been made to reintroduce the triennial cycle; Buechler, in reply to a query by an Anglo-Jewish congregation, observed: "If you ask me about the *din* ("law"), I have to answer that it is against our codified law from the 12th century onward, and even much earlier in Babylon whence our law proceeded. If you introduce the triennial cycle, you separate yourself from the main body of Judaism" (London, New West End Synagogue, *Report on the Sabbath Reading of the Scriptures in a Triennial Cycle* (1913), 9). Many contemporary Reform and Conservative congregations follow the practice of reading about a third of the portion for the week from the portions of the annual cycle. In some of these congregations, women are called to the reading of the Torah; the practice is substantiated by some traditional sources (see A.B. Blumenthal in *Rabbinical Assembly America, Proceedings*, 19 (1956), 168–81). In a few synagogues, it is customary to read the *haftarah* from a handwritten scroll of the prophets but in most communities, the *haftarah* is read from a printed book. The *haftarah* reading, therefore, requires less expertise and it is customary that it is read by a member of the congregation, and not a special official. In modern communities, the old practice of selling the *aliyyot* (from a root meaning "to ascend" i.e., the platform from which the Torah is read) has been discontinued.

The Laws and Customs of Reading the Torah

The Torah scroll is taken from the ark and carried in procession around the synagogue before and after the reading; the congregation stands during the procession. According to rabbinic authorities, Leviticus 19:32 "Thou shalt rise up before the hoary head and honor the face of the old man, and thou shalt fear thy God: l am the Lord," means that one must rise when a Torah scholar, as well as an old man, passes by. The argument is developed that if one must rise before those who study the Torah, how much more before the Torah itself (Kid. 33b). It has become customary for the congregation to gather around the scroll and kiss it as it passes.

The reader must prepare himself well by rehearsing the portion he is to read. He must stand erect while reading and must enunciate the words clearly but not excessively. If he reads a word incorrectly, so that its meaning is changed, he must repeat it. The Torah can only be read if at least a *minyan* ("ten adult males") are present. Although it is permitted to add to the number of persons called to the reading on the Sabbath, no less than three verses are to be read for each person. The portions are frequently subdivided for this purpose, but care must be taken not to end a passage with an unfavorable topic. A person is called to the reading by his Hebrew name and that of his father. If he is a rabbi, he is called by this title (*morenu ha-rav*). He ascends the *bimah* (raised platform from which the Torah is read) by the shortest route and descends by the longest, thus demonstrating his eagerness to be called and his reluctance to leave. If he is seated in the middle of the synagogue, so that both routes are equidistant, he should ascend to the right and descend to the left. Both before and after the reading, he recites special benedictions (see **Birkat ha-Torah*).

The kabbalists consider the reading of the Torah a dramatic re-enactment of the theophany at Sinai; the reader is in place of the Almighty, the person called to the reading represents the people to whom the Torah was given, and the *segan* ("the congregational leader who apportions the *aliyyot* and stands at the side of the reader") has the role of Moses. Others, for whom the Torah reading is also this dramatic re-enactment, consider the *segan* in place of the Almighty and the reader in place of Moses. R. Simeon said: "When the scroll of the Torah is taken out in public to be read therefrom the heavenly gates of mercy are opened and the love from above is awakened. A man should then say: 'Blessed be the name…'" (Zohar Ex. 206a). This mystical prayer, *Berikh Shemei*, is found in most prayer books and is recited in many congregations.

There are seven *aliyyot* on a Sabbath, of which the first goes to a kohen, the second to a levite, and five to Israelites. If no levite is present, the kohen is called again to the regular levite portion. If no kohen is present, either a levite or an Israelite is called to the kohen portion and a levite is not then called to the second portion, but an Israelite. A kohen or levite may not be called to any of the five Israelite portions. However, since it is permitted to add to these he may be called to the last additional portion. A father and son, or two brothers, may not be called consecutively to the Torah reading, for fear of the "evil eye" or to prevent near relatives from testifying together which is forbidden by Jewish law. (The calling up to the Torah is to attest its truth.) The following persons take precedence in being called to the Torah:

(1) a bridegroom who is to be married during the following week or was married that week;

(2) a boy who has reached his religious majority (bar mitzvah);

(3) a man whose wife has borne him a child;

(4) a man commemorating the death of a parent (*yahrzeit*);

(5) a man rising from mourning (*shivah*).

On the Sabbath it is considered an honor to receive the highly valued third and sixth *aliyyot*. It is customary to allot them to men of special learning or piety. The same applies to the last *aliyah*, particularly when the reading is from one of the concluding portions of the five books. Other valued portions are the Song of Moses (Ex. 15:1–21) and the Ten Commandments (Ex. 20:1–14 and Deut. 5:6–18). The congregation stands while these portions are being read. The portions Exodus 32:1–33:6; Leviticus 26:14–43; Numbers 11; and Deuteronomy 28:15–68 are read softly because they deal with Israel's backsliding. The last few verses of the *maftir* ("final portion") of the *sidrah* are repeated for the person called to read the *haftarah*. This can be given to a kohen or a levite and, unlike the others, also to a minor.

The Torah reading is cantillated in a specific way which is distinct from that of the *haftarah*. The Ashkenazi and the Sephardi rites have different cantillations for the reading. There are also special cantillations for the Book of Esther, the Book of Lamentations, and for the Books of Ruth, Ecclesiastes, and Song of Songs. It is considered wrong to substitute one cantillation for another. The verse: "You shall not move your neighbor's landmarks, set up by previous generations" (Deut. 19:14) is cited when such a change is attempted. The reader does not have to repeat words read with an incorrect cantillation (for the musical aspects see *Masoretic Accents, Musical Rendition). In Sephardi congregations, the open scroll is lifted (*hagbahah*) and shown to the congregation before the reading; in Ashkenazi congregations this ceremony is performed after the reading. When the scroll is raised, the congregation chants: "This is the law which Moses set before the children of Israel" (Deut. 4:44). After the reading, the scroll is rolled together again (*gelilah*) and its ornaments are replaced.

The Torah may only be read from a scroll that is *kasher* ("fit for use"), and not from one rendered *pasul* ("unfit") because it had been incorrectly written or its words or letters have been obliterated. A scroll is unfit for use, even if only one letter has been omitted. The scroll must be unpointed; it should have no other signs than the consonants. If the vowel signs or the notes for cantillation have been written in the scroll, it is unfit for use. If during the reading it is discovered that the scroll is unfit, it should be returned to the ark and another scroll taken out. The reading from the second scroll is continued from the place where the mistake was discovered. Should this occur on a Sabbath, the required number of seven persons must be called up to the reading of the second scroll, even if some have already been called up to the reading of the first.

Most Reform temples in the United States have shortened or abandoned the traditional Torah readings and a number of Conservative temples have substituted the old triennial cycle of readings. In non-Orthodox congregations where women are counted as part of the *minyan*, they may also receive an *aliyah* and girls may celebrate their bat mitzvah like boys with a reading from their portion.

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[Louis Jacobs]

TORAH ORNAMENTS. The sacred and ceremonial objects in the synagogue revolve around the Torah scroll. These objects differ from one place to another and not every object exists in every community.

Storage of the Torah Scroll

The length of cloth known in Hebrew as the *mitpaḥat* (plural *mitpaḥot*) is the earliest known means for storage of the Torah scroll. The *mitpaḥḥat*, also known in the sources as *mappah*, is mentioned in the Mishnah and in the Tosefta and later in the Jerusalem and Babylonian Talmuds (Mishnah, Kel. 28:4, Meg. 4:1, Kil. 9:3; Tosef. BM 9:5; TJ, Ber. 6:4; TB, Meg. 26b, etc.). It is known from these sources that in ancient times woolen or linen *mitpaḥot* were used, sometimes with colorful stripes woven in; some were provided with bells. It is also known from Greek and Latin literature that in the ancient Middle East important scrolls were regularly wrapped in cloth. In time, the Jewish communities of the East Mediterranean Basin, as well as the Eastern communities, began to keep their Torah scrolls in special cases. Such cases were common in the classical world; they are referred to as *theca* in Greek or *capsa* in Latin. Archaeological finds from all parts of the Roman Empire attest to the shape of the case: a cylindrical or prism-shaped container used to carry various objects, including scrolls. Used in the Jewish world to carry Torah scrolls, such cases eventually became the main permanent receptacle for Torah scrolls in the communities of the East and the East Mediterranean Basin.

Torah Case and Mitpaḥat

The case is a small wooden cabinet, either cylindrical or prism-shaped with eight, ten, or twelve faces in two parts that open lengthwise. There are three main types of case: the flat-topped case used in Yemen, Cochin, Eastern Iran, and Afghanistan; the case with a circular or onion-shaped crown used in the Babylonian communities, i.e., Iraq and Western Iran; and the case with a coronet used in Libya, Tunisia, and the Greek Romaniot communities. The ornamentation of the case differs from one community to another. Cases may be adorned with colorful drawings or covered with leather, fabric, or beaten silver plates. In some communities, such as Yemen, Tunisia, and Libya, the case is usually wrapped in a rich fabric. The Torah cases generally have inscriptions around the edges, on the front, or inside. Two types of inscription are characteristic: biblical verses extolling the Torah, mainly from the books of Proverbs and Psalms, and personal information about the donor.

Our knowledge of Torah cases and *mitpaḥot* in pre-modern times is meager; the process whereby the case evolved from a mere receptacle for carrying the Torah into a sacred artifact can at most be conjectured. It may be assumed that in the first stage, when the case was used only for storage, the scroll was wrapped in a *mitpaḥat* when placed in the case. However, it was difficult to handle the Torah scroll wrapped in the *mitpaḥat* in its case, and most communities therefore removed it from the case. Only the Jews of Yemen continued to wrap the Torah in two or three *mitpaḥot*, and until they came to Israel they used colorful, geometrically patterned, cotton-print *mitpaḥot* of Indian manufacture. There, the *mitpaḥat* is used to cover the text adjacent to the text being read, thus preventing its unnecessary exposure. In other communities, the *mitpaḥat* is used only to cover the scroll during pauses in the reading, when it is placed on the case and not on the Torah scroll itself.

Wrapper, Binder, and Mantle

Two textile objects developed from the *mitpaḥat* in European communities. One, found only in Italy and in communities of the Sephardi Diaspora, is a wrapper (Hebrew *yeriʿah*), of height equal to that of the parchment sheets from which the Torah scroll is made and rolled up together with the scroll, a custom which is gradually disappearing. Another textile object wound around the Torah scroll in Ashkenazi communities, in Italy, and in the Sephardi Diaspora is the binder. The binder is a long narrow strip of cloth with which the Torah is bound, either on top of the wrapper or directly on the parchment. Its purpose is to keep the scroll securely bound when not in use.

In Italy and in the Sephardi communities, the binder is known as a *fascia*; it is made of a costly material or of linen embroidered in silk thread. From the 16th century it became customary in Northern Italy for girls and young women to embroider binders with biblical verses or original personal dedicatory inscriptions. In Germany it became customary in the second half of the 16th century to prepare a binder for the Torah scroll on the occasion of the birth of a son. This binder, called a *mappah* or *wimpel*, was fashioned from a piece of square linen cloth which was placed near the infant during the circumcision ceremony. The infant's name, his father's, name and his date of birth were embroidered or written on the cloth, as well as the blessing recited during the ceremony: "May he enter into the Torah, the nuptial canopy, and into good deeds." By the 17th century, binders often had pictures illustrating the three elements of "Torah, the nuptial canopy and good deeds."

The Torah mantle is as it were the clothing of the Torah scroll. In Sephardi communities, Italy, and Germany, and in halakhic literature, it was indeed occasionally known as *beged*, "garment," or *mappah*, but later the term *meʿil* became standard in most communities. The earliest attestation to the shape of the mantle appears in the 14th-century *Sarajevo Haggadah*, created in Spain. The mantles shown there are made of a costly material, probably not embroidered. This tradition is still common today in Sephardi communities, with the exception of Morocco and Algeria, where Torah mantles are made of velvet with elaborately embroidered patterns and dedicatory inscriptions. Common motifs on these mantles are the Tree of Life (in Morocco) and a gate (in Algeria). The shapes of the mantle differ from community to community – some are wide and open in the front (Italy and the Spanish Diaspora), others have a small cape atop the robe, still others are of simple rectangular length with material gathered at the upper borders (Algeria).

The earliest German mantles are depicted in 15th-century manuscripts. This Torah mantle is generally narrower and smaller than the Sephardi mantle, while the robe-like part is made of two rectangular lengths of material sewn together. Two openings at the upper end of the mantle enable the staves to protrude. The designs on Torah mantles in Germany and Central Europe are influenced by the ornamentation of the Torah Ark curtain, with such motifs as a pair of columns, lions, and the Torah crown most frequent.

Torah Crown

The earliest Torah ornaments are the Torah crown and the finials mounted on the Torah case or on the staves of the Torah scroll. We first hear of a Torah crown in the 11th century, in a responsum of *Hai Gaon concerning the use of a crown for a Torah scroll on *Simḥat Torah. The use of the Torah crown is linked in this responsum to the custom of crowning the so-called "*Bridegrooms of the Law," i.e., the persons called up on Simḥat Torah to complete the annual cycle of the Torah reading and to initiate the new cycle. At the time, the Torah crown was an *ad hoc* object made from various decorative items, such as plants and jewelry. About a hundred years later, fixed crowns, made of silver and used regularly to decorate Torah scrolls in the synagogue, are mentioned in a document from the Cairo **Genizah*. Their earliest depiction is in the 14th-century Spanish *Sarajevo Haggadah*.

Torah crowns are used in almost all communities (the exceptions are Morocco and Yemen), their design being influenced in each locality by local tradition. The onion-shaped or conical crown of the Iraqi-Persian Torah case follows the tradition of the crowns of the Sassanid kings, the last Persian dynasty prior to the Muslim conquest. In Cochin, India, and in Aden, the independent port of Yemen, a tapering dome-like crown developed through which protrude finials mounted on the staves on which the Torah scroll is wound; the crown is not fixed to the case. By the 20th century, the Torah crown in Cochin showed distinct European features. In Eastern Iran, where the Torah had a small crown, the outer sides of the crown lost their spherical shape and became flat dedicatory plaques. Today this crown looks like a pair of flat finials, and only their designation as "crowns" hints at their origin in the Torah crown. The circlet or coronet on the Mediterranean case, which became an integral part of the case, was based on a local medieval crown tradition typified by floral patterns. The European crown is shaped like a floral coronet with arms closing over it. In Eastern Europe a two- or three-tiered crown developed, inspired by the crown motif on the Torah Ark in this region. In Italy, on the other hand, the Torah crown was a coronet, known in Hebrew as the *atarah*.

Torah Finials

The finials evolved from knobs at the upper end of the staves (*ezei ḥayyim*) on which the Torah scroll is wound. Since the shape of the spherical finial recalled that of a fruit, it was called a *tappu'aḥ*, "apple," among the Jews of Spain and in the Sephardi Diaspora, and a *rimmon*, "pomegranate," in all other communities.

The earliest known reference to Torah finials occurs in a document from 1159, found in the Cairo *Genizah*, from which we learn that by the 12th century finials were already being made of silver and had bells. Around the same time, *Maimonides mentions finials in the *Mishneh Torah* (Hilkhot Sefer Torah 10:4). Despite the variations on the spherical shape which developed over the centuries and the addition of small bells around the main body of the finial, the spherical, fruit-like form was the basic model for the design of finials in Oriental and European communities.

A most significant variation appeared in 15th-century Spain, Italy, and Germany, where the shape of finials was influenced by that of various objects of church ritual, whose design often incorporated architectural motifs, The resulting tower-like structure, which seems to have appeared around the same time in different parts of Europe, became the main type of finial in 18th-century Germany and Italy, as well as Morocco, brought there by Jews expelled from Spain.

Breastplates and Metal Shields Hung in Front of the Torah Scroll

Breastplates – ornamental metal plates or shields hung in front of the Torah scroll – are found in all Ashkenazi communities, as well as Italy and Turkey, but designed differently in each community. In most cases the breastplate is made of silver or silver-plated metal. In Italy the breastplate is shaped like a half-coronet and known as the *keter*, "crown." In Turkey, the breastplate is called a *tass*, and assumes a variety of shapes – circular, triangular, oval, or even the Star of David. In Western, Central, and Eastern Europe the breastplate is called either *tass* or *ẓiẓ*; its function there is not merely ornamental: it designates which Torah scroll is to be used for the Torah reading on any particular occasion, with interchangeable plaques. The most notable early breastplates, from 17th-century Germany and Holland, were either square or rectangular, but over time they became rounded and decorative, and bells or small dedicatory plaques were suspended from its lower edge. During this period, the design of breastplates was influenced by that of the Torah Ark and the **parokhet* (curtain) concealing it, featuring various architectural motifs, the **menorah* (the seven-branched candelabrum), Moses and Aaron, lions, or Torah crowns.

Objects Used in the Torah Reading

TORAH POINTER. The pointer used by the Torah reader to keep the place is known in European communities as the **yad*, "hand," or the *eẓba*, "finger," and in Sephardi and Eastern communities as the *moreh*, "pointer," or *kulmus*, "quill," the former because of its function and the latter because of its shape. Halakhic sources also use the terms *moreh* or *kulmus*. The pointer was originally a narrow rod, tapered at the pointing end, usually with a hole at the other end through which a ring or chain could be passed to hang the pointer on the Torah scroll.

The original form of the pointer was preserved in Eastern communities, the differences from one community to another being mainly in length and ornamentation. In certain communities a hand with a pointing finger was added, and accordingly the pointer came to be known as a *yad*, "hand," or *eẓba*, "finger." Pointers are made for the most part of silver or silver-plated brass, but in a few European communities they used to be made of wood. In such cases the pointers were carved in the local folk-art style.

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[Bracha Yaniv (2nd ed.)]

TORAH UMESORAH (National Society for Hebrew Day Schools). The largest national body serving 700 Orthodox day schools in North America, the Torah Umesorah was founded in 1944 by Rabbi Shraga Feivel Mendlowitz. From 1946 its national director was Joseph Kaminetsky, who was succeeded by Rabbi Joshua Fishman in 1982. Policy is officially dictated by a rabbinical board. Among its other activities, Torah Umesorah sponsors a teacher training institute called AishDos and represents its membership schools to the U.S. Department of Education. In the past, Torah Umesorah published the children's magazine *Olomeinu* as well as *The Jewish Parent*; and *Hamenahel,* a periodical for school principals. In 2004 they began publishing an educational magazine called *Rayanos.* Torah Umesorah organizes two yearly conferences, the National Conference of Yeshiva Principals and the National Leadership Convention, the latter of which is geared toward anyone involved in Torah education.

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[Asher Oser (2nd ed.)]

TORAH VA-AVODAH (Heb. "Torah and Labor"), description of the ideology of the Zionist religious pioneering movement, as well as the name of the world confederation of pioneer and youth groups of the *Mizrachi movement established in Vienna in 1925 at a conference of delegates from various countries (representing Mizrachi youth, religious *He-Ḥalutz groups, and *Ha-Po'el ha-Mizrachi). The ideology was based on the unity of the Torah, the people, and the land of Israel, as well as on the postulate that only a man who lives by his own labor can be certain that he does not exploit and abuse his neighbor. This concept, coupled with the demand for social justice, induced the movement into establishing cooperative collective pioneering settlements in Ereẓ Israel.

See also *Mizrachi, *Ha-Po'el ha-Mizrachi, *Bnei Akiva, *Ha-Kibbutz ha-Dati.

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TORBERG (Kantorberg), FRIEDRICH (1908–1979), Austrian novelist, journalist, and editor. Torberg, who was born in Vienna, won acclaim with his first novel, *Der Schueler Gerber hat absolviert* (1930). He worked for the *Prager Tagblatt* and the *Selbstwehr* during the 1930s. In 1938 he fled from Prague to Switzerland and fought in a Czech brigade with the French army until the collapse of France. With the help of the "Emergency Rescue Committee," he escaped to the U.S. in 1940 as a persecuted writer. There he lived first as a scriptwriter in Los Angeles and later in New York. Torberg returned to Vienna in 1951, where he was for many years the editor of *Forum*, a literary and cultural monthly.

His novella *Mein ist die Rache* (1943) and his novel *Hier bin ich, mein Vater* (1948) dealt with the fate of Jews under Nazi rule. His other novels include *Abschied* (1937) and *Die zweite Begegnung* (1950). He published two collections of verse, *Der ewige Refrain* (1929) and *Lebenslied* (1958). Among his further works are *Das fuenfte Rad am Thespiskarren* (1967), *Golems Wiederkehr* (1968), *Suesskind von Trimberg* (1972), and two collection of anecdotes on Jewish life in the Habsburg monarchy, *Die Tante Jolesch* (1977) and *Die Erben der Tante Jolesch* (1978). Torberg's collected works, including his extensive correspondence, appeared in 19 volumes (1962–91). In addition to his extensive literary output, Torberg also worked as a German translator of Ephraim *Kishon's novels.

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[Sol Liptzin / Mirjam Triendl (2nd ed.)]

TORCHIN (Pol. **Torczyn**), town in S. Volyn district, Ukraine; passed to Russia in 1795. In 1648–49 the Jews suffered at the hands of the Cossacks under *Chmielnicki. Because of their economic plight, the Council of the Four Lands (see *Councils of the Lands) granted the community a reduction in tax in 1726. The Jewish population numbered about 640 in 1765. During the 19th century various branches of crafts were developed whose products were sold on the Russian markets. In 1890 there were 21 tanneries and 66 shops in the town, most of them owned by Jews. The Jewish population numbered 1,748 in 1847, 2,629 (58% of total population) in 1897, and 1,480 (46%) in 1921. Between the two world wars, in independent Poland, all the Jewish parties were active in the town, as well as a branch of He-Ḥalutz, a sport association, and a library.

Holocaust Period

Before the outbreak of World War II there were about 1,600 Jews in Torczyn. In September 1939 the Red Army entered the town and a Soviet administration was established there until the outbreak of the German-Soviet war in June 1941. The Germans occupied the town on June 24, 1941. In January 1942 the Jews from Torczyn and its vicinity were concentrated in a closed ghetto in the town. The ghetto was liquidated at the end of August 1942 and most of the Jews were shot in the Jewish cemetery. During this *Aktion* some Jews succeeded in hiding and another group in escaping and joining a partisan unit that operated in the vicinity. After the war, the Jewish community of Torczyn was not reconstituted.

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[Shimon Leib Kirshenboim]

TORCZYNER, JACQUES (1914–), U.S. Zionist leader. Torczyner was born in Antwerp, Belgium, where his father had been president of the Belgian Zionist Federation. He identified himself with Zionist activity in Belgium and was editor of the official publications of the Zionist Federation from 1937 until the outbreak of World War II. In 1940 he immigrated to the United States and became one of the leaders of the Zionist Organization of America and was closely associated with Abba Hillel *Silver. Torczyner served as president of the Zionist Organization of America for five consecutive terms and was appointed chairman of the Administrative Board of the ZOA. He is also president of the World Union of General Zionists. He has written extensively on problems connected with Zionist ideology and the future of American Jewry.

TORGOV, MORLEY (1927–), Canadian author. Morley Torgov was born and raised in Sault Ste. Marie, Ontario, where his family was part of the city's small Jewish community. A full-time lawyer with a practice in Toronto, he wrote in his leisure time.

Torgov published a memoir and five novels, each of which explores Jewish themes with humor and irony that are gentler than in either Mordecai *Richler or Philip *Roth, with whom he is often compared. *A Good Place to Come From* (1974) won the Leacock Medal for Humour and was adapted as a mini-series for television and for the stage in Canada and the United States. A series of vignettes, it describes Torgov's experience of growing up Jewish in the predominantly gentile world of Sault Ste. Marie. *The Abramsky Variations* (1977), written in three parts and set in Toronto and France, concerns three generations of the Abramsky (later Brahms) family: father Louis, son Hershel, and grandson Bart (né Kevin). Each character struggles to reconcile Jewish tradition with secular ambition, and all are more strongly attracted to fantasizing about people they want to emulate than to facing reality. Torgov's second novel, *The Outside Chance of Maximilian Glick* (1982), which also won the Leacock Medal, was first written as a children's story. It takes a comic look at 12-year-old Maximilian, so named because his parents thought it would look impressive on the door of a law office. It is the story of a boy raised in a tiny Jewish community in Steelton, northern Ontario. Maximilian seeks to escape the suffocating love of his parents and grandparents, who envision him making a career as a surgeon, judge, or scientist. With the help of Rabbi Kalman Teitelman, who replaces Steelton's former rabbi and with whom Maximilian forms a relationship, he eventually releases himself from the stifling expectations of others. *St. Farb's Day* (1990) concerns Isadore Farb, an honest, respectable lawyer on Toronto's Bay Street. As Farb struggles with an ethical dilemma – he finds himself involved in a conflict of interest with several clients – he confronts larger moral issues linked to his Jewish identity. *The War to End All Wars* (1998) brings together two former soldiers who had fought opposite one another in World War I. In the mid-1920s, Ellio Pines and Karl Sternberg are living in the small town of Oreville, Michigan, where they compete as businessmen and as suitors. *Stickler and Me* (2002) is a novel for young adults.

[Ruth Panofsky (2nd ed.)]

TORME, MEL (**Melvin Howard**; 1925–1999) U.S. singer, drummer, pianist, composer, arranger, actor, author. Although he was known as "the Velvet Fog," a nickname he loathed, and most people thought of him in terms of his creamy vocal tones, Mel Torme was a protean figure whose range of talents encompassed not only jazz and pop music but writing and acting as well. The son of Russian Jewish immigrants (the family name, Torma, was changed by an immigration official at Ellis Island), Torme was a child performer of note, singing with the Coon-Sanders Nighthawks Orchestra at four and appearing on numerous national radio programs including *Jack Armstrong, the All-American Boy* when he was nine. Trained as a pianist and drummer, he also began his songwriting career very early, with the Harry James band performing his "Lament of Love" when Torme was 15. By 1943, the teenager was touring with the Chico Marx band as a singer, drummer, and arranger. That was the year in which he also made his film debut in *Higher and Higher* alongside another newcomer, Frank Sinatra.

Sinatra's success with the Pied Pipers vocal group inspired Torme to form his own backup aggregation, the Mel-Tones, and it was his recordings with them in the mid-1940s that inspired New York disk jockey Fred Robbins to gift Torme with his famous sobriquet. (Torme eventually came to accept the nickname, sporting license plates that read LE FOG and EL PHOG.) His career continued in the ascendant with a commercial peak in the 1947 MGM musical *Good News*, which triggered a very brief enthusiasm for Torme among the bobbysoxers. But he was outgrowing this music and by the early 1950s hooked up with nascent Bethlehem Records where he became a jazz artist in earnest. The timing was probably unfortunate, as Torme's musical maturing coincided with the rise of rock 'n' roll and the ebbing of jazz as a commercial vehicle.

Torme, however, was a man of many interests and talents, and survived by broadening his horizons to include writing for television, several books of non-fiction including an autobiography (*It Wasn't All Velvet*, 1988) and a biography of his close friend and fellow Jewish child prodigy, Buddy Rich (*Traps: The Drum Wonder*, 1991). His most famous composition, "The Christmas Song," was not only a huge hit for Nat Cole but is among the most frequently recorded holiday songs in the modern repertoire. Torme continued performing and recording until a serious stroke felled him in 1996; the lingering effects of that stroke would kill him three years later.

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[George Robinson (2nd ed.)]

TORONTO, city in Canada, with a population of approximately 2.5 million people; located on the north shore of Lake Ontario. The city is the capital of the province of Ontario and at the heart of a larger urban expanse officially known as the Greater Toronto Area (GTA), home to an additional 2.7 million people. Toronto is also one of the largest Jewish Diaspora centers. In 2001 there were approximately 114,000 Jews in the city of Toronto and another 65,000 in the surrounding GTA municipalities. That population continues to grow.

History

Many of Toronto's Jews remain clustered along what is likely the longest Jewish neighborhood in the Diaspora. It begins downtown and extends up either side of one street, Bathurst Street, for about 15 miles (24 km.). While there are no fixed boundaries along this lengthy north/south artery, it is possible to divide the Toronto Jewish community into a landscape of three connected neighborhoods.

The downtown and most southerly neighborhood is the oldest. Toronto, originally named York, was founded as a British garrison town on Lake Ontario in the late 18th century. As surrounding agricultural settlement gradually expanded, so did the town, which served as a local market and commercial center. By the late 1840s and early 1850s Toronto was home to a small number of Jews, mostly merchants active in the jewelry, clothing, and dry goods business. Many of these Jews were originally from England or Germany and retained close economic and kinship ties to Jewish merchant families in Montreal, New York, or London. As Toronto continued to grow, Jewish-owned enterprises successfully expanded to include financial services, land speculation, and manufacturing.

While few in number and generally well integrated into the larger community, the tiny Toronto Jewish community came together to found a burial society and organize High Holiday services. Confident that their numbers would gradually grow, in 1856 a group of 18 men founded Toronto's Holy Blossom Congregation. For the next decade and a half, there was slow but steady growth in the community. In the early 1880s the Toronto Jewish community stood just short of 600 members. They were not ready for the explosion in Jewish population numbers that came with the great westward migration of Jews out of Russian Poland, Lithuania, and the Ukraine that began in the early 1880s. As this migration reached Toronto the city's Jewish population expanded by more than 200 percent to almost 1,400 Jews in 1891. During the next 20 years it grew by more than one thousand percent to exceed 18,000 in 1911. In the next ten years the size of the Jewish community of Toronto doubled yet again.

The small and generally well-integrated older Jewish community offered the new immigrants what assistance it could, but it was soon overwhelmed by so many new arrivals who were so different from themselves. In turn, the new arrivals, Yiddish-speaking and largely working-class, often felt at a distance from the prosperous and largely English-speaking Jews they found in Toronto. Many of the recent immigrants first clustered in poorer inner-city neighborhoods where they found employment in the growing garment industry or struggled to make a living as peddlers and petty merchants. They built an institutional infrastructure that echoed the East European world from which they had recently arrived. Synagogues and *Landsmannschaften* were established, often tied to country or region of origin. Secular organizations of many different political stripes, left and right, Zionist and non-Zionist, also took root.

Even as Jewish immigrants to Toronto and their children struggled to secure an economic foothold for themselves in this new urban world while tenaciously holding onto their identities as Jews, they were subject to assimilationist pressures from Toronto's urban gatekeepers – school teachers, Protestant missionaries, social workers, and politicians – all preaching a vision of Toronto as an orderly outpost of British values in North America and believing it their duty to remake these "foreigners" in their own image. Some, tinged with antisemitism and fearing that Jews could not or would not assimilate, began to pressure the government for severe restrictions on immigration. As the anti-immigrant movement grew through the mid-1920s, the government responded with tough immigration barriers. Even though these regulations cut off the flow of East European immigration into Canada, antisemitism in housing, in the workplace, and in areas of social contact continued. Tensions exploded in the 1933 Christie Pits riot, where Jewish and Italian youths fought anti-immigrant gangs who had been harassing Jews.

World War II was a watershed in Toronto Jewish life. The outbreak of war in 1939 brought not only distress to the heavily Polish-Jewish population of Toronto fearful for the fate of family still in Poland, it also brought a return of economic growth, full employment, and a sense of shared contribution to the national cause. With many Canadian Jews serving with the military and contributing on the home front, Jews were increasingly unwilling to tolerate further anti-Jewish discrimination. Even as the organized Toronto Jewish community, led by the Canadian Jewish Congress, organized in support of the war effort it also began a campaign to combat antisemitism and to lobby for legally enforced human rights protections. In part as a result of this effort, in 1944 Ontario passed the first human rights legislation in Canada, barring discrimination on the basis of race or religion. In 1962 the Ontario Human Rights Code was proclaimed and the Ontario Human Rights Commission established to ensure the Code was followed. Changing attitudes can be seen in the election, back-to-back, of two Jewish mayors, Nathan *Phillips (1955–62) and Philip *Givens (1962–66). Givens, at the time he was mayor, was also president of the Canadian Zionist Federation.

In addition to a growing spirit of openness, Toronto also emerged from the war a prosperous center of commerce and industry. Continuing demand for labor in and around Toronto drew migrants from within Canada and quickly forced a reopening of immigration. Toronto continued to thrive through the rest of the 20th century. Manufacturing declined, but the government and service sectors expanded. The city grew through large-scale suburban expansion. Like most North American Jews, Toronto Jews left crowded, aging housing downtown for the second of Toronto's Jewish neighborhoods, the near suburbs – now considered the central region of Jewish Toronto – above the core along Bathurst St. The near suburbs developed as an uptown version of the dense Jewish community that had been downtown. Continued immigration as well as suburbanization brought Jews to this area. Tens of thousands of Displaced Persons, including many Holocaust survivors, settled in Toronto in the 1950s as Canada became second only to Israel in the proportion of survivors in its Jewish population. North African Jews and Hungarian Jews arrived in Toronto in the 1960s. In addition, small-town Ontario Jews seeking a more Jewish environment for themselves and their children also moved to Toronto as did many young people from Montreal who moved out of fear of separatism in Quebec during the 1970s and 1980s. Toronto also attracted immigrants from the United States, including Vietnam draft resistors, and many from the former Soviet Union, South Africa, and Israel. Each group brought its own Jewish traditions, creating a unique Jewish community pluralism that found expression in new congregations, schools, bookstores, newspapers, bakeries, restaurants, clubs, and cultural associations. By 1991, the Jewish population of greater Toronto had risen to 163,000, up from 67,000 in 1951.

Education

The near suburbs developed as population expanded from the 1950s through the 1980s. Dozens of congregations of all branches are found in the near suburbs. Forest Hill, which was the subject of an early study of suburbia, *Crestwood Heights*, is the home of Holy Blossom Temple, Canada's largest Reform congregation, and of Beth Tzedec, Canada's – and North America's – largest Conservative congregation. Toronto's extensive network of Jewish schools, which began downtown in the first wave of migration, flourished in the near suburbs. The Toronto Jewish Federation decided in the early 1970s to place considerable community resources into day school education. But instead of funding schools directly, the Federation started subsidizing tuition according to need. Day school enrollment steadily increased, reaching parity with Jewish supplementary school enrollment in the 1970s. Congregationally based supplementary schools remain the setting in which many Toronto Jews have their Jewish education, but the enrollments at Jewish day schools are now larger. And as day school enrollment grew, so did the range of day school options. Orthodox day schools were joined by secular Zionist, Conservative, and Reform day schools and others with distinctive pedagogical approaches. Orthodox schools on the yeshivah model are also late 20th century additions to the Toronto Jewish school system.

As the day schools grew at the elementary level, Federation leaders planned for a high school which would be an alternative to the public high schools that prepare students to do well at university. The Community Hebrew Academy of Toronto, which opened in the 1960s, has had continually increasing enrollment, to over 1,400 students in 2004–5. In contrast to the expansion of the day school system, there are still many school-age Jewish children who do not receive any formal Jewish education. As in other North American Jewish communities, there is support for a model of lifelong learning in summer camps, campus programs, and adult education. Both the University of Toronto downtown and suburban York University have well-staffed and well-enrolled programs in Jewish Studies and many congregations have active adult education programs.

Community Organization

The Toronto UJA Federation, which was created by the merger of the Ontario branch of the *Canadian Jewish Congress with the Toronto Jewish Welfare Fund in the 1970s, acts as the central agency of the community. By the end of the 20th century the Federation's UJA campaign in Toronto was annually raising about $50 million. It allocates funds to a wide diversity of needs. About one-third of the annual UJA income goes overseas and almost 10 percent to Canada-wide Jewish organizations. Of the part that remains in Toronto about 40 percent is allocated to Jewish education and identity. Of that amount, two-thirds is used for subsidy of Jewish day school tuition. Significant Federation allocations support a range of social services often in conjunction with funding from different levels of government. The Jewish Family and Child Service is the leading agency in this area. The Federation acquired responsibility for the two Jewish community centers in the 1990s. The Toronto Jewish community has also developed a wide range of services for the elderly. The Baycrest Centre for Geriatric Care is one of the world's outstanding facilities. In addition to the support from Federation, Jewish schools, social services, and other organizations do their own fundraising. The Orthodox community is also organized for its particular needs, sponsoring a *bet din* and maintaining a well-organized Va'ad Hakashrut, which uses the COR label.

York Region and Downtown Toronto

Jewish population expanded along Bathurst Street beyond the near suburbs into York Region, north of the city of Toronto. This area is today the third distinctive Toronto Jewish neighborhood. The first step was the intentional creation of a Jewish neighborhood in the 1980s and this set the stage for a later transformation of this previous farming landscape into dense automobile-dependent suburbs. The developer of a large tract along Bathurst Street set aside a plot for a large Orthodox synagogue and encouraged Jewish day schools to build. The area soon became an affluent, largely Orthodox neighborhood from its inception. In addition to the synagogues and schools, the local shopping center contains a large grocery chain extensively stocked with kosher items, a Jewish bookstore, and kosher restaurants. Jews, not all Orthodox, have continued to move northward in York Region, attracted by large modern housing developments, Jewish schools, and the perception of the region as the "new neighborhood." By 2001, York Region accounted for 33 percent of the Jewish population of the GTA, and with so many younger Jewish families it was home to 40 percent of Jewish children and tightly packed with hockey clubs, music lessons, and carpooling.

UJA Federation has begun building a York Region campus that will include Federation offices, a Jewish community center, and several different day schools. Synagogues, while present, are less visible parts of the area landscape than they are in the near suburbs, since a number of existing day school buildings have space in which congregations can meet. Socially, the neighborhood is also distinctive. It has a large percentage of recent immigrants from Israel and the former Soviet Union. Street life, characteristic of Toronto Jewry two generations ago and still common downtown and in parts of the near suburbs, is much reduced, shifting to the malls that dot Bathurst Street in York Region which provide the setting for the leisure-time spending on entertainment, snacks, and consumer goods.

In counterpoint to the development in York Region, downtown Toronto has also seen a rapid revival in Jewish population growth. Much of downtown Toronto was gentrified in the latter 20th century. This urban transformation brought thousands of Jewish professionals and business people into renovated homes. With its combination of safe streets, public transportation, pedestrian street culture, and access to jobs and the arts, central Toronto is considered a very desirable place to live. Some areas with competitive house prices remain, but much of the increase in the Jewish population is occurring due to extensive recent condominium construction, which is adding hundreds of thousands of residential units to the central city. Recently formed Jewish congregations have joined several historic ones. New schools were founded in the 1970s and have grown since. The downtown Jewish Community Centre was renovated in the early 2000s and the Hillel at the University of Toronto's downtown campus constructed a new center at the same time. The Ashkenaz Festival of "new Jewish culture," which grew out of the *klezmer* revival, is held over Labor Day weekend every second year at Harbourfront, an urban park on the Lake Ontario waterfront.

Multiculturalism

Toronto is today a city where immigrants from all over the world and the children of immigrants constitute a large majority of the population. This multicultural reality is celebrated by city boosters and Toronto Jews as a vital part of that urban context. The ability of people from a pluralism of origins to live together in Toronto without overt racial tensions and the widely held view that new immigrants enrich the local culture and economy are seen as measures of the city's tolerance. Multiculturalism also continues Canada's older tradition of seeing itself as a mosaic society. The separate tiles of a mosaic touch and form a richer larger whole, but they do remain separate. While there are social settings where persons of different backgrounds meet, and a growing segment of Toronto society where friendships and families are drawn from more than one group, social segmentation continues. This is aided by new technologies which allow extensive and low-cost contact with the old country. Modern transportation also encourages more travel back and forth than was possible for previous waves of migration. This applies to Toronto Jews as well as the general population. Toronto Jews, for example, maintain a strong attachment with Israel. Many Toronto Jews have family in Israel, whom they visit and stay in contact with. Others who do not have family have visited and many have friends and professional contacts there. As well, many Israelis have moved to Toronto, some temporarily and others permanently.

Multiculturalism is also associated with the clustering of Toronto Jews in their own neighborhoods. Many older downtown neighborhoods still have ethnic labels, although the residents of these neighborhoods are now quite mixed. Clustering in ethnic neighborhoods is also common in the new suburbs. A large concentration of Italian Canadians is found west of the Jewish neighborhood in York Region, and the largest Chinese urban diaspora in the world, a product of recent and continuing immigration, is to its east. Other immigrant groups, including growing Muslim and Arab populations, are residentially concentrated elsewhere in the central city and suburbs of the GTA. Multiculturalism is also associated with the willingness to respect the public show of distinctive lifestyles. Accordingly, not only is Toronto a good place to be a secular, Reform, Reconstructionist, or Conservative Jew, but it is also a good place to be an Orthodox Jew. The value placed on diversity can sometimes engender unlikely alliances. In the 1990s, supporters of Toronto Jewish day schools, and the Ontario Region of the Canadian Jewish Congress acting on their behalf, joined Conservative Christian and Muslim private school supporters in a multifaith coalition. The coalition unsuccessfully urged the Ontario government to follow a policy similar to that of other provinces, which allocate public funds to private religious schools.

Toronto, which is now by far Canada's largest city, has developed into a major world center, a node in a global network of communications, commercial, and population flows. Greater Toronto's Jewish population topped 179,000 Jews in 2001 and now accounts for approximately half of all Jews in Canada. And that population is projected to grow. Jews play important roles in sustaining and developing Toronto's social and economic network, not unlike the role Jews play in other world cities. The Jews of Toronto, as in other world cities, are also continually challenged to creatively and productively blend the separate identities fostered by multiculturalism with the cosmopolitanism of an interconnected global society.

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[Stuart Schoenfeld and Harold Troper (2nd ed.)]

°**TORQUEMADA, TOMÁS DE** (1420?–1498), first head of the Spanish *Inquisition. Probably born in Valladolid, he entered the *Dominican Order at the age of 14, and soon took his place among the strictest members of the monastery. At the age of 32 he became prior of the monastery of Segovia. Torquemada first came in contact with Queen Isabella around 1469; he became her confessor and some time later also her husband King Ferdinand's. His influence on the royal couple, especially on the queen, made him a powerful factor in Spanish politics. In conjunction with Cardinal Mendoza he drafted a petition to the Pope requesting authorization of the establishment of a unified national Spanish Inquisition. This was given in 1478. Torquemada was among the 12 clerics whose names were submitted to the pope in 1482 for inquisitorial appointments. At that time he was already known for his extreme views on the eradication of Judaism among the *Conversos and the question of the Jews in the united Spanish kingdom. After confirmation of his appointment he started to prepare the organization of the Inquisition, and founded its general supreme council, which became one of the councils of state and a key power in the internal affairs of the united kingdom. As head of the council, Torquemada was accorded the title inquisitor general (1483).

Torquemada established a system of regional inquisitional tribunals, at first in smaller towns near centers of Converso influence where opposition from the local population to the inquisitorial methods was manifest. Later, tribunals were also set up in larger towns. Torquemada initiated conventions of inquisitors (the first was held in Seville in 1484) to discuss the activities of the tribunals. He also drew up permanent instructions for the tribunals on working methods, as well as judicial procedures. In addition to the trials held by the Inquisition, the first results of Torquemada's activities concerning Conversos and Jews were the orders of expulsion from Andalusia (1483) and Albarracín (1486). In particular, there was the libel of *Host desecration and alleged crucifixion of a Christian child involving a group of Conversos at *La Guardia (1490–91).

In the sphere of general politics Torquemada pressed for resumption of the war of Reconquest against the kingdom of *Granada. After Granada's conquest he was instrumental in obtaining the general decree of expulsion of the Jews from Spain (1492). A widely related legend – probably without historical foundation – tells of negotiations between a Jewish delegation headed by Don Isaac *Abrabanel and the king: the king was offered the sum of 30,000 dinars for abolition of the expulsion decree, but Torquemada, who was listening to the talks from an adjacent room, broke into the king's room, put a crucifix on the table, and reminded him of Judah Iscariot who had betrayed Jesus for 30 pieces of silver. Influenced by Torquemada's appearance, the king rejected the Jewish offer.

In 1494 additional inquisitors were appointed, who were allocated many of Torquemada's former competencies. The appointments were evidently made because of Torquemada's failing health, not because of a decline in his influence. In the early 1490s he proceeded severely against bishops and clerics suspected of requesting the pope's support against his methods and policy, the essence of which were to turn Spain into a country of "one flock with one shepherd."

Torquemada had already become a legend in his lifetime, and various assessments – often contradictory – have been made of his personality by writers and scholars. He became a symbol of religious and ideological fanaticism, of persecution, investigation and interrogation, and probing into the souls of men.

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[Haim Beinart]

TORRE, ALFONSO DE LA (1421–1461), Spanish Converso author. Torre, a humanist, is known principally for his *Vysyon Delectable de la Philosophia y artes liberales*, a kind of universal encyclopedia presented in the form of a series of dialogues which he wrote c. 1450. It quoted *Maimonides extensively and was in its turn frequently cited by Solomon ibn Verga in his *Shevet Yehudah*. The sixth chapter of the work, dealing with arithmetic, includes a detailed discussion of the numerological aspects of the Kabbalah.

The *Vysyon* has been termed a link between the Judeo-Arabic thinkers of the Middle Ages and *Spinoza, and it enjoyed great influence in its own day and for the subsequent two centuries. First published in Burgos in 1485, it was one of the few non-Hebrew books printed by Abraham *Usque, who produced an Italian version in Ferrara in 1554. The Italian text was ultimately retranslated into Spanish by the Marrano Francisco (Joseph) de *Caceres (Frankfurt, 1623^1, 1663^2), who was probably unaware that its original author was himself a Spaniard and a Converso.

[Kenneth R. Scholberg]

TORRÈS, HENRY (1891–1966), French lawyer and politician. Born in Les Andelys, Torrès practiced law in Bordeaux and in 1919 moved to Paris. A communist in his youth, he published *Histoire d'un complot* (1921) protesting against the arrest of militant communists after World War I but later joined the Socialist Party and was a radical socialist deputy from 1932 to 1936. He became famous for the fiery eloquence of his advocacy as a defense counsel. His reputation reached its peak in 1926 with his successful defense of Shalom *Schwarzbard, who assassinated the Ukrainian leader Simon *Petlyura. By using the evidence of the pogroms initiated by Petlyura against the Ukrainian Jews, Torrès obtained Schwarzbard's acquittal. After the Nazi invasion of France, Torrès fled to the United States. In America he campaigned against the Pétain regime in France, publishing *La France trahie: Pierre Laval* (1941; Eng. tr., 1941) and *La Machine infernale* (1942; *Campaign of Treachery,* 1942) and edited *La Voix de France* from 1942 to 1943, a political journal for French refugees in New York. After World War II, Torrès returned to France and from 1948 to 1958 was a Gaullist senator for the Seine department. Vice president of the High Court of Justice from 1956 to 1958, he was also president of the French broadcasting authority (RTF).

Torrès was the author of several political and historical works, among them *Le Procès des Pogromes* (1927) describing his defense of Schwarzbard, and *France, terre de liberté* (1940). He also wrote plays with a legal background including French versions of the *Trial of Mary Dugan* by Bayard Veiller (1928), and *Witness for the Prosecution* by Agatha Christie (1956).

[Shulamith Catane]

TORRES, LUIS DE (15th–16th cent.), Spanish interpreter to Christopher *Columbus on his first voyage of discovery in 1492. Contrary to what was formerly believed, he was the only person of Jewish birth who was among the companions of Christopher Columbus on his first voyage, having been baptized shortly before the expedition sailed. He knew Hebrew, Aramaic, and some Arabic. When Columbus landed in Cuba, convinced it was the mainland, he took possession of it for Spain and dispatched Torres with a party into the interior to see if they could find gold. Torres reported back that the natives were friendly, that he had found no gold but that he had seen men putting thin rolls of dried leaves called tobacco into their mouths, lighting them and blowing out clouds of smoke. Torres settled in Cuba and won the friendship of the Indian ruler who gave him land and slaves. He soon set up his own small empire. As an independent ruler of Spanish territory, he received an annual allowance from the Spanish royal family.

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°**TORREY, CHARLES CUTLER** (1863–1956), U.S. Bible scholar and Semitist. Born in East Hardwick, Vermont, Torrey taught Latin at Bowdoin College (1885–86), and Semitics, Bible, and Hebraica at Andover Theological Seminary (1892–1900) and at Yale University (1900–34). He was one of the founders of the American School of Archaeology in Jerusalem. Subsequent archaeological finds and advances in Semitic linguistics and in lower and higher biblical criticism have been damaging to many of Torrey's contributions in the estimation of present-day scholarship. He developed an independent exegesis of the period of Ezra and Nehemiah in *The Composition and Historical Value of Ezra-Nehemiah* (1896), *Ezra Studies* (1910; 1970), and *Chronicler's History of Israel* (1954). Following E.

Koenig's commentary on Isaiah, he argued in *Second Isaiah* (1928) for the unity of Isaiah 40–66, and assigned Isaiah 34–35 as the introduction to this corpus. In his articles on Ezekiel in the *Journal of Biblical Literature* and in *Pseudo-Ezekiel and the Original Prophecy* (1930; 1970^4), he expounded his theory regarding the nature and composition of the Book of Ezekiel. His thesis was that the bulk of the prophecy contained in the canonical Book of Ezekiel was pseudepigraphic, composed around 230 B.C.E. but purporting to date from the period of Manasseh (692–639 B.C.E.), and later in 200 B.C.E. edited so as to appear to be an exilic work. It provoked, however, a bitter attack by S. Spiegel, who advocated caution in the critical analyses and wanton emendations of Ezekiel.

His often cited theory that the Synoptic Gospels, John, and Revelations, as they have been handed down are for the most part straightforward translations of Aramaic originals, was developed in a number of publications including *Translations Made from the Original Aramaic Gospels* (1912), *Four Gospels: A New Translation* (1934), *Our Translated Gospels* (1936), *Documents of the Primitive Church* (1941), and the posthumous *Apocalypse of John* (1958). How deeply the koranic tradition is steeped in the Hebraic culture is documented in *Jewish Foundation of Islam* (1933; 1967). His other Islamic studies are *Mohammedan Conquest of Egypt and North Africa* (1901) by Ibn Abd al-Ḥakām, edited with notes and selections of the writings of Al-Buḥāa (1948; 1969). In the area of numismatics he investigated the Aramaic graffiti on coins buried in 318 B.C.E. and belonging to Jews of Egypt (1937), and he wrote on the rare coinage of the Khans of Khokand and Bukhārā *Gold Coins of Kokhand and Bukhārā* (1950). His other publications include a treatise on the composition of Acts *The Composition and Date of Acts* (1926); and an introduction to the apocryphal literature (*Apocryphal Literature; A Brief Introduction*, 1945).

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[Zev Garber]

TORTOISE (Mod. Heb. צָב), a reptile. In Israel there are several species of both land and water tortoises; the latter lives in both sweet and salt water. Some commentators identify the צָב (*ẓav*), enumerated among the unclean reptiles (Lev. 11:29), with the tortoise, and on this basis it is so called in modern Hebrew. According to rabbinical sources, however, the *ẓav* is a species of *lizard. Thus the expression "the *ẓav* after its kind" is explained as including the salamander and other reptiles which bear no resemblance to the tortoise (see Sifra 6:5). Similarly a resemblance between the *ẓav* and the snake is mentioned (Ḥul. 127a), and the *ḥardon*, a species of lizard of the family of *Agamidae* (TJ, Ber. 8:6, 12b). From this last source it is apparent that "the *ẓav* after its kind" includes the *Agamidae* family, of which six species are found in Israel, the largest of which is the *Uromastix aegyptius* called in Arabic *dabb*. It is found in the Negev and the Arabah and is herbivorous. The Bedouin hunt it and regard its flesh as a great delicacy.

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[Jehuda Feliks]

TORTOSA, city in Tarragona provinces, N.E. Spain; it had one of the oldest Jewish communities in the Iberian Peninsula. A tombstone inscribed in three languages (Hebrew, Latin, and Greek) belonging to the first centuries of the Christian era (opinions conflict as to its exact date) attests the early existence of Jews in the city. The Jewish quarter was situated in the northern part of the town, now slightly north of the district known as Remolinos; the Jewish cemetery (from which only a few tombstones have survived) was situated to the east of the city wall. The existence of the quarter is commemorated by the names of such streets as Jerusalem Alley and Jerusalem Street.

Muslim Period

During the Muslim period many Tortosa Jews engaged in agriculture and in the flourishing maritime trade, maintaining commercial ties with Jews of Barcelona and southern France. The city was also a center of Jewish learning as is shown by 10th- and 11th-century responsa which indicate a high level of talmudic knowledge and devout religious observance. The poet, grammarian, and lexicographer *Menahem b. Jacob ibn Saruq (mid-10th century) was a native of Tortosa and returned to his birthplace after losing the patronage of *Ḥisdai Ibn Shaprut of Córdoba. Another native of Tortosa, the physician and geographer *Ibrahim b. Yaqub, Menahem's contemporary, was sent by Caliph al-Ḥakam II to travel and survey Western and Central Europe. The Hebrew liturgical poet Levi b. Isaac ibn Mar Saul lived in Tortosa in the early 11th century. Ashtor (see bibliography) estimates Tortosa's Jewish population in the 11th century at about 30 families.

Under Christian Rule

Ramon Berenguer IV, count of Barcelona, captured Tortosa from the Muslims in 1148. The treaty of capitulation was similar to that of *Tudela, but the article which prohibited the appointment of Jewish officials with rights of jurisdiction over Muslims was omitted. It appears that the Jewish community was destroyed during this war of conquest and Ramon Berenguer attempted to restore it. He set aside a plot of land between the coast and the R. Ebro, which was then fortified and surrounded with towers, on which 60 residential houses were built. Berenguer also granted the Jews vineyards and gardens which had formerly belonged to Muslims, so that the cultivation of these became the principal occupation of the Jews, in addition to crafts and maritime trade. He also promised land to any Jew who would settle in Tortosa, and Jews were exempted from the payment of taxes for four years. Even after this period, they were not required to do any "work, customary tasks or duties for the count or the other lords of the land, unless of their own free will." The ruler decreed that no Muslim should exercise authority over Jews; lawsuits between Jews and Christians were to be adjudicated under the privileges enjoyed by the community of Barcelona. These conditions were an exceptional opportunity for the development of the Jewish community.

However, the hopes which Berenguer had placed in the Jews did not materialize because of the division between the various lords of the town who challenged his authority over it and severely oppressed the Jewish population. In February 1181, Alfonso II of Aragon granted the Jews of Tortosa a privilege, with the consent of Raimundo de Moncada (who held the right of jurisdiction over the Jews of the town) according to which they were authorized to present one of the town's lords with a gift without incurring the obligation of giving gifts to the others. Pledges were not to be taken from them for their debts, they were not to be confined to their houses, and if they were condemned to imprisonment, they were to be detained in the fortress (see Rashba (Solomon b. Abraham *Adret), Responsa, IV, 260). The sum which was paid in taxes in 1271 – 6,000 sólidos – testifies to the strength and wealth of the community. Tortosa and Alcañez then formed a single entity, for tax purposes.

Pedro III granted the Jews of Tortosa the right of sitting as judges in the local tribunals, though with a lower rank than the Christian judges. During the 13th century Jews were employed as bailiffs by the Moncada family and by the Templars.

At the beginning of the 14th century, the community of Tortosa addressed a complaint to James II against the moratorium on debts which he had granted to the Christian inhabitants of the town, claiming that oral promises that the debts owed to them would be repaid could not be relied upon.

Result of the Persecutions of 1391

The community of Tortosa suffered during the persecutions of the Jews in Spain in 1391. On July 24, John I wrote to the municipal council, requiring them not only to protect the Jews but also to rehabilitate the community. At the end of the month the Jews were still concealed in the fortress, but from the beginning of August they were taken away individually to the houses of the townsmen in order to be baptized, by force if necessary. Christian townsmen and Jewish apostates collaborated in these acts, the latter compelling the conversion of their wives, parents, and children. On August 14 disorders broke out against both the Jews and the municipal authorities who were accused of giving the Jews assistance and support. By arresting the instigator of the disorders, the municipal leaders succeeded in suppressing the riots; many Jews, however, abandoned their religion during these events. After more than a month (on Sept. 2), the king wrote to the municipal leaders of Tortosa requesting information concerning the heirless property of the Jews who had died as martyrs. In April 1392 he authorized the impoverished Jews who were then living in the fortress to remain there and ordered the bailiff to protect them. Turning his attention to the relations between Jews and *Conversos, the king issued a decree (Aug. 18, 1393) in which he prohibited Jews and Conversos to live in the same quarter, to eat or to pray together. Upon the instructions of the bishop, the Conversos were obliged to attend church, listen to missionary sermons, adhere to Christian observances, and immediately separate themselves from the Jews. The Jews were compelled to wear a distinctive *badge and garb, and sexual relations between Jews and Christians (obviously referring to Conversos) were punishable by burning at the stake. It nevertheless appears that toward the close of the century (1397) a number of laws favorable to both the Jews and the Moors of Tortosa were issued.

Disputation of Tortosa

In 1412 Tortosa became the focus of events which the Jews of Aragon regarded with trepidation, and that proved a turning point in their history, namely, the Disputation of Tortosa (see *Tortosa, Disputation of). The community of Tortosa itself was represented by the poet Solomon b. Reuben *Bonafed who gives a description of the tense atmosphere which pervaded throughout the kingdom in general, and in Tortosa in particular, during the disputation.

The disputation began on Feb. 7, 1413, and was continued, with interruptions until Nov. 1414.

In 1417 the community of Tortosa began to recover. Alfonso V exempted Jews who came to live there from payment of taxes for five years. There is also some information on the community from the reign of Ferdinand II, who in 1480 issued a decree in which he instructed the community of Tortosa on the procedure for electing community leaders, trustees, and **muqaddimūn*. In October 1481 he issued further instructions concerning the swearing-in of officials, and also authorized the election of relatives (e.g., father, son, brothers, father-in-law and son-in-law) to serve in the community – a practice forbidden by the regulations of the Spanish communities. Ferdinand II ordered the election of Benveniste Barzilai as the leader of the community.

An indication of the atmosphere in Tortosa on the eve of the expulsion of the Jews from Spain in 1492 can be deduced from the fine imposed on Abraham Toledano of Tortosa, who made a wager, with a number of Christians that the Catholic Monarchs would not capture Loja and Málaga from the Muslims. Tortosa, like neighboring Barcelona and Tarragona, was also a port of departure for Jewish refugees from Spain.

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[Haim Beinart]

TORTOSA, DISPUTATION OF, disputation held in Tortosa, in 1413–14, the most important and longest of the Christian-Jewish *disputations which were forced upon the Jews during the Middle Ages. It was apparently prompted by Gerónimo de Santa Fé (the apostate Joshua *Lorki) in which he claimed to prove the authenticity of the messianism of Jesus from Jewish sources. In 1412 the anti-pope *Benedict XIII, who was recognized as pope in Spain, ordered the communities of Aragon and Catalonia to send delegates for a discussion in his presence on the claims of Gerónimo. The disputation was drawn out over some 20 months, and 69 sessions were held; it was presided over by the pope, who also actively participated in it. From the outset, the disputation did not assume the form of a free discussion between two parties but that of a propagandist missionary attack accompanied by psychological pressure – to the point of intimidation and threats – by the Christian side against Jews, in order to compel them to accept the arguments of their adversaries. The principal Hebrew source for the history of the disputation is *Shevet Yehudah* by Solomon *Ibn Verga. The Jewish sources mention about 20 participants on the Jewish side; some of these actively participated, while others were advisers and observers. A neutral Christian account of the debate is also extant. In the disputation, the most prominent personalities were rabbis *Zerahiah ha-Levi, Astruc ha-Levi, Joseph *Albo, and Mattathias ha-Yiẓhari.

Immediately upon the first encounter, the pope announced – contrary to the promises which he had previously given to the Jews – that it was not intended to hold a discussion between two equal parties, but to prove the truth of Christianity and its principles, as it emerges from the Talmud. Gerónimo opened the disputation with a veiled threat against the obstinate Jews, and during the disputation he passed to open threats. To the arguments presented by the Jews, he retorted by accusing them of heresy against their own religion, for which they would be tried by the Inquisition. In this heavy atmosphere, the Jewish delegates were overtaken by fear and confusion and occasionally did not dare – or did not succeed – in answering correctly, especially because those replies which did not please the pope aroused vulgar rebukes on his part which only intensified their fears and anxieties. During the disputation new participants appeared on the Jewish side, and their arguments were not always coordinated with the former; besides, the last word was always granted to Gerónimo, so that the impression could be formed that he had the upper hand.

During the first part of the disputation (until March 1414), the discussion revolved around the Messiah and his nature (as in the Disputation of *Barcelona). Its second part concerned the "errors, the heresy, the villainy, and the abuse against the Christian religion in the Talmud," according to the definition of the initiators of the disputation, and resembled the disputation of Paris, initiated by Nicholas *Donin. The Jews were requested to answer the claims of Gerónimo which appeared in his work that was being used as the basis of the disputation, and to explain various Midrashim which had been collected by Raymond *Martini. After a while, 12 questions were presented to the Jews on the subjects of Jesus, Original Sin, and the causes of the Exile. The discussions on these subjects were prolonged over several months. It was at this stage that some of the most brilliant answers ever given to questions of this type in similar disputations of the Middle Ages were offered.

At the beginning of 1414 Pope Benedict entered the disputation himself and demanded that the procedure be shortened and practical conclusions arrived at. Most of the Jews sought to withdraw from the disputation because during their prolonged absence from home and as a result of the mental strain prevailing among their communities, faith was being undermined and there was rising despair, while the missionary preachings of the monks had succeeded in bringing many Jews to baptism. Zerahiah ha-Levi, Mattathias ha-Yiẓhari, and Astruc ha-Levi, however, presented memoranda in which they refuted all the arguments drawn from *aggadot* and Midrashim. R. Astruc even dared to point out the injustice inhering in the actual conditions of the disputation. The delegates of the communities were away from their homes for about a year; they became impoverished and tremendous harm was caused to their communities; this may also be regarded as a reason for the failure of the Jews to reply successfully. Gerónimo reacted with words of contempt against the Talmud and the Jews who denied the validity of the *aggadah*, he argued that they ought to be tried according to their own laws as unbelievers of the principles of their faith.

The second part of the disputation opened in April 1414. Its details are not entirely known, but it is clearly evident that at first the Jews chose to remain silent. When Gerónimo brought a list of sayings which were to be effaced from the Talmud as impugning the honor of Christianity, the Jews replied that they themselves were unable to answer, although it was certain that the sages of the Talmud in their time would have been able to reply, and that consequently the value of the Talmud could not be deduced from their own weakness; they once more requested to be freed from the disputation. Gerónimo summarized his arguments and demanded of the pope that the delegates be brought to justice. The latter, with the exception of Zerahiah ha-Levi and Joseph Albo, claimed that they failed to understand the meaning of Gerónimo's citations. On November 12, the memorandum of R. Astruc was presented as the last Jewish memorandum, and on the following day the disputation was concluded with the issue of a bull on the subject by the pope, and the Jews returned to their homes.

Consequences of the Disputation

Throughout the period of the disputation, Jews continually arrived in Tortosa, where they converted to Christianity. The authorities, on their part, intensified their persecutions, and ordered that everything which had been disqualified by Gerónimo should be obliterated from the Talmud. The disputation in itself acted as an incentive for anti-Jewish incitement, and in several towns the inhabitants adopted severe measures in order to force the Jews to convert. Many broke down and accepted baptism. Three works were written after the Disputation of Tortosa in an attempt at soul-searching: *Sefer ha-Ikkarim* ("Book of Principles") of R. Joseph Albo, in which the author clarified the religious fundamentals discussed at the disputation; *Sefer ha-Emunot* ("Book of Beliefs") by R. *Shem Tov, who regarded the cultivation of philosophy as the cause of conversion; and *Iggeret Musar* ("Letter of Ethics") by R. Solomon *Alami, who considered that disrespect toward religion and ethics was the cause of the destruction of Spanish Jewry.

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[Haim Beinart]

TORTS.

The Principal Categories of Torts

The liability of various tortfeasors is discussed in relative detail in the Torah. Four principal cases are considered:

(1) where someone opens a pit into which an animal falls and dies (Ex. 21:33–4);

(2) where cattle trespass into the fields of others and do damage (Ex. 22:4);

(3) where someone lights a fire which spreads to neighboring fields (Ex. 22:5);

(4) where an ox gores man or beast (Ex. 21:28–32, 35–6). To those has to be added the case where a man injures his fellow or damages his property (Ex. 21:18–19, 22–5; Lev. 24:18–20). The Talmud calls the cases contained in the Torah primary categories of damage (**Avot Nezikin*) and these serve as archetypes for similar groups of torts. The principal categories of animal torts are *shen* (tooth) – where the animal causes damage by consuming; *regel* (foot) – where the animal causes damage by walking in its normal manner; and *keren* (horn) – where the animal causes damage by goring with the intention of doing harm or does any other kind of unusual damage. The other principal categories of damage are *bor* (pit) – any nuisance which ipso facto causes damage; *esh* (fire) – anything which causes damage when spread by the wind; and direct damage by man to another's person or property. These principal categories and their derivative rules were expanded to form a complete and homogeneous legal system embracing many other factual situations. As a result they were capable of dealing with any case of tortious liability which might arise.

The Basis of Liability – Negligence

The Talmud states that a man could be held liable only for damage caused by his negligence (*peshi'ah*), and not for damage through an accident (*ones*). Negligence is defined as conduct which the tortfeasor should have foreseen would cause damage (BK 21b; 52a/b; 99b), since this would be the normal result of such conduct. Thus liability would be incurred for a fire which spread in an ordinary wind (BK 56a) or for fencing a courtyard with thorns in a place frequented by the public who habitually lean against this fence (BK 29b).

The rabbis ruled that negligence was to be determined objectively. A man is liable for conduct which people would normally foresee as likely to cause damage (see R. Ulla's statement, BK 27b; Tosef. BK 10:29). On the other hand, if his conduct was such that most people would not normally foresee it as likely to cause damage, the damage is considered a mishap and not a consequence of his act and he is not liable (see Rif, *Halakhot* on BK 61b). Even if the defendant was of above-average intelligence and foresaw that damage would occur, he could not be held liable for conduct causing damage if most people would not have foreseen damage as resulting from such conduct. In such circumstances no liability would be incurred under human law for even willful damage (see Ra'ah and Meiri in *Shitah Mekubbeẓet*, BK 56a, beginning *U-le-Rav Ashi*) unless the damage claimed was depredation (BK 27a). However, rabbinical enactments created liability for deliberate acts in certain cases in the interests of public policy (Git. 53a; Tosef. Git. 4 (3):6). The objective criterion of negligence was also applied where the tortfeasor was of below-average intelligence and incapable of foreseeing the possibility of damage. However, the deaf-mute, idiot, and minor are not liable for the damage they cause, since they have no understanding and cannot be expected to foresee the consequences of their actions. Indeed, since they frequently do cause damage, those encountering them should take suitable precautions, and if they fail to do so would themselves be liable for the resulting damage. In this respect damage caused by the deaf-mute, idiot, and minor can be compared to damage by cattle on public ground for which the owners are not liable since the injured party himself is bound to take precautions.

This test of negligence was applied to all the principal categories of damage mentioned in the Torah (see BK 55b and *Rashi* beginning *ke-ein*). Thus, if an animal was injured by falling into an inadequately covered pit, the owner of the pit was liable. On the other hand, if the pit were properly covered but the cover became decayed, he would not be liable (BK 52a). Similarly, the owner of the pit would be liable if a young ox, incapable of looking after itself, fell into an open pit, but not if the ox were fully grown and fell into the pit during the daytime (*Milḥamot ha-Shem* 52b ad finem). Likewise, liability would be incurred for a fire which spread in a normal wind but not where it spread in an unusual wind (BK 56a); and the owner of cattle which consumed and trampled on crops in another's field would be liable for the damage only if the control he exercised over his cattle was insufficient to prevent this kind of damage (BK 55b, 56a).

As to damage done by man directly, the Mishnah states: he is always *Mu'ad* (forewarned, and therefore liable for the consequences), whether he acted intentionally or inadvertently, "whether he was awake or asleep" (BK 26a). Nevertheless, many cases are mentioned where the man who did the damage was not liable and Tosafot (BK 27b) tried to solve the contradiction by distinguishing between cases of absolute "*ones*," and qualified "*ones*." Only in the latter case would liability be incurred. There is no hint of this distinction in the sources and the better view seems to be that a tortfeasor is liable only if he caused damage by *ones* (compulsion) which could have been foreseen by him, as putting himself in the hands of robbers who forced him to do damage, or lying down to sleep next to objects which he should have foreseen he might break in his sleep, aliter, if the vessels were placed next to him after he went to sleep. Likewise a person who caused damage through his lack of expertise could only be held liable where he should have foreseen that expertise was required. However, a person who caused proprietary damage to his neighbor in order to save himself is not exempt because of *ones*, as he chose to act in a way which would damage his neighbor's property and did foresee the damage.

No Liability Where No Negligence Exists

Cases where the defendant is entirely exempt from liability because he was in no way negligent are of two kinds:

(1) the plaintiff himself was negligent because he should have foreseen the possibility of damage i.e., where the defendant acted in the usual way and the plaintiff acted in an unusual way and the damage was therefore unforeseeable;

(2) neither party could have foreseen the possibility of damage and therefore neither was negligent. An instance of the second kind is where an animal, kept under sufficient control, escaped in an unusual manner and did damage, and no liability would be incurred (BK 55b). Similarly, where an animal managed to start a fire or dig a pit which caused damage, no liability would be incurred since such an unusual eventuality could not have been foreseen (see the Ravad in the *Shitah Mekubbeẓet*, BK 48a beginning "*Mat*"; BK 22a). The Talmud cites examples where no liability would be incurred, such as where an animal fell into a pit whose covering was originally adequate but which later became decayed (BK 52a); where a wall or tree unexpectedly fell onto the highway (BK 6b); where a fire spread further than could have been anticipated (BK 61b); where a burning coal was given to a deaf-mute, idiot, or minor who set fire to something (BK 59b); or experts such as physicians who acted in the usual professional manner and caused damage (Tosef. BK 9:11). As instances of the first kind the Talmud cites the case where a person running along the street collided with and was injured by another walking along the street; here the former alone would be liable since his conduct was unusual (BK 32a). Similarly, if a man broke his vessel against a beam carried by the man walking in front of him, the owner of the beam would not be liable. Aliter, however, if the owner of the beam stopped unexpectedly, thereby causing the vessel to strike the beam and break (loc. cit.). Likewise, a person who places his objects on public ground where they are damaged by animals walking or grazing in a normal manner has no claim against the owner of the animals, since animals are to be expected on public ground (BK 19b, 20a). However, the presence of a pit, fire, or a goring ox on public ground would cause liability for damage since they are not normally present and people do not expect them and take no precautions (BK 27b). It would also be unusual behavior and therefore negligence to enter another's premises or bring chattels or livestock therein, without permission. Since his presence was unexpected the owner of the premises would not be liable for damage caused to the trespasser or his property, but the trespasser would be liable for damage caused to the owner or his property (BK 47a–b, 48a).

Sometimes a person is injured even though both parties behaved in the usual manner, e.g., when both walk in the street or if one enters the premises of another with permission. In these cases the tortfeasor is not liable because the other party should have taken precautions as he ought to have foreseen the normal behavior of the tortfeasor. Likewise, damage may occur when both parties behave in an unusual manner as where both were running along the street or where both entered the premises of a third party without permission (*ibid.*, 32a; 48a/b); in these cases too, the tortfeasor is exempt, since the fact that he was behaving abnormally should have made him foresee that others may behave abnormally too (Tos. BK 48b, s.v. "*Sheneihem*").

If without negligence a man creates a situation which is likely to cause damage, he will not be liable for damage caused before he had a reasonable opportunity to know about the situation and remove it. An objective test was laid down as to when a man should have known of the existence of the nuisance and acted to remove it. If he adequately covered his pit and through no fault of his own the pit was uncovered he would not be liable for damage during the period that most people would not have known that the pit had become open and required covering (BK 52a). Similarly, if his animal escaped from his courtyard through no fault of his own, and caused damage during the period in which he could not have been expected to realize that the animal had escaped and to recapture it, he would not be liable (see BK 58a and Meiri in the *Shitah Mekubbeẓet* on 55b beginning "*nifreẓah*"). Similarly if a man's vessels broke non-negligently on the highway and, without intending to abandon them, he left them there, he is liable, except for damage caused by them before they could have been removed (BK 29a). Similarly, the owner of a wall or a tree which fell onto the highway and caused damage would be liable only if he knew that they were in a bad condition or was warned that they might fall (BK 6b).

The foreseeability test as the basis of liability for damage led the rabbis to conclude that even where negligent the tortfeasor would only be liable for damage that he could foresee. He is not liable for additional or other damage, or damage greater than that foreseeable. Thus where a fire spread in an ordinary wind the tortfeasor would be liable for whatever could be seen to be within the path of the fire but not for what was hidden, unless, according to R. Judah, he should have contemplated the existence of hidden objects (BK 61b). Similarly, if a man dug a pit and did not cover it he would be liable for injury to a young animal or to an animal who fell into it at night but would not be liable for injury to a grown animal who fell into it in daylight (BK 54b), or for a human being who fell into the pit (BK 28b). If the pit was less than ten handbreadths deep, he would be liable for injury only, since animals do not normally die when falling into such a small pit (BK 3a). Likewise, liability for injury is restricted to the extent of its original gravity. If the injury becomes worse than was originally estimated the tortfeasor is not liable for additional damage (BK 91a). However, where the degree of damage was foreseen but the way in which the damage occurred was unexpected the rabbis disagreed as to whether the defendant should be held liable, some arguing that the defendant was liable in negligence while others holding that the defendant could not be liable for what he could not foresee. This situation is known in the Talmud as *Teḥilato bi-Feshi'ah ve-Sofo be-Ones* (negligent conduct leading to accidental damage). Thus, if a man put his dog on a roof and the dog fell off and broke nearby objects (BK 21b), he would be liable in negligence for putting his dog on the roof (since a dog could be expected to jump off a roof) but not for the mode of damage, since he could not have foreseen that the dog would fall.

Indirect Damage
The foreseeability test would appear to determine liability for indirect damage (**gerama*) where the damage is the ultimate consequence of the defendant's act. Only if the defendant should have foreseen the damage occurring would he be held liable for indirect damage.

Unusual Damage by Cattle
Unusual animal torts, such as goring, lie between liability in negligence for foreseeable damage and exemption for accidental damage. In such cases the animal's owners are liable for half-damages (BK 14a). But if the animal was a habitual gorer, having gored three times, the owner would be liable for full damage, since the damage was neither unusual nor unforeseeable. On the other hand, the owner would be completely exempt if he was not negligent at all. Thus, if the defendant's animal gored the plaintiff on the defendant's premises, no liability would normally be incurred since the defendant could not have foreseen that the plaintiff would enter his premises.

Defenses to Negligence
A person who negligently causes damage is not liable for damages in three situations:

(1) where he received permission from the plaintiff to cause damage (BK 92a, 93a), e.g., was allowed to feed his cattle in the plaintiff's field;

(2) where the defendant, in his capacity as a court official was given permission by a court to harm the plaintiff, e.g., by administering punishment (Tosef. BK 9:11);

(3) where the damage inflicted was nonphysical, e.g., distress and sorrow (where there is no physical pain), or economic or commercial damage (BK 98a); for liability for damage is restricted to physical damage.

Damage Committed by the Person and by His Property
A distinction is found in several places in the Talmud between damage by a person and damage by his property (BK 4a; 4b). The difference is that liability for damage by the person is confined to negligent acts of commission whereas liability for damage by his property can also be incurred by negligent acts of omission. Thus, a man who spilt another's wine must pay for the damage, whereas if he saw the other's wine spill and did nothing to help him recover it, he would not be liable. On the other hand, the defendant whose ox grazed in the plaintiff's field would be liable for damage caused by the animal either because he put the ox there or because he did not adequately prevent its escape. Similarly, a man who did nothing to prevent a stray fire from spreading onto the highway would not be liable even though he was able to prevent the fire's spreading. He would be liable, however, if he caused the fire negligently or if he did not prevent the spread of a fire from his own premises, even though he did not start it.

Joint Tortfeasors
Where damage was caused by the negligence of two or more persons, the parties are liable in equal proportions. If the plaintiff and the defendant were equally negligent, the plaintiff recovers half damages from the defendant and loses the remainder (see Tos. BK 23a, s.v. "*U-Leḥayyev*"). The negligence of each tortfeasor is one of two types:

(1) where he should have foreseen that his negligence alone would cause damage;

(2) where he should have foreseen that damage would result from his conduct, coupled with that of the other tortfeasor, even though his conduct alone would not be expected to lead to damage.

Thus if two men dug a pit together, they would both be held liable in negligence for damage caused by the pit (BK 51a). However, if only one of them was negligent, he alone is liable. Thus, a man who concealed sharp pieces of glass in his neighbor's dilapidated wall which the latter was about to pull down onto public ground would be liable in negligence to anyone injured by the glass pieces, whereas the neighbor would incur no liability since he could not have anticipated the presence of glass pieces in his wall (BK 30a). Similarly, someone who put objects by the side of a man sleeping would be solely liable if the latter broke the objects in his sleep (TJ. BK 2:8, 3a).

Where damage was caused by two tortfeasors, the first leading the second to perform the act, the rabbis were divided as to the liability of the party performing the damage. Examples of such cases, which are known as *Garme* (see **Gerama* and **Garme*), include informing about another's property which leads to its seizure (BK 117a) and the hiring of false witnesses (BK 55b). In each case the party performing the damage had a choice as to whether to act tortiously or not. If he had no choice in the matter because of lack of intelligence or the required expertise, he is no more than a tool in the hand of the first tortfeasor and the latter is liable for all the damages. Thus a man who puts an idiot or minor in charge of fire and thorns is liable for all the damage if his neighbor's house is burnt down (BK 59b); and the defendant who tells his neighbor to bring him his animal from the premises of a third party is solely liable if it transpires that the animal does not belong to the defendant at all and that the latter attempted to steal it (Tos. *ibid.*, 79a).

Israel Law

The Israel law of torts is covered by the Civil Wrongs Ordinance (1944, new version 1968), originally enacted by the British Mandatory authorities, which came into force in 1947, and several amendments enacted by the Knesset. The ordinance is modeled on English law and section 2 explicitly refers to English law for explanations of, and supplements to, the ordinance.

See also **Avot Nezikin*; **Gerama* and **Garme*; *Damages.

[Shalom Albeck]

NEGLIGENT MISREPRESENTATION AS GROUNDS FOR ACTION IN TORTS. In the *Amidar* case (CA 86/76 *Amidar National Company for Immigrant Housing in Israel Ltd. v. Avraham Aharon*, 32 (2) PD 337, 348) Israeli Supreme Court, Justice, Menachem Elon implemented the talmudic principle regarding damage caused by negligence in providing information. He noted that in Jewish law a person is liable for damages caused as a result of negligently conveying incorrect information, through which damage is caused (*ibid.*, 350). A person who negligently conveys incorrect information to another, even in good faith, is responsible for the damage caused to the other person as a result of his acting upon that information. It makes no difference if the information was conveyed in writing or orally; in business negotiations or otherwise; by a professional or by someone with no special qualifications in the field. On the contrary, in certain cases a layman's responsibility may be even greater than that of a professional because, in addition to conveying incorrect information, the very fact that he agreed to advise and provide information in a field in which he has no professional expertise, is an act of negligence. The essential and central condition for liability is that the provider of the information knew, or should have known, under the circumstances, that the person receiving the information intended to rely on his words and to act accordingly. Liability for damages exists when the provider of the information acted negligently and without the reasonable measure of caution with which a reasonable person ought to have acted.

PAYMENT OF COMPENSATION FOR DAMAGE BEYOND THE REQUIREMENTS OF THE LAW (LI-FENIM MI-SHURAT HA-DIN). Justice Elon stressed in his decisions that under certain circumstances the tortfeasor, may be exempt from liability for damages due to various reasons, such as the absence of a causal connection between the negligence and the damage that was caused. However, he may be obliged to compensate the victim by force of his duty to act in a manner which is *li-fenim mi-shurat ha-din* – beyond the requirements of the law. The duty of behaving more generously toward others, in a manner that is beyond the requirements of the law is an established principle and binding legal norm in Jewish law, and was the basis of his ruling in the *Kitan* case (CA 350/77 *Kitan Ltd. v. Sarah Weiss*, 33 (2) 809–811). In that case Justice Elon ruled that even where a person is exempt from liability for damages according to the laws of torts, he is liable, under certain circumstances, to pay compensation for damage incurred in order to "fulfill his duty in the sight of heaven" (*laẓeit yedei shamayim*) (see, e.g., BK 55b). It is therefore appropriate that the Court inform the litigants of the obligation incumbent upon them in this sphere (see CA 842/79 *Ness v. Golda*, PD 36 (1) 220–221; and see at length: *Damages).

THE LIABILITY OF A RECALCITRANT SPOUSE. The wife or husband of a recalcitrant spouse, who refuses to give or receive a Jewish bill of divorce (*get*) is entitled to sue the spouse in the Family Matters Court for his or her losses and agony as a result of being forced to wait for a valid divorce bill (*get*), when the refusal is unjustified. Subject to conditions stipulated by Jewish divorce law, the wife or husband of the recalcitrant spouse may be entitled to damages under two grounds of action recognized in Israeli law: negligence, and breach of statutory duty.

Coercive measures, including an obligation to pay money, intended to pressure the husband or wife to give or receive a get, are occasionally considered by Jewish Law as unlawful duress that invalidates the writ of divorce. However, in other circumstances such coercive measures do not invalidate the *get*. As a result, the principles of Jewish law concerning coerced divorce (*get me'useh*) are important regarding the scope of civil liability of the recalcitrant spouse. The wife's attempts to secure her *get* by way of a damages action against the recalcitrant husband may have negative ramifications in future divorce proceedings in the rabbinical court. For example, a rabbinical court may refuse to hear an action for divorce until the woman abandons her tort action, or waives her right of action in torts, or signs over to her husband any sum obtained through a tort action. It may even refuse to arrange a *get,* on the grounds that a *get* granted by the husband or received by the wife after being obligated to pay compensation for the damage that was caused the recalcitrant spouse may be deemed unlawfully coerced (*me'useh*), and therefore invalid. Accordingly, it has been suggested that the Israeli legislator should intervene in an attempt to avoid these undesirable consequences.

Scholars have suggested a model of legislation that may, to a certain extent, alleviate the suffering of a woman or man awaiting a *get* and which would induce the recalcitrant spouse to give or receive the desired *get*. And of equal importance – such legislation would similarly ensure the validity of the *get* when actually given, so that the woman's or man's fundamental will is realized. This legislation will enable the Family Matters Courts to grant the aforementioned compensation in torts only when the rabbinical court has ruled that the husband or wife: (1) may be compelled (*kofin*) to give or receive a *get*, or (2) is obligated (*ḥiyyuv*) to render or receive a *get*. Other relevant limitations, stemming from principles of Jewish law, are also taken into consideration (see Kaplan & Perry, Bibliography).

[Yehiel Kaplan (2nd ed.)]

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TORUN (Ger. **Thorn**), port on the R. Vistula, N. central Poland; founded by the Teutonic Order in the 13th century, and incorporated into Poland in 1454. Jews first visited Torun on *market days only; in 1766 six Jewish families were permitted to settle there, as in the 18th century there was a great demand for Jewish merchants who traded in cloth manufactured in Torun. In the second half of the 18th century some were attacked by members of the guilds because, in conjunction with the guildmasters, they lent money for interest to the craftsmen.

Torun passed to Prussia in 1793–1806. When included in the principality of Warsaw in 1806–14 it had a larger number of Jewish inhabitants. It reverted to Prussia from 1814 to 1920, when the Jewish population increased. It numbered 248 in 1828; 1,371 (5% of the total population) in 1890; 1,100 (2.3%) in 1905. Culturally, the Jews were closest to German Jewry. A Jewish primary school was founded in 1862. In 1891 a literary and cultural association was founded (Litteratur und Culturverein zu Thorn) with the objective of broadening knowledge of Jewish history and literature, without political or religious implications. A Jewish Women's Association (Israelitischer Frauenverein) to aid sick and needy women was founded in 1868. The increase of antisemitism in Pomerania and the regression in the economy of Torun at the end of the 19th century led to a decrease in the number of Jews living there. After Torun reverted to Poland in 1920, the local Jewish population became one of the smallest in Polish towns of that size, numbering 354 (0.9% of the total) in 1925.

[Jacob Goldberg]

Holocaust Period

On the outbreak of World War II there were about 1,000 Jews in Torun. The community was liquidated in the autumn of 1939, when the Jews were expelled to the territory of the General Government. After the war the community was not reconstituted.

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TOSAFOT (Heb. תּוֹסָפוֹת; lit. "additions"), collections of comments on the Talmud arranged according to the order of the talmudic tractates. In general the point of departure of the *tosafot* is not the Talmud itself but the comments on it by the earlier authorities, principally *Rashi. Where and when the *tosafot* were compiled, their types, and their historical and literary development are among the most fundamental and difficult problems in the study of rabbinic literature. The concept of the *tosafot* was originally bound up with the method of study characteristic of the schools of Germany and France in the 12th–14th centuries. Their beginnings go back to the generation of Rashi's pupils and descendants, who undertook to expand, elaborate, and develop their teacher's commentary on the Talmud (**Kunteres*) by making it the foundation of talmudic studies in the schools which they headed. In fact Rashi's commentary is a concise summary, arrived at through precise sifting and literary adaptation, of the tradition of studying the Oral Law prevalent in the principal French and German schools where he had studied for many years. By a careful perusal of his commentary those who followed him were able to acquire for the first time a profound and harmonious comprehension of the Talmud. Through questioning Rashi's statements – on the basis of the talmudic theme under discussion, or of one found elsewhere, or of Rashi's own comments on some other passage, the tosafists sought to answer their questions by pointing to differences and distinctions between one case and another or between one source and another. In this way they produced new halakhic deductions and conclusions, which in turn became themselves subjects for discussion, to be refuted or substantiated in the later *tosafot*.

The terms *ve-im tomar* ("and if you were to say") and *ve-yesh lomar* ("and then one may answer") – almost exclusively characteristic of this literary genre – are the most commonly used in the *tosafot* and more than anything else typify their essential character. This vast work was produced entirely within the yeshivot in the form of oral, animated discussions between the heads of the yeshivot and their pupils. In these discussions, views were often put forward which, either in principle or in detail, differed from Rashi's. Such views abound in the *tosafot*, both in the names of their authors and anonymously. After Rashi's death, the teaching and study methods of Isaac *Alfasi, *Hananel b. Ḥushi'el, and *Nathan b. Jehiel of Rome, which represented a tradition of learning basically different from the local one, began to penetrate into France and Germany. The tosafists took every occasion to quote these novel views and compare them with their own traditions. Simultaneously, a large number of new versions of the Talmud also reached the tosafists, giving them almost unlimited opportunities for argumentation and for advancing new interpretations by incorporating the Babylonian-North African tradition into their own. Another novel feature was the extensive use by the *tosafot* of the Jerusalem Talmud. While this resulted from the tosafists' critical comparative method of learning itself, a contributing factor was undoubtedly their acquaintance with the teachings of Hananel b. Ḥushi'el, who had a particular predilection for the Jerusalem Talmud.

Originally and formally the *tosafot* were written as "additions" to Rashi's comments. From these modest beginnings almost nothing of which has been preserved and whose most notable representative is apparently Isaac b. Nathan, Rashi's son-in-law, a movement developed – and it was undoubtedly a movement with all the spiritual implications of the word. Within a few years this movement became the dominant force that for centuries shaped the method of learning the Torah, first in Germany and France (including Provence), and, from the days of *Naḥmanides, also in Spain. The spirit of the tosafists is already apparent in *Samuel b. Meir, Rashi's grandson. He and his brothers Jacob *Tam and *Isaac b. Meir were not only the first but the most important tosafists in France. The chief architect of the *tosafot*, and the driving force behind them for many generations, was Jacob Tam. It was he who laid down their pattern and final form. He was followed by his nephew *Isaac b. Samuel of Dampierre. These two overshadow not only the scores of tosafists, their pupils, who are known by name from collections of *tosafot*, but also the hundreds of others whose names have not been preserved. Samuel b. Meir's older contemporary, *Isaac b. Asher ha-Levi, who had studied under Rashi at Troyes and then later returned to Germany, was the first tosafist in Germany in his new yeshivah at Speyer. In the history of Torah study there was no essential difference in the 12th–13th centuries between France and Germany, for it was a common occurrence for pupils to move from one territory to the other, the subdivision of the Carolingian Empire having no relevance in the cultural life of the Jews. Nevertheless, for the sake of convenience, a distinction is made between the two when describing the successive generations of the tosafists in these centuries.

The *tosafot* were written down as "*shitot*," interpretations which the pupils of the yeshivot committed to writing under the auspices of their teachers. In these notes the pupils recorded the substance of the halakhic discussions which had taken place in the yeshivah, incorporating their teacher's views as well as the arguments for and against them, and adding their own opinions. The teachers reviewed their pupils' notes, correcting and improving them, thus giving them their personal stamp. Very little remains of the original language of Tam's statements, which are quoted everywhere in the *tosafot*, and the text of his *Sefer ha-Yashar*, too, went through many hands. The same is true of the original notes of Isaac b. Samuel ha-Zaken of Dampierre; he is cited on almost every page of the *tosafot*, but only isolated phrases of his actual wording have been preserved. These notes by the foremost pupils, which had received the approbation of their teachers, passed from one yeshivah to another between France and Germany, and in the process various additions were made to them. However, several substantial works are extant which were written by the leading tosafists themselves, such as *Sefer Yere'im* by *Eliezer b. Samuel of Metz, *Sefer Mitzvot Gadol* by *Moses of Coucy, *Sefer Mitzvot Katan* by *Isaac of Corbeil, *Sefer ha-Terumah* by *Baruch b. Isaac of Worms, *Sefer ha-Roke'aḥ* by *Eleazer b. Judah of Worms, and others. Later editions abstracted from these works statements which they incorporated in the *tosafot*.

Although the *tosafot* are characterized by keen thought and great originality, it is impossible to distinguish any individual style or approach among the many tosafists, about a hundred of whom are known by name. It was the special method of learning that determined the approach and set the intellectual standard which all the tosafists had to meet. Some of them surpassed others by reason of their eminent halakhic authority and the many pupils who spread their teachings; some produced more novellae and interpretations than others; but these are quantitative differences, and any qualitative distinctions there may have been are not reflected in their teachings. Moreover, theirs was teamwork in the full sense of the word, and a novel view quoted in the name of an individual scholar was frequently the result of an involved discussion among many, each one of whom contributed something to the final outcome.

A general account of the historical development of the tosafists movement is reliably and accurately given in E.E. Urbach's voluminous and monumental *Ba'alei ha-Tosafot* (1955), which deals in chronological order with all the important tosafists and their literary work. They lived in scores of clustered cities in France and Germany. Many are known by their own and their fathers' names, although their identification is not always certain. Sometimes the same scholar is mentioned with considerable differences in various sources. Yet a minute knowledge of this history contributes little to a better understanding of the *tosafot* themselves. For although there was undoubtedly a certain continuity and a clear link between teacher and pupil, the functional structure of the *tosafot* was based on freedom in learning and teaching, which permitted a pupil to disagree with his teacher in the theoretical apprehension and frequently even in the practical significance of the talmudic themes.

In the vast ocean of the *tosafot* a distinction is made between several "types" or rather "collections" of *tosafot*, which are the outcome of different editings, and are distinguished from one another by the contents of their argumentation but not in their methodology. This systemization is important for a historical account of the various *tosafot* and for an understanding of what is known as "our *tosafot*" – i.e., those included in the present-day printed editions of the Talmud – and also for a comprehension of the way in which the *tosafot* penetrated into Jewish cultural spheres beyond the confines of France and Germany. Generally, there are many passages among these various types of *tosafot*, which are parallel materially (in the preference for one answer to a problem over another, etc.), although not in their actual phraseology. The first important collection of *tosafot* is the *tosafot* of Sens of *Samson of Sens, whose literary heritage is greater than that of most tosafists. Portions of them are extant in the author's own words. When contemporary German scholars quoted from "French *tosafot*" they generally referred to him. Written on the whole Talmud and modeled on the French tradition which Samson had learned from Isaac b. Samuel of Dampierre, the *tosafot* of Sens served as the basis of most subsequent collections, their influence being clearly discernible in "our *tosafot*" to many tractates. Though the *tosafot* of Evreux of the brothers Samuel, Moses, and Isaac of Evreux have not yet been fully investigated with reference to their literary identity, character, and influence, it is evident that they too were influenced by the *tosafot* of Sens. Although the *tosafot* of *Meir of Rothenburg and *Perez b. Elijah, who were almost contemporaries, enjoyed great renown in earlier times, they are no longer extant, except for remnants of varying length. Some *tosafot* of theirs, and especially of Meir of Rothenburg, exist in manuscript. Particularly well known are the *tosafot* of Touques composed by *Eliezer of Touques and based on those of Sens, which he adapted, abbreviated, and expanded by including new interpretations of later dates. These new interpretations were written as marginal notes to the *tosafot* themselves, and the quotations from the *gilyonot* ("marginal notes") found largely in *Shitah Mekubbeẓet* are generally his. The *tosafot* of Touques were included by the earliest printers in their editions of the Talmud (from 1484 onward), thereby establishing a tradition generally followed up to the present, so that the printed *tosafot* in more than ten large tractates are those of Touques. Quantitatively they comprise the largest part of "our *tosafot*" so called in contrast to collections of *tosafot* in manuscript and to those later printed in the margin of the Talmud or in separate works, which are referred to as *tosafot yeshanim* ("old *tosafot*"). There are two further types, the "*tosafot* Rosh" of *Asher b. Jehiel, which were widely studied chiefly in Spain and the *tosafot* Rid of *Isaiah b. Mali di Trani of Italy, which present a difficult literary problem. Asher b. Jehiel's *tosafot* contain few original interpretations, some of which are mainly based on the *tosafot* of Sens, with "Spanish" additions. Most of them are in print. The *tosafot* of the scholars in England before the expulsion (1290) are in the process of being published from a recently identified manuscript.

The techniques and style of *tosafot* literature were not limited specifically to the Talmud, there being an extensive literature of *tosafot* on the Pentateuch. These have Rashi as their starting point also, but they go far beyond him by propounding questions and answers to them, by curtailing and expanding, in the exact manner of the *tosafot* to the Talmud. Like the latter, they are divided into German and French *tosafot*, the German "style" being generally recognizable by its numerous **gematriot*, which were used as a significant exegetical principle. Usually the same scholars are mentioned in the *tosafot* both to the Talmud and to the Pentateuch. Some scholars, however, devoted themselves exclusively to biblical exegesis, such as Joseph *Bekhor Shor, Joseph *Kara, and others of whom almost nothing except their names is known, and who were apparently mainly aggadists. The chief characteristic of the tosafists to the Pentateuch is their halakhic approach. On the basis of the talmudic *halakhah*, the actions of each biblical figure, whether righteous or evil, are weighed and explained. Thus this literature created a unique fusion between the argumentation characteristic of the talmudic *halakhah* and biblical exegesis that, in its own way, aimed at arriving at the literal interpretation.

Samuel b. Meir wrote "*tosafot*" to Alfasi's *halakhot* – although they are not *tosafot* in the usual sense of the word and are more in the nature of glosses; only a few extracts from them have been preserved. *Moses b. Yom Tov, an English tosafist, also wrote *tosafot* on Alfasi. However there is no evidence that *tosafot* were regularly written on Alfasi, although the earlier authorities studied him extensively. The same happened once again in Germany in the 15th century when following on persecutions and the resultant lowering in the status of learning there, there was a move away from the study of the Talmud to that of Alfasi.

From France and Germany the *tosafot* penetrated first to Spain, where the earliest scholar to quote the tosafist literature, although in a very limited form, was Meir ha-Levi *Abulafia. But it is evident that this literature was still a novelty for him and it is clear from his works that he preferred the Spanish tradition of learning, which differed completely from the tosafists' method of study. The latter was introduced into Spain by two scholars related to one another, Jonah *Gerondi and Naḥmanides, who had either studied in France or with teachers from there. Naḥmanides' novellae on the Talmud incorporate the best of the *tosafot*, adopting their views and comparing them with those of the earlier Spanish scholars. While assigning almost the same value to both, he preferred the superior Spanish talmudic texts and its links with the teachings of the Babylonian *geonim*. Naḥmanides was undoubtedly the first to introduce the study of the *tosafot* into Spain, and his pupils and their pupils after them, Solomon b. Abraham *Adret and *Yom Tov b. Abraham Ishbili, established the study of the *tosafot* there. Among these scholars and their contemporaries, who were the heads of large yeshivot and wrote many works on the entire Talmud, the tosafistic element increasingly predominated over that of the early "Spanish" element, so that from their time on the method of the *tosafot* was adopted in Spain both in theory and in practice. A contemporary of these two scholars, *Asher b. Jehiel, who had come from Germany to Spain with his sons, was the second scholar to bring the study of the *tosafot* to Spain, thereby encouraging and advancing the process already flourishing there. His chief contribution was to reinforce and consolidate this process by writing *tosafot* on most of the tractates of the Talmud. These were based on those of Sens in many places and incorporated the local Spanish teachings. In Spain Asher b. Jehiel's version of the *tosafot* was regarded as the more accurate, in contrast to the French *tosafot*, which had been current until then among the scholars there. Thus while Naḥmanides and his *bet midrash* introduced the tosafists' method of study and most of their teachings into Spain, the text of the *tosafot* was laid down by Asher b. Jehiel, whose *tosafot* subsequently became the only ones officially studied in all the Spanish yeshivot.

The influence which the *tosafot* have had on the entire history of learning among the Jewish people up to present times is inestimable. A "page of *Gemara*" invariably refers to the text itself, Rashi's commentary (called *perush*), and the *tosafot*, and is called Ga-Pa-T, the initial letters of *Gemara, perush* and *tosafot*. That the early printers included the *tosafot* as the companion commentary to Rashi's in their editions was not fortuitous, but because this was the customary combination. Wishing to enhance the value of their product, they accordingly printed the *tosafot* at the side of the page. In later times, from the expulsion from Spain (1492) onward, an extensive literature was produced whose object was to answer the questions raised in the *tosafot* which conflicted with Rashi, and in any event to attain a deeper comprehension of the principles underlying both. Among the most notable of these works are *Sefer ha-Maharsha* of Samuel Edels, *Ḥiddushei ha-Maharam* of Meir b. Gedaliah of Lublin, *Meginnei Shelomo* of Joshua Falk I, *Ḥiddushei Maharam Schiff* of Meir Schiff of Fulda, *Hora'at Sha'ah* of Solomon and Isaac Heilprin, and others. For greater convenience some of these works, which were highly esteemed by scholars, have been printed at the end of the editions of the Talmud. This type of literature also appeared among Jews in the East, later Spain, Egypt, etc., where an accurate and systematic methodology was produced of the principles of Rashi and the *tosafot* so that their divergent views could be better understood. The most outstanding of these works is *Darkhei ha-Gemara* by Isaac Canpanton.

On the other hand, some leading scholars considered the combined study of the Talmud and the *tosafot* at an early age as pedagogically wrong, in that it did not permit young students to arrive at an independent, straightforward, and correct comprehension of the Talmud and its themes. Instead it imposed on them from the outset the methods of **pilpul* and of *ḥillukim* (forms of talmudic casuistry), which from the beginning of the 15th century were associated with the study of the *tosafot* in Poland and Germany. In the early days of their appearance the *tosafot* were already criticized, and there were scholars in the 14th century who considered studying them a waste of time. But the criticism began to gather force only with the development of the casuistic method of *ḥillukim* which was intrinsically associated with the *tosafot*.

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[Israel Moses Ta-Shma]

TOSEFTA (Aram. תּוֹסֶפְתָּא, Heb. תּוֹסֶפֶת), literally an "additional" or "supplementary" halakhic or aggadic tradition, i.e., one not included in the *Mishnah of R. *Judah ha-Nasi. Originally the term was used to designate any individual additional or supplementary tannaitic tradition, and so was virtually synonymous with the later Babylonian term **baraita*. In the later Babylonian tradition the term "tosefta" was used to designate a particular body of such *baraitot* (Kid. 49b; Meg. 28b; Shav. 41b), and eventually it came to denote a particular literary work, "the Tosefta" – a collection of halakhic and aggadic *baraitot*, organized according to the order of the Mishnah, and serving as a companion volume to it. Though there may once have been other such collections of tannaitic *halakhot* and *aggadot*, the Tosefta is the only such collection to have come down to us, and together with the extant **Midrashei Halakhah*, it provides the student with direct access to a large body of ancient tannaitic sources, without the mediation of later amoraic and post-amoraic talmudic tradition.

In most respects, the Tosefta is identical to the Mishnah. Its Hebrew language is similar in all essential points to the language of the Mishnah, and seems unaffected by later dialects of amoraic Hebrew. The content, terminology, and formal structures of the *halakhah* in the Tosefta are the same as those in the Mishnah. The *tannaim* mentioned in the Tosefta are the same as those mentioned in the Mishnah, with the exception that the Tosefta also mentions scholars from the two following generations – almost all either direct descendents of the *tannaim* mentioned in the Mishnah, or otherwise associated closely with the circle or the family of R. Judah Ha-Nasi. From all of this it would seem clear that the Tosefta which we possess today was redacted in the same circles in which the Mishnah was redacted – the school of R. Judah ha-Nasi – some 40 or 50 years later, and by his own disciples. Since the last prominent scholar to be mentioned in the Tosefta (twice only) is none other than R. Ḥiyya – a close relative and prime disciple of R. Judah ha-Nasi – it is not surprising that tradition has ascribed to R. Ḥiyya the redaction of the Tosefta, though there is no solid historical evidence which can confirm this suggestion.

In addition to containing two additional layers of tannaitic traditions, there are two primary differences between the Mishnah and the Tosefta. First, the Tosefta is some three to four times larger than the Mishnah. Second, the overall order of the units of tradition found in the Tosefta is largely dictated, not by internal criteria, but rather by the external standard of the order of the Mishnah. It would therefore be fair to say that the Tosefta as a whole represents a kind of proto-talmud to the Mishnah – a large collection of tannaitic traditions whose purpose is to supplement, to complement, and in various other ways to expand upon the Mishnah of R. Judah Ha-Nasi (see: *Talmud, Babylonian – The Four Stages of Talmudic Tradition).

Both the critical examination of the Tosefta itself and the comparison of the Tosefta to parallel tannaitic collections (Mishnah and *Midrashei Halakhah*) point toward one simple conclusion – the Tosefta which we possess today was collected and redacted in Ereẓ Israel shortly after the redaction of the Mishnah and in the same scholarly circles. Nevertheless one of the greatest talmudic scholars, Ḥ. Albeck, rejected this conclusion. His rejection of this conclusion was not, however, based either on an examination of the internal evidence of the Tosefta itself, or on a comparison of the Tosefta to other tannaitic collections. Rather it was founded primarily on a comparison of the Tosefta to the *baraitot* found in the Babylonian Talmud and the Jerusalem Talmud. The talmudic *baraitot* are in many ways very similar to the parallel traditions found in our extent tannaitic collections. On the other hand there are also significant differences between them. Assuming that the *amoraim* would not have dared to add, omit, or in any other way intentionally change the ancient tannaitic traditions which they had received (see *Mishnah, The Redaction of the Mishnah), Albeck concluded that the *baraitot* in the *talmudim* could not have derived from the tannaitic collections which we today possess – the Tosefta and the extant *Midrashei Halakhah* – but rather must have been drawn from other collections of *baraitot* which have not survived in independent form. Consistent with this view, he also ascribed the redaction of our Tosefta to the end of the fourth century (at the very earliest), i.e., after the main body of amoraic talmudic literature had already largely taken shape. Since Albeck's assumptions concerning the nature of the talmudic *baraitot* are highly speculative at best, his views concerning the redaction of the Tosefta cannot be maintained in the face of all the internal evidence of the tannaitic sources to the contrary.

Broadly speaking the relationship between the traditions found in the Tosefta to the parallel traditions found in the Mishnah are of three kinds, the two relatively familiar and well known, the third less so. First, a tradition in the Tosefta can presuppose the exact text of our Mishnah, and comment directly upon it. Alternatively the Tosefta can transmit a different version of the same *halakhah*, either reporting the same opinion in different language, or reporting other opinions concerning the same issue. There is however, a third possibility: the Tosefta can transmit the *halakhah* of the Mishnah in an earlier and more original version. In this third case, the Tosefta may have preserved the "raw" material out of which R. Judah ha-Nasi composed the version of the *halakhah* which is included in his Mishnah. This third possibility has provided the focal point for some of the most fruitful and creative recent scholarship on the Tosefta (Friedman, *Tosefta Atiqta*). In addition to this parallel material, the Tosefta also includes additional independent tannaitic traditions which are either related topically to the halakhic or aggadic content of the Mishnah, or associatively – attaching themselves to some hint or reference which may have been mentioned in passing in the Mishnah.

With the exception of *Avot*, *Tamid, Middot*, and *Kinnim*, every tractate in the Mishnah has a parallel tractate in the Tosefta, though the precise character of the content of the Tosefta tractate and its relationship to the material found in the Mishnah can vary radically. Some have claimed that **Avot de-Rabbi Nathan*, once considered a late tannaitic work, serves as a kind of "Tosefta" to Mishnah *Avot*. Recent research, however, has shown that ARN is actually a rather late aggadic work with no substantial connection to the Tosefta.

The Tosefta and R. Nehemiah

The Babylonian Talmud (Sanh. 86a) ascribes to R. Johanan the statement that "*Setam Tosefta Rabbi Neḥemiah*" – "Anonymous statements in the Tosefta are to be attributed to R. Nehemiah." Both the precise sense of this statement and its historical authenticity require clarification. The full text of this statement in the Babylonian Talmud runs as follows: "R. Johanan said: Anonymous statements in the Mishnah are to be attributed to R. Meir; anonymous statements in the Tosefta are to be attributed to R. Nehemiah; anonymous statements in the *Sifra* are to be attributed to R. Judah; anonymous statements in the *Sifre* are to be attributed to R. Simeon – and all of them represent the views of R. Akiva." The first element in this statement is almost certainly the literary and historical kernel of this tradition, since it is the topic of a controversy between R. Johanan and R. Simeon ben Lakish in the Jerusalem Talmud (Yev. 4:11, 6b): "R. Johanan said: Any place where [Rabbi] taught an anonymous Mishnah, that [anonymous Mishnah] is [presumed to represent] the majority position, until one receives explicit information from one's teacher [to the contrary]; R. Simeon ben Lakish said: Any anonymous Mishnah is [presumed to represent the position] of R. Meir, until one receives explicit information from one's teacher [to the contrary]." On the one hand, the Jerusalem Talmud ascribes the view that anonymous statements in the Mishnah are R. Meir to R. Simeon ben Lakish, and not to R. Johanan. On the other hand the Jerusalem Talmud goes on to state that "R. Simeon ben Lakish does not actually disagree with R. Johanan; he just observed that most anonymous *mishnayot* happen to reflect the view of R. Meir." It seems fairly clear that the primary intent of R. Johanan's statement in the Jerusalem Talmud was not historical, but rather legal. It asserts that one may presume that an anonymous Mishnah reflects the position of the majority of sages, and hence is to be assumed to reflect the normative *halakhah*. On the basis of this understanding R. Johanan's words were summarized and transmitted in the Babylonian Talmud (cf. the list in the margin of Shab. 46a) in the following form: "R. Johanan said: The *halakhah* is in accordance with an anonymous Mishnah." Given this interpretation we may presume that the final comment of the Jerusalem Talmud represents a (perhaps somewhat artificial) conflation of the positions of these two sages: R. Simeon ben Lakish is understood to have made an empirical observation concerning the provenance of most anonymous *mishnayot*, while R. Johanan has asserted a most significant halakhic determination – that anonymous *mishnayot* are to be accepted as normative *halakhah*, unless evidence is brought to the contrary. In the Babylonian Talmud this complex tradition was summarized and transmitted in the name of R. Johanan as follows: "Anonymous statements in the Mishnah are to be attributed to R. Meir – [but they do not reflect the individual opinions of R. Meir, but rather] represent the views of R. Akiva." The tradition in the Babylonian Talmud has been further expanded to include the other canonical tannaitic works familiar to and accepted by the Babylonian Talmud: *Sifra*, *Sifre*, and Tosefta (for the relation of these works to the extant tannaitic collections known by these names, see above). It is likely that the primary intention of this expanded tradition is to extend R. Johanan's halakhic judgment concerning the presumed authority of anonymous traditions found in the Mishnah, to anonymous traditions found in these other works, by ascribing them to other well-known disciples of R. Akiva, who are all presumed to have transmitted their master's views. On the other hand, the historical reliability and significance of the ascription of anonymous passages in the Tosefta to R. Nehemiah remain highly questionable.

Nevertheless, on the basis of this relatively late Babylonian tradition, some scholars have posited the existence of a proto-Tosefta already in the days of R. Akiva and his students. There is, however, no direct evidence for the existence of such a work in this early period. Moreover, the terms *tosefet*, *tosefta*, *baraita* appear only in the amoraic literary stratum of talmudic literature, after the acceptance and dissemination of the Mishnah of R. Judah ha-Nasi. Neither these terms nor any other comparable terms are mentioned anywhere in tannaitic literature. The phenomenon of multiple literary levels within the Mishnah, and the habit of later *tannaim* to "add" comments to the traditions which they received from their teachers, should not be confused with the distinction between an accepted and official canon of select and authoritative traditions (e.g., the Mishnah of R. Judah ha-Nasi) and an extra-canonical "supplementary" tradition (*tosefet*, *baraita*), or collection of traditions (Tosefta).

Editions and Commentaries

The Tosefta was first published together with the *halakhot* of Isaac Alfasi in Venice in 1521, and it can still be found at the end of most standard editions of the Babylonian Talmud after the *halakhot* of Alfasi. There are no commentaries to the Tosefta which derive from the early period of the **rishonim*, though many passages from the Tosefta are cited and explained in their other commentaries, e.g., Maimonides' commentary to the Mishnah, and especially the commentary of R. Samson ben Abraham to Mishnah *Tohorot*. During the period of the **aḥaronim* a number of commentaries were written, the most important of which is the comprehensive commentary covering all of the Tosefta, *Ḥasdei David*, composed by R. David Pardo in the 18th century. Two volumes (covering four orders of the Tosefta) were published in his lifetime – *Zera'im-Nashim* (Leghorn, 1777) and *Nezikin* (Leghorn, 1790). A third volume, containing his commentary to *Kodashim*, was published in Jerusalem in 1890, and the final volumes, containing his most important commentary to *Tohorot*, were only rediscovered and published in Jerusalem in 1970. The commentaries and emendations of Elijah Gaon of Vilna to Tosefta *Tohorot* are also very important. Toward the end of the 19th century, M.S. Zuckermandel published an edition (1881) of the Tosefta, based mainly on the Erfurt manuscript (which ends in *Zevaḥim*, the rest being based on the Vienna manuscript), and including variant readings. While this work constituted a great step forward at the time, it suffers from two problems. First, the transcription of the Erfurt manuscript is not always accurate. More significantly, however, is the choice of the Erfurt manuscript as the basis of his edition. The Erfurt manuscript of the Tosefta does not always transmit the text of the Tosefta in its original form; rather it often reflects medieval emendations of the Tosefta, in order to bring its text in line with parallel versions of a tradition found in the Babylonian Talmud, the Jerusalem Talmud, or even the *Midrashei Halakhah*. A new critical edition of the Tosefta based on the superior Vienna manuscript, including variae lectiones, notes, and a detailed commentary (*Tosefta ki-Feshuta*) – the pinnacle of modern Tosefta studies – covering over half the Tosefta was published by S. Lieberman (*Zera'im*, 1955; *Mo'ed*, 1961–2; *Nashim*, 1967, 1973; the first half of *Nezikin*, 1988). The complete texts of all known manuscripts and *Genizah* fragments of the Tosefta are available on the website of Bar-Ilan University (http://www.biu.ac.il/JS/tosefta/).

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[Stephen G. Wald (2nd ed.)]

TOUATI, CHARLES (1925–2003), French rabbi, teacher. The scion of a rabbinical family, he studied at the University of Algiers, then in Paris at the Sorbonne, the École pratique des hautes études, the École Rabbinique, and later at Dropsie College, Philadelphia, under Solomon Zeitlin. He was for a few months the rabbi of the Ohel Avraham Community in Paris; later professor at the École Rabbinique until the beginning of the 1980s and at the École pratique des hautes études, section des sciences religieuses (1967–71), as a "chargé de conferences," 1972–93, and as a "directeur d'études"; director of the *Revue des études juives* with Gérard Nahon (1981–1996). He was honored with the title of chief rabbi ("grand rabbin") but was hindered by poor health from succeeding Jacob *Kaplan as chief rabbi of France. A specialist on medieval Jewish theology and philosophy as well as talmudic literature, he is mainly known for his annotated translation of Gersonides, *Les Guerres du Seigneur. Livres III et IV* (1968); for the first thorough and momentous synthesis on *La pensée théologique et philosophique de Gersonide* (1973, repr. 1992); and for his French translation of the *Kuzari* of Judah ha-Levi (1994). Some of his articles were collected in *Prophètes, talmudistes, philosophes* (1990).

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[Jean-Pierre Rothschild (2nd ed.)]

TOUL, city in the department Meurthe-et-Moselle in N.E. France. The earliest reference to the existence of Jews there is *The Life of St. Mansuy*, written in 974, in which the author mentions a Jewish physician in Toul. The tosafists *Eliezer of Toul, who died before 1234, and his brother Abraham, disciple of Isaac the Elder of Dampierre, lived in the town. From the Middle Ages until the French Revolution there is no evidence of Jews living there legally, although some Jews were in the region during various periods, and in 1711 a few even settled in the town temporarily. In 1791 an important community was formed and in 1808 one of its members was a delegate to the Napoleonic *Sanhedrin. The synagogue was built in 1819, and for a time after 1850, Toul was the seat of a rabbinate. In 1905 there were not more than 40–50 Jews in the community. In 1970 there were 15 Jews residing in the city.

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[Gilbert Cahen]

TOULON, port in the Var department, S.E. France. In the second half of the 13th century the Jews made up an appreciable proportion of the population of Toulon: at a general municipal assembly held in 1285, 11 of the 155 participants were Jews. They shared the same rights and duties as the other citizens. The community came to a brutal end on the night of April 12/13, 1348 (Palm Sunday), when the Jewish street, "Carriera de la Juteria," was attacked, the houses pillaged, and 40 Jews slain; this attack was probably related to the *Black Death persecutions. Faced with an enquiry set up by a judge from Hyères, the assailants fled; however, they were soon pardoned. After this date, in addition to a few converted Jews, there were in Toulon only individual Jews who stayed for short periods; one such man was Vitalis of Marseilles, who was engaged as a town physician in 1440. The medieval Jewish street corresponded largely to the present Rue des Tombades. In 1760 the merchants' guild of Toulon successfully prevented the arrival of Jewish merchants. On being granted rights of citizenship, a Jew from *Avignon requested permission to settle in Toulon. The community formed in the 19th century remained small. At the beginning of World War II around 50 Jewish families lived in the town, two-thirds of them refugees from *Alsace. In 1971 there were some 2,000 Jews in Toulon, the majority being from North Africa. An estimated 2,000 Jewish families lived there at the outset of the 21st century. In 2004 the community center with its synagogue was firebombed in an antisemitic incident.

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[Bernhard Blumenkranz]

TOULOUSE (Heb. טולושה), capital of the department of Haute-Garonne, in southern France. According to a legendary tradition, there were Jews in Toulouse as early as the eighth century, when as a result of their disloyalty to the ruling Franks, they were ordered to choose a member of the community every year to be publicly slapped in the face on Good Friday. This tradition also mentions a council held in Toulouse in 883 in the presence of the Jews to discuss their complaint against this custom. There is definite evidence of this practice, however, from 1020 onward. During the late 11th and early 12th centuries, the custom was waived on payment of a high fee. The Jews were also compelled to provide the cathedral with 44 pounds of wax and the bishop with incense. The Jewish quarter, whose center was the Rue Juzaygas or Joutx-Aigues, lay around the square of the Carmelites. The Jewish cemetery was at first situated near the Château Narbonnais. When the king took possession of it in 1281, the Jews acquired a field near the Porte de Montoulieu, on the site of the present Grand Rond, for a new cemetery. Communal institutions in this period included a hospital, which was destroyed in the war of the *Albigenses. The importance of the Jewish population can be deduced from the number of houses owned by the Jews. Commerce and moneylending are mentioned as the principal occupations of the Jews in Toulouse in this period. In 1209 they were excluded from holding public office, though they remained free to dispose of their real estate and often possessed the rights of ownership over land held by individuals or religious institutions, particularly the Templars. *Alphonse of Poitiers imposed a large tax on the Jews of Toulouse, as well as on the other Jews under his authority, its payment being enforced by coercive measures. Toward the end of the 13th century, there was debate between the royal officers and the count over the judicial and fiscal jurisdiction of many Jews.

At the time of the expulsion of the Jews from the kingdom of France in 1306, the community of Toulouse was still numerous and economically important, as shown by the number and value of the confiscated properties mentioned in the extant auction documents. They included several "operatoria," perhaps workshops or commercial premises. The new community formed after the readmission of the Jews in 1315 also appears to have been of considerable size, and even attracted Jews from other localities who had not been among the exiles of 1306. There is mention of Baruch "the Teuton," for example, who came from Germany. In 1320, the Jews in Toulouse became victims of the *Pastoureaux persecutions, despite efforts by government authorities to protect them; the houses in the Jewish quarter were looted, and their inhabitants were massacred if they refused immediate baptism. The *Inquisition took precautions that these forced converts should not return to Judaism. As a result, the community practically ceased to exist well before the next expulsion of the Jews of the kingdom in 1322.

A new community was organized in Toulouse after the readmission of Jews in 1359. Only about 15 families settled in the city. Although they established themselves in the former Jewish quarter of Joutx-Aigues, their situation and economic activity had radically changed. They no longer owned land, rented the houses which they occupied, and generally limited themselves to moneylending. They were taken by surprise by the publication of the "final" expulsion order of 1394. A short time earlier, butchers' regulations had laid down the procedure for ritual slaughter with the assumption that the community would remain in Toulouse for a long time. There is no definite information available on medieval Jewish scholars in Toulouse.

During the 17th century a group of *Marranos attempted to establish themselves in Toulouse. They were tried by an Inquisition tribunal in 1685 and received severe penalties. From the end of the century, Jewish merchants, mainly from *Comtat Venaissin, were authorized to trade in Toulouse four times a year. Beginning in the second half of the 18th century, several of them endeavored to settle permanently in the city. There were about 80 Marranos in 1790. After the Reign of Terror, the municipality allowed them to use a former church (the Church of the Penitents) as a synagogue. They do not appear to have taken possession of it, however, because in 1806, they were still without a synagogue. At about that time, they obtained a concession for exclusive use of the cemetery, which until the Revolution had been used for the burial of both Protestants and Jews. There were then 105 Jews in Toulouse, and their numbers increased very slowly. However, from the beginning of the 20th century, many Jewish students from Poland and the Balkans were attracted by the opportunity to study at the University of Toulouse.

[Bernhard Blumenkranz / David Weinberg (2nd ed.)]

Holocaust Period

With the flight of population from the northern zone in June 1940 after the Nazi defeat of France, many Jews settled in Toulouse. As a result, it rapidly became one of the principal centers for Jewish life and resistance in the unoccupied zone. Toulouse was in effect the capital of the southwest of France. Here a considerable number of Jews found refuge and a range of important organizations was set up, including children's homes and agricultural schools. Toulouse was also an important stopover for Jews seeking to escape to Spain. The Organisation Juive de Combat was created at Toulouse and its leaders would often meet there. In August 1942, when 1,525 foreign-born Jews from the region were "regrouped" for deportation, the archbishop of Toulouse, Msgr. Saliège, issued a vigorous protest, which was read publicly in all the churches of the diocese. Following the German occupation of all of France (November 1942), the area around Toulouse saw increased Jewish resistance, including acts of sabotage, the formation of fighting groups, the hiding of children and their transportation to safe havens, and stepped-up efforts to ferry Jews across the border to Spain en route to Palestine or England. Many men, women, and children fell victim to the Nazis and their French collaborators, however, and were tortured to death or deported to Auschwitz.

Contemporary Jewry

Many Holocaust survivors chose to remain in the city after the liberation. As a result, the postwar community gained greater importance than it had enjoyed prior to the war. In 1960 there were over 3,000 members of the community. Thanks largely to the arrival of Jews from North Africa, the Toulouse community became one of the most important Jewish centers in France. In 1987, it had a Jewish population of 12,000. The Jews of Toulouse maintain a full range of communal institutions, including three synagogues, kosher butchers and restaurants, and a community center. Toulouse is also the center for the regional consistory.

[Georges Levitte / David Weinberg (2nd ed.)]

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TOURAINE, former province of W. central France whose territory corresponded to the present department of Indre-et-Loire. The earliest information on the presence of Jews in Touraine is from about 570. Gregory of Tours mentions their presence in Civray and in Tours itself. Jews were subsequently to be found in several places in Touraine, more specifically in Loches, Amboise, and Chinon. During the second half of the 11th century, Philip I, king of France, held several rights in Touraine, including the right to one half of the tenure paid by the Jews of Tours. An agreement of 1215 between the Abbey of St. Martin of Tours and the squire of Loches stipulated that not a single Jew would be authorized to reside in the locality of Longueil. The common law of Touraine of

1246 declared that upon his request a Jew of the feudal lord or the king would be judged by that lord or the king because they were the actual owners of his belongings. In an entry for the year 1306 on the subject of the expulsion of the Jews from France, the "Abridged Chronicle of Touraine" relates that the Jews left Touraine on August 26. They returned in 1315, and in 1321 were among the first victims of the accusation that the Jews had poisoned the wells in collaboration with the lepers. It appears that with the next return of the Jews to France in 1359, none settled in Touraine.

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[Bernhard Blumenkranz]

TOUREL, JENNIE (1910–1973), mezzo-soprano. Born in Montreal, Canada, Jennie Tourel was educated in Russia, Switzerland, and France, where she studied with Anna El-Tour, whose name she transposed to form her own stage name. In 1933 she began her career in the Opéra Comique, Paris, and in 1940 settled in the United States. She made her U.S. debut with the New York Philharmonic under Toscanini. In 1944 she joined the Metropolitan Opera. Her best-known non-operatic performance was the rendition of the vocal solo in Leonard *Bernstein's *Jeremiah* symphony at its premiere performance (1944); she also became known through appearances in concerts and for recording. She gave annual courses at the Rubin Academy of Music, Jerusalem.

TOURO, JUDAH (1775–1854), U.S. philanthropist. Born in Newport, Rhode Island, to Isaac Touro (d. 1873), the *ḥazzan* of the Yeshuat Israel synagogue, and his wife Reyna, sister of the merchant Moses Michael Hays, Touro had a troubled childhood. The Revolutionary War shattered the prosperity and unity of the Jewish community of Newport. Isaac Touro, a Tory, went with the British to New York City where he lived on a military dole and, in 1782, to Jamaica, British West Indies, where he officiated for a brief time until his death the following year. Touro's widowed mother returned to New England with her four children and took up residence with her wealthy brother. Judah was trained in his uncle's mercantile business, and undertook a number of voyages in his uncle's interest.

In 1801 Touro left Boston for New Orleans. Legend attributes this departure to his uncle's refusal to permit him to marry a cousin, but there is no sure evidence of this. Touro's choice of New Orleans as a center of commercial operations was a fortunate one. Still in Spanish hands at the time of his arrival, the port was soon transferred to France and then sold by Napoleon to the United States as part of the Louisiana Purchase. The population and trade of the city grew in geometric proportions, and Touro and other early merchants prospered greatly. Touro served as a civilian volunteer in the American army at the Battle of New Orleans in 1815 and was severely wounded. His life was saved by his close friend, the Virginia merchant Rezin Shepherd, who was ultimately an executor and residual legatee of Touro's estate. After his recovery Touro took no part in the civic or social life of New Orleans, in contradistinction to an active interest during prior years; some reports indicate that the wound, which left him with a limp and damaged his sexual organs, was the reason for his withdrawal from social relations with any but a few close friends. His business activities continued unabated, however, and his holdings increased. He was a commission merchant who accepted shipments on consignment from firms in the North, which were then sold for the benefit of the owners. He also invested in steamships and other vessels. At no time, however, was he a major mercantile power in New Orleans. He accumulated his fortune through prudent investments in real estate and through his modest standard of living. He said to Rabbi Isaac *Leeser that he had "saved a fortune by strict economy, while others had spent one by their liberal expenditures." He was not a speculator like many of his New Orleans colleagues, and, as a result, easily weathered the periodic panics and depressions which drove many other New Orleans business houses into bankruptcy.

Touro, a reticent, shy, and even peculiar man, took no interest in Jewish matters until late in life; he made only a modest contribution to the first New Orleans congregation, which was founded in 1827, but did not join as a member. The first person with a sense of Jewish responsibility to penetrate his shell of indifference and reserve was Gershom Kursheedt, who arrived in New Orleans in 1839 or 1840, and ultimately succeeded in arousing Touro's feelings of Jewish loyalty. He, and possibly Rezin Shepherd, persuaded Touro to purchase an old Episcopal church for the benefit of a new congregation which Kursheedt organized, Nefutzoth Yehudah, and to pay for its conversion into a synagogue. Kursheedt was also responsible for Touro's bequests, in his famous will, to a host of Jewish institutions. Among these were $108,000 to congregations and societies in New Orleans, and to the Jewish hospital which Touro had founded and which has ever since carried his name; $10,000 for the upkeep of the synagogue and cemetery in Newport, his old home; $60,000 for the relief of the poor in Ereẓ Israel to be used at the discretion of Sir Moses Montefiore; a total of $143,000 to congregations, schools, and other Jewish institutions in 17 cities throughout the land. Gifts to non-Jewish institutions in New Orleans, Boston, and Newport totaled $153,000. No American Jew had ever given so much to so many agencies and causes; nor had any non-Jew done so much in such varied ways.

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[Bertram Wallace Korn]

TOURO COLLEGE, one of the largest institutions of higher and professional education under Jewish sponsorship. Touro has grown from a small liberal arts college consisting of 35 freshmen in 1971, situated in midtown Manhattan, to an international university of over 23,000 students.

It was founded and was under the leadership of Dr. Bernard Lander. The guiding mission of the school can be noted from its being named for Judah and Isaac Touro, who both exemplified in colonial and early America a love for the democratic ethos and their Jewish heritage.

Touro's vision is to serve the larger community in keeping with the Judaic commitment to social justice, intellectual pursuit, and service to humanity.

Under Dr. Lander's guidance Touro's programs had a two-pronged thrust. One is to serve the Jewish community by developing a cadre of committed and concerned Jewish youth in the United States by giving them a higher and professional education with a curriculum based on Jewish values. Secondly, Touro's programs also serve the educational needs of the total society, non-sectarian as well as Jewish. One of Touro's mottos has been "where there is a need, Touro reaches out to help." Touro does not wait for the student to come to the school but brings the school to the student.

Touro College has satellites on three continents. In the United States Touro has several campuses in three states (New York, California, and Nevada), with another planned for Florida in 2006.

Based in New York are separate programs for men and women that meet on alternate days. The Lander College of Arts and Sciences offers a traditional yeshivah program combined with a full secular college curriculum, which is offered at the Men's Division in Kew Garden Hills, Queens. A Men's Division enabling yeshivah students from other institutions desiring to study for a college degree in secular studies was opened in the Flatbush section of Brooklyn in 1977. A Women's Division was initiated in Manhattan in 1974 with a dual Judaic and secular studies curriculum. A parallel Women's Division was opened in Flatbush in 1979. These programs offer broad appeal to Orthodox Jews and allow them to attend their respective religious institutions and earn a higher or professional degree simultaneously.

The Touro School of Lifelong Education (a mentoring program opened in 1988) provides an opportunity for ḥasidic and yeshivah students to be the first in their families to earn a higher and/or professional degree. An affiliate Machon LaParnassa allows students to earn an associates degree. A similar undergraduate program opened in Los Angeles in 2005 and one in Miami is scheduled for 2006.

Touro also has an affiliate full time yeshivah program, Ohr Hachaim (1984), and a yeshivah high school for boys, Yesodai Yeshurun in Queens (1994).

The Graduate School of Jewish Studies was opened in 1979 offering a master's degree.

Touro has opened several professional divisions. A division of Health Sciences was opened in 1972 offering a physicians assistant (PA) program, and added a medical records administration program in 1980. The Touro Center for Bio-Medical Education in Long Island offers a MS-MD degree in conjunction with the Technion Medical School in Israel (1983). A physical therapy (PT) program was added in 1984 and an occupational therapy (OT) program in 1996. A graduate program in speech language pathology began in 2000.

In 1997 Touro opened a Touro University College of Osteopathic Medicine, currently located in Vallejo, California, with a branch campus in Las Vegas in 2004. A similar school is planned for 2006 in New York State.

A school of nursing opened in 2005 in the Boro Park section of Brooklyn creating the opportunity for ḥasidic women to attain a career.

The Jacob D. Fuchsberg Law School was founded as a division of Touro in 1980 and is situated in Huntington, Long Island. In addition to the general law curriculum it has an Institute of Jewish Law.

Touro has also been a leader in innovative pedagogy establishing Touro University International based in Las Alamitos, California in 1999, offering graduate degrees in business over the Internet. The Graduate School of Education and Technology also offers many online courses as do the undergraduate departments in the Lander colleges.

Touro's international programs teach Jewish studies and business courses. Campus sites include Moscow, Berlin, and Jerusalem. Programs are planned for other sites, such as Rome and Budapest.

The Touro campus in Givat Shaul Jerusalem offers a program for Americans in Israel and an affiliate Machon Lander for Israelis. There is also a division of the Touro Graduate School for Jewish Studies in Israel.

The School for General Studies (1974) and the Division of New Americans (1985) began particularly to aid many refugees coming from the former Soviet Union. The latter division was renamed the School of Career and Applied Studies and was eventually merged with the School of General Studies. These divisions, which are community based and have several campuses in New York, have over 6,000 students from all ethnic backgrounds matriculating for the associate and bachelor's degrees.

[Ted Lauer (2nd ed.)]

TOUROFF, NISSAN (1877–1953), educator and author. Born in Nesvizh near Minsk, Touroff became principal of the Girls School in Jaffa in 1907 and later principal of the Levinsky Teachers Seminary for Girls. During World War I he headed the important Education Committee (Va'ad ha-Ḥinnukh) which was responsible for Jewish education in Palestine. He also edited, briefly, the pedagogical journal *Ha-Ḥinnukh* and the daily *Haaretz*. He immigrated to the United States in 1919 and worked in an editorial capacity for the Stybel Publishing Company. He was one of the founders of the Hebrew Teachers College (now Hebrew College) of Boston in 1921 and its first dean. He also founded the educational magazine *Shevilei ha-Ḥinnukh* in 1925. In 1926 he left Boston and became professor of education and Hebrew literature at the Jewish Institute of Religion in New York (1926–32). Touroff's major themes in education were nationalism and Zionism, Hebrew language and literature, the utilization of modern psychological insights in teaching, and the attention to aesthetics in the life of the school. His main Hebrew works in the fields of education and psychology include *Ha-Psychologyah be-Yameinu* (2 vols., 1939–41), *Be-Yode'im u-ve-Lo Yode'im* (1946), a collection of essays on problems of culture and education under the title *Ha'arakhot* (1947), and *Be'ayot ha-Hitabbedut* (1953).

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[Eisig Silberschlag]

TOURS, city in the Indre-et-Loire department, central France. Jewish settlement in Tours dates from at least 570, one of the earliest recorded indications of Jewish life in France. In 1171 a notable of the community of Tours intervened in favor of the Jews of *Blois, who were persecuted following an accusation of ritual murder. A council held in Tours in 1236 forbade the Crusaders – as well as every other Christian – to conspire against the lives, health, and property of the Jews. Those found guilty of such a crime would be expelled from the ranks of the Crusaders. A subsequent Council of Tours (1239), however, excluded the Jews from testifying in lawsuits. During this period, Jews lived in a quarter known as the "Juiverie," which was situated between the old bridge and the Rue de la Caserne and consisted of at least 20 houses. They owned a synagogue and leased from the archbishop a plot of land in the Saint-Vincent parish (near the present Rue du Cygne and de Lucé) to use as a cemetery. The Jews of Tours were authorized to bury the Jewish dead, not only of their community, but of any other locality. In addition, a plot of agricultural land and a vineyard were worked by Jews. Expelled from France along with other Jews in 1306, individual Jews from Tours returned in 1315. They also suffered in the persecutions of 1321, which were later justified as punishment for their supposed collusion with the lepers. The community seems to have declined precipitously afterwards, for in 1359 the municipality ordered the final destruction of the Jewish cemetery. A number of scholars are known to have lived in Tours during the Middle Ages: an individual named Solomon corresponded with *Rashi; someone named David lived there toward the middle of the 13th century, as did a Joseph b. Elijah toward the close of the 13th century. Their works, however, have not survived. Before World War II there were fewer than 100 Jews in Tours. There is little information on the community during the Holocaust and in the immediate postwar period. In the early 1970s, as a result of the arrival of North African Jews, there were about 550 Jews. In the early 21st century, the community maintained a synagogue, a community center, and a *talmud torah*.

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[Bernhard Blumenkranz / David Weinberg (2nd ed.)]

°TOUSSENEL, ALPHONSE (1803–1885), French antisemitic publicist and disciple of *Fourier. From 1839 to 1843 Toussenel coedited *Phalange* and later participated in the foundation of the *Démocratie pacifique*, both Fourierist publications. His two-volume work, *Les Juifs, rois de l'époque; histoire de la féodalité financière*, was one of the most resounding attacks on the Jews published in France (1845) before the appearance of *Drumont's *La France Juive*. An even more virulent second edition of *Les Juifs…* was published in 1847 and reprinted in 1886 and 1888. To some degree Toussenel influenced Drumont. He also helped to inspire a conservative, rural antisemitism, which later found its political expression in *L'*Action Française*. Toussenel did not make a formal attack on the Jewish people as such, but tried rather to show what he believed was commonly meant by "Jew". He wrote, "I wish to point out to the reader that this word will generally be used here in the popular sense of Jew: banker, usurer."

Toussenel's antisemitism was not limited to his conception of a Jew-dominated 19th century. Reaching back into history, he affirmed his sympathy for the persecutions inflicted upon the Jews by the Romans, Christians, and Muslims. Adding another dimension to his antisemitism, Toussenel also declared, "Who says Jew says Protestant." Accordingly, the Protestant nations of Europe – the English, the Dutch, and the Swiss, in particular – were, like the Jews, "merchants and birds of prey." Toussenel's embittered antisemitic, anti-foreign, and anti-Protestant tirades later provided ample inspiration for the anti-Dreyfusards.

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°TOVEY, D'BLOISSIERS (1692–1745), English clergyman. He wrote the first comprehensive history of the Jews of England, *Anglia Judaica or the History and Antiquities of the Jews in England, collected from all our historians, both printed and manuscript, as also from the records in the Tower, and other publick repositories* (1738). Though concentrating on the medieval period, the work contains a section on the resettlement and on the English Jews of his own day. It shows appreciation of the magnitude of royal exploitation of the Jews in the Middle Ages and a healthy skepticism of ritual murder charges. It is largely based on the *Short Demurrer…* (1656) of William *Prynne. Tovey estimated that in 1738 there were about 6,000 Jews in England and noted that, at the time, no settled Jewish communities existed outside of London.

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[Vivian David Lipman]

TOWNE, CHARLES (1781–1854), English painter of animals and landscapes. Born in London, Towne's work such as *The Boat Builders* (1811) and *Cattle Fair* (1826) resemble the productions of the Norwich School and show a strong feeling for English country life of the period. From the year 1806 Towne exhibited at the Royal Academy. Another English painter of animals, who was not Jewish, was also named Charles Towne (or Town). He lived from 1763 to 1840, and is known as "Charles Towner the Elder" to distinguish him from this artist.

TOZ (abbr. from the initials of **Towarzystwo Ochrony Zdrowia Ludnośći Źydowskiej**, "Society for the Safeguarding of the Health of the Jewish Population"), Jewish welfare organization officially founded in Poland in 1921. It was connected with the *OZE society, established in St. Petersburg in 1912, which engaged in medical activities in the former territories of Russia and was later integrated into a common framework in Poland. TOZ began activities in a few regions only, but from 1923 it encompassed all areas in the state. World War I and its consequences, especially in the eastern regions, where the Jews had also suffered from pogroms, brought the society up against a number of urgent problems. It had to combat the contagious diseases which developed into epidemics and were responsible for a high death rate among the Jewish population in general and children in particular. On the other hand, the hostilities along the borders until the Peace of Riga (1921) brought chaos to the state and municipal medical services and prevented the impoverished Jewish masses from benefiting from the sick funds for organized workers.

Although TOZ considered its principal role in the sphere of preventive medicine, current needs compelled it to concentrate its main efforts in preventing the spread of skin and eye diseases (ringworm and trachoma) and tuberculosis by establishing clinics, X-ray departments, pharmacies, convalescent homes, etc. TOZ published three periodicals: *Folksgezund* (for the masses), *Gezund* (for schoolchildren), and *Sotsiale Meditisin* (a scientific journal). Among its many services the psycho-hygienic assistance which TOZ offered in treating the mentally retarded or those with physical afflictions was of great importance.

In addition to its institutions, TOZ also supported numbers of Jewish hospitals with its advisory services and assistance funds. In 1939 it was responsible for over 400 medical and sanitary institutions in 50 towns. Annual membership fees were paid by 15,000 supporters, and about 1,000 people, including doctors, nurses, dentists, teachers, and medical assistants, were on its employment roll. Additional incomes were derived from support by the *American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee and the funds raised by the OZE abroad. Throughout the existence of TOZ, its central committee was presided over by the physician and public worker Gershon *Lewin, formerly director of the Jewish hospital in Warsaw. Leon Wulman also played an outstanding role in the activities of the organization in his capacity of general secretary. During World War II the institutions of TOZ attempted to assist victims of famine and epidemics until 1942, when all its branches were closed down on the order of the German occupation authorities in Poland.

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[Moshe Landau]

TRABOT (**Trabotto**), Italian family of French origin which flourished from the 14th to the 17th centuries. The name is most probably derived from Trévoux, once Trévou, a town located in Burgundy, from where the Jews were definitely expelled in 1488. The most important members of the family are PEREZ TRABOT (14th–15th centuries), also known as Zarfati or Catalani which seems to indicate that he went from France to Catalonia in 1395, then to Italy. He composed *Makrei Dardekei*, a Hebrew–French and Hebrew–Catalan dictionary (Naples, 1488). JEHIEL TRABOT, rabbi at Pesaro in the early 16th century, was a grandson of R. Joseph *Colon, whose own father was known as Solomon Trabot. Jehiel is mentioned in *Naḥalat Ya'akov*, Jacob Alpron's collection of responsa. His son AZRIEL (d. 1569), rabbi in Florence and Ascoli in the second half of the 16th century, was noted for his responsa. Following the bull of February 1569 of Pope *Pius V, decreeing that all Jews in the Papal States except Rome and Ancona should be driven out, the congregation of Ascoli, with Azriel at its head, found refuge at Pesaro. There Azriel was entrusted with the valuable Ark. He died in Pesaro in July of the same year. His son JEHIEL was rabbi at Pesaro and Ferrara. AZRIEL, son of Jehiel, was rabbi of Ascoli at the beginning of the 17th century. He composed a list of rabbis (cf. REJ, 4 (1882), 208–25) and several responsa. NETHANEL BEN BENJAMIN BEN AZRIEL (1576–1653), was rabbi of Modena. Several of his rulings are extant. Especially important is his responsum on reform of music in the synagogue. In 1711, RAFAEL TRABOTTO was given permission by the Austrian authorities to engage in moneylending in Mantua.

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TRACHONITIS, a province of the area of *Bashan E. of the River Jordan and N. of the River Yarmuk. It was one of the three provinces into which the area was divided by the Ptolemies, the other two being Gaulonitis and Batanaea. As a result the Targum renders the name Argob as a region of Bashan and as "the province of Trachonitis" (*pelakh Terakhona*, cf. Deut. 3:4). The emperor Augustus awarded it to Herod, and it remained with his heirs until Agrippa (II; c. 100). In 106 C.E., together with all Bashan, it was annexed to the province of Arabia, the capital of which was Boẓrah and it is therefore called "Trachonitis of Boẓrah" in the Tosefta (see below). During Herod's stay in Rome, the inhabitants of Trachonitis rebelled against him, and his commander *Zamaris cleared it of marauders; it is therefore also referred to as "Trachonitis of Zamaris" (*Terakhona de-Zimra*). For halakhic purposes Trachonitis was regarded as part of the territory of Ereẓ Israel, and therefore, the laws appertaining to the Sabbatical Year applied to it (Tosef., Shev. 4:11).

TRACHTENBERG, JOSHUA (1904–1959), U.S. Reform rabbi and scholar. Trachtenberg, born in London, was taken to the U.S. in 1907. He received rabbinic ordination at Hebrew Union College (1936) and served Congregation Covenant of Peace, Easton, Pennsylvania (1930–51), and Bergen County Reform Temple, Teaneck, New Jersey (1953–59). During 1951–52 he worked on a survey of religious conditions in Israel, sponsored by the Central Conference of American Rabbis and the Union of American Hebrew Congregations. His report, displaying great depth of feeling, appeared in the *Year Book* (1952) of the Central Conference of American Rabbis. Trachtenberg was active both in the fields of scholarship and community work. In Easton he was president of the Jewish Community Council (1939–46); an ardent Zionist, he was identified with the Labor Zionist movement. His scholarly work was conducted despite the handicap of a serious eye defect. *Jewish Magic and Superstition* (1939, repr. 1961) was his Ph.D. dissertation at Columbia University. An outgrowth of this study was *The Devil and the Jews* (1943, repr. 1966), which examines the relationship of the medieval conception of antisemitism to the modern variety. *Consider the Years* (1944) is a history of the Easton Jewish community.

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[Sefton D. Temkin]

TRADE AND COMMERCE.

In the Bible

The geopolitical location of Palestine, set as it is in the heart of the Fertile Crescent, made it a pivotal link in the commercial activities carried on by land and sea between, on the one hand, Egypt and the Arabian Peninsula in the south and, on the other, Phoenicia, Syria, Anatolia, and Mesopotamia in the north. Palestine also played a part in the maritime trade with the Mediterranean islands, as it did, too, in trade with the commercial centers on the Mediterranean littoral.

The special position enjoyed by Palestine among the ancient lands was due to the existence and activities of cities – harbor cities and others – which, being situated along the main arteries of communication, became important centers in the international and internal trade. The written sources in archaeological finds clearly show that trading was a favorite occupation by which a considerable proportion of the local population directly or indirectly earned a livelihood. A notable contribution to the development of economic relations in Palestine was made by the nomads who, roaming the border areas of the permanently populated regions and along the main highways, engaged in the transit trade (Gen. 37:25, 28).

Since it was poor in natural resources and raw materials, Palestine's own share in the export trade comprised agricultural products and other items, the production of which was associated with agriculture. Foreign sources (in particular those of Egypt, which imported the products of Palestine) and to some extent, too, the Bible, emphasize that Palestine sustained itself by exporting cereals and flour, oil and wine, as well as cosmetic and medicinal products extracted from plants (Gen. 43:11; Ezek. 27:17; Hos. 12:2) and, at a relatively later period, also ore and finished metal goods. In contrast to its limited exports the population of Palestine needed an unceasing stream of products, various luxury goods, and raw materials, such as timber, metal, and so on.

The destinations and composition of the commodities and the identity of the traders did not change with the conquest of Palestine by the Israelites. They did not actively participate in trade either because of the tribal structure of their autarchic society and economy or because access to the main arteries of commerce was obstructed by the autochthonous population. Thus the Bible contains no evidence of the pursuit of trade or finance (allied areas also in ancient times). Nor do the laws of the Torah make much reference to commerce, the exceptions being the laws enjoining just weights, measures, and balances (Lev. 19:36; Deut. 25:13ff.), and stringent warnings against exacting interest from Israelites, but these admonitions may reflect other spheres of economic activity and a later period when the land was being divided among the tribes. It is also probable that the sparse mention of trade is due in part to the negative attitude of the writers and redactors of the Bible and of prophetic circles to commerce and to the foreigners who engaged in it: "As the merchant [lit. Canaan] keeps balances of deceit, he loves to oppress" (Hos. 12:8). The expression "Canaanite" became a synonym for "a merchant" ("Who has devised this against Tyre, the crowning city, whose tradesmen are princes, whose merchants [Canaanites] are the honorable of the earth?" – Isa. 23:8; and see Prov. 31:24, et al.). Throughout the First Temple period (Isa. 23; Ezek. 27) and also in the early days of the Restoration (Neh. 13:16) their activities were considerable.

Israelite participation in international economic activities and commerce began with the inception of the United Kingdom. This participation was made possible by the establishment of a large kingdom whose needs were considerable and whose political ties were extensive. The control of lengthy sections of the important trade routes in Transjordan and in the coastal plain, along which commerce flowed, intensified the urge to profit from it. In the days of *David and particularly in those of *Solomon economic relations were developed with the kingdom of *Tyre, one of the most important economic powers at the time. To carry out its extensive construction projects both within and outside the confines of Jerusalem, Israel needed building materials, metal, and other commodities, which were supplied and transported to Jaffa by the Tyrians in exchange for agricultural products: "And we will cut whatever timber you need from Lebanon, and bring it to you in rafts by sea to Jaffa, so that you may take it up to Jerusalem" (II Chron. 2:15 [16]; cf. I Kings 5:21ff.).

The chronicler of Solomon's activities lays great stress on the place occupied by the royal trade. Indeed, it seems that the monarchy in Israel exercised a monopoly in this economic sphere. Solomon's Tyrian allies undoubtedly benefited from the Israelite control of the arteries of communication along which flowed the trade with southern Arabia and Egypt, for Solomon could direct the caravans to such destinations in his own kingdom and in friendly countries as he wished. Thus he profited not only from barter with Tyre but also from the international transit trade. Moreover, the royal commercial apparatus in Israel was able to initiate independent trading activities. According to the sources, this independent trade was apparently maritime commerce in which Solomon's ships, built with Tyrian help in the port of *Ezion-Geber, took part. Yet these very sources make it possible for the opposite conclusion to be drawn, for it is probable that the Tyrians insisted on being made partners in such ventures in exchange for their technical assistance and for the participation of their men in these expeditions: "King Solomon built a fleet of ships at Ezion-Geber, which is near Eloth on the shore of the Red Sea, in the land of Edom. And Hiram sent with the fleet his servants, seamen who were familiar with the sea, together with the servants of Solomon" (I Kings 9:26–27; II Chron. 8:17–18). The ships sailed to, and traded with, the African and Arabian coasts (see *Ophir). On these voyages they brought with them precious metals and precious stones, as well as rare kinds of timber: "And they went to Ophir, and brought from there gold, to the amount of four hundred and twenty talents; and they brought it to King Solomon" (I Kings 9:28; II Chron. 8:18). "The fleet of Hiram, which brought gold from Ophir, brought from Ophir a very great amount of almug wood and precious stones" (I Kings 10:11; II Chron. 9:10). According to one theory, Israelite-Tyrian ships also voyaged in the Mediterranean Sea as far as Spain (if *Tarshish is explained as a place name). Another view however maintains that "the fleet of ships of Tarshish" was a type of ship suitable for transporting metal, and hence alludes to the nature of the Israelite exports and the goods received in exchange: "For the king had a fleet of ships of Tarshish at sea with the fleet of Hiram. Once every three years the fleet of ships of Tarshish used to come bringing gold, silver, ivory, apes, and peacocks" (I Kings 10:22; II Chron. 9:21).

Barter also occupied a place in Solomon's economic activities: the royal merchants purchased horses from *Que and chariots from Egypt, and marketed them as "a finished product" to the kings of Syria: "And Solomon's import of horses was from Egypt and Keveh [Que], and the king's traders received them from Keveh at a price. A chariot could be imported from Egypt for six hundred shekels of silver, and a horse for a hundred and fifty; and so through the king's traders they were exported to all the kings of the Hittites, and for the kings of Aram" (I Kings 10:28–29; II Chron. 9:28). The enigmatic reference to "the kings of the mingled people" (מַלְכֵי הָעֶרֶב, the reading in II Chron. is "the kings of Arabia" – מַלְכֵי עֲרָב) alongside "the governors of the land" as persons with whom Solomon had commercial relations either indicates that the United Kingdom traded directly with the Arabian Peninsula, or may refer to contacts with nomads who engaged extensively in transporting goods from the south to the north (I Kings 10:15; II Chron. 9:14). The well-known story of the Queen of *Sheba's visit to Jerusalem may reasonably be explained on the assumption that the queen of this South Arabian kingdom came to Jerusalem at the head of a trade delegation to establish closer relations with Israel (I Kings 10:1ff.; II Chron. 9:1–12).

The extensive space which the Bible devotes to Solomon is not accorded to the kings who reigned after him. This, however, does not warrant the conclusion that the commercial activities ceased after Solomon's time. The continuation of these activities is attested by the products of foreign lands dating from the days of the kingdoms of Israel and Judah which have been uncovered at various archaeological sites in the country. Under King *Jehoshaphat of Judah there was a renewed attempt to sail ships from Ezion-Geber which failed owing to the destructive forces of nature: "Jehoshaphat made ships of Tarshish to go to Ophir for gold; but they did not go, for the ships were wrecked at Ezion-Geber" (I Kings 22:49 [48]). This attempt is undoubtedly to be understood against the background of the relations which Jehoshaphat established with the dynasty of Omri in Israel and with the Kingdom of Tyre. He may have been assisted in the building of his navy by the Tyrians. The close ties maintained by *Omri and Ahab with the Tyrians are similarly to be regarded as indubitably commercial relations. Jehoshaphat apparently brought the kings of Israel into association with the activities of his navy in the Red Sea: "After this Jehoshaphat king of Judah joined [אֶתְחַבַּר] with Ahaziah king of Israel, who did wickedly. He joined him [וַיְחַבְּרֵהוּ] in building ships to go to Tarshish, and they built the ships in Ezion-Geber. Then Eliezer son of Dodavahu of Mareshah prophesied against Jehoshaphat, saying: 'Because you have joined [בְּהִתְחַבֶּרְךָ] with Ahaziah, the Lord will destroy what you have made.' And the ships were wrecked and were not able to go to Tarshish" (II Chron. 20:35–37). The use of the root *ḥbr*, "to join," is intended to indicate the significance of the relations between Jehoshaphat and Ahaziah. In several Semitic languages the use of *ḥbr* denotes a commercial partnership, particularly in a maritime connection. According to I Kings 22:50, Jehoshaphat rejected Ahaziah's offer to cooperate with him in maritime commerce.

Additional evidence of trade that was conditioned by political circumstances is the presence not only of Aramean commercial agencies in Samaria in the days of Omri and in part of those of Ahab, but also, after the latter's victory over Aram, of Israelite agencies in Damascus (I Kings 20:34). Furthermore the economic tendencies to develop trade in Israel and Judah, though not explicitly mentioned in the Bible, are evident in the expansionist ambitions of these kingdoms toward Transjordan and the west, the purpose of which was to gain control both of the trade routes in these areas and of the centrally located ports that promoted trade with Phoenicia, Egypt, and other countries on the Mediterranean littoral.

The biblical references to internal trade are sparse. This trade was carried on in open places, in streets, squares, and marketplaces (Neh. 13:17–22), as also in open areas near gates (II Kings 7:1). It apparently took the form mainly of barter, in which farmers, artisans, and others who offered the products of their labors participated. Merchants and peddlers also displayed their wares. There is no information on the quality of the goods or on the organization of the internal retail trade. The Bible mentions trade in oil (II Kings 4:7), wine, grapes, and figs (Neh. 13:15–16), fish (13:16) and animals (II Sam. 12:3, et al.), in addition to products such as pottery (Jer. 19:1) and items of clothing (13:1–2). These individual mentions undoubtedly represent only a few of the potential articles of trade. The likely range of the retail trade may be inferred from the cultural and material standard of the population at various periods, and in particular from the fact that the economy of the Israelites ceased to be autarchic already at a late stage of the division of the land among the tribes, for as the standard of life rose among the inhabitants of the country, so undoubtedly did the articles of trade increase in quantity and diversity.

[Hanoch Reviv]

Post-Biblical

During the Babylonian Exile Jews became acquainted with old commercial traditions. The post-biblical, talmudic epoch shows Palestine again as an agrarian country, as is clear from the Talmud and Josephus. The growing Diaspora intensified the contacts with Phoenicians, Syrians, and Greeks, and especially Greek influence as is to be seen in the use of technical terms.

The consequence of those influences is especially notable where Jews met in an atmosphere of strong commercial activity, as in Alexandria and later in Delos and Ostia. In the late Roman Empire there were colonies of Jewish and Syrian merchants all over its realm who preserved their ethical and religious traditions. Such colonies were to be found from Britanny and Ireland as far as India and Turkestan. Hennig stressed the commerce of Jews with China which had already come into being. The superiority of the Jewish over the Syrian merchants must, according to Heichelheim, be seen in the fund of common traditions going back to Babylonia. The Talmud knows the "pragmateutes" and the "emporos" as specializations in trade in far distant lands, terms which point to their Hellenistic origins. In addition, the word "taggar" – known from Palmyra – is found, and is related to the Babylonian "tamkar." The taggar was the merchant who was occupied in local commerce. Many of these traditions passed, as pointed out by R.S. Lopez, from the late Roman Empire to the Byzantine Empire and from Sassanid Persia to the empire of the Caliphs. On the base of a widely autonomous economy, trade in the distant lands was limited to luxury goods.

Middle Ages to 18th Century

From the fifth to seventh centuries, Jews traded as far as Gaul where the ports of Provence, especially *Narbonne and *Marseilles, served them as transit places. They dealt in perfumes, glassware, textiles, and other luxury articles of the Orient. Procopius, Cassiodorus, and Pope Gregory I (the Great) mention Jewish merchants in Genoa, Naples, and Palermo. The system of trade in the *Byzantine Empire probably favored the expansion of these merchants toward the west where the vacuum created by the invasions of the Germans opened new routes for selling Oriental luxury goods. Clients of all ranks were to be found. Jewish merchants supplied kings as well as monasteries and high church dignitaries with *spices and all types of precious Oriental goods. The extent to which they obtained these wares directly from the Orient is not certain. Documentation on direct trading relations with the Orient exists only from the end of the eighth century. In 797 when *Charlemagne sent two ambassadors to the caliph Hārūn-al-Rashid from Aix-la-Chapelle the merchant *Isaac acted as a guide and interpreter, returning to Aix-la-Chapelle in 802.

At least from the seventh century, after the ports of Syria had been conquered by the Arabs, Jews were able to develop a far-flung trading network. According to Ibn Chordadbeh, the postmaster of the caliph of Baghdad (between 854 and 874), the *Radaniya traded between France and China along four routes, some of them touching at Byzantium on their return. It is not clear from where the Radaniya came, either from France or from a region east of the Tigris. These merchants brought swords, eunuchs, slaves, furs, and silks from the West, and musk, aloes, camphor, cinnamon, and other articles from the East. One of the most important spheres of trade seems to have been the *slave trade, especially in slaves from the countries of the Slavs, since the Council of Meaux in 845 (see *Church Councils) prohibited trade in Christian slaves. The chief market was the area in the Iberian Peninsula under Muslim rule. Commercial centers of the northern route were *Kiev, the valley of the Danube, where they had to pass the customs of Raffelstetten near *Passau, then *Regensburg and *Mainz.

From the tenth century, this northern route became the more important because of the rise of the Mediterranean rivalry of the Italian cities. Mainz and Regensburg then apparently became the most important starting points for trade expeditions to the East. Jews from the western regions traveled as far as Bulgar of Itil (see *Atil), the capital of the Jewish *Khazars on the Volga. Around 955 *Isaac b. Eleazar brought a letter from *Ḥisdai ibn Shaprut, when a minister in Córdoba, to the Khazar king *Joseph. The route passed through Prague and Cracow. In 965 Prague was visited by the Spanish geographer *Ibrahim ibn Yaqūb, who stressed the importance of this town for the trade with the East and mentions the role of the Jews. There he saw Jewish and Islamic merchants from the empire of the Khazars and *Crimea. At that time Italian Jews still had trading connections with Jerusalem. In particular Jews of Gaeta traded with Jaffa, and Jews of Capua with Egypt, until the rising cities of Amalfi, Bari, Venice, Genoa, and Pisa drove them from the Levantine trade. Venetian captains were forbidden to transport Jews and Jewish merchandise. The activity of the Jews of Mainz in the East European trade led to a diplomatic correspondence by the doge Pietro of Venice and the patriarch of Grado with Emperor Henry I and the archbishop of Mainz concerning the duty to compel the Mainz Jews to become Christians or else prohibit them from trading in Oriental goods.

In this period, additional Jewish settlements grew in the Rhine region, the main part of the East Franconian Empire, the most important being Metz, Trier, Cologne, Worms, and Speyer. There they were allowed to trade freely, especially in wines, hides, and drugs, as well as in meat and secondhand goods, which was often combined with lending on pawn, while slaves and Oriental products were also important. From the tenth century a new route was opened through the Danube Valley to Hungary which became accessible after the inhabitants became converted to Christianity, *Esztergom (Gran) or Ofen-Pest serving as points of transit. From there the merchants often crossed the passes of the Carpathians, continuing to *Przemysl and Kiev, where there was an important Jewish settlement. Toward the end of the 11th century *Isaac b. Asher ha-Levi at Speyer was well informed on the role and importance of this East European trade. He relates that the merchants traveled in caravans, and that each caravan formed an association, buying the merchandise jointly and distributing it by lot. During the 12th century Regensburg Jews became the main entrepreneurs of this trade. *Pethahiah of Regensburg shows that Jews from there traveled as far as Crimea, the *Caucasus, *Baghdad, and *Mosul. Later, from the beginning of the 13th century, Prague and Vienna seem to have outrivaled Regensburg. In 1221 transit through Vienna was forbidden. After the Tatar invasions Kiev's importance waned and this eastern trade declined.

Regensburg especially was a center for the silver trade and the mint business. Meanwhile, for the slave trade another route from Magdeburg and Merseburg to the Rhine came into use. The customs regulations of Coblenz from 1104 record the passage of slaves on the Rhine for the last time, since after the adoption of Christianity by the Slav countries the slave trade there was prohibited.

Along the trade routes of the Indian Ocean, as well as the Mediterranean, in the 11th to 13th centuries, Jewish merchants combined in manifold far-distance trading activities as well as more limited coastal trading in most of this period. *Yemen served as a transit station for the trade between Egypt and the Far East. Scores of categories of articles, some of them in huge quantities, were transported by this Jewish trade mainly through Muslim ports. Jewish trading activity was based on a well-established organization of Jewish merchants at the ports.

Meanwhile, the interior market in Western Europe grew, the fairs of Cologne especially attracting Jews. They met there three times a year in order to sell and buy wool, hides, furs, jewels, and pearls. With the First Crusade an epoch of persecutions began in Western Europe (see *Crusades). Local restrictions and canon law compelled Jews to concentrate on *moneylending. However, as late as the 14th century *Alexander Sueslein ha-Kohen of Frankfurt states that Jews did business at the fairs of the Christians, and that on Sabbath non-Jewish debtors came with wagons of corn. The responsa of *Meir b. Baruch of Rothenburg show that Jewish merchants used the Rhine shipping route, trading in, among other items, salted fish, wool, skins, wines, grain, silver, and gold. After the decline of the Cologne fairs Jewish merchants were attracted by the fairs of Frankfurt and Friedberg. At the same time the courts of the princes offered a market for luxury goods. In this period Jews generally seem to have bought from far-distance traders in order to sell as retailers and *peddlers. How far there were trading relations for instance with southern France and Spain is hard to ascertain. By then the distant trade had mainly passed to Christian merchants. Generally members of a family joined in partnership and women took an active part.

In the persecutions, plunder, and massacre of the Jews occasioned by the *Black Death, the patricians were not the main adversaries of the Jews – many of whom being active in far-distance trade had commercial relations with them – but the artisans, who viewed the Jewish retailers and peddlers as bringing unfavorable competition. After the persecutions Jews were again active in trade and apparently had trade connections from the Rhineland not only with the Netherlands and France but also with parts of Spain, Switzerland, and probably Italy.

Meanwhile, a new series of anti-Jewish measures began. From the end of the 14th until the beginning of the 16th centuries Jews had to leave most of the German towns. They withdrew into the small domains of local lords or went to Eastern Europe where there were possibilities open in the service of the crown of Poland and the nobles. The wealthy Jews were attracted by privileges in connection with the colonization policies of Duke *Boleslav and King *Casimir III. Witold, grand duke of Lithuania, continued this policy. In an agrarian society Jews became important representatives of commercial activity. Not only the princes, but the nobles also had good relations with them. From Poland Jews, in the same way as Armenians, participated in the trade with the Black Sea regions, especially with Caffa (*Feodosiya), Khadzhibei, Cetatea-Alba (*Belgorod-Dnestrovski), and *Kiliya. *Vladimir-Volynski, *Lutsk, Lvov, Cracow, and later Lublin and Bratislava became the main trading links in Poland and Silesia. Meanwhile a Jewish colony grew up at Caffa, and later, after its decline, Jewish merchants in *Constantinople established direct commercial relations with Poland.

In *Apulia and *Sicily Jews were active in the silk trade, Emperor Frederick II granting them the monopoly for trade in raw silk. They also organized the commerce in dyed textiles. In southern France Jews played a main part in the trade of kermes. From the ports of Provence they took part in the Levantine trade and had connections with the Spanish littoral, Sicily, and southern Italy. This trade was organized, like that of the Italian merchants in Venice or Genoa, by the practice of *commenda*. Mardoché Joseph, whose register from 1374 has been preserved, owned woods where the resin was extracted from the trees. In *Franche-Comté from 1300 to 1318 a Jewish company developed extensive trading activity in goods and money.

IBERIAN PENINSULA. On the Iberian Peninsula Jews could maintain far-reaching trading relations from the areas under Arab rule with Central Europe and the slave markets in Eastern Europe, as well as with North Africa and the Levant, their main centers being Córdoba and *Lucena. Following persecutions in the Moorish part of the peninsula, Jews settled in the areas with a Christian population, where they participated, among other commercial activities, in provisioning the soldiers who fought in the Christian Reconquest. Apart from the prohibition on the slave trade, their economic activity was unrestricted. Generally, more is known of their activity as lessees of revenues such as customs or rents than of their trading activities, but in *Toledo, the Jewish center in Castile, as well as in *Barcelona and *Saragossa, the centers in Catalonia and Aragon, some Jews must have been merchants, dealing for instance in cloth or bullion. Don Samuel ha-Levi, the richest Jew in Toledo in the 14th century, was a merchant, and the building of the synagogue of Toledo as well as that of Córdoba must have been made possible by wealth acquired by trade.

In Portugal the Abrabanel family and other Jewish cloth merchants had far-reaching trade connections. The persecutions of the Jews in Spain of 1391 resulted in major damage to Jewish workshops, to the cloth production in Aragon and Catalonia, the tanneries of Oscaña and Córdoba, the silks of Valencia, Seville, *Talavera de la Reina, and *Murcia, the carpets of Borja and Salamanca, the goldsmiths' wares of Toledo and Córdoba, and other precious articles of artisan production organized by Jewish manufacturers and merchants. At the same time there were fairs to which Jews imported silk from Persia and Damascus, leather from Tafilalet, and Arabian filigree. Records exist especially from Seville showing that even after the persecutions the production of Jewish swordsmiths, tailors, and manufacturers of embossed leather, and the activities of merchants continued. Meanwhile, the wave of conversions to Christianity among the Jews in Spain especially affected members of the upper class, including merchants. One group of them is expressly known to have continued its activity as merchants – the Villanova of Calatayud, the Maluenda, de Ribas, de Jassa from Tauste and Hijar, the Ortigas, Esprés, Vidal, and Esplugas from Saragossa. Don Alfonso of Aragon, a bastard of King John of Navarre, had three sons by Estenza, daughter of the rich cloth merchant Aviasa ha-Cohen or Coneso, and took the name of Aragon.

A last important role was played by Jewish merchants in Spain in the final phase of the Christian Reconquest. There were also trading relations with the Moorish regions, and one of the reasons for the restrictions ordered against them by the Cortes of Toledo in 1480 was that Jews were selling arms there. On the other side Abraham *Senior and Isaac Abravanel with a staff of Jewish merchants organized the supply of the troops that conquered Malaga, Baza, and finally Granada.

The edict of March 31, 1492, ordering the expulsion of the Jews from Spain was made even more severe since they had to sell their properties but were forbidden to take gold and silver away with them. In Aragon Jews sold textile workshops at Hijar, Barbastro, Huesca, Saragossa, Lerida, Manresa, Valencia, and Barcelona. One of the best-known textile manufacturers at Huesca was Solomon Abenaqua, and at Hijar, Samuel Auping.

MARRANO ACTIVITY. The exiles included many craftsmen, manufacturers, and merchants. The majority emigrated to Portugal, the nearest place of refuge. Those who preferred to stay in Spain had to accept baptism, though secretly most of them maintained their Jewish religious traditions and were regarded as a special group of New Christians (Marranos). The Spanish overseas expansion opened up new fields of activity for them, especially in the spice trade. Rui Mendes (de Brito), and subsequently Francisco and Diogo *Mendes, organized trading activities which spanned an area from the East Indies through Lisbon to Antwerp, and included not only spices, but precious stones, pearls, and other Oriental luxury goods. Additional Marrano families entered this trade. Later, toward the end of the 16th century, notably the Ximenes, the Rodrigues d'évora, Heitor Mendes, Duarte Furtado de Mendoza, Luis Gomes d'Elvas, and the Rodrigues Solis families participated in the East Indies trade.

Other fields of Marrano trading activity were the trade with Africa and Brazil which began with Fernão de Noronha, who organized the trade in Brazilian dyewood. Marrano merchants participated in the development of sugar production in Madeira, São Tomé, and Brazil. Diogo Fernandes and a group were owners of one of the five sugar plantations which existed in Brazil about 1550. Toward the end of the 16th century, as can be seen from the records of the Inquisition, among the outstanding businessmen accused of Judaizing were Bento Dias Santiago, João Nunes, and Heitor Antunes, who from localities in the northeast, especially Paraiba, Olinda, and Bahia, organized the export of sugar and other Brazilian goods as correspondents of the Marrano merchants at Lisbon and other places in Portugal, as well as of their relatives, who meanwhile had begun emigrating to Northern Europe. By maintaining commercial relations from Brazil to Buenos Aires, and from there through Córdoba to Lima and Potosi, they organized an important contraband trade for a market which, because of the monopolistic policy of the Spanish center, was underprovided. They exported textiles and other manufactured goods or slaves, and received bullion which they sent to Europe. "La complicidad grande," the large-scale investigation organized by the Inquisition, which alarmed Lima from 1635 to 1639, resulted in economic disaster; among 81 persons apprehended, 64 were "Judaizers," most of them merchants.

When the Dutch West India Company occupied part of Brazil, the Marranos and those who now openly confessed their Jewish tradition took a remarkable part in the trade both in retail business, in financing, and in the export-import trade. When the Dutch were expelled from the northeast (the last from *Recife in 1654) some of the sugar traders settled in the West Indies, where, through their European market connections they contributed, at first in Barbados and Guyana, in developing sugar export to Europe. Later Curacao and São Tomé became the main centers of Jewish trade in the Antilles.

This was a factor that exercised great influence in the expansion of Jewish trade toward Africa after the expulsion from the Iberian Peninsula. At first Morocco, Salé, and *Safed afforded them trading possibilities, and with the rise of the slave trade to America they found chances to extend their influence to the main African slave markets on the coast of Guinea, the Cape Verde Islands, São Tomé, and Angola, since these regions belonged to the sphere of Portuguese dominance. The same circumstances operated in the infiltration by Marrano merchants into Spain, especially to Seville, in order to participate from there in the American trade. Among the early families engaged in this activity was the Jorge family whose participation in the slave trade is recorded from 1540. After their bankruptcy in 1567, other representatives were Francisco Nunes de Bejar and his son Antonio Nunes Caldeira. These Seville merchants had correspondents in the important centers in the Indies and West Africa as well as in Lisbon, and especially with the slave contractors of Africa, some of whom were Marranos. From 1587 the king of Spain as monarch of Portugal signed slavetrading agreements with Lisbon merchants for the provision of slaves in Angola and Cape Verde. This system lasted until the Portuguese restoration in 1640. Meanwhile Moroccan trading connections were intensified with the Netherlands, especially through the intervention of the important family of Palache.

Jewish trading connections also intensified with the Sephardi migration to the Mediterranean.

Under Muslim Rule

In the Arab world Jewish trade in the Middle Ages followed the same trends as in the Occident. At first Arab expansion contributed to the urbanization of the Jews and favored their trading activity, especially in the era under the *Fatimids. Yaʿqūb ibn Killis (c. 991), who later adopted *Islam and became a vizier, was a merchant in the wide area between North Africa and *Iraq, where *Baghdad with its important Jewish settlement remained the principal trading center. Under al-Mustanṣir (c. 1094) the brothers *Abu Saʿd al-Tustari and Abu Harun traded as merchants between *Egypt, *Syria, and Iraq, and were influential in the finances of Egypt. In the 12th century a decline began, connected with the rise of the Christian city states in the Mediterranean, the decline of the Fatimids, and the Crusades. The Karimi merchants then obtained a leading position.

With the emigration of Jews from the Occident to the Ottoman possessions they were able to integrate into the widespread network of international trade reaching as far as Cochin and Goa, where spices and jewels attracted them. The Danube principalities were also connected with this network. From the 17th century *Isfahan Jews organized silk export to *Aleppo.

REESTABLISHMENT IN THE WEST. From the end of the 16th century Leghorn, through the granting of important privileges to its inhabitants, became the most important trading link in the West, besides Venice. Jews compelled to emigrate from Milan in the 16th century were partially reintegrated into the network of Marrano trade, as in Naples, whereas in Rome and other central and northern Italian towns, some commerce remained a Jewish occupation, though generally not on a large scale.

In Provence, Jews lost their part in the Levantine trade after their expulsion at the end of the 15th century. Meanwhile émigré settlements of Marranos grew up at Antwerp, and also along the French Atlantic coast from St. Jean de Luz, *Bayonne, and Bordeaux to Nantes and Rouen and the Lower Elbe in Hamburg and Glueckstadt, as well as in the Netherlands, especially Amsterdam, and in London. Some of the Marranos remained Catholics, mainly in Antwerp, but along the Lower Elbe and at Amsterdam they openly returned to Judaism and established Sephardi communities. All the settlements played an important role in the trade between the Iberian Peninsula and Northwestern Europe.

Leading Marrano families throughout the 16th century were among the main contractors of the Portuguese spice trade. The jewel trade was an additional branch of the Antwerp colony, establishing connections with important trade centers in the interior such as Cologne (to which during the crisis in Antwerp they partly transferred their offices), with the Leipzig and the Frankfurt fairs, with Paris, with the fairs of Lyons, and with the trading centers of Italy. Meanwhile, they participated in the export-import trade between the Netherlands, England, Germany, and Italy. This included textiles, English cloth, Netherlands fabric, Italian fustian, and silk and grain, the latter being sent by sea. The main representatives of this trade were the Ximenes, the Rodrigues d'Evora, the Álvares Caldeira, and the Jorge families. The Hamburg colony, for some time, predominated in the import of sugar and spices and contributed to the modernization of trade usages.

Álvaro Dinis and Antônio Faleiro were merchants in Hamburg from the end of the 16th century. At Amsterdam Manuel Rodrigues Vega and others participated in the financing of *voorkompagnien* which opened up direct trade by the Dutch to the East Indies. The direct participation of the Amsterdam Portuguese in the Dutch East India Company was modest. But their international trading connections with the Mediterranean, as well as with the African and the Brazilian ports and the East Indies, contributed to the rise of the Dutch international trade, as well as to that of Hamburg, Scandinavia, and the Baltic.

The last act of the Dutch struggle with Spanish domination was helped by the contribution their merchants made to the forces of the Portuguese restoration after 1640. Jeronimo Nunes da Costa at Amsterdam and his father Duarte Nunes da Costa at Hamburg were the main suppliers or agents to the Portuguese of military and naval stores. However, it was typical of the complicated situation within the communities that Lopo Ramires at Amsterdam, a brother of Duarte Nunes da Costa, and Manuel Bocarro (Jacob Rosales) at Hamburg assisted the Spaniards.

In the second half of the 17th century the Hamburg as well as the Amsterdam Portuguese increasingly retired from the trade with the Iberian Peninsula and its colonial settlements in consequence of the continuing hostility against suspected Marranos and Jews. Meanwhile new fields of commercial activity opened with the Baltic, Scandinavia, and various courts. Diogo (Diego) *Teixeira and his son Manuel, the outstanding representatives at Hamburg, traded in jewels and, with their relatives, the Nunes Henriques, at Amsterdam entered the Norwegian copper exploitation. With the emigration of the Teixeira group to the Netherlands, the Hamburg settlement soon lost its earlier importance. Closely connected with Hamburg were small colonies at Altona and Glueckstadt. The latter especially was designed by Christian IV of Denmark and his successors to be a rival of Hamburg, in particular in the overseas trade, but never fulfilled their hopes. Nevertheless, for a time some Iberian trade in the 1620s, and again some African and West Indian trade in the second half of the 17th century, was organized from Glueckstadt.

In the Netherlands Amsterdam had the largest community of Portuguese Jews. At the beginning of the 18th century these still took considerable part in the colonial trade but were more active in speculative trade in commodities and company shares. Meanwhile the Sephardi community of London also took a share in the overseas trade, especially with West Africa and the West Indies. In its eastern extremities, from the 16th century this trade system linked with the extensive trade system of the Jews in *Poland-Lithuania based on *arenda and a large and growing share in exports and imports, as well as in the transit trade of the kingdom. The memoirs of *Glueckel von Hameln, and the even more extensive activities of the *Court Jews and factors show the influence of both these systems in Central European Jewish economic activity.

ASHKENAZI TRADING ACTIVITY. For Ashkenazi Jews the 16th and 17th centuries were an epoch of repression in consequence of the Reformation and Counter-Reformation. In Germany they mostly lived in smaller settlements where they obtained licences (*Geleit*; equivalent to the Italian *condotta*) and traded in cattle, horses, *agricultural produce, or secondhand articles obtained from loans on pawn, were peddlers, or provided the mints with bullion. The brothers Oppenheim at Frankfurt and their companies dealt in silk goods and other textiles, and there already existed connections with some courts that afforded the possibility of providing them with luxury goods, and their armies with victuals and weapons. When the possibility of forming mints, especially in the Hamburg region where overseas trading connections guaranteed a steady silver market, opened, Jacob *Bassevi at Prague was an outstanding entrepreneur of mints. During the Thirty Years' War several Jews took the opportunity to organize provisions for the armies. With the rise of the absolutist state and the sumptuous baroque culture displayed at a large number of courts the presence of the Court Jew opened new paths for wide-ranging Jewish commercial activity. Partly as a consequence of the protection afforded by the princes, the Ashkenazi settlements at Frankfurt, Hamburg, Altona, Berlin, and then Vienna also became centers of Jewish trade. From Hamburg and Altona as well as from Copenhagen and Amsterdam Jews entered the overseas trade.

From the second half of the 17th and especially in the 18th century Jews of Hamburg and Amsterdam actively participated in the trade of the fairs of Frankfurt, Zurzach, Braunschweig, Naumburg, and Frankfurt on the Oder, and especially of Leipzig and Breslau. In Eastern Europe, since there was as yet no large stratum of long-distance traders, this favored the role of small traders who were mostly of Jewish origin and often traveled in caravans. Jews from Prague, Mikulov (Nikolsburg), Leczno (Lissa), Teplice, Cracow, Brody, and Lvov in particular were among those visitors, but they had rivals in the Armenians, Greeks, Wallachians, "Raitzen" (Russians), and Courlanders. In Poland many of these Jews administered the trade of the nobility. Lithuanian Jews preferred Koenigsberg, Memel, and Riga, and traveled as far as Moscow. Galician Jews traveled to the Danubian principalities and imported wines from Hungary. Jewish trade was mostly concentrated in the fairs of Lublin, Yaroslaw, Torun, Gniezno, Kopyl, Stolin, and Mir. During the 18th century Berdichev and Brody, a free city from 1779, became important. The growing Jewish population in Bohemia, Moravia, Poland, and White Russia, and their widespread artisan activity, opened up an interior market of growing importance.

19th and 20th Centuries

From the period of the Middle Ages Jewish commercial activity had undergone many changes. At first the trade in Oriental luxury goods predominated; then, with the overseas expansion and the rise of shipping, colonial and staple goods were added. The *emancipation of the Jews in consequence of the epoch of the Enlightenment, combined with the consequences of the French Revolution and the Napoleonic Wars, put the Jewish communities on a new basis. Most spectacular was the rise of Jewish banking and the activity of Jews in industrialization, whereas the part of Jews in commerce is more difficult to discern. The organization of trade, then the sector of large stores (Tietz, Wertheim, Karstadt), and the commodity trade, especially in metal, wood, grain, furs, textiles, shoes, and diamonds, remained the branches preferred by Jews. In Germany, their part in the trading sector from 1895 to 1933 declined from 5.7 to 2.5%. In 1925 in Prussia over 34% of those active in the sector of banking and stock exchange, 13.2% in brokerage, 10.8% in the real estate business, and 10.7% in the commerce of merchandise and products, were Jews. On the whole, about 50% of the Jewish population were occupied in commerce. With the growing degree of social assimilation, however, this proportion declined as did the general participation of the Jews in economic life.

In general, it may be stated that the proportion of Jewish participation in commerce diminished in Germany and rose in the East European countries. In Hungary (1920) 44.1%, in Czechoslovakia (1921) 39.1%, in Poland (1913) 35.1%, and in Russia one-fifth (1926) of the total Jewish population were active in commerce. As Simon *Kuznets stressed, in the pre-World War II epoch in all countries excepting Poland and the Soviet Union the largest sector in the industrial structure of the gainfully occupied Jewish population remained trade and finance. They accounted for such a large proportion of the nonagricultural Jewish population because small-scale entrepreneurship was more readily accessible: it did not require heavy capital investment, and personal training was not necessary. Moreover, the conditions under which Jewish minorities had lived for centuries favored the acquisition of skills and the formation of connections useful for the pursuit of trade and finance.

[Hermann Kellenbenz]

In the U.S.

COLONIAL PERIOD TO 1820. Virtually from the mid-17th-century beginnings of their settlement in North America, the Jews tended to support themselves as small businessmen – general merchants and shopkeepers – in tidewater commercial and shipping centers like New York, Newport, Philadelphia, Charleston (South Carolina), Savannah, and Montreal. Their function, like that of the non-Jewish businessmen with whom they frequently formed partnerships of more or less limited duration, was to supply the local market with hardware, textiles, and other European produced consumer goods as well as commodities like rum, wines, spices, tea, and sugar. They attempted to balance their European and West Indian imports with exports of North American products like lumber, grain, fish, furs, and whale oil. Though specialization was not unknown, these tradesmen for the most part offered a wide range of wares.

Jews were represented in nearly every branch of early American enterprise apart from the export of tobacco and iron. Seldom, however, did they play a leading role: great coastal, Caribbean, and trans-Atlantic merchant-shippers like Aaron *Lopez of Newport, Nathan Simson and Jacob *Franks of New York, and Nathan *Levy of Philadelphia, substantial inland merchants, land speculators, and fur traders like Joseph Simon of Lancaster (Pennsylvania) and Samuel Jacobs of Canada, and important army purveyors like David Franks of Philadelphia were atypical – if not always for the character, certainly for the scale, of their dealings. Not infrequently 18th-century American Jewish businessmen acted as agents for European firms. The Levy-Franks clan of New York and Philadelphia, for example, constituted a branch of the family's commercial empire headquartered in London. Though rudimentary banking often fell within a merchant's sphere of activity – since without extending credit to his customer he could not have survived – Jewish financiers on the contemporary European scale were absent from the early American scene.

The colonial American economy was precarious, offering formidable hazards as well as attractive opportunities. Even well-established merchants not uncommonly owed their European suppliers huge sums, while bankruptcies and even imprisonment for debt occurred with considerable regularity.

Post-Revolutionary and Early National America gave rise to fledgling Jewish communities in Midwestern river ports like Cincinnati and Pittsburgh, while Jewish economic activity presented in many respects a more varied scene. Though shopkeeping and merchantry continued to be characteristic, the country's westward expansion and interest in developing its own resources generated many new enterprises involving Jews: land speculation, planting, shipping, banking, insurance, garment manufacturing, mining, and distilling. Jewish railroad directors prospered in South Carolina, and Jewish bank directors were active in South Carolina, New York, and Rhode Island. The Richmond (Virginia) firm of Cohen and Isaacs employed a frontiersman like Daniel Boone to survey land in Kentucky, and the Philadelphia *Gratzes became more important in the trans-Allegheny trade. The New York Hendrickses became prominent in the copper industry. Moses Seixas was among the Bank of Rhode Island's organizers in the 1790s, and Judah *Touro established an impressive mercantile reputation in New Orleans. Peddling, though usually no more than a transitional occupation, was far more common among Jews in early 19th-century America than it had ever been during the pre-Revolutionary period.

As the American economy burgeoned in the half-century following the Revolution, people skilled in trade, moneylending, the distribution of commodities, and the establishment of wholesale and retail outlets were needed with increasing frequency everywhere in the country. Jews found a wide gamut of opportunities in a developing America and took advantage of them to become well integrated into the country's business life.

[Stanley F. Chyet]

SINCE 1820. German Jewish immigrants to the U.S. who began arriving in large numbers about 1820 devoted themselves mainly to trade. The "Jew peddler" succeeded the "Yankee peddler" in the countryside as young Jews, securing their goods on credit mostly from Jewish wholesale houses in cities, peddled household and dry goods and small luxuries among isolated farmers throughout the Northeast, Middle West, and the South. With the opening of California in 1849 Jews became purveyors to its mining camps, a function they later performed in towns of the Rocky Mountains and the Southwest from the 1870s until the towns declined in the 1890s. The Jewish peddler's foreign accent, dauntlessness, and business skill won him a distinct, rather complimentary image in American folklore. Those who usually started by carrying their stock in a pack on the back came to own a horse and wagon;

later, when their success permitted, they quit itinerant trade to open a store. Partners and employees were usually drawn from members of the family. Jewish merchants during the middle and later 19th century established themselves not only in all large cities, but in many crossroads villages and in river towns the length of the Mississippi and Ohio rivers. During this period they played a major role in establishing a continentwide commercial network. In addition they were wheat and cotton brokers, and conspicuous in U.S. international trade. The migration of Jewish merchants from small places to booming metropolitan centers is noticeable after the 1880s. Their most conspicuous activity was the establishment of *department stores, among them some of the world's largest. A retail enterprise of particular importance was Sears Roebuck, under the ownership of Julius Rosenwald, which published huge catalogs for mail order service, thereby nearly eliminating the itinerant country peddler's market. Other merchants, notably clothiers, began to manufacture the goods they sold. A small but highly important group branched into banking from their mercantile operations (see *Banking).

East European Jews who settled mainly in large cities had few opportunities for rural peddling. Their commercial efforts were mainly urban. In the Middle West they were scrap metal merchants for the steel mills; throughout the United States they were petty shopkeepers when they did not follow proletarian occupations. The great majority of New York City's 25,000 pushcart peddlers in 1900 were Jews, as were half of its 4,000 meat retailers in 1888. The city's commercial life has been largely in Jewish hands to the present day. About 1920, only 3% of Los Angeles Jews were peddlers, but manufacturers, proprietors, and shopkeepers amounted to 20%. Jews were numerous in U.S. commerce, especially in such branches as import and export, department stores, general merchants in small cities, and after 1945 in inter-city chain and discount stores. The slow decline of small retail trade in the U.S. and the movement of Jews into white-collar occupations and the professions decreased the place of Jews in U.S. commerce, but roughly one-third of gainfully employed U.S. Jews still made their living in wholesale and retail trade.

[Lloyd P. Gartner]

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TRADITION (Heb. מָסֹרֶת). The term tradition derives from the Latin *tradere*, which means "to transmit" or "to give over." Generally, it refers to beliefs, doctrines, customs, ethical and moral standards, and cultural values and attitudes which are transmitted orally or by personal example. Under this designation, the process of transmission itself is also included. Theologically, in Judaism, tradition is the name applied to the unwritten code of law given by God to Moses on Mount Sinai.

Terms

Masoret is the general name for tradition. It is found in Ezekiel 20:37 and means originally "bond" or "fetter." Tradition is the discipline which establishes the correct practice and interpretation of the *Torah and was therefore regarded as a hedge or fetter about the Law (Avot 3:14). Since this knowledge was handed down by successive generations, it was also associated with the Hebrew word *masor*, denoting "to give over." In the talmudic literature, the term *masoret* is used to include all forms of tradition, both those which relate to the Bible and those which concern custom, law, historical events, folkways, and other subjects. Different kinds of traditions were given special names. Traditions which specified the vocalization, punctuation, spelling, and correct form of the biblical text were called **masorah*. Those legal traditions which were revealed to Moses at Mount Sinai and were later preserved in writing, were known as **Halakhah le-Moshe mi-Sinai* ("law given to Moses on Sinai"). A legal tradition which was handed down by word of mouth, but did not necessarily emanate from Sinai, was called *shemu'ah* ("a report"). Religious and general traditions which became binding as result of long observance by successive generations were termed **minhag* ("custom"). Prophetic traditions described in the books of the prophets and Hagiographa were known as *Divrei Kabbalah* ("words of tradition"). Esoteric and mystical traditions concerning God and the world transmitted to the elect and then passed down through the ages were called *Kabbalah, from *kibbel* ("to receive").

Origin

Many statutes were committed to writing by Moses. However, the vast majority of laws were handed down orally by him (see Written and Oral *Law). The Written Law did not always detail the manner and form of practice, giving rise of necessity to tradition. An instance of this kind is the law relating to fish which meet the biblical dietary requirements. Leviticus 11:9 states that a fish that has a fin and a scale in the water can be eaten. However, the minimum number of fins and scales that a fish must have to be ritually edible is not specified. The traditions relating to the Bible and Mishnah taught that a fish needs at least one fin and two scales to satisfy the biblical dietary requirements (see Arukh, s.v. *Akunos*). Similarly, the Bible commands that a paschal lamb be slaughtered on the 14th day of Nisan. There is no mention in the Bible as to whether it is permissible to perform this act if the 14th day of Nisan occurs on the Sabbath when the slaughtering of animals is forbidden. In the year 31 B.C.E., the 14th of Nisan fell on the Sabbath. The Sons of Bathyra, the heads of the high court, forgot the precedent previously established. Hillel, a then unknown Babylonian, volunteered the information that he had heard from Shemaiah and Avtalyon, the foremost teachers of the age, that it was permissible to slaughter the paschal lamb on the Sabbath. This reported tradition of Hillel's mentors was readily accepted (TJ, Pes. 6:1, 33a), and it is mentioned that because of this display of erudition with regard to tradition, Hillel was appointed *nasi*. Tradition was also the vehicle of transmission for the rules of interpretation, of the Written Law, such as the laws of *hermeneutics. Since it was impossible within the confines of writing to record all the laws and their applications in all situations, a medium was needed to preserve this information. Even today, with the availability of writing media, much of our culture is handed down orally. Tradition was the means whereby extant law was maintained and applied to life. Thus R. Joshua b. Levi declared that all teachings both of the Bible, Mishnah, Talmud, and *aggadah* and those that were initiated by veteran scholars were already given to Moses on Mount Sinai (see TJ, Pe'ah 2:6, 17a). Some traditions arose as a result of the common practice of the community. These practices were considered to emanate from eminent religious authorities and owed their binding character to having been handed down by previous generations, from father to son, a principle upheld by R. Johanan in the Talmud. The citizens of Beth-Shean complained to him that the custom of not going from Tyre to Sidon on the eve of the Sabbath was impossible for them to observe. R. Johanan replied, "Your fathers have already taken it (this custom) upon themselves" (Pes. 50b). As a result, this tradition could not be abrogated.

History

In rabbinic Judaism, tradition was binding and had the force of law. The divine revelation to Moses consisted of the Written Law and Oral Law with its implied exposition by the sages of Israel. *Berakhot* 5a tells that R. Levi b. Ḥama said in the name of R. Simeon b. Lakish: "What is the meaning of the verse, 'and I will give thee the tables of stone, and the law and the commandments, which I have written to teach them' [Ex. 24:12]. It means as follows: 'the tables of stone' are the Ten Commandments, 'the law' is the Pentateuch, 'the commandments' is the Mishnah, 'which I have written' are the prophets and the Hagiographa, 'to teach them' is the *Gemara*. This teaches us that all these things were given at Sinai." Originally, the Oral Law was handed down by word of mouth. When its transmission became difficult, it was set down in writing in the Mishnah and Talmud. The validity of the Oral Law was attacked by the *Sadducees, one of the early sects in Judaism. Josephus records that the Sadducees held that "only those observances are obligatory which are in the written word but that those which derived from the tradition of the forefathers need not be kept" (Ant. 13:297).

Talmudic Times

After the destruction of the Temple, the Sadducees disappeared. The body of tradition continued to grow as rites were introduced to replace the Temple ritual. *Megillah* 31b pictures the patriarch Abraham as concerned with how Israel could obtain forgiveness, once the Temple ceased to exist. God assures Abraham, "I have already ordained for them the order of the sacrifices. Every time that they read them, it is considered as if they offer up a sacrifice and I forgive them all their sins." After the destruction of the Temple, the system of public prayer was instituted to substitute for the Temple service. The liturgical traditions were handed down verbally, through the centuries, until they were compiled in the prayer book of Amram Gaon.

Medieval Times

At the end of the eighth century, rabbinic Judaism was again challenged by a new sect, the Karaites. They accepted the authority of the Bible but denied rabbinical tradition and law, which had developed further as the Mishnah and Talmud were elucidated and applied to life. Through its great exponents, Saadiah and Maimonides, rabbinic Judaism triumphed over the Karaites. The latter wrote his code of law, *Mishneh Torah* ("The Second Torah"), and showed the direct connection between the Written Law and its explanation in the Oral Law (Introd. Maim. Yad). As new situations arose, the talmudic, geonic, and post-geonic traditions were further amplified. They in turn were set down in writing in the responsa and codes. In the 16th century R. Joseph Caro produced his definitive code, the Shulḥan Arukh. With the addition of the glosses of R. Moses Isserles and later commentaries, it became the most comprehensive compendium of Jewish law and tradition to this day.

Modern Times

At the end of the 18th century rabbinic Judaism, which had maintained an unbroken chain of tradition from the days of Moses was again challenged. A *Reform movement began in Germany which sought to assimilate the Jews into the general culture by modifying Jewish traditions. Among the reforms instituted were sermons in the German vernacular, hymns and chorals in German, the use of the organ, and the confirmation of boys on the Feast of Pentecost instead of the traditional bar mitzvah. In the course of time, this movement established itself in America. Here it continued to propound its doctrine that Judaism was primarily a universalistic and moral religion. Only the moral law was binding. Ceremonial laws which could be adapted to the views of the modern environment were to be maintained. Other Mosaic and rabbinic laws which regulated diet, priestly purity, and dress could be discarded.

In reaction to the reformers' break with tradition, the *Conservative movement was formed in America. At the founding meeting of its congregational organization in 1913, it declared itself "a union of congregations for the promotion of traditional Judaism." Other aims were the furtherance of Sabbath observance and dietary laws, and the maintenance of the traditional liturgy with Hebrew as the language of prayer. As the complexion of American Jewry changed, the Conservative movement incorporated some Reform externals of worship such as family pews and the use of the organ in many congregations. However, it accepted the authority of rabbinic tradition, instituting changes advocated by its scholars, with regard for the attitude of the people and the place of the observance in Jewish tradition.

Transmitters of the Tradition

In rabbinic literature the chain of tradition is given as follows: Moses received the Torah on Sinai and delivered it to Joshua, who in turn delivered it to the elders, the elders to the prophets, and the prophets to the Men of the Great Synagogue

(Avot 1:1). According to rabbinic Judaism, the teaching of the great sages in every generation in keeping with the *halakhah* is binding (Deut. 17:88). Thus, the transmitters of tradition included the successors to the Men of the Great Synagogue down to modern times, namely: the scribes (*soferim*), the pairs (**zugot*), the *tannaim*, the *amoraim*, the *savoraim*, the *geonim*, the codifiers, the world famous Torah authorities of every era, and the *rashei ha-yeshivah* ("heads of the academies").

Significance

Tradition has given Judaism a continuity with its past and preserved its character as a unique faith with a distinct way of life. As the successor of rabbinic Judaism, Orthodoxy representing tradition harks back to the Sinaitic divine revelation and can only be changed within the framework of rabbinic law. In Conservative Judaism, tradition is a vital force capable of modification according to the historical evolution of Jewish law. Reform Judaism has recently displayed a greater appreciation of traditional practices but tradition remains voluntary in character (see **Masorah*).

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[Leon J. Yagod]

TRAGACANTH (Heb. נְכֹאת, *nekhot*). The identification of tragacanth with *nekhot* is attested by its Arabic name *Rathirā*'. It was included in spices carried by the caravan of Ishmaelites from Gilead on their journey to Egypt (Gen. 37:25), as well as in the gift sent by Jacob to the ruler of Egypt (43:11). It is the aromatic sap of a species of *Astragalus* which is called τραγακανδα in Greek. These are plants of the family Papilionaceae, short prickly shrubs which exude a sap when the roots or stalks are split open. Tens of species of *Astragalus* grow in Israel but these do not exude the *nekhot*. This is obtained from the species that grow in east Asia and the mountains of Syria and Lebanon. In former times it was used as incense but today it is used for medicinal purposes.

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[Jehuda Feliks]

°**TRAJAN (Traianus), MARCUS ULPIUS** (52/3–117), Roman emperor, ruled 98–117 C.E. In 114 C.E. Chosroes, king of Parthia, violated the arrangement between his country and Rome regarding Armenia. Trajan went to war immediately, conquered Armenia, and annexed it to his empire together with northern Mesopotamia, also including Adiabene. In 116 he captured Ctesiphon, the capital of the Parthians, and penetrated into Babylon. However, a violent uprising among the population of Mesopotamia in which the Jews of the country even earlier played an active role and the previous uprisings in Cyrenaica and Egypt (see below) compelled him to interrupt his campaign of conquest. Nothing definite is known about Trajan's attitude to the Jews. According to the papyrus *Alilot Kedoshei Alexandria* ("Deeds of the Martyrs of Alexandria"), Trajan and his wife Plotina preferred the Jews of Alexandria to its Greeks (see *Egypt). In 115, however, at the height of Trajan's war with the Parthians, a great revolt of Jews broke out in Cyrenaica that spread to Egypt and Cyprus the following year. Trajan ordered the disturbances put down with a strong hand. In the same year the revolt spread to Mesopotamia where it also involved the Jewish inhabitants of the country particularly. Trajan ordered Lusius *Quietus to subdue the Jews of Mesopotamia, and the order was carried out with savage cruelty. An allusion to this has been preserved in rabbinic literature which refers to the "war of Quietus" (Sot. 9:14 – according to the correct reading; *Seder Olam*), and also mentions the great destruction of Egyptian Jewry generally, and that of Alexandria in particular, with the crushing of the revolt (the destruction of its magnificent synagogue is ascribed to Trajan himself – TJ, Suk. 5:1, 55b).

There is an *aggadah* that Trajan attacked the Jews because, when his son was born on the Ninth of Av, the Jews were mourning, while on the death of another child which occurred on Ḥanukkah, they kindled lamps in joy (TJ, *ibid.*; Ta'an. 18b; Lam. R. 1:16 no. 45; et al.). Another *aggadah* states that before his death he decreed the death of *Pappus and Julianus in Laodicea. In rabbinic literature the name Trajan usually appears in a corrupt form: Trogianus, Tarkinus, etc.

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[Moshe David Herr]

TRAMER, MORITZ (1882–1963), pioneer of child psychiatry. Born in Czechoslovakia, Tramer began his career as an engineer and mathematician and is the coauthor of a textbook of higher mathematics for engineers, *Differential- und Integralrechnung* (1913). He then studied medicine and specialized in psychiatry. From 1924 to 1946 he was medical director of the Psychiatric Hospital in the Canton of Solothurn, Switzerland, and initiated the establishment in 1924 of the Observation Center "Gotthelf Haus" for emotionally disturbed children. He lectured on child and adolescent psychiatry at Berne University and in 1951 founded the Swiss Institute of Research and Information on Child Psychiatry. The designation of the specialty as "child psychiatry" owes its existence to Tramer. He was also the advocate of its recognition as a medical specialty in Switzerland in 1953.

Tramer was a prominent figure in national and international professional organizations and published numerous articles. His books include the monumental textbook *Lehrbuch der allgemeinen Kinderpsychiatrie* (1942, 1964^{4}) and the well-known monograph *Allgemeine Psychohygiene* (1960s). He was the founder and editor of the first journal of child psychiatry in 1934 later known as *Acta Paedopsychiatrica* which is the official organ of the International Association for Child Psychiatry and Allied Professions.

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[Alexander Meijer]

TRANI, seaport in Apulia, S. Italy. In the 12th century, when the town had become a port of embarkation for Crusaders and an important center of Eastern trade, it contained a flourishing Jewish community. When *Benjamin of Tudela visited Trani around 1159 he found 200 Jewish families there. Recognizing their economic usefulness the Norman kings in the 12th century and Emperor Frederick II in the first half of the 13th century granted the Jews a measure of protection. Thanks to this royal patronage they were given the right to control and distribute all the raw silk in Apulia and Calabria. Under Angevin rule toward the end of the 13th century, the position of the Jews deteriorated and they were subjected to severe persecution, fomented by Dominican friars. The houses in the Jewish quarter were repeatedly sacked; *blood libels were frequently raised against the heavily taxed Jews and a growing number was forced into baptism, causing heavy losses to the community. In 1290 four synagogues were converted into churches; two of them still stand. The position did not improve in the next century and many Jewish families left the town. In 1382 other synagogues were turned into churches and the Jewish cemetery was confiscated by the friars. In 1413, when King Ladislas of Naples issued certain dispositions regarding the communal administration of the city of Trani, he decreed that the community (universitas) would have the right to elect a governing body of 16 representatives consisting of 8 nobles, 6 commoners, and *Neofiti (baptized Jews). In all probability the need for this provision arose from the continuing existence of a convert population that retained a separate identity. In 1443 Trani still had 870 families of *Neofiti, and all the commercial activities of the town were said to be concentrated in their hands. After the 1492 expulsions from the Spanish kingdoms and Sicily, many exiles settled in Trani. Jews and Neofiti were expelled from Trani in 1510–11, along with the rest of the Jews in southern Italy. Sporadic persecutions of Neofiti continued for some time. The medieval Jewish settlement is still commemorated by street names such as Vicolo Giudecca, Via Scolanova, and Via la Giudea (renamed Via Mose (di Isaiah) di Trani).

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[Arial Toaff / Nadia Zeldes (2nd ed.)]

TRANI, JOSEPH BEN MOSES (1568–1639), rabbi and halakhist. Trani, known as the "**Maharit**" (**M**orenu **ha-R**av Joseph **T**rani), was born in Safed, the youngest son of Moses b. Joseph *Trani. Joseph, 12 years old when his father died, was taken into the home of Solomon *Sagis, a Safed scholar, and became his pupil. In 1587, when Sagis died, Trani went to Egypt, where he attracted many pupils. After a short time he returned to Safed where he founded and taught in a yeshivah. Following the outbreak of a plague in Safed (1594), he went to Jerusalem, where he did research on the design and plan of the Temple. The resulting work, *Ẓurat ha-Bayit*, was lost, but many fragments and quotations from it have been preserved in *Derekh ha-Kodesh* by Ḥayyim *Alfandari (published in *Maggid mi-Reshit*, Constantinople, 1710). After some time Trani returned to Safed, where – as his father before him – he headed the Sephardi community. In 1599 he was sent by the Safed community to Constantinople, and in 1604 took up permanent residence there. Trani headed a large yeshivah in Constantinople which became a center of Torah for all Turkish Jewry and produced many of the great Turkish rabbis of the 17th century, including Ḥayyim b. Israel *Benveniste. Trani was eventually elected chief rabbi of Turkey, in which office he introduced *takkanot*, established societies, and became renowned for his many charitable acts. However, he took a severe attitude toward the *Karaites, who came under his authority according to the law.

In addition to *Ẓurat ha-Bayit*, the following works by Joseph have been published: Talmud novellae on the tractates of *Shabbat, Ketubbot*, and *Kiddushin* (Venice, 1645); *Ẓafenat Pane'aḥ* (*ibid.*, 1648), sermons; and responsa (Constantine, 1641; Venice, 1645). Most of his works, which encompassed all branches of Torah, have been lost, among them a supercommentary on Elijah *Mizraḥi's commentary on the Pentateuch and an abridgment of the *Arukh* of *Nathan b. Jehiel of Rome.

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[Ephraim Kupfer]

TRANI, MOSES BEN JOSEPH (Heb. acronym **Ha-Ma-bit**; 1500–1580), rabbi. His father emigrated from Italy to Salonika, where Moses was born, but the family was of Spanish origin. Orphaned at an early age, Moses went to Adrianople to live with his uncle Aaron, studying with him as well as at the yeshivah of R. Joseph Fasi. He later proceeded to Safed where he studied under Jacob *Berab, and was one of the four scholars ordained by him in his attempt to reintroduce ordination (**semikhah*). In 1525 Moses was appointed *marbiẓ Torah* of the

Bet Ya'akov congregation. In 1535 he visited Jerusalem. Moses devoted himself to a considerable extent to the agricultural laws which obtained in Ereẓ Israel, and in a *Sabbatical Year exempted from tithes produce that had grown in land belonging to a gentile, even though it had been stored by a Jew. This decision was disputed by Joseph *Caro and other Safed scholars. There were also spirited controversies between him and Caro on other matters. For some time he stayed in Damascus (1565). Moses was active as rabbi and *dayyan* for 54 years, but it was only after the death of Joseph Caro that he was appointed spiritual head of the whole community of Safed. Moses had two sons: Solomon, who was rabbi in Egypt, and Joseph *Trani (from his second marriage), who was rabbi in Safed and in Constantinople.

Moses' works are *Kiryat Sefer* on Maimonides (Venice, 1551); *Beit Elohim*, a moral and philosophical work with a commentary to **Perek Shirah* (Venice, 1576; Warsaw, 1872); *Iggeret Derekh ha-Shem*, a moral work (Venice, 1553); responsa (2 pts., Venice, 1629–30; Lvov, 1861).

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[Hirsch Jacob Zimmels]

TRANSJORDAN (Heb. עֵבֶר הַיַּרְדֵּן). Geographically, Transjordan includes the area east of the Jordan River, extending from the sources of the Jordan near the *Hermon to the *Dead Sea. However, the area north of the Yarmuk River (the Golan and Bashan) are regarded as a separate entity, while the area east of the Dead Sea and the *Arabah, down to the Red Sea, is included in the region of Transjordan.

In its geographical configuration, Transjordan is composed of a series of three regions running from north to south: the eastern *Jordan Valley; the slopes descending to the valley, which face westward and are well provided with rainfall; and the mountains which slope gently eastward and merge with the desert steppe. The settled part of this area covers 6,840 sq. mi. (17,500 sq. km.), of which the Jordan-Dead Sea depression comprises 215 sq. mi. (550 sq. km.), the mountain and hill region 2,617 sq. mi. (6,700 sq. km.), the high plateau 2,051 sq. mi. (5,250 sq. km.), and the sandy southern regions approximately 1,953 sq. mi. (c. 5,000 sq. km.). Politically, in the Hashemite Kingdom of *Jordan, the region of Transjordan is considered to include 28,320 sq. mi. (72,500 sq. km.) of steppe and desert in a broad strip joining Iraq and dividing *Syria from *Saudi-Arabia.

The settled area is cut by confluents of the Jordan flowing from east to west, and by rivers emptying into the Dead Sea: the Yarmuk, forming the northern boundary of the region; the Jabbok, separating Gilead from Ammon and the Peraea; the Nimrīn, usually the northern boundary of Moab; the Arnon, at certain times the boundary of Moab; the Zered, separating Moab from Edom and the mountains of Seir. The mountain range parallel to the Jordan on the east varies in height: in the ʿAjlūn (Gilead), Tell ʿIbbīn is 3,940 ft. (1,182 m.) high, Umm al-Daraj is 4,203 ft. (1,261 m.) high, and Qalʿat Ilyās is 3,640 ft. (1,092 m.) high. South of the Jabbok, Nabī Yūshaʿ reaches to 3,710 ft. (1,113 m.) and Mount Nebo to 2,650 ft. (795 m.); south of the Arnon, Jebel Sīhān is 3,550 ft. (1,065 m.) high and Jebel al-Ḥasā' is 113 ft. (1,234 m.) high; the mountains of Seir reach to 5,776 ft. (1,733 m.). The greatest rainfall is in the ʿAjlūn (c. 27½ in.; 700 mm.) and in the mountains of Seir (c. 15¾ in.; 400 mm.). Most of the cultivable area receives about 8 in. (200 mm.) annually, with a rainfall of about 3 in. (80 mm.) in the desert. The mountains of Gilead are still wooded; in antiquity the area was much more thickly afforested, as is borne out by the story of Absalom. There is evidence that a large area under cultivation extended eastward. Iron was mined near Jerash and copper in the Arabah (see *Punon).

History

Paleolithic and Mesolithic remains, the earliest traces of occupation in Transjordan, have been found in the mountains of Seir and in Wadi Nimrīn. A pre-ceramic Neolithic settlement was discovered at al-Bayḍā', southeast of the Dead Sea. Megalithic constructions were found at Alfa Safat and al-ʿUdayma in the Jordan Valley. Near the latter site is Tulaylāt al-Ghassūl, a Chalcolithic site of great importance, which gave its name to the Ghassulian culture. From the Early Bronze Age onward, a certain pattern of occupation can be noticed, mainly in the southern part of Transjordan, as a result of the archaeological survey undertaken by N. Glueck: periods of settlement varied with periods in which the area was abandoned to nomads.

The first period of settlement lasted from approximately the 23rd to the 19th century B.C.E. According to biblical tradition, the early populations included the Zuzims at Ham in northern Gilead, the Emims in Moab, and the Horites in Mount Seir (Gen. 14:5–6). Possibly as a result of the invasion described in this chapter, there was a decline in the settlement of Transjordan from the 19th to approximately the 14th century B.C.E. Egyptian texts do not mention any cities in Transjordan within this span of time, except for those in the Jordan Valley proper: Pehel (Pella; Execration Texts, Thutmosis III and Seti I), and perhaps Zaphon (Tell el-Amarna letters), Zarethan (Execration Texts), and Kiriath Anab (Tell al-Shihāb on the Yarmuk; Seti I, Papyrus Anastasi I). Only in the 13th century, in inscriptions of Ramses II, are cities in Moab, including Dibon, mentioned for the first time. The biblical definition of the Egyptian province of *Canaan (Num. 34) definitely excludes Transjordan, which was left to the Shasu nomads.

About a century before the Exodus, Transjordan was settled again by the Ammonites, Moabites, and Edomites, who formed a strong chain of kingdoms, with extensive areas under cultivation and a system of efficient border fortresses. Probably in the early 13th century, Moab was attacked from the north by Sihon, the Amorite king of Heshbon, who wrested the area north of the Arnon from it. The Israelites, coming from the wilderness, found it extremely difficult to cross Transjordan;

finally they passed east of the settled area of Moab and Edom; their victory over Sihon gave them the entire Jordan Valley, the Gilead, and part of Moab. This area was allotted to the tribes of Reuben (from the Arnon to the Nimrīn Valley), Gad (from southern Gilead to the Jabbok and the Jordan Valley), and half of Manasseh (from the Jabbok northward).

In the period of the Judges these tribes were subjected to the kings of Ammon and Moab, until David eventually conquered all of Transjordan down to the Red Sea. In the time of Solomon, Israelite-controlled Transjordan was organized into the three districts of Ramoth-Gilead, Mahanaim, and southern Gilead (Gad?; I Kings 4:13–14, 19). After the division of the kingdom, Ammon and Moab fell to Israel and Edom to Judah, but all three soon regained their independence. As is known from the *Mesha stele, Moab was reconquered by Omri; it revolted against Israel in the time of Ahab, finally gaining its independence in the days of Joram, the last of the Omrid kings (851–842 B.C.E.; cf. II Kings 3). In later times Israel never succeeded in subduing Moab, which under Mesha had enlarged its boundaries to the edge of the Jordan Valley. However, the kings of Judah succeeded in ruling large parts of Edom in the ninth century during the days of Jehoshaphat and Jehoram, and again in the eighth century in the days of Amaziah and Uzziah.

With the eighth century B.C.E., the settled area of Transjordan began once more to shrink, a process which lasted until the Hellenistic period. The Assyrian king Tiglath-Pileser III deported part of the Israelite population from Gilead in 732 B.C.E. The Ammonites maintained their independence, and the Edomites threw off Judean rule in the time of Ahaz (743–727 B.C.E.). After the fall of Jerusalem and the deportation of its population by Nebuchadnezzar in 586 B.C.E., the Edomites moved into southern Judea and their place was gradually taken over by the Nabateans, a people known for outstanding achievements in agriculture, architecture, and art. Their kingdom was composed of sections of Transjordan, Palestine, and Syria, and Petra was their capital (fourth century B.C.E.). In the Persian period, Ammon was ruled by the Jewish family of *Tobiads, whose roots in Gilead dated back to the time of the Israelite monarchy.

In Hellenistic times, a new period of prosperity began for Transjordan, lasting until the Arab conquest. The Ptolemies or Seleucids founded a number of cities in the northern part: Gadara and Abila to the north, followed by Pella and Gerasa. Rabbath-Ammon became the city of Philadelphia and was separated from the area of the Tobiads, who ruled the region populated by Jews between Philadelphia and the Jordan (the Peraea). Transjordan passed temporarily from Ptolemaic to Seleucid rule in 218 B.C.E. and permanently in 198 B.C.E. In the course of Hasmonean expansion, large areas of Transjordan were conquered by Jonathan (the Peraea), John Hyrcanus (Madaba and Heshbon), and Alexander Yannai (Moab to the Zered, Gerasa, Pella, and Gadara). In 63 B.C.E. Pompey restored the autonomy of the Greek cities, leaving only Peraea to the Jews. In order to strengthen the Greek element under Roman rule, he formed the Decapolis league, which included Philadelphia. For a time, Herod ruled Gadara, which was restored to Syria after his death. In the First Jewish War, the Peraea was conquered by the Romans (68 C.E.), but its Jewish population remained. In 97 the city of Capitolias was founded at Belt al-Rās near Pella. In 106 Trajan annexed the Nabatean kingdom; the cities of Madaba, Esbus (Heshbon), Areopolis (Rabbath-Moab), Charachmoba, and Petra became part of the new province of Arabia, into which Philadelphia and Gerasa were incorporated. The cities of the area reached a height of prosperity in the second century C.E. under the Antonines, due to a new paved road (the Via Nova) running from Elath (Aila) to Bostra throughout the length of Transjordan.

Christianity gained an early foothold in Transjordan, when the Jerusalem community moved to Pella in 70 C.E. In the Byzantine period southern Transjordan was attached to Palaestina III, the rest to Arabia. Churches and monasteries were built in all the large cities and the bishops took part in church councils. In the last centuries of Byzantine rule, Arab influences in the area were marked. The first battle between the Arabs and the Byzantines took place in 629, still in the lifetime of the prophet *Muhammad, in Transjordan (in Mu'ta, near Karak). The final Arab conquest was effected in several stages: southern Transjordan was taken in 630, the mountains of Seir and Moab in 634, and the rest of the region in 635. With the battle on the Yarmuk in 636, Arab rule in the area was established. In the early Arab period, the area up to Jerash was attached to the Jund al-Urdunn; central Transjordan, including Amman, to the Jund Filasṭīn; and the northern part to the Jund Dimashq (*Damascus). Under Arab rule the northern part of Transjordan together with northern Palestine constituted an administrative unit called Jund al-Urdun, with Tiberias as its capital. Central and southern Transjordan, with the equivalent parts west of the river Jordan, became Jund Filasṭīn, administered from Ramleh. The Arab period marked the beginning of a new decline in the population, which became pronounced for centuries after the Crusades (13th to 19th centuries). In the Crusades period, the Jordan Valley, part of the ʿAjlūn, and the mountains of Karak and Shawbak down to the Red Sea were combined into a principality known as Terre D'Outre Jourdain. As the Crusaders, and especially the rulers of the fortress of Montreal (Shawbak), threatened the pilgrims' route to Mecca and even the holy cities themselves, Saladin attacked and reduced the Crusader fortresses before the battle of Ḥiṭṭin. Under *Mamluk rule Transjordan was divided between Mamlakat Dimashq (the districts (*aʿmāl*) of ʿAjlūn and al-Balqāʾ) and Mamlakat al-Karak, which included Maʿān, Shawbak, Zughar (Zoar), and Karak. In the time of Baybars it was ruled by the last descendant of the *Ayyubid dynasty. In Ottoman times the population of Transjordan reached its lowest level and most of Transjordan was left to the Bedouin, although the sultans kept up a semblance of administration in the western areas. Most of the region was part of the *vilayet* of Damascus, divided into the Sanjak of Ḥawrān (to the Jabbok), the Sanjak of Nablus, which occasionally included the Balqāʾ,

and the Sanjak of al-Karak. The southern sections, Maʿan and Aqaba, were part of the *vilayet* of Hijaz. However, Ottoman rule was nominal most of the time. Transjordan was regarded as the backyard of Syria and Palestine and concerned the Ottomans only during the annual pilgrimage, as the main Hajj caravan from Damascus had to cross it en route to *Medina. Only in the second half of the 19th century, after the short-lived Egyptian occupation (1831–40) and during the reform period (Tanzimat), under *Abdul-Ḥamid II, was resettlement begun. The Ottomans had extended their direct rule over Transjordan. Karak, the capital of its namesake sanjak, was the major city in the area and the jurisdiction of its governor stretched over most of sedentary Transjordan. Local population increased when Circassian refugees from Russian-occupied Caucasus were encouraged by the Ottomans (in 1861–64, and later after the Turkish-Russian war of 1877–78) to migrate to Palestine and Transjordan. In the latter they settled in and around Amman, Zarqa, and Jarash. The 19th century also witnessed growing European interest in Transjordan, mainly for archeological and historical reasons – in 1812 Burckhardt discovered Petra and in 1806 Seetzen discovered Jarash. In the second half of the 19th century the interest of the Palestine Exploration Fund as well as of Christian churches and missions in Transjordan yielded, inter alia, the discovery of the *Mesha stele and the *Madaba mosaic map. In 1900–08 the Ottomans built the Hijazi railroad from Damascus to Medina. About one third of the 1,200 km. line passed through Transjordan, bringing it closer to the administrative centers of Damascus and *Istanbul, yet also triggering several rebellions in Karak.

For modern period after 1914, see also *Israel; *Jordan.

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[Michael Avi-Yonah / Joseph Nevo (2nd ed.)]

TRANSLATION AND TRANSLATORS (**Medieval**). The earliest Jewish translations, apart from possible examples in the Bible, are the Greek version of the Pentateuch and, later, other books of the Bible, which were made to fill a need in the Greek-speaking Jewish community of Alexandria and other places that no longer understood the original Hebrew. Similarly, the Aramaic vernacular of Jewish settlements in Palestine and other parts of southwestern Asia explain the development of Aramaic versions of the Bible.

In the 10th century *Ḥisdai ibn Shaprut was one of the main translators of Dioscorides' work from Greek to Arabic in the court of Cordoba. During the 12th and 13th century Toledo was a very notable center of translations and the Jews played an important role in this enterprise. In the middle of the 12th century the archbishop of Toledo, Don Raimundo de la Sauvetat (1124–52), promoted the translation of Arabic philosophical works from Arabic through the Romance versions into Latin. The Jew Avendauth worked together with the Christian Gundisalvus, translating, for instance, the *De Anima* of Avicenna and Ibn Gabirol's *Fons Vitae.* One century later, King Alfonso the Sage relied on Jewish translators to get Romance versions of many scientific works. Among them, Judah ben Moses ha-Kohen, Isaac ibn Sa'id, the Alfaquim Don Abraham (Ibn Shoshan?), Samuel ha-Levi Abulafiah, and Don Moses Alfaquí, translated important astronomic and astrologic treatises.

The many translations into Hebrew which began to appear in Western Europe early in the 12th century can be attributed to several factors, among which the spread of Judeo-Islamic culture was of central importance. Cultured and scholarly men from Islamic Spain began to travel to Christian lands. Abraham Ibn Ezra, for example, traveled to Italy, France, and England, and supported himself by writing Hebrew grammars, translations, and biblical commentaries commissioned by Jewish communities. These works undoubtedly stimulated interest in the new approaches to language and learning and reflected the cultural richness of Spain. In consequence of religious persecutions and other disturbances in the Iberian Peninsula during the 12th century, some Jewish families emigrated to southern France or northern Italy, and spread something of the learning and achievements of their native land in their new homes. Works written in Hebrew, moreover, stimulated a desire for additional works in that language. In addition, the general cultural awakening in Western Europe during the 12th century affected the Jews, encouraging them to the further acquisition of knowledge. Without question, at the end of the 12th century, Maimonides' Hebrew code of Jewish law *Mishneh Torah* excited scholars in France and Italy, so that they avidly sought everything the master produced, translating it from Arabic into Hebrew.

No discernible pattern governed the books that were translated into Hebrew. Apparently, books were often translated on the request of a patron, or a scholar would select a book to translate for his own reasons. However, besides the large number of such unclassifiable translations, activity was concentrated in the fields of philosophy, mathematics, medicine, and other sciences. Generally, translators explained their undertakings as being in response to a special request. Judah ibn *Tibbon relates in the introduction to his Hebrew version of Baḥya ibn Paquda's *Ḥovot ha-Levavot* (*Duties of the Heart*) that Meshullam b. Jacob, whom he praises as an adept in both religious and secular studies, urged him to prepare a translation of the Arabic work. Similarly, Judah *Al-Ḥarizi states that he translated Maimonides' *Moreh Nevukhim* (*Guide of the Perplexed*) at the invitation of some Provençal scholars. There are many other examples of requests urging the translation of a work, yet there is no information about remuneration, although the translators presumably received some payment from those who requested the work. Perhaps a community assumed some obligation for payment, especially if the persons interested in the translation were influential members in it. While it is reasonable to assume this of professional translators, like the Tibbonids or al-Ḥarizi, it is probable that other translators were impelled by a personal interest in the work and a desire to bring it to the attention of their fellow Jews.

There was considerable complaint about the neglect of Hebrew and the employment of Arabic. Writers occasionally pointed out the difference between Jews who lived under Islamic domination and Jews who resided in Christian lands. It was not the use of the vernacular Arabic which vexed them, because it was taken for granted that for social intercourse the language of the land was the proper vehicle. But in view of the fact that Jews in Christian countries utilized Hebrew in their literary productions, Jewish writers in Islamic countries justified their use of Arabic by claiming that the subjects they dealt with – subjects not cultivated by Italian and French Jews – required a vocabulary which Hebrew did not possess and which Arabic possessed in abundance. Moses ha-Kohen *Gikatilla, who supplied a Hebrew translation of the grammatical studies of Ḥayyūj, explains that grammarians were compelled to write in Arabic "because it is the current speech of a victorious people, and it is explicit while Hebrew is vague; clear and plain whereas Hebrew is ambiguous; and it is proper to elucidate the unknown by the known and the vague by the explicit." Judah ibn Tibbon presents a brief historical survey of the course of development: "Afterward most of the *geonim* lived in the Diaspora of the Muslim Empire, Iraq, Ereẓ Israel and Iran, and spoke Arabic, and all the Jewish communities in those areas spoke that tongue. Most of their interpretations of biblical and mishnaic and talmudic books were in Arabic, as also most of their compilations and responsa in answer to inquiries made of them. All the people understood it. Moreover it is a rich language, fully adequate for every theme and every need of orator or author; straight and clear rhetoric, to express the essence of every subject more than is possible in Hebrew." Notwithstanding the conceded advantages of Arabic over Hebrew, Jews adhered to the tradition that Hebrew was the divine tongue, the first to serve mankind. But the exile and the tribulations which Jews suffered had caused the loss of a significant portion of Hebrew vocabulary, since the Bible was the only record preserved.

In view of the difference in the richness of the two languages, the role of translator imposed certain duties, the main being the coinage of words and phrases in Hebrew according to need. For translating philosophical, scientific, or medical works new technical words had to be created in Hebrew. It was also necessary to decide what method to pursue in this process. Ordinarily translation is in large measure interpretation, and the function of the translator is to transmit in the new medium the sense of the original. Before Samuel ibn Tibbon translated the *Guide of the Perplexed* into Hebrew, he asked Maimonides for suggestions. The latter offered the following instructions: a translator must first understand the content, and narrate and explain that content in the language in which he is working. He will not escape changing the order of words, or transmitting phrases in single words, or eliminating vocables, or adding them, so that the work is well ordered and expounded, and the language of the translator will follow the principles governing that language. Despite this very sensible advice, Samuel ibn Tibbon's translation of the *Guide*, and his father's version of other works, give the impression of excessive faithfulness to the original. Yet this did not prove contrary to Maimonides' demands, inasmuch as he expressed his gratitude for the accomplishment of his translator. In fact, the style developed by father and son, with strong Arabic influence in its morphology, syntax, and vocabulary, became the standard for subsequent efforts in this field (Goshen-Gottstein). Other ways of translating, searching for a pure, more literary biblical language and avoiding the numerous neologisms, was undertaken also by other Jewish scholars like Judah Al-Ḥarizi, who translated Maimonides' *Guide* in a completely different way not long after the Tibbonid translation. But the method of the ibn Tibbon family was taken as a model for the future, while Al-Ḥarizi's translation was quickly forgotten.

When the full mastery of Arabic was lacking, books were translated from Arabic to Latin by way of the Hebrew version, and occasionally Hebrew translations were made from the Latin rather than from the original Arabic. Although thorough knowledge of both tongues was theoretically necessary – to appreciate the nuances and fathom the true meaning of the original, and to render it authentically and idiomatically – in practice this was unfortunately rarely the case. Translators, even if they were qualified to produce the ideal version, were so concerned about remaining faithful to the original Arabic that they frequently violated Hebrew syntax or sentence structure, and disregarded simple rules of gender and number. Nevertheless, translators contributed greatly to the enrichment of Hebrew, adding a large scientific and philosophic vocabulary. The means utilized to expand the vocabulary were forming new words from existing roots, creating additional noun patterns, making derivations from verbal stems, or forming verbs from nouns. Occasionally a new meaning was attached to an existing term, parallel to the course followed in the coinage of the Arabic terminology. In addition, a number of words were borrowed from Arabic, and they were generally adjusted to the morphological requirements of Hebrew. It should also be kept in mind that the philosophic and scientific style introduced by the translators became the standard, so that men who composed in Hebrew followed the patterns adopted from Arabic.

Translators were not always familiar with the subject of the work they were rendering. Occasionally criticism would be voiced about translators who offered to work without adequate knowledge of the field involved. However, on the whole, translators were usually conscious of their obligations, and succeeded in transmitting authentic versions of the originals. Even in more popular literature, where greater freedom could be taken since in popular works eloquence was frequently a major quality, the Hebrew version, although it may read like an original, will still be a correct rendering. Abraham ibn Ḥasdai's **Ben ha-Melekh ve-ha-Nazir*, a beautiful Jewish book in Hebrew, is unmistakably a rendering of *Barlaam and Josaphat*. Other popular works translated into Hebrew were **Kalila and Dimna* and *Sinbad the Sailor*. In this genre, and, for that matter, in some of the more serious compositions, like Ibn Gabirol's *Improvement of the Qualities of the Soul*, translators often substituted Jewish personalities and references for foreign ones, and even replaced Arabic verses with Jewish equivalents.

Translators generally approached their task with deep humility. Statements of inadequacy and confessions of ignorance, which should have kept them from the undertaking, are often found in translators' introductions to their works. Although some of these expressions were undoubtedly *pro forma*, many others represent expressions of genuine trepidation with which translators assumed the charge. Samuel b. Judah of Marseilles, who translated Aristotle's *Ethics*, admits openly and sincerely his insufficient acquaintance with the subject and expresses the hope of studying it in depth to improve his rendering. Judah b. Nathan, who prepared a Hebrew version of Ghazalī's *The Intentions of the Philosopher*, frankly describes his inadequate command of the language and the subject. Yet the results are by and large highly commendable.

Our main source of information about Hebrew translations is still the monumental work of M. Steinschneider, *Die hebraeischen Uebersetzungen des Mittelalters und die Juden als Dolmetscher* (1893, repr. 1956). The following is a survey of medieval Hebrew translations of Arabic and Latin works. It begins with philosophy, and in this field *Aristotle was far and away the outstanding representative of Greek thought among Muslim and Jewish thinkers. The latter, who were mostly unfamiliar with Greek, knew him only through the Arabic. Two Muslim philosophers are extremely important for their influence on their Jewish counterparts: Abu al-Naṣr Muhammad al-*Fārābi (c. 870–950), known as "the second teacher" (Aristotle was the first), and Abu al-Walīd Muhammad ibn Rushd (*Averroes; 1126–1198). The Jewish philosophers knew the views of the Greek master through the commentaries of these two.

The Muslim thinkers, and Maimonides among the Jews, knew of a compendium of the entire Organon; but in Hebrew translation, only some parts are to be found: (1) Porphyry's *Isagoge* was called *Kiẓẓur mi-Kol Melekhet ha-Higgayon* by its translator Moses b. Samuel ibn Tibbon. A fragment of another version of their Introduction to logic is also extant; (2) *Categoriae Sifrei Ma'amarot*, in two renderings; (3) *Hermeneutica*, in two Hebrew translations, both known to Abraham Avigdor in his commentary on Averroes; (4) *Syllogisms*, also in two translations, and an abridgment by Jacob Anatoli; (5) *Analytica Posteriora – Ma'amar bi-Tena'ei ha-Hekkesh ha-Mofet*, anonymous; (6) *Topica – Ommanut ha-Nissu'aḥ*, in two translations, both anonymous. All of these works in logic are in al-Fārābi's version.

Averroes studied Aristotle's works in three ways: (1) Summaries of the latter's teachings which he himself called Al-Jawāmi ʿal-Sighār (the brief compendia; in Heb. *Kiẓẓur*). (2) The *Middle Commentaries*, which Averroes named Talkhiṣ – *Be'ur* or *Perush*; the Hebrew renderings do not indicate in each work whether it is from this body, or from the next one. (3) The *Great Commentaries*. In these Aristotle's text is offered in sections, followed in every case by a detailed commentary. In the ensuing list 1 = *The Compendium*, 2 = *The Middle Commentary*, 3 = *The Great Commentary*. I. Logic. (1a) *Kol Melekhet ha-Higgayon le-Aristoteles mi-Kiẓẓurei ibn Rushd* by Jacob b. Inaktur, Nov. 10, 1189. (1b) *Kiẓẓur Higgayon* by Samuel b. Judah of Marseilles, December 1329. He explains in his introduction that he undertook it only because the previous one was a poor performance. (2a) by Jacob b. Abba Mari Anatoli, March 1232. (2b) *Nissu'aḥ ve-Hata'ah* by Kalonymus b. Kalonymus, Arles, 1313. (2c) *Halaẓah ve-Shir* by Todros Todrosi, Arles, 1337. (3) *Ha-Mofet* by Kalonymus b. Kalonymus, December 1314.

II. A. Physics. (1) *Ha-Shema ha-Tivi* by Moses ibn Tibbon. (2a) *Ha-Shema* by Zerahiah Ḥen of Barcelona, in Rome, 1284. It is in eight sections (*ma'amarim*), divided into principles (*kelalim*), and these into chapters (*perakim*). (2b) *Ha-Shema* by Kalonymus b. Kalonymus, Arles, 1316. (3) *Ha-Shema* by Kalonymus b. Kalonymus. It seems that another version was prepared by Moses b. Solomon.

B. *Sefer ha-Shamayim* (1) Themistius' paraphrase, by Zerahiah Ḥen, Rome, 1284. Averroes' *Kelalei ha-Shamayim veha-Olam* was done by Moses ibn Tibbon. (2) by Solomon b. Joseph ibn Ayyūb of Granada, in Béziers, 1259.

C. (1) *Ha-Havayah ve-ha-Hefsed*, by Moses ibn Tibbon, 1250. (2) by Zerahiah Ḥen, Rome, 1284. Also by Kalonymus b. Kalonymus, October 1316.

D. *Al-Āthār al-ʿAlawiyya* on meteorology. (1) *Otot ha-Shamayim* by Samuel ibn Tibbon, 1210. A work by Averroes: *Otot Elyonot* was translated into Hebrew by Moses ibn Tibbon. (2) *Be'ur Sefer ha-Otot ha-Elyonot* by Kalonymus b. Kalonymus, Arles, 1316.

E. *Ha-Ẓemaḥim* 1–2 by Shem Tov ibn Falaquera, and Kalonymus b. Kalonymus, who did Averroes' commentary, April 1314.

F. *Sefer Ba'alei-Ḥayyim*, consisting of *de Natura Animalium, de Partibus* and *de Generatione*. The last two were translated by Jacob b. Machir ibn Tibbon, December 1302.

G. *On the Soul*, translated by Zerahiah Ḥen in Rome, 1284. Averroes' treatment (1) *Kelalei Sefer ha-Nefesh*, by Moses ibn Tibbon, 1244. (2a) by Shem Tov b. Isaac of Tortosa. (2b) *Be'ur Sefer ha-Nefesh* by Moses ibn Tibbon, April 1261. (3) Of the *Great Commentary* no Hebrew translation is known, but it was used by Shem Tov Falaquera and was commented on by Joseph b. Shem Tov. It is also pertinent to mention the treatise of Alexander of Aphrodisias, which in Hebrew is *Ma'amar Nefesh*, translated by Samuel b. Judah of Marseilles in Murcia, November 1323.

H. Of the *Parva Naturalia*, consisting of *de Sensu et Sensato, de Memoria, de Somno*, and *de Berevitate Vitae*, only the first was translated as *Ha-Ḥush ve-ha Muḥash* by Moses ibn Tibbon, July 1314, in Montpellier.

Metaphysics. Al-Fārābī's introduction *Kitāb fī Aghrāḍ Aristo fī Kitāb mā baʿd al-Tabīʿa* was rendered anonymously in Hebrew under the title: *Be-Khavvanot Aristo be-Sifro Mah she-Akhar ha-Teva*. Books alpha–lambda were done from the Latin by Baruch b. Yaʿish for Samuel Sarfati about 1485. Of Averroes' treatment, one was presented in Hebrew by Moses ibn Tibbon in May 1258, a second by Zerahiah Ḥen, 1284, in Rome and also by Kalonymus b. Kalonymus in May 1317. The third is by Moses b. Solomon of Salon in Beaucaire, 1310–20, of which only Hebrew fragments survive. Themistius' paraphrase of Book Lambda (12) was translated by Moses ibn Tibbon. *De Anima* plus Averroes' commentary was explained, and possibly translated by Moses Narboni under the title *Efsharut ha-Devekut ba-Sekhel ha-Poʿel*. Three treatises on the same theme were translated into Hebrew by Samuel ibn Tibbon. Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics* were rendered in Hebrew from the Latin by Don Meir b. Solomon Alguadez, Averroes' middle commentary in Hebrew by Samuel b. Judah of Marseilles, February 1321.

His *Politics* were never translated into Arabic, although its existence was known as the practical application of the principle in the *Ethics* to the conduct of the state, but it is Plato's *Republic* which was available in Arabic under the title *Kitāb al-Siyāsa* and was translated into Hebrew by Samuel b. Judah of Marseilles in 1320–22.

Of Aristotle's *Economica*, a Hebrew version from the Arabic was prepared by David b. Solomon of Seville (1373?), and probably from the Latin by Leon Aretino. The latter carries an *Introduction* by an otherwise unknown Abraham ibn Tibbon. Several pseudo-Aristotelian works circulated in Hebrew, generally via Arabic. Of these, *Problemata* by Moses ibn Tibbon (1264); on stones – *Sefer ha-Avanim* or *De Lapidario; Theology* by Moses b. Joseph Arovas, from the Arabic, and also in Italian by him; *Secretum secretorum*, in Arabic *Sirr al-Asrār*, and in Hebrew, anonymously, *Sod ha-Sodot*, in the 13th century; *de Causis*, on the absolute good, by Zerahiah Ḥen called *Ha-Beʾur be-Tov ha-Gamur*, and also by Hillel b. Samuel of Verona, both from the Arabic, which is not known (Produs' *de Causis* was rendered in Hebrew by Judah Romano, and called *Sefer ha-Sibbot); Kitāb-al-Tufāḥa* ("On the Apple"; on immorality, and seen as an imitation of Plato's *Phaedo*) in Hebrew by Abraham ibn Ḥisdai; these are also letters which he sent to Alexander the Great, and works on auguring.

Muslim thinkers who wrote in Arabic, and whose works were translated into Hebrew, include al-Fārābi: *Fi al-Tanbīhʿ alā Sabīl al-Saʿāda* is rendered in Hebrew, *Ha-Heʾarah al-Derekh ha-Hazlaḥah*, by an anonymous translator; *Kitab al-Mabādīʾ* or *al-Siyāsa* was translated by Moses ibn Tibbon, and named *Sefer ha-Hatḥalah; Iḥṣāʾ al-Ulūm* (an enumeration of the sciences), in Hebrew, by Kalonymus b. Kalonymus, *Be-Mispar ha-Ḥokhmot; ʿUyūn al-Masāʾil* (answers to philosophical problems), in Hebrew *Ayin Mishpat ha-Derushim* by Todros Todrosi; Kalonymus b. Kalonymus did *Iggeret be-Siddur Kriʾat ha-Ḥokhmot* from the Arabic *fī mā Yanbaghīʿan Yaqdum qabla Taʿallum al-Falsafa; Ba-Sekhel u-va-Muskal from fī al-ʿAql wa al-Mʿaqūl*; the last was also translated anonymously as *Ha Sekhel ve-ha-muskalot. Risāla fī Hayāt al-Nafs* was done in Hebrew by Zerahiah Ḥen, in 1284, Ibn Sīnā (Avicenna, d. 1037), accepted by orthodox Islam, wrote *al-Samāʾ wa al-ʿĀlam*, translated into Hebrew as *Ha-Shamayim ve-ha-Olam*, by Solomon b. Moses of Melgueil (second half of 13th century), probably from Latin; *Sefer ha-Shenah ve-ha-Yekẓah* by the same, again from Latin; *al-Najāt*, translated as *Haẓẓalat ha-Nefesh* by Todros Todrosi (1330–40); Ḥai ibn Yaqzān, in Hebrew *Iggeret Ḥai ben Mekiẓ* by Abraham ibn Ezra.

Al-*Ghazālī (d. 1111), the famous critic of philosophy, wrote *Maqāṣid al-Falāsifa* ("The Objectives of the Philosopher"; it was cribbed by Saádiah b. Daud al-ʿAdeni under the title *Zakāt al-Nafs*) which was adopted by Isaac al-Balagh (only the first two parts) and called *Deʿot ha-Pilosofim*. A translation, *Kavvanot ha-Pilosofim*, was prepared (1352–58) by Judah b. Nathan, a Provençal physician. A third anonymous version also exists. His *Tahāfut al-Falāsifa* ("The Collapse of the Philosophers") was translated into Hebrew, by Zerahiah b. Isaac ha-Levi, called Saladin, and possibly the Rabbi Ferrer of the Tortosa disputation (1412–14). *Miʿyar al-ʿIlm* is *Moznei ha-Iyyunim* by Jacob b. Machir ibn Tibbon; *Mīzān al-ʿAmal*, an ethical work, done by Abraham b. Samuel ibn Ḥasdai and called *Moznei Ẓedek. Mishkatt al-Anwar* ("The Niche of the Lights") is *Maskit ha-Orot* by Isaac b. Joseph al-Fāsī, of the 13th century. Another, but anonymous, rendering is called *Ha-Orot ha-Elohiyyot*.

Abdallah ibn Muhammad of Badajoz (d. 1127) wrote *al-Dāʾira al-Wahmiyya* ("The Imaginary Circle") a work which was quite influential among Jewish thinkers. Moses ibn Tibbon rendered it into Hebrew, calling it *Ha-Agullot ha-Raʾyoniyyot*. It was also done by Samuel Motot, as part of his commentary on *Sefer Yeẓirah*. Ibn Baja (d. 1138 in Fez) wrote *Kitāb al-Wadāʿ* ("The Farewell" [to the world]) which was converted into Hebrew by Ḥayyim ibn Vivas, and *fī Tadbīr al-Mutawaḥḥid* (on the conduct of the recluse) which is *Be-Hanhagat ha-Mitboded*, by Moses of Narbonne who wrote a commentary on it. Ibn Ṭufayl (d. 1185 in Murcia) composed a celebrated *Risālat Ḥayy ben Yaqzān*, in Hebrew *Iggeret Ḥayawan ben Yakson*, it was also incorporated by Moses of Narbonne in his commentary. Ibn Rushd (Averroes, d. 1198) wrote an exposition of the harmony of religion and philosophy called *Faṣl al-Maqāl* etc., which was translated into Hebrew, anonymously, under the name *Ha-Hevdel ha-Neʾemar she-Bein ha-Torah ve-ha Ḥokhmah min ha-Devekut*. He refuted Ghazāli's critique of philosophy in his *Tahāfut al-Tahāfut* ("The Collapse of the Collapse"); its Hebrew version, *Happalat ha-Happalah*, was prepared by Kalonymus b. David b. Todros. A second rendering, anonymous, is also extant.

Since a number of Jewish thinkers wrote their works in Arabic, they also required conversion into Hebrew. The earliest is Isaac Israeli. Among his philosophic writings are *Kitāb al-Ḥudūd wa al-Rusūm* ("Book of Definitions"), in Hebrew, *Sefer* *ha-Gevulim ve-ha-Reshamim* by Nissim b. Solomon; *Kitāb al-Ustuqṣāt* as *Sefer ha-Yesodot* by Abraham ibn Ḥisdai; *Maqāla fi-Yishersku ha-Mayim*, in an anonymous Hebrew version; *Sefer ha-Ru'ah ve-ha-Nefesh*, only a small fragment of the Arabic original is extant. Saadiah b. Joseph al-Fayyumi (d. 942) composed *Kitāb al-Amānāt wa al-Iʿtiqādāt*, called in Hebrew *Sefer ha-Emunot ve-ha De'ot* by Judah ibn Tibbon. An anonymous version titled *Pitron Sefer ha-Emunot* is also extant. His commentary on *Sefer Yeẓirah* is likewise found in Hebrew, but the translator is not known with certainty.

Baḥya ibn Paquda composed the ethical-philosophical, *Farā'id al-Qulūb*; in Hebrew it is *Ḥovot ha-Levavot* translated by Judah ibn Tibbon, who also appended an interesting introduction to his translation.

Solomon ibn Gabirol wrote a philosophic rather than a theological study, whose Arabic original has not been discovered. No medieval Hebrew translation exists (one is extant in Latin), but an epitome, *Likkutim*, prepared by Shem Tov ibn Falaquera, is extant. A modern Hebrew version is now available. Other works Ibn Gabirol rendered into Hebrew included *Iṣlāḥ al-Akhlāq* ("The Improvement of the Character") translated by Judah ibn Tibbon as *Tikkun Middot ha-Nefesh*, and a collection of aphorisms, probably by the same translator, under the title *Mivḥar ha-Peninnim*. Another version, in the rhyme, *Shekel ha-Kodesh*, was the work of Joseph Kimḥi. Joseph ibn Ẓaddik, a judge in Cordoba (d. 1149), wrote *al-ʿĀlam al-Ṣaqhīr* ("Microcosm"), which is *Ha-Olam ha-Katan* in Hebrew, but the translator is unknown.

Judah Halevi (d. 1141) is the author of *Kitāb al-Hujja wa al-Dalil* ("The Argument and Proof"), known as *Ha-Kuzari* in Judah ibn Tibbon's Hebrew rendering. A fragment is also extant of a translation by Judah b. Kardena. Abraham ibn Daud, the earliest Aristotelian among Jewish thinkers, wrote *al-ʿAqida al-Rafīʿa*, on free will and other matters. It was translated as *Ha-Emunah ha-Nissa'ah* by Samuel ibn Motot in 1312, and as *Ha-Emunah ha-Ramah* by Solomon b. Levi. Moses Ibn Ezra wrote a work of literary criticism, *Kitāb al-Muḥaḍara wa al-Mudhākara* (which is called *Shirat Yisrael* in a modern Hebrew version by B. Halper, or *Sefer ha-Iyyunim ve-ha-Diyyunim* by A.S. Halkin), and *Fī Maʿna al-Majāz wa al-Haqīqa* ("On Literalisms and Figurative Expressions"), part of which was rendered into Hebrew as *Arugat ha-Bosem*.

Many of the works of Maimonides were rendered in Hebrew translation. Of his commentary on the Mishnah, Judah al-Ḥarizi translated the general introduction and most of *Zera'im*; Joseph ibn al-Fawwāl and a certain Simḥah did *Mo'ed* and *Nashim* in Huesca; the remaining three were done in Saragossa by Solomon ibn Ya'qūb (*Nezikin*) and Nethanel ibn Almali (*Kodashim* and *Tohorot*). There are also fragments of other translations. *Avot* was done by Samuel ibn Tibbon. Maimonides' *Sefer ha-Mitzvot*, listing the 613 biblical precepts, was rendered into Hebrew by Abraham ibn Ḥisdai, of which only fragments exist, and by Moses ibn Tibbon. A third version exists by Solomon ibn Ayyūb. His epistle on forced conversion was titled *Iggeret ha-Shemad* in Hebrew; the translator is unknown; his *Iggeret Teiman* exists in three Hebrew versions: (a) by Samuel ibn Tibbon; (b) by Abraham ibn Ḥisdai; (c) by Nahum ha-Ma'aravi; his treatise on resurrection, *Ma'amar Teḥiyyat ha-Metim*, by Samuel ibn Tibbon. His major philosophic composition, *Dalālat al-Ḥā'irīn*, was translated by Samuel ibn Tibbon and also by Judah al-Ḥarizi. His treatise on logic, *Maqāla fī Sināʿat al-Manṭiq*, is available in Hebrew, probably from Moses ibn Tibbon's hand, as *Millot ha-Higgayon*.

Joseph b. Judah ibn Aknin wrote a philosophic commentary on the Songs of Songs, which he called *Inkishāf al-Asrār wa Ṭuhūr al-Anwār*. It was recently translated into Hebrew. Of Karaite thinkers, Joseph al-Basir's two works were provided with a Hebrew translation: *Al-Muḥtawī* was translated under the title *Sefer ha-Ne'imot*, and *Kitāb al-Tamyīz*, received by the Hebrew name *Maḥkimot Peti*.

Books by Christians which are available in Hebrew translation include *Quaestiones naturale* by Adelard of Bath (c. 1120), which is *Dodi ve-Nekhdi*, by Berechiah ha-Nakdan; *Philosophia* of Albertus Magnus (1193–1286) is in a Hebrew version titled *Kiẓẓur ha-Pilosofyah ha-Tivit* by Abraham Shalom, and Aegidius de Columnas' (d. 1306) *De Regimine Principum*, in Hebrew *Hanhagat ha-Melakhim*. The *De Consolationes Philosophiae* of Boethius (d. 524) was translated into Hebrew by Samuel b, Benveniste and called *Menaḥem Meshiv Nafshi*, and again by Azariah b. Abba Mari under the name *Neḥamot ha-Pilosofyah*. Other scholastics whose works were translated are Occam (d. 1343/7) whose *Summa totius*, in Hebrew *Perakim ba-Kolel*, was translated by Eli Habillo, who called himself Don Manuel. Petrus Hispanus (d. 1276) wrote *Parva Logicalia*, a work quite popular among Jews, as can be judged from the several renderings: (a) *Higgayon Kaẓar* by Abraham Avigdor; (b) *Higgayon* by Judah b. Samuel Shalom; (c) *Trattat*, anonymous; *Be'ur ha-Mavo* by Jehezekiah b. Ḥalafta. Raimund Lull (d. 1215) created an *Ars Parva* from his *Ars Magna*, the former was rendered into Hebrew by several translators as *Melakhah Keẓarah*. Many of Thomas Aquinas' works, particularly the philosophic treatises and commentaries, were made available in Hebrew.

The Jews in the Islamic world were deeply interested in mathematics, first, because of its intrinsic challenge, and secondly, because of its use in astronomy and astrology, which had important practical and religious implications. As in philosophy, so in science, the pursuits of the Greek scientists were eagerly studied. Archimedes' work on cylinders was translated by Kalonymus b. Kalonymus under the title *Ba-Kaddur u-va Iẓtevanah* from Costa ibn Lucca's Arabic version. Kalonymus also provided a Hebrew version of the measurement of circles, *Bi-Meshiḥat ha-Agullah*; from Thābit b. Karras' Arabic. Euclid was the representative of the Greeks. His *Kitāb al-Uṣūl* or *al-Ustuqṣāt*, in 12 books, augmented by two more of Hypsicles, was rendered by Moses ibn Tibbon in 1270. Another version called *Yesodot ve-Shorashim* was made by Jacob b. Machir about 1270. Other Hebrew texts also exist, possibly from the Latin, for example, his *Data* in *Sefer ha-Mattanot* by Jacob b. Machir. The *Optics, bi-Khtilāf al-Manāthir*, and *Ḥilluf ha-Mabbatim* in Hebrew, was also the work of Jacob b. Machir. In the Hebrew manuscript *Sefer ha-Marim* of Euclid follows the preceding work. But the Arabs know only a *Kitāb al-Mirʾa* by Aristotle. A book of Menelaus of Alexandria (first century; Ar. *Kitāb al-Ashkāl al-Kurriyya*) was translated into Hebrew by Jacob b. Machir and called *Sefer Mileus ba-Temunot ha-Kadduriyyot*.

Ptolemy of Alexandria (d. 150), known to Jews and Arabs as Betolomaus, is the author of *Elmegiste*, which was translated into Hebrew as *Ḥibbur ha-Gadol* by Jacob Anatoli. The introduction to *Elmegiste* was turned into Hebrew as *Ḥokhmat ha-Kokhavim*, or *Ḥokhmat Tekhunah ha-Keẓarah* by Moses ibn Tibbon. His *Hypotheses* was rendered by Kalonymus b. Kalonymus in 1317 under the title *Be-Sippur Inyenei ha-Kokhavim ha-Nevukhim*. Several works ascribed to Ptolemy also circulated, among them the *Astrolabe*, called *Ma’aseh ha-Aẓterolav* by Solomon Sharvit ha-Zahav (14th century), and *Planispherium*, called *Mofetei Kelei ha-Habbatah*, probably from the Latin.

Muslim mathematician and astronomer Jābir ibn Aflaḥ’s *Kitāb al-Hayʾa*, which was translated into Hebrew by Moses ibn Tibbon, is identical with the alleged *Elmegiste* in nine books, completed in 1274. His *Sector of Menelaus is Ha-Ḥibbur ba-Temunah ha-Ḥitukhit le-Mileus*; the translator is not known with certainty. Abu Batir’s *De Nativitatibus* was rendered into Hebrew as *Sefer ha-Moladot* by Isḥāq abu al-Khayr from the Latin in 1498. Averroes’ *Compendium* is *Kiẓẓur Elmegiste* by Jacob Anatoli in 1231. Abu Isḥāq al-Bitrinji of Seville composed *Kitāb fi al-Hayʾa, Ma’amar ba-Tekhunah* in Hebrew by Moses ibn Tibbon. Costa ibn Lucca’s *Al-ʿAmal bial-kurra al-Nujūmiyya* was translated by Jacob b. Machir as *Sefer ha-Ma’aseh be-Khaddur ha-Galgol*. Aḥmed al-Ferghani (d. 833/844) wrote *Jawāmiʿ al-Nujūm* which is *Yesodot ha-Tekhunah* by Jacob Anatoli (the title is not his). Muhammad al-Ḥaṣṣār composed an arithmetic which he named *Al-Bayān wa al-Tidhkār*, and it is available in the Hebrew translation of Moses ibn Tibbon as *Ḥeshbon*. Ibn Haitham’s *Qawl fi Hayʾat-ʿAlam* was translated as *Sefer ha-Tekhunah* by Jacob b. Machir in 1271, and by Solomon ibn Fatir ha-Kohen in 1322. Abu Yūsuf al-Kindī’s astrological work on the new moon was prepared in Hebrew by Kalonymus b. Kalonymus as *Iggeret be-Kiẓẓur ha-Ma’amar ba-Moladot*. His *Iggeret ha-Maspeket ba-la-Ḥiyyut u-va-Matar* exists in an anonymous translation. Jaʿfar Abu Maʿshar (d. 885/6 at the age of 100) wrote *Al-Madkhal al-Kabīr*, which was translated into Hebrew from the Latin under the name *Mavo ha-Gadol me-Ḥokhmat ha-Tekhunah* by Jacob b. Elijah. Another work of his is *Sefer Kaẓar be-Mivḥar Liabi Maʿshar* by an anonymous translator from the Arabic *al-Ikhtiyārāt*. The astronomical *Tables*, by an unknown Muslim, were translated into Hebrew by Abraham ibn Ezra and called *Ta’amei Luḥot al-Khwarizmi*. Ibn Muʿadh’s discussion of the solar eclipse of 1079, was converted into Hebrew by Samuel b. Judah of Marseilles (1320–40), who also translated Ibn Mu’adh’s treatise on the Dawn, as *Iggeret be-Ammud ha-Shaḥar. Kitāb al-ʿAmal bi al-Asturlab* by Aḥmad ibn al-Saffār was rendered into Hebrew as *Perush ha-Aẓterolab* by Jacob b. Machir. Kalonymus b. Kalonymus translated Abu l-Qāsim ibn Samḥ’s work under the title *Ma’amar ba-Iẓtevanot u-va-Meḥudadim*. Abu al-Kāmil Shujāʿ of Egypt (900–950) composed *Ṭharāʾif al-Ḥisāb*, and it was translated from the Latin into Hebrew by Mordecai Finzi of Manta (1344–1375). Thābit b. Qurra (d.901) composed *Kitāb al-Shakl al-Qaṭāʿ*. Its Hebrew version, *Sefer ha-Temunah ha-Ḥittukhit*, is by Kalonymus b. Kalonymus. Ibrāhīm al-Nakkūsh ibn al-Zarkala (1061–80) composed *al-Ṣafiḥa al-Zarkaliya*, which was done in Hebrew by an unknown translator under the title *Iggeret ha Ma’aseh ba-Lu’aḥ ha-Nikra Ṣafiḥa*. Another work by this author, on the fixed stars, was translated by Samuel b. Judah of Marseilles and called *Ma’amar bi-Tenu’at ha-Kokhavim ha-Kayyamim*.

A few Jewish astronomers wrote in Arabic, and their works required translation. Mashalla (d. 820) wrote an astrological study, which Abraham ibn Ezra translated under the title *She’elot*. He also translated Mashalla’s work on eclipses which in Hebrew is called *Be-Kadrut ha-Levanah ve-ha-Shemesh ve-Ḥibbur ha-Kokhavim u-Tekufat ha-Shanim*. Sahl ibn Bishr (d. c. 820) compiled a book of principles of astrology, *Kitāb al-Aḥkām*. Rendered into Hebrew by an unknown translator, it is called *Kelalim*. Maimonides’ treatise on the calendar is translated by an unknown scholar as *Ḥibbur be-Ḥokhmat ha-Ibbur*. Joseph ibn Naḥmias’ astronomical study, *Nūr al-ʿAlam*, was rendered into Hebrew by an unknown translator as *Ha-Shamayim ha-Ḥadashim*. The astronomical tables of Joseph ibn Wakkār were also done in Hebrew.

The *Alphonsine Tables*, prepared by the Jew Yisḥak ibn Cid in 1265, for the Christian astronomer Alphonse, have been rendered into Hebrew, as have other tables, with adjusted dates. Gerard of Sabionetta wrote a *Thearica Planetarum* which, in the Hebrew of Judah b. Samuel Shalom, is *Iyyun Shivah Kokhevei Lekhet*. Hermanus Contractus (d. 1054) produced *de Mensura Astrolabu*, which in Hebrew is called *Sefer ha-Aẓteroblin*, and, in another version, *Sefer Astrolog*. Both translators are unknown. John of Gmund (d. 1417) is the author of a treatise on the stars which David b. Meir Kalonymus translated into Hebrew and called *Marot ha-Kokhavim*. Alessandro Piccolomini (d. 1578) composed *La Spera del Mondo* and *Speculazione dei Pianete*. In Hebrew they are respectively *Sefer ha-Kidor* and *Iyyunei Kokhevei ha-Nevokhah* in the translations of an unknown author. Dioscorides (first cent. C.E.) compiled a work on *Simplicia* in which Ḥisdai ibn Shaprut participated in translating into Arabic; no Hebrew version is known, except for passages in the medical work of the so-called Asaf. His *Succeda Nea* was translated from the Latin by Azariah Bonafoux under the title *Temurat ha-Sammim*. Numerous writings of Galen were available in Hebrew. *Ars Parva* (*Techne*) was rendered from the Arabic as *Ha-Me’assef le-khol ha-Maḥanot* by an unknown scholar. Four of his smaller works on illnesses, their cause and symptoms, were combined in the Hebrew of Zerahiah Ḥen (1277) under the heading *Sefer ha-Ḥola’im ve-ha-Mikrim*. Zerahiah Ḥen also translated the *Kata-*

genos, which deals with compound medicines. Galen's work on crises, *al-Buḥrān* in Arabic, was made available in Hebrew under the Arabic name by Bonirac (perhaps Boniac) Solomon (c. 1300–1350). *On Blood Letting* was rendered by Kalonymus b. Kalonymus (1308) as *Sefer ha-Hakazah*. Kalonymus also translated *Ba-Ḥuknah u-va Kulang* ("on enema and colic"). The author's treatise on epilepsy was rendered in Hebrew by an unknown translator under the title *Be-Hanhagat ha-Na'ar Nikhpeh*, and his *De Malitia Complexionis Diversae* was rendered in Hebrew from the Latin by David b. Abraham Caslari (1280–1337) and called *Sefer Ro'a Mezeg Mitḥallef. The Compendia* (Ar. *al-Jawāmiʿ*) was converted into Hebrew by Samson b. Solomon (1332). Many smaller tracts of his were also made available in Hebrew, all, of course, from the Arabic or the Latin. Some writings ascribed to Galen are *Sefer ha-Em* ("Gynaecaeas") and *Sefer Issur ha-Kevurah* (on prohibition of burial before 72 hours after death) *fī Taḥrīm al-dafn*.

Hippocrates, the father of Greek medicine, was known to the medieval Jews, through the Arabs, by his aphorisms, *Kitāb al-Fusūl*, translated by Moses ibn Tibbon as *Perakim*. This work was also translated by an unknown scholar and by Nathan ha-Me'ati, in 1283. Hillel b. Samuel of Verona prepared a Hebrew version of it from the Latin with the title *Ma'amar ha-Rofe'im*, and another version under the name *Agur*, again from the Latin, was made by an unknown translator. Hippocrates' *Prognostica* with Galen's comments and titled *Hakdamat ha-Yedi'ah*, was probably translated by Nathan ha-Me'ati. It also exists as *Ḥidot ve-Hashgaḥot*, evidently rendered from Greek and Latin by an unknown translator. His work on acute illnesses, *Hanhagat ha-Ḥola'im ha-Ḥaddim*, was translated by Nathan ha-Me'ati, and by his grandson Samuel b. Solomon. Hippocrates' study of air, water, and places, *Sefer ha-Avirim u-va-Zemannim ve-ha-Memot ve-ha-Araẓot* – was rendered by Nathan ha-Me'ati, and Galen's commentary on it, in Hebrew, is the work of Solomon b. Nathan in 1299. A book, *Marot ha-Sheten* ("on the color of urine"), ascribed to the Greek physician, is extant in Hebrew in the translation of Joseph b. Isaac Yisre'eli.

In Arabic a good deal was produced on medicine, and much of it was rendered into Hebrew. The celebrated translator of Galen, Ḥunayn ibn Isḥāq, himself a physician, compiled an introduction, *Madkhal fi-al-Ṭibb*, which exists in Hebrew as *Mavo* or *She'elot* translated from the Latin by Moses ibn *Tibbon and two anonymous scholars called *Mavo.* Māsawayh (d. 857) wrote medical curiosities, *al-Nawādir al-Ṭibbiyya*, translated into Hebrew as *He'arot min ha-Refu'ah* by an unknown scholar, and *Iṣlāh al-Adwiya al-Mushila* ("on laxatives") rendered into Hebrew as *Me-ha-Eẓah ve-ha-Teva'im ve-ha-Tena'im* by Samuel b. Jacob (end of 13th century), and also by an unknown scholar. There is an antidotary by Māsawayh, *Aqrābadhīn*, of which three or four anonymous versions are in existence. Muhammad al-Rāzī (d. 932/3), one of the famous Muslim writers on medicine, wrote *al-Manṣūrī*, a general work in ten tracts, which was translated by Shem Tov b. Isaac Tartasi (d. 1264), and was later abridged. His *Aegritudine junctuarum* (*Me-Ḥolyei ha-Ḥibburim*)*, de Aegritudinibus puerorum* (*Me-Hanhagat ha-Ne'arim ha-Ketannim*) are both by unknown translators from the Latin, the latter being a more literal translation than *Me-Ḥoli ha-Ne'arim ke-fi Rāzi. Pirkei Razi*, 119 short aphorisms, is an anonymous translation from Arabic, as is also *Sefer ha-Pesakot*. A compendium, *Liber Divisionum*, was translated by Moses ibn Tibbon as *Ha-Ḥilluk ve-ha-Ḥilluf*; he also translated Al-Rāzī's antidotary in 1257; of the latter an anonymous version also exists. Al-Rāzī's explanation of why people go to charlatans, *Ba-Meh she-Yikreh bi-Melekhet ha-Refu'ah*, is perhaps the work of Nathan ha-Me'ati. There is an anonymous *Ma'amar be-Hakkazah*, and, from the Latin, *Mi-Segullat Evrei Ba'alei Ḥayyim ve-Te'aliyyotam ve-Hezzekam* ("on limbs and organs of living beings"). Ibn Sīnā (Avicenna) is the author of the standard medical textbook of the late Middle Ages. His *Canon, al-Qānūn*, was translated by Nathan ha-Me'ati, although the manuscripts do not include the rendering of the whole. Zerahiah Ḥen also worked on a translation of the *Canon*, but only the first two books are known. Of Joseph ha-Lorki's rendering (before 1402) only book one and part of book two are extant. Avicenna's *al-Qānūm al-Ṣaghīr* was translated by Moses ibn Tibbon in Montpellier in 1272. *Canticum*, a medical book in verse (*arjūza* in Arabic), was rendered into prose by Moses ibn Tibbon, and, in verse, by Solomon b. Joseph ibn Ayyūb (*Sefer ha-Ḥaruzim ha-Nikra arjūza*), and by Ḥayyim Israel, and by an unknown scholar of whose work only a fragment exists. His *al-Adwiya al-Qalbiyya* on cures for heart disorders, is found in two anonymous Hebrew versions: *Ha-Sammim ha-Libbiyyim*, and *Ha-Refu'ot ha-Levaviyyot*, the latter from Latin.

ʿAmmār ibn Ali (d. 1020), an ophthalmologist, wrote *al-Muntakhab fī ʿIlāj al-ʿayn*, translated by Nathan ha-Me'ati under the title (not by him) *Shetalim ha-Nifradim ha-Mo'ilim la-Ayin*. Ali ibn Riḍwān (d. 1068) wrote *al-Uṣūl fi-al-Ṭibb* which Kalonymus b. Kalonymus translated into Hebrew in Arles in 1307 under the title *Ha-ʿAmmud be-Shorshei ha-Refu'ah*. His *Sharḥ Kitāb al-Ṣināʿa al-Saghīra*, on a work by Galen, is translated as *Perush Melakhah Ketannah* by Samuel ibn Tibbon, done in Béziers in 1199. Another rendering from the Latin, by Hillel b. Samuel, is called *Sefer ha-Tenge.* ʿAmmār's *al-Ustuqṣāt*, was translated into Hebrew as *Perush ba-yesodot* by an unknown scholar. Aḥmed al-Jazzār (11th century) is the author of *al-Iʿtimād*, on simple cures, which in Hebrew is the anonymous *Sefer ha-Ma'alot*. His *Zād al-Musāfir* (viaticum) is *Ẓeidat ha-Derakhim* by Moses ibn Tibbon in 1259, *Ẓeidah la-Oreḥim* by Abraham b. Isaac, and *Ya'ir Nativ* by an unknown translator. He also wrote on forgetfulness, in Hebrew *Iggeret ha-Shikhḥah* by Nathan ha-Me'ati.

Abu al-Qāsim Zahrawī of Spain (11th century) compiled *al-Taṣrīf*, on medical practice, which was rendered into Hebrew by Shem Tov b. Isaac Tartasi (1261–64) and called *Sefer ha-Shimmush. He-Ḥafeẓ ha-Shalem*, a medical compendium, is the version by Meshullam b. Jonah (1287) of a no longer extant Arabic original, a compendious work in two tractates and 14 sections. Ibn Ṣoar (d. 1162) wrote *al-Taysir fi-al-Mudāwāt* *wa al-Tadbīr* (which in the Hebrew of an unknown translator is *Ha-Ḥelek ha-Kolel*) and *Kitāb al-Aghdhiya*, on foods, which was converted into Hebrew by Nathan ha-Me'ati in about 1275 under the title *Sefer ha-Mezonot*. His work on the difference between sugar and honey became in the Hebrew version of Bon Senior ibn Ḥisdai *Ma'amar ba-Hevdel bein ha-Devash ve-ha-Sukkar*. Ibn Rushd (Averroes) was both philosopher and physician. In the latter capacity his work *Kitāb Kulliyyāt fi-al-Ṭibb*, a compendium, was titled *Klal* by Solomon b. Abraham in his translation, as well as in that of an anonymous translator. It is also unknown who translated *Maqāla fi-al-Teriak, Simplicia*, which is called *Peshatim be-Rippui Ḥola'ei ha-Guf*, and the work on purgatives, titled *Shorashim Kolelim*. His tract on diarrhea was translated into Hebrew by Jacob ha-Katan under the title *Ma'amar ha-Shilshul*. Among Jewish writers on medical subjects, Isaac Yisre'eli composed *Kitāb al-Adwiya al-Mufrada wa-al-Aghdhiya*, on cures and foods, and it was rendered into Hebrew by an unknown translator under the name *Sefer ha-Misadim*. Likewise anonymous are the three Hebrew versions of *Kitāb al-Bawl* ("on urine"); *Bi-Ydi'at ha-Sheten, Marot ha-Sheten*, and *Sefer ha-Shetanim*. So are also the book on fevers, *Kitāb al-Ḥummayāt*, in Hebrew *Sefer ha-Kaddaḥot*, and 50 aphorisms, not known in Arabic, called *Musar ha-Rofe'im*. *Maimonides' writings include *fi-al-Bawāsīr* ("on hemorrhoids") called, in an anonymous Hebrew version, *Bi-Refu'at ha-Teḥorim*, a work on intercourse *fi-al-Jim'a*, translated by Zerahiah Ḥen and called *Ma'amar ha-Mishgal*, and *Fuṣūl Mūsā*, aphorisms, also rendered by Zerahiah and by Nathan ha-Me'ati under the title *Pirkei Moshe*. Moses ibn Tibbon is the translator of *fi al-Sumūm* ("on poisons") which, in Hebrew, is called *Ha-Ma'amar ha-Nikhbad*. Solomon b. Yaish (d. 1343) wrote a commentary on ibn Sīnā's *Qānūn*, of which an extract in Hebrew was made by Jacob Kaphanton. As the Christian West learned the medical knowledge transmitted and composed in Arabic, its physicians also began to write, generally in Latin. Nicolaus of the Salerno school of medicine (1150–1200) prepared an *Antidotarium* which is known by the same name in the Hebrew rendering of Jacob. Petrus Hispanus (d. 1276) produced a medical compendium, *Thesaurus pauperum*, translated as *Oẓar ha-Aniyyim* in an anonymous version, and *Oẓar ha-Dallim* in the rendering of Todros Moses Bondoa, 1394. Lamprandi's (d. 1296) *Chirurgia Parva* is abridged in an anonymous Hebrew version titled *Alanfranchina*, and *ha-Yad* in Hebrew. Bernard de Gardon is the author of *Lilium Practica*, which is called *Ḥokhmah Nishlemet bi-Melekhet Medicinae* (c. 1305). In the version of Moses b. Samuel it is titled *Peraḥ ha-Refu'ot ha-Sali*, and in that of Jekuthiel b. Solomon of Narbonne, *Shoshan ha-Refu'ah* (1387). He also wrote *Regimen Acutarum Aegritudinum de Phlebotomia*, and *de Medicinarum gradibus*, all three of which were translated anonymously and titled respectively *Ḥibbur be-Hanhagot ha-Ḥaddot, Ha-Ma'amar be-Hakkazah*, and *Sefer ha-Madregot*. Arnaldus of Villanova (d. 1317/18) is the author of *Regimen sanitatis*, which in Hebrew is called *Ma'amar be-Hanhagat ha-Beri'ut* by the translator Israel Kaslari (1327), and *Hanhagot ha-Beri'ut* in the anonymous version. His *Arnavdina* is called *Practica* in Israel Kaslari's version.

Gentile da Foligna (d. 1348) composed a book on practice, *Prattiche, Nisyonot* in its anonymous Hebrew version, and *Consilium*, which is called *Eẓah* by its Hebrew translator, probably Joshua of Bologna. Guy de Gauliac, a surgeon in Avignon (d. 1363), prepared a *Chirurgia magna*, translated by an unknown scholar; the beginning and end are unfortunately missing. He also produced a *Chirurgia Parva*, translated into Hebrew by Asher b. Moses (1468), and titled *Giddu'a Kaẓar*. John Jacobi (1366), wrote *Secretarius practicus*. It is available in two anonymous Hebrew renderings: *Sod ha-Melakhah* and *Sod ha-Pratikah*. Gerard de Salo composed a commentary on the ninth book of Al-Rāzī's *al-Manṣūrī* titled in *Nomum mansoris*; Abraham Avigdor made an abridged translation, and Leon Joseph a full one in 1394. His *introductarium juvenum*, on the care of the body, was likewise done in Hebrew by Leon Joseph and called *Meishir ha-Matḥilim*, and his treatise on fever, *de Febribus*, was translated by Abraham Avigdor. Bernard Alberti (1339–58) compiled an *Introductarium in practicam*, a collection of prescriptions, done in Hebrew by Abraham Avigdor under the title *Mavo ba-Melakhah*. Albertus Magnus is the author of discussions on six needs of the body, which Moses Ḥabib called *She'elot u-Teshuvot* in his Hebrew version of it.

Jews were interested not only in philosophy and the sciences, but also in what can be called the humanities. They translated and wrote a good deal of popular literature, and they also cultivated eloquence, linguistics, and poetry. Mention should be made of the great popularity among them of all sorts of divinations, called *Goralot*, including astrology, mantic, and facial features. Among the foreign creations which made their way into Hebrew are the fables of Aesop, known as *Ḥidot Esopito*, and *Kalila and Dimna* by the Indian Bidpai. Its anonymous Hebrew translation is the source of all European versions made from its Latin rendering by the convert John of Capua (1262–78). Another Hebrew text prepared by Jacob b. Eleazar (d. 1223) is less literal than the other. The story of a demon who entered a woman and was expelled by a man, which is found in an Indian source and in the *1001 Nights*, is told in *Ma'amar Midyenei Ishaḥ. Mishlei *Sindabar*, the Hebrew counterpart of the very popular *Seven Sages*, although originally of Indian origin, is important as the link which connects the eastern type of individual and the western type.

The history of Alexander the Great, originating in Callisthenes' Greek story, was popular in Jewish literature from talmudic times. The medieval Hebrew book, *Sefer Alexander Mokedon ve-Korotov*, said to be the work of Samuel ibn Tibbon or Judah al-Ḥarizi, is a translation of an Arabic original. Immanuel b. Jacob did another *Toledot Alexander* from the Latin. It should also be noted that sayings gleaned by various authors were also attractive to Jews, so that books like *Sefer ha-Musar, Mishlei Arav*, or *Mishlei Anashim ha-Ḥakhamim*, not to speak of works in which they are introduced *en passant*, are all translations from the Arabic, whether from one work or from many. A good example is presented by Ibn Gabirol's *Mivḥar ha-Peninnim*, discussed above. A work of consolation, allegedly sent to a friend who sustained a loss, is the *Ḥibbur Yafeh me-ha-Yeshu'ah* by Nissim b. Jacob ibn Shaḥin of Kairouan, a Hebrew translation of his Arabic original. The *Maqāmāt* of al-Ḥarīrī (1054–1121), a literary genre characterized by rhymed prose and metrical verse, in which beauty of language was the major objective, were translated by Judah al-Ḥarizi under the title *Maḥbarot Iti'el*. Abraham ibn Ḥisdai produced a Hebrew version, called *Ben ha-Melekh ve-ha-Nazir*, of an Arabic translation of the original Indian tale of *Barlaam and Josaphat*, and Kalonymus b. Kalonymus composed *Iggeret Ba'alei Ḥayyim*, which is a discussion between men and beasts and is a free rendering of Epistle No. 21 of the *Epistles of the Ikwān al-Ṣafāʾ*.

Hebrew grammar and lexicography attracted the attention of a number of Jewish writers who were stimulated by the parallel studies of Arabic, and many of their works were originally written in Arabic, and only later translated into Hebrew. The comparative lexicographic study of Judah ibn Quraish (tenth century) was not translated until modern times. Judah Ḥayyuj (early 11th century) wrote on verbs with quiescent letters, and geminative verbs. These tracts were first translated by Moses ha-Kohen Gikatilla as *Otiyyot ha-Sefer ve-ha Meshekh*, and later, by Abraham ibn Ezra as *Otiyyot ha-Naḥ, Ba'alei ha-Kefel*, and *ha-Nikkud*. The master work of Hebrew grammar by Jonah ibn Janāḥ, *Kitāb al-Lumaʿ*, was translated into Hebrew by Judah ibn Tibbon, and the lexicon, *Kitāb al-Uṣūl*, was translated by Isaac b. Judah, and by Isaac ha-Levi, both translations going only to the letter *lamed*. A complete translation was made by Judah ibn Tibbon in 1171. Ibn Jarah's shorter work, *al-mustalḥiq*, is called *Sefer ha-Hassagah* by its Hebrew translator Obadiah (c. 1300). Judah ibn Bal'am compiled a work on Hebrew particles *Ḥurūf al-Maʿāni*, rendered as *Otiyyot ha-Inyamim* in an anonymous Hebrew version; and *al-Afʿāl Mushtaqqa min al-Asmāʾ*, a work on verbs derived from nouns, which in its anonymous Hebrew rendering is *Ha-Pe'alim she-Hem mi-Gizrat ha-Shemot*. He also is the author of a short tract on the proper reading of the Bible, *Hadāyat al-Qāriʾ*, which was rendered into Hebrew either by Nethanel b. Meshullam or by Menahem b. Nethanel under the title *Horayat ha-Kore*.

Some miscellaneous compositions include halakhic writings of Hai Gaon (d. 1038) such as *al-Buyūʿāt*, which was translated into Hebrew by Isaac b. Reuben and was called *Sefer ha-Mikkaḥ ve-ha-Mimkar*, and, in an anonymous Hebrew version *Mishpetei ha-Tena'im ve-Halva'ot*, and the book on oaths which in its anonymous Hebrew translation is titled *Mishpetei Shevu'ot* or *Sefer ha-Shevu'ot*. A metrical version also exists, *Sha'arei Dinei Mamonot ve-Sha'arei Shevu'ot*. Joseph ibn ʿAknīn, who wrote an introduction to the Talmud and a book on biblical and talmudic weights and measures, is represented in Hebrew translation by *Mevo ha-Talmud*, perhaps by an Abraham Yerushalmi, and by an anonymous version *Ma'amar al ha-Middot*. Of Abraham Maimonides' moralistic and pietistic work *Kifāyat al-ʾĀbidin*, only a short section was rendered into Hebrew. A work on liturgy, *Mitzvot Zemanniyyot*, by Israel Yisre'eli, was translated into Hebrew by Don Shem Tov b. Ardutiel. Of Joseph ibn ʿAknīn's *Ṭibb al-Nufūs*, only the first chapter was translated under the name *Marpeh ha-Nefashot*.

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[Abraham Solomon Halkin / Angel Sáenz-Badillos (2nd ed.)]

TRANSNISTRIA, geographical designation, referring to the area in the Ukraine situated between the Bug and Dniester rivers. The term is derived from the Romanian name for the Dniester (Nistru) and was coined after the occupation of the area by German and Romanian troops, in World War II. Before the war the area had a population of 3,400,000, but in the course of the occupation it was reduced to 2,250,000, as a result of the mobilization of men and of mass flights.

Jewish Population

Before 1939 the Jewish population was 300,000 according to the statistical data of 1926. According to reports of the Nazi Einsatzkommandos ("action groups") which entered the area in July 1941 in the wake of the occupying troops, two-thirds of the local Jewish population had fled the area. However, there remained local Jews and Jewish refugees, primarily from neighboring *Bessarabia; these refugees had fled previously from the advancing German troops. It must also be assumed that many local Jews were apprehended while escaping and were murdered by German troops or by Einsatzkommandos. In general, Einsatzgruppe "D" under the command of Otto Ohlendorf, was most active in Transnistria. In the north Einsatzkommando "10B," and in the south "11B" were also active. Their reports contain some information on the murder actions committed by the units (e.g., in Yampol, Kokina, Mogilev), but the figures given on the local population are far too low and unrealistic. To illustrate the magnitude of the murder actions perpetrated by the Nazis: in one town alone, *Dubossary, on the east bank of the Dniester, two common graves contained the bodies of 3,500 Jews from Dubossary itself and 7,000 from the vicinity, killed in the town after being rounded up by the Nazis.

Deportations to Transnistria

After its occupation Transnistria became the destination for deported Romanian Jews. At the end of July 1941, 25,000 Jewish survivors from towns in northern Bessarabia were expelled

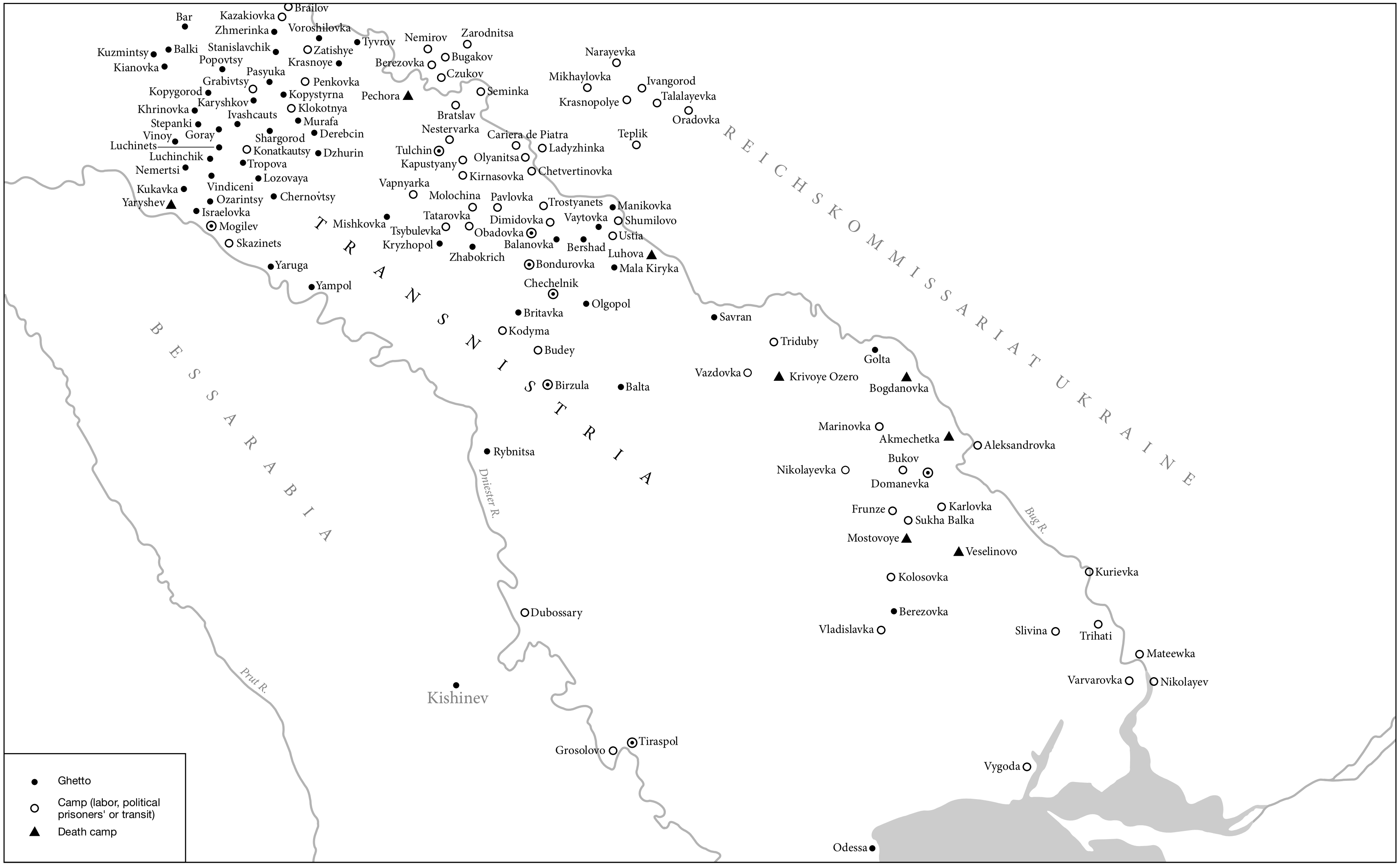
Bar
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Zatishye
Bugakov
Kianovka
Popovtsy
Krasnoye
Berezovka
Czukov
Narayevka
Pasyuka
Penkovka
Mikhaylovka
Ivangorod
Grabivtsy
Seminka
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Pechora
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Talalayevka
Khrinovka
Karyshkov
Klokotnya
Bratslav
Oradovka
Ivashcauts
Murafa
Nestervarka
Stepanki
Derebcin
Cariera de Piatra
Teplik
Vinoy
Goray
Shargorod
Luchinets
Konatkautsy
Dzhurin
Tulchin
Ladyzhinka
Luchinchik
Olyanitsa
Kapustyany
Nemertsi
Tropova
Kirnasovka
Chetvertinovka
Lozovaya
Vindiceni
Vapnyarka
Kukavka
Ozarintsy
Chernovtsy
Molochina
Pavlovka
Trostyanets
Manikovka
Yaryshev
Israelovka
Tatarovka
Dimidovka
Vaytovka
Shumilovo
Mogilev
Mishkovka
Tsybulevka
Obadovka
Ustia
Skazinets
Kryzhopol
Balanovka
Bershad
Luhova
Zhabokrich
Yaruga
Bondurovka
Mala Kiryka
Yampol
Chechelnik
Olgopol
Britavka
Savran
Kodyma
Triduby
Budey
Golta
Vazdovka
Krivoye Ozero
Bogdanovka
Birzula
Balta
Marinovka
Akmechetka
Aleksandrovka
Rybnitsa
Bukov
Nikolayevka
Domanevka
Frunze
Karlovka
Sukha Balka
Mostovoye
Veselinovo
Kurievka
Kolosovka
Dubossary
Berezovka
Vladislavka
Slivina
Trihati
Mateewka
Kishinev
Varvarovka
Nikolayev
Tiraspol
Grosolovo
Vygoda
Odessa
T R A N S N I S T R I A
B E S S A R A B I A
R E I C H S K O M M I S S A R I A T U K R A I N E
Dniester R.
Prut R.
Bug R.
● Ghetto
○ Camp (labor, political prisoners' or transit)
▲ Death camp

Camps and ghettos in Transnistria. Based on T. Lavi (ed.), Pinkas ha-Kehillot: Romanyah, *vol 1, Jerusalem, 1969.*

to Transnistria by the Romanians, but they were sent back to Bessarabia by the Germans, after 4,000 refugees were murdered. Other groups sent to Transnistria wandered about the area of Mogilev, Skazinets, and Yampol for about two weeks, before the Romanians agreed to their return. Finally, on August 17–18, another 20,500 were readmitted to Bessarabia; many were shot or thrown into the river, by both German and Romanian troops.

Systematic deportations began in the middle of September. In the course of the next two months, all the surviving Jews of Bessarabia and *Bukovina (except for some 20,000 Jews of *Chernovtsy) and a part of the Jewish population of the *Dorohoi district of Old Romania, were dispatched across the Dniester. This first wave of deportations reached 118,847 by mid-November 1941.

Deportations resumed at the beginning of the summer of 1942, affecting 4,200 Jews from Chernovtsy and 450 from Dorohoi. A third series of deportations from Old Romania came in July 1942 affecting Jews who had evaded the forced labor decrees, as well as their families, Communist sympathizers, and Bessarabian Jews who had been in Old Romania and Transylvania during the Soviet occupation of Bessarabia in June 1940, and had asked to be repatriated to their homes. Of the latter group, 350 Jews were shot to death by *SS troops on their arrival at Berezovka (in Transnistria).

The Communist sympathizers, among them many socialists, were taken to a special concentration camp in Vapnyarka Transnistria. Some individual deportation orders were directed against Jewish merchants and industrialists accused of economic sabotage, bribery, and similar "economic crimes."

The Romanian general staff submitted an additional list of 12,000 Jews who had violated the forced labor laws. In the meantime, however, the Romanian government policy changed and the deportation of this group was not implemented; neither did the Romanian government give its consent to Germany's insistence on the deportation of all Romania's Jews. According to a German source, a total of Romanian archival sources 146,000 Jews were deported to Transnistria. In December 1943 the Romanian Ministry of Interior informed its government that 50,741 deportees had survived.

Ghettos and Expulsions

The status of the Jews in Transnistria was determined by a decree (Nov. 11, 1941) serving to follow up the Tighina Agreement, which expressly referred to the imprisonment of Jews in ghettos. At the end of the month large numbers of Jews were dispatched to the northern part of Transnistria. In the southern part they were put into several large ghettos in the Golta district: 54,000 in Bogdanovka, 12,000 in Domanevka, and 18,000 in Akmechetka. All 48,000 Jews in the Bogdanovka concentration camp were murdered by Ukrainian police and local German members of the SS and Sonderkommando R, on the initiative of Fleischer, the German adviser to the district commander. At first, 5,000 sick and maimed Jews were locked into sheds and burned alive, and in the course of the following two months the remaining inmates of the camps were shot to death and their bodies cremated. In January and February 1942, 18,000 Jews were murdered in the Domanevka 18,000 and Akmechetka. Another 28,000 Jews were murdered by SS troops and local German police in German villages in the Berezovka area. By March 1943, only 485 Jews were still alive in the southern area, between *Odessa and Mogilev; of these 60 were in Odessa itself. When Odessa was taken, by Romanian troops in October 1941, 25,000 Jews were killed on the personal orders of Antonescu after a Russian-made time bomb exploded in a building housing high-ranking Romanian officers. The rest of the Jews of the city were driven out. Members of the local Ukrainian militia participated in the murder though in many cases Ukrainians provided Jews with food and hideouts. The deportees from Bessarabia, Bukovina, and Dorohoi were sent to the northern part of Transnistria. At first they wandered from place to place, as some of the towns refused to accept them. Some groups from southern Bukovina had money and bribed the local authorities for the right to stay (e.g., in Mogilev). In some cases entire communities were expelled as a group together with the community leaders, e.g., the communities of *Radauti and *Suceava; the latter also saved the community's funds with which they managed to obtain better living conditions. In some instances the deportees took it upon themselves to repair local factories in ruins – as in the case of the sugar factory in Vindiceni. In Mogilev, where the local Romanian authorities at first refused a residential permit to the deportees, a group of 500 Jewish deportees successfully undertook repairs of the local electric power station and a local foundry; they established a repair workshop for automobiles, and were generally useful in the rehabilitation of the city. In some of the towns – *Shargorod, Dzhurin, and Mogilev – Jewish committees were set up comprising community leaders from Romania and representatives of the local Jewish population. In other places the Romanians themselves appointed local Jewish committees and forced them to collaborate with the regime. After the war some of the latter committees were brought to trial by both the Russians and the Romanians on charges of harshly dealing with the deportees. On the other hand, others, especially former leaders of their communities, sacrificed themselves for the welfare of the refugees.

In places where the local Jews still survived, the deportees received shelter in homes or in those synagogues which had not been destroyed. Jewish refugees from the Ukraine (who had crossed the Bug River) were hidden by local Jews or by the deportees from Romania. In some cases the local committees provided them with forged identification documents. The first winter (1941–42) was extremely harsh, with temperatures dropping to 40° C below zero. Many died of cold or starved to death. The bodies of the dead accumulated in the cemeteries until the spring, when graves could be dug for them. Various epidemics, such as typhus and dysentery, also claimed tens of thousands of victims. In Dzhurin, Shargorod, and Mogilev the local committees succeeded in organizing the internal life of the refugee communities. In some ghettos the committees established public kitchens, hospitals, orphanages, bakeries, and soap factories, and organized sales cooperatives. All this helped make life more bearable. Post offices were organized by a number of Jewish committees, and a register of deaths and births was kept. Jewish police detachments were formed, but these not infrequently became a tool in the hands of the occupation power, who used them for drafting men and women for forced labor. Improved internal organization controlled epidemics. In the second winter (1942–43) only four out of 25 patients died in an epidemic in the town of Shargorod, as compared to 1,400 the year before. The doctors among the deportees vigorously combated the epidemics, and many died in the execution of their task. In those camps where no internal organization was created, the mortality rate reached almost 100%.

The Jews were completely at the mercy of the local authorities. Their situation was especially grave in the area adjoining the Bug River, as from time to time the Germans crossed the west bank to use Jews for forced labor on the other side of the river. At Pechora, a sign at the camp entrance identified it as a "death camp." There were several German raids from across the Bug, and in the fall of 1942, 1,000 Jews were dragged across the river. In the camp at *Bar, which was over the Bug River and in German occupied territory 12,000 Jews were put to death on Oct. 20, 1942. The people who had been taken to eastern Ukraine for forced labor were put to death as soon as their job was done, while those who were unable to work were instantly murdered. The head of the *Tulchin district was particularly efficient in handing Jews over to the Germans, especially to the Todt Organisation. Tens of thousands were murdered in the second deportation to the German-administered territories beyond the Bug, in such places as *Gaisin, Krasnopolye, and Trihati. In the spring of 1942 the Romanians initiated the deportation of several thousand Jews to the other side of the Bug, in order to dispose of them; this however, did not fit in with *Eichmann's overall plans for the "Final Solution" and he protested to the German Foreign Office; as a result, the Jews were returned to Transnistria where some of them were murdered. The special camp at Vapnyarka for Communist sympathizers fed the prisoners poisoned beans which caused paralysis and death.

Aid Operations

From the very beginning, Jewish leaders and institutions in Bucharest made efforts to provide help to the deportees. In December 1941 the Council of Romanian Jewish Communities received permission from Antonescu to extend aid to the refugees. The special central committee established for this purpose collected money and contributions in kind, and dispatched financial aid, clothing, and medicines to the refugees. Other sources of help were provided by the Joint and the Zionist Organization and by special committees established by natives of the deported communities who were residents of Old Romania.

The central aid committee was finally granted permission in 1943 to send a delegation to visit the area. The papal nuncio, Monsignor Andrea Cassulo, visited Transnistria from April 27 to May 5, 1943, and an International Red Cross mission arrived there in December of that year. Jewish leaders in Bucharest established contact with Jewish organizations abroad, and obtained financial aid for the deportees from the American Jewish *Joint Distribution Committee, the Rescue Committee of the Zionist Organization, the World Jewish Congress, and OSE. In the first two years, 500,000,000 lei were spent in aid to the Jews in Transnistria, of which about 160,000,000 was spent in cash and the rest provided salt, coal, glasspanes, wood, medicines, and equipment for artisans.

In February 1944, as a result of Cassulo's visit, the pope donated 1,300,000 lei to alleviate the conditions of the Jews of Transnistria.

Rescue and Assistance

At the first reports of deportations to Transnistria, W. Fildermann made efforts to stop the deportations and, failing in this, tried to alleviate the refugees' plight. A secret committee was formed in Bucharest, with both Fildermann and Zionist leaders participating. The committee's major purpose was to put a stop to the deportations. In November 1941 it persuaded Antonescu not to deport 20,000 Jews considered essential for the smooth functioning of the city. In the spring of 1942, as a result of German pressure, 4,000 of the remaining Jews of Chernovtsy were also deported. The deportation of the Jews of Southern Transylvania was canceled during the fall of 1942 for reasons yet to be understood; this deportation was intended to be the first stage in the deportation of all the Jews of Romania to the death camps in Poland. One factor was the protests of foreign diplomats, such as the ambassadors of neutral countries and the papal nuncio, and of the representatives of the International Red Cross, leaders of the Romanian Church, the queen mother Helena, and leaders of Romanian political parties. This intervention, along with the turning tide of the war, prompted the Romanian government in November 1942 to enter into negotiations with Jewish leaders in Bucharest on the return of the deportees and the emigration to Palestine of 75,000 survivors.

In March 1943 a selection commission was sent to Transnistria by the Romanian government. In April Antonescu approved the repatriation of 5,000 orphaned children, and of persons who had been "innocently" deported. As early as December 1942 the German Foreign Ministry, the German minister in Bucharest, Manfred von Killinger, and Eichmann's representative, Gustav Richter, protested against any decisions to repatriate Romanian Jews from Transnistria. In March 1943 Eichmann informed *Himmler of the planned emigration of Jewish orphans from Transnistria to Palestine and asked the German Foreign Ministry to prevent it.

In the spring of 1943 Fildermann, who in the meantime had himself been deported to Transnistria, called upon the Romanian government to permit the return of all the deportees. By mid-December 1943 the first group, consisting of 1,500 Jews from Dorohoi were allowed to go back to their homes. Repatriation was stopped at the end of January 1944, but the secret committee persevered and in March a group of 1,846 orphans, out of a total of 4,500, arrived in Jassy. Earlier, in February 1944, the chief rabbi of Palestine, Isaac *Herzog, appealed to the papal nuncio in Istanbul, Monsignor Roncalli (later Pope *John XXIII), to ensure the safety of the Transnistria deportees, now threatened by the withdrawing German armies. Roncalli transmitted this request to Monsignor Cassulo, the nuncio in Bucharest. On March 15, 1944, the Soviet armies crossed the Bug. Within five days they advanced northward up to the Dniester. A Jewish commission from Bucharest had in the meantime arrived in the south and arranged for the repatriation of 2,518 Jews in the towns of *Tiraspol and *Balta to Romania. On their arrival in Romania, 563 deportees from the Vapnyarka camp were seized by the Romanians and sent to the Targu-Jiu concentration camp in the western part of the country. The Transnistria deportations resulted in 88,294 deaths, out of a total of 146,555 persons deported. At least another 175,000 persons among the local Jewish inhabitants of Transnistria also fell victim to the Holocaust.

See also *Romania.

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[Theodor Lavi]

TRANSOXIANA, ancient region of central Asia, between the Oxus and Jaxartes rivers, known to the Arabs as Ma-Waran-Nahr ("beyond the river"). In the medieval period it was divided into several provinces, one being Khwarizm, with its two capitals Khiva and Urgench, and another Soghd, with the two capitals *Samarkand and *Bukhara. These four cities have been connected in various periods with Jewish settlements, mostly consisting of Persian Jews who had penetrated into these remote regions from the central provinces of Persia and *Khursan. According to an ancient Pahlavi tradition, Khwarizm was built by Narses (fifth century), the son of Yezdegerd I and his Jewish wife Shushan Dokt, daughter of the exilarch. That Jews lived in this region in early Islamic times can be inferred from the work of the ninth-century Arab historian, al-Ṭabarī (II, 1238); recounting that the shah of Khwarizm assembled the leaders of the various communities of his domain, he mentions the "Habar," a term usually applied to Jews. The 13th-century Muslim historian al-Umari mentions expressly in his *Masālik al-Absār* that there were in Khwarizm 100 Jewish families and the same number of Christian and that they were not permitted to exceed this total.

Khiva (see *Khorezm), a large city on the bank of the Oxus which was a central meeting place for merchants, had, according to one manuscript version of the travels of *Benjamin of Tudela (ed. A. Asher, 1 (1840), 128; 2 (1840), 168–9), a community of 8,000 Jews. *Solomon b. Samuel, the author of a Hebrew-Persian dictionary of the Bible, known as *Sefer ha-Meliẓah* (c. 1339), lived in Urgench in the 14th century.

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[Walter Joseph Fischel]

TRANSPLANTS. Advances in medical knowledge and technology have made possible the transplantation of organs from a deceased (or, in the case of some organs such as a kidney, from a living) person into another individual stricken with disease, and this technological advance reached an acme with the transplantation of a human heart. Such operations raised many moral, theological, legal, social, and philosophical problems.

With regard to the general permissibility, Rabbi I. *Jakobovits is of the opinion that a donor may endanger his life or health to supply a "spare" organ to a recipient whose life would thereby be saved, only if the probability of saving the recipient's life is substantially greater than the risk to the donor's life or health. This principle is applicable to all organ transplantation where live donors are used as a source of the organ in question. Rabbi Y. Waldenberg (Responsa *Ẓiẓ Eliezer*, 9 (1967), no. 45) discusses at length the question of whether a healthy person may or must donate one of his organs to save the life of another. The majority opinion seems to be that a small risk may be undertaken by the donor if the chances for success in the recipient are substantial.

Most of the rabbinic responsa literature concerning organ transplantation deals with eye (cornea) transplants. The basic halakhic principles governing eye transplants, however, are applicable to nearly all other organ transplants. Kidney and heart transplants involve several additional unique questions. The classic responsum is that of Rabbi I.Y. *Unterman (*Shevet mi-Yhudah* (1955), 313 ff.) who states that the prohibitions on deriving benefit from the dead, desecrating the dead, and delaying the burial of the dead are all set aside because of *pikku'aḥ nefesh* – the consideration of saving life. These prohibitions would remain if there is no threat to life involved in the condition for the treatment of which the transplant is being done. For example, there is no *pikku'aḥ nefesh* involved in a nose transplant. Rabbi Unterman considers eye transplants to involve *pikku'aḥ nefesh* because blindness is a situation in which a person so afflicted may fall down a flight of stairs or into a ditch and be killed. What of a person blind in one eye? The concept of *pikku'aḥ nefesh* does not apply. However, argues Rabbi Unterman, once the donor eye is implanted into the recipient, it is not considered dead but a living organ. Thus, the prohibitions on deriving benefit from the dead and delaying burial of the dead are not applicable since no dead organ is involved. For the same reason, the problem of ritual defilement or *tumah* is nonexistent, in regard to the transplanted eye. Rabbi J.J. Greenwald (*Kol Bo al Avelut*, 1 (1947), 45ff.) presents reasoning from which the conclusion can be drawn that one may not remove the entire eye from a deceased donor for transplantation; only the cornea may be used since a whole eye represents flesh whereas the cornea alone is considered skin. Furthermore, one cannot overcome the problems of desecrating and delaying burial of the dead without invoking the concept of *pikku'aḥ nefesh*. Thus, Rabbi Greenwald, as most authorities, would only permit eye grafts for a person blind in both eyes. Rabbi I. Glickman (*No'am*, 4 (1961), 206–17) added to Rabbi Unterman's theses described above that one may perform a transplant only if the donor gave permission prior to his death. Most rabbinic responsa agree with this requirement.

The problem of eye banks is raised by Rabbi M. Steinberg (*No'am*, 3 (1960), 87ff.). Since the permissibility of organ transplants rests primarily on the overriding consideration of *pikku'aḥ nefesh*, then it would seem that the recipient would have to be at hand (*lefaneinu*). Rabbi Steinberg states that since the number of blind persons is so large, a recipient is considered to be always at hand. Rabbi Jakobovits also permits organs or blood to be donated for deposit in banks provided there is a reasonable certainty that they will eventually be used in life-saving operations including the restoration or preservation of eyesight. Rabbi Unterman, at the end of his remarks on eye transplants, also states that donations to blood banks are permissible.

The question of whether the eye of a non-Jewish donor may be used for an eye transplant is raised by Rabbi M. Feinstein (*Iggerot Moshe*, pt. *Yoreh De'ah* (1959), no. 229). He draws the conclusion that it is permissible for a Jew to use the eye of a gentile donor.

Kidney transplants are governed by the same principles as those discussed above for eye transplants. In fact, many of the responsa deal with both eye and kidney transplants. In addition to cadaver kidneys, kidneys from live donors are used for transplantation. Here, new halakhic questions arise. Is the donor allowed to subject himself to the danger, however small, of the operation to remove one of his kidneys in order to save the life of another? Does the donor transgress the commandments to "take heed to thyself" (Deut. 4:9 and 4:15)? The Shulḥan Arukh and Maimonides in the *Yad* answer this question by stating as follows: "The Jerusalem Talmud concludes that one is obligated to put oneself even into a possibly dangerous situation [to save another's life]." The reason seems to be that the death of the sick person (i.e., the kidney recipient) without intervention is a certainty, whereas his (the donor's) death is only a possibility.

With regard to heart transplantations, medical and ethical guidelines have been established. Recommendations include the requirements that the surgical team shall have had extensive laboratory experience in cardiac transplantation, that death of the donor shall be certified by an independent group of physicians, and that the information and knowledge gained should be rapidly disseminated to the medical world.

From the halakhic point of view, the prohibitions dealing with desecrating the dead, delaying burial of the dead, and ritual defilement, are all set aside in the case of human heart transplantation, for the overriding consideration of *pikku'aḥ nefesh*, saving a life. The major halakhic problem remaining is the establishment of the death of the donor. Prior to death, the donor is in the category of a *gosses* (hopelessly ill patient) and one is prohibited from touching him or moving him or doing anything that might hasten his death. There are many types of death: mental death when a person's intellect ceases to function; social death when a person can no longer function in society; spiritual death when the soul leaves the body; and physiological or medical death. The Jewish legal or halakhic definition of death is that a person who has stopped breathing and whose heart is not beating is considered dead. This classic definition of death in the Talmud (Yoma 8:6–7; Yoma 85a; TJ, Yoma 8:5, 45a and Maimonides, Yad, Shabbat 2:19; Sh. Ar., OḤ 329:4) would be set aside if prospects for resuscitation of the patient, however remote, are deemed feasible.

On the assumption that the donor is absolutely and positively dead, most rabbinic authorities permit heart transplants. Rabbi Jakobovits has stated that "…in principle, I can see no objection in Jewish law to the heart operations recently carried out, provided the donors were definitely deceased at the time the organ was removed from them." Rabbi I. Arieli is also quoted as having said that heart transplants are permissible if the donor is definitely dead, but only with the family's consent. A similar pronouncement was made by Rabbi D. Lifshutz. Rabbi Unterman's published responsum (*No'am*, 13 (1970), 1–9) dealing specifically with heart transplants begins by stating that consent from the family of the donor must be obtained for several reasons. Touching briefly on the problem of organ banks, he states that freezing organs for later use is allowed provided there is a good chance that they will be used to save a life. Then the situation would be comparable to having the recipient at hand (*lefaneinu*). Rabbi Unterman concludes with the novel pronouncement that in the case of a human heart transplant recipient, removing the patient's old heart takes from him his hold on life (*ḥezkat ḥayyim*). Therefore, the removal of the recipient's heart can be sanctioned only if the risk of death resulting from the surgery is estimated to be smaller than the prospect for lasting success.

Dissenting from Rabbi Unterman's permissiveness toward heart transplants under the conditions described above is Rabbi J. Weiss who strongly condemns cardiac transplants as double murder (*Ha-Ma'or*, 20 (1968), no. 7, 1–9). Rabbi Feinstein also added his voice to those condemning heart transplants (*Ha-Pardes*, 43 (1969), no. 5). Careful reading of his lengthy responsum on this subject discloses the following clarification of his position: if the donor is definitely dead by all medical and Jewish legal criteria, then no murder of the donor would be involved and the removal of his heart or other organ to save another human life would be permitted. Concerning the recipient, he wrote at the time, when medical science will have progressed to the point where cardiac transplantation becomes an accepted therapeutic procedure with reasonably good chances for success, then the recipient shall no longer be considered murdered. Major obstacles such as organ rejection, tissue compatibility testing, and immunosuppressive therapy must be first overcome. Other responsa on cardiac transplantation are those of Rabbi S. *Goren (*Maḥanayim*, 122 (1969), 7–15), Rabbi Y. Gershuni (*Or Ha-Mizraḥ*, April 1969), Rabbi D.C. Gulewski (*Ha-Maor*, 21 (1969), no. 1, 1–16), Rabbi M. *Kasher (*No'am*, 13 (1970), 10–20), and Dr. J. Levi (*No'am*, 12 (1969), 289–313). The major concern of most, if not all, rabbis attempting to render legal rulings in heart transplant cases is the establishment of the death of the donor.

For a full legal discussion with later rulings, see *Medicine and the Law.

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[Fred Rosner]

TRANSYLVANIA (Rom. **Transilvania** or **Ardeal**; Ger. **Siebenbuergen**; Hung. **Erdély**), historic province now forming western *Romania. Each territorial component of this region has its own history, which has influenced the history of the Jews living among the Hungarians, Romanians, Germans, and other peoples inhabiting it. In 1940, as a result of the second arbitration decision of Vienna, the territory was divided between Hungary and Romania – northern Transylvania going to Hungary and southern Transylvania to Romania – where the Jews suffered different fates. In 1945 the whole of Transylvania reverted to Romania.

Transylvania has always been a center of routes connecting the Orient with the West, and southern Europe with northern Europe. Its location influenced the general development of the region, and in particular Jewish settlement from its beginnings. The first Jews arrived from the south – the Balkans and Turkey – by the trade routes to the north of Transylvania. It has, however, been surmised that a small Jewish settlement existed there, as one had also in neighboring Pannonia, during the first and second centuries C.E. when the territory was under Roman rule and constituted Roman Dacia, though there is no definite evidence for this assumption. Between 1571 and 1687, historic Transylvania and a number of the bordering territories formed an independent principality ruled by the Hungarian-Transylvanian princes. It was in this principality, which was adjacent to the Ottoman Empire and maintained close relations with it, that the first recorded Jewish settlement developed. The overwhelming majority of its members were Turkish Sephardi Jews. Their first organized Jewish community was in *Alba Iulia, the seat of the prince. A letter of protection of 1623 guaranteed the Jews extensive rights, but restricted their residence to this town only. However, despite the restrictions, Jews began to settle in other localities close to the mother community. The relations of the local Jews with the Jews in the north and the west attracted a small number of Ashkenazi settlers from distant places.

This first settlement also affected the development of the Transylvanian Christian sect of *Somrei Sabat, whose customs and prayer books were influenced by the Sephardi ritual. Although the princes, particularly Gabriel Bethlen, had promised the Jews certain rights, there were also schemings against them, and at the general assemblies of the classes it was suggested that the number of Jews be restricted. The first decision to this effect was passed as early as 1578.

With the close of the period of the independent principality and the beginning of Austrian rule, Jews also began to settle on the estates of noblemen who were not bound by the residence prohibitions already issued against Jews. (The aristocrats needed the Jews for the economic exploitation of their land, but provoked antisemitic feelings among their dependents in order to make the Jews afraid of them.) Most of the towns nevertheless remained closed to Jewish settlement. The revolutionary year of 1848 theoretically marked the end of the residence restrictions. There were then about 15,000 Jews in historic Transylvania. The number of Sephardim was declining and Ashkenazi settlers from the north – i.e., Poland – began to play an important role in community life. The number of Jews in historic Transylvania has been estimated at 2,000 in 1766; 5,175 in 1825; and 15,600 in 1850. Organizationally, between 1754 and 1879, the Jews were under the jurisdiction of a chief rabbi whose seat was in Alba Iulia. In 1866, when Transylvania was still ruled by the central government in Vienna, representatives of the Jewish communities gathered for the first time in *Cluj for a national conference to create a unified communal organization with regular organizational patterns.

The objectives of this congress did not materialize because in 1867 the whole of Transylvania was incorporated within Hungary, and Jewish communal organization followed that of Hungarian Jewry until the end of World War I. The religious schism which occurred within Hungarian Jewry after 1868–69 (see *Hungary) also left its imprint on Transylvania and, after struggles within the communities, separate Orthodox, *Neologist, and *Status Quo Ante communities were formed. The influence of *Ḥasidism, which penetrated Transylvania from the north, was powerful. During the period of the struggles and separations, the Jews of historic Transylvania numbered 25,142. By 1880, upon the completion of the new organization, they numbered 30,000. The majority of the communities, especially those with large memberships, joined the Orthodox trend. There were sharp controversies between the Ḥasidim and the rabbinist-Ashkenazi Jews, who in spiritual-religious matters turned to Pressburg (*Bratislava) as a center of authority. The Neologist communities, in which the Magyar assimilationist trend became strong, regarded Budapest as their center.

The densest Jewish population developed in northeastern Transylvania, whose territories bordered upon Poland and Moldavia, the urban centers of this region being *Sighet and *Satu Mare. Until its liquidation, the majority of Jews there remained loyal to traditional Jewish culture, and the predominant language was Yiddish. During the 19th century, Yiddish newspapers were published there, and several poets and authors published works in this language. In the western part of Transylvania, where the large urban centers were *Oradea and *Arad, the predominant language was Hungarian, while in the southwestern part of the region, whose center was *Timisoara, it was Hungarian and German. In the southeastern part, whose center was *Brasov, the Jews lived among a German population which influenced them culturally, but their social ties with it were not extensive. Although there was a large Romanian population in the whole of Transylvania, the Jews were not influenced culturally by the Romanian element until the end of World War I. On the contrary, in most places Jews were pioneers in spreading among the Romanian population the Magyar national trend of the central government in Budapest. The natural center of Transylvania, the town of Cluj – which also occasionally served as its official capital – was also a Jewish center during most of the 19th and 20th centuries. Cluj University, where Jews were also appointed professors, was an important intellectual center for Jews in historic Transylvania, while those in the western districts attended the University of Budapest.

From the beginning of the 20th century, the Jewish population in historic Transylvania only increased from 53,065 (2.2 percent of the total population) in 1900 to 64,674 (2.4 percent) in 1910. In the whole area currently known as Transylvania the Jews numbered 181,340 (3.57 percent) at the beginning of Romanian rule in 1920. The growth of the Jewish population and its dispersion throughout the region was linked to economic development, the establishment of industry, and the construction of the railway system. Jews played an important role in this development, at first in small trade and later in large-scale industrialization; they were also prominent in railroad construction. In general cultural life Jewish participation was considerable, and from 1860 Jews took an active part in political life. Jewish journalists were prominent and in particular assisted in raising the standard of the theater. Jewish producers active in Cluj before World War I were pioneers in the film industry in Hungary, among them Alexander *Korda. In the field of Jewish culture before the end of World War I there were Hebrew printing presses, and attempts were made to publish newspapers and weeklies in Hebrew, Yiddish, and Hungarian. Most communities had elementary schools.

In 1918–19 historic Transylvania and the other territories which constitute present-day Transylvania were transferred from Hungary to Romania. Links were established with Romanian Jewry and its center in Bucharest, but they remained very weak, with neither of the two sides willing to compromise; very few of the Hungarian-speaking Transylvanian Jews were prepared to change their cultural affiliations. Even after World War II and the Holocaust, many Transylvanian Jews continued to see themselves as "Hungarians of the Mosaic faith." Important secondary schools were established in Cluj (where the language of instruction was also Hebrew), Timisoara, and Oradea. A Hungarian-Jewish daily, **Uj Kelet* (first appearing as a weekly), was published in Cluj from 1918 until 1940; its publication was resumed in Israel in 1948. Jewish works were published under its aegis, and its supporters and members of the editorial board were active in Jewish cultural life and even in the general political sphere, among them the editor-in-chief, E. *Marton. In the interwar period there were 110 organized Jewish communities in Transylvania, of which 23 belonged to the Neologist organization, 80 were Orthodox, and the remainder belonged to the Status Quo Ante organization. The headquarters of the Neologist communities were in Cluj, while those of the Orthodox communities were at first in *Bistrita and later in *Turda.

Zionist activity, which had already commenced at the time of the first Zionist congress, developed to large proportions. Every trend of the Zionist movement reached the major towns and even the smallest localities of the region. Until 1927, the Zionist national headquarters were situated in Cluj, after which its organizational section was transferred to Timisoara. In association with the Zionist movement, a national Jewish party, active mainly after 1930, campaigned on a large scale in parliamentary and municipal elections. The party delegates in the Romanian Parliament fought against anti-Jewish discrimination by the government, and for promulgation of the *minority rights expressly granted the Jews by the Trianon peace treaty. A number of Jews, especially in the western districts, who had remained politically attached to the Hungarians, organized a separate political party in Transylvania. Jews rose to the leadership and were elected to municipal councils and as delegates to the Parliament in Bucharest. A limited number of Jews were also active in the national Romanian parties, and slightly more in the Social Democratic Party. Jews also belonged to the underground Communist movement, some serving among its leaders between the two world wars.

Romanian antisemitism, strong throughout this period, also made its appearance in Transylvania. In 1927 pogroms were organized by Romanian students who had convened in Oradea for their national conference. These disorders spread to the areas in the vicinity of Oradea, to localities situated near the Oradea-Cluj railway line, and to Cluj itself. In 1936–37, when the Romanian Fascist movement, the Iron Guard, formed branches throughout Romania, centers were also established in most Transylvanian towns, particularly in Arad. After 1933, the overwhelming majority of the German population – the Swabians in Banat and the Saxons in southern Transylvania – proclaimed themselves supporters of the Third Reich. Most of the German population was associated with the Transylvanian Fascist organizations. These, however, did not take active measures against the Jews and contented themselves with an economic *boycott and social ostracism. Between the end of 1937 and the beginning of 1938, when the outspokenly antisemitic O. Goga-A.C. Cuza government came to power, Jews, under the direction of the Zionists, formed clandestine *self-defense organizations which succeeded in preventing acts of brutality. A Jewish economic organization was established to assist Jews threatened with dismissal from employment. The succeeding Romanian governments continued to discriminate against Jews; severe economic problems arose, and there was growing poverty. The Jewish organizations combined in efforts to provide relief and assistance. *Aliyah* to Palestine increased, though few immigration certificates were allocated to Transylvanian Jews. The number of Jews in this period remained approximately 200,000, forming 1.8 percent of the general population of historic Transylvania, 20.9 percent of that of Maramures, 5 percent of that of Crisana, and 1.2 percent of that of Banat.

Holocaust and Contemporary Periods

In August 1940, in the second arbitration decision of Vienna, it was decided by Germany and Italy – upon the basis of political considerations of the German Nazis – to incorporate one part of Transylvania into Hungary, while the other remained within Romania, the parts being known respectively as northern Transylvania and southern Transylvania.

SOUTHERN TRANSYLVANIA. The minority of about 40,000 Jews remained in the southern, Romanian sector, where the government began severe persecution of the Jewish population. The land owned by the community bodies was confiscated, Jews were deprived of factories and shops, and many Jews of military age were forced into labor battalions. Whole Jewish populations of villages and provincial towns were expelled and concentrated in the district capitals. The communities were nevertheless able to continue their religious activities and provided assistance for the needy. The Zionist movement continued activities, and its leaders and members of the youth movement organized rescue and defense from their center in Timisoara.

NORTHERN TRANSYLVANIA. The fate of the Jews in northern Transylvania, who numbered approximately 150,000, was very different. The Fascist Hungarian government which occupied this territory during the first half of September 1940 immediately introduced economic, social, and cultural restrictions against the Jews. The newspaper *Uj Kelet* was compelled to cease publication on the first day of Hungarian rule in Cluj. Zionist activity was prohibited in most places. Jews were immediately dismissed from law offices and public positions, and the number of Jewish pupils in the general secondary schools was restricted to 4 percent of the student rolls. The Jewish organizations took steps to relieve this situation. In the fall of 1940 a Jewish secondary school was established in Cluj with eight classes for boys and eight for girls, and later absorbed pupils who had been dismissed from the general secondary schools, as well as from outlying districts. Central relief organizations were set up in which both the Orthodox and the Neologist communities cooperated. In 1942, the Hungarian military command began to conscript Jews of military age into forced labor battalions, most of which were sent to the eastern front and reached the advance lines of the German-Hungarian invasion of the Soviet Union. Most of the conscripts perished under the harsh conditions. The Jews in northern Transylvania began to resume participation in the organizational life of Hungarian Jewry, whose center was in Budapest. The Transylvanian Zionist movement functioned clandestinely, and even succeeded in sending youths and adults to Palestine through Romania and the Black Sea.

A further turning point occurred on March 19, 1944, when the Germans occupied Hungary. After a few weeks, preparations were made to establish ghettos and for deportations to the death camp at *Auschwitz. The area was declared to be a danger zone from the security aspect, and both the Hungarian and German authorities sped up the deportations to the death camps. From the end of the summer of 1944 nearly all the Jews in northern Transylvania were deported; few succeeded in hiding themselves. The Jewish institutions were liquidated and a number of synagogues were destroyed.

After the capitulation of Romania on Aug. 23, 1944, northern Transylvania became a battle zone: the Soviet and Romanian armies entered the region and defeated the German and Hungarian forces. Toward the end of this period, a few Jews left southern Transylvania for northern Transylvania. In 1945 survivors began to return to the region.

By 1947 a Jewish population had been formed from survivors of the camps, the arrivals from southern Transylvania, and others who had come to the region from Romania and northern Bukovina, occupied by the Soviet Union. According to an estimate for that year, they numbered about 44,000 in northern Transylvania, 13,000 in Crisana, and 15,000 in Banat. The traditional community institutions were revived, and Zionist organizations were also active until 1949 in finding opportunities for *aliyah*. In addition, a new Jewish Democratic Committee (Comitetul Democratic Evreesc – CDE) was established by Jewish activists of the Communist Party. However, as soon became evident, the committee was an instrument of the new Communist regime, with the principal objective of disbanding the Zionist movement so that organized Jewish activities could be placed under close government and party supervision. After the war, and especially after the establishment of the State of Israel, many thousands of Jews made their way to Israel. The Jewish population in the region in 1971 was estimated at between 6,000 and 7,000. In towns with traditional communities – Cluj, Oradea, Arad, and Timisoara – and in several other smaller towns, the community organizations continued to be active, and prayers were held in the synagogues at least on Friday evenings and festivals. The communities were affiliated to the central organization of Romanian Jews with headquarters in Bucharest. The dwindling of the Transylvanian Jewish communities continued into the 21st century, with most of the remaining Jews now being entirely assimilated.

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[Yehouda Marton / Paul Schveiger (2nd ed.)]

TRAPANI, city in Sicily. Documents suggest that 200 Jews, constituting one-tenth of the town's inhabitants, lived in Trapani in 1439. Their share of the taxes, however, was one-sixth, and from 1426 they had to provide one-third of the guard for the town walls. The affairs of the community were directed by the *prothi* ("notables"), assisted by 12 elders. In 1484 the community adopted the unusual system of having the outgoing *prothi* appoint their own successors. Like all the Jews in Sicily, the Jews of Trapani were under continuous pressure to pay special levies to the sovereigns. In 1404 King Martin urged the *prothi* to proceed energetically against Jewish tax defaulters through excommunication, denial of circumcision for their sons, and exclusion from burial in the Jewish cemetery. Two years later he reconfirmed the privileges of the Jews, in consequence of the exceptional contributions they had paid. The brothers Samuel and Elia Sala, who in 1402 had been granted special privileges for services rendered to the royal house, were commissioned in 1405 and 1409 to negotiate the peace between the rulers of Sicily and Tripoli. In the meantime they ransomed the bishop of Syracuse from the Saracens. The Jews of Trapani made their living from trade, including shipping merchandise to Tunisia, and many worked in the manufacture of coral jewelry. The number of Jews obliged to leave Trapani at the expulsion in 1492 (see *Sicily) is estimated at about 300. In 1492, at the time of the expulsion many wealthy Jewish families left Trapani, but they returned a few years later as *Neofiti (baptized Jews). In 1499 the city negotiated the taxation of Jewish property that remained after the expulsion specifying that it concerned the newly converted Jews, and referring to the "assets, debts, silver, gold, jewels, and other things of the said former Jews, at present baptized." Shortly after its establishment in 1500, the Spanish Inquisition in Sicily concentrated its efforts against the converted Jews of Trapani and many were prosecuted. Inquisitorial registers list 80 converts living in Trapani after the expulsion.

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[Sergio Joseph Sierra / Nadia Zeldes (2nd ed.)]

°TRASKE, JOHN (c. 1585–1636), English sectarian leader and Judaizer. Born in Somerset, Traske became an Anglican minister in 1611. He then became a peripatetic preacher and, by the mid-1610s, influenced by a tailor named Hamlet Jackson, he and his followers regulated their lives by the Hebrew Scriptures, strictly observing the Sabbath and dietary laws. After being condemned to savage punishment by the Star Chamber (1618), he recanted and published *A Treatise of Libertie from Judaisme … by John Traske, of late stumbling, now happily running again in the Race of Christianitie* (London, 1620). Some of his associates, including Hamlet Jackson, immigrated to Amsterdam where the latter, at least, formally joined the Jewish community.

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[Cecil Roth]

TRAUB, MARVIN S. (1925–), U.S. retail executive. Traub, a native New Yorker, became synonymous with one of the city's best-known attractions, Bloomingdale's department store. Under his leadership, it evolved from dowdy to dazzling and turned shopping into show business. It was also on his watch that Bloomingdale's had its darkest days, being forced into a brief period of bankruptcy. Traub was raised in a retailing environment. His mother was a fashion director at Bonwit Teller on Fifth Avenue and his father had a licensing agreement with Christian Dior. After serving in France with the U.S. infantry in World War II and receiving a Purple Heart for a leg wound, Traub graduated from Harvard College in 1947 and Harvard Business School in 1949. He worked briefly at Macy's and Alexander's, then joined Bloomingdale's in 1950. It would be his employer for the next 41 years. When Traub arrived, the store's wares were modestly priced, "a notch below Gimbel's," he once recalled. His first assignment was to manage the 49-cent bargain hosiery table. By 1959, Traub had risen to vice president of home products and he made history by sending his buyers to Italy to look for everything from flatware to furniture. The Casa Bella promotion became the first of Bloomingdale's import events, presaging the transformation of the store into one of the most dynamic retailing operations in the U.S. The import promotions spread to other departments and eventually were storewide. Traub also advanced the concept of in-store boutiques, a key retail development. He was named president of Bloomingdale's in 1960 and chairman in 1978, retaining that post until he retired in 1991. That year, he was awarded the National Retail Federation's Gold Medal. From 1988 to 1992, Traub was also a vice chairman of Federated Department Stores, Bloomingdale's owner. In 1992, he formed Marvin Traub Associates, a marketing and consulting business. He was a senior advisor to Financo, an investment banking firm. In 1993, Traub co-authored *Like No Other Store in the World*, a chronicle of his triumphs at Bloomingdale's and an unsparing critique of Robert Campeau, a Canadian real estate tycoon who borrowed billions to complete a hostile takeover of the store in 1988. Pressed by debt, Campeau put Bloomingdale's up for sale. Traub tried and failed to buy the store, which was driven into bankruptcy in 1990 and emerged from it in 1992.

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[Mort Sheinman (2nd ed.)]

TRAUBE, ISIDOR (1860–1943), German physical chemist. Traube, who was born in Hildesheim, worked at the universities of Heidelberg and Bonn. From 1901 he was professor at the Technische Hochschule of Berlin, but left Germany in 1934 and settled in Edinburgh.

Traube related the laws governing the behavior of dilute solutions to the gas laws, actually anticipating Van't Hoff and Arrhenius, the Dutch and Swedish physical chemists. Traube also propounded that absorbed films on liquid surfaces obeyed two-dimensional analogies of the gas laws, a proposition that was substantiated 30 years later. He published numerous papers on surface phenomena. His theory of the action of drugs had a positive effect on pharmacological research for years. The effect of organic compounds on the surface tension of water is governed by "Traube's Rule."

[Samuel Aaron Miller]

TRAUBE, LUDWIG (1818–1876), German pathologist; a pioneer in the field of experimental pathology. Traube was born in Silesia and graduated from the University of Berlin. In 1849 he was appointed lecturer and research worker at the Charité Hospital in Berlin and his clinic soon achieved a high reputation for exactness and thoroughness in diagnoses and therapy. His book *Gesammelte Beitraege zur Pathologie und Physiologie* (3 vols., 1871–78) earned him a worldwide reputation. He was one of the first Jewish physicians to attain the title of professor in Germany.

Traube investigated pulmonary resection of the vagus nerve and carried out studies on suffocation, effects of digitalis and other drugs, the pathology of fever, the relationship between heart and kidney diseases, and many other subjects. He was the first to introduce the thermometer in his clinic for regular checking of temperature of all patients. He described an area of the chest wall over which stomach resonance is obtained ("Traube's Space"). "Traube's Sign" is a double sound over the peripheral arteries in aortic insufficiency or mitral stenosis. He also described blood curves ("Traube's Curves") and an artificial chemical membrane ("Traube's Membrane").

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[Suessmann Muntner]

TRAUBE, LUDWIG (1861–1907), master paleographer and critic of Latin texts. Born in Berlin, the son of Ludwig *Traube, the great pathologist, he became professor of the Latin philology of the Middle Ages at the University of Munich in 1904 after a long struggle in which his Jewishness played a key role. His importance lies in the fact that through his independent research he raised paleography to the status of a historical science and made a basic contribution to the intellectual history of the Latin Middle Ages. Possessed of independent means, he was able to visit all the important libraries of Europe and study the Latin manuscripts at length. His studies of contractions of Latin words and *nomina sacra* (his major work, a study of various ways of writing divine names in manuscripts) proved crucial in tracing the history of schools of copyists, tracing manuscripts to particular monks, and indicating which medieval scholars had used them. He unraveled the complicated textual histories of the Rule of St. Benedict and of the Latin historian Livy. Of his projected comprehensive work on Latin paleography, the study of the half-uncial script appeared posthumously. Despite his premature death, Traube, because of his ability to attract and influence students, continued to exercise a profound influence on the field through his students – P. Lehmann, P. Maas, C.U. Clark, C.H. Beeson, E.A. *Lowe, and E.K. Rand – not only in Germany but also in England and especially in the United States.

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[Louis Harry Feldman]

TRAUBE, MORITZ (1826–1894), German chemist and biologist. Traube was born in Ratibor, Upper Silesia, the brother of Ludwig *Traube. For most of his life he had to combine scientific research in his private laboratory with running the family wine business. With his discovery of semipermeable membranes he pioneered the field of osmosis. He also did research into autoxidation of hydrogen peroxide, plant respiration, biological oxidation and reduction, and nutrition. Traube was a member of the Berlin Academy of Sciences.

TRAUBE, WILHELM (1866–1942), German organic chemist. Traube was born in Ratibor, Upper Silesia, the son of Moritz *Traube, and the brother of Hermann Traube, professor of mineralogy at Breslau. He studied at Heidelberg, and in Berlin. He spent his career at the University of Berlin, where he became professor in 1929, retiring in 1934. He published on aromatic and heterocylic compounds and pharmaceutical activity.

TRAVEL, PRAYER FOR (Heb. תְּפִלַּת הַדֶּרֶךְ, *Tefillat ha-Derekh*), prayer recited upon setting out on a journey to protect the traveler from the dangers associated with travel. The Talmud attributes the institution of this practice to the prophet

Elijah, who cautioned a scholar that "when thou goest forth on a journey, seek counsel of thy Maker and go forth." The talmudic text of this prayer is:

> May it be Thy will, O Lord my God, to lead me forth in peace, and direct my steps in peace and uphold me in peace, and deliver me from the hand of every enemy and ambush by the way, and send a blessing on the works of my hands, and cause me to find grace, kindness, and mercy in Thy eyes and in the eyes of all who see me. Blessed art Thou, O Lord, who hearkenest unto prayer (Ber. 29b).

With only slight alterations, this text has since been used as the traveler's prayer among both Ashkenazim and Sephardim (Hertz, Prayer, 1044). It is, however, recited in the first person plural in accordance with the dictum of Abbaye that "a man should always associate himself with the congregation" (Ber. 29b–30a). It is recited once daily at the start of each day's travels, as long as a distance of 1 Persian mile (about 3 miles) is to be covered. It is preferable to recite this prayer while standing, although it may be said while sitting in places where it is difficult to stand (Ber. 30a; Sh. Ar., OḤ 110:4–7), as in an automobile or airplane. It has also become customary to recite appropriate biblical selections (e.g., Gen. 32:2–3; Ex. 23:20; Ps. 91) at the conclusion of the prayer. Additions have also been made for sea and air travel. Alternative versions of this prayer for paratroopers, pilots, sailors, and soldiers were composed by S. Goren, the former chief rabbi of the Israel Defense Forces.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Idelsohn, Liturgy, 172.

TRAVELERS AND EXPLORERS. In the ninth century Jewish traders known as "*Radaniya" traded between Western Europe and China, by land and sea. They were fluent in several languages and dealt in female and boy slaves, eunuchs, brocades, furs such as beaver and marten, and swords from the West. They brought back musk, aloes, camphor, cinnamon, and other products from China and India. After the Arab conquest of North Africa in the seventh century, Jewish traders had followed the Berber and Arab armies and reached the Niger Basin. As late as the 18th and 19th centuries, Jewish caravan travelers were sending geographical information about southern Morocco and the western Sahara back to Europe.

*Isaac the Jew, who accompanied Charlemagne's embassy to Hārūn al-Rashīd as an interpreter in 797, returned four years later with an elephant, Abulaboz, which was a gift from the sultan. *Eldad ha-Dani (c. 880) claimed to have made two voyages. The range of his travels seems to have extended from Baghdad and Kairouan to Spain. Jacob ibn Ṭāriq (ninth century) is supposed to have traveled from Baghdad to Ceylon to obtain books on astronomy, while an Arabian or Turkish ruler sent a Jacob Aben Sheara to India (c. 925), for the same purpose.

According to the *ʿAja'ib al-Hind* ("The Wonders of India," c. 953), by Buzurg ibn Shahriyar of Ramhurmuz, Isḥāq (Isaac) the Jew traveled from Oman (Sohar, southeastern Arabia) to India. From there, he went to China, where he lived for 30 years and amassed a fortune. He returned to Oman in 912/13. Isḥāq was subsequently killed at Serboza in Sumatra on orders of Oman's governor Ahmad ibn Hilāl. He is also supposed to have visited Lhó or Bhutan in the Himalayas. *Ibrāhīm ibn Yaʿqūb of Tortosa (tenth century) visited France (including the area around the English Channel), Mainz, Fulda, Schleswig, apparently Bohemia, and the court of the German emperor, Otto I, in 966. According to Abraham *Ibn Ezra (12th century), a Jewish traveler brought the "Arabic" numerals from India. Ibn Ezra himself visited Rome, a number of other Italian towns, Provence, France, England, Africa, Rhodes, and perhaps Ereẓ Israel and even India. His *Reshit Ḥokhmah* contains important information on Egypt, Arabia, Ereẓ Israel, Persia, and India. *Genizah* documents attest to considerable travel by Jewish merchants from the Middle East to India and other Asian countries.

The most famous Jewish medieval traveler was *Benjamin b. Jonah of Tudela who journeyed in the second half of the 12th century. He wrote a book on his travels, which vividly depicts the many Jewish communities he visited and also gives a picture of general political and economic conditions. His contemporary, the German traveler *Pethahiah of Regensburg, journeyed throughout the Middle East and his account, although incorporating certain legendary elements, gives much valuable information on the Jewish communities he encountered. An adventurous traveler was the Hebrew poet and translator Judah *al-Ḥarizi. In his youth he traveled from his native Spain to Provence. In about 1216 he set out on his journey to the East. Some chapters of his classical work *Taḥkemoni* contain his observations, at times very critical, of the Jewish communities he visited between 1216 and 1230, which included those in Southern France, Egypt, Ereẓ Israel, Syria, and Mesopotamia. A document of King James IV of Majorca (1334) states that Yuceff Faquin, a Barcelona Jew, had circumnavigated the entire known world on the king's orders. Much Jewish travel concentrated on journeys to and from Ereẓ Israel, for which see *Travelers and Travel to Ereẓ Israel.

The Age of Discovery

Luis de *Torres, Columbus' interpreter, was a Jew who was baptized the day before the expedition's departure. De Torres, who reported the discovery of the phenomenon of tobacco, was the first person of Jewish origin to settle in Cuba.

The Portuguese, who attempted to find both a sea and an overland route to the Indies, sent João Perez of Covilhá and Alfonso de Paiva to search for such a route. When the pair had not been heard from for some time, *Abraham of Beja, known for his fluency in several languages, and Joseph Copateiro, an experienced eastern traveler, were sent to find them. They met Perez returning from India, in Cairo. De Paiva had died meanwhile. Abraham and Perez returned to Portugal via Ormuz, Damascus, and Aleppo, while Copateiro returned directly to Portugal with the information which indicated the existence of a sea route to the Far East; this information was then used by Vasco da Gama. One of the pilots and navigators who helped Da Gama in his later journey was a Jew, variously described as from Posen and Alexandria, whom he picked up on an island 60 miles from Goa. Da Gama had the Jew baptized as Gaspar da *Gama, and made him a pilot of the Portuguese fleet.

Hernando Alonso (1460–1528) had a particularly adventurous career. He was born in Niebla, Spain, immigrated to Cuba where he met Hernando Cortez (1516), and became a member of Cortez' army that sailed for Mexico (1520). A blacksmith and carpenter by trade, he helped build the ships that Cortez needed for the conquest of Tenochtitlán. He led the group that subdued the Indians of Pánuco and took part in the conquest of Guanajuato. Cortez awarded him the estate of Actopan, 40 miles outside of Mexico City, and he engaged in the lucrative business of supplying the town with meat. In 1528 he was denounced as a Judaizer and burned at the stake.

One of the most interesting and enigmatic figures of Jewish history is David *Reuveni, who appeared in Italy in 1524 claiming that his brother Joseph ruled over the tribes of Gad and Reuben and half the tribe of Manasseh in the wilderness of Habor and that he was the commander of his army. He claimed to have traveled, disguised as a Muslim, through Ethiopia, Egypt, and Ereẓ Israel, and came to Europe to elicit the military assistance of the Christian powers for the liberation of the Holy Land from the Turks. His "project" failed and he is reported to have died in prison in Spain. His Hebrew diary, which reflects his claims, describes, among other things, his talks with the pope and the king of Portugal, his visits to Italian Jewish communities, and his meetings in Portugal with Marranos, who saw in him the bearer of their hope.

Joseph *Delmedigo, who was born in Crete and studied in Padua, traveled through Egypt, Turkey, Poland, Russia, and Lithuania in the course of his career. A Jewish interpreter accompanied Captain James Lancaster (1601) on the East India Company's first expedition. He helped to negotiate the treaty between the English and the sultan of Achin in Sumatra, which served as the basis for British expansion in the Far East.

The 16th-century Yemenite poet *Zechariah al-Dāḥiri traveled widely. He journeyed to Yemen, India, Persia, Babylonia, Turkey, Syria, Ereẓ Israel, Egypt, and Ethiopia. His travel impressions form the literary background of his magnum opus *Sefer ha-Musar.*

Pedro *Teixeira (c. 1570–1650), a Marrano from Lisbon, may have been the first Jew to go around the world, and is believed to have been the first white man to make a continuous journey up the River Amazon.

In 1644 Antonio de Montezinos, who had returned from a trip to the Americas, told the worthies of the Amsterdam community about Indians he had met near Quito, Ecuador, who knew the *Shema* and claimed that they were descended from the tribes of Reuben and Levi. His report encouraged *Manasseh Ben Israel to write "Hope of Israel" and later to negotiate with Oliver Cromwell to readmit the Jews to England in order to complete their dispersion to the "end of the earth," which was a prerequisite for the coming of the Messiah.

In 1687 there appeared in Amsterdam *Notisias dos Judeos de Cochin*, a report on the condition of the Jews of *Cochin, by Moses *Pereira de Paiva, an Amsterdam Jew of Portuguese descent, who visited India.

18th–20th Centuries

Sason Hai of the House of Castiel was a native of Istanbul, who from his youth evinced a great desire to travel. From his travel account, in Hebrew, published by Izhak Ben-Zvi (*Sefunot*, 1 (1956), 141–84), it is difficult to determine the route of his travels. He mentions his return to Istanbul in 1703 and that in 1709 he was in Basra. Among the countries he visited were Holland, Italy, Ethiopia, Tunisia and Morocco, Persia, and Afghanistan. Although his account abounds in legends, folk tales and hearsay, it nevertheless contains many accurate facts which he reports as an eyewitness.

The best-known Jewish travel record of the 18th century is the *Ma'gal Tov* of Ḥayyim Joseph David *Azulai, the famous rabbinical scholar and bibliographer. He twice toured European Jewish communities as an emissary of the Jewish community of Hebron. On his first journey (1753–58), he sailed from Alexandria to Leghorn, where he returned after traveling through Italy, Tyrol, Germany, Holland, England, and France, and sailed from there to Smyrna. He subsequently visited Istanbul, returning from there by boat to Ereẓ Israel. On his second journey (1772–78), he sailed from Alexandria to Tunis and from there to Leghorn. He traveled through Italy, France, Belgium, and Holland, finally settling in Leghorn. His diaries are replete with acute observations on life in the cities he visited.

A contemporary of Azulai was Simon von *Geldern. A native of Vienna, he grew up in Germany and studied at yeshivot there. He led an adventurous life, traveling through Europe and the Near East, visiting Ereẓ Israel several times. He was equally at home in the Jewish community and in high society and gentile scholarly circles in various European countries. Von Geldern, who was a great-uncle of Heine, kept a diary. His life was described by Fritz Heymann (*Der Chevalier von Geldern*, 1937). Earlier David Kaufmann had published extracts from his diary in his *Aus Heinrich Heines Ahnensaal* (1896).

A Jewish traveler whose travel record was very popular was Israel Joseph Benjamin (*Benjamin II). From his early youth he formed the desire to make a pilgrimage to Ereẓ Israel and to travel in search of traces of the lost ten tribes. After he failed in business in his home town Fălticeni, in the then Turkish province of Moldavia, he set out to realize his dream. He traveled through Turkey, Egypt, Ereẓ Israel, Syria, Kurdistan, Mesopotamia, India, Afghanistan, and Persia, and also visited Singapore and Canton. Shortly after his return to Europe, he set out on another voyage, traveling through North Africa. He published *Cinque années de voyage en Orient 1846–1851* (Paris, 1856) about his travels in Asia. The book appeared later in German with additional chapters on his travels in Africa (*Acht Jahre in Asien und Afrika*, 1858) and was translated into English, Hebrew, and Ladino. From 1859 to 1862, Benjamin was in America, and he recorded his experiences there in *Drei Jahre in Amerika* (1862; Eng. edition: *Three Years in America*, 1956).

Jacob *Saphir was the first Jewish traveler to report on the life of the Jews of Yemen. Born in Lithuania in 1812, he settled with his parents in Ereẓ Israel when he was ten years old. In 1858–63 he visited Egypt, Aden, Yemen, Bombay, Cochin, Colombo in Ceylon, Calcutta, Rangoon, Singapore, Batavia, Australia, and New Zealand, as an emissary of the Jerusalem community. He spent longer periods in Yemen and India and in his travel book *Even Sappir* (2 vols., 1866–74) gives detailed descriptions of the life and customs of the Jews of Yemen, the Bene Israel of India, and the black and white Jews of Cochin.

Jehiel Fishl Kestelmann visited the Jewish communities of Syria, Kurdistan, Mesopotamia, and Persia as an emissary of the Jewish community of Safed in 1859–61. His description of his travels was published by A. Yaari under the title *Massa'ot Shali'aḥ Ẓefat be-Arẓot ha-Mizraḥ* (1942).

Asher ha-Levi was born in Galicia. After an unhappy childhood, in 1866, at the age of 17, he left Jassy, where he had lived for several years, and traveled through the Balkans, Asia Minor, Mesopotamia, and India. Eventually he settled in a city in the Himalayan Mountains. He wrote several books in Hebrew, including an autobiography. His account of his travels in the Balkans in 1866–68 was published in 1938 by A. Yaari under the title *Harpatka'otav shel Asher ha-Levi*.

Salomon Rinman was born in Galicia. After spending many years in Cochin he returned to Europe and at the urging of the Hebrew writer Wolf Schur he wrote a description of his travels in India, Burma, and China, *Massa'ot Shelomo be-Ereẓ Hodu, Birman ve-Sinim* (1884).

In 1883–86, Ephraim *Neumark visited the Jewish communities in Syria, Kurdistan, Mesopotamia, Persia, Afghanistan, and Central Persia. His travel impressions *Massa be-Ereẓ ha-Kedem* were first printed in *Ha-Asif* (5, 1887). He was the first to report on the crypto-Jews of *Meshed in Persia.

In 1868, the Orientalist Joseph *Halévy was sent by the Alliance Israélite Universelle to study the conditions of the Falashas, describing his journey there in "Travels in Abyssinia" (*Miscellany of Hebrew Literature*, 2 (1877), 177–256). Not long after his return he went to Yemen to inquire into the state of the Jews there and to examine the Sabean inscriptions. Halévy did not write a book about his travels to Yemen, but years after the expedition Ḥayyim *Ḥabshush, a Yemenite Jew who had served as Halévy's guide, wrote an account of their travels there. Written partly in Hebrew and partly in Arabic, it was published in Hebrew in 1939 by S.D. Goitein under the title *Massa'ot Ḥabshush*.

Ephraim *Deinard wrote several travel books. His *Massa Krim* (1878) includes chapters on the life of the Karaites and the Krimchaks (original Jews of the Crimea). *Sefer ha-Massa'ot be-Ereẓ Kavkaz u-vi-Medinot asher me-Ever le-Kavkaz* (1884) by Joseph Judah *Chorny, printed after the death of the author, gives an account of his travels among the Jewish communities in the Caucasus and in Transcaucasia.

Arctic explorers and travelers of the 18th and 19th centuries include Israel Lyons (1739–1775) who served as chief astronomer with Captain Phipps' expedition to the Polar regions in 1773; Isaac Israel *Hayes (1832–1881), surgeon to the "Advance" expedition searching for Sir John Franklin, discoverer and explorer of Grinnel Land, and leader of an 1860 expedition to Greenland which encountered another expedition led by August Sonntag; Emil *Bessels (1847–1888), surgeon and naturalist of the ill-fated "Polaris" expedition to the North Pole; Edward *Israel (1859–1884), astronomer with the Greely expedition to Greenland, where he died of malnutrition; Aldo Pontremoli (1896–1928), physics professor at the University of Milan and an aviation pioneer during the interwar period, who died on Nobile's 1928 Arctic dirigible expedition; Rudolph *Samoilovich (1881–1939), who led the Russian relief expedition to the Nobile party's aid (1928), discovered the Spitzbergen coal deposit, and explored the Franz Josef Archipelago; and Angelo Heilperin (1853–1907), who made geological expeditions to Florida (1886), Bermuda (1888), and Mexico (1890), led a relief expedition to Peary's aid in Greenland (1892), took part in expeditions to North Africa (1896) and to the Klondike (1898–99), and scaled and explored Mt. Pelee (1902–03).

Explorers of Africa in the 19th century include Nathaniel *Isaacs, a member of the King expedition sent to search for Farwell, wrecked off Natal in 1825, who explored Natal for seven years; *Emin Pasha (Eduard Schnitzer), General Gordon's aide, then his successor as governor of the Equatorial Province, who made important explorations and investigations in Central Africa; Edouard *Foa, who traveled through Morocco, southern and central Africa, French Congo and Dahomey; and Louis Arthur Lucas, who traveled through the U.S. (1872), Egypt (1873), and navigated the northern part of Lake Albert Nyanza in 1876.

Other travelers, adventurers, or explorers of the 18th, 19th, and 20th centuries who were Jewish or of Jewish origin include Mantua-born Samuel *Romanelli, whose *Massa ba-Arav* (Berlin, 1792) is a vivid account of his four-year journey from Gibraltar to Algiers and Morocco; Captain Moses Ximenes (c. 1762–c. 1830), who led an expedition from England to the island of Bulama, West Africa, and made an unsuccessful attempt to establish a colony there; a U.S. Army colonel from Boston named Cohen, who traveled from Adana via Smyrna to Constantinople with a group of Egyptian soldiers; *David D'Beth Hillel, author of *The Travels From Jerusalem through Arabia, Koordistan, Part of Persia, and India, to Madras* (1832), who searched for the remnants of the Ten Tribes, and described in detail the holy places and historical sites of Christianity, Judaism, and Islam from India to Ereẓ Israel, the Yazidis in Sinjār, the Sabeans, Wahhabis, Druze, the Dāwūdiyya sect in western Persia, and the differences between the Sunnite and Shi'ite Muslims; Alexander *Salmon, an English sailor who married a Tahitian clan chieftainess and served as adviser to the rulers of Tahiti; Heinrich Bernstein (1828–1865), who explored the Moluccas, the Malay Peninsula, and New Guinea for Holland; William Gifford Palgrave (1826–1888), who worked as a Catholic missionary in India, Syria, and Arabia and wrote *Narrative of a Year's Journey Through Central and Eastern Arabia* (2 vols., 1865); Arminius *Vambery who, disguised as a Muslim dervish, was the first European to travel from Trebizond to Teheran, Persia, and Samarkand in Central Asia (1861–63); Gottfried *Merzbacher, who climbed mountains in the Caucasus and the Tien Shan range and studied the ecology of the latter for more than five years; Ney *Elias, who traveled across the Gobi Desert, through the Pamir Mountains, and Chinese and Afghan Turkestan, and traced the Oxus River's upper course; Elio Modigliani, who explored the Malay Peninsula; Samuel *Fenichel, who explored New Guinea for bird and butterfly specimens; Nathaniel Wallich, who explored Assam, Hindustan, and Burma; Lamberto Loria, who traveled in Australia and New Guinea; Eduard *Glaser, the Austrian explorer who made four expeditions to the Yemen, located San'a, and discovered numerous old manuscripts and inscriptions; Hermann *Burchardt, German explorer and ethnographer, who traveled in the Near East, North Africa, Australia, America, India, and Iceland, and was murdered in Yemen; Julius Popper, who explored and reigned briefly over Tierra del Fuego; Sir Mark Aurel *Stein, who headed expeditions in India, Chinese Turkestan, China, Persia, and the Middle East; Raimondo *Franchetti, the "Italian Lawrence," who traveled in Indochina, Malaya, the Sudan, East Africa, and Ethiopia; the ethnologist Vladmir *Jochelson, who, in the course of a ten-year exile in Siberia (1884–94), studied the nomad Yokaghir tribe and latter accompanied expeditions to Kamchatka, Eastern Asia, and Alaska; Lev Yakovlevich Sternberg, who was also exiled to Siberia (1910–20) and studied the nomad Giyake tribe in northeastern Siberia; and Charles *Bernheimer, who explored the northern Arizona and Utah badlands for the American Museum of Natural History and undertook expeditions to Guatemala and Yucatan.

Of the many travel books which appeared in the 20th century only a few can be mentioned: E.N. *Adler's *Jews in Many Lands* (1905). Jacques *Faitlovitch, who devoted his life to the Falashas, wrote *Quer durch Abessinien* (1910; Hebrew: *Massa el ha-Falashim*, 1959). Zvi Kasdoi described his journeys in Caucasus, Central Asia, Siberia, and the Far East in *Mamlekhet Ararat* (1912) and *Mi-Yarketei Tevel* (2 vols., 1914). Among Nahum *Slouschz's many studies on North African Jewry was *Travels in North Africa* (1927). Ezriel *Carlebach's *Exotische Juden* (1932) included, among other travel reports, chapters on the descendants of the Marranos of Portugal, the Chuetas of Majorca, the Doenmeh of Turkey, and the Karaites of Lithuania. *A World Passed By* (1933) by Marvin *Lowenthal does not describe existing communities but landmarks and memories of the Jewish past in Europe and North Africa. Abraham Jacob *Brawer gave an account of his travels in the Middle East in *Avak Derakhim* (2 vols., 1944–46). Shmuel *Yavne'eli's *Massa le-Teiman* ("Journey to Yemen," 1952), Israel *Cohen's *Travels in Jewry* (1953), David S. *Sassoon's *Massa Bavel* ("Voyage to Babylonia," 1955), L. *Rabinowitz's *Far East Mission* (1952), and Joseph Carmel's *Massa el Aḥim Nidaḥim* (1957) are about the Far East. H.Z. Hirschberg's *Me-Ereẓ Mevo ha-Shemesh* (1957) is on travels in North Africa. Jacob Beller's travel books on South America included *Jews in Latin America* (1969). Henry Shoshkes circled the globe many times. His travel accounts were published in the Yiddish press, and he was the author of several books, among them *Your World and Mine* (1952). In 1972 *Jews in Remote Corners of the World* by Ida Cowen appeared. It described visits to Jewish communities in the Pacific and in the Far and Near East.

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[Tovia Preschel]

TRAVELERS AND TRAVELS TO EREẒ ISRAEL.

Jewish Travelers

Jews have traveled to see the Holy Land ever since they first settled in the lands of the Diaspora, i.e., travel by Jews to Ereẓ Israel began from the time of the Babylonian Exile and in effect never ceased entirely from then to the present.

During the Second Temple period the focus of attraction for *pilgrims was the Temple. However, even after the destruction of the Temple, and after most of the people were exiled from its land, the attraction of Ereẓ Israel did not abate. Actual descriptions of the travels by the travelers themselves exist only from the middle of the 12th century. The first known Jewish traveler who left literary evidence about his travels was *Judah Halevi. He left Spain in 1140 but apparently did not reach Ereẓ Israel. The literary evidence which he left expresses the poet's feelings about the adventures which befell him on his travels, rather than the adventures themselves. Its usefulness lies in that it reveals the profound emotional motives operating within the traveler to the Holy Land. The first historical document offering a mostly factually accurate travel description is the itinerary of *Benjamin of Tudela from Spain. He arrived in Ereẓ Israel about 1170. He describes various geographic sites there, as well as the number of Jewish inhabitants he found in each place, the conditions under which they lived, the history of the places, historical identifications, etc. Benjamin arrived before the collapse of crusader rule, and his accounts are an important source of information about the situation of the Jews there during that period.

About ten years after the visit of Benjamin of Tudela, *Pethahiah of Regensburg toured the country. He completes the picture of the impoverished situation of the Jewish community at the end of the crusader period, in contrast to the comfortable situation of contemporary Babylonian Jewry under Muslim rule. His main interest was the *holy places, and he did not devote much attention to the material conditions of the Jews. Jacob b. Nethanel, who visited the country and Jerusalem, apparently before its conquest by Saladin (1187), was also mainly interested in the holy places and the tombs of the *tannaim* and *amoraim*.

The situation was different during the travels of Judah *Al-Ḥarizi. He arrived in 1218, after the country had been conquered from the crusaders, and after the immigration of 300 rabbis from France and England, some of whom he met in Jerusalem. The Muslim conquest and the immigration eased the conditions of the Jewish community there. Al-Ḥarizi himself attests: "From the day it was conquered by Ishmaelites, it was settled by Israelites." In 1238 a journey was made by R. Jacob, the emissary of R. *Jehiel of Paris, but in contrast to Al-Ḥarizi he gives almost no description of the situation of the Jewish community, and concentrates primarily on describing the holy places and the tombs. A special place among the settlers of Ereẓ Israel is held by *Naḥmanides (1267), who gives a very somber description of the conditions of the Jews during his stay. He also describes the destruction and desolation which abounded in the country. Naḥmanides' action in renewing the settlement of Jerusalem was an outstanding enterprise.

An interesting figure among travelers was *Estori ha-Parḥi, who arrived in 1322. Far from being a mere transitory tourist, he delved deep into the study of Ereẓ Israel. He investigated the problem of identifying several places in the country, displaying an outstanding expertise in Jewish literature and foreign languages, and approached his subject scientifically.

Nevertheless, love of Ereẓ Israel was not the legacy of Jewish scholars or men of letters alone. Simple people, too, greatly desired to settle there. This is evidenced by the tale about two Spanish Jews who vowed to immigrate in 1317. When their attempts proved unsuccessful, one of them asked R. *Asher b. Jehiel if he could break his vow (Resp. Rosh, 8:11). In the course of time common people (usually merchants) came, e.g., Isaac ibn al-Fara of Malaga, Spain, who visited Ereẓ Israel in 1411 and wrote a letter to Simeon b. Zemaḥ *Duran in Algiers, describing what he saw there. He also visited the important cities of Syria. In 1443 he sent a list of the locations of the holy graves in Ereẓ Israel, which he took from an ancient book in his possession, to Solomon b. Simeon *Duran. The two letters are lost but they were summarized in Abraham *Zacuto's *Sefer Yuḥasin*. In 1473 an anonymous traveler went there from Candia, and numerous others went there from Italy in the second half of the 15th century. The most famous among these were R. Meshullam of Volterra (1481), a wealthy merchant, whose book of travels is very important from a historical point of view, and Obadiah of *Bertinoro (1488–90), who became one of the greatest rabbis of Ereẓ Israel of his time; three of his letters from there are among the most beautiful in travel literature.

In the 16th century a considerable number of Italian Jews traveled to the Holy Land. The book of travels of Moses *Basola (1521–23) is a gem among travel literature. In 1563 the wealthy merchant Elijah of Pesaro settled there, and his book contains a detailed description of the means of travel from Italy to Ereẓ Israel. The description of the economic conditions prevailing there in the 16th century is also detailed and enlightening. This is reflected in a letter from David di Rossi, a merchant who was a fellow-countryman of Elijah, and who journeyed there in 1535. Solomon Shlomil Meinstril from Resnitz, Moravia, arrived in Safed at the end of 1602, and his letters are filled with realistic descriptions of the Safed community, its spiritual life, its economic situation, relations with non-Jews, climate, etc. Isaiah *Horowitz tells about his travels in his letters and describes Safed, where he arrived in 1620, and his visits to the tombs of the *ẓaddikim*, as well as his journey to Jerusalem.

During the 17th and 18th centuries Karaite pilgrims went to Ereẓ Israel from the Crimean Peninsula, after having vowed to undertake the journey. The descriptions of the travels of *Samuel b. David (1641–42), Moses b. Elijah (1654–55), and *Benjamin b. Elijah (1785–86) are filled with religious fervor and love of the Holy Land. The Karaites used to bestow the title *Yerushalmi* ("Jerusalemite") on every immigrant, and such an event was a great celebration for the entire community.

One of the travelers in the famous group of *Judah Ḥasid was Gedaliah of Siemiatycze, from Poland. In his book, *Sha'alu Shelom Yerushalayim*, he describes the adventures of the travelers, as well as life in Jerusalem. The adventures undergone by Abraham Roiyo and his group (1702) during their travels to Ereẓ Israel, as well as the yeshivah built by him, are described in a letter written by one of the travelers. There is a series of letters and stories about travels to and in Ereẓ Israel in connection with the immigration (1741) of Ḥayyim *Attar, author of *Or ha-Ḥayyim*.

In 1746 Abraham Gershom of Kutow, brother-in-law of *Israel b. Eliezer Ba'al Shem Tov, immigrated there. He served as the first bridge for the great ḥasidic immigration. As a result, there are numerous travel descriptions written by settlers and travelers who went from eastern Galicia and Volhynia, the provinces where Ḥasidism originated. In 1760 Joseph Sofer journeyed there from Berestzka in Volhynia province. He related in his letter that there was a gradual but regular immigration from Poland. In 1764 two ḥasidic leaders from eastern Galicia, *Naḥman of Horodenka and *Menahem Mendel of Peremyshlyany, arrived with the groups of ḥasidic immigrants. Information about their journey is given by a Galician Jew, who recounts the stories of his travel to Ereẓ Israel in a book entitled *Ahavat Ẓiyyon*.

In the framework of the ḥasidic immigration, an especially great role was played by the Ḥasidim of Lithuania and

Rydzyna, whose leaders describe, among other things, their travels and immigration in their letters (1777), as well as the situation of the Jews of Ereẓ Israel at the time. The most famous traveler was R. *Naḥman of Bratslav, who traveled in 1798–99, and who regarded the Holy Land as the center of his ḥasidic teaching. About 30 years after the move by Ḥasidim to settle in Ereẓ Israel, their opponents, the *Mitnaggedim*, also felt the spiritual need to settle there. The first group of the disciples of R. Elijah, the Gaon of Vilna, traveled there in 1808, and settled in Safed. Two additional groups of R. Elijah's disciples went in 1809. Their letters give expression to the religious yearning of the immigrants, and the great call on Diaspora Jewry to take part in the settlement of the land. Supplementary information about this immigration is given in the book of travels of R. *David D'Beth Hillel, who joined the disciples of the Gaon in Safed, in 1815, but did not remain with them long, and left to wander around the country. In 1824 R. David D'Beth Hillel left to tour the world. The description of his travels in Ereẓ Israel is the only one of its kind by a Jew during the first quarter of the 19th century. His diary is also of historical significance, because he is generally precise in the facts which he presents. In 1833 Menahem Mendel of Kamieniec arrived in Ereẓ Israel. He published a small work entitled *Korot ha-Ittim* in 1840, describing the terrible sufferings of the Jews of Safed as a result of the fellahin's rebellion against Ibrahim Pasha. He devotes a special chapter to describing daily life in Ereẓ Israel.

In 1833 R. Yehoseph *Schwarz from Bavaria settled in Ereẓ Israel. He was not an ordinary traveler. Like Estori ha-Parḥi in the 14th century, R. Yehoseph Schwarz devoted all his strength and energy to the study of the country. He covered its length and breadth, dealing with its borders, antiquities, flora, climate, etc. His book, *Tevu'ot ha-Areẓ* (1845), is the major product of his investigations, and was translated into German and English. In a letter written in 1837, he describes the quality of life in Jerusalem, its holy places, and the climate and productivity of the country.

Travel literature and the history of travels in the 19th century accompany the first manifestations of national revival and the renewal of Jewish settlement. Moses *Montefiore and his wife, Judith, made seven trips. She kept a detailed travel diary about her second trip with her husband (1839). Eliezer Halevi, Montefiore's secretary and right-hand man, described in four letters what he had seen in his tour throughout the country, in which he spent two months (1838).

The beginning of Zionism may be associated with the activity of Jehiel Michael *Pines, who traveled throughout the country in 1878 examining the quality of land suitable for settlement. He tells about these travels in his letter. The historian Ze'ev *Jawitz, who immigrated in 1887, tells in his letter about his arrival and his visits to various places. There is also the description by Mordecai b. Hillel, among the first of the Ḥovevei Zion, who visited the new *yishuv* in 1889. In his book of travels, he describes the situation of the moshavot, as well as the way of life of the old *yishuv* in Jerusalem.

The travels of Zionist leaders *Aḥad Ha-Am (1891) and Theodor *Herzl (1898) to Ereẓ Israel exemplify the new trend in travel (see *Zionism).

[Menahem Schmelzer]

Christian Travelers

Numerous travel descriptions were written from the 12th century to modern times by Christian pilgrims who went to Ereẓ Israel to visit the holy places of their faith, and other travelers who wandered through the countries of the East and visited the Holy Land. Among them were some who were not adept at literary expression, whose travels were described by companions or by someone to whom they told their story. Their writings are often nothing more than a list of the Christian holy places visited by pilgrims, the pilgrimage "stations," and the prayers which were to be said at these places. Many of the pilgrim-travelers, however, were priests and intellectuals, who could describe their travels in works which bore a literary character. All such works were called in Latin *itineraria*. Since many of the pilgrims visited Syria and Egypt as well, their travel books include interesting information about these countries also. These works are important sources not only for the history of Ereẓ Israel, and especially for the study of its topography, but also for the history of Oriental civilization in general, including data about the social and economic conditions. On the other hand, all the itineraries show the authors to be aliens unfamiliar with the way of life of the country, especially with the languages spoken by its inhabitants; they required the mediation of guides and translators, who often misled them. The tendency to believe legends was almost general in the Middle Ages. However, in the course of the generations in which travel descriptions were written by the Christians who went to Ereẓ Israel, the nature of these writings underwent changes according to the national and social origin of their authors, as well as according to their approach to matters relating to the country.

A few itineraries from the period preceding the Crusades have been preserved. Most of them were written in Latin by West European priests, and some of them were written in Greek by Byzantine priests. Their character was determined by that of the authors: they concentrate mainly on descriptions of the holy places, the monasteries, etc. The earliest extant itinerary is by an anonymous author called the "Bordeaux Pilgrim," who gives an account of his journey from France, through Italy and the Balkans, to Ereẓ Israel, where he describes, naturally first and foremost, the Christian holy places in Jerusalem. This journey was apparently made in the 330s (333?). About 50 years later an itinerary was written which is attributed to Saint Silvia of Aquitania. The authoress spent three years in the countries of the Orient and, after a lengthy stay in Ereẓ Israel, also visited Syria and Mesopotamia. Her description of her travels is so detailed that it is an invaluable aid for the study of topography. One of the most popular works from that time was the description of the journey undertaken by the French bishop Arculfus, around 670. Arculfus spent nine months in Jerusalem, visiting the shore of the Dead Sea, the northern part of the country, Damascus, and Tyre, and later traveling to Constantinople. He finally arrived in Scotland, where he told the head of an Irish monastery about his travels, and the latter wrote down his story. This work is important in that it is the first (known) work from the period of Muslim rule in Ereẓ Israel and the neighboring countries. A detailed travel book, which gives a lengthy description of the adventures and tribulations of a western pilgrim in the Oriental countries, is the travel description by St. Willibald, who went to Ereẓ Israel in 723. Willibald was an Englishman, but he became bishop of Eichstadt, Germany.

Beginning with the First Crusade there was an increasing number of pilgrims who wrote descriptions of their travels. The types of traveler-authors became more variegated, and the establishment of Frankish rule in Ereẓ Israel and a few Syrian provinces resulted in the broadening of the travelers' scope of interests, and they included in their books topics other than just the holy places. Of greatest interest among the works written in the second half of the 12th century are the travel descriptions of Saewulf, who went to Ereẓ Israel while making a sea voyage and visiting Greece and Constantinople (1102–03), and those by the Russian ascetic, Daniel (1106–08), whose work is one of the first written in Russian. From the second half of the 12th century, mention should be made of the travel descriptions of Nicolaeus Saemundarson, the head of a monastery in northern Ireland (1151–54), of Johannes of Wurtzburg (1165), and the description of Ereẓ Israel by Johannes Phocas (1177). The most important among the itineraries of the 13th century are the works by the Germans Wilbrand of Oldenburg (1212) and Thietmar (1217), the book by Sabbas, archbishop of Serbia (1225–27), written in ancient Slavic, and the work by Perdiccas, protonotary of Ephesus (c. 1250). From the end of the century there is a description of the "Holy Land" by Burchardus of Mount Zion (de Monte Sion; 1283), which is not actually an itinerary but rather a work by a monk who lived in Ereẓ Israel for a long time.

After the elimination of the last remnant of crusader rule in Jerusalem, i.e., the conquest of Acre in 1291, the pilgrimage movement increased. Many of the visitors and travelers wrote about their travels, and hence a greater number of itineraries is preserved from the 14th century than from earlier periods, and they are more varied. During this period the pilgrims began to write their works in their national languages as well. Of these, special mention should be made of the travel descriptions by the Irish monk Simeon Simeonis (1332); the German priest Ludolf of Suchem, who spent the years 1336–41 in the countries of the Orient and described them in a Latin and German work; the Italian monk Niccolo da Poggibonsi (1345) who wrote in Italian "A Book about the Land Across the Sea"; and the Russian priest Ignatius of Smolensk, who went to Ereẓ Israel at the end of the century and described the Christian holy places in his mother tongue. Of the emissary-spy type was a German nobleman, Wilhelm of Boldensele, who was a member of the Dominican Order and visited Ereẓ Israel (1333) as an emissary of a French cardinal connected with plans for a new Crusade. The detailed itinerary by the monk Giacomo of Verona (1335), written in Latin, is a combined guide for pilgrims and exploration of possibilities of a new Crusade. Itineraries of a completely different type were written by three Florentines, Lionardo Frescobaldi, Simone Sigoli, and Giorgio Gucci, who went to Ereẓ Israel in 1384 by way of Egypt and returned by way of Syria. The three pilgrims were secular and their travel books reflect the secular-commercial approach of the townsmen. They abound in descriptions of the economic and social life and they also contain exact data about expenditures. With the increase in pilgrimages high-ranking noblemen also went to Ereẓ Israel in that generation and their travels were described by their companions. Among these was the future King Henry IV of England (1392/93). Mention should also be made of the travelers during that century who visited in all the Oriental countries and did not go especially to Ereẓ Israel, but in whose travel books the description of Ereẓ Israel plays a major role. Among these were the Italian Odorico de Pordenone (1320), the Englishman John of Mandeville (c. 1336), and the Italian Giovanni de Marignola (1350).

The 15th century was the classic period of Christian pilgrimage to Ereẓ Israel in the sense that the pilgrimage movement was more intense, its forms were more crystallized, and the composition of the pilgrims in terms of their origins was more variegated than in any preceding period. The proportion of priests was smaller than formerly while the proportion of the bourgeois was larger. The variety of pilgrims is reflected by the variety of itineraries preserved from that century. Some travelers did not take the short sea-route from Italy to the shores of Ereẓ Israel, but wandered in many countries on the way to and from Ereẓ Israel, since their entire purpose was to gather information about the strength of the armies and fortifications in the Holy Land itself and its neighboring countries. There are many itineraries of noblemen from various countries who went to Ereẓ Israel during the 15th century and whose travels are described by their companions. Especially characteristic of the pilgrimages of that time was the broad participation of the urban laymen. These bourgeois came from various countries. However, the most important itineraries in terms of their comprehensiveness and the value of their information about the contemporary social scene in Ereẓ Israel were still those written by priests. Among the itineraries of churchmen of the 15th century, especially significant are the works of the Italians Santo Brasca (1480) and Pietro Casola (1494), and of the Germans Bernhard of Breidenbach and Felix Fabri, who went to Ereẓ Israel in 1483. Both Bernhard of Breidenbach, who was a priest in Mainz, and Felix Fabri, who was a Dominican monk in Ulm, wrote travel books. Their works, especially that by Fabri, are, on the one hand, travel descriptions, and, on the other, studies in the history of Ereẓ Israel, its settlement, and the holy places. Naturally, in many of the descriptions of travels, which were written in the course of hundreds of years, there is also information about the meetings between the pilgrims and Jews in various places and especially about the places of origin of these Jews. Although most of the authors display a marked orthodoxy and even extreme religious zealousness, with regard to this matter they were simply reporting.

Of greater historical significance are the Christian itineraries from the 16th century on, which mainly describe the population in general and the Christians in particular. However, the Jewish population was increasing in Safed and later in Jerusalem, Tiberias, and Hebron, and the Christian travelers, now mostly coming from the various German countries, from Spain, and later from France and England as well, did not miss the opportunity to describe their meetings with the Jews. They also tell about religious discussions conducted between themselves and the Jews, with whom they found a common tongue (German, Spanish) and whose houses often provided clean and secure inns, and polite hospitality (in places where there were no monasteries or inns for pilgrims). These travel books, especially because they were numerous and sometimes contained contradictory views, serve as a primary source for the history of the Jews of Ereẓ Israel during the Ottoman period, since most of them perhaps quite unintentionally gave expression to a completely objective picture. The many travel books, amounting to about 120 in all, which were written by Christian travelers in the course of 400 years (16th–19th centuries) add up to a considerable historical treasure.

It is impossible to review here all the Christian travel books published during this period, particularly since many of them merely parrot the words of their predecessors. However, some of them should be mentioned: the travel book of the Franciscan monk from Portugal, Pantaleao de Aveiro, *Itinerario da Terra Sancta* (c. 1565, publ. 1927); of the French Franciscan monk Jaques Goujon, *Histoire et Voyage de la Terre Sainte* (Lyons, 1571); of John Sanderson, who was in Ereẓ Israel in 1601, *The Travels of John Sanderson, 1584–1602* (publ. 1931); of George Sandys, *A Relation of a Journey, A Description of the Holy Land of the Jewes* (London^5, 1652); and especially the description by the monk-missionary Eugéne Roger (c. 1630), *La Terre Sainte* (1664). The learned Dutchman Olaf Dapper collected much information which he found in works by preceding scholars, added his own eyewitness accounts, and wrote a complete description of Ereẓ Israel, first published in Amsterdam in 1681, and later in German translation in Nuremberg, 1688–89, *Asia, oder genaue und gruendliche Beschreibung des gantzen Syrien und Palestins*. This is not an original work but it includes considerable geographic-historical material. The broad travel memoirs of L. de Arvieux, who served as French consul and ambassador in Algeria and Tunisia (1664–65) and later as special ambassador to the sultan in Constantinople (1672–73), and finally as consul with broad authority in Aleppo (1682–88), adapted De la Roque, *Voyage dans la Palestine* (Amsterdam, 1718). The Dutchman Cornellius le Bruya undertook a comprehensive tour of Asia Minor, the Aegean Isles, Egypt, Syria, and Ereẓ Israel at the end of the century. His work, which includes numerous illustrations (about 200 copper engravings), was published in Dutch, translated into French and from French into English: *A Voyage to the Levant, etc.* (London, 1702). Of lasting scholarly worth is the work by Thomas Shaw, *Travels or Observations relating to several parts of Barbary and the Levant* (Oxford, 1738).

Among the numerous travelers of the 18th century special mention should also be made of Richard Pococke (1738), *A Description of the East II/1* (London, 1745); Frederick Hasselquirst (1751), *Voyages and Travels in the Levant* (London, 1766); and especially the Frenchman C.-J. Volney, *Travels etc.* (1783–85; London, 1788), who visited the countries of the Orient at a young age and who in his travel description offers a brilliant analysis of the political situation and of the strategic plans already formulated at that time, ten years before Napoleon prepared to conquer Egypt.

After Napoleon's campaign of conquest in the area, and despite his failure, there was an increasing number of Christian travelers who went to Ereẓ Israel not necessarily from purely religious motives. There were among them important scholars such as Edward Robinson, E. Picrotti, C.R. Conder, and many others who opened up Ereẓ Israel for Muslim scholarship and who cannot be regarded as traveler-tourists in the accepted sense. The travel works devoted to describing the Ottoman Empire, Egypt, and North Africa, often contain descriptions dealing with Ereẓ Israel which mention Jews as well.

Muslim Travelers

Throughout the Middle Ages and in modern times numerous Muslims have gone to *Jerusalem to pray at the mosque on the Temple Mount, which is considered one of the holy places of *Islam. These pilgrims also came from many countries. However, despite the richness of Arabic literature, almost no books are devoted solely to descriptions of these travels. It should be pointed out that also in relation to travels to Mecca no literary branch developed similar to the descriptions of Christian travels to Ereẓ Israel.

A book describing travels to Ereẓ Israel and Mecca was written by the Spanish judge Abū al-Baqāʾ Khālid b. ʿIsā al-Balawī, who set out in 1336. This work, however, is in part a copy of itineraries by earlier writer-travelers. The mystic ʿAbd al-Ghanī b. Ismāʿil al-Nābulusī, who lived in *Damascus, wrote a description of a journey to Jerusalem at the end of the 17th century. However, these works did not become well known in Arabic literature, and if one were interested in a description of Ereẓ Israel one would have to resort to works describing long journeys and general works on geography. Especially interesting among these itineraries are the Persian work *Sefer Nāmeh* ("The Book of Travel") by Nasir-i Khosrau, who visited Ereẓ Israel in 1047; the Arabic work *Riḥla* ("The Journey"), by Abu al-Ḥusayn Muhammad ibn Jubayr, who visited Ereẓ Israel in 1184; and the work by the world traveler Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, who visited Ereẓ Israel in 1326–30, on his long journey in Eastern Asia from which he returned in 1348. The descriptions of Ereẓ Israel included in the works of Arabic geographers of the classical school were also the product of personal observations and investigations. These geographers, the most important of whom lived in the tenth century, based their works on firsthand research in various countries to which they traveled. The three outstanding representatives of this school were al-Iṣṭakhrī (c. 950), Ibn Ḥawqal al-Nasībī (977), and Muhammad b. Aḥmad, called al-Maqdisī (the Jerusalemite, who wrote in 985).

The Muslims also composed itineraries for pilgrims, similar to the itineraries written by Christian clerics for the pilgrims who came to worship at the holy places. The most famous, *Kitāb al-Ishārāt ilā maʿrifat al-Ziyārāt* ("Guide for the Places of Pilgrimage"), written by Ali b. Abī Bakr Al-Harawī (d. 1214), includes the vast material he collected on long journeys. The work is not limited to a description of the Muslim holy places in Ereẓ Israel, but lists holy places in other countries as well. Such itineraries generally contained sayings attributed to *Muhammad about the holiness of Jerusalem and especially about the mosque of the Dome of the Rock, as well as reviews of the history of Jerusalem.

More numerous were the works containing only sayings about the holiness of Jerusalem and especially of the mosques on the Temple Mount. Such works on the "praises of Jerusalem" became characteristic of the Muslim literature of Ereẓ Israel. In the second half of the 11th century Abu ‘l-Ma ʿalī al-Musharraf b. al-Murajja (d. 1099), a Jerusalemite, composed such a work, entitled *Faḍāʾil Bayt al-Maqdis wa al-Shām* ("The Qualities of Jerusalem and Damascus"). Al-Qāsim ibn ʿAsākir (d. 1203) wrote a work about the al-Aqṣa Mosque, and his relative, Niẓām al-Dīn (d. 1274), wrote *Faḍāʾil al-Quds* ("The Qualities of Jerusalem"). While the manuscripts of these writings have not been found, there are extant manuscripts of a book praising Jerusalem which was written by the Baghdad historian, Abu al-Faraj ibn al-Jawzī (d. 1200). In the 14th century Burhān al-dīn Ibrāhīm ibn al-Firkāh, a teacher in Damascus (d. 1329), wrote *Bāʿith al-Nufūs ilā Ziyārāt al-Quds al-Maḥrūs* ("He who Stirs his Soul to Visit Preserved Jerusalem"). In 1351 in Jerusalem itself, Shihāb al-dīn Aḥmad b. Muhammad b. Ibrāhīm ibn Hilāl wrote a similar book entitled *Muthīr al-Gharām ilā Ziyārāt al-Quds wa al-Shām* ("The Arouser of Desire to Visit Jerusalem and Damascus"). In the mid-14th century the Hebronite preacher Isḥāq b. Ibrāhīm al-Tadmurī wrote about the cave of *Machpelah as a place of pilgrimage. In 1470 the Egyptian Shams al-Dīn al-Suyūtī wrote in Jerusalem about the "Outer Mosque." These works were preserved and published, and some of them were even translated into English. The most important of these books is the comprehensive work about Jerusalem and Hebron written in 1494/95 by the Jerusalemite judge Mujīr al-Dīn al-ʿUlaymī entitled *al-Uns al-Jalīl bi-Taʿrīkh al-Quds wa al-Khalīl* ("A Weighty Discussion of the History of Jerusalem and the City of the Friend [Abraham] – Hebron"). This work contains all the sayings about the holiness of Jerusalem attributed to the prophet of Islam, as well as a detailed description of the holy city and the other towns of Ereẓ Israel (the book was printed in Cairo in 1293 A.H.). Works about Jerusalem continued to be written during the period of Ottomon rule. In the mid-17th century a judge from Medina, Nāṣir al-dīn Muhammad b. Khiḍr al-Rūmī al-Jalālī, wrote a book entitled *Al-Mustaqṣā fī Faḍl al-Ziyārāt bi al-Masjid al-Aqṣā* ("The Book Concerning the Right to Visit the Outer Mosque"). This work differs from the traditional type of the Muslim "praises of Jerusalem" in that it contains a detailed guide for pilgrims.

In summation, the Arabic writings about Ereẓ Israel, most of which contain "praises of Jerusalem," generally lack factual-documentary content. In contrast, the descriptions of the Turkish traveler Evliya Çelebi, who visited Ereẓ Israel twice (first in 1649 and then in 1660–61), are of great significance. He was an experienced statesman-scholar, whose sharp eyes observed the situation of the population, the administrative division of the country, the changes which had occurred during the time between his two visits, and the amount of taxes collected. He paid attention to the Jewish populations of all the countries he visited. Of special importance in connection with the situation of Ereẓ Israel is his recounting of the mass exodus of the Jews of *Safed, which took place in his time, and the mention of the custom of pilgrimage to Meron, which in his time was not yet celebrated on Lag ba-Omer. Evliya Çelebi, however, was the last Muslim traveler to devote part of his work to Ereẓ Israel.

[Eliyahu Ashtor]

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TRAVNIK, town in Bosnia. Under Ottoman rule until Austrian annexation in 1878; within Yugoslavia from 1918. After *Sarajevo, it had the second most important settlement of Sephardi Jews in the region; some of them originally lived in Sarajevo and transferred their residence to Travnik in the 18th century. A community was organized by the mid-18th century and a *kal santo* (synagogue) existed from 1768. The Jews themselves constructed it, working daily between the *Minḥah* and *Maʿariv* prayers.

Trouble assailed the community when an apostate, Moses Habillo, who took the name of Derwish Aḥmed, incited a massacre of the Jews. Many Muslims rioted but disaster was prevented when Rabbi Raphael Pinto achieved a compromise. Ten Jewish hostages were taken into custody for inquiry. They were freed after a ransom was paid on the second day of Marḥeshvan (in 1807), which was celebrated for many years by the community as a feast of deliverance. In 1818 the local *qāimaqam*, the vizier's representative, accused the Jews of ritual murder. Some Jews were arrested, but were released when Muslim notables intervened on their behalf. Apart from such isolated incidents, and cases of extortions, Jewish communal life remained undisturbed and relations with the majority of the city's residents were good. The best known rabbi of Travnik was Abram Abinun. Jews were occupied as blacksmiths, joiners, saddlers, tailors, and shoemakers, dealers in medicinal plants and folk healers. Some of them were distillers and wheat merchants. In 1878, shortly after Travnik passed to Austria, a small Ashkenazi community was founded. A synagogue was erected in 1769. The community had a philanthropic association, Ezrat Dalim, and in the 20th century a "Jewish Club" existed there. Until the Holocaust, 375 Jews lived there peacefully.

In World War II the German-Croatian occupation violently and cruelly clamped down on the community. A concentration camp was established at nearby Kruščica (Krooshchitza); survivors were deported and murdered elsewhere in Croatia or Poland. The community was not renewed. The synagogue was used as a workshop.

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[Zvi Loker]

TREASURE, TREASURY (Treasure: Heb. אוֹצָר, בֶּצֶר, חַיִל, חֹסֶן, מַטְמוֹן, מִסְתָּר, מַצְפּוּן, נֶעְלָם, סְגֻלָּה; Akk. *niṣirtu*; Treasury: Heb. בֵּית הָאוֹצָר(וֹת), גִּנְזֵי הַמֶּלֶךְ, גִּנְזַךְ, בֵּית נְכוֹת; Akk. *bīt niṣirti, bāt nakkamīti*). The concepts of treasure and treasury in the Bible are denoted by many different terms.

Semantic Range of Words Meaning Treasure

Most of the Hebrew words for treasure listed above may be divided into two semantic groups:

a) Words which mean both treasure and something hidden or secret (*maṭmon, mistar, maẓpun, neʿlam*).

b) Words which mean both treasure and strength (*beẓer, ḥayil, ḥosen*).

The most common Akkadian term for treasure, *niṣirtu*, belongs to the first group as may be seen from the following passage:

> *Utnapištim ana šâšuma izzakkara ana Gilgameš luptēka Gilgameš amat niṣirti u pirišta ša ilāni kâša luqbīka.* "Utnapishtim said to him, to Gilgamesh: 'Let me divulge a hidden matter to you, O Gilgamesh, And let me tell you a secret of the gods'" (Gilgamesh, 11:8–10).

Types of Treasures

While the most common type of treasure referred to is "silver and gold" (*kesef, zahav,* e.g., Isa. 2:7; Ezek. 28:4; Eccles. 2:8; I Chron. 29:3; cf. Ps. 68:31 where perhaps the reading should be *beẓer kesef,* so Tur-Sinai), treasures of clothes (e.g., Jer. 38:11; Zech. 14:14), wine (I Chron. 27:27), oil (I Chron. 27:28), food in general (Joel 1:17; II Chron. 11:11), precious stones (I Chron. 29:8), and dedicated gifts (I Chron. 26:26) are all represented. Elsewhere, temple treasures are listed in Ezra 1:9–11 (cf. Ezra 2:68–69; Neh. 7:69ff.) and include gold and silver dishes and bowls, and gold drachmas and priestly vestments, while royal treasures are mentioned in II Chronicles 32:27–29 (period of Hezekiah) comprising silver, gold, precious stones, spices, shields, and miscellaneous items. Babylonia in particular is singled out for her opulence and is called "the one rich in treasures" (Jer. 51:13). The treasures of Israel's enemies (*ḥeil goyim*) will all come to her when God executes His punishment upon them (Isa. 60:5, 11; 61:6; Zech. 14:14). Treasures are sometimes described as being transported on the backs of beasts of burden (Isa. 30:6; I Kings 10:2 = II Chron. 9:1; cf. Isa. 66:20). The gold of Ophir is described as "the treasure of the rivers" (Job 22:24; cf. N.H. Tur-Sinai, in bibl.). Finally, treasures are used as bribes in the Bible. In Jeremiah 41:8 the ten men who remained after Ishmael son of Nethaniah's massacre of the rest of their group bribed Ishmael to let them live in return for treasures of wheat, barley, olive oil, and honey, hidden in the fields. In I Samuel 12:3 and Amos 2:6; 8:6, there are additional instances of bribes involving treasure. In all three cases the word *nʿelam*, "hidden treasure" (the vocalization of which is still uncertain) must be restored to the text (in place of *naʿalayim*, "shoes" in Amos 2:6; 8:6, and *ʾaʿalim*, "I shall hide" in I Sam. 12:3, cf. Septuagint which also reads *naʿalayim*, "shoes"). This meaning is demonstrated both by Ben Sira 46:19 which paraphrases I Samuel 12:3, by juxtaposing the Hebrew word *kofer*, "gift," with the word *naʿalayim*, and by Targum Jonathan which translates *naʿalayim* in Amos 2:6 and 8:6 by a form of the word *ḥosen*, "treasure" (see above).

In extra-biblical sources, mention must be made of the Copper Scroll discovered in 1952 in Cave 3 of Qumran. This Copper Scroll consists of three sheets of very thin copper on which is engraved a Hebrew text. The Hebrew text is a register of 64 deposits of buried treasure supposed to be hidden in and around Qumran (in an area extending from Hebron to Mt. Gerizim). The objects listed include a silver chest, ingots of gold and silver, jars of all shapes and sizes, bowls, perfumes, and perhaps, vestments. It should be noted that the purpose of the scroll is still a mystery. Among the theories advanced by scholars are that it is a list of the treasures of the First Temple, the Second Temple, or the Qumran community. A fourth theory, posited by T.H. Gaster (see bibl.), is that the scroll represents "an unconscionable fraud [or even a cruel practical joke] perpetrated by some cynical outsider upon the naive and innocent minds of the ascetics of Qumran."

Treasures in War

The defeated nation often was obliged to give up all of her treasures to the victor (Isa. 39:6ff.). For example, Shishak of Egypt took from Jerusalem the royal treasures, the Temple treasures, and everything else (I Kings 14:26 = II Chron. 12:9). While no part of the *ḥerem* of Jericho after Joshua's conquest could be taken by any Israelite, all the silver and gold, and the copper and iron vessels were to be added to the Temple treasury (Josh. 6:19, 24). As part of Israel's punishment, Babylon would carry off all of her treasures as spoil (Jer. 15:13; 17:3; 20:5); but the day would also come when Babylon would be punished in kind (Jer. 50:37). Likewise, Moab (Jer. 48:7) and the Ammonites (Jer. 49:4), who trusted in their treasures, and Edom (Jer. 49:10; cf. Obad. 6) would suffer the same consequences. In extra-biblical sources, the same situation prevailed in times of war. Sennacherib of Assyria in describing his defeat of Merodach-Baladan of Babylon claims:

> *Ann ekallišu ša qereb Bāb-ili ērumma aptēma bīt niṣirtišu ḫurāṣa kaspa unūt hurāṣi kaspi abnu aqartu bušê makkūr ēkallišu ašlula.* "I entered his palace in Babylon and I opened his treasury. I took as spoil – gold, silver, gold and silver vessels, precious stones, valuables, and property of his palace" (D.D. Luckenbill, *The Annals of Sennacherib* (1924), p. 67, lines 5–6).

Symbolic Treasures

Both Israel and God are spoken of as each other's treasure. Israel is spoken of as God's *segullah*, "treasured/private possession" (Ex. 19:5; Deut. 7:6; 14:2; 26:18; cf. Mal. 3:17; Ps. 135:4; for this meaning compare likewise Akk. *sikiltu*). Eliphaz instructs Job to return to God and consider the Lord his treasure (Job 22:23–25). There are many references to the heavens as God's treasure (Deut. 28:12; Jer. 10:13; 51:16; Ps. 135:7), while various forces of God are described as His treasure (Jer. 50:25; Ps. 33:6–7; Job 38:22). Finally, wisdom and devotion to God are described as the treasure of faith (Isa. 33:6).

Concept of Treasure in Wisdom Literature

The connection between wisdom and treasure may best be seen from those passages where wisdom is personified. Wisdom fills the treasuries of those who seek her (Prov. 8:21), and, in turn, should be sought after like buried treasure (Prov. 2:4). Elsewhere, there are many references to the treasures of the wise man, but the fool has none (Prov. 15:6; 21:20). Treasures gained through wickedness are of no avail (Prov. 10:2), while a little in the way of material goods plus a good deal of faith are better than the most precious treasures (Prov. 15:16). Finally, the acquisition of treasures through deceitful means will cause their owner's downfall (Prov. 21:6ff.), a theme which has several extra-biblical parallels. In an Akkadian composition entitled "Counsels of Wisdom," the following advice is given:

> My son, if it be the desire of the prince that you be his, if you are entrusted with his closely guarded seal, open his treasure house [*niṣirtašu*], enter into [it]; apart from you there is not another man [who may enter into it]. You will find therein untold wealth. Do not covet anything. Do not take it into your head to conceal something. For afterwards, the matter will be investigated, and what you have concealed will come to light … (W.G. Lambert, *Babylonian Wisdom Literature* (1960), p. 102, lines 81ff.).

Treasury

Of the three words for treasury listed above, only one, *bet nekhot*, was not understood until fairly recently. The context of the single biblical verse in which this term occurs (II Kings 20:13 = Isa. 39:2) showed that it must mean treasury, but the origin of the term was still a mystery. It is now known that *bet nekhot* is a loanword from the Akkadian *bīt nakkamāti*, "treasury." Both the Hebrew and Akkadian nouns have corresponding verbs, *ʾẓr* and *nakāmu*, meaning "to amass, store up." For example, Ashurbanipal boasts in his annals about his conquest of Susa:

> *Aptēma bīt nakkamātišu* (*nu*) *sa kaspu ḥurāṣu bušû makkūru nukkumū qrebšun.* "I opened his treasure house wherein silver, gold, valuables and property were stored …" (M. Streck, *Aššurbanipal…* (1916), p. 50, lines 132–4).

Elsewhere, *ʾoẓrot bet* YHWH, "Temple treasury" (e.g., I Kings 7:51 = II Chron. 5:1), and *oʾẓrot bet ha-melekh*, "palace treasury" (e.g., I Kings 14:26), are often mentioned together. For example, Asa gave all he had in both treasuries to Ben-Hadad (I Kings 15:18 = II Chron. 16:2), Joash gave up both his treasuries to Hazael (II Kings 12:19), and Nebuchadnezzar took everything from the treasuries in Jerusalem (e.g., II Kings 24:13; II Chron. 36:10, 18). Another instance is the discussion between Isaiah and Hezekiah concerning the delegation sent by the Babylonian king to see Hezekiah (II Kings 20:12ff. = Isa. 39:1ff.). Finally, the term *genazim* is used three times in the latest biblical books to refer to the treasury of Persia (Esth. 3:9; 4:7) and the treasuries of multicolored garments of many nations (Ezek. 27:24).

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[Chayim Cohen]

TREBIC (Czech **Třebič**; Ger. **Trebitsch**), town in W. Moravia, Czech Republic. The Trebic community was considered one of the oldest in Moravia; it is alleged that a synagogue was built in 938. During the wave of massacres of Jews in 1338, which commenced in *Pulkau, some Trebic Jews were killed. The first documentary mention of the community concerns an attack on Jews and robbery in 1410. In 1464 it was destroyed along with the rest of the town. Jewish matters were included in the *Stadtordnung* ("municipal regulations") of 1583. In 1604 the majority of Trebic's merchants were Jews. The old synagogue was allegedly built in 1639–42; in 1757 its roof had to be lowered so that its lights could not be seen from the castle. It was damaged three times by fire and was redesigned several times, the last time in neo-Gothic style in 1880. Services were held until World War I. Since 1954 it has been used by the Hussite Church. The new synagogue was built in the early 17th century and renovated in 1845. After World War I, it fell into disuse. After World War II, it was converted into a Jewish museum.

In 1727 Jews were compelled to live segregated from Christians. In 1848 the Jews were prevented from organizing a Jewish unit in the National Guard. Becoming one of the Politischen Gemeinden ("political communities," see *Politische Gemeinde) in 1849, Trebic retained this status until the dissolution of the Hapsburg monarchy. After freedom of movement and settlement had been granted to Jews, the community began to decline, many moving to *Vienna, *Brno, *Jihlava, and other larger cities. Whereas in 1799 there were 1,770 Jews in the Jewish quarter of Trebic, and in 1850 the community numbered 1,605, in 1890 their number declined to 987; in 1900 to 756; in 1921 to 362; and in 1930 to 300. During the German occupation, in May 1942, 1,370 Jews from *Jihlava province were assembled in Trebic and deported to *Theresienstadt; only 35 of them survived the war. A small congregation was reestablished in 1945. In 1957 a memorial tablet for the victims of the Holocaust was dedicated.

Born in Trebic were Wolfgang *Wessely, the first Jewish university teacher in Austria; Adolf Kurrein (1846–1919), one of the first Zionist rabbis in Austria; and Sigmund Taussig (1840–1910), a pioneer in the field of hydro-engineering.

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[Meir Lamed / Yeshayahu Jelinek (2nd ed.)]

TREBITSCH, ABRAHAM (**Reuven Hayyat**; b. 1760), Moravian historical author. Born in Trebic, he attended a Prague yeshivah c. 1775, and later in *Mikulov was secretary of the Moravian *Landesrabbiner. His history, *Korot ha-Ittim* (Bruenn, 1801), contains "tales of all the wars from 1741 to 1801 which were waged in the countries of Austria, Prussia, France, and England and all that Jews went through in those days." Intended as a continuation of Menahem *Amelander's *She'erit Yisrael* (Amsterdam, 1743), it differs from it by covering non-Jewish as well as Jewish history. It was published simultaneously in Yiddish as *Tsaytgeshikhte*. The work is important mainly for its traditionalist evaluation of the reforms of *Joseph II. In 1851 Jacob *Bodek published a revised edition entitled *Korot Nosafot*, and there also exists an edition apparently plagiarized by Bodek's brother-in-law. Along with Hirsch Menaker, Trebitsch wrote *Ru'aḥ Ḥayyim*, an account of the exorcism of a **dibbuk* in Mikulov (Vienna, 1785; Yid. (same title), Bruenn, 1785; repr. in several editions of Moshe Graf's *Zera Kodesh*).

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[Meir Lamed]

TREBITSCH, MOSES LOEB BEN WOLF (18th century), Central European Hebrew scribe-illuminator, from Trebic in Moravia. He was one of the pioneer figures in the renaissance of Jewish manuscript art at the beginning of the 18th century. At least a dozen works from his gifted pen are known – most of them Passover *Haggadot*. His pen drawings, usually set off by wash, are well-composed, small genre paintings. The family scene which he prefixed to the *Van Geldern Haggadah* (1723) and a companion work now in the Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati (1716–17), are among the outstanding specimens of the new Jewish miniature art of the period.

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[Cecil Roth]

TREBITSCH, NEHEMIAH (**Menahem Nahum**; 1779–1842), Moravian rabbi. Trebitsch taught at the Prague yeshivot of Jacob Guensburg and Simon Kuh before becoming rabbi in Prossnitz (1826–32). He was subsequently appointed Landesrabbiner of Moravia with his seat in Nikolsburg. The right bestowed upon him by the provincial government (1833) to appoint candidates for vacant rabbinates was canceled in 1838 because of his persistent refusal to nominate rabbis with liberal leanings. This cancellation was also influenced by his opposition to the use of German in sermons for which he had been officially censured. However, he consented to, and participated in, the establishment of a Hebrew-German industrial school. He wrote glosses to the Jerusalem Talmud, and *Koveẓ al Yad ha-Ḥazakah* (8 vols., 1835–42), notes on Maimonides' *Yad*.

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[Oskar K. Rabinowicz]

TREBITSCH, SIEGFRIED (1869–1956), Austrian novelist, playwright, and translator. The son of a Viennese silk merchant, Trebitsch was a great traveler. His first volume of poetry, *Gedichte* (1889), was followed after prolonged intervals by *Wellen und Wege* (1913) and *Aus verschuetteten Tiefen* (1947). He was, however, better known as a prose writer and wrote many psychological novels, including *Genesung* (1902), *Spaetes Licht* (1918), and *Renate Aldringen* (1929). *Die Rache ist mein* (1934) was a volume of novellas. Trebitsch's plays include *Ein Muttersohn* (1911), *Frau Gittas Suehne* (1920), and *Das Land der Treue* (1926). His German translations of George Bernard Shaw's plays (in various editions from the turn of the century on) paved the way for Shaw's European vogue. Following the *Anschluss* in 1938, Trebitsch, a convert to Christianity, settled in Switzerland. His autobiography, *Chronik eines Lebens* (1951; *Chronicle of a Life*, 1953), is an informative and entertaining firsthand account of the European literary scene.

[Harry Zohn]

His stepbrother, ARTHUR TREBITSCH (1880–1927), was also a writer in Vienna. Like Siegfried he abandoned Judaism and, as a disciple of Otto *Weininger, was a notorious antisemite. His book *Geist und Judentum* (1919) blamed the defeat of the Central Powers during World War I and the subsequent collapse of the Hohenzollern and Hapsburg dynasties on Jewish machinations. His *Deutscher Geist – oder Judentum* (1921) utilized the forged *Protocols of the Elders of Zion* to prove the existence of a Jewish conspiracy to dominate and debauch the world. An admirer of Houston Stewart *Chamberlain, whose racial theories he developed to a pathological extreme, Trebitsch vilified his fellow Jews until his death and even offered his services to the Austrian Nazis.

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TREBLINKA, one of the three Aktion Reinhard death camps during World War II, second only to *Auschwitz in the number of Jews killed. Known until then as a small railroad station between Siedlce and Malkinia, located approximately 62 miles (100 km.) northeast of Warsaw. The Germans built a railway spur that led from the labor camp to the death camp and to the railway station in the village of Treblinka. Heavily wooded, it could be hidden from view. Treblinka became the final destination for transports that brought Jews from the ghettos of the General Government and about ten European countries to their death. The Jews were brought to Treblinka under the pretext of resettlement in former Soviet territories that had been occupied. The actual site of mass slaughter was located approximately 2.5 miles (4 km.) from the station, camouflaged inside a pine forest. On the border of this area was a platform for the train that carried the Jews from the station in consignments of 15–20 cars, which reached the camp on a side track especially built for this purpose.

However, the name Treblinka refers to two camps: the first one (later called Treblinka I), which began operating in 1941, was openly and officially designated as a forced-labor camp for offenses against the occupation authorities; the second camp, located approximately 1 mile (1.5 km.) from the first, and designed for mass extermination, was treated by the German authorities as a state secret, and its name was coded even in confidential letters as T.II.

Treblinka I: For Jews and Poles (December 1941–July 1944)

Unlike Treblinka II, this camp was intended not only for Jews, but also for Poles deported for economic or political offenses. The Poles would remain in the camp for the duration of their punishment, and only part of those charged with political crimes were killed or transferred to concentration camps. Jews were transferred there after roundups or from forced-labor contingents required from the Judenrate, and only in a very few cases would they leave the place alive. Devastated by hunger, overwork in the nearby gravel pit, brutal beatings, and cruel harassment, they died in large numbers. Others perished in occasional executions or were transferred to Treblinka II to be murdered after they lost all their strength. The last execution at Treblinka I took place on July 24, 1944, just prior to the entrance of the Soviet army.

According to the statistical estimates of Judge Z. Lukaszkiewicz, who conducted an investigation of both camps in 1945 on behalf of the Main State Commission for the Investigation of Nazi Crimes in Poland, approximately 10,000 individuals had passed through Treblinka I, 70% of whom were either shot or murdered in other ways. In light of the practices for mixed camps, according to which the Aryans benefited from larger food rations and were allowed to receive provisions from their families, it can be assumed that at least 90% of those who perished were Jews. After the war more than 40 mass graves were dug up in the nearby forest and as many as 6,500 bodies were counted. Deeper in the forest were more graves that were not dug up.

The commanding officer of Treblinka I was SS Hauptsturmfuehrer von Eupen. His favorite sport was horseback riding, which gave him the opportunity to trample and kill prisoners. The statements of surviving witnesses from Treblinka I include a particularly gruesome description of how 30 children brought there during the *Warsaw ghetto uprising were killed with an ax by a Ukrainian from the auxiliary service under the supervision of Hans Heinbuch, an SS man, who was a university graduate and worked as a teacher after the war.

Treblinka II: The Culmination of "Efficiency" in the Extermination of Jews (July 23, 1942–Oct. 14, 1943)

After the beginning of mass slaughter in the *Belzec and *Sobibor camps in March and May 1942, Treblinka II became the third and, in terms of capacity, the largest camp for the death camps of Jews in the General Government. It measured 1,312 feet by 1,968 feet, trees camouflaged the camp, and watchtowers were placed along the fence. The camp was divided into three sections: the reception area, the killing area, and the living area. The living area was used by camp personnel, Germans and Ukrainians. It had storerooms and workshops. There were also barracks for Jews. Construction on the killing center began in May and was completed on July 22. A day later massive deportations began arriving from Warsaw.

The stationary gas chambers installed in the above-mentioned camps used a uniform organizational and technical system based on a common operational center located in Lublin. The creator and head of this center, the SS and Polizeifuehrer of the district, Odilo *Globocnik, was appointed by *Himmler as a high official in charge of the "Final Solution" of the Jewish question on a European scale. He acted in close collaboration with Reichsamtsleiter Victor Brack, the former chief of the euthanasia program in Germany.

Mobile gas chambers constructed on the model of the lethal sanitary vans tested in Germany were put into operation in the parts of Poland annexed by the Reich (Wartheland) and in some former Soviet territories. The main obstacle to the mass application of these vans was their limited capacity, their frequent breakdowns and the disposal of bodies; in short, they lacked efficiency. Mass shooting of the Jewish inhabitants in the U.S.S.R. by the *Einsatzgruppen* was no less problematic from the Nazi point of view. These massacres caused misgivings in commanding military circles; they caused too much noise and were carried out in broad daylight, and also left too many wounded or unhurt witnesses who could flee the graves. To employ this method on territories near European centers and even to Germany itself was out of the question.

The death camp reversed the process: instead of sending mobile killers to stationary victims, the victims were made mobile – by being placed on a train – and were sent to stationary execution centers, death camps that operated on an assembly line basis. Arriving prisoners had their values confiscated, they were stripped naked, hair was shaven, and then they were murdered in gas chambers, gold was removed from their teeth, and their bodies were burned in crematoria or open pits. The solution was achieved by the division of labor and the coordination of individual sections. The functions of rounding up the victims at their places of residence and their extermination at the place of execution were separated. One of the *Einsatzgruppen* (the notorious *Einsatz Reinhardt*) was to continue to act, but in the framework of Globocnik's camps its activities were connected mainly with deportation. As a result, the transports directed to the camps had fixed quotas. After a fixed number of "heads" and transports had been dispatched from a given place, the *Einsatz* team was free to perform its *Aktion* in another place. This ensured the death factories a regular and plentiful supply of human material.

The services of the railway network of the Reich and the occupied countries comprised a link in this chain. Transport was a difficult matter at a time when all the railways were swamped with military personnel and supplies. In addition, the trains for transporting Jews from Western and Central Europe had to be ordinary long-distance passenger trains in order to prevent the suspicions of the victims and soothe the conscience of some satellite circles. Jews from the Polish ghettos were being "resettled" without such ceremonies. Freight trains and cattle cars escorted by murderers were filled beyond capacity with people designated for death. They were cold in winter, hot in the summer and a bucket was used for sanitation. Jews had to sit in their own excrement prior to arrival. For hours, and sometimes days, these trains would stand on the side tracks allowing other transports to pass, and thus a large proportion of the deportees (mainly babies, the aged, and the sick), lacking water, air, and sanitary arrangements, frequently died before reaching their destination.

Those who arrived alive were awaited by the third link in the chain – a team of executioners. It was their duty to get the largest possible number of victims through the respective stages of the procedure at lightning speed: to strip them of the last remnants of their possessions including their hair, gold teeth and dentures; to supervise the removal of the corpses; and to sort out the remaining belongings for shipment to Germany.

The large area of Treblinka (32 acres; 13 hectares) was divided into two sectors. In the first, the larger one, the victims were received and classified and their remaining possessions were sorted out and dispatched. In the second were two buildings containing gas chambers and a field of mass graves dug up by mechanical excavators. Three gas chambers (measuring 25 sq. m. each) were located in the building erected earlier, and ten more chambers, twice as large, were in the building erected at a later date. The staff of both sectors consisted of about 30 SS men, 120 so-called Ukrainians (that is, members of the auxiliary services), and about 1,000–1,500 Jewish prisoners who were recruited for the work from among the younger men and, after having been brought to a state of emaciation, were often replaced by men from new transports.

Both buildings had annexes outside. Inside were passages containing narrow, hermetically shut doors to the gas chambers fitted out with small peepholes. On the opposite wall of each chamber there was a hermetically adherent trapdoor that could be opened from the outside. The walls of the chambers were set with tiles and on the ceiling there were openings fitted out with shower heads, to give the obviously false impression that the chambers were showers. The openings in the ceilings were connected to pipes leading to diesel engines located in the annexes. After the engines were started, fumes containing carbon monoxide (CO_1) emanated from the pipes and consumed all the oxygen in the hermetically closed room, causing the suffocation of the people crowded inside. Death in the chambers was calculated to occur within 15–20 minutes, however it sometimes lasted much longer, especially in the larger chambers of the building constructed later on and also when the engines were out of order.

In Treblinka there were also camouflage buildings such as "*Lazarette*" and "train change stations" intended to prevent any self-defending from the victims. The entire procedure was set in motion the moment the vans arrived at the loading platform. After the doors of the vans were pulled aside, a horde of Germans and Ukrainians rushed at the victims, shouting, and beating them. They would throw the victims out of the vans, wounding and injuring them straightaway and causing the miserable people unbelievable shock. Shortly thereafter the *Hoellenspektakel* ("inferno show") would begin. Men and women were separated and families were broken up without being allowed the opportunity for farewells. Men were ordered to undress at the square. While their heads and faces were being whipped, they had to snatch armfuls of clothing and bring them to a large pile to be sorted. A prisoner from the Jewish staff dealt bits of string to men to tie their shoes into pairs. In a nearby barrack another Jewish prisoner would distribute bits of string to women for the same purpose. From the "changing room," women would go over to the "hairdressers," where their hair would be cut off. It would then be used in some industries of the Third Reich.

No pain and no humiliation were spared to those sentenced to death.

Jews arrived on transports from Theresienstadt, Greece, and Slovakia as well as Poland. Jews from Bulgarian-occupied zones of Thrace and Macedonia were sent to Treblinka – but no Jews from Bulgaria itself. There were also Jews from Austria, Belgium, France, Germany, and the occupied Soviet Union. Some 2,000 Roma and Sinti (gypsies) were also deported to Treblinka.

The victims would be stood in a row – ready for the "chase" – naked and barefoot, even in the worst winter days. Before them stretched a 150-yard path connecting both sectors of the camp, called by the Germans *Schlauch* (tube) or, more "wittily," *Himmelstrasse* ("Way to Heaven"). The condemned ran between the rows of torturers, who shouted, battered them with their whips, pricked them with bayonets. Among the shouts, the barking of an enormous hound (the famed dog Bari who belonged to the principal sadist of the camp, nicknamed "Doll") would be heard. Excited by the cries, the hound would tear chunks of flesh from the victims' bodies. The victims screamed as well, and cursed; some of them calling *Shema Yisrael* or "down with Hitler." All inhibitions abandoned, even the men howled with pain; children cried, women were frantic with fear. This route to the gas chambers also had its name, *Himmelfahrt* ("Ascension"), in the camp slang.

Perhaps Brack's experts instructed the executioners that if victims arrived at the chambers out of breath, the effect of the gas would be hastened and the time of agony shortened. The condemned were probably oblivious of this aspect, but they would already be hurriedly running and pushing in order to get to their only refuge left in the world after what had happened to them.

After it was ascertained, by looking through the peepholes, that all movement had ceased, the trapdoor was lifted from the outside and a sight unparalleled in its ghastly nightmarishness would be revealed. The corpses "stood" pressed one against the other ("like basalt pillars") and appeared to be staring with the horror of suffocation. The first corpses had to be pulled out with hoops, and after that they fell out in heaps on the concrete platforms. They were pale and damp and bathed in perspiration and the secretions of the last defecation. The buttocks and faces were blue, mouths open, teeth bared, and bloody effusions oozed out from the mouths and noses.

In the corridors, the staff began cleaning and washing the chambers for the next shift, sprinkling the *Himmelstrasse* with fresh sand, while on the side of the graves, men began the run with the corpses, under a storm of blows and threat of pistols, toward the enormous graves. The gravediggers placed corpses in the gigantic cavities head to feet, and feet to head, in order to put in the maximum number. On the way to the graves stood a squad of "dentists" whose duty it was to pull out gold teeth and dentures from the mouths of the corpses. Another group of specialists was to check quickly whether there were any diamonds hidden in the corpse's rectums or in the women's vaginas. From time to time single shots were fired by the guards to increase the zeal of the gravediggers standing in the grave full of blood, pus, and dreadful stench. Whoever was beaten up, had a trace of blood, or a bruise left on his face, was finished off with a bullet after the roll call. And there was also musical accompaniment to the shows of Treblinka; at first *klezmerim* from the surrounding villages and later an excellent chamber orchestra played under the direction of Artur Gold known for his jazz ensemble from Warsaw. In addition there was a choir which every evening sang the idyllic song *Gute Nacht, Gute Nacht, schlaft gut bis der Morgen erwacht* and a marching song composed by one of the prisoners. None of those musicians survived Treblinka. During roll call and on their way to work prisoners were forced to sing the Anthem of Treblinka written by Artur Gold at the insistence of Kurt Franz.

> We look straight out at the world,
> The columns are marching off to their work.
> All we have left is Treblinka,
> It is our destiny.
> We heed the commandant's voice,
> Obeying his every nod and sign.
> We march along altogether,
> To do what duty demands.
> Work, obedience and duty
> Must be our existence.
> Until we too, will catch a glimpse at last
> Of a modest bit of luck.

Yechiel Reichman, one of the very few to survive the camp, described the lives of those who worked there:

> We tried to encourage and calm each other. "Leibel," I said to him. "Yesterday at this time my little sister was still alive." And he answered: "And my whole family, my relatives, and 12,000 poor Jews from our city." And we were alive, spectators to this great calamity and we became like stone, so that we could eat and carry with us this great pain.

Acts of Resistance

The greatest number of transports occurred in the late summer and autumn of 1942; in the summer of 1942 beginning on July 23 and continuing through September 12, at least 265,000 Jews were transported from the Warsaw Ghetto alone. During the winter the frequency and number of transports abated. After the German defeat at Stalingrad and foreseeing the need to retreat from the Eastern front, the Nazi authorities decided to cremate the corpses in order to eliminate the traces of their crimes.

A special corps of Jewish prisoners, coded by the number 1005, was set up on the grounds where the mass graves were placed. After Himmler's visit to Treblinka in February 1943, the monstrous action of pulling the corpses out of the mass graves and burning them on iron grates began. In most of the 1005 squads, the commandants of this difficult task were forced to stop killing the already trained prisoners and their replacement by new ones. This, however, did not lessen the prisoners' belief that they would also be shot and burned the moment their task was finished. That is when plans for rebellion and escape were born and ripened in almost all such groups in the second half of 1943 and in the first half of 1944. Sometimes these plans even partially succeeded, despite losses. The same happened in Treblinka.

Isolated escapes from the camp began as early as the first weeks of its existence. The runaways would escape under the piles of clothing taken from the dead, that is, in the dispatch vans that had been cleared of the victims. There were also acts of resistance, although only a few have been reported because of the limited number of witnesses who survived to tell the story. On Aug. 26, 1942, a young man from the Kielce transport armed with a penknife threw himself at a Ukrainian who had prevented him from bidding farewell to his mother. As a punishment, all the men who had arrived on the same transport were shot. On Sept. 10, 1942, while the selection was being carried out, Meir Berliner, a citizen of Argentina who was caught by the occupation while visiting his parents in Warsaw, lethally wounded an SS man, Max Biel, with a knife.

Among the better known cases was the resistance of a group of men from Grodno who had refused to undress. They had thrown themselves in unison at the guard but only achieved being shot by automatic fire instead of being gassed in the chambers. Statements by a number of witnesses claim that the news of the armed resistance in January and of the April uprising in Warsaw reached the prisoners and influenced the activities of the conspirators. Their aim now was not only to escape and save their lives, but also to take revenge on the murderers.

Such a group had come into existence in Treblinka II toward the end of 1942. Members of the committee were the physician, Dr. Julian Chorażycki; the head of the Jewish squad, engineer Galewski; Shmuel Rajzman (d. 1979); Kurland; a former captain of the Czech army, Zielo Bloch; and others. They began to make efforts to obtain arms, which they had hoped to smuggle in from the outside with the help of bribed Ukrainian guards. However, they paid for these activities with the loss of Chorażycki, who managed to commit suicide when caught with a packet of bank notes. After various failures the conspirators succeeded, with the help of a copied key, in obtaining arms from the camp arsenal and hiding them in a workshop. Contact was established with the second sector in Treblinka II, where the conspirators had only shovels and spades. They set a date and a signal: a shot and the explosion of a hand grenade. The revolt was to begin on August 2 at 4:30.

At the beginning everything went well. On the appointed day, benzine had been substituted for a solution of lysol during the disinfecting of the wooden buildings. Each active member had a task assigned to him and waited for the signal. At 3:40 a shot suddenly resounded in the first sector, followed soon by the explosion of a hand grenade. Only those in the front barrack knew what had happened. Two young boys there had unearthed some hidden money from a hiding place and a Kapo had caught them. Soon the commanders at their observation points caught sight of Germans leading the youngsters at gunpoint for interrogation to the guardhouse. They realized that they had to begin immediately. The first shot heard in the camp killed the Kapo.

Immediately thereafter one of the leaders dashed through the square with a hand grenade that he was supposed to hurl at the SS men's canteen. He realized that there would not be enough time, and, in order not to confuse the signal, he threw it before he reached his target. The prematurity of the outbreak of the revolt had disastrous consequences. They had not managed to remove the Ukrainian staff guarding the machine guns on the turrets (the conspirators had planned to lure them away with gold); nor had the telephone connections with the outside world been cut.

The leaders of the revolt did not lose their heads. All the barracks were set on fire immediately. They managed to kill one of the main hangmen, Kuetner, cut through the barbed-wire entanglements, and open the way to escape. They tried to kill the Ukrainians operating the machine guns on the guard turret, but did not succeed. Although a few gunners were killed and some wounded, it was impossible for the rebels, with only a few hand grenades and pistols, to lead a systematic struggle under the torrent of machine gun fire from above. Almost all those in command fell. They tried to cover the escape of those who rushed at the wires, but could do little more than die with honor. Apart from the heavily armed Germans and the Ukrainians of the staff, "relief" troops had arrived from Treblinka I. The whole district was alerted by telephone.

Most of the rebels fell while forcing their way through the barbed-wire entanglements. Most of those who escaped (between 300 and 500) from the range of fire were caught in the first weeks of the manhunt and killed or betrayed by the local peasants, who were on the lookout for the riches carried out of Treblinka. There were, however, Poles who gave shelter to the fugitives, either in their houses or in haystacks, dressed the wounded, fed them, and helped them to survive. However, almost a year was to pass before the area was liberated and there were casualties day after day and week after week. Only a total of about 50 survivors, including those who had escaped from Treblinka at an earlier time, could be counted after the liberation. And yet the rebellion and the escape from Treblinka were a great phenomenon in those times: as an act of resistance and revenge and as a bridge to the future struggles of the Jewish nation.

The Aftermath

As a result of interviews and investigations conducted after the liberation, it appeared that although the wooden barracks were burned down, Aug. 2, 1943 was not the last day of activities in Treblinka II. Most of the German and Ukrainian staff remained alive. They completed the burning of the corpses and dealt with some transports, in the main from the General Government, up to September. In October 1943 all buildings were blown up and the entire area was plowed and sown with fodder, in order to obliterate all traces of the crime. According to the data collected by the Polish authorities, apart from Jews from the General Government and Reichskommissariat Ost (Bialystok and Grodno), Jews from several Central and West European countries (Germany, Austria, Bohemia-Moravia, Slovakia, Holland, Belgium, Luxembourg) and from Balkan countries (Greece, Yugoslavia, and Bulgaria) were murdered there. Coins and identity cards of the citizens of more than 30 countries were found among other exhibits unearthed in the camp grounds. In addition to Jews, a certain number of Poles and gypsies were also murdered there. According to the calculations of Judge Z. Lukaszkiewicz, the number of victims murdered in Treblinka amounted to at least 731,600. The basis of this calculation was the railway documentation and an estimation of the average number of vans and people. This number, which was published in 1946, must be enlarged and rounded out to about 750,000 on the basis of German documents discovered later on by Jewish researchers.

After the liberation of Poland, a Central Jewish Historical Committee came into existence almost simultaneously with the Main State Commission for the Investigation of Nazi Crimes. It established itself in Lodz and later transferred to Warsaw as the Jewish Historical Institute. The committee pursued the contacts established with a group of 35 survivors of Treblinka. In November 1945 representatives of the Polish Main Commission and of the Central Jewish Historical Committee visited the scene of the crimes; they were assisted by five former prisoners and accompanied by a unit of militia men and representatives of the local Polish authorities. The most explicit evidence of the monstrous crimes that had taken place there were the human skulls and bones scattered all over; they had been unearthed when the local inhabitants and scavengers of a nearby station of the Soviet army, out for gold teeth and other treasures of the murdered Jews, tore up the grounds.

The document that remained after this visit was a memorandum of the Jewish participants to the Central Committee of Jews in Poland appealing for action to prevent further profanation of the place of martyrdom and disaster of close to three-quarters of a million Jews. This appeal remained unanswered, and only in 1961 was the building of a monument begun on behalf of the Jewish division for the preservation of places of commemoration in Poland, presided over by S. Fischgrund. A pamphlet was published in several languages urging Jews from all over the world to contribute toward this goal.

In 1963 a delegation from Israel arrived in Poland for the commemoration of the 20th anniversary of the Warsaw ghetto uprising. It also went on a pilgrimage to Treblinka, where a monument and a mausoleum in the form of a symbolic railway and cemetery, designed by A. Haupt and F. Duszenko, had in the meantime been erected. The delegation returned to Israel with a case of remains, and a profoundly moving funeral was held at the Naḥalat Yiẓḥak cemetery near Tel Aviv. Since then, the former prisoners of Treblinka have held an annual memorial service there.

In kibbutz *Loḥamei ha-Getta'ot, a model of Treblinka planned and executed by the senior of the former prisoners of Treblinka II was erected. The number of former prisoners of Treblinka in Israel amounted to 20 and they remained in contact with the surviving fellow prisoners scattered all over the world.

Three trials directly concerning the crimes at Treblinka were conducted in Germany. The first was of Joseph (Sepp) Hirtreiter (Frankfurt, 1951) who was sentenced for life. The second was of ten defendants from Treblinka II (Dusseldorf, 1965), in which the chief defendant from this camp, Kurt Franz (called "Doll") was sentenced to life imprisonment, while his companions received various sentences up to a maximum of 12 years, one of them being acquitted. The third was of Franz Stangl, the commandant of Treblinka, who was arrested in Brazil and delivered to the German authorities. After a six-month trial he was sentenced to life imprisonment in January 1971. Under extradition agreement this punishment was reduced to 20 years, but in June of the same year he died in prison.

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[Rachel Auerbach / Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

TREFOUSSE, HANS LOUIS (1921–), U.S. historian. Born in Frankfurt, Germany, Trefousse became professor of history at Brooklyn College, New York. After he retired from teaching, he was named professor emeritus of history. He published books on American diplomacy and on the role of Republicans in the American Civil War and Reconstruction. His biographies *Ben Butler, the South Called Him Beast* (1957) and *Benjamin Franklin Wade, Radical Republican from Ohio* (1963) were significant preludes to his *Radical Republicans* (1969).

Some of his other published works include *Germany and American Neutrality, 1939–41* (1951), *Reconstruction* (1971), *Lincoln's Decision for Emancipation* (1975), *Andrew Johnson: A Biography* (1989), *Pearl Harbor: The Continuing Controversy* (1982), *Carl Schurz: A Biography* (1998), *Thaddeus Stevens: 19th-Century Egalitarian* (2001), and *Rutherford B. Hayes* (2002).

°TREITSCHKE, HEINRICH VON (1834–1896), German historian and politician. Treitschke was a member of the National Liberal Party and author of a popular German history of the 19th century (*Deutsche Geschichte im 19. Jahrhundert*, 5 vols., 1879–94). He became well known as a staunch advocate of German nationalism increasingly critical of liberalism. The Berlin historian was very vocal in various campaigns for a cultural unification and homogenization of the young German nation-state. In this context, he published an anti-liberal article in 1879 entitled "Unsere Aussichten" in the *Preussische Jahrbuecher* in which he justified the antisemitic movement which had emerged in Germany since 1873. Behind this, Treitschke saw "a brutal but natural reaction of German national feeling against a foreign element," and he praised the "instinct of the masses, which has perceived a grave danger," that of Jewish domination of Germany. He launched the famous slogan: "The Jews are our misfortune!"

As a result, the antisemitic agitation, which until then had been considered vulgar, especially in intellectual circles, now received the approval of one of the most illustrious thinkers in Germany at the time and acquired a warrant of respectability. Over the course of the following year, controversies about his attacks broke out among the educated bourgeoisie; participants included the historian Heinrich *Graetz, who had been personally attacked in Treitschke's article, and the historian of Rome, Theodor *Mommsen, who accused Treitschke of disturbing the public peace in Germany. Treitschke was not a "racist" in the radical sense of the word. He limited himself to demanding the rapid and complete assimilation of the Jews in the Germanic culture, yet he became more and more skeptical about the likelihood of accomplishing this objective. In the years after 1879 his political and historical writings, therefore, remained persistently antisemitic.

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[Leon Poliakov / Uffa Jensen (2nd ed.)]

TREMELLIUS, JOHN IMMANUEL (1510–1580), Italian Hebraist and apostate Jew. Born in Ferrara and educated at the University of Padua, Tremellius became a Catholic in about 1540, his godfather being Cardinal Reginald Pole, archbishop of Canterbury. A year later, he abandoned Catholicism for Protestantism, and in 1542 was appointed professor of Hebrew at the University of Strasbourg. The European wars of religion drove Tremellius to England, where Archbishop Thomas Cranmer, a leading Protestant, gave him lodgings for a time in Lambeth Palace. Following the death of Paulus *Fagius, Tremellius served as king's reader in Hebrew at the University of Cambridge, where he remained from 1549 until the Catholic reaction under Queen Mary (1553), when he left for Germany. He was professor of Old Testament at the University of Heidelberg between 1561 and 1576, but paid a second visit to England in 1565. As a Calvinist, he incurred Lutheran displeasure at Heidelberg and was expelled in 1576, concluding his teaching career at Sedan.

Tremellius' main work was his Latin translation of the Bible from Hebrew and Syriac (Old Testament with F. Junius, Frankfurt on the Main, 1575–59; New Testament, Geneva, 1569), of which many editions were published. He also issued an Aramaic and Syriac grammar (Geneva, 1569). His Latin Bible had a profound impact on Hebrew studies in England during the 17th century.

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[Godfrey Edmond Silverman]

TRENCIN (Slovak **Trenčín**; Hung. **Trencsén**; Ger. **Trentschin**), town in western Slovakia.

In the 14th century there were several Jews in Trencin. In the 16th century Jews reappeared. After the Kuruc invasion of Ubersky Brod in 1683, some Jews took refuge in Trencin. For the next 100 years, the community was under Ubersky Brod's jurisdiction. In 1734 the Jews took a secret oath to use only Ubersky Brod's court in disputes and to avoid the Hungarian court system.

The Trencin Jews tried to develop community life. They established a *ḥevra kaddisha* and held services on the Sabbath and holidays in private homes. They also had a *mikveh*. In 1736 there was a Jewish school, and in 1760 the community hired its first rabbi, David Kahn Casid (d. 1783). The municipal authorities were not well disposed toward the Jewish community. It charged the Jews municipal and state taxes and prohibited several religious rituals, such as marriage and circumcision. To perform these rituals, the Jews were charged heavy taxes. They were forbidden to employ Christian servants. The authorities tried to curtail the expansion of the community.

In 1703 Jews opened a factory that produced a scarce oil for tanning hides. During the first quarter of the 18th century, Jews were engaged in trade in hides and bones, and in producing spirits. In 1787 a fire destroyed the community's archives. In 1834 the congregation owned a small wooden synagogue. During the first half of the 19th century, the school system was expanded. Most of the schools had been privately owned but slowly became public and then government-owned. The major government-run Jewish elementary school was established in 1857. It had an excellent reputation, and many gentile children were enrolled.

After the Congress of Hungarian Jewry in 1868, the Trencin congregation joined the Reform (Neolog) stream of Jewry. In 1911 a new synagogue was constructed, often described as one of the most beautiful in Hungary. The congregation had a *ḥevra kaddisha*, a cemetery, and a kosher butcher. There were several social, women's, religious, and charitable societies. During World War I, 150 men enlisted in the army.

From 1785 the community underwent rapid expansion. In that year there were 388 Jews in Trencin. In 1848 there were 688, while 50 years later the community numbered 1,113. An increase was seen in 1922 when the community reached its peak of 2,115. In 1930 the number decreased to 1,539.

At the end of World War I, mobs looted Jewish property and homes and injured and even murdered Jews. When the disturbances subsided, the Jewish community recovered and contributed significantly to economic life. Several local factories were owned by Jewish entrepreneurs. Outstanding among them was one that produced natural oil. It supported local agriculture and provided employment. Jews were well represented in the educated strata and comprised much of Trencin's intelligentsia. There was active political and social life in the community. In 1932 five Jews were elected to the municipal council, four of them from the Jewish party. A number of Zionist groups influenced the community. The congregation belonged to the Slovakia-wide Jeshurun association, which unified the Neolog and Status Quo congregations. There was also a small Orthodox group.

On the eve of the deportations in 1942, there were 2,500 Jews in Trencin and environs; in Trencin itself there were 1,619. Most of them perished in the extermination camps in Poland. In 1947 there were 228 Jews in Trencin. In the small synagogue, the names of the victims were inscribed on the walls. Most of the survivors emigrated or settled in other parts of Czechoslovakia. The rest attempted to preserve Jewish life.

In 1968, during the Prague Spring, another wave of emigration took place. In 1978 a memorial was unveiled in the cemetery for Jewish anti-Fascist fighters and victims of the Holocaust. The Reform synagogue served as the city's cultural center.

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[Yeshayahu Jelinek (2nd ed.)]

TRENT, city in northern Italy. The presence of some Jews in Trent, most of them emigrants from Germany, is mentioned from the first half of the 14th century. The usury regulations of the Jews of Trent served as a model elsewhere in the Tyrol. In the 15th century Jews in Trent possessed a synagogue, a house for study, and three other houses. The Jewish physician Tobiah practiced among the Christian as well as the Jewish population. In 1475, the fanatical Franciscan, Bernardino da *Feltre, preached there against the Jews in his Lenten sermons, and foretold that their sins would soon be manifested to all.

A few days after this, on Maundy Thursday, a Christian infant named Simon disappeared. Shortly afterward his body was discovered near the house of the head of the Jewish community, and the whole community, men, women, and children were arrested. After 17 of them had been tortured for 15 consecutive days they "confessed" to the crimes of which they had been accused. One of the tortured died in prison, six were burnt at the stake, and two (who had converted to Christianity) were strangled. At this stage Pope *Sixtus IV intervened in the affair and the judicial proceedings were temporarily halted. A papal commissary was sent to Trent to investigate the circumstances of the incident, but was forced to leave when the results of his inquiries led him to contradict the findings of the local "trial." Proceedings were reopened in Trent in face of violent opposition from the commissary, and at the end of the year five more Jews were executed (two of them were converted to Christianity before their deaths). A papal court of inquiry in 1476 justified the libel, and in 1478, as a result of its proceedings, Sixtus published the *Bull *Facit nos pietas* endorsing the "legality" of the trial. In the meantime four Jewish women of Trent had accepted the Christian faith and the property of the murdered Jews had been confiscated. Jews were henceforth excluded from Trent, and in the 18th century were still not allowed to pass through the town (see Ḥ.J.D. Azulai, *Maʿgal Tov*, 10–11).

Simon was beatified. The libel had widespread repercussions and served for intense antisemitic propaganda both inside and outside Italy. According to legend, the rabbis of Italy imposed a ban on Jewish settlement in Trent after 1475: this was formally raised when Simon was de-beatified in 1965.

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[Shlomo Simonsohn]

TRENTON, capital of the state of New Jersey, U.S., situated between Philadelphia and New York City. Greater Trenton has a population of about 341,000 (2003); the Jewish population of Greater Trenton numbered about 10,000 in 1970, but by the mid-1990s, the Jewish population numbered approximately 6,000 as Jews from the city migrated to surrounding suburban areas. Greater Trenton in 2005 included most of Mercer County and its Jewish population remained at some 6,000 in 2005.

Trenton was founded in 1679. The first Jew connected with Trenton was Simon *Gratz, of Philadelphia, who bought shares in the Trenton Banking Company when it was established in 1805. In 1839, Daniel Levy Maduro *Peixotto, of New York City, became editor, for a few months, of the *Emporium* and *True American*, a daily and weekly newspaper. Judge David *Naar, who bought the *True American* in 1853 and was its editor until 1869, played a prominent role in the political life of New Jersey as well as in local civic and educational affairs. German Jews began to settle in the late 1840s. The first prominent Jew was Simon Kahnweiler, a merchant and manufacturer. The Mt. Sinai Cemetery Association was incorporated in 1857 and the Har Sinai Hebrew Congregation held its first service in 1858 in rented quarters, and held its first formal services in 1860 when the congregation formalized its organization. In 1866 it bought a small Lutheran Church. Chevra Bikkur Cholim, "for the mutual relief of the sick and the burial of the dead," was incorporated in 1877.

The East European immigration, started in the late 1870s, was composed mainly of Lithuanian, Polish, and Hungarian Jews. They organized the synagogues Achenu Bnai Yisroel (1883); Anshey Emes (1891); Ahavath Israel (1909); and Poaley Emes (1920). Until 1903 Jewish education was conducted by private teachers, after which the Brothers of Israel Synagogue founded a Hebrew school. Later, in 1945, it became partly a day school, under the leadership of Rabbi Issachar Levin, who served the community from 1927 to 1969. In 1969 it became a full-fledged day school, the Trenton Hebrew Academy. Renamed in 1981 as the Abrams Hebrew Academy (named for a local foundation that made a significant endowment to the school), it moved from Trenton, New Jersey, to Yardley, Pennsylvania. In 2006, the school had 30 faculty teaching 300 students from nursery school through eighth grade in a secular/religious day school curriculum.

An influx of Jews into Trenton after World War I resulted in a proliferation of social, literary, and recreational societies as well as political groups. Har Sinai joined the Reform movement in 1922. Adath Israel was organized in 1923 as a Conservative congregation. The Workmen's Circle began its activities in 1924. The YMHA was organized in 1910, reorganized in 1916, and acquired its first building in 1917 – the forerunner of the Jewish Community Center (1962). Zionist societies started in the early 1900s. The Jewish Federation of Trenton was organized in 1929. The Jewish Family Service (1937) dates back to its predecessor the Hebrew Ladies Aid Society (1900). The Home for the Aged Sons and Daughters of Israel, now called the Greenwood House, was organized in 1939 and had 132 beds in 2006. An assisted living center, Abrams Residence, was added in 2003 using money provided by a local Jewish foundation called the Abrams Foundation. It was created from the fortunes of the last surviving members of the Abrams family, brothers Samuel and David and sister Susan. The family's fortune came from diversified holdings financed originally by a retail furniture operation; they began their diversification by purchasing single shares of General Motors Corporation stock during the Great Depression. The Abrams Foundation also helped finance the activities of the Abrams Day Camp, a Jewish day camp operated by the Jewish Community Center since 1963. An eight-week program, it offers activities for about 400 Jewish children each summer. In 1937 a Jewish census study showed that there were 7,191 Jews, or about 6 percent of the population; 32 organizations including 6 synagogues; and that 59 percent of the Jewish population was in trade, 13.3 percent in mechanical and manufacturing enterprises, and 12.3 percent in professions. The 1949 and the 1961 census showed increases in the professions which in 1970 probably amounted to nearly 30 percent. In 1970 there were 40 organizations, including three Conservative congregations as well as two Orthodox and one Reform. By the beginning of the new millennium, the community within the city limits had diminished to two congregations, one Conservative and the second a Reform congregation.

It was the culmination of a general migration of Jewish families out of the city and into surrounding suburban communities in Pennsylvania and New Jersey. In 2006, the last two congregations within the city limits, Congregation Brothers of Israel (200 families) and Har Sinai Temple (500 families), were each in various stages of relocating. In 2006, Brothers of Israel was in the process of purchasing land for a new synagogue in Yardley, Pennsylvania, and Har Sinai was building a new facility approximately 15 miles north of Trenton, in Pennington, New Jersey. At that time, Har Sinai announced its intention to remain vested in the city of Trenton by continuing its charitable programs there.

The Jews have been well-integrated in the communal life of the city, participating actively in the United Fund and other charitable and educational institutions. Outstanding leaders in the general and Jewish community include Judge Phillip Forman, United States Circuit Court; Judge Sidney Goldmann, presiding judge of the Appellate Division of the Supreme Court of New Jersey; Bernard Alexander; Leon Levy; comedian Jon Stewart; and Expressionist painter Max *Weber.

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[S. Joshua Kohn / David Weinstock (2nd ed.)]

TREPMAN, PAUL (1916–1987), journalist, author, community leader. Born in Warsaw, Trepman was an only child. His father's family were followers of the Gur Rebbe, and one of Trepman's earliest memories was going with his father to meet the him. Trepman attended both traditional and modern cheders, as well as the Takhkemoni Yeshivah in Warsaw. In his youth, he joined the Betar Zionist movement, and was a strong supporter of Ze'ev *Jabotinksy and his Revisionist Zionism. He began to publish in Polish, and his works appeared in a journal edited by Janusz *Korczak and in the Revisionist press. He also began university at the Stefan Batory University in Vilna, but the war halted his studies.

During the war, Trepman had the opportunity to escape east to Russia but refused to abandon his mother in Warsaw. He returned to Warsaw to find his mother in the ghetto, weak and stricken with typhus. He narrowly escaped his mother's fate – deportation to Treblinka – and lived in the Warsaw area with Aryan papers. His Jewish identity hidden, he was arrested in June 1943 and accused of being a Soviet spy. He was sent to *Majdanek and subsequently saw the inside of various camps. He was in *Bergen-Belsen when it was liberated by the British in April 1945, and only after liberation did Trepman resume his Jewish identity. He was soon involved in the cultural and political life of the Bergen-Belsen Displaced Persons Camp. In July 1945 he was the founding co-editor (with Rafael Olewsky and David Rosenthal) of *Undzer Shtimme*, the first Jewish newspaper in the British Zone. In December 1947 *Undzer Shtimme* was replaced with the more substantial *Vochnbalatt*. Trepman was also an editor of Zamy Feder's *Anthology of Songs and Poems from the Ghettos and Concentration Camps*, and was co-editor, again with Olewsky and Rosental, of an early photo album of the Holocaust, the multilingual *Undzer Churbn in Bild*, (*Our Destruction in Pictures*, Bergen-Belsen, 1946).

With the support of Hirsch *Wolofsky, the editor of Montreal's Yiddish daily, *Keneder Adler*, Trepman and his wife immigrated to Montreal in 1948. He was hired to teach at the Jewish People's Schools, where he remained for 23 years. In the summers he directed the Labor Zionist Camp Undzer – Camp-Kindervelt. Between 1971 and 1981 he was the executive director of the Jewish Public Library of Montreal. Trepman became a central figure in the Montreal survivor community. In 1961 he established the Montreal chapter of Bergen-Belsen survivors, and served as its president for a number of years.

In Montreal, Trepman was a frequent contributor to the *Adler*, often writing under pen-names, including the tongue-in-cheek pen-name Pinchas Batlan (Pinchas the Loafer). He also wrote several books focusing on his life before the war and his wartime experiences. These include *A Gesl in Varshe* (1949; *Among Men and Beasts*, 1978), based on newspaper articles he had written between 1946 and 1953; and his description of going back to visit Poland, *A Traumatic Return to Poland* (1980), a translation of six articles he had written for the *Keneder Adler* about a return trip he took to Poland in 1979.

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[Richard Menkis (2nd ed.)]

TREPPER, LEOPOLD (**Leiba Domb**; 1904–1982), former Soviet intelligence agent, head of the anti-German spy network known as "The Red Orchestra." Trepper was born in Nowy Targ near Zakopane, Poland. He was active in the Polish Communist youth movement and was imprisoned for several months. Afterwards he joined Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir and in 1926 went to Ereẓ Israel, where he soon became affiliated with the illegal Communist party and was detained several times by the police for his clandestine activities. In the Histadrut he became known as the leader of the Eḥud (Unity) faction which advocated workers' unity, intending to include Communists and Arabs. After the first conference of Eḥud (1927), Trepper was expelled from Ereẓ Israel and went to France. There he became active in the Jewish section of the French Communist party as well as in the Soviet secret service. In 1932, in consequence of the discovery of a Soviet spy network, referred to in the French press as the "Fantomas" affair, Trepper had to leave France and proceeded to the Soviet Union. In Moscow he studied at the Communist University for Western Workers (KUNZ) and was probably also trained for intelligence work. In 1938 he was sent to France and Belgium, where, under various covers, he played a central role in Soviet military intelligence. He organized and headed a widespread clandestine radio service which had agents in high echelons of the German military machine in Berlin. German counter-intelligence called the network "The Red Orchestra."

In 1941 Trepper warned Moscow of Germany's imminent attack on the U.S.S.R., predicting even its exact date, but Stalin disregarded these warnings as originating in "British provocation." During the German-Soviet war "The Red Orchestra," under Trepper's direction, contributed greatly, and sometimes decisively, to Soviet strategy and tactics. In November 1942 Trepper was captured in Paris by a combined team of German counter-intelligence and the Gestapo. They attempted to enlist his services for a sophisticated anti-Soviet operation in which he would continue his radio transmissions under secret German control (the so-called *Funkspiel*). According to previous orders from his superiors for such a contingency, Trepper pretended to respond to these overtures, thus saving his life and even succeeding in escaping less than a year later. During his imprisonment, he managed to smuggle out a detailed report, written in a mixture of Hebrew, Yiddish, and Polish, which was transmitted to Moscow by underground Communist party channels and which contained exact information about his arrest as well as about the German control already established over parts of "The Red Orchestra." After his escape he resumed his intelligence activity.

In 1945 he was recalled to Moscow and on arrival immediately arrested. He spent ten years in prison and was constantly interrogated by the highest Soviet security officials. At a certain stage, during Stalin's antisemitic Black Year, one of the main charges leveled against him was the fact that in "The Red Orchestra" he had "surrounded himself with Jews" (some of them, like Hillel Katz, were old comrades from Ereẓ Israel), to which he replied that at that time Jewish Communists were the most reliable people he could find. In 1955 he was released and completely "rehabilitated." From then on Trepper devoted himself exclusively to Jewish interests. He submitted to the post-Stalin leadership a detailed plan to revive Jewish cultural life and institutions in the Soviet Union, but in 1956, after the Twentieth Congress of the Soviet Communist party, he was officially informed that his plan had been rejected. He then went to Warsaw, where, under the name Leiba Domb, he headed the government-sponsored Jewish Cultural-Social Society (Yidisher Kultur-Gezelshaftlekher Farband) and its publishing house Yiddish Bukh.

In 1968, during the violently anti-Jewish period in Polish policy, Trepper decided to return to Israel, where members of his family had already settled, but was constantly denied an exit permit. This attitude of the Polish government, possibly a result of Soviet pressure, aroused in 1971–72 worldwide publicity and many protests, including hunger strikes by Trepper's sons in Jerusalem, in Canada, and at the United Nations building in New York.

Toward the end of 1972 a French court heard a libel action by Trepper against the former French secret agent Jean Rochet, who had accused Trepper, in a letter to *Le Monde*, of having collaborated with the Nazis and betrayed his comrades in the underground. Despite Trepper's inability to appear because he was not allowed to leave Poland, he won the case and Rochet was fined and ordered to publish the court's verdict.

Trepper was finally granted permission by the Polish authorities to leave Poland for England in order to undergo a serious operation. He stated that his plans included the writing of "the full and true account of the 'Red Orchestra,'" not merely as an intelligence network, but as an organization of anti-Nazi resistance in which Jews played such a prominent part. His memoirs, *Le Grand Jeu*, were published in 1975 and in English translation by the author in 1977 as *The Great Game: The Story of the Red Orchestra.*

Trepper settled in Israel in 1974. He died early in 1982 and was buried in Jerusalem.

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[Joseph Berger-Barzilai]

TREST (Czech **Třešt**; Ger. **Triesch**), town in Moravia, Czech Republic. R. Jacob of Triesch is mentioned in a query addressed to Solomon b. Abraham *Adret. The community developed after the expulsion from nearby *Jihlava (1426) but it may be assumed that it existed earlier. In 1678 Jews owned fields and in 1693 they were permitted to distill spirits and to fatten cattle. Trest Jews were connected with the textile industry as sellers of wool, and in 1723 a distillery, tannery, and butchery were rented to a Jew. In 1789 there were 102 Jewish families permitted by the *Familiants Laws; 20 others also lived in the town. One hundred years later the community numbered 316. Trest was the seat of an important yeshivah and among its rabbis was Eleazar *Loew. In 1930 the community numbered 64 (1.3% of the total population). It came to an end in the Holocaust period, some immigrating to England and Palestine and the rest deported to the death camps of Poland via Theresienstadt. Its sacred objects are now in the Jewish State Museum in Prague.

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[Meir Lamed]

TRETS (Heb. טְרייץ), town in the department of Bouches-du-Rhone, S. France. Jewish sources indicate that a Jewish community, which included some scholars, existed there at least from 1269. The non-Jewish sources mention the protection given by the lords of Trets to local Jews in the 14th and 15th centuries, granting them equality with Christian inhabitants. However, in 1413, the Jewish community was obliged to request an order, which they obtained, placing them under the protection of the lord and imposing a heavy fine of 50 silver marks "for any injury or offense to them." The community continued to exist until the expulsion of the Jews from Provence in 1501.

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[Bernhard Blumenkranz]

TREVES, a ramified family which produced scores of scholars, rabbis, and communal workers. It is usually assumed that the family's origins were in Troyes, France, *Rashi's birthplace, from where it spread throughout Italy and Germany. Others hold that it came from Treviso near Venice, Italy, in the 14th century, while a third opinion is that it originated in Trier (Germany), called Trèves in French. In France members of the family were called Triverzans and in Germany, Drifzan. Branches of the family spread through the different countries of Europe from the 14th to the 20th centuries. From the original family there afterward branched off the Trefouse, Dreyfuss, and Tribas families. JOHANAN, the founder of the family, lived in Germany in the second half of the 13th century. The first to be called Treves was JOSEPH B. JOHANAN (the Great), rabbi of Paris or Marseilles in the first half of the 14th century. His son MATTATHIAS (c. 1325–died c. 1385) of Provence lived in Spain, studied under his father, and was a pupil of Nissim b. Reuben *Gerondi and Perez b. Isaac ha-Kohen. He returned to France when the edict of expulsion was repealed in 1361. In Paris he founded a yeshivah which had a large number of students. He was given the title of honor *Morenu*, and in 1363 was appointed rabbi of Paris by Charles V. Mattathias and the members of his family were among those exempted from wearing the Jewish badge decreed upon the Jews of France by Charles V. He is mentioned in the responsa of *Isaac b. Sheshet Perfet (No. 271) and in the fragments of the *Kiryat Sefer* of Isaac *Lattes published by Neubauer (*Seder ha-Ḥakhamim ve-Korot ha-Yamim*, pt. 2 (1893), 241). Mattathias had three sons, Johanan *Treves, ABRAHAM, and JOSEPH, the last apparently being ordained rabbi in Italy, where he died in 1429. Joseph's great-grandson NAPHTALI HERTZ (Drifzan) was the author of the kabbalistic commentary *Dikduk Tefillah*, on the prayer book *Malah ha-Areẓ De'ah* (Thuengen, 1560), and *Naftulei Elohim*, a supercommentary on the commentary of *Baḥya b. Asher (Heddernheim, 1546). He was cantor in Frankfurt on the Main and was renowned as "the great kabbalist." Naphtali Herz's son JOSEPH together with his brother ELIEZER (1495–1566) published their father's commentary on the prayer book. Eliezer served as rabbi of Frankfurt for 22 years. A third son SAMUEL settled in Russia (see below). He wrote *Yesod Shirim* (Thuengen, 1559) on the Book of Ruth, giving both literal and kabbalistic explanations. Many members of the Treves family settled in Italy. The first known is Johanan b. Joseph *Treves, author of the commentary *Kimḥa de-Avishuna* (Bologna, 1540). His son RAPHAEL JOSEPH (16th century) was rabbi in Ferrara, engaged in the publication of books, and in 1559 worked as a proofreader in the Hebrew press in Sabbioneta. JOSEPH B. MATTATHIAS in Svigliano was involved in the notorious Tamari-Venturozzo case (1566) in which the rabbis of Venice and Mantua took part (see Moses b. Abraham *Provençal).

From the 16th century onward the Treves family is found in Russia. The Russian branch of the family traces its descent to Samuel, the son of Naphtali Herz of Frankfurt, who crossed into Russia and adopted the family name of Ẓevi. He had two sons, one of whom, ELIEZER, called Ashkenazi or Ish Ẓevi, served as rabbi in Opatow, and wrote commentaries on the Talmud, and glosses to tractate *Ḥullin*, which were published under the title *Dammesek Eliezer* (Lublin, 1646). He was also the author of a collection of prayers, *Si'ah ha-Sadeh* (*ibid.*, 1645).

Still another branch of the Treves family is found in Turkey from the end of the 15th century. From there a number of them also went to Ereẓ Israel. Of these the following may be mentioned: ABRAHAM B. SOLOMON ẒAREFATI (1470–1552) was born in Mantua, but in 1495 went to Salonika. In 1505 he was appointed rabbi of Ferrara, and in 1522 went to Constantinople. He subsequently lived for several years in Adrianople with Joseph *Caro, where he became friendly with Solomon *Molcho. Immediately after Molcho's death he moved to Ereẓ Israel, settling in Jerusalem. He was the author of the *Birkat Avraham* (Venice, 1552), on the ritual washing of the hands. His copy of the *Halakhot* of Isaac *Alfasi contained his own glosses and those of his ancestors. Another member of this branch was ISAAC B. MORDECAI GERSHON, one of the scholars of Safed and a pupil of Moses *Alshekh. He became rabbi in Constantinople (1583), but from there went to Venice. He became renowned as a proofreader and publisher of the works of the scholars of Safed. RAPHAEL TREVES was born in Smyrna and from 1710 lived in Jerusalem, where he died around 1745. His works are *Ẓaḥ ve-Adom* (Constantinople, 1740), giving the order of prayers for those settling in Ereẓ Israel, and *Dagul me-Revavah* (*ibid.*, 1743), a commentary on the Song of Songs.

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[Yehoshua Horowitz]

TREVES, EMILIO (1834–1916), Italian publisher. Born in Trieste, Treves began to work as a proofreader in a local office and wrote anonymously for magazines prohibited by the Austrian censor. He was forced to leave for Paris when his association with the prohibited journals was discovered, and after working as a journalist and translator he became a publisher in Fiume. He joined Garibaldi's legion in 1859 in the war against the Bourbon regime in Naples, and after peace was declared he founded the Treves publishing company with his brother Giuseppe. The Treves brothers published the highly successful *Illustrazione Italiana*, and later the works of many famous Italian writers including De Amicis, D'Annunzio, and Verga, as well as translations from foreign languages. By the end of the 19th century the Treves publishing company was the most important in Italy.

[Giorgio Romano]

TREVES, JOHANAN BEN JOSEPH (1490?–1557?), Italian rabbi and scholar. His place of birth is unknown. In his youth he studied together with Joseph of Arles in the yeshivah of Moses *Navarro in Ferrara, where he later became a member of the *bet din*. For about 20 years he wandered in different towns of northern and central Italy, serving as religious instructor and rabbi, and as a result he was termed one of "the peripatetic rabbis." For a number of years during this period, he lived in the house of Ishmael Rieti in Siena as his private tutor, a practice common in Italy. He then lived in Sabbioneta and Bologna (1540). It was assumed that he worked in the Hebrew press in Bologna from 1537 to 1541; and it is possible that in the years 1545–46 he worked as a proofreader in the printing press of Daniel *Bomberg in Venice.

Johanan was an author, publisher, and writer of responsa. Widely known is his commentary, *Kimḥa de-Avishuna* (Bologna, 1540), on the festival prayer book according to the Roman rite, published anonymously. He endeavored to establish the correct readings "and did not invent anything; well nigh everything was gathered from existing authors … as the gleaner follows the harvester." The work was designed for the untutored, and its title is explained in the statement that "he was not concerned to produce fine flour but flour made from roasted ears [*Kimḥa de-Avishuna*; see Pes. 39b] … that had already been ground and roasted." His commentary is based almost entirely upon Midrashim, some of which are otherwise unknown, and upon commentaries on early *piyyutim*, his purpose being simply to explain the words and subject matter. He was extremely active as a proofreader of midrashic works and in the establishment of accurate readings of the tractates he studied with his pupils. His glosses to the *Halakhot* of Isaac *Alfasi, his approbations to the works of his contemporaries, and his responsa (one of which, no. 58, was included in the responsa of Moses *Isserles), are extant. He also compiled a commentary on the laws of **shehitah u-vedikah* and the *halakhot* of **issur ve-hetter* of the *Mordekhai* of *Mordecai b. Hillel (Venice, 1550). His *piyyutim* and poems are also known. Of his three sons the best known is Raphael Joseph who was a *posek*, as well as a book publisher. In 1559 he was working in the Sabbioneta press.

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[Yehoshua Horowitz]

TREVES, JOHANAN BEN MATTATHIAS (d. 1429), French rabbi. Treves was ordained by his father Mattathias b. Joseph. He was a son-in-law of the procurator-general, *Manessier de Vesoul. Treves first served as rabbi to a single French community but on the death of his father in 1385 was appointed chief rabbi of Paris with the consent of Charles VI and served in this office from 1385 to 1394. After some years of tranquility, a distinguished pupil of his father, Isaiah Astruc b. Abba Mari, became his enemy and claimed for himself the sole right of appointing rabbis in France and of conducting a yeshivah. With the help of Meir b. Baruch ha-Levi of Vienna, Isaiah Astruc tried to remove Johanan from his post by proclaiming that all arrangements of the rabbinate not confirmed by him were null and void. Johanan turned for help to the greatest rabbis of Catalonia, Ḥasdai *Crescas and *Isaac b. Sheshet Perfet (the Ribash). These two supported the persecuted rabbi and in their responsa opposed both Isaiah Astruc and Meir b. Baruch. They claimed that Johanan, "besides inheriting his rabbinate from his father with the approval of the monarch in accordance with the wishes of the communities, was also worthy of it on account of his learning and activities" (Resp. Ribash, 270–72). Some justify the intervention of Isaiah Astruc on the grounds of his constructive criticism of the affairs of the French communities and Johanan's inability to halt the religious decline which had taken place. It was Johanan who characterized the attitude of Isaiah Astruc as prompted by a desire to oust him from office. The expulsion of the Jews from France in 1394 ended the quarrel. Johanan went to Italy, where he lived until his death. He achieved great renown among his contemporaries who referred to him as "the greatest in our times," and "the paragon of the generation." His rulings were much referred to by contemporary scholars. From Italy he corresponded with Jacob b. Moses *Moellin (the Maharil). His responsa on the prayers to be said by orphans and a responsum to the Padua community are extant.

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[Yehoshua Horowitz]

TREVIÑO DE SOBREMONTE, TOMÁS (1592–1649), Marrano martyr in Mexico. His father came from an old aristocratic Christian family and his mother, Leonor Martínez de Villagómez, was a Judaizing New Christian. Born in Medina de Riosoco, Spain, he studied Latin in two Jesuit schools and canon law at Salamanca, and became a page for a nobleman in his home town. When a fellow page called him a Jew, he killed him and went into hiding. In 1612 Tomás fled to New Spain, where he prospered as a merchant, with connections at the commercial centers of Zacatecas, Guadalajara, Acapulco, and Vera Cruz. His brother, Gerónimo, was arrested with their mother by the Inquisition in Spain, and revealed under torture that Tomás was a Judaizer. Consequently, the Mexican Inquisition arrested Tomás in November 1624 and reconciled him to the Church the following year after he expressed repentance. The repentance was feigned, however, for Tomás had no intention of relinquishing his Judaism. He even had himself circumcised in jail by a cell mate. In 1629 he married the Judaizer, Maria Gómez, and despite the interdict of the Inquisition he dressed in finery, wore arms, and rode on horseback. When his wife and her family were arrested by the Inquisition, he found various ways of communicating with them, but refused to take his wife back after her reconciliation with the Church until he was ordered to do so by the Inquisition. He was planning to flee New Spain, most probably to Holland, when he was rearrested as a relapsed heretic on Oct. 11, 1644, and after a lengthy trial condemned to the stake. He was the only one of over a hundred prisoners to be burned alive at the great **auto-da-fé* of Apr. 11, 1649. To his last moment, learned theologians tried to convert him, but could not budge him from his devotion to Judaism. The poet Miguel de Barrios dedicated a eulogy to Tomás Treviño de Sobremonte, but it is apparent that he confused him with another Marrano victim, Francisco Maldonado de *Silva, who died at the stake a decade earlier.

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[Martin A. Cohen]

TREVISO, city in N. Italy. The presence of Jews in Treviso and its vicinity is first mentioned in 905. A document from May 28, 972, records that the Emperor Otto I donated to the Monastery of San Candido D'Indica a farm situated near a property owned by a certain Isaac the Jew. In 1235 a certain Vascono Judeo is mentioned in a document. In 1294, Solomon, presumably an Ashkenazi Jew, founded loan banks in the town.

After the annexation of Treviso by the Venetian Republic in 1339 the position of the Jews there was similar to that of the other Jews of the Veneto region. A decree from 1390 orders the local authorities to supervise the activity of the moneylenders. In 1398 the Doge Antonio Venier authorized a tax of 3,000 ducats to be paid by the Jews living in Treviso and Ceneda. By the end of the 14th century five loan banks in Treviso were owned by Jews, among whom were Jacob di Alemagna and Elhanan de Candida, who signed the renewal of their license in 1401. At this time also, the Sicilian scholar *Abulrabi was a student at a yeshivah in the town. At the end of the 15th century R. Benedict Alexander Axelrod was head of a yeshivah in Treviso. A halakhic question addressed by the Jews of Treviso to Judah *Mintz at the end of the 15th century (responsum no. 7) contains references to the construction of a new synagogue and a *mikveh* as well as to a method for treating eye complaints used by Treviso Jews. In 1443 the obligation to wear the yellow badge was reintroduced. In 1480, five Jews were arrested in Treviso and accused of killing a Christian child, Sebastian Novello, in the wake of similar cases following the affair of Simon of *Trent (1475); they were burned at the stake in Venice. It seems that the Jews of Treviso were banned from moneylending from 1483 until 1487. A Christian loan bank (**Monti di Pietà*) was established in Treviso in 1496, and the citizens asked the Venetian government to banish the Jews from the town. After the Jews had agreed to give up moneylending, they were permitted to remain.

In 1509, when Treviso was captured by the armies of the League of Cambrai, the populace rioted against the Jews under the pretext that they had collaborated with the Germans. All Jewish homes were destroyed, except the house of "Calman the Jew, friend of the people of Treviso," or Calimano de Treviso, head of the Venetian family of the same name. That year the doge issued a decree of expulsion, prohibiting Jews from living in Treviso: the ordinance was engraved on a marble pillar in the town square. The Jews moved to nearby Asolo. In 1547 rioting broke out there also when, without apparent motive, a gang of peasants killed eight and wounded ten out of the 37 Jews living there at the time. The rest fled from the area. In the latter half of the 16th century a few individual Jews were to be found in Treviso. In 1880, 27 Jewish gravestones were found during excavations. In 1909–10 fragments of Jewish tombstones dating from the 15th century were found in the Borgo Cavour (then the Borgo Santi Quaranta). In the second half of the 19th century a small Jewish community was again founded in Treviso, but has since ceased to exist.

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[Shlomo Simonsohn / Samuele Rocca (2nd ed.)]

TRÉVOUX (Heb. טרבוט), town in the department of Ain, E. France. Article 49 of the charter of freedom of Trévoux of 1300, which prohibited the residence of Jews in the town, was not respected; however, in exchange for an annual payment of 15 pounds, many Jews were authorized to live there. The Jewish population increased considerably in 1420 with the arrival of the Jews who had been expelled from *Lyons, who introduced the gold- and silver-thread industry. In 1429 an investigation was carried out against the books of the Jews. This act closely resembled the trial of Paris of 1240; the books were seized, and several Jews were subjected to an interrogation concerning their contents. The sentence was a double one: the books were burned and the Jews were expelled. This expulsion did not remain in force for long, however; three years later, Jews were again found in Trévoux. In 1433 there were several Jews among the prisoners taken in Trévoux by the Duke of Savoy. In 1467 the inhabitants of Trévoux obtained the expulsion of the Jews by taking upon themselves the payment of their taxes. The few Jews who were spared from this expulsion were driven out in 1488. The Rue des Juifs, subsequently known as Rue Japperie, was situated in the eastern part of the town. Near this quarter was a stone building known as the "Tower of the Jews." The synagogue was situated in the Grande Rue. The only scholars who bore the name of "Trévoux" or Trabot lived in Italy.

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[Bernhard Blumenkranz]

TRIBE, LAURENCE H. (1941–), U.S. lawyer, legal scholar. Born in Shanghai, China, Tribe and his family moved to San Francisco when he was five. He graduated from Harvard summa cum laude in mathematics in 1962 and Harvard Law School in 1966, magna cum laude. After serving as a clerk on the Supreme Court, Tribe joined the Harvard Law faculty in 1968 and became recognized as one of the foremost constitutional law experts in the country. He was the author of *American Constitutional Law* (1978), the most frequently cited textbook in that field. He served as a consultant to several government committees, including the Senate Committee on Public Works (1970–72). In 1978 he helped write a new constitution for the Marshall Islands. He was also noted for his frequent testimony before congressional committees and his extensive support of liberal legal causes. His book, *God Save This Honorable Court* (1985), in which he warned against "presidential court-packing," was considered the main influence in the failure of Robert H. Bork to win confirmation to a seat on the United States Supreme Court in 1987. Tribe's expertise was in legal, constitutional, and jurisprudential theory, the role of law in shaping technological development, and the uses and abuses of mathematical methods in policy and systems analysis. He argued many high-profile cases before the Supreme Court, including those for Al Gore during the disputed presidential election of 2000. The court had also ruled against Tribe in *Bowers v. Hardwick* in 1986, holding that a Georgia state law criminalizing sodomy, as applied to consensual acts between persons of the same sex, did not violate fundamental liberties under the principle of substantive due process. However, Tribe was vindicated in 2003 when the court overruled Bowers in *Lawrence v. Texas*. Although Tribe did not argue that case, he wrote the amicus, or friend of the court, brief on behalf of the American Civil Liberties Union urging that Bowers be overruled. Tribe was widely respected by the justices, as indicated by the fact that many of them referred to him as Professor Tribe during oral arguments, a sign of respect not generally shown toward law professors arguing before the court. In 2004, it was revealed that several passages in *God Save This Honorable Court* were copied without proper attribution from the 1974 book *Justices and Presidents*, written by Henry J. Abraham, a University of Virginia political scientist. In 2005, Harvard's president and dean released a statement saying that Tribe's admitted failure to provide appropriate attribution was a "significant lapse in proper academic practice," but that they regarded the error as "the product of inadvertence rather than intentionality." Tribe was the J. Alfred Prufrock University Professor at Harvard, one of 19 holding the title university professor.

[Stewart Kampel (2nd ed.)]

TRIBES, THE TWELVE, the traditional division of Israel into 12 tribes: Reuben, Simeon (Levi), Judah, Issachar, Zebulun, Benjamin, Dan, Naphtali, Gad, Asher, Ephraim, and Manasseh. Biblical tradition holds that the 12 tribes of Israel are descended from the sons and grandsons of Jacob (Gen. 29–30; 35:16–18; 48:5–6). The tribes are collectively called Israel because of their origin in the patriarch Jacob-Israel. Jacob and his family went into Egypt as "70 souls" (Ex. 1:1–5). In Egypt "the Israelites were fertile and prolific; they multiplied and increased very greatly" (1:7), and there they became the "Israelite people" (1:9). A pharaoh, "who did not know Joseph" (1:8), oppressed them by burdensome labor. God "remembered His covenant with Abraham, with Isaac, and with Jacob" (2:24), made Himself known to Moses (Ex. 3), and rescued the Israelites from Egypt. By this time the nation numbered "600,000 men on foot, aside from *taf*" which apparently means women as well as children (12:37). At Sinai, the nation received its laws and regulations, covenanting itself to God (Ex. 19–24). After wandering for 40 years in the desert under the leadership of Moses, the 12 Israelite tribes penetrated the land of Canaan with Joshua in command. The united force of the 12 tribes was sufficient to conquer the land, which was then distributed among them. During this period of settlement, and the subsequent period of the Judges, there was no predetermined pattern of leadership among the tribes, except for deliverer-judges sent to them by God in time of need (see also *Judges, Book of). Such crises forced the tribes into cooperative action against enemies under the leadership of the "deliverer." *Shiloh served as a sacral center for all the tribes, housing the Ark of the Covenant under the priestly family of Eli (I Sam. 1:3, 12; 2:27). Under the impact of military pressures, the Israelites felt compelled to turn to *Samuel with the request that he establish a monarchy, and *Saul was crowned to rule over all the tribes of Israel (I Sam. 11:15). Upon his death, *Ish-Bosheth, Saul's son, was accepted by all the tribes save Judah and Simeon who preferred David. David's struggle with the house of Saul ended in victory for him, and all the elders turned to David for royal leadership. He ruled from Jerusalem over all the tribes of Israel (II Sam. 5:3), and was succeeded by his son. After the death of *Solomon, the tribes once again split along territorial and political lines, with Judah and Benjamin in the south loyal to the Davidic house, and the rest of the tribes in the north ruled by a succession of dynasties.

Modern scholarship does not generally accept the biblical notion that the 12 tribes are simply divisions of a larger unit which developed naturally from patriarchal roots. This simplistic scheme, it is felt, actually stems from later genealogical speculations which attempted to explain the history of the tribes in terms of familial relationships. The alliance of the 12 tribes is believed to have grown from the organization of independent tribes, or groups of tribes, forced together for historical reasons. Scholars differ as to when this union of 12 took place, and when the tribes of Israel became one nation. One school of thought holds that the confederation took place inside the country toward the end of the period of the Judges and the beginnings of the Monarchy. All of the traditions which see the 12 tribes as one nation as early as the enslavement in Egypt or the wanderings in the desert are regarded as having no basis in fact. This school recognizes in the names of some of the tribes the names of ancient sites in Canaan, such as the mountains of Naphtali, Ephraim, and Judah, the desert of Judah, and Gilead. With the passage of time, those who dwelt in these areas assumed the names of the localities. M. Noth feels that the Leah tribes, Reuben, Simeon, Levi, Judah, Zebulun, and Issachar, existed at an earlier stage as a confederation of six tribes whose boundaries in Canaan were contiguous. Only at a later stage did other tribes penetrate the area, eventually expanding the confederation to 12. A second school grants that the union of 12 existed during the period of wanderings in the desert, but that Canaan was not conquered by an alliance of these at any one time. Rather, there were individual incursions into the land at widely separated periods. However, the covenant among the 12 tribes and their awareness of national unity flowing from ethnic kinship and common history, faith, and sacral practices had their source in the period prior to the conquest of the land.

The number 12 is neither fictitious nor the result of an actual genealogical development in patriarchal history. It is an institutionalized and conventionalized figure which is found among other tribes as well, such as the sons of Ishmael (Gen. 25:13–16), the sons of Nahor (Gen. 22:20–24), of Joktan (Gen. 10:26–30 – so LXX), and Esau (Gen. 36:10–13). Similar organizational patterns built about groups of 12, or even six, tribes, are known from Asia Minor, Greece, and Italy. In Greece, such groupings were called amphictyony (ʿΑμφικτυονία), from ʾαμφικτίζω, meaning "to dwell about," that is, about a central sanctuary. Each tribe was assigned a prearranged turn in the provision and maintenance of the shrine. The amphictyonic members would make pilgrimages to the common religious center on festive occasions. The exact measure of correspondence between the amphictyony of the Hellenic world and the duodecimal structure of the tribes of Israel may be the subject of scholarly controversy, but there can be little doubt that this pattern of 12 attributed to the Hebrew tribes is very real and historically rooted. Thus, if one tribe were to withdraw from the union or to be absorbed into another, the number 12 would be preserved, either by splitting one of the remaining tribes into two or by accepting a new tribe into the union. When, for example, the tribe of Levi is considered among the 12 tribes, the Joseph tribes are counted as one (Gen. 35:22–26; 46:8–25; 49:1–27). However, when Levi is not mentioned, the Joseph tribes are counted separately as Manasseh and Ephraim (Num. 26:4–51). For the same duodecimal considerations, Simeon is counted as a tribe even after having been absorbed into Judah (Josh. 19:1), and Manasseh, even after having split in two, is considered one. Among the six Leah tribes, Gad, although the son of Zilpah, is counted as one of them when Levi is missing (Num. 1:20–42; 26:5–50).

The confederation of the 12 tribes was primarily religious, based upon belief in the one "God of Israel" with whom the tribes had made a covenant and whom they worshiped at a common sacral center as the "people of the Lord" (Judg. 5:11; 20:2). The Tent of Meeting and the Ark of the Covenant were the most sacred cultic objects of the tribal union. Biblical tradition shows that many places served as religious centers in various periods. During the desert wanderings, "the mountain of God," that is, Sinai, known as Horeb, served as such a place (Ex. 3:1; 18:5; cf. 5:1–3; 8:23–24), as did the great oasis at Kadesh-Barnea where the tribes remained for some time

(Deut. 1:46). From there the Israelite tribes attempted a conquest of the land (Num. 13:3, 26). Many sites in Canaan are mentioned as having sacred associations or as being centers of pilgrimage. Some of these, such as Penuel, where Jacob, the nominal progenitor of the tribes, received the name Israel (Gen. 32:24–32), Beth-El (28:10–22; 35:1–15), where the Ark of the Lord rested (Judg. 20:26–28), and Beer-Sheba (Gen. 21:33; 46:1–4; Amos 5:5; 8:14) go back to patriarchal times. Jacob built an altar at Shechem (Gen. 33:18–20) and the tribes gathered there "before the Lord" and made a covenant with Him in Joshua's time (Josh. 24). Shiloh enjoyed special importance as a central cultic site for the tribes. There they gathered under Joshua to divide up the land by lot, and it was there that they placed the Tent of Meeting and the Ark of the Covenant (Josh. 18:1–8). Eli's family, which traced its descent from Aaron, the high priest, served at Shiloh (I Sam. 2:27), and it was to Shiloh that the Israelites turned for festivals and sacrifices (Judg. 21:19; I Sam. 1:3; cf. Jer. 7:14; 26:9). The multiplicity of cultic places raises the question of whether all 12 tribes were, indeed, centered about one amphictyonic site. It may be that as a tribe's connections with the amphictyony were weakened for various reasons, the tribe began to worship at one or another of the sites. Possibly, different sites served the several subgroups among the tribes. Beer-Sheba and Hebron, for example, served the southern groups of tribes (Gen. 13:18; Josh. 21:10–11; II Sam. 2:1–4; 5:1–3; 15:7–10); Shechem, Shiloh, and Gilgal (Josh. 5:9–10; I Sam. 11:14–15; 13:4–15; Amos 5:5) were revered by the tribes in the center of the country; and the shrine at Dan served the northern tribes (Judg. 18:30–31). The likelihood of a multiplicity of shrines is strengthened by the fact that clusters of Canaanite settlements separated the southern and central tribes (of the mountains of Ephraim), and divided the central tribes from those in Galilee. It is possible that various shrines served different tribes simultaneously, while the sanctuary which held the Ark of the Lord was revered as central to all 12.

The changes which occurred in the structure of the 12 tribes and in their relative strengths, find expression in the biblical genealogies. The tribes are descended from four matriarchs, eight of them from the wives Leah and Rachel, and four from the handmaids Bilhah and Zilpah (Gen. 29–30). It is a widely held view that attribution to the two wives is indicative of an early stage of tribal organization, the "tribes of Leah" and the "tribes of Rachel." The attribution of four tribes to handmaids may indicate either a lowered status or late entry into the confederation. In the list of the 12 tribes, Reuben is prominent as the firstborn (Gen. 46:8), followed by Simeon, Levi, and Judah, the sons of Leah, who occupy primary positions. Reuben stood at the head of a tribal league and had a position of central importance among his confederates prior to the conquest of the land (Gen. 30:14; 35:22; 37:21; 42:22, 37; Num. 16:1ff.). On the other hand, the same tribe is inactive during the period of the Judges. It did not provide any of the judges, and during Deborah's war against Sisera, Reuben "sat among the sheepfolds" and did not render any aid (Judg. 5:16). Possibly, because this tribe dwelt on the fringes of the land (I Chron. 5:9–10), its links with the others were weakened, and its continued existence as one of the tribes of Israel was in jeopardy (cf. Deut. 33:6). Simeon was absorbed by Judah. Levi spread throughout Israel as a result of its sacral duties. Judah was cut off from the rest of the tribes by a Canaanite land strip that separated the mountains of Judah and Ephraim. Reuben's place as head of the 12 tribes was taken by the house of Joseph which played a decisive and historic role during the periods of the settlement and the Judges. Joshua came from the tribe of Ephraim (Num. 13:8). Shechem and Shiloh were within the borders of the house of Joseph (cf. Ps. 78:59, 67–68). Samuel came from the hill country of Ephraim (I Sam. 1:1). Ephraim led the tribes in the war against Benjamin over the incident of the concubine in Gibeah (Judg. 19–21). At the beginning of the Monarchy, the leadership passed to Judah (cf. Gen. 49:8ff.). The passage in I Chronicles 5:1–2 illustrates well how the dominant position among the tribes passed from Reuben to Ephraim and from Ephraim to Judah.

Each of the 12 tribes enjoyed a good deal of autonomy, ordering its own affairs after the patriarchal-tribal pattern. No doubt there were administrative institutions common to all the tribes, situated beside the central shrines, though information about them is exceedingly scanty. During the desert wanderings, leadership of the people was vested in the princes of each of the tribes and the elders who assisted Moses. They met and legislated for the entire people (Ex. 19:7; 24:1, 9; Num. 1–2; 11:16–24; 32:2; 34:16–29; Deut. 27:1; 31:28). There are references to meetings of tribal leaders and elders during the periods of the settlement and the Judges. "The princes of the congregation, the heads of the thousands of Israel" along with Phinehas the priest, conducted negotiations with the Transjordanian tribes, in the name of the entire nation (Josh. 22:30). Joshua summoned "the elders, the heads, the judges, and the officers of Israel" to make a covenant in Shechem (Josh. 24). The elders of Israel, speaking for the entire nation, requested Samuel to appoint a king (I Sam. 8:4). The incidents of the concubine in Gibeah (Judg. 19–21) and Saul's battle with Nahash the Ammonite (I Sam. 11) are classic examples of joint action taken by the league of 12 tribes acting "as one man, from Dan even to Beer-Sheba, with the land of Gilead" (Judg. 20:1; I Sam. 11:7). In the one case, unified action was taken by the tribes against one of their members, Benjamin, for a breach of the terms of the covenant (Judg. 20:7). The war against Nahash the Ammonite proves that the tribes were required to come to the aid of any one of the league that found itself in difficulty. Because of the sacral nature of the league, the wars of the tribes were considered "wars of the Lord" (Ex. 17:16; Num. 21:14). Nevertheless, the narratives in the Book of Judges regarding the battles which Israel waged against its enemies make it clear that the league must have been rather weak in those days. The consciousness of national and religious unity had not yet led to a solid politico-military confederation. The Song of Deborah gives clear expression to the lack of solidarity among the tribes, for some of them did not come to the aid of the Galilean tribes. It is impossible to designate even one war against external enemies during the period of the Judges in which all the tribes acted in concert. Indeed, there are indications of intertribal quarrels and disputes (Judg. 7–8; 12). In this connection, there are scholars who hold that the judge-deliverers were not pantribal national leaders, but headed only individual tribes, or groups of them (see *Judges). It was only toward the end of the period of the Judges when the Philistine pressure on the Israelite tribes increased in the west and that of the Transjordanian peoples in the east, that the religio-national tribal confederation assumed political and military dimensions. The Israelite tribes then consolidated as a crystallized national-territorial entity within the framework of a monarchical regime. David, Solomon, and afterward the kings of Israel and Judah tended to weaken tribal consciousness in favor of the territorial and monarchical organization. It is apparent, however, from Ezekiel's eschatological vision (Ezek. 47–48) that the awareness of Israel as a people composed of 12 tribes had not, even then, become effaced.

See also *Ten Lost Tribes.

[Bustanay Oded]

In the *Aggadah*

In aggadic literature the word *shevatim* ("tribes," sing., *shevet*) applies to both the 12 sons of Jacob and to the 12 tribes descended from them. When Jacob left home and had his dream, he took 12 stones as a headrest and declared: "God has decreed that there are to be 12 tribes; yet they did not issue from Abraham or Isaac; if these 12 stones will join into one I will know that I am destined to beget them" (Gen. R. 68:11), and in fact the 12 stones coalesced into one (Gen. 28:11 being contrasted with v. 18). Whereas Abraham and Isaac both begat wicked sons, Ishmael and Esau, all of Jacob's 12 sons were loyal to God (Shab. 146a; cf. Ex. R. 1:1). They were all named in reference to Israel's redemption (Tanḥ. Shemot 5), and God declared, "Their names are more precious to me than the anointing oil with which priests and kings were anointed" (Eccles. R. 7:1, 2).

All the tribal ancestors were born outside the Land of Israel, save Benjamin, and all, with the exception of Benjamin, participated in the sale of Joseph. Therefore the tribe of Benjamin was privileged to have the **Shekhinah*, i.e., the Temple, in its portion (Sif. Deut. 3:5, 352). None of the tribes maintained its family purity in Egypt, and all except for Reuben, Simeon, and Levi, engaged in idolatry there (Num. R. 13:8). Just as the heavens cannot endure without the 12 constellations (Ex. R. 15:6), so the world cannot endure without the 12 tribes, for the world was created only by their merit (PR 3:10). The names of the tribes are not always enumerated in the same order, so that it should not be said that those descended from the mistresses (Rachel and Leah) took priority over the descendants of their handmaids (Bilhah and Zilpah; Ex. R. 1:6).

The tribe of Zebulun engaged in trade and supported the tribe of Issachar, to enable it to devote itself to the study of the Torah; therefore in his blessings, Moses gave priority to the tribe of Zebulun (Yal. Gen. 129). All the tribes produced judges and kings, except Simeon, on account of the sin perpetrated by Zimri (Mid. Tadshe 8; see Num. 25:1–2, 14). Every tribe produced prophets; Judah and Benjamin produced kings by prophetic direction (Suk. 27b).

Whereas the tribes of Benjamin and Judah were exiled to Babylon, the Ten Tribes were exiled beyond the river *Sambatyon (Gen. R. 73:6). The Ten Tribes shall neither be resurrected nor judged; R. *Simeon b. Yoḥai said, "They shall never return from exile," but R. Akiva maintained that they would return (ARN 36:4). But see *Ten Lost Tribes. The Davidic Messiah will be descended from two tribes, his father from Judah and his mother from Dan (Yal. Gen. 160).

[Harry Freedman]

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TRIENNIAL CYCLE, term denoting the custom according to which the weekly Pentateuchal readings on Sabbaths are completed in a three-year cycle. The triennial cycle was practiced in Palestine and in Egypt as late as 1170 C.E., whereas in Babylonia the reading of the Pentateuch was completed in one year, from Tishri to Tishri. The latter became the accepted traditional custom the world over (Meg. 29b; Maim., Yad, Tefillah 13:1).

The masoretic text of the Pentateuch has 154 divisions, known as *sedarim*. According to other traditions, however, the Pentateuch consists of 161 and even 175 portions (Sof. 16:10); the Yemenites divide the Pentateuch into 167. It has been suggested that the 154 division corresponds to the minimum number of Sabbaths in the triennial cycle and 161 to the maximum. The difference is due to the occurrence of festivals on Sabbaths when the regular Pentateuch portions were superseded by special Pentateuch readings appropriate to the festivals. The 175 division stems from the practice of completing the reading of the whole Pentateuch within a cycle of three and a half years (twice within seven years). In general, the different Jewish communities arbitrarily divided the Pentateuch, either by joining portions or dividing them. In the triennial cycle, the Pentateuch reading started on Nisan the first, which was regarded as the Jewish *New Year (see: Ex. 12:2); while the reading of each of the five books of the Pentateuch started on one of the New Years mentioned in the Mishnah (RH 1:1), as can be seen in the following list (p. 142):

Triennial cycle

	FIRST YEAR		SECOND YEAR		THIRD YEAR	
	PENTATEUCH	**HAFTARAH**	**PENTATEUCH**	**HAFTARAH**	**PENTATEUCH**	**HAFTARAH**
	GENESIS					
NISAN	1:1	Isa. 42:5	12:29	Isa. 21:11	6:22	(not extant)
	2:4	(not extant)	13:1	Isa. 46:3	8:1	Zech. 4:14
	3:24	(not extant)	13:21	Isa. 45:24	9:22	(not extant)
	5:1	Isa. 30:8–15	15:21	Isa. 49:10	11:1	(not extant)
IYYAR	6:9	Isa. 54:9–10	16:25	Isa. 58:23	12:1	–
	8:1	Hab. 3:1–5	18:1	Isa. 6; 61:6–10	13:1	Josh. 2:1; Judg. 18:7
	8:15	Isa. 42:7–21	21:1	Jer. 34:1	14:1	–
	9:18	Isa. 49:9–13	22:26	Isa. 49:3	15:1	–
	11:1	(not extant)			16:1	I Sam. 11
SIVAN	12:1	Josh. 24:3–8	24:1	Isa. 60:17–61:9	17:16	Ezek. 44:15
	14:1	Isa. 41:2–14; I Kings 10:9	25:1	Isa. 66	18:25	Ezek. 44:29
	15:1	Zeph. 3:9–19; Isa. 1:1–17	26:31	Ezek. 16:10–19	20:14	Judg. 11
	16:1	Isa. 64:1	27:20	Hos. 14:7; Ezek. 43:10	22:2	Micah 5:6
			29:1	Isa. 61:6		
TAMMUZ	17:1	Isa. 63:10–11	30:1	Mal. 1:11–2:7	23:2	(not extant)
	18:1	Isa. 33:17–34:12; II Kings 4	30:12	II Kings 12:5	25:10	Mal. 2:5
	19:1	Isa. 17:14–18:7	31:1	Isa. 43:7–21	26:52	Josh. 17:4
	20:1	Isa. 61:9–10	32:14	II Sam. 22:10–51	28:1	Ezek. 45:12
	21:1	I Sam. 2:21–28				
AV	22:1	Isa. 33:7–22	34:27	Jer. 31:33–40; I Kings 18:27–39	30:1	Jer. 4:2
	23:1	I Kings 1:1	37:1	I Kings 8:8–22	32:1	Jer. 2
	24:1	Judg. 19:20	38:21	Jer. 30:18	33:1	(not extant)
	24:42	Isa. 12:3–14:2	39:1	Isa. 33:20–34:8; I Kings 7:13	34:1	Ezek. 45:1; Josh. 21:41
	25:1	II Sam. 5:17–6:1				Josh. 20:1
ELUL	26:11	Isa. 65:23–66:8	**LEVITICUS**		**DEUTERONOMY**	
	27:1	Isa. 46:3–6	1:1	Isa. 43:21; Jer. 21:19; Micah 6:9–7:8	1:1	Jer. 30:4; Amos 2:9
	27:28	Micah 1:1; 5:7–13	3:1	Ezek. 44:11; 20:41	2:1	(not extant)
	28:10	Hos. 12:13	4:1	Ezek. 18:4–17	3:23	Jer. 32:16
	29:31	Isa. 60:15	5:1	Zech. 5:3–6:19	4:1	(not extant)
			6:1	Jer. 7:21		
TISHRI	30:21	I Sam. 1:11	6:12	Mal. 3:9	5:1	(not extant)
	31:3	Jer. 30:10–16; Micah 6:3–7:20	8:1	Ezek. 43:27	6:4	I Kings 10:39
	32:4	Obad. 1:1	9:1	I Kings 8:56–58	8:1	Jer. 9:22–24
	33:18	Nah. 1:12–2:5	12:1	Isa. 66:7	9:1	Jer. 2:1; II Kings 8:30
ḤESHVAN	35:9	Isa. 43:1–7	13:29	II Kings 5	10:1	II Kings 13:23
	37:1	Jer. 38:8	14:1	II Kings 7:8	11:26	Isa. 54:11–55:6
	38:1	Isa. 37:31–37	15:1	(not extant)	12:20	Jer. 23:9
	39:1	Isa. 52:3–9	16:1	Ezek. 44:1	15:7	Isa. 61:1–2
KISLEV	40:23	Amos 1:3–15; 2:6	17:1	(not extant)	17:14	I Sam. 8:1
	41:1	Isa. 29:8	18:1	Ezek. 22:1	17:24	I Sam. 10:24
	41:38	Isa. 11:2–9	19:1	Amos 9:7	18:1	Jer. 29:8
	42:18	Isa. 50:10–52:11	21:1	Ezek. 44:25	20:10	Josh. 24:1
TEVET	43:24	Jer. 42:12–17; 43:12–14; I Kings 3:15	22:1	(not extant)	21:10	Isa. 54:1–10
	44:18	Josh. 14:6; Ezek. 37:10	24:1	(not extant)	(not extant)	(not extant)
	{ 47:28	{ I Kings 13:14	25:1	Jer. 36:6; Ezek. 34	(not extant)	(not extant)
	48:1	I Kings 2:1	25:39	Isa. 24:2	26:1	Isa. 60:1–22
	49:1	Isa. 43:2				

Triennial cycle (cont.)

	FIRST YEAR		SECOND YEAR		THIRD YEAR	
	PENTATEUCH	HAFTARAH	PENTATEUCH	HAFTARAH	PENTATEUCH	HAFTARAH
SHEVAT	49:27	Zech. 14:1; Micah 2:12	26:3	Jer. 16:19; Ezek. 12:20	29:9	Isa. 55:6–58:8; Micah 7:18–20
	EXODUS		**NUMBERS**		31:1	Jer. 12:15
	1:1	Isa. 27:6; Ezek. 16:1; 20	1:1	Hos. 2:1	31:14	Judg. 2:7
	3:1	Isa. 40:11; II Kings 20:8	2:14	(not extant)	32:1	Ezek. 17:22
	4:14	Isa. 55:12	3:14	Isa. 43:9		
	6:2	Ezek. 28:25–29:21				
ADAR	7:18	Joel 3:3	4:17	I Sam. 6:10	33:1	Josh. 1:1–18
	8:16	Isa. 34:11	4:21	Judg. 13:2–25	34:1	(not extant)
	10:1	Isa. 19; Jer. 4:6; I Sam. 6:6	5:11	Hos. 4:14	Shekalim	
	12:13	Jer. 46:13–28	6:1	Judg. 13:2	Zakhor	
					Parah	
					Ha-Ḥodesh	

The reading of the book of

Genesis started on Nisan the 1st	1st
Exodus started on Shevat the 15th	1st
Leviticus started on Tishri the 1st	2nd
Numbers started on Shevat the 15th	2nd
Deuteronomy started on Elul the 1s	3rd

The above division corresponds with biblical events narrated in aggadic legends:

(1) The creation story was read in the month of Nisan (in the first year of the cycle) as it was held that the world was created in this month (R. Joshua's view, in RH 11a).

(2) The sin of Cain (Gen. 4) was always read on the third Sabbath in Nisan (on Passover) which tallies with the legend that Cain offered his sacrifice on Passover (PdRE, sect. 21).

(3) The story of Rachel giving birth to Joseph after having been barren for years (Gen. 30:22ff.), was always read at the beginning of Tishri (in the first year) which corresponds to the legend that Rachel, Sarah, Hannah, etc., were remembered by God on Rosh Ha-Shanah (RH 10b).

(4) Exodus 12, whose subject is the exodus from Egypt and was read in Nisan (second year), coincides with the Passover festival.

(5) The reading of the Ten Commandments (Ex. 20:1–14) on the 6th of Sivan (second year) tallies with the *Shavuot festival.

(6) Exodus 34, read on the last Sabbath of Av, records Moses receiving the two tablets of the law for the second time (80 days after the 6th of Sivan). This is in accordance with the tradition that Moses spent twice 40 days on Mount Sinai. With the first two tablets he descended on the 17th of Tammuz but broke them because of the sin of the Golden Calf (Ex. 32); he then ascended for another 40 days and returned with the second two tablets on the 29th of Av.

(7) The reading of Leviticus always started (second year) at the end of Elul. Leviticus 8:1; 10:7, whose subject is the sacrificial cult of the priests in the Temple, was read on the *Day of Atonement on which the high priest performed the most sacred ritual in the Holy of Holies.

(8) Numbers (6:22ff.), always read at the beginning of Nisan (in the third year), corresponds to the biblical date of Moses' inauguration of the tabernacle.

(9) Deuteronomy 34, on the death of Moses, always read at the beginning of Adar (third year), tallies with the tradition that Moses died on the 7th of Adar.

The intention behind the triennial cycle was that the weekly portions correspond to the character of the festivals on which these are read (as may be seen from the above examples). This thematic coincidence was not always possible and did not always occur. There is, for example, no thematic correspondence between the portions to be read in Tishri (the first year) with the festivals in this month. The Mishnah (Meg. 3:5), therefore, ordered for all festivals special readings from the Pentateuch dealing with the commandments, etc., of each particular festival. Since the reading of the whole Pentateuch ended in Adar of the third year of the cycle and a few Sabbaths were left until Nisan (when the cycle started anew), the particular portions for the Four Sabbaths (*Arba Parashiyyot; Shekalim, Zakhor, Parah,* and *Ha-Ḥodesh*) were read as is customary nowadays (see *Torah, Reading of and *Sabbaths, Special).

In traditional synagogues, the Pentateuch is read in one year. *Reform Judaism (and some *Conservative synagogues) has, however, reverted to the ancient Palestinian custom of a triennial cycle. It was done in response to the spiritual need of the congregants most of whom do not understand Hebrew, and consequently, cannot follow – with proper attention – the lengthy reading in Hebrew of the entire weekly **sidrah*. The weekly reading was shortened to approximately one third. In order that the portion should not be different from that read in traditional synagogues, the first part of each weekly *sidrah* is read in the first year, the second in the next, and the third in the last year of this triennial cycle. Consequently, three different *haftarot* were provided for every standard Pentateuch portion to correspond to the central theme of the particular part of the portion read. (See *Union Prayer Book*, 1 (1924), 399–406.)

The accompanying Table: Triennial Cycle is based on a number of hypotheses, first developed by Buechler and later taken up, with significant modification, by Mann (see bibl.). According to Buechler, the triennial cycle began in Nisan. According to Mann, it began in Tishri. Both of them worked with references in the Midrash and with *genizah* fragments. There is, however, no lectionary extant which, with any certainty, can be ascribed to either the tannaitic or the amoraic period. On the contrary, all available evidence seems to point in the direction of a complete absence of a definite triennial cycle in the talmudic period – although a number of such "cycles" were definitely in existence in the post-talmudic period. During the talmudic period – whence comes the ruling that each one of the seven people, "called" to read from the Torah, must not read "less than three verses" – various congregations seem to have begun and completed the reading of the Pentateuch at different times of the year.

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TRIER (**Treves**), city in Germany and formerly also a bishopric. Archaeological evidence seems to point to the presence of Jews in Trier as early as the end of the third century C.E., although the existence of a Jewish community there at the time is uncertain. Traces of Jewish commercial activity in the sixth century suggest the possibility of Jewish settlement. The first definitive evidence for the presence of a Jewish community dates from 1066, when the Jews were saved from an attempted expulsion on the part of Archbishop Eberhard through his sudden death at the altar. The Jewish community was accused of the use of black magic in order to bring about his death. On April 10, 1096, the first day of Passover, Peter the Hermit appeared before the gates of Trier armed with a letter from the Jewish communities of France to their coreligionists in Germany, requesting that they provide provisions for Peter and his crusaders for their expedition to the Holy Land. The Jewish community responded to the letter, and Peter and his followers went on their way. Sometime later the burghers of the city rose against the Jews; they discovered the community's Torah scrolls, which had been placed in a building for safekeeping, and desecrated them. In panic the Jews fled to the palace of Archbishop Egelbert; somehow they rescued their desecrated scrolls and took them along. The archbishop did his best to protect them, and the Jews hoped to remain under his protection until the imminent return of Emperor *Henry IV to Germany. A number of Jews were murdered and others committed suicide; the archbishop and his retinue were themselves attacked for shielding the Jews. Under increasing pressure from a mob outside the palace, the archbishop prevailed upon the remaining Jews to convert, including their leader, Rabbi Micah, who was converted by the archbishop himself. One year later, however, with the return of Emperor Henry IV to Germany, all of them were permitted to return to Judaism.

Other Jewish communities in the bishopric were also severely affected by the First Crusade; soon, however, the Jews of Trier returned to their homes and rebuilt their community life. The *Gesta Trevarorum* tells of a Jew named Joshua who served as a physician in the retinue of Archbishop Bruno of Trier (d. 1124). Joshua, who later converted to Christianity, was also a mathematician and astronomer. During the Second Crusade (1146), R. Simon of Trier fell as a martyr in the vicinity of Cologne; the community as a whole, however, remained undisturbed. During the course of the 12th-century, its economic position was strengthened considerably. The communal organization, known as *universitas Judeorum Treverensium*, had as its leader a so-called "Jewish bishop" (**Episcopus Judaeorum*) with considerable authority. The community possessed a cemetery, and in 1235 a synagogue and community building (*domus communitatis*). A *Judenstrasse* is mentioned at the beginning of the 13th century. The Jews occupied themselves mostly in trading and moneylending, although other occupations were known. They reached, in fact, such a level of economic well-being as to arouse the cupidity of Archbishop Henry (1260–86), who extorted a considerable amount of money from the Jews in 1285. There was some measure of cultural contact between Jews and gentiles. Lambert of Luettich, a monk at the monastery of St. Matthew in Trier, was taught Hebrew by a Jew and with the aid of his teacher succeeded in deciphering a rare Hebrew manuscript. Sources dating from the 14th century indicate that Jews continued to own houses and vineyards outside the Jewish quarter and that Christians were living on the *Judenstrasse*. The community profited from the liberal and energetic administration of Archbishop Baldwin (1307–54), who entrusted a considerable portion of his financial administration to Jewish hands. Although Jews suffered during the *Armleder uprising of 1336, its effects were limited by the prompt action of the archbishop. In 1338 he was forced to guarantee to the burghers that the number of Jewish families in the city would not rise above 56. During the *Black Death persecutions of 1349, the burghers attacked the Jews, murdering some, stealing their property, and desecrating their cemetery. The community fled in panic, although Baldwin and his successor Boehmund sought to compensate them for the expropriation of their property. It was only in 1356 that King *Charles IV gave permission for the Jews to return, although in 1354 Bishop Boehmund made Simeon b. Jacob of Trier his court physician.

By 1418, however, the Jews were expelled once more from the entire bishopric of Trier; among the properties of the Jewish community in the city that were disposed of in 1422 was a hospital. Jews did not reappear again in the bishopric until the beginning of the 16th century; in 1555 they were permitted the services of a rabbi to care for the needs of all who were resident in the bishopric. Elector Johann von Schoeneberg expelled them in 1589, only to readmit them in 1593. In a regulation put into force in that year, a yellow *badge was prescribed for Jews to distinguish them from Christians. In 1597 a consortium of Jewish merchants headed by Magino Gabrieli were granted special trading privileges that were to last 25 years. However, in 1657, among other restrictive provisions, legislation was approved which severely limited the interest rate of Jewish moneylenders.

In 1675 Jews were accused of giving aid to French troops quartered in the city; after the French surrendered, Jewish homes were plundered and the Jewish community sustained overwhelming losses. A fast day was declared in perpetuity for the 15th of Elul to mark the event; a **Memorbuch* also dates from the period. At the head of the community at the time was David Tevele b. Isaac Wallich (d. 1691), a physician. In 1723 Elector Franz Ludwig limited the number of Jews in the bishopric to 160; in addition to some highly restrictive provisions, legislation of that year reaffirmed the authority of the rabbinate in the bishopric. A synagogue was constructed in 1762, formerly a house occupied by R. Mordecai Marx, grandfather of Karl *Marx. The French conquered the city in 1794, bringing with them civic equality for the Jews, a measure acknowledged fully by the Prussian administration only in 1850. Among the rabbis who served the community in the 19th century were Moses b. Eliezer Treves (d. 1840) and Joseph Kahn, who was rabbi at the time of the dedication of a new synagogue in September 1859. The modern community also developed a number of philanthropic organizations and an elementary school. There were 568 Jews in the city in 1871; 823 in 1893; 802 in 1925; 796 in 1933; 400 in 1938; 210 in 1939; and 450 in 1941.

The onset of Nazism brought with it accelerated emigration, aided by the efforts of Adolf Altmann, rabbi in Trier, who helped to develop a program of adult Jewish education that involved many other communities in the area as well. On *Kristallnacht*, Nov. 9–10, 1938, the synagogue was destroyed. Almost all the Jews remaining in the city in 1941 were deported to Poland and *Theresienstadt, never to return.

[Alexander Shapiro / B. Mordechai Ansbacher]

Post Word-War II

A new community of displaced persons was established after the war, and a new synagogue was erected in 1957. In 1971 there were 75 Jews living in Trier. The Jewish community numbered 61 in 1984; 54 in 1989; and 457 in 2004. The increase is explained by the immigration of Jews from the former Soviet Union after 1990. The house where Karl Marx was born has housed a museum of his life and work since 1947. In 1996–97 the Arye Maimon Institute for Jewish History was founded at Trier University. The institute's work is focused on the research of Jewish history in central and Western Europe.

[Alexander Shapiro and B. Mordechai Ansbacher / Larissa Daemmig (2nd ed.)]

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TRIER, WALTER (1890–1951), cartoonist and illustrator. Trier, who came from a Prague German family, settled in Berlin. He is best known for his witty and ironic drawings and for his illustrations of books by famous German authors, especially those of Erich Kaestner. Trier was one of the leading contributors to the German humorous weeklies *Simplicissimus* and *Lustige Blaetter* and published several collections of his drawings in volume form. He was one of the first to infuse contemporary content into "imitations" of the old masters. After escaping from Germany before World War II, he contributed to publications in England and America. His own collections included *1000 Bauernwitze* (1917), *Fridolins Siebenmeilenpferd, Fridolins Harlekinder*, and *Fridolins Zauberland*, all of which appeared in 1926.

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[Avigdor Dagan]

TRIESTE, port in Friuli, N. Italy. Although Jews may have lived in Trieste before the end of the 14th century, there is no authoritative information. After the city's annexation to Austria in 1382 Jews from Germany settled there; some were subject to the dukes of Austria and some to the local rulers. Jews soon took the place of Tuscan moneylenders in the economic life of the city. The Jewish banker Moses and his brother Cazino, who lived in the Rione del Mercato, are mentioned in 1359. The Jews tended to live in the Riborgo neighborhood, then the civic and commercial center. The 15th century was a period of development for the small Jewish community. Two Jewish bankers dominated the period, Salomone D'Oro and Isacco da Trieste. In 1509 the Emperor Maximilian I granted to Isacco the position of *Schutzjude*, or protected Jew. It is important to stress the position of Jewish women, who sometimes directed the family's banking establishment. As in the other Imperial possessions, Jews were obliged to wear the yellow badge. In 1583 there was an abortive attempt to expel the Jews.

In 1620 Ventura Parente and the Grassin brothers received from the City of Trieste the concession of the title of public banker and moneylender. In 1624 Ventura Parente obtained from the Emperor Ferdinand II the title of Hoffaktor. During the 17th century Trieste's Patriciate took an unfavorable stand toward the Jews, asking the imperial authorities for their expulsion. The imperial authorities resisted the pressure and Jews were not expelled. However, in 1695 the 11 Jewish families in the city, around 70 people, were enclosed in the so-called Old Ghetto, or Trauner Ghetto. The Jews petitioned the authorities successfully for a healthier site, and in 1696 the Jewish ghetto was erected in the Riborgo neighborhood, near the harbor.

From the beginning of the 18th century the Hapsburgs adopted a mercantilist policy, which led to the development of the port of Trieste. In 1746 the Università degli ebrei, or Jewish community, was constituted. In this period there were 120 Jews living in Trieste. The most important families were the Morpurgo, Parente, Levi, and Luzzatto. In the same year the first synagogue was erected, the so-called Scuola Piccola. Maria Theresa permitted the richest Jewish families to live outside the ghetto. Moreover, Marco Levi, head of the community, received the title of Hoffaktor in 1765. In 1771 Maria Theresa granted a series of privileges to the Nazione Ebrea of Trieste. In the 18th century Jews were traders and craftsmen and some of them were factors to the Austrian court (see above). One of the most distinguished scholars of the mid-18th century was Rabbi Isacco Formiggini. Emperor *Joseph II's *Toleranzpatent* of 1782 gave legal sanction to the gradually improving condition of the Jews in Trieste, and in 1785 the gates of the ghetto were destroyed. There were around 670 Jews in 1788. In 1775 the Scuola Grande or Great Synagogue was erected on the plan of the architect Francesco Balzano. The building included also a Sephardi synagogue.

In 1796 the community inaugurated a Jewish school under the Chief Rabbi Raffael Nathan Tedesco. This school was in part inspired by the proposals of N.H. *Wessely. The first Hebrew work printed in Trieste was Samuel Romanelli's Italian-Hebrew grammar, published in 1799.

In 1796 the French under Napoleon arrived in Trieste. In 1800, 1,200 Jews lived in Trieste. From 1809 to 1813 Trieste was part of the Kingdom of Italy. Some Jews were supporters of the French Revolution and Napoleon, although Napoleon's economic blockade ruined the city's trade. Thus, when the Austrians returned in 1814, the Jewish community was relieved. Tedesco was followed by Abramo Eliezer Levi, who was the chief rabbi of Trieste between 1802 and 1825.

The 19th century was the golden age of Trieste Jewry. In 1831 Giuseppe Lazzaro Morpurgo established the Assicurazioni Generali, which dominated the economic life of the city for more than a hundred years. During the 19th century some members of the community played an active part in the Risorgimento and the Irredentist struggle which culminated in Trieste's becoming part of Italy in 1919. Trieste Jews, such as the writer Italo *Svevo and the poet Umberto *Saba, were central in the creation of the Italian intellectual world. *Il Corriere Israelitico*, a Jewish newspaper in Italian, was published in Trieste from 1862 to 1915. In 1862 S.D. *Luzzatto issued there his dirge on Abraham Eliezer Levi. In the 1850s some Hebrew books were printed at the Marinigha press, including Ghirondi-Neppi's *Toledot GedoleiYisrael* (1853). The Jewish printer Jonah Cohen was active in the 1860s. His illustrated Passover *Haggadah* (by A.V. Morpurgo) with and without Italian translation (1864) was a memorable production.

The number of Jews increased gradually in the 19th century. In 1848 there were around 3,000 Jews, in 1869 there were 4,421, and in 1910, 5,160 Jews lived in Trieste. Most of the chief rabbis of Trieste were Italian Jews, such as Marco Tedeschi, elected in 1858, and Sabato Raffaele Melli from 1870 to 1907. The monumental new synagogue in Via Donizzetti opened in 1912 and it was inaugurated by Chief Rabbi Zvi Perez Chajes. It followed the Ashkenazi rite. After World War I Trieste was the main port for Jews from Central and Eastern Europe who immigrated to Ereẓ Israel.

[Shlomo Simonsohn / Samuele Rocca (2nd ed.)]

Holocaust Period

According to the census of 1931, the Jewish community of Trieste had 4,671 members, including 3,234 Italians and 1,437 foreigners. Census data for 1938 recorded 5,381 Jews in Trieste, belonging for the most part to the lower and middle sectors of the middle class. The racial laws at the end of 1938 caused an initial period of disorientation, including many conversions, the withdrawal of membership of many Community leaders and members, and the emigration of most foreign Jews. By 1939, however, the elected council had been replaced by one appointed by the Italian government. In October 1941, the first visible acts of real intimidation occurred. The facade of the central temple of the German rite and the headquarters of the community in Via del Monte were defaced with antisemitic slogans and red ink. Vandalism and violence recurred in July 1942, when several Fascist squads devastated the temple and assaulted defenseless passers-by. Similar incidents occurred in May 1943, when Jewish and Slavic businesses and shops were sacked. By then, the Jewish community of Trieste had no more than 2,500 members.

After the Italian armistice with the Allies on September 8, 1943, and the German occupation of Italy, Trieste and the surrounding area were incorporated into the Adriatisches Kustenland and formally annexed as an integral part of the Reich, with dire consequences for the Jews. Not all Jews were able to go into hiding before a German *Einsatzkommando* initiated the first roundup of Jews on October 9. A second roundup occurred on October 29, and a third on January 20, 1944. During the latter event, Dr. Carlo Morpurgo, secretary of the community, remained at work in order not to abandon the elderly patients at the Jewish Pia Casa Gentilomo hospice. He was arrested and deported with them to Auschwitz, where he was murdered on November 4, 1944.

In March 1944, other Jews recovering in various hospitals throughout the city, including the Regina Elena, the psychiatric hospital, and the hospital for the chronically ill, were seized. After being arrested, the Jews were taken to the Coroneo prison and, after February or March 1944, also to the Risiera di San Sabba, the only concentration camp with a crematorium in Italy. Some Jews arrested in Fiume, Venice, Padua, and Arbe were also sent to the Risiera. From October 1943 to February 1945, about 60 convoys left Trieste, all headed for the concentration camps of Central and Eastern Europe. According to estimates, Jews deported from the Adriatisches Kustenland numbered 1,235, of whom 708 were from Trieste. Of the latter, only 23 returned.

Some Jews from Trieste joined the partisans and died in combat. Sergio Forti was killed in battle near Perugia on June 16, 1944; Rita Rosana died near Verona on September 17, 1944, at the age of 22; and Eugenio Curiel, a university teacher, was killed by Fascists in Milan on February 24, 1945, just a few weeks before the liberation.

[Adonella Cedarmas (2nd ed.)]

After the war about 1,500 Jews remained in Trieste; by 1965 their number had fallen to 1,052, out of a total of 280,000 inhabitants, partly because of the excess of deaths over births. In 1969 the community, numbering about 1,000, operated a synagogue and a prayer house of the Ashkenazi rite, a school, and a home for the aged. In the early 21st century the Jewish population of Trieste was around 600.

[Shlomo Simonsohn / Samuele Rocca (2nd ed.)]

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TRIETSCH, DAVIS (1870–1935), Zionist leader and author. Born in Dresden, Germany, Trietsch was educated in Berlin and subsequently studied migration problems in New York (1893–99). There he conceived (1895) the idea of settling Jews in *Cyprus, but he pursued this notion only after attending the First Zionist Congress (1897). He opposed Theodor *Herzl's political Zionism, insisting on immediate practical settlement wherever possible in the vicinity of Palestine. He tried in vain to persuade the Zionist Movement to adopt his conception of a "Greater Palestine," which was to comprise Palestine proper, Cyprus, and *El-Arish. After negotiations with the High Commissioner of Cyprus in 1899, Trietsch brought a group of 11 Boryslaw miners to the island (March 1900). This attempt ended in failure, however, because of inadequate preparation of both the settlers and of the land. He regarded Herzl's negotiations with the British authorities for a settlement in El-Arish (1902–03) as "an acceptance by Herzl of his program without him." This led to a permanent rupture between the two men (Sixth Zionist Congress, 1903). He subsequently organized the Juedische Orient-Kolonisations-Gesellschaft in Berlin, in whose name he negotiated with the London Colonial Office (1903) concerning a settlement in Cyprus, but was turned down.

Trietsch was a delegate to the First Zionist Congress and at many subsequent ones. In 1905 Trietsch opened an Information Office for Immigration in Jaffa, with branches in other cities in Ereẓ Israel, but was unable to maintain it. In 1906 he organized and participated in an expedition to El-Arish to investigate the area for Jewish settlement with a view to reopening negotiations with the British government, but this effort, too, ended in failure. He was a member of the Zionist General Council in 1907–11 and 1920–21. Some of his suggestions regarding practical settlement in Ereẓ Israel were adopted by Zionist Congresses. At first he supported the new leadership consisting of practical Zionists (from 1911 onward), but soon fell out with them and opposed Arthur *Ruppin's "slow settlement methods." During World War I he served in the statistical department of the German army, and after 1915 he published a number of officially sponsored pamphlets in which he pleaded for collaboration between Zionism and Germany after the war. At the request of the British government, Arnold J. Toynbee opposed these ideas and pleaded (in *Turkey: A Past and A Future*, 1917) for cooperation between Zionism and the Allies. After World War I Trietsch fought for his "Zionist maximalism" with still more fervor, believing that a chance for large-scale immigration to Ereẓ Israel was at hand and that the agricultural methods of the Zionist Organization were inadequate to handle it. He suggested planned industrial development of the country in conjunction with numerous small "garden cities" and propagated these ideas at Zionist Congresses and in his periodical *Volk und Land* (Berlin, 1919).

Trietsch was coeditor and cofounder (with Leo Wintz) of *Ost und West* (Berlin, 1901–02) and with Alfred *Nossig of *Palaestina* (Berlin, 1902). He propagated his ideas in a great many books, pamphlets, and articles, including *Palaestina-Handbuch* (1907 and nine subsequent editions), *Juedische Emigration und Kolonisation* (1917), *Palaestina Wirtschaftsatlas* (1922), *Der Widereintritt der Juden in die Weltgeschichte* (1926).

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[Oskar K. Rabinowicz]

TRIGANO, SHMUEL (1948–), French sociologist and intellectual, born in Blida, Algeria. A professor of sociology of religion and politics at the Nanterre University Paris x, Trigano's main purpose was to investigate the enigma of modernity and the nature of Jewish politics. By studying the Jews as agents and subjects of history, he tried to understand why Jews disappeared from the public space in the modern world in the aftermath of the Emancipation and how Jewish politics have been restored in the historical arena with the creation of the State of Israel. He developed his reflections in two directions: an analysis of modernity and an attempt to understand the essence of Jewishness, with regard to the political dimension of the world. Following an hermeneutical method, Trigano developed, from his initial *Le Récit de la disparue* (1977) to *La demeure oubliée, genèse religieuse du politique* (1982), *Philosophie de la Loi*, *l'origine de la politique dans la Tora* (1992), and *La séparation d'amour, une éthique d'alliance* (1998), an anthropological approach to Judaism.

He published numerous books, which are not only concerned with the Jewish sphere but also with the essence of politics and democracy as such. Assuming that the attitude of democracy towards the Jews is a key to the understanding of its very nature, he postulates that the Jewish question could illustrate the failure of the human rights theory to account for collective identity and to face the question of transcendence, which modernity can not paradoxically avoid despite the phenomenon of secularization and civil religion. Trying to pinpoint the origins of the presence and topicality of Jewishness in the modern world through Jewish history, Trigano conceives the idea of the Jewish State not as a regression to the past but as an invention of a new age. A special part of his work is devoted to French Judaism, considered as an exemplary case of the civil political status of the emancipated Jew. More recently Trigano focused on the new European antisemitism. In *Les frontières d'Auschwitz, les ravages du devoir de mémoire* (2005), he intended to demonstrate the way Europe expects the Jews to remain in the role of victims, the only recognition allowed to them. He assumes that as soon as they depart from this role, as is the case when they live in a sovereign political state, they are subjected to reprobation.

Being one of the main figures in contemporary French Judaism, Trigano was the founding director of the College of Jewish Studies at the *Alliance Israélite Universelle (1986–) and initiated the periodical *Pardès*, an European Journal for Jewish Studies and Culture (1985). In 2001, he created a research center devoted to the analysis of contemporary antisemitism. He was a president of the Observatory of the Jewish World. He also was the editor of the 4-volume series *La Société juive à travers l'histoire* (1992) intended to illustrate the permanence, unity, and continuity of the Jewish people over 30 centuries.

[Perrine Simon-Nahum (2nd ed.)]

TRIGERE, PAULINE (1908–2002), U.S. fashion designer. Trigere was born in Paris to parents who had emigrated there from Russia. As a child, she thought about becoming a doctor, but her father, Alexandre, a tailor, and mother, Cecile, a seamstress, persuaded her to learn dressmaking. She studied at Victor Hugo College, designed her own party dresses, and at 19 married Lazar Radley, a Russian-born tailor. Trigere and her brother, Robert, opened a store in Paris that became known for its smart suits and dresses, but in 1937, the looming Nazi threat forced Trigere and her family to head for New York City. In 1941, she and her husband separated, eventually to divorce. To support her two sons, she took a job as an assistant designer at Hattie *Carnegie for $65 a week. In 1942, with her brother, she opened her own business with an 11-piece collection. Her strength was being able to make dresses in the French style: instead of sketching a garment, she would actually cut the fabric to shape while it was draped on the model, wielding her scissors like a sword. It was a skill she was able to demonstrate for the rest of her life. Trigere was among the first to use common fabrics like cotton and wool in evening wear. She developed a thin wool called Trigeen that she used for 50 years. Her clothes, which combined elegance with practicality, were sold in the finest stores and became popular with such style icons as the Duchess of Windsor and Bette Davis. Trigere became known for her reversible capes and coats, and her jumpsuits, which became a fashion staple in the 1960s. In 1949 she won the first of three Coty Awards and in 1959 was inducted into the Coty Hall of Fame. In 1961 she was among the first major U.S. designers to hire an African-American model for an important runway show. She was honored by the Fashion Institute of Technology in 1992 on the 50th anniversary of her company. A year later, she closed the business, citing increasing retail consolidation as a reason. Its volume had peaked about a decade earlier at some $5 million. More honors followed: a Lifetime Achievement Award from the Council of Fashion Designers of America, induction into the Fashion Industry Walk of Fame and the French Legion of Honor. In 2001, Trigere – then 92 – went into a new business with an online retailer, designing accessories for older people: canes, pill boxes, cases for eyeglasses, and hearing aids. Although her clothes had become collectibles, she had never licensed out her name, something she said she regretted. She was a fiercely independent woman whose individual sense of style was evident not only in the clothes she designed, but in the life she lived. She learned English by sitting through multiple showings of Hollywood movies, collected turtles, practiced yoga, and never hesitated to speak her mind.

[Mort Sheinman (2nd ed.)]

TRIKKALA (**Trikala**), city in W. Thessaly, Greece. In the third and fourth centuries, Trikkala was an important Hellenistic city that probably had a Jewish population, but little is known about it. From 1421 to 1451, there were an estimated 387 Jewish families in the area, most of whom were Judeo-Greek–speaking *Romaniote Jews. After the Ottomans conquered Constantinople, they began sending Jewish sorgunim (those forcibly exiled) from Trikkala to the capital. In Istanbul, the Trikkala Jews formed their own community and in 1540, it had ten family heads who paid the *jizya* (head tax). In 1545, there were only six family heads listed, and by the 17th century, no more traces of the community.

The Kahal Kadosh Yevanim ("Greek Community") synagogue in Trikkala confirmed the ancientness of the Jewish community, which grew during the 16th century with the arrival of refugees from Hungary, after the Ottoman conquest of Buda, Spain, Portugal, and Sicily. There were also Kahal Kadosh Sephardim and Kahal Kadosh Sicilyanim (Sicilians) synagogues in the town. While the Romaniot Jews absorbed the Iberian Sephardi exiles, eventually the Sephardim achieved communal hegemony. The refugees from Spain introduced the weaving of wool. In 1520–35, there were 1,000 Jews in the city and in the region. The Jews of the city worked in wool production, and in trading wool and hides. The Trikkala Jewish merchants had commercial relations with Larissa and Arta as well as with Venice and Ragusa (Dubrovnik).

Though **dhimmis*, they enjoyed communal autonomy and toleration from the authorities. In 1497 the community requested from the authorities exemption from the Ispenja tax, claiming that the Jews did not work in agriculture, but commerce and the crafts. Thus, they also were exempt from serving in the Janissary military units.

The Jews of Trikala were in contact with the rabbinic authorities of Salonika and Arta. Among the rabbis active in Trikkala in the 16th century were Romaniot rabbi Benjamin b. Rav Shmariya (Papo) of Arta (R. Samuel *Kalai was his student), *Benjamin b. Shmariya (rabbi of the Romaniot *kahal*), Solomon ben Maior, Menachem b. Moses *Bavli; Menachem b. Shabbetai ha-Rofeh (*av bet din*), and Eleazar Belgid.

In the failed Greek rebellion of 1770, Jews in Trikkala were robbed of their money and property. In the 18th century, the community was served by Rabbi Abraham Amarilio, author of *Sefer Berit Avraham* (1802). In 1873, the community number 150 families or 600–700 people, with Jews working as tinsmiths, moneychangers, and mainly small fabric merchants.

In 1881, Trikkala became part of the Greek sovereign state. In October King George I visited the city, stayed in the home of a local Jewish family, and was well received in a ceremony in the synagogue.

In the 1880s, the community was led by Jacob Joseph Sidis, who came in the 1870s from Ioannina and made improvements, including a boys' choir, hiring of new teachers for the *talmud torah,* renovation of two of the cities' three synagogues, and the building of a *mikveh*. At the end of the 19th century the community rabbi was Simeon Pessah, later of Larissa.

Ḥevrat Yetomot was a philanthropic society that helped poor girls, assisted in education, contributed to the *talmud torah*, assisted the Bikkur Holim society, and aided, in the religious sphere, *Tikkun Hatzot* and *Amirat Tehilim* (recitation of psalms). There were *blood libel accusations in 1893, in 1898 (followed by anti-Jewish riots), and in 1911. At the end of the 19th century there were about 800 Jews in Trikkala. In 1906, 17-year-old Yomtov Yakoel, who became a prominent Jewish community leader and lawyer in Salonika, founded the Zionist Eretz-Zion movement. Caught in hiding in Athens in 1944, he was deported to Birkenau and died as a crematorium *Sonderkommando* worker. Thirty-five local Jews fought in the Greek army in the Balkan Wars, two dying and some wounded.

In 1912, the wealthy landowner Elias Cohen housed the royal family on a visit to Trikkala. During World War II, as a result of this connection, Princess Alice (Aliki), mother to English Prince Philip, provided shelter for the widow and four sons of Haimaki (Elias's son), and was recognized as Righteous Among the Nations by Yad Vashem in Israel in the early 1990s.

In 1917–19, Judah Matitiya, edited the Greek publication *Israel,* organ of the Zionist Federation of Trikkala, Larissa, and Volos. Asher *Moissis assisted in its publication. Two large department stores in Trikkala were owned by Jews, and Lazarus Muchtar and Meir Solomon were known as wealthy local Jewish bankers. The Ohavei Tzion Zionist organization's club had an important function for the youth of the community.

In 1925, the community numbered 120 families. The Jews worked in commerce and banking. In the mid-1920s, there was a Jewish theatrical group in Trikkal.

In the Assembly of Representatives of the Jewish Communities of Greece in Salonika in 1929, the Jewish community of Trikkala was represented by the young lawyers Asher Moissis and Yomtov Yakoel (both of whom moved to Salonika in the 1930s).

On the eve of World War II the number of Jews had decreased to 500. Many local Jews fought in the Greek army against the invading Italians in Albania from October 28, 1940, until April 1940. During Italian military rule from April 1941 to September 1943, the Jews fared relatively well. After the Germans replaced the Italian military occupation in September 1943, Rabbi Kastel led more than 300 community members to the mountains under the protection of the ELAS-EAM leftist-leaning resistance movement. The Greek Orthodox clergy also assisted Jews to hide. A few days after the Nazis arrived, the communal leaders, including Abraham Baruch, were invited to the mayor's office, where the commander said they would not be deported to Poland like Salonikan Jewry and requested that they persuade the Jews who had fled to return, promising *matzot* for Passover, sugar, and travel permits to other cities, but the Jews did not agree. During the Nazi persecutions the majority of the Jews escaped to the region controlled by the Greek partisans. On March 23, 1944, the Germans spread false rumors that the partisans had killed a German commander and called a general curfew for the city. A Greek-Orthodox townsman, Alexander Tchatjigakis, warned the Jewish community that they would be deported to Poland the next day, so many Jews fled. The next day, early in the morning, remaining Jews were arrested; mostly the elderly, women, children, and a few people who returned to the city from hiding. Some 50 Jews were deported to extermination camps. In October the city was liberated from the Nazis. The Sephardi and Sicilian synagogues were destroyed and the Romaniot synagogue was burned, but renovated after the war.

In 1946, the Jewish community numbered 73 families (267 people – of whom 65 were children (32 orphans) and 12 widows) as opposed to 492 people before the war. Twenty stores and 23 houses were returned to the Jews as well as the school and the damaged synagogue; which was in need of repair. The cemetery was in ruins and it took three years to refurbish it. Jews began to leave for Athens, Israel, and the United States. Trikkalan Jewish youth were among the founders of moshav Neveh Yemin in Israel in 1949. In 1954 the synagogue was damaged and repaired two years later with the financial help of Judah Perahia of Xanthi. In 1958 there were 123 Jews in the city and by 1967 they numbered 101.

In the 1970s and 1980s, Ovadiah Sabbas was community president and local WIZO leader Betty Haleva was community vice president. The Jews worked in the textile and clothing trade, and two prominent local Jewish families were Yesulas and Kabellis. The religious leader of the community was Moses Ganis and later Rabbi Eli Shabbetai. In the synagogue, there is a memorial tablet for the local Jewish Holocaust victims and the Jewish cemetery is situated on both sides of the interurban highway, which crosses the city. The cemetery was desecrated in neo-Nazi activities in the early 2000s. The city also has a Holocaust memorial statue.

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[Simon Marcus / Yitzchak Kerem (2nd ed.)]

TRILLIN, CALVIN (1935–), U.S. journalist, humorist, and novelist. Trillin, who was born in Kansas City, Mo., went to Yale University, where he was chairman of the *Yale Daily News*. After a stint in the U.S. Army, he worked as a reporter for *Time* magazine before joining the staff of the *New Yorker* in 1963, and from 1967 to 1982 he produced a series of articles called "U.S. Journal," 3,000-word articles every three weeks from somewhere in the United States on subjects that ranged from the murder of a farmer's wife in Iowa to the author's effort to write the definitive history of a Louisiana restaurant. Trillin's reporting for the *New Yorker* on the racial integration of the University of Georgia was published in his first book, *An Education in Georgia* (1964). From 1978 through 1985, Trillin wrote a humor column for *The Nation* called "Uncivil Liberties." From 1986 he produced a nationally syndicated column under the same name. He won acclaim in remarkably diverse fields of writing, writing about his family; about his adventures in eating (*American Fried: Adventures of a Happy Eater*, 1974); *Barnett Frummer is an Unbloomed Flower* (1969), short stories about trendiness in the 1960s; *Runestruck* (1977), a novel about a small town after the discovery of what could be a Viking artifact; *Killings* (1984), *New Yorker* articles on sudden death; *Travels with Alice* (1989), a book about traveling with his wife, mostly in Europe and the Caribbean; and *Deadline Poet: My Life as a Doggerelist* (1994). He also wrote and performed two one-man shows, *Calvin Trillin's Uncle Sam* (1988) and *Words, No Music* (1990). The most autobiographical of his books is *Messages from My Father* (1996), a memoir in which he discusses his father's fluency in Yiddish and the experience of growing up Jewish in the Protestant Midwest.

[Stewart Kampel (2nd ed.)]

TRILLING, DIANA (1905–1996), U.S. literary critic. Born in New York to Polish immigrants, Diana Rubin graduated from Radcliffe College. In 1927 she met Lionel *Trilling, a graduate student in literature at Columbia who was to become one of the foremost literary critics and teachers in the United States. They married in 1929. "With marriage I had entered Lionel's world," she wrote. "It was with his friends that I chiefly associated. They were not easy companions, these intellectuals. They were overbearing and arrogant, excessively competitive; they lacked magnanimity and often they lacked common courtesy. Ours was a cruelly judgmental society, often malicious and riddled with envy." These intellectuals included Alfred *Kazin, Irving *Howe, Philip *Rahv, Sidney *Hook, Delmore *Schwartz, Dwight McDonald, Hannah *Arendt, Saul *Bellow, Mary McCarthy, Clement *Greenberg, Irving Kristol, and others who helped set the intellectual agenda of the United States in the 1940s and 1950s. Diana Trilling began writing in 1941 and continued into her 90th year, despite failing eyesight, composing a 75-page article on a Welsh literary figure for *The New Yorker.* At one point, as a critic for *The Nation,* she read a novel a day for six and a half years, delivering challenging reviews on some of the most important works of the modern era: Evelyn Waugh's *Brideshead Revisited*, Robert Penn Warren's *All the King's Men*, Jean-Paul Sartre's *Age of Reason*, and George Orwell's *1984*. No novels, volumes of poetry, or short fiction bore her name, but among her writing credits were five books: three collections of essays and reviews, an impressionistic piece of journalism, *Mrs. Harris: The Death of the Scarsdale Diet Doctor* (1981), and *The Beginning of the Journey* (1984), a memoir. Her work appeared in leading magazines, including *The Atlantic, Harper's*, *The Saturday Review*, and *The Partisan Review*, to which she contributed essays. In 1975 Lionel Trilling died, and in the years that followed she worked to assure his legacy, editing a 12-volume uniform edition of his work. She also published two collections of her criticism, *Reviewing the Forties* and *We Must My Darlings* (1977).

[Stewart Kampel (2nd ed.)]

TRILLING, LIONEL (1905–1975), U.S. author, critic, and public intellectual. Born in New York City, Trilling attended Columbia University and then began teaching there. He eventually was appointed as the first Jewish assistant professor of English at Columbia University in 1939, receiving full professorship in 1948. Trilling was part of a group of largely Jewish New York intellectuals who dominated American culture and letters in the 1940s and 1950s. He brought a nearly religious devotion to his study of literature and thought, and through his writings revived interest in many neglected authors and works. He was praised for his erudition, the elegance, clarity, and care of his prose, and his high moral thoughtfulness. He was particularly interested in the Victorian poet Matthew Arnold, whose works he examined using the methods of modern psychology. His first published book, *Matthew Arnold* (1939), gave new insight into Arnold's character. The same critical methods were evident in *E.M. Forster* (1943), *The Liberal Imagination* (1950), *The Opposing Self* (1955), *A Gathering of Fugitives* (1956), *Beyond Culture: Essays on Learning and Literature* (1965), and *Sincerity and Authenticity* (1972). Trilling's books and his essays in various journals and reviews were highly influential in intellectual circles, with his most influential book being *The Liberal Imagination*, an attempt to complicate and redeem liberalism with the addition of the imagination, ethical stoicism, and new-found ironies. His work also includes several short stories and a novel, *The Middle of the Journey* (1947), which introduced themes found in his criticism. He edited *The Portable Matthew Arnold* (1949) and *The Selected Letters of John Keats* (1951), and wrote *Freud and the Crisis of Our Culture* (1955). He often returned to studies involving Freud, and later co-edited with Steven Marcus *The Life and Work of Sigmund Freud* (1961).

Trilling did not often deal with Jewish subjects in an overt manner, and many other Jewish American scholars of the period, including Irving Howe and Alfred Kazin, believed that he was uncomfortable with his Jewish origins. However, early in his career, in the 1920s, Trilling wrote short stories focused on Jewish American identity for the humanist *Menorah Journal*, and he continued to write on Jewish writers and Jewish themes throughout his career. In "Wordsworth and the Rabbis" (1955), he explored what he saw as a common quality in Wordsworth's thought and Rabbinic Judaism: namely, devotion to a divine object – Nature for Wordsworth and Torah for the rabbis. In an essay on the Russian-Jewish writer Isaac *Babel (in the introduction to Babel's *Collected Stories*, 1961), he observed that Babel, the Jew who wrote about a Jew among the Cossacks, was painfully aware of the dialectic of Cossack and Jew, body and mind, society and self. Trilling was also interested in the problems of antisemitism facing American Jews, but only as far as these problems worked to exclude Jews from public life. He also served at Columbia as a supportive mentor to numerous important Jewish writers, including Allen *Ginsberg, John *Hollander, Steven Marcus, and Norman *Podhoretz. Trilling's wife, the literary critic Diana (Rubin) *Trilling (1905–1996), wrote *Claremont Essays* (1964) and edited works by D.H. Lawrence. She headed the American Committee for Cultural Freedom (1955–57).

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[Irving Malin / Craig Svonkin (2nd ed.)]

TRIOLET (Blick), ELSA (1903–1970), French novelist. Born in Moscow, and a student of Maxim Gorki, Elsa Triolet first wrote in Russian. She settled in France, where she married the French poet Louis Aragon whose poems, *Les yeux d'Elsa* (1943) and *Elsa* (1959), she inspired. Her first book in French, *Bonsoir Therésè* (1938), revealed her narrative and stylistic gifts. Her novels *Mille regrets* (1942), *Le cheval blanc* (1943; *The White Charger,* 1946), and *Le premier accroc coûte deux cents francs* (1945; *A Fine of 200 Francs*, 1947, a winner of the Prix Goncourt), combined social and political concern with inventiveness, wit, and charm. Elsa Triolet's chronicle of the Resistance, *Les Amants d'Avignon* (1943), deals with serious, even somber, subjects with an unusual lightness. Her communist ideology is felt more strongly in *L'Inspecteur des Ruines* (1948; *The Inspector of Ruins*, 1953), *Le Cheval Roux* (1953), and *Le Rendezvous des étrangers* (1956). However, in *Le Monument* (1957), the balance between social ideology and aesthetic approach was restored. In the trilogy, *L'Age de nylon* (*Roses à crédit*, 1959; *Luna-Park*, 1959; and *L'Ame*, 1963), Elsa Triolet revealed new breadth and power. *Le Grand Jamais* (1965), a meditation on death, displays considerable depth and richness of technique. She never lost touch with Russian literature, translated many of Chekhov's plays, and in 1939 published a study of the poet Vladimir Mayakovski, who was her brother-in-law.

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[Denise R. Goitein]

TRIPOLI, port in N. *Lebanon (Ar. **Tarabulus al-Sham**; called in Hebrew sources *Sinim*, on the basis of Gen. 10:17). From the seventh century there was a Jewish community in the town, although it never was large. At the beginning of the Arab conquest, Muʿāwiya, the *Umayyad governor of *Syria, established a garrison of Jewish troops in the harbor fortress to guard it against Byzantine attacks. At the beginning of the 11th century – after Syria came under *Fatimid rule – the caliph al-Ḥākim imposed severe restrictions on non-Muslim communities; as a result the Tripoli synagogue was turned into a mosque and several Jewish houses were destroyed. When the decrees were abolished, the Jews asked for the return of the synagogue; the Tripoli Muslims, unlike those in other towns, refused their demand, claiming that the place had already become a Muslim sanctuary. The Jews in turn asked for a royal permit to build a new synagogue. A document from the community, dated 1079, and which is signed and witnessed by the local *bet din*, has been preserved. There were Jews from Tripoli who immigrated to *Egypt in the Arab period. During the First Crusade, R. *Abiathar b. Elijah Ha-Kohen, the Ereẓ Israel *rosh yeshivah*, took refuge in Tripoli and sent a letter from there.

After its conquest by the crusaders in 1109, Tripoli became the capital of an independent principality, but remained a busy port and industrial center. The Jewish community continued its existence throughout the period of crusader rule. *Benjamin of Tudela, the 12th-century traveler, reported that there were many Tripoli Jews among the victims of the earthquakes that struck Syria in the middle of the 12th century. In 1289 the town was captured by the *Mamluks, who razed it and built a new town on a nearby hill and at its base. The Jewish community reestablished itself on the new site. During Mamluk rule there were *Karaites and Samaritans in the town, in addition to the Rabbanite Jews. In a letter written in 1489 R. Obadiah of Bertinoro reports that there were 100 Jewish families living in Tripoli at the time, but this figure seems exaggerated. At the end of the 15th century the Spanish scribe Abraham ha-Sefaradi lived in the city. In the 16th century Sephardi Jews came to settle in Tripoli and some became wealthy merchants. According to R. Moses Basola there were 100 Jewish households (400 people) in Tripoli in 1521, some of which were Musta'arabs and the others immigrants from *Spain and Sicily. The Jews owned shops and many of them were merchants and workmen. They had one synagogue. Tripoli rabbis are mentioned in the responsa dating from this period. In mid-16th century Isaac Mishan was the rabbi of the town and was followed by R. Samuel ha-Kohen and by the latter's son, R. Joseph ha-Kohen, who officiated until 1590. At the beginning of the 17th century Tripoli Jews suffered from the oppressive rule of Yūsufoglu Seyf Pasha and many left. A small community remained and is mentioned in the diary of a Hebron emissary who visited the town in 1675. The community went into a further decline during the 19th century due to the economic decline of the city and the emigration from Tripoli of many local Jews heading for *Beirut, *Aleppo, and other cities. In 1824 the traveler David D'Beth Hillel visited the city and found there 15 Jewish families who had a little synagogue. Yehoseph Schwarz noted 112 Jewish families in Tripoli. In 1843 there were only 11 Jewish families in the city, numbering 50 people. The head of the community at that time was Isaac, an oil merchant. The majority of the Jews were poor. Eliezer L. Frenkel visited the city in 1856 and found 17 families (80 people) there. The older graves survived 400 years. The Jews of Tripoli spoke Arabic. The community had no *talmud torah*. There were a few merchants who participated in international trade. On the eve of World War II only four Jewish families were left.

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[Eliyahu Astor / Leah Bornstein-Makovetsky (2nd ed.)]

TRIPOLI, port city of *Libya. Tripoli was built by the Phoenicians in the seventh century B.C.E. They called the town Wiat (Latin Oea). Together with its two neighbors, Sabratha and Leptis (Homs), the town was included in the Greek designation Tripolis (i.e., three towns); they all paid tribute to Carthage. There is little information available on the Jews of Tripoli during the Roman and Byzantine periods. A Roman road map from the fourth century indicates a Jewish locality named Scina (or Iscina) *Locus Judaeorum Augusti* ("Scina, locality of Jews belonging to the emperor") in the vicinity of Oea. They were probably captives. Converts from Libya are mentioned at the end of the fourth century (TJ, Kil. 8:3). There was also a Jewish community in Oea during the fifth century.

The sources for the Arab period are also very scarce. During the second half of the 11th century, there was a *bet din* in Tripoli which was independent of the Palestinian one. The Jewish community suffered greatly under the rules of *Spain and the Knights of Malta (1510–51), but prospered again with the Ottoman conquest (1551) when many Jews from the small rural communities settled in Tripoli. It seems that at the end of the 16th century descendants of the Spanish Jews expelled from Christian Europe settled in Tripoli; during the 17th century they were joined by Jews from *Leghorn (Livorno, referred to as Gornim) most of whom were merchants of Sephardi origin. During the reign of the Turkish Qaramanlī dynasty (1711–1835), Tripoli became a haven for Jewish refugees from *Tunis (1756) and *Algiers (1805). Jews played an important role in the Trans-Saharan trade with Europe and the African continent, while others held diplomatic and consular positions. In 1705 and 1793 the Jews of Tripoli were saved from the danger of extermination by foreign invaders and two local Purim days were fixed to commemorate these events: Purim ash-Sharif on 23 Tevet and Purim Burgul on 29 Tevet, respectively.

In 1835, when Tripoli once more came under the direct rule of the *Ottoman Empire, there was a further improvement in the social and legal status of the community. The kingdom of *Italy – from its establishment in 1861 – attempted to wield its influence in Tripoli, especially among the Jews, many of whose big traders had strong economic and social ties with Italy. The community was divided between the traditionalist conservatives, who generally supported the Muslim authorities, and those who favored European culture and consequently Italy. The Italian influence increased during the period of Italian rule (1911–43), when the Jews enjoyed complete emancipation except for the World War II period. They engaged in the crafts and commerce as builders, carpenters, blacksmiths, tailors, cobblers, and wholesale and retail merchants. The gold- and silversmith crafts, as well as the textile trade, were entirely controlled by the Jews. In 1943 the Jews of Tripoli numbered about 15,000 (for the World War II period, see *Libya). In November 4, 1945, riots broke out with the Arabs attacking their Jewish neighbors while the British authorities were slow to intervene. During these riots 120 Jews were murdered in Tripoli and its vicinity, hundreds were injured, and a great deal of property was looted. As a result of these events, a secret Jewish defense organization was formed with covert help from Palestine and small arms were acquired. When riots again occurred in June 1948, there were some Jewish victims, but the Jews were ready, fought back, and killed many of their attackers.

Religious and Communal Life

The community of Tripoli held the exclusive leadership over the Jews of the country. From the middle of the 18th century the presidents of the community represented Libyan Jewry before the government and were empowered to inflict corporal punishment and imprisonment. During the second period of direct Ottoman rule (1835–1911), these presidents attended the council meetings of the governor.

The revival of Jewish learning and the establishment of community *takkanot* (regulations) are attributed to R. Simeon *Labi (mid-16th century). In 1663 Abraham Miguel *Cardozo, who was later one of the leaders of the Shabbatean movement, settled in Tripoli. From the middle of the 18th century several *dayyanim* and prominent *ḥakhamim* of Tripoli came from *Turkey and *Palestine, returning home after a period of office in Tripoli. In 1749 R. Mas'ūd Hai Rakah, an emissary from Jerusalem, arrived in Tripoli. He was joined by his son-in-law R. Nathan Adadi, who was born in Palestine and returned there in his old age. His grandson, Abraham Ḥayyim Adadi, settled in Tripoli after the earthquake in *Safed in 1837 and accomplished a great deal as *dayyan* and *ḥakham* of the community. He also retired to Safed in his old age. After his death, the Ottoman government in Istanbul appointed Elijah Ḥazzan as *ḥakham bashi* (chief rabbi) (1874–88) by royal *firman* (order). The latter was also the representative of Tripolitanian Jewry before the government. The Italian government at first continued this tradition and appointed R. Elia Samuele *Artom to this position (1920–23).

Jews lived in two exclusively Jewish neighborhoods within the walled old city of Tripoli, though many carried out their business in trade in specific streets in the Muslim parts of town. With the establishment of new neighborhoods outside the walled city, wealthier Jews moved there and lived in mixed neighborhoods with Italians and Muslim Arabs.

[Haïm Z'ew Hirschberg / Rachel Simon (2nd ed.)]

Contemporary Period

Approximately 20,000 Jews lived in Tripoli in 1948. Following mass immigration to Israel in 1949–52, only 6,228 Jews remained, comprising 3% of the town's population of 198,000, according to the 1962 census. The majority of the Jews who remained after 1962 were wealthy merchants who were closely connected with Italy and spent part of the year there. After the riots that occurred in Tripoli during the Six-Day War in 1967 (see *Libya), most of the Jews immigrated to Italy and some to Israel. In 1970 there were only several dozen Jews living in the town and none by the end of the century.

The Tripoli community was headed by a committee, whose subcommittees provided services such as aid for paupers and dowries for brides (to help poor girls marry). The committee's incomes derived from the gabelle (Qābilah), a tax on kosher meat, the sale of unleavened bread, and from community dues. In 1916 the Zionist organization gained 11 out of 31 seats in the committee. Due to internal conflicts, the Italian authorities dispersed the committee in 1929 and appointed an Italian non-Jewish official to administer the affairs of the community. Only 700 paid dues in 1948, their number having fallen from 2,300 in 1944. Spiritual affairs were conducted by the chief rabbi, who also headed the rabbinical court of three members. The first European school in Tripoli was established in 1876 by Italian Jews in response to the local initiative of Jews with economic contacts with Italy. This was followed by a school run by the Paris-based *Alliance Israélite Universelle in 1890. The latter was attended by 70 pupils in 1949 with the number of pupils rising to 601 in 1951, but after the mass immigration to Israel, enrollment fell to 129 in 1953 and to 38 in 1960 when the Alliance school closed down. In addition, in 1950 the town possessed a *talmud torah*, with 371 pupils, a Youth Aliyah school with 68 pupils, and a school with 300 children of Jews who had moved from villages to Tripoli. A total of 1,800 Jewish children attended Italian schools. Emigration reduced the number of synagogues from 30 in 1948 to seven in 1951. The branch of the Maccabi Zionist sports and culture organization, which functioned in Tripoli from 1920, was closed in December 1953, as was the bureau of the Jewish Agency for Israel in January 1953, after having functioned there for four years.

For further information, see *Libya.

[Haim J. Cohen / Rachel Simon (2nd ed.)]

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°**TRISTRAM, HENRY BAKER** (1822–1906), Anglican theologian, archaeologist, and naturalist whose work dealt with Palestine. Born in Eglingham, Northumberland, England, and educated at Oxford, Tristram became an Anglican vicar. He served as secretary and army and navy chaplain to the governor of Bermuda (1847–49), rector of Castle Eden near Durham (1849–60), vicar in Greatham (1860–74), and resident canon at Durham Cathedral. Delicate health forced him to spend winters in warmer climates such as North Africa, the Sahara, and the Far East. He visited Palestine several times from 1861 onward. In 1879 Tristram was offered by Disraeli the Anglican Bishopric of Jerusalem but declined. During his visits to Palestine he inspected missionary establishments and at the same time carried on geological, botanical, and zoological research, which earned him the title of "father of the nature study of Palestine."

Apart from numerous articles in periodicals, Tristram's published work concerned with Palestine included *The Land of Israel, a Journal of Travels with Reference to Its Physical History* (1865, and many editions), *Natural History of the Bible* (1867), *Land of Moab* (1874), *Pathways of Palestine* (1882), *Fauna and Flora of Palestine* (1884), and *Eastern Customs in Bible Lands* (1894).

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[Aviva Rabinovich]

°TRITHEMIUS, JOHANNES (**Johann Heidenberg of Tritheim**; 1462–1516), German churchman, scholar, and alchemist. Born in Trittenheim, he entered the Benedictine order in 1482 and became abbot of Sponheim three years later. Trithemius, who endeavored to reform the monastic system and to promote the "new learning," established a famous library at Sponheim containing manuscripts in five languages, mainly Hebrew and Greek. It was visited by many of the leading scholars of the age, notably Johann *Reuchlin (1496). Trithemius published several works, such as a *Catalogus scriptorum ecclesiasticorum* (1494) and *De viris illustribus Germaniae* (1495), but is best remembered for two celebrated works on magic, *Polygraphia* (1507) and *Chronologica mystica* (1508). Though no Hebraist, the abbot dealt in these books with subjects such as numerology, planetary influences, and the Kabbalah. He immersed himself in alchemy and occult sciences and was eventually condemned and deposed from office.

An opponent of the Inquisition, in 1510 he defended the Jews against charges of profaning the Host and of ritual murder (see *Blood Libel). Trithemius greatly influenced the astrologer and alchemist Henry Cornelius Agrippa (1486–1535), who wrote a controversial defense of magic, *De Occulta Philosophia* (Cologne, 1531; *Three Books of Occult Philosophy*, London, 1651), the last part of which drew on Reuchlin and the Kabbalah. Both Trithemius and Agrippa further influenced the celebrated philosopher and alchemist Paracelsus (Theophrastus Bombastus ab Hohenheim, 1493–1541). The careers of Trithemius and his two disciples became fused in popular imagination to produce the tragic figure of the legendary magician Faust.

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[Godfrey Edmond Silverman]

TRIVALE, ION (originally **Iosef Netzler**; 1889–1917), Romanian literary critic. His *Cronici literare* (1915) and *Vina Războiuliu de Azi* ("War Guilt of Our Days," 1915) were outstanding works of criticism hailed by the leading pundits. Trivale also published a volume of translations from Mark Twain. His death in action during World War I robbed Romania of one of its most promising critical essayists.

°TRIVETH (Trevet), NICHOLAS (**Trivetus**; 1257/65–1334 or after), English theologian and historian. A Dominican preacher, Triveth taught at Oxford University and is best known for his English chronicle work, *Annales sex Regum Angliae*, covering the years 1136–1307 (published in Oxford, 1719). He also wrote a commentary on St. Augustine's *De Civitate Dei* (c. 1468–73). Many of his theological writings, manuscripts of which are in various Oxford and Cambridge libraries, reveal Triveth's extensive knowledge of Hebrew and rabbinic literature.

Outstanding among these is his commentary on Jerome's translation of the Psalms (*In Psalterium*, written 1317–20; Bodleian, Oxford). Triveth, a pioneer English Hebraist and the first recorded student of *Maimonides in England, often quotes the *Guide of the Perplexed*. His commentary was used by another medieval English Hebraist, Henry of Cossey, who was Triveth's contemporary at Cambridge. Other works by Triveth include *De Computo Hebraeorum*, and commentaries on Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, and other books of the Old Testament. He lived on the Continent from about 1300 until 1314.

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TRIWOSCH, JOSEPH ELIJAH (1855–1940), Hebrew writer and biblical commentator. Born in Vilna, Triwosch grew up in its Haskalah atmosphere. He first published poems and short stories – which were among the earliest Hebrew modern fiction – in *Ha-Levanon* (1873). His story "*Ha-Lita'i*" (in: *Ha-Shaḥar*, 10 (1880)) and especially his book *Dor Tahpukhot* (1881) made a great impression. His stories "*Din ve-Ḥeshbon*" (1895) and "*Pesi'ot Ketannot*" (1904) appeared separately. In addition to his stories he also published over the years articles and feuilletons, mainly in *Ha-Zeman*. After World War I, Triwosch taught at the Hebrew secondary school of Vilna. In his last years, he also engaged in biblical and philological research.

His translations into Hebrew include many works of world literature, among them Tolstoy's *War and Peace* (1921–24) and *Anna Karenina* (1918–22). He wrote the major part of the commentary, as well as the introductions, to the individual books of *Mikra Meforash* (1909, and after), a project of biblical exegesis, which he edited together with N. Lewin, D. Lewin, and D. Nottick. Triwosch also published an anthology of medieval Hebrew literature (1925) together with M.Y. Nadel.

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[Getzel Kressel]

TRNAVA (Hung. **Nagyszombat**; Ger. **Tyrnau**), city in Slovakia. There were Jews in Trnava from the 14th, perhaps even the 12th century, making it one of the oldest Jewish communities in ancient Hungary. Economic life was organized in guilds, which would not accept Jews. Fierce competition developed between the guild members and the Jews. Adverse relations prevailed in wine production and trade as well. The local vineyard owners wanted a monopoly to dictate prices; but the Jews imported wine, reduced the price, and thus evoked hostility (1471–86).

In the second half of the 14th century, Rabbi Eisig (Isac) Tyrnau officiated. He wrote the *Sidur ha-Minhagim*, a manual of Sabbath prayers used for centuries by Slovak, Czech, Hungarian, and Austrian Jews.

In the late 15th century, the burghers established a ghetto, locking the Jews in and depriving them of free movement. In 1539 a *blood libel was invented, and several Jews were executed. Hapsburg King Ferdinand ordered all Jews expelled. Jews were prohibited from staying in or even passing through Trnava. Only the few Jewish students of the local university could stay in the town.

In 1717, under royal insistence, Jews were allowed to pass through the city. Emperor Joseph II permitted the family of Joseph Loeb Wolf to live in the city; they were later joined by three other families. Encountering great hostility, they sometimes had to be protected by the military. In 1801 Wolf appealed to the court in Vienna to be allotted land for a cemetery. From that date, the *ḥevra kaddisha* was established in Trnava. In 1790 there were 78 Jews in the town. Until 1855, the community was under the jurisdiction of the nearby congregation Cifer, where Rabbi Simeon Sidon (1815–1891) resided. In 1855 he moved to Trnava. In 1814 a synagogue was erected. In 1855 the first Jewish school was installed. In 1848 a wave of plundering of Jewish property swept the city. Several neighboring communities joined the Trnava congregation. The Jewish school expanded in 1864. The next year, the community numbered 524. It was recognized by local and state authorities, which supervised its administration. After the 1868 Congress of Hungarian Jewry, the congregation chose the *status quo ante trend, refusing to join either the Orthodox or the Reform. In 1891 it erected an impressive synagogue and owned a *mikveh*. That year, Rabbi Sidon died. Five years later, Rabbi Mayer Maximilian Stein assumed the position, holding it until 1934. Among his achievements, he compiled a book about Hungarian rabbis.

In 1881, part of the congregation split and established an Orthodox congregation. It established its own school, *mikveh*, and synagogue (1914). It founded a renowned yeshivah, under the leadership or Rabbi David Unger (1885–1944). In 1930 it moved to Nitra.

In 1918 the Czechoslovak Republic was founded. In its first month, the new state saw a wave of violence. The population looted the property of the wealthy and the followers of the previous regime. But the main target was Jewish property of both the rich and poor.

In the 19th century, Jews were deeply engaged in the economic life of the city, and Jewish entrepreneurs established or advanced several branches of industry, such as breweries, sugar refineries, and confectionaries, providing employment for hundreds; their products were sold at home and abroad. Textile mills and ironworks also provided jobs. Jewish physicians and lawyers were part of the expanding middle class, which turned Trnava into a modern town.

The Zionist movement had deep roots in the community. Samuel Diamant participated in the First Zionist Congress in Basel in 1897; the following year he and friends founded Beit Yaakov. The Jewish party, supported by the Zionists, played an important role in public and municipal life. Both congregations developed social and philanthropic organizations; cultural activity was promoted by many clubs and organizations.

In 1830 there were 84 Jews in the city. In 1850 the Jewish population grew to 200; in 1880 there were 1,325 Jews. In 1904 they numbered 1,715; in 1910 there were 2,126. In 1930 there were 2,728.

Trnava was one of the Slovak centers of antisemitism. The first antisemitic party in Slovakia, the White Brotherhood (*Biel Bratstvo*), was founded there; it published "*Streicher-type" literature. The vicious antisemitism of this small organization influenced the Slovak storm troopers, the Rodobrana, and the Hlinka Guard. In December 1938, the status quo synagogue was torched by the mob.

Trnava was one of the first Slovak cities to deport Jews to extermination camps in Poland in 1942. In 1941 the Jewish population was augmented by hundreds of Jews expelled from Bratislava. The first transport to leave Slovakia departed from Trnava on April 12, 1942. Altogether, some 2,500 Jews were deported from Trnava.

In 1947 there were 336 Jews in Trnava. After the war, the status quo synagogue was made into a memorial for the murdered Trnava Jews. During the Communist regime, the memorial was destroyed. The synagogue was reconstructed and is used by the local art museum for exhibits. Most of the surviving Jews emigrated after returning to Slovakia. After 1989, some 15 Jews lived in Trnava.

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[Yeshayahu Jelinek (2nd ed.)]

TROKI (Lith. **Trakai**; Ger. **Traken**), city in S.E. Lithuania; annexed to Russia after the third partition of Poland (1795), under Polish rule from 1922 to 1939. Troki is known as the site of an extended struggle between *Karaites and *Rabbanite Jews. It was the most ancient and important of the Karaite communities in the kingdom of *Poland-Lithuania, having apparently been founded by Karaites brought from the Crimea by the Grand Duke of Lithuania, Witold (Vitovt). In 1388 Witold gave the Troki Karaites a charter of rights (in which they were called Jews) which assured them the status of freemen, commercial and professional freedom, religious liberty, and the right to their own jurisdiction. These privileges were confirmed and even extended by the Lithuanian dukes and Polish kings of the 15th to 17th centuries. In 1441 Casimir IV (see *Poland) granted the status of a city with *Magdeburg rights to that half of Troki occupied by the Karaites, under a special judge who was to deal with their internecine quarrels. After 1625 some Rabbanite families settled in Troki and engaged in trade, but in 1646 the Karaites obtained from Ladislaus IV an order banning those Jews from living in Troki and competing with the Karaites in commerce.

The Karaites of Troki, who up to recent times spoke a peculiar Tatar dialect, were comfortably situated, some of them becoming very wealthy. Although they were expelled along with the Jews of Lithuania in 1495, they resettled after the decree was canceled in 1503. They cooperated on many occasions with the Rabbanite communities in matters of taxes and confirmation of privileges, and lent Troki charters of rights to those communities for purposes of intercession with the authorities. The representatives of Troki were the acknowledged leaders at the councils of all the Lithuanian Karaites. The regulations of the all-Lithuanian Karaite Council, which met in Troki in 1553, were handed over to the heads of the Rabbanite communities for their approval in 1568, when the latter assembled at *Grodno. In 1579 the Karaite community of Troki was called on to join the discussions of the organization of Lithuanian Jewish communities concerning taxation; during the activity of the Council of Lithuania (see *Councils of the Lands), Troki paid the royal taxes through the Council. Up to the *Chmielnicki massacres of 1648 good relations obtained between the Karaites of Troki and the communities of Lithuania. Among the learned Karaites of Troki in the 15th and 16th centuries were Isaac b. Abraham *Troki, author of *Ḥizzuk Emunah* (against Christianity); his pupil Joseph b. Mordecai *Malinovski; *Zerah b. Nathan; Ezra b. Nisan (d. 1666); and Josiah b. Judah (d. after 1658). The last three were influenced by Joseph Solomon *Delmedigo.

Troki was so severely affected by the Russian-Polish struggle over the Ukraine in 1654–67 that by about 1680 there were no more than about 30 families in the declining Karaite community, divided by disputes with the other Karaite communities and with the Council of Lithuania regarding taxation demands. With the encouragement of King John III Sobieski, in 1688 a number of householders moved from Troki to Kukizov (Krasny Ostrov) near Lvov, to establish a Karaite community there. At the beginning of the 18th century Troki was again hit by war, famine, and plague, so that only three Karaite families remained. About that time another conflict broke out over the Rabbanites' right of domicile (permission was granted in the end). But in 1765 there were about 150 Rabbanites and 300 Karaites in Troki and its environs.

After Troki passed to Russia, many Jews who had been expelled from the villages settled there in 1804. In the same year the Karaites began to fight for the expulsion of those refugees, and in 1835, after protracted legal debates, the Rabbanites were ordered to leave the city within five years. In 1862 this order was rescinded and the Rabbanites returned to Troki. In 1879 there were about 600 Karaites there and in 1897, 377 Karaites and 1,112 Rabbanites (out of a total population of 3,240). Some of the Troki Karaites left the town and established a new community in Vilna. In the 19th and 20th centuries relations between Karaites and Jews were strained and hostile.

[Mordekhai Nadav]

Before the outbreak of World War II, there were about 300 Jews in Troki. The Jewish community was liquidated on Sept. 30, 1941. Only the Karaite community remained, and according to the 1959 Soviet census there were 5,700 Karaites in Troki. After the war the Jewish community was not reconstituted.

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TROKI, ISAAC BEN ABRAHAM (c. 1533–c. 1594), *Karaite scholar, born in Troki (according to Mann's hypothesis, he was born and died eight years earlier than the above dates). Troki's learning earned him the respect and deference of his fellow Karaites, and his knowledge of Latin and Polish enabled him to hold conversations on theological subjects with Roman Catholic, Protestant, and Eastern Orthodox clergymen, as well as with Socinian and other sectarian adherents. The result of these discussions was his famous apology for Judaism entitled *Ḥizzuk Emunah*. Troki himself did not live to complete the work and his pupil Joseph b. Mordecai *Malinovski (Troki) supplied it with preface and index.

Troki's reasoned defense of Judaism and his penetrating examination of the vulnerable points of Christian tradition and dogma caused his work to achieve immediate popularity. It was circulated in manuscript by interested Jewish readers, and each copyist felt free to modify the text according to his own views, so that at present, pending the discovery of more authentic manuscripts, it would probably be impossible to restore Isaac's original text in its entirety. In about 1629 *Zeraḥ b. Nathan of Troki offered the work to *Manasseh Ben Israel for publication at the latter's press in Amsterdam, but it was not printed there (presumably Manasseh declined the offer). Several decades later, another manuscript copy, apparently amended by a *Rabbanite copyist, fell into the hands of Johann Christoph *Wagenseil, who published it with a Latin translation and an extensive refutation in his *Tela ignea Satanae* ("The Fiery Darts of Satan"; Altdorf, 1681). The Latin version made Troki's work accessible to wider Christian circles, and some of his arguments were later taken over by the 18th-century anticlerical writers; Voltaire mentions the *Ḥizzuk Emunah* as a masterpiece of its kind. Troki would probably have been dismayed at this notoriety; he no doubt intended to have his work circulate among Jewish scholars only.

Wagenseil's text of the *Ḥizzuk Emunah* was reprinted for Jewish use at Amsterdam in 1705, and a Yiddish translation was printed there in 1717. An English translation by Moses Mocatta, uncle of Sir Moses Montefiore, was issued at London in 1851, with the statement on the title page "Printed but not published" (republ. 1970 with introd. by T. Weiss-Rosmarin). A German translation was published by David Deutsch (with the Hebrew text; 2nd edition, Sohrau, 1873). Among other editions, one appeared in Calcutta in 1846, and another in New York in 1932.

Some of Troki's hymns are included in the official Karaite prayer book. He is also said to have composed some works on Karaite ritual law.

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[Leon Nemoy]

TROTSKY (Bronstein), LEV DAVIDOVICH (Leon; 1879–1940), Russian revolutionary, Soviet and Communist leader. Trotsky was the son of a Jewish farmer of Ivanovka, Ukraine. He studied mathematics at Odessa University, but gave up his studies to devote himself to revolutionary activities and joined the illegal Social Democratic Party in 1896. Arrested by the czarist authorities in 1898 and sent to Siberia, he escaped to England in October 1902, arriving on a forged passport issued in the name of "Trotsky." In London he cooperated with *Lenin, *Martov, and *Axelrod in editing the Social Democratic organ *Iskra*. At the second congress of the Russian Social Democratic Party in 1903, Trotsky attacked Lenin and supported the Mensheviks. In 1904 he left *Iskra* and published a pamphlet *Nashi Politicheskiye zadachi* ("Our Political Tasks"), in which he again attacked Lenin, exposing the dictatorial tendencies of the Bolsheviks. He became an independent socialist and worked for reconciliation between the various factions. At that time, under the influence of Helphand (Parvus), he formulated the theory of permanent revolution, according to which a bourgeois revolution in Russia would, by its inner momentum, lead quickly to the socialist stage, even before the socialist revolution in the West.

Trotsky returned to Russia at the outbreak of the 1905 Revolution and became a leader of the revolutionary workers' council (soviet) in Petersburg. He was arrested while chairing a meeting of the council and deported to Siberia a second time. Again he escaped and arrived in London in 1907 to take part in the congress of the Social Democratic Party. Later he moved to Vienna where he lived for several years as a correspondent for the popular liberal newspaper *Kiyevskaya Mysi* and wrote numerous articles devoted mainly to revolutionary theory.

At the outbreak of World War I Trotsky left for neutral Switzerland and wrote a detailed exposition of his anti-war policy entitled *Der Krieg und die Internationale*. He went to Paris in November 1914 to propagate his ideas in the émigré newspaper *Nashe Slovo*. Expelled two years later, he went to New York.

Trotsky returned to Russia shortly after the outbreak of the Revolution of February 1917, and was given a tremendous welcome by the Petrograd workers. He now cooperated with Lenin. Kerensky's provisional government arrested him, but he was soon released. While in prison he was elected to the Central Committee of the Bolsheviks. He also became head of the Petrograd Soviet and of its Military Revolutionary Committee. Trotsky voted for the armed insurrection at the decisive meeting of the Bolshevik Central Committee. He directed the operation of the armed uprising on November 7, when the members of the provisional government were arrested and Soviet rule established. From then on Trotsky was one of the main organizers and leaders of the October Revolution and the Soviet regime, and played a part second only to that of Lenin. He became people's commissar for foreign affairs and head of the Russian delegation at the Brest-Litovsk peace talks. It was during this period that Trotsky and Lenin clashed over the question of peace with Germany. Trotsky, believing the German revolution to be imminent, was against signing a peace treaty which would give imperial Germany large parts of Russian territory; he proposed to stop the war unilaterally, but not to make peace under these conditions, coining the formula, "neither war nor peace." But the more skeptical Lenin insisted upon signing the peace treaty in order to save the revolution from a renewed Russo-German war.

In March 1918, Trotsky became people's commissar for military affairs, organizing the Red Army and directing military operations on the various civil war fronts from his famous armored train. After the bloody suppression of the Kronstadt fleet mutiny, aimed against the Bolshevik dictatorship, he took the salute at the victory parade in April 1921. He also served as people's commissar for transport and was responsible for preventing the complete collapse of the railway system.

In internal party debates during Lenin's lifetime, he expounded a harsh "left-wing" approach to the problems of the legitimacy of revolutionary terror against the regime's opponents, how to induce the peasants to supply the cities with food, and labor discipline in the nationalized industry.

After Lenin's death in 1924, however, Trotsky's position in the Communist hierarchy weakened quickly as a result of a campaign by party veterans aimed at discrediting him. He fought back with great determination. He headed the semilegal left-wing opposition in the party and even enjoyed, from time to time, demonstrative support, mainly from younger party members and students. Stalin, however, played the various leaders and factions against each other until he assumed sole control of the party machine, and within two years succeeded in ousting Trotsky from the political life of both the Soviet Union and the Communist International. In January 1925, Trotsky was forced to resign from the Ministry of War and subsequently held only lesser posts in the Supreme Economic Council. Removed from the Politburo and the Central

Committee in 1926, he was eventually expelled from the Communist Party on November 14, 1927, on the grounds that he was an "instigator of counterrevolutionary demonstrations."

In January 1928, Trotsky was convicted of counterrevolutionary activities and sent to Alma-Ata in Turkestan. Even there he fearlessly continued to lead the left-wing opposition in the Communist Party and a year later was expelled to Turkey with his wife and son. In Turkey he maintained contact with the opposition to Stalin in an attempt to organize a new Communist International, independent of Moscow. He went to Norway in 1936, but was forced to leave after several defendants at the Moscow trials accused him of joining *Zinoviev and *Kamenev in "an imperialist plot" to murder Stalin. He later settled in Mexico. During his years in exile he produced his vast literary output, including *My Life* (1930), *The History of the Russian Revolution* (3 vols., 1932–33), and *The Permanent Revolution* (1931), and edited *The Living Thoughts of Karl Marx*, published in 1939. On August 21, 1940, he was assassinated in Mexico City by a "friend" who is generally assumed to have acted on Stalin's orders. Remarkably gifted, a brilliant writer and orator, Trotsky fought all his life to bring about the socialist world revolution. He was opposed to Stalin's policy of building up "Socialism in one country," arguing that Socialism could only be achieved through revolution on a world scale. In 1938, his followers assembled in Switzerland to found the Fourth International which would be independent of the Moscow-centered Third (Communist) International, but they failed to create a mass movement in support of Trotsky. In the Soviet Union his name and the term Trotskyism officially became synonymous with treason and perfidy and served as the main object of hatred and slander during the famous purge-trials of veteran Bolsheviks in the middle and late 1930s. Trotsky's role in the revolution and the early Soviet regime was expunged from all official historical records in the Soviet Union and in the "orthodox" Communist movement everywhere, but he has had supporters and admirers in many countries including, silently, in the Soviet Union as well.

Trotsky and the "Jewish Question"

Convinced that there was no future for the Jews as a separate people, Trotsky favored their assimilation. At the second congress of the Russian Social Democratic Party (1903), he attacked the *Bund, claiming that despite its opposition to Zionism, it had adopted the nationalist character of Zionism. After the Sixth Zionist Congress he wrote an article in *Iskra* prophesying the disappearance of the movement (Jan. 1, 1904).

Trotsky visualized the solution of the Jewish problem only through the socialist reshaping of society within an international framework. But he was quite aware of the fact that his Jewish origin was a political handicap. When Lenin, after the victory of Nov. 7, 1917, proposed to put him at the head of the first Soviet government, Trotsky refused, and – in his own words (*Moya Zhizn*, II, 62–63) – mentioned "among other arguments the national aspect: would it be wise to give into the hands of the enemies such an additional weapon as my being Jewish?" Later he was shocked at the antisemitic innuendos of the campaign conducted against him in the late 1920s in the Soviet Union and he later emphasized the antisemitic undertones of the Moscow trials against Zinoviev, Kamenev, and others. In an interview with the New York *Jewish Daily Forward*, he admitted, in 1937, that the reemergence of antisemitism in Germany and the U.S.S.R. had brought him to the conclusion that the Jewish problem required a territorial solution, but he did not believe that Palestine was the answer; and the final solution would come only through the emancipation of all humanity by international socialism. "The longer the rotten bourgeois society lives, the more and more barbaric will antisemitism become everywhere," he said in the same interview.

In *Trotsky and the Jews* (1972), J. Nedava has made a special study of this question, throwing new light on the subject and revealing, inter alia, that Trotsky sat as an adviser at the Sixth Zionist Congress in Basle (1903), and later became increasingly interested in the Jewish Labor Movement in Ereẓ Israel.

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TROYES, chief town of the department of Aube, in northeast central France. Evidence of the earliest period of Jewish settlement in Troyes is derived from rabbinic sources. From the first half of the 11th century, an organized Jewish community collected taxes from its members, and Jews owned real estate, more particularly vineyards. The *synods which were reputedly held in the town may have been little more than assemblies convened by the local community and expanded to include the representatives of a number of dependent communities. It may be assumed that in *Rashi's time the community numbered no more than 100 people. Only from the beginning of the 13th century is there evidence of the Jews of Troyes engaging in *moneylending; their clients included the Saint-Loup Abbey. On the other hand, a number of Jews owed this abbey a regular quitrent, which was calculated in measures of wheat and wine, presumably for plots of land or vineyards leased from it.

In 1288 the community was persecuted, with accompanying bloodshed, as a result of an accusation of ritual murder (see *Blood Libel). On Good Friday, March 26, during the Jewish Passover, a body was surreptitiously placed in the house of one of the Jewish notables, Isaac Châtelain. The inquiry was carried out by the Franciscan and Dominican Orders, and 13 Jews (most of them members of Châtelain's family) sacrificed themselves in order to spare the remainder of the community. They were handed over to the "secular arm" and burned on April 24. The shock which was aroused in the Jewish world by this auto-da-fé can be measured by the fact that six elegies, in Hebrew or in Judeo-French, relate the details of it. The most moving account is the famous *Complainte de Troyes*, a Judeo-French elegy, the author of which Arsène *Darmesteter identified as Jacob b. Judah de Lotra (Lorraine), who also wrote a Hebrew elegy on the subject (manuscript in Vatican Library). Although King *Philip IV the Fair prohibited the religious orders from prosecuting any Jew in France without informing the civil authorities – even if it be for a religious crime (1288) – he did not disregard the material benefit accruing from this auto-da-fé when he ordered the confiscation of the victims' property for the treasury.

Following the banishment of the Jews of France in 1306, Jews returned to Troyes after 1315. In 1320 King *Philip V the Tall addressed a series of criticisms to the bailiff of Troyes because he tolerated Jews not wearing their distinctive sign and permitted them to make so much noise in their synagogues (indicating that at least two were still in existence) that even the predicant friars and the minor canons were disturbed in the execution of their duties. The Jews do not appear to have returned to Troyes after the expulsion of 1322, although several Jews in the duchy and county of Burgundy between 1332 and 1388 originated in Troyes. During the 14th and 15th centuries, however, Christians bearing the surname "le Juif" are mentioned in Troyes and were possibly descendants of converted Jews. The Jewish quarter, also known as "La Broce-aux-Juifs," was situated in the St. Frobert parish, and the St. Frobert Church is thought to be a former synagogue. The cemetery was situated at the entrance of the Faubourg de Preize. Troyes was the native city of Rashi, the great commentator on the Bible and Talmud. Rashi served as the rabbi of Troyes, where he founded (c. 1070) a school which became famous. The present-day streets rue de la Synagogue and rue Salomon Rachi perpetuate the memory of the flourishing medieval community, although their topographical relationship to the ancient location has not been determined. After Rashi, the scholars who taught or were born in Troyes included R. Jacob b. Meir *Tam, R. *Joseph b. Moses, the tosafist R. Samson, R. Joseph Ḥazzan b. Judah, his son Menahem, and the disciple of the latter, Judah b. Eliezer.

In 1808, there was not a single Jew in Troyes or in the whole of the department of Aube. The community was reorganized only during the second half of the 19th century (the synagogue was erected in 1877). On the eve of World War II there were some 200 Jews in Troyes. During the war, however, a large number of non-French Jews, as well as those who came from "prohibited" departments, were interned in the town by the Germans. The community, which was reconstituted after World War II, numbered 400 in the early 1970s and has since 1966 maintained the Rashi Community Center.

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[Bernhard Blumenkranz]

TRUJILLO, town in Estremadura, W. Spain, on an important junction near the Portuguese border. Trujillo was taken by Alfonso VIII in 1184, then reconquered by the Moors; it definitely became part of the kingdom of Castile only in 1233. It may be assumed that there was a Jewish settlement there in the Muslim period, but the available data mainly concerns the Christian period. Toward the end of the 13th century, the community of Trujillo was the second largest in Estremadura, after Badajoz. In the 14th century Jews in Trujillo owned land, vineyards, and houses, which apparently had belonged to them before. There also were merchants and craftsmen among them. No data has survived about the fate of this community during the 1391 persecutions, but there were Jews who forsook their faith under duress in Trujillo as elsewhere. Yet the community was able to pay 6,000 maravedis in 1439 and 7,500 in 1474. A year before the edict of expulsion, in 1491, it spiraled to 11,400 maravedis, owing to an influx of refugees from other Jewish communities and to a special tax imposed as a contribution toward the war against Granada. In 1480 the segregation of Jews and Conversos into different quarters was carried out in Trujillo. The Jews were ordered to leave their quarter within two years and resettle in another part allotted to them. Exchange of houses was arranged, and the Jews were allowed to build a synagogue in their own area. Abraham *Seneor collected taxes and imposts in the town and its surroundings in the 1480s. The community existed until the edict of expulsion, when the exiles from elsewhere in Spain passed through Trujillo and Badajoz on their way to Portugal.

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[Haim Beinart]

°TRUMAN, HARRY S. (1884–1972), 33rd president of the United States. From 1922 to 1924 his partner in an unsuccessful haberdashery business in Kansas City was Eddie Jacobson, a Jewish businessman. Truman was elected to the U.S. Senate in 1935, in 1945 became vice president, and a few months later (April 12, 1945) – on Roosevelt's death – president.

Among the vast problems faced by Truman following the defeat of Germany and Japan in 1945 were Jewish refugees and the disposition of Palestine. In 1945 and 1946 they were only remotely related to the major crisis of the Cold War, but it nevertheless proved uncommonly difficult to find a solution. In the short run, Truman desired to bring 100,000 displaced Jews to Palestine. This was supplemented by a request to Congress, repeated in his address of Oct. 4, 1946 (which fell on the Day of Atonement), to liberalize the immigration laws so that more displaced persons, "including Jews," might enter. The U.S. Legislation permitting 200,000 displaced persons to enter above the quota was passed in 1948. Truman's desire to send Jewish DPs to Palestine was subsequently supported by the recommendation of the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry (April 1946) and also by the United Nations Special Committee on Palestine (UNSCOP; August 1947). But Truman was less certain regarding the establishment of a Jewish state, maintaining that the UN was the proper agency for handling the long-range solution of the Middle East problem. Even such steps as Truman was willing to advocate – the entrance of more Jewish refugees into Palestine and tentative support of the concept of partition – faced the stubborn opposition of his closest advisers in the State Department and the Joint Chiefs of Staff, and resentment by the British government. When the State of Israel was proclaimed on May 14, 1948, Truman personally made certain that within its first half hour of existence de facto U.S. recognition was extended to it. Nevertheless, he continued to advocate a temporary UN Trusteeship for the area. He subsequently opposed severing the Negev from the new state, a key element of the Bernadotte partition plan.

There was some speculation concerning Truman's motives in precipitously reversing U.S. policy for Palestine. The critical situation of the Democratic Party preceding the election of 1948 fueled suspicion that Truman acted purely for political reasons. It had become clear in the years after Roosevelt's death that the coalition of southern conservatives and urban-based liberal elements which formed the core of the Democratic Party, was no longer viable. The former components broke away from the party to form the Dixiecrats. At the same time a strong pull from the left developed when Henry Wallace formed the Progressive Party. Its platform of "progressive capitalism" and sincere negotiations with the Soviet Union to nip the developing Cold War in the bud exercised a strong attraction for the traditional left-wing elements in the Jewish voting bloc. At the same time the imposition of an arms embargo for the Middle East in December 1947 and the fact that the Republican Party candidate, Thomas Dewey, had given strong pledges of support to the U.S. Zionists, threatened to capture the Jewish vote or at least deny it to the Democrats, who needed it desperately to keep their chances alive. In February 1948 the worst fears of Democratic leaders regarding the loss of the Jewish vote were confirmed when Leo Isaacson ran on the Wallace platform in a largely Jewish congressional district in the East Bronx, New York, and won by a two to one margin. It was at this juncture that Truman supposedly decided to make an all-out bid to win back the Jewish vote. He did so by recognizing the State of Israel in May 1948.

Undoubtedly some political capital did accrue to Truman as a result of this step and his strong support for the new state between May and the election in November. The election results show that the Republican ticket was able to attract only two to three percent more of the Jewish vote in the election of 1948 as compared to 1944. But like the theory that Truman chose to recognize Israel because of the influence of his long-time friend and former business partner Eddie Jacobson, such theorizing is too simplistic to fit the facts. The considerable vote for Henry Wallace, especially in the poorer Jewish districts of the urban northeast, indicates that the great majority of Jewish voters were still drawn to the party of liberalism and Franklin Roosevelt which both Truman and Wallace were heir to. Truman himself adamantly denied that his recognition was based on domestic political imperatives: "The fate of the Jewish victims of Hitlerism," he explains in his memoirs, "was a matter of deep personal concern to me…" It may well be that in Truman the Jewish voter finally found the powerful Christian leader who personified that sense of civilized world conscience which they had hopefully assigned to his predecessor, Franklin Roosevelt.

On the whole, it can be said that the liberal, "Fair-Deal" administration over which Truman presided from 1948 to 1952 remained popular with Jewish voters even when the tide of general public opinion began to run against it as a result of the Korean War. The Jews were the one constituent of the original New Deal coalition put together by Roosevelt to show practically no defection to the Republican camp during the Eisenhower-Stevenson campaign of 1952, a fact which reflected on Truman's ability to satisfy Jewish sentiments both in his policy toward Israel and his stand on domestic issues.

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[Henry L. Feingold]

TRUMPELDOR, JOSEPH (1880–1920), soldier, symbol of pioneering and armed defense in Ereẓ Israel. Joseph's father, Ze'ev (Vladimir; 1830–1915), was a soldier in the army of Nicholas I. His son Joseph, born in Pyatigorsk (northern Caucasus), was sent to a religious school in Rostov-on-Don before he attended a Russian municipal school. Since, as a Jew, he could not attend high school, he studied dentistry. He was influenced by the idea of the collective commune as described by Tolstoy and practiced by the Tolstoyan settlers near his hometown. In Trumpeldor's mind, this ideal became intertwined with his concept of Zionism through the establishment of agricultural communes in Ereẓ Israel, which, if necessary, would be defended by armed force. In 1902 Trumpeldor was drafted into the army, volunteered for the 27th East Siberian Regiment, and was sent with it to Port Arthur. By volunteering for dangerous missions, Trumpeldor distinguished himself in the Russo-Japanese War (1904), in which he was severely wounded, and his left arm had to be amputated. Upon recovery, Trumpeldor asked his commanding officer to send him back to the front although he had the right to be demobilized. His request was granted and received mention in a special order for the day, in which he was promoted to the rank of a noncommissioned officer. When Port Arthur surrendered (late 1904), Trumpeldor was transferred to a prisoner-of-war camp in Japan, where he worked for the welfare of his fellow prisoners and devoted special attention to the Jews among them, organizing a Zionist group and a group of Jewish soldiers, whose aim was to go to

Ereẓ Israel and establish an agricultural commune there. In 1906 he was returned to Russia. Although a Jew, he received the rank of officer and was awarded several major decorations for distinguished service.

Trumpeldor entered the law faculty of the University of St. Petersburg, simultaneously working to form a group that would implement his idea of collective settlement in Ereẓ Israel. In 1911 Trumpeldor and his comrades, whose declared aim was the liberation of the Jewish people from national oppression through an independent existence in Ereẓ Israel, held their first meeting in Romny (Ukraine). In 1912, together with a group of his comrades, Trumpeldor went to Ereẓ Israel and worked for a time at the Migdal farm and the kevuẓah *Deganyah. He participated in the defense of the Jewish settlements in Lower Galilee. When World War I broke out, he refused to take Ottoman citizenship and was deported to Egypt. In Alexandria he advocated the establishment of a legion of volunteers from among the Ereẓ Israel deportees that would put itself at the disposal of the British to help liberate the country from the Turks. He accepted the British army's proposal to form the Zion Mule Corps (see *Jewish Legion), which he regarded as a first step toward the formation of a Jewish military force to liberate Ereẓ Israel. With the corps, of which he was deputy commander, Trumpeldor left for Gallipoli and between May and December 1915 took part in the major British offensive against the Turks. He set an example by his bravery and his willingness to undertake the most difficult tasks. After the Gallipoli campaign, Trumpeldor returned to Alexandria, and, after the corps' disbandment, proceeded to London, where he joined Vladimir *Jabotinsky in efforts to form a Jewish Legion from among the Russian Jews living in England, using a group of soldiers of the Zion Mule Corps as a nucleus.

In June 1917, Trumpeldor left for Russia to persuade the Provisional Russian Government to form Jewish regiments in the Russian army that could be sent to the Caucasian front and from there could break through to Ereẓ Israel. Trumpeldor was active in the Jewish Soldiers' movement in Russia and at its conference in Kiev, at which it was decided to form the General Federation of Jewish Soldiers in Russia and the General Federation for Self-Defense. He was elected commissar for Jewish Soldiers' Affairs. After the October Revolution Trumpeldor received permission to form the first Jewish regiment, whose chief objective was to combat the massacre of Jews; but the plan was canceled when Soviet Russia signed the peace treaty with Germany (January 1918). The regiment was disbanded and the Jewish defense organization outlawed; Trumpeldor was arrested at Petrograd but was soon released. He then devoted himself to the establishment of the *He-Ḥalutz movement in Russia, whose aim was to organize and prepare young Jews for settlement in Ereẓ Israel. He was elected chairman of He-Ḥalutz at its first conference in 1919, at which he demanded the introduction of military training for He-Ḥalutz members. He tried to gather groups of pioneers from various parts of Russia and to form centers for training and migration to Ereẓ Israel in Minsk and in the Crimea.

In 1919, Trumpeldor went back to Ereẓ Israel, stopping at Constantinople, where he founded an information office and a transit farm for immigrants and pioneers going to Palestine to the Jewish settlement Mesillah Ḥadashah. Upon arrival in Palestine, he proposed to the British military authorities to bring 10,000 Jewish soldiers from Russia as part of the Jewish Legion, and regarded the plan as a question of life or death for national existence in Ereẓ Israel. He also urged labor leaders in Palestine to unite into a single labor federation, which could efficiently absorb the new pioneering immigration. His proposal to form Jewish regiments was rejected. When news arrived of the danger facing the Jewish settlements in Upper Galilee, the scene of armed skirmishes between the French authorities and Arab rebels, Trumpeldor was asked to organize the defense of the settlements, and on Jan. 1, 1920, he reached *Tel Ḥai, which, together with the settlers and volunteers from the south, he began to fortify along with *Kefar Giladi and Metullah. On March 1, 1920, large numbers of armed Arabs attacked Tel Ḥai. During negotiations with their leaders, an exchange of fire took place in which Trumpeldor received a stomach wound. The battle continued all day. Toward evening, Trumpeldor was taken with other casualties to Kefar Giladi, but died on the way. His last words were, "*Ein davar, tov lamut be'ad arẓenu*" ("Never mind; it is good to die for our country"). Trumpeldor and five of his comrades were buried in the courtyard of Kefar Giladi; their remains were later removed to a new cemetery between Tel Ḥai and Kefar Giladi, where, in 1934, a memorial by the sculptor A. Melnikov was erected. The pioneers who arrived from Crimea shortly after Trumpeldor's death founded the Joseph Trumpeldor Labor Legion (*Gedud ha-Avodah), and named their settlement at the foot of Mount Gilboa *Tel Yosef in his memory.

The life and death of Trumpeldor became a symbol to pioneer youth from all parts of the Diaspora. Songs, poems, and stories were written about him. A collection of his correspondence, his diary, and memoirs, edited by M. Poznansky in 1922, became a standard text of the youth and pioneer movement. Trumpeldor inspired both the pioneering socialist movements and the right-wing youth groups. The movement Berit Trumpeldor (*Betar) concentrated on the military and nationalist aspects of his ideology and activity. A Trumpeldor House was established at Tel Yosef, and collects material connected with Trumpeldor's life and death and with the history of the Gedud ha-Avodah.

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[Yehuda Slutsky]

TRUNK, ISAIAH (**Yesha'ah**; 1905–1981), historian in Poland and U.S. Trunk was the last major representative of the Eastern European Jewish historians who were trained before the Holocaust and worked primarily in Yiddish.

Born in Kutno, Poland, he was a descendant of the Trunk rabbinical family of that city. He received his master's degree in history from the University of Warsaw in 1929, and joined the Warsaw "Circle of Young Historians" (later a branch of YIVO) led by Emanuel Ringelblum and Rafael Mahler. He taught history and Latin for the Central Yiddish School Organization in Bialystok and Warsaw until the German invasion of 1939. During World War II, he took refuge in the Soviet Union, and returned to Poland in 1946, serving as a leader of the Jewish Historical Institute in Warsaw from 1948 to 1950. Trunk lived in Israel from 1951 to 1953 and helped to found the research archives at Ghetto Fighters House. In 1953, he became director of the Peretz-Shul in Calgary, Canada. In 1954, he settled permanently in New York City, where he became a research associate and, later, chief archivist at YIVO.

Trunk's works reflect three areas of interest. In accordance with the research program of Ringelblum and Mahler, his earliest works are histories of Jewish communities in Poland, based on archival sources, including *A yidishe kehile in Poyln baym sof 18tn yorhundert*: Kutno (1934), *Geshikhte fun di yidn in Plotsk*, 1237–1567 (1939), and monographs on Polish-Jewish history published in the leading Yiddish journals of pre-war Poland. A common feature is his emphasis on the "internal" aspects of Jewish life, including the economic, legal, cultural, religious, and social organization of Jewish communities.

After World War II, Trunk focused on Jewish life during the Holocaust. His research concerned daily life in the ghettos of German-occupied Europe and problems of health, education, social life, self-government, and resistance. These are exemplified by his "Shtudye tsu der geshikhte fun yidn in 'varteland' in der t'kufe fun umkum, 1939–1944" (1948) and *Lodzsher geto: a historishe un sotsyologishe shtudye* (1962).

Trunk is best known for his comprehensive study of imposed Jewish governing bodies, *Judenrat: The Jewish Councils in Eastern Europe Under Nazi Occupation* (1972), which won the 1973 National Book Award for history. Here, Trunk extended his research to continue a project commenced by his colleague Philip Friedman, who died in 1960. Trunk based his work on archival records of Jewish councils, Nazi government documents, and questionnaires of ghetto survivors. He dealt with the contentious moral issue of whether the Councils were complicit, from the time of their initial planning of ghetto life, in aiding in the destruction of Jews within their realms. Trunk found the actions of most Council leaders to rest on sound, but inapplicable, historical experience. He concluded that Jewish survival would not have been greater if Jews had refused to participate in the Councils. He wrote this work at a time when Hannah Arendt's *Eichmann in Jerusalem: A Report on the Banality of Evil* had charged that Jewish leadership enabled the Germans to annihilate the Jews.

This book was the subject of a symposium in 1975 in which the leading Holocaust historians of the time debated the role of the Councils (see bibl.: Bauer). Trunk also compiled and edited a collection of survivors' accounts in *Jewish Responses to Nazi Persecution* (1979). Additional Holocaust studies appeared in Yiddish and Hebrew journals and encyclopedias.

Trunk's third area of interest was Jewish historiography. He published studies of Russian-Jewish historiography and the role of YIVO in Jewish historiography as well as critical appreciations of many Eastern European Jewish historians of his and the preceding generation, including Simon Dubnov, Meir Balaban, Ringelblum, Mahler, and Friedman.

Trunk compiled three collections of his Yiddish historical essays: *Geshtaltn un gesheenishn* (1962), *Shtudyes in yidisher geshikhte in poyln* (1963), and *Geshtaltn un gesheenishn [naye serye]* (1983). His personal papers may be found in the YIVO special collections.

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[Mark L. Smith (2nd ed.)]

TRUNK, ISRAEL JOSHUA (1820–1893), Polish rabbi and one of the early supporters of *Ḥibbat Zion. Born in Plock, Poland, Trunk soon developed a reputation as a prodigy and great scholar. He served as the rabbi of Szrensk (from 1840), Gabin (from 1847), Warka (from 1850), Poltusk (from 1853), and from 1861 to the end of his life he was rabbi of Kutno and was known throughout the Jewish world as Israel Joshua Trunk of Kutno. He was close to Ḥasidism, especially to the *rebbe* of *Gur, Isaac Meir. He joined the Ḥibbat Zion movement with the initial activity of Ẓevi Hirsch *Kalischer, whom he encouraged in his letters. In 1886 Trunk visited Ereẓ Israel and encouraged the pioneers who were then experiencing the initial difficulties of settlement. He was among the rabbis who permitted agricultural work during the sabbatical year in Ereẓ Israel. A halakhic authority, only one of his books on *halakhah, Yeshu'ot Yisrael* (1870), on Shulḥan Arukh *Ḥoshen Mishpat*, was published during his lifetime. The remainder were published posthumously by his grandson as *Yeshu'ot Malko* (1927–39), novellae, and *Yavin Da'at* (1932), on Shulḥan Arukh, *Yoreh De'ah* with responsa. His grandson, ISAAC JUDAH (1879–1939), was one of the leaders of the *Mizrachi movement in Poland. The best known of his books is the Bible commentary *Mikra Meforash* (1936). At the end of his life he drew close to Po'alei Agudat Israel.

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[Getzel Kressel]

TRUNK, YEHIEL YESHAIA (1887–1961), Yiddish essayist and writer. Born near Warsaw to a landowning family with rabbinic ancestry, his most popular work was his memoirs, *Poyln* ("Poland," 7 vols., 1944–53), a rich source of Jewish folk-culture in Poland. He depicts his ḥasidic background grotesquely, satirically, but mostly lovingly. A member of the *Bund from 1923, he wrote many essays on socialism and Diaspora culture. His work reflects its classical, biblical, talmudic, kabbalistic, and European literary influences. As had many others, he shifted from Hebrew to Yiddish under the influence of I.L. *Peretz. He set a high level of literary criticism in *Idealizm un Naturalizm in der Yidisher Literatur* ("Idealism and Naturalism in Yiddish Literature," 1927) and in his analyses of the work of *Sholem Aleichem: *Sholem Aleykhem* (1937), *Tevye der Milkhiker* ("Tevye the Dairyman," 1939), and *Tevye un Menakhem Mendl in Yidishn Velt Goyrl* ("Tevye, Menakhem Mendl and Jewish Fate," 1944). He wrote in a light parodic vein in his works on Hershele *Ostropolyer, *Der Freylekhster Yid in der Velt* ("The Happiest Jew in the World," 1953), *Khelmer Khakhomim* ("The Wise Men of *Chelm," 1951), and *Simkhe Plakhte fun Narkove oder der Yidisher Don-Kikhot* ("Simkhe Plakhte of Narkove or the Jewish Don Quixote," 1951).

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[Barry Davis (2nd ed.)]

TRUTH (Heb. אֱמֶת, *ʾemet*). The Bible often speaks of God as "the God of truth" (e.g., Jer. 10:10; Ps. 31:6), as does the Talmud where this synonymity climaxes in the famous dictum: "The Seal of God is truth" (Shab. 55a; TJ, Sanh. 1:5). The same idea is also found in medieval Jewish philosophy (Maim., Yad, Yesodei ha-Torah 1:4; Joseph Albo, *Sefer ha-Ikkarim*, 2:27). In rabbinic theology "Truth" is one of the 13 attributes of God (cf. Ex. 34:6).

In Judaism truth is primarily an ethical notion: it describes not what is but what ought to be. Thus, in the Bible, truth is connected with peace (Zech. 8:16), righteousness (Mal. 2:6ff.), grace (Gen. 24:27, 49), justice (Zech. 7:9), and even with salvation (Ps. 25:4ff.; cf. Avot 1:18, "The world rests on three things – truth, justice, and peace"). In *Maimonides' and Hermann *Cohen's concept of God as the absolute paradigm of morality, from "the God of truth" follows the human virtue of "truthfulness" (H. Cohen, *Religion der Vernunft* (1929), index, s.v. *Wahrhaftigkeit*). Since God keeps truth (Ps. 146:6), only the man who speaks truth can come near Him (Ps. 145:18; Yoma 69b). Thus, also, Moritz *Lazarus (*Ethik des Judentums*, 2 (1911), 123ff.) and E. Berkovits (*God and Man* (1969), ch. 2) translate *emet* as "faithfulness" (*emunah*), identifying it ultimately with Jewish faith.

God acts truthfully in that He keeps His word. Human truthfulness is to be faithful to God and man. This is specified in many ways: to speak truth even in one's heart (Ps. 15:2ff.); always to quote correctly (Meg. 16a); to engage in commerce honestly (Mak. 24a); and to abstain from all deceit and hypocrisy (BM 49a; Yoma 72b; Maim., Yad, De'ot 2:6). In sum, as God is truth so Judaism as a whole is the practice of truth (BB 74a).

Jewish philosophers generally accepted the Greek notion of truth as "correspondence with reality" (*Saadiah Gaon, *Book of Beliefs and Opinions*, preface and 3:5; Abraham *Ibn Daud, *Emunah Ramah*, 2:3). Even such intellectualism, however, is ultimately superseded by biblical ethicism (e.g., Maimonides, *Guide of the Perplexed*, 3:53, end).

In modern Jewish philosophy, Hermann Cohen designates the normative unity of cognition and ethics as "the fundamental law of truth" (*Ethik des reinen Willens* (1904), ch. 1). Martin *Buber also identifies Jewish faith (*emunah*) with truth as interpersonal trust. Thus, truth as a human, ethical criterion is commonplace throughout the mainstream of Jewish thinking.

[Steven S. Schwarzschild]

TRZCIANKA (Ger. **Schoenlanke**), town in Poznan province, Poland. Jews were present in Schoenlanke from the first quarter of the 18th century; documentary evidence for the presence of a Jewish community dates from 1739 when the Jews of Schoenlanke were granted a privilege that secured for them certain trading and commercial rights. The privilege remained in force until 1756 when the town passed into the hands of Anton von Lasocki. It was then renewed, but at great cost and with highly restrictive conditions. After Poznan passed to Prussia (1772) the community (286 persons) successfully appealed the restrictions and their rights were reaffirmed. The synagogue burned down in 1779; a permanent one was built only in 1883. A *bet midrash* was functioning in 1772; in 1869 a new one was built but closed down in 1897 for lack of students. In 1790 there were 75 families in 31 Jewish-owned houses. The community was served by Rabbi Joel Meyer Asch (d. 1811) as well as his son Judah (d. 1831). The Jews, mainly large-scale wool merchants, were economically dominant and constituted a high but decreasing percentage of the total population: 863 in 1830 (23%); 584 in 1880 (14%); 590 in 1905 (8.1%); and 380 in 1932 (4.3%). Before the war the community maintained a school, library, *mikveh*, cemetery, and synagogue; its last rabbi was Curt Peritz (1932–36).

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TSABAN, YA'IR (1930–), Israeli socialist politician and publicist, member of the Tenth to Thirteenth Knessets. Tsaban was born in Jerusalem to parents who had emigrated from Poland in the 1920s. After completing high school, in 1948 he joined the Palmaḥ. He participated in the burial of the Arab victims of the Dir-Yassin massacre committed by the IẒL in April 1948. In December 1948 he was one of the founders of kibbutz Ẓor'a, near Beit-Shemesh, which he left four years later.

In the War of Independence Tsaban fought in the Sixth Palmaḥ Brigade, participating in the unsuccessful attempt to conquer the Latrun area on the way to Jerusalem. During a course for company commanders he first met Moshe *Sneh, who became his mentor. In 1952–54 he trained as a teacher at a kibbutz seminary, and started working as a teacher and youth instructor. In this period he became active in *Mapam. In January 1953 he left Mapam with Sneh, and for the next 27 years was active in various radical left-wing groups. He was a member of the Israel Communist Party (Maki) from 1954 to 1973, participating in various Communist youth delegations abroad. He also initiated opposition by the young guards of various political parties in Israel to the Statute of Limitations for Nazi Crimes, and to the establishment of relations with the Federal Republic of Germany. In 1969–72 Tsaban studied philosophy at Bar-Ilan and Tel Aviv universities. After Sneh's death in 1972, he served briefly as chairman of Maki's Political Bureau. He was later a member of Moked, and Maḥaneh Sheli. Over the years he represented Maki, Moked, and Maḥaneh Sheli in the Israel Executive of the World Jewish Congress, and in the Histadrut Executive Committee. In 1980 he returned to Mapam and was elected as its political secretary.

Tsaban was elected to the Tenth Knesset in 1981 within the framework of the Alignment between the *Israel Labor Party and Mapam. In 1984–92 he was a member of the Mapam parliamentary group in the Knesset, heading the list in the elections to the Twelfth Knesset. In 1992–96 he was a member of the Meretz parliamentary group, which Mapam had joined. In the governments formed by Yitzhak *Rabin and Shimon *Peres in the course of the Thirteenth Knesset, he served as minister of immigration absorption, and was a member of the Ministerial Committees on Absorption, and Political and Security Issues. In the Knesset he concentrated on social and humanitarian issues, initiating and supporting legislation affecting workers' rights and social welfare. He consistently supported peace initiatives with the Palestinians, and fought against religious coercion, and for the recognition of the non-Orthodox streams in Judaism. On several occasions in this period he appealed to the High Court of Justice on issues relating to the religious parties and personalities, and won.

In the Knesset he was noted for his diligence and graciousness.

After leaving the Knesset he was active in the meetings that led to the signing of the Geneva Initiative on December 1, 2003, and continued to campaign, together with others, for a variety of ideological and humanitarian causes. Since 1996 he has served as chairman of the College for Judaism as a Culture, and as chairman of the academic council of the Lavon Institute for Research on the Labor Movement, and has taught courses in public policy at Tel Aviv University. In 2000 he initiated the Encyclopedia of Jewish Culture in the Era of Modernization and Secularization and is a member of its editorial board.

Since 2002 he has served as a member of the Board of Trustees of the Jewish Agency.

[Susan Hattis Rolef (2nd ed.)]

TSALKA, DAN (1936–2005), Hebrew writer. Born in Warsaw, Poland, Tsalka spent the war years in the Soviet Union and lived up to the age of ten in Siberia and in Kazakhstan; in 1946 he returned to Poland. He studied philosophy and literature and immigrated in 1957 to Israel, where he continued his studies. Later on, he spent some time in Grenoble, France. His first book, *Doktor Barkel*, a collection of stories, appeared in 1967. This was followed by stories and novels, including *Si'aḥ ha-Beru'im* ("The Dialogue of Creatures," 1967), *Philip Arbes* (1977), *Yaldei ha-Shemesh* ("Children of the Sun," 1979), *Misḥak ha-Malakhim* ("The Angels' Game," 1986), and others. The novel *Ananim* ("Clouds," 1994; German, 1997), tells the story of a 13-year-old Jewish boy, the only survivor of a pogrom in a German town, who shares his fate with a German hangman. Set against the backdrop of medieval Germany, the relationship between the survivor and the executioner becomes a metaphor for Jewish-Christian history. Steeped in European culture, Tsalka developed an ambivalent attitude to the Hebrew language, which was not his mother tongue, and often focused on figures who opposed the Israeli mainstream and the Zionist narrative. His magnum opus is the novel *Elef Levavot* ("A Thousand Hearts," 1991; German, 2002), a sweeping epic about Jewish life in the 20th century. Oscillating between pre-state Tel Aviv, the Oriental Samarkand, and Poland, the saga presents a wide range of characters, following an intricate baroque-like structure. Tsalka published his autobiography under the title *Sefer ha-Alef Bet* in 2003. He taught at the Art Department of Tel Aviv University, and was writer-in-residence at the Hebrew University. He also published essays, poetry, books for children, and drama. Among the prizes he received are the Brenner Prize and the Sapir Prize (2004). A collection of stories in English, *On the Road to Aleppo*, appeared in 1999. Further information concerning translation is available at the ITHL website at www.ithl.org.il.

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[Anat Feinberg (2nd ed.)]

TSANIN, (Yeshaye) MORDKHE (1906–), Yiddish writer. Born in Sokołow-Podlaski (Poland), he settled in Warsaw (1920), where he had a traditional and secular education and became a writer and cultural organizer (publications in *Oyfgang*, which he also edited, and *Naye Folksysaytung*) until the Nazi invasion, when he fled to Vilna (1939), Japan (1940), and Palestine (1941). After several years of manual labor, he worked full-time as a journalist and writer. His consistent and adamant advocacy of Yiddish in Israel was of signal importance. His *Iber Shteyn un Shtok: a Rayze iber Hundert Khorev-Gevorene Kehiles in Poyln* ("Through Thick and Thin: A Journey through 100 Destroyed Jewish Communities in Poland," 1952) collected his columns from the *Forverts* (for which he was also the Israeli correspondent, 1947–56), based on his postwar travels through Poland, posing as a gentile (1945–6). He contributed to Yiddish newspapers and periodicals throughout the world, including *Tsukunft*, *Di Goldene Keyt*, *Davar*, and edited *Ilustrirte Veltvokh* (1956–) and founded and edited *Letste Nayes* (1949–), Israel's first Yiddish daily, where the first part of his *magnum opus*, *Artopanus Kumt Tsurik Aheym* ("Artopanus Comes Home") began to appear serially; it was published in six volumes: *Yerusholayim un Roym* ("Jerusalem and Rome," 1966), *Fremde Himlen* ("Foreign Skies," 1968), *Libshaft in Geviter* ("Love during a Storm," 1972), *Di Meride fun Mezhibozh* ("The Revolt of Mezhibozh," 1976), *Der Yardn Falt Arayn in Yam Hamelekh* ("The Jordan Flows into the Dead Sea," 1981), and *Der Gzar-Din* ("The Verdict," 1985). The epic series of historical novels traces the history of Jews and Jewish culture from the Roman conquest of Judea up to the present as a series of cycles of persecution, survival, exile, and personal memory that comes to function as cultural memory and cultural tradition, projecting a moral and intellectual code that transcends individuals and even historical periods. It is one of the great achievements of Yiddish narrative, especially in postwar literature. Among his other books are *Vivat Lebn!* ("Live!," 1933; stories), *Oyf Zumpiker Erd* ("On Swampy Ground," 1935; novel), *Vuhin Geyt Yapan* ("Whither Japan," 1942; journalism), *Shabesdike Shmuesn* ("Sabbath Chats," 1957; feuilletons), *Megiles Ruth / Shir Hashirim* ("Ruth / Song of Songs," 1962; Yid. tr.); *Oyf di Vegn fun Yidishn Goyrl* ("The Paths of Jewish Fate," 1966; also Heb., 1967; essays), *Der Dekadents fun a Meshiekh* ("Decadence of a Messiah," 1967; essays), *Grenetsn biz tsum Himl* ("Borders up to Heaven," 1969/70; autobiography), *Der Shlisl tsum Himl* ("The Key to Heaven," 1979; stories), *Fuler Yidish-Hebreisher Verterbukh* ("Complete Yiddish-Hebrew Dictionary," 1982), *Fuler Hebreish-Yidisher Verterbukh* ("Complete Hebrew-Yiddish Dictionary," 1983), *Fun Yener Zayt Tsayt* ("Behind the Times," 1988), *Zumershney* ("Summer Snow," 1992; stories, essays), *Herts Grosbard* (1995; biography), *Shluf Nit Mameshi* ("Do Not Sleep, Mama," 1996; stories), and *Dos Vort Mayn Shverd* ("Word My Sword," 1997; essays). For several decades Tsanin served as president of the Association of Yiddish Writers and Journalists in Israel.

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[Jerold C. Frakes (2nd ed.)]

TSCHLENOW, JEHIEL (Yefim Vladimirovich; 1863–1918), Zionist leader. Born in Kremenchug, Ukraine, into a well-to-do ḥasidic family, Tschlenow studied medicine in Moscow where his family had settled in 1876. He graduated as a physician in 1888 and became a well-known practitioner. The pogroms of 1881 turned Tschlenow from a sympathizer with the revolutionary populists (Narodniki) into a Jewish nationalist. In 1883 he became active in the Moscow *Ḥibbat Zion group, Benei Zion (to which Menaḥem *Ussishkin, Jacob *Mazeh, and Abraham *Idelson belonged). After some hesitation, he joined *Herzl's Zionist Organization and attended Zionist Congresses. Tschlenow presided at the all-Russian Zionist Conference in Minsk in 1902. During the *Uganda controversy at the Sixth Zionist Congress (1903), Tschlenow left the hall after the vote in favor of Herzl's proposal and 128 other opposition delegates followed him. He published a series of articles in the Zionist press against the Uganda scheme entitled "Zion and Africa." At the *Helsingfors Conference (1906), he was an articulate promoter of the idea that the political goal of Zionism must be closely associated with immediate settlement work in Ereẓ Israel and particularly with large-scale purchases of land.

A visit to Ereẓ Israel in 1907 and the revolution of the Young Turks in 1908 strengthened his conviction. From 1908 he was head of the Zionist Movement in the Moscow district and developed extensive activities, including the arrangement of meetings and conferences, opening of information offices on questions of Jewish education, publication of programs for the study of Jewish history, and preparation of catalogues for Jewish libraries. In 1909 he organized a group of Russian Jewish investors that established the farm *Migdal on the shores of Lake Kinneret. He also actively supported the settlement work of the *Odessa Committee. Since the general trend in the Zionist Movement was in this direction, Tschlenow's role steadily increased. He was a member of the board of the *Jewish Colonial Trust. At the Tenth Zionist Congress he was elected to the Zionist Executive, and at the 11th Congress (1911) he was elected vice president of the Executive (under Otto *Warburg). He moved to Berlin and directed Zionist activities from there. In 1912 he again visited Ereẓ Israel. During this visit he laid the cornerstone of the Haifa *Technion, as a member of its governing board, and purchased the plot of land on which the Hadassah Hospital in Tel Aviv was later located.

Forced to leave Berlin at the outbreak of hostilities in 1914, Tschlenow returned to Russia (1915). By the end of that year he was in London for consultations with Naḥum *Sokolow and Chaim *Weizmann on the political situation and the program of the movement. During the war he was active in aiding Jewish refugees expelled from the front area by the Russian army command. After the February Revolution in Russia (1917) Tschlenow headed the all-Russian Zionist Convention in *Petrograd. In July 1917 he left for London, where he participated in the negotiations that led to the *Balfour Declaration. He died in London. In 1961 his remains were reinterred in the old cemetery in Tel Aviv. His Zionist writings included *The Second Zionist Congress, Zion and Africa* (in J. Tschlenow, *Pirkei Hayyav…* (1937), 101–302; on the Uganda project); *Five Years of Work in Palestine* (1913); *The World and Our Prospects* (1917). Tschlenow was known for his emotional warmth and sincerity, his deep devotion and gentle sagacity, and his ability to handle people and situations.

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[Mark Perlman]

TSFASSMAN, ALEXANDER NAUMOVICH (1906–1971), Soviet jazz pianist and composer. Born in Zaporozhe (formerly Alexandrovsk), Ukraine, Tsfassman began to study piano at an early age, and in 1930 he graduated from the piano class of Feliks Blumenfeld at the Moscow Conservatory. While still a student he formed an ensemble of jazz orchestra and piano soloist, a novelty at that time in Soviet Russia, and it was attacked by the Association of Proletarian Musicians for introducing "decadent" Western music. From 1939 to 1946 he headed the large jazz orchestra of Radio Moscow. In later years he appeared mostly as a piano soloist with stage orchestras in performances of his own works or his piano arrangements of popular Soviet songs. In 1957 he was named "Meritorious Artist." His best known works are instrumental jazz music (including a piano concerto with jazz orchestra, 1941) and music written for choir, the theater, and films.

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[Michael Goldstein]

TSHEMERISKI (**Chemeriski**), **ALEXANDER** (**Solomon**; 1880–193?), leading member of the Russian *Bund and later of the *Yevsektsiya in the Soviet Union. Born in Bar, Podolia, in the late 1890s Tshemeriski worked as a photographer in Minsk, and ranked among the activists of the Bund. In 1901 he was among the founders of the *Independent Jewish Workers Party. When the party was liquidated, he once more became a revolutionary and conducted illegal propaganda among the peasants. After he addressed a letter of "confession" to the central committee of the Bund, however, he was again accepted within its ranks. As a committee member of the Bund in Lodz, he played an important role in the 1905 Revolution. During the years 1908–10 he was exiled to Siberia. Upon his return, he was the delegate for Lodz at the eighth (Lemberg, 1910) and ninth (Vienna, 1912) conferences of the Bund. He also represented Jewish workers of Lodz at the all-Russian convention of craftsmen (St. Petersburg, 1911), after which he was again arrested. During World War I he lived in Vienna and Geneva. Upon his return to Russia, he was arrested, but set free after the February revolution (1917). Tshemeriski was co-opted as a member of the central committee of the Bund, active in Yekaterinoslav (Dnepropetrovsk) and Kiev, and became a member of the central executive of the trade unions of Ukraine. At the 11th conference of the Bund (March 1919), having been nominated as a candidate for the central committee, he rapidly turned to the Bolsheviks and participated in the foundation of the "Komfarbund," which was the result of merging the "Kombund" with the United Jewish Communist Party (May 1919). At first a member of the head office of the Yevsektsiya in the Ukraine, he was subsequently appointed member of the central bureau of the Yevsektsiya and its secretary (1920). He wrote for *Emes* and was active in social and economic reconstruction and education among the Jews. In the mid-1930s he was arrested and tried on charges which included his previous affiliation to the "Independents." He apparently died in prison. Tshemeriski published memoirs in *Krasny Arkhiv*, no. 1 (1922), on the "Independents," and in *Royte Bleter* (1929), on his activities in Lodz in 1905. His publications of the Soviet period are listed in Ch. Shmeruk (ed.), *Pirsumim Yehudiyyim be-Verit ha-Mo'aẓot* (1961), index.

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[Moshe Mishkinsky]

TSOMET (**Tzomet**), right-wing Israeli political party, founded in 1984, prior to the elections to the Eleventh Knesset, by Raphael *Eitan. In keeping with Eitan's views, Tsomet supported the concept of Greater Israel, compulsory military service for yeshivah students, and reduction of state financing for the yeshivot. Tsomet ran in a single list with Teḥiyyah, but only Eitan was elected to the Knesset from the party. In 1987 Tsomet broke away from the joint parliamentary group owing to differences of opinion between Eitan and Ge'ulah *Cohen. Tsomet ran independently in the 1988 election to the Twelfth Knesset, and gained two seats. After the *Israel Labor Party left the National Unity Government, Tsomet joined the narrow government formed by Yitzhak *Shamir in June 1990, and Eitan was appointed minister of agriculture. However, due to opposition to the Madrid Conference of October/November 1991, Tsomet left the government at the end of the year. Toward the end of the Twelfth Knesset Yo'ash Zidon of Tsomet was one of the four MKs who were responsible for the passing of the Law for the Direct Election of the Prime Minister. In the 1992 elections to the Thirteenth Knesset Tsomet ran under the slogan of "clean politics," and won eight seats, gaining many former *Likud votes. Tsomet opposed the Oslo Accords and the possibility of territorial concessions on the Golan Heights to Syria. In the field of economics it supported privatization. However, in 1995, in view of growing discontent in the Tsomet parliamentary group over Eitan's domineering leadership, Labor successfully wooed away three Tsomet members, two of whom were offered ministerial positions. In the 1996 elections to the Fourteenth Knesset, Tsomet ran in a joint list with the Likud and Gesher, and as part of the joint parliamentary group became a member of the government formed by Binyamin *Netanyahu. However, in March 1999 Tsomet broke away from the Likud. At the same time several of its members left to join other parties, either further to the Right or further to the Left. Tsomet was not elected to the Fifteenth Knesset, and of its eight members in the Fourteenth only one – Eli'ezer (Mudi) Sandberg – remained in the Knesset, as a member of Shinui. Eitan was killed in an accident during a storm in 2004.

[Susan Hattis Rolef (2nd ed.)]

TSUKUNFT (**Zukunft**), U.S. Yiddish monthly. Founded in New York in 1892 as an organ of the Socialist Labor Party, *Tsukunft* was one of the first serious Yiddish periodicals to be published anywhere and the oldest still appearing at the turn of the 21st century. Despite a dwindling readership and an ever-declining group of potential writers, *Tsukunft* continues to appear, albeit approximately twice a year, publishing poetry, literary reviews, and essays in Yiddish under the editorship of Itzik Gottesman. Edited from the first by some of the most distinguished Yiddish literary figures in the U.S., including Philip *Krantz, Abe *Cahan, and Morris *Vinchevsky, *Tsukunft* quickly outgrew its original dogmatic base and opened its pages wide to all sectors of opinion in American Yiddish life, while itself remaining secularist and socialist. In 1912 it was acquired by the Forward Association, publishers of the **Forverts*. Under the editorship of Abraham *Liessin (1913–38) the magazine published the work of practically every Yiddish writer and thinker of note in the U.S. and of many others from all over the world. After Liessin's death, *Tsukunft* was edited by many prominent figures in the Yiddish world, including Hillel *Rogoff, David *Pinski, Nochum Boruch *Minkoff, Shmuel *Niger, Jacob *Glatstein, and Eliezer *Greenberg. From 1940 it was published by the Central Yiddish Cultural Organization.

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[Hillel Halkin / Samuel Spinner (2nd ed.)]

TSUR (Tchernowitz), JACOB (1906–1990), Israel diplomat and Zionist leader. Born in Vilna, the son of Samuel *Tchernowitz, Tsur settled in Ereẓ Israel in 1921. He was educated in Jerusalem and the universities of Paris and Florence. In 1929–48 he was public relations officer and later director of the Information Department of the *Jewish National Fund in Jerusalem. He served as the liaison officer of the Jewish Agency headquarters with the British army in Cairo from 1943 to 1945, and in 1945 became head of the UNRRA, Israel relief mission to Greece. From 1949 to 1953 Tsur was the first Israel minister to Argentina, Uruguay, Paraguay, and Chile, and in 1953–59 he was Israel ambassador to France. During his term of office there, Israel-French relations achieved a degree of cordiality which became virtually an alliance. He served on the Jewish Agency Executive as head of its Information Department in 1960–61. From 1960 he was chairman of the board of directors of the Jewish National Fund and held the presidency until 1977. In the years 1960–68 he was chairman of the Zionist General Council. Tsur was the president of the Central Institute of Cultural Relations with Ibero America, Spain, and Portugal and active in a number of national institutions. His books include his memoirs *Shaḥarit shel Etmol* (1965; *Sunrise in Zion*, 1968), and *Yoman Paris (Ambassador's Diary in Paris*, 1968). His *Epopée de Zionisme*, published in 1975 in French, has been translated into English (*The Saga of Zionism*), German, Italian, and Portuguese. His sister is the Hebrew writer, Yemimah *Tchernovitz-Avidar.

[Benjamin Jaffe]

TUAT, with the Gurara, an oasis complex stretching over 360 mi. (600 km.) in the Algerian Sahara. Tuat's center was Tamentit, "the Jewish town." Traditions reported by Arab historians fix the arrival of the first Jews as early as 5 C.E., and in large numbers in the "year of the elephant" (570), which coincided with the foundation of settlements in the oasis. Hebrew inscriptions, dating from 1329, were discovered there. The artesian wells there are attributed to the Jews who planted palm groves and built fortified villages. A responsum of R. *Isaac b. Sheshet (end of 14th century) was sent to Tuat via Honain, the important port of the Beni Zayan. The Jews were largely landowners, farmers, and warriors and lived in peace until 1437 when they were besieged for four months. They were rescued by friendly Muslims. The nomads envied their wealth. The Jewish traders from Tuat controlled the gold traffic. The preacher al-Maghili who had been expelled from Fez (end of the 15th century) incited the people to revolt against the Jews, and a new synagogue was destroyed. The high *qadi* ("judge") of Tuat came out in defense of the Jews. When al-Maghili ordered war against the Jews, the tribes united and there was a general massacre in 1492. The tombs of the victims are still a place of pilgrimage for the inhabitants of Tuat-Gurara. The family name Tuati (Touati, Toaty) derives from Tuat.

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[David Corcos]

TUBAL-CAIN (Heb. תּוּבַל־קַיִן), son of *Lamech. Genesis 4:22 states that "Zillah bore Tubal-Cain, who forged implements of copper and iron; Tubal-Cain had a sister Naamah." Various attempts have been made to identify Tubal-Cain as the name of an ancient tribe somewhere in the Near East. S. Mowinckel, however, followed by W.F. Albright, understands Tubal as a generic name for smith, derived from *ybl*, "to bring, produce." The second element of the name is universally connected with the Arabic *qāyin*, Aramaic *qaināyā* (*qainā'ah*), "smith, metalworker." In later times, Tubal-Cain was confused with the Tubal of Genesis 10:2, for example, and mistakenly identified with the Tuscans, well-known smiths of the ancient world. A. Dillmann pointed to the parallel between Tubal-Cain and his beautiful sister Naamah and the Greek smith-god, Hephaestus, and his sister Aphrodite.

[Daniel Boyarin]

In the *Aggadah*

The aggadic interpretation of the meaning of Tubal-Cain's name, is based upon the biblical record that he was "the forger of every cutting instrument" (Gen. 4:22). The *aggadah* teaches that by thus furnishing mankind with the means to repeat Cain's act of killing, with even more ease, he perfected (*tibbel*, תִּבֵּל) Cain's sin (Gen. R. 23:3).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: S. Mowinckel, *The Two Sources of Pre-deuteronomic Primeval History in Genesis*, 1–11 (1937), 81–82; W.F. Albright, in: JBL, 58 (1939), 95–96. IN THE AGGADAH: Ginzberg, Legends, index; I. Ḥasida, *Ishei ha-Tanakh* (1964), 430.

TU BI-SHEVAT (Heb. ט״ו בִּשְׁבָט; Fifteenth of Shevat), name for the festival of the New Year of Trees. According to *Bet Hillel, the 15th of Shevat marked the beginning of the separation of the *tithes of fruit (RH 1:1). This date was chosen because most of the annual rain in Ereẓ Israel falls before the 15th of Shevat (RH 14a; TJ, RH 1:2, 57a); consequently the fruits of those trees which blossom after the 15th of Shevat are considered to belong to another year for the levying of tithes and for the prohibitions of **orlah* (see: Lev. 19:23–25; Maim., Yad, Terumot 5:11; *ibid.*, Ma'aser Sheni 19:9–10). The New Year of Trees is regarded as a minor or semi-holiday for liturgical purposes; no penitential prayers are said and fasting is not permitted. In the Ashkenazi communities in Europe it was customary to eat 15 different kinds of fruits on the 15th of Shevat; special preference was given to the kinds of fruit grown in Ereẓ Israel. The eating of fruits was accompanied by the recital of Psalm 104 and of the 15 "ascending" psalms (nos. 120–34). In many communities the children had no school on this day. The Sephardi Jews gave the New Year of Trees a greater significance. Under the influence of the kabbalists of Safed in the 16th century the Sephardi liturgy and customs for this festival were expanded. From Safed the liturgy spread to Sephardi communities in Europe (Turkey, Italy, Greece) and, finally, to Sephardi centers in other parts of Europe, Asia, and North Africa. Among Sephardi Jews this day was called the Feast of Fruits and the special poems sung were called "complas." A special order of service for the 15th of Shevat, *Ḥemdat ha-Yamim*, was believed to have been compiled by *Nathan of Gaza. It was modeled on the Passover *seder* and included drinking four cups of wine. This liturgy, expanded by additional poems, *piyyutim* for the *Amidah* on the 15th of Shevat, and readings from the Scriptures and midrashic literature, was collected and published under the name *Peri Eẓ Hadar* ("Citrus Fruit," 1753).

Since the establishment of the agricultural settlements in Palestine in the last decades of the 19th century, the New Year of Trees has acquired great significance symbolizing the revival and redemption of the land by the conquest of the desert. In Israel Tu bi-Shevat is celebrated with children's songs in honor of the feast of the trees and with tree-planting ceremonies by kindergarten schoolchildren and others under the auspices of the afforestation department of the Jewish National Fund.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: C. Pearl, *Guide to the Minor Festivals and Feasts* (1961^{3}), 23–33; Y.T. Levinsky, *Sefer ha-Mo'adim*, 5 (1954), 317–492; H. Palagi, *Mo'ed le-Khol Ḥai* (1861), 252b–253a.

[Meir Ydit]

TUCACAS, a town on the northern coast of Venezuela, surrounded by two rivers making access from the interior of Venezuela difficult. In 1693 a large group of Jews originally from Leghorn left Curaçao for Tucacas. With the settlement of Jews there, the place became a lively commercial center. The Jews built houses, grew cattle, erected a fortress, and built a synagogue. They began to purchase cocoa beans from the interior of Venezuela, and mule trains carrying cocoa from Colombia and Ecuador would arrive in Tucacas, sell their produce to the Jews, and purchase textiles and other European goods in return. The attempts by Spanish forces to attack the settlement failed, owing to the protection of Dutch naval units, the local Venezuelan population, and the defense by the Jews themselves. This Dutch enclave was under the command of Jorge Christian, Marquis of Tucacas, and Samuel Hebreo (Samuel Gradis Gabai), under the title Señor de las Tucacas. Samuel Hebreo was also president of the Hebrew congregation called "Santa Irmandad" (the Holy Brotherhood).

The Spanish provincial authorities collaborated with the Jews, since they saw them as an outlet for export and the suppliers of much-needed European goods, since the overextended Spanish fleet could not meet the demands of all its American colonies.

At the end of 1717, the province of Venezuela became part of the viceroyalty of "Nueva Granada," which also included Colombia and Ecuador. The Viceroy Jorge de Vilalonga, because of complaints from the Catholic clergy and from Spain, decided to eliminate Tucacas. Pedro Jose de Olivarriaga was nominated commissioner against the so-called Jewish "contraband trade." With special army units and 40 ships he attacked and captured the town in 1720. According to eyewitnesses the synagogue was destroyed, the Jews burned their own houses, and left for Curaçao on 30–40 ships.

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[Mordechai Arbell (2nd ed.)]

TUCHIN (Pol. **Tuczyn**), village in Rovno oblast, Ukraine, within Poland before 1772 and between the two world wars. Jews began to settle there at the beginning of the 18th century. There were 514 Jews paying the poll-tax in Tuchin in 1765. Jews of Tuchin in the 19th century were occupied in small-scale trade in agricultural products, the raising of livestock, and crafts. The establishment of an army garrison in the vicinity at the beginning of the 20th century brought improvements in the economic sphere. The Jewish population numbered 1,180 in 1847; 2,535 (67% of the total) in 1897; and 2,159 (73%) in 1921. During the civil war in 1918–20, the Jews in Tuchin suffered from the frequent changes of the forces in control of the area (Ukrainians, Soviets, and Poles). Within Poland, in the interwar period, Zionist parties were active in the community. The livelihood of the Jews in Tuchin was severely affected from 1925 by the support given by the Polish authorities to Poles who settled there.

[Shimon Leib Kirshenboim]

Holocaust and Contemporary Periods

The number of Jews in Tuchin increased to some 3,000 in 1941 when refugees from western Poland found temporary shelter there. Under the Soviet occupation (1939–41), the Jewish organizations were not permitted to function. Tuchin was captured by the Germans on July 4, 1941, and the signal given to the Ukrainians to carry out pogroms in which 70 Jews were killed. That month 20 Jewish leaders were arrested and shot. In the following years various forms of persecution including restriction of movement, the seizure of able-bodied people for slave labor, and the wearing of the yellow *badge were introduced. Some of the intelligentsia were murdered. A ghetto was established in August 1942. At this time, news reached the community about the wholesale murder of the Jewish population in the neighboring cities. On Sept. 23, 1942, an order was given for all Jews to assemble at the ghetto gate. The leaders of the community were aware of the impending disaster and a decision to revolt was then taken by the head of the Judenrat, Gecel Schwarzman, supported by his two deputies, Meir Himmelfarb and Tuwia Czuwak. The Jews themselves set fire to many houses in the ghetto for defense purposes when the Germans began to break into it. Some young Jews had managed to acquire firearms, and the Jews in the ghetto offered strong resistance. Many fell in the fighting that ensued. Subsequently some 2,000 Jews escaped to the forests, but many of them were delivered up by Ukrainian peasants to the Germans. The Nazi authorities issued a proclamation that those who returned to the ghetto voluntarily would be allowed to live on there. Approximately 300 Jews returned, and were immediately taken to the local cemetery and shot. Those who remained in the forests suffered from hunger and exposure and were harassed by the Ukrainian gangs of Stefan Bandera. A few Tuchin Jews managed to reach the Soviet partisans and joined them in their struggle against the Germans. The revolt of the Tuchin Jewish community was exceptional in that an entire and united community challenged the German forces.

After the war, the community was not revived. The survivors settled in Israel, the United States, and Canada. A memorial book, *Sefer Zikkaron li-Kehillot Tuchin-Krippe* (Heb. and Yid.), was published in 1967.

[Aharon Weiss]

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TUCHMAN, BARBARA WERTHEIM (1912–1989), U.S. author, journalist, and historian. Born in New York City, she was a daughter of Maurice *Wertheim and a granddaughter of Henry *Morgenthau, Sr. She engaged in journalistic and editorial work, including coverage of the Spanish Civil War and service as editor of the Far Eastern Desk of the U.S. Office of War Information (1943–45). One of her principal achievements was making scholarly history readable to the general public. Her best-known book, *The Guns of August* (1962), which won the Pulitzer Prize, is a dramatic portrayal of the diplomatic prelude to, and early days of, World War I.

Bible and Sword: England and Palestine from the Bronze Age to Balfour (1956) expressed strong sympathy for the Zionist cause and an appreciation of Palestine's role in world history. Her other works include *The Lost British Policy* (1938); *The Zimmerman Telegram* (1958), on German intrigues in Mexico during World War I; and *The Proud Tower* (1966), a study of the years 1890–1914, which includes a chapter on the *Dreyfus Affair.

[Catherine Silverman]

In 1972 Tuchman was the recipient of the Pulitzer Prize for the second time for her book *Stilwell and the American Experience in China, 1911–1945,* and her book *A Distant Mirror: The Calamitous 14th Century* (1978) was an outstanding best-seller. These were followed by *The March of Folly: From Troy to Vietnam* (1984) and *The First Salute: A View of the American Revolution* (1988).

In May 1978 she was awarded a gold medal for history by the American Academy and Institute of Arts and Letters and in February 1979 was elected its president, the first woman to hold this position. In April 1980 she delivered the Thomas Jefferson lecture, the highest award of the American government for intellectual achievement outside of science; her subject was "Mankind's Better Moments."

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TUCHOLSKY, KURT (1890–1935), German satirist and journalist. Born in Berlin, Tucholsky was conscripted immediately after his graduation from law school in 1915. He spent most of World War I at the front and his experiences made him an ardent pacifist and socialist. In 1912 he had published *Rheinsberg*, a remarkably mature novella (which had its 100th edition in 1932). From 1913 he was encouraged by Siegfried *Jacobsohn to write for his periodical *Die Schaubuehne* (later called the *Weltbuehne*), one of the most aggressive and effective magazines of its time. His articles appeared under various pseudonyms (e.g., Peter Panter and Theobald Tiger), often side by side. He also wrote for many other newspapers and periodicals, publishing essays, stories, poems, and cabaret songs. Disillusioned with the Weimar Republic, Tucholsky moved to Paris in 1924, and worked as a foreign correspondent for the *Weltbuehne* and other publications. For six months after the death of Siegfried Jacobsohn he was the interim editor of *Weltbuehne* (1926–27). Tucholsky traveled throughout Europe and in 1929 settled in Sweden. Although he was drawn toward Communism, its excesses repelled him and the triumph of Nazism made him despair of Germany's future. He finally committed suicide in Hindas, Sweden. Tucholsky is considered one of the greatest German-Jewish satirists after *Heine, with whom in his apostasy and his ability to be witty and subtle in the German language he has often been compared. He was a man of the left, an ardent European, and an antinationalist. Tucholsky's satire was aimed at militarism, injustice, entrenched privilege, deep-rooted flaws in the German national character, stupidity, and greed.

His prose satire was collected in *Mit 5 PS* (1928), *Das Laecheln der Mona Lisa* (1929), and *Lerne lachen, ohne zu* *weinen* (1931). An early volume of cheeky poems, *Fromme Gesaenge* (1920), was followed by light satirical verse, often using the Berlin dialect in which Tucholsky excelled. Other works include *Ein Pyrenaeenbuch* (1927); the controversial *Deutschland, Deutschland ueber alles* (1929), a volume of photos and photomontages containing his prose and poetry, which mercilessly pilloried the Germany of the Weimar Republic; and *Schloss Gripsholm* (1931). Having abandoned Judaism in 1911, Tucholsky presented in the figure of Herr Wendriner an assimilated, opportunistic, spiritually empty German Jew. After World War II his works were frequently reprinted in both East and West Germany. Two which appeared posthumously were *Politische Briefe* (1969) and *Briefe an eine Katholikin* (1970).

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[Harry Zohn]

TUCK, RAPHAEL (1821–1900), British art and greeting card publisher. Born to a Jewish family in Germany, Tuck probably came to England at the time of the 1848 revolution, settling in London. He became a noted art publisher and, ironically in view of his religion, one of the earliest and most successful publishers of Christmas cards (which date from 1843). In 1880 he held a competition to design the best-looking card and did much to make them popular. Tuck employed a variety of famous artists to design his cards, including Sir Edward Poynter, and once paid Alfred Tennyson £1000 to write some verse for a card. His son SIR ADOLPH TUCK, FIRST BARONET (1854–1926) is often credited with introducing the picture postcard into England with a card showing Mount Snowdon in Wales and designed to be sold to tourists visiting the spot. He also introduced the first full-color postcards of fine art works, a set of Turner paintings, in 1898–99. Tuck, who received a baronetcy in 1910, served as treasurer of Jews' College, London, and was a member of the committee, founded in December 1917 and headed by Lord Rothschild, to further the policies of the *Balfour Declaration.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: ODNB online.

[William D. Rubinstein (2nd ed.)]

TUCKER, RICHARD (1914–1975), singer and **ḥazzan*. Born in New York, Tucker sang in a synagogue choir and studied singing under Paul Althouse. From 1939 to 1944 he was *ḥazzan* at Temple Adath Israel, Brooklyn, and also appeared in concerts and on radio. In 1944 he was engaged by the Metropolitan Opera, but continued officiating as *ḥazzan* at the Brooklyn Jewish Center until 1947. At the Metropolitan he became one of the leading lyric tenors, specializing in French and Italian operas. Tucker was distinguished for the volume and quality of his voice, and sang in the world's leading opera houses. Throughout his career Tucker continued to perform occasionally as *ḥazzan* or in cantorial recitals, and also made several cantorial recordings.

TUCKER, SOPHIE (née **Kalish**; 1884–1966), vaudeville artiste. Tucker was taken as a baby from Russia to the United States. As a child in Hartford, Connecticut, she worked in her parents' kosher restaurant and rooming house, which catered to many show business professionals and stars of the Yiddish theater. She got her start in the profession by singing her heart out to the celebrated customers. Going to New York in 1906, she played the lesser vaudeville circuits, but by 1915 she was topping the bill at the Palace Theater. She toured frequently and presented her act in English and in Yiddish. Known as the "Last of the Red-Hot Mamas," she was described as "big, brassy, flamboyant, laughing and crying, if need be, so that audiences were swept up in an irresistible torrent of lush sentiment." Among her best-known songs were "A Good Man Is Hard to Find," "M-O-T-H-E-R," and "I'm the Last of the Red-Hot Mamas." The audience favorite in the U.S. and Europe was "My Yiddishe Momma," written in 1925 by Jack Yellen. After Hitler came to power in Germany, it was decreed that her recordings of that song were to be destroyed, and it was forbidden to sell them. Tucker's signature song was "Some of These Days," written in 1910 by Shelton Brooks, to which she purchased the excusive rights to sing.

Tucker appeared on Broadway in *Lulu's Husbands* (1910); *Earl Carroll's Vanities* (1924); *Leave It to Me* (1938); and *High Kickers* (1941). She also appeared in several films, among them *Honky Tonk* (1929); *Broadway Melody of 1938* (1937); *Thoroughbreds Don't Cry* (1937); *The Heart of Show Business* (1937); and *Follow the Boys* (1944). In the 1950s and 1960s she was a frequent guest singer on Ed Sullivan's TV variety show *Toast of the Town*.

The Sophie Tucker Foundation, which she established in 1945, distributed millions of dollars to various charities. In 1955 she endowed a theater arts chair at Brandeis University. She also set up two youth centers in Israel bearing her name – the Sophie Tucker Youth Center in Bet Shemesh and a youth center in kibbutz Be'eri in the Negev. In 1962 she sponsored the Sophie Tucker Forest near the Bet Shemesh amphitheater as well as funding many hospitals and homes for the aged.

Her autobiography, *Some of These Days*, appeared in 1945. The 1963 Broadway musical *Sophie*, written by Phillip Pruneau with music by Steve Allen, was based on the early years of Tucker's career.

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[Lee Healey / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

TUCSON, city located in the S.E. part of Arizona. The 2005 Jewish population is estimated at somewhere around 25,000 (exclusive of about 3,000 university students and untold numbers of winter visitors). Although the general population, numbering about 750,000 in Pima County (Tucson is the county seat), keeps growing, the Jewish population fluctuates too much to make any kind of definitive statement. Of the Jews present in the city in 1994, 38% no longer reside there, while 24% of the Jews living in Tucson in 2005 did not reside there in 1994. In this sense, Tucson is a typical southwestern town where roots do not go back more than a generation or two because so much growth has occurred since the end of World War II.

Tucson was part of the Gadsden Purchase when a small area of land in southern Arizona and New Mexico was acquired from Mexico in 1854. At first there were relatively few people, Jews and gentiles, in the community, but some Jews came because of merchandising opportunities. Some opened general stores, others acquired Indian trading licenses, and some also served as contractors for the U.S. Army. The settlement in the 19th century consisted mostly of young men out to seek their fortunes. Marriages were made with Mexicans and/or Indians, or else with German or eastern Jewish women who some of the men went back to marry. The total Jewish population of Arizona in the 1880s was estimated at about 50 people, so the numbers in Tucson must have been fewer. A number of men from the city's pioneer Jewish families, the Drachmans, Franklins, Jacobs, Ferrins, Zeckendorfs, Steinfelds, and Mansfields, could be found in elected political positions: on the school board, on the county Board of Supervisors, and even as mayor. One Jew who represented Tucson in the territorial legislature, Selim Franklin, won the University of Arizona for his community in 1885 although at the time it was considered the "booby" prize. Prescott kept the state capitol, Phoenix was awarded the state insane asylum, and Yuma remained home to the state prison.

Almost none of the descendants of the pioneer families are counted among the Jews of Tucson today. Many of the original Jewish settlers fled to other parts of the West or the nation in the late 1880s and 1890s when an economic depression hit the Arizona territory. Moreover, those Jews who had already made money left the community because of the unbearable heat, often over 100 degrees Fahrenheit, which could last sometimes from May through October.

In the early 20th century a number of Jews remained in Tucson as is evidenced by the presence of a Hebrew Ladies' Benevolent Society and the building in 1910 of the first Jewish temple in Arizona: Temple Emanu-el (Reform).

Until World War II, and even among some of the pioneers, the Jews who arrived in Tucson came because someone in the family needed the dry air for his/her health. The whole Jewish population of Arizona, for example, increased from 1,150 people in 1920, to 1,847 in 1937. How many of these Jews lived in Tucson is difficult to judge but in 1940 census takers estimated their number at 480. The one new establishment in Tucson in the 1930s occurred with the founding of a second Jewish synagogue, Conservative, at the beginning of the decade. In 1939 this congregation, Anshei Israel, acquired its first small building.

During World War II the population grew because the United States government established an air force base in Tucson. After the war many of those whose first experience of the southwest occurred during the conflagration returned as settlers because during most of the year the daytime climate ranged from 50 to 80 degrees F. with cool nights except during the summer monsoon season in July and August. The impact of the influx on the city's Jewish community was enormous. In 1948 Tucson counted about 4,000 Jews. Within the next few years Jews in Tucson had established an Orthodox synagogue, a Jewish Community Council, and a wealth of organizations to provide a variety of social services to Jews in the city.

Growth spurts in Tucson occurred in the 1950s and thereafter. Air conditioning came into vogue in that decade which made the city a more tolerable place to live. The 1960s witnessed a depression in the city. At the end of the decade, however, the continued growth of the University of Arizona and the establishment of its medical college spawned a huge mushrooming of the population, Jewish as well as gentile. Whereas in 1970 the city had about 250,000 people and 6,000 or so Jews, today, as mentioned, there are 750,000 people, about 3–4% of whom are Jewish.

In the early 21st century Tucson and the Jews within the community were thriving. Most Jews who work were in professional occupations while a sizeable number were involved with real estate development. There was a host of cultural activities, both Jewish and in the greater community, a strong Jewish Federation with social welfare and social service groups that provide for the needs of every age group, and some indication that young Jewish adults, who in previous decades had to seek employment opportunities elsewhere, were remaining in the city and working in the community.

A community survey taken in 2002 revealed that fewer than half of all Tucson Jews participate in Jewish activities. The community was the second from the bottom among comparably sized Jewish communities whose Jewish respondents have attended synagogues only on special occasions; it had the highest percentage of Jewish single-family households under the age of 65; Tucson was fourth from the bottom in making donations to Jewish charities and fourth from the top (46%) in young adults marrying non-Jews. Forty-two percent of Jewish children under the age of 17 were being raised in households where one of the parents is not Jewish.

On the other hand, Tucson also had the lowest perception of antisemitism in its midst of any Jewish community in the United States. Jews did not find any kind of discrimination in the areas that were of concern in previous decades: housing, employment, areas of recreation. In the 1980s four of the seven members of the State Board of Regents were Jewish (these are gubernatorial appointees), and in the 1990s the chief justice of the Arizona Supreme Court was also Jewish. The year's major societal charity event in Tucson, the Angel Ball, is totally non-discriminatory.

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[Leonard Dinnerstein (2nd ed.)]

TUDELA, city on R. Ebro, in Navarre, N. *Spain. Tudela was the most important Jewish community in the medieval kingdom of Navarre that remained independent until 1512. No information is available on the beginnings of the Jewish settlement in Tudela, which however appears to have been the most ancient of the communities of Navarre. In the period of Muslim rule Jews engaged in agriculture and international commerce, and owned and rented land in the area. Tudela was the birthplace of *Judah Halevi (at the latest in 1075), Abraham *Ibn Ezra (1092), and Shem Tov ibn *Falaquera. In this period there were around 1,000 Jews in Tudela. The Jews of Tudela dominated the life of Navarrese Jewry, both under Muslims and Christians.

With the end of Muslim rule (1115), Tudela passed to *Alfonso I (*el Batallador*), king of Aragon. Two treaties of the conquest period concluded by the king with the local Muslims and Jews have been preserved. With the Muslims, it was agreed that all those who desired to remain in Tudela once it passed under Christian dominion would leave their quarter, including their mosques, within one year and settle in the suburbs of the town. They were promised religious and national autonomy and were prohibited from bringing Muslim captives into the town in order to sell them to Jews; in the same treaty, Jews were forbidden to purchase Muslim prisoners of war. Jews who molested Muslims by word or deed would be prosecuted, and no Jewish officials were to be appointed with rights of jurisdiction over the Muslims or their property. However, the local Jews were granted several rights: Jews who had fled from the town during the siege or at the time of the conquest were authorized to return (there appears to have been some tension between them and the Muslims), their rights over their houses and property were guaranteed, and the Jews were required to pay to the Christian governor the taxes which they had formerly paid under Muslim rule. In the judicial sphere, the charters which had been granted to the Jews of *Nájera were also applied to those in Tudela, undoubtedly at their request. Comparison of the two treaties indicates that the Jews were more favored than the Muslims, especially as they were not required to leave their quarter within a year. According to F. Cantera, this quarter was situated within proximity of the cathedral, while in the opinion of L. Torres-Balbás, it lay in the southeastern part of the town (see bibliography). Jews owned a large number of estates, gardens, and vineyards in the district known as Mosquera, near Tudela. Occupations of the Jews in Tudela included *slave trading (already practiced under Muslim rule) in addition to spinning, trade in wool, the production of textiles, and various crafts, including gold- and silversmithing.

It was at the height of this period of prosperity, in the 1160s, that the traveler *Benjamin of Tudela left his city for the countries of the Orient and the Mediterranean basin. His account of the towns he visited included mostly information about the local Jewish community and the economy of the towns. He was most probably a merchant with a great interest in the Jewish world. His book, written in Hebrew, often provides the only information available on the Jews of the time. In 1170 Sancho VI "the Wise" granted the Jews of Tudela a privilege which did much to regularize community life. It permitted Jewish houses in the Jewish quarter, which was now established in the fortress, to be sold and transferred to any buyer, ratified the charters of Nájera, and granted a tax exemption on condition that the Jews of Tudela assumed responsibility for maintaining the fortress of Tudela (with the exception of the tower). A site was allocated to them for a cemetery. A year later Sancho granted the Jews of Tudela the charters applying in Funes and alleviated the severity of the Jewish *oath. The privilege of 1170 secured a place of residence for the Jews in the fortress of Tudela where they could protect themselves against rioters and attackers. Thus there were two Jewish quarters in Tudela. The first, the Vieja (the Old), existed during the Muslim period and continued to exist during the first 50 years of the Christian conquest. This quarter was in the southeastern part of the city, within the walls, in the area stretching from the Cathedral as far as the Queiles River, today El Muro street. The second quarter was established in the fortress in 1170. This new quarter, the Nueva, occupied part of Paseo del Castillo and San Miguel street. In the new quarter there were the following synagogues: the Sinagoga Mayor, the Sinagoga Menor, and the Bet Midrash of Bene Orabuena. We have no information about the locality of these synagogues or of other communal institutions of whose existence we know.

When Navarre passed to the house of Champagne in 1234, French rulers introduced their modes of behavior into the new possessions, while economic and religious rivalry between the Jews and the Christian townsmen also increased. The tax registers show the heavy burden of taxation imposed on the Tudela community. It was affected by the revolt of the townsmen against King Theobald I in 1235. R. Shem Tov *Falaquera, of a distinguished family of Tudela, still complained in 1264 of the situation in his *Ha-Mevakkesh*. Many Jews lost their fortunes, while the debts which were owed to Jews by the peasants could not be collected. The community administration was concentrated in the hands of several prominent families.

14th and 15th Centuries

The community regulations of 1305 show that the administration was modeled on the institutions of the municipal administration. The "Institution of the Twenty" was comparable to the institution of the 20 town notables found in the towns of Aragon by the beginning of the 12th century, and the 20 *jurados* who administered the town at the beginning of the 13th century; there were also the "Institution of the Eleven," by which several of the community's regulations were established, and the *muqaddimūn*. Every regulation required the signatures of eight of the community's notables. Three of the community's leaders, Joseph b. Shem Tov Falaquera, Samuel b. Joseph Abbasi, and Ḥayyim b. Shem Tov Menir, were to be the decisive authority in matters connected with denunciations by *informers.

Like many of the communities of Aragon and Navarre, Tudela became a haven for the refugees from French territory after the expulsion of 1306. However, difficult times followed. In 1319 several *Conversos who had returned to Judaism were burned at the stake in Tudela. A year later the community was only spared a massacre by the *Pastoureaux (Shepherds) through the latter's defeat near the capital of *Pamplona. The community again suffered from the riots of 1328, and was not spared in the economic decline of the 14th century. Like the other communities of Spain, the Tudela community also appears to have suffered in the 1360s at the hands of the foreign armies which invaded Spain and Castile during the civil war between the brothers Pedro the Cruel and Henry of Trastamara.

During the 14th century Tudela had several outstanding personalities. In 1322 the infante Alfonso of Aragon conducted negotiations with Ishmael b. Joseph ibn Abbas (the same as Ishmael de Abelitas) concerning his settlement in Aragon. The members of this family were prominent merchants who controlled a large part of the trade of that period. R. Joseph *Orabuena, who acted as physician and confidant to Charles III of Navarre, and accompanied him on several journeys to France, presided over the community of Tudela after 1391. R. Shem Tov b. Isaac *Shaprut, a philosopher and a rabbinic authority, who was involved in a disputation with Cardinal Pedro de Luna (later Pope Benedict XIII) in Pamplona in 1375, was also a native of Tudela. There were also some Converso artists in Tudela, including Juan de Levi, whose paintings are to be found in the local church.

Hebrew sources found in the archives in Pamplona and Tudela show the extensive economic activities of the Jews of Tudela. These sources were mostly written in Hebrew, sometimes in Judeo-Navarrese, that is, in Navarrese dialect but in Hebrew characters. Some of these sources also provide information about the organization of the community.

In 1391 there were 90 houseowners in Tudela who paid taxes, but these represented only a remnant of the community's former population at the height of its prosperity, although Tudela was not itself affected by the 1391 persecutions. Subsequently the community continued to decline.

The phenomena characterizing the communities of Spain in the 15th century were also evident in the Tudela community, and a number of its members abandoned Judaism. The community was also depleted by a plague which struck the town during the 1430s. A Cortes convened in Tafalla in 1482 prohibited the Jews of Navarre from going out of their quarters on Christian festivals; they were forbidden to walk in the streets among the Christians who were celebrating until the conclusion of the prayer service. Only physicians and surgeons were authorized to visit the sick. After the assassination of the inquisitor Pedro de *Arbués in Saragossa the town of Tudela refused to deliver several Converso fugitives to the *Inquisition.

At the time of the expulsion of the Jews from Spain in 1492, about 2,000 refugees crossed the border of the kingdom of Navarre. Like the other communities in Navarre, the Tudela community ceased to exist after the expulsion of the Jews from this kingdom in 1498. Although the Spanish border was closed, a number of Jews moved to Provence. Tudela was included within the jurisdiction of the Inquisition tribunal of the kingdom of Navarre which was set up in 1512, whose seat was at first in Pamplona and subsequently in Estella. The tribunal established itself in Tudela in 1515 and was later incorporated within the tribunal which had its seat in Logroño. In 1521 the Conversos in Navarre rose in support of the French armies then invading the kingdom. When the invasion had been repelled, the Inquisition turned its attention to the Conversos, many of whom fled from Tudela and the other towns in Navarre. A list of those condemned in Tudela by the Inquisition, known as La Manta, still hung in the cathedral at the close of the 18th century.

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[Haim Beinart / Yom Tov Assis (2nd ed.)]

TUEBINGEN, city in S. Germany. The first mention of Jews in Tuebingen concerns a short-term guarantee in 1335 by the counts of Tuebingen, who sold the city to *Wuerttemberg in 1342, to their "burghers: clerics, laymen, Jews or Christians." The Judengasse was south of the town's bridge and is fortuitously mentioned only in 1398, but it dates probably from a much earlier period. A 1458 source, of which only a résumé is extant, speaks of the privileges of the Tuebingen Jews. In 1459 they were accused of charging higher interest than specified therein. The two major creditors, Kaufman and his wife Bela, were imprisoned by 14-year-old Count Eberhard V of Wuerttemberg, but they were released by his guardian Count Ulrich v of Wuerttemberg, who ordered a three-year debt moratorium and interest annulment. In 1460 he helped them to move, under favorable terms, to the Black Forest town of Wildberg, and two other Jewish families followed them to this town. By 1471 five Jewish families remained in Tuebingen. The founding of the university at Tuebingen in 1477 occasioned the expulsion of the Jews from the city and a ban against doing any business there.

In 1815 the first Jewish student, Samuel Harum Mayer, was admitted to the university by special permission of the Wuerttemberg king; Jewish students were admitted generally from 1821. In the nearby village of Wankenheim, a Jewish community of peddlers and *livestock merchants started in 1775; a synagogue was built there in 1833, and a cemetery was acquired in 1845. By 1852 the Wankenheim Jews began moving to Tuebingen, a process nearly completed in 1882 when a synagogue was consecrated in the city; like the cemetery, it was used by Jews of Reutlingen and several other towns and villages. Seventy-five Jews lived in Tuebingen in 1875; 139 in 1910 (0.73 percent of the total population); and 90 in June 1933. The attorney Simon Hayum had a municipal position prior to 1933. With the rising of Nazism, a general boycott of Jewish establishments was initiated, and Jewish students had to leave the university. (The law office of Simon Hayum was maintained until November 1938.) Twenty Jews moved elsewhere after 1933, and 50 emigrated between 1933 and 1940. The synagogue was burned in November 1938, and the community was dissolved in 1939. Fourteen Jews were deported to the east in 1941–43.

[Toni Oelsner]

Contemporary Period

In 1968, eight Jews lived in Tuebingen. They were affiliated with the community in *Stuttgart. The university's theological faculty had an *Institutum Judaicum that conducted seminars and lectures, and published Judaistic works. The philosopher Ernst *Bloch taught from 1956 at Tuebingen University. In 1978/79 a memorial was inaugurated to commemorate the destroyed synagogue and the former Jewish community. In 2000 a new memorial was consecrated. About 1% of the members of the Jewish community of Wuerttemberg (2,881 members in 2004) live in Tuebingen.

[Toni Oelsner / Larissa Daemmig (2nd ed.)]

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TUGAL, PIERRE (1895–1964), French writer, born in Russia. In 1931 he was co-founder (with Rolf de Maré) and curator of the Paris Archives Internationales de la Danse until its dissolution in 1952. In 1935 Tugal was a founder of L'Association de la Presse Chorégraphique. Delegate to UNESCO, doctor of law, with a diploma in social and political sciences, Tugal devoted himself to literary and art research, specializing in the theater and dance. He engaged in research on the use of dance in rehabilitation of the handicapped and the mentally ill. He was the author of many articles and several books on dance, including *Initiation à la Danse* (1947), *Petite histoire de l'art et des artistes* (1952), *La Danse Classique sans Maître* (with Lucien Legrand, 1956); and a work on Noverre, an 18th-century French ballet master (1959).

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[Naama Ramot (2nd ed.)]

TUGENDHOLD, JACOB (1794–1871), author and an early adherent of the Galician *Haskalah. He was born near Cracow, Poland and graduated from the University of Breslau. In 1819 he founded a model school in Warsaw, which aroused the antagonism of the Orthodox teachers, and a year later was appointed governmental vice censor of Hebrew books. He served as head of the governmental rabbinical seminary in Warsaw during its last years (1856–63). An author of many Polish books and pamphlets aimed at improving the lives of the Polish Jews, he also defended Judaism from hostile attacks.

Among his books are *Jerobaał* (Pol. 1831), and the leaflet *Koshet Imrei Emet ve-Shalom* (1844), on the attitude of Judaism toward people of other faiths. Tugendhold also wrote a Polish-Hebrew catechism titled *Ben-Yakkir* (1834) and translated into Polish *Beḥinat Olam* (1846) by *Jedaiah ha-Penini, *Vindiciae Judaeorum* (1831) by *Manasseh Ben Israel, in defense of the Jews against the blood libel, M. *Mendelssohn's *Phaedon* (1842), and other books.

[Yehuda Slutsky]

His younger brother WOLF TUGENDHOLD (1796–1864), born in Vilna, was an educator and author. In 1827 he was appointed government censor of Hebrew books at Vilna, using his office with particular severity against ḥasidic writings. His relations with the Vilna circle of *maskilim* were tenuous, as he advocated a germanizing Haskalah and had little interest in Hebrew culture. He also taught history at the rabbinical seminary in Vilna. His published works include *Der Denunziant* (1833; Heb. tr. by M.M. Bendetsohn, *Hamoser…*, 1847), a story of Jewish life in Poland; and *Der Mensch im Ebenbild Gottes* (1830).

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°**TUKA, VOJTECH** (1880–1946), prime minister of Slovakia during World War II and one of those responsible for the deportations of Slovak Jewry. A professor of law at Pecs and later at Bratislava University, Tuka became secretary of the separatist Slovak People's Party and editor of its publication *Slovak* after World War I. He adopted a strong anti-Czech line, collaborated with the Hungarian Irredenta movement, and in 1923 established the fascist Rodobrana ("Homeguard"). In 1929 he was found guilty of high treason by a Czechoslovak court. In the pre-Munich days Tuka renewed his activity in the pro-German radical wing of the People's Party led by Hlinka. He became the ideologist of "independent" Slovakia, its prime minister (1939–44) and foreign minister (from 1940). Tuka acted as the moving spirit behind the persecution of the Jews, negotiating with the Germans for the deportations of Slovak Jewry and collaborating fully with Hitler and his officials in the "Final Solution." He opposed intervening against the expulsion of the Slovak Jews. He was condemned to death by the National Tribunal of Bratislava but died before the sentence could be carried out.

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[Livia Rothkirchen]

TUKUMS (Ger. **Tuckum**), city in Zemgale province, Latvia. In 1800 Tukums had a Jewish population of 272, of whom 17 were merchants. Records from the following year show that the Jewish community had a rabbi, a *ḥevra kaddisha*, a community council, and a minute-book (**pinkas*). In the late 1897 census Tukums showed a Jewish population of 2,561 (34% of the total population). After World War I there were 597 Jews in Tukums (13.4%) in 1920; 968 (12.6%) in 1930; and 953 (11.7%) in 1935. Most of the Jews were shopkeepers and artisans. Members of the Lichtenstein family served for several generations as rabbis in Tukums. In the summer of 1941 Tukums was occupied by the Germans. The Jews of the town, with those of surrounding smaller communities, were then all driven into the local synagogue and burned. Early in 1961 the synagogue of Tukums was closed by the authorities after pressure to resign had been brought to bear on its board. The Torah scrolls, religious articles, and hundreds of books were removed to the Riga synagogue.

In the late 1960s the Jewish population of Tukums was estimated at about 750, but it dwindled as a result of emigration and Soviet repression.

[Joseph Gar]

TULCHIN, city in Vinnitsa district, Ukraine. A Jewish community is first mentioned in 1648 when Tulchin was conquered by the Cossack forces of *Chmielnicki, who massacred the Jews of the town and those of the surroundings who had sought refuge in the fortress of Tulchin, as well as the Poles who were there at the time. According to two varying, widely circulated accounts the Poles betrayed the Jews to the Cossacks after fighting them together, but were in turn massacred by their common enemy in Tulchin. The massacre of Tulchin was the subject of a play written by the Jewish-Russian author N. *Minski under the title *Osada Tulchina* ("The Siege of Tulchin," in the monthly *Voskhod*, 1889). Shalom *Asch in his tale *Kiddush ha-Shem* (Eng., 1926) and A.S. *Friedberg in part III of his *Zikhronot le-Veit David* also wrote on the massacre of Tulchin. After the rebellion the Jewish settlement of Tulchin was renewed, but in 1743 and 1768 the community was again attacked by the *Haidamacks. In 1765 there were 452 Jews in Tulchin. At the end of the 18th century the *ẓaddik* R. Baruch, the grandson of *Israel b. Eliezer Ba'al Shem Tov, lived in Tulchin. The number of Jews in Tulchin increased during the 19th century, and with 10,055 Jews in 1897 formed 62% of the total population. During the civil war in the Ukraine at the end of World War I the Jews of Tulchin were attacked several times; the most severe pogroms took place on July 1, 1919, when about 170 Jews were massacred. In 1926 there were 7,708 Jews in Tulchin (44.3% of the total population). After the German occupation of the Ukraine in World War II, Tulchin was incorporated into the region of *Transnistria, which had been handed over to Romania. During the autumn of 1941 the 3,000 Jews who remained in Tulchin were transferred to the camp of Peczara. In 1959 there were about 2,500 Jews in Tulchin (21% of the total population). The last synagogue was closed by the authorities in 1959.

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[Yehuda Slutsky]

ṬŪL KARM, Arab town in Ereẓ Israel 9 mi. (15 km.) E. of Netanyah. According to archaeological evidence, the place was inhabited in the Roman period. The Arabic name is derived from the Aramaic Tur Karma (טור כַּרְמָא) so-called by its *Samaritan inhabitants who constituted the majority of its population in the Middle Ages. Over the last few centuries, Ṭūl Karm was a small place, but expanded in the 20th century when through traffic increased, particularly with the building of a highway along the eastern rim of the Sharon and the construction of the Haifa-Lydda railway line. The planting of citrus groves and progress in other local farm branches also favorably affected its growth. Ṭūl Karm's development slackened somewhat in the 1930s when a main highway was completed further west, between Petaḥ Tikvah and Ḥaderah. In the armistice agreement with Jordan (1949), Ṭūl Karm was in Jordanian territory and the border was so drawn that it was separated from the railway and from certain landholdings. Nevertheless, the town resumed its growth as farming and administrative services provided new employment opportunities. A farm school was established in the 1920s through a contribution by Sir Elly *Kadoorie. Ṭūl Karm was taken by

Israeli forces in the *Six-Day War (June 7, 1967). According to the census of the fall of 1967, the town had 10,157 inhabitants, all of whom were Muslim Arabs, except for 103 Christians. Of the total, 5,020 lived in a refugee camp. The town's economy continued to be based mainly on intensive farming. In the wake of the Oslo II Agreement of September 1995, Ṭūl Karm was transferred to the jurisdiction of the *Palestinian Authority. In 1997 its population was 33,921, of whom 31.4% were refugees.

[Efraim Orni]

TUMARKIN, IGAEL (1933–), sculptor and painter. Tumarkin was born in Dresden, Germany, the son of Berta Gurevitch and Martin Hellberg, a German theater actor and director. His mother and his stepfather, Herzl Tumarkin, raised Tumarkin in Israel from the age of two. In 1955–57, after his service in the navy, Tumarkin traveled to Europe. In East Berlin he met his father and worked as a set designer for Bertolt Brecht's Berliner Ensemble. The sculptors Rudy Lehman and Itzhak *Danziger influenced his turn to the medium of sculpture, and his first iron sculptures appeared in the summer of 1956.

The landscape of the desert also inspired him. Tumarkin created reliefs made from sand using a unique spraying method. Through the 1960s Tumarkin turned to assemblage techniques and his sculptures were created from the junk of Israeli ships, weapons, and machines. Over time the weapons became integrated into figurative sculptures of males and females made from casts taken from show window mannequins (*He Walked in the Fields*, 1967, Tel Aviv Museum of Art).

Tumarkin's visits to New York in the mid-1970s influenced the composition of his sculptures. They became horizontal as counterpoints to the skyward orientation of modern architecture. The use of glass reflecting the environment was also based on the urban landscape. In 1974–75 he completed his monument dedicated to the Holocaust and renewal in Tel Aviv. With his interest in earth architecture he traveled to Egypt, Tunisia, Morocco, Senegal, and elsewhere. The works created under the inspiration of these trips were made of iron, earth, and fabric. The subject matter dealt with nature, religion, sacrifices, and the connection among them (*Bedouin Crucifixion*, 1982, Israel Museum, Jerusalem).

Iron became Tumarkin's main material, and from the 1990s he improved his technique, shaping the iron by himself at a temperature of 1200 degrees using heavy tools in a process that required the utmost concentration.

Tumarkin's sculptures were placed all over the world and he gained international recognition. In Israel he was one of the dominant figures in modern Israeli art. A feature of his art is its connection to the history of the country. Israeli ideals, wars, and the social situation were all part of his artistic content. The fact that his art involved controversial political statements created enormous objection to his being awarded the Israel Prize in 2004.

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[Ronit Steinberg (2nd ed.)]

TUMIN, MELVIN MARVIN (1919–1994), U.S. sociologist. Born in Newark, New Jersey, Tumin first taught at Wayne State University, Detroit, and from 1947 was professor of sociology and anthropology at Princeton. Tumin specialized in race and intercultural relations. His book *Desegregation: Resistance and Readiness* (1958), based on survey data from Guilford County, North Carolina, is a careful account of a white population's attitude toward the American black.

Among his other works are *Social Class and Social Change in Puerto Rico* (1961), *Education, Social Class and Intergroup Attitudes in England, France and Germany* (1964), *Social Stratification: The Forms and Functions of Inequity* (1967), *Patterns of Society* (1973), and *Caste in a Peasant Society* (1975). In all these investigations, Tumin emphasized the correlation between social structure and intergroup attitudes. He was a consultant on race and intergroup relations to the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, for which he wrote *An Inventory and an Appraisal of Research on American Anti-Semitism* (1961) and edited *Race and Intelligence: An Evaluation* (1963). Tumin also edited *The Research Annual on Intergroup Relations* of the A.D.L.

[Werner J. Cahnman]

TUNIS, TUNISIA, country in N. Africa between *Libya and *Algeria. After their conquest of the country, the Romans named it Provincia Africa, Africa Propria, or, more generally, Africa. Roman Africa included, in addition to the territories of present-day Tunisia, a large stretch of Algeria's territory to the west, which was called Numidia, and Libya's coast to the east.

Second Temple Period

As many scholars have often assumed, it is probable that Jews lived in Punic *Carthage; a Judeo-African legend has it that the Jews came to the island in the southeast (e.g., in the island of *Djerba (Jerba)) in King Solomon's time. Another legend relates that the kohanim, escaping from Jerusalem in the year 70 C.E., carried one of the Temple's doors to the island, and it is believed to be walled in the synagogue called *Ghriba* (the wondrous). However, there is no factual evidence positively stating that Jews lived in Punic Carthage or its territories. The "*Tarshish" of the Bible has nevertheless been identified with Carthage by the Septuagint and the Aramaic Targum of the prophets. On the other hand, for the Arab authors of the Middle Ages, Carthage – later confused with Tunis – has always been synonymous with "Tarshish." The Talmud echoes ancient traditions regarding the connection between, on the one hand, Punic Africa and Canaan's country and the Jewish world of Ereẓ Israel, on the other.

Under Roman rule the province of Africa included many Jewish communities whose existence has been proven by numerous texts and archaeological findings. From Cyrenaica to *Morocco a series of Jewish communities have left their landmarks in these countries. Their center was Africa Propria, whose living conditions were well known in ancient rabbinic literature. The most important of these communities was Latin Carthage which from the second to the fourth centuries C.E. was the home of such sages as R. Ḥinna, R. Ḥanan, R. Isaac, and R. Abba, who are mentioned in the Talmud. A great number of Jewish lamps and many epitaphs, mostly written in Latin and accompanied by the seven-branched *menorah*, which were discovered in the cemeteries of Carthage, Marsa, Byrsa, or Gamarth, bear witness to the existence of a large population of the Jewish faith in Carthage. The extension of the Jewish necropolis at Gamarth indicates the importance of the community against which, Tertullian, who knew it intimately, wrote a special treatise (c. 200–06). Later, St. Cyprian, St. Augustine, and many other Christian authors of Africa Propria wrote against their Jewish fellow countrymen and the numerous Judaizing sects of ancient Tunisia.

Jews and Judaizers were widely scattered throughout the entire country, especially at Naro on the Hammam-Lif beach where a magnificent synagogue stood, the ruins of which are well known; at Hippo-Diarrhytus (present-day Bizerta), whose governor at the time of the Arab conquest was, according to the historian al-Qayrawānī, a Jew; at Utica; at Simittu (present-day Chemtou); at Hadrumetum (present-day Sousse); and at Henchir-Gouana, west of the site where the present-day Kairouan was to be built. On the Libyan littoral, included in Africa Propria, there was a Jewish community at Oea (present-day Tripoli); at Leptis Magna (present-day Lebda); and at Locus Judeorum Augusti, also called Scina (Iscina), whose Jews were among those sent by the Romans as slaves from Ereẓ Israel to Africa after the war of 70. After they were set free, they settled in areas granted to them by the Romans. Inland, according to Ibn Khaldūn, the tribe of Nefusa practiced the Jewish faith before the Arab conquest. It is known that there were Jewish communities in Numidia – which also belonged to Carthage – at Hippo Regius (present-day Bone), at Cirta (Constantine), and at Henchir-Fouara, not far from Souk-Ahras, the center of nomadic Jews called Baḥusim under Arab rule. Concentrations of Jews were also found at Thusurus (the present-day Tozeur), as well as Jewish tribes who lived before the Arab rule in the mountains of Aurès.

Living and economic conditions of Jews in Africa seem to have been satisfactory during the Roman era and before Christianity's triumph. In Carthage especially, the luxury of the decorations of most of the hypogea in the Jewish cemeteries of Gamarth bear witness to the prosperity of the community and to the wealth of certain families. It seems that most of the island Jews were engaged in agriculture. In the harbors many Jews were involved in maritime trade: trade relations between Rome and North Africa were of exceptional importance owing to the transport of foodstuffs to Rome, and later on also to Constantinople. This trade – as much evidence indicates – was almost completely in the hands of African Jews who lived in Rome on Mount Colius, in a special district between the Coliseum and the Appian Way. Jews were entrusted with the transport of foodstuffs destined for Rome (*annona urbis*), which consisted mainly of cereals and olive oil; at that time Africa was the main producer in the Mediterranean; they were then called *navicularii*. One of the main tasks of these Jewish owners of big vessels was to engage in transport for state requirements, for which they received official honors in Africa Propria, as elsewhere. Jewish *navicularii* formed a separate corporate body. When the Roman Empire became Christian, the state took advantage of the Jewish ship owners and misused them so that their task became an overwhelming burden. Mass arrivals of Jews to Africa were mainly the aftermath of the disasters they were subject to in Ereẓ Israel, Egypt, and Cyrenaica from 70 to 118 C.E.

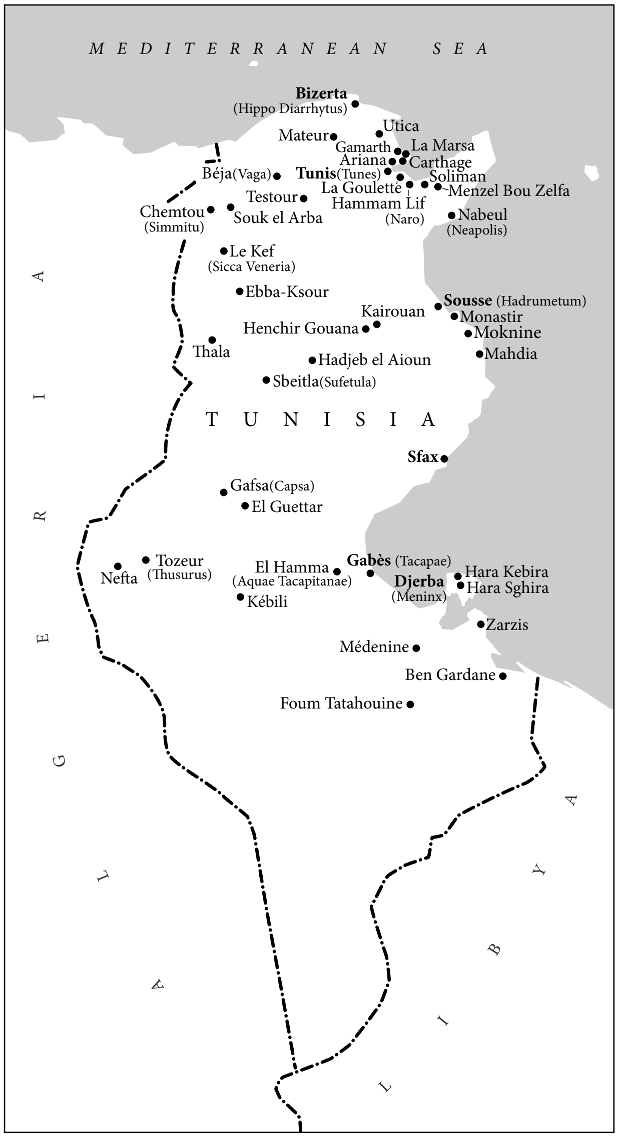
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
Bizerta
(Hippo Diarrhytus)
Utica
Mateur
Gamarth
La Marsa
Ariana
Carthage
Béja(Vaga)
Tunis(Tunes)
Soliman
La Goulette
Menzel Bou Zelfa
Testour
Hammam Lif
(Naro)
Chemtou
(Simmitu)
Souk el Arba
Nabeul
(Neapolis)
Le Kef
(Sicca Veneria)
Ebba-Ksour
Sousse (Hadrumetum)
Kairouan
Monastir
Henchir Gouana
Moknine
Thala
Hadjeb el Aioun
Mahdia
Sbeitla(Sufetula)
TUNISIA
Sfax
Gafsa(Capsa)
El Guettar
Tozeur
(Thusurus)
Nefta
El Hamma
(Aquae Tacapitanae)
Gabès (Tacapae)
Djerba
(Meninx)
Hara Kebira
Hara Sghira
Kébili
Zarzis
Médenine
Ben Gardane
Foum Tatahouine
ALGERIA
LIBYA

Jewish communities in Tunisia. Names in boldface indicate those still in existence in 1971.

Their number increased as a consequence of the intense proselytic propaganda to which they dedicated themselves, first among the descendants of the Punics, then among the Berbers. The situation of the Jews facing Christians changed considerably after the time of Constantine, when triumphant Christianity became persecutor in Africa as elsewhere. When the Vandals dominated Africa Propria, the Jews were better treated but little is known about their true condition during that era. There is more information about their condition during the Byzantine period. In pursuance of the edicts of 535, applied by *Justinian at the same time to the Christian heretics, Jews were excluded from all public office, their worship outlawed, all meetings prohibited, and their synagogues transformed into churches. By the emperor's order the Jews of Borion, on Cyrenaica's frontiers, were forcibly converted, but toward the end of the sixth century the Byzantine administration slowly let the strictness of its rules lapse.

The persecutions by Justinian contributed to the expansion of African Judaism. Tracked down and sometimes even expelled, many Jews took refuge with the Berbers of the mountains and of the desert where they doubtlessly met coreligionists who had already settled there. In those regions the newcomers again took up their propaganda. This is probably how the great Judaized Berber tribes of Africa Propria were established, especially the Jarrāwas of the Aurès Mountains and the Nafūsas of Libya. According to some scholars other Jews left Africa for *Sicily and southern Italy. After the Arab conquest this latent immigration – started under Justinian – took the form of mass flight for the Jews of the African coast.

Tunisia under Arab Rule (to the Advent of the Hafsid)

The Arab conquest of this part of the world began in 643 when they took *Tripoli, but it did not take on a permanent aspect until the foundation of *Kairouan in 670. The resistance of the Byzantines rapidly decreased as the Berbers withstood the conquerors stubbornly. The *Berber leader Kusayla was a Christian. After having gained control of Kairouan in 688, he was defeated and killed. *Kāhina, who according to certain sources was a Jewess and whose life is surrounded in legends, then reigned over the powerful Jarrāwa tribe in the Aurès. Ibn Khaldun asserts that the Jarrāwas were Jewish. After the death of Kusayla, Kāhina – followed by all the Berbers – directed the military operations. A new Arab chief, Ḥassān ibn Nuʿmān, received a mighty army from the caliph *Abd al-Malik. Ḥassān seized Carthage and its inhabitants, doubtless including a number of Jews, and sailed for the islands of the Mediterranean. Kāhina advanced with her Jarrāwas on the Arab army, which she overwhelmed near Tebessa and drove out of Ifrīqiya. The Berbers then lived in security for a few years; once Ḥassān ibn Nuʿmān had received reinforcements, he launched another offensive in 702. Moreover, the Arabs found allies among the Greek inhabitants of the towns as well as the Berber farmers, who were opposed to Kāhina because she had destroyed their crops in order to prevent them from falling into the hands of the invaders. The old queen fought a desperate battle against Ḥassān ibn Nuʿmān but her army was beaten and pursued into the Aurès Mountains. In the wake of a second battle Kāhina was killed and her head was sent to the caliph ʿAbd al-Malik as a trophy. With the death of this woman, who was called the "Berber Deborah," the period of heroic defense was brought to a close.

The Arabs then subordinated the whole of North Africa. The "people of the Book" (see *Ahl al-Kitāb) and the Christians were authorized to live under their domination upon the condition that they paid the **jizya* (an annual poll tax, sometimes called also in the Maghreb (as elsewhere) *jawāli*, the tax of the expellees; see **Galut*). Although the Berbers converted to *Islam, they were also compelled to pay these levies. The demands of the Arabs soon incited large-scale revolt. In Ifrīqiya an Arab governor, Ibrāhīm ibn al-Aghlab, established the dynasty of the *Aghlabids, which reigned from 800 to 909. There is evidence that from this period important groups of Jews were found particularly in the towns, where the revenue of their poll tax constituted an appreciable income for the state. They coexisted peacefully with the Muslim masses. Muslim scholars maintained friendly relations with Jewish scholars and important Muslim merchants and ship owners were content to trade with their Jewish colleagues. Under the Aghlabids, their successors the *Fatimids (Fātimids), and the Zīrids, until the invasions of Ifrīqiya by the Bedouin in the mid-11th century, an exceptional prosperity was enjoyed, which was followed by a period in which remarkable intellectual activity prevailed. The Jews played an important role in this progress. In Kairouan, the leading city of an immense empire, there were famous yeshivot which were headed by eminent scholars who for a long time maintained relations with the **geonim* of the academies of *Sura, *Pumbedita, and Palestine. Shortly after the city's foundation the *Umayyad caliph of Damascus had 1,000 families – which are thought to have been Jewish – transferred from *Egypt to Kairouan. It was there that Isaac Israeli, the most famous physician of his day, studied in about 900. He became the private physician of the last of the Aghlabids, Ziyādat-Allah III, and held the same position under the first of the Fatimid caliphs, the mahdī ʿUbaydallah. The most famous of Israeli's disciples was *Dunash ibn Tamīm, who, like his teacher, left a number of valuable works including a treatise on astronomy which refuted the principles of astrology, a commentary on the *Sefer Yeẓirah*, and a textbook on Hebrew grammar. Jewish scholars who possessed a wide, profound, and diversified knowledge – as was customary in the Middle Ages – flourished in Ifrīqiya. In addition to Kairouan they were to be found in such important communities as al-Mahdiya and Gabès. Outstanding among the talmudists in Tunisia were the scholars of the Ibn Shahūn family: R. Nissim, his son Jacob to whom R. Sherira and R. Hai addressed their famous *Iggeret* (responsum concerning the history of the Oral Tradition), and his grandson *Nissim, author of many talmudic treatises. Not less important was R. Ḥushi'el (one of the *Four Captives), and especially his son R. *Hananel. The leading family of scholars in Mahdiya was the

Ibn Sīghmār (or Zūghmār), four generations of which served as *dayyanim*. But according to Abraham ibn Daud (*Sefer ha-Kabbalah*, 77–8) after the demise of R. Hananel and R. Nissim, the talmudic learning came to an end in Ifriqīya. Ibn Daud did not hold in high esteem later scholars in Mahdiya and in Galʿat Hammad.

From the thousands of documents preserved in the Cairo **Genizah* and recently studied it is particularly evident that the class of Jewish-Tunisian businessmen (which was also – as was almost always the case in North Africa – the intellectual class) was a factor of considerable importance at this time not only in Tunisia but also throughout the Mediterranean countries. The importance of these other merchants, whether indigenous or from places in the Maghreb – but who often established themselves in Tunisia – lay in the decisive role they played in the trade with *India and their dominant position in the trade of the western Mediterranean. A large number of the leading and most active merchants in Egypt – in Fostat, *Alexandria, the large textile centers of Bushir and Tinnis, and the smaller localities where flax and indigo were grown – were Tunisian Jews who stayed in the country or had recently established themselves there; their families generally remained in Tunisia. Others lived in *Aden or even further away, as in India.

Jewish *Jerusalem of the 11th century was also inhabited by many Jews from the Maghreb. The majority of the Jews of *Sicily, which had been conquered by the Muslim natives of Tunisia from the ninth century, were Tunisians. Their extensive activity on the island – in *Palermo, *Messina, and later *Syracuse – was felt as far as in northern *Italy and *Spain to the west. The principal goods which the Jews exported from Tunisia were linen and cotton textiles of every category, which they themselves occasionally manufactured, especially in the large industrial center of Sousse. Silk cloth and valuable brocades were also exported. Their carpets, manufactured in Tunis, Sfax, or Gafsa, and the canopies of Gabès, well-known in the Middle Ages, were much sought after. They exported many metals: copper from *Morocco, Spanish tin, lead, and mercury. The reexport of Spanish and Sicilian silks was practiced on a large scale. The agricultural products exported by the Jews included primarily olive oil and its by-product soap, beeswax, almonds, saffron, and occasionally wheat. They sent salted tunny (fish) to Egypt. One of their main exports was raw or tanned hides; they also exported coral, which was found abundantly along the African coasts, and all kinds of ornaments which were made from them. Finally, books, written in Hebrew in Kairouan, were a very important item in the export trade to the west.

The Jews of Ifrīqiya imported spices of every kind, Oriental perfumes, indigo, walnut peel for its dyes and varnishes, sugar, medicinal drugs and plants, jewelry, precious stones, and pearls. The most important import, however, was Egyptian linen. All these goods were mainly transported by sea. The Jews of Tunisia were occasionally ship owners or partners in this trade. The ships, however, were generally owned by the government or members of the royal family, who maintained excellent relations with the Jews and entrusted them with the administration of their wealth. This enormous traffic was largely controlled by powerful Jewish families. These families, only about 20 in number, were large, wealthy, and influential. They organized into clans, contracted marriages among themselves, and were also related to the distinguished families of other countries. Rivalry existed to a degree among these clans; thus, members of the family Majjāni (originally from Majzāna) were the antagonists of the powerful Tāhertis (from Tāherē), who were related by marriage to the Berakhias – all leading clans of merchants who also produced eminent scholars and community leaders especially known from the responsa of the *geonim* of Iraq. On their part, the Majjānis considered the Ben Allans their implacable adversaries. Whether they were related by blood or by marriage, or were enemies, other important families dominated the Tunisian trade. These included the Ibn Sighmārs (Zūghmār) of Mahdiya, the Nahrāys, among whom there were also prominent scholars and others who lived in the same centers.

It can be said that in general the Jews of Tunisia enjoyed a life of ease. Yet, among the masses as well as among the aristocracy – even among a number of scholars – there was such an exaggerated passion for music that the *gaon* *Hai addressed his famous responsa against instrumental music to the communities of Gabès and Kairouan. The Tunisian Jews also manifested a misguided enthusiasm for perfumes and some extravagance in their dress. Great prosperity obviously prevailed, and in spite of their status of **dhimmī*, their condition was excellent. They did not suffer from persecutions until about 1057, when Kairouan was destroyed by hordes of Arabs, and about 1087, when they were among the victims of the Christians who came from Italy and attacked Mahdiya and other coastal towns. On these occasions the Jews suffered the same fate as their Muslim compatriots. The Arab invasion of the 11th century marked the end of the golden era of the Jews of Ifrīqiya.

In 698 Ḥassān ibn Nuʿmān chose Tunis, a small and ancient townlet, to replace the fallen capital of Carthage, but it never attained the importance of Kairouan. In time, after the invasion of the Bedouins, it succeeded together with Mahdiya in overshadowing Kairouan. On the other hand, the closed towns of the coast escaped the Arab peril only to fall into the hands of the Christians. Roger II the Norman, who had conquered Sicily, attacked the coast of Ifrīqiya (1118–27) and seized the island of *Djerba (1134), Gabès, Sfax, and Sousse (1148), as well as Mahdiya (1156), in all of which there were important Jewish communities. It does not, however, appear that the Jews of all these ports suffered extensively under Norman rule. Those of Tunis, who were governed by the small and tolerant Banu-Khorassan dynasty, continued to control the large maritime trade of Tunisia. In 1159 the *Almohads invaded Tunisia. When they conquered Tunis, they confronted both Jews and Christians with the alternative of conversion to Islam or death. Other communities, also, suffered heavily as a result of this conquest. Thus, according to ancient additions to the famous elegy of Abraham *Ibn Ezra, the communities of Mahdiya, Sousse, Gafsa, al-Hamma, Gabès, Djerba, and the town of Tripolitania shared the same fate. Many Jews converted, while others fled and dispersed throughout the country or chose to die as martyrs. In the wake of this catastrophe, the strength of Ifrīqiya Jewry was impaired for a long period, and its social organization, economic situation, and intellectual and religious conditions greatly declined. In a letter attributed to *Maimonides, who left North Africa in 1165, it is said that between Tunis and Egypt, including Djerba, the standard of the Jews was very low. If this letter is authentic, it at least proves the presence of Jews in Tunisia who were able to remain there from 1165 onward.

Hafsid (Ḥafṣid) Rule (1228–1534)

In 1228 the governor of Ifrīqiya, Abu Zakariya, severed relations with the Almohad caliph of *Marrakesh, and in 1236 proclaimed himself emir and chose Tunis as his capital. It appears that from then onward many Jews who had been forced to convert were able to return to Judaism; from that date they lived under relatively normal conditions together with those who had fled from the towns. At least the constant threat to their lives and property was lifted. The synagogues, which were closed under the Almohads, were reopened. Although the Jewish communities of Ifrīqiya did not in general enjoy their former prosperity, a class of important merchants, which appears to have survived the Almohad conquest, succeeded in reassuming its earlier position. They resumed their maritime trade immediately after the consolidation of Almohad rule – well before the advent of the Hafsids. There is a mention in Maimonides' responsa of a Jew from Egypt who traveled to Tunis in the course of his affairs. The reign of Abu Zakariya and his successors was propitious, and the Jews of Tunisia once more developed their trade. In 1227 a detainer was lodged against them in a commercial lawsuit by the podesta of Pisa. In 1239 the Jews of Djerba established a colony in Sicily. Frederick II granted them a concession to cultivate indigo, which had until then been imported from the Orient, as well as henna, which only Tunisia supplied to Italy. The royal palm plantation near Palermo was also given to them as a concession. In 1257 the Jews of *Barcelona, who maintained permanent relations with their coreligionists on the Barbary Coast, demanded diplomatic intervention in Tunis so as to render their trade with Ifrīqiya more profitable. The expenses of the mission were included in the taxes which were paid by the Jewish community. From that time excellent relations existed between the king of Aragon and the Hafsid sultan, who recommended to Pedro III a considerable number of his Jewish subjects wishing to settle in Majorca and Catalonia (see *Spain). The king then granted them privileges and favors. Other Jews of Ifrīqiya established themselves in the Aragon states, having been encouraged to do so by Pedro III, who granted safe conduct to Ḥayon b. ʿAmar, Isaac b. Bul-Faraj, Ismael Ḥazzān, and the astronomer Isaac *Nifoci (Nafusi) among others.

There was constant movement of Jews between the Barbary Coast and the Aragon states (see *Spain), and they became useful and even indispensable intermediaries. The monarchy of Aragon maintained excellent relations with the Jews of southeastern Ifrīqiya; moreover, the king of Aragon showed special concern for the Jews of the Barbary Coast and accorded them particularly advantageous facilities to establish themselves in the Aragon states. In 1285 the Hafsid sovereign sent a delegation to Pedro III requesting that he grant the concession of all the *funduqs* (marts) which belonged to him in Tunis to one of his Jewish subjects, Solomon b. Zahit – probably one of his favorites. For a period of two years Solomon b. Zahit was able to appropriate for himself one half of the income of these *funduqs*, through which the majority of the goods imported from Europe passed in transit. A Jew of Djerba was entrusted with the proposal and the payment of a ransom of 14,000 dinars for the liberation of the Muslim ruler of the island, which was occupied by the Catalonians from 1286 until about 1335. Djerba then became the center of the trade between Catalonia and Ifrīqiya and Jews played the leading role in it. In 1308, when James II of Majorca decided to wage war against Tunisia, the goods of his Jewish subjects in Tunisia were seized by the Hafsid *makhzan*. All trade with Tunisia was prohibited, but the Jews, who had tremendous interests in Ifrīqiya, disapproved of this measure. As a result the Jewish community of Majorca did not contribute to the equipping of the fleet which was sent against Tunisia. A short while later, when negotiations were opened in order to resume cordial relations with the Hafsid state, a prominent Jewish merchant, Maimon b. Nono, assisted James III of Majorca's ambassador in the negotiations which led to the peace treaty of July 1329. In Tunis the collector of custom duties, an important official, was often a Jew. In 1330 Joseph Assusi, who held this position and was zealous in upholding the interests of his sovereign, sought to impose additional taxes on the Catalonian Christians and his Jewish coreligionists.

Alongside of these influential businessmen the Jewish masses engaged in peddling. These petty tradesmen carried textiles, leather, spices, and other goods from one village or hamlet to another; others joined caravans which went deep into the desert. A number were exceedingly wealthy and a very important factor in the trans-Sahara trade of Tunisia. Though its volume and importance could not be compared to the scope of that of the kingdoms of Tlemcen and *Morocco, they nevertheless greatly enriched the Hafsid sovereigns and their subjects. The Jews of Ifrīqiya thus earned their livelihood almost exclusively from their economic activity, a situation which prevailed throughout the Hafsid period and also later. However, there were probably also a number of physicians, and aside from their religious officials the Jews also had a few representatives in other liberal professions. They hardly engaged in manual occupations, with the exception of those connected with precious metals, an ancient Jewish craft in North Africa.

The great anti-Jewish persecution which broke out in Spain in 1391 deeply affected North African Jewry. The Jewish emigration from Spain which followed this persecution was largely directed to the Barbary Coast. The eastern towns of Ifrīqiya, which form part of present-day Tunisia, received only a limited number of these emigrants. Their influx was felt to the greatest extent, in quality and quantity, in the territory of the kingdom of *Tlemcen. Many of the emigrants originated in the countries to which they now turned. In Tunisia, hostility which prevailed against the newcomers and their coreligionists who had left the country, was unknown. The influence of Jews of Catalonia and Majorca does not seem to have been as appreciable in Tunisia as in Algeria where more backward communities had benefited from their contact with the newcomers. Even so, Tunis, Sousse, and Bizerta, as well as the communities of the central Maghreb, often turned for orientation and leadership to Algiers, the center of such outstanding rabbis as R. *Isaac b. Sheshet Perfet and the *Duran family.

There were a number of rabbis and *dayyanim* in the communities of eastern Ifrīqiya. Although they were not as numerous, and especially not as influential, as those of the western part of the country – in Miliana, Bougie, Bône, or *Constantine – there were nevertheless some outstanding scholars among them, such as the *dayyan* of Tenes, Samuel Ḥakim, who was native born and had studied astronomy under the Spanish immigrant Abraham b. Nathan; the learned Isaac of Tunis; and the financier Ḥayyim Méllili, who was also from Tunis and corresponded with R. Simeon b. Ẓemaḥ *Duran. Occasionally however, such important towns as Tunis found themselves without a rabbi-*dayyan* and were compelled to seek them elsewhere. Although the Hafsids decreed that newcomers would not be taxed to the same extent as the native Jews, the number of immigrants does not appear to have increased. The local Jews always constituted a majority in Ifrīqiya. It seems that the interpreters and translators who maintained the contacts between the native Arab dynasty and the European authorities in the cities and ports were recruited from among Jewish immigrants. Such one seems to be Moses, who in 1267 was interpreter into Arabic for the Genoese merchants who had settled in Tunis. In 1421 a Jew, Abraham, was entrusted with the translation from Arabic into Italian of the peace treaty which had been concluded between *Florence and Tunis. In 1485 Abraham Fava drew up the Latin version of the Tunis-Genoa treaty.

European Jews were also raised to the rank of ambassador in the foreign relations of the Hafsids. In 1400 the physician *Bondavin was entrusted with a diplomatic mission to the king of Aragon; in 1409 Samuel and Eli Sala negotiated the peace treaty between Sicily and Tunis, which they signed themselves. The above examples of Jews who played an important role in the political life of Ifrīqiya were rare under the Hafsids. Even though Tunisia did not have eminent Jewish statesmen like those who flourished in Morocco during the same period, the community was at least spared bloody pogroms such as were perpetrated in *Fez at the beginning and the end of the Merenid dynasty (1269–1465).

The legal status of the Jews in the Hafsid State conformed to the legislation pertaining to the **dhimmi*, which tolerated and protected the "people of the Book" but at the same time looked upon them as inferior to Muslims. As in all Islamic countries, the Hafsids subjected the *dhimmi* to a number of restrictions: they imposed the payment of special taxes and, at the whim of the sovereign or his representatives, the obligation to wear distinctive garments or signs. As elsewhere, the *jizya* was the characteristic levy which was imposed on the *dhimmi*. Only rabbis who had achieved a degree of fame were exempted by the Hafsid government from its payment. The government also extorted arbitrary payments from the Jewish communities on fixed dates, or as exceptional measures. This category of imposition was known as *qānūn*. The community, in the person of its leaders, was responsible for its payment. The Jews of the Hafsid State were compelled as a matter of principle to distinguish themselves from the Muslims by the color of their clothes or the donning of a distinctive sign. The severity of the application of these laws varied widely. The decree of the Almohad al-Manṣūr which stipulated that the Jews were to wear a special costume and a distinctive sign called a *shikla* fell into disuse with time. In 1250 the Hafsid al-Mustanṣir reimposed this discriminatory measure. As late as 1470 the Jews of Tunis still wore special dress and displayed a piece of yellow cloth on their head or neck. At the same time, the Jews of the Hafsid State were not affected by any official impediment to their rights of ownership. They freely acquired and sold real estate everywhere, including houses which they erected, and thus were occasionally important landowners. They could also own non-Muslim slaves. The government authorities strictly protected the Jewish communities of Ifrīqiya, where anti-Jewish outbreaks of violence were unknown. In spite of the difference of religion and the feeling of contempt which was often expressed by the Muslim masses toward Jews, commercial relations were maintained on a permanent basis and both parties reaped benefits from them. Conflicts which arose were brought sometimes before the qadis. Occasionally, the qadi himself referred complicated cases to the *dayyanim* of Algiers. In fact, the rabbis of Algiers often campaigned against the exaggerated tendency of the Jews of Tunisia to resort to the tribunal of the qadi.

According to legend the Jews lived in the center of Tunis from the tenth century onward, when the Muslim mystic Sidi Mahrez founded the *Ḥāra* (*Ḥārat al-Yahūd*, i.e., the Jewish quarter of the town). In the Middle Ages the Jews concentrated themselves in a quarter of the town around one or several synagogues. On other occasions, they preferred to live in groups among the Muslim population. Foreign Jewish merchants used to live in a special *funduq* in Tunis.

The Jewish communities were granted official recognition and enjoyed a wide measure of administrative and cultural autonomy. They were headed by "notables" (*gedolei ha-kahal, ziknei ha-kahal*) who were – as in Morocco – a plutocratic oligarchy. This was in contrast to the leaders (*ne'emanim*) of the communities of Spanish or *Leghorn (Italy) origin – to be later established in the country – who were elected by all the members of the community. The *gedolei ha-kahal* were entrusted with the management of charitable funds, while others known as *parnasim* or *gizbarim* were responsible for the administration of the synagogues and religious funds. They held these functions – which were often financially burdensome – on an honorary basis and were referred to with confidence. The notables were headed by the *zekan ha-Yehudim* (elder of the Jews), who under Ottoman rule assumed the title of *qaʾid*. This eminent personality was always feared when he was nominated by the sovereign and loved and respected when he was chosen by his coreligionists. He was always a native of the country, because, in the first place, he exercised his control over the destinies of the communities of the native Jews; his authority, however, also included the communities of foreign born Jews. Moreover, in Tunisia the native Jews were far more numerous than their coreligionists of European origin. As a general rule the rabbis, and particularly the *dayyanim*, played a role in the administration of the community.

In the wake of the expulsions from Spain and Sicily in 1492 and from Portugal in 1497, a number of Jewish refugees took refuge in Tunisia. They do not appear to have been very numerous; furthermore, many of them were only transients. There were several scholars among these refugees, including such highly eminent personalities as the commentator on Rashi, Abraham *Levy-Bacrat, the talmudist Moses *Alashkar, and the astronomer and historian Abraham *Zacuto, who completed his *Sefer Yuḥasin* ("Book of Genealogy") while in Tunis in 1504.

Tunisia under Ottoman Rule

The anarchy which prevailed in North Africa during the late 15th and early 16th centuries facilitated the Portuguese invasions of Morocco and the Spanish invasion of Algeria and Tunisia. Only the unexpected intervention of the Ottoman Turks in the latter two countries finally spared them from Spanish occupation. In the meantime the menace of anti-Jewish Spain overshadowed the Tunisian communities. In 1515 the Spanish fleet raided Djerba and the Jews suffered extensively. In 1535 Charles v occupied Bizerta and La Goulette, their small communities being expelled or massacred. When the emperor occupied Tunis, he immediately turned the town over to his soldiers who ransacked it and massacred 70,000 persons, including a large numbers of Jews, while others were sold as slaves. Several Tunisian ports were taken, liberated, and retaken by the Spaniards until 1574, when Turkish military victories finally brought these attacks to an end. As a result of this climate of insecurity and constant danger, the Jewish communities of the coast were almost completely depleted of their members; many of them, natives and Spanish expellees, left for the Orient or Italy.

When the grand duke of Tuscany called upon the Jews to establish themselves in his ports of Pisa and Leghorn in 1593, the many Conversos and Jews from various Mediterranean countries who immediately settled there were joined by African Jews who had already taken refuge in Italy and sought a permanent home there. Leghorn thus became a large Jewish center and its trade underwent considerable expansion. The Jewish community soon sent representatives to Africa, and from the early 17th century there was a sizable number of Leghorn Jews in Tunis, where they were known as "Grana" from the Arab name for Leghorn – "Gorna." All the foreign Jews, former Marranos, or Tunisians who returned to their native country after spending one or two generations in Italy were gradually integrated among the Jews of Spanish or Sicilian origin remaining in Tunisia, as well as those who had recently arrived from Algeria or Morocco. In fact, those people who possessed a common language – Spanish or Italian – customs, and ways of life which were more or less similar were called "Granas" or "Gornim." From 1685 they designated themselves as "la nation livornese [from Leghorn] ebrea en Tunes," although many of them had never set foot in Leghorn.

From the beginning, the Jews known as "Touansa" (natives of Tunisia), who formed the overwhelming majority of the community, looked upon the "Grana" with suspicion. Although both groups lived together in the *Ḥāra* for a long time, their relations continually deteriorated until they bordered upon hatred. Indeed, in the middle of the 17th century Hamūda Pasha prohibited all the Jews, whether "Grana" or "Touansa," to own real estate; they were confined to residential quarters where they could only be tenants. As a result of overcrowding, rents soared. The rabbis then decided that anyone who was the first tenant of a house thus acquired the right of *ḥazakah* (possession). No other Jew could have the first tenant evicted by offering a higher rent. The right of *ḥazakah* remained in force for a long time among Tunisian Jews, only falling into disuse when the government of Muhammad Pasha authorized the Jews to acquire real estate in the wake of the Pacte Fondamental of 1857. The decrees which prohibited Jewish ownership of real estate or confined them to a special quarter were by no means generally observed in Tunis. In fact, after having coexisted for several generations the "Touansa" realized that they were despised by the "Grana," whose religious practices differed from their own; they subsequently assigned them special places in their synagogues, as a result of which life in common became unbearable. The "Grana" finally separated from their native-born coreligionists completely and established an independent community which possessed its own administration, cemetery, slaughterhouses, rabbinical tribunal, *dayyanim*, and chief rabbi. This secession, in 1710, prevailed until 1899 when the authorities issued a decree calling for an official merger of the two communities. From that time there was a single chief rabbi for the whole of Tunisia, one rabbinical tribunal and one slaughterhouse in each town, and a single delegation within the council of the community and the cabinet of the Tunisian government. In practice, however, the schism persisted and the authorities were compelled to issue a further decree of amalgamation in 1944.

After 1710 the "Touansa" waged a veritable holy war against the "Grana," going so far as to treat them as false Jews in light of their pride. They finally succeeded in having them expelled from the *Ḥāra*. The "Grana" then founded the *sūq al-Grana*, the commercial artery of the old part of Tunis, and opened three new synagogues and two houses of prayer, one of which was situated in the heart of the Christian quarter of that period. The struggle between the groups continued and the "Grana" of Tunis attracted every newcomer in the town to their community, whether he was of European, African, or Asian origin. Moreover, their slaughterhouses, which were more popular, also sold meat to the "Touansa," thus depriving this ancient community of a part of its meat taxes, raised for the benefit of its poor. An arrangement became imperative, and in July 1741 a *takkanah* was signed by the rabbis of the two communities under the supervision of R. Abraham Tayyib, their leader. The following agreements were reached: (1) that all Jews who had originated in Christian countries would form part of the community of the "Grana," while all those who had originated in Muslim countries would belong to the community of the "Touansa"; (2) that two-thirds of the general expenses of the community would be covered by the "Touansa" and one-third by the "Grana"; and (3) that the "Touansa" could not buy meat in the "Grana" slaughterhouses. This prohibition was not observed and had to be renewed in 1784.

The community organization of the Tunisian Jews remained unchanged for several centuries, with only a single leader, the *qaʾid* of the Jews. This leader wielded extensive powers and was responsible for the collection of taxes – an honorary position of considerable importance with material advantages. He was generally a member of the ancient community. Thus, for the most part the "Touansa" dominated the "Grana." Moreover, the bey regarded both as his own subjects. This state of affairs was even maintained during the first half of the 19th century – when there was an intensified immigration of Leghorn Jews – by the inclusion of a number of clauses in the treaty signed in 1822 between Tuscany and the regency of Tunis. In fact, it was anticipated therein that Leghorn Jews who settled in the regency would always be considered and treated as subjects of the country and would enjoy the same rights as the native-born Jews. Occasionally, the authorities even adopted policies toward the ancient community differing from those for the new one, which was thus discriminated against. In 1686 the latter – through the intercession of their leaders Jacob and Raphael Lombroso, Moses Mendès Ossuna, and Jacob Luzada – requested a loan from the consul of France in order to pay a huge tax imposed on them by the Muslim authorities. They then informed the consul of the extreme poverty to which the "Leghorn nation" had been reduced. They claimed that the extortions and assassinations, both past and present, had impoverished them and that it was their intention to seek the assistance of their coreligionists of Leghorn in order to repay the loan which "with tears in their eyes, they now solicited for the love of God so as to redeem a nation and a community." Under these circumstances, as others, the "Touansa" supported the "Grana." Moreover, it was a rule among the Jews of Tunis to redeem their coreligionists who had been captured by pirates.

There were instances when a single spiritual leader headed both communities at the same time. In such a case the chief rabbi was always a native of the country or a personality whose ancestors were of African origin. There was, however, one exception: the renowned talmudist R. Isaac Lombroso, who was born in Tunis but was of Leghorn parentage. His teachers, however, were Tunisians: R. Ẓemaḥ Serfati and R. Abraham Tayeb (d. 1714), the famous "Baba Sidi" who exerted a great influence on the whole of Tunisian Jewry. The grandson of the latter, also named R. Abraham, wrote *Ḥayyei Avraham* (1826), a voluminous commentary on the Talmud accompanied by important notes on *Alfasi, *Rashi, and *Maimonides. His son R. Ḥayyim Tayeb wrote *Derekh Ḥayyim* (1826) and R. Isaac Tayeb (1830) was also the author of several valuable works. The Bordjel family were Leghorn Jews of Tunisian origin. Their ancestor, R. Abraham *Bordjel (d. 1795), was a well-known author and *dayyan* in Tunis. Members of this family ranked among the leaders of Tunisian Jewry for two centuries. The most famous, R. Elijah *Bordjel, simultaneously held the positions of chief rabbi and *qaʾid* of the Jews. From 1750–1850 the Bonan family, Leghorn Jews of African origin, presided over the destinies of the "Grana" of Tunis, who were also headed by other Africans, such as members of the Darmon family. In the sphere of learning and Jewish studies all enmity between the two factions disappeared.

The authority of the rabbis of Tunis was very broad: they supervised the strict observance of religious precepts and the moral conduct of the individual, also issuing regulations pertaining to clothing and condemning the fancy of young women for elegance, jewelry, and fineries. These rabbis were widely known and were consulted from Ereẓ Israel and other countries. They were the first to abolish flogging in Tunis, substituting a heavy fine on behalf of the poor for it; they also compelled the members of all the communities to donate one tenth of their annual profits to charitable and religious institutions. Furthermore, they encouraged marriage between the "Grana" and the "Touansa." From the 17th century Tunis became an important center of Jewish learning: there was a particularly brilliant revival of the study of *Talmud and *Kabbalah. Ḥ.J.D. *Azulai, who visited Tunis in 1773, was impressed by the extensive learning and piety of Tunisian scholars, such as that of his hosts the Cohen-Tanoudjis family, among whom there were scholars and *qaʾīds*. He also became acquainted with the chief rabbi of Tunis, R. Masʿud Raphael al-*Alfasi (d. 1776), author of the novellae *Mishnah de-Revuta* (1805), and his two sons, Solomon (d. 1801) and Ḥayyim (d. 1783), author of *Kerub Mimeshaḥ* (1859). In Tunis there were other eminent scholars, such as R. Uzziel Alʾ-Haik (*Alhayk), the author of *Mishkenot ha-Roʾim* (1760), a rabbinic code in the form of an encyclopedia which deals with every category of problem encountered in the internal and public life of the Jews of Tunisia during the 17th–18th centuries and thus constitutes a valuable source of information that is indispensable to the writing of the history of the Jews of Tunisia. R. Mordecai *Carvalho (d. 1785) was a wealthy merchant in

Tunis who devoted a large part of his life to rabbinical studies. In 1752 he was appointed rabbi of the Leghorn community and as such was widely known as a rabbinical authority. Of his works, the *To'afot Re'em* (1761), a commentary on the works of R. Elijah *Mizraḥi, is the best known. R. Abraham Boccara (d. 1879), author of *Ben Avraham* (1882), was also a leader of the "Grana."

The Jews of Tunisia occasionally played important roles in diplomatic capacities: in 1699 Judah *Cohen was sent to Holland as ambassador in order to negotiate a peace and commercial treaty; in 1702 he was the intermediary between Tunisia and the States General of the United Provinces, which ratified the secret decisions pertaining to their relations with the Barbary states. Moreover, Tunisian Jews were often appointed by the Christian powers to official positions in the capacity of interpreters or vice consuls. In 1814 Mordecai Manuel *Noah arrived in Tunis to fulfill the function of consul of the United States; upon his return he wrote a work on his travels which includes information on Tunisian Jews – yet, he never maintained relations with them as he sought to conceal his Jewish identity. It was, however, precisely because he was a Jew that the president of the United States, James Madison, relieved him of his functions. In a letter which he addressed to the president, Noah declared that his Jewish identity – when it became known in Washington – had left an unfavorable impression and he was therefore asked to leave the U.S. consulate in Tunis.

Their capacity as merchant magnates enabled the Jews of Tunisia, who were particularly well placed, to redeem Christian captives. In their trade with France, Italy, and the Orient these merchants employed bills of exchange and controlled the maritime trade in spite of the fact that the bey imposed higher export and import duties on them than on the Christians. For the latter the duty was 3% of the value of the goods, while for Jews it was 10% – reduced to 8% in the 18th century. Many Tunisian Jews were treasurers or bankers; they were employed at the mint; and it was to them that the authorities assigned the monopolies on fishing of tunny and corals and the trade in ostrich feathers, tobacco, wool, and the collection of customs duties. In 1740 the customs duties of Tunis were leased to the "Grana" for an annual payment of 80,000 piasters. In 1713 the bey sent a Jew from Bizerta to Sicily to sign a treaty on coral fishing. By this treaty the Sicilians committed themselves to bring in their haul of coral to Bizerta, where it would be sold to the Jews who had signed the treaty. From the 17th century to 1810 the Jews manufactured over 20,000 shawls of wool or silk in Tunis. More than one half of these were *tallitot*, which were sent to the Jews of *Trieste and Leghorn, from where they were exported to Poland for the religious requirements of the Jews of that country. The bey defended the interests of the Jewish merchants. In 1784 he declared war on the Republic of *Venice as it had not indemnified them for the loss of several cargoes in which the Venetian fleet was involved. Yet, during the same century the Jews of Tunis were the victims of pillaging on two occasions: in 1752 by the troops of the bey himself, when he was deposed from the throne for a time by a marabout; and in 1756 by Algerian troops who took the lives of thousands of Muslims and committed the worst outrages on Jewish women and children.

In contrast to the information on the Hafsid period, the Jews of Tunisia from the 16th century onward engaged in a variety of crafts. They were clock makers, artistic ironworkers, smelters, and joiners; others were glaziers, tailors, lace makers, shoemakers, and the only ones who worked with precious metals. They also manufactured musical instruments. Moreover, many of them were musicians, particularly on festive occasions. The members of every craft, as well as the petty tradesmen, were organized in guilds, presided over by a Muslim *amīn* (chief of the corporation) appointed by the authorities. All controversies between Jewish businessmen, industrialists, craftsmen, or workers, and all disputes over salaries, the price charged for the execution of a piece of work, and the like, were settled by three competent Jewish colleagues who were designated by their coreligionists. Occasionally the parties concerned challenged these persons and demanded the intervention of the *amīn*. The rabbis and the leaders of the community were then compelled to accept his judgment and enforce it under the threat that a ban would be issued against the parties involved if they bribed the *amīn*.

The native adult Jews of Tunisia wore a kind of small violet turban which was wound around a black skullcap, while the remainder of their dress was patterned after the Turkish fashion. During the 18th century the Leghorn Jews wore hats and wigs like the Europeans of the West. Until the beginning of the 19th century the "Grana" and a large number of "Touansa" merchants had the habit of wearing European clothes and round hats as a result of their trade, which required them to stay in Europe for various periods of time. The authorities shut their eyes to this departure from the Covenant of Omar. In the end this tolerance gave rise to abuses when a number of Jews, under the cover of their European dress, sought to evade certain obligations to which they had been subjected. The bey then decided to compel all Jews, whether "Touansa," "Grana," or foreigners, to wear a cap or a three-cornered hat. This decree was at the source of the so-called "affair of the hats" which took place in 1823 and almost caused the breaking off of diplomatic relations between Tunisia and the European states. The execution of the bey's orders was accompanied by many acts of cruelty and extortion perpetuated by the officers responsible for their application.

From the beginning of the century the Jews of Tunis manifested their approval of the French Revolution, whose armies emancipated the Jews of Europe in the name of human rights. They all wore the cockade. One of them, who appeared before the bey with this badge, received the bastinado. The Jews subsequently became ardent supporters of Napoleon and the "Grana" returned to wearing the French cockade. In order to restrain them the bey wanted to have one of them burned alive; he was only saved through the intervention of the consuls. The bey Aḥmad (1830–55) treated the Jews favorably on every occasion. When he visited the king of France, many Jews formed part of his retinue. He bestowed many honors on his Jewish private physicians, the baron Abraham Lombrozo, Dr. Nunez Wais, and the baron Castel Nuevo, all of whom endeavored to improve the status of their coreligionists. The Muslims referred to the bey Aḥmad as the "bey of the Jews." During his reign and those of his successors, a large number of Jews held important positions in his government. The bey Muhammad (1855–59) abolished the collective responsibility of the Jews in the sphere of taxation, exempted them from all degrading tasks, declared that they would pay the same duties on goods as Muslims and Christians, and attempted to include them in the common law. In 1857, however, a Jew, Batto Sfez, who had quarreled with a Muslim, was accused of having blasphemed Islam. The mob dragged him before the qadi, who condemned him to death. In spite of a vigorous protest by the consul of France, the bey Muhammad ratified the sentence and Batto Sfez was executed; the promises which were given to the consular authorities and the Jewish population that his life would be spared were disregarded. A squadron of Napoleon III's then took up positions in front of La Goulette so as to coerce the bey to apply the principles of equality and tolerance toward all the inhabitants of the regency. The equality of all Tunisian subjects of every religion was then proclaimed in a kind of declaration of human rights known as the Pacte Fondamental (September 1857). All the laws which discriminated against the Jews were repealed.

In 1861 Muhammad al-Ṣadiq-Bey (1857–82) promulgated edicts for drawing up civil and penal codes to be applied by the newly constituted tribunals. There was widespread discontent among the Muslim masses as a result of these laws. The government was reproached for favoring the infidels and raising the taxes paid by the Muslims, while the ministers were accused of having ruined the state. This was during a period in which the minister of finance, the *qa'id* Nissim Samama, contracted onerous loans in Europe. An insurrection of the tribes broke out. In the north of the country the ill-treated Jews were convinced that their salvation only lay in the intervention of European warships, whose presence indeed restrained the rebels. In the south, pillaging against the Jews of Djerba and Sfax took place. In 1864 the bey was compelled to abolish the new constitution, but the abuses which it had suppressed did not reappear. The bey ordered that the Jewish victims of the insurrection be indemnified. The International Financial Commission, imposed on Tunisia in the wake of these financial upheavals, received the collaboration of the Jews and succeeded in its mission. From then on the French found in the Jewish population a very useful instrument for support of its policy, while the "Grana" remained the champions of the Italian presence in the country.

In 1878 the *Alliance Israélite Universelle founded its first school in Tunis. The French Protectorate, which was established in 1881, brought considerable changes in the material life of the Jewish masses of Tunisia. During the 19th century the Jewish population of the country was mainly concentrated in the towns: there were 60,000 Jews in Tunis in 1786, 30,000 Jews in 1815, but only 15–16,000 in the following years; Jews also lived in Matra, Le Kef, Nefta, Gafsa, Gabès, Sfax, Sousse, Naloeul, Mahdiya, and Testour. There were also many Jews in the villages and on the island of Djerba. The total Jewish population of Tunisia at the end of the 19th century was estimated by some scholars as 50,000 persons, by others as 60,000, and still others as 100,000, but all estimates were tentative only.

[David Corcos]

Changes on the Eve of the French Protectorate

The interference of France and Great Britain in Tunisia's internal affairs and the relations between the Grana and Italy were not the only examples of the involvement of external elements in Tunisian and Tunisian Jewish affairs. The opening of the Alliance Israélite Universelle school in 1878, 12 years after the foundation of the first such school in Morocco, was an important factor that influenced Jewish life. The Bey did his best to prevent the foundation of the first school but he could not resist French pressure. Those schools were not only a framework for learning, but also a challenge to the Jewish community because they offered new opportunities for social and economic improvement. An agreement, which insured that Jewish and religious materials would be part of the school curriculum was signed between the representatives of the Jewish community and of the Alliance Israélite Universelle in Tunisia.

Another change at the end of the 19th century was the activity of Jewish scholars ("*maskilim*"). This activity was mainly intellectual: they wrote letters and reports to the international Jewish newspapers of that time such as *Ha-Maggid, Ha-Ẓefirah, Ha-Levanon*, and others. Despite the fact that these reports constitute important historical material due to the descriptions of the Jewish community of that time, the main objective of the *maskilim* was to arouse the awareness of the Jewish leaders in Europe and encourage them to became involved in Tunisian affairs and to improve Jewish life there. One of the famous scholars was Shalom Flach who wrote Hebrew text books and history books such as *Ẓedek ve-Shalom* ("Peace and Justice") about the relations between the Grana and Touansa. The *maskilim* published newspapers and also books of Jewish enlightenment from East Europe in Judeo-Arabic. Until World War II this would be one of the main sources of conflict between them and the Alliance Israélite Universelle school director. At that time, the Alliance school was a cornerstone of French influence and an opportunity for youth to bring about social and cultural changes.

The Tunisian Jews in the French Protectorate (1881–1956)

Tunisia was conquered by the French in 1881. From that year on, it was the French – both in theory and in practice – who molded the development of modern Tunisia. Freedom from the restrictions of traditional society, new opportunities for the improvement of their economic situation, new modes of expression and activity that became possible for Jews through French acculturation, all of these were part of the modernization process. Three basic factors characterized modernization under colonial rule. First, the patterns of modernization were set by colonial rule. The modes were political, economic, or social or a combination of the three. French colonialism was assimilatory: it sought to instill French values and mold the ruled society by the standards of the ruling society according to its perceptions. Second, the pace of modernization was set by the considerations and needs of the French colonial powers. Third, the relationship between the colonial government and the local population lacked equality and was based on the exploitation of the ruled. The major basic problem of the Jews in this colonial society was the fact that they lived within a Muslim majority with very set patterns for Jewish existence. In the past a Jew had been obliged to be part of an autonomous Jewish community, living side by side yet in the shadow of Islam. The new colonial society gave the Jew the freedom, within certain limitations, to choose how he desired to identify himself. French culture presented a challenge which was irresistible. French rule was both the source of the Jews' security and their means of release from the degradation of Islam. Consciously – but not necessarily by choice – the Jews tied their fate with that of French colonial rule. Naturally, this process distanced them from the Muslim majority in Tunisian society.

Demographic Aspects

Before the mass emigration of Tunisian Jews the Jewish population was estimated at around 105,000 people, which means that in less than 100 years the Jewish population had increased more than fourfold. Most lived in Tunis, the capital. As a result of the modernization process the Jews left the small villages and immigrated to larger centers; the capital was the most attractive as it offered the Jews new employment opportunities. Changes were also felt in the Jews' occupations, since the opportunities or options for employment had grown. Jews, who were no longer restricted in their choice of occupation, entered the liberal professions and the French administration, playing a significant role in clerical work. Salaried work, which was the basis of union organizations and syndicates, where Jews played an important role, spread. The working Jewish population increased with the years, women workers were more common than in the past, and children rarely worked. In the peripheral towns and villages those changes were not as intense as in the capital.

Naturalization and Emancipation

One of the issues concerning the Jewish community was the question of French citizenship, since, at least in the case of Algerian Jewry, French citizenship was forced upon them. In the case of Tunisia, there was a small group of Jews which tried to force the French authorities to duplicate the Algerian experience with Tunisian Jewry. Mardochee Smadja was born in Tunis in 1864 and educated at the Alliance schools. His grandfather was one of the rabbis who had signed the agreement with the Alliance Israélite Universelle in 1874. Smadja was the leader of the campaign to encourage the French to grant Tunisian Jews the same rights as those awarded to Algerian Jews. He published the first manifesto of that group ("L'extension de la jurisdiction et de la nationalité françaises en Tunisie") in 1905 and was the publisher of the important newspaper *La Justice*. Smadja also represented the group at the Colonial congress held in Madrid and organized the mass demonstration in Tunis in 1910. All these efforts were not in vain. The demands presented the French general resident with a dilemma. The case of Tunisia was not similar to that of Algeria. First, Tunisia was only a protectorate while Algeria was annexed to France. Second, the existence of a considerable colony of Italian Jews who had Italian citizenship and no desire to renounce it posed a particular problem. Third, the French general resident was afraid of Muslim reactions as had occurred in Algeria following the law of 1870. After taking everything into consideration, the French authorities in Tunisia decided to naturalize the Tunisian Jews on an individual and selective basis. Thus, every Jew who wanted to acquire French citizenship was asked to demand it personally and to prove that he answered all the French conditions such as special service to France, knowledge of the French language, and French education. In the beginning of the French Protectorate, only a few Jews could be naturalized, but as a result of Jewish pressure the French general resident agreed to facilitate the conditions of naturalization. This was the background to the laws of 1910 and 1923. In the 1920s and 1930s, Jews acquired French citizenship in large numbers. For example, 1,222 became French citizens in 1926, 747 in 1928. However, in the 1930s there was a decrease in the naturalization of Tunisian Jews owing to French antisemitism and influences from Germany. The consequence of this naturalization policy was that the Jewish population was divided into three main categories: French citizens, Tunisian subjects, and Italian ones. Moreover, the second group, which constituted the majority of the Jewish population, was subdivided according to its acculturation to French culture. In Djerba, the most religious town of Tunisia, Jews did not want to have any connection with French culture, while in the capital most of the Jews were assimilated into French culture even if they were not French citizens. The second consequence was that the struggle for French naturalization proved that the French general resident would agree to change his policy under concrete pressure and defined goals. Tunisian Jews became more active and politically involved in order to achieve social change.

Communal Organization

The function of the Jews' *qa'id* was gradually abolished and its seems that Michael Uzan was the last one. At the beginning of the French protectorate, the French created a new institution, L'Assemblée des Notables. Furthermore, there was also a president and a chief rabbi for both the Touansa and the Grana. The chief rabbi of Tunis represented all the Jews, including the Grana, and received his salary from the French treasury. More important and durable was the creation of the Caisse de Secours et de Bienfaissance, which consisted of nine people who were nominated by the French, and which replaced all the traditional functions of the Jewish community. In order to adequately solve all the needs of Jewish society, a solution was devised: more than ten voluntary organizations, such as Société de l'Asile de Nuit (1909), Caisse de Secours et d'Habillement des Ecoles de l'Alliance (1904), were created under the patronage of Jewish notables. The most important change occurred in 1921 when the French decided to create the Conseil de la Communauté Israélite. It is not clear what the exact reasons were for that change. Perhaps the contribution of the Jewish volunteers in World War I or the desire of the French to conciliate the Jews after their refusal to legislate in their favor regarding naturalization contributed to this. The Conseil de la Communauté Israélite was elected quite democratically: a secret ballot was held every four years, but only the men who had paid their taxes to the community were eligible to vote. There were separate elections in each part of the community. The electoral campaign was the stage for debates which reflected struggles between political parties. Zionists tried to insure the Zionization of the council's activities, while the La Justice party hoped to use the power of that institution to persuade the French authorities to exert French influence over the Jewish community. The fighting over the character of the Jewish council was further proof of the political and social awareness of the Jewish community.

Intellectual and Spiritual Activity

Other expressions of political and social awareness may be found in the enormous number and variety of newspapers and periodicals that were published in Tunisia. From R. Attal's works it can be noted that about 160 periodicals, newspapers, and year books were published in Tunisia between 1878 and 1962. Seventy-eight were written in Judeo-Arabic, 65 in French, and 16 in Hebrew, most of the latter in Djerba. The majority of the newspapers in Judeo-Arabic were issued during the first generation of the French occupation. During the second generation, the domination of the French language was absolute and was also an expression of the community's assimilation to French culture. Forty-six of them could be defined as informative in character, 30 of them were Zionist–oriented newspapers, 15 were political, 12 rabbinical, and about 27 were literary. Some of the newspapers appeared for more than ten consecutive years; the most famous and important papers were *La Justice* (1907–14, 1923–33), *L'Egalité* (1912–32, 1940), *Le Réveil Juif* (1924–35), *La Gazette d'Israël* (1938–39, 1945–51), and *El-Najma* (1920–61). These newspapers, like the elections for the community, were the stage for the political, social, and intellectual struggle within Jewish society and of the Jews with the Muslims and the French in Tunisia. Jews were also employed by French newspapers as journalists, editors, and publishers. In 1921 out of a total workforce of 13,303, some 1,079 Jews declared that they were journalists, while in 1936, 3,114 Jews out of 15,928 made the same declaration, i.e., about 20% of the Jewish working population. As regards Jewish intellectual and spiritual life, it should be added that hundreds of Jewish books, mainly from East Europe, were translated into Judeo-Arabic by Jewish scholars, and the rabbinical literature in Djerba and the capital ran into hundreds of volumes of religious commentaries and interpretations.

Jewish-Muslim Relations

French domination in Tunisia slowly changed the pattern of Muslim-Jewish coexistence. The Jews' process of assimilation to French culture gradually detached them from the Muslim society with which they had lived for hundreds of years. From the beginning of the French protectorate, a new ethnic element – the French settlers – was added to Muslim-Jewish relations. Those three ethnic elements had different, and occasionally opposing, interests. Owing to the increasing Tunisian national struggle, tension between the French and the Muslims was more obvious and understandable than between French and Jews, and even Muslims and Jews. As far as is known in the collective memory of Tunisian Jews, Muslim-Jewish coexistence was convenient and tranquil. This is not an idyllic, nostalgic point of view. Most Tunisian Jews do not remember any of the violent outbreaks that occurred in Tunisia. Apart from the three days in August 1917 and fragments of information in the Jewish newspapers about violent incidents or outbreaks in the early 1920s, one does not know of any significant outbreaks of violence. At the end of the 19th century, a short wave of French antisemitism influenced French-Jewish relations. This wave reappeared in the 1930s, but by then it was more aggressive. From this relatively favorable atmosphere, the Palestinian issue emerged as a new factor in the relations among the three ethnic groups. The Palestinian issue concerned all the aspects of the relations and connections between the Palestinian national movement and the Arab world, and in the Jewish case, with the Tunisian national movement.

In society at large, an interesting struggle developed during the 1930s between the Tunisian national movement, the Destour, and the Zionists. The Destour took advantage of French sensitivity to public order and thereby prevented the Zionists from parading their strength and their victories publicly. For example, the Destour prevented *Jabotinsky's appearance in Tunisia in 1932 and the screening of the film *The Promised Land*. They sabotaged the visit of Betar's study ship, *Sarah A*, in 1937, and condemned the Zionists at every opportunity. A close examination of the relations between the Zionists and the Destour shows that, in spite of the attitude of the Destour towards Zionism, the Zionists were not significantly harmed. The reason for this is simple. The Tunisian national movement's struggle was primarily directed against French rule, and it used Zionism only as a means by which to attack the French. For example, the denunciation of British colonialism in Palestine could be taken as a condemnation of French colonialism, if only indirectly. The damage done to Zionism was an indirect indication of the level of relations between the French administration and the leaders of the Tunisian nationalists. In this manner the Muslims learned how far they could strain relations with the French without significantly harming themselves. Moreover, such activity allowed them to test their ability to organize the Muslim crowds, to consolidate movement cells, and to prepare movement leadership. In spite of attacks of the Destour on Zionism, the fact that both were nationalist movements prevented the Destour from condemning the right of free speech and the self-determination of the Zionists. A negation of such rights would have been self-defeating. As far as is known, the relationship between Jews and Muslims did not deteriorate in the following years. During the period of Vichy and the German occupation of Tunisia the relations did not change, and the Muslims did not turn the situation to their advantage. While in most of the Arab world violent eruptions between Jews and Muslims occurred, Tunisia experienced no more than attacks in the newspapers or public demonstrations.

Zionism and Political Activity

Zionism was one response of Tunisian Jews to French colonialism and the modernization processes which affected them. Zionism was not only a reaction to modernity, but also an expression of modernity. The influence of Zionism increased over the years. The internal dynamics of the colonial situation on the one hand, and the possibilities for achieving the aims of Zionism, on the other, were principal factors in the development of Zionism in Tunisia. Tunisian Zionists saw in their movement a means to achieve political and social expressions, adapted to the spirit of the times.

Expressions of Zionism appeared at the end of the 19th century. Organized Zionism began only in 1910 with the foundation of the first Zionist society, Agudat Zion ("Society of Zion"). The French authorities legalized Zionism, but restricted it to cultural activities. Zionist political activity was forbidden. French authorization of Zionism was part of the colonial policy towards a plurality of cultural activities. During this period there was almost no opposition from other social groups in Tunisian Jewry. Zionism had been established, but was not yet an important factor in the social and political fabric of Tunisian Jewry. By World War I, other organizations had been founded in all the major cities of Tunisia. Agudat Zion published a Zionist newspaper, *Kol Zion*, collected the Zionist tax (the shekel), sent a representative to the Tenth Zionist Congress, contributed to Keren Kayemet (the Jewish National Fund), and held Zionist propaganda meetings. World War I interrupted Zionist activity, which virtually ceased until the end of the war.

Zionists participated fully in all major activities of the Jewish community of this period. During 1898–1918, Zionism reinforced individual interest in the general political movement, and defined itself on the social and political landscape of the Jewish community. This process of consolidation emerged from a stage of individual interest in Zionism to prominence in the public sphere and finally to a basis for activity. Zionism in this period established itself throughout Tunisia, and relationships were formed between activity in the periphery and in Tunis, the center. Zionists understood that without their own newspaper, they could not maintain themselves in the struggle against other political camps. The years 1918–26 were the formative years of Zionism in Tunisia. During this period the Tunisian Zionist Federation was established (October 1920) as an organizational framework for all Zionist activities. The founding of additional Zionist organizations, their geographic dispersion, and the policy of the World Zionist Organization made the establishment of the Federation compulsory. The Federation dealt with all necessary organizational matters – the collecting of money, propaganda, Zionist newspapers, elections to the Zionist congresses, and the struggle against other ideologies. However, the Federation did not succeed in rising above internal problems and leading Tunisian Zionism. Its weakness stemmed from its inability to impose its authority upon its constituent components, its lack of a fixed budget and, therefore, a good, regularly published newspaper, and the disregard and neglect on the part of the World Zionist Organization. In addition, opposition to Zionist activities by various sections of the Jewish community increased the difficulties.

Opposition to Zionism stemmed from two sources. Foremost was that of the Alliance Israélite Universelle. Its opposition was ideological. Zionism was nationalistic, whereas the Alliance presented an emancipatory ideology, seeking to integrate Jews into the general society in which they lived. In the Tunisian framework this meant integration into the French colonial society. The Zionists demanded that more Jewish history and Hebrew, as a living modern language, be taught in the Alliance schools, whereas the Alliance emphasized a deep attachment to French culture, based on the emancipatory model of French Jewry. The forces behind the struggle were not equal. The Alliance had a strong organization, considerable financial backing, and the support of the French authorities. Zionism, on the other hand, was in its initial stages of establishment. In spite of this, the Zionists succeeded in their struggle against the Alliance, at least in respect to the social legitimization of Zionism as a viable Jewish cultural, social, and communal alternative.

By actively participating in all aspects of Jewish communal life, the Zionists compelled the various communal groups to publicly recognize their presence. In addition to their struggles within the Jewish community, Zionists strove to make a place for themselves among the other social movements of the time, particularly vis-à-vis the socialist movement and the communist party, which were strongly attractive to Jewish youth. These struggles, however, were general and ideological in character and, because of this, their impact on Zionism was minimal. During 1926–39 Zionism was at the forefront of the struggle to define the character of Jewish life and its position in society. Two major changes occurred during this period. One was the creation of Zionist youth movements, the Eclaireurs Israélites de France (EIF), the Union Universelle de Jeunesse Juive (UUJJ), Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir, and Betar. The youth movements brought an element of vitality to the full range of Zionist activity. Education, an important and central element of the youth movements, was accompanied by Zionist indoctrination. A child educated in one of these youth movements had a deep Zionist consciousness and commitment. The youth movements lowered the age level of Zionist activists. The frameworks for activity were more rigid in the youth movement than in the former Zionist organizations. In addition, youth movements made it possible for girls to participate in Zionist activity, which had formerly been impossible.

Another change in Tunisian Zionism during this period was the penetration of world Zionist political parties: the Revisionists accompanied by the Betar youth movement, and Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir. Bitter struggles took place between the two ideological approaches to Zionism: the integral Zionist program of the Revisionists versus the Marxist Zionism of Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir. The struggle culminated when the Revisionists accused their rivals of atheism, destroying family life, a bias towards communism, and aspirations to be fulfilled only in a kibbutz. Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir was forced to defend itself against harsh attacks and retaliated by accusing the Revisionists of fascism and Hitlerism. This contest could be seen in public demonstrations as well as in newspapers and was also reflected in information passed on to the police by informers. Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir was forced to disband in 1935. The Revisionists' victory was a result of having a strong newspaper, a simple ideological ethic, being well-suited to a society in transition, and effective meshing between the party and its youth movement.

The greatest importance of Tunisian Zionism during this period was its primary position in the struggle against all antisemitic manifestations in the country, both that of the French colonists and of the Italian ones. Tunisia did not escape the world-wide wave of antisemitism in the 1930s. The Zionists initiated and encouraged the Jewish community to boycott German, Italian, and Japanese goods. The Zionists called for public demonstrations against German antisemitic outbreaks. In this way, they both paved the way for themselves within the Jewish society and took a stand on behalf of the Jewish community among the various social elements.

The war years in Tunisia, 1939–43, totally changed the character of local Zionism. Until World War II, the importance of Zionism was within Jewish society. Zionism made possible a modern mode of expression and activity for Jews who had not received French citizenship, yet wished to express their aspirations without violating the Jewish character of their society. After World War II, Zionists understood that without *aliyah* to Ereẓ Israel, without severing themselves from life in Tunisia, there was no meaning to Zionism. Therefore the period between the end of World War II and the creation of the State of Israel is characterized as "A Time of Achieving Zionism."

Ideologically, all the various Zionist streams believed in the fulfillment of Zionism as an obligation of the individual to the movement. There were arguments between the various streams of Zionism about the character of fulfillment, for example whether to live in a kibbutz or a city, but none about the need for its realization. Preparation was now required prior to embarking on a new life in Israel. Hebrew became significant and a Zionist was required to invest time learning the language as part of his preparation for *aliyah*. No less important for the Zionists were the attempts to establish preparatory camps in Tunisia and elsewhere. However, the number of Zionists who succeeded in completing this preparation was small. One particular aspect of this ideology was the mission of Tunisian Zionism in North Africa. Almost all the Zionist parties saw Tunisia as the base for overall activity in North Africa. The strength and importance of Zionism in Tunisia led to its primary position in all Zionist activity in North Africa. The significance of achieving Zionism was practical. During this period the immigration of Tunisian Jews to Israel began. At first immigration was legal, but it was small in numbers, encompassing not more than several dozens. The gap created between the desire to immigrate and the possibilities for legal *aliyah* in 1947–48 forced the Zionists to turn to illegal immigration. Tunisian Zionists were among the planners and implementers of the Ha'palah (*"illegal" immigration movement). Only some 300 Jews left Tunisia illegally during this period, but in terms of responsibility, the role of Tunisian Zionism was more significant.

The war years were characterized by an increase in the number of ideological parties, particularly those connected to world movements. The Revisionists still enjoyed Zionist hegemony as exemplified in the results of the elections to the Zionist Congress in 1946 and in its strong Zionist and Revisionist newspaper. Among the other movements, which combined socialism and Zionism, were Ẓe'irei Zion, which was aligned with the Kibbutz ha-Meuḥad, and Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir, which renewed its activities in 1946. Among the religious movement, two trends were established. One was aligned with Torah va-Avodah and the Mizrachi party, and the other, religious Zionists, such as the Ateret Zion in Djerba, were without any affiliation. Other groups remained politically neutral. In this period, it is significant that the Zionists were the first to understand that the Jewish community under French rule was at its end. Restricted modernization under colonial rule had brought about the end of Jewish existence in Tunisia. Such was the Zionists' advantage in the colonial drama.

World War II

Tunisian Jewry was influenced during World War II by developments which had taken place mainly in France. French territories, including Tunisia, were under Vichy government rule and all its anti-Jewish legislation was applied there. The laws and decrees published by the Vichy government concerned three main areas: the legal status of the Jews, the *numerus clausus* in education, and the measures that were taken against the Jews' economic influence. The Jewish Statute was published in Tunisia on November 30, 1940, but its implementation was only partial because of the small number of French Jews and their importance in the economy, the positive attitude of the French résident général towards Tunisian

Jews, and the involvement of the Italian government representative in Tunisia who looked after Italian interests. In Tunisia, the Italian representative strongly opposed all French attempts to aryanize Jewish property as part of Italy's policy to protect the Italian colony in Tunisia.

During a period of six months, between November 1942 and May 1943, the situation of Tunisian Jewry steadily deteriorated as a result of the German occupation which was a counter-attack against the American Operation Torch and also the British military campaign from Libya. The Jews suffered from the aerial bombardment of the Allied Forces as well as that of the German ones. As far as is known, most of the Jews who died during the German occupation were killed by these bombings. The Germans created a new Jewish communal committee most of whose functions were similar to the *Judenrat. The most important task of the community was to supply forced labor for military purposes. It is estimated that approximately 5,000 young Jews were sent to forced labor. The recruiting of the Jews was carried out by a special Comité de Recrutement de la Main d'Oeuvre which was headed by Paul Ghez, a famous lawyer. The Jewish workers were interned at about 30 military camps along the battle fields. The dissatisfaction of the Jews with the work of this committee was natural and understandable, because they had to take care of all the workers' necessities, such as food, clothes, transportation, links with families, etc. The Germans confiscated Jewish property, houses, cars, blankets, radios, public buildings such as the Alliance school, etc., for their own purposes. They imposed a 53 million franc fine on the community. The French résident général, did not, and probably could not, help the Jewish leaders to argue with, or at least to minimize the Germans' demands. Thus, Jewish feelings of isolation, abandonment, and disappointment with France as a Protectorate, were quite understandable. As far as is known, the Tunisian Muslims did not harm the Jews during this tragic period and no incidents occurred between Jews and Arabs. On the contrary, Arabs offered shelter to Jews in their villages until the German threat passed. On July 7, 1943, Tunisia was liberated from Nazi occupation by the Allied Forces. A new era began, while in Europe the destruction of the Jewish communities was still going on.

The period of Vichy and the German occupation was a turning point in the history of the Tunisian Jews and proved that the attempts to assimilate to French culture were an illusion. Not only did France fail to protect the Jews against harsh attacks, but it also initiated antisemitic activity itself. The process of decolonization, disappointment in France, and the rise of Tunisian national aspirations for independence were among the major factors in the change in the view of France. French military and economic power was reduced to such levels that the Jews lost their confidence that France would help them when necessary. The alternatives to a French protectorate were Zionism and immigration to Israel, communism, or waiting for other developments. In addition to the disappointment with France there was also disappointment with the leaders of the Jewish community who were accused of nepotism as well as cooperation with the Germans. They had to submit their resignation and a provisional committee was established. The economic situation deteriorated due to the war and the German oppression. Moreover, France could not give any economic assistance to Tunisia because of its economic situation after the war.

From World War II to Independent Tunisia

The main development after World War II was the emigration from Tunisia which was due partly to the disappointment with France and the decline of colonialism, partly to the fear of an independent Tunisia, and above all to the creation of the State of Israel. As mentioned before, the first stage of *aliyah* was the illegal immigration of 1947–48. The second stage began with the creation of the State of Israel with more than 4,000 immigrants in 1951, and 2,500 in 1952. But the two following years were marked by a strong decrease in immigrants: about 600 in 1953 and 2,600 in 1954. The political autonomy given to them by the French and the forthcoming independence influenced the Jews' decision to leave the country. More than 6,000 Jews immigrated to Israel in 1955 and 6,500 in 1956. The *aliyah* was organized by the Jewish Agency which sent emissaries to Tunisia. This was the period when the Tunisian Jewish leaders lost their standing in the community to the Israeli emissaries and Israeli political party representatives. One such expression of this was the decrease in the number of Jewish newspapers published in Tunisia.

Jews in Independent Tunisia until the Six-Day War

The character and attributes of independent Tunisia were influenced by several basic factors: the nature of the party in power (Neo-Destour), the almost bloodless struggle for independence, Tunisia's role in the Maghreb states and in the Arab world, its pro-Western inclinations, and the domestic problems it faced during the first years of independence. These factors had a consequential influence on the character of Tunisian Jewry and on the manner in which Israel handled the issue of immigration from Tunisia.

Independent Tunisia's policy vis-à-vis its Jews favored their full integration into the new Tunisian society. Thus, for example, all Tunisians were given the franchise in elections to the Constituent Assembly, ten Jewish judges were appointed to the country's courts to decide cases dealing with Jewish litigants, and though the rabbinical courts were abolished, special courts dealing with matters of personal status were established within the Tunisian legal system that were open to Jews just as they were to all other Tunisians. The Jewish community council was disbanded and replaced by an "Interim Committee for the Management of the Affairs of the Jewish Community" until "associations for religious matters" would be established.

Two of the steps taken by the authorities for the development of the capital city of Tunis proved detrimental to the Jewish community: the transfer of the old Jewish cemetery to another site and the razing of *Ḥārat al-Yahūd*, the Jewish quarter. These were carried out as part of an urban renewal plan in which the Muslim cemetery was also removed to a new location. Aware of the Jews' sensitivity, Habib Bourguiba personally supervised all work related to the transfer of the Jewish cemetery, during which the Tunisians displayed a reasonable degree of consideration for Jewish feelings.

The years from Tunisian independence until the events in Bizerta in 1961 were marked by a decrease in tension between those Jews who remained in the country and the authorities. Jews were appointed to some of the positions vacated by the French, and Yom Kippur was proclaimed an official holiday, enabling Jews to absent themselves from work. The Jews' sense of security and the degree of their identification with Tunisia are exemplified in the role they played in the "Campaign for the Dinar" (in which all Tunisians were called upon to shore up the declining value of the Tunisian dinar). The extent of *aliyah* to Israel in these years also reflects the general climate of opinion in Tunisia. In 1955, over 6,000 Jews immigrated to Israel, while in 1956 – the year of Tunisian independence – another 6,500 arrived. In the year following independence, however, the figure dropped to about 2,600 and was even lower in the succeeding years until the fighting in Bizerta in 1961 between the French and the Arabs. The events in Bizerta increased the Jews' doubts as to their future in Tunisia. French military presence, limited as it was, was a sort of lifebelt for them and made them feel more secure. The best proof of their sense of insecurity lies in the figures for Jewish emigration during these years. Of the 65,000 Jews in the country in 1960, 60,000 remained in 1962, while in 1965 the Jewish population of Tunisia amounted to no more than half of that of 1962. In less than five years, over 30,000 had left the country, most of them professionals or businessmen. The extent and character of emigration during these years are quite similar to that of the period which immediately preceded Tunisian independence. Those who remained were primarily the elderly.

In the interim period between the Bizerta affair and Bourguiba's proposals in 1965 for a peaceful solution of the Arab-Israeli conflict, the condition of Tunisia's Jewish community deteriorated. After a plot to assassinate Bourguiba was uncovered in 1962, many Jewish families closed down their businesses and immigrated to France. Gradually, it was forbidden to send letters and parcels to Israel, and direct telephone communications between the two countries were cut off. Only Jews bearing French citizenship were allowed to leave with their belongings, and this only if they were able to present proof of their citizenship and an affidavit certifying their destination as France. Jews holding Tunisian citizenship could leave the country without their property, except for 30 dinars and some clothes. Thirty-five Jews from Djerba were arrested on suspicion of trying to smuggle gold from Tunisia to Libya. They were imprisoned, tortured, and tried in court, where they were very heavily fined. Only intervention by the community leadership managed to alleviate their condition somewhat. Eyewitness accounts from the time of the Six-Day War in Tunisia talked of anti-Jewish demonstrations in Tunis, heavy damage done to Jewish retail establishments throughout the city, where more than 100 shops were looted and smoke poured out of scores of Jewish establishments. Only intervention by President Bourguiba brought the demonstrations to an end. In a speech broadcast over the radio and the television, he called on the mobs to stop the riots and denounced them severely. His action prevented even more severe attacks on the Jews, especially in the smaller towns.

Since the Six-Day War

The character of this period was influenced by the Arabization of the new state including its relations with the Arab world and the effect of the Israeli-Arab conflict, the economic situation, and the size of the Jewish population. These years can be divided into three main periods: from the Six-Day War to the Lebanese War (June 1982, known as Peace in Galilee); from the Lebanese War to the beginning of the Zin Ben-Ali regime in 1987; and from the beginning of the Zin Ben-Ali regime until the early 21st century.

In 1966 only 23,000 Jews lived in Tunisia. Two years afterwards, the Jewish population was estimated at about 10,000, which means that more than 13,000 Jews had left Tunisia, most of whom emigrated in the six months after the end of the Six-Day War. From 1965 to 1971, 7,753 Tunisian Jews immigrated to Israel, in 1972–79 only 2,148 did so, and 1,232 left for Israel in 1980–84. Most of the Jews who left Tunisia after the Six-Day War immigrated to France and created a Tunisian colony there which exerted considerable influence on French Jewish life. Under the Bourguiba government the situation of the Jewish community did not deteriorate; it was a time of relative calm for those Jews who preferred to stay in Tunisia.

During the Lebanese War, June 1982, and especially after the events in Sabra and Shatilla, some incidents occurred in the south of Tunisia. On September 23, 1982, the daily journal *al-Sabach* denounced the chief rabbi of Tunisia for his unclear position on the events in Sabra and Shatilla. Some days afterwards, and in accordance with Bourguiba's position, which called for an Israeli-Palestinian dialogue, the chief rabbi dedicated a place in his prayers for the innocent victims of Sabra and Shatilla. This declaration, however, did not prevent riots against Jews in the small towns of Zarzis and Ben-Garden which caused much damage to Jewish property. The authorities arrested those responsible for the incidents and put them on trial. The Lebanese War changed the Tunisian Jews' situation as a result of the transfer of the Palestinian Liberation Organization's headquarters and the Arab League bureau after the Camp David agreements. Consequently, Tunisia became a center for anti-Jewish and anti-Israel propaganda. Other elements that influenced the Jews' situation were the fundamentalist activities which were encouraged by the Khomeini Islamic revolution and its impact on Muslims in Libya and Algeria. On October 1, 1985, an Israeli aircraft bombed the Palestine Liberation Organization's headquarters. Fifty-six Palestinian were killed and about 100 injured. The steps which were taken by the Tunisian authorities failed to protect the Jews.

Some Jews were killed in the synagogue of Djerba. The Israeli bombings caused a wave of Jewish emigration from Tunisia. More than 700 Jews left Tunisia during the years 1985–89; thus only 2,500 Jews continued to live in Tunisia, most of them in Djerba and Tunis.

Zin Al-Abidin Ibn-Ali took power in Tunisia on November 6, 1987, after the dismissal of Bourguiba. His internal policy improved the economic situation and opened the country to a democratic process. During 1987–91 the Jews expressed their fear and increasing doubts regarding their future in Tunisia. The assassination of Abu Jihad, one of the most important commanders of the PLO, in April 1988, in his house in Tunisia, and the Gulf War in February-March 1991 contributed to those fears and doubts. However, since the Oslo agreements there has been a gradual improvement in the Jews' situation due to the significant part played by Tunisia in those agreements. Tunisia opened its borders to Israeli tourists and most Palestinians were evacuated from Tunisia, as was the Arab League bureau, and diplomatic relations were established with Israel.

As of 2005 the Jewish community consisted of about 1,500 Jews, most of them living in Tunis and Djerba, which is a religious center and very attractive to tourists. Jews have all the requisites for leading a religious life. Relations with Israel are still at a very low level and are influenced by the progress (or its absence) in the peace process and also by Tunisia's position in the Arab world.

[Haim Saadoun (2nd ed.)]

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TUNKEL, JOSEPH (**Yoysef Tunkl**; pseudonym **Der Tunkeler**; 1881–1949), Yiddish humorist, satirist, and cartoonist. Born in Bobruisk, Belorussia, he immigrated to New York in 1906, where he founded and edited the satirical weeklies *Der Kibitser* (1909–10) and *Der Groyser Kundes* (1910), but in 1910 returned to Warsaw, where he edited *Der Krumer Shpigl* ("The Crooked Mirror"), the weekly humor supplement of the Yiddish daily *Der *Moment*. In 1939 he succeeded in escaping to France and, in 1941, to the U.S., where he wrote for the Yiddish daily *Forverts. *Der Tunkeler* was popular in the Yiddish press. His humorous pamphlets and books were widely read, his one-act plays often performed, and his comic sketches recited by many artists. His humor was good-natured and his satire was mild. A sharp social and cultural critic, he was a master of the spoken idiom of his day and can be read with profit for his literary parodies in particular.

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TUR BROTHERS, pseudonym of **Leonid Davydovich Tubelski** (1905–1961) and **Peter Lvovich Ryzhey** (1908–), Soviet Russian playwrights. Both were originally newspapermen, and some of their plays were written in collaboration with Lev Romanovich Sheinin (1906–1967), a lawyer by training. Most have swiftly moving plots, and many deal with political intrigue and the struggle against criminal elements. A number of their plays have Jewish protagonists. Noteworthy among these is *Komu psodchinyayetsya vremya* ("To Whom Time Bows," 1946), written by all three authors, which portrays a Jewish watchmaker in Nazi-occupied Russia. This central character, an anti-Nazi resistance fighter, is deeply attached to Jewish tradition and is shown observing the Passover festival. An earlier play by the same authors (*Neravny brak*, "The Misalliance," 1940), was set in what had been a Jewish **shtetl* in the Pale of Settlement. A visiting American millionaire does not recognize the town which his father has described to him: gone are the traditional Jewish occupations, even the matchmaker has become a bookkeeper in a collective farm, and no Soviet Jewish girl is interested in marrying an American Jewish capitalist.

[Maurice Friedberg]

TURDA (Ger. **Thorenburg**; Hung. **Torda**), town in Transylvania, N.W. Romania; until the end of World War I within Hungary. Jews began to settle there at the close of the 18th century although individual Jews had visited the locality earlier. A document of 1669 mentions a Jew of *Alba Iulia who had stayed in Turda in order to sign an agreement with the local inhabitants. A community was organized between 1830 and 1840. There were already houses of prayer during that period. The community remained Orthodox throughout its existence, but there were also many *maskilim* in Turda who had an affinity for the Western trends promoted by the Neolog communities in Hungarian-speaking Transylvania. The Jewish population numbered 48 families (175 persons) in 1866; 203 (2.1 percent of the total) in 1870; 326 (3.5 percent) in 1900; 482 (3.5 percent) in 1910; and 852 (4.2 percent) in 1930.

The community, which was wealthy and well organized, employed some distinguished rabbis, among them Ben-Zion Albert Wesel (1900–38) and Joseph Adler (1938–44). For most of the period between the two world wars these two rabbis also held the position of president of the central office of the organization of Orthodox communities of Transylvania, and the community thus played a leading role among Orthodox Jewry in Transylvania. An Orthodox Hungarian-language weekly, *Hoemesz*, was published in Turda from 1933 to 1940. A large synagogue was erected in 1932. Zionist activities were also organized, and there was a group of Jews which supported the Hungarian minority movement in Romania; a Jewish club, established in 1936, played an important part in Jewish life.

Holocaust and Contemporary Periods

There were 726 Jews in Turda (2.2 percent of the total population) in 1940. Their numbers increased to 1,805 in 1942 after Jews from the surrounding areas were concentrated in Turda by the Romanian Fascist authorities. From 1940 to 1944, because of the location of Turda near the Romanian-Hungarian border and within 18 mi. (approx. 30 km.) of *Cluj, the capital of northern Transylvania, Jews of Turda played an important role in underground rescue activities among the Jewish population. Members of the community collaborated with the representatives of the Zionist youth movements in contact with the rescue centers in Bucharest and Budapest and rescue workers in Palestine through their center in Istanbul. They organized secret routes for the transfer of refugees from neighboring Hungary to Romania, where the situation of the Jews was less dangerous, subsequently directing the refugees toward Bucharest, from where most of them reached Palestine. Hundreds of refugees passed along this escape route, most of them from Hungary, some from Slovakia, and even a number from Poland. In the fall of 1944, the town was taken by Hungarian forces. However, they were defeated by the Russians about five weeks later before they had succeeded in organizing the deportation of the local Jews.

After World War II the community continued activities but its institutions lost their importance with the decline of the Jewish population as a result of emigration to Israel and elsewhere. There were about 150 Jews living in Turda in 1971, and their numbers continue to dwindle into the 21st century. Prayers were still held in the Great Synagogue on Jewish festivals.

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[Yehouda Marton]

TURECK, ROSALYN (1914–2003), U.S. pianist. Born in Chicago, Rosalyn Tureck played with the Chicago Symphony Orchestra at the age of 11, studied at the Juilliard School of Music, and specialized in the performance of Bach's keyboard works. In 1937 she gave the first of her Bach concerts in New York, and in 1947 set out on the first of her extensive European tours. She was a faculty member of the Juilliard School of Music (1943–53), lecturer at Columbia (1953–55), and Regent's Professor at the University of California (1966). She founded the Society for the Performance of International Contemporary Music (1951–55), the Tureck Bach Players (1959), and the International Bach Society (1966). She published many Bach works in pedagogical editions.

TURIN (It. **Torino**), city on the Po River, N.W. Italy. Turin was the capital of the duchy of Savoy and later of the kingdom of Sardinia; it is now the capital of Piedmont province. The presence of Jews in Turin was recorded by Bishop Maximus of Turin in the fourth century, but thereafter there is no evidence of Jews until 1424 when the French Jewish physicians and bankers Elias Alamanni and Amedeo Foa moved there with their families. They received a ducal privilege and a pontifical patent. The Turin Communal Council gave them the final authorization to settle there. Two documents dated to 1424 confirm it. The first document is a permission to live in the city and open a bank. The second mentions that the Jews could not be injured or insulted. Also a plot was purchased for a burial ground. Other Jewish bankers followed and a small group was formed. In 1425 the Jews were compelled to live in a restricted area where they could be watched more easily and prevented from lending money at excessive rates of interest. In 1430 Duke Amadeus VIII of Savoy issued statutes regulating Jewish residence, synagogues, civil and criminal jurisdiction, and relations with Christians. In addition, the statutes required Jewish men to wear a *badge in the shape of a disk, four fingers in width and red and white in color. For the following four centuries the interpretation of these regulations by the various rulers of Savoy ranged from literal to lenient. When in 1436 Ludovico of Savoy had the *Studium*, or university, erected, he decreed that the mansions of the Jews would be used by the students. At the same time the Jewish scholar and banker Bonafé de Chalon was invited to make low-interest loans to the university's students. During the pestilence of 1450–51 the care of the sick was given over to a Jewish doctor, Bono.

Jewish moneylending was permitted in Turin for a longer time than anywhere else in Italy. The taxes paid by the Jews were particularly high and the imposition of new taxes threatened the Jews with ruin or expulsion. In 1560 and 1566 Duke Emmanuel Philibert decreed that the Jews be expelled, but the decrees were canceled because of the intervention of influential people and the annual payment by the Jews of 20,000 florins.

From 1561 a guardian (*conservatore*) was given jurisdiction over the Jews and in some cases also represented them. The duke chose the guardian from among the senators from 1603 to 1626: thereafter he chose him from the names of three senators submitted by the Jews. Charles Emmanuel I (1580–1630) allowed the monopoly granted to Jewish moneylenders to remain in force, and he rejected Cardinal Carlo *Borromeo's demands for the expulsion of the Jews and the establishment of a ghetto in Turin. The most outstanding rabbi in the 16th century was Nethanel b. Shabbetai ha-Dani.

The majority of the Jews engaged in moneylending and were in close economic cooperation with the dukes of Savoy, extending to them large loans. In 1624 there were nine Jewish banks in Turin. The Talmud Torah Fraternity was founded in 1662. In 1679, after the death of Charles Emmanuel II, the reigning duchess, Maria Giovanna of Nemours, guardian of Duke Victor Amadeus II, decreed the establishment of the ghetto. Thus in 1680 the approximately 750 Jews of Turin were collected in one building which had been used as a hospital for beggars. The most important rabbis of 17th century Turin were Joseph Calvo, Daniel b. Joseph Calvo, and Joseph b. Michael Ravenna.

In 1702 there were 800 Jewish residents in Turin. In 1720 Victor Amadeus II transferred the Jewish codices that had been collected by his ancestors to the library of the University of Turin. These codices were described by Pasini Regi in the 18th century, B. Peyron in the 19th, and E.S. Artom in the 20th (*Soncino Blaetter* (1925), 43–70). However, at the beginning of the 20th century, they were almost entirely destroyed by fire. In the 17th and 18th centuries the Jews were urged to engage in the production and sale of fabrics.

Victor Amadeus II issued new statutes in 1723 and 1729 that substantially renewed those of 1430. The Jews were forbidden to own real estate and it was stipulated that they should live in the ghetto. Despite the trade in woolen and silk fabrics, the economic position of the Jews deteriorated. There are, however, no records of complaints; in fact, the Jewish population increased to about 1,300 by 1794. This implies that the Jews were better off in Turin than in other parts of Italy, both because of the comparative prosperity and the greater liberality of King Charles Emmanuel III. Turin continued to produce outstanding scholars. Eighteenth-century rabbis from Turin were Joshua Colon, Isaac Formiggini, Abraham Sanson b. Jacob ha-Levi Fubini, Michael Solomon Jonah, Gabriel Pontremoli, Jacob b. Joshua Benzion Segre, Abraham b. Jehuda Segre, and Daniel Valabrega.

The first real breath of liberty came with the French Revolution. Following the annexation to France in 1798, the Jews of Turin enjoyed greater liberty and were no longer compelled to live in the ghetto. Thus in 1797 a group of Jews, Ghidiglia, Guastalla, Treves, Nizza, Todros, and Malvano, bought a palace in front of the ghetto. In 1799 the Austro-Russian allies reconquered Piedmont from the French Republic, and the ancient statutes were reestablished. However, after Napoleon's victory at Marengo in 1800, Piedmont was annexed to France, and Turin became the capital of the new department. Turin's Jews were well established in the Napoleonic period and continued to purchase real estate outside the ghetto. Moreover, some of the Jews from the most prominent families were selected as guards of honor for Napoleon's visit.

With the fall of Napoleon in 1814, Victor Emmanuel I reenacted all the previous regulations. In theory the Jews had to go back to the ghetto and wear the badge. However, the reality was different. The Jews were soon exempted, in 1816, from wearing the yellow badge. Moreover the Sardinian government found it impossible to force the Jews to sell their land outside the ghetto and reside inside the ghetto only. A series of extensions and respites continued under the rule of Carlo Felice, until the Emancipation in 1848 under Carlo Alberto. Some of Turin's Jews took part in the 1821 *carbonari* insurrection, such as the banker Davide Levi. In 1848 there were 3,200 Jews living in Turin. By this time, however, the spirit of liberty was asserting itself as the voices of Gioberti, Franchi, Maffoni, Romagnosi, *Cattaneo, and Roberto and Massimo D'*Azeglio were raised in favor of the emancipation of the Jews everywhere in Italy. In 1848 M. D'Azeglio published his booklet *Dell'emancipazione degli Israeliti*. In the same year King Carlo Alberto, on March 29, granted the Jews full emancipation, and hence liberation from the ghetto. The wealthier families left the ghetto immediately. Encouraged by the rabbi of Turin Lelio *Cantoni and the poet David Levi, the Jews of Turin participated in the First Italian War of Independence, and 65 Jews volunteered for the Sardinian Army. After the defeat in 1849, under the strong hand of Vittorio Emanuele II, the legal situation of the Jews living in the Kingdom of Sardinia became a model for the Jews living in the other states of Italy, which still lacked full emancipation. Jews had access to the administration and the diplomatic corps as well as the army. In 1852 Cavour, a friend of the Jews who had at one time asked for their emancipation became the prime minister under King Victor Emmanuel II. Cavour was aided by the Jews Isaac Artom, his secretary, and Giacomo Dina, director of *L'opinione*, a newspaper backing Cavour's policy.

Piedmont having become the center of Italian unification and the symbol of Jewish emancipation attracted some Jews to Turin. In 1871 4,500 Jews lived in Turin. In 1859 the Jewish community commissioned the architect Antonelli to plan a monumental synagogue, the tangible symbol of the emancipation. However the building, the so-called Mole Antonelliana, was so expensive that the Jewish community donated it to the Turin Municipality. The main synagogue of Turin was erected in 1884 in Moorish style on St. Pius V Street. Various Jewish scholars lived or worked in 19th century Turin, such as Abraham de *Cologna, a member of Napoleon's Sanhedrin, Felice Bachi, Elijah Aaron Lattes, Samuel Solomon Olper, Isaiah Foà, Lellio *Della Torre, director of the Rabbinical College of Padua, Sabbato Graziadio Treves, Giuseppe Lattes, and Samuel Ghiron. Rabbi Olper's decision in 1865 to shorten the period of mourning aroused controversy among Italian rabbis. The decision was accepted only within Turin, where it was carried out until the beginning of the 20th century.

Although the capital of Italy moved to Florence in 1861 and to Rome in 1870, Turin Jewry still played a disproportionate role in Italy's cultural history. Among Turin's outstanding Jewish personalities during the following period were E.S. *Artom; R. *Bachi; S. *Foa; and B. *Terracini, who studied the history and dialect of the Jews of Piedmont. Other notables included G. Bolaffi, the jurist M. *Falco, the writers *Carlo and Primo *Levi, the historian A. *Momigliano, E. *Artom, and Senator U. *Terracini.

A Hebrew printing establishment existed in Turin in the 18th century (E.S. Lattes, in *Mosè* (Corfu, 1879), 263–5). In the 20th century the Marietti graphics company published, under the guidance of Rabbi Disegni, the Bible and some *maḥzorim* with Italian translation; and, under the supervision of R. Bonfil, a Passover *Haggadah*.

[Alfredo Mordechai Rabello / Samuele Rocca (2nd ed.)]

Holocaust and Contemporary Periods

In 1931 4,040 Jews lived in Turin. In 1938 the Racial Law particularly affected the Jewish community of Turin, much assimilated to Italian life. In 1942 a bomb destroyed the interior of the synagogue. In November and December 1943, the Germans began to deport the Jews of Turin. A total of 246 Jews were deported to Auschwitz. Only 21 came back. One of them was the writer Primo Levi. Various gentiles helped the Jews in ingenious ways. Thus Dr. Coggiola of Mauriziano Hospital organized a "quarantine section" housing Jews, and the judge Germano subpoenaed Jews as witnesses in various legal processes. Jews joined the local partisan movements, such as E. Artom, political commissar of the 5th Regiment of the Giustizia and Libertà brigades, and G. Bolaffio, who was the commander of the 4th Regiment of Giustizia and Libertà. At the end of World War II 2,885 Jews were left in Turin, apart from numerous refugees who were temporarily housed in the surrounding districts. The Jewish Brigade helped restore the confidence of the community. In 1949 the synagogue was repaired.

Various rabbis dominated Jewish life in Turin in the 20th century, such as Giacomo Bolaffio; Dario *Disegni, chief rabbi of Turin from 1924 to 1960, founder of the Margulies Rabbinical School, and editor of a translation of the Pentateuch and of the Bible; and Sergio Joseph *Sierra.

Due to a high mortality rate (as compared with their birthrate) the Jewish population of Turin in 1970 was around 2,000 (only 0.16% of the total inhabitants). Educational institutions included a school for higher Hebrew studies, the Margulies Sierra Rabbinic School, a kindergarten, an elementary school, and a Jewish high school. The other institutions included a rest home for elderly people and an orphanage. The Jewish community of Turin continued to publish a monthly newspaper, *Notiziario della Comunita' ebraica di Torino*. In 2005, 924 Jews lived in Turin. The chief-rabbi was Alberto Somech.

[Sergio DellaPergola / Samuele Rocca (2nd ed.)]

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TURKA, city in Lvov district, W. Ukraine. Jews first settled in Turka in the early 19th century when the city was under Austrian rule. They engaged in trading in forest products, the manufacture of building materials, shopkeeping, and crafts – tailoring, shoemaking, carpentry, and transportation. In the second half of the 19th century the ḥasidic groups of *Belz and Sadgora had great influence within the community. On the eve of World War I, M. Landes, the Jewish representative on the city council, was mayor. Between the two world wars, when Turka was incorporated into Poland, Zionist parties were active, including Agudat Israel, Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir, and Agudat Akiva. Among Jewish educational institutions were the Degel Torah yeshivah, and *Tarbut and *Beth Jacob schools. The community founded a new orphanage in 1927. The Jewish population numbered 2,368 (51% of the total) in 1890, 2,892 (48%) in 1900, 4,887 (45%) in 1910, 4,201 (42%) in 1921, and 4,117 in 1931. The mayor of Haifa, Abba *Khoushi, was born in Turka.

[Shimon Leib Kirshenboim]

Holocaust Period

Before the outbreak of World War II, there were about 6,000 Jews in Turka. On Sept. 17, 1939, the Red Army entered the town and a Soviet administration was established there until the outbreak of the German-Soviet war in June 1941. The Germans occupied the town at the beginning of July 1941. The first *Aktion* took place in January 1942, when about 500 Jews were killed. In August 1942 about 4,000 Jews were deported to the *Belzec death camp. The Jewish community was liquidated in December 1942, when the Jews were transported to the *Sambor ghetto, where they were killed together with the local Jews. After the war, the Jewish community was not reconstituted. An organization of former residents of Turka is active in Israel.

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TURKEY, modern republic in Asia Minor and S.E. Europe (see *Ottoman Empire for previous period). In the peace treaty of Lausanne (July 24, 1923), Turkey established complete sovereignty in Anatolia, the southeastern part of Thrace, and some islands in its territorial waters. The international status of the Turkish republic established in 1923 was secured, and in the following year the caliphate was abolished. The Treaty of Lausanne secured the rights of the religious and ethnic minorities (par. 39), who were permitted to have their own social institutions, funds, and schools (par. 40). In paragraph 41 the Turkish government assured the minorities their personal status as provided by their religious canons. The Jews showed their Turkish patriotism in the new republic: they relinquished the claims connected with their rights as a minority, and many renounced their foreign nationality and became Turkish citizens. Turkish Jewry was represented in parliament by Solomon Adato (from 1946 until his death in 1953) and by Henry Suriano (from 1954). The Turkish republic was declared a secular state, and Mustafa *Kemal Atatürk, its founder, attempted to erase all signs of the religious-institutional influence of Islam and also to maintain equality of Christianity and Judaism in public life. Even the wearing of "clerical" garb was prohibited and permitted only to the heads of the autonomous churches. For the Jews the prohibition on teaching Hebrew in schools was a hard blow. After Atatürk's death in 1938 many of the prohibitions he introduced were eased (e.g., the use of Arabic during the call for prayer in the mosques), but the general attitude toward religious minorities remained unchanged.

Economic Activities

In 1926 G. Bie Raondal, the U.S. consul general in Istanbul, wrote: "In the former Ottoman Empire they [the Jews] occupied important government positions, but the tendency of the new nationalism, ushered in by the republic, has been to put them in the same relative position as other non-Muslims, although they have never been persecuted in Turkey. [Now they] have carved out for themselves a place in every branch of the national life and are found as traders, bankers, professional men, office workers, and even laborers" (*Turkey*, 1926). Since 1926 many changes have occurred in modern Turkey, and the Jewish community has dwindled to an almost insignificant minority from the economic aspect. Although the severe blow of the capital tax (see below) was only temporary, it had a psychological effect on the Jewish community and was one of the causes of Jewish emigration from the country.

Jewish national life did not develop in *Istanbul and the towns which remained within the boundaries of Turkey; the Zionist idea had only few followers in the capital. The negative attitude of the Turkish government to Zionism was a heritage from Young Turk and Ottoman times, and influenced Turkish Jews. However, the idea of full integration in the Turkish state appeared to be unrealistic. The Jews, like the Greeks and the Armenians, unofficially remained second-class citizens. This was both demonstrated and felt in particular during World War II, so long as Hitler's antisemitic propaganda gained ground and it seemed that the Axis powers were moving toward victory. To meet wartime needs in the neutral Turkish republic a capital tax (*varlik vergisi*) was approved (1942) which was to be levied on owners of large farms (Muslims) and other taxpayers. However, it soon became apparent that the really important determinants of a taxpayer's assessment were his religion and nationality. The taxpayers' lists were prepared according to denominational indications. M (for Muslims) had to pay 5% of their capital or income (the same grade was accorded to foreign citizens); the tax rate for D (*Doenmeh) was about twice as much as for Muslims; for G (Gayri Muslims, non-Muslims) assessments would be made by special commissions, in accordance with their opinions. In fact the poorest among the non-Muslims, especially Jewish artisans, wage earners, and others, were taxed at figures wildly beyond their ability to pay. Members of the minorities who had retained or obtained foreign protection at the time of the armistice and Allied occupation (1919–23) were able to have their assessments reduced to the Muslim level. The Jews who had trusted

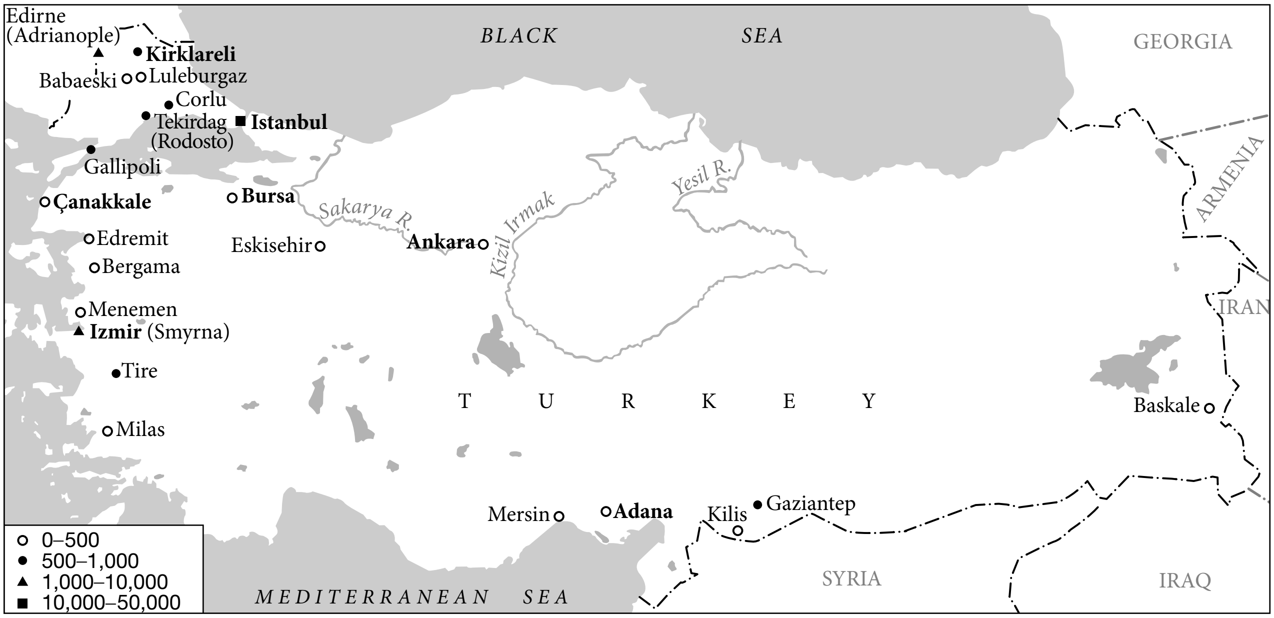

Jewish communities in Turkey in 1930. Names in boldface indicate those still in existence in 2005.

in the new republic and thrown their lot in with it were subject to victimization and punishment. Through the spring and summer of 1943 the continuing arrests, seizures, and deportations to labor camps were almost all of non-Muslims, the majority of whom were Jews. Many businessmen were ruined by assessments higher than their total possessions; others, though wealthy enough to pay, went bankrupt because no time was allowed them to find sufficient liquid money. The pro-Axis press expressed cordial approval of these developments, and denounced people of "alien blood," "Turks by name only," who should be punished for their disloyalty and ingratitude. With the decline of German power, as the downfall of the Axis became evident, a law was passed (1944) releasing all defaulters still detained and canceling all amounts still unpaid. The Democratic Party even promised compensation for damages caused to health and wealth.

After the end of the war the general economic situation and its structure changed for the better. Primarily, the reforms introduced after the establishment of the republic began to be felt. In addition, the aid given by the United States, aimed to strengthen the social structure of the population and hence the strategic value of the country, showed its efficacy. The Jewish population also took part in this recovery. In 1968 the economic situation of Turkish Jewry was good and the community contained some wealthy men. Most Jews were merchants, employees (very few of them in government service), or artisans. There were few underprivileged since most of the needy had settled in Israel soon after the establishment of the state.

Minor discrimination against Jews in Istanbul occurred, however, influenced by the tension between Turkey and Greece over Cyprus. During the anti-Greek riots in 1955 and 1964 the Jews were among the victims. The *Six-Day War (1967) also aroused anti-Jewish feelings and led to some small-scale incidents. The Turkish government, which had established diplomatic relations with Israel in 1949, always attempted to quell mob turbulence, but not with full effect. As the government's attitude toward Muslim religious activities became more tolerant, the rightist parties used it as a cover for anti-Jewish propaganda. Antisemitism being prohibited by law, anti-leftist and anti-Communist slogans were employed demagogically. By use of these tactics a small daily, *Bugün*, raised its circulation from 10,000 copies to 60,000. Some Turkish newspapers published articles in 1948 and later condemning emigration to Israel, and a few attacked the government for allowing it. They argued that the exodus of Jews would undermine the economy, and that communists were helping to organize emigration. Later, the amount of anti-Jewish material published in Turkey was reduced. Among those continuing to publish such material was Cevat Rifat Atilhan, who wrote *Le Sionisme, Danger pour l'Islamisme* (1951; almost all copies were seized by the authorities) and "Turks, Here is Your Enemy" (Turkish, 1959). Atilhan also wrote anti-Jewish articles in the newspaper *Yeni Istiklal*. Between 1951 and 1961 the newspaper *Büyük Doğu* ("Great East"), whose editor was Necip Fazil Kisakürek, printed many anti-Jewish articles.

Demography

The first census of the Turkish republic, held in 1927, showed some 79,454 Jews in a total population of over 13.5 million (see Table: Distribution of Jewish Population in Turkey), of whom half were in Istanbul. By 1945, the total Jewish population had decreased to 76,965, and in 1955 to 40,345. Immediately after the establishment of the State of Israel there was large-scale emigration of Turkish Jews. However, in November 1948, as the result of pressure exerted by the Arab states, emigration was forbidden until early 1949. Later in that year Turkey recognized the State of Israel *de jure*, and Jews were again permitted to emigrate. The government even put ships of its merchant shipping line at the disposal of the emigrants, but forbade Israel representatives to organize emigration (until 1950). A total of 4,362 Turkish Jews went to Israel in 1948, and 26,295 in 1949–50. After 1950 the number of emigrants fell, although the Turkish government made no difficulties for those wishing to leave, except for the prohibition of taking out money. Between 1952 and 1955 only 2,182 Jews went to Israel. It is presumed that about 37,000 Jews left Turkey for Israel between 1948 and 1970; however about ten percent of these, principally from Istanbul and Izmir (peddlers, bootblacks, small wage earners, etc.), returned to Turkey, as conditions had improved in the country. Since 1960 the official Turkish census commission has not compiled statistics by religion, hence it is impossible to know precise figures for Turkey's Jews. Estimates are 38,000 for 1965, and about 20,000 in 2005: some 17,000 in Istanbul, 2,000 in Izmir, and smaller groups in Ankara, Adana, Çanakkale, Bursa, and Kirklareli.

Distribution of Jewish Population in Turkey

	Year 1927 official census	Year 1965 chief rabbinate estimates[1]	Year 1965–70 Jewish institutions estimates[2]
1. Adana	159	60	70
2. Ankara	663	800	3,200
3. Antakya (Antioch)	–	100	6
4. Bursa (Brusa)	1,915	350	400
5. Çanakkale	–	420	300
6. Çoclu	592	40	20
7. Dardanelles	1,109	–	–
8. Edirne (Adrianople)	6,098	400	120–400
9. Gallipoli	736	200	200
10. Gaziantep	742	160	–
11. Iskenderun	–	60	60
12. Istanbul	47,035	35,000	30,000
13. Izmir (Smyrna)	17,094	5,000	4,800–4,000
14. Kirklareli	978	90	67–35
15. Mersin	122	90	50
16. Milas	259	–	79
17. Tekirdag (Rodosto)	889	170	120
18. Tire	1063	–	100
Total	79,454	42,940	40,000

[1] According to letter Aug. 3, 1965

[2] World Jewish Congress; Jewish Agency

Cultural, Religious, and Social Life

There was a dramatic decline of interest in Judaism and Jewish culture among Turkish Jewry in the period between the two world wars and for a few years after it. The last Hebrew press closed in 1944, when its proprietor emigrated to Ereẓ Israel. After the death in 1931 of the *ḥakham bashi* R. Bekhor Ḥayyim *Bejarano, the official representative of Turkish Jewry, the community did not even feel an immediate necessity to appoint a successor. This absence of a spiritual leader not only led to religious indifference but also to apathy. As the *ḥakham bashi* was responsible for leading all activities of all Jewish communities in the Turkish republic, his absence was felt in every field of Jewish life. After a long interval Turkish Jewry decided to elect another *ḥakham bashi*, and R. Raphael David Saban was appointed to head the chief rabbinate (1953–60). He was succeeded by R. David *Asseo in 1960 and R. Isak *Haleva. The *ḥakham bashi* is assisted by a religious council consisting of a *rosh bet din* (also bearing the title *mara de-atra*) and four *ḥakhamim*. The lay council of the *ḥakham bashi* deals with secular-social matters concerning the Jewish community; it consists of 19 members (Sephardim and Ashkenazim). Together they support communal institutions such as synagogues, hospitals, cemeteries, old age homes, and schools.

Jewish Communal Schools

Turkish Jewry maintained its own educational institutions. However, the syllabus in all of them was the same as in government schools. When state opposition to religion was reduced (1948), Jews were permitted to teach Hebrew and religion in their schools (for following the prayers). The Turkish government forbade all Zionist activity as well as the existence of organizations with centers abroad which propagated non-Turkish nationalism. Since most Jewish children attended school, illiteracy fell, and almost all of them spoke and read Turkish, although most of them also spoke Ladino.

In the 1920s and 1930s Istanbul had eight Jewish communal schools for boys and girls together and one high school (founded in 1922 as Lycée Juif by the *B'nai B'rith Lodge); their number has decreased since. The Turkish language was the compulsory medium of instruction in all state schools, and in private schools at the primary level. The Jewish schools obtained permission to give one course in elementary Hebrew, needed for reciting the prayers, but not to give instruction in Jewish history and literature. Hebrew studies were de-emphasized as a result of a 1932 law which forbade religious instruction in all Turkish schools.

Abraham *Galanté was one of the enthusiastic supporters of the spread of Turkish and one of the sponsors of replacing the Arabic script by the Latin alphabet (1928). Ladino periodicals, which had previously appeared in Hebrew script, began to be printed in Latin characters; one, in Istanbul, was *La Vera Luz* (edited by Eliezer Menda), later closed down. *Shalom*, first edited by Avram Leyon, continues, but only some of its articles were in Ladino, the rest in Turkish. A third, *Etoile du Lévant*, published in French, ceased in 1948. The monthly periodical (later a quarterly) *Hamenorah*, published by the B'nai B'rith (1923–38) and edited by David Marcus in three languages (Hebrew, Ladino, and French), carried many important articles concerning the history of Ottoman Jewry. Present-day Jewish writers publish their works in Turkish or French. The Jewish poet Joseph Habib *Gerez wrote in Turkish and described the glories of Istanbul. The library of the chief rabbinate was little used, and Italian Jews made efforts to promote interest in religion and culture. The Turkish authorities did not hinder Jews from religious observance. Nevertheless, most of the younger generation by the 1960s was not observant, and some young people were entirely ignorant of Judaism. The number of marriages to non-Jews increased too.

The Maḥazikei Torah institutions provided religious instruction (and elementary Hebrew language courses) in the evenings and Sunday mornings (Sunday being the official rest day in the Turkish republic) for Jewish boys and girls who attended the Turkish state schools where no Hebrew was taught. There were about 2,000 pupils in these institutions. The Maḥazikei Torah also trained religious functionaries: *ḥazzanim, shoḥatim, mohalim*. Turkish Jewry also had a rabbinical seminary. It was established in Istanbul in 1955, and about 50 students were registered in the mid-1960s, some of whom were awarded rabbinic ordination. After years of general decline in Jewish life this indicated noticeable progress and a reaction to the general apathy in Jewish education. Izmir is the second largest Jewish community in modern Turkey, with approximately 2,000 Jewish inhabitants (2005). It had two Jewish elementary schools and a secondary one. Other communities were too small to have their own schools.

The usual Jewish philanthropic and social institutions also existed in Istanbul and Izmir: orphanages, hospitals, assistance for poor, etc., all supervised by the Türkiye Hahambashiliği, the chief rabbinate of Turkey (letter from the *ḥakham bashi* dated Aug. 3, 1965).

Ashkenazim and Sephardim

Of Turkey's Jews in 1969, about 95 percent were Sephardim, the rest Ashkenazim, called *lehli*, the Turkish name for Poles, because during the 17th and 18th centuries the Ashkenazi immigrants had come from Poland. Later, however, there was Ashkenazi immigration from Austria; the German-speaking Austrian Jews formed the elite of the community, and the Great Synagogue built by them became known as the "Oesterreichischer Tempel." Their last officiating rabbi, David Marcus, was born in Russia, studied in Germany, and then settled in Istanbul (1900–44). After his death the congregation remained without a rabbi and went into a decline, being in danger of complete disintegration, although their percentage in the Jewish population increased somewhat. The older generation of Sephardi Jews continued to speak *Ladino, in which language they produced sacred literature, and since the 19th century published many periodicals. In the 1955 census 64 percent among the Jews declared that their mother tongue was Yahudice (Ladino) compared with 84 percent in 1927, but knowledge of Ladino decreased. Neither the Jews nor the Greeks mastered the Turkish language until, under the new regime, it was introduced into the schools and the younger generation learned to speak, read, and write it fluently.

Karaites

Since all the *Karaite Jews of Egypt left for Israel during the 1950s, as did the remnants of the Karaite community in Hith (Iraq), the Karaite community in Istanbul remained the last in non-Communist Europe. There were about 200 Karaite families (1,000 persons) in Hasköy, a suburb of Istanbul, whose forefathers settled in the city in Byzantine times. They established their own synagogue and cemetery and were completely separated from the Jewish Rabbanite community. They did not intermarry with Rabbanites, with whom the only link was a Rabbanite *mohel* whom they too employed for circumcisions. Their rabbi, Isaac Kerimi, came from the Crimea. Many Karaites spoke Greek. Their attitude toward Israel was neutral, or even unfriendly.

[Haïm Z'ew Hirschberg and Hayyim J. Cohen]

Later Developments

In general, the 1980s were a period of well-being for the Jewish community in Turkey. In spite of increasing Islamic fundamentalist trends and economic difficulties due to high inflation, the Jews of Turkey witnessed a demographic growth, an improvement of the relations between the authorities and the community, and a visible awakening of Jewish identity among the members of the community.

The traumatic event of the decade to hit the community, which is usually out of the spotlight, occurred on September 6, 1986, when Arab gunmen attacked worshipers in Istanbul's Neveh Shalom synagogue during Sabbath morning services. Nineteen of the congregation, two of them Israelis, were killed in the massacre, as were the two gunmen who apparently blew themselves up. A wave of horror ran through the world and condemnations were heard on all sides, while the subsequent funeral became a protest demonstration. The Turkish prime minister, Turgut Özal, immediately called an emergency cabinet meeting and sent a message of condemnation and sympathy to the chief rabbi of Turkey, David Asseo. A subsequent government statement linked the murderers to *Iran and pro-Iranian terror organizations. The synagogue was restored and reinaugurated the following year. A monument in memory of the victims was dedicated at the Ulus/Istanbul cemetery in 1989. In another bomb outrage in 1992, an Israeli diplomat was killed.

In spite of pressures created by the gradual revival of the Islamic spirit in the country, the Turkish government has shown a close interest in the problems of the Jewish community and encouraged direct personal contacts to develop between it and the leaders of the community. Unprecedented permission was granted to Jews by allowing members of the community to take part in the meetings of the World Jewish Congress (WJC). However, this permission marks the only instance, with the exception of *Morocco, of a Muslim government allowing its Jews to participate in a worldwide Jewish activity; it is valid solely for the WJC but applies to no other international Jewish organization, and has been granted on condition of the Turkish community's not becoming a full member but being present only as an "observer."

Synagogues, as well as property owned by the community, are considered as *vakif* ("foundations") by Turkish law, and all foundations in Turkey, non-Muslim and Muslim alike, are subject to the control and regulations of the *vakif.* Jewish communities have felt the effect of these regulations in their efforts to obtain firm and autonomous possession of their patrimony. By the existing regulations, communities are regarded merely as administrators and not as absolute owners of their immovable property. In the event of Jewish population movement, either within the cities or to the suburbs, if Jewish community real estate remains in the area where Jews no longer live, it is forfeited by the community to the *vakif* administration.

Two main events marked Jewish communal life during the latter part of this period: the reorganization in March 1989 of the Lay Council of the Chief Rabbinate and the positive approach of the Turkish authorities to Jewish communal problems.

Through the reorganization of the Lay Council, communal affairs have been taken over by a younger and more dynamic group which adopted a bolder attitude in solving problems. Both the 80-member General Assembly of the Council and its 15-member Executive Committee include representatives from even the smallest Jewish congregations all over the country. The Chief Rabbinate has thus gained authority and jurisdiction over all the Jews of Turkey; previously its authority was practically limited to Istanbul and was often subject to the whims and goodwill of the communities in other cities.

The new Lay Council also succeeded in establishing closer relations with the authorities which, parallel to the changing international political developments, have been inclined to view the problems of the Jewish community from a more positive angle. As a result of this approach a number of developments beneficial to the community have been achieved: the permission to transfer the Jewish lycée and primary school in Istanbul to an area where Jews had moved during the last 20 years, for which permission had been requested ten years ago and been left pending, was granted; a law passed six years earlier rendering the teaching of Islamic religion an obligatory part of the curriculum in all primary and secondary schools was abolished; *talmud torah* education in synagogues was officially allowed; a special foundation to commemorate and celebrate the 500th anniversary of the arrival on Turkish-Ottoman soil of Jews fleeing the Inquisition was created jointly by Muslim and Jewish citizens with the support of the government; and a disused synagogue, the Zülfaris, is being turned into a Jewish museum, the only one of its kind in a Muslim country, where Jews constitute less than 5 per 10,000 of the general population; and for the first time ever, Jewish sportsmen were officially authorized to take part in the 1991 Maccabi games in Marseilles under the Turkish flag.

Immigration to Israel has almost ceased while the number of Jews who had moved to Israel but decided to return to Istanbul in particular has increased considerably. Further, the improved political and social conditions in Turkey have resulted in a sense of security for Jews, and the number of births has risen. The Jewish population grew from 22,000 to 27,000, of whom 2,000 live in Izmir; a few hundred are scattered over western Turkey; and the rest reside in Istanbul. (Censuses do not state the religion of citizens so it is difficult to determine exact figures.) Roughly 1,000 Turkish Jews are Ashkenazim; the rest Sephardim. The two groups live in complete harmony and all communal welfare institutions are administered jointly by members of both rites. There is only one Ashkenazi synagogue in all Turkey. The religious activities of the two rites are run by the Sephardi chief rabbinate and *bet din* which satisfactorily fulfill Ashkenazi needs.

Economically most of the Turkish Jews continued to be rather well off, except for some 300 families who were partly or totally supported by the community. However, Jews in general suffered due to the rampant inflation in the 1990s (a limited number of prominent businessmen constituting an exception).

Members of the community have displayed a marked return to religion and traditions and a keener Jewish consciousness. The number of people who have voluntarily offered to take an active part in communal work and assume their obligations toward the community has grown. The weekly paper *Shalom*, the publication of which had been stopped as a result of its former owner's illness and death, has been taken over by a group of young people who have succeeded in increasing its circulation to 5,000 (thus turning it into a paper read in almost every Jewish household) and giving special emphasis to the revival of Ladino. About one third of the contents of the paper is in *Ladino and the younger generation has begun to show a greater interest in the language.

A new club was founded to serve the Jewish residents of fashionable quarters on the Asian coast of Istanbul, where almost a fourth of the Jewish population lives, and its new building with sports, recreation, and cultural facilities was inaugurated in 1987. A trend of more intense searching for a Jewish identity has emerged among the younger generation and a greater number of people of all ages are volunteering for communal work. However, in spite of the sociocultural revival, the number of intermarriages has increased and has been put at ten percent.

The chief rabbi (*ḥakham bashi*) is the official leader and representative of Turkish Jewry. He is assisted by a Religious Council (*bet din*) and the Lay Council. In contrast to its glorious past of world-famous rabbis and religious scholars, the community is beginning to feel the shortage of qualified rabbis and other religious functionaries. The only *kasher* restaurant closed when its owner retired.

Jews continue to be politically inactive in the country. As in the past, this is due both to their insignificant numbers as well as to their reluctance to take part in politics. While the majority of Jews voted for the middle-right Motherland Party in power during the 1986 elections, a religious party advocating antipathy and even hostility towards Israel and the Jews grew much stronger. Occasional incitements by this party have caused the Jewish community anxiety.

The approval by the authorities and their encouragement of the decision to celebrate the 500th anniversary of the settling of the Sephardi Jews on Turkish-Ottoman soil in 1492 was a high point in Jewish communal life. To celebrate the anniversary a series of national and international symposiums, publications, the creation of a Jewish museum and concerts of local Jewish music were prepared for 1990, with the climax in 1992. (See also *Sephardim.)

[Hanri Yasova]

Relations with Israel

In the 1947 UN General Assembly, Turkey voted against the partition of Palestine and the creation of a Jewish state out of Muslim solidarity and also because of its interest in the continued existence of British positions in the Middle East in the event of a Soviet attack. When the State of Israel became a reality, however, Turkey extended to Israel *de jure* recognition in November 1949, and agreed to the establishment of diplomatic relations. Legations were established and relations between the two countries developed satisfactorily. A commercial agreement in July 1950 facilitated trade relations based on the complementary character of the two countries' economies. An air-transport agreement was signed in February 1951 inaugurating regular Lydda-Istanbul flights by El Al and Turkish Airlines. The Turkish maritime company also initiated passenger and cargo lines to Israel. Israeli contracting firms started working in Turkey, and cultural relations also developed.

The Democratic Party, which came to power in May 1950, slowed down (especially from 1952) the pace of strengthening relations with Israel. It initiated a policy of rapprochement with the Arab countries in order to form a regional defense treaty and to please religious elements within Turkey. The level and scope of relations with Israel were reduced mainly after the signing of the Baghdad Pact with Iraq in February 1955. In December 1956, a few weeks after the *Sinai Campaign, Turkey recalled its minister from Israel, leaving its legation under a chargé d'affaires, and asked Israel to reciprocate. This step was a compromise, as Turkey resisted Arab pressure to sever diplomatic relations with Israel. When Iraq withdrew from the Baghdad Pact in 1959 after the revolutionary coup of 1958, Turkey again changed its attitude vis-à-vis Israel. The ousting of the Democratic Party from power in May 1960 also contributed to the improvement of relations between the two countries. Official visits, some of them at the level of cabinet ministers, were exchanged, and close cooperation began in technical assistance. This stage came to an end following the intercommunal riots in Cyprus in 1963–64. Turkey needed Arab support at the UN and decided to reduce its relations with Israel to a minimum, limiting them mainly to the economic sphere. (In 1969, for example, Israel exported $2,000,000 worth of chemicals, medicaments, and paint to Turkey and imported $4,700,000 worth of sugar, dried fruits, and lentils.) After the Six-Day War (1967), Turkey called for "the establishment of a just and lasting peace" in the Middle East, declaring its opposition to the acquisition of territories by force. It demanded that Israel withdraw from the occupied territories and that there be no change in the status of *Jerusalem. In 1971, the Israel consul in Istanbul, Ephraim Elrom, was kidnapped and after a few days was found murdered. The Turkish government ascribed the crime to extreme left-wing circles whose action was directed not only against Israel but also against the Turkish regime.

[Baruch Gilead]

The years from 1967 to the present may be divided into two: the period which ended in the late 1980s and the second one that continued into the early 21st century. The first period was characterized by official alienation towards Israel by Turkey, culminating in November 1980 in the downgrading of diplomatic relations to the level of junior chargés d'affaires. This happened as a result of the Israeli Knesset's decision to apply Israeli law to the eastern parts of Jerusalem (held by Israel since the 1967 Six-Day War). The pressure of Arab countries, loans and credits from *Saudi Arabia, and large quantities of cheap oil from Iran, *Libya, and *Iraq persuaded Turkey to adopt this position. Turkey supported the Arab position that the occupation of lands in the June 1967 war, including East Jerusalem and the Muslim holy places, amounted to aggression. In October 1973 Ankara refused to grant the right of passage through its airspace, and landing facilities, to American cargo planes that carried urgent supplies to Israel during the October 1973 war; Turkey did, however, allow Russian weapon convoys to cross its territory on their way to *Syria.

This pattern of relations continued until the late 1980s. However, three processes helped change the relations and the atmosphere of alienation. A sharp decrease in energy prices resulted in the Arab countries' losing their ability to exert pressure on Turkey's foreign policy. The second process was the collapse of communism and the disintegration of the Soviet Union. Thus, relations with Israel were no longer a component of the Cold War, to be used as an asset for communism or the Arab states against anybody who had decided to improve relations with Israel, or as a threat of punishment against anyone upgrading relations with Israel. The third process that encouraged Turkey to improve relations with Israel was the withdrawal of Israel from much of southern Lebanon (1985), the Madrid Conference (1991), and the ensuing thaw in Arab-Israeli relations, culminating in the Oslo accords (1993) between Israel and the Palestinians and the peace agreement between Israel and Jordan (1994). Another component that brought about greater cooperation between Israel and Turkey was the growing influence of Muslim radicalism and threats to the Middle Eastern status quo emanating, respectively, from Iran and Iraq. As a result the 1990s were marked by dramatic changes in Turkish-Israeli relations. Cooperation and contacts were conducted openly, a sharp contrast to the previous period, which was marked mostly by secret and clandestine relations. Diplomatic relations were elevated to ambassadorial level (December 2001). A military agreement (February 1996) resulted in intensive cooperation between the armies, navies, air forces, and weapons industries of the two countries. Growing numbers of Israeli tourists visit Turkey (more than 300,000 annually since the mid-1990s, about five percent of Israel's population). Cultural contacts have also increased resulting, among other things, in the teaching of the Turkish and the Hebrew languages in Israeli and Turkish universities, respectively. Thus, mutual civilian trade of all kinds, tourism not included, has amounted to more than $2 billion a year since the early 21st century. Roughly speaking, the entire volume of trade can be divided into one-quarter military contracts and three-quarters civilian. The two countries signed an agreement (March 2004) according to which Israel would purchase annually, for a period of 20 years, the amount of 50 million cubic meters of Turkish fresh water. The upshot of all the above is that Turkey and Israel have a greater volume of civilian trade than between any two states in the Middle East.

The coming to power in Turkey of the Muslim Justice and Development Party (AKP) in November 2002, the war in Iraq which erupted in March 2003, and the December 2004 decision of the EU to conduct membership negotiations with Turkey (to begin in October 2005) provided new inputs to Turkish-Israeli relations. The worsening of relations (as from the year 2000) between Israel and the Palestinians also detrimentally affected Turkish-Israeli relations. Unlike Israel, which supported the American war in Iraq, Turkey opposed it and looked with great concern at the Iraqi mayhem and the possible disintegration of that country into its ethnic components. Turkey repeatedly voiced concern lest a Kurdish entity be established in northern Iraq. Even more, the growing interaction between Ankara and the EU resulted, inter alia, in Turkish policies and statements vis-à-vis Israel and the Palestinians which resemble those of the EU. And while the basic pattern of the bilateral cooperation has not changed – economic, cultural, and military contacts continue to improve, even to thrive; Ankara supported the Israeli disengagement from the *Gaza Strip; high-level contacts are routinely conducted (in August 2005 Turkey used its good offices to mediate between Israel and Pakistan and arranged the first public meeting between the foreign secretaries of the two states) – still, occasionally, Turkey openly criticizes certain Israeli measures in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

[Amikam Nachmani (2nd ed.)]

Jewish Musical Tradition

The arrival of the waves of Jews expelled from Spain in the newly established Ottoman Empire marks a turning point in the history of this country's Jewish musical life. The newcomers brought with them a rich musical tradition, which they continued to preserve and cultivate jealously in the new environment. Their contact with the highly developed Turkish art music as well as with the vestiges of the Romaniot-Byzantine musical style gave rise to an interesting situation in which the Turkish and Sephardi styles became subsequently the two dominant strains of the diverse musical activities in the major cities of the Ottoman Empire. The Byzantine style that characterized the music of old Romaniot communities of Constantinople, Bursa, Adrianople and others continued to be preserved among the Karaites of the Hasköy district of Constantinople and much more overtly in the area where Greek is still the spoken language: at Ioanina, Chalkis, Arta, and Patras. One may even assume that even after the great changes the Byzantine style did not disappear without leaving some traces.

THE COEXISTENCE OF TWO DIFFERENT STYLES. The Spanish Jews continued to maintain a distinctive Judeo-Spanish idiom for secular purposes and Hebrew and Ladino for liturgical functions, and maintained the musical repertory of the Spanish tradition with a remarkable persistence. The latter has been prominent mainly in secular life, and to a lesser extent in liturgical and paraliturgical instances, and essentially became the province of women in the new environment. Jewish women were not involved in the performance of Turkish classical music, and as a rule they did not take part in the liturgical practice. Nevertheless, some daughters of rabbis and cantors involved in the religious activities of their fathers were proficient in the singing of synagogal pieces in the men's ornamented and nasalizing Turkish style.

THE TURKISH STYLE IN SYNAGOGAL MUSIC. The fervent identification of the Jews with the Turkish art music style as a vehicle leading the worshipers to religious elevation and compassion, known as *ḥizzun* (a derivative from the Arabic *ḥuzn*, meaning sadness and introspection), appears in a statement made by the religious scholar, kabbalist, and talented poet-musician rabbi Menahem di *Lonzano (1550–before 1624). In the preface to his collection of *piyyutim* set to Turkish tunes (published about 1575 in Constantinople, probably his birthplace) he claims that he found the Turkish tunes "to be the expression of a broken and contrite heart." In the 19th century, Rabbi Moses Hazzan, who served in Jerusalem's High Religious Court, reports in his book *Kerekh shel Romi* (Livorno, 1886, fol. 72) the following astonishing testimony, which may imply the influence of Turkish-Byzantine style:

> And I testify by heaven and earth that when I was in Izmir, the great city of scholars and mystics, I saw some of the most outstanding religious authorities who were also great creators of the science of music, headed by the wonderful Rabbi Abraham ha-Cohen Ariash of blessed memory, who secretly used to go (behind a screen) in the Christian church on their holy days to learn the special melodies from them and to adapt them to the High Holidays prayers which require great humility. And from those same melodies they would arrange the most remarkable blessings and holy prayers.

Interestingly, the aforementioned Rabbi Abraham Ariash made a name as a composer of 80 Turkish musical pieces in different modes and was known as *hadje-i beskusar* ("a consummate master").

The singing of *piyyutim* in the framework of the normative liturgy music as well as all other types of religious rituals, such as that of the *maftirim* (see below), is only one aspect of synagogal music; the other concerns the recitation of the prayer and the cantillation of Holy Scriptures. While the latter realizes only partially and in a floating manner the melodic content of the **Maqam* principles, such as the use of *Maqam Sika* for the reading of the Torah and various other *maqamat* for the Sabbath prayers' recitation, the singing of the *piyyutim* fully adheres to the Turkish *maqam* system. The Jews also adhere to the related doctrine of ethos and its psychological influence; cantors and readers of the sacred texts frequently relate the tune to an emotive term, and to the typical intonations characterizing the voice inflections and timbres of the Turkish performing style.

Solomon Mazal Tov published the earliest Hebrew collection of sung *piyyutim*: *Shirim u-Zemirot ve-Tishbaḥot* (Constantinople, 1545).

The Maftirim. At Edirne (Adrianople), a choral society of *Maftirim* was founded in the 17th century; it developed an extensive repertoire paralleling the **Bakkashot* tradition of the mystic circles in Aleppo, Morocco, and elsewhere. They used in their celebrations of the Sabbath a book of *piyyutim* called *jonk,* the term being derived from Turkish/Persian *conk,* which is similar to the Arabic *diwan*, meaning a collection of poetry. The activity and the reputation of the *Maftirim* society helped Adrianople become a center for hymn writers and composers. Among the best known were composer Aaron ben Isaac Hamon (18th c.); Joseph Danon (d. 1901), who collected and published in 1896 a large repertoire of Ladino folksongs from Adrianople; and Isaac Eliahu Navon (b. 1859). Navon was a prominent personality in the community and a member of the choir society of the *Maftirim*. He moved with his parents at the age of 18 to Istanbul where he composed poems and hymns; he gathered and edited a collection of old *piyyutim* of Jewish poets, *Shirat Ẓiyyon be-Ereẓ ha-Kedem* (Istanbul, 1921), which reflects the choral repertory of the *Maftirim* from Edirne. At the age of 70, Eliahu Navon immigrated to Ereẓ Israel where he published his collection *Yinnon* (Jerusalem, 1937), including both religious and secular compositions; some of his songs became part of Israeli folk song.

The repertory of the *Maftirim* is modeled after the Turkish classical multisectional *fasil* (lit. "section"). This prestigious form seems to have grown from the eastern *nawba*. It was customary to perform a fixed sequence of pieces of different genres, allowing a certain amount of freedom to introduce new combinations.

THE MUSICAL ACTIVITY IN IZMIR. Izmir was an important center of a rich Jewish musical life from the 17th through the 20th century. In his book *Histoire des Juifs d'Anatolie* (vol. 1, 163–67) Abraham Galanté mentioned several Jewish musicians who made a name as proficient composers and performers in the Turkish society. They include Hakham Yomtov Danon (17th century) known among the Turks as "the little *Hakham*"; the aforementioned Rabbi Abraham Ariash; the composer and *santur* (trapezoidal cithara) player Elia Levy; the violinist Isaac Barki; composer Shemtov Shikiar, known among the Turks as Hodja Santo; and Salomon Algazi, a noted *ḥazzan* and composer known among the Turks as Salomon the Nightingale, thanks to his most beautiful voice. He is the father of the famous *ḥazzan* and composer Isaac *Algazi (1882–1964). At an early age Isaac joined the *Maftirim* Choir led by his father and served as *ḥazzan* in his native town. His performing style as a *ḥazzan* and singer of secular pieces was highly expressive, enhanced by a moving and pleasant voice. He also became proficient in Turkish art music and a noted performer of classical Turkish music; Ataturk invited him to sing at his palace. Among his pupils was another native of Izmir, composer and musicologist Alberto *Hemsi who published in 1924–5 five notated groups of *piyyutim* organized in the form of *Fasil* (a Turkish suite). Isaac Algazi ended his life in Uruguay. A selection of Isaac Algazi's poetry has been published in *Shirei Yisrael be-Ereẓ ha-Kedem* (1921).

In dealing with the various Jewish societies in Izmir, Galanté refers to the activity during the 18th and 19th centuries of a unique society, largely supported by charity, called *La Dansa*. It involved a group of singers and dancers whose function was to gladden poor newly married couples in their house on Sabbath afternoon. To avoid the interdiction of playing instruments on the day of Sabbath, they used to accompany their singing and dancing with a copper plate on which they beat the rhythm. Some religious authorities expressed dissatisfaction with this practice, while others justified it by virtue of the *mitzvah* "To gladden the bridegroom and bride" (*ibid*., p. 93).

[Amnon Shiloah (2nd ed.)]

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TURKOW, Polish family originating in Warsaw. ITZḤAK TURKOW (pen name Grudberg; 1906–1970), Yiddish actor and writer. From 1925 to 1957, Itzhak Turkow worked with the Yiddish Art Theater in Warsaw, the Vilna Troupe, and the Jewish State Theater. From 1946 to 1950 he also edited a weekly "Lower Silesia." He settled in Israel in 1957, edited the weekly *Folksblat* (1958–68), and was the author of *Yidish Teater in Poyln* (1951), *Mame Esther Rachel*, a biography of Esther Rachel *Kaminska (1953), *Varshever Purim-Shpiler* (1957), memoirs *Oyf Mayn Veg* (1964), *Geven a Yidish Teater* (1968), and monographs on Peretz, Asch, Goldfaden, and Gordin. He was director of Bet Shalom Ash in Bat-Yam from 1959.

ZYGMUNT TURKOW (1896–1970), Yiddish actor and director. Turkow toured with Rachel Kaminska, and with her founded the Jewish Art Theater, Warsaw, 1929. He toured widely playing in Molière, Shalom Aleichem, Gogol, Goldfaden, and the early Yiddish play *Serkele* by *Ettinger. He went to Brazil after World War II and was co-founder of the Brazilian National Theater. He also directed and acted in Yiddish films. He settled in Israel in 1952, founded Zuta, a traveling theater, in 1956, and directed it until it disbanded in 1967. He also wrote plays and four volumes of memoirs.

JONAS TURKOW (1898–1988), actor, in charge of theatrical entertainment in the Warsaw ghetto during World War II. He started his career with the Kaminska Theater in Warsaw, and managed theaters in Vilna, Warsaw, and Cracow. He took part in several Yiddish films, playing the title role in *Lamed-Vovnik* and directing J. Opatoshu's *In Poylishe Velder* (1929). He and his wife, Diana Blumenfeld, were in the Warsaw ghetto until 1943 and were the only two actors to come out of it alive. In his book *Azoy Is Es Geven* ("That's How it Was," 1948), Turkow describes ghetto life in much detail and explains how the theater he organized functioned amid want and peril. After the war he toured the Displaced Persons camps and continued writing of his wartime experiences: *In Kamf farn Lebn* ("Fighting for Life," 1949), *Farloshene Shtern* ("Stars Extinguished," 1953), and *Nokh der Bafrayung* ("After the Liberation," 1959). Settling in New York in 1947, he became archivist for the theater department of *YIVO in 1958. He settled in Israel in 1966.

Marc *Turkow (1904–1983) was a Yiddish journalist and writer in Warsaw and Buenos Aires.

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TURKOW, MARC (1904–1983), journalist and writer in Yiddish and Spanish. He was born in Warsaw, Poland, where he was a journalist and started his public career. Turkow settled in Buenos Aires, Argentina, in 1930. From 1946 he headed the bureau of HIAS. From 1954 he was the representative of the World Jewish Congress for Latin America. One of his contributions to Jewish culture in Spanish in Argentina was the publication of dozens of booklets on distinguished Jewish intellectuals and spiritual leaders under the name Biblioteca Popular Judía (Jewish Popular Library). The Centro de Documentación e Información sobre Judaísmo Argentino (Documentation and Information Center on Argentinean Jewry), established in 1983 under the auspices of AMIA – the Ashkenazi Jewish Community of Buenos Aires, was named after him.

[Efraim Zadoff (2nd ed.)]

TURNER, YA'AKOV (1935–), 10th inspector general of the Israeli police and mayor of Beersheba. Turner joined the IDF in 1953 and served for 32 years in the Israel Air Force, flying over 300 combat missions and serving as a squadron commander in the Six-Day War and afterward as commander of the IAF flight school. In 1977 Turner was named commander of one of the major bases of the Israel Air Force, a position he held until 1981, when he became head of the human resource department of the force. During his military service he graduated in human behavioral sciences from Ben-Gurion University. He was one of the founders of the Air Force Museum, becoming its head. In 1985 he joined the Israeli police as head of the human resource section. In 1989 he was promoted to head the Central District and in 1990 he became inspector general, a position he filled until 1993. Under his leadership, the police faced the first Intifada. He also created a number of important units: the traffic police to deal with traffic problems and felonies; the helicopter unit aimed to assist forces on the ground; and the Southern District with headquarters in Beersheba. Six years after his retirement from the police, in 1999, he was elected mayor of Beersheba.

[Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

TURNOV (Ger. **Turnau**), town in N. Bohemia, Czech Republic. Jews are first mentioned in Turnov in 1526. The town manual of 1568 lays down regulations on Jewish-gentile relations. When the community increased during the 17th century, a cemetery (still in existence in 1969) was consecrated. After the wooden synagogue burned down in 1707, the authorities ordered the community to rebuild it in stone. In 1717 there were 23 Jewish houses in the town. The Jewish population numbered 280 in 1880 and 478 (2.9% of the total population) in 1910, but by 1930 had fallen to 110 (1.4%). In 1942 all Jews were deported to the Nazi extermination camps. The synagogue equipment was transferred to the Central Jewish Museum in Prague. Most of the members of the small congregation organized in 1945 were from *Subcarpathian Ruthenia; it was administered by the *Liberec community. In 1952 a memorial tablet to Nazi victims, with 93 names from Turnov and 25 from the surrounding area, was unveiled in the cemetery. Author Ivan Olbracht (1882–1952), known for his stories about Jews in Carpatho-Rus, was born in the neighboring town of Sedlice.

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[Jan Herman / Yeshayahu Jelinek (2nd ed.)]

TURÓCZI-TROSTLER, JÓZSEF (1888–1962), Hungarian literary scholar, critic, and translator. Born in Moskóc, then Hungary, Turóczi-Trostler became a high school teacher. Between 1917 and 1943, he was literary critic of the German-language newspaper, *Pester Lloyd*. During the revolution of October 1918, he became a senior official in the Hungarian Ministry of Education, and, following Béla *Kun's Communist revolution, was professor of world literature at Budapest University. Removed from his post by the counterrevolution, he became a teacher at the Jewish *Neolog community's girls' high school in Budapest. From 1945, Turóczi-Trostler was a member of the Hungarian Academy, a member of the Hungarian parliament, and professor of world literature at Budapest University. In 1947, he was made professor of German literature. He edited an anthology of German literature in Hungarian translation and translated works by German authors. His Jewish sympathies and associations declined over the years.

As a young man he contributed poems to József *Patai's periodical, **Mult és Jövő*; following his expulsion from Budapest University he wrote several works on Jewish themes; but, when he returned to academic life after World War II, he severed all connection with Judaism. Turóczi-Trostler's major studies include *Magyar Simplicissimus* (1915), *Stefan George* (1920), *Wassermann* (1927), *A magyar nyelv felfedezése* ("The Discovery of the Hungarian Language," 1933), *Thomas Manns Weg zum Mythos* (1936), *Stefan Zweig* (1942), *A magyar irodalom európaizálódása* ("The Europeanization of Hungarian Literature," 1946), and "Wassermann Literature," (2 vols., 1961), selected research.

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[Baruch Yaron]

TUROW, SCOTT (1949–), U.S. novelist. Turow, who was born in Chicago, graduated from Amherst College. On a fellowship he attended Stanford University's Creative Writing Center for two years and then taught there for three years. In 1975 Turow entered Harvard Law School and graduated with honors in 1978, but not before publishing *One L*, a book about his first year there. From 1978 to 1986 Turow was an assistant United States Attorney in Chicago, where he prosecuted several high-profile corruption cases, including the tax-fraud case of the state attorney general. Turow was also lead counsel in the federal prosecution of Illinois judicial corruption cases. After leaving the U.S. Attorney's office, Turow became a novelist, achieving his greatest success with legal thrillers like *Presumed Innocent* (1987), *The Burden of Proof* (1990), *Pleading Guilty* (1993), *The Laws of Our Fathers* (1996), *Personal Injuries* (1999), and *Reversible Errors* (2002). His books were translated into 20 languages, sold more than 25 million copies worldwide, and won many literary awards. The film based on *Presumed Innocent* (1990), starring Harrison Ford and directed by Alan J. Pakula, was also a major box-office success. Turow sought to make a break from the courtroom fiction genre with *Ordinary Heroes* (2005), a story set in World War II in which the major characters are Jewish. In addition to his writing, Turow continued to practice law. He was a partner in the Chicago office of Sonnenschein, Nath & Rosenthal, a national law firm. His practice centered on white collar criminal litigation, but he devoted a substantial part of his practice to pro bono work, including representing defendants facing the death penalty. In one of those cases, a prisoner was exonerated after 11 years in prison. In 2003, Turow published *Ultimate Punishment: A Lawyer's Reflections on Dealing With the Death Penalty*. He served as president of the Authors Guild, the national organization for professional writers, and was active in a number of public bodies and charitable causes, including Literacy Chicago and Illinois's Executive Ethics Commission.

[Stewart Kampel (2nd ed.)]

TUR-SINAI, NAPHTALI HERZ (**Harry Torczyner**; 1886–1973), Hebrew philologist and Bible scholar. Born in Lemberg, Tur-Sinai was raised in Vienna. He studied at the University of Vienna, 1905–09, and the Rabbinical Seminary, where his teachers included Meir Friedmann and Heinrich Mueller. His first teacher, however, was his father, an important patron of Jews in science, literature, and art and among the first active Zionists. In 1910 Tur-Sinai was appointed lecturer at the University of Vienna on the basis of his work on accents and vowels in Semitic languages. That same year he went to Jerusalem where he was elected a member of the *Va'ad ha-Lashon and taught Bible and Hebrew at a high school. From 1913 to 1919 he lectured in Semitic languages at the University of Vienna, and from 1919 to 1933 taught Bible and Semitic philology at the Hochschule fuer die Wissenschaft des Judentums in Berlin. In 1933 he settled in Jerusalem and was professor of Hebrew language at the Hebrew University. He was one of the presidents of the Va'ad ha-Lashon and president of the *Academy of the Hebrew Language from its founding in 1953. The following are among his publications: *Deutsch-Hebraeisches Woerterbuch* (together with S.M. Laser; 1927); substantial contributions to the new Jewish translation of the Bible into German (1935–37; see *Bible: Translations); commentary on the Book of Job (1941; 1954²); and *The Lachish Letters* (1938), a deciphering of the Lachish letters. In addition to editing the periodical *Leshonenu* from 1934 to 1954, he edited and completed E. *Ben-Yehuda's dictionary from vol. 10 (1944), and translated essays by *Aḥad Ha-Am into German (1916; 1923). Among his works in German are *Das Buch Hiob* (1920); *Die Bundeslade und die Anfaenge der Religion Israels* (1922; 1930²); and *Die Entstehung des semitischen Sprachtypus* (1916), where he sought to establish new origins of the Hebrew language, and which met with the opposition of most scholars.

In his writings, Tur-Sinai did not shrink from daring conjectures, but at the same time he continually criticized his own views and publicly repudiated assumptions of whose invalidity he had become convinced. A summary of his studies is given in the three volumes of *Ha-Lashon ve-ha-Sefer* (1951–56), and a collection of his expositions on the Bible are published in *Peshuto shel Mikra* (1962–68). Tur-Sinai's approach to the problems of the Bible was formed against the background of the documentary theory in its classical form, which, however, he explicitly rejected. In his view the Bible in our possession is merely a collection of remnants of ancient works that spoke of early times. Within the framework of these ancient stories the laws, parables, poems, and prophecies were interwoven. Accordingly, the life of David was intertwined with the Psalms, and the life of Solomon with apothegms from the Books of Proverbs and Ecclesiastes and with poetry from the Song of Songs. Our Book of Job is an adaptation of ancient stories about Job and his friends (who lived in Edom). The skeleton of the story was fleshed out by many poetic sections in the form of polemics placed in the mouth of Job and his comforters. Tur-Sinai maintained that the original language of the book was Aramaic and that our Hebrew translation was made by one who did not sufficiently understand Aramaic. He believed, moreover, that anonymous texts, fragmentary and corrupt, formed the bases for fixing the biblical texts and assembling the canon during the Babylonian exile and later. Hence, in an effort to reconstruct the original version, his many bold suggestions for textual emendation derived from linguistic novellae – the majority of which did not gain acceptance. From his research in the Ugaritic writings, Tur-Sinai concluded that the content of the Bible is very ancient.

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TURTLE DOVE (Heb. תּוֹר, an onomatopoeic word), the *Streptopelia turtur*. Large flights arrive in Israel in spring, and their cooing, which fills the wood, heralds the advent of spring (Song 2:12). It nests in trees and lays two clutches of eggs. In October it migrates to southern countries, returning in the spring, and Jeremiah states that the exact times of its migrations were known (8:7). Like the dove, the turtle dove was used for various sacrifices (Lev. 5:7; 12:6; Num. 6:10). It was included among the birds Abraham offered at the covenant between the pieces (Gen. 15:9). It symbolizes the innocent Israelite nation against whom its enemies plot (Ps. 74:19). In a passage which advocates that "one should be ever of the persecuted, but not of the persecutors," the Talmud states that no birds are more persecuted than turtle doves and young pigeons – yet the Bible regarded only them as worthy of being offered upon the altar (BK 93a). The turtle dove, a beautiful bird with colorful feathers, is recognizable by the bright stripes at the side of its neck. A closely related species, *Streptopelia senegalensis*, the palm dove, is found in Israel throughout the year, and lays its eggs on roofs and eaves.

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[Jehuda Feliks]

TUSCANY, region in central Italy. No information on Jews in Tuscany during the Roman era is available but it is likely that a Jewish community existed then at least in *Florence. The first reliable data comes from Benjamin of *Tudela who found Jews in *Pisa and in *Lucca (c. 1159). There were Jews in *Siena by 1229. Jews presumably engaged in moneylending in Tuscany in the 13th century. In 1309 three Jewish loan bankers were invited to San Gimignano; the negotiations with them and others did not succeed, but in 1392 the first agreement regulating Jewish loan banking activities (*condotta*) there was concluded. Until 1437 Jewish moneylenders were excluded from Florence itself, but not from the provincial cities under its sovereignty. In 1393 a *condotta* was concluded at San Miniato with a group of Jewish bankers headed by members of the Min ha-Keneset or Min Bet-El (Della Sinagoga) family of Rome. A concession to maintain a loan bank in San Gimignano was granted in 1410, and in 1423 a similar license was extended to the city of Pisa, again to this family. At the beginning of the 15th century the family also engaged in moneylending in Pescia, Prato, Colle Val d'Elsa, and perhaps in Pistoia; authorization to permit Jews to engage in moneylending was also extended to the cities of *Arezzo, Montepulciano, Castiglion Fiorentino, Volterra, Castrocaro, and Empoli. In exchange, the central authorities demanded a tax which varied between 50 and 250 florins yearly, according to the importance of the locality.

In 1416 representatives of the communities of Tuscany took part in the Council of *Bologna. The establishment of Christian loan banks (**Monti di Pieta*) in the 16th century caused some difficulty to Jewish moneylenders in Tuscany, but there was no conspicuous change in their situation, though there was an unsuccessful attempt to excommunicate the Jews of Empoli. The reign of Duke Cosimo de' Medici was originally beneficial for the Jews. In 1553 however he yielded to papal pressure and ordered the burning of the *Talmud. In 1551 he had issued an invitation to merchants from the Levant, including Jews, to settle in Tuscany and do business there; previously, Marranos also had been permitted to settle in Tuscany. In 1557 and before, he gave asylum to Jewish refugees from the Papal States. The same year he refused to implement the anti-Jewish restrictions issued by Pope *Paul IV or to hand over the Jews to the jurisdiction of the Inquisition. But when Cosimo wished to gain the support of Pope *Pius V for his aspirations to the title of grand duke, his attitude toward the Jews changed. In 1567 he rigorously applied the obligation to wear the Jewish *badge. Refugees from the Papal States who wished to settle in Volterra were not accepted. In 1570 information was collected on the Jews in Pisa, Cortona, Foiano, Pieve-Santo-Stefano, Arezzo, Prato, Anghiari, Castrocaro, Modigliana, Bibbiena, and Montepulciano, apparently as a preliminary to concentrating them in Florence. On the pretext that Jews had violated some of the articles of their moneylending concessions, all their agreements in Florence were abrogated in 1570, and in the district of Siena in 1571. Subsequently the expulsion of the Jews from all cities excepting Florence and Siena was ordered. In these cities the Jewish inhabitants were segregated in a ghetto along with refugees from other localities. At the end of the century, however, the Grand Duke Ferdinand I (1587–1609) invited Jews, including Marranos, to settle in Pisa and the free port of *Leghorn, which before long became one of the great Jewish centers of the Mediterranean area. The Lucca community, however, had ceased to exist.

At the end of the 16th century a new community was established in Pitigliano, which served as a haven for the Jews from the Papal States. This community prospered mainly in the 18th century, when the Jewish population reached 300. In the 17th century Jews settled again in Arezzo, Monte San Savino, Borgo San Sepolcro, and Lippano, although in 1680 Cosimo III intensified the papal anti-Jewish restrictions which were now strictly enforced. At the end of the 17th century the preaching of the apostate Paolo Medici led to anti-Jewish riots, and serious disturbances occurred in Borgo San Sepolcro. A marked improvement in the conditions of the Jews in Tuscany began in the 18th century under the Lorraine dynasty. Leopold I (later Emperor Leopold II of Austria), who reigned in Tuscany from 1765 to 1790, granted all the Jews there the same rights as the Jews of Leghorn. In 1779 he permitted Jews to sit on the municipal councils, and in 1789 to hold official positions.

In 1798 the French occupied Tuscany and granted the Jews full rights of citizenship. These were abrogated in 1799 after the retreat of the French forces. In the wake of the reaction, there were serious anti-Jewish disturbances, especially in Siena and in Monte San Savino and the community ceased to exist. In 1801, on the establishment of the kingdom of Etruria by Napoleon, the Jews in Tuscany were again granted full rights. Between 1810 and 1814, when Tuscany was incorporated in the French Empire, the communities were organized on the lines of the French *Consistory. Jews began to acquire land and to enter middle-class society.

After the Restoration, however, the situation reverted to much the same as before, but Jews were no longer required to live in the ghettos, although most continued to reside there. The House of Lorraine continued its liberal policy, and consequently Tuscany attracted many Jews in poor economic circumstances from Rome. Jews were permitted to attend public schools and universities in Tuscany. They took part in all branches of the economy in business and industry. Only government positions, military service, and the legal profession remained closed to them. On April 30, 1859, Tuscany was incorporated in the kingdom of Sardinia (later the kingdom of Italy) and the principle of equal rights without discrimination on religious grounds was introduced there also. Henceforth the history of the Jews of Tuscany does not differ from the general history of Italian Jewry. Concerning the organization of the communities, legislation of the House of Lorraine remained in force. This obliged every Jew to belong to the community and pay dues to it. However, between 1865 and 1905 the communities successively dispensed with levying compulsory dues. The Italian law of 1931 regulating the organization of the Jewish communities applied to Tuscany, and the principle of compulsory taxation was again introduced. The provincial Tuscan communities dwindled in the 19th century like most of the small communities of Italy. In 1969 there were only a few fully organized communities in Florence, Pisa (including Viareggio and Lucca), and Leghorn (Livorno), and partially in Siena.

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[Menachem E. Arom]

TUSKA, SIMON (1835–1871), U.S. rabbi. The son of the Reverend Mordecai Tuska, Tuska was born in Veszprém, Hungary. He went to the U.S. with his parents in 1849 and his father then became "rabbi, Reader … *shoḥet*…*mohel*" in Rochester, New York. After two years of U.S. schooling Tuska was awarded one of the first scholarships to the University of Rochester, founded in 1850. Although he specialized in Greek and Latin, his chief interest was Judaism. While still a student, he wrote and published "The Stranger in the Synagogue" to explain Jewish rites and ceremonies to both his Christian colleagues and the Jewish public. He was warmly praised by Isaac Mayer *Wise, but his critique of talmudic law drew the censure of Isaac *Leeser. Tuska wrote letters and articles for both *The Israelite* and *The Occident*, and Wise encouraged him to pursue the rabbinate. Upon graduation in 1856 Tuska attended courses at the Rochester Theological Seminary. He did not seek a pulpit because of his youth and the fact that most Reform congregations of the day required a German-speaking rabbi. However, as a result of Wise's constant urging, he decided in 1858 to go to the Breslau seminary to prepare himself for the rabbinate. In 1860 Tuska tried unsuccessfully to become English lecturer at Temple Emanuel in New York. He subsequently was also rejected by Congregation Berith Kodesh in his hometown, Rochester, because of his radical religious views. Shortly thereafter he was elected to the Reform pulpit in Memphis, Tennessee, where he served until his death. Tuska's importance lay in the pattern he set for the training of U.S. rabbis – English-speaking, with university degree plus theological training.

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[Gladys Rosen]

TUSSMAN, MALKA HEIFETZ (1893–1987), U.S. Yiddish poet and teacher. Born in Ukraine, the second of eight children, Tussman, who came to the United States in 1912 to join family members in Chicago, married cantor Shloyme Tussman soon after her arrival. She and her husband, who had two sons, lived in Milwaukee and later in Los Angeles. Tussman studied at the University of Wisconsin and briefly at the University of California at Berkeley. She taught for many years in Yiddish secular schools and in 1949 became an instructor in Yiddish language and literature at the University of Judaism in Los Angeles. After spending 1971–72 in Israel, following her husband's death, she lived for the rest of her life in Berkeley, Calif.

Tussman began publishing poems, short stories, and essays in Yiddish newspapers and journals in 1918. She published six volumes of poetry in Yiddish between 1949 and 1977; her poems appear in many anthologies. She also translated poems by a wide range of writers into Yiddish. Tussman was a mentor for a number of younger poets, some of whom translated her works into English. She thus "served as a bridge between the generations of Yiddish poets who emigrated from Eastern Europe and of those American-born Jewish poets who have taken up the task of making Yiddish poetry known to a readership that knows little Yiddish" (Hellerstein). Her works include *Bleter Faln Not* (1972); *Haynt Iz Eybik: Lider* (1977); *Lider* (1949); *Mild Mayn Vild* (1958); *Shotns fun Gedenkn* (1965); and *Unter Dayn Tseykhn: Lider* (1974). *With Teeth in the Earth: Selected Poems* (1992) is an English translation of some of her poetry, edited and with an introduction by Marcia *Falk.

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[Judith R. Baskin (2nd ed.)]

TUTSI. Since the late 1990s, a group of Tutsi, who have their origin in the Great Lakes area of Africa (Burundi and Rwanda), claim that this region was the home of a Hebraic community in ancient times, and claim a Jewish identity. Their homeland, supposedly extending far beyond the regions where the Tutsi now reside, is called *Havila* by them, according to the name applied in Genesis 2:11 to the legendary territory watered by the Pishon River. The Tutsi claim to perpetuate either the pharaonic monotheism of the 18th dynasty of Egypt or Moses' faith as transcribed in the Hebraic Torah. The Hamitic-Semitic myth of the origins of these Tutsi, which was largely inspired by missionaries and colonists of the 19th century, now appears to be strongly reinforced by the symbolic uses they make of Judaism. Following their terrible suffering during the genocide of 1994, these Tutsi have increasingly claimed a Jewish identity and describe their history as a microcosm of World Jewish history, evoking the common experience of persecution to give more weight to their Jewish identity claim. The group is based in Belgium, where its president, Professor Yochanan Bwejeri, and the Havila Institute call upon Israel and the international community to condemn and take measures against the "antisemitic" violence in Africa towards the Tutsi ethnic group.

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[Tudor Parfitt (2nd ed.)]

TUWIM, JULIAN (1894–1953), Polish poet. Tuwim, who was born in Lodz, was one of the outstanding Polish poets of the first half of the 20th century. His family background on his father's side was strongly Jewish; and, in fact, his father's relatives included several Zionists prominent in Russia and later in Ereẓ Israel. His mother, an assimilationist, educated him in a staunchly Polish spirit. Tuwim studied in Warsaw and was one of the founders of the literary group associated with the *Skamander* monthly. His early verse collections – *Czyhanie na Boga* ("Lying in wait for God," 1918), *Sokrates tańczący* ("Socrates the Dancer," 1920), and *Siódma jesień* ("The Seventh Autumn," 1922) – were full of youthful enthusiasm and vigor, expressing the poet's faith in the newly liberated Poland. Harsh realities soon disillusioned him, provoking his angry criticism of the rich and the "profiteers" in the epics *Słowa we krwi* ("Words in Blood," 1926) and *Rzecz czarnoleska* ("The Czarnolesie Affair," 1929). Here his hero was the ordinary man suffering from poverty and oppression. Tuwim eventually turned to socio-political themes, vehemently attacking Poland's militarist and capitalist regime in *Biblia cygańska* ("The Vagabonds' Bible," 1933), *Treść gorejąca* ("Burning Contents," 1936; Heb. tr., *Tokhen Lohet*, 1954), and *Bal w operze* ("The Opera Party," published in part in 1936). The last work appeared in full ten years later in 1946. Despite his clearly expressed sympathy for the poor, Tuwim was remote from the proletarian revolutionary movement at this period, his poems merely voicing an isolated intellectual's protest against the grim effects of the capitalist system.

Tuwim never attempted to conceal his Jewish identity and upbringing, and was subjected to vicious attacks by extreme Polish nationalists during the years preceding World War II. As an exile in France, South America, and the United States during the Nazi era, he was an active anti-Fascist and his outspoken declarations about the fate of European Jewry were heard throughout the free world. During the war years he wrote the epic *Kwiaty polskie* ("Flowers of Poland," 1940–44), one section of which, "Modlitwa" ("A Prayer"), became the anthem of the Polish resistance movement. In April 1944, Tuwim published a manifesto entitled *My, Żydzi polscy* ("We Polish Jews"), the sheer fury, power, and irony of which it would be hard to match in any nation's literature. After his return to Poland in 1946, he mainly devoted himself to literature, journalism, and the training of young poets. A literary craftsman and acknowledged master of the Polish language, Tuwim was one of the great revolutionary innovators in the history of Polish verse. He was also a prolific translator, particularly from Russian (e.g., Pushkin), and he published many delightful children's books (e.g., *Lokomotywa*, 1938), as well as satires, philological research papers, and various anthologies. A selection of his works was published in English (1942).

During the last years of his life, Tuwim supported the State of Israel and the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. His family relationships and his Jewish loyalties find reflection in the correspondence with his cousin, Immanuel Tuwim, a Haifa engineer, and with the Zionist leader and poet Leib *Jaffe, a close friend of his, which was published in the Israeli press by Moshe Altbauer. His sister, the poet and translator IRENA TUWIM (1900–1987), described her brother and family in *Lódzkie pory roku* ("Lodz Years," 1958^2).

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[Shlomo Dykman]

TWERSKI, JACOB ISRAEL (1899–1973), U.S. ḥasidic rabbi. Twerski, a descendant of a long line of famous ḥasidic rabbis, was born in Hornistopoli, near Kiev, Russia. In accordance with time-honored ḥasidic tradition, he was pledged in marriage at the age of 11 to his future wife, who was then aged 10, the actual marriage taking place in 1922. He immigrated to the United States in 1927, and after serving congregations in various parts of New York, settled in Milwaukee, where in 1939 he founded Congregation Beth Yehudah, whose spiritual leader he remained until his death. For Jews in Milwaukee and throughout Wisconsin, Twerski was a counselor and friend to whom people turned for guidance and arbitration. Following the family tradition, all his five sons were ordained as rabbis, but only one of them, Michael, officiated as such, succeeding his father on his death. Of the other sons, Shlomo became a research scholar in Talmud at Denver; Abraham was clinical director at St. Francis Psychiatric Hospital, Pittsburgh; Aaron served as a law professor at Hofstra University in Hempsted, N.Y.; while Motel (Mordecai) became a certified public accountant in Brooklyn, N.Y.

[Manfred Eric Swarsensky (2nd ed.)]

TWERSKY, ḥasidic dynasty in the Ukraine. The founder of the dynasty, MENAHEM NAHUM BEN ẒEVI of Chernobyl (1730–1787), was educated in Lithuanian yeshivot. After his marriage he eked out a living as a teacher. Influenced by the kabbalistic teachings of Isaac *Luria, he practiced self-mortification, and with the spread of *Ḥasidism he journeyed to Medzhibozh to visit *Israel b. Eliezer Ba'al Shem Tov. After the latter's death Menahem became one of the prominent disciples of *Dov Baer of Mezhirech, and was one of the first to propagate Ḥasidism; he was then accepted as *maggid* (preacher) at Chernobyl, where he lived in penury. The *Mitnaggedim* were extremely hostile toward him and sometimes insulted him while he was preaching. It is doubtful whether Menahem became a ḥasidic *ẓaddik*; as an itinerant preacher he wandered among the towns of the Ukraine, engaging also in pious deeds and the "redemption of captives" (in this case, Jewish tax farmers who had been imprisoned for failing to pay rents to the landowners). He wrote *Me'or Einayim* (Slavuta, 1798), on the Torah and *aggadah*, and *Yismaḥ Lev (ibid.*, 1798), both of which were frequently reprinted. Menahem added no innovations to his teachers' expositions of Ḥasidism, but among the principles he stressed in particular was the purification of man's moral attributes: "so long as his moral attributes are not purified [a man] will not be worthy of the Torah" (*Me'or Einayim, Lekh Lekha*); "every day of the week should be devoted to the purification of one particular attribute; the first day to love; the second to fear of God; etc." (*ibid., Be-Shallaḥ*).

Menahem's son, MORDECAI OF CHERNOBYL (1770–1837), replaced him as *maggid* in Chernobyl, where he was born. He was the real founder of the Chernobyl dynasty of *ẓaddikim*. Unlike his father, who had spread the teachings of Ḥasidism while wandering and living in poverty, Mordecai lived in a splendid house and exercised his functions as leader in opulence and power. While maintaining a high standard of living he introduced the payment of *ma'amadot*, a financial contribution which every ḥasid paid for the benefit of the *ẓaddik's* "court," collected by emissaries sent from Chernobyl. He was revered by Ḥasidim who traveled to visit him in their thousands. Mordecai wrote *Likkutei Torah* (1860) on the Bible, and sermons. He added nothing new to the teachings of Ḥasidism. His outstanding pupil was Israel Dov Baer, the *maggid* of Weledniki, whose *She'erit Yisrael* was an important ḥasidic treatise of his time.

After Mordecai's death his place was taken by his eight sons, who settled in different cities in the Ukraine. His eldest son (1) AARON (1787–1872) lived in Chernobyl itself. He was educated by his grandfather, Menahem Nahum, and already during his father's lifetime was considered to have a saintly inclination. He based his sermons on his grandfather's teachings and the commentary *Or ha-Ḥayyim* by Ḥayyim b. Moses *Attar. Thousands of admiring Ḥasidim flocked to him. Aaron was confident of his spiritual abilities and holiness; he once wrote in a letter: "Even if they [his Ḥasidim] live as long as Methusaleh they will never realize even a thousandth part of the good I – with God's help – have bestowed on them." He was convinced that the Messiah would come in his lifetime. He headed the Volhynia *kolel* in support of settlement in Ereẓ Israel. A dispute concerning the presidency of the *kolel* between himself and one of his brothers ended in Aaron's favor. Two of his sons, ZUSIA and BARUCH, continued the dynasty of Chernobyl. (2) MOSES (1789–1866) lived at Korostyshev. (3) JACOB ISRAEL (1794–1876), author of *Shoshannat ha-Amakim* (1884), lived at Cherkassy; he had begun to lead a congregation while his father was still alive, and after the latter's death did not recognize his eldest brother's authority, but after a fierce controversy was forced to yield. His grandson MORDECAI DOV of Hornistopol (1840–1904), son-in-law of Ḥayyim *Halberstamm of Sandz, was a noted scholar and wrote several works, including *Emek She'elah* (1906), responsa, and *Emek ha-Ḥokhmah* (1928). (4) NAHUM (1805–1852) lived at Makarov. (5) ABRAHAM (1806–1889) was also known as the *maggid* of Trisk (Turiysk), where he lived. He exercised his leadership with a high hand although he tried to act in keeping with the simplicity of the Polish ḥasidic leaders. His Ḥasidim were mainly learned men, wealthy and distinguished persons, and rabbis, including several famous *ẓaddikim*. He treated his Ḥasidim, who flocked to him in their thousands, as his personal guests and maintained them at his expense. His sermons are a mixture of ḥasidic teachings and Kabbalah, spiced with numerology and *gematria* in the manner of Samson b. Pesaḥ *Ostropoler. Two years before his death he published *Magen Avraham* (1887) on the Pentateuch and the festivals. In his *Shalosh Hadrakhot Yesharot li-Zemannim Shonim* he strives to teach "a method of divine service and ways to repentance." He wielded great influence. During the reign of Nicholas I he was imprisoned on the slanderous charge that his sayings questioned obedience to the government. He was quickly released once the charges were proven false. His three sons, NAHUM, MORDECAI, and JACOB LEIB, continued the dynasty of Trisk. (6) DAVID (1808–1882), the most celebrated of the brothers, first lived at Vasilkov and later at Talnoye, where he held his luxurious court in great splendor. It is said that he sat on a silver throne with the words "David King of Israel lives for ever" inscribed in gold. For this the Russian authorities kept him under arrest for a long time. David loved singing and music, being visited sometimes by popular Jewish musicians. His teaching was spiced with secular references and parables, which increased his popularity. He wrote *Magen David* (1852), *Birkat David* (1862), and *Kehillat David* (1882). (7) ISAAC (1812–1895) lived at Skvira. (8) JOHANAN (1802–1885) lived at Rotmistrovka. The courts of these *ẓaddikim* dominated Ukrainian-Russian Jewry throughout the 19th century. The influence of the Twersky family increased particularly after Israel of Ruzhin left Volhynia to settle in Galicia. After the Russian Revolution of 1917 descendants of the Twersky *ẓaddikim* left for Poland, the United States, and Ereẓ Israel.

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[Zvi Meir Rabinowitz / Avraham Rubinstein]

TWERSKY, ISADORE (1930–1997), scholar and teacher. Born in Boston, Massachusetts, the son of R. Meshullam Zalman Twersky (Tolnaer Rebbe), a member of the well-known ḥasidic dynasty, Twersky was ordained as a rabbi by the Isaac Elchanan Yeshiva (University). At Harvard University he earned a bachelor's degree in 1952, a master's in 1953, and a doctorate in 1956. He became a faculty member at Harvard in 1956 as professor of Hebrew literature and philosophy, and chairman of the Department of Near Eastern Languages from 1965. He served as director of Harvard's Center for Jewish Studies from 1978 to 1993.

Twersky's formidable expertise in Jewish literature encompassed such areas as the rabbinic texts, Bible commentaries, and legal writing of the Middle Ages. He was a fellow of the American Academy for Jewish Research and the American Academy of Arts and Sciences. In 1989 he won a Guggenheim Fellowship.

His published works include *Rabad of Posquières, a 12th-Century Talmudist* (1962); *Judaism and World History* (1969); and *A Maimonides Reader* (1969). He edited *Studies in Medieval Jewish History and Literature* (vol. 1, 1979; vol. 2, 1985; vol. 3, 2000); *Danzig: Between East and West* (1985); *Jewish Thought in the 17th Century* (1987); and *Studies in Maimonides* (1991).

Twersky was the son-in-law of the eminent rabbinic thinker and scholar Rabbi Joseph *Soloveitchik.

[Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

TWERSKY, YOḤANAN (1900–1967), Hebrew novelist. Born in Shpikov (Ukraine), of the famous ḥasidic family, Twersky immigrated to the United States in 1926 and taught for 20 years (1927–47) at the Hebrew College in Boston. He settled in Israel in 1947, and served on the editorial staff of the Dvir Publishing House in Tel Aviv. From 1924 he steadily produced historical novels which centered around Jewish and non-Jewish heroes, both in the remote past and in the present. These novels include *Uriel Acosta* (3 vols., 1935–38); *Aḥad Ha-Am* (1941); *Alfred Dreyfus* (1946); *Rashi* (1946); and *Rom u-Tehom* (1951), a novel with the Second Commonwealth as background. He also authored *Lappidim ba-Laylah* (1954), a series of historical stories on Saadiah, Descartes, Leibnitz, Spinoza, Moses Ḥayyim Luzzatto, Leone Modena, Mordecai Emanuel Noah, and Herzl. Both his stories and novels have a lively, staccato style.

Of special interest is Twersky's work on Ḥasidism. From his knowledge and his observation, he was able to reconstruct the exciting innovations of the founders of the movement and its latter-day epigones in a number of narrative works: *He-"Ḥaẓer" ha-Penimit* (1954), a partly fictionalized autobiography; *Ha-Lev ve-ha-Ḥerev* (1955), a novel on R. Naḥman of Bratslav; and *Ha-Betulah mi-Ludmir* (1950), a fictional biography of the Ḥasidic Maid of *Ludomir.

Twersky also edited a memorial volume *Sefer Maximon* (1935) and, together with E. Silberschlag, a Festschrift, *Sefer Touroff* (1938). In addition, he published many essays on education and educational psychology. Before his death, he was engaged in a multi-volume work on the story of human thought from its inception to the present time, of which only one volume appeared, *Toledot ha-Filosofyah ve-ha-Filosofim* (1967). His four-volume encyclopedia of world literature, *Sifrut ha-Olam* (1953–54), is a useful reference work.

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[Eisig Silberschlag]

TWILIGHT, the transition period between day and night, called in the Bible *bein ha-arbayim* (Heb. בֵּין הָעַרְבַּיִם, Ex. 12:6), and in rabbinic literature *bein ha-shemashot* (Heb. בֵּין הַשְּׁמָשׁוֹת, Ber. 2b; Avot 5:9). Whether twilight forms part of day or the night is a moot question in the Talmud (Shab. 34b). Its exact duration was also a matter of dispute. According to R. *Yose, the transition from day to night is instantaneous, whereas R. *Nehemiah said twilight lasted for nine minutes after sunset (i.e., the length of a walk of half a mile = 1000 ells, approx. 560 meters). The *amora* Samuel said it lasts for 13½ minutes and according to another opinion 12 minutes (Shab. 34b). The codifiers established the duration of twilight at 18 minutes, i.e., when the sun is about 3½ degrees below the horizon (Tur, OḤ 293). Actual night begins only with the appearance of three stars in the sky (called *ẓet ha-kokhavim*, Ber. 2b; see also Neh. 4:15). This traditional calculation of the duration of twilight deviates only slightly from the exact astronomical twilight.

Twilight on Friday is reckoned as Sabbath eve and consequently no work may be performed then. The Sabbath candles must be lit before twilight (Shab. 2:7). The twilight at the end of the Sabbath is calculated as still belonging to the Sabbath day which concludes with the appearance of three stars in the sky. This rule applies also to the beginning and conclusion of the holidays. Before the beginning of the Day of Atonement, twilight is reckoned from approximately one hour before the stars would become visible. All religious ceremonies which ought to be performed only at night, e.g., the recital of the evening service, the kindling of *Ḥanukkah lights, the reading of the **Megillah*, should be observed only after twilight; but if they are performed during twilight they are valid and do not have to be repeated.

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TWORKOV, JACK (1900–1982), U.S. educator, printmaker, painter. Tworkov was born in Biala, Poland and immigrated to the U.S. in 1913. He studied at Columbia University, the National Academy of Design, and the Art Students League. Tworkov worked as an artist for the Works Project Administration's Federal Art Project in 1935, where he met Willem de Kooning. Both men emerged as forces in the Abstract Expressionist movement. Tworkov was also one of the founders of The Club, a loose New York association of Abstract Expressionists which met to discuss matters relating to art making. Like many other Abstract Expressionists, Tworkov's early work consisted of figures and still-lifes. He also rendered images in a cubist style before adopting the visual aspects of Abstract Expressionism. As to be expected, his early work shared many stylistic characteristics with that of de Kooning. As Tworkov gained eminence along with his colleagues in the New York School representational subject matter became subsumed in abundantly textured long, dashing, diagonal brush strokes, as in his painting *Blue Note* from 1959. Among other influences, Tworkov also turned to the art of the marginalized Expressionist painter Chaim Soutine as a source of inspiration; in fact, Tworkov wrote an article on Soutine during the latter's 1950 show at MOMA. Tworkov achieved the illusion of vibrating and multiple fields or screens of color from a cool, restricted palette and subtle nuances of tone. Likely influenced by the Minimalists, Tworkov integrated grids and other ordering systems into his images from the 1960s onward, such as *Shield* (1961) and *Variables II* (1964–65). One of his major series of paintings, *House of the Sun,* refers to Ulysses, whose epic adventures suggested a variety of themes to the artist. Tworkov taught at numerous institutions: the American University, Black Mountain College (other luminaries of this period such as John Cage, Franz Kline, and Lyonel Feininger also taught here during the 1940s), Queens College, the Pratt Institute, and Yale University, where he functioned as chairman of the art department. He was a recipient of a Corcoran Gold Medal in 1963. Tworkov's art has been exhibited at numerous major museums, including the Art Institute of Chicago, the Guggenheim Museum, the Museum of Modern Art, New York, the Pennsylvania Academy, and the Whitney Museum, among other venues. His work is in the collections of the Hirschhorn Museum and Sculpture Garden, the National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., and the Smithsonian Museum of American Art.

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[Nancy Buchwald (2nd ed.)]

°TYCHSEN, OLAUS GERHARD (**Oluf Gerard**; 1734–1815), Danish Orientalist. Born in Tönder, Schleswig, Tychsen is said to have learned Hebrew in Altona as a pupil of Jonathan *Eybeschuetz, and later to have studied rabbinics and Oriental languages at the University of Halle. After conducting unsuccessful missionary activities among Jews in Denmark and northern Germany (1759–60), he taught at the University of Buetzow in Mecklenburg (which subsequently became Rostock University), serving as professor of Oriental languages from 1763 until 1789.

Tychsen wrote on a variety of subjects, including the Bible, Hebrew coinage, and cuneiform inscriptions. He was a violent controversialist, and his views foreshadowed the German school of biblical criticism. His six-volume *Buetzowische Nebenstunden* (1766–69) reflects his Hebrew and rabbinic scholarship. He reputedly mastered Yiddish and also became an expert on Arabic and Syriac philology. His publications include *Dialecti rabbinicae elementa* (1763); *De delectu veterum Ebraeorum* (1763); *De Pentateucho Ebraeo-Samaritano* (1765); *Abbreviaturarum Hebraicarum supplementum secundum* (1769); an introduction to the *Sefer Tikkunei Shetarot*, on Jewish deeds of contract (1773); and *De numis Hebraicis* (1791).

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TYKOCIN (in Jewish sources, **Tiktin**; Rus. **Tykotsin**), village in Bialystok province, N.E. Poland. Tykocin was formerly a town on the border between the kingdom of Poland and the principality of Lithuania. In 1522 the noble family of Gashtold, who owned Tykocin, invited ten Jewish families from *Grodno to settle there. They were given sites for homes and were later allowed to establish shops, a synagogue, a cemetery, and an autonomous community. A charter (1536) provided that the rabbi and the head of the town council should jointly judge cases between a Jew and a gentile. By 1576 there were 54 houses owned by Jews, who engaged in wholesale trading of salt, spices, and cloth. Their rights were confirmed by special royal privileges in 1576 and 1639. In 1642 a baroque synagogue was erected, which until 1740 was the finest building in the town (it still stood in 1970, preserved as a historical site, although the Nazis ruined the interior and the women's section).

With the growth of the community Tykocin achieved independence from the *kahal* of Grodno. Between 1621 and 1654 Tykocin conducted a successful struggle with Grodno involving the hegemony over the communities of Choroszcz, *Zabludow, *Gorodok, and Wasilkow. In 1623 Tykocin severed its ties with the Council of Lithuania and instead declared allegiance to the *Council of Four Lands. It became one of the most important communities in the region in the 17th and 18th centuries. The communities of Podlasie (*Siemiatycze, Wysokie Mazowieckie, *Miedzyrzec Podlaski, Bransk) and eastern Masovia (*Ciechanow) were under the jurisdiction of the Tykocin *kahal*, which was the chief community in the *galil* (province) of Tykocin. In 1660 the Jews of Tykocin suffered at the hands of the Swedish army and the troops of the Polish general, S. Czarniecki. In the 18th century the Tykocin community weakened and its influence in the area diminished.

Tykocin's rabbis until the end of the 18th century included some important halakhic authorities: Mordecai (1568); Menahem David b. Isaac, a student of Moses *Isserles; Samuel Eliezer *Edels (in the 1620s); Joshua b. Joseph, author of the talmudic commentary *Penei Yehoshu'a* (early 1630s); Isaac Aizik b. Eliezer Lipman Heilperin (1667–81); Elijah *Shapira, head of the rabbinical court of Prague, who became nonresident rabbi of Tykocin in 1703; and Shalom ben Eliezer Rokeaḥ (1756–66). In 1765 there were 2,694 Jews in Tykocin and nearby villages who paid the poll tax, and in 1808 there were 1,652 (56% of the total population). In 1815 the town was annexed to Congress Poland and the Russian administration allowed free Jewish settlement of the area. There were 2,701 Jews (64%) in 1827; 3,456 (70%) in 1857; and 2,484 (59%) in 1897. The Jews earned their livelihoods in small trade and crafts. Between 1919 and 1920 the community suffered at the hands of Russian and Polish armies which passed through the town. Between the two world wars the Jews manufactured brushes and prayer shawls (*Talitot Tiktin*). In 1921 there were 1,401 Jews (49%) in Tykocin. Various Zionist parties, mainly *He-Ḥalutz, were active and there was a *Tarbut school.

[Shimshon Leib Kirshenboim]

Holocaust Period and After

At the end of June 1941 after the outbreak of the German-Soviet war, Tykocin was captured by the Germans. During the first days of the occupation, a pogrom was conducted by the Poles (with the encouragement of the Germans), and Jewish property was looted. The Jews were drafted for forced labor and freedom of movement was limited. On Aug. 25, 1941, the Jews of the town were called to assemble in the market square. After a *Selektion* about 1,400 people were transported to large pits that had been prepared near the city and were murdered. Some of the Jews succeeded in hiding, but the next day they were caught and executed by the Polish police. About 150 people found temporary shelter in the *Bialystok ghetto and in the surrounding townlets, later perishing together with the members of those communities. After the war a few of the survivors returned to Tykocin, but they were subject to attacks by gangs of Polish nationalists that were active in the area; as a result they left the city. A memorial book, *Sefer Tykocin*, was published in Tel Aviv in 1949.

[Aharon Weiss]

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TYKOCINSKI, ḤAYYIM (1862–1942?), Jewish historian. Tykocinski, born in Poland, was one of the editors and main contributors of the important work in German-Jewish history *Germania Judaica* (1917–34), continuing with this work until he was killed by the Nazis and the material was lost. He also wrote *Die gaonaeischen Verordnungen* (1929).

His scholarly articles appeared in the *Monatsschrift fuer Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums*, *Devir*, and *Tarbiz*, as well as in the *Festschriften* for M. Philippson (1916) and S. *Dubnow (1930). They dealt with such subjects as Moses b. Ḥisdai and Moses Taku (MGWJ, 54 (1910), 70ff.); Isaac *Or Zaru'a* and his pupils (MGWJ, 55 (1911), 478ff.; 63 (1919), 333ff.); and the history of the Jews in Halle (MGWJ, 47 (1913), 32ff.).

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[Siegbert Neufeld]

TYKOCINSKI, JEHIEL MICHEL (1872–1955), rabbi and author. Tykocinski was born in Lyakhovichi, Belorussia. Orphaned of his father while still young, he was taken to Ereẓ Israel in 1882. He studied under Samuel *Salant, whose granddaughter he married in 1890. In 1900 he began to take part in the administration of Eẓ Ḥayyim in Jerusalem, at first as head of the junior department and then as chief administrator. He contributed greatly to the development of the institution – both when it was in the Old City of Jerusalem, and later when it moved outside. He was also active in the foundation of new suburbs in Jerusalem, and favored the unification of all sections of the Jewish population, new and old. Tykocinski specialized in the laws and customs pertaining to Ereẓ Israel, and from 1904 onward published an annual *Lu'aḥ* ("calendar") detailing liturgical and other customs for the whole year. This calendar was accepted as the authoritative guide for the liturgical and synagogal customs of the Ashkenazim in Israel; it continued to appear under the editorship of his son even after his death.

Tykocinski devoted himself especially to halakhic problems connected with astronomy, in which field he published *Tekufat ha-Ḥamah u-Virkatah* (1924); *Bein ha-Shemashot* (1929); and *Sefer ha-Yomam* (1943), on the international date line (see *Calendar). His other works are *Tohorat Yisrael* (c. 1910); *Ha-Ishah al pi Ḥukkat Yisrael* (1920); *Hilkhot Shevi'it* (1910) and *Sefer ha-Shemittah* on the laws of the Sabbatical Year; *Gesher ha-Ḥayyim* (1947, 1960^2) on the laws of mourning; and *Sefer Ereẓ Yisrael* (1955) on the laws and customs appertaining to Ereẓ Israel. He also published many articles in various journals and left behind in manuscript novellae on the Talmud and responsa.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: J.M. Tykocinski, *Gesher ha-Ḥayyim*, 1 (1960^2), introd. by Nissan A. Tykocinski.

°TYNDALE, WILLIAM (c. 1490–1536), English Bible translator and religious reformer. An Erasmian humanist, Tyndale began work on a new, vernacular Bible in 1520, but met so much opposition from his fellow-churchmen that he had to seek refuge on the Continent, where his New Testament, based directly on the Greek, appeared in various editions (Cologne/Worms, 1525; Antwerp, 1526^3, etc.). Having visited Martin *Luther at Wittenberg and declared himself a Protestant, Tyndale proceeded to smuggle his publications into England, where they were condemned as heretical: Cardinal Wolsey ordered his arrest, but failed to capture him. Of all the English scholars of his time, Tyndale was the only competent Hebraist. His translation of the Old Testament, which referred to the original Hebrew text, appeared only in part (Pentateuch, 1530; Jonah, 1531), although the section from Joshua to Chronicles – which remained in manuscript at the author's death – is thought to have inspired Miles Coverdale's Bible (1535) and to have been included in Matthews' Bible (by J. Rogers, 1537). Tyndale's Old Testament was Protestant more in its prefaces and marginal glosses than in its actual English text, which maintained a great measure of independence. Anglo-Saxon outweighs Latin in the translator's vigorous English style, since he believed, that "… the properties of the hebrue tonge agreth a thousande tymes moare with the english then with the latyne…" (*The Obedience of a Christian Man*, 1528). In fact, the English language's saturation in Hebrew idiom may largely be credited to the popular appeal of Tyndale's Bible which, after Henry VIII's quarrel with Rome, was allowed to circulate in England. Tyndale was finally arrested, condemned, and burnt at the stake for heresy.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: J.F. Mozley, *William Tyndale* (1937); W.E. Campbell, *Erasmus, Tyndale, and More* (1950).

[Godfrey Edmund Silverman]

TYNYANOV, YURI NIKOLAYEVICH (1894–1943), Soviet Russian novelist and literary theoretician. Born in Rezhitsa (Rezekne), Latvia, a small Jewish town in the old Pale of Settlement, Tynyanov moved at an early age to St. Petersburg, where he spent the rest of his life. His assimilation into the milieu of the Russian literary intelligentsia was almost complete. None of his works display any interest in Jewish subjects, and even in his posthumously published memoirs there is no hint of any Jewish identification. A brilliant literary scholar, Tynyanov was one of the foremost exponents of Formalism, a school of literary criticism fashionable in the early 1920s. This, like New Criticism in the U.S., emphasized the study of structure and artistic devices rather than of literature's social and ideological content. He was equally well known as a creative writer, particularly as the author of polished, whimsical works of historical fiction.

His best-known books included *Kyukhlya* (1925), a novel about Wilhelm Kuechelbecker, a Russian poet, eccentric, and friend of Pushkin; *Smert Vazir-Mukhtara* (1927–28; *Death and Diplomacy in Persia*, 1938), on the 19th-century Russian poet and diplomat Alexander Griboyedov; and *Pushkin* (3 vols., 1936–43). The suite *Lieutenant Kijé* by Sergei Prokofiev is based on Tynyanov's satirical novella *Podporuchik Kizhe* (1928) set in the reign of the oppressive Czar Paul I.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: A.V. Belinkov, *Yuri Tynyanov* (Rus., 1960); V.A. Kaverin, *Yuri Tynyanov pisatel i uchony* (1966); V.V. Vinogradov, in: Y.N. Tynyanov, *Pushkin i yego sovremenniki* (1969), 5–22.

[Maurice Friedberg]

TYPOGRAPHERS. Within the past century and a half the concept of typography as a special art distinct from the ordinary mechanics of printing has gained ground. Originally typography was another term for printing, but the meaning has changed. Typography now covers choice of paper, ink, design of layout, type forms, and illustrations.

Impetus was given to this modern attitude, after nearly four centuries of fairly static practice, by the technical improvements of the 19th century: the inventions of lithography and the halftone screen process of making blocks for pictures; rotary and power-driven presses in place of flatbed; and machine in place of hand typesetting, ensuring fresh type for every job instead of worn pieces. Probably most significant of all in this last respect was the solid-line setting machine, the Linotype – line o' type – invented by a man of German-Jewish origin, Ottmar Mergenthaler (1854–1899), and first used in New York in 1886.

The Private Presses

Typesetting by hand has, however, never lost its votaries. This can be seen in the rise during the last hundred years, especially in the U.S. and England, of the private presses, whose aim was not commercial profit so much as beautiful books. An authoritative survey, *The Private Presses*, written by Collin Ellis Franklin, a Jewish publisher in London, appeared in 1969. At the same time, after centuries of dependence on relatively few styles of type, there has been a widespread renaissance in type and book designing, not to mention the opportunities afforded by the tremendous growth of advertising. Jews have been prominent in these modern movements. As early as the 1870s, for example, a National Typographical Society was founded in Milan, Italy, among whose activities was the holding of exhibitions of printed matter. One of its chief supporters, elected president in 1881, was Emilio *Treves, son of the rabbi of Trieste, who was director and editor of 15 journals. Eminent among the founders of the finest private presses was Lucien Pissarro (1863–1944), the artist son of the French impressionist, Camille *Pissarro. His Eragny Press (1894–1914) is among the two or three credited with bringing wood engraving back into the hands of artists. He also designed a new type known as the Brook type. One of the services to printing performed by the private presses, and the commercial presses in their wake, has been the encouragement of illustrators and type designers, and in both these fields – sometimes combined – there have been a great many Jews. The revolutionary halftone screen process, which enables any sort of picture or photograph to be faithfully reproduced for printing in black and white or color, was perfected in the late 19th century by Georg Meisenbach (1841–1912) and Max Levy.

In Britain

One of the presses to introduce distinctive typography was the Hogarth Press, established in 1917 by Leonard *Woolf and his wife Virginia, and now part of a large commercial group. One of Francis Meynell's two partners in the fine Nonesuch Press which he founded in 1923 was Vera Mendel. In 1917 a firm originally founded in 1863 to print music, the Curwen Press, began to achieve fame by turning to general printing. Associated with it was a Jewish artist who played a great part in its art work and patterned papers, Albert Rutherston, brother of the artist Sir William *Rothenstein. In 1920 their nephew Oliver Simon joined Curwen, later to become its head. He was one of the greatest experts on typography, on which he wrote some standard works. His brother Herbert and other members of the family were also associated with the firm. Oliver Simon greatly influenced the revival of good printing by founding, and editing from 1923 to 1927, *The Fleuron*, a fine typographical annual, and the journal *Signature* (1935–54), as well as by founding, in 1924, an international association of distinguished typophiles called the Double Crown Club. Other Jews who have figured prominently in typography in England are Dennis David Myer Cohen (1891–1969), who founded the Cresset Press in 1927; John Gustave Dreyfus (1918–2002) of the Cambridge University Press; Barnett *Freedman, artist, letterer, and lithographer of genius; René Ben-Sussan, Salonika-born French artist; and two men of German birth: Hans P. Schmoller (1916–1985) of Penguin Books, and Berthold Wolpe (1905–1989), designer of books, symbols, and numerous typefaces. One of the last typefaces, Albertus, which he created for the U.S. Monotype Corporation in 1932, was described nearly 40 years later as "perhaps the most successful modern display face that has yet been designed."

In Other European Countries

Jewish typographers include Imre Reiner (1900–1987), who was born in Hungary but became known for his work in Switzerland, where he designed Corvinus and other types; and two Dutchmen: Sem L. Hartz, engraver and art director for the famous printers Enschedé, and S.H. de Roos (b. 1877), who as chief designer to the Amsterdam Type Foundry had several typefaces to his credit. Russia was very late in producing its own type; until the latter half of the 19th century, type was generally imported. The first native type foundry and printing machine factory was established, probably some time in the 1870s, by a St. Petersburg Jew, Isidore Goldberg. In 1886 he founded the first typolithographic establishment in Askabad, Transcaspian Territory, and the following year, remarkably in that antisemitic period, was decorated with the Order of St. Stanislas for his services to printing.

In the U.S.

Simon's counterpart in the U.S. was Elmer *Adler, who established Pynson Printers in 1922 to do fine printing. Modern typographers of eminence in the U.S., where Jewish names in the craft form a high proportion, are J.B. Abrahams (b. 1884), calligrapher; Peter Beilenson and his wife Edna (Peter Pauper Press); Lucian Bernhard (1883–1972), designer of Fraktur and nearly 40 other types; Joseph *Blumenthal (1897–1990) of the Spiral Press, designer of Monotype Emerson; Henry Dreyfuss (1904–1972), designer of complete magazines, especially for the McCall Company; William Henry Friedman, printing educationist; Reuben Leaf, specialist in Hebrew lettering; Robert *Leslie, Alvin Lustig, Sol Marks, and Sidney Solomon of Macmillan, New York. An American Jewish expert, N.I. Korman, dealt with the development of electronic typesetting and gave an authoritative precast of its future in an article entitled "The Editorial Revolution" in the 1968 edition of the printers' handbook, the *Penrose Annual*.

[John M. Shaftesley]

TYPOGRAPHY. Hebrew *printing began about 1475, the date of publication of two books, one at *Reggio di Calabria and the other at *Piove di Sacco, near Venice. It is sometimes claimed that a group of undated and unlocated early Hebrew books by different printers were issued earlier, and by conjecture, are believed to have originated in Rome. The year 1476 appears in the imprint of a book printed at *Guadalajara, Spain, the first of about 15 books to be printed there during the following six years. In the short span of the following few

1

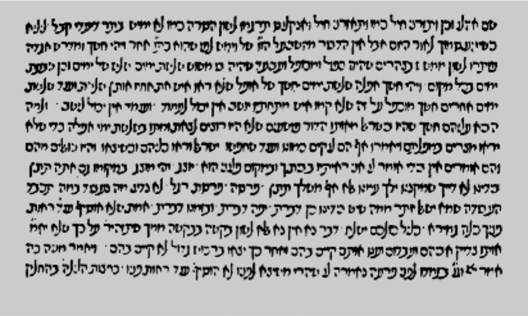

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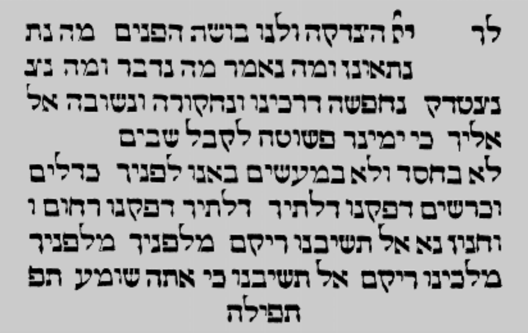

לך יי הצדקה ולנו בושה הפנים מה נת
נתאונן ומה נאמר מה נדבר ומה נצ
נצטדק נחפשה דרכינו ונחקורה ונשובה אל
אליך כי ימינך פשוטה לקבל שבים
לא בחסד ולא במעשים באנו לפניך כדלים
וכרשים דפקנו דלתיך דלתיך דפקנו רחום ו
וחנון נא אל תשיבנו ריקם מלפניך מלפניך
מלכינו ריקם אל תשיבנו כי אתה שומע תפ
תפילה

3

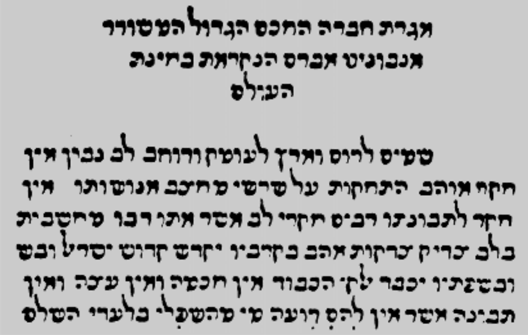

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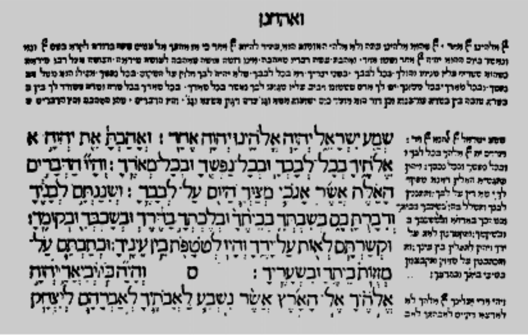

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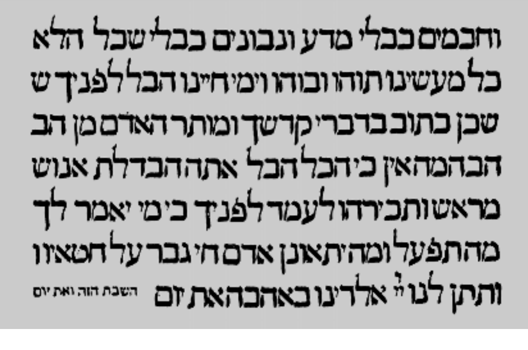

וחכמים כבלי מדע ונבונים כבלי שכל הלא
כל מעשינו תוהו ובוהו וימי חיינו הבל לפנך ש
שכן כתוב בדברי קדשך ומותר האדם מן הב
הבהמה אין כי הכל הבל אתה הבדלת אנוש
מראש ותכירהו לעמד לפנך כי מי יאמר לך
מה תפעל ומה יתאונן אדם חי גבר על חטאיו
ותתן לנו יי אלדינו באהבה את יום השבת הזה ואת יום

6

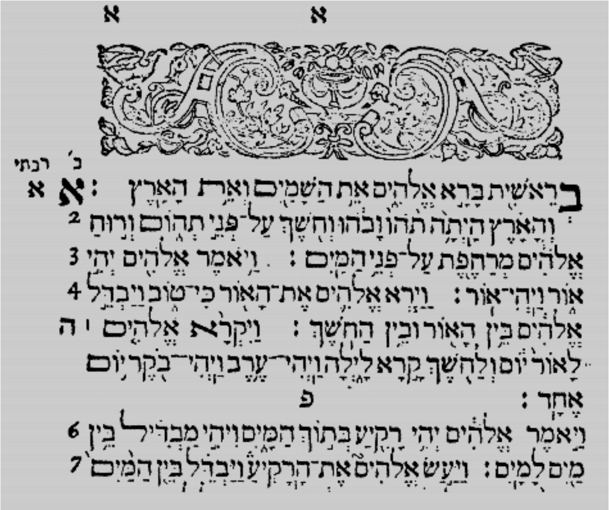

א א
כ׳ רבתי
בְּרֵאשִׁית בָּרָא אֱלֹהִים אֵת הַשָּׁמַיִם וְאֵת הָאָרֶץ׃ א א
וְהָאָרֶץ הָיְתָה תֹהוּ וָבֹהוּ וְחֹשֶׁךְ עַל־פְּנֵי תְהוֹם וְרוּחַ 2
אֱלֹהִים מְרַחֶפֶת עַל־פְּנֵי הַמָּיִם׃ וַיֹּאמֶר אֱלֹהִים יְהִי 3
אוֹר וַיְהִי־אוֹר׃ וַיַּרְא אֱלֹהִים אֶת־הָאוֹר כִּי־טוֹב וַיַּבְדֵּל 4
אֱלֹהִים בֵּין הָאוֹר וּבֵין הַחֹשֶׁךְ׃ וַיִּקְרָא אֱלֹהִים ׀ ה
לָאוֹר יוֹם וְלַחֹשֶׁךְ קָרָא לָיְלָה וַיְהִי־עֶרֶב וַיְהִי־בֹקֶר יוֹם
אֶחָד׃
פ
וַיֹּאמֶר אֱלֹהִים יְהִי רָקִיעַ בְּתוֹךְ הַמָּיִם וִיהִי מַבְדִּיל בֵּין 6
מַיִם לָמָיִם׃ וַיַּעַשׂ אֱלֹהִים אֶת־הָרָקִיעַ וַיַּבְדֵּל בֵּין הַמַּיִם 7

Figure 1. The cursive Sephardi letter used in an incunabulum of Rashi's commentary on the Pentateuch printed by Abraham b. Garton in Reggio di Calabria 1475. Incunabula list, no 171. From A. Freimann (ed.), Thesaurus Typographiae Hebraicae, *1924.*

Figure 2. Example of quill-shaped Ashkenazi manuscript letter from an edition of Seliḥot *printed by Meshullam Cusis's sons in Piove de Sacco, Italy, 1475. Incunabula list, no 98. From A. Freimann, ibid.*

Figure 3. A square, Ashkenazi-style cursive letter used by Abraham ben Solomon Conat of Mantua. Detail of a page from Beḥinat ha-Olam, *printed by Conat's wife, Estillina, assisted by Jacob Levi, from Tarascon, between 1476 and 1480. Incunabula list, no 138. From A. Freimann. ibid.*

Figure 4. A large, light, square letter of Sephardi style used for the Pentateuch, with the commentary in a smaller, Italian-type, cursive letter, in an edition of the Pentateuch with Targum Onkelos and Rashi's commentary printed by Abraham b. Ḥayyim the Dyer in Bologna, 1482. Incunabula list, no 13. From A. Freimann, ibid.

Figure 5. Alphabet based on the Sephardi style and adapted to the mechanical demands of printing. From the Maḥzor Minhag Roma *printed and published by the sons of Soncino at Soncino and Casalmaggiore, 1485–86. Incunabula list, no 102. From A. Freimann, ibid.*

Figure 6. Beginning of the famous Bible printed and published by Joseph Athias in Amsterdam, 1661. Jerusalem J.N.U.L.

Figure 7. Passage from Ezekiel in a small Bible printed by Stephanus' printing house, Paris, 1544–46.

7

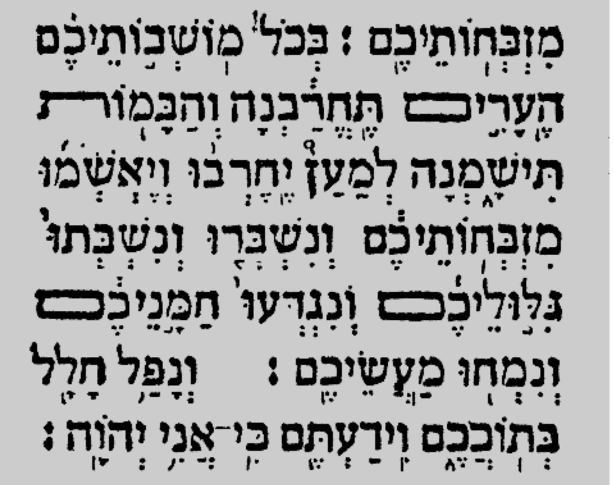

מִזְבְּחוֹתֵיכֶם׃ בְּכֹל מוֹשְׁבוֹתֵיכֶם
הֶעָרִים תֶּחֱרַבְנָה וְהַבָּמוֹת
תִּישָׁמְנָה לְמַעַן יֶחֶרְבוּ וְיֶאְשְׁמוּ
מִזְבְּחוֹתֵיכֶם וְנִשְׁבְּרוּ וְנִשְׁבְּתוּ
גִּלּוּלֵיכֶם וְנִגְדְּעוּ חַמָּנֵיכֶם
וְנִמְחוּ מַעֲשֵׂיכֶם׃ וְנָפַל חָלָל
בְּתוֹכְכֶם וִידַעְתֶּם כִּי־אֲנִי יְהוָה׃

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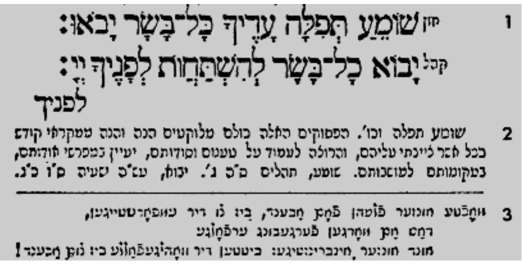

1 חזן שׁוֹמֵעַ תְּפִלָּה עָדֶיךָ כָּל־בָּשָׂר יָבֹאוּ׃
קהל יָבוֹא כָל־בָּשָׂר לְהִשְׁתַּחֲוֹת לְפָנֶיךָ יְיָ׃
לפניך

2 שומע תפלה וכו׳. הפסוקים האלה כולם מלוקטים הנה והנה ממקראי קודש בכל אשר לייכתי עליהם, והרוצה לעמוד על טעמם וסודותם, יעיין במפרשי פירושם, במקומותם למוצאותם. שומע, תהלים ס״ה ג׳. יבוא, עי״כ ישעיה ס״ו כ״ג.

3

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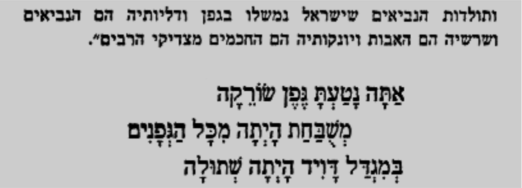

ותולדות הנביאים שישראל נמשלו בגפן ודליותיה הם הנביאים ושרשיה הם האבות ויונקותיה הם החכמים מצדיקי הרבים״.

אַתָּה נָטַעְתָּ גֶּפֶן שׂוֹרֵקָה
מִשְׁבַּחַת הָיְתָה מִכָּל הַגְּפָנִים
בְּמִגְדַּל דָּוִד הָיְתָה שְׁתוּלָה

10

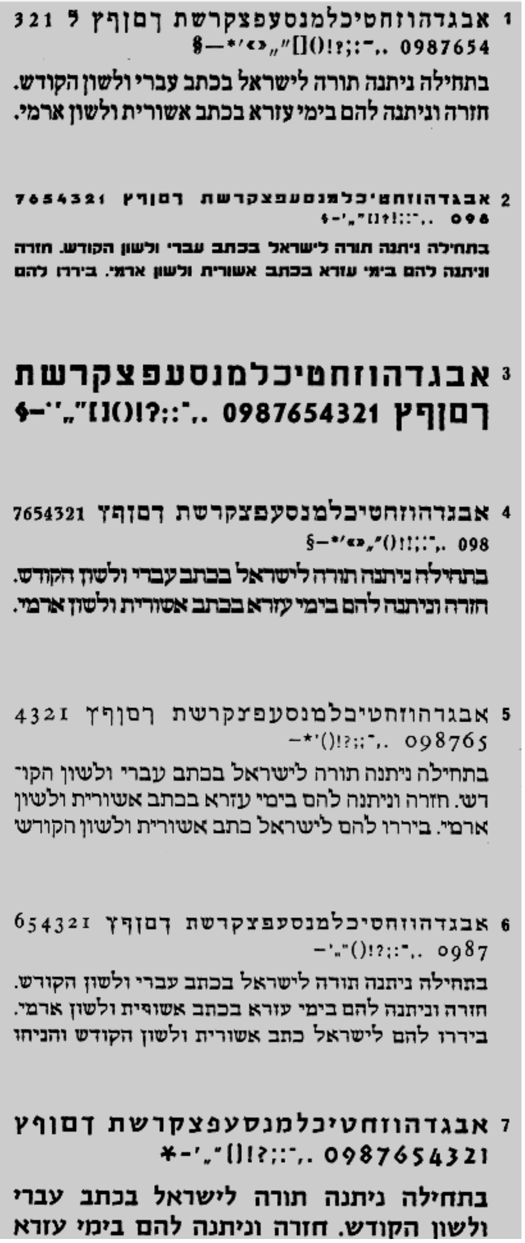

1 אבגדהוזחטיכלמנסעפצקרשת ךםןףץ ל 321
§—*׳‹›„״[]()!?;:־,. 0987654
בתחילה ניתנה תורה לישראל בכתב עברי ולשון הקודש.
חזרה וניתנה להם בימי עזרא בכתב אשורית ולשון ארמי.

2 אבגדהוזחטיכלמנסעפצקרשת ךםןףץ 7654321
§-׳„״[]?!:;־,. 098
בתחילה ניתנה תורה לישראל בכתב עברי ולשון הקודש. חזרה
וניתנה להם בימי עזרא בכתב אשורית ולשון ארמי. בירדו להם

3 אבגדהוזחטיכלמנסעפצקרשת
ךםןףץ 0987654321 ,.־:;?!()[]״„׳׳-§

4 אבגדהוזחטיכלמנסעפצקרשת ךםןףץ 7654321
§—*׳‹›„״()!?;:־,. 098
בתחילה ניתנה תורה לישראל בכתב עברי ולשון הקודש.
חזרה וניתנה להם בימי עזרא בכתב אשורית ולשון ארמי.

5 אבגדהוזחטיכלמנסעפצקרשת ךםןףץ 4321
—*׳()!?;:־,. 098765
בתחילה ניתנה תורה לישראל בכתב עברי ולשון הקו־
דש. חזרה וניתנה להם בימי עזרא בכתב אשורית ולשון
ארמי. בירדו להם לישראל כתב אשורית ולשון הקודש

6 אבגדהוזחטיכלמנסעפצקרשת ךםןףץ 654321
—׳„״()!?;:־,. 0987
בתחילה ניתנה תורה לישראל בכתב עברי ולשון הקודש.
חזרה וניתנה להם בימי עזרא בכתב אשורית ולשון ארמי.
בירדו להם לישראל כתב אשורית ולשון הקודש והניחו

7 אבגדהוזחטיכלמנסעפצקרשת ךםןףץ
*-׳„״[]!?;:־,. 0987654321
בתחילה ניתנה תורה לישראל בכתב עברי
ולשון הקודש. חזרה וניתנה להם בימי עזרא

11

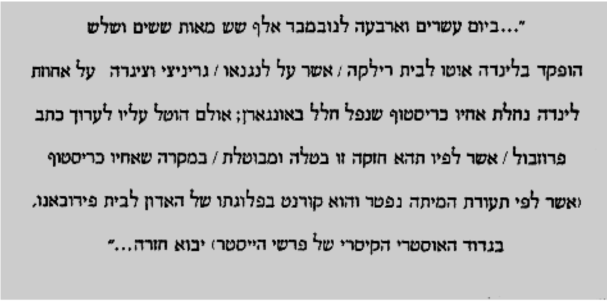

״...ביום עשרים וארבעה לנובמבר אלף שש מאות ששים ושלש
הופקד בלינדה אותו לבית רילקה / אשר על לנגנאו / גריניצי וציגרה על אחוזת
לינדה נחלת אחיו כריסטוף שנפל חלל באונגארן; אולם הוטל עליו לערוך כתב
פרוזבול / אשר לפיו תהא חזקה זו בטלה ומבוטלת / במקרה שאחיו כריסטוף
(אשר לפי תעודת המיתה נפטר והוא קורנט בפלוגתו של הארון לבית פירובאנו,
בגדוד האוסטרי הקיסרי של פרשי הייסטר) יבוא חזרה...״

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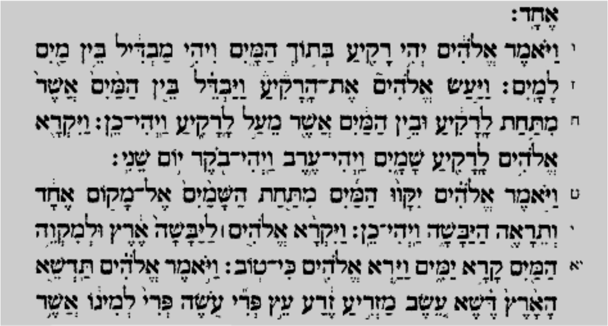

אֶחָד׃
ו וַיֹּאמֶר אֱלֹהִים יְהִי רָקִיעַ בְּתוֹךְ הַמָּיִם וִיהִי מַבְדִּיל בֵּין מַיִם
ז לָמָיִם׃ וַיַּעַשׂ אֱלֹהִים אֶת־הָרָקִיעַ וַיַּבְדֵּל בֵּין הַמַּיִם אֲשֶׁר
ח מִתַּחַת לָרָקִיעַ וּבֵין הַמַּיִם אֲשֶׁר מֵעַל לָרָקִיעַ וַיְהִי־כֵן׃ וַיִּקְרָא
אֱלֹהִים לָרָקִיעַ שָׁמָיִם וַיְהִי־עֶרֶב וַיְהִי־בֹקֶר יוֹם שֵׁנִי׃
ט וַיֹּאמֶר אֱלֹהִים יִקָּווּ הַמַּיִם מִתַּחַת הַשָּׁמַיִם אֶל־מָקוֹם אֶחָד
י וְתֵרָאֶה הַיַּבָּשָׁה וַיְהִי־כֵן׃ וַיִּקְרָא אֱלֹהִים ׀ לַיַּבָּשָׁה אֶרֶץ וּלְמִקְוֵה
יא הַמַּיִם קָרָא יַמִּים וַיַּרְא אֱלֹהִים כִּי־טוֹב׃ וַיֹּאמֶר אֱלֹהִים תַּדְשֵׁא
הָאָרֶץ דֶּשֶׁא עֵשֶׂב מַזְרִיעַ זֶרַע עֵץ פְּרִי עֹשֶׂה פְּרִי לְמִינוֹ אֲשֶׁר

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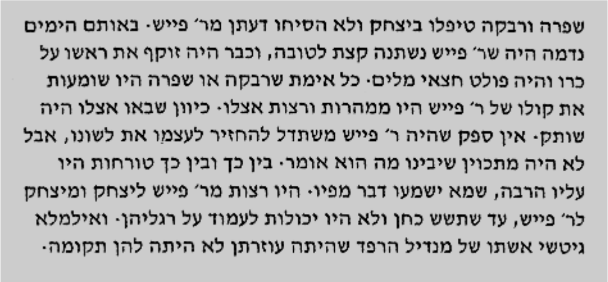

שפרה ורבקה טיפלו ביצחק ולא הסיחו דעתן מר׳ פייש· באותם הימים נדמה היה שר׳ פייש נשתנה קצת לטובה, וכבר היה זוקף את ראשו על כרו והיה פולט חצאי מלים· כל אימת שרבקה או שפרה היו שומעות את קולו של ר׳ פייש היו ממהרות ורצות אצלו· כיוון שבאו אצלו היה שותק· אין ספק שהיה ר׳ פייש משתדל להחזיר לעצמו את לשונו, אבל לא היה מתכוין שיבינו מה הוא אומר· בין כך ובין כך טורחות היו עליו הרבה, שמא ישמעו דבר מפיו· היו רצות מר׳ פייש ליצחק ומיצחק לר׳ פייש, עד שתשש כחן ולא היו יכולות לעמוד על רגליהן· ואילמלא גיטשי אשתו של מנדיל הרפד שהיתה עוזרתן לא היתה להן תקומה·

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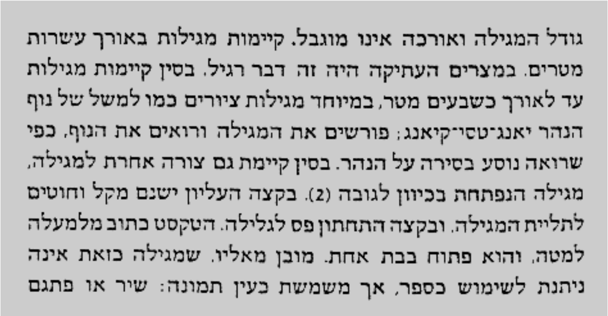

גודל המגילה ואורכה אינו מוגבל. קיימות מגילות באורך עשרות מטרים. במצרים העתיקה היה זה דבר רגיל. בסין קיימות מגילות עד לאורך כשבעים מטר, במיוחד מגילות ציורים כמו למשל של נוף הנהר יאנג־טסי־קיאנג; פורשים את המגילה ורואים את הנוף, כפי שרואה נוסע בסירה על הנהר. בסין קיימת גם צורה אחרת למגילה, מגילה הנפתחת בכיוון לגובה (2). בקצה העליון ישנם מקל וחוטים לתליית המגילה, ובקצה התחתון פס לגלילה. הטקסט כתוב מלמעלה למטה, והוא פתוח בבת אחת. מובן מאליו, שמגילה כזאת אינה ניתנת לשימוש כספר, אך משמשת בעין תמונה: שיר או פתגם

Figure 8. Sephardi square letters for the text (1), cursive for the commentary (2), and cursive Ashkenazi for the German translation (3) in Maḥzor Minhag Ashkenazi *published by W. Heidenheim and B. Baschwitz, Roedelheim, 1800–97, Jerusalem, J.N.U.L.*

Figure 9. Example of Frank-Ruehl, from Mivḥar ha-Shirim, *a collection of poems' printed at Haaretz Press, Tel Aviv, 1948.*

Figure 10. Twentieth-century Hebrew type faces (1) Frank-Ruehl, (2) Haim, (3) Aharoni, (4) Stam, (5) Gill, (6) Mayer-Baruch, (7) Ha-Ẓevi.

Figure 11. The "Schocken" typeface designed by Franziska Baruch used for Yiẓḥak Shenhar's translation of Die Weise von Liebe und Tod des Cornets Christoph Rilke *by Rainer Maria Rilke, Jerusalem, 1952.*

Figure 12. From the Koren Bible, set in the "Koren" typeface, Jerusalem, 1958.

Figure 13. From S.Y. Agnon's Kelev Ḥuẓot *set in "David" typeface, Jerusalem, 1960.*

Figure 14. From Henri Friedlaender's textbook on printing, Melekhet ha-Sefer, *using the author's typeface. "Hadassah," and produced by the Hadassah Apprentice School of Printing, Jerusalem, 1962.*

years new Hebrew presses were established in *Mantua, *Bologna, *Ferrara (Italy), and *Hijar (Spain). Thus, within a short time Hebrew printing spread to relatively distant places. Since printers at that time had to provide their own letter founts, a remarkable variety of alphabets and styles appeared at the inception of Hebrew typography.

The books printed in Spain and in Reggio di Calabria display the reed-born alphabets (square and cursive, a sort of italics) customary in the manuscripts of the Jews centered in Spain (Sephardi). These alphabets are distinguished by a great elegance in their curves and in the modeling of their strokes; the artist who cut the ones used in Guadalajara was mentioned by name, Piedro de Guadalajara, and was ostensibly a gentile. It is remarkable that the cursive Sephardi letter is already used as text letter in the first book printed in Reggio di Calabria, Rashi's commentary on the Pentateuch (hence its later name "Rashi-letter"), 26 years before a (non-Hebrew) cursive letter was used for the first time by the Venetian printer Aldus Manutius in 1501. In Piove di Sacco, where the printer was of German origin – as were most of the early Hebrew printers in Italy – the alphabets used were developments of the quill-shaped Ashkenazi (German) manuscript letter, angular and based on heavy contrast between bold and fine strokes. The edition of *seliḥot*, undated and probably the first book by that printer, displays a distinguished page set in quite large letters and long lines with wide margins in quarto size.

The founder of the press in Mantua, Abraham *Conat, who was a physician and scribe by profession, had an alphabet cut for himself, for which his own Italian-German cursive hand served as a model. His square letter was of the Ashkenazi type and similar to that used in Piove di Sacco. In 1477 Psalms, with the commentary of David Kimḥi, appeared in Bologna, the letters being of a similar type to those used in Mantua. In the same year Abraham b. *Ḥayyim, "The Dyer," of Pesaro started a short-lived press in Ferrara, buying the equipment from Abraham Conat. In 1482 he printed in Bologna an edition of the Pentateuch with Rashi's commentary; the text is set in a pleasantly large and elegantly light Sephardi new square letter and the commentary in a much smaller cursive letter of the Italian type. This edition fixed the layout for biblical texts with commentaries for all following editions.

The decisive turn in Hebrew typography after these initial trials was instituted with the activity of the *Soncino family. This family, hailing from Germany, printed Hebrew books through five generations, starting in 1484 in Soncino and later publishing works in Casalmaggiore, Pesaro, Brescia, Naples, Rimini, Salonika, Istanbul, and Cairo until 1557. The Soncinos, the most prolific and most creative Jewish Hebrew printer-publishers of all time, stabilized the style of letters used in Hebrew printing, employing an alphabet based on the Sephardi type and well adapted to the mechanical exigencies of printing, and which served as a base for later printers. They put out works of basic Hebrew literature in editions which became classic, as well as non-Hebrew books. The non-Hebrew books printed by Gershom Soncino typographically take a place of honor among the book productions of this time. He employed as a letter cutter the most accomplished letter artist of his time, and possibly of all time, Francesco Griffo, a friar of Bologna who had also worked for the famous Venetian printer Aldus Manutius, the first to print books in cursive letters (*cancellaresca*), which were cut by Griffo, in pocket size.

In the meantime *Venice became a new center of Hebrew printing. A rich gentile humanist from Antwerp, Daniel *Bomberg, assembled an impressive team of scholars – Jewish and baptized – as editors and proofreaders, as well as competent craftsmen, had excellent letters cut, and erected a Hebrew press in Venice which was to excel in quantity and quality all those that had preceded him in this field. All of the products of Bomberg's press were distinguished by faultless composition and layout, improved typefaces, and high-quality paper. His products constituted the high mark of achievement of the first decades of Hebrew typography. Based on the shapes pioneered by the Soncinos, Bomberg's typefaces became dominant and greatly influenced the further development of Hebrew typography.

While the Spanish-Italian branch of Hebrew printing developed – after some initial wavering – a square and cursive typeface based on the Sephardi tradition of lettering, another Hebrew printing center came into being in the second decade of the 16th century in *Prague (and somewhat later in *Basle) whose lettering was based decidedly on the Ashkenazi letter shapes. From the start the Prague printers achieved high typographical excellence and their influence spread to various parts of Germany and to Poland. Hebrew printing in Prague started in 1512; in 1514 the printers' company was joined by new partners, among them Gershom *Kohen, and from then on he was the central figure in the enterprise. His family continued his work well into the 17th century. In 1526 the Kohen press published a typographically outstanding work, a Passover *Haggadah* in large quarto with many woodcuts, the text being set in a superb large-size Ashkenazi typeface, which was probably cut in wood and displays to the best advantage all the beauty in this late Gothic style of Hebrew lettering. The many initial words are of exceptional beauty and are set in a still larger size, or, more probably, cut as whole words in wood. Four of the woodcut illustrations have the letter *Shin* (ש) unobtrusively incorporated, probably the signature of one of the partners, Ḥayyim *Shaḥor (he had already left the partnership when the *Haggadah* was published but seems to have been responsible for the woodcuts, or some of them). The *Haggadah* was reprinted in the same year with slight alterations by the original printers and was closely copied in 1560 in Mantua, with altered woodcuts and initial words; parts of the text were printed in smaller type.

Shaḥor set up a press in Oels (*Olesnica), near Breslau, moving from there to Augsburg, Ichenhausen, Heddernheim (all in Germany), and finally to Lublin, Poland. He took typefaces from Prague and continued to use the skill he gained there. The *Halicz brothers set up a press in Cracow about 1530, using mostly Prague type and style. The Hebrew Bible

(c. 1551–52), with Rashi's commentary, printed by Samuel Halicz in Istanbul – of which only the Pentateuch with the Five Scrolls and *Haftarot* is known (in a unique copy) – is in good typographical tradition; the letters which were used show a strange mixture of Ashkenazi and Sephardi style.

In the 16th century the interest of Christian humanists in Hebrew printing became of the utmost importance. Apart from Daniel Bomberg in Venice, there was Johannes Froben of Basle, who used the Ashkenazi type of letters to great advantage, including the Ashkenazi cursive (chiefly for texts in Judeo-German). Froben printed quite a number of Hebrew and Judeo-German books in cooperation with the Christian Hebraists Sebastian *Muenster and the two Buxtorfs, among them the biblical cantillation rendered in musical notes for the first time (in a Hebrew grammar written in Latin by Sebastian Muenster, 1534). Paulus *Fagius in Isny and Paulus Aemilius in Augsburg carefully produced books in Ashkenazi Hebrew type. At the same time in France Robertus Stephanus (Etienne), who was responsible for editions of many Latin and almost all Greek texts, printed the Hebrew Bible twice, once in a small format and once in octavo in beautiful letters of the Sephardi type, cut specially for these editions. Guillaume Le *Bé, the man who influenced the further development of the Hebrew printed alphabet possibly more than any other single figure, emerged from Stephanus' printing house. A native of Troyes, France, he was a letter designer and punch cutter who in 1545 was employed on Stephanus' recommendation by the Venetian humanist M.A. *Giustiniani, the founder in that year of a Hebrew press in Venice. Le Bé, 21 years old when he came to Venice, mainly specialized from then onward in designing and cutting Hebrew letters (until 1550 in Venice and later again in Paris). He carefully studied the Hebrew letter shapes, collected what he considered the best samples from everywhere, and continued cutting Hebrew founts to the end of his long life. Almost 20 Hebrew founts are credited to him. Not only did Giustiniani and the Italian-Jewish printer Meir *Parenzo depend on his typefaces but they were also later copied in Italy until the 19th century. The press of *Belforte in Leghorn (closed in 1939) used a derivative of his letters, and the Nebiolo type foundry in Turin still produced them in 1970 in a later rendering.

More important still, Le Bé provided Christopher *Plantin, the great printer of Antwerp, with Hebrew letters which the latter used in his Polyglot Bible (Antwerp, 1569–72), a superb piece of printing. Le Bé's letter style (and probably even some of the original letters) was passed on from Plantin to Christian printers in Germany, on one hand, and on the other to Holland, which took the lead in Hebrew printing in the 17th and 18th centuries, and by which Hebrew printing in Germany, England, Eastern Europe, and even the Near East was decisively influenced. The first Hebrew printer in Holland was *Manasseh Ben Israel, who had his letters cut from models prepared by the chief Hebrew scribe of Amsterdam, Michael Judah. His first publication, a prayer book of the Sephardi rite, appeared in 1627. Further Hebrew presses were set up soon after in *Amsterdam. The Jewish printers there, who were learned and cultured men, ordered their letters from the most accomplished punch cutters of their time, among them Christopher van Dyck and Johann Michael Fleischmann of Nuremberg. Since Hebrew books became an important export item in the economy of Amsterdam, all the important type foundries there produced Hebrew fonts. These were used everywhere, and printers mentioned the use of "Amsterdam type" on their title pages rather than the places and names of the printers. Typographically outstanding among the Amsterdam Hebrew presses was that of the *Athias family, which produced, among others, the famous Hebrew Bible (1661) and the beautiful edition of Maimonides' *Mishneh Torah* (1702–03). Another Hebrew press in Amsterdam of high standing was that of the *Proops family, which published a very large quantity of Hebrew books and continued its work into the late 19th century.

In the 17th and 18th centuries Hebrew printing spread widely to Germany, Poland, and some Oriental countries, and continued at some presses in Italy. The centers all derived from Amsterdam, Prague, and Venice and continued their respective typographical traditions, mostly with loss of quality. Some Hebrew type is also used in the first book printed on the North American continent, the *Bay Psalm Book* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1640). The 19th century brought further innovations. In *Roedelheim (near Frankfurt) W. *Heidenheim and B. Baschwitz published a new *maḥzor* in 1800 in nine volumes, using newly cut letters – square and cursive Sephardi for the commentary, and cursive Ashkenazi for the German translations – with a great deal of skill. This press continued printing in the same style and with the same letters throughout the 19th century, and its products were reprinted from stereotypes until the Holocaust, being reproduced in Basle even after World War II. In Eastern Europe the most important typographical production was the superb edition of the Babylonian Talmud by the house of *Romm in Vilna (1880–86). In England Z.H. *Filipowski printed Hebrew text editions in a pleasant small type.

The 19th century, with its deep changes in Jewish life, made new claims on Hebrew typography. A secular literature arose, with newspapers and periodicals not only in Hebrew but also in Yiddish and Ladino. By the end of the century changes in typographical techniques had taken place. The large European type foundries produced new Hebrew letters on traditional lines which were used in the printing of Bibles by the British and Foreign Bible Society and the Wuerttemberg Bible Institute, as well as in other scholarly editions. The most successful Hebrew type innovation was created through the cooperation of the Leipzig cantor and scribe Raphael Frank and the graphic artist Ruehl who worked for the Berthold type foundry. The Frank-Ruehl letter spread quickly, and after it was incorporated in the program of all the chief typesetting machines (Linotype, Monotype – under the name of Peninim – and Intertype) it held a near monopoly for quite a long period, in spite of its being an expression of the Art Nouveau style.

The rapid expansion of the press and of art and literature publications in Hebrew and Yiddish after World War I and the growing influence, first of the German expressionism and then of the New Typography promoted by the Bauhaus, were a new challenge to Hebrew typography. The existing letters were of little use in shaping the new typographical images. New Hebrew letters of the sans serif type were therefore created, at least for display, the first a letter called "Haim" by Jacob Levit (in Warsaw) and the second by the Tel Aviv graphic artist Aharoni which was published under his name in Germany. Both these typefaces were widely used for display and gave Hebrew printing an entirely new look. At the same time the cursive (Rashi) alphabet was totally abandoned in secular literature – a fact which resulted in a deplorable impoverishment of typographical possibilities.

The renascence of Hebrew literature, its concentration in Israel, and the tremendous growth of the production of books and periodicals, as well as of commercial printing, necessitated swift developments in Hebrew typography. They took shape chiefly from the end of World War II onward, and from the foundation of the State of Israel with accelerated energy. Between the two world wars new Hebrew types were still intended chiefly for what could be called ceremonial printing: this is true of the Ashkenazi square letter called "Stam," which was cut by the Berthold foundry and was dependent on a design by Franziska Baruch, and of the type designed by Marcus Behmer and ordered by the *Soncino Society for its monumental Bible, of which only the Pentateuch was printed before the Nazis put an end to the project. From this time a different sort of typeface was needed. Serious attempts began in the period between the two world wars, such as those of Eric Gill and L.A. Meyer, together with Franziska Baruch, but were not successful in providing new letters for general use; others, such as those of the German letter designer E.R. Weiss (whose drawings were lost), the American F.W. Goudy, and the Englishman H.G. Carter, were abortive. A radical step forward was made in the Ha-Ẓevi family of typefaces (Jerusalem Type Foundry), which were designed by Ẓevi Hausmann in collaboration with M. Spitzer. Based on a quasi-sans serif style, it went back to old letter shapes and reduced the overdecoration which had crept into Hebrew letter design in the course of centuries. In this way it achieved a modern appearance, but (being in its light rendering a book face) available for hand composition only, it could not be used for book work. The David Hebrew, a letter built on somewhat similar principles but more cursive, was designed by Ismar David with some help from M. Spitzer, and is available on Intertype; it is used in book work and allows for a very light look of the page in contrast to the heavy look traditional in Hebrew printing. Other new types are a modern renewal of the Ashkenazi letter by Henry Friedlaender, Hadassah (Amsterdam Type Foundry), also available on Intertype; Franziska Baruch's Schocken-Hebrew (Monotype); Z. Korngold's Koren (Deberny et Peignot, Paris), a traditional letter useful for traditional literature; and Ẓvi Narkis' Narkis Hebrew on Linotype. As a result of the progress of photo setting new faces were created. The general appearance of Hebrew typographical work – which in the present day covers the whole range of printing from belles-lettres through scholarly and technical literature to art books, periodicals of all sorts, and a very wide range of commercial printing – will go on changing. Some substantial advances in bibliophile book production have also taken place.

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[Maurice Moshe Spitzer]

TYRE (Heb. צוֹר), port in Lebanon, S.S.W. of Beirut. An ancient competitor of *Sidon, Tyre by 1200 B.C.E. became the leading port of Phoenicia and is mentioned in the *El-Amarna Letters. By the 10th century Tyre had founded the colonies of Uttica, Godes, and perhaps Carthage. Tyre was famous for its temple and craftsmen, and *Hiram of Tyre supplied Solomon with wood for the Temple (I Kings 5). A later Hiram built a huge breakwater in front of the port, then situated on an impregnable island, making Tyre one of the most important ports in the Mediterranean.

In 332 B.C.E. Alexander marched on Tyre for refusing to submit to him as the other Phoenician towns had done. After a siege of seven months Alexander took Tyre by building a mole, which joined the island to the mainland for the rest of its history. Tyre was destroyed and its inhabitants killed or enslaved (Arrian, Anabasis 2:5–21). The town rapidly recovered and was ruled by a native dynasty under Ptolemid suzerainity until 274 B.C.E. (Era of Tyre), when power was passed to the suffetes. Conquered by the Seleucids in 200 B.C.E. (Justinian 18:3:18), Tyre gained independence in 126 B.C.E. It expanded its silk, glass, and purple dye industry for which it was famous in the ancient world. During the Maccabean wars Tyre joined Sidon and Ptolemais (Acre) in attacking the Jews of Galilee, only to be repulsed by Simeon (Jos. Ant. 12:331; I Macc. 5:16).

In 63 B.C.E. Tyre came under Roman rule and Mark Antony demanded the restoration of Jewish property taken by the Tyrians during the wars of Hyrcanus and forbade damage to it (*ibid.* 14:313–22). Cleopatra begged him to grant her Tyre as a gift with the other territories south of R. Eleutherus that she received. Antony refused as Tyre was a free city (*ibid.* 15:95). There was a Jewish community at Tyre but the Tyrians were bitter enemies of the Jews (Jos., Apion 1:70). Like Sidon, Tyre under Augustus lost her rights because of some disturbances, but she administered territories up to the Jordan until Byzantine times. Tyre established centers for commerce at Puteoli and Rome, but when Ostia was rebuilt by Trajan they began to fail (CIG, 5853; CIL 10: 1601). By this time Tyre was the richest town of the eastern provinces. In the second century *Simeon b. Yoḥai lived there.

Excavations by P. Bikai in 1973–1974, on behalf of the Lebanese Department of Antiquities, produced a sequence of architecture and pottery from the site dating from between 2700 and 1600 B.C.E. The visible archaeological remains from the city are essentially from the Roman and Byzantine periods, notably a colonnaded street, a monumental archway, a large Roman bath, and a hippodrome that could seat some 60,000 spectators. A fourth-century basilica and a large Crusader cathedral represent some of the later remains in the city.

In the Middle Ages

In the Middle Ages Tyre was a rich and well-fortified city with a large Jewish community, whose high economic and cultural standard made it one of the most important communities in the Near East. The *Genizah* and other sources contain a wealth of material on the community in the 11th and 12th centuries. It transpires from these records that the Jews of Tyre derived their income mainly from the manufacture of glass and the export of glass products. They also traded in spices and flax with Jews from Egypt and the Maghreb, who came there on business. According to the testimony of an Italian Jew who settled in Ereẓ Israel in the 11th century, many Jews came to settle in Tyre during that period. During the great Bedouin revolt against *Fatimid rulers in the 1030s the Jewish community in Tyre was spared the sufferings that afflicted most of the other communities in Ereẓ Israel and southern Syria. It was the center of religious scholars who engaged in literary works and maintained close contacts with the Ereẓ Israel academy; in 1071, when Jerusalem was conquered by the *Seljuqs, the academy moved to Tyre. In 1081 the *rosh yeshivah* *Elijah ha-Kohen traveled to Haifa to ordain his son Abiathar as his successor, honoring the principle that ordination is not to be carried out beyond the confines of Ereẓ Israel. Ten years later a violent controversy broke out between the *ḥakhamim* of the academy and *David b. Daniel, when the latter demanded recognition as *nasi* by the Jews of Ereẓ Israel and Syria. As a result, Abiathar, the *gaon* of the academy, was forced to leave Tyre, and was followed by the *av* of the academy, *Solomon ha-Kohen. The controversy was finally settled in 1094, when the *nagid* *Mevorakh succeeded in gaining the upper hand over David b. Daniel; the academy was reestablished and Abiathar returned to resume his office. After the Crusader conquest of Tyre in 1124, Italian merchants, led by Venetians, established trade colonies in the city. The Jews lived in the Venetian quarter, which was under the direct control of the Venetian republic, and attempts by the last of the Frankish kings of Jerusalem to wrest jurisdiction over the Jews from their Venetian overlords were of no avail. *Benjamin of Tudela, who visited Tyre in the second half of the 12th century, reports on having found about 400 Jews in the city; they were engaged mainly in glass manufacture, but also included shipowners, i.e., international traders. The rabbis of Tyre in this period addressed numerous inquiries to *Maimonides. In the 13th century the community seems to have declined since there is an absence of reports dating from that period. After the *Mamluk conquest in 1291, the Tyre Jewish community ceased to exist.

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[Eliyahu Ashtor]

TYRE, LADDER OF (Heb. סֻלַּם צוֹר; Sullam Ẓur), a steep road cut in steps which connected the territory of Acre with that of Tyre and formed part of the coastal road passing the twin capes of Rosh ha-Nikrah (Ras en-Naqura) and Rosh ha-Lavan (Ras el-Abyad) partly in Israel and partly in Lebanon. It is first mentioned in I Maccabees 11:59 as the northern boundary of the coastal province of Paralia, entrusted by the Seleucid king to Simeon the Hasmonean. Josephus describes it as the northern boundary of Ptolemais (Acre), 100 stadia (c. 11½ mi.; 18½ km.) from that city. In talmudic sources, the Ladder of Tyre (Aramaic: *Sulma de Sor*) is frequently mentioned as the northern limit of the Holy Land, beyond which certain ordinances referring to that region no longer applied (Tosef., Pes. 1:28; et al.). The area from which the snails yielding purple dye were collected extended from Haifa to the Ladder of Tyre (Sab. 26a). The name has been revived as the appellation of a regional council in northwestern Galilee.

[Michael Avi-Yonah]

TYRE OF THE TOBIADS, fortress in Transjordan, built by Hyrcanus, the last of the Tobiad rulers of Peraea (Jos., Ant., 12:228–34). It is identified with the ruins of ʿIrāq al-Amir, approximately 10½ mi. (17 km.) W. of Amman (see full description of the site under entry *Tobiads). Another suggested identification is with Birtha of the Ammanitis, the Tobiad capital in the third century, which is mentioned in the *Zeno Papyri* (ed. by Edgar, no. 59003).

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[Michael Avi-Yonah]

TYRNAU, ISAAC (end of 14th century), Austrian rabbi and compiler of a book of **minhagim*. Tyrnau's teachers were Abraham *Klausner, Sar Shalom of Neustadt, and *Aaron Neustadt. Until recently it was assumed that his name derived from Trnava (Tyrnau) in Hungary (now Slovakia), but modern scholars incline more to the view that he came from

Austria. He was born in Vienna and apparently subsequently moved to Tyrnau in Austria, from where it is possible that he went to minister as rabbi of Pressburg although some scholars deny that he was ever in Pressburg. Little is known about his life except that in 1420 he contacted Jacob *Moellin regarding a divorce.

Tyrnau's fame rests upon his book of *minhagim*. Basing himself largely on his teacher, Klausner, he set down customs and codes of conduct for the whole year, and they were subsequently adopted in most communities in Austria, Hungary, and Styria. As Tyrnau wrote in the preface, his aim was to create a common *minhag*. As a result of the *Black Death (1348–50), which had uprooted most of the communities of Germany, "scholars became so few.… I saw localities where there were no more than two or three persons with a real knowledge of local custom." His description is concise and his style easy. The book enjoyed great popularity among German and Polish Jewry. Glosses by a Hungarian scholar, whose identity is not certain, apparently were added to the book and published together with it. The first edition was printed in Venice (1566) and has been frequently republished often as an appendix to the prayer book. Similarly a German translation by Simon Guenzburg (Mantua, 1590) has often been reprinted. A legend has been preserved to the effect that the Hungarian crown prince fell in love with the beautiful daughter of Tyrnau, and out of love for her renounced the throne, became converted to Judaism, and went to study Torah from Sephardi rabbis. On his return to Hungary he entered into a clandestine marriage with her and continued to study under his father-in-law. His identity was accidentally discovered by Catholic priests who demanded that he revert to his original faith. When he refused, he was burned at the stake and the Jews expelled from Tyrnau (*Eẓba Elohim, o Ma'aseh Ray she-Eira le-ha-Rav Yiẓḥak Tyrnau*; "The Finger of God, or What Happened to R. Isaac Tyrnau," the author of *Sefer ha-Minhagim*, 1857).

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[Shmuel Ashkenazi]

TYROL, autonomous province in W. Austria. Jews are first recorded in the Tyrol in the late 13th century: Isaac of Lienz was a large-scale moneylender and leased the income from the customs. A "Mayr the *Monetarius*" (*mintmaster) is mentioned in 1310 in *Merano. The few Jews living in *Innsbruck were massacred during the *Black Death persecutions in 1348–49, and in the following decades few are recorded in the province. In Bozen (*Bolzano) and Trient (*Trent), scene of the notorious blood libel in 1475, Jews are first mentioned in 1403. In 1442 a blood libel also occurred in Lienz. The alleged murder of Andreas of Rinn on the local "*Judenstein*" was an early 17th-century fabrication on the lines of the Trent blood libel. Although Andreas was never beatified, his cult was tolerated by the Church in 1755; an attempt to revive the "Anderl" play in 1954 was not permitted.

Expulsion orders of Jews from the Tyrol issued in 1520 and 1569 were not enforced, and a few Jews were found living there soon afterward, mainly in Innsbruck. After the expulsion from nearby *Hohenems in 1676, a few families settled in Innsbruck and elsewhere. Though Tyrol produced few scholars of distinction, two of the 17th century should be mentioned: Solomon b. Isaac and Shemaiah b. Meir Halevi Horowitz. During the anti-French uprising of Andreas *Hofer the Jewish settlement in Innsbruck was pillaged. Legal and economic restrictions on the Jews were not abolished under Bavarian rule and were ratified by the estates in 1817. In 1850 about 90 Jews were living in the province, mainly in Innsbruck. In Merano, where the first Jew settled in 1832, a Jewish settlement developed following the growth of the resort town. The Koenigswarter burial foundation was established in 1872, a hospital was opened in 1893, and a synagogue in 1901. In 1914 there were 130 Jews living in the province; that year Joseph Link, formerly of Hohenems, became provincial rabbi of the Tyrol and *Vorarlberg at Innsbruck, officiating until 1932. He was succeeded by E.S. Rimalt, under whom Zionism gained ground. After World War I *sheḥitah* was prohibited in Tyrol. The early 1930s saw a rise in the support of Nazism by the local population. Isolated Jews living in the province were not molested during **Kristallnacht* in November 1938, but the Jews of Innsbruck suffered extensively from Nazi attacks. Soon afterward all the Jews of Tyrol moved to Vienna. After World War II about 11 families established a new community in Innsbruck.

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TYSMENITSA (Pol. **Tyśmienica**), town in Ivano-Frankovsk oblast, Ukraine; within Poland until 1772 when it passed to Austria, reverting to Poland between the two world wars. An organized Jewish community existed in Tysmenitsa from the early 18th century, under the jurisdiction of the council of the "province of Russia" (see *Councils of the Lands). In the mid-18th century Jews from Tysmenitsa attended the *Breslau fairs. In the 1760s, during the rabbinate of Meshullam b. Samson *Igra, a new stone synagogue was erected to replace the old wooden one which had burned down in 1754. In 1765 there were 856 Jews paying the poll tax in the town. The Ḥasidim in Tysmenitsa were persecuted in the early 19th century. The Jewish population numbered 2,529 (36% of the total) in 1880, 2,049 (26%) in 1900, and 2,305 (23%) in 1910. They mainly engaged in trade of agricultural products and timber, shopkeeping, furriery, and carpentry. In the 1850s Menahem Mendel of Tysmenitsa, author of *Elef Alfin* (1876), was rabbi of the community. He was followed by Saul b. Meshullam Issachar ha-Levi Horovitz, author of responsa (*Besamim Rosh he-Ḥadash*). Before World War I there was a Jewish school financed by the *Baron de Hirsch Fund. Between 1914 and 1920 many Jews moved to *Stanislav, *Lvov, and *Stry. Between 1919 and 1939 when Tysmenitsa was within Poland, the Zionist movement was active. The community had a library. The Jewish population numbered 1,090 (16%) in 1921. The community was destroyed in the Holocaust. There were 56 survivors, some 30 of whom immigrated to Israel.

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[Shimshon Leib Kirshenboim]

TYSZOWCE (in Jewish sources **Tishvits**), a village in Lublin province, near the city of *Tomaszow Lubelski, E. Poland. Tyszowce was granted municipal rights in 1453. Jewish merchants settled there in the early 16th century, and by the 1630s they actively participated in the fairs at Lublin and *Lvov. In 1565 King Sigismund II Augustus granted the Jews equal rights and forbade market days to be held on the Sabbath. The *Council of the Lands sometimes met in Tyszowce and discussed such important matters as autonomous governance of communities, independent choice of rabbis, guardianship of orphans, marriage arrangements (Takkanot Tishvits, 1583), intercession with the government (1624), and financial support for Jews in Ereẓ Israel (1742). In 1649 and 1655/57, the Jews suffered from the armies of S. *Czarniecki and *Chmielnicki. In the 18th century they engaged in shoemaking and pottery, in addition to commerce. In 1765, 925 Jews living there paid the poll tax. In 1815 the town was included in Congress Poland, and from 1823 to 1862 the Russian authorities limited Jewish settlement in the area because of its proximity to the Austrian border. The 732 Jews living there in 1827 comprised 34% of the population. In 1857 there were 956 Jews (36%); in 1897/98, 851 Jews (85%); in 1921, 2,454 Jews (55%). Between the world wars all the Jewish parties were represented in the town and there was an active community life.

Holocaust Period

On the outbreak of World War II, there were about 3,800 Jews in Tyszowce. In September 1939 the Red Army entered the town but withdrew after a short time, according to a new Soviet-German agreement on the partition line. About 1,000 Jews left the town for the East with the withdrawing Red Army. The German army occupied the town at the beginning of October 1939. In May 1942 about 1,000 Jews were deported to the *Belzec death camp. The Jewish community was liquidated in November 1942, when the remaining Jews were sent to the same camp. After the war the Jewish community of Tyszowce was not reconstituted.

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TZARA, TRISTAN (originally **Sami Rosenstein**; 1896–1963), Romanian and French poet. Born in Moinesti, Romania, Tzara was one of several Jews who enjoyed literary repute both in their native country and in their adopted land, France. His earliest poems in Romanian appeared in 1912 (under the pen name S. Samiro) in *Simbolul*, a short-lived review which he founded together with the poet Ion Vinea (1895–1964). Tzara's symbolist verse was thereafter published in other leading Romanian periodicals and its unusual imagery already heralded "the great Faun of poetry" – a title which the French writer Louis Aragon was later to bestow on him. In 1916 Tzara left Romania, settling first in Zurich and, three years later, in Paris. He continued to write Romanian poetry, however, publishing his work in avant-garde reviews, mainly in *Unu*. His collected Romanian verse, edited by *Unu's* chief editor, Sasa *Pana, appeared as *Primele poeme* ("First Poems," 1934). In Romania Tzara exerted a powerful influence on the younger generation of poets.

In Zurich, Tzara was co-founder of the *Dada* movement and editor of its official organ. Until the rise of surrealism in 1924, *Dada* was a literary and artistic sensation, making a "clean slate" of traditional forms, dislocating the rules of language and logic, and transforming poetry into an ideological weapon. Some of Tzara's collections of this period are *Vingt-cinq poèmes* (1918) and *Cinéma, calendrier du coeur abstrait* (1920). In the course of time, his poetic tone became more sober and restrained, revealing genuine poetic gifts. In 1931 Tzara turned to surrealism with *L'Homme approximatif* and published an important theoretical essay, *Sur la situation de la poésie*. He became a Communist in 1935 and was active in the French underground during World War II. There is little trace of Jewish sentiment or expression in his verse, but Tzara became increasingly preoccupied with an imminent universal catastrophe. His later works include *O – boivent les loups* (1932); *L'Antitête* (1933), essays; *Le coeur à gaz* (1946); *La Fuite* (1947), a drama; *La Face intérieure* (1953); and *Parler seul* (1950). In 1970 La Monnaie de Paris stamped a medal with the effigy of Tristan Tzara "the father of dadaism" engraved by Andre-Henri Torcheux.

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[Wladimir Rabi / Dora Litani-Littman]

TZELNIKER, MEIR (1896–1980), Yiddish actor. Tzelniker began his career at 12 in Bessarabia, Russia, and attended the Odessa School of Drama. He played for three years on the Russian stage and joined a Yiddish company in 1922. Immigrating to London in 1927, he played in Yiddish at the Pavilion Theater, Whitechapel, and then headed the Yiddish National Theater Company. In 1939 he took over the Yiddish Theater in the Grand Palais, Whitechapel, which played throughout World War II in modern repertoire and in Shakespeare. He made a hit in *The King of Lampedusa* based on an amusing war episode. He subsequently appeared in films and television. His daughter, ANNA TZELNIKER (1922–), who was born in Romania, was also a well-known Yiddish actress in London.

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Historiated initial "U" depicting Joseph being pulled from the well by his brothers, Tuscan School, 15th century. Vellum, 16 x 16.5 cm. Musée Marmottan, Paris, France. © Visual Arts Library (London)/Alamy.

Uc-Uz

UCEDA, SAMUEL BEN ISAAC (1540–?), talmudist, preacher, and kabbalist. Uceda, who was born in Safed, studied Kabbalah under Isaac *Luria. After the latter's death, he studied under Luria's disciple Ḥayyim *Vital and Elisha *Gallico. At the age of 40, he established a great yeshivah in Safed where Talmud and Kabbalah were taught. The yeshivah was supported by the *Nasi family of Constantinople. Uceda also spent some time as a merchant in Aleppo. In 1597, when the financial resources of the yeshivah were depleted, he went to Constantinople in an attempt to raise funds. There he was helped by the philanthropist and scholar Abraham Algazi.

Uceda was apparently the owner of a large library which contained many manuscripts. In his *Midrash Shemu'el* (Venice, 1579), a commentary on the tractate *Avot*, he quotes some of the early Spanish scholars and his contemporaries from books which were in his possession. He also wrote a commentary on the Five Scrolls. The commentary on Ruth was published as *Iggeret Shemu'el* (Kuru-Chesme, near Constantinople, 1597). It includes sayings of early Spanish scholars and of Uceda's contemporaries. His commentary on Lamentations was published as *Leḥem Dimah* (Venice, 1606). His books had wide circulation and his commentary on *Avot* was printed three times during his life. His sermons are to be found in manuscript (Moscow, Guenzburg Ms. 1054).

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UCKO, SIEGFRIED (**Sinai**; 1905–1976), rabbi and educator. Born in Gleiwitz (Gliwice), Upper Silesia, Ucko studied at the Juedisch-Theologisches Seminar, Breslau, and at the Hochschule (Lehranstalt) fuer die Wissenschaft des Judentums, Berlin. After serving as rabbi in Mannheim and Offenburg, he settled in Palestine in 1935, teaching at Kiryat Bialik and at a teachers' training college in Tel Aviv (from 1946). In 1951 he was appointed head of the teacher's seminary at Givat ha-Sheloshah and was instructor in education at the Hebrew University, Jerusalem. In 1955 Ucko became head (later professor) of the education department of Tel Aviv University, also serving as inspector of teachers' training at the Israel Ministry of Education. His published works include *Der Gottesbegriff in der Philosophie Herrmann Cohens* (1927) and *Al ha-Osher re-ha-Tov* ("On Happiness and Goodness," 1951).

UDIM (Heb. אוּדִים), moshav in central Israel, 5 mi. (8 km.) S. of Netanyah, affiliated with Ha-Mo'aẓah ha-Ḥakla'it. Founded in 1948, Udim had 369 inhabitants in 1970 and 661 in 2002. The first settlers, from Poland and Hungary, were later joined by Israelis and immigrants mainly from Yemen and Iraq. Farming was based on irrigated citrus groves, vegetable gardens, and livestock. Other source of livelihood were from various retail outlets. The "Roman Breach" in a nearby sandstone ridge was once assumed to have been opened in the Roman period to provide an outlet for the waters in the Poleg swamp, but later archaeological investigation identified the breach as belonging to the fortification installations of a settlement dating from the Israelite period. The name, "Embers [i.e., Drawn from the Fire]," refers to the founders, who were survivors of the Holocaust.

[Efram Orni / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

UDIN, SOPHIE A. (1896–1960), founder of the Women's Organization for the Pioneer Women of Palestine (*Pioneer Women, subsequently Na'amat U.S.A.). Udin was born in Zhinkov, Ukraine, and emigrated as a child to Pittsburgh, Penn., with her socialist parents. Trained at Columbia University School of Library Science (M.L.S., 1929), she married Pinchas Ginguld, head of the network of secular Yiddish Folk Schools and Teachers Seminary and Po'alei Zion officer in New York (1922). Udin, who served on the staff of New York Public Library (1914–29), specializing in foreign collections, helped organize the American Mogen David Adom (March 13, 1918) and served as its first national secretary (1918–19). In 1921 and 1925–27, she went to Palestine to help organize and build the Jewish National and Hebrew University Library, introducing the Dewey decimal system and Anglo-American cataloguing and American-style library education for the staff. Living in Jerusalem, she became involved in clandestine Haganah work. In 1924 she raised American funds to produce the first Kiryat Sefer, the bibliography of Jewish and Hebrew publications of the National Library. According to the "legend of the well," Udin, with the assistance of six wives of Po'alei Zion members, responded to the plea of Raḥel Yanait *Ben-Zvi to raise money for a well to water trees at a tree nursery near Jerusalem. In 1925 they founded the Women's Organization for the Pioneer Women of Palestine to achieve this immediate goal as well as to support working women in Palestine and to campaign for auto-emancipation for all women. Udin established and directed the Zionist Archives and Library in New York, collecting documentation of the Zionist movement and editing *The Palestine Year Book* annual (1945–49) and three-volume *Palestine and Zionism* (1947–48); she published "A List of References Leading to the Establishment of the Jewish State of Israel" in *The Journal of Educational Sociology.* Leaving her husband to continue his work in New York, Udin made *aliyah* with her children in 1949 when David Ben-Gurion appointed her to set up and direct the Israel State Archives (now the National Archives) in the government complex in Tel Aviv. When the government moved to Jerusalem, she also moved the archives. She helped organize the Association of Americans and Canadians (AACI) in Israel in 1951 to ease the absorption of American immigrants to Israel; she died in Jerusalem.

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[Judith Friedman Rosen (2nd ed.)]

UDLICE (Czech **Údlice**; Ger. **Eidlitz**), village in N.W. Bohemia, Czech Republic. It is assumed that the Jewish community of Udlice was founded by refugees who fled from the nearby community of *Chomutov (Komotau) when the *Hussites attacked it in 1421. Eleven families were recorded in 1570 and the oldest gravestone (still extant until the Holocaust) dated from 1572. The *ḥevra kaddisha* was founded in 1680. The synagogue was rebuilt in 1694 and again in 1782. Judah Loew b. Isaac Lipschitz, the author of *Hanhagot Adam* (Fuerth, 1691) was rabbi in the 17th century. In 1724 the community numbered 76 families; 15 houses owned by the local lord were given to 24 heads of families in 1727; in 1815 they were destroyed by fire. The community numbered 597 in 1809, and in 1824, 111 families (481 persons) lived in 40 houses. In 1840 the synagogue was rebuilt in Reform style. (It was demolished in the 1920s and services were held in the school.) After 1848 the community diminished rapidly, most of its members moving to Chomutov and until 1869 returning to Udlice only for services. Only 150 Jews (9.2% of the total population) were left in Udlice in 1880 and these had declined to 21 (1.02%) in 1910; by 1926 only two families remained. Under Nazi occupation, both cemeteries and the school were destroyed. The memory of the community is perpetuated in the family name "Eidlitz."

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[Jan Herman]

UEBERLINGEN, town in Baden, Germany. Although the oldest gravestones discovered in Ueberlingen date from 1275–76, a Jewish community with a synagogue and cemetery was in existence in 1226. In 1240 the bishop of Constance forbade the setting up of a private mint in Ueberlingen either by a Jew or a Christian. A Jewish witness to an agreement appears in a source dated 1253. Most Jews made their living through *moneylending: in 1289 a Jewess, Guta of Ueberlingen, lent a considerable sum of money to Bishop Frederick of Montfort to permit him to participate in a Church Council in Wuerzburg. The Jew Samuel lent money in 1290 to a minister of high position and to the bishop of Constance; even King Louis IV, the Bavarian, was a debtor of Ueberlingen Jews. A tax list of 1241 indicates that the Jewish population was one of the smallest in Germany at the time, but by the beginning of the 14th century the Jewish population had grown considerably. A *Judenstrasse* is also noted during this period. A Rabbi Menlin of Ueberlingen is mentioned by Jacob b. Moses *Moellin (MaHaRil, 1365–1427). In 1332 an accusation was made that Jews had murdered a Christian child. A threatening mob surrounded the Jews who had gathered in the synagogue and set the structure afire, about 300 Jews perished as a result. The remaining Jews continued to live in the city, and two years later when King Louis IV, the Bavarian, visited the city he imposed a fine on those who had perpetrated the massacre. More Jewish lives were claimed by the *Black Death persecutions of 1349, after which the city confiscated the synagogue, cemetery, and houses of the victims. Jewish gravestones were used to build a cathedral. Jewish settlement was renewed, however, in 1378. In 1429 a *blood libel in Ravensburg brought about the arrest of all the Jews in Ueberlingen: 12 Jews were burned in 1430, and 11 saved themselves by accepting baptism. Jewish settlement came to an end in 1431 and was not renewed until 1862. The modern community remained extremely small; in 1895 there were only five Jewish families in the town and the community combined with that of Constance. All five families recorded as living in Ueberlingen in 1938 emigrated to England and the U.S.

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[Alexander Shapiro]

UFA, capital of Bashkortostan, Russia. Under the czars, Ufa was beyond the *Pale of Settlement. Its Jewish community was established by veteran Jewish soldiers. In 1855 a synagogue was built. In 1897 the Jews in Ufa numbered 376 (0.8% of the total population). In World War I about 1,000 Jewish refugees came to Ufa from areas near the front. The Jewish community suffered from the battles between the Red Army and the White Army in 1918. In 1923 there were 1,588 Jews (1.8% of the total population). In the entire Bashkir Republic there were 7,167 Jews in 1959. In 1971 some thousands of Jews were thought to be still living in Ufa, but there was no information available about Jewish communal or religious life in the town. When the community re-emerged in the post-Communist period, a full range of communal services developed, a chief rabbi was installed, and the Jewish population was estimated at as much as 10,000.

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[Yehuda Slutsky]

UGANDA SCHEME. In the spring of 1903 Joseph Chamberlain, the British colonial secretary, offered Herzl the Guas Ngishu plateau near Nairobi in East Africa – not Uganda, as Chamberlain and others later erroneously called it – for a Jewish settlement under the British flag. Herzl thought it politically imprudent to reject it, since the very fact that a Great Power was negotiating with him amounted to a de facto recognition of his movement. He considered the offer primarily in political terms. Rather than being an impediment, it might bring the realization of his ultimate goal nearer. For him it was merely a ploy to obtain British recognition of the Zionist movement, recognition of Jews as a people, and to bring Britain gradually to the conclusion that only in Palestine would the Jewish Problem be solved. In these tactics he was eminently successful. At no time did Herzl abandon Palestine.

The storm that erupted during the Sixth Zionist Congress in August 1903 was unforeseen. The acrimonious controversy was largely due to a misunderstanding. It was not the choice between "Zion or Uganda" that had been put on the agenda. What had been proposed was the dispatch of a Commission of Inquiry to East Africa, and Herzl anticipated that the report would be negative, as it was crystal clear to him that the Jews would not go to Africa in any case.

Moreover, all the controversy was irrelevant, because the subject matter became unreal. In view of the protests raised by the white settlers in Kenya against the very idea of a Jewish settlement, the Foreign Office changed its mind. Herzl did not shed any tears. In a circular letter to the members of the Zionist Executive, he declared that the East Africa project was dead. In mid-April 1904, during a meeting of the Executive, the leading opponents, the Neinsagers, admitted that they were mistaken and expressed their unswerving confidence in Herzl.

For a fuller treatment see *Herzl, Theodor.

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[Isaiah Friedman (2nd ed.)]

UGARIT, ancient city located about 7 mi. (11 km.) north of Latakia. Though it is not mentioned in the Bible, its discovery has had a profound effect on biblical studies, especially in the fields of religion, literature, and language.

Excavation

The ancient mound of this city, known as Ras Shamra ("Hill of Fennel"), first came to the attention of modern scholars after a Syrian farmer accidentally uncovered a stone from the roof of a well-built tomb chamber containing Cypriot and Mycenean pottery. C. Virolleaud, then director of archaeological works for the (French mandatory) government of Syria, first excavated the tomb in 1928. In the following year the Mission de Ras Shamra under the direction of Claude F.A. *Schaeffer began systematic excavations that continued into the 1970s except for several years during World War II.

Nine seasons from 1929 to 1937 were devoted to the seaport at Mînet el-Beiḍa (classical Leucos limen, "White Harbor") and to the acropolis on the western half of the tell, where two temples, one to Dagon and the other to Baal, were found; between them was the high priest's house, containing a rich collection of literary texts. The site of the town rises c. 65 ft. (20 m.) above the surrounding plain and stands about 3,980 ft. (1,200 m.) from the bay. Its total surface area is 22 hectares. From 1937 to 1939 and from 1948 to 1955 work was concentrated on the northwestern corner of the mound, where stables, various important residences, and above all the royal palace, were uncovered. The palace archives have furnished invaluable historical and social data. From 1953 to 1958 a large residential quarter came to light, and during the years 1959–66 the craftsmen's quarter on the south side of the tell was investigated. Some private archives have provided both legal and literary texts. An abundance of artifacts including statuettes, bowls, and other objects of bronze and gold have been found in various points on the mound.

Early Stratigraphy

The basic chronology for prehistoric Ras Shamra has been established by a series of deep soundings and can be briefly summarized thus: Level V, Neolithic, five meters of deposit beginning from the pre-pottery to the later ceramic Neolithic Age (seventh–fifth millennia B.C.E.); Level IV, early phase represented by wares of Hassuna and Tell Halaf (early fifth millennium B.C.E.), later phase with influence from el-Ubaid (c. 4500–4000); Level III C and B, Chalcolithic (4000–3000 B.C.E.); Level III A1 and A2, Early Bronze Age (3000–2350), probably destroyed during one of the campaigns of the rulers of the Akkad Dynasty – throughout this long period the settlement developed into a formidable city with ample storage space for surplus grains, etc.; Level III A3 reflects the nomadic invasion by foreign elements that settled on the ruins of the previous civilization – they were the "torque wearers," whose only traces at this site are their tombs (c. 2250 to 2050 B.C.E.).

History – Middle Bronze (2050–1500 B.C.E.)

After the disappearance of the "torque wearers" a new ethnic element, the Amorites, became the dominant people of the Levant. The new urban center which they built at Ras Shamra must have arisen shortly before approximately 2000 B.C.E. (Level II). The pharaohs of the 12th dynasty (1990–1780) strove to maintain strong diplomatic and commercial ties with Ugarit, as evidenced by the presence of numerous statuettes and other objects. The earliest known thus far is a bead inscribed with the cartouche of Senusret I (1971–1928); this is followed by the statuette of a queen of Senusret II (1897–1877) and two sphinxes of Amenhemet III (1842–1797). Other statues include that of an Egyptian vizier and his family and those of other priests and important women. Since Ugarit is not mentioned in the Egyptian Execration Texts, there is no reason to suppose that the city was under the direct suzerainty of Egypt.

In the later Middle Bronze Age, Ugarit is mentioned a few times in texts on the Euphrates. Hammurapi, king of Yamhad (Aleppo), wrote to Zimri-Lim (c. 1779–1761), king of *Mari, informing him that the ruler of Ugarit wanted to see the famous palace at Mari. Another letter, by an official who was evidently writing to Zimri-Lim, suggests that the latter planned a trip to Ugarit. Five other references to Ugarit appear in unpublished economic texts. The city was obviously one of the flourishing "Amorite" city-states of the Old Babylonian Age. The "Amorite" origin of the dynasty at Ugarit is also reflected in the rulers' names, which are also attested as Amorite in a later age. The "dynastic seal" used by kings of Ugarit in the Late Bronze Age was of Old Babylonian style and bears the name of Yaqarum son of Niqmaddu; one of these two, either the father or the son, was probably the founder of the dynasty. These two names also appear at the end of an unpublished list of deified rulers. A man from Ugarit is recorded on an administrative list from neighboring *Alalakh (Level VII) just slightly later than the Mari texts. During the 1969 excavations, Schaeffer began to uncover the palace from this period.

History – Late Bronze (1500–1100)

There are two allusions to Ugarit in the later Alalakh tablets (Level IV) from the 15th century B.C.E. One is an epistle or agreement having to do with thieves and the other is a fragment. A letter found at Ugarit from Niqmepa (of Alalakh?) to a certain Ibira, probably ruler of Ugarit, can be dated to about the same period; the subject was a fugitive groom. The dynastic roster alluded to above included three kings named Ibrn (for Ibiranu); one of them may have been this 15th-century Ibira(nu).

Though Thutmose III (1490–1436) does not claim the conquest of Ugarit in his northern campaigns, he did overrun the neighboring states of Alalakh, Nughasse, and Niyi. A vase found at Ugarit is inscribed with the name of Thutmose III. In addition, Amenhotep II (1436–1416) apparently made a thoroughgoing foray into Ugarit's territory on his first campaign as sole ruler. The name of Ugarit is preserved only imperfectly in his annals; the initial error must have occurred in the first "historical" digest prepared as a preliminary to making the inscriptions. It would appear that the local ruler was loyal to the pharaoh and had an Egyptian garrison in his city. Another faction was plotting against the pro-Egyptian king. Amenhotep II quelled the rebellion in the countryside and pacified the city.

The next information about Ugarit pertains to Ammistamru I, a contemporary of Amenhotep III (1405–1367). He appealed to the pharaoh for help, evidently when the Hittite Suppiluliumas (1375–1335) was making his first foray into northern Syria. He seems to have had a dispute with a certain Niqmepa of Amurru. Other Tell *el-Amarna letters lacking the name of the sender must have come from Ugarit about this time or during the reign of Ammistamru's successor, Niqmaddu II. They indicate that the ruler of Ugarit was a loyal "servant" of the pharaoh. A scarab and some vase fragments found at Ugarit bear the name of Amenhotep III. The commercial relations between Ugarit and Egypt under this pharaoh are further illustrated by an epistle, apparently from the overseer of Ugarit's main port, *Maʾh-adu* (Mînet el-Beiḍa), addressed to Nimmuria (praenomen of Amenhotep III). It is no surprise, therefore, that Ugarit is mentioned in a topographical list of Amenhotep III.

The next ruler of Ugarit, Niqmaddu II, seems to have continued his allegiance to Egypt. His portrait appears on the side of an alabaster vase; before him stands a lovely Egyptian maiden. She is evidently of noble birth and represents a marriage tie between Ugarit and Egypt. Niqmaddu sent a letter to Egypt asking for two Cushite page boys and a physician. His loyalty to the next pharaoh, Amenhotep IV (1367–1350), is proven by the name of the latter and of his wife, Nefertiti, on other alabaster vases discovered at Ugarit.

During the First Syrian War of Suppiluliumas in which he defeated the Mitannians and subdued the pro-Mitannian states of northern Syria, the Hittite ruler recognized that Ugarit was more closely allied to Egypt than to Mitanni and thus made the very clever offer to Niqmaddu of an alliance against the neighboring states of Mugish and Nughasse. These latter had also sought Niqmaddu's support against Suppiluliumas and had attacked Ugarit when he refused. Hittite troops were sent to rescue Ugarit. The ensuing conflict resulted in a conclusive Hittite victory throughout the area. Niqmaddu was rewarded with large portions of territory taken from Mugish on the north and Nughasse on the east. A report from Tyre to the pharaoh to the effect that Ugarit's palace had been burned may pertain to this affair.

Niqmaddu thus became a loyal vassal of the Hittites. Just as his father had clashed with the expansionist rulers of Amurru, so he and his own vassal, Abdi-khebat of Siyannu, ran foul of Baʿluya, brother of the infamous Aziru (probably while the latter was called to Egypt to give an accounting).

After Aziru's return, he continued the feud until he too was compelled to submit to Hittite rule. Since both states were now vassals of the same overlord, a treaty was arranged between them. Henceforth, the entire coastline from Ugarit to Byblos was subject to the Hittites.

Later, in the seventh year of Mursilis (c. 1334–1306), Niqmaddu was asked to furnish troops against his neighbors who were staging an Egyptian-inspired revolt. He evidently did so, and the revolt was suppressed; but just at this time he was followed on the throne by his son Arkhalbu, the only ruler of Ugarit to bear a Hurrian name. It would appear that pro-Egyptian elements at Ugarit had staged a coup at the instigation of Pharaoh Horemheb (c. 1335–1309; whose inscribed vases were also found in the Ugaritic palace); this would explain Ugarit's inclusion in a topographical list by that pharaoh. A second revolt by Nughasse, to which Ugarit may have been partner, was smashed by Mursilis who then removed Arkhalbu and placed his brother, Niqmepa, on the throne of Ugarit. The size of the kingdom was much reduced and even Siyannu was taken out of Ugarit's jurisdiction.

Niqmepa was the ruler of Ugarit who joined the Hittite allied forces in their confrontation with Pharaoh Ramses II (1290–1224) at the battle of Kadesh (1285). He continued to reign for a considerable time after Mutawallis' death (1282). Under Hattusilis (1275–1250), his kingdom enjoyed a renewed era of wealth and prosperity, doubtless facilitated by the peace treaty between Hatti and Egypt. Ugarit's position as a key center in the Hittite imperial economy is illustrated by the fact that the Hittite king agreed to restrain the activity of even his own merchants from Ura (in Cilicia) vis-à-vis Niqmepa. Another decree by Hattusilis prevented Ugaritic citizens from deserting their own sovereign and fleeing to the *ʿapiru* territory, i.e., they could not escape the jurisdiction of Niqmepa by joining the freebooters.

At the demise of Niqmepa, there seems to have been some dispute over the succession. Two sons of Niqmepa's widow Ahatmilku (formerly a princess from Amurru), Hishmi-sharruma and Abdi-sharruma, committed an act of treason (lit. a "sin") against the new incumbent, Ammistamru II. The queen mother was held responsible for seeing that the rebels took their shares of personal property and went into exile to Alashi (on Cyprus).

Ammistamru's domestic troubles were just beginning. He decided to divorce his own Amorite wife and apparently discovered, after she had gone back to her home country, that she had not only been a troublemaker but had also committed a "great sin" against him – probably adultery. Various attempts were made to adjudicate the affair, first before the Hittite viceroy in Carchemish and later before the emperor in Hattusas, now Tudkhaliyas. After certain acts of hostility between Ugarit and Amurru, the emperor imposed a settlement. The erring lady was returned to Ammistamru and promptly executed; in return an indemnity payment was made to her brother, the king of Amurru. Certain difficulties arise from the documents pertaining to this case; in fact, two separate women may be involved though it seems most unlikely that Ammistamru would have taken a second wife from Amurru after divorcing the first.

When the Assyrians (probably under Shalmaneser I; 1274–1245) began to put pressure on the eastern Hittite frontier, Ammistamru was not required to furnish support troops, but a payment of 50 minas of gold was imposed upon him as financial backing for the war. Neighboring Amurru did have to send troops.

The next ruler of Ugarit was Ibiranu, another son of Ammistamru (rather than the son of the deposed Amorite wife). A certain indifference toward the Hittites can be discerned in his failure to present himself at the capital and in his not sending the customary gifts upon his accession to the throne. His recalcitrant attitude may have been the result of the new Assyrian threat under Tukulti-Ninurta I (1244–1208). This time the Hittites were not content to accept money in lieu of soldiers. Ibiranu tried to stall, but they sent an officer to muster the troops of Ugarit.

Ibiranu was followed by his son Niqmaddu III, whose reign must have been short. The last known king at Ugarit bore the name Hammurapi. Under the leadership of the last Hittite monarch, Suppiluliumas II, he was more cooperative than his predecessors. The reason is clear; a new threat was looming, this time on the western horizon. The Ugaritic fleet was the backbone of Hittite resistance by sea. Tablets still baking in the kiln when the palace was finally destroyed tell the sad tale of failure and retreat in the face of an advancing foe. Some Ugaritic ships were lost near Cyprus; there was apparently an advance raid on the coast of Ugarit while the rest of the fleet was away. Land forces from Ugarit, led by the king, had joined the Hittites in an attempt to stem the tide of enemy troops advancing from the west and north.

Ugarit was sacked and burned in a mighty conflagration. Its civilization remained buried until the excavator's spade revived it in modern times. The small colony of Hellenic tradespeople that lived for a time at Ras Shamra during the Iron Age had no idea of the rich cultural treasures buried beneath their feet.

Social Structure

The Late Bronze Age archives from Ugarit provide a unique source for the study of social structure and institutions in the Levant on the eve of the Israelite conquest. Geographically and politically Ugarit was never a part of *Canaan; in fact, a Canaanite at Ugarit was listed like any other foreigner. The most prominent element in the Ugaritic population was West Semitic; but there were also many Hurrians there who seem to have been considered an integral element in the society. Unlike neighboring Alalakh, Ugarit has furnished administrative records in both the standard lingua franca, Akkadian, and the West Semitic dialect of the indigenous population, *Ugaritic. Thus many West Semitic equivalents for Akkadian social and political terms are available.

Ugarit was a monarchical despotism ruled by a dynasty that apparently had its roots in the previous "Amorite" culture of the Levant (cf. above). The kings, though themselves vassals of the Hittite emperor (and of the pharaoh before that), were recognized by international law as the absolute lords of all persons and real estate in their realm. At least for a time, the neighboring state(s) of Siyannu-Ushnatu stood in a vassal relationship to Ugarit.

By virtue of his ownership of all the lands in the kingdom, the king of Ugarit was able to provide estates for all his loyal supporters, especially the aristocracy of officials, soldiers, and other noble classes (including the priesthoods). In return, the landholders were obligated to serve the crown. A person who committed treason against the state or who fell hopelessly into debt to a foreign creditor would lose his patrimony. If an estate were left temporarily without an adult male to fulfill the incumbent duties to the crown, the king would protect the widow as well as his own interests.

The upper class included the principal palace officials such as the high commissioners (*rābiṣū*) and the overseers (*sākinu*), whose offices were either identical or parallel (the former term is Akkadian, the latter West Semitic). Scribes (*tupšarrū/‡sāpirūma*) had the great responsibilities of keeping official records and composing correspondence; many of them rose to higher government positions. There was also an elite band of "royal acquaintances," who shared special privileges in the palace.

Yeoman classes included various craftsmen, such as carpenters, shipwrights, metalsmiths, cooks, fowlers, etc. Many of these lived in a special quarter of the city (cf. above). Farmers and herdsmen were doubtlessly located in the many village precincts throughout the realm. Little is known about the administration of the local town or village. Sometimes a whole town would be given to a high-ranking officer as his patrimony. Overseers and village headmen governed most of the others. Each township was responsible for furnishing a certain number of man-days, evidently for corvée labor, each year. The peasantry was doubtless employed in the cultivation of the nobles' estates.

Ugarit's role as a major metropolitan focus of international trade is underlined by the presence of numerous foreign elements in the personnel rosters. Assyrians, Hittites, Egyptians, and Canaanites all made their way to Ugarit on diplomatic and commercial missions. The Ugaritic merchant fleet sailed the entire eastern Mediterranean from Egypt to Caphtor. The evidence from written records has been abundantly confirmed by the material finds produced in excavation. Vessels of gold and ivory reflect artistic styles of Semitic and other cultural traditions. Alabaster vessels testify to frequent and close contacts with Egypt (whenever political factors permitted).

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[Anson Rainey]

UGARITIC, a Northwest Semitic language spoken and written in northern Syria during the second millennium B.C.E. Documents written in this tongue have been discovered at Ras Shamra, site of the ancient *Ugarit, and at nearby Ras ibn Hani.

The texts were written on clay tablets in a unique cuneiform alphabetic script. This represented a revolutionary adaptation of the Mesopotamian writing method, which was in its original form syllabic and logographic and required hundreds of symbols; thus there were separate symbols for *ba* and *ab*, *ik* and *ki*, etc. The Ugaritic repertoire consisted, in contrast, of 27 basic consonants. An additional sign for *samekh* and two supplementary *alefs* served to distinguish the three fundamental Semitic vowels in combination with that consonant, i.e., *aʾ, iʾ, uʾ*. Rare instances have been noted in which these consonant-plus-vowel signs were utilized as pure vowel indicators and in two texts the *yod* seems to stand for a final vowel; otherwise the Ugaritic method of writing was entirely consonantal. Five small inscriptions show certain unusual features such as minor divergences in the shapes of letters and especially a preference for only 22 consonants as in the traditional Canaanite *alphabet. Three of these texts with the shorter alphabet were found not at Ugarit but in Ereẓ Israel.

The corpus of Ugaritic inscriptions so far published represents a wide range of literary and nonliterary types. The former have attracted the widest attention because of their parallels to biblical poetry and epic prose. Of special interest are the tablets pertaining to the adventures of Baal and his consort Anath which outnumber the other literary works discovered. In many instances, the language and poetic style are – as shown especially by U. Cassuto and H.L. Ginsberg – very close to passages in the Hebrew poetry, e.g., the god of death, Mot, warns Baal not to boast "because you have smitten Lotan [Leviathan] the evil serpent, you have destroyed the crooked serpent, the mighty one of seven heads." The analogy with Isaiah 27:1 is indeed striking.

Other mythical works include an ode on the marriage of the Moon god (masculine) with the goddess Nikkal (a deity of Mesopotamian origin), and a drama about the birth of the good and lovely gods which even contains stage directions for the cast and parenthetical remarks by the narrator. Two legendary stories are worthy of special notice, viz. that of a certain renowned king named Keret (Kirta) and a judge known as Danʾil. The latter is probably to be equated with the Daniel of Ezekiel 14:14, 20; 28:3; he was famous for his fairness as a judge, revealed especially in his care for the widow and the orphan. A major theme of both the Keret and the Danʾil epics is the desire for an heir to maintain the family line.

As the archaeological researches at Ras Shamra continue, the variety of religious and literary texts increases. Ritual inscriptions include dedicatory formulae on stelae and votive objects, lists of sacrifices to the various deities of the Ugaritic pantheon, and descriptions of ceremonial acts of worship. Extispicy, the "science" of omens, is also represented. One unpublished tablet deals with ominous predictions founded on unusual births; another is a clay model of a sheep's liver with textual allusions to certain marks and other features which the examining priest had to learn to recognize and interpret. All of these have their counterparts or prototypes in Mesopotamian and Hittite sources; it is quite clear now that all these facets of cuneiform science and culture had made their mark on the life of Ugarit. For the first time scholars can compare the linguistic expressions in these ancient literary genres in both the East Semitic Akkadian and the West Semitic Ugaritic (with many Hittite and Hurrian parallels as well).

The classification of Ugaritic within the Northwest Semitic family is a disputed issue. Many scholars hold that it is Canaanite or north Canaanite. It certainly is not identical with the dialect(s) spoken further south in the original land of Canaan as reflected in Egyptian transcriptions and glosses in the *El-Amarna letters.

The Ugaritic language bears many resemblances to other members of the Northwest Semitic family, and to Hebrew and *Phoenician in particular. There are, however, also a number of significant differences: Ugaritic used a *shin*-causative stem instead of *h*(*ifil*), *a*(*fel*) or *y*(*ifil*); its long [*a*] vowels had not shifted to long [*o*]; the old Semitic case system was still in full force and short final vowels had generally not been elided from various verb forms. Barth's law of thematic and preformative vowels in imperfect verb tenses is shared by both Ugaritic and Hebrew but, unlike the latter, these forms still distinguished four modes, indicative, volitive, jussive, and energic, in correspondence with classical Arabic (except that the jussive had already begun to assume the function of a past or completed-action tense).

To date the Ugaritic lexicon consists of over 2,000 words. Many personal names are similar in form and construction to those in the Bible. The Ugaritic script was even utilized to write texts in the Hurrian language and Hurrian names appear alongside those of local Semites. Although the royal scribes of Ugarit carried on their international correspondence and drew up most of their local documents in Akkadian, they also used Ugaritic for various administrative purposes.

The decipherment of Ugaritic was achieved almost simultaneously by H. Bauer, E. Dhorme, and C. Virolleaud, each working independently. Various scholars have contributed to the analysis and elucidation of the inflection, syntax and lexicography of the language. A major pioneer was H.L. *Ginsberg, whose fundamental researches put the grammar on a solid, scientific basis. C.H. *Gordon made a systematic presentation of the various aspects of the grammar, to which a comprehensive glossary was added, along with transcriptions of all texts published to date. Interest in the linguistic, literary, religious, and cultural information in this newly discovered body of inscribed material has been international. Relationships with the Bible and biblical Hebrew have received most of the attention. As more examples of major compositions from the Mesopotamian sphere have come to light at Ugarit, the influence of Babylonian literature on that of Ugarit has attracted further research. Attention has also been paid to Ugarit against the larger world of ancient Syria including Emar and *Mari. Since the 1970s Ugaritology has emerged as a discipline in its own right rather than a handmaiden of biblical studies. *Ugarit Forschungen* ("Ugaritic Researches"), 1969 ff., which has been publishing articles in several languages, is in the main devoted to Ugaritic studies. A scholarly series is published by Ugarit Verlag in Muenster, Germany.

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[Anson Rainey / S. David Sperling (2nd ed.)]

UGODA (Pol. "Compromise"), a type of arrangement between the Polish administration and the Jewish Parliamentary Club of the *Sejm known as the Koło Zydowskie. According to this agreement, certain indispensable requirements were granted to the Jews in return for a declaration of loyalty to several demands by the Polish government. The compromise came as the conclusion to prolonged talks involving a limited circle of notables including Foreign Minister Skrzynski and Minister of Religion and Education Stanislaw *Grabski on the Polish side, and the leaders of the Koło, Leon *Reich and Osias *Thon. The negotiations resulted in an official meeting on July 4, 1925, in the chambers of Premier Wladyslaw *Grabski. Among the matters discussed, which were later announced publicly, were economic questions, political rights of citizens, organization of Jewish communities, and problems of culture, religion, and education.

The agreement aroused hopes that many painful matters would be rectified, such as compulsory stoppage of work on Sundays, the *numerus clausus at the universities, and discriminatory practices in taxation and credit, and that aid would be rendered to foster a national Jewish culture and autonomous institutions. Nonetheless, of the 42 original paragraphs, only 12 were officially publicized in July 1925 with the stamp of approval of the Polish government; they were limited to reforms concerning the organization of Jewish communities, educational aid to schools, the right to use a Jewish national language, and religious considerations for soldiers and students in government schools. The more serious problems that the Ugoda was expected to alleviate were solved on paper only, a fact which led Yiẓḥak *Gruenbaum, as spokesman of the Jewish populace, to criticize the leadership of the Koło. On the other hand, the antisemitic camp criticized the government for its leniency in granting concessions to the Jews. While the Ugoda negotiations were in progress, Poland had been undergoing a financial crisis due to a tariff war with Germany. The situation caused political repercussions which resulted in the ousting of the Grabski administration in November 1925. The Ugoda was thenceforth regarded with disappointment by the Jews.

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[Moshe Landau]

UHDE, MILAN (1936–), Czech playwright, publicist, essayist, and prose writer. Born in Brno, Moravia, into a Czech-Jewish assimilated family, Uhde completed his studies of Czech and Russian at the Faculty of Philosophy in Brno in 1958. He worked at the literary monthly *Host do domu* ("Guest in the House"). After the Soviet occupation of Czechoslovakia, the journal was banned in 1970. Uhde lost his job and was forced to publish either in *samizdat* or under assumed names. In 1977 he signed Charter 77. In 1989–90 he became editor-in-chief of the Atlantis Publishing House. Entering political life, he served as minister of culture (1990) and chairman of the House of Deputies of the Czech Parliament (1992–96). Uhde started his literary career with three collections of stories and a satirical anti-regime play *Král-Vávra* ("King Vávra," 1964), followed by a work in verse, *Děvka z města Théby* ("The Bitch of Thebes," 1967). In the 1970s he adapted three novels – by V. Páral, I. *Olbracht, and V. Mrštík – for the stage (under a pen name). The play *Zvěstování aneb Bedřichu, jsi anděl* ("The Annunciation, or Bedřich, You Are an Angel," 1990), written in 1986, is a parody of Karl Marx's biography. Jewish themes are reflected in some characters, names, and stories in Uhde's radio and TV plays, such as *Velice tiché ave* (1981, 1987; German, "A Very Quiet Ave") in which a Jewish woman who wants to save herself from being sent to a concentration camp uses fake evidence to show that she had non-Jewish parents; *Pán plamínků* ("The Master of Small Flames," 1977, 1990); *Hodina obrany* ("An Hour of Defense," 1978, 1991); and *Zázrak v černém domě* ("Miracle in the Black House," 2004). After 1989 Uhde wrote essays against racism in *Česká republiko, dobrý den* ("Czech Republic, Good Day!" 1995); on tolerance and freedom in a collection of articles entitled *Čeští spisovatelé o toleranci* ("Czech Writers on Tolerance," 1994); and on Czech-German relations. In 2000 he was awarded the State Medal of Merit in the Cultural Sphere by President V. Havel. Uhde lived in Brno.

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[Milos Pojar (2nd ed.)]

UHERSKE HRADISTE (Czech **Uherské Hradiště**; Ger. **Ungarisch-Hradisch**), town in S.E. Moravia, Czech Republic; in the Middle Ages one of the six royal cities in Moravia. The first documentary evidence about Jews residing in the town dates from 1342. In 1453, when Jews were expelled from all the other Moravian royal cities, Uherske Hradiste refused to follow suit; but in 1514, under King Ladislaus II, they were expelled from there too. They settled in small rural communities and smaller towns and were not permitted to return to Uherske Hradiste until 1848. In 1857 there were 67 Jews in the town, rising to 342 in 1869 and 488 in 1880. A new synagogue was constructed in 1875; it was redesigned in the Art Noveau style in 1904. In the early 21st century it was used as the municipal library. A prosperous community developed, the majority of Jews joining Zionist organizations. By 1930 the number of Jews had fallen to 353. The few who returned after World War II were incorporated into the community of *Uhersky Brod and later into that of *Brno.

On the site of the former cemetery, devastated by the Nazis, a memorial to the Holocaust victims was erected.

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[Chaim Yahil / Yeshayahu Jelinek (2nd ed.)]

UHERSKY BROD (Czech **Uherský Brod**; Ger. **Ungarisch Brod**; in rabbinical literature, **Broda**), town in S.E. Moravia, Czech Republic. It was an important Jewish community, probably from the 13th century, first mentioned in a municipal document in 1470. Four Jewish families lived there in 1558; 18 in 1615; 59 in 1753; 160 in 1745; and 110 families by the late 18th century. In 1843 there were 827 Jews; 1,068 in 1857; and 825 in 1900.

Uhersky Brod Jews suffered severely during the Thirty Years' War (1618–48). After the expulsion of the Jews from Vienna in 1670, many settled in Uhersky Brod. In 1683 a plague killed 438 Jews, and another 100 were massacred by Kuruc soldiers defending Vienna. The massacre forced many inhabitants to take refuge in upper Hungary. There they established new Jewish communities, such as Nove Mesto, *Vahom *Trencin, Cachtiace, Beckov, and Vrbove, which after the rehabilitation of Uhersky Brod remained under its religious jurisdiction for more than 50 years. Among those killed by the Kuruc was Nathan Nata *Hannover, author of *Yeven MeẒulah* and *Sha'arei Ẓiyyon*, who had escaped the *Chmielnicki massacres and settled in Uhersky Brod. An elegy in memory of the Kuruc catastrophe (composed in Judeo-German) was customarily recited in the Uhersky Brod community on the 20th of Tammuz. The community was reconstituted a short time after the disaster and developed rapidly. Since the first half of the 17th century, some 20 noted rabbis served there, including *David ben Samuel ha-Levi (the "Taz") and, in the 19th century, Moses Nascher (1844–54), Moses David Hoffmann (1864–89), and Moritz Jung (1890–1912), who established the first high school that combined Jewish studies with general education. The rabbis, who came from such cities as Vienna, Frankfurt a. M., and Cracow, wrote significant theological and historical works.

The community was one of the largest in Moravia. In the 18th and 19th centuries, many left the overcrowded ghetto and moved to Slovakia.

During the 1848 Revolution, Jewish members of the National Guard prevented the outbreak of anti-Jewish riots in Uhersky Brod; they were subsequently forced out of the militia. Uhersky Brod was one of the most Orthodox communities in Moravia. In 1872 the ultra-Orthodox group in the community seceded, in protest against the moving of the *bimah* and the introduction of a choir; bitter strife divided the community for more than a generation. Both factions adhered to the Orthodox tradition.

In the nearby village of Drskovice, the well-known Jelinek family originated and from there spread throughout the Jewish world. The rabbi of Vienna, Abraham Adolf *Jellinek, was a member of this family.

[Isaac Ze'ev Kahane / Yeshayahu Jelinek (2nd ed.)]

Holocaust Period

In March 1939 the community of Uhersky Brod numbered 489. Religious services were held in two synagogues. In 1941 the head of the community, Felix Brunn, and seven members of the communal council were arrested by the Gestapo and executed for alleged "underground anti-German activity." At the end of that year, local Fascists set fire to the great synagogue. In early 1942, 350 Jews from Uherske Hradiste were taken to Uhersky Brod, to be quartered with and supported by the local Jewish families. Subsequently Uhersky Brod became a center of concentration for Jews from the whole of southeast Moravia before deportation. In January 1943, three transports totaling 2,837 Jews were sent first to the Theresienstadt ghetto, and later to the Auschwitz death camp; only 81 survived.

In 1945, 30 Jews returned; the community was supported by the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee. It became a center of religious and social life for the smaller neighboring communities. In 1948 the Uhersky Brod community donated 500,000 crowns to purchase arms for Israel and financed the training of two of its members for the Israeli Air Force. After the rise of Communism in 1948, antisemitic riots occurred and many Jews were deprived of their livelihood. In 1948, 20 Jews immigrated to Israel, and the independent community ceased to exist; the few remaining Jews were served by the Kyjov community. In 1948 a monument was erected in the local cemetery, bearing the names of the Holocaust victims.

[Erich Kulka / Yeshayahu Jelinek (2nd ed.)]

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UHLMAN, FRED (**Manfred**; 1901–1985), English painter and writer. Born in Stuttgart, Germany, and trained as a lawyer, Uhlman began to paint when he fled to Paris after the Nazis came to power. In Germany, he was at risk both as a Jew and as a prominent lawyer for the outlawed Social Democratic Party. His first works, studies of French life, resembled the productions of "Sunday" painters. His first exhibitions were held in Paris by the mid-1930s. In 1936 Uhlman moved to England and married Diana Page Croft, the daughter of an extreme right-wing Member of Parliament, Sir Henry Page Croft. Uhlman was briefly interned as an "enemy alien" in 1940. When Uhlman moved to England, his work developed more sophistication. He became an interpreter of the English provincial scene in a linear style, as in his paintings of cathedral cities. After the war he held many exhibitions. He was the author of an interesting autobiography, *The Making of an Englishman* (1960), and also became a novelist of some note, whose *Reunion* (1971) was translated into many languages.

ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY: ODNB online.

UJ KELET (Hung. "New East"), Zionist newspaper in the Hungarian language which first appeared in Kolozsvár (Cluj), Transylvania, and was later revived in Tel Aviv. On the initiative of Chajjim Weiszburg, a leader of the Zionist Movement, *Uj Kelet* was launched as a weekly on Dec. 19, 1918. It became a daily in 1920. The first editor was Béla Székely, who was succeeded in 1919 by E. *Marton. From 1927 until the end of its Transylvanian period, the responsible editor was Ferenc Jámbor. After the Hungarian annexation of Cluj in 1940, the Fascist regime banned the paper because of its strong Zionist line. Marton emigrated to Ereẓ Israel after World War II, and in 1948 the paper reappeared under his editorship in Tel Aviv. David Dezső Schőn, who had been a contributor, participated in its reestablishment and was appointed responsible editor. In Transylvania the paper had always reacted strongly to events affecting world Jewry and fought for the rights of the Jewish communities. Reestablished in Tel Aviv, *Uj Kelet* encouraged the integration of Hungarian immigrants into Israel's cultural life. Its contributors were mostly survivors of the Holocaust who had been contributors in Transylvania. E. Marton, who died in 1960, was succeeded by his widow, Gisela Marton, while the running of the paper was entrusted to his son Michael Marton.

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[Yehouda Marton]

UJVÁRI, PÉTER (1869–1931), Hungarian author and journalist. Ujvári, the son of Wolf Groszmann, rabbi of Érsekújvár (Nové-Zámky), Slovakia, was born in Tolcsva. He was educated at various yeshivot until the age of 20, when he became a journalist in Szeged. By the time he moved to Budapest, in 1907, he was already well known. In Budapest he joined the editorial boards of a number of liberal newspapers, as well as the Jewish newspaper *Egyenlőség*. It was in this paper that his first and most important novel, *Az új keresztény* ("The New Christian," 1907), was serialized. This is the tragicomic story of the conversion to Christianity of the head of a small Jewish community, so that his son may be elected to parliament. The book gives a realistic picture of Jewish life in the late 19th century, of the people who strove to preserve it, and of those who helped to destroy it. He never gained a wide readership and lived most of his life at starvation level. After World War I, he wandered from one Central European country to another and, when he returned to Budapest, every one of his attempts to establish a Jewish newspaper met with disaster. His only successful enterprise was the Hungarian-Jewish encyclopedia, *Magyar Zsidó Lexikon* (1929), a carefully written and responsible work which, after the extermination of Hungarian Jewry, became an important source of information.

Ujvári's other works include *Legendák és krónikák* ("Legends and Stories," 1905), *A túlsó parton* ("Across the River," 1920), and *A mécs mellett* ("By Candlelight," 1908), memories of his yeshivah days. Ujvári's play, *Leviathán* (1929), on life during the Ukrainian pogroms, was banned in Hungary.

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[Baruch Yaron]

UKBA (**Ukva**), **MAR,** Babylonian *amora* of the early third century C.E. Ukba's name is usually prefixed by the title *mar*, which was customarily adopted by members of the exilarch's family. According to the letter of Sherira Gaon (ed. Lewin, 77), Ukba succeeded Huna as exilarch; Bacher (JE, 5 (1903), 289) dates his accession to a period shortly before the rise of the Sassanids. His principal teacher was *Samuel (Er. 81a; Shab. 108b), who praised his qualities as a judge. A dispute between Samuel and Karna was referred to Ukba's court at Kafri (Kid. 44b). To his court were applied the words of Jeremiah (21:12): "O house of David [the exilarch was traditionally descended from David] execute judgment in the morning, and deliver him that is spoiled out of the hand of the oppressor" (Shab. 55a). Moreover, although Samuel's knowledge exceeded that of Ukba, the latter passed judgment in his teacher's presence (MK 16b). He nevertheless continued to show his respect for Samuel by accompanying him home every day. When he once neglected to do so, he acknowledged his fault (*ibid.*). Ukba and his court had close ties with Palestinian scholars, who consulted him and by whom he was highly respected (Sanh. 31b). He corresponded with the *nesi'im* on matters relating to the calendar, such as the incidence of leap years (TJ, Meg. 1:7, 71a), and the timing of festivals (RH 19b). Among his Babylonian colleagues was Matna (MK 26b). His closest pupil was *Ḥisda, who also lived in Kafri, and who transmitted many of his sayings (Ber. 10b, etc.)

Ukba was renowned for his charity, of which the Talmud gives three particular examples (Ket. 67b). On one occasion, he and his wife, in order to avoid being seen and thanked by a poor man to whom they were accustomed to give four zuz every day, took refuge in a furnace from which the fire had barely been swept. On another, his son reported that a man to whom Ukba had sent him to give 400 zuz on the eve of the Day of Atonement was not, in fact, a pauper. Ukba nevertheless immediately doubled the amount. Finally, even when he discovered, on his deathbed, that he had already donated 7,000 golden denarii to charity, he gave half of his remaining wealth to charity (Ket. 67b). Ukba had two sons: Meri (Ḥul. 43b) and Nathan (Ber. 13b).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Hyman, Toledot, 975–8; Margalioth, Ḥakhmei, 649–51.

UKBA (Ukva), MAR, *exilarch in the late ninth-early tenth centuries. Ukba was appointed exilarch in succession to his uncle Zakkai b. Aḥunai (d. c. 890), as Zakkai's son *David, who later became known for his dispute with R. *Saadiah Gaon, was then very young. A violent controversy broke out between Ukba and the *rosh yeshivah* of *Pumbedita, R. Judah b. Samuel, who acted as *Gaon* from 905 to 917, over the question of the income of the academy from the region of *Khorasan. As a result of the interventions of the wealthy communal leaders *Netira and his father-in-law *Joseph b. Phinehas, Mar Ukba was banished from 909 to 916. According to *Nathan ha-Bavli, he was banished to *Kermanshah, in the east of the Abbasid Empire. After a time Ukba returned to *Baghdad, but the interventions of Netira and his father-in-law caused him to be banished for a second time. According to *Abraham b. Nathan ha-Yarḥi (*Sefer ha-Manhig*, ch. 58), it is known that he settled in *Kairouan, where he received all the honors due an exilarch. The position of exilarch was left vacant until the appointment of David b. Zakkai.

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[Abraham David]

ʿUKBARĀ (Okbarā), Babylonian town. The three towns of ʿUkbarā, Avana (Awana), and Busra, which were all situated near each other on the left bank of the Tigris, were regarded as the northern extremity of Babylonia during the talmudic period. The largest of these was ʿUkbarā; the geographer al-Muqaddasī said at the close of the tenth century that it was a big town with a large population. It fell into decline and was destroyed as a result of a change in the course of the Tigris, whose chief river bed moved eastward during the 12th century; this explains the fact that the town's ruins are now located to the west of the river. During the town's period of prosperity there was also a large Jewish settlement (see allusions to it in A.E. Harkavy, *Zikkaron la-Rishonim ve-gam la-Aḥaronim*, 4 (1887), no. 285). During the ninth century *Meshvi of ʿUkbarā achieved fame; he founded a sect which deviated from both traditional Judaism and *Karaism. According to the testimony of *Benjamin of Tudela, the 12th-century traveler, there were about 10,000 Jews in ʿUkbarā during the second half of the 12th century. After the decline and destruction of the town, the Jewish settlement also disappeared. However, when the Jewish researcher Jacob *Obermeyer visited the site in 1877, he found many potsherds bearing Hebrew inscriptions in square script.

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[Eliyahu Ashtor]

UKHMANI, AZRIEL (1907–1978), Israel writer and literary critic. Born in Sanok, Poland, Ukhmani studied in Sanok at the *yeshivah* of Rabbi Meir Shapiro and was ordained by the Taḥkemoni Rabbinical Seminary in Warsaw, later graduating in agronomy from the University of Toulouse, France. In 1932 he joined kibbutz Ein Shemer and was secretary of the labor council of Karkur. He served as editor of the literary supplement of Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir.

Ukhmani was one of the founders and editor of the daily newspaper *Al ha-Mishmar*. Together with Lea *Goldberg, R. Eliaz and Ezra *Sussman, he was a member of the editorial board of the literary weekly *Ittim*, which was edited by *Shlonsky. He was a founder of the progressive culture (*Tarbut Mitkademet*) and Ẓavta movements. He was editor of the *belles lettres* section (now the poetry section) of the Sifriat ha-Poalim publishing company and a member, for 20 years, of the Central Committee of the Hebrew Writers' Association in Israel, and for a number of years edited its publication *Moznayim*. He was a member of the PEN committee in Israel and was co-editor with Israel *Cohen of the annual for literature, criticism, and thought – *Me'assef*. Ukhmani published works on literary criticism: *Le-Ever ha-Adam* (1935); *Tekhanim ve–Ẓurot* (1957, enlarged and expanded edition, 2 vols. 1977); and *Kolot Adam* (1967). His poetical works, written under the pseudonym of Ron Adi, are *Aval Laylah Laylah Ani* (1968), *Mi-Sha'ah le-Sha'ah, mi-Nes le-Nes* (1970), *Emor Pelaim* (1973) and *Atar Kadum* (1976, awarded the Talpir Prize). Yehudit Kafri edited a volume in his memory, entitled *Bi-Ẓeva'im mi-Makor Rishon* (1983).

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[Getzel Kressel]

UKMERGE (Pol. **Wilkomierz**; Rus. **Vilkomir**), city in Lithuania. The Jewish community of Ukmerge is first mentioned in a document of 1685. In the census of 1766, 716 Jews were counted there, and by 1847 their number had risen to 3,758, the majority of whom were engaged in commerce and crafts, including tanning. The community of Ukmerge was renowned for its conservatism. M.L. *Lilienblum lived there during the 1860s and it was there that he began his public career and literary activity. The community continued to develop and by the 1880s the number of Jews reached 10,000. A period of decline followed, however, when the town was bypassed by the railroads which were built at that time. In 1897 there were 7,287 Jews (54% of the total population) and 6,390 (49%) in 1910. At the beginning of May 1915 the Jews were expelled from Ukmerge, together with those of the province of Kovno. Some returned after the war and in 1923 there were 3,885 Jews (37% of the population). During the period of independent Lithuania (1918–40), Jewish life in Ukmerge prospered. A *yeshivah ketannah* (preparatory yeshivah) which prepared pupils for the larger Lithuanian yeshivot was established and there were also two secondary schools, Hebrew and Yiddish. The last rabbi of Ukmerge, R. Joseph Zussmanowitz (of Palestinian birth), ranked among the most prominent Lithuanian rabbis. With the annexation of Lithuania to the Soviet Union in June 1940, religious and nationalist Jewish life was systematically destroyed. A year later, Ukmerge fell into the hands of the Germans. On Sept. 18, 1941, the Jews remaining in Ukmerge, together with those of the neighboring towns, were assembled in the nearby forest and massacred.

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[Yehuda Slutsky]

UKRAINE (Rus. **Ukraina**), East European republic, formerly the Ukrainian S.S.R. At the close of the 16th century there were about 45,000 Jews (out of the 100,000 Jews who were then presumably in the whole of Poland) living in the eastern regions of Poland which were inhabited by Ukrainians. Before the *Chmielnicki massacres of 1648–49 their numbers had increased to at least 150,000; in the census of 1764, 258,000 Jews were enumerated, though in fact their number was over 300,000. In 1847, according to official sources, there were almost 600,000 Jews in the Ukrainian regions belonging to Russia (the provinces of southwestern Russia – *Volhynia, *Podolia, and *Kiev; of "Little Russia" – *Chernigov and *Poltava; and of "New Russia" – Yekaterinoslav (*Dnepropetrovsk), *Kherson, and Taurida), though they actually numbered up to 900,000. According to the population census of 1897 (the first general census in Russia), there were 1,927,268 Jews in these regions, 9.2% of the total population of the Ukraine. The census of 1926 enumerated 1,574,391 Jews in the Ukraine, subsequent to the detachment of half of the province of Volhynia (the second half was then within the borders of Poland), half of the province of Taurida, and a small section of the province of Chernigov, while several districts of the Don region had been incorporated into it. The Jews then constituted 5.43% of the total population of the Ukraine. The census of 1939 enumerated 1,532,827 Jews in the Ukraine (4.9% of the total). According to the census of 1959, which also included the Jews of the regions which had passed to Russia after World War II (eastern *Galicia, northern *Bukovina, *Subcarpathian Ruthenia), there were 840,319 Jews in the Ukraine (2% of the total). According to this census, which was generally regarded as underestimating their numbers, Jews were concentrated in the towns of Kiev (153,500), *Odessa (106,700), *Kharkov (84,000), Dnepropetrovsk (52,800), *Chernovtsy (Czernowitz; 36,500), *Lvov (24,700), and *Donetsk (21,000). About 80% of the Jews of the Ukraine declared their mother tongue as Russian, about 17% (142,240) as Yiddish, and only about 3% as Ukrainian.

Development and Distribution of the Jewish Settlement

The Jewish settlement in the Ukraine preceded the unification of the area and the formation of the Ukrainian nation. Jewish settlements already existed on the banks of the River Dnieper and in the east and south of the Ukraine and the *Crimea in the periods of the *Khazar kingdom, while ancient Jewish communities were only established in the west, in Volhynia and "Red Russia" (eastern Galicia), in the 12th century. Of these the most ancient was apparently *Vladimir-Volynski. It seems that the "Russia" mentioned in 13th-century rabbinical literature refers to "Red Russia." These communities absorbed the Jewish migration from Germany and Bohemia caused by the persecutions and massacres of the 14th (the *Black Death) and 15th centuries; later, Jews were drawn to the Ukraine by the colonizing activities of the Polish nobility that intensified in the 16th to 17th centuries with the consolidation of the rule of *Poland-Lithuania over the region. The important role taken by the Jews in the economic sphere in this colonization made the Ukraine one of the Jewish centers in Poland-Lithuania. The number of the communities there increased from 25 during the 14th century to 80 in 1764. Even the Chmielnicki massacres in 1648–49 did not halt Jewish migration to the Ukraine and they played a prominent role in its economic recovery during the second half of the 17th and the 18th centuries. After the Ukraine was annexed by Russia, according to the census of 1764, about 15% of the Jewish population lived in provinces having communities over 1,000 Jews, while in other provinces – Volhynia, Podolia, Kiev, and *Bratslav – their proportion was only 11%. The census of 1897, however, shows that 72% of the Jewish population there were living in 262 communities of more than 1,000 persons, which, taken together with the communities having more than 500 Jews, meant that 37% of the Jewish population there lived in towns and townlets in which the Jews formed an absolute majority and 22% in localities where they formed 40–50% of the total population. In contrast, in the part of the Ukraine which lay beyond the Dnieper, in the provinces of Poltava and Chernigov (where about 225,000 Jews lived and constituted a majority in about two places only and 40% of the total population in three others), 65% of the Jewish population lived in 39 communities of more than 1,000. The same situation obtained in "New Russia" (the provinces of Kherson, Yekaterinoslav, and Taurida) where over 500,000 Jews lived: 76% of the Jewish population was concentrated in 58 communities of over 1,000, and Jews formed a majority only in their agricultural settlements. In 1897 Jews constituted 30% of the urban population of the Ukraine, 26% of them living in 20 towns, in each of which there were over 10,000 Jews.

After the abolition of the *Pale of Settlement, with the October 1917 Revolution, the civil war, and the disorders which accompanied it, more than 300,000 Jews left the Ukraine for other parts of the Soviet Union. Hence they formed only 5.4% of the total population and 22% of the urban population of the Ukraine in 1926, and 4.1% and 11.7% respectively in 1939. In 1926, 44% of them lived in 20 towns, each having over 10,000 Jews; while in 1939, 39% lived in the four cities of Odessa, Kiev, Kharkov, and Dnepropetrovsk. This intensified urbanization did not, however, give them predominance in the cities, since there also was a stream of Ukrainian peasants from the villages into the towns, which assumed a pronounced Ukrainian character.

For the history of Ukrainian Jewry after World War I and in the Holocaust see *Russia.

Economic Situation

The migration of Jews from the western provinces of Poland to the Ukraine in the 16th century was mainly due to their economic role in the *arenda* business on a large or small scale. Hence, the Ukraine became a region where Jews managed a considerable proportion of the agricultural economy, administering complexes consisting of a number of estates, single estates, or a sector of their economy. Jews also engaged in *arenda* there in the collection of customs duties and taxes, and played an important role in the export and import trade in the region. The Cossack authorities of the part of the Ukraine annexed by Russia beyond the Dnieper opposed the frequent expulsions of the Jews from there (1717, 1731, 1740, 1742, 1744), and argued in favor of their free admission to the Ukraine (1728, 1734, 1764) stating that the Jews promoted the region's trade. When the Ukraine (with the exception of eastern Galicia) became part of the Pale of Settlement after the partition of Poland-Lithuania, the Jews continued to play a considerable and dynamic role in the economy of the region. In 1817, 30% of the factories in Ukraine were owned by Jews. They were particularly active in the production of alcoholic beverages. In 1872, before the anti-Jewish restriction in this sphere, 90% of those occupied in distilling were Jews; 56.6% in sawmills, 48.8% in the *tobacco industry, and 32.5% in the *sugar industry. Only a limited number of Jews were occupied in heavy industry, where they were generally employed as white-collar workers. In 1897 the occupational structure of the Jewish population of Ukraine was 43.3% in commerce; 32.2% in crafts and industry; 2.9% in agriculture; 3.7% in communications; 7.3% in private services (including porterage and the like); 5.8% in public services (including the liberal professions); and 4.8% of no permanent occupation. Under the Soviet regime, by 1926, it had become 20.6% in arts and crafts; 20.6% in public services (administrative work); 15.3% workers (including 6.6% industrial workers); 13.3% in commerce; 9.2% in agriculture; 1.6% in liberal professions; 8.9% unemployed; 7.3% without profession; and 3.2% miscellaneous (pensioners, invalids, etc.). The proportion of Jews in various administrative branches was 40.6% in the economic administration and 31.9% in the medical sanitary administration. After large numbers of Jews had been absorbed under the Five-Year Plan in heavy industry (especially the metal and automobile industries), in the artisan cooperatives (in which there were over 70,000 Jewish members – 12.9% of the membership), and in agriculture (16,500 families in the cooperative farms), the proportion of Jews living in villages rose to 14% of the Jewish population.

Hatred of the Jews

When the Jews settled in the Ukraine during the period of Polish rule, they found themselves between hammer and anvil: under the *arenda* system the Jewish lessee administered the estate in the name of the Polish landowner, and, if living in the town, he found his customers among the nobility, officials, the Catholic clergy, and the local army garrison. To the enslaved peasants and rebellious Cossacks, Ukrainians, and Greek-Orthodox the Jewish lessee appeared both as an infidel and an alien – an emissary of the Polish Catholic noblemen who sought to dominate them. The Ukrainian townsman was jealous of his urban rival, the unbelieving Jew, whose success was due to the assistance of the foreign and hated Polish regime. In times of rebellion and war, this hatred and jealousy was vented in severe persecutions and horrifying massacres, such as the Chmielnicki massacres of 1648–49, when over 100,000 Jews were brutally killed and almost all the communities of the Ukraine were destroyed, and the persecutions of the *Haidamaks in the 18th century, which were more limited in scope but even more terrible in their cruelty. These massacres, whose perpetrators were admired as national heroes, gave rise to a popular tradition of hatred toward the Jews in the Ukraine; it was nurtured by the increase of the Jewish population in the country, by its economic position, and later by the propagation of the Russian language and culture by Jews – an act which the nationalist Ukrainian intellectuals (the "Ukrainophiles") regarded as collaboration with the "Muscovite" Russian government in its campaign against their awakening as a separate nation. This tradition of hatred toward the Jews found its expression in both folk songs and literature (T. Shevchenko; N. Gogol), in historiography (N. Kostomarov), and in political thought (M. Dragomanov). The Nationalist and Socialist Party of the Ukraine was also imbued with anti-Jewish feelings. The *pogroms of 1881–82 broke out and spread through the provinces of the Ukraine; after 1917, in the Civil War and under the regime of S. *Petlyura (the "Socialist" government), about 100,000 Jews were murdered in the Ukraine (1919–20), as in the days of Chmielnicki and with the same cruelty. Two decades of Soviet regime did little to eradicate the hostility against the Jews: during World War II great parts of the Ukrainian population wholeheartedly collaborated with the Nazis in exterminating the Jews in the occupied Ukraine.

The Period of the Independent Ukraine and Jewish National Autonomy

The period from March 1917 to August 1920 constitutes a special chapter in the history of the Jews of the Ukraine. The Ukrainians established a National Council (the Rada), which in January 1918 proclaimed the separation of the Ukraine from Russia; this episode came to an end in August 1920, when the Red Army completed the conquest of the Ukraine. During this time the leaders of the Ukrainian nationalist movement attempted to reach an agreement with the Jews. They established relations with the leaders of Zionism in eastern Galicia, and jointly waged a struggle against Polish aims in the Ukraine. During this period the Jews were represented in the Rada (with 50 delegates), a secretariat for Jewish affairs was established (July 1917), and a law passed on "personal national autonomy" for the national minorities, among which, the Jews were included. The Jewish ministry (M. *Silberfarb was the first minister; he was succeeded by J.W. *Latzki-Bertholdi) passed a law providing for democratic elections to the administrative bodies of the communities (December 1918), a Jewish National Council was formed, and the Provisional National Council of the Jews of the Ukraine was convened (November 1918). These institutions were short-lived. In July 1918 the autonomy was abolished, the Jewish ministry was dissolved and the pogroms which then took place – without the Ukrainian government taking any effective measures to assure the security of the Jewish population – proved that the whole of this project had been directed more at securing the assistance of the Jewish parties in order to achieve complete separation from Russia than at really developing a new positive attitude toward the Jews.

Religious and Social Movements in Ukrainian Jewry

Ukrainian Jewry became a focus of religious and social ferment within Judaism from the late 17th century. The massacres and sufferings endured by the Jews in the Ukraine also introduced spiritual and social trends. The messianic agitation which followed the massacres of 1648–49 paved the way for the penetration of *Shabbateanism, while at the time of the Haidamak persecutions and the revival of *blood libels, the *Frankist movement made its appearance, and *Ḥasidim as inaugurated by *Israel b. Eliezer Ba'al Shem Tov developed and spread rapidly through the country. After the pogroms of the 1880s, the Ukraine was not only the birthplace of the *Ḥibbat Zion, the *Bilu, and the *Am Olam movements but also of the Dukhovno-bibleyskoye bratstvo ("Spiritual Biblical Brotherhood," founded by Jacob *Gordin and his circle) which sought to "bring back" the Jews to the religious purity of the Bible and thus draw them closer to Christianity. Activist and revolutionary trends were also prominent in the Hebrew and Yiddish literature which emerged in the Ukraine during the 19th and 20th centuries.

During the 1920s and the early 1930s three Jewish districts were created in the areas of Jewish settlement in southeastern Ukraine (*Kalininskoye, Stalinskoye, and *Zlatopol; see also *Yevsektsiya).

[Benzion Dinur (Dinaburg)]

After World War II

During the last stages of World War II and in the period after it, when Nikita Khrushchev was the ruling party man of the Ukraine, Ukrainian Jews who, during the occupation, fled or were evacuated to Soviet Asia, began to stream back and claim their previous housing, possessions, and positions. They were met with outspoken hostility by most of the Ukrainians who had taken their place. The administration refused to interfere in favor of the Jews and generally showed "understanding" for the anti-Jewish reaction, even hushing up violent clashes (as, e.g., in Kiev). When Khrushchev became the ruling figure in the U.S.S.R. after Stalin's death, and particularly in the 1960s, the traditional hatred of Jews in the Ukraine was again allowed to find free expression in pseudo-scientific literature (e.g., the book by the professional antisemite Trofim Kichko, *Judaism without Embellishment*, which appeared in 1963 under the auspices of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences) and in various popular brochures and periodicals. This official anti-Jewish atmosphere prevailed in the Ukraine during the whole postwar period. The only synagogue in Kharkov was closed down in 1948 and its aged rabbi sent to a labor camp. In Kiev the only remaining synagogue was put under severe surveillance of the secret police, more than in other Soviet cities. Yiddish folklore concerts and shows were almost completely banned from the Ukrainian capital, Kiev, though they were allowed to take place occasionally in Ukrainian provincial towns.

An interesting reaction to this trend "from above" became noticeable in the late 1960s among Ukrainian intellectuals who openly strove to achieve more freedom in civil and national rights. Though engaged in defending the Ukrainian character of their republic against "russification," some of them went out of their way to emphasize their solidarity with Jewish demands for the revival of Jewish culture and education. They also identified with the Jewish attempt to keep alive the remembrance of the Holocaust against the official policy of obliterating it. Young Ukrainian writers, most of them Communist Party members, expressed this new trend in Ukrainian national thought in various ways, and even in labor camps after their arrest for "bourgeois nationalism." A particular impression was made in 1966 by the speech of the writer Ivan Dzyuba in *Babi Yar on the anniversary of the massacre (October 29). It was published only in the West, but it became widely known among Jews and educated non-Jews in the Ukraine.

From 1969 some Jewish families in Kharkov, Kiev, and Odessa were allowed to leave the U.S.S.R. for Israel. In the following two decades Jewish life continued to be repressed as in the U.S.S.R. as a whole. Religious life was centered in the synagogues. In the mid-1970s there were an estimated dozen functioning in the Ukraine. Many Jews were able to leave during the large wave of emigration in the 1970s, arriving largely in the United States and Israel. During the 1970s and 1980s Kiev became a major center of underground Jewish culture and pro-*aliyah* agitation. (For general developments, see *Russia.)

In Independent Ukraine

According to the Soviet census there were 487,300 Jews living in Ukraine in 1989. This figure included 100,600 in Kiev, 69,100 in Odessa province (city and surrounding oblast), 50,100 in Dnepropetrosk province, and 48,900 in Kharkov province. By late 1991 the number of Jews in the Ukraine was estimated at 325,000. The number of Ukrainian Jews emigrating from the late 1980s was the following: 1988 – 8,770; 1989 (to Israel) – 32,547; 1990 – 60,074, and 1991 (to Israel) – 41,264. The geographical breakdown of emigration for 1989–1991 (from 1990 only to Israel) was: from Kiev – 33,818; Odessa province – 19,741; Kharkov province – 11,945; Dnepropetrosk province – 7,501; and Zhitomir province – 5,005. Large-scale emigration continued through the 1990s. At the end of the process over 80% had left, leaving an estimated 84,000 in 2005.

Ukraine declared its independence on August 24, 1991, with the majority of the republic's Jews also voting for independence. On a number of occasions the leaders of the Ukrainian national movement "Rukh" expressed a positive attitude toward the Jews of the Ukraine and the desire to cooperate with them. To further that goal, an international conference was held in Kiev in June 1991 on Ukrainian-Jewish relations, with the participation of leading Ukrainian public figures. Ukrainian president Kravchuk spoke at the public meeting commemorating the 50th anniversary of the mass murder of Kiev's Jews at Babi Yar. In his speech the president acknowledged the Ukrainian people's share of guilt for the destruction of the Jews and asked for the Jewish people's forgiveness. He also called for the UN to support the initiative of U.S. president George Bush and rescind the UN resolution equating Zionism with racism. In 1990, before the splitting up of the U.S.S.R., four Jewish deputies were elected to the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian republic.

Under Soviet rule, Bogdan *Chmielnicki, the leader responsible for the unprecedented Cossack slaughter of Jews in the mid-17th century, had been considered a Ukrainian national hero. With the growth, however, of Ukrainian separatist feeling, Chmielnicki became less of a hero due to the fact that he had concluded a pact with Moscow which transformed Ukraine into a Russian colony. Today Simon *Petlyura (1879–1926) is considered the pre-eminent national hero since he headed the country during the brief years of its independence after World War I. Petlyura's responsibility for pogroms during the Civil War is denied by Ukrainian nationalists. In Ukraine the Jewish hero Shalom *Schwarzbard, who assassinated Petlyura in Paris for supporting the perpetrators of pogroms, is today viewed as having been a Soviet secret police agent.

Grass roots antisemitism has not disappeared in Ukraine. According to the results of a sociological survey conducted in November 1990, 7 percent of the population firmly believe in the existence of an international "Zionist" conspiracy, while 68 percent believe that such a conspiracy may exist; 10 percent believe that the Jews bear considerable responsibility for the suffering of other peoples (e.g., the Ukrainians) in the Soviet Union in the 20th century; and 20 percent believe that Jews have an unpleasant appearance.

A law on ethnic minorities grants Ukrainian Jews the right of national-cultural autonomy. In 1992 several Jewish publications appeared, including three (*Vozrozhdenie-91, Evreiskie vesti*, and *Khadashot*) in Kiev. Study (often by amateurs) of local Jewish history is being developed in the republics. The Jewish Culture Association of Ukraine was headed by Ilya Levitas; the rival Association of Jewish Public Organizations of Ukraine was headed by the co-chairman of VAAD of the CIS, Iosif Zisels.

In late 1991, 120 Jewish organizations were operating in Ukraine. The Ukrainian Jewish Congress was established in Oct. 1991. The American rabbi Yankel Blau was named chief rabbi of Ukraine. Several synagogues confiscated in the 1920s and 1930s were returned by Ukrainian authorities, among them those of the Jewish communities of Kharkov, Donets, Vinnitsa, Odessa, Lvov, Shepetovka, Kirovograd, and Drahobych.

[Michael Beizer]

In 1993 Leonid Kuchma was elected president of the Ukraine, which put an end to the moderate nationalist government in the country; Kuchma was regarded as a more pro-Russian leader, who favored closer ties with Moscow. The Black Sea fleet and the Crimean question continued to be, however, burning issues in the relations with Russia.

In April 1994, the Academies of Sciences in the Ukraine and in Israel signed an agreement on cooperation. In September 1995 Prime Minister Yitẓḥak Rabin paid an official visit to the Ukraine.

JEWISH LIFE. The main umbrella organization of Ukrainian Jewry in the 1990s was the Association of Jewish Communities and Organizations of Ukraine (VAAD). The Jewish Council of the Ukraine (JCU) was registered in the Ministry of Justice of the Ukraine in January 1993 as the second umbrella organization of Ukrainian Jewry. In the words of the Jewish activist Arkadii Monastyrsky, the JCU united all the Jews of the Ukraine, whereas the VAAD was merely a council of chairpersons of Jewish organizations. Despite the obvious rivalry between both federations, there was no lack of cooperation between them. In 1993 both rival umbrella organizations agreed on cooperation in such matters as Holocaust commemoration and the program "Righteous Gentiles" (in June), and also on common endeavors for the establishment of the Methodological Center for Jewish Education under the aegis of the Ukrainian Ministry of Education (in September 1993).

The Solomon's University in Kiev, one of the four Jewish universities operating in the former Soviet Union, was formerly established in 1993. The International Memorial Foundation Ianovsky Camp was established in Lvov in the beginning of 1993. The newly established foundation issued a declaration in which it explained its goals: to liquidate a penitentiary colony at the site of the former Nazi camp in the outskirts of Lvov; to set up a memorial complex, which would include a Holocaust museum and the international center of documentation on the Jews of Galicia.

In March 1994, the training center for teachers in Jewish day and Sunday schools in the Ukraine, Belarus and Moldova opened in Kiev. It was supported by the JCU, VAAD, the Ukrainian Ministry of Education, and the Foundation for Culture and Education in the Diaspora.

There were 19 Jewish periodical publications in the Ukraine in 1993, among them 10 were issued only in Kiev, 2 in Kharkov, 2 in Dnepropetrovsk, 2 in Chernovtsy, others in Donetsk, Simferopol and Bershad. The papers were issued in Russian, Ukrainian, and, to a lesser extent – in Yiddish. The oldest and the most important Jewish newspapers were the monthly *Vozrozhdenie-91* ("Revival-91"), the continuation of *Vozrozhenie* (see JDB, 1993, p. 364), *Khadashot-Novosti* ("The News"), and *Evreiskie vesti* ("Jewish Reports"), all published in Kiev.

A number of academic conferences on Jewish issues were held in the Ukraine. In October 1993 alone there were three such events: two international scientific conferences, "The Holocaust of Galician Jewry – Problems of History, Politics and Morality," held in Lvov, and "The Beilis Trial: Current Perspectives," held in Kiev; and the conference "Overcoming Chauvinism and Extremism – the Prerequisite for Inter-Ethnic Harmony and Civil Peace in the Ukraine," held in Kiev. At the end of 1994, the conference "Jewish Culture, History and Tradition" was held in Odessa.

Jewish communal life continued to flourish in the following years. By 2005 over 250 Jewish organizations were active and education had expanded into a network that included 14 Jewish day schools, 10 yeshivot, and 70 Hebrew and Sunday schools. Large and active Jewish communities thrived in Kiev, Kharkov, Odessa, and Dnepropetrovsk. In late 2004, a new Jewish community complex opened in Zaparozhye with a theater, gym, kosher kitchen, library, Jewish school, kindergarten, orphanage, and welfare center.

The All-Ukrainian Jewish Congress (AUJC), founded in 1997, united the country's disjointed Jewish organizations in order to promote the Jewish national renascence. It is a volunteer, independent action organization whose membership includes over 120 different public associations, cultural associations, and funds. Also in 1997 the Jewish Foundation of Ukraine was founded as a Jewish charitable organization collecting funds for needs of Jewish organizations and communities in Ukraine.

In 1998, a new umbrella organization, the Jewish Confederation of Ukraine (JCU), was founded, uniting the Association of Jewish Communities and Organizations of Ukraine (VAAD), the Jewish Council of Ukraine, the Union of Jewish Religious Organizations of Ukraine, and the Kiev Municipal Jewish Community.

Another group, the Congress of Jewish Religious Organizations, under Chabad Lubavitch, has also been active in recent years. The World Union for Progressive Judaism has a rabbi based in Kiev and additional Reform congregations operate in Lvov and Kerch; the World Union also runs leadership seminars as well as holiday and summer programs. The Masorti (Conservative) movement runs a Sunday school and youth group in Kiev, and operates day schools, youth activities, and summer camps in several smaller cities.

Antisemitism

There were a number of right-wing nationalist and antisemitic groups in the Ukraine in 1993–94. Among the most conspicuous were the Organization of the Ukrainian Idealists, based in Lvov, the State Independence of the Ukraine party, and the Ukrainian National Assembly with its strong para-military wing "Ukrainian National Self-Defense" (IMA-UNSO). The OUI managed to organize several mass rallies in Lvov, which attracted more than 2,000 participants each; at the rallies antisemitic placards were displayed, and anti-Jewish speeches delivered.

Riots broke out in September 1993 in Vinnitsa, where UNA-UNSO members picketed the offices of the city's Jewish mayor Dmitrii Dvorkis, whom they accused of being a mafia boss. Following the arrest of the leaders of the organization, approximately 10,000 people reportedly blockaded roads and demanded their release. In 1993–94 Dvorkis, as well as other Jewish mayors – Odessa's Eduard Hurvich and Donetsk's Efim Zviahilsky – became victims of antisemitic campaigns.

There were a number of antisemitic periodicals in the Ukraine in recent years: *Nova Ukraina, Za vilnu Ukrainu* ("For Free Ukraine"), *Nezalezhna natsiia* ("Independent Nation"), *Holos natsii* ("The Voice of the Nation"), *Neskorena natsiia* ("Unconquered Nation"), which in 1994 serialized the "Protocols of the Learned Elders of Zion." The main accusation of the Ukrainian nationalist press against the Jews has been their alleged organizing of the mass famine in the Ukraine in 1932–33. A columnist wrote in *Neskorena natsiia* in November 1994: "It is difficult to find a people who have done Ukraine more harm than the kikes. Compared to their crimes, all the misdemeanors of Moscow, Warsaw, and Berlin combined pale into insignificance." Antisemitism in the Ukraine, based on a long tradition, continued to raise its head into the early years of the 21st century.

[Daniel Romanowski (2nd ed.)]

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UKẒIN (Heb. עֳקָצִּין; "Stalks"), 12th and last tractate in the order *Tohorot* in the Mishnah and the Tosefta. There is no *Gemara*, either in the Babylonian or the Jerusalem Talmud. *Ukẓin* deals, in three chapters, with the problems of ritual impurity affecting roots, stalks, husks, shells, kernels, etc., and the imparting of the uncleanness to the fruits to which they are attached. This tractate was considered one of the most difficult even in talmudic times (Ber. 20a; Hor. 13b).

Chapter 1 distinguishes first between *yad* ("handle") and *shomer* ("protection"), the former referring to that part of the fruit which one holds when eating the fruit, and the latter to such parts as protect the fruit; both are relevant to the question of ritual purity. It then goes on to consider the roots and stalks of a great variety of vegetables and fruits, determining whether or not (or to what extent) they fall under the terms of *yad* and *shomer*. Chapter 2 continues this subject, in particular whether kernels, shells, husks, and encasing leaves are to be regarded as part of the fruit. Toward the end of the chapter, the problem of *hekhsher is touched upon, i.e., the susceptibility of food to ritual impurity, a subject dealt with in detail in tractate *Makhshirin*. Chapter 3 continues with the subject of *hekhsher*, introducing also the associated notion of *maḤashavah*, i.e., the intent to use the respective foods (vegetable or meat) for human consumption. Then there is a detailed discussion of various cases where one of the elements, *hekhsher* or *maḥashavah*, or neither of them, or both, are required in order to make the food susceptible to impurity.

Most of the laws in this tractate are found scattered among the other tractates, e.g., *Tohorot* 1:1–4; 8:9; *Tevul Yom* 3:1–3; and *Makhshirin*. R. Samson of Sens (in his commentary at the beginning of *Tohorot*) suggests that *Ukẓin* logically precedes *Tohorot*, which continues with the subject matter of *Ukẓin*'s final chapter. The laws of *Ukẓin* were known to be very difficult to understand, and when Rav Judah studied it he would say, "we see here questions of Rav and Samuel." In *Horayot* 13b it is related that several rabbis strove to embarrass the *nasi* Simeon b. Gamaliel by challenging him to teach them *Ukẓin*. If the reference is to the tractate and not to the individual laws, it proves that at least parts of the Mishnah were edited before Judah ha-Nasi. According to Epstein, Mishnah 3:2 represents the revised opinion of Akiva (cf. Tosefta 3:2) and Mishnah 3:10 represents the view of Meir.

The Tosefta also consists of three chapters, but many paragraphs in it, such as 2:1–10 and 3:6–14, are not directly related to any Mishnah; and even when there is a correlation, the order of the Tosefta does not correspond to that of the Mishnah. It may be noted that the view of Resh (Simeon b.) Lakish, placing *Tohorot* as the sixth and last order of the Mishnah, having been accepted (Shab. 31a), *Ukẓin* appears as the last tractate of the whole Mishnah (as well as of the Talmud and Tosefta). It is an unusual subject with which to round off the Oral Law. According to Maimonides, its position does not express any particular appreciation for this tractate; on the contrary "it has been left to the end", he says, "because it is based on rabbinical speculation, without any foundation in the Bible" (Introduction to *Zera'im*). To give the Mishnah a fitting close, later editors of the Mishnah added an aggadic passage to the original text of *Ukẓin*, speaking of great reward for the pious and the divine blessing of peace, and quoting in conclusion Psalm 29:11: "The Lord will give strength unto His people, the Lord will bless His people with peace." It was translated into English by H. Danby in *The Mishnah* (1934). For bibliography see main articles *Mishnah; *Talmud; *Tosefta.

[Arnost Zvi Ehrman]

ULAM, STANISLAW MARCIN (1909–1984), mathematician. Ulam was born in Lvov, Poland (then Austro-Hungary), and educated at the Lvov Polytechnic Institute, receiving his doctorate in mathematics in 1933. In 1935 he was invited to work at the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton. After a brief period in Poland, he returned to the U.S. in 1938, first to Harvard and then in 1940 to the University of Wisconsin as assistant professor. He became a U.S. citizen in 1943, the same year that he joined the Manhattan Project group at Los Alamos working on the development of nuclear weapons. With Von Neumann, he developed the "Monte Carlo" approach to computational problems, paving the way for the "simulation" methods of physics research. His major contribution to the development of thermonuclear weapons was to suggest that compression was essential to inducing a sustained fusion reaction. With Edward *Teller, he devised the system by which this was achieved with radiation implosion from a fission explosion rather than mechanical shock. In 1965 he left Los Alamos for the chair in mathematics at the University of Colorado in Boulder, a post he retained until his death in Santa Fe. With

K.C. Everett, he proposed a scheme for nuclear propulsion of space vehicles. He was essentially a theorist and his intellectual creativity survived the effects of encephalitis contracted in 1946. He was elected a member of the U.S. National Academy of Sciences, the President's Science Advisory Committee, and the Board of Governors of the Weizmann Institute (1975). His publications mainly feature books on mathematical theory.

[Joseph Gillis / Michael Denman (2nd ed.)]

ULIANOVER, MIRIAM (1890–1944), Yiddish poet. Born in Lodz, Poland, Ulianover published poems in journals such as the *Lodzher Folksblat* and *Lodzher Togblat*, until deported to *Auschwitz where she perished. A single volume, *Der Bobes Oytser* ("Grandmother's Treasure," 1922), with an introduction by David *Frischmann, led to her being acclaimed as one of the outstanding women poets in Yiddish. Only extracts of a second volume, *Shabes* ("Sabbath"), appeared in E. Korman's anthology *Yidishe Dikhterins*. Her poems combined the simplicity of folk songs with tender romantic mysticism and nostalgia for the lost traditional world of her grandmother and great-grandmother in Polish villages.

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[Sol Liptzin / Sarah Ponichtera (2nd ed.)]

ULLA I (**Ulla b. Ishmael** in the Jerusalem Talmud; second half of third century), Palestinian *amora*. Ulla studied in Ereẓ Israel under *Johanan b. Nappaḥa (Ḥag. 19a), Resh Lakish (Git. 50b), and *Eleazar b. Pedat (Er. 21b), and transmitted halakhic decisions in their names. He also recorded some of the teachings of Oshaiah and Joshua b. Levi. He was known to be extremely strict in his interpretation of religious laws (Shab. 147a; 157b). Among his halakhic decisions were those concerning the benedictions to be made on different occasions (Ber. 38b; Pes. 53b; 104b). He censured decisions he disliked and on one occasion commented, "As vinegar to the teeth and as smoke to the eyes are the words of *Huna" (Kid. 45b). Some of his other colleagues were *Abba (BM 11 b), *Judah (Ḥul. 76a), and particularly, *Rabbah b. Bar Ḥana (Ḥul. 34a).

Ulla was greatly respected both in Ereẓ Israel and in Babylon, which he visited frequently, and he was one of the first *neḥutei (TJ, Kil. 9:3). In Babylon he reported on current Palestinian customs and decisions and was often invited by the exilarch to deliver halakhic discourses (Ket. 65b; Kid. 31a; Shab. 157b). It is related that once, when returning to Ereẓ Israel from Babylon, Ulla was in danger of being murdered by one of his fellow travelers. In order to save himself he had to condone the murder of another, and Johanan excused his conduct as having been done in self-defense (Ned. 22a). Ulla's maxims reveal how intensely he felt the tragedy of the destruction of the Temple; for instance: "Since the destruction of the Temple, God has nothing in this world save the four cubits of *halakhah*" (Ber. 8a); and "Jerusalem will be redeemed through the performance of charity" (Sanh. 98a). He died in Babylon on one of his visits (before c. 279 C.E.). On hearing the news, Eleazar, adapting Amos 7: 17, exclaimed, "That you, Ulla, should have died in an unclean land" (Ket. 111a), and had his remains taken to Ereẓ Israel for burial. He was survived by his only son, Rabba (Shab. 83b). Among those who transmitted his sayings were Aḥa b. Adda, Ḥisda, and Joshua b. Abba.

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ULLENDORF, EDWARD (1920–), British linguist. Ullendorf, who received his schooling in Germany and his university education in Jerusalem, served with the British in Eritrea and Ethiopia during and after World War II (1942–46) and was an assistant secretary in the Palestine government in 1947–48. He then took up a research post at Oxford; in 1950 he became reader in Semitic languages at St. Andrews University, Scotland. In 1959 he was appointed professor of Semitic languages and literatures at Manchester University and in 1964 professor of Ethiopian studies at the School of Oriental and African Studies of the University of London, retiring in 1982. Ullendorf's service in Eritrea and Ethiopia led him to concentrate his research on studies of the Semitic languages of those areas.

Among his published works are *The Definite Article in the Semitic Languages* (1941), *Exploration and Study in Abyssinia* (1945), *The Semitic Languages of Ethiopia* (1955), *The Ethiopians* (1959), and *The Challenge of Amharic* (1965). He was chairman of the Anglo-Ethiopian Society.

ULLMAN, MICHA (1939–), sculptor and painter. Ullman was born in Tel Aviv, the son of Yitzhak Ullman and Lily Hirsh, who emigrated from Germany in 1933. Ullman spent his childhood in Tel Aviv where he lived with his extended family. After his army service, he studied art in the Bezalel Academy of Art and Design (1960–64). In 1965 he studied in London at the Central School of Arts and Crafts. From 1970 until 1978 Ullman taught at Bezalel, but after an ideological rebellion by the teachers and the students there, Ullman was fired. He began to teach at Haifa University and from 1991 was also a lecturer at the Academy of Art in Stuttgart, Germany.

Ullman participated in the Venice Biennale (1980) and in the Sao Paulo Biennale (1989). He was awarded many art prizes in Israel as well as in Germany and became a well-known artist in both countries.

Ullman used graphic techniques and sculpture in his art. In most cases the drawings of the sculptures were printed and exhibited beside them or in a separate exhibition. For a better understanding of Ullman's abstracts it is recommended to observe all those components.

From 1982 Ullman began to create public sculptures. He created site specific works, some of which were so minimal in size that they became almost unseen. Some of his public sculptures were placed at ground level or even beneath it, so most of the time the audiences stood on them without being aware of it. This subversive style is a characteristic of Ullman's art. One of his first digging works was created in 1972. Ullman excavated two potholes one in kibbutz Mezer and the other one was situated in the nearest Arabic village Meser. In a symbolic act Ullman took the earth of each hole and filled the other one with it. This conceptual action was connected to the art style of the 1970s as well as to the political meaning of Ullman's art.

One of his noted works is the monument *Library* (1995, Bebelplatz, Berlin), which commemorates the book burning of May 10, 1933. The sculpture was a closed hall, below the ground, covered with a glass square. All the walls were covered with shelves and in general was reminiscent of a library which could contain around 20,000 books, similar to the amount of books burned that night. The white hall is lit with constant artificial light so the surroundings, the sky and the viewer, are reflected in the glass. This modest monument was very heartrending and it attracted a great public.

The shape of Ullman's works was abstract, but their content was very symbolic. Ullman used linguistic double meanings in his works, referring to literary, philosophical, religious as well as historical meanings. Being an Israeli who was working outside of his country was expressed in the meaning of the works, for example, by creating a linkage between the works and Jerusalem (*Molad – New Moon*, 1994, Schloss Solitude, Stuttgart).

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[Ronit Steinberg (2nd ed.)]

ULLMAN, TRACEY (1959–), British comedienne, actress, and singer. Ullman was born in Berkshire, England, to Dorin and attorney Antony Ullman, a Polish immigrant who died when Tracey was six. Her mother enrolled her in the Italia Conti Academy of Theatre Arts at 12. Ullman dropped out at 16 and spent six months performing in a Berlin production of *Gigi* before returning to England, where she was cast in West End productions of *Grease* and *The Rocky Horror Show.* At 21, Ullman won the London Theatre Critics Award for her part in the improvisational play *Four in a Million* (1981). This led to roles on British television, including the BBC sketch comedy shows *Three of a Kind* (1981–83) and *A Kick Up the Eighties* (1981–84), as well as the ITV Jennifer Saunders-Dawn French sitcom *Girls on Top* (1985). Ullman recorded a comically romantic album under punk label Stiff Records, *You Broke My Heart in Seventeen Places* (1983), which featured the hit single "They Don't Know About Us." The song's video featured a cameo from Paul McCartney, who at the time was shooting *Give My Regards to Broad Street* (1984) with Ullman. After Ullman finished the Meryl Streep film *Plenty* (1985), she moved to Los Angeles with her husband and took time off to have her first child. Soon after, producer James L. Brooks helped her create the highly popular Sunday night variety show *The Tracey Ullman Show* (1987–90). The series received five Emmy nominations; earned Ullman a Golden Globe Award for best actress in 1988; and spun off one of America's longest-running animated series, *The Simpsons*. Ullman starred in *I Love You to Death* (1990) and appeared opposite Morgan Freeman in *The Taming of the Shrew* (1990) in Central Park. She made her Broadway debut in the one-woman show *The Big Love* (1991), which earned her a Drama Desk nomination. Ullman gave birth to a son in 1991. In 1993, she won an Emmy for her guest spot on the CBS sitcom *Love & War*, while 1994 saw her take another Emmy for her HBO special *Tracey Ullman Takes On New York* (1993). Ullman continued to star in films, including Mel Brooks' *Robin Hood: Men in Tights* (1993), *Bullets over Broadway* (1994), and James L. Brooks' *I'll Do Anything* (1994). HBO turned Ullman's award-winning special into a series, *Tracey Takes On…* (1996–99), which earned her a sixth Emmy in 1997. Her turn as Dr. Tracy Clark on *Ally McBeal* earned a second guest actress Emmy for Ullman in 1999. After starring in Woody Allen's *Small Time Crooks* (2000), Ullman received two more Emmy nods for her HBO specials *Tracey Ullman in The Trailer Tales* (2003) and *Tracey Ullman: Live & Exposed* (2005). Ullman became a naturalized American citizen in 2003.

[Adam Wills (2nd ed.)]

ULLMAN, VIKTOR (d. 1944), theater conductor and composer. Ullman studied under *Schoenberg in Vienna. Among his compositions were two operas, a piano concerto and much chamber music.

Ullman was arrested by the Nazis, imprisoned in Theresienstadt and murdered at Auschwitz in about 1944. While in Theresienstadt, he wrote an opera entitled *The Emperor of Atlantis,* but it was never performed since the Nazis realized its anti-Hitler implications and banned its performance. It was thought that the work had perished with the author, but a mutilated copy turned up in London. It had been written on scraps of paper, including the backs of Theresinstadt entrance forms. A young British composer, Kerry Woodward, succeeded in piecing it together, except for six bars which had disappeared; he therefore composed new ones. The text was written by a Czechoslovakian Jew, Peter Kien, who perished in Theresienstadt. The opera, written in German, had its world premiere in Amsterdam in 1975. The American premiere was performed in San Francisco by the Spring Opera on Apr. 21, 1977, in an English version translated by Aaron Kramer.

ULLMANN, ADOLPH (1857–1925), Hungarian baron, economist, and member of the Hungarian Upper House. He entered the service of the General Hungarian Credit Bank. In 1885 he was appointed director of the petroleum refinery, a subsidiary of the bank, and in 1909 (after the death of N. Kornfeld) he became the bank's chief executive. Ullmann played a decisive role in the financial activities of the Hungarian government and in establishing factories and industrial enterprises. He was also the president of the national industrial union. His articles on economic problems were published (in German) in the daily Hungarian government newspaper, *Pester Lloyd*.

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[Jeno Zsoldos]

ULLMANN, ERNEST (1900–1975), South African artist. Born in Munich, he worked as illustrator for *Auslandspost* and later in Berlin for *Mitropa-Zeitung*. In 1935 he settled in Johannesburg and the following year won the Empire Exhibition poster competition.

He was art editor of the weekly, *The Forum*, 1938–46, worked independently in various media, and took up sculpture. In 1950 he toured Israel and painted ten murals for the "Israel Cavalcade" exhibition in Johannesburg. His designs for wood panels and glass engravings for "Yad Vashem," the Etz Chaim Memorial Hall, Johannesburg, were unveiled in 1969. Ullmann's other works include book illustrations, designs for tapestries, and monumental sculptures in various South African cities, notably a large bronze group, *Playmakers*, for the Civic Theatre, Johannesburg, 1964. A park and recreation center in Johannesburg is named in his honor. He wrote an autobiography, *Designs on Life* (Cape Town, 1970).

[Lewis Sowden]

ULLMANN, SALOMON (1806–1865), French rabbi. Ullmann, who was born in Zabern (Saverne; Lower Alsace), first studied in Strasbourg, and then at the Ecole Centrale Rabbinique in Metz, where he was the first to receive the diploma of *grand rabbin* (1832). He officiated as rabbi in Lauterbourg (Lower Alsace) from 1834, and in Nancy (Lorraine) from 1844. In 1853 he succeeded Marchand Ennery as *grand rabbin* of France. One of his major achievements was the organization of the Central Conference of the *Grands Rabbins* of France, the first of its kind, over which he presided in Paris in May 1856. The conference resolved on a number of practical measures, including the introduction of the organ in synagogues.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *L'Univers Israélite*, 20 (1865), 457–70; AI, 26 (1865), 417.

ULLSTEIN, family of German publishers whose newspaper and magazine empire was at one time one of the largest in the world. The Ullstein company was founded in 1877 by LEOPOLD ULLSTEIN (1826–1899), the son of a wholesale paper merchant of Fuerth, Bavaria. Ullstein left his father's paper business in 1848 and went to Berlin, where he founded his own wholesale paper firm and became a progressive member of the Berlin City Council (1871–1877). In 1877 he bought up the failing *Neues Berliner Tageblatt* and brought it out as an evening paper with the name *Deutsche Union*. A year later Ullstein bought the *Berliner Zeitung*. In 1904 this paper, which reflected Ullstein's liberal political views, was merged by his sons with the *Berliner Zeitung am Mittag*. The new paper's circulation reached the unprecedented figure of 40,000 and made the Ullstein company one of the biggest publishers in Germany. All five of Ullstein's sons entered the family firm. HANS (1859–1935) was legal advisor for many years; LOUIS (1863–1933) was business head after his father's death, and FRANZ (1868–1945), who was editorial director, was the guiding force behind the company for many years. The younger sons, RUDOLF (1873–1964) and HERMANN (1875–1943) joined the firm after their father's death, Rudolf becoming technical director and Hermann managing the magazine and book departments. In 1887 Louis Ullstein founded the *Berliner Abendpost;* in 1898 the three eldest sons founded the *Berliner Morgenpost* and raised its circulation to 600,000, the largest of any German daily. They made the *Berliner Zeitung am Mittag* the first German newspaper to be sold by street vendors instead of by subscription. They also produced a series of other newspapers, including the *Berliner Allgemeine Zeitung*, the *Montagspost*, the *Vossische Zeitung*, and *Tempo*. In addition, the Ullsteins had their own picture and news services, radio equipment, music division, dress pattern division, movie studios, and even a zoo to serve one of their children's papers. The other major ventures of the Ullstein company were its book publishing house (Ullstein, renamed Propylaeen in 1919) and magazine empire. They published the *Berliner Illustrierte Zeitung*, a new type of paper with many illustrations, photographs and drawings, from 1894 with a circulation of two million. In 1919 the Ullsteins began publishing on a large scale, producing many other magazines on the sciences, the arts and literature, broadcasting, automobiles, and aviation. The advent of Hitler, however, spelled the end of the Ullstein enterprise. In 1934 the family was forced to sell the colossal empire to a Nazi-backed consortium for one-fifth of its value and the company became known as the *Deutscher Verlag*. In 1938 Franz and Hermann immigrated to the U.S.; Rudolf went to England in 1939 and to the U.S. in 1943. After World War II, the American authorities in West Berlin rebuilt the Ullstein plant and appointed Rudolf Ullstein as chairman. By 1957 the *Berliner Zeitung* and *Morgenpost*, owned by the Ullstein group, had the largest circulation in West Berlin. In 1960, however, the controlling interest in the group was sold to Axel Springer and the Ullstein family interest in the concern came to an end.

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[Stewart Kampel / Archiv Bibliographia Judaica (2nd ed.)]

ULM, city in Wuerttemberg, Germany. The first documentary evidence of a community in Ulm dates from 1241, when a sum of six silver marks in taxes was paid by Jews. The first settlers undoubtedly arrived much earlier. An unbroken series of gravestones (dated from 1243 to 1491) from the cemetery, first mentioned in 1281, indicates the continued existence of the community. As it grew during the 13th and early 14th centuries, its members were engaged primarily in moneylending. Jews were allowed to own houses, and although a *Judengasse* is mentioned in 1331, Jews were not restricted to one quarter. In 1348 the emperor *Charles IV allowed the imperial taxes paid by the Jewish community to be kept by the city for the purpose of its fortification. Despite measures taken by the municipal council to protect the Jews, on Jan. 30, 1349, during the *Black Death persecutions, the Jewish quarter was stormed by a mob and the community was all but destroyed. Nevertheless, it rapidly revived. The synagogue, cemetery and dance hall that had been appropriated by the city were relinquished to the Jewish community in 1354 and 1357. In 1366 a number of Jews were granted partial citizenship. Jud Jacklin, a local Jewish moneylender, monopolized the southern German money market, lent the city funds, and aided it in its struggle against the emperor. The municipality gradually replaced the emperor as protector of the Jews and recipient of their taxes.

In the 15th century, Ulm grew in economic and political importance, while the Jewish community, oppressed by heavy taxation and regulations restricting their financial activities, declined. In 1457 Jewish noncitizens were expelled; in 1499 all Jews were given five months to leave the city. These acts were carried out under a policy known as *Judenfreiheit* ("freedom from Jewish settlement"), which was vigorously observed for two centuries. Only in 1712 were Jews even allowed to trade at the cattle market. In 1786 a single Jew possessing the right of residence was known to have resided in Ulm. During the wars of the 18th century, *Court Jews lived in the city.

From 13 in 1824 the community grew to a peak of 667 in 1886, and thereafter gradually declined. A synagogue was consecrated in 1873 and a cemetery in 1885. The community consisted mostly of prosperous merchants and manufacturers. Albert Mayer, a lawyer, was the first Jew elected to the Wuerttemberg parliament, serving from 1906 to 1909. Julius Baum, the museum director, and the artist L. Moos were two well-known residents of the community. The most famous Jew born in Ulm was Albert *Einstein. During the Nazi era, the population of the community declined from 530 in 1933 to 162 in August 1939, in part due to the boycott of Jewish business establishments and antisemitic harassment; the old cemetery was desecrated in 1936; the same year, Jewish children were no longer able to attend the public schools and a Jewish school was established in its place. On Nov. 10, 1938, the synagogue was burned down and many Jews were viciously beaten. Of 116 Jews deported from Ulm during World War II (45 were sent to *Theresienstadt on Aug. 22, 1942), only four returned. Approximately 25 Jews were living in Ulm in 1968. In 1958 a plaque was mounted to commemorate the former synagogue. In 1988 an additional memorial was erected. In 2002 a Jewish community was founded as a branch of the Jewish community of Wuerttemberg in Stuttgart. A new community center was consecrated in the same year. The community had 450 members in 2004, mostly immigrants from the former Soviet Union who went to Germany after 1990.

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[Henry Wasserman / Larissa Daemmig (2nd ed.)]

ULMAN, ABRAHAM (1791–1849), Hungarian rabbi. Ulman served as rabbi in Szabadka (Subotica) and from 1824 to his death in Lackenbach. Moses *Sofer had a high opinion of him and said that "his teaching is sacred" (ḤM no. 197).

Ulman published *Divrei Rash* (1826), the work of his father, Shalom Ulman. His own son, David, published Ulman's writings posthumously under the title *Beit Avraham* (1909), pilpulistic and halakhic responsa and talmudic novellae. David succeeded his father as rabbi in Lackenbach, serving until his death in 1906.

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[Naphtali Ben-Menahem]

ULMAN, JOSEPH N. (1878–1943), U.S. lawyer and jurist. Ulman, who was born in Baltimore, Maryland, taught at the University of Maryland Law School during 1908–28 and served as judge of the Supreme Bench of Baltimore from 1924. As a judge, he advocated modernization of the state's divorce laws (1932), and a year later he wrote *A Judge Takes the Stand*, in which he discussed justice in Maryland, based on specific cases he had tried. About the same time, he told a convention of lawyers that the country's penal system "would be ludicrous if it were not so tragic." President Franklin D. Roosevelt appointed him head of a committee to study prison labor, then appointed him chairman of the newly-created Prison Industries Reorganization Board (1934–36), where he acted as a mediator in disputes concerning privately- and prison-made goods. Ulman was also active in civic affairs, serving as president of the Hebrew Benevolent Society (1925–28), president of the Baltimore Urban League (1931–34), and vice president of the Baltimore branch of the American Jewish Congress (1937–41).

ULPAN (Heb. אֻלְפָּן), center for intensive study by adults, especially of Hebrew by newcomers to Israel. The term comes from an Aramaic word meaning custom, training, instruction, law. It is also used to mean a broadcasting studio or artist's atelier. The term was coined in 1949 when the first center for intensive adult Hebrew study by immigrants was opened at the Eẓion immigrants' camp in Jerusalem and was called an ulpan in distinction to *bet sefer*, the usual term for a school.

The term has since spread to the Diaspora, where it is applied to all kinds of educational activity.

Mass immigration in the early years of the state brought a babel of tongues, and it became imperative to provide centers where the new arrivals could acquire Hebrew and a knowledge of Jewish culture. The Ministry of Education and Culture and the Absorption Department of the *Jewish Agency set up the Eẓion ulpan as a pilot project. Others were soon set up, primarily for professional men who could not find suitable work because of their ignorance of the Hebrew language and Israeli culture. The ulpan network became one of Israel's most significant features, essential in aiding immigrant settlement.

The major ulpanim are residential and intensive, offering four to five months' study with 30 hours of classwork per week. At a kibbutz ulpan younger people work half a day and pay no fees. Other ulpanim are nonresidential, and there are also morning and evening courses; the term *ulpanit* is also used for the less intensive courses. In 1969 there were 89 ulpanim in Israel (including those run by local authorities but supervised by the Ministry of Education). Between 1949 and the end of 1969, over 120,000 adults studied in them, some 11,000 in 1969 alone. The major residential ulpanim are in Jerusalem, Tel Aviv, Haifa, Netanyah, Beersheba, and Nazareth. In the 1990s, with the renewal of mass immigration, the ulpanim hosted Russian and Ethiopian newcomers. At the turn of the century there were 220 ulpanim nationwide teaching 27,000 students at 350 sites in cities, kibbutzim, factories, hospitals, army bases, universities, community centers, and government offices.

Ulpan teaching is intensive, eclectic, and functional. The curriculum combines study of the past (Bible, *aggadah*, Jewish history and traditions, folklore, and literature) with the needs of everyday communication. It includes civics, information on professional life, and the different aspects of modern Israel in its various aspects – geography, economy, security, and so forth.

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[Mordechai Kamrat]

ULPIAN (**Ulpianus Domitius of Tyre**; d. 228 C.E.), Roman jurist. Some scholars in the early part of the 16th century, believing that the Latin of Ulpian had been corrupted by an Oriental influence, sought for traces of "Hebraisms" in the fragments of his works, many passages of which are included in the *Digest* of Justinian. One, Otto, even went so far as to affirm, in his *Thesaurus of Roman Law*, that Ulpian, together with two other great Roman jurists, Papinian and Modestinus was half-Jewish. In the 18th century, this hypothesis was completely refuted by Heineccius, who not only pointed out the lack of reliable evidence for the supposed Eastern origins of Ulpian, since many Roman families lived in Tyre, but also showed that the alleged "Hebraisms" in Ulpian's Latin were also used by Livy, Cicero, and Quintillian, authors whose Roman origin is beyond question. Although in the 19th century, Orientalists such as Revillout and Lapauge revived this theory in an attempt to prove the Eastern origin of Roman law, it has been again discredited and abandoned by serious modern scholarship.

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[Alfredo Mordechai Rabello]

°**ULRICH, JOHANN CASPAR** (1705–1768), Swiss Protestant theologian and historian. After his ordination in 1727, he studied Hebrew and the Talmud in Bremen under the Jewish apostate Gottlieb Fromann, and in Lengnau with Jacob Guggenheim. His missionary activities in Surbtal brought him into contact with the Jews of *Endingen and Lengnau. In his *Sammlung juedischer Geschichten…* (Basle, 1768; repr. 1922), the first comprehensive history of the Jews of Switzerland, he exonerates the Jews from complicity in causing the *Black Death and from similar allegations. For his work, Ulrich used Jewish sources as well as cantonal records, and it remains a valuable work of reference, especially the section on the Jews of Zurich.

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UMAN (Pol. **Human**), city in Kiev district, Ukraine; in Poland-Lithuania until the 1793 partition. In 1749 the *Haidamacks massacred many Jews of Uman and burned part of the town. Count Potocki, the landlord of the city, rebuilt it in 1761, held fairs there, and otherwise stimulated its development. In 1768 Haidamacks annihilated the Jews of Uman, together with the Jews from other places who had sought refuge there. On June 19, 1788, the peasant revolutionary, Maxim Zheleznyak, marched on Uman after he had butchered the Jews of Tetiyev. When the Cossack garrison and its commander, Ivan Gonta, went over to Zheleznyak (despite the sums of money he received from the Uman community and the promises he had made in return), the city fell to Zheleznyak, in spite of a courageous defense in which the Jews played an active role. The Jews then gathered in the synagogues, where they were led by Leib Shargorodski and Moses Menaker in an attempt to defend themselves, but they were destroyed by cannon fire. The remaining Jews in the city were subsequently killed. The massacre lasted three days and did not spare old men, women, or children. Gonta threatened death to all Christians who dared to shelter Jews. The number of Poles and Jews who were killed in the "massacre of Uman" is estimated to be 20,000. The anniversary of the commencement of the massacre, Tammuz 5, hereforth known as the "Evil Decree of Uman," was observed as a fast and by a special prayer. Naḥman of Bratslav settled in Uman and before his death there he said, "the souls of the martyrs (slaughtered by Gonta) await me." After his death in 1811, the Ḥasidim of Bratslav used to come to Uman in large numbers to prostrate themselves on his grave.

Uman had the reputation of being a city of *klezmerim* ("Jewish musicians"). The grandfather of the violinist Mischa *Elman was a popular *klezmer* in the city, and the tunes of Uman were widely known. It was also known as one of the first centers of the *Haskalah movement in the Ukraine. The leader of the movement was Chaim (Ḥaikl) *Hurwitz. In 1822 "a school based on Mendelssohnian principles" was established in Uman several years before the schools in *Odessa and *Kishinev. The founder was Ẓevi Dov (Hirsch Beer), the son of Chaim Hurwitz and a friend of the poet Jacob *Eichenbaum; the school closed after a few years.

In 1842 there were 4,933 Jews in Uman; in 1897, 17,945 (59% of the total population), and in 1910, 28,267. During the Bolshevik Revolution, the Jews of Uman endured great suffering. In the spring and summer of 1919, a number of troops passed through the city and perpetrated pogroms; there were 170 victims in the first pogrom and more than 90 in the subsequent one. This time the Christian inhabitants helped to hide the Jews. The Council for Public Peace, most of whose members were prominent Christians, with a minority of prominent Jews, saved the city from danger several times; in 1920, for example, it stopped the pogrom initiated by the troops of General A. Denikin. In 1926 there were 22,179 Jews (49.5% of the total population).

During World War II, the Nazis exterminated the Jews of Uman. In 1959 there were 2,200 Jews (5% of the total population). In the late 1960s the Jewish population was estimated at about 1,000. The last synagogue was closed by the authorities in the late 1950s, and the Jewish cemetery was badly neglected. A monument to the memory of 17,000 Jewish martyrs of the Nazis bears a Yiddish inscription. Jews still visit the tomb of Naḥman of Bratslav.

After the breakup of the Soviet Union, pilgrimages to Rebbe Naḥman's grave were renewed, with thousands arriving from all around the world on Rosh ha-Shanah.

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[Baruch Shohetman]

UMAYYADS, dynasty (660–750) under which the Arabs established their empire, extending from Central Asia and the Indian border to the Atlantic Ocean. The religious ties which had unified Muslims under the first four Orthodox caliphs ("al-Rāshidūn") were weakened under ʿUthmān. Muʿāwiya, the first Umayyad caliph (661–680), transformed the community of the faithful into a secular Arab state in which religion took second place. For the first time, leadership was in the hands of a person who had not been one of the Prophet's eminent associates. Muʿāwiya was proclaimed caliph in *Jerusalem in 660, but was not finally recognized as such until 661 – after ʿAlī had been assassinated and his son Ḥasan had abdicated. Muʿāwiya organized the empire on the Persian and Byzantine model, introduced the *barīd* (postal horse) service, the official service of Post and Intelligence, and was the first to create an Arab fleet.

The capital of the Umayyad caliphate was *Damascus, and *Syria and Ereẓ Israel were the center of the Muslim world. Muʿāwiya built a wooden mosque on the Temple Mount (mentioned in an apocalyptic Midrash; Wertheimer, *Battei Midrashot* (1894), 30 and by the Christian pilgrim Arculfus: J. Wilkinson, *Jerusalem Pilgrims before the Crusades* (1977), 9–10). He and his successors confiscated land from the Jews of Ereẓ Israel and distributed it among the new Arab settlers, causing great disappointment to the Jews among whom the Arab conquest of Ereẓ Israel had caused messianic stirrings (see: PdRE, ch. 30 and *Nistarot de-Rabbi Shimon bar Yoḥai*), and it seems that they settled some of those Jews in *Tripoli, Lebanon. Muʿāwiya established the principle of heredity for the caliphate and four years before his death appointed his son Yazīd as his successor. The majority of the tribal chiefs supported the appointment. After his death, opposition to Umayyad rule resulted in civil war, the main centers of the unrest being in *Persia, *Iraq, and the *Ḥejāz. Abdullah ibn Zubayr proclaimed himself caliph in Mecca, having gained the support of the Muslim aristocracy; the Umayyad caliphs Yazīd I (680–3), his son Muʿāwiya II (683–4), and ʿAbd al-Malik ibn Marwān (685–705) warred against him. Ḥusayn, the grandson of Muhammad, revolted and was killed in Karbalā', Irak (680). ʿAbd al-Malik built the Dome of the Rock (691–2), the costs being covered by the tax revenue which he received from *Egypt for a period of seven years. *Goldziher assumes that the purpose of the grandiose structure was to divert the pilgrims from Mecca to Jerusalem, but *Goitein is of the opinion that the aim was to compete with the Holy Sepulcher. A. Elʿad, according to older traditions than those used by both researchers, thinks that Goldziher was right ("Al-Ḥaram al-sharīf:ʿAbd al-Malik's Jerusalem," in: *Oxford Studies in Islamic Arts*, 9:33–58) and that ʿAbd al-Malik or his son al-Walīd (705–715) built the Al-Aqṣā Mosque.

Al-Wasiṭī (Jerusalem, 1019), the author of the oldest remaining book of *Faḍā'il al-Bayt al-Muqaddas* ("The Praises of Jerusalem"; I. Hasson ed. 1979, 43–44) reports that a group of Jewish attendants were in charge of cleanliness in the mosque and on the Temple Mount and responsible for the maintenance of the lighting, for which service they were reimbursed by exemption from the poll tax. This monopoly was inherited by their descendants until it was abolished by Omar II. The

Umayyad caliphs employed both Jews and Christians, some of whom attained high posts in the government hierarchy. Under ʿAbd al-Malik a Jew was in charge of the mint. In spite of the existing prohibition on the building of new churches, some were in fact built. In general Umayyad caliphs exercised tolerance in religious matters, the exception being Omar ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz (the Second; 717–20), a religious fanatic who was the first to apply the restrictions of the Covenant of *Omar to the religious minorities. It was presumably Omar II who excluded the Jews from the Temple Mount and restricted them to prayers at only one gate (*Salmon b. Jeroham in his commentary on Psalms 30:10; see Dinur in bibl.).

During the rule of the Umayyads, Ereẓ Israel was the scene of construction and development projects. Sulaiman ibn ʿAbd al-Malik (715–7) built *Ramleh, which became a district capital in Jund Falastin. Walīd II (743), the son of Yazīd II, embarked on a project of diverting the Jordan for irrigation purposes, but the project came to an abrupt end when a landslide caused the death of some of the workers; Walīd was then assassinated by his opponents. This event is described in *Midrash Nistarot de-Rabbi Shimon bar Yoḥai*: "Another king will arise and will seek to separate the waters of the Jordan, and he will bring laborers from distant lands to dig a canal to raise the water level and irrigate the land; and the land they dig up will collapse upon them and kill them, and when their princes learn of this event they will rise against the king and assassinate him" (J. Even Shemuel, *Midreshei Ge'ullah* (1954^2), 193). This report was confirmed by the Arab chronicler al-Ṭabarī.

Toward its end, the Umayyad regime was plagued by natural catastrophes and internal strife. Between 746 and 749 a number of earthquakes occurred in Ereẓ Israel. The most severe took place in 748 and caused a heavy loss of life and the collapse of a part of the Dome of the Rock. Against a background of inter-Muslim sectarian strife, Shiʿite opposition to the ruling house, and wars against the Byzantine Empire, which raised messianic hopes among the Jews of a Muslim victory over the Christians, Jewish sects came into being in the East in the beginning of the eighth century. Some of these sects advocated revolt against the established order, hoping to bring about redemption by force. One of these sects was headed by Serenus (or *Severus) of Syria, who was active at the time of Yazīd (720–4); reports of his appearance even reached Spain. The climax of anti-Umayyad stirrings in Persia came in the 740s, when an insurrection headed by Abdullah ibn Muʿāwiya was successful in establishing a short-lived independent kingdom. This was the background for the rise of the Jewish pseudo-messiah Abū ʿIssa (or Obadiah) from *Isfahan, who lived during the rule of Marwān II (744–50), the last Umayyad caliph. The internal strife in various parts of the empire was among the major causes for the collapse of the Umayyad dynasty and paved the way for the rise of the *Abbasids.

[Eliezer Bashan]

Umayyad Caliphs in Syria

Muʿāwiyah ibn Abī Sufyān, 661–680
Yazīd ibn Muʿāwiyah, 680–683
Muʿāwiya II ibn Yazīd, 683–684
Marwān ibn al-Ḥakam, 684–685
ʿAbd al-Malik ibn Marwān, 685–705
al-Walīd ibn ʿAbd al-Malik, 705–715
Sulaymān ibn ʿAbd al-Malik, 715–717
ʿUmar ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, 717–720
Yazīd II ibn ʿAbd al-Malik, 720–724
Hishām ibn ʿAbd al-Malik, 724–743
al-Walīd II ibn Yazīd II, 743–744
Yazīd III ibn al-Walīd, 744
Ibrāhīm ibn al-Walīd, 744
Marwān II ibn Muḥammad, 744–750

In Spain

The Umayyad dynasty began its rule in Spain in 756. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān I (reigned 756–88), a survivor of the slaughter of the Umayyad dynasty in Damascus by the newly proclaimed Abbasid caliphate, and grandson of the 10th Umayyad caliph Hishām, made *Cordoba the capital of his emirate. The Jews under his jurisdiction enjoyed the same rights and status as they had previously under the former Muslim rulers. Both they and the Christians had to pay the special poll tax (*jizyah*) of 12, 24, or 48 *dirhems* each year, according to income. The activity of the Umayyad dynasty at first was the consolidation of the conquest of Spain and the conciliation of a hostile Christian population, a task which continued well into the mid-9th century. The Jewish minority, which had welcomed the Muslim takeover, did not suffer from the Muslim attacks on rebellious Christians, particularly prevalent in Cordoba. The first cultural flowering came under ʿAbd al-Raḥmān II (822–852) through the patronage of literature and science and the refinement of customs and traditions: Al-Andalus became the center of western Islam. There is little information on the Jews under early Umayyad rulers in the 8th and 9th centuries, except that the population increased rapidly as Umayyad tolerance encouraged Jewish immigration to Spain. Under Umayyad rule, the Jews attained wealth, developed their culture, and even acquired influential positions at the center of power. *Ḥisdai ibn Shaprut was physician and adviser to ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III (912–61), who proclaimed himself caliph in 929. The latter's reign marks the height of Umayyad military, economic, and cultural supremacy, and the caliph was considered the most tolerant toward minorities of all the Umayyads. Ḥisdai, head of the Jewish community, was in charge of trade and commerce and foreign affairs, traveling to the generally hostile northern Christian provinces of Spain on diplomatic missions. Cordoba was then the center of Muslim civilization in the West and an important seat of Jewish culture. Other prominent Jewish communities included *Tarragona, *Granada, and *Lucena. Under ʿAbd al-Raḥmān's successors, al-Ḥakam II (961–76), Hishām II (976–1013), and al-*Manṣūr (Hishām's chamberlain who in effect managed affairs of state from 996 to 1002), the Jewish community in the caliphate rose to great wealth and cultural prominence. Just as the western caliphate had declared its independence of Abbasid Baghdad, Spanish Jewry began to assert its independence of the Babylonian academies and the *geonim*. The 12th-century historian Abraham *Ibn Daud describes the relations between the Jewish community of Cordoba and the caliph (Ibn Daud, Tradition, 63–71). Apparently the Umayyad ruler intervened in the appointment of the head of the Jewish community (**nasi*) and the head of the academy, as exemplified in the case of the conflict between R. *Ḥanokh b. Moses and R. Joseph *Ibn Abitur in the late tenth century. At first, al-Ḥakam acknowledged the leadership of R. Ḥanokh. During Hishām's reign, al-Manṣūr appointed a supporter of Ibn Abitur, Jacob *Ibn Jau, a wealthy silk merchant who supplied the royal house with his costly wares, *nasi* of all Jewish communities in his domain. Ibn Jau, however, did not collect enough tribute from his people to suit al-Manṣūr, and was imprisoned. He was released by Hishām. The wealth of the Cordoba community and especially of Ibn Jau is attested to by Ibn Daud. The intellectual exchange and high cultural level of the Umayyad house may be ascertained from the statement that Ibn Abitur "interpreted the whole of the Talmud in Arabic for the Muslim king al-Ḥakam." The *Berber invasion and sack of Cordoba (1010–13) resulted in the decline of the Umayyad dynasty in Spain. Cordoba never regained its supremacy as a Muslim and Jewish cultural center; many Jews fled to Granada, Malaga, Lucena, and other cities. The constant internecine strife between the Muslim principalities contributed to a longing for the stability and peace of the Umayyad reign which had endured for nearly 250 years. The dynasty ended with the demise of the weak Hishām III in 1031.

Umayyad Emirs of Spain
ʿAbd ar-Raḥmān ibn Muʿāwiya, 756–788
Hishām ibn ʿAbd ar-Raḥmān, 788–796
al-Ḥakam ibn Hishām, 796–822
ʿAbd ar-Raḥmān II ibn al-Ḥakam, 822–852
Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, 852–886
al-Mundhir ibn Muḥammad, 886–888
ʿAbdallāh ibn Muḥammad, 888–912
ʿAbd ar-Raḥmān III ibn Muḥammad ibn ʿAbdallāh, 912–929

Umayyad Caliphs of Spain
ʿAbd ar-Raḥmān III al-Naṣir, as caliph, 929–961
Al-Ḥakam II ibn ʿAbd ar-Raḥmān, 961–976
Hishām II ibn al-Ḥakam, 976–1009
Muḥammad II ibn Hishām, 1009–1009
Sulaymān ibn al-Ḥakam, 1009–1010
Hishām II, restored, 1010–1012
Sulaymān, restored, 1012–1017
ʿAbd al-Raḥmān IV ibn Muḥammad, al-Murtaḍā 1018–1023
ʿAbd al-Raḥmān V ibn Hishām, 1023–1024
Muḥammad III ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, al-Mustakfī, 1024–1025
Hishām III ibn Muḥammad, 1027–1031

[Isaac Hasson (2nd ed.)]

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UMAYYA IBN ABĪ AL-SALT, one of the "true seekers of God" (*Ḥanīf*, pl. *Ḥunafāʾ*) who are mentioned several times in the *Koran. Umayya was an older contemporary of *Muhammad. According to Muslim tradition, he desired to be the apostle, the prophet to the Arabs. Muhammad, however, regarded him as a deviationist who led others astray and did not accomplish his mission. There is an allusion to him in Sura 7:174–5, which, according to most commentators, refers to *Balaam. Many long and short extant fragments of ancient Arabic poetry deal with the same biblical subjects that are found in the Koran. Scholars differ as to the originality of these poems and their independence from the narratives of the Koran. Undoubtedly, many came from the Jewish and Christian legends used by Muhammad and therefore there is neither plagiarism nor borrowing from the Koran.

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[Haïm Z'ew Hirschberg]

U-NETANNEH TOKEF (Heb. וּנְתַנֶּה תֹּקֶף; lit. "Let us declare the mighty importance [of the holiness of the day]"), a *piyyut* (*silluk*) recited before the *Kedushah* of the *Musaf* of Rosh Ha-Shanah and the Day of Atonement. The prayer epitomizes the significance of the High Holy Days as "the day of judgment" on which all creatures pass, one by one, before God, like a flock before the Shepherd Who decrees their fate. It emphasizes man's precarious and painful lot and his futile strivings. Following an enumeration of the manifold fates which may be decreed for a man during the year to come, the prayer, however, goes on to stress the belief that "repentance, prayer and charity avert the severe decree": God is full of forgiveness toward man who "came from dust and who shall return to dust" and whose days are "as a fleeting shadow, as a passing cloud … and as a dream that vanishes." Because this prayer, in simple yet very expressive words, voices the basic idea of the Day of Judgment, it came to be one of the most solemn parts of the High Holy Day liturgy and is recited with awe and in a soul-stirring mood.

Written by Kalonymus b. Meshullam *Kalonymus, the *paytan* of Mayence (11th century), a well-known legend ascribed its composition to a R. Amnon of Mainz (for details see *Amnon of Mainz). The prayer became part of the traditional Ashkenazi, Polish, and Italian liturgies.

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UNGAR, BENJAMIN (1907–1983), **ḥazzan*. Born in Jaslo, Galicia, Poland, Ungar studied with several notable cantors and composers before taking his first position as *ḥazzan* in Magdeburg, Germany. From there he moved to Stendal and in 1938 went to Israel. He officiated in several Tel Aviv synagogues and in 1959 became chief *ḥazzan* of the Tel Aviv Great Synagogue. The possessor of a powerful and rich tenor voice, Ungar gained a reputation through his many concert, radio, and television appearances, and became known internationally through his records and concert tours. In 1966 he became chairman of the Association of Cantors of Israel. In May 1983 Ungar was made a Distinguished Citizen of Tel Aviv.

[Akiva Zimmerman (2nd ed.)]

UNGAR, JOEL OF RECHNITZ (1800–1885), Hungarian rabbi. Ungar was born in Rechnitz, where his father Eliezer was a merchant. At about the age of 15, he went to the yeshivah of Mordecai *Banet in *Mikulov (Nikolsburg) and finally to the yeshivah of Moses *Sofer in Pressburg. In addition to his talmudic studies, he studied German, French, and mathematics. In 1824 he married the daughter of the wealthy Joseph Yust of Csejte, who wished him to devote himself to commerce. Once, however, when traveling to the Vienna fair on behalf of his father-in-law, he called upon his teacher and became so engrossed in halakhic discussion that he arrived too late for the fair, bringing about the impoverishment of his father-in-law. As a result, Ungar was compelled to accept the rabbinate of Csejte and became known as an outstanding Torah scholar. He was later appointed rabbi of *Paks, where he remained until his death. He maintained and administered a large yeshivah and several of the great Hungarian talmudists were his pupils. His protest against the resolutions of the Brunswick conference in 1844 was printed in the *Torat ha-Kena'ot* (1845). He was nevertheless opposed to the schism of Hungarian Jewry, and when it took place, he withdrew from national Jewish affairs, devoting himself wholly to his own community and to teaching.

He was very strict in his personal life. On the morrow of the Day of Atonement, he would eat only such minute quantities of food as did not constitute eating according to the *halakhah* because of his doubt as to whether one was obliged to fast for two days, so that he would technically be fasting. After his death, his son-in-law Susman Sofer published several of his responsa on the four parts of the Shulḥan Arukh under the title *Teshuvat Riba* (Riba = Heb. acronym **R**abbi **J**oel **B**en **E**liezer).

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[Samuel Weingarten-Hakohen]

UNGER, IRWIN (1927–), U.S. historian. Born in New York, Unger received both his M.A. (1949) and Ph.D. (1958) in American history from Columbia University. He taught at the universities of Columbia and California and was appointed professor of history at New York University, where he taught U.S. economic and 19th-century history. His main areas of interest were radicalism and reform; the 1960s; the Gilded Age; and economic history.

Unger's book *The Greenback Era: A Political and Social History of American Finance, 1865–1879* (1964) won the Pulitzer Prize in history. Meticulously researched, it recognized the variety of economic interests on either side of the paper money issue and emphasized the impact of intellectual, religious, and political leaders on that controversy. In a different vein, Unger perceptively analyzed "New Left" historians in "The 'New Left' and American History…" in *The American Historical Review* (72, no. 4 (July 1967), 1237–63).

Other books by Unger include *The Movement* (1974); *These United States* (1978; 2002²); *Turning Point, 1968* (with his wife, Debi, 1988); *20th-Century America* (with D. Unger, 1990); *Postwar America* (with D. Unger, 1991); *America in the 1960s* (with D. Unger, 1993); *Instant American History* (1994); *The Best of Intentions* (1996); *LBJ: A Life* (with D. Unger, 2000); *Recent America: The United States since 1945* (2001); and *The Guggenheims: A Family History* (with D. Unger, 2005). The Ungers also compiled *The Times Were a Changin'* (1998), an anthology of the 1960s.

[Ari Hoogenboom / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

UNGER, JOSEF (1828–1913), Austrian statesman and jurist. Unger converted to Christianity at a young age. He was appointed professor of jurisprudence at the University of Vienna in 1857. He entered parliament in 1867, was minister without portfolio 1871–79, and president of the Supreme Court in 1881. His principal work, *System des Oesterreichischen Allgemeinen Privatrechts* (6 vols., 1856–64) gained him a European reputation.

UNGER, MAX (1883–1959), musicologist. Born in Germany, Unger worked as a conductor and critic, and in 1919–20 edited the *Neue Zeitschrift fuer Musik*. In 1933 he went to Switzerland and Italy and returned to Germany after World War II. An authority on Beethoven, he published *Auf Spuren von Beethovens unsterblicher Geliebten* (1911), *Beethovens Handschrift* (1926), *Ein Faustopernplan Beethovens und Goethes* (1952), and the catalogs of two important Beethoven collections. Unger gathered material for a revised edition of Beethoven's letters and established many of their datings for the first time.

UNGERFELD, MOSHE (1898–1983), Hebrew literary critic. Born in Galicia, Ungerfeld was active in the Zionist and Hebrew movement in Vienna, where he was also a teacher and journalist. He emigrated to Palestine in 1938 and from the following year served as director of the Bialik House in Tel Aviv.

He contributed articles and book reviews to many Hebrew and Yiddish periodicals. Ungerfeld wrote literary essays for the Hebrew press, concentrating on material from the Bialik archives. He published *Vinah* (1946), *Ḥ.N. Bialik vi-Yeẓirotav* (1960), a bibliography of Bialik's works, and *Ketavim Genuzim shel Bialik* (1971), as well as a collection of essays *Orot u-Ẓelalim* (1977) and *Hogim and Meshorerim* (1974).

[Getzel Kressel]

UNGERMAN, IRVING (1922–) sports promoter, manager, and member of Canadian Boxing Hall of Fame and the International Sports Hall of Fame. Ungerman was born in Toronto and grew up in the downtown heavily Jewish Kensington Market area. During World War II, he enlisted in the Royal Canadian Air Force and served as a bombardier.

Ungerman was one of Canada's most prolific promoters of amateur and professional sports. He managed and represented many Canadian boxers during his career, notably the champions George Chuvalo and Clyde Gray. Ungerman's contribution includes television broadcasting. He initiated the broadcast of boxing on Canadian closed-circuit television in the early 1950s and he was also responsible for establishing Canada's Friday Night at the Fights on commercial TV. Ungerman was also involved in sports other than boxing. He served on the organizing committee that developed the inaugural hockey series between Team Canada and the Soviet National Team in 1972. He was a prominent figure on the organizing committee that brought the Blue Jays and major league baseball to Toronto.

Outside the realm of sports, Ungerman was a longtime supporter of many Toronto-based charitable organizations, including the Salvation Army, Variety Village, the Reena Foundation serving special needs children within a framework of Jewish culture and values, the Hospital for Sick Children, and Mount Sinai Hospital. In 2000 Ungerman was honored by the Government of Ontario with the Order of Ontario.

[Avi Hyman and Brenda Cappe (2nd ed.)]

UNION, OESTERREICHISCH-ISRAELITISCHE (Union of Austrian Jews, later **Union oesterreichischer Juden**), association representing the interests of the Jews of the Austrian Empire and standing for implementation of their equal rights. It was founded in 1882 in part as an outgrowth of J.S. Bloch's battle against a rising tide of antisemitism. The union operated a legal office which kept a watchful eye on every violation of equality in all the provinces, supporting legal action up to the highest courts, exposing and prosecuting calumnies against Jews, and intervening against any administrative discrimination. It believed that the only legally relevant criterion of a Jew was his religion, following the same line as the Central-Verein Deutscher Staatsbuerger Juedischen *Glaubens in Germany. This tenet brought it into conflict with Jewish aspirations for national autonomy. The union rejected the creation of any special category for the Jews, pointing to the fact that this was the aspiration of the antisemitic parties in order to deprive the Jews of equality in the professions and the economy. After the partition of old Austria, the union limited its activity to the Austrian Republic. It welcomed the Balfour *Declaration and supported colonization in Palestine but remained unalterably opposed to nationalist domestic policy. It lost its majority in the Vienna religious community in 1932, but in general elections the Jewish electorate did not support the Jewish national candidates. The union published an annual, *Kalender fuer Israeliten* (1892ff.), a weekly, *Die Wahrheit* (1899ff.), and a monthly, *Mitteilungen* (1888f.). After the 1938 *Anschluss*, the union and its publications ceased to exist.

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[Hugo Knoepfmacher]

UNION COUNTY, county in N.E. New Jersey. Of Union County's 532,000 residents (2004 census), about 35,000 were Jews. Major Jewish communities are in Elizabeth-Hillside, Westfield, Scotch Plains, Springfield, Union, Cranford, and Linden.

Although German Jews came to Elizabeth in the middle of the 19th century, by 1880 only 25 families had settled there. At the turn of the century, immigrants came from Eastern Europe; there were 550 Jewish families in 1905 and the large influx continued until a limit was placed on immigration in 1920. In the mid-1930s, 10,000 Jews lived in Elizabeth, a number of them American-born. A parallel settlement occurred in Plainfield where four congregations and two charitable associations were already active in 1904. The Plainfield community grew to 6,000 Jews in 1960.

YM-YWHA's were founded in Elizabeth in 1883 and in Plainfield in 1929, and a Jewish community council for eastern Union County based in Elizabeth in 1940, and one in Plainfield in 1937. In 2006 one synagogue struggled to continue its existence in Plainfield, where most of the Jewish population had moved to Somerset County, while Elizabeth continued to attract young families.

The major difference was the strength of the Jewish Educational Center (JEC), founded by Rav Mordechai Pinchas Teitz. The JEC grew from a *mikveh* and an elementary school, founded in 1940, to high schools, five synagogues (with a Sephardi as well as an Ashkenazi minyan in one synagogue), a second *mikveh*, an institute for Talmud study for college-age students, and an adult education system. Rabbi Teitz initiated the move from the downtown Elizabethport neighborhood to the more affluent Elmora and Westminster areas. Elmora Avenue has several kosher restaurants, a kosher bakery and a kosher supermarket.

Three distinctive features of Elizabeth are that it is a united *kehillah*; it is a center for Holocaust survivors who were integrated into the community and joined in all facets of Jewish life; *aliyah* is encouraged, with more than 100 families, especially those of scientists who worked in research in nearby pharmaceutical, communications, and other companies, settling in Israel.

The YM-YWHA is now on Green Lane in Union, near Kean University, at the edge of Elizabeth's Elmora section. The Wilf Jewish Community Campus of Central New Jersey, located in Scotch Plains, is a major Jewish Community Center. The Jewish Family Service (www.jfscentralnj.com) is in Elizabeth with branches in Fanwood and Warren (Somerset County).

Temple Emanu-El in Westfield had over 1,100 members (2005) (www.tewnj.org); Beth Israel in Scotch Plains had 463 members (2005); the JEC in Elizabeth had over 1,000 members (2005) (www.thejec.org). B'nai Israel, a Conservative synagogue in Elizabeth, merged with a congregation of the same name in Millburn in 1992, a few years after its centennial, while Beth El, a Reform synagogue founded in 1950, also closed.

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[Rivkah Blau (2nd ed.)]

UNION GÉNÉRALE DES ISRAÉLITES DE FRANCE (UGIF), official body created by the Vichy government under German pressure, to represent French Jewry during the German occupation. Soon after the occupation of France (June 1940) the Germans unsuccessfully tried to organize a representative body in Paris, to be directed by consistorial leaders who remained in the city. In connection with relief work, a Comité de Coordination des Oeuvres de Bienfaisance du Grand Paris was organized on Jan. 30, 1941, and officially declared in April 1941 as a French association. French officials had long resisted the German pressure, mainly led by Theodor Dannecker, Eichmann's representative in Paris, to organize a centralized Jewish organization that could serve as a German tool to implement antisemitic measures. The French government finally accepted the setting up of such a body, under the threat of a purely German organization. By a law of Nov. 29, 1941, the Vichy government created the UGIF, which became an official French body representing both French and foreign-born Jews, with two divisions, one in the occupied and one in the Southern zone. The UGIF was officially to be controlled by the Commissariat Général aux Questions Juives, then headed by Xavier Vallat. Like the Germans in Paris, the Vichy authorities also tried to choose veteran Jewish leaders to direct the affairs of the new body. Vallat frequently discussed the UGIF with Jewish leaders, since its creation separated French Jewry into two sharply divided groups: those willing to participate in the UGIF in order to retain some form of independence for Jewish relief activities and to be able to pursue them, as they became ever-more necessary, and to prevent the takeover of the new body by less responsible Jews; and those willing to stick to the traditional Jewish organizational scheme, set up by the Republic, mainly the Consistory. The fight against the UGIF was conducted in the free zone mainly by the Consistoire Central (Central Consistory) which protested against the creation of such a quasi-political organization with its own juridical and fiscal structure. The Consistoire Central stated that such a body would be called upon to give indirect or even direct approval to anti-Jewish measures; traditional voluntary Jewish relief would have to give way to forced relief controlled by the government and financed by funds from confiscated Jewish properties. Jacques Helbronner, president of the Consistoire Central, stated in a protest to Vichy that the creation of the UGIF was based on legislation of a racial character and of foreign inspiration, and the basic idea of which stood in contradiction to the spirit of French legislation. Albert Lévy, a member of the Consistoire Central, became the UGIF's first president, with André Baur, vice president for the occupied zone, and Marcel Stora as administrators, respectively, of the free and occupied zones. Among the members of the board, the majority were former members of the Comité de Coordination. They were all French Jews, coming from a professional or upper-class background, who had been active in relief organizations. The first task of the UGIF, almost immediately after it was set up, was to collect the levy of 1 billion francs imposed by the German Military Command in Paris (Majestic) on the Jews of France as "reprisals" for the first attacks by the French Resistance. This levy was imposed on December 12, 1941. As the money available was not sufficient, and as the threats of deportation and the shooting of hostages became stronger, the UGIF had to organize a loan from the main French banks, of 250 millions francs, to pay the first installment. Then, it could use money raised by the selling of Jewish-owned stocks on the Paris stock exchanges to pay the rest of the levy. All pre-war Jewish organizations, according to the law, would be disbanded and merged into the UGIF, the only authorized Jewish body in France. The UGIF took over the properties of these defunct organizations, and also all their relief tasks. In the spring of 1942, the UGIF was helping half of the Jews in France, mostly through payments, as the aryanization policy had struck severely and impoverished the Jewish population. In the occupied zone the UGIF had no fewer than 24 offices (for services in the free zone there were seven directorates, each of which was a former association that had been absorbed by UGIF). In the French Jewish circles which were opposed to involvement in the UGIF, the old enmity to foreign-born Jews played an important role. Many French Jews did not favor a plan which forced all Jews, foreign as well as French, to belong to the UGIF. Participation in the UGIF indicated not only acknowledgment of the anti-Jewish legislation, but also a recognition of separate Jewish identity, which repudiated the established tenet that Jews were to be regarded solely as a religious group. The UGIF never became strictly an organization of collaboration with the Germans, although the UGIF leaders were forced to negotiate constantly with the Gestapo, the Sipo-SD. Leaders of the UGIF had to acquiesce to some of the logic of the perpetrators, for example in giving more attention to French Jews in comparison to foreign Jews. Raymond-Raoul Lambert proved, however, more sympathetic to foreign Jews, people he had tried to help in the late 1930s who had entered prior to the beginning of the German Occupation, in contrast to the French Consistory. When negotiating with the Germans, the UGIF tried to use its margin of maneuverability, always very small, to have French Jews released or not deported. The Union hired many Jews as employees, to serve the needs of a growing despairing population. Officially, employees of the UGIF were exempt from deportation though the protection proved unstable. For example, a roundup in the office of Lyons, organized by Klaus Barbie, led to the arrest of the employees, later deported to Auschwitz. On July 21, 1943, André Baur, then the president of the Union in the northern zone, was arrested. He was deported, together with his family, to Auschwitz. In the days before his arrest he had protested, once again, directly to Marshall Pétain, on the poor conditions of Jews in the Drancy camp. In September 1943, Raymond-Raoul Lambert was also arrested, then deported with his wife and children. The question, raised as early as February 1943, became then whether or not to maintain the activities of the UGIF or to dismantle it. Such a decision was never made, and the UGIF continued officially to work till the very end of Occupation. The support it provided for Jews, whether in freedom or imprisoned in camps in France, proved to be necessary. Underground activities developed then rapidly, not organized by the leaders of the UGIF but under the cover and with the financial help of the Union. The most notable was the underground fight of the Eclaireurs Israélites, officially absorbed into the 6th department of the UGIF, which led to the purchase of weapons and the organization in the Southeast of France of a maquis, a group of youth that fought for the liberation of the city of Tarbes. The policy of the UGIF was always to negotiate in order to keep as many Jews as possible on French territory, whatever the German conditions might be. This led to the creation of agricultural colonies in the northern part of France, and to three camps in the heart of Paris, annexes of Drancy for "privileged Jews," mostly spouses of Aryans. These persons were entirely fed and taken care of with the finances of the Union. The leaders were not able to make the necessary steps to go underground nor to disperse children's homes that sheltered youngsters whose parents had already been deported. Numerous such houses were raided by the Gestapo, such the one in La Verdière or Izieu. On July 21, 1944, the houses in the suburbs of Paris were raided; 242 children and 33 UGIF employees were arrested and immediately deported to Auschwitz. Soon after the Allied invasion (June 1944) in Normandy, members of the Comité Général de Défense, an underground Jewish body consisting of representatives of all Jewish groups, discussed the possibility of closing the UGIF offices. At a secret meeting held on July 13, 1944, in Paris, the UGIF leaders of the former occupied zone adopted a resolution against the voluntary dissolution of the UGIF because it would induce immediate reprisals against the Jews in both zones. Raymond Geissmann, who was then director general of the UGIF in the former free zone, strongly defended the record of the UGIF. As early as July 1944, the newly (clandestinely) created body representing all Jews in France, the CRIF, considered the fate of the UGIF and possible trial for its leaders. In October 1944, a commission set up by the CRIF started to investigate the activities of the Union. This led only to a reprimand that was even not made public. The debate continued within the CRIF until 1947 but its president, Léon Meiss, avoided any further determinations. The debate about the UGIF started anew in 1980, with the publication of a book by Maurice Rajsfus, *Des Juifs dans la collaboration*. It lasted more than 10 years, with the judgment on the UGIF remaining equivocal: the Union was seen as either a body whose leaders, French bourgeois Jews, were ready to deliver foreign Jews to the Germans to save the French Jews, or as a Resistance body. Further research, and comparison with other countries, could clarify both versions of history and give a more accurate, balanced description of this tragic episode.

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[Jean-Marc Dreyfus (2nd ed.)]

UNION OF COUNCILS FOR JEWS IN THE FORMER SOVIET UNION (UCSJ; formerly Union of Councils for Soviet Jews).

Voice of the Refuseniks (1970–1999)

In the mid-1960s, with the sense that American Jews had not done enough to rescue Europe's Jews during the Holocaust still fresh in their minds, a small number of American Jewish activists concluded "Never Again": that the needs for rescue from persecution and quarantine of the Soviet Union's 4-plus million Jews was receiving inadequate attention.

Following the inspiration of Student Struggle for Soviet Jewry, activists in half a dozen cities organized local "action" committees and, in 1970, they established the umbrella organization, Union of Councils for Soviet Jews (UCSJ). In the 1970s, UCSJ established itself as the principal grassroots and activist component of the Soviet Jewry Movement. Prior to the internet, it pioneered a number of innovations to assure an integrated campaign. It purchased fax machines for each local council to receive their information and to compile and distribute to them a weekly packet of information about new developments in the former Soviet Union and provide up-to-date UCSJ policies and projects.

Virtually every Refusenik and Prisoner of Conscience was "adopted" by at least one council which, in turn, developed and shared official biographies and coordinated their respective cases. The councils provided regular information to local media and officials and to their Congressional delegations. UCSJ organized a Congressional Vigil, headed by Congressmen John Porter (R-Ill) and Tom Lantos (D-Cal); assisted by UCSJ, congressmen placed profiles of Refuseniks and Prisoners into the Congressional Record every Friday for nearly two decades.

UCSJ's greatest political triumph came in the early 1970s with its successful advocacy in the Congress of the interventionist Jackson-Vanik Amendment, sponsored by Senator Henry Jackson and Congressman Charles Vanik, to U.S. Trade legislation, which made "most favored nation" trade concessions contingent on the free emigration of the Jews – this over the vehement opposition of the Nixon-Kissinger administration and the Israeli and American Jewish leadership.

By the late 1980s, the organization had swelled to nearly 40 local councils with a combined membership of 50,000, matching the approximately 50,000 unaffiliated members and supporters of the national organization. In its campaigning, throughout the 1970s and 1980s, UCSJ briefed thousands of visitors not only about who to visit among the Refuseniks but on how to collect vital, strategic information from their leaders. They supplemented these reports with weekly telephone calls to activists across the Soviet Union. Refuseniks especially valued the leadership of UCSJ's 10-year president, Pamela B. Cohen of Chicago Action for Soviet Jewry. When she made an unannounced two-week visit in 1987, word of her arrival spread across the 11 time zones and hundreds of Refusenik leaders traveled to Moscow and Leningrad to brief her on conditions in their communities.

Although it was largely unknown to the million-plus American Jews who responded to the rallying cry, "Let My People Go," there existed a serious, principled political and operational divide between the Israel-dominated "Establishment" wing of the Soviet Jewry movement and the grassroots activists. The difference often produced a measure of vitriol during the Refusenik era but, since the fall of the Iron Curtain, it is seen by UCSJ as affecting far more dangerous stakes. Among the questions that divided the "establishment" from the activists were "Who spoke for Soviet Jews? How to position the struggle? Was the ultimate goal of the movement "*aliyah*" or "freedom," including the freedom not to choose to live in Israel, and to what extent was the movement devoted to human rights as well as *aliyah*.

The Jewish Establishment conceded to the State of Israel the international voice of Soviet Jewry. They argued that only Israel was prepared to accept all Soviet Jews, and the demographics of a proportionately rising Arab population in greater Israel was a time bomb that massive immigration from the U.S.S.R. could help defuse. What's more, the Soviets were prepared at least to consider granting Jewish emigration if it were seen as repatriation to homeland rather than a human rights category – freedom of movement. Hence, it was seen as the duty of every departing Soviet Jew to make *aliyah*.

Further, as the movement began, in the post-1967 era, Moscow had severed its diplomatic relations with Israel, and Israel's vital interests were at stake in promoting a modus vivendi with the then powerful Soviet Union. Israel had a long agenda with the Soviet Union; Soviet Jews were only one part of that agenda, which also included trade, military security, and Soviet diplomatic support of its hostile neighbors. Accordingly, Israel was convinced that the only effective approach to the Soviets was what they termed "quiet diplomacy." It therefore rejected grassroots activism aimed at "making noise" and opposing antisemitism and the broad violations of human rights – concerns that the 35-nation Helsinki Process, and UCSJ, routinely addressed.

But to the activists in the U.S.S.R. and UCSJ alike, "quiet diplomacy" and the *aliyah*-only campaign smacked of paternalism and violated the Russian Jews' internationally guaranteed "freedom of choice and movement." It also unacceptably isolated the targeted Jews from their equally oppressed majority, their non-Jewish neighbors, and especially from the politically courageous dissident Helsinki monitors led by such international luminaries as Andrei Sakharov, Yuri Orlov, and Anatoly (Nathan) Sharansky. In contrast, UCSJ and the activist Refuseniks, including Sharansky and Leonid Stonov, viewed the activists as full, non-paternalistic partners – with UCSJ as the Western "voice of the Refuseniks."

Antisemitism and Human Rights Monitor

In the late 1990s, with grassroots antisemitism rising dangerously in Russia (Ukraine and Belarus as well), UCSJ established a nationwide antisemitism and xenophobia monitoring network – the only one of its kind. And it forged a full working coalition with the prestigious Moscow Helsinki Group, a human rights coalition still opposed by the Jewish Establishment. Although Russian President Vladimir Putin has made many excellent speeches inveighing against antisemitism and xenophobia in Russia, as well as terrorism, antisemitism remains the principal language of extremist violence and propaganda, from the 50,000 neo-Nazi skinheads, to the exclusionary Russian Orthodox Church, to the nationalistic and fascist political factions. By 2005 these factions constituted one-third of the deputies in the Duma (parliament); strongly antisemitic attitudes garnered upward of 50% approval in public opinion sampling. Putin has tolerated a fully corrupt and dysfunctional rule of law infrastructure incapable of providing protection to citizens let alone economic stability, has systematically outlawed political opposition parties, and has imposed virtual control of the major media.

In sum, with the collapse of the Iron Curtain, half a million Soviet Jews "dropped out" in Vienna and came to America; and more than a million made *aliyah*. In the early 21st century, with the Russian Jewish leadership dependent upon President Putin's good intentions, Russia still remained an authoritarian country that hand picked its presidents. With the pool of future contenders so contaminated, Jews and democracy itself are in jeopardy. With Jews also challenged and targeted in Ukraine and Belarus, advocacy and the monitoring of antisemitism and xenophobia in the FSU remained UCSJ's unique mandate as 2005 drew to a close.

[Micah H. Naftalin (2nd ed.)]

UNION OF ORTHODOX JEWISH CONGREGATIONS OF AMERICA (UOJCA), commonly referred to as the OU, largest organization of Orthodox synagogues in the U.S. Founded in 1898, the UOJCA was originally oriented toward the few English-speaking, rather than Yiddish-speaking, congregations. The call for establishing the organization was sent from the address of the Jewish Theological Seminary, and a few early UOJCA leaders, such as Henry Pereira *Mendes, were also identified with that institution. The UOJCA remained a small group until about 1950, and its status rested more on the reputation of its presidents, men such as Rabbi Herbert S. *Goldstein, than on the activities or the number of its affiliates. Since then it has experienced tremendous growth and in 2005 claimed nearly 1,000 affiliated synagogues.

The UOJCA is best known for its *kashrut* supervision; founded in 1923, today it is a multinational operation that certifies 400,000 industrial and consumer products manufactured in 73 countries. The *kashrut* division employs 300 full-time supervisors and produces its own rabbinic journal about *kashrut* called *Mesorah,* as well as a quarterly called *Behind the Union Symbol*. Under the leadership of Rabbi Menachem Genack, the *kashrut* division also seeks to educate the Jewish community about various aspects of *kashrut*.

Aside from programming geared towards its constituent synagogues, the UOJCA seeks to promote its perspective and values through its Institute for Public affairs in Washington, headed by the UOJCA director for public policy, Nathan J. Diament. The National Council of Synagogue Youth (NCSY), a division of the UOJCA, has a cadre of 850 volunteers and reaches unaffiliated youth who do not attend Jewish day schools. Yachad, the National Council for Jewish Disabilities, also a division of the UOJCA provides mainstream programming for children and adults with developmental disabilities.

In addition to their offices in New York and Los Angeles, which employ over 200 people, the UOJCA also maintains an office in Jerusalem, which aims to bring secular Israelis closer to Orthodox Jewish observance through adult education programs and summer camps across 25 Israeli cities and towns. The UOJCA also services Orthodox college students through their Jewish Learning Initiative on Campus, which deploys rabbinic couples to serve as Torah leaders and mentors on college campuses. Additionally, the UOJCA sponsors the Sha'alavim High School in Kharakov, Ukraine, and produces a quarterly magazine called *Jewish Action*. In 2005 the executive vice president of the UOJCA was Rabbi Dr. Tzvi Hersh Weinreb and its president was Stephen J. Savitsky.

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[Asher Oser (2nd ed.)]

UNION OF ORTHODOX RABBIS OF THE UNITED STATES AND CANADA (**Agudath Harabbonim**), the oldest organization of Orthodox rabbis in the U.S. in 2005 it had 450 members. The Agudath Harabonnim was founded on July 29, 1902, in New York City with a goal of strengthening "the weakened hands of the rabbinate and to remove stumbling blocks from the path of our nation." In 1914 the organization set up the Central Relief Committee, which was later absorbed into the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee, and in 1915 a charity called Ezras Torah, which still operates today. During World War II, Agudath Harabbonim founded the *Vaad ha-Hatzalah, which rescued leading Orthodox Torah scholars. Occasionally the Agudath Harabbonim clashed with the Rabbinical Council of America over a variety of issues, this was exacerbated by the fact that the former represented the older European-trained generation of rabbis and the latter American-trained rabbis, most of whom were ordained by the Rabbi Isaac Elchanan Theological Seminary at Yeshiva University. Originally, membership in the Agudath Harabbonim was limited, almost exclusively, to rabbis ordained in Europe, and it still insists on the more comprehensive *yadin yadin* ordination. The monthly Torah journal *Ha-Pardes* had close ties with the Aggudath Harabbonim and carried a lot of information relevant to it, until it stopped appearing in 2004. The Agudath Harabonnim maintains its own *bet din* (ecclesiastical court) that was headed in 2005 by Rabbi Hersh Ginsberg. Rabbi Yehuda Levin of Brooklyn, New York, although not a member of the Agudath Harabonnim, lobbied on its behalf since 1979.

For many years Rabbi Eliezer *Silver was the president and central figure in the Agudath Harabbonim. The organization has not had a president since the passing of Rabbi Moses Feinstein in 1986. In the early 21st century, it was led by a Va'ad ha-Meẓumẓam that included Rabbi David Feinstein, son of the late Rabbi Moses Feinstein.

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[Asher Oser (2nd ed.)]

UNION OF REFORM JUDAISM (formerly the **Union of American Hebrew Congregations** (UAHC)), association of the more than 900 Reform and Liberal congregations of the U.S. and Canada, representing some 1.5 million Jews, with headquarters in New York. Founded in 1873 as the first nationwide cooperative organization of Jewish congregations – after 32 years of unsuccessful efforts to establish a semblance of unity among U.S. Jewish communities – the UAHC's first goal was to coordinate support for the establishment of a seminary for the training of rabbis. Two years after the first meeting of the UAHC, its leaders announced the founding of the *Hebrew Union College, with Isaac Mayer *Wise, the prime mover in the creation of the UAHC, as its president. Wise had hoped that the UAHC would be an "umbrella" organization which would include traditional as well as progressive congregations. This hope was doomed to defeat, however, and a number of Conservative rabbis, who at first cooperated in the program of the Hebrew Union College, withdrew and established the *Jewish Theological Seminary in New York City. In 1876 the UAHC succeeded in reconciling the disparate aims of the eastern and Midwestern Reform leaders, and absorbed the *Board of Delegates of American Israelites, which had been founded in 1859 under the impact of the *Mortara case in Italy. The UAHC gradually developed an extensive program of administrative activity, including such fields as religious education (1886), congregational organization (1903), sisterhoods (1913), brotherhoods (1923), youth work (1939), synagogue administration (1941), and social action (1949). For many years its greatest contribution was a broad range of religious school textbooks which were utilized in Orthodox and Conservative as well as Reform congregations. For much of the period prior to World War II the UAHC was the weakest partner in the trio of agencies of the Reform movement; its lay leaders regarded it simply as a service organization, rather than one which would stimulate and lead its congregations and their members. The Reform Movement was the first to establish the tri-partite system of organization – a seminary, a rabbinic body, and a union of congregations.

The direction of the UAHC's activity was changed beginning in 1941, however, with the appointment first of Rabbi Edward *Israel and then of Rabbi Maurice N. *Eisendrath as executive secretary. In 1951 the UAHC moved its offices from its former Midwestern stronghold in Cincinnati to New York City, thereby dramatizing the adoption of an active, dynamic program of leadership within the Reform Movement and in U.S. Jewish life generally and moving out of the shadow of Hebrew Union College. The change of location to the center of U.S. Jewish affairs and the assumption of prerogatives of national leadership were both preceded and followed by conflicts between those who favored emphasis on the local autonomy of the individual congregation and those who supported the concept of national action. Generally, the proponents of national assertiveness won out, and the UAHC took strong stands on such issues as civil rights for blacks and the Vietnam War. And the leader of the Union became not only the titular head of Reform Judaism but its actual leader. In Conservative Judaism by contrast, the chancellor of the Seminary was the titular head of the movement. The leadership of the UAHC attempted in such matters to present a Jewish view that would match that of newly vocal forces within the Catholic and Protestant churches. From an ideological and theological point of view, however, this trend was part of the search by the entire U.S. Jewish community, during the post-World War II period, for a definition of Jewish distinctiveness and identity.

The governance of the Union is different than its counterparts. The Union's policy-making body is the General Assembly, which meets every other year at the Biennial, in accordance with the Union of Reform Judaism's Constitution and Bylaws. The General Assembly is composed of delegates who are members of and selected by Union congregations in proportion to the size of their synagogue.

The Union's Board of Trustees meets twice each year and is responsible to the General Assembly. Its more than 242 board members come from all parts of the United States and Canada. Fifty percent of the board is elected directly by the Union's regions, while the remaining membership is made up of at-large members elected by the General Assembly and ex officio members.

The 90-member Union for Reform Judaism's Executive Committee also meets twice each year.

The UAHC has had two strong and dynamic leaders since 1973, Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler, who became president of the UAHC in 1973, and his successor Rabbi Eric Yoffie, who assumed office in 1976. Schindler gained renown for his assertive support of the social action agenda of the Reform Movement of the 1970s and 1980s, including civil rights, world peace, nuclear disarmament, a "Marshall Plan" for the poor, feminism, and gay rights, as well as his opposition to the death penalty. He was the head of the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organization and as such the titular leader of American Jewry when Menachem Begin became prime minister of Israel, and although they disagreed, strongly and directly with each other, they got along famously and Schindler paved the way for Begin's acceptance by American Jewry shocked by the transition from Labor leadership. He strengthened the ties of the Reform Movement to Israel and also got along quite well with the leaders of Orthodox Jewry, including Moshe Sherer of the Agudah, who also were his intense ideological opponents. Within the Reform Movement, Schindler is associated with a period of growth, which overtook Conservative Judaism as the largest denomination of American Jews. During his presidency, the UAHC grew from 400 congregations in 1973 to about 875 in 1995. He was an advocate of outreach to intermarried couples and of patrilineal descent. His efforts at outreach broke the taboo against dealing with the subject of intermarriage except to condemn it. He called upon the Reform Movement to reach out to the non-Jewish spouses in interfaith marriages and also to unchurched Americans. His second initiative was even more controversial. During his tenure the Reform Movement adopted the patrilineal descent resolution, which stated that the child of one Jewish partner is "under the presumption of Jewish descent." Traditionally, only the child of a Jewish mother was considered Jewish. As Schindler advocated, the UAHC approved a resolution that said that the child of a Jewish father (and a non-Jewish mother) would be regarded as Jewish, *provided that the child was raised as a Jew.* The Conservative and Orthodox movements and the statutes of the State of Israel did not agree with this position, so that there are now two operative standards for being considered Jewish. During Schindler's presidency, the Reform Movement allowed women to assume a more central role in the synagogue, a direct consequence of the feminist movement that influenced every aspect of American life. He also was associated with the move to welcome gays and lesbians – and their congregations into the movement as well as into the rabbinate. And rare in Jewish life, he was the mentor to his successor and retired gracefully to make way for Eric Yoffie.

Under Yoffie's leadership the name of the organization was changed to better reflect its task. Since 2003 it has been called the Union for Reform Judaism (URJ). He moved the organization from its Fifth Avenue headquarters and used the bully pulpit to change the direction of the Union, including congregational worship, adult and religious school education, and Jewish camping. The Religious Action Center of Reform Judaism in Washington, D.C. – headed by David Saperstein – which has long been a feature of the movement, sought to translate its prophetic mandate into practical political action; lobbying and working with other coalition groups generally on liberal issues and for the state of Israel.

Yoffie himself, and by extension the URJ, has been a strong critic of President George W. Bush on the domestic agenda and an equally strong critic of the war in Iraq. He has been critical of the Israeli government, but supportive of the disengagement from Gaza and the peace process and within the President's Conference, a strong advocate of the peace camp much to the chagrin of right-wing and some Orthodox religious forces. Like the Union – and like Schindler before him – he is a force to be reckoned with.

Yoffie has expanded the Union's work to strengthen Progressive Judaism in Israel, and has been a strong advocate of Jewish religious pluralism in the Jewish state. Reflecting on the work of the URJ, Yoffie has stated: "We are a union of Jews committed to a particular vision of Jewish life: to spirituality, Torah, and social justice – the highest ideals of Reform Judaism."

Yoffie is leading the restructuring and revitalization of the Reform Movement with new approaches to study, worship, and ritual practice. He proposed a plan to reform Reform. "I propose, therefore, that at this biennial assembly we proclaim a new Reform revolution. Like the original Reform revolution, it will be rooted in the conviction that Judaism is a tradition of rebellion, revival, and redefinition; and like the original too, this new initiative will make synagogue worship our Movement's foremost concern." Yoffie urged that this "worship revolution" be built on a partnership among rabbis, cantors, and lay people. He stressed music as a central element of worship, a reintensification of the commitment to study Torah, a return to *mitzvot*. He has moved to strengthen Reform youth programs and to expand its camps and its trips to Israel. During the height of the Intifada, he was roundly criticized for canceling a series of trips to Israel, but with the diminution of tension and the increase in safety, Reform Judaism has redoubled its efforts to get its youth involved.

In the past years, Reform Judaism has at once been more traditional and less so; more willing to return to the practices that classical Reform left behind such as the *kippah*, the *tallit*, forms of *kashrut*; more engaged in Torah study, but also more confident in its own unique synthesis of a Judaism at home in tradition and at home in the liberal wing of American life.

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[Bertram Wallace Korn]

UNION OF THE RUSSIAN PEOPLE (**"Soyuz russkogo naroda"**), a right wing political movement, fanatically antisemitic, in czarist Russia; founded in November 1905. It demanded the exclusion of Jews from military service and their payment of a special tax instead; annulment of all the privileges enjoyed by the more prosperous Jewish merchants, artisans, and academic intelligentsia; negation of the Jews' right to vote, either actively or passively, for the Duma (the Russian parliament); a prohibition against Jews trading in books, maintaining printing presses, or editing newspapers. In December 1905, Czar Nicholas II consented to take the Union under his auspices. Among its leaders were A. Dubrovin and V.M. Purishkevich, who was a member of all the national Dumas except the First. The official paper was *Russkoye znamya* ("The Russian Flag"). The union was active among the city and rural roughs and the lower middle class, whence it recruited the "Black Hundreds" (*chernosotentsy*), armed gangs who initiated *pogroms against Jews and members of the radical intelligentsia. In 1907 Purishkevich and a group of his followers broke away from the union to create the "Chamber of the Archangel Michael." There was little difference between the two groups in their attitude toward the Jews.

A few members of the union were elected to the Second Duma, and many more entered the Third. The union conducted a virulent propaganda campaign, and published a large number of pamphlets and papers. In many towns, the union's "tea houses" were the headquarters of anti-Jewish propaganda and assaults on Jews. The union organized the murder of two progressive members of the Duma, Professor M.Y. *Herzenstein (of Jewish origin) and G.B. Yollos (a Jew). The union was especially successful in its election propaganda within the *Pale of Settlement, and its members were influential behind the scenes in the highest government circles. They also had an important role in the *Beilis trial. After the Revolution of February 1917, the Provisional Government established a committee to investigate the activities of the union. In many aspects the Union of the Russian People was the precursor of

*Nazism. It bequeathed to Nazism the use of the Protocols of the *Elders of Zion, and probably directly influenced the Nazis via the Baltic Germans, among whom were Scheubner-Richter and Alfred *Rosenberg.

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[*Encyclopaedia Hebraica*]

UNION OF SEPHARDIC CONGREGATIONS, THE. The Union of Sephardic Congregations was established in 1929 by leaders of Sephardi communities in America to promote the religious interests of Sephardi Jews. Its primary aim was to give cohesion and the strength of union to the scattered and comparatively weak congregational units of the Sephardim. It also assisted Sephardi communities outside of the United States.

The main activity of the union was the preparation and publication of Sephardi prayer books with English translations by the union's first president, Dr. David de Sola Pool. These books were distributed to Sephardi communities throughout the world, including South America, Europe, Africa, India, Canada, Rhodesia, and Iraq. The union also assisted American Sephardi communities in finding and bringing to the United States trained Sephardi rabbis, cantors, and scholars, and it provided scholarships for religious training for promising Sephardim in yeshivot in the United States. During the 1930s and 1940s it assisted in the rescue of Sephardi scholars and religious leaders from Europe, was involved with the Sephardi refugees interred at Fort Ontario in Oswego, New York, and collected financial support for the Marranos in Portugal. Additionally, the union supported the adoption of Sephardi Hebrew for use in Israel.

[Mark Angel (2nd ed.)]

UNITED JEWISH COMMUNITIES, organization incorporated in 1999 as a result of merger discussions held between representatives of the *Council of Jewish Federations, (CJF), United Israel Appeal (UIA), and United Jewish Appeal (UJA).

Prior merger discussions began in 1948, both privately and publicly, by various representatives of sometimes two and three organizations. The new organization subsumed the functions formerly performed separately by CJF, UIA, and UJA. The structure established five pillars (the word used to describe various departments or divisions of UJC), one of which was closed a year or so after the United Jewish Communities began. The pillars still functioning are:

1. Financial Resource Development
2. Human Resources and Social Policy
3. Israel and Overseas Needs, now called ONAD
4. The Trust for Jewish Philanthropy Development

Financial Resource Development monitors trends in Jewish and general fundraising, provides consultation, various publications, and fund raising tools to local Jewish Federations in improving their fund raising.

Human Resource and Social Policy is devoted to addressing human and social needs of the Jewish community. Staff training and consultation is provided for local federations regarding planning and allocation of resources, staff development and staff placement. Through this pillar, UJC plays a significant role in Washington regarding government allocations for health and human services under local Jewish auspices.

ONAD assesses the needs of Jewish communities worldwide and aids in the educational process on the local level in enhancing the awareness of Jewish needs. The allocation of local federation funds, dedicated to overseas use is done through this pillar. Representatives work closely with the *Jewish Agency for Israel (JAFI) and the *American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (JDC), who are the major recipients of these funds.

The now closed Philanthropic pillar was originally intended to evaluate the field of Jewish philanthropy by conducting Jewish outreach, provide consulting services to Jewish philanthropists and non-profits, and catalyze new ventures in American Jewish life.

Before being closed it developed two initiatives; one devoted to Jewish women and their career advancement in the Jewish community and the other to developing a coalition for service in the larger Jewish community.

UJC continues to evolve in response to suggestions and evolving needs and interests within the American Jewish community and is a work in progress.

UIA continues with its name as a department within UJC and continues as an agent for friends to JAFI (UJC, 2003).

Historical Context

What follows is a brief historical summary of the major national and international institutions which served the Jewish community from 1914 to 1999 until the formation of UJC. Included are two organizations that were not partners in the merger but are integral elements of the Jewish philanthropic and communal system – American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee and the Jewish Agency for Israel.

AMERICAN JEWISH JOINT DISTRIBUTION COMMITTEE (JDC). In 1914, as the shadow of World War I began to spread over Europe, JDC was established. Its mission is "to serve the needs of Jews throughout the world, particularly where their lives are threatened or made more difficult." JDC's focus is on rescue, relief, and renewal of Jewish communities around the world to rebuild Jewish culture and religion while advancing Jewish continuity. In addition, JDC is committed to assisting Israel in providing social services to her vulnerable communities. JDC estimates that it has assisted millions of Jews in 85 countries through its efforts, starting with the distribution of $50,000 raised in 1914 to help Jews in Palestine and Europe from starving to death through to the respose to the current economic crisis faced by the Jewish community in Argentina.

At its inception, JDC focused on maintaining the vibrancy of worldwide Jewish communities and assisting them with rescue and relocation to Palestine when they were at risk of destruction. That stance changed with the formation of the State of Israel. The majority of JDC's annual budget came from UJA. Additional resources included grants from the United States Government for specific programs such as the resettlement of Jewish emigrants from the Soviet Union, individual private donations, donations from foundations, international organizations, and Jewish communities around the world.

COUNCIL FOR JEWISH FEDERATIONS (CJF). Nearly two decades before the founding of JDC, the first federation was established in Boston. This model was believed to be a more efficient way to raise funds and address the needs in local Jewish communities. Almost 40 years later, a national organization was created to service the more than 200 local federations in the United States. It was originally named "National Council of Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds." In 1932, it became known as CJF. Organizers aimed to develop standards, principles, and programming in social and communal welfare work for federations, welfare funds, and other Jewish communal service organizations in North America. The Council was primarily concerned with organizing resources to best serve the Jewish communities on local and national levels, without concentrating on issues abroad.

UNITED ISRAEL APPEAL (UIA). Created in 1925, to unify fundraising efforts of organizations including Jewish National Fund, Hadassah and Hebrew University, "United Palestine Appeal" was dissolved in 1930. But in 1936, it was revived. In 1939, it became one of the founders of United Jewish Appeal, and was its principal beneficiary. UIA was the main source of tax-deductible contributions from American Jewry to the people of Israel and was the primary source of funding for the Jewish Agency for Israel. By 1952 it became known as United Israel Appeal (UIA). In 1971, the Jewish Agency was reconstituted, and UIA's role in the Agency as representative of the U.S. fundraising community was enhanced to encompass the monitoring as well as the transfer of funds. From its inception, UIA served as the sole fundraising agency for the *Jewish Agency for Palestine (Israel), and provided a link between the American Jewish community and Palestine (Israel). Though UIA had the smallest operating budget of the three organizations involved in the merger, its power and land holdings in Israel surpassed both CJF and UJA's influence on Israel.

The formation of UIA created the need for an agency abroad to allocate funds collected in North America, and the Jewish Agency for Israel (JAFI) was established. UIA distributed these funds raised by UJA/federation campaigns to JAFI for allocation. These funds accounted for three-fourths of JAFI's annual operating budget. Due to the funding UIA provided, its board had influence on JAFI's policies, including representation on JAFI's Board of Governors and Assembly. The composition of UIA's board changed over the years as various American Jewish organizations vied for seats in order to influence JAFI. From 1973, UIA annually secured and monitored grant money from the United States Government for the resettlement of Jewish refugees to Israel.

JEWISH AGENCY FOR ISRAEL (JAFI). In 1929, World Zionist Organization (WZO) created the Jewish Agency for Palestine, which today is known as JAFI. Before the birth of Israel, JAFI was recognized by the League of Nations as the official representative of World Jewry in forming a Jewish National Home in Palestine. It was the de facto government for the territory before the State of Israel was created. After the State of Israel was recognized, JAFI remained in place to finance and organize mass immigrations and to welcome and initiate settlement of those moving to Israel. Its Board of Governors is equally composed of members of WZO and Diaspora Jews. JAFI's mission is dedicated to rescuing Jewish communities at risk, resettling new immigrants' to Israel, encouraging and assisting those who make *aliyah*, building new settlements, bolstering Israel's economic development, providing local and worldwide Jewish Zionist education, promoting Israeli culture, enhancing Jewish unity and identity, supporting health services in Israel, and strengthening Israel as a home for all Jews. JAFI is as concerned about the well being of American Jews as it is about Israelis since so much of its own and Israel's funding comes from the United States. JAFI remains influential in both effecting Israeli politics and maintaining American-Israeli relationships. Before 1999, JAFI was the major recipient of CJF, UIA, and UJA funds raised or transmitted for Israel. Any exceptions were locally selected programs and organizations in Israel to which a number of local federations had begun to provide direct funding.

UNITED JEWISH APPEAL (UJA). UJA was formed in 1939 in order to unite fundraising efforts with the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee and the United Palestine Appeal as principal partners and with the National Refugee Service as a beneficiary for efficient fundraising to help European Jews in response to *Kristallnacht*. It was preceded by United Jewish Appeal campaigns in 1934 and 1935 for the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee and for the Keren Hayesod, and by a similar joint effort in 1930 by the Allied Jewish Campaign. Over the following decades, UJA grew to become the "largest voluntary philanthropy in Jewish history." Part of the impetus for the merger came from CJF, pressuring the organizations to unify their fundraising efforts to reduce the strain on the American Jewish community in deciding which overseas efforts to support.

From the beginning, UJA decided it would implement its campaigns through the local federations. It had a profound impact on how federations raised money. Under the leadership of Rabbi Henry *Montor, American Jews were challenged as never before to give and to increase their contributions in support of the Jewish State. This drive forever changed how federations raised funds. Their combined efforts in overseas and domestic campaigns helped to bring Zionism to the American Jewish community, while at the same time strengthen Jewish communities in America. After World War II, UJA's fundraising assisted in the resettlement of Holocaust survivors – some 370,000 Jews to the United States, Canada, and France – and aided Israel and Jewish communities, worldwide. It grew to provide leadership development, educational programs, twinning of American and Israeli communities, and various missions to Israel (Davis, 1994).

From 1939 through 1966, the United Jewish Appeal distributed $924 million to the United Israel Appeal and to its predecessor United Palestine Appeal, $582 million to the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee, $55 million to the United Service for New Americans and its predecessor the National Refugee Service, $29 million to the New York Association for New Americans, and $4 million to United HIAS Service. Over 200 Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds, including the New York United Jewish Appeal, provided about 95% of United Jewish Appeal income. The remainder was secured directly by United Jewish Appeal in hundreds of small communities where federated appeals did not exist The chairmen of the United Jewish Appeal included Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver, Rabbi Jonah B. Wise, William Rosenwald, Rabbi James G. Heller, Charles J. Rosenbloom, Henry Morgenthau, Jr., Edward M. Warburg, Morris Berinstein, Philip M. Klutznick, Joseph Meyerhoff, Max Fisher, and Edward Ginsberg. The executive vice chairmen of the United Jewish Appeal included Isidor Coons, Henry Montor, Joseph J. Schwartz, and Rabbi Herbert A. Friedman.

The UJA receives its fund through 229 federation and welfare funds and 665 independent and combined campaigns. It supports the UIA; the JDC; United HIAS Service, which helps Jews settling in countries other than Israel; and the New York Association for New Americans (NYANA), which aids Jewish immigrants settling in the Greater New York area.

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[Gerald Bubis (2nd ed.)]

UNITED JEWISH SOCIALIST WORKERS' PARTY (SS and JS; abbr.: Fareynigte, i.e., "United"), short-lived group in revolutionary Russia and interwar Poland. It was formed in June 1917 through the union of the *Zionist Socialist Workers' Party (SS, who were *territorialists), and the *Jewish Socialist Workers' Party (JS, who were *autonomists), which revived after the February revolution. The program of the Fareynigte was based on the "unity of the Jewish working class as an organic part of the 'ex-territorial' Jewish nation and the international proletariat." The former divergences of opinion on the realization of territorialism were declared to be lacking in actual significance, and the central element of the party program became "national personal autonomy."

Several leaders of the two parties did not join the Fareynigte: J.W. *Latzky-Bertholdy, N. *Shtif, I. *Yefroykin, and J. Tschernikhov. They became *Folkists. For a brief period, the party became influential, particularly in the Ukraine, where it played an important role in the experiment of national autonomy. Its spokesmen included M. Rashkes, Moses *Katz, the brothers Joseph and Jacob *Lestschinsky, Y. Churgin, M. Gutman, M. *Litvakov, M. *Schatz-Anin, and *Ben-Adir. In September 1917, the party called on the Provisional Government of Russia to declare the equality of languages and to set up a council for national affairs which would represent all nationalities and cover the financial requirements of Jewish schools and social institutions. At the third All-Russian Conference of the Trade Unions (June), the Fareynigte proposed the establishment of "national sections," but only the eventual formation of national "committees" was decided upon. In the *Ukraine, the party joined the Central *Rada* (national council) and the party leader, M. *Silberfarb, held the position of vice secretary (minister) for Jewish affairs in the government (called General Secretariat) from July 1917 to January 1918. After the manifesto ("third *universal*") of the *Rada*, which proclaimed a free Ukraine federally allied to Russia, Silberfarb drafted the law on "national personal autonomy" for the minorities in the Ukraine – the Jews, the Poles, and the Russians – and simultaneously pursued his activities in organizing a system of Jewish institutions. The Fareynigte abstained from voting on the "fourth *universal*" (January 1918), which proclaimed the complete separation of the Ukraine from Russia, but, in practice, the party complied with it. Silberfarb resigned from the government for general reasons as well as because of the anti-Jewish pogroms in the Ukraine. In the elections to the Jewish community councils in the Ukraine, the Fareynigte obtained 8.2% of the votes, as compared with the *Bund (14.4%) and Po'alei Zion (6.3%). In the elections to the Jewish National Assembly of the Ukraine, they obtained 19,689 out of the 209,128 votes. In 1918 the Fareynigte also supported Belorussian statehood federally allied with Russia. The party, on the whole, opposed the seizure of power by the Bolsheviks, and its delegates left the second All-Russian Congress of the Soviets. One of the leaders of the Fareynigte, D. *Lvovich, was elected to the Constituent Assembly on the list of the Socialist Revolutionaries with which the Fareynigte had allied themselves in their political activity.

In independent Ukraine, the Fareynigte at first enthusiastically supported the government (called Directory, in 1918–19) but its tolerant attitude toward the pogroms changed their stand. At the second conference of the party in the Ukraine, a pro-Soviet program was adopted, although it opposed joining the Communists. The pogroms and the stimulus of the revolution in Germany prompted the majority of the party, headed by the leaders (Novakovsky, Levkovsky, and M. Levitan) to establish the United Jewish Communist Party in March 1919. In May 1919, together with the Ukrainian Kombund, it established the Yidisher Komunistisher Farband. In August the Komfarband was included within the Ukrainian Communist Party which began to form branches of the *Yevsektsiya. At the third conference of the branches of the Yevsektsiya (July 1920), the former Fareynigte led the faction which sought a greater measure of autonomy for these "Jewish sections." The first national conference of the Fareynigte decided to adopt a stance of loyalty to the Soviet regime (July 1919). The second national conference of the Fareynigte (Gomel, April–May 1920) adopted a Communist program and, together with the Communist faction of the Bund, they formed the Kombund (June 1920), which in turn decided to join the Communist Party of Russia (March 1921).

In Poland there was no JS movement, but the SS, at their conference in November 1918, changed their name to "United Jewish Socialist Workers' Party (Fareynigte)." The party was short-lived. Some of its members joined the Bund and others the Communists. In summer 1922, the party, led by J. Kruk (d. 1972), joined the Independent Socialist Party (from 1924, "Independent Socialist Labor Party") as a Jewish section. Its program called for "national personal autonomy" for the Jews. Among its proposed activities, the "section" also included "regulation of the emigration of the Jewish working masses." Kruk represented the party on the executive council of the Socialist International. In 1937 it was dissolved by the government. To a limited extent the Fareynigte subsisted within the territorialist movement Freyland (Freeland League). The organs of the Fareynigte included the weekly, *Der Yidisher Proletaryer* (Kiev, 1917); a daily, *Naye Tsayt* (Kiev, 1917–19); the collections *Der Yidisher Proletaryer*, 1–2 (Warsaw, 1918); and *Unzer Vort* (Warsaw, 1920).

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[Moshe Mishkinsky]

UNITED NATIONS (UN), a worldwide organization of states established in 1945, in the wake of World War II, with a view, primarily, to maintain international peace and security and also bring about cooperation among nations in the economic, social, cultural, and humanitarian spheres.

Most, though not all, countries are members of the UN, which has become the most important international forum for states to exchange views, conduct diplomatic negotiations, and adopt resolutions calling for concerted action by the world community. As a medium of discussion and resolution, the UN has been instrumental in the process leading to the creation of the State of Israel, as well as in the course of Israel's ongoing struggle for survival. It has also been utilized as a forum for debates on a number of issues pertaining to the plight of distressed Jewish communities in the Diaspora, particularly Arab countries and the Soviet Union.

The Partition Resolution (1947)

At the inception of the UN, Palestine was still a *Mandate territory under the administration of the United Kingdom. In Chapter XII of the UN Charter, adopted on June 26, 1945, an international trusteeship system was established applying, inter alia, to territories subject to mandate. The founding conference of the UN, convened in San Francisco in April 1945, had before it a memorandum submitted by the *Jewish Agency for Palestine requesting that the special rights of the Jewish people under the Mandate be secured. It proposed that the Charter include a general stipulation safeguarding rights acquired under existing mandates. Despite Arab objections, a "conservatory clause" was indeed incorporated in Article 80 of the Charter, but it was circumscribed in terms of temporal applicability to the period pending the conclusion of trusteeship agreements. Article 79 made the transformation of a mandate into a trusteeship dependent on the agreement of the mandatory power. With regard to Palestine, the United Kingdom did not choose to follow the procedure envisaged in the Charter. Initially, it insisted on awaiting the report of the Joint Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry appointed to examine the question of Palestine and of European Jewry after the war. On April 2, 1947, when the United Kingdom finally transmitted the Palestine issue to the UN, it went beyond the purview of Chapter XII. Asserting that the Mandate had proved unworkable, the United Kingdom requested that the UN recommend a solution for the settlement of the problem.

A special session of the UN General Assembly, the first of its kind, was summoned in April 1947 and decided, in Resolution 106 (S-l) of May 15, to establish the UN Special Committee on Palestine (UNSCOP), consisting of representatives of 11 states. UNSCOP members visited Palestine, neighboring countries, and camps of *displaced persons in Europe. They heard oral testimonies, received written communications from individuals and organizations, and finally submitted a report to the General Assembly. The UNSCOP report (A/364) unanimously recommended that the Mandate over Palestine be terminated and that Palestine be granted independence as soon as possible, after a brief transition period. The majority of the UNSCOP members proposed the political partition (subject to an economic union) of Palestine into a Jewish state, an Arab state, and a separate City of Jerusalem. A minority of the members urged the formation of a Federal State of Palestine. (See *Palestine, Inquiry Commission). The report was discussed by the General Assembly, at its second regular session, in the Ad Hoc Committee on the Palestine Question, which, after a prolonged debate, endorsed, with modifications, the UNSCOP majority plan. Strong Arab opposition was countered by a unique alliance between the United States and the Soviet Union, supported by many smaller countries. On Nov. 29, 1947, a plenary meeting of the General Assembly adopted the Ad Hoc Committee's report (A/516) containing the scheme of the partition of Palestine, by a vote of 33 in favor, 13 against, and 10 abstentions. This is the famous Partition Resolution N. 181 (II).

The Israel War of Independence

The State of Israel, however, was not "created" by the UN partition resolution. The resolution was only an important link in a chain of events that brought the state into being. Under international law, Israel emerged as an independent state from the throes of its War of Independence, when it proved its viability as a legal unit by meeting the four cumulative conditions: nation, territory, government, and independence. The partition resolution was hardly a matter of record when the Arab leadership in Palestine resolved to oppose it by force. Confronted with a challenge to its moral authority, the UN convened a second special session of the General Assembly early in 1948. Some delegates felt that the partition plan could no longer be implemented and that a new approach to the Palestine problem should be sought. The United States put forward a proposal (A/C. 1/277) for the establishment of a "temporary" trusteeship for Palestine, thereby discarding, in effect, the partition scheme. Initially, the new idea gained ground – against Jewish protests – and a special subcommittee (No. 9) was designated to formulate the necessary details. Still, when the establishment of the State of Israel was proclaimed in Tel Aviv on May 14, 1948, the United States granted it immediate de facto recognition, and the trusteeship project was abandoned.

The partition resolution constituted a Palestine Commission to supervise its implementation under the guidance of the Security Council. The commission indeed submitted several reports to the Security Council, but on May 14, 1948, it was relieved of its responsibilities by the General Assembly in Resolution 186 (S-2). Instead, the General Assembly created the post of a UN mediator on Palestine, to which Count Folke *Bernadotte of Sweden was appointed on May 20.

The Partition Resolution requested the Security Council to take required action for its implementation, including enforcement measures within the scope of Chapter VII of the Charter. It was the consideration of the Palestine Commission's reports, however, that generated the constantly increasing involvement of the Security Council with the Palestine question. At the outset, the council proceeded cautiously and on March 5, 1948, merely made a general appeal to all concerned to prevent or reduce disorders in Palestine (S/691). By April 17, however, it had already adopted a detailed truce resolution (S/723), and on April 23 it established a Truce Commission for Palestine (S/727). Following the armed attack by a number of Arab states against Israel on May 15, the Security Council resumed debate. A call for a cease-fire, within 36 hours, was issued only on May 22 (S/773). After the 36 hours had passed and the Arab governments still refused to stop fighting, the council continued the discussion for several more days. It was not until May 29 that it finally adopted a strong resolution (S/801) calling for a four-week cease-fire by June 1, instructing the mediator on Palestine and the Truce Commission to supervise its observance, and, for the first time, referring to Chapter VII of the Charter, implicitly threatening sanctions.

The June 1 deadline was also ignored by the Arab states, which insisted that Jewish immigration to Israel halt during the course of the cease-fire. After lengthy negotiations through the mediator, however, cessation of hostilities, commonly known as the "first truce," was accepted as of June 11. When the four-week duration of the truce drew to a close, on July 7, the Security Council addressed an appeal to the parties to accept its prolongation (S/867). As in previous cases, Israel agreed but the Arabs did not, and hostilities were renewed. On July 15 the council passed its most vigorous resolution on the war (S/902), wherein it took into account Arab rejection of appeals for the continuation of the truce; determined that the situation constituted a threat to the peace within the meaning of Chapter VII; declared that failure to comply with the resolution would demonstrate the existence of a breach of the peace entailing action under that chapter and ordered a cease-fire "until a peaceful adjustment of the future situation of Palestine is reached." The renewed cease-fire, commonly known as the "second truce," took effect on July 18.

The second truce was frequently violated, and the poignant phrasing of the resolution of July 16 had only an initial impact on the antagonists. On August 19, the Security Council passed another resolution (S/983), which is of particular interest as a precursor of things to come. It was stated that each party "is responsible for the actions of both regular and irregular forces operating under its authority or in territory under its control" and that violations of the truce on the ground of "reprisals or retaliation" were impermissible. The observance of the cease-fire was supervised by the mediator, who simultaneously attempted to propose a solution of his own to the Palestine question. On September 16 Bernadotte presented a progress report (A/648), in which he recommended a number of crucial changes in the partition plan, e.g., that the Israel Negev "should be defined as Arab territory." The following day Bernadotte was assassinated by unknown terrorists in the Israel sector of Jerusalem. (Israel paid reparations to the UN, according to a ruling of the International Court of Justice in 1949 that the UN had the "capacity to maintain its rights by bringing international claims.") Ralph Bunche, a member of the UN Secretariat, was appointed acting mediator.

In October, when heavy fighting again broke out between Israel and Egypt, the Security Council adopted a resolution (S/1044; October 19) calling for restoration of the cease-fire and suggesting withdrawal of forces, as well as negotiations between the parties either directly or through the UN. The unheeded call was reiterated by the council on November 4 (S/1070), November 16 (S/1080), and December 29 (S/1169). Negotiations between Israel and Egypt, under the chairmanship of the acting mediator, opened at Rhodes in January 1949. An *Armistice Agreement was signed on February 24, followed by a series of similar agreements between Israel and Lebanon (signed March 22), Jordan (signed April 3), and Syria (signed July 20). All the Armistice Agreements were concluded without prejudice to territorial rights, and it was specifically stated that the armistice demarcation lines were not to be construed as political boundaries. The agreements established certain demilitarized zones and set up Mixed Armistice Commissions (MACs) to supervise the implementation of the truce. The chairman of each MAC was the chief of staff of the UN Truce Supervision Organization (UNTSO).

In its role in the course of the Israel War of Independence the UN, for the first time, faced a clear-cut case of a concerted armed attack, in flagrant contravention of the Charter, but ultimately failed to discharge its peace-keeping responsibility. The collective security system structured in San Francisco remained practically a dead letter, and it was left to the State of Israel to defend itself as best it could. In the Security Council, protracted discussions replaced action, and as the number of resolutions increased, the specific weight of each decreased. When agreement was finally reached between Israel and the Arab states, it was almost entirely due to Arab defeat on the battlefield and to negotiations between the parties.

Israel Membership

Israel applied for admission to membership in the UN in November 1948 (S/1093). Under Article 4 of the Charter, such admission is effected by a decision of the General Assembly upon the recommendation of the Security Council, but the latter did not initially endorse Israel's application. In February 1949, however, when Israel requested renewed consideration of the matter (S/1267), recommendation was granted by the council (A/818). The General Assembly considered the issue at great length and finally accepted Israel to the fold, in Resolution 273 (III), on May 11, 1949.

Israel soon perceived that as a result of the bloc system permeating every facet of life in the UN, it could scarcely take a major part in the institution's affairs. Being beyond the pale of all blocs, in its decades of membership Israel failed to get elected even once to any of the UN councils: the Security Council, the Trusteeship Council, or the Economic and Social Council. The most important elective office that Israel ever held in the UN framework was the vice presidency of the General Assembly during the eighth session in 1953 (the position was held by Abba *Eban). Resolutions sponsored by Israel were practically doomed to failure, and even cosponsorship was not sought by other states, since Arab opposition would ensue almost automatically. Israel did extend aid to developing countries through the UN and did receive technical assistance from the organization, although regional cooperation with the Arabs proved impossible.

In the beginning, Israel enjoyed at least a relative degree of support on the part of both the United States and the U.S.S.R. In a short while, however, the U.S.S.R., trying to gain a foothold in the Middle East, began to support the Arab cause, putting its veto power in the Security Council and its significant bargaining position in every UN organ at the Arabs' disposal. According to Soviet policy, as of the mid-1950s, the Arabs could do no wrong against Israel and Israel could almost never do right. Not one single pro-Israel resolution was passed by the Security Council subsequent to 1951. Although Israel made impressive efforts to win friends and influence new states and was consequently able to thwart many pro-Arab resolutions aimed at undermining its political independence and stifling its economic development, the atmosphere in the UN became increasingly hostile to her, and, particularly after the *Six-Day War (1967), Israel found itself frequently isolated and even ostracized.

Israel's political insulation in the UN had its psychological impact on many of the organization's officials (especially within UNTSO), some of whom flaunted their partiality to the Arab cause in a variety of ways. As a result, Jewish public opinion, which in 1947 deeply believed the UN to be an objective moral arbiter in international affairs, became disenchanted in the 1950s and defiant by the late 1960s.

Jerusalem

The partition resolution prescribed a special international regime for the city of Jerusalem as a *corpus separatum*, to be administered by the UN through the Trusteeship Council. Thus in December 1947, the Trusteeship Council appointed a working committee on Jerusalem to elaborate a statute for the city. The committee formulated a draft, which the council discussed and modified, but had not completed by the end of April 1948. During the War of Independence, many UN debates revolved around the fate of Jerusalem and the need to protect the holy places. At the second special session of the General Assembly (April and May 1948), a special subcommittee (No. 10) was established to consider the question of Jerusalem. A resolution dealing with the temporary administration of the city was adopted by the subcommittee, but failed to be carried by the General Assembly. Specific clauses relating to the protection of Jerusalem were incorporated in the Security Council's cease-fire resolutions of May 29 (S/801) and July 15 (S/902) 1948. General Assembly Resolution 194 (III) of Dec. 11, 1948, declared that "in view of its association with three world religions," Jerusalem should be placed under an international regime. Israel and Jordan, however, were equally opposed to the *corpus separatum* concept. Since the city was in effect divided between them by the War of Independence, the Armistice Agreement stabilized the situation along the lines of the status quo.

In 1949 the fourth session of the General Assembly adopted Resolution 303 (IV), which restated the case for an international regime in Jerusalem, and in 1950 the Trusteeship Council resumed its work on the statute for the city and approved a new text (A/1286). Nonetheless, Jordan and Israel's united opposition to the internationalization scheme was so strenuous, and the actual state of affairs so removed from the atmosphere prevailing in the UN, that the efforts toward internationalization began to flag. A proposal to initiate further study on the subject by the Trusteeship Council was introduced at the fifth session of the General Assembly, and approved by the Ad Hoc Political Committee (A/1724), but did not obtain the required two-thirds majority in plenary. A Philippine amendment endorsing "the principle of the internationalization of Jerusalem" (A/L. 134) was submitted in plenary at the seventh session of the General Assembly in 1952, but once more fell short of the necessary majority. During the next 15 years, the issue of Jerusalem remained dormant in the General Assembly.

In the Security Council questions pertaining to violations of the Armistice Agreement in Jerusalem engendered several debates over the years. As early as 1950 Israel complained about Jordan's noncompliance with Article VIII of the agreement, which had accorded to Israel rights of access to holy places, normal functioning of the institutions on Mount Scopus (the Hebrew University and the Hadassah Hospital), and free movement of traffic on vital roads. The Security Council, however, adopted only a noncommittal resolution (S/1899), and the article was never implemented by Jordan. Israel renewed the complaint in 1957 (S/3883), but to no avail. The UN did help in supervising the observance of a special agreement for the demilitarization of Mount Scopus, concluded between Israel and Jordan on July 7, 1948. The agreement provided for supplies to be brought to Mount Scopus by special convoys, and occasionally Jordan suspended the line of communication. Late in 1957 Secretary-General Dag Hammerskjöld paid a special visit to the Middle East and in 1958 appointed a number of personal representatives to conduct negotiations between the parties with a view to the full implementation of the 1948 agreement.

In 1957 Jordan brought the issue of Israeli activities in the zone between the demarcation lines in Jerusalem before the Security Council, which called for their suspension (S/3942). In 1961 Jordan complained that Israel planned to hold a military parade in Jerusalem on Independence Day despite the prohibition against heavy armaments in the city under the Armistice Agreement. Israel pointed out that the equipment was brought into Jerusalem for ceremonial purposes only and that military parades had been conducted in the city earlier by both sides. The Security Council refused to accept Israel's explanation and urged it to comply with a MAC decision upholding Jordan's position (S/4788). The question of an Independence Day military parade was again raised in the Security Council in April 1968 (after the reunification of the city). In Resolution 250 (1968) the council called upon Israel to refrain from proceeding with the parade. When Israel ignored the call, and held the event, the Security Council adopted another resolution (No. 251; 1968) deeply deploring that action.

The reunification of Jerusalem after the Six-Day War revived UN interest in establishing an international regime in the city. The idea was espoused in a Latin American draft resolution submitted in June 1967 to the fifth emergency special session of the General Assembly (A/L. 523), but it was not adopted, having failed to gain the necessary two-thirds majority. On July 4, the General Assembly nevertheless, approved a Muslim-sponsored resolution, No. 2253 (ES-V), calling upon Israel to rescind and desist from any measures to alter the status of Jerusalem and considering such steps invalid. Israel did not participate in the vote and ignored the call. On July 14, the General Assembly voted in favor of a second resolution, No. 2254 (ES-V), deploring Israel's noncompliance and reiterating the demand. In May 1968 the Security Council adopted a resolution of its own (No. 252; 1968) in the same vein and in July 1969 it approved resolution 267 (1969), which censured "in the strongest terms" the measures taken by Israel. In September of that year, after the arson committed at the Al Aqṣā Mosque, the Security Council adopted resolution 271 (1969), condemning Israel for its failure to carry out any of the previous pronouncements. In the midst of the spate of resolutions, the secretary-general sent Ernesto A. Thalman of Switzerland to Jerusalem in August 1967 as his personal representative. Thalman's report (S/8146) tried to reflect impartially the conflicting viewpoints about a complicated matter, but it was swept aside by the descent of one-sided attacks against Israel. Israel's stand was that Christianity and Islam, like Judaism, have legitimate claims to their holy places in Jerusalem, and the concern of the UN, representing the world community, with the fate of the city is understandable. Yet the UN kept silent for 15 years, when Jordan totally disregarded the rights guaranteed Israel by the Armistice Agreements, and the general desecration of Jewish holy places by Jordan's army and population occurred. It can, therefore, hardly expect Israel automatically to submit to its sudden concern for law and order in Jerusalem when the city became reunited under Israel jurisdiction, particularly in view of the fact that since the reunification, Muslim and Christian religious rights have been scrupulously observed, and Israel has often voiced its readiness to guarantee these rights by special legal arrangements.

The Arab Refugees

The problem of the Arab refugees (see State of *Israel, Arab Refugees) was spawned by the War of Independence and augmented by a myopic and self-deluding approach to the subject by Arab governments. The General Assembly, in the pace-setting paragraph 11 of Resolution 194 (III), dated December 11, 1948, proclaimed that "the refugees wishing to return to their homes and live at peace with their neighbors should be permitted to do so at the earliest practicable date, and that compensation should be paid for the property of those choosing not to return." The Palestine Conciliation Commission (PCC), established by the same resolution, was instructed to facilitate repatriation, resettlement, rehabilitation, and compensation.

Israel, having admitted back tens of thousands of Arab refugees on the basis of a reunion of families project and having agreed in principle to the admission of others (sometimes the figure of 100,000 was used), always emphasized that, on the whole, the solution to the problem lay in resettlement rather than repatriation. Israel pointed out that the Arab refugees, far from willing "to live at peace with their [Jewish] neighbors," have been subjected to a continuous propaganda campaign, beginning in primary schools, based on hatred for Israel, and have always been regarded by the Arab states as a means to bring about the disintegration of Israel from within. In addition, it raised the issue of Jewish refugees, from Palestine as well as from Arab countries, which also emanated from the War of Independence. Israel always expressed its readiness to contribute to the payment of compensation for Arab property abandoned in Israel, though it has also drawn attention to the seizure of Jewish property in Iraq and elsewhere in the Arab world and indicated that a balancing off is in order. As a gesture of good will, it agreed to release frozen accounts of Arab refugees. At times Israel insisted on dealing with the problem of the Arab refugees only as part and parcel of a comprehensive settlement with the Arab states, but on other occasions it agreed that solution was not contingent on an overall reconciliation. The Arab states, on the other hand, consistently repeated that repatriation of the refugees, as distinct from resettlement, is their only goal, and, as of 1948, they turned this essentially humanitarian issue into their main political weapon against Israel. Since then not a single year passed without an acrimonious debate on the subject in the UN.

In the beginning, hectic negotiations relating to the Arab refugees were held between Israel and the Arab states under the auspices of the PCC. In 1949 the latter set in motion an Economic Survey Mission for the Middle East, headed by Gordon R. Clapp of the United States, which suggested that the immediate constructive step was to give the refugees an opportunity to work in their new locations (A/AC. 25/6). The Arabs rejected the idea, and for a long time the PCC was inactive. Then, at its 15th session in 1961, the General Assembly requested the PCC (in resolution 1604 (XV)) to renew efforts to secure the implementation of paragraph 11 of resolution 194 (III). Accordingly, the PCC appointed Joseph E. Johnson of the U.S. its special representative and sent him to the Middle East. The mission, however, did not bear fruit, and Johnson resigned in 1963. For many years the PCC, through its Technical Office, conducted a program of identification and assessment of individual parcels of immovable refugee property left in Israel. It was hoped that, once concluded, the project could serve as a basis for the initiation of a compensation scheme; however, inasmuch as the Arabs were interested in repatriation only, the endeavor faded out.

In resolution 212 (III) of 1948 the third session of the General Assembly decided to appoint a director of UN relief for Palestine refugees. In 1949 the assembly's fourth session established the UN Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East (UNRWA) in Resolution 302 (IV). The term "Palestine refugees," used in the definition of UNRWA's mandate, covered not only Arabs but also Jews displaced as a result of the War of Independence, and originally UNRWA dealt also with thousands of cases of Palestine Jewish refugees. These, however, were quickly absorbed in the economic life of Israel and needed no further assistance from the UN. The problem of the Palestine Arab refugees, on the other hand, kept inflating, with children and grandchildren of 1948 refugees, born and reared outside Israel, automatically joining the lists.

The Arab refugee problem did not expand as a result of the Sinai Campaign of 1956, but the Six-Day War of 1967 caused many Arabs – some of them already refugees, others displaced for the first time – to leave the territories coming under Israel control. Israel permitted many thousands of them to return, and some of them, but not all, availed themselves of the opportunity. At its 23rd session (in 1968), the General Assembly adopted resolution 2452 A (XXIII), which called upon Israel to take effective steps for the immediate return of those inhabitants who had fled the occupied areas since the outbreak of hostilities. This call was renewed at the 25th session in 1970 in resolution 2672 (XXV).

Perhaps the greatest impact of the Six-Day War on the Arab refugee problem is reflected in the fact that most of the refugees (in the Gaza Strip and the West Bank) found themselves under Israeli administration for an indefinite period of time. Instead of returning to their old homes in Israel, Israeli control reached their new ones. At long last Israel was given a chance to prove in practice that resettlement, rehabilitation, and compensation were a valid alternative to repatriation. Due to the more urgent requisites of the "war after the war," however, Israel has not of yet found its way to exploit the unique opportunity.

In the 1960s the Arabs endeavored to have the General Assembly pass a resolution safeguarding the property rights of the Arab refugees, as well as appointing a custodian to administer and protect them. Draft resolutions along these lines were submitted to the Special Political Committee but were not pressed to a vote (A/SPC/L.90 at the 17th session in 1962; A/SPC/L.99 at the 18th session in 1963) or were rejected by the committee (A/SPC/L.116 at the 20th session in 1965; A/SPC/L.128 at the 21st session in 1966; A/SPC/L.168 at the 23rd session in 1968). On other occasions the drafts were approved by the committee but not put to a vote in plenary (A/SPC/L.157 at the 22nd session in 1967) or failed to receive the necessary two-thirds majority in the final vote (A/SPC/L.61 at the 15th session in 1961; A/SPC/L.81 at the 16th session in the same year).

All these drafts, designed implicitly to undermine the sovereignty of Israel, proved abortive. At the 24th session of the General Assembly in 1969, however, an explicit resolution (No. 2535 (XXIV)) reaffirming "the inalienable rights of the people of Palestine" and requesting the Security Council to take effective measures against Israel, was accepted. At the

25th session, in 1970, two resolutions (2672 (XXV) and 2628 (XXV)) were adopted, declaring that respect for the rights of the people of Palestine was indispensable for the establishment of a just and lasting peace in the Middle East. Still another resolution carried in the same session (2649 (XXV)) condemned unnamed governments for denying the rights of self-determination of peoples, including, *expressis verbis*, the people of Palestine. Resolution 2535 (XXIV) thus created a new trend, which probably reflects Israel's greatest defeat at the UN in more than two decades. The problem of the Arab refugees was transformed into the problem of the so-called people of (the no longer existent) Palestine. Resolution 2535 (XXIV) and its sequels are the antithesis of Resolution 181 (II).

Direct Negotiations

Israel always insisted on direct negotiations with the Arab governments as the only way of arriving at a peaceful settlement of the conflict. The Armistice Agreements were in effect an outcome of such negotiations, albeit under UN auspices. In 1950 Israel submitted to the Ad Hoc Political Committee of the General Assembly, at its fifth session, a draft resolution (A/AC.38/L.60) urging direct negotiations upon the parties concerned. The draft was withdrawn prior to a vote, but the resolution finally adopted (No. 394 (V)) did call upon the parties to seek agreement by negotiations conducted either through the PCC "or directly." At the seventh session of the General Assembly, in 1952, the Ad Hoc Political Committee endorsed a resolution (A/AC.61/L.23/Rev.4) urging the parties "to enter at an early date, without prejudice to their respective rights and claims, into direct negotiations," but the required two-thirds majority was not obtained in plenary. At the 16th session of the General Assembly, in 1961, Israel canvassed sponsors for a draft resolution appealing for direct negotiations and managed to get 16 states, most of them from Africa and Latin America, to submit the resolution to the Special Political Committee (A/SPC/L.80). Although the resolution failed in the vote, the initiative was renewed with 21 sponsors at the 17th session, in 1962 (A/SPC/L.89), 19 sponsors at the 18th session, in 1963 (A/SPC/L.100), and the sole sponsorship of Israel at the 20th session, in 1965 (A/SPC/L.115), but another confrontation on the floor of the committee was avoided. Following the Six-Day War, Israel revived the demand for direct negotiations, but in 1967, when the secretary-general appointed (in keeping with the instructions of Security Council Resolution 242 (1967)) Gunnar V. Jarring of Sweden as his special representative to the Middle East, Israel was willing to cooperate. Jarring traveled extensively on several missions to the capitals of Israel and her neighbors, and submitted a number of reports, but at first he could not bring the Arabs to accept anything remotely like negotiations on a peace settlement with Israel, while Israel, in spite of its adherence to the principle of direct negotiations was ready to agree to an initial stage of indirect talks under Jarring's auspices. However, in March 1971, after Nasser's death and the secession of the right-wing Gaḥal from the Israeli government, a certain change seemed to occur in the attitude of both Cairo and Jerusalem. To a questionnaire of Jarring Cairo in principle agreed to sign a peace settlement with Israel, but demanded complete withdrawal of Israel forces from all territories occupied in the Six-Day War, according to the Arab-Soviet interpretation of the Security Council resolution of Nov. 22, 1967. Israel for its part responded to Jarring's questionnaire by reiterating its readiness to negotiate with Egypt on all outstanding issues "without any preliminary conditions," but refused to answer in the affirmative Jarring's question, whether, in exchange for a signed peace settlement and agreed security arrangements in Sharm el-Sheikh, Israel would evacuate all Egyptian territory and withdraw its forces to the previous international boundary between Egypt and Palestine (which excludes the Gaza strip from Egyptian territory). Israel stressed that the withdrawal should be effected to "secure and recognized" frontiers, not identical with any previous line of demarcation, to be agreed upon between the parties in unconditional negotiations. Egypt regarded this response as a "total rejection" of its "peace offer."

Armistice: The First Phase

The PCC entered upon its task of looking for ways and means of reconciling Israel and the Arab states with a great deal of zeal. Its essay culminated in a conference convoked at Lausanne on May 12, 1949, when a rather ambiguous protocol (A/927) was signed separately by the parties. In 1951, at another conference convened in Paris, the PCC suggested that a declaration of pacific intentions be accepted. Israel agreed in principle, but the Arabs refused, and when further attempts to bring the adversaries together failed, the PCC reached the conclusion that it was unable to discharge its duties (A/1985). Nevertheless, the sixth session of the General Assembly 1952 decided (in Resolution 512 (VI)) to keep the PCC alive. Similar resolutions were passed in later years, but to all intents and purposes the PCC ceased to be a factor in the political picture of the Middle East.

Once the armistice agreements were signed, in 1949, the Security Council relieved the acting mediator of his assignment, and the supervision of the truce was entrusted to UNTSO (1/1376). UNTSO and the MACs, however, could not maintain the armistice, mainly because their senior officers often tried to appear scrupulously "neutral" by "balancing" the number of infringements from the both sides against each other or, in some cases, showed pro-Arab bias and declared Israel's retaliatory self-defense measures as aggressive acts, while ignoring infiltrations of saboteurs and terrorists which provoked them. Thus, many meetings of the Security Council were monopolized by the Middle East question. In 1950 Israel complained to the council about Egypt's interference with passage of goods destined for Israel through the Suez Canal. On Sept. 1, 1951, the Security Council resolved that such practice was illegal and called upon Egypt to terminate the restrictions imposed on Israel-bound shipping (S/2322). This is perhaps the only unequivocally pro-Israel resolution to have emerged from that body. When Egypt refused to conform and even extended its interference beyond the canal to the Gulf of Akaba, Israel renewed its complaint to the Security Council in January 1954. A New Zealand draft resolution (S/3188), noting "with grave concern" Egypt's noncompliance and calling for the implementation of the 1951 resolution, foundered on a Soviet veto in March. In September 1954, when the Israel vessel *Bat Gallim* was seized by Egypt at the entrance to the Suez Canal, Israel again complained to the Security Council, which was still unable to surmount the obstacle of the veto. On Oct. 13, 1956, after Egypt nationalized the Suez Canal Company, the Security Council adopted a resolution (S/3675) stating that any settlement of the Suez question should meet six "requirements," including "free and open transit through the Canal without discrimination, overt or covert." These requirements were accepted by Egypt, but access to the Suez Canal nonetheless continued to be denied to Israel and Israel-bound shipping until the canal's closure during and after the Six-Day War.

In the early 1950s a pattern began to be formed in the Security Council. Backed by the U.S.S.R., the Arabs seized the initiative and started to submit a spate of complaints about violations and alleged violations of the armistice by Israel. Israel also turned to the council occasionally, but was generally rebuffed. Many of the disputes before the Security Council related to the demilitarized zones, which thus became a source of friction, instead of fulfilling their intended role as a buffer. In 1951 fighting erupted between Syria and Israel concomitant to the drainage of the Ḥuleh marshes. The matter was brought before the Security Council, which first issued a directive of cease-fire (S/2130) and then, in effect, called upon Israel to desist from all operations in the demilitarized zone (S/2157). In 1953, when Israel began to construct a Jordan River canal as part of a hydroelectric project, the Security Council quickly called for the temporary suspension of operations in the demilitarized zone (S/3128). The suspension became indefinite as a Western draft resolution (S/3151/Rev.2), containing a compromise formula, encountered a Soviet veto in 1954.

In 1953, after an Israel retaliatory raid on the Arab village of Qibya, as a reprisal for terrorist attacks on Israel territory emanating from there, the Security Council expressed "the strongest censure" of Israel's action (S/3139/Rev. 2). This was the first among many resolutions in which the council tried to curb Israel reprisals without dealing explicitly with the terrorist Arab attacks that had motivated them. Israel reprisals were again condemned by the council in 1955, subsequent to the Gaza raid (S/3378), and in January 1956, following reprisal on terrorist bases east of Lake Kinneret (S/3538). By 1956 it became clear that the armistice structure was crumbling. In March of that year, at the request of the United States, the Security Council took up the general issue of compliance with the Armistice Agreements and its own resolutions. In April it requested the secretary-general to arrange with the parties for the adoption of certain measures designed to reduce the tension (S/3562). Dag Hammarskjöld visited the Middle East and submitted a progress report (S/3594). In June the council called for reestablishment of full compliance with the Armistice Agreements, and requested the secretary-general to continue his good offices (S/3605). Hammarskjöld returned to the region in July and transmitted to the council two more reports (S/3632 and S/3659). Conditions continued to deteriorate, however, and murderous fedayeen raids into Israeli territory increased, mainly from the Gaza Strip and Sinai, which in turn provoked Israeli retaliation. On Oct. 29, 1956, the *Sinai Campaign began, and Israel announced that the Armistice Agreement with Egypt was no longer valid.

The early 1950s thus represented a constant deterioration of the conditions on the Israel-Arab armistice lines and proved the inadequacy of the UN as a peace and law-enforcing agency. Not once did a Security Council resolution refer specifically to the operations of the fedayeen. Hardly any distinction was made between aggressor and victim. In fact, judging by the peculiar attitude of the UN members, who treated measures which Israel regarded as self-defense as more criminal than the aggression which provoked them, it would appear that it was Israel who continuously motivated trouble in the Middle East and endangered world peace.

The Sinai Campaign

The UN, which was slow to react in 1948 to the War of Independence, showed remarkable alacrity when the Sinai Campaign and the Anglo-French Suez War began. This time the two superpowers, the United States and the U.S.S.R., acted initially in full harmony. By Oct. 30, 1956, the Security Council was already in session. The same evening a vote was taken on a U.S.-sponsored draft resolution (S/3710) calling for immediate withdrawal of Israeli troops and urging other states not to assist Israel. The resolution was vetoed by France and the United Kingdom, but an emergency special session of the General Assembly was convened forthwith. On November 1 the General Assembly met and the following day in Resolution 997 (ES-I) it appealed for an immediate cease-fire and prompt withdrawal of forces. Another resolution (No. 998 (ES-I)), restating the case more strongly, was approved on November 4. Still another resolution (1002 ES-I), again urging immediate withdrawal of Israel troops, was taken on November 7.

New ground was broken at the emergency special session with the adoption of Resolution 998 (ES-I), originally introduced by Canada, on November 4. It requested the secretary-general to present a plan for the creation of a UN emergency force, and he quickly responded to the idea. The UN Emergency Force (UNEF) was established on November 5 by Resolution 1000 (ES-I). Its purpose was "to secure and supervise the cessation of hostilities." Resolution 1001 (ES-I), dated November 7, approved guidelines proposed by the secretary-general for the functioning of UNEF. The formation of UNEF was carried out against strong protests from the U.S.S.R., which adhered to the view that only the Security Council, as distinct from the General Assembly, was empowered to take such action. The U.S.S.R., as well as several other countries, refused to participate in covering UNEF's expenses, and in time this refusal precipitated a financial and political crisis for the UN. (The question was eventually brought before the International Court of Justice, which, in 1962, in the matter of *Certain Expenses of the United Nations* (Article 17, paragraph 2 of the Charter), gave an advisory opinion to the effect that these were "expenses of the organization" within the meaning of Article 17 of the Charter.)

The 11th regular session of the General Assembly continued the deliberations begun in the first emergency special session. On November 24, in Resolution 1120 (XI), it noted "with regret" that no withdrawal of Israeli, French, or British troops had been effected and reiterated its call to comply with former resolution on the subject. In Resolution 1121 (XI), adopted the same day, it noted the "basis for the presence and functioning" of UNEF in Egypt, in line with points made by the secretary-general in an *aide-mémoire* (A/3375). The *aide-mémoire*, based on the secretary-general's conversations in Cairo, contained a clear Egyptian undertaking to be guided by Resolution 1000 (ES-I) and enable UNEF to operate until its task had been completed. The first UNEF contingents arrived in the Middle East within a matter of days.

Throughout this period Israel was subjected to intense pressure by the United States and the secretary-general (in person) to commence withdrawal. Dag Hammarskjöld was a strong and active secretary-general who interpreted his authority in a way that permitted him to play a direct and major role in the affairs of the Middle East. Gradual withdrawal of Israeli troops started late in November, but Israel and the secretary-general were in constant disagreement over the schedule of the evacuation of Sinai and the Gaza Strip. On Jan. 19, 1957, pursuant to a report by the secretary-general, the General Assembly in Resolution 1123 (XI), noted "with regret and concern" that withdrawal had not yet been completed, and lent its support to the secretary-general's uncompromising stand. Israel then put forward an *aide-mémoire* (A/3511) indicating that withdrawal from *Sharm el-Sheikh must be accompanied by related measures ensuring free navigation in the Straits of Tiran and the Gulf of Akaba. Furthermore, Israel propounded that certain steps be taken to ascertain that the Gaza Strip would not again be used as a springboard for attack and raised practical questions pertaining to the conditions for the termination of UNEF's functions.

The secretary-general continued to insist on total and immediate withdrawal (A/3512). Debate in the General Assembly resumed, and on February 2, in Resolution 1124 (XI), the assembly deplored Israel's noncompliance with former resolutions and urged the completion of withdrawal without delay. In a complementary resolution (No. 1125 (XI)), adopted on the same day, the General Assembly also called for the scrupulous observance of the Armistice Agreement. Israel then had a new round of exchanges with the secretary-general (A/3527 and A/3563), and on March 1 Israel announced that it was prepared to proceed with full withdrawal on the basis of certain "assumptions," founded in part on statements made by the U.S. government. Withdrawal followed suit. During the Sinai Campaign and immediately thereafter, the UN suddenly reawakened as a peace-keeping organization. Its energetic pursuit of the goal of cease-fire and withdrawal had no precedent in the Middle East conflict. The same UN members, who remained aloof during weeks of bloodshed in 1948 and who totally ignored the activities of the fedayeen in subsequent years became agitated when the pace of Israel's withdrawal from Sinai was not rapid enough, and, under pressure from the UN and the United States, Israel complied.

Armistice: The Second Phase

The presence of UNEF contributed to the relative stability that characterized the southern border of Israel in the decade following the Sinai Campaign, but the attention of the Security Council was frequently drawn in the same period to clashes between Israel and Syria (which, for a while, formed part of the United Arab Republic). Most of the disputes again involved the demilitarized zones.

In 1958 and 1959 the Security Council convened to discuss complaints by Israel against Syrian violations of the armistice (S/4123 and S/4151), but no resolution could be reached because of Soviet intransigence. Conversely, in 1962, when Israel again retaliated against Syria in the Lake Kinneret area, the council adopted a resolution (S/5111) reaffirming the January 1956 condemnation of Israel (S/3538) and determining that the recent reprisal constituted a "flagrant violation" of that decision. In 1963, after terrorist bloodshed at Almagor, a Western draft resolution condemning the "wanton murder" of Israeli citizens (S/5407) was once again vetoed by the U.S.S.R. In 1964, when fighting erupted around Tel Dan, the Security Council rejected an Arab-sponsored draft resolution condemning Israel (S/6085), whereupon the Soviets cast their veto on a Western text which deplored the renewal of military action on both sides (S/6113). In July 1966, following a flare-up of fighting as a result of Syrian support of terrorist activities and attempts to divert the source of the Jordan River, another Arab-sponsored draft resolution condemning Israel (S/7437) was rejected by the Security Council. In October of that year Israel complained about the Syrian-backed terrorist attacks. A Western resolution calling upon Syria to prevent the use of its territory by the terrorists (S/7568) was not even put to a vote. A weaker and broader draft (S/7575) was vetoed by the U.S.S.R. In November 1966, subsequent to the Israeli reprisal action in the village al-Samʿu, in Jordan territory, the Security Council approved resolution No. 228 (1966), which, for the first time, "censured" Israel for its action and emphasized that such retaliation "cannot be tolerated" and may entail "further and more effective steps."

The decade of relative quiet between Israel and Egypt came to an abrupt end in May 1967. On May 16 Egypt demanded the withdrawal of UNEF from observation posts along the border. By May 18 Egypt insisted on the total evacuation of UNEF from Sinai and the Gaza Strip. Secretary-General U Thant immediately conceded that UNEF could remain in Egypt only as long as that country consented to its presence. On the same day he issued instructions to UNEF to withdraw and merely reported his decision to the General Assembly (A/6669), without requesting permission from the General Assembly or the Security Council; without consideration for Israel's views; and without serious study of the legal rights of Egypt unilaterally to terminate the presence of UNEF (in the light of the agreement reached in 1956 in Cairo with Secretary-General Hammarskjöld (A/3375) and endorsed by General Assembly Resolution 1121 (XI)). UNEF was ousted at the moment when its presence was most needed. On May 19, after issuing the withdrawal instructions, the secretary-general submitted a further report to the Security Council (S/7896) and left for consultations in Cairo. On May 23, while U Thant was in Egypt, Canada and Denmark requested an urgent meeting of the Security Council to examine the deteriorating situation. In the ensuing debates, held on May 24, the council proved its complete ineffectiveness as a peace-keeping organ, particularly when the U.S.S.R. and other pro-Arab states regarded the situation as favorable to Arab aggression against Israel. The representatives of the U.S.S.R. and Bulgaria claimed that events in the Middle East were over-dramatized and that there was no reason for an urgent meeting of the council in the first place. Other representatives, from Asia and Africa, also contended that the discussion was untimely. A draft resolution, submitted by Canada and Denmark (S/7905), merely requesting all member states to refrain from steps which might worsen the situation, was not even put to a vote. On May 26 the secretary-general returned from Cairo and issued a new report (S/7906). On May 29 the Security Council reconvened, and ineffective discussions continued, until the canons began thundering in the Middle East.

The Six-Day War and After

The Security Council met in emergency session on June 5, nearly as soon as the news of the outbreak of fighting reached New York. The United States was immediately willing to adopt a resolution calling for the cessation of hostilities, but, inasmuch as it was not yet clear which side had the upper hand in battle, the U.S.S.R. preferred to await developments. Only on June 6, when the Egyptian military debacle became obvious, was the Security Council in a position to adopt resolution 233 (1967), calling for an immediate cease-fire. On June 7 a second resolution, No. 234 (1967), urging the cessation of all military activities (particularly between Israel and Jordan) was approved. On June 9 resolution 235 (1967) demanded that hostilities between Israel and Syria come to an end immediately. On June 11 the Security Council (in resolution 236 (1967)) condemned all violations of the cease-fire. On June 14 (in resolution 237 (1967)) it called upon Israel to ensure the security of the inhabitants of the areas where military operations had taken place and urged the governments concerned to respect the humanitarian principles governing the treatment of prisoners of war and protection of civilians. However, a Soviet-sponsored draft resolution (S/795 Rev.2) condemning Israel as the aggressor and demanding immediate withdrawal was rejected by the Security Council the same day.

Having failed to achieve the denunciation of Israel in the Security Council, the U.S.S.R. took the initiative to convene the fifth emergency special session of the General Assembly. The session opened on June 17, and two days later the chairman of the council of ministers of the U.S.S.R., Aleksei Kosygin, personally presented a draft resolution to the effect that the General Assembly vigorously condemn Israel; demand immediate withdrawal of Israel troops as well as compensation for damages inflicted on Arab countries; and appeal to the Security Council to take effective measures to eliminate all the consequences of Israel's aggression (A/L.519). This proposal was rejected by the General Assembly on July 4. A similar draft submitted by Albania, which also condemned the United States and United Kingdom for their complicity in the aggression (A/L.521), was voted down on the same day. Yugoslavia introduced another text, ultimately sponsored by 17 (mostly African and Asian) states, which generally restricted itself to a call for immediate withdrawal (A/L.522/Rev.3). An alternative Latin American draft resolution, sponsored by 20 states, also made a request for withdrawal, but coupled it with a call for an end to the belligerency, a request that the Security Council look into the question of navigation and Arab refugees, and reference to the issue of Jerusalem (A/L.523/Rev.1). The Yugoslav and the Latin American proposals met the same fate on July 4, having failed to obtain the required two-thirds majority. The only resolution adopted by the General Assembly on that day (No. 2252 (ES-V)), like Security Council Resolution 237 (1967), related to the need for respecting humanitarian principles.

By July 1967 it was already necessary for the Security Council to convene to examine complaints about breaches of the cease-fire along the Suez Canal, but no formal resolution was voted upon. The discussion resumed in October, after the sinking by the Egyptians of the Israel destroyer *Eilat*. On October 25 the council approved Resolution 240 (1967), generally condemning all violations of the cease-fire. On November 22 the reconvened Security Council adopted the famous Resolution 242 (1967), initially proposed by the United Kingdom, which affirmed that the establishment of "a just and lasting peace in the Middle East" was based on both withdrawal of Israeli forces and termination of belligerency, as well as respect for the right of every state in the area "to live in peace within secure and recognized boundaries." The resolution further affirmed the necessity for (1) guaranteeing freedom of navigation; (2) achieving a just settlement of the refugee problem; and (3) guaranteeing the territorial inviolability and political independence of every state in the region. Finally, the resolution requested the secretary-general to designate a special representative to proceed to the Middle East in order to promote a settlement between the parties. This resolution became a milestone in the period following the Six-Day War. Its precise meaning, however, was controversial, and its validity in later years, in view of the disintegration of the cease-fire on which it was based, was often subject to doubt. It also reflected the low-water mark of Arab postwar efforts to bring about the adoption of unequivocally one-sided, anti-Israel resolutions at the UN. From that point on, the tide of resolutions, which practically challenged Israel's right to self-defense and self-preservation, became an almost routine performance, losing much of its political and moral impact. In March 1968, after the Karameh battle (in which Israel attacked the main Arab terrorist base in Jordan), the Security Council adopted Resolution 248 (1968), condemning the military action launched by Israel "in flagrant violation" of the Charter and the cease-fire and declaring that it would have to consider more effective steps to prevent the repetition of such acts. The Security Council was reconvened almost immediately for further debate on new violations of the cease-fire along the Israel-Jordan line, but no formal resolution was taken. The discussion resumed in August, when the council approved Resolution 256 (1968), again condemning Israel and reaffirming the warning that more effective measures might be taken. Once more, the deliberations continued in March and April 1969, and the council accepted Resolution 265 (1969), adding still another condemnation of Israel to the record, while repeating the same warning.

In September 1968 the situation along the Suez Canal was brought up before the Security Council, which insisted, in Resolution 258 (1968), that the cease-fire "must be rigorously respected." In November 1968 the discussion recommenced, but no vote was taken.

In December 1968, after the attacks of Arab terrorists based in Beirut on El Al planes in Europe, the pendulum swung to Lebanon, and the Security Council met to examine Israel's reprisal action against the international airport in Beirut. The Security Council (in Resolution 262 (1968)) condemned Israel, adding "a solemn warning" about further steps that might be taken. The question of Lebanon was also raised in August 1969, when Israel attacked terrorists operating from Lebanese territory and the council (in Resolution 270 (1969)) condemned Israel again. In May 1970 the same problem produced a similar resolution (S/9807), including condemnation of Israel and reiteration of the "solemn warning." It is notable that the (actual) cease-fire within a (technical) cease-fire, agreed upon for a period of three months in August 1970 – and extended for an equal length of time in November of that year – was brought about as a result of a U.S. rather than UN initiative. In November 1970 the General Assembly adopted Resolution 2628 (XXV), recommending the extension of the cease-fire. This resolution, however, was totally unbalanced against Israel in its thrust and formulation. The advent of the second series of talks with the parties, conducted by the secretary-general's special representative, Gunnar Jarring, early in 1971, was again due to U.S. diplomatic efforts.

Antisemitism

At its first session in 1946 the UN General Assembly confirmed the principles of international law introduced by the legislation of the International Arbitrary Tribunal in Nuremberg and later embodied in the *Genocide Convention (resolutions 95 (I), 96 (I)), thus outlawing the worst antisemitic crimes ever committed in the history of mankind. After that the UN for years ignored the issue of antisemitism. In 1959–60 a "swastika epidemic" swept through large parts of the world. Consequently, several members submitted to the UN subcommission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities at its 12th session (in January 1960) a draft resolution condemning manifestations of antisemitism and other religious and racial prejudices (E/CN.4/Sub.2/L.159). There was a consensus in the subcommission that it was necessary to take action against antisemitism, but some members had qualms about the explicit use of that term in the resolution. Finally a decision was taken to condemn antisemitism without resorting to euphemisms, and the subcommission recommended that its parent body, the UN Commission on Human Rights do the same (Resolution 3 (XIII)). The Commission on Human Rights, followed the recommendation, in a somewhat altered form, in Resolution 6 (XVI), adopted at its 16th session (in March 1960). The matter was discussed later in the year in the Third Committee of the General Assembly. The General Assembly in Resolution 1510 (XV) condemned all manifestations of racial, religious, and national hatred, but deleted a specific reference to antisemitism. The item of "manifestations of antisemitism and other forms of racial prejudice and religious intolerance of a similar nature" was placed on the agenda of the subcommission at its 13th session (in 1961). The subcommission studied material on the subject obtained from governments (E/CN.4/Sub.2/208) and nongovernmental organizations (E/CN.4/Sub.2/L.216), and discussed the nature of the manifestations of antisemitism, as well as the causes of the swastika epidemic. It also examined public reaction to the incidents and measures taken by governments. Objections were again raised to the specific reference to antisemitism in the emerging resolution. Finally the term was relegated to the preamble of Resolution 5 (XIII); the operative paragraphs were of general character and dealt with the need to combat racial, religious, and national hatred. At the 17th session of the Commission on Human Rights (in 1961) manifestations of antisemitism were further studied, but Resolution 5 (XVII) almost entirely ignored antisemitism as such. The Economic and Social Council of the UN (ECOSOC) continued the trend in Resolution 826B (XXXII) of that year, calling for the eradication of racial prejudice and religious intolerance wherever they exist. The General Assembly debated the subject at its 17th session, in 1962, when another resolution, No. 1779 (XVII), was adopted along the same lines.

As an outcome of the deliberations on the subject in the Third Committee, in 1962 the General Assembly also resolved to initiate the drafting of a series of declarations and conventions on the elimination of all forms of racial discrimination (Resolution 1780 (XVII)) and religious intolerance (Resolution 1781 (XVIII)). The Declaration on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination (Resolution 1904 (XVIII)) was adopted by the General Assembly at its 18th session, in 1963. In the course of drafting the accompanying convention, at the

20th session of the Commission on Human Rights, a representative of a Jewish nongovernmental organization (see below), the Agudat Israel World Organization, suggested that a specific condemnation of antisemitism be incorporated in the document. The United States embraced the idea and officially proposed that Article 3 of the draft prepared by the subcommission, condemning "racial segregation and apartheid," be amended to include a condemnation of antisemitism as well. Objection to the proposal was voiced on the ground that Article 3 dealt exclusively with segregation and apartheid, and that antisemitism was out of place in this context. The United States therefore withdrew the amendment and offered the addition of a new article instead: "States parties condemn antisemitism and shall take action as appropriate for its speedy eradication in the territories subject to their jurisdiction" (E/CN.4L.701, later revised). The U.S.S.R., for its part, proposed to expand the new article to cover Nazism also (including Neo-Nazism) and genocide (E/CN.4/L.710).

Most members of the Commission on Human Rights endorsed, in principle, the concept of the condemnation of antisemitism, but since the United States and the U.S.S.R. could not reach a mutually accepted formula, it was decided to transmit both versions to the General Assembly. The Third Committee debated the issue only at the 20th session, in 1965. By that time, opposition to the express mention of antisemitism had grown and congealed, particularly among Arab and Soviet bloc delegations. The U.S.S.R. was no longer satisfied merely with the joint listing of antisemitism and Nazism and now insisted on adding Zionism to the same category (A/C.3/L.1231). Many other delegations wanted to avoid a confrontation on the subject, inasmuch as they had reservations even about the direct reference to antisemitism. Therefore, at the suggestion of Greece and Hungary (A/C.3/L.1244), the Third Committee decided, by an overwhelming majority, not to insert in the convention "any reference to specific forms of racial discrimination," i.e., to delete from the text all the "isms" (the condemnation of apartheid in Article 3 was left intact). Thus, the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, adopted by the General Assembly in Resolution 2106 (XX), does not condemn antisemitism in so many words. However, the interpretation that antisemitism is covered by the general injunctions of the convention, is based on good authority (see Schwelb, "The International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination," in: *International and Comparative Law Quarterly*, 15 (1966), 996, 1011–5).

Whereas progress in the UN codification on racial discrimination was very quick, many obstacles have impeded the drafting of the instruments regarding religious intolerance. The declaration was in effect abandoned in the Commission on Human Rights in favor of a convention, and the prospects that the latter will be quickly adopted by the General Assembly do not appear to be good. In the process of drafting, however, at the 22nd session of the Commission on Human Rights in 1966, Israel proposed to add in Article 5 (later enumerated as No. 6) of the text prepared by the subcommission a specific reference to antisemitism (E/EN.4/L. 791). This amendment was subsequently withdrawn in favor of a similar draft submitted by Chile (E/CN.4/L.797). The Chilean formulation was accepted by the Commission on Human Rights, which, once more, was not sufficiently sensitive to the atmosphere prevailing in the General Assembly. In the 22nd session of the General Assembly (in 1967) Libya proposed (in the Third Committee) adding the words "Nazism, Fascism and Zionism" after antisemitism (A/C.3/L.1461). Before discussion of Article 6 as a whole was about to begin, however, the General Assembly adopted Resolution 2295 (XXII), which decided not to mention "any specific examples of religious intolerance" in the convention. Thus specific mention of antisemitism, past or present, has become a taboo in UN resolutions. The closest that the UN ever came to denouncing the Nazi Holocaust was in a 1960 Security Council resolution in the case of Adolf Eichmann (S/4349). In response to an Argentinean complaint against Israel's abduction of Eichmann, the council noted, with Soviet support, "the universal condemnation of the persecution of the Jews under the Nazis" and concern that Eichmann should be brought to appropriate justice for his crimes. However, it nonetheless requested Israel "to make appropriate reparation."

Jewish Communities in Arab Countries and the U.S.S.R. Israel, as the only Jewish member state of the UN, has always felt itself duty-bound to raise the issue of oppressed, sometimes silent, Jewish minorities in Diaspora countries. The same sense of responsibility has been shared by some Jewish nongovernmental organizations in consultative status with the Economic and Social Council. The greatest efforts to appeal to the conscience of the world were made on behalf of Jews in Arab lands and in the U.S.S.R. The plight of Jews in Arab lands, directly affected by the Middle East conflict, was first brought to the attention of the UN early in 1948 by the World Jewish Congress, which initiated the adoption of two rather bland formal resolutions on the subject by the Economic and Social Council (Resolutions 133 (VI) H of March 1948 and 214 (VIII) B of February 1949). The Jewish nongovernmental organizations and the State of Israel later found it impossible to have formal resolutions placed before the United Nations. The campaign was therefore confined to the debating ground.

Israel used the opportunity of the annual General Assembly discussion on the subject of the Arab refugees to air in public the grievances against the Arab governments' maltreatment of Jews. Occasionally more dramatic action was taken, and at the sixth session of the General Assembly (in January 1952), Israel publicly withdrew from meetings of the Ad Hoc Political Committee (47th meeting) and the Third Committee (398th meeting) as a protest against the hangings of Jews in Iraq following useless appeals for UN intercession on their behalf. When other incidents of hanging Jews in Iraq occurred early in 1969, Israel proposed to the Commission on Human Rights (at its 25th session) that it dispatch a special communication to the Baghdad government in an effort to prevent further summary executions. The commission was unresponsive, even though the year before, when Arab houses connected with terrorist actions were blown up in Israel-administered territories, a telegram appealing to Israel "to desist forthwith from indulging in such practices" had been promptly adopted at its 24th session.

The Sinai Campaign compounded the plight of the Jewish community in Egypt, and Israel brought the matter up in detail before the 11th session of the General Assembly. The Six-Day War ignited an anti-Jewish campaign of unprecedented dimensions throughout the Arab world, and Israel strove to mobilize world public opinion on behalf of the persecuted Jews. A special representative of the secretary-general, Nils G. Gussing, was nominated in July 1967, pursuant to Security Council Resolution 237 (1967), relating to respect for humanitarian principles by "the Government concerned," and sought to obtain information with regard, inter alia, to the treatment of Jewish minorities in Egypt and Syria (A/6797). Israel requested that the condition of Jewish communities in the whole area of the conflict, including Iraq and Lebanon, be investigated by a projected second mission, but the Security Council (in Resolution 259 of September 1968) called upon Israel alone to receive a special representative of the secretary-general to examine the situation in the territories under its control. Israel insisted that the assignment of the special representative include the issue of Jews in Arab countries, and when this demand was denied, it refused to cooperate with any new mission. For the same reason, Israel also expressed its unwillingness to cooperate with a Special Committee to Investigate Israel Practices Affecting the Human Rights of the Population of the Occupied Territories, established by General Assembly Resolution 2443 (XXIII) in 1968 (renewed in Resolution 2546 (XXIV) in 1969 and in Resolution 2727 (XXV) in 1970), as well as a special Working Group of Experts set up by Commission on Human Rights Resolution 6 (XXV) in 1969 (and renewed in Resolution 10 (XXVI) in 1970).

The plight of about 3,000,000 Jews in the U.S.S.R. was generally not raised in the UN during the Stalin period. An exception was made in 1953, just before Stalin's death, when Israel castigated in the First Committee of the General Assembly, at its seventh session, "the libel of an alleged world Jewish conspiracy" underlying the notorious *"Doctors' Plot." With the advent of the 1960s, however, the UN gradually became an important arena for exposing the suffering of Soviet Jewry. First Jewish nongovernmental organizations, then Israel, and eventually many other states from all continents raised their voices denouncing the denial of human rights and fundamental freedoms to the Jews of the U.S.S.R. Initially, the accusations leveled at the U.S.S.R. were muted and circumspect, scarcely mentioning that country by name; but in time, a systematic and sustained offensive developed. It covered, under a variety of agenda items, almost every possible session of the subcommission, the Commission on Human Rights, the Economic and Social Council, and the General Assembly. Since 1967 even debates in the Security Council served as a forum for the topic.

The campaign for Soviet Jewry in the UN served to enlist world opinion in exerting moral pressure upon a government defaulting the human rights of an oppressed minority group to persuade it to mend its ways. Most of the critical statements at the UN have hinged on the U.S.S.R.'s violations of fundamental freedoms proclaimed by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and related instruments: communal Jewish activities that were not permitted; synagogues that were closed down; Jewish schools, religious facilities, publishing houses and cultural institutions that were practically nonexistent; reunion of families torn asunder by World War II that was not made possible. After the Six-Day War (1967) the focus shifted from charges of discriminatory practices to protests against the virulent antisemitic propaganda, thinly disguised as attacks against Israel and "world Zionism," which spread over the U.S.S.R. and practically revived the paranoiac concept of The Protocols of the *Elders of Zion. On a number of occasions, special emphasis was placed on the poisonous writings of the Ukrainian antisemite Trofim Kichko. His first book, *Judaism Without Embellishment*, was strongly reprehended by Israel and other delegates at the 20th session of the Commission on Human Rights in 1964. His later book, *Judaism and Zionism*, and, for that matter, the whole phenomenon of "Kichkoism" was rebuked by Israel at the 25th session of the commission in Israel in 1969. As of November 1969 Israel has publicly raised the demand that Soviet Jews be permitted to go and settle in Israel, and circulated in the UN official communications on the subject – the first one containing a letter addressed to the Israel government and various UN bodies by a group of 18 families in Soviet Georgia who expressed the wish to settle in the Jewish homeland (A/7762).

Soviet response to the statements made at the UN on behalf of Jews in the U.S.S.R. was uneven. Soviet representatives tried to muzzle such statements, contending that they were irrelevant to the agenda under discussion. They took strong exception to Israel's circulation of official documents on Soviet Jewry and claimed that the procedure constituted "a gross violation" of the Charter, inasmuch as it intervened in the domestic jurisdiction of the U.S.S.R. (A/7787). The U.S.S.R. accused those who spoke out on behalf of Soviet Jews of slander and distortions, of creating a smokescreen to conceal their own violations of human rights, and even of an attempt to undermine the Soviet system. At times the U.S.S.R. also responded with elaborate statements, replete with statistics and quotes, designed to disprove any discriminatory practices against Soviet Jews. However, the fact that the Soviets, who consistently denied the existence of antisemitism in their country, became the standard-bearers of the fight against the condemnation of antisemitism at the UN, voided their statements of any moral content. Often, the debate on antisemitism at the UN became synonymous with a debate on Soviet policies.

See also *Antisemitism, In the Soviet Bloc; *Russia, The Struggle for Soviet Jewry.

[Yoram Dinstein]

UN Bodies and Specialized Agencies

Israel's participation and activities in the framework of the various UN bodies and specialized agencies has been relatively fruitful and in some cases even outstanding, mainly in view of her role as a source of aid to other developing countries.

ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COUNCIL. At the sessions of the Economic and Social Council, which consists of 27 members elected by the General Assembly, Israelis participated as observers and frequently raised the issue of discrimination against the Jews in the U.S.S.R.

Regional Commissions. Due to Arab refusal to cooperate with Israel in regional bodies, no Regional Commission for the Middle East, similar to those for Europe (ECE), Asia and the Far East (ECAFE), Latin America (ECLA), and Africa (ECA), was established. Israel, however, sent observers to the ECA, ECAFE, and ECLA, some of whose sessions had to be transferred from cities closed to Israel (e.g., Karachi, Algiers, or Kabul) to those open to her (Bangkok or Addis Ababa). In the framework of these commissions, Israel experts took part in development schemes, as, e.g., in the Mekong Delta Development Project in the Far East, regional development in Upper Volta, and various projects in Latin America.

Functional Commissions. Israel was an active member in the functional commissions elected by the Economic and Social Council. As a member of the Commission for Human Rights (from 1957 until 1959 and from 1965 until 1970), Israel, together with other delegations, incessantly raised the issue of Soviet Jewry and was active in drafting the Convention on the Right of Asylum. The problem of Soviet Jewry was also raised by Israeli members, as well as by members from other countries, in the Subcommission on the Prevention of Discrimination and the Protection of Minorities, where Israel's membership lasted from 1966 until 1968. Israel was also a member of the Social Commission; the UN Refugee Fund Executive Committee (UNREF), the Technical Assistance Committee; the Population Commission; the commissions for Social Development, on the Status of Women, on Housing, Building and Planning; the Advisory Committee on the Application of Science and Technology to Development; and the International Law Commission. Israel was a member on the Executive Committee of the UN High Commissioners' Program (1970).

Other Bodies. Israel played an outstanding part in the International Children's Emergency Fund (UNICEF), not only as a member of the Executive Board from 1957 but also as its vice chairman (in 1957–58) and member, and several times as chairman, of its Program Committee. Israel's representative, Zena *Harman, received on UNICEF's behalf the Nobel Prize for Peace in 1965. Israel was active in extending aid through UNICEF by participating in the establishment of the plant for sterilized milk, of centers for mothers, and care for prematurely born children. Israel became a member of the High Commissioners' Advisory Committee on Refugees in 1951, the rapporteur in 1952, and chairman of the session in 1954.

AD HOC COMMITTEES. Israel was also a member of a number of ad hoc committees, appointed by the General Assembly, such as the Ad Hoc Committee on Refugees and Stateless Persons; the Special Committee on the Methods and Procedures of the General Assembly for Dealing with Legal and Drafting Questions; the Committee on International Criminal Jurisdiction; the Special Committee on Review of Administrative Tribunal Judgments; the Peace Observation Committee; the Panel for Inquiry and Conciliation; several committees of the UN Trade and Development Board, e.g., the Committee on Manufactures, the Group on Preferences, etc.

SPECIALIZED AGENCIES. *International Labor Organization (ILO).* ILO's director general from 1948 to 1970 was an American Jew, David *Morse. Israel joined the ILO in 1949 and signed 36 of the 130 conventions drafted by it, including the convention against forced labor. Arab and Soviet representatives failed in their attempt to establish that the *Naḥal (in the Israel army) is a form of forced labor. The Israeli government is represented in the ILO by its Ministry of Labor; Israeli workers by the *Histadrut; and employers by the Manufacturers' Association. The Histadrut delegate was elected in 1954 as workers' deputy member, and the Israeli government delegate was elected in 1960–61 as government group deputy member. ILO assisted Israel, from her early days, in establishing a vocational school network and workers' training courses for developing countries in cooperation with the Histadrut. Israeli experts were sent by the ILO to developing countries (e.g., Cyprus) to assist in trade union organization.

Food and Agricultural Organization (FAO). Israel joined the FAO in 1949 and until 1953 belonged to its Near Eastern Region. In view of the Arabs' refusal to attend regional conferences of FAO with Israel, the latter moved to its European Region in 1954. In 1967–68 Israel was a member of the FAO's Council. FAO assisted Israel in matters of irrigation and the drainage of underground water, e.g., in Naḥal Shikmah. Israel cooperated with the FAO in establishing courses in poultry raising, irrigation, multi-seasonal crops, food production, etc. for developing countries. Israel contributes to the World Food Program of the FAO.

World Health Organization (WHO). Israel joined WHO in 1949 and at first belonged to its Eastern Mediterranean Region, together with Cyprus, the Arab states, Pakistan, Iran, and Ethiopia. Arab refusal to participate together with Israel in regional activities prevented the convocation of its meetings until 1953. In 1954 WHO decided to split the regional organization into two subcommittees, and Israel belonged to subcommittee B, together with Iran, Cyprus and Ethiopia; these, however, gradually seceded from it, and the subcommittee ceased to exist. Despite Arab opposition, Israel continues its participation in the region and in 1961–64 was represented by the director general of its Ministry of Health on WHO's Executive Board. On WHO's initiative, Israel and Arab states cooperated in combating rabies and venereal diseases. WHO assisted Israel in establishing medical courses and nursing courses as well as postgraduate medical courses in various fields for students from developing countries. WHO also assisted Israel in sending experts and equipment to other countries for combating malaria and producing vaccine against tuberculosis.

International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO). Israel joined ICAO in 1949, and on her initiative the organization adopted a resolution in 1970 against plane hijacking.

Universal Postal Union (UPU). Israel joined UPU in 1949, but Arab states refused to maintain mutual postal services with Israel.

International Telecommunication Union (ITO). Israel joined ITO in 1949, but Arab states refused to maintain telegraphic contacts with Israel.

World Meteorological Organization (WMO). Israel joined WMO in 1949, and Israeli experts were sent by WMO to African states. WMO experts and equipment assisted Israel in establishing a meteorological station at Beit Dagon.

Israel also participates in the following specialized agencies of the UN: the Inter-Governmental Maritime Consultative Organization (IMCO), from 1958; the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD), from 1954; the International Monetary Fund (IMF), from 1954; the International Financial Corporation (IFC), from 1965; the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), from 1962. The International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) was joined by Israel in 1957, and Israel's Atomic Energy Commission maintained close contact with it.

UNESCO. A particularly fruitful cooperation developed between the UN Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) and Israel. Léon *Blum played a prominent role in UNESCO's foundation in 1946, and the opening sentence of its constitution ("since wars begin in the minds of men, it is in the minds of men that the defense of peace must be constructed") is attributed to him. Israel joined UNESCO in 1949 and was a member of its Executive Board, represented by Moshe Avidor, from 1962 until 1970. Until 1967 Israel belonged, in most fields of UNESCO activity, to the organization's Asian region. Later UNESCO's regional organization became more specified, and Israel's participation in the Asian region greatly diminished; Israel is now the only developing country that does not belong to any regional sector of UNESCO. UNESCO experts, equipment, and scholarships assisted Israel in many fields of education, science, and cultural activities. UNESCO international conferences on adult education, the social sciences, and science instruction in elementary schools took place in Israel. Israeli professionals and scientists are often invited by UNESCO to participate in expert meetings, panels, and study groups on specific issues, such as hydrology, racialism, sociology, communal integration, adult education, etc. Israel raised the issue of discrimination against Jewish education in the U.S.S.R. at UNESCO's general conferences from 1964. In 1964 the UNESCO conference adopted an Israel-proposed resolution demanding education toward tolerance and against racialism in kindergartens and elementary schools. In 1960 Israel was active in drafting the Convention against Discrimination in Education.

In November 1967, after the Six-Day War, Israel raised the issue of using textbooks containing material of anti-Jewish and anti-Israel hate and incitement in UNWRA-UNESCO schools. In 1968, in accordance with a decision by its Executive Board, the director general of UNESCO appointed a committee of outside experts to examine the textbooks in Jordan, Lebanon, and Egypt, and it confirmed Israel's complaint. After prolonged negotiations, these states undertook to expunge the objectionable passages from the textbooks. Syria refused to abide by UNESCO's Executive Committee's decisions, declaring that "the hatred we instill in our children from birth is a sacred emotion." In 1969–70, under UNESCO auspices, matriculation examinations, according to the Egyptian curriculum, were held in the Israel-administered Gaza Strip. In 1967, in accordance with the Convention on Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict, applied for the first time, UNESCO sent general commissioners to Israel and her neighbors. The Arabs accused Israel of destroying historical sites, but the reports of UNESCO's general commissioners denied this charge. The Arabs also failed in their attempt to have UNESCO denounce Israel for the fire in the Al-Aqṣā mosque in Jerusalem. On the other hand, the Arabs succeeded in having UNESCO adopt a resolution which called on Israel to refrain from archaeological excavations and town planning in East Jerusalem in order to preserve its specific character. Israel did not vote and declared that the status of Jerusalem is not within UNESCO's sphere of responsibility.

UNESCO published books and pamphlets on Jewish topics in several languages, as well as anti-racialist literature, such as *Israel Ancient Mosaics* (prefaced by Meyer Shapiro with an introduction by M. Avi-Yonah, 1960); *Social Life and Social Values of the Jewish People*, in: *Journal of World History*, 11 (1968/69); Leon Roth, *Jewish Thought as a Factor in Civilization* (1961); Claude Levi-Strauss, *Race and History* (1961–4); Cyril Bibby, *Race, Prejudice and Education* (ed. by Z. Adar, Jerusalem, 1962); Arnold M. Rose, *L'Origine des Préjugés* (Jerusalem, 1963); Harry L. Shapiro, *The Jewish People: A Biological History* (1963^2). UNESCO's monthly *Courier* began to appear in Israel in 1968 in a Hebrew edition called *Eshnav la-Olam* ("Window to the World").

NONGOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS (NGO). By 1970 there were some 620 nongovernmental organizations a consultative status on the Economic and Social Council and other UN bodies, as well as on regional bodies outside the UN framework.

NGOs delegate observers to the meeting of the bodies with which they have a consultative status and distribute written material on the topics under discussion. The Jewish NGOs were active in various fields, such as denouncing racialism, discrimination of all kinds, antisemitism, oppression of minorities, as well as demanding freedom of religion, and particularly persisting in defending the rights of the Jewish communities in the Soviet Union and the Arab countries.

In 1968 the Arab and Soviet delegations opened an intensive campaign to oust the Jewish NGOs that have consultative status on the Economic and Social Council, arguing that their "Zionist" character deprives them de facto of their nongovernmental character, since they are closely linked with the State of Israel. Their main target was the Coordinating Board of Jewish Organizations. At its spring session in 1970, the ECOSOC decided not to change the status of the Jewish NGOs.

[Anne Marie Lambert]

For Israel, the collapse of the Soviet Union and the end of the Cold War, as well as significant weakening in the Arab position following the Gulf War and the opening of peace talks after the Madrid Conference, led to a significant change in its standing in the United Nations. This manifested itself in the unprecedented repeal on December 15, 1991, of General Assembly Resolution 3379 passed in 1975 that had equated Zionism with racism. The resolution, which had been passed by a vote of 72 in favor, 35 against and 32 abstentions, was repealed in 1991 by a vote of 111 in favor, 25 against (including almost all the Arab and Muslim states), and 13 abstentions.

Even following the resolution's repeal, critics pointed to an anti-Israel bias at the UN, in the General Assembly and other UN forums, such as UNESCO. Israel's position within the UN was nevertheless considered to have improved since 1991, as it was elected to several UN bodies that were previously closed to it. At the end of 1992 Israel was approached for the first time by the secretary general of the UN, Dr. Butrus-Ghali, about sending professional personnel to participate in UN peacekeeping forces, and agreed.

Resolution 3379 (November 10, 1975), which declared that "Zionism is a form of racism and racial discrimination," had marked the climax of what critics denounced as an ongoing anti-Israel and antisemitic campaign in the United Nations, especially since the 1970s. The U.S. ambassador to the UN, Daniel Patrick Moynihan called it a "terrible lie… an infamous act." Israel's then ambassador to the UN, Chaim Herzog, told the General Assembly: "For us, the Jewish people, this resolution based on hatred, falsehood, and arrogance is devoid of any moral or legal value," and then he tore the text of the resolution in two.

For most Israelis, the UN resolution equating Zionism with racism was an Orwellian inversion of language, deemed common practice at the Soviet-Arab-Third World-dominated General Assembly of the mid-1970s. But unlike other regular generalized attacks on capitalism, democracy, or freedom of the press, here the Israeli delegation felt the target was clear and specific: to delegitimize a member state – Israel – and to legitimize antisemitism. The adverse ramifications for Jews and Israelis went far beyond the narrow confines of the United Nations, as would become explicit in an alarming increase of antisemitic incidents in Western Europe.

Subsequently, critics point out, the attacks on Israel and Zionism, replete with antisemitic nuances, spread to all the UN institutions and special agencies, bearing the nature of a campaign to delegitimize the right of the Jewish people to its own independent state. More than 30 anti-Israel resolutions were adopted on various aspects of the Arab-Israel conflict. Israel was singled out in General Assembly resolutions for policies of "hegemony" and "racism" and was accused of being a "non-peace-loving country" (a characterization, which, according to the UN Charter, could be grounds for expulsion from the organization), "an affront to humanity" and a perpatrator of "war crimes."

The resolutions and papers accepted and distributed within the various organizations of the United Nations were mostly collections of condemnations, abuses, and retouched histories that disregarded and even challenged the right of Israel to exist as a state. At the General Assembly, resolutions called for economic, diplomatic, and military sanctions against Israel which, had they not been vetoed in the Security Council, would have left Israel helpless against military attacks as well as political and economic ones. UN records contain many antisemitic outbursts, delegitimization attacks, obscene accusations, and diatribes against Israel. Critical reviews of the UN General Assembly records, of diplomatic efforts as well as the media coverage involved in passing these resolutions pointed to the annual and special UN conferences as forums for anti-Israel attacks. The UN played a major role in enhancing the prestige and international standing of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) when its leader, Yasser Arafat, addressed the General Assembly in November 1974.

In the early 1980s the anti-Israeli campaign shifted to an effort to have the credentials of the Israeli delegation to the General Assembly disqualified, with the goal of having Israel suspended from the deliberations. As a result of the determined American position, accompanied by U.S. threats that it would withdraw if Israel were to be suspended, no deliberation on the disqualification of Israel's credentials took place. The revelations in 1986–7 on the Nazi past of Dr. Kurt Waldheim, the former Secretary General of the UN, dealt another blow to the prestige of the UN. Waldheim's file in the UN War Crimes Commission was not known to the public when he was elected, serving 10 years in this post.

In the field of UN peacekeeping forces, the Middle East and the Arab-Israeli conflict continued to be an active laboratory for various operations. In addition to the UN Disengagement Observer Force (UNDOF) in the Golan Heights since 1974, the UN Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL) has been stationed in southern Lebanon since 1978. Criticism within the UN General Assembly of the Camp David Accords and the peace agreements between Israel and Egypt as well as the opposition of the Soviet Union in the Security Council prompted the creation of a new framework outside the UN, the Multinational Force, led by the United States, which was stationed in Sinai after Israel's final withdrawal to the international border in April 1982. This Multinational Force replaced the UN forces in Sinai.

There are still about 300 UN personnel in the UN Truce Supervision Organization (UNTSO) that was established in 1948 to supervise the cease-fires and later the armistice agreements between Israel and its neighbors. The UN Relief and Work Agency (UNRWA) has been operating in the Palestinian refugee camps in the territories.

[Avi Beker]

After the short honeymoon in the wake of the Oslo Accords, hostility to Israel again reared its head as the Arab-Israel peace process became stalled and the second Intifada got under way in 2000. The Israeli perception of being labeled the primary aggressor in the Arab-Israel conflict was reinforced by events at the UN World Conference Against Racism, held in Durban, South Africa, in the summer of 2001, which steadfastly refused to concern itself with antisemitism and instead held up the Palestinians as victims of Israeli racism, as well as in the 2004 condemnation of Israel's security fence by the UN's International Court of Justice. In 2002 the UN was quick to call Israel's incursion in Jenin against Palestinian terrorists a "massacre" though it later had to admit that most of the 52 dead were armed combatants. In 2003 the General Assembly passed 18 resolutions critical of Israel, but only four mentioning any other country, with such gross violators of human rights as Syria and China not mentioned at all. International sentiment, as expressed by the United Nations' General Asembly, remained critical of Israel in the Middle East equation, implying that it could not play a meaningful role in the peace process.

On a more positive note, in 2005 the UN General Assembly proclaimed January 27 as International Holocaust Day, marking the first time that a resolution introduced by Israel was adopted by the General Assembly.

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UNITED RESTITUTION ORGANIZATION (URO), legal aid society for claimants outside Germany for restitution and compensation. During World War II the Allies declared they would obtain restitution of the property of Nazi victims which had been confiscated, taken, or sold under duress; and financial compensation for their suffering – loss of liberty, health, profession, and employment, and loss of parents and family. Failing to agree on a uniform law, separate Ordinances on Restitution in each of the occupied zones were enacted, initially by the Americans (1948), and followed two years later by the English and French. A decree governing the Western Sectors of Berlin was promulgated about the same time. When the Western Allies agreed to recognize the sovereignty of the German Federal Republic in 1952, they stipulated that the Bonn government must pass a federal law on compensation at least as favorable to the refugees as any provincial law in force.

The United Restitution Organization was founded in 1948 as a legal aid society, to help claimants of limited means, living outside Germany, to recover both in restitution and compensation what was due to them. Legal offices were set up for this purpose, staffed by expert Jewish and European lawyers in the countries of refuge and in Germany itself and later in Austria. The URO was sponsored by the British Foreign Office as a qualified and responsible public service to undertake the preparation and pleading of claims in return for a modest fee in case of success. The administrative center, established in London, was headed from 1949 until his death in 1964 by Secretary-General Hans Reichmann, a German-Jewish civil servant. The number of clients soon reached 100,000, and rose in the peak period of activity to 250,000. For the first five years the URO was financed by Jewish voluntary bodies concerned with refugees: the *Jewish Agency for Palestine, the *American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee, and the *Central British Fund for relief and rehabilitation.

When the Government of Israel and the *Conference on Jewish Material Claims against Germany (formed in 1952), together demanded reparations, restitution, and compensation, the latter, as the representative of the Jews in the Diaspora, advanced sums from funds which it received from the German government and took over financial responsibility for the URO. A central office was opened in Frankfurt, and Benjamin Ferencz, an American lawyer and former head of the Jewish Restitution Successor Organization, became the first director general, succeeded in 1955 by Kurt May, a German lawyer. In 1958 the URO maintained 29 branch offices in 15 countries including South America and Australia; and had a staff of 1,000, of whom 200 were legal officers. The original estimate of the liability of the German government for compensation claims, i.e., excluding restitution, was DM 7,000,000,000 ($1,750,000,000). After the final legislation in 1966, it rose to DM 45,000,000,000 ($11,250,000,000). Ten percent of the claimants are clients of the URO. By 1967 the URO recovered for its clients over DM 2,000,000,000 ($500,000,000) and with the fees from claims which were successful, it has repaid the sums advanced by the Claims Conference and other philanthropic bodies. Later, the amount recovered for the clients and the fees paid declined considerably.

The total sum recovered includes compensation for Jews who resided in the Eastern Zone or Eastern Sector of Berlin, as the federal German government took over the liability which was rejected by the Soviet authorities and the East German government. It also includes compensation for the confiscation of movable property, furniture, jewelry, securities, and bank accounts of Jews living in countries occupied by the Nazi armies, provided the claimant could prove that the property had been transferred to Germany. Since the Nazi bureaucratic system kept careful record of the Nazi spoliation, the research staff of the URO was able to trace it. The URO is a legal British nonprofit organization limited by guarantee since 1954. The organization did not take up the claims of Jewish and other victims of the Nazi Holocaust living in any part of Germany. It had offices in Frankfurt, Berlin, Munich, Cologne, and Hanover. At the peak of its operations the URO maintained 29 branch offices in 15 countries. Over the years it assisted more than 200,000 claimants.

By the end of 1965 the filing deadlines under the principal restitution and compensation laws expired. The scope of the URO's activities began to gradually diminish. Currently (2006) the URO maintains six offices located in Israel, the United States, Canada, and Germany.

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[Norman Bentwich]

UNITED STATES HOLOCAUST MEMORIAL MUSEUM. The United States Holocaust Memorial Museum adjacent to the National Mall in Washington, D.C., is America's national memorial to the Holocaust, whose mission is to advance and disseminate knowledge about that unprecedented tragedy, preserve the memory of those who suffered, and encourage reflection upon the moral and spiritual questions raised by those events. Most of the museums and monuments on the National Mall in Washington, D.C., celebrate the fruits of democratic freedoms. Standing as a sobering counterpoint, the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum reflects the opposite – the disintegration of civilized values and the perversion of technological achievements. The museum is housed in an award-winning building designed by architect James Ingo *Freed of Pei, Cobb, Freed and Partners. Freed's family fled Nazi Germany when he was a child. The Memorial Museum won the American Institute of Architects' Honor Award in 1994. The museum is a unique public-private partnership, built on public land with funds donated by the American people. The museum remains a joint effort of the United States government and private contributors from across the nation.

Background

The initiative for the creation of the museum began when President Jimmy Carter appointed the President's Commission on the Holocaust on November 1, 1978, to study the idea of an American national memorial to the Holocaust. Chaired by Elie *Wiesel, the commission issued its *Report to the President*, on September 27, 1979, calling for a permanent "living memorial" in Washington, D.C. The commission felt that such a memorial would fulfill the obligation to learn from the past and to teach future generations, in its words, "A memorial unresponsive to the future would also violate the memory of the past." The president accepted the Commission's recommendations and appointed a United States Holocaust Memorial Council.

By a unanimous vote on October 7, 1980, Congress established the United States Holocaust Memorial Council and charged it with raising funds for and building the memorial museum, conducting an annual national Days of Remembrance observance for the victims of the Holocaust, and establishing a Committee on Conscience to serve as an influential voice on issues of contemporary genocide and related crimes against humanity. Elie Wiesel and Mark Talisman were named the first chairman and vice chairman of the Council, respectively.

The Building of the Museum

An official groundbreaking ceremony on the site of the future museum took place on October 16, 1985, just south of Independence Avenue, bordering 14th and 15th Streets, Southwest. On October 8, 1986, the section of 15th Street, Southwest, in front of the site was officially renamed Raoul Wallenberg Place, in honor of the Swedish diplomat responsible for rescuing thousands of Hungarian Jews during the Holocaust.

In February 1987, President Ronald Reagan appointed Harvey M. Meyerhoff as chairman of the Council, succeeding Elie Wiesel, who had resigned the Council chairmanship in December 1986 after being given the Nobel Peace Prize.

President Reagan appointed William J. Lowenberg to serve as Meyerhoff's vice chairman. Albert Abramson chaired the Museum Development committee that oversaw the creation of the museum. Miles Lerman chaired the International Relations Committee and the Campaign to Remember, the fundraising arm of the Museum, and Benjamin Meed chaired the Content and Days of Remembrance Committees.

To spearhead the creation of the museum, in 1989, the council appointed Jeshajahu (Shaike) Weinberg to serve as museum director. Weinberg, whose background was in theater and museums, had pioneered the idea of a storytelling museum when he led the development of Beth Hatefutsoth, the Nahum Goldmann Museum of the Jewish Diaspora, in Tel Aviv, Israel.

The Museum Opening

The United States Holocaust Memorial Museum opened to the public on April 26, 1993, with a dedication ceremony attended by President Clinton, Vice President Gore, and many national and international dignitaries.

The museum opened at a time of dramatically increased attention to the Holocaust in the United States. The Museum of Tolerance had opened some two months before; *Schindler's List* premiered that fall; and in Bosnia ethnic cleansing was taking place in Europe for the first time since 1945. The museum drew large crowds, predominantly non-Jewish, from the day it opened. Almost 20 million visitors saw the museum during its first decade, including about six million schoolchildren. Visitation is 90 percent non-Jewish. The museum has been an important destination for international visitors. Eighty heads of state have visited, as have almost 3,000 foreign officials from more than 130 countries.

Though the Holocaust did not take place on American soil, the museum's core messages are very much intended for American audiences as it reflects on American history and American values.

The museum, of course, has special meaning to Holocaust survivors and to the American Jewish community. Its creators felt free to create this memorial in the heart of America's civic landscape. The choice of Washington and not New York was a decision to take what could have been kept as the parochial memoirs of a bereaved community to the American people as a lesson for humanity, while preserving the Judeocentricity of the event.

Remembrance is at the heart of the museum and it resonates throughout the building. The hexagonal Hall of Remembrance and the Wall of Remembrance, which memorializes the murdered children, are the two specific memorial spaces.

Another memorial component is the Benjamin and Vladka Meed Registry of Jewish Holocaust Survivors, which contains information on more than 190,000 survivors and their family members, including names, cities of birth, places of transit and incarceration, wartime locations, and communities of resettlement. Remembrance is also central to the museum's programming, both onsite and around the country, ranging from the oral testimony in exhibitions to talks by survivors at the Museum and around the country. Perhaps most important, the enduring commitment to remembrance is affirmed annually when the Museum leads the nation in observing the Days of Remembrance with ceremonies in the United States Capitol Rotunda and at the Museum, and in commemorations in cities and states throughout the country. Every president since 1979 has spoken at the Days of Remembrance commemoration as well as many cabinet officials and Supreme Court justices.

Directed by Jeshajahu Weinberg, designed by Ralph Appelbaum, who worked in collaboration first with Martin Smith 1989–91 and later with Raye Farr as director of the Permanent Exhibition, to implement the storyline developed by a team of scholars, curators and museum conceptual developers headed by Holocaust scholar and Museum Project Director Michael *Berenbaum, the Permanent Exhibition presents a chronological account in a self-guided format that is designed for visitors 11 years of age and above. Traversing three floors, it is divided into three sections, "Nazi Assault – 1933 to 1939," "The 'Final Solution' – 1940 to 1945," and "Last Chapter."

The story is told through photographs, film, documents and artifacts – such as a barracks from Birkenau, a railcar of the type used to transport Jews from Warsaw to Treblinka, a milk can hidden by Jews under the Warsaw ghetto, and a Danish boat that transported Jews to freedom. Four themes underlie the permanent exhibition: personalizing the story of the Holocaust, making it accessible to American visitors intellectually and conceptually, including all victims of Nazi tyranny without diluting from the Judeocentricity of the event, and understanding the unique perspective of those who were there. The exhibition personalizes the history, encourages visitors to understand the Holocaust as an event that people did to other people, and encourages identification with the victims and the understanding that the victims were very much like us. Another permanent installation is *Remember the Children: Daniel's Story,* which recounts the history of the Holocaust from the perspective of a young boy growing up in Nazi Germany. This interactive exhibition with recreated environments was designed for younger audiences, eight years and above, accompanied by their families and teachers. Although intended for younger audiences, it is also very moving for adult visitors.

The museum also offers special exhibitions in the Sidney Kimmel and Rena Rowan Exhibition Gallery and the Gonda Education Center, as well as topical displays in the Museum's Wexner Learning Center. Designed as a destination for visitors to explore and discuss Holocaust history and its meaning today, the Wexner Learning Center examines various themes and features an array of digital media, group-discussion areas, artifact displays, and videos of eyewitness testimonies. It has explored such topics as liberation, war crimes trials, and contemporary genocide in Darfur, Sudan.

The National Institute for Holocaust Education

The museum has become a worldwide leader in Holocaust education in the broadest sense. Its stature has enabled it to work nationally, internationally, and with an array of U.S. and regional governmental entities.

The Teacher Fellowship Program provides advanced professional development training to highly experienced secondary level teachers in all 50 states. The Law Enforcement and Society Program serves police and federal law enforcement officers, as well as FBI agents and judges, encouraging participants to explore the implications of Holocaust history for their own professions. The Holocaust, the Military, and the Defense of Freedom Program reaches cadets from the U.S. Naval Academy, officers in training at West Point, foreign liaison officers at the Pentagon, and soldiers, sailors, pilots and marines from military bases, aircraft carriers, and active duty locations nationwide. Finally, the museum's Leadership and Diplomacy Programs reach out to senior civil servants within the Federal Executive Institute and foreign service officers in training with the State Department so they might approach their public service with a sophisticated level of moral discourse rooted in awareness of Holocaust history and a commitment to vigorous response when faced with contemporary threats of genocide.

Rescue the Evidence

The Museum's educational work depends on its collections and ensuring the vitality of Holocaust scholarship. Already housing the most comprehensive collection of Holocaust-related resources in a single location, the museum was fortunate to have negotiated with East European governments at transitional moments, before, during and after the revolutionary regime changes that swept across Eastern Europe in the years just prior to the museum's opening. It is also fortunate to receive donations of artifacts and material from Americans of all walks of life, survivors, rescuers, and liberators as well as their descendants. The museum is continuing its efforts to acquire materials through its Rescue the Evidence Initiative, seeking donations of objects and documents from Holocaust survivors, liberators, eyewitnesses, and their family members, as well as institutions and governments. The museum makes a concerted effort to offer access to highly relevant archival materials, otherwise widely dispersed internationally, via a centralized collection of microfilm copies. Many of these microfilms are also available in Jerusalem at *Yad Vashem and the museum has a policy of sharing microfilmed material to maximize its accessibility to scholars.

The Photographic Reference Collection is one of the museum's most widely used resources, containing copies of images from collections worldwide. It is an indispensable source of information for educators, filmmakers, curators, researchers, journalists, and publishers throughout the world.

In addition, the museum's Library comprehensively collects books, dissertations, music scores, sound recordings, periodicals, audiovisual materials, and other electronic media on the historiography and documentation of the Holocaust and the Third Reich, personal accounts of Holocaust survivors and victims, and materials relating to war crimes and war crimes trials. In order to support background research on the Holocaust and related topics, the Library also collects materials on World War II, genocide studies, antisemitism, and Jewish genealogical and cultural history as affected by the Holocaust.

Center for Advanced Holocaust Studies

From its inception the Museum was conceived of as an educational and scholarly institution, a center for both research and teacher training. Within months of its opening the Research Institute was opened with a scholarly conference. In 1998 the Center for Advanced Holocaust Studies was established to foster the continued growth and vitality of the academic study of the Holocaust. The center has taken the lead in training and supporting new scholars in the field through rigorous academic programs and is working to ensure that students at colleges and universities are taught at the highest levels of excellence by conducting programs for faculty members who specialize in this field. The center offers conferences, fellowships, awards, and stipends. It also publishes in the field of Holocaust studies, including the *Journal of Holocaust and Genocide Studies*, published in association with Oxford University Press.

As part of its effort to encourage a balanced and comprehensive approach to the field of Holocaust scholarship, the center launched its Jewish Source Study Initiative to encourage research on how Jews – as individuals and communities – responded during the Holocaust. This research program is an effort to balance the established research focus on the perpetrators with a commensurate level of attention to documenting the perspectives of those targeted.

Committee on Conscience

As the museum is a living memorial to the victims, its Committee on Conscience works to raise public awareness and alert the national conscience to contemporary acts or threats of genocide and related crimes against humanity. The committee has addressed areas such as Rwanda, Kosovo, Chechnya, and Sudan (both southern and Darfur regions). Working with the U.S. State Department and other federal entities, the committee recently launched an Academy for Genocide Prevention.

Museum Governance

The museum is overseen by the United States Holocaust Memorial Council, which includes 55 private citizens appointed by the U.S. president, five members of the Senate and five members of the House of Representatives, and three ex-officio members from the Departments of State, Education, and Interior.

Since the museum opened, the council has been led by Chairman Miles Lerman and Vice Chairman Ruth B. Mandel, appointed by President Clinton in 1993; Chairman Rabbi Irving Greenberg, appointed by President Clinton in 2000; Chairman Fred S. Zeidman, appointed by President Bush in 2002; and Vice Chairman Joel M. Geiderman, appointed by President Bush in 2005.

The council has appointed these individuals to serve as directors of the museum: Jeshajahu Weinberg, 1987–94; Walter Reich, 1995–98; Sara J. Bloomfield, from 1999.

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[Dara Goldberg (2nd ed.)]

UNITED STATES LITERATURE.

The Influence of the Bible and Hebrew Culture

The Jewish influence on American literary expression predated the actual arrival of Jews in the United States in 1654, for the Puritan culture of New England was marked from the outset by a deep association with Jewish themes. No Christian community in history identified more with the Israelites of the Bible than did the first generations of settlers of the

Massachusetts Bay Colony, who believed their own lives to be a literal reenactment of the biblical drama of the chosen people: they were the children of Israel; the American continent was the promised land; the kings of England were the pharaohs of Egypt; the Indians were the natives of Canaan or, alternatively, the *Ten Lost Tribes; the pact of Plymouth Rock was God's holy covenant; and the ordinances by which they lived were His divine law. Since they viewed themselves as the persecuted victims of the sinful Christian establishment of the Old World, the Puritans also had a natural sympathy for the Jews of their own time, at least in the abstract. The Puritan leader Cotton Mather repeatedly referred to the Jews in his prayer for their conversion as God's "Beloved People," and the lasting influence of this attitude no doubt accounts in large measure for the striking philo-Semitism that prevailed in American life and letters long after Puritanism as such had ceased to be a vital force.

A striking feature of the Puritan identification with the Old Testament was the high place accorded to the study of Hebrew in New England's intellectual life. Until late in the 18th century, Hebrew was a required subject at Harvard and Yale, and was also taught at Princeton, Dartmouth, Brown, and King's (Columbia) College. Commencement addresses were given in Hebrew and scholars such as Yale President Ezra *Stiles even conversed in the language. The very fact that the Puritans produced next to nothing of a literary nature apart from sermons and theological tracts bears witness in itself to their affinity to Judaic modes of thought, which were on the whole traditionally hostile to secular writing and to literary expression for its own sake.

[Milton Henry Hindus]

The Image of the Jew

It was only in the 19th century that Jews themselves first came upon the American literary scene, as both authors and fictional characters. Curiously enough, during this period it is only in the writings of non-Jews that Jewish characters appear. The works of the early 19th-century Jewish playwrights Mordecai Manuel *Noah, Isaac *Harby, and Jonas B. Phillips are conventional melodramas, conspicuously devoid of Jewish subject matter, despite the active involvement of Noah and Harby in Jewish community life. Perhaps they felt that Jewish life was too insubstantial to provide the working basis for a dramatic theme; or perhaps they wished to vie with their contemporaries on more universal ground. On the other hand, as drama critic of the New York *Evening Post*, Harby attacked the antisemitic stereotype of Shylock in Shakespeare's *Merchant of Venice*. A fourth Jewish dramatist of the period, Samuel Judah, was hostile to his background, and his unperformed biblical play, *The Maid of Midian*, was an attack on Old Testament religion. In contrast to the playwrights, two 19th-century Jewish poets, both women and southerners, wrote verse of a specifically Jewish character. The legendary Adah Isaacs Menken deservedly gained fame more for her romantic personality than for her poetry, but her volume *Infelicia* received considerable attention when it appeared shortly before her death in 1868. Her first poems, largely on Jewish national themes, were published by Isaac M. Wise in his *Israelite.

In contrast to the generally sympathetic treatment of Jews as a collective entity in American journalism and political writing of the age, the few portraits of Jewish characters in fiction and drama tended to draw heavily on the negative stereotypes of Jews that predominated in British literary tradition, on which American authors were greatly dependent until well into the 19th century. Perhaps the first such Jewish character to appear in American literature was in Susanna Haswell Rowson's *Slaves in Algeria* (1794), a drama about piracy along the Barbary Coast in which a central role was played by a rapacious Jewish miser and swindler. A similar character appeared in James Ellison's *The American Captive* (1812). In fiction, George Lippard's Gothic novel *The Quaker City* presents a minor Jewish character named Gabriel von Gelt as a misshapen incarnation of greed.

In the middle of the 19th century, Jewish characters began to make their appearance in serious works of American fiction. Significantly, their entry occurred at the time of the first large increase of the American Jewish population, which was created by the arrival of German Jews in the wake of the European upheavals of 1848. The critic John J. Appel has observed that in Hawthorne's well-known story *Ethan Brand* (1851) "the German-Jewish peddler reflected American awareness of the growing numbers of German-Jewish immigrants who traveled the backwoods with their moveable stocks of goods." These peddlers also appear in the correspondence of Emily Dickinson and may be the source of some odd images in her poems, such as one in which she describes her orchard "sparkling like a Jew!"

In contrast, Longfellow's moving poem "The Jewish Cemetery at Newport," which was written in 1852, delineates Jewish martyrdom and antisemitic persecutions throughout the ages with the profoundest sympathy for the victims. Yet its concluding stanza is hardly calculated to inspire any hope or nurse illusions in the heart of its Jewish readers:

> But ah! What once has been shall be no more!
> The groaning earth in travail and in pain
> Brings forth its races, but does not restore,
> And the dead nations never rise again.

This dispiriting ending prompted a protest by Emma *Lazarus – the author of the sonnet "The New Colossus," which is inscribed on the base of the Statue of Liberty – who pointed out that it was hardly consonant with the facts.

Walt Whitman's voracious curiosity about the inhabitants of the city of New York led him to consider the Jews. Long before the appearance of *Leaves of Grass*, he had published two sizable articles, in a newspaper he was editing at the time, recording his impressions of the customs of the Sabbath service that he had witnessed at the Crosby Street Synagogue. The philo-Semitic temper of the time is nowhere more evident than in the writings of William Cullen Bryant, who was not only a distinguished American poet but also, for almost 50 years, the influential editor of New York's *Evening Post*, a newspaper that enjoyed the greatest prestige in mid-19th-century America. Commenting on a performance by the Shakespearean actor Edwin Booth in the role of Shylock, Bryant took the opportunity to find fault with Shakespeare for his repulsive caricature of the Jew and paid eloquent tribute to –

> That superiority of intellect which has survived all persecutions, and which, soaring above the prejudice of the hour, has filled us with reluctant admiration on finding how many of the great events which work the progress of the age or minister to its improvement or elevate its past may be traced to the wonderful workings of the soul of the Hebrew and the supremacy of that spiritual nature which gave to mankind its noblest religion, its noblest laws, and some of its noblest poetry and music.

The mass immigration to the United States of East European Jews that began in the 1880s and lasted until after World War I totally transformed both the character and the size of the American Jewish community and, concomitantly, the attitudes of American intellectuals toward it. On the whole, the first reactions still echoed the generous sentiments of an earlier age. William Dean Howells wrote with great insight and compassion about the Jewish immigrants on New York's Lower East Side in his *Impressions and Experiences* (1896), and in the same year he wrote an article hailing the advent of Abraham *Cahan's novel of immigrant life, *Yekl*, for which he himself had helped to find a publisher. Howells' friend Mark Twain expressed himself equally strongly on the subject of Jewish immigration. The Jews' "contributions to the world's list of great names in literature, science, art, music, finance, medicine, and abstruse learning," he wrote in an article in *Harper's* in 1899, "are… out of proportion to the weakness of his numbers … [the Jew] is now what he always was, exhibiting no decadence, no infirmities of age, no weakening of his parts, no slowing of his energies, no dulling of his alert and aggressive mind…"

It is impossible to pinpoint with any precision the exact moment when far-reaching historical changes first began to challenge this hitherto predominant image of the Jew in American literature. If anything, it tended somewhat to predate the time when the tide of popular tolerance toward Jews began to recede in America, which the historian Oscar Handlin has dated to "the portentous period between 1913 and 1920." During this time, as Handlin puts it, "great numbers of Americans became obsessed with fear of the Jew." The new attitudes of the 20th century are already anticipated by Henry James in his novel *The American Scene* (1907), in which he speaks of his impressions on New York's Lower East Side of "a Jewry that had burst all bounds.… The children swarmed above all – here was multiplication with a vengeance.… There is no swarming like that of Israel when once Israel has got a start." In a similar vein, some years later in his novel *The Beautiful and Damned* (1922), F. Scott Fitzgerald described a trip down the length of the island of Manhattan:

> Down in a tall busy street he read a dozen Jewish names on a line of stores; in the door of each stood a dark little man watching the passers from intent eyes – eyes gleaming with suspicion, with pride, with clarity, with cupidity, with comprehension. New York – he could not dissociate it now from the slow, upward creep of this people – the little stores, growing, expanding, consolidating, moving, watched over with hawk's eyes and a bee's attention to detail – they slathered out on all sides. It was impressive – in perspective, it was tremendous.

Even the normally sympathetic Mark Twain commented wryly on the enormous increase of Jewish numbers in America:

> When I read [in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*] that the Jewish population of the United States was 250,000, I wrote the editor and explained to him that I was personally acquainted with more Jews than that in my country, and that his figures were without a doubt a misprint for 25,000,000.

The same impression is communicated humorlessly in the correspondence of Theodore Dreiser, who was inclined to assume the existence of a sinister conspiracy on the part of official agencies to minimize Jewish population statistics in the United States. Dreiser's antisemitism, which was unusual at the time for one who held radical left-wing opinions, surfaced so unmistakably during the Depression following the financial crash of 1929, and especially after the accession of the Nazis to power in Germany, that he was publicly taken to task for it by his Communist comrade Michael *Gold, the author of *Jews Without Money* (1930).

During the first four decades of the 20th century, it became almost fashionable for many American writers of distinction – especially among the expatriates – to express antisemitism. It is sometimes present in the writings of Edith Wharton (who once described Fitzgerald's gangster-villain Wolfsheim in *The Great Gatsby* (1925) as the "perfect Jew"), Henry James, T.S. Eliot, Ezra Pound, Ernest Hemingway, e.e. cummings, and others. It is strong in those of German ancestry like Dreiser, H.L. Mencken, and Thomas Wolfe, and it even touches a writer like Gertrude *Stein, who was herself, as Wyndham Lewis described her, "a brilliant Jewish lady." In 1920, the year which saw the publication of the spurious Protocols of the *Elders of Zion in Henry Ford's *Dearborn Independent*, Mencken wrote: "The case against the Jews is long and damning; it would justify ten thousand times as many pogroms as now go on in the world." Yet such sentiments did not seem incompatible with Mencken's having Jewish friends and even Jewish publishers! Among those who wrote about urban Jewry was Damon Runyon, whose *Guys and Dolls* (1932) and other short story collections teem with amiable Jewish gangsters and Broadway characters.

In the late 1930s, the pendulum began to swing back again, as the emerging barbarism of the Nazis developed an inhibiting effect upon intellectual antisemitism in America. A number of American writers, including Thomas Wolfe, T.S. Eliot, and F. Scott Fitzgerald, whose sentiments concerning the Jews had hitherto been less than friendly, now gave signs of regretting that their own position might be confused with or lend comfort to that of the Hitler regime. After being lionized by the Nazis on his visit to Germany in the mid-1930s, Wolfe returned to the United States to write a report on what he had seen, which promptly resulted in the suppression of all his books in the Third Reich. The outbreak of World War II and its aftermath once again generated a new wave of philo-Semitic sympathies in American intellectual life.

[Milton Henry Hindus / Hillel Halkin]

Works on Palestine and Israel

American writers who visited Palestine in the 19th century found the land both inviting and forbidding. The climactic experience of Herman Melville's trip to Europe and the Near East (1857) appears to have been the 18 days he spent in Ereẓ Israel, mainly in the area of Jerusalem. His *Journal* (published in 1955) contains a vivid metaphor summing up the writer's impression of the desolation there: "In the emptiness of the lifeless antiquity of Jerusalem, the emigrant Jews are like flies that have taken up their abode in a skull." All Judea, in fact, seemed to him an accumulation of stones, rubbish, and the "mere refuse of creation." Yet the experience haunted Melville's imagination, and almost 20 years later he published his two-volume *Clarel*; *A Poem and Pilgrimage in the Holy Land* (1876), which was inspired by this visit to Jerusalem. Ten years after Melville's journey, Mark Twain embarked on the steamship *Quaker City* for a tour of the Mediterranean, which he describes in *The Innocents Abroad* (1869). His impressions of Palestine were similar to those of Melville, but though anxious to debunk the guidebooks, he recognized that "Palestine is no more of this work-day world. It is sacred to poetry and tradition – it is dreamland …" Twain's testimony to the true fascination of the ancient land did more to promote foreign travel among Americans than all the tourist brochures of his day.

One of the earliest novels by a U.S. writer dealing with Ereẓ Israel was Henry Gillman's *Hassan: A Fellah; A Romance of Palestine* (1898). This account of romance and adventure in the Holy Land was in general very hostile toward the Jews, although as U.S. consul in Jerusalem (1886–91) Gillman had succeeded in preventing the Turks from expelling the Jews from the country.

Among the early American-Jewish poets inspired by the Holy Land was Jessie *Sampter. In *The Emek* (1927), she portrayed the first pioneers in the Valley of Jezreel through a series of vivid prose poems; and in the verse collection *Brand Plucked from the Fire* (1937), she expressed her attitude to Judaism and Zionism. Judah Stampfer (1923–), a poet deeply conscious of his Jewish roots, published several poems about Israel, which he knew as both soldier and teacher, in the collection *Jerusalem Has Many Faces* (1950). *Israel* (1925) by Ludwig *Lewisohn, was both a Zionist-oriented study of the Jewish question in the 1920s and an evocative and reflective travel book covering the development of the country. Meyer *Levin wrote two novels on the subject: *Yehuda* (1931), a first-hand description of the life on a kibbutz in the late 1920s; and *My Father's House* (1947), the story of a Polish boy's escape to Palestine during World War II. Michael Blankfort's novel *Behold the Fire* (1965) tells the story of the Palestinian Jews who assisted British intelligence during World War I, and another of his novels, *The Juggler* (1952), is also set in Israel. A defiant Zionist work of the post-World War II era was Ben *Hecht's drama, *A Flag is Born* (1946). Probably the most famous of all the novels about Israel's establishment and the idea of independence is Leon *Uris' *Exodus* (1958). Daniel Spicehandler's *Burnt Offering* (1961) also deals with the war, as does his autobiographical *Let My Right Hand Wither* (1950). Robert *Nathan's novel, *A Star in the Wind* (1962), tells how a young American gradually discovers his identity as a Jew while witnessing the events in Palestine in May 1948. The scene in Jerusalem at the same period is described in Zelda Popkin's (d. 1983) *Quiet Street* (1951). In the 1960s the most popular novel about Israel was James Michener's *The Source* (1963). Weaving his tale around a fictional archaeological site ("Makor"), Michener made his readers realize afresh the historical significance of Ereẓ Israel and its continuing relevance to the present and future.

The Jewish Contribution (to 1970)

Curiously enough, one of the first writers to realize that the growth of a Jewish audience provided the conditions for the evolution of a distinctive American-Jewish literary school was the non-Jew Henry Harland (well known in England during the 1890s as editor of *The Yellow Book*), who, under the pseudonym of Sidney Luska, wrote a number of popular novels during the 1880s on subjects of Jewish concern. One of them, *The Yoke of the Thora* (1887), dealt with the tragic difficulties of intermarriage more than 40 years before Ludwig Lewisohn's eloquent treatment of the same subject in *The Island Within* (1928). Although there were representatives of American Jewry in the field of belles lettres before 1880, the most significant Jewish writing had been in the form of biographical documents (rather than of works that aspired to art), such as those collected by Jacob Marcus in the three volumes of his *Memoirs of American Jews, 1755–1865* (1955–56). Few literary productions by American Jews concerning Jewish life at the turn of the century in the immigrant ghettoes or elsewhere are as interesting and significant as such memoir-type works as Mary *Antin's *The Promised Land* (1912), Ludwig Lewisohn's *Up Stream* (1922) and *Mid-Channel* (1929), Charles *Reznikoff's *Early History of a Sewing-Machine Operator* (1936) and *Family Chronicle* (1963), Anzia *Yezierska's *Red Ribbon on a White Horse* (1950), Morris Raphael Cohen's *Dreamer's Journey* (1949), Jacob *Epstein's autobiography *Let There Be Sculpture* (1940), S.N. *Behrman's *The Worcester Account* (1954), and Myer Levin's *In Search* (1950).

Abraham Cahan was the first American Jewish writer of considerable power to attempt the ascent from memoir and journalism, where he was initially at home (for the better part of his career he led the dual life of English novelist and editor in chief of the Yiddish Jewish Daily *Forward), and he undoubtedly met with exemplary success. In many ways, he succeeded in writing the great American-Jewish novel as well as any of the writers who later followed him and reaped richer awards in popularity and critical acclaim. While Cahan wrote a number of novels, his magnum opus was indisputably *The Rise of David Levinsky* (1917), the value of which has been continually rediscovered by American-Jewish literary critics to their own surprise. Although *David Levinsky* is, among other things, a scathing indictment of the American "success story," the dream of so many millions of immigrants, it is also representative of the first generation of Jewish immigrants to America after 1880 in its refusal to make any sweeping rejection of American life as such. Although nearly all Jewish immigrant writers were critical in one degree or another of the American realities that confronted them, such as poverty (Mary Antin, Anzia Yezierska) or social discrimination (Ludwig Lewisohn), they were nevertheless grateful to America and could never forget the contrast between the freedom and opportunity they found there and the repressiveness and narrowness of the old world. None of them could ever have written, as did native-born Michael Gold in his "proletarian" novel about Jewish immigrant life in New York, *Jews Without Money* (1930), "America has grown so rich and fat because she has eaten the tragedies of millions of immigrants." Such an attitude arose from a depth of alienation, hostility, and resentment that they simply never experienced.

In this respect alone, a book like *David Levinsky* is superior to such second-generation "proletarian" successors of the 1920s and 1930s as *Jews Without Money*, Samuel *Ornitz's *Haunch, Paunch, and Jowl* (1923), and Isidor Schneider's (d. 1977) *From the Kingdom of Necessity* (1935). For all the genuine indignation over the social injustices of American life, out of which such novels were written, the schematic Communist theory to which they were molded turned out to be a Procrustean bed for the imagination to lie in. One feels that the predatory capitalists, venal and reactionary schoolteachers, corrupt rabbis, and sentimentalized workers who populate the pages of this Jewish-American school sprang more from some economic or political textbook than from their authors' actual observations of the life around them. The lessons of moderation, patience, and fortitude that were learned by the first generation of immigrants through hard experience seem to have been lost upon their rebellious offspring, whose psychological experience of American reality may have been even harsher because of the higher level of expectation with which they, as native sons, were raised. It was precisely the paradoxical contradiction so often evident in American life between limitless promise and limited performance that turned so many of them to social and political extremes.

The best literary work of this second, native generation of Jewish Americans was done by writers who, while they were by no means oblivious to social ills and may even have been for a time sympathetic to their more "activist" fellow authors, were more aesthetically oriented, more inclined to take professional pride in their literary workmanship, and more apt to look upon the art that they created as an end in itself. For the propagandist school of Ornitz, Schneider, Gold, and even Joseph *Freeman and Howard *Fast, art was an adjective. What was important to them was the substantive matter or views which it modified. But for writers like Henry *Roth and Charles Reznikoff, art was not only a noun, but a noun with a capital letter. Their great idol, as Reznikoff's *By the Waters of Manhattan* (1930) and Roth's *Call It Sleep* (1934) reveal, was James Joyce. Indeed, sharp-eyed observers of the American literary scene, like Scott Fitzgerald, had seen the shape of things to come before they actually materialized. In an article in *The Bookman* in 1926, Fitzgerald predicted the coming of a "novel off the Jewish tenement-block, festooned with wreaths out of *Ulysses* and the later Gertrude Stein." *Call It Sleep* appeared eight years later. Like *David Levinsky*, it has since enjoyed periodic rediscoveries by prominent Jewish critics. A powerful evocation of a Jewish childhood in a New York immigrant slum, it is a book worth reading and remembering, though to call it one of the great novels of the 20th century, as has been done on occasion, seems to be an unfortunate type of cultural inflation. Such enthusiastic overestimation by critics may originate in sheer delight at discovering that American-Jewish authors more than 30 year ago were capable of ascending into an atmosphere of pure aestheticism from the common ground of documentary social realism and political propaganda in which so many fellow authors of their generation were mired.

An anomaly among Jewish novelists of the 1930s was Nathanael *West, who in the course of his short life wrote only a few thin works, the best-known of which, *Miss Lonelyhearts*, is today generally considered a minor American classic. Though West avoided writing about Jews (characteristically, he changed his own name from Weinstein), in a sense he was, more than any other figure of his age, a precursor of the great flowering of American-Jewish writing that took place in the years after World War II. Whereas nearly all of his contemporaries wrote naturalistic fiction, West was inclined to imaginative fantasy; where his contemporaries cultivated a tone of dramatic seriousness, West's preference was for comedy; and whereas his contemporaries were for the most part concerned with the problems of immigrant life and/or the great depression, his own interest lay in that psychological alienation of the individual in modern, atomized, American industrial society that, in the final analysis, had little to do with either poverty or wealth. In all of these respects, West foreshadowed tendencies that were to be fully and exuberantly developed in the American-Jewish literature of the late 1940s, 1950s, and 1960s, which was undoubtedly one reason for the revival of interest in him in those decades.

Among Jewish playwrights in the 19th century was Mordecai M. *Noah whose historical plays, notably *The Fortress of Sorrento* (1808), *Paul and Alexis* (1812), and *She Would Be a Soldier* (1819), were well received. Another important figure was David *Belasco, whose *The Return of Peter Grimm* (1911) was considered an important play. The most prominent of Jewish playwrights in the first half of the 20th century were

George S. *Kaufman, S.N. *Behrman, Clifford *Odets, Elmer *Rice, and Lillian *Hellman.

[Milton Henry Hindus]

The quarter of a century of American literary life that followed the end of World War II witnessed a conspicuous emergence of Jewish talent and activity that reached its peak in the late 1950s and early 1960s, which were on occasion even referred to by critics as American literature's "Jewish decade" and as a period of "Jewish renaissance." I. Malin and I. Stark wrote in their anthology *Breakthrough: A Treasury of Contemporary American-Jewish Literature* (1964): "For the first time in history a large and impressively gifted group of serious American-Jewish writers has broken through the psychic barriers of the past to become an important, possibly a major reformative influence in American life and letters." While there is perhaps an element of hyperbole in such phrases, it is well worth considering why the phenomenon described here came into existence and what its defining characteristics were.

The period after World War II roughly marked the coming of age of a third generation in American-Jewish life dating back to the great East European immigration of the turn of the century. Three main features distinguished this generation from its predecessor: American-born itself, it was for the most part raised by parents who were either native-born or who had broken away physically and culturally from the immigrant ghetto; unlike these parents, most of whom grew up in relative poverty, it was largely the product of middle- or lower-middle-class homes, where physical want was unknown; and unlike its parents again, it was overwhelmingly college-educated. Forming a more thoroughly acculturated, economically secure, and better educated group than its parents, it was only natural that third-generation American Jewry should have included a higher percentage of academicians, artists, intellectuals, and writers.

At the same time, the salient fact about this third-generation intelligentsia, at least to judge by the literature that it produced, was an unmistakable sense of estrangement not only from the generation that raised it but in a subtler sense from American culture as a whole. The former reaction is perhaps the easier to understand. In a sense, the conflict between the generation of American Jews that reached intellectual maturity after World War II and the preceding generation was more intense and exacerbated than the conflict between the latter and the original immigrant generation. Whereas the earlier struggle was a clear-cut one between the desire to preserve certain old-world values and the urge to "Americanize" at any cost, the later one was between two conflicting versions of "Americanism" itself. If anything, it was precisely what the second generation looked upon as its successful adaptation to American life that was repeatedly excoriated and satirized in "third generation literature" as a vulgar materialism.

More difficult to explain is the definite sense of not being entirely at home in the general American landscape. Possibly this may be regarded as the surfacing of a residual Jewish unease, an atavistic sense of exile that continued to exist beneath the accomplishments of Americanization. In part, it may also be a reaction to the overall complacency and thinly veiled anti-intellectualism of a great deal of American life in the 1940s and 1950s, which made adjustment difficult for many non-Jewish artists and intellectuals as well. In any case, whatever its roots, what is significant about this feeling of estrangement is that time after time it is deliberately expressed in openly Jewish terms, as in Delmore *Schwartz's poem "Abraham":

> It has never been otherwise: /Exiled, wandering, dumbfounded by riches, /Estranged among strangers, dismayed by the infinite sky, /An alien to myself until at the last caste of the last alienation, /The angel of death comes to make the alienated and indestructible one a part of his famous and democratic society.

And in a remark which might be applied to the work of numerous Jewish writers of these years, Schwartz commented how "… the fact of being a Jew became available to me as a central symbol of alienation … and certain other characteristics which are the peculiar marks of modern life, and as I think now, the essential ones."

These words help to explain why Jewish writing played the crucial role that it did in America during this period, for if the theme of social and spiritual alienation seemed immemorially Jewish to the Jewish author, in an age when the individual was increasingly being viewed as a helpless pawn of the manipulations of big business, big government, mass communications, and modern technology, it was fast becoming basic to American intellectual life in general. The result of this overlap was, paradoxically, that at the very historical moment that American-Jewish writers were feeling sufficiently confident of their position in American life to express their sense of estrangement from it, non-Jewish readers and intellectuals were prepared for the first time to see in the figure of the "alien Jew" a genuine American culture hero of the times – or, more precisely, an anti-hero, since the treatment of alienation in the American-Jewish writing of these years was a self-directed irony by means of which the predicament of the alienated character was simultaneously intensified and mocked. This attitude owed much, it would appear, to traditional East European Jewish humor and is an excellent example of how fragments of immigrant folk culture survived among American Jews to be eventually transmuted into serious art.

If one takes for example the three postwar Jewish novelists whose work has aroused the greatest interest among the serious reading public in America, one finds that the most representative characters of all three share much with the traditional Jewish folk-humor figure of the *shlemiel*. For all the differences between these characters and the authors who created them, Saul *Bellow's Herzog (*Herzog*, 1964), Bernard *Malamud's Levin (*A New Life*, 1962) and Fidelman (*Pictures of Fidelman*, 1969), and Philip *Roth's Portnoy (*Portnoy's Complaint*, 1969) share a common private war against a society to which they cannot adjust and against which their only retaliation is to play the comic buffoon. The harder each tries, the more miserably each fails, yet none is ultimately defeated, for in terms of a highly Jewish paradox, to win such battles is to lose, to lose is to win. If success corrupts within the moral universe set down by these books, absolute success corrupts absolutely; or, in the words of Ivan Gold, another Jewish novelist who made his debut in the 1950s, with a long comic story (*Taub East*) about Jewish servicemen in Japan: "There must be an outgroup. This is the divine order of things. If lucky enough to be one, rejoice!"

This association of the Jew with the eternal outsider – less by virtue of any sustained social prejudice directed against him than of his own ingrained sensitivities, which make it impossible for him to integrate successfully into the aggressive, competitive fabric of American life – occurs as a unifying theme in much Jewish fiction of the 1950s and 1960s, despite the wide variety of backgrounds and environments invoked. One finds it in the Kafkaesque stories of Isaac Rosenfeld; in Wallace Markfeld's recollections of boyhood in Jewish Brooklyn; in Herbert *Gold's short stories about life in Jewish suburbia; in Leslie *Fiedler's fiction about Jewish intellectuals on the campus; Edward Wallant's urban novels; in the Glass family stories of J.D. *Salinger; and in the writings of many other Jewish novelists and short-story writers of the period. Hardly any of the central characters created by such authors have any active sense of identification with the Jewish community or Jewish tradition as such. In fact, nearly all are more alienated from the organized Jewish life of the communities in which they lived than from their surroundings in general, yet few are not obsessed with the moral implications of being Jewish and the sometimes bewildering problems of dealing with them.

It is debatable to what extent the emergence in the 1960s of the so-called "novel of the absurd," with a wide range of grotesquely comic situations reflecting the meaninglessness of contemporary existence, was again indebted in part to the surfacing in American life of a traditional mode of Jewish humor. It is a matter of record, however, that among the earliest practitioners of "black humor" as a tool of social criticism were such stand-up Jewish comedians as Lennie Bruce and Mort Sahl (the former, in particular, acquired a devoted avant-garde audience before his early death). This same sensibility appears as a defining stylistic element in the works of a number of prominent Jewish novelists of the 1960s, such as Bruce Jay *Friedman and Joseph Heller. Heller's morbidly comic novel of army life during World War II, *Catch-22* (1961), became practically a Bible for a generation of young Americans who came to political consciousness at the time of the Vietnam War and for whom it epitomized the struggle of the individual to survive in a mindlessly bureaucratic world.

By far the most radical in his indictment of American society among major American Jewish novelists has been Norman *Mailer, whose prose virtuosity and intellectual boldness made him for many readers the most exciting American novelist and essayist of his time. On the whole, Mailer studiously avoided Jewish characters and concerns in his work, a fact that is itself of some critical interest and that constitutes the exception rather than the rule among his Jewish contemporaries.

American Jewish poets of this period have also, for the most part, drawn freely on their experience as Jews. Many would no doubt agree with Muriel Rukeyser (d. 1980) when she writes that

> To be a Jew in the twentieth century
> Is to be offered a gift. If you refuse,
> Wishing to be invisible, you choose
> Death of the spirit, the stone insanity

or with Hyam Plutzik's lines in "The Priest Eskranath," in which the Jew is portrayed as the eternal outsider, the compulsive intellectual critic who can never be at rest:

> Listen, you nations:/They will lure you from your spontaneous ecstasies,/And positive possessions, and with themselves,/Carry you forth on arduous pilgrimages,/Whose only triumph can be a bitter knowledge."

If one were to compile a list of leading American Jewish poets of these years – Charles Reznikoff, Louis Zukofsky (d. 1978), Karl *Shapiro, Howard Nemerov (d. 1991), Delmore Schwartz, David Ignatow, Irving Feldman, Babette *Deutsch, Denise Levertov, John Hollander, Kenneth Koch – one would find that few have not availed themselves at times of the wealth of symbolic and allusive material that the Jewish heritage provides, though few have actually made this heritage the theme of an entire volume, as did Karl Shapiro in his *Poems of a Jew* (1958). Unique among American Jewish poets in his impact upon both the American and the international world of poetry has been Allen *Ginsberg, whose long free-verse poem *Howl* (1955) was a landmark in the development of contemporary American prosody and one of the first poetic trumpet blasts of the "beat generation" and of the profound cultural transformation that began to affect American life in these years. Ginsberg has Jewish motifs, as in his poem *Kaddish* (1960), and his mystical inclinations have led him to take an interest in the symbolism of Ḥasidism and the Kabbalah.

In drama, Arthur *Miller was widely regarded throughout the 1950s as the leading American playwright of his age. His reputation faded somewhat in the 1960s with the decline of realistic theater in general, but his *Death of a Salesman*, at least, was certain to remain a classic of the American repertoire. Among the leading experimental playwrights of the 1960s were Jack Gelber, Arthur Koppitt, and Israel Horovitz. An avant-garde company that pioneered in the creation of what came to be known in the late 1960s as "total" or "action" theater, with its emphasis on improvisation, audience involvement, and radical social and political content, was Julian Beck's and Judith Malina's Living Theater, which spent much of the decade in political exile in Europe. One of the most accomplished troupes to arise under its influence was Joseph Chaikin's Open Theater, located in New York. In the commercial theater, Paddy *Chayefsky wrote a number of highly successful Broadway dramas and Neil Simon was the author of numerous popular comedy hits.

Particularly prominent among American literary critics in the postwar period were Philip Rahv, Alfred *Kazin, Irving *Howe, Lionel Trilling, and Leslie Fiedler. Common to all was a rejection of "new" or "form" criticism, with its insistence on regarding the literary work as an isolated artifice to be analyzed only in its own internal terms, and an interest in the study of literature for the sake of its wider cultural, political, and psychological ramifications. Among the leading exponents of this "neo-new" criticism of the 1960s, on the other hand, was Susan *Sontag. Also noteworthy in the 1950s and 1960s was the key role played in American literary life by cultural and critical publications presided over by Jews, among them the *Partisan Review*, edited by Philip Rahv; the *New American Review*, edited by Theodore Solotaroff; *Commentary, edited by Norman *Podhoretz; and the *New York Review of Books*, edited by Robert Silvers and Barbara Epstein.

No discussion of the Jews and American literature in this era would be complete without mention of the unique phenomenon of the Jewish "best-seller" – the popular book or novel on a Jewish subject whose sales ran into the hundreds of thousands or millions, frequently leading all other contenders on national "best-seller" lists. Since one can assume that such books – among the most popular of which were Herman *Wouk's *Marjorie Morningstar*, Leon Uris' *Exodus*, Harry *Golden's *Only in America*, Harry Kemelman's *Friday the Rabbi Slept Late*, Chaim Potok's *The Chosen*, John Hersey's *The Wall*, and James Michener's *The Source* (the last two by non-Jewish authors) – were in large measure purchased, or at least promoted, by Jewish readers, the dimensions of their success reveal the extraordinary impact of Jewish readership on the American book market in general. Characteristic of the Jewish "best-seller" was the fact that unlike most of the more serious American-Jewish novels mentioned previously (some of which also, however, were highly successful commercially), it tended to portray Jewish life in America and elsewhere in highly flattering and often sentimental terms. Of generally slight literary value, such books will nonetheless interest future historians for the picture they give of how the majority of American-Jewish readers during these years preferred to view themselves and their tradition.

[Hillel Halkin]

1970–2005

I

Modern American-Jewish literature is a colloquy between an America in process and a Judaism in change. This literature expresses the interplay amongst self, community, and *heritages*. This body of letters is also a dialogue with theology in large, and theologies in small, whether found in text, or in a determined seeking for engagement with God. Often, American-Jewish literature presents these complex relationships as the comportment of a Jewish ethic with the American present: the belief that justice and compassion transcend the *mores* and self-interest of the historical moment. The strong relay between Jewish existence, culture, and God is self-reflective, and communally defining. Significant readings of this are found in Max Schulz's *Radical Sophistication: Studies in Contemporary Jewish-American Novelists* (1969), which studies the Jewish writer's search for a balance between existential despair and the Jewish tradition of affirming a meaningful life; Allen Guttmann's *The Jewish Writer in America: Assimilation and the Crisis of Identity* (1971), exploring the claims made upon the idea and act of being Jewish; Alan Berger's *Crisis and Covenant: The Holocaust in American Jewish Fiction* (1985), emphasizing the secular and religious value systems of Judaism; L.S. Dembo's *The Monological Jew: A Literary Study* (1988), dealing, for example, with the impact of Buber and Sartre on modern American-Jewish writing, and Norman Finkelstein's *The Ritual of New Creation: Jewish Tradition and Contemporary Literature* (1992), covering such figures as Gershom *Scholem, Walter *Benjamin, Harold *Bloom, and Cynthia *Ozick.

By now, American-Jewish literature is also a sustained meditation on Jewish life as a civic identity, one authorized by American pluralism and democracy. The republication of Paul *Goodman's *The Empire City* (2001) once again reminds the reader that America's representative citizens could be portrayed by a Jewish writer. The always suggestive, if not polemical author names his protagonist Horatio Alger. As social critic and therapist, Goodman insists that his characters utilize the entitlements of American democracy, as well as their "natural" strengths, to overcome political obstruction and psychological impasse.

More often than not, this America for the contemporary Jewish writer is *not* an America of outward passage, attended by the themes of breaking away from the European past, learning English, earning a living, and creating or suffering one's future. Instead, American-Jewish literature charts the refashioning of a difficult, contemporary identity. It takes into account the assertions that Zionism is the end of Diaspora; that the Holocaust demands a new understanding of surety, theology, and politics; and that America is not simply a new chapter of Diaspora, but a new beginning in which Jewish text in a borrowed tongue redefines the Jewish past and opens up a unique future.

Contemporary American-Jewish literature often takes Judaism and Jewishness as the inescapable context of life. Whether set in a Europe lost to the imagination, or modern America, such a framework embraces both continuity and an imagined unity. To cite several examples: Chaim *Potok's *My Name Is Asher Lev* (1972); Francine *Prose's *Judah the Pious* (1973); Isaac Bashevis *Singer's *The Penitent* (1983); Anne *Roiphe's *Lovingkindness* (1987); Elie *Wiesel's *Twilight* (1988); Wendy *Wasserstein's drama *The Sisters Rosenzweig* (1993); Steve Stern's *The Wedding Jester* (1999); Joshua Hammer's *Chosen by God* (1999); Nathan Englander's *For the Relief of Unbearable Urges* (1999); Allegra *Goodman's *Paradise Park* (2001); and Jonathan Rosen's *Joy Comes in the Morning* (2004). There are also examples of women rebelling against the constraining religious life of the Orthodox: Naomi *Ragen's *Jephte's Daughter* (1989); Pearl Abraham's *The Romance Reader* (1995); Boaz Yakin's film *A Price above Rubies* (1998), and Hortense *Calisher's *Sunday Jews* (2002).

There is a marked return to biblical and rabbinic text. In the contemporary period, writers allude to the Hebrew Scripture and Talmud, as well as explore the possibilities of interpretation and retelling. Salient examples are Neil *Simon's play *God's Favorite* (published 1975), based on *Job*; David Rosenberg and Harold Bloom's *The Book of J* (1990) with its theory of authorship; Joseph Heller's *God Knows* (1984), which casts David's voice into modern idiom; Alicia Ostriker's *The Nakedness of the Fathers: Biblical Visions and Revisions* (1994), which is a writer's meditation on biblical themes, speaking across "boundaries" as well as addressing the character of women in the text; Norma Rosen's *Biblical Women Unbound* (1996), which seeks to recover the power of biblical matriarchs and their voices; Anita Diamant's *The Red Tent* (1997) which recreates Dinah's story; and Robert *Pinsky's *The Life of David* (2005). (Over these works looms, of course, Thomas Mann's Joseph novels which are probably the most compelling engagement of writer and Hebrew Scripture in the 20th century).

There are also studies of rabbinic exegesis and secular writing, as well as the relationship between Hebrew Scripture and contemporary literature: selected examples are, respectively, *Midrash and Literature* (ed. Geoffrey Hartman and Sanford Budick, 1986) and Robert *Alter's *Canon and Creativity: Modern Writing and the Authority of Scripture* (2000). During this contemporary period, Jewish writers seem to be eager to write about their grappling with text and how they came to do so. Among recent works are *Congregation: Contemporary Writers Read the Jewish Bible,* edited by David Rosenberg (1987), and *People of the Book: Thirty Scholars Reflect on Their Jewish Identity* (1996), edited by Jeffrey Rubin-Dorsky and Shelley Fisher Fishkin.

The modern American-Jewish writer and reader are doubly fortunate: foundational texts and traditions of interpretation are democratized and decentralized. Computer software for the Bible offers commentary, word searching, parsing, and multiple translations stacked across the screen (as for example with Bibleworks, which is Christian-centered), as well as the sea of Jewish text and commentary (as with Davka, which is in Hebrew). There are new hard-copy editions of the Talmud with English-language translation and gloss (for example the Steinsaltz and Schottenstein, complementing the classic Soncino). And, of course, new translations of, and commentary on, Hebrew Scripture, including W. Gunther Plaut and Bernard Bamberger's *The Torah: A Modern Commentary* (1967/1981); The *JPS Torah Commentary* (General Editor, Nahum Sarna; its five volumes were published between 1989 and 1996); The *Stone Edition* of *Tanach* (1996); Michael Fishbane's *The JPS Bible Commentary: Haftarot: The Traditional Hebrew Text with the New JPS Translation* (2002); Adele Berlin's and Marc Zvi Brettler's *The Jewish Study Bible* (2004); Richard Elliott Friedman's *Commentary on the Torah: With a New Translation and the Hebrew Text* (2001); *Etz Hayim: Torah and Commentary* (Senior Editor, David Lieber, 2001); and Robert Alter's *The Five Books of Moses: A Translation with Commentary* (2004). As a result, rabbinic and secular commentary jostle each other, supplementing, if not challenging, each other's authority. These works make contemporary interpretive communities abound by crossing intellectual, class, gender, and theological lines.

Given the ease of Jewish life in America, the authority of estrangement that the American-Jewish writer once possessed has diminished. Yet the modern canon is still deeply – and rightly – informed by an earlier generation of critics who made a moral use of alienation and its insights. Men of letters such as Leslie Fiedler, Irving *Howe, Alfred *Kazin, Philip *Rahv, Isaac *Rosenfeld, and Lionel *Trilling helped establish both the American as well as the American-Jewish literary imaginations, exemplifying the democratic tradition in which proverbial outsiders create national and world traditions. Modern representative examples of their work are Rahv's *Essays on Literature & Politics, 1932–1972* (1978); *Preserving the Hunger: An Isaac Rosenfeld Reader* (ed. Mark Shechner, 1988); Howe's *Selected Writings, 1950–1990* (1990); Fiedler's *Fiedler on the Roof: Essays on Literature and Jewish Identity* (1991); Leon Wieseltier's anthology of Trilling's writings, *The Moral Obligation To Be Intelligent: Selected Essays* (2000); and *Alfred Kazin's America: Critical and Personal Writings* (ed. Ted Solotaroff, 2003). The arc of their times, traversing ideologies and interpretations of a literature relevant to both American and American-Jewish culture is described by such critics as Bernard Rosenberg and Ernest Goldstein in *Creators and Disturbers: Reminiscences by Jewish Intellectuals of New York* (1982); Alexander Bloom in *Prodigal Sons: The New York Intellectuals & Their World* (1986); Alan Wald in *The New York Intellectuals: The Rise and Decline of the Anti-Stalinist Left from the 1930s to the 1980s* (1987); Mark Shechner in *After the Revolution: Studies in the Contemporary Jewish-American Imagination* (1987); and Carole Kessner in her edition of *The "Other" New York Jewish Intellectuals* (1994).

As an immigrant *Yidishkayt* passed from being a seemingly cohesive culture of the East European Diaspora, to being a creative minority presence in the United States, it also became an adjunct of an American civic faith. Its language became English; its rhetoric became increasingly receptive to a democratic, pluralistic, and diversifying society. *Yidishkayt* became an American "Jewishness." It defined the issues of American-Jewish life in terms of American political and social history. *Yidishkayt* retained its charms as an almost otherworldliness, indicating a putatively richer, thick life that was lost: Although this is a rightly disputed claim, its imaginative recall indicates that the past is not yet over: witness Rebecca *Goldstein's *Mazel* (1995). Readers ought to consult as well Karen Brodkin's *How Jews Became White Folks and What That Says about Race in America* (1998). The two-volume anthology edited by Ellen Schiff, *Awake and Singing: 7 Classic Plays from the American Jewish Repertoire* (1995) and *Fruitful and Multiplying: 9 Contemporary Plays from the American Jewish Repertoire* (1996) contain notable examples of the past suffusing the present.

For the contemporary American-Jewish writer, nostalgia is also a rite of recalled passage. Such homesickness wards off an uncertain future by creating a haven of memory, measuring the passage of the Jew from one bitter exile to a modernity that is sweet, but precarious. As David Roskies' and Diane Roshkies' *The Shtetl Book* (1975) indicates, the shtetl is now textualized. Important examples are *The Shtetl* (ed., Joachim Neugroschel, 1979); and the republication of A.J. *Heschel's poignant *The Earth Is the Lord's: The Inner World of the Jew in Eastern Europe* (1950/1987/1995). The shtetl's cultural assignment as a world more charmed because of its known extinction animates, for instance, the groundbreaking, somewhat rosy *Life Is With People: The Jewish Little-Town of Eastern Europe* by Mark Zborowski and Elizabeth Herzog (1952; ten years later, perhaps prompted by a growing American desire to "authenticate" a lost world, the book was subtitled *The Culture of the Shtetl*); the perennial revivals of *Fiddler on the Roof*; Melvin *Bukiet's *Stories of an Imaginary Childhood* (1992); and also the New American Library's two-volume collection of I.B. Singer's *Collected Stories* (2004). Although the shtetl's charm is denied by immigrant autobiographies, and early American-Jewish novels written by those fleeing Eastern Europe, there are few novels that have done so: perhaps the most significant are Peter Martin's *The Landsmen* (1952); and Bernard *Malamud's *The Fixer* (1966). Jonathan Safran Foer's *Everything Is Illuminated* (2002) depicts the betrayal of Jews within a shtetl. An important study about immigrant memories, often entailing the shtetl, and the Pale of Settlement is Jan Schwartz's *Imagining Lives: Autobiographical Fiction of Yiddish Writers* (2005).

Nonetheless, there is a return of sorts open to the American-Jewish writer: the homecoming to a definable locality, binding together the immediacy and *mores* of the past, and usually the past of one's childhood. For the American-Jewish literary protagonist, the other side of acculturation is the longing for the particularity of belonging, of enjoying the perceived solidarity of the Jewish community. Jay *Neugeboren's *The Stolen Jew* (1981) deals with his protagonist's return to Brooklyn. Steven Stern discovered the American "ghetto" life of "the Pinch" in Memphis, setting much of his fiction there (see, for example, his *A Plague of Dreamers: Three Novellas* (1994). In *American Pastoral* (1997), Philip *Roth's Nathan Zuckerman judges both the "Swede" and contemporary America in the light of childhood and adolescent values rich with irony and naiveté. Paradoxically, many acculturated American Jews now have come back to a community of Jews, but this time to a supportive community of the often elderly, remembering (or keeping at bay) all that is now past: Leslie Epstein's *Goldkorn Tales* (1985); Alan Isler's *The Prince of West End Avenue* (1994); Stanley *Elkin's *Mrs. Ted Bliss* (1995); and Andrew Furman's rendition of a young man among the Florida elderly, in *Alligators May Be Present* (2005).

Diasporas, both physical and intellectual, give American-Jewish literature possibilities for futures not solely determined by one national narrative but by many. So often defined in the late 19th and early 20th centuries as the migration away from the Eastern seaboard, whether that of the moving frontier, the mid-Western settlements, a commonizing America is now conscious of its histories. Nonetheless, an industrialized, urbanizing America, World War II, the Korean War, Viet Nam, and the Civil Rights movement give Jewish life in America the certainty of shared national, and international experience. As American-Jewish literature has moved away from the lamentation over the loss of a past rooted in places other than America, editors have preserved its diverse intellectual and cultural genealogies. Impressive examples are found in Jerome Rothenberg's *A Big Jewish Book: Poems & Other Visions of the Jews from Tribal Times to the Present* (with Harris Lenowitz, and Charles Doria, 1978); Howard Schwartz and Anthony Rudolf's *Voices Within the Ark: The Modern Jewish Poets* (1980); Ilan Stavans' *The Oxford Book of Jewish Stories* (1998); and Derek Rubin's anthology, *Who We Are: On Being (and Not Being) A Jewish American Writer* (2005). A companion work is Murray Baumgarten's *City Scriptures: Modern Jewish Writing* (1982).

Jewish thinkers and writers, who were not far from their immigrant pasts or its comportment with American promises of success, called into being a new understanding of American culture as well as American-Jewish literature. Their *Yidishkayt* and their Jewishness domesticated as well as made insurgent the values of a pluralizing American civilization. Louis Harap's indispensable *The Image of the Jew in American Literature: From Early Republic to Mass Immigration* (1974) analyzes how the figure of the Jew and the Jewish public appeared to American people-of-letters. His three volumes entitled *Creative Awakening: The Jewish Presence in Twentieth-Century American Literature, 1900–1940s*, (1987); *In the Mainstream: The Jewish Presence in Twentieth-Century American Literature, 1950s–1980s* (1987); *Dramatic Encounters: The Jewish Presence in Twentieth-Century American Drama, Poetry, and Humor and the Black-Jewish Literary Relationship* (1987); Susanne Klingenstein's *Jews in the American Academy, 1900–1940: The Dynamics of Intellectual Assimilation* (1991); and her *Enlarging America: The Cultural Work of Jewish Literary Scholars, 1930–1990* (1998); Andrew Furman's study, *Contemporary Jewish American Writers and the Multicultural Dilemma* (2000); and David Biale, Michael Galchinsky, and Susannah Heschel's anthology *Insider/Outsider: American Jews and Multiculturalism* (1998) address how American Jews are viewed on a cultural spectrum from the oppositional to appositional.

Diasporas, belongings, and returns involve the poetics of remembrance. The shaping of the American-Jewish canon calls attention to traditions of memory, rhetoric, and languages: the classic work is Henry *Roth's *Call It Sleep* (1934); a contemporary example is Myla Goldberg's *Bee Season* (2000). Critical discussion of this complexity is explored variously in Rael Meyerowitz's *Transferring to America: Jewish Interpretations of American Dreams* (1995); Sidra DeKoven Ezrahi's *Booking Passage: Exile and Homecoming in the Modern Jewish Imagination* (2000); and Ranen Omer-Sherman's *Diaspora* *and Zionism in Jewish American Literature: Lazarus, Syrkin, Reznikoff and Roth* (2002).

Speaking in "American," a "trans-national" American rhetoric as Randolph Bourne might have called it, the American-Jewish novelists' characters invariably engage the past rather than dismiss it. Individuality is affirmed though at the expense of the sustaining community. American-Jewish novelists usually portray the ironic ease and anxiety of the American self as it moves between and within communities. Cases-in-point are Francine Prose's *A Changed Man* (2005) in which a former member of the Aryan Resistance Movement comes to support a Jewish reconciliation organization; and again in Prose's *Guided Tours of Hell* (1997), in which the protagonist, a minor American playwright, questions the authenticity of his life when measured against a Holocaust survivor's; Philip Roth's *The Human Stain* (2000) in which an African American poses as a Jewish professor of the classics; Emily Prager's *Eve's Tattoo* (1991), in which a character usurps what is thought to be a Holocaust victim's tattoo; and Michael *Chabon's *The Amazing Adventures of Kavalier and Clay* (2000), in which two young Jewish men, one gay and the other a refugee fleeing the Nazis, invent a comic book hero who becomes an American icon.

Yet America is not so liberally conceived as a humorous theater of invented selves. A good instance is Norma Rosen's novel, *John and Anzia: An American Romance* (1989), depicting the affair between John Dewey and Anzia *Yezierska. Both find each other exotic and iconic: Yezierska represents – to Dewey – the unbridled spirit of a colorful people, attuned to their instincts; Dewey remains the thinker whose New England background of order and obligation – as understood by Anzia – cannot accommodate a pragmatism that takes into account emotional directives.

Equally important, during this period the cultural relationships between Jews and African Americans began to unravel. On the one hand, African Americans wanted to shape their politics and culture without interference or control by others. On the other hand, Jews often felt that there was a shared heritage, best expressed by Hebrew Scripture: God authorizes freedom. The literary relationship between African Americans and Jews in this modern period reaches back, for a convenient origin, to Norman *Mailer's *The White Negro: Superficial Reflections on the Hipster* (published freestanding in 1957, and later, in the accessible *Advertisements for Myself*, 1959). Mailer reads the plight of the African American as an existential triumph: the living of felt needs. The "Negro" could stay alive by following "obligatory" pleasures. The hipster could model freedom upon the African American's "instantaneous existential states." The hipster's desire for the consecrated present would be shaped, in the future, by the African American's achievement of equality. The "potential superiority" of the African American, one that was feared, is "the underground drama of domestic politics." Hatred could be lived; violence is romanticized.

Whereas the African American could be viewed as part of the existential quest for the creation of self, other American-Jewish writers often spoke in terms of moral endowment. In Malamud's "Angel Levine" (1955), a feckless black angel inspires a small, defeated man to assent to the nature of the "other." The act is one of mutual confidence; both are transformed. *Bellow's eponymous protagonist of *Henderson the Rain King* (1959) encounters Africa not as Conrad's metaphor of darkness but as land that offers him a mentor in, and for, freedom. Jay Neugeboren's *Sam's Legacy* (1974) plays out the drama of freedom against *the* American sport, baseball. Mason Tidewater, an African American, gives to Sam his moving autobiography, "My Life and Death in the Negro Baseball League: A Slave Narrative," which weighs the issues of socially imposed identities against the moral strength of our devotion to others. *Doctorow's *Ragtime* (1975) portrays an African American as someone whose dignity demands that he challenge the injustices done to him. Lore Segal's *Her First American* (1985) explores the shock of surprise and comfort between a refugee and an African American.

As African American politics came to veer into antisemitism, so did American-Jewish writers portray the potential (and sometimes real) flashpoints of contact. Malamud's *The Tenants* (1971) presents the author's impasse reconciling an African American and a Jewish character. Bellow's *Mr. Sammler's Planet* (1970; discussed below), portrays an African American as a thief who displays his aggressive, flamboyant sexuality. In Bellow's *The Dean's December* (1982) the African American is yet more sinister. Philip Roth's *The Human Stain* (2000; discussed below) further complicates this difficult relationship; an African American assumes (or usurps) the identity of an American Jew, becoming a professor of the classics. Selected critical works on this topic are Louis Harap's *Dramatic Encounters: The Jewish Presence in Twentieth-Century American Drama, Poetry, and Humor and the Black-Jewish Literary Relationship* (1987); *Bridges and Boundaries: African Americans and American Jews* (ed. Jack Salzman with Adina Back and Gretchen Sorin, 1992); Emily Budick's *Blacks and Jews in Literary Conversation* (1998); and *Strangers & Neighbors: Relations between Blacks and Jews in the United States* (eds. Maurianne Adams and John Bracey, 1999).

Whereas the heritage of 19th-century realism remains strong, innovative narrative strategies question its adequacy. Although this experimentation is neither unique nor particular to Jewish letters, formal creativity challenges both our understanding of tradition and our reading of it. Cases are – and these are just a few – Norman Fruchter's *Single File* (1970); Norman Mailer's *The Executioner's Song* (1979); Art *Spiegelman's *Maus: A Survivor's Tale, I: My Father Bleeds History* (1986); and *Maus: A Survivor's Tale, II: And Here My Troubles Began* (1991); Doctorow's *City of God* (2000); Benjamin Zucker's *Blue* (2001); and Steve Stern's *The Angel of Forgetfulness* (2005). These works formally reconcile the heritages (and claims) of Diaspora cultures and gentile nations: a mingling of diaries, welfare reports, and characters' reflections for Fruchter; for Mailer, the new journalism which combines fact with novelistic rendition; the Talmud page for

Zucker; the comic book format for Spiegelman; narrative vying with narrative, and fiction becoming counter-fiction for Stern; and the novel of multiple voices, and narrative montage for Doctorow.

For a contemporary generation, the Holocaust is a memory challenging notions of a safe American haven. A God who vouchsafes the existence of the Jewish people has been splintered into a God who has committed Himself to accept historical choice, or has turned His face, or who demands a reconstruction of moral nature and engagement, or a delusion. Each of these possibilities challenges the hope of life without peril. Each choice creates an identity based on the conditioned and contingent. The literature is so vast that a few contemporary examples indicate the reach of the Holocaust into the present: Isaac Bashevis Singer's *Enemies, A Love Story* (1972) and his *Shosha* (1978); Susan Fromberg Schaeffer's *Anya* (1974); Philip Roth's *The Ghost Writer* (1979); Jerome Badanes' *The Final Opus of Leon Solomon* (1985); Ozick's "The Shawl" (1981) and "Rosa" (1984), published as one volume in the accessible *The Shawl: A Story and a Novella* (1989); Elie Wiesel's *The Fifth Son* (1985) and his *The Forgotten* (1992); Jon Baitz's drama, *The Substance of Fire* (published 1993); Melvin Bukiet's *Stories of an Imaginary Childhood* (1992), and his anthology, *Nothing Makes You Free: Writings by Descendants of Jewish Holocaust Survivors* (2002); Thane Rosenbaum's *Second Hand Smoke* (1999); Aryeh Lev Stollman's *The Illuminated Soul* (2002); Leslie Epstein's *King of the Jews* (1979); and Arthur *Miller's drama, *Broken Glass* (1994). Well worth viewing is the 1991 film, *The Quarrel,* based on Chaim *Grade's "My Quarrel with Hersh Rasseyner."

Questions of authority and sincerity dog a younger generation. Is the factual nature of the Holocaust open to the task of fiction *as* fiction? Can fiction formalize an experience that goes beyond the limits of representation? Is a speculative, if not interim rhetoric needed? Fire, ashes, smoke, railroad tracks, tattoos, the literal and metaphorical uncovering of human nature – the jigsaw pieces of life and death under Nazism are close to the surface but part of a new politics and rhetoric.

As with Holocaust fiction, there is a large body of critical commentary dealing with the roles of language, memory and representation. Part of such discussion are Terence Des Pres' *The Survivor: An Anatomy of Life in the Death Camps* (1976); James Young's *Writing and Rewriting the Holocaust: Narrative and the Consequences of Interpretation* (1988); *Probing the Limits of Representation: Nazism and the "Final Solution"* (edited by Saul Friedlander, 1992); Lawrence Langer's *Admitting the Holocaust: Collected Essays* (1995); and Edith Wyschogrod's *An Ethics of Remembering: History, Heterology, and the Nameless Others* (1998).

Zionism brings with it celebration and critique. A new Zion carved out of the wilderness, and an America affirming its history as redemptive make American-Jewish literature's depiction of Zionism rife with sincerity as well as irony. Portraits of Israelis and Americans wandering in Zion implicate the authenticity of American-Jewish existence and the authority of Jewish life in Israel. Examples are Philip Roth's *The Counterlife* (1986) and *Operation Shylock: A Confession* (1993); Anne Roiphe's *The Pursuit of Happiness* (1991); and the personal reflections found in Hugh *Nissenson's *Notes from the Frontier* (1968) and Bellow's *To Jerusalem and Back* (1976). Sabras and pioneers have long been replaced by characters – Americans in Israel and Israelis themselves – ranging from the manipulative to the naïve, as in Tova Reich's *Master of the Return* (1988) and *The Jewish War* (1995). Andrew Furman's *Israel Through the Jewish-American Imagination: A Survey of Jewish-American Literature on Israel, 1928–1995* (1997) and Ranen Omer-Sherman's *Diaspora and Zionism in Jewish American Literature: Lazarus, Syrkin, Reznikoff and Roth* (2002) explicate the American literary dialogue with Israel.

II

The generation of writers that came to maturity from the 1930s to the 1960s could draw upon the inheritance of being Jewish as inseparable from being ill at ease in the American Diaspora. The contemporary stylistic deployment of Yiddish words and diction by those whose native tongue is English; the reliance on the Jew as neurotic, or as schlemiel, or as divested of the strengths of Judaism are tics rendering the Jew harmless but provocative. The unease of writer and writing made estrangement the appropriate moral and political response to modern American culture. (It should be noted that V.L. Parrington, Van Wyck Brooks, and Lewis Mumford made the same case.) Dreams of socialism, the promise of psychoanalytic theory – all of these gave an edge to earlier American-Jewish writers' depiction of a specific America, one at variance with their families' understanding of America itself. At their most minatory, American-Jewish letters is overly suspicious of the literature of affirmation that argues that Jewish life not only endured in America, but also flourished. Norman *Podhoretz's *Making It* (1967) seemed – to its critics – less the tracing of choice and success than a surrender to cynicism and irony.

For contemporary readers and writers, American-Jewish literature seems blunted, incapable of bringing the cutting edge of politics and a shrewd cynicism to America's failures. And equally important, to the failures of Judaism to keep constant the Prophetic vision of the just society. The contemporary authorial task, so it seems, is witnessing. This, too, is a moral act, akin to the Prophets enumerating the refusal of those who confuse Hellenism with Hebraism.

Irving Howe, in his magisterial *World of Our Fathers: The Journey of the East European Jews to America and the Life They Found and Made* (with the assistance of Kenneth Libo, 1976); and in *Jewish American Stories* (1977), writes about the American-Jewish literary imagination as both regional and centralizing. American-Jewish literary culture draws upon the great tide of Jewish immigration (usually to the lower East Side), as well as Jewish tradition. Howe's work is part of a larger body of literature studying what he called this "regional" style. Selected works, dedicated to exploring the ferment of the lower

East Side and its influence are Ronald Sanders' pioneering *The Downtown Jews: Portraits of an Immigrant Generation* (1969); Mario Maffi's *Gateway to the Promised Land: Ethnic Cultures in New York's Lower East Side* (1995); and Hasia Diner's *Lower East Side Memories: A Jewish Place in America* (2000).

By now, the Jewish writer in America has moved beyond the culture of a thick *Yidishkayt*, and its immigrant traditions. American-Jewish writers have appropriated the geography of America as *the* sustenance of memory. Examples are Saul Bellow's Chicago (*Ravelstein*, 2000); Adam Berlin's Las Vegas (*Headlock*, 2000); Leslie *Epstein's West Coast (*San Remo Drive: A Novel from Memory*, 2003); Michael Chabon's Pittsburgh (*The Mysteries of Pittsburgh*, 1988); Rebecca Goldstein's Princeton (*The Mind-Body Problem*, 1983); the American South of Steve Stern (*A Plague of Dreamers*, 1994) and Tova Mirvis (*The Ladies Auxiliary*, 1999); Philip Roth's rural community in the Berkshires (*The Human Stain*, 2000); Malamud's "Wild West" (in his unfinished novel, *The People, and Uncollected Stories,* 1989) and his New England (*Dubin's Lives*, 1979); and Allegra Goodman's upstate New York (*Kaaterskill Falls*, 1998). Unsurprisingly, New York City remains a center for the imagination: the metropolis of Paul *Auster (*The New York Trilogy*, 1990); Jonathan Safran Foer (*Extremely Loud & Incredibly Close,* 2005); Hugh Nissenson (*Days of Awe,* 2005); and Cynthia Ozick (*The Puttermesser Papers*, 1997; and *Heir to the Glimmering World*, 2004).

Modern American-Jewish writers and anthologists have enlarged the American-Jewish present by expanding the canon, rescuing often-neglected works written by women, Sephardim, as well as gay and lesbian Jews. The following selected works are significant additions to the literature of and about American-Jewish women: Melanie Kaye/Kantrowitz and Irena Klepfisz's *The Tribe of Dina: A Jewish Women's Anthology* (1989); Joyce Antler's anthology, *America and I: Short Stories by American Jewish Women Writers* (1990); Sharon Niederman's *Shaking Eve's Tree: Short Stories of Jewish Women* (1990); Sylvia Barack Fishman's reader, *Follow My Footprints: Changing Images of Women in American Jewish Fiction* (1992); Ellen Uffen's *Strands of the Cable: The Place of the Past in Jewish American Women's Writing* (1992); Marlene Marks' *Nice Jewish Girls: Growing Up in America* (1996); Janet Burstein's *Writing Mothers, Writing Daughters: Tracing the Maternal in Stories by American Jewish Women* (1996); Paula Hyman and Deborah Dash Moore's *Jewish Women in America: An Historical Encyclopedia* (1997, 2 vols.); Ann Shapiro, Sarah Horowitz, Ellen Schiff and Miriyam Glazer's *Jewish American Women Writers: A Bio-Bibliographical and Critical Sourcebook* (1994); and Lois Rubin's *Connections and Collisions: Identities in Contemporary Jewish-American Women's Writing* (2005).

The experiences of gay and lesbian American Jews are found notably in works by Harvey Fierstein (*Torch-Song Trilogy*, consisting of *The International Stud*, *Fugue in a Nursery*, and *Widows and Children First!*, published in one volume in 1979); Tony *Kushner (*Angels in America: A Gay Fantasia on National Themes*, consisting of *Part 1: Millennium Approaches* and *Part 2: Perestroika*, and published in one volume, 1995); and Larry Kramer (*The Normal Heart* and *The Destiny of Me*, published in one volume, 2000). In addition, gay or lesbian characters are found, for example, in Alice Bloch's *The Law of Return* (1983); Leslea Newman's *A Letter to Harvey Milk* (1988); Lev Raphael's *Dancing on Tisha B'Av* (1990); and Adam Berlin's *Belmondo Style* (2004). Significant readers on this topic are *Nice Jewish Girls: A Lesbian Anthology* (ed. Evelyn Torton Beck, 1982) and Christie Balka and Andy Rose's anthology *Twice Blessed: On Being Lesbian, Gay and Jewish* (1989).

Diane Matza's anthology, *Sephardic-American Voices: Two Hundred Years of a Literary Legacy* (1996), spans categories from "The Descendants of the Colonial Sephardim" (for example, Penina Moise, Mordecai Noah, and Emma Lazarus) to "Issues of Identity" (including Rosaly Roffman, Herbert Hadad, and Jordan Elgrably, among others).

There is also a Jewish literature of imagined futures and mythographies. Envisaged futures and fantasias are found notably in the works of Isaac Asimov and Harlan Ellison; in Jack Dann's anthologies *Wandering Stars: An Anthology of Jewish Fantasy and Science Fiction* (1974); his *More Wandering Stars* (1981); as well as in Marge Piercy's *He, She and It* (1991). Examples of mythographies are Cynthia Ozick's title story of *The Pagan Rabbi and Other Stories* (1971); Arthur Cohen's *In The Days of Simon Stern* (1973); and Steve Stern's *Lazar Malkin Enters Heaven* (1986).

The image of the American Jew as timid, neurotic, and small, found for example in Woody *Allen's films (such as *Take the Money and Run*, 1969, and *Bananas*, 1971) has yielded to what might earlier have been considered as a Hellenizing of the American-Jewish man. Among these are Michael Chabon's *The Mysteries of Pittsburgh* (1988) with a protagonist choosing to plunge into chaos leading to self-revelation; Philip Roth's unbridled *Sabbath's Theater* (1995); and Adam Berlin's *Headlock* (2000), with its epigraph from Homer, offering a narrator exulting in his strength. That American-Jewish writers could be attracted to violence, and depict it with panache is an unsettling note but certainly offered in the works of dramatist and screenwriter David *Mamet, especially in his portrait of marginal people in *American Buffalo* (published 1977) and *Glengarry Glen Ross* (published 1984).

Modern American-Jewish humor, both defensive and aggressive, can be read in a slightly different way than its immigrant counterparts. American life was strange. The American-Jewish immigrants' humor was usually based on the shock of transplantation and surprise. The immigrant was unsure of American freedom, and dismayed by the insecurity of employment. In contrast, modern American-Jewish humor appears to have two movements. The first is its characteristic, sharp irony that hedges uncertainty: a major theme found in Diaspora Jewish humor. For the Jewish immigrant in the United States, though, this irony marked a refusal to accept fully American promises of surety. The second movement is the adoption of the attitude of American surety in order to retroject present insecurities into an earlier generation. Often, this historical irony is found in the durable themes of the Jewish overbearing mother, the feckless husband, the "Jewish-American Princess," the psychologically damaged child, and the appeal of the *shiksa*. (A convenient point of origin for the jagged edge of modern American-Jewish literary humor is Nathanael *West's fiction. Though his works rarely deal with Judaism, the alienation his fiction presents is that of the outsider who is too urbane to be shocked and yet the insider who is too shocked to accept American myths. The acceptance of his fiction's enormous savagery can be measured by the publication of his *Complete Works* in 1957; its re-issue in 1978, and his *Collected Works* in 1975). The double nature of modern American-Jewish humor is found in various degrees in Bruce Jay *Friedman's "black-humor" novels *Stern* (1962) and *A Mother's Kisses* (1963); Philip Roth's parody of the dominating Jewish-mother and neurotic Jewish son in *Portnoy's Complaint* (1969); Woody Allen's protean Jew, the eponymous protagonist of the film *Zelig* (1983); and Neil Simon's play *Lost in Yonkers* (1991). Notable works are *The Big Book of Jewish Humor* (eds. William Novak and Moshe Waldoks, 1981); Robert Menchin's *Jewish Humor from Groucho Marx to Jerry Seinfeld* (1997); *Encyclopedia of Jewish Humor: From Biblical Times to the Modern Age* (ed., Henry Spalding, 2001); and *Classic Jewish Humor in America* (ed. Henry Spalding, 1995). Important critical studies are *Jewish Wry: Essays on Jewish Humor* (ed. Sarah Blacher Cohen, 1990); and James Bloom's *Gravity Fails: The Comic Jewish Shaping of Modern America* (2003). Lawrence Epstein's *The Haunted Smile: The Story of Jewish Comedians in America* (2001) supplements these works.

All of the above-mentioned works indicate the possession of America's open imagination and opportunity. Philip Roth's Nathan Zuckerman sums up this appropriation by the America Jew. Recalling his adolescence in the late 1940s, he writes that he "wanted to become part of the national character." With her novel *O My America!* (1980), Johanna Kaplan captures the excitement as well as the anxiety of what we have come to call the "American experience." She prefaces it with two epigraphs. The first is Donne's, and provides the novel with its title. The body of a woman, for Donne, is as richly enticing as is America's conquest. The novel's second epigraph is from De Tocqueville, addressing the paradoxical nature of a country that does not seem to be historical so much as ahistorical. Democracy, De Tocqueville opines, produces an historical amnesia, making one forget genealogies. Democracy shears the self of the comfort and support of lineage, and could confine the individual "*entirely within the solitude of his own heart*."

The sequesterment of the American, and especially that of the American-Jewish literary character, speaks to the ironic solitude of the Jew in an inviting pluralistic society. On the one hand, Jewish culture is now often experienced away from ritual and rite. On the other hand, American-Jewish literature has both civic and Prophetic signatures: its ethical spirit is invariably a preachment for a renewed community within and for a nation. The judgment pronounced maintains its force because it is spoken with the fervor of an other-worldliness, one not indebted to historical variability but paradoxically addressing the immediate moment. As a result, the American-Jewish novel forces the reader to examine anew the implications of a timeless ethic within an historical present; and a mandated, ahistorical way of being described within the immediacy of the day.

From 1970 to the present, as numerous critics have pointed out, a generation of American-Jewish writers did not have as points of cultural and political reference the immediacy of the Holocaust, the founding of the State of Israel, and the feeling of a marginal American existence. Nonetheless, the enormous trepidation that marked an older generation's coming to maturity in the 1930s and 1940s, in which the Jewish future was far from assured, has left its mark.

For all the comfort America offers, there is a premonitory insecurity, a sense that American-Jewish life may be precarious. There are looming examples. In Philip Roth's "Eli, the Fanatic" (1959), Eli Peck, an acculturated young lawyer, reflects upon the America that he accepts as indisputable. Thinking about the safety America offers Jewish families, Eli muses, "What incredible peace." The irony is thick, but it is shared only by narrator and reader, not by Eli. In her 1970 essay, "Toward a New Yiddish," Cynthia Ozick reminded her readers that American-Jewish life, with its flowering of creativity in America, was not similar to Germany but analogous to Spain. Both led, she writes, to "abbatoir." Paul Auster endows a future that is just as ominous for Jews. *In The Country of Last Things* (1987), the simplicity of realism is cautionary fable. Anna Blume, a Jewish woman in search of her brother, wanders across a nameless, anarchic city. During a hard winter, she pushes her way into the National Library and comes upon a room in which she discovers Jewish men, talking urgently and animatedly. "I thought all Jews were dead," she whispers, yet hears the reply that only a small number remain. "It's not so easy to get rid of us…." Years later, there is an equally assertive wariness, again, from Philip Roth: *The Plot Against America* (2004). The novel begins in the present, with the narrator remembering with trepidation his boyhood. In this alternative history, a companion piece to Sinclair Lewis's *It Can't Happen Here*, a family named Roth finds itself living in a pre-World War II semi-totalitarian American state. Led by Lindbergh, America initiates state-sponsored antisemitism. Only by authorial intervention, history is righted; Roosevelt assumes the presidency.

III

American-Jewish literature produced its own histories, arguing for a conserved and preserving identity: a sign that American Jews are intent upon preserving a shared life through creating and assessing a common tradition. These re-evaluations may well be interim canons, suggesting how the strengths of the past can be used to shape the present. Among others, there are valuable histories and critical bio-bibliographies of American-Jewish literature by Louis Harap (mentioned above); *Twentieth-Century American-Jewish Fiction Writers* (ed. Daniel Walden 1984); *Handbook of American-Jewish Literature* (eds. Lewis Fried, Gene Brown, Jules Chametzky and Louis Harap, 1988); Sanford Pinsker's *Jewish American Fiction, 1917–1987* (1992); *Contemporary Jewish-American Novelists* (1997) and *Contemporary Jewish-American Dramatists and Poets* (both works edited by Joel Shatzky and Michael Taub, 1999); Stephen Wade's *Jewish American Literature Since 1945: An Introduction* (1999); *The Cambridge Companion to Jewish American Literature* (eds. Michael Kramer and Hana Wirth-Nesher, 2003); and Rosalind Reisner's *Jewish American Literature: A Guide to Reading Interests* (2004).

A point and counterpoint in these histories is the claim of the universal against the particular. A modern beginning for these pressures is Cynthia Ozick's "Toward a New Yiddish" (1970, and published again in 1983, in Ozick's *Art & Ardor*). Ozick later pointed out that she was "no longer greatly attached to its conclusions." (Well worth looking at is the strongly differing George Steiner's "Our Homeland, the Text" in *Salmagundi*, Winter-Spring, 1985.) The essay draws upon a large literary history: Aḥad Ha-Am's notion of Diaspora culture; Matthew Arnold's discussions of Hebraism and Hellenism; Isaac Rosenfeld's notion of creative estrangement; and the autonomous text of the New Critics. The points Ozick makes are hard, and not without irony. Ozick imaginatively summons for the reader a new Yavneh, a "Displaced Jerusalem." (The reader, of course, should recall that the original Yavneh had as its foreboding background the siege of Jerusalem. Yavneh rebelled against the might of empire by turning powerlessness into transmission of decree and commentary.) America, this new, metaphorical Yavneh, Ozick points out, is a temporary haven.

"Toward a New Yiddish" insists upon de-idolization: a rejection, by the Jew, of ideologies and acts effacing the divinely mandated and rabbinically authorized particularism of the Jewish people. Sinai condemns any desire obstructing the just community. The essay paints an alluring Hellenism, a metonym for universalism: from the declaration that all religions are the same, to the abandonment of an ethically demanding imperative, to ecstasy, to the individual as "mediator of the sacral." And, when Jewish novelists efface their particularity, they become lost to history. In effect, Hebrew Scripture funds the grand moral imagination. The commanding 19th-century novels were Judaized, represented by writers such as George Eliot, Dickens, and Tolstoy, who dramatized conduct and its consequences.

A "centrally Jewish" literature impinges on the liturgical. It is bound to the "reciprocal moral imagination" and resounds within and for the community. It echoes God's voice, "the Lord of History." Ozick's concession is one to the form of the liturgical voice itself. Our houses of Jewish worship may well be empty, she argues, because we have done with the idea and form of the "cathedral." Whether in text or talk, our conversations reveal the possibilities of our future. And these may be large.

> The new Yiddish, a language commensurate with the upbuilding of Yavneh in America, will be the language of Jewish discourse, spoken as well as written "by Jews for Jews." It will renew the American Jew for it will nourish new talmudic forms of creative literature. Although the new Yiddish will not be explicitly religious, it will feel the touch of the Covenant. We can try to be a holy people in America, developing our own *Aggadah*.

Ozick's essay gave later critics the chance to explore the association of the Covenant, with a covenanted literature. Two works, among several, deal with this relationship. *In The New Covenant: Jewish Writers and the American Idea* (1984), Sam Girgus points out how Jewish writers, transforming the rhetoric and myths of America, reshape and modernize these communalizing forces. Their work make significant "the American ideal," pitting it against "authoritarian and totalitarian ideologies." In terms drawn from their own background, these writers formulate anew a narrative of American redemption.

In *What Happened to Abraham?: Reinventing the Covenant in American Jewish Fiction* (2005), Victoria Aarons argues that the contemporary American-Jewish writer takes the "laws of the covenant" and transforms them into "metaphors and allegories of invention, promise, and design." The law may reappear in a number of forms and modes: for example, as assessment, and as framework. The writer's recognition of the Covenant involves a revitalization, a re-telling of a heritage leading to a dialogue with the large assumptions and concerns of "the Hebrew Bible." Aarons points out that this retelling involves an understanding of America, often presented as a radical metonym for "displacement and loss."

Anthologies of American-Jewish writing offer a reading of a canon in process, enhancing the terms of analysis. The anthologies' principles of selection provide a characteristic tension – that of being Jewish and being American. Strikingly, many of these anthologies do not emphasize a conversation with theology but rather focus on the living of Jewishness (which may well be such a conversation itself). Equally intriguing, some do not strongly accentuate a potentially unsettling conversation with Israel. Such choices indicate a confidence in America as a home for Jews. American-Jewish anthologies – and they are groundbreakers – have a large subject: the making of an American Judaism, the comportment of faith with a democracy that is experimental and unique. Important supplementary texts are Arnold Eisen's *The Chosen People in America: A Study in Jewish Religious Ideology* (1983), and Jonathan Sarna's *American Judaism: A History* (2004).

In 1974, Daniel Walden put together one of the first anthologies of contemporary American-Jewish writing. *On Being Jewish: American Jewish Writers from Cahan to Bellow* illuminates Walden's discussion of American-Jewish writing as obligated to narratives of immigration and acculturation. The anthology reflects a period in which the term "American-Jewish" writing was a triumphal designation, a narration of largely unchallenged success which was the significant literature of the American present. Roth, Malamud, and Bellow, major voices then and now, bespeak an American-Jewish identity. (Walden includes them in the book's last section, entitled "The American Jews, The Jewish Americans"). Confidently, Walden's "Introduction" asserts the congruence of Jews and Judaism. The Jewish writer's work often conveys a Jewish ethic. Following biblical imperative, even in the face of American secular culture, American-Jewish writers "still choose life."

In the same year, 1974, Abraham Chapman's *Jewish-American Literature, An Anthology* was published. His collection takes note of the tension between an American culture and the legacy of Hebrew Scripture. Within a secular American culture, the modern Jewish-American writer usually expresses the dignity of humanity, a central theme of the Prophets. American-Jewish literature resists an easy conformity with American culture; its unease marks its heritage and chance for creativity.

In his anthology *Jewish American Stories* (1977), Irving Howe finds regional literature a useful category in understanding Jewish-American literature. Arguing that "regional" can be used in a metaphorical way, Jewish American writers (who are indisputably American writers) derive the subjects of their work from the early neighborhoods of Jewish settlement, or the more affluent areas of upward and outward migration. In an almost Hegelian moment, Howe compares American-Jewish writing with that of Southern literature, both "subcultures" finding their "voice" when they approach "disintegration." The immigrant milieu offers both a usable past as well as characteristic problems: the search for an adequate way to preserve and order the past. Moreover, the American Jewish writer has access to those traditions and implications designated as "Jewishness." Calling this the "persuasion of distinctiveness," Howe finds it to be a "rich moral perspective." Yet, such distinctiveness is protean, felt as "urgency and need."

For Howe, the culture of Yiddish is threnody and theory: narratives of immigration are exhausted. Nonetheless, Howe wonders about the cultivation of a new sensibility, the "post-immigrant Jewish experience" which may inform younger writers. His *World of Our Fathers* funds this claim, exploring the cultural variousness and political convictions of the lower East Side's Jews. Clearly a secular rendition of *Yidishkayt*, the book presents the Jew entering modernity through the harshness of the laboring day, the promise of socialism, and the reality of rough and tumble American politics.

In his *American Jewish Fiction: A Century of Stories* (1998), Gerald Shapiro disputes Irving Howe's claim that the major narrative line of the American-Jewish experience has thinned. Rather, he finds that the perennial topics Jews have engaged with are still being posed: Jewish identity and its implications, notably the tension "between skepticism and belief …"

Ted Solotaroff and Nessa Rapoport's introductory essays to *Writing Our Way Home* (Schocken, 1992; republished as *The Shocken Book of Contemporary Jewish Fiction* in 1996) also contest Howe's lament. *Writing Our Way Home* identifies the acts that kept afloat Jewish life. The *Yidishkayt* of the immigrant became a presence in American literature by finding its place in "the dynamic of acculturation." This took place decades after the great East European migration to America. But equally important, Solotaroff and Rapoport's work illuminates a tradition coming into being: post-acculturation alternatives for Jewish life. Could not the modern Jewish imagination be nourished "as much by imagination as by memory?" The victory of the Six-Day War, the emergence of spoken Hebrew, the fervent identification of American Jews with Israel, the rise of exciting learning communities – all of these suggest a new, assertive American-Jewish life.

For Michael Lerner, the guiding figure of *Tikkun*, Jewish writing can be seen as healing, a redemption from injustice and the will to power of politics. In his *Best Contemporary Jewish Writing* (2001), Lerner writes that his selections emphasize works that suggest the healing "that our planet and our community so badly need." Lerner sees Jewish text affirming that we make our freedom, and *can* make this freedom for the betterment of our society. He appeals to Jewish mystical tradition, recounting the contraction of God and the effulgence of sacred light that shattered their vessels: holy fragments that "need repair." Our labor is to liberate these sparks, returning the *Shekinah* to our world As Lerner suggests, this can be translated into political, social, and personal terms.

The most comprehensive and spacious anthology to date is Jules Chametzky, John Felstiner, Hilene Flanzbaum, and Kathryn Hellerstein's *Jewish American Literature: A Norton Anthology* (2001). Situating itself in a multicultural American literary history, the anthology addresses the widening term "Jewish American literature" so that it "signifies an American literature that is Jewish." Setting Jewish literature within the development of American civilization makes much sense. Chronology reflects the phases of immigration, estrangement, acculturation, and critique. The Norton's last section, "Jews Translating Jews," though a small part of the book, shines light on how an American language – its style, its pace, what Whitman might term its voice *en masse* – absorbs the Jewish polylingual heritage. This section also reminds us of the Jewish dialogue with its own imagination, making its past enter the present.

IV

The period from 1970 to the present had its major themes articulated by Malamud, Bellow, Ozick, and Philip Roth. Their literature has a broad descriptive trait which is best expressed as the claim of the ethical within and upon ordinary life. The oft-described quest for an American-Jewish identity becomes a search for the adequate, purposive community. This community can be made possible by text, tradition, or neighborhood. The works of these writers insist that dignity, justice, and compassion are ordinal virtues at the core of a desirable existence. For these authors, moral decision illuminates the contemporary situation but is not of it. It is akin to the Prophetic declamations about the just society. Moreover, the wellsprings of the ethical life, to paraphrase Mosaic exhortation, are not hidden. Given the autonomy America offers the self, moral dereliction is an act of will. As Artur Sammler wearily puts it, "we know."

This ethical temperament is often described in earlier terms as a contest between what cultural historians, *pace* Arnold, have called Hellenism and Hebraism. In theme, these poles represent the civic culture of nations and the culture of the Covenant. Bellow describes the recoil from the sensual Byzantine city and its chaos. Ozick writes forthrightly about the Judaic strain of the novel, its ethical import, and a liturgical voice. Much of her fiction examines the boundaries enclosing the Jewish self. Malamud dramatizes the demand that one yield to a higher notion of selfhood than egoism. Roth envisions a community intent upon preserving a tradition of comportment, so much so, that an individual's turn against the *mores* and boundaries of American-Jewish culture undoes the self.

Several of their works form a "communalizing text," a representation of dominant themes that have been relevant to, and are still vibrant in American-Jewish literature. This large text is a colloquy exploring the social contract we make with civil society (its laws, its customs, its culture), and the covenant that we uphold with the Jewish ethic bespeaking the dignity of self. These multiple, rich, and often contradictory relationships take the form of explanation: an attempt to separate what is forbidden by *the* Covenant and what is permitted by modern society. Separation is presented in these exemplary works as the anxiety entailed by our making our selves discover a relationship to secular and sacred history. These encounters are not without awe. Such trepidation involves not simply the making of a self, but the willingness to live within a particular people and a pluralizing culture.

From 1970 onward, *Mr. Sammler's Planet* is the towering presence in American-Jewish writing and modern American literature as well. Bellow's later works, notably *Humboldt's Gift* (1975), *The Dean's December* (1982), and *Ravelstein* (2000), are deprived of a character whose history separates him from normalizing experience. *Mr. Sammler's Planet*'s cultural background is the *idea* of the city itself. American and European regionalist thinkers, from Patrick Geddes to Lewis Mumford, defend the city as concentrating human symbols and resources, allowing for creativity and the possibility of a balanced life. Cultural, social, and environmental assets can be cultivated and shared. The democratic city expresses the equanimity of the good life, countering the dangers posed by poverty, density, and injustice. This city is the aureate dream of civilization, and embraces Athens as well as Jerusalem.

Mr. Sammler's Planet (1970) addresses what the city has become. The Holocaust, the rise of a technics shorn of moral evaluation, and a democracy deprived of thoughtfulness give the novel its chance for judgment. Sammler's New York ingathers these. Bellow turns away from the eponymous adventurers of *The Adventures of Augie March* (1953), and *Henderson the Rain King* (1959), presenting Sammler, a man whose experience has been refined so that his action *is* judgment. Sammler is a collector of selves and of identities. No stranger to mass murder as well as intellectual society, his character easily moves amongst urban communities: the would-be students, speculators, the criminal, the deranged, urbane intellectuals, and his own family. A well-born Polish Jew; a journalist who knew H.G. Wells; a thinker drawn to a utopian project to regulate social life; and a Holocaust survivor, Sammler is blind in one eye. When the novel begins, he is living in Manhattan on the pension provided by a distant relative, Dr. Elya Gruner.

The novel's characters are people whose lives are truncated, either by history or dereliction. They celebrate their personal liabilities. As Sammler understands them, they are oblivious to the implicit moral "contract" that makes society just. The obligations to the "contract," as Sammler poses it, are obligations to ethical order and satisfaction, making the attainable – if not the good – life possible. Conduct is not justified by sentiment, but by consciousness of what is good for both self and others. His claim takes us back to rabbinic dictum: "the rest is commentary. Go and learn it."

A novel confronting the romantics of violence, and the imperatives of the ethical self, *Mr. Sammler's Planet* does not propose how we know the good: we simply know it. In Sammler's case, this world-weary knowledge is the recoil from untrammeled individuality, from mass movements that are based on rationales, not rationality, and from the fables of modern autonomy. A survivor who literally lived in a tomb, Sammler is resurrected in a world uncomprehending of the traditions of language, and of "high ceiling" thought. New York has become a society without an intellectual framework that makes room for moral judgment. Sammler possesses the authority of survival almost extinguished by barbarism. He is enabled to ask how we *should* live, not *how* we live. Sammler's task is to assess, to demand, and to pronounce. The company Sammler keeps has to be disenchanted of its banality. Easy explanations, the novel's massive collecting of nonchalant behavior, have to be traced to the myths for keeping them.

The novel's plot is architectural; layers imbricating layers. Images of the sea, of pipes bursting, of an aneurism, and of a reservoir punctuate the novel. They are offset by images of height: the moon, an airplane scraping a house and long-distance flight. They suggest the human desire to live in other places, to escape the limiting conditions of location, history, and mortality. As a result, the novel presents us with human boundaries and their crossings.

Sammler recoils from a city of crime and theatrical selves. As he traverses Manhattan by bus, the city becomes a modern theater. Individuals adopt historical costumes and roles: the bohemian, the hippie, the prince, the sexually provocative, and the deranged. His bus route to the library is also that of an African American pickpocket, elegantly dressed. Later, he confronts Sammler, pushing him against a wall, and exposing himself.

Beginning his meditations upon the contained as well as limitless self, Sammler reads the Bible and Meister Eckhart. Eckhart's writing on the purification of individuality as well as biblical ethical injunction are clues to Sammler's recoil from the contemporary city. His conversation with Professor V. Govinda Lal, a biophysicist, is a plea for a renewed humanism. Lal's manuscript, "The Future of the Moon," has come into Sammler's possession. Their talk is built upon Sammler's defense of the necessary, ordered society, and Lal's vision of a lunar colony, an escape from the density of an ever-growing population and human limits. For Sammler, philosophy is grounded, literally and metaphorically. There can be no flight from the human condition or human betterment. On the one hand, H.G. Wells (whom Sammler knew from his days in London, and about whom Sammler is rumored to be writing a book) provides a point of critical departure. An explainer, a believer in mass education, Wells refused to abandon the high role of education in a mass society. On the other hand, modern culture witnesses a call to "noble actions" on the part of those who can least understand what this demands. Sammler's fear of disorder is his trembling before murder.

Lal's version of the planned society takes place on the moon. It is a metonym for the unbinding of man from humanistic tradition: a flight from the bounded. Philosophically interesting, it is a technological fugue that is captivating as well as implicative. For an American reader, Lal's proposals summon up Henry Adams' speculations about the age of ether, Lewis Mumford's discussions of unbridled technics, and Paul Goodman's understanding of the depersonalizing society. For Sammler, Lal's advocacy of the order of technics leads to the demolition of the species.

By the novel's end, the imagery Bellow has drawn becomes a tight knot: Elya's aneurism in the brain bursts. His feckless son has pulled the pipes apart of Elya's house, looking for hidden money. Sammler's former son-in-law, another survivor, Eisen, comes to America to interest people in his grotesque, pyrite "medallions," bearing the word "*Hazak*." As New Yorkers merely watch, Eisen slams the pickpocket in the head with his medallions. Though called a lunatic, Eisen acts and justly so. In the last scene. as Sammler sees Elya's body, he understands that Elya has met the terms of his contract. And, as Sammler concludes, we know those terms.

During this period, Malamud's works reveal the Jewish self as metaphorically all selves and as hapless as all humanity. For Malamud, Jewish history preserves if not *the*, at least *a* moral imagination. In an interview with Shlomo Kidrin in 1968 ("Malamud Explains Jewish Contribution to U.S. Writing," reprinted in *Conversations with Bernard Malamud*, ed. Lawrence Lasher, 1991), Malamud pointed out that he envisioned the Jew as a metaphor for "'universal man.'" For "'every man is a Jew'" even if he is unaware of this.

In Malamud's fiction, empathy and compassion are shown by the powerless because the powerful have lost this humanly defining response. They refuse or are unable to accept a common life. While hardly mandated by Jewish law, concern for others at the expense of self becomes authorized as a recognition that we are bound to others as we are bound to our notion of our best selves. "But if I am for myself only," Hillel asks in *Pirkei Avot*, "what am I?" An encounter with God becomes the daily encounter with an unfinished self and society.

Arguably his best work, *Dubin's Lives* (1979) deals with the quarrel between art and the ordered life: the opposition rendered as the struggle between Hellenism and Hebraism. The knowing of terms is Sammler's pathos. For Malamud's Dubin, action itself is unsettling, destabilizing his notion of himself. In terms of the novel, Dubin's character remains a theory read in the light of experience. Malamud depicts Dubin's limited abilities to live within the poetics of Hellenism, to nurture the instincts that D.H. Lawrence praised as authoritative and liberating.

Dubin is a middle-aged man, an eminent biographer, living in a now loveless marriage. While working on his *Passion of D.H. Lawrence*, he is swept by desire for the young Fanny Bick, whom he thinks of as "Venus revived." Of course, passion's ambiguity – need as well as desire – serves the book well. Dubin is helpless before his procreant urge. His pathos is his struggle to hold his idea of himself to account, and yet, to know that he will be tormented by its constraints: fidelity, honesty, and clarity. Dubin's life is Hebraic pain, as Emma Lazarus so aptly termed it: the Jew's abject bow before the culture of Hellas.

As Dubin hopefully enters this liaison, replete with humiliation and deception, he is reminded that he is now living Lawrence's myth of the natural self. Lying with Fanny in her New York apartment, he thinks he comprehends what Lawrence has meant by his celebration of paganism. Nevertheless, Malamud will not grant Dubin an easeful sensuality. Looking out the bedroom window, he sees a Jew praying in a synagogue. Dismissing the idea of a God ever listening to humanity, Dubin wonders, wistfully, whom should he pray for?

The image of a people apart claims him. Whereas Malamud ignores the Hebraic celebration of sexuality, he does not diminish the antisemitic notion of the Jew as an intruder within nature. Jogging along a road near his rural home, a farmer on horseback comes alongside him. Pointing to tractors bulldozing trees, the farmer shrilly raises the notion of deicide. The Jews, the farmer declaims, are "crucifyin'" the land. The spectral Lawrence confronts Dubin, hectoring him that his Jewish mind opposes "the active Male Principle." The Jew fears "primal impulses."

Malamud's struggle for the novel's ending is his labor for equipoise between Hebraism and Hellenism. On the crest of a renewed youthfulness, Dubin had declaimed that he wanted all of life. This Faustian wish is granted. Comforting his daughter who believes that Zen will bring her serenity, he argues that Jews do not withdraw from the world. In the last scene, Dubin, who now all too chaotically lives in the world, rushes from mistress to wife, holding his "half-stiffened phallus … for his wife with love." Even given the clumsiness of this ending, there is a victory over irresoluteness. The triumph is not Dubin's, though it is of his making. Fanny has been encouraged by him to fashion a purposeful life.

In her "Innovation and Redemption: What Literature Means" (found in *Art & Ardor*), Cynthia Ozick accentuates the claim that literature "*is* the moral life." Repelled by the notion that one could abandon moral judgment in art, that one could wrest art away from its all-too-real address of the human situation, she argues that those who assert that the moral sense in art is irrelevant are part of the Hellenic legacy. Writers under the influence of Hellas invariably lead to Hellas. Ozick's "Preface" to *Bloodshed and Three Novellas* (1976) enhances these claims. "Usurpation (Other People's Stories)" invokes what Ozick calls the "dread of imagination." As Ozick puts it, "Usurpation" militates against Apollo. The story counters "magic and mystification" because the drive to create stories can lead to the worshipping of idols, to adoring the "magical event." (A good companion piece is Heine's "The Greek Gods.") However, Ozick wonders if the urge to write stories is another form of idolization.

From "The Pagan Rabbi" (found in the accessible *The Pagan Rabbi and Other Stories*, 1971) through "Usurpation (Other People's Stories)" to *The Cannibal Galaxy* (1983) through *The Messiah of Stockholm* (1987) and to her *Heir to the Glimmering World* (2004), Ozick embroiders this theme, She poses the American-Jewish writer's dilemma: what can be heard both within and outside what Ozick has called the liturgical voice of Jewish writing? Saul *Tchernichowsky, and his poem about obeisance to Hellas, "Before the Statue of Apollo," haunt Ozick's work. Her fiction suggests that if Jewish writers accept the heritage of abomination, reading their own lives within gentile myth, they worship the forbidden on its own terms. As she puts it in *Bloodshed and Three Novellas*, the Canaanite idols will speak of such a writer "in the language of the spheres, kike."

Her *Heir to the Glimmering World* (2004) strongly defends the tradition of Jewish commentary that is an unfolding address to creation and Covenant. Such meditation is also a renewal of the human. The novel encloses fables of identity within each other, asking what acts of interpretation and enhancement sustain self and community. Told through the eyes of a young woman, Rose, the book takes two figures – the Bear Boy and Professor Mitwisser – as examples of Karaitism. Ozick's deployment of *Karaites in both historical and literary usages suggests its boundaries. In her "Toward a New Yiddish," she contends that the New Critics are "Christian Karaites," extracting the text from the richness of human circumstance, and hence making it an idol. In "Innovation and Redemption," she marks the Karaites as those who would obey the strict letter without accepting its halo of meaning.

At the novel's center are James A'Bair (known as Bear Boy, called so after being the model for his father's illustrated children's books) and Prof. Mitwisser, a scholar of Karaitism. Both seek a return (the latter in text; the former, in self) to an original state of being, free of elaboration by others. Called a Karaite by Mrs. Mitwisser, James (who is Mitwisser's patron) wants to throw off his identity as Bear Boy. He wants to fashion anew his own individuality by acts of self-will. He ends as a suicide, the classic argument for self-determination. Pursuing the meaning of a fragment by al-*Kirkisani, a Karaite writer, Mitwisser, discovers this figure is a unique theological rebel. As Mitwisser argues, al-Kirkisani "receives, in order to refuse." Mitwisser understands that he has comprehended al-Kirkisani's grand renunciation, a descent into a depth in which, finally there is only *the* authentic divinity, a God "who disbelieves in man." This God is God "the heretic." Mitwisser's claim, though, may well be untenable. His work and conclusions, returning to an unelaborated tradition, an ever-present moment of the new, have been too hasty.

More so than any other American-Jewish writer, Philip Roth's work encompasses the history of contemporary America. His last novels, those narrated by Nathan Zuckerman, depict an America that remains, in spite of its contradictory promises of freedom, a nation in which Jews can determine their identities. Set against this freedom is the stabilizing norm of American myth: the pastoral as possessed by the *American* consciousness. This pastoral is offered through images and dreams that ennoble, even in tragic defeat, Roth's characters. An "arcadian mountain," a farmhouse, a lake, a life of abundance and achieved repose – these constitute an American myth of imagined completeness. As Roth well makes clear, this cluster of images and ideas, delusory or not, holds chaos at bay.

Roth's America (of *American Pastoral*, 1997; *I Married a Communist*, 1998; and *The Human Stain*, 2000) reveals the broken self, one bereft of the adequate, morally informing community. His works offer a reading of the fables of American culture lauding autonomy, eradication of the past, and the planned life. Even so, these novels catalogue private and public injustices that the spirit cannot heal: murder, betrayal, malevolence, slander, and gossip.

Roth's gift for discerning the large drift of American *mores*, its claims for an invented self, describes both the comic and tragic art of these works. The endings of these novels are caustic, setting the tragic undoing of individuals by their own wishes, within an indifferent nature. Foreground and background no longer comport. The self's putative grandeur has long been diminished. The pastoral images suffusing his novels belittle the passions animating his characters. His self-confident American Jews survive only by a creative deception: assurance. Neither good intentions nor communal traditions stay their pathos. In fact, their Judaism is civic and thin. It is a fidelity to the lessons of democracy learned from hard-working parents, from neighborhoods, and schools – all of which evoke the poignancy of youthful beliefs still informing the present.

In these three novels, an older Nathan Zuckerman bears witness. He records the fates of those whose acculturation is ironic and bitter. His sensibilities and frailties (variously, cancer, a by-pass operation, and deliberate seclusion near Athena College) shape his narrations. In turn, these traits fund his ideas of the self and history. The reader is never far from Nathan's New Jersey childhood and the work-ethic of the Jewish families he knew. His own limitations are strengths. He admits that writing is revealing and concealing. As a result, he discovers himself while he is compelled to write about lives that have been unimaginable to him. (The most salient analogue in American letters is Faulkner's *Absalom, Absalom!*, in which Quentin and Shreve invent Southern history, shredding its empirical nature to lay bare its fables of race and identity.)

Nathan reminds the reader that the novelist always gets it wrong. As he puts it, he is given to dream a realistic chronicle. His narrations, though, are far from this. They question his own sense of self, so much so that he is forced to change his life. He, and those whose lives he imagines he has reconstructed, discover that the past can neither be betrayed nor buried. As *I Married A Communist's* Murray Ringold puts it, quoting Shakespeare, "'And thus the whirligig of time brings in his revenges.'"

Nathan invokes Greek tragedy and Shakespearean drama; he echoes Fitzgerald and Faulkner; he is never far from Turgenev and Tolstoy, pushing his work into the great narrative of human failing, attendant upon success and arrogance. Nathan strains to find the majesty of failure within the seeming normalcy of lives: lives which cannot bear the gravity of such tragedy until they represent a summa and summation of what we recognize as an American character. The endings of his novels are less resolutions than they are commentaries about a civilization opposing the soft pastoral to its intent: the present cannot sustain myth. The pastoral now judges human incompleteness. In Nathan's understanding, it is the human stain that we must accept.

Roth's *American Pastoral* has as companion pieces both the novels of Russian moral realism and those classics of literature that speak directly to the ironies of naiveté: Tolstoy and Fitzgerald come easily to mind. For Nathan, the pull of his Jewish past unprepares him for the astonishing present. Nathan's idea of his childhood separates obligation from indulgence. The place of his boyish years was marked by industriousness, he remembers. "The goal was to *have* goals…."

The novel's protagonist, Seymour "Swede" Levov, a man without wit or irony as Nathan points out, enacts his understanding of America. A high school hero (Nathan calls Swede "the household Apollo" of the community's Jews), and a former Marine, he is raised on the virtues of responsibility and rationality. His self-imposed civic obligations and his concern for his family's glove manufacturing business make him stay in Newark, a city ruined by crime and riots.

The Swede has moved away, literally and communally, from the Jewish past of his father, and the Jews of his neighborhood. He marries a gentile, former Miss New Jersey and buys a farmhouse in the countryside, Old Rimrock, where his wife breeds cattle. American culture is both his charmed pastoral, and his destruction. His, and America's, dreams of insulation from violence by means of affluence, distance, and cultural myth are porous. His daughter, Merry, is responsible for the bombing of a local general store and post-office, killing one person. Fleeing her home, she is passed along a radical underground railway, aided in her flight, at first, by friends of the Swede. She becomes the nightmare of America's choice. She matures. She becomes expert at bomb-making, and later kills other people. Finally, starving herself and incapable of recognizing the horror of her crimes, she meets with her father, telling him she has become a Jain.

The last blow that the Swede takes is at a dinner party in his house. He realizes his wife is having an affair; that his daughter can no longer be defined as a sweet, gentle child manipulated by radicals, and that Merry's therapist and the therapist's husband have sheltered the child after the first bombing, leaving him in anguished ignorance of his daughter's whereabouts. At the same time, his father leaves the table, trying to coax a drunk, mentally ill woman to eat. She stabs him close to the eye. At the end of this chaos, a dinner guest sarcastically laughs at the fragility of seemingly "robust things." Roth's last lines – how sarcastically Olympian – ask what *could* be wrong with them? "What on earth is less reprehensible than the life of the Levovs?"

The novel takes unredeemable action as its center. Its Job-like litany of disease and death, success and affliction are built upon Nathan's recollection of one of the Swede's childhood books, *The Kid from Tomkinsville*. This book is a counter-narrative of American promise. The book is spun around baseball, yet in the book every success is met with disappointment and "accident." At one point, Nathan considers entitling his own account of the Swede as *The Kid from Keer Avenue*.

American Pastoral explores the stabilizing myths of the older generation of its Jews. It also depicts unforeseen consequences: the fables of revolution that children such as Merry use to define American history and social justice. An illuminating, elementary morality is destroyed within civic life. Yet the Swede is also morally sightless. At the dinner party, the Swede believes that Merry has opened his eyes; she has made him see. He is, however, no blind seer. He is only someone who understands his own self-deceptions as well as those of others. *American Pastoral* becomes an elegy for Nathan's and the Swede's youth. Nathan's grasp of his own mortality, and the Swede's death from cancer address the mortal heritage: the self's fate is particular. It cannot be determined.

I Married a Communist carries on the grand theme of social realism: a protagonist who is undone by willed self-ignorance. The novel depicts the career of Ira Ringold who has tried to prevent his past from engulfing man. His education is crisis, as well as a dogmatic Communist Party reading of crisis. The theme of what sort of education can America provide is a durable one, and finds its great examples in Dreiser's *An American Tragedy*, Farrell's *Studs Lonigan*, and Wright's *Native Son*. With Roth's novel, the American Jew enters again this pedagogy of insincerity.

Ira's life is a series of duplicities. A Communist who is exposed by a conniving gossip columnist and politician; a youthful murderer on the run; a radio actor married to Eve Frame, a Jewish antisemite; a husband beset by Eve's tyrannical daughter, Sylphid – these are the shards of Ira's life. His marriage and desire for a family are shields. They protect him from his childhood, his violent anger and HUAC.

Ira, and his well-intentioned brother, Murray, a high-school English teacher, represent American-Jewish types. For Murray, education is an education in the culture of democracy. He succeeds because he thinks America nourishes a liberalizing culture of reason and opportunity. Ira also succeeds; his path away from the past is the Party. Yet both fail: Murray's wife is killed, in part, because of his liberal good will. Ira's understanding of others and himself is destroyed by ideology. Murray Ringold's pronouncement about his brother is final and decisive: "He never discovered his life." His judgment upon himself is just as bitter: the myth of his own goodness was his "final delusion." Nathan, who has listened to Murray's story for six nights, later looks at the heavens. They are part of a universe without conflict, fixed by no human machination. "The stars," he reflects, "are indispensable."

Nathan appears again in *The Human Stain*. The title's allusion is multiple, referring to the infamous stain on Lewinsky's dress, the imperfection of being human, and the stain of skin color. Its protagonist is Coleman Silk, an African American, who decides as a young man that he could pass the color line. And he does. His journey from his East Orange, New Jersey past to his professorship in the classics at Athena college, is a bargain made to protect what Nathan calls "the elaborate clockwork" of his life. Coleman has broken with his mother, and siblings, invented himself as a Russian Jew, and has married Iris Gittelman.

His life is undone because of political incorrectness. "Do they exist or are they spooks?" he asks his class about two missing students. "Spooks" is the word that undoes him. The two students are black. Silk is accused of racism. He is undefended and shunned by his colleagues. He is also victimized by a parody of the academic woman, Delphine Roux, who presents herself as a French "depaysee" professor, stranded at Athena College, and persecuted by Coleman. Sending a letter that is meant to intimidate Coleman, revealing his affair with Faunia, a seemingly illiterate woman, who works as a janitor, Delphine begins by writing "Everyone knows…."

This phrase resounds in Nathan's narrative: it is banal, reducing the complexity of life to malicious gossip. For what "everyone knows" opposes the revelation of the novel. Nathan opens up what had been seen as the simple arrogance and stubbornness of Coleman's life. Nathan enfolds the time-worn American fable of self-invention within the pattern of tragedy. Yet, as Nathan has mentioned elsewhere, literature depends upon particularity, upon the authenticity and uniqueness of character. His strategy, as always, recreates the painful moments when the self is recalled to its past, when its vaunting sense of individuality is caught by the furies that are the haunting of the past. Coleman's pedagogy speaks to his life – and to Nathan's art: the rage of Achilles, the Greek gods' quarrels, the cruelty exposing the human stain. Coleman's grandeur is his refusal to abandon his calibrated life. His refusal is also his fate.

Nathan's meditation on Coleman's life becomes Roth's dialogue with classical literature. Hellenism and Hebraism confront one another: can Hebraism be usurped or even adopted in order to judge as well as present Hellenism? The book's epigraph about blood expiation is taken from *Oedipus Rex*, bespeaking both an identity and a destiny that are interwoven. Roth easily leads the reader to one of Coleman's lectures, as Nathan reconstructs it. In a course dealing with heroes, gods, and myths, Coleman ironically encapsulates the crisis of his life and the recurrent despair of the epic hero. There is no repose for the Greek warrior, for *The Iliad*'s opening lines, Coleman declaims, provide European literature with its origin. The rage of Achilles, Coleman points out, is like "a barroom brawl." Faunia's ex-husband is Nathan's Americanization of the Greek warrior. Les Farley is a Viet Nam veteran, at the mercy of trauma and rage. He is cunning, stalking Faunia and Coleman, and, Nathan believes, later forces their car off a road so that they are killed.

To borrow Arendt's now classic phrase, Nathan confronts the banality of evil. For Nathan, it is a leave-taking. His romantic indulgence of the solitudinous life is over. The novel ends with Nathan looking at Les Farley who is ice fishing. Nathan calls the scene "pure and peaceful," a man fishing alone on an "arcadian mountain." It is a vision particularly fitting. It calls for, as Nathan himself has called for, an end to a deception so enormous and with such entitlement that America can no longer be looked upon as a civilization commensurate with unconstrained dreams.

[Lewis Fried (2nd ed.)]

POETRY. Jewish-American poetry since 1970 has come into its own. A relative late-bloomer compared to Jewish-American drama and prose fiction, this genre has virtually exploded in the past 35 years, producing a rich and diverse body of work representing nearly all aspects of Jewish life and thought in the United States. The earlier 20th century witnessed the publication of a number of important Jewish poems, such as Louis *Zukofsky's *Poem Beginning "The"* (1928) and "*A*"-12 (1950–51), and Allen *Ginsberg's *Kaddish* (1961). It was also the period during which Charles *Reznikoff (1894–1976), the one major American poet who wrote consistently about Jewish experience, produced nearly all his work. By contrast, the post-1970 period encompasses much of the careers of a number of important poets for whom Jewish experience is fundamental to their writing in terms of both form and content. We also see an increasingly serious engagement not only with Jewish-American daily life, but, perhaps even more importantly, with traditional Jewish texts and textuality, and with Jewish philosophy, religious practice, ritual and belief.

As is true of other literary genres and the arts in general, a widening and deepening of what it means to be Jewish in America marks the poetry of recent times. Never an "immigrant" or "ethnic" literature to the same extent as Jewish-American fiction, Jewish-American poetry at its most profound addresses longstanding concerns of the Jewish worldview that are, in effect, reconceived through American history and culture. Then again, this recent work cannot be truly understood and appreciated without taking important trends and schools in modern American poetry into account; thus Jewish-American poetry must be recognized as a peculiar fold in a set of American literary and cultural concerns that have roots extending at least as far back as early-20th century modernism. This is especially true in regard to matters of style and form: the traditional English versification of a "Jewish" poem by Anthony Hecht or John Hollander is a far cry from the avant-garde practices shaping an equally "Jewish" poem by Jerome Rothenberg or Charles Bernstein. Because American poetry of the last 30 years has been marked by vigorous debate – if not outright conflict – in regard to issues of style, voice, personal and group identity, canon formation, and cultural institutionalization, we must acknowledge at the outset that recent Jewish-American poets have both shaped and been shaped by concerns that extend well beyond Jewishness per se.

This is clearly the case for those figures who have also made significant contributions to the *poetics* of Jewish-American poetry. The first of these poet-critics whom we will consider is Allen *Grossman (1932–). Grossman's engagement with Judaism dates from his first collection of poems, *A Harlot's Hire* (1961) and remains constant throughout his career. Deeply influenced by the Anglo-American Romantic tradition (his first critical study was on Yeats, and he has written distinguished essays on Whitman and Crane), Grossman acknowledges himself to be "a high-style writer," since "The high style is the style of high hope." Using elevated rhetoric, cunning irony, and phantasmagoric imagery, Grossman synthesizes the Romantic sublime with Jewish psalmic utterance and a weirdly deadpan, midwestern American humor; the result is one of the most unique voices in American poetry of the last 50 years. Thus in "The Song of the Lord," the poet announces that "The voice of the Lord opens the gates of day," while in "How to do things with tears," he affirms that "In thy springs, O Zion, are the water wheels / of my mind!" At the same time, however, Grossman raises doubts about the relationship of Jewish belief to the poetic imagination. As he declares in "Out of the Blue," "The meaning of the world / Is being made in defiance of the Jew."

What Grossman means by this enigmatic statement – along with many others in his passionately propaedeutic and dialogical poems – can only be understood in relation to the "long schoolroom" (the phrase comes from Yeats' "Among School Children") that constitutes the body of his writings on poetics, gathered in *The Sighted Singer* (1992) and *The Long Schoolroom: Lesson in the Bitter Logic of the Poetic Principle* (1997). The latter is particularly important for Jewish poetry, for it contains his early, penetrating review of Ginsberg's *Kaddish*, his article on "Holiness," originally written for the collection *Contemporary Jewish Religious Thought*, and above all, "Jewish Poetry Considered as a Theophoric Project," arguably one of the most profound essays ever written on poetry and the Jewish literary imagination. The argument of this essay is too complex to be rehearsed here, but Grossman's self-consciously problematic idea of Jewish poetry as "theophoric," i.e. "God-bearing," and dedicated to a "culture of holiness," actually stands in partial opposition to poetic creation as it is conventionally understood. For Grossman, "the Jew's one word (the Jew's poem of which I write) does not 'create', for that would be redundant, but repeats the one word [God's Word, the Word of Holiness and Presence] that is." Be that as it may, Grossman still concludes that the Jewish poet, dedicated to God's Presence, the Shechinah, "has an obligation to construct the place where 'Light and Law are manifest', to which the nations may come because it is where they are."

The Jewish invocation of the *Shekhinah* and its concomitant call to the nations lead us to a second highly influential figure in recent Jewish-American poetry, Jerome Rothenberg (1931–). A leading figure in the ethnopoetics movement, Rothenberg is a prolific poet, translator and anthologist whose influential work synthesizes the anthropological study of "primitive" cultures with the experimental practices of American and European modernism. Rothenberg sees in the Jews a "primal people," and understands Jewish culture, back to its most archaic origins, as sharing with other tribal cultures a power of *poesis* or imaginative making: "magic, myth, & dream; earth, nature, orgy, love; the female presence the Jewish poets named Shekinah." This quote comes from the "Pre-Face" to Rothenberg's *A Big Jewish Book* (1978; republished in a shorter version as *Exiled in the Word*, 1989), co-edited with the translator Harris Lenowitz. Constructed along the lines of his other ethnographically-inspired literary anthologies, *A Big Jewish Book* juxtaposes modern and traditional texts, orthodox and heretical, religious and secular, to present an immense collage of Jewish *poesis,* understood as "an inherently impure activity of individuals creating reality from all conditions & influences at hand." For Grossman, the *Shekhinah* represents the unique, monological nature of a Jewish poetry of presence, whereas for Rothenberg, the Shekhinah as Jewish muse links the Jews to all other peoples through the universality of poetic activity.

The "inherently impure activity" of Jewish *poesis* is nowhere more in evidence than in Rothenberg's *Poland/1931* (1974). Described by the poet as "an experimental attempt to explore, and recover, ancestral sources in the world of Jewish mystics, thieves, and madmen," this "supreme Yiddish surrealist vaudeville" is both an exercise in deep parody of Jewish ritual and textual practices and an altogether serious enactment of a "timeless" ancestral world. Beginning in a mythic Jewish Poland (which owes a great deal to the fiction of I.B. Singer), the book progresses through the immigration to America of the primal Jewish couples, Esther K. and Leo Levi, to culminate in the outrageous sexual conquest of the American west in the final poem, "Cokboy." Yet Rothenberg's vision of Jewish life is not altogether comic: *Khurbn & Other Poems* (1989) presents a wrenchingly bleak but equally uncanny vision of the Holocaust in Poland, based on the poet's visit to the town from which his parents emigrated in 1920, just twenty miles from Treblinka. *Gematria* (1994), perhaps Rothenberg's boldest experiment in Jewish poetry, reworks into English the traditional interpretive system based on the numerological equivalents of the Hebrew alphabet, producing brief, exquisite poems that read like dictated portents inscribed by one of the ancient Jewish kabbalists that this postmodern poet continually invokes.

Kabbalah is also at the heart of *Spectral Emanations* (1978), John *Hollander's greatest achievement in Jewish poetry, though this elegant craftsman has written many other lyrics and sequences drawing on Jewish tradition and history. Hollander (1929–) has also distinguished himself as a critic of English poetry, and his own work bears the mark of a poet who has immersed himself in the formal values of that tradition. Measured, witty, and full of elegant word play, it nonetheless rises often to the level of the sublime, and nowhere more frequently than in *Spectral Emanations*. Structured according to the colors of the spectrum, with a text for each color, the poem also purports to be a quest for the lost Menorah of the Temple in Jerusalem, carried off by the Romans when they destroyed the city in 70 C.E. Yet it is also an unfolding vision of God's Presence through the figure of the *Shekinah*, who appears in various guises throughout, and an attempt at *tikkun*, or mystical restoration of the vessels that contain the supernal lights of the godhead in kabbalistic myth.

Like all of Hollander's Jewish poems, *Spectral Emanations* reflects the poet's observation, in his essay "The Question of American Jewish Poetry" (1988), "that the American Jewish poet can be either blessed or cursed by whatever knowledge he or she has of Jewish history and tradition." Though his knowledge proves a blessing, Hollander also warns that "Literalness is the death of the poetic imagination, and all groups in the cultural community that speak for Jewishness will always be very literal about 'Jewish experience' is, as will all groups that want to speak for 'American experience.'" Thus Hollander, like nearly all Jewish American poets, refuses to recognize any religious or cultural authority when it comes to the use of Jewish materials by the literary imagination.

Nowhere is this more apparent than in the work of the feminist poet and critic Alicia Ostriker (1937–). Vigorous, forthright, passionate and engaged, Ostriker's poetry casts a wide net in regard to Jewish matters: she writes about Jewish-American family life, about the Holocaust, about religious ritual, and most especially, about the Hebrew scriptures. One of the most ambitious midrashists among Jewish-American poets, Ostriker returns again and again to biblical tales and figures, probing, revising, turning and transforming the tradition in the light of her sharply critical but deeply humane social and political commitments. Perhaps her boldest venture into midrash is *The Nakedness of the Fathers: Biblical Visions and Revisions* (1994), in which poetry and prose, narrative and hermeneutic, personal reflection and scholarly exegesis are combined in a remarkably comprehensive reconsideration of nearly all the major tales and figures in the Torah. Concentrating on the nature of fatherhood and the tensions of gender relations in these familiar texts, Ostriker deconstructs patriarchal power, opening a space for "the return of the mothers." But in no sense does she dismiss or seek to dispense with the unpredictable God of the Fathers and his all too human patriarchs. An enlightened, modern rationalist, Ostriker, for all her passionate revisionism, insists on the notion of *progress* in Jewish history. For her, the original weight of Sinai dropped and upon Moses and the Israelites gradually lessens over the course of time: ironically, Jewish accomplishment, from those of King David to those of Maimonides to those of Kafka, Chagall, and Heifetz, lead her to "suppose that the mass of Sinai has decreased by the weight of a sparrow. Let it be pronounced we are making excellent progress. We are making history."

Such persistent tribal connections continue to reshape recent Jewish American poetry and poetics – or as Michael Heller puts it in his crucial poem "For Uncle Nat," "Not to make / Too much of it, but I know history / Stamps and restamps the Jew; our ways / Are rife with only momentary deliverance." In addition to a significant body of poems, many of them engaged not only with his own sense of identity but with the historical and philosophical dimensions of modern Jewish life, Heller (1937–) is also the author of *Living Root* (2000), a brilliant memoir which braids together Heller's family history, his early poetic development, midrashic commentary on his own poems, and more abstract, virtually kabbalistic considerations of language and being. Heller becomes, in effect, one of his own best critics, maintaining a striking sense of rigor and objectivity while at the same time gracefully illuminating his poems from within. Ranging from "Bialystock Stanzas," a meditation on photographs of his ancestral hometown in Poland destroyed in the Holocaust, to "The American Jewish Clock," a mordant consideration of the passage of generations in Jewish American life, to "Constellations of Waking," a stirring elegy on the suicide of Walter Benjamin, the German Jewish writer who has profoundly influenced Heller's work, the poems upon which Heller comments in *Living Root* constitute a remarkable tapestry of some of the most important moments of Jewish history and culture in the 20th century.

Heller is also a wide-ranging, exceptionally nuanced critic of modern and postmodern poetry. *Conviction's Net of Branches* (1985), the first full length study of the Objectivists, brings to light many of the ethical and linguistic concerns which make this largely Jewish group of poets one of the most important in 20th-century American literature. More recently, Heller's critical acumen has been confirmed with *Uncertain Poetries* (2005), a generous gathering of his essays, including pieces on George Oppen, Armand Schwerner, David Ignatow, and poetry of the Holocaust. The collection also includes "Diasporic Poetics," a definitive consideration on the Jewish dimension of Objectivist poetry which contains some of the most far-reaching remarks on the Jewish-American poetic sensibility. As Heller revisits his lifelong connection to this poetry, he concludes that "there is no such stable category as Jewishness…. What is religious, after all, are the very things that question the boundaries of our being, which enable a traverse of psychic chasms, of difference and otherness." Nevertheless, "From so much utilitarian secularity, one might derive a nontheological theology of language, as if to say: thank Whomever (ironically of course) or whatever has designed this world. For I find new languages daily; I find that not all is written out, and that therefore I too am allowed to speak and write."

What Heller identifies as the "utilitarian secularity" of modern, urban America, dialectically generating "a nontheological theology of language," may well serve as a paradigm for many recent Jewish-American poets, however different from each other they may be in terms of poetic style, as well as the particularities of their Jewish experience. Keeping in mind the extraordinary stylistic diversity of modern American poetry in general, it must also be stressed that many Jewish American poets address Jewish matters (be they cultural, historical, political, religious, or, as is most often the case, biographical) only intermittently, and in relation to their other themes and interests. One may cite a major figure such as Adrienne *Rich (1929–), for instance, who for much of her career hardly addresses Jewish matters at all. An icon of modern feminism, Rich's reputation is built on a complex, highly politicized body of poetry and prose in which issues of identity and shifting subject positions are continuously filtered through a resolute, passionate sense of self. Yet the ethical imperative that drives Rich's work forward is decidedly Jewish, and her search for justice, as in the earlier instance of Muriel Rukeyser, one of Rich's most important precursors, does indeed find expression in Jewish matters. A poem such "Yom Kippur 1984" (from *Your Native Land, Your Life*, 1986) begins with the resonant line "What is a Jew in solitude?" and explores the political and dilemmas of various marginalized social groups, rising to a prophetic intensity in its last lines, "when leviathan is endangered and Jonah becomes revenger."

The same ethical imperative and concern for the enlivening diversity of modern American culture can also be found in the work of Charles Bernstein (1950–), one of the leading figures of the Language poets, who has become one of the most widely-recognized and influential avant-garde literary groups of the last thirty years. Unlike Rich, whose political commitment is often expressed through a rhetoric of righteous biblical wrath, Bernstein's vision of community, related to what he calls "the civic practice of Jewishness," often manifests itself more obliquely. His poetry is typically marked by a sly, mockingly self-conscious verbal play, owing as much to Borscht Belt comedy and the monologues of Lenny Bruce as to his more firmly "poetic" precursors like Gertrude Stein and Louis Zukofsky. As Bernstein puts it in "Poetry and/or the Sacred" (1999), "Against the priestly function of the poet or of poetry I propose the comic and bathetic, the awkward and railing: to be grounded horizontally in the social and not vertically in the ethers." Again, much of Bernstein's work is not explicitly engaged with Jewish matters; especially in the earlier part of his career, he adopts and furthers the defamiliarizing techniques of high modernism while developing a comic version of the "politics of the signifier" associated with postmodern literary theory. Yet Jewish cultural concerns are never remote from him. One of his best essays, "Reznikoff's Nearness," carefully relates the earlier poet's Jewishness not only to his subject matter, but to the seriality and discontinuities of his poetic forms. As for an instance of Jewishness in Bernstein's own poetry, consider the poem "Solidarity Is the Name We Give to What We Cannot Hold" (1996), consisting entirely of a long list of possible poetic identities carried to absurd lengths ("I am a serial poet, a paratactic poet, a / disjunctive poet, a discombobulating poet / … I am a capitalist poet in Leningrad / and a socialist poet in St. Petersburg; / a bourgeois poet at Zabar's [the famous Manhattan deli]"). When the poem was reprinted in *Jewish American Poetry: Poems, Commentary, and Reflections* (see below), Bernstein offered the following commentary: "But is it Jewish? / – I think, probably, maybe so / But it could also be not Jewish / – Exactly." For Bernstein then, as for so many other recent Jewish writers, the indeterminate and decentered nature of modern Jewish identity becomes, paradoxically, the ground on which a new sense of the self can be established.

The potential for comedy in the dilemmas of modern Jewish identity is nowhere more in evidence than in *Chelmaxioms* (1977), a booklength poem by Allen Mandelbaum (1926–). Mandelbaum, a translator noted for his magisterial versions of the *Divine Comedy*, the *Aeneid*, the *Odyssey* and the *Metamorphoses*, brings all his linguistic talents and breathtaking erudition (both classical and Jewish) to bear on this unique work, consisting of the "Maxims, Axioms, Maxioms of Chelm." For Mandelbaum, "Chelm is the Diaspora writ small, but nurtured in the narrow compass of its walls by the scoriae, residues, sediments of all the encounters of the Jew in exile." But this Chelm is not the well known "counterfeit, usurping Chelm of Yiddish folklore…so derivative of – so indebted for its humor to – early German lumpen humor." Rather, Mandelbaum claims to write of "the *echt* Chelm, the meandering Chelm of the maxioms, which follow the non sequiturs – yet arabesque – of talk of talk and talk of text, which mime the riverlike careers of the Oral Law and the Written Law but carry a cargo of alegalities." Inhabited by wandering tribes of scholars (legalists, spinozists, kabbalists, etc.), Mandelbaum's Chelm is a free-floating textual paradise forever remaining to be uncovered, layer after layer, like Schliemann's Troy. The poem is thus structured as a sequence of "Findings," and its maxioms, Mandelbaum suggests, constitute a virtual third redaction of the Talmud, following those of Jerusalem and Babylon. Inspired by "the Perfect Woman" (a.k.a. the Sabbath Queen or *Shekhinah*), the scholars of Chelm pass through the various gates of their city engaged in endless disputation, conveyed to us through Mandelbaum's elaborately rhymed lyrics and absurd but always elegant digressions, footnotes, and scoriae.

Mandelbaum's voice in *Chelmaxioms* is mediated by that of "the Hoarse Savant," an inspired pedant, a kabbalistic schlemiel who gathers the fragments of word and act and binds them into the semblance of a unified poem. He is a close relation to the "Scholar/Translator" through whom we receive the text of Armand Schwerner's long poem *The Tablets* (1999). This boldly experimental work, written over the course of thirty years, has been compared to such works as Charles Olson's *Maximus Poems* and Zukofsky's *"A,"* but in its fascination with archaeology, ethnography, and the textually restorative powers of philology, it resembles the more overtly Jewish *Chelmaxioms* as well. A colleague of Rothenberg's in the ethnopoetics group, Schwerner (1927–1999) was also a translator, musician and performance artist, and like Rothenberg, Schwerner's interest in primitive and archaic cultures and their links to contemporary poetic practices is fundamental to *The Tablets* and his other poetry. Genealogically, *The Tablets* goes back further than any other exercise in ethnopoetics: it consists of a sequence of texts (mixing prose and poetry of various genres) that purports to be translations of Sumerian/Akkadian clay tablets more than four thousand years old. The "translations" and their commentaries come to us via Schwerner's "Scholar/Translator," an eccentric, perhaps even mad figure in constant dialogue with the voices of the archaic past, and much of the weird humor of the work arises from the discrepancies between the Scholar/Translator's observations and the materials he has managed to decipher with varying degrees of certainty. Appended to the poem is Schwerner's own "Tablets Journals / Divagations." These fragmentary observations, aphorisms, reflections and self-criticisms, many of them brilliantly insightful, further complicate the issues of commentary and of the transmission of scriptural traditions so fundamental to a Jewish understanding of textuality.

Thus, *The Tablets*, although neither ethnically nor historically "Jewish" in any overt fashion, is paradoxically one of the most important religious poems written by a Jew in recent years (though in all fairness, it should be noted that Schwerner, like a number of other prominent Jewish-American poets of his generation, such as Allen Ginsberg, was also a practicing Buddhist). For Schwerner, the poem in the process of uncovering – and making – reality, is simultaneously an act of sanctification and an interrogation of the sacred. The archaeological, linguistic, and paleographical methods of *The Tablets* lead us to reconsider some of our most reified assumptions about religious texts, scriptural canons, prophetic and priestly authority, and most importantly, the relation of the sacred to the profane. Positioned precisely in the space between ritual and scholarship, poetry and religion, Schwerner's masterpiece effectively deconstructs these polarities and reinstates the primacy of the linguistic imagination.

Given the radical degree to which *The Tablets* challenges what we have seen Michael Heller call any "stable category of Jewishness," Schwerner's work represents a limit case for Jewish-American poetry. Be that as it may, within these limits or categories, Jewish Americans of a number of generations continue to produce a richly varied body of work. The imminent publication of Harvey Shapiro's *The Sights Along the Harbor: New and Collected Poems*, for instance, marks the triumphant culmination of a career of over fifty years, which blends a Jewish search for "the Way" (*halakah*) with a sense of American openness and freedom that is also fully aware of the nation's political failures and historical disasters. Shapiro (1924–), who served as an Air Force gunner in World War II and went on to a distinguished career in journalism (including an eight-year editorship of the *New York Times Book Review*), represents the richness of recent Jewish-American poetry as fully as any of his contemporaries. Shapiro starts out, like so many poets of his generation, as a formalist, though his style changes dramatically under the influence of the Objectivists, whom he met in New York City in the 1960s (he became particularly close to George Oppen). By then, he had already published *Mountain, Fire, Thornbush* (1961), one of the most vivid instances of (to use Allen Grossman's term) a "theophoric" poetry, a poetry that participates in Jewish thought and history without being limited to a particular vision of Jewish ethnicity, but rather returns to biblical and rabbinic origins in order to understand the power of the Law and the overriding demands of the Holy. The elaborate rhetoric of this book will gradually modulate, in Shapiro's later work, into a looser, more conversational free verse, a greater sense of Objectivist economy, and the edgy, streetwise sound. With an eye that rivals Reznikoff's for urban detail, and a voice inflected with the rhythms of both the synagogue and the jazz club, Shapiro's poetry since the 1970s has become one of the best representatives of a New York Jewish style: wry, wise, restless and suffused with a sense of the blessedness of what he calls, to borrow the title of one of his books, "a day's portion."

In 2000, at the start of a new millennium, a book appeared that suggests, perhaps better than any other collection or anthology, the continuities and future of Jewish-American poetry. Edited by Jonathan N. Barron and Eric Murphy Selinger, *Jewish American Poetry: Poems, Commentary, and Reflections* offers a broad but also in-depth introduction to the field. In addition to a number of important historical and cultural analyses, it includes individual poems by twenty-six poets, along with their commentaries on the poems. This unique feature provides, as it were, a snapshot of contemporary Jewish-American poetry. The poems deal with virtually every aspect of Jewish life and thought, from religious meditations to ethnic memories, from ancient visions to modern American scenes. They represent well known poets with established reputations (Gerald Stern, Anthony Hecht, C.K. Williams, Philip Levine, and a number of the poets already mentioned here) as well as poets in mid-career (Ammiel Alcalay, Jacqueline Osherow, Bob Perelman, Norman Finkelstein). The commentaries are scholarly, playful, anecdotal, ironic, sentimental, intimate, hermeneutical, devout, profane. They convince the reader that Jewish-American poetry will continue to thrive, reflecting the remarkable heterogeneity and braided traditions of the culture from which it comes.

[Norman Finkelstein (2nd ed.)]

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, country in N. America.

This article is arranged according to the following outline:

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Introduction

American Jewish history is the product of a unique New World environment. It is also the outcome of centuries of social, religious, cultural, and political developments that reflect the myriad complexity and cross-currents of the history of East and West in the modern era, including the distinctive role played by the Jews in a variety of Christian and Islamic host societies and settings. This article traces the evolution and shaping of American Jewish life over time, from the colonization of North America in the early 17th century to the present age. It highlights broad themes and major topics in the American Jewish experience, examines divergent attitudes and perspectives on American Judaism, and investigates critical historical junctures in the relationship between the Jews and American society.

To understand the nature of American Jewish society and how American Jewry has organized itself for local, national, and international purposes, several factors specific to this continental community must be borne in mind. First, it is important to note the relative youth of American Jewry, a post-emancipationist community virtually devoid of persecution and expulsion, themes of special significance in the history of Jewish civilization. The overwhelming majority of today's American Jews date their arrival or that of their ancestors in America to the turn of the 19th century, the era in which czarist Russia's severe legal restrictions and widespread pogroms in Eastern Europe triggered the relocation of millions of Jews to Western Europe, Ottoman Palestine, and North and South America. To be sure, the first 23 Jews to settle in North America arrived in New Amsterdam (later New York) in 1654, but until the middle of the 19th century the total number of Jews in the United States was relatively sparse, especially in comparison to the vast numbers that arrived between 1881 and 1924.

A distinctive historical paradox of American Jewish life is that it tends toward being both chaotically over-organized *and* lacking in any central organizational structure. In fact, American Jewish life is typified by decentralization and competition in the marketplace of ideas over the direction of its communal agenda, and there has never been a figure (such as a chief rabbi) or group (such as the French General Assembly of Jews in the Napoleonic era) that can speak authoritatively for the entire Jewish community on social, religious, political, and philanthropic issues. The Council of Jewish Federations, an umbrella framework of Jewish Federations from across the country, wields considerable authority in regional affairs and often seeks to influence matters of domestic and international policy. Meanwhile, a host of formidable countrywide membership organizations have grown over time to exercise a profound impact on American, Israeli, and global Jewish affairs. This is true of the secular arena – consider, for example, the variety of non-religious American Jewish activity represented by the *American Israel Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC), the *Anti-Defamation League, *Hadassah, the *Jewish Labor Committee, the *National Jewish Democratic Council, the *Republican Jewish Coalition, and the *World Jewish Congress – *and* the religious spectrum demarcated by the Reform, Conservative, and Orthodox synagogue movements. Competition among and between these and other branches of institutional American Jewish life can be vigorous, especially in matters of theology, community relations, and philanthropy.

There have been frequent attempts in the United States to establish a central representative authoritative body of American Jews as well as strong counter pressure to preserve fragmentation, local autonomy, with large segments of the community refusing to become a part of any central organization. The impulse towards unification of the wider American Jewish community in the 20th century manifested itself in the *American Jewish Congress of 1917 and the *American Jewish Conference of 1943–45 and later in frameworks such as the *Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations, the National Jewish Community Relations Advisory Council, and the General Assembly of the Council of Jewish Federations. More recently, the *United Jewish Communities was created in 1999 out of a merger of the Council of Jewish Federations, the United Jewish Appeal, and the United Israel Appeal to mobilize the energies of the American Jewish community. At the dawn of the 21st century, the United Jewish Communities constituted the fifth largest charity in the country, with a combined income of over $2.2 billion.

That no centralized authority exists in American Jewish life is, in large measure, a reflection of the anti-hierarchical model of American society as a whole. To borrow a phrase coined by the historian Ben Halpern, "America is different" in numerous ways, not only in size and age but, most importantly, in the absence of any established church or governmental recognition or support of religion. This is markedly unlike other host societies in Europe and the Middle East where there are long histories of officially recognized Jewish *Kultusgemeindes*, chief rabbis, and other spokespeople. The American constitutional system has hallowed the separation of powers and the ban on any support of religious activities, which is strictly monitored by the courts and other organizations, including many Jewish organizations, for any incursion of government involvement in religious concerns. The American tradition does not recognize the perpetuation of separate ethnic or linguistic communities such as exist in Canada. This is one of the reasons for the lack of a religious census taken as part of the decennial census as well as the absence of definitive data about the size of the Jewish population in the United States. The estimate over the past 40 years has usually hovered around six million American Jews.

Many factors have contributed to the remarkable progress of the American Jewish community in almost every area of Jewish concern from the decline of antisemitism, the explosion of Jewish affluence, the emergence of higher institutions of Jewish learning and educational institutions, from elementary to post-graduate, to the growing influence and support of the community for Israel both politically and materially. It is hard to determine the extent to which the impact of the Holocaust and the creation of the State of Israel have contributed to the makeup of contemporary American Jewish life. Undoubtedly, both events were significant in reinforcing American Jews in their determination not to allow the repetition of what happened in the 1930s and 1940s when the United States stood by as European Jewry (one-third of the modern Jewish world) was destroyed by the Nazi regime.

In the three centuries since Jews first set foot on American soil – and roughly a century after the United States was but a distant, numerically insignificant outpost of the Jewish people – American Jewry has attained robust proportions, prosperity, cultural eminence, and political prestige. Humanitarianism, skill at organization, liking for innovation, and confidence in unlimited social and material improvement profoundly influenced the American Jewish experience. Such growth and achievements found no precedent in the history of the Jews, just as those of the United States itself were unparalleled. In post-emancipationist America – essentially devoid of feudal, aristocratic, and clerical roots – most of the legal and social problems that preoccupied European Jewry during and long after its era of emancipation were pointless. Discussions of Jewish status in the United States have sometimes had an apprehensive tone and antisemitism palpably existed. But American Jews, shaped in part by a continent-wide society composed of many religions and ethnic groups, has largely lacked the sense of the historical problematics that for centuries permeated Jewish life in Europe and the Islamic world. In American life, the Jewish role has been far in excess of the small Jewish percentage of the population. Only the State of Israel has played a greater role than its American counterpart in the transformation of the Jewish people in the modern period.

The Colonial Era, 1654–1776

THE PURITAN SETTING. The Hebrew Bible influenced the Pilgrims' journey from their native England to the new "Promised Land." The *élan vital* of the Pilgrim voyage was the profoundly biblical perception of a supernatural orientation to human history. After fleeing England, the "Separatists" (as the Pilgrims were known to their contemporaries) sojourned in Leyden, Holland. Before long, however, they began to fear that their children might be assimilated into the alien environment, and the group decided to resume its voyage to America without further delay. When this assemblage, The Scrooby Congregation, was ready to depart for the new land, the members fasted in a manner reminiscent of the ancient Israelites. Once settled in America, the custom was retained and frequently renewed. Early in 1620, the very year of the Pilgrims' landing in the new Plymouth, a solemn day of prayer was observed. This custom, combining prayer and fasting with biblical readings on important occasions, persisted at least until 1774, when Massachusetts declared a solemn day of prayer and fasting after the passage of the Intolerance Acts by the British Parliament. As late as 1800, President John Quincy Adams likewise called for a national day of prayer and fasting during the Napoleonic Wars. English colonists possessed of a similar sensibility soon followed in the footsteps of the pioneering Pilgrims. They, too, were impelled to forsake their native land owing to the political and religious persecution they endured under the prevailing ecclesiastical and civil authorities in England.

Of equal significance is the fact that the Puritan voyages to America were also part of a commercial phenomenon. The Endicott group, for instance, among the first to be sent to New England in 1628, was organized and financed entirely by a commercial concern established by English Puritans with the practical aim of turning a profit. Although it is difficult to disentangle the diverse strands woven into the Puritan effort to establish a new society, the two different elements – the search for religious liberty and the rise of capitalist enterprise – should be kept in mind when the colonization of North America is assessed.

In 1630 John Winthrop led the next major group of Puritan settlers to arrive in New England. He brought with him an organized form of government that attempted to fuse diverse political, social, and religious elements. The Massachusetts Bay Colony founded by Winthrop was ruled initially by an oligarchy of leading Puritan families, whose natural instrument of rule – since the colony itself was based on biblical principles and was moved by the Puritan spirit of the Scriptures – was the Holy Bible. The Puritans wholeheartedly believed it was their special mission to establish in America a society modeled on the precepts of Sacred Scripture. While there is considerable debate over whether the society established in the new colony was in effect a theocracy, the Massachusetts Bay Colony was at the very least a state inspired by and thoroughly devoted to the Bible.

The Puritans in coming to America believed they were entering a wilderness ruled by Satan and his attendant forces of idolatry, and they felt it their sacred duty to secure the rule of God in this latter-day Canaan. The Puritans' conviction that they were the Lord's chosen people *redivivus*, and, as such, partners in a new covenant with Him, pervaded every aspect of colonial life, political as well as religious. This had a twofold effect. First, it distinguished them from other Christian sects in the New World; the well-known intolerance of the Massachusetts colony stemmed directly from this fervent belief in their divine election. Secondly, it reinforced their sense of autonomy from England; the Puritans were certain they had been led to America at God's express command, and that their successes were the direct result and special sign of divine favor, protection, and guidance. This prevailing belief found expression and confirmation in the Synod of 1679, which declared "the ways of God towards this His people are in many respects like unto His dealings with Israel of old. It was a great and high undertaking of our fathers when they ventured themselves and their little ones upon the rude waves of the vast ocean, that so they might follow the Lord into this land."

The Scriptures were not simply left to the clergy but also read and studied by the laity who related the Bible to their New World experience. Such active lay participation and control in matters that were not the ordinary concern of lay members of a church in Europe was due to the dominant role the laity generally played within the larger Puritan religious establishment. The New England "meeting house" was consciously modeled on the synagogue, serving as the central place of learning as well as the social center of the community. The emergent spiritual sensibility in the colonies had political implications as well. The Puritan practice of restricting political rights to Church members was justified by reference to the Hebrew Bible. If worldly men were electors, wrote John Cotton, they "would as readily set over us magistrates like themselves, such as might hate us according to the curse" (Lev. 26:17). A curious but illuminating sidelight of the conception of the Bible as a living document was the Puritan proclivity to view the indigenous Native American population as remnants of the "ten lost tribes of Israel."

Such conscious analogy with the Hebrew Bible was a regular feature of Puritan thinking in New England. If Israel had its Pharaoh, the Puritans had their King James I. The Atlantic Ocean was their Red Sea, America their Promised Land, and the "founding fathers" their Moses and Joshua. Such analogies came naturally to a people who so thoroughly incorporated the Bible into their lives. Accordingly, the first settlers in New England called themselves "Christian Israel."

The names of early cities, towns and settlements likewise derived from Hebraic sources. The names Salem (peace), Bethlehem (house of bread), and countless others bear witness to this phenomenon. For example, the name Nahumkeik, conferred upon the later Salem plantation original settlement in 1628, was clearly of Hebraic origin. It derived, according to Cotton Mather, from the combination of two Hebrew words, *naum* (comfort or consolation) and *keik* (haven): "And our English not only found in it an Haven of Comfort, but happened also to put an Hebrew name upon it; for they called it Salem for the peace which they had and hoped in it; and so it was called unto this day."

The practice of investing the strange New World environment with the more familiar nomenclature of the Bible was widespread in colonial America and continued for many generations. Very often, names were chosen because the implications they carried or the impression they conveyed seemed appropriate to the chosen site. Thus one minister chose the name "Rehoboth," meaning "the Lord hath made room." Names such as Goshen, Canaan, and Sharon were probably selected because they suggested rich valleys or lush plains. Many early American towns – Bethesda, Bethany, Zion, to mention but a few – received their biblical names in this way, and the custom continued throughout the country's history. The rugged terrain of the New World filled the early settlers with awe, and the names of many biblical heights were eventually bestowed upon the great mountains of America, e.g., Mount Carmel, Mount Horeb, Mount Nebo, etc.

That the early settlers showed an active interest in Hebrew language and nomenclature should not be surprising. Cotton Mather, to cite only one example, was extremely preoccupied with Hebrew. He reportedly began studying Hebrew grammar at the age of twelve and likewise taught his eldest daughter, Katherine, to read Hebrew. Hebrew words and phrases are found throughout his writings. In general, the Puritans drew inspiration from the Hebrew Bible and interpreted it to serve their own peculiar needs, often in an arbitrary fashion. Biblical Judaism thus served as a touchstone for America's early settlers, and it was this spirit that infused the colonization of the New World with intense religious devotion.

ARRIVAL OF JEWS IN NORTH AMERICA. After the medieval Crusades, European Jewish immigration moved eastward to Poland, but with anti-Jewish hostilities in the east, culminating in the *Chmielnicki uprising of 1648, the pendulum swung westward. Meanwhile, the Spanish *Inquisition and the expulsion of the Jews from Spain in 1492 and Portugal in 1497 prompted a transcontinental Jewish migration from the Iberian peninsula to Holland and England. Thus as the modern age dawned, Jews began rejuvenating their communities in Central and Western Europe.

Induced by the commercial and industrial revolutions and the exploitation of the Americas in this period, a relatively small number of Jews sought the opportunities of the Western Hemisphere. For those who did, the prime motivation was economic. One result was the establishment of a Jewish community in the Dutch colony of Pernambuco (*Recifé) in northeastern Brazil. With the recapture by the Portuguese of Dutch colonies in Brazil, the local Sephardi Jewish community disbanded. Not only did the Jews wish to flee from the Inquisition, but they also feared Portuguese retribution for having aided the Dutch in the development of the colonies. Those with means escaped to Amsterdam and London, but a small boatload of 23 Jewish refugees eventually landed in Dutch-controlled New Amsterdam aboard the St. Charles. The New Holland colony was small, with a population of approximately 750 persons, but it was also highly cosmopolitan. There the Jewish refugees expected to find a haven. However, though technically Dutch subjects, Peter Stuyvesant, former director of the Dutch West India Company's colony in Curaçao in 1643–1644 and now governor of New Amsterdam, denied the Jews entry to the colony. In a letter dated September 22, 1654, Stuyvesant wrote a letter of protest to the Amsterdam Chamber, the most significant of the Dutch West India Company's five chambers of directors. He argued that the Jews would defile the colony.

> The Jews who have arrived would nearly all like to remain here, but learning that they (with their customary usury and deceitful trading with the Christians) were very repugnant to the inferior magistrates, as also to the people having the most affection for you; the Deaconry also fearing that owing to their present indigence they might become a charge in the coming winter, we have, for the benefit of this weak and newly developing place and the land in general, deemed it useful to require them in a friendly way to depart; praying also most seriously in this connection, for ourselves as also for the general community of your worships, that the deceitful race – such hateful enemies and blasphemers of the name of Christ – be not allowed further to infect and trouble this new colony, to the detraction of your worships and the dissatisfaction of your worships' most affectionate subjects.

Meanwhile, Amsterdam Jewry interceded vigorously on behalf of the St. Charles refugees. In January 1655 the Jewish community submitted a petition to the company's Amsterdam Chamber. They explained that the Jewish colonists had shed their blood to defend the Dutch possessions in Brazil, that the French and English allowed Jews in their colonies, and that there were several Jews among the company's "principal shareholders." They argued, correctly, that Holland's Jews enjoyed greater freedoms than Jews anywhere else. Their concerns were no doubt informed by a reflexive effort to protect their own liberties. In the event, the vigorous intercession of Amsterdam Jewry, Dutch fear of English competition, and the imperatives of mercantilism impelled the Dutch West India Company's board of directors to reject Stuyvesant's request. In a reply to Stuyvesant dated April 26, 1655 permission for the Jews to remain in New Amsterdam was grudgingly given.

> Honorable, Prudent, Pious, Dear, Faithful [Stuyvesant]… We would have liked to effectuate and fulfill your wishes and request that the new territories should no more be allowed to be infected by people of the Jewish nation, for we foresee therefrom the same difficulties which you fear. But after having further weighed and considered the matter, we observe this would be somewhat unreasonable and unfair, especially because of the considerable loss sustained by this nation, with others, in the [Portuguese re-]taking of Brazil, as also because of the large amount of capital they still have invested in the shares of this company. Therefore after many deliberations we have finally decided and resolved to apostille upon a certain petition presented by said Portuguese Jews that these people may travel and trade to and in New Netherland and live and remain there, provided the poor among them shall not become a burden to the company or to the community, but be supported by their own nation. You will now govern yourself accordingly.

The utilitarian rationale of the bigoted Dutch West India Company stemmed from the directors' overriding concern with the manufacture of raw goods, their consumption, and the quest for Dutch mercantile supremacy over their Western competitors. True to the mercantilist spirit of the age, they placed a premium on turning a profit rather than the character of the emerging North American colony. Stuyvesant, however, whose life was impacted by events thousands of miles from the mother country, viewed matters differently. "To give liberty to the Jews will be very detrimental there," he argued on October 30, 1655, "because the Christians there will not be able at the same time to do business. Giving them liberty, we cannot refuse the Lutherans and Papists." In time, he reluctantly acquiesced and the Jews gained a foothold in New Amsterdam. Although Stuyvesant subjected the Jewish newcomers to numerous and severe disabilities, by 1657 their lot had improved considerably and they were able to carry on as traders with little hindrance. Yet in a very few years the new Jewish community began to fade because of larger opportunities in other parts of the Atlantic Basin, especially in the West Indies. By the early 1660s the New Amsterdam Jewish community was moribund.

JEWISH LIFE IN THE ENGLISH COLONIES. In 1664 the English eliminated the Dutch wedge between Long Island and Maryland by conquering the province of New Netherland. Henceforth New Amsterdam was known as New York. Under the English, synagogue communities were established in six towns: *Montreal, *Newport, *New York, *Philadelphia, *Charleston, South Carolina, and *Savannah. Except for Montreal, all were in the tidewater, where most Jews lived. By 1700 there were at most 200 to 300 Jews in the country; by 1776, about 2,500. Up to 1720 the majority of the Jews were of Spanish-Portuguese provenance; after that year Central and East European Jews predominated, although they accepted the Sephardi *minhag* (custom). Many of the Ashkenazim who landed in North America came by way of England, where they had learned some English and had even Anglicized their names. When the Dutch left in 1664, the few Jews in New Amsterdam were not allowed, officially at least, to practice a craft or to sell at retail. They could hold no public religious services and, of course, no honorific offices. Conditions under the English changed for the better. By 1700 Jews were permitted to sell at retail, to practice crafts, and to worship openly. In New York City and in other places they were compelled to support the established churches. In a few colonies they were granted the franchise, certainly in town elections; nowhere however could they hold office, except onerous positions, such as that of constable. Shortly thereafter, however, the British authorities, more liberal than the colonists themselves and eager to further intercolonial trade, passed the British Naturalization Act of 1740.

> An act for naturalizing such foreign Protestants, and others therein mentioned, as are settled or shall settle, in any of His Majesty's colonies in America….
>
> Whereas the increase of people is a means of advancing the wealth and strength of any nation or country;

> And whereas many foreigners and strangers, from the lenity of our government, the purity of our religion, the benefit of our laws, the advantages of our trade, and the security of our property, might be induced to come and settle in some of His Majesty's colonies in America, if they were made partakers of the advantages and privileges which the natural born subjects of this realm do enjoy; Be it therefore enacted by the King's Most Excellent majesty… all persons… who have inhabited and resided, or shall inhabit or reside for the space of seven years or more, in any of His Majesty's colonies in America… and shall take and subscribe the oaths… shall be deemed, adjudged, and taken to be His majesty's Natural born subjects of this kingdom….
>
> Be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that whenever any person professing the Jewish religion shall present himself to take the said oath of abjuration in pursuance of this act, the said words – "upon the true faith of a Christian" – shall be omitted out of the said oath… shall be deemed a sufficient taking of the said oaths, in order to intitle such a person to the benefit of being naturalized by virtue of this act….

The naturalization law did not confer any political rights on colonial Jews. Indeed, Jews would not gain equality until the American Revolution. However, the British act did permit Jews to carry on trade anywhere in the empire. This was an important gain and it opened the door to the Jewish community's economic advancement.

Rare individuals like Francis Salvador were planters; a few were farmers, and some in Georgia ran cattle in the pine barrens. A considerable number were artisans, tailors, soapmakers, distillers, tobacconists, saddlers, bakers, and silversmiths. The economic aristocrats were the army purveyors who provisioned the British armies on the North American continent. During the frequent wars Jews also engaged in privateering. These economic activities were exceptional, however, since the typical Jew in the coastal plains was a small shopkeeper selling hardware, dry goods, and liquors. If successful, the Jew became a merchant or merchant shipper, engaged in retailing, wholesaling, commission sales, importing, and exporting. Moses Franks is an outstanding example in this regard. A talented and successful entrepreneur, Franks' fortune stemmed from speculation in the western region of the Illinois territory. His considerable business dealings with the British crown eventually impelled him to relocate to London, where he became a prominent merchant, shipowner, and financial investor. Like Franks, most Jews were exporters, limited primarily to the British Empire by the Trade and Navigation Acts, and they exchanged raw materials for English consumer wares. Jews also played a significant role in the sale of American provisions to the West Indies in exchange for molasses and rum. A merchant shipper like Aaron *Lopez of Rhode Island, who was denied naturalization in 1762, was also an industrialist contracting for anything from a work apron, to a prefabricated house, to a ship. A number of Jews were members of the United Company of Spermaceti Candlers, the first American syndicate to attempt control of the production and price of candles. Some of the candle manufacturers sent out their own whalers that penetrated as far south as the Falkland Islands. A few entrepreneurs, notably a handful of Newport merchant families engaged in the slave trade, including Lopez and his father-in-law Jacob Rodrigues Rivera, who invested in the international Guinea trade to Africa. Jewish participation in the slave trade, however, was relatively minor in comparison to the dominant role played by Christian merchants of the period. In the main, Jewish mercantile activity was governed by economic rather than moral considerations. A 1762 directive illustrates the matter-of-fact attitude of two Newport Jewish merchants toward the slave trade:

> [October 29, 1762]
> Captain John Peck,
>
> As you are at present master of the sloop Prince George with her Cargo on board and ready to sale you are to observe the following orders:
>
> That you Imbrace the first fair wind and proceed to sea and make the best of your way to the windward part of the Coast of Africa and at your arrival there dispose of your Cargo for the most possible can be gotten, and Invest the neat proceeds into as many good merchantable slaves as you can, and make all the Dispatch you possibly can. As soon as your Business there is Completed make the best of your way from thence to the Island of New Providence and there dispose of your Slaves for Cash, if the markets are not too dull; but if they should [be], make the best of your way home to this port… You are further to observe that all Rum on board your Sloop shall come upon an average in case of any Misfortune, and also all the slaves in general shall come upon an Average in case any Casualty or Misfortune happens, and that no Slaves shall be brought upon freight for any person…
>
> And also we allow you for your Commission four Slaves upon the purchase of one hundred and four, and the privilege of bringing home three slaves and your mate one.
>
> Observe not neglect writing us by all opportunitys of every Transaction of your Voyage. Lastly be particular Carefull of your Vessell and Slaves, and be as frugal as possible in every expense relating to the voyage….
>
> Isaac Elizer
> Samuel Moses

Jews of the 14th colony, Canada, were almost all in the fur trade. Others active in the buying and selling of this commodity were the New Yorkers and Pennsylvanians. These fur entrepreneurs rarely traded directly with the Native American tribes. They were the wholesalers supplying goods to traders who went directly to the army posts and Indian villages. It was an easy shift from Indian trading to land speculation, and Jewish businessmen soon helped launch huge enterprises in the trans-Allegheny West involving millions of acres. None of the proposed colonies in which they were concerned proved successful, but they did help in opening the West to American settlers.

The typical Jewish shopkeeper was an immigrant devoted to Judaism. The *kehillah* (communal framework) established by Jews in this period was a voluntaristic one, with a certain measure of compulsion built in. Recalcitrant Jews with nowhere else to turn could theoretically be excluded by the collective. However, communal discipline, especially in matters of *kashrut* (dietary law), was constantly ameliorated by the need not to offend. There were simply too few Jews and the fact of voluntary association acted as a break on the authority of the Jewish community's leadership. Permanent cemeteries were established in 1678 at *Newport, and in 1682 at New York. Religious services that had begun in New Amsterdam in 1654 or 1655 were revived in New York not later than the 1680s. The typical colonial congregation had a *parnas* (sexton) and a board (*mahamad* or junta). Sometimes there was a treasurer (*gabbai*), but no secretary. New York had first-class (*yehidim*) and second-class members. No congregation in North America had a rabbi until 1840, but each employed a *ḥazzan* (cantor), *shoḥet* (ritual slaughterer), and *shamash* (sexton). On occasion the first two offices, and that of *mohel* (ritual circumciser) too, were combined in one individual.

A sizable portion of the budget, in New York, at least, went for "pious works," charities. Itinerants were constantly arriving from the Caribbean islands, Europe, and Palestine, and were usually received courteously and treated generously. Once in a while a Palestinian emissary would arrive seeking aid for oppressed Jews in the Holy Land. Impoverished members of the congregation were granted loans to tide them over, the sick and dying were provided with medicine, nursing, and physicians, respectable elders who had come upon hard times were pensioned, and the community itself saw to all burials. There is no conclusive evidence that a separate burial society functioned anywhere in British North America. Education was not a communal responsibility except for the children of the poor. *Rebbes*, private teachers, were generally available. By 1731 a school building had been erected in New York by a London philanthropist. At first the curriculum consisted only of Hebraic studies to train the boys for *bar mizvah*, but by 1755 the school had become a communally subsidized all-day institution also teaching secular subjects. The instruction was by no means inadequate. Gershom Mendes *Seixas, the first native-born American *ḥazzan*, received his education in this school.

There were surprisingly few anti-Jewish incidents in the North American colonies. A cemetery was desecrated now and then, "Jew" was a dirty word, and the press nearly always presented a distorted image of Jewish life both in the colonies and abroad. Despite the fact that Jews were second-class citizens, physical anti-Jewish violence was very rare. Rich Jews like the Lopezes and the army-purveying Frankses were highly respected. They were influential even in political circles. Jews were accepted in the English North American settlements because they were needed. Men, money, and talent were at a premium in the mercantilistic age. It was not their Christian interest in the Hebrew Bible that led Protestants to tolerate Jews. Christian Hebraists were enamored of Hebrew, but not of actual Jews or their descendants. Hebraism was an integral part of Christian culture. Nonetheless, Jews were often welcomed as business partners. At one time or another most Jewish merchants had worked closely with Christian businessmen. Many of these Jews had intimate Christian friends. Children of the wealthy went to college where they were made welcome, but on the whole the Jews showed little interest in formal higher education. Careers in law were closed, while medicine, apparently, had little appeal.

As illustrated by the well known Franks-Levy portraits, one of the most significant collections of extant colonial portraiture, Jews in this period typically dressed, looked, and acted like gentiles. Like the Franks-Levy clan, a prominent New York City Jewish family of merchants and arms purveyors, they were completely acculturated. Moreover, away from the community and its rigid controls many of the younger generation abandoned traditional observances and dietary laws. Social intimacies led to mixed marriage. Practically every Jew who permanently settled in Connecticut married out of the faith and most of them assimilated completely. Intermarriages even in the larger towns of the country were not unusual. The latter was a source of great concern for Abigail Franks, who in 1743 wrote to her son Naphtali, imploring him to remain faithful to Jewish customs and expressing her distress over the elopement of her daughter Phila to Oliver DeLancey, a gentile aristocrat.

> Flatt bush, June 7th, 1743
> Dear Heartsey:
>
> My wishes for your felicity are as great as the joy I have to hear you are happily married. May the smiles of Providence waite always on y'r inclinations and your dear [wife] Phila's whome I salute with tender affections, pray'g kind Heaven to be propitious to your wishes in making her a happy mother….
>
> I am now retired from town and would from my self (if it where possible to have some peace of mind) from the sever affliction I am under on the conduct of that unhappy girle [your sister Phila]. Good God, wath a shock it was when they acquaintyed me she had left the house and had bin married six months. I can hardly hold my pen whilst I am writing it. Itt's wath I never could have imagined, especially after wath I heard her soe often say, that noe consideration in life should ever induce her to disoblige such good parents.
>
> I had heard the report of her goeing to be married to Oliver Delancey, but as such reports had often bin off either of your sisters, I gave no heed to it further than a general l caution of her conduct wich has always bin unblemish'd, and is soe still in the eye of the Christians whoe allow she had disobliged us but has in noe way bin dishonorable, being married to a man of worth and character.
>
> …My house has bin my prison ever since. I had not heart enough to goe near the street door. It's a pain to me to think off goeing again to town [lower Manhattan] and if your father's buissness would permit to live out of it I never would goe near it again. I wish it was in my power to leave this part of the world; I would come away in the first man of war that went to London.
>
> Oliver has sent many times to beg leave to see me… tho' I never will give him leave to come to my house in town, and as for his wife, I am determined I never will see nor lett none of the family goe near her.

> He intends to write to you and my brother Isaac [Levy] to endeavour a reconciliation. I would have you answer his letter, if you don't hers, for I must be soe ingenious to confess nature is very strong and it would give me great concern if she should live un happy tho' it's a concern she does not merit…
>
> Your affectionate mother,
> Abigaill Franks

Although some Jews retained a strong sense of their identity, many identified easily with the larger community into which they were integrated. The desire for low visibility induced even the Sephardi *ḥazzan*, Saul *Pardo, to change his name to its English equivalent, Brown. In 1711 the most prominent Jewish businessmen of New York City, including the *ḥazzan*, made contributions to help build Trinity Church. In the days before the American Revolution the Union Society, a charity composed of Jews, Catholics, and Protestants, made provision for the poor of Savannah, Georgia.

The typical American Jew of the mid-18th century was of German origin, a shopkeeper, hardworking, enterprising, religiously observant, frequently uncouth and untutored, but with sufficient learning to keep accounts and write a simple business letter in English. This is well illustrated by a communication from Isaac Delyon of Savannah to Barnard Gratz of the respected Philadelphia mercantile firm B. and M. Gratz.

> Savannah, 24 Sept., 1760
> To Mr. Barnard Gratz,
> Marchant in Philadelphia.
> Mr. Gratz,
> Sir:
>
> By Capt. Joseph Howard I have inclosed you an invoice of sundry [goods] shipped you on my one [own] account; four barrels rice; four bundles of drear [deer] skins, one hundread dressed ones, fifteen onery [ordinary] six in the heir [undressed], which [you] will be good enuph to seal [sell] them to the best advantage. Please to seal them so that I may git the remittence by this schooner, because I don't know when the[re] will be a nother opertunity. Even if you should oblige to seal them something cheepor than the common rate, I should be glad if you would send me an account of the seals [sales] of which I have shipped you in all.
>
> I should be glad if you have received the money of what you sould for me. If you have, you will be good enuph to remit it by this.
>
> You rote me by Capt. Nezbet to let you know if starch seals heir [here]. It is now from 30s. to 40s. [shillings].
>
> Pleas to send me the following artcles. You will mutch oblige me if you do send theme this time, because it will be mutch to my advantage. Pleas to inshure what you send. From
>
> Your most humble servant,
> Isaac Delyon
>
> 25 lb. chokolet
> 1 barrel linced [linseed]oil
> 1 doz best black grane [grain] calf skins
> 9 barrels makarels
> 1 ditto herrings
> 150 lb. gingerbread
> 2 barrels cranberys
> 10 barrels of apples
>
> If there is any thing remaing, plead to send it in milk and butter bread if the wether is not low. Could send me 15 barrels ables [apples], but do let them be the last you put on board, for fear of the frost.

The American Jews of the pre-Revolutionary era brought with them from Europe to the New World a sense of Jewish communalism. Despite their absorption in business as they struggled for economic self-sufficiency, they kept their congregation alive. In general, Jews in British North America tended to be careless in matters of ritual, governed less by traditional prescriptions than by the unconscious principle of salutary neglect and a readiness to make concessions in order to keep more negligent fellow-Jews within the ambit of the *minyan* (religious quorum). There were exceptions to this rule, however, and fear of assimilation sometimes prompted bitter recriminations by communal leaders. In 1757, for example, having received disturbing reports that Jews were ignoring basic religious customs and laws, Shearith Israel, the flagship synagogue of New England and the mid-Atlantic provinces, issued a stern public warning. On the eve of Yom Kippur (Day of Atonement), the leaders of the New York congregation denounced those community members who flouted Jewish practices.

> The *parnasim* [presidents] and elders having received undouted testimony that severall of our brethren that reside in the country have and dayly violate the principles [of] our holy religion, such as trading on the sabath, eating forbidden meats, and other heinous crimes, and as our Holy Law injoins us to reprove one another agreeable to the commandments in Liviticus … that is no one is to be punished unless first admonished:
>
> Therefore whosoever for the future continues to act contrary to our Holy Law by breacking any of the principles command will not be deem'd a member of our congregation, have none of the mitzote [honors] of the sinagoge conferred on him, and when dead will not be buried according to the manner of our brethren … the Gates of our Community will be shut intirely against such offenders, but thos that repent and obey the precepts of the Almighty, we beseech the divine goodness to open to them the gates of mercy, and all their enterprises will be attended with the blessing of haven.… All who obey will be blessed [Hebrew].

In reality, however, the leaders of Shearith Israel and other early synagogues commanded few if any social controls. For although most colonial Jews were synagogue-goers, so too were they strongly influenced by the New World's relaxed social and economic rhythms. In time, a variety of synagogue communities emerged and the competition among them made it possible for Jews of varying attitudes and behaviors to find suitable religious and communal frameworks. Lack of a centralized authority in Jewish life, along with the considerable influence of synagogue lay leaders whose mercantile lifestyles predisposed them to benign acceptance of non-traditional behaviors and attitudes, undermined the fixity of *halakhah* in Jewish affairs. In sum, the Jewish newcomers of this period seem not to have felt that they were in *galut* (exile). Rather, America for them was home.

Early National Period, 1776–1820

THE REVOLUTIONARY ERA. When the American Revolution broke out in 1775, the Jewish population of the New World numbered approximately 2,500, or less than one-tenth of one percent of the entire population. In accord with centuries of social conditioning some Jews, including Isaac Touro of Newport, were Tory loyalists and clung to the status quo. Others such as Aaron Lopez, a merchant of considerable importance who owned more than 30 ships and was heavily invested in inter-colonial and international trade, were not Tories and only quietly supported the revolution. When 8,000 British and Hessian troops occupied and sacked Newport, Lopez, his father-in-law Jacob Rodriguez Rivera, and his son-in-law, Abraham Pereira Mendez, relocated their families to Leicester, Massachusetts until the war's end. Still other families divided into opposing camps (like the Gomezes, Frankses, Hayses, and Harts), and a fair number were Jewish Hessians (that is, German mercenaries hired by King George III to help put down the American insurrection). However, the majority of Jews – once they were forced to make a choice and vacillation no longer remained an option – were Whigs. Indeed, by this time most Jews had few ties to England and were determined to become first-class citizens. They accepted the revolutionary propaganda that had already been aired for half a generation, and they were fascinated by the "Great Promise" of July 4, 1776, the Declaration of Independence. Quite a number were in the militia, which was compulsory, and some served in the Continental line as soldiers and officers. Three officers attained relatively high rank. Jewish merchants ventured into privateering and blockade-running, but the Jew was in general still a shopkeeper somehow or other finding the consumer goods so desperately needed in a nonindustrial country whose ports were often blockaded by the British fleet.

Among the most notable Jewish rebels was the Polish immigrant, Haym Salomon, an ardent patriot who served as an underground agent for the American forces while working for the British. When discovered, he fled to Philadelphia to avoid being arrested, leaving his family and considerable resources behind. The following memorial addressed to the Continental Congress, in which a penniless Salomon requested public employment, provides a detailed account of his services during the first three years of the war.

> Philad^a Augt 25th 1778.
>
> To the Honorable the Continental Congress
> The Memorial of Hyam Solomon of the City of New York, Merchant.
> Humbly sheweth,
>
> That Your Memorialist was some time before the Entry of the British Troops at the said City of New York, and soon after taken up as a Spy and by General Robertson committed to the Provost – That by the Interposition of Lieut. General Heister (who wanted him on account of his Knowledge in the French, polish, Russian Italian &ca Languages) he was given over to the Hessian Commander who appointed him the Commissary War as purveyor chiefly for the Officers – That being at New York he has been of great Service to the French & American prisoners and has assisted them with Money and helped them off to make their Escape – That this and his close Connexions with such of the Hessian Officers as were inclined to resign and with Monsieur Samuel Demezes has rendered him at last so obnoxious to the British Head Quarters that he was already pursued by the Guards and on Tuesday the 11th inst. He made his happy Escape from Thence – This Monsieur Demezes is now most barbarously treated at the Provost's and is seemingly in danger of his Life And the Memorialist begs leave to cause him to be remembered to Congress for an Exchange
>
> Your Memorialist has upon this Event most irrevocably lost all his Effects and Credits to the Amount of Five or six thousand Pounds sterling and left his distressed Wife and Child of a Month old at New York waiting that they may soon have an Opportunity to come out from thence with empty hands –
>
> In these Circumstances he most humbly prayeth to grant him any Employ in the Way of his Business whereby he may be enabled to support himself and family – And Your Memorialist as in duty bound &c^a.
>
> Haym Salomon

The Congress seems to have ignored Salomon's request and he subsequently opened his own brokerage business. He eventually became the best known war broker in the country. Indeed, it was in his capacity as a chief bill broker to Robert Morris, the superintendent of finance, that Salomon helped make funds available for the successful expedition against General Charles Cornwallis, which brought the war to an end.

Independence from England did not at once materially improve the political status of the American Jew. But in 1787 the Northwest Ordinance guaranteed that the Jew would be on the same footing as his fellow citizens in all new states. The Constitution adopted a year later gave the equality on the federal level. At the time this was not a great victory, for most rights were still resident in the states. This meant that while a Jew could be elected president of the American republic, he might be barred from becoming a local or state official. As late as 1820 only seven of the 13 original states had recognized the Jew in a political sense. Ultimately men of talent were appointed or elected town councilors, judges of the lower courts, and members of the state legislatures. The national authorities appointed them marshals and consuls; outstanding individuals made careers for themselves in the army and the navy, though the latter branch of the service was particularly inhospitable to Jewish aspirants.

In spite of these advances, in an era when the American form of government was still raw and new, the Jewish community as a whole was susceptible to the ambivalence of the dominant Christian majority and wary of the possibility of social discrimination in the New World. A telling illustration in this regard is the entreaty of the Jews of Newport, Rhode Island, presented to President George *Washington in 1790 as he campaigned along the eastern seaboard to win support for ratification of the federal constitution. The letter reveals an early American Jewish sensibility that was conditioned, on the one hand, by life under the *ancien regime* and shaped, on the other, by the recent history of Jews in the new American society-in-the-making.

> Sir,
>
> Permit the Children of the Stock of Abraham to approach you with the most cordial affection and esteem for your person and merits – and to join with our fellow citizens in welcoming you to New Port.
>
> With pleasure we reflect on those days – those days of difficulty and danger, when the God of Israel, who delivered David from the peril of the sword – shielded your head in the day of battle: – and we rejoice to think the same Spirit, who rested in the bosom of the greatly beloved Daniel, enabling him to preside over the provinces of the Babylonish Empire, rests, and ever will rest upon you, enabling you to discharge the arduous duties of Chief Magistrate in the States.
>
> Deprived as we have been hitherto of the invaluable rights of free citizens, we now (with a deep sense of gratitude to the Almighty Disposer of all events) behold a government (erected by the majesty of the People) a Government which gives to bigotry no sanction and to persecution no assistance – but generously affording to all liberty of conscience, and immunities of citizenship – deeming every one, of whatever nation, tongue, or language equal parts of the great governmental machine. This so ample and extensive federal union whose basis is Philanthropy, mutual confidence, and public virtue, we cannot but acknowledge to be the work of the Great God, who ruleth in the armies of Heaven, and among the inhabitants of the Earth, doing whatsoever seemeth him good.
>
> For all the blessings of civil and religious liberty which we enjoy under an equal and benign administration we desire to send up our thanks to the Antient of days, the great Preserver of Men – beseeching him that the Angel who conducted our forefathers through the wilderness into the promised land, may graciously conduct you through all the dangers and difficulties of this mortal life – and when like Joshua full of days, and full of honor, you are gathered to your fathers, may you be admitted into the heavenly Paradise to partake of the water of life and the tree of immortality.
>
> Done and signed by order of the Hebrew Congregation in New Port, Rhode Island, August 17th, 1790.
>
> Moses Sexias [sic] Warden

Washington's judicious and cogent reply addressed the Jewish community's concerns in a respectful and dignified manner. Nonetheless, he also gently reproached them, offering a brilliant object lesson in civic rights. In the gracious and brief formulation that follows, he incorporated some of Jewish petitioners' felicitous language, while elevating the dialogue to the level of an ultimate test of America's hallowed principle of inalienable rights.

> Gentlemen:
>
> While I receive with much satisfaction your address replete with expressions of affection and esteem, I rejoice in the opportunity of assuring you that I shall always retain a grateful remembrance of the cordial welcome I experienced in my visit to New Port from all classes of Citizens.
>
> The reflection on the days of difficulty and danger which are past is rendered the more sweet from a consciousness that they are succeeded by days of uncommon prosperity.
>
> If we have the wisdom to make the best use of the advantages with which we are now favored, we cannot fail, under the just administration of a good government to become a great and happy people.
>
> The Citizens of the United States have a right to applaud themselves for having given to mankind examples of an enlarged and liberal policy, a policy worthy of imitation. All possess alike liberty of conscience and immunities of citizenship.
>
> It is now no more that toleration is spoken of, as if it was by the indulgence of one class of people, that another enjoyed the exercise of their inherent natural rights. For happily the government of the United States, which gives to bigotry no sanction, to persecution no assistance, requires only that they who live under its protection should demean themselves as good citizens, in giving it on all occasions their effectual support.
>
> It would be inconsistent with the frankness of my character not to avow that I am pleased with your favorable opinion of my administration, and fervent wishes for my felicity.
>
> May the children of the stock of Abraham, who dwell in this land, continue to merit and enjoy the good will of other inhabitants, while every one shall sit in safety under his own vine and fig-tree and there shall be none to make him afraid.
>
> May the Father of all mercies scatter light and not darkness in our paths, and make us all in our several vocations useful here, and in his own time and way everlastingly happy.
>
> G. Washington

The exchange of letters between the Hebrew Congregation of Newport and George Washington underscores the centrality of liberty of conscience and religious toleration in the struggle to create a free and open American society. The eloquent phraseology articulated by the Jewish petitioners and Washington – that the government of the United States "gives to bigotry no sanction, to persecution no assistance" – would in time become a classic formulation of the American attitude to minority rights.

From a global perspective, the ratification of the U.S. Constitution and subsequent amendments between 1788 and 1791 portended a significant and unprecedented departure from the general trajectory of Jewish history. In a mere 45 words, Article 1 (known today as the "establishment clause") erased the scourge of legalized social and religious discrimination which hitherto prevented Jews from participating fully in modern society: "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the government for a redress of grievances."

The Newport Jewish community disappeared after 1800, but the other Sephardi congregations continued to prosper, reinforced by the growth of communities in Philadelphia, New York, Charleston, and Richmond. The apparatus of all these synagogues was modified and enlarged: the status of the *ḥazzan* was raised to that of the Christian minister; secretaries and committees were common, and eleemosynary societies

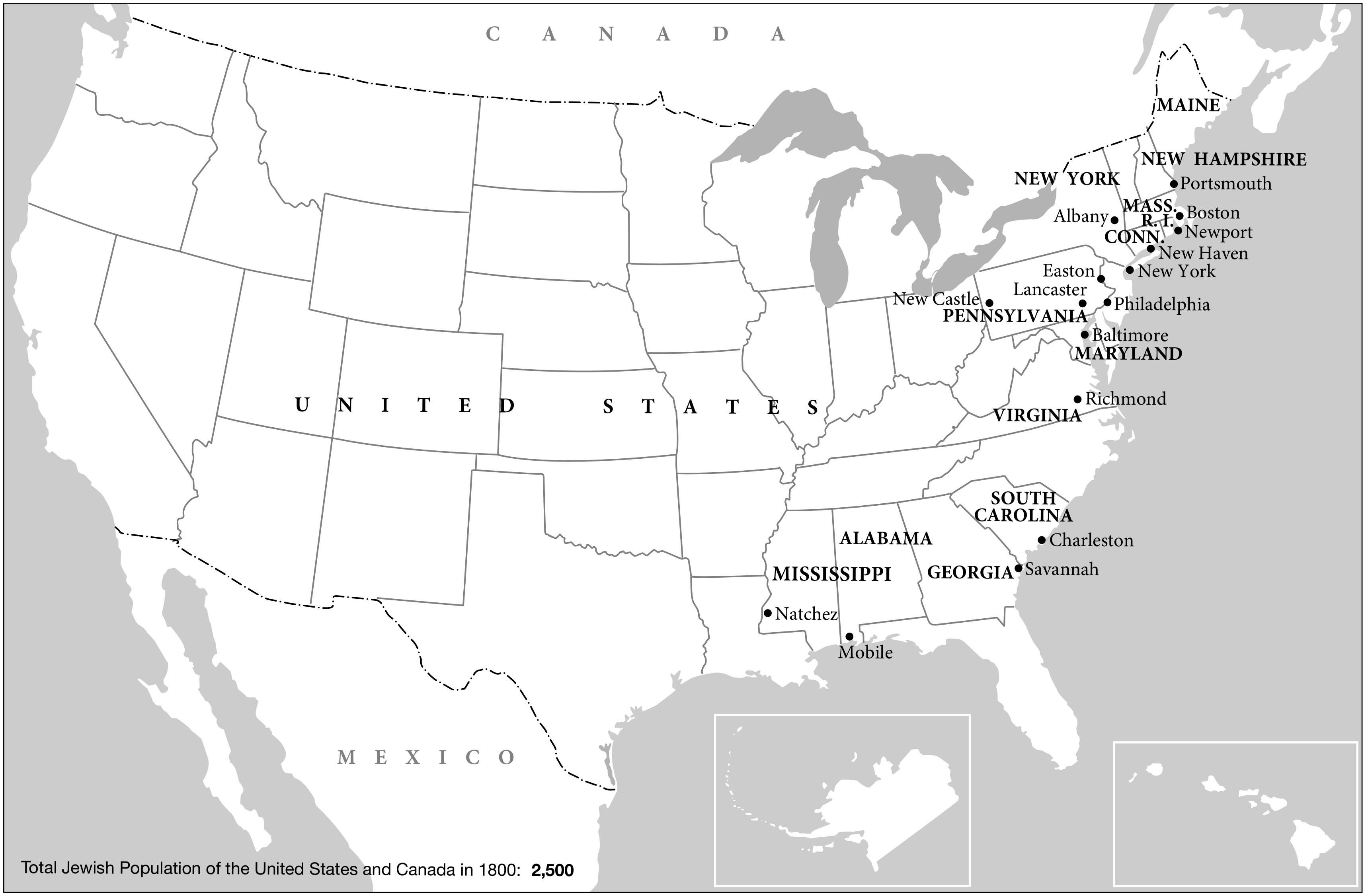
C A N A D A
MAINE
NEW HAMPSHIRE
Portsmouth
NEW YORK
Albany
MASS.
Boston
R.I.
Newport
CONN.
New Haven
New York
Easton
Lancaster
Philadelphia
New Castle
PENNSYLVANIA
Baltimore
MARYLAND
Richmond
VIRGINIA
U N I T E D S T A T E S
SOUTH CAROLINA
Charleston
ALABAMA
GEORGIA
Savannah
MISSISSIPPI
Natchez
Mobile
M E X I C O
Total Jewish Population of the United States and Canada in 1800: 2,500

Map 1. Main centers of Jewish population in the U.S., 1800, within state borders of today.

and confraternities (*ḥevrot*) rose in every congregation during this post-Revolutionary period. From then on special organizations took care of the poor, the sick, and the dead. Some of these societies, primarily concerned with mutual aid, offered sick and death benefits. Originally these new groups – whether composed of men or women – were closely affiliated with congregations, but from the very beginning they enjoyed a degree of autonomy. Given the voluntaristic nature of emergent American Jewish life, the charities would ultimately emancipate themselves from congregational control.

Changes also occurred in the economic activities of the Jews. As cotton became "king," Jewish planters increased. Merchant shippers, though still rich and powerful, lost their relative importance as the retail and wholesale urban merchants turned away from the sea and became specialists. With good titles possible, land speculation within the ambit of states and territories assumed increasing importance; Cohen & Isaacs of Richmond employed Daniel Boone to survey their holdings in Kentucky. Independence and affluence brought new economic fields into prominence in the United States. Jews began turning to banking and moneylending, insurance, industry, and the stock exchange. By 1820 they had entered the professions of law, medicine, engineering, education, and journalism.

Many Jews in the post-Revolutionary period, especially in South Carolina, were men of education and culture, at home in the classics, in modern languages and literatures, devotees of music and poetry. A number of *literati* both in the North and in the South were playwrights of some distinction; all were ardent cultural nationalists. Patriotism, however, was no guarantee against Judeophobia, which increased as the Jew rose in wealth, prominence, and visibility. For example, an antisemitic letter published in 1800 in the *Gazette of the United States*, a Federalist newspaper, publicly ridiculed and defamed Benjamin Nones in mocking tones for not having contributed to a collection of the Democratic Society of Philadelphia: "*Citizen N – the Jew*. I hopsh you will consider dat de monish ish very scarch, and besides you know I'sh just come out by de Insholvent Law. – *Several*. Oh yes let N – pass." When the *Gazette* refused to print Nones' reply, he turned to the *Philadelphia Aurora*, a leading Republican organ, with the following eloquent and damning refutation:

> Philadelphia Aug 11, 1800
> To the Printer of the Gazette of the United States.
> Sir,
>
> I hope, if you take the liberty of inserting calumnies against individuals, for the amusement of your readers, you will at least have so much regard to justice, as to permit the injured through the same channel as conveyed the slander, to appeal to the public in self defence… I can shew, that the want of prudence of this Mr. Marplot [the anonymous writer], in his slander upon me is equally glaring with his want of wit, his want of veracity, his want of decency, and his want of humanity.
>
> I am accused of being a *Jew*; of being a *Republican*; and of being *Poor*.
>
> I *am* a *Jew*. I glory in belonging to that persuasion, which even its opponents, whether Christian, or Mahomedan, allow to be of divine origin – of that persuasion on which Christianity itself was originally founded, and must ultimately rest – which has preserved its faith secure and undefiled, for near three thousand years – whose votaries have never murdered each other in religious wars, or cherished theological hatred so general, so unextinguishable among those who revile them…
>
> To be of such persuasion, is to me no disgrace; though I well understand the inhuman language of bigoted contempt, in which your reporter by attempting to make me ridiculous, as a Jew, has made himself detestable, whatever religious persuasion may be dishonored by his adherence…
>
> I am a *Republican*! Thank God, I have not been so heedless, and so ignorant of what has passed, and is now passing in the political world. I have not been so proud or so prejudiced as to renounce the cause for which I have *fought*, as an American throughout the whole of the revolutionary war, in the militia of Charleston, and in Polafskey's legion, I fought in almost every action which took place in Carolina, and in the disastrous affair of Savannah, shared the hardships of that sanguinary day, and for three and twenty years I felt no disposition to change my political, any more than my religious principles. – Your correspondent… cannot have known what it is to serve his country in time of danger and difficulties, at the expence of his health and his peace, of his pocket and of his person, as I have done; or he would not be as he is, a pert reviler of those who have done so… On religious grounds I am a republican…
>
> In the history of the Jews are contained the earliest warnings against kingly government…
>
> How then can a Jew but be a Republican? in America particularly. Unfeeling & ungrateful would he be, if he were callous to the glorious and benevolent cause of the difference between his situation in this land of freedom, and among the proud and priviledged law givers of Europe.
>
> But I am *poor*, I am so, my family also is large, but soberly and decently brought up. They have not been taught to revile a Christian, because his religion is not so old as their. They have not been taught to mock even as the errors of good intention, and conscientious belief. I hope they will always leave this to men as unlike themselves, as I hope I am to your scurrilous correspondent.
>
> I know that to purse proud aristocracy poverty is a crime, but it may sometimes be accompanied with honesty even in a Jew. I was bankrupt some years ago. I obtained my certificate and was discharged from my debts. Having been more successful afterwards, I called my creditors together, and eight years afterwards unsolicited I discharged all my old debts, I offered interest which was refused by my creditors, and they gave me under their hands without any solicitations of mine, as a testimonial of the fact (to use their own language) as a tribute to my honor and honesty…
>
> This is a long defence… but you have called it forth, and therefore, I hope you at least will not object to it. The Public will now judge who is the proper object of ridicule and contempt, your facetious reporter, or
>
> Your Humble Servant,
> Benjamin Nones

Not unlike Nones' predicament vis-à-vis anti-Republican sentiment, Jews who entered politics and joined the Jeffersonians were vilified in the Federalist press as "democrats," which was at the time used in public debate as a derogatory epithet. In this manner, Jews seeking public office, even Christians of Jewish ancestry, were frequently and viciously attacked. Aside from a few plays, miscellaneous orations, addresses, and literary anthologies, however, Jews wrote relatively little of note in this period. Meanwhile, Jewish publishers in New York City did begin to make themselves known by reprinting significant European books. In the area of Jewish culture, American Jewry was equally uncreative. In the 1760s two English translations of Hebrew prayer books had appeared. After the Revolution, Jews brought out a few sermons and eulogies, a Hebrew grammar, and by 1820 a rather interesting polemic entitled *Israel Vindicated*, though there is no absolute proof that this was written by a Jew. More important was the reprinting of a number of apologetic works directed against deists and Christian missionaries. Some of these books had originally appeared in England.

The typical American Jew of the post-Revolutionary period was native born and completely acculturated. Intermarriage was not uncommon. Though nominally a follower of Jewish customs, most Jews of this era were in reality largely indifferent to the tenets and practices of traditional Judaism. Despite such an attenuated profile, they were nonetheless strongly and even belligerently attached to American and world Jewry by a strong sense of kinship. Altogether there were about 4,000 Jews in the United States by 1820, most of them in the Allegheny regions, but there was no town in the United States, even distant St. Louis, which did not shelter some Jews. Many of them were recent German immigrants who had drifted in after the Napoleonic wars. By the turn of the 18th century Central Europeans had already started a little Ashkenazi synagogue in Philadelphia. Within a generation Ashkenazi culture dominated the American Jewish scene.

German Jewish Period, 1820–1880

POPULATION, IMMIGRATION, AND SETTLEMENT. The salient development in American Jewry during the four decades before the Civil War was its growth from a small group, estimated at 6,000 in 1826, to a major world Jewish community. The number of Jews, which stood at about 15,000 in 1840, was authoritatively estimated at 150,000 in 1860, and probably reached 280,000 in 1880. This vast increase was largely due to foreign immigration, especially from German lands. In general, the Metternichian age in Central Europe was one of conservatism. Jews feared conscription, their right to move about freely and settle in the German lands was often limited, they were not always free to marry, the new industrialism was a threat to their traditional economy, the German guild system hemmed them in, and anti-Jewish prejudice was constant. This was the push that impelled them to emigrate; American liberties and opportunities attracted them.

In Bavaria, dozens of small largely Jewish villages saw most of their inhabitants leave for the United States, while in Posen (Prussian Poland) there was a steady outward movement. Germanized Jews from Bohemia and Hungary also emigrated. Immigration attained a peak during the early 1850s, when economic depression and the repressive aftermath following the abortive Continental revolutions of 1830 and 1848 impelled the greatest movement to the prospering American republic. Consequently, the Jewish community in the United States long spoke English with a German accent when it was not speaking its native German. The German Jews also proved to be hard working and highly adaptive to their New World environment. The swift Americanization and cultural elasticity that characterized German Jews in the antebellum period is evident in the following letter (translated from German) in which Jacob Felsenthal, originally of Cologne, invites his brother to join him in San Francisco.

> San Francisco, Calif., Jan, 13, 1854
> Dear Brother,
>
> It was a wonderful surprise to learn from a fellow named Liwey [Levy?] that you are in America! And also that you are living in Baltimore with a family named Herzog. I could not remember who the Herzogs are but it finally dawned on me that must be Jacob Herz and his wife from Limburg!
>
> How are you getting along and how's business? It's not great here since as you can imagine things don't just fall in your lap. Here I have learned what business means, and I have put up with a lot, especially in Panama. I was sick for several months and had no money, not even enough to eat. As I got a little better I got various jobs to pay for board and room, which cost a dollar-and-a-half a day. I was too weak even to play my guitar.
>
> But with God's help I got well, and after 4–5 months in Panama in that awful heat I was able to put away 120 dollars in gold which I earned in just five weeks. Then I was able to go to California! Luckily, through a doctor I know, I got a place on a steamer as a cook so I didn't have to pay any fare. Also, I made a deal with Carl Reis and made some money in potatoes, which cost 1 schilling a pound. I don't have to tell you how expensive everything is.
>
> I have now been in California seven months, in San Francisco, and am married! I have a fine wife and thank God things are going quite well. I have already taken in several hundred dollars. If you would want to come here then you and I and my wife would start up a nice café with music and singing every evening. Here a cigar costs 1 or 2 schillings each, and drinks the same, so there is money to be made. Also I am as well known in San Francisco as I was in Cologne …
>
> Write immediately of you are coming or not. If you don't have 50 dollars then let me know and I will send you the money. It would be better if you have the money and then I can put more into the business. In any case, answer by return mail so I can start arranging things. Don't buy a through ticket because it will cost 25 dollars more from Panama to San Francisco by steamer. Take a sailing vessel. As I said, write me by return mail. I won't leave you in the lurch. The sooner you come the better for you and me. An ordinary worker gets 4–5 dollars a day, so you can see how you'll do.
>
> I imagine you already speak good English. So do I since my wife is American and doesn't speak a word of German. She was born in Boston and speaks a little Spanish. But here every language in the world is spoken. If you get to Panama, then go to the pharmacist – take your right, then left – he is also German. They both know me; tell them you are my brother and ask their help to get you a job on the steamer so you won't have

> to pay passage. Don't stay in Panama long; it is very unhealthy. And don't eat too much meat. The sooner you leave the better. Do what is best for you.
>
> Regards from my wife who is looking forward to meeting you.
>
> Your brother,
> J. Felsenthal

In the decades prior to the Civil War, Jewish settlement traversed the North American continent. Old seacoast Jewish communities like those in Charleston, South Carolina, Newport, Rhode Island, and Norfolk, Virginia, failed to grow and declined in importance. The most important expansion took place along the route of the Erie Canal, which crossed upstate New York after 1825, and on the shores of the Great Lakes. The Jewish population of such cities as *Albany, *Syracuse, *Rochester, and *Buffalo in New York State, and *Cleveland, *Chicago, *Detroit, and *Milwaukee in the Middle West quickly rose to the thousands. On the banks of the Ohio and Mississippi rivers scores of smaller towns had Jewish settlements. *Cincinnati on the Ohio River stood second only to New York during the mid-nineteenth century, while *Louisville, *Minneapolis, *St. Louis, and *New Orleans on the Mississippi drew upon vast developing hinterlands for the commercial and industrial growth in which Jews took a prominent role. Dozens of towns in the southern Cotton Kingdom sheltered little groups of German Jews, who traded in the freshly picked cotton and kept general stores. A striking growth occurred in northern California during and after the Gold Rush of 1849–52; perhaps 10,000 Jews lived in the boom city of *San Francisco and scattered among the mining camps by 1860. New York City's numerical predominance in American Jewish life was well established by that date with 40,000 Jews, and Philadelphia and Baltimore were also important communities. Jews in New England, on the other hand, were very few.

The last significant traces of legal inequality disappeared early in this period. The most significant episode was the public agitation and debate in the State of Maryland over the disqualification of Jews for public office, which was finally removed by the "Jew Bill" of 1826. Like the debates during the period of the American Revolution, these deliberations concerned the alleged Christian basis of the state, rather than a contest between pro-Jewish and anti-Jewish feeling. The states of North Carolina and New Hampshire retained legal obstacles to Jewish tenure of public office but very few Jews resided there and prescribed Christian oaths appear to have been a dead letter issue.

The middle of the 19th century was the day of the German Jewish peddler. At a time when retail trade outlets outside large cities were few, the peddler was an important functionary of emergent American commerce. Thousands of men, mostly recent young immigrants, trudged the countryside east of the Mississippi River with packs on their back, successors of the Yankee peddler. Peddling proved to be a hard-scrabble existence and was susceptible to the attacks of those, like the anonymous author of *Men and Manners in America* (1833), who believed "the whole race of Yankee peddlers are proverbial for their dishonesty. These go forth annually in thousands to lie, cog, cheat, swindle… In this respect they resemble the Jews…" To the profile of the Jewish peddler must therefore be added the occasional encounter with petty antisemitism which, as the following text demonstrates, illustrated the darker side of America's European legacy.

> I continued my peddling until January 1835, when one evening, in deep snow and quite frozen I came to Easton, a pretty little town in Delaware, and entered an inn. A number of guests sat around the glowing stoves; and as they saw me enter, a pale and snow-covered merchant, a feeling of compassion must have come over them, for nearly every one bought something of me, and thus even in the evening, I did some good business, after I had run about the whole day in terrible winter weather, earning scarcely enough for a drink.
>
> While preoccupied with my business, I was watched by an oldish-looking, occasionally smiling, but apparently unconcerned man behind the stove. He allowed me to finish the business in peace but then he got up, tapped me on the shoulder and bade me follow him. Out of doors his first question was whether I had a trade-license for peddling? I still felt so strange in America, and he spoke in so low a voice that I did not understand him and, therefore, looked at him in astonishment. My long, ten-days-old beard struck him, and he asked me further whether I was a Jew. He did not want to believe me when I denied it. Fortunately, I had with me the passport of my homeland, which I presented to him. Now he grew somewhat better disposed, looked at me sympathetically and said: "Since I see that you are an honest Protestant Christian I shall let you go, although I am losing 25 dollars through it. I have no kind feelings for the Jews, and were you one of them, I would not treat you so gently. If I wanted to arrest you, you would have to pay 50 dollars fine or, until you were able to raise it, you would have to go to jail, and half the fine would be mine. Still I shall forge that; but you better give up your trade and look for another one. Sooner or later you will be caught and then you'll be out of luck."

Jews also became the purveyors of nearly all the necessities of gold prospectors in California. Although many had been trained in crafts and trades in Europe, few held to them in the United States and were instead drawn into grueling but lucrative peddling. Isaac Mayer *Wise, who served as a rabbi in Albany, New York, from 1846 to 1854, described his community as composed mostly of men who departed on Sunday morning for their peddling routes through the countryside, returning only for the following Sabbath. The progress of many of these men followed a classic pattern: from peddler on foot, to peddler on a wagon, to crossroads shopkeeper, to large merchant. Jews who practiced trades were mostly tailors and cigarmakers. The overwhelming majority of American Jews, native and immigrant, were occupied in commerce at its various levels and in skilled crafts. Very few tilled the soil. The proportion of Jews in the professions of the day – medicine, law, teaching, and journalism – was low. Here and there a man of significance stood forth in his profession, such as the physicians Daniel Peixotto *Hays, Jonathan P. *Horwitz, Daniel L.M. *Peixotto, and Abraham *Jacobi. However, during the period of mass immigration into a very small original settlement, commerce remained the Jewish livelihood par excellence.

CULTURAL, RELIGIOUS, AND COMMUNAL ACTIVITY. The first countrywide stirrings of cultural activity, religious diversity, and communal organization beyond the synagogue appeared in the middle of the 19th century. German Jewish immigrants included a considerable number of persons versed or learned in Judaism. Thus while ordained rabbis were extremely few, many teachers from Europe assumed the rabbinic title and became spiritual heads of congregations. (This is best exemplified by the case of Isaac Mayer Wise, arguably the most important American Reform leader of the 19th century, whose own rabbinic qualifications were uncertain and never verified.) German-speaking culture was also widespread. As part of the vast German migration to the United States, many were active in German American cultural life. Jews were prominent in German theatrical societies, as writers and subscribers to German newspapers, members of German musical societies, leaders of German immigrant aid and charitable societies, and political personalities within the German ethnic group. For a large but indeterminate group of Jews in the United States German culture was a full substitute for their ancestral Judaism.

The decades between 1820 and 1860 were a period of broad freedom and social acceptance for American Jews. The small native bourgeois group readily entered United States life and politics in such centers as Charleston, South Carolina, New York City, and Philadelphia. Of actual antisemitism there was very little. Indeed, the antagonisms and tensions within American society found expression in anti-Catholicism, which was directed especially at recent Irish immigrants. By contrast, instances of antisemitism were infrequent – e.g., an attack on Jewish businessmen in the California legislature during a debate on a Sabbath closing law, explicitly phrased insistence that the United States was "a Christian country," or a biased courtroom address by a lawyer against a Jewish adversary. Branches of American Protestantism continued to produce extensive missionary literature, including newspapers, books, and pamphlets, but Jewish conversions to Christianity by such means were negligible. Linked to such proselytizing endeavors were expressions of faith that the Jews would ultimately be restored to their homeland, and sympathy for Jewish efforts, real or rumored, toward that end. If the biblical people of Israel still lay deep in the American mind, the contemporary Jews were on the whole not a preoccupation.

The most characteristic form of German Jewry's religious expression in the United States in this period was Reform Judaism. After an early episode in Charleston between 1824 and 1828, where the demand was mainly for more aesthetic ritual, Reform took root during the 1840s with the beginning of the Emanu-El Reformverein in New York and the founding of Reform congregations. Few synagogues, however, were founded on professed Reform principles. Usually an Orthodox congregation of German immigrants changed at first in a relatively superficial manner: it might omit the prayer for the long defunct Babylonian academies (*yekum purkan*), the incense formula (*pittum ha-ketoret*), and the complimentary benedictions during the reading of the Torah (*mi she-berakh*). More far-reaching alterations followed thereafter, such as the shift to a mainly English liturgy, the elimination of the second day of festivals, and the doffing of hats. It was less the initiative of the members of these early congregations than that of their rabbis which produced these changes. By the time of the Civil War several dozen congregations had taken their first steps toward Reform under the major rabbinic figures of the day: Isaac Mayer Wise, who settled in Cincinnati from 1854 after a stormy term in Albany to become the spokesman and organizer of American Reform; David *Einhorn, a theological radical of deeply Germanic and classical Reform thought; Bernard *Felsenthal, a moderate reformer; and Samuel *Hirsch and Samuel *Adler, similar to Einhorn in their Germanism and religious radicalism. The theological approach of these rabbis satisfied the widespread desire for Americanized forms of Judaism that harmonized with contemporary liberalism, rationalism, and optimism. Thus a version of Judaism was formulated in the United States that sought to bridge the chasm between Jews and Christians and refute the millennial view that Jews were living in exile.

To the difficulties of communication and transportation in this period may be added some apprehensiveness on the part of recently arrived German Jews over Jewish separatism and isolation. The synagogue was frequently the basic institution in the communal structure, although the founding of the fraternal order *B'nai B'rith in 1843 and its rapid growth outside the synagogue framework as a representative social and benevolent organization provided an alternate and rival form of Jewish affiliation and identification. Most cities also had their Jewish "literary" and charitable group. During the agitation over the *Damascus blood libel in 1840, protest meetings were purely local, but with some overall coordination. Repeated calls by Isaac *Leeser and Samuel M. *Isaacs of New York brought about the formation of the Board of Delegates of American Israelites in 1859, intentionally resembling in name and structure the Board of Deputies of British Jews. Like many central representative bodies thereafter, the Board of Delegates was founded on account of crises – on this occasion a not insignificant one in 1854 over the United States government's ratification of a treaty with Switzerland that enabled the latter country to bar foreign Jews from entry, and the more serious *Mortara Affair of 1858–59 in which a Jewish boy, Edgar Mortara, was secretly baptized by his Christian nurse and taken from his parents. The Board of Delegates was initially controlled by traditionalists and opposed by the Reformers. It claimed no more than 30 congregations – perhaps one-fifth of the number in existence.

The main ideas of American Reform Judaism were already articulated before 1860, but large-scale expansion of the movement took place in the 1860s and 1870s. In 1873, Isaac Mayer Wise, author of *Minhag Amerikah* ("The American Custom," 1857), a prayer book intended to be the unifying text of American Judaism, led the movement in cohering around a relatively small organization calling itself the *Union of American Hebrew Congregations. The constitution of the new Union scrupulously avoided theological and ideological references. In the wake of the Civil War, the notion of "union" became a hallowed principle in itself and Wise and his followers sincerely hoped all American Jews would join them.

> [July 9, 1873]
>
> PREAMBLE, CONSTITUTION, AND BY-LAWS OF THE UNION OF AMERICAN HEBREW CONGREGATIONS PREAMBLE
>
> The congregations represented in this convention, in faithful attachment to the sublime principles of Judaism, and in consciousness of Israel's sacred duties, feel impressed with the conviction, that in order to discharge these obligations beneficially, a closer union of the congregations is necessary. To this end, under the protection of the benign Providence and the laws of our country, we hereby establish this sacred covenant of the American Israelites, as set forth in the following:
>
> CONSTITUTION
>
> *Name*
>
> *Article I.* The body hereby constituted and established shall be known as "The Union of American Hebrew Congregations."
>
> *Object*
>
> *Article II.* It is the primary object of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations to establish a Hebrew Theological Institute – to preserve Judaism intact; to bequesth it in its purity and sublimity to posterity – to Israel united and fraternized; to establish, sustain, and govern a seat of learning for Jewish religion and literature; to provide for and advance the standard of Sabbath-schools for the instruction of the young in Israel's religion and history, and the Hebrew language; to aid an encourage young congregations by such material and spiritual support as may be at the command of the Union; and to provide, sustain, and manage such other institutions which the common welfare and progress of Judaism shall require – *without, however, interfering in any manner whatsoever with the affairs and management of any congregation.*

Opposition to the Reform movement came from a few Orthodox and proto-Conservative figures, most notably Isaac Leeser, lecturer, editor, author of *Olat Tamid* ("Eternal Offering," 1858) – a traditionalist prayer book – and *ḥazzan* of the Sephardi congregation in Philadelphia. Leeser stressed the immutable character of Judaism as a revealed religion, and insisted that under American freedom the Jewish religion had to be observed in full, rather than truncated. In the final analysis, however, the times were not with Leeser and his companions.

In the 1840s and 1850s Jewish schools teaching both Hebrew and general subjects (usually under the auspices of a synagogue) opened around the country. They existed during the absence of adequate public schooling or because of a Christian sectarian tinge to the public schools. During the same decades the movement for free, universal, religiously neutral public schools spread throughout the United States. As they were established in city after city, the recently founded Jewish schools closed and their children were sent to the new public institutions. By 1860 a new pattern was set for Jewish children of the public school combined with the afternoon or Sunday supplementary Jewish school.

For much of the 19th century Jewish communal organization seldom reached above the local level. However, several notable instances of intensive regional activity did set the stage for later countrywide innovations. An excellent example in this regard is the case of Rebecca *Gratz, daughter of a family of successful German Jewish merchants, who used her considerable talents to help create and lead five benevolent associations: the Female Association for the Relief of Women and Children in Reduced Circumstances (1801), the Philadelphia Orphan Asylum (1815), the Female Hebrew Benevolent Society (1819), the Hebrew Sunday School (1838), and the Jewish Foster Home (1855). Gratz herself was religiously observant. But her participation in Philadelphia's elite social circles, her commitment to nondenominational civic causes, and her appreciation of successful Gentile communal agencies underscore the capacity and rapidity of Jewish integration into wider American culture. Her pioneering mindset led to experiments in communitywide Jewish organization and philanthropy that would ultimately transform the American Jewish scene.

THE CIVIL WAR. Moses Judah, a New York merchant, was apparently the first American Jew to play a leadership role in the emergent abolitionist movement. In 1799 he joined New York City's Society for Promoting the Manumission of Slaves and in 1806 he was elected to the group's executive committee. Judah was an exception, however, and before the American Civil War (1861–65) few Jews took part in the mounting debate over slavery. The 150,000 or so American Jews generally sided with their respective regions before and during the conflict. As tensions escalated, some American Jewish leaders and activists engaged in fierce public debates. In 1860 Rabbi Morris J. *Raphall of Congregation Bnai Jeshurun, the first Jew to open a session of the U.S. House of Representatives with prayer, and Michael *Heilprin of New York City engaged in a printed debate over the alleged biblical legitimization of slavery. The exchange garnered nationwide attention. Asserting that "the slave is a person in whom the dignity of human nature is to be respected," Raphall nonetheless sought to justify the institution of slavery on theological grounds. "If our Northern fellow-citizens, content with following the word of God," he stated in a widely disseminated sermon, "would not insist on being 'righteous overmuch,' or denouncing 'sin'… they would entertain more equity and less ill feeling towards their Southern brethren." In response, Heilprin offered a cogent exegetical and scholarly retort, printed on January 15, 1861 by the *New York Daily Tribune*, which reached a substantial newspaper audience.

> If [Raphall's pro-slavery] assertion needs a refutation you can find it in the concluding passages of the Book of Job, in which

> you will find how the martyr was rewarded for his constancy, all his former possessions being restored double, his sheep, his camels, his oxen, and his she asses – but is there a word of slaves? So much for your proofs from passages of the Scriptures.
>
> Another ample and general refutation of our Rabbi's view can be found in the history of the Hebrews as a nation, a history of fifteen centuries, full of wars, revolutions, civil strifes and catastrophies, but without a mention of a single slave rising, or a single similar event. And how often do the Helots figure in Spartan history! How often slaves in the history of Rome! The history of this country, alas, has scarcely a page on which is not written the black word "Slavery." Shall its history be so continued? Answer, statesmen and people of America!
>
> And you, Rev. Rabbi Raphall, make your Bible, by some process of reasoning, to be pure, just, and humane, if you want to have it regarded as divine; or reject it as full of human frailty, if you dare! *Shalom!*

In addition to the secular abolitionist worldview of Heilprin, the American Jewish landscape was dotted with rabbis who took different positions on the question of abolition. An especially courageous communal leader was Rabbi David *Einhorn, the Baltimore reformer, who called slavery "the cancer of the Union" in the German-language monthly *Sinai*. He also staunchly upheld abolitionism in the slaveholding state of Maryland, in the heart of a city where one-tenth of the population consisted of slaves, and despite the opposition of his congregation *and* threats to his personal safety. He fled to New York City from a mob in 1861. On the other hand, Rabbi Isaac M. Wise probably reflected the mixed sympathies in his border city of Cincinnati by remaining silent about the Civil War and its issues; the reverends Isaac Leeser and Samuel M. Isaacs did likewise. Meanwhile, Judah P. *Benjamin, a distinguished Southern Jewish jurist, slave owner, and plantation farmer, who rose to become a United States senator representing Louisiana, played a key role in the secessionist movement. Benjamin, a close personal advisor to Jefferson Davis, would later serve as attorney general, secretary of war, and secretary of state of the Confederacy. Although Benjamin's attachments to Jewish life were minimal, he swiftly became an object of ridicule for antisemites in the North and the South, who feverishly accused him of treason, profiteering, and the like.

Perhaps 10,000 Jews served, about 7,000 in the Northern armies and 3,000 in those of the South, and over 500 lost their lives. Many of these soldiers, recent immigrants from Germany, served in the numerous units of German-born soldiers. The Union army began to appoint Jewish military chaplains in 1862, after the restriction under the law of 1861 on the appointment of military chaplains to Christian clergy was abolished.

Among the extant documents that illustrate the wartime experience of American Jews is an anonymous letter by a Union soldier, in which the writer discloses the self-consciousness of Jews in the military.

> As a general rule, the Jews do not care to make their religion a matter of notoriety, as it would at once involve them in an intricate controversial disquisition with the Christian chaplains, for which they do not always feel themselves qualified, and which, of course can, under no circumstance, afford them anything but annoyance. Some of our brethren fear that, were they known as Hebrews, it would expose them to taunts and sneers of those among their comrades who have been in the habit of associating with the name of the Jew, everything that is mean and contemptible; but I must say, and it redounds much to the credit of the army, that in the course of my experience in the camps, which has been considerable, I have heard but of a single instance in which a Jew was wantonly insulted on account of his religion, and that was by a drunken Scotchman, who commenced damning in every variety of language and motion, when he learned that he was addressing an Israelite, declaring them all to be cheats and thieves.…
>
> Most people take it for granted, that every soldier is an infidel, and that no sooner does he enter on active duty, than he banishes all the idea of religion from his mind. This is a great mistake, at least as far as the Jews are concerned. My own observation has convinced me that military life does not injuriously affect their ideas of duty and devotion.… It is quite common for Jewish soldiers belonging to the same company, to meet together for worship on Sabbath, in some secluded spot, and I know a young soldier, who was on Kippore [sic] morning, ordered to take part in a skirmish, near Harper's Ferry, which he had to go through, without having tasted food, and as soon as the enemy retreated, he retired to the woods, where he remained until sunset, reading his prayers.…
>
> Some Jewish soldiers suggested the idea of organizing all the Jewish soldiers in the army, into distinct regiments, with Hebrew banners, etc., so that both our food and religious services may be more consonant with our habits and ideas, and we may have the pleasure of associating with our own brethren. I was further informed that such was actually the custom among the Dutch Jews.… The suggestion of my friends to form themselves into separate regiments was, however, disapproved of by wiser heads, which was altogether unnecessary, as it is at present impracticable, and we are quite satisfied to fight with our Christian comrades for one cause, one country, and THE UNION.

Another useful example of American Jewish life during the Civil War is the memoir of German-born Marcus Spiegel, who served as a second lieutenant in the 67th Ohio Infantry and then as a colonel in the 120th Ohio Infantry. Marcus' extensive correspondence with his wife Caroline, a convert to Judaism, underscores the conflict's tragic impact on family life in this period. Addressing his "good, lovely and abused Wife," Marcus noted:

> I speak truly when I say "abused Wife": a Woman as good and lovely, as saving and industrious, as kind a wife and good mother as you are should [not] be left alone hundreds of miles from her husband who loves her more and more with fervor, zeal, and devotion… with three small children and one coming, or that he should leave her at all.

Somewhat later, Marcus lay dying in 1864 from a mortal wound and wept to an attending surgeon, "This is the last of the husband and father, what will become of my poor family?"

As the tragedy of the war deepened, casualties mounted, and hardships intensified, the beleaguered Confederacy became subject to serious antisemitic agitation, most of which focused on Judah P. Benjamin. The agitation was mainly felt in the smaller towns, however, no instance appeared of antisemitic physical assaults. By contrast, in the North, General Ulysses S. *Grant's General Order No. 11 was a serious albeit short-lived instance of official antisemitism. Predicated on the claim that "the Jews as a class" were engaged in illegal trade with the Confederate army, specifically that they were profiting from illicit traffic in cotton, Grant unilaterally expelled all Jews from the Department of Tennessee, the region along the lower Mississippi occupied by the Union army.

> Head Quarters 13th Army Corps
> Department of the Tennessee.
> Oxford, Miss. Dec. 17th 1862
> General Orders No. 11 (12)
>
> I. The Jews, as a class, violating every regulation of trade established by the Treasury Department, and also Department orders, are hereby expelled from the Department.
>
> II. Within twenty-four hours from the receipt of this order by Post Commanders, they will see that all of this class of people are furnished passes and are required to leave, and any one returning after such notification, will be arrested and held in confinement until an opportunity occurs of sending them out as prisoners unless furnished with permits from these Head Quarters.
>
> III. No permits will be given these people to visit Head Quarters for the purpose of making personal application for trade permits.
>
> By order of Maj. Genl. U.S. Grant
> Jno. A. Rawlins
> Ass't Adj't Genl.

The Jews of Paducah, Kentucky, led by Caesar Kaskel, immediately petitioned President Abraham *Lincoln for removal of "this inhuman order, the carrying out of which," they argued, "would be the grossest violation of the Constitution and our rights as good citizens under it, and would place us, besides a large number of other Jewish families of this town, as outlaws before the world." President Abraham Lincoln promptly nullified and rescinded the order.

> War Department
> Washington, January 4, 1863
> Major General Grant,
> Holly Springs, Miss.
>
> A paper purporting to be General Orders, No. 11, issued by you December 17, has been presented here. By its terms it expels all Jews from your department.
>
> If such an order has been issued, it will be immediately revoked.
>
> H.W. Halleck
> General-in-Chief

Like the wider Christian society of the North, Jews also shared in the prosperity that was a byproduct of the Civil War. The demands of military supply provided unusual opportunities to entrepreneurial businessmen and provisioners, who developed and expanded the ready-made clothing industry from large-scale orders for army uniforms. For example, the Jewish communities of Buffalo and Rochester experienced a wartime boost as result of their significant participation in the local garment making and tailoring industries. Similarly, American banking in general was vastly stimulated by the needs of government finance. The success of the *Seligman brothers in marketing Union bonds on the European market was a critically important contribution to the war effort. Numerous Jewish bankers of the 1870s and 1880s started with capital they amassed during the Civil War years as clothing manufacturers and merchants.

POST-CIVIL WAR STABILITY. The years between the end of the Civil War in 1865 and the onset of mass immigration from Eastern Europe during the 1880s marked the maturity of German Jewry in the United States. Jewish community leaders and heads of households in this period were predominantly merchants, manufacturers of clothing and other consumer goods, and bankers in large cities and also in the small towns of the West and South. "Germandom" reached its peak in this time and Reform Judaism became the dominant institutional religious form in American Jewish society.

Meanwhile, Jews also played a visible role in the economic and political development of the South following the emancipation of the slaves and the breakup of the plantation system. Jewish peddlers and storekeepers played an important part in the economic development of the region. One contemporary attributed part of their success to the habit they had of addressing black customers as "Mister" rather than by given name. This cultural openness signaled the Jews' lack of attachment to the region's racial system. In this period, several Jews became prominent politicians, notably Raphael J. *Moses in South Carolina.

Jewish immigration to the United States resumed after its near cessation during the Civil War period. The Jewish population rose from about 150,000 in 1860 to perhaps 280,000 in 1880, much of it due to a substantial excess of births over deaths within a young immigrant population, but even more to continued immigration. For the first time there were serious discussions in the Jewish community over the possibility of organizing Jewish immigration from Europe. In 1870 about 500 East Prussians and Lithuanians were brought from their famine-stricken region. Oppressed Romanian Jews also figured as potential immigrants in 1872. Despite these discussions, Jewish migration to the United States remained a matter of individual initiative. Of profound significance was the shift in its geographic sources from Germanic to Slavic areas of Europe. To be sure, some small immigration arrived from Alsace following the German annexation of the province in 1871, and scattered immigration continued from many other lands.

The German Jewish merchant class climbed rapidly in the post-Civil War age of industrial and financial expansion and the private banker also reached his zenith during the last decades of the century. Joseph Seligman and his brothers in New York and San Francisco were among the foremost bankers of their day. He declined President Ulysses S. Grant's offer

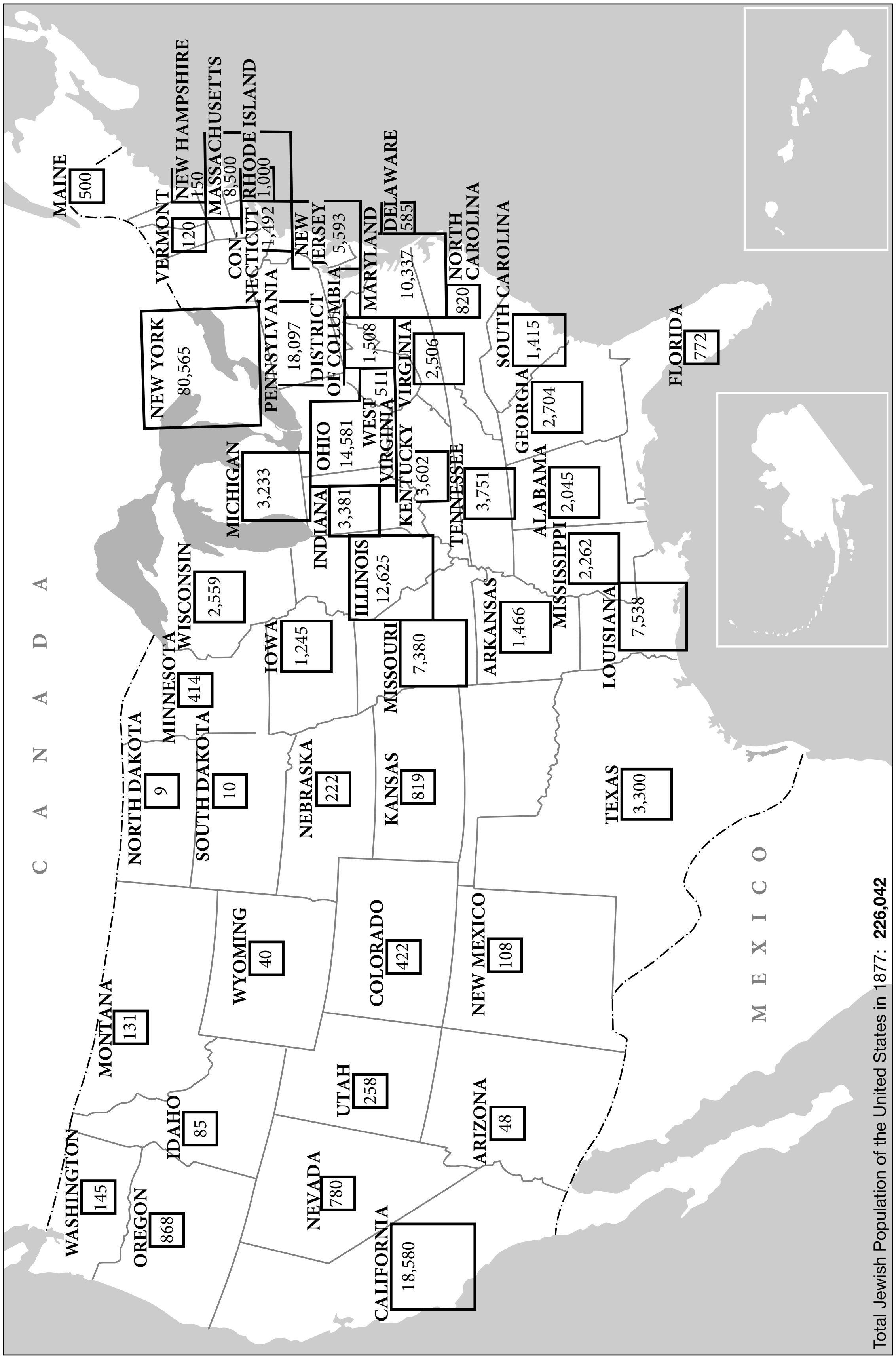
Total Jewish Population of the United States in 1877: 226,042
C A N A D A
M E X I C O
WASHINGTON 145
OREGON 868
CALIFORNIA 18,580
NEVADA 780
IDAHO 85
MONTANA 131
WYOMING 40
UTAH 258
ARIZONA 48
COLORADO 422
NEW MEXICO 108
NORTH DAKOTA 9
SOUTH DAKOTA 10
NEBRASKA 222
KANSAS 819
TEXAS 3,300
MINNESOTA 414
IOWA 1,245
MISSOURI 7,380
ARKANSAS 1,466
LOUISIANA 7,538
WISCONSIN 2,559
ILLINOIS 12,625
MISSISSIPPI 2,262
MICHIGAN 3,233
INDIANA 3,381
KENTUCKY 3,602
TENNESSEE 3,751
ALABAMA 2,045
OHIO 14,581
WEST VIRGINIA 511
GEORGIA 2,704
FLORIDA 772
SOUTH CAROLINA 1,415
NORTH CAROLINA 820
VIRGINIA 2,506
DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA 1,508
MARYLAND 10,337
DELAWARE 585
PENNSYLVANIA 18,097
NEW JERSEY 5,593
NEW YORK 80,565
CONNECTICUT 1,492
RHODE ISLAND 1,000
MASSACHUSETTS 8,500
NEW HAMPSHIRE 150
VERMONT 120
MAINE 500

Map 2. Jewish population of the U.S., 1877, within state borders of today.

to appoint him secretary of the treasury in 1869. Entrepreneurs like Max A. Meyer of New York City, a leading domestic and foreign dry goods dealer, Philip Heidelbach of Cincinnati, a significant clothing manufacturer, the banker and city alderman Henry *Greenebaum of Chicago, and I.W. *Hellman in Los Angeles, then still a village, were important personages. In particular, Jacob H. *Schiff swiftly rose in this period to become one his generation's and the country's most influential investment bankers.

The decades after the Civil War witnessed the greatest period of synagogue construction up to that time. Dozens of congregations founded ten and twenty years earlier had achieved size, stability, and prosperity, and the numerous edifices they erected during this period, many with elaborate decoration in Romanesque Moorish style, attest to the confidence and optimism of their builders. (Three outstanding surviving specimens are the Plum Street Temple, at Plum and Sixth Streets, Cincinnati, built in 1869, the Central Synagogue, New York City, built in 1870, and the former home of Congregation Beth Emeth, at Swan and Jay Streets, Albany, built in 1891.) Reform Judaism reached the peak of its influence during the 1870s and 1880s, when it came close to being synonymous with American Judaism, the growth of which its organizer and leader Isaac Mayer Wise anticipated in the 1850s. The ritual in Reform congregations made the rabbi its moving force, and his sermon the focus. The use of English (or in some congregations, German) greatly outweighed that of Hebrew. A shortened public worship was held on Sabbaths and the first day only of festivals. Theological changes were even more profound, probably the most basic of them being the transformation of the conception of Jewish exile and ultimate messianic redemption into a Jewish mission to spread the enlightenment of ethical monotheism to the world, and to hasten the millennium of human perfection and true faith. The Reform theological position was epitomized in the *Pittsburgh Platform of 1885, drawn up by Rabbi Kaufmann *Kohler, which remained the standard Reform creed for 50 years. The organizational strength of Reform Judaism was solidified by the founding of the *Union of American Hebrew Congregations in 1873, the *Hebrew Union College in 1875, and the *Central Conference of American Rabbis in 1889.

While Reform attained structural maturity and theological stability, traditionalists, both Orthodox and proto-Conservative, were confined to a few synagogues and were linked by personal and family ties. Their strength grew out of the mass immigration of East European Jews that reached the United States from the 1880s to the 1920s in unprecedented numbers.

Jewish participation in mainstream American culture grew considerably in the late 19th century as ever increasing numbers of Jews interacted socially, economically, and politically with their gentile peers. For many, the fraternal order B'nai B'rith, established in 1843 by German Jews, provided a pluralistic non-religious framework for meaningful association. By 1876 B'nai B'rith's reach grew to include lodges all across the country. All in all, however, Jewish participation in the arts remained marginal, with the exception of music, which was extensively cultivated by German Jews. Nor did any novelist, poet, essayist, artist, or scholar hold major rank. The emergence of Emma *Lazarus in this period was a notable exception and her sonnet "Ode to Colossus" would later adorn the base of the Statue of Liberty. Nevertheless, Lazarus' early work showed little concern with Jewish themes and issues. Her attitude would change dramatically in the 1880s following the outbreak of anti-Jewish violence in czarist Russia that impelled the mass waves of East European Jewish immigration to the United States. Of scientists there were few, but physicians became comparatively numerous and some were distinguished. Among them were the father of American pediatrics Abraham *Jacobi and Ernst Krakowitzer, who first used the laryngoscope, and others.

The phenomenon of Jewish exclusion from upper-level social circles was especially notable in the 1870s. It erupted notoriously in 1877, with the refusal to admit prominent Jewish financier Joseph Seligman to the fashionable Grand Union Hotel in Saratoga Springs, New York. In the event, the hotel's manager Henry Hilton gave explicit "instructions that no Israelites shall be permitted in the future to stop at this hotel." This act aroused widespread anger and indignation, not only among Jews but in the general press and among such liberal Protestants as Henry Ward Beecher. The social clubs for the wealthy that were being established in the 1870s and later mostly kept Jews out and the German gymnastic and social *Turnvereine* were also inhospitable. In 1879 the *New York Herald* published an interview with Austin Corbin, president of the Long Island Railroad and the Manhattan Beach Company, in which Corbin candidly explained his rationale for barring Jews from Coney Island, which he planned to develop as a fashionable resort. The interview with Corbin captured the genteel antisemitism of America's elite in the *fin de siècle*.

> The war against the Jews, which was carried on at Saratoga two years ago, is apparently to be revived at Coney Island. This time it is in a quarter where Jewish residents of New York City are particularly aimed at. Several days ago a rumor was circulated to the effect that Austin Corbin, the President of the Manhattan Beach Company, had taken an open stand against admitting Jews to the beach or hotel. The report was on Sunday strengthened by a statement by Mr. P.S. Gilmore, the leader of the Manhattan Beach band, who said that Mr. Corbin told him he was going to oppose the Jews, and that he would rather "sink" the two millions invested in the railway and hotel than have a single Israelite take advantage of its attractions. A representative of the *Herald* called upon Mr. Corbin at his banking establishment in the new Trinity building, No. 115 Broadway, yesterday, to ascertain what foundation there was for these most extraordinary rumors. Mr. Corbin at first exhibited some timidity about talking on the subject, but finally invited the reporter into his private office, where he was joined by his brother and partner, Daniel C. Corbin.
>
> "You see," he began, "I don't want to speak too strongly, as it might be mistaken for something entirely different from its intended sense. Personally I am opposed to Jews. They are

a pretentious class, who expect three times as much for their money as other people. They give us more trouble on our road and in our hotel than we can stand. Another thing is, that they are driving away the class of people who are beginning to make Coney Island the most fashionable and magnificent watering place in the world."

"Of course, this must affect business?"

"Why, they are hurting us in every way, and we do not want them. We cannot bring the highest social element to Manhattan Beach if the Jews persist in coming. They won't associate with Jews, and that's all there is about it."

"Do you intend to make an open stand against them?"

"Yes, I do. They are contemptible as a class, and I never knew but one 'white' Jew in my life. The rest I found were not safe people to deal with in business. Now, I feel pretty warm over this matter, and I will write a statement which you can publish."

Mr. Corbin sat down at his desk and wrote a few sentences on a slip of paper, as follows:

"We do not like the Jews as a class. There are some well behaved people among them, but as a rule they make themselves offensive to the kind of people who principally patronize our road and hotel, and I am satisfied we should be better off without than with their custom."

"There," said he, handing the statement to the reporter, "that is my opinion and I am prepared to follow up the matter. It is a question that has to be handled without gloves. It stands this way: We must have a good place for society to patronize. I say we cannot do so and have Jews. They are a detestable and vulgar people. What do you say, eh, Dan?"

This last sentence was addressed to his brother, Mr. Daniel Corbin, who had taken an active part in the conversation. Dan said, with great emphasis, "Vulgar? I can only find one term for them, and that is nasty. It describes the Jews perfectly."

Mr. Austin Corbin then spoke warmly of the loss sustained by the Manhattan Beach Company in consequence of Israelitish patronage.

"Do you mean, Mr. Corbin, that the presence of Jews attracts the element of ruffianism?" asked the reporter.

"Not always. But the thing is this. The Jews drive off the people whose places are filled by a less particular class. The latter are not rich enough to have any preference in the matter. Even they, in my opinion, bear with them only because they can't help it. It is not the Jews' religion I object to; it is the offensiveness which they possess as a sect or nationality. I would not oppose any man because of his creed."

"Will the other members of the Manhattan Beach Company support you in your position?"

"I expect them to. They know just as much about it as I do, and no reasonable man can deny that the Jews will creep in a place just as it is about to become a grand success and spoil everything. They are not wanted at the beach and that settles it."

"Have you spoken to any other members about it?"

"No, but I guess they know my opinions."

Mr. Corbin rose from the chair he had been sitting in and paced the floor. "I'll tell you," he said, running his fingers through his hair, "if I had my way and there was no one to consult with in the matter but myself, I would have stopped the Jews from coming long ago. You just publish my statement. It covers the whole ground, and I mean every word of it."

Mr. Corbin concluded the conversation by telling the reporter to be sure not to give the impression that he was warning against the Jewish religion, but he stigmatized the Jews as having no place in first-class society.

In contrast to the major urban centers of the eastern seaboard, it generally appears that during the early development of many midwestern cities Jews had the freest opportunities for social mingling and political advancement. Indeed, it was quite usual for a Jew, as one of the few literate, stable settlers, to become mayor or a leading official of a so-called frontier town. However, once these pioneer years ended and more fixed social groupings came into being, a tendency to exclude Jews from elite social and business circles became evident.

WOMEN. Over the course of the 19th century, the profile of American Jewish women changed dramatically. In the antebellum period, German Jewish immigrant women participated actively in the family economy as their male counterparts made the transition from itinerant peddling to stationary businesses such as small stores and boardinghouses. Within a short period, German Jewish immigrant families achieved a measure of economic stability. The liberal climate and dynamic social setting of America provided the scope and inducement for American Jewish women to opt out of a traditional Jewish lifestyle marked by domesticity and religious piety. Moreover, the Reform movement's concomitant emphasis on Americanizing Judaism and eliminating aspects of Jewish practice that set Jews apart from the dominant middle-class Protestant culture of the period, including the labor intensive activity of maintaining a Jewish household in accordance with traditional dietary laws, paved the way for new models of female behavior.

As early as the 1820s and 1830s, upper-middle-class German Jewish women in urban centers transformed the activity of *ḥevrot nashim*, women's groups that sought to fulfill the commandment of performing *mitzvot* (charitable acts) such as preparing the dead for ritual burial, visiting and caring for the sick, and assisting the poor, into an emerging network of self-governing female benevolent societies devoted to a wide array of communal and philanthropic work. In 1819 Rebecca Gratz established the prototype of the Ladies' Hebrew Benevolent Society in Philadelphia. In ensuing decades, this innovative framework became a countrywide phenomenon characterized by voluntary membership, democratic procedures, and fundraising. Following an initial phase during which such female societies were attached to synagogues and run by male officers, they evolved into truly independent non-synagogal frameworks managed and directed by women. Meanwhile, the steady acculturation and secularization of German Jewry, the swift upward mobility of the German Jewish family and its embourgeoisment, and the development of an intricate web of new sociocultural institutions in wider middle-class American society – including in 1843 the creation of the B'nai B'rith fraternal order – provided a context in which Jewish women's groups became normative.

In the decades following the Civil War, a variety of Jewish female social agencies and charitable institutions emerged. Among the most notable examples from this period are the

Henry Street Settlement house, created in 1893 by social activist Lillian *Wald, and the Clara De Hirsch Home for Working Girls, a trade school established in 1897 that quickly became a model for similar enterprises across the country. The year 1893 also witnessed the founding of the *National Council of Jewish Women, organized during a Jewish Women's Congress held as part of the World's Parliament of Religions at the Chicago World's Fair. Thereafter, with the support of Lillian Wald and Jane Addams, the National Council of Jewish Women established more than a dozen settlement houses in immigrant neighborhoods across the country. In the decades that spanned the 19th and 20th centuries, American Jewish women of German ancestry opened the door to new social patterns and political roles that would ultimately transform the place of women in Judaism and American Jewish life.

East European Jewish Period, 1880–1930s

MASS WAVES OF IMMIGRATION. The "East European Era" in American Jewish history started in 1881–82 with widespread pogroms in tsarist Russia and reached a climax with the implementation of the Johnson-Reed Act in 1924 when the United States Congress effectively closed the doors to the "Golden Land." During these years, the number of Jews in the United States grew from about 280,000 in a U.S. population of 50,155,000 in 1880, to approximately 4,500,000 of 115,000,000 in 1925. Some 2,378,000 Jews arrived in the United States between 1880 and the end of free immigration in 1925. The peak was reached during the five consecutive years 1904 to 1908, when 642,000 reached American shores. This movement, which formed part of the mass waves of migration from Europe to the United States in general, was indeed epoch-making. Vast numbers of Jews who moved from Eastern Europe into the world's fastest growing economy were automatically emancipated from all legal discrimination and rapidly entered Western culture.

Events stimulating European emigration, such as the pogroms of 1881–83, the expulsion from Moscow in 1890, and Russia's years of war, revolution, and pogroms between 1903 and 1907 were notorious episodes. Other causes of the mass migration lay deeper, however, and were more influential. Probably the most important cause was the growth of East European (Russian Empire, Austrian Poland, Hungary, Romania) Jewry from perhaps 1,500,000 in 1800 to some 6,800,000 persons in 1900, generating nearly insoluble questions of sheer physical survival. The economic development of Eastern Europe failed to provide sufficient livelihood for its Jews, and Russian governmental policies excluded Jews from the new industrial cities, kept them off the land, and burdened them with drastically restrictive decrees. The feeling among Russian Jews grew stronger that their lot would never improve by normal political and economic processes but required emigration abroad or revolution at home. The Jews of Romania, mostly 19th-century immigrants from Russia who attained a better economic position by their move, suffered greatly from arbitrary and occasionally violent treatment as aliens without rights. In Galicia, under Habsburg rule, the Jews enjoyed emancipation from 1867, but the economic backwardness of that area fostered the highest emigration rate in Eastern Europe. By then emigrants could travel by fully developed railroad and steamship lines, so that the journey from a town in Eastern Europe to the port of New York City might be consummated in two weeks. Entry into the United States was virtually free, with barely one percent of arrivals turned away, mainly because of contagious diseases.

The pace of immigration increased with each decade. The annual average between 1881 and 1892 stood at approximately 19,000; between 1892 and 1903, at 37,000; and for the decade between 1903 and the outbreak of war in 1914, at 76,000 for each year. The mass waves of immigration triggered alarm bells in nativist circles, particularly among the established segments of white Protestant America who feared the mongrelization of the Christian West by so-called "new immigrants." This theme gained widespread credence as a result of the work of the Immigration Commission of the 61st U.S. Congress, chaired by the xenophobe Senator William P. Dillingham of Vermont. In 1910, the Dillingham Commission resolved "within a half hour of the time when, under the law," its report must have been filed – and with nary a reference to the findings of a 42-volume report concerning recent immigrant groups in the United States – to recommend that the American government henceforth place a premium on immigrants of "Aryan stock" from northern and western Europe and severely restrict the flow of immigration from southern and eastern European lands. Even before its formal recommendation to the U.S. Congress, news of the Dillingham Commission's nativist predisposition sent shock waves through the organized American Jewish community. The officers of the American Jewish Committee and the lay leadership of the Union of American Hebrew Congregation assumed an active role in trying to defend the interests of the American Jewish community as a whole, while protecting the burgeoning Yiddish-speaking immigrant communities now heavily concentrated along the eastern seaboard and in the Middle West. Testifying before the commission in 1909, Simon *Wolf, a prominent Washington, D.C., lawyer and Jewish leader of German ancestry active in both groups, attempted to disabuse Senators William P. Dillingham, Henry Cabot Lodge, and other commission members of their hostile attitude toward the Jews. Much of the commission's antipathetic attitude to the Jews derived from antisemitic assumptions and pseudo-scientific assumptions about race and genetics. "The point we make is this," Wolf asserted, "a Jew coming from Russia is a Russian; from Roumania, a Roumanian; from France, a Frenchman; from England, an Englishman; and from Germany, a German; that 'Hebrew' or 'Jewish' is simply a religion."

> Senator [Henry Cabot] Lodge: How would you classify those coming from the seventeen provinces of Austria – men of utterly different races, historically speaking? We classify the Croatians, the Bohemians, according to the race they represent in Austria …

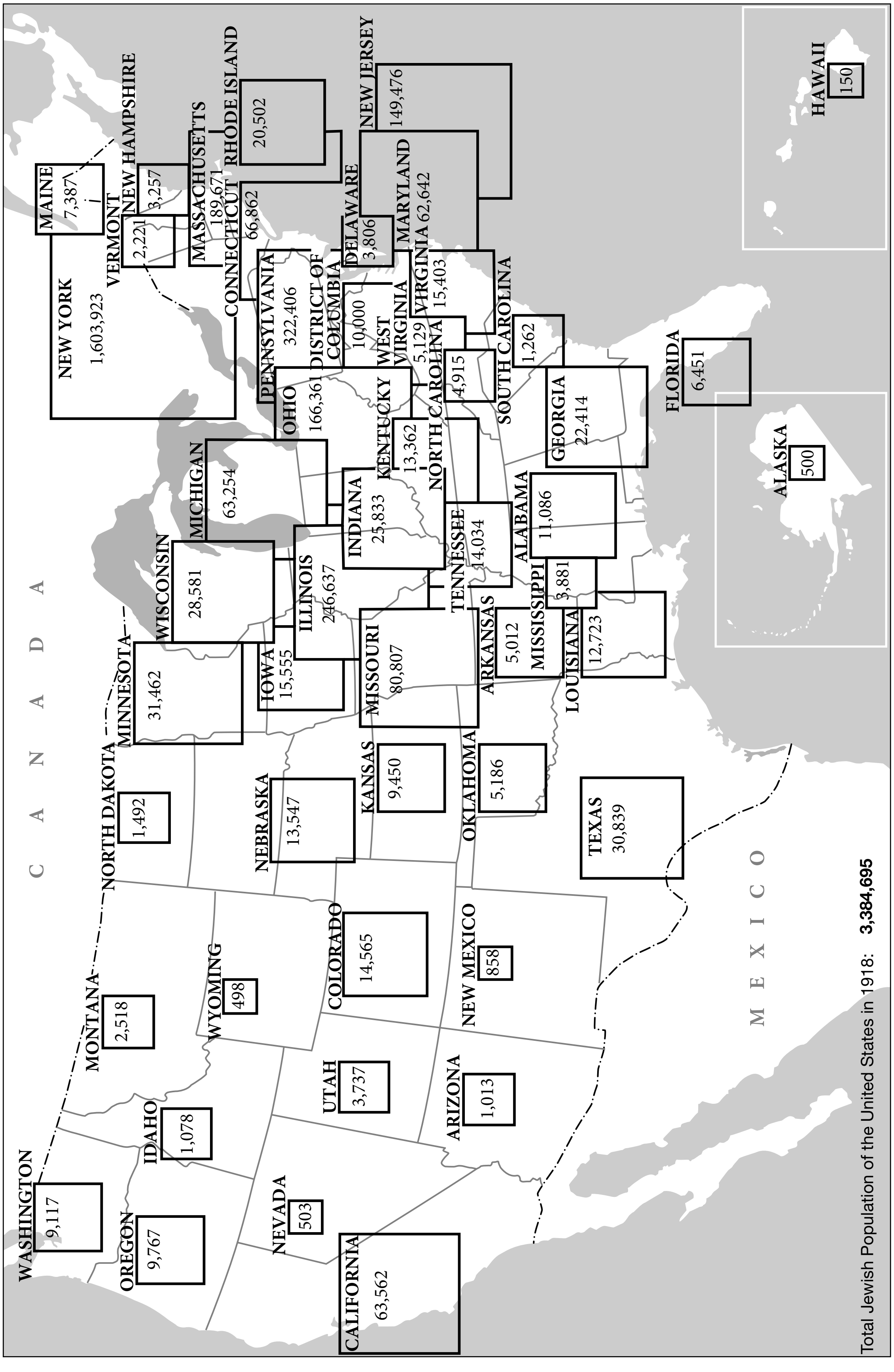
C A N A D A
M E X I C O
WASHINGTON
9,117
OREGON
9,767
CALIFORNIA
63,562
IDAHO
1,078
NEVADA
503
MONTANA
2,518
WYOMING
498
UTAH
3,737
ARIZONA
1,013
COLORADO
14,565
NEW MEXICO
858
NORTH DAKOTA
1,492
NEBRASKA
13,547
KANSAS
9,450
OKLAHOMA
5,186
TEXAS
30,839
MINNESOTA
31,462
IOWA
15,555
MISSOURI
80,807
ARKANSAS
5,012
LOUISIANA
12,723
WISCONSIN
28,581
ILLINOIS
246,637
MISSISSIPPI
3,881
TENNESSEE
14,034
ALABAMA
11,086
MICHIGAN
63,254
INDIANA
25,833
KENTUCKY
13,362
OHIO
166,361
GEORGIA
22,414
FLORIDA
6,451
SOUTH CAROLINA
1,262
NORTH CAROLINA
4,915
VIRGINIA
15,403
WEST VIRGINIA
5,129
DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA
10,000
PENNSYLVANIA
322,406
MARYLAND
62,642
DELAWARE
3,806
NEW JERSEY
149,476
NEW YORK
1,603,923
CONNECTICUT
66,862
RHODE ISLAND
20,502
MASSACHUSETTS
189,671
VERMONT
2,221
NEW HAMPSHIRE
3,257
MAINE
7,387
ALASKA
500
HAWAII
150
Total Jewish Population of the United States in 1918: 3,384,695

Map 3. Jewish population of the U.S., 1918, within state borders of today.

> Mr. Wolf: I am aware of that.
>
> Senator Lodge: The Irish are a perfect illustration of that. They are not classified according to their religion. They are British subjects –
>
> Mr. Wolf: Certainly.
>
> Senator Lodge: But we classify them as Irish because they are Irish, and undoubtedly there is a great deal of mixed blood in Ireland – English, Scotch, and Welsh blood.
>
> Mr. Wolf: That is altogether geographical, and so with respect to the seventeen Austrian provinces.
>
> Senator Lodge: The Irish are not classified geographically. An Irishman is classified as an Irish immigrant wherever he may come from.
>
> Mr. Wolf: You seem to forget – and you are certainly sufficiently versed in the history of all people and especially the people I represent to know – that when a Jew is spoken of, a Jew in faith is meant.
>
> Senator Lodge: Not at all… There is where we start off with a vast difference….

As manifest by the Dillingham Commission's monumental report and the Lodge-Simon exchange, the American political establishment had ample access to objective data and information about Jews and Jewish immigrants. But Dillingham, Lodge, and other key political figures were hardly predisposed to view such evidence rationally. Instead, they set in motion a chain of legislative initiatives that ultimately succeeded in closing the doors to the United States between 1921 and 1924.

Notwithstanding the wave of xenophobia and isolationism that swept the country in these years, the vast majority of East European Jewish immigrants proved successful in transplanting themselves to American soil. Indeed, the 42-volume report of the Dillingham Commission's report included considerable documentation in this regard. Meanwhile, the proportion of immigrants that returned to Europe from among the immigration of the 1880s has been estimated at 25 percent. From that point it steadily declined; in 1908 and after, when statistics began to be taken, the rate of return was about eight percent; after 1919 it sank below one percent. Clearly, the Jewish immigrant came to stay, to a greater extent than all his immigrant contemporaries except the Irish. A negligible number followed the advice of the Palestinian sage *Israel Meir ha-Kohen, known as the "Ḥafez Ḥayyim," in his emigrant guide *Niddeḥei Yisrael* ("The Dispersed of Israel") to return as early as possible and live in prosperous piety. Indeed, the Jewish immigrants who came to the United States became a permanent addition to the population. They raised the number of Jews in the United States to approximately 1,000,000 in 1900, 3,250,000 in 1915, and 4,500,000 in 1925, establishing the Jews as a major ethnic and religious group, and made American Jewry the largest Jewish community in the world after 1918.

Almost 80 percent of the East European newcomers were 15 to 45 years old, the age range typical of immigrants to the United States generally. Men outnumbered women only slightly, indicating the permanence and family character of this emigration, even though families were often separated for considerable periods of time. Owing to the sizable quotient of female Jewish immigrants of child-bearing age, the Yiddish-speaking immigrant community was a very fecund group; very high birthrates are recorded for urban districts where they preponderated.

Meanwhile, the earlier German Jewish stock, joined by later middle-class German Jewish immigrants and a few from England and France, shifted from predominantly mercantile occupations to a more varied spectrum. Law and politics, banking and finance, department store ownership, publishing, medicine, and literary, academic, and scientific pursuits all became widespread. A comparatively noticeable group functioned as collectors and patrons of the arts, and as philanthropists. During the 1870s German Jewish settlement had spread wide, with hundreds of small towns in California, along the Mississippi River, and throughout the South and Middle West where there were small Jewish communities. A stream of East European Jewish immigrants followed in their wake, including would-be farmers who established Jewish agricultural communities along the eastern seaboard with the support of the Baron De Hirsch Fund and the Jewish Agricultural and Industrial Aid Society. Additionally, small groups of Am Olam (Eternal People) pioneers created quasi-socialist Jewish pioneering colonies that dotted the American landscape from New Jersey to Oregon. Within the space of a generation, however, most Jews quit these towns and colonies. The great expansion of America's industrial cities, the depression of the agricultural economy upon which many small towns and rural communities were reliant, and the antisemitic undertones and religious fundamentalism to be found in remote areas of the country helped to make Jews of the 20th century a largely metropolitan group.

SOCIAL AND CULTURAL LIFE. The Jewish labor movement helped to foster a secular Yiddish-speaking environment that flourished from the 1910s into the 1930s and offered a modern, social democratic alternative to Jewish tradition. About 80,000 families, mainly members of Jewish unions and small businessmen, belonged to the Arbeter Ring (*Workmen's Circle) at its peak in the mid-1920s. Like the socialist Zionist Farband, it provided sick and death benefits as well as a diverse Yiddish cultural program. In this period, there was a lively and robust Yiddish daily press with a combined circulation of about 700,000 at its peak in 1916. Through a variety of weeklies, monthlies, literary journals, and periodicals, a rich diet of news as well as Yiddish literature was supplied by prominent writers, poets, and literary critics including Sholem *Asch, M. *Boraisha, David *Einhorn, R. Eisland, Mendel Elkin, Jacob *Glatstein, Moshe Leib *Halpern, Peretz *Hirschbein, Zishe *Landau, Mani Leib, A. Leiles, N. *Minkoff, Samuel *Niger, David *Pinski, Abraham *Reisin, J. *Rolnick, Morris *Rosenfeld, H. *Rosenblatt, I.J. *Schwartz, L. *Shapiro, Isaac Bashevis *Singer, Israel Joshua *Singer, J. Slonim, and *Yehoash.

Among the most significant Yiddish newspapers in this period were the traditionalist *Yidisher Tageblatt* ("Jewish Daily News"), the Labor Zionist weekly **Yidisher Kemfer* ("Jewish

Fighter"), which attracted significant public intellectuals including Nachman *Syrkin, Chaim *Zhitlowsky, and Ḥayyim *Greenberg, *Zukunft* ("Future"), which became the leading Yiddish monthly under the editorship Abraham Liessen, the conservative-leaning *Morgen Zhurnal* (**Morning Journal*), and the liberal pro-Zionist *Tog* (**Jewish Day*). In the final analysis, however, the *Forverts* (**Jewish Daily Forward*), edited by Abraham *Cahan, was unquestionably the most influential newspaper of the day. The most popular feature of the *Forverts* was "*Bintel Brief*" (Bundle of Letters), a forum edited by Cahan himself in which he dispensed advice to thousands of Yiddish-speaking immigrants who wrote seeking advice about their everyday concerns, struggles, hopes, fears, and needs. The column was wildly popular, and it also proved to be important to the *Forvert's* general commercial success. Viewed in historical perspective, *Bintel Brief* throws considerable light on the daily experiences and hardscrabble lives of East European Jewish immigrants in this period. For example, a debate over secularism and tradition in 1908 prompted the following exchange:

> Worthy Mr. Editor,
>
> Please help us decide who is right in the debate between friends, whether a Socialist and freethinker should observe *yohrzeit* (the traditional anniversary of mourning one's relatives)?
>
> Among the disputants there is a Socialist, a freethinker, who observes his mother's *yohrzeit* in the following manner: He pays a pious man to say the *kaddish* prayer for the dead, and burns a *yohrzeit* candle in his home. He himself doesn't say *kaddish*, because he doesn't believe in religion. But his desire to respect the memory of his mother is so strong that it does not prevent him from performing this religious ceremony.
>
> Among the debaters there are those who do not want to know of such an emotion as honoring the dead. But if one does desire to do so, one should say *kaddish* himself, even if he does not believe in it.
>
> Therefore, our first question is: Can we recognize the beautiful human emotion of honoring the dead, especially when it concerns one so near as a mother? The second question: If so, should the expression of honor be in keeping with the desires of the honored? Third: Would it be more conscientious and righteous if the freethinker said *kaddish* himself, or if he hired a pious man to do it for him?
>
> Being convinced that this matter interests a great number of people, we hope you, Mr. Editor, will answer us soon.
>
> With regards,
> The Debating Group

To which Cahan responded:

> Honoring a departed one who was cherished and loved is a gracious sentiment and a requisite for the living. And everyone wants to be remembered after his death. Socialists and freethinkers observe the anniversaries of their great leaders – just recently they commemorated the twenty-fifth anniversary of the death of Karl Marx.
>
> Saying *kaddish* is certainly a religious rite, and to pay someone to say *kaddish* is not the act of a freethinker. But we can understand the psychology of a freethinker who feels that hiring someone else is not as much against his own convictions as to say *kaddish* himself.

Women, too, wrote to Cahan about their travails in the New World. Many female writers discussed their struggles as workers, wives, and mothers. The following exchange from 1908 provides a glimpse of a dilemma that faced many Jewish immigrant women: abandonment by their husbands. Known in Jewish tradition as *agunot* (abandoned wives), such women often suffered deep personal and intense social and economic trauma. Indeed, the *Forverts* frequently published lists of husbands who deserted their wives in an effort to reunite broken families.

> Worthy Editor,
>
> Have pity on me and my two small children and print my letter in the *Forverts*.
>
> Max! The children and I now say farewell to you. You left us in such a terrible state. You have no compassion for us. For six years I loved you faithfully, took care of you like a loyal servant, never had a happy day with you. Yet I forgive you for everything.
>
> You ever asked yourself why you left us? Max, where is your conscience: you used to have sympathy for the forsaken women and used to say their terrible plight was due to the men who left them in dire need. And how did you act? I was a young, educated, decent girl when you took me. You lived with me for six years, during which time I bore you four children. And then you left me.
>
> Of the four children, only two remain, but you have made them living orphans. Who will bring them up? Who will support us? Have you no pity for your own flesh and blood? Consider what you are doing. My tears choke me and I cannot write anymore.
>
> Be advised that in several days I am leaving with my two living orphans for Russia. We say farewell to you and beg you to take pity on us and send us enough to live on…
>
> Your Deserted Wife and Children

As the foregoing illustrates, many Jewish immigrants to the United States experienced downward mobility and consequently thousands did return to Europe despite the dangers and uncertainty they might face, particularly in tsarist Russia. That the Old World continued to exert a strong pull for many immigrants, even after they had been living in America for several years, is evident in the following exchange from 1912.

> Dear Editor,
>
> Twenty-two years ago I came to America with my wife and four little children. We lived in Chicago nineteen years, and we have been in New York for three. I am not skilled in a trade, but I am a businessman, and all these years I've struggled because I never made a living. I know English, I am not lazy, I've tried everything and never succeeded.
>
> When the children were young I had to appeal for aid to my wealthy family in Warsaw, and they helped me many times. Later, as the children grew up and began to earn money, it was easier, but I, with all my ability as a businessman, couldn't get myself settled in this country. In the city of Warsaw, where I lived before immigrating to America, there were times when

> things weren't too bad. In America, however, it always went badly and I haven't been able to adjust to the country.
>
> Now, when my children are all married and in good positions, I got an idea that it might be good for me and my wife to go back to Warsaw. It is very hard to part with the children, but to live in poverty is also bad. It seems strange to me that I must go away from the free America in order to better my condition. But the chances for me are still better there. I ask your advice and I thank you in advance.
>
> Respectfully,
> The Unlucky One

Cahan's responded to the unfortunate man with a mixture of sympathy and hard-headed realism as follows:

> The advice to this letter writer is not to go back to Warsaw, because after so many years in this country he would feel like a stranger there. He must understand he is no longer the same man he was twenty-two years ago and the city of Warsaw is also not the same as it was in the past.

Over the course of the next half a century, the *Forverts* emerged as the central publication of the Yiddish-speaking milieu. Following World War I, it gradually warmed to the cause of Zionism and became disenchanted with Soviet-style Communism. In time, although it never completely abandoned its socialist ethos and concern for the Jewish workers movement, the paper was gradually transformed into a vehicle of Jewish liberal opinion. In 1922 the prominent American publicist Oswald Garrison Villard, owner of *The Nation*, offered the following description of a typical issue of the *Forverts* at the height of its influence and prosperity:

> Its eight pages of eight columns each (28 or 32 pages on Sundays) offers a variegated bill of fare. Pictures, of course, occasional cartoons; little of crime (about two columns a day); often sensational matter… extraordinarily valuable letters from abroad, together with a great deal of Jewish and labor news, all with Hearst-like headlines. In one week in July 1922 it carried 24 columns of letters and cablegrams from its own correspondents (in eastern Europe)… In that same week it carried 154 columns of serious reading matter and 137 columns which can be termed "light matter," though this does not adequately describe it, for while the *Forward* writes down to its readers it is also printing today by far the best fiction and *belles lettres* of any newspaper in America.

Beyond the world of print, vast audiences also responded enthusiastically to the musical artistry and liturgical compositions of cantorial singers, some of whom recorded the earliest gramaphone records. One of the most celebrated figures in this regard was Yossele *Rosenblatt, who immigrated to the United States from Germany to conduct services at the First Hungarian Congregation in Harlem, New York. He quickly attracted a following of Jewish and non-Jewish music lovers who flocked to his services and concerts. There was also a flourishing of scholarly public Yiddish lectures, Yiddish afternoon schools sponsored by a variety of organizations, and a burgeoning Yiddish theater scene, of which there were numerous troupes. The case of Abraham *Goldfaden, a pioneer of the Yiddish theater, exemplifies the complexity of the East European Jewish scene in this period. Goldfaden himself fled to the United States in 1903 after his plays were banned by the tsarist regime which feared their incendiary and revolutionary nature. He went on to write some 60 plays, including many popularly acclaimed comedies and melodramas. In the process, as historian Martin Gilbert writes, "Goldfaden became a strong critic of Jewish assimilation and participation in the life of other nationalities."

In his play *Ben Ami* (*Son of My People*) he called for Jewish national redemption in Palestine as an answer to the Russian pogroms. The play's aristocratic hero, on discovering his Jewish origins and witnessing a pogrom in Odessa, leaves the bloodstained soil of Russia for a new life, not in America, but in Palestine. Once there, the hero sets as his task the training of Jewish youth to till the soil and to work for the national regeneration of the Jewish people. As assimilation gained ground in the United States, and Zionism saw emigration to Palestine as the countermeasure to it, Goldfaden's play – it was the last that he wrote – held a particular resonance.

Somewhat later there were Yiddish films and part-time as well as full-time radio stations. It was here that many Jewish performers and actors got their start. For example, the Hollywood film star Theda *Bara (born Theodosia Goodman in Cincinnati, Ohio) appeared in more than 40 films between 1914 and 1919 including *A Fool was There* (1915), in which she was cast as a vamp and acquired her signature role as an object of intense sexual desire. Another significant Jewish celebrity in this period was Fanny *Brice, who immigrated to the United States from Hungary with her family at the turn of the century, and made her debut in 1916 performing in the Ziegfield Follies. She launched her career dressed as an American Indian speaking English with a heavy Yiddish accent, a routine she would later develop and make famous in her role as Mrs. Cohen, a gossip who ordered her husband around. Years later, reflecting on her career in show business, Brice explained her comic strategy in the following terms: "In anything Jewish I ever did, I wasn't standing apart, making fun of the race. What happened to me on stage is what could happen to them. They identified with me, and then it was all right to get a laugh, because they were laughing at themselves as well as at me."

Most Yiddish-speaking Jews were secular and abandoned religious practice, but they retained strong ethnic attachments and folk loyalties. Except for the small socialist Zionist groups, they were generally indifferent or opposed to Zionism, although such attitudes waned after the 1920s as Palestine Jewry grew and concretized many socialist ideals. They were divided bitterly and irreconcilably in their attitude to Soviet Russia.

Very few Jewish immigrants, especially before 1900, were highly educated; they were mainly from the poorer working classes. Virtually all knew the rudiments of Jewish law and ritual, Hebrew Bible, and frequently some talmudic and rabbinic literature. Very few women, however, possessed any formal education. Only a minority maintained a brand of East European orthodox Judaism unswervingly against the overpowering force of the urban, industrial, and secular life into which they were cast. Another minority, mostly of younger intelligentsia, embraced socialism in one of its numerous contemporary forms, and in smaller numbers Zionism, Hebraism, or literary modernism. The mass of immigrants, it appears, retained a measure of outward signs of religious observance while, for example, neglecting the Sabbath rules and other daily stringencies. Only a tiny minority had time or inclination for pious study before or after work. Characteristically, they flocked to the synagogues on Rosh Hashanah (the Jewish New Year) and Yom Kippur (the Day of Atonement), and were diligent in matters of filial piety like the recitation of *yizkor* (the traditional memorial service) and the mourner's *kaddish* (memorial prayer). The *bar mizvah* of the sons of East European immigrants, symbolizing generational and ethnic continuity, was all but universally desired.

The most widespread immigrant organization was the *ḥevrah* (society), usually founded on a **landsmanshaft* (hometown) basis. In New York City alone at least 1,200 *landsmanshaften* (pl.) existed in 1915. In addition to providing a fraternal social atmosphere for their members who knew each other still from Europe, the *landsmanshaften* invariably provided funeral arrangements and burial rights. Sick benefits and occasionally unemployment help were also granted. The societies probably reached their peak during the World War I era, when assistance to the war-smitten Jews of the native town became another major activity. A large proportion of such *landsmanshaften* affiliated with the Arbeter Ring, the Federation of Galician Jews, and other central organizations. Many maintained synagogues, all of which were Orthodox and Yiddish-speaking and preserved East European habits of worship. The little houses of worship known as *shtieblakh* (pl.) – New York City alone numbered over 500 in 1916 – were generally transitory venues and few of them survived the immigrant founders and the shift to areas of second settlement.

The entire immigrant milieu thus described was largely a generational experience. Sons and daughters generally did not follow their parents into the Jewish trade unions, so that the proportion of Jews in their ranks fell below half by the 1920s. The Yiddish press, theater, and literature steadily declined, for the next generation's language was English. They could care little for the ancestral town and its *landsmanshaft* and preferred other voluntaristic forms of Jewish life in the New World including Americanized synagogues, fraternal orders, membership societies, and institutions that offered benefits for death and illness. Indeed, the entire immigrant environment – problem-ridden, colorful, and dynamic – existed by grace of the stream of arrivals that continued until the restrictive legislation of the 1920s took full effect. Lacking replenishment from overseas, the Yiddish-speaking immigrant milieu contracted and shriveled; by the 1940s it was a relic.

NEIGHBORHOODS, OCCUPATIONS, AND THE JEWISH LABOR MOVEMENT. The East European Jewish immigrants clustered in distinct urban neighborhoods, which were generally older or slum districts close to downtown. The streets where they lived became all but exclusively Jewish in population, and the stores, the Yiddish heard on the streets, and the festive atmosphere on the Jewish Sabbath and holidays reflected the character of the inhabitants. Every American metropolitan center had such an area between the 1890s and 1920. The largest of them, the Lower East Side of New York City, sheltered an estimated 350,000 Jews in 1915 in less than two square miles. These neighborhoods were very seriously congested with dangerous problems of health and sanitation. Yet their prevailing atmosphere was one of hope and confidence, with a rich and varied cultural life. As material circumstances improved families quit the immigrant district for more attractive neighborhoods – resettlement locales referred to by historians as "areas of second settlement."

The immigrants' prime motive in coming to the United States was to improve their material and economic conditions. European fables about the "*goldene medine*" (golden land) notwithstanding, their lot was a hard one. They made their living among a vast variety of trades, although hardly any Jews worked on railroads, docks, or in mines and large factories. As was true of American occupations generally, habits of ethnic concentration could be found among the Jews. Petty trade proliferated as Jewish immigrants opened small stores throughout booming metropolises and in smaller cities as well. The venerable peddling trade, however, lost its luster. As a nationwide network of retail trade and mail order companies spread – the greatest of which, Sears Roebuck, was built by the Jewish entrepreneur Julius Rosenwald – the peddlers' status declined from an important agent of commerce to a marginal tradesman.

The Yiddish-speaking Jewish immigrant generally joined the working class, working mainly in the ready-made clothing industry that was growing with remarkable rapidity. The number of Jews employed in it as workers, entrepreneurs, salesmen, and so forth may have reached 300,000 around 1915. The ready-made garment industry was composed mainly of shops where workers labored on one or two parts of the total product. In such important centers as Rochester, Cleveland, and Chicago, clothing was produced in substantial factories, owned mostly by Jews. On the other hand, in 1910, in the Borough of Manhattan within New York City, there were 11,172 clothing firms employing 214,428 persons; 78 percent of them, in 1913, averaged five employees each. These were the notorious sweatshops – tiny, crowded, dirty, unventilated, often the petty employer's dwelling – where the employee often worked for 16 hours a day during the busy period of this highly seasonal industry. Despite all their evils, the workshops did enable thousands of immigrant wage workers to enter the garment business on their own. Failure only meant that the unsuccessful entrepreneur returned to wage work, while success in the ferociously competitive industry might lead to independence and wealth. New York City was the great center of the clothing industry; its East Side and then lower West Side, and finally midtown Seventh Avenue were the foci of manufacturing. Chicago was a second major center, especially for men's clothing. Philadelphia, Baltimore, Rochester, Boston, and Cleveland were also important in this regard. After 1900 successful East European immigrant entrepreneurs moved into the leadership of the industry as the earlier German Jewish capitalists tended to quit it. In Cleveland, by contrast, the earlier families held sway.

Highly decentralized, low-cost ready-made clothing production was as nearly Jewish an industry as ever seen in the United States, although large numbers of Italian, German, and Irish workers, especially women, also held jobs. It inspired the Jewish trade union movement, beginning in the 1880s. The Jewish labor movement spoke in revolutionary tones during early years, but made little headway before 1900. The seasonal fluctuations of the industry, the virtually unorganizable mass of puny workshops, the relation of employer and employee who might be relatives and *landsmen* (fellow townsmen from Eastern Europe) and could readily exchange places under the conditions of the industry, the failure of the early unions to organize solidly, the legal obstacles and public hostility to trade unionism, especially when it was professedly socialist and revolutionary – were all factors which hindered the development of the Jewish labor movement before 1900. However, larger clothing factories became more common after 1900, and their size and overhead tended to reduce seasonality and sever personal relations between worker and employer. The downfall of the revolutionary movement in Russia in 1906, moreover, caused a considerable number of able labor organizers to flee to the United States. In this period, American public opinion also began to sympathize with trade unionism.

The period of the successful organization of Jewish labor, from 1909 to 1916, coincided with the great drive by American trade unionism at large. In New York City the surge of trade unionism began with the tragic Triangle Shirtwaist fire of 1911, in which 146 Italian and Jewish workers, almost all girls and young women, perished. It was followed by the bitter "revolt of the shirtwaist [blouse] makers," an unsuccessful six-week strike which drew widespread public sympathy but failed nevertheless.

The most important labor event of the period was the three-month strike of 60,000 cloakmakers in 1910 under the direction of the previously ineffectual *International Ladies Garment Workers Union, founded in 1900. In this largest sustained strike in the city's history up to that time, the main demand was for recognition of the union as the exclusive bargaining agent for the workers, and it was on this point, rather than those which concerned wages, hours, and subcontracting, that employers' resistance was bitterest. Such acculturated American Jews as Judah L. *Magnes, Louis *Marshall, and Jacob H. *Schiff intervened in the struggle, but the settlement was worked out by Louis D. *Brandeis, making his first appearance in the Jewish public arena. The "Protocol of Permanent Peace" provided for a system of joint employer-employee-public boards to deal with grievances, sanitation, and other issues, while the contest over union recognition was settled by "the preferential shop," i.e., preference in employment given to union members. The success of the protocol attracted countrywide attention in labor and governmental circles. As well, both the American and Jewish press helped to spread the word of Brandeis' skill and authority as an arbitrator. In a carefully crafted letter written in 1912 to Lincoln Steffens, the era's leading muckraking American journalist – copies of which were forwarded to several major newspapers and their editors – Brandeis spelled out his Progressive vision of employee-employer relations.

> In my opinion the time is ripe for a great advance in the scope and influence and the quality of trade unionism.
>
> On the one hand, the disclosures incident to the labor policies of the strong trusts and particularly the hours of labor, wages, and conditions in the steel industry are making many Americans recognize that unions and collective bargaining are essential to industrial liberty and social justice.
>
> On the other hand, the abuses of trade unionism as we have known them during the last twenty years with their violence, restriction of output, and their lack of constructive policy, are in large part the result of the fact that they have been engaged in a bitter struggle for existence. When public opinion is brought actively to the support of labor unions these abuses will, I believe, tend rapidly to disappear. But the American people should not and will not accept unionism if it involves the closed shop. They will not consent to the exchange of the tyranny of the employer for the tyranny of the employee. Unionism therefore cannot make a great advance until it abandons the closed shop; and it cannot accept the open shop as an alternative. The open shop means the destruction of the union.
>
> The advance of unionism demands therefore some relation between the employer and the employee other than the closed or open shop, and I feel confident that we have found a solution in the preferential union shop.
>
> …This seems the time to commence the campaign of education. Much hammering will be necessary; for the employers will be loath to enter into so comprehensive an agreement with unions; and unions will be loath to give up the closed shop. But the preferential shop seems to be a way out of our present serious difficulty; and we must pursue it unless a better can be found.

Though Brandeis' letter to Steffens ostensibly deals exclusively with the question of the preferential union shop, it also provides a glimpse of the amalgam of political liberalism and sensitivity to the rights of disenfranchised groups that would become a hallmark of the American Jewish community in the 20th century. Meanwhile, the size, duration, and the unprecedented settlement of the cloakmakers' strike made it a milestone in the history of American labor and a pivotal event which turned the Jewish labor movement into a powerful force. The episode also elevated the visibility and underscored the political capital of other Jewish participants, most notably the union lawyers Morris *Hillquit and Meyer *London. In fact, London subsequently won election in 1914 to the U.S. House of Representatives as the standard bearer Socialist Party for the Lower East Side; he was reelected in 1916.

The cloakmakers' strike was followed by several other successful ones, including in 1912–13 the strike of the furriers, men's tailors, and ladies' waist- and dressmakers. Surveying this turbulent period, the historian Jonathan Frankel has observed that "at one point in 1912, an estimated 175,000 workers in the 'Jewish trades' were out on strike." Another important strike that followed was the Chicago men's clothing strike in 1914 and 1915. Here leaders of the United Garment Workers, whose preponderant ethnic elements were not Jewish and did not work at ready-made clothing, made an unauthorized deal with the employers which brought about the secession of the Jewish and other ready-made tailors and the founding of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, led by Sidney *Hillman. The new union conducted a series of victorious strikes in Chicago and then in other major centers of the trade. However, neither they nor the International Ladies Garment Workers Union (ILGWU) were uniformly successful. Thus in Cleveland the factory employers defeated strikers and union organizers until 1917. By 1920 at least 250,000 Jews belonged to the Jewish unions.

WOMEN. American Jewish women lived under a set of unique circumstances at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries. In stark contrast to their counterparts in much of Europe, Jewish women in the United States enjoyed increasing freedom of individual movement and expression, and some even possessed funds for philanthropic activities. Such liberties and assets were almost totally lacking in Eastern Europe, where traditional gender-differentiated Jewish values and systems prevailed and where the possibility for Jewish participation in the host society was marginal. In many situations, Jewish women experienced double oppression – as Jews in an antisemitic milieu and as women in a patriarchal society. The lack of birth control, opportunities for education, and a secure income severely restricted the lives of Jewish women in Eastern and Central Europe. In the United States, these forces were muted.

In late 19th century America, Jewish women expanded and deepened their participation in American Jewish life. The mass waves of East European Jewish immigrants, including many thousand radicalized young Yiddish-speaking women, helped create the American Jewish labor movement and some of the most important American labor entities including the International Ladies Garment Worker's Union. They also became involved in the anti-prostitution movement, the Settlement House movement, the suffrage movement, and in the birth control movement.

Women leaders of the early American Jewish labor movement included Clara Lemlich (*Shavelson), Pauline *Newman, and Rose *Schneiderman, who served as president of the New York Women's Trade Union League. These women proved especially adept at negotiating the delicate relationship of women workers, the male-dominated labor establishment, and various progressive and middle-class allies of the labor movement. The significance in this regard became evident in the wake of the notorious Triangle Shirtwaist Fire of 1911, in which more than 140 women workers perished as result of inhumane sweatshop conditions on the Lower East Side of New York City. Following the tragedy, these and other women campaigned for the regulation of safety standards, sanitary conditions, wages, and working hours. Meanwhile, the establishment of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America was due, in large measure, to the organizational talents of political activist Bessie Abramowitz (*Hillman), who shortly thereafter married American labor leader Sidney Hillman. At its peak between World Wars I and II, approximately 40 percent of all Jewish laborers could be found in the American garment industry, including a sizable quotient of women, the majority of whom belonged to International Ladies Garment Workers Union and the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America. In this period, Dorothy Jacobs Bellanca, Fannia *Cohen, and Rose *Pesotta assumed national prominence as influential American labor leaders. The importance of Jewish rank-and-file participation in the American labor movement and the impact of Jewish workers' activity on American Jewish life is indicated by the ringing editorial endorsement of the International Ladies Garment Workers' Union by the Yiddish-language daily *Forverts*, which at the time had a circulation of well over a quarter million.

> In Chicago a convention of the International Ladies Garment Workers' Union opens today [May 3, 1920] at which there will be present about three thousand delegates from the entire length and breadth of the country.
>
> For the first time in the history of this powerful labor organization, the most important trade in the general women's clothing industry comes to the convention one hundred percent organized. The cloak makers have, during the past two years, captured the last stronghold of the employers, who have always been considered invincible. Cleveland fell; the last factories in Canada were captured; cities in the far West were organized; and the cloak trade comes to the convention entirely under the flag of the union.
>
> Of great significance is the recommendation of the executive committee that the union should organize cooperative shops. This plan reflects the spirit of the new tendencies in the union movement of the world, the spirit which leads workers to control industries themselves.
>
> The ILGWU stands now in the foremost ranks of the American labor movement, both materially and spiritually. It is one of the most important unions in the country. It has won for its members such conditions that very few of the real Americans may compare with it. Spiritually it is in every respect one of the most progressive. It responds to every movement for justice, for light. It is always prepared to help the workers in other trades in their struggles to help the oppressed and the suffering.
>
> The International Ladies Garment Workers' Union is a blessing to its members, a pride to the general labor movement, and a hope for the progress of humanity at large.

The twin themes of female and Jewish liberation also impelled many thousands – and later hundreds of thousands – of American Jewish women to view the new Jewish community in the Land of Israel as a model. This Jewish country could embody, they believed, a reflection of what modern society ought to be: pluralistic, healthy, welcoming, egalitarian, and accessible to all Jews. The fact that very few American Zionist women expected to actually set foot in Palestine did not represent a contradiction for them. It simply meant that their ideology would remain romantic and insulated from the harsh reality of Jewish life in Ottoman and then British Palestine. Zionism for these women became a way of fighting their own assimilationist tendencies, rather than a way of addressing the ideological imperative of emigration.

The groundswell of popular interest in Zionism in the United States, especially among East European Jewish immigrants, led to the creation of a diverse array of Zionist women's organizations and groups by the 1920s and 1930s. In fact, women's Zionist organizations in the United States were frequently stronger and more effective than their male counterparts. For example, since its inception in 1897, the *Zionist Organization of America (ZOA) purported to be *the* representative body of the American movement. Though the rank and file was comprised of men and women, the organization's leadership was entirely male. Relegated to conventional and secondary roles, female ZOA members performed social functions rather than substantive ones, and were shunted to the margins of political activity. In 1912, a few Jewish women had created their own Zionist organization, named Hadassah. As Hadassah grew and flourished, the ZOA leadership demanded that it fold into the male-dominated ZOA. In a remarkable instance of resistance, American Zionist women decided to take matters into their own hands and establish a separate independent organization, rather than allow Hadassah to become the ZOA's female auxiliary. The new American *women*'s Zionist organization determined to assume a full range of social, financial and political roles.

Not only did the ZOA stand to lose a significant portion of its membership and the women's services, it was also threatened with stiff competition. In the event, the ZOA leadership sought to compel Henrietta *Szold to merge Hadassah into the organization's ranks. Szold refused. She was interested in mobilizing American Jewish women and foresaw the potential and power of a distinct Zionist women's organization. Indeed, American women's colleges, medical schools and other institutions had already successfully employed a similar strategy. A crisis ensued, but Szold held firm. Since that time, Hadassah has grown to become the largest Jewish women's organization in the world. It remains a powerful and, arguably, the most significant Zionist group in the United States. By contrast, the ZOA has enjoyed only sporadic organizational and political success.

With some variation, the scenario described above was repeated in other Zionist quarters. For example, *Poalei Zion (Workers of Zion), the American wing of the Russian socialist-Zionist party, opposed the establishment of a separate women's organization. Similarly, when *Pioneer Women was created in 1925, it too became more successful than its male counterpart. But Pioneer Women is instructive in an additional way: it demonstrates the impact of Jewish women *from* Palestine on the mobilization of American Jewish woman. In this case, American women's Zionist activity and ideology were not exclusively a product of conditions in America, of Jews generally, or of women. Rather, these spheres were strongly influenced by female emissaries from Palestine, charismatic leaders such as Raḥel Yanait *Ben-Zvi and Manya Wilbushewitz Shohat.

Last, American Zionist women leaders like Irma *Lindheim and Henrietta Szold traveled back and forth between Palestine and the United States, bringing with them compelling descriptions and instructive reports of life in the Yishuv and forging a bond between the two communities. In general, Hadassah appealed to a new generation of middle-class English-speaking American Jewish women, while Pioneer Women attracted working-class first- and second-generation Jewish women from the Yiddish-speaking immigrant milieu. There were also American female Zionist organizations within the Orthodox community. In all cases, ranging among the varied classes and religious spheres, American Jewish women understood their Zionist activities both in terms of aiding the Jewish community in Palestine, and in retaining their own Jewish identity through self-education. The focus of the women's organizations was on fundraising and social projects, particularly projects that would aid women and families. In short, American Zionist women's groups – whether left-leaning, middle-class, or religious – emerged as a loosely constructed coalition that emphasized a residual national consciousness in American Jewish life and worked alongside other women's groups who sought to participate in and shape the larger public conversation about the Americanization of Jewish identity and culture.

CLASH BETWEEN "GREENHORNS" AND "NATIVES". Unlike the many other immigrant groups that reached the United States at the same time as the East European Jews, the latter had the important patronage and protection of their established German Jewish predecessors. By this time, settled Jews had largely fallen away from Germanism and were beginning to feel the impact of systematic social and political exclusion from mainstream American culture – a phenomenon that reached an abrupt climax during World War I with the swift rise of nationwide anti-German sentiment. Feelings between New York City's uptown "native" Jews and downtown "greenhorns" – and those in Jewish communities elsewhere where German and East European Jews also derisively referred to each other, respectively, as *yahudim* and *yidn* – were none too fond. Meanwhile, strong anti-immigrant sentiment was to be found especially among working-class native Jews, such as cigar makers and skilled tailors. Notwithstanding irritation over the allegedly "clannish" and "backward" character of the Yiddish-speaking immigrants, their political radicalism, and their presumed ingratitude for the philanthropy they received, the native Jews regarded the East European newcomers as their wards, to be helped, chided, and guided. Writing in 1915, Israel *Friedlaender, a Polish-born, German- and French-educated

Jewish public intellectual and professor of Semitics and Bible at the Jewish Theological Seminary, described the American setting and the cultural clash between German and East European Jews in the following terms:

> America has, in less than one generation, become the second largest center of the Jewish Diaspora, and bids fair to become the first, instead of the second, within another generation. No other country in the world offers, even approximately, such a favorable combination of opportunities for the development of Diaspora Judaism, as does America: economic possibilities, vast sparsely populated territories, freedom of action, liberty of conscience, equality of citizenship, appreciation of the fundamentals of Judaism, variety of population, excluding a rigidly nationalistic state policy, and other similar factors. It is no wonder, therefore, that in no other country did Reform Judaism [brought from Germany], as the incarnation of Diaspora Judaism, attain such luxurious growth as it did in America. It discarded more radically than in Europe, the national elements still clinging to Judaism, and it solemnly proclaimed that Judaism was wholly and exclusively a religious faith, and that America was the Zion and Washington the Jerusalem of American Israel.
>
> On the other hand, the emigrants from Russia brought the antithesis on the scene. They quickly perceived the decomposing effect of American life upon Jewish doctrine and practice, and they became convinced more firmly than ever that Diaspora Judaism was a failure, and that the only antidote was Palestine and nothing but Palestine. The nationalists among them beheld in the very same factors in which the German Jews saw the possibilities of Diaspora Judaism the chances for organizing Jewry on purely nationalistic lines. Nowhere else, except perhaps in Russia, can be found a greater amount of Palestinian sentiment, as well as a larger manifestation of a one-sided nationalism, than is to be met with in this country.
>
> This conflict of ideas became extraordinarily aggravated by numerous influences of a personal character. The division between the so-called German Jews and the so-called Russian Jews was not limited to a difference in theory. It was equally nourished by far-reaching differences in economic and social position and in the entire range of mental development. The German Jews were the natives; the Russian Jews were the newcomers. The German Jews were the rich; the Russian Jews were the poor. The German Jews were the dispensers of charity; the Russian Jews were the receivers of it. The German Jews were the employers; the Russian Jews were the employees. The German Jews were deliberate, reserved, practical, sticklers for formalities, with a marked ability for organization; the Russian Jews were quick-tempered, emotional, theorizing, haters of formalities, with a decided bent toward individualism. An enormous amount of explosives had been accumulating between the two sections which if lit by a spark might have wrecked the edifice of American Israel while yet in the process of construction.

The ubiquitous Hebrew Relief Societies that arose in different parts of the country in this period rapidly transformed into social agencies dedicated to the relief of economic distress and family aid. Most changed their names between 1910 and 1925 to reflect the American sensibility of self-help and became known as Jewish Social Service Associations. Such institutions as the Educational Alliance in New York, the Council Educational Alliance in Cleveland, the Jewish People's Institute in Chicago, and the Abraham Lincoln House in Milwaukee all demonstrated the interest of native Jews in bringing social and cultural amenities to immigrant Jews, particularly the youth, hastening their "Americanization." The founders' and directors' frequent indifference or antagonism to the cultural heritage and aspirations of their clientele generated an undertone of tension that occasionally broke into open conflict. However, the art, music, sports, health education, mothers' classes, lectures, and other activities of these institutions proved of enduring value. The Jewish immigrant districts also developed numerous social services, including hospitals and medical clinics, as well as non-Jewish institutions such as (in New York City) Cooper Union, the Rand School, and the Labor Temple.

A subtler issue between natives and immigrants was religious life. The Reform temples of native American Jewry were uninviting, while the *ḥevrot* and *landsmanshaft* synagogues could only attract their own devotees. Several prominent communal leaders and religious figures worried about the young generation who rejected the religion of their forebears in favor of secularism and radical social doctrines. In the eyes of some, a modernized form of traditional Judaism was required for the rising generation of Jews of East European ancestry who were raised or born on American soil. Against this background, the moribund *Jewish Theological Seminary of America was revived in 1902 for the training of modern rabbis (and from 1909, teachers for Jewish schools). It was substantially endowed by a group of German Jewish patrician leaders and under the direction of Solomon *Schechter, a distinguished scholar-theologian, an outstanding library and faculty were quickly assembled. The growth of the seminary was slow, but its professors deeply influenced many of the younger religiously oriented intelligentsia.

For their part the immigrants had unflattering perceptions of the native "uptown" Jews, whom they regarded as snobbish and patronizing, excessively assimilated, and lacking Jewish kindness and sympathy. Yet the natives did provide the immigrants with a model for being American and Jewish. Immigrants and their problems were the main content of Jewish communal life and concerns from the 1880s until the 1930s. The intellectuality and Jewish fervor common among the newcomers, and such achievements as their labor movement and the New York City Kehillah, showed some natives – of whom Louis D. Brandeis might be cited as the outstanding example – a more authentic, passionate way to be a Jew. Quite a few native Jews were thus drawn into the cultural life and social movements of the Yiddish-speaking immigrant milieu, including Zionism.

East European Jewish immigration brought about the establishment of Orthodoxy in the United States, although only a minority of immigrants and few of their children actually remained Orthodox Jews. Several hundred East European rabbis settled throughout the country, but their influence was far more limited than it had been in their native lands. Before the 1930s most Orthodox synagogues were immigrant *ḥevrot*. At the other end of the spectrum Reform Judaism reached its greatest distance from Jewish tradition at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries. Proposals were considered at length for a Reform synod to settle matters of belief and practice, but they were not accepted. Extensive discussion took place over shifting the Sabbath from Saturday to Sunday, and several large congregations did so. The Reform rabbinate began to take an active interest in contemporary social problems and its strong anti-Zionism slowly softened so that it was able to countenance the *Balfour Declaration of 1917. There was also considerable preoccupation with the inroads made by Christian Science, *Ethical Culture, and New Thought. If Orthodox Judaism was hampered by its intimate identification with Old World life and customs, and Conservative Judaism lacked a strong congregational constituency and depended for recruits upon acculturated immigrants, Reform after the 1890s tended to lose contact with the mainstream of American Jewish life and affairs. Its layleaders, who included many significant leaders of American Jewry, participated in Jewish life mostly outside the framework of Reform Judaism. During the 1920s Reform interest in tradition and Jewish peoplehood revived largely as a result of the developments in Palestine and the widening influence of East European forms of secular Jewish life.

COMMUNAL STRUCTURE AND EDUCATION. Before the fin-de-siècle, American Jewry as a body consisted essentially of dozens of local communities. The de facto communal leaders were lawyers, substantial merchants, bankers, and some political activists in the large metropolitan centers. Such elites were often the pillars of the Reform temples, the B'nai B'rith lodges, the Hebrew Relief Societies, the Jewish social clubs, and the emerging Jewish labor movement. The most significant countrywide organizations were B'nai B'rith (and several other internally oriented fraternal bodies), the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, and the National Council of Jewish Women. Mass immigration and increasing manifestations of antisemitism, however, brought charity and the defense of Jewish rights to the foreground of American Jewish concerns, while the development of nationwide transportation and communications provided the means of making Jewry an organic, nationwide body. Beginning in 1895 with the creation of Boston's Combined Jewish Philanthropies, local Jewish charities set up federations for unified fundraising and allocation purposes. This federation method was soon taken up by every larger community, and essentially covered the United States with the founding in 1917 of the Federation for the Support of Jewish Philanthropic Societies (see *Philanthropy) in New York City. These bodies tended to assume local Jewish leadership, developing a quasi-ideology that philanthropy was the one tie uniting Jews of all kinds. The most influential national Jewish spokesman from its founding in 1906 was the American Jewish Committee, which drew its membership by invitation from the leading Jews of every city but was centered in New York City. The elitist viewpoint of the American Jewish Committee frequently conflicted with such movements as Zionism and Jewish trade unionism, which drew their strength from East European Jewish immigrant mass followings. However, the wealthy, well-connected, and extremely able leadership of the American Jewish Committee, notably Jacob H. Schiff, Mayer *Sulzberger, and above all Louis Marshall, exhibited a talent for compromise and enjoyed prestige which gave the committee's membership of bankers, merchants, lawyers, and politicians its leadership.

Well before massive East European immigration began, American Jews were committed to the public school for the education of their children. With the firm establishment of free, state, compulsory, universal elementary and then secondary schools, Christian, i.e., Protestant influence, was largely removed. Catholics rejected religiously neutral public schools and erected a parochial school system, but Jews gladly saw their children educated in the public schools. Jewish education in the specific sense became the responsibility of synagogues, most of which maintained Sunday schools attended by their own children and some others. In these schools the course of study lasted three years, and the teaching usually involved a moralistic interpretation of Bible stories and an inculcation by catechism of the principles of Judaism.

When East European immigrants first undertook to educate their sons in Judaism – virtually nothing was done initially for daughters – they merely copied traditional *ḥeder* instruction with its shortcomings. After about 1905 a new direction became prominent in Jewish education as a synthesis of religion, modern Hebraism, and Zionism, came to prevail in the afternoon Hebrew schools, known as Talmud Torahs. A new curriculum emphasized the study of the Hebrew language by the "natural method," Hebrew Bible, music, and Jewish customs and ceremonies. The new Hebrew pedagogues were often learned and devoted men, but they had to struggle against financial adversity even in prosperous times, and to overcome widespread parental indifference to Jewish education beyond sketchy *bar mitzvah* lessons. A variety of secular Yiddish-speaking supplementary schools also flourished in this period. Supported by the Arbeter Ring, the Labor Zionist movement, and other socialist groups, these schools – known as *folkshuln* (pl.) (people's schools) – emphasized a mix of classes on Yiddish and Hebrew language, Jewish history, culture, and literature, and contemporary Jewish society. They also sought to educate Jewish youth in the ideologies of Jewish socialism, Yiddishism, and Zionism. The swift adaptation of the East European Jews to American society is evident in the plethora of aforementioned institutions and the fact that the children of Yiddish-speaking immigrants frequently moved seamlessly between them. Thus, for example, in addition to the modernizing influence of American public schools, it would not have been at all unusual for a child to receive traditional instruction in an Orthodox *shul* (synagogue), regularly attend a Talmud Torah or *folkshul* which emphasized a variety of contemporary educational methods and concerns, and even belong to a Zionist or socialist group.

WORLD WAR I AND ZIONISM. World War I (1914–18), which the United States entered in 1917, proved decisive in welding together the various segments of American Jewry and affirming their place in American society. When the war started there was considerable Jewish sympathy with Germany as the enemy of Russian tsarism, a bastion of socialist strength, and the ancestral land of a large proportion of American Jewry. In November 1914 early efforts for overseas relief were unified by the establishment of the *American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee, led by Jacob H. Schiff, his son-in-law and partner Felix M. *Warburg, Nathan *Straus, Herbert H. *Lehman, and prominent personages from immigrant circles. As the war raged, Jewish opinion moved with American opinion generally toward a pro-Allied policy. Another by-product of this complex era was the waning of the decades old American Jewish attachment to German culture. But there were also dissident and pacifist voices heard amidst the din of battle and growing anti-Hun sentiment, including that of the socialist Zionist ideologue Nachman Syrkin, who resigned from the Poalei Zion party's central committee when the latter adopted a pro-war stance, and the radical anarchist Emma *Goldman, a brilliant orator who inspired audiences in Yiddish, English, Russian, and German. Sounding the clarion call of labor militancy, Goldman frequently exhorted striking workers to "demonstrate before the palaces of the rich; demand work. If they do not give you work, demand bread. If they deny you both, take bread. It is your sacred right." As a result of her anarcho-syndicalist and anti-war activity, she spent two years in prison in the United States before being deported in 1919 to the recently established Soviet Union.

The critical year during World War I was 1917. The overthrow of Russian tsarism, the idealistic motivation of the United States' entry into the war, and the British conquest of Palestine, soon followed by the Balfour Declaration which recognized Palestine as the "national home" of the Jewish people, stirred a fever of enthusiasm. Approximately 250,000 Jews served in the United States Armed Forces in 1917 and 1918, a majority of them young immigrants. As a consequence, Zionism acquired influence in American Jewish circles that it had not previously enjoyed. The organized movement dated from 1897, but there had been proto-Zionist groups as early as 1882. The leadership was composed of several acculturated businessmen and Hebraic intelligentsia, centering on such persons as Richard J.H. *Gottheil, Harry *Friedenwald, Judah L. Magnes, Stephen S. Wise, Jacob *De Haas, Philip *Cowen, Henrietta Szold, and Israel Friedlander. Funds and outlets for activity were extremely limited, however, and membership was mostly young people of immigrant parentage, with modest means and connections. The coming of war and the neutrality of the United States, with the probability of the breakup of the Ottoman Empire, stirred considerable interest in Palestine's Jewish society-in-the-making. In addition, Louis D. Brandeis entered the movement and in 1914 assumed active leadership of the Federation of American Zionists (later renamed the Zionist Organization of America). Brandeis' participation in Zionism brought the movement instant recognition and credibility. The Zionist idea began to elicit excitement among American Jews as it appeared to be a Jewish counterpart of the "self-determination of nations" propounded by President Woodrow *Wilson. It was adapted to the American Jewish outlook by stressing Palestine as a refuge for oppressed Jews and a place where an ideal society would be built. American Zionist ideology avoided interpreting all lands except Palestine as exile (*galut*). At one and the same time, Brandeis proved to be an especially eloquent spokesman for American Zionism as well as an exemplar of the rise of a new American Jewish consciousness. In a public address given to the Eastern Council of Reform Rabbis in 1915, he addressed the question of divided loyalties.

> Let no American imagine that Zionism is inconsistent with patriotism. Multiple loyalties are objectionable only if they are inconsistent. A man is a better citizen of the United States for being also a loyal citizen of his state, and of his city; for being loyal to his family, and to his profession or trade; for being loyal to his college or lodge. Every Irish American who contributed towards advancing home rule [in the Irish Free State] was a better man and a better American for the sacrifice he made. Every American Jew who aids in advancing the Jewish settlement in Palestine, though he feels that neither he nor his descendants will ever live there, will likewise be a better man and a better American for doing so.

With the escalation of the war, American Jewish sentiment increasingly favored Russian Zionist leader Ze'ev *Jabotinsky's call to establish the Jewish Legion. In the United States, David *Ben-Gurion, Yitzhak *Ben-Zvi, and Pinḥas *Rutenberg, all three of whom were expelled from Palestine by the Turkish authorities and spent much of the war in exile, threw their support behind the idea of a Jewish military force and assumed the leadership of the American campaign. Marshaling the support of the fledgling Zionist group *He-Ḥalutz (The Pioneer), they organized the 39th and 40th Battalions of Royal Fusiliers, the American regiments of the British-sponsored *Jewish Legion. The He-Ḥalutz members formed the idealistic core of the legion's American recruits who, according to one member, were motivated by "the strong desire to participate in the liberation of the land of our forefathers and, if spared, to remain among its builders." One observer offered the following description of a Jewish immigrant recruit:

> A Jewish driver entered the recruiting office and asked in uncouth Yiddish, "Do you take soldiers here for Palestine? I want to go myself." "Your age?" "Thirty-one." "Are you an American citizen?" "No." "Are you out of work?" "I make thirty to thirty-five dollars a week." "Why do you want to go?" He burst out in a rage and came near hitting the recruiting officer. "Are you a Jew? When they are fighting for Palestine will I stay here? I can kill twenty Turks for one breakfast."

In fact, a majority of the 5,000 legionnaires were not members of the Zionist movement. As a report to the American Poalei Zion convention of 1918 indicated, most were workers, clerks, students and individuals from white collar professions. Yet the groundswell of interest in the Jewish Legion illustrates the allure the notion of liberating the Jewish National Home held for a broad cross-section of American Jews. Public displays of support for the legionnaires were common. For example, as hundreds of young recruits traveled along the eastern seaboard en route to the legion's British military training camp in Windsor, Ontario, they evoked an enthusiastic response from the region's Jewish communities. One sympathetic witness observed:

> At every town in New England where the train stops on the way to Canada crowds come out to wish God-speed to the men who are going to fight for the Jewish people, for them… *Hatikvah* [The Hope] takes on a new sound and a new meaning in gatherings such as [these]. It is not the wail of a people which protests that its hope is not yet dead. It is the triumphant battle-cry of a people whose hope is to be realized.

Of the American recruits, only 2,500 legionnaires actually fought during World War I. The 39th Battalion, together with the British 38th "Judean" Battalion, played notable roles in this regard. Both the 38th and 39th Battalions were stationed in Palestine near Jericho. On September 22, 1918, the Jewish Legion routed the Turks from a strategic ford of the Jordan River, north of the lake of Galilee, and opened the way to Damascus for the Australian and New Zealand cavalry. After the war's conclusion, a group of 280 American legionnaires provided the nucleus for the establishment of Aviḥayil, a moshav ovedim (workers cooperative) near the oceanside town of Natanyah. Although relatively few in number, the former legionnaires comprised a significant segment of the 600 American Jews who settled in Palestine during the 1919–23 postwar wave of Zionist immigration.

The Jewish Legion's task was defined in Wilsonian terms as making the world safe for democracy and in Zionist terms as establishing a Jewish foothold in Ereẓ Israel. Although the Jewish Legion's contribution to the total Allied war effort was minimal, the unit had great symbolic value for American Jews. American Jews relished the image of a Jewish military force that would combat the stereotype of immigrant Jews as rootless, cowardly, and defenseless. The Jewish Legion thus assumed an importance in the public sphere disproportionate to its actual wartime role. The legionnaires themselves sustained this myth; they were credited with and took credit for successes in which they played only a part. Military experience was an intensive acculturation to the larger American scene for a sizable number of Jews who came from urban immigrant districts.

Under Brandeis, Zionist membership and influence in this period grew rapidly. Significant headway in this regard was made when the American Jewish Committee's dominance in American Jewish affairs was challenged by the Zionist-inspired movement for an American Jewish Congress which, it was rightly supposed, would include the realization of the Zionist goal among postwar Jewish demands. The congress movement succeeded in calling a countrywide Jewish election on June 4, 1917, at which pro-Zionist delegates were chosen. By this time the American Jewish Committee compromised, and soon thereafter the Balfour Declaration, endorsed by the United States, appeared to settle the Palestine question. After the war, the delegation sent to the Paris Peace Conference by the American Jewish Congress was headed by the Zionist leader Julian W. *Mack and non-Zionist leader Louis Marshall, both distinguished jurists, who collaborated with other European Jewish representatives in acquiring national minority rights for Jews in the newly created states of Central and Eastern Europe. Another important American Jewish figure to attend the conference was Bernard *Baruch, a senior advisor to President Woodrow Wilson and outspoken opponent of Zionism. In the event, Baruch helped design the Versailles Treaty's economic sanctions, which ultimately imposed heavy reparations payments on Germany and contributed to the instability of the Weimar Republic. American Jewry thus made its debut at the center of world Jewish affairs, like the United States itself – at the very moment when postwar withdrawal from European involvements was reflected in decreased American Jewish interest in foreign matters and a drastic drop in the funds raised for overseas purposes, with the notable exception of Palestine.

THE TURBULENT TWENTIES. Flanked by the swift rise of new ethnic and immigrant groups, on the one hand, to which entrenched American elements responded with a mixture of xenophobia and racism, and the collapse of America's economy, on the other, historian John Higham has dubbed the interlude between World Wars I and II as "The Turbulent Twenties." In this period, the American Zionist movement entered into prolonged decline after Brandeis, who Wilson in the meanwhile elevated to the United States Supreme Court, and his well-connected leadership group withdrew from Zionist activities following their defeat in 1921 by the *Weizmann wing of the Zionist Organization. The conflict at hand arose from whether Palestine was to be developed by large-scale public corporate enterprise or by mass contributions to the new *Keren Hayesod (Palestine Foundation Fund) general development scheme. It also derived from a lack of personal chemistry between Brandeis and Weizmann. Thereafter deprived of access to large givers, the principal Zionist funds could raise no more than $15,000,000 during the 1920s. Meanwhile, Hadassah, founded by Henrietta Szold in 1912, continued to raise increasingly substantial sums for health services projects in Palestine, as did the Labor Zionist movement – the Po'alei Zion (Workers of Zion), Zei'rei Zion (Youth of Zion), Pioneer Women's Organization, and Farband (Labor Zionist fraternal order) – in the name of the Geverkshaften campaign for Palestine labor institutions.

The United States' turn toward isolationism, the "Red Scare" of 1919–21, and the surge of nativism and anti-urbanism during the 1920s bore serious consequences for American Jewry. A great wave of anti-foreignism and fervor for "Americanization," as propagated in the press, books, and the public schools, bore down hard on Jewish cultural distinctiveness.

Jews were prominent among political radicals of all shades, few of whom felt anything but indifference or hostility to their Jewish origins, but antisemitism in the United States in lurid tones tied Jews as a body to Bolshevism and political radicalism. The canard of an international Jewish plot to overthrow Western civilization spread countrywide. At the same time doctrines of the inferiority of specific racial types became widely accepted in academic as well as popular thinking. This philosophy had a vigorous proponent of unlimited financial means in the automobile magnate Henry Ford, who published the *Dearborn Independent* and *The International Jew* in millions of copies until forced by a lawsuit in 1927 to cease and to retract his statements. Louis Marshall spearheaded the latter effort and succeeded in extracting a public apology from Ford. The hooded southern society of the Ku Klux Klan, refounded about 1915, spread far beyond its original locale in the South to the Middle West and even the East, propagating antisemitism alongside its racism and anti-Catholicism. It gained short-lived political power in some states. Public revulsion at the Klan's corruption and weariness with its antics caused the organization virtually to disappear by 1927.

By far the most important result of these movements was the Johnson-Reed Act of 1924 restricting immigration, which took effect in several stages beginning in 1925. An earlier immigration act of 1921 established the principle of the national origins quota, by providing that the number of immigrants to be admitted in any year was not to exceed three percent of their respective native lands' stock (i.e., immigrants and their children) residing in the United States in 1910. Following vigorous agitation by racist intellectuals like Prescott F. Hall and Madison Grant, and their ally Senator Henry Cabot Lodge of Massachusetts, and by Southern and Western nativist opponents of foreign immigration, the Johnson-Reed Act was passed in 1924. Its provisions were founded on a belief in "Nordic" (Northern and Western European: English, Irish, German Scandinavian) superiority over Mediterraneans, Slavs, Orientals, and Jews, for it not only limited yearly immigration to 154,000 but also gave overwhelming preference to immigrants from Northern and Western Europe. This was accomplished by setting the quota at two percent of the foreign stock living in the United States in 1890, a census year before "undesirable" Slavic and Mediterranean elements were heavily represented in the population. Thus, only 5,982 immigrants could be admitted yearly from Poland, 2,148 from Russia, and 749 from Romania. A prospective immigrant was categorized for quota purposes by his/her land of birth so that, for example, a Jew born in Poland who spent his/her life in England was a Pole under the Johnson-Reed Act. The only means of reaching American shores outside the quota was by affidavits guaranteeing support submitted by relatives in the United States. The quota system, worked out in detail during the late 1920s, closed off the great stream by which almost 2,500,000 Jews came to the United States between 1880 and 1925. The effect of the Johnson-Reed Act, therefore, was to hasten the day when the majority of American Jews were native born, which was around 1940.

Racist and nativist movements became rife during a period of massive movement of Jews out of the immigrant quarters into newer, more attractive urban districts, and out of immigrant trades into commercial, clerical, and professional occupations. During the prosperity of the 1920s large numbers of young Jews, children of immigrant parents reaching maturity, tended to enter the professions of law, medicine, dentistry, teaching, and to some extent social work. As far as can be reckoned, the largest trend was toward small, independent business and clerical, managerial ("white collar") employment. It was in this connection that antisemitism in the United States assumed the most directly injurious forms. Large insurance companies, banks, retail chains, law firms, and large companies generally did not employ Jews, with the exception of a few who had no chance of advancement in the positions they held. Private colleges and universities habitually imposed quotas on Jewish student admissions, usually between five and ten percent. Most rigorous were antisemitic restrictions in almost all medical schools that forced many intelligent and capable young Jews to study abroad. Antisemitism in the medical profession also applied to opportunities for specialty training and appointment to hospital staffs, even in public institutions. The Jewish hospitals founded late in the 19th century for the needs of Jewish patients became devoted from the 1920s to alleviating the plight of the Jewish physicians. College and university faculties were with few exceptions closed to Jews, and Jewish teachers could usually secure employment in public schools only in the largest cities.

These occupational trends into clerical, managerial, entrepreneurial, and professional employment coincided with the gradual departure of Jews from the heretofore Jewish trades, mainly in the garment industry. By the 1930s Jews constituted only two-fifths of the membership of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union and the number in the Amalgamated Clothing Workers dropped, although the leadership continued to be Jewish. A similar Jewish union arose during the 1920s, the Fur and Leather Workers Union. These unions were torn by factional disputes between Communist and anti-Communist groups.

The 1920s were the ripest years of Yiddish culture. There were eleven Yiddish theaters in New York City and seventeen elsewhere in the United States which, during a one-month period in the fall of 1927, presented 645 performances of 85 plays, many of high artistic quality. The Yiddish school system also reached its peak during these years, enrolling approximately 12,000 children, while such a Yiddish organization as the Workmen's Circle (Arbeter Ring) attained its maximum membership of about 80,000. Symptomatic of future decline, however, was the lowered circulation of the Yiddish press from its 1915 peak. Hebrew culture attracted a devoted but much smaller following, organized in the Histadruth Ivrith of America and publishing the weekly *Hadoar* ("The Mail"). Hebraists were particularly prominent in the rabbinate and Jewish education.

During the 1920s Jews began to appear in American literature. Several semi-autobiographical novels about Jewish immigrant life appeared in English – two noteworthy examples are Ludwig *Lewisohn's *Up Stream* (1922) and Anzia *Yezierska's *Bread Givers* (1925) – while persons like Gertrude *Stein and Maxwell *Bodenheim were literary modernists. Other gifted American Jewish writers, whose work reached a broad Yiddish and English readership in this period, were Sholem Asch, Moshe Leib Halpern, Anna Margolin, Joseph *Opatoshu, I.J. Schwartz, and Yehoash (Yehoash-Solomon Bloomgarden). Such publishers as Alfred A. *Knopf and Horace *Liveright specialized in issuing the best of contemporary literature. The first American Jewish literary magazine, the **Menorah Journal*, began publication in 1915 and enjoyed its most distinguished years of "fostering the Jewish 'humanities'" during the 1920s. The door was thus opened for the rise of other Anglo-Jewish journals of high quality, many of which focused on questions of literature, art, religion, and contemporary politics. Consequently, the emergence of **Commentary*, the *Contemporary Jewish Record*, *Jewish Frontier*, the *Jewish Spectator*, *New Palestine*, the *Reconstructionist*, and others in the 1930s and 1940s – and their success as a platform for vigorous Jewish public debate – can be traced to the pioneering efforts of the *Menorah Journal*.

At a different cultural level, the advent of mass film entertainment in the United States was largely the work of Jewish producers and entrepreneurs who made Hollywood the world's film capital after 1920. Poor immigrants like Adolph *Zukor, Carl *Laemmle, Louis B. *Mayer, Lewis J. *Selznick, Jesse L. *Lasky, and the *Warner brothers eventually developed motion pictures into a worldwide entertainment industry in the 1920s and 1930s. They virtually dominated the new industry for several decades and in the meantime made themselves and others multimillionaires. In turn, these "moguls" attracted a rich cadre of Jewish immigrant talent that helped shape Hollywood's golden age and set 20th-century American culture on a new path.

In fact, the first "talkie," *The Jazz Singer* (1927) – the story of a Jewish boy struggling to escape his Yiddish-speaking immigrant background and make it as a show business entertainer – was produced by Warner Brothers and featured the vaudeville singing and dancing star Al *Jolson. The film ushered in the new mixed technology of celluloid photography and synchronized sound and quickly became a countrywide sensation. It also promoted a positive and liberal view of the Americanization process and introduced a variety of theater audiences to East European Jewish culture and life, including traditional Jewish rituals, liturgical music, and the Yiddish language. In the story, the protagonist Jakie Rabinowitz (played by Jolson), runs away from home, adopts the non-Jewish stage name Jack Robin, and works hard to achieve success and acclaim. He is eventually reconciled with his dying traditionalist father, honors his parents' wishes by chanting the **Kol Nidrei* service on Yom Kippur eve, and then resumes his Broadway career. The film ends with Jolson singing "Mammy" in blackface, while his adoring widowed mother looks on. "If God wanted him in His house," she reasons, "He would have kept him there."

Notwithstanding *The Jazz Singer*'s unapologetic use of Jewish subject matter and its commercial and artistic success, the story line serves to illustrate the trajectory of many Jews in the growing American film industry. From the producers and movie makers behind the scenes to the box office celebrities who became iconic figures of the silver screen, Hollywood offered many Jews the opportunity to jettison their East European ancestry and remake themselves fully as Americans. They distanced themselves from the organized Jewish scene and played nary a visible role in the wider community. "When I arrived at Paramount [movie studio] as a contract writer," Abraham Polansky later reported, "another Jewish writer told me to change my name. He told me it sounded Jewish and that movies were seen all over America. I didn't change my name… but many actors did." Thus, following in the tradition of many German Jewish immigrants, including Erich Weiss, the celebrated escape artist of the early 20th century who became Harry *Houdini, Israel Iskowitz became Eddie *Cantor, Julius Garfinkle became John *Garfield, Emanuel Goldberg became Edward G. *Robinson, Melvyn Hesselberg became Melvyn *Douglas, and Marion Levy became Paulette *Goddard. Among other especially popular Jewish performers in this period were the radio comic Jack *Benny (born Benjamin Kubelsky in Chicago, Illinois), who later became a pioneer of television comedy, and Julius Henry (Groucho) *Marx and his brothers Chico (Leonard), Harpo (Adolph), Gummo (Milton), and Zeppo (Herbert) whose wild antics in films like *Animal Crackers* (1930) and *Duck Soup* (1933) quickly made these sons of German Jewish immigrants a household name. Younger Jewish aspirants, including Jerry *Lewis who in the 1940s would get his start doing vaudeville sketches in the Catskills and go on to become a major comic celebrity in the 1950s and 1960s, followed in their wake. Meanwhile, George *Gershwin's American operetta *Porgy and Bess* (1935) appeared in the same year as the virtuoso clarinetist Benny *Goodman (born Benjamin David Gordon), the son of poor East European Jewish immigrants in Chicago's Maxwell Street neighborhood, established himself as the "King of Swing." The stage was now set for the future participation of Jews in American culture on a major scale.

THE GREAT DEPRESSION. The Great Depression which began in 1929 and did not fully end until World War II struck Jews and other Americans very hard. Mass unemployment severely affected the Jews with their distinct economic stratification, although precise statistics are not available. Thousands of small Jewish businesses, many established a few years earlier by ambitious immigrants, were ruined, and established businessmen and Jewish communal leaders often fared no better. One result of these economic disasters was the abandonment by Jewish philanthropies of the claim that "Jews take care of their own," for the numbers requiring relief were far too great for any but governmental support. Against this background of unemployment and business crisis, the Jewish community suffered severely as the income of its institutions drastically declined. Saadia Gelb, a Labor Zionist youth leader, later recalled the impact of these uncertain times on left-leaning Jewish youth like himself:

> It is difficult to conceive what a sense of helplessness engulfed the country after the crash. Not only the headlines of tycoons turned paupers, news of millionaire suicides, confusing government statements, but gnawing doubts about the very foundation of our society upset every American. Those of us who were then in the Young Poalei Zion had the answers. We knew that Zionism would solve the Jewish problem; socialism the problem of society as a whole.

During the Depression, the income of charitable institutions dropped by more than half, campaigns for overseas aid were virtually given up from 1930 to 1935, and synagogues and schools fell far in arrears of pay to their employees. The occupational distribution of the Jews at this time was summarized by Benjamin M. Selikman:

> Jews are not widely represented on the farms or in manual jobs. The needle trades have employed large numbers, although even here other nationalities have been supporting them in recent decades. The heavy industries engage few Jews either among employers or workers. Banking, stock brokering, moving pictures and other forms of amusement, real estate and the distributive trades account for most of our Jewish wealth. The professions, small business, and white-collar occupations yield our large Jewish middle class.

Earlier discrimination against Jews in employment became much sharper as jobs became fewer. Many Jews entered expanding governmental service, which offered extensive employment to professional and technically trained Jews on terms of equal opportunity. Widespread Jewish communal concern that under conditions of depression and antisemitism American Jewry would presently consist of a few large businessmen, many independent salesmen, a large proletariat drifting unwillingly into factory labor, and an element of restless, bitter intellectuals prompted much talk and a few efforts to "balance" Jewish occupational distribution, none of which came to anything. Jewish youth, aided by their often impoverished families, continued to go to free colleges, especially in New York City, and to somewhat more costly state universities, while the prosperous went to private institutions. Proportions in this regard continued to be far higher among Jews than the general population. For example, in the mid-1930s approximately 49 percent of all college students in New York City were Jewish, while the 105,000 Jewish college students in the entire country were just over nine percent of total college enrollment. Student ambitions were toward business and the professions, and this foretold the Jewish economic future in the 1950s more accurately than the predictions of the sociologists and economists of the 1930s.

From the New Deal to the Rise of the State of Israel, 1932–1948

POLITICAL ACTIVITY. As the Democrats became the party of urban-oriented reform, exemplified in 1928 by the presidential candidacy of Alfred E. Smith, Jews moved into its ranks en masse and away from their earlier Socialist or Republican affiliation. The New Deal and its leader, President Franklin D. *Roosevelt, attracted enthusiastic Jewish loyalty. Roosevelt, who had strong ties with New York City reformers, many of them Jews, was greatly admired. Throughout his presidency (1933–45) 85 to 90 percent of Jewish votes were cast for him and candidates who supported him. In this period, Jews appeared in politics with unprecedented prominence: one cabinet member (Henry *Morgenthau, Jr. who served as secretary of the treasury), three United States Supreme Court justices (Louis D. Brandeis, Benjamin *Cardozo, and Felix *Frankfurter as Brandeis' successor), five governors (Ernest *Gruening of the Alaskan territory, Herbert H. *Lehman of New York, Arthur Seligman of New Mexico, Julius L. *Meier of Oregon, and Henry *Horner of Illinois), and several hundred assistant secretaries, mayors, judges of lower courts, and high appointive officials. Such New Deal legislation as bank deposit insurance, the protection of trade unionism, work relief, establishing wage and hour standards, and social security, directly benefited the mass of working-class and lower-middle-class Jews. In the final analysis, however, vigorous Jewish support for Roosevelt and the unprecedented number of elite Jewish officials – antisemites spoke of the "Jew Deal" – yielded very little governmental aid for Jews imperiled abroad beyond sympathetic presidential statements.

In addition to the overwhelming support among Jews for the New Deal, the vogue of "popular front" Communism during this period attracted many Jews. Troubled by seemingly insoluble economic crisis and menaced by antisemitism, the security of employment in Soviet Russia and its "prohibition" of antisemitism made that country appear a utopia to thousands. Communism appealed especially to some segments among garment workers and to professionals, like teachers and social workers, who were sensitive to social ills and encountered great difficulty in establishing themselves. Outside the Communist Yiddish enclave, the movement was indifferent to Jewish needs and problems. In fact, it was favorable to the Arab cause in Palestine. Communists claimed that their triumph would solve all Jewish problems. A rapid deflation of their popularity occurred with the Hitler-Stalin pact of 1939.

If the liberal American Jewish *Weltanschauung* of the 1930s and 1940s was buoyed by the twin visions of the Roosevelt administration in the United States and the Zionist movement in Jewish public affairs, it is also true that the social realities in both instances tested American Jewry's political resolve and the durability of its attachments. Like Roosevelt's New Deal coalition (in which American Jews played an important role), the Zionist Organization's prevailing Labor-led coalition (in which American Zionist groups played a crucial part) consolidated its power and authority around grand strategies and the global *Realpolitik* of the 1930s. Roosevelt persuaded the country to accept the proposition that the national government is responsible for the welfare of its citizens and that the New Deal would provide social and economic security for all Americans. Meanwhile, David Ben-Gurion, who emerged as Labor Zionism's undisputed leader in 1935, articulated a similar set of priorities: "Zionism means the growth of a state, and a state does not build itself, nor is it built by those who seek their own interests and survival. Only through mobilization of mass strength and movement, with pioneer training and a readiness for self-sacrifice can this be made a reality." In sum, the Labor-Centrist coalition that dominated Zionist politics in Palestine and world affairs from the mid-1930s onward – and which came to power as a result of the achievements in Palestine of the Histadrut, a countrywide socio-economic infrastructure organized along cooperative and nationalist lines – also captured the hearts and minds of broad array of American Jewish socialists, progressives, and liberals. This remained true even after the outbreak of World War II, when both Roosevelt and Ben-Gurion led their respective nations into the international arena as part of the Allied fight against the Nazi Germany.

IMPACT OF NAZI GERMANY AND ANTISEMITISM. American Jews were profoundly shocked and frightened by Germany's turn to Nazism in 1933 and its unprecedented treatment of the Jews, and to a lesser degree by official antisemitism in lands such as Poland and Romania. Against this backdrop, antisemitism in the United States was therefore particularly disturbing, although its major sources were Catholic and populist rather than Nazi in origin and focused in the person of the notorious "radio priest," Father Charles E. Coughlin. Probably more significant, however, was that every political leader and virtually every intellectual and cultural figure opposed antisemitism, led by President Franklin D. Roosevelt who earned strong Jewish support in part for his unconcealed detestation of Nazism and antisemitism.

The Nazi regime drove increasing numbers of its Jewish victims to the United States. However, owing to severe economic conditions, a rise in xenophobia, the hostility of the State Department, and the intransigence of United States consuls empowered to grant visas, total Jewish immigration to the United States, most of it from Germany, did not exceed 33,000 from 1933 through 1937. With the extreme worsening of the situation, 124,000 refugees arrived from 1938 through 1941, mostly from Germany and the lands conquered by the Nazi regime. Refugee immigrants encountered great difficulty in adjustment owing not only to the trauma of their readjustment but also to Depression conditions. Indeed, most Jewish refugees experienced significant downward mobility and had to start and long remain at a socio-economic level beneath that which they enjoyed in Europe. They concentrated in New York City, focusing on particular neighborhoods, and tended to establish their own congregations, welfare organizations, and social clubs. A coordinating body, the National Coordinating Committee for Aid to Refugees and Emigrants Coming from Germany, was established 1934, and in 1939 it became the National Refugee Service, a functional agency.

Several thousand of these refugees were scientists and academic intellectuals. Their symbolic leader was Albert *Einstein, who received the Nobel Prize in physics in 1921 for his work on the photoelectric effect of quantum mechanics and who now assumed a post at Princeton University. A few hundred of these refugee scholars wielded tremendous intellectual influence on research and teaching in the United States in such fields as music, art history, psychiatry and psychoanalysis, history, sociology, and incomparably in nuclear physics. This intellectual migration, nearly all Jewish, ensured the transfer of much of the world's intellectual leadership from Europe to the United States, including many well known figures such as the composers Arnold *Schoenberg and Kurt *Weill, the conductors Otto *Klemperer and Bruno *Walter, the writer Stefan *Zweig, the piano virtuoso Artur *Rubinstein, the theatrical producer Max *Reinhardt, and the architect Erich *Mendelsohn.

RELIGION AND EDUCATION. Few of the 3,728 known congregations flourished financially or spiritually. Synagogue membership and contributions sharply declined, and many congregations were burdened by mortgages on buildings erected during the 1920s. Reform Judaism became quite vigorous in its espousal of liberal political program, emphasizing trade unionism and international peace, and the Conservatives spoke likewise. The Orthodox were disorganized and inarticulate, losing strength as their immigrant constituents passed on without leaving replacements. Jewish education was hit hardest, as enrolled students failed to pay tuition and communal sources of funds dwindled and disappeared. Large arrears were owed to teachers, especially in traditional Hebraic and Orthodox schools. About 1940 communal interest began to rise as the Jewish Education Committee of New York was founded to improve schooling in that metropolis and the American Association for Jewish Education was established in 1939.

COMMUNAL ORGANIZATION. The Jewish communal structure was profoundly shaken by the Great Depression as the mood of Jewish life changed. The old leaders, many of them of German Jewish origin, were dying out and their children were for the most part disinterested in the Jewish community. Many leaders' personal wealth and status declined sharply. The Depression, the New Deal, and the Jewish crisis in Germany and Europe shook established Jewish values and practices and opened the way for communal restructuring and a newer leadership, drawn from East European immigrant origins, which was strongly pro-Zionist. Jewish labor and socialist groups decisively joined the community after decades of abstention on account of class differences.

The Jewish Labor Committee, established in 1934 to combat totalitarianism and aid labor refugees, collaborated with other Jewish bodies. Many of them gave up their anti-Zionism on account of the socialist character of Jewish Palestine and disillusion with international socialist brotherhood. The Zionist movement was weak during the 1930s. The combined income of its two fundraising arms, the Keren Hayesod

(Palestine Foundation Fund) and the *Jewish National Fund (Keren Kayemet), dropped as low as $339,000 in 1933. The raising and allocation of philanthropic funds was in fact the key issue in American Jewish communal life. Zionists waged a prolonged campaign to increase the proportion given to Palestine from the welfare fund drives conducted in most cities. In their attempt to increase the allocations to Palestine, Zionists encountered consistent opposition from the controlling oligarchy of large givers who generally favored European relief and distrusted Zionist projects. In 1939 the United Palestine Appeal (UPA) began independent national campaigns with Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver as its principal tactician and orator. In 1939 it reached an agreement with the Joint Distribution Committee and its allied National Refugee Service, which led to the creation of the United Jewish Appeal (UJA). The UJA raised $7,000,000 in 1939 and $14,500,000 in 1940, but the diminishing allocation to Palestine caused a rupture in 1941 which was healed by a 63:37 division of funds. During the 1940s, the UJA raised $638,000,000, and ultimately as much as 75 percent of its income went to Palestine. These sums established the UJA as one of the greatest voluntary fundraising organizations ever known.

These developments at the national level were made possible in many cities by the newly founded Jewish community councils. (There was a General Jewish Council of Jewish defense organizations from 1938 to 1941 which subsequently became the National Community Relations Advisory Council.) Synagogues, B'nai B'rith lodges, and Zionist societies were heavily represented and the tone was decidedly pro-Zionist. The Jewish community councils were heavily involved in the overseas philanthropic campaigns, or Jewish welfare funds as they were known locally, in addition to their functions of promoting Jewish education, settling internal disputes, and watching over Jewish rights in their cities. They thus became the representative local Jewish organizations during the 1940s and strongly influenced philanthropic allocations toward Palestine.

WORLD WAR II AND ZIONISM. Well before the outbreak of World War II, American Jewish public support crystallized around the anti-Nazi movement, which was organized in 1935 and among whose earliest and most outspoken leaders was Stephen S. Wise. The anti-Nazi boycott served as an organizational hub for American Jewry in the years leading up to the war and America's fateful decision to enter the fray. On the eve of the Japanese bombing of Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941, for example, Wise gave one of his many anti-Nazi addresses to the Inter-American Jewish Conference meeting in Baltimore, Maryland. The conference included delegates from Diaspora Jewish communities in North, Central, and South America. Anticipating the sea change in the postwar composition of world Jewry, Wise called for unified action by the free Diaspora Jewish communities of the Americas.

> We are gathered in part in order to bethink ourselves touching the infinitely mournful fate of our fellow Jews, who have dwelt in European lands. Addresses other than my own will deal with the oceanic tragedy which has befallen the peaceable and loyal populations of many European lands, who were the first and will be the last victims of Nazism until the day of liberation from the monstrous calamity of Nazism. And that day is not far off…
>
> But even though, not if, Hitlerism or Nazism is to be banished from the earth… there will still remain a number of the most difficult and taxing Jewish problems. The economic basis of Jewish living has been willfully destroyed by Nazism. Jews who, like you and like us, are free must give to the succor of Jews who for nearly a decade have been enslaved and dispossessed. Even though after the war, inter-governmental programs must have special reference to a people in many lands deprived of the basic possibilities of self-support, the fate of our brother Jews in European lands cries out to us for immediate succor. When peace shall have come, as it will, demands will be made for ultimate and permanent redress from the nations which will have it in their power to bring about the organization of a new world.
>
> Woe betide us, if amidst the comparative plenty and prosperity of American life, we forget our brother Jews, whose agonies and suffering have come about largely, if not solely, because they are Jews…

Another outstanding expression of American Jewish idealism as well as fidelity to the United States was Irving *Berlin's "God Bless America." Written and composed by Berlin (born Israel Baline in Russian Siberia) – a gifted secular Jewish musical artist who also wrote the wildly popular "White Christmas" – and first broadcast on Armistice Day in November 1938, "God Bless America" swiftly attained the elevated status of a secular national prayer.

> While the storm clouds gather far across the sea,
> Let us swear allegiance to a land that's free,
> Let us all be grateful for a land so fair,
> As we raise our voices in solemn prayer.
> God bless America, land that I love.
> Stand beside her and guide her,
> Thru the night with a light from above.
> From the mountains to the prairies,
> To the oceans white with foam,
> God bless America, my home sweet home.

In the public debates that raged over American foreign policy between September 1939, when Nazi Germany invaded and conquered Poland, and December 7, 1941, when the Japanese bombed the American naval base located at Pearl Harbor, Hawaii, American Jews were generally found on the side favoring maximum foreign and military aid to England and France, and later Russia. American Jewish sympathies were less with Great Britain per se, whose imperialism and White Paper of 1939 essentially brought to a halt European Jewish immigration to Palestine and whose anti-refugee policies were deeply resented. But as American Jewry's fear and loathing of Nazi Germany increased, so too did its growing sympathy (along with mainstream American society) for the Allied cause in general, including the besieged British Isles. Quite apart from this consensus stood the America First Committee, which attracted a large following of antisemites and even some Jews. As late as 1941, the America First Committee sponsored a speech by Charles A. Lindbergh charging that Jews were attempting to draw the United States into war. The coming of World War II ended the debate over isolation and also proved a blow against such antisemitism, which was now identified with the Nazi enemy. Jews served in all branches of the United States armed forces, their numbers reaching approximately 550,000. About 10,500 lost their lives, 24,000 were wounded, and 36,000 were decorated for gallantry. Jewish refugees from Germany furnished many American soldiers, while refugee scientists played an indispensable role in the development of atomic and other advanced weapons. Jewish soldiers in the American armed forces were served by 310 Jewish chaplains holding military rank, and the National Jewish Welfare Board provided for some social and religious needs.

While battles raged throughout the world, European Jewry was being systematically murdered by Nazi Germany. Information about the destruction of European Jewish life became public during the fall of 1942, and subsequent stages in the Nazi "final solution" were widely known. Notwithstanding private and public efforts by various Jewish leaders and groups, including the vigorous public criticism of the right-wing Zionist Bergson group, American Jewry as a whole, uncertain of its own situation and fearful of appearing to ask for "special treatment" or of encouraging propaganda that the country was engaged in a "Jewish war," shied away from demanding direct United States intervention to save Jews under Nazi rule. In general, the prevailing view was that early victory was the sole means to rescue European Jewry. Nevertheless, public controversy abounded and many American Jewish leaders expressed despair of the powerlessness of American Jews to alter the Allies wartime priorities. Among the most poignant statements in this regard was a speech delivered by the Labor Zionist leader Ḥayyim Greenberg in February 1943. His summation, reprinted at length below, illustrates the profound anguish, self-recrimination, and anger of the American Jewish leadership in this cataclysmic period.

> The time has come, perhaps, when the few Jewish communities remaining in the world which are still free to make their voices heard and to pray in public should proclaim a day of fasting and prayer for American Jews. No – this is not a misprint. I mean specifically that a day of prayer and of fasting should be proclaimed for the five million Jews now living in the United States. They live under the protection of a mighty republic governed by democratic laws. They move about freely through the length and breadth of the land. The vast majority of them have enough food to eat, clothes to wear and roofs over their heads. And if any wrong is committed against them, they are free to protest and to demand their rights. Nevertheless, they deserve to be prayed for. They are not even aware what a misfortune has befallen them, and if they were to look at themselves with seeing eyes they would realize with shock how intolerable this misfortune is. This misfortune consists of the vacuity, the hardness and the dullness that has come over them; it consists in a kind of epidemic inability to suffer or to feel compassion that has seized upon the vast majority of American Jews and of their institutions; in pathological fear of pain; in terrifying lack of imagination – a horny shell seems to have formed over the soul of American Jewry to protect and defend it against pain and pity.
>
> At a time when the American Jewish community is the largest and most influential in the world, at a time when the eyes of millions of Jews in Europe who are daily threatened with the most terrible and degrading forms of physical extermination are primarily turned to American Jewry, this American Jewish community has fallen lower than perhaps any other in recent times, and displays an unbelievable amount of highly suspect clinical "health" and "evenness of temper." If moral bankruptcy deserves pity, and if this pity is seven-fold for one who is not even aware how shocking his bankruptcy is, then no Jewish community in the world today (not even the Jews who are now in the claws of the Nazi devourer) deserves more compassion from Heaven than does American Jewry…
>
> The basic fact is evident to any Jew who has the courage to look at the situation as it is: American Jewry has not done – and has made no effort to do – its elementary duty toward the millions of Jews who are captive and doomed to die in Europe!…
>
> Quite some months have passed since representatives of Jewish organizations have even met to engage in earnest discussion whether and what can still be done for European Jewry. The President made his statement, and then came the declarations of some governments of the United Nations regarding the punishment to be meted out to the guilty *after the victory*, and most, or is it all, the Jewish organizations were satisfied and appeared to be calmed by it… Everyone knew that this declaration had little effect on the situation. And now we are informed that both Warsaw and Vienna are completely *Judenrein*….
>
> The murder of two million Jews with the most inhuman methods of torture and degradation which sadistic fantasy has ever devised, still has not sufficiently impressed those among us who have donned the *shtreimels* of Jewish guardianship, those who have assumed responsibility for Jewish interests so that they could sit down around one table and look into each other's eyes and together try to do something to rescue at least one percent of the doomed millions. There have even appeared some Zionists in our midst who have become reconciled to the thought that it is impossible to stay the hand of the murderer, and therefore, they say, it is necessary "to utilize this opportunity" to emphasize to the world the tragedy of Jewish homelessness and to strengthen the demand for a Jewish National Home in Palestine. (A Home for whom? For the millions of dead in their temporary cemeteries in Europe?) And there have arisen *sages* in our midst who have reached the profound conclusion that the sole response to the mass extermination of our people should be the earliest possible opening of a second front. The delegation of the Bund in America has satisfied the demands of its conscience both as Jews and as human beings, by organizing a protest conference of European socialist leaders, and is now boastfully claiming "sole credit" for its own little clique for this great achievement. And only some days ago the Revisionist-controlled Committee for a Jewish Army, succumbing to its own ambitions and hunger for prestige, has put other Jewish organizations in an uncomfortable position by publishing huge ads in the newspapers – ads which also seek "to utilize the opportunity" – calling for the establishment of

> a Jewish armed force of 200,000, knowing very well that this is a mythical figure concocted for purposes of cheap and irresponsible propaganda…
>
> Every "Committee" cherishes its own committee-interests, its sectarian ambitions, its exclusively wise strategy and its "power position" in the teapot of Jewish communal competition…
>
> No less characteristic is the fact that such a highly reputable organization as the American Jewish Committee could hold its annual conference one week ago, at the end of which there was issued a declaration dealing with all the bakers' dozen areas in which they differ from the Zionists or from other Jews, but not mentioning with even a single word the extermination of the Jews in Europe and what the American Jewish Committee proposes to do now, today, without delay, so that after the victory there should remain someone across the ocean whom the Committee could defend in accordance with its own program and ideology, someone whose rights and human dignity they could protect.
>
> The only Jewish organization which, formally at least, remained on guard and tries to create the impression that it does something, is the American Jewish Congress. But it would be criminal negligence to conceal from the public the fact that at a time when the Angel of Death uses airplanes, the American Jewish Congress employs an oxcart-express…
>
> I confess that I am unable to draw concrete, practical conclusions from the above. If it is still objectively possible to do anything, then I do not know who should do it and how it should be done. I only know this, that we are all – all five million of us, with all our organizations and committees and leaders – politically and morally bankrupt. And I refuse to understand how and why all of us here have fallen to such a state of shameful degradation.

In all, roughly a year and a half elapsed until in 1944, following a direct approach by Treasury Secretary Henry *Morgenthau, Jr., who was profoundly disturbed by State Department's ongoing indifference and hostility to all rescue proposals, President Roosevelt established the *War Refugee Board. The board energetically attempted, with some success, to work through neutral countries and third parties to prevent further Nazi murder of Jews and others. The efforts in this regard were ultimately realized in the rescue of some 100,000 Jews. Within the American Jewish community, the American Zionist Emergency Council, the Vaʾad ha-Hạẓẓalah (Rescue Committee) under Orthodox leadership, and other Jewish and Zionist groups also worked to rescue as many Jews as possible, mainly by ransom. By this point, the sole remaining community of any significant size was that of Hungarian Jewry.

In the spring 1942 Zionist leaders, headed by David Ben-Gurion and Chaim Weizmann, set their postwar program as Jewish control over immigration to Palestine, leading to the founding of a Jewish commonwealth. This vision was embodied in the *Biltmore Program of May 1942 (named after the New York City hotel where the conference was held) and it gradually won over American Jewry by vigorous Zionist public relations efforts, and above all by the widening realization of the full fate of European Jewry. Under Rabbis Stephen S. Wise and Abba Hillel Silver, the American Zionist Emergency Council, which conducted Zionist political affairs in the United States, continued the traditional method of winning sympathy and good will from American political, religious, and intellectual leaders. Wise was supplanted in 1944 by Silver and more aggressive tactics of converting American public opinion to the Zionist program and applying continuous pressure to the makers of American foreign policy were adopted.

The representative *American Jewish Conference in 1943, swayed by Silver's oratory, rejected a compromise demanding only free Jewish immigration to Palestine and adopted the Biltmore Program. The scales were tipped when Silver gave an unexpected address during the general debate on Palestine. By all accounts, his forceful argument reversed the moderate trend of the Conference. His speech laid the groundwork for the final resolution on Palestine. "There is but one solution for national homelessness," Silver declared. "That is a national home!"

> Not new immigration opportunities to other countries for fleeing refugees, for new colonization schemes in other parts of the world… The only solution is to normalize the political status of the Jewish people in the world by giving it a national basis in its national and historic home…
>
> …The reconstitution of the Jewish people as a nation in its homeland is not a playful political conceit of ours, a sort of intellectual thing of ours calculated to satisfy some national vanity of ours. It is the cry of despair of a people driven to the wall, fighting for its very life…
>
> I am for unity in Israel, for the realization of the total program of Jewish life: relief, rescue, reconstruction and the national restoration in Palestine. I am not for unity on a fragment of the program, for a fragment of the program is a betrayal of the rest of the program and a tragic futility besides. We cannot truly rescue the Jews of Europe unless we have free immigration into Palestine. We cannot have free immigration into Palestine unless our political rights are recognized there. Our political rights cannot be recognized unless our historic connection with the country is acknowledged and our right to rebuild our national home is affirmed. The whole chain breaks if one of our links is missing…

Silver's eloquent case for an immediate political solution based on wartime realities and his assertion of the critical role to be played by the Zionist enterprise in any plans for postwar reconstruction cut across ideological and philosophical lines. The Palestine vote was carried with only four dissenting votes. The delegates resoundingly called for "the fulfillment of the Balfour Declaration" and the reconstitution of Palestine as the Jewish Commonwealth. Next, the assemblage spontaneously "rose, applauded, and sang Hatikvah [The Hope]."

By contrast, on three other occasions – early in 1944 and late that year as well as early in 1945 – the U.S. House of Representatives Foreign Affairs Committee stood poised to pass resolutions endorsing the Jewish commonwealth. Nonetheless, despite every prospect for early passage in both houses of Congress, the War Department, at the request of the State

Department, succeeded in having the legislative proposals tabled as "prejudicial" to the war effort.

As American Jewish support for Zionism and the Yishuv intensified, anti-Zionist views became more isolated and aggressive. The American Council for Judaism was founded late in 1942 upon an ideology of classical Reform opposition to Jewish nationalism. It conducted an assiduous anti-Zionist propaganda campaign that was vigorously countered by Zionists. The American Jewish Committee turned in a similar direction and advocated free Jewish immigration to Palestine under a rather vague international trusteeship. However, much of its once great influence and public stature was lost over this issue.

The American Jewish community's domestic affairs remained in relative suspense during the war. Jews shared in American prosperity as unemployment almost vanished, charitable aid became superfluous, and business flourished. However, antisemitism continued in sectors of public opinion and manifested itself in petty street molestations of Jews, especially in Boston and somewhat in New York. President Roosevelt's alleged remark to "clear it with Sidney [Hillman]" was used with special malice by antisemites against him during the 1944 election. A strong wave of postwar antisemitism was expected, especially if there were an economic depression, during the difficulties of conversion from wartime to peace.

During the five years following the war's end in 1945, American Jewish communal life was dominated by developments among Jewish refugees in Europe and by the Jewish struggle in Palestine. Mass public meetings were frequently convened, while gentile political and religious leaders were won over by persuasion or pressure, and funds raised for overseas needs reached levels previously unknown. Thus, the Zionist Organization of America (ZOA) raised its membership from 49,000 in 1940 to 225,000 in 1948, while Hadassah numbering 81,000 in 1940, multiplied more than threefold. As the United States exercised a dominant position in international affairs, American Zionist leaders became important in framing world Zionist policy and played an increasingly important role vis-à-vis the Palestinian leadership on the international scene. Several thousand American Jewish volunteers participated in Aliyah Bet efforts, the Jewish Agency's clandestine immigration scheme, some helping to navigate *illegal immigrant ships across the Mediterranean, and eventually many joined the *Haganah and fought in Palestine in 1948–49. With the founding of the State of Israel in 1948 and its War of Independence until 1949, American Zionism reached an organizational peak that quickly declined. Membership in Zionist organizations dropped drastically, in the case of the ZOA to less than 25,000 in the mid-1950s, and monies raised, as well as the proportion of them actually allocated to Israel, slid slowly downward. Paradoxically, the development and security of Israel now became a pervasive philanthropic, political, and cultural concern of American Jewry as a whole.

In common with American citizens generally, Jews enjoyed an era of prolonged prosperity during the post-World War II years. Homecoming soldiers found jobs or attended college en masse under the liberal terms of the "GI Bill of Rights." Antisemitism in the United States all but disappeared from public view. Father Charles Coughlin had been silenced by his church, and a few agitators, notably G.L.K. Smith, were practically ignored. Active and largely successful efforts were made by American Jewish defense organizations to root out antisemitic and every other form of religious and racial discrimination in employment, housing, and higher education. Legislation to these ends in many states was spearheaded by the Jewish community, often in alliance with African American bodies such as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), the Urban League, and a variety of church organizations. On the other hand, efforts to eliminate the exclusion of Jews from upper-level social clubs and from the management of major banks and corporations proved less successful. The basic trend for two decades following the end of World War II was the decline of antisemitism to the point where its disappearance was widely predicted. Even the feverish atmosphere of the anti-Communist fright from about 1947 to 1954 and the hunt for alleged Communists in government and strategic positions, during which a high proportion of the accused were Jews, did not significantly stir antisemitic sentiment.

The Cold War Era, 1950s–1980s

THE POSTWAR SETTING. For American Jews, the Cold War era centered around a paradox: The astonishing success and rapid upward mobility of the American Jewish community in the post-World War II era was accompanied by America's growing fear of the Soviet Union and potentially subversive anti-American elements, including instances in which Jews played a highly visible role. On the one hand, the postwar decades, as historian Lucy Dawidowicz has noted, were something of a "golden age" in which Jews became thoroughly acculturated, Americanized, economically prosperous, and professionally successful in virtually all quarters of American society. The self-confidence of organized American Jewry was perhaps nowhere more apparent than in the 1954 commemoration of the 300th anniversary of Jewish settlement in North America. The tercentenary committee deployed the inoffensive and patriotic branding message of "Man's Opportunities and Responsibilities under Freedom." Indeed, there was nothing particularly Jewish about this theme which (after months of deliberation and counsel with a variety of Jewish communal leaders and scholars) was noteworthy for its scrupulous neutrality. Rather, as the tercentenary committee explained, the anniversary was intended to celebrate the presumed congruence of American ideals and Jewish values:

> The theme should express the outstanding fact of the past 300 years of our participation in America; that it should describe the significance of the present day for American Jews, and that it should express the hopes and aspirations and objectives of the future for ourselves and for all Americans – indeed, for all human beings throughout the world.

Despite the note of triumphalism sounded by the committee – a recurring feature of the American Jewish experience termed the "cult of synthesis" by historian Jonathan D. Sarna – American Jewish society was in fact also shaped by the discordant social, cultural, and political realities of the Cold War era, including the Red Scare. Joseph McCarthy's persecutorial anti-Communist witch hunt, FBI director J. Edgar Hoover's ruthless subversion of numerous left-leaning American individuals and groups, and the widespread fear of Communist insurgency in American society leavened the American Jewish experience. Thus was Jewish communal success tempered by collective anxiety about the group's social status, lingering doubts about the promise of acculturation, and fear for the fragility of the liberal political enterprise.

Some outstanding examples help to illustrate this paradox. The case of communal leader Philip M. *Klutznik, for instance, is in many ways emblematic of American Jewish success in this period. Rising through the ranks of B'nai B'rith to become the fraternal organization's national president, Klutznik's professional career in public service led him from commissioner of Federal Public Housing under Presidents Franklin D. Roosevelt and Harry S. *Truman, to United States representative to the United Nations in the *Eisenhower, *Kennedy, and *Johnson administrations, and finally to the position of secretary of commerce under President Jimmy *Carter. Likewise, Henry *Kissinger, a refugee from Nazi Germany and Harvard-trained scholar, rose to become President Richard M. *Nixon's national security advisor in 1969 and was appointed secretary of state in 1975. The ending of the war in Vietnam, the normalization of relations with China, the conclusion of the Yom Kippur War, and the attempt to find a Middle East settlement were among the activities that made him the most iconic holder of this office in recent times. Speaking at a farewell luncheon given in his honor in 1977 by the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations, Kissinger declared, "I have never forgotten that thirteen members of my family died in a concentration camp." His authority in the realm of foreign affairs was enhanced not only by his negotiating skill but also by the fact that for many months Nixon was entangled in the Watergate Affair. His authority was reaffirmed when Gerald Ford, on succeeding Nixon, retained him in office. The meteoric trajectory of Klutznik, Kissinger, and other Jewish figures – for which there are precious few equivalents among other ethnic minorities in mid-20th century American society – was truly astonishing.

Meanwhile, a darker side of American society is reflected in the spectacle of three widely publicized episodes of anti-Communist activity in the United States in the 1950s, all of which centered on Jewish protagonists. First, the arrest in 1950 of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg, Jewish Communists alleged to have passed on atomic secrets to the Soviets, their highly controversial trial, and subsequent execution for treason in 1953 sent shock waves through the American Jewish community. Second, the vigorous campaign conducted by the Atomic Energy Commission to strip the credentials of German Jewish physicist J. Robert *Oppenheimer, the "father of the atomic bomb" and first director of the Los Alamos National Laboratory, garnered considerable public notoriety. In the event, Oppenheimer aroused the ire of scientists and politicians alike with his outspoken concern about the bomb's potential for mass destruction. Lewis L. Strauss, who served as chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission and was himself a prominent Republican and national leader of the American Jewish Committee, spearheaded the effort to discredit Oppenheimer as a Communist sympathizer and opponent of plans to develop the hydrogen bomb. The Oppenheimer affair proved to be a high water mark of the Red Scare; Oppenheimer's reputation was tarnished and Strauss resigned under fire. Subsequently, when President Dwight D. Eisenhower nominated Strauss to be secretary of commerce, his appointment was narrowly rejected in a Congressional showdown between U.S. Senate Democrats and Republicans. Finally, an excellent example of the complexity of this period is the case of *The Goldbergs*, a comedy about an American Jewish family that aired over radio from 1929 to 1947 and became a nationally popular television program from 1949 to 1956. Starring the actor Philip Loeb as Goldberg, the show became a target of the McCarthy witch hunt when Loeb was blacklisted after the right-wing anti-Communist magazine *Red Channels* accused him of being a Communist. Loeb denied the accusation, but the climate of fear induced by the McCarthy era and the hearings conducted by the House Committee on Un-American Activities caused him to lose his job and the CBS network soon dropped the show. Although Loeb continued to eke out a living as an actor thereafter, he succumbed to depression in 1955 and committed suicide.

Suspended between the antipodes of success and marginalization, American Jews faced the Cold War with a mixture of self-congratulatory confidence and well-founded anxiety. The ensuing decades would be marked by these themes, even as American Jews continued to develop and strengthen the infrastructure of their communal life.

POPULATION, DEMOGRAPHY, AND ECONOMIC ACTIVITY. The size of the American Jewish population increased rather slightly in the decades immediately following World War II. However, Jewish population estimates, while comparatively accurate for many cities, were unreliable for the country as a whole. The Jewish population, probably overestimated at 5,000,000 in 1950, stood at close to 5,500,000 in 1960, and then peaked at approximately 6,000,000 in the 1970s and 1980s. In comparison, the general American population numbered 140,000,000 in 1950 and rose to over 250,000,000 by the 1990s. In other words, Jews comprised slightly more than 3.5 percent of the American population at mid-century, but barely more than 2 percent by the close of the century. The reasons underlying the small Jewish population increase are strongly suggested by the median Jewish household size and the mean number of children born per 1,000 women, both lower than that of other religious or ethnic groups. With no more than about 12 percent of Jewish families having four or more children, Jewish natural increase was well below that of the U.S. as a whole.

Prior to the collapse of the Soviet Union in the late 1980s, immigration provided little of the Jewish increase in this period. From the end of World War II through the 1950s, for example, over 191,000 Jews settled in the United States, of whom nearly 120,000 arrived between 1947 and 1951. The large majority were Holocaust survivors, over 63,000 of whom entered under the provisions of the Displaced Persons Act of 1949. Otherwise, the quota system of the Johnson-Reed Act and its successor McCarran-Walter Act of 1952 remained intact until practically abolished by new legislation in 1965. In the late 1950s and 1960s about 73,000 Jewish immigrants arrived, most of whom tended to be Israelis (frequently of European birth), Cubans leaving the Castro regime, and Jews from Islamic lands. The United Service for New Americans, a descendant of the previous National Refugee Service together with the *Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society (HIAS), and local community organizations aided the immigrants. Some "new Americans" were professionally trained, but most tended to enter traditional Jewish occupations, such as garment cutters, salesmen, or shopkeepers.

Until the close of the 1960s, American Jewry retained a largely metropolitan character. Approximately 40 percent of American Jews dwelled in the New York City area, as had been the case since 1900. Meanwhile, the sum total of Jews living in the greater New York City region, northeastern New Jersey, and the nine next largest communities (Los Angeles, Chicago, Philadelphia, Boston, Miami, Washington, Cleveland, Baltimore, and Detroit) comprised 75 percent of American Jewry. The most notable demographic phenomenon in these and other urban centers was movement to the suburbs. As income and aspirations rose, large numbers of Jews quit the ever more congested and aging cities seeking greater space, more relaxed living, and a more affluent social environment. By the 1960s, 85 percent of Cleveland Jews lived beyond the city boundaries, and the same happened to virtually the entire Jewish population in Detroit, Newark, and Washington, D.C., within the decade. Every large city saw a considerable proportion of its middle class, including the Jewish community, relocate to the suburbs, while African American migration to many formerly Jewish neighborhoods precipitated formidable social tensions and problems between Jews and blacks.

Coincidental with the suburban movement, was the migration of large numbers of Jews within the United States. The increase of the Los Angeles Jewish population from 150,000 at the end of World War II to over 500,000 in the 1970s, and of Miami from 40,000 in the late 1940s to roughly 150,000 in 1970, was almost wholly the result of internal migration. Much of it came from the Middle West whose Jewish population failed to increase after the 1920s. Thus, Chicago, with 333,000 in the city at the end of World War II, actually declined to 285,000 for its metropolitan area by the 1970s. Milwaukee also lost – 30,000 to 24,500 – and centers such as Cleveland and Detroit did not increase. Boston's Jewish population increased from 137,000 in 1948 to over 176,000 in the 1970s, apparently owing to heavy Jewish participation in that area's scientific and technological growth.

In the decades following World War II a new occupational pattern of American Jewry also became evident. No systematic nationwide surveys were conducted until the 1970s, but until then many studies of individual communities made clear that employment in the professions was rising greatly, and proprietorship and management somewhat less so; skilled, semiskilled, and unskilled labor was sharply decreasing, and clerical and sales employment somewhat declining. Forestry, mining, and transportation in all forms hardly employed any Jews, as in the past, and the small contingent of Jewish farmers slowly decreased in size. The ascent of Jewish professionals in these decades was also a general phenomenon. In addition to the continuing prominence of Jews as physicians, lawyers, accountants, and teachers, they were prominent as scientific professionals in such new industries as electronics. Earlier occupational patterns lasted longer in New York City where a concentration of skilled and unskilled workers comprised about 28 percent of the Jewish labor force until the early 1960s.

In such professions as law, medicine, dentistry, and teaching Jews formed a clear majority of those employed. Industries in which they had once been the labor force, especially the garment industry, remained Jewish only at the higher levels of skill and in entrepreneurship. As entrepreneurs, Jews were extensively represented in urban retail trade, the building of homes and shopping centers, and in metropolitan real estate. The same could be said of such mass media areas as television, films, and advertising, and of cultural enterprises like book publishing, art dealing, and impresarioship in music and theater. Stock brokerage and other spheres of finance continued to involve Jewish firms and brokers, setting the stage for the return to prominence in subsequent decades of Jewish financiers, as was previously the case in the late 19th and early 20th centuries.

In sum, for the country as a whole the "baby boom" of the post-World War II era was followed by a steep decline in the birthrate. The American Jewish community shared generally in this trend. Ḥasidic Jewish communities were an exception in this regard; traditional values and attitudes prevailed and large families with an average of 6.5 children were the norm. Nonetheless, reinforcement of American Jewish life in this period came from unexpected sources. Estimates of the number of Israelis who settled in the United States in the 1970s and early 1980s vary between 300,000 and 500,000. Meanwhile, 70 percent of the Jews allowed to leave the Soviet Union between 1972 and 1981 chose to immigrate to the United States – more than 75,000 – and an additional 100,000 Jewish immigrants arrived from other countries in these years. By the end of the Cold War era, American Jews comprised 43 percent of world Jewry and 60 percent of diaspora Jewry.

COMMUNAL STRUCTURE. Economic prosperity, the gradual neutralization of once sharp internal ideological differences, the diminution of antisemitism, the waning of the cultural rift that once separated native-born and immigrant Jews, and growing social homogeneity resulted in a lengthy period of Jewish communal consensus that extended from the post-World War II years to the 1970s. In this period, the State of Israel became a unifying rather than divisive force. Funds were ample for generally agreed communal purposes in the United States and overseas. Communal interests focused primarily on local matters as Jewish suburbia built its institutions, while in older urban areas they had to struggle to survive or relocate. Nearly every city, except New York and Chicago, conducted a combined campaign for overseas and domestic needs and had some form of central Jewish community organization. The Jewish community councils, founded during the 1930s, generally merged with the older federations of Jewish philanthropies and were governed by an executive board and a none too potent community assembly of representatives from organizations. In some cities, however, contributors to the combined campaign above a minimal level (usually $10) were enfranchised to vote for a fixed proportion of the delegates to these assemblies. These central Jewish communal bodies promoted equal rights through their community relations committees, which coordinated the local efforts of the leading American Jewish membership organizations – e.g., American Jewish Committee, American Jewish Congress, B'nai B'rith, Hadassah, Jewish Labor Committee, Jewish War Veterans, and the National Council for Jewish Women. They also sponsored the local bureaus of Jewish education, settled intra-communal disputes, in some communities supervised *kashrut* (Jewish dietary law), and generally functioned as the recognized Jewish spokespersons in the general community. The social service agencies affiliated with the antecedent federations enjoyed far-reaching autonomy. The most important activity by far was the annual campaigns, whose proceeds were allocated, after negotiations, by carefully devised formulas.

At the national level, ideological groupings and specialization of activities evolved, but no stable central body developed. The aforementioned organizations coordinated some of their activities in the National Community Relations Advisory Council. The American Zionist Council did likewise for Zionist groups, especially on political issues related to Israel and the Middle East, and the Synagogue Council, with little power or religious authority, obtained occasional consensus among the denominational federations of synagogues. The military functions of the National Jewish Welfare Board were largely replaced by its peacetime activity of providing coordination and program assistance to approximately 300 Jewish community centers, and their 645,000 members, affiliated with it by 1960. The Council of Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds guided and counseled its constituents by means of nationwide meetings, through intensive studies of Jewish philanthropic policy, of the role of government in education and social service, and through the activities of various beneficiaries. In 1954 the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations (the "Presidents' Club") was established to consult informally in matters concerning Israel and overseas Jewish problems. By virtue of its age, size, prestige, and non-partisan Jewish character, B'nai B'rith tended to play a central role in such efforts. In 1963, in response to grass roots activity and pressure, the *National Conference of Soviet Jewry was established. With some variation, these groups and agencies defined the infrastructure of American Jewish life for the remainder of the 20th century.

SOCIAL AND CULTURAL LIFE. By mid-century the Jews as an overwhelmingly native-born group, extensively college-educated, and heavily concentrated in the mercantile and professional classes, with widespread social and cultural interests, began to assume a remarkable degree of prominence in American society. Their previously notable position as physicians, scientists, lawyers, psychoanalysts, and musicians not only continued but increased exponentially. As well, Jews began to excel in fields once closed or inaccessible to them. General estrangement from the American academy's longstanding preoccupation with British literature and the relative inattention of American Jews to the thematic content of American literature had tended to make Jewish writers in English very few. But beginning in the 1950s and 1960s a considerable number of American Jewish writers attained importance and true distinction. In this period, significant works were produced by the writers Saul *Bellow, Meyer *Levin, Norman *Mailer, Bernard *Malamud, Tillie *Olsen, Cynthia *Ozick, Grace *Paley, Chaim *Potok, Philip *Roth, Isaac Bashevis *Singer, Leon *Uris, and Elie *Wiesel, the playwright Arthur *Miller, the poets Delmore *Schwartz, Allen *Ginsberg, and Karl *Shapiro, and the critics Lionel *Trilling, Leslie *Fiedler, Alfred *Kazin, and Irving *Howe. (Interestingly, Kazin, originally an East European Jewish immigrant, helped to define the field of American literature with *On Native Grounds* (1942), one of the first systematic and comprehensive studies of literature by native-born American writers.) The wave of post-war literary creativity opened the door to many other successful American Jewish writers in the 1970s and 1980s including the poets Allen *Grossman, Joseph *Heller, Robert *Pinsky, and Adrienne *Rich, the novelists E.M. *Broner, Melvin Jules *Bukiet, E.L. *Doctorow, Howard *Fast, Allegra Goodman, Marge Piercy, Kate *Simon, and Art *Spiegelman, the playwrights Tony *Kushner and Wendy *Wasserstein, and the critic Harold *Bloom.

As Jewish subjects surged to the forefront of literary interest, novels and short stories of extremely varied quality on themes including the Holocaust, Israel, and middle-class American Jewish life, sold in the millions to gentiles as well as Jews. Plays and television programs on Jewish themes attracted vast audiences and were eventually produced on nationwide television. Many of the writers mentioned above contributed to this movement, and "Jewish" became a literary genre that now competed commercially with the "Southern" and "Middle Western" genres in popularity. Occasional voices, questioning its integration into American literature and even alleged domination by a New York Jewish circle, surfaced in *Commentary*, *Partisan Review*, and the *New York Review of Books*. Whether literary politics or legitimate criticism, there was no doubt that Jews were among the principal purveyors of American culture – as impresarios of music, theatrical producers, editors, book publishers, and film and television producers.

Another major trend was that of Jews into the arts and sciences on university faculties. During the 1930s and earlier only a few hundred Jews held academic positions, mainly in the municipal colleges of New York City, but at the close of the 1960s an estimated 30,000 Jews composed about one-tenth of all college faculty members. They were distributed in all fields, although physics, sociology, and psychology particularly attracted a high proportion of Jews. No field of study, however, lacked notable Jewish contributors. Jewish professors could be found in almost all colleges, but especially in public research universities and in the "Ivy League."

By and large, Jewish contributors to American cultural life, at least until the middle 1960s, continued to be the liberal left, with echoes of earlier radicalism. To the wider Jewish community its Jewish public intellectuals were somehow a source of concern. Could they be made to demonstrate positive interest in established American Jewish life and American Judaism, and why did most of them shy away from participation in the communal infrastructure of American Jews? A symposium on "Jewishness and the Younger Intellectuals," published in *Commentary* in 1961, strongly suggested that under the cultural consensus and religiosity of the 1950s lay the alienated restlessness of many of the highly acculturated, talented younger generation.

Especially visible in the postwar decades was the rise of an elite cohort of Jewish artists around whom the world of American musical theater grew and flourished. It is difficult to overstress the profound impact in this period on American culture of musical figures Leonard *Bernstein, Marvin *Hamlisch, Oscar *Hammerstein II, Sheldon *Harnick, Larry *Hart, Jerome *Kern, Alan Jay *Lerner, Frank *Loesser, Jerome *Robbins, Richard *Rodgers, Stephen *Sondheim, and other lesser known figures. Like Irving *Berlin, Aaron *Copland, George *Gershwin, and Ira *Gershwin before them, whose impact on the decades prior to mid-century was profound, the second-generation of American Jewish composers, conductors, lyricists, and choreographers left an indelible imprint on the Broadway musical tradition with such classics as *South Pacific* (1949), *Guys and Dolls* (1950), *The King and I* (1951), *My Fair Lady* (1956), *Gypsy* (1959), *The Sound of Music* (1959), *Camelot* (1960), *West Side Story* (1961), *A Funny Thing Happened on the Way to the Forum* (1962); *Fiddler on the Roof* (1964), *Company* (1970), *A Chorus Line* (1975); *Sweeney Todd* (1979), and *Into the Woods* (1987).

Parallel to the Broadway musical tradition was the arena of American popular music, whose ranks swelled throughout these decades to include a variety of influential Jewish musical artists and record producers. Even a cursory review in this regard illustrates the diverse wealth of American Jewish talent that helped shape this dynamic aspect of American culture. Some singers and entertainers openly identified with American Jewish life while others, like the diva Beverly *Sills (born Belle Miriam Silverman), one of America's greatest opera sopranos, did not and remained virtually indistinguishable from the larger canvas of American popular music. Any list in this regard must include artists as diverse as band leader Herb *Alpert, the singer-entertainers Sammy *Davis, Jr. (a convert to Judaism), Eydie *Gorme, Bette *Midler, Allan *Sherman, Dinah *Shore, and Barbra *Streisand, the singer-songwriters Neil *Diamond, Art *Garfunkel, Billy *Joel, Carole *King, Barry *Manilow, Linda *Ronstadt, Neil *Sedaka, Carly *Simon, and Paul *Simon, and the folk singers Theodore *Bikel, Bob *Dylan, Arlo *Guthrie, Janis *Ian, and Phil *Ochs.

Likewise, the world of modern American art was enriched and shaped by an array of Jewish artists including the painter-sculptors Boris *Aronson, Leonard *Baskin, Judy *Chicago, Helen *Frankenthaler, Marc *Rothko, George *Segal, Richard *Serra, Ben *Shahn, Raphael *Soyer, and Max *Weber as well as the influential art critic Clement *Greenberg and even the comic book creators Jack *Kirby and Stan *Lee.

As noted previously, Hollywood, too, played an increasingly central role in the complex relationship between Jews and American culture. Among the most visible and important Jewish actors, television stars, and film makers from mid-century forward were Woody *Allen, Alan *Arkin, Milton *Berle, Matthew *Broderick, Adrien Brody, Mel *Brooks, George *Burns, Sid *Caesar, Billy *Crystal, Tony *Curtis, Kirk *Douglas, Michael *Douglas, Richard *Dreyfuss, Peter *Falk, Marty *Feldman, Tova *Feldshuh, Harvey *Fierstein, Fyvush Finkel, Harrison *Ford, Jeff *Goldblum, Elliot *Gould, Harold Gould, Joel *Grey, Charles Grodin, Goldie *Hawn, Judd Hirsch, Dustin *Hoffman, Madeline *Kahn, Danny *Kaye, Alan *King, Jack *Klugman, Harvey Korman, Lisa *Kudrow, Hal Linden, Jackie *Mason, Walter *Matthau, Zero *Mostel, Jerry Orbach, Sarah Jessica *Parker, Mandy *Patinkin, Gilda *Radner, Tony *Randall, Carl *Reiner, Rob *Reiner, Adam *Sandler, Roy *Scheider, Jerry *Seinfeld, Peter *Sellers, Joan Micklin *Silver, Ron *Silver, Steven *Spielberg, Ben *Stiller, Barbra *Streisand, Chaim *Topol, Gene *Wilder, and Henry *Winkler.

The broad range of Jewish participation in American culture and, likewise, the integration of American themes, rhythms, and modalities into the work of Jewish artists in the 20th century, defies easy explanation. Reflecting on the complexity of this phenomenon, the historian Stephen J. Whitfield has observed that "like religion, culture should not be regarded as the stable expression of a people with an immutable set of attributes. The features that are more evident are borrowing, adaptation, and inventiveness as well as continuity." In the process of negotiating the dynamic and creative tensions that link their Jewish and American identities, Jewish artists from all walks of the contemporary scene – music, sculpture, painting, theater, and literature – have imbued American society with important and unparalleled cultural achievements.

WOMEN. In the 1960s and 1970s, against the backdrop of the counter-culture movement that spread across the country, there emerged a wave of feminism that sought to refashion the place of women and introduce new ways of considering gender in American society. Among the outstanding early leaders of the feminist movement were two Jewish activists, the theorist Betty *Friedan (born Bettye Naomi Goldstein in Peoria, Illinois) and political maverick Bella *Abzug. Friedan's book *The Feminine Mystique* (1963), which depicted the repressed domestic lives of middle-class American women in the decades following World War II, became a national bestseller and is often credited with energizing the women's movement in this period. Abzug, a daughter of poor Russian Jewish immigrants, who grew up in the Bronx where she joined the socialist Zionist youth group Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir as a teenager, went on to become active in New York State and national Democratic politics. In 1970 Abzug garnered countrywide attention while campaigning for election to the U.S. House of Representatives with the statement, "This woman's place is in the House – the House of Representatives." Friedan, a co-founder of the National Organization for Women in 1966, and Abzug were both outspoken advocates for the passage of the Equal Rights Amendment and public opponents of the Vietnam War. In 1979 they were among the founders of the National Women's Political Caucus.

A figure of equal importance to the emergence of American feminism in this period was Carol (Friedman) *Gilligan, who single-handedly transformed the field of psychology with the publication in 1982 of her pathbreaking study *In a Different Voice: Psychological Theory and Women's Development*. Gilligan, who as a child participated actively in the Reconstructionist movement's flagship Society for the Advancement of Judaism in New York City, has described herself "a Jewish child of the Holocaust era." Her strong moral and political convictions, which soon found expression through her participation in the civil rights movements, were ultimately manifest in her scholarship. In 1964 she completed a Ph.D. in psychology at Harvard University. After teaching at the University of Chicago, she returned to Harvard, where she worked closely with Erik Erikson and Lawrence Kohlberg, two eminent psychological theorists. At this juncture, Gilligan began to closely examine the ways female identity and experience were virtually ignored by mainstream psychology. *In a Different Voice*, which stemmed from research conducted at the Emma Willard girls school in Troy, New York, provoked a national debate and catapulted Gilligan to the forefront of the American feminist movement and utterly revolutionized the fields of education, psychology, and women's studies. Subsequently, Gilligan was named "Woman of the Year" in 1984 by *Ms.* magazine and in 1996 *Time* magazine named her one of the 25 most influential figures in American society.

While Jewish female activists such as Friedan, Abzug, and Gilligan swiftly became household names in wider American society, an equally explicit albeit more subtle Jewish brand of feminism emerged in this period, too – with profound implications for the future of American Jewry. The burgeoning of American Jewish publications in these years throws light on this trend as well as a pervasive desire to reorient perceptions of women in modern Jewish life generally. Consider, for example, a few disparate works that illustrate significant shifts on the American Jewish scene. First, *The Jewish Catalog* (1973), an enormously popular do-it-yourself guide to Judaism and Jewish life in American society, contained a chapter on Jewish women emphasizing "consciousness-raising" and suggesting new "areas of priorities for interested Jewish women." Second, *Women in the Kibbutz* (1975), a controversial multi-generational study by the sociologists Lionel Tiger and Joseph Shepher, focused attention on the unique experiment of Israeli communal living and, in the words of the publisher, raised "new questions about the goals of the Women's Liberation Movement." Third, Anne Lapidus Lerner's "'Who Hast Not Made Me a Man': The Movement for Equal Rights for Women in American Jewry," published in the *American Jewish Year Book* of 1977, accurately pointed to the vitality and durability of feminism in contemporary American Jewish life. The sentiment of the period was summed up in Lerner's bold assertion that "Queen Esther no longer reigns supreme in the hearts of young Jewish women. More and more of them are admiring Vashti's spunk instead." In the final analysis, she optimistically intoned, as "the image of Queen Esther is becoming less persuasive … the new Jewish feminism must be confronted and accommodated to ensure the survival of American Jewry."

As participants and observers alike created a new literature and public arena about Jewish women and for feminist discourse – e.g., Trude *Weiss-Rosmarin's "The Unfreedom of Jewish Women" (1970); **Lillith* magazine, established in 1976 by Susan Weidman Schneider and Aviva Cantor; Blu Greenberg's *On Women and Judaism* (1979); etc. – some female scholars turned to history in order to discern "models from [the] past." "From them we learn," explained Elizabeth Koltun in *The Jewish Woman: New Perspectives* (1976), "that we are not the first Jewish women discontent with 'women's place' and that, concomitantly, Jewish feminism does not, in fact, represent the total break with our past which our critics would have us believe."

It was not by chance that of the four role models featured in Koltun's anthology, two were Zionists: Henrietta Szold, the American founder of Hadassah and head of Youth Aliyah, and Raḥel Yanait Ben-Zvi, a Labor Zionist leader and founder of the *Ha-Shomer self-defense organization in the Yishuv (pre-state Israeli society). Likewise, a bibliographic "Guide to Jewish Women's Activities" in *The Jewish Catalog* begins with five autobiographical works written and edited by Zionist women activists: Raḥel Yanait Ben-Zvi, Geula *Cohen, Irma L. Lindheim, Raḥel *Katznelson-Shazar, and Ada *Maimon. It also contains numerous references to women in the Zionist movement, the Yishuv, and contemporary Israel. In another instance, a slim volume titled *Sisters of Exile* (1974), published by the American Zionist youth movement *Habonim, focused on the lives of significant women in Jewish history and elevated Zionist activists to the pantheon of modern Jewish heroes. It also found its way into many Jewish studies classes on American college campuses in an era when such information was still largely ignored and inaccessible. Finally, it is worth noting Golda *Meir's bestselling autobiography, *My Life* (1975), which enjoyed a mass distribution in the United States.

Viewed historically, the developments described above are not surprising. As sociologist Sylvia Barack Fishman has observed, the close identification of Jewish women with Zionism and Israel in the 1970s and 1980s – despite the checkered track records of both vis-à-vis the equality and empowerment of women – was a self-defining characteristic of American Jewish feminism in this period. In fact, despite external pressures many Jewish feminists refused to sever their links to Zionism. The scholar Paula *Hyman explains the strong similarities between Jewish feminism and Zionism from a historical perspective:

> Like Zionism, Jewish feminism emerged from an encounter of Jews who were deeply concerned with the fate of their group with secular Western culture… Jewish feminism, too, did not spring in an unmediated way from Jewish tradition… It took secularized Jews, influenced by the rise of feminism in America in the 1960s, to establish a Jewish feminist movement that provided a radically modern form to strivings for gender equality.

The profile of American Jewish feminism in this period reveals a *mélange* of secular, spiritual, modern, radical, and feminist impulses as well as a broad range of perspectives on women, Judaism, Zionism, and Israel. In the words of historian Judith R. *Baskin, "expanding our knowledge of Jewish women not only enlarges what we know about Jewish history and the Jewish experience but redefines our very conceptions of what Jews and Judaism were and continue to be about."

RELIGION. American Jewish religious life broadened considerably in the decades following World War II as Judaism was all but officially recognized as the third religion of American society. Will Herberg's celebrated polemic *Protestant, Catholic, Jew* (1960) and the widespread use of the term "Judeo-Christian" illustrate this trend. Public commissions habitually included a Jewish member alongside Protestants and Catholics, and official ceremonies, including presidential inaugurations, arranged for Jewish as well as Christian clerical participation. The 1950s was a period of unprecedented interest in Jewish religious life and thought, as part of the "revival of religion" in American culture during those years. The writings of such figures as philosopher Martin *Buber and theologian Abraham J. *Heschel received widespread attention. Numerous interfaith institutes and assemblies were held. It is no accident that among the ideologues who had the most impact on the various denominations of American Judaism – Abraham J. Heschel, Joseph *Soloveitchik, Menachem *Schneersohn, and Emil *Fackenheim – all, with the exception of Fackenheim, were scholars with deep roots in Eastern Europe who spent some of their most formative years pursuing higher education in Western Europe, primarily, Berlin, and then emigrated to the United States where they quickly emerged as the most creative authorities for their disciples on how to relate to the Jewish religious tradition in a pluralistic, technological, and open society.

Although it is customary to divide American Judaism in this period according to the tripartite model of Reform, Conservative, and Orthodox synagogue movements, each with central institutions and recognized leaders, the reality resembled more a spectrum in which the membership, beliefs, and practices, and even the rabbinate of one group shaded into the next. The number of denominationally identified congregations grew rapidly. In the early 1950s there were nearly 500 Reform congregations, 100 more than in the previous decade, while the Conservative movement added more than 150 synagogues in the same period and rose beyond 500 congregations. (Many had been Orthodox and evolved into Conservatism.) There were more than 700 affiliated Orthodox congregations, but many were inactive leftovers from immigrant days. The increase continued, so that in the 1960s the congregations numbered more than 550 Reform, 600 Conservative, and 700 Orthodox. The organized American rabbinate in 1955 counted 1,127 men in the two large Orthodox professional bodies, 677 Reform, and 598 Conservative. In 1960 the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics reached similar conclusions when it identified 2,517 congregational rabbis, 944 in "specialized Jewish community service," and 148 at temporary work or unemployed. To these 3,609 rabbis the Bureau of Labor Statistics added some 650 retired or out of the profession, and there were probably others privately ordained not functioning as rabbis. A 1950 estimate placed total synagogue membership at a maximum of 450,000 families, besides about 250,000 persons who occupied seats in the synagogue on the High Holy Days. Perhaps 1,485,000 Jews were thus synagogally affiliated, and this figure apparently increased during the 1950s. Thus around 1960 there were over 450,000 families in Conservative and Reform congregations. The number of Orthodox Jews could not be properly determined, but a 1965 study suggested 300,000 committed Orthodox individuals. Altogether, the largest institutional and membership growth was found in the Conservative movement, which counted over 800 congregations affiliated with the United Synagogue of America in 1970 as compared with some 700 in the Union of American Hebrew Congregations in that year.

A wave of synagogue construction illustrated this increase of affiliation, as did the burgeoning of Jewish communities in new suburban districts. In the decade following World War II an estimated $50–60 million was spent on synagogue building, and the ten-year period that followed may have seen twice that amount expended. Many synagogues, especially in the suburbs, accommodated not only worship and study but also quite elaborate social functions and even sports and social recreation. The tendency of synagogues to act as Jewish community centers sometimes brought them into rivalry with non-synagogal Jewish centers and Young Men's Hebrew Associations and Young Women's Hebrew Associations, which were professionally equipped for such work. The latter were engaged in reorienting their outlook and activities toward a more explicit Jewish program, as recommended in the influential Jewish Welfare Board survey (1948) directed by Oscar I. *Janowsky. The synagogue-Jewish center rivalry had some ideological basis: synagogal claims to primacy as the embodiment of Jewish religion and tradition, versus the centers' emphasis on their broadly Jewish character accommodating secular as well as religious members.

Notwithstanding great material growth, Jewish religious life hardly became more intensive. Although American Jews in surveys tended to describe themselves as "conservative," this no doubt indicated a general preference for traditional religious rituals rather than actual Conservative religious belief or synagogue affiliation. There was widespread well-documented interest in Judaism on college campuses, and numerous instances occurred of young people adopting traditional religious life and beliefs. Altogether, however, only small minorities, estimated variously between 10 and 20 percent, observed the Sabbath scrupulously, maintained the dietary laws in full, and observed daily prayer. Reform, Conservative, and Orthodox religious groupings were found in every Jewish community of any size, but some were strong in particular cities. Thus, the centers of Orthodoxy in the 1950s and 1960s were in Boston, Baltimore, and above all New York City. Philadelphia and Detroit were strongholds of Conservative Judaism, while Cincinnati, Cleveland, San Francisco, and Milwaukee were especially favorable environments for the Reform movement.

The denominations had their struggles over internal issues. The Reform majority, now pro-Zionist, moved toward increased ritual and traditionalism, over the opposition of a vigorous "classical Reform" minority, and congregations leaned in either direction. The majority of Reform rabbis attempted to utilize the classic sources of Jewish law in religious problems. Among the Conservatives differences tended to be muffled in loyalty to the central institution, the Jewish Theological Seminary of America and its profoundly traditionalist faculty. The main issue was Jewish law and the extent to which it could be modified and by whom. Yet while Conservative rabbis and scholars debated the *halakhic* problems of change, the lay membership proceeded in its own un-*halakhic* way of life.

Orthodoxy meanwhile shed its status as the Judaism of Yiddish-speaking East European immigrants after the number of acculturated, middle-class congregations with modernist American-trained rabbinic leadership sharply increased. There was also a large accretion to Orthodoxy from post-1945 immigration, among whom ḥasidic and yeshivah leaders were prominent. Tensions arose between these two segments for the latter tended to be non-Zionist or anti-Zionist and considered the secular world and non-Orthodox forms of American Jewishness to have improperly influenced American Orthodoxy. As well, Orthodoxy became intellectually active and vibrant in this period as religious and philosophic writing was produced, including American reprintings of the Talmud and nearly the entire corpus of rabbinic classics.

Nonetheless, the *National Jewish Population Survey* of 1970 revealed that American Jewish life was marked by substantial acculturation among young people and the break up of family cohesion. These findings aroused considerable concern among American Jewish leaders from across the social, religious, and political spectrum and reinvigorated the long-standing public debate over the maintenance of a separate Jewish identity and the wholehearted acceptance of the Jews by a society that stands for the elimination of barriers based on race or creed.

The prospective decline of American Jewish religious life prompted some rabbis and congregational lay leaders to call on the synagogue movements to review their traditional reluctance to accept proselytes. Small groups encouraging converts had been at work for some time but the idea took on a new dimension in 1978 when Alexander *Schindler, president of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations (UAHC), proposed that American Judaism (or at any rate its Reform wing) actively seek converts from among the religiously unaffiliated: "I believe that it is time for our movement to launch a carefully conceived Outreach Program aimed at all Americans who are unchurched and who are seeking roots in religion." The UAHC board of trustees responded positively to Schindler's proposal.

Renewal efforts were manifest in other areas of the Reform movement as well. The most dramatic illustration in this regard was the ordination in 1972 by the Hebrew Union College – Jewish Institute of Religion of America's first woman rabbi, Sally *Priesand.

> As I sat in the historic Plum Street Temple [in Cincinnati, Ohio], waiting to accept the ancient rite of *smikhah* [ordination], I couldn't help but reflect on the implications of what was about to happen. For thousands of years women in Judaism had been second-class citizens. They were not permitted to own property. They could not serve as witnesses. They did not have the right to initiate divorce proceedings. They were not counted in the *minyan* [quorum]. Even in Reform Judaism they were not permitted to participate fully in the life of the synagogue. With my ordination all that was going to change; one more barrier was about to be broken.

Priesand's ordination represented not only a major departure from Reform's institutional culture but also portended a sea change in the American rabbinate and, in time, American Judaism as a whole. Meanwhile, Reform liturgical innovations resulted in a triad of new prayer books: *Gates of Prayer* (1973), the *Union Haggadah* (1974), and *Gates of Repentance* (1978). In direct line of succession to the *Union Prayer Book*

(1892), the volumes retained traces of Reform's earlier radicalism, but exhibited in style and content important theological changes and an emphasis on ceremonial tradition. Likewise, *Shaare Mitzvah* (Gates of Observance) (1979) encouraged Reform Jews to "return" to personal observances. Moreover, as a consequence of the rise of intermarriage, the CCAR called upon its members not to participate in such ceremonies. The New York Board of Rabbis subsequently resolved to bar those who did so from membership. In 1975 the Rabbinical Council of America passed a similar resolution.

Conservative Judaism underwent a significant paradigm shift in this period. In 1972 the Rabbinical Assembly published a new High Holiday *maḥzor* (prayer book). It departed from earlier versions in its modern translation and the incorporation of new material, including an alternative to the silent *amidah* (personal recitation). The martyrology for Yom Kippur was revised considerably to include non-liturgical texts and commemorative material related to the Holocaust. The question of women's rights, which for opposite reasons excited no significant discussion in either Orthodoxy or Reform, was a matter of vigorous debate in the Conservative movement. In 1972 the Rabbinical Assembly of America determined it should be left to individual congregations whether or not to include women in the *minyan* (religious quorum). The ordination of women to the Conservative rabbinate also came under discussion at the Assembly's 1974 convention, where it was rejected. The issue caused deep division within the seminary faculty and the Conservative rabbinate. In the meantime, however, one Conservative congregation appointed Sandy Eisenberg *Sasso, who was ordained by the Reconstructionist Rabbinical Seminary.

A survey of Conservative movement members presented to the 1979 biennial convention of the United Synagogue of America generated pessimistic conclusions as to the future of that body. The findings were based on age composition, the low proportion of members among third-generation American Jews, and the failure to bring about a commitment to Conservative Judaism among the majority of the children of Conservative synagogue members. Moreover, despite the enthusiastic efforts of a group of young Israel-oriented activists, the United Synagogue of America refused to endorse the establishment in 1977 of Mercaz (Hebrew for "Center"), a Conservative Zionist group that claimed an enrollment of 10,000 members. Ironically, the American Zionist Federation accepted Mercaz as an affiliate. In 1979 Mercaz announced plans for the creation of a moshav (collective settlement) in Israel. On the eve of Rosh Hashanah 5740 (September 1979) the chief rabbis of Jerusalem issued a statement vigorously denouncing Conservative Judaism. In connection with this it was revealed that there were 29 Conservative congregations in Israel.

The twinning of the Reform and Conservative movement's positions vis-à-vis Israel became apparent in this period. In 1977 Reform and Conservative representatives together met Israeli Prime Minister Menahem *Begin and sent a deputation to the Jewish state in an effort to prevent an alteration in the *Law of Return called for by the Orthodox. In addition they worked together in 1978 to secure from the Twenty-Ninth World Zionist Congress a resolution calling for equal rights for all quarters of Jewish life. The determination of the Orthodox to resist any encroachment on their special status in Israel generated a strong counterforce among American Jewish leaders, and the ambiguities of Reform in the matter of *halakhah*, particularly as related to marriage and conversion, made cooperation with the Conservative movement problematic.

Orthodoxy, too, increased its assertiveness in this period within and beyond the organized American Jewish community. The growth of Orthodoxy conformed to the climate of the times. Throughout the 1970s liberal churches in the United States lost support while fundamentalist Christianity (which developed a distinct political thrust) gained in strength. Of the several strata of Orthodox Judaism, the ḥasidic sector became the most conspicuous. Among the Ḥasidim those adhering to the Lubavitcher *rebbe* became the most widely known because of the missionary work they conducted among the non-Orthodox.

Ḥasidic strength was centered in Brooklyn, where identifiable groups settled in specific sections of the borough – the Satmar (see *Teitelbaum) in Williamsburg, the Lubavitcher (see *Chabad) in Crown Heights, and the *Bobover in Borough Park. In 1977 the serious differences between the Lubavitcher and Satmar sects deteriorated to the extent of an inter-ḥasidic riot in Brooklyn. In 1979 differences between the *Belzer and Satmar Ḥasidim in Jerusalem spilled over in violence between them in New York. Though they maintained complete independence of the organized American Jewish community, the ḥasidic leaders developed an important web of contacts in the world of politics. An expanding group of followers (owing to a high birthrate and proselytism), well-defined communal goals, and high voter turnout gave them considerable political leverage, resulting in increased government aid for their projects.

EDUCATION AND CULTURE. The relation between church and state, especially in the field of education, was a sensitive issue in this period. The Jewish community maintained its historic opposition to religious observances in governmental functions and particularly in the public school system. This stand was put to the test, especially over Catholic demands for government aid to their parochial school system. A series of United States Supreme Court decisions that permitted private schools to receive school buses, lunches, and textbooks from the government was generally regretted, while decisions that barred school prayers and any active role for schools in sponsoring outside sectarian religious instruction were widely applauded by Jews. The passage of the Education Act of 1964 and subsequent legislation, providing limited federal aid for private schools, tended to quiet the issue.

American Jews also opposed school programs that aimed to inculcate "moral and spiritual values" in children. Local disputes frequently erupted, typically in predominantly Christian suburbs to which a substantial number of Jews had moved, due to Jewish opposition to Christmas observances in the public schools; combined Christmas-Hanukah observances were a syncretistic "compromise." Thus, the American Jewish community continued its historic affinity for the public schools provided they were religiously neutral. Among Jewish organizations the American Jewish Congress took the most rigorous separationist position, while the American Jewish Committee leaned toward a more pragmatic acceptance of the prevailing public policy. Orthodox Jewry, which had few children in the public schools, opposed rigorous church-state separation in education, partly in hopes of securing public funds for their hard-pressed day schools.

After 1950 Hebrew literary creativity in the United States nearly vanished as Israel increasingly monopolized talent and provided a mass audience for writers. Yiddish letters also continued their decline, largely on account of linguistic assimilation. Significant Yiddish writers continued to publish, however, including Chaim *Grade and Isaac Bashevis Singer, who in English translation became an American literary celebrity during the 1960s. Yiddish was no longer the language of the Jewish masses. In 1971 the *Tag-Morgen Zhurnal* (Day-Morning Journal) one of the two remaining Yiddish dailies in New York City ceased publication while the *Forverts* (The Forward) remained afloat only through philanthropic support. Only the *Allgemeine Journal*, a Yiddish weekly newspaper close to the Lubavitcher movement, enjoyed a measure of success. The remaining publications of note were the monthly *Zukunft*, scientific literature produced by the *YIVO Institute for Jewish Research, and various organizational periodicals. Ironically, as the prestige of Yiddish seemed to peak in the 1970s, Irving Howe's celebrated *World of Our Fathers* (1976), an epic history of East European Jewish immigration to the United States, became a national bestseller, and in 1978 Isaac Bashevis Singer was awarded the Nobel Prize for literature. In short, Yiddish as a living language – except among ḥasidic Jews – all but disappeared.

By contrast, American Jewish cultural activity in English surged throughout this period. The mainstay of the weekly Anglo-Jewish press, whose news came from the *Jewish Telegraphic Agency, were Jewish monthlies and quarterlies like *American Jewish Congress Monthly*, *Commentary*, *Hadassah Magazine*, *Jewish Frontier*, *Judaism*, *Midstream*, *Moment Magazine*, the *Reconstructionist*, *Shma*, and *Tikkun* – some of which were of the highest standard. Nor was it longer unusual to read of Jewish affairs in the general press, and television and general magazines also frequently presented Jewish material from which unpleasant stereotypes had long been eliminated.

University presses and commercial publishers issued serious works on Jewish subjects, in addition to the best-selling novels. Jewish scholarship, while still concentrated in seminaries and yeshivot, slowly began to find a place in universities with the establishment of academic chairs in Jewish studies and the rise to national prominence under its founding president Abram *Sachar of *Brandeis University, a Jewish-sponsored non-sectarian university which was established in 1948. To the generation of mature, European-trained scholars was added a new one educated in the United States and frequently in Israel. Learned studies of outstanding merit in Bible, theology, and homiletics, medieval and modern Jewish languages and literature, and Jewish philosophy, history, political science, sociology, anthropology, and folklore were produced by elder scholars and their younger American-born colleagues. Notwithstanding a new, respectful attitude toward Jewish scholarship, the relatively low Jewish educational level of much of American Jewry often made such works inaccessible.

Meanwhile, participation in Jewish educational institutions surged as school enrollment increased, owing particularly to the post-1945 "baby boom" from some 268,000 in 1950 to over 589,000 in the 1960s. In this period, an estimated 80 percent of American Jewish children received Jewish education at some time during their school years. Over half went to Sunday schools, which were generally attached to Reform congregations, and perhaps one-third to weekday congregational schools, usually branches of Conservative synagogues. A striking and somewhat controversial increase was that of day schools, most of them under Orthodox auspices, which enrolled approximately 80,000 children in 1970. The lesser expansion of yeshivah high schools and of yeshivot for full-time talmudic study was also conspicuous. As these schools grew the communally supported Talmud Torahs of earlier decades sharply declined owing to changing religious trends within the Jewish community and the change of urban neighborhoods. In this climate, secular Yiddish education barely survived. Local Jewish welfare funds began to appropriate more for Jewish education, mainly toward central bureaus and specialized services. Notwithstanding financial improvement and the desire of most parents to send their child to some Jewish school, Jewish education remained brief and superficial for most pupils, and was severely handicapped by a seemingly insoluble shortage of qualified teachers.

At the beginning of the 1970s, the *National Jewish Population Survey* reported that more than 80 percent of Jewish males received some Jewish education at some time in their lives, and about the same percentage of Jewish boys celebrated their bar *mitzvah*. For females the proportion receiving some Jewish education was less. Within this general framework, the picture of Jewish education exhibited some marked contrasts. A survey undertaken in 1979 by the American Association for Jewish Education estimated total student enrollment in Jewish educational institutions to be 357,107. Furthermore, the study noted the growth of the Jewish day school movement. Whereas in 1946 there were 69 Jewish day schools with 10,000 pupils, in 1979 there were 378 with 90,675 pupils. Total enrollment figures showed that 35.6 percent of all pupils attended Reform schools, 29.5 percent Conservative, 24.1 percent Orthodox, 7.1 percent communal, 3.6 percent independent, and 0.1 percent Yiddish. The proportion of Orthodox schools in greater New York was greater, amounting to 53.6 percent.

THE CONVULSIONS OF THE 1960S. Toward the end of the 1960s, the American Jewish position seemed stable. Population held to predictable rates, immigration was minimal and readily absorbed, and demographic and occupational trends continued as they had from approximately 1950. Meanwhile, Israel attracted considerable political and financial support and tourism, and the institutions of the Jewish community were generally well financed and seemed capable of dealing with most of the problems coming up on their agendas. Late in the 1960s, however, quite unanticipated matters and issues arose which stirred unusual interest and anxiety.

The accession of Pope *John XXIII in 1958 and the Vatican II Ecumenical Council, which he convened, inaugurated sweeping changes in the Roman Catholic Church. These included a major attempt to rectify the ancient anti-Jewish record of the Church and to meet belated worldwide criticism of the generally passive and indifferent attitude of Pope *Pius XII during the Holocaust. The movement within the Church to "exonerate" the Jews collectively of the charge of "deicide" and to formally recognize the theological legitimacy of Judaism was highly active in the United States, and stirred considerable American Jewish participation and enthusiasm. A period of Catholic-Jewish theological conversation and inter-faith dialogue commenced, in which Cardinal Augustine Bea and American prelates were leaders. The most prominent American Jewish spokesman in this regard was the theologian Rabbi Abraham J. Heschel. The final document issued by Vatican II in 1965 disappointed high hopes. While Catholic silence (as well as that of Protestants) during the Arab preparations to annihilate Israel in May 1967 was very disillusioning, Catholic-Jewish dialogue continued, but in a subdued key.

The acquisition of equal rights by African Americans had long been a goal of legal and political action, as well as philanthropic endeavor, by Jews. Not only did such Jewish organizations as the American Jewish Committee and the American Jewish Congress possess considerable track records as supporters of legislation and litigants in court in order to secure black rights, but individual Jews since the days of Louis Marshall, Julius Rosenwald, and others had long been a source of activists and funds in these struggles, dating back to significant charitable gifts to historically black colleges in the South. During the Civil Rights era of the mid-1960s young Jews constituted, by some reports, as high as 50 percent of all the white student youth who participated in grassroots political activity aimed at the enfranchisement and improvement of the African American community's socio-economic conditions, particularly in the southern United States. A particularly cogent expression of the American Jewish perspective was voiced in 1963 by Rabbi Joachim Prinz, president of the American Jewish Congress, at the March on Washington, where he stood together with the Rev. Martin Luther King and Rabbi Abraham Joshua Heschel before the Lincoln Memorial:

> I speak to you as an American Jew.
>
> As Americans we share the profound concern of millions of people about the shame and disgrace of inequality and injustice which make a mockery of the great American idea.
>
> As Jews we bring to this great demonstration, in which thousands of us proudly participate, a twofold experience – one of the spirit and one of our history.
>
> In the realm of the spirit, our fathers taught us thousands of years ago that when God created man, He created him as everybody's neighbor. Neighbor is not a geographic term. It is a moral concept. It means our collective responsibility for the preservation of man's dignity and integrity.
>
> From our Jewish historic experience of three and a half thousand years we say: Our ancient history began with slavery and the yearning for freedom. During the Middle Ages my people lived for a thousand years in the ghettos of Europe. Our modern history begins with a proclamation of emancipation.
>
> It is for these reasons that it is not merely sympathy and compassion for the black people of America that motivates us. It is above all and beyond all such sympathies and emotions a sense of complete identification and solidarity born of our own painful historic experience.
>
> When I was the rabbi of a Jewish community in Berlin under the Hitler regime, I learned many things. The most important thing that I learned under those tragic circumstances was that bigotry and hatred are not the most urgent problem. The most urgent, the most disgraceful, the most shameful and the most tragic problem is silence.
>
> A great people which had created a great civilization had become a nation of silent onlookers. They remained silent in the face of hate, in the face of brutality, and in the face of mass murder.
>
> America must not become a nation of onlookers. America must not remain silent. Not merely black America, but all of America. It must speak up and act, from the President down to the humblest of us, and not for the sake of the Negro, not for the sake of the black community but for the sake of the image, the idea, and the aspiration of America itself.
>
> Our children, yours and mine in every school across the land, each morning pledge allegiance to the flag of the United States and to the republic for which it stands. They, the children, speak fervently and innocently of this land as the land of "liberty and justice for all."
>
> The time, I believe, has come to work together – for it is not enough to hope together, and it is not enough to pray together – to work together that this children's oath, pronounced every morning from Maine to California, from North to South, may become a glorious, unshakable reality in a morally renewed and united America.

An especially tragic illustration of the youthful Jewish commitment to this idealistic vision was the murder in 1964 of Andrew Goodman and Michael Schwerner (along with other voting rights activists) in Mississippi by members of the Ku Klux Klan. Against this backdrop, the passage of the Civil Rights Acts of 1964 and 1965, and the legal and judicial prohibition of racial segregation in all forms, were viewed by American Jews with deep satisfaction.

After these victories, the black-Jewish alliance was gravely strained and broken at many points, largely owing to dynamic social, economic, and political trends. The presence within African American areas of numerous Jewish merchants and slum landlords – many of who were holdovers from earlier years when such districts were heavily Jewish – was a source of major friction. The whites with whom the masses of southern black migrants to northern cities came in contact were also disproportionately Jewish, including social case workers, communal service professionals, and, especially in New York City, public school teachers. The wave of riots that swept African American communities in northern cities between 1964 and 1968 compelled the departure of most of their white businessmen, including Jews, and violently shook the fragile urban setting. Militant groups espousing "black power," separatism, and nationalism denounced whites and repudiated their assistance in terms that were sometimes antisemitic. Proposals for social policy from some black and establishment white sources stirred deep Jewish fears that the economic and social gains of African Americans were to be at the expense of American Jews, with Jewish opportunities in higher education and broad areas of professional employment reduced to make room for African Americans. Other American ethnic groups shared similar fears.

A strike by New York City teachers in 1968, most of them Jews, arose from the intention of "school decentralization" to ease Jews out or reduce their opportunities for advancement in order to advance African Americans (and Puerto Ricans, in that city's situation) in the school system. Serious eruptions of antisemitism accompanied the strike, and the Jewish community was disturbed at white intellectual and upper-class indifference to them. Deep cleavages appeared within the American Jewish community as feelings emerged, especially among urban-working and lower-middle-class Jews, that the established Jewish organizations with their prosperous, suburban supporters were unconcerned with their plight and heedless of rising antisemitism. The rapid growth of the militant Jewish Defense League in New York and other cities, with its tactics of physical defense, public demonstrations, and retaliation, was, in part, an expression of this fear.

The Middle East crisis of May 1967 brought American Jewish concern for Israel to a peak. Some volunteers were able to leave for Israel before June 5, 1967, but the escalating political anxiety and subsequent astonishing military triumph by Israel in the Six-Day War found its main outlet in unparalleled charitable contributions – $232 million to the United Jewish Appeal and $75 million in State of Israel bonds. Hardly had the euphoria of victory dissipated when the New Left in shaky combination with militant black elements vigorously espoused the Arab cause. Like Soviet Russia and Poland, they used the term "Zionist" as an epithet and synonym for "Jew" in attempting to obscure the antisemitic character of their propaganda. Together with numerous Arab students on American campuses, they propagandized vigorously for their cause. The American Zionist movement – largely quiescent for almost 20 years as the vast majority of American Jews expressed their pro-Israel convictions outside its framework – somewhat revived after 1967. This was particularly noticeable at many colleges and universities, especially those swept by campus disturbances and the militant tone of leftist and black demands. Jewish students spontaneously founded Zionist organizations, which they named (in contemporary parlance) as "radical" and "liberation" groups, e.g., the Jewish Activist League (Boston), the Jewish Liberation Project (New York City), the Jewish Radical Community (Los Angeles), Jews for Urban Justice (Washington, D.C.), the Radical Zionist Alliance (New York City), etc. At a more sedate level, American business investment in Israel as well as tourism, both overwhelmingly Jewish, greatly increased despite the danger to Israel's security. *Aliyah* (Jewish immigration to Israel), long debated in American Zionist and Jewish circles, enjoyed a relative surge as approximately 17,000 American Jews settled in Israel between July 1967 and the end of 1970.

Antisemitic discrimination and the near-suppression of Jewish life in the Soviet Union, together with the Soviet regime's refusal to permit Jewish emigration, furnished the main cause for agitation and protest by American Jews at the end of the 1960s. The American Conference on Soviet Jewry, the Academic Council on Soviet Jewry, and especially the Student Struggle for Soviet Jewry were the major organizers in this regard. The continued threat to the existence of Israel, urban problems weighing heavily on an overwhelmingly urban community, and the surge of antisemitism, anti-Zionism, and anti-Israel sentiment, together with the well-publicized glorification of violence by some militant black demagogues and white followers, angered American Jews and tended to stimulate a siege mentality. Assertions were common that Jewish communal life and institutions were "useless" and "irrelevant," and the supposed revolt of American youth stirred concern. Nevertheless, American Jews continued to support liberal political programs and candidates and played a prominent role in American cultural and economic life.

THE INSECURE 1970S. The 1970s brought many changes as well as insecurity and anxiety to the fore of American society. The Vietnam War's conclusion was as humiliating as its pursuit and the scars took time to heal. The Arab oil embargo of the period and subsequent price increases exposed the vulnerability of the world's most advanced technological society to Middle Eastern oil supplies. The Watergate scandal revealed a corruption of power that had eaten into the political structure and weakened public respect for government. Scarcely had this receded when the overthrow of the Shah of Iran again threatened oil supplies, and the humiliation of the prolonged detention of the occupants of the Teheran embassy underscored the extent to which the giant economies of the West did not control their own destinies. The manner in which their appetite for oil continued, despite the warning of the earlier crisis, made the West dependent on the whim of a handful of Arab countries, whose control over substantial portion of the world's oil reserves portended dramatic changes in the balance of Cold War geo-political power – in the Middle East and worldwide. All this was driven home by a background of seemingly unbeatable inflation, accompanied, as the decade drew to a close, by a depressed American economy – the effects of which provided the context for the work of Simon *Kuznets, a leading American economist of Ukrainian Jewish origins who won the Nobel Prize in 1971 for his empirical studies of economic growth and the socioeconomic structure of society.

The impact of the economic and political climate on American Jews was complicated by the shock of the Yom Kippur War, and the ensuing concern that – quite apart from its decisive 1967 victory – Israel's long-term survival was far from certain. American Jews responded to the crisis of the Yom Kippur War almost reflexively and immediately undertook a dizzying campaign to lobby American policy-makers, coordinate a massive fundraising campaign on Israel's behalf, and activate local American Jewish communities to support Israel's war effort. Within hours of the outbreak of hostilities, American Jewish leaders mobilized to secure political support for Nixon's request for a $2.2 billion Congressional appropriation that allowed Israel to purchase American military supplies. Meanwhile, the United Jewish Appeal pledged to raise $900 million, while the Israel Bond's organization and a plethora of Jewish and Zionist groups initiated emergency fund raising initiatives. The Conservative movement alone raised a total of $82 million. Finally, some 35,000 prospective American Jewish volunteers barraged the offices of the Jewish Agency including a disproportionate number of doctors whose prior experience in Vietnam made them ideal candidates for service. Of the tens of thousands who offered their services, only a couple thousand were actually sent to Israel in the first weeks following the outbreak of the war. Most of the volunteers paid for their own passage to Israel.

The flurry of negotiations that followed the Yom Kippur War provided exhilaration and depression, satisfaction and resentment in quick succession, as did the involved discussions that followed Anwar Sadat's historic visit to Jerusalem. For in spite of Israel's hard won victory and Egypt's momentous policy change, the majority of the Arab world remained implacably determined to crush Israel. Meanwhile, the 1975 United Nations resolution condemning Zionism as racism resounded like a thunderclap. The United States condemned the vote, but its impact on the American Jewish community and militant left-wing anti-Israel elements was significant.

Against this backdrop, two major ideological debates underscored a significant shift in the trajectory of American Jewish life. One centered on the role of pluralism in the American Jewish community. The other was, in effect, a political conflict waged in print, at the ballot box, and through various forms of activism, between Jewish liberals and conservatives who took sides over a variety of social, economic, and foreign policy issues. The net result proved to be a widespread trend toward communal decentralization, the increasing demand by constituents and donors for accountability on the part of local Jewish Federations and the agencies they supported, and the creation of new educational, cultural, political, and philanthropic institutions that arose alongside the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee, B'nai B'rith, the Council of Jewish Federations, Hadassah, and other venerable institutions of American Jewish life.

POLITICS. The visibility of Jews in the American political process grew in the 1970s not merely by virtue of being openly courted in presidential elections but through their appointment to high office. Under the Nixon administration Herbert *Stein became chairman of the president's Council of Economic Advisors, Arthur *Burns chairman of the Federal Reserve Board, and Walter *Annenberg ambassador to Great Britain. Edward H. *Levi, president of the University of Chicago and descendant of a well-known rabbinical family, was appointed attorney general in 1975. The most noteworthy Jewish figure in the Nixon administration was Henry Kissinger. A refugee from Nazi Germany, he became the president's national security advisor in 1969 and was appointed secretary of state in 1975. Kissinger's authority was apparent not only in the critical diplomatic and foreign affairs role he played vis-à-vis the Soviet Union, Vietnam, the Middle East, and China but also by virtue of the fact that he was for many months the administration's most effective senior official as Nixon himself became deeply entangled in the Watergate Affair. Kissinger's authority was sustained and reaffirmed when Gerald Ford, on succeeding Nixon, retained him in office.

Although the Republican Party labored under the handicap of the Watergate scandal in the presidential election of 1976, it was clearly no longer the case that a liberal viewpoint crystallizing into support for the Democrats could be predicted of Jews. For example, despite a heavy concentration of Jewish voters in New York's Democratic primary, Jimmy Carter captured only 4 percent of the Jewish vote and succeeded in winning only 33 delegates as compared to 90 for Senator Henry M. Jackson, a conservative Democrat who was an ardent supporter of aid to Israel and the right of Soviet Jews to emigrate. Indeed, one report published after the presidential election estimated 54 percent of the Jewish vote going to Carter, as against 45 percent to Ford; another gave the proportion as two to one. Even this figure falls far short of the 83 percent preference for the Democrats reported in 1968.

In the Carter administration Stuart *Eisenstadt and Mark *Siegal were appointed to responsible positions on the White House staff, and Marvin Warner became ambassador to Switzerland. Two converts from Judaism became members of the cabinet – W. Michael *Blumenthal, as secretary of the treasury, and James Schlesinger, as secretary of the Department of Energy. Both retired in 1979 when Carter reorganized his administration. Subsequently, Neil *Goldschmidt, mayor of Portland, Oregon, and a practicing Jew, was appointed secretary of transportation, and Philip M. Klutznick, long an active figure in Jewish affairs, was appointed secretary of commerce.

Despite the historic Israel-Egypt peace treaty of 1978 brokered by President Jimmy Carter, the administration's open criticism of Israeli policy, which reached a climax in 1980 with support for a United Nations resolution calling on Israel to dismantle Jewish settlements in the West Bank and Gaza Strip, alienated many American Jewish voters. In the end, the presumed Jewish disposition to support Carter's bid for reelection in 1980 did not materialize. It was estimated that Carter won approximately 40 percent of the Jewish vote and Ronald Reagan about 35 percent, with the balance going to independent candidate John Anderson. Because of the concentration of Jewish voters in large urban areas, the effect of the Jewish vote in the election remained disproportionate to its size in the body politic. This explained the attention drawn by even minor political shifts within the American Jewish community. A Gallup poll taken after Reagan's landslide reelection to a second presidential term revealed that while the number of Jewish Republicans had doubled to 16 percent, the number of Jewish Democrats was 50 percent.

Some observers viewed the American Jewish community's steadfast support for Israel as evidence of its parochial and increasingly conservative interests. This support was repeatedly demonstrated in public opinion polls. Meanwhile, an active, articulate, well funded, and growing conservative minority proved to be a force to be reckoned with in American Jewish life. The most popular forum for Jewish neo-conservative ideas was *Commentary* edited by Norman *Podhoretz and originally founded in the 1930s by Elliot *Cohen. It swiftly proved to be the most significant Jewish-sponsored intellectual journal of the period and featured many of the country's leading Jewish and non-Jewish neo-conservatives in its pages – a group dubbed the "New York intellectuals" that over the course of a few decades included political journalists Midge *Decter, *Irving Kristol, and Gertrude *Himmelfarb, literary critics Diana *Trilling, Lionel *Trilling, Leslie *Fiedler, Philip *Rahv, and William *Phillips, social scientists Daniel *Bell, Sidney *Hook, Seymour Martin *Lipset, and Nathan *Glazer, art critics and historians Hannah *Arendt, Clement *Greenberg, Harold *Rosenberg, and Meyer *Schapiro, and the novelist Saul *Bellow. This group also had a major impact on the quality and vitality of other influential political and literary journals including *Dissent*, *Partisan Review*, and *The New York Review of Books*. But it was *Commentary* in particular that emerged as an intellectual laboratory for neo-conservatism. It served as a training ground for many of the American right's most important thinkers and policymakers in the 1970s and eventually blossomed with the "Reagan revolution" in the 1980s. In the final analysis, however, as the voting behavior of American Jews demonstrated, neo-conservativism within the Jewish community, no matter how articulately formed, remained a minority view. The liberalism associated with the Roosevelt-Kennedy-Humphrey branch of the Democratic party was simply too much a part of the American Jewish ethos.

DISCRIMINATION IN REVERSE. The decline of antisemitism since World War II and the lowering of the residential, occupational, educational, and social barriers that previously cast a shadow over Jewish life in the United States helped to sustain American Jewry's liberal orientation in the second half of the 20th century. Used to regarding themselves as "outsiders," Jews were surprised and dismayed to find that other minority groups regarded them as "insiders" whose entrenched position was standing in the way of their own legitimate aspirations. This turn in inter-group relations took place against a background of urban decay in areas in which important Jewish communities had lived for decades. In addition to crime and violence in the streets, Jews found themselves plagued by the wider problems of school integration, quotas, low-income housing, ethnic rights, and inter-group relations, as well as by antisemitism.

This situation faced the Jews with contradictions that made them highly uncomfortable. Their traditional liberalism had made them accustomed to the posture of strong supporters of the underdog; they were now suddenly forced to defend their own status, their neighborhoods, their safety and the adequate education of their children. Having fought for a society from which discrimination would be eliminated, they now found that society proposed to discriminate in favor of other less privileged groups. Now the priority given to the African American and Latino populations (along with other minority groups), forced them to reconsider their status as a minority, albeit, a neglected one. There were strong feelings of anger, of being at a disadvantage, of frustration, of a new insecurity.

These feelings were much more intense among the lower middle and working class than among the more affluent Jews, among those whose homes or whose occupations remained in the decaying cities than among those who lived in the suburbs under entirely different conditions. Whatever kind of pressure had been built up was felt much more directly by the poor shopkeeper, the schoolteacher, the Orthodox Jew whose life centered on his synagogue. They suffered from the changed composition of their neighborhoods. In many instances, they had to face the violence brought into formerly quiet, homogeneous areas by ethnic groups who had moved into what used to be Jewish territory. While the sheltered suburbanites, not exposed to these pressures to the same degree as the poorer Jews, tended to maintain their traditional liberalism, those in violence-prone neighborhoods began to feel less sympathy for those minorities who, while struggling to better themselves, were bringing a good deal of hardship into the lives of lower-middle-class Jews. The continuing migration from the city to the suburb by the more affluent contributed to the creation of a vicious circle: Jewish neighborhoods became poorer, and more space became available to minorities and low-income whites, exacerbating the already existing problems.

In addition to crime, the priority treatment of minorities and the quota system, both in education and employment, was a cause of concern. The necessity to provide blacks and members of other minorities with jobs, and giving them preference apart from their qualifications affected the rights of Jews as part of the white population. Still more important were the consequences of this preferential treatment in the field of education, especially higher education. Even where no discrimination against Jews was intended, any quota system prescribing an increased number of minority students without increasing the overall number of students meant that qualified white students, particularly high achieving Jewish students, were not admitted. In the event, many of those admitted under quotas did not meet the regular qualifications and the standards of higher education had to be lowered.

In 1978 the United States Supreme Court considered the issue of "discrimination in reverse" in the case of Allan P. Bakke, a white engineer who claimed the minority admissions of the University of California Medical School denied him his equal rights. The court ruled that the school's special admission program was illegal, though the university could consider race as one factor in choosing among applicants for admission. Jewish groups favored the ruling, while black and Hispanic groups were against it.

ZIONISM AND ISRAEL. Throughout the 1970s and 1980s Israel-related matters held a critical place in American Jewish life. In 1977 the national conference of the United Jewish Appeal was held in Israel for the first time, with the participation of some 3,000 American Jewish leaders. Tourism to Israel continued at a high level and contact with a new generation of young people was fostered through participation in kibbutz volunteer programs and study at Israeli universities. Notwithstanding Arthur Hertzberg's statement that Zionism and Israel had become the "religion" of American Jewry, immigration to Israel actually declined during this decade. When Pinḥas *Sapir, chairman of the Jewish Agency, toured the United States in 1974 in order to draw attention to the need for American immigrants, he received a lukewarm reception. The figure for 1970 was 7,658 American Jewish immigrants; by 1975 it had fallen to 2,964.

Occasionally voices were heard suggesting a desire to tone down the popular emphasis on the primacy of Israel. In 1973, for example, Jewish Theological Seminary chancellor Gerson D. *Cohen called for an equal partnership between the Jews of Israel and the diaspora. "The legitimate place of the Jewish people, of Jewish culture and Jewish religion," he asserted, "is not limited to a single geographic location." Meanwhile, however, so active politically and economically had American Jewry become in its support of Israel that it registered from afar every disturbance and challenge to Israel's situation. Scarcely a day passed but that the *New York Times* and other major American newspapers, by way of articles, news items, editorials or correspondence, did not contain information and discussions concerning Israel. At every level the engagement of the American Jewish community was demonstrated – from meetings of organizational delegations with the president, the secretary of state, senators and members of Congress to contacts with local politicians and news outlets. Financial aid to Israel, the supply of arms, economic aid given to neighboring Arab countries, recognition of the Palestine Liberation Organization, diplomatic support for Israel's position on the occupied territories and Jerusalem, possible overtures to the Arab states, the involvement of American business in the Arab boycott of Israel – all drew vigorous responses from the American Jewish community.

Some viewed the flurry of American Jewish Israel-oriented activity as political maneuvering devoid of substantial impact, others as involving unusual danger and genuine opportunity to advance Israel's interests. The Yom Kippur War of 1973, which demonstrated the singularity of United States as Israel's chief ally, was recognized in the community as belonging to the latter category. Unremitting preoccupation with Israeli concerns brought into prominence the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations. Thus, in 1974 Secretary of State Henry Kissinger met the leaders Conference no less than six times within a period of seven months. Another instance in this regard was the United Nations resolution of 1975, condemning Zionism as a form of racism, which raised the ire of Jewish groups across the country and provoked a storm of organized lobbying activity. The American Jewish community responded similarly a year earlier when PLO chairman Yasser *Arafat was invited to address the United Nations General Assembly.

The general standpoint of the organized American Jewish community in this period was one of unqualified support for Israel's foreign policy. This was exemplified in an emphatic way by Hadassah president Charlotte Jacobson who in 1977 condemned Jewish personalities who criticized Israeli policies publicly because such criticism was used by anti-Israel factions to weaken support for Israel. Indeed, notwithstanding the criticism of groups like the American Council for Judaism on the one side and the Satmar Ḥasidim on the other, which stood far beyond the American Jewish mainstream, unqualified acceptance of the Israeli point of view was difficult to controvert in the atmosphere of deliverance that followed Israel's hard won victories in the Six-Day War of 1967 and Yom Kippur War of 1973. The policy of standing firm, based on the bargaining power of Israel's territorial gains, received general acceptance among American Jews. But even under the shock of the Yom Kippur War, questions began to be raised as to the validity of Israel's policies – particularly with respect to the treatment of the Palestinian Arabs and the continued occupation of the West Bank, Gaza Strip, Golan Heights, and Sinai peninsula – that American Jews were being called upon automatically to support. The procedures of the organized American Jewish scene, which aimed at maximum publicity for lobbying purposes, but provided minimum access for arriving at community decisions – and the absence of an open Jewish press – meant there was no channel for the ventilation of these misgivings.

Against the backdrop of growing leftist Jewish political activity on college campuses across the country, including open questioning by student leaders of the American Jewish establishment and Israeli policy makers, this conflict surfaced in 1977 when the venerable Anti-Defamation League attacked a small organization known as Breira (Alternative). Established in 1973, the left-leaning Breira obtained considerable press coverage for its views and it was rumored that Nahum *Goldmann was helping to finance it. It advocated the creation of an independent Palestinian State in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip and negotiations with any Palestinian who would renounce terrorism and recognize Israel's right to exist. The attacks on Breira not only criticized this policy, but impugned the motives of its advocates. The Anti-Defamation League sought to prevent B'nai B'rith staff members from associating with Breira, especially rabbis associated with the *Hillel Foundation who were among its supporters on American college campuses. Shortly thereafter, Breira disappeared from the scene almost as quickly as it had attracted attention, due, it was said, to difficulty in raising funds. However, the countercurrent of disquietude it represented did not disappear.

In 1977 the electoral victory in Israel of the *Likud party, led by Menahem Begin, was received by leaders of the American Jewish community with surprise tinged with consternation. The rule of the Labor-led coalition, dominated by the elite founders of the Jewish state, had come to be regarded as one of the fixities of the Israeli scene, and their Likud opponents had been dismissed as extremists in whose hands such possibilities of peace as existed between Israel and her neighbors would be cast away. In short order, most American Jewish organizations publicly adjusted themselves to Israel's new right-wing political order. Begin's personality contributed to the smoothness of the transition. He related well to the rank-and-file members of the American Jewish community; his stubbornness and pertinacity quickly established his image as a fighter for whom no power was too formidable where the curtailment of Jewish rights was involved; and within six months of his accession to power Anwar *Sadat's visit to Jerusalem demonstrated his capacity for political leadership and compromise.

The news of Sadat's intention to visit Jerusalem was received by American Jews with elation, and they watched closely the diplomatic moves which led to the historic signing in 1979 of the Israel-Egypt peace treaty on the White House lawn and the three-way handshake of President Jimmy Carter, Sadat, and Begin. Meanwhile, one policy move foreshadowed by the Begin government created grave discomfort within the American Jewish community. To win the support of Israel's Agudat Israel party for support of the peace treaty, Begin promised an important extension to the privileges enjoyed by Orthodox Jews under Israeli law – namely, that for the purposes of the Law of Return only conversions to Judaism conforming to the requirements of Orthodoxy would be recognized. This proposal aroused concern on the part of the Reform and Conservative organizations in the United States, who promptly met with Begin and dispatched rabbinic delegations to Israel to interview the chief rabbis. No accommodation to the non-Orthodox viewpoint was announced, and more urgent matters supervened to delay the taking of decisive steps.

Many elements within the American Jewish community felt misgivings over the Begin government's announced policy to expand Jewish settlements in the occupied territories. Since 1967 successive Labor-led governments had implemented the unofficial "Allon Plan," which called for limited Jewish settlement in the Jordan Rift Valley, Golan Heights, and along the borders of the Gaza Strip. The settlements – deemed strategic expedients in the absence of a comprehensive peace agreement with Israel's Arab neighbors – were intended to secure Israel's border and ensure its safety. The Begin government's explicit policy of creating a durable Jewish presence throughout "Greater Israel" resulted in the establishment of scores of new Jewish outposts and communities in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. Even as prominent leaders sought privately to persuade Begin to adopt a more moderate policy, others publicly voiced their support of Israel's growing "*Peace Now" movement, which called for an end to Israeli occupation of the territories and recognition of Palestinian Arab rights.

In the interim, a highly publicized struggle occurred in 1979 when the organized American Jewish community vigorously opposed the Carter administration's plan to sell $4.8 billion worth of jet warplanes to Egypt, Saudi Arabia, and Israel. In the event, much to the dismay of American Jewish leaders and the community's pro-Israel lobbyists, the United States Senate approved the sale. The importance attached to the Jewish vote is illustrated by the application of emolients in the aftermath of the struggle. Carter and several members of his administration telephoned and met American Jewish leaders to inform them of Washington's continued support for Israel. At the same time expressions of satisfaction were heard in Washington that the pro-Israel lobby had sustained a defeat.

HOLOCAUST-RELATED MATTERS. As early as 1949, the Jewish community had been aware of the presence of Nazi war criminals in the United States. However, interest in the subject remained generally low until the mid-1970s and the beginning of the 1980s. As a result of document research and field investigations performed by the *Office of Special Investigations, established in 1979 as a special unit within the Criminal Division of the United States Justice Department, it was revealed that in the years following World War II over 1,000 Nazi war criminals or collaborators had found refuge in the United States. Many were actually brought to the United States through the efforts of the State Department, the intelligence branches of the Army, Navy, and Air Force, the FBI, and the CIA, having been recruited to serve as agents and consultants in anti-Communist operations during the late 1940s and the 1950s.

By the beginning of 1980, the Office of Special Investigations had collected documentation on 413 war criminals residing in the United States. Among the high profile cases prosecuted during this period were Valerian Trifa, a Romanian, who was expelled by the United States in 1983 and made his way to Portugal where he died; Feodor Fedorenko, a Pole, who was deported to the Soviet Union in 1984 and executed in 1987; Andrija Artukovic, a Croatian, who was extradited to Yugoslavia in 1986 and sentenced to death; Karl Linnas, an

Estonian, deported to the Soviet Union in April 1987 where he died three months later in a hospital; and Ukrainian-born John *Demjanjuk, alleged to have been "Ivan the Terrible" of Treblinka, who in 1986 was stripped of his naturalized American citizenship and extradited to Israel to stand trial.

A major controversy erupted over President Ronald Reagan's 1985 visit to the military cemetery in *Bitburg, West Germany. The visit was planned to commemorate the 40th anniversary of Nazi Germany's surrender and to symbolize the spirit of reconciliation between the United States and Germany. The controversy, which provoked an international response, lay in the fact that among the 2,000 dead soldiers interred were 47 members of the Nazi Waffen SS. Furthermore, at the time the president's itinerary was first announced, it included no visit to Bergen-Belsen, a nearby concentration camp. In spite of growing criticism and pressure, Reagan proceeded with his planned visit to the cemetery where he laid a wreath. He, however, also visited the site of Bergen-Belsen where in his speech he addressed the feelings of Holocaust survivors.

Holocaust Revisionism succeeded in drawing increased attention during the 1980s. The most active revisionist organization in the United States during this period was the California-based Institute for Historical Review (IHR), founded in 1978 by Willis Carto, a known antisemite. Other known Holocaust revisionists operating in the United States included Arthur Butz of Northwestern University, author of *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century: The Case Against the Presumed Extermination of European Jewry* (1976); David McCalden, a cofounder of the IHR; Bradley Smith, publisher of *Prima Facie*, a racist and antisemitic monthly newsletter; and Charles E. Weber of the University of Tulsa and author of *The Holocaust: 120 Questions and Answers* (1983).

One significant response to the pressing need for Holocaust education in the United States was the creation in 1988 of the bi-annual March of the Living program. The program was organized to bring together thousands of American and Israeli high school students in a week of workshops and lectures about the Holocaust, culminating in a procession beginning at the Auschwitz concentration camp in Poland and ending nearly two miles away at the Birkenau crematoria. From Poland, participants flew to Israel in time to celebrate Israel Independence Day. The march recreated the first steps of the infamous Forced March of January 1945 toward Germany of 60,000 Jews who were still alive near the end of the war, of whom only some 6,000 survived. The results of social scientific surveys of Jewish teenagers who participated in the March of the Living indicated that by the 1990s the program was having a strong positive effect on all markers related to Jewish identity and identification with Judaism and Israel.

SOVIET AND ETHIOPIAN JEWRY. An historic demonstration on behalf of Soviet Jewry was held in Washington, D.C., during the first week of December 1987. This mass rally, co-sponsored by some 50 national Jewish organizations and 300 local Jewish federations from throughout North America, brought over 200,000 demonstrators together on the eve of the Reagan-Gorbachev summit. It also marked a rare display in organizational unity. The Soviet Jewry movement in the United States had been split for years between the more moderate National Conference on Soviet Jewry, on the one hand, and the more confrontational Union of Councils for Soviet Jews and the Student Struggle for Soviet Jewry on the other.

With the advent of *glasnost* in the late 1980s, Soviet Jewish emigration figures soon began to climb. The American Jewish community now found itself confronted by two major issues, one ideological, but with very pragmatic implications, the other material. As the emigration of Soviet Jews continued, the American Jewish community found itself in a confrontation with the State of Israel over the émigrés' destination. The United States was willing to accept a fixed number of Soviet Jewish immigrants as refugees and was by far the émigrés' most popular destination. But Israel argued that its willingness to accept unconditionally all emigrating Soviet Jews belied their refugee status. Israel wanted cooperating authorities to direct virtually all emigrating Soviet Jews to its shores. During the first year of the Soviet Union's more liberal emigration policy, the monthly dropout rate, a figure that referred to those Soviet Jewish emigrants who changed their destination from Israel to another country (usually the United States) while in transit, often reached over 90 percent.

Most American Jews supported the policy of "freedom of choice." The Union of Councils for Soviet Jews and the Student Struggle for Soviet Jewry criticized Israeli pressure on American Jewish organizations and the United States. The National Conference on Soviet Jewry and other major Jewish organizations, while upholding the principle of "freedom of choice," accepted a dual track compromise whereby the large backlog of Jews already holding Israeli visas would emigrate to Israel through Romania, while those as yet without visas and seeking to emigrate to the United States would have to apply for an American visa in Moscow.

The number of Soviet Jews who applied for and received exit visas grew significantly. In September 1988, as a result of the new dimensions of Soviet Jewish emigration, the United States became more selective in awarding refugee status to applicants. This status was now meted out on a more selective basis, so that by August 1989, nearly one quarter of all applicants for U.S. immigrant visas were being refused. In July 1989 the United States announced that its immigration budget for Eastern European refugees was exhausted and temporarily stopped processing visa applications for the thousands of Soviet Jews who were by now languishing in transit centers in Ladispoli, near Rome, and in Vienna.

In the fall, following negotiations with American Jewish groups, the administration of President George H.W. Bush announced that it was fixing a new annual immigration quota for Soviet Jews at 43,000 with priority extended to those with immediate, or first degree, family members already residing in the United States. It was also allocating $75 million to resettlement programs. As a result of this new policy, which also involved closing down the transit centers and requiring applicants to apply for immigrant visas in Moscow, the majority of Soviet émigrés gave up trying to seek entry to the United States. Even with the new, more stringent quota on Soviet Jewish immigration, the American Jewish community was faced with the huge task of resettling tens of thousands of new arrivals. In the last quarter of 1989, some 18,000 Soviet Jews arrived in the United States. The funds set aside by the American government for total Soviet resettlement were insufficient. In order to insure that the Soviet Jews coming to the United States were provided with all the means and opportunities for successful resettlement, defined to mean their material resettlement as well as their religious, cultural, and educational integration into the Jewish community, the Council of Jewish Federations (CJF) and the United Jewish Appeal (UJA) launched a $75 million voluntary campaign called "Passage to Freedom," but its national goal was never reached. By the end of the year, only about two-fifths of the money had been collected.

The combination of stricter American immigration laws and the difficulties involved in resettling Soviet Jews locally gradually influenced American Jewish leadership to heed the government of Israel's calls for receiving the bulk of émigrés. In 1990 the UJA and CJF announced "Operation Exodus," a $420 million campaign, whose goal was to bring directly to Israel and resettle the overwhelming majority of Soviet Jews seeking to emigrate. Operation Exodus was a financial success and 95 percent of the goal was reached within ten months, the majority pledged by the biggest givers in the largest Jewish communities. "Exodus II," the worldwide campaign in 1991 to raise an additional $1.3 billion, was launched when the number of Soviet Jews coming to Israel turned out to be more than double the original estimate. From the results of the Exodus II campaign, it became clear that the desire of American Jewry lay in assisting the emigrating Soviet Jews to resettle in Israel.

By the end of 1990 it was reported that over 181,000 Jews had left the Soviet Union. In response to this new situation, President George H.W. Bush, in December 1990, waived key agricultural restrictions of the Jackson-Vanik Amendment, which since 1974 stood as a symbol of American Jewish opposition to the Soviet Union's disregard for human rights.

American Jews played an active role in bringing Ethiopian Jewry to Israel. The major airlifts in 1984–85 and 1991 were largely made possible by behind-the-scenes diplomacy by the United States government and through funds raised by the American Jewish community. The American Association for Ethiopian Jews was established in 1969 and the North American Conference on Ethiopian Jewry in 1982. The objectives of these activist groups included raising the awareness of Jews and the world to the condition of the Jews of Ethiopia and visiting Jewish communities in Ethiopia to demonstrate solidarity and to provide material assistance. The subsequent cost of resettling the Ethiopian Jews in Israel was absorbed into the United Jewish Appeal's Operation Exodus campaign.

These humanitarian activities on behalf of Soviet and Ethiopian Jews were representative of the efforts by American Jews on behalf of distressed Jewish communities worldwide. The International Coalition for the Revival of the Jews of Yemen, based in New York, was established in 1989 to offer assistance to Yemen's remaining Jews. The Syrian Jewish community of Brooklyn continued its own efforts to secure the emigration of kinsmen remaining in the Jewish centers of Damascus, Aleppo, and Qamishli. Other organizations, such as the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee, continued their contacts with these communities or remained otherwise involved on their behalf throughout the 1990s.

The Contemporary Period, 1980s to 2000s

THE FUTURE OF AMERICAN JEWRY. American Jewish life in the decades spanning the 20th and 21st centuries has been marked by a high degree of self-awareness, economic success, political engagement, institutional innovation, and globalization. Responding to a variety of social, cultural, and political changes and challenges, both internally and externally, the organized American Jewish community continues to display a remarkable capacity for adaptability and elasticity within an ever-changing and dynamic American setting. Even so, American Jewry's belief in pluralism and the promise of a free and open Western society has over time become intertwined with deep concern about the community's ultimate survival, its cultural vitality, and its ability to sustain itself into the future. All of the statistical data gathered since the start of the 1980s points to the Jewish community's heightened Americanization *and* a general weakening and diminution of its tribal identity. The astonishing success of Jewish life in the American setting, an experience without precedent in modern history, is in many ways a mixed blessing. Absent the binding forces of history that have sustained Jewish life in a variety of settings – namely, religious faith, antisemitism, ethnic cohesion derived from a shared immigrant past, or the social and political activism characteristic of American Jews in the 20th century – what will be the glue that holds American Jewish life together in the 21st century? Arthur *Hertzberg, a rabbi, scholar, and veteran observer of American Jewish scene, has argued "the essential crisis of the American Jewish community" stems from the fact that "it has essentially defined its Jewish experience without classic texts." Given the community's general affluence, he proposes:

> The American Jewish community is capable of deciding to create a network of elite boarding schools and day schools which would educate many more, perhaps even most, of the American Jewish young. It is at least conceivable that American Jews might decide that activism and togetherness are running down as forces of cohesion and as sources of meaning. It is conceivable that American Jews might decide that they cannot be the only Jewish community in all of history in which Jewish learning is not a prerequisite for Jewish belonging and Jewish leadership.

Many analysts, scholars, and communal leaders share Hertzberg's perspective and concur with his diagnosis of the crisis facing contemporary American Jewish society. To this end, the organized Jewish community has in recent decades generated billions of dollars to support Jewish community centers, educational and communal training programs, highly subsidized Israel trips for high school and college students, and various academic and experiential models aimed at infusing future generations of American Jews with meaningful and substantive content. A handful of Jewish philanthropists led by Edgar M. *Bronfman, Sr., Charles and Andrea Bronfman, Harold Grinspoon, Ronald *Lauder, Felix Posen, Lynn and Charles *Schusterman, and Michael and Judy *Steinhardt have been especially influential in this dynamic and evolving project.

An alternate assessment, one decidedly more optimistic about the trajectory of the American Jewish experience in toto, has been offered by Jacob Rader *Marcus, the dean of American Jewish historians. "Most frequently the future is but an extension of the past," Marcus wrote in 1996. "Throughout the 19th century amateur prophets suggested that the Jew [in the United States] had no future. They were wrong…" Taking a long view of history, Marcus further argued:

> Jewry in the twenty-first century will not experience substantial growth. Intermarriages eventuate in loss for the Jewish body politic, but then numbers are not really important: in the first quarter of the 20th century German Jewry counted but some 600,000 souls, yet it exercised spiritual hegemony over world Jewry, some 15,000,000 strong. From all indications – statistical surveys made in the 1990s – American Jewry is surviving and prospering in an open society. Jews are Jewish because they prefer to remain Jewish; they are blending Americanism and Jewishness. Because of the fusion of these two cultures they are content, if not happy; they strive to become enlightened human beings. For them, patently, the United States is still "the land of unlimited opportunity."

As the positions staked out by Hertzberg and Marcus illustrate, observers of American Jewish life in the contemporary period have engaged in an escalating debate over whether the proverbial glass is half full or half empty. This highly complex and sensitive issue, which in the 1990s quickly assumed the catchphrase "Jewish continuity," continues to dominate the board rooms, meetings, and conferences of a wide variety of American Jewish organizations, groups, and academics. Critics point to an unprecedented rise in the rate of intermarriage, an ominously low Jewish birth rate, the migration of younger professionals away from Jewish population centers, increasing Jewish cultural illiteracy, and the rise of anti-Zionism and militant Palestinian nationalism. Viewed from this perspective, it indeed appears that American Jewish communal life is fractured and its future is in jeopardy. On the other hand, optimists see a Jewish community that is the most materially secure in history, fully integrated into the surrounding society, and well represented in all branches of American science, art, academia, government, and commerce.

DEMOGRAPHY AND POPULATION. The study of the contemporary American Jewish scene has benefited enormously in the last quarter of the 20th century from a veritable cottage industry of demographic analysis based at leading universities in the United States and Israel. In general, this effort is sponsored by the major Jewish communal agencies and philanthropies. Though not without controversy, the studies have nonetheless become central to the work of a wide variety of professionals, communal leaders, policy analysts, and scholars. Demographic, social, and attitudinal data gathered throughout 1980s and 1990s in several national surveys have had a profound impact on organized American Jewry's countrywide agenda and the implications of such studies for future of the community as a whole are considerable.

The generally accepted figure for the number of Jews in the United States in the present era varies between an estimated 5.5 million "core" Jewish population and approximately 6 million, making it the largest Jewish community in the world. (The global Jewish population is estimated to be approximately 13 million.) A 1993 report issued by Israel's Ministry of Education determined that while the largest concentration of Jews continues to reside in the Northeast (43.5 percent), the trend in population movement during the 1980s and 1990s continued to be away from the Northeast and Midwest (11.3 percent) to the South (21.8 percent) and West (23.4 percent). By comparison, in 1970 the *National Jewish Population Survey* had found 64 percent of the Jewish population living in the Northeast, 17 percent in the Midwest, and only 19 percent, combined, in the South and West. Other demographic studies produced in this period also noted the greater distribution of American Jews among smaller urban areas than in the past. The migration was characterized by Jews who had moved from the largest Northeastern and Midwestern cities, such as New York, Philadelphia and Boston, to smaller urban areas in the South and West such as Atlanta and Phoenix. As a result, the Jewish population in the New York metropolitan area had decreased since mid-century from about 2.6 million to 2.2 million. Likewise, Chicago's Jewish population decreased from 378,000 to about 250,000. By the mid-1980s the Jewish communities of Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, Cleveland, Detroit, and St. Louis had all declined. By the 1980s there were six Jewish communities west of the Rocky Mountains whose populations had grown to over 100,000. Consequently, Los Angeles, with an estimated 604,000 Jews became the second largest Jewish community in the United States, followed by Miami/Ft. Lauderdale metropolitan region, with an estimated 367,000 Jews. The historian Deborah Dash Moore has examined this phenomenon and concludes:

> In many ways, the Jewish worlds of Los Angeles and Miami and other Sunbelt cities can be seen as the offspring of the large urban Jewish settlements of New York, Chicago, Philadelphia, and Boston, and of the more modest communities of such cities as Omaha, Milwaukee, Cleveland, and Detroit. As Jewish New York, Chicago, and Philadelphia represent continuity with a European past because they were created by immigrants from cities and towns of Eastern Europe, so Jewish Miami and Los Angeles are the creations of the Midwestern and northeastern

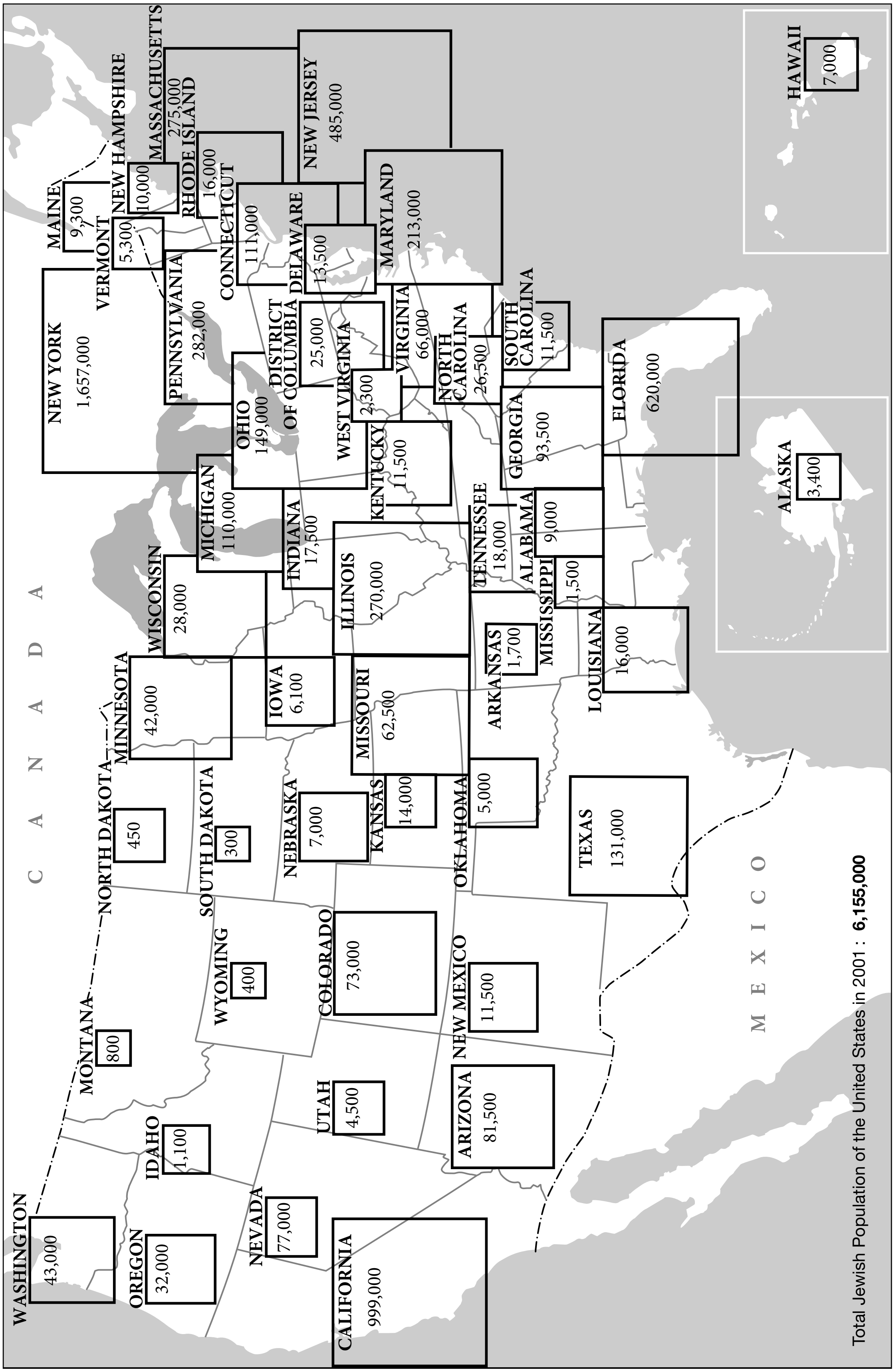
C A N A D A
M E X I C O
WASHINGTON
43,000
OREGON
32,000
CALIFORNIA
999,000
NEVADA
77,000
IDAHO
1,100
MONTANA
800
WYOMING
400
UTAH
4,500
ARIZONA
81,500
COLORADO
73,000
NEW MEXICO
11,500
NORTH DAKOTA
450
SOUTH DAKOTA
300
NEBRASKA
7,000
KANSAS
14,000
OKLAHOMA
5,000
TEXAS
131,000
MINNESOTA
42,000
IOWA
6,100
MISSOURI
62,500
ARKANSAS
1,700
LOUISIANA
16,000
WISCONSIN
28,000
ILLINOIS
270,000
MISSISSIPPI
1,500
MICHIGAN
110,000
INDIANA
17,500
KENTUCKY
11,500
TENNESSEE
18,000
ALABAMA
9,000
OHIO
149,000
WEST VIRGINIA
2,300
GEORGIA
93,500
FLORIDA
620,000
SOUTH CAROLINA
11,500
NORTH CAROLINA
26,500
VIRGINIA
66,000
DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA
25,000
MARYLAND
213,000
DELAWARE
13,500
PENNSYLVANIA
282,000
NEW YORK
1,657,000
NEW JERSEY
485,000
CONNECTICUT
111,000
RHODE ISLAND
16,000
MASSACHUSETTS
275,000
NEW HAMPSHIRE
10,000
VERMONT
5,300
MAINE
9,300
ALASKA
3,400
HAWAII
7,000
Total Jewish Population of the United States in 2001 : **6,155,000**

Map 4. Jewish population of the U.S., 2001. Based on American Jewish Year Book.

> cities, representing continuity with an American past. American Jews produced in the postwar era a second generation of cities, offspring of the first generation.

The findings of the *National Jewish Population Survey* in 1990 bear out Moore's assessment. The survey demonstrates that between 1985 and 1990, some 700,000 respondents, or 23.5 percent of the American Jewish population had migrated to at least one new out of state residence. Many of the migrants sought a residential area that included or was in proximity to a synagogue, Jewish school, or a Jewish community center. However, nothing comparable to the highly concentrated Jewish neighborhoods or post-World War II suburbs were being recreated.

With respect to income, the aforementioned 1993 Israeli Ministry of Education study indicated that some 35 percent of American Jews were reported to have earned more than $40,000 a year, compared to only 17 percent of the general American population. About 40 percent of the United States' 400 richest families were reported to be Jewish. The study also revealed that more than half of the American Jewish population under the age of 65 had graduated college, while some 85 percent of young Jews were active in higher education programs, either as students, teacher or researchers. At the other end of the economic spectrum were American Jews living below the poverty line. In the 1980s it was estimated that approximately 250,000 Jews in New York City were living on annual incomes of less than $3,500. In Chicago, where the estimated number of poor Jews was thought to be around 35,000, the Jewish Federation during the mid-1980s created Project Ezra, an umbrella project that coordinated the skills and resources of its various agencies. The majority of the Jewish poor were elderly.

"The High Cost of Jewish Living," a report commissioned by the American Jewish Committee, examined the costs of an active Jewish lifestyle in the 1990s. It estimated that a family of four would have to spend between $18,000 and $25,000 in order to pay for enrollment in a Jewish day school, retain synagogue and Jewish community center membership, cover the cost of a Jewish summer camp or travel to Israel, and make respectable charitable donations to various Jewish philanthropic causes. Other expenses, such as kosher food, regular Sabbath and holiday observance, dues to one or more additional organizations, the purchase of Jewish books and a subscription to one or more Jewish magazines, necessitate "an annual income of $80,000 to $125,000, depending on the region of the country."

A 2001 *Census of United States Synagogues* sponsored by the United Jewish Communities (the umbrella organization formed in 1999 by the Council of Jewish Federations, the United Jewish Appeal, and the United Israel Appeal) revealed that at the close of the century American Jews remained a primarily urban population. "A remarkably high 50 percent of American Jews live in the top three metropolitan areas," it concluded, "and 94 percent in the top 50. Their synagogues are almost as concentrated, with 43 percent in the top three metro areas and 82 percent in the top 50." The study also suggested "Orthodox synagogues are highly overrepresented relative to the Orthodox population."

The 2001 study pointed to 11 regions which sustained communities with Jewish populations of over a hundred thousand: New York-Northern New Jersey-Long Island (2,051,000); Los Angeles-Riverside-Orange County (668,000); Miami-Ft. Lauderdale (331,00); Philadelphia-Wilmington-Atlantic City (285,000); Chicago-Gary-Kenosha (265,000); Boston-Worcester-Lawrence (254,000); San Francisco-Oakland-San Jose (218,000); West Palm Beach-Boca Raton (167,000); Baltimore (106,000); and Detroit-Ann Arbor (103,000). The study also identified eight regions with Jewish communities of over 50,000 inhabitants: Cleveland-Akron (86,000); Atlanta (86,000); Las Vegas (75,000); San Diego (70,000); Denver-Boulder-Greeley (67,000); Phoenix-Mesa (60,000); St. Louis (54,500); and Dallas-Ft. Worth (50,000). There are currently (2001) five regions with Jewish communities of over 40,000 inhabitants (Houston-Galveston-Brazoria; Tampa-St. Petersburg-Clearwater, Minneapolis-St. Paul, Pittsburgh, and Seattle-Tacoma-Bremerton); nine with Jewish communities of over 20,000 inhabitants (Hartford, Portland-Salem, Cincinnati, Rochester, Columbus, Sacramento-Yolo, Milwaukee-Racine, Orlando, and Tucson); 12 regions with Jewish communities ranging from 10,000 to 19,000 inhabitants; and five regions with greater than 8,000 Jewish inhabitants. In all, some 5,806,500 Jews (82.5 percent of the total American Jewish population) resides in the top 50 metropolitan areas in the country. Meanwhile, approximately 348,500 Jews (or roughly 17.5 percent) reside elsewhere in the United States.

CHANGES IN AMERICAN JEWISH IDENTITY. Notwithstanding the wealth of data collected in the past 30 years, the results of various surveys offered analysts, at best, an imperfect picture of the American Jewish scene. The difficulty associated with measuring ethnic identification reflects, at least in part, the ambiguity of the surveys themselves. For example, synagogue affiliation or membership, a standard survey item, did not necessarily accurately reflect a respondent's attitude toward matters of religious observance. Nor was it at all certain that useful assessments could be made on the basis of tabulating behaviors such as attendance at Sabbath services, participation in a Passover *seder*, or the observance of dietary laws, since such practices meant different things to different respondents. The complexity in this regard is illustrated by the following figures, which compare responses to five religious observance survey items that appeared in national surveys undertaken in 1981 and 1990: (1) attend a Passover *seder* – 1981, 77%; 1990, 86%; (2) light Ḥanukkah candles – 1981, 67%, 1990, 77%; (3) belong to a synagogue – 1981, 51%, 1990, 41%; (4) light Sabbath candles – 1981, 22%, 1990, 44%; (5) maintain dietary laws – 1981, 15%, 1990, 17%. At best, the data show that, in general, infrequently practiced activities were more likely to be adhered to than those involving more regular participation.

Global measures of Jewish identification, a concept even more abstract than religious observance, were also evaluated in such surveys. The following comparison of three standard survey items suggests certain trends, namely: (1) most/all friends are Jewish – 1981, 61%; 1990, 45%; (2) contribute to UJA/Federation – 1981, 49%, 1990, 45%; (3) have visited Israel – 1981, 37%, 1990, 31%. Although these items do not define the parameters of Jewish identity, it is significant that responses to all of these items in the 1990 survey had fallen to below 50 percent. Results such as these, combined with additional information from the *National Jewish Population Survey* of 1990, which indicated that only 28 percent of all intermarried couples were raising their children as Jews and over 70 percent were raising their children with no religion or as Christians, intensified expressions of pessimism. Another important trend that came into view by the beginning of the 1980s was that the postponement of marriage, high geographic mobility, a preference for small families, and a growing divorce rate, traits that typified the American middleclass, were now all becoming characteristic of American Jewish life. Indeed, a major finding of the *National Jewish Population Survey* of 1990 was that only 17 percent of all households containing a "core Jew" (a born Jew or a convert) reflected the stereotyped nuclear family consisting of two Jewish parents and children. Thus, the "alternative household," referring variously to a single parent household, a non-married, including same sex couple raising children, a couple that has chosen to remain childless, or a remarried couple raising the offspring of previous marriages together as siblings, was becoming more normative as American Jews continued marrying later, divorcing more frequently, and having fewer children.

The *National Jewish Population Survey* of 1990, the most comprehensive study of American Jewry undertaken since 1970, revealed not only that one-third of all American Jews were married to non-Jews, but among those who had married since 1985, the intermarriage rate had reached an unprecedented 52 percent. The *National Jewish Population Survey* study also reported that the American Jewish community had lost more members (210,000) through conversion than it had gained (185,000). Additional findings of the study, including an increasing divorce rate, greater geographic dispersion, decreasing ritual observance, minimal Jewish education, infrequent synagogue attendance, decreasing formal affiliation among college students and adults, and a decline in Jewish charitable giving, pointed to the further erosion of Jewish communal life. However, for most people it was the revelation regarding high intermarriage rates and low fertility rates that raised the fear of group extinction.

As speculation abounded about the future size of the Jewish community, "assimilationists" argued that the American Jewish community could soon lose the ability to biologically replace itself. To counter these fears "transformationalists" asserted that American Jewish women were openly following the trend of American women in general, who were registering a sharp increase in marriage and fertility between the ages 30–39. This, they argued, combined with an appreciable number of converts to Judaism, would contribute to the stabilization and subsequent growth of the Jewish population, assuming the American Jewish community maintained the minimum replacement average of 2.1 children per couple.

Such concerns about the future of American Jewish life did not dissipate in any appreciable way in the ensuing decade. Furthermore, studies like Charles E. Silberman's *A Certain People: American Jews and Their Lives Today* (1985), Jack Wertheimer's *A People Divided: Judaism in Contemporary America* (1993) and Samuel G. Freedman's *Jew vs. Jew: The Struggle for the Soul of American Jewry* (2000) garnered considerable public and scholarly attention and helped to define and sharpen the parameters of the discussion about the future of American Jewry. After nearly three decades of systematic study and examination by social scientists, communal leaders, and policy makers, the chances for Jewish survival in the shape of ongoing acculturation resulted in a vigorous debate between two camps. The "transformationalists," as the first group became known, posited that American Jews were not abandoning Judaism, Jewish identity, and Jewish communal life, but were instead transforming the concepts associated with Jewish practice and affiliation. They tended to view American Judaism and the American Jewish community as being inclusive rather than exclusive in responding to the challenges of modernity. By contrast, the "assimilationists" interpreted contemporary trends as signifying an ongoing process of assimilation, i.e., the eventual integration beyond recognition of Jews into the general society, a process which, assuming similar ongoing social and economic conditions, they felt was likely to continue.

Among the most cited indicators of this process by analysts and scholars was the rate of intermarriage. By the start of the 1980s the national rate of intermarriage, estimated at roughly 30 percent, was becoming a serious concern within the organized American Jewish community. Studies showed that intermarriage was more common both among younger Jews marrying for the first time and among divorcees who had married for a second or third time. A Council of Jewish Federations/North American Jewish Data Bank report indicated that for the years 1982–87 the percentage of intermarriage among American Jews was 14 percent for first marriages and 40 percent for second marriages. In all studies on the subject, a significant difference was found between men and women in every age group with Jewish men constantly demonstrating a higher rate of intermarriage.

Concern over the high rate of intermarriage was compounded by evidence of the growing number of Jews who had either never married or had not begun a family by the time they had reached their mid-thirties. A 1983 survey of American Jews by the *American Jewish Year Book* estimated that 38 percent of the adult Jewish population of the United States was single. Twenty-one percent reported never having been married. The growing phenomenon of single Jews served as an impetus for the proliferation of Jewish dating services throughout the country. The venerable tradition of Jewish matchmaking was transformed during the 1980s and 1990s into a nationwide industry. Some services, established mainly in large urban areas, were operated on a private commercial basis. Others were run under the non-profit auspices of community agencies such as B'nai B'rith, the Jewish Community Centers, or a local synagogue. With the boom in internet usage, several Jewish dating services went on-line, where they became highly popular and accessible to Jewish singles across the country.

Coupled with gender, denomination was also found to play a role among Jews who had intermarried. While studies showed the intermarriage rate among Orthodox Jews to be negligible, the estimated intermarriage rate among Conservative Jews is about 10 percent and among Reform Jews it is roughly 30 percent. As pointed out by the *American Jewish Identity Survey* of 2001, those calling themselves secular Jews, humanist Jews, or "just Jews," had the highest rate of all groups, with an intermarriage rate of over 50 percent. The findings also indicated that the longer a Jewish family had been in America, the greater the chance that the youngest generation of that family would intermarry.

Another manifestation of such trends was the diminution in strength of several venerable American Jewish organizations. With the notable exception of traditionalist Orthodoxy, the synagogue movements and most of the national Jewish organizations suffered a considerable decline in membership. Zionist organizations that 50 years earlier boasted tens of thousands and even hundreds of thousands of members saw their memberships virtually erode and vanish. This did not necessarily mean that American Jews had become less concerned about Zionism and Israel, but rather that fewer American Jews found it necessary to join a Zionist organizations when they could just as easily express their loyalty to the Zionist cause through contributions to their local Jewish Federations, Israel Bonds, voting for political candidates who support Israel, Israeli tourism, alternative charitable groups like the New Israel Fund, and, in some instances, even urging their children and grandchildren to settle in Israel.

Another indication of increasing acculturation was the growth in the number of reported cases of Jews involved in gambling, alcoholism, drug abuse, and domestic violence, such as incest and rape. The rise in public awareness to these problems could be attributed either to a true increase in the number of incidents or more assiduous documentation by professionals and community officials. Estimates were that between five and ten percent of American Jews could be classified as alcoholics. A smaller percent suffered from drug addiction. The origins of these problems appeared to be unrelated to background, profession, or position in the community. As the seriousness of alcohol and drug addiction within the Jewish community became better appreciated, Jewish support groups were established as an alternative to the Christian-oriented Alcoholics Anonymous.

Cases of domestic violence in the Jewish community, although relatively atypical, became reported more frequently. In 1988 B'nai B'rith women began sponsoring events in chapters across the country geared toward heightening awareness of domestic violence within the Jewish community. The chapters also sponsored the establishment of kosher safe-houses for women in different parts of the country. Meanwhile, social workers reported the tendency of some rabbis to dismiss reports of domestic violence in their congregations because of the difficulty they had conceptualizing this phenomenon within a Jewish household. Nationally, the problem was estimated to affect from one-quarter to one-third of the community. Reported incidents involved physical, emotional, and sexual abuse as well as neglect of spouses, children, and older parents. Until the 1980s little was written about the occurrence of incest among Jewish families. As a result of greater openness and support for victims, the reporting of incidents became more frequent. Instances involving Jewish families were found to be without any relationship to socio-economic or denominational background.

A critical point in social and demographic analysis was reached with the publication of the results of the *National Jewish Population Survey* of 2000–01, which emphasized that "a continuing low Jewish fertility rate, the consequent aging in population composition, and continuing erosion in the willingness to identify with Judaism among the younger age groups [was] apparently [leading] to a significantly lower total core population size" of American Jews. Such findings were generally corroborated by the independent *American Jewish Identity Survey*, sponsored by the Posen Foundation and published in 2001 by the Center for Cultural Judaism. But the latter also went further than any previous study in its assessment of non-religious forms of American Jewish life. In fact, it determined that roughly half of the American Jewish population self-identified as "secular" in its orientation. "America's Jews are divided, perhaps as never before," the report explained, "over a question that would surprise most other Americans who are not familiar with the Jewish heritage or the Jewish community in any way. That question is, quite simply: 'Who is Jewish?' At a more subtle level, the questions asked are, 'What does 'Jewish' mean?' and 'Who gets to decide?' or 'How are those who call themselves 'Jewish' or are labeled as such by others signify that identity or social status to themselves and others?'" Deploying the "dispassionate tools of modern social science," the *American Jewish Identity Survey* analyzed these questions on the basis of a data set comprising a broad spectrum of individuals "who describe[d] themselves as Jewish when asked about their religious adherence or who might be reasonably labeled as Jewish by virtue of their family origins." In the final analysis, the survey produced the following profile of American Jewry:

- Nearly 4% of America's 105 million residential households have at least one member who is Jewish by religion or is of Jewish parentage or upbringing or considers himself/herself Jewish.

- The number of such households has increased since 1990 from about 3.2 million to about 3.9 million.
- The number of persons living in a household that has at least one member who is Jewish by religion or parentage or upbringing or considers himself/herself Jewish has increased since 1990 from about 8 million to nearly 10 million.
- About 5.5 million American adults are Jewish by religion or of Jewish parentage or upbringing or consider themselves Jewish.
- About 3.6 million American adults (or just 65% of the 5.5 million total) have a Jewish mother.
- More than 1.5 million American adults have only one Jewish parent.
- The number of persons who regard themselves as Jewish by religion or say they are of Jewish parentage or upbringing but have no religion (the "core Jewish" population) has declined from about 5.5 million in 1990 to about 5.3 million in 2001.
- The number of persons who are either currently Jewish or of Jewish origins has increased from about 6.8 million in 1990 to nearly 7.7 million in 2001.
- The majority (73%) of America's adults who are Jewish by religion or of Jewish parentage or upbringing but say they have no religion believe that God exists. But nearly half of this population regards itself as secular or somewhat secular in outlook.
- About one million American households report affiliation with a Jewish congregation (synagogue, temple, or an independent havurah). That number represents an increase of some 15% over the 880,000 households reporting congregational affiliation in 1990.
- About 44% of America's adults who are Jewish by religion or say they are of Jewish parentage or upbringing report membership in a Jewish congregation (synagogue, temple, or an independent havurah).
- The Reform branch of Judaism is the largest in terms of the number of adult adherents: about 1.1 million or 30% of America's Jewish-by-religion adults or adults of Jewish parentage or upbringing identify with it.
- The other branches of Judaism in size order are Conservative Judaism with about 940,000 adult adherents (24% of the total), Orthodox Judaism with about 300,000 adult adherents (8% of the total), Secular Humanist Judaism with about 40,000 adherents, and Reconstructionist Judaism with about 35,000 adherents (about 1% each).
- Nearly one million American adults who are Jewish by religion or are of Jewish parentage or upbringing but say they have no religion are affiliated with some noncongregational Jewish community organization such as a Jewish community center or a Jewish fraternal organization.
- Nearly a third of America's adults who are Jewish by religion or say they are of Jewish parentage or upbringing but have no religion have visited Israel. That figure represents a modest increase from the roughly 28% reporting visiting Israel in 1990.
- Nearly 60% of adults who are Jewish by religion are married; of those who report being of Jewish parentage or upbringing but of no religion, just 45% are married. More of the latter group is likely to be separated or divorced or living in a non-marital couple relationship (cohabiting).
- Of all adults married since 1990, who say they are Jewish by religion or of Jewish parentage or upbringing, just 40% are married to a spouse who is also of Jewish origins; 51% are married to a spouse who is not of Jewish origins and an additional 9% are married to a spouse who is a convert to Judaism.
- Of all cohabiting adults who say they are Jewish by religion or of Jewish parentage or upbringing, 81% are living with a partner who is not of Jewish origins.

While observers and scholars of American Jewish society widely agree on the veracity of the *American Jewish Identity Survey*, there is considerable debate about the implications of its findings. It remains for different quarters of the organized American Jewish scene to come to terms with the trends underscored by the survey and develop policies that address the American Jewish community's short- and long-range needs. In the final analysis, although it is impossible to predict the future, a general observation drawn from an overview of American Jewry's past makes clear at least the general contours of future American Jewish policy: Rooted in a historical context shaped by a unique and open liberal environment, the American Jewish community's future very much depends upon its ongoing capacity for innovation, inclusion, and pluralism even as it faces new challenges and seeks new ways for strengthening the bonds of Jewish communal life.

RELIGION. The polarization of American Judaism's denominational groups became a major communal issue at the turn of the 20th and 21st centuries. A chief reason was that by the 1980s Orthodoxy in America had undergone a process of completely unanticipated revitalization. Its growth resulted in greater resources, new and bigger institutions, and subsequently more influence and greater assertiveness within the wider Jewish community. American Orthodoxy's new confidence was bolstered by its ties to the Orthodox establishment in the State of Israel. Traditional American Orthodoxy, in contrast to the modern, or moderate, Orthodoxy associated with New York's *Yeshiva University, was openly committed to reinstituting the type of religious Jewish community life that had flourished in Europe until the eve of World War II. Its leaders reviled American society's emphasis on individualism and pluralism. They recognized as legitimate only their own interpretation of Judaism, which was based on the strict rigid interpretation of *halakhah*.

The historic 1983 decision by the Reform movement's Central Conference of American Rabbis to accept the child of a Jewish father and non-Jewish mother as Jewish without need of conversion; its religious outreach program to families of mixed religions or the unchurched; the decision by the Jewish Theological Seminary in 1983 to ordain Conservative women rabbis; and the announcement in 1987 to graduate women as Conservative cantors all served to exacerbate existing tensions within American Judaism. Although united with Reform Judaism over the legitimacy of religious pluralism, the Conservative movement's understanding of *halakhah* forced it to reject the Reform position on patrilineal descent. The decision by the Reform movement to recognize patrilineal descent was so controversial as to prompt the appearance in 1985 of Alexander Shapiro, president of the Conservative Rabbinical Assembly, before the Central Conference of American Rabbis. Addressing his Reform colleagues, Shapiro cautioned that "if patrilinealism remains in place, then Conservative rabbis might have to question the Jewish status of someone from a sister movement," resulting in "a cleavage in Jewish life which would threaten the survival of the Jewish people."

Orthodox leaders were also outspoken on this issue. Haskel *Lookstein, a moderate Orthodox spokesman and president of the New York Board of Rabbis, characterized Reform's adoption of patrilineal descent as "a wedge… that fosters polarization, anger, resentment, bitterness, and divisiveness." Traditional Orthodox leaders went further and denounced what they viewed as the continuing erosion of Jewish life in America. In 1986 America's Agudat Israel and its Council of Torah Sages attacked Reform and Conservative Judaism, refusing to sanction any form of dialogue with any of its representatives.

The ongoing ferment within Conservative Judaism over the flexibility of Jewish law, especially controversy over the status of women, led to a major ideological fracture. In 1984 a breakaway organization calling itself the Union for Traditional Judaism (UTJ) succeeded in drawing rabbis and lay people who were disgruntled over the Rabbinical Assembly's 1983 decision to ordain women rabbis. In 1992 the UTJ incorporated the approximately 100 rabbis belonging to the Fellowship of Traditional Orthodox Rabbis. The latter group constituted the more liberal wing of the Orthodox rabbinate concerned about the growing strength and influence of its more right-wing elements. By the mid-1990s the UTJ had grown to include some 8,000 families and approximately 350 rabbis.

The increasing polarization between Orthodoxy's modern and sectarian streams beset communities throughout the United States and was both ideological and pragmatic. Modern Orthodoxy defended the legitimacy of combining the ethos of contemporary society and traditional Judaism. The more conservative, sectarian Orthodox, generally referred to as the "ultra-Orthodox," rejected this approach, preferring to minimize communication and social interaction with those outside their own groups. By the early 1990s, traditional Orthodox circles came to dominate Orthodox community life. Among younger Jews in particular, the religious stringencies associated with traditional Orthodoxy became more normative.

In the early 1990s the Chabad-Lubavitch Ḥasidim, based in the Crown Heights neighborhood of Brooklyn, received considerable media attention following the physical incapacitation of their leader Menachem Mendel Schneersohn. Lubavitch openly split between those who believed Schneersohn had the potential to be the messiah and those who were certain he had already been anointed. As Schneersohn's physical condition continued to deteriorate, a power struggle ensued over the control of the worldwide Lubavitch empire. Schneersohn's death in 1994 left Chabad-Lubavitch Ḥasidim all over the world stunned and uncertain. His New York funeral was attended by tens of thousands of Ḥasidim and other admirers, including dignitaries from the United States and abroad.

Although the majority of American Jews shunned formal synagogue affiliation in the 1980s and 1990s, some sought religious expression in alternative settings. In 1992 the Reconstructionist movement, a branch of Conservative Judaism established in 1934 by Mordecai M. *Kaplan, claimed about 2 percent of American Jews and some 70 congregations. In 1994 the *American Jewish Year Book* called *Seek My Face, Speak My Name* by Arthur *Green, president of the Reconstructionist Rabbinical College, "the first serious attempt to arrive at a contemporary understanding of Judaism based not on rationalism, ethics, or *halakhah*, but on the Jewish mystical tradition." Green's personal interest in mysticism permeated the Reconstructionist movement. This paralleled the interest in mysticism and New Age philosophies expressed by many young Jewish adults. Though inconsistent with Kaplan's rational philosophical approach, Green's orientation reflected the movement's incorporation of current social and cultural trends.

While many "New Age" Jews turned to Reconstructionism for spiritual fulfillment, others opted for community-based havurot (Jewish fellowships). These groups, which spread throughout the country in the 1980s and 1990s, functioned either independently of or in association with a synagogue. Though not always spiritual or even prayer-focused (some centered on text study, politics, culture, or Jewish cuisine), havurot represented the informal and intimate Jewish community experience thought to be lacking in most established synagogues. Still other Jewish seekers after spirituality cultivated an interest in Jewish meditation. In 1993 the Jewish Telegraphic Agency reported that "for many meditators who were estranged from the Jewish community and traditional practices, and who have little Jewish education, contemplation has provided a port of re-entry." Among centers of practice were the Jewish Meditation Circle of Manhattan, the School of Traditional Jewish Meditation in Los Angeles, and a mountaintop retreat center located some 40 miles northwest of Boulder, Colorado.

In some cases, Jewish meditation served as a bridge back to Jewish practice for many Jews who had been involved with cults. Although the actual number of Jews in cults was not known, it was estimated that as many as 70 percent of participants in Buddhist and Hindu groups in North America were Jews. Among the cults in which Jews were believed to be disproportionately represented were Sun Myung Moon's Unification Church (Moonies), Hare Krishna, the Oregon-based followers of Bhagwan Shree Rajneesh, Synanon, and Scientology. Contemporary observers attributed the latter phenomenon to (1) the openness of liberal minded Jews to alternative political and theological ideas; (2) the strong presence of Jews on college and university campuses where cults invested heavily in recruitment; and (3) the difficulty many young Jews had in forming independent adult identities as a result of coming from nurturing and secure families.

WOMEN. Surveying the dynamic role of women in American Jewish life and the impact of Jewish feminism on the American scene, the scholar Sylvia Barack Fishman offered the following perspective on the period under investigation:

> Remembering that women comprise, after all, at least one-half of the Jewish people, it seems appropriate for Jewish survivalists of all denominations to reconsider the validity of feminist goals case by case and to search for constructive ways in which to reconcile Jewish feminism with the goals of Jewish survival. It is hard to imagine what communal good could be served by adhering to an automatic anti-feminist stance. On the other hand, it seems appropriate for Jewish feminists, to the extent that they are serious about Jewish survival, to weigh carefully the repercussions of proposed changes and to consider their responsibility to the community as a whole. Indeed, it is one of the achievements of American Jewish feminism that women are now in a position to examine these issues – and to make choices.

Of particular note in this period was the greater role of women in almost every area of communal leadership. In 1986 Peggy *Tishman became head of New York City's United Jewish Appeal-Federation, the largest in the country, while Shoshana *Cardin became chair of the Council of Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds. In general, however, Jewish women professionals working for the Jewish community found themselves victims of the "glass ceiling" phenomenon. At a Women's Economic Summit convened in 1993 by the National Jewish Community Relations Advisory Council and the American Jewish Congress, a number of speakers suggested that Jewish communal agencies should begin addressing women's economic inequity by evaluating their own hiring, promotion, pay and benefits patterns and policies.

In a survey of 42 national Jewish agencies, including the American Jewish Congress, the Council of Jewish Federations, the Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society, and the Jewish Telegraphic Agency, it was discovered that 37 were run by men. Similarly, out of the 157 Jewish federations with paid professional leadership, the 30 run by women executive directors were almost all small or mid-size. Only the Jewish Federation of Hartford, Connecticut, one of 23 federations categorized as larger intermediate-size, was directed by a woman. In spite of the fact the 60 percent of employees at federations were female, none of the 18 largest federations employed a woman as executive director. A separate Council of Jewish Federations survey revealed that about one-third of the campaign directors in large and intermediate-size federations were women. While entry-level positions in Jewish federations offered equal remuneration to men and women, senior-level female staff earned between 67 and 92 percent of what men in comparable positions were earning; 80 percent of the respondents to an internal survey of senior professional women at federations cited the "old boys" network as the primary factor behind hiring and advancement discrimination.

In a parallel vein, although the Reconstructionist, Reform, and Conservative synagogue movements opened the doors of their respective seminaries to growing numbers of women, this did not mean that women in these streams of Judaism were free of harassment and sexism. The results of a survey conducted in 1992 by the American Jewish Congress revealed that 73 percent of the 142 women rabbis who responded claimed to have been sexually harassed by congregants and other rabbis; 54 percent claimed to have experienced sexual discrimination consisting of denial of equal pay, benefits, or differential treatment in hiring, firing or job responsibilities. The women reported that only one in five of the synagogues, organizations or institutions at which they worked maintained a sexual discrimination policy.

Even as traditional and mainstream Orthodoxy remained firmly opposed to the notion of women rabbis, a few voices from within the movement called for dialogue on the issue. The most vociferous advocate in this regard was author and community leader Blu Greenberg, who pointed out the extensive learning and erudition among American Jewish women, which, if they were men, would qualify them for Orthodox rabbinical ordination. "I believe the ordination of Orthodox women is close at hand," she wrote in 1993. "The cumulative impact – of a critical mass of students of Talmud and *halakhah*, a plethora of rising-star teachers, the support of educational institutions and the presence of respected women rabbis in the liberal denominations – will be to transform the expectations of Orthodox women. This will be a powerful agent for change." To this end, womens' *tefillah* (prayer) groups were organized in a number of Jewish communities in the United States. The groups followed an Orthodox prayer service, without men, that included a full Torah reading. In 1993 over a hundred women from around the country met in New York for the third Women's Tefillah Conference.

Additionally, Jewish women continued to play significant and visible roles in wider American society. A striking example in this regard is the case of the scientist Gertrude B. *Elion, who in 1988 won the Nobel Prize in medicine. The daughter of Polish and Lithuanian immigrants and descended from a line of distinguished rabbis, Elion's family immigrated to the United States before World War I. She graduated in 1937 from Hunter College in New York City, but was rejected by fifteen graduate school programs and research institutes owing to discrimination against women in the sciences in the 1940s and 1950s. After working as an unpaid lab assistant in order to acquire further research experience, she was hired by a pharmaceuticals company to work with nucleic acids. Her pathbreaking medical research led to the discovery of the drug, azathioprine, used to facilitate kidney transplants and treat rheumatoid arthritis, and the development of thioguanine and mercaptopurine, which is used in chemotherapy to treat children with leukemia. Her name is attached to some 23 honorary degrees and 45 patents, including a drug that can be used to treat chicken pox, genital herpes, encephalitis, and shingles. By the time of her death in 1999, she was regarded as one of America's most eminent scientist.

HOMOSEXUALITY. Homosexuality drew increased communal attention during this period as the different denominations either proclaimed or debated their official position on the subject. The position of Orthodoxy remained that such activity under any circumstances constituted, as stated in the Torah, a moral abomination. Abstinence in combination with therapy or medication was the only prescribed treatment. Nonetheless, by the end of the 1980s approximately 20 gay and lesbian congregations existed around the country.

In 1990 the Reform movement's Central Conference of American Rabbis endorsed a resolution accepting the view that "all rabbis, regardless of sexual orientation, be accorded the opportunity to fulfill the sacred vocation which they have chosen…" and that "all Jews are religiously equal regardless of their sexual orientation." Although the Reform rabbinate officially accepted homosexuality, including homosexual rabbis, it continued to affirm heterosexual relations as the ideal. This sent something of a mixed message, not only to Reform congregants, but also to the movement's clergy. As a consequence, some gay rabbinical students chose not to reveal their sexual orientation. Likewise, homosexual pulpit rabbis were confronted with the dilemma of "coming out" with the support of their colleagues while possibly offending their congregations.

It was the Reconstructionist movement that went the farthest in embracing homosexuality. In 1992 the Federation of Reconstructionist Congregations and Havurot issued a formal statement calling for an end to all distinctions between heterosexuals and homosexuals in Jewish life. Homosexual Jews, of both genders, were welcomed into the Reconstructionist rabbinate. The Reconstructionist position was that since homosexuality is a fundamental component of an individual's psychological makeup and not subject to change, it was natural and acceptable in the eyes of God. Same-sex relationships were considered as holy as those between a man and a woman and could, in the same manner, comprise a legitimate and stable Jewish family. To solemnize these relationships, Reconstructionist clergy performed "commitment" ceremonies. The Reconstructionists encouraged gay and lesbian Jews to develop their own rituals, to celebrate their own special life-cycle events, and to introduce the stories of gay and lesbian Jews into Jewish history.

Participants at the 1992 annual meeting of the Conservative movement's Rabbinical Assembly voted to allow their colleagues to be employed by gay and lesbian congregations. In addition, a commission was created to study human sexuality and to develop a Conservative perspective on the issue. That same year, the Jewish National Fund (JNF) and the World Congress of Gay and Lesbian Jewish Organizations resolved a dispute that had been ongoing for 13 years. The JNF agreed to affixing a plaque bearing the words "Fourth International Congress of Gay and Lesbian Jews" at Lahav in southern Israel. Members of this organization had planted a 3,000 tree forest at the site in 1979.

The May 1993 New York City Israel Day Parade was clouded by the controversy over the request for formal participation by Manhattan's Beth Simchat Torah, the nation's largest gay and lesbian synagogue. The main opponents were the heads of Orthodox primary and high school yeshivot whose pupils traditionally comprised at least half of the parade's marchers. The schools' principals would not allow their students to participate if the gay synagogue marched as an identifiable unit, reasoning this would sanction its legitimacy. In spite of protracted negotiations over a compromise formula, none was found and the parade's sponsor, the American Zionist Youth Foundation, excluded the gay synagogue from the event.

PHILANTHROPY AND COMMUNAL ORGANIZATION. During the 1980s and 1990s, there developed a complex web of regional agencies and institutions. The swift expansion of local bureaus of Jewish education, Jewish day schools and yeshivot, and the growing number of departments and programs of Jewish studies in colleges and universities across the country underscored a deepening commitment to matters of Jewish education and scholarship. In addition, the Jewish Welfare Board became the national umbrella group for the Jewish community center movement, providing guidance, personnel and other resources to the growing number of community centers, many of which expanded to include adult education programs, summer camps, Israel trips, and elaborate health clubs as well as other services of a recreational nature. In short, regional Jewish communities became, in many respects, autonomous. They no longer necessarily looked to New York or Chicago for leadership, but now set their own agendas and turned to local Jewish agencies, philanthropists, and scholars for support and guidance. A parallel phenomenon was the diminished role of volunteers and increased importance of permanent professionals in most organizations and philanthropic agencies.

The remarkable successes of American Jewish philanthropy in this period underscore the extent to which community affairs revolved around campaigns for charitable funds. By far, the Council of Jewish Federations, the United Jewish Appeal, and the United Israel Appeal – brought together in 1999 under the banner of the "United Jewish Communities" – was the single most effective vehicle for collecting funds for a variety of institutions, local, national, and overseas. In 1980 the United Jewish Appeal reported pledges amounting to $528 million; cash collected amounted to $301 million. Of this sum $245 million went to the United Israel Appeal. The United Jewish Appeal's Israel Emergency Fund, originally launched in 1967 in response to the Six-Day War, in 1970 received pledges amounting to $124 million, in addition to cash receipts of $180 million for its regular campaign. Again a crisis in the Middle East had its effect on the level of American Jewish giving. Following the outbreak in 1973 of the Yom Kippur War, the United Jewish Appeal results for 1974 (including the Israel Emergency Fund) rose to $481 million. In the 1980s and 1990s, the national trend was toward a decrease in the proportion sent to Israel. Thus, in 1983 national United Jewish Appeal received approximately 48 percent of the combined federation campaign, domestic needs received 29 percent, and the remaining 23 percent went to other overseas causes. By comparison, in 1991 the national United Jewish Appeal received 40 percent, 36 percent was retained for local agencies, and 24 percent was allocated overseas.

The Chronicle of Philanthropy ranked the United Jewish Appeal first in fundraising contributions in 1992, "more than any other non-profit organization." The $668.1 million reported was not based on total income because government grants and other earning (such as income from endowments and investments) were not included. The death of billionaire Baltimorian Harry *Weinberg in 1991 resulted in the largest Jewish-oriented foundation in the world. With assets of $762.8 million, it ranked as the 22nd largest foundation in the United States. A quarter of its annual grants were reserved for Jewish groups, another 25 percent for non-Jewish causes, and the remaining 50 percent was not earmarked for any particular group.

Fund raising efforts for Israel outside the United Jewish Appeal or the Federation structure are also noteworthy. Sales of State of Israel Bonds in the United States which, when inaugurated in 1951 amounted to $52 million, reached $175 million in 1970, $295 million in 1978, and in excess of $350 million in 1981. By 2000 the leadership of Israel Bonds reported that over $20 billion in investment capital for the development of every aspect of Israel's economic infrastructure had been raised in the previous 50 years.

Further solidifying its role as the "central address of the Jewish community" during these years, the United Jewish Communities proved its ability to respond to various emergencies and natural disasters. At the turn of the 20th century, the organization developed a close working relationship with the Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA), the American Red Cross, the Salvation Army, and other aid groups. Together with these agencies, it provided hundreds of millions of dollars in emergency relief to communities in the Miami area devastated by Hurricane Andrew in 1992, to the victims of the earthquake that shook Los Angeles in 1994, to the families of victims killed in the Al Qaeda terrorist attack of September 11, 2001, and to the communities of Louisiana, Mississippi, Texas, Alabama, and Florida devastated in 2005 by Hurricanes Katrina, Rita, and Wilma. While a sizable quotient of these monies specifically targeted Jewish communal needs, substantial sums were also raised for general rescue and relief purposes. Nonetheless, critics charged the United Jewish Communities – which by this period had a combined income of $2.2 billion – with exploiting crises affecting American society and the Jewish people in order to meet the organization's predetermined fundraising goals and solidify its centralized control of community resources. Allegations of impropriety were also raised concerning the United Jewish Communities' dependency upon political consensus as well as the generous salaries and benefits enjoyed by high-ranking Jewish Federation executives, especially some who earned six-figure salaries akin to America's leading corporate executives.

Parallel to the framework of the organized Jewish community, American Jews generally continued to be active on behalf of a wide variety of social, political, and philanthropic causes that exceeded the orbit of the community's specifically Jewish interests, including considerable grassroots support for the civil rights of homosexuals, assistance for the victims of the AIDS virus and support for medical research to find a cure for the disease, abortion rights, the struggle against apartheid in South Africa and militant regimes around the globe, the nuclear freeze movement, protecting the environment, the feminist movement, support for the homeless, and putting an end to worldwide poverty and hunger. While many Jews comfortably opted for membership in social and humanitarian organizations at large, others felt the need to establish alternative organizations comprised solely of Jewish membership since they viewed their commitment to these causes as an expression of their Jewish identity. Specific examples of the latter included the Jewish Fund for Justice, which provided grants to fight poverty in America; the American Jewish World Service, which funded environmental development programs in the Third World; Mazon: A Jewish Response to Hunger, which supported anti-hunger programs among Jews and non-Jews in the United States and abroad; the National Jewish AIDS Project, an educational body created to raise the consciousness of Jewish communal leaders and organizations about the AIDS virus; the Jewish Fund for Justice, which disbursed money to both Jewish and non-Jewish housing and community revitalization projects; the Shefa Fund, which supported projects related to social and economic justice, the impact of gender and the arts; and the New Israel Fund, which disbursed money to a wide range of programs in Israel dedicated to social change, including civil rights, women's rights, and Israeli-Palestinian coexistence. Together these groups raised hundreds of millions of dollars.

American Jewish commitment to the commonweal was also exemplified by the Jewish Volunteer Corps (JVC), which sent Jewish professionals to assist in developing countries. The JVC, established in 1993, grew out of the American Jewish World Service, another worldwide relief organization operating under private Jewish auspices. Like the more established American Jewish World Service, the JVC dedicated itself exclusively to providing grass-roots level assistance to non-Jews in Third World countries. Participants were trained and dispatched for up to six months to remote areas of Nepal, Mexico, Zimbabwe, Tanzania, Senegal, Bangladesh and Honduras, as well as other countries. Modeled on the American Peace

Corps, JVC volunteers were assigned to agricultural projects, rural medical clinics, nutritional programs, small business development schemes, environmental preservation and soil conservation efforts, and basic literacy programs.

By contrast, mainstream Jewish organizations suffered a serious decline in membership during this period. B'nai B'rith, the oldest national Jewish membership organization in the United States, saw its membership drop from a post-World War II era high of some 200,000 in the 1960s to about 136,000 in the 1980s and then to under 100,000 in the 1990s. With an accumulated deficit of over $4 million, a largely middle-class and working-class membership whose average age was in the mid-60s, and a membership shrinking at an average rate of 9 percent a year, B'nai B'rith president Kent E. Schiner acknowledged in 1995 that the fraternal order had become "irrelevant to a new generation of successful, more assimilated Jews with no need or desire for their own private club." Likewise, the growing involvement of professional Jewish women in the workplace during this period made it more difficult for organizations like Amit, Hadassah, the National Council for Jewish Women, ORT, and Naamat USA (formerly Pioneer Women), to recruit new members. As noted previously, the synagogue movements were also threatened by steadily declining membership and all studies pointed to the inescapable conclusion that in this period the majority of third- and fourth-generation American Jews were even less likely to join a congregation than their parents or grandparents.

A handful of national Jewish organizations experienced significant growth and development in the 1990s. The most successful was the Los Angeles-based *Simon Wiesenthal Center. By the end of 1992, it reported approximately 385,000 contributors, an annual budget of about $12 million, and a professional staff of 100. Another organization which grew in popularity toward the end of this era was American Friends of Peace Now (renamed Americans for Peace Now in 1989). Throughout most of the 1980s, American Friends of Peace Now was on the margins of American Jewish life, but its credibility was firmly established with the ascendancy of the Labor-led coalition government in Israel after the 1992 election. It reported 10,000 members divided among 21 chapters throughout the United States, and was accepted for membership in the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations.

Both as individuals and through the auspices of various organizations, American Jews continued to play a role in causes beyond the borders of the Jewish community. Some national Jewish organizations increased their Middle East activities. In 1992, for example, American Jewish Congress leaders made an unprecedented trip to Saudi Arabia for talks with King Fahd and senior Saudi officials. That same year, the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (JDC) was asked by the United States government to assist in the distribution of aid in the new republics of the Commonwealth of Independent States. This included an agreement that the JDC signed with the U.S. Department of Agriculture to distribute $7 million worth of food. The escalating inter-communal turmoil in Bosnia-Herzegovina took on special significance for many American Jews who reacted with alarm to reports of "ethnic cleansing" by Serbian troops. Television news coverage of skeletal figures languishing in Serbian prisoner-of-war and concentration camps evoked painful memories of the Holocaust. Against this backdrop, all the major American Jewish organizations adopted the cause of the former Yugoslavia. The JDC organized the rescue in 1993 of some 350 Jewish, Muslim, Serbian, and Croatian refugees under siege in Sarajevo. Such philanthropic and humanitarian activity continued unabated over the course of the decade. In 1999–2000 the JDC spearheaded a concerted effort by several leading American Jewish groups, including the American Jewish Committee, the American Jewish World Service, the Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society, ORT, and the Simon Wiesenthal Center in Los Angeles, to provide assistance to hundreds of thousands of Kosovar refugees who fled to Albania and Macedonia following the NATO air strikes. In this period, the JDC also raised over $500,000 for the victims of the calamitous earthquake that struck Turkey.

EDUCATION AND CULTURE. At the midpoint of the period under review, the 1990 *National Jewish Population Survey* reported that 3,350,000 of those surveyed were estimated to have received some form of Jewish education at some point in their lives. Even so, fewer women than men were the recipients of formal Jewish education. The survey also reported the median years of Jewish education for this age group to have been 6.2 for males and 4.6 for females.

Jewish education was not restricted to formal classroom education. Particular effort was devoted to developing and marketing "the Israel experience." Research confirmed that "the short-term summer-time Israel experience very often profoundly influences how youngsters relate to Israel and to their Jewishness." At the General Assembly in 1993, the CRB (Charles R. Bronfman) Foundation of Montreal announced an "Israel experience" incentive program. The foundation would commit one dollar towards sponsoring the participation of a Jewish youth in one of many Israel experience programs for every three dollars contributed by a local Jewish federation and other community resources. Its objective was to make a trip to Israel affordable to every Jewish North American high school student so that by the turn of the century 50,000 Jewish teenagers would visit Israel each year. (In fact, in 2006 the program reported a total of over 100,000 participants.) As conceived, the Israel Experience was intended to complement, if not replace, the more conventional American Jewish summer camp experience. Over the years the latter had a demonstrable positive effect on the Jewish identity of youth.

In spite of the availability of adult or continuing Jewish education classes in synagogues, community centers, and Jewish community colleges around the country, outside of the Orthodox community Jewish education remained primarily a part-time activity associated with Jewish childhood.

The quality of American Jewish education varied greatly from one communal context to the next. An attempt to improve the quality of Jewish education nationally came in 1981 when the Federation movement established the Jewish Education Service of North America (JESNA). JESNA was founded "to improve the quality and strengthen the impact of Jewish education by providing leadership and a broad range of services and informational resources locally, throughout North America, and in relationships with Israeli and world educational institutions." Despite such efforts, there was a clear impression by the end of the decade that Jewish education as a nationwide communal enterprise was not succeeding.

In an attempt to remedy this situation, a private, interdenominational and non-partisan body consisting of noted Jewish educators and top philanthropists calling itself the Commission of Jewish Education in North America was created in 1988. Unofficially it was known as the Mandel Commission, having been spearheaded by Jewish community leader and philanthropist Morton L. Mandel of Cleveland. In 1990 the commission produced a major report, "A Time to Act," which analyzed the condition of Jewish education in North America and offered a concrete plan of action whose goal was to "significantly improve the effectiveness of Jewish education (within) a coalition of community institutions, supplemented with continental institutions and resources."

The question of state aid to parochial schools continued to divide the American Jewish community. It was long axiomatic for the major Jewish organizations to uphold the strict separation of church and state, thus precluding anything in the nature of state support, but in the 1976 American presidential election the Orthodox community made it clear that it would welcome government subsidies to its Jewish day schools. As the debate intensified in the 1990s over the place of Jewish day schools in the American setting, an increasing number of organizations, agencies, and communal leaders acceded to the agenda set out by the Mandel commission. In 1999, the Jewish Educational Service of North America (JESNA), a branch of the United Jewish Communities whose stated goal is "to make engaging, inspiring, high quality Jewish education available to every Jew in North America," announced that "No Jewish family that desires to send its children to a Jewish day school should be prevented from doing so due to financial reasons." As part of this ideological trend and in response to growth of the Jewish day school movement countrywide, many major metropolitan Jewish Federations increased the size of their allocations to local Jewish day schools. Notwithstanding mixed assessments over the effectiveness of many of these schools, the day school movement continued to spread while supplementary afternoon and Sunday schools declined in importance everywhere. In 2000, a study released by the Avi Chai Foundation revealed that the number of students enrolled in Jewish day schools had in fact risen by 25,000 since 1990, reaching a nationwide total of approximately 185,000. This figure cut across all denominational categories and included student enrollments in hundreds of Orthodox schools, more than 70 Conservative movement-sponsored schools (e.g., Solomon Schechter schools), 22 Reform movement-sponsored schools, and a growing number of pluralistic nondenominational community day schools. The success of the Jewish day school movement alarmed some critics, who worried openly that it might result in a weakening of Jewish support for the American public education system. In the context of this debate, it was observed that the proportion of Jewish children in public schools had declined from roughly 90 percent in 1962 to 65 percent in 2000. Some voiced concern about non-Jewish perceptions of the Jewish day school movement and the continued integration of Jews in American life. Others called for a reassessment of American Jewry's time honored liberal tradition of support for public education and proposed the community as whole embrace the concept of government vouchers for private education.

In this period, studies also revealed that an estimated 80 to 85 percent of American Jews received some college or university education, with more than 50 percent earning at least a bachelor's degree. It was also during these years that about 350 colleges and universities, excluding seminaries and divinity schools, undertook the teaching of Judaica in one form or another. The Association for Jewish Studies, composed of scholars and academicians in the field, grew to over 900 members. Courses in Hebrew and Yiddish language and literature, the Holocaust, and Zionism and Israel were among those garnering the most substantial student interest. By the end of the 20th century, more than half of all American Jews under the age of 65 were college graduates. A disproportionate number of Jewish college graduates went on to graduate studies in pursuit of a professional career. It was further estimated that some 85 percent of young Jews were active at colleges and universities either as students, teachers, or researchers.

Among areas of educational and cultural life that experienced a swift revival in this period was Yiddish. The establishment of the *National Yiddish Book Center, located at Hampshire College in Amherst, Massachusetts, signaled the dramatic growth of interest in Yiddish among college students. By 1994, according to center founder and director Aaron Lansky, the center had managed to collect 1.2 million Yiddish books and managed an annual operating budget of $1.2 million.

Meanwhile, the 70-year-old national Jewish student organization *Hillel generally attracted no more than 15 percent of the local Jewish student body. With few exceptions, Hillel's ostensibly parochial agenda proved unattractive to a majority of Jewish students otherwise engaged in the open and liberal American campus environment. To complicate matters, Hillel's parent organization, B'nai B'rith, experienced severe financial difficulties and was forced to cut its support to less than 1 percent of Hillel's annual budget. In 1992 Hillel determined to expand and offer a more sophisticated array of Jewish cultural and social programs. To accompany its new image, the organization's name was officially changed to "Hillel: The Foundation for Jewish Campus Life." Under the leadership of

Hillel's new international director, Richard Joel, the organization set out to secure private endowments in order to pay for new outreach, leadership, and professional development programs. A major source of support was Edgar M. Bronfman, Sr.'s Fund for Jewish Campus Life. Additional funding came from the Council of Jewish Federations (the predecessor of the United Jewish Communities). In previous years, Jewish student leaders and activists had vigorously criticized the Council of Jewish Federations for neglecting to allocate sufficient support to campus programs. Now, in response to an organized student lobbying effort, the Council of Jewish Federations agreed to double its previous annual contribution of $8.5 million to the Hillel organization. The reinvigoration of Hillel as a national organization was only partly successful. Meanwhile, another strategy for strengthening the identity of young American Jews was designed and led by a small group of philanthropists. In 1998 Michael Steinhardt and Charles Bronfman launched Birthright Israel, a program created to ensure that every American Jew between the ages of 15 and 26 would have – as his/her "birthright" – the opportunity for a free ten-day visit to Israel. Despite the program's success, the concept as a whole yielded mixed results. It was hampered in part due to the complex interplay between, on the hand, the American Jewish philanthropists who created it and, on the other, the regional Jewish Federations and Israeli government which pledged to support it but who were reluctant to assume responsibility for its long-range support.

The area of the arts in American Jewish life advanced in this period, too, as evidenced by the productions of Jewish theater groups across the country including San Francisco's "Traveling Jewish Theater," the establishment of annual Jewish art and film festivals in major cities, and the success of the American Jewish Theatre in New York City, Theatre J in Washington, DC, and the Martin Steinberg Center for the Arts, an American Jewish Congress affiliate. Three forms of Jewish music, choral, klezmer, and contemporary liturgical, contributed to the cultural revival of the period. The former was especially well represented by the highly accomplished Boston-based Zamir Chorale. Originally founded in New York in 1960 under the direction of Stanley Sperber, by the 1980s there were similar choral organizations in Boston, Washington, D.C., Connecticut, Chicago, and Los Angeles. The proliferation of Jewish choirs was sufficient for the creation of the American Hebrew Choral Festival whose annual performances drew capacity audiences. Klezmer music, a form of popular Jewish music based largely on the wedding melodies used in Eastern Europe and songs from the golden age of Yiddish theater, experienced a remarkable revival in the United States after having become virtually extinct. The rise of klezmer bands began in the 1970s but experienced the greatest growth during the 1980s and 1990s. Virtually every major American city became home to at least one klezmer ensemble – with colorful and playful names such as Brave Old World, Beyond the Pale, the Chicago Klezmer Ensemble, the Klezmatics, the Klezmer Conservatory Band, the Maxwell Street Klezmer Band, and the Sabras Klezmer Band – and as a result klezmer music garnered considerable recognition and popularity among young audiences. Finally, contemporary Jewish liturgical and folk music, especially the recordings and performances of singer-songwriter Debbie *Friedman, but also the work of other artists including Rachel Cole, the Zmiros Project (Frank London, Lorin Sklamberg, and Rob Schwimmer), and Paul Zim, became widely popular.

Handcrafted Judaica developed into a major form of Jewish artistic expression in the latter decades of 20th century. Jewish ritual objects and symbols such as the *ḥanukkiyyah* (Ḥanukkah *menorah*), the wine goblet, the *mezuzah*, the spice box, and the prayer shawl, found new forms of expression in various media, including wood, metal, precious metals, fabrics, plastic, and glass. The *ketubbah* (marriage contract) was developed into a sophisticated form of artwork. The legal text was hand-written calligraphy, often on genuine parchment and embellished with Jewish and Israeli motifs and themes.

The largest single event for Jewish youth in North America was the Maccabi Youth Games, organized every two years under the auspices of the Jewish Community Centers of North America (JCCA), in association with the United States Sports Committee for Israel, Maccabi Canada, and Maccabi World Union. The games attracted some 2,500 participants between the ages of 13–16. Represented at the games were some 70 American Jewish communities, as well as Canada, Mexico, Australia, Great Britain, and Israel. An Olympic-style event featuring athletic competition in more than 12 different sports, regional games are held every other year.

Unprecedented growth also took place in the area of Jewish children's literature. It has long been the case that American children's literature has been enriched and shaped by the infusion of well-produced creative fiction and non-fiction by American Jewish authors, including early popular works such as Sydney Taylor's *All-of-a-Kind Family* (1951), Joanne Greenberg's (pseud. Hannah Green) *I Never Promised You a Rose Garden* (1964), Maurice Sendak's *Where the Wild Things Are* (1964), Elaine L. Konigsburg's *From the Mixed-Up Files of Mrs. Basil E. Frankfurter* (1967), Judy Blume's *Are You There God? It's Me, Margaret* (1970), Barbara Cohen's *The Carp in the Bathtub* (1972), Judith Viorst's *Alexander and the Terrible, Horrible, No Good, Very Bad Day* (1972), and Bette Greene's *Summer of My German Soldier* (1973). The 1980s and 1990s witnessed a veritable surge in children's literature produced by American Jewish authors as well as a plethora of works of specifically Jewish content including, for example, the following wide array of books: Sandy Asher's *Summer Begins* (1980), Anita and Arnold Lobel's *On Market Street* (1981), Fran Arrick's *Chernowitz* (1981), Hazel Kranz's *Henrietta Szold* (1987), Chaya Burstein's *A Kid's Catalog of Israel* (1988), Patricia Polacco's *The Keeping Quilt* (1988), Jane Breskin Zalben's *Beni's First Chanukah* (1988), Ann Morris and Lily Rivlin's *When Will the Fighting Stop? A Child's View of Jerusalem* (1990), Laurie and Ben Dolphin's *Neve Shalom-Wahat Al Salaam: Oasis of Peace* (1993), Susan Goldman Rubin's *Emily Good as Gold*

(1993), Lois Ruby's *Miriam's Well* (1993), and Sylvia Rouss' popular children's series of Sammy Spider Jewish holiday stories (1993–2006).

Jewish educational software for computers, which entered the commercial market a decade earlier, reached the stage where many classic Jewish texts, from the Bible and Prophets to the Talmud, including the Soncino English translation as well as later works from Maimonides, Rashi and the Zohar, as well as self-teaching courses in modern Hebrew language, were now available on CD-ROM. In the 1990s both the medium of electronic mail (e-mail) and the Internet, the world-wide network of computer communication, experienced a sudden large rise in use by the Jewish community. The immediacy of communication provided by e-mail and the myriad Internet "sites" was a boon to the organized Jewish community, particularly for organizational activities and Jewish education. Internet enthusiasts pointed to the benefits of this technology to Jews living alone or at a distance from established Jewish community life. Through the use of e-mail, mailing lists, newsgroups, or message boards, Jewish individuals and groups readily and regularly communicated with one another. The developing "communications superhighway" was used to facilitate discussion around issues of common Jewish interest, pose and respond to questions, exchange information, and even for teaching and study. While some expressed concern that over-reliance upon this medium would result in the loss of a "sense of shared cultural experience" and other attributes of traditional community life, most American Jews viewed such activities with enthusiasm.

POLITICS. On virtually all the key social issues at the turn of the 20th and 21st centuries, which included protection of the environment, guaranteeing the rights of homosexuals, support for the Equal Rights Amendment, nuclear freeze, handgun control, federal spending for social programs, abortion rights, and opposition to prayer in public schools, American Jews as a whole, in public opinion surveys and at the ballot box, overwhelmingly and consistently supported the liberal position. A series of surveys demonstrated the positive relationship between youth and education and liberalism, i.e., the younger and better educated the respondent, the higher was his/her score on the survey's liberal public opinion index. Contrary to popular assumptions, young Jewish leaders in the 1980s and 1990s did not turn to the right in large numbers. The majority remained both Democrats and liberals on a broad range of social and economic issues.

On church-state matters involving court cases or proposed legislation, the Jewish community frequently split between Orthodox and more liberal non-Orthodox groups. As they had since the late 1940s, most American Jews continued to support the strict separation between state and religious matters as guaranteed by the United States Constitution. This guarantee, referred to as the "establishment clause" of the First Amendment, provides that "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof." However, throughout the 1980s and 1990s right-wing Christian and Jewish groups, notably Chabad-Lubavitch and Agudath Israel of America, mounted a series of legal challenges to the establishment clause centered on the issues of religious activity in public schools and government assistance to parochial schools. These and other attempts to blur church-state separation through legislation favoring sectarian interests, or by facilitating sectarian activities on government-owned property, were vigorously opposed by liberal organizations such as the American Jewish Committee, the American Jewish Congress, the Anti-Defamation League, the National Jewish Community Relations Advisory Council, and the Union of American Hebrew Congregations. The latter postulated the denial of government assistance, in any form, to any religious group to be the most fair and effective way to preclude religious discrimination and avoid religious favoritism within American society.

A distinctive feature of this period was the open concern shown by the Democratic and Republican parties to win the favor of American Jews. As Jews constituted slightly less than 2.5 percent of the total United States population and 5 percent of American voters, this concern was not due solely to the size of the Jewish vote. Rather, given the Jewish community's concentration in six important states – New York, Florida, California, Ohio, Pennsylvania, and Illinois – where historically they voted in large numbers and earned a reputation of being generous to liberal causes, it was believed that a swing on the part of the Jewish electorate might have important results. On the Jewish side, a consciousness of their own common political interests heightened the disposition to be wooed. Concern for the State of Israel, the plight of Soviet Jewry, fear of "discrimination in reverse" and urban violence, and the example of political assertiveness set by other minorities, provided the scope and inducement for American Jews to scrutinize candidates and their parties in the light of their record on matters of cardinal importance to the organized Jewish community.

Meanwhile, certain ideologues of the left, Jewish and non-Jewish, argued that there was an intrinsic conflict between being liberal and supporting Israel. These critics declared that Israel was guilty, inter alia, of a series of human rights violations in the West Bank and Gaza Strip, had engaged in secret nuclear testing and weapons sales to the apartheid government of South Africa, and had played a key role in the Iran-Contra (Irangate) affair. While most American Jews rejected such views, some Jewish leftists found an outlet in 1986 with the birth of *Tikkun*. Founded by 1960s activist Michael Lerner, *Tikkun* was a reaction to the "over-materialism and lack of spirituality in Jewish life." Pragmatically, it challenged the conservative interests of *Commentary* and defended Jewish liberalism against allegations by those on the far left. Like Breira in the 1970s and, to a certain extent, the New Jewish Agenda in the 1980s, *Tikkun* adopted the mandate of formulating a progressive political agenda for the American Jewish community. It gained immediate prominence because of the noted intellectuals, Jewish and non-Jewish, whose articles and interviews it published and because of the outspoken dovish opinions of its editor, especially with regard to Israel's treatment of the Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza Strip.

The image of the Reagan White House as a bastion of Republican, white, Christian values encouraged political assertiveness among fundamentalist church groups. This resulted in an unprecedented effort on the part of national Christian fundamentalist organizations such as the Moral Majority to align themselves with the conservative New Right political movement in attempting to influence both the electoral and legislative processes. The difficulty the Jewish community had with these groups went beyond their opposition to its own positions on most social issues. By 1990 discontent with the Republican administration of George H.W. Bush, Reagan's successor and former vice president, helped return the number of Jewish Democrats to just under 60 percent, although the number of Jewish Republican voters remained at 15 percent. According to a 1992 University of Michigan study, American Jews remained an active political force, since about 90 percent of the Jewish population was spread among only 12 states, namely, New York, New Jersey, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, Illinois, California, Florida, Maryland, Connecticut, Ohio, Texas, and Michigan. But the voter apathy which came to characterize the general American population had its effect on the number of American Jewish voters which declined from 92 percent in 1952 to 67 percent at the time of the study. As a result, the Jewish community stood at risk of losing the high-voter-turnout edge that had been the source of its national political influence.

As the country prepared for the 1992 presidential election, the Jewish community took stock of its relationship with the Republican Administration. During Bush's tenure, hundreds of thousands of Jews from the former Soviet Union, as well over fifteen thousand Jews from Ethiopia, arrived in Israel with the active support of the United States government. Bush also ended Saddam Hussein's aggression in the Middle East by enlisting and leading a military coalition in the 1991 Gulf War's Operation Desert Storm. American military personnel and equipment were stationed in Israel for the first time to assist in its defense against Iraq's SCUD missiles. At the same time, Bush stayed Israel's hand during the height of the war and prevented the Israel Defense Force from carrying out retaliatory air strikes against Western Iraq. This policy engendered much resentment among American Jews. After intensive and sensitive negotiations, the Bush Administration succeeded in establishing the first face-to-face peace talks between Israel and most Middle East Arab states. Still, Bush maintained his policy of linking Israel's request for $10 billion in loan guarantees, intended for the resettlement and absorption of immigrants from the former Soviet Union, to a freeze by the Israeli government of Yitzhak *Shamir on all construction in the West Bank. In response, the Jewish community mounted a concerted campaign in Washington to reverse Bush's opposition, or if need be, to persuade the Congress to grant the loan guarantees in spite of it. Bush revealed his ire at these efforts in 1991, when he said in a press interview, "…I'm up against some powerful political forces, but I owe it to the American people to tell them how strongly I feel about deferral [of the loan guarantees]… I heard today that there were something like a thousand lobbyists on the Hill working the other side of the question. We've got one lonely guy down here doing it." His remark, implying the exercise of undue political influence by American Jews, engendered great consternation throughout the Jewish community. After being made aware of the effect of his words, he offered clarification and an apology.

Bush's attitude toward Israel and appeal to the Christian Right troubled American Jews deeply. In contrast to Bush's public endorsement of the importance of religion and Christian values within American society, Democratic presidential candidate Bill Clinton and his party represented the more liberal domestic tradition that American Jews had supported since the New Deal Administration of Franklin D. Roosevelt. Clinton, who was personally known to be a friend of the Jewish state, made it clear to the Jewish community that he would be a much more unequivocal ally of Israel in its search for peace than had the Bush Administration. At the party's national convention in 1992, the Democrats drafted the strongest pro-Israel platform in recent decades. Its Israel plank affirmed the "special" U.S.-Israel relationship, criticized the Bush administration for not being an "honest broker" in the peace process, recognized Jerusalem as the capital of Israel, condemned antisemitism, and called upon the United States to further assist in the absorption of immigrants in Israel. When the election was held, Jewish voters overwhelmingly supported Bill Clinton and the Democratic Party. A combination of exit polls indicated that Clinton received approximately 80 percent of all Jewish votes. Incumbent George Bush received between only 10–15 percent and independent candidate H. Ross Perot between 5–10 percent. Analysts attributed American Jews' disproportionate support for Clinton to a tradition of voting Democratic, dissatisfaction with the Bush Administration's treatment of Israel, and a feeling of alienation from Bush's patrician background. These factors appeared to outweigh speculation that more Jews, feeling confident and secure in their socio-economic position, might abandon the Democratic Party in 1992 and vote Republican.

In 1993 President Clinton announced his nomination to the U.S. Supreme Court of Federal Appeals Court Judge Ruth Bader *Ginsburg, 60, to replace retiring Justice Byron White, considered a moderate. For 25 years, the so-called "Jewish seat" on the Supreme Court remained unoccupied. Beginning in 1916 with the appointment of Louis Brandeis, this seat was held consecutively for over a half-century by justices Benjamin Cardozo, Felix Frankfurter, Arthur *Goldberg, and finally Abe *Fortas, who resigned in 1969. The matter of filling the "Jewish seat" on the Supreme Court was dealt with cautiously among Jewish groups. No Jewish organization ever actively lobbied for this cause. While there was little doubt that most

American Jews looked forward to the appointment of another Jewish justice and were personally pleased over Ginsburg's nomination, the community's traditional and ardent public opposition to filling any position on the basis of religion, race, or ethnicity resulted in constrained enthusiasm. Steven Freeman of the Anti-Defamation League summarized the Jewish position by saying: "The criteria (sic) should be merit, the best qualified person for the job. We would not recommend that the person be chosen by ethnicity. By the same token, we would be pleased if the best qualified person happened to be Jewish." Most public commentary on Ginsburg's nomination emphasized her feminist, not her Jewish, interests. Ginsburg had won five out of six womens' rights cases which she had argued before the Supreme Court. In announcing her nomination, Clinton noted: "Many admirers of her work say that she is to the Women's moment what former Supreme Court Justice Thurgood Marshall was to the movement for the rights of African Americans." Ginsburg had served as a law professor at Columbia and Rutgers universities.

In 1984, as a presiding justice, Ginsburg indicated support for the right of a Jewish Air Force Captain, Dr. Simcha Goldman, to continue wearing a yarmulke while in uniform in spite of this constituting a technical violation of the military dress code. A Federal District Court ruled in favor of Goldman, but this ruling was later reversed by the Circuit Court of Appeals. Ginsburg was also one of the judges who rejected convicted spy Jonathan *Pollard's 1992 appeal against his life sentence. Pollard's attorneys argued that his 1987 life sentence constituted a miscarriage of justice since the government had violated its plea bargain agreement and implied to the court a preference for a maximum sentence. Ginsburg and Laurence Silberman, also Jewish, rejected Pollard's argument, while the only non-Jew on the three-judge panel, Judge Stephen Williams, dissented.

Ginsburg's appointment was confirmed 96–3 by the U.S. Senate. The only senators to oppose Ginsburg were conservative Republicans Jesse Helms of North Carolina, Robert Smith of New Hampshire, and Don Nickles of Oklahoma. They expressed concern over Ginsburg's support for abortion rights as well as her opposition to any form of discrimination against gay men and lesbians. Earlier, however, the Senate Judiciary Committee had unanimously approved her nomination. In her testimony before the committee, Ginsburg spoke of her strong distaste for discrimination which she related to her grandparents fleeing of pogroms in Eastern Europe as well as her personal experience with antisemitism in the United States. On August 10, Ginsburg, standing alongside President Clinton and her husband, and using a Hebrew Bible, was sworn in by Chief Justice William Rehnquist, thereby becoming the first female Jewish U.S. Supreme Court Justice in history.

After a quarter of a century without a Jewish justice, one year later there were two. Initially passed over by President Clinton in 1993, Gerald Stephen *Breyer was appointed by the president to the Court in 1994. His appointment came following the resignation of Justice Harry A. Blackmun.

Other significant American Jewish appointees who rose to national prominence during the Clinton administration were Secretary of Labor Robert *Reich, Secretary of the Treasury Robert *Rubin, Secretary of State Madeline Albright (who was raised Episcopalian by converted parents), Secretary of Defense William *Cohen, and National Security Advisor Sandy *Berger. Under Clinton, Alan *Greenspan continued his term as chairman of the Federal Reserve. (Greenspan's successor, Ben Bernanke, who was appointed by President George W. Bush, is also Jewish and active in Jewish communal life.)

Jewish mayors, at least in large cities, remained a rare commodity for much of the 1970s and 1980s. An important exception in the earlier phase of this period was the election in 1975 of Abraham D. *Beame as mayor of New York City. This was the first time New York, which long boasted the largest Jewish community in the world, elected a Jewish chief magistrate. Beame's term of office coincided with a fiscal crisis that threatened New York with bankruptcy and he consequently failed to secure the Democratic nomination for reelection. In 1978 Democrat Edward Koch, an especially colorful and outspoken figure, became the city's second Jewish mayor; he was elected to three consecutive terms. In 2001 the influential investment advisor Michael *Bloomberg, a Jewish Democrat-turned-Republican, prevailed over a field of opponents, including another popular Jewish Democrat, and was elected mayor. Bloomberg handily won reelection in 2005, garnering considerable of support from a plurality of the city's ethnic constituencies.

By contrast, American Jews succeeded in being elected and reelected to Congress in numbers disproportionate to their percentage of the general population, even in districts with an insignificant number of Jewish voters. Some of the most prominent figures in this regard were Senators Barbara *Boxer (California), Russell *Feingold (Wisconsin), Diane *Feinstein (California), Herb *Kohl (Wisconsin), Frank *Lautenberg (New Jersey), Joseph *Lieberman (Connecticut), Charles *Schumer (New York), Arlen *Specter (Pennsylvania), and Paul *Wellstone (Minnesota), and Ron *Wyden (Oregon). Noteworthy Jews elected to the U.S. House of Representatives included Bella *Abzug (New York), Barney Frank (Massachusetts), Holocaust survivor Tom *Lantos (California), the socialist Bernie *Sanders (Vermont), and Henry Waxman (California).

The presidential election of George W. Bush in 2000 marked a turning point for the country and was greeted cautiously by the American Jewish community. Memories of the previous Bush administration's anti-Jewish sentiment – former Secretary of State James Baker was reported to have once said, "F—k the Jews, they don't vote for us anyway" – and the younger Bush's evangelical Christian orientation prompted widespread suspicion in American Jewish circles. On the other hand, the excitement that accompanied the unprecedented selection by former Vice President Al Gore of Senator Joseph Lieberman, a modern Orthodox Jew, to be his running mate was palpable in American Jewish circles. For a majority of American Jews, the Gore-Lieberman ticket was an ideal combination – moderate on economic policy, liberal on social policy, and activist with respect to foreign policy. A Gore administration also virtually guaranteed a continuation of Clinton's Middle East diplomacy. In the event, fewer than 20 percent of American Jews cast their ballots for the Republican standard bearer. Furthermore, many American Jewish voters were deeply disappointed when, owing to voting irregularities, the U.S. Supreme Court decided the presidential election in favor of Bush.

Despite the wide gap between the Bush administration's conservative views – its opposition to abortion and church-state separation – and American Jewry's moderate liberalism, the president himself reached out to the American Jewish leadership. He was aided in this regard by Ari Fleischer, the White House press secretary. In addition to modest efforts like hosting the first Ḥanukkah celebration at the White House, Bush displayed unequivocal, open, and even warm support for Israel and its leaders, while pointedly denying Yasser Arafat and the Palestinians similar treatment. This was markedly different from the support Clinton had shown to the Arab parties.

In the wake of the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, American Jews, like other American constituencies, closed ranks behind the president. But the American Jewish community soon found itself at odds with the Bush administration's views on the necessity of invading Afghanistan to hunt the Al-Qaeda terrorist group and its leader Osama bin Laden as well as its concomitant determination to curtail civil liberties in order to fight the "War on Terrorism." What emerged in 2001 as concern over the broadly construed USA-Patriot Act, which critics feared could lead to egregious violations of the constitutional rights of law-abiding citizens, reached a pivotal juncture with the imprisonment of noncitizens at Guantanamo. Captured by American forces in Afghanistan and deemed "unlawful combatants" by the American government, they were denied the procedural safeguards customarily afforded prisoners of war and held indefinitely. Meanwhile, U.S. Attorney General John Ashcroft issued a series of directives aimed at elevating surveillance activities among the prisoners and across the country generally.

The American Jewish community was divided over what, if any, public response might be warranted under the circumstances. For example, the annual conference of the Jewish Council for Public Affairs (JCPA), meeting in 2002, passed a resolution criticizing the administration for undermining civil liberties in the name of national security. But to satisfy a split between the groups opposed to the Bush policies – led by the Reform movement's Religious Action Center and the National Council for Jewish Women – and the moderates who believed such a resolution to be "premature" – the American Jewish Committee, the Anti-Defamation League, B'nai B'rith, and Hadassah – a supplementary statement was issued that the JCPA supported "strengthening domestic antiterrorism measures that enhance law enforcement capabilities" without infringing upon "basic constitutional rights." Next, the passage of the Homeland Security Act, which created a new cabinet-level department, gave the U.S. government unprecedented surveillance powers over "federal government, state and local government agencies (including law enforcement agencies), and private sector entities." The widespread unease displayed by American Jewish groups over such an open-ended mandate was tempered, at least temporarily, by the assurances of Congressional leaders like Senator Arlen Specter who, in a speech to the American Jewish Committee in 2002, announced his intention "to craft a new bill that maintained the law's core provisions while ameliorating the problematic civil liberties issues." Two notable exceptions in this regard were Senators Russell Feingold and Paul Wellstone, who vigorously opposed the war from the beginning.

Over the course of several months, the Bush administration continued to make the case for isolating and invading Iraq. It alleged the totalitarian regime of Saddam Hussein possessed "weapons of mass destruction" and that Iraq was linked to the 9/11 terrorist attacks on the U.S. Though the charges remained unproven, approximately 65 percent of Americans supported the president's position when in March 2003 the U.S. launched a massive offensive against Iraq. Within weeks, an American-led military coalition succeeded in toppling the Hussein regime and occupying the country. While it was widely presumed the American Jewish community supported the war, owing especially to Iraq's profile as one of Israel's most dangerous foes, polls revealed that 54 percent of American Jews disapproved of Bush's handling of the conflict. Still, antisemitic and anti-Israel groups as well as some antiwar activists accused the Jews of fomenting the war to further Zionist aims. In reality, however, although a poll sponsored by the American Jewish Committee on the eve of the 2004 presidential election discerned strong American Jewish backing for the Bush administration's Israel policy, including the president's tacit endorsement of Israel's unilateral withdrawal from the Gaza Strip and the establishment of the West Bank security barrier, antiwar sentiment among American Jews persisted at high levels. The poll also found that American Jews backed the Democratic candidate Senator John F. Kerry (Massachusetts) by a nearly 3-to-1 margin and that disapproval of the Iraq war among Jews had risen to 66 percent. David Harris, executive director of the American Jewish Committee, suggested the poll gave a "bird's eye view of where American Jews are on the important issues of the day." The data painted a picture, he explained, of a community that was "very supportive of Israel, very multilateralist, skeptical of the Bush administration's policy in Iraq, and domestically very liberal." Following Bush's reelection to office in 2004, it was determined that Kerry won 77 percent of the Jewish vote and Bush received 22 percent. While this pattern was consistent with past Jewish support for Democratic candidate, Bush actually made modest gains among younger American Jewish voters since he was first elected in 2000.

In the ensuing months, as the Iraq war continued and revelations emerged of abuses by American military personnel at the Abu Ghraib prison, American Jewish opposition to the war increased to 70 percent. This figure was no doubt influenced by the growing death toll of American soldiers and Iraqi civilians which rose, respectively, to over 2000 and approximately 35,000 in 2005. Meanwhile, according to Pentagon estimates, the cost of the war grew to more than $5.8 billion per month.

BLACK-JEWISH RELATIONS. Relations at the community level between blacks and Jews were troubled and strained in the period under review. American Jewish Committee leader Murray Friedman's assertion that "the black-Jewish alliance of the civil rights days is simply gone" was borne out in various surveys that reflected a growing resentment of Jews by blacks, especially among younger blacks on college campuses. A handful of black leaders gained notoriety for their anti-Jewish sentiments, which were accompanied by anti-Israel and pro-Palestinian statements. Less frequently reported were examples of cooperation taking place among black and Jewish leaders in Congress, in city halls, and in inter-communal dialogues around the country.

Undoubtedly, some of the outstanding issues between the two communities were rooted in the past. But the issues themselves were current. For example, prominent black leader the Rev. Jesse Jackson had made himself anathema to many American Jews in 1979, the year he embraced PLO Chairman Yasser Arafat in front of the press, called for the establishment of an independent Palestinian state, and criticized the Jewish community for the dismissal by President Jimmy Carter of Andrew Young, American ambassador to the United Nations, after his unauthorized contact with Yasser Arafat.

During the 1980s Jackson continued to be critical of Israel for its relationship with South Africa, and called Zionism a "kind of poisonous weed that is choking Judaism," while he continued to support Palestinian demands for an independent state. However, the nadir of Jackson's relationship with American Jews came in 1984 when in a private conversation with a black *Washington Post* reporter, Jackson referred to Jews as "Hymies" and to New York as "Hymietown." The Jewish community, aghast at the candidate's remark, subsequently received an apology by Jackson during a speech made at a synagogue. By the beginning of the 1990s, Jackson had made attempts to improve his relationship with the Jewish community, initially by condemning antisemitism at the 1992 World Jewish Congress on antisemitism in Brussels and later by spearheading efforts of black-Jewish cooperation.

By far the nation's most controversial black personality, known for his direct attacks upon the Jewish community, was Chicago-based Louis Farrakhan, head of the black Muslim sect Nation of Islam. Farrakhan frequently made derogatory and insulting statements about Jews, Judaism, and the State of Israel. In his sermons he referred to the "lying and deceit" of Jews, and the "tyranny of Jewish shopkeepers and landlords who swarmed the ghetto communities to prey upon our people." In a 1984 radio broadcasts he declared Hitler a "great man" and referred to Judaism as a "gutter religion." He also accused Jewish doctors of injecting the AIDS virus into black babies. Furthermore, the Nation of Islam published and sold two antisemitic tracts, *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion* and *The Secret Relationship between Blacks and Jews*. While Farrakhan's vituperative statements strained black-Jewish relations, within the black community he was criticized by the NAACP, the Urban League, and many church groups.

A third black personality to have stirred controversy with his statements about Jews was Leonard Jeffries, founding chairman of the black studies department at the City College of New York. In a 1991 speech at a black culture festival in Albany, New York, he defended New York State's multi-cultural education reform plan and attacked Jews in particular for opposing the plan. Among his most controversial statements, Jeffries accused Jews of dominating the slave trade and "conspiring for the destruction of black people" through control of Hollywood. After being removed as department head for making statements, Jeffries brought suit against CCNY, claiming his First Amendment rights had been violated. In May 1993, a U.S. district court, agreeing with Jeffries, awarded him $400,000 in damages, an amount reduced by the judge to $40,000. The judge noted Jeffries' behavior to be "repugnant, hateful, poisonous, and reprehensible," but instructed City College to return him to the chair of the Afro-American Studies Department.

An eruption broke out in the Crown Heights section of Brooklyn in 1991 when a station wagon driven by a ḥasidic Jew careened out of control and crashed into a sidewalk, killing a seven-year-old black boy and badly injuring a black girl. When the driver stepped out of the car, he was attacked and robbed by angry black bystanders. Before police and medical personnel reached the scene, the crowd broke up into smaller groups and turned in different directions throwing rocks and bottles at people, cars, and homes. One of these frenzied groups came upon 29-year-old Yankel Rosenbaum, an ultra-Orthodox Jew from Australia who was visiting New York City. Rosenbaum was severely beaten and stabbed to death. Though 17-year-old Lemrick Nelson, Jr. was arrested for Rosenbaum's murder, he was acquitted by a mostly black and Latino jury.

The episode was followed by three days and four nights of rioting by blacks in Crown Heights, a community variously estimated to include 12,000 to 25,000 mostly ḥasidic Jews and 100,000 to 180,000 blacks. The New York Police Department and the city's first black mayor David Dinkins were criticized for not being able to control the riots. The Crown Heights affair acted as a catalyst for additional rioting by blacks in other large cities around the country over the next few days. Although well-intentioned community leaders initiated attempts at inter-community dialogue, the development of the case and the coverage it received in the press exacerbated tensions between blacks and Jews.

Following federal and state investigations, which criticized the mayor, the police, and even the courts for mishandling of the Crown Heights affair, Dinkins lost the 1993 mayoral election to Republican candidate Rudolph Giuliani. Giuliani became the first Republican elected mayor of New York since 1965. Exit polls conducted determined that only 4 percent of all those questioned were influenced by Dinkins' handling of the Crown Heights riots. Jewish – especially ḥasidic – neighborhoods, however, voted overwhelmingly for Giuliani. Meanwhile, a Roper Organization poll demonstrated the persistence of ethnic rivalry, with almost half of New York City residents, 47 percent, answering that Jews had "too much influence" in city life and politics. Among African Americans, the figure was 63 percent and among Hispanics 66 percent. A hopeful but provocative response to this rivalry was a *New Yorker* cover drawn by Art Spiegelman, author/artist of *Maus: A Survivor's Tale*, a popular comic book-style rendering of the history of the Holocaust and its impact on American Jews. Spiegelman's wish for reconciliation took the metaphoric form of an ḥasidic man kissing a black woman. Both the Jewish and black communities expressed ire over this illustration.

In the 1990s Jesse Jackson took determined steps towards rapprochement with the Jewish community. Speaking at a conference on antisemitism convened by the World Jewish Congress in Brussels in July 1992, he condemned "racism and antisemitism (as) scientifically and morally wrong." In marked contrast to his previous public position on the subject, he also praised Zionism as a "liberation movement." In 1993, he met with Israel's foreign minister Shimon *Peres and pledged to help seek freedom of emigration for Syria's Jews. Jackson also played a constructive mitigating role in the controversy that erupted that year over the nomination by President Bill Clinton of Lani Guinier, a black legal studies scholar, to the position of assistant attorney general for civil rights in the U.S. Department of Justice. The Jewish community reacted critically to her nomination and expressed concern over Guinier's support for an interpretation of the Voting Rights Act favoring blacks and other minorities. In the event, President Clinton withdrew his nomination and the black community was angered by what it viewed as the successful torpedoing of its candidate by Jewish interest groups. Meanwhile, Jewish groups sought to downplay their influence over the president's decision.

These tensions dissipated over time – at least among the leaders of both communities – and within the space of a few years black-Jewish relations exhibited noticeable improvement. A turning point was signaled in 2000 when the New York-based Foundation for Ethnic Understanding, originally established in 1989 by Rabbi Marc Schneier and Joseph Papp, launched a Web site devoted to supporting the improvement of dialogue between African Americans and American Jews. The Web site, which promoted the collaborative efforts of Jewish and black leaders and organizations, announced: "We are committed to the belief that direct, face-to-face, dialogue between leaders of ethnic communities is the most effective path toward the reduction of bigotry and the promotion of reconciliation and understanding." That same year, Jesse Jackson gave a keynote address to a World Jewish Congress-sponsored meeting focused on the question of black-Jewish relations. Jackson called the relationship "better than ever," but also emphasized that "we still have unfinished business." Jackson's rehabilitation in the eyes of American Jews was completed later that year when he publicly and actively devoted himself to securing the release of thirteen Iranian Jews detained by the Iranian regime on charges of spying for Israel.

CHRISTIAN-JEWISH RELATIONS. On the whole, relations between the Jewish community and most Christian denominations were positive in this period. However, one serious area of contention between American Jewish leaders and mainline Christian churches was the Middle East. In 1992, these groups continued to express their objection to Israel's presence in the Occupied Territories, by publicly opposing Israel's request to the United States for $10 billion in loan guarantees. "An Open Statement of Religious Leaders to President George Bush," proffered by the National Council of Churches (NCC), called upon the president to "oppose housing loan guarantees to Israel until it halts construction and expansion of settlements in the West Bank, Gaza, and East Jerusalem." It was signed by representatives of the Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.), the Lutheran Council, the Episcopal Church, the Mennonites, the American Baptist Church, the United Church of Christ, the Reformed Church of America, and the Unitarian-Universalist Association. An even stronger tone was used in a resolution debated by the United Methodist Church; it failed to pass for technical reasons. In general, criticism of Israel by these bodies continued until the 1993 signing of the Israel-PLO Declaration of Principles in Washington, D.C.

In the areas of social and economic justice, Protestant and Jewish groups shared concern over the growth of the Christian Right. *The Religious Right: The Assault on Tolerance and Pluralism* (1994), published by the Anti-Defamation League, analyzed the ongoing and well-funded effort by evangelical Christian groups to blur the traditional separation between religion and politics in America and initiate new legislation, both at the local and national level, reflecting their anti-pluralistic, fundamentalist religious values. It pointed to efforts led by Pat Robertson and the Christian Coalition, preacher Jerry Falwell, and activist Time LaHaye as well as those of organizations with innocuous-sounding names like CARE (Citizens Advocating Responsible Education) and CEE (Citizens for Excellence in Education) who promoted candidates for school board seats, local Republican party committees, water commissions, and real estate zoning boards. These forces, it was argued, sought control of the Republican party by the year 2000 and constituted a threat to American democracy. They were thus to be regarded as a special threat by American Jews and other non-Protestant and non-white groups. Nonetheless, because of many issues on which the Religious Right coincided with Jewish concerns, including active and loyal Evangelical support of Israel, the relationship between the groups remained complicated.

There were also important developments in Catholic-Jewish relations in this era. The most significant breakthrough occurred in 1993 when Israel and the Vatican signed an agreement establishing full diplomatic relations between the Holy See and the Jewish state. Against this backdrop, a joint American Jewish-Catholic delegation visited Poland in order to address a number of issues in Polish-Jewish relations. Foremost was the progress on the construction of a new Carmelite convent and education-prayer center in the town of Oswiecim, not far from the Auschwitz/Birkenau death camp site. The new facility was an alternative to the existing convent situated nearer the entrance to the camp, over whose presence Jewish organizations long objected. In 1993, the office within the Church that oversees Catholic orders, with the support of the Pope, directed the nuns to relocate. On the other hand, Jewish groups expressed ambivalence about the Catholic Church's Catechism for the Universal Church (1992), which noted Christianity's Jewish roots and rejected the charge of deicide, but stopped short of an explicit condemnation of antisemitism. The catechism "gives final authority to what we have worked on for thirty years," stated James Rudin of the American Jewish Committee, "but [it] doesn't break any new ground." Next, in 1994 the Synagogue Council of America and the National Conference of Catholic Bishops issued a joint statement condemning pornography and asking communities and parents to exercise greater vigilance to prevent its exposure to young people.

Toward the end of the decade, a highly sensitive aspect of Catholic-Jewish relations emerged into a full-blown controversy. The matter concerned a panel of historians appointed in the late 1990s to investigate the role of Pope Pius XII during World War II and the Holocaust era. The panel had been assembled, in part, to address questions and assuage tensions resulting from Pope John Paul II's plans for the beatification and sainthood of Pius XII, who was alleged by many historians and Jewish community leaders to have been indifferent to the fate of European Jewry and even culpable within the wider context of the Nazi regime's plans to exterminate the Jews. When the panel was denied access to the Holy See's archives for "technical reasons," it disbanded and protested to the Vatican's Commission for Religious Relations with the Jews that "we cannot see a way forward at present to the final report you request, and believe we must suspend our work." The matter heated up further when Cardinal Walter Kasper, the senior figure charged with responsibility for the Vatican's relationship with the Jewish community, accused the Jewish members of the panel of "indiscretion" and making "polemical remarks to the press." The Jewish scholars responded that they had been "singled out for blame" and should be allowed unfettered access to the Vatican's historical documentation. The imbroglio prompted some Jewish historians to resign from the panel and historian Robert S. Wistrich of the Hebrew University called the episode "the lowest ebb in Catholic-Jewish relations since the 1960s." The matter remained an open source of contention, but the strained relations were eased somewhat in the spring of 2001 when the pontiff, together with the chief rabbi of Ukraine, paid a visit to Babi Yar, where thousands of Jews had been killed in 1941 by the Nazis.

HOLOCAUST-RELATED MATTERS. In the 1980s and 1990s, Holocaust memorialization efforts on the part of American Jewry developed into a major activity and social psychological phenomenon. Faced with the reality of Holocaust survivors succumbing to natural attrition and aided by the retrospective vision of two generations, American Jews focused considerable resources, including time, money and skills, on producing an unprecedented number of Holocaust projects to serve as testaments and memorials for posterity. This was expressed in everything from the creation of artwork, books, films, school curricula, events and conferences for survivors and their children to organized tours to Eastern Europe to visit the sites of former Jewish communities and Nazi death camps. A number of Jewish communities, among them Baltimore, Boston, Chicago, Miami, New York, Pittsburgh, San Francisco, and St. Louis, established regional Holocaust monuments, museums, and educational centers. Furthermore, many states adopted new statutes and mandated the teaching of the Holocaust in middle and senior high school across the country. Most American Jews supported these efforts and responded favorably to the commemoration and normalization of the Holocaust in American Jewish life. Support was also manifest in the countrywide growth of Holocaust studies as an academic field and the convening of scholarly meetings such as the annual conference of the Holocaust Education Foundation.

Two major efforts in this period were the opening in 1993 of the Beit Hashoah-Museum of Tolerance in Los Angeles and the *United States Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington, D.C. Although funding for the institutions was raised mainly through private donations, both were surrounded by controversy even before they opened their doors to the public. Five million dollars for the Wiesenthal project came from the State of California and the land upon which the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington stands was donated by the federal government. In both cases, questions arose over whether these donations violated the constitutional principle of separation between religion and state. The Wiesenthal museum's many state of the art high-tech educational exhibits also aroused controversy because, as critics charged, they detracted from the solemnity of the subject. Repeated changes in its design and plans resulted in it taking six years to complete at a cost of $55 million instead of two years and $15 million.

The U.S. Memorial Holocaust Museum, built at a cost of $168 million, faced a controversy of a different nature. Since its founding in the 1970s under the Carter administration, the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Council, the body charged with the planning and development of the project, was split over the issue of which message the museum was to communicate. The Council was divided into two camps, one which wished to emphasize the specifically Jewish aspect of the Holocaust, the other which sought to convey a more universal theme it thought would increase its relevance to non-Jewish visitors. Less than a month before its opening, Harvey Meyerhoff and William Lowenberg, chairman and vice chairman of the council respectively (and both aligned with the universal camp), were forced to resign under pressure from the new Clinton administration. Meyerhoff and Lowenberg, appointed by former President Ronald Reagan, had opposed extending an invitation to speak at the opening ceremony to President of Israel Chaim Herzog. President Bill Clinton wanted the participation of Herzog, and saw the disagreement as an opportunity to relieve the two Republicans. They were replaced by Miles Lerman and Ruth Mandel. The two new heads sought to place more a Jewish emphasis on the institution that included its closing on Yom Kippur, in addition to Christmas.

The dedication ceremony for the museum in 1993, attended by President Clinton, was marred by controversy over the presence of Croatian President Franjo Tudjman. Tudjman, author of *Wastelands – Historical Truth* (1988), in which he attributed the accounting of six million Jews murdered by the Nazis to "too much on both emotional, biased testimonies and on exaggerated data in the postwar reckonings of war crimes," was also known to have made antisemitic remarks in public, including the statement that Jews are "selfish, crafty, unreliable, miserly and underhanded." The author and Nobel laureate Elie Wiesel publicly criticized Tudjman's participation in the event. The controversy was partially tempered by the visit to the museum of His Holiness the Dalai Lama, who was, in fact, the institution's first official visitor.

A third major American Holocaust center, New York City's A Living Memorial to the Holocaust – *Museum of Jewish Heritage, opened in 1994 on a plot of land situated on the waterfront in Battery Park City, directly opposite the Statue of Liberty and Ellis Island. Construction of the museum had been postponed for many years, partly due to complicated lease negotiations with the municipality. This long-term project was initiated in 1981 when then Mayor Edward I. *Koch appointed a Holocaust Memorial Task Force (later a commission) to begin work to create such an institution.

Next, five years after a Jerusalem court sentenced John Demjanjuk (alleged to be "Ivan the Terrible" of Treblinka) to death and placed him in solitary confinement, the Israeli Supreme Court ruled in 1993 there was not enough evidence to convict him. Demjanjuk subsequently returned to the United States, where a lengthy judicial process produced "clear, unequivocal, and convincing evidence" of his service in Nazi death camps and in 2005 the 6th U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals ruled he could be stripped of his American citizenship. Demjanjuk's lawyers appealed the court's decision, arguing that "having marked Mr. Demjanjuk with blood scent, the [United States] government wants to drop him into a shark tank." Chief U.S. Immigration Judge Michael J. Creppy asserted there was no evidence, however, to substantiate Demjanjuk's claim he would be mistreated if deported to his native Ukraine. Assistant Attorney General Alice S. Fischer stated: "The chief immigration judge's decision reaffirms the important principle that the United States will continue to track down and remove individuals who assisted the Nazis in their brutal campaign of terror, and secure a measure of justice on behalf of the Nazis' victims."

In 1994 *Schindler's List*, a feature film about German industrialist Oskar *Schindler, who was personally responsible for saving the lives of over a thousand Jews by employing them in his factory, opened to American audiences. The $23 million film production, conceived of and directed by Steven *Spielberg, was based on a book by Thomas Keneally. The worldwide critical and financial success of *Schindler's List* was unprecedented. The film won seven Oscar awards and generated revenues estimated at $300 million. Spielberg used some $50 million from the film's profits to establish The Righteous Persons Foundation. A second project was the creation of the *Survivors of the Shoah Visual History Foundation, with assets of over $30 million, which developed a state-of-the-art multi-media archive comprising in-depth interviews with Holocaust survivors as well as educational materials such as books, documentary films, and CD-ROMS.

In stark contrast to the widespread success of *Schindler's List* and the highly visible projects sponsored by Spielberg, throughout the 1990s Holocaust denial, the propagation of the argument and the dissemination of information minimizing the degree to which the Nazis persecuted the Jews during World War II, including the denial of the Nazis' systematic mass murder of European Jewry, continued unabated in a variety of public arenas. For example, Holocaust denial activists made a special effort to target college campuses throughout the United States. The Committee for Open Debate on the Holocaust (CODOH), led by Bradley R. Smith, succeeded in placing full-page advertisements and op-ed pieces in dozens of college newspapers. One ad was entitled "The Holocaust: How Much is False? The Case for Open Debate." A second, published in the spring of 1992 was called "Falsus in Uno, Falsus in Omnibus… the 'Human Soap' Holocaust Myth." A widely reprinted essay that first appeared in 1993 was "A Revisionist's View on the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington, D.C.," which argued that the homicidal Nazi gas chambers never existed. The appearance of these materials engendered great media attention followed by an immediate backlash of criticism from students, faculty, the local Jewish community and national Jewish organizations. The scholar Deborah E. Lipstadt documented the extent of this campaign in *Denying the Holocaust: The Growing Assault on Truth and Memory* (1993). Meanwhile, as part of its "Confronting Antisemitism Project," the Anti-Defamation League launched a Web site titled "Holocaust Denial: An Online Guide to Exposing and Combating Anti-Semitic Propaganda," which aimed to make available information to counter Holocaust denial claims and expose the activities of "career antisemites" including Willis Allison Carto, David *Irving, Ingrid Rimland, Bradley R. Smith, Mark Weber, and Ernst Zundel.

The explosion of interest in Holocaust history reached something of a fever pitch with the publication in 1996 of

Daniel Goldhagen's *Hitler's Willing Executioners*. In this highly provocative work, Goldhagen advanced the argument that ordinary Germans not only knew about the Hitler regime's efforts to exterminate the Jews but were predisposed to accept the Nazi worldview owing to a unique and virulent "eliminationist" strain of antisemitism endemic to German culture. The book generated a firestorm of controversy in academic circles and, at the same time, became an international best-seller. Virtually overnight, Goldhagen became a familiar figure on national television and on the lecture circuit throughout the United States and Europe. He was also attacked by many established Holocaust scholars who challenged his findings and questioned his research, including Yehuda *Bauer, Christopher *Browning, Saul Friedman, and Fritz Stern.

Critics of American Jewry's seemingly inexhaustible fascination with the Holocaust charged that the success of phenomena like the film *Schindler's List*, the Goldhagen volume, and even the opening of Holocaust museums and memorials in different parts of the country illustrated American Jewry's base impulses and lack of a substantive grasp of world and Jewish history. They further argued the Holocaust itself was being exploited by many American Jews for contemporary political and social purposes, including shielding Israel from public criticism and offering a temporary salve to those who feared the weakening of American Jewish identity. The historian Peter Novick articulated this view in a controversial book titled *The Holocaust in American Life* (1999). Novick's detractors, however, averred that although *The Holocaust in American Life* was painstakingly researched, its scholarly value was undermined by the author's "evident distaste for the idea of Jewish distinctiveness and his commitment to a universalistic political agenda."

Parallel to the public debates described above were the highly visible Holocaust restitution efforts which began in the early 1990s and assumed special intensity between 1995 and the turn of the centuries. Concerted efforts were made during these years to address the restitution and compensation claims of Holocaust survivors worldwide, a group estimated to be as high as 935,000 individuals. The main actors in the drama surrounding compensation for survivors of the Holocaust were the Claims Conference, the World Jewish Restitution Organization, and the World Jewish Congress. As a result of varied legal efforts that emanated from different corners of the globe, this triad was quickly enlarged to include a broad range of American and European officials as well as class action lawyers. Stuart *Eizenstat represented the U.S. government for much of the period in question. Working closely with Israel Singer and Edgar M. Bronfman, Sr., of the World Jewish Congress as well as other American Jewish leaders, Eizenstat sought to navigate a complex array of legal, diplomatic, economic, and political issues while negotiating competing claims made by European governments, insurance companies, and banks – particularly Swiss banks – and even Bank Leumi, the Israeli successor to the Anglo-Palestine Bank, and the Jewish National Fund. Between 1998 and 2001, more than $6.5 billion in restitution settlements were concluded for Jewish and non-Jewish victims of the Nazi regime. Even so, there remained considerable debate about the status of formerly Jewish-owned individual and communal properties in central and eastern Europe as well as works of art plundered by the Nazis. The relative success of the aforementioned compensation and restitution efforts could not, of course, erase or dim the impact of the catastrophic destruction of European Jewry by the Nazis during World War II. Speaking before the third international conference on the Holocaust in Stockholm in 2000, which focused on the theme of Holocaust education and remembrance, Eizenstat emphasized the enduring importance of efforts to come to terms with the Holocaust:

> We have been dealing heavily with the restitution of assets, trying to bring some measure of justice to surviving victims in everything from communal property to art to Swiss bank accounts to German slave and forced labor and insurance. These are all important and we are making progress in each of those areas. The significance of this historically important conference is that it begins, as we enter a new century, to move us away from what is important and immediate – money and assets – to what is enduring and lasting – memory and education. Financial restitution, while critical, cannot be the last word on the Holocaust. This conference assures [that] education, remembrance, and research will be.

Fifty years after World War II and the Holocaust, the issues and controversies outlined above surfaced with dramatic intensity and had a profound impact on American Jewry. In part, the flurry of American Jewish commemorative, artistic, scholarly, and restitution activity, which followed in the wake of the Soviet Union's collapse and the end of the Cold War, signaled the end of an era. Hitherto inaccessible archives in eastern and central Europe poured forth information about the assets of hundred of thousands of Holocaust victims, including survivors and their heirs who now lived in the United States. The turn of the centuries also proved to be a juncture for widespread communal and national introspection – in Europe and America. As the generation of war-era survivors began to fade, American Jews vigorously pursued avenues for preserving the memory and legacy of European Jewry and securing material compensation for Holocaust survivors worldwide.

Many of the controversies highlighted here have yet to dissipate; some of the disputes will probably never be resolved. Meanwhile, popular and scholarly interest in Holocaust studies, literature, films, documentaries, museums, memorials, and financial restitution continues unabated. According to the directory of the Association of Holocaust Organizations, by the year 2005 dozens of institutions in the United States were officially classified as Holocaust museums and the organization itself had a combined membership of over a hundred affiliated agencies, institutes, and educational operations. In addition, numerous resource centers, libraries, and archives, from Maine to Hawaii, offer seminars and workshops, operate speakers bureaus, collect and categorize historical documents, record and classify oral histories, organize commemoration ceremonies, and sponsor academic research and essay contests on the subject of the Holocaust. Many of the latter were established under Jewish communal auspices, with support from local and state government agencies. Some are also the beneficiaries of funding recovered as a result of Holocaust restitution efforts.

SOVIET JEWRY. Immigrants from the former Soviet Union constituted a distinct sub-population within the American Jewish community. According to the 1994 *American Jewish Year Book*, over 280,000 Jews from the former Soviet Union had immigrated to the United States since the mid-1960s. The waves of Russian Jewish migration generally fell into two periods: 1976–79 and 1989–92. A high point was reached in the years 1992 and 1993, for which the Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society (HIAS) reported the number of Russian Jewish immigrants to be 45,888 and 35,581, respectively. This movement was the immediate result of the breakdown of the Soviet regime, which also saw the emigration over half a million Jews to the State of Israel. The 1989 Lautenberg Amendment, named after Democratic Senator Frank Lautenberg of Pennsylvania, had eased the evidentiary requirements for refugees applying from certain countries. It permitted entry to the United States to individuals based on "persecution or a well-founded fear of persecution based on race, religion, nationality, membership in a particular social group, or political opinion." The Refugee Act of 1980, reauthorized in 1991, facilitated employment training and job placement, as well as English-language training, "in order to achieve economic self-sufficiency among refugees as quickly as possible." This law, combined with other legislation, made possible a variety of resettlement services to be offered to new Soviet Jewish immigrants. These services were primarily administered through the national network of Jewish organizations, including HIAS, local federations, and other local agencies.

The New York Association for New Americans (NYANA), for example, was responsible for resettling over 30 percent of the Soviet Jewish immigrants to have arrived in the United States since 1990. The second largest community of former Soviet Jewish immigrants resided in Los Angeles, with other large new immigrant groups settling in Chicago, San Francisco, Boston, and Miami. While short-term resettlement programs for former Soviet Jews won recognition both inside and outside the Jewish community, the immigrants' social and cultural integration into American Jewish life proved to be more of a challenge. After officially completing the resettlement process, relatively few sought affiliation with the Jewish community at large.

Unlike Russian Jewish immigrants from the former Soviet Union, Israelis residing permanently in the United States had, as a group, never been eligible for the package of resettlement services made available by the local Jewish community. Although seeking the bounty of America, Israelis were not recognized as refugees. Residing mainly in New York and Los Angeles, they succeeded in developing their own vibrant, Hebrew-speaking community life, separate from American Jews. While a number continued working for the organized Jewish community as supplementary, Sunday school, and day school teachers, in Jewish community centers, and summer camps, the majority found employment throughout all sectors of the economy. Many did not live in Jewish areas, and their children attended local American public schools.

A controversy with implications for Jewish philanthropy that arose within the social service field in this period concerned the large and increasing proportion of the Jewish émigrés from the Soviet Union who chose to settle in the United States rather than in Israel. The Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society (HIAS) extended to them the usual assistance it gives to Jewish immigrants. To this the Jewish Agency took exception on the ground that it was discouraging settlement in Israel. The two bodies reached an agreement as to procedure to be followed in Vienna, the principal staging point, whereby HIAS would deal with the émigrés only after they had declined the Agency's persuasions to proceed to Israel. Still the majority opted to settle in the United States, and the Jewish Agency continued its pressure on HIAS to withhold assistance. Meanwhile, the controversy reached back to the local Federations, and in a few cases they were reported to have declined to assist Russian Jews settled in their midst. Ultimately, Israeli Prime Minister Menahem Begin in 1980 presented a compromise plan to the directors of the Council of Jewish Federations (CJF). The CJF accepted the greater part of the plan but rejected a directive to HIAS that it assist only those émigrés with close relatives in the United States. Twelve months later HIAS acceded to further requests from the Jewish Agency to curtail its assistance to Russian émigrés, but by this time the flow from Russia had diminished to a trickle.

ZIONISM AND ISRAEL. The 1980s was a period in which the relationship between American Jews and Israel underwent measurable change, characterized by the disenchantment on the part of many American Jews with Israel's image and a willingness to publicly criticize Israel for adopting policies and actions perceived to be detrimental to itself or the Jewish people. Many identify the ascendancy of Begin and the rightwing Likud-led coalition government in 1977 as the beginning of this change. Begin's ideology and rhetoric, especially his desire to secure the borders of "Greater Israel," were viewed by many American Jews as jingoistic and provocative. His successor, Yitzhak Shamir, bore the same political ideology.

After nearly a decade of unflagging admiration and support, the aura surrounding the State of Israel began to dim. Research findings from this period indicate a steady decline in interest in Israel among American Jews, particularly among individuals under the age of 40. Nevertheless, it was also apparent that despite external circumstances, which could and did alter the American Jewish landscape in important ways, American Jewry's fundamental attitude to Israel was one of unconditional support. Put another way, the erosion of Arab intransigence over making peace with Israel, which exacerbated rifts in Israeli society, weakened the disposition of American Jews to sublimate or mask criticisms of Israeli policy. As the scholar Melvin I. Urofsky observed in this period, despite "deep divisions… over the wisdom of [the Begin government's] diplomatic and settlement policies" relations between American Jews and Israel were "strained yet still intact." Such an assessment could hardly have been made in the 1970s when it appeared the divisions referred to obtained mainly in intellectual circles but were not reflected in the alignment of organizations. With the passage of Israel's Golan Heights law, however, a new juncture was reached. Now, as Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler, chairman of the Conference of the Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations reported, there was "no unanimity… among American Jewish leaders" on matters of Israeli policy.

In addition to the Likud government's extensive settlement program in the West Bank and Gaza Strip, other issues and events that led to this change included Israel's bombing of Iraq's atomic reactor in June 1981, the extension of Israeli law to the Golan Heights in December 1981, the bombing of Beirut and Israel's indirect role in the Sabra and Shatilla refugee camp massacres during the 1982 Lebanon War, the sale of arms to Iran prior to the Irangate scandal, Israel's military and commercial ties to South Africa's apartheid government, the emergence of the still unresolved and highly charged "Who is a Jew?" issue, and Israel's role as portrayed in the media during the Palestinian Intifada. Certain American Jewish intellectuals were among the most critical of Israel's policies and actions.

Especially upsetting from the point of view of American Jews, and the only issue to have brought about a direct confrontation between the American Jewish community and the government of Israel, was the revival of the "Who is a Jew?" controversy. Although the roots of the argument lay in internal Israeli political developments going back to the beginning of the state, a string of events reignited the crisis at the end of 1988 and brought about the direct involvement of American Jewish leaders. The two contenders for the Israel premiership, Yitzhak Shamir and Shimon Peres, after the general elections were angling for the support of ultra-religious parties who stipulated the condition that Israeli law would be changed to recognize as Jews only those who underwent conversion under the auspices of an Orthodox rabbi in accordance with *halakhah* (traditional Jewish law).

Employing a Washington, D.C.–style lobbying effort, American Jews flew to Israel and met personally with government ministers, members of the Knesset, academicians, heads of industry, and the arts. The professional and lay heads of federations and other major American Jewish organizations came to state emphatically that any change in Israeli law would bring about the spiritual and possibly the physical alienation of American Jews from the State of Israel. In exchange for other concessions, the religious parties demanding this amendment agreed not to insist on their demand. A new government led by the Likud party was formed and the "Who is a Jew?" law was not amended.

In a controversial March 1987 op-ed article that appeared in the *Washington Post* the Judaica scholar Jacob *Neusner wrote: "It's time to say that America is a better place to be a Jew than Jerusalem." In addition to concern over the general instability of the region and Israel's external and internal political dilemmas, Neusner was disappointed that the Jewish State had not proven to be the world center of Jewish spirituality, scholarship, art, or literature. The Jewish community in the United States, he felt, had equal claim to that title.

The psychological gap between American and Israeli Jews was experienced in both directions, particularly during the 1991 Gulf War. While American Jews identified with the threat posed to Israel to the point of experiencing personal anguish, Israelis reported feeling abandoned by American Jews. As noted in the *Jerusalem Report* in 1992: "From August 1990, when Iraq invaded Kuwait… through March 1991, Israel lost a full 500,000 tourists, as compared to the year before… most of the drop was among American Jewish visitors; tourism from Europe and Christian America remained more or less stable."

The start of large-scale immigration from the U.S.S.R. in 1989 and its continuation after the breakup of the Soviet Union in 1991 increased Israel's population by some 400,000 by 1992 and gave a significant boost to Israel-Diaspora relations. Many of the new Russian immigrants were academicians and scientists with backgrounds in applied research, as well as a number of other professionals and entrepreneurs. As a result of initiatives taken by Israel, attempts at economic partnership between both private and communal American Jewish sources and the Jewish state began to develop alongside traditional philanthropic projects. Sensitive to the negative effects on Israel-diaspora relations which would inevitably result from a string of business failures, American Jewish investors developed a broad range of carefully researched investment opportunities, from startup incubator schemes, to the privatization of government-run concerns, to creating new partnerships within large, established corporations. One example was the "strategic alliance model" developed by the Jewish community of Boston. This program was based on the principle of allocating about 20 percent of funds raised for Israel to help create partnerships between Israeli hi-tech firms and their Massachusetts counterparts.

At the outset of 1992, pro-Israel activists were torn over how to respond to the President George H.W. Bush's insistence on linking approval of Israel's request for $10 billion in loan guarantees from the United States to a complete freeze on the construction and expansion of Jewish settlements in the West Bank. Israel was requesting the guarantees in order to secure $10 billion of credit on the international loan market needed for the absorption of the recent large wave of immigrants from the former Soviet Union. Meanwhile, Israel's Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir declared that none of the money secured through the loan guarantees would be used to support settlement expansion. However, as Shamir's detractors pointed out, including those within the American Jewish community, the money would most likely be used to free funds from Israel's own treasury for support of West Bank settlement.

Liberal organizations, such as the American Jewish Congress, the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, and the Jewish community relations councils of Milwaukee and Detroit, supported the idea of a total freeze. Conservative groups, such as Americans for a Safe Israel and the Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations of America, felt that to back the U.S. administration's demands would jeopardize Israel's future security. While Americans for Peace Now and the Jewish Peace Lobby condemned "the settlements" and publicly advocated a two-state solution to the Israeli-Palestinian controversy, other Jewish organizations such as the National Council of Jewish Women and the Zionist Organization of America, stood behind Israeli government policies and its application for the loan guarantees. AIPAC implemented a particularly vigorous public relations campaign over the issue. It was not until mid-August 1992, after Labor leader Yitzhak Rabin had succeeded Shamir as prime minister and announced a gradual halt to the construction of new West Bank settlements, that Israel and the United States announced an agreement on the basic principles that would allow the loan guarantees to proceed. Next, in a speech before B'nai B'rith, Bush announced he would recommend to Congress that it approve Israel's $10 billion loan guarantee request.

Jewish opinion of the Bush administration's overall record on Israel was mixed. On the one hand, the United States played a vital role in the May 1991 airlift operation of nearly 14,200 Ethiopian Jews to Israel in Operation Solomon. On the other hand, some American Jews resented the constraints placed on Israel by the United States during the Gulf War, which prevented Israel's air force from retaliating against Iraq for bombarding Israel with SCUD missiles. The relationship between the American Jewish community and the Bush administration ended rather poorly, mainly because of the loan guarantees struggle.

The return to power in 1992 of Israel's Labor party under the leadership of Yitzhak Rabin and the election that November of Democratic presidential candidate Bill Clinton ushered in a new era in Israel-American relations. As a result of these twin victories, American Jews were faced with a new situation. The government of Israel was now dovish instead of hawkish. Israel's new leaders were willing to negotiate for a settlement in far reaching terms, something their predecessors would never consider. Second, Israel's position towards the PLO confused many American Jews, who for decades knew the organization to be a ruthless terrorist group. One American Orthodox rabbi described the dilemma as a "psychological issue." "People have been told for twenty years the PLO is out of bounds," he explained. "You can't expect them to turn on a dime." Meanwhile, Clinton, who lacked George H.W. Bush's patrician background, was closer to the Jews generally and warmer to the Jewish state. The Clinton administration immediately embraced the peace process undertaken by the Rabin government, and it was felt that the tensions and strains that characterized recent American-Israel relations would now cease. Even so, a small but influential group of American Jewish public intellectuals spoke out against the policies of the new Rabin government and Clinton administration. These included, among others, *Commentary* editor Norman Podhoretz and former *New York Times* editor A.M. *Rosenthal. Podhoretz saw the peace process as a trap that, sooner or later, would lead Israel into a war in a diminished capacity.

Although the number of active pro-Israel American Jews was but a small percentage of the total Jewish population, both the Likud and Labor parties maintained supporters in the United States. The Labor party established a new organization, the Israel Policy Forum, to promote its policies. Its American-based Friends of Labor Israel, was set up outside the umbrella American Zionist Federation to raise funds for the party. Likud also had an American Friends organization and but continued to rely especially on the support of the mainstream Zionist Organization of America. Polls showed that over 60 percent of American Jews were more optimistic about the chances for peace in the Middle East as a result of Rabin's election.

Like most of the world, American Jews were surprised to hear in 1993 that secret talks taking place in Oslo between representatives of his government and the PLO had resulted in an historic agreement. According to its terms, Israel would hand over Gaza and Jericho where the Palestinians would create the first two autonomous self-rule areas. According to the *New York Times*, most American Jews reacted to the news with "a kind of hard-headed optimism, a feeling that recognition of the PLO and establishing relations with its leader, Yasser Arafat, [was] risky but promising." A minority felt that recognizing the PLO and its leader in spite of its record of terror was wrong.

On September 13, 1993, Rabin and Arafat were brought together on the White House lawn by President Bill Clinton to sign an accord of mutual recognition between Israel and the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO). A community survey conducted by the American Jewish Committee found that in the weeks following, some 90 percent of American Jews felt the Israel-PLO agreement to be a "positive development from Israel's point of view," with 57 percent favoring the establishment of a Palestinian state and 30 percent opposed. That summer, Rabin urged American Jewish leaders to complete the $1.2 billion Operation Exodus campaign intended to underwrite the resettlement costs of Jews from the former Soviet Union. No longer perceived as vulnerable or besieged, American Jews deployed the "Israel's Risks for Peace" campaign.

One of the most shocking news items of 1994, while ostensibly an internal Israeli affair, had a distinctively American Jewish angle. Early in the morning on the holiday of Purim, which fell on February 25, a Jewish physician and resident of the community of Kiryat Arba, entered the Cave of the Patriarchs in the adjacent city of Hebron and opened fire with an automatic rifle on a large group of Moslem worshipers. Twenty-nine Muslims died from their wounds and the physician, Dr. Baruch Goldstein, was killed on the spot by the enraged crowd. The fact that Goldstein was an American Jew was strongly emphasized in all media coverage of the event. American Jewish organizations, who swiftly and unconditionally condemned the massacre, took pains to distance Goldstein from the mainstream Jewish community. Nevertheless, Goldstein's deed raised the issue, both in Israel and the United States, of the seemingly disproportionate number of American-Jewish immigrants in Israel involved in extremist political groups such as Kach and Kahane Chai.

Israel's Deputy Foreign Minister Yossi *Beilin surprised Jews around the world, but particularly American Jews, with remarks he made before a WIZO convention held in Jerusalem in January 1994. Beilin claimed that the State of Israel was financially self-sufficient and no longer dependent on charity from Diaspora communities. Diaspora fundraising efforts, he argued, would be better directed towards local Jewish education. In reacting to Beilin's remarks, Rabin characterized them as "brainless," noting: "If Israel could not ask diaspora Jews for money, how could it ask the [non-Jewish] American taxpayer?"

In 1994, after more than four years, the absorption of 500,000 new immigrants, and nearly $900 million in aid, the United Jewish Appeal's Operation Exodus officially came to a close. Funds from Operation Exodus were used to help Jews immigrate to Israel from the former Soviet Union and Ethiopia. The campaign was launched in 1990, with an original three-year goal of $420 million needed for an estimated 200,000 immigrants. When 185,000 new immigrants arrived in 1990, the goal of the campaign was doubled. The $910 million actually raised, fell just short of the campaign's declared goal of $1 billion.

American Jews were shocked in 1995 by the assassination of Prime Minister Yitzhak *Rabin, who was murdered by Yigal Amir, a right-wing zealot, at a peace rally in Tel Aviv. Rabin's murder led to a series of major political shifts, including the election in 1996 of a Likud coalition under Binyamin *Netanyahu, an opponent of the Oslo process. The Netanyahu government agreed in principle to fulfill Israel's negotiated commitments, starting with the redeployment of Israeli troops from Hebron, but meanwhile insisted on the Palestinian Authority's full compliance with the terms of the Oslo agreement. As a result, the peace process now entered a period of protracted stagnation. Accusations of non-compliance were compounded by sporadic Palestinian violence and ultimately led in 2000 to a second Intifada (Palestinian uprising). The rapid deterioration in Israel-Palestinian relations resulted in widespread despair among the Israeli public and dampened the spirits of the American Jewish community. The crisis resulted in yet another dramatic shift on the Israeli political scene and the consequent victory in 2000 of Labor leader Ehud *Barak, a highly decorated war hero and former chief of staff. Despite the country's overwhelming support for Barak and his commitment to advancing the peace process, he lacked the political experience and steady hand of Rabin, his predecessor and role model. Moreover, the Palestine Authority under Yasser Arafat proved powerless if not unwilling to stem the tide of Palestinian terrorist violence directed at Israel, including the seemingly endless cycle of suicide bombings aimed at border checkpoints and Israel's major urban centers – much of which was clandestinely financed and supported by hostile Arab regimes in the region and the militant Hamas organization. Following a series of delicate and unsuccessful negotiations brokered by the Clinton administration between Israel and Syria, Barak turned his full attention to reaching a swift and final agreement with the Palestinians. Owing to numerous obstacles, Barak's efforts were, in practice, stillborn and he quickly lost his public support and his hold on power.

At the turn of the 20th century, the context for the Israel-Palestinian conflict underwent a shift to the right and a major sea change. Against the backdrop of the election of President George W. Bush in the United States, the landslide victory of Likud leader Ariel *Sharon in Israel, and the 9/11 attacks, Israel publicly adopted a new three-pronged strategy vis-à-vis the Palestinians. First, the new Sharon government sought to increase pressure on the Palestine Authority and drive forward its signed commitments to peace and security by exerting economic and political pressure on the Palestinian leadership, including the isolation of Yasser Arafat. Second, the Likud coalition, with the support of the Labor party, unilaterally initiated the redeployment of Israeli troops from the West Bank and Gaza Strip and, where necessary, forcibly removed Jewish settlers from settlements in the occupied territories. Finally, the government built a separation wall between Israel and the Palestinian lands – some of which was reconfigured after the Israeli Supreme Court determined certain sections of the barrier to be in violation of Palestinian rights – and in this way sought to ensure Israel's territorial integrity while safeguarding the country from further terrorist attacks and strengthening its hold on borders established since the June 1967 war, including its sovereignty over Jerusalem and the surrounding metropolitan region.

A striking result of this process was the transformation of American Jewry's attitude toward Sharon himself, once vilified by those on the American Jewish left and even many centrists as a dangerous right-wing fanatic, and now rehabilitated as a warrior-turned-elder statesman – much like Rabin before him. Indeed, American Jews proved largely supportive of Sharon's policies and diplomatic maneuvers, a combination that was, in essence, a continuation and extension of the semi-transparent strategy first implemented under Rabin a decade earlier. Having closely followed the waxing and waning of Israel-Arab relations in the recent past, a majority of American Jews responded favorably to Sharon's pragmatic and bold leadership which seemed to vouchsafe Israel's interests while neither ignoring the reality of the Palestinian situation nor extending the reach of the Jewish state in a way that exceeded its grasp. As noted in the memoir of Middle East envoy Dennis *Ross, chief peace negotiator in the presidential administrations of

George H.W. Bush and Bill Clinton and arguably the most significant American Jewish figure in U.S. diplomacy since Henry Kissinger, Sharon's approach was a pro-active and rational response to an ineluctable and historic dilemma faced by Israel which had evolved since the very establishment of the Jewish state in 1948.

> Partition was bound to happen at some point. For Yitzhak Rabin, who understood both the demographic and security arrangements for partition, his preference was to produce it through agreement with the Palestinians. But he was prepared to "separate" from the Palestinians if agreement was not possible. Prime Minister Sharon, though a pronounced opponent of building a separation fence when Yitzhak Rabin first proposed it in 1995 and Ehud Barak reintroduced it after the outbreak of the Intifada, has now become a proponent of both the fence and the concept of disengagement. Partly, he has been driven by the security reality: The fence around Gaza has proven effective in preventing suicide attacks into Israel from Gaza… Small wonder, therefore, that 83 percent of the Israeli public favors the building of a comparable fence or barrier on the West Bank… For Sharon and other leaders [on the Israeli right], the issue is no longer whether to build the fence, but where to do so… That is why Ehud Olmert has spoken about withdrawing from 80–85 percent of the West Bank unilaterally…

The congruence of the Rabin and Sharon pragmatic policies helps to explain why the Anti-Defamation League's *2005 Survey of American Attitudes toward Israel and the Middle East* found that 67 percent of Americans generally supported the Sharon government's policy of disengagement. As well, the American Labor Zionist group Ameinu conducted a separate poll in the same year which demonstrated that 62 percent of American Jews supported Sharon's plan for disengagement. "In the context of a peace agreement," the Ameinu report explained, "42 percent thought Israel should be willing to withdraw from most Jewish settlements in the West Bank – even though only 24 percent believe most Palestinians are willing to live in peace next to the Jewish state, and 70 percent believe the Palestinians will continue terrorist attacks even if a peace agreement is reached."

Since the Persian Gulf War of 1991, American Jews watched anxiously as Israel, the Palestinians, and the neighboring Arab countries entered new and uncharted territory. What was once unthinkable in the Middle East barely a few decades ago has become a matter of established precedent and each hopeful episode in the troubled Arab-Israeli peace process has in general been accompanied by an upswing in American Jewish support for Israel's bold diplomatic and political moves. Starting with the Madrid Peace Conference in 1991, where Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir participated in unprecedented direct negotiations with Jordan, Lebanon, Syria, and the Palestinians and continuing with the Declaration of Principles in 1993, the Israel-Jordan peace treaty in 1994, and Interim Agreement with the Palestinians in 1995, and the Wye River Memorandum of 1998, American Jews have consistently supported the emergent Rabin-Sharon strategy-in-the-making. Following Sharon's sudden illness and departure from the political scene, it appears that Ehud *Olmert and a new generation of Israeli political leaders will continue on this path. To be sure, Israeli policies and methods frequently provoke considerable controversy among diverse American Jewish circles and American Zionist groups. Nonetheless, since the 1990s the majority of American Jews have consistently responded favorably to Israel's notion of "land for peace" and the ensuing prospects for a comprehensive solution to the Arab-Israel conflict. Today, it is widely believed that the issue of Israel's survival, which dominated much of the American Jewish agenda from 1967 to 1991, will soon be consigned to the past, like the Cold War itself.

Conclusion

> "American Jewish history weds together two great historical traditions: one Jewish, dating back to the Patriarchs, the prophets, and the rabbis of the Talmud, the other American, dating back to the Indians, Columbus, and the heroes of the Revolution. Bearing the imprint of both, it nevertheless forms a distinctive historical tradition of its own, now more than three centuries old. It is a tradition rooted in ambivalence, for American Jews are sometimes pulled in two different directions at once. Yet it is also unified by a common vision, the quest to be fully a Jew and fully an American, both at the same time. It is closely tied to Jews worldwide, and just as closely tied to Americans of other faiths. It is perpetuated generation after generation by creative men and women, who grapple with the tensions and paradoxes inherent in American Jewish life, and fashion from them what we know as the American Jewish experience – a kaleidoscope of social, religious, cultural, economic, and political elements that makes up the variegated, dynamic world of the American Jew."
>
> Jonathan D. Sarna, *The American Jewish Experience* (1986).

It is, perhaps, a commonplace observation that almost any statement made about the Jewish condition in North America and its opposite are both true. On the one hand, much of the data collected on American Jews in the past quarter century reveals high levels of apathy, assimilation, and indifference to Jewish values and observance. At best, no more than 50 percent of the American Jewish population in this period has been directly involved in any form of organized communal or religious life. At the same time, the general opening up of American society since the mid-20th century for all minorities contributed significantly to the opening up of American Jewish life. Merit and achievement have generally taken precedence over other factors and enabled Jews to rise quickly in a variety of professions, especially those requiring advanced academic training. In fact, never before in the history of Jewish civilization has there been a Jewish community with more affluence, influence, and access to the highest levels of government, business, and the professions. Virtually, no barriers exist at the present time to the most elite levels of American business, law, or government. Nor have there ever been so many American Jews involved in such a variety of well funded Jewish-sponsored communal frameworks, including hospitals, social welfare agencies, retirement homes, day schools, summer camps, Israel programs, college-level studies in Judaica, and so on. In a word, American Jewish life is arguably one of the most robust voluntary and self-sustaining ethnic-communal frameworks in contemporary American society.

Today, the American Jewish community covers a continent with numerous major communities of substantial numbers as well as hundreds of smaller-sized communities consisting of from a handful to several hundreds of families. The last one hundred years have witnessed the wide scale migration of the American Jewish population from inner city ghettos to vast sprawling suburban areas and back again to many center-city now-gentrified neighborhoods. From the Northeast, where almost half the total Jewish population once resided in New York City, there has been a massive relocation to the sun belt, where communities such as southern Florida and southern California now boast populations of more than half a million Jews each, most of whom have settled there in the past 50 years.

With tap roots in centuries of Jewish history and top roots in the American experience, contemporary American Jewry presently stands at a crossroads. Free to participate in the social, religious, and political fabric of American life as no other western Jewry before it, American Jews – individually and collectively – can decide to strengthen their communal bonds or loosen them, to shore up the larger community's sense of cohesion or allow it to dissipate. As the historical record suggests, the antipodes of engagement and disengagement have long demarcated much of the American Jewish experience. But it is also evident that American Jewry has emerged from its history in the New World largely intact and enriched. In each phase of its development, American Jewry has discerned possibilities and created opportunities for negotiating the delicate balance of modern life in an open society – that is, calibrating oneself and one's community to the requirements of living as a Jew *and* as an American. This tension is arguably a fundamental component of life in a pluralistic democratic society.

It is not the task of this study to predict "Wither American Jewish life?" or determine whether it is "good for the Jews or bad for the Jews" to sustain their tribal identity in America of the 21st century. These are, to be sure, vitally important questions and they have been raised here owing to their centrality in the American Jewish public arena. But the "answers" to such questions, which surely warrant serious and thoughtful deliberation, go well beyond the scope of an historical analysis such as this. It is clear, however, that American Jewry is a dynamic and multidimensional creature with considerable intrinsic talents and material resources. Possessed of the capacity to enrich Jewish life even as it enlarges America's bounty, American Jewry boasts a remarkable history of success and legacy of achievement. How present and future generations of American Jews will be informed and shaped by this inheritance and will, in turn, seek to determine their destiny remains to be seen.

American Antisemitism in Historical Perspective

In 1811 Rabbi Gershon Mendes Seixas of New York wrote that "The United States is, perhaps, the only place where the Jews have not suffered persecution, but have, on the contrary, been encouraged and indulged in every right of citizens." While it is true that American antisemitism never attained the virulence and baneful consequences of European antisemitism, it is equally clear that an undercurrent of anti-Jewish prejudice, sometimes open, more often subtle, has existed throughout the history of the United States.

The early colonial settlers in America brought with them the old stereotype of the Jew as the mysterious outsider, heretic, and despoiler. These prejudices, however, were rarely translated into direct anti-Jewish actions. The very first Jewish settlers in New Amsterdam in 1654 did face an immediate threat when Peter Stuyvesant, the Dutch governor, attempted to expel them. Overruled by the Dutch West India Company, Stuyvesant was forced to grant them the right of residency, and by 1657 they were granted the status of burghers. Nevertheless, the Jews remained in effect second-class burghers even after the British took control of New York. Although economic rights were secured by the end of the seventeenth century, political rights were not fully granted throughout the colonial period.

The need for immigrants, particularly those with economic skills, and the growing ethnic and religious diversity of the American colonies were powerful factors counteracting traditional prejudices. Still, each colony had an established church and, consequently, Jews, Catholics, and Protestant dissenters were all subject to discrimination. In 1658 Jacob Lumbrozo, a physician, the first Jewish settler in Maryland, was charged with blasphemy in that colony, but the prosecution was never completed. In no colony, however, were Jews physically harmed for religious motives, as were Quakers and Baptists, and no 18th-century law was enacted for the sole purpose of disabling Jews. Colonial American Jewry achieved a considerable degree of economic success and social integration, and intermarriage was frequent by the mid-18th century.

Anti-Jewish prejudice during the period from independence until the Civil War, while present in the form of the persistent Shylock image and related stereotypes, did not seriously impinge on the rights of the relatively small Jewish community. The 1840s and 1850s saw a fairly large immigration of German Jews, but by 1860 there were still fewer than 200,000 Jews in a population of 30,000,000. The invisibility of the Jews, the availability of other targets of discrimination, the all-absorbing slavery issue, and the rapid economic growth of the country combined to reduce the possible development of any real group antagonism based on latent prejudice. The Know-Nothing movement of the 1850s and other nativist phenomena of the pre-Civil War era concentrated their ire on Catholics, not Jews.

Still, there were occasional outbursts of antisemitism. The political strife between Federalists and Republicans at the turn of the 18th century produced a noticeable outpouring of slurs upon Jews who were Jeffersonian partisans. A Federalist in New York condemned the local Democratic-Republican Society by saying that they all seemed to be "of the tribe of Shylock." In 1809 Jacob Henry was at first refused a seat in the North Carolina House of Commons to which he had been elected, but was eventually seated by a legal subterfuge. Mordecai M. Noah, one of the outstanding Jewish figures of this period, was recalled in 1815 by Secretary of State James Monroe from his post as U.S. consul in Tunis because his faith allegedly interfered with the performance of his duties. In 1820, the editor of a prominent magazine, the *Niles Weekly Register*, wrote that the Jews "create nothing" and act "as if they had a home no where." Uriah P. Levy, an officer in the United States Navy, was subjected to several courts-martial, partly due to anti-Jewish prejudice. Jews were concerned also with questions of church-state relations, including the vexing problem of public school education. Yet these incidents and remarks cannot be construed as evidence of significant antisemitism; Henry was seated, Levy was acquitted and restored to rank, and the editor of the *Niles Weekly Register*, while critical, urged equal rights for Jews.

The first substantial and open antisemitic agitation in the United States was evidenced during the Civil War (1861–65). The economic dislocations and frayed tempers of this critical period released prejudices that had slumbered below the surface. Both in the North and in the South, Jews were accused by some newspapers and political leaders of aiding the enemy, smuggling, profiteering, draft dodging, and speculating. Almost every political opponent of Judah P. Benjamin, the Confederate secretary of state, made unflattering references to his Jewishness. Among the prominent figures who displayed antisemitic tendencies were Generals William T. Sherman and Benjamin F. Butler, Parson William Brownlow, Congressman Henry S. Foote, and Senator Henry Wilson. The major antisemitic incident of the war originated with General Ulysses S. Grant. In what has been called the most sweeping anti-Jewish regulation in all American history, Grant, in his General Order No. 11, December 17, 1862, ordered the expulsion of all Jews "as a class" within 24 hours from the Department of the Tennessee, comprising parts of Kentucky, Tennessee, and Mississippi. However, President Abraham Lincoln directed the revocation of Grant's order.

The unpleasant episodes of the Civil War years should not obscure the fact that the Jews of the United States were perhaps freer than Jews had ever been since their dispersion from Palestine. No price had been exacted from them in return for complete political emancipation, and the community flourished economically and religiously. Official or governmental discrimination on the European model was absent and systematic antisemitism did not exist. Beginning with the 1870s, however, antisemitism in the form of social discrimination was increasingly evident, and was accompanied by the development of ideological antisemitism. The refusal of accommodations to Joseph Seligman, a prominent New York Jewish banker, at the Grand Union Hotel in Saratoga Springs in the summer of 1877 drew widespread adverse comment in the public press, but it symbolized a growing tendency toward the exclusion of Jews from areas involving leisure-time facilities. Summer resort advertisements including statements such as "We prefer not to entertain Hebrews" were common after the 1880s. From the resorts, social discrimination worked back into the cities. Important social clubs, such as the Union League Club, barred Jewish members. Private schools were closed to Jewish children, and, in general, Jews were not welcome at any institution or association that conferred prestige and status. Behind the groundswell of social discrimination lay the profound social changes of the "Gilded Age" of the late 19th century. The older, elite white Protestant groups faced a growing struggle for their social status and power as their security was threatened by rapid industrialization and the rise of new middle- and upper-class elements, whom they regarded as crass nouveaux riches. Social discrimination thus served the dual purpose of keeping Jews "in their place" while enhancing and defining the social status of the older elite and the newer non-Jewish wealthy class.

During the turbulent and xenophobic decades that spanned the 19th and 20th centuries, an ideological antisemitism began to appear as a by-product of American nativism and in response to the perceptible cultural gap between the older population and the massive numbers of Jewish immigrants from Eastern Europe. Men like Henry Adams, representing Eastern patrician intellectuals, and Ignatius Donnelly, representing Western agrarian radicals, while far apart in basic orientation, both viewed the Jew as conniving and grasping, and as the cause and symbol of their discontent. The anti-Jewish stereotype which emerged clearly during this period contained elements of the earlier Christian antisemitism, the Shylock image, the wielding of undue power through manipulation of gold, and an identification of Jews with the hated, feared city.

From 1881 to 1910, over 1,500,000 East European Jews arrived in the United States, and by 1925 there were close to 4,000,000 Jews in the country. Their very presence, the competition engendered by their rapid rise in economic status, and their pressure to achieve social integration lent credence to the anti-Jewish stereotype, sharpened antisemitic feelings, and confirmed a widespread system of social discrimination. For their part, Jews did not accept antisemitism without protest, especially when it appeared to involve public matters. Led by the older German Jewish community, American Jewry formed self-defense organizations, including the American Jewish Committee in 1906, the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith in 1913, and the American Jewish Congress in 1920.

One of the most serious issues faced by the Jewish community during the first quarter of the 20th century was the movement for restriction of immigration to the United States. Although there was no direct antisemitism reflected in the legislation resulting from restrictionism, it was clear that the intellectual fathers of the movement, such as Henry Cabot Lodge, Prescott Hall, John R. Commons, Henry Pratt Fairchild, and Edward A. Ross, considered Jewish immigration deleterious to the welfare of the nation. Ross, for example, predicted "riots and anti-Jewish legislation" if unrestricted immigration continued. Madison Grant, a thoroughgoing racist, condemned the Jews in his book *The Passing of the Great Race* (1916) for mongrelizing the nation. The campaign for immigration restriction reached its height after World War I when the nation reacted with horror at the prospect of unlimited immigration. Burton J. Hendrick, a well-known journalist, while disclaiming antisemitism, wrote a widely publicized attack on Jewish immigration in 1923, as did Kenneth Roberts, a popular novelist. The ultimate result of the restrictionist movement – the U.S. Immigration Act of 1924 – established a national origins quota system that discriminated heavily against South and East European immigration. Although antisemitism was not the primary motivation for restrictionism, it was a useful propaganda weapon and, subtly, became enshrined in American legislation for over 40 years.

The first-class citizenship of American Jews was indirectly challenged during the late 19th and early 20th centuries by the general refusal of Tsarist Russia to issue visas to American Jews and its mistreatment of those who did receive them. American Jewry, led by Jacob H. Schiff and Louis Marshall of the American Jewish Committee, argued that tacit acceptance of this situation by the U.S. government constituted a slur on its full citizenship. Diplomatic pressure having failed, a determined and successful campaign was instituted in 1911 for the unilateral abrogation of the Russo-American Treaty of 1832. To Louis Marshall the victory symbolized "the removal of the last civil disabilities to which the Jews of this country have been subjected."

In 1913, however, American Jews were shocked when Leo Frank, a New York Jew who had relocated in Atlanta, Georgia to become manager of a pencil factory, was convicted of the slaying of one of his female employees. The evidence against Frank was flimsy and the trial, which unleashed fantasies of Jewish ritual murder and garnered widespread public attention, showcased the darkest racist and antisemitic tendencies of white southern Christian society. In the event, the circumstances surrounding Frank's trial and conviction reflected came to be viewed as a transparent example of mob antisemitism. In 1915, after the governor of Georgia stayed Frank's death sentence, a lynching party abducted Frank from jail and hanged him.

The emergence of overt antisemitism in the Frank case was a harbinger of an upsurge of anti-Jewish feeling, expression, and actions during the 1920s. The hatred of Jews was rooted both in older stereotypes and renewed economic antisemitism which was an element in the outlook of some of the Populists, the movement of protest against capitalism and monopoly that prevailed in southern and western states at the turn of the century. Jewish capital was identified with Wall Street financiers and oppression by the financial system of farmers and small businessmen. Some of the then young Populists, such as the later Senator Burton K. Wheeler from Montana, were to remain anti-Jewish on such economic grounds into the 1930s. Antisemitism did not involve all of Populism, but what there was of such prejudice represented its only appearance in American history within an important left-wing movement.

The artificially stimulated unity of World War I cracked under the impact of postwar disillusionment, and a sense of imminent danger from internal and external subversive forces seized the nation. The old way of life appeared to be disappearing under the onslaught of the foreign born, the city, the new moral relativism, and liberal religion. Many Americans adopted ideologies stressing coercive political and religious fundamentalism and sought scapegoats for the ills, real and imaginary, that beset them. Antisemitism was part of this reaction. Although incidents of antisemitism during America's participation in World War I were sporadic, a new wave of nativist nationalism gripped the land. Many German Jews, including America's elite Jewish patricians of Austrian and Bavarian extraction, outwardly disassociated from their central European past. Meanwhile, foreign radicalism, often associated with East European Jews, became the chief target in the postwar Red Scare of 1919–20. This alleged Jewish-Bolshevik nexus remained a permanent part of antisemitic propaganda.

The concern of Jews over these charges was heightened considerably by the appearance of an American edition of the spurious *Protocols of the Elders of Zion* in 1920, followed by a work based on it, *The Cause of World Unrest*. The basic message of these volumes was that the Bolshevik Revolution was Jewish in origin and part of an international Jewish conspiracy to destroy Christendom and dominate the world. Discredited by serious investigators, these libels nevertheless remained alive. In May 1920 The *Dearborn Independent*, a magazine owned and published by Henry Ford, the automobile magnate, launched an antisemitic propaganda campaign without precedent in the United States which lasted, with varying intensity, for almost seven years. Charging American Jews with a plot to subvert traditional American ways, Ford's propaganda found acceptance in rural areas and small towns, but met a negative reaction in the large urban areas and among leading American policy and opinion makers. Notwithstanding such condemnations as that of January 16, 1921, when a declaration, signed by 119 leading Americans, headed by President Woodrow Wilson and former president William Howard Taft, denounced the anti-Jewish calumnies, Ford's campaign continued unchecked until in 1927, under pressure of an unofficial consumer boycott and several lawsuits, Ford issued a public apology through Louis Marshall, head of the American Jewish Committee. However, the *Protocols* and *The International Jew* persisted as staple items in the arsenal of American antisemitism in succeeding decades. The stereotype of the international Jewish banker-Bolshevik had been superimposed on the earlier stereotype of anti-Christ, Shylock, and Rothschild.

The most significant expression of American nativism during the 1920s was the spectacular revival of the Ku Klux

Klan which, at its height in 1924, counted over 4,000,000 members in all parts of the country. Although its primary targets in the defense of "one hundred percent Americanism" were Catholics and blacks, Klan leaders in their propaganda also included Jews as one of the chief obstacles to the preservation of the "real America." Thus, the Klan of the 1920s was the first substantial, organized mass movement in the U.S. that utilized antisemitism. Politically ineffective except as an adjunct to the immigration restriction movement, the Klan never proposed a specific anti-Jewish program, but sporadic boycotts of Jewish merchants and similar harassments did occur before the collapse of Klan power in the late 1920s.

Social discrimination reached new heights in the 1920s as Jews continued to be the most swiftly rising ethnic group in American society. Although Jewish leaders had obtained passage of a civil rights statute applying to places of public accommodation in New York in 1913, and subsequently in other states, exclusion of Jews from summer resorts and hotels continued unabated. Particularly galling to upper-class Jews was their exclusion from social clubs, both of the city and country types. As Jews began to leave the crowded immigrant quarters of the large cities, they tended to settle in concentrated areas, partly in response to residential discrimination. Jews with high incomes found themselves unwelcome in the fashionable sections of the cities and in many suburban developments.

The form of social discrimination that concerned Jews most directly occurred in higher education, which they sought in larger numbers and earlier than any other immigrant group as the key to economic and cultural advancement. Eastern colleges in particular were faced with increasing waves of Jewish students and reacted by establishing quota systems under a variety of guises. Once admitted, Jewish students often faced social aloofness and resistance, and responded by the formation of Jewish fraternities. Educational discrimination became a national issue in June 1922 when A. Lawrence Lowell, president of Harvard College, announced that Harvard was considering a quota system for Jewish students. Jewish leaders reacted strongly to this open evidence of prejudice, and Lowell's proposal was rejected by a Harvard faculty committee in April 1923. Defeated in its most blatant form, the quota system survived at Harvard and at most other leading colleges indirectly through various underhanded techniques. In the meantime, Harvard itself would nonetheless come to boast a distinguish cohort of Jewish alumni who later assumed national prominence as jurists, physicians, scholars, and business leaders including Louis D. Brandeis, Felix Frankfurter, Horace M. Kallen, Walter Lippman, Julian W. Mack, and Harry Wolfsohn.

Jews encountered considerable resistance as they attempted to move into white-collar and professional positions. Employers increasingly specified that Christians were preferred for office, sales, and executive positions. Banking, insurance, and public utilities firms were in the forefront of anti-Jewish prejudice. In medicine, the most ardently desired profession for Jews, there was a steady decline in the proportion of Jewish applicants accepted to medical schools during the 1920s and 1930s. In addition, Jewish doctors faced considerable difficulties in securing internships and staff positions in hospitals. Law schools did not discriminate against Jewish applicants, but Jewish lawyers were generally not accepted into large, well-established firms. Jews increasingly entered the teaching profession, especially where open, competitive examinations were required, but they were virtually excluded from faculty positions in American universities until after World War II.

Antisemitism in the form of social discrimination continued during the 1930s, but the chief distinction of this decade was an upsurge of ideological and politically motivated antisemitism. The combined impact of the Great Depression, the hysterical hatred of opponents for President Franklin D. Roosevelt, and the triumph of Nazism in Germany produced an outpouring of antisemitic propaganda and scores of antisemitic organizations in the United States. The major themes of this agitation were drawn from reprints of *The Protocols* and Henry Ford's *The International Jew: The World's Foremost Problem*, repeating the old charges of a Jewish international conspiracy, to which was added alleged Jewish responsibility for the depression and Jewish control of the Roosevelt administration. Nazi-inspired antisemitism was disseminated by such groups as the Friends of New Germany and the German-American Bund. The latter never achieved wide membership and was discredited when its leader, Fritz Kuhn, was convicted of embezzlement. More serious was the revival of native American antisemitism of the fundamentalist, pseudo-agrarian type. Among the major figures were William Dudley Pelley, organizer of the Silver Shirts, Gerald Winrod, Gerald L.K. Smith, Gerald Deatherage and the Knights of the White Camelia, and Major General George van Horn Moseley.

The most potentially dangerous antisemitic leader of the 1930s was Charles E. Coughlin, a Roman Catholic priest and an opponent of the New Deal. Coughlin, whose weekly radio broadcasts reached millions of listeners, launched an open antisemitic campaign in 1938. His magazine, *Social Justice*, reprinted *The Protocols* with Coughlin's commentary placing responsibility for the world's plight on the Jews. Street riots and disturbances occurred when vendors sold his publication in the large cities. Coughlin was supported in his efforts by some official Catholic publications, including the *Boston Pilot* and the *Brooklyn Tablet*. The organizational expression of this predominantly Irish Catholic version of antisemitism was the Christian Front, led by Joe McWilliams, which held street-corner meetings and sponsored boycotts of Jewish merchants.

The approach of World War II in the late 1930s saw the formation of a powerful isolationist movement in the United States. The America First Committee, organized in 1940, attracted antisemites to its banner. At an America First rally, on September 11, 1941, Charles A. Lindbergh, hero of American aviation, called the Jews the most dangerous force pushing the United States into war. Although his speech was followed by the protest resignation of the more liberal members of the committee, Lindbergh and the conservative faction persisted in their propaganda. Similar remarks were heard on the floor of Congress from such isolationist senators as Burton K. Wheeler and Gerald Nye. After the attack on Pearl Harbor and the entrance of the United States into the war, open antisemitic agitation declined. The tensions of the war years, however, stimulated a considerable amount of antisemitic sentiment. In 1944, for example, a public opinion poll showed that 24 percent of the respondents still regarded Jews as a "menace" to America and one-third to one-half would have supported a hypothetical countrywide antisemitic campaign. The fate of European Jewry appeared to have little impact on the prejudices of the American public.

The noisy antisemitism of the 1930s did not seriously endanger the American Jewish community, although it created much anguish and discomfort. The prevailing political traditions, the participation of the Jews in the New Deal alliance of ethnic groups, the inability of the antisemites to unite, self-defense and interfaith activities, and the intellectual discrediting of racism were all factors in preventing a potentially dangerous situation from materializing.

After 1945 antisemitism in the United States did not assume the ideological strength it had achieved in the preceding decades. Direct anti-Jewish agitation after World War II was limited, for the most part, to isolated fringe groups that were declining in number. Among the active exponents of antisemitism were such individuals and groups as the Columbians, the miniscule but vociferous American Nazi Party, the National Renaissance Party, and such publications as Gerald L.K. Smith's *The Cross and the Flag* and Conde McGinley's *Common Sense*. Much more threatening from the Jewish viewpoint was the persistence and growth of ultraconservative groups that officially denied antisemitic proclivities but provided a rallying point for many who were inclined to antisemitism. Significantly, however, the anti-Communist crusade initiated by Senator Joseph McCarthy in the early 1950s, while receiving widespread popular support, never attacked Jews as such.

Political antisemitism has shown few signs of strength in the post-World War II period and there have been only sporadic antisemitic episodes. There has been a noticeable decline in the system of social discrimination that prevailed in the United States between the 1880s and the 1950s. Notwithstanding a series of bombings of synagogues in the American south in the early 1950s, American Jewry in the 1950s and 1960s attained a high degree of behavioral acculturation, economic affluence, and educational achievement. The declining hostility to the Jews, their absorption into the dominant middle-class suburban society, the disreputability of openly avowed prejudice, continued economic prosperity, and the role of government in fostering major civil rights legislation have combined to produce a diminution in social antisemitism. In 1945 the president of Dartmouth College openly admitted and defended a quota system against Jewish students; 20 years later Jewish students comprised 25 percent of the student body at the prestigious Ivy League universities. Discrimination in admission of Jews to medical schools ended in the 1950s. In the same decade, Jewish students increasingly choose careers in such fields as engineering, architecture, science, which in the 1930s were highly discriminatory. By the late 1960s Jewish professors constituted over 10 percent of the faculties in the nation's senior colleges. At this juncture, surveys of discrimination by city and country clubs and by resorts showed a marked decline in the proportion excluding Jews. Nevertheless, subtle forms of social antisemitism persisted, especially in what came to be known as "executive suite" discrimination. Thus, in the 1970s, while Jews constituted 8 percent of the college-trained population in the United States, they comprised less than ½ percent of the executives of America's major companies or presidents of American colleges.

The American Jewish community was deeply concerned with problems of church-state relationships at mid-century. Occasionally, as in the strong public reaction to the Supreme Court's decision in the Regents prayer case of 1962 in which public school prayers were declared unconstitutional, antisemitic overtones were apparent.

Jewish participation in the civil rights movement of the 1950s and early 1960s brought charges from Southern extremists of attempts to "mongrelize" and "Communize" America. In the late 1960s the shift in the black community to greater militancy, the growth of black nationalism, and the emphasis on "black power" generated considerable friction in black-Jewish relations. Although surveys indicated that antisemitism among the mass of black Americans was no greater, and perhaps less, than that existing among white Americans, and although moderate black American leaders condemned antisemitism, continued inter-group conflict seriously disturbed American Jewry and influenced black-Jewish relations in the late 1960s.

Despite conflicting evidence, public opinion surveys conducted in the United States during the decades after World War II generally documented a substantial decline in antisemitic attitudes. Whereas 63 percent of the American public attributed "objectionable traits" to the Jews as a group in 1940, only 22 percent felt this way in 1962. A continuation of this trajectory was ascertained in surveys conducted by the Anti-Defamation League in the mid-1980s, including a 1986 study in which 82 percent of respondents characterized their attitude toward Jews as "favorable and warm." Meanwhile, four Roper polls in the 1980s demonstrated that only 7 or 8 percent of Americans believed Jews possessed "too much power." Further evidence of antisemitism's decline – apparently a reflection of a larger generational and societal pattern – was discerned in a 1992 Anti-Defamation League study that found a correlation between the intensity of antisemitism and access to formal education. Thus in comparison to one-fifth of survey respondents under the age of 39, two-fifths of those over 65 scored high on the survey's antisemitic index. This contrast was amplified by the finding that among those possessed of such attitudes 17 percent were college graduates compared with 33 percent who had only a high school education or less.

For most of the 1970s antisemitism in the more restricted sense was a matter of apprehension as much as of actuality; but by 1981 the feeling was general among those active in community relations that antisemitic incidents were on the increase. Fears that the oil embargo imposed by the Arab states after the Yom Kippur War would lead to anti-Jewish feeling did not materialize. Propaganda directed against Jews as such has continued all along, but it has been the work of a lunatic fringe. The lifting of barriers that at one time prevented the advancement of Jews was exemplified in the public sector by the appointment in 1973 of Henry Kissinger as secretary of state and in the private sector by the appointment in 1974 of Irving Shapiro as chairman of Du Pont.

On the other hand, American Jews viewed attacks on Zionism in the 1970s by the New Left and militant blacks as a new manifestation of antisemitism. Added to the turbulence and demoralization of the inner cities in this period, which frequently pitted Jews and blacks against each other on the local scene, anti-Zionism on college campuses exacerbated inter-communal tensions. The situation reached a climax in 1979 when Andrew Young was forced to resign his office as U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations because of contacts with the Palestine Liberation Organization and leaders of important black organizations made a pilgrimage to the Middle East, during the course of which they met with the leaders of the PLO.

One incident from this period may be singled out as an illustration of the tenacity of antisemitism. Speaking to the Duke University Law School in 1974, General George S. Brown, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, spoke about an alleged Jewish influence in the U.S. and said: "It's so strong you wouldn't believe it … We have the Israelis coming to us for equipment. We say we can't possibly get the Congress to support a program like that. They say 'Don't worry about Congress. We'll take care of the Congress.' Now this is somebody from another country, but they can do it. They own, you know, large banks in this country, the newspapers, you just look at where the Jewish money is in this country." The reaction was strong and President Gerald Ford personally reprimanded the general. Brown himself apologized, but there were continued calls for his removal. The Senate Armed Services Committee rejected a proposed enquiry into General Brown's fitness for office and he was retained.

Events during the 1980s seemed to indicate that antisemitism in America was operating at two levels. In 1981 a public debate arose over the sale of AWACS planes to Saudi Arabia, to which Israel strongly objected. A public opinion survey at the time reported a substantial increase in negative feeling towards the Jews on two issues: 23 percent of Americans (as opposed to 13 percent in 1964) thought that Jews had "too much power in the U.S."; 48 percent (as opposed to 39 percent in 1964) believed that "Jews are much more loyal to Israel than to America." Nonetheless, it also found a general decrease in discriminatory antisemitism in comparison to previous decades. This type of antisemitism was based on discriminatory practices in the workplace, in schools, especially colleges and universities, at country clubs and in upper-class communities. In July 1981, a survey conducted on behalf of the American Jewish Committee reported that antisemitism of this nature had in fact declined significantly over a 17-year period.

The success of Jews within American academia, at one time a domain known for restrictions against Jews and other ethnic minorities, was equally impressive. In the 1980s, Jews became increasingly visible as the presidents of Ivy League and other elite American universities and colleges. By the decade of the 1990s Richard Levin, Harold T. Shapiro, and Neil Rudenstine had become the presidents of the American academic pantheon, Yale, Princeton and Harvard, respectively. Interestingly, the latter had at one time in the 20th century maintained a strict quota on Jewish student enrollment. For many, all of this was indisputable proof that previously unbreachable social barriers in America had finally been torn down.

Such achievements notwithstanding, antisemitism in America had not disappeared. In 1987, after a five-year downward trend, the Anti-Defamation League's annual "Audit of Antisemitic Incidents" reported an increase in isolated incidents of antisemitic vandalism. The latter threat was realized in the 1984 machine-gun slaying of Denver radio talk show host Alan Berg by a white supremacist organization calling itself "The Order." However, most antisemitic acts in this category were expressed through vandalism and damage to property, including swastika daubings on synagogues, Jewish homes, storefronts, and Jewish cemetery headstones, the slashing of automobile tires, the breaking of windows, threatening telephone calls, arson, and bombings. Not until 1992 did the Anti-Defamation League report an 8 percent drop in antisemitic incidents, the first decline in six years. A report issued by the Anti-Defamation League stated that 20 percent of American adults are "hard-core" antisemites and an additional 39 percent "mildly" antisemitic, a group equaling approximately 100 million Americans.

From approximately the middle of the 1990s additional attention was paid by the media to groups whose statements and activities threatened the sense of well-being and security of American Jews, blacks, and other minorities. These included certain Christian fundamentalist groups, racist organizations such as neo-Nazis groups, skinhead gangs, the Aryan Nation, and The Order. Anti-Jewish statements or activities disguised as politically legitimate anti-Israel expressions originated in either politically far left circles, the Arab American community, or black Muslim groups.

Election campaigns focused the country's attention on two formerly relatively unknown personalities, Lyndon La Rouche and David Duke. La Rouche was a local left-wing politician in the 1970s and 1980s who changed his world outlook and ran three times as a marginal right-wing presidential candidate, a purveyor of Communist and antisemitic conspiracy theories. In 1989, La Rouche was sentenced to 15 years in federal prison for fraud and tax evasion. David Duke was a former grand wizard of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan and the leader of the National Association for the Advancement of White People. In 1988, Duke ran as a presidential candidate on the slate of the neo-Nazi Populist Party. At the beginning of the following year he narrowly won a seat in the Louisiana state legislature. In December he announced his intention to run as a Republican for the U.S. Senate. He was strongly denounced by both the Republican Party and President George Bush. Although Duke lost the election, his relative popularity among Southern white voters and others raised considerable concern among Jews and non-Jews alike.

To the surprise of many observers, the well-publicized Wall St. "insider" scandals of 1986, among whose key figures were extremely wealthy Jewish businessmen, did not result in an appreciable rise in antisemitic or anti-Israel feelings among the American public. The principle figures included Ivan Boesky and Michael Milken, both of whom received prison sentences.

Nor was there any general rise in antisemitism attributable to the Jonathan Pollard affair. This dramatic real-life spy episode, which stunned the American Jewish community, and had direct, albeit short-term, implications for U.S.-Israel diplomatic relations, went almost unnoticed by most Americans. It served as the most dramatic and poignant example to date of the dual loyalty issue to which the organized American Jewish community is sensitive. Pollard, who served as a civilian intelligence analyst for the U.S. Navy, was arrested by the FBI in 1985 and charged with providing Israel with classified security information involving "scientific, technical and military" data, specifically intelligence information on Arab and Soviet weapons development. Pollard's spying and the punishment he received, a life sentence in a U.S. federal prison, aroused widespread and heated debate, but the controversy was mainly limited to Jewish circles.

Nor did the 1986 Irangate, or Iran-Contra, Affair result in any perceptible increase in antisemitism. The possibility arose from the role Israel played in this U.S. government scandal. In response to a secret request from the Reagan administration, Israel's government under then Prime Minister Shimon Peres supplied American-made arms to Iran. The profit from the sale was diverted through a Swiss bank account belonging to Contra rebels fighting the leftist Nicaraguan government. Israel officially denied handling the funds for this covert operation that was illegal according to U.S. federal law.

American Jews remained relatively sheltered throughout the 1980s from acts of international terror related to the conflicts in the Middle East, but there were two dramatic exceptions. The first was the hijacking in 1985 by members of the Palestine Liberation Front of the Italian pleasure ship *Achille Lauro* traveling between the ports of Alexandria and Ashdod. During the episode the terrorists, who were led by Palestine Liberation Organization faction head Mohammed Abu al-Abbas, killed a 69-year-old disabled American Jewish tourist, Leon Klinghoffer, who was shot and thrown overboard along with his wheelchair. The second exception was the assassination of Rabbi Meir Kahane on American soil. Kahane, founder of the American Jewish vigilante group the Jewish Defense League (JDL), immigrated in 1975 to Israel where he established the extreme right-wing anti-Arab political party Kach. He was elected to Israel's Knesset, serving from 1984 to 1988, and in 1990 was shot dead at close range inside a Manhattan hotel minutes after addressing an audience.

According to survey findings, antisemitism during the first years of the 1990s appeared to be declining. One Anti-Defamation League survey reported antisemitism among Americans having reached a low 20 percent in 1992. At the same time, a Roper survey conducted on behalf of the American Jewish Committee indicated that 47 percent of New York City residents felt Jews had "too much influence in New York City life and politics." Among blacks this figure rose to 63 percent. The poll also revealed that Jews were admired for intelligence and for not being prone to violence. In 1993 an Anti-Defamation League report noted that neo-Nazi "skinheads" posed an increasing threat in the United States. The report noted the seven states with the greatest number of skinheads to be New Jersey, Texas, Oregon, and Colorado, Florida, Michigan and Virginia, each with approximately 200–400 members. A 1994 Anti-Defamation League report titled "Armed and Dangerous: Militias Take Aim at the Federal Government" summarized the activities of right-wing paramilitary organizations in thirteen states. The report noted the informal but close ties, including overlap in membership, between many of these militias and local neo-Nazi groups or the Ku Klux Klan.

Polls conducted by the Anti-Defamation League in the mid-1990s showed that roughly 35 percent of blacks, in contrast to about 15 percent of whites, fell into the "most antisemitic" category, i.e., those who answered "Yes" to six out of 11 possible Jewish stereotypes. Similar polls over the years showed that blacks, in fact, share mixed positive and negative attitudes towards Jews.

Two separate incidents involving antisemitic comments by public figures received significant media coverage toward the end of 1992. First, at a press conference in Yugoslavia held prior to a major championship match, American chess master Bobby Fischer, a controversial recluse, blamed the Jews and Israel for many of the world's present problems, including persecution of Palestinians. Second, Marge Schott, owner of the Cincinnati Reds major league baseball team, caused a stir with her racist remarks including the word "nigger" and the phrase "money-grubbing Jews." Major league baseball suspended Schott for eight months from the day-to-day operation of the team and fined her $25,000.

Among the many acts of antisemitism reported in this period was the defacing of some 100 grave markers at a New Jersey Jewish cemetery, and the spray-painting of swastikas and hate slogans on the side of the home of Sandra Klebanoff, the Jewish mayor of West Hartford, Connecticut, and her husband Howard Klebanoff, a former state legislator.

According to the Anti-Defamation League, incidents of antisemitism also rose on college campuses in the 1990s. Antisemitic activities, often couched in anti-Israel terms, typically took place surrounding the appearance on campus of well-known controversial speakers, such as City College of New York professor Lionel Jeffries or Nation of Islam speaker Khalid Abdul Muhammad, or in conjunction with the celebration of Israel Independence Day or Palestinian student-sponsored events. *The Jewish Onslaught: Despatches from the Wellesley Battlefield*, was a virulently antisemitic tract published in 1994 by Anthony "Tony" C. Martin, a tenured professor of Africana studies at Wellesley College in Massachusetts. In his book, Martin accused the Jewish people of masterminding the black slave trade in the 17th century, blocking the economic advancement of African Americans, and controlling American banking, media, and politics. The book engendered a storm of protest from students, faculty, and a number of Jewish organizations.

In a similar vein, the Russian ultranationalist Vladimir Zhirinovsky visited the United States in 1994 and angered American Jews by blaming the Jewish people for the Bolshevik Revolution and the breakup of the former Soviet Union.

Holocaust denial, which became a virtual cottage industry in the late 20th century owing to the unprecedented reach of the World Wide Web, gave renewed energy to such antisemitic canards. A loose coalition of Arab American groups, for example, exploited the complexity of the Middle Eastern political arena and promoted overt and hostile antisemitic agendas on many internet sites. Nor were such polemics limited to the flickering screen. In 1998, the American Muslim Council, the American Muslim Alliance, and the Council on American-Islamic Relations held a rally at Brooklyn College in New York City where militant speakers described the Jews as "pigs and monkeys" and urged listeners to adopt the path of *jihad*. Together with the Muslim Public Affairs Council, these groups sponsored a rally the following year in Santa Clara, California, at which one speaker explicitly called for the murder of Jews. These groups and others were emboldened by the invective of militant Arab groups abroad. Such was the case in 2000, for example, when, following the third international conference on the Holocaust, held in Stockholm, Hamas spokesmen in Palestine issued a statement denouncing Zionist efforts "aimed at forging history by hiding the truth about the so-called Holocaust, which is an alleged and invented story with no basis…" This statement resonated and was picked up by anti-Israel activists in the United States, including opportunistic supporters of the anti-globalization movement on the far right and far left of the American political spectrum.

Against this backdrop, many American colleges, including the mainstream institutions Columbia University, Florida Atlantic University, the University of Michigan, the University of Pennsylvania, and the University of South Florida, became flashpoints for hosting and, in some instances, even serving as the home institutions of scholars who openly professed vigorous anti-Israel and antisemitic views. Such trends prompted Harvard University's president Lawrence Summers, a former secretary of the treasury under President Bill Clinton, to publicly decry calls for economic divestment from Israel as "antisemitic in result if not intent" and denounce the "profoundly anti-Israel views [which] are increasingly finding support in progressive intellectual communities" in American higher education. He was joined in this stance by Columbia president Lee Bollinger and Barnard president Judith Shapiro. Bollinger called the comparison of Israel to South Africa at the time of apartheid a "grotesque and offensive" analogy.

In the final analysis, a nationwide *Survey of American Attitudes Towards Jews in America* released by the Anti-Defamation League in 2005 showed a slight overall decline since 2002 in the number of Americans holding antisemitic views. Based on a national poll of 1,600 American adults, the survey noted the persistence of antisemitic attitudes, especially with regard to issues of "Jewish power," and determined the number of Americans with "hardcore antisemitic beliefs" fluctuated from 20 percent in 1992 to 12 percent in 1998 to 17 percent in 2002 and finally to 14 percent in 2005. These findings support the assessment of scholars Seymour Martin Lipset and Earl Raab who contend that although "the cultural reservoir of antisemitism [in the United States] is variable," a long view of the historical record indicates that American antisemitic attitudes "soared in the 1930s, then declined sharply in the 1950s, and have slowly fallen further since."

Antisemitism in the United States, while far from extinct, is usually no longer expressed openly. In fact, over time the American political system has acted as a brake on antisemitism and the civil position of Jews in the United States has never been fundamentally endangered. Nevertheless, latent anti-Jewish stereotypes are persistent and their history has demonstrated that prejudice is translated into open discrimination when social conflict and tensions are severe.

United States-Israel Relations

The interest of the American people in the return of the Jews to the Land of Israel long precedes the establishment of the Jewish state. It was influenced partly by faith in biblical prophecy and partly by revulsion at the persecution of the Jews in tsarist Russia and other lands. A high point was the Blackstone Memorial to President Benjamin Harrison, signed by more than 400 leading Americans in 1891 – six years before the First Zionist Congress. However, America did not become involved with Palestine until World War I, when the British government consulted and gained the approval of President Woodrow Wilson before issuing the Balfour Declaration of 1917. Wilson's endorsement encouraged American Zionist groups to engage in a large-scale lobbying effort. This campaign concluded successfully with the U.S. Congress' unanimous adoption of the 1922 Lodge-Fish Resolution, an official call for a Jewish national home, signed by President Warren G. Harding. Next, in 1925 a treaty on Palestine was signed by the U.S. and British governments. Subsequently, however, America remained aloof from Middle East problems. The region was regarded as a British and French sphere of influence, although many Americans were actively engaged in the search for oil and in educational and missionary activities.

In the 1930s, the United States was disinclined to intervene when the British Mandatory regime yielded to Arab pressure and restricted Jewish immigration and settlement. Like their British colleagues, American diplomats feared that support for Zionism might facilitate fascist and Nazi propaganda among the Arabs. Meanwhile, the disunity of American Jews on the Palestine question was exploited by Washington diplomats, who tried unsuccessfully to dissuade the American Jewish Conference of 1943 from demanding the establishment of a Jewish commonwealth in Palestine after World War II. (The conference nevertheless voted overwhelmingly in favor of it.) With that resolution as their platform, American Jews undertook a campaign to win the support of the American people, the U.S. Congress, the national political parties, and the media. Rabbis Stephen S. Wise and Abba Hillel Silver spearheaded Zionist efforts in the United States as mass meetings, protest rallies, letter writing and telegram campaigns, publications and the press were utilized countrywide in the struggle for Jewish statehood. The American Palestine Committee, chaired by Senator Robert F. Wagner, played a key role in winning substantial public support for a Jewish state in Palestine.

When World War II ended, there was a power vacuum in the Middle East. Britain and France, weakened in the great struggle, were in retreat and under pressure to surrender their mandates and bases in the Mediterranean area in Syria, Lebanon, North Africa, Iraq, Egypt, and Palestine. The Soviet Union, for its part, was pushing into Iran, and Communist guerrillas were attempting to subvert Greece and Turkey. Washington promulgated the Truman Doctrine to block the Soviet thrust. Disregarding the opinion of State Department advisers, President Harry S. Truman sent Earl G. Harrison into the Displaced Persons camps in Europe to investigate the plight of the Jewish survivors of the Holocaust. After he urgently recommended that they be allowed to go to Palestine, the British proposed that the United States join in a new Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry. This committee unanimously voted to recommend the immediate admission of 100,000 displaced Jews into Palestine and the deferment of a political settlement. President Truman enthusiastically supported the committee's recommendations and declared that the U.S. would be ready to finance the settlement of the refugees. He rejected the proposal to establish autonomous Arab and Jewish regions in Palestine under British rule. The British then turned to the United Nations to end the impasse.

The 11-nation United Nations Special Committee on Palestine (UNSCOP) recommended the termination of the British Mandate in Palestine and the partition of the country into a Jewish and an Arab state and a *corpus separatum* consisting of Jerusalem and its environs as an international enclave. The United States delegation supported the proposal in accordance with Truman's instructions who overruled the position of his State Department. Veteran American diplomats were unreconciled, however. Soon after the partition resolution was adopted, supporters of the Arab cause – missionaries, oil lobbyists, and Arabists – organized a powerful committee to demand its nullification, assisted by key State and Defense Department officials. Their campaign seemed to succeed, and the United Nations Security Council proved impotent to cope with Arab pressure and belligerence. The United States then proposed that the General Assembly be convened in special session to recommend the establishment of a United Nations trusteeship in Palestine. But this attempt to block the establishment of the Jewish state failed. Events in Palestine moved faster than diplomacy. The British withdrew their forces in anticipation of the termination of the mandate, and the Haganah forces in combat with Arab armies and irregulars secured well-organized Jewish political authority over a substantial part of the country.

On May 14, 1948, at 6:00 P.M. eastern standard time, Israel was established as a state and, 11 minutes later, Truman granted de facto recognition by the United States, much to the dismay of the State Department. By quickly recognizing Israel, Truman overcame internal opposition from the State Department, maintaining that Congress' passage of the Lodge-Fish Resolution in 1922 affirmed the principles of the Balfour Declaration. Two days later the Soviet Union granted it *de jure* recognition. In the ensuing United Nations debates, the Soviet Union and the United States both supported Israel, while the British delegation remained aligned with the Arab states.

After a grueling year of war in which Israel suffered more than 6,000 fatalities (roughly 1 percent of Israel's Jewish population at the time), the Jewish state finally initiated efforts toward building secure territorial borders. The task would first involve the absorption of two large-scale waves of immigration. The first group comprised Holocaust survivors from Europe as well as returnees from British detention camps, primarily in Cyprus. The second wave comprised refugees from Arab countries in the Middle East and North Africa, who had been persecuted in revenge for the creation of the Jewish state. In all, Israel's Jewish population doubled in less than three years with the arrival of some 700,000 new immigrants.

In this period, the United States also provided Israel with significant economic support. In 1949 the U.S. Export-Import Bank extended a $100,000,000 loan to help Israel develop her agricultural economy. Two years later, Congress urged the administration to provide Israel with economic aid and amended the administration's Mutual Security Act to include a grant of $65,000,000. This was the first of many economic grants and loans, most of it in loans or the sale of surplus commodities. All loans were repaid on time. During most of the 1950s, however, the United States declined to make arms available to Israel.

U.S. policy toward Israel and the Arab-Israel conflict was deeply affected by other major conflicts in the area: the traditional, centuries-old conflict between East and West, with the Soviet Union and the United States emerging as the contemporary principals; enmity in the Arab world between the conservative, western-oriented states some of them oil-rich and the nominally socialist-oriented, which gradually turned to the Soviet Union. As a consequence, the United States, though explicitly committed to support Israel's existence and security, tended to be restrained in its day-to-day attitude. In part, this was due to the influence of American diplomats, missionaries, and businessmen who had cultural, religious, and economic interests in the Arab world. Above all, the United States was sensitive to the dynamic Soviet policy in the area.

After 1948, and particularly from 1955, the Soviets steadily increased their influence throughout the area, putting the West very much on the defensive. By adopting a policy of absolute hostility to Israel as a major card in winning Arab friendship, the Soviet Union left Israel no option but to become increasingly dependent on the West and particularly on the U.S. In this way it also endeavored to establish Israel's reputation as a "satellite" of the U.S., whereas Israel and the U.S. understood the relationship as one of overlapping interest in limiting hostile Soviet influence in the area. American diplomacy feared the region would become polarized, with all Arab states eventually oriented toward Moscow and the United States isolated as a kind of protecting power of Israel. Moreover, American diplomats were concerned that oil concessions might be nationalized by radical Arab governments, adversely affecting the strategically important flow of oil to Europe, as well as oil dividends and bank deposits to the West. The gradual growth of Soviet power in the area during the 1950s and 1960s posed grave problems, as the U.S.S.R. sought substantial control of the Mediterranean communication lines and sources of intelligence, thus furthering its basic aims of disorganizing NATO and weakening U.S. voting strength in the United Nations.

The American reaction to the Soviet expansionist trend in the Middle East was inconsistent, sometimes swinging from one extreme to the other. As early as 1945 the United States insisted that the Soviets quit Iran. Two years later, the Truman Doctrine helped to bolster Greece and Turkey. In 1950 the United States joined Great Britain and France in a Tripartite Declaration that included a vague commitment to maintain a balance of armaments between Israel and her Arab neighbors and prevent the change of the armistice lines by violent means. Shortly afterward the United States and Great Britain attempted to rally the Arab states in defense arrangements to "contain" the Soviet Union, which would have permitted the West to retain the bases in Egypt and in Iraq that were being politically vacated by the British. This eventually led to the Baghdad Pact, which the United States cemented with arms shipments to Iraq. Israel, as well as Nasser's Egypt, opposed the pact, and Nasser even accepted the Soviet offer of arms and large-scale economic aid, thus upsetting the balance of power with Israel precariously maintained by the Tripartite Declaration. Soviet expansion into the Middle East now gained a firm foothold, while the Baghdad Pact itself exploded in the antimonarchist coup in Iraq in 1958, which left Turkey, Iran, and Pakistan in it, in addition to British and American backing.

The United States then swerved to another extreme. It sought to win Nasser's Egypt and the other radical Arab states by an attempt to persuade them to adopt a pro-Western attitude. As a result of East-West competition, they were able, in accordance with Nasser's positive neutralism, to secure aid from both the United States and the Soviet Union, to the increasing military disadvantage of Israel. Washington was still maneuvering to freeze the Soviets out of the Middle East long after they had penetrated the area but was slow and indecisive in its actions. Preoccupation with the cold war competition was reflected in the U.S. attitude to many aspects of the Arab-Israel conflict. On such issues as military aid, boundaries, utilization of water resources, the resettlement of refugees, navigation through international waterways, the Arab boycott, terrorism, and retaliation, U.S. diplomacy was often vacillating and undecided so as not to offend Arab sensitivities.

On the question of Jerusalem there were also considerable divergences of opinion between the United States and Israel. While in 1950, the United States supported the Swedish proposal at the United Nations for a functional internationalization of the holy places, thereby abrogating the former decision for territorial internationalization as a *corpus separatum*, after the defeat of the proposal the United States steadfastly refused to recognize Jerusalem as Israel's capital and even used its influence on other states to desist from establishing or transferring their diplomatic missions to Jerusalem. This attitude was suspended by many nations only in the early 1960s, after strong Israeli protests.

Meanwhile, the United States strongly supported Israel on the question of international navigation. Since the 1949 Armistice Agreement, Egypt insisted that it was in a state of war with Israel and closed the Suez Canal to Israel and Israel-bound shipping. In 1951 the United Nations Security Council upheld Israel's complaint and ordered Egypt to keep the canal open, but Egypt ignored the decision and later in 1954, when Israel renewed its complaint to the Security Council, the Soviet Union, already closely linked to Egypt, used its veto to block enforcement of the council's order. The council was thenceforward powerless to force an end to Arab belligerence against Israel.

In 1953 the American administration and Israel clashed over Israel's irrigation program, and President Dwight D. Eisenhower dispatched Eric Johnston as special envoy to the Middle East to devise a plan for the sharing of the water resources in the Jordan Valley. Agreement was reached with U.S. mediation between Israel and Arab experts on the technical level, but the Arab states refused to approve the plan for political reasons, and water development had to proceed unilaterally. Israel completed its national water carrier in 1964, with the discrete but efficient backing of the United States.

There was a sharp controversy between Israel and the United States over the U.S. proposal to send arms to Iraq in 1954 in the framework of the Baghdad Pact. Later, when the Soviet Union began to arm Egypt, Israel appealed to Washington for arms, but Secretary of State John Foster Dulles referred

Israel to the French. Growing Soviet support emboldened the Egyptians, who barred Israel from the Straits of Tiran as well as from the Suez Canal. The crisis deepened as Arab *fedayeen*, based mainly in the Egyptian-held Gaza Strip, increasingly attacked Israeli settlements and population centers. Late in 1956, Jordan and Egypt entered into a military alliance against Israel, which now became virtually surrounded by aggressive enemies. This was one of the main causes of the Sinai Campaign in which Israel won a swift victory. The United States and the Soviet Union then joined diplomatic forces to press Israel to withdraw from the occupied areas. During this period, relations between Israel and the U.S. were greatly strained and many American Jewish bodies and individuals made representations in Washington in support of Israel's position. A United Nations Emergency Force (UNEF) was stationed in the Gaza Strip and at Sharm el-Sheikh to prevent the recurrence of terrorist attacks, and the United States and most other maritime powers gave Israel assurances about the maintenance of free passage through the Straits of Tiran.

In 1957 Israel acceded to the Eisenhower Doctrine, aimed at guaranteeing the independence of states and governments in the Middle East against Communist oppression or subversion. The doctrine was effectively implemented during the Lebanon crisis of 1958, but later disintegrated. In 1958, the American administration launched a new initiative to win the friendship of Egypt through economic aid, and this policy continued when President John F. Kennedy took office in 1961. During this period, the United States tried to work out an elaborate proposal for the solution of the Arab refugee problem, which would have obliged Israel to absorb a substantial number of refugees. This attempt came to naught due to the Arabs' refusal to enter into any substantial negotiations. Another diplomatic issue that divided Israel and the Kennedy administration was U.S. opposition to Israel's insistence that a solution to the Arab-Israel conflict could be achieved only by direct Arab-Israel peace talks. When the Soviet Union provided Egypt with long-range bombers, MIG planes, and other modern arms, Israel renewed its appeal for U.S. arms. In 1962 Kennedy lifted the American arms embargo and approved the sale of U.S. Hawk anti-aircraft missiles to Israel. This was the first important arms deal between the U.S. and Israel, which incidentally, was the first country outside NATO to receive this weapon. In the words of historian Warren Bass, Kennedy's was thus the "pivotal presidency" – it laid the groundwork for a new close U.S.-Israeli relationship in the latter decades of the 20th century. In 1965 President Lyndon B. Johnson and his administration deepened the U.S.-Israel relationship by assisting Israel in maintaining its military strength through the sale of American warplanes to Israel for the first time.

A new crisis erupted in the Middle East in 1966–67 when the Soviet Union encouraged Syria and Egypt to take a more belligerent attitude toward Israel and the West. Anti-Israel terrorism mounted and the United Nations was unable to curb or even censure attacks against Israel, which came largely from Syria by the newly established al-Fatah organization and Syrian artillery. In addition, Soviet and Arab confidence was bolstered by the belief that the United States would not intervene in an explosive Middle East conflict because of heavy commitments in Southeast Asia and growing unrest and isolationist sentiment at home. This led in May 1967 to the dispatch of heavy Egyptian forces into Gaza and the Sinai Peninsula, the blockade of the Straits of Tiran, and the sudden withdrawal of the United Nations forces from the area.

At the end of the Six-Day War (June 1967), the United States did not repeat its 1956–57 attitude. It was largely instrumental in blocking in the United Nations various Soviet-Arab initiatives to brand Israel as an aggressor and demand the unconditional withdrawal of its forces from the occupied territories (i.e., the West Bank, Gaza Strip, Golan Heights, and Sinai peninsula). The United States insisted that Israel should not be required to withdraw from occupied territories until there was agreement between the parties on "recognized and secure boundaries," according to the Security Council resolution of Nov. 22, 1967. Nonetheless, there were substantial differences between the United States and Israel. In 1969 President Richard M. Nixon's administration agreed to Four Power talks to draw up guidelines for a settlement, and Secretary of State William Rogers publicly outlined a plan that entailed Israel's withdrawal to the lines of June 4, 1967, with little emendation, in exchange for a peace agreement with Egypt and Jordan. Israel feared that the United States was again joining with the Soviet Union in an attempt to impose a settlement. A difference also arose because of protracted delays on responding to Israel's urgent request for arms.

Until 1970 any military equipment Israel obtained from the United States represented hard currency dollar purchases. In the Military Assistance Act of 1970, the U.S. government provided credits up to $500 million for military aid to Israel. This represented a major change in U.S.-Israel relations. Over the years, Israel obtained a variety of loans from the U.S. government-owned Export-Import Bank. This bank's principal function was to provide financing for U.S. exports. However, assistance from the private sector, including public institutions, was of greater importance to Israel's growth than U.S. government programs. Transfers through the United Jewish Appeal and similar public institutions and sales of Israel Bonds totaled over $2 billion from 1948. Philanthropic transfers were used predominantly for social welfare and development purposes, while the proceeds of bond sales, which were initiated in 1951, were used for economic development as well as current account purchases. In addition, loans to Israeli companies and the government by private American banking institutions were substantial. Even more important was the development of U.S.-Israel trade. From 1949 to 1959, imports from the United States averaged $100 million per year. During the next ten years, this amount doubled. Imports from the United States in 1969 were $310 million, 24 percent of Israel's total imports. Exports from Israel to the United States averaged $13 million from 1949 to 1959 and $60 million during the next ten years. In 1969, exports to the U.S. were $136 million, 19 percent of Israel's total exports. There was thus an annual balance of payments of approximately $175 million in favor of the United States.

In 1970 it became clear that the Soviet Union and Egypt were determined to increase their military power in the area and weaken Israel by a "war of attrition" in the canal zone in contravention of the cease-fire order of the Security Council of June 1967. Israel's counteraction against Egyptian military targets proved highly effective, and the United States continued to slow down delivery of arms to Israel in the hope that the Soviet Union would join in a program of arms limitations in the conflict area. It made repeated efforts to bring about a cease-fire and peace negotiations, and in August 1970, American initiative brought about a new cease-fire agreement between Egypt and Israel, which entailed a complete "standstill" of military installations on both sides of the canal as well as the renewal of indirect Israel-Arab peace talks through United Nations representative Gunnar Jarring. In an effort to make Egypt's skies impenetrable and shift the balance of power, the Soviet Union and Egypt violated the "standstill agreement," introducing new missiles in the canal area. This was not only a threat to Israel but a challenge to U.S. prestige and power. Washington then moved to sell weapons to Israel, including modern and sophisticated equipment, and Congress voted large-scale credits to enable Israel to buy them. This decision was a major development in U.S.-Israel relations, as it constituted the decisive element in strengthening Israel's capacity to withstand Soviet-Arab pressure. On the other hand, the United States also induced Israel to agree to a resumption of the Jarring talks in January 1971. It soon emerged, however, that there was still a wide divergence between Israel and U.S. views on the contents and aims of the talks. Israel emphasized the principle of new, secure, defensible, agreed, and recognized borders, substantially different from the pre-June 4, 1967 lines, while the U.S. attitude still seemed to be guided by the Rogers plan of 1969.

In determining its policy throughout the 1960s and 1970s, the U.S. sought to balance its efforts to retain a maximum role within Arab states and the desirability of maintaining a militarily and economically strong Israel as a counter to Soviet penetration into the Arab neighboring countries. Israel's military successes, although performed by Israel for the sake of its own security, had the effect of checking the extension of Soviet influence. Certain Washington circles consequently favored (especially after the Six-Day War) the maintenance of a strong Israel in order to maintain the balance of power that had been achieved in the area, uneasy as it was.

However, these Washington circles were countered by elements in the State Department that emphasized maintaining the friendship of pro-Western Arab regimes and thus winning a measure of influence in those states where the Soviet Union was largely dominant. The latter argued that a too blatantly pro-Israel policy could endanger other U.S. footholds in the Middle East, especially Saudi Arabia, Jordan, and Lebanon, and that by appearing as Israel's backer, the U.S. could drive these countries into the Soviet orbit. Strongly advocated by certain State Department officials, this line of thinking was massively backed by the powerful oil lobby which represented a major group of U.S. capital that had heavily invested in the Arab lands. The oil lobby was active not only in Washington but in financing pro-Arab activities and pressure groups throughout the U.S.

A further factor that U.S. policy makers had to take into consideration was the Jewish reaction in the U.S. Although the strategic issues frequently might have led to differences of opinion in the American administration, resulting from differing assessments of the global consequences of policies, the ultimate decisions of the politicians had also to take into consideration the demands of the oil companies, on the one hand, and the Jewish vote on the other. The last factor became of particular significance as major election periods approached.

On March 26, 1979, the Camp David accords were formalized in the Egypt-Israel peace treaty signed by Prime Minister Menahem Begin and President Anwar Sadat and witnessed by President Jimmy Carter. The peace treaty marked a turning point in the history of Arab-Israel relations. It held out the hope for peaceful coexistence between Israel and other Arab countries as well as a resolution of the Palestinian Arab problem. "The critical importance of the agreement with Egypt," Prime Minister Begin declared, "lies in the fact that this time we undertook to sign a peace treaty…"

> No more interim agreements… It means complete normalization of relations [between Israel and Egypt]… The basis for the framework agreement concerning Judea, Samaria and Gaza is our autonomy plan… The military government and its civilian administration will be withdrawn.

The peace treaty with Egypt did indeed lead to a complete Israeli withdrawal from Sinai in 1982. In the meantime, however, the Likud-led government annexed the Golan Heights in 1981. The Golan legislation demonstrated the Begin government's commitment to the concept of territorial maximalism and defused right-wing and religious criticism that crystallized around the Gush Emunim settlers and the "Stop the Withdrawal" movement.

In 1981 controversy erupted when the sale of five AWACS aircraft to Saudi Arabia was announced. As in the recent past, the arms sale was opposed by the State of Israel and American Jewish organizations lobbied intensively against it. Although the U.S. House of Representatives voted overwhelmingly against the sale, the Senate voted to permit it. On this occasion emolients were less in evidence. Apparently alluding to the efforts by Israel and its supporters, President Ronald Reagan observed: "It is not the business of other nations to make American foreign policy." An additional critical statement by ex-President Richard M. Nixon brought an angry response from leaders of the American Jewish community.

The public relations damage caused by the AWACS sale receded in 1981 when Israel and the United States entered into a strategic pact directed against Russian intervention in the Middle East. However, the sudden adoption by the Knesset in December 1981 of a bill extending Israeli law to the Golan Heights drew a sharp rebuke from Washington and aroused considerable misgiving in American Jewish circles. In response to the new Golan Heights law, the American government suspended the strategic pact. In due course, Begin replied by addressing to the U.S. ambassador to Israel a series of complaints, including the charge that the Reagan administration's effort to ratify the AWACS sale was "accompanied by an ugly antisemitic campaign."

The political horizon was also clouded in this period by the Palestine Liberation Organization, which over the years established itself as a virtual state-within-a-state in southern Lebanon and amassed a considerable arsenal. It now possessed the capability of shelling much of the Upper Galilee. Syria, too, escalated tensions by installing sophisticated long-range missiles in the Beqaa Valley that threatened Israeli aircraft and violated the longstanding cease-fire agreements reached after the Yom Kippur War.

In June 1982, on the heels of an attack by Palestinian Arab extremists against Shlomo Argov, Israel's ambassador to Great Britain, Israel launched major air strikes against PLO bases in southern Lebanon and in Beirut. The PLO responded by shelling Israeli settlements in the Galilee. These events prompted the Israeli invasion of Lebanon known as "Operation Peace for Galilee." The operation, intended to be a limited initiative with precise military objectives, brought a rapid Israeli victory. It successfully pushed PLO artillery outside the range of settlements and towns in northern Israel. At the same time, however, the Israel Defense Forces failed to destroy or capture most of the PLO forces in southern Lebanon. Moreover, the Israeli public was shocked by the Sabra and Shatilla massacres of September 1982.

Following the Lebanon War, Reagan announced his administration's intention to advance the peace process within the framework of the Camp David accords. Reagan acknowledged the rights of the Palestinian Arab people but emphasized that "America's commitment to the security of Israel is ironclad." American diplomatic initiatives notwithstanding, tensions between Israel and the Palestinian Arabs continued to escalate. In 1983 the United States and Israel signed a Memorandum of Understanding for strategic cooperation, and in 1988 Israel became a major non-NATO ally of the United States. The two countries next became involved in joint research and development efforts on high technology projects such as the Arrow and anti-ballistic missile system. A generous program of American economic and financial aid eased Israel's defense burden and allowed Israel to invest in its economic and social infrastructure and focus on the absorption of Jewish refugees. Moreover, the United States was an instrumental player in the struggle to ensure the emigration of 750,000 Jews from the former Soviet Union, Ethiopia, and other countries to Israel. Through loan guarantees granted in 1992, Israel was able to finance the mammoth task of absorbing, since 1990, approximately one-fifth of its total population. Additional cooperation between Israel and the United States took the form of a Free Trade Agreement (1985) and the establishment of the U.S.-Israel Science and Technology Commission (1993).

October 1991 marked a significant milestone on the road to Mideast peace when following the Persian Gulf War, the United States cosponsored, with the Soviet Union, the Arab-Israeli Peace Conference in Madrid. As a result of the negotiations that followed, Israel signed a peace treaty with Jordan (1994) as well as a Declaration of Principles (1993) and an Interim Agreement (1995) with the Palestinians. In these years, Israel also expanded its relations with many other Arab countries. Like Egyptian President Anwar Sadat before him, Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin made the ultimate sacrifice for Mideast reconciliation. On November 4, 1995, Yigal Amir, a right-wing zealot assassinated Rabin at the end of a peace rally in Tel Aviv. Following Rabin's murder the peace process continued fitfully under his successor Shimon Peres and then stalled under the Likud government of Benjamin Netanyahu, despite the potential breakthrough represented by the Wye River Memorandum (1998). Diplomatic momentum was renewed in 1999 when Ehud Barak handily won Israel's general election and brought a new Labor-led government to power. Vowing to continue Rabin's approach to securing Israel's borders and a negotiated settlement for Palestinian self-government, Barak embarked on an ambitious plan to "conclude all Middle East peace negotiations within 15 months." At this juncture, President Bill Clinton invested considerable energy and political capital in an effort reinvigorate the peace process, pressing for both a Syria-Israel peace treaty and a final resolution to the Israel-Palestinian negotiations. Despite high hopes and great expectations, the process was ultimately stymied by a recalcitrant Assad, a reluctant Arafat, a brash Barak, and a lame-duck Clinton administration. Before leaving office, Clinton brought the Israeli and Palestinian negotiators together in 2000 and outlined the parameters of possible agreement that addressed the issues of Israeli and Palestinian territorial sovereignty and security, the status of Jerusalem, the question of the Palestinian refugees, and an end of claims to be implemented through the United Nations. He concluded his presentation with the following statement:

> I believe this is the outline of a fair and lasting agreement. It gives the Palestinian people the ability to determine their future on their own land, a sovereign and viable state recognized by the international community, al-Quds as its capital, sovereignty over the Haram, and new lives for the refugees.
>
> It gives the people of Israel a genuine end to the conflict, real security, the preservation of sacred religious ties, the incorporation of 80 percent of the settlers into Israel, and the largest Jewish Jerusalem in history, recognized by all as your capital.
>
> This is the best I can do. I would ask you to brief your leaders and let me know if they are prepared to come for discussions based on these ideas. I want to be very clear on one thing. These are my ideas. If they are not accepted they are not just off the table. They go with me when I leave office.

Clinton's proposal came to naught, but it did anticipate the subsequent approach adopted by the Israeli government under Likud leader and veteran military strategist Ariel Sharon. Sharon, who was elected in 2001 following the Labor party's humiliating defeat after only a brief period in power, implemented a strategy that was in practice an extension of the hard-headed and pragmatic policy first introduced by Yitzhak Rabin a decade earlier. Meanwhile, the election of George W. Bush as president – who defeated Democratic standard bearer Al Gore and his running mate Senator Joseph Lieberman of Connecticut (the first Jewish candidate for vice president of a major political party) – brought about a dramatic shift in American policy vis-à-vis the Middle East peace process. In stark contrast to Clinton, whose close personal engagement with Israeli and Arab leaders was well known, the Bush administration remained relatively remote from week-to-week and month-to-month affairs of Israeli and Palestinian diplomatic activity. Moreover, with the tacit support of Bush himself, Sharon moved swiftly to isolate Yasser Arafat, unilaterally redeploy Israeli troops from areas of the occupied territories, build a separation fence around the Gaza Strip and the West Bank, and remove Jewish settlers from the former area, if necessary, by force. Notwithstanding some minor criticisms, particularly with respect to the impact of the separation barrier on the Palestinian economy, the Bush administration staunchly supported the Sharon government. The U.S. government signaled its continued support of Sharon's policies even after a sudden stroke in 2006 resulted in the latter's abrupt departure from the political arena. Ehud Olmert, Sharon's heir apparent and immediate successor, now appeared determined to stay the course. Thus the torch was passed from the generation of Rabin and Sharon – warriors-turned-peace makers who succeeded the founding generation of Zionist leaders – to a younger generation, Olmert and others who had come of age in the era of the Six-Day War of 1967 and the Yom Kippur War of 1973.

As the historical record demonstrates, American foreign policy in the Middle East over the decades did not steer a consistent course because of the conflicting and even contradictory interests involved. Developments must be viewed against the background of both global strategy and internal pressures. In large measure, certainly until the late 1980s, American decisions were made within the framework of the ongoing rivalry between the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. (with the rise of Communist China a constant background consideration). The Middle East as a whole served as a flashpoint for the American and Soviet governments, each of which exerted considerable efforts to control the region while avoiding a direct confrontation. It continues to be a key area culturally and geographically – as one of the world's critical geo-political arenas, a gateway to Africa, and because of the immense oil deposits possessed by the Arab world.

Apart from all this, United States policy makers had to take into consideration a widespread sympathy for Israel among the general American public – despite the extensive efforts made by hostile elements to blacken this image – based among other things on a Christian appreciation for the Jews' attachment to the Holy Land, a sense of horror at Jewish suffering in the 20th century, Israel's support of American efforts to check Soviet expansionism during the Cold War, and an affinity for the democratic nature of the State of Israel. In the wake of the 9/11 attacks and the Iraq War, the United States and Israel have stepped up joint efforts to combat international terrorism. Although the special relationship between the two countries has deepened over time and Israel is today one of the United States' closest allies, support for the Jewish state is not unconditional. Indeed, the United States has exerted considerable pressure on Israel at the turn of the 20th and 21st centuries in the quest for a comprehensive solution to the Israel-Arab conflict. For its part, since the breakthrough of the Oslo peace talks, Israel has gradually implemented a phased withdrawal from the territories it captured in the Six-Day War of 1967, with the exception of Jerusalem, and cautiously supported plans for the creation of an independent Palestinian state in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. It is against the background of this canvas that the ongoing development of U.S.-Israel relations must be assessed. The factors and considerations outlined here are also critical to the historic decisions that will determine the future of the Jewish state.

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[Maurice Atkin, Lloyd P. Gartner, Arden J. Geldman, Isaiah Kenen, Jacob Rader Marcus, and Sefton D. Temkin / Mark A. Raider (2nd ed.)]

UNITED SYNAGOGUE (Heb. ק״ק כְּנֶסֶת יִשְׂרָאֵל), association of Ashkenazi congregations in London – originally formed by the Great Synagogue, Duke's Place (c. 1690), and four other constituent synagogues – which was established by Act of Parliament on July 14, 1870. The project, apparently inspired by Michael *Sachs' model federation in Berlin, was initiated by Chief Rabbi Nathan Marcus *Adler in 1866 and the organizational work developed under his son and successor, Hermann *Adler. The United Synagogue (popularly known as the "U.S.") rapidly became one of the most powerful centralized bodies of its type in the Jewish world, and its name was later borrowed by Solomon *Schechter for the Conservative synagogue body in the U.S. The United Synagogue was arguably at its peak in the half-century from about 1920 until 1970, when it was, generally, the synagogue of choice of England's second generation immigrants as they moved into the middle class. During this time it opened many new venues in north and northeast London and elsewhere. Its ambiance emphasizes decorum, conservatism in behavior, and British patriotism. Before 1948, while not anti-Zionist, it was seldom associated as a rule with the extreme supporters of a Jewish state. Since the establishment of the State of Israel, it has become a loyal supporter of the Jewish state, although recent chief rabbis have occasionally been critical of some Israeli actions. It is the bastion of the British chief rabbinate and of the London *bet din* and all its synagogues accept the religious authority of the Chief Rabbi. By 1971 there were 23 constituent synagogues (with some 20,000 members), a further 23 district synagogues, and 35 affiliated congregations; about 40,000 families, representing half the Jewish population of Greater London, were United Synagogue members. After World War II, these activities were expanded to include new congregations in a few provincial centers such as Peterborough and Worcester. Income is paid into a common pool so that poorer synagogues can be supported by wealthier ones and a number of general communal services can be supported.

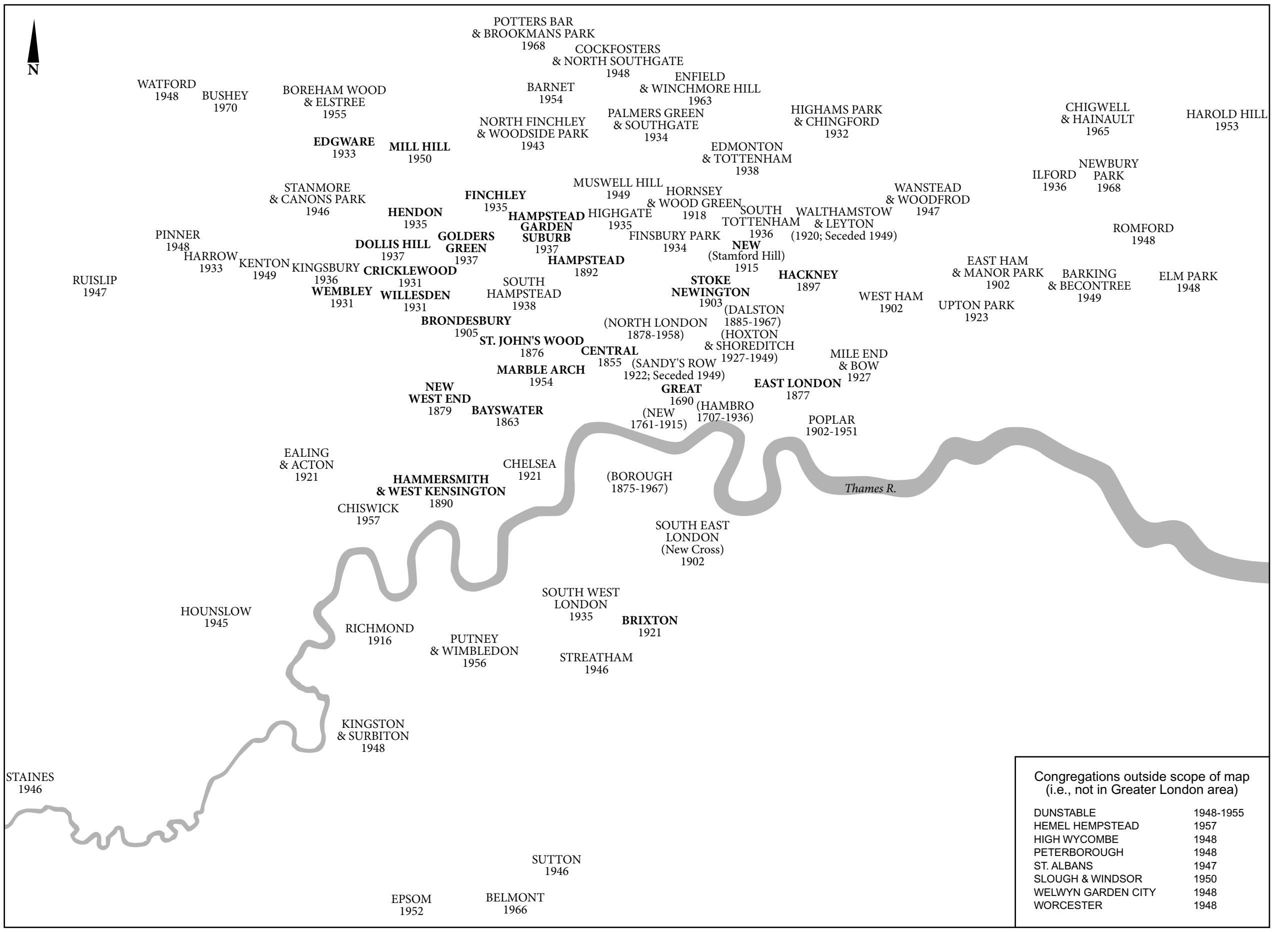
N
POTTERS BAR & BROOKMANS PARK 1968
COCKFOSTERS & NORTH SOUTHGATE 1948
ENFIELD & WINCHMORE HILL 1963
WATFORD 1948
BUSHEY 1970
BOREHAM WOOD & ELSTREE 1955
BARNET 1954
PALMERS GREEN & SOUTHGATE 1934
NORTH FINCHLEY & WOODSIDE PARK 1943
HIGHAMS PARK & CHINGFORD 1932
CHIGWELL & HAINAULT 1965
HAROLD HILL 1953
EDGWARE 1933
MILL HILL 1950
EDMONTON & TOTTENHAM 1938
NEWBURY PARK 1968
ILFORD 1936
MUSWELL HILL 1949
STANMORE & CANONS PARK 1946
FINCHLEY 1935
HORNSEY & WOOD GREEN 1918
WANSTEAD & WOODFROD 1947
HENDON 1935
HAMPSTEAD GARDEN SUBURB 1937
HIGHGATE 1935
SOUTH TOTTENHAM 1936
WALTHAMSTOW & LEYTON (1920; Seceded 1949)
ROMFORD 1948
PINNER 1948
DOLLIS HILL 1937
GOLDERS GREEN 1937
FINSBURY PARK 1934
NEW (Stamford Hill) 1915
HARROW 1933
KENTON 1949
KINGSBURY 1936
CRICKLEWOOD 1931
HAMPSTEAD 1892
EAST HAM & MANOR PARK 1902
RUISLIP 1947
WEMBLEY 1931
WILLESDEN 1931
SOUTH HAMPSTEAD 1938
STOKE NEWINGTON 1903
HACKNEY 1897
BARKING & BECONTREE 1949
ELM PARK 1948
WEST HAM 1902
UPTON PARK 1923
BRONDESBURY 1905
(NORTH LONDON 1878-1958)
(DALSTON 1885-1967)
ST. JOHN'S WOOD 1876
CENTRAL 1855
(HOXTON & SHOREDITCH 1927-1949)
(SANDY'S ROW 1922; Seceded 1949)
MILE END & BOW 1927
MARBLE ARCH 1954
NEW WEST END 1879
GREAT 1690
EAST LONDON 1877
BAYSWATER 1863
(NEW 1761-1915)
(HAMBRO 1707-1936)
POPLAR 1902-1951
EALING & ACTON 1921
CHELSEA 1921
HAMMERSMITH & WEST KENSINGTON 1890
(BOROUGH 1875-1967)
Thames R.
CHISWICK 1957
SOUTH EAST LONDON (New Cross) 1902
SOUTH WEST LONDON 1935
HOUNSLOW 1945
BRIXTON 1921
RICHMOND 1916
PUTNEY & WIMBLEDON 1956
STREATHAM 1946
KINGSTON & SURBITON 1948
STAINES 1946
SUTTON 1946
EPSOM 1952
BELMONT 1966
Congregations outside scope of map (i.e., not in Greater London area)
DUNSTABLE 1948-1955
HEMEL HEMPSTEAD 1957
HIGH WYCOMBE 1948
PETERBOROUGH 1948
ST. ALBANS 1947
SLOUGH & WINDSOR 1950
WELWYN GARDEN CITY 1948
WORCESTER 1948

United Synagogue congregations in Greater London. Constituent synagogues in boldface. Prepared by G.E. Silverman.

Although the United Synagogue has long claimed to preserve and represent traditional Judaism in Great Britain, its Orthodoxy had been so diluted by the early 20th century that it came near to emulating the French Central *Consistory. There were also religious and organizational conflicts and rivalries with the more right-wing Federation of Synagogues (1887) founded by Lord Swaythling and the Union of Orthodox Hebrew Congregations (Adath Yisroel) established by Victor (Avigdor) *Schoenfeld in 1926. Its dominating figure in the mid-20th century was its president, Sir Robert Waley *Cohen. With the emergence of a more staunchly Orthodox lay leadership after World War II, and especially following Sir Isaac *Wolfson's election as president in 1962, the United Synagogue swung to the right. The United Synagogue's centenary celebrations in 1970 were attended by Queen Elizabeth. In recent years it has been repeatedly challenged from both the theological right and left and has diminished somewhat in popularity – as measured, for instance, by the marriages it performs – compared with either Strict Orthodoxy or non-Orthodox strands. In the mid-1960s, the rise of the Masorti movement, led by Rabbi Louis Jacobs and linked with the American Conservative movement, represented a significant challenge to the "U.S." Both recent chief rabbis, Immanuel *Jakobovits and Jonathan *Sacks, have engaged in high-profile disputes with other strands in Anglo-Jewry, especially with the Progressive movement. In 2004 there were 46 member synagogues of the "U.S." in London, together with another 20 London synagogues affiliated to it and several dozen outside of London. Aubrey Newman's *The United Synagogue, 1870–1970* (1977) is a history of the group's first century.

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UNITED SYNAGOGUE OF CONSERVATIVE JUDAISM (formerly **United Synagogue of America**), association of Conservative synagogues in the United States and Canada. The United Synagogue of America was founded by Solomon *Schechter, president of the Jewish Theological Seminary, on February 23, 1913. The 22 synagogues that constituted the original membership of the organization had reached well over 700 congregations by 2006.

In creating the United Synagogue, Schechter hoped to tie together those congregations that supported the seminary's goal, to strengthen "historical Judaism" in North America. Although his dream of unifying the entire Jewish community did not materialize, Schechter's labors created a major instrumentality for preserving and fostering traditional Jewish religious life across the continent.

The United Synagogue has sought to provide its affiliated congregations with help in fulfilling their religious and educational responsibilities. The United Synagogue Commission on Jewish Education has conducted many studies on the operation of congregational religious schools, which led eventually to the formulation of standards and curricula for Conservative schools. The commission has also produced hundreds of textbooks in Hebrew and English, school administration materials, and audio-visual aids. Since the late 1950s, it has spurred a system of Conservative day schools. Today, the Solomon Schechter Day School Association represents a network of more than 80 elementary and high schools.

Through the National Academy for Adult Jewish Studies, the United Synagogue has stimulated the development of adult education programs. To make prayer responsive to contemporary needs, the United Synagogue has published from time to time revised versions of the prayer book both for adults and children; its most recent is the revised *Siddur Sim Shalom*, which uses updated language and deals sensitively with issues of language and gender.

In 1952 the United Synagogue took an important step to raise standards of conduct for synagogues by adopting its "Guide to Standards for Congregational Life," and in 1959 the organization adopted the "Statement of Standards for Synagogue Practice," which became binding upon its affiliated congregations. In cooperation with the Rabbinical Assembly and the National Women's League, it also established the Commission on Social Action. The commission's purpose was to bring the wisdom of Judaism to bear on the burning social issues of the day.

Into the 21st century, United Synagogue's Social Action and Public Policy Committee still takes on that mandate; it also responds to emergencies with financial and other forms of help, and lobbies Congress to support issues of concern to the Jewish community.

In 2006 United Synagogue supported offices in 14 regions, which spanned the United States and Canada. Each region had an executive director and a network of regional officers, who met in regional councils and who were represented by their presidents on the national level. Presidents and past presidents share ideas and information with each other over the Presidents' List, a listserv run out of the national office. New leaders, on the congregational, regional, and international levels, are provided through retreat programs Sulam and Imun.

United Synagogue is particularly strong in informal education for teenagers and young adults, both in North America and in Israel. In North America, its network of United Synagogue Youth groups, for high-school students, covers the country, and often is the entry point to an independent Conservative Jewish life for teenagers. Kadimah, for middle-schoolers, is an active group that successfully feeds into USY; Koach, for college-students, operates on many campuses and holds regional gatherings for the Sabbath. On the other end of the life cycle, Hazak, provides classes, trips, discussion groups, and a range of other services for people 55 and older.

The United Synagogue of America has been committed to the cause of Israel and world Jewry generally since it was founded. As far back as 1926, it was instrumental in creating the Yeshurun Synagogue in Jerusalem as a gift to the Jews of what was then Palestine.

United Synagogue now has a six-building campus in Israel, the Fuchsberg Jerusalem Center of the United Synagogue of Conservative Judaism. The change of name is an indication of the reality that the organization stands for a movement and not for the entirety of the synagogues of America. The center houses the Conservative Yeshivah, an institution dedicated to high-level study for Jews who wish to take weeks, months, or even a year out of their lives to study for its own sake. It also provides headquarters for Nativ, the United Synagogue program for young adults who spend a year in Israel between high school and college, and often houses high-school students in Israel for USY's extremely successful Israel Pilgrimage trips.

[Alvin Kass / Joanne Palmer (2nd ed.)]

UNIVERS ISRAÉLITE, French-language periodical which was published in Paris from 1844 to 1940. In its first issue it was described as a "monthly religious, moral, and literary journal," but from January 1846, it adopted as a subtitle "journal of the conservative interests of Judaism." Then a bimonthly publication, it proposed to consider all political or social events that might have some direct or indirect bearing on the Jewish community. From 1896 it appeared as a weekly until the fall of France in May–June 1940. For decades it had been the organ which published the principal statements of the chief rabbis of France. The chief editors were S. Bloch (1844–78), Lazare *Wogue (1879–93), Israel *Lévi (1894–95), Maurice *Liber (1919–34), and Raymond *Lambert (from September 1934).

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[Roger Berg]

UNIVERSITIES. Jewish interest in education, including its advanced forms, goes back to the early history of the people. Specialists in the history of education, both Jewish and non-Jewish, have long recognized that the *academy of ancient Judea and Babylonia was an institution of advanced instruction and research in theology and in other subjects as well. According to Lewis J. Sherrill, the academy was "a university," in which "learned scholars" pursued "the most advanced studies" and instructed those who were capable of learning.

In the Middle Ages

The advent of Christianity, with its opposition to Judaism, made impossible any Jewish identification with the learning represented by such institutions as the University of Constantinople. However, Jewish scholars were welcome in the University of Jundishapur during the reign of Nurshirwan the Just, the renowned sixth-century monarch of Sassanid Persia. In this, "the greatest intellectual center of the time" (George Sarton), Jews, Christians, Hindus, Greeks, and others furthered study and research in philosophy, science, and *medicine. Jews also played an educational role in the House of Wisdom (Bayt al-Ḥikma), the research and translation center founded in Baghdad by Caliph Abdallah al-Mamun (813–833). At this institution, alchemy, astronomy, mathematics, law, philosophy, philology, and other learned subjects were promoted by the combined efforts of Jews and Christians under the aegis of al-Mamun.

The study of medicine drew many Jews to medieval and Renaissance universities. During the latter half of the 14th century Abraham Avigdor studied medicine at the University of Montpellier. He was apparently one of the earliest Jewish students of note at a Christian institution of higher learning. In later times Jewish names were not rare in the medical faculties of European universities, especially at those in Italy.

During the 15th and 16th centuries there were several recorded instances of Jews' affiliation with universities, as a rule in connection with science, medicine, and Hebrew. Elijah Levita, the Hebrew grammarian, invited by Francis I to accept the professorship of Hebrew at the University of Paris, refused because other Jews were not permitted to live in Paris at that time. Elijah b. Shabbetai (Sabot) taught at Paris in the 15th century.

At most, the contacts between the Jews and the European universities were sporadic and tenuous. The desire for higher education could not be satisfied through such arrangements. Hence it is not surprising that the desire for advanced learning led to the formation of plans for the establishment of an institution under Jewish auspices. In 1466 King John of Sicily gave formal permission to the Jews to organize a university of their own with faculties of medicine and law, and possibly also philosophy. It appears likely that the aim of this university was to prepare young Jews for the medical and legal professions. In any event, nothing came of this proposal, especially since the Jews were expelled from Sicily in 1492 by order of the Spanish crown.

An echo of the drive for university education came a century after the Sicilian plan. In a publication in 1604, R. David *Provençal of Mantua and his son Abraham called for the establishment of a Jewish college to teach Jewish religious and secular subjects. This plan evidently anticipated a bull by Pope Pius IV prohibiting the admission of Jews to examination for doctoral degrees. With the aid of his son, a doctor of philosophy and medicine, R. David presented a suitable program of study, "so that anyone who wishes to become a physician need not waste his days and years in a university among Christians in sinful neglect of Jewish studies." Owing to the intolerance of the times, the Provençals were not able to open this yeshivah-university, but only a talmudical institute instead.

If there was discouragement from without, there can be little doubt of opposition from within regarding secular education for Jews. Opposition to secular learning arose repeatedly, on the grounds of safeguarding the integrity of Judaism against alien ideology. However, despite such disapproval, there were always traditional Jews who made an effort to combine the sacred with the secular.

Whatever the case, some Jews in the 16th century managed to obtain doctoral degrees from several Italian universities – Bologna, Ferrara, Pavia, Perugia, Pisa, Rome, and Siena. The University of Padua conferred 228 doctorates upon Jews from 1517 to 1721. Aiding the Jews in their quest for higher learning in Italy was the Senate of Venice, which bypassed the papal ban on degrees by empowering an official to grant degrees without regard to religion, thus safeguarding academic freedom at the University of Padua.

The attitude of the Catholic Church toward study by Jews changed with the times. According to the 24th canon of the Council of Basle, Sept. 7, 1434, a ban was placed upon conferring any university degree upon Jews. However, even churchmen found it advisable to ignore this decree. Thus, Pope Julius III ordered the University of Padua (on Jan. 9, 1555) to examine a Jewish student, Simon Vitale, for the doctorate. The pope's motivation was neither religious tolerance nor academic freedom, but rather the hope that conversion of the candidate and, consequently, of other Jews would be facilitated.

Even when admitted to a university, Jewish students were faced by special problems and difficulties, some originating from their religious principles and others from discriminatory treatment. An example of the former was when students had to resort to various devices to avoid desecration of the Sabbath and holidays in connection with examinations. Jews had to pay larger graduation fees than did the Christian students, and in the 15th century they were required to invite all the students to dinner. If the Jewish students were excused from wearing the Jewish cap, they were also prohibited from practicing medicine on Christians. Jewish physicians of the 16th century had few, if any, opportunities for medical research and teaching or for admission to the leading hospitals.

17th and 18th Centuries

During the 17th and 18th centuries, the barriers to Jewish study were still very firm. No doubt taking their cue from traditional Catholic practice (as well as from Luther), European universities, hospitals, and official bodies carried on a boycott of Jewish physicians (generally identified as "Italian doctors," since it was impossible for a practicing Jew to get a doctoral degree outside of Italy). Johann Jakob *Schudt, the Lutheran theologian and Orientalist from Frankfurt and author of *Juedische Merckwuerdigkeiten* (1714–1717), was distressed at the Catholic Italians' disregard for the canon law of the Council of Basle. He accused the Italian universities, particularly the University of Padua, of permitting "every ignoramus and even the despised Jews" to take their degrees because of their pecuniary greed. Johann Heinrich Schuette provided proof in 1745 that conferring a medical doctorate upon a Jew was "contrary to the Christian religion." Under these circumstances, it is clear that Jews were separated at this time from the universities of virtually all of Europe by a formidable iron curtain.

However, here and there were chinks in this curtain. The philosopher Baruch *Spinoza, who had been excommunicated in 1656 by the Amsterdam Jewish community, but who was still identified as a Jew, was offered a professorship at the University of Heidelberg in 1673. Spinoza turned this invitation down because he feared losing his independence of thought and expression.

The usual association between medicine and higher education is also evident in the early history of the Jews of Poland. In their society talmudic and rabbinic studies were predominant, the physicians alone obtaining secular learning at universities. The earliest Jewish physicians in Poland were Spanish exiles and alumni of the University of Padua. They were seeking a place of refuge and hoped to practice the arts forbidden to them elsewhere. It was probably their example that influenced some Polish Jews (e.g., R. Moses Fishel of Cracow) to study medicine at the University of Padua in the early 16th century. From the second half of the century to the 18th, an increasing number of Polish Jews enrolled as students of medicine at Padua.

Interesting case studies are provided by R. Tobias *Cohn and Gabriel Selig or Felix of Galicia, who succeeded in getting their doctorates in medicine and philosophy at Padua in 1683. Both had succeeded in 1678, with the intervention of the great elector Frederick William of Brandenburg, in gaining admission to the University of Frankfurt on the Oder in the face of strong opposition on the part of the faculty. Only when the Lutheran faculty, citing the Catholic Council of Basle in 1434, refused to admit Jewish students to doctoral examinations, did Jewish students go to study in the south.

Once the barrier was broken, it became less difficult for Jewish students to enter German universities. Those whom the University of Cracow refused in the 18th century ventured to study medicine (and sometimes other disciplines) not only at Frankfurt on the Oder, but also at the University of Heidelberg. Only Padua exceeded the number of Jewish students at Frankfurt. It was most difficult for a Jew in the 18th century to obtain an appointment as a university lecturer in Europe, even on a temporary basis and in a subject such as the Hebrew language. The experience of Isaac Abraham *Euchel at the University of Koenigsberg in 1786 illustrates this. Euchel, who was an observant Jew, applied to the rector, Immanuel Kant, but was rejected by the university senate (minus Kant's signature) on the ground that he lacked the master's degree and that he was not a Christian.

During the 18th century, Jews studied at Harvard, Yale, the University of Pennsylvania, Columbia, and Brown University (where they were excused from attendance on Saturday). Moses Levy, who graduated from Pennsylvania in 1772, became a lawyer and judge; Isaac Abrahams (A.B., Columbia, 1774) practiced medicine; and Sampson Simson (B.A., Columbia, 1800) was the first Jewish lawyer in New York. A Jew in higher education was Rabbi Gershom Mendes *Seixas of the Spanish-Portuguese Congregation of New York, who became a regent of the University of the State of New York when it was founded in 1784, and who served as a trustee of Columbia College (1785–1815).

Enlightenment

The change in the European attitude toward opening higher education to the Jew, originating in the Enlightenment, was evident in the "Patent of Tolerance" (1782) issued by Emperor Joseph II of Austria. By this Jews could enroll their children at public schools and their young men at universities. In general, however, the change was more apparent than real, in actual practice. Nonetheless, during the course of the 19th century, young Jews began to attend European universities, at first slowly and then increasingly.

The reforms in 1812 of Karl von Hardenburg, Prussian minister of state, and of Wilhelm von Humboldt, minister of education, opened the universities to Jews. The closed door policy of the universities of Oxford, Cambridge, and Durham, which restricted entrance to Anglicans only, led to a movement for a secular university in England. The opening in 1827 of University College, the foundation school of the University of London, resulted in the admission of dissenters (Catholics and Jews). Finally, a parliamentary law in 1871 abolished the religious tests for Cambridge, Oxford, and Durham. The admission of Jewish faculty members followed that of Jewish students.

In the United States slow but perceptible change was made during the 19th century. Early in the century Joel Hart, possessor of a medical degree from the Royal College of Surgery in London, became a founder of the New York Medical Society and of the College of Physicians and Surgeons in New York. David Levi Maduro *Peixotto received an M.D. from the College of Physicians and Surgeons in 1819 and became professor of medicine at Willoughby College. Lorenzo *da Ponte (Emanuele, son of Geremia and Rachele Conegliano), a convert to Christianity, was appointed in 1830 to the professorship of Italian language and literature at Columbia College. As a poet and famous librettist of Mozart's opera he became one of the early contributors to the development of the teaching of foreign culture at American universities.

The 19th-century Russian policy of repression of minorities, especially the Jews, as well as that of reactionary political philosophy, was instrumental in the exodus of young Jews to universities in Germany and other countries. A Jewish scholar could become a faculty member at a Russian university only at the cost of conversion to the Russian Orthodox Church. The outstanding example of this was Daniel *Chwolson, professor of Hebrew and Syriac at the University of St. Petersburg.

The professional rosters of the German universities indicate the presence of a significant number of Jewish scholars in the 19th century. Jews also made their mark as scholars in Oriental studies in Germany.

The establishment of the first real university in the U.S., the Johns Hopkins University, in 1876, led to the appointment of several Jewish scholars, James J. *Sylvester and Fabian Franklin in mathematics, and Maurice *Bloomfield in Sanskrit and comparative philology. The Hopkins atmosphere was one of learning and research, rather than one of Christian piety. By the end of the 19th century, with the gradual growth of secularism, the spread of science, and the impact of industrialization and business, Jews attended Columbia and other universities in various parts of the United States.

The situation in imperial Russia regarding university attendance by Jews changed somewhat for the better under Czar Alexander II. However, the liberal privileges were severely curtailed under his successor, Alexander III, with the result that only a small percentage of Jews could receive a higher education in Russia during the late 19th century. The Jewish drive for higher education, stimulated by the Haskalah movement, but somewhat inhibited by the anti-secularist influence of the yeshivot, found an outlet in the universities of Germany, Switzerland, and other countries.

Modern Period

The forces which operated during the last decades of the 19th century to liberalize opportunities for Jews as professors and students in higher education were even stronger during the advancing decades of the 20th. The interest by young Jews in new fields of knowledge, such as psychology, sociology, experimental physics, and linguistics, brought about calls for their services when universities expanded their areas of teaching and research. The multiplication of the media of publication brought Jewish research scholars to the attention of academic audiences everywhere.

The growth of democratic sentiment in some countries opened the doors wider to Jewish students. On the other hand, Poland, Hungary, and Romania introduced the *numerus clausus* to limit Jewish enrollment. In Poland, particularly, Jews were relegated to the "ghetto benches" in university lecture halls, while periodic riots were organized by antisemitic students. During the later years of the Weimar Republic, German university students began to harass Jewish students and put pressure on Jewish professors, thus preparing for the academic repression characteristic of the Nazi regime. The opening of the Hebrew University (Jerusalem, 1925) and of the Yeshiva College (now Yeshiva University; New York City, 1928) served notice that Jews were now determined and prepared to undertake an active, leading role in the world of higher education. They would not now merely wait for Christian benevolence and for the vicissitudes of scientific and intellectual development. As time went on during the 20th century, it became evident that in universities in various parts of the world Jewish professors and students were common in virtually all fields of study. Although one cannot say that antisemitic restrictions had been abolished universally, it is clear that in the 1960s it was not at all difficult for capable Jews to make progress as students, professors, and even as administrators in higher education.

A special factor of significance during the 20th century was the impact of the policies of Nazism in Germany and elsewhere in Europe. With the application of the Nazi racial doctrines to the universities, there took place a migration of professors, research workers, and students to other countries, especially to the United States, Canada, England, and Palestine. As a result, higher education all over the world became enriched, even as the university systems of Germany and Austria became impoverished.

Of special interest is the situation in the U.S.S.R., where large numbers of Jews have been enrolled in institutions of higher education, and where professors and research workers have won signal recognition in the universities, institutes, and academies. During Stalin's "black years" (1948–53), however, a drastic reduction of their number took place, when Jewish scholars were dismissed in great numbers from their posts and many of them arrested or exiled. After Stalin's death the situation improved, but the complete absence of discrimination prevalent in the early post-revolutionary period was not restored.

In addition to teaching and scholarship, Jews have made growing contributions, in recent decades, to the administration of higher education (see below). Apart from heading institutions such as Yeshiva University (Bernard Revel, Samuel Belkin) and Brandeis (Abram L. Sachar and Charles Schottland), Jews have served as deans, vice presidents, and presidents of various institutions of higher learning. Among the rectors and presidents are Samuel Steinberg (Prague), Vittorio Polacco (Padua), Paul Klapper (Queens College), Martin Meyerson (University of Pennsylvania), Edward H. Levi (Chicago), Edward J. Bloustein (Rutgers State University of New Jersey), Maitland Steinkopf (Brandon University, Canada), Marvin Wachman (formerly at Lincoln), David N. Denker (New York Medical College), Maurice B. Mitchell (Denver), Jacob I. Hartstein (formerly at Kingsborough Community College, Brooklyn, N.Y.), and Jerome B. Wiesner (MIT). Samuel B. Gould, a convert to Christianity, was president of the State University of New York. David H. Kurtzman, formerly a professor of political science, served as acting chancellor of the University of Pittsburgh. Also to be mentioned are Abraham Flexner, director of the Institute for Advanced Study (Princeton), and Simon Flexner, former professor at Johns Hopkins and Pennsylvania, and director of the Rockefeller Institute for Medical Research (now Rockefeller University).

[William W. Brickman]

In the U.S.

STUDENTS: DATA AND TRENDS. Since the end of the 19th century, the number and proportion of Jewish students in American colleges and universities has increased rapidly, parallel to the growth of the Jewish community and of the American university population in general. In 1890 general enrollment in American colleges and universities was 157,000; it passed a million in 1934–35, reached 2,100,000 in 1946, increased to 3,570,000 in 1960, and virtually doubled once again by 1968, when it reached 7,571,636. The number of institutions of higher learning grew from 998 in 1890 to 2,008 in 1960.

The growth in Jewish enrollment has been equally rapid. By the beginning of the 20th century Jewish university students were numerous enough to permit the founding of Jewish fraternities and Zionist societies and especially of Menorah chapters at several universities. A survey by the Menorah Association between 1911 and 1913 reported 21 Jewish students at Colorado, 400 at Cornell, 160 at Harvard, 100 at Minnesota, 75 at Missouri, 62 at Ohio State, 325 at Pennsylvania, 50–60 at Penn State, 50 at Rutgers, and 70 at Wisconsin.

Prior to World War I, only scattered data about Jewish campus life are available. The first statistical survey of Jewish student enrollment, in 1915, found 7,300 Jewish students, or 3.1 percent of the total student population, at 534 institutions. Subsequent studies showed 14,837 Jewish students (9.7 percent) at 108 institutions in 1919, 104,906 (9.3 percent) in 1,319 institutions in 1953, 200,000 (7.5 percent of the total college population) at 1,610 institutions in 1955, 275,000 (6.5 percent) at 850 institutions in 1963, and 375,000 Jewish students (5 percent) at 840 institutions in 1968. A survey of 59,707 college seniors of the class of 1961 by the National Opinion Research Center found that 8.4 percent were Jews; of these 62 percent were male and 38 percent female, as compared with 67 percent and 33 percent respectively in the non-Jewish student population.

Although the number of Jewish students has increased continually since 1900, the Jewish percentage of the total American college population dropped from 9.3 percent in 1935 to about 5 percent in 1968 as the overall growth of college enrollment moved at a faster pace than the Jewish enrollment. Less than 40 percent of the U.S. college-age population was in college in 1968; the Jewish percentage attending college was nearly 80 percent. More than half of all Jewish students (51.3 percent) attended public institutions, 41 percent were at privately supported colleges, and denominational institutions accounted for 7.7 percent.

New York City continued to have the largest number and proportion of Jewish college students in the world, reflecting its large Jewish population and the city's unique system of tuition-free city colleges. Nevertheless, New York City declined as a center of higher education for Jewish students after 1935, when 53 percent of all Jewish collegians in the United States studied in New York City institutions, to 50 percent in 1946, 38 percent in 1955, and 27.6 percent in 1963. The decrease was due to several factors: growing affluence enabled more parents to give their children a college education away from home; the growth of the State University of New York opened additional opportunities for study at colleges outside the metropolitan area. The liberalization of admissions policy by private colleges, mainly but not exclusively in the east, and the steady movement of the Jewish population from the inner city to the suburbs contributed further to these tendencies.

The distribution of Jewish students by professional fields of study showed 23.6 percent (as compared with 16.5 percent of all students in business administration), 18.9 percent (compared with 28 percent) in education, 17.6 percent (19.8

percent) in engineering, 8.2 percent (3.3 percent) in law, 7.6 percent (3.4 percent) in medicine, and 5.2 percent (1.7 percent) in pharmacology. Other professional fields in which Jewish students were highly represented were dentistry, optometry, psychology, and philosophy; they were proportionately underrepresented in agriculture, nursing, home economics, physical education, and physical therapy (data for 1964).

RESTRICTIVE ADMISSIONS PRACTICES. Jewish students, however, did not always gain admission to the colleges and professional schools of their choice. While admission to institutions of higher learning was, in theory, open to all students who had the necessary scholastic and financial qualifications, many institutions restricted the admission of members of minority groups, including Jews. The use of quotas was rarely admitted, but they were a persistent feature in numerous private institutions, usually reflecting the social prejudices and desire for social homogeneity of the university community, its alumni, and its supporters. In 1922, Harvard president A. Lawrence Lowell defended the existence of a 10 percent quota for Jews at Harvard by expressing concern about "the large and increasing proportion of Jewish students in Harvard College," and his policy was supported by Harvard undergraduates who claimed that "Jews do not mix [and] they destroy the unity of the college" (in: *Harvard Graduates' Magazine*, Sept. 1922). In 1945, Dartmouth president E.M. Hopkins justified a quota for Jewish students by emphasizing that "Dartmouth is a Christian college founded for the christianization of its students." In 1947, President Truman's Commission on Higher Education charged that quota systems and policies of exclusion had prevented young people of many religious and racial groups, but particularly Jews and blacks, from obtaining a higher education and professional training. A study by the American Council on Education (1949) showed that the average Jewish applicant for college admission had considerably less chance of acceptance than a Catholic or Protestant of comparable scholastic ability. In the same year, application forms of 518 colleges and universities and of 88 schools of medicine and dentistry were still found to contain at least one and usually several potentially discriminatory questions.

Restrictive admissions and social practices at universities began to yield to concentrated public criticism after World War II. Many veterans returning to the campus under the GI bill vigorously objected to discriminatory practices in civilian life as incompatible with the mandates of democracy for which the war had been fought. Reports and studies by federal agencies and educational associations criticized restrictive policies. Several states outlawed discriminatory practices in education and employment. As a result, scholastic merit gradually became the major criterion for admission to private institutions, although other factors – geography, preferential treatment of children of alumni, the extracurricular activities of the applicant, the desire for a balanced student body – remained operative. As a result, Jewish enrollment at private institutions rose substantially between 1940 and 1968 (at Princeton from 2 percent to 12 percent, at Harvard to 21 percent, in the Ivy League colleges as a whole to 20 percent).

At the same time, however, many state universities began to restrict their enrollment of out-of-state students. In 1969, 73 (more than one-half) restricted the admission of nonresidents. Inasmuch as New York and New Jersey constituted a major Jewish population center of the United States and both states consistently "exported" large numbers of students because their own college systems could not accommodate all applicants, this restriction grew as an obstacle to the admission of Jewish students in the rest of the country. The demands for the admission of more black students to American universities, especially to tax-supported institutions, also caused increasing concern that such redistribution would cut down Jewish admissions.

FACULTY MEMBERS AND ADMINISTRATORS. While Jewish student enrollment, despite restrictions, rose steadily after the turn of the century, the number of Jewish faculty members remained proportionately small. Before World War I, the supply of qualified American-trained Jewish college teachers was small; but even after the supply increased, restrictive policies continued to bar many Jews from academic appointments until the late 1930s, when burgeoning student enrollment and the demands of enlarged or new institutions created a growing need for additional academic staff. The way was smoothed further by federal and state legislation, especially after World War II, prohibiting discriminatory employment practices. Virtually no ethnic restrictions in faculty appointments have remained. According to a 1968–69 survey, 10 percent of more than 60,000 faculty members of all ranks and from all types of institutions (94.4 percent white) indicated they had been reared as Jews, though only 6.7 percent still gave their present religion as Jewish at the time of the survey. (A similar drop in religious identification was found among non-Jews; the percentages for Protestant faculty members were 64 percent and 45.3 percent; for Catholics, 15.4 percent and 11.8 percent.) At the same time, some leading universities, such as California, Chicago, Columbia, Harvard, Michigan, Pennsylvania, Princeton, the City University of New York, were estimated to have 15–20 percent Jewish faculty. Few Jews could, however, be found among college presidents and other top-echelon university administrators. A 1966 survey found that, although Jews constituted 10–12 percent of the student body at the 775 nonsectarian senior colleges and universities in the United States at that time, only 5 of 397 private and one of 378 publicly supported institutions had Jewish presidents (less than 1 percent). Of the 1,720 deanships at the same institutions, 45 (2.6 percent) were held by Jews; two-thirds of them were, however, concentrated in half a dozen institutions. Eleven (42.3 percent) of the 26 deans of the City University of New York were Jewish in 1966. Jewish deans could be found mainly at graduate schools of social work and schools of government and international affairs. While anti-Jewish restrictions had largely disappeared on the professional level, they seemingly continued to exist on the top level of academic administration. See also *Students' Movements.

By the early 2000s 85 percent of American Jews received some college or university education, and more than 50% received at least a bachelor's degree. In all, it was estimated that more than half the Jews in America under the age of 65 were college graduates.

Jewish Studies

Jewish studies, defined as the systematic study of Judaism and Jewish life and experience through the ages, began to emerge in the American university curriculum to a significant degree only in the late 1930s. The Old Testament and Hebrew had long been taught, but only insofar as a knowledge of the Hebrew Bible was considered necessary for an understanding of Christianity and the training of Christian clergymen.

The first courses in post-biblical Judaism were introduced into the curriculum of American universities only toward the end of the 19th century. The development led to the appointment of the first Jewish scholars to American university posts in Judaica or related subjects. Despite persistent efforts by interested individuals and groups in the Jewish community, the number of institutions offering Judaic studies remained small; in 1945, full-time teaching staff in Judaica could be found only at Berkeley, Chicago, Columbia, Harvard, Iowa, Johns Hopkins, Missouri, New York University, Pennsylvania, and several New York City colleges. The number began to increase rapidly in the 1950s; by 1969, nearly 80 Jewish scholars were teaching full-time in American universities, and courses in Judaica were taught part-time at nearly 200 additional institutions in the country. By 2005 the number of Jewish scholars in the *Association for Jewish Studies (AJS), founded in 1969, was more than 1,500, most of whom were faculty teaching some area of Jewish studies in an institution of higher education, while 20% of the membership consisted of graduate students.

A variety of factors contributed to the growth of Judaic studies, among them the articulation of a growing demand for such studies arising from increased Jewish self-awareness generated by the impact of the Holocaust and the creation of the State of Israel; the democratization of academic policies and admission practices which, together with the increased social mobility and affluence of the Jewish population, led to substantial increases in Jewish enrollment and greater Jewish visibility throughout the United States; the climate of greater acceptance of Jews and Judaism by the general and academic communities, especially after World War II; the growing recognition and acknowledgment of Hebrew as a living language and of Judaism as an essential component in the fabric of Western civilization deserving of serious academic interest and study; and the postwar growth of specialized area studies and of courses and departments of religious studies.

The efforts aiming at the introduction of new or the enlargement of existing programs of Judaic studies were usually spearheaded by Jewish students, faculty members, and Hillel directors, frequently joined by other groups or agencies. Although some of there efforts may also have been stimulated by pressure for the introduction of black studies, university responses were generally based on recognition of the significance of Judaism as a major matrix of Western civilization and of its rightful claim as an authentic field of study. Some Jewish studies programs offered a major for undergraduates either in departments of religion or in departments of Near Eastern studies; others were interdepartmental.

The funds required for the support of Judaic studies came from a variety of sources. About two-thirds of the support for full-time staff was provided by university budgets; 10 chairs of Judaic studies were fully endowed; others were supported by various Jewish communal or private sources. Numerous individual courses were taught by Hillel directors (at 40 institutions) and by visiting staff provided by the Jewish Chautauqua Society, the National Foundation for Jewish Culture, and similar groups.

The number of undergraduates majoring in Judaica was estimated to be about 600 in 1969. A 1972 survey (by the Hillel Foundation) listed more than 350 institutions, not including seminaries and divinity schools, which offered at least one and usually several courses in some area of Jewish studies. Graduate studies leading to an advanced degree could be undertaken at 25 institutions as well as the major rabbinical seminaries and some Hebrew Teachers Colleges. The expansion of programs of Judaic studies in American universities was, at that time, slowed by a shortage of competent academic personnel. By 2005, more than 70 institutions had degree-granting programs of one kind or another in Jewish studies.

[Alfred Jospe]

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UNIVERSITY OF JUDAISM, THE (UJ). The University of Judaism was founded in 1947 in Los Angeles, California, based on the vision of Dr. Mordecai *Kaplan who called for an institution that would further Jewish education by advancing the thought and culture of "Jewish Civilization." In his article, "A University of Judaism – A Compelling Need," he outlined the basic elements of his proposed university. He called for a rabbinical school, a school of education, a school of the arts, a research institute, a school of democracy, and a junior college. His paper also called for a school of social service to train Jews, already committed to social work, to view their occupation through the lens of Jewish culture.

In writing his article, Kaplan did not intend to create a west coast institution. Rather, he hoped to convince his *alma mater*, the Jewish Theological Seminary (JTS) to refashion itself in the image he proposed. However, JTS used his blueprint to create a west coast outpost for itself in cooperation with the Los Angeles Bureau of Jewish Education. Initially, an attempt was made to include the leadership of the Orthodox and Reform communities in this effort, but this effort was unsuccessful. Shortly afterward, the Hebrew Union College opened its own branch school, and some years later, Yeshivah University followed suit.

From the very beginning, the University of Judaism had a dual constituency. As the west coast branch of the Jewish Theological Seminary, it had links to the various arms of the Conservative movement, and much of its professional leadership was drawn from the ranks of JTS graduates. At the same time, Kaplan's vision impelled the university to offer broad-based programs geared toward the entire Jewish community. So although the professional leadership was decidedly Conservative, the programs themselves were nondenominational in character and often emphasized the cultural aspects of Jewish life.

The community leadership for the UJ was initially drawn from the entertainment community. The first two chairmen of the UJ's board of directors were writer-producer, Dore Schary, followed by Milton Sperling. The UJ's first president was Dr. Simon Greenberg who also served as vice chancellor of the Jewish Theological Seminary.

Although the university did not implement all aspects of Kaplan's vision, many of its programs reflected the realization of his plan. In the 1950s and 1960s the University of Judaism served primarily as a Hebrew teachers college that also provided adult education courses for the community. David Lieber followed Greenberg as UJ's president in 1963 and began a 29-year tenure. During these early years the university relied almost entirely on part-time faculty and full-time administrators who also taught. Nevertheless, the UJ was able to attract prominent guest faculty including Martin *Buber, Abraham Joshua *Heschel, Leo *Strauss, and Mordecai Kaplan.

Much of Lieber's presidency was marked by a partnership forged with his vice president, Dr. Max Vorspan. While Lieber occupied himself with the academic side of the institution, Vorspan, a devoted Kaplanite, emphasized the growing adult education and cultural programs. Under Vorspan's direction, the UJ launched the first Jewish Elderhostel program in the United States. And although Vorspan retired in 1993, by 2005 the UJ had the largest and most comprehensive Jewish adult education program outside of Israel. In 1956, the UJ also established Camp Ramah in Ojai, California, which still serves both as a summer camp for children and as a retreat center for the UJ.

In the first few years of its existence, the UJ held classes at the site of Sinai Temple in downtown Los Angeles. Later the UJ moved to the former site of the Hollywood Athletic Club where it remained until moving in 1977 to its present 27-acre campus in the suburb of Bel Air.

In 1973 the University of Judaism took its first steps toward independence from JTS when its board of directors, under Jack M. Ostrow, assumed full responsibility for the financial welfare of the institution. The UJ board of directors undertook to finance and build the new Bel Air campus, which was finally completed in the mid-1980s.

During David Lieber's administration, the first full-time faculty members were hired including Bible scholar Ziony Zevit, philosopher Elliot Dorff, educator Ron Wolfson, and historian Steven Lowenstein. Lieber also established a two-year pre-rabbinic program, the Fingerhut School of Education, a graduate school of nonprofit management, and an undergraduate college. At the same time, Vorspan continued to focus on community education and culture by creating programs in the plastic arts, dance, music and theater. His part-time faculty included dancer Bella Lewitsky, actor Benjamin Zemach, and sculptor Max Finkelstein.

With the establishment of its undergraduate College of Arts and Sciences in 1982, the UJ made the transition from Hebrew college to a small university. Since the undergraduate program included majors in areas such as political science, psychology, bio-ethics (pre-medical), and literature, the institution began to hire its first faculty members in scholarly areas outside of Jewish studies. The UJ underwent an academic reclassification, such that it became recognized as an independent liberal arts institution rather than as a type of religious seminary.

In 1991, David Lieber announced his intention to retire from the presidency. Although the University of Judaism had already been functionally independent from the Jewish Theological Seminary for almost 20 years, it was felt that the time had come to transform a *de facto* relationship into a *de jure* one. Lieber negotiated an official separation agreement before stepping down as president in fall 1992.

Lieber was succeeded by Robert Wexler. Wexler had been a member of the UJ faculty and staff since 1978 and was himself a graduate of the University of Judaism having attended there from 1969 to 1973. Although Wexler received his rabbinical ordination at JTS, he also had personal connections to the Reform and Orthodox movements and was an ardent Zionist. These facts shaped his approach to the future growth of the university.

Almost immediately, Wexler began to guide the UJ toward a nondenominational status that he believed to be consistent with the initial vision of Mordecai Kaplan. This realignment meant that the UJ would no longer be formally identified as an institution of the Conservative movement.

The new chairman of the UJ board, Francis Maas encouraged Wexler's efforts.

During the 1990s and early 2000s, the University greater improved its financial position. After many years of deficits, the operating budget was brought into balance. Additionally, the UJ's endowment, which stood at $5 million in 1992, grew to more than $50 million by the end of 2005. The university also undertook to expand its facility by adding a student union and conference center; in 2006, it began construction on its new Ostrow Library.

In 1995, the UJ opened the first American rabbinical school in the western United States, the Ziegler School of Rabbinic Studies. Despite the UJ's nondenominational status within the Jewish community, it was felt that an American rabbinical school should be affiliated with a specific religious movement, and it was determined that the Ziegler School would become an official constituent of the Conservative Movement.

The university continued to expand with the establishment of the Ziering Institute which examines the ethical and religious implications of the Holocaust. A Center for Israel Studies was also created with the purpose of increasing the knowledge of Israeli history, politics, culture, and society among American Jews.

[Iris Waskow (2nd ed.)]

UNJUST ENRICHMENT.

The Concept

The law of *obligations deals with obligations arising from both contract and tort, i.e., those undertaken by the party or parties concerned of their own free will and those imposed by law on a person – against his will – in consequence of damage resulting from an act or omission on his part. There is a further group of cases which fall under a branch of the law known as unjust enrichment and relate to a person's liability which arises neither from his undertaking nor delictual act, but from the fact that he has derived a benefit to which he is not entitled, at the expense of another.

A general exemplification of this class of obligations in Jewish law is the discussion in the Mishnah of the matter of a person who hires from his neighbor a cow, which dies of natural causes after the hirer has lent it to a third party (BM 3:2). One opinion is that the hirer is not liable to the owner for the value of the cow – since the death of the cow is attributable to **ones* and the hirer has no liability for loss resulting therefrom – but the borrower must compensate the hirer (i.e., the person from whom he received the animal) – since the borrower is liable for loss resulting from *ones* (see **Shomerim*). However, R. Yose differs, questioning the hirer's right to "traffic with his neighbor's cow," i.e., it is inconceivable that the hirer shall enrich himself at the expense of the owner of the cow, who is the real loser, without any color of right thereto, and the hirer must therefore restore to the owner the value of the cow received from the borrower. R. Yose's opinion was accepted as *halakhah* (BM 36b; Yad, Sekhirut 1:6; Sh. Ar., ḤM 307:5). The same principle is enunciated by R. Johanan: "it is forbidden for a person to benefit [without authority] from another's property" (BM 117b), and the *halakhah* was decided as follows: "similarly, whenever a person performs an act or benefit in favor of another, the latter may not say, 'you have acted for me gratis since I did not authorize you' but he must give such person his reward" (Rema, ḤM 264:4; see also Ran on Rif, Ket. 107b). The problems of unjust enrichment are treated in Jewish law under the following five headings: (1) rescue of another's life; (2) rescue of another's property; (3) payment of another's debt; (4) improvement of another's property; (5) deriving benefit from another's property.

Rescue of Another's Life

The duty to rescue the life of another when endangered is enjoined in the Pentateuch: "Thou shalt not stand idly by the blood of thy neighbor" (Lev. 19:16). This duty includes the obligation to hire other persons against payment in order to rescue the person in danger (Sanh. 73a), who must refund to his rescuer all the expenses thus incurred by the latter: "For it is not a person's duty to save the life of his fellow with his own money when the person saved has money" (*Piskei ha-Rosh* 8:2; Sanh. 73a; Sh. Ar., ḤM 426:1, Sma and Siftei Kohen ad loc.). It was likewise decided that the heirs of the deceased must refund the expenses incurred by a third person in connection with the medical treatment of the deceased, even if not expended at the latter's request, since a person who of his own accord seeks a cure for the sick must not lose inasmuch as it is a matter of *pikku'aḥ nefesh* ("saving life") and whoever hurries to do so is praised (Resp. Rosh no. 85:2). This too is the law as regards the rescue and ransom of a Jewish prisoner in the hands of a gentile, and the latter – if he has the means thereto – must refund the ransom money to his rescuer (Rema, YD 252:12), since it is inconceivable that such a person "shall enrich his children while being a burden on the community" (Resp. Maharam of Rothenburg, ed. Cremona, no. 32; *Mordekhai* BM sec. 59).

Rescue of Another's Property

Under this heading are included cases in which a person knowingly, and without being requested to do so, acts to the benefit of another in a manner whereby the rescuer does not add to the other anything he did not have before but prevents the latter from suffering pecuniary loss. The basic laws concerning the duty to rescue another's property are expressed in two pentateuchal enjoinders, relating respectively to the duty of restoring lost property (Ex. 23:4; Deut. 22:1–3) and that of releasing an animal lying under its burden (Ex. 23:5; Deut. 22:4). In both cases the duty carries no return consideration (as regards restoring lost property, see Sh. Ar., ḤM 265:1; as regards releasing an animal, see BM 32a; Yad, Roẓe'aḥ 13:7; Sh. Ar., ḤM 272:6). However, the duty to provide aid gratuitously exists only as long as the rescue activities cause no loss to the rescuing party, but when he is likely to suffer loss therefrom he will not be obliged to act gratuitously (BM 2:9; Yad, Gezelah 12:4; Sh. Ar., ḤM 265:1; Tur. ḤM 272:2). The result is that even in cases where the very act of beneficence toward another is imposed as a duty of the Torah, the beneficiary will be obliged, whenever the benefactor has suffered pecuniary loss, to compensate the latter on account of the benefit derived by himself. It was similarly laid down (BM 93b) that a paid herdsman must take precautions against possible circumstances of *ones*, for instance by hiring others to guard against beasts of prey, and that the owner of the herd must pay the herdsman for such expenses. This too is the law as regards any person, who hires people to protect another's herd from the threat of harm, and even though he has acted without being requested to do so by the owner of the herd, is entitled to receive from the latter his expenses and remuneration (Tos. BK 58a).

As regards the duty to compensate the rescuer for a loss he has suffered, a distinction is drawn as illustrated in the following two examples. The Mishnah mentions the case where one person has a jar of wine and another a jar of honey; because of a crack in the honey jar, the owner of the other jar spills his wine and rescues the honey by pouring it into his own jar (the honey being the more expensive) and the Mishnah holds the latter is entitled "to his remuneration [*sekharo*] alone" (BK 10:4, and the further example there cited). According to this Mishnah the beneficiary has to remunerate the rescuer for his efforts alone and is not obliged to refund the latter the cost of his wine. On the other hand, in the Talmud in like circumstances it is stated in the name of R. Ishmael, the son of R. Johanan b. Beroka, that the person pouring out the wine "receives his wine out of the honey of his fellow" (BK 81b; 114b), i.e., that the owner of the wine is entitled to payment of the value of the wine spilled in order to rescue his fellow's honey. The contradiction between the two cases was reconciled on the basis that in the former case the owner of the rescued property was present at the place and time of the rescue but the rescuer, not having sought express consent for his action, is not entitled to a full refund of his expenses or the value of his wine, but only to his remuneration; in the latter case, however, the owner of the rescued property was not present as aforementioned and therefore the rescuer is entitled to a full refund of his expenses (for an explanation of this distinction, see Tos. BM 31b; *Piskei ha-Rosh* BM no. 28; *Mordekhai* BK no. 57).

In contrast to the above cases, the Talmud quotes the case of rescue of another's property (*mavri'aḥ ari* – one who chases away a lion from another's property) without the knowledge of the beneficiary, in which the latter is exempt from making any payment whatever to the rescuer (Ned. 33a; BK 58a; BB 53a). The Talmud mentions two elements which characterize the category of *mavri'aḥ ari* cases in which the rescuer is not entitled to remuneration. First, that the rescuer acted as he did of his own initiative; secondly, that he suffered no loss whatever as a result of such action. Some of the *rishonim* were of the opinion that this category of *mavri'aḥ ari* includes only those cases in which both the above elements operate and that the absence of one of them renders the beneficiary liable to payment for the benefit derived by himself (Tos. Ket. 107b; *Mordekhai* BK no. 57). Others held that this category includes also cases in which only one of the two elements is present and that there is no need for both to operate together (Tos. BK 58a; Rosh, loc. cit.). The *rishonim* added a further requisite for the beneficiary's exemption from payment in *mavri'aḥ ari* cases, namely, that the loss which the rescuer sought to avoid was of doubtful contingency. That is, when it may reasonably be accepted that even without the rescuer's intervention no loss would have occurred, as for instance in the case where the lion was far from the beneficiary's herd. Hence the rescuer will be entitled to payment of his remuneration if the beneficiary, but for the intervention of the former, was certain to have suffered loss (Tos. BK 58a; Rosh and *Mordekhai*, loc. cit.). Yet another material requirement (for the beneficiary's exemption from liability) is that the rescuer's action was not calculated to enrich the beneficiary in any way but merely to have prevented him loss (Tos. Ket. 107b; Tos. BK 58a).

Payment of Another's Debt

This question is discussed in the Mishnah (Ket. 13:2) in relation to the obligation of maintenance, in the case of a person who supports a wife whose husband has gone abroad – without being requested to do so by either the wife or her husband. Some of the *tannaim* hold the benefactor to have "put his money on the horn of a deer" and to have no claim, neither against the wife nor her husband, since he acted as he did of his own accord. Other *tannaim* take the view that the benefactor may deliver an oath as to the exact amount expended on the wife and recover this amount from her husband. The *halakhah* was decided according to the former opinion (Yad, Ishut 12:19; Sh. Ar., EH 70:8).

As regards debts arising from other causes, there is a difference of opinion among the scholars. In the Jerusalem Talmud (Ket. 13:2; 35d) two opinions are quoted. One is that the dispute concerning a debt for maintenance extends also to the case of any other regular debt paid on behalf of another and without the latter's knowledge; the other opinion is that the dispute relates solely to payment of a debt owed by the husband for the maintenance of his wife, but with regard to a regular debt paid on behalf of the debtor, the opinion of all is that it may not be reclaimed from the debtor since it cannot be said that the latter received an absolute benefit because of the possibility that his creditor may have granted a waiver of the debt, and therefore the person who has paid it is in the position of a *mavri'aḥ ari* (see above). From the Babylonian Talmud (Ned. 33a–b; Ket. 108a) it may be concluded, according to most of the commentators, that the dispute relating to a maintenance debt extends also to regular debts. Some of the commentators (R. Hananel and R. Tam) interpreted the statements in the Babylonian Talmud to mean that a debt not arising from maintenance and paid by another may, in the opinion of all, be reclaimed from the debtor because of the certainty of the benefit caused the latter (Tos. Ket. 108a). The majority opinion of the *posekim* is that a person who has paid another's debt of any kind whatever may not recover payment from the debtor (Yad, Malveh 26:6; Sh. Ar., ḤM 128:1; some scholars also explain the debtor's exemption on the grounds that it is a matter of **gerama* – Tos. Ket. 108a).

Improvement of Another's Property

This category includes cases in which a person knowingly, and without being requested thereto, acts so as to confer an actual benefit on another by affording him a gain or increment which he did not previously have. The classic example is the case of a person who "goes down" to another's property to plant it or erect a building thereon, without any request from the owner to do the work or undertaking on his part to pay for it (analagous to the Roman law *negotiorum gestio*). Thus, for instance, if a hired worker should work in the field of a third party, whether in error or because he was directed thereto by his employer, the owner of the field will have to pay for the benefit derived, even though he did not request the work, for otherwise he will be in the position of having been enriched without right at another's expense (Tosef. BM 7:7; BM 76a).

In the case where a person plants another's land without permission, Rav's opinion is that "an assessment is made and he is at a disadvantage," whereas Samuel holds, "an estimate is made of what a person would pay to plant such a field." In the Talmud it is stated that there is no dispute between Rav and Samuel but that Rav refers to a field which is unsuitable for that which has been planted thereon, while Samuel refers to a field which is suitable for such planting (BM 101a). The scholars disputed the meaning of the expression "an assessment is made and he is at a disadvantage." R. Hai Gaon (*Sefer ha-Mikkaḥ ve-ha-Mimkar*, 7:33) and R. Zerahiah ha-Levi (*Ha-Ma'or ha-Gadol* to Rif BM 101a) held it to mean that the planter is only entitled to payment on the basis of the lowest price at which cheap workers can be hired to execute the same work; according to Rashi (BM 101a), Rosh (ad loc.), and others, the expression means that if the planter's expenses exceed the gain derived by the owner of the field then the former is only entitled to the value of such gain, but if the other way round then the planter is only entitled to the sum of his expenses. The *halakhah* was decided that a person who plants another's field without permission is at a disadvantage when the field is unsuitable for such planting, but if it is so suitable an estimate is made of how much one would be prepared to pay for planning that field (Yad, Gezelah 10:4).

Another example is the case where a person whose property surrounds the property of another on all sides fences the interior borders of his property, thereby enclosing at the same time also the surrounded property – without the authority of its owner. In the Mishnah (BB 1:3) there is a difference of opinion as regards the measure of liability of the owner of the surrounded property to pay toward the cost of the fence by which he too is served, and in the Talmud these divided opinions are interpreted in various ways (BB 4b and Codes; Rashi BK 20b; *Ha-Ma'or ha-Gadol* (see above) to Rif BB 4b; cf. Tos. BK 20b; Maim., Comm. to BB 1; *Yad Ramah* BB 4b; Ramban, Nov. BB 4b; *Milḥamot ha-Shem* thereto, etc.). All opinions agree that the owner of the surrounded property has liability for payment toward the costs of the fence from which he benefits, even though he has neither requested its erection nor undertaken to bear the costs thereof; the dispute – even among the *posekim* – centers on the varying measure of his liability, according to the factual circumstances. Liability for payment derives from the consideration that the "enclosing owner" (the *makkif*) is caused special expenses by the surrounded property since it causes a lengthening of the boundaries of the surrounding property and because the owner of the surrounded property benefits without right on account of the special expenses caused to the other (see BK 20b; for a further example, see BK 9:4; BK 101a; Yad, Sekhirut 10:4; Sh. Ar., ḤM 306:3, 6).

The *posekim* did not fail to observe that the consequence of the above law was to submit everyone to the constant danger of being placed in the position where he might be caused a benefit from and become obligated to pay for expenses incurred by his fellow in which he is not at all interested. Hence it was decided that such a beneficiary was to be exempted from liability if he had declared in advance that he had no interest in the proposed benefit and was not prepared to make any payment whatever in connection therewith (*Maggid Mishneh* Shekhenim 3:3; *Beit Yosef* ḤM 155:13).

Deriving Benefit from Another's Property

This category includes the cases in which a person benefits without authority from another's property, the benefit taking the form of a saving of expenses or the prevention of harm. The classical case discussed in the Talmud is the matter of a person who lives on another's property without the latter's knowledge or consent (BK 20a). Four possibilities are discussed: (a) If the premises are anyhow not available for letting and, in addition thereto, it is clear that even without such premises the occupier, for whatever reason, would not have hired some other residence for himself, then the latter is absolved from payment; the explanation for this is that he has neither caused a loss to the owner of the premises nor enjoyed any benefit himself since a benefit is expressed in some measure of monetary gain – nonexistent in this case. (b) If the premises are for hire and the occupier, but for his occupation thereof, would have hired some other residence, he will be liable for payment since he has derived a benefit at the cost of the owner's loss. (c) If the premises are not for hire and the occupier, but for his occupation thereof, would have hired some other residence, he will be absolved from payment since the benefit he has derived is not at another's expense, the owner having lost nothing; however, if enjoyment of the benefit should involve any measure of loss to the owner, the benefit will be at another's expense and the occupier liable for the full value of his benefit (BK 20a–b; Yad, Gezelah 3:9; Sh. Ar., ḤM 363:6–7). (d) Opinions are divided as regards the case where the premises are for hire but the occupier, even without his occupation thereof, would not hire other premises. Some of the *rishonim* held that the occupier, because he derives no benefit, need make no payment at all on account of enrichment at another's expense and that the loss suffered by the owner is in the nature of *gerama* only, for which there is exemption (Tos. BK 20a, R. Perez, quoted in *Mordekhai* BK 16). The majority of the other *posekim* took the view that there is room for holding the occupier liable on account of causing a loss to the owner (Rif, *Halakhot* BK 21a; Yad, Gezelah 3:9; Sh. Ar., ḤM 363:6); that even if it be true that the occupier enjoys no benefit – since he might find some other residence free of charge – he is nevertheless the one who eats up that which is the loss of his fellow (*Piskei ha-Rosh*, BK 2:6).

A person who benefits unawares must pay for the benefit. The laws of *tort prescribe that the owner of an animal is absolved from paying for the produce of another which the animal has eaten up while grazing in a public domain; however, "if you have benefited, you must pay for the benefit" (BK 2:2), i.e., if the owner should derive benefit from the fact that his animal has fed in the aforementioned manner (by saving himself the cost of the animal's feed for that day), he will be liable to the owner of the devoured produce for the value of the benefit, lest he enjoy an undue gain at another's expense (BK 20a and Codes, *Nimmukei Yosef* thereto, TJ, BK 2:4, 3a; see also the difference of opinion there quoted concerning the manner of assessing the value of the benefit; for a further illustration of this class of case, see BK 6:2).

[Yechezkel Rottenberg]

Services Benefiting Another Person Without His Knowledge

As stated, a person who "goes down" to another person's field and plants it is the prototype for cases in which one person benefits another by improving his property in a manner for which a fee is normally charged. However, dicta of halakhic authorities indicate that the service does not necessarily relate to unsolicited improvement of property in the simple sense, and may relate to any service performed for the benefit of others. One of Rashba's responsum (Resp. Rashba vol. 4, no. 125) discusses the case of a person who brought clients to his neighbor's shop. Rashba awarded him a fee, for "What is the difference between a person who goes down… and someone who enters his shop and improves his business, in a place where it is customary to pay a fee for such things."

Another example that engaged the halakhic authorities is that of brokerage or matchmaking without the other person's advance knowledge. A person notified his fellow about a suitable woman whom he then married, or about an appropriate apartment which the latter bought, without any advance contract between them. Some of the *posekim* awarded him a fee on basis of the precedent of "one who goes down to another person's field" (see *Bi'ur ha-Gra*, ḤM 87:7 & 185:3). In another case the *posekim* were divided: Thus, Rema writes (Sh. Ar., ḤM 331:5): "A person who teaches his friend's son without the father being aware, some rule that he is obliged to pay him, by analogy to the law of a person who goes down to another person's field without his knowledge, …while others disagree." There are a two possible rationales for the view of those who disagree: it might be argued that the service rendered is not regarded as a real benefit, similar to the case of improvement of property, either in general or in those particular circumstances; or, that teaching is deemed as a *mitzvah* that ought to be performed *gratis* (see *Taz*, ad loc.). There is also a discussion of whether a judge who has adjudicated between two adversaries without a prior contract is entitled to a fee on the basis of the law of "goes down to another person's field" (see Sh. Ar., ḤM 9:5, *Sema* and *Taz*, ad loc.). It was suggested that this law applies to a service that enhances the financial situation of another person. However, with respect to a service that simply saves the other from incurring a loss, the relevant analogy is to that of a person who saves another's property by chasing away a lion, who is not entitled to remuneration; hence, a bailiff (*shomer*) who protects another person's property without his knowledge is generally not entitled to reimbursement (see *Shenaton ha-Mishpat ha-Ivri*, 13, p. 95).

Indeed, if the insured property was damaged and the insurance company paid its value, there is extensive discussion on the question of who should receive the money: the insurer who paid the premium, or perhaps it could be claimed that "a person should not do business with his neighbor's cow" (BM 35b), and the owner of the property is entitled to the money after he pays the premium to the insurer (see N. Rakover, *Osher ve-Lo be-Mishpat*; M. Slae, *Ha-Bitu'aḥ ba-Halakhah*, ch. 6–7; E. Bazri, *Teḥumin*, 2, p. 449).

[Itamar Warhaftig (2nd ed.)]

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UNNA, PAUL GERSON (1850–1929), German dermatologist. Born in Hamburg, Unna served in the German army during the Franco-Prussian war. He was discharged after being severely wounded, continued his studies and later moved to Vienna where he worked under two famous dermatologists, Moriz *Kaposi and Ferdinand von Hebra. He returned to his native city where he started a private clinic and later a hospital for skin diseases. In 1919 he was appointed professor of dermatology at the University of Hamburg.

Unna is considered a pioneer in applying biological and physical sciences to dermatology. He made studies of the chemical aspects of the skin and by using staining methods he demonstrated changes in the structure of the epidermal cells. He was the first to describe various skin diseases such as sebarrhoic eczema, erythema acneformis, etc. He discovered the Ducrey-Unna bacillus.

[Suessmann Muntner]

UNRRA (abbreviation of **United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration**), international organization (1943–47) founded to give economic and social aid to countries that were under German occupation during World War II. UNRRA, a division of the *United Nations, was actually founded before the establishment of the United Nations, by an agreement signed by the delegates of 44 countries at a White House ceremony on Nov. 9, 1943. The UNRRA Council, its governing body, was convened for the first time in Atlantic City, New Jersey the next day, and elected Herbert *Lehman as its director general; he was succeeded by Fiorello *La Guardia in 1946. The United States contributed the bulk of its budget and the organization received significant support from Britain, the Soviet Union, and China, which provided 75% of its budget and formed its central committee. It was later expanded to include other countries, including France, Canada, Australia, Brazil, and Yugoslavia. The relief activities of UNRRA encompassed the liberated countries of Europe, with extensive aid provided for the Soviet Union, Poland, and the Balkan countries. Relief was also given to Far Eastern and Middle Eastern countries. The services supplied amounted to almost $3 billion and included food supplies amounting to over $1.2 billion, medicines and medical services, clothing, and machines and materials for agricultural and industrial rehabilitation.

Another prominent function of UNRRA was care for *Displaced Persons, for which it assumed responsibility in October 1945. It was overwhelmed by the task at first – no one had prepared for the scope of the problem – but later it geared up to perform the task. At its peak, in the summer of 1946, UNRRA cared for some 850,000 persons. During this period, it operated with a staff of about 25,000 people and was also assisted by many voluntary agencies. About one-quarter of the Displaced Persons under the care of UNRRA in the summer of 1946 were Jews. Voluntary Jewish organizations active within UNRRA and attached to it included the American Jewish *Joint Distribution Committee, the *Jewish Agency, the Jewish Committee for Relief Abroad, *Ort, and the Va'ad Haẓẓalah. UNRRA activities ended in the summer of 1947, when its role in the care of DPs was transferred to the new International Refugee Organization (IRO).

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[Chaim Yahil / Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

UNSCOP, abbreviation of the United Nations Special Committee on Palestine, appointed by the General Assembly of the United Nations at a special meeting convened in April 1947 at the request of the British government. The committee consisted of 11 members, representing the governments of Australia, Canada, Czechoslovakia, Guatemala, India, Iran, The Netherlands, Peru, Sweden, Uruguay, and Yugoslavia. In their report, published in August 1947, the majority recommended the partitioning of Palestine into an independent Jewish state, an independent Arab state, and an internationalized "*corpus separatum*" for the city of Jerusalem. This recommendation was approved by the General Assembly of the United Nations on November 29, 1947.

UNTERMAN, ISSER YEHUDA (1886–1976), Ashkenazi chief rabbi of Israel. Born in Brest-Litovsk, Belorussia, he studied at the Maltash, *Mir, and *Volozhin yeshivot and was ordained by R. Raphael Shapiro. At the age of 24 he was appointed *rosh yeshivah* in Vishova, Lithuania, and served subsequently as rabbi of various Lithuanian communities. His last position there was as rabbi of *Grodno during 1921–24. Possessing oratorical and expository talents of a high order, he attained a distinguished record during World War I as a communal leader after representing the community before the authorities, and in the postwar period he displayed outstanding organizational gifts in the reconstruction of the Lithuanian yeshivot. In 1924 he was appointed rabbi of *Liverpool, England, and, rapidly mastering English, soon made his influence felt. A fervent Zionist, he became president of the British Mizrachi Organization and appeared before the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry on Palestine in 1946. He championed the rights of aliens and was a member of the Council of Christians and Jews.

In 1946 Rabbi Unterman was elected Ashkenazi chief rabbi of Tel Aviv-Jaffa in succession to Rabbi M.A. *Amiel, and in 1964, Ashkenazi chief rabbi of Israel, succeeding Rabbi I. *Herzog. During his period of office in Tel Aviv he organized the rabbinic courts, making them a model of efficiency. He founded two *kolelim* (graduate talmudical academies) – Shevet mi-Yhudah in Tel Aviv and Shevet u-MeḤokekim in Jerusalem – where he introduced a systematic method of Talmud study, based on the practical *halakhah*, for select students preparing for the rabbinate and for service as religious functionaries and teachers in advanced yeshivot. While he insisted on unflinching loyalty to the minutiae of the *halakhah*, he approached public issues with moderation and understanding. In 1952 he toured the U.S. on behalf of the United Jewish Appeal and helped to strengthen the relationship between the American and Israel rabbinates. Rabbi Unterman wrote *Shevet mi-Yhudah* (1952), on problems of *halakhah*. He contributed to many rabbinical periodicals and made valuable additions to the *Oẓar ha-Posekim*, the digest of responsa literature. Many of his responsa appear in the works of others and are a model of lucidity.

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[Jacob Goldman]

UNTERMEYER, LOUIS (1885–1977), U.S. poet, author, anthologist, editor, and translator. The son of a New York jewelry manufacturer, Untermeyer entered his father's firm as a designer and rose to be its vice president. Largely self-educated, he was chiefly interested in literature and in 1923 retired from business to devote himself to poetry. A prolific writer and skilled editor, Untermeyer published more than 70 volumes of prose and verse, short stories, travel books, parodies, essays, and critical anthologies. His earliest collection of lyrics, *First Love* (1911), was composed under the influence of *Heine and Laurence Housman; his second, *Challenge* (1914), showed greater maturity. His other collections were *These Times* (1917), *The New Adam* (1920), *Roast Leviathan* (1923), *Burning Bush* (1928), *Food and Drink* (1932), and *Long Feud: Selected Poems* (1962). His humorous verse includes *Collected Parodies* (1926).

Untermeyer's lifelong interest in Heine found expression in a volume of translations, *The Poems of Heinrich Heine* (1917), and in the two-volume biography, *Heinrich Heine: Paradox and Poet* (1937). He reproduced the spirit of the dying Heine with much pathos in the poem "Monolog From a Mattress." *The Firebringer and Other Great Stories: Fifty-Five Legends That Live Forever, Newly Written by Louis Untermeyer* appeared in 1968. His fictional works include the biblical novel *Moses* (1928). It was, however, with his interpretations and anthologies of English and American poetry that Untermeyer was most influential. Outstanding among these were his *Lives of the Poets* (1961) and the *Britannica Library of Great American Writing* (1960). Another of his anthologies was *The World's Great Stories* (1964). Two volumes of autobiography, *From Another World* (1939) and *Bygones* (1965), portrayed not only his own development but also the period in which he lived. *The Letters of Robert Frost to Louis Untermeyer* appeared in 1963.

JEAN STARR UNTERMEYER (1886–1970), also a poet, was Louis Untermeyer's wife from 1907 until 1923. Born in Zanesville, Ohio, she became a singer in Vienna and London, taught literature in various schools and colleges, and wrote several books of verse, including *Growing Pains* (1918), *Steep Ascent* (1927), *Love and Need* (1940), and *Later Poems* (1958). She published her autobiography, *Private Collection*, in 1965.

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[Sol Liptzin]

UNTERMYER, SAMUEL (1858–1940), U.S. lawyer and civic and communal leader. Untermyer, born in Virginia and raised in New York City, graduated from Columbia Law School in 1878. A member of the prestigious firm of Guggenheimer, Untermyer and Marshall, he engaged in a varied legal practice, including corporate, civil, criminal, labor, family, and international law. He achieved national prominence as counsel for the Congressional Committee known as the Pujo Committee which in 1912 investigated the "money trust." Untermyer's contribution to the drafting and passage of such legislation as the Federal Reserve Act, Federal Trade Commission Act, and Clayton Anti-Trust Act was substantial. A political liberal, he exerted considerable influence on Democratic political affairs, especially in New York City. His participation in Jewish affairs included service as attorney for Herman Bernstein who sued Henry Ford in 1923 following antisemitic attacks in Ford's *The Dearborn Independent*; vice president of the American Jewish Congress; president of the Palestine Foundation Fund; and, during the 1930s, president of the Non-Sectarian Anti-Nazi League and leader in the boycott of German goods.

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[Morton Rosenstock]

UR, one of the largest towns in Sumer and later in Babylonia. Today it is a wide expanse of ruins in which stands a high tell, the ruins of the Ziggurat of Ur, known as al-Muqayyar. Ur developed on the bank of a large canal, which carried water from the Euphrates to the area and served as an important trade route, through which trade boats passed to Ur's two ports. In present times the canal is silted up and the entire region is desolate.

The origin of the name Ur is not clear. Some maintain that it is the Sumerian word *uru*, meaning "town." Some point to the group of cuneiform symbols in which the Sumerian name is written, and translate the name as: "the place of the dwelling of light." In the Bible, the city is referred to as Ur of the Chaldeans (Heb. אוּר כַּשְׂדִּים), since in the biblical period it was included in the area occupied by the Chaldeans.

According to the legendary tradition of Sumer, Ur was settled even before the flood and was the center of a dynasty of rulers, each of whom reigned for thousands of years. In later periods too the rule of Sumer and Akkad was in the hands of a dynasty of kings, whose capital was Ur. The English scholar Taylor was the first to undertake excavations on the site (1854), and it was he who identified the tell of Ur, on the basis of an inscription from the time of Nabonidus king of Babylonia. At the end of the 19th century, an expedition on behalf of the University of Pennsylvania excavated at Ur, but the results of this excavation were not published. In 1918, the English scholar Campbell Thompson conducted an experimental excavation on behalf of the British Museum, and a short while later (1918–19), the English scholar Hall excavated, on behalf of the same institution, at Ur, Eridu, and el-Ubaid, near Ur. A joint expedition on behalf of the University of Pennsylvania and the British Museum led by Sir Leonard *Woolley excavated at Ur for 12 consecutive seasons (from 1922 to 1934). Although only a small section of the area of ruins was excavated, the reports of the last expedition make it possible to know the history of the town and its cultural development from its beginnings to its final destruction. It began in the Chalcolithic Era (beginning of the fourth millennium B.C.E.).

At the end of the fourth millennium B.C.E. there are sudden signs of a new culture. After a long period there was a great flood that (according to Woolley) wiped out most of the settlements in an area of 100,000 sq. km, in the region of the lower reaches of the Euphrates and the Tigris. Only the towns located on high places, including Ur, were saved. Outside the wall of Ur, in its lower environs, Woolley found a layer of red soil without any archaeological remains, about 2.5 m. deep, which separated the early remains (below) from the later ones (above). According to Woolley it is possible that a reference to this terrible tragedy is reflected in the Sumerian-Babylonian flood mythology. However, his theory is not accepted by other scholars.

Above this "barren" layer from the time of the flood is a large cemetery from the time of the first dynasty of Ur (26th–25th centuries B.C.E.) with which the historical period of Sumer and Akkad begins. Here were found the tombs of several kings and queens. Later, Ur was transferred from one conqueror to another. Among these, mention should be made of Eannatum king of Lagash, Lugal-zagge-si king of Umma and Erech (Uruk), and Sargon of Akkad, all of whom left sacred vessels in the temple at Ur. In the 22nd century, Ur was apparently again ruled by a dynasty of local independent rulers. However, Ur reached its peak of power and development during the "Third Dynasty of Ur" (c. 22nd–21st centuries B.C.E.). Ur-Nammu, founder of this dynasty, was at first the governor of Ur on behalf of Utu-hegal of Uruk. After freeing himself from the domination of Uruk, he apparently succeeded in extending his rule to all the towns of Sumer. He also called himself "king of Sumer and Akkad," though the extension of Ur's domination outside the boundaries of Sumer occurred primarily in the time of his son and heir Shulgi, who called himself, like the kings of Akkad, "king of the four corners of the earth." During his reign, which lasted 47 years, Shulgi extended the borders of his kingdom and conquered Assyria. However, at the end of Shulgi's time the danger of the Amorites was already threatening Ur from the northwest. In the time of his successors there was an additional danger from the northeast: the consolidation and expansion of Elam. In the time of Ibbi-Sin, the last king of the third dynasty of Ur, the Sumerian and Akkadian monarchy of Ur was defeated in its battles against the invading Western Semites (Amorites) and Elam (in the northeast). Ur never recovered from this blow, although it did enjoy some additional periods of religious or economic flourishing, such as in the middle of the second millennium B.C.E. (in the time of Kurigalzu I, of the Kassite dynasty of Ur) and the beginning of the seventh century B.C.E. (in the time of Essarhaddon's active governorship). From the 11th century B.C.E., the area was occupied by the nomadic tribes of the Chaldeans; hence the biblical combination Ur of the Chaldeans. The numerous architectural changes made in the time of Nebuchadnezzar II (beginning of the sixth century B.C.E.) in the religious sphere of Ur attest to this king's attempt to infuse a new spirit into the cult of Sin in Ur. This too, however, did not help Ur. Similarly unhelpful were the attempts of Nabonidus (in the middle of the sixth century) to encourage this cult. From that time on there is no mention of Ur in the historical sources. The latest commercial document discovered in Ur is from 400 B.C.E., i.e., from the time of Persian rule. It may be assumed that not long afterward the town was destroyed and abandoned, although a Hellenistic tradition from the second century B.C.E. can be interpreted to mean that during that period the place still served as a kind of center for nomadic Arab tribes.

According to biblical tradition, Ur was the place of origin of the Patriarchs (Gen. 11:28, 31). Indeed, the first quarter of the second millennium B.C.E., with the economic decline of Ur after the downfall of the third dynasty and the emergence of the Amorites from the west, was a fitting time for the migration from Ur of various families who were not tied to Ur as were farmers who were enslaved to the soil. From there the Patriarchs wandered to Haran; this wandering too is explained by the special ties between these two centers of the moon-cult.

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[*Encyclopaedia Hebraica*]

URBACH, EPHRAIM ELIMELECH (1912–1991), Israeli researcher in talmudic and rabbinic literature. Urbach, who studied in the Breslau Rabbinical Seminary and at the universities of Breslau and Rome, served as lecturer at the Breslau Rabbinical Seminary from 1935 to 1938. After immigrating to Ereẓ Israel in 1938, he subsequently served as a teacher and headmaster of grammar schools in Jerusalem. During the years 1950–53, he was an inspector and head of a department in the Ministry of Education and Culture. From 1953 he taught *aggadah* and subsequently rabbinical literature at the Hebrew University and in 1958 became professor of Talmud. During the years 1956–60, he served as head of the Institute for Jewish Studies and in 1960/61 he was prorector. In 1962 he was elected chairman of the section of Jewish affairs of the Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities and from 1980 to 1986 was president of the Academy.

Urbach's studies cover practically every branch of research in the Talmud and in rabbinic literature. His most important work is the *Ba'alei ha-Tosafot* (1956 and later editions), for which he was awarded the Israel Prize. This deals with the history of the *tosafists and their creations and, at the same time, illuminates both their Jewish and gentile historical, social, and ideological background, and analyzes their methods of study, their methodological theories, and their contribution to the development of the *halakhah*. In this large work that touches on all the problems connected with its field, Urbach shed light on one of the most neglected sections of Jewish history in general and rabbinical literature in particular. He also published the *Arugat ha-Bosem* (vols. 1–4, 1939–63) of *Abraham b. Azriel, with notes and a comprehensive introduction. Urbach's interest also turned to the religious and theological principles of rabbinic Judaism. He contributed several important articles in this field to various *festschriften* and periodicals. He has incorporated his researches in this field in an important book, *Ḥazal: Pirkei Emunot ve-De'ot* ("The Rabbis: Doctrines and Beliefs"; 1969) in which he outlines the views of the rabbis on the important theological issues such as creation, providence, and the nature of man. In this work Urbach synthesizes the voluminous literature on these subjects and presents the views of the talmudic authorities. In addition he published numerous articles (in Hebrew, English, French, and German) discussing, among other topics, the history of the *halakhah*, the ideological world of the rabbis, the aggadic Midrashim, and medieval polemical literature. Great importance is attached to those studies in which he proved the close connection between the *aggadah* and Christian-Jewish polemic. From 1970 Urbach was the editor of *Tarbiz*, and president of *Mekiẓe Nirdamim. In 1966 Urbach was a founder of the *Tenu'ah le-Yahadut shel Torah* ("Movement for Torah Judaism"), one of whose aims was to bring about basic and progressive changes in the politics and values of religious Jewry in Israel.

[Moshe David Herr]

URBINO, town in central Italy, formerly capital of an independent duchy. The earliest record of Jews dates from the beginning of the 14th century, when Daniel of Viterbo was authorized to trade and open a loan bank. His family long continued to head the community. Other loan bankers, ultimately eight in number, received authorization to operate later. However, in 1468 a monte di *pieta was established in Urbino in order to restrict Jewish activities. In the 15th century the dukes of the house of Montefeltro favored Jewish scholars and were interested in Jewish scholarship; Federico II collected Hebrew manuscripts. When the duchy passed to the Della Rovere family in 1508, they enacted a more severe policy, not rigidly enforced. Hebrew books were burned in Urbino in 1553 and in 1570 the ghetto was introduced, with all the accompanying indignities. The degraded status of the Jews was confirmed when the duchy of Urbino passed under papal rule in 1631. At this time there were 369 Jews (64 families) in the town, a number that steadily decreased thereafter. In 1717 they were mostly poverty-stricken; many houses in the ghetto were empty, and the synagogue itself was partly owned by non-Jews. There was a temporary improvement with the invasion of the French revolutionary armies, but during the reaction of 1798 anti-Jewish excesses took place. Papal rule, with the accompanying degradation, was reestablished with intervals from 1814 to 1860, when Urbino was annexed to the kingdom of Italy and full emancipation automatically followed. Nevertheless the community continued to decline in number and now is virtually extinct.

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[Cecil Roth]

URI, PIERRE EMMANUEL (1911–1992), French economist. Uri was born in Paris. From 1936 to 1940, he taught in the U.S. In 1944 he entered public service, with the Institut de Science Economique Appliquée. From 1947 to 1951, he taught at the École Nationale d'Administration concurrently serving with the United Nations Experts Committee on Employment. In 1952 he became chief economist with the European Coal and Steel Community and left in 1959 to join *Lehman Brothers as their adviser on European affairs (1959–61).

Among his numerous publications were the following: *La Réforme de l'enseignement* (1937); *Le Fonds monétaire international* (1945); *La Crise de la zone de libre échange* (1959), published under the pseudonym "Europeus"; *Dialogue des continents* (1963, 1964^2; *Partnership for Progress*, 1963); and *Une politique monétaire pour L'Amérique latine* (1965).

[Joachim O. Ronall]

URIAH (Heb. אוּרִיָּה), the name of four biblical figures (in one case in the variant form Uriahu). The most important of these is Uriah the Hittite, listed as one of David's "heroes" in II Samuel 23:39. While Uriah was away on one of David's campaigns (II Sam. 11), the king noticed his young wife *Bath-Sheba bathing on the roof of her house. He had the young woman brought to him and lay with her. When Bath-Sheba informed him that she was pregnant, David had Uriah recalled from the front in an attempt to cover his sin, but the attempt failed because Uriah felt bound by a vow or a general taboo to shun conjugal relations for the duration of the war. David then sent Uriah back to the very thick of the battle in the hope that he would be killed, which is what occurred. David then married Bath-Sheba and incurred the rebuke of the prophet *Nathan for his behavior.

There have been many attempts by scholars to explain the origin and name of Uriah. H. Gunkel dismissed the whole story as a legend having no historical basis. However, the story may have been well based and Uriah could have been one of the original Jebusite inhabitants of Jerusalem. This people, from whom David conquered the city, were probably of Hittite origin. A. Gustavs identified the name as a Hebrew folk etymology of the Hurrian name Ariya. The name would then mean something like king or ruler. B. Maisler (Mazar) suggested that the name could originally have been a compound of the Hurrian element *ur* plus the name of a pagan god, which then received an Israelite form. S. Yeivin compared the name Uriah with the other Jebusite name mentioned in the Bible, *Araunah (perhaps from the same root), and suggests that Uriah may have been a high official or perhaps the intended successor of that last Jebusite ruler of Jerusalem.

[Daniel Boyarin]

In the Aggadah

Uriah was not a Hittite; the name merely indicates that he dwelt among them (Kid. 76b). It was Uriah who revealed to David how the various suits of armor of Goliath were joined together so that David could remove them and cut off the head of the giant. Uriah did this on condition that David secure him a Jewish wife. David kept his promise and thus it was that Uriah married Bath-Sheba (unknown Midrash quoted by Moses Alshekh on II Sam. 13). Uriah had incurred the death penalty by his refusal to take his ease in his own house in accordance with the king's command (Shab. 56a); this amounted to an act of rebellion. However, the sin of David was that he did not put him to death, but let him be killed by the sword of the Ammonites (II Sam. 12:9) which was an abomination (Zohar Ex. 107a).

The other bearers of the name Uriah in the Bible include a priest in the reign of Ahaz (Isa. 8:2; II Kings 16:10f.), a priest in the time of Nehemiah (Ezra 8:33; Neh. 3:4, 21; 8:4), and with the slightly variant form of the name, Uriahu (אוּרִיָּהוּ no doubt understood as "YHWH is fire [or light]"), a prophet killed by Jehoiakim (Jer. 26:20–23) for prophesying doom like Jeremiah

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URI (**Phoebus**) **BEN AARON HA-LEVI** (also called **Uri Witzenhausen** or **Witmund**; 1625–1715), Hebrew printer. Uri's father was *ḥazzan* of the Neveh Shalom congregation, Amsterdam, and his grandfather Moses Uri ha-Levi, rabbi of Emden and one of the founders of the Portuguese Jewish community in Amsterdam. Uri established his first press in Amsterdam in 1658 and was active there until 1689. He published numerous rabbinical and religious works, some of them in Yiddish, including the first Yiddish translation of the Bible by Jekuthiel Blitz (1679); the *Josippon* (1661); and the *Bava Bukh* (1661) by Elijah Baḥur *Levita. Uri also published the first Yiddish newspaper, which appeared every Tuesday and Friday (*Dienstagishe un Freytagishe Kurant* 1680–87). The greater part of the works he printed were for distribution among the Jews of Poland. In 1692 he moved to *Zholkva where he was reportedly invited by the Polish king John Sobieski to print Hebrew books, which previously were imported from abroad. At the sessions of the Council of the Four *Lands in Jaroslaw in 1697 and 1699, Uri obtained rabbinical backing against business competitors in Lublin and Cracow. His press was continued by his children and their descendants for some time after his death. His descendants include the author and poet Meir ha-Levi *Letteris whose father Gershon was still printing in Zolkiev in 1828, including those works written by his son.

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URI BEN SIMEON OF BIALA (second half of the 16th century), emissary of Safed to Europe. Uri was born in Biala, Poland, and immigrated to Ereẓ Israel, settling in Safed. From there he was sent as an emissary of the Ashkenazi congregation of the city to Italy, Germany, and Poland. In 1575 he was in Verona, as well as Venice, where he published, one year on each page, a 40-year calendar, and *Yiḥus Avot*, a description of the holy places and the graves of the righteous in Ereẓ Israel. He took these pages, which served to publicize his mission, with him to Germany, where they were reprinted many years later by Christian theologians.

The calendar was reprinted in 1594 in Frankfurt by Jacob Christmann, and *Yiḥus Avot* was reprinted twice in a Latin translation by Johann Heinrich Nottinger, under the title *Cippi Hebraici*, with drawings (Heidelberg, 1659 and 1662). This list of holy places and graves of the righteous in Ereẓ Israel served emissaries of succeeding generations as a pattern for similar lists called *Iggeret Mesapperet Yeḥusta de-Ẓaddikei de-Ara de-Yisrael* ("A genealogical tree of the righteous of the Holy Land," Venice, 1626, 1640, 1646, 1649; Verona, 1646, 1647; Mantua, 1676; Frankfurt, c. 1700).

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[Avraham Yaari]

URIEL, one of the four angels of the Presence first mentioned in I Enoch 9:1. Together with Michael, *Gabriel, and *Raphael he addressed a prayer to God requesting Him to bring to an end the rule of violence and bloodshed which the *Nephilim had brought to the earth. In His reply God charged Uriel with announcing to Noah the "end of all flesh" which would be brought about by the flood. Along with the other angels of the Presence, Uriel served as a guide to Enoch in the upper heavens (I En. ch. 19ff.), but his particular function was to govern the army of angels and the *Netherworld, Sheol (20:1). It would appear that this same function is mentioned in I Enoch 75:3ff.: "[Uriel], whom the Lord of glory hath set for ever over all the luminaries of the heaven, in the heaven and in the world, that they should rule on the face of the heaven and be seen in the earth, and be leaders for the day and the night." A special function is assigned to Uriel in IV Ezra (II Esdras), where he replies to Ezra's questions on the state of the world and the divine plan for the world and the people of Israel. By means of visions, he reveals to Ezra the course and duration of the present age and the conditions of life and the place of the people of Israel in the new world to come (II Esd. 4ff.).

According to *Midrash Rabbah* (Num. 2:10), Uriel is one of the four angels whom God placed around His throne. In the Kabbalah (including the Zohar), these angels of the Presence are identified with the four holy beasts which *Ezekiel saw in the *Merkabah and the figure of Uriel with that of the eagle, and sometimes with that of the lion. These four angels shed their light on the four winds of heaven, and the light which is shed over the west, the most perfect light, is that of Uriel. The Zohar (I, 6b; III, 32b, 211a) ascribes to Uriel a special function in connection with the sacrifices at the time of the First Temple. The altar, which is called *Ariel (Isa. 29:1–2), is thus named because of Uriel, who descended in the likeness of a lion to crouch on the altar and devour the sacrifices. At his descent, the hearts of the priests and the children of Israel were gladdened for they recognized thereby that the sacrifices had been accepted with favor. The appearance of Uriel in the altar fire caused all those who could see the flames to suffer a change of heart and repent. Yet for Israel's sins Uriel's primary strength was taken from him, and instead of the fire containing divine inspiration a strange fire descended on the altar, which took the form of a [demonic] dog. In several passages of the Zohar, Uriel and Nuriel are the same angel, seen under different aspects. He is called Uriel under the aspect of mercy, but Nuriel under the aspect of rigor and severity.

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[Joshua Gutmann]

URIM (Heb. אוּרִים; "Lights"), kibbutz in Israel's western Negev 7½ mi. (12 km.) W. of Ofakim, affiliated with Iḥud ha-Kevuẓot ve-ha-Kibbutzim. Urim was founded as one of the 11 settlements established on the same night in the South and Negev (Oct. 6, 1946). Its members included Israeli-born settlers and immigrants from Bulgaria and the United States. Its farming was irrigated in part by water from the National Water Carrier and was based on field crops, citrus groves, poultry and dairy cattle. Noam Urim Enterprises Ltd. was the largest nonwoven needle punch processing plant in the Middle East. Its products included finished wipes and rolled fabrics and waddings for different industries. In 1970 the kibbutz had 384 inhabitants; in the mid-1990s the population rose to 545, but then dropped to 413 in 2002.

[Efraim Orni / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

URIM AND THUMMIM (Heb. אוּרִים וְתֻמִּים), a priestly device for obtaining oracles. On the high priest's *ephod (an apron-like garment) lay a breastpiece (חֹשֶׁן) – a pouch inlaid with 12 precious stones engraved with the names of the 12 tribes of Israel – that held the Urim and Thummim (Ex. 28:15–30; Lev. 8:8). By means of the Urim, the priest inquired of YHWH on behalf of the ruler (Num. 27:21; cf. Yoma 7:5, "only for the king, the high court, or someone serving a need of the community"); they were one of the three legitimate means of obtaining oracles in early Israel (Urim, dreams, prophets; 1 Sam. 28:6). Owing to the oracular character of the Urim, the breastpiece is called "the breastpiece of decision" (חֹשֶׁן הַמִּשְׁפָּט). (The concept evokes "the Tablets of Destiny" in Babylonian mythology – the symbol of supreme authority that lay on the breast of the chief god; Pritchard, Texts, 63, 67, 111.) The right to work this oracle was reserved for the levitical priests (Deut. 33:8).

Occasionally the term ephod is used with reference to the Urim-oracle associated with it (1 Sam. 14:3, 18 [according to LXX]; 23:6, 9; 30:7). The latest period for which there is evidence of use of the ephod-Urim is that of David (but cf. Hos. 3:4); subsequently, oracles are conveyed exclusively by prophets. In postexilic times, when the Urim oracle was extinct, difficult questions were reserved "until a priest would appear with Urim and Thummim" (Ezra 2:63; Neh. 7:65; cf. Sot. 9:12: "After the former (i.e., pre-exilic) prophets died, the Urim and Thummim became extinct"; and Josephus (Ant. 3:218), who avers that the oracle ceased 200 years before his time).

There is no biblical information on the appearance of the Urim, the material out of which they were made (the Samaritan text of Ex. 28:30; 39:21 adds a command to manufacture the Urim and tells of its execution), or the technique of their use. The most illuminating passage is the Greek of 1 Samuel 14:41, whose underlying Hebrew is mutilated in the received texts: הָבָה תָמִים, conventionally rendered "Give a perfect answer":

> Saul said: "O YHWH God of Israel, why have you not answered your servant this day? If the guilt be in me or in my son Jonathan. O YHWH God of Israel, give Urim (הָבָה אוּרִים). But if this guilt is in your people Israel, give Thummim (הָבָה תֻמִּים)."

(For a defense of the received Hebrew, however, see M. Tsevat. in *Sefer Segal* (1955), 78–84.)

From the use of the verbs *hippil* and *nilkad* in connection with the Urim (verses 41–42), it appears that they were a kind of lot ((marked) stones or sticks?), since these verbs occur in connection with the casting of lots (Isa. 34:17; 1 Sam. 10:20). They were suitable for indicating which of two alternatives was right; hence inquiries to be decided by them were designed to elicit "yes" or "no" answers (1 Sam. 23:10–12;30:8).

The etymology of the terms is obscure. From the Greek passage adduced above, it seems that the two terms are the names of two objects. Hence the conjecture that Urim derives from *ʾarar*, "curse," and Thummim from *tammam*, "be whole," indicating negation and affirmation respectively. Tradition has connected the first term with light (*ʾor*) or instruction (Aram. *ʾoraita*). Thus both Greek δήλωσις καὶ ʾαλήθεια, "declaration/revelation and truth," and Vulgate *doctrina et veritas*, "teaching and truth," treat the pair as a hendiadys meaning true instruction – with reference to the oracle. (An apparent derivative with this meaning is the novel coinage אורתום, found in the Qumran Thanksgiving Psalms Scroll with reference to divine illumination (4:6, 23; 18:29; see J. Licht's commentary to 4:6)). A talmudic interpretation finds an allusion to the unequivocalness of the oracle in two words: "They cause their message to be lucid [מאירין]… and carried out [משלימין]" (Yoma 73b).

The earliest speculation on the technique of the oracle is reflected in Josephus (Ant. 3:217), who states that victory was forecast by the shining of the stones in the breastpiece. The talmudists fancied that the oracle was spelled out by the miraculous protruding of letters out of the tribal names engraved on the stones (Yoma 73b; Maim. Yad, Kele ha-Mikdash, 10:11). Rashi takes account of the separate existence of the Urim by making them a document bearing the tetragrammaton, whose presence inside the breastpiece insured the clarity and perfection of the oracle (comment to Ex. 28:30 and Yoma 73a; cf. Samuel b. Meir, who calls the Urim a kind of conjuration by divine names). Naḥmanides (at Ex. 28:30) combines the various strands of interpretation: the Urim was a text bearing divine names placed inside the breastpiece, by virtue of which various letters out of the tribes' names lit up; the Thummim were other divine names by whose virtue the priest was able to combine the letters perfectly into the divine message.

[Moshe Greenberg]

In the Aggadah

To the names of the 12 tribes engraved on the breastpiece were added those of the three Patriarchs, together with the word *shevet* ("tribe") so as to encompass the whole alphabet (Yoma 73b). Interpreting Urim to mean "those whose words give light" and Thummim as "those whose words are fulfilled," the rabbis explain that the oracle was effected by rays of light shining on the letters, or protruding from them and forming themselves into groups (Yoma 73b), so that the high priest could read them. Only priests speaking by means of the holy spirit and upon whom the *Shekhinah* rested could invoke them. The inquirer had his face directed toward the high priest, who directed himself to the *Shekhinah*. One did not inquire either in a loud voice or silently in his heart, but like Hannah, who muttered her prayer (I Sam 1:13). Only one question was to be put at a time, and if two were asked, only the first was answered. However, if the occasion required two questions, both were answered. Unlike the decrees of a prophet, those of the Urim and Thummim could not be revoked. Only a king or a head of the Sanhedrin could inquire from the Urim and Thummim (Yoma 73a–b). The division of the land was effected by means of the Urim and Thummim (RB 122a). Saul and David consulted them (Mid. Ps. 27:2). The Urim and Thummim ceased to give oracular answers immediately after the death of the first prophets (Sot. 9:12), i.e., the destruction of the First Temple (Sot. 48b). However according to the Jerusalem Talmud (Sot. 9:14, 24b), the "first prophets" refers to Samuel and David and according to this view the Urim and Thummim did not function in the First Temple period either.

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URIS, family of U.S. builders and philanthropists. Percy Uris (1899–1971), who was born in New York City, entered the investment building business in 1920 with his father Harris Uris (1870–1945), a Lithuanian immigrant and previously an ornamental iron manufacturer. Uris Brothers eventually became one of the largest building companies in the United States, and when its various real estate and building holdings were merged into the Uris Buildings Corporation in 1960, Percy Uris became president. His brother Harold Uris (1905–1982), who was born in New York, entered the building business with his father and brother in 1925, and he became chairman of the board upon the firm's amalgamation in 1960. A patron of the arts, he served on the board of the New York City Center for Music and Drama. He also served as a trustee of the New York Federation of Jewish Philanthropies for many years.

In 1957 Percy and Harold founded the Uris Brothers Foundation as a means to "give something back" to the city that had been so accommodating to their father and to their own entrepreneurial endeavors. The foundation has donated millions of dollars to New York City charities, especially those that deal with education and housing.

URIS, LEON (1924–2003), U.S. novelist. Born in Baltimore, Uris joined the U.S. Marines at the age of 17 and participated in the campaigns on Guadalcanal and Tarawa Islands in the Pacific. On his return to the U.S., he worked for a San Francisco newspaper and then used his war experience in writing his first work, *Battle Cry* (1953), which was acclaimed as a major war novel. For another book, *The Angry Hills* (1955), Uris drew on the war diary of an uncle who was a member of the Palestine Brigade that fought in Greece. Two of his novels, *Exodus* (1958) and *Mila 18* (1961), dealt exclusively with the momentous events of recent Jewish history. Uris' other works include *Armageddon* (1964), on the Berlin airlift; *Topaz* (1967), a novel about Soviet anti-NATO espionage in France, with some savage satire against General De Gaulle; and *QB VII* (1970; made into a drama for television, 1974), about a libel suit brought by a doctor against an author who had written that the former had conducted medical experiments in a concentration camp during World War II.

Exodus, one of the greatest fiction sellers in American history, depicts the establishment of the State of Israel. Before writing it, Uris read 300 books on Israel and the Middle East, traveled throughout Israel, and interviewed 1,200 people there. *Mila 18* deals with the Jewish community in the Warsaw Ghetto and describes how the Jews finally revolted against the Nazis. Like *Exodus*, it was read by millions and enhanced Uris' reputation as a novelist, although both books were criticized for their awkward prose. Several of Uris' novels were made into motion pictures, the film version of *Exodus* by Otto Preminger being released in 1960. Uris also wrote a photo essay, *Exodus Revisited* (1960). Uris was also a screenwriter for *Battle Cry* (1955) and *Gunfight at the O.K. Corral* (1957).

He collaborated with his wife Jill, a photographer, in *Ireland: A Terrible Beauty: The Story of Ireland Today* (1975) and *Jerusalem, Song of Songs* (1981). His later works include *Trinity* (1976), *Redemption* (1995), and *O'Hara's Choice* (2003).

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[Harold U. Ribalow]

URMAN, DAN (1945–2004), Israeli archaeologist and historian. Born in Haifa, Urman completed his military service (1963–65), and began studying archaeology and history at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem. Between 1965 and 1968, Urman made a countrywide investigation of the archaeological remains within abandoned Arab villages. Following the 1967 war, Urman was appointed the staff officer for the antiquities of the Golan Heights, and in the following years he studied many ancient sites there, notably at Rafid, including salvage excavations at some of them. On completing his M.A., Urman undertook his doctoral studies at New York University. His Ph.D. dissertation was completed in 1979 with distinction and published in 1985 as *The Golan: A Profile of a Region During the Roman and Byzantine Periods* (BAR Int. Series, Oxford). In 1979 Urman joined the faculty of the Ben-Gurion University of the Negev at Beersheba. Urman conducted numerous excavations, but he is best remembered for his excavations at the Byzantine site of Nessana in the Negev between 1987 and 1995. Among his numerous publications, one should note his books *Ancient Synagogues: Historical Analysis and Archaeological Discovery* (1995, co-edited with P.V.M. Flesher) and *Jews, Pagans and Christians in the Golan Heights* (1996, co-authored with R.C. Gregg), and, just before his death, the first volume of his excavation report *Nessana* (2004).

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[Shimon Gibson (2nd ed.)]

URUGUAY, South American republic, general population: 3,080,000; Jewish population: 24,200.

The Beginning

There are few documents relating to Jewish history during the colonial period in Uruguay. In 1726 the governor of *Montevideo, Bruno Mauricio de Zabala, still adhered to the accepted Spanish formula when he stipulated that the first settlers be "persons of worth, of good habits, repute and family, so that they be not of inferior nor of Moorish or Jewish race," and in 1760 Pedro Lago, a clergyman from Colonia del Sacramento, expressed to the Inquisition his suspicions regarding the existence of Jewish life in his city. More reliable sources, however, are lacking. With the demise of the Inquisition in 1813, the political and legal system prevailing in Uruguay, together with its tolerant population, provided the viable foundation for Jewish residence during the modern period.

The Modern Period

BASIC DATA. Geographically Uruguay is the smallest country in South America. The last official estimate of Uruguay's area is 186,925 km² (instead of the former estimation of 187,500 km²). Of its 3,080,000 inhabitants, 1,200,000 (40%) live in the capital Montevideo.

Prof. Sergio DellaPergola of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem concluded that the number of 50,000 Jews in Uruguay often mentioned in different publications is unfounded and exaggerated. Instead he concluded that the number of Jews between 1936 and 1992 was as follows:

1936–1940: 25,000
1945–1946: 37,000
1990–1992: 24,200

Some 13,000 former Uruguayan Jews live in Israel. This is the highest proportion of *aliyah* from the Free World.

MODERNIZATION. The independent Uruguayan Republic was definitively established in 1830. In more recent times, the Constitution of 1918, championed by José Batlle y Ordóñez, established the principle of separation of church and state and defined the legal status of aliens, as well as their role in the political life of the country. The generally liberal-minded public, as well as the constitution, which accords social and economic equality to native and alien alike, provided the conditions for a successful Jewish community from the 1920s. The constitutions of 1934 and 1952, which altered the composition of the government, did not affect the prevailing legislation. The earliest available information about Jewish immigration to Uruguay dates from 1898; a 1909 report indicates that there were 1,700 Jews in the country, 75% of whom were Sephardim, the rest of them Russian, Romanian, Polish, and of Alsatian origin. Other reliable sources based on first-hand documentation from the first communal institutions, consistently report about a 50–50 parity between Sephardim and Ashkenazim from the beginning until the 1920s.

Immigration increased notably between 1925 and 1928, when Uruguay also served as a transit point – in some cases for illegal transit – to Argentina, which at that time had stringent immigration regulations. In 1933 there was again an increase in immigration, although just prior to World War II new limitations were imposed. In 1939 2,200 Jews entered the country, while in 1940, only 373.

KEHILLOT, ZIONISTS, AND ANTI-ZIONISTS. The Zionist movement began in 1911, when Dorshei Zion was founded, initially as an extension of the Argentinean Zionist Federation. The events affecting world Jewry and the activities of the Zionist movement evoked sympathy and support from the Jewish populace. During World War I, mass demonstrations acclaimed the Balfour Declaration, members of the community joined the Jewish Legion, protests were registered against the pogroms in Central Europe during the 1920s, and campaigns were staged to protest the Arab riots in Palestine in 1928–29. The Zionist movement was divided into the separate organizations of General Zionists, Po'alei Zion, Mizrachi, Revisionists as well as to WIZO and later on smaller women's organizations. For many years there was a "key" for the distribution of functions in the Consejo Central Sionista (later Organizacion Sionista del Uruguay), in the KKL, and in the KH: president – General Zionists; vice president – WIZO; secretary general – Po'alei Zion (Mapai); treasurer – Mizrachi, and so on. In 1945 the Zionist movement began to gain great momentum. The Consejo Central Sionista, comprising representatives of all the institutions, including the Federación Juvenil Sionista, was formed, and in 1960 the Federación Sionista Territorial Unificada, renamed in 1963 Organizacion Sionista del Uruguay (OSU), was founded as a central body of all Zionist parties and organizations as well as the Jewish Agency in charge of *aliyah* and other Zionist endeavors, including youth, pioneer, women's institutions, etc.

In 1970 the Montevideo Jewish community comprised four *kehillot*: Comunidad Israelita de Montevideo (Ashkenazi, founded in 1932), with 4,000 members; Comunidad Israelita Sefaradí (founded in 1932), with 1,500 members; Nueva Congregación Israelita (German-speaking, founded in 1936), with 1,500 members; and the Sociedad Israelita Hungara – SIHDU – (founded in 1942), with 200 members. The cemeteries of Ashkenazim and Sephardim, both on the outskirts of Montevideo, together with the respective *ḥevra kaddisha* funeral associations, were established a short time after World War I. As a matter of fact, the *kehillot* in Uruguay (and also in Argentina) evolved from a *ḥevra kaddisha* to a more diversified communal structure. Later on, the Yiddish-speaking communist sector established its own secular cemetery. The four *kehillot* noted are united under the umbrella organization Comité Central Israelita (CCI), which is affiliated with the *World Jewish Congress. The presidency of the CCI alternates between representatives of the four communities. Established in 1940 as the overall representative of the Jewish community vis-à-vis the government, the CCI played a pivotal role in combating antisemitism, especially during World War II, during subsequent sporadic resurgences of neo-Nazism, and at the time of Adolf *Eichmann's capture and trial. The vast majority of the leadership of the communities was Zionist. Consequently, the CCI usually maintained pro-Zionist positions and policies.

One of the former presidents of the CCI, professor of criminal law Nahum Bergstein, was later a senator, deputy minister of education and culture, and a member of the House. He introduced in the Uruguayan Parliament important resolutions concerning human rights, antisemitism, and solidarity with Israel in its struggle against terrorism.

Parallel to growing identification with Zionism among most Jewish inhabitants of Uruguay, there were also during the second and third decades of the 20th century isolated expressions of syndicalism; militant anti-Zionist Yiddishism; a small but very active Bund, especially in the cultural field through the I.L. Peretz Association; and a large, well organized Yiddish-speaking communist sector, self-defined as "progressive Jewry" as opposed to "national (Zionist) Jewry." The most important organization for the latter was the Asociación Cultural Jaim Zhitlowsky (founded around 1935), which also had a youth organization consisting of 300 members. Members of the Asociación received medical benefits provided by the Mutualista Israelita del Uruguay (founded 1940), and the Asociación maintained the above-mentioned separate, secular (non-religious) cemetery. Partisan discord characterized relations between the Zionist and "progressive" blocs, particularly during the 1930s. In the face of steadily increasing antisemitism, in 1938 an attempt was made to forge a united front through the short-lived Comité Contra el Nazismo y el Antisemitismo in order to defend the community and represent it vis-à-vis the government. Nevertheless, the confrontation between both sectors continued and deepened particularly after the Hitler-Stalin agreement of August 1939, openly backed by the Jewish "progressive" local daily *Unzer Fraint,* and the bankruptcy of the "progressive"-dominated "Banco Israelita," which badly affected the savings of recently arrived refugees from Germany and annexed Austria. After the establishment of the State of Israel and during the Stalinist persecutions of 1948–52, some "progressives" joined the ranks of the Zionist-oriented community; the majority, however, maintained their pro-Communist affiliations. The situation was not the same among their younger generation: part of them assimilated and another part went over to the Zionist youth movements and their presence in Israel, especially in kibbutzim and academic life, is visible and successful.

ECONOMY. At first the Jews in Uruguay engaged primarily in minor commerce (food, clothing, used articles), peddling, light industries (needles, leather, furs, textiles), independent or salaried crafts (tailors, hairdressers, watchmakers, printers), and salaried jobs (construction, factories). During the 1929–33 economic crisis, the Jewish community suffered severely, but it regained prosperity with the economic revival. At the same time, the German immigration of the 1930s gave impetus to commerce and minor crafts, and the economic upswing continued during World War II. In 1970 industry, commerce in textiles, furs, furniture, pharmaceutical products, plastics, metallurgy, and electronics were well established. Members of the professions occupied intermediate positions on the economic ladder, and a small number of Jews were partners in agricultural corporations that dealt in rural land and its products.

Attempts at Jewish agricultural settlement in Uruguay proved abortive. The first was the "19 de Abril" settlement, founded in Paysandú by 38 families that had previously tried to settle in the ICA settlements in Brazil. They received 9,880 acres of land from the Institute de Colonización of the Uruguayan Republic. Overcoming a difficult beginning, the settlers met with success after a ten-year period, but the settlement gradually lost its Jewish members; during the 1930s, five Jewish families remained, and in 1950 there was only one. Another Jewish colony founded in 1924 in Mercedes failed shortly afterward. The third, the "Tres Árboles" settlement (1938–39), was a Communist-inspired Jewish venture, but it failed primarily because of the bankruptcy of the Banco Israelita del Uruguay, on which it depended. Its collapse in 1939 precipitated a chain of bankruptcies among small merchants and industrialists and brought about the failure of the agricultural settlement "Tres Árboles." The bank managed to reopen and resume operations, however. The Centre Commercial e Industrial Israelita del Uruguay (1933), known from 1950 as the Banco Palestino-Uruguayo, was a well-established institution with branches even outside the country. In Israel it worked in particular with Bank Leumi. Later on, it was acquired by other general, non-Jewish financial enterprises. Two well-established commercial cooperatives, originally peddlers cooperatives, were the Corporación Comercial SA (pro-Zionist, founded in 1930) and the Cooperative Comercial del Uruguay (progressive, founded in 1936), which closed with the collapse of the Banco Israelita and recommenced activities in 1945 under the name La Amistad. There are still, here and there, some Jewish peddlers, but with large shopping centers and the extensive use of credit cards, this is undoubtedly an outmoded and old-fashioned source of "parnose" (livelihood), classical among Jewish immigrants in the whole American continent. The predominantly labor, artisan, and small business class of the 1920s gradually gave way to a social group of middle class merchants, industrialists, salaried employees, and professionals, with few laborers and few wealthy individuals.

In the early 21st century, the younger generation of Uruguayan Jews includes a very high proportion of professionals. People tried to reach upper class or upper middle class standards of living even when their wealth was in many cases more apparent than real, at least by international Western criteria. At the same time the remaining lower middle class Jews (such as small merchants or employees in small businesses or factories) were in a very unsure and weak economic situation. Even when they arrive in Israel when making *aliyah* or immigrate to other countries, their adaptation to different languages and present-day technological requirements is far from easy.

ANTISEMITISM. In January 1919, under the pretext of repressing revolutionaries and Bolsheviks and as a result of the events during Argentina's "Tragic Week," punitive measures were taken against workers and certain elements of the lower class. Eighty percent of the Jewish population was investigated by the police and there were many instances of imprisonment and expulsion.

During the 1930s "anti-alien" campaigns were organized, posing a serious threat to the Jewish community. Their instigators were radical nationalists and local and foreign Fascists (Vanguardia de la Patria), but large numbers of traditionally liberal elements also participated. Familiar forms of racial discrimination were invoked in sidewalk demonstrations, in the press, and on the radio. The alien character of the Jews was underscored, and demands were voiced for a ban on Jewish immigration and for the exclusion of Jews from commercial activities and other sources of income. The community organized itself in self-defense. Measures against the rise of Fascism were adopted by the administration of General Alfredo Baldomir (inaugurated 1938), and during World War II the community enjoyed the protection of the government. During the Eichmann trial (1961) serious antisemitic disturbances were provoked by local neo-Nazi associations linked to foreign cells. The Jewish community, supported by certain branches of the government and liberal political and intellectual groups, organized its defense once again. In the 1960s there were sporadic antisemitic outbursts associated with nationalist-radical and neo-Nazi-affiliated groups, some of them originating in Argentina.

EDUCATION, YOUTH, RELIGIOUS LIFE, AND JEWISH MEDIA. Since their inception, both the Ashkenazi and the Sephardi communities have maintained religious studies. In 1929 the Ashkenazi *ḥevra kaddisha* established an educational network in collaboration with ICA. The most prominent educational institutions were the Zionist Herzl School founded in 1928; the Talmud Torah Eliezer ben Yehuda, founded in 1928 by the Sephardi *ḥevra kaddisha;* the Scholem Aleichem School founded in 1941 by the left Po'alei Zion; the Mizrachi school and Yeshivah ha-Rav Kook, founded in 1945, which added the Ma'aleh secondary school in 1956; and the ultra-Orthodox *talmud torah* and *ḥeder* Adat Yere'im, founded in 1948. In the early 21st century Jewish education was concentrated in three big integral schools (day schools): the Integral School, the Ariel School (which includes the former schools Scholem Aleichem and Ivriah), and the Yavne School (religious Zionist). All of them include kindergarten, elementary school, and secondary school, and all are Zionist – their Jewish program is handled by Israeli teachers and local teachers who complete one year of pedagogical studies in Jerusalem. The curriculum includes in general subjects, in addition to Spanish and Hebrew, and also English. The so-called "workers' schools," active from 1925 to the 1950s, followed the Yiddishist, leftist, non-Zionist ideology. The only remaining school of this trend is the Jaim Zhitlowsky school (founded in 1930). The Jewish ORT School, specializing in hi-tech, is recognized as a university. Even though a large proportion of its students are not Jews, the curriculum also includes a program of Jewish studies. The educational network is coordinated by the Vaad-Hachinuch, the "Education Ministry" of Uruguayan Jews.

Informal education is given by the Zionist and pioneer youth groups, including Bnei Akiva, Dror, Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir, Ha-No'ar ha-Ẓiyyoni, Israel ha-Ẓe'ira, and Betar. Local youth organizations include the Hebraica-Macabi (social and sports activities); Juventud Sefaradí; and the youth section of the Nueva Congregación Israelita. A pivotal function was filled in the past by the student organization Union Universitaria Kadimah (founded in 1940), later continued by the Association of Professionals "Jaim Weizman." The activities of all Zionist-oriented youth-organizations are coordinated by the Federación Juvenil Sionista (founded 1941). The "progressive" youth is organized in the Federación Juvenil Jaim Zhitlowsky, which has two centers. Its membership declined in the post-Stalin period.

In view of the predominantly secular trends in the community, there is little religious extremism. Basic tradition is observed, and the communities assume responsibility for the fulfillment of ritual. There are small groups of extreme Orthodox Jews who came from Hungary and Transylvania in the 1950s and formed the Kehillah Adat Yere'im. But they are members of the Ashkenazi community and submit to its decisions. An interfaith organization made up of Catholics, Evangelists, and Jews is active in promoting inter-religious harmony and engages in social work.

Cultural life is predominant and is integrated into the program of the majority of the communal social, political, and educational institutions, such as B'nai B'rith. For the most part, the cultural activities are of an informative character on subjects of both Jewish and general interest and are usually carried on in Spanish. Among members of the older Ashkenazi generation, Yiddish continues to be spoken. A small number of Hebraists tried on different occasions to establish a Moadon Ivri. A few authors among the first generation wrote original literary works on Jewish philosophical, religious, and historical themes in Yiddish and Hebrew. Authors of the second generation wrote essays and literature of a general nature in Spanish. *YIVO has a branch in Uruguay with an archive and a library, and the Jewish writers and journalists had, in the recent past, their own association.

The Jewish press in Uruguay was at first closely linked with the Argentinean press. Starting in 1920 with the Spanish *Voz Hebrea* through the dailies *Der Tog* and *Morgentsaytung* of the 1930s, the Uruguayan Jewish community still had three dailies in the 1960s: *Folksblat* (founded in 1934), *Haynt* (founded in 1957), and the Communist *Unzer Fraynt* (founded in 1935). All of them closed. The only surviving publication in the early 21st century was the Spanish weekly *Semanario Hebreo* (founded in 1954). In the past a Zionist religious weekly *Der Moment* (founded in 1940) also appeared. There were several other periodicals, the most prominent being the *Gemeindeblatt* (founded in 1938), a weekly of the German-speaking community.

There are 14 Orthodox and one Conservative synagogues, with two Orthodox and two Conservative rabbis. The Chabad Center, with its own rabbi, has no communal affiliation. The Jewish schools are attended by 40% of the Jewish children. Nearly all of Uruguay's 24,200 Jews live in the capital, Montevideo. About one hundred families live in Paysandu. Many Jews – particularly Argentineans – come to the Punta del Este summer resort for the summer and even for weekends during the rest of the year. As a result, there are four synagogues functioning in the summer and one year-round.

In the past an important function was performed by the Jewish radio broadcasts. The most important were "Hora Cultural Israelita" continued later by "Voz de Sion en el Uruguay." Both of them transmitted daily except Yom Kippur from 12 to 14:30. They began in the 1930s and the last broadcast of "Voz de Sion" was in 2000. Another daily program, called "Hora Israelita Polaca," was transmitted two hours daily until the 1960s. All of them were Zionist-oriented and used Spanish and Yiddish alternatively. The German-speaking Jews have two daily broadcasts in German, one at lunchtime and one in the evening, even though both of them try to define themselves as "international and interconfessional." There were also weekly broadcasts.

The official government TV station included a once-a-week, one-hour transmission (on Sunday morning) dedicated to Jewish matters and to the relationship with Israel. The program was halted, but there is a similar program today (2005). Jewish institutions intensively use the Internet. For example, the German-speaking community, instead of its former German weekly *Gemeindeblatt*, now disseminates information and comments in Spanish through the Internet.

[Rosa Perla Reicher / Nahum Schutz (2nd ed.)]

Relations with Israel

Immediately after the Balfour Declaration of Nov. 2, 1917, promising British backing for the establishment of a Jewish National Home in Palestine, the Uruguayan government initiated a clear-cut policy in favor of the Zionist aspirations. The main champion of that policy, Dr. Alberto Guani, was Uruguay's delegate at the 1920 *San Remo Conference of the League of Nations establishing the British Mandate on Palestine, specifically destined to foster the realization of the Balfour Declaration.

The same Dr. Guani was President Alfredo Baldomir's foreign minister in 1940, valiantly facing very direct and crude threats from Adolf Hitler during the *Graf Spee* affair: the giant battleship *Graf Spee*, described by Churchill as "the terror of the South Atlantic," was badly mauled by three small British destroyers near the Uruguayan summer resort of Punta del Este. The ship reached the neutral port of Montevideo and Dr. Guani decided that by international law the ship would be permitted to bury the dead, leave the wounded in hospitals, and repair its engines but not its guns. Berlin pressed strongly but Dr. Guani did not yield. The *Graff Spee* left Montevideo and sank itself. At that time Uruguay was an honorable exception, since the rest of the Latin American countries oscillated between a pro-Nazi or pro-fascist position or – at least – a kind of neutrality. Instead, Uruguay was openly anti-Nazi.

In April 1947, Uruguay was among the nations that voted for the establishment of the United Nations Special Committee on Palestine (UNSCOP), one of whose members was Prof. Enrique Rodriguez Fabregat of Uruguay. Rodriguez Fabregat, together with the delegate of Guatemala, Dr. Jorge Garcia Granados, was the architect of the partition plan approved by the UN General Assembly on Nov. 11, 1947, including the establishment of a Jewish state in Palestine.

Friendly relations between the two countries began with the enthusiastic support of Uruguay for the new state. Two successive Uruguayan presidents, Tomas Berreta and Luis Batlle Berres, strongly favored the policy advocated by Rodriguez Fabregat who was advised by the historian of the Near East, Prof. Oscar Secco-Ellauri, future Uruguayan foreign minister and president of the Uruguay-Israel Institute of Cultural Relations.

Uruguay was also the first Latin American country, and the fourth country in the world, to recognize the State of Israel (May 19, 1948). Montevideo was the first Latin American capital and the fourth city in the world in which an Israeli diplomatic representation was set up (Nov. 1, 1948). On May 11, 1949, Uruguay stood out in its negative vote on the question of international administration over Jerusalem. The Uruguayan legation established in Tel Aviv in 1951 was transferred to Jerusalem in 1956. After the Six-Day War (1967), Uruguay was among the states that abstained in the UN vote against the union of Jerusalem. Later on, under strong international pressure the diplomatic representation was transferred from Jerusalem to Herzliyyah.

Streets in the capital of each country have been named in honor of the other, and parliamentary delegations have exchanged visits. The two countries have signed a trade and maritime agreement, and a forest has been planted in the Judean Mountains honoring the Uruguayan national hero, Artigas (1958). A forest named "Uruguay" was also planted in the hills of Western Galilee. Also in 1958, the diplomatic representations in Montevideo and Jerusalem were raised to the status of embassies, and the foreign ministers of each state exchanged visits at different opportunities. A visit by the president of the State of Israel to Uruguay and the reciprocal visit of Uruguayan ministers, members of parliament, scientists, authors, and artists have been dear expressions of the friendly relations between the two states. When the then foreign minister of Israel, Moshe Sharett, visited Uruguay in 1953, he signed a cultural agreement with the government. The Uruguay-Israel Institute for Cultural Relations has been set up there. In 1968 the export from Israel to Uruguay was $214,000 and in 1969 it was $212,000. Israel imported $3,360,000 worth of goods from Uruguay in 1968 and $4,433,000 worth in 1969. Israel exports mostly minerals and chemicals to Uruguay and imports meat and wool. A trade agreement was signed between the two countries on June 13, 1968, and an agreement for scientific and technical cooperation was signed at the same time. Uruguay is one of the most important exporters of meat to Israel and during various periods Israel was the number one client for Uruguayan meat. An agreement for cooperation in the field of atomic development was signed on June 23, 1966. Israel had provided Uruguay with scholarships in such fields as agriculture, cooperative living, social work, and education. Years ago, a post-graduate scholarship in medicine was awarded to the present-day (2005) Uruguayan president, Dr. Tabare Vazquez.

The state of the relations between Uruguay and Israel as of 2005 can be summed up as follows:

1) Excellent bilateral relations.

2) As far as the Middle East conflict is concerned, Uruguay is no longer the idealistic "Don Quixote" backing Zionism for idealistic reasons. Uruguay has continued to be more friendly to Israeli positions and more responsive to issues such as terror and open antisemitism than other countries, but under pressure from various international parties, its voting record vis-à-vis anti-Israel proposals is not positive – at best its representatives abstain.

Cordial relations between the two peoples, on the non-governmental level, were fostered from the mid-1980s on by the Asociacion de Amistad Israel-Uruguay. The Uruguayan embassy cooperates intensively with the association and, in addition, some cultural initiatives are undertaken by the embassy through the framework of a foundation specifically dedicated to that type of activity.

[Nissim Itzhak / Nahum Schutz (2nd ed.)]

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URY, ELSE (1877–1943), bestselling German author. Born in Berlin into a upper-middle-class Jewish family, Ury first received recognition for her story "Studierte Maedel" ("Academic Girls," 1906), which touched on a controversial topic, as women gained access to universities in Prussia only in 1908. Later she became famous for her children's book series *Nesthaekchen* (1918–1925) in ten volumes; she wrote a total of 39 books.

Else Ury was murdered in Auschwitz-Birkenau in January 1943.

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[Elisabeth Dessauer (2nd ed.)]

URY, LESSER (1861–1931), German painter. Ury, who was born in Birnbaum, Prussia, went to Berlin at the age of 12 and two years later was apprenticed to a clothing merchant. When he had saved enough money, he began to study art, first in Duesseldorf and then in Brussels and Paris. A prize from the Berlin Academy enabled him to train further in Italy. Although he was something of a vagrant, Ury made his headquarters in Berlin from 1886 and there led a poverty-stricken, asocial life until he was over 60. It was only then that his melancholy paintings of city streets in stormy weather began to sell for high prices. He was a versatile artist and some of his earlier works, particularly his landscapes and his flower studies, achieved a glow of color that anticipated the goal of the expressionists. He produced drawings, lithographs, and etchings, but his finest works were his pastels. Ury repeatedly attempted ambitious subjects on a monumental scale, some of them suggested by events in contemporary Jewish life. His *Jerusalem* is a study of refugees from czarist Russia at the turn of the century sitting aimlessly on a bench, staring into nothing. The most famous of his somewhat theatrical biblical paintings, *Jeremiah* – the brooding prophet reclining under a vast, star-studded sky – is in the Tel Aviv Museum. Ury's fame had spread far beyond Germany. The retrospective exhibition arranged by the Berlin National Gallery to celebrate his 70th birthday turned into a memorial exhibition. After World War II, West Germany tried to repair the damage done to his reputation in the Nazi era with several comprehensive shows.

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[Alfred Werner]

U.S. ARMY AND THE HOLOCAUST. On April 5, 1945, units from the American Fourth Armored Division of the Third Army were the first Americans to discover a camp with prisoners and corpses. Ohrdruf was a Buchenwald sub-camp, and of the 10,000 male slave inmates, many had been sent on death marches, shot in pits, or their corpses were stacked in the woods and burned. The Americans found the camp by accident – they did not set out to liberate camps, they happened upon them – and found starved, frail bodies of hundreds of prisoners who had managed to survive, as well as the corpses. In Nordhausen, on the 11th, the American Timberwolf Division found 3,000 corpses and 700 starving, ill, and war-wounded survivors who were slaves in the V-2 rocket factories.

An Austrian-born Jewish U.S. soldier, Fred Bohm, helped liberate Nordhausen. He described fellow GIs as having "no particular feeling for fighting the Germans. They also thought that any stories they had read in the paper, or that I had told them out of first-hand experience, were either not true or at least exaggerated. And it did not sink in, what this was all about, until we got into Nordhausen."

When the American Combat Team 9 of the 9th Armored Infantry Battalion, Sixth Armored Division were led to Buchenwald by Russians, the camp contained 30,000 prisoners in a pyramid of power, with German Communists at the top, in the main barracks, and Jews and gypsies at the bottom, living in Little Camp, in an assortment of barns.

Buchenwald barrack prisoners were reasonably healthy looking. The Little Camp had 1,000 to 1,200 prisoners in a space meant for 450. Witnesses described prisoners as "emaciated beyond all imagination or description. Their legs and arms were sticks with huge bulging joints, and their loins were fouled by their own excrement. Their eyes were sunk so deep that they looked blind. If they moved at all, it was with a crawling slowness that made them look like huge, lethargic spiders. Many just lay in their bunks as if dead." After liberation, hundreds of prisoners died daily.

Generals George Patton, Omar Bradley, and Dwight Eisenhower arrived in Ohrdruf on April 12, the day of President Franklin D. Roosevelt's death. They found 3,200 naked, emaciated bodies in shallow graves. Eisenhower found a shed piled to the ceiling with bodies, various torture devices, and a butcher's block for smashing gold fillings from the mouths of the dead. Patton became physically ill. Eisenhower turned white at the scene inside the gates, but insisted on seeing the entire camp. "We are told that the American soldier does not know what he was fighting for," he said. "Now, at least he will know what he is fighting against."

After leaving Ohrdruf, Eisenhower wrote to Chief of Staff General George Marshall, attempting to describe things that "beggar description." The evidence of starvation and bestiality "were so overpowering as to leave me a bit sick," Bradley later wrote about the day: "The smell of death overwhelmed us." Patton, whose reputation for toughness was legendary, was overcome. He refused to enter a room where the bodies of naked men who had starved to death were piled, saying "he would get sick if he did so," Eisenhower reported. "I visited every nook and cranny." It was his duty, he felt, "to be in a position from then on to testify about these things in case there ever grew up at home the belief … that the stories of Nazi brutality were just propaganda." (Seemingly, he intuited then that these crimes might be denied.)

Eisenhower issued an order that American units in the area were to visit the camp. He also issued a call to the press back home. A group of prominent journalists, led by the dean of American publishers, Joseph Pulitzer, came to see the concentration camps. Pulitzer initially had "a suspicious frame of mind," he wrote. He expected to find that many of "the terrible reports" printed in the United States were "exaggerations and largely propaganda." But they were understatements, he reported.

Within days, Congressional delegations came to visit the concentration camps, accompanied by journalists and photographers. General Patton was so angry at what he found at Buchenwald that he ordered the Military Police to go to Weimar, four miles away, and bring back 1,000 civilians to see what their leaders had done, to witness what some human beings could do to others. The MPs were so outraged they brought back 2,000. Some turned away. Some fainted. Even veteran, battle-scarred correspondents were struck dumb. In a legendary broadcast on April 15, Edward R. Murrow gave the American radio audience a stunning matter-of-fact description of Buchenwald, of the piles of dead bodies so emaciated that those shot through the head had barely bled, and of those children who still lived, tattooed with numbers, whose ribs showed through their thin shirts. "I pray you to believe what I have said about Buchenwald," Murrow asked listeners. "I have reported what I saw and heard, but only part of it; for most of it I have no words." He added, "If I have offended you by this rather mild account of Buchenwald, I am not in the least sorry."

It was these reports, the newsreel pictures that were shot and played in theaters, and the visits of important delegations that proved to be influential in the public consciousness of the still unnamed German atrocities and the perception that something awful had been done to the Jews.

Then the American forces liberated Dachau, the first concentration camp built by the Germans in 1933. There were 67,665 registered prisoners in Dachau and its subcamps; 43,350 were political prisoners; 22,100 were Jews, and a percentage of "others." As Allied forces advanced, the Germans moved prisoners from concentration camps near the front to prevent their liberation. Transports arrived at Dachau continuously, resulting in severe deterioration of conditions. Typhus epidemics, poor sanitary conditions, and the weakened state of the prisoners worsened conditions further and spread disease even faster.

On April 26, 1945, as the Americans approached Dachau about 7,000 prisoners, most of them Jews, were sent on a death march to Tegernsee. Three days later, American troops liberated the main camp and found 28 wagons of decomposing bodies in addition to thousands of starving and dying prisoners. Then in early May 1945, American forces liberated the prisoners who had been sent on the death march.

After World War II, the Allies were faced with repatriating 7,000,000 *displaced persons in Germany and Austria, of whom 1,000,000 refused or were unable to return to their homes. These included nationals from the Baltic countries, Poles, Ukrainians, and Yugoslavs who were anti-communists and/or fascists afraid of prosecution for collaborating with the Nazis and Jews. The Allies were forced to service citizens of 52 nationalities in 900 DP camps, under the aegis of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (UNRRA). Lack of trained personnel, absence of a clear policy, and poor planning and management prevented the agency from fulfilling its role properly. Private relief organizations were gradually permitted to operate in the camps, but at best could provide only partial aid. Consequently, the United States Army, with a shrinking budget and inexperienced personnel, assumed major responsibility for the DPs. It was not a responsibility they anticipated or they welcomed but they had no other choice.

Each national group and religious denomination demanded recognition of its own problems. In order to avoid charges of discrimination, the American army adopted a policy of evenhandedness toward all the DPs, a policy that adversely affected Jewish DPs housed in the same camps with Poles, Baltic nationals, and Ukrainians. In those camps, the Jews who survived the Holocaust remained exposed to antisemitic discrimination. They were living among antisemites who had hostility toward them. Furthermore, only after liberation could survivors begin to feel, to sense what had been lost. Others could return home, Jewish survivors had no homes to which to return.

The American army was beleaguered. Trained for war, they had to juggle multiple assignments: the occupation, the Cold War, and the problems of survivors who were naturally distrustful of all authority and in need of medical and psychological attention.

Short-term problems, such as housing, medical treatment, food, and family reunification, were acute. The army had no long-term strategy. The survivors had nowhere to go. Britain was unwilling to permit Jewish immigration to Palestine and the United States was not ready to receive refugees.

Homosexuals continued to suffer, even with the end of the war. Paragraph 175 of the German legal code stated that male homosexuality, but not female lesbianism, was punishable by imprisonment. After 1943, male homosexuals had been forced to wear a pink triangle and were sent to the death camps. After the liberation, the Americans did not repeal Paragraph 175 and sent homosexual inmates liberated from the camps to other prisons.

Preferential treatment to Jews was denied on the ground that this would be a confirmation of the Nazi racial doctrine, which differentiated between Jews and others. The Jews were therefore dealt with according to their country of origin; Jews from Germany, for example, were classified as "enemy aliens," just like the Nazis.

American troops who liberated the concentration camps felt sympathy for the Jewish DPs, and many Jewish GIs and officers went out of their way to assist the survivors. But that sympathy did not extend to men who arrived on following troop rotations. Unfamiliar with history and facts, they had little or no sympathy for the Jews. It did not help that concentration camp survivors mistrusted people, were hypersensitive, and had acquired habits that did not compare favorably with the local German and Austrian population. Some objected to the fact that they took care of their biological needs in hallways and outside; one officer provided a simple solution of latrines and the problem ceased.

Americans' contacts with antisemitic Germans stirred up innate personal prejudices held by troops. Some American commanders suspected that the DPs from Eastern Europe included Soviet agents, and that Jews had a predisposition to communist beliefs. The Army also treated the DPs as if they stood in the way of the pre-Cold-War rush to rehabilitate Germany. By June 1945, conflicts were heated enough for President Truman to send Earl G. Harrison to the American Zone on a fact-finding mission. His visit was complete with political overtones and his report was a bombshell.

His conclusions were harsh, even overstated:

> We appear to be treating the Jews as the Nazis treated them except that we do not exterminate them. They are in concentration camps in large numbers under our military guard instead of SS troops. One is led to wonder whether the German people seeing this are not supposing that we are following or at least condoning Nazi policy.

His recommendations were equally dramatic:

> Jews must be recognized as Jews. They should be evacuated from Germany quickly. One hundred thousand Jews should be admitted to Palestine. President Truman endorsed the Report, rebuked the army, and intensified pressure on Britain. He opened up the United States for limited immigration.

After the pogrom by Polish fascists that killed 60–70 Jews in *Kielce, Poland, on July 4, 1946, more than 100,000 Jews fled to the American Zone aided by *Beriḥah, overcrowding the camps and straining the Army's budget, but when the administration tried to close the borders, the American Jews pressured them to reopen them. Twice the American government kept the borders open.

From April 1945 to the summer of 1947, the Jewish DP population in the American Zone exploded from 30,000 to 250,000 as the Jews fled the Soviet Bloc. The Jews had no place else to go, since no one would take them in. As their needs grew, and U.S. Army charged with caring for them was being restricted by budget cuts, the U.S. tried to transfer control of the Jews to the local German governments, which the Jews refused to accept under any circumstances.

On April 19, 1947, General Lucius Clay, commander of the American forces in Germany closed the borders to the American Zone and denied UN aid to newcomers, but 12,000 Jews from Romania and Hungary managed to enter. The American Army usually closed their eyes to illegal immigration, especially when the immigrants were Jews. But as time went by, and troops were replaced, the communication, tolerance, and relationships deteriorated between the Americans and the Jews, especially in matters concerning the black market, which led to raids and even violence.

When Israel was established in May 1948 and Congress passed the Wiley-Revercomb Displaced Persons bill allowing 100,000 DPs to come to America, the situation changed again. The camps were essentially empty and changed the Army's attitude to those who remained behind.

At the end of the day, the Army has been praised by some historians and scholars, and reviled by others. Typical are Abraham Hyman who calls the postwar period and the Army's treatment of the Jewish DPs the Army's finest hours. Leonard Dinnerstein, a historian, criticized the Army for being insensitive and unduly harsh.

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[Jeanette Friedman (2nd ed.)]

USHA (Heb. אוּשָׁה).

(1) Town in Lower Galilee mentioned in the annals of Sennacherib (a, 40). An ancient Hebrew seal found there attests to the existence of an Israelite settlement on the site in biblical times; one side reads Elzakar b. Yehoḥil and the other side Shobai b. Elzakar.

The place was of importance in mishnaic and talmudic times. In about 140 C.E., at the end of the period of persecution following the suppression of Bar Kokhba's revolt, the surviving scholars gathered there, reestablished the Sanhedrin (see next entry), and instituted the regulations known as the "Enactments of Usha" (Song R. 2:5, no. 3). For some time, it was the seat of R. Simeon b. Gamaliel; R. Judah ha-Nasi studied there under R. Judah b. Ilai, an inhabitant of the town (Tosef., Meg. 2:8). R. Isaac Nappaḥa owned five courtyards there (Tosef., Er. 7:7). It is the present-day Hūsha, a small ruin. Remains of a splendid building, perhaps a synagogue, were uncovered on the site.

[Michael Avi-Yonah]

(2) Kibbutz in Lower Galilee in the Haifa Bay area, near Kiryat Ata, founded in 1937 by a group of Ha-No'ar ha-Ẓiyyoni originating from Galicia. The kibbutz was based on irrigated field and fodder crops, avocado plantations, citrus groves, and dairy cattle. It operated a factory producing lenses for eyeglasses. In 2002 the population was 354.

[Efraim Orni]

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USHA, SYNOD OF, convention of sages reviving the Sanhedrin held at *Usha at the close of the period of persecution following the Bar Kokhba revolt, i.e., about the middle of the second century C.E.

During the rule of *Antoninus Pius (137–161), the restrictive decrees of Hadrian were abrogated, and in consequence a renewal of Jewish spiritual and communal life became possible. This renewal found its main expression in the convention of sages at Usha, described as follows: "When the persecution ended, our teachers convened at Usha, these being R. Judah, R. Nehemiah, R. Meir, R. Yose, R. Simeon b. Yoḥai, R. Eliezer son of R. Yose ha-Galili, and R. Eliezer b. Jacob. They sent the following message to the elders of Galilee: Let everyone who has learned come and teach and everyone who has not learned let him come and learn – they convened and learned and took all necessary steps" (Song R. 2:5, no. 3). Thus the synod inaugurated all the activities of the Sanhedrin: the teaching and study of Torah as well as legislative and judicial functions referred to by the phrase that there they took "all necessary steps." The scholars who convened at Usha included men like *Meir who had fled abroad, and others who had concealed themselves in the country during the persecutions, like Simeon b. Yoḥai. The designated *nasi*, Rabban *Simeon b. Gamaliel, who was apparently still in hiding because of a pending death sentence against him, is not mentioned. The parallel tradition in the Babylonian Talmud (Ber. 63b) states that the convention took place in *Jabneh and not in Usha, but this does not seem to be correct, either in the light of historical circumstances and the conditions in Judea at that time, or from the context in the Babylonian Talmud itself, according to which R. Judah, who lived in Usha, was the host of the convention.

Together with the Sanhedrin the office of nasi was also revived and Rabban Simeon b. Gamaliel was appointed to this post with R. *Nathan ha-Bavli as *av bet din* and R. Meir as *ḥakham*. It is difficult to determine how the functions of leadership were divided between these three, but clearly the division indicates the growth of the importance of the Sanhedrin against that of the nasi in comparison with the situation existing in the period of Rabban *Gamaliel of Jabneh. It is possible that the limitation of the power of Rabban Simeon

b. Gamaliel resulted from his not having participated at the initial convention of the scholars in Usha. In the course of time, Simeon b. Gamaliel strengthened the status of the nasi once more, penalizing Nathan and Meir for their unsuccessful attempt to unseat him.

The tradition in tractate *Rosh Ha-Shanah* of the ten migrations of the Sanhedrin includes the following stages: "And from Jerusalem to Jabneh, and from Jabneh to Usha, and from Usha [back] to Jabneh, and from Jabneh [back] to Usha, and from Usha to Shefaram" (RH 31b). The problem of the repeated moves between Jabneh and Usha has been the object of considerable study: some scholars believe that the Sanhedrin came to Usha for the first time in the era preceding the Bar Kokhba revolt, partly basing their opinions on the tradition "who are meant by the travelers to Usha? R. Ishmael" (BB 28b); others consider that this source proves that following the convention of Usha in the middle of the second century, an attempt was made to renew the Sanhedrin at Jabneh, which came to grief because Judea lacked a sufficient basis of population, and the Sanhedrin returned to Usha; still others hold that the tradition itself is corrupt or that the wanderings of the Sanhedrin were artificially rounded out to the number ten, particularly as the addition "and from Usha to Jabneh, and from Jabneh to Usha" does not occur in the versions and manuscripts of the Babylonian Talmud (see Dik. Sof.), nor does this addition appear in the parallel tradition in *Genesis Rabbah* (97; Theodor-Albeck, p. 1220). Whatever the truth, however, it is clear that the Sanhedrin of Usha which is of historical significance is the convention of scholars that took place there after the end of the persecutions following the Bar Kokhba revolt.

The *tannaim* of Usha occupied themselves to a great extent with *halakhah*, and the "Usha period" constitutes an important stage in the compilation and codification of the Mishnah. The scholars of Usha applied themselves particularly to the laws of ritual purity and it may be assumed that some of them adopted the principles of the *Ḥasidim, which included eating ordinary food in a state of ritual purity. Despite this, Buechler's view that the concepts of **am ha-areẓ* and **ḥaver* – which were much discussed by the scholars of Usha – came into historical existence in the period of Usha and were confined solely to Galilee cannot be accepted.

There exist several *takkanot* which are called "*takkanot* of Usha" in talmudic literature. A substantial number of them are connected with the laws of the home and family life, one being "that a man must maintain his young children" (TJ, Ket. 4:8, 28d). The urgent need for this *takkanah* becomes evident when it is viewed against the background of the great poverty that prevailed after the Bar Kokhba revolt. Another such *takkanah* states: "It was enacted at Usha that a man must support his son until he is 12 years old: from then onward "יורד עמו לחייו", which apparently means "helps him in his trade." Another historically important *takkanah* was "not to excommunicate an elder" (TJ, MK 3:1, 81d), which may be regarded as extending the rights of scholars, enlarging their independent status, and preventing the possibility of a repetition of such incidents as the excommunication of Eliezer b. Hyrcanus in the time of Rabban Gamaliel of Jabneh.

Some scholars believe that a number of these *takkanot* are of a later date than the synod of Usha. Thus G. Alon thinks there was another meeting of scholars presided over by the *nasi* (apparently Gamaliel b. Judah ha-Nasi), which met only once toward the end of the rule of the Severi dynasty (c. 230 C.E.), and a section of "the *takkanot* of Usha" should be attributed to this synod. Mantel considers that some of them are local *takkanot* of the *bet din* of Usha headed by Judah b. Ḥanina, some of which became generally accepted in the course of time.

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[A'hron Oppenheimer]

USHPIZIN (Aram. אֻשְׁפִּיזִין; from the Lat. *hospes*, "guest"), according to kabbalistic tradition, the mystical seven "guests" – Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Moses, Aaron, Joseph, and David – who visit the *sukkah* during the seven days of Tabernacles (cf. Zohar, 5:103b). According to the Zohar, Joseph comes after Moses and Aaron, but in most Ashkenazi *maḥzorim* and prayer books the order is chronological. The spiritual guest of each day is invited before the meal and the text of this invitation, "Enter, exalted holy guests…," is found in several Ashkenazi and Sephardi prayer books. The custom was adopted by the Ḥasidim and many pamphlets entitled *Seder-Ushpiz*, including liturgy based upon the practices of certain *ẓaddikim* (e.g., the rabbis of Belz, Zanz, etc.), began to be published in the 19th century. Decorating the *sukkah* wall with a plaque which bears an inscription including the names of the seven guests has also become an accepted practice. Moroccan Jews have a special compilation of prayers in honor of the *ushpizin*, called *Ḥamad Elohim*, from which special sections are recited each day of the festival.

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ʿUSIFIYYĀ (**Isfiya**), Druze and Arab village, with municipal council status, on Mount Carmel, 5.5 mi. (9 km.) S.E. of Haifa. The village is spread over an area of about 20 sq. mi. (50 sq. km.). Remnants of a fifth- or sixth-century synagogue with a mosaic floor depicting a seven-branched *menorah, etrogim, lulav, shofar,* grapevines, a peacock, and other birds and bearing the inscription *Shalom al Yisrael* have been found in the village. The antiquities give substance to ʿUsifiyyā's identification with Ḥusifah, mentioned in an ancient *kinah* lamenting the destruction of its Jewish community. Although S. Klein (see bibl.) dates this event to the fourth century C.E., Y. Press assumes that it may be connected with the Byzantine reconquest of the country from the Persians under Heraclius at the beginning of the seventh century. Due to its proximity to Haifa, ʿUsifiyyā, which had about 1,100 inhabitants in 1947, progressed well under Israeli statehood, attaining a population or 4,000 in 1969 and 9,530 in 2002, of whom 75.5% were Druze, 16% Christians and 7.5% Muslims. The village's economy was based on hill farming (vegetables, field crops, fruit orchards, cattle, sheep, etc.) with a tourist industry bolstered by the beautiful surroundings. Together with neighboring *Daliyat al-Karmil, it constituted one of Israel's major Druze centers. In 2003 it was united with the latter as the city of Karmil. In the 1950s a Greek Catholic church was built there.

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[Shlomo Hasson]

USOV (Ger. **Maehrisch-Aussee**; in Jewish sources אויסא) town in N. Moravia, Czech Republic. The first mention of a Jew in Usov was in 1564, and by 1600 Jews were living in nine houses. The community suffered during the Thirty Years' War but recuperated to build a synagogue in 1690. It was one of the 15 communities of the "supreme [northern] district" in Moravia. On the Day of Atonement 1721, a Catholic priest who had profaned the prayers and ceremony was ejected from the synagogue: After complicated legal proceedings, the supreme court in Vienna overruled the lower instances of Brno and Prague and in 1722 ordered the synagogue to be destroyed and prohibited the holding of any public services. The *dayyan* of the community, Abraham Broda Leipniker (1690–1774), a respected merchant, succeeded in obtaining permission to build two prayer houses in 1753 and recorded the proceedings in his *Megillat Sedarim*, to be read yearly on *Simḥat Torah (published in 1895 by Emanuel M. *Baumgarten). At that time, there were 59 heads of families, 35 of them engaged in peddling and five sailors. The community numbered 10 Jewish families in 1657 and 59 in 1753. By the end of the 18th century, 110 Jewish families were permitted to reside there.

In 1830 there were 110 families (656 persons) in Usov, out of 5,200 permitted Jewish families in the whole of Moravia. The community continued to grow until 1848 but declined thereafter, both as a consequence of the right of free movement and of the general decline of the town. In 1890 the Jewish population had declined to about 150, and the community was unified with the growing community of Sumperk (Maehrisch Schoenberg). In 1900 there were 101 Jews. In 1929, there was only one Jewish family left. In 1930 there were 30 Jews. Today there are no Jews in the town, which numbered 1,114 inhabitants in 1961.

One Usov Jew survived the Holocaust. While there was no Jewish community in Usov after World War II, a well-preserved Jewish quarter recalls the Jewish existence in Usov. The synagogue built in 1784, the third one in a row, was renovated after the war and is used as a house of prayer by the Czech Brethren Protestant Church.

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[Oskar K. Rabinowicz / Yeshayahu Jelinek (2nd ed.)]

USQUE, ABRAHAM, Marrano printer. Born in Portugal and known there as Duarte Pinel (Pinhel), Usque fled from the Inquisition shortly after 1543, established himself at Ferrara, and became associated with the press established by the Spanish ex-Marrano, Yom-Tov ben Levi Athias (Jerónimo de Vargas). He followed Athias' plan of publishing Jewish liturgies in the vernacular, as well as other texts intended to facilitate the Marranos' return to Judaism. Usque's name first appears in connection with the famous Bible translation of 1553, the so-called Ferrara Bible. This Bible was published in two forms: one intended for a Jewish audience, bearing a Hebrew date (14 Adar 5313) and a dedication to Doña Gracia *Nasi, and listing the Hebrew names of the printer and publisher (Usque and Athias); the other for the Christian world, dated March 1, 1553, with a dedication to Duke Ercole d'Este of Ferrara and the names of Duarte Pinel and Jerónimo de Vargas. Books published by Usque also include the enigmatic *Menina e Moça*, by Bernardim *Ribeiro, Samuel *Usque's *Consolaçam as tribulaçoens de Israel* (1553), and various works in Hebrew. The fury of the Counter-Reformation gradually halted Usque's printing activities. He published no books in Spanish or Portuguese after 1555 and continued the publication of Hebrew books only to 1558.

Solomon *Usque may be identical with Usque's son and assistant Solomon, but his relationship to Samuel Usque is impossible to determine.

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[Martin A. Cohen]

USQUE, SAMUEL (16th century), Portuguese Marrano. All that is known about Usque comes from his *Consolaçam as tribulaçoens de Israel* ("Consolation for the Tribulations of Israel", Ferrara. 1553; second ed., Amsterdam, 1599). This unusual work reveals that the author was a man of unusually broad culture and of Spanish descent – his family having emigrated from Spain in 1492. He knew many languages, including Hebrew; he was versed in classical literature, in the Bible, and in Jewish and Christian postbiblical literature. There is no evidence that he is to be identified with Solomon *Usque, the poet-playwright, or with Abraham *Usque, who printed the first edition of the *Consolaçam*, or with the Portuguese belletrist, Bernardim *Ribeiro.

Written in limpid Portuguese prose, the *Consolaçam* was dedicated to the great patroness of Jewish art and culture, Doña Gracia *Nasi. Its avowed purpose was to persuade Marrano refugees from Spain and Portugal, and perhaps also those Marranos who were still in those two countries, to return wholeheartedly to Judaism. To this end the author, in a sweeping review of Jewish history, based upon traditional Jewish apologetics, demonstrated that the Jews, despite their centuries of hardship and persecution, had not been abandoned by God; they were rather, he declared, standing on the threshold of the golden messianic age.

The *Consolaçam* takes the form of a typically Renaissance pastoral dialogue between three shepherds, Zicareo, Numeo, and Ycabo – the names being thin disguises for those of the prophets Zechariah (the "Recaller"), Nahum (the "Comforter"), and Jacob, the eponymous hero of the Jewish people, who narrates the history of the Jews in the first person. The three sections of the book, dealing respectively with the eras of the First Temple, the Second Temple and subsequent Jewish history up until Usque's own day, form an integrated work which yields numerous insights into the mind of Usque's generation. Furthermore, the third dialogue contains invaluable accounts and impressions of events which the author experienced personally.

The first edition of the *Consolaçam* was, for the most part, destroyed by the Inquisition shortly after its publication. The second edition, also rare, marks the beginning of Sephardi literature in the Netherlands. The work is regarded as a major contribution to Jewish historiography, and as a classic of Portuguese prose. An English translation by M.A. Cohen appeared in 1965.

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[Martin A. Cohen]

USQUE, SOLOMON (c. 1530–c. 1596), Portuguese poet of Marrano descent; probably born in Portugal, he spent most of his life in Italy and later in Turkey. It is believed that he was the son of Abraham *Usque, who printed the Ferrara Bible. In collaboration with Lazzaro di Graziano Levi, Solomon Usque wrote the earliest known Jewish drama written in the vernacular – a Purim play in Spanish entitled *Esther*, first staged in the Venice ghetto in 1558. Leone *Modena, a nephew of Lazzaro Levi, was responsible for an Italian version of the play early in the 17th century. Usque published a much-admired Spanish translation of the final part of Petrarch's sonnets (Venice, 1567); many copies appearing under the contracted pseudonym of Salusque Lusitano (i.e., Solomon Usque the Portuguese). This edition, which did much to spread Petrarch's fame abroad, was dedicated to Alexander Farnese, duke of Parma. Usque also wrote some Italian verse, including a poem on the Creation entitled *Canzone sull' opera de' sei giorni*; this was included in an anthology compiled by Cristoforo Zabata (Genoa, 1572). Usque was also active in Constantinople, where he is known to have engaged in Hebrew printing in collaboration with Abraham Ashkenazi in 1560–61. In 1595 at the request of the English ambassador, Usque wrote a report on events in Turkey after the death of Sultan Muted III which was closely studied by Queen Elizabeth's ministers in London.

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USSISHKIN, ABRAHAM MENAḤEM MENDEL (1863–1941), Zionist leader, member of Ḥovevei Zion, and the president of the *Jewish National Fund (JNF). Born in Dubrovno in the district of Mogilev, Russia, Ussishkin moved to Moscow with his family in 1871. From 1878 he became an enthusiastic reader of the works of contemporary Hebrew writers, and from then the revival of the Hebrew language became one of his guiding principles. The 1881 pogroms shocked Russian Jewry and led to the emergence of the *Bilu movement. At a meeting of Jewish students at Moscow University, Ussishkin and his friend Jehiel *Tschlenow founded a Society of Pioneers to Ereẓ Israel. In 1882 he entered the Technological Institute in Moscow, where he immediately founded a Jewish students' society. In August 1884 the Benei Zion society, which nurtured many Zionist leaders, was founded in Moscow. Ussishkin was elected to the society's committee and in 1885 was chosen secretary of all the Ḥovevei Zion groups in Moscow. From 1887 on he published reports and articles in *Ha-Meliẓ*. Together with M.L. *Lilienblum, he was elected secretary of the Druzkieniki Conference (1887). A clash took place at the conference between the Orthodox faction of Samuel *Mohilewer and Leon *Pinsker's liberal Ḥovevei Zion faction, but Ussishkin managed to bring about a reconciliation. The practical proposals made by him at the conference were early signs of his Zionist pragmatism. He viewed agricultural settlement in Ereẓ Israel as the essence of the whole.

When *Aḥad Ha-Am founded the *Benei Moshe society in 1889, Ussishkin became one of its active members. In the same year he qualified as a technical engineer at the Technological Institute. In 1890 he participated in the founding meeting of the *Odessa Committee. Ussishkin visited Ereẓ Israel for the first time in 1891 and described his journey in a booklet (written in Russian and later translated into Hebrew) that made a considerable impression. Upon his return from Ereẓ Israel, he settled in Yekaterinoslav, where he remained for 15 years (1891–1906). At first he was active in Hebrew educational work as well as in Zionist propaganda and fund raising; he was instrumental in founding the modernized Hebrew-speaking *ḥeder* (*ḥeder metukkan*) and a Hebrew library, became a member of the board of the publishing house Aḥi'asaf, etc. The publication of Theodor *Herzl's *Der Judenstaat* in 1896 and his meetings with Herzl and Max *Nordau in Paris and in Vienna on the eve of the First Zionist Congress made a deep impression on Ussishkin, despite his reservations regarding a concept of Zionism based exclusively on political activity, to the neglect of settlement and cultural work. He was elected Hebrew secretary of the First Zionist Congress (1897) and took an active part in the debate centered on the formulation of the first, political article of the *Basle Program. He expressed his fear that too explicit a formulation of Zionist aims might rouse the Turkish government against the existing *yishuv.* His opposition to pure political Zionism at the First Congress precluded his election as the leader of Russian Zionism, but at the Second Congress (1898) he was elected to the Zionist General Council and served on it for the rest of his life. When Russia was divided into districts for the purpose of Zionist activities at the Third Congress (1899), he was chosen to head the Yekaterinoslav district, which included all of southern Russia and the Caucasus. Under his direction, this district became one of the most active in Russian Zionism, both in its cultural and in its practical activities.

At the Fifth Congress (1901) Ussishkin delivered the address on the "United Organization," in which there was no room for separate "groups" and "societies," and proposed the establishment of the Anglo-Palestine Company in Ereẓ Israel as a branch of the *Jewish Colonial Trust. On his return from the Congress, he convened a conference of Zionists in the Caucasus, thus introducing Zionist activities into the non-Ashkenazi communities there. In the same year he was a member of a delegation that approached Baron Edmond de *Rothschild protesting the "paternalistic" methods of his officials in Ereẓ Israel. Rothschild rejected the delegation's demands, and when Aḥad Ha-Am insisted that the demands be accepted – even if it meant withdrawal of Rothschild's support of the settlements – Ussishkin's opposition to Aḥad Ha-Am's intransigence saved the situation. In 1902 at the *Minsk Conference of the Russian Zionists, he delivered an address that exerted a great influence on the future development of the Zionist movement. The call to recruit youth for pioneer work in Ereẓ Israel was then heard in the movement for the first time.

After the Kishinev pogrom in April 1903, Ussishkin went to Kishinev and was profoundly shocked. He was moved to call for action, which for him meant primarily the organization of the Jewish population of Ereẓ Israel – the embryo from which the future Jewish state would develop. After he traveled to Vienna and received Herzl's approval for his plan, Ussishkin set out for Ereẓ Israel for the second time and remained there for four months (July–September 1903). Immediately upon his arrival in Jaffa, he published a leaflet on the need to "organize the *Yishuv*," and in August 1903 the Great Assembly (Ha-Keneset ha-Gedolah) of the Jews of Ereẓ Israel was held in Zikhron Ya'akov under his direction. It lasted for three days and aroused great enthusiasm and hopes, but this atmosphere was shattered by the subsequent controversy in the Zionist Movement over the *Uganda Scheme. The only practical outcome of the convention was the founding of the Teachers' Association at a meeting in Zikhron Ya'akov immediately following the Great Assembly (Sept. 28, 1903). Upon his return from these two meetings, Ussishkin was confronted with the news that Herzl had received a proposal from the British government to establish an autonomous Jewish colony in Uganda, East Africa. He bitterly opposed the Uganda Scheme and became one of the leaders of the opposition to Herzl. He was the initiator and the moving spirit behind the *Kharkov Conference (1903), which demanded that Herzl abandon the scheme. At the beginning of 1905, Ussishkin convened a conference of the anti-Uganda Zionists, called Ẓiyyonei Zion, in Vilna. The second conference of this faction, also organized by him, took place in Freiburg three days before the Seventh Congress (July 1905) and was instrumental in influencing the congress to abandon the Uganda Scheme and concentrate wholeheartedly on settlement activities in Ereẓ Israel. During the conflict over the Uganda Scheme, Ussishkin published *Our Program* (at first in Russian and later in Hebrew, German, and English translations), which laid the five-point foundation for "synthetic Zionism": political action, acquisition of land, *aliyah*, settlement, and educational and organizational work among the people. This approach thereafter dominated the Zionist Movement. In this pamphlet, he spoke for the first time of farms and of settlements in which Jewish workers would cultivate the land acquired by the JNF "with their own hands, without help from hired laborers." This was the earliest form of the idea of the moshav ovedim. *Our Program* became the platform of practical Zionism, which gave rise to the Second Aliyah.

While engaged in the great debate over the Uganda Scheme, Ussishkin was fighting the tide of assimilation prompted by the first Russian Revolution (1904–05). He struggled to promote the Zionist Movement in general and the Hebrew language in particular. In 1906 he was elected head of the Odessa Committee and retained this post until the committee itself was abolished by the Soviet regime (1919). Under his leadership, the committee supported the establishment of the settlements Ein Gannim, Be'er Ya'akov, and Naḥalat Yehudah. Ussishkin also proposed support for the training farm at *Kinneret and for all the existing educational and cultural institutions in the young *yishuv.*

During the revolution of the Young Turks in 1908, Ussishkin went to Constantinople in an attempt to promote the Zionist cause with the help of influential Sephardi Jews. In 1913, after his third visit to Ereẓ Israel, he published in a pamphlet his "general survey" (translated into Hebrew under the title *Massa Shelishi le-Ereẓ Yisrael*), which discussed the various problems of the *yishuv.* In the winter of 1912, at the eighth conference of Ḥovevei Zion, he spoke of the need for a Hebrew university and put through a resolution in the committee to allocate the sum of 50,000 gold francs for the purpose of acquiring land on Mount Scopus. At the 11th Zionist Congress in Vienna (1913), he reported together with Chaim *Weizmann on the idea of the Hebrew University. During World War I, in February 1915, the Copenhagen office of the Zionist Organization was established, and a secret Zionist conference, attended by delegates from all the warring countries, was held in that city. Despite the danger involved (for the Czarist government regarded every contact with enemy subjects as an act of treason), Ussishkin attended the conference. Upon his return to Odessa, he was informed that there was a deportation order against him and was obliged to flee to Moscow, where he remained until the situation in Russia had changed. During the days of the February Revolution (1917), he waged a bitter struggle against the Yiddishists, who wished to eliminate Hebrew as the recognized national language of the Jewish people, and against all those who thought that the granting of equal rights to Russian Jews had made Zionism obsolete.

Ussishkin organized a mass demonstration in Odessa to celebrate the *Balfour Declaration that was attended by 200,000 people, Jews and non-Jews alike. At the invitation of Weizmann and Nahum *Sokolow, he attended the Paris Peace Conference, and on Feb. 27, 1919, he stood before the assembled representatives of the nations of the world as the representative of the Jewish people and addressed them in Hebrew.

In November 1919 Ussishkin settled in Palestine and was the head of the *Zionist Commission. For more than three years (1919–23) he guided the *yishuv* in its first and difficult steps toward the materialization of the national home. He was instrumental in organizing the Hebrew school network in Palestine and in establishing the settlement Kiryat Anavim near Jerusalem. In the spring of 1921 he left for the United States with Albert *Einstein to promote the fund-raising campaign for *Keren Hayesod. At the 13th Congress in Karlsbad (August 1923), Ussishkin's election as chairman of the Zionist General Council was prevented by his disagreement with Weizmann's moderate policy toward the Mandatory regime in Palestine. However, he was chosen to head the JNF and retained this position for nearly 20 years (1923–41). He devoted himself completely to the idea of acquiring land as the property of the nation, making trips to Europe (1924) and Canada (1927) to raise funds. Due to his tireless efforts, large tracts of land in the Jezreel Valley (1921), Ḥefer Plain (1927), Haifa Bay area (1928), Beth-Shean (1930), and other parts of the country were purchased. He increased the landed property of the JNF from 22,000 to 561,000 dunam and its income from £70,000 to £600,000.

Ussishkin played an important role in the establishment of the Hebrew University and was among those who officially inaugurated it on April 1, 1925. He was elected to both the Board of Trustees and the Executive Committee of the university and took an active interest in its affairs until he died. He was elected chairman of the Zionist General Council at the 19th Congress in 1935. When the Arab riots broke out in Palestine in 1936 and the Royal Commission (the Peel Commission) proposed the partition of the country, he fought against the proposal at the 20th Congress in Zurich (August 1937) and participated in the Round Table Conference in London in 1939. He fought against the British White Paper of May 1939 that forbade Jews to purchase land in most areas of the country.

Ussishkin's activities were widely admired. In 1939, when the JNF purchased land in Upper Galilee, north of the Ḥuleh Valley, it was decided to found a series of settlements there called Meẓudot Ussishkin ("Ussishkin Forts") – moshavei ovedim and kevuẓot in which all sections of the nation and members of all Zionist parties would participate. For 60 years no Zionist or Jewish national activity took place in which he had not participated and on which he had not left his own unique stamp. Ussishkin's writings have been collected in two volumes (which also include appreciations): *Sefer Ussishkin* (1933) and *Devarim Aḥaronim* (1946).

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[Joseph Gedaliah Klausner]

USSISHKIN, DAVID (1935–), Israeli archaeologist, expert on the Iron Age of the Land of Israel. Born in Jerusalem, Ussishkin studied archaeology at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem (1955–66) after completing his army service. In 1961 he obtained his M.A. with distinction, writing a thesis on Macalister's excavations at Gezer. Ussishkin received his Ph.D. in 1966 and his thesis "The Neo-Hittite Monuments, Their Dating and Style," was written under the supervision of Y. Yadin. From 1966 Ussishkin taught archaeology at Tel Aviv University, and from 1996 was the incumbent of the Austria Chair in Archaeology of the Land of Israel in the Biblical Period at the Institute of Archaeology. Ussishkin's excavation experience spans close to 50 years, with his first experience in the field as a staff member on the Chalcolithic Beersheba digs (1956–65); Hazor (1958); Azor (1958); Kültepe, Turkey (1959); Megiddo (1960, 1965); Judean Desert, Cave of Letters (1960–61); En Gedi (1961–62); Masada (1964–65). His own directorial experience began with the work at Tel Eton and Beth Yerah (1967–68) and the Silwan Village survey (1968–71) and continued with the major project conducted at Tel Lachish between 1973 and 1994, which has been fully published. Following smaller excavations conducted at Bethar (1984) and at Tel Jezreel (1990–1996), Ussishkin was a co-director of the renewed excavations at Tel Megiddo from 1992. Ussishkin took on many different administrative duties over the years, including the directorship of the Institute of Archaeology at Tel Aviv (1980–84), serving also as a member of various councils (the Israel Exploration Society, the Israel Archaeological Council) and as editor of the journal *Tel Aviv* (1975–2004). Ussishkin was a prolific writer of scientific papers and research articles (more than 100). His books include *The Conquest of Lachish by Sennacherib* (1983) and *The Village of Silwan – The Necropolis from the Period of the Judean Kingdom* (1993), and he is the main author and editor of the five-volume final report on the Lachish excavations (2004).

[Shimon Gibson (2nd ed.)]

USTEK (Czech **Úštěk;** Ger. **Auscha**), small town in N. Bohemia, Czech Republic. The local lord received permission in 1327 to allow Jews to settle on his domains, but documentary evidence for the presence of Jews dates only from the 16th century, when the Serymas were lords of the town. There were ten Jewish families in 1570. After the Thirty Years' War, Ustek became a possession of the Jesuit order. The number of Jewish families was limited to eight. In 1794 a synagogue was built (rebuilt in Reform style in 1851). There were 42 Jews (eight families) in the town in 1745, 60 in 1830, 172 in 1880, 108 in 1910, and only 54 in 1930. At the turn of the century, 12 Jewish firms dealt in the export of hops. At the time of the Sudeten crisis (September 1938) the Jews left Ustek; the synagogue was destroyed on Nov. 10, 1938. After World War II the community was not reestablished.

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[Jan Herman]

USTI NAD LABEM (Czech **Ústí nad Labem**; Ger. **Aussig**), town in N. Bohemia, Czech Republic. Isolated Jewish families may have settled in the town in the 16th century, but later the German burghers did not permit Jews to live there. Jews returned to the town after 1848. In 1880 there were 30 Jewish families in Usti; 95 families in 1863; and 985 persons in 1930. The first prayer room was established in 1863 and *Kultusgemeinde* in 1866. A formal congregation was established in 1869 which, in 1888, hired its first rabbi.

In the years before World War II, Usti was one of the centers of the Nazi Party (Sudetendeutsche Partei), and Jews were subjected to violence. In the summer and fall of 1938, most Jews left Usti for Prague and other localities. In November 1938, after the Munich agreement, the few Jews that remained in Usti were sent to extermination camps. In 1945–48, most of the German inhabitants were expelled to Germany. After the Soviet annexation of Carpatho-Rus, local Jews opted for Czechoslovakia; many of them settled in the depopulated Suden region. A new Jewish congregation was established in Usti. In 1948 it totaled 800. The congregation continued to exist in the early 21st century.

Usti is the native town of artist Ernst Neuschul-Norland (1895–1968), who painted the portrait of the first Czechoslovak president. Another Usti native, Ignatz Petschek, owned the north Bohemian lignite mines.

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[Yeshayahu Jelinek (2nd ed.)]

USURY.

Biblical Law

SOURCES. "If thou lend money to any of My people, even to the poor with thee, thou shalt not be to him as a creditor (*nosheh*), neither shall ye lay upon him interest" (Ex. 22:24). "And if thy brother be waxen poor and his means fail with thee… Take no interest of him or increase; but fear thy God; that thy brother may live with thee. Thou shalt not give him thy money upon interest, nor give him thy victuals for increase" (Lev. 25:35–37). "Thou shalt not lend upon interest to thy brother: interest of money, interest of victuals, interest of anything that is lent upon interest. Unto a foreigner thou mayest lend upon interest; but unto thy brother thou shalt not lend upon interest; that the Lord thy God may bless thee in all that thou puttest thy hand unto…" (Deut. 23:20–21). The prohibition on taking interest in Exodus and Leviticus seems to be confined to the poor in straits and not to extend to moneylending in the normal course of business, but the deuteronomic prohibition clearly applies to all moneylending, excluding only business dealings with foreigners.

DEFINITION. The biblical term for interest is *neshekh* (Ex. 22:24; Deut. 23:20), but in the levitical text it occurs alongside *tarbit* or *marbit* (25:36–37). In the Jewish Publication Society translation (1962) *neshekh* is rendered as "advance interest" and *tarbit* or *marbit* as "accrued interest" – the one being deducted in advance, the other being added at the time of repayment. This is only one of many interpretations that were made of the terms *neshekh* and *tarbit* from the time of the Mishnah (BM 5:1) onward and by no means the best one. One commentator regards *neshekh* as accumulating interest and *tarbit* as a fixed sum of interest that never increases (Ramban to Lev. 25:36). The most authoritative view is that of Rava, that there is no difference in meaning between *neshekh* and *tarbit* (BM 60b); but while Rava maintains that the Torah used two synonyms in order to make the prohibition of interest a twofold one (*ibid.*), the better explanation etymologically would be that *neshekh*, meaning bite, was the term used for the exaction of interest from the point of view of the debtor, and *tarbit* or *marbit*, meaning increase, was the term used for the recovery of interest by the creditor (Solomon Luntschitz, *Keli Yakar*, Be-Ḥukkotai, Lev. 25:36).

The prohibition on interest is not a prohibition on usury in the modern sense of the term, that is, excessive interest, but of all, even minimal, interest. There is no difference in law between various rates of interest, as all interest is prohibited.

LEGAL CHARACTER OF PROHIBITION. It has been said that the prohibition on interest rests on two grounds: firstly, that the prosperous ought to help the indigent, if not by gifts, then at least by free loans; and secondly, that interest (or excessive interest) was seen to lie at the root of social ruin and was therefore to be outlawed in toto. Both these considerations would apply only internally: there could be no obligation to help foreigners, nor was public policy concerned with their wellbeing. Moreover, moneylending transactions with foreigners were motivated solely by the legitimate desire to make profits, while the internal economy was eminently agrarian and had no money markets of any importance. It follows from the charitable nature of the prohibition on interest that its violation was not regarded as a criminal offense to which any penal sanctions attached, but rather as a moral transgression; in other words, while taking interest would not entail any punishment, granting free loans and refraining from taking interest would lead to God's rewards and blessings (Deut. 23:21 and Ramban thereto). It was only in the prophecies of Ezekiel that usury came to be identified with the gravest of crimes: it is mentioned in the context of larceny, adultery, homicide, and other such "abominations" that are worthy of death (18:11–13). The threat of death for usury was later interpreted as the divine sanction against irrecoverable and illegitimate self-enrichment (BM 61b). "He that augmenteth his substance by interest and increase" is listed among the "evil men" (Prov. 28:8); while "He that putteth not out his money on interest" is among the upright and righteous (Ps. 15:5).

IMPLEMENTATION. The prohibition on taking interest does not appear to have been generally observed in biblical times. The creditor (*nosheh*), far from giving free loans, is often described as exacting and implacable (cf. I Sam. 22:2; II Kings 4:1; Isa. 50:1; et al.); and the prophet decries those who have "taken interest and increase" and forgotten God (Ezek. 22:12). Nehemiah had to rebuke the noble and the rich for exacting interest, "every one to his brother" (Neh. 5:7); and he had formally and solemnly to adjure them to abstain from levying execution (12–13). From the *Elephantine papyri it appears that among the Jews in Egypt in the fifth century B.C.E. it was a matter of course that interest would be charged on loans: not only did they disregard the biblical injunctions as far as the taking of interest was concerned, but they made no recourse to any legal fictions in order to evade the prohibition (R. Yaron, *Mishpat shel Mismekhei Yev* (1961), 136).

Talmudic Law

EXTENSION OF PROHIBITION. It is not only the creditor who takes interest who is violating the biblical prohibition, but also the debtor who agrees to pay interest, the guarantor who guarantees the debt that bears interest, the witnesses who attest the creation of an interest-bearing debt, and even the scribe who writes out the deed (BM 5:11; BM 75b; Yad, Malveh 4:2). This is one of the very rare cases in which accessories to the offense are held responsible (see *Penal Law). "Although the creditor and debtor transgress these biblical prohibitions, there is no flogging for it, as the interest must be repaid" (Yad, Malveh 4:3). The *Ḥinnukh* (no. 74) says further that none of the accessories is flogged "for since even the creditor is not flogged… it would not be right that those who are mere accessories should be liable for flogging."

The most far-reaching extensions of the prohibition relate, however, to the nature of the "interest" prohibited. Interest is no longer only the lending of four dinars for five, or of one bushel of wheat for two (BM 5:1), but is extended to all benefits that smack of interest or might look like it. Thus, the borrower may not let the lender live on his premises without payment of rent or at a reduced rent (BM 5:2), and if he had resided there without paying rent before borrowing the money, he must now be charged rent (BM 64b). The prohibition of lending one bushel of wheat for two was also extended to the lending of one bushel of wheat for one, since it was possible that the value of the wheat might increase between the date of the loan and the date of the return, and such increase in value would amount to prohibited interest (BM 5:9; TJ, BM 5:7); but the rule does not apply where seeds are lent for sowing and not for consumption (BM 5:8), and where the borrower possesses even the smallest quantity of the same species, he may borrow any quantity (BM 75a; Yad, Malveh 10:1–5). Where two men agree to do work for each other in turn, they may agree only on the same kind of work for each, as otherwise the work of one might be more valuable than that of the other and thus amount to prohibited interest (BM 5:10; Yad, Malveh 7:11). Gifts that one man may send to another in view of a forthcoming request for a loan, or in gratitude for a loan granted and returned, fall within the prohibition on interest – as are also "words," conveying to the lender, for instance, any valuable information (BM 5:10), or even greetings, where they would not otherwise have been exchanged (BM 75b; Tosef., BM 6:17). A mortgagee, even if he is in possession of the mortgaged property, is not allowed to take its produce; if he has taken it, he must either return it or set it off against the capital debt (BM 67a–b; Yad, Malveh 6:1–8; see also *Lien; *Pledge).

Interest in the guise of *sale was also prohibited. Fruit and other agricultural produce may not be sold unless and until its market price is established (BM 5:7), for otherwise the purchaser might, by paying in advance a price below the eventual market value, receive interest on his money; such advance purchases amounted in effect to financing the farmers, and were thus in the nature of loans rather than sales. But there is nothing to prevent the farmer from selling below the market value, once that value has been established: this would no longer be a disguised loan but a genuine if ill-advised sale (BM 63b; Yad, Malveh 9:1), subject always to the seller's remedies for **ona'ah* (BM 4:4). Sales of products without current market values would be recognized as such, and not be invalidated as disguised loans, only where the goods sold were actually in the hands of the seller at the time of the sale (Tosef., BM 6:2–5), or, where they had to be processed or manufactured, were almost completed at the time of the sale (BM 74a; Yad, Malveh 9:2).

Any payment is prohibited interest that compensates a party to any transaction for money being left, for any length of time, in the hands of the other party, although it should, according to law or custom, have already been paid over (BM 63b). Thus, as rent is legally due only at the end of the period of lease, a discount may be given for rent paid in advance (see *Lease and Hire); but as the purchase price for goods or land sold is payable at the time of the sale, any price increase for later payment would amount to prohibited interest (BM 5:2; BM 65a; Yad, Malveh 8:1).

A further notable extension of the prohibition on interest relates to contracts of *partnership. An arrangement by which one partner finances a business and the other manages it, and losses are borne by the managing partner only while the profits are shared between them is illegal, for it comes within the prohibition on interest (BM 70a; BM 5:6; Yad, Malveh 8:12). Where the financing partner bears or shares the losses, such an arrangement is valid only if the managing partner is being paid a salary for his work instead of, or in addition to, a share in the profits (BM 5:4; Yad, Malveh 5:9).

All these talmudic extensions of the prohibitions on interest are known as *avak ribbit*, i.e., the dust of interest, as distinguished from *ribbit keẓuẓah*, i.e., interest proper in an amount or at a rate agreed upon between lender and borrower (BM 61b, 67a, et al.). The difference in law between *avak ribbit* and *ribbit keẓuẓah* is that the latter, if it has been paid by the borrower to the lender, is recoverable from the lender, while the former, once paid, is not recoverable, though a contract tainted with the dust of interest will not be enforced (BM 61b; Yad, Malveh 4:6; Sh. Ar., YD 161:1–2; see also *Contract).

EVASION OF PROHIBITION. It has been said that the evasion of the prohibitions on interest reflects the conflict between law and life (Globus, see bibl., p. 39). It is remarkable how the talmudic jurists extended the prohibition on interest so as to cover, and invalidate, transactions far removed from the loans to which the biblical prohibition had attached, and at the same time sought ways and means to validate transactions clearly or conceivably falling within that prohibition. This phenomenon can only be explained by the change of economic conditions: it was in the amoraic period in Babylonia that the prohibitory laws against interest proved to be no longer compatible with the economic needs of the community; and ever since the necessity of finding legal subterfuges to evade those laws has persisted. The prohibition of price increase for payment that is made after a time lapse was practically abolished by the provision that any price may be agreed upon and recovered so long as the increase involved is not expressly but only tacitly stipulated (BM 65a; YD 173:1). The mishnaic rule that a managing partner must be paid a salary in order to validate the partnership agreement was set at nought in practice by the provision that such a salary need be nominal only (BM 68b). Profit-sharing partnerships were validated by regarding the investment of the financing partner as half loan and half deposit. While the borrower is responsible for the loan, the bailee is not responsible for the loss of the deposit; thus, the financing partner (as bailor) will also bear his share in the losses, and the partnership is legal (BM 104b). Even where the financing partner's share in the profits is redeemed in advance by a down payment, the agreement is upheld, provided that the business could reasonably be expected to be profitable (TJ, BM 5:8); and, later, deeds were formulated in which a pre-estimate of the expected profits was stipulated in advance as a fixed sum (BM 68a).

A farmer who had received a loan was allowed to make a formal conveyance of his lands (or part of them) to his creditor and still remain on his lands as his creditor's tenant; the creditor would be entitled to the produce of the land, not as interest on the loan but as income from his property (BM 68a). One jurist even held that it was permissible to let money on hire, like chattels, against payment of rent, as distinguished from giving a loan against payment of interest (BM 69b). A vendor may sell goods on credit at a price of 100 units payable at a future date, and immediately repurchase the goods at the price of 90 units payable cash down: each of the two contracts of sale would be valid (BM 62b).

Another form of evasion was to lend money on interest to a non-Jew, in order that the non-Jew might relend the money to the intended Jewish debtor; both lending transactions are valid (BM 61b).

Some of these forms of evasion, though practiced in talmudic times, have not become the **halakhah* (BM 68a per Rava; Yad, Malveh 5:8; 5:16; 6:4–5); others, though recognized as legally valid and feasible, were deprecated as reprehensible and forbidden (BM 61b–62b; Yad, Malveh 5:15) because of the stratagem involved in the device (*ha'aramah*).

SANCTIONS. Originally, courts appear to have been empowered to fine the creditor for taking interest by refraining from enforcing even his claim for the repayment of the capital (Tosef., BM 5:22), but the rule evolved that taking interest did not affect the creditor's enforceable right to have his capital debt repaid (BM 72a; Yad, Malveh 4:6). Where a bill, however, includes both capital and interest without differentiating between them, the bill is not enforceable (YD 161:11; Sh. Ar., ḤM 52:1), and "whoever finds a bill which includes interest, shall tear it up" (Tosef., BM 5:23; see also *Contract). Moneylenders who take interest are disqualified as *witnesses and are not administered oaths (Sanh. 3:3), and even the borrower who pays interest is disqualified (Sanh. 25a). In their moral turpitude, moneylenders who take interest are likened to apostates who deny God (Tosef., BM 6:17) and to shedders of blood (BM 61b); and they have no share in the world to come (Mekh. Sb-Y 22:24). They are doomed to lose all their property and go bankrupt (BM 71a; Sh. Ar., YD 160:2).

LEGALITY OF INTEREST. While biblical law allowed the taking of interest from foreigners, excluding alien residents (Lev. 25:35), talmudic law extended the exemption: "One may borrow from them [foreigners] and lend them on interest; similarly in the case of an alien resident" (BM 5:6, 70b–71a). However lawful interest transactions with foreigners were, they were looked upon with disapproval: some jurists held that they were permissible only when no other means of subsistence was available (BM 70b); others would allow them only to persons learned in the law, as the uneducated might fall into the error of believing that interest is permissible in general (BM 71a). The psalmist's praise of the man who would not lend his money on interest (Ps. 15:5) was interpreted to apply to the man who would not take interest from a foreigner (Mak. 24a).

Post-Talmudic Law

TRANSACTIONS AMONG JEWS. The talmudic evasions of the prohibition against interest served as precedents for the legalization of transactions involving interest. Thus it was deduced from the evasions reported in the Talmud that it would be permissible for a lender to lend 100 units to a businessman for him to use in his business; when it had increased to 200, the lender would be entitled to the 200, provided that he had paid the borrower some salary in consideration of his work (*Piskei ha-Rosh* BM 5:23; *Mordekhai* BM 319). Rashi is reported to have ruled that you may send your friend to take a loan on interest from another for you, or you may send your friend to give your money on interest to another; for interest is prohibited only as between lender and borrower, but not as between their respective agents. The general rule that a man's agent is like himself (see *Agency) would not apply here, as the taking of interest is a criminal offense, and in criminal matters no man can be made responsible for the deed of another (see *Penal Law; *Mordekhai* BM 338).

In time, a standard form of legalization of interest was established, known as *hetter iskah*, meaning the permission to form a partnership. A deed, known as *shetar iskah*, was drawn up and attested by two witnesses, stipulating that the lender would supply a certain sum of money to the borrower for a joint venture; the borrower alone would manage the business and he would guarantee the lender's investment against all loss; he would also guarantee to the lender a fixed amount of minimum profit. The deed would also contain a stipulation that the borrower would be paid a nominal sum as a salary, as well as an agreement on the part of the lender to share the losses. In order to render this loss-sharing agreement nugatory, provision would normally be made for such loss to be proved by particular, mostly unobtainable, evidence (*Naḥalat Shivah*, no. 40; cf. *Terumat ha-Deshen*, Resp. no. 302). The amount of the capital loan plus the guaranteed minimum profit would be recoverable on the deed at the stipulated time it matured.

In the course of the centuries this form of legalizing interest has become so well established that today all interest transactions are freely carried out, even in compliance with Jewish law, by simply adding to the note or contract concerned the words *al-pi hetter iskah.* The prohibition on interest has lost all practical significance in business transactions, and is now relegated to the realm of friendly and charitable loans where, indeed, it had originated.

TRANSACTIONS WITH NON-JEWS. In 1179 the Church decreed that the taking of interest was forbidden by Scripture as well as by the laws of nature, and that all Christian usurers would be liable to excommunication. As canon law did not apply to Jews, this decree did not prevent them from lending money on interest, and moneylending soon became a typically Jewish business. The Jews were practically forced into it by the severe restrictions placed upon them in the pursuit of any other trade or profession in most countries of Europe. From the point of view of Jewish law, the taking of interest from non-Jews was permitted; and the talmudic restriction that it should not be done unless there were no other means of subsistence was duly held to be complied with: "If we nowadays allow interest to be taken from non-Jews, it is because there is no end to the yoke and the burden king and ministers impose on us, and everything we take is the minimum for our subsistence, and anyhow we are condemned to live in the midst of the nations and cannot earn our living in any other manner except by money dealings with them; therefore the taking of interest is not to be prohibited" (Tos. to BM 70b s.v. *tashikh*). With the renewed change in circumstances, the prohibition on taking interest would apply to Jews and non-Jews alike (YD 159:1).

For nonlegal aspects see also *Moneylending.

[Haim Hermann Cohn]

The Rabbinical Period

The history of the prohibition of usury, in the sense of taking interest on loans, during the rabbinical period is the history of an ideal succumbing to the dictates of reality. The talmudic prohibition on taking interest, to which there was a plethora of lenient exceptions, fell into almost total desuetude as a result of socioeconomic circumstances. The trend toward erosion of this prohibition was identical in all of the Jewish Diasporas, although the means used to limit or evade it varied.

Many halakhic decisors permitted the charging of interest pursuant to judicial decision, insofar as it did not involve a credit transaction (Resp. *Sho'el u-Meishiv Tanina*, vol. 4 no. 123). The charging of interest as an arrears fine was also permitted by many authorities, even though they were aware that this was a means of circumventing the prohibition (Resp. Ribash 335; *Haggahot Mordechai* BM, no. 454). The authorities were also lenient regarding the prohibition of interest with regard to charitable and educational institutions, both as borrowers and as lenders (Resp. *Ha-Maharit*, YD, 45).

The halakhic sages also needed to deal with new kinds of financing arrangements resulting from economic developments. Thus, for example, the first maritime insurance contracts, which were a mixture of financing the shipment and insuring it, in consideration for a certain percentage of the value of the merchandise, was legitimized (Resp. Radbaz, Pt. 6, 2290). The granting of credit through the sale of promissory notes at a discount even before the time of repayment was permitted, notwithstanding the clear element of interest in such transactions (Sh. Ar., YD, 173:4).

The transition from consumer-oriented credit to business credit, that produced income for the borrower, and the finding of ways to permit interest-bearing loans led to the creation of general financial doctrines intended to protect the lender from a borrower who attempted to evade repayment of the loan under the pretext that he does not wish to transgress the proscription against interest. Rabbinical law provided that, in any transaction that may be interpreted as legal, even if the claim is far-fetched, there is an irrefutable presumption that the transaction was indeed carried out legally. This is consistent with the talmudic expression that "a person does not eat forbidden food and leave permitted food untouched" (Responsa Maharam 2: 80; Tosafot at Gittin 37b, s.v. *la shavik heteira*).

Moreover, it frequently occurs that merchants and businessmen may take interest-bearing loan from others on the basis of a factual presentation that enabled such a loan. After trading with the money, when the time comes for repayment of the loan, the borrower may become overly righteous and deny the original presentation of facts by claiming that he does not want to transgress the prohibition of interest.

The halakhic sages were morally outraged by such an argument and recognized that accepting such an argument would close the door upon potential borrowers in the future. The solution they found was that, at the time of the litigation between borrower and the lender, the borrower was not allowed to claim that at the time of the transaction he was a "transgressor." The borrower would be barred from raising a factual claim, even if it might be correct, if it conflicted with the facts presented at the time the transaction was entered into and of its result would be the invalidation of the transaction and his exemption from paying interest. This doctrine is similar in its mechanisms and results to the English equitable doctrine of estoppel that developed several hundred years later.

This doctrine was given a halakhic basis through the "civil" application of the well-known talmudic rule that "no man may call himself a wrongdoer." This rule was originally used in criminal law and precluded conviction of a person on the basis of self-incrimination. The transference of this rule to the area of civil law leads to obligating the defendant to repay on the basis of the irrefutable presumption that the borrower, who was a party to the transaction, did so with permission and not as a transgressor (Resp. Rosh, Rule 108,12:32; Sh. Ar., YD 177, and *Taz* and *Shakh* ad loc.; Resp. *Iggerot Moshe*, YD 66; ibid., ḤM 22).

Linked Loans

The steep inflation that has become a relatively common economic phenomenon has given rise to a new financial instrument: loans whose values are linked to the inflation index. This financial instrument is intended to protect the lender from a decrease in the value of his loan in terms of its buying power. In a linked loan, the borrower undertakes to repay the amount of the loan linked to the value of a foreign currency, to the cost of living index, or to the building price index, as agreed between the parties. The issue of linked loans is problematic vis-à-vis the prohibition on interest and remains complicated and convoluted.

The central problem regarding this context is the tension existing in defining the meaning of money: should it be defined in nominal terms, or should it be defined in real terms (i.e., its real value)? During a period of inflation, the borrower will insist on repaying the loan according to the specified, nominal amount of the loan, while the lender will argue that what is of importance is not the nominal value of the loan, but rather its actual value, that is, the purchasing power of the money in the marketplace of goods and services. It is clear that, if the nominal value is the criterion, any nominal addition will be considered as prohibited interest.

The governing principle in the talmudic *halakhah* was that of nominalism. An extreme expression of this principle is the prohibition of loaning (*seah be-seah*) "a bushel for a bushel [of grain]" (Mishnah, BM 5:9).The Mishnah prohibits loaning a bushel of grain in return for the future payment of the same amount, even if the lender received no additional payment. The rationale of this rule is that the criterion for defining "addition" is exclusively monetary. In as much as the value of the *se'ah* to be returned on the date of payment may exceed its value at the date of the loan, the result is that the lender receives a prohibited addition, which is defined as interest, even though in real terms, the lender did not receive more than the same *se'ah*. The basis of this prohibition is the sharp distinction drawn between "*tebea*" (currency) and "*pera*" (products and services) in which the latter is defined as the entirety of goods, merchandise, and services that are assessed in monetary terms. Currency, on the other hand, is regarded as an absolute and stable entity of unchanged value, while only the "fruits" become more or less costly. In practice, the prohibition became eroded and emptied of all content. The *amora* R. Isaac ruled that if a borrower had a *se'ah* "he may borrow against an unlimited amount of bushels" (BM 75a), while at a later time a legal fiction was created stating that there is no person who does not own at least one bushel (Tur, *Beit Yosef*, YD 162). Paradoxically, Jewish law in the Middle Ages relied on the fiction of "bushel for bushel (*se'ah be-se'ah*)" as a central instrument for permitting linked loans. It was done in a manner that circumvented the prohibition of *se'ah be-se'ah*: The nominal subject of the loan was bushels or gold, and this form of loan was permitted on the basis of a legal fiction that any borrower owned at least a minimal amount of grain or gold, and on this basis he could borrow a large amount of the same product, when, and despite that fact that the loan was actually a monetarily linked loan (*Bet Yosef*, Tur, YD 172; Resp. Ribash no.19). At the same time, loans that were formally referred to as linked loans continued to be prohibited.

Talmudic *halakhah* based on the formal, nominalistic doctrine based on the "bushel for bushel" prohibition was confronted by the realistic approach to monetary changes initiated by the government, as opposed to market based currency fluctuations. Jewish law distinguished between price rises as a result of market forces and price rises as a result of government-initiated reduction of the value of currency. Regarding the devaluation or revaluation of the currency itself, which had an immediate effect on the price of goods and services, Rav Ashi ruled that the question of whether or not the lender received an additional sum would be answered not on the basis of the nominal test, but rather through a comparative examination of the purchasing power at the time of the loan and at the time of repayment (BM 94b; *Sefer ha-Terumot*, [1586], Pt. 8:3). This conservative trend, of distinguishing between currency fluctuations resulting from governmental initiatives as distinct from changes in the actual buying power of money due to *existing market forces*, persists even today. While the *posekim* require valuation of the debt in the event of changes in the value of the currency initiated by the government, they forbid such valuation as usurious if the change is the product of market factors. One of the leading *posekim* of the 20th century, Rabbi Karelitz, was well aware that the value of money – like that of any other merchandise – rises and falls in relation to the quantity available, but nevertheless adhered to the original talmudic law according to which money is an absolute value to which the concepts of expensive and cheap do not apply (*Hazon Ish*, YD 104b). Rabbi Moshe Feinstein, who uses a realistic criterion when it comes to the obligation to tithe money from inflationary profits, also prohibits linked loans (Resp. *Iggerot Moshe*, YD, Pt. 2:104). This doctrine reflects the accepted approach taken by contemporary rabbinical authorities and of rabbinical court rulings in Israel (Responsa *Yaskil Avdi*, Pt. 5, YD, sec. 18; *Berit Yehudah* 20:20). Nevertheless, the high rate of steep inflation in Israel in the 1970s led to movement in a more realistic direction (thus Rabbi Goren in PDR 11:235).

Hetter Iskah

Global economic development has changed the general function of credit, from being a means of assisting the poor to serving primarily as a business tool. This change in the nature of credit has led halakhic scholars to seek moral justifications for circumventing the prohibition of interest. From the beginning of the period of the *aḥaronim* (ca. 15th century) until today, the accepted means for legitimizing the free flow of interest bearing credit has been the *hetter iskah*. The basic idea underlying this financial tool is the distinction drawn by the *halakhah* between a loan and a deposit.

A loan is defined in *halakhah* as a transfer of ownership from the lender to the borrower against the borrower's commitment to return assets similar to those borrowed upon a particular date. A deposit, by contrast, is defined in *halakhah* as transfer of possession without transfer of ownership.

The promulgation of the *hetter iskah* by the Sages during the talmudic period was not necessarily to avoid the prohibition of interest. The Sages intended to create a uniform model for partnership of capital and labor (whether for manufacture, trade, or enterprise). The legal structure of the *iskah* is that half of the money invested is considered as a deposit, over which the one "giving" continues to be the owner, while the other half of the sum is treated as a loan, over which the one "engaged" in business (i.e., the borrower) is considered the owner. He is the sole party to absorb losses from that half and he is the only one entitled to any revenue from it. The practical result is a division of both opportunities for profit and of risk between the owner of the capital, on the one hand, and the entrepreneur, manufacturer or merchant, on the other hand. In order to avoid transgressing the prohibition of interest, talmudic *halakhah* provided that the owner of the capital should pay wages, even if only a symbolic sum, to the one receiving the capital for his handling of that part of the capital that is considered as a pledge.

The first *hetter iskah* document is attributed to Rabbi Menachem Mendel of Cracow, known as the Maharam (*Naḥalat Shiva,* 40), at the end of the 16th century. The *hetter* received the halakhic approval of the sages of Ashkenaz and even attained legislative status (*Kuntres ha-Ribbit* by the author of *Me'irat Einayim,* and the decision of the Council of the Four Lands at the Kremnitz fair in 1607). This *hetter* became popular and many of the loan agreements incorporated this classic formulation, which was accepted by all of the halakhic decisors of Ashkenaz, by way of reference – that is, that a provision was made that all transactions between parties be in accordance with the *hetter iskah* as promulgated by the Maharam (Rabbi Jacob Blau, *Brit Yehudah,* chap. 41.8). During this time similar *hetteirim* were fashioned by the Sephardi authorities (*Ginat Veradim*, YD, *klal* 6, no. 4), which have long been accepted by all Jewish communities.

The legal structure upon which the *hetter iskah* rests involves three basic components: (1) *iskah* (the transaction); (2) the investor (the lender); and (3) the one intended to use the money (the borrower).

Every loan or credit transaction is considered as a partnership between the investor (i.e., the lender) and the one intended to use the money (the borrower). On the basis of the Talmudic model of *iskah*, the investor is entitled to a portion of the revenue because of that portion of the loan that is considered as a "deposit." There are also *hetterim* based upon the classical talmudic model, i.e., a partnership between the "deposit" portion of the capital and that portion which is a "loan" throughout the period of the credit. There are other *hetterim*, such as that of the Maharam, based upon a deposit which, once it realizes an agreed-upon level of profit, is turned into a loan.

Given that the parties are free to make conditions, the lender can protect his investment by including in the agreement a condition that the loan may only be used for solid, profitable businesses – a condition making it difficult for the borrower to claim that he suffered a loss, one that even obligates him to pay profits.

Essentially, the *hetter iskah* is based upon the freedom to make conditions in laws of evidence. The lender/"investor" is entitled to receive a detailed report of the objectives of the investment, profits, losses, etc. He is entitled to set forth stringent means of proof regarding all these subjects in the loan/"partnership" agreement. Along with these stringent means of proof, there is also a clause exempting the borrower/"business user" from the requirements of reporting, in exchange for payment of a predetermined percentage of the value of the loan.

In practice, the borrower "acquires" from his partner the potential profit and the need to provide proofs in exchange for payment of a fixed amount or percentage agreed-upon in advance. Thus, the "interest" is paid as a waiver fee for the loaner's right to accounting and proof ("compromise fee"), and not as an addition to the principal of the loan. In this way, the prohibition of interest is circumvented.

These *hetterei iskah* were accepted by all of the later decisors and there is no one who questions their validity. This is the accepted manner of entering into credit agreements where the parties observe *mitzvot*. The use of *hetter iskah* for banking transactions is mentioned in the responsa literature at the end of the 19th century (Responsa Maharsham, Pt. I, no. 20). The banking industry in Israel has also adopted this device, and in many bank branches the accepted version of the *hetter iskah* is displayed in public. The classic *hetter iskah* has been expanded to include investments that do not realize profits, on the basis of the assumption that even consumer credit allows the borrower to invest time or money in other pursuits (Resp. *Sho'el u-Meishiv*, Pt. I, no. 137; Resp. Maharsham, Pt. II, no. 216). Decisions of Israeli civil courts have likewise recognized the *hetter iskah* as part of the contractual framework obligating the parties and has analyzed its provisions as part of the agreement between them (Motion 5317/86 *Bank Mizrahi v. Tishler et al.*, PSM 48(2) 353).

The *hetter iskah* as a valid contractual provision was also recognized in a decision of a New York State court (290 NYS 2D 997, *Leibovici v. Rawicki*). The positive attitude to the *hetter iskah* and its perception as a vital instrument for the capital market, which prevents doors being closed to borrowers, has also been recognized in contemporary rabbinical court decisions (File 17046/44, 16 PDR 74).

[Ben-Zion Eliash (2nd ed.)]

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UTAH, Rocky Mountain state between Nevada and Colorado. The proposed State of Deseret, founded by members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, LDS, (Mormons), in 1847 and acknowledged as Utah Territory in 1850, became a state in 1896. Utah is the rare place on earth where the Jews are considered "Gentiles," in this case non-Mormons.

While the Mormon flight to the West was one of religious liberty, western Jewish migration was spurred by a sense of adventure, romance, economics, risk, and personal and religious freedom away from the stigma of antisemitism encountered in Europe.

As early as 1826, Jewish trappers traversed the territory. In 1854, Jewish daguerreotypist and writer Solomon Nunes *Carvalho traveling with Colonel John C. Fremont's mapmaking expedition yielded unparalleled images of the young Mormon community. That same year, Julius and Fannie Brooks became Utah's first Jewish family. Many Jewish entrepreneurs followed, establishing commercial shops and business ventures both large and small.

Believing themselves members of a lost tribe, Mormon theology maintains a special affiliation with Judaism, and at the same time identifies Jews as "Gentiles," non-Mormons. By the 1860s, increasing numbers of Gentiles in the Territory posed a threat to Mormon autonomy. LDS Church leaders adopted a resolution pledging its members to be self-sustaining and to boycott Gentile-owned businesses.

Bitterness between Gentiles and Mormons reached such heights that non-Mormons feared for their livelihood and

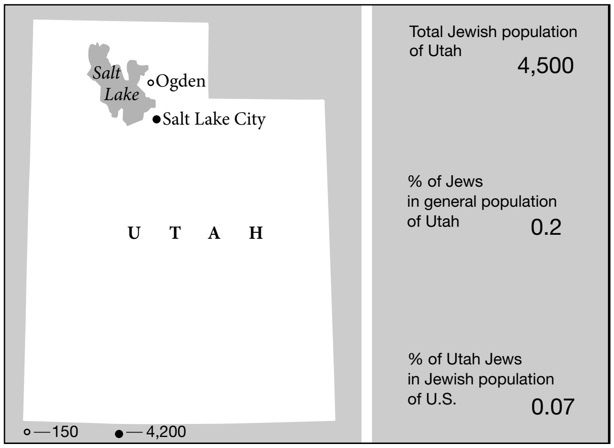
Salt Lake
Ogden
Salt Lake City
UTAH
○—150
●—4,200
Total Jewish population of Utah
4,500
% of Jews in general population of Utah
0.2
% of Utah Jews in Jewish population of U.S.
0.07

Jewish communities in Utah. Population figures for 2001.

safety. Rental property stood vacant, merchants forced into bankruptcy fled the Territory; others relocated to the railroad town of Ogden and the all-Gentile tent city of Corrine. When the transcontinental railroad (1869) and subsequent mining enterprises precluded all possibilities of Mormon seclusion, sanctions were lifted. (By 1930, 100 Jewish-owned businesses lined the downtown streets of Salt Lake City.)

Utah's early Jewish population was comprised of mostly middle-class and educated German émigrés (1857–1874) and pious Eastern European Jews (1890–1920).

Early on, people worshipped in their homes. In 1866 on property loaned by Brigham Young, the newly-formed Hebrew Benevolent Society dedicated the first cemetery in the Intermountain West. In Salt Lake City, 1881, Reform German members incorporated Congregation B'nai Israel. In 1889, Russian and Polish Jews held Conservative services in the home of Nathan Rosenblatt and in 1904 built Congregation Montefiore. The short-lived (1915–1930) but lively Shaarey Tzedek offered Orthodox services. In Ogden, Congregation Brith Sholem (formed in 1890 and built 1916), remains the state's oldest, continuously operating synagogue. In 1972, the two Salt Lake synagogues merged into Congregation Kol Ami. In 1990, the Chabad Lubavitch synagogue, Bais Menachem, opened its doors; earlier the Chavurah B'Yachad offered Reconstructionist programs; and in 1995, Reform Temple Har Sholem was founded in Park City.

In Clarion, 300 immigrant Jewish farmers (1911–1916) created a new chapter in western history with the last major attempt of Jewish colonization on land in the United States. Jews have contributed much to Utah history, including Senator Simon Bamberger (1903–1907), who became the first Democrat, first non-Mormon, and only Jewish Utah governor in 1916; Salt Lake City mayor Louis Marcus (1932–1935); Tooele mayor Sol Selvin (1942–1946); Toquerville mayor, Dr. David Dolowitz (1980); and in 2005, Patrice Arent, the highest-ranking woman in the Utah legislature, and Representative David Litvack. Jews have also been involved in higher education representing major Utah universities, medical schools, and colleges.

In a state of 2,400,000 people, an estimated 4,500 Jews reside in Utah (2001), primarily in Salt Lake City, but also in Park City and Ogden.

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[Eileen Hallet Stone (2nd ed.)]

UTENA (or **Utyana**; Rus. **Utsyany**; Heb. and Yid. אוטיאן), town in E. Lithuania. One of the earliest Jewish communities in Lithuania, Utena had a Jewish cemetery with tombstones from the 16th century. In 1765 there were 565 Jews in Utena and the communities under its jurisdiction; in 1847 they numbered 1,416, increasing to 2,405 (75% of the total population) in 1897. During the period of Lithuanian independence (1918–39) the town developed considerably and its Jewish population increased; in 1935 their number was estimated at 5,000 (about 33% of the population). The major source of livelihood was trade in flax, skins, and boar bristles. The community supported both a *Tarbut and a Yiddish school. The Germans arrived on June 25, 1941. On July 14 they removed the Jews from the town and during the month of August murdered most of them in the Rzhech forest. After the war the community was not reconstituted. There were about 50 Jews in the late 1960s, and no synagogue. In 1963 the Jewish cemetery was completely destroyed and its land earmarked for a building project. A monument has been erected for the Jews murdered by the Nazis.

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[Yehuda Slutsky]

UTICA, commercial and industrial center in the Mohawk Valley in central New York State; population (2002) 59,684, estimated Jewish population 1,100. Both the city and its Jewish population have declined from the 1970s; the decline of Jews has been proportionately greater. Utica was first settled in 1786. The first Jew to make it his home was probably Abraham Cohen, who brought his family there in 1847 from Poland, the homeland of nearly all of Utica's early Jewish settlers. In 1848 the first synagogue, Beth Israel, was established with 20 families and by 1871 there were at least 225 Jewish family heads. Waves of Russian and Polish immigrants in the years after 1870 increased the number of Jews to 2,517 by 1920. Most of the early Jewish settlers were peddlers, while many of the post-1870 immigrants started out as manual workers. The peddlers generally went into wholesaling or branched out into new enterprises, and after 1915 Jews began to enter the professions. Not many Utican Jews became wealthy, but among those who did, several attained national prominence, such as Miles Rosenberg, president of the Miles Shoe Store chain, and David Bernstein, vice president of the Loew's theater concern. From the 1930s on, Jews began to take an increasingly active interest in local civic organizations. Between 1904 and 1958, 22 Jews held political office, including state judge H. Myron Lewis.

Utica's Jews have generally followed traditional Judaism. Congregation House of Jacob, founded in 1870, brought to Utica its first ordained rabbi, Moses Reichler, in 1897. An attempt to establish a Reform temple in 1903 ended in failure but in 1919 Temple Beth El, a Conservative synagogue, was founded with Rabbi Reuben Kaufman as its head. During the first quarter of the 20th century Jews served their social needs through fraternal lodges, a YMHA and YWHA and a Workmen's Circle (1892). Local chapters of several organizations such as Hadassah (1917) and the Zionist Organization of America (1938) were formed and Jews contributed to World War I relief funds, the United Jewish Appeal and other charities. Through the initiative of Rabbi S. Joshua Kohn of Temple Beth El a Jewish Community Council was organized in 1933 to supervise and unify the many functions of the Jewish community. A Jewish Community Center was founded in 1955 and after 1949 the community's affairs were recorded in the *Jewish Community News*. In the early 21st century the community still supported three synagogues Temple Beth El, Temple Emanu-El (Reform), and Congregation Zvi Jacob which is Orthodox.

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UTITZ, EMIL (1883–1956), philosopher. Born in Prague, Utitz was professor at Halle and Prague. From 1942 to 1945 he was interned in the German concentration camp at Theresienstadt. His principal fields of interest were (1) aesthetics, in which he used a phenomenological analysis to assert the autonomy of art: art and aesthetics are related but not identical, the latter being a branch of the philosophy of culture; (2) characterology, i.e., the scientific study of the drives of the human personality in its manifold manifestations. Utitz edited the *Jahrbuch fuer Charakterologie* (6 vols.); and (3) the philosophy of man and the philosophy of culture: culture is explained as man's attempt to overcome his finite limitations, hence its universality.

Utitz sought to expound the problem of time; he also wrote on the psychology of the concentration camp at Theresienstadt and on "Germany between yesterday and tomorrow." As a young man Utitz dissociated himself from the Jewish community, but the influence of Nazism brought about his return.

His principal works are *Grundlegung der allgemeinen Kunstwissenschaft* (2 vols., 1914–20); *Der Kuenstler* (1925); *Geschichte der Aesthetik* (1932); *Psychologie der Simulation* (1918); *Charakterologie* (1925); *Kultur der Gegenwart* (1922); *Ueberwindung des Expressionismus* (1927); *Mensch und Kultur* (1933); *Sendung der Philosophie in unserer Zeit* (1935); "Erinnerungen an F. Brentano", in: *Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Universitaet Halle* (4 no. 1, 1954); and *Egon Erwin Kisch, der klassische Journalist* (1956). As a young man Utitz published (c. 1904) a book of poems under the pseudonym Ernst Limé.

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[Samuel Hugo Bergman]

UTKIN, JOSEPH PAVLOVICH (1903–1944), Soviet Russian poet. Born in Manchuria, Utkin was the son of an employee of the Russian-owned Chinese Eastern Railroad and was raised in Irkutsk, far from the main centers of Jewish life. Nevertheless, he succeeded in learning enough about Jewish customs and traditions, and acquired a sufficient knowledge of Yiddish, to produce the most important long Russian poem on a Jewish theme yet to appear in Soviet literature. His adolescence was far from idyllic. In a poem sarcastically titled "My Beloved Childhood" (*Miloye detstvo*, 1933), he recalled his bossy aunt who wanted him to devote himself "to God and commerce." Utkin's rebellion led him to the fringes of the underworld and eventually prompted him to join Siberia's Bolshevik guerrillas. His first poems were militant exhortations to greater efforts for a Communist victory. Utkin's most famous poem, highly praised by such writers as Maxim *Gorki and Vladimir Mayakovski, was written in his early twenties. It was *Povest o ryzhem Motele* ("The Tale of Motele the Redhead," 1925). This was unique in its use of a mixture of Russian and Yiddish. The poem's hero, a humble tailor from Kishinev, is a typical *shtetl*-dweller. The proletarian Motele shaves off his side curls and sheds his kaftan to become a commissar, but the reactionary Rabbi Isaiah pines after the good old days. Most of Kishinev's Jews, however, are simply confused, and complain in the synagogue about food shortages. They forget that the fleshpots of Egypt were paid for with suffering and humiliation, and that the bread of affliction is also the symbol of freedom and of future happiness. "The Tale of Motele the Redhead," an original and striking poem. is now also a wistful monument to the great expectations awakened among pauperized Russian Jews by the Bolshevik Revolution.

Despite Utkin's unquestionable allegiance to the Soviet cause, orthodox Soviet critics began in the late 1920s to attack him for what they considered the dangerously individualistic lyrical and sentimental character of his verse. He was urged to mend his ways and to write about themes such as industrialization and the collectivization of agriculture. After resisting these pressures for some years, he finally gave in and promised to reform. He was never, however, entirely accepted as a Stalinist poet in good standing and continued to be hounded by the critics until the outbreak of the Nazi-Soviet war in the summer of 1941. His book *Ya videl sam* ("I Saw," 1942) described the German invasion of the U.S.S.R. Utkin's first war poem was written the day after hostilities began, and he continued to write patriotic verse for army newspapers until the end of his life. Severely wounded in action, he dictated his poems in an army hospital, and though an invalid, returned to active duty. He died in a plane crash a few months before the end of the war.

There is reason to believe that Utkin wrote poems inspired by the Holocaust that were never published.

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[Maurice Friedberg]

°UVAROV, SERGEY SEMYONOVICH (1786–1855), minister of education in Russia (1833–49), and president of the Academy of Sciences. In 1846 he was granted the title of count. Uvarov originated the political slogan *Pravoslaviye, Samoderzhaviye, Narodnost* ("Orthodoxy [i.e., of the Eastern Church], Autocracy, Nationhood"), a slogan which was accepted by the Russian "Slavophiles," who adopted it as the catchword of their program. As the minister of education, along with his other duties, Uvarov concerned himself with Jewish education, considering it part of the Jewish problem in general. In a memorandum to Czar *Nicholas I, he noted that many governments who had tried for generations to solve the Jewish problem through persecution and coercion had finally abandoned these methods for an approach based on wielding influence by reason. He concluded that it was incumbent upon the Russian government to adopt the latter method, and stated that nations could not be exterminated, especially a nation which during its modern history "stood at Mount Golgotha." The Jews were to be "reformed" and through education brought closer to the general population. In order to achieve this, Uvarov proposed the establishment of a network of Jewish government schools at various levels, in the *Pale of Settlement, to be maintained by the special taxes paid by the Jews. In 1841 he invited Max *Lilienthal to act as adviser and director of the program. Uvarov and Lilienthal planned to invite 200 teachers from abroad to assist them in their endeavors and also called upon Jewish scholars and intellectuals abroad (including I.M. *Jost, L. *Philippson, A. *Geiger, I.N. *Mannheimer, S.D. *Luzzatto, and others) to come to Russia to participate in the fulfillment of the program. In 1842 a "Committee of Rabbis" (or "Committee for the Education of the Jews") was convened in order to give an official cachet to the project; its members were R. Mendel *Schneersohn of Lubavich, R. Isaac b. Ḥayyim *Volozhiner, Y.Y. Halperin, a banker of Berdichev, and Bezalel *Stern, the director of the Jewish school in Odessa.

In 1844 the bill providing for the establishment of Jewish government schools was ratified. With certain amendments which were made during the 1870s, it remained in force until the end of the czarist regime. Uvarov considered that the Talmud was the source of all evil, and a corrupting influence on the Jews, and he attempted to minimize this by reducing the hours given to its instruction. He did not entirely prohibit the study of the Talmud so as not to turn the Jews against his educational endeavors. Uvarov sought to gain the sympathy of Moses *Montefiore and I.A. *Cremieux, and although he invited them to attend the above conference they did not do so. In 1846 Montefiore visited Russia and met Uvarov. Uvarov was anxious to prove to Montefiore that he intended only to promote the welfare of the Jews and he complained to Montefiore about the religious fanaticism and ignorance of the Jews of Russia. Uvarov's attitude toward contemporary Hebrew literature was, however, favorable, and the *maskilim* in Russia welcomed his program.

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[Baruch Shohetman]

UVILLER, HARRY (1897–1973), U.S. trade union leader. Born in Brooklyn, Uviller joined the women's garment industry in 1915 as part-time bookkeeper and salesman in the coat trade, at the same time attending the evening division of the New York University School of Law, but after graduation he chose to remain in the garment industry. He organized the coat contractors and became general manager of the American Coat and Suit Manufacturers Association. In 1936, with the support of Mayor Fiorello H. La *Guardia and the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, Uviller became impartial chairman of the industry; concurrently, he held the post of chairman of the New York State Mediation Board from 1955 to 1958. Under his leadership, there was no market-wide strike in the industry from 1936 to 1958. In the garment strike in the latter year, Uviller and Senator Herbert H. *Lehman acted as mediators. As chairman of the New York State Mediation Board, Uviller mediated hundreds of labor disputes, earning a reputation for integrity and fairness with both labor and management. In 1961 the Harry Uviller Chair in Economics was established in his honor at Brandeis University, and in the same year he served as chairman of the Greater New York Histadrut Council.

UZ (Heb. עוּץ). The identification of the land of Uz, Job's home, is rendered difficult by the fact that two distinct locations are called Uz in the Bible. In Genesis 10:23; 22:21; and I Chronicles 1:17 Uz is clearly associated with Aram. However, in Genesis 36:28 and I Chronicles 1:42 it is, though less clearly, associated with Edom, and in Lamentations 4:21, "the land of Uz" seems to be a designation for an extensive region of which Edom is a part, or else a generic designation of Edom. S.R. Driver and G.B. Gray solve this contradiction by suggesting that Uz is the name of widely scattered Arab tribes, but in Job it refers to Aram. N.H. Tur-Sinai suggests that Job (and perhaps a tribe called Uz) once lived in Edom and then moved to Aram, and all other occurrences in the Bible placing Uz in Edom derive from this tradition. P. Dhorme, on the basis of clear association between the names of Job's friends and southern localities, placed Uz in Edom. M.H. Pope concludes that, "It seems impossible to reconcile the conflicting evidences and opinions as to the exact location of Uz."

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[Daniel Boyarin]

UZAL (Heb. אוּזָל), a geographic designation in the Bible, appearing in two different and seemingly unrelated contexts.

(1) In the Table of Nations, Uzal is a descendant of Shem and son of Joktan (Gen. 10:27; I Chron. 1:21), and probably refers to Sanʿa, the capital of Yemen, since the family of Joktan represents the inhabitants of Southern Arabia and Azal is the pre-Islamic name of Sanʿa.

(2) The Uzal mentioned in Ezekiel 27:19 was, apparently, one of the places which traded with Tyre, Although the meaning of the text is uncertain, in the light of the Septuagint reading of *yayin* (יַיִן, "wine") instead of *Javan (יָוָן), it seems to be dealing with a wine-producing region comparable to that of Helbon (near Damascus), mentioned in the preceding verse. Now, wine from Izalla is compared to wine from Helbon in a lexical text from Nineveh. Accordingly, the Uzal of Ezekiel 27:19 is probably to be identified with the Izalla of cuneiform sources, which was located near the Upper Tigris (Izalla Mountain of Byzantine historians).

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[Irene Grumach]

UZAN, family of North African origin. SOLOMON (d. 1812) was *dayyan* in the town of Sousse, *Tunisia. His family settled in Tunis, where many of its members became distinguished lawyers and physicians. In 1886 MICHAEL (d. 1889) was appointed head of Tunisian Jewry and given the title of caʿid. His grandson, also named MICHAEL (1881–?), was a chemist and agronomist as well as a diplomat and a philanthropist. VICTOR (1863–?), scholar and linguist, translated the poetry of several French poets into Hebrew. In 1885, together with M. Castro, he established a press in Tunis which published literary works in Judeo-Arabic. His recommendations on the personal status and the matrimonial law of the Jews were accepted by the courts of appeal of France and Tunisia.

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[David Corcos]

UZAN, AHARON (1924–), Israeli politician. Uzan was born in *Tunisia and immigrated to Israel in 1948. Although a goldsmith by profession, he became a farmer and building worker in moshav Gilat in the Negev, where he remained. He was manager of the Negev Purchasing Organization (1957–65), secretary of Tenu'at ha-Moshavim (the moshav movement), and president of the Negev Economic Club. He became recognized as Israel's expert on the future of the Negev.

He was elected a member of the Sixth Knesset in 1965 as a representative of the Labor Alignment and served as deputy minister of agriculture from 1965 to 1969. He was appointed minister of communications in the government of Golda Meir in March 1974 and minister of agriculture in June of the same year, remaining in that office until the elections of May 1977. He was the first cabinet minister to be appointed from the members of the mass immigration from North Africa after the establishment of the State.

In the 1981 Knesset elections he joined with Aharon Abuhazeira in forming Tami and served in the Knesset as one of its representatives. He also served as deputy minister of absorption and subsequently as welfare minister and absorption minister.

UZBEKISTAN, one of the independent CIS republics from 1990, formerly a U.S.S.R. republic in Soviet Central Asia.

The Jews in Uzbekistan were affiliated with two communities: (1) the ancient one, the Jews of *Bukhara, who speak a Tajik-Jewish dialect; (2) the new one, of Eastern European origin.

According to their tradition, the Bukharan Jews emigrated from *Persia at the time of the persecutions of King Peroz (458–485), while some consider themselves descendants of the exiles of Samaria, on the assumption that "Habor" (II Kings 17:6) is Bukhara. Anthropological examinations undertaken by L.V. Usbanin in 1926–29 proved that they originated in the Middle East, although there is no information on their exact non-Jewish origin. Precise information on the spiritual works of the Jews of Uzbekistan is, however, available only from the 14th century onward.

Jews of Uzbekistan emigrated to Khazaria and *China because of their location at the crossroads of the caravans that traveled there. The principal traffic between the Muslim world and Itil (*Atil), the capital of Khazaria, passed through northern Uzbekistan, and the information on "many Jews who came to the king of the Khazars from the towns of the Muslims" (the author al-Masʿūdī, of the tenth century) and the Jews who came "from Khurasan and strengthened the hands of the inhabitants of the country" (the anonymous "Cambridge Document") refers essentially to the Jews of Uzbekistan, which was considered an annexed territory of Iranian Eastern Khurasan.

There is a tradition concerning another wave of Jewish emigration from *Iran to Uzbekistan as a result of the Mongolian conquests of the 13th century, and the surnames of the Jews of Uzbekistan show that even during subsequent periods emigrants from Iranian-speaking communities of the west and the south were integrated among them. In modern times, however, the fanatical Muslim domination severely prejudiced the growth and economic development of the community. The Russian conquest of the 19th century came as a blessing, especially in those regions subjected to direct Russian rule, where the local Jews were granted complete judicial equality with the native Muslims and enjoyed rights which the Russian government withheld from the Jews of Eastern Europe (such as the freedom to acquire real estate). A migration from Bukhara to *Tashkent continued through several generations. The economic progress of these Jews was also reflected in their considerable contribution to the Jewish settlement of Ereẓ Israel. The Soviet regime, which liquidated private commerce, brought about the transfer of the more than 200,000 local Jews into administrative positions, industry and agriculture.

The Soviet regime did not bring about any considerable emigration of East European Jews to Uzbekistan because of linguistic difficulties and the warring gangs of Muslim insurgents (Basmachi) of the 1920s and 1930s. World War II, however, suddenly converted Uzbekistan into an important Jewish center. The Jews of the western and central European U.S.S.R. found refuge there, and Tashkent accommodated some of the Jewish institutions of Moscow. Many Jews who had been deported by the Soviet regime between 1939 and 1941 from the annexed eastern parts of Poland and the Baltic states to labor camps or exile in Siberia because of "bourgeois" class origin or political affiliations (Zionist or socialist) also migrated to Uzbekistan upon their release from the camps or places of exile. Some succeeded in continuing on to Palestine through *Persia, either as Polish soldiers in General Anders' army or as orphaned children (the so-called "Teheran children"). With the retreat of the German army from Eastern Europe, many of the refugees and evacuees returned to their places of origin, but a considerable number of East European Ashkenazi Jews settled in Uzbekistan and became integrated into administration, industry and education there. A certain rapprochement between them and the local Jews resulted from the propagation of the Russian language within both communities and the feeling of the common Jewish fate, which was emphasized by the events of the war. The census of 1959 registered 94,344 Jews (1.2 percent of the total population) in Uzbekistan; 50,445 of them lived in the capital of the republic, Tashkent. Only 19,266 of them declared Tajik to be their native language; about 27,560 Yiddish; and the remainder Russian. The 1970 Soviet census showed 103,000 Jews in Uzbekistan.

[Abraham N. Poliak]

In Independent Uzbekistan

In 1979 Uzbekistan had 99,900 Jews and in 1989 94,900, including 51,400 in Tashkent. A large proportion of Jews in the republic were Central Asian (Bukharan) Jews who mainly lived in Samarkand, Tashkent, and Bukhara and spoke the Jewish dialect of Tajik. They preserved their identity more than the local Ashkenazi Jews.

Emigration in 1989 was recorded at 4,358 Jews (with 2,379 from Tashkent, 218 from Fergana province, and 772 from Samarkand province). Emigration to Israel in 1990 totaled 20,192, with 9,786 from Tashkent. Emigration rose from Fergana province and Andizhan in the wake of the violent ethnic conflicts there. After the pogrom against Jews and Armenians in Andizhan in May 1990, emigration from that province jumped to 2,202. In 1991, 13,515 Jews went from Uzbekistan to Israel, including 7,179 from Tashkent and 1,220 from Andizhan. In 1992, 5,533 immigrants to Israel from this country constituted 9.1 percent of the entire immigration wave from the former U.S.S.R., and in 1993, Uzbekistan, with its 8,471 emigrants to Israel, contributed 14.0% to the whole "Soviet" *aliyah* of that year. At the end of the process of emigration during the 1990s around 5,500 Jews remained in Uzbekistan, mostly in Tashkent. Tashkent had a Jewish culture center. The monthly newspaper *Shofar* in Russian and Tajik began appearing in Samarkand in 1992. Two Jews were elected to the Supreme Soviet of the republic in 1990.

An air route from Tashkent to Israel via Varna was inaugurated in June 1991. The Jewish Agency has been operating openly since January 1992. Diplomatic relations were established between Uzbekistan, independent since 1991, and Israel in 1992.

[Michael Beizer]

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UZHGOROD (Czech **Užhorod**; Hung. **Ungvár**), city in Transcarpathian district, Ukraine; part of Austro-Hungary until 1920, when it passed to Czechoslovakia; between 1938 and 1945 in Hungary; 1945–1991, in the Soviet Union. The Jewish community of Uzhgorod, probably dating from the 16th century, developed at the end of the 18th century (after the partition of Poland) and expanded further in the second half of the 19th century. Some of the outstanding rabbis of Hungary served in Uzhgorod, notably R. Meir *Eisenstadter (MaHaRaM Esh; officiated until 1852) who had great spiritual influence on Uzhgorod and Hungarian Jewry in general; and Solomon *Ganzfried, author of the *Kiẓẓur Shulḥan Arukh*, who served as *dayyan* in 1866. In 1864 Karl Jaeger established a Hebrew printing press with types bought in Vienna. The first book printed was M. Eisenstadter's responsa *Imrei Esh* (part 2). Printing continued until 1878. In 1926 another press was set up by M.S. Gelles and continued to be active until World War II. About 70 items were printed in Uzhgorod. In 1868 the community split to found a separate *Neolog community, whose first rabbi was M. *Klein, translator of Maimonides' *Guide of the Perplexed* into Hungarian. Subsequently the Neologists joined the status *quo trend, whereupon many joined the mother community.

Uzhgorod was a stronghold of the Orthodox as well as of Ḥasidism. From 1890 a Jewish elementary school, whose language of instruction was first Hungarian and later Czech, functioned there. Subsequently Hebrew schools were established. The community also maintained a *talmud torah* school and a yeshivah. In 1904 a central synagogue was established in a magnificent building. There was also a Jewish hospital and home for the aged. Between the two world wars Uzhgorod became a center of intense Jewish national and Zionist (Revisionist) activities. In 1930 the community numbered 7,357, about one-third of the total population. Following the Munich pact (1938), Uzhgorod was annexed by Hungary, which immediately implemented anti-Jewish legislation. In the winter of 1939/40, all Jews of Polish citizenship or Czech citizens originally from Poland were expelled to Poland, and many died under the severe conditions. The young were conscripted into forced labor and sent to the Russian front, never to return. On Passover (April 21–23) 1944, all the Jews of Uzhgorod and the surroundings (25,000 persons) were concentrated in a ghetto located outside the city (in a brick factory and a lumber yard), and three weeks later all were deported to *Auschwitz.

Following the war several hundred survivors returned to city, most of whom later went to Czechoslovakia.

By 2005, the Jewish community had a synagogue, a Jewish community center, a Jewish day school, and a magazine entitled *Gut Shabbos*, which covers Jewish activities in the region of the Carpathian Mountains. The Uzhgorod Jewish community oversees the nearby Jewish communities of Munkatch, Chust, Vinogradova, and Rachov.

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[*Encyclopaedia Hebraica* / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

UZIEL (**Uzziel**), family of prominent Spanish exiles whose members were to be found in Salonika, Safed, Italy, and Fez. JOSEPH UZIEL BEN ABRAHAM (d. c. 1520) arrived in Fez immediately after the Expulsion. He was a disciple of R. Samuel Valenci and had many disciples in Spain. In a dispute over ritual with the old settlers in Fez, he supported the opinion of his disciple R. Ḥayyim *Gagin. JUDAH UZIEL (d. c. 1542), a leading *ḥakham* of his time, took an active part in the aforementioned controversy, together with his colleague Naḥman ibn Sunbal. He signed decisions and *takkanot* between 1526 and 1542 and wrote commentaries on the Bible. Abraham *Gavison (in *Omer ha-Shikhḥah*) and R. Vidal ha-Sarfati (in *Ẓuf Devash*) quote some of his commentaries, sermons, prayers, and *piyyutim*. R. ABRAHAM UZIEL (d. c. 1570) was a poet and pietist. His disciples included R. Vidal ha-Sarfati. A signatory to the *takkanot* of 1545, he engaged in halakhic discussions with Algerian *ḥakhamim* and is mentioned with esteem in the responsa of R. Solomon Duran (*Tashbeẓ*, pt. 4 (1959), ch. 41). He exchanged poems with the abovementioned R. Abraham Gavison. His son was Isaac *Uziel.

R. JUDAH UZIEL BEN SAMUEL (grandson of Judah; d. c. 1600) signed decisions and *takkanot* between 1584 and 1591. He wrote *Beit ha-Uzi'eli* ("House of Uziel," Venice, 1604), commentaries on the Bible and on Rashi's commentary to the Torah. He left two sons, R. SOLOMON (c. 1550–1610) and R. JOSEPH (c. 1555–1625), both of whom were rabbis in Fez. R. ḤAYYIM UZIEL (c. 1575–1646), who was possibly his third son, was a rabbi and *dayyan* in Fez. He signed decisions in 1626 and 1645. His synagogue was destroyed during the uproar caused in Fez by the chief of the Muslim brotherhood at Dila, in 1646. He died a few days later. R. JUDAH UZIEL (1620–1689), the son of R. Joseph, was rabbi and *dayyan* in Fez. A member of R. Saadiah ibn Dannan's *bet din*, he became the chief rabbi of Fez after the former's death in 1680. He was versed in Torah and in Kabbalah, and propagated Torah learning among the masses. R. Jacob b. Ẓur was his son-in-law. A number of his decisions were published in the works of Moroccan *ḥakhamim*. R. DAVID UZIEL BEN R. ḤAYYIM (c. 1626–1700) was rabbi in Fez and scribe of the *bet din*. He served under R. Judah Uziel (his uncle?) and R. Menahem Serero. His relative, R. Jacob b. Ẓur, said of him: "the great scribe of Israel … my teachers always relied on the traditions which he handed down from the earliest *ḥakhamim* in matters concerning *takkanot* and customs."

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[Haim Bentov]

UZIEL, BARUCH (1900–1977), educator, lawyer, folklorist, and politician. Born and educated in Salonika, Uziel helped to found the youth organization "Maḥzikei Ivrit" whose goal was to spread the Hebrew language in the spirit of the *Haskalah. In his home, he published the first Hebrew newspaper in Salonika, *Ha-Teḥiyyah*. Sent to Palestine in 1913 to study teaching, he was caught there by World War I and as a Greek citizen was exiled in 1917 to Syria by the Turkish authorities. After the British conquered Palestine, he returned to continue his studies and remained in the country. He was among the organizers of the Sephardi faction in the *Va'ad Le'ummi. He taught in various places and also graduated in law and became involved in politics.

Uziel always maintained a close connection with Salonika and in the 1920s, helped the *aliyah* of Salonikan fishermen to Acre and later organized the immigration of Salonikan stevedores to Haifa port. He also helped to lay the foundations for research into Sephardi folklore, in particular from Salonika. He wrote stories about Judeo-Spanish life in Salonika, eventually published in *Be-sha'arei Saloniki, Novelot (1973)*.

He initiated the founding of the "Haifa-Saloniki" committee, which eventually received the name Va'adat ha-Yam ("the sea committee"). This committee together with the Va'ad le-ma'an Haifa ("the committee for Haifa") organized and brought 300 Jewish Salonikan seamen and their families to Haifa. As secretary of Va'ad ha-Yam he coordinated their immigration and absorption and served as a liaison between the committee and the relevant bodies in Greece and Ereẓ Israel.

In 1931 he was elected a member of the executive of Maccabi in Palestine and was in charge of the department of culture and propaganda. He served as president of the Association of Greek Immigrants and after World War II went to Greece in order to release property confiscated by the Nazis in the Holocaust.

In 1959 he wrote *Berit ha-Periferiyyah-Haẓa'ah le-Mediniyyut Yisraelit* proposing non-Arabic people of the Middle East ally with Israel to curb Arab imperialism.

Active in the General Zionist party, he was elected to the Fifth Knesset in 1961 and was head of the Knesset Education Committee. He was re-elected to the Sixth Knesset.

Uziel was the chief editor of *Guinzaḥ Saloniki* (1961) and edited the Salonika commemorative memorial book *Saloniki Ir va-Em be-Yisrael* (1967).

[Yitzhak Kerem]

UZIEL, ISAAC BEN ABRAHAM (d. 1622), rabbi and poet. Isaac was the son of Abraham Uziel, a rabbi of Fez where Isaac was born. In consequence of the famine in Morocco during 1604–05, he left Fez and settled in Oran, Algeria, where he served as rabbi. From there he went in 1606 to Amsterdam where he became a teacher in the community's *bet ha-midrash* and also engaged in business. In 1610 when Judah Vega, the first rabbi of the Neveh Shalom congregation, retired, Isaac was invited to succeed him. He was a very strong personality, and in his sermons inveighed against those who were lax in their observance and against the Marranos who had not completely abandoned Christian views. As a result many of the Marranos left his community and in 1618 established a separate congregation. Among his pupils were *Manasseh Ben Israel and Isaac Athias.

He wrote a large number of poems which have real literary value, but only a few were published, some of them in the festival prayer books of North Africa. Uziel also studied grammar, writing *Ma'aneh Lashon* (Amsterdam, 1627) on this subject. He translated from Spanish into Hebrew legends and fables of Indian origin well known throughout the world that were called in Latin *Historia Septem Sapientium* and in Hebrew *Mishlei Erasto.* These were first published in serial form by Abraham *Elmaleh in the periodical, *Mizraḥ u-Ma'arav.* Uziel appears to have been one of the Amsterdam rabbis who excommunicated Uriel da *Costa. As a result of his conservative extremism and excessively stern persecution of his opponents, relations between him and Leone *Modena became strained.

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[Abraham David]

UZZA AND AZA'EL, heroes of a medieval tale based on the biblical story of the Nephilim (cf. Gen. 6:4), which was developed in the second century B.C.E. in the Book of *Enoch.

According to the medieval story, Uzza and Aza'el were two angels who set out to prove man's wickedness before God, and they sinned with mortal women. One girl, Istehar, succeeded in escaping by compelling them to reveal to her the sacred name which they invoked when they went up to heaven; and she used it and became a star. The two sons of Uzza and Aza'el, Ḥiwwa and Ḥiyya, died in the Flood; Uzza and Aza'el themselves were exiled by God but they are still alive, and are responsible for some of the evils of this world: they teach sorcery, and they show women how to make themselves beautiful to men.

The legend, which is part of the general revival of Second Temple period literature in medieval Hebrew prose, was adapted by the Kabbalah; the Zohar gives a long account of it, introducing in addition a number of special kabbalistic meanings. Some manuscripts of magic, the *Havdalah de-Rabbi Akiva* for example, use the names of the two angels in magical formulae.

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[Joseph Dan]

UZZAH (Heb. עֻזָּה, עֻזָּא), the son of Abinadab (in, II Sam. 6:3; cf. I Chron. 13:7). When David brought up the Ark of the Lord from the house of Abinadab on the hill in Baalah (II Sam. 6:2) or Kiriath-Jearim (I Sam. 7:1; I Chron. 13:5–6), Uzzah and Ahio, the two sons of Abinadab, drove the cart upon which the Ark was borne. When they reached the threshing floor of Nacon (II Chron. 13:9, Chidon), the oxen stumbled, and Uzzah put out his hand to steady the Ark, whereupon he died. Apparently, he had violated the sacrosanct nature of the Ark. Because of this incident the place was called "Perez-Uzzah," meaning, "the breach of Uzzah." David diverted the Ark to the house of *Obed-Edom the Gittite (II Sam. 6:3–10; I Chron. 13:5–13), and did not venture to bring it into Jerusalem until three months later. According to Josephus (Ant., 6:18; 7:79), Abinadab and his sons were levites.

UZZIAH (Heb. עֻזִּיָּה), also called Azariah (Heb. עֲזַרְיָהוּ, עֲזַרְיָה), king of Judah; succeeded his father *Amaziah (II Kings 14:21–22; II Chron. 26). The name Uzziah derives from the stem עזז, whose meaning in Hebrew is similar to that of עזר, "to assist." He reigned over Judah for 52 years (c. 785–734 B.C.E.). When his father Amaziah was murdered by conspirators in Lachish, "all the people of Judah" (II Kings 14:21; II Chron. 26:1) chose Uzziah, who was then only 16 years old (II Kings 14:21–22), for their king. There is very little information on the reign of Uzziah in II Kings 15. Apart from phrases which occur in connection with every other king, there is only one additional fact – the "leprosy" (probably psoriasis, rather than true leprosy, Hansen's disease) which struck Uzziah, and his residence in "a house set apart," while his son *Jotham was appointed "over the household judging the people of the land." On the other hand, there is much information on the reign of Uzziah in II Chronicles, and the subject of his "leprosy" is enlarged upon. According to II Chronicles 26:16–21, Uzziah was struck with "leprosy" after he had entered the Temple of God and tried to burn incense on the altar without heeding the words of the priests who declared that the offering of incense on the altar of God was a prerogative of the priests.

Josephus (Ant., 9:223ff.) mentions a more detailed tradition concerning this "leprosy." According to this tradition, on an important festival day, the king put on the priestly garment and in spite of the priests' opposition, he attempted to bring the offering on the golden altar. While he was preparing to do so, the earth trembled, the Temple was split, and a ray of sun shone on the face of the king who was immediately struck with "leprosy." Uzziah's "leprosy," his attempt to offer incense on the altar, and the earthquake which occurred in Jerusalem during his reign (also recorded from additional sources) may be accepted as historical facts. An Aramaic burial inscription of the Second Temple period found on the Mount of Olives reads in Albright's translation: "Hither were brought the bones of Uzziah, king of Judah – do not open." This inscription proves that the bones of Uzziah were removed from their first grave. According to halakhic tradition, it was forbidden to move the graves of the House of David. It has thus been concluded that Uzziah was not buried in the graves of the House of David but "in the field of burial which belonged to the kings; for they said he is a leper" (II Chron. 26:23). Various biblical passages also testify that the kings of Israel and Judah carried out various ritual acts (I Sam. 13:9–10; II Sam. 6:14; 8:18; I Kings 3:15; Ps. 110:4) similar to those of the priests. The attempt of the priests to prevent Uzziah from offering the incense points to the struggle between the monarchy and the priesthood for supremacy over the ritual of the Temple. It is quite probable that emboldened by his successes in his external and internal policies and his reliance on the merits of his ancestors, the king sought to demonstrate his authority in the Temple by offering the incense (II Chron. 26:16). Reports of the earthquake mentioned by Josephus (*ibid.*) are also to be found in Amos (1:1) and Zechariah (14:4–5). Thus, some believe that the data in the biblical tradition and in Josephus concerning the "leprosy" of Uzziah are historical, but that the connection between them is tendentious and folkloristic and not really historical. The story related in Chronicles and Josephus is based on a popular tradition around the rare phenomenon of the king's "leprosy."

The reign of Uzziah is described in historical sources, especially in Chronicles, as one of the golden eras of the kingdom of Judah. Uzziah appears as a firm and active king in both his interior and exterior policies. He pursued the policy of his father Amaziah for supremacy over the southern part of the land up to Elath, situated on the Red Sea coast. He returned Elath to Judah (II Kings 14:22) and built a line of fortifications and towers in the Arabah and the Negev in order to safeguard the transit routes from Jerusalem to Elath. The archaeological excavations of Tell al-Khalayfa (near Akaba) brought to light the renewed settlement of the locality (third stratum) in the days of Uzziah and his son Jotham, although opinions among archaeologists differ as to whether Tell al-Khalayfa is to be identified with Ezion-Geber and whether the findings are the installations of metallurgic works. At the same time, the fortresses and towers built by Uzziah in the Arabah and Negev served to protect the herds of cattle, the shepherds, the pasture lands, and the water sources from nomadic tribes, such as the Meunites and the Arabians (II Chron. 26:7). He also took measures for the economic development of the arid regions in the mountains, the lowlands, and the desert. In the west he fought against the towns of Philistia (Gath, Jabneh, and Ashdod) and expanded his territory at the Philistines' expense (26:6). Uzziah's objective was to break through to the west and secure a section of the "Via Maris." He also expanded eastward to the eastern bank of the Jordan and subjugated the Ammonites (26:8, but in LXX – Meunim). His successes in his foreign policies were preceded by an intensive strengthening of the economic and military power of the country. He fortified Jerusalem (26:9), reorganized the army (26:11–12), increased the number of soldiers, and prepared a great amount of weapons (26:13). The biblical author sums up the activities of Uzziah with the words: "his name spread abroad even to the entrance of Egypt; for he waxed exceedingly strong" (26:8). He may also have recovered from Israel territory north of Jerusalem which had been lost by Amaziah.

Because of a faulty join of cuneiform tablets it was thought that "Azriyau māt Iaudaya" was mentioned in the annals of Tiglath-Pileser III (1:103–133). This led to some scholars identifying him with Uzziah, king of Judah. At present the Azriyau of the cuneiform text remains without a country. Na'aman has assigned the relevant tablets to Sennacherib. It is quite possible that Uzziah's status was equal to that of *Jeroboam son of Joash, about whom it is distinctly said that he subjugated Damascus and Hamath (II Kings 14:28). The expansion of Assyria marked the beginning of the decline of the kingdom of Judah, which reached its lowest ebb during the reign of Uzziah's grandson *Ahaz, when the armies of Damascus and Samaria invaded Judah and besieged Jerusalem, impelling Ahaz to become an Assyrian vassal. Even so, Judah was not directly harmed by Assyria during Uzziah's reign. The number of years during which Jotham reigned together with his father is one of the most difficult problems in biblical chronology. According to some opinions, the 52 years mentioned as being those of Uzziah's reign include the years during which he reigned together with his father, all the years of Jotham's reign, and even some of the years of the reign of Ahaz, son of Jotham.

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[Bustanay Oded]

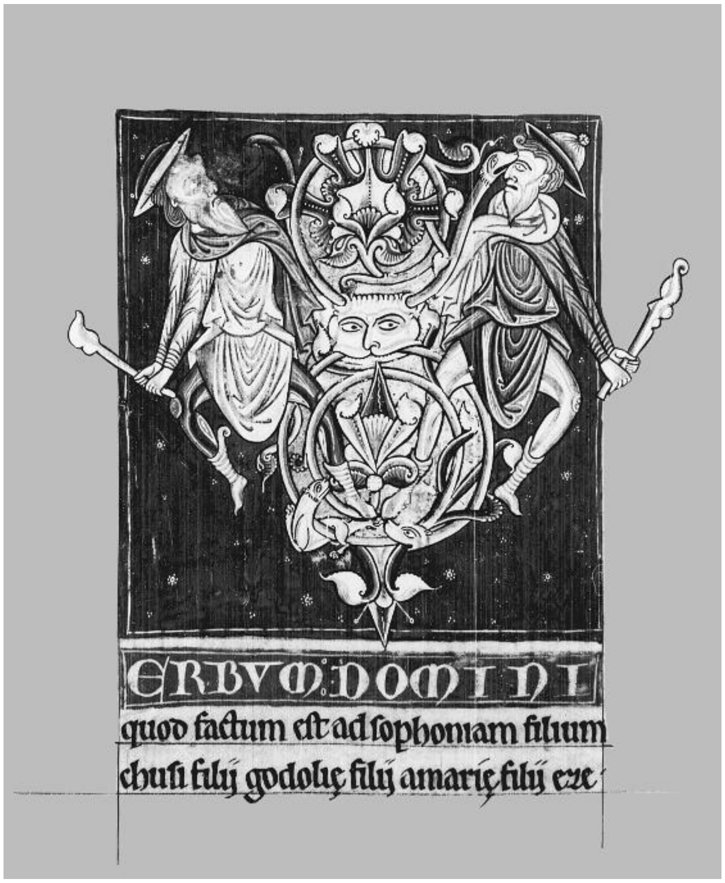
ERBVM DOMINI
quod factum est ad sophoniam filium
chusi filij godolie filij amarie filij eze

Initial letter "V" for the word Verbum *at the beginning of the Book of Zephaniah in a 13th-century Latin Bible from France. The letter is formed by two figures wearing medieval Jewish hats, and wielding clubs against snakes, which represent the enemies of Judah. Boulogne, Bibliothèque Municipale, Ms. 21, fol. 239v.*

Va-Vy

VAAD HA-HATZALAH, a body originally established to rescue rabbis and yeshivah students during World War II. Though originally focusing exclusively on rabbis and yeshivah students, it expanded its agenda to assist all Jews in the wake of the revelation of the Final Solution and became the representative relief agency of American Orthodox Jewry.

Established in mid-November 1939 by an emergency meeting of the *Union of Orthodox Rabbis of the United States and Canada, then the largest and most important association of Orthodox rabbis in North America, the Vaad was initially founded to rescue the Polish rabbis and yeshivah students who had escaped to Lithuania following the German and Soviet invasions of September 1939, including the *rashei yeshivah* and students of leading talmudic academies such as Mir, Kletsk, Radin, Kamenets, and Baranowitz. Initially dubbed the "Emergency Committee for War-Torn Yeshivos," its leadership, headed by Rabbi Eliezer *Silver of Cincinnati, originally envisioned the relocation of the refugee yeshivot to safe havens, preferably in Palestine or the United States, as its main goal, but found itself increasingly preoccupied with maintenance as emigration from Lithuania proved extremely difficult.

As the number of refugee Polish rabbis and students in Lithuania increased and the financial burden of supporting them grew, the Vaad, which upon its foundation declared that it would seek support exclusively from Orthodox sources, sought to expand its fundraising efforts to the entire American Jewish community. This development led to serious tension between the Vaad and the *American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (and the Council of Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds) which bore communal responsibility for administering overseas relief to Jews in distress and had joined in creating the United Jewish Appeal in January 1939 to unify American Jewish fundraising for the first time ever. While ostensibly based on practical considerations affecting fundraising, the debates between the Vaad and the JDC and CJFWF also related to two extremely serious issues: rescue priority; i.e., who should be rescued first, and the attitude toward increasingly stringent U.S. regulations, which hampered rescue and relief efforts. While the leaders of the Vaad sought absolute priority for rabbis and yeshivah students, the JDC saw things differently. While the Vaad actively sought means of circumventing the spirit, and in some cases even the letter, of American regulations, which might adversely affect rescue and relief initiatives, the JDC leadership refused to approve the slightest deviation from U.S. directives.

During the initial year and a half of its existence, the Vaad concentrated its efforts on assisting the over 2,600 Polish rabbis and yeshivah students who had escaped to Lithuania and trying to arrange their emigration overseas. (When the Soviet Union occupied Lithuania in June 1940, the Vaad also sought to facilitate the emigration of Lithuanian Torah scholars, yet in most cases they were barred from leaving by the Soviet authorities.) In the summer of 1940, for example, they sought to enlist communal support for the mass transfer of all the refugee scholars to the United States, but encountered stiff opposition from Rabbi Stephen *Wise and most of the American Jewish leaders and organizations. Ultimately, the Vaad helped obtain American visas for several leading *rashei yeshivah* and the members of their families in the framework of a special program to rescue the scientific and cultural elite of Europe.

When a possibility for large-scale emigration from Soviet Lithuania developed in the fall of 1940 based on visas to Curaçao and Japanese transit visas, the Vaad helped fund the rail and ship tickets for numerous Torah scholars, but the bulk of the funds for the project were provided by the Joint Distribution Committee. All told, of the approximately 2,300 Polish refugees who emigrated from Lithuania to the Far East from October 1940 until the German invasion in June 1941, some 650 were rabbis and yeshivah students; many of whom were assisted by the Vaad; among the refugees were such leading *rashei yeshivah* as Rabbi Aaron *Kotler of Kletsk, Reuben Grazowsky of Kamenets, and Abraham Yaphin of Bialystok and communal rabbis such as David Lifshitz of Suwalk and Moses Shatzkes of Lomza, all of whom reached the United States in 1941. Together with Rabbi Abraham Kalmanowitz of Tiktin, who had arrived in America a year earlier, several of these rabbis and especially Rabbi Kotler, were to play leading roles in the activities of the Vaad. The bulk of the refugee scholars who reached the Far East, however, were sent by the Japanese to *Shanghai, where – with the exception of 29 who immigrated to Canada in the fall of 1941 with visas obtained with the help of the Vaad – they remained for the duration of the war.

Following the American entry into World War II, the Vaad concentrated primarily on providing assistance to the refugee Torah scholars in Shanghai as well as to the group of several hundred rabbis and yeshivah students in Soviet Central Asia. Many of the latter were among the thousands of Polish citizens deported by the Soviets to Siberia or to prison camps prior to the German invasion, who were released in the wake of the Sikorski-Stalin Pact of August 1941. The Vaad provided funds for both groups and sent parcels of food and clothing to the latter, enabling them to maintain their unique life-style and continue their Torah studies despite the difficult physical conditions in both places.

Following the receipt by the Vaad of news from Switzerland concerning the scope of the mass murder of European Jewry, the rabbinic rescue organization began to play a more active role in political activities designed to facilitate the rescue of Jews from German-occupied Europe. Joining forces with the leaders of American Agudat Israel, the Orthodox activists tried to promote efforts to unite American Jewry and to make rescue the community's number one priority. Rabbi Israel Rosenberg, one of the key figures in the Vaad, was among the Jewish leaders who met with President Roosevelt on December 8, 1942, to urge him to take action to save European Jewry, and the Vaad's leadership initially participated in the attempts to establish the American Jewish Conference as a representative umbrella organization for American Jewry.

The highlight of these activities was the protest march of some 400 rabbis in Washington on October 6, 1943, the only public demonstration by Jewish leaders in the American capital during the war. The march was organized together with the "Emergency Committee for the Rescue of the Jewish People of Europe," a group headed by revisionist Zionists, which led the efforts to convince the American government to establish a special rescue agency, which ultimately led to the creation of the *War Refugee Board.

In early January 1944, the Vaad officially decided that henceforth it would attempt to rescue all Jews regardless of religiosity and/or affiliation. This decision was a product of two major developments – the dissolution of the Joint Emergency Council on European Jewish Affairs and the creation by the Vaad of practical means to transfer funds to rescue activists, headed by Rabbi Michael Dov *Weissmandl, in German-occupied Europe. The former had been the only framework which included representatives of all the major Jewish organizations and could have coordinated unified political action to promote practical rescue initiatives. The creation of the latter meant that for the first time ever, the Vaad could actively support rescue activities inside German-occupied Europe. From this point on, the Vaad channeled most of its resources to assist the Jews living under German rule, initiating several rescue projects primarily through its Swiss branch (the HIJEFS relief agency headed by Recha and Isaac Sternbuch), but also via its representatives in Turkey (Jacob Griffel), Tangiers (Renee Reichman), and Sweden (Wilhelm Wolbe). The culmination of these efforts was the release to Switzerland on the night of February 6–7, 1945, of a train with 1,210 inmates from the Theresienstadt ghetto/concentration camp, a product of negotiations conducted by Swiss politician Jean-Marie Musy on the Vaad's behalf with top Nazi leaders. During the same period, the Vaad continued to send considerable sums of money to the refugee scholars in Shanghai and Central Asia, which allowed these Torah scholars, who simultaneously received aid from other Jewish organizations, to continue their studies and maintain their life-style.

After World War II, the Vaad played an active role in the spiritual rehabilitation of the survivors, continuing its operations until the early 1950s. From its establishment in 1939 until the end of 1945, the Vaad spent more than three million dollars on relief and rescue activities and in the process helped

"Americanize" the American Orthodox leadership. While its insistence on according rescue efforts top priority and circumventing bureaucratic and legal obstacles has been favorably acknowledged by historians, its particularism and insistence on priority for Torah learning at the possible expense of rescue activities continue to be a source of debate and polemic in the Jewish community.

[Efraim Zuroff (2nd ed.)]

VA'AD HA-PEKIDIM VE-HA-AMARKALIM, an organization established in 1810 for the support of the *yishuv* in Ereẓ Israel. Until the 18th century, the majority of the Jewish community in Ereẓ Israel were Sephardim, who were supported by the *Va'ad Pekidei Ereẓ Israel be-Kushta. Toward the end of the 18th century and at the beginning of the 19th century, however, the Ashkenazi community grew in number and with it the contributions toward their upkeep from European countries. With the decline of the Turkish empire, the support coming from there diminished and the burden of the economic support of the Jewish community fell upon the communities of Europe, with Amsterdam becoming the center for the collection of the necessary funds. An additional factor was the growing interest of the European powers in Ereẓ Israel. The Va'ad was established by Western European Orthodox Jews for clearly defined ideological purposes. On the one hand there was the idea that the *yishuv* in Ereẓ Israel had to be supported by its brethren in Europe so that the former could study and pray for them, and on the other was the Va'ad's part in the struggle against *Haskalah and *Reform Judaism, which were spreading in Western Europe. It was based on the idea of the importance of the *yishuv* and the need to guard it against the spread of religious Reform.

The most prominent heads of the Va'ad were its founders, the *Lehren brothers, who headed it during the major part of the 19th century. They received authorization for their activities from the communities in Ereẓ Israel and from the Va'ad Pekidei Ereẓ Israel be-Kushta. Although their main activity was in Western and Central Europe, their influence spread to Eastern Europe. Among their activities was the incessant struggle to abolish the system of *shadarim* (emissaries) from the various communities in Ereẓ Israel and to concentrate the collection of funds in their own hands by improving the methods of collection. This concentration of funds gave them enormous influence. They intervened in the disputes between Sephardim and Ashkenazim as to the allocations of the **ḥalukkah*, establishing a key which changed every few years as a result of pressure by the various groups. Belonging as they did to the extreme Orthodox circles, they exercised their influence in this direction. They opposed every proposed innovation in the economic, social, or religious life of Ereẓ Israel, regarding it as the last stronghold of Judaism against the inroads of Haskalah and Reform, which might pose a threat to their powers. They even intervened in such matters as the appointment of the **ḥakham bashi* and came out in support of the Sephardim in their struggle to prevent the Moroccan Jews from establishing an independent communtity. Their main struggle, however, was against attempts to establish schools, hospitals, and new suburbs in Jerusalem. In their opposition to the establishment of a modern educational system, they clashed with Sir Moses *Montefiore and the enlightened Jews of Germany and Austria, and this struggle reached its peak with their campaign against the establishment of the Laemel school of Ludwig August *Frankl. Their opposition to the founding of the first hospitals was based on the fact that the initiative came from Reform circles in Germany, and they fought tenaciously against all attempts by enlightened Orthodox circles to abolish the *ḥalukkah* system.

These struggles must therefore be viewed in the perspective of what was happening in Jewish society in Europe during the 19th century. The special interest of the European powers in Ereẓ Israel, the establishment of consulates and the capitulations, the pluralism of the communities and *kolelim*, the penetration of new factors into the *yishuv* and finally the Zionist settlement all combined to bring about the weakening of the Va'ad's influence in Amsterdam, the Lehren brothers' deposition from the dominant position they maintained in Jerusalem, and the demise of the ideology of the *ḥalukkah*.

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[Jacob Barnai]

VA'AD LE'UMMI (Heb. lit.: "National Committee"), the National Council of Jews of Palestine, which functioned from Oct. 10, 1920, until the establishment of the Provisional Government of the State of Israel in May 1948 as the executive organ of the Asefat ha-Nivḥarim (the Elected Assembly) of the *yishuv.* It was preceded by a "provisional committee" (Va'ad Zemanni), established at a conference of representatives of various bodies in the *yishuv*, including soldiers of the *Jewish Legion, in 1918, at the time when only southern Palestine was occupied by the British army. Though elected in 1920 by the first Asefat ha-Nivḥarim and recognized immediately as a representative body in a letter from the *high commissioner, Sir Herbert Samuel, the Va'ad Le'ummi achieved formal legal status only on Jan. 1, 1928, when *Keneset Yisrael, the organizational framework of the *yishuv*, was legally established under the Religious Communities Organization Ordinance, 1926.

The Va'ad Le'ummi elected a smaller body to conduct its day-to-day business and was headed by a chairman, or sometimes by a president assisted by a chairman. It cooperated closely with the Zionist or *Jewish Agency Executive, which was responsible for major policy on immigration, settlement, economic development, legal defense, etc. The Va'ad Le'ummi represented the *yishuv* in its relations with the Mandatory government and the Arab leaders and dealt with internal matters (such as the school system) which were delegated to it by the

Zionist Executive. It also cooperated closely with the Chief Rabbinate and the local community councils, which were part of the official framework of Keneset Yisrael. The Va'ad Le'ummi served as the main organ of the Jews of Palestine before the *League of Nations Permanent Mandates Commission and the numerous inquiry commissions into the "Palestine problem," up to the United Nations Special Committee on Palestine (*UNSCOP), which proposed partition in 1947.

Not all sections of the Jewish population in Palestine were represented in the governing bodies of Keneset Yisrael and, consequently, in the Va'ad Le'ummi. *Agudat Israel and the ultra-Orthodox circles of the old *yishuv* boycotted it, and from 1944 the Sephardi list, the *Revisionists, the *General Zionists, and the Farmers Union were not represented, because of their boycott of the elections to the fourth Asefat ha-Nivḥarim when their demands for a reform of the electoral system were rejected.

The Va'ad Le'ummi was headed from 1920 to 1925 by a presidium consisting of I. *Ben-Zvi, J. *Thon, and D. *Yellin; from 1925 by Yellin as chairman and Ben-Zvi and Thon as deputy chairmen; between 1929 and 1940 P. *Rutenberg twice served as president and Ben-Zvi served as chairman; from 1940 to 1944 by Ben-Zvi as chairman; and from 1944 to 1948 by Ben-Zvi as president and D. *Remez as chairman.

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VA'AD PEKIDEI EREẒ ISRAEL BE-KUSHTA ("The Council of Representatives of the Land of Israel in Constantinople"), a body established to organize assistance for the Jewish community of Ereẓ Israel. It flourished in the 18th century, but continued to exist until the beginning of the 19th century.

The first stage in the organization of this body involved the need to assist the followers of Judah Ḥasid, the Shabbatean preacher who had died in Jerusalem in 1700 a few days after arriving there. His followers were disheartened by this tragedy, immersed in heavy debts, and suffering from the oppression of their creditors and from deaths through plague. Both the Jews of Constantinople and the communities of Europe took steps to assist them by intervening with the authorities and collecting funds. This effort was unsuccessful, however, and when the Ashkenazi synagogue in Jerusalem was set on fire by Muslim creditors in 1720, the group dispersed. The dominant Sephardi community also suffered in consequence, and many had to leave the capital and go into hiding. As a result, the Va'ad Pekidei Ereẓ Israel be-Kushta was reorganized during this decade with the aim of reconstituting the community. When they obtained a *firman* permitting the Ashkenazim to make good their debts by annual payments, the Sephardim returned, but the Ashkenazim were still fearful, and only a handful returned (their leader in the middle of the 18th century was *Abraham Gershon of Kutow, a brother-in-law of Israel Ba'al Shem Tov). The *Pekidim* reorganized the community, appointing representatives in Jerusalem and drawing up enactments with regard to taxation and expenditure. In 1727 the Va'ad Pekidei Ereẓ Israel became a permanent, well-organized body. They demanded that their representatives provide detailed reports of income and expenditure and organized regular contributions from the whole Jewish world, fixing the amounts which each community had to pay and renewing them every ten years. A special fund was also instituted called "Parah contribution" (the *parah* was a Turkish coin). Special collectors were appointed throughout the Ottoman Empire and in Europe, and the considerable proceeds were transmitted to Constantinople. Funds thus collected were applied mostly to repayment of debts and to taxes and bribery: the poor benefited only to a small extent, but the monies sent to them by relatives abroad were also administered by the *Pekidim.* The *Pekidim* reserved to themselves the sole right of appointing emissaries to the Diaspora. They established useful connections with the authorities in Constantinople, Damascus, and Jerusalem, bribing them heavily.

In a short time, sub-committees were established for each of the four "Holy Cities" of Ereẓ Israel – Jerusalem, Hebron, Safed, and Tiberias – of which the most important was Jerusalem, where there were seven *Pekidim.* As a result, during the 1730s the Jewish population of Jerusalem increased rapidly, and in the 1740s rose to some 3,000. The *Pekidim*, apprehensive of the economic and political effects of this rapid growth, enacted a *takkanah* allowing only immigrants above the age of 60 to settle in Jerusalem.

These activities made the *Pekidim* absolute rulers of the Jewish communities of Ereẓ Israel, particularly Jerusalem, which became to all intents a branch of the community of Constantinople, losing every vestige of autonomy. They appointed officials, intervened in the appointment of rabbis (sometimes even appointing the chief rabbi), and all enactments were subject to their approval. The *Pekidim* even organized pilgrimages to Ereẓ Israel by ship, imposed taxes on the pilgrims, and established yeshivot. They intervened in all the disputes between Sephardim and Ashkenazim over the question of distributing funds coming from Europe.

Their dictatorial attitude toward the communities in Ereẓ Israel could not extend to other Jewish communities, apart from Turkey and the Balkan states, and disputes arose with regard to the distribution of funds emanating from them, with the *Pekidim* more than once threatening to resign. They nevertheless maintained strong ties with leading European rabbis, such as R. Ezekiel Landau of Prague, who was the "representative of Ereẓ Israel" there.

The weakening of the Ottoman Empire and the decline of the community of Constantinople, the war between Turkey and Russia, and the growing *aliyah* of Ashkenazim brought about a decline in the importance of the institution toward the end of the 18th century. By the 19th century, it was virtually moribund, its place being taken by the "Va'ad Pekidim ve-Amarkalim" of *Amsterdam.

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(1955), 265–74. A. Yaari, in: *Sinai*, 25 (1949), 149–63; idem, Sheluḥei 373–6, 387–9.

[Jacob Barnai]

VAC (Hung. **Vác**; Ger. **Waitzen**), city in N. central Hungary. A Jewish community was organized in Vac after the publication of the law on free residence (1841). A permanent synagogue was erected in 1864. After the separation (1869), it retained its former orientation of status quo *ante. The elementary school of the community was established in 1857, and a secondary school for girls in 1922. The majority of the members of the community were merchants, contractors, and craftsmen. The first rabbi of the community was Anshel Neumann (1832–62) and its last rabbi was Sh.F. (Fülöp) Pollak (until 1944), who was deported together with the community. The Orthodox community had already been founded in 1868, and its synagogue and school were opened in 1882. Its rabbis were David Judah Leib *Silberstein (1876–84), his son Isaiah Silberstein (1884–1930), and his grandson Leib Silberstein (1935–44). In 1885 a yeshivah was established. D.Z. *Katzburg published the Torah periodical *Tel-Talpiyyot* (from 1892 to 1938) in Vac. There were five Jews in Vac in 1840; 139 in 1869; 2,131 in 1910; 2,059 in 1920; 1,854 in 1941; and 377 in 1946. After the German invasion (March 19, 1944), the Jews of Vac were deported to Auschwitz, and only a few survived.

[Baruch Yaron]

VADÁSZ, LIPÓT (1861–1924), Hungarian lawyer and politician. Born in Kisvárda, Vadász practiced law for a short time, and became a deputy in the lower house of the Hungarian parliament in 1910. In 1913 he was appointed undersecretary of state in the Ministry of Justice and was a close adviser of Count Stephan Tisza, the "strong man" of Hungary. During World War I Vadász was responsible for restrictive wartime legislation and the law on parliamentary prerogatives became known as "Lex Vadász." He also collaborated in preparing a new Hungarian civil code. Tisza's failure to obtain public support during the war led Vadász to retire from public life and return to private practice. He was active in Jewish communal affairs and president of the Hungarian Jewish Literary Society. Vadász gained a considerable reputation as an orator and his principal speeches were published under the title *Vadász Lipot Beszédei* (1925).

[Josef J. Lador-Lederer]

VAD RASHKOV, town in Bessarabia, on the Dniester, today Moldova. Under the Moldavians (up to 1812) the town was called Rashkov, the same name as the city facing it on the opposite bank of the river. In 1817 there were 88 Jewish heads of households there. As a result of Jewish emigration to Bessarabia during the 19th century, the community grew, and by 1857 it supported two synagogues and a house of prayer. In 1897 the community numbered 3,237 (69.7% of the total population), but in 1930 the number had decreased to 1,958 (49.2% of the total). Jews engaged in trade, crafts, and also in agriculture (mainly viticulture). Among 379 members registered in the local loan fund in 1925, 154 were tradesmen, 113 artisans, and 65 farmers. When the Germans and the Romanians invaded Bessarabia in July 1941, most of the Jews escaped to the Russian side of the Dniester River.

[Eliyahu Feldman]

VAEZ, ABRAHAM (d. 1694?), French Sephardi rabbi. Vaez was the earliest-known *ḥazzan* and *ḥakham* of the Nefuẓot Yehudah community formed by ex-Marranos at Bayonne and is probably to be identified with the R. Abraham "Davan" (a misreading of Da Vaez) who died there on July 29, 1694.

His works include *Arbol de Vidas* (Amsterdam, 1692), a handbook on Jewish religious law and practice in Spanish, followed by a sermon on human frailty, with a commendatory poem by Abraham Rodriguez Faro; *Discursos predicables y avisos espirituales* (Amsterdam, 1710), moral sermons, published after his death by his son, Jacob, with an introduction by Isaac (de Mattatia?) *Aboab. He also contributed a commendatory letter to the *Historia Sacra Real* by Isaac Acosta, who subsequently succeeded him at Bayonne.

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[Cecil Roth]

VÁGÓ, JÓZSEF (1877–1947), Hungarian architect. Vágó was born in Nagyvárad (now Oradea, Romania) and completed his studies at the Polytechnicum in Budapest. As a student, he gained a prize for the plan of a synagogue in Budapest. He later became the associate of the leading Hungarian architect, Ö. Lechner. Vágó's style was modern with the clean uncluttered lines then in vogue. Many buildings in the Hungarian capital were designed by him. In 1919 he settled in Switzerland and later in Italy. He was co-recipient of first prize in a competition for design of the League of Nations headquarters in Geneva (1926), in the realization of which he also took part. He worked in partnership with his brother *László.

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[Baruch Yaron / Eva Kondor]

VÁGÓ, LÁSZLÓ (1875–1933), Hungarian architect. He worked in partnership with his brother József *Vágó. They worked in partnership until 1910. After setting up an independent firm, László specialized in the reconstruction of theater buildings. At the end of the 1920s he and his co-workers designed the Heroes' Synagogue and its arcaded courtyard adjacent to the Great Synagogue in Dohany street in Budapest.

[Eva Kondor]

VAJDA, GEORGES (1908–1981), French Arabist and Hebraist. Born in Budapest, a student of Bernard Heller, he went to Paris in 1928. From 1936 to 1960 he was a professor of Bible and theology at the Séminaire Israélite of France. He lectured at the École pratique des hautes études (EPHE) in 1937, and was appointed "directeur d'études" in 1954. In 1940 he founded the Oriental department of the Institut de Recherches et d'Histoire des Textes (CNRS). He died on its premises in 1981. He directed (and wrote himself a large part of) the *Revue des études juives* from the end of World War II to 1980. In 1970 he was appointed professor at the University of Paris (Sorbonne). There and at the EPHE he proved himself an impressive, scrupulous, and paternal scholar, though a severe teacher. He wrote numerous works, notably on Arabic and Jewish philosophy, on the *Kabbalah, and on Arab manuscripts. He specialized in the study of the beginnings of Jewish philosophy and Kabbalah and of the relationship between these two disciplines. Gifted with a vast erudition, he also produced minute and precise analyses of a number of unknown or misconstrued works. He contributed to the second edition of the *Encyclopedia of Islam* (1960–2004), with articles concerning Judaism. His most important works include *Introduction à la pensée juive du Moyen Age* (1947); *La théologie ascétique de Bahya ibn Paquda* (1947; Spanish translation with additions, 1950); *Judah ben Nissim ibn Malka, philosophe juif marocain* (1954); *L'Amour de Dieu dans la théologie juive du Moyen Age* (1957); *Isaac Albalag, averroïste juif, traducteur et annotateur d'Al-Ghazali* (1960); *Recherches sur la philosophie et la Kabbale dans la pensée juive du Moyen Age* (1962); and *Le Commentaire d'Ezra de Gérone sur le Cantique des Cantiques* (1969). Among his last main concerns was the theology of Yûsuf al-Baṣîr (REJ, 128 (1969); 131 (1972); 134 (1975); 137 (1978); 140 (1981)). The catalogue of his works embraced no fewer than 1,657 items in 1991 (among which were more than 1,200 book reviews) to which can be added unpublished material (e.g., the catalogue of the Hebrew scientific and philosophical mss. at the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris). His later books were the critical editions of Isaac Albalag's *Tikkun ha-De'ot* (1973) and an abridgment of R. Judah Ibn Malkah on *Sefer Yeẓirah* (1974), the *Catalogue des manuscrits arabes* [de la B.N.]. *Manuscrits musulmans*, vol. 2 (1978), to which may be added the posthumous *Catalogue… Mss. musulmans*, vol. 3 (1985), *Al-Kitâb al-Muḥtawi de Yûsuf al-Baṣîr* (1985), *Le commentaire sur le Livre de la Création de Dûnash ben Tâmîm… éd. revue et augmentée* (2002), and four volumes of *scripta minora*: G.E. Weil (ed.), *Mélanges G. Vajda* (1982); N. Cottard (ed.), *La transmission du savoir en Islam, VIIe–XVIIIe siècles* (1983); D. Gimaret, M. Hayoun, J. Jolivet (eds.), *Études de théologie et de philosophie arabo-islamiques à l'époque classique* (1986); and *Sages et penseurs sépharades de Bagdad à Cordoue* (1989).

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[Charles Touati / Jean-Pierre Rothschild (2nd ed.)]

VAJS, ALBERT (1905–1964), leader of Yugoslav Jewry. Born in Zemun (Semlin), Vajs grew up in a mixed Serbo-Croat, German, and Hungarian cultural milieu, but from his youth he was a Zionist and was greatly influenced by Alexander *Licht and the Zemun rabbi H. Urbach. Until 1941 he was a barrister in Belgrade. During World War II he was a Yugoslav officer and was captured by the Germans. After the war he was a member of the State War Crimes Commission in Yugoslavia and the deputy head of the Yugoslav delegation to the International Military Tribunal in Nuremberg. From 1947 he was a professor in the faculties of law and philosophy at Belgrade and wrote numerous essays on legal matters and a book on the history of civilization.

In postwar Yugoslavia, Vajs devoted his energies to Jewish interests, mainly to the rehabilitation of the Jewish communities, becoming the president of their federation. He represented Yugoslav Jewry at world Jewish conventions, particularly of the *World Jewish Congress and its Executive. He was helpful in organizing the great *aliyah* to Israel of Yugoslav Jewry in 1948–49, which encompassed about 8,000 Jews.

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[David Alcalay]

VALABREGA, CESARE (1898–1965), Italian pianist, critic, and musicologist. Born in Pesaro, Valabrega studied piano and composition in Bologna. He took a diploma in piano at Pesaro conservatory (1916) and an arts degree at Bologna University. He toured as a concert pianist and critic in Italy and abroad and gave lecture recitals throughout his life. He founded in 1950 the Associazione Romana dei Concerti Storici and became its artistic director in 1953. He taught the history of music at Naples Conservatory (1953) and the University of Perugia (from 1954); he was head of music for the Associazione Nazionale per l'Educatione Artistica at Rome University. He published *Schumann arte e natura* (1934, 3/1956), *Il clavicembalista Domenico Scarlatti* (1937, 2/1957), and *Johann Sebastian Bach* (1950), and he edited in 1959–63 the historical anthology of 40 long-playing records, *Storia della Musica Italiana*, with explanatory booklet, sponsored by the Italian government, the International Council for Music, and UNESCO. He was awarded a silver medal by the government for his contribution to Italian music.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Grove Music Online.

[Amnon Shiloah (2nd ed.)]

VALABRÈGUE, MARDOCHÉE GEORGES (1852–1930), French soldier. Born in Carpentras, he was commissioned as a high artillery officer in 1873 and in 1877 was appointed instructor at the military academy. He became secretary to the French army's High Committee on Methods of Warfare in 1881 and was assistant to the minister of war, General André, from 1886 to 1902, when he was made head of the French artillery academy. Subsequently, Valabrègue commanded the 12th infantry division with the rank of major general and following the outbreak of World War I was given command of a group of two reserve divisions at the battle of the Marne. In the following year he was made a member of the French High Command and in 1917 inspector general of the Armed Forces.

[Mordechai Kaplan]

VALEA-LUI-VLAD, Jewish agricultural settlement in Bessarabia prior to World War II. It was founded on an area of some 934 acres which had been purchased in 1839 by approximately 350 Jews from Podolia. In 1899 there were 255 families (1,385 persons), including 82 landowners owning an average of 11.4 acres per family. The cultivated area amounted to 791 acres; of these 321 acres were set aside for crops and 430 for pasture. Because of a lack of agricultural implements – there was only one plow in the colony – plowing was hired out. In 1925 the 247 members of the local loan fund included 89 farmers, 56 artisans, and 79 tradesmen. In 1930 there were 1,281 Jews on the settlement (94.5% of the total population). The community was destroyed with the entry of the Germans and Romanians into Bessarabia in July 1941.

[Eliyahu Feldman]

VALENCE, chief town of the department of Dôme, S.E. France, part of the ancient province of Dauphiné. The establishment of the Jewish community in Valence does not go back earlier than 1323; however, the decision of the council held in the town in 1248 that prohibited all relations between Christians and Jews may lead to the assumption that isolated Jews were living there at the time. This decision appears to have been decreed in the wake of the accusation of ritual murder of *Valreas in 1247 as a result of which the high constable of Valence had all the Jews on his lands imprisoned and their possessions confiscated. In 1441, when the community numbered 18 families, the bishop recalled the obligation of the Jews to wear the distinctive sign so that "guests be not regarded as citizens." In 1463, 14 Jews of Valence were ordered to pay a severe fine to the dauphin "for having practiced excessive usury and having spoken evilly of His Majesty…." In 1476 the same dauphin granted the Jews of Valence a new letter of protection; however, at the close of the century this community disappeared, as did the other communities of Dauphiné. At the beginning of World War II, there were about 50 Jewish families in Valence, half of whom were refugees from *Alsace. In the early 1970s, there were about 800 Jews in Valence, mainly of North African origin.

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[Bernhard Blumenkranz]

VALENCIA, city in Valencia province, E. Spain; it had the largest and most important community of the medieval kingdom of Valencia. The date of the first Jewish settlement is unknown, but there was already an important community during the Muslim period. Jews then engaged in crafts such as tanning and shoemaking and often bore the name of their craft. They also engaged in the marketing of agricultural products, a major occupation in Valencia, and maintained commercial ties with other Jewish merchants in Spain. There were few scholars in the Valencia community in this period. E. Ashtor (see bibliography) estimates that there were 162 Jewish families in Valencia, forming 6.5% of the total population, at the time of the Christian Reconquest in 1238. The fragment of a rewritten Hebrew marriage contract from Valencia, dating from the middle or late 11th century, was discovered in the Cairo **Genizah*. Solomon ibn *Gabirol died in Valencia between 1055 and 1058.

After the Christian Reconquest

In 1086 the Jewish emissary of King Alfonso VI of Castile arrived in Valencia and represented him there. The capitulation treaty is connected with el Cid, who captured Valencia in 1095; the treaty stipulated that Jews were forbidden to acquire Muslim prisoners of war, Jews who molested Muslims would be prosecuted, and Jews would not be appointed to functions of authority over Muslims and their property.

During the period of Muslim rule and after the final conquest of the town by King James I of Aragon in 1238, the Jewish quarter was situated on the eastern side of the Rahbat el-qadi and in its vicinity, on the site where the Santa Catalina church stands at present. In 1244 James I granted the Jews the whole quarter. A special gate, known as the Jews' Gate, led to the Jewish cemetery. James I granted the Jews of Valencia, and those who settled there, extensive rights. The community enjoyed a very wide autonomy and its judiciary could even deal with criminal offenses. In 1273 James I ratified the boundaries of the quarter. A special wall was erected around it a short while before the persecutions of 1391 (see below). There were many synagogues in the quarter. A number of them were destroyed in 1391 and others were converted into churches. The Jewish quarter of Valencia was one of the largest in the Iberian Peninsula, but nothing of it has survived. This was due to the urban development that began in 1412, two decades after the total destruction of the Jewish community in the massacres of 1391. However, thanks to the archival documents we know where the Jewish quarter was. Following the constant growth of the Jewish population throughout the 13th and 14th centuries, the city authorities decided in 1390 to enlarge the Jewish quarter. This decision barely one year before the complete destruction of the Jewish community aroused very strong opposition on the part of the Christian inhabitants.

The register of the apportionment of properties (*Repartirmiento*) after the Christian Reconquest gives much information on the period which followed. Jewish court favorites received land and properties. Among the Jewish settlers were several of the king's interpreters, including Baḥya and Solomon *Alconstantini, and Solomon Bonafos, who acted as treasurer of Catalonia. One hundred and four Jews received houses and estates in Valencia and the vicinity; these should be regarded as new settlers. In 1239 James I granted the Jews of Valencia the same privilege as had been granted to the Jews of *Saragossa. Among other provisions, the Jews were granted the right to have lawsuits between them judged according to Jewish law; the king would adjudicate in matters of criminal law; in lawsuits between Christians and Jews, both Jewish and Christian witnesses were required; the form of the Jewish *oath was established (a version of it in Catalonian is extant); Jewish prisoners would be released to be in their homes on the Sabbath. In 1261 James I confirmed the right of the Jews to acquire farming and urban land from all the inhabitants of the country, including noblemen and clergymen – an unusual right in those days, which can perhaps be understood by the importance attached to Jewish settlement in this border region of the kingdom. One of these owners of land, cattle, and sheep was Don Judah de la *Cavalleria, who was appointed bailiff of Valencia after 1263. King Pedro III entrusted the Jews with additional functions in Valencia. When the revolt of the Muslims in the southern part of the kingdom was suppressed in 1277, Moses Alconstantini was appointed bailiff there. Among Jews appointed to administrative office were Muça de *Portella, Aaron ibn Yaḥya, and Joseph *Ravaya.

The authority of these Jews in Valencia was short-lived. Moses Alconstantini was deposed in 1283. The properties of the Ravaya family were confiscated after the death of Joseph, and Moses Ravaya was also dismissed. The anti-Jewish policy formulated at the time by James I was now enforced in Valencia: the laws on loans and interest and the regulations on oaths were reintroduced; Jews were forbidden to slaughter their animals in the abattoirs of the town, and they were ordered to wear a "cloak," as was the custom in Barcelona.

During the reign of James I, in 1271, the Jews of Valencia paid an annual tax of 3,000 solidus in the currency of the kingdom. In 1274 this amount was increased to 5,000 solidos. Pedro III imposed a special levy on the Jews of the town to cover the expenses of his wars, which amounted to 25,000 solidos in Jaca currency in 1282. The sum was collected by coercive and oppressive methods and Solomon b. Abraham *Adret (Rashba), then rabbi of the community, already pointed out (Responsa, vol. 1, no. 427) that the loans and contributions were destroying the foundations of the community's existence. The localities of *Jativa, *Murviedro (Sagunto), Alcira, and Gandia were incorporated in the tax district (*collecta*) of Valencia, and the annual tax raised generally amounted to 25,000 solidos. At the close of the 13th century, about 250 taxpaying families lived in Valencia whose names have been recorded; they spoke Arabic. After the destruction of the community of Valencia in the persecutions of 1391, however, Ḥasdai *Crescas estimated its population to have been 1,000 "houseowners." This figure may be due to his own impressions or could have referred to the whole of the kingdom of Valencia.

Toward the close of the 13th century, as a result of the activities of Jewish merchants, Valencia became an important center of maritime trade. These "seamen" traded with *Majorca, North Africa, and most of the Mediterranean ports. The merchants purchased raw materials, wool, wool products, and grain, and exported them through Valencia to other ports of the Mediterranean.

Another occupation of the Jews was brokerage, and in 1315 there were 43 Jewish brokers; evidently all those engaged in this occupation were Jews. Even after the destruction of the community of Valencia, the town remained a center of Jewish trade. Alfonso V issued letters of protection to Jewish merchants from Barbary who came to trade in Valencia.

The community administration of Valencia was similar in organization to that of the other large communities of Aragon. The community was headed by a council of 30 members, among whom five were chosen as *muqaddimūn* by lot (Solomon b. Abraham Adret (Rashba), Responsa, vol. 3, no. 417). The community was supervised by the bailiff-general, the representative of the king. A Jewish *mustaçaf* was appointed to supervise the market and its activities. In 1300, after members of the community had complained that the wealthy and prominent personalities were throwing the burden of taxation onto "the middle class and the little people," King James II ordered that all payments to the kingdom and the community, including debts of former years, were to be divided up by a system of "declaration," and that everyone should take the oath in the presence of three Jews (one each of the upper, middle, and lower strata). Many problems arose in the Valencia community as a result of disputes and informing (there was a special regulation against informing; *Isaac b. Sheshet Perfet, Responsa, no. 79). Many queries were addressed to R. Solomon Adret and R. Isaac b. Sheshet on these matters. In 1348 Pedro IV ordered the bailiff to arbitrate in community disputes concerning the methods of collecting the tax: whether it was to be imposed by assessment or by "declaration."

The Jews of Valencia suffered during the *Black Death in 1348, and the persecutions which broke out in the town in its wake. In 1354 the leaders of the Valencia community collaborated in the rehabilitation of the communities of the kingdom of Aragon. Each provincial delegate was offered a seat on the national administration. The regulations of the national organization were signed by the resolute *parnas* of the community of Valencia, Judah Eleazar, a wealthy merchant and landowner who had financial transactions with the crown but was not outstanding for his learning or piety. In 1363 Pedro IV imposed a tax of 50,000 solidos on him as a contribution toward the expenses of the war against Castile. A tax was also imposed on the community and its wealthiest members, totaling 152,000 solidos.

The adoption in 1364 of the regulations of the community of *Barcelona of 1327 may be regarded as a further attempt to reconsolidate the authority of the community. In 1369 Pedro IV authorized the burial society of the community of Valencia to collect interest from a certain income. The prohibitions issued by the community administration included one against gambling, for money or real estate, with Christians.

In 1385 Isaac b. Sheshet Perfet (Ribash) was appointed rabbi of Valencia, his native town, holding this position until the destruction of the community in 1391. He organized activities in Valencia to restore the importance of Torah study and piety. Valuable historical material on the community is contained in his responsa (nos. 253–355).

The Persecutions of 1391

On July 9, 1391, the community of Valencia was attacked and destroyed by rioters who arrived from Castile and soldiers who were stationed in the port from where they were due to sail for Sicily with the infante Martín. In this assault 250 Jews died, while the remainder agreed to convert to Christianity or found refuge in the houses of the townspeople. Isaac b. Sheshet Perfet was among those who fled. Those who converted included distinguished personalities such as Don Samuel Abravalia (who took the name Alfonso Fernández de Villanova after his apostasy), the king's physician Omar Tahuel, who ranked among the *muqaddimūn*, and his relative Isaac Tahuel. According to some documents, it seems that R. Isaac b. Sheshet was also among the forcibly converted, before he fled. On July 16 the king ordered that Jews who had hidden in the houses of Christians should not be compelled to convert, but be taken to a place of safety. He also prohibited the conversion of synagogues into churches. However, on September 22 the king instructed that a list of the property of the Jews who had perished should be drawn up, in order to have it transferred to him. In November a pardon was granted to the Christian inhabitants of Valencia for the attack because, according to the city elders, the town was being emptied of its inhabitants who were fleeing in every direction. None of the synagogues of Valencia survived the 1391 massacres. The Jewish market, the *zoco,* which was just outside the Jewish quarter, was in Gallinas Street, at the beginning of Mar Street. The Jewish cemetery was outside the Jewish quarter but within the walls of the city. At the expulsion it was given by Ferdinand to the Dominicans. In its place today stands the El Corte Inglés department store.

After this destruction, the community proved unable to recover, even though in 1393 the king and the queen entrusted Ḥasdai Crescas and the delegates of the communities of Saragossa and *Calatayud with the task of choosing 60 families who would settle in Barcelona and Valencia. A year later John I ordered that their cemetery should be restored to the Jews of Valencia. A small community may have been reconstituted, because, according to Simeon b. Ẓemaḥ *Duran, there were Jews living in Valencia at the close of the century (Responsa, *Yakhin u-Vo'az*, pt. 2, paras. 14–15).

In 1413 Vicente *Ferrer is known to have endeavored to convert Jews in Valencia, but these may have been concentrated in localities in the vicinity. Only Jewish merchants continued to visit the town. In 1483 King *Ferdinand canceled the permission given to the Jews for prolonged stays in Valencia. He also abolished the privilege exempting Jews who came there from wearing a distinctive *badge.

The Conversos in Valencia

Files of those who were sentenced by the *Inquisition of Valencia within the framework of the Papal Inquisition during the 1460s are extant. In 1464 the Inquisition discovered that many *Conversos had sailed from Valencia port to the Orient, particularly Ereẓ Israel, in order to return to Judaism. A number were apprehended, including families who had arrived there from Andalusia. Numerous testimonies to the Inquisition reported that Conversos had returned to Judaism in all the towns in the area of the eastern Mediterranean.

The Conversos in Spain were seized by an overwhelming desire to leave the country, and many made their way to Valencia for this purpose. When apprehended, however, they were only condemned to expulsion from the region or fined. In 1482, when the Spanish national Inquisition was established and Cristóbal Gualves was appointed inquisitor, the Conversos of Valencia submitted a complaint to the pope against his acts of cruelty and his acceptance of invalid testimonies. Pope *Sixtus IV removed him from his position in Valencia, but King Ferdinand strongly protested against his intervention. In 1484 investigators of heresy were appointed in Valencia to act upon instructions by *Torquemada. It is evident that they had hesitations about their duties, for up to 1492 they issued "orders of grace" three times, a rare occurrence in those days. This may also have been because many Conversos had been hidden in the houses of noblemen and Muslims throughout the kingdom of Valencia.

Up to June 1488, 983 men and women in Valencia returned to the fold of the Church, while another 100 persons were burned at the stake. In the trials the accused were interrogated as to whether they had committed acts against the Christian religion, such as having struck crucifixes, etc. The trial proceedings reveal the overwhelming yearnings of the accused for anything Jewish and their profound adherence to the Jewish religion. Prayer books in the Valencia dialect were found in their possession, and many Jewish prayers were well known to them. The messianic agitation manifested in 1500 was also apparent in Valencia, and the Inquisition took severe measures to eradicate it. The tribunal of Valencia was a regional one, and it continued to function until the general abolition of the Inquisition during the 19th century.

Valencia was the port of embarkation for Jews who left for the Orient after the expulsion from Spain in 1492. The number who left from there is not known, although there is such information on the other Spanish ports. Isaac b. Judah *Abrabanel and his family embarked from Valencia in June 1492 by special permission granted to him by King Ferdinand.

There was a small Jewish population in Valencia in the 1970s, which had recently affiliated to the organization of Spanish communities.

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[Haim Beinart]

VALENSI (**al-Valensi**, **Balansi**, **Valença**, **Valencin**, **Valencia**, **Valenciano**), family which originated in *Valencia (Spain). R. SAMUEL BEN ABRAHAM VALENSI (1435–1487), talmudist in Zamora, *Spain, was the disciple of R. Isaac Campanton and the teacher of several scholars, including R. Jacob *Ibn Ḥabib, the author of *Ein Ya'akov*. Of his works only a brief treatise, entitled *Kelalei Kal va-Ḥomer* (Venice, 1599), on the methodology of the Talmud, is extant. After the expulsion from Spain, his family took refuge in *Morocco. MOSES VALENSI and his son ABRAHAM VALENSI countersigned the first *takkanot* of the *megorashim* ("exiles") in Fez (1494, 1554). SAMUEL VALENSI, an inhabitant of Azemmour, distinguished himself by his military valor in the war near *Ceuta, where he led 1,400 Jewish and Muslim soldiers. He came to the assistance of the besieged *Safi with his ships and compelled the large army of attackers to abandon its campaign (1534). In *Marrakesh, JOSEPH VALENCIA was the private physician of three successive sovereigns from 1590 to 1628.

Some of the Valensis of Morocco settled in *Venice in about 1650. JOSEPH VALENSI was a rabbi there in about 1680. Several members of the family later settled in Leghorn, while others moved to *Tunis before 1690. The origin of the members of Valensi family in Tunis is France and not Leghorn. They came to Tunis at the end of the 18th century and during the 19th. In many documents, they appear as the leaders of the Grana community (the name of the community founded in Tunis by the immigrants from Leghorn) in Tunis and also as the representatives of the French nation ("Notables Français" and "Députés de la Nation française") from 1858 onward. They served the Grana community for a period of 100 years. In the minute book of the marriage contracts of the Grana community are recorded many members of this family from the end of the 18th century onward, many of them as bridegrooms and brides, and others as leaders and *dayyani*m. Many of the Valensi family members in Tunis were French citizens. The Valensis distinguished themselves especially as physicians, scholars, soldiers, and diplomats in Tunis, where the first known family member was GABRIEL DE MANUEL VALENSI (1686), a financier. JOSEPH VALENSI became involved in Franco-Tunisian political affairs between 1792 and 1812. His son SAMUEL VALENSI had a successful career in politics, and his grandson GABRIEL VALENSI, who was appointed official interpreter between the beys and the French sovereigns, was charged with diplomatic missions to Paris in 1867 and 1878. HAYYIM DAVIS VALENSI was a *dayyan* and signed many marriage contracts in the Grana community in Tunis between the years 1821 and 1824; GABRIEL BEN YA'ACOV VALENSI signed marriage contracts in the Grana community between 1806 and 1810; GABRIEL BEN REUVEN VALENSI was the treasurer of this community in 1815; MOSES VALENSI (1825–1909) was sent on a Tunisian government mission to the United States. GABRIEL VALENSI (1845–1915) was a lieutenant general in the army of the bey. He was involved in the charities of his sister Zodika, who dedicated property to the Eẓ Ḥayyim synagogue of the Grana community. He served also as the treasurer of this community and was a philanthropist. His signature appears on many regulations of his community from 1860 until 1893. In 1890 he was the opponent of the qa'id and chief rabbi Eliyahu Burgel and opposed him when Burgel wanted to diminish the autonomy and the property rights of the Grana community. The dispute broke out when the Jewish community in Tunis had severe economic difficulties, and Burgel took from the Grana community its 20 percent share in the new cemetery. Before this dispute Gabriel Valensi succeeded in achieving for his community a good new agreement with the Touansa community. In 1895 Gabriel Valensi wrote a letter to the chief rabbi of France, Rabbi Zadok Kahn, and to the *Alliance Israélite Universelle about the dispute with Burgel, and he was victorious in this struggle.

His son RODOLPHE VALENSI, linguist and engineer, wrote scientific works.

JOSEPH VALENSI (d. 1908) was the Austro-Hungarian consul and the chief administrator of the municipal services of Tunis. He was famous for his philanthropy. RAYMOND VALENSI (1847–1920) represented his country abroad, and his son JOSEPH VALENSI, professor of fine arts, was one of the architects of the Paris Exhibition (1925–31). THÉODORE VALENSI (1886–1954), philanthropist, novelist, painter, and barrister, was called to Paris, where he was a senior adviser in the ministries of Clémenceau and Briand and chief private secretary of the Cabinet du Ministre. VICTOR RAYMOND VALENSI (d. 1942) was the last member of the Valensi family who served the Grana community. He died at the age of 95. In 1881 he was appointed the head of the Alliance Israélite Universelle in Tunis and was its representative.

ALFRED VALENSI (1878–1944), philanthropist and barrister, contributed to leading European newspapers. He wrote on legislation and sociology and was an active Zionist. He founded the first Zionist organization in Tunis in 1910. He was seized by the Nazis and died during deportation. VICTOR VALENSI, a notable Tunisian architect in the 1920s and 1930s, published studies of the local architecture of northern Africa and is best known for designing the Grand Synagogue of Tunis in 1938. He died in Buchenwald. MAURICIO VALENSI was mayor of Napoli after World War II.

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[David Corcos / Leah Bornstein-Makovetsky (2nd ed.)]

VALENTIN, GABRIEL GUSTAV (1810–1883), German physiologist, anatomist, and embryologist. Born and educated in Breslau, Valentin practiced medicine there and later moved to Berne, Switzerland, where he became professor of physiology and zootomy. Valentin, a pioneer in the study of physiology and embryology, investigated the blood circulation in the lungs, the electrical conduction in muscles and nerves, and the physiology of the senses.

Together with Czech physiologist J.E. Purkinje and F.G.J. *Henle, he laid the foundation for the cell theory of M.J. Schleiden and Theodore Schwann. He discovered the diastatic role of the pancreatic juice in the digestion of carbohydrates, and also found a method of improving microscope observations by applying polarized light. He was the author of *Handbuch der Entwicklungsgeschichte des Menschen* (1835); *Histiogenia Comparata* (1835), for which he received the Grand Prix des Sciences Physiques; and *Lehrbuch der Physiologie des Menschen* (1844; *Textbook of Physiology*, 1853).

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[Suessmann Muntner]

VALENTIN, HUGO MAURICE (1888–1963), Swedish historian and Zionist leader. Born in Sweden, Valentin first served as a teacher of history at a high school in Falun, but in 1930 was appointed lecturer, and in 1948 professor, at the University of Uppsala. His main topics of research were European and particularly Prussian history of the 18th century, and the history of the Jews in Sweden. In 1925 he became a Zionist, and from then on dedicated himself passionately to spreading Zionism to Swedish Jews. He became president, and later honorary president, of the Zionist Federation and was respected and beloved by all. He died suddenly in the studio of Stockholm Radio as he was preparing to defend the case of Israel in a disputation with an anti-Zionist.

Among his works on Jewish topics are *Judarnas historia i Sverige* ("History of the Jews in Sweden," 1924), the standard work on the subject; *Anti-Semitism* (1925, Eng. tr. 1926), a historical and critical examination; *Kampen om Palestina* ("The Struggle for Palestine," 1940); "Rescue Activities in Scandinavia" (in: *YIVO Annual of Jewish Social Science* (1953), 22–51); and *Judarna i Sverige* ("The Jews in Sweden," 1964). For many years until his death, he was editor of the monthly *Judisk Tidskrift* ("Jewish Review"), originally established by Marcus *Ehrenpreis.

[Chaim Yahil]

°VALERIUS GRATUS, Roman *procurator of Judea, 15–26 C.E., appointed by the emperor Tiberius. Little is known of his administration, but his frequent replacement of the high priest is indicative of his attitude toward the Jews. After deposing Anan b. Seth, he appointed in turn Ishmael b. Phabi I, Eleazar b. Ananius, and Joseph Caiaphas. That his motive was bribery is hinted in the Talmud: "Because money was paid for the purpose of obtaining the position of high priest, [they]were changed every 12 months," and "Since they used to hire it [the office of high priest] out for money, their days were shortened" (Sif. Num. 131).

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[Edna Elazary]

°VALERIUS MAXIMUS (first century C.E.), compiler of historical anecdotes in *Tiberius' reign. He mentions that Cornelius Hispalus expelled the Jews from Rome in 139 B.C.E. for corrupting Roman customs with their worship of Jupiter Sabazius (= Sabaoth?).

[Jacob Petroff]

VALERO, Sephardi family in *Jerusalem. JACOB (d. 1880) was a banker. Born in Constantinople, he settled in Ereẓ Israel in 1835. In 1848 he founded the first modern bank in Jerusalem to have contacts with European capitals. He was a leader of the Jerusalem Sephardi community. His son ḤAYYIM AHARON (1845–1923) was born in Jerusalem and from 1875 acted as the director of the bank his father had founded. He expanded the bank which became the agent for foreign royalty who visited the Holy Land. He was also the agent for the Russian government, which purchased the Russian Compound in the center of the Holy City. He contributed to the unification of the Sephardi and Ashkenazi communities in Jerusalem. His son JOSEPH MOSHE (1882–1945) was born in Jerusalem and studied law in Switzerland, where he was active in Zionist student groups. On his return to Palestine, he practiced law in Jerusalem and became a magistrate there. From 1929 he was a district court judge in Jerusalem. He was one of the three trial judges in the *Arlosoroff murder trial (1934), and he alone vindicated the accused completely. He was also active in public institutions and the Sephardi community.

[Benjamin Jaffe]

VALLADOLID, city in N. central *Spain. As the chief city of the kingdom of Castile and the meeting place of the Cortes, Valladolid attracted many Jews to settle there; it is also connected with decrees and edicts issued there against both the local Jews and those in the kingdom as a whole. Jewish settlement in Valladolid is first mentioned in 1221. However, Jews probably already lived there during the Arab period, as well as immediately after the Christian Reconquest in the 11th century.

Information is extant from the second half of the 13th century concerning houses of the Jewish quarter bought from Christians and the butchery situated near the old synagogue. One of the landowners was Joseph b. Moses de Gerondi (perhaps the son of *Naḥmanides), who was a favorite at the court of *Alfonso x. In 1288 Sancho iv prohibited the Jews of Valladolid from acquiring land in its vicinity. The community appears to have consisted of 50 to 100 families; it was thus of average size in comparison with other Spanish communities.

In 1322 the municipal council prohibited Christians from attending Jewish and Moorish weddings and from receiving treatment from Jewish physicians. Jews were also excluded from holding public office. Nevertheless, the right to farm the *alcabala* tax of Valladolid were leased to Jews. as was the tax imposed on owning livestock. Details are known from the beginning of the 14th century about litigation brought before R. *Asher b. Jehiel (Rosh) between R. Menahem and the community administration of Valladolid, which had sold the right to farm tax collected from it to the community of Carrion. During that period the apostate *Abner of Burgos settled in the town. He was appointed sexton of the church of Valladolid, and even became known as Alfonso of Valladolid. In 1336, on the orders of *Alfonso xi, he engaged in a public *disputation with the Jews of Valladolid on the subject of the **Birkat ha-Minim*. His arguments were accepted by the king who ordered the removal of this prayer from the prayer books.

At the time of the civil war between the brothers Pedro the Cruel and Henry of Trastamara, the inhabitants of the town joined with Henry in 1367, and the local Jews were subsequently subjected to attacks in which eight synagogues were destroyed. The survivors had to receive assistance and support from the communities of the kingdom of Aragon. The community apparently recovered, however, for in 1390 John i granted the monastery of San Benito an income of 15,000 maravedis from the annual tax and service tax which the Jews of Valladolid had paid him. This income was again ratified in 1412, though granted to the monastery from other sources because the majority of the local Jews had by then converted to Christianity as a result of the anti-Jewish persecutions in Spain of 1391.

The community was then in the process of disintegration. At that time Vicente *Ferrer lived in the town. Through his influence, in conjunction with *Pablo de Santa Maria, a series of severe anti-Jewish laws was issued, known as the Laws of Valladolid. The legislation was intended to undermine the foundations of Jewish existence and bring the Jews to conversion. It abolished Jewish autonomy, the Jews' rights of independent jurisdiction, and their special tax administration, among other measures. Christian judges were appointed to administer Jewish law. A special decree prohibited the Jews and the Moors of Valladolid from leaving the town, in conformity with the prohibition forbidding the Jews to leave the kingdom. The local rulers were warned not to offer protection to the Jews.

In 1413 John ii authorized the erection of a new Jewish quarter in Valladolid. The representatives of the community leased land for the quarter from the San Pablo monastery for an annual payment. The contract stipulated that the lease would be annulled if the quarter was removed to another site, if the king ordered the expulsion of the Jews from the town, or if all the Jews converted to Christianity.

An attempt to restore community life in the kingdom, however, was made by an assembly of delegates of the communities of the kingdom of Castile; "scholars and good men" convened between April 4 and May 2, 1432, under the leadership of Don Abraham *Benveniste of Soria in the great synagogue of Valladolid in the Jewish quarter, where they discussed the organization of the communities and their rehabilitation. This meeting was significant since, in addition to the regulations issued there, it was held in the chief city, which was the seat of the "court rabbi" (**rab de la corte*), the leader of Spanish Jewry, and thus expressed the idea of a national Jewish organization. The assembly issued five unique sets of regulations aimed to restore the life of the communities to their former greatness. The Regulations of Valladolid promoted an internal revival of the communities by their own initiative and also demonstrated that it was the policy of the king to encourage their recovery.

In the tax registers of 1439, an annual tax assessment of 15,000 maravedis in old currency is still mentioned, but as few Jews by then remained in Valladolid, John ii reduced the payment to 11,400 maravedis of the same currency. In 1453 he further exempted the Jews and the Moors from various taxes, excepting the annual tax and the service tax. In 1474 the community paid a total of 5,500 maravedis in taxes.

The delegates of the communities met again in Valladolid in 1476. Apparently, a request was made by the communities to appoint R. Vidal Astori chief rabbi of the communities beyond the town of Burgos. Ferdinand agreed to the appointment, but later nominated Abraham *Seneor of Segovia chief rabbi of the whole kingdom in appreciation of his services. Ten years later in 1486, Ferdinand and Isabella took the part of the Jews of Valladolid against the decisions of the municipal council which tried to prevent Jews from settling there by prohibiting marriages of their children outside the town, with the intention of settling there after the marriage. In this period the delegates of the communities met in Valladolid under the leadership of Abraham Seneor to discuss raising funds for the expenses of the war against Granada. The atmosphere of this period, shortly before the expulsion of the Jews from Spain, is reflected in the resolutions of the Christian craftsmen's guilds demanding that the Jews should leave the town because they did not wish to live beside them.

The relations between Jews and *Conversos and between Conversos and Christians by birth in Valladolid emerge in a satirical poem directed against the Converso poet Juan Poeta de *Valladolid, a native of the town. According to the poem, Juan intended to emigrate to Ereẓ Israel but fell into the hands of the Muslims in Fez and adopted Islam; his father, it is stated, sold rags in Valladolid. In 1485, after reports had been received that Conversos had returned to Judaism in Zamora, an investigation was carried out in Valladolid by the royal tribunal, although the *Inquisition tribunals were already active and one had been established in Valladolid that year. It is possible that the court intended thereby to suppress knowledge of the affair. After the expulsion of the Jews from Spain in 1492, Fernán Núñez Coronel (Abraham Seneor) and Luis de Alcalá were appointed to collect the unpaid debts which the Jews had left in Valladolid in favor of the crown.

Apparently because few Conversos returned to Judaism in Castile, the Inquisition tribunal in Valladolid did not develop large-scale activity, though its investigations were renewed in 1499. The tribunal was abolished in 1560 when the area of its jurisdiction was included in the tribunal of Toledo.

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[Haim Beinart]

°**VALLAT, XAVIER** (1891–1972), French antisemitic politician. A member of the Chamber of Deputies from 1919, he changed his political affiliations several times, but always belonged to the extreme right and was an outspoken antisemite. He strove for de-emancipation of the Jews who were to be treated as strangers and in the Chamber (1936–40) "distinguished" himself by his fierce attacks on Leon *Blum. In July 1940 Pétain appointed him secretary general of the veterans' organization. The Nazi occupants suspected him because of his patriotism and dismissed him. However, when Darlan appointed him head of the Commissariat Général aux Questions Juives in March 1941, they did not object. Vallat enlarged the existing anti-Jewish legislation, thereby restricting the Jews' civil rights. He created the framework for the spoliation of Jewish property and founded the *Union Generale des Israelites de France (UGIF), a compulsory association over all Jews. He collaborated with the Nazi authorities but tried to safeguard French interests. Finally, in March 1942 the Nazis obtained his dismissal, but his organization served in the framework of the "Final Solution" in France (see *Holocaust, General Survey). Vallat, who afterward continued to serve Pétain in different offices, was condemned to ten years imprisonment in 1947, but released in January 1950.

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[Yehuda Reshef]

VALLE, MOSES DAVID BEN SAMUEL (1696–1777), Italian physician and kabbalist. Valle was born in Padua. In his youth he wrote in Italian a book against Christianity entitled *I Sette Giorni della Verita*, but his major field was Kabbalah. He was considered to possess spiritual powers and receive mystical revelations. He is mentioned many times in documents relating to the circle of Moses Ḥayyim Luzzatto, of which he was one of the most important members. In this group, Valle seems to have been considered the Messiah. After Luzzatto left for Amsterdam, Valle became the leader of the Padua circle, which was not maintained for a long time. Most of his life he spent in seclusion, studying; he never occupied a rabbinic post, although he served as the cantor in the Sephardi synagogue. He wrote many disquisitions on kabbalistic subjects and other matters. From extant works found in his handwriting, it is possible to fix his date of birth and many details about his career. From all his works, only 70 kabbalistic interpretations on the last verse of the Torah were published (at the end of Luzzatto's **Megillat Setarim*, Warsaw, 1889). His rich legacy of nearly 20,000 pages is as yet unexplored.

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[Gershom Scholem]

VALMASEDA, town in Vizcaya province, N. Spain. The beginning of the Jewish settlement dates back to the 15th century, in the days of King Henry IV. The Jews were brought here and protected by the constable of Castile, the count of Haro. The Jewish quarter was then situated near the old bridge in the present San Lorenzo quarter. The settlement owed its importance to its proximity to the ports of Cantabria from which wool, skins, and other goods were exported to France, Flanders, and England. The Jews in Valmaseda consequently engaged mainly in commerce, and also owned houses and vineyards. In 1474 they paid a total of 1,100 maravedis in taxes which were imposed on them by Jacob ibn Nuñez, court physician and tax farmer. Influenced by the local craftsmen's guilds, and in opposition to crown policy, the town council from 1483 on began to adopt a decidedly anti-Jewish attitude. In 1486 the council of the Basques, which convened in Guernica, decreed the expulsion of the Jews from the area. In 1487 the town council in Valmaseda agreed to negotiate with the local community concerning their voluntary departure.

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[Haim Beinart]

VALONA (Vlor, Vlone, אבילונה), port city in S.W. Albania. The Jewish community is considered one of the most ancient in Europe. Its beginnings are garbed in legend, relating that a Roman ship with a cargo of Jewish slaves from Palestine was blown off course and landed on the Albanian coast. Travelers' narratives mention the presence of Jews in Valona selling salt and pitch and trading with Venice. After the blood libel in Apulia, Italy, in 1290, Apulian Jews settled in Valona. The Jewish situation there improved after the Ottomans captured the city from the Byzantines. Jews from Spain (Castille and Catalonia) and Portugal arrived at the end of the 15th century. Turkish documents show that in 1520 there a total of 945 families in Valona, of which 528 were Jewish. The Jews transformed Valona into a large commercial center trading with Italy, Istanbul, Vienna, and Poland. Practically all commerce in the port was in Jewish hands, and from 1541 to 1637 all the consuls of Ragusa (Dubrovnik) in Valona were Jewish. In 1512, to unite all the Jewish congregations (Byzantine, Italian, Spanish, and Portuguese), the renowned rabbi Messer David *Leon (from Italy) was invited to the city. His strict ways, however, alienated the Spanish and Portuguese and he had to leave. The community amalgamated in the mid-17th century under the *ḥakham* Moses *Albelda.

During the Venetian siege of Valona in their war against the Turks (1688), most of the Jews left the city and escaped to Berat, and later on dispersed to Ioannina, (Greece), Monastir, Bitalya, and Kastoria (Macedonia). The old Torah scroll "Sefer Avilona" – said to be 1,500 years old – was deposited in Salonika, where it was burned by the Nazis. The old synagogue was destroyed by the great fire of 1915.

In 1938 there were 15 Jewish families in Valona. During the Nazi period, the Albanians hid and saved not only all Valona Jews but also the Jewish refugees that reached the city. In 1991 almost all of Valona's Jews settled in Israel.

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[Mordechai Arbell (2nd ed.)]

VALRÉAS, town in the department of Vaucluse, S.E. France. Evidence of the medieval Jewish community in Valréas is the result of the persecution to which it was subjected in 1247 in the wake of a *blood libel. A two-year-old child disappeared on March 26 before Passover; it was found on the next day with the traces of many wounds. The statements of two brothers, both young children, brought suspicion upon the Jews of the town. Three Jews who were imprisoned confessed, after seven days of torture, that they had perpetrated a ritual murder on the child. Six other Jews were then accused and subjected to torture; with the exception of one, they admitted all that their interrogators wished to hear. The cruel sentence that ensued appears to have struck an even larger number of the Jews of Valréas: some were quartered, others burnt alive; men were castrated, and women were mutilated by the ablation of their breasts. The bishop of Saint-Paul-Trois-Châteaux and the high constable of Valence confiscated all the possessions of the Jews under their administration and then imprisoned them. On the other hand, Pope *Innocent IV ordered the archbishop of Vienne to assure the protection of the Jews in two letters (May 28, 1247), two months after the beginning of the persecution. Some regard the decision of the Council of *Valence of 1248, which prohibited all relations between Christians and Jews, and the authorization which Pope Innocent IV granted to the archbishop of Vienne to expel the Jews from his diocese in 1253, as an aftermath of the Valréas affair. The assertion that the final expulsion of the Jews from Valréas took place in about 1570, which would imply that a new community was established, lacks documentary confirmation.

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[Bernhard Blumenkranz]

VALUES OF A JEWISH AND DEMOCRATIC STATE. In Israel, in 1992, two Basic Laws were passed: "Basic Law: Human Dignity and Freedom," and "Basic Law: Freedom of Occupation." These laws have constitutional status, and enumerate a series of rights protected by the Basic Laws (see *Human Dignity and Freedom; *Rights, Human). Section 1a of the Basic Law: Human Dignity and Freedom, declares that "The purpose of this Basic Law is to protect human dignity and liberty, in order to establish in a Basic Law the values of the State of Israel as a Jewish and democratic state." Similarly, Section 2 of the Basic Law: Freedom of Occupation, contains a similar provision regarding freedom of occupation. These sections outline the interpretive principles of the Basic Laws, according to which the court is required to interpret and apply the values entrenched in them, and interpret Israeli legislation in a manner consistent with the constitutionally protected values of the Basic Laws. However, the key phrase, "a Jewish, and democratic state," has been interpreted differently by various jurists and justices.

Justice Aharon Barak holds that:

> The expression "Jewish and democratic" does not imply two opposites, but rather their being complementary and harmonious. The contents of the term "Jewish State" is determined in accordance with the level of abstraction assigned… It should be assigned a high enough level of abstraction to unite all members of society and seek out their common ground. It should be high enough that it is consistent with the democratic nature of the state. Indeed, the state is Jewish not in the religious-halakhic sense, but in the sense that Jews have the right to migrate there, and that their national being is reflected in the being of the state (the matter finds expression, inter alia, in language and in days of rest). The fundamental values of Judaism are the fundamen-

> tal values of the state – namely, love of man, the sanctity of life, social justice, doing what is good and right, preserving human dignity, the rule of law, etc. – values bequeathed by Judaism to the entire world. These values must be approached on a universal level of abstraction, befitting the democratic character of the State. Hence, the values of the State of Israel as a Jewish State cannot be identified with Jewish Law. One must not forget that a sizeable non-Jewish population lives in Israel. Indeed, the values of the State of Israel as a Jewish State are those same universal values that are common to democratic societies, which emerged from Jewish tradition and history. These values are accompanied by the selfsame values of the State of Israel, which spring from the democratic nature of the state. The combination and synthesis between the two are what have shaped the values of the State of Israel" (see bibliography, Barak, *Mishpat u-Mimshal*, 1 .30).

In contrast to the above position, Justice Menachem Elon holds that Justice Barak is employing disparate criteria in interpreting the terms "Jewish" and "democratic," notwithstanding that both terms are meant to describe the nature of the State of Israel. Such interpretation, he asserts, transforms the term "Jewish" into an unimportant, secondary addendum to the term "democratic," without any exegetical rationale or justification for doing so. According to Justice Elon, in setting out to interpret the values entrenched in the aforesaid Basic Laws, the court must have recourse to sources from Jewish Law dealing with the values anchored in these basic laws, in the same way as it has recourse to democratic sources for these values. All this is mandated by the directive set out by the legislator in the law's statement of purpose, according to which the aforesaid basic laws are intended "to establish in a Basic Law the values of the State of Israel as a Jewish and democratic state." The legislator's intent was to find the common ground between the world of Judaism and that of democracy, in such a way that the two worlds will complement one another:

> In coming to interpret the basic rights in the Basic Law: Human Dignity and Freedom with the goal of anchoring the values of the State of Israel as a Jewish and democratic state, we must examine the substance of every individual right that comes before us; we must deliberate on it and come to grips with its content. In addressing the fundamental values of the Jewish heritage with regard to the fundamental rights in The Basic Law: Human Dignity and Freedom, the legislator must relate to the body and content of these values. He must deliberate and examine their philosophical underpinnings and examine the rulings and responsa in the remarkable Jewish legal and philosophical heritage throughout the ages, just as the legislator's relation to the fundamental values of democracy must consist of his examining and analyzing their body and content, sources and rulings – as we judges indeed do when we sit in judgment of the cases that come before us. Only after such examination and analysis do we arrive at our judicial conclusion regarding any of the fundamental rights found within the Basic Law: Human Dignity and Freedom. The resulting synthesis, from the standpoint of the State of Israel being a Jewish and democratic state, is reached by the judge in accordance with his approach, understanding and interpretation. (See Elon, in *Iyyunei Mishpat,* 17 p. 670). See also CA 294/91 *Ḥevra Kaddisha Gachsha Kehillat Yerushalayim v. Kastenbaum,* PD 46(2) 464, 510ff; 506/88 *Shefer v. the State of Israel*, PD 48(1) 87,102ff., 167ff.).

An important source relied upon by Justice Elon in interpreting the term "Jewish and democratic state" was the comment made by the chairman of the Knesset Constitution Committee in the Knesset plenum, during the deliberations over the Basic Law: Human Dignity and Freedom:

> This law was prepared with the understanding that we must create a broad consensus of all parties in the house. We were aware of the fact that we cannot pass a basic law which fixes the values of the State of Israel as a Jewish, democratic state unless we reach a broad consensus of all the parties in the house…. The law opens… with a declaration that it is intended to protect human dignity and freedom so as to entrench in the law the values of the State of Israel as a Jewish, democratic state. In this sense, the law already determines in its first section that we view ourselves as committed to the values of the heritage of Israel and of Judaism, for the law positively and explicitly states "the values of the State of Israel as a Jewish and democratic state." The law defines several of the fundamental freedoms of the individual, not one of which contradicts the Jewish heritage or the values system that is widespread and accepted today in the State of Israel by all parties of the house (Knesset Session 125 (1992 – 5752) (3782–3783).

Section 1 of the Basic Law: Human Dignity and Freedom, and the Basic Law: Freedom of Occupation ("Fundamental Principles") constitutes an additional focal point in the controversy between Justice Barak and Justice Elon. According to these sections, which are identical in their wording, "Basic human rights in Israel are founded on recognition of man's worth, the sanctity of life and his being free, and they shall be respected in the spirit of the principles in the Declaration of Independence of the State of Israel." This section was inserted in the Basic Laws in the 1994 amendments, and it raised the question of the relationship between the new fundamental principles and the previous statement of purpose appearing in the original versions of the two Basic Laws. According to Justice Barak, "Every one of the paragraphs assists in interpreting the others. Thus, for example, the statement of purpose of the Basic Law: Human Dignity and Freedom should be assumed to espouse the appreciation of man's worth, the sanctity of his life and his intrinsic freedom. Moreover, wherever there is an irresolvable internal contradiction between the values of the State of Israel as a Jewish State and its values as a democratic state, that contradiction can be resolved in light of the fixed fundamental principles in the clause pertaining to such principles" (see Barak, *Parshanut Ḥukatit*).

Justice Elon, who criticized the hasty way in which, in his view, the sections of the fundamental principles were legislated, holds that these sections are declarative and no more, and that they bear no practical relevance. Justice Elon concludes this from the section's declarative wording, and from the fact that it is based on "principles in the Declaration of Independence of the State of Israel." According to Justice Elon, that declaration includes many topics, making it difficult to determine which of the principles in the Declaration are meant to be the basis for respecting basic human rights in Israel (see Elon, *Meḥkerei Mishpat,* 12, pp. 289 ff.).

The dispute between Justices Barak and Elon continues their earlier dispute regarding Section 1 of the Foundations of Law Act, 1980 (see: **Mishpat Ivri*, Jewish Law in the State of Israel; *Lost Property). According to that law, "Where the court, faced with a legal question requiring decision, finds no answer to it in statute law or case law or by analogy, it shall decide the issue in the light of the principles of freedom, justice, equity and peace of the Jewish heritage." According to Justice Barak's interpretation of this section, those cases in which a lacuna cannot be answered by way of statute law, case law, or analogy are very limited; hence, there are very few cases, if any, in which the court will "decide in light of the principles of freedom, justice, equity and peace of the Jewish heritage."

By contrast, according to Justice Elon, Section 1 implies *that wherever an uncertainty arises in the interpretation of a legal provision of statute in the Israeli legal system*, the Foundation of the Law directs the court to have recourse to Jewish Law, its source of inspiration and interpretation, except where the law in question explicitly contradicts Jewish Law. Justice Elon criticizes Justice Barak's interpretation of Section 1, which he sees as divesting it of all practical content since, according to Barak's approach, there is almost no chance of a lacuna being created that would direct the court to the principles of the Jewish heritage (see HC 1635/90 *Jerczewsky v. the Prime Minister*, PD 45(1) 749). Justice Elon holds that, once the aforementioned Basic Laws were passed, there was no longer a specific need for lacunae – which according to Justice Barak are almost nonexistent anyway – in order to have recourse in the values of the State of Israel as a Jewish state. Justice Elon criticizes Justice Barak's approach to interpreting "the values of the State of Israel as a Jewish and democratic state," as suffering from the same defects as does his interpretation of Section 1 of the Foundations of Law Act:

> His approach to interpreting the Foundations of Law Act… has led to… closing the door on recourse to the principles of the Jewish heritage. By those means the Foundations of Law Act was rendered essentially useless. Moreover, employing Justice Barak's approach to interpretation of the Basic Law: Human Dignity and Freedom precludes *a priori* ever having recourse to the sources of the Jewish heritage and the Jewish world. The Law and its purpose are thus stymied. (See Bibliography: M. Elon, *Iyyunei Mishpat* 17, p. 688.)

It should nevertheless be noted that in recent writings Justice Barak has attributed more weight to Jewish Law in the framework of the relevant sources for interpreting Basic Laws, and for the interpretation of legislation in general (see Barak, *Shofet be-Ḥevrah Demokratit*, pp. 156–159).

Justice Haim Cohn interprets the terms "Jewish and democratic state" differently. In his view, the interpreter must adopt, from within the principles of Jewish Tradition, only those principles befitting and appropriate to a democratic society. According to this approach, when the discussion concerns a universal, democratic value that also exists in Jewish Law, the particular notes and emphases found in Jewish Law should be applied, and these should be preferred over the interpretation given to the same value in other legal systems. In any case, according to Justice Cohen, "Jewish values will generally not have to conflict with democratic values. Yet when they do conflict, democracy must always take precedence" (see Cohn, *Ha-Praklit*, 50, 24).

Another one of the numerous interpretations offered for the term "Jewish and democratic" is that of Ariel Bendor. Bendor contends that according to the limitation clause of the Basic Laws, the constitutionality of a law that violates a right entrenched in the Basic Law is determined in accordance with its consistency (or inconsistency) with the "values of the State of Israel." The implied reference is to the State of Israel as a Jewish, democratic state, as appears previously in the law's statement of purpose. Accordingly, Bendor holds that the law in question must undergo a twofold examination: Is the law consonant with the values of the State of Israel as a Jewish state, and is it consonant with the values of the State of Israel as a democratic state? If it turns out that the law is inconsistent with one of these values, that law does not meet the conditions of the limitation clause, and the court is entitled to declare the law void.

Bendor emphasizes that, under certain circumstances, the principles of Jewish Law protect human rights more effectively than democratic principles. Thus, for example, under certain circumstances, rights afforded suspects and defendants on trial in Jewish Law, as emerged from a ruling by Justice Menachem Elon, are broader than those afforded suspects and defendants on trial according to democratic principles (see: *Detention; *Imprisonment; *Imprisonment for Debt). Where the law is inconsistent with the values of Jewish Law in these matters, the court is entitled, as noted, to declare a law void (see Bibliography: A. Bendor, *Mishpat u-Mimshal*, 2).

A striking example of the application of Justice Elon's interpretation of "Jewish and democratic state" was the Shefer case (CA 506/88 *Shefer v. the State of Israel*, 48(1) 87), in which the Supreme Court, inter alia, adjudicated the question of active euthanasia (see *Medicine and the Law: Euthanasia). Justice Elon examined the problem in accordance with the need to balance between the Jewish values of the State of Israel and its democratic values. He ruled that, according to *halakhah*, the point of departure of this question is:

> [T]he supreme value of the sanctity of human life. This supreme value has its foundation, as noted, in the supreme tenet of man's having been created in the image of God, with everything necessitated and implied by that. All this being so, there does not exist, nor can there exist, any way of measuring a man's value… This being the case, actively hastening death, actively shortening a man's life, even if it be labeled 'mercy killing,' is absolutely forbidden, even if performed at the patient's request. Our great duty under the circumstances is to ease the patient's pain and suffering in every possible way (page 144 of the ruling).

Justice Elon also discussed the position of the various democratic systems on this question, and then turned to discussing a synthesis of these systems:

> We are committed to finding a synthesis between the dual purposes of the Basic Law: Human Dignity and Freedom – namely, entrenching the values of the State of Israel as a Jewish and democratic state in its laws… One of the fundamental issues in the case before us is the possibility of actively hastening death. Jewish Law absolutely forbids this possibility, and there is no opinion or even a trace of opinion which permits this act, which in the world of *halakhah* is viewed as murder. Among democratic legal systems, American law prohibits actively hastening death. By contrast, in the Dutch legal system, active euthanasia is permitted and has even been legislatively regulated. It is clear and goes without saying that on this question synthesizing Jewish Law with that of a democratic country means accepting the common ground of Jewish Law and American law regarding the prohibition against actively hastening death, while absolutely rejecting the Dutch position that permits actively hastening death. Moreover, even if most of the democratic legal systems permitted, under certain circumstances, active euthanasia… A synthesis would be achieved through finding the common ground between Jewish Law and the legal system of any one country that still forbade it. Even more to the point, even if in actual fact not one democratic legal system forbade active euthanasia… since active euthanasia contradicts the essence of the State of Israel as a Jewish State, as we emphasized above, synthesizing the two concepts – "Jewish and democratic" – would mean preferring the conclusion necessitated by the values of a Jewish State and interpreting "democratic state" accordingly (pp. 167–68 of the ruling).

(For additional instances in which Justice Elon's approach to interpreting "Jewish and democratic state" was applied, see *Mishpat Ivri: Jewish Law in the State of Israel.)

In the topic under discussion, it would be appropriate to refer to points emphasized in the entry, "Law and Morality" regarding the instructive position of Jewish Law in terms of the role of the court, where appropriate, in compelling litigants to go "beyond the letter of the law." Toward the end of that discussion, Elon said:

> As written above, in rulings touching on these questions, and handed down before passage of the Basic Laws of the State of Israel, the court could only recommend going beyond the letter of the law. Yet in 1992, Basic Laws were enacted whose declared purpose was to establish in a Basic Law the values of the State of Israel as a Jewish and democratic state." In those laws, the term "Jewish" precedes the term "democratic," thereby according a preeminent role to Jewish Law within the values of the State of Israel as a Jewish State. In wake of these Basic Laws, it would seem appropriate for the issue of ruling beyond the letter of the law to emerge anew. The courts should adopt the approach of compelling litigants, under appropriate circumstances, to go beyond the letter of the law. A central sphere in the integration of Jewish and democratic values is the relationship between law and morality, and it is clear that Basic Laws need to have an influence on this sphere, and on the interpretation of associated legislation.

Examples of this from the realms of statute law and case law have been brought in our discussion of the topic, *Law and Morality.

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[Menachem Elon (2nd ed.)]

VALYI, PETER (1919–1973), Hungarian statesman. Valyi was born in Szombathely, Hungary. His father, Emanuel, the owner of a brick factory, was for some time head of the local Jewish community. There was even a suggestion that Valyi should train for the rabbinate, and for this purpose, in addition to his secular studies at the local high school, he was taught Bible and Talmud privately. During the period of Nazi rule in Hungary in 1944, the Valyi family was exempted from transportation to Auschwitz in view of the fact that the head of the family had been awarded a gold medal for bravery in World War I.

Valyi graduated as an engineer at the Technion of Budapest. As soon as the Red Army entered Hungary, he joined the ranks of the Communist Party, gradually rising to a position of importance. In 1954, he was appointed deputy director of the planning organization of the Communist Party and continued in this office until 1967, when he was appointed minister of finance in the government of Hungary. In 1970, he was appointed deputy prime minister, and put in charge of economic planning. He was regarded as the father of the new policy which produced a remarkable growth of Hungary's economy. This policy, which included the establishment of strong economic ties with the West, was not viewed favorably by the Russians and it also met with internal opposition. As a result, it was only in his last years that Valyi was elected to the Central Committee of the party, and he was never made a member of the Politburo. From the time that he rose to prominence, Valyi severed all relations with the Jewish community, and even with members of his family. He died in mysterious circumstances in 1973. According to reports, he fell into a furnace while inspecting the processes of steel manufacture at a factory.

VAMBERY, ARMINIUS (1832–1913), Hungarian traveler and Orientalist. He was born Hermann Vamberger (erroneously referred to as Bamberger) of Orthodox parents in Dunajska Streda on the island of Schütt, Hungary, Vambery, who was congenitally lame, worked to maintain himself from the age of 12 as a tailor's apprentice and later as a tutor. Possessed of an extraordinary capacity for languages and a phenomenal memory, he mastered numerous European languages and then turned to Arabic, Turkish, and Persian, achieving magisterial fluency and control in these.

In his early twenties, fired by the dream of exploring the putative homeland of the Magyars in Asia, he moved to Constantinople where he lived as a tutor of European languages and executed translations from Turkish history. He became a Muslim and entered the service of the Turkish government as secretary to Mehmet Fuad Pasha, five times foreign minister of Turkey. While in Constantinople he earned the esteem of Sultan Abdul-Hamid II.

During his six years in Constantinople, he published a Turkish-German dictionary (1858) and other linguistic works, acquired a variety of Oriental languages and dialects, and traveled extensively. In 1863–64 he undertook a long and arduous journey through Armenia, *Persia, and Turkestan, disguised as a Sunnite dervish under the assumed name Rashid Effendi. He journeyed across the Turkoman desert on the eastern shore of the Caspian to Khiva, *Teheran, Trebizond, *Bukhara, Samarkand, Herat, and back to Constantinople maintaining his disguise to the end despite many difficult tests, which might have cost him his life had the Muslim authorities known his identity. Said to have been the first European to make such a journey, the account of his exploits, *Travels and Adventures in Central Asia* (1864), aroused great interest throughout Europe. This was the case especially in England appearing as it did at a time of acute tension between Russia and England for the mastery of Central Asia. During his peregrinations in Persia he established contact with the British legation and his pro-British orientation combined with his masterful knowledge of the Near East and *India were to make him an important and useful advocate of British foreign policy.

After his return from the long trek in the spring of 1864, he visited London where he was lionized for his triumph as an intrepid adventurer and his impressive polyglot achievement. Then after a stop in Paris, Vambery, who had apparently become a Protestant, accepted an invitation from the University of Budapest to teach Oriental languages and in this capacity he served until 1905. Among his students were I. *Goldziher, B. *Munkacsi, and I. Kunos.

He produced a whole range of works on Oriental languages and ethnology and in addition, essays on political questions and popular accounts of his travels, one of which was a favorite boys' book. His books were translated into many languages but his autobiography, *Arminius Vambery, His Life and Adventures* (1883), and his memoirs, *The Story of My Struggles* (1904), were written in English. One of his scholarly contributions to Turkology was the discovery of the relation of Turkish and Magyar. He also contributed to the ethnology of Central Asia and India. A staunch protagonist of British dominance in the East he placed his vast knowledge of Central Asia at the disposal of Great Britain, serving as her adviser on Indian and Asiatic policy, executing various diplomatic missions in the Near East, and becoming a personal friend of the prince of Wales, later Edward VII. His preoccupation with the "Eastern question" is documented in various political essays, e.g., *The Coming Struggle for India* (1885).

Vambery supported *Zionism in its emergent stage by introducing Theodor *Herzl to Sultan Abdul-Hamid in 1901. After Herzl's death Vambery's counsel in respect of the Zionist cause was solicited by David *Wolfssohn. Vambery married Cornelia Aranyi (a niece of Joseph *Joachim, the violin virtuoso) and their son was the criminologist Rustem Vambery.

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[Ephraim Fischoff]

°VANCE, ZEBULON BAIRD (1830–1894), North Carolina lawyer and politician who supported Jewish rights. Vance, a colonel in the Confederate army in the Civil War, served in his state legislature (1854–61) and was governor. He went on from there to the U.S. Senate (1879–94). Vance is known to the Jewish world primarily for a lecture, *The Scattered Nation* (1904, 1916), that he delivered many times. It is a tribute to the Jewish people, praising their love of learning and their having flourished despite a history of persecutions.

VANCOUVER, city in British Columbia and largest in Western Canada, with a population of nearly 2 million in 2001, including a Jewish community of 22,590.

Jewish life in Vancouver began in the early 1880s, when a small number of pioneers arrived at the town site of the future metropolis, drawn by the prospects of its deep-sea harbor on the Pacific Ocean and impending status as the terminus of the trans-Canada railway. One of the city's most prominent early builders was David Oppenheimer (1834–1897), a Jewish resident of German origins who served as Vancouver's second mayor from 1887 to 1891. During his term in office, Oppenheimer opened foreign trade and initiated the construction of Vancouver's water supply, sidewalks, bridges, transit, and lighting. He also donated large tracts of his personal property for civic facilities and the promotion of local industry. Oppenheimer was popularly known as the "father of Vancouver," and his bust still stands at the entrance of Stanley Park, the world-famous green space that he procured for the city in 1888.

Until the beginning of the 20th century, Vancouver's Jewish population remained below 200, split between a small congregation (Temple Emanuel) of acculturated West European Jews living in the west end and an increasing number of East European newcomers. Most of the latter concentrated initially in Vancouver's immigrant district in the Strathcona and Chinatown areas, many working in the clothing trade or secondhand goods. By 1911, the East Europeans had swelled the Jewish community to 1,024, becoming the dominant element. In 1907 the Orthodox congregation B'nai Yehuda (Sons of Israel) was established under the presidency of Zebulon Franks (1864–1926), a merchant in whose store and home the first Orthodox services in Vancouver had been held 20 years earlier. The congregation opened its first synagogue in 1911 and changed its name to Schara Tzedeck (Gates of Righteousness) in 1917, building a much larger synagogue in 1921, when Vancouver's Jewish population had reached 1,376. For the next three decades Schara Tzedeck was led, for the most part, by Nathan Mayer Pastinsky (1887–1948), a qualified *shoḥet* who became the religious leader for the Jewish community, universally respected for his citywide welfare work and spiritual leadership.

As the Jewish community grew to 2,440 by 1931, a vigorous organizational life became the hallmark of Vancouver Jewry. The first secular group to form was a B'nai B'rith lodge in 1910. During the 1930s to 1950s, the lodge sponsored a highly successful interfaith "Goodwill Dinner" each year, honoring leading representatives from different areas of public life. A Zionist and Social Society was founded in 1913, the official beginning of the community's long history of support of a Jewish state. The first of numerous Hadassah chapters was organized in 1920, and for many years the group ran the largest annual bazaar in the city. The National Council of Jewish Women has also been very prominent in Vancouver since 1924, initiating a number of innovative social programs for children and the elderly. A women's B'nai B'rith section was formed in 1927 and Pioneer Women in 1933. Among the community's youth groups during these years were Young Judaea and Aleph Zadik Aleph, and slightly later, Hillel and one of the most active Habonim chapters in North America.

Early mutual aid organizations included a Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society, a Hebrew Free Loan Association, and an Achduth Society (credit union) established in 1927. A Jewish Community Chest was founded in 1924 to centralize the community's fundraising, later serving as the model for the Vancouver-wide Community Chest. In 1928, a Jewish community center was opened and began publishing a weekly newssheet, the precursor to the *Jewish Western Bulletin*, which has served as the community's newspaper since 1930. To coordinate these new institutions and organizations, a Jewish Administrative Council was established in 1932, superseded by an enlarged representative body in 1950, the Jewish Community Council and Fund. Internal community welfare work was also strengthened through the 1936 creation of a Jewish Family Service Agency, run for many years by social worker Jessie Allman, and the 1946 founding of the Louis Brier Home for the Aged.

In addition to a strong tendency toward institutional affiliation, since the end of World War II rapid growth has become a dominant feature of Vancouver's Jewish community. In 1951 the population was 5,467, and by 1971 it was 10,145. Although the majority of newcomers were Jews from other parts of Canada, particularly the prairie provinces, there were also several hundred Holocaust survivors and, later, refugees from Hungary and the Soviet bloc. Vancouver's generally high level of postwar prosperity allowed for considerable upward mobility and economic diversification in the Jewish community, marked by a residential shift away from the east end to the more affluent Oak Street corridor in the south-west part of the city. In 1948, a Talmud Torah day school was built in the area, as was the Schara Tzedeck's new synagogue. The Beth Israel, a Conservative congregation that had been incorporated in 1932, also opened a new Oak Street synagogue in 1948, eventually surpassing Schara Tzedeck in membership. Further cultural and religious diversity emerged with the revival of a Reform group in the 1960s, the incorporation of a Sephardi congregation in 1973, and the arrival of Lubavitch in 1974.

In the midst of this rapid expansion, the 1962 opening of an ambitious new Vancouver Jewish Community Centre created a focal point for communal activities, housing many of the Jewish community's organizations as well as providing cultural and athletic facilities. The Pacific Region of the Canadian Jewish Congress (CJC), which had become its own branch in 1949, also assumed a leading role in community public relations, advocacy for Israel, and a number of educational initiatives. Although antisemitism in Vancouver was never a serious threat, the CJC was particularly active in calling for anti-discrimination legislation, co-founding the Vancouver Civic Unity Council for this purpose during the 1950s. Congress also sponsored a number of Christian-Jewish dialogues in the 1970s, and during the 1980s helped found an umbrella organization known as the Committee for Racial Justice. Longtime Pacific Region Executive Director Morris Saltzman (1918–1988) was especially active in inter-ethnic outreach, and in tandem with Lou Zimmerman (1911–1987), the first and longest-serving Jewish community civil servant in Vancouver, provided much of the organizational leadership throughout the postwar decades.

In addition to several programs and facilities for the religious education of youth and adults, most recently the Community Kollel and the Pacific Torah Institute, a Vancouver Peretz Centre has been providing secular, humanist Jewish education since 1945, also maintaining a small Yiddish presence. Other Jewish cultural initiatives in Vancouver have included the establishment of a Judaica library and a program of Jewish Studies at the University of British Columbia. A Vancouver-based Jewish Historical Society of B.C. has been in operation since 1971, with a museum devoted to local Jewish history scheduled to open. The very successful annual Jewish Film Festival and Jewish Festival of the Arts have also become part of the community calendar. Since the mid-1970s, Holocaust awareness has taken on increasing prominence as a vehicle for education, most notably through the 1976 inception of an annual symposium for high school students and the 1995 opening of a Vancouver Holocaust Education Centre.

Vancouver now has the third largest Jewish community in Canada, with its 2001 Jewish population of 22,590 just over 1% of the total population of the city. Although the Oak Street corridor remains home to approximately half of the city's Jews, considerable expansion has taken place into the suburbs, with new synagogues and Jewish community centers in Richmond, Burnaby/Coquitlam, North Vancouver, and Surrey. There are more than a dozen congregations across the metropolitan area, with affiliations ranging from Egalitarian to Chabad. To provide services to this increasingly dispersed community, a Jewish Federation of Greater Vancouver was established in 1987, assuming responsibility for the Combined Jewish Appeal campaign, which supports over 30 local agencies as well as Israeli and overseas Jewish causes. A Shalom B.C. welcoming center also provides newcomers with information about local Jewish life.

There have been many Vancouver Jews to have an important impact on both the Jewish and non-Jewish communities. Businessman Jack *Diamond (1910–2001) was an extremely prominent leader and benefactor, helping to found several major charities such as the local Variety Club, the B.C. Heart Foundation, and the Diamond Foundation. He also served as chancellor of Simon Fraser University (SFU), as did prominent businessman and philanthropist Joseph Segal (1925–). Morris Wosk (1917–2002) was one of SFU's greatest benefactors, particularly in the establishment of the downtown Harbour Centre campus. Judge Nathan *Nemetz (1913–1997) was the first Jewish chancellor of the University of British Columbia as well as the first Jewish chief justice of the B.C. Supreme Court and B.C. Court of Appeals. The first Jewish judge in Canada, Samuel *Schultz (1865–1917), was also a Vancouver resident. In politics, Dave *Barret (1930–) served as the provincial premier in 1972–75, while Harry Rankin (1920–2002) served on the Vancouver City Council for over 20 years and journalist Simma Holt (1922–) was the first Jewish woman to serve as a member of Parliament, representing the Vancouver-Kingsway district. Between 1969 and 1983, Muni Evers (1914–2002) was re-elected seven times as the mayor of New Westminster, part of Greater Vancouver.

[Barbara Schober (2nd ed.)]

VAN DAM, HENDRIK GEORGE (1906–1973), leader and recognized spokesman of the post-war Jewish community in Germany. Born in Berlin, Van Dam studied law, but his legal career came to an abrupt end with Hitler's rise to power. After spending several years in Holland and Switzerland, he emigrated to England, and in 1941 enlisted in the British Army, later serving in Holland and occupied Germany. After his release from the army in 1946, he volunteered for the Jewish Relief units and served as their legal adviser and later as director for the British Zone of Occupation in Germany. With the establishment of the Central Council (Zentralrat) of the Jews in Germany, he was appointed secretary general of the Council in October 1950, with residence first in Hamburg and later in Duesseldorf, continuing in that capacity until 1972. He participated in the negotiations between the *Conference on Jewish Material Claims against Germany and was a delegate of the German Government at The Hague in 1952, and became one of the foremost legal experts in the field of restitution and indemnification.

Van Dam's book, *Das Bundesentschaedigungsgesetz* ("The Federal Indemnification Law," 1953) became a classic and has been published in several revised editions. He also wrote *Die Haager Vertragswerke* ("The Hague Treaties," 1952), *KZ Verbrechen vor deutschen Gerichten* ("Concentration Camp Crimes before German Tribunals," 2 vols., 1962–66), and *Die Unverjaehrbarkeit des Voelkermordes* ("No Statute of Limitation for Genocide," 1969).

Early in 1950, Van Dam was asked by the Israel Ministry of Finance to prepare an opinion on the legal basis and prospects of a claim by the Government of Israel to inherit heirless Jewish property. In a memorandum submitted to the Ministry on July 1, 1950, Van Dam advised the Israel Government to enter into negotiations with the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany. His advice, though at that time premature from both the Israeli and German points of view, proved his foresight.

Van Dam was one of the chief protagonists of the reconstitution of a Jewish community in Germany. He believed that the reestablishment of the community was not only an inalienable right of the Jews but also in the interest of world Jewry. He maintained that the reemergence of a viable and strong German Republic was a world necessity, and that it was in the interests of the free world – and therefore also of the Jewish people – that the new Germany be integrated in the new world as a reformed and truly democratic component. Normalization of relations between the Jewish people and the new Germany, he felt, was unavoidable in the long run, and should therefore not be delayed, and in this process the Jewish community in Germany could and must play a decisive role. A large-scale German reparations program (in the sense of undoing the wrong; in German, *Wiedergutmachung*) would not only meet a justified Jewish claim, but also act as a catalyst in the process of normalization. Although Van Dam refused to advocate the return of Jews to Germany, he also refused to dissuade Jews from returning. Since the community existed and should exist, its voluntary dissolution would not serve the interests either of world Jewry or of the State of Israel. He coined the slogan: "We insist on existing" and maintained his view against the opposition of many Jewish leaders and movements.

Although he recognized the need for a Jewish State after the Holocaust and was always ready to lend his advice and active assistance to Israel, Van Dam emphasized that he was not a Zionist, believing rather in a polycentric world Jewish community. He died in Dusseldorf.

[Chaim Yahil]

VAN DER HOEDEN, JACOB (1891–1968), bacteriologist. Van der Hoeden was born in Utrecht, Holland, where he received his doctorate in 1922. From 1920 to 1930 he was senior bacteriologist in the medical department of the Dutch National Institute for Public Health and from 1930 to 1949 director of the bacteriological laboratory of the Hospital of the University of Utrecht. In 1949 he was invited by the government of Israel to advise on the organization of veterinary research and decided to settle there, heading the department of epidemiology of the Biological Research Institute in Nes Ẓiyyonah until 1955. In 1956 he was appointed clinical professor of bacteriology at the Medical School of the Hebrew University and was elected a member of the committee on zoonosis of the World Health Organization. He was awarded the Israel Prize for agriculture in 1961.

VÁNDOR, LAJOS (1913–1945), Hungarian poet. His wry and sophisticated verses were published in the 1930s and again in 1989 in a volume titled *Egy költö élt itt köztetek* ("A Poet Lived Here Amongst You"). Vándor was a victim of the Holocaust.

[Eva Kondor]

VANE, SIR JOHN R. (1927–2004), U.K. pharmacologist. Vane was born in Tardebigg, Worcestershire, the son of a father descended from Russian immigrants and an English mother. His family lived in Birmingham where he was educated at King Edward VI High School. Although he gained his B.Sc. in chemistry from the University of Birmingham University (1946), he realized that this subject of his boyhood fascination no longer interested him. He studied pharmacology at Oxford University, where he obtained his D.Phil. (1953) from the University's Nuffield Institute for Medical Research under the direction of Geoffrey Dawes. He was assistant professor in the department of pharmacology of Yale University (1953–55) before joining the Institute of Basic Medical Sciences of the University of London, eventually sited at the Royal College of Surgeons (1955–73) where he became professor of experimental pharmacology. He left to become Group Research and Development Director of the Wellcome Physiological Research Laboratories in Beckenham, Kent (1973–86). In 1986 he founded a new laboratory at St Bartholomew's Hospital Medical College, University of London which developed into the William Harvey Research Institute. Vane established a novel method for directly detecting and measuring unstable hormones and mediators in small blood samples from experimental animals. His main interest was the large and complicated group of substances called prostaglandins and the manner in which these regulate blood flow. He made major contributions to the discovery of the member of this group called prostacyclin clarifying its role in inhibiting blood clots. He showed that the therapeutic effects of aspirin and other anti-inflammatory drugs result from inhibiting the enzyme cyclo-oxygenase, also part of the prostaglandin group. For these discoveries, he was awarded the 1982 Nobel Prize in physiology or medicine, shared with Sune Bergström and Bengt Samuelsson. He also participated in and directed research that led to the introduction of drugs inhibiting angiotensin-converting enzyme (ACE), now routinely used to treat high blood pressure and some forms of heart disease. He also worked on the pharmacological regulation of the specialized cells lining blood vessels. He was deeply concerned with international scientific collaboration and especially with Polish scientists. His many honors included election to the Royal Society (1974), the Bunim Medal of the American Rheumatism Association (1979), and foreign membership in the American Academy of Arts and Sciences (1982) and the U.S. National Academy of Sciences (1983). He was also awarded the Lasker Award in Basic Medical Science (1977), a knighthood (1984), and the Polish Order of Merit (2003).

[Michael Denman (2nd ed.)]

VAN HODDIS, JAKOB (**Hans Davidsohn**; 1887–1942), German poet. Born into an assimilated family, Van Hoddis chose as a pseudonym an anagram of his surname, Davidsohn. He was among the founders of the "*Neue Club*" in Berlin, regarded as the heart of German expressionism. His poem "Weltende" ("End of the World"), published in 1911, made its author famous overnight, becoming "the Marseillaise of the expressionist rebellion" (J.R. Becher). Showing first symptoms of psychosis at the age of 25, van Hoddis received private foster care from 1915 on. Twelve years later, incapacitated, he was referred to psychiatric clinics in Tuebingen and Goeppingen. While the rest of his family immigrated to Palestine just after Hitler's seizure of power, van Hoddis – like all Jewish psychiatry patients – was taken to the "Israelite Convalescent Home for the Mentally Ill" in Bendorf-Sayn; from there he was deported in April 1942 and murdered in a Polish concentration camp (presumably Chełmno or Sobibor).

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[Philip Theisohn (2nd ed.)]

VAN LEER, LIA (1924–), founder of the Jerusalem Cinematheque and Jerusalem Film Center. Van Leer was born in Bessarabia, Romania, and immigrated to Israel in 1940. In 1955 she established, together with her husband, Wim van Leer (who died in 1992), the Israel Film Club in Haifa. A year later the couple established film clubs in Tel Aviv and Jerusalem. In 1960 they founded the Israel Film Archive, in 1972 the Haifa Cinematheque, and in 1973 the Jerusalem Cinematheque. The latter screens quality films seven nights a week and houses the Jerusalem Film Center as well as the archive. It has a collection of 30,000 films and 50,000 negatives, including the world's largest collection of Jewish films, and 20,000 videos and cassettes, a library, and an education department. In 1983 Van Leer was a judge at the Cannes Film Festival and in 1984 she founded the annual Jerusalem Film Festival. In 1988 she hosted a large delegation from Russia at the Festival. She has also been a judge at the Berlin, Chicago, and Venice film festivals. In 1998 she was awarded an Israeli Film Academy Award. She also received the French Chevalier des Artes et Lettres award in homage to Israeli culture and art. In 2004 she received the Israel Prize for her special contribution to Israeli society.

[Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

VAN OVEN, English family of physicians and communal workers. The founder is said to have been an Italian Jew named Samuel Bassan who settled in Oven (Hoven, Holland). ABRAHAM VAN OVEN (d. 1778) settled in London in 1759 after graduating in medicine at Leiden, and became physician to the Great Synagogue in 1767. He translated into Hebrew R. Dodsley's *Oeconomy of Human Life* (London, 1778). His son, JOSHUA VAN OVEN (1766–1838), was also surgeon to the Great Synagogue and a leading figure in London communal life. His *Letters on the Present State of the Jewish Poor in the Metropolis* (London, 1802), in answer to the strictures of the magistrate Patrick Colquhoun, initiated a systematic attempt to grapple with the social problems of London Jewry. He was foremost among the founders of the Jews' Free School and published a *Manual of Judaism* in 1835 for school use. Van Oven served as the school's president for many years. He was the father of BARNARD VAN OVEN (1796–1860), physician to the Great Synagogue from 1827, who was active in the movement for Jewish emancipation in England and published some effective pamphlets. He was a founder of the Jews' Infant Schools in 1841. Barnard's son, LIONEL VAN OVEN (1829–1905), besides being active in Jewish communal work, was a pioneer in the oral instruction of deaf-mutes.

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[Cecil Roth]

°**VAN PAASSEN, PIERRE** (1895–1968), writer and journalist; among the most fervent non-Jewish Zionists. Born in Gorinchem, Holland, to a Calvinist family, Van Paassen was raised on the Bible and love for the people and the land of Israel. From 1914 he lived in Canada. He became a world-famous journalist, noted for his travel articles and interviews with leading personalities. His attachment to the Jewish people and land of Israel emerged after his first visit to Palestine in 1925, and from then on his books and articles reflected his enthusiastic attitude toward Zionism. In 1942 Van Paassen headed in the U.S. the Committee for a Jewish Army. His book *The Forgotten Ally* (1943) was a sharp indictment of British anti-Zionist policy; its Hebrew version was banned by the Mandatory government in Palestine in 1946. He also polemicized against Jewish and Zionist leaders whom he accused of a moderate, compromising stance toward anti-Zionist Britain.

Van Paassen published many books, some of them autobiographical (*Days of Our Years*, 1943; *To Number Our Days*, 1964). He was the author of *That Day Alone* (1941), *The Time is Now* (1941), and *Jerusalem Calling* (1950) and the editor (together with J.W. Wise) of *Nazism, an Assault on Civilization* (1934).

[Getzel Kressel]

VAN PRAAGH, WILLIAM (1845–1907), English educator. Born Wolf Saloman in Rotterdam, Van Praagh pioneered the lip-reading method for deaf-mutes in England. He received his training from D. Hirsch, director of the Rotterdam School for the Deaf and Dumb, who had introduced into Holland the German oral method of instructing the deaf and dumb. When Baroness Mayer de Rothschild established the Jews' Deaf and Dumb Home in London (1866), Van Praagh was appointed principal. His patience and kindness endeared him to his pupils, and his methods proved successful. In 1872 the Association for the Oral Instruction of the Deaf and Dumb, which the baroness had founded, established a college for training teachers in the oral method, and a nonsectarian school for the deaf and dumb. Van Praagh became director of the college and principal of the school. In 1894 he founded the Union of Pure Oral Teachers.

Van Praagh's publications include *Plan for the Establishment of Day-Schools for the Deaf and Dumb* (1871), *Lessons for the Instruction of Deaf and Dumb Children in Speaking, Lip-Reading, Reading, and Writing* (1884), and *Lip-Reading for the Deaf* (1900^6). Dame (Margaret) Peggy Van Praagh (1910–1990), the well-known ballerina and director of the Australian Ballet, was his granddaughter. She was knighted in 1970.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Cornhill Magazine* (1868), 573–7; A. Farrar, *Arnold on the Education of the Deaf* (1901), 75, 79.

[Shnayer Z. Leiman]

VAN RAALTE, EDUARD ELLIS (1841–1921), Dutch lawyer and statesman. Born in The Hague, after his academic studies he became a solicitor in Rotterdam, where in 1877 he joined the city council as a Liberal member, serving as an alderman in the period from 1892 to 1897. From 1885 to 1901 he was a member of the Liberal Union Party, of which he became chairman in 1907. Twice he served as a member of Parliament, namely, in the periods 1897 to 1905 and 1913 to 1918. In the De Meester administration (1905–08) he was minister of justice; in 1907 he initiated the Labor Contracts Act that bears his name. That same year an attempt was made against his life by a malcontent musician. Van Raalte was appointed Knight in the Order of the Dutch Lion.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Onze Afgevaardigden, bevattende portretten en biographieën der leden van de Eerste en Tweede Kamer der Staten Generaal* (1897; 1901; 1905; 1913).

[Peter Manasse (2nd ed.)]

VANUNU AFFAIR, case of an Israeli nuclear reactor technician who disclosed Israel's nuclear arms secrets to the London *Sunday Times*. Mordechai Vanunu (1954–) was born in Morocco to a Sephardi religious family and immigrated to Israel in 1963. In 1977 he began work as a technican at Israel's nuclear research reactor at Dimonah, attached to Machon 2, where plutonium is separated from uranium. In 1985 he was laid off, moving to Australia. Prior to leaving, he took 57 photographs inside the reactor. On October 5, 1986, the *Sunday Times* published a three-page disclosure drawing on Vanunu's information. According to the newspaper, Israel possessed 100–200 nuclear warheads, which was much higher than most earlier estimates of the country's nuclear arsenal. It was also claimed that Israel was developing neutron and thermonuclear capabilities. The newspaper arrived at its estimate of the number of warheads on the basis of Vanunu's description of the amount of plutonium produced. Given that the fact that Israel had never confirmed whether or not it possessed the Bomb, Vanunu became the first eyewitness to the nuclear program to speak without authorization. He was abducted to Israel from Europe by Mossad agents and stood trial for espionage and treason. He was sentenced to 18 years' imprisonment, 12 of which were served in solitary confinement. In 2004 he was released from prison but prevented from leaving the country. Vanunu, who studied philosophy at Ben-Gurion University while working at the reactor, and converted to Christianity in Australia, said that he leaked the information so that the Israeli public and the world community would know about the nuclear danger. Vanunu became an icon in the international anti-nuclear movement. While the disclosure lowered incrementally the ambiguity surrounding Israel's nuclear program, it generated little international pressure on Israel, most Western governments recognizing that Israel should not be pressured on the nuclear issue at the same time it was being pressured to make territorial concessions to the Palestinians. Moreover, while most foreign governments adjusted their estimates of Israel's nuclear capability upwards – strengthening Israel's nuclear deterrent posture – not all countries, including the United States, went so far as to accept the *Sunday Times*' estimates. Vanunu was awarded a number of prizes from organizations promoting anti-nuclearism.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Y. Cohen, *Whistleblowers and the Bomb: Vanunu, Israel & Nuclear Secrecy* (2005); idem, *Nuclear Ambiguity: The Vanunu Affair* (1992).

[Yoel Cohen (2nd ed.)]

VAN VRIESLAND, SIEGFRIED ADOLF (**Zadok**; 1886–1939), Zionist leader. Born in Haarlem, Holland, Van Vriesland practiced law in Rotterdam and joined the Zionist movement in 1910. He became secretary of the Dutch Zionist Organization before World War I and, in 1919, settled in Palestine, where he was appointed treasurer of the Zionist Executive and was later active in the Haganah. He was Dutch consul-general in Palestine from 1929 and a member of the Zionist Executive from 1923 to 1927. Van Vriesland served as treasurer of the Executive during the difficult period for the *yishuv* and tried to balance its budget despite the economic crisis. From 1929 he was a member of the board of directors of the Dead Sea potash company. In 1936 he became manager of the port of Tel Aviv, opened during the Arab riots of that year. Three years later he decided to retire from public life and devote himself to art.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Tidhar, 2 (1948), 602–3.

[Eliezer Livneh]

VAN VRIESLAND, VICTOR EMANUEL (1892–1974), Dutch poet, literary critic, and journalist. Born in Haarlem, Van Vriesland first worked as a journalist on the staff of *De Nieuwe Gids* and *De Vrije Bladen*, became literary editor of the daily *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (1931–38), and in 1937 edited *De Groene Amsterdammer.*

After World War II Van Vriesland published several collections of poetry, some of which was collected in *Drievoudig verweer* ("Threefold Resistance," 1949). Ten years later he published another collection, *Tegengif* ("Antidote"). His only novel, *Het afscheid van de wereld in drie dagen* ("Farewell to the World in Three Days," 1926; shortened version, 1936), had little success. He also wrote short stories, collected in *De ring met de aquamarijn en andere verhalen* ("The Ring with the Aquamarine and Other Stories," 1939), and some plays, notably *De Havenstad* ("The Seaport," 1933).

Van Vriesland was one of the few Dutch critics who dealt with Jewish literature in Western Europe. In his essay *De cultureele noodtoestand van het Joodsche volk* ("The Jewish People's Cultural State of Emergency," 1915), he adopted an extreme Zionist view in rejecting a future for Jewish art in Europe. Just before World War II he wrote a study of Dutch verse, *Spiegel van de Nederlandsche poezie door alle eeuwen* ("Mirror of Dutch Poetry throughout the Centuries," 1939). A collection of his critical essays was published as *Onderzoek en Vertoog* ("Research and Exposition," 2 vols., 1958).

[Gerda Alster-Thau]

VARAŽDIN, town in the district of Zagorje, on the Drava River, Croatia; important communications center on the Vienna-Trieste line. Jews arrived there in the mid-1750s, coming from Hungary, Burgenland, and Moravia. They traded in cattle, a fact documented in the 1761 municipal decree debarring them from this source of income. Their settlement was slow and gradual, since each individual had to procure for himself an "*inkolat*," i.e., a residence permit, which was not easily accorded. Among the first Jews on record, two are of note: Isaac the Jew and Moses Jacobsohn. In 1793 a prayer-house was built near the city's fortification. Jewish physicians and merchants suffered from robbery and plunder. Mirko Breyer, the first librarian and publisher in Croatia, originated from Varaždin.

Among rabbis who officiated, notable is Yekutiel Hirschenstein, who served the community for more than three decades; he advanced proto-Zionist ideas and during his term a Jewish school was established. A synagogue was erected in 1861.

In the 19th century the community grew to over 500 members, many of whom were active in free professions. They endured some antisemitic harassment. An expulsion was threatened but not carried out.

In the 1920s and 1930s, the leaders were Dr. Oscar Pulgram, Dr. Hinko Blau, and Hermann Herzer, along with Rabbi Rudolf Reuven Glueck. During the Holocaust almost all Jews perished soon after the Nazi and Ustashe (Croat fascists) took power. The survivors re-established the community in 1945 and the synagogue was nationalized and partially repaired in 1946. It is used as a movie theater.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: MGWJ, 81 (1937), 447–48; Y. Eventov, *Toledot Yehudei Yugoslavyah*, vol. 1 (1971), 278–87, 304–5; *Jevrejski Almanah* (Vrsac, 1928), 42–52; *Novi Omanut*, no. 11 (1995), 8.

[Zvi Loker (2nd ed.)]

VARDI, ARIE (1938–), Israeli pianist, educator, and conductor. Born in Tel Aviv, he studied with Ilona Vincze, beginning his artistic career at the age of 15. He won the Chopin Competition in Israel, appeared with the Israel Philharmonic Orchestra with *Mehta, won the George Enescu International Competition in Bucharest, and gave recitals throughout Europe. Alongside his studies at the Rubin Academy of Music, Vardi also obtained a law degree at Tel Aviv University. He continued his piano studies in Basel with Paul Baumgartner and his composition studies with Pierre Boulez and Karlheinz Stockhausen. He performed widely as soloist with major orchestras and leading conductors in Eastern and Western Europe, the United States, Latin America, the Far East, Australia, and Japan. In 1992 he had his first Russian tour, playing in Moscow, St. Petersburg, and other cities. Vardi performed regularly as soloist-conductor the complete Bach and Mozart concertos. In later years, he included in his repertoire the complete piano works of Debussy and Ravel. His extensive repertoire also includes various Israeli works, many of which were dedicated to him. His recordings for RCA won several prizes. Vardi received international acclaim as one of the country's foremost pedagogues. He was a professor of piano at the Hochschule fuer Musik in Hannover and at the Rubin Academy of Music, TeI Aviv University, having served as its director (1977–9) and chaired the Piano Faculty. He held master classes and presented lecture recitals in Israel, the Juilliard School of Music, the London Royal Academy of Music, and other leading music institutions. In 1999, he was invited to the Yale University School of Music as a visiting professor. Vardi was the artistic adviser and chairman of the jury of the Arthur *Rubinstein International Master Competition, and served as juror of other great piano competitions. Devoted to the task of simultaneously guiding students, he successfully taught a vast number of great pianists, among them Yefim *Bronfman and Li Yundi. From the 1970s Vardi was known throughout Israel for his television series *Master Classes* as well as the family series of the Israel Philharmonic Orchestra, which he conducted and presented, and for his series "Intermezzo with Arik." He received Israel's Minister of Education Award in 2004 for lifetime achievement. He supervised Open University publications on music (1978–2004, in Hebrew) and published articles in Israeli music magazines and periodicals (1988–9, 1992–3).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: R. Baldassin, "Tuning up: An Interview with Concert Artist Arie Vardi," in *Piano Technicians Journal*, 32 (Nov. 1989), 16–18.

[Naama Ramot (2nd ed.)]

VARDI, MOSHE (1938–), Israeli journalist. Vardi was born in Tel Aviv, the son of Dr. Herzl *Rosenblum, editor of *Yedioth Aharonoth*. He studied international relations in London, and in 1962 was appointed London correspondent of *Ha-Boker*. In 1965 he joined *Yedioth Aharonoth* as news editor. (In order not to be identified as his father's son, he hebraized his last name.) Vardi possessed a finely tuned sense for evaluating the news value of events, and a skilled pen in newswriting. Against the growth of television news, Vardi widened the role of the newspaper to also provide background analysis to news events. In 1986 he left the newspaper after Dov *Yudkovsky was chosen as editor instead of him, following Rosenblum's retirement, and joined *Haaretz* as deputy editor. But after Yudkovsky's dismissal in 1989, Vardi was appointed editor. His editorship was interrupted in the 1990s when he stood trial in the so-called wiretapping affair involving *Maariv* and *Yedioth Aharonoth*. Vardi, along with *Yedioth Aharonoth's* assignments editor Ruth Ben-Ari, were convicted of tapping the phones of *Maariv* publisher Ofer *Nimrodi and editor Dov *Yudkovsky, though the court determined that Vardi did not know where the tapes had come from. Vardi was given a suspended sentence. When the trial over, *Yedioth Aharonoth*'s publisher, Arnon *Mozes, reinstated Vardi as editor, a post he held until his retirement in 2004. His son, Doron Rosenblum, was also a journalist.

[Yoel Cohen (2nd ed.)]

VARGA, YEVGENI SAMOILOVICH (1879–1964), economist. Born to a poor family in Hungary, he became a shop assistant, studied in his free time, and obtained a degree. In 1906 he became associated with the Hungarian Social Democratic Party, and from 1914 was a member of its central executive. Appointed professor of economics at the University of Budapest during the 1918 revolution, he attached himself to the Communists and became finance commissar under Bela *Kun. After the regime's fall, he fled to the Soviet Union. In 1922 he was sent to Berlin as head of the Soviet Foreign Trade

Mission and from 1926 to 1932 he served as editor of *Inprekorr Internationale Presse-Korrespondenz*, where his analyses of the foreign economics attracted attention. On his return to the Soviet Union he took charge of the newly formed Institute of World Economy and World Politics, and after its merger in 1936 with the Academy of Sciences of the U.S.S.R., Varga headed the academy's department of law and economics. His main achievements were his analyses and forecasts on which the Soviet Government widely relied for their information and orientation. Despite his erudition and industry he did not make an independent contribution to economics, mainly because he frequently saw the need to adjust his theories to the political exigencies of the day. However, in 1946 he surprised the public when he warned that an imminent crisis in the Western world – similar to the slump of 1929 – was unlikely. The Stalin regime removed him from his post and virtually impounded his book, but he lived to see his views come true. The Khrushchev regime officially vindicated his opinions and used them as the basis for its policy of peaceful coexistence.

Besides his many monographs and his articles in *Inprekorr*, he published his major study in 1946 under the title of *Osnovnye voprosy ekonomiki i politiki imperializma posle Vtoroy mirovoy voyny* (1946; *Problems of the Post-war Industrial Cycle*…, 1957^2).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *New York Times* (Oct. 9, 1964), 39.

[Joachim O. Ronall]

VARLIN (**Willy Guggenheim**; 1900–1977), Swiss expressionist painter, born in Zurich. Varlin studied under Emil Orlik in Berlin and then went to Paris, where he worked as a caricaturist. The dominant mood of his expressionist paintings is one of loneliness and alienation. His favorite subjects are nudes, portraits, and public places such as deserted restaurants and hotel interiors. In the latter he expressed the loneliness of the individual in an impersonal environment.

VARMUS, HAROLD ELIOT (1939–), U.S. microbiologist and Nobel laureate. He was born in Freeport, New York to Beatrice Barasch and Frank Varmus, and graduated with a B.A. from Amherst College, an M.A. in literary studies from Harvard University, and an M.D. from Columbia College of Physicians and Surgeons (1966). After clinical training at Presbyterian Hospital, New York (1966–68), he received his research training with Ira Pastan at the National Institutes of Health (NIH), Bethesda (1966–68) where he became interested in basic research. He then joined the department of microbiology of the University of California, San Francisco (1970–93) becoming professor (1979–83) and American Cancer Society Professor of Molecular Virology (1984–93). He returned to NIH as director (1993–99) before his appointment as president of Memorial Sloan–Kettering Cancer Center, New York, from 2000. His early interest in gene regulation started at NIH. In San Francisco he and his colleagues studied the relationships between retroviral and cellular genes. They discovered that oncogenic (cancer-causing) viruses contain altered versions of growth regulating genes found in normal cells; mutation or inappropriate activation of these normal genes, now known as proto-oncogenes, was proposed to be an important step in malignant transformation even in the absence of viral infection and as the result of other factors. These observations fundamentally influenced the subsequent direction of cancer research. For these discoveries he received the Nobel Prize for physiology or medicine (1989), jointly with his close collaborator Michael Bishop. His subsequent research interests have included retroviruses, hepatitis B viruses, and the development of drugs that inhibit enzymes on which the growth of cancer cells is dependent. His honors include election to the U.S. National Academy of Sciences (1984) and the American College of Arts and Sciences (1988), the Lasker Award for Basic Medical Research (1982) and the Gairdner Award (1984) (both with Michael Bishop), and the National Medal of Science (2001). Varmus was an influential adviser to many academic, national, biotechnology, and international organizations including WHO, concerned with health and scientific education in the developed world and Third World. His highly regarded books on science include *Genes and the Biology of Cancer* 1992 (with Robert Weinberg) written for general readers. Varmus has retained his passion for literature and the arts, and also for outdoor pursuits.

[Michael Denman (2nd ed.)]

VARNA, major seaport on the Black Sea coast of Bulgaria; ancient **Odessus**; called **Stalin** 1949–1956). During the 1880s there were 300 Jews in Varna. The organization of the community was made possible by the Tedeschi brothers. In 1919 there were 1,500 Jews; in 1938, 2,000; and in 1943, 1,254. Besides the Sephardi community, there was also a small Ashkenazi community. The Alliance Israélite Universelle opened an elementary school for boys and girls in the town in 1880 and two vocational centers, one for boys in 1885 and one for girls in 1898. A newspaper in Ladino, *Il Judio*, which had at first been published in Constantinople, was published in Varna from 1922 to 1927 under the editorship of David Elnecavé. In 2004 there were 217 Jews in Varna, affiliated with the local branch of the nationwide Shalom organization.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: S. Mézan, *Les Juifs espagnols en Bulgarie*, 1 (1925), passim; M.D. Gaon, *Ha-Ittonut be-Ladino* (1965), passim.

[Simon Marcus / Emil Kalo (2nd ed.)]

VÁRNAI, ZSENI (1890–1981), Hungarian poet. Zseni Várnai's verse expressed her Socialist and pacifist outlook. The tone of her writing changed, however, under the impact of World War II, during which she was active in the anti-Nazi underground. Two of her prose works are *Mint viharban a falevél* ("Like Leaves in the Storm," 1943) and the autobiographical *Fényben, viharban* ("In Light and Storm," 1958).

VARNHAGEN, RAHEL LEVIN (1771–1833), German intellectual and salon host. The oldest daughter of a prosperous Berlin merchant, Rahel Levin was raised in a home with only minimal elements of Jewish practice. In 1795, she welcomed the opportunity to escape from Jewishness and into aristocratic Germany through an engagement to Count Karl von Finckenstein. However, after four years she broke off the engagement. Levin was a person of culture and intellect; her home became an informal meeting place for the literary, intellectual, social, and political luminaries of the day, such as Prince Louis Ferdinand, Prince Radziwill, Alexander von Humboldt and Wilhelm von *Humboldt, Friedrich Schlegel, Ludwig Tieck, Jean Paul (Friedrich Richter), Clemens Brentano, Friedrich von Gentz, Friedrich *Schleiermacher, Adelbert von Chamisso, and F.H.K. Fouqué. Among them were Jews and former Jews, Protestants and Catholics, nobility and commoners. In 1801 Rahel became engaged to the secretary of the Spanish Legation, Don Raphael d' Urquijo, but the engagement ended in 1804. After many difficult years of financial privation during the Napoleonic wars, Rahel married her confidant and admirer, Karl August Varnhagen von Ense. Weeks before their marriage in September 1814, she became a Protestant. The ceremony took place in the home of one of her brothers, who also later converted. Varnhagen's diplomatic career ended in 1819, when his liberal views ran counter to the rising reactionary tide. In Berlin, at the couple's renowned salon, Heinrich *Heine, Ludwig *Boerne, Karl *Gutzkow, and other authors close to the Young Germany movement found a congenial, liberal, and intellectual atmosphere. Varnhagen maintained an extensive correspondence; after her death, her husband published a collection of her letters, *Rahel; Ein Buch des Andenkens fuer ihre Freunde* (1834). In recent years a reconstructed documentary archive at the Jagiellonian Library in Cracow, Poland, has illuminated aspects of her life and legacy. Although Rahel Levin never denied her Jewish origin, it was always a source of conflict for her. In 1795 she wrote: "I imagine that just as I was being thrust into this world a supernatural being plunged a dagger into my heart with these words: 'Now, have feeling, see the world as only a few see it, be great and noble; nor can I deprive you of restless, incessant thought. But with one reservation: be a Jewess.' And now my whole life is one long bleeding. By keeping calm I can prolong it; every movement to stop the bleeding is to die anew, and immobility is only possible to me in death itself."

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[Sol Liptzin / Deborah Hertz (2nd ed.)]

°**VARRO, MARCUS TERENTIUS** (116–27 B.C.E.), Roman scholar. Varro mentions the date palms of Judea (*De re rustica* 2:1, 27). Augustine reports that Varro identified the Jewish God with Jupiter (*De consensu Evangelistarum* 1:30, 31, 42). Elsewhere he notes that Varro, in praising a bygone era when Romans did not use images in worshiping gods, points to Judaism as proof of the greater piety in such practice (*De Civitate Dei* 4:31, 2). If the citation is accurate, it indicates a rare appreciation of Judaism, in contrast to the anti-Jewish remarks usually found in Roman literature.

[Jacob Petroff]

VARSHAVSKI, ABRAHAM (1821–1888), Russian philanthropist and *railroad builder. Varshavski was one of the builders of the Moscow Brest-Litovsk-Poltava railroad. He went to St. Petersburg from Poltava province at the beginning of the 1860s and was a member of the *Society for the Promotion of Culture among the Jews of Russia. In his last years (1883–88), he acted as expert in the High Commission for the Revision of the Jewish Legislature (The Pahlen Commission).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: E. Tcherikower, in: *Historishe Shriftn*, 3 (1939), 109.

VAS, ISTVÁN (1910–1991), Hungarian poet, playwright, and translator. Grandson of a rabbi but never an observant Jew, Vas converted to Christianity in 1938. Jewish themes are absent in his work, but Budapest, his home city, plays an important part in it. On his 70th birthday he was honored with the highest state award.

[Eva Kondor]

°**VAŠEK, ANTON** (1905–1946), lawyer and head of the department in charge of deportations in the Slovak pro-Nazi Ministry of the Interior under Sand Mach. Vašek was nicknamed "King of the Jews" (*Židovský král*). During the cessation of deportations in the autumn of 1942, he was bribed by the "Working Group" (see Gisi *Fleischmann). He wrote historical articles on the Jewish problem and a book, *Die Loesung der Judenfrage in der Slowakei* (1942), compiled with the aid of Jewish functionaries who meant to distract him from other activities. After the war he was hanged following sentence by the National Tribunal of Bratislava (1946).

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[Livia Rothkirchen]

VASHTI (Heb. וַשְׁתִּי; perhaps "beauty" in Persian), queen of Persia and Media, wife of *Ahasuerus (Xerxes; 485–465 B.C.E.). When King Ahasuerus, in the third year of his reign, held a banquet "for all the people that were found in *Shushan" in the king's gardens, Queen Vashti also held a banquet in the palace. On the seventh day, when the king was drunk from all the wine, he ordered Vashti brought before him "to show the peoples and the princes" her beauty. Vashti refused to appear. At the advice of his counselors the king ordered her deposed from her position and proclaimed that "every man should be lord in his house" (Esth. 1:9–22). Later she was replaced by Esther (Esth. 2). Attempts to identify Vashti with known historical figures have not been persuasive. As a proper name, Vashti has survived in inscriptions.

[Yehoshua M. Grintz]

In the Aggadah

Vashti was the granddaughter of Nebuchadnezzar (Meg. 10a). She witnessed the Persian conquest of Babylon from her father, Belshazzar. On the night that the city fell, Vashti was so alarmed by the confusion that, unaware that Belshazzar had already been killed, she ran to his private quarters. There she was confronted by Darius who, out of compassion for her, betrothed her to his son, Ahasuerus (Yalk. Est. 1049). Her action in having her banquet for women "in the royal house which belonged to Ahasuerus" (Esth. 1:9) was that her guests would be hostages if their husbands should rise and rebel against the king (Est. R. 3:10). According to R. Abun, however, the location of the banquet was dictated by the consideration that "women would sooner have well-decorated rooms and beautiful clothes, than eat fatted calves" (*ibid.*). Vashti had low moral standards: it was not for reasons of modesty that she refused to comply with Ahasuerus' command to appear before his guests (Esth. 1:11) in the nude. She was as immoral as her husband (Meg. 12a). Her refusal was occasioned either by the fact that she was suffering from leprosy (*ibid.*), or by fear for Ahasuerus' life. She remonstrated with him: "If they consider me beautiful, they will want to enjoy me themselves, and will kill you; if they consider me plain, I shall be a disgrace to you" (Est. R. 3:14). When Ahasuerus nevertheless repeated his request, Vashti insulted him by reminding him of his lowly descent as servant to her father (cf. Song R. 3:5), Belshazzar, before he was murdered. According to one version, she exclaimed: "You used to be the stable boy of my father's house, and you were used to bringing naked harlots before you. Now that you have ascended the throne you have still not changed your habits" (*ibid.*). She was put to death on the Sabbath because, when she was queen, she would force the daughters of Israel to strip and work in the nude, on the Sabbath (Meg. *ibid.*).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Cooke, *North Semitic Inscriptions* (1903), no. 85; L.B. Paton, *Esther* (ICC, 1908), 66–67, 88–89, 142ff. IN THE AGGADAH: Ginzberg, Legends, index; I. Ḥasida, *Ishei ha-Tanakh* (1964), 142.

VASILKOV, city in Kiev district, Ukraine. In 1648 Vasilkov was conquered by *Chmielnicki's Cossacks who massacred its inhabitants, Jews and Poles alike. Since Vasilkov was annexed to Russia in 1686, no Jewish community existed there until the second partition of Poland in 1792. There were 1,478 Jews in Vasilkov in 1799, 2,407 in 1847, and 5,156 (39.2% of the total population) in 1897. Vasilkov was a ḥasidic community and for some time David b. Nahum *Twersky of Chernobyl lived there. The Jews in Vasilkov engaged in crafts, small-scale business, and worked in local tanneries. In February 1919, S. *Petlyura's armies conducted pogroms in Vasilkov, massacring 50 Jews and 60 Russians suspected of being Communists; the Jewish community was forced to pay a special contribution. When the Soviet regime was established, Jewish communal life was discontinued. In 1926 the Jews in Vasilkov numbered 3,061 (14.4% of the total population). In 1941 the Jews of Vasilkov were exterminated by the Nazis.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: A.D. Rosenthal, *Megillat ha-Tevaḥ*, 2 (1929), 81–82.

[Yehuda Slutsky]

VASLUI, district capital in Moldavia, E. Romania. The oldest tombstones in the Jewish cemetery indicate that Jews settled there in the first half of the 18th century, most of them from *Bukovina and *Galicia, and from the 1850s many Jewish *Cantonists who fled from Russia. In 1851 two Jewish inhabitants were raised to the nobility (boyarhood) for service to Vaslui. The early Jewish population was joined later on by Jews expelled from villages in the vicinity of Vaslui (in 1867, 1889, 1901, and 1908). The Jewish population numbered 892 in 1839, 1,202 (25.3% of the total) in 1859, and 2,823 (41%) in 1889; in 1899 their number increased to 3,747. Difficulties were encountered in the organization of the community because the merchants and the artisans each had their own institutions, and even their own rabbis. In 1877 a primary school was founded, but the craftsmen had their own *talmud torah*. In 1904 an attempt was made to unite the community's institutions but this lasted only two years. The community was finally unified only in 1923.

Zionist activity began in Vaslui in the 1880s. Rabbis of the town included Alexander Taubes (1841–1913) and Benjamin Rabinovici. *Ẓaddikim* of the Ruzhin-Buhus dynasty lived in the town. On the eve of World War II there were in Vaslui eight prayer rooms, a hospital and clinic, an old-age home, a *mikveh*, a primary school, and a kindergarten. After the naturalization laws were passed (in 1919), two to six Jews were active in the local council. In 1947 the Jewish population numbered 3,200, decreasing to 2,400 in 1950. In 1960 there were about 70 Jewish families with one synagogue.

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[Theodor Lavi]

VATICAN, residence of the *pope, who is the ruler of Vatican City in Rome.

The Vatican and Zionism

Theodor Herzl was the first Zionist leader to understand the political importance of the Catholic Church in the Middle East. He also realized the necessity for Zionists to come to terms with the Church and gain its support or at least try to neutralize its influence. The Vatican wished to safeguard Catholic rights in the holy places, and therefore Herzl was ready to propose an extraterritorial status for the holy places when he was received by the nuncio in Vienna, Msgr. Antonio Agliardi, on May 19, 1896, a short time after the publication of his book *The Jewish State.* Herzl repeated the idea of extraterritoriality to Secretary of State Cardinal Rafael Merry del Val on January 22, 1904, but Merry del Val answered that the holy places could not be regarded as entities separate from the Holy Land. On January 25 Herzl was received by the pope, *Pius x, who told him: "We cannot prevent the Jews from going to Jerusalem but we could never sanction it. The Jews have not recognized our Lord, therefore we cannot recognize the Jewish people. If you come to Palestine and settle your people there, we will have churches and priests ready to baptize all of you."

During World War I new realities were changing the political situation in the Middle East. The Vatican was aware at a very early stage of the secret *Sykes-Picot Agreement dividing the region between France and Great Britain and putting the central part of Palestine under an international regime. France had been for centuries the protecting power for Catholics in the Ottoman Empire, but the Holy See hinted that the Vatican would not be averse to British patronage of the Holy Places. This is what Sir Mark *Sykes heard on April 11, 1917, from Msgr. Eugenio Pacelli, undersecretary for extraordinary affairs at the Secretariat of State, and a few days later from Pope *Benedict xv himself.

Following the advice of Sykes, Nahum *Sokolow of the Zionist Executive in London met Msgr. Pacelli on April 29, 1917, and Secretary of State Cardinal Pietro Gasparri on May 1, and was received by the pope on May 4, 1917. Pacelli wanted clear geographical boundaries acceptable to the Vatican to be demarcated, while Gasparri wanted the Church to have a "reserved zone" that would include Jerusalem, Bethlehem, Nazareth, Tiberias, and Jericho. The pope said: "The problem of the holy places is of extraordinary importance for us. The sacred rights must be protected. We will settle this between the Church and the Great Powers. You must respect those rights to their full extent."

Sokolow could well understand that the Holy See had clear territorial claims on the central part of Palestine. Furthermore the Holy See would not accept a solution giving extraterritorial status to the holy places, and would in any case negotiate with the Great Powers, not with the Zionists.

Despite the content of these talks, the Zionists were impressed by the positive manner of the Church's representatives. On the basis of Sokolow's reports Dr. Chaim *Weizmann could announce to a Zionist conference in London on May 20, 1917: "We have assurances from the highest Catholic circles that they will favor the establishment of a Jewish National Home in Palestine and from their religious point of view they see no objections to it and no reason why we should not be good neighbors." Nothing could have been further from the truth. By "good neighbors" the pope probably meant that the Vatican would maintain a presence in the central area of Palestine that was to be internationalized, while the Zionists would remain outside of it in the bordering areas.

At the end of the year 1917 two events dramatically changed the situation of Palestine: the Balfour Declaration of November 2, and the conquest of Jerusalem by British troops on December 9.

Cardinal Gasparri clearly expressed opposition to a Jewish state in Palestine when he said on December 18, 1917, to the Belgian representative, Jules Van den Heuvel: "The transformation of Palestine into a Jewish state would not only endanger the Holy Places and injure the feelings of all Christians, it would also be very harmful for the country itself."

A few days later, on December 28, the pope expressed his fear to De Salis, the British representative, that Great Britain might hand Palestine over "to the Jews to the detriment of the Christian interests."

In January 1919 the Peace Conference met in Versailles (France) but the Holy See was not admitted to it. The reason was that Italy had included Article 15 in the secret London Treaty, excluding the Vatican from the future conference, since the question of Rome was still open between them. On March 10, 1919, the pope convened a secret consistory in the Vatican and said that "it would be a terrible grief for us and for all Christians if infidels [in Palestine] were placed in a privileged and prominent position; much more if those most holy sanctuaries of the Christian religion were given into the charge of non-Christians." As Gasparri explained some days later to the Belgian representative: "The danger that we most fear is the establishment of a Jewish state in Palestine. We would have found nothing wrong in Jews entering that country, and setting up agricultural colonies. But that they be given the rule over the Holy Places is intolerable for Christians."

Three cardinals visited Palestine in those years: the British Francis Bourne, the Italian Filippo Giustini, and the French Louis Ernest Dubois. In January 1919 Cardinal Bourne sent a letter to the British prime minister and to the foreign secretary, writing that Zionism had not received the approval of the Holy See, and if the Jews would "ever again dominate and rule the country, it would be an outrage to Christianity and its Divine founder." In October 1919 Cardinal Giustini cabled the pope from Jerusalem asking for his intervention "to prevent the reestablishment of Zionist Israel in Palestine." Cardinal Dubois was reported in March 1920 to have said that Jewish immigration to Palestine and the establishment of a Zionist state should not be permitted. On July 20, 1920, the Latin patriarch of Jerusalem, Msgr. Luigi Barlassina, also published a pastoral letter strongly protesting against the Great Powers' decision to establish a Jewish national home in Palestine. He added: "Let Palestine be internationalized rather than someday be the servant of Zionism."

On May Day 1921, the Jewish workers in Jaffa organized a celebration and parade in the streets. The Arabs attacked them and about 50 Jews and the same number of Arabs were killed and many hundreds injured. Instead of condemning the aggressors, the *Osservatore Romano* (the Vatican daily) explained a few days later that the Bolsheviks had infiltrated Palestine thanks to the Zionist Organization. The paper also raised the question of whether the Bolshevik Revolution was coordinated with Zionism or whether Zionism had raised a Bolshevik viper in its bosom.

A few days later Pope Benedict xv attacked Zionism in his allocution to the cardinals of June 13, 1921. He said that the Jews were given a "position of preponderance and privilege in Palestine"; that their activity is meant "to take away the sacred character of the Holy Places"; he admitted that no damage should "be done to the rights of the Jewish element" but "they must in no way be put above the just rights of the Christians."

Pope Benedict XV died in January 1922 and a month later, a new pope was elected, assuming the name *Pius XI. Dr. Weizmann, the leader of the Zionist Organization in London, met Secretary of State Cardinal Gasparri on April 2, 1922. Gasparri did not hide his antagonism to Zionism and gave voice to a series of objections to the draft text of the Mandate over Palestine concerning religious rights, the recognition of the Jewish Agency, and Article 14 on a commission for the holy places. Weizmann learned on this occasion that the Vatican's opposition to the Mandate would take the form of an official memorandum submitted to the League of Nations.

During Weizmann's second meeting with Cardinal Gasparri on April 20, 1922, Gasparri said that Zionist colonization work caused him no anxiety, but added: "It is your university that I fear."

On May 15, 1922, Cardinal Gasparri sent an official note to try to stop, at the very last moment, the assignment of the Mandate to Great Britain. The note sent to the League of Nations stated that the Holy See cannot agree to "the Jews being given a privileged and preponderant position in Palestine vis-à-vis the Catholics" or to "the religious rights of the Christians being inadequately safeguarded." The Holy See also opposed the recognition of the Jewish Agency, and the favoring of immigration and naturalization of Jews. Nevertheless a few weeks later, on July 22, 1922, the League of Nations approved Great Britain as the mandatory power and included the Balfour Declaration in the Preamble to the Mandate. The Vatican finally accepted the British Mandate as the lesser evil.

In the 1920s the Vatican opposed Zionism for a variety of reasons. They believed the Zionists were antireligious, that Zionist immigration would sweep the Christians out of Palestine and destroy the Christian character of the country, and that the Jews were causing radical changes in the traditional life-style of the local population and damaging moral values. During this period the Vatican was strongly opposed to Jewish statehood in the Holy Land. In August 1929 the Arabs attacked the Jewish quarters in Hebron, Safed, and other places. The daily *Osservatore Romano,* rather than blaming the Arabs for the attack, wrote that it was "the politics of Zionism, and not the religion of Israel, which lay at the root of the trouble."

In 1936 the Arabs started the Great Arab Rebellion which resulted in many acts of violence against the Jews. The British government sent the *Peel Commission, which published its proposal for partition in 1937, and on August 6 the Vatican sent a verbal note in which it expressed its objection to the principle of partition and requested that all Holy Places be included in the British zone.

In October 1938 the *Osservatore Romano* wrote that "only one of the two races which contended the hegemony in Palestine can live in the country." Along the same lines of thought, Msgr. Domenico Tardini, the Vatican undersecretary of state, told a British diplomat in 1938: "There was no real reason why [the Jews] should be back in Palestine. Why should not a nice place be found for them, for instance, in South America?"

In May 1939 the British government published the MacDonald White Paper, considered to be a betrayal by Weizmann. Land regulations prohibited or restricted land sales, Jewish immigrants were limited to 75,000 during the next five years and later would be subject to Arab consent. An independent Palestinian state would be created at the end of a transition period of 10 years.

The *Osservatore Romano* remarked with satisfaction that "the White Paper denied the historical basis of the Zionist claims."

During World War II, while the Holocaust was already raging and hundreds of thousands of Jews were being killed by the Nazis, anti-Zionist attitudes prevailed among Vatican diplomats.

Msgr. Domenico Tardini wrote in March 1943 that the Holy See "has never approved the project of making Palestine a Jewish home." Cardinal Maglione, secretary of state, wrote in May 1943 to his apostolic delegate in the United States, Cicognani, that it would not be difficult "if one wants to establish a 'Jewish Home,' to find other territories [than Palestine] which could better fulfill this aim, while Palestine, under Jewish predominance, would bring new and grave international problems."

Cardinal Maglione wrote in the same month that "Catholics would be wounded in their religious sentiments and would rightly fear for their rights if Palestine became the exclusive property of the Jews."

In August 1944 the secretariat of state of the Holy See wrote that they regarded Palestine "not as a Jewish home or a possible Arab home but also as a Catholic home and Catholic center."

On April 10, 1945, while the war was still going on in Europe, Moshe Shertok (later *Sharett) of the Jewish Agency was received by Pope *Pius XII. He hoped for the "moral support" of the Catholic Church for "our renewed existence in Palestine." But he did not receive any support; on the contrary the Holy See started a campaign for the internationalization of Jerusalem, supported by France. The Vatican considered Zionism to be an enemy, only suitable as a springboard for a new alliance between Christians and Moslems in Palestine.

In 1947 Great Britain decided to renounce the Mandate and to deliver the Palestine issue over to the United Nations. On November 29, 1947, the General Assembly approved Resolution No. 181 on the partition of Palestine and the creation of a corpus separatum for Jerusalem and its environs. The Holy See avoided interfering in the vote, probably in order not to jeopardize the internationalization of Jerusalem. The war that the Arab states opened against the State of Israel, and which made null and void the project of internationalization, started even before the state was proclaimed.

The Vatican and the State of Israel

The creation of the State of Israel in 1948 ran counter to certain theological ideas in the Catholic Church according to which the Jews were condemned to remain homeless because of the crime of deicide. Some believe that the Holy See did not oppose the partition plan of the United Nations in 1947 because it included Jerusalem in an international "corpus separatum." Pope Pius XII wrote three encyclicals on the question of the Holy Land. The first one, *Auspicia quaedam* of May 1, 1948, expressed hope "that the situation in Palestine may at long last be settled justly and thereby concord and peace be also happily established."

In the second, *In multiplicibus*, of October 24, 1948, the pope said that "it would be opportune to give Jerusalem and its outskirts, where are found so many and such precious memories of the life and death of the Savior, an international character which, in the present circumstances, seems to offer a better guarantee for the protection of the sanctuaries. It would also be necessary to assure, with international guarantees, both free access to Holy Places scattered throughout Palestine, and the freedom of worship and the respect of customs and religious traditions."

In his third encyclical, *In redemptoris nostr*, of April 15, 1949, Pope Pius XII advocated giving "to Jerusalem and its surroundings a juridical statute internationally guaranteed" and appealed that all rights of the Catholics "should be preserved inviolate."

Some Catholic states opposed the acceptance of Israel in the United Nations on May 11, 1949, because Israel had "failed to carry out the full internationalization scheme" for Jerusalem. The dispute on the war damages to churches and other properties in Israel was solved satisfactorily for the Holy See in 1955 when Msgr. Antonio Vergani received the final compensation for war damages to Catholic institutions. But even the name of the State of Israel was omitted by the *Osservatore Romano* in 1955 when a visit of the *Israel Philharmonic Orchestra to the Vatican was described as that of "Jewish musicians of fourteen different nationalities." The coronation of Pope *John XXIII in 1958 was attended by Ambassador Eliyahu *Sasson as a "special delegate of the State of Israel." This, it was later claimed by the Vatican, proved that the Holy See did recognize the State of Israel even if it did not establish normal diplomatic relations.

On January 5, 1964, *Paul VI became the first pope to visit Israel. He said in Megiddo, where he entered Israel: "We are coming as pilgrims, we come to venerate the Holy Places; we come to pray." He ended his speech with the Hebrew words "Shalom, shalom." But Paul VI never addressed President Shazar by his title; even when he sent a telegram with his thanks, it was sent to Tel Aviv, not to Jerusalem, the residence of the president of the State of Israel. Every effort was made to stress the non-recognition of Israel by the Holy See.

The Ecumenical Council Vatican II approved in 1965 an important declaration, *Nostra Aetate*, modifying the accusation of deicide and stating: "True, authorities of the Jews… pressed for the death of Christ; still what happened in His passion cannot be blamed upon all the Jews then living nor the Jews of today." The text was influenced by politics and it was watered down because of the violent protest of the Arab states.

After the liberation of Jerusalem in 1967, Pope Paul VI, on June 26, 1967, recalled that he had done his best "to avoid at least to Jerusalem the suffering and the damages of the war" and that he was very saddened by the conditions of the Palestinian refugees, and said that "the Holy City of Jerusalem should remain for ever a town of God, a free oasis of peace and prayer, with its own statute internationally guaranteed."

Thus the old formula for seeking the internationalization of Jerusalem and its environs was changed into one that spoke of an "internationally guaranteed statute."

In July 1967 Msgr. Angelo Felici, undersecretary for extraordinary affairs at the Vatican Secretariat of State arrived in Israel for talks with Prime Minister Levi *Eshkol. The pope in his allocution of December 23, 1968, had spoken of his wish to see "an internationally guaranteed agreement on the question of Jerusalem and the Holy Places."

On October 6, 1969, the pope received the Israeli foreign minister, Abba *Eban, and discussed the question of "the refugees, the holy places, and the unique and sacred character of Jerusalem."

On December 22, 1969, the traditional Christmas wishes for the Arab refugees and the special mention of the Christian communities in Palestine expressed a new preoccupation. "They have diminished and they are diminishing, the faithful of Jesus in that blessed earth," said the Pope. This was the first time that the pope had expressed publicly his concerns about the diminishing number of Catholics in the Holy Land, a preoccupation would manifest itself time and again in his subsequent speeches.

In January 1972, Deputy Secretary of State Msgr. Giovanni Benelli visited Israel and had several talks with Minister of Finance Pinḥas *Sapir, and Minister of Justice Ya'akov Shimshon *Shapiro on the question of the sale of the Notre Dame de France building to the Hebrew University. The assumptionist had sold the monastery but according to the Vatican the sale had to be considered null and void because Canon Law required authorization by the Vatican. A hearing in an Israeli court in Jerusalem was curtailed by the Israeli government's decision to cancel the sale, but no reciprocal gesture of goodwill was made by the Holy See. The Vatican transformed the building into a modern hotel and for years refused to pay municipal taxes "for services rendered." Finally, in 1987, the Vatican consented to pay the Jerusalem municipality a token sum.

On December 22, 1972, in his customary allocution to the Holy College on the eve of Christmas, the pope criticized "situations without a clear juridical basis, internationally recognized and guaranteed," referring to Jerusalem, where also the followers of Christ "must feel themselves full 'citizens.'" He spoke also of the sons of the Palestinian people waiting for years "for an equitable recognition of their aspirations, not in opposition to but in necessary harmony with the rights of other peoples."

On January 15, 1973, Israeli Prime Minister Golda *Meir was received in a private audience by Pope Paul VI. It was the first official visit of this kind, and therefore an important one. The final communiqué recalled the suffering of the Jewish people; the pope in his humanitarian mission was interested in the Arab refugee problem and the problems of the Christian communities living in the Holy Land, while in terms of his religious mission he expressed concern about the Holy Places and the universal and holy character of Jerusalem.

At the end of the same year, after the Yom Kippur War, during which Israel was attacked by Syria and Egypt, the pope dedicated most of his yearly message of December 21, 1973, to the cardinals, to the Middle East. He expressed his approval of the Peace Conference convening on that same day in Geneva, but considered it incomplete in terms of representation, referring probably to the nonparticipation of the PLO. The Holy See was ready "to offer cooperation … in agreements that would guarantee to all parties concerned a calm and secure existence and the recognition of respective rights." The pope spoke of the hundreds of thousand of Arab refugees "living in desperate conditions"; even if their cause "has been endangered by actions that are repugnant to the civil conscience of people and are in no case justified, it is a cause that demands human consideration and calls with the voice of abandoned and innocent masses for a just and generous response."

On December 9, 1974, Msgr. Hilarion Capucci, the Greek Catholic archbishop (melkite) of Jerusalem and vicar of the Patriarch Maximos, was sentenced to 12 years' imprisonment; he was found guilty of smuggling arms and explosives for the Fatah organization from Lebanon into Israel, exploiting his diplomatic immunity. Some years later, on November 6, 1977, President Ephraim *Katzir, in response to a personal letter from the pope, commuted the sentence and Archbishop Capucci was immediately released. The written promise of the pope that Msgr. Capucci would not "bring any harm to the State of Israel," i.e., would no more indulge in political activity, was not respected and the prelate participated in many propaganda meetings organized by the PLO after regaining his freedom.

The foreign minister of Israel, Moshe *Dayan, was received in private audience by the pope on January 12, 1978. The pope stressed again his concerns about the question of Jerusalem, stating that the "well-known solution proposed by the Holy See for Jerusalem could satisfy the unique and religious character of the city." The Israeli side stressed what had been done "to guarantee the protection of the Holy Places of all religions and free access to them."

Paul VI died on August 6, 1978. His successor was Pope John Paul I, who had been patriarch of Venice and as such had good relations with the Jews. He died suddenly on September 28, 1978.

The new pope, *John Paul II, was born in Poland, so that for the first time in centuries the pope was not an Italian. An Israeli delegation participated in the funeral of the previous pope and the coronation ceremony of the new pope, whom it invited to visit Israel.

The permanent observer of the Holy See to the United Nations made a declaration on Jerusalem on December 3, 1979, in which he explained the meaning of a "special statute internationally guaranteed" for Jerusalem. The content of this statute would include two orders of guarantees: parity for the three religious communities regarding freedom of worship and access to the Holy Places; and equal enjoyment of rights by the three religious communities, with guarantees for the promotion of their spiritual, cultural, civil, and social life, including adequate opportunities for economic progress, education, and employment.

Pope John Paul II spoke about the State of Israel on October 5, 1980, in Otranto, saying: "The Jewish people, after tragic experiences connected with the extermination of so many sons and daughters, driven by desire for security, has established the State of Israel. At the same time, the painful condition of the Palestinian people was created, as a large part of it were extirpated from their land."

Yitzhak *Shamir, Israeli minister for foreign affairs, was received on January 7, 1982, by the pope, who stressed the importance of the Palestinian question, which should find a solution "taking into account also the problem of security for the State of Israel." The pope also spoke about "a just and agreed solution for the question of Jerusalem," a center for the three religions. Shamir emphasized the concessions made by Israel in order to reach the peace agreement with Egypt and his concerns about the arms race in the area and the serious problem of terrorism.

On September 15, 1982, the pope received Yasser *Arafat, who had just been forced to abandon Beirut, giving him a political victory after a military defeat.

Pope John Paul II dedicated an Apostolic Letter, "*Redemptionis Anno*," on April 20, 1984, to the question of Jerusalem and the Holy Land. The pope wrote: "Jews ardently love [Jerusalem] and in every age venerate her memory, abundant as she is in many remains and monuments from the time of David who chose her as the capital, and of Solomon who built the Temple there. Therefore they turn their minds to her daily, one may say, and point to her as the symbol of their nation."

After explaining why Jerusalem is holy also to the Christians and the Moslems, he recalled the Holy See's appeals for an adequate solution. He said: "Not only the monuments or the sacred places, but the whole historical Jerusalem and the existence of religious communities, their situation and future cannot but affect everyone and interest everyone."

Shimon *Peres, then prime minister, was received by the pope on February 19, 1985, and for almost an hour discussed the peace process. It was clear that Peres would not press for the establishment of normal diplomatic relations nor extend a formal invitation to the pope to visit Israel, leaving the initiative to the Holy See. Seemingly in the conversation with Secretary of State Casaroli there was a discussion on the status of Jerusalem and the Palestinian question.

In the "Notes," a Vatican commentary to *Nostra Aetate* published in 1985, there is reference for the first time to the State of Israel. In this statement issued on the 20th anniversary of Vatican II declaration, Christians are invited to understand the religious attachment of Jews to the State of Israel, but "the existence of the State of Israel and its political options should be envisaged not in a perspective which is itself religious, but in their reference to the common principles of international law."

This was the way to overcome the theological obstacle to the recognition of Israel.

John Paul II was the first pope to visit a synagogue when on April 13, 1986, he went to Rome's Great Synagogue. In his speech he spoke of the Jews as "our elder brothers," a characterization that was changed in 2004 to "our dearest brothers."

In September 1987, when Jewish leaders were received in Castel Gandolfo, near Rome, sources close to the pope said that there was no longer any theological obstacle to full relations with Israel. This can be seen as an outgrowth of the line adopted in June 1985 denying that there was any temporal link between the Jewish people and the State of Israel. While such a view might serve to overcome theological obstacles, at the same time it denies the spiritual basis of Zionism and seeks to separate the Jews in the Diaspora from the State of Israel.

On April 10, 1989, Renato Martino, permanent observer at the UN, said: "For us the Holy Land is our homeland, our country of origin; Jerusalem is the Church hometown. The Holy See is not only interested in preserving the archaeology, artifacts and architecture of the historical Christian communities, but also those communities themselves. The lack of diplomatic relations does not imply denial of the existence of the State of Israel. That such recognition exists is clear from the constant contacts."

On January 25, 1991, during the first Gulf War, the Holy See published a long document on the issue of diplomatic relations with Israel. It stated that the lack of diplomatic relations is certainly not due to theological reasons, but to juridical ones. The three main juridical difficulties were the presence of Israel in the occupied territories, Israel's annexation of Jerusalem, and the situation of the Catholic Church in Israel and in the administered territories.

On March 6, 1991, Pope John Paul II, closing the synod of bishops from the Middle East, said: "We have spoken of the Holy Land where two peoples, the Palestinians and that of the State of Israel, have been engaged in conflict for decades; the injustice of which the Palestinian people is a victim demands engagement by all men."

After the opening of the Madrid Peace Conference in November 1991, Msgr. Michel Sabah, the Latin patriarch of Jerusalem, emphasized that the Holy See had not been invited to attend, saying: "The invitation we were waiting for did not arrive." Probably the Holy See understood that without establishing normal diplomatic relations with Israel it could not be associated with the peace process, where perhaps the status of Jerusalem could be discussed. As they themselves were engaged in a dialogue with Israel, the Arabs could not very well reproach the Holy See establishing a bilateral permanent commission with Israel in July 1992 to discuss outstanding questions and normalize relations. The status of Jerusalem, a multisided question, was not discussed there.

After the meeting between Prime Minister Yitzhak *Rabin and Chairman Yasser Arafat at the White House on September 13, 1993, the Holy See decided to sign a Fundamental Agreement with Israel. It was signed by Msgr. Claudio Maria Celli and Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs Yossi *Beilin on December 30, 1993. Only after the Cairo Agreement between Israel and the PLO, on May 4, 1994, did the Holy See agree to an exchange of ambassadors. It also signed an accord in November 1997 on the juridical status of the Church and Catholic institutions in Israel, which grants the Church autonomy to handle its affairs while respecting Israeli laws.

In a detailed exposition in a Jerusalem lecture on October 26, 1998, Archbishop Jean-Louis Tauran, secretary for relations with states, presented the Holy See's position on Jerusalem. Tauran stated that the Holy See cannot accept any distinction between the question of the Holy Places and the question of Jerusalem. The Holy See is present "to ensure that it does not become, as is the situation today, a case of manifest international injustice. East Jerusalem is illegally occupied. It is wrong to claim that the Holy See is only interested in the religious aspect or aspects of the city and overlook the political and territorial aspect… Any unilateral solution or one brought about by force is not and cannot be a solution at all… There must be equality of rights and treatment for those belonging to the communities of the three religions found in the city… the simple 'extraterritoriality' of the Holy Places would not suffice… The Holy See believes in the importance of extending representation at the negotiating table."

On March 9, 1999, Msgr. Tauran described the main reasons of disagreement with Israel: "It must also be recognized that relations between the Holy See and the Jewish world – above all with the State of Israel – have hardly been helped by the failure to resolve the Palestinian problem, the lack of respect for certain UN Security Council Resolutions and duly concluded international agreements, without forgetting the annexation by force of a part of the City of Jerusalem."

On April 27, 1999, Foreign Minister Ariel *Sharon was received by Pope John Paul II. Sharon thanked the pope for his efforts in combating antisemitism and his relations with the Jews. "Israel will warmly welcome and ensure the security of the pilgrims who will come, including, first and foremost, the 'First pilgrim,' the Pope."

In December 1999, another item of disagreement between the Holy See and Israel was the project of building a new mosque in Nazareth just in front of the Basilica of the Annunciation.

The Catholic Church under the guidance of Msgr. Michel Sabah, the Latin patriarch of Jerusalem, reacted strongly to the government's authorization to build the mosque. Msgr. Sabah succeeded in closing down the Christian Holy Places in Jerusalem for two days in protest and managed to create a united front with other Christian communities. Sabah also accused the Israeli government of fomenting tension between Christians and Moslems, an accusation promptly re-echoed by the Holy See's spokesman, Joaquin Navarro-Valls. Some years later the Israeli government withdrew the authorization and the mosque was not built.

The official visit of Pope John Paul II to the Holy Land in March 2000 was undoubtedly an historical event. John Paul II arrived at Ben-Gurion Airport, where he was formally received by President Ezer *Weizman and Prime Minister Ehud *Barak on March 21, 2000. He visited the two chief rabbis, Israel Meir *Lau and Eliahu *Bakshi-Doron, at Hechal Shlomo in Jerusalem, and the president of the State in his official residence in Jerusalem on March 23, 2000.

The pope said to President Weizman: "Mr. President, you are known as a man of peace and a peacemaker. We all know how urgent is the need for peace and justice, not for Israel alone but for the entire region." On the same occasion the pope added: "It is my fervent hope that a genuine desire for peace will inspire your every decision."

There were two other highlights to the pope's visit to Israel: the encounter in Yad Vashem on March 23 with Holocaust survivors from his home town and the visit to the Western Wall. The Pope said at Yad Vashem: "Only a godless ideology could plan and carry out the extermination of a whole people." Thus all the responsibility fell upon a "godless ideology," unrelated to or even in opposition to the Church. Already in March 1998, the Holy See, in the document "We Remember: a Reflection on the Shoah," had stated: "The Shoah was the work of a thoroughly modern neo-pagan regime. Its antisemitism had its roots outside of Christianity."

In a crevice of the Western Wall, following the Jewish custom, the pope inserted on March 26 a note which reads: "God of our fathers, / you chose Abraham and his descendants / to bring your Name to the Nations: / we are deeply saddened / by the behavior of those / who in the course of history / have caused these children of yours to suffer, / and asking your forgiveness / we wish to commit ourselves / to genuine brotherhood / with the people of the Covenant."

This text is identical to that included in a ceremony of forgiveness in Rome on March 12, 2000, but it lacks the preamble in which the Church asked forgiveness from the Jews. Without the preamble, the Jews are not expressly mentioned.

In his meeting with Yasser Arafat in Bethlehem, the pope offered him 14 sea shells representing the 14 stations of the Way of the Cross and explained that this was a way to symbolize the Passion of the Palestinians. So again the pope made the comparison between the suffering of the Palestinians and those endured by Jesus.

In his speeches in Israel, the pope drew a parallel between antisemitism and anti-Christianity several times. Upon his arrival in Tel Aviv he said: "Christians and Jews together must make courageous efforts to remove all forms of prejudice. We must strive always and everywhere to present the true face of the Jews and Judaism as likewise of Christians and Christianity." Two days later at Hechal Shlomo, before the two chief rabbis, he said: "We must work together to build a future in which there will be no more anti-Judaism among Christians nor anti-Christian sentiment among Jews." At Yad Vashem the pope repeated: "No more anti-Jewish feeling among Christians or anti-Christian feeling among Jews."

This convenient symmetry between Jews and Christians is not supported by history.

During his visit in Israel the pope sent a letter protesting the approval given by the Israeli authorities to the building of the Nazareth mosque. This was a rather rare and strong act of censure.

On April 1, 2002, some 200 armed Palestinians entered one of the most important shrines and holy places in Christianity, the Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem – marking the place where Jesus was born – and remained inside until May 12, holding hostages. The *Osservatore Romano* wrote on April 2, 2002: "Palestinian terrorism is only a pretext," because the true objective of Israel is "to profane with fire and iron the land of the Resurrected." Msgr. Tauran, of the Secretariat of State, said that the Holy See's position included "an unequivocal condemnation of terrorism," "disapproval of the conditions of injustice and humiliation imposed on the Palestinian people, as well as reprisals and retaliations, which only make the sense of frustration and hatred grow."

Pope John Paul II in his Angelus message of August 11, 2002, said: "From 1967 till today, unspeakable sufferings have followed one upon another in a frightening manner: the suffering of the Palestinians, driven out of their land and forced, in recent times, into a state of permanent siege, becoming as it were the object of a collective punishment; the suffering of the Israeli population, who live in the daily terror of being targets of anonymous assailants. To this we must add the violation of a fundamental right, that of freedom of worship. In effect, because of a strict curfew, believers no longer have access to their places of worship on the day of weekly prayer."

Archbishop Renato Martino, permanent observer to the United Nations, wrote on November 2, 2002: "The Holy See renews its consistent call for internationally guaranteed provisions to ensure the freedom of religion and conscience of its inhabitants, in order to safeguard the special character of the City and of the sites sacred to Jews, Christians and Muslims."

On November 16, the pope said: "In this context I repeat my firm condemnation also of every terrorist action committed recently in the Holy Land. I must at the same time affirm that, unfortunately, in those places the dynamism of peace seems to have stopped. The building of a wall between the Israeli people and the Palestinians is seen by many as a new obstacle on the road toward peaceful coexistence. In effect, the Holy Land needs not walls but bridges! Without reconciliation of the souls, there cannot be peace."

In autumn 2003, Msgr. Jean-Baptiste Gourion was named auxiliary bishop of the Latin patriarch of Jerusalem for the pastoral care of the Hebrew-speaking Catholics in Israel. The Holy See named on May 15, 2004, Fr. Pierbattista Pizzaballa as the new custos of the Holy Land. He had studied modern Hebrew in Jerusalem at the Hebrew University and was general assistant to Msgr. Gourion. Some observers saw in both appointments a sign of good will toward Israel.

Minister for Foreign Affairs Silvan *Shalom was received by Pope John Paul II on December 11, 2003.

In June 2004 Cardinal Dionigi Tettamanzi, archbishop of Milan, was the first bishop ever to be received in the Knesset and delivered a speech.

Pope John Paul II died in 2005 and was replaced by Benedict XVI, the German-born Joseph Ratzinger. The new pope began his pontificate with a visit to the Roonstrasse Synagogue in Cologne, the oldest in northern Europe, and spoke out there against "new signs of antisemitism," thus following the line of his predecessor. In 2006 he visited Auschwitz.

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[Sergio Itzhak Minerbi (2nd ed.)]

°**VATKE, WILHELM** (1806–1882), German theologian and biblical scholar. Vatke taught biblical studies at the University of Berlin from 1830. His scholarly work was profoundly affected by G.W.F. *Hegel, whom Vatke considered as a "philosophical messiah." He published only a few books and of these the most important was the first, *Die biblische Theologie wissenschaftlich dargestellt* (vol. 1, pt. 1 only, 1835), a critical description of the biblical religion. This was the first attempt to approach the Bible from the viewpoint of historical evolution based on the philosophy of Hegel. Thus, he was the first to argue that the priestly sections in the Pentateuch originated in the final phase of biblical history, i.e., the Babylonian exile. The scholar E. Reuss of Strasbourg reached a similar conclusion the previous year, but did not publish his theory until 1881 (in his *Die Geschichte der heiligen Schriften des Allen Testaments*). Vatke's book was also overlooked for about 30 years, and it was not until the 1860s, with the publication of the works of K.H. *Graf and A. *Kuenen, that it was recognized. Vatke divided the history of biblical religion and cult into three main phases; the primitive phase, which is reflected in the books of Former Prophets and the earliest layers of the Pentateuch; the phase of moral consciousness, as expressed in the prophetic writings and in Deuteronomy; and the institutionalized-ritual phase, as reflected in the priestly sections of the Pentateuch. This conception became widely accepted toward the end of the 19th century, and was especially developed by J. *Wellhausen, and through his work became axiomatic in biblical studies for a long time. Wellhausen himself admitted that he was indebted to Vatke for "the most and the best" of his own work.

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[Menahem Haran]

VATRA DORNEI, town in Suceava province, N. Romania. Vatra Dornei was a way station on the trade route between Transylvania and Moldavia and was visited by Jewish merchants in the 14th and 15th centuries. Intensive Jewish settlement, however, did not begin until the late 17th century, when the city was still under Moldavian control. In 1774, under Austrian rule, census officials counted 45 Jews in the city. There were 494 Jews (12.4% of the total population) in 1880; 1,921 (12.3%) in 1910; and 1,737 (22.3%) in 1930. In 1908 the Austrian authorities expelled six Jews from the city, claiming that they did not contribute to its agricultural development. In the second half of the 19th century, Jewish hotel managers helped to develop Vatra Dornei as a therapeutic and vacation center. The Romanian annexation of Vatra Dornei in 1918 inaugurated a difficult period for the Jews. Riots were incited, one Jew was killed and Jewish homes were burned. From 1930 the city became the regional center for antisemitic activities. When the Goga-*Cuza regime assumed power in 1938, the Jewish situation became critical. In its religious life, the Jewish community was associated with that of Campulung, the previous capital of the region. In 1896 the Vatra Dornei community became independent. A large synagogue was built at the start of the 20th century. Vishnitz (*Vizhnitsa) Ḥasidim maintained a prayer house and had considerable influence in the community. Zionist organizations were founded in the city in 1900 and later organized a private elementary school associated with the government school. In 1941 the Jews of the region were concentrated in a ghetto in Vatra Dornei, and in October of that year they were deported to camps in *Transnistria. After 2,029 Jews were moved from the city, only 21 remained. About 1,500 Jews lived in the city in 1947, including refugees from areas annexed to the Soviet Union. Subsequent emigration to Israel and other countries depleted the Jewish population.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: H. Gold (ed.), *Geschichte der Juden in der Bukowina*, 2 (1962), 82–84.

[Yehouda Marton]

VAUGHAN, FRANKIE (1928–1999), English entertainer. Born Frank Fruim Abelson in Liverpool, he trained as a commercial artist before entering show business in 1952. He became one of Britain's most popular and successful entertainers and, as a singer and actor, appeared in cabaret, films (such as *These Dangerous Years*, 1957), and television programs. Vaughan supported Jewish causes, and worked mainly for boys' clubs. Known as "Mr. Moonlight," he made many hit records in the 1950s, such as *The Green Door.*

ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY: ODNB online.

°**VAUX, ROLAND DE** (1903–1971), biblical scholar and archaeologist. Born in Paris, he became a member of the Dominican Order in 1929. From 1945 to 1965 De Vaux served as director of the Ecole Biblique et Archéologique Française in Jerusalem, where he was professor of Palestinian archaeology from 1934. From 1938 to 1953 he was the editor of the *Revue Biblique*, in which he has written most of his articles, and from 1947 on he was editor in chief of the *Bible de Jérusalem.* Having played one of the leading roles in the Qumran discoveries, he was also the editor in chief of *Discoveries in the Judaean Desert* (1955–). De Vaux began his archaeological career at Maʿin (biblical BethBaal-Meon) in 1937 and successively carried out excavations at Abu-Gosh (1944); Tell el Farʿah (1946–1960), which he identified with biblical *Tirzah; Qumran and ʿAin Feshkha (1949–58); Murabbaʿat (1952); and Jerusalem (1961–63).

In his books as well as in his articles, he always sought to combine the rigorous use of the "internal criticism" of the biblical traditions together with the criticism of the "external evidence of the Bible." Thus, for him, as a biblical scholar, archaeology is primarily a tool of biblical investigation and will, occasionally, bring an "external confirmation" to the traditions recorded in the written sources. But as an independent discipline, archaeology purports only to study the material remains of the past, and its results do not always have a direct bearing on the Bible. His major work, *Ancient Israel: Its Life and Institutions* (trans. from French, 2 vols. 1961, 1965), is a good illustration of this methodology.

His books include: *Les Fouilles à Qaryet el-ʿEnab Abu-Gosh* (with M. Stève, 1950); *L'Archéologie et les Manuscrits de la Mer Morte* (1961); *Die hebraeischen Patriarchen und die modernen Entdeckungen* (1959; first appeared in French in *Revue Biblique*, vols. 53, 55, 56); *Studies in Old Testament Sacrifice* (1964); and *Bible et Orient* (1967). The first volume of his *Histoire ancienne d'Israël* (*Des origines à l'installation en Canaan*) was published posthumously along with the first five chapters of the uncompleted second volume (*La période des juges*).

[Jean Ouellette]

VAV (**Waw;** Heb. וָו ;ו), the sixth letter in the Hebrew alphabet; its numerical value is therefore 6. In the mid-second millennium B.C.E. proto-Sinaitic inscriptions the letter resembled a mace or a peg (= *vav)* . Later the circular top opened and in the tenth century B.C.E., the letter had two variants: the Y-shaped *vav* and the 4-shaped one . While the first form was accepted in the Hebrew script and was written → → → (Samaritan), the Phoenician and the Aramaic scripts adapted the 4-shaped *vav* . In the Phoenician script it developed 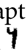 → → 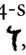, and in the Aramaic – → → → . The Nabatean *vav* closed its top and hence the Arabic و evolved. The Jewish *vav* → ו basically preserved the Aramaic shape of the letter.

The old Phoenician *waw* is the ancestor of some Latin letters: the consonant *"F"*, which developed from the Archaic Greek *digamma; "Y"* (the Greek vowel (*upsilon*), which is the first of the five letters added by the Greeks to their alphabet and which the Romans turned into *"U"* and *"V"*. See *Alphabet, Hebrew.

[Joseph Naveh]

VÁZSONYI, VILMOS (1868–1926), Hungarian lawyer and politician who was the first Jew in Hungary to become minister of justice. When a law student in Budapest, Vázsonyi joined the extreme nationalist group which protested against the submerging of the Magyar nationality in the combined Austro-Hungarian army. He founded the club of Junior Democrats in Budapest of which he was lifelong chairman. This club was devoted to improving the living conditions of the petit bourgeoisie whom the socialists had previously ignored. In 1894 Vázsonyi was elected to the Budapest municipal council. He collaborated with the mayor István Bárczy in fighting municipal corruption and the result of his efforts was the transfer of transport and other public utilities from private ownership to city management. Vázsonyi was elected deputy to the lower house of the Hungarian Parliament in 1901 and continued his fight against graft in public life. During World War I, he became minister of justice and was made a privy counselor, but he retired from public life when his scheme to extend the franchise was rejected; later he went into exile. He returned to Hungary during Count Bethlen's counterrevolutionary regime of terror (1921–31) and helped to expose the counterfeiting of French banknotes which influential political circles had arranged for as part of their foreign policy. In his youth Vázsonyi fought for equal rights for the Jewish religious community in Hungary. His writings were published posthumously *Vázsonyi Vilmos beszédei és írásai*, 2 vols. (1927). His son, JÁNOS (1895–1944), continued his fight in Parliament against anti-Jewish discrimination at a time of growing Hungarian Nazism.

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[Josef J. Lador-Lederer]

VECINHO, JOSEPH (end of 15th century), scientist and physician to King John II of Portugal (1481–95). A pupil of Abraham *Zacuto, he translated his teacher's tables into Spanish, and his translation, *Almanach Perpetuum*, published in Leiria in 1496 by Samuel d'Ortas, a Jew, became the basis for the Hebrew version of Zacuto's work. Along with the voyager and cosmographer Martin Behaim and the then court physician Rodrigo, he participated in a commission on navigation, concerned especially with improving the techniques for establishing direction and location at sea. Through his improvements in the nautical astrolabe, Vecinho gave a boost to Portuguese maritime activity. Vecinho sat on the commission when it rejected Columbus' request for a westward journey to the Indies on the grounds that it was a chimera. However Vecinho gave Columbus a copy of his translation of Zacuto's tables, which the discoverer found useful and carried with him.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: M. Kayserling, *Geschichte der Juden in Portugal* (1867), 86, 123; idem, *Christopher Columbus and the Participation of the Jews in the Spanish and Portuguese Discoveries* (1907), index; C. Roth, in: JQR, 27 (1936), 233–6; C. Singer, in: *Legacy of Israel* (1927), 242–3.

[Martin A. Cohen]

VEGETABLES. A distinction must be made between the two kinds of vegetables which the Mishnah calls respectively "garden vegetables" and "field vegetables," i.e., that grow wild in the field. Field vegetables were gathered from earliest times as is reflected in the curse upon Adam and Eve, "And thou shalt eat the herb of the field" (Gen. 3:18). A large number of field vegetables grow in Ereẓ Israel, particularly in the winter, and some are tasty and nutritious. There is a probable reference to them in Proverbs 15:17, "Better is a dinner of herbs where love is, than a stalled ox and hatred therewith." *Mallow leaves, *orach, and species of *maror were consumed by the indigent, and in times of famine they wandered about in search of wild vegetables such as *rocket. There must also have been many other varieties. The growing of garden vegetables developed from the wild variety, and there is no doubt that their cultivation dates from ancient times, both in Israel and neighboring countries, particularly Egypt and Babylon, which are rich in water (Deut. 11:10). In Israel, too, there were many gardens which received their water from wells, springs, and rivers by means of pumps (see *Agricultural Methods and Implements in Ancient Ereẓ Israel).

Vegetables were also served at royal tables; Ahab coveted Naboth's vineyard, "that I may have it for a garden of vegetables" (I Kings 21:2). Seasonal vegetables were served at royal tables all the year round; the Midrash states of Solomon's household that it was supplied with *beet (*teradin*) in the summer and with "chate *melons" (*kishu'in*; the *Cucumis melon var chate*) in the winter (Deut. R. 1:5). Similarly, it is related of the emperor Antoninus and Judah ha-Nasi, "that *lettuce, chate melon, and *radish were not absent from their tables either summer or winter" (Av. Zar. 11a). Vegetables in season were abundant and cheap. Opinions differed on the nutritional value of vegetables. Generally speaking, cooked vegetables were valued, although people were apprehensive about eating them raw (see Ber. 44b). Five garden vegetables are mentioned in one verse among the foods eaten by the Israelites in Egypt for which they yearned in the wilderness (Num. 11:5), these being chate melon, watermelon, *leek, *onion, and *garlic. In rabbinical literature, scores of species of garden and field vegetables are mentioned, and in addition to those on which separate articles appear, the following are important.

Artichoke

Called in the Mishnah *kinras*, it is the *Cynara scolymus*; a very similar species grows wild in Israel and several *halakhot* discuss this vegetable (Kil. 5:8; Uk. 1:6). The word *dardar* in the verse, "Thorns also and *dardar* ['thistles'] shall it bring forth to thee; and thou shalt eat the herb of the field," was explained to mean "artichokes," because it consists of rows (*darim*) upon rows (Gen. R. 20:10), referring to the leaves of the edible inflorescence.

Celery and Parsley

The *karpas* of rabbinical literature has been identified with celery – *Apium graveolens* – which grows wild in Israel in damp localities. Apparently it is the wild species which is called *karpas she-ba-neharot* ("celery of the rivers"; Shev. 9:1), which the Jerusalem Talmud (Shev. 9:1, 38c) identifies with *petrosilinon* – parsley. According to another view, "the graft of fennel with celery produces *petrosilinon*" (TJ, Kil. 1:4, 27a). These three plants belong to the family Umbelliferae and are alike in appearance also and slightly similar in taste. It should be noted that Ashkenazi Jews use parsley instead of celery for the *seder* of Passover.

Colocasia

The *Colocasia antiquorum*, whose large tuber is rich in starch, in rabbinical literature is called *kolkasyah* (TJ, Shev. 2:10, 34b) or *kolkas* (*ibid.*, Pe'ah 1:5, 16c). It appears to have been recently introduced into Ereẓ Israel in the time of the Mishnah and the question of its liability to tithing is discussed (Pe'ah, *ibid.*). The Mishnah calls it *karkas* (Ma'as. 5:8). Ginger lily (Black cola) – *Arum palaestinum* – belongs to the same family. It is often mentioned in rabbinical literature where it is called *luf.* Its leaves and tuber were eaten after cooking to remove its bitter taste, and it was highly regarded. There are many references to the methods of growing and preserving it (v. Kil 2:5; Shev. 5:2 and 4). It grows wild in Israel and to the present day is eaten by Oriental Jews. Wild ginger – *Arum dioscoridis* – called *lof ha-shotah* also grows in Israel, its leaves being used for human consumption and its tubers for animal fodder (Shev. 7:1–2).

Cress

Two species of cress are mentioned in the Mishnah. *Shiḥlayim*, garden cress – *Lepidium latifolium* – grew wild by the banks of rivers. Its pungent leaves were "sweetened" with salt or vinegar (Uk. 3:4). Purslane, the *Portulaca oleracea*, is a wild vegetable common during summer in gardens and fields. Its fleshy leaves are eaten raw as a salad or cooked. It is referred to in the Mishnah under two names, *ḥalaglogot* (Shev. 9:1) and *regelah* (Shev. 7:1, 9:5), and in the Talmud is called *porpeḥinah* (Meg. 18a). The Aramaic name *porpeḥinah* was current in the second century, and an interesting fact is recorded in connection with it. The rabbis did not know to what the Hebrew name *ḥalaglogot* referred until they learned from a maidservant of Judah ha-Nasi's household, where Hebrew was spoken, that it was *porpeḥinah* – purslane (*ibid.*).

Turnip and Rape

The turnip, *Brassica rapa*, called in the Mishnah *lefet*, was a common kitchen vegetable. It was eaten raw, cooked or ground (TJ, Ter. 2:3, 41c), and "improves with long cooking" (TJ, Ber.

6:1, 10a). It was mainly the food of the poor, and hence the statement. "Woe to the house where the turnip is common." It was used to improve the flavor of meat (Ber. 44b). Rape, *Brassica napus*, in Hebrew *nafos* or *nafoẓ*, is very similar to the turnip in shape and flavor. They were therefore not regarded as mixed species (Kil. 1:3; see *Mixed Species), whereas radish and rape, alike in shape but different in flavor, were regarded as different species (TJ, Kil 1:5, 27a; but see Maim. Yad, Zera'im 3:6).

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[Jehuda Feliks]

VEIGELSBERG, LEO (1846–1907), Hungarian journalist. Born in Nagyboldogasszony, Veigelsberg studied medicine in Vienna, became a teacher in Hungary and contributed essays to the Prague newspaper, *Politik*. Later he joined the *Neuer Freier Lloyd*, then the *Neues Pester Journal*, and from 1872 was editor (later editor in chief) of the *Pester Lloyd*, the semiofficial newspaper of the Hungarian government. Veigelsberg's witty and well-informed articles became popular in the new Hungarian press of which he, and other Jewish journalists, were the founders. He died by his own hand.

VEIL, covering for the face. In the Bible there are several terms usually translated as veil. However, the exact connotation for these terms is not known, and they may refer to other garments used to cover the face as well. The term צָעִיף is used of Rebecca (Gen. 24:65) and Tamar (Gen. 38:14, 19). Other terms used in the Bible for veil – though the meaning is not always certain – are צַמָּה (Isa. 47:2; Song 4:1, 3; 6:7); רְדִיד (Isa. 3:23; Song 5:7) and רְעָלָה (Isa. 3:19); cf. Shab. 6:6, where Arab women are said to go out רְעוּלוֹת (veiled), which implies that Jewish women did not. The מַסְוֶה worn by Moses after descending from Mt. Sinai to screen his radiant face (Ex. 34:29–35) was some kind of mask; the leper had to cover his upper lip (Lev. 13:45), by pulling his head-cover over his face (cf. MK 24a).

The Talmud has no Hebrew word for veil except the Aramaic בייכא or בייבא (BB 146a) and the Persian-Arabic פדאמי or פרמי (Shab. 66b). The word הינומא (Ket. 2:1, and 17b; TJ, *ibid.* 26a; cf. the Greek ὑμέαιος) describes the bridal litter (see M. Petuchowski's note in Baneth-Hoffmann etc. *Mishnayot*, 3 (1933), 100f.), but is interpreted by Rashi as "a veil over her (the bride's) head, let down over her eyes, as is customary in our region"; see also *Ḥushi'el of Kairouan, who lived before Rashi (JOR, 11 (1898–99), 649). This custom for the bride to veil her face or, as it is done now, for the groom or the rabbi to cover her face before the marriage ceremony ("*bedecken*," see *Marriage), goes back at least to the early Middle Ages. In 15th-century Rhineland bridal veils were part of the groom's presents to his bride (*sivlonot*). In the late 17th and 18th centuries communal regulations (*takkanot*) forbade women to wear veils of gold or spun gold with gold or pearls or even braided (Metz, 1692), to visit the synagogues unveiled (Metz, 1697), or betrothed girls to appear in public without their faces covered (Amsterdam, 1747). In Muslim countries Jewesses had sometimes to wear distinctive veils, but Tunisian Jewish brides wore gold-embroidered veils in the 19th century. In certain ḥasidic circles brides have their faces completely wrapped and covered.

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VEIL, LEWIS (Daniel) COMPIÉGNE DE (1637–?), convert and Hebraist. Veil was the son of a Metz scholar. With his brother Charles-Marie (1630–1685), he was baptized in 1665. Under Colbert, Louis XIV's minister of finance, he translated into French Maimonides' *Mishneh Torah*, part of which was published in Paris (1678), and he also translated into Latin Abraham *Jagel's Hebrew catechism (London, 1679). He became a Protestant, immigrated to England, and continued to translate Maimonides. His patron, Viscount Hyde, procured for him various payments from Charles II's secret services accounts (1679–81); the assumption that he was a spy appears unfounded, since these accounts were often used for purposes unconnected with espionage. His son was Sir Thomas de Veil (1684–1746), who became well known as a Bow Street magistrate.

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[Vivian David Lipman]

VEIL, SIMONE (née **Jacob**; 1927–), French politician. Veil, the daughter of architect André Jacob, was born in Nice. Deported by the Nazis to Auschwitz – where all the members of her family perished – and Bergen-Belsen from March 1944 to May 1945, she survived, and resumed her studies and married Antoine Veil in 1946 on her return to France after World War II. She graduated in law and received the diploma of the Institute of Political Studies in Paris. She was appointed a magistrate in 1956. She was attaché titulaire to the Ministry of Justice (1957–59) and substitute detaché to the ministry (1954–65). Her first political steps came in 1969 when she joined the cabinet of René Pleven. Minister of Justice Veil represented France at the International Society of Criminology in 1959 and devoted herself to the reform of the laws concerning adoption, handicapped adults, and parental authority, and in conjunction with Professor Launay and Dr. Soule published *L'Adoption, données médicales, psychologiques et sociales.* She was appointed technical counselor in the cabinet of President René Pleven and was placed in charge of press relations, problems of civil law, and the judiciary. In 1970 she was appointed secretary to the Superior Council of the Magistracy. She is a chevalier of the National Order of Merit, and a member of the

Council of the French ORT and of the Fondation de France. She served as minister of health in the cabinet of Jacques Chirac (1974–76), minister of health and social security in the cabinet of Raymond Barre (1976–79), and state minister in charge of social affairs, health and life in towns in the cabinet of Edouard Balladur (1993–95). In her capacity of minister of health, she initiated the law legalizing abortion in France. Her courage and dignity during that period gained her immense popularity in the country, far beyond the limits of her political camp. In July 1979 she resigned from the cabinet to devote herself to the European Parliament which she entered on a centrist list; she was elected its president on July 17. She served as president of the parliament for three years (1979–82) and was a regular member until 1993. In March 1980 she was awarded the Athenae Prize of $100,000 from the Aristotle Onassis Fund for her contribution to the rapprochement of peoples and the respect of human dignity. Her husband was appointed director general of Air Transport of France in 1971.

Continuously active in organizations of former deportees and Shoah survivors, Veil enjoyed widespread respect in the field of World War II memorialization. In 2000, she was appointed the first president of the newly created Fondation pour la Mémoire de la Shoah.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: M. Sarazin, *Une femme Simone Veil* (1987); M. Szafran, *Simone Veil: un destin* (1999); J.N. Jeanneney et al., *Les femmes dans l'histoire* (2005).

[Nelly Hansson (2nd ed.)]

VEINBERG (Weinberg), MOISSEY SAMUILOVICH (1919–1996) composer. Veinberg was born in Warsaw, where he studied piano at the conservatory and graduated in 1939. Soon after, he was forced to flee the oncoming German invasion to Minsk, where he studied composition at the Belorussian conservatory. In 1941, with the outbreak of the German Soviet war, he was evacuated to Tashkent. There he met the pianist Emil *Gilels, who became interested in him and performed his second piano sonata (1942) and his piano quintet with the Quartet of the Moscow Bolshoi Theater (1945). In 1943 Veinberg settled in Moscow. His marriage to the daughter of the actor *Mikhoels, a victim of Stalin's anti-Jewish purge, led to his temporary arrest; he was released through the intervention of Shostakovich. His compositions range over many media and are marked by deep emotion and dramatic expression. They include operas: *Passazhirka* ("The Passenger," 1967–68), *Madonna and the Soldier* (1970), *Lyubov' D'Artanyana* ("D'Artagnan in Love," 1972), *Congratulations* (after S. Aleichem, 1975), *Lady Magnesia* (after G.B. Shaw, *Passion, Poison and Petrification, or the Fatal Gazogene*), *The Portrait* (1980), and *The Idiot* (1986); a ballet, *The Little Golden Key* (1962); 25 symphonies written between 1942 and 1992; and many other orchestral works, including instrumental concertos; 18 piano sonatas; over 100 romances; and incidental music.

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[Michael Goldstein / Marina Rizarev (2nd ed.)]

VEINER, HARRY (1904–1991), Canadian farmer, rancher, mayor. Veiner was born in Dysart, Saskatchewan, into a family of Jewish immigrant farmers. In 1930 he moved to Medicine Hat, Alberta, where he opened a retail hardware business. Soon a prominent local businessman, Veiner expanded his holdings by successfully investing in a series of ranches and farms in southern Alberta. With the outbreak of World War II, Veiner enlisted in the South Alberta Regiment. He rose to the rank of lieutenant colonel and was responsible for overseeing the logistics of prisoner-of-war camps in Canada. He was repeatedly elected mayor of Medicine Hat from 1952 to 1966 and again from 1968 to 1974. With 20 years in public office, he became the second longest-serving mayor of the city.

Regarded as one of Canada's most colorful small-town mayors and a tireless municipal booster, Veiner was something of a local folk hero with articles written about him in *Time*, *Life*, and *Maclean's* magazines and appearances on radio and television. Athletic and competitive, Veiner entered and won numerous competitions at fairs and rodeos and enjoyed challenging other mayors and officials to compete against him in skating, boxing, and racing.

Veiner's wife, Fanny, served as president of the local Hadassah and was involved with Youth Aliyah. Veiner visited Israel several times and was proud to have met the prime minister and other government officials. He was prominent in the sale of Israeli bonds in Alberta and, at the request of the agriculture department of the Hebrew University, he arranged for a shipment of sheep to be sent to Israel for research. Dedicated to communal service as well as Zionist ideals, Veiner was active in both the Medicine Hat Rotary Club and B'nai B'rith and participated in many fundraising events. In memory of his mother, in 1982 he donated 26 hectares of land valued at $1.1 million to build a branch campus of Medicine Hat College in Brooks.

[Aliza Craimer (2nd ed.)]

VEINGER, MORDECAI (**Mordkhe**; 1890–1929), Yiddish linguist. Born in Poltava and educated at the University of Warsaw, Veinger's first publications appeared before World War I, during which he served in the Russian army. In 1925 he became director of Yiddish linguistic research at the Institute for Jewish Culture of the Belorussian Academy of Sciences in Minsk. Veinger published studies that spanned syntax, historical phonology, ethnographic methodology, and dialectology, notably his *Yidishe Dialektologye* ("Yiddish Dialectology," 1929). He was the first Yiddish linguist to demonstrate variation in the realization of a phonological feature for a single speaker and for a given geographic location (*Tsaytshrift*, 2–3 (1928), 619–32). He was the proponent of a radical reform of Yiddish spelling, partly implemented in the official Soviet Yiddish orthography. His main achievement was the *Yidisher*

Shprakhatlas fun Sovetn-Farband ("Yiddish Language Atlas of the Soviet Union," 1931), published after his suicide by Leyzer Vilenkin.

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[Menahem Schmelzer / Rakhmiel Peltz (2nd ed.)]

VEIT, family of German bankers active also in politics and arts. JUDAH VEIT (SINGER; 1710–1786), the son and grandson of rabbis, settled in Berlin in 1738. He married the daughter of Hirsch David, a Potsdam textile manufacturer, and himself went into the textile business. In 1780 three of his five sons – SOLOMON VEIT (1751–1827), DAVID VEIT (1753–1835), and SIMON VEIT (1754–1819) – established the banking partnership Gebrueder Veit. The business was a small one, specializing in money market and securities arbitrage, but it enjoyed the highest reputation both in Germany and abroad. It existed for 150 years, until the depression of 1931 forced its liquidation, but it was not until 1927 that anyone outside the family was admitted into the partnership. The eldest of the three founders of the firm, Solomon, represented the Berlin association of Bankers and Merchants of the Jewish Religion within the United Stock Exchange Corporation in 1803. He was a city councilor from 1809 to 1822, and an elder of the Jewish community. Simon married Moses *Mendelssohn 's daughter, Dorothea, but they were divorced. An older brother, JOSEPH (1745–1831), who worked as a clerk in the family enterprise, contributed German translations from the Bible to the Mendelssohn-inspired periodical, *Ha-Me'assef. Simon's sons, JOHANNES (1790–1854) and PHILIPP (1793–1877), both of whom were baptized, were artists of the Nazarene school, specializing in religious paintings and portraits. Another PHILIPP, the son of Joseph, looked after the Berlin interests of the brothers Joseph and Abraham Mendelssohn while they were residents of Hamburg between 1804 and 1811. In this same generation, one of Judah Veit's (Singer) grandsons, Moritz *Veit (1808–1864), was a publisher, liberal politician, and prominent communal leader. Three generations of Veit descendants served as board members and presidents of the Lehranstalt fuer die Wissenschaft des Judentums.

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[Hanns G. Reisnner]

VEIT, MORITZ (1808–1864), German publisher, politician, and Jewish leader. A member of the wealthy Veit family of Berlin, Moritz studied philosophy, history, and philology at the University of Berlin (1825–32) and earned his doctorate at Jena in 1833. At the same time he wrote poetry and edited a literary journal, *Berliner Musenalmanach* (1831–31). In the publishing house he set up in 1834, his authors included L. von Ranke, J.G. Fichte, A. von Chamisso, and F.K. von Savigny. He was chairman of the German publishers' organization (Boersenverein) from 1853 to 1861. Veit also played an active part in public life. In 1847 he opposed the proposed Jewry Law which attempted to organize Prussian Jewry according to the corporatist-medieval ideas of King *Frederick William IV. He was elected to the 1848 Frankfurt Parliament, and after the revolution he was again one of the few Jewish representatives in the first chamber of the Prussian Parliament (1851); later, as a member of the Prussian House of Representatives (1858–61), he again raised his voice against attempts to infringe on Jewish rights. He was a member of the Berlin municipal council for 20 years. An elder of the Berlin Jewish community (1839–48), he was later chairman of its council. He was instrumental in the appointment of his close friend, Michael *Sachs, to the Berlin rabbinate, developed communal schools and institutions, and drafted the 1860 statutes of the community.

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[Ed. / Archiv Bibliographia Juadaica (2nd ed.)]

VEITH, JOHANN EMANUEL (1787–1876), writer, apostate Roman Catholic priest in Vienna. A native of *Chodova Plana (Kuttenplan), Bohemia, Veith received a medical degree in Vienna (1812), was baptized (1816), and became professor at the Veterinary School and its director (1819). At the time he came under the influence of the Catholic romantic philosopher Clemens Maria Hofbauer (1751–1820). Veith was ordained to the priesthood in 1821 and later played an important role in the Catholic revival. He became a popular preacher at St. Stephen's Cathedral (1832–45), and his sermons were often published. During the 1848 March revolution he founded the *Wiener Katholikenverein*, which edited a paper called *Aufwaerts. Ein Volksblatt fuer Glauben, Freiheit und Gesittung*. At the time of the *Damascus affair (1840), he publicly took an oath on the crucifix that there was no truth whatsoever in the *blood libel. This oath was much referred to in the apologetic literature of the 19th century. In the antisemitic propaganda of the 1880s, the truth of the incident was impugned; therefore, Ludwig August *Frankl secured a sworn deposition as to its veracity from Veith's baptized brother (1882); it appeared in *Die Neuzeit* (24 (1884), 441). Another brother, Joseph, was for many years secretary of the Vienna Jewish community and a contributor to *Kokhevei Yiẓḥak*.

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[Meir Lamed]

VEKSLER, VLADIMIR (1907–1966), Soviet physicist. Born and educated in Moscow, Veksler specialized in the physics of X-rays, cosmic rays, and in high-energy accelerator theory. For his last ten years he was head of the High Energy Laboratory at the well-known Joint Institute for Nuclear Research at Dubna. He was a member of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences. Veksler improved the performance of cyclotrons (the first atom-smashing machines), by showing how the speed of the "bullets" used to smash atoms could be increased by varying the magnetic field, or the frequency of the electrical surge. This led to the development of the synchrontons. In 1963, he shared with Edwin M. Millikan, who had suggested this independently, the United States Atoms for Peace Award of $75,000. He received the Lenin Prize in 1959 and contributed to the basic research for Sputnik I, the world's first man-made satellite launched in 1957.

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[Maurice Goldsmith]

VELIZH, city in Smolensk district, Russia. A *blood libel which stirred up Russian Jewry during the first decade of the reign of Nicholas I (1825–55) took place there. In 1817 the czar, Alexander I, issued an edict according to which Jews were not to be accused of the murder of Christians "merely upon the basis of the ancient tradition that they required Christian blood": in each particular case an investigation of the murder was to be conducted according to those rules which applied to an accused of another religion. Six years later a blood libel occurred in the district town of Velizh (then in the province of Vitebsk). In April 1823 the stabbed body of the three-year-old child Feodor, who had disappeared three days before from the house of his parents, was found near the town. Rumors were immediately spread through the town that the child had been assassinated by the Jews for their Passover requirements. A drunken prostitute, Maria Terentyeva, testified that on the day of his disappearance she had seen the child being led away by a Jewish woman. The local tribunal decided that although the investigation had not revealed any conclusive proof against the Jews who were suspected of the murder, it was nevertheless to be assumed that they had perpetrated it "out of their hostile attitude toward the Christians." The verdict was then referred to the provincial tribunal in Vitebsk, which decreed that the accused were to be acquitted of all suspicion and that the witness Terentyeva was to receive an ecclesiastic penalty for the sin of "leading a life of prostitution." The tribunal also ordered a new investigation into the murder. but it did not produce any results.

Nevertheless, groups of antisemites in the town, who were headed by several Uniate clergymen and were supported by the chief governor of Belorussia, Count Khovanski, continued to stir up the blood libel. In the autumn of 1825, when Alexander I passed through the town, Terentyeva submitted a complaint to him against the local authorities, who had not brought the murderers of her son [sic], the child Feodor, to justice. Ignoring his edict of 1817, the czar ordered the chief governor Khovanski to reopen the investigation. One of Khovanski's officials, Strakhov, was sent to Velizh for this purpose. Terentyeva was arrested, and on this occasion she related that she herself had brought the child to the houses of the Jews, Zeitlin and Berlin, and had been present in the synagogue when he was put to death after having undergone much torture. His blood was then poured into barrels which were transported to Vitebsk and Liozno. Two Christian maids who, according to her words, had participated in these acts were arrested and also "interrogated." On the strength of their evidence over 40 of the Jews of the town were arrested. In August 1826 it was decreed (from above) that all the Velizh synagogues were to be closed because "the Jews abused the tolerance which was shown to their religion." The investigators then began to search for proof of the actual existence of a custom among the Jews to murder Christian children. They collected material and testimonies which had been deposited on the occasion of previous blood libels in Poland and Russia; they found several apostates, one of whom – Grodzinski – brought a Hebrew manuscript before the commission of inquiry which, according to his words, described the ceremony that accompanied the execution of Christian children. At the same time, Terentyeva and the Christian maids testified that they had also participated in the murders of other Christian children.

The czar himself, who received reports on the progress of the investigation, then began to doubt the truth of the charge. He ordered an inquiry to determine who the other children were who had been murdered ("It can easily be clarified whether or not a despicable lie is present"). It rapidly became obvious that there was no foundation to the new libel and that the manuscript which was "discovered" by Grodzinski dealt with the ritual slaughter of animals and poultry. Grodzinski was ordered by the court to serve in the military, and in 1830 the investigation was handed over to the Senate. In the Senate there were divergences of opinion as to the actual accusation which was brought against the Jews and the guilt of the Jews who had been arrested. The deputy minister of justice, Panin, who was responsible for the analysis of the material concerning the accusation, declared that from a legal point of view there was no reason to accuse the Jews of Velizh and he called for their immediate release.

The first decision was then placed in the hands of the State Council. The Jews were defended by the head of the department for civil and religious affairs, Admiral N. Mordvinov, who, as the owner of estates in the surroundings of Velizh, was well acquainted with the Jews of the town and their way of life. In his memorandum to the State Council, Mordvinov declared that the trial of the Jews of Velizh was a premeditated conspiracy led by Count Khovanski, and that the testimony which had been deposited by Terentyeva and her colleagues had not been given of their own free will but "as a result of a powerful influence." In January 1835 the State Council ordered the release and exoneration of the accused Jews. Terentyeva and her colleagues were sentenced to exile in Siberia on the charge of libel. Mordvinov's proposal to indemnify the Jews for their sufferings was rejected. Four of the arrested died during their nine years of imprisonment.

The trial of Velizh revived the belief in ritual murder among the Christian masses. When he ratified the final verdict, Nicholas I himself commented that he was not convinced that the Jews had not committed the murder. In his opinion, "there are religious fanatics or sectarians among the Jews who required Christian blood for their ceremonies." Accordingly, the czar refused to renew the edict of 1817, and blood libels remained one of the instruments of agitation against the Jews until the abolition of the czarist regime (see also *Blood Libel).

In the 1880s the Jewish community had a synagogue, as well as seven houses of prayer. A state Jewish school was opened in 1883, and a private Jewish boys' school in the early 1900s. During the Soviet regime, the Jewish population dropped from 3,274 in 1926 to 1,788 in 1939.

In July of 1941 the Germans captured the city and relegated the Jews to a camp under a Judenrat. In November they sent 1,000 Jews from Velizh and its environs to a ghetto, which they torched in January of 1942, killing the hundreds who were inside and shooting anyone who tried to flee. Twenty managed to escape.

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[Yehuda Slutsky / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

VELTWYCK, GERARD (d. 1555), German Hebraist and apostate. Little is known of Veltwyck's origins or early life. He was for a time the envoy of Emperor Charles V in Constantinople, and the Marrano physician Amatus *Lusitanus, in his book *In Dioscoridis… de medics materia… enarrationes* (Strasbourg, 1554), mentions that Veltwyck supplied him with medicinal herbs from Turkey.

Veltwyck is mainly remembered for his violently anti-Jewish Hebrew polemical work entitled *Shevelei Tohu – Itinera deserti, de Judaicis disciplinis et earum vanitate* (Venice, 1539), printed by Daniel *Bomberg. The text, translated into Latin by Conrad *Pellicanus in 1545, forms part of the manuscript (now in Zurich, Zentralbibliothek Ms. Car. 1102) containing Pellicanus' copy of Guillaume *Postel's kabbalistic treatise *Or Nerot ha-Menorah* (*Candelabri typici… interpretatio*), which appeared in Venice in 1548. In his *Shevilei Tohu* – a mixture of verse and prose – Veltwyck revealed his hostility toward the Kabbalah, which he declared to be both devoid of authority and riddled with lies and fancies.

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[Godfrey Edmond Silverman]

VENETIANER, LAJOS (1867–1922), Hungarian rabbi and historian. Venetianer, born in Kecskemet, attended the Jewish Theological Seminary in Breslau (1888–89) and was ordained at Budapest's Landesrabbinerschule. Venetianer became rabbi in Csurgo (1893), rabbi in Lugos three years later, and from 1897 to his death chief rabbi in Ujpest and professor at the Landesrabbinerschule.

A versatile scholar, he was interested in the history of religion, in the common elements in Roman Catholic liturgy and Judaism, and in Jewish literature and history. His profound knowledge of the Christian liturgy and his scholarship were evident in his publications in this field: *Ursprung und Bedeutung der Prophetenlectionen* (in: ZDMG, vol. 73, 1909) and *Juedisches im Christentum* (1913). He edited the publications of the first Jewish medical writers in linguistic and medical-historical respects: *Asaf Judaeus* (1–3, 1915–17), a work of pioneering importance despite the sharp criticism that Immanuel Loew leveled against it. On a more popular level, Venetianer wrote about the organization of Jewish communities, *A zsidóság szervezete az európai államokban* ("The Organization of Jewry in the European States," 1901), a unique work on the subject and about the history of the Hungarian Jews, tending toward the apologetic, *A magyar zsidóság története a honfoglalástól napjainkig* ("The History of Hungarian Jewry from the Beginning of Hungarian History to Our Days," 1922).

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[Alexander Scheiber]

VENEZIANI, EMMANUEL FELIX (1825–1889), French philanthropist, born in Leghorn (Italy). He became a director of the relief fund of *Baron de Hirsch and in 1877 traveled to the Balkans and Bulgaria where he organized relief for Jewish and gentile victims of the Russo-Turkish war. At the Congress of Berlin in 1878, Veneziani and Charles *Netter worked for religious liberty in the former Ottoman territories, and in 1880 he was similarly active at the Congress of Madrid on behalf of Moroccan Jewry. In 1882 he and Netter were sent by the *Alliance Israélite Universelle to help organize Jewish emigration from Russia. In 1883 Veneziani toured the Jewish settlements in Palestine. In conformity with Hirsch's views, he advised limiting Russian Jewish immigration there.

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VENEZUELA (Span. **República Bolivariana de Venezuela**), republic in northern South America; general population:

24,000,000; Jewish population (2005), est. 15,500 (mainly in the cities of *Caracas, Valencia, Maracay, Maracaibo, Barquisimeto, San Cristóbal, and the Margarita Island).

Colonial Period

Venezuela was discovered by Columbus on his third voyage in 1498, when Columbus, after sailing round the island of Trinidad entered the Gulf of Paria and landed on the mainland without realizing that he was setting foot for the first time on the South American continent. Having observed the huge and powerful currents of fresh water flowing into the gulf, Columbus believed he was at the mouth of one of the four rivers of paradise and, fascinated by the pearl ornaments of the native population, concluded that he was at the doorstep of the Garden of Eden described in Genesis. He was really on the eastern coast of what is now Venezuela.

EARLY JEWISH PRESENCE. Three streams flowing from the same Iberian source shaped the character of the initial Jewish presence in Venezuela: that of Portuguese, Italian, and Dutch Sephardim.

Even though many Portuguese arrived in Venezuela in the years after its discovery and at that time Portuguese was considered a synonym for *Crypto-Jew, contrary to what happened in other lands of South America most of those who came to Venezuela were not of Jewish origin. Only the names of a few of those who arrived and lived in Caracas and Maracaibo between 1642 and 1649 have remained registered. Therefore, their presence must have been very limited. It is only in 1693 that we find the first Jewish establishment in Venezuelan territory, when a group of Leghorn Jews (Italians), who had fled from *Recife (Brazil) to *Suriname, and from there moved to *Curaçao, settled in an inlet neighboring Tucacas, a village on the western coast of the country. Unfortunately, this small community, which was known under the name of Santa Irmandade (Holy Fraternity), also disappeared leaving no traces or documents, not even a cemetery or any other mark. One has to wonder if the only way to survive in the Spanish dominions was to cover one's tracks so as not to be discovered or persecuted by the Inquisition. Yet, the actions of the Inquisition in Venezuela were more sporadic and picturesque than frightening. The judges and commissioners who were sent by Spain lacked jurisdiction and, as a result, their jobs consisted only of reporting acts that had been denounced and sending the suits along to Cartagena de Indias. In 1821 the government of Venezuela definitively abolished the Inquisition, decreeing that it was extinguished and that it never would be reestablished.

18TH CENTURY. After these brief incursions of Portuguese and Italian Jews, it fell upon Sephardi Dutch to provide leadership in the years that followed. At the beginning of the 18th century the economic conditions in Venezuela and the proximity of islands belonging to the Netherlands gave rise to a commerce which would result in a significant Jewish presence in Venezuela. Due to the monopoly imposed on the colonies by the Spanish government, foreign ships bearing illegal merchandise were rife along the Venezuelan coasts. Dutch schooners were seen very frequently and smuggling flourished between Tucacas and Curaçao. Dutch Jews, attracted by the possibility of trade between the Antilles and the continent, participated extensively in the large-scale interchange which evolved under the Dutch flag. A major factor in the boom that ensued was due to the compliance of the Dutch, the very authorities appointed by the Spanish Crown, the Spanish clergy, and even the slaves. At this time, Tucacas was the most active port that sprung up along the west coast and the largest market for products from overseas. From there cocoa, tobacco, indigo and hides were shipped and food, liquors, clothing, and metals received and an active slave trade developed. This commerce between the mainland and the Netherlands Islands spurred the insistent permanence of a small colony of Jews in Tucacas from 1708. There, despite the attacks and devastation they suffered periodically by the Spanish mayors in order to suppress smuggling, they erected 17 houses and the first synagogue on Venezuelan territory and stayed until 1720 when the synagogue and the homesteads were burned and destroyed by Pedro José de Olavarriaga and the inhabitants were obliged to move away.

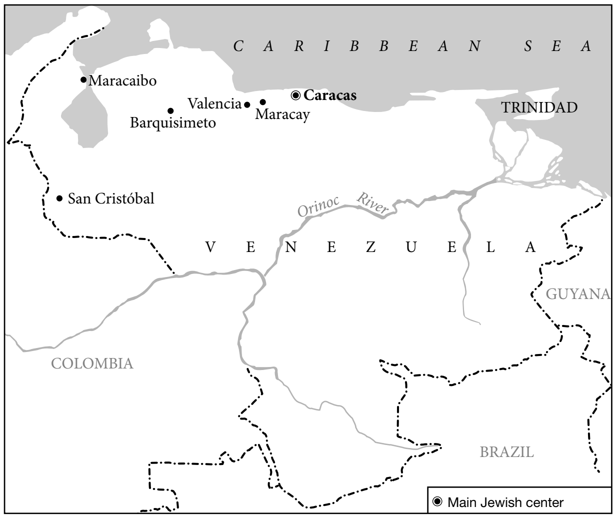

Jewish communities in Venezuela, 2005.

Even though the only extant reference to this first synagogue had been a single communication (now lost) sent in 1720 by this congregation to the *parnassim* of Curaçao, the existence of the synagogue was subsequently confirmed when in the files of the West India Company in The Hague was found a letter sent in 1737 by one of the *parnassim* to his colleagues in Amsterdam, where he related that "despite Governor van Collen's hostilities toward the Jews, he recognized the significance of their commercial dealings with Venezuela where, according to him, they had incensed the Spanish by erecting a synagogue on the coast near Caracas."

In spite of the intense trading activities developed by the Jews along the Venezuelan coasts, the 18th century did not favor their permanent settlement in Venezuela. The ban on foreign and Jewish establishments in the Spanish colonies was widely enforced. With the exception of a few known cases, any dealings which were not purely commercial were strictly limited.

Initial Period of Independence

A Spanish colony for more than 300 years, Venezuela became one of the first Spanish South American colonies to declare its independence in the early 19th century. Since becoming a sovereign nation, Venezuela has undergone periodic episodes of civil conflict and dictatorship. Much of Venezuela's 19th- and early 20th-century history was characterized by periods of political instability, dictatorial rule, and revolutionary turbulence, with the military exerting a strong influence over politics.

19TH CENTURY. The year 1811 is that of the Venezuelan Declaration of Independence. Nevertheless, the Spanish forces confronted the patriots inflicting upon them great losses. Simón Bolívar, forced to flee to Curaçao, received there the enthusiastic support of Mordechai Ricardo (in commemoration of this event, the government of Venezuela issued a set of stamps in 1989). The Sephardim of Curaçao saw in Bolívar a hero who, inspired by ideals of equality, with no distinction of race or religion, would fight for the separation of Venezuela from the Spanish Crown. In so doing, he would re-open the doors of the Hispanic world to them. With the onset of the War of Independence, the Dutch Jews were the first to provide aid to the young republic, participating in the war effort by means of financial support. Benjamin and Samuel Henríquez were active officials in the army, and Juan Bartolomé de Sola participated in the famous Battle of Carabobo.

Between 1819 and 1825 many Jews abandoned the island of Curaçao and relocated in various regions of Venezuela and, while some of them established themselves in Puerto Cabello, Maracaibo, Barcelona, Valencia, and Caracas, most of them chose to settle in Coro, where their coreligionists had been living since as early as 1779. There, they began to demonstrate the characteristics which would distinguish them: a unitary spirit, hard work, and an intellectual ability hardly seen in this territory in those days. Besides these skills, the Jews who arrived in Coro carried with them the baggage of religious knowledge and Sephardi traditions that had been cultivated in Curaçao and which they wanted to preserve in their new homes. With this group, a fruitful period of planting roots began. This historical period started in 1829 with Joseph Curiel, and it was the origin of the Jewish social, political, cultural, and economic integration that spread through all of Venezuela. From that time on, Coro has been considered the cradle of the Venezuelan Jewish community.

Since the arrival of Jews in Coro, many of them made important contributions to the economy, science, and culture of the region. Prominent are the names of Joseph Curiel, dedicated to the cause of public health; David Curiel, who contributed largely to pharmaceutical science; his son José David Curiel, president of the Supreme Court of the State; and the important poets Elías David Curiel and Salomón López Fonseca; other residents, such as members of the Jesurun, Senior, Maduro, Capriles, Valencia, Pereira, de Sola, Henríquez, Hoheb, Abenatar, and Salcedo families were outstanding businessmen, doctors, and politicians. But, although the newcomers celebrated religious services in some houses, had a *mohel* and practiced circumcision, celebrated marriages according to the Jewish rite and buried their dead in the Jewish cemetery, they could not be termed as Jewish practitioners. We have to remember that in Venezuela the freedom of religion was accorded in 1834. With the passage of time and although separated by only a thin strip of ocean from the center of Jewish life that was Curaçao, the adherence to the ancestral tradition diminished. These Jews, and at a later date those of the younger generations who were born in the country, soon assimilated into Venezuelan culture.

By the middle of the 1860s, new forms of political relations and business began to develop in Venezuela. The Jews and the people from Curaçao who had settled in Venezuela understood the needs of the country. Given the proportion of the population they represented, they contributed a larger than expected share to the modernization efforts. The trading company of Jacobo Abraham Jesurum & Zoom expanded the commerce between La Guaira and Curaçao. In 1865 Jesurum established a shipping line between Curaçao, La Guaira, Puerto Cabello, St. Thomas, and Europe and signed a contract to construct the eastern railroad and to issue postage stamps for the mail service he provided. Jacobo Abraham Jesurum made several loans to the government, guaranteed by the revenues of the Coro customs office. In 1879, President Antonio Guzmán Blanco, who had cultivated in France the friendship of the banker Isaac Pereire, signed a contract with a son of Isaac to develop natural resources and several enterprises in Venezuela. By the last quarter of the century, a group of industrial managers with a modern mentality and contacts in the United States and Europe arose in the commercial sector. Among them were Manasés Capriles Ricardo, Tomás Chapman, Isaac A. Senior, Salomón López Fonseca, Julio César Capriles and Jacob M. Chumaceiro.

Before the end of the 19th century, a new wave of Sephardi immigration arrived in Venezuela. They were from northern Morocco. These immigrants settled mainly in the cities of Caracas, Barcelona, Carúpano, Cumaná, La Victoria, Villa de Cura, and Caucagua, and some of them went to places as distant as the uninhabited San Fernando de Apure and Ciudad Bolívar. The life of these people was hard at the beginning. Without capital or skills, they became traveling salesmen. Because of their dedication to commerce and trade, they spread out and no longer lived together as a community. Religious life did not exist because there was neither a synagogue nor rabbis. For many of them, this situation contributed to their forgetting their Jewish roots.

Immigration and Communal Organization

20TH CENTURY. By the year 1907, 230 Jews lived in the country. Through perseverance, sacrifice, and savings, those who had arrived at the end of the 19th century started opening commercial houses in prime locations in Caracas and initiated some manufacturing facilities. Gradually they began to prosper. The adoption of local customs was not an obstacle to narrow links of solidarity among themselves; the improvement of their economic situation helped them continue to maintain their faith and the bonds with the family they had left in Morocco. To satisfy the growing needs of the group, they founded in Caracas in 1907 a charitable society named "Sociedad Benéfica Israelita" which remained active until some time after 1909; they used to meet in private houses to pray and celebrate the holidays and in 1916 they inaugurated a cemetery. By 1917 the number of Jews had increased to 475. The National Census of 1926 recorded 882 Jews.

In the 1910s, under the dictatorship of General Juan Vicente Gómez and the boom of Venezuelan oil, Sephardi Jews from Eastern Europe, Yemen, Persia, Syria, and Lebanon arrived in Caracas. At the same time, Ashkenazi Jews coming from Central Europe crossed the Atlantic Ocean to reach Venezuelan shores. These new immigrants had left Europe under the most precarious conditions. They traveled third class on miserable ships to trade their poverty for the almost universal poverty of the rural country that Venezuela then was, and to find an older community of Moroccan origin, now mostly wealthy and well established. These newcomers had to live in houses where each family had a single room with kitchen and bathroom shared. After walking through neighborhoods and climbing steep hills to sell their merchandise for monthly payments, their greatest aspiration was to create their own commercial establishments. With nostalgia for the customs and traditions of their ancestors, they soon formed groups based on places of origin, and Poles, Russians, Hungarians, and Germans came together out of affinity to share memories. These affiliations served as a mutual support in time of need. In 1931 they established the Sociedad Israelita Ashkenazit and 12 years later the Centro Social y Cultural Israel. In 1936, aware of the need to unite forces and to create a congregation, both groups merged and in 1950 they gave birth to the Unión Israelita de Caracas (UIC). Other small Ashkenazi institutions were founded in Maracaibo (1941), Maracay (1944), and San Cristóbal (1945). During all these years the Ashkenazi groups used rented houses to celebrate religious services and organize social activities. It was not until 1961 that the UIC began the construction of its synagogue in Caracas.

Greatly devoted to religious tradition, the Moroccan Sephardi group that lived in Caracas founded in 1930 the Asociación Israelita de Venezuela (AIV), whose first objective was to build a synagogue and which has become since then the representative organization of the whole Sephardi community. The Synagogue El Conde (1939–54) and the Gran Sinagoga Tiferet Israel de Caracas built in the period 1956–63, as well as the group of new synagogues that developed during the last two decades of the 20th century, are an expression of the traditional deep-rooted religious feelings of this Jewry.

The Holocaust and the Subsequent Period

By the end of the 1930s, the Venezuelan government had imposed restriction on Jewish immigration. While during the Nazi regime some Caribbean countries closed their ports to the ships carrying human cargo that tried to escape the annihilation that extended in Europe in those years, in 1939 General Eleazar López Contreras, president of the Republic, had humanitarian feelings. At the initiative of the Comité Israelita Pro-refugiados, he granted permission to land to the passengers of the only two ships under the German flag that anchored at Puerto Cabello and La Guaira, the *Koenigstein* and the *Caribia*. Most of these refugees were intellectuals and educated professionals whose influence would be decisive in the subsequent development of the community and whose contribution to the country has been notable.

The 1940s were framed by the tragic events of World War II. The nucleus that gave rise to the Unión Israelita de Caracas together with the members of the Asociación Israelita de Venezuela showed their solidarity with their coreligionists who, escaping from the Holocaust, arrived in Venezuela in search of shelter. In their desire to help the refugees fleeing events that were developing in Europe, in 1941 a Jewish group from the Middle East and North Africa set up the Centro Benéfico Israelita. Starting in 1946 and continuing well into the 1950s, a new contingent of Askenazim, survivors of the Holocaust, bolstered the Venezuelan community.

During this same decade a succession of events contributed largely to strengthen and consolidate the future of communal life: the bases of the Consejo Central de Sociedades Israelitas de Venezuela (Central Council of Jewish Societies of Venezuela) were established; *Mundo Israelita*, a weekly newspaper, began its appearance in 1943; WIZO de Venezuela was constituted and the first copies of the magazines *Prensa Judía* (1944) and *Paz* (1946) were issued. The Colegio Moral y Luces Herzl-Bialik was founded in 1946, beginning its activities with a registration of 40 students.

Zionist youth movements were established by young Venezuelan Jews who, enthusiastic over the creation of the State of Israel, took names such as Grupo Universitario Scopus (1946), Grupo Juvenil Kadimah (1946), Javerim (1954), Ken Najshón del Hashomer Hatzair y Bnei Akiva (1955), Hanoar Hatzioni, and Young Israel.

Contemporary Period

With the death of the General Juan Vicente Gómez (1935) after 27 years of a strong-arm government, Venezuela adopted the constitutional system. The decisive political changes at the end of the "gomecismo" coincided with the beginning of the modernization of the country (the presidencies of Gral. Eleazar López Contreras (1936), General Isaías Medina Angarita (1941), Rómulo Betancourt (1945), Rómulo Gallegos (1948), and General Marcos Pérez Jiménez (1950)), and with the reaping of the benefits of oil.

For Venezuela, starting on the path of modernization, two of the ingredients necessary to accomplish it were at hand: the oil wealth that sprang spontaneously from the earth and the people's desire for transformation; the only missing component was the human factor. In this circumstance, the country opened its doors to immigration. Spaniards, Italians, and Portuguese arrived in waves as did Jews who had survived the European catastrophe. By 1950, the Jewish population had grown to about 5,000–6,000 persons. In 1958 the dictatorship of General Marcos Pérez Jiménez fell. During the period 1957–59 about 1,000 Jews from Egypt, Hungary, and Israel were admitted. Others came from South American countries, escaping from their political instability.

After the withdrawal of the military from direct involvement in national politics (1958), Venezuela started to enjoy an unbroken tradition of democratic civilian rule, though not always without conflict. The 1960s were deeply convulsive in political matters, giving rise to a mainly intellectual left. The 1970s were marked by the energy crisis in consequence of the revolution in Libya, the Yom Kippur War, and the fall of the shah of Iran. Presidents Rafael Caldera (1968), Carlos Andrés Pérez (1973), and Luis Herrera Campíns (1978) had to navigate the difficulties of those years.

A highly organized and supportive Jewish community developed then. Since 1966 the Confederación de Asociaciones Israelitas de Venezuela (CAIV) is the umbrella organization that officially represents the whole community. At the beginning of the 1970s the Colegio Moral y Luces Hebraica, spanning Jewish education from kindergarten to high school, opened its door and received in its classrooms 95 percent of the Jewish student population. It was in this setting that Sephardi-Ashkenazi interrelations began to grow steadily, pointing toward the total unification of both communities. In 1970 the Jewish population was estimated at 15,000, most of them living in Caracas. This number had increased to 20,000 in the mid-1990s.

Institutions such as the Instituto Cultural Venezolano-Israelí (1956), the Federación Sionista (1959), the Instituto Superior de Estudios Judaicos (ISEJ, 1977), the Centro de Estudios Sefardíes (1980), the Colegio Sinai (1983), the Museo Raquel Kern (1983), the Beth Avot (Home for the Aged, 1984), the Museo Sefardí Morris E. Curiel (1998), the Centro de Salud Yolanda Katz (1998), the Library Leo and Anita Blum (1998), and the Centro Cultural Gonzalo Benaím (1998), are but a sample of the many educational, cultural, and welfare organizations that provide valuable communal services through intense activity. Cordial relations with churches are maintained through the Comité de Relaciones entre Iglesias y Sinagogas establecidas en Venezuela (CRISEV, 1973). A chair on Judaism opened at the Universidad Católica Andrés Bello.

Throughout these years, the Jewish contributions to the country have been significant. Outstanding individuals among them received national prizes in a variety of fields, examples being in physics (Estrella Abecasis de Laredo) and chemistry (Gabriel Chuchani); plastic arts (Harry Abend; Sofia Imber); theater (Isaac Chocrón); literature (Elisa Lerner); and cinematography (Alfredo Roffé). Jews who have presided over academic organizations were Paul Lustgarten (National Academy of Physical, Mathematics and Natural Sciences), Benjamin Sharifker (rector of the University Simón Bolívar), Rafael Reif (provost of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology), Paulina Gamus (deputy to the National Congress), Ruth de Krivoy (president, Banco Central), Rubén Merenfeld and Gonzalo Benaím (outstanding professionals and community and social activists), and many others.

In 1992 there was a military attempt under the leadership of Lieutenant Colonel Hugo Chávez to remove President Carlos Andrés Pérez from power. Though the coup ultimately failed and Chávez was jailed, his role in resisting the then unpopular president made him a prominent figure in national politics after he was released from jail in 1994. In 1998 he was elected president of the Republic.

The political turmoil of the early 2000s and the social and economic transformations the country has faced under the administration of Hugo Chávez have imposed new responsibilities upon the community. The Jewish environment did not escape the serious crisis that economically affected the less favored people. By the year 2005 the total number of registered students in the Jewish school had decreased due to the recent phenomenon of migration and *aliyah* made by a considerable number of Venezuelan Jewish families. The number of students attending the Colegio is 1,381.

In 2005 it was education and social welfare activities that required the maximum attention from the community authorities. There was an increased need for scholarships for the day school and a considerable number of families required monthly financial assistance. Apparently, the years of prosperity were reaching an end and uncertainty was what characterized the future.

Antisemitism

Leaving aside the anti-Jewish outbursts that occurred in Coro in the mid-19th century and ended in an arrangement with the government, Venezuela is a country where discrimination by origin, race, or religion had been almost nonexistent and where antisemitism was not widespread. Even during the periods of dictatorship which prevailed during part of the 20th century, the Jewish community was not singled out for oppression.

It is since the Six-Day War (1967) that anti-Israeli and anti-Zionist propaganda reared its head and was echoed by the leftist parties, although public opinion and the press remained friendly to Israel and to the Jewish people.

In Venezuela the Jewish and Arab communities had been living and trading together in harmony for years. Successive governments had maintained their neutral position in the

Middle East conflict and had tried to keep peace among these groups, although they were unable to prevent the outbreak of antisemitism that poisoned the press, the university campus, and the politic atmosphere in the 1970s.

More recently (2005), even though President Chávez had affirmed and repeated that a total and absolute climate of liberty exists, intermittent broadcasts of the official radio and TV stations attempted very often to denigrate the integrity of the Jewish people and the State of Israel; degrading concepts and prejudiced expressions are heard in some media; antisemitic watchwords appear painted on walls; posters and "cartelones" incite against the Zionism; antisemitic mottoes are daubed on the façades of Jewish institutions. As a result of a political assassination and in order to explain problematic national and political events, the police carried out an unsuccessful search in the Hebrew school and the Hebraica social club (2005). It is possible that these are isolated actions, but to the surprise of many people, the distribution of antisemitic literature has increased greatly in bookstores and newsstands.

Relations with Israel

Special mention should be made of the close relationships that have always existed between Venezuela and Israel. Diplomatic relations are on the ambassadorial level. The embassy was located in Jerusalem for many years but eventually moved to Tel Aviv. Commercial ties between the two countries are well developed. Visits of ministers and cooperation in specialized professional projects and agricultural development programs have been very frequent.

Venezuelan Jews have maintained strong ties with Israel and many have visited the country several times. The financial contributions to Jewish causes used to be large. To celebrate the 50th anniversary of Israel, a set of commemorative postal stamps was issued by the government in 1998.

The Comité Venezolano pro-Palestina was formed in 1946 and, under the Rómulo Gallegos presidency, the Venezuelan government gave its affirmative vote to the Partition Plan in the United Nations (1947) and was one of the first nations to recognize the State of Israel (1948).

Since the establishment of the Cámara Económica Venezolana-Israelí in 1976, trade between the two countries has grown considerably. In 1970 the total amount per year was $3 million ($1.5 million for each side). In 1980 the total was $21.6 million (of which Israel exported $21.3 million). This Venezuelan deficit continued in 1990 with total trade of $92.9 million (Israel exported $90.7 million). A big drop in trade was registered in 2000, down to $36.7 million, Venezuela exporting $10.4 and Israel 26.3 million. Total trade in 2003 was $29.3 million (3.8 and 25.5, respectively) and in 2004 $56.8 million (9.6 and 47.2, respectively).

With respect to *aliyah* (emigration to Israel), the first years of the 21st century showed a pattern of steady growth (52 people in 2002; 113 in 2003; 117 in 2004; and 129 in 2005).

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[Jacob Carciente (2nd ed.)]

VENGEANCE (Heb. *nekamah, nekimah*), inflicting punishment on another in return for an offense or injury, or the withholding of benefits and kindness from another for the same reason. The Bible distinguishes between vengeance that is proper and vengeance that is sinful. Vengeance is proper for man only in the restricted sense of dispensing justice for a legally punishable crime or sin, meted out in the prescribed manner. The one who inflicts the punishment is thus acting as an instrument of the court of law, or in rare cases, of God's revealed will, but never merely to satisfy personal animosity. Examples are "When a man strikes his slave… and he dies there and then, he must be avenged" (Ex. 21:20) and "The Lord spoke to Moses, saying, 'Avenge the Israelite people on the Midianites'" (Num. 31:1–2). Similarly, vengeance is appropriate when it is directed in a legally just war against the enemies of the entire people of Israel, who are at the same time considered enemies of God: "To execute vengeance upon the nations and punishments upon the peoples" (Ps. 149:7). Vengeance is a divine prerogative, as the following verses indicate: "For He will avenge the blood of His servants, wreak vengeance on His foes" (Deut. 32:43); "I will bring a sword against you to wreak vengeance for the covenant" (Lev. 26:25); and "O Lord God of vengeance, O God of vengeance, shine forth" (Ps. 94:1). While the rabbis considered the imitation of God's ways, such as mercy, forgiveness, and so on, to be the ethical ideal for man (see, e.g., Sot. 14a; Sif. Deut. 49; Shab. 133b), they did not fail to point out that certain activities attributed by the Bible to God, such as vengeance, should not be imitated, the reason being that "with a human being wrath controls him, but the Holy One blessed He controls His wrath, as it is said, 'The Lord avengeth and is full of wrath'" [the Hebrew is *ba'al ḥemah*, literally 'master of wrath'; Nah. 1:2] (Gen. R. 49:8).

Human vengeance as the expression of personal animosity is explicitly prohibited in the Bible in the verse, "You shall not take vengeance or bear a grudge against your kinsfolk. Love your neighbor as yourself: I am the Lord" (Lev. 19:18). The rabbis offer a precise definition of this passage: "What is vengeance and what is bearing a grudge? If one said to his fellow: 'Lend me your sickle,' and he replied 'No,' and tomorrow the second comes to the first and says: 'Lend me your ax,' and he replies: 'I will not lend it to you just as you would not lend me your sickle' – that is vengeance. And what is bearing a grudge'? If one says to his fellow: 'Lend me your ax,' he replies 'No,' and on the morrow the second asks: 'Lend me your garment,' and he answers: 'Here it is, I am not like you who would not lend me what I asked for' – that is bearing a grudge" (Yoma 23a; Maim. Yad, De'ot 7:7, 9; *Sefer ha-Ḥinnukh*, nos. 247, 248). Various reasons have been offered by Jewish thinkers for the injunction against vengeance, besides the obvious one that it increases hatred and strife among men. One consideration is that a man and his neighbor are really one organic unit, so that one retaliating against the other is analogous to the situation in which one hand slicing meat with a knife slips and cuts the second hand: "would the second hand retaliate by cutting the first?" (TJ, Ned. 9:4, 41c). Or, from another aspect, one ought always to consider the harm that befalls him as ultimately deriving from God as punishment for sin, the human perpetrator of the injury being merely an unwitting instrument of divine providence, so that, actually, repentance, rather than vengeance, is called for (*Sefer ha-Ḥinnukh*, no. 247). Maimonides states that "one should rather practice forbearance in all mundane matters, for the intelligent realize that these are vain things and not worth taking vengeance for" (Maim. Yad, De'ot 7:7).

There is, according to the Talmud, one notable exception to the injunction against vengeance. "Any *talmid ḥakham* (pious Torah scholar) who does not avenge himself and retains anger like a serpent, is no real *talmid ḥakham*" (Yoma 22b–23a), the reason being that offense against him entails a slur against the Torah itself. This dispensation granted the *talmid ḥakham* is, however, highly qualified by the rabbis. It is limited to cases where the scholar has suffered personal, rather than monetary, injury; the scholar may not take overt action, but may merely withhold interference if another takes up his cause; the dispensation is terminated if the offender seeks forgiveness (Yoma, *ibid.* and Rashi *ibid.*). Furthermore, according to Maimonides (Yad, Talmud Torah 7:13), the special permission granted the scholar applies only to instances where he was publicly reviled, thus involving a gross desecration of the honor of Torah; and finally, the purpose for allowing vengeance in such a case is that it causes the offender to recant, after which he must be forgiven.

In all other instances where one has been wronged, vengeance in all its forms is forbidden. The ideal, according to the Talmud, is to be of those, "who are insulted but do not retaliate with insult, who hear themselves put to shame without replying" (Yoma, *ibid.*). Concerning such people, the rabbis declare, "he who forbears to retaliate will find forbearance [from God] for all his failings" (Yoma, *ibid.;* Shab. 88b; RH 17a.)

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[Joshua H. Shmidman]

VENICE, city in N. Italy.

The Medieval Community

Although some individual Jews had passed through Venice in the Middle Ages, legislation enacted in 1382 allowing moneylending in the city for the following five years marked the start of the authorized Jewish presence in the city, and at its expiration in 1387 a 10-year charter came into effect exclusively for Jewish moneylenders. However, at the end of the ten years, they had to leave, and officially no Jew could stay in Venice for longer than 15 days at a time, with exceptions made only for merchants arriving by sea and for doctors; also henceforth all Jews coming to the city were required to wear on their outer clothing a yellow circle, changed in 1496 to a yellow head-covering to make evasion more difficult.

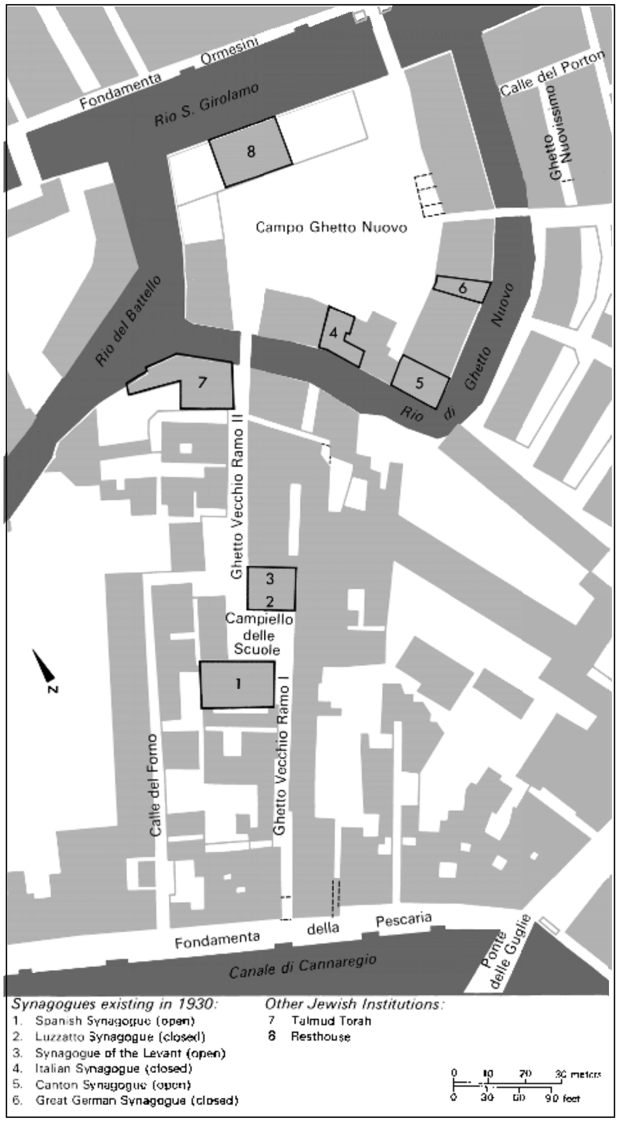
Fondamenta
Ormesini
Rio S. Girolamo
Calle del Porton
Ghetto Nuovissimo
8
Campo Ghetto Nuovo
6
Rio del Battello
4
5
Rio di Ghetto Nuovo
7
N
Ghetto Vecchio Ramo II
3
2
Campiello delle Scuole
1
Ghetto Vecchio Ramo I
Calle del Forno
Fondamenta della Pescaria
Canale di Cannaregio
Ponte delle Guglie
Synagogues existing in 1930:
1. Spanish Synagogue (open)
2. Luzzatto Synagogue (closed)
3. Synagogue of the Levant (open)
4. Italian Synagogue (closed)
5. Canton Synagogue (open)
6. Great German Synagogue (closed)
Other Jewish Institutions:
7 Talmud Torah
8 Resthouse
0 10 20 30 meters
0 30 60 90 feet

Plan of Venice ghetto, 1930.

The authorized continuous residence of Jews in the city of Venice and the emergence of its Jewish community was a 16th-century development not initially planned by the Venetian government. Its restrictive policy toward the residence of Jews in Venice in the 15th century was not extended either to the Venetian overseas possessions or to the Venetian territory on the Italian mainland, and the charter issued in 1503 to Jewish moneylenders in Mestre permitted them to come to Venice in case of war. Consequently, in 1509, as during the War of the League of Cambrai, the enemies of Venice overran the Venetian mainland, Jewish moneylenders and other Jews residing in Mestre, as well as in Padua and elsewhere, fled to Venice. The Venetian government soon realized that allowing them to stay was doubly beneficial, for they could provide the hard-pressed treasury with annual payments while their moneylending in the city itself was convenient for the needy urban poor. Consequently, in 1513 the government granted the Jewish moneylender Anselmo del Banco (Asher Meshullam) from Mestre and his associates a charter permitting them to lend money in Venice. Then, two years later, the Jews obtained permission to operate stores selling *strazzaria*, literally rags, but, by extension, secondhand clothing and other used items such as household goods and furnishings, which were sought by a large part of the population, especially foreign diplomats and visitors to the city and even the government itself for state occasions, prior to the Industrial Revolution when less-expensive mass-produced items first became available.

Many Venetians, especially clerics, objected to the residence of Jews all over the city, so in 1516 the Senate decided, despite the objections of the Jews, as a compromise mediating between the new freedom of residence all over the city and the previous state of exclusion, to segregate them. Accordingly, all Jews residing in the city and all who were to come in the future were required to move to the island known as the Ghetto Nuovo (the New Ghetto), which was walled up and provided with two gates that for most of the time that the ghetto existed were locked all night, from one hour after sunset in the summer and two hours after sunset in the winter, when it got dark earlier, until dawn.

Initially, the site adjacent to the island of the Ghetto Nuovo had served as the location of the Venetian municipal copper foundry, *il ghetto* from the verb *gettare,* in the sense of to pour or caste metal, while the Ghetto Nuovo to which the Jews were relegated in 1516 had been used for dumping waste material from the copper foundry. Accordingly it was referred to as "the terrain of the ghetto" (*il terreno del ghetto*) and then eventually the Ghetto Nuovo, while the area of the actual foundry became known as the Ghetto Vecchio (the Old Ghetto). But since the foundry was unable to process a sufficient quantity of metal, its activity came to be consolidated in the Arsenal, and in 1434 the government auctioned off the foundry and adjacent island, both of which became residential areas.

Although a few compulsory, segregated, and enclosed Jewish quarters had existed in Europe prior to 1516, the best-known and longest lasting of which was that of Frankfurt am Main established in 1462, they were never called ghettos because that word came to be associated with Jewish quarters only after the Venetian development of 1516. Thus, the oft-encountered statement that the first ghetto was established in Venice in 1516 is correct in a technical, linguistic sense but misleading in a wider context.

The establishment of the ghetto, however, did not assure the continued residence of the Jews in Venice, for that privilege was based on a charter granted by the Venetian government to the Jews in 1513. Upon its expiration in 1518, very extensive discussions took place in the Senate, as numerous proposals, including the expulsion of the Jews from Venice, were advanced, but eventually a new five-year charter was approved and subsequently renewed for generations.

Overall, the attitude of the Venetian government toward the Jews was highly ambivalent. While the majority of the senators allowed utilitarian socio-economic considerations to be foremost in their decision-making, thereby in retrospect making the residence of the Jews in the city continuous from 1513 on, there was a constant undercurrent of hostility that could find its expression at the time of the charter renewal. An examination of the actual terms of the charters reveals that over the years, clauses were added to further regulate the status of the Jews. Most important was the change in attitude toward moneylending. Increasingly, the Venetian government viewed Jewish moneylenders as a source of cheap credit for the urban poor rather than of revenue for the state treasury, and accordingly, it lowered the interest rates and correspondingly reduced the required annual payments of the Jews. Finally, in 1573, it eliminated the annual payment, but the Jews were required to make loans of up to three ducats each at five percent per annum interest to any borrower with a suitable pledge. Since the native Jews of Venice, whom the government referred to as Tedeschi (i.e., German) Jews because many of them were ultimately of Germanic origin even though their families might have lived on the Italian peninsula for generations, claimed that they could not support the expenses of the pawnshops (sometimes misleadingly referred to as banks) on their own, the Jewish communities of the mainland were required to contribute and that responsibility was also extended to the Jewish merchants, despite their strong objection. Thus the nature of Jewish moneylending completely changed from a voluntary profit-making activity engaged in by a few wealthy individuals to a compulsory responsibility imposed on the Jewish community which passed it on to individual Jews who had the resources to fund the pawnshops, and then subsidized them with a premium over the five percent interest that they could legally charge on their loans.

In 1541, some visiting Ottoman Jewish merchants, known as Levantine Jews, complained to the Venetian government that they did not have sufficient space in the ghetto. Legislation of that year designed to make trading in Venice more attractive to foreign merchants, primarily by lowering customs duties on certain imports, pointed out that these Jewish merchants were importing the greater part of the merchandise coming from the Ottoman Balkans and ordered that their complaint be investigated. Upon confirmation of its validity, they were assigned the area of the Ghetto Vecchio, which was ordered walled up with only one gate at each end, one of which opened up to a bridge to the Ghetto Nuovo.

Meanwhile, the establishment of the Inquisition in Portugal in 1536 increasingly induced many *New Christians to leave, either because they were secretly judaizing or were afraid that they might falsely be accused of doing so. The existence of a Jewish community in Venice and the growing presence of Levantine Jewish merchants in the city after 1541 made it more attractive for judaizing Iberian New Christians to come to Venice, where many reverted to Judaism and either stayed or went on elsewhere, primarily to the Ottoman Empire.

Although the Venetian government was always doctrinally Catholic and concerned with the religious faith of its inhabitants, it usually did not concern itself with the origin and background of those New Christians who upon arriving in Venice went directly to the ghetto and there assumed Judaism and henceforth lived unambiguously as Jews. On the other hand, officially it did not tolerate New Christians who lived outside the ghetto and passed themselves off ostensibly as Christians while nevertheless still secretly judaizing, both because their conduct was an affront to Christianity and also because it was feared that they might lead more simple Christians astray. Only once in the 16th century, in 1550, apparently under the pressure of Emperor Charles v, did the Venetian government take action against judaizing New Christians as a group as it forbade *Crypto-Jews from settling in Venice and the Venetian state.

Yet despite the legislation of 1550, the pressure of the papal nuncio, and the presence of the Venetian Inquisition – revived in 1547 in order to deal with the growth of Protestant heresy rather than with Crypto-Jews as had been the case with the Inquisition on the Iberian peninsula (although once established it concerned itself with all manifestations of heresy, including cases of Crypto-Judaism) – Venice continued to serve judaizing New Christians as both a place of settlement as well a major point of transit.

The cause of the judaizing New Christian merchants in Venice was taken up by Daniel Rodriga, a Jew of Portuguese New Christian origin, in 1573. He submitted to the Venetian government numerous proposals and projects intended primarily to restore the declining maritime commerce of Venice and augment its diminishing customs revenue while simultaneously benefiting Jewish merchants and, above all, obtaining for them privileges in Venice. Keenly aware of the far-flung merchant kinship networks of the Jewish-New Christian Iberian Diaspora in the ports of the Mediterranean, Rodriga claimed that if given suitable guarantees of security, these merchants would bring their merchandise to Venice, increasing its customs revenue and enabling it to maintain its entrepôt function. Finally, in 1589, Rodriga's persistence was rewarded, as the Venetian government, recognizing the need to take some action in view of the serious decline in Venetian maritime commerce, concluded that inviting Jewish merchants to the city constituted the least serious possible modification of its long-standing commercial protectionist policy and accordingly the least objectionable way of attempting to alleviate the situation. Consequently, it issued a charter allowing both New Christian merchants from the Iberian Peninsula (who were called Ponentine – i.e., Western – Jews in order to avoid referring to them as New Christians or Marranos) and also Levantine Jewish merchants from the Ottoman Empire to reside in Venice as Venetian subjects with the coveted privilege of engaging in maritime trade between Venice and the Levant on condition that they resided in the ghetto and wore the special yellow Jewish head-covering.

These Jewish merchants were so successful that their charter was subsequently renewed for successive 10-year periods, and when in 1633 they assured the Venetian government that additional merchants would come to Venice if granted adequate living space, it assigned the newcomers an area containing 20 dwellings across the canal from the Ghetto Nuovo, in a direction almost opposite to the Ghetto Vecchio, that almost immediately became known as the Ghetto Nuovissimo, i.e., the newest ghetto. In light of the spread of the use of the term "ghetto" to refer to compulsory and segregated Jewish quarters on the Italian peninsula in the wake of the harsh papal bull of 1555 known as *Cum Nimis Absurdum*, it is understandable that this third compulsory Jewish quarter in Venice was referred to as a ghetto. However, the Ghetto Nuovissimo differed from the Ghetto Nuovo and the Ghetto Vecchio in one important respect. While the last two designations had been in use prior to the residence of the Jews in those locations and owed their origin to the former presence of a foundry in that area, the Ghetto Nuovissimo had never been associated with a foundry. Rather, it was called the Ghetto Nuovissimo because it was the site of the newest compulsory, segregated, and enclosed Jewish quarter. Thus, the term ghetto had come full circle in the city of its origin: from an original specific usage as a foundry in Venice to a generic usage in other cities designating a compulsory, segregated, and enclosed Jewish quarter with no relation to a foundry, and then to that generic usage also in Venice.

The number of Jews residing in Venice apparently reached around 2,000 (roughly 1.5% of the total population of the city) in the last years of the 16th century, rising to a peak of almost 3,000 (roughly 2% of the population) toward the middle of the 17th century, and then dropped to a low of slightly over 1,500 in the last years of the Republic, although according to some very questionable sources at times it was substantially higher. Especially in the 16th and 17th centuries, the number of dwellings available in the ghetto was very often insufficient, so they were constantly subdivided into smaller units while stories were added to the existing buildings, thereby starting a virtually constant process of alteration and modification.

The Venetian government enforced the regulations regarding residence in the ghetto and the requirement to remain there after the hour established for the closing of its gates. Only Jewish doctors treating Christian patients and Jewish merchants who had to attend to their business enjoyed routine permission to be outside the ghetto after hours, while additionally on occasion individual Jews, including representatives of the Jewish community who had to negotiate charter renewals with the government, singers and dancers who performed in the homes of Christians, especially at carnival time, and others who had special needs and skills were granted the privilege, often only until a specified hour of the night. Only extremely rarely indeed was permission granted – usually to doctors – to reside outside the ghetto. Along with residence in the ghetto, the requirement that the Jews wear a special headcovering, initially yellow, which for some undetermined reason became red although Levantine Jews continued to wear yellow, constituted a very significant part of the Venetian socio-religious policy of segregating the Jews.

Reflecting the heterogeneous ethnic backgrounds of the Jews of Venice, several synagogues were established in the ghetto. Five were generally considered to be major synagogues. Three were located in the Ghetto Nuovo: the Scuola Grande Tedesca and the Scuola Canton, both of the Ashkenazi rite, and the Scuola Italiana. Situated in the Ghetto Vecchio were the Scuola Levantina and the Scuola Ponentina or Spagnola, officially Kahal Kadosh Talmud Torah. Additionally, at least three smaller synagogues existed in the Ghetto Nuovo: the Scuola Coanim or Sacerdote, the Scuola Luzzatto, and the Scuola Meshullam. Only the cemetery, initially established in 1386, of necessity was located outside the ghetto on the Lido. The Scuola Ponentina acquired an additional significance as its by-laws served as a model for the Sephardi community of Amsterdam, whose procedures in turn were utilized by the Sephardi Jewish communities of London and of the English colonies of New York, Philadelphia, and Montreal in the New World.

The rabbis of Venice constituted overall a distinguished cadre that provided leadership for their day and a few outstanding figures of more than local significance. The best known was the prolific Leon *Modena (1571–1648), whose numerous works include a remarkably frank Hebrew autobiography which sheds much light on his own life as well as providing unique and fascinating insight into the everyday life, practices, and values of the Jews in early-modern Venice, including their extensive relationships with their Christian neighbors on all levels, from intellectual exchanges to joint participation in alchemy experiments and gambling. Also of special prominence was Modena's contemporary, Rabbi Simone *Luzzatto (ca. 1583–1663). Today he is remembered primarily for his *Discorso sopra il stato degl'Ebrei et in particolar demoranti nel'inclita città di Venetia* ("Discourse on the Status of the Jews and in Particular Those Living in the Illustrious City of Venice," 1638), written in Italian for the Venetian nobility in order to avert a possible expulsion of the Jews as a result of a major scandal involving the bribery of Venetian judges through Jewish intermediaries. In the course of his presentation, Luzzatto displayed considerable insight into the economic and commercial situation, combined with a thorough acquaintance with classical Graeco-Roman literature and an awareness of contemporary intellectual trends, especially in philosophical and political thought, as well as new scientific discoveries in mathematics and astronomy, as he argued that the presence of Jewish merchants and moneylenders was very useful indeed for the Venetian economy and therefore the Jews should not be expelled. Additionally, Venice served as a significant center for the development, transformation, and popularization of the Lurianic Kabbalah from Safed as Rabbi Menachem Azariah mi Fano began to publicly expound it, and eventually it was transmitted from Venice to Eastern Europe.

Additionally significant in Venice was the presence of Jewish doctors, many of whom had been attracted by the educational experience offered by the nearby medical school of Padua. The attendance of Jewish students there was especially significant since it was generally regarded as the best medical school in Europe, with the humanities integrated into the scientific curriculum, and provided one of the richest opportunities for Jews to familiarize themselves with the best of European intellectual and cultural achievements. Jewish students from all over Italy as well as central and eastern Europe came to Padua, and many returned to serve in their communities and elsewhere. Especially noteworthy was the Jewish doctor David dei Pomis (1525–c. 1593) who left Rome as a result of *Cum Nimis Absurdum*, eventually settling in Venice, where he resided for the rest of his life and published, among other works, his *De Medico Hebraeo Enaratio Apologica* (1588), which refuted charges often brought against Jews and Jewish doctors in his own days in the bull of Gregory XIII.

Hebrew Printing

Understandably 16th-century Venice, with available capital, technical proficiency, good paper, a skilled labor force, and constituting a convenient location for exporting emerged as a major center of printing not only in Italian, Latin, and Greek but also Hebrew, Judeo-Italian, Ladino (Judeo-Spanish), and Yiddish (Judeo-German). Indeed, the Venetian printing press made a very extensive and lasting contribution to Jewish learning and culture through its assuming a major role in the early history of Hebrew printing and publishing. One of the outstanding publishers of Hebrew books in Renaissance Italy, and indeed of all times, was Daniel Bomberg, a Christian from Antwerp who, with the help of numerous editors, typesetters, and proofreaders, mostly either Jews or converts from Judaism to Christianity, printed around 200 Hebrew books. Of prime significance for Jewish religious life and culture is his complete edition of the Babylonian Talmud (1520–23) with the commentary of Rashi and the Tosafot, whose format and pagination has been followed in virtually all subsequent editions up to the present, and also his edition of the rabbinic Bible (*Mikra'ot Gedolot*) (1517–18; 1524–25^2), with the Aramaic translation and traditional rabbinic commentaries, which also became the standard model for most subsequent editions, as well as other major works, including the Palestinian Talmud.

After Bomberg, the more important subsequent printers of Hebrew books included the Christians Marco Antonio

Giustiniani, whose activity overlapped the last years of Bomberg, and Alvise Bragadini. Their competition in rival editions of Maimonides' *Mishneh Torah* led to a papal decree of 1553 condemning the Talmud and ordering it burned. Consequently, on October 21, 1553, Hebrew books were burned in Piazza San Marco, to the great loss of the Jewish community and the Christian printers alike. Subsequently, in the early 1560s, Hebrew printers in Venice resumed their activities, printing books by Jewish authors from all over who sought out the resources of the city on the lagoons, from which the books were exported throughout Europe and the Mediterranean world, although from 1548 on, Jews were officially not allowed to be publishers or printers. Indeed, it has been estimated that of 3,986 Hebrew books known to have been printed in Europe prior to 1650, almost a third (1,284) were printed in Venice. Eventually, during the course of the 17th century, the quantity and quality of Venetian Hebrew imprints declined and other centers of Hebrew printing gradually emerged.

The Modern Community

By the 18th century, Venice as a whole had declined economically, certainly in a relative if not absolute sense, and with it also the financial condition of the Jewish community as a corporate entity, even though an impoverished community did not mean that all of its individual members were impoverished. The Venetian government was very concerned, above all because it required that the Jewish community be solvent in order to operate the pawn shops, especially since it was unwilling to establish in Venice a charitable pawnshop known as a **monte di pietà* in order to eliminate Jewish moneylending and the presence of the Jews or at least to minimize their role as had been done in many places on the Italian peninsula, although that possibility was raised on several occasions during the course of the 18th century. Consequently, in 1722 it took the major step of creating the magistracy of the Inquisitorato sopra l'Università degli Ebrei for the purpose of restoring and maintaining the financial solvency of the community. For the rest of the century, the Inquisitorato, together with the Senate and other relevant magistracies, constantly worked out detailed regulations in attempts to promote the smooth functioning of the pawnshops, to arrange for the repayment of the substantial debts of the Jewish community owed both to Venetian Christians and to the Jewish communities of Amsterdam, The Hague, and London, and generally to restore its solvency, eventually closely supervising all aspects of its everyday financial affairs.

In 1738 the separate charters of the Tedeschi Jews and of the Levantine and Ponentine Jews ended as one unified 10-year charter was issued for all Jews residing in the Venetian state. In a sense, such a charter was long overdue, since the charters of the Tedeschi Jews, which antedated those of the Levantine and Ponentine Jewish merchants, contained general provisions which were also applied to the merchants. Yet, the once distinct economic activities and responsibilities of the two groups of Jews had merged over the years, as for well over a century the merchants had been subjected to payments to the pawnshops of the Tedeschi Jews, while since 1634 the Tedeschi Jews had been eligible to engage in maritime trade with the Levant. The charter of 1788 was slightly over a year away from its expiration when in May 1797 the Venetian government dissolved itself in favor of a municipal council as the army of *Napoleon Bonaparte stood poised across the lagoons. The ghetto gates were spontaneously torn down and the special restricted status of the Jews of Venice came to an end.

After Napoleon ceded Venice to Austria by the Treaty of Campo Formio later in 1797, some restrictions were reinstituted but not the requirement to reside within the ghetto. After Napoleon defeated Austria in 1805, Venice became a part of the Napoleonic Kingdom of Italy and the rights of the Jews were again restored, only to be partially revoked when after the fall of Napoleon, Venice was reassigned to Austria by the Congress of Vienna in 1815. They were briefly restored during the revived Republic that emerged during the revolution of 1848–49, led by Daniel Manin, of Jewish descent, and with two Jewish ministers. Only after Venice became a part of the emerging Kingdom of Italy in 1866 were the Jews granted complete emancipation. In the following decades, the Jewish community decreased in numbers as a result of emigration and intermarriage, numbering around 2,000 in 1938.

[Benjamin Ravid (2nd ed.)]

Holocaust Period

Between the issuing of the racial laws in September 1938 and the summer of 1943, the Jewish community of Venice experienced a difficult period of exclusion and racial discrimination, first under the leadership of Aldo Finzi, who had been appointed by the government, and then, after June 16, 1940, under the presidency of Professor Giuseppe Jona.

The German occupation of Mestre and Venice on September 9 and 10, 1943, however, signaled the beginning of the actual Shoah in the region. On September 17, Professor Jona committed suicide rather than deliver the membership list of the Jewish community to the Germans. The political manifesto of the Italian Social Republic (the so-called Republic of Salò) on November 14, 1943, and subsequent decrees at the end of that month declared that all Jews in Italy were enemy aliens and ordered their arrest and the confiscation of their property. Some Jews were able to escape to Switzerland or to the Allied-occupied south of Italy. Some young people joined the armed resistance, especially the Garibaldi Brigade Nannini. Most of the others were rounded up by Italian police and Fascist militia and held in special assembly points such as the prison of Santa Maria Maggiore, the women's prison on the island of Giudecca, and the Liceo M. Foscarini. From there, they were sent to Fossoli until July 1944, and after that to a camp at Bolzano or to the prison of Risiera di San Sabba in Trieste. Nearly all were deported from those camps to Auschwitz-Birkenau.

Most arrests and deportations of Jews in Venice occurred between the major roundup on December 5, 1943, and the late summer of 1944, but incidents continued at a slower pace until the end of the war. Particularly hateful was the arrest of 21 patients at the Casa di Ricovero Israelitica on August 17, 1944. Among the victims there was the elderly Rabbi Adolfo Ottolenghi, who chose to share the fate of his fellow Jews. All of these victims were deported, most of them to Auschwitz-Birkenau.

The Nazi-Fascist persecution of Jews in Venice lasted 18 months, during which time, despite the dangers, Jewish life in the former ghetto and religious services at the synagogue continued. There was also some help from non-Jews and from the Church. Some 246 Venetian Jews were captured and deported during this period. A commemorative plaque at the Campo del Ghetto Nuovo records their names forever. Near the plaque is a monument to the Shoah by the sculptor Arbit Blatas.

[Umberto Fortis (2nd ed.)]

Contemporary Period

At the time of the liberation in 1945 there were 1,050 Jews in the community. In the early 21st century Venice had an active Jewish community of around 500 members, with services still conducted in its beautiful synagogues and a Jewish museum established in the ghetto.

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VENOSA, town in S. Italy. A group of Jews probably settled in this ancient and flourishing Roman colony long before the third century C.E., the date of the earliest Jewish inscriptions discovered there. Fifty-four epitaphs originating from a Jewish catacomb have been brought to light; they date from the third to the sixth centuries and are composed in Greek or Latin, with a few containing some Hebrew words. In the 1970s more inscriptions were discovered there. Another 23 epitaphs belonging to a cemetery are all in Hebrew and date from the ninth century. These two series of inscriptions constitute valuable source material. Apart from giving data on various individuals, the first series of epitaphs indicates that there was a well-organized community with religious office holders; there were also *rebbites* (or rabbis) and *apostuli* (delegates of the Palestinian patriarchate or the Babylonian exilarchate); moreover, some Jews figure as *maiores* and *partes civitatis*, i.e., as elected administrators of the town. The later series of epitaphs belongs to a period when Venosa had greatly declined as a result of frequent devastations, particularly by the Saracens. However, the prevalence of Hebrew is proof of the revival of Hebrew learning in southern Italy. The 11th-century chronicle of Ahimaaz b. *Paltiel tells of an emissary of the academy of Jerusalem who came to Venosa presumably to collect funds. He stayed there for a considerable time and used to read the Midrash and to interpret it every Sabbath while the local scholar *Silano, talmudist and liturgical poet, rendered it into the vernacular. After the conquest of the town by the Normans (1041), Venosa no longer afforded favorable ground for the cultivation of Hebrew studies.

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[Attilio Milano / Nadia Zeldes (2nd ed.)]

°**VENTIDIUS, PUBLIUS** (**Bassus**), Roman general sent to Asia by Mark Antony (40 B.C.E.) to repel the Parthian invasion of Syria. Ventidius defeated the combined forces of Quintus Labienus (the representative of Brutus and Cassius to Parthia) and the Parthians in Syria (39 B.C.E.), thus forcing the Parthian king, Pacorus, to evacuate the country. From Syria Ventidius marched into Judea and encamped near Jerusalem. His purpose, according to Josephus, was to extort as much money as possible from *Antigonus, the Hasmonean prince restored to the throne by the Parthians. Having achieved this purpose Ventidius withdrew with the greater part of his force, leaving behind a detachment under the command of one of his officers, Silo, who continued to receive bribes from Antigonus. Ventidius remained in Palestine, however, and was occupied with the suppression of local disturbances arising out of the Parthian invasion. At the urging of Mark Antony, Ventidius sent an army under Machaeras to assist Herod, who returned to Palestine at the time and was slowly consolidating his position there. Ventidius subsequently completed the subjugation of Syria, was relieved of his command in the summer of 38 B.C.E., and celebrated his triumph in Rome in November of that year. See Jos., Wars 1:288; Jos., Ant., 14:394ff., 434.

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[Isaiah Gafni]

VENTSPILS (Ger. **Windau**; Rus. **Vindava**), city in N.W. Latvia. Under czarist rule Ventspils was a town in the province of *Courland. Jewish settlement was authorized in 1795 after Courland was annexed to Russia. Some Jews from Lithuania and the German states began to settle in the town, but the majority came from neighboring Pilten. In 1835 the community numbered 513, in 1864 it grew to 920, and by 1897 the number had increased to 1,313 (18.5% of the total population). The community was a wealthy one, and during the period of Latvian independence a network of Jewish schools was established in the town. In 1925 the Jewish population amounted to 1,276 (7.8% of the total). Under German occupation a small part of the community succeeded in escaping to the interior of the Soviet Union: the remainder were executed by the Germans and their Latvian collaborators in 1941.

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[Yehuda Slutsky]

VENTURA, MICHON (1881–1961), lawyer. Born in Istanbul, he graduated in 1905 from the Faculty of Law of Istanbul University. Later on he went to Paris and graduated in 1912 from the Paris Faculty of Law. In 1916 he registered in the Istanbul Bar Association. He was elected as a member of the parliament in 1919 in the last elections to the Ottoman Parliament. He lectured on Roman maritime trade law and philosophy of law at the Faculty of Law of Istanbul University from 1916 to 1934. In 1934 he resigned from his position as he was charged with tax evasion, a charge he denied vehemently. He was a fervent believer in the Turkification of the Jews of Turkey. He wrote *Felsefe-i Hukuk* (1330/1914); *Hukuk-ı Ticariye-i Bahriye* (1330/1914); *Roma Hukuku. Mekteb-i Hukukun İkinci Senesinde Takrir Olunan Dersler* (1330/1916); *Mukayese-i Kavanin-i Medeniye* (1330/1914); *Roma Hukuku Dersinin İmtihan Programı* (1330/1916); *İsviçre Hukuk-ı Medenisi Vecaib Kısmı* (1926); and *Roma Hukuku* 1 (1934).

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[Rifat Bali (2nd ed.)]

VENTURA, MOÏSE (1893–1978), rabbi and scholar. Born in Smyrna, Ventura, studied at the rabbinical seminary at Istanbul and at Paris University. In 1938–48 he served as chief rabbi at *Alexandria, *Egypt; lectured at Yeshiva College, New York, 1951–53; and was head of Montefiore College, Ramsgate, England, 1953–55. In 1955 he settled in Israel. Apart from a number of textbooks of Hebrew and religious instruction in French, Ventura wrote *Le livre du Kuzari* (1932); *Le Kalam et le peripatétisme après le Kuzari* (1934); and *La philosophie de Saadia Gaon* (1934). He also prepared a critical edition of the Hebrew text (and part of the Arabic original) of Maimonides' *Millot ha-Higgayon* (*La terminologie logique de Maimonide*, with French translation and commentary, glossary, etc., 1935); and published a series of homiletical talks on biblical books and *Avot.*

VENTURA, RUBINO (1794–1858), Italian soldier from *Finale Emilia who became commander of an Indian army in Lahore (Punjab). Ventura enlisted in Napoleon's army in 1814 and following the defeat of Napoleon returned to Finale Emilia. His short and fiery temper caused him problems with the police and he was forced to leave Italy for Constantinople. In 1818 he sailed to Persia, where he volunteered to train the forces of the shah, Faith Ali. Ventura became a colonel in the Persian army but in 1821 after some friction between Persia and England he was dismissed like other officials from Europe. He went to India where he joined the army of Ranjit Singh, Maharaja of Lahore and became General of the Army with a yearly salary of 100,000 francs. After his departure from Italy he always kept his Jewish identity secret. Ventura organized the Lahore army and led it in battle against the Afghans and other enemies of Lahore. Under the name of Jean Baptiste Ventura, he married the Armenian Anna Moses, daughter of a French official, in 1825. From 1830 he engaged in archaeological excavations in Manikyala. In 1831, for his military services, he was appointed governor of Derajat. On the death of Ranjit Singh in 1839 he remained in the service of his successors. Under the rajhas Sher Singh he extended the boundaries of Lahore. In 1841 he left Lahore for Paris, where he lost much of his fortune in unsuccessful commercial speculations. In 1847 he returned to Lahore and tried unsuccessfully to enter the British military service against the Sikhs of Lahore. He repudiated his wife and he came back to Paris in 1853 with his daughter Victorine. He spent his last years in Lardenne. He was buried in the Christian cemetery of the town.

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[Federica Francesconi (2nd ed.)]

VEPRIK, ALEXANDER MOISEYEVITCH (1899–1958), composer. Born in Balta (Podolia), Veprik studied at the Leipzig, St. Petersburg, and Moscow conservatories. In the Moscow school he taught orchestration from 1923 to 1942.

He belongs to the Russian and Polish Postimpressionistic school.

His works of Jewish music include *Songs and Dances of the Ghetto* with orchestra; *Jewish Songs* with orchestra; and *Kaddish*, a song without text. His other works include two symphonies, choral works, and the opera *Toktughul* (1940), which was also adapted as a choral suite (1942 and 1955).

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[Edith Gerson-Kiwi]

VERA Y ALARCON, LOPE DE (1620–1644), Spanish martyr. Vera was born at San Clemente in La Mancha, Spain, to a Christian noble family. At 14 he entered the University of Salamanca, where he excelled in ancient languages, particularly Hebrew. He competed, albeit unsuccessfully, for a university professorship in Hebrew when only 19. The continual reading of the Hebrew Bible led him to follow the Law and he came to consider himself a practitioner of Judaism. When he tried to share his new convictions with a friend – perhaps his brother – he was denounced to the Inquisition and arrested for heresy on June 24, 1639. The trial dragged on for over a year. At the hearing of May 29, 1641, Vera announced that he was intent on becoming a Jew. The Holy Office subjected him to torture, to confrontations with leading churchmen, and to the harassment of his relatives, but could not change his mind. One night in his cell, Vera fashioned a bone knife and circumcised himself, thereafter calling himself Judah the Believer. The tribunal tried to compromise him by means of theological debates, but Vera remained silent even under duress and he was finally permitted to set out his views fully in writing. Having lost all hope of reclaiming Vera's soul, the Inquisition consigned him to the stake at Valladolid on June 25, 1644. Vera's martyrdom made a profound impression on the *Marranos and Jews throughout Europe. Interest in the particulars of the episode was so intense that the document in which Vera propounded his views was smuggled out of the Inquisition palace and deposited in the library of the *talmud torah* at *Leghorn, Italy, where it remained. The inquisitor Bartholomeo Marques Mirezo noted with a tinge of admiration, "Vera was the Church's greatest heretic"; but 100 years later a Spanish writer explained away Vera's heresy as the result of his probably having had a Marrano nursemaid during infancy.

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[Aaron Lichtenstein]

VERBAND DER DEUTSCHEN JUDEN (Ger. "Alliance of German Jews"), organization of representatives of the major communities and organizations. It was formally founded on April 24, 1904, as an attempt to constitute the sole and recognized representation of German Jewry and all its factions, particularly the *Central-Verein (CV) and the Zionists. The Verband was established, after almost a decade of hesitation and planning by Jewish leaders such as Bernhard Breslauer (1851–1928) and Eugen Fuchs (1856–1923), owing to the threat of increasing antisemitism and the growing disenchantment with the progressive parties, in spite of opposition by many Jewish leaders to a separate organization. Its first chairman was Martin *Philippson. The Verband's main goal was the defense of equality and an attack on official discrimination in Germany. Brochures on discrimination in the universities and in the legal and military professions were compiled and publicized for this purpose. The Verband also published works explaining the principles of Judaism to gentiles. It was a roof organization that did not interfere with the work of other organizations. The Verband did not succeed in winning the support of the Orthodox separatists, the younger and more radical generation of Zionists, and the Eastern European Jews. After World War I, it lost much of its influence, owing partly to the fact that the Weimar Republic had largely stopped the official discrimination against the Jews and that the Verband's tactics were not fit for the fight against the new and much more radical antisemitism, and partly to the increasing significance of sectors within German Jewry that did not support it; it ceased to exist around 1922.

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[Jacob Borut (2nd ed.)]

VERBAND DER VEREINE FUER JUEDISCHE GESCHICHTE UND LITERATUR (Ger. "Association of Societies for Jewish History and Literature"), association of societies founded in Berlin in 1893 under the leadership of Gustav *Karpeles. The Verband was founded following a wide-ranging process that saw the formation of such societies throughout Germany, a process that bore witness to a great rise in the interest in Judaism, its culture and history in the early 1890s. The societies aimed at increasing their members' knowledge of Jewish history and literature, especially through lectures and discussions. The society in Berlin, founded in 1892 and headed by Karpeles, was among the leaders of that process, encouraging and supporting the foundation of other societies and initiating the founding of the Verband as an umbrella organization. The Verband became the largest Jewish organization in Germany, with 12,149 members in 131 societies by 1900. Karpeles led it until 1909, and was followed by I. *Elbogen, who remained in office until 1938. The Verband tried to coordinate the activities of its constituent societies and published popular literature. From 1898 it published an annual, *Jahrbuch fuer juedische Geschichte und Literatur*, which reached a peak of 5,000 subscribers. After World War I other organizations assumed some of the functions of the Verband, leading to a decline in its membership. Nevertheless, it continued to exist until 1938.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: J. Borut, in: LBIYB 41 (1996), pp. 89–114.

[Zvi Avneri / Jacob Borut (2nd ed.)]

VERBAND NATIONALDEUTSCHER JUDEN (Ger. "Association of National German Jews"), extreme assimilationist organization founded in 1921 by Max Naumann (1875–1939), a Bavarian officer and lawyer. The organization remained numerically weak but was vociferous and supported by certain wealthy and established quarters of German Jewry. Eligible for membership were "Germans of Jewish descent, who, while openly acknowledging their descent, nevertheless felt so completely rooted in German culture and *Wesen* that they could not but think and feel as Germans." The "*Ostjudenfrage*," the problem of unwanted Jewish immigrants from Eastern Europe, served as the raison d'être of the Verband, which identified itself with the mass of right and center parties and viewed the problem from an "objective" German standpoint. The Verband accused the Zionists of hypocrisy in not carrying out their own programs, and of indulging in double loyalty. It called upon the Jews to acknowledge the truth of some antisemitic charges, and to shed themselves of all traces of Jewish nationalism. It established branches in the major cities of Germany and in Vienna, but did not succeed in gaining official recognition or encouragement from any right-wing party, whose negative attitude toward the Weimar Republic it shared.

Max Naumann acclaimed the "national awakening" of 1933 and sought, in vain, for a *modus vivendi* with the Nazi regime (mainly through Gregor Strasser). The Verband called upon the Jews to vote for the unification of the offices of president and prime minister in the plebiscite of Aug. 19, 1934, and tried to erect a counter-organization to the Reichsvertretung, which included Zionists. The Verband published a monthly *Der nationaldeutsche Jude* (1921–35) (circulation reportedly 5,000 in 1926 and 15,000 in 1935) and had its own youth movement, Schwarzes Faehnlein (formerly part of Kameraden with c. 400 members in 1932), which had approached the Hitlerjugend. Despite repeated vows of loyalty, the Verband was summarily rejected by the Nazis, who dissolved the association in 1935–36 because of attitudes "hostile to the State."

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[Henry Wasserman]

VERBITSKY, BERNARDO (1907–1979), Argentinean author. The son of Russian immigrant parents, he was born in Buenos Aires and became a major figure in Argentine literature of the 20th century. His family was quite poor as he was growing up and he had a rather difficult childhood. In his 1977 autobiographical novel *Hermana y sombra,* Verbitsky describes his early family life, fraught with poverty, and the general immigrant milieu in which he was raised. Verbitsky's upbringing in a lower-class working family made him sensitive to the plight of the poor and working classes. Through his parents' sacrifice, he was able to attend the university where he studied journalism, medicine, and law, as well as the humanities. He worked primarily as a journalist for more than 20 years and he held a variety of editorial posts, including for the journal *Davar*, one of the leading Jewish publications in Buenos Aires, and was press officer of the Israel embassy. Verbitsky wrote a vast corpus of books including some 20 works of fiction and three volumes of literary criticism. He established himself as a central figure in Argentinean literature, and was particularly known for his works of social realism. He belonged to the Boedo group of writers, a politically motivated group of authors who cultivated the idea of literature as means of political protest. Verbitsky received numerous literary awards and prizes throughout his career.

His most well-known works include the novels *En esos años* (1947), which deals partially with the Holocaust; *Es difícil empezar a vivir* (1963), a critical look at being Jewish in Argentina; and *Villa miseria también es América* (1957), one of his most widely read novels for its denunciation of social inequities in Latin America. He was also an accomplished short-story writer, with his best known works in this genre being *Café de los angelitos* (1949), *Calles de tango* (1966), and *A pesar de todo* (1978). This last volume contains the story "La culpa," which is an eloquent allegory of the Shoah.

[Darrell B. Lockhart (2nd ed.)]

VERCELLI, city in Piedmont, N. Italy. In 1446 the commune granted Abramo della Vigneria and his son Angelo a concession to establish a loan-bank in Vercelli on condition that they be prepared to lend the commune up to 100 florins on request. A small Jewish community formed around these bankers, regulated by the severe statutes issued in 1430 by Amadeus VIII, duke of Savoy. In 1448 the Jews were compelled to live in a separate quarter. They were expelled in 1556 but readmitted on payment of 200 florins. Renewing Jewish privileges in 1572, Duke Emanuel Philibert improved conditions in some minor respects. Jews expelled from Milanese territory were absorbed by the Vercelli community in 1597. There were eight Jewish loan-banks in Vercelli in 1624. In the 18th century the condition of the Jews in Vercelli deteriorated, though it was still better than the general situation of the Jews in Italy. A ghetto was not established until 1724; in 1740 a large new synagogue was inaugurated in the ghetto. On his death Elijah E. Foa (d. 1796) bequeathed his fortune to the community; among the institutions stemming from this bequest was the Collegio Foa (established 1829) which became an important training center for rabbis and Jewish teachers in Italy. The liberating influence of the French Revolution made itself felt in Vercelli; in 1816 they were released from many disabilities including the obligation to wear the Jewish *badge; emancipation was completed when they were granted citizenship in 1848. In that year there were about 600 Jews in Vercelli, economically well-situated. In 1853 Giuseppe Levi and Esdra Pontremoli founded in Vercelli the journal *Educatore Israelita*, which became the most widespread organ of Italian Jewry (it was superseded in 1878 by the *Vessillo Israelitico*). A new synagogue, in Arabic-Moorish style, was opened in 1878. Until 1600, the Jews of Vercelli followed the Italian synagogal rite; through the influence of some bankers of German origin the Ashkenazi rite was adopted and remained in use. In the 20th century the community dwindled considerably.

In 1931 there were 275 Jews in the community of Vercelli. During the Holocaust period 26 Jews were sent to extermination camps. After the war the community, including the industrial center of Biella, had a membership of 130, which declined to 75 by 1969.

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[Alfredo Mordechai Rabello]

VERCORS (pen name of **Jean Bruller**; 1902–1991), French author and engraver. Born in Paris, an engineer by training, he published albums of satirical drawings before World War II. During the Nazi occupation, Vercors founded the clandestine press, Editions de Minuit, launching it with the publication of his own novella, *Le silence de la mer* (1942; *Put out the Light*, 1944). This portrays a francophile and unusually humane German officer, who despite his dignified attitude and his profound understanding of France, ultimately proves incapable of resisting totalitarianism. Accclaimed as the first sign of French moral revival, the book was widely regarded as a minor masterpiece. *La marche à l'Etoile* (1943), which also appeared clandestinely, is based on memories of the writer's own father. A half-Jewish Hungarian settles in France, the land of freedom and justice. There, although legally exempt, he chooses to wear the yellow star. He finally comes to realize that the Vichy-French police are powerless tools of Nazi inhumanity, and his world crumbles.

A starkly humanitarian and ethical message pervades Vercors' works, which include *Plus ou moins homme* (1949); *Les yeux et la lumière* (1948); *Les animaux dénaturés* (1952); *Colères* (1956); *Sylva* (1961); and his wartime memoirs, *La bataille du silence* (1967). He also wrote for the theater and published albums of etchings. An essay of Jewish interest, "La sédition humaine et la pensée judaïque" (first published in *Cahiers du Sud*, no. 297, Dec. 1949), appeared in revised form in E.J. Finbert's *Aspects du génie d'Israël* (1950), 321–30.

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[Konrad Bieber]

VERDUN, town in the department of Meuse, E. France. During the ninth and tenth centuries it was a stronghold and a station on the trading route of slaves captured in Germany or England and who were sold in Spain. According to Christian sources, merchants engaged in this trade were Jews, but from Hebrew sources this appears to be doubtful. On the other hand, the latter mention the tosafists of Verdun, Samuel b. Ḥayyim, a disciple of Jacob b. Meir Tam (Rabbenu Tam), Samuel b. Joseph the Younger (Ha-Baḥur), and his brother Jacob. Later the Jews were no longer authorized to live in Verdun and in the bishopric, and it was in vain that the town appealed to the Council of *Basle, in 1434, for the right to admit them temporarily. During the 18th century some Jews of *Metz unsuccessfully attempted to obtain this same right (in 1710, 1748) and others, who had illegally settled there, were expelled (1752, 1774). The community, which was founded at the time of the Revolution, was affiliated with the consistory of *Nancy in 1808. At first it rapidly increased in numbers, reaching 217 Jews in 1806. From then until the 20th century its size was more or less constant. In 1970 there were about 80 Jews in the town. At Douaumont there is a monument to the 10,000 French Jews who fell between 1914 and 1918. Desecrated by the Nazis, it was restored in 1959.

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[Gilbert Cahen]

VERDUN-SUR-GARONNE, village in the Tarn-et-Garonne department, in southwestern France. According to non-Jewish historians, particularly the Dominican Bernard Gui, 500 Jews took refuge in a tower which was besieged by the renegade Crusader group, the *Pastoureaux, in the 13th century and committed suicide when they realized the impossibility of escaping from their persecutors. A Jewish community existed in Verdun-sur-Garonne from before 1200 until the expulsion of 1306. When the Jews were readmitted to France in 1315, they preferred to return to the localities in which they had lived previously. A number of Jews from *Comtat Venaissin who traded in Verdun-sur-Garonne during the 18th century were accused by the local merchants of dealing in stolen property. There was little development of a community in the 19th and 20th centuries. In the early 21st century, a small community existed in Verdun and maintained its own synagogue.

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[Bernhard Blumenkranz / David Weinberg (2nd ed.)]

VEREA (Wechsler), ADRIAN (1876–1944), Romanian poet and playwright. A Bucharest physician, Verea published verse collections such as *Iasi* ("Jassy", 1917) and plays, notably *Appolonius din Tyane* (1932) and *Delfinii din Vaikiki* ("The Dolphins of Waikiki", 1933). As a sequel to *Roman-Ronetti's *Manasse*, Verea wrote *Dupa moartea lui Manasse* ("After Manasse's Death", 1915), which relates the unfortunate outcome of a mixed marriage. He was killed in an air-raid during World War II.

VEREIN FUER KULTUR UND WISSENSCHAFT DES JUDENTUMS (“**Kulturverein**”), Society for the Culture and Science of Judaism, founded in Germany in 1819. It was initiated by Eduard *Gans, Leopold *Zunz, Isaac Marcus *Jost, Moses *Moser, and others. At a later date, Heinrich *Heine also joined the society. Founded in the aftermath of the anti-Jewish riots that took place in 1819 (see *Hep! Hep!), young Jewish intellectuals, most of them university students, proposed as the object of the society the investigation of the nature of Judaism by modern scientific methods in order to bring to light the universal value of Jewish culture and controvert the stereotype of the inferior image of the Jew. The society sponsored an institute for the scientific study of Judaism, which arranged lectures on Jewish history and culture and published (1822–23) a periodical *Zeitschrift fuer die Wissenschaft des Judentums*, edited by Zunz. The first issue contained a programmatic lecture by Immanuel Wohlwill (Wolf), in which he dealt with the great idea embodied in Judaism since the revelation on Sinai, an issue that found its consummate expression in the teachings of *Spinoza. After Spinoza, the idea was eclipsed by the alleged backwardness of the Jews and their failure to keep up with the general advance of culture. It was the task of the society to restore to the idea of Judaism its ancient glory and to adapt it to the scientific spirit of the times. This led to the idea of the Jewish mission: “The Jews must once again show their mettle as doughty fellow-workers in the common task of mankind. They must raise themselves and their principle to the level of a science … and if one day a bond is to join the whole of humanity, then it is the bond of science, the bond of pure reason …” The society also established a school at which Heine lectured on Jewish history. The society failed to gain the recognition of either Jews or non-Jews and folded in May 1824. Some of its members, among them its president, Eduard Gans, chose to become baptized in order to gain the acceptance of Christian society. Despite its demise, however, the society succeeded in furthering scientific study of the Jewish heritage, especially as a result of the research into rabbinic literature carried out by Zunz.

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[Michael Graetz /Nils Roemer (2nd ed.)]

VEREINIGUNG FUER DAS LIBERALE JUDENTUM IN DEUTSCHLAND (Ger. “Union for Liberal Judaism in Germany”), organization that was founded in 1908 by Bernhard Breslauer (1851–1928), who became its first chairman. The union included the Reform communities of the major cities, rabbis of the Vereinigung der liberalen Rabbiner Deutschlands (“Union of Liberal Rabbis in Germany”), founded in 1899 by Rabbi H. *Vogelstein, as well as private persons. Vogelstein was also one of the founders of the Union for Liberal Judaism; however, the lay element was traditionally predominant in the governing bodies of the organization. Its guiding spirit was Caesar *Seligmann, editor of the Union’s periodical, *Liberales Judentum* (1908–22). It had 6,000 members in its first year but the number increased to only 10,000 by 1933. It ceased to exist in the Nazi period. After the Union published its program (*Richtlinien zu einem Programm fuer das liberale Judentum*), signed by 60 rabbis, it was attacked in Orthodox circles. The Union did not champion radical reforms; its ideas had been prevalent in Germany for decades and had already found wide expression and acceptance. It emphasized the universal and humanitarian mission of Judaism in the Diaspora, and took up a strong anti-Zionist stand, particularly through its affiliated youth movement. It combated the increasing strength of the Zionists in the communal organizations after World War I by means of the *Jeudisch-liberale Zeitung.* It affiliated with the World Union for Progressive Judaism at the congress held in London in 1926.

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VEREIN ZUR ABWEHR DES ANTISEMITISMUS (**Abwehrverein**, Ger. “Association for Defense against Antisemitism”). The association was founded in December 1890 in the building of the Berlin Reichstag by 12 men, including its initiator, Edmund Friedemann, a progressive lawyer, and most likely also the philanthropist Charles Hallgarten. Among the founders were also non-Jewish participants, such as the liberal politician Heinrich Rickert and the lawyer and professor of law Rudolf von Gneist, who were both among the signers of a public denunciation of antisemitism aimed against A. *Stoecker 10 years earlier. Soon after its founding, the organization published a list of 585 supporters, “Christian gentlemen of repute” (including 56 members of the Reichstag), drawn from educated Protestant and liberal circles; among the signers were the pathologist Rudolf Virchow, Theodor *Mommsen, Max Weber, and the author Gustav Freytag. Bureaus were opened in Berlin and Frankfurt and were soon followed by smaller branches in Stuttgart, Cologne, and other cities. In 1893 the Abwehrverein boasted almost 14,000 members in Germany. The association published its own periodical, the *Mitteilungen aus dem Verein zur Abwehr des Antisemitismus* (1891–1933, from 1925 on called *Abwehrblaetter,* ed. by Ludwig *Jacobowski et. al.) as well as educational literature against antisemitism (such as the *Antisemitenspiegel* (1891), or the *Abwehr-ABC* (1920)). It observed, documented, and denounced all manifestations of antisemitism and supported political parties in their fight against antisemitism, although the prospects of success were sometimes uncertain. The association was known among antisemites as “*Judenschutztruppe*” (“Jew protectors”). The Abwehrverein regarded the fight against antisemitism as a task of non-Jews and Jews alike. Although it was represented as a Christian organization and was mainly based on non-Jewish members, Jewish participation played an essential role in it from the beginning. Later on it was made a principle to reach equal non-Jewish and Jewish participation. After the founding of the *Central-Verein as an explicit Jewish “self-defense organization” in 1893, the two associations cultivated a relationship that was respectful but not too close. After the chairmanships of Rudolf von Gneist, Heinrich Rickert, and Theodor Barth, the Abwehrverein lost its impetus under the presidency of Georg Gothein (from 1909 to 1933). Despite efforts made in the difficult period after World War I, the association lost most of its non-Jewish members and waned into insignificance after 1930. In July 1933 the Abwehrverein dissolved itself. In 1891, just eight months after the German association was founded, an Austrian Verein zur Abwehr des Antisemitismus was established in Vienna. Among its founders and prominent members were Theodor *Billroth, Arthur von Suttner, Hermann Nothnagel, and Johann Strauss. The Viennese Abwehrverein published a periodical called *Freies Blatt* from 1892 to 1897 (ed. by E.V. Zenker). Although it had around 5,000 members in 1893, it already declined in 1897. Despite the fact that both defense associations bore the same name and were liberal and inter-confessional, no cooperation was maintained between them.

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[Henry Wasserman / Mirjam Triendl (2nd ed.)]

VERGELIS, AARON (**Arn**; 1918–1999), Soviet Yiddish poet, novelist, and editor. Born in Lubar, Ukraine, he attended secondary school in Birobidzhan, where his family moved in 1932. From 1934 his poems began to appear in the newspaper *Birobidzhaner Shtern* and the almanac *Forpost*. He studied in the Yiddish department of the Moscow Teachers' Training Institute, graduating in 1940, the same year his first book appeared and he was called up to the army. After the war, he returned to Moscow, directed the Yiddish radio program, and was secretary of the Yiddish section of the Writers' Union and a member of the editorial board of the literary almanac *Heymland*. Following the Stalinist suppression of Yiddish culture in the late 1940s, he briefly edited a Moscow factory's (Russian) newspaper. From the late 1950s, his name was associated with the post-Stalinist period of Soviet Jewish culture. In 1961 he was appointed editor of the journal *Sovetish Heymland*. In this role he traveled to the West as a propagandist of Soviet politics. He was widely reviled for his involvement in anti-Zionist campaigns, though some readers appreciated his poetic talent. In his articles he divided the whole of Yiddish literature into "progressive" and "anti-Soviet" and often ridiculed writers of nostalgic literature which, in his view, expressed an outdated and even reactionary viewpoint. After 1991, he renamed his journal *Di Yidishe Gas* ("The Jewish Street") and published almost until the end of his life. Ironically, his former ideological opponents in the United States and Israel turned sponsors, hailing his commitment to Yiddish culture.

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[Gennady Estraikh (2nd ed.)]

VERKHNEUDINSK (today **Ulan-Ude** and part of the Russian Federation), capital city of Buryat-Mongol Autonomous S.S.R., Russian S.F.S.R. The first Jews to settle in Verkhneudinsk were exiles from European Russia. In 1879 its 65 Jewish families received authorization to erect a synagogue. In 1897, 908 Jews (11.2 percent of the total population) lived in the city and engaged mostly in commerce. At that time another 1,220 Jews were living in the surrounding district, of whom several hundred earned their livelihood in agriculture. The majority of the 2,244 urban Jews counted in Buryat-Mongol in 1959 probably lived in Ulan-Ude. In addition, 450 Jews lived in the rural regions of the Republic. About 92 percent of the Jews of Buryat-Mongol declared Russian to be their spoken language. In the early 21st century the community operated a Sunday school, library, and sports club.

[Yehuda Slutsky]

VERMES, GEZA (1924–), leading scholar in the study of the Dead Sea Scrolls, Judaism during the Second Temple Period, and Jesus. Vermes led a unique and varied career. Born in Mako in Hungary to an assimilated Jewish family, Vermes' primary and secondary studies were undertaken at Gyula, with his higher education beginning at Budapest in 1945. Vermes lost his parents in the Holocaust when they were sent to extermination camps in Poland. Studying theology at St. Albert, Louvain (Belgium) between 1947 and 1952 (receiving his D.Theol. in 1953 on the Dead Sea Scrolls), Vermes continued with his studies at the Institut Orientaliste at the Université Catholique in Louvain, between 1950 and 1952, where he obtained a License in Oriental History and the Philology with distinction. On leaving Roman Catholicism and the priesthood in 1957, Vermes went on to obtain an M.A. (1965) and a D.Litt. (1988) from Oxford University. Vermes held many different academic positions and fellowships over the years, notably serving as Senior Lecturer in Divinity at the University of Newcastle upon Tyne (1964–65) and at the University of Oxford as reader in Jewish Studies (1965–89); professor of Jewish Studies (1989–91), and professor emeritus of Jewish Studies (1991–). He was also the recipient of numerous honors and distinctions (including Fellowships of the British Academy (1985) and the European Academy (2001)) and served as chair and president on many academic boards and research societies. He was the incumbent editor of the *Journal of Jewish Studies* from 1971. Vermes was a very meticulous researcher and prolific writer with a great many research articles and books to his credit, among them: *The Dead Sea Scrolls in English* (1962, rev. ed. 1995; see now, *The Complete Dead Sea Scrolls in English*, 1997), *Jesus the Jew: A Historian's Reading of the Gospels* (1973, rev. ed. 1994), and *Jesus and the World of Judaism* (1984). He also edited and revised Emile Schürer's classic *The*

History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ (1973–87, 3 vols., together with F. Millar, M. Black, and M. Goodman) as well as editing numerous volumes of essays. He also wrote *The Changing Faces of Jesus* (2001), *The Passion* (2005), and *Who's Who in the Age of Jesus* (2005).

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[Shimon Gibson (2nd ed.)]

VERMONT, New England state, estimated population (2004), 621,394; estimated Jewish population, 5,500. Vermont was the 14th State of the Union, admitted in 1791. Although there were no known Jews living in Vermont until after George Washington's administration, there are documented instances prior to the American Revolution of Jews speculating in Vermont lands with no intention of settlement. The earliest known Jew to settle in Vermont was Joshua Vita Montefiore, a pamphleteer and author of several books on commercial law, who was an indigent uncle of Sir Moses *Montefiore. Settling in St. Albans, Vermont, in 1835, he continued to maintain some Jewish observances while raising his large family as Protestants. He died and was buried in St. Albans in 1845. After 1840 the large migration of German Jews to the United States seeped into northern Vermont to where there were few towns that did not have at least one Jew or Jewish family.

Shortly after the Civil War, a Jewish community was established in Poultney, Vermont. As a thriving center of the slate industry it had attracted Jewish merchants as well as transient peddlers seeking fellow Jews for *minyanim* (prayer quorums) and social opportunities. Poultney acquired Vermont's first Jewish cemetery in 1873 and supported a house of worship and a *shoḥet*. The Jewish community survived until circa 1906 when its Jewish population relocated to Rutland and provided the seedbed for the Rutland Jewish community.

In 1880 a concentration of Jewish families appeared in Burlington, Vermont, the largest city in the state, then a lumber center on the east shore of Lake Champlain. Weekly services were held in Burlington in rented quarters until 1885, when Congregation Ohavi Zedek was formally established and shortly thereafter a synagogue built. Burlington's rabbi was Israel *Rosenberg, who accepted the pulpit in 1909 and served as community rabbi, filling the pulpit of Burlington's three synagogues and building a Hebrew Free School. He left Burlington in 1911 to become the head of the Agudath Rabbonim in New York City. Vermont's longest tenured rabbi was Max Wall who came to Ohavi Zedek directly from military service in 1946 and served until his retirement in 1987. Under Rabbi Wall's guidance, the congregation evolved from largely Yiddish speaking to English speaking and built the synagogue building in which it is presently quartered.

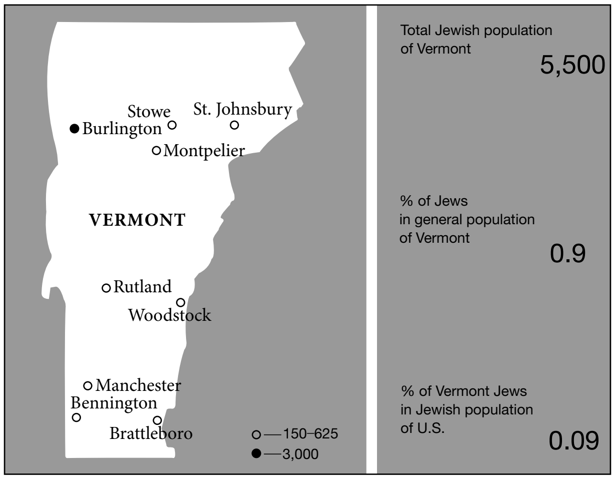

Jewish communities in Vermont. Population figures for 2001.

Burlington remains the site of Vermont's largest Jewish community (3,000) with the conservative Ohavi Zadek the largest congregation closely followed by the Reform synagogue Temple Sinai. Burlington also boasts a highly visible Chabad movement. After 1905 Jewish congregations were organized in other communities. Although congregations in St. Albans and Newport no longer exist, Bennington, Brattleboro, Manchester, Rutland, Middlebury, St. Johnsbury, Stowe, Woodstock-Waitsfield, and Montpelier now boast organized Jewish communities. Other illustrations of an increased Jewish presence in the state include establishment of Jewish Lights, a publishing firm in Woodstock; a prominent Holocaust Studies program at the University of Vermont, which was the home for a generation of the preeminent scholar Raul *Hilberg; and the Rabbi Max Wall Lecture Series at St. Michael's College in Colchester. From 1985 to 1991 Madeleine *Kunin was the governor of Vermont, the first Jewish woman in the U.S. to hold such a position, and during the Clinton administration was ambassador to Switzerland during the dispute over Holocaust victim's bank accounts, when much to her amazement she found that the list of account holders included her grandfather.

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VEROIA (**Karaferia**, **Beroea**, **Veria**), city in Macedonia, Greece; W. of Salonika. When the apostle Paul was expelled from Salonika (49 or 50 C.E.), he fled to Veroia and preached in its synagogue (Acts 17:1–10). Inscriptions testify to the existence of a Jewish population there during the first centuries of the Christian era. Judah Ibn Moskoni visited in the 14th century and found a small Jewish library there, pointing to the existence of a small Jewish community. During the first half of the 15th century the preacher Ephraim b. Gerson of Veroia was well known. There was a Romaniot synagogue in the Balat Quarter of Constantinople named after the Jews of Veroia, who were forced to relocate to the capital after the Ottomans conquered it in 1453. In 1540 there were 54 Jewish family heads from Veroia in the capital. In 1688–89, the Karaferia (Veroia) Synagogue in Istanbul had 45 family heads (220 people).

After the 1391 riots in Spain, Jewish refugees arrived in Veroia in the first half of the 15th century. In the latter part of the 16th century, the Veroia Jewish community had 200 families or 1,000 people. Expellees from Spain and Marranos who migrated first to Salonika eventually moved to Veroia. There amassed three groups in Veroia; veteran Romaniot Jews, Spanish and Portuguese Jews, and Italian Sicilian Jews. The known Iberian families were Estruza (Strumza), Sidis, Perpinian, and the descendants of Joseph Pinto and Daniel Solomon.

The Jews lived in an area called Barbuta, a street with 50 houses. The Jewish quarter was triangular and its gates were locked at night. The current synagogue building was only built in the 18th century.

During the 16th and 17th centuries the Jews of the city of Veroia engaged in weaving, tailoring, and the making and selling of cheese. The Spanish and Portuguese Jews brought to the city the wool industry. With the arrival of more Iberian Jews, the authority of Salonika over religious life increased and the Romaniot influence waned. The Veroia Jewish community took on the *minhagim* of Salonikan Jewry, with an emphasis on leniency as opposed to strictness and adopted the Salonikan "*neficha*" system of **sheḥitah*.

The 19th century was tranquil and prosperous for the Jews of Veroia. Most of the Jewish children learned in Greek and Turkish schools and only a minority learned Hebrew in the "*Hevra*" or *talmud torah* as it was called. The synagogue was expanded and a *mikveh* was added in the back. The Jewish women dressed like Salonikan Jewish women, but outside of the Jewish ghetto they wore veils like Muslim women. The Jews of Veroia had handwritten Hebrew *piyyutim*, in a mixture of Hebrew, Turkish, Spanish, and Greek, which they chanted on the Sabbath, festivals, and special events.

In 1880 there were 149 Jews; in 1904, 500; and in 1908, 600. After the 1897 Turkish-Greek war, Jews from Thessaly left Larissa, Trikkala, and elsewhere and settled in Veroia. The Ottoman Turks of Veroia called the local Jews "*andaluzus*" in accordance with their Castillian origin. In the first decade of the 1900s at the end of Ottoman rule, Jews in Veroia had a *ḥevra kadidsha* for burials and an organization for mutual assistance. The La Hermanidad Club hosted social events. After the 1908 Young Turk Revolution, Jews began to move out of the Jewish Ghetto into the new city. The level of the Jewish school was not high, and most Jewish children learned in Turkish and Greek schools. Thus, they lacked knowledge of Jewish history and Jewish law. With help from the *Alliance Israélite Universelle, the community bought a building, and brought a principal from Salonika. Within a short time, 120 boys and 40 girls studied in the school.

Veroia was annexed to Greece after the Balkan Wars of 1912–13. After the wars several Jewish families left for Turkey and Bulgaria. On the other hand, Jews from Salonika fled to Veroia to escape the epidemics of 1911 and 1913. The Jews in Veroia lived in wooden houses in their own quarter. Their dialect, except for slight variations, was similar to that of Salonika. They owned fields and vineyards near the town, which were cultivated by tenant farmers. The Jews also engaged in agricultural trade, moneychanging, and moneylending. However, they also had small stores, were artisans (mainly shoemakers), tinsmiths, broom makers, and olive pickers. Other Jews worked as goldsmiths, as bankers, and in industry.

In 1923, 60 children studied in the Jewish community school. The Jewish girls, for lack of a Jewish girls' school, went to local Greek schools. In 1920, Zionist activists formed a mutual assistance society. In 1925 there was a blood libel against the Jews and a local Jewish leader was accused of kidnapping and hiding a Christian boy. The Jews went to the police and the matter was settled without further reverberations. In 1927, 80 children studied in five grades in the Jewish school.

In 1940 there were about 850 Jews (150 families) in Veroia. Many young Jewish men from Veroia fought against the invading Italians in Albania from October 28, 1940, until April 1941. When the Germans invaded Salonika and famine erupted due to neglect; some 170 Salonikan Jews came to Veroia. The Nazi Rosenberg Commission also came to Veroia to survey Jewish books and archival material, and to look for anti-German material and documentation on anti-German activities in the synagogue. The Germans made the Jews wear yellow stars, and warned them not to hide partisans or other Jews in their homes.

Jewish community president Menachem Strumza encouraged local Jews to flee from the city and hide. However, in Veroia many believed Salonikan Chief Rabbi *Koretz, who tried to calm the Salonikan Jewish population under Nazi occupation. Not only did Jews in Veroia hesitate to hide, but many of those who hid returned to their homes. Rabbi Shabbetai Azaria fled after he gave a talk to the Jewish community, upon German orders, that encouraged enduring the hardships and urged staying at home and remaining in the city. Menachem Strumza also hid in the mountains with the help of Greek-Orthodox friends. On the evening before the day of the deportation, 144 Jews from Veroia fled from the city to the villages in the Bulgarian occupation zone. A local Greek-Orthodox notary, Sideropoulos, collaborated with the resistance and brought Jews from Veroia to two hiding places in the mountains – to Peiria, and to Vermion. On the last day of Passover 1943, at the time of the morning Shaḥarit prayer, the Nazis arrested the Jews, and locked them for three days in the synagogue. Gathered there were also Jews who had fled from Salonika and Jewish refugees from the Bulgarian occupation zone in eastern Macedonia and western Thrace. The Jews of Veroia, together with the Jews of Phlorina and Soufli, were brought to Salonika and from there were sent to Auschwitz/Birkenau.

The Nazis deported 680 Jews from Veroia to Poland in 1943. The agronomist Lazaros Azaria joined the partisans in

1942 and set up agricultural cooperatives in the villages of the mountainous areas of the partisan strongholds to provide food for all in the area. After the war, once the civil war began, he was pursued as a Communist, and fled to Ereẓ Israel through *"illegal" immigration, eventually reaching Palestine in December 1946, after internment in Cyprus.

Thirty-four families (numbering 132 people) remained in Veroia after the war. The Metropolit Polikarpos guarded the ritual ornaments and Torahs scrolls during the German occupation and returned them to the community after the liberation. The synagogue structure and interior was neglected. David Cohen took care of the synagogues for decades.

In 1948 there were 111 Jews, but they eventually moved to Salonika or Israel. About 70 were left in 1949, 36 in 1958, and three by the 1960s. Rabbi Shabbetai Azaria moved to Salonika and served there as rabbi until his death in ca. 1982. The cemetery deteriorated, and though KIS, the Central Board of Jewish Communities of Greece, in Athens knew of the problem, it did nothing. The Greek architect Elias Messinas led a campaign for the renovation of the synagogue in the 1990s. The synagogue is preserved as a Greek national historic monument. Two Jewish families remained in the early 21st century.

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[Simon Marcus / Yitzhak Kerem (2nd ed.)]

VERONA, city in N. Italy. Jews may have settled there as early as the Roman period, and certainly not later than the early Middle Ages. In the tenth century they were expelled from the city as a consequence of incitement by the bishop Ratherius. Jewish settlement was renewed in the 12th century, and in this period and the following century most of the Jews apparently engaged in trade. Several scholars lived in Verona, including the tosafists *Eliezer b. Samuel of Verona (grandfather of the philosopher and physician *Hillel b. Samuel of Verona) and Isaiah b. Mali di Trani (the Elder). The *bet din* of Verona and the teaching of its scholars are mentioned by the scholars of Germany. The poet *Immanuel of Rome was in Verona at the beginning of the 14th century. After an interval, Jewish settlement was renewed at the beginning of the 15th century, when the city passed to the Republic of Venice, and Jewish loan-bankers settled there. The Jews were again expelled from Verona after the establishment in 1490 of a Christian loan bank (**Monte di Pietà*). However, at the beginning of the 16th century the community became permanent, consisting largely of immigrants who had been arriving from Germany. In the 17th century a number of Sephardim settled there, among them members of the well-known *Aboab family, and organized a separate community. The two communities eventually set up a common organization, but friction between them lasted for a long while. The Verona community numbered about 400 at the end of the 16th century, and approximately 900 at the end of the 18th century. A ghetto was set up in Verona in 1599 after a threatened expulsion. The community succeeded in securing charge of the keys, an event commemorated by the Verona Jews in the 17th and 18th centuries by an annual festivity. The community suffered numerous deaths (about 200) in the great plague which swept Italy in 1629–30. Jewish banking diminished in importance in this period and the Jews of Verona mainly earned their livelihood from trade and crafts. Another important source of subsistence for Verona Jews in the 17th and 18th centuries was lease of the tobacco monopoly. Many Jews from other centers attended the great fairs held in Verona, and in the middle of the 18th century the Verona community demanded that levies should be paid by Jews visiting the fairs from outside. In consequence a bitter dispute broke out between the Verona Jews and the communities of Mantua, Modena, and Ferrara.

The Jews in Verona were not spared the economic crisis from which the communities of Italy suffered in this period. The number of poor dependent upon the community continually increased. The structure and organization of the community were similar to those of the other communities in Italy. Apparently the Verona community was the first to establish the reform of the tax system known as the "casella", which was introduced at the end of the 17th century and in the course of time was adopted in many of the communities in Italy. Rabbis of Verona from the 16th century on included Johanan b. Saadiah, Joez b. Jacob, Samuel *Aboab, Samuel *Meldola, Menahem Navarra, and members of the *Bassani, *Hephetz (Gentile), Marini, Pincherle, and other families.

A few books in Hebrew type were printed in Verona at the press of Francesco delle Donne between 1592 and 1595, one of them in Judeo-German (*Pariz un Viena*, 1594). Most important of the Hebrew books was the *Tanḥuma* of 1595, produced by Jacob b. Gershon *Bak, of Prague, and Abraham b. Shabbetai Bath-Sheba (*Basevi). Fifty years later Hebrew printing was resumed at the press of Francesco de' Rossi (1645–52), on the initiative of the Verona rabbis Samuel Aboab (and his sons Jacob and Joseph) and Jacob *Ḥagiz, the first part of the latter's edition of the Mishnah with his commentary *Eẓ Ḥayyim* appearing in 1649 (the rest in Leghorn, 1650). Abraham Ortona was employed as typesetter. Two other printers were active in Verona late in the 18th and early in the 19th century, printing mainly liturgical items.

When the French revolutionary armies appeared in the vicinity of Verona, the local population made an assault upon the ghetto and its inhabitants. After the capture of the city by the French in 1796, however, the ghetto was abolished, its gates were symbolically torn down, and the Jews were granted civil equality. Israel Cohen from Verona took part in the deliberations of the French *Sanhedrin. When subsequently Verona came under Austrian rule, their civil rights were slightly curtailed, but the Jews of the city were not again confined to the ghetto. Full civil equality was restored to them when Verona was incorporated into the Kingdom of Italy. There were about

1,200 Jews living in Verona in the middle of the 19th century. Subsequently their numbers steadily diminished through emigration or assimilation and at the beginning of the 20th century they numbered about 600. In 1931 there were 429 Jews in the community of Verona. During the Holocaust 30 Jews were taken to the extermination camps. After the war the membership of the community was about 120, which remained constant over the next few decades.

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[Shlomo Simonsohn]

VERTOV, DZIGA (originally **Denis Kaufman**; 1897–1954), Russian pioneer in newsreel-documentary movie director and founder of the "cine-eye, cine-ear" theory. He edited (early 1920s) the newsreel *kino-pravda* from film taken by cameramen he dispatched throughout the U.S.S.R. After 1924 Vertov headed his own group of movie theorists and filmmakers; his brother and chief cameramen MIKHAIL KAUFMAN went with him. Among his documentaries are *One Sixth of the World* (1927), *Three Songs of Lenin* (1932), and *Lullaby* (1937).

VESOUL, town in the Haute-Saône department, E. France. There were already a few Jews in Vesoul before the end of the 13th century, but it was at the turn of the century that an important Jewish community was formed. It owned a synagogue in the Grande-Rue, the remains of which could still be seen during the 16th century. One of the leading personalities of this community was Héliot, who, together with a number of other Jews, engaged in banking, moneylending, and commercial and agricultural transactions within a very extensive radius of the town. The names which appear in various documents indicate that there were at least 15 families living there in 1332. When the *Black Death occurred in the autumn of 1348, the duke ordered the Jews to be arrested throughout the duchy and their property seized. Eighty Jews, some of whom may have belonged to neighboring localities, were imprisoned at Toul. Although the sale of their belongings did not raise much, it should not be concluded that the Jews had been impoverished since the days of Héliot, but rather that they succeeded in hiding their precious objects in good time. Condemned to banishment on Jan. 27, 1349, they soon reappeared in Vesoul, though for a short time only. The economically powerful medieval community did not produce any scholars. On the other hand, *Manessier de Vesoul, who negotiated the return of the Jews to France in 1359 and became the syndic of those who established themselves in Languedoil, was a native of Vesoul. At the time of the French Revolution, at least two Jews lived at No. 3 Place du Palais, and a Renaissance bust in the courtyard of this building is known as "du Juif." A small community existed in Vesoul from the middle of the 19th century until the beginning of World War II.

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[Bernhard Blumenkranz]

°**VESPASIAN, TITUS FLAVIUS** (c. 9–79 C.E.), Roman emperor 69–79 C.E. After the defeat of *Cestius Gallus in Judea, Nero appointed Vespasian commander of the army with the duty of crushing the revolt in Judea. Vespasian conquered Galilee, the coast of Judea, and Transjordan in 67–68, and began making preparations for a decisive attack on Jerusalem. On learning of Nero's death he interrupted the war. When Servius Sulpicius Galba was proclaimed emperor, Vespasian sent his son *Titus to him to pay his respects, and subsequently also swore allegiance to Otto and to Vitellius Aulus, who were appointed emperors after Galba. The idea had apparently already entered his mind to gain the throne but only under the influence of the Syrian governor, Caius Licinus *Mucianus, did he resolve to implement it. Vespasian was proclaimed emperor by the governor of Egypt, *Tiberius Julius Alexander, on July 1, 69, which was subsequently officially recognized as the day he ascended the throne (*Dies imperii*). The legions in Judea followed in the wake of the Egyptian legions and also proclaimed him emperor. Vespasian decided to remain in Egypt for some time to prevent grain from being sent to Rome. Gradually, all the army commanders and their legions went over to Vespasian; the last opposition was in Rome. However, the Praetorian guard which fought on the side of Vitellius was subdued, Vitellius was killed, and Vespasian was recognized as emperor by the Senate.

In 69 he proceeded to Rome and began to bring order into the state which had been in a chaotic condition since the death of Nero. In 71 Vespasian arranged a magnificent triumph over conquered Judea and closed the doors of the temple to the god Janus as a sign that peace had returned to the state. The building of the temple of the god of peace, Pax, served the same purpose. For Vespasian's attitude to the rebels in Ereẓ Israel and to the Jews in the Roman Empire generally, see *Josephus, *Rome.

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[Abraham Schalit]

VESSILLO ISRAELITICO, Italian Jewish monthly review founded in 1875, superseding *Educatore Israelita*. It was edited until its closure in 1921 by Rabbi Flaminio Servi and then by his son Ferruccio. Imbued with an Italian national revival vision of Italian Judaism, the review – especially when the editor was Flaminio Servi – opposed the penetration of the Zionist movement's influence among the ranks of Italian Jewry. In this way, the *Vessillo Israelitico* took sharp issue with the *Corriere Israelitico* and with *Israel,* which supported Zionism.

The effects of World War I (and last but not least the Balfour Declaration) brought about the end of that specific cultural environment within Italian Judaism from which *Vessillo* drew its readers.

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[Massimo Longo Adorno (2nd ed.)]

VÉSZI (Weiss), ENDRE (1916–), Hungarian poet and author. Vészi, who abandoned Socialism in order to adhere to the Communist party line, wrote many poems and stories on proletarian themes. His verse collections include *Ünneprontó* ("The Desecrator of the Festival," 1936); among prose works are the novel *Felszabadultál* ("You are Liberated," 1937) and *A küldetés* ("The Mission," 1954).

VÉSZI, JOZSEF (1858–1940), Hungarian editor and journalist. A poet and translator in his youth, he became editor in chief of the daily *Pesti Napló* in 1894, founded the *Budapesti Napló* in 1896 and brought before the public, among other writers, Ferenc *Molnár and Lajos Biró (who later became his sons-in-law). He founded the *Budapester Presse* in 1911, and then was appointed editor in chief of the semiofficial *Pester Lloyd*, a position he held until 1938. During the turbulent years following the outbreak of World War I, Vészi continued to serve successive governments. He maintained his interest in Hungarian Jewry, and during the White Terror persecution of the Jews, which followed the fall of the Communist regime of Béla Kun in 1919, was a member of the delegation which went to the terrorist headquarters to seek cessation of the terror. In ensuing years, he acted as apologist of the Hungarian government even when in 1920 it introduced a *numerus clausus* law restricting the number of Jewish students to five percent. Vészi was given a seat in the Upper House of the Hungarian Parliament in 1927. He was a member of the Hungarian delegation to the League of Nations (1929–30).

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[Stewart Kampel and Baruch Yaron]

VESZPREM (Hung. **Veszprém**), city in W. central Hungary. Between 1723 and 1725 three Jewish families settled in the city, and in 1736 there were 16 Jews there. By 1830 the community numbered 100 persons. Although Veszprem Jews leased land for a synagogue in 1799, it was not built until 1865. A school was founded in 1805 and existed until the Holocaust. After the schism of 1869 the community joined the Neologists. The first rabbi appointed was A. Fuchs (1809–33), followed by A. Hochmuth (1859–89), A. Kiss (1897–1901), A. Hoffer (1902–28), and L. Kun (1929–44). The majority of Veszprem Jews engaged in trade and crafts. The community had grown to 1,685 by 1880 but the number had fallen to 850 in 1930 and 887 in 1941. After the German conquest (March 19, 1944) about 880 Jews were deported to *Auschwitz and only a few of them returned. In 1947 there were 84 Jews in the city.

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[Baruch Yaron]

°VIBERT OF NOGENT (Guibert of Nogent (1053–1124), French Benedictine author and abbot of Nogent-sous Coucy, France. Vibert wrote a well-known history of the First Crusade – the *Gesta Dei per Francos* – and was a theoretician of preaching and the first critic of the traditional hagiography. His treatise *De incarnatione contra Judaeos* was addressed to both the count of Soissons, whom Vibert reproached for his close relations with the Jews, and to the Jews themselves. In referring to the Jews, his tone is extremely vehement.

In his autobiographical work, *De vita sua*, Vibert reports the anti-Jewish persecution of *Rouen at the time of the preaching of the First Crusade and the forced conversion of a Jewish child who, having become a monk himself, wrote an anti-Jewish treatise.

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[Bernhard Blumenkranz]

VICENZA, city in N. Italy. In the second half of the 14th century the commune of Vicenza invited a group of Jews to establish a loan-bank there. They were followed by other Jewish bankers, among them the Musetto family (1425), forming a small Jewish settlement whose members engaged in commerce in addition to moneylending. In 1453 there was an unsuccessful attempt to expel the Jews. The rumor that the Jews of *Bassano had in 1485 murdered a child for ritual purposes (see Blood *libel) and the public sermons of the fanatical Bernardino da *Feltre (who also initiated the establishment of a Monte di *Pieta at Vicenza) provided the climate for a ducal decree, issued in April 1486 and implemented in June, expelling the Jews from the city and its environs.

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[Alfredo Mordechai Rabello]

VICH, town in Catalonia. At the height of its prosperity in about the middle of the 13th century, the Vich Jewish community had 40 families. In 1277 some 15 families lived in the Jewish quarter, but there were only ten in 1318 when King James II (1291–1327) imposed an annual tax of 500 sólidos on the community; it also paid the same amount in 1329, during the reign of Alfonso IV (1327–36). The Jews of Vich engaged in activities similar to those of the other communities in Catalonia. They owned houses, vineyards, and gardens, and were moneylenders who had the local bishop and various nobles among their clients. In return for loans received, the latter pledged Moorish slaves of both sexes, and/or movable and immovable property. The community had its own cemetery, in a place called Colldasens. In 1277 land was acquired by the community for the construction of a synagogue. During the persecutions of 1391 the majority of the Jews of Vich were massacred. The six left alive owed their survival to conversion to Christianity. The intestate Jewish property in the town was seized by the crown.

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[Haim Beinart]

VICOL, ADRIAN (1922–), Romanian ethnomusicologist. From his youth Adrian Vicol was inclined toward the study of music from a critical and theoretical standpoint. As a result, he became one of the most profound and disciplined minds in Romanian ethnomusicology. He collected thousands of folk music pieces and transcribed numerous items from his musical field collections. Thus, from 1949 until his retirement in 1980 he consistently enriched the largest archival funds of traditional cultures in Romania, including those in the National Archives of the C. Brăiloiu and the Institute of Ethnography and Folklore in Bucharest. Besides this type of fundamental research, he also published several academic essays of particular intellectual acumen. Vicol's research focused on the analytical dimension of the study of traditional music, such as the architectural structures of tunes, the typologies of various genres, and rhythm; these are just a few of the topics he discussed within seminal academic papers. He devoted decades to studying "the parlato recitation in Romanian epic songs." From the 1950s up to the late 1970s he studied and wrote on topics ranging from the construction of peasant flutes and the cymbalom's performing techniques to *Premise teoretice la tipologia muzicală a colindelor* ("Theoretical Premises for a Musical Typology of Carols," 1970). His anthology *Typology and Analysis of Romanian Ballads – A Pioneering Approach* was published in 2004. The event gave Vicol new energy, prompting him to publish his old collection of dance music from Muscel-Arge, as well as his old ethomusicological essays (which were scattered among the issues of the *Revista de etnografie și folclor* (Journal for Ethnography and Folklore) of the Romanian Academy of Sciences.

[Marin Marian (2nd ed.)]

VIDAL, CRESCAS (end of 13th century), Spanish talmudic scholar. Vidal belonged to a distinguished family of Barcelona. He studied in his home town under *Aaron ha-Levi, whom he frequently quotes in his commentary on *Ketubbot.* This commentary was familiar to many later scholars, including *Isaac b. Sheshet, Bezalel *Ashkenazi, who quoted parts of it in his *Shitah Mekubbeẓet* on that tractate, Ḥayyim *Algazi, who quotes it extensively in his *Netivot Mishpat*, and Ḥ.J.D. *Azulai. There are indications that Vidal's talmudic commentary covered a number of other tractates, but, apart from his commentary to *Yevamot*, no other manuscript has been preserved. Vidal is also known for his participation at an early age in the polemic of Solomon b. Abraham *Adret against the study of philosophy and for the subsequent ban on pursuing such inquiries. After receiving the letter of *Abba Mari b. Moses on this subject, Adret first turned to Vidal, who was then (c. 1303) living in Perpignan, where he was held in very high esteem. Adret requested that he exert his authority against those "who dabbled in philosophy" in the Languedoc region. At first Vidal thought Adret had been unduly influenced by extremists who exaggerated the dangers of heresy inherent in the views of *Levi b. Abraham b. Ḥayyim, but afterward Vidal changed his mind. It was Vidal who proposed the text of the rather moderate ban on studying philosophy at an early age, which was in the end accepted by Adret (see Abba Mari b. Moses ha-Yarḥi, *Minḥat Kena'ot* (Pressburg, 1838, 44–48)).

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[Israel Moses Ta-Shma]

VIDAL-NAQUET, PIERRE (1930–2006), French historian of antiquity, an emeritus professor at Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales (EHESS). Vidal-Naquet was born in Paris into a typical assimilated and bourgeois French Jewish family, as the eldest of five in a family originating from Carpentras, in the Comtat Venaissin. His father, Lucien, was a lawyer and his mother, Marguerite Valabregue, a relative of the famous musician Darius *Milhaud. He attended a private school until the outbreak of World War II in 1939. As his father was enlisted in the army, he lived with his mother, brother, and sister for a while in Bretagne, and then moved to Marseille after the defeat of France in 1940, where he stayed until the deportation of his parents in 1944. Coming back to Paris after the liberation, he had to face the death of his parents. He finished high school in 1947 living with his cousins and grandmother. He joined the École Normale in Paris and Marseilles, and began a lifelong friendship with Pierre Nora, Jerome Lindon, and Charles Malamoud. While working with the French periodical *Esprit*, he met there Alex Derczanski, who trained him in some cultural aspects of Judaism. As a student at the Sorbonne in the 1950s he was challenged by the question of decolonization and was actively engaged against torture during the war in Algeria. From then on he became a widely recognized public figure in two venues: the scholar in Hellenistic studies and the active militant against torture and against Holocaust denial. Internationally renowned as one of the leading specialists in the history of Ancient Greece, he was one of the founders – with Jean-Pierre Vernant, Nicole Loraux, Marcel Détienne – of a new approach to classical Greece. His numerous books were widely translated into many languages. Among them are *Myth and Tragedy in Ancient Greece* (1994; French, 1972, 1986) published with Jean-Pierre Vernant; *The Black Hunter: Forms of Thought and Forms of Society in the Greek World* (1986; French, 1966); *Flavius Josèphe ou du bon usage de la trahison* (1987); *Politics Ancient and Modern* (1995; French, 1991). In 2005 he published *L'Atlantide, petite histoire d'un mythe platonicien*.

As a militant against French policies during the war in Algeria in the 1950s and 1960s, he wrote *L'Affaire Audin* (1958); *La torture dans la République, essai d'histoire et de politique contemporaine, 1954–1962* (1975); and *Les crimes de l'armée française en Algérie* (2001). And as a fighter against the denial of the Holocaust he published *Assassins of Memory: Essays on the Denial of the Holocaust* (1992; Hebrew, 1991; French, 1987); and with Limor Yagil, *Holocaust Denial in France: Analysis of a Unique Phenomenon* (1994).

About the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, he wrote *The Jews: History, Memory, and the Present* (1996; French, 1981), and explained his political stance in a volume written as a dialogue, *Questions au Judaisme: entretiens avec Elisabeth Weber* (1996).

Among his autobiographical works are *La brisure et l'attente* (1995); *Le trouble et la lumière* (1998); and *Le choix de l'histoire: pourquoi et comment je suis devenu historien* (2004).

[Sylvie Anne Goldberg (2nd ed.)]

VIDAL YOM TOV OF TOLOSA (second half of the 14th century), Spanish rabbi and commentator on Maimonides. Vidal came from Tolosa, Catalonia, where he compiled his commentary known as *Maggid Mishneh*, to Maimonides' *Mishneh Torah* (often called the *Yad*) of which only the commentary to Books 3; 4; 5, chapters 1–9; 11; 12, chapters 1–3; and 13 is extant. According to one opinion, the commentary covered the whole of the *Mishneh Torah*, but because of the troubles of the period in which Vidal lived, most of it was lost, only a small part remaining (Conforte, Kore (1840^2, 26a)). It is more probable, however, that he limited his commentary to those *halakhot* which have a practical application. Since the Constantinople (1509) edition of the *Yad*, it has invariably been published with Vidal's commentary. Its purpose was to clarify difficult passages and to indicate Maimonides' sources. Vidal deals with the *hassagot* ("criticisms") of *Abraham b. David of Posquieres, endeavoring to answer them and objecting to their sometimes disrespectful tone. He tries to explain the basis of Abraham b. David's criticism, and at times justifies the views of both men, by proving that they were the result of different versions of the text. In his introductions to the various books of the *Mishneh Torah*, he explains the order of the *halakhot* given by Maimonides, stressing his view that much of the criticism of Maimonides would not have arisen if only the final arrangement of the *Mishneh Torah* had been in accordance with its author's conception. He emphasizes that Maimonides expressed his view in a methodical manner, explaining every topic in its correct context, and that he was especially successful in dividing up the laws, statutes, and precepts of the Torah "by giving the general principles before the details, the earlier in time or in cause before the later, and the more stringent before the more lenient" (Introduction to *Zemannim*). Vidal gives the sources and explanations in clear and succinct style and he tends to be stringent in his rulings, quoting *Naḥmanides, Solomon b. Abraham *Adret, and others.

Joseph b. Ephraim *Caro, in his introduction to the *Kesef Mishneh*, states that Vidal was a colleague of Nissim b. Reuben Gerondi, but his name does not occur in Nissim's works. *Isaac b. Sheshet, however, mentions him in his responsa. Caro refers to Vidal as *kadosh* ("holy"), and as a result it has been suggested that he died a martyr's death. A commentary in Arabic to the work on logic of al-Ghazzali, translated into Hebrew by Moses b. Joshua of Narbonne (in the Vatican library) has been ascribed to Vidal, as has a commentary on Job. Vidal died during the lifetime of Nissim Gerondi (Resp. Ribash no. 388). The *Maggid Mishneh* has been accepted as the standard commentary to the *Mishneh Torah* and many scholars have spoken in praise of Vidal, relying upon his rulings and describing his soul as having a spark of the soul of Maimonides. He is respectfully designated *Ha-Rav ha-Maggid* from the title of his work, *Maggid Mishneh*. Vidal's son Nizak (Isaac) was a talmudic scholar who lived in Alcolea de Cinca and was in contact with Isaac b. Sheshet (Resp. Ribash 473), who calls him "the son of holy ones."

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[Yehoshua Horowitz]

VIDAS, ELIJAH BEN MOSES DE (16th century), kabbalist, author on morals, one of the great kabbalists of Safed. Vidas was a disciple and close friend of Moses *Cordovero, whom he always called "my teacher" without mentioning his name. In 1575 he completed his major work *Reshit Ḥokhmah*, one of the outstanding books on morals in Judaism. In contrast with previous authors in this field, Vidas included kabbalistic theories in his work, which was aimed at a popular audience; in particular, he quoted at length all that is said in the *Zohar on the question of morals and religious conduct. Quotations from the Zohar were annotated from manuscripts still found in Safed. The book is encyclopedic in character and is divided into five long chapters, "Fear," "Love," "Repentance," "Holiness," and "Humility." Vidas added five chapters from Israel *Al-Nakawa's *Menorat ha-Ma'or* which was then known only in manuscript. They include chapters on the *mitzvot*, on education, on business dealings in good faith, and on manners. At the end of these, he added *Ḥuppot Eliyahu Rabbah*, a collection of rabbinical sayings which list qualities (e.g., "three good qualities…"), and *Or Olam*, moralizing sayings which open with the word "forever" or with the word "great"; for example, "great is charity, even more than sacrifices."

Vidas' book is written in an easy and engaging style, avoiding metaphors. It was immediately accepted as one of the most important books on morals and was printed some 40 times. The first edition was printed in Venice in 1579 during the author's lifetime. The date of Vidas' death is still unknown. Because of its great length, his book was summarized several times: *Reshit Ḥokhmah Kaẓar* (Venice, 1600), completed in 1580 in Asti, Italy, by Jacob b. Mordecai Poggetti; *Tappuḥei Za-*

hav, by Jehiel Melli (Mantua, 1623); *Toẓe'ot Ḥayyim* (Cracow, before 1650) by Jacob Luzzatto, a preacher in Poznan. These three summaries were published many times.

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[Gershom Scholem]

VIDIN, port city on the right bank of the Danube in N.W. Bulgaria. The fortress of Judaeus, which was rebuilt in the vicinity of Vidin by Justinian I (527–565), confirms the presence of Jews at that time (Procopius of Caesarea (6th century) *War with the Goths*, Dewing translation, 1954, B. IV. VI. 21). After the expulsion of the Jews from Hungary in 1376, some of them settled in Vidin. When Vidin fell to the Turks in 1394, the community was led by Shalom Ashkenazi of Neustadt (Hungary), who founded a yeshivah in the town and whose pupil Dosa ha-Yevani ("the Greek") wrote in 1430 the work *Perush ve-Tosafot.* Refugees from Bavaria, who were expelled in 1470, also settled in Vidin. Refugees from Spain arrived there via Salonika. In 1778 David Shabbetai Ventura, the author of *Nehar Shalom* (Amsterdam, 1774), and Elijah Ventura, the author of *Kokheva de-Shavit* (Salonika, 1799), arrived in Vidin. To commemorate the escape of the Jews of Vidin during the rule of the Turkish leader Pazvantoglu (1794), a local Purim was fixed on the fourth of Adar. The number of Jews in Vidin at the end of the 19th century was between 1,300 and 1,500; in 1919 there were 2,000 Jews and in 1926, 1,534. The members of the community did not suffer severely during World War II. The decree of expulsion in 1943 was not carried out (see *Bulgaria). After the establishment of the State of Israel, most of the Jews of Vidin immigrated there together with most of Bulgarian Jewry. In 2004 there were 55 Jews in Vidin, affiliated to the local branch of the nationwide Shalom organization.

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[Simon Marcus / Emil Kalo (2nd ed.)]

VIDVILT (**Kenig Artis Houf**), anonymous 15th–16th-century Yiddish epic. This Arthurian romance of the chivalric adventures of Sir Vidvilt (and his father Gawain), based on Wirnt von Gravenberg's 13th-century Middle High German *Wigalois*, proved to be one of the most enduringly popular secular narratives in Yiddish literary history, with numerous manuscript recensions, printings (the first in an extensively expanded version by Joseph b. Alexander Witzenhausen, Amsterdam 1671), and reprintings, in rhymed couplets, *ottava rima* (Prague 1671–79), and prose, over the course of three and a half centuries. The anonymous poet of the earliest Yiddish version composed more than 2,100 rhymed couplets (probably in northern Italy), following Wirnt's plot rather closely through the first three-quarters of the narrative (abbreviating much and generally eliminating specific Christian reference), before offering quite a different conclusion. Typical of early Yiddish epic, vocabulary from the Semitic component is avoided.

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[Jerold C. Frakes (2nd ed.)]

°**VIEIRA, ANTONIO** (1608–1697), Portuguese priest politician, and writer. Born in Lisbon, Vieira was taken to Brazil by his parents when he was six years old. In 1641 Vieira was sent to Portugal with an embassy to the new king, John IV, who became fascinated with the dynamic priest and eventually came to look upon him as his most trusted counselor. Vieira represented Portugal diplomatically – and the king personally – in Italy, France, and the Low Countries from 1646 to 1650. When recommending the formation of a company to develop Brazil he advocated a repeal of New *Christian disabilities, proposing as a first step the abolition of confiscation of Crypto-Jewish property. Since the *Inquisition was the major beneficiary of such confiscations, Vieira made a powerful enemy. Pressure was brought on his Jesuit superiors to have him reassigned safely to Brazil. After the death of John IV in 1656 and the political realignment of 1662, Vieira was left without friends in the palace. The Inquisition seized him for preaching supposedly Judaistic ideas about the Messiah, but it was common knowledge that he was imprisoned more for proposing the removal of Jewish disabilities than for voicing heretical ideas. When another palace revolution in 1667 returned his friends to a measure of power, he was released. In 1669 he went to Rome, where he was given a papal grant of immunity from the jurisdiction of the Inquisition. From 1669 to 1675 he was a major factor in the Roman political arena, and is credited with securing a relaxation of inquisitorial activities in Portugal for the years 1676–81. This he accomplished by backing the efforts of the Marrano lobbyist Francisco *d'Azevedo to buy the freedom of accused Judaizers, and by presenting for papal review a 200-page exposé of Portuguese inquisitors that characterized them as inspired more by greed than by piety. Vieira's incisive memorandum was later included in David *Nieto's defense of Jews, *Recondite Notices of the Inquisition of Spain and Portugal* (London, 1722).

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[Aaron Lichtenstein]

VIENNA, capital of *Austria. Documentary evidence points to the first settlement of Jews in the 12th century. The first Jew known by name is *Shlom (Solomon), mintmaster and financial adviser to Duke Leopold V. The community possessed a synagogue at the time and Jews owned houses in the city. In

1196 Shlom and 15 other Jews were murdered by participants in the Third *Crusade. Under Leopold VI (1198–1230) a second synagogue was erected. Its existence is noted in 1204. In 1235 the Jew *Teka (Tecanus) is mentioned as living in Vienna; he acted as state banker for Austria, and had far-flung financial interests. A charter of privileges was granted by Emperor Frederick II in 1238 giving the Jewish community extensive autonomy. A Jewish quarter is mentioned at the end of the century, although its origins are somewhat earlier. The oldest Jewish tombstone found dates from 1298; a Jewish cemetery is noted only in 1368, but probably dates from the second half of the 13th century. A slaughterhouse is noted in 1320.

At the close of the 13th and during the 14th centuries, the community of Vienna was recognized as the leading community of German Jewry. In the second half of the 13th century there were in the community 1,000 Jews, living in 70 houses. The influence of the "Sages of Vienna" spread far beyond the limits of the town itself and continued for many generations. Of primary importance were *Isaac b. Moses "Or Zaru'a," his son *Ḥayyim "Or Zaru'a," Avigdor b. Elijah ha-Kohen, and *Meir b. Baruch ha-Levi. At the time of the *Black Death persecutions of 1348–49, the community of Vienna was spared and even served as a refuge for Jews from other places; it developed rapidly during the reign of Rudolf IV (1339–65).

Nonetheless, toward the end of the 14th century there was growing anti-Jewish feeling among the burghers; in 1406 during the course of a fire that broke out in the synagogue, in which it was destroyed, the burghers seized the opportunity to attack Jewish homes. The need of Duke Albert V for money and the effects of the uprising by the *Hussites, combined with the hatred for the Jews among the local population, led to cruel persecutions in 1421 (the *Wiener Gesera). Many of the community's members died as martyrs; others were expelled, and the children forcibly converted. The community was destroyed and its property passed to Duke Albert.

After the persecutions some Jews nevertheless remained there illegally; in 1438 Christian physicians complained about Jews practicing medicine illegally in the city. In 1512 there were 12 Jewish families in Vienna, and a small number of Jews continued to live there during the 16th century, often faced with threats of expulsion. In 1582 a Jewish cemetery is noted. They suffered during the Thirty Years' War (1618–48) as a result of the occupation of the city by Imperial soldiers. In 1624 Emperor *Ferdinand II confined the Jews to a ghetto situated on the site of the present-day Leopoldstadt quarter. In 1632 there were 106 houses in the ghetto, and in 1670 there were 136 houses accommodating 500 families. A document of privilege issued in 1635 authorized the inhabitants of the ghetto to circulate within the "inner town" during business hours and Jews also owned shops in other streets of the city. Some Jews at this time were merchants engaged in international trade; others were petty traders. The community of Vienna reassumed its respected position in the Jewish world. In addition to other communal institutions the Jews maintained two hospitals. Among rabbis of the renewed community were Yom Tov Lipman Heller, and Shabbetai Sheftel *Horowitz, one of the many refugees from Poland who fled the *Chmielnicki massacres of 1648.

Hatred by the townsmen of the Jews increased during the mid-17th century, fanned by the bigotry of Bishop Kollonitsch. Emperor Leopold I, influenced by the bishop as well as the religious fanaticism of his wife and sustained by the potential gains for his treasury, decided to expel the Jews from Vienna once again. Though Leo *Winkler, head of the Jewish community at the time, arranged for the intervention of Queen Christina of Sweden on behalf of the Jews it was of no avail, as was an offer to the emperor of 100,000 florins to limit the expulsion. The poorer Jews were expelled in 1669; the rest were exiled in the month of Av, 1670, and their properties taken from them. The Great Synagogue was converted into a Catholic church, the "Leopoldskirche." The Jews paid the municipality 4,000 florins to supervise the Jewish cemetery. Of the 3,000–4,000 Jews expelled some made their way to the great cities of Europe where a number succeeded in regaining their fortunes. Others settled in small towns and villages. According to the testimony of the Swedish ambassador at the time, some of the Jews took advantage of the offer to convert to Christianity so as not to be exiled.

By 1693 the financial losses to the city were sufficient to generate support for a proposal to readmit the Jews. This time, however, their number was to be much smaller, without provision for an organized community. Only the wealthy were authorized to reside in Vienna, as "tolerated subjects," in exchange for a payment of 300,000 florins and an annual tax of 10,000 florins. Prayer services were permitted to be held only in private homes. The founders of the community and its leaders in those years, as well as during the 18th century, were prominent *Court Jews, such as Samuel *Oppenheimer, Samson *Wertheimer, and Baron Diego *Aguilar. As a result of their activities, Vienna became a center for Jewish diplomatic efforts on behalf of Jews throughout the empire as well as an important center for Jewish philanthropy. In 1696 Oppenheimer regained possession of the Jewish cemetery and built a hospital for the poor next to it. The wealthy of Vienna supported the poor of Ereẓ Israel; in 1742 a fund of 22,000 florins was established for this purpose, and until 1918 the interest from this fund was distributed by the Austrian consul in Palestine (see *Hierosolymitanische Stiftung). A Sephardi community in Vienna traces its origins to 1737, and grew as a result of commerce with the Balkans.

During the 18th century the restrictions on the residence rights of the "tolerated subjects" had prevented the rapid growth of the Jewish population in Vienna. There were 452 Jews living in the city in 1752 and 520 in 1777. The Jews suffered under the restrictive legislation of *Maria Theresa (1740–80). In 1781 her son, Joseph II, issued his *Toleranzpatent, which though attacked in Jewish circles, paved the way in some respects for later emancipation. Religious studies and sermons were delivered illegally by the scholars of the community or by rabbis who had been called upon to visit the town. By 1793 there was a Hebrew printing press in Vienna that soon became the center for Hebrew printing in Central Europe (see below). During this period the first signs of assimilation in the social and family life of the Jews of Vienna made their appearance, and there was a decline in the observance of tradition. At the time of the Congress of *Vienna in 1815 the salons of Jewish hostesses served as entertainment and meeting places for the rulers of Europe. In 1821 nine Jews of Vienna were raised to the nobility.

From the close of the 18th century, and especially during the first decades of the 19th, Vienna became a center of the *Haskalah movement. The influence and scope of the community's activities increased particularly after the annexation of *Galicia by Austria. Despite restrictions, the number of Jews in the city rapidly increased. Several Hebrew authors, including the poet and traveler Samuel Aaron *Romanelli, the philologist Judah Leib *Ben Zeev, the poet Solomon Levisohn, Meir *Letteris, etc., wrote their works in Vienna. Some of them earned their livelihood as proofreaders in the city's Hebrew press. The character of Haskalah and the literature of the Jews of Vienna was gradually Germanized. The first Jewish journalists, such as Isidor Heller, Moritz Kuh, and Zigmund Kulischer, inaugurated an era of Jewish influence on the Viennese press.

At a later period the call for religious reform was heard in Vienna. Various *maskilim*, including Peter Peretz Ber and Naphtali Hertz *Homberg, tried to convince the government to impose Haskalah recommendations and religious reform on the Jews. This aroused strong controversy among the Vienna community. The appointment of Isaac Noah *Mannheimer as director of the religious school in 1825 was a compromise between the supporters of reform and its opponents. In 1826 a magnificent synagogue, the Stadttempel, in which the Hebrew language and the traditional prayers were retained, was built by Josef Kornhaeusel. It was the first legal synagogue to be opened since 1671, but had to be hidden from the street because the law demanded it. The activists around Mannheimer, who founded the synagogue, were Michael Lazar Biedermann, Isak Loew Hofmann von Hofmannsthal, Heinrich Sichrovsky, and Leopold von Wertheimstein. Mannheimer and the *ḥazzan* Salomon *Sulzer tried to improve the decorum of the services in the new synagogue, rejected radical Reform, created the Viennese rite, and prevented a split in the community. Sulzer's *Shir Ẓiyyon* ("Song of Zion") became a model for many Ashkenazi synagogues throughout the world.

Jewish intellectuals were in the forefront of the revolution of 1848. The physician Adolf *Fischhof pleaded for press freedom, Ludwig August *Frankl, Moritz *Hartmann, and Ignaz *Kuranda published poems and articles and founded newspapers. The burial of the Jewish and Christian dead of the revolution together, with Mannheimer and Sulzer participating, was the first ecumenical service in Austria. Among the dead was Hermann Jellinek, the brother of Mannheimer's successor, Adolf *Jellinek. With the new constitution of 1849 the Jews gained equality before the law.

Kuranda, a member of the German National Assembly in Frankfurt and of the Vienna City Council, became president of the Jewish community in 1872. The writer, poet, and journalist Ludwig August Frankl became archivist and secretary of the Jewish community. In 1856 he traveled to Jerusalem, where he founded the Laemel School, which was financed by Elise Herz. He published his experiences in the two volumes, *Nach Jerusalem*. Joseph Ritter von *Wertheimer, who became the first president of the Jewish community in 1864, founded in 1830 the first general kindergarten in Vienna and in 1843 a Jewish kindergarten. He also established an orphanage for girls and a children's home and became founder and president of the Israelitische Allianz zu Wien.

During the second half of the 19th century and the first decades of the 20th, the Jewish population of Vienna increased as a result of immigration there by Jews from other regions of the empire, particularly Hungary, Galicia, and Bukovina. There were 3,739 Jews living in Vienna in 1846, 9,731 in 1850, and about 15,000 in 1854. After 1914 about 50,000 refugees from Galicia and Bukovina established themselves there, so that by 1923 there were 201,513 Jews living in Vienna, which had become the third largest Jewish community in Europe. In 1936 there were 176,034 Jews in Vienna (8% of the total population). The occupations of the Jews in Vienna became more variegated. Many of them entered the liberal professions: out of a total of 2,163 advocates, 1,345 were Jews, and 2,440 of the 3,268 physicians were Jews.

Before the Holocaust there were 19 temples and 63 smaller houses of prayer in Vienna. Together they had 29,200 seats. The first free-standing temple in Vienna was built in 1858 by Ludwig von Foerster in Vienna's main Jewish quarter in the Leopoldstadt district. With 2,000 seats it was the biggest temple in Vienna. In 1929 the last temple – a modern Jugendstil building – was inaugurated in the Viennese district of Hietzing. The Orthodox faction of the Jewish community had two large temples, the famous Schiffschul, built in 1864, where Jesaia Fuerst was rabbi from 1897 until 1938, and the Polnische Tempel (Polish temple) in the Leopoldsgasse with Mayer Mayersohn as rabbi from 1899 until 1937.

In 1857 Adolf Jellinek became preacher of the Leopoldstaedter temple. Eight years later he became Mannheimer's successor in the Stadttempel. He avoided the term rabbi, was one of the greatest preachers of his day, and remained antagonistic to the new national movement. He published many apologetic articles in the newspaper *Neuzeit*, from 1861 edited by Leopold Kompert and Simon Szanto. He also edited many Midrashim and published several studies on the Kabbalah.

In 1866 Moritz *Guedemann, a graduate of the Jewish Theological Seminary in Breslau, became rabbi of the Leopoldstaedter temple. In 1869 he became head of the *bet din*, and in 1894 Jellinek's successor as chief rabbi of Vienna. He was more Orthodox than his predecessors and was an open enemy of the Zionist movement. As a scholar he published a multi-volume history of Jewish education. His memoirs are stored in the Leo Baeck Institute in New York and, except for short extracts, were never published.

In 1890 the Israelitengesetz was passed, which ruled that only one Jewish community was allowed in one geographical region.

The Jewish community of Vienna had many Jewish educational, cultural, and social institutions. To name only the most important, in 1864 Adolf Jellinek founded the Beth Hamidrasch, where Isak Hirsch Weiss, Meir Friedmann, Salomon Rubin, and Sigmund Gelbhaus taught Bible, Talmud, the Shulḥan Arukh and *Mishneh Torah*, and Jewish history.

The rabbinical seminary, founded in 1893, was a European center for research into Jewish literature and history. It was modeled on the Jewish Theological Seminary in Breslau, of which its first director, Adolf Schwarz, was as a graduate. The most prominent scholars were Adolf *Buechler, David *Mueller, Victor *Aptowitzer, Z.H. *Chajes, and Samuel *Krauss.

After World War I the Zionists – most prominent among them the new Viennese chief rabbi Zwi Perez Chajes – founded several new educational institutions. Among them was the Hebrew Pedagogium, opened in 1918. It offered courses for kindergarten teachers and Hebrew teachers; its language of instruction was Hebrew. Its first director was Harry Torczyner, who moved to Berlin in 1919 to teach at the *Hochschule fuer die Wissenschaft des Judentums and went in 1933 to Jerusalem, where he taught at the Hebrew University under his Hebraicized name Naphtali *Tur-Sinai. His successor was Abraham Sonne. Other instructors were Salo W. *Baron, Zwi Diesendruck, and M.A. Wiesen.

In 1920 a seminary for the training of religious teachers was founded; its director was Moritz Rosenfeld. Also in 1920 a Jewish high school was opened. It was Zionist-oriented; its director was Viktor Kellner, a former teacher of the Herzliah High School in Tel Aviv. After the death of Zwi Perez Chajes the school was named after him.

In 1924 Rabbi Armand Kaminka, who also was the secretary of the Israelitische Allianz and who had taught at the Beth Hamidrasch, founded the Maimonides Institut, where the same traditional Jewish subjects were taught. Its teachers were Moses Zickier; the Vienna community rabbi Moritz Bauer; the lawyer Nissan Goldstein; Moses Horowitz, before he became rabbi of Stanislau; and Salomon Rappaport, who later became the director of the Hebrew seminary in Johannesburg, South Africa.

In 1844 a Jewish institution for the deaf and dumb was founded. It was directed by Moritz Brunner and Salomon Krenberger, but had to be closed in 1926 because of financial difficulties. In 1876 Ludwig August Frankl founded a Jewish institution for the blind. Its directors were Simon Heller (until 1923) and Siegfried Altmann, who emigrated in 1938 to New York. Both were renowned experts in the education of the blind.

In 1869 Anselm Freiherr von Rothschild financed the new building of a Jewish hospital in memory of his father (called Rothschild hospital).

In 1896 the Jewish Museum was opened. It was the first Jewish museum in the world; it was maintained by the Society for the Collection and Conservation of Jewish Art and Historic Monuments. Its curator was Jakob Bronner, who fled to Palestine in 1938. The collection of the museum was dispersed; only parts of it could be found and reconstituted after 1945. The same happened with the famous library of the Jewish community, which had about 50,000 volumes and was directed by Bernhard Muenz, the historian Bernhard *Wachstein, and after his death in 1936 by Moses Rath, the author of the Hebrew textbook *Sefat Amenu.*

Vienna also became a Jewish sports center; the soccer team Ha-Koah and the *Maccabi organization of Vienna were well known.

Though in the social life and the administration of the community, there was mostly strong opposition to Jewish national action, Vienna was also a center of the national awakening. Peretz *Smolenskin published **Ha-Shaḥar* between 1868 and 1885 in Vienna, while Nathan *Birnbaum founded the first Jewish nationalist student association, *Kadimah, there in 1882, and preached "pre-Herzl Zionism" from 1884. It was due to Herzl that Vienna was at first the center of Zionist activities. He published the Zionist movement's organ, *Die *Welt*, and established the headquarters of the Zionist Executive there. The Zionist movement in Vienna gained in strength after World War I. In 1919 the Zionist Robert *Stricker was elected to the Austrian parliament, although he was not reelected in 1920. Three Zionists, Leopold Plaschkes, Jakob Ehrlich, and Bruno Pollack-Parnau, were elected to the Vienna City Council. The well-known Zionist social worker Anita *Mueller-Cohen, who set up a whole network of social institutions for thousands of Jewish refugees who had fled during World War I from Galicia and Bukovina to Vienna, was elected as the youngest member of the Vienna City Council on a non-Zionist list. The Zionists did not obtain a majority in the Jewish community until the elections of 1932, when the Zionist lawyer Desider *Friedmann became president.

After the establishment of the Austrian Corporate State (*Staendestaat*) in 1934 following the defeat of the Social Democrats in the Austrian Civil War, Desider Friedmann became *Staatsrat* (a member of the new governing body), Salomon Frankfurter *Bundeskulturrat* (a member of the advisory council), and Jakob Ehrlich, an appointed member of the body which replaced the democratically elected Vienna City Council.

[Yomtov Ludwig Bato / Evelyn Adunka (2nd ed.)]

The Holocaust Period

The experience and practice in dealing with the Jews, gained in Germany since 1933, were utilized by the Nazis when they occupied Vienna in March 1938 with great harshness and brutality. In less than one year they introduced all the discriminatory laws, backed by ruthless terror and by mass arrests (usually of economic leaders and intellectuals, who were detained in special camps or sent to Dachau). These measures were accompanied by unspeakable atrocities. Vienna's chief rabbi, Dr. Israel Taglicht, who was more than 75 years old, was forced to clean the Seitenstettengasse, where the Stadttempel and the community offices were, and to stand in front of a shop with an anti-Jewish poster. He was able to immigrate to England, were he died in 1943.

The president of the community, Desider Friedmann, the vice president, Robert *Stricker, and the director, Josef Loewenherz, as well as the president of the Zionist organization, Oskar Gruenbaum, were immediately arrested. The historian of the Zionist movement, Adolf Boehm became insane, dying in prison shortly afterward. During *Kristallnacht* (November 9–10, 1938), 42 synagogues were destroyed, hundreds of people perished, and thousands were arrested; shops and flats were plundered by the SA and the Hitler Youth, subsequently being confiscated.

Nonetheless, the organization of immigration and the transfer of property necessitated the release of some Jewish leaders who had to form the *Aeltestenrat*. Aryanization was practiced by the forced sale and liquidation of thousands of enterprises; apartments had to be evacuated. Moreover, for the first time, forced emigration (legal and "illegal") was systematically organized by Eichmann's Zentralstelle fuer juedische Auswanderung. Consequently, of Vienna's 166,000 Jews (approximately 10% of the city's population) about 100,000 emigrated before the war; about 18,000 of them were later caught in other European countries; an additional 18,500 succeeded in getting out before the general ban on emigration in the fall of 1941. With the outbreak of war deportation of Austrian Jews increased, whereas previously mainly those of Polish and Czech nationality had been expelled. The first transports were sent to the notorious Nisko, in the Lublin district (October 1939). The last mass transport left in September 1942; it included many prominent people and Jewish dignitaries, who were sent to Theresienstadt, from where later they were mostly deported to Auschwitz. In November 1942 the Jewish community of Vienna was officially dissolved. The "Council of Jewish Elders," with Loewenherz at its head, continued to exist. About 800 Viennese Jews succeeded in remaining underground.

For further details and bibliography, see *Austria, Holocaust.

Postwar Period

According to the historian Jonny Moser in April 1945 there were 5,512 Jews living in Austria, who had survived as employees of the *Aeltestenrat,* in hiding, or in concentration and labor camps. Their number decreased due to excess of deaths over births, and emigration; the loss was soon more than compensated for by the return of several thousands of Austrian Jews, and the addition of a number of *Displaced Persons and refugees who had settled in Vienna. The population of the community reached its postwar peak in 1950 with 12,450 registered Jews, and decreased to 8,930 in 1965. It was estimated that there were at least 2,000 Jews living in Vienna who did not register with the community.

Vienna was the main transient stopping-place and the first refuge for hundreds of thousands of Jewish refugees and emigrants from Eastern Europe after World War II. This applies to the greater part of the exodus of Polish Jews in 1946 (see *Beriḥah), and, to a lesser degree, to Jews from Romania and Hungary in 1946–47, when the Rothschild Hospital of the Viennese community became the main screening station on the way to the DP camps of Germany, Austria, and Italy. It was true also for the great stream of refugees from Hungary during and after the revolt of 1956, when at least 18,000 Jewish refugees found temporary shelter in Vienna, as well as for several thousand refugees from Czechoslovakia after the Soviet invasion of 1968. Emigration to Israel from Poland, the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and partly also from Romania passed through Vienna as well.

The Community was reconstituted shortly after the war, with a president appointed by the occupation authorities, but by April 1946, elections were held for the community council. As a result of these first elections, David Brill of the left-wing Unity party was elected president. In April 1948 the Unity party was defeated by a coalition of the Zionists and the non-Zionist Social Democrats (the Bund Werktaetiger Juden), and the Zionist, David Schapira, was elected president.

After two short and turbulent presidencies of the General Zionist Wolf Hertzberg and the Communist Kurt Heitler, both of them lawyers, the long era of the rule of the Social Democratic Party Bund werktaetiger Juden (Union of Working Jews) began in 1952. The lawyer Emil Maurer was elected president, but retired in 1963, and was replaced by Ernst Feldsberg, also a representative of the Bund. Akiba Eisenberg served as rabbi from 1948. The sole synagogue functioning was the old Stadttempel in the Seitenstettengasse, the only synagogue that was not destroyed on *Kristallnacht* on November 9–10, 1938. Though the Zionists constitute a minority, there are intensive and diversified Zionist activities. Their most important event was the transfer of the remains of Theodor Herzl, who had been buried at the Doebling cemetery in Vienna, to Jerusalem in 1949.

In the 1960s and early 1970s it was not possible for the Jewish community, for financial reasons, to rebuild its infrastructure. In 1963 an attempt to build a community center failed because of lack of funding, although the cornerstone had already been laid. A provisional room for a Jewish museum was opened in 1964 and closed after a few years; the same happened with the reading room of the library. In 1966 the Jewish community opened a youth center. In 1967 the ceremonial hall of the main Jewish cemetery was built, but the Jewish hospital was closed in 1970.

As successor to the lawyer Anton Pick, the first non-socialist president of the Vienna Jewish community – the lawyer Ivan Hacker – was elected in 1981. Two new factions of the Jewish community were founded by younger members in the 1970s and 1980s with the aim of a renewal of the Jewish community and its institutions. In 1980 the Jewish community center was opened, in 1984 the Jewish High School (the

Chajesgymnasium), in 1987 a second Jewish high school by Chabad, and in 1989 the Jewish Institute of Adult Education were founded. In 1987 the furrier Paul Grosz became successor to Ivan Hacker. In 1988 the Jewish Old Age Home was enlarged and named after Maimonides. In 1963, as in 1988, the Stadttempel was renovated. In 1994 the psychological and social services center Esra was opened.

Besides the Stadttempel 14 smaller synagogues and prayer rooms existed. In 1992 the Sephardi Center with two synagogues was built. In 1993 the Vienna Jewish Museum was opened in the Palais Eskeles in the heart of the city. The old library of the Jewish community was given on permanent loan to the Jewish Museum and could thus be reopened in 1994. From the early 1990s Jewish cultural weeks, street festivals, and film and theater weeks were regularly organized.

In 1983 Chief Rabbi Akiba Eisenberg died and was succeeded by his son Paul Chaim Eisenberg, the chief rabbi as of 2006. From 1998 the real estate tycoon Ariel Muzicant was president of the community. He was the first president who was born after the Holocaust.

In the early 21st century Vienna had a small but thriving and active Jewish community that played an active part in the public and cultural life of the city. In contrast to the Austrian state, which in early 2005 was still negotiating restitution payments, the city of Vienna strongly supported the Jewish community and its many projects from the late 1970s on. In 2004 the community had 6,894 members.

[Evelyn Adunka (2nd ed.)]

Hebrew Printing

In the 16th century a number of books were published in Vienna which had some rough Hebrew lettering (from woodblocks?): Andreas Planeus' *Institutiones Grammatices Ebreae*, printed by Egyd Adler, 1552; J.S. Pannonicis' *De bello tureis in ferendo*, printed by Hanns Singriener, 1554; and Paul Weidner's *Loca praecipuo Fidei Christianae*, printed by Raphael Hofhalter, 1559. Toward the end of the 18th century extensive Hebrew printing in Vienna began with the court printer Joseph Edler von Kurzbeck, who used the font of Joseph *Proops in Amsterdam. He employed Anton (later: von) Schmid (1775–1855), who chose printing instead of the priesthood. Their first production was the Mishnah (1793). In 1800 the government placed an embargo on Hebrew books printed abroad and thus gave him a near monopoly. His correctors were Joseph della Torre and the poet Samuel Romanelli (to 1799), who with Schmid printed his *Alot ha-Minḥah* for Charlotte Arnstein's fashionable marriage (1793). Among the works they printed were a Bible with Mendelssohn's *Biur* (1794–95) and David Franco-Mendes' *Gemul Atalyah* (1800). Schmid also issued the 24th Talmud edition (1806–11) and the *Turim* (1810–13) with J.L. Ben-Zeev's notes on *Ḥoshen Mishpat*. Besides Kurzbeck and Schmid there were other rivals and smaller firms: Joseph Hraszansky, using a Frankfurt on the Main font, opened a Hebrew department in Vienna. Among his great achievements is an edition of the Talmud (1791–97). In 1851 "J.P. Sollinger's widow" began to print Hebrew texts including a Talmud, with I.H. *Weiss as corrector (1860–73). Special mention must also be made of the Hebrew journals printed in Vienna including **Bikkurei ha-Ittim* (1820/21–31), *Kerem Ḥemed* (1833–56), *Oẓar Neḥmad* (1856–63), *Bikkurei Ittim* (1844), *Kokhevei Yiẓḥak* (1845–73), and *Ha-Shaḥar* (1868–84/5).

[Israel O. Lehman]

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VIENNA, CONGRESS OF, international congress held in Vienna, September 1814 to June 1815, to reestablish peace and order in Europe after the Napoleonic Wars. The congress met in the Apollosaal built by the English-born Jew, Sigmund Wolffsohn, and the delegates were often entertained during the course of the proceedings in the *salons of Jewish hostesses, such as Fanny von *Arnstein and Cecily *Eskeles.

The Jewish question, raised explicitly for the first time at an international conference, arose in connection with the constitution of a new federation of German states. The Jews of Frankfurt and of the Hanseatic towns of *Hamburg, *Luebeck, and *Bremen had previously attained equal civil rights under French rule. The Hanseatic cities were annexed to France in 1810, and Jewish emancipation in France was effective ipso facto there. The Frankfurt community paid the French staff of the duke a vast sum of money in 1811 in return for being granted equality. They now sent delegates to the Congress to seek confirmation of their rights, as well as emancipation for the Jews of the other German states. The delegates for Frankfurt were Gabriel Oppenheimer and Jacob Baruch (the father of Ludwig *Boerne), while the Hanseatic towns were represented among others, by the non-Jew Carl August *Buchholz. They succeeded in gaining the support of such leading personalities as Metternich (Austria), Hardenberg, and Humboldt (Prussia). In October 1814 a committee of five German states met to prepare proposals for the constitution of the new federation. Bavaria and Wuerttemberg, fearing the curtailment of their independence, opposed Austria, Prussia, and Hanover, especially on the question of Jewish rights. At the general session of the Congress in May 1815, the opposition to Jewish civic equality grew, despite favorable proposals by Austria and Prussia. On June 10, paragraph 16 of the constitution of the German Federation was resolved:

> The Assembly of the Federation will deliberate how to achieve the civic improvement of the members of the Jewish religion in Germany in as generally agreed a form as possible, in particular as to how to grant and insure for them the possibility of enjoying civic rights in return for the acceptance of all civic duties in the states of the Federation; until then, the members of this religion will have safeguarded for them the rights which have already been granted to them by the single states of the Federation.

This formulation postponed Jewish equality to the far distant future, while by changing one word in the final draft to "by," instead of "in the states," a formulation arrived at only at the meeting on June 8, a loophole had been left by which the states could disown rights granted by any but the lawful government, namely, those bestowed by the French or their temporary rulers. The Congress, therefore, did nothing to better the status of the Jews but, in effect, only worsened their position in many places.

The Jewish question arose again at the Conference of Aix-la-Chapelle (1818), when the powers met to determine the withdrawal of troops from France and consider France's indemnity to the allies. Various Jewish communities turned to the conference for relief, and Lewis *Way, an English clergyman, presented a petition for emancipation to Alexander I of Russia. Despite a sympathetic reception, however, there were no practical results.

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[Shmuel Ettinger]

VIENNE, town in the department of Isère, S.E. France. The earliest confirmed Jewish presence in France was in Vienne. In the year 6 C.E., *Archelaus, ethnarch of Judah, was consigned there by Emperor Augustus; he died there in about 16 C.E. This fact was probably the source of the error in the *Roman provençal* of Girard de Vienne, in which it is asserted that a Jew named Joachim arrived in Vienne after the conquest of Jerusalem by Titus. At the beginning of the ninth century there was an important Jewish community in Vienne that was confronted by the coercive missionary activities organized by *Agobard, bishop of Lyons. After Agobard's failure, he induced the bishop of Vienne to call on his community to avoid all relations with the Jews. From 849 a plot of land inside the town was commonly owned by the Jews. This may have been the nucleus of the Jewish quarter, Burgus publicus Hebraeurum, which is mentioned from the last quarter of the tenth century and is commemorated by the "Saint-Pierre entre Juifs" parish and the Rue de Juiverie near the St.-Maurice church. From the tenth century the Jews of Vienne also owned and cultivated agricultural estates, including many vineyards within the proximity of Vienne. They constantly expanded these properties and the purchase of land by Jews was often camouflaged under a fictitious promissory note, for which a pledge in real estate was taken. Also, the Jews often exchanged plots of land, occasionally with the Church itself. At the close of the tenth century the Jew Astier was invested with the function of steward by the abbot of St.-André-le-Bas to deal with business (*negotia monachorum*). The tenor of the relationship with the Christian community changed radically in 1247, when the archbishop of Vienne had to be exhorted by Pope Innocent IV to guarantee the protection of the Jews of his diocese after the *Valréas blood libel. One of the last details known about the Jews of Vienne during the Middle Ages concerns the search carried out in 1389 to seize the promissory notes. Among the Jewish scholars of Vienne during the Middle Ages were the legal authority Tobiah b. Elijah (first half of the 13th century) and the *posek* Yakar (second half of the 13th century).

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[Bernhard Blumenkranz]

VIERTEL, BERTHOLD (1885–1953), Austrian writer, stage and film director, essayist, and translator. Viertel was a cofounder and dramatic supervisor of the *Volksbuehne* in his native Vienna (1912–14) and later directed plays in Dresden as well as in Berlin and Duesseldorf. He also contributed to the satirical weekly *Simplicissimus* and to Karl *Kraus' *Die Fackel*, in which his first poems appeared. He wrote a study of the satirist, *Karl Kraus, ein Charakter und die Zeit* (1921). His comedy *Die schoene Seele* appeared in 1925, and a novel, *Das Gnadenbrot*, in 1927. Of far greater importance, however, was his lyric poetry. He produced four volumes of verse: *Die Spur* (1913), *Die Bahn* (1921), *Fuerchte dich nicht! Neue Gedichte* (1941), and *Der Lebenslauf* (1946). From 1928 to 1931, Viertel was a movie director in Hollywood and from 1933 he worked in London and broadcast anti-Nazi programs over the BBC. Christopher Isherwood's short novel, *Prater Violet*, is regarded by many as a *roman à clef* about Viertel. He settled in the United States in 1939, but in 1947 returned to Vienna, where he directed plays at the Burgtheater, including his own translations of Tennessee Williams' *The Glass Menagerie* and *A Streetcar Named Desire*. He was especially noted for his productions of expressionist dramas. After his death his collected works appeared in the volumes *Dichtung und Dokumente* (1956), *Schriften zum Theater* (1970), *Die Ueberwindung des Uebermenschen* (1989), and *Berthold Viertel: Studienausgabe in vier Baende* (1994). Among the collections of his poems are the books *Dass ich in dieser Sprache schreibe* (1981) and *Das graue Tuch* (1994). Viertel's recollections were gathered in the book *Kindheit eines Cherub* (1991).

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[Harry Zohn / Noam Zadoff (2nd ed.)]

VIGÉE (Strauss), CLAUDE (1921–), French poet and essayist. Born in the small Alsatian town of Bischwiller, Vigée was active in the French Jewish underground movement in World War II. He escaped to Spain in 1942 and reached the U.S. in 1943. After completing his studies there he taught at several American universities, including Brandeis. In 1960 he went to Israel as visiting professor of French literature at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, assuming a permanent post there in 1963.

Vigée's poems, stories, and recollections, with their excursions into childhood and a philosophical quest for Jewishness, testify to a prolonged search for roots. This is especially evident in *La lutte avec l'ange* (1950), *L'été indien* (1957), and *Canaan d'exil* (1962). Consciousness of his own alienated condition led him, in the essays in *Les artistes de la faim* (1960) and *Révolte et louanges* (1962), to an examination of other great exiles searching for an absolute, such as Mallarmé, Camus, and *Kafka. After settling in Israel, Vigée was able to reach a harmony between his poetic urge and the surrounding everyday reality (*Le poème du retour*, 1962). The landscape of Israel inspired *Moisson de Canaan* (1967). Vigée also sought the fundamental bond between Hebrew and Western culture, and in "Civilisation française et génre hébraïque" (essay in his *Moisson de Canaan*) tried to define the role and importance of the specifically Jewish message in Western civilization. His essays on Goethe, Claudel, and Rilke also bear witness to his strong desire to reveal the imprint of the Bible on a civilization which declares itself heir to the Hellenic tradition alone. His works include various translations, such as *Cinquante poèmes de R.M. Rilke* (1953²) and *L'Herbe du songe*, as well as the autobiographical *La lune d'hiver* (1970). His later works include *Dans le silence de l'aleph: Écriture et Révélation* (1992); *La lucarne aux étoiles: dix cahiers de Jérusalem, 1967–1997* (1998); *Vision et silence dans la poétique juive: demain la seule demeure: essais et entretiens, 1983–1996* (1999); *Danser vers l'abîme ou La spirale de l'extase: choix de poèmes et d'essais: 1995–2004* (2004); *La lutte avec l'ange: un chant de sombre joie dans l'agonie du temps: poèmes, 1939–1949* (2005).

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[Max Bilen]

°**VIGENÈRE, BLAISE DE** (1523–1596), French diplomat, humanist, and Christian kabbalist. As French ambassador in Rome from 1566, Vigenère sought out Jewish scholars and immersed himself in Hebrew studies and the Kabbalah. He became a pupil of Gilbert *Génébrard and Nicolas Le Fèvre de la Boderie, two eminent French Christian Hebraists, and first began to publish at the age of 50. Vigenère was a well-known translator, but mainly achieved fame as the author of books on alchemy, astrology, cryptography, and Kabbalah.

His works include a *Traité des comètes avec leurs causes et effets* (Paris, 1578); and a *Traité des chiffres, ou Secrète manière d'écrire* (Paris, 1586), which was quoted at length by his cousin, Claude Duret, in his work *Thresor de l'histoire des langues de cest univers* (Paris, 1613). Kabbalistic material was more prominent in his *Prières et oraisons* (Paris, 1595), probably based on the second translation of the *Zohar undertaken by Guillaume *Postel. Vigenère himself wrote that the contents were "mainly drawn from the Zohar, the Sefer ha-*Bahir or Book of Splendor, the Midrash *Tehillim*, and other little-known works." The Christian Kabbalah is again prominent in a work which appeared posthumously, the *Traité du feu et du sel* (Paris, 1608; *Discourse of Fire and Salt*, 1649). In his *Traité des chiffres*, Vigenère paid generous tribute to Guy *Le Fèvre de la Boderie and his brother Nicolas, whose achievements had never fully been recognized.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: F. Secret, in: *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance*, 17 (1955), 294ff.; idem, *Le Zôhar chez les kabbalistes chrétiens de la Renaissance* (1964²), 83–88; idem, *Les kabbalistes chrétiens de la Renaissance* (1964), 200, 203–8; *Nouvelle Biographie Générale*, 46 (1866), 140–2.

[Godfrey Edmond Silverman]

VIGODA, SAMUEL (1895–1990), *ḥazzan*. Vigoda, one of the star *ḥazzanim* of the Golden Age, was born in Dubrozin, Poland, but the family moved to Hungary, where his father was *ḥazzan*. He studied at the *yeshivot* of Galante and Pressburg and as a child lived for two and a half years with the famous *ḥazzan*, Yossele *Rosenblatt; later he also learned music at the conservatories of Klausenberg and Budapest as well as medicine at the university there. After serving as *ḥazzan* to the Arena Temple in Budapest, he immigrated to the United States in 1933, where he served as *ḥazzan* to important congregations in New York and Washington, including Rosenblatt's Oheb Zedek, the position that was given to him following Rosenblatt's untimely death. He published many articles on the history of *ḥazzanut* in Europe and the United States and produced many records. In 1980 he was given an award by the Ḥazzanim Farband of America and Canada. In 1981, Vigoda published *Legendary Voices* in English, which contains material concerning Ashkenazi *ḥazzanim.*

[Akiva Zimmerman / Raymond Goldstein (2nd ed.)]

VIHAR, BELA (1908–1978), Hungarian poet and teacher. Vihar, the son of a cantor, was born in Hajdunanas, Hungary, and received a traditional Jewish education. After completing his studies in the Jewish Teachers' Training College in Budapest he taught in various Jewish schools. During World War II he served in the Jewish Forced Labor Battalion on the Russian Front. From 1945 to 1948 he was principal of a Jewish school in Budapest and in 1949 was appointed organizer of culture for national minorities in the Hungarian Ministry of Education. From 1959 onwards, however, he devoted himself solely to journalism.

In his poems, which are of a high standard and full of profound thought, the influence of the Bible and Ḥasidism, as well as of Walt Whitman and Marc Chagall, is evident. In addition to his poetry, he occupied himself with Jewish themes and, together with Aladar *Komlos, published a collection of tales for children entitled *Kincsorzo fa* ("Treasure-Guardian Tree," 1940). He also published the first documentary work on the Holocaust, *Sarga konyv* ("Yellow Book," 1945), and the theme recurs from time to time in his works.

The following collections of his poems have been published: *Ut onmagadhoz* ("Road to Yourself," 1933); *Betuk bekessegeben* ("In Peace of Letters," 1941); *Onarckep* ("Self Portrait," 1962); *Negy felelet* ("Four Responses," 1965); *Kigyoenek* ("Serpent Song," 1970).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Magyar Irodalmi Lexikon*, 3 (1965).

[Baruch Yaron]

VILA REAL, town in N. central Portugal, in the province of Tras-os-Montes. Founded in the 13th century, it contains ancient architecture which exhibits Moorish influence. Vila Real became a Crypto-Jewish center after the forced conversions of 1497 (see *Portugal). The *Marranos there maintained their separate identity for four centuries, surviving the *Inquisition. Their survival was due in part to the character of the region – grapes for Porto's port wines are still grown there – which contributed to an independence of spirit and secretiveness. The Marranos narrowly won a contest of time against the Inquisition. For by 1718, when the Marranos had been effectively purged from the accessible coastal cities, the inquisitors began a systematic campaign into the hill country along the Spanish border. Concentrating on individual towns in the Tras-os-Montes, Beira and Alentejo provinces, the campaign extirpated the Crypto-Jewish center in upper Alentejo and prosperous industries collapsed as a result of the sudden decimation of the Marrano population. For 30 years the Marranos in a dozen towns throughout rural Portugal were sought out by the Inquisition, including Lamego (15 mi. south of Vila Real) and Braganza (to the north). By the 1750s, when Pombal suppressed the Inquisition, it had not yet reached Vila Real.

In 1928 the ex-Marrano Arturo Carlos de Barros *Basto visited Vila Real in an attempt to rouse the surviving Marranos to return to Judaism. Although he found that they feared to make a public declaration of their Jewish affiliation, he remained in touch with a nucleus of the Vila Real group. In 1930 he returned to found a Jewish congregation, under the presidency of Eugenio Cardoso. The Marranos in Vila Real then numbered a few hundred, out of a total population of 6,700. Its neo-Jewish community subsequently had but occasional contact with the Jewish world.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Roth, Marranos, 273, 345, 368; Portuguese Marrano Committee, *Report for the Year 1928* (1929); idem, *Marranos in Portugal* (1938).

[Aaron Lichtenstein]

VILKAVIŠKIS (Pol. **Wylkowyski**; Rus. **Volkovyshki**), town in S.W. Lithuania. According to tradition, Jews were living in this area in the 14th century and a synagogue was built at the beginning of the 16th. By the 19th century a flourishing Jewish community had developed. Between 1823 and 1862 no new Jews were permitted to settle in Vilkaviškis, which was near the border with Germany, under the czarist legislation restricting Jewish settlement in border towns. Nevertheless, the community numbered 4,417 in 1856 (as against 834 Christians), 3,480 in 1897 (60% of the total population), 3,206 in 1923 (44%), and 3,609 in 1939 (45%). The majority were occupied in commerce and crafts. Some derived their livelihood from agriculture and garden plots close to the town. The sizable brushmaking industry in Vilkaviškis was predominantly Jewish and employed hundreds of Jewish workers. These organized a workers' union, the Jewish "Brushmakers Bund," and in 1898 published a clandestine periodical entitled *Veker*. The industry diminished in scope in the years between the two world wars. The Vilkaviškis community had an active Jewish social and cultural life. Its educational institutions included a large Hebrew primary school, a science-oriented Hebrew secondary school, and a vocational school.

The day of the outbreak of the German-Russian war, June 22, 1941, Vilkaviškis was occupied by the Germans. Most of the Jewish houses, including the synagogues, were destroyed during the fighting. On July 28, 1941, the systematic murder of the Jews in Volkaviškis began. At first about 900 men were murdered. A ghetto was established for the remaining Jews, most of them women and children, in the local barracks, close to the mass graves of the executed men. The Jews in the ghetto were killed on the day after Rosh Ha-Shanah, Sept. 24, 1941. Only a few survived until the liberation. The number of Jews in Vilkaviškis after the war remained low.

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[Joseph Gar]

VILLADIEGO, town in N. Spain, west of *Burgos. It is not known when Jews first settled there, but as early as 1222 Ferdinand III extended his protection to 20 Jewish families who went to stay in Burgos. He granted them the same rights as were generally enjoyed by the Jews in Castile. Important evidence, possibly the oldest of its kind in Castile, indicates that in 1240 Ferdinand ordered the community of Villadiego to pay 30 denarii yearly for the benefit of the cathedral of Burgos. In 1290 there were 20 Jewish families in Villadiego, who lived in a separate quarter close to the city walls. In the war between the brothers Pedro and Henry (1366–69), the community was destroyed by English soldiers serving under Pedro. It recovered around 1390, when it again numbered 20 Jewish families. During the 15th century some Jews of Villadiego served as tax farmers. In 1485 the community, then one of the smallest in northern Castile, contributed a special impost of 23 castellanos toward the war against Granada. In 1491 it paid an annual tax of 6,020 maravedis.

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[Haim Beinart]

VILLAFRANCA DEL PANADÉS, town near Barcelona, in Catalonia, N.E. Spain. Jews apparently first settled there at the beginning of the 12th century; the community belonged to the *collecta* (tax administrative unit) of Barcelona. The earliest extant record of its existence, dated 1207 and signed by the bailiff of Barcelona, concerns the selling of its revenues. Solomon b. Abraham Adret refers to the relationship between the Villafranca community and that of Barcelona in one of his responsa (vol. 3, no. 401).

More information on the Villafranca community is available from the mid-14th century. R. Ḥasdai Crescas, grandfather of the illustrious Ḥasdai Crescas, negotiated with the community around 1345 concerning its contribution to a loan destined for Pedro IV's campaign in Majorca. After 1346, Salomo de la Cavalleria, Vidal de Tolosa, Vidal de Beders, and Isaac b. Moses Ḥen are known as community trustees (*ne'emanei hakahal*). The names of two of them, Vidal de Tolosa and Vidal de Beders, show they were of French origin. When riots broke out following the Black *Death in 1348, Pedro IV ordered that measures be taken to protect the community; he repeated these instructions in 1353. During the 1391 persecutions the fate of the community of Villafranca was similar to that of *Barcelona. John I ordered that the Jews be protected, but after the rioting subsided he asked for a list of Jewish property left intestate by the victims, so that it could be handed over to the crown. Nothing further is known about the community.

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[Haim Beinart]

VILLAREAL, family name of Portuguese notables. The best known is Manoel Fernandez *Villareal (1608–1652). His son, JOSÉ DA VILLAREAL, migrated to France, where he served as a professor of Greek at Marseilles from about 1695.

Other bearers of the name include JOSÉ DA COSTA VILLAREAL (d. 1731), who was comptroller of the Portuguese royal army during the 1720s. A charge of Judaizing was brought against him, and in 1726 his arrest was ordered. Taking advantage of a conflagration then raging in Lisbon, he slipped away to London by sea with 17 members of his family and 300,000 pounds sterling of his wealth. In London the group re-entered the Jewish fold, when all the males in the family were circumcised and each marriage was recontracted "according to the law of Moses and Israel." As a token of thanksgiving they founded the Villareal girl's school. His widow was later sued for breach of promise by her profligate cousin Philip (Jacob) da Costa. The consequent publication, "*The proceedings at large in the Arches Court of Canterbury, between Mr. Jacob Mendes da Costa and Mrs. Catherine da Costa Villareal, both of the Jewish religion, and cousin Germans. Relating to a marriage contract*" (London, 1734), throws much light on social conditions in 18th-century Anglo-Jewry. Philip lost the case. When Kitty later married William Mellish, a non-Jew, she and her children by Villareal were baptized, the daughter marrying the future Viscount Galway.

The name is attested throughout the Marrano *Diaspora. MANUEL LOPEZ VILLAREAL took an important role in European business activity and established commercial ties between Hamburg and Amsterdam during the 1660s. In the New World the name Villareal appears at Hampstead, Georgia, where ISAAC VILLAREAL (VILLAROEL) was a Jewish settler around 1733. The origins of Benjamin *Disraeli have been traced back to the Villareals of Portugal. The Jewish descent of the Villareal family, and in particular of Manoel Fernandez Villareal, was indicated by the researches of Cecil Roth – a position also held by Martin A. Cohen and other scholars in the field. On the other hand, Antônio Jose Saraiva (see bibliography) concluded that Fernandez Villareal was probably neither Jewish nor a New *Christian, but that the Inquisition had used Judaism as a pretext for discrediting of Fernandez Villareal's liberal pronouncements and confiscating his property. Saraiva goes on to generalize that the majority of confessed Judaizers were not Marranos, but that they made confessions because they could escape death at the hands of the inquisitors only in this way.

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[Aaron Lichtenstein]

VILLEFRANCHE-DE-CONFLENT, village in the department of Pyrénées Orientales, S. France, which formed part of the former county of Roussillon. There was a small Jewish community there during the 13th century, most probably founded by Jews who came from *Perpignan. There is evidence of continual migratory movement between the two localities, in addition to regular commercial relations. At the end of the 14th century, the Jewish community of Villefranche ceased to exist. The theologian *Levi b. Abraham, who is known for his participation in the polemics of the early 14th century on the subject of philosophical studies, originated there. Villefranche-de-Conflent is not to be confused with two localities in Spain, called Villafranca, which were inhabited by Jews during the Middle Ages, or with Villefranche-sur-Saône, whose municipal charter of 1260 prohibited the residence of Jews.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Gross, Gal Jud, 199f.; R.W. Emery, *The Jews of Perpignan* (1959), index; M. Meras, *Le Beaujolais au Moyen Age* (1956), 214.

[Bernhard Blumenkranz]

VILLINGEN, town in Baden, Germany. The first documentary evidence for the presence of Jews in Villingen dates from the beginning of the 14th century; in 1324 Emperor Louis IV, the Bavarian, granted to the dukes of Fuerstenberg the revenues from his Villingen Jewry in recognition of their service to him, reserving the right to repurchase them for 50 silver marks. The Jews lived in a quarter of the upper part of the town, where a synagogue was also located, mentioned for the first time in 1379. In 1342 some Jews of Villingen, together with Jews of *Freiburg and *Schaffhausen, were denounced for stealing church objects. During the *Black Death persecutions (1348–49) Jews were martyred and the community destroyed. In 1464 their moneylending activities are noted. In 1504 all the Jewish men were temporarily imprisoned in the town's tower because of the *Freiburg blood libel. In 1510 all Jews were expelled, after Emperor Maximilian I accused Jewish doctors of mistreating a sick old man, one of his veteran soldiers. Thereafter Jews could enter the town and trade only when accompanied by the town servant.

Jewish settlement in the town was not renewed until 1862; it grew from 20 in 1875 to 60 in 1933. Of that number, 42 managed to emigrate after the Nazi rise to power. The prayer hall was demolished on Nov. 10, 1938. On Oct. 20, 1940, 11 Jews were deported to Gurs; two returned at the end of the war from Theresienstadt. The building that housed the prayer hall still exists. A plaque commemorating the hall was consecrated in 1978. In 2002 the Jewish community Rottweil/Villingen-Schwenningen was founded. It numbered 179 in 2004. Most of the members are immigrants from the former Soviet Union. The community's prayer hall is in Rottweil.

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[Larissa Daemmig (2nd ed.)]

VILNA (Pol. **Wilno**, Lithuanian **Vilnius**), from 1323 capital of the grand duchy of *Lithuania; from 1940 to 1991 capital of the Lithuanian S.S.R.; from 1991 capital of Lithuania; called by East European Jewry, especially in the modern period, the "Jerusalem of Lithuania" (*Yerushalayim de-Lita*).

The Early Settlement

In 1527 the townsmen of Vilna obtained from the Polish king, Sigismund I, the right to debar Jewish settlement there. However, a number of individual Jewish residents are found in the middle of the 16th century, including lessees of the customs, mintmasters, moneylenders, and large-scale merchants. In 1551 royal permission was granted to two Jews and their servants to lease out houses and shops, to do business in the city as visiting traders, and to engage in pawnbroking. In the same year Jews were permitted to reside in buildings owned by members of the ducal council, which lay outside the municipal jurisdiction. The first information of an organized Jewish community in Vilna dates from 1568, when it was ordered to pay the poll tax. According to tradition, a wooden synagogue was erected in Vilna in 1573. As early as 1592 the street adjoining the synagogue was called "Jew's Street." Although in that year a mob attacked the Jews of Vilna and plundered shops and houses of the Jews as well as the synagogue, in the following year Sigismund II renewed the privileges enabling them to trade and reside in the city.

In February 1633 Vilna Jewry was granted a charter of privileges permitting Jews to engage in all branches of commerce, distilling, and any crafts not subject to the guild organizations, but restricting their place of residence in the city. They were also granted permission to erect a new synagogue, which was built of stone. At the same time new regulations limited to 12 the number of shops under Jewish ownership which might be open to the street, and they might be held for a term not exceeding ten years. The Jews were exempted from payment of the municipal tax but instead were obliged to pay 300 zlotys annually in peacetime and 500 zlotys in time of war. During 1634, and in particular in 1635, the Jews in Vilna were again attacked and their property pillaged. The following year a commission of inquiry nominated by Ladislaus IV bound the municipality to protect the Jewish residents; to compensate for the damages suffered, the Jews were licensed to sell alcoholic liquors in 20 buildings. However, students of the Jesuit academy committed acts of violence (called in Yiddish *shiler-geloyf*) against Jewish residents in 1639 and 1641.

During the first half of the 17th century the Vilna community was augmented by arrivals from *Prague, *Frankfurt, and Polish towns, who included wealthy Jews and scholars. The number of petty traders and artisans also increased, and in this period about 3,000 Jewish residents are recorded out of a total population of some 15,000. Although the Vilna community, now an important Jewish entity, claimed the status of a principal community, or "community head of the courts" (*kehillah rosh bet din*), within the organizational framework of the Council of Lithuania (see *Councils of the Lands), the status was not conceded until 1652. After 1630 the Vilna community suffered from the general economic deterioration experienced by Lithuanian Jewry, as a result of which the Council of Lithuania accorded it a number of economic concessions in 1634. These subjected the conduct of trade by "residents of the Land of Lithuania visiting Vilna for the purposes of business" to detailed regulation. An additional improvement was "permission to the community of Vilna to undertake business in all the townlets, villages, boroughs, and settlements" within the jurisdiction of the other principal communities of Lithuania. A further financial burden for Vilna Jewry in 1648–49 was the aid it gave to fugitives from the *Chmielnicki massacres. Subsequently, in 1655, Vilna itself was threatened by the armies of the Muscovites and nearly all the Jewish inhabitants fled from the city. During the Russian occupation the Jewish quarter was burned down in the general conflagration that ensued. Three years later Czar Alexis endorsed the Vilna municipal charter but banished the Jews from the city precincts.

With the rehabilitation of the community in 1661, the leadership of Lithuanian Jewry passed to Vilna. The hostility between the Jews and the townsmen continued, fanned by the Jesuits and the reaction engendered by the Counter-Reformation then prevailing throughout the realm. An assault by townsmen on Jews who mustered for the census of defenders of the city in 1681 was condemned by King John Sobieski, who ordered the punishment of the guilty and freed the Jews from the obligation of the city's defense in the future. In 1687 a riot was instigated by Jesuit students, artisans, and shopkeepers, evidently in an attempt to force the distressed Jews to defray their debts. The material damage was estimated at 120,000 zlotys. The municipality was again served a stringent admonishment by the king, and students and the nobility were forbidden to distrain debts from Jews. By 1690 there were 227 Jewish families resident in the Jewish quarter of Vilna, while a similar number, perhaps more, were living outside, in areas falling within the jurisdiction of the magnates or government.

During the Northern War (1700–21) the Swedish invaders levied heavy taxes on the Vilna community, now so impoverished it was forced to place ritual objects in pawn with Christians. In addition, the famine and plague rife in the city took their toll. After the conflagration of 1737 the Vilna community turned to Jews abroad for relief, and its emissaries received a generous response from the Jews of Amsterdam. The opposition of the Christian merchants and artisans to the Jews even continued in the 18th century. In 1712 a commission recommended the promulgation of ordinances by the city council to limit the branches of trade and crafts practiced by Jews and restrict the area of Jewish residence. In 1713 the community board (*kahal*), the organ of Jewish self-government, was forced to bring actions against a number of discriminatory measures passed by the municipality. The charters of privileges conferred on Vilna Jewry were confirmed in 1738 by Augustus III, who extended the license to open shops to a term of 20 years and enabled Jews to deal in alcoholic liquors and other commodities. The townsmen, who lodged an appeal against the grant, managed to obtain a judgment in 1740 recognizing the 1527 prohibition on Jewish residence in Vilna, so that the Jews were again faced with the danger of expulsion. Exhausting negotiations ensued, in which the wealthy communal leader *Judah b. Eleazar took a prominent part. The community was forced to consent to a compromise agreement with stringent terms, including restrictions on the plying of trade and crafts and on place of residence. These the Jews were both unwilling and unable to implement. Litigation continued until a judgment was pronounced in 1783 which lifted the restriction on the occupations. The limitation on their place of residence was also abrogated, excepting two streets still barred to Jewish settlement. Jews were now made subject to the same tax regulations as other citizens and the annual poll tax was abolished. During the uprising against Russia in 1794 a number of Vilna Jews demonstrated their loyalty to Poland in the fighting and the *kahal* made contributions to the participants in the uprising. Thirty Jews were killed in one of the suburbs during the siege. After the conquest of the city by the Russians, however, the Jewish position in commerce and crafts improved. The Russian government abrogated the jurisdiction of the municipal court over Jewish citizens and rescinded the previous enactment of the Polish Sejm. The 1795 census shows 3,613 Jewish poll tax payers in Vilna and its environs.

Scholarship and Communal Affairs

Vilna had already become a preeminent center for rabbinical studies by the beginning of the 17th century. Among scholars born in Vilna were *Joshua Hoeschel ben Joseph and *Shabbetai ha-Kohen, who served as *dayyan* of the community. The rabbi of Vilna in the middle of the 17th century was Moses b. Isaac Judah *Lima. The existence of a *talmud torah* is reported in the second half of the 17th century, when a fund was also established by a philanthropist for the support of students. Among the scholars of Vilna in the second half of the 17th century and the beginning of the 18th were R. Moses, called Kremer, a forefather of Elijah Gaon; his son-in-law Joseph, author of *Rosh Yosef*, halakhic and aggadic novellae (Berlin, 1716); R. Baruch Kahana, known as Baruch Ḥarif; the grammarian Azriel and his two sons Nisan and Elijah; and Ẓevi Hirsch *Kaidanover (Kaidany). Also living in Vilna was the Gordon family of physicians, one of whom, Jekuthiel *Gordon, studied medicine in Padua and became influenced by the poet and kabbalist Moses Ḥayyim *Luzzatto. Joshua Heshel *Ẓoref of Vilna was among the crypto-Shabbateans. From the second half of the 18th century the personality and activities of *Elijah b. Solomon Zalman, the "Vilna Gaon," who attracted numerous disciples, had a lasting impact on Vilna Jewry. The circle thus formed became the most stimulating religious and spiritual center there and had a profound influence on Judaism in the sphere of both *halakhah* and Kabbalah.

The 1770s and 1780s marked a period of acute social tension for the Vilna community, expressed in a serious crisis over the rabbinate. In 1740 *Samuel b. Avigdor was chosen as rabbi of Vilna – partly because of the contributions to the community made by his father-in-law Judah b. Eleazar (see above). The fierce controversy that arose around the personality, status, and aspirations of Samuel b. Avigdor continued for 30 years and threatened the basis of communal autonomy. Diverse social and ideological forces in the community became implicated in the conflict, as well as external bodies. The Jewish artisans of Vilna, now a strong numerical force which remained without representation in community affairs or the means of exerting influence, took the side of the rabbi, as did also the Ḥasidim, who afforded him surreptitious support, while a number of powerful leaders in the community opposed him. Non-Jewish elements that entered the arena included the governor of Vilna, the bishop, and the crown tribunal. The opposition accused the rabbi of accepting bribes, of unfair decisions, and other practices. In theory the controversy terminated with the removal of Samuel b. Avigdor from office. However, the representatives of the popular faction turned to the non-Jewish authorities and complained about the way the *kahal* was levying taxes. The Gaon of Vilna also intervened. Simeon b. Wolf, the popular representative who had been imprisoned by the governor in Nieswiez (Nesvizh), applied to the Sejm with proposals for amending the community organization; he also demanded that the communities should be deprived of their secular authority, leaving Jewish jurisdiction over religious matters only.

When the Enlightenment (*Haskalah) movement spread to Vilna it did not encounter strong opposition from the leadership, and to begin with was largely conservative in character. About 14 important members of the community subscribed to the commentary on the Torah, the *Be'ur* initiated by Moses *Mendelssohn. Typical of the first adherents of the movement (*maskilim*) were the physician and author Judah ben Mordecai ha-Levi *Hurwitz and Moses *Meisel, the *shammash* of the community, who was acquainted with German literature and wrote several treatises. He had access to the Gaon of Vilna and also became an adherent of *Chabad Ḥasidism.

At the end of the 18th century, under the influence of the Gaon, Vilna became the center of the way of life and system of religious study followed by the **Mitnaggedim* and the focus of their struggle against Ḥasidism. In 1772 the *kahal* disbanded the congregation (*minyan*) formed in Vilna by the Ḥasidim and issued a ban or excommunication against them. Bitter opposition to Ḥasidism continued throughout the lifetime of the Gaon. Nevertheless, groups of Ḥasidim still assembled clandestinely in Vilna and formed their own *minyanim*, and after 1790 the movement even found support among members of the *kahal*. Persecution of the Ḥasidim was renewed when Vilna passed to Russia in 1795, and after the death of the Gaon two years later the conflict became more bitter. Members of the community were forbidden to buy liquor, a major source of livelihood, from Ḥasidim. The Ḥasidim now attempted to break the hegemony wielded by the *kahal*, and the two parties sought the intervention of the Russian authorities. In 1798 the Vilna *kahal* was prohibited from imposing fines or corporal punishment for religious offenses. When the ḥasidic leader *Shneur Zalman of Lyady was denounced to the authorities and imprisoned, 22 Ḥasidim from Vilna and its environs were also incarcerated, although afterward released. The *kahal* elders and *dayyanim* were dismissed from office in 1799, and the *kahal* accounts were examined. A new *kahal* was then chosen from among the Ḥasidim, which controlled the Vilna community for over a year. Subsequently the two parties became reconciled and a new *kahal* was elected with representatives of both parties. The Ḥasidim were permitted to maintain their own *minyanim* (congregations).

Between 1799 and 1802 an attempt was made by the Jewish residents of Vilna, according to the census of 1800, numbering 6,917 taxpayers, to obtain the right to take part in municipal affairs. A grant to this effect was twice obtained from the authorities, but the opposition of the Vilna citizens each time frustrated Jewish representation in practice. During the Napoleonic invasion of 1812 Vilna Jewry generally remained loyal to Russia in spite of the disabilities from which it suffered. (The provisional Lithuanian government established in Vilna by the French levied heavy taxes and war loans on the community, and the troops desecrated the Jewish cemetery, turning it into a cattle pen and destroying tombstones.) Nevertheless, under Czar *Nicholas I the right to take part in municipal government was rescinded, and the autonomy of the *kahal* was abolished in 1844. The directors (*gabba'im*) of the charitable fund (*ha-ẓedakah ha-gedolah*) continued to guide communal affairs unofficially. A visit was paid to Vilna by the philanthropist Moses *Montefiore in 1846.

Vilna's preeminence as the seat of Jewish learning continued in the 19th century. As an important center of Haskalah, it attracted many Hebrew writers. When the government commenced its policy of Russification of the Jews (see *Russia) it made Vilna a center of its activities. Max *Lilienthal was sent there in 1842 to encourage the establishment of modern schools, and in 1847 a government-sponsored *rabbinical seminary was established. Polish language and culture, which had influenced the *maskilim* and men of letters at the beginning of the 19th century, was now superseded by Russian. The *maskilim* of Vilna in this period included Mordecai Aaron *Guenzburg, Adam ha-Kohen *Lebensohn and his son Micah Joseph *Lebensohn (Mikhal), Isaac Meir *Dick, Kalman *Schulman, J.L. *Gordon, Joshua *Steinberg, and Eliakum *Zunser.

1860–1939

The restriction limiting Jewish residence to certain streets in Vilna was abrogated under *Alexander II in 1861. Untold harm was wreaked on the Jewish community when the apostate Jacob *Brafmann arrived in Vilna and conducted a vicious anti-Jewish propaganda campaign. He was vigorously opposed by R. Jacob *Barit, head of the yeshivah and communal leader. In 1860 S.J. *Fuenn began publication of a Hebrew weekly, *Ha-Karmel*, with Russian supplements. Among authors in Vilna who wrote in Russian was J.L. *Levanda, who occupied a government post there as an expert on Jewish matters, called "learned Jew." It was in this period that the first Jewish Socialists in Russia began to be active in the official rabbinical seminary, among them Aaron Samuel *Liebermann and his associates.

Anti-Jewish riots took place in 1881 when a band of military conscripts attacked Jewish shops. The Jewish butchers, who organized themselves to oppose the attackers, turned them over to the police. Owing to the Russian government's prohibition on Jewish settlement in the villages, many Jews in rural areas had to move to Vilna. The 1897 census shows 63,831 Jewish inhabitants, forming 41.5% of the total population. The congested conditions and increasing unemployment led to large-scale emigration. Large numbers left for the United States and South Africa, and a few went to Ereẓ Israel. Vilna became an active meeting ground for Jewish Socialists in the 1890s. A convention of Jewish Social Democrats was held in 1895, while in 1897 the *Bund labor party held its founding convention and Vilna became the center of its activities. In 1902 the shoemaker Hirsch *Lekert attempted to shoot the governor-general of Vilna, Von Wahl, after his treatment of a First of May demonstration. Lekert was condemned to death and hanged. In 1900 a wave of anti-Jewish feeling swept Vilna over the *Blondes blood libel case.

At the beginning of the 20th century Vilna became the center of the *Zionist movement in Russia, and saw the rise of a flourishing Hebrew and Yiddish literature. One of the first societies of the *Ḥovevei Zion movement was founded there; Ḥovevei Zion conventions were held in Vilna in 1889, and subsequently those of the Zionist organizations (the founding convention of the *Mizrachi party in 1902, and others). Theodor *Herzl, who visited Vilna in 1903, was given an enthusiastic popular reception. The central bureau of the Zionist Organization in Russia functioned in Vilna between 1905 and 1911, and for some time the *Po'alei Zion party made Vilna its headquarters. The well-known Zionist leader Shmaryahu *Levin was elected as deputy for Vilna to the *Duma. Orthodox circles were organized under the leadership of R. Ḥayyim Ozer *Grodzenski, and afterward amalgamated with the *Agudat Israel. Among the many Yiddish and Hebrew periodicals published in Vilna was the Hebrew daily *Ha-Zeman*. An excellent library of Judaica was established from the bequest of Mathias *Strashun.

Vilna became a transit center and asylum for Jewish refugees from the vicinity during World War I. Under German occupation lack of food and discriminatory levies on the Jewish population made conditions increasingly difficult. The situation was not improved after the war when the struggle between the Poles and Lithuanians for the possession of Vilna (1919–20) entailed frequent changes of government. In April 1919, 80 Jews were massacred by Polish troops.

The interwar period from 1922 to 1939 was a time of fruitful and manifold social and cultural activities for Vilna Jewry, although Vilna, now part of Poland, was affected economically by the severance of its former ties with Russia and Lithuania. According to the 1921 census, 46,559 Jews were living in Vilna (36.1% of the total population), and in 1931, 55,000 (28.2%). This period saw the establishment of a network of elementary and secondary schools in which Hebrew was either the language of instruction or the principal language, and of Hebrew and Yiddish teachers' seminaries and trade schools. Vilna was a world center for Yiddish culture, and a Yiddish daily and evening press, numerous weekly and other political, literary, educational, and scientific journals were published there. The Jewish historical and ethnographical society, founded by S. *An-Ski, established a museum and archives in 1919. The *YIVO research institute for Yiddish language and culture was founded in Vilna in 1924. The institute attracted Yiddish scholars and authors, among them Zalman *Rejzen, Max *Weinreich, Z. *Kalmanowicz, and Max *Erik. The Yiddish writer Moshe *Kulbak lived in Vilna. A circle of young Yiddish authors (*Yung Vilne*) included Abraham *Sutzkever, Shemariah *Kaczerginski, and Ḥayyim *Grade. Several poems of Zalman *Shneour, who stayed in Vilna for some time, express the glorious place of the city in Jewish life. Among its Hebrew scholars and writers were the linguist M.B. Shneider, S.L. *Zitron, and J.E. *Triwosch. The strong antisemitism rife in Poland in the 1930s was especially noticeable in the university, where the Jewish students often had to organize in self-defense.

[Israel Klausner]

Hebrew Printing

Hebrew printing in Vilna began in 1799 with three ethical books: a short version of Kalonymus b. Kalonymus' *Even Boḥan* by Phinehas b. Judah Polotsk; Abraham Lichtstein's *Hin Ẓedek* on Maimonides' *Shemonah Perakim* (1 and 2), by the press of Aryeh Loeb and Gershom Luria and Moses b. Menahem; and Gershon b. Benjamin's *Shemirat ha-Mitzvot*. The former two were printed by the Canonicus Joseph Mirski (d. 1812) and the third in the printing house Jan Jasienskie Luria's firm produced various small books and a Bible (1806). The firm still existed in 1823. The Drukarnia Djecezjalna (Mirski) and Vilna University had their own Hebrew press.

Hebrew printing in Vilna, however, owes its fame mainly to the house of *Romm. Baruch b. Joseph (d. 1803), after some years in Grodno, set up in Vilna in the last years of the 18th century. Baruch's son Menahem Man Romm (d. 1842) and Simḥah Zimel b. Menahem Nahum of Grodno printed some liturgical items in 1815–17. Menahem Man's three sons – David (d. 1860), assisted by his second wife Deborah, née Harkavy;

Ḥayyim Jacob; and Menahem Man Gabriel – greatly developed the firm. Due to the censorship, by 1845 the firm practically enjoyed a monopoly in Russia and Poland.

Trouble arose when the Talmud was to be printed, which eventually led to the closing of all Jewish printing presses in Lithuania and Volhynia except one in Vilna and another in *Zhitomir (until 1862). In 1835 Man Romm, in association with Simḥah Zimel, began printing the Talmud against the protest of the *Slavuta printers; as a result, Slavuta's second printing (their first dates from 1815/16–1822/23) was never finished. Romm completed their edition in 1854. It was their masterpiece; in 1846 even Sir Moses Montefiore came to visit their establishment. From 1871 it was known as the firm of "the widow and the brothers Romm" (i.e., Deborah, Ḥayyim Jacob, and Menahem Man). The 1866 edition was produced by 100 devoted workers and 14 correctors. Many standard texts, among them the Mishnah, the *Turim*, Maimonides' *Mishneh Torah*, the Jerusalem Talmud, and S. Buber's Midrash editions, made Vilna printing famous for its beauty and accuracy.

There were also a number of small firms. Abraham Ẓevi Rosenkranz and his brother Menahem Schriftsetzer, originally typesetters with the Romms, established their own press in 1863. They also took over the Samuel Joseph Fuenn press in 1893, after it had existed for 30 years. In 1920 the firm was bought up by A.L. Shalkowitz (Ben Avigdor). Among smaller presses that of Boris Kletzkin (d. 1938) employed more than 50 workers and printed some newspapers.

The Vilna presses made some very important contributions before being closed down. Romm's famous *Mishnayot* (vols. 2 and 5) were published in Vilna in 1938, one year before the Nazi invasion of Poland. Their Talmud and other rabbinic standard works continue to be reproduced photographically in a great variety of sizes and editions in Israel and the U.S.

[Israel O. Lehman]

Holocaust Period

With the outbreak of World War II, Soviet Russia invaded Vilna and in October 1939 ceded it to Lithuania. Jewish refugees from divided Poland – the German-occupied part and the Soviet-occupied one – found refuge in Vilna. Among the refugees were many rabbis (and ḥasidic rabbis), scholars, community and party leaders, as well as Zionists and members of Zionist youth movements who immediately organized into temporary "kibbutzim." By long and tortuous ways (even via the Far East), some succeeded in reaching Ereẓ Israel. In June 1940, Lithuania was annexed to the U.S.S.R. The Soviet authorities closed down Hebrew cultural institutions and Zionist organizations. All Yiddish press was replaced by the Communist Party's organ.

Many Jews – active Zionists, Bundists, and "bourgeois" – were exiled in 1941 into the Soviet interior and many were interned in camps there. Some active Yiddishists, including writers (Z. Rejzen, Joseph Chernikhov, and others), were arrested, deported to Russia, and murdered there. In June 24, 1941, the Germans entered Vilna and were welcomed by the Lithuanian population with flowers and cheers. Persecution of Vilna's Jewish population (approximately 80,000) began immediately. Prior to the establishment of the ghetto, about 35,000 Jews were murdered in *Ponary, a wooded area 10 mi. from Vilna. Among them were leaders of the Jewish community and members of the first *Judenrat.

On September 6, 1941, the remaining Jews were herded into two ghettos (the smaller was liquidated 46 days later), and a second Judenrat was established. In January 1942 the various political organizations in the ghetto created a unified fighting organization, FPO (Fareynigte Partizaner Organizatsye), commanded by Yiẓḥak *Wittenberg, Joseph Glazman, and Abba *Kovner. In the beginning, the FPO decided to fight in the ghetto rather than escape to join the partisans in the forests. They planned to blow up the German ammunition dumps and lead the Jews into the forests if they could first arm the ghetto sufficiently. A separate fighting organization, led by Yechiel Sheinboim and comprising several groups that wanted to fight in the forests, eventually joined the FPO. In addition to smuggling in ammunition, the FPO carried out acts of sabotage, issued an underground bulletin, and forged documents. In July 1942 Jacob Gens, chief of the Jewish police, was appointed "ghetto head" by the Germans. In this capacity Gens was responsible to the German authorities for law and order in the ghetto. The Judenrat established various departments through which it supervised and controlled all aspects of ghetto life: a police department; a labor department, which provided employment in German and Lithuanian public and private businesses; an industry department; a supply and distribution department, primarily for food; a health department, which provided a hospital, medical services, and children's care; a housing department, which included a sanitation and sewage disposal section; a social welfare department, which administrated the institutions for aid to the needy and provided free food, clothing, and shelter; and a cultural department, which coordinated the activities of schools, theaters, an orchestra, choirs, a library, archives, a bureau of statistics, a bookstore, a museum, and a wall bulletin, *Getto Yedies*, that contained announcements and regulations issued by the Judenrat. Writers, musicians, actors, and artists created an organization to sponsor lectures and concerts and encourage cultural expression in the ghetto. Religious life, yeshivot, and synagogues continued functioning underground.

Gens was the ghetto's most controversial figure. Some condemned him as an outright German collaborator, while others regarded him as a man who fulfilled German orders in an effort to save as many Jews as possible. Accused by the *Gestapo of aiding the underground, he was shot on September 15, 1943.

On July 5, 1943, Wittenberg, the commander of the FPO, was arrested. While he was being led out of the ghetto, the FPO attacked the guard and freed him. Realizing that a price would have to be paid for this act of defiance, the underground ordered mobilization of all its units. The Germans issued an ultimatum for Wittenberg to surrender by morning or the ghetto would be wiped out. After hours of difficult deliberation, Wittenberg surrendered himself to the Germans and was murdered by the Gestapo. The FPO then decided to evacuate to the forests. The first detail of fighters to leave for the forest was ambushed, and Glazman, its leader, was among those who died fighting. In reprisal for the flight of the fighters, the Germans killed their families and work brigadiers in the ghetto. Thereafter, no fighters left the ghetto for fear that their capture would result in the death of many Jews.

The destruction of Vilna Jewry continued with the establishment of the ghetto. Various mass murder *Aktionen* were carried out, the largest of which totaled 14,000 killed during the liquidation of the smaller ghetto, 7,000 during the two "yellow certificate actions," and 5,000 during the "*Kovno Aktion*." In August 1943, deportation of the surviving ghetto inmates to Estonia began. That marked the beginning of total liquidation. On September 1, 1943, the ghetto was sealed off, The FPO was mobilized at once, and in the morning the German soldiers entered. Fighting erupted in several areas of the ghetto. In one battle Sheinboim and other fighters lost their lives. Fearing that a continued battle would bring immediate destruction to the ghetto, Gens successfully petitioned the Germans to leave. Between September 1–4, 1943, while 8,000 more Jews were deported to labor camps in Estonia, 200 fighters left the ghetto to join the partisans. On September 15, 1943, the ghetto was again surrounded, but the Germans withdrew when they learned that the remaining FPO fighters were again mobilized for battle. On September 23 the Jews were ordered to prepare for the final deportation, which would liquidate the ghetto. The FPO at this opportunity evacuated the last of its fighters through the sewers. In the following days, the surviving men were sent to Estonia, the young women to Latvia, and the old, children, and sick to *Majdanek.

After liquidating the ghetto, the Germans left two work installations outside its walls: Keilis (a Lithuanian fur factory) and the HKP (army vehicles park), where approximately 3,000 Jews worked. On July 2–3, 1944, they were all taken to *Ponary and murdered there. There are no accurate figures on the number of Vilna Jewry killed. It is estimated that approximately 100,000 Jews from Vilna and the vicinity perished in the Vilna ghetto. Those who were not killed in Vilna died in labor concentration camps in Estonia and other places.

[Abraham H. Foxman]

Contemporary Period

After the Soviet Army liberated Lithuania (July 12, 1944) about 6,000 survivors from the forests and other places assembled in the city. Writers and Jewish communal workers (S. Kaczerginski and others) tried to organize a Jewish museum, a Jewish school, an orphanage, etc. To provide for religious needs, a *kehillah* was organized, but the Soviet authorities immediately suppressed any secular Jewish activity and prevented the existence of any Jewish organization. By provocative means, as e.g., by deceptively organizing "illegal" flights over the border to Poland, the Soviet security police captured and arrested in 1945 scores of Lithuanian Jews who wished to emigrate in order to reach Palestine. In the 1959 census 16,354 Jews (6.96%) were registered in Vilna, 11,326 of whom declared Yiddish to be their mother tongue. In 1970 the number of Jews was estimated much higher. The only synagogue left generally served a small number of elderly Jews, except on holidays, particularly on Simḥat Torah, when many hundreds congregated, including younger people. The deliberate effacement of the Jewishness of the Nazi victims during World War II as well as other measures designed to stifle Jewish cultural expression stimulated Jewish youth to counter-demonstrations, e.g., through identifying more and more with Israel, and studying Hebrew. Eventually, in the 1960s, the authorities permitted the establishment of a Yiddish amateur theater company (in the framework of the local trade unions' cultural activities, alongside Russian and Lithuanian groups), which performed plays by *Shalom Aleichem and some other Yiddish classics. The company's performances drew great crowds, and it was sometimes allowed to perform in other cities of the Baltic republics. In the early 1960s, during the campaign against "economic crimes," Vilna became the scene of one of the first anti-Jewish expressions of the campaign. A show trial against a group of Jewish "speculators" ended in death sentences and executions, accompanied by an antisemitic campaign in the local press.

After the Six-Day War in the Middle East (1967) identification with Israel became more pronounced, especially among the young, in spite of the official anti-Israel campaign, and Jews from Vilna were among those who protested against the refusal to grant them exit permits to Israel. These protests were sometimes published abroad.

See also *Russia.

UNDER LITHUANIAN INDEPENDENCE. Jewish life in Vilna revived with Lithuanian independence in 1990. Chabad was active in restoring religious life and the Shalom Aleichem State School had around 200 students, studying Hebrew, the Bible, and the history of the Jewish people in addition to general subjects. The community published *Jerusalem of Lithuania*, a periodical in Yiddish, Lithuanian, English, and Russian with special emphasis on the cultural life of the community. The community organized meetings, lectures, and exhibitions dedicated to such subjects as Israel, Jewish holidays, and the Holocaust. With the help of Jewish organizations, especially the American Joint Distribution Committee, and private donors, the community ran a wide-ranging welfare program for needy members. At the outset of the 21st century most of Lithuania's 3,500 Jews lived in the Vilna.

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VILNA TROUPE, Yiddish theatrical company. It began as an amateur group in Vilna in 1916, organized by the teacher Mordecai Mazo and the painter Leib Kadison, who was its first producer. It moved to Warsaw in 1917 and came to be regarded as the symbol of the "better Yiddish theater" which others had tried to achieve with limited success. The Vilna Troupe's strength lay in its ensemble and in the ideas of its producers, among them Chaim Schneir, Mark Arnstein, Michael *Weichert, who directed *Asch's *Kiddush ha-Shem*, and David *Herman, who directed *Peretz' *Bay Nakht oyfn Altn Mark* ("At Night in the Old Market"). Herman's outstanding work, however, was his production of *An-Ski's *The Dybbuk* in 1920, which brought the company international fame. The tour with *The Dybbuk* in England, France, and the U.S. in 1921 was triumphant. Success spoiled some of the players, however, and the company broke up not long afterward. One group went to the United States and toured until 1930; the other group remained in Europe and was active in Romania and Poland into the 1930s. Mordecai Mazo, the founder, and his wife, actress Miriam Orleska, perished during World War II in the Warsaw Ghetto.

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[Joseph Leftwich]

VILNAY (VILENSKY), ZEV (1900–1988), Israeli geographer, author, and lecturer. Born in Kishinev, Vilnay moved to Palestine with his parents as a child of six and settled in Haifa. In the middle 1920s Vilnay became one of the principal guides in the walking tours (*tiyyulim*) over the country, popular among workers and youth groups; they included areas in Lebanon, Syria, Transjordan, and Sinai. He was an instructor of military topography in the Haganah and later during the War of Independence (1948) and the Six-Day War (1967). He was awarded the Israel Prize in 1982 for *yedi'at ha-areẓ* ("knowledge of Israel").

Vilnay lectured under many auspices on Israel geography, ethnography, history and folklore. He published many books and pamphlets, including the following in English: *Legends of Palestine* (1932), *The Guide to Israel* (1955; 14 editions until 1971); *The Holy Land in Old Prints and Maps* (1965^2); *The New Israel Atlas: Bible to Present Day* (1968); and in Hebrew: *Enziklopedyah li-Ydi'at ha-Areẓ* (3 vols. (1956)); *Yerushalayim* 2 vols. (1960–62, new edition 1970); *Tel Aviv-Jaffa…* (1965); *Yehudah ve-Shomeron* (1968); *Sinai, Aver ve-Hoveh* (1969); *Golan ve-Ḥermon* (1970); *Maẓẓevot Kodesh be-Ereẓ Yisrael* (1963^2); and *Ereẓ Yisrael bi-Temunot Attikot* (1961).

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[Benjamin Jaffe]

VINAVER, CHEMJO (1900–1973), conductor and composer. Vinaver was born in Warsaw and raised in the ḥasidic court of his grandfather, R. Isaac of Vorka, where he absorbed the Vorka and other ḥasidic musical traditions. From 1916 to 1920 he studied in Warsaw, and then in Berlin (conducting and composition with Hugo Ruedel and Siegfried Ochs). There he organized the Hanigun choir for the propagation of Jewish music, which toured in Europe and Palestine. From 1926 to 1933 Vinaver was the chief conductor at the temple of the Berlin community, with whose choir he recorded over 20 liturgical works. He also taught music at the teachers' college of the Reichsvertretung der deutschen Juden and published articles on Jewish music in the Jewish press and cantorial periodicals. In 1938 Vinaver emigrated to New York, where he organized the Vinaver Chorus and the Vinaver Symphonic Voices. From 1952 he was music consultant in the cultural department of the Zionist Organization of America. In 1967 he settled in Jerusalem, where he also established a choir.

Among his compositions may be mentioned "The Seventh Day" for cantor and chorus, for the Friday night service (1946), *Kol Nidrei*, and *Omnam Ken*. He edited several collections of ḥasidic, Yiddish, and Israeli folk songs, and in 1955 published the *Anthology of Jewish Music*, which contains traditional synagogal music, ḥasidic *niggunim*, and religious folk songs (many of them of his own collection), several synagogal compositions, including Vinaver's own, and Psalm 130, "Out of Depths," composed by Arnold *Schoenberg especially for the anthology. Vinaver's wife was the poet Masha Kaleko.

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[Haim Bar-Dayan]

VINAWER, MAXIM (1862–1926), lawyer and communal worker in Russia. Born in Warsaw, Vinawer completed his studies at the university of Warsaw (1886), and then settled in St. Petersburg, where he became a prominent lawyer in the field of civil law. In court Vinawer was outstanding for his clear and profound analyses, which influenced the shaping of judicial law. His influence was also felt through his literary activity, his presence among judicial colleagues at the university of St. Petersburg, and at conferences on civil law reforms. The fact that he was a Jew interfered with his professional standing and until 1904 he was registered only as an advocate's assistant. After the February Revolution (1917) he was allowed to sit as supreme judge for the short period preceding the liquidation of the old courts as a result of the October Revolution.

Through his literary publications he encouraged social astuteness and interest on the part of advocates in regard to public affairs. As a result of the 1905 Revolution and the introduction of a restricted parliamentary regime, he became one of the founders and leaders of the "Constitutional Democratic Party" (Cadets), or "Freedom of the Nation Party," which called for a genuine parliamentary system, based on the example of Great Britain. He was a delegate to the first parliament (*Duma) in 1906. As the vice chairman of his faction (the largest), he was the principal drafter of its policies and acted as mediator both within the group and between the group and other factions. When the Duma dispersed he joined its former members in a protest convention at Vyborg and signed the manifesto calling for civil disobedience. As a result he and all the other participants in the convention were sentenced to three months in prison and deprived of the right to vote. In 1917, after the February Revolution, he was a member of the commission that prepared the elections to the constituent assembly as well as a participant in the temporary parliament ("Council of the Republic"). The October Revolution and the banning of his party caused him to emigrate to the Crimean Peninsula, where he acted as foreign minister in the regional government formed by his party (described in his memoirs). In 1919 he emigrated to France, where he continued his activities among the Russian and Jewish emigrants.

Vinawer's Jewish communal activities began with the *Society for the Promotion of Culture among the Jews of Russia. Heading also the historio-ethnographic commission which gathered and published historical material on the Jews of Russia, he developed it into a special society. He also acted as advocate in the trials following the pogroms of *Kishinev and *Gomel. Although he was, too, among the founders and leaders of the *Society for the Attainment of Full Civil Rights for the Jewish People in Russia (1905–07), he opposed the formation of a separate Jewish faction in the Duma. Vinawer founded the newspaper *Yevreyskaya Tribuna*, one of whose objectives was to disprove the allegation of the "Jewishness" of the Russian Revolution. Vinawer's personality assumed an important place in the memoirs of his contemporaries, both Russian (i.e., *Witte, P.N. Milyukov) and Jewish (S. *Dubnow, M. *Vishniak). Vinawer himself published a collection of memoirs, *Nedavnoye* (1917; second, enlarged edition 1926).

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[Abraham N. Poliak]

°**VINCENT, LOUIS HUGUES** (1872–1960), French Dominican monk and archaeologist; one of the heads of the Ecole Biblique et Archéologique Française in Jerusalem. Vincent was born in Varèze and as a youth entered the Dominican Monastery of St. Etienne in Jerusalem, where he lived until his death. His reputation as an archaeologist was established in 1907 when he published the first survey of the results of archaeological excavations in Ereẓ Israel (*Canaan d'après l'exploration récente*). In 1909 he took part in the Parker expedition, an adventurous enterprise which sought to discover the treasures of the Temple and dug in the tunnels of the Gihon. Vincent, however, turned it into a scientific excavation and published the results in *Jérusalem sous terre* (1911; *Underground Jerusalem*, 1911). In collaboration with L.F. Abel and afterward with A.M. Stève, he was the author of a series of monumental works on the remains of Jerusalem (*Jérusalem ancienne et nouvelle*, 1912–14). The concluding work on the Temple was published in 1956. Vincent and Abel also studied the antiquities of Bethlehem, Hebron and Emmaus. A visitor at almost every excavation in Ereẓ Israel and a prolific writer, Vincent was recognized as the doyen of Catholic archaeologists in Ereẓ Israel.

[Michael Avi-Yonah]

VINCHEVSKY, MORRIS (pseudonym of **Benzion Novakhovich**; 1856–1932), Yiddish and Hebrew writer and socialist leader. Born in Yonovo, Lithuania, he began his literary career in 1873 as a Hebrew poet and journalist, often writing under the pseudonyms "*Ben Nets*" ("Son of a Hawk") and "*Yigal ish ha-Ru'aḥ*" ("Yigal, the Man of Spirit"). Hailed by the Soviet Yiddish critics of the 1930s as the "grandfather" of Socialist Yiddish literature, Vinchevsky turned to writing Yiddish poetry in the 1880s. He lived in Germany (which he left when Bismarck's anti-socialist laws went into effect), France, and England (where he wrote pseudonymous articles in English for the socialist journals of H.M. Hyndman, one of the founders of British Socialism), before settling in New York in 1894. He was an active and committed socialist who expressed his sympathies in his often politically tendentious poetry. His work appealed to readers not only in the U.S. but also in pre- and post-revolutionary Russia. The basic trend of his work was humanitarian and deeply Jewish. Vinchevsky was also active in the Yiddish press, regularly contributing essays, poems, and translations to socialist publications such as the **Forverts, Der Emes,* and *Di Tsukunft*, which he also edited. He remained politically active throughout the first decades of the 20th century and was appointed to the Jewish Commission (*Comité des délégations juives), which represented Jewish interests at the Versailles Conference after World War I. In the 1920s Vinchevsky's sympathies veered sharply to the left. He broke with many of his socialist friends and in 1924–25 spent a number of months in the U.S.S.R. In 1927 he became paralyzed and remained in poor health until his death. Vinchevsky had a long and prolific career and, in 1927–28, a 10-volume edition of his works appeared under the editorship of Kalman *Marmor. Vinchevsky's library, manuscripts, and archives (YIVO), comprise a rich source for research into Yiddish literature and Jewish radical movements beginning in the 1860s.

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[Henry J. Tobias / Marc Miller (2nd ed.)]

VINCZE, PAUL (1907–1994), medalist. Vincze was born in Hungary, and settled in England, where he rapidly earned a reputation as having a classical gift of portraiture, which was balanced by allegorical reverses on his medals. His talent was also expressed in coins; he designed some of the new currency for Ghana, Libya, Nigeria, Malawi, and Guinea. Vincze has struck some of the finest Jewish commemoratives in modern times, including the 300th Anniversary of the Jewish Resettlement in Great Britain (1956). He executed medals for the private Israeli mint, Isnumat, and for the government of Israel. Examples of strikings he did for the former are the John F. Kennedy Memorial and the Visit of Pope Paul VI to the Holy Land. Examples of his work for the Israeli government are the 1966 Commemorative for Edmond and James de Rothschild and the 1967 Jubilee of the Balfour Declaration. Vincze executed several medals of distinguished Jews such as Ben-Gurion, Lord Samuel, and Yehudi Menuhin. Just before his death he designed the monetary coins of Malawi.

[Daniel M. Friedenberg]

VINE (Heb. גֶּפֶן). Of the various agricultural products mentioned in the Bible and talmudic literature, the vine and its products – *yayin* ("wine"), *tirosh* ("new wine"), *ḥemer* ("sweet red wine"), and *shekhar* ("strong drink") – occupy the central place. Sixteen times the Bible mentions in juxtaposition "corn, new wine, and oil," which represented the principal produce and the chief blessing of the soil (Deut. 7:13; et al.). Of the seven species with which Ereẓ Israel was blessed the vine figures first among the fruit (Deut. 8:8). "Every man [sitting] under his vine and under his fig-tree" symbolizes the ideal past and the hope of future peace (I Kings 5:5; Micah 4:4). Many biblical parables and allegories are associated with the vine, grapes, and wine. The people of Israel in its youth is compared to grapes which the traveler came upon in the wilderness (Hos. 9:10). Isaiah likens God to the owner of a vineyard and Israel to the vineyard (Isa. 5), a similar metaphor being employed by Jeremiah (2:21), and Ezekiel (17:1–10, 19:10–14) regards the vine as symbolizing the people of Israel and its fate.

Viticulture in Ereẓ Israel goes back to antiquity. An Egyptian inscription of the third millennium B.C.E. states that the Egyptian conqueror of the country ordered its vines and fig trees to be destroyed. The spies, sent ahead of the Israelites to spy out the land, brought back from the valley of Hebron a cluster of grapes of remarkable size (Num. 13:23). Situated in the inheritance of Judah, which was blessed with fruitful vines (Gen. 49:11), was the settlement Beth-Cherem ("the house of the vineyard"; Jer. 6:1), and passing through it was the valley of Sorek (Judg. 16:4), so named after the red grapes (*sorek*) grown there. Excellent wine was produced from the vines growing on Mount Ephraim and in Samaria (Isa. 28), where, Jeremiah prophesied, the vineyards of Samaria, destroyed after the desolation of the kingdom of Ephraim, would again be planted (Jer. 31:4–5). In the vineyards of Shiloh annual festivities accompanied by dances were held (Judg. 21:21), apparently connected with the vintage season, which was an occasion for great joy (cf. Isa. 16:10). According to an ancient tradition preserved in the Mishnah (Ta'an. 4:8) "the daughters of Jerusalem came out and danced in the vineyards" on the 15th of Av and the Day of Atonement. During these dances, the young girls found husbands for themselves. The Hasmoneans and Bar Kokhba struck a cluster of grapes on their victory coins as a symbol of the fertility of the country. Josephus highly praised the vineyards in the valley of Ginnosar (War, 3:519), and many places in Judea and Galilee are mentioned in talmudic literature as noted for their thriving vineyards.

The Bible refers to large vineyards in the kings' inheritance that contained "a thousand vines at a thousand pieces of silver" (Isa 7:23; cf. Song 8:11). Those mentioned in talmudic literature, however, were usually smaller, five vines in a field being considered a vineyard (Kil. 4:6). Individual vines were also planted among other trees, this being permitted by the laws of the Pentateuch, though sowing mixed seeds among the vines is prohibited (Deut. 22:9), and talmudic literature deals with many *halakhot* connected with this strict prohibition (Kil. 4–7; see *Mixed Species). Various strains of grapes were grown. Since the main product of grapes was the sweet red wine called *ḥemer*, there was a preference for the strains which produced red-black grapes known as *sorek*. Inferior white grapes were called *be'ushim* (Isa. 5:2, 4; cf. Ma'as. 1:2). Grapes were grown in two ways: either the trunk and branches trailed along the ground – the *gefen soraḥat* of the Bible (Ezek. 17:6) and the *rogeliot* of the Mishnah (Pe'ah 7:8); or the vine was trained over a pole, the *gefen adderet* of the Bible (Ezek. 17:8) and the *dalit* of the Mishnah (Pe'ah 4:2). The importance of the vine is attested by the Bible's many synonyms for its branches: *baddim, banot, daliyyot, zalzallim, zemorah, ḥoter, yonek, kannah, matteh, netishot neẓer, anaf, porah, keẓirim, sheluḥot, sarigim*, and *sorek*.

More than 40 expressions connected with viticulture are mentioned in the Bible and talmudic literature. Isaiah's song about the vineyard (Isa. 5) gives a detailed account of the different stages from its planting to the harvesting of the grapes: first the soil is dug up and the large stones are removed and used for the fence. Then the shrubs and thorns growing in the uncultivated field are cut down and used as "the hedge" of the fence; the fence protects the vineyard from being "trodden down" by cattle, and the hedge prevents goats from jumping over the fence. Next the field is cleared of small stones, which are put on top of the hedge, and all is ready for planting the sapling vines. The soil between the rows of vines is hoed, and at the end of the summer the branches are pruned. After three to four years, with the approach of the first vintage, the owner of the vineyard hews out a vat, and its stones are used to build a tower for watching over the vineyard during the vintage. Isaiah apparently describes a nonirrigated vineyard that awaits the rains of heaven (*ibid.* 5:6). The vine responds well to irrigation, flourishing particularly near fountains (Gen. 49:22; Ezek. 19:10).

The vine referred to in the Bible and in talmudic literature is the cultivated one, *Vitis vinifera*. In the region of Ereẓ Israel the wild vine does not grow, although in various places in Israel, especially near springs, such as Tel Dan and Naḥal Ammud in Galilee, seeds of the cultivated vine have sprouted and grow wild climbing trees. Various strains of vines, some local, others imported, are grown in Israel. In Samaria and on Mount Ephraim nonirrigated wine grapes, and in other regions of the country mostly irrigated and trellised eating grapes, are grown.

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[Jehuda Feliks]

VINELAND, city in southern New Jersey, 30 miles (50 km) from Philadelphia. The Jewish community of Vineland dates back to the early 1880s, with the establishment of immigrant colonies outside of the city limits. Synagogues were prohibited within city limits until toward the end of the first decade of the 20th century. The first such colony was Alliance, founded in 1882 in Salem County by the Alliance Israélite Universelle (France) and the Baron de Hirsch Fund (Belgium), three miles out of Vineland, followed by others with biblical names like Carmel. In nearby Cape May County, the Baron de Hirsch Fund established Woodbine in 1891, which was incorporated by 1903 as an all-Jewish borough. Some settlers embraced the *Am Olam ideology of return to the soil as a means of salvation for the oppressed Jews of Russia. Men like Moshe Herder, H.L. Sabsovich, Sidney Bailey, and Moses Bayuk envisioned in well-balanced rural communities the basis for creative life. Subsidies were provided by philanthropic organizations in Western Europe and the United States – Alliance Israélite Universelle, Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society and the Baron de Hirsch Fund – as well as American Jewish leaders such as Jacob Schiff and Myer S. Isaacs, who hoped to create viable communities on the principles of self-help within American society. In each colony the fabric of life developed, including at least Orthodox synagogues and religious schools, as well as an array of clubs, fraternal orders, and debating and athletic groups.

An early necessity was manufacturing to supplement farm incomes. The soil was poor, the 10–15 acre lots inadequate; markets were distant, and the settlers untrained in agricultural methods. Subsistence depended on the sewing machine, especially in Carmel, Rosenhayn, Norma, and Brotmanville, as well as Woodbine, where industry was subsidized from the outset. Although the Jewish population grew slowly to about 3,500 in 1901, it dropped to 2,700 by 1919. To some extent this reflected growing American urbanization, as well as the second generation's struggle for better educational and economic opportunities. Among their sons who achieved prominence were Jacob G. Lipman, an agronomist and dean of Rutgers' College of Agriculture; Gilbert Seldes, author, critic, dean of the School of Communications, University of Pennsylvania; and Benjamin M. Golder, Philadelphia congressman. Some moved to New York or Philadelphia, but many settled in Vineland proper, operating stores or small factories. Arthur Goldhaft, a distinguished veterinarian, founded the Vineland Poultry Laboratories. During the 1960s, the Jewish community peaked at just over 10,000 people, with five synagogues in the city and another six in surrounding communities. The largest influx to the community was from several hundred survivors of the Nazi Holocaust, drawn to the area from large cities such as New York and Philadelphia with offers of assistance in the establishment of poultry farms and a quiet country life. These immigrants formed the Jewish Poultry Farmers' Association and a free loan society, as well as several diverse congregations. A Jewish day school, founded in 1953, supplemented the established congregational schools. Community life has included Zionist organizations, B'nai B'rith, Hadassah, Hebrew Women's Benevolent Society, Jewish War Veterans, and participation by Jews in all civic and political activities. The Jewish Community Council, which is today Jewish Federation of Cumberland County, was established in 1924, has been active in local, national and Israeli affairs, and has helped to maintain the community's vibrant Jewish life. Notable residents of national acclaim include Miles Lerman, founding chairman of the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum; Ben Zion Leuchter and Magda Leuchter, a local newspaper publisher and founding chairman of The National Jewish Center for Learning and Leadership (CLAL); and Esther Raab, a tireless Holocaust survivor and educator, upon whose life are based the play *Dear Esther* and the film *Escape from Sobibor.* Samuel Gassel served as borough commissioner and mayor of the City of Vineland; I. Harry Levin as municipal judge in adjoining townships; Dr. Tevis Goldhaft as chairman of the Board of Education; and Stanley S. Brotman as presiding senior judge of the U.S. District Court. The population in 2005 was 1,800.

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[Joseph Brandes / Kirk Wisemayer (2nd ed.)]

VINER, JACOB (1892–1970), U.S. economist. Born in Montreal, Canada, Viner began teaching at the University of Chicago in 1916 and returned there after federal government service in World War I. In 1925 he reached the rank of professor. From 1946 to 1960 he was professor of economics at Princeton, and was simultaneously a member of the Institute for Advanced Study at Princeton. Viner served the U.S. government in a number of capacities: he was representative at the League of Nations (1933), and consulting expert to the Treasury (1935–39) and to the State Department (1943–52). His research, writing, and teaching covered many aspects of international economics, including trade and commercial policy, foreign exchange, international finance, and economic development. He was particularly interested in the application and adaptation of the theory of international trade to current problems and was among the first critics of the Keynesian neoeconomics. He claimed that the use of oversimplified and otherwise unrealistic models reduced the usefulness of the theory of international trade. Viner demanded the incorporation into the classical theory of what he regarded as the valuable elements of Keynes' analysis, without abandoning the fundamentals that had been developed by the older theory.

His publications include *Canada's Balance of International Indebtedness* (1924); *Dumping: A Problem in International Trade* (1923, repr. 1966); *Studies in the Theory of International Trade* (1937, repr. 1965); *The Customs Union Issue* (1950); *International Trade and Economic Development* (1953); *The Long View and the Short* (1958); and *Problems of Monetary Control* (1964).

[Joachim O. Ronall]

VINKOVCI, town in Croatia, capital of Srijem Province. Jews are known to have lived there only from the second half of the 19th century. Ignatz Gross opened a retail store in 1866. A *kehillah* was formed in 1870 and Jacob Schlesinger installed a flour mill at that time. Jews were tanners, tailors and merchants. Leaders of the community were L. Stein, Dr. Armin Lederer, and Dr. Ignatz Lang. Zionist activists were Max Lederer, Adolf Beck, and Vilim Orenstein. The first rabbi was Solomon Neumann, followed by R. Schoenfeld and Dr. Mavro Frankfurter, who was horrendously tortured by the Ustashe and died in the Jasenovac death camp. His son, David *Frankfurter, killed the Swiss Nazi leader Wilhelm Gustloff in Davos on February 2, 1936, in an effort to call the world's attention to the dangers of Nazism.

During World War I, Jews were molested and robbed by deserters from the Austro-Hungarian army, but they organized self-defense and successfully resisted the assaults. In 1923 a national conference of Yugoslavia's rabbis took place in Vinkovci. In 1931 about 1,000 Jews lived there; their number dwindled, however, in later years due to emigration, mostly to Zagreb. On the eve of the Holocaust, only 630 Jews remained there. Nevertheless, it was a thriving community.

During the Holocaust most Jews perished and the synagogue was demolished.

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[Zvi Loker (2nd ed.)]

VINNIKOV, ISAAC N. (1897–), Soviet Orientalist. Born in Khotimsk, Belorussia, in 1922 Vinnikov was sent by the "People's Commissariat for Education" to study in the faculty of linguistics and ethnology at the University of Leningrad. Two of his teachers were L.Y. *Sternberg and P.K. *Kokovtsov. His first works were connected with pre-Islamic Arabic history and culture. Later he devoted himself to the study of the customs and languages of the Arab tribes living in Central Asia. In 1941 he wrote his doctoral thesis on "The Arabs in the U.S.S.R."; he also engaged in the study of Tyrean and Aramaic inscriptions and devoted many years to compiling a concordance to the Aramaic of Ereẓ Israel (in the Jerusalem Talmud and the Palestinian Midrashim). For many years he gave courses at the University of Leningrad in Semitic languages, among them Hebrew, supervising many students in the field of research.

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[Yehuda Slutsky]

VINNITSA, town in Vinnitsa district, Ukraine. The earliest information available on the Jews of the town dates from 1532: there is a mention that year of the wealthy Jewish merchant Mekhel, who traded with Turkish Moldavia (in livestock and wool cloth). Until the end of the 18th century, the community remained rather small and suffered from the attacks of the Ukrainian rebels who fought against Polish rule (*Chmielnicki, the *Haidamacks), the oppression of the Polish governors and mayors, as well as from the wars which brought about the disruption of commerce on the nearby borders. In 1776, 381 Jews belonged to the *kahal* of Vinnitsa; of these, 190 lived in the town and the rest in the surroundings. The Russian annexation (1793) resulted in continuous growth of the Jewish population in the town and its region. The census of 1897 found 11,689 Jews (over one-third of the population) living in the town and in 1910, there were 20,257 Jews (45.5% of the total population). They earned their livelihood mainly in tailoring and from commerce in agricultural produce. The community of Vinnitsa did not suffer in 1919–20 because the town served as the regional capital of the successive governments in the region. In 1926 there were 21,812 Jews (41%). The *Yevsektsiya waged a savage campaign to destroy the religious and national life of the Jews of Vinnitsa, and the town became a center of its activities throughout Podolia. A Jewish pedagogic institute was established and during the late 1930s, a Communist Yiddish newspaper (*Proletarisher Emes*) was published in Vinnitsa. A few months after the occupation of the town by the Germans, on Rosh Ha-Shanah, Sept. 22, 1941, 28,000 Jews of the town and its surroundings were exterminated in Vinnitsa. According to the 1959 census, there were about 19,500 Jews (c. 16% of the total population) in Vinnitsa. The former Great Synagogue was closed by the authorities in 1957 and converted into a storehouse.

Though most of the Jews had left in the mass emigration of the 1990s, by 2005, Vinnitsa had a Jewish day school and a club for Hebrew-speaking youth. A new education center was being built.

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[Yehuda Slutsky]

VIRBALIS (Ger. **Wirballen**; Pol. **Wierzbolow**; Rus. **Verzhboloro**), town in S.W. Lithuania. Due to the position of the town on an important commercial route between Russia and Germany, the Jewish community was financially prosperous. In 1897 there were 1,219 Jews (37% of the total population). Among Lithuanian Jewry, the community of Virbalis was outstanding for its nationalist cultural activity and its promotion of Hebrew both as a language for study and for daily speech. Following World War I, the Jews returned to the ruins of Virbalis, the majority of them having abandoned the town during the war. According to the census of 1923, they numbered 1,233 (30% of the population). Many of them were engaged in agriculture, either as landowners or as lessees of orchards, vegetable gardens, and tobacco plantations. Near the town was located the training farm of *He-Ḥalutz. This also included a Hebrew secondary school, a Tarbut school, and a kindergarten. There were, in addition, several Zionist organizations and welfare institutions. The mayor of the town was a Jew. The Germans invaded Virbalis on June 22, 1941. A week later they massacred the men, and a short while after that, the women and children. The poet *Yehoash was a native of Virbalis.

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[Dov Levin]

°**VIRGIL** (**Vergil**; **Publius Vergilius Maro**; 70–19 B.C.E.), greatest Roman poet. Though Virgil nowhere mentions the Jews directly, there are several indications in two of his greatest works, the *Eclogues* and the *Aeneid*, that he was aware of Jewish tradition.

The brief Fourth Eclogue speaks apocalyptically of the imminent return of the last and greatest age sung of by the Cumaean Sibyl and ushered in by the maiden (*virgo*) goddess Artemis and by the birth of a newborn boy, when a golden race will be sent down from heaven which will consort with the gods. All remaining traces of men's guilt will be removed; and the world, made peaceful by the virtues of the baby's father, will be a veritable utopia, with the earth producing its products without tilling, goats bringing forth udders swollen with milk, and herds cavorting fearlessly with lions. The age will be marked by the death of the snake and the replacement of poisonous herbs by Assyrian nard, though a few traces of men's ancient deceit will remain and though battles will have to be refought and rewon before the age can be ushered in. Virgil says that this Messianic-like age will begin during the consulship of *Asinius Pollio (40 B.C.E.), to whom the poem is addressed; and Pollio may well have been Virgil's major link with the Jewish tradition, since Pollio was one of the consuls who in this very year accompanied *Herod to deposit in the Capitol the decree which the Senate had passed naming Herod king (Jos., Ant. 14:388–9). Later, when Herod sent his sons *Alexander and *Aristobulus to Rome to complete their education, they lodged at his home, since, as Josephus (Ant. 15:343) adds, he was proud of Herod's friendship. Pollio was, moreover, closely associated with *Julius Caesar, who showed special consideration for the Jews (*Suetonius, 84:5); *Horace, who mentions them prominently; and *Timagenes of Alexandria, who wrote a universal history, with comments on the Jews, quoted by Josephus (Ant. 13:319, 344; Apion 2:84). The parallels with *Isaiah's vision (chapters 6, 7, 9, 11) of the birth of a wonderful child and the age of peace which he will usher in and with the snake motif (Gen. 3), suggest that Virgil may have read the Septuagint, which certainly was known to the large and Greek-speaking Jewish community of Rome, though they also resemble well-known details of the traditional Golden Age in classical literature.

*Constantine, *Jerome, *Ambrose, and *Augustine also regarded the poem as alluding to the birth of Jesus; and consequently throughout the Middle Ages, culminating in *Dante, Virgil had a special status as a prophet. The allusion to the Cumaean song may well indicate that Virgil's immediate source was the *Sibylline Oracles; for while it is true that the extant Sibylline Oracles, which are to a considerable degree of Jewish and Christian origin, have little to do with the Sibylline Books associated with the city of Cumae in Italy, they do contain a number of passages based on Isaiah which are parallel to Virgil's Eclogue. Indeed, Horace's apocalyptic Sixteenth Epode, which has similar affinities with the Sibylline Oracles, may well be his reply to this Eclogue of Virgil. The reference to Assyrian spice may be Virgil's indication of an Eastern source.

The Fourth Eclogue, especially in its utopian vision of peace, has been called a blueprint for the *Aeneid*. The fact that Virgil in the *Aeneid* consciously differs from *Homer in making his hero a devout wanderer with the mission of leading his people and their household gods by a roundabout route to a promised ancestral land, during which they are subjected to many trials, offers an obvious parallel with Moses. There are numerous apocalypses in the poem, notably in the Sixth Book, which again suggest the influence of the Sibylline Oracles. The fact that the greatest temptation of all occurs during the year which Aeneas spends at Carthage, a Semitic city, again emphasizes the contact with the Near East. Finally, though the parallels should not be strained, one may cite the similarity between Augustus standing on the shield of Aeneas (8:680) with twin beams of light darting from his temples and Moses (cf. Ex. R. 47:6), and the hitherto unnoticed Hebraic-like parallelism in both thought and language in such lines as *Aeneid* 1:9–10 (… *tot volvere casus…. tot adire labores*).

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[Louis Harry Feldman]

VIRGIN, VIRGINITY.

Terminology

The biblical *betulah* (בתולה) usually rendered "virgin," is in fact an ambiguous term which in nonlegal contexts may denote an age of life rather than a physical state. Cognate Akkadian *batultu* (masculine, *batūlu*) and Ugaritic *btlt* refer to "an adolescent, nubile, girl." That the woman who is so called need not necessarily be a *virgo intacta* is shown by the graphic account in a Ugaritic myth of the sexual relations of Baal with the goddess Anath, who bears the honorific epithet *btlt* (see Pritchard, Texts, 142). Moreover, in an Aramaic incantation text from Nippur there is a reference to a *betulta*ʾ (בתולתא) who is "pregnant but cannot bear" (Montgomery, in bibl. 13:9, p. 178). The male counterpart to *betulah* in the Bible is often *baḥur* (בָּחוּר), "young man," e.g., Jeremiah 31:12 [13] and Amos 8:13 (cf. Joel 1:8, where a *betulah* moans for her bridegroom); and the word *betulah* interchanges with the somewhat synonymous age term *ʿalmah* (עַלְמָה), which also describes a young woman. Thus, in Genesis 24:16, 43, Rebekah is first called a *betulah* and then an *ʿalmah*. (Exactly the same interchange of the two words appears in a Ugaritic text.) *ʿAlmah*, despite a two-millennium misunderstanding of Isaiah 7:14, "Behold a young woman [LXX:παρθένοσ, "virgin"] shall conceive and bear a son," indicates nothing concerning the chastity of the woman in question. The only way that the term "virgin" can be unambiguously expressed is in the negative: thus, Sumerian and Akkadian, "undeflowered," and Akkadian, "not experienced," "unopened," and "who has not known a male." The description of Rebekah (Gen. 24:16), who is first called a *betulah*, "young woman," and then "whom no man had known" (cf. Judg. 21:12), is similar. In legal contexts, however, *betulah* denotes a virgin in the strict sense (as does *batultu* in certain Akkadian legal contexts).

In the Laws

Virginity in a woman was an asset of financial as well as moral significance: a "bride price for virgins" (*mohar betulot*, מֹהַר בְּתוּלֹת), clearly higher than for non-virgins, was payable to her father for the privilege of marrying her. Biblical laws deal with litigation that may arise over the financial and moral stakes of virginity:

(a) Exodus 22:15–16: A man who seduces a virgin who has not been betrothed must marry her by the payment of a bride price. If the father is unwilling to permit his daughter to marry her seducer, he must still pay her father "in accordance with the bride price for virgins." In either case the father is compensated for his monetary loss. (A similar law pertaining to the seduction of an unmarried girl is found in the Middle Assyrian Laws, A, 56 (in: Pritchard, Texts, 185), where the equivalent of the Hebrew *mohar betulot*, in Akkadian, *sīm batulti*, "price for virgins," must be paid by the seducer. There, too, the father is not bound to give his daughter in marriage to the seducer. The law contains an additional clause which is absent from its biblical counterpart: "The father shall treat his daughter as he wishes," i.e., he may punish her in any way he sees fit.)

(b) Deuteronomy 22:28–29: A man who rapes a virgin who has not been betrothed must pay 50 shekels of silver (later understood as the price of a virgin), is forced to marry her, and is deprived of all future rights of divorce. (Similarly, in the Middle Assyrian Laws, A, 55 (in: Pritchard, Texts, 185), after describing the physical status of the young woman and the various places where the offense might have occurred, the law requires the culprit, if unmarried, to pay the price for virgins, marry the girl, and forfeit rights of divorce. The father in this case, having received the monetary compensation, still has the right to marry her off to whomever he pleases. If the culprit is married, the father may choose to give his daughter in marriage to him, but it is further stipulated that the father shall take the wife of the culprit to be raped in turn!)

(c) Deuteronomy 22:23–27: In the case of a man who violated a virgin who was betrothed, the place of the offense is the criterion of whether she was coerced or willingly consented (cf. Middle Assyrian Laws, A, 55 (above) and Hittite Laws, 197–8, in: Pritchard, Texts, 196). If the offense took place in town, both are stoned to death, "the girl because she did not cry for help in the town, and the man because he violated his neighbor's wife." If, however, it took place in open country, it is considered rape and the man alone is put to death. It is to be noted that as regards inviolability, a betrothed virgin is like a married woman: violation of either is a capital offense. (The Laws of Eshnunna, 26 (in: Pritchard, Texts, 162) and the Laws of Hammurapi, 130 (Pritchard, Texts, 171) may be compared; both prescribe the death penalty for the rape of virgins who are legally married.)

(d) Deuteronomy 22:13–22: If a bridegroom accuses his wife of not being a virgin at the time of marriage, the girl's parents must produce evidence of their daughter's virginity before the elders at the town gate. If he has falsely defamed his wife, he is flogged, fined 100 shekels, and is deprived of all rights of divorce. The large fine befits the gravity of his accusation, which would have resulted in the execution of his bride by stoning if his charge were proven correct, i.e., if she did transgress while yet in her father's house. (For cuneiform analogues to the accusation of adultery, cf. Laws of Hammurapi, 131, 132 (Pritchard, Texts, 171), and Middle Assyrian Laws, A, 17 (Pritchard, Texts, 181).)

Esteem of the unsullied purity of the virgin is reflected in the rule of Leviticus 21:13ff. that a high priest may marry only a virgin of his clan (cf. Rashbam). Ezekiel 44:22 obliges all priests to marry virgins (or a priest's widow), but they need only be Israelites.

In Nonlegal Literature

That virgins were particularly desired and sexually provocative comes out in several passages. Lot tries to appease the frenzy of the Sodomites by offering them his daughters, whose virginity he specially mentions (Gen. 19:8; cf. Judg. 19:24). In massacres, virgins alone might be spared, to be taken as slaves or wives (Num. 31:18; Judg. 21:12). Expanding on II Samuel 13:18, Josephus writes that "in ancient times virgins wore long-sleeved tunics reaching to the ankle in order not to be exposed" (Ant., 7:171).

As a figure of purity and moral worth, *betulah*, "maid," is used to personify countries and peoples in poetry (often construed with *bat*, "daughter," "woman"); e.g., Lamentations 2:13, *betulat bat Ẓiyyon*, "fair maiden Zion" – the genitives being explicative (as in *nehar Perat*, "River Euphrates").

[Shalom M. Paul]

In the Talmud and Halakhah

In *halakhah* a virgin is not necessarily a maiden whose hymen is intact. She can be legally regarded both as a virgin with a ruptured hymen and as a non-virgin when it is intact. The former applies when she can claim, according to Rabban Gamaliel and R. Eliezer, or prove, according to R. Joshua b. Hananiah, that the rupture was caused by an injury (*mukkat eẓ*, literally, "injured by a piece of wood"; Ket. 1:7). On the other hand, although a maiden divorced or widowed after *betrothal only has the legal status of a virgin, if she was divorced or widowed after marriage, even though no intercourse took place, she is legally classed as a non-virgin (Ket. 1:2 and 4). Nor is the statement in the Tosefta (Shev. 3:5) that a virgin is "one who has never had intercourse" exact. Intercourse with a girl child aged less than three years and a day does not invalidate her status as a virgin, as it was stated that in this case the hymen grows again, and it is regarded as merely "poking a finger in the eye" (Nid. 5:4). A woman taken captive by foreign soldiery or a manumitted bondswoman is regarded as a non-virgin, since it is assumed as a fact that in these circumstances she was raped or seduced. The legal disability of a non-virgin expresses itself in the fact that her *ketubbah* is only 100 *zuz* instead of the 200 of the virgin (Ket. 1:2; the priests during the Second Temple period instituted a *ketubbah* of 400 *zuz*, to which the rabbis did not object – Ket. 1:5) and the fact that she was forbidden to marry a high priest (Lev. 21:13).

The Mishnah states that the marriage of a virgin used to take place on Wednesdays so that, should she be found to be a non-virgin, the aggrieved bridegroom could immediately make application to the *bet din*, which sat regularly on Thursdays (Ket. 1:1). However, the custom arose to anticipate it and have it take place on Tuesdays in order to foil the custom of *jus primae noctis* exercised by the local governor (cf. Rabinowitz in bibl. for other examples).

Proof that on her wedding day she "went forth to her marriage in a *hinnuma*" (either "in a litter" or "under a veil" – (Ket. 17b)), or accompanied with ὑμέναιος ("the bridal song"), or with her hair unbound, or that "roasted corn was distributed" at her wedding, was sufficient to establish the fact that she was a virgin when she married (Ket. 2:1), since these ceremonies and customs were carried out only with regard to a virgin. Unnatural intercourse does not affect her status as a virgin (Kid. 9b; cf. Rashi, ad loc.; and Maim. Yad, Issurei Bi'ah, 3:6.

[Louis Isaac Rabinowitz]

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VIRGINIA, state on the east coast of the U.S. In 2001, approximately 66,000 residents were of the Jewish faith, comprising just 0.9% of the state's total population. One of the fastest growing Jewish populations in the country, the largest Jewish community resides in Northern Virginia (35,000), followed by the Tidewater (20,000), Richmond (12,500), Roanoke (1,050), and Charlottesville (1,000). Fredericksburg, Harrisonburg, Petersburg, Staunton, and Lynchburg have small Jewish populations. Northern Virginia was once considered not a place where Jews would live, but its Jewish population has grown both within the inner areas of suburban Washington and in the regions that have developed beyond Dulles Airport.

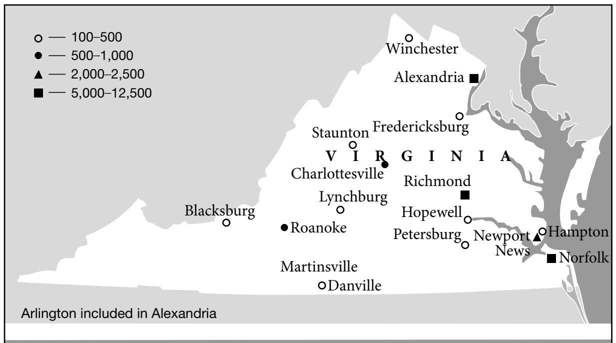

Total Jewish Population of Virginia	66,000
% of Jews in general population of Virginia	0.9
% of Virginia Jews in Jewish population of U.S.	1.07

Jewish communities in Virginia. Population figures for 2001.

The Jewish experience in Virginia dates back to Sir Walter Raleigh's ill-fated Roanoke Colony, then a part of the Virginia territory. Joachim Gaunse, a Prague metallurgist, landed with Raleigh in 1585. Elias Legardo joined the colony at Jamestown in 1621; John Levy received a patent for 200 acres on Powell's Creek in James City County in 1648; and there are references to brothers Silvedo and Manuel Rodriguez, Sephardi Jews, in Lancaster County from the middle of the century. In 1658, Moses Nehemiah was discharged from debt in York County. Michael Franks and Jacob Myer accompanied George Washington in his 1754 expedition across the Allegheny Mountains and received rewards for gallant service. In 1757, Michael Israel and his wife, Sarah, bought 80 acres of land near the mountain pass between North Garden and Batesville, a pass since known as Israel's Gap. Dr. John de Sequeyra, who lived in Williamsburg, was credited by Thomas Jefferson with introducing the custom of eating tomatoes. Solomon Israel bought land in Albemarle in 1764. The Gratz brothers of Philadelphia were trading in Fredericksburg and Williamsburg in 1776. Jacob Darmstadt, who arrived in the colonies as a Hessian soldier, was an early resident of Richmond, as were Isaiah Isaacs and Jacob I. Cohen, both veterans of the Revolution, who became merchants and owners of the Bird-In-Hand tavern. Moses Meyers settled in Norfolk in 1787. Samuel Myers settled in Petersburg in 1789. Commodore Uriah P. Levy of New York purchased and began the first restoration of Thomas Jefferson's Monticello in 1836. He and his nephew Jefferson Monroe Levy preserved and restored the estate, acquired by the Thomas Jefferson Memorial Foundation in 1923. Rachel Levy, the commodore's mother, is interred on the grounds.

Although Jews enjoyed more rights in the British Colony of Virginia than almost anywhere else in the world, they were not give equal status with their Christian neighbors until well after the Revolution. Many were members of the Masonic order. William Byrd II, George Wythe, and Richard Lee II studied Hebrew, and James Waddell's school in Lancaster County instructed young gentlemen in the language. After the passage of Jefferson's Statute for Religious Freedom (1786), Jewish immigration increased in Tidewater, Fredericksburg, Richmond, Petersburg, and Albermarle County. It came through eastern ports, including New York City, Philadelphia, and Baltimore, to Alexandria, Richmond, and Norfolk along the Piedmont belt and Tidewater region. A second route taken by German immigrants ran from Pennsylvania and Maryland through the Valley of Virginia, with settlements extending south to North Carolina and west to the Ohio River and beyond.

The first Jewish congregation in Virginia, Kahol Kadosh Beth Shalome, was established in Richmond in 1789. In 1848, Jews in the Tidewater region founded the House of Jacob Congregation, later known as Ohef Sholom; Congregation Rodef Sholom was formed in Petersburg in 1858; Congregation Beth El was organized in Alexandria in 1859; the Hebrew Friendship Congregation was established in Harrisonburg in 1870; Major Alexander Hart helped to establish the House of Israel Congregation in Staunton in 1876; Danville's Beth Sholem Congregation was founded in 1881; in Newport News, organization of the synagogue was in 1887; Portsmouth's Congregation Adath Jeshurun was organized in 1893; Roanoke's Temple Emmanuel was organized in 1897; and Congregation Agudath Achim was founded in Lynchburg the same year.

In the mid-19th century, immigrant German Jews founded some of the state's major retail concerns. William Thalhimer arrived in Richmond in 1840 and established Thalhimer Bros. department store that later became the largest in Virginia with branches throughout the state. Anthony Rosenstock opened A. Rosenstock and Co. in Petersburg in 1859; the Guggenheimer family was in business in Lynchburg in 1850; the Bachrach family in Warrenton; the Leterman family opened a store in Charlottesville in 1852; Leopold Wise, Herman Heller, Samuel Loewner, and Jonas Heller settled in Harrisonburg in 1859 and started businesses there. Records show that Virginia Jews served in the Confederate Army. Many of the sons entered professions or continued in the retail businesses established by their parents. Later waves of immigration, bringing the East European Jews, repeated to a large extent this pattern of economic activity. During WWI and WWII, construction of important military bases in Virginia attracted many new Jewish settlers, especially in the Norfolk, Richmond, and Petersburg areas. The Jews continue to be prominent in the retail field as well as in the professions and in the distributing and manufacturing fields.

Since 1991, Virginia has exported over $1.5 billion of goods and services to Israel. The Virginia Israel Trade Commission, established in 1986 to investigate cultural, educational, and economic opportunities, was reformed in 1991 under Governor George Allen as the Virginia Israel Partnership. Norman Sisisky was first elected as the delegate representing Petersburg in the Virginia General Assembly in 1973; and later served nine terms as U.S. Representative for Virginia's Fourth Congressional District. Eric Cantor was elected as a delegate for Henrico County to the Virginia House of Delegates from 1992 to 2000; and in 2006 the U.S. Representative for Virginia's Seventh Congressional District served as chief deputy majority whip in the U.S. House of Representatives. Michael Schewel served as Virginia's secretary of commerce and trade under Governor Mark Warner.

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[Susan Morgan (2nd ed.)]

VIRGIN ISLANDS, archipelago in the West Indies. In the late 20th century there was a total population of over 100,000 in the Virgin Islands, which included about 300 Jews. On any given Sabbath they would be joined by tourists visiting the island. There were also Jews on St. John and other islands but the synagogue was located on St. Thomas.

One of the first Jews in the Virgin Islands was Gabriel Milan, whom King Christian of Denmark sent there in 1684 to be governor. The Danes, like the Dutch, who had colonized the islands before them, were liberal toward all religions. Complete freedom of religion was granted to Catholics and Jews on St. Thomas Island in 1685. The story of the St. Thomas community is typical of West Indian Jewry. Its prosperity increased with the rise of sugar plantations and shipping lines, and at its peak the St. Thomas community numbered 400. A house of worship was built in the town of Charlotte Amalie in 1833 to replace an older one destroyed by fire. Called Sephardic Synagogue at St. Thomas, (now known as The Hebrew Congregation of St. Thomas (or *K"K Bracha v'shalom u'gimilut chasadim*) it is the only one on the island and is a landmark, being the second oldest synagogue in the United States and its territories, the oldest in continuous use. The cemetery of the St. Thomas Jewish community is filled with Spanish and Portuguese names and was the subject of a study done by the Danish Jewish community: J. Margolinski, *299 Epitaphs from the Jewish Cemetery in St. Thomas, W.I., 1837–1916* (1957).

From this congregation have come two governors of the Virgin Islands: Morris Fidangue de Castro and Ralph Paiewonsky. Two American politicians were from the Virgin Islands: David Levi, who as David *Yulee became one of Florida's first senators in 1845, and Judah P. *Benjamin, born in St. Croix. The house where Camille *Pissarro was born in 1830 can still be seen in the heart of the commercial center. The Grand Hotel located at Charlotte Amalie's main square was built by Pissarro's father in 1841.

[Benjamin Schlesinger]

Synagogue Restoration

In 1973 the Sephardi Synagogue of St. Thomas, Virgin Islands, had its original plaster on the walls removed after 140 years of service, revealing handsome walls of Danish brick. The synagogue (with the plaster) was restored in 1999 and received national recognition for its restoration. It became a National Historic Monument in 1997, the year after its bicentennial. Like certain other synagogues in the Caribbean, its marble floor is kept covered with a layer of sand to remember the conversos (secret Jews) of Spain who prayed secretly in their cellars with floors covered with sand to muffle the sound of their prayers. It employs a rabbi, Arthur Starr, who serves the community.

[Arthur F. Starr (2nd ed.)]

VISEUL-DE-SUS (Hung. **Felsövisó**; referred to by the Jews as **Oybervisha**), town in N. Romania; until the end of World War I and between 1940 and 1944 in Hungary. The Jewish community in Viseul-de-Sus was organized in 1877, although Jews had already been living there for a long time. The Jewish population developed rapidly during the 1880s. In 1885 the community was designated as the Jewish center for the three villages of Felsövisó, Alsóviso (Viseul-de-Jos), and Középvisó (Viseul de Mijloc), and later for a number of other villages. The *ḥevra kaddisha* was established in 1895. The community was Orthodox and Ḥasidism wielded a powerful influence. There were four synagogues, a number of additional prayer houses, and a yeshivah. In the main, the occupations of the Jews, including ordinary laborers, were connected with the forests and the wood industry of the town and its environs. In 1896 a Hebrew press was established; as it was the only press in the town it also printed works in other languages. The Hebrew religious periodical, *Degl ha-Torah*, was printed there from 1922 and ran to about 80 issues. In 1930 there were 3,734 Jews (33.7 percent of the total population) in Viseul-de-Sus. About the same number of Jews lived there in the spring of 1944, when the Fascist Hungarian authorities set up a ghetto, in which Jews from the surrounding villages were also concentrated. It is estimated that about 35,000 Jews passed through this ghetto on their way to *Auschwitz. After World War II about 700 Jews returned to the town. Their numbers declined through emigration and by 1971 the Jewish community had ceased to exist.

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[Yehouda Marton]

VISHNEVETS (Pol. **Wisniowiec**; in Jewish sources, Vishniets), village in N. Ternopol oblast, Ukraine. Jews first settled in Vishnevets in the early 17th century, and Tatars from Crimea who invaded the locality in 1653 massacred them. In the 18th century the community of Vishnevets was under the jurisdiction of the *kahal* of Kremenets (Volhynia). The village was annexed to Russia in 1795. There were 501 Jews in Vishnevets in 1765, 3,178 in 1847, 2,980 (70% of the total population) in 1897, and 2,825 (70%) in 1921. In the 19th century, Ḥasidism gained a following in the community. Between the two world wars, in independent Poland, there were branches of Agudat Israel and He-Ḥalutz. The community was annihilated in the Holocaust.

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[Shimshon Leib Kirshenboim]

VISHNIAC, ROMAN (1897–1990), photographer. Born in St. Petersburg, Vishniac studied biology at Russian universities. When Berlin University under the Nazis refused to grant his Ph.D. in art, he left Germany and traveled throughout Poland, Austria, Holland, France, Romania, and Czechoslovakia, documenting with his camera the lives of the Jews in the cities and in the hinterlands. He was in Poland taking photographs of the Jewish community when Hitler's troops marched in. Vishniac was apprehended and sent to a concentration camp in Zbąszyń, Poland. He escaped to France but within a short time he was again incarcerated in another concentration camp, Camp du Richard in Clichy, France. Early in 1941 he managed to escape from Europe and went to the United States where he renewed his studies in medicine and began to use his camera for research in the biological sciences.

He specialized in photomicroscopy, pioneering in the field of cytoplasmic circulation in microscopic algae as connected with photosynthesis, and photographing the formation of thrombosis in blood vessels. Vishniac immediately won widespread recognition in the field of scientific cinematography. His books include *Polish Jews* (1947) and *Life of the Six Millions* (1969) illustrating European Jewish life before and during the Holocaust.

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[Peter Pollack]

VISIONS. The Hebrew Bible contains descriptions of many visions, especially those of God and His angel (or angels). When the appearance of God is mentioned as part of the biblical narrative, it is difficult to say if, in that specific case, the author thought that it was reality or a vision. The idea developed already at a very ancient period of Judaism that God has no shape, and, therefore, the appearance of God and His angels to the prophets was evidently understood by them as a vision (see *Prophecy). This is surely so in the case of Ezekiel's vision of God and the heavenly world. Prophets, however, have also seen visions of simple or imaginary objects and persons, which they interpreted in a symbolic way, the persons or objects themselves having already acquired a symbolic meaning. At the beginning of the Second Temple period visions were often interpreted to the prophets by an angel. This is also the manner of visions and their interpretation by angels in the later apocalyptic literature.

It may be asked if the later prophets at the beginning of the Second Temple period really believed they saw what they describe and interpret, or if visions merely became a literary form for prophecy or teaching. Sometimes, such descriptions evidently contained only a grain of actual vision (cf. the apocalyptic literature), and sometimes there was obviously no actual foundation (cf. the Vision of Seventy Shepherds in the Book of Enoch). In many cases (e.g., in the Fourth Book of Ezra), the question of an actual basis for a symbolic vision cannot be clearly answered, because this often depends on the extent to which the true author persuaded himself. The literary convention overcomes the religious or visionary experience in apocalyptic literature, because the authors did not write in their own names, but in the names of biblical persons of the past. A special type of vision in the apocalyptic literature is celestial journeys of biblical personalities, during which they visited both heaven and earth (heavenly paradise and hell). The oldest book which contains such visionary trips is the Book of Enoch; this book is thus the beginning of a chain leading to Dante. Chapter 14 in the book contains a description of God's heavenly palace, where Enoch sees the Glory of God. This is the oldest example in the tradition of visionary ascents to God's dwelling place following similar descriptions by biblical prophets, the earliest precursors of the *heikhalot* and the *Merkabah literature. A fragment describing God's dwelling place in the same spirit is also preserved in the Dead Sea Scrolls.

Jewish mystics in antiquity, as well as other persons, definitely had visionary experiences. Josephus refers to John Hyrcanus, who saw God announcing to him which of his sons would be his heir. Both Josephus and rabbinic literature relate that John Hyrcanus heard a heavenly voice in the Temple announcing the victory of his sons. This heavenly voice (**bat kol*) is often attested in rabbinical literature; the incidents referred to are both from the Second Temple period and later. Rabbinic literature often mentions the appearance of the prophet Elijah (see *Elijah in the *Aggadah*); the oldest reference comes from Ben Sira (48:11; "blessed is he who sees him"). The Second Book of Maccabees often speaks about visions of angels, especially as signs for future victory. The story of the appearance of angels to Heliodoros and punishment meted through them, narrated in this book, are also famous.

[David Flusser]

In Medieval Hebrew Literature

Following the prophetic visions in the Bible, and the frequent appearance of angels and other divine beings in talmudic and midrashic literature, medieval literature contains many descriptions of different kinds of visions. They appear chiefly in mystical works, but they are also to be found in the fiction of the period (see *Fiction) as well as in its popular literature. The fundamental Jewish tenet that God and His guardian angels are always close to man served as a basis for the belief in the objective reality of such visions. There prevailed, moreover, a profound belief in the existence of *demonic powers, which were also held to reveal themselves supernaturally.

The earliest body of Hebrew mystical works – the *heikhalot* and the Merkabah literature – is essentially devoted to visions. The mystics who make the ascent to the Divine Chariot, a practice usually attributed in these texts to R. Akiva and R. Ishmael b. Elisha and their circle, behold and then describe the glory of the heavenly world, the hierarchy of the angels and other heavenly beings, the Throne of Glory (*kisse ha-kavod*), and the songs of praise sung by the angels. The visitors are usually guided by an angel, very often *Metatron, the angelic incarnation of the mortal Enoch, who did not die but was translated to heaven and became one of the greatest angels in the divine hierarchy. This motif of a visionary "guided tour" in the divine world reappears in the literature of the Middle Ages.

Early Middle Ages

In the literature of medieval Europe, visions were most commonly seen in a dream; they might either occur spontaneously or be deliberately invoked. Whoever wished to invoke a vision would purify himself before going to sleep, and then ask *she'elat ḥalom* ("a question asked of a dream"), believing that his question would be answered by the nature of the dream that he was about to have. It was customary to make a *she'elat ḥalom* not only for matters relating to mysticism but also in connection with practical problems; and even questions of *halakhah* were answered in this way. A collection of such answers by *Jacob of Marvège is still extant, and it is known that other halakhists made similar compilations. The answer in the dream was frequently, although not always, accompanied by a vision.

Neither the mystic nor the ordinary Jew doubted the objective reality or the authenticity of angelic and demonic visions; even philosophers and Ashkenazi ḥasidic scholars (see *Ḥasidei Ashkenaz) devoted lengthy treatises to the nature of such visions, and also to those witnessed by the prophets. But most of the philosophers, and some of the Ḥasidim, believed the visions, albeit inspired by God, to be a product of the imagination of the individual. This view, however, was not widely accepted and both scholars and simple folk told and retold numerous stories of visions reported to have been seen.

One of the most common beliefs concerned the prophet Elijah, who did not die but ascended to the heavens. Following the pattern of talmudic literature, countless medieval folktales recount how he appeared to human beings in order to assist or to punish them. For scholars and mystics his most important role was that of teaching to mortal beings hidden truths which were known only to the *Academy on High. Thus, contemporaneous with the initial development of the Kabbalah in Provence in the 12th century are stories describing how Elijah appeared in the schools of the rabbis who were teaching the new ideas there.

At the same time, it was commonly believed, especially among the Jews of medieval Germany, Northern France, and Central Europe, that demons and the spirits of the dead appeared in visions to the living, either when they were awake or else in a dream. Many descriptions of such visions have been preserved in *Sefer Ḥasidim and other works written by the Ḥasidei Ashkenaz. The object of the visions was not always the same. Sometimes the dead appeared in order to request the completion of an act which they had begun in their lifetime but had not lived to finish; sometimes it was to pay a debt, or to complain of a fault in the way or the place in which they were buried. Sometimes they spoke of the other world, of the way that the righteous were rewarded and the wicked punished. Demons made their appearance either when invoked by magical means in order to perform a certain task, or else to punish those who had dealt too much in magic. One of the methods most widely used to invoke such visions was to pour oil upon a bright surface, whereupon the demons appeared and were obliged to answer any request asked of them. This practice was used even for such purposes as catching a thief or finding a lost article.

Later Middle Ages

There are manifold descriptions of visions in the kabbalistic literature written after the 13th century. The prophetic kabbalism of Abraham b. Samuel *Abulafia and his followers is merely one example; many other kabbalists had mystical experiences – sometimes when awake, sometimes when in a state of dream or trance – and in these visions they were granted revelations of hidden truths from the heavenly spheres. *Isaac b. Samuel of Acre describes in detail the frequent visitations which he received from Metatron, some in dreams and some while he was in the state between sleeping and waking; he also had revelations from even higher *Sefirot*. The 14th-century author of *Sefer ha-*Kanah* and of *Sefer ha-*Temunah* relates numerous stories describing how esoteric knowledge was revealed to members of the devout Kanah family, many of whom were mystics. The Castilian kabbalists that gathered around Jacob ha-Kohen b. Mordecai Gaon and his sons and disciples in the second half of the 13th century also give accounts of such contacts with higher beings.

The *Zohar contains numerous descriptions of visions revealed to Simeon b. Yoḥai and his followers. For example, while the mystics were sitting and studying the Kabbalah, heavenly fire surrounded them, the **Shekhinah* rested upon them, and they saw allegorical visions of hidden truths. Some of these revelations also intimate the appearance of evil powers representing Satan, the *sitra aḥra*. Later kabbalistic writings, modeling themselves upon the Zohar and the descriptions which it gave, also narrated occurrences in the higher spheres as if they were visions actually witnessed by the kabbalists.

Visions of a completely different nature appear in some literary works, and particularly in Hebrew *maqamāt* and prose narratives, for instance in Ibn Zabarra or Al-Ḥarizi, or in some polemic writings, such as the *Mostrador de Justicia* of the Converso Abner de Burgos, where "a big man" appears in dreams for explaining the "craziness and stupidity" of the Jews that do not recognize the truth. Something equivalent appears also in a rhymed prose composition written as an answer to it by Samuel ibn Sasson, a poet from Carrion and a contemporary of *Santob de Carrion.

Later Writings

The motif of visionary ascents to higher spheres, with an angel or some other divine being as a guide, appeared very frequently in Hebrew literature after the works of Dante became popular, and after *Immanuel b. Solomon of Rome followed Dante in describing a visit to heaven and hell (although even before Dante, Abraham *Ibn Ezra had dealt with a similar theme in his *Ḥai Ben Mekiẓ*). In Italy from the Renaissance on, many Hebrew writers composed works of a similar nature, one of the most notable being Abraham b. Hananiah de Galicchi *Jagel's *Sefer Gei Ḥizzayon* ("Book of the Valley of Visions"). The author, who was in prison at the time, relates how his dead father visited him and took his soul upon a visionary tour of the heavens. There many secrets were revealed to them, different spirits told them stories, and answers were given to their theological questions.

The *Shekhinah*, Metatron, and other heavenly beings appear frequently in the later Kabbalah, usually in order to reveal divine secrets. After the 16th century they were often described as **maggid* (heavenly mentor), and important kabbalistic works were written as if dictated by them, as for example Joseph *Caro's *Maggid Meisharim* and Moses Ḥayyim *Luzzatto's *Zohar Tinyana*.

Visions constituted an important element in the *Shabbatean movement founded by the prophet *Nathan of Gaza, and many of its adherents described the different messianic visions that were revealed to them. Belief in visions persisted in the ḥasidic movement as late as the 18th century, and several stories of *Israel b. Eliezer Ba'al Shem Tov describe how his soul ascended to heaven and the visions he experienced there.

[Joseph Dan]

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VISSER, LODEWIJK ERNST (1871–1942), Dutch jurist and communal leader. He was born in Amersfoort into an old Dutch Jewish family. Prevented as a Jew from achieving his ambition of becoming a diplomat, Visser was appointed general prosecutor in Amsterdam and in 1903 became a district court judge in Rotterdam. In 1915 he was raised to the Supreme Court of which he eventually became president in 1939, but was dismissed by the Nazis after they entered Holland. Visser was an authority on commercial law and helped draft the Dutch Company Law of 1928. He also became vice chairman of the Dutch Royal Commission on Civil Legislation and a member of the Privy Council.

A conscious Jew, Visser was instrumental in helping Jewish refugees from Eastern Europe in 1918 and was founder of the Jewish Aid Committee for German Jews after 1933.

For many years, he was chairman of the executive of *Keren Hayesod in Holland, and as well chairman of the Permanent Committee of the Ashkenazi community in the Netherlands. During World War II, Visser opposed the German-appointed "Joodse Raad" (Jewish Council) and refused to accept the degrading identity cards. He tried to intervene for Jews arrested by Germans and participated in general resistance activities, becoming a symbol of Jewish wartime resistance in Holland. His wife and son died in concentration camps. In 1968 a square in front of the Sephardi synagogue in Amsterdam was named after him.

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[Henriette Boas / Bart Wallet (2nd ed.)]

VITAL, Italian family which produced numerous scholars of whom the most noted were:

JOSEPH VITAL (15th–16th century), a talented scribe, was especially noted for his precision in writing *tefillin*, which were widely known as *Tefillin Rav Calabrash* (*Tefillin* of the Rabbi of Calabria from where his family stemmed). His *tefillin* were highly praised by Menahem Azariah da *Fano (Resp. no. 38). He was the father of the celebrated kabbalist Ḥayyim *Vital.

MOSES BEN JOSEPH VITAL (d. middle of the 17th century), younger brother of Ḥayyim Vital, was rabbi in Safed. Like his brother, he was an enthusiastic kabbalist and many legends enveloped his life; some, in fact, actually related to his brother. Other legendary accounts assigned to him a central role for seeing to it that Rabbi Isaac Luria's legacy was saved for posterity. After his brother's death, he assumed a more important role in the kabbalistic community of Safed. Legendary material on his life is to be found in *Ma'aseh Nissim shel ha-Am* by Naphtali Herz Bachrach.

MOSES VITAL, son of Samuel b. Ḥayyim *Vital, was a rabbi in Egypt from the second half of the 17th until the beginning of the 18th century. He was a penetrating halakhist and brilliant kabbalist. All that remains of his published work is one responsum, included in *Abraham b. Mordecai ha-Levi's *Ginnat Veradim*.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Conforte, Kore, 40b; M. Benayahu, *Sefer Toledot ha-Ari* (1967), index.

[Guiseppe Laras]

VITAL, DAVID BEN SOLOMON (first half of 16th century), rabbi, preacher and *paytan*, often called *Ha-Rofe* ("the doctor"). It is conjectured that David Vital was born before 1492 in Toledo (or southern Italy) and was among the Spanish exiles (or those leaving Calabria) who went to Turkey and Greece, eventually settling in Patras. During the Turco-Venetian war (1532), the community of Patras was severely affected and Vital's house was destroyed and his library and works lost. He moved to Arta, where he was apparently accepted as a halakhic authority, and remained there for the rest of his life. In 1534 he signed, together with the local rabbis, *takkanot* designed to preserve order and modesty in the town. He died apparently after 1536.

Vital was the son-in-law – and perhaps the pupil – of *David b. Ḥayyim of Corfu, whose responsa he collected and for which he prepared a table of contents. He corresponded on *halakhah* with many contemporary scholars, including Jacob Tam ibn Yaḥya (Responsa *Oholei Tam* in *Tummat Yesharim* (Venice, 1622), 81d–83d) and Meir *Katzenellenbogen of Padua, who writes eulogistically "that our father Abraham has in you a son of such caliber that if, God forfend, the Torah were to be forgotten in Israel, you could restore it through your dialectic" (Responsa Maharam Padua, no. 31).

Vital composed rhymed verse on halakhic and theological topics, which reveal his mastery both of Talmud and *posekim*, grammar and poetry. They include *Keter Torah* (Constantinople, 1536), a rhymed summary of the 613 commandments, in accordance with the enumeration of Maimonides, plus the seven rabbinical commandments (hence the title, the numerical value of *keter* being 620). He based himself upon the tradition that the 620 letters of the Ten Commandments hint at the 620 commandments. The work is regarded as a succinct commentary on the *Sefer ha-Mitzvot* of Maimonides, in that each commandment begins with Maimonides' formulation and concludes with an explanation of it, which sometimes even includes a reply to the critics of Maimonides. Another work is an alphabetic rhymed work on the examination of the lung of an animal after *sheḥitah* in accordance with the view of Maimonides, which appears as an appendix to the *Zivḥei Teru'ah* (Leghorn, 1872). *Mikhtam le-David* (Venice, 1546/7) is a composition intended to prove that the 13 Principles of the Faith are deduced from the *Shema* (translated into Latin by J.H. Wolf in 1726), to which are appended *piyyutim*, supplicatory prayers and poems, including a supplication consisting of 1,000 words, each word beginning with the letter "*he*." *Shirei David* (1882) is a work on grammar, the intercalation of the calendar, and some biblical expositions.

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[Yehoshua Horowitz]

VITAL, ḤAYYIM BEN JOSEPH (1542–1620), one of the greatest kabbalists. Vital was born in Ereẓ Israel, apparently in Safed. His father, Joseph Vital Calabrese, whose name indicates his origin from Calabria, South Italy, was a well-known scribe in Safed (see responsa of Menahem Azariah da *Fano, no. 38). His son is also called Ḥayyim Calabrese in several kabbalistic works. Ḥayyim Vital studied in yeshivot in Safed, especially under Moses *Alshekh, his teacher in exoteric subjects. In 1564 he began to study Kabbalah, at first according to the system of Moses *Cordovero, although Vital did not call Cordovero his teacher. He was also attracted to other esoteric studies and spent two years (1563–65) in the practice of *alchemy, which he later regretted. After Isaac *Luria's arrival in Safed, Vital became his principal disciple, studying under him for nearly two years until Luria's death in the summer of 1572. Later he began to arrange Luria's teachings in written form and to elaborate on them according to his own understanding of them. Vital tried to prevent Luria's other disciples from presenting their versions of his doctrine in writing, and he gathered around him several who accepted his spiritual authority. But he did not entirely succeed in his ambition to be the only heir to Luria's spiritual legacy and to be accepted as the sole interpreter of Lurianic Kabbalah. In 1575, 12 of Luria's disciples signed a pledge to study Luria's theory only from Vital, and promising not to induce him to reveal more than he wished and to keep the mysteries secret from others (*Zion*, 5 (1940), 125, and see another copy of the agreement in *Birkat-ha-Areẓ* by Baruch David ha-Kohen (1904), 61). This study group ceased to function when Vital moved to Jerusalem, where he served as rabbi and head of a yeshivah from late 1577 to late 1585. In Jerusalem he wrote the last version of his presentation of the Lurianic system. He returned to Safed early in 1586, staying there until 1592. According to tradition, he fell seriously ill in Safed around 1587; during his long period of unconsciousness the scholars of Safed are said to have bribed his younger brother Moses, who allowed them to copy 600 pages of Ḥayyim Vital's writings which were then circulated among a select group (according to a letter written by Shlomel Dreznitz in 1606, in *Shivḥei ha-Ari*).

In 1590 Vital was "ordained" as rabbi by his teacher Moses Alshekh. (The text of the ordination is published in *Sefer Yovel le-Y. Baer* (1961), 266.) He was in Jerusalem once more in 1593 and perhaps stayed there several years, returning to Safed from time to time. According to the tradition of the rabbis of Jerusalem, he moved from Jerusalem to Damascus; in any case, he was in Damascus in 1598 (*Sefer ha-Ḥezyonot* (1954), 87) and remained there until his death. For a time he served as rabbi of the Sicilian community there (*ibid.*, 92, 116). After a severe illness in 1604, his sight was impaired and at times he was even blind. During his final years a kabbalistic group gathered around him. Vital was married at least three times and his youngest son, Samuel, inherited his writings. While he was in Damascus, mainly between 1609 and 1612, Ḥayyim Vital assembled autobiographical notes which he called *Sefer ha-Ḥezyonot*, mainly stories and testimonies to his greatness, but also including his dreams and those of others; these form an important source for the study of the course of his life and the complexities of his soul. The work is preserved in his handwriting and was published by A.Z. Aešcoly (1954), from the autograph in the possession of Rabbi A. Toaff of Leghorn. From this work it is apparent that strained relations existed between Vital and Jacob Abulafia, one of the rabbis in Damascus, who doubted Vital's claims to be the sole interpreter of Lurianic Kabbalah. The early editions of *Sefer ha-Ḥezyonot* were published from fragmentary and corrupt copies, in Ostrog (1826) as *Shivḥei R. Ḥayyim Vital*, and in Jerusalem (1866) as *Sefer ha-Ḥezyonot*. Vital's epitaph was published in David Zion Laniado's *La-Kedoshim Asher be-Areẓ* (1935), 43. Besides his son, his other disciples in Damascus included Japheth ha-Miẓri, *Ḥayyim b. Abraham ha-Kohen of Aleppo, and Ephraim Penzieri. Many legends about Vital circulated even during his lifetime, and are preserved in *Toledot ha-Ari* and in the letters of Shlomel Dreznitz, first published in 1629 in *Ta'alumot Ḥokhmah* by Joseph Solomon *Delmedigo. In subsequent generations many other legends were added.

Vital was a prolific writer. His proficiency in exoteric subjects is attested by his ordination and by his rabbinical function in Jerusalem. However, few of his talmudic teachings have been preserved: one responsum from Damascus was published in the responsa of Joseph di *Trani (Constantinople, 1641 ed., 88c.) and ten halakhic responsa are included in Samuel Vital's *Be'er Mayim Ḥayyim* (Ms. Oxford Neubauer Cat Bod no. 832). His commentaries on the Talmud are extant, together with those of his son (in Ms. Guenzburg 283) and have been published at the end of every tractate of the El ha-Mekorot Talmud, appearing in Jerusalem since 1959. A complete volume of his sermons on esoteric subjects and popular Kabbalah is preserved in *Torat Ḥayyim* (unpublished Ms. in the written list of the collection of R. Alter of Gur, no. 286) and several of his sermons can also be found in Badhab Mss. collection 205, now in the Hebrew University, and in Columbia University (Ms. H533, foll. 150ff., New York). His *Sefer ha-Tekhunah* on astronomy was published in Jerusalem in 1866. His own manuscript of his major work on practical Kabbalah and alchemy was extant in the Musayoff collection in Jerusalem in 1940.

According to his son, Vital assembled his major writings into two vast works *Eẓ ha-Ḥayyim* and *Eẓ ha-Da'at*. The former is the inclusive name for all those writings in which he elaborated on the teaching of Isaac Luria. These works went through several versions and adaptations, for Vital began to arrange what he had heard from Luria immediately after his death, and, according to Meir *Poppers, remained absorbed in this task for more than 20 years. This first edition of *Eẓ ha-Hayyim* was organized into eight sections, called "gates" (*she'arim* in Hebrew). "Gate" one contains everything in Luria's own handwriting that Vital could find; no published version of this "gate" exists but it was preserved in several manuscripts (see G. Scholem, in: KS, vol. 19 (1942–43), 184–96); "Gate" two, *Sha'ar ha-Hakdamot*, includes the doctrine of emanation and the creation of the world; in "Gate" three, *Sha'ar Ma'amerei Rashbi ve-Razal*, Vital's commentaries on the *Zohar and on talmudic tractates according to Lurianic principles are arranged; "Gate" four, *Sha'ar ha-Pesukim*, contains commentaries on all parts of the Bible; "Gate" five, *Sha'ar ha-Kavvanot*, covers mystical customs and meditations on prayers; the reasons for the *mitzvot* according to the order of the sections of the Torah are set out in "Gate" six, *Sha'ar ha-Mitzvot*. "Gate" seven, *Sha'ar Ru'aḥ ha-Kodesh*, deals with meditation, customs, acts of magical contemplation (called "unification," *yiḥudim*), the *tikkun* of sins, and the principles of physiognomy; "Gate" eight, *Sha'ar ha-Gilgulim*, covers the doctrine concerning the soul and its transmigrations. The first version (*mahadurah kamma*) remained in Damascus with Vital's son, who did not permit it to be copied for many years. He himself reedited and rearranged the *Shemonah She'arim* and this version was widely circulated from around 1660. The Middle Eastern kabbalists, especially those in Palestine, considered this the most authoritative version of Lurianic Kabbalah, and some confined their studies to this version only. In Samuel Vital's version of the *Shemonah She'arim* the first "gate" was cut out and its contents dispersed throughout the rest of the work, mainly in the third "gate" which was then divided into two, *Sha'ar Ma'amerei Rashbi* (on the Zohar) and *Sha'ar Ma'amerei Razal*. For 200 years this edition circulated in manuscript form only, being copied by many scribes and kabbalists. Finally the work was printed in seven volumes in Jerusalem (1863–98) with the support of the kabbalists of the Bet-El yeshivah. A new and revised edition was published in Tel Aviv (1961–64). A magnificent manuscript written in large letters, which served as the paradigm for other copies, is preserved in the National Library in Jerusalem (40674, three folio vols.). So that it might have greater authority, this manuscript, which was actually written in the late 17th century, had false dates added to it to make it appear that it was copied in Aleppo and Damascus in 1605.

The copies of Ḥayyim Vital's works which circulated during his lifetime among the kabbalists in Palestine were not arranged in good order. Around 1620 Benjamin ha-Levi and Elisha Vestali (or Gastali) assembled them into a three-volume edition. This, too, was not printed but was very popular in subsequent generations. It included *Sefer ha-Derushim*, mainly composed of material belonging to *Sha'ar ha-Hakdamot* and *Sha'ar ha-Gilgulim; Sefer ha-Kavvanot*; and *Sefer ha-Likkutim*. Vital's writings first reached other countries in this edition, which is extant in several libraries. The torn and tattered pages of the "last version" (*mahadurah batra*) which Vital arranged in Jerusalem were discovered by Abraham *Azulai and his colleagues, apparently shortly after 1620, in a *genizah* in Jerusalem. From these writings Jacob *Ẓemah arranged several books, such as *Oẓerot Ḥayyim* (Korets, 1783), *Adam Yashar* (1885), and *Olat Tamid* on meditations in prayers (1850). Another version of Vital's system which corresponds to the *Sha'ar ha-Hakdamot* was discovered and published as *Mevo She'arim* or *Toledot Adam*. His grandson, Moses b. Samuel Vital, reports that he found the author's own manuscript in Hebron (Ms. British Museum, Margoliouth CMBM no. 821). Copies reached Italy in the middle of the 17th century, but it was first published in Korets in 1783. Parts of the beginning of the work are missing in both the printed and manuscript editions, but a complete version was still extant in Jerusalem in 1890, and was also preserved in the collection of Isaac Alter of Gur.

From all the previous editions that reached the Jerusalem kabbalists, Meir Poppers, the disciple of Ẓemaḥ, arranged the final edition of Vital's writings, which was completed (according to testimony in some of the copies) in 1653. All matters pertaining to the *Sha'ar ha-Hakdamot* were arranged in *Sefer Derekh Eẓ Ḥayyim*, in five major sections and 50 sub-sections including the "first version" and the "last version" and even at times other versions (third and fourth), side by side. This book alone was given the name of *Sefer Eẓ Ḥayyim* when it was published in Korets in 1782 by Isaac Satanov (of Moses *Mendelssohn's circle). The best editions are those published in Warsaw (1890) by Menahem Heilperin, and Tel Aviv (1960), by Y.Z. *Brandwein. Everything pertaining to matters of prayer and mystical meditations (*kavvanot*) was arranged in *Sefer Peri Eẓ Ḥayyim* in four sections: *Kavvanot*; the reasons for the *mitzvot* (*Ta'amei ha-Mitzvot*); *Tikkunei Avonot*; and *Yiḥudim*. The section on mystical meditations alone was published under the name *Peri Eẓ Ḥayyim* (Dubrovno, 1803). The book which was published earlier under this name in Korets in 1782, is not based on Poppers' edition but was a separate adaptation by his colleague Nathan Shapira called *Me'orot Natan*. The third and fourth sections were published together under the name *Sha'ar ha-Yiḥudim* and *Tikkun Avonot* in Korets in 1783. All material pertaining to other matters was arranged in *Sefer Nof Eẓ Ḥayyim* in four sections: *Perushei ha-Zohar; Perushei Tanakh; Perushei Aggadot*; and *Gilgulim*. A complete manuscript of this work is found in Oxford (Neubauer, Cat Bod no. 1700). The first section was never published in this form; the second section (which also included the *ta'amei ha-mitzvot*) was published as *Likkutei Torah Nevi'im u-Khetuvim* (Zolkiew, 1773); an incomplete version of the third section was published as *Likkutei Shas* (Korets, 1785); and the fourth section was published earlier than all Vital's other works as *Sefer ha-Gilgulim* (Frankfurt on the Main, 1684). A version in 70 chapters revised according to Nathan Shapira's version was published in Przemyśl in 1875. Hence it is clear that Vital's writings exercised their main influence on kabbalists through manuscript copies, despite the fact that all his works were later published several times. In a few places in Palestine, Turkey, Poland, and Germany, Vital's writings were copied wholesale. *Sefer ha-Kavvanot* (Venice, 1620) was merely an abridgment and adaptation of one of the copies which circulated in Palestine during Vital's lifetime. The major part of the first section on *Perushei ha-Zohar* was published as *Zohar ha-Raki'a* (Korets, 1785).

In all these works Vital's presentation is dry and matter of fact, quite unlike the flowery language common in his day. In one place in *Sefer Eẓ Ḥayyim* (39:16) he inserted an adaptation from Moses *Cordovero's *Pardes Rimmonim* without mentioning that it was not Luria's teaching. In most parts of the *Shemonah She'arim* Vital added statements from Luria's other disciples, mainly on matters which he himself did not hear directly, but he rarely mentions them by their full names. Vital was most exact in transmitting Luria's teachings, pointing out on many occasions that he could not remember exactly, or that he had heard different statements on different occasions, or that he had forgotten. It would seem that on first hearing them he recorded many statements in copybooks and notebooks which were occasionally cited. He also presents some statements of which he admits that he cannot recall their meaning. Indeed, his works include more than a few contradictions, some of which have their source in his teacher and others in the development of Vital's views while he was editing. These contradictions gave rise to a kind of "*pilpul*" literature on Vital's statements comprising many volumes.

Before his association with Luria, Vital wrote a commentary on the Zohar according to the system of Cordovero, to which he later added occasional remarks alluding to Luria's views. Discovering this commentary in Jerusalem, Abraham *Azulai inserted it in his compilation, *Or ha-Ḥammah* (1896–98). Vital's affinity to Cordovero's teaching can also be recognized in his second major work, *Sefer Eẓ ha-Da'at*, only parts of which are extant. It apparently included commentaries on most of the books of the Bible, but what he calls *peshat* ("the literal meaning") and *remez* ("the allegorical meaning") are in many cases Kabbalah, although closer to the literal meaning of the Zohar. According to one testimony, he began this work as early as 1563 at the age of 20, but according to another he wrote it in 1575. Chapters 2 and 6 of this work were preserved in his own handwriting in the collection of R. Alter of Gur (no. 185; dated 1575). His commentary on Psalms was published from this manuscript, *Sefer Tehillim* (1926). The part on the Torah was published as *Eẓ ha-Da'at Tov* (1864). The second part, including various eulogies, sermons for weddings, circumcisions, on repentance, and commentaries on Proverbs and Job, was published in Jerusalem in 1906 from a manuscript preserved in the kabbalistic yeshivah Bet-El. Vital himself arranged various editions of this work. In addition to these works, he also wrote moralizing tracts; the most important, *Sha'arei Kedushah*, was first published in Constantinople in 1734 and many times afterward. His work *Lev David* was published from his own manuscript by H.J.D. *Azulai (Leghorn, 1789) and several other times. It is assumed that in addition to these works Vital wrote many pamphlets on Kabbalah not included in the printed editions, such as *Hakdamah Kodem Derush Mayim Nukvin* quoted by his son and partly published in the introduction to Meir *Bikayam's *Me'ir la-Areẓ* (Salonika, 1747). Of doubtful attribution is *Goral Kodesh*, on geomancy according to the Zodiac (Czernowitz, 1899). *Arba Me'ot Shekel Kesef* (Korets, 1804) is apparently an extract from Vital's known works with additional autobiographical remarks and allusions to other works but it is highly doubtful that Vital could have written them. The book purports to be written in 1615 but it cites names of later versions arranged by Benjamin ha-Levi and Ḥayyim Ẓemaḥ. It would seem that in fact it was written in the second half of the 17th century, and was known in Morocco in the early 18th century. A scroll containing descriptions of the celestial worlds of the Kabbalah written by Vital and brought from Damascus was found in Yemen, and in 1858 was sold to the traveler Jacob Saphir (*Sefunot*, 2 (1958), 270). Writings of Israel *Sarug, such as *Limmudei Aẓilut* and a commentary on *Sifra di-Ẓeni'uta* (1897), were erroneously attributed to Vital. Vital was also interested in early kabbalistic literature, although he hardly used it in his works. His anthology of early works was found in his own handwriting as late as 1930 in Tunis (Ms. Tanuji). His son Samuel's copy is preserved in manuscript in the Jewish Theological Seminary in New York.

Although he possessed no truly creative powers, Vital was one of the most important influences on the development of later Kabbalah, attaining this position as the chief formulator of the Kabbalah of Luria. No thorough study of his personality and activities has yet been attempted.

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[Gershom Scholem]

VITAL, SAMUEL BEN ḤAYYIM (1598–c. 1678), kabbalist, youngest son of Ḥayyim *Vital. Vital grew up in Damascus where he studied under his father and other rabbis. He married a daughter of Josiah *Pinto. Vital was considered among the important talmudic authorities of Damascus. For many years he reedited his father's writings and added many of his own annotations (which begin *Amar Shemu'el*: "Samuel said"). Many kabbalists went to Damascus to study these writings at his home, but they were not given permission to copy them. From 1650 on Samuel prepared copies, some of which have been preserved. Around 1664 he went to Cairo where he served as rabbi. He was in close contact with the wealthy Raphael Joseph Chelebi. During the heyday of the Shabbatean movement (in 1666), he was responsible for the *tikkun* of repentance of the faithful in Egypt, "going about fasting, praying, and practicing flagellation from the beginning of these events." A protocol on his exorcism of an evil spirit (**dibbuk*) in the summer of 1666 was published at the end of *Sha'ar ha-Gilgulim* (1903), fol. 77–78.

Samuel's writings include: *Ḥayyim Shenayim Yeshalem* (Ms. Guenzburg 283), his own and his father's novellae on the Talmud, the Shulḥan Arukh, *Sifrei ha-Levush*, and *Maimonides. The novellae appear in the Vilna edition of the Talmud, published in Jerusalem; *Be'er Mayim Ḥayyim*, responsa, is arranged according to the dates of the replies, in the handwriting of the author (MS. Oxford 832; *Ha-Maggid*, 15 (1871), 45). In his introduction to the responsa Samuel also mentions *Sha'ar ha-Shamayim*, a collection on astronomy and astrology, and *Ta'alumot Ḥokhmah*, amulets, practical Kabbalah, and incantations – which have been lost; *Toẓe'ot Ḥayyim*, sermons on the Torah, was written between 1630 and 1648. The author's own manuscript copy from 1674 is found in the Alliance Israélite Universelle Library, Paris, 128. The author's copies from previous years were in the library of the rabbi of Gur, 284 and 285; *Mekor Ḥayyim* (Leghorn, 1792), sermons for the new moon (Rosh Ḥodesh), was completed in 1649; *Ḥokhmat Nashim* (Badhab MS. 112, Jerusalem), on the laws of divorce, was completed in 1659; *Ḥemdat Yisrael* (Munkacs, 1901), on the *kavvanot* ("intentions of prayers") according to Isaac *Luria, was completed in 1663, apparently still in Damascus; another part of *Ḥemdat Yisrael*, still in manuscript (in the library of the rabbi of Gur), contains special prayers for epidemics and locust plague, and also *piyyutim*.

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[Gershom Scholem]

VITAL STATISTICS.

Introduction

GENERAL EXPLANATION. Population changes reflect the natural facts of life: births and deaths. Births, in turn, have long been largely governed by the mechanisms of family formation. Vital statistics are compilations of data on marriage, divorce, birth, and death. Births and deaths directly determine changes in the size of a population; marriages and divorces create and dissolve, respectively, the conditions under which most births occur. The surplus of births over deaths is called natural increase; under unfavorable demographic conditions, deaths may exceed births, in which case a natural decrease occurs.

Vital events constitute one of the components of population dynamics; the others are migration and, for a group like the Jews, adhesion and withdrawal. In a "closed" population, unaffected by migrations and by adhesions or withdrawals, the numerical evolution depends entirely on the balance of births and deaths. The natural increase (or decrease) is indeed of fundamental importance for the future of any population, but the migratory changes may counteract the vital balance for some time. For example, despite strong natural increase, there was probably no growth in the total number of Jews in Eastern Europe at the beginning of the 20th century because of extensive emigration, mostly to America. On the other hand, among Jewish populations in Central and Western Europe throughout the 20th century prevailing natural decrease was outweighed or at least compensated by a positive migratory balance.

The figures of vital events in any population are strongly affected by its age composition. In a population containing a very large proportion of young adults, as may be the case where there has been large immigration, birth figures may be high in spite of a modest level of fertility (for definition of this term, see measurement, below); on the other hand, under conditions of advanced aging frequently found at present in Jewish populations, actual death figures may be high even though the specific mortality in each age group is comparatively low. All these factors need to be considered in evaluating the causes and consequences of population trends. The age composition of a population at any specific time is itself the result of the demographic dynamics of preceding decades: unless migratory influences or adhesions/withdrawals were particularly conspicuous, it largely depends on past fertility. A prolonged decrease in births leads to the aging of a population. In the early phases of aging the proportion of children decreases while that of all adults, including the adults of procreative age, increases. This in turn tends to sustain the crude birth rate while deaths of children will be relatively fewer per 1,000 of the population (which may reduce the crude death rate especially if child mortality is still conspicuous). In later phases of aging, the proportion of elderly and old persons in the population grows, and consequently, the crude birth rate is depressed and the crude death rate rises. Age composition thus intervenes as both the consequence and the cause of the frequency of vital events in a population.

MEASUREMENT. Absolute figures of births, deaths, etc., are important for calculating up-to-date estimates of population size and for planning such social services as schools, hospitals, etc. For demographic analysis, it is necessary to consider the frequency of vital events in relation to the population in which they occur. The resulting figures are called demographic rates. "Crude" rates usually indicate the frequency of vital events per 1,000 of mean population in a specified year. The commonly mentioned "birth rate" and "death rate" are of this nature. Crude rates make no allowance for age and sex composition of a population. Consequently, if this composition is markedly distorted, crude rates are liable to lead to misconceptions about the intrinsic demographic situation. Unfortunately, crude rates are often the best available information on vital events among Jewish populations, especially prior to the last few decades.

To overcome the shortcomings inherent in crude rates, age-sex specific rates are calculated to show correctly the frequency of vital events in any specified age-sex group of the population during a certain period. These rates can be synthesized by the use of appropriate techniques. Demographic indicators thus obtained – e.g., "fertility rates" for the measurement of reproduction and "mean life expectancy at birth" for the measurement of mortality – are unaffected by peculiarities in the age-sex composition of any population. They depend, however, on the availability of data broken down by small age groups and by sex, with regard to both the total population and the persons involved in the given vital events (such as the women giving birth, the deceased, etc.). Under present conditions of documentation on Jewish vital statistics, such data are only very partially available. In addition, if the absolute numbers for vital events are broken down by age and sex, very small figures, which are liable to irregularities, result in all but the larger Jewish populations. It is also possible to calculate "standardized rates," assuming, for the sake of comparison, the same age distribution for several demographic groups, e.g., the Jews and the general population of the respective country. The concept of "fertility" relates the births not to the entire population of both sexes and all ages but to the women of reproductive age. It means basically, the number of children born, on the average, to women throughout their reproductive period.

SOURCES. Vital statistics on Jews in Diaspora countries come from either official or Jewish sources. Official statistics of this kind now exist only for a minority of the Jews in Diaspora countries. Data on vital events either come from current statistics reflecting the administrative registration of births, deaths, etc., or are obtained from censuses and surveys. In the latter instances, some of the relevant information may be derived from retrospective questions on age at marriage of the persons ever married, on the number of children born to the enumerated women, etc. Under present conditions, current vital statistics from Jewish sources tend to reflect the frequency of religious functions, such as weddings, divorces, circumcisions, and burials, rather than give a full demographic picture, because some Jews recur to civil ceremonies alone.

DEMOGRAPHIC TRANSITIONS. The widely prevalent descriptive model of the demographic transition divides the modern evolution of the populations of the technologically advanced countries into four stages. In the first stage, which represents the conditions of the past, both fertility and mortality were very high, so that only limited natural increase could materialize. In stage two, which fell mainly into the 19th and early 20th centuries, mortality declined, while fertility continued to be high; considerable natural increase resulted, and the respective populations grew rapidly. In stage three fertility also declined due to the diffusion of birth control; population growth consequently diminished, with a low being reached in the 1930s. The fourth stage – in the context of a generally moderate or low mortality level – resulted in repeated upward and downward fertility fluctuations (such as a "baby boom" in some Western countries and an ensuing "baby bust") reflecting response to changing circumstances. Eventually fertility subsided again, yet maintained itself at somewhat different levels in different countries. In Europe, stages two and three did not begin at the same time in the various countries but spread, on the whole, from west to east. Even within the same country, the timing of the changes differed according to social group and geographical location: the educated, well-to-do, and urban elements were involved earlier than the other groups. By 1970 nearly all the populations in the developing countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America had entered upon stage two which expresses itself by a "population explosion," and some had already entered upon stage three. By 2000 all countries were moving through one or another stage of demographic transition. Significantly, a fifth stage had emerged mostly among European societies, showing a negative balance between birth and death rates and reflecting a progressive aging of age composition.

It is noteworthy that the Jews of Europe preceded the general population of the respective countries in effecting the transition from stage one to two, lowering mortality, from stage two to three, adoption of family planning, from stage three to four, fertility response to changing environment, and from stage four to stage five, population erosion due to a negative balance of births and deaths. In this, as well as in the subsequent developments, the Jews intensively displayed the characteristics of the social and ecological strata in which they were largely concentrated – the educated and urbanized, with a tendency to white-collar occupations. Besides these compositional effects, additional and more specifically Jewish determinants in the cultural and socio-psychological realm played an important role in the demographic evolution of the Jews.

Mortality

The limited data available from some European cities in the 18th century give the impression that Jewish mortality was already declining. There is ample documentation to show the systematic decline of Jewish mortality all over Europe throughout the 19th century, though there was some time lag between this development among the Jews in the countries of Central and Western Europe, on the one hand, and of Eastern Europe, on the other. In any country of Europe and at any time during the 19th century, the crude death rate of the Jews was almost always lower than that of the entire population of the respective country (see Table 1). This was largely

Table 1: Births, Deaths, and Natural Increase (Rates)[1] (Selected Data)

		Births		Deaths		Natural Increase	
Country or City	Period	Jews	General Population	Jews	General Population	Jews	General Population
Amsterdam[2]	1899–1900	25	30	12	17	13	13
	1919–1922	19	22	11	11	8	11
Switzerland	1959–1961	11	18	16	10	–5	8
Prussia	1822–1840	36	40	22	30	14	10
	1876–1880	32	39	18	24	14	15
	1906–1910	17	32	14	17	3	15
	1921–1925	14	23	13	14	1	9
	1926–1927	12	20	14	12	–2	8
	1933	7	15	16	11	–9	4
Berlin	1925	12	12	14	11	–2	1
Germany (F.G.R.)	1960–1962	6	18	21	11	–15	7
Vienna	1880	28	40	14	28	14	12
	1901–1910	18	27	14	18	4	9
	1921–1923	14	16	13	15	1	1
	1934	4	6	14	12	–10	–6

Table 1: Births, Deaths, and Natural Increase (Rates)[1] (Selected Data) (cont.)

		Births		Deaths		Natural Increase	
Country or City	Period	Jews	General Population	Jews	General Population	Jews	General Population
	1960–1962	6	18	31	16	–25	2
Italy	1851–1875	29	37	24	31	5	6
	1876–1900	23	36	20	26	3	10
	1901–1910	18	33	17	22	1	11
	1921–1930	16	28	17	17	–1	11
	1931–1935	11	24	17	14	–6	10
	1951–1955	10	18	15	10	–5	8
	1961–1965	11	19	16	10	–5	9
Hungary	1891–1895	36	42	19	33	17	9
	1906–1910	29	36	15	25	14	11
	1926–1930	13	26	14	17	–1	9
	1931–1935	11	22	14	16	–3	6
Budapest	1931–1934	8	16	15	16	–7	0
Czechoslovakia	1931–1933	18	21	13	14	5	7
Bohemia	1930	7	18	15	13	–8	5
Galicia	1882	46	48	29	36	17	12
	1901–1902	38	44	19	27	19	17
	1910	32	39	16	24	16	15
Russian Poland[2]	1906	29	39	16	23	13	16
Poland	1926–1930[3]	21	32	11	17	10	15
	1931–1936	19	28	10	15	9	13
Warsaw[2]	1930–1936	13	14	10	12	3	2
Lithuania	1927	17	30	10	17	7	13
Latvia	1926–1927	17	22	11	15	6	7
European Russia	1900–1904[3]	34	49	16	31	18	18
St. Petersburg (Leningrad)	1910–1913	18	28	11	22	7	6
U.S.S.R.	1926	24	43	9	20	15	23
Romania	1881–1886	47	41	26	26	21	15
	1906–1910	30	40	17	26	13	14
	1926–1928	20	36	13	22	7	14
	1936–1938	14	31	13	19	1	12
Bulgaria	1891–1895	38	38	23	28	15	10
	1904–1907	34	43	14	22	20	21
	1925–1928[4]	22	35	11	18	11	17
	1933–1936	17	28	10	15	7	13
Canada	1930	15	24	6	11	9	13
	1940	14	22	7	10	7	12
	1950	20	26	8	9	12	17
	1957–1959	15	28	8	8	7	20
Tunisia[2]	1921	41	…	21	…	20	…
	1946[5]	37	39	15	19	22	20
Israel (Palestine)	1923–1925	35.8		14.1		21.7	
	1931–1935	30.3		9.3		21.0	
	1936–1940	25.7		8.0		17.7	
	1946–1947	29.4		6.2		23.2	
	1949–1950	31.2		6.6		24.6	
	1965	22.6		6.4		16.2	
Israel-Jews of European origin[6]	1965	15		8			7
Jews of Asian- African Origin[6]	1965	30		5			25

[1] Rates per 1,000 of population. Some of the figures are only approximate or based on different definitions.

[2] Jews and non-Jews, respectively.

[3] Corrected version of official figures for Jews.

[4] 1926–1928 for general population.

[5] 1945 for non-Jews.

[6] Estimates.

Main Sources: Compilations contained in the publications listed in the Bibliography; Statistical Abstract of Israel (various issues). The vital statistics are official ones, except for those on the Jews of Italy which are based on registration by the Jewish communities.

due to the reasons adduced above for the peculiar position of the Jews in the framework of modern demographic transitions: their concentration in towns and particularly in large cities, which by the 19th century in Europe had better hygienic conditions and health services than rural areas; their higher educational level; and their other socioeconomic characteristics. Additional cultural factors, that were specific to the reduction of mortality, may have included the hygienic influence of the observance of some traditional Jewish precepts in the selection and preparation of food, washing of hands, and ablutions, etc.; the rarity of venereal diseases and alcoholism among Jews; the comparative frequency of physicians among them; and perhaps also greater attention to health and especially to the health of children, the reduction of whose previously high mortality was a major feature in the overall improvement of the mortality situation. The differentials in the death rate of Jews and non-Jews were smaller for towns than for entire countries where the non-Jewish rural population is included in the comparisons.

The differentials between Jews and non-Jews were sometimes particularly conspicuous with regard to infant mortality (see Table 2).

Comparing cause-of-death distributions and morbidity patterns of Jews and non-Jews in the 19th and early 20th centuries, one finds lower proportions of infectious diseases and diseases of the digestive system among the Jews. An often observed difference was the lower frequency of tuberculosis among Jews.

During the Holocaust, Jewish mortality in Europe was on an altogether catastrophic scale: the majority of Jews there perished. The age groups most affected were the old and the very young. The deficiency of persons whose childhood coincided with the Holocaust period continues to make itself felt in the age distribution of European Jews. It was aggravated by a great reduction in Jewish births before, and even more so during the persecutions.

While the Jews in Europe and in technologically advanced countries of other continents preceded their neighbors in the reduction of mortality, the majority of populations closed the gap in the course of time and the respective differentials narrowed substantially. This had already happened in some cities and countries even before the Holocaust. Because of the increasing aging of many Jewish populations, these developments cannot be studied properly from crude rates, and more refined methods must be resorted to. In particular, it has been possible to calculate the mean life expectancy at birth which is based on age-specific rates and not affected by the actual age composition for several Jewish populations. In recent decades, the life expectancy of Jews in advanced countries has been growing by about one year of life every five calendar years, and around the year 2000 it reached 80 years for women and 75 years for men. Although only little different from that of the general population in the corresponding countries or cities, a tendency for infant mortality to be lower among Jews persisted. On the other hand, crude mortality rates of Jews considerably exceed those of the respective general populations, mainly due to the overaged composition of the respective Jewish groups.

Table 2: Infant Mortality (Rates)[1] (Selected Data)

Country or City	Period	Jews	General Population
Amsterdam	1907–1909	75	90
	1919–1923	41	50
Switzerland	1947–1954	26	32
	1959–1963	12	21
Berlin	1924–1926	43	90
Florence	1838–1847	149	218
Rome	1901–1907	72	138
Italy	1965	33[3]	38
Hungary[2]	1925–1926	96	170
Budapest	1880	159	271
	1904–1905[2]	103	166
	1930	63	114
Poland	1927	73	151
	1931–1936	49	138
Lithuania	1927	35	156
	1935–1937	46	124
Latvia	1926–1927	38	89
European Russia	1900–1904	119	254
U.S.S.R.	1926	57	174
St. Petersburg (Leningrad)	1900–1904	109	260
	1922–1924	78	178
Montreal	1931	43	113
	1941	24	70
	1951	10	43
	1961	(6)	23
Israel (Palestine)	1923–1925	121	
	1931–1935	78	
	1946–1947	30	
	1949–1950	49	
	1955	32	
	1965	23	

[1] Deceased under 1 year per 1,000 live births. Some of the figures are only approximate or based on different definitions.

[2] Jews and non-Jews, respectively.

[3] The three principal Jewish communities in Italy.

Main Sources: Compilations contained in the publications listed in the Bibliography; Statistical Abstract of Israel (various issues). The vital statistics are official ones, except for those on the Jews of Italy which are based on registration by the Jewish communities.

The Israel population census of 1961 was instrumental in furnishing information on the mortality conditions of the Jews in Asian and African countries. The census contained a question addressed to women who were ever married: "How many of their children born abroad before immigration to Israel died below the age of 5?" The available data provide relevant information for the participants in the mass migration of 1948–54 (see Table 3). Child mortality among the Jews was still very high in Yemen but reached various stages of decrease in other countries of major Jewish residence in Asia and Africa. Younger women had been affected by lower child mortality than older women, whose experience stretched back into earlier decades.

Table 3: Mortality below Age Five per 100 Children Born in Asia and Africa (Born to Jewish Women who Subsequently Immigrated to Israel during 1948–54)

Women's Country of Birth		Women's Age at Immigration	
		20–24	45–49
Asia and Africa – Total		21	27
There of:	Yemen, Aden	47	46
	Iraq	14	20
	Iran	17	(26)
	Turkey	14	19
	Egypt	9	(34)
	Libya	22	29
	Tunisia, Algeria	27	37
	Morocco, Tangier	22	32

Source: Israel Population Census, 1961, vol. 32.

Table 4: Mean Age of Jews at Marriage[1] in Europe (Persons who Subsequently Immigrated to Israel)

Period of Marriage	Men	Women
Up to 1961 – total	28.0	24.0
Up to 1915	24.5	21.8
1916–1925	26.7	23.6
1926–1930	27.1	23.9
1931–1935	27.5	24.2
1936–1940	28.4	24.5
1941–1945	29.2	24.2
1946–1950	29.3	24.6
1951–1955	29.9	25.3
1956–1961	29.4	25.1

[1] At first marriage.

Source: Israel Population Census, 1961, vol. 26.

In Palestine, Jews achieved a remarkable reduction of mortality during the Mandatory period (1918–48), largely due to the strong immigration of European elements and the establishment of active and highly qualified health services. In the latter part of the 1940s, the Jewish population in Palestine was already counted among the very advanced in the world insofar as lowering of mortality was concerned. Some temporary setback, especially in infant mortality, was caused by the mass immigration of Jews from less developed countries in Asia and Africa in the early years of the State of Israel, but it was overcome with astonishing speed. The whole Jewish population had a mean life expectancy in excess of 70 years for females since 1951, and for males since 1959.

Marriage and Divorce

Among the European Jews in the past, as far as is ascertainable from available information, marriage was widespread. Few people did not marry at all unless prevented by official restrictions. Persons of both sexes contracted their (first) marriage at a rather early age. Though high mortality led to frequent instances of widowhood, this was often followed by remarriage, especially of men. In this case, the average age difference between spouses was greater than in the first marriage. Women used to spend a very large proportion of their reproductive years in married life, and this favored high fertility. In addition, there was hardly any out-marriage. Among the Jews in Europe and later among Jews of European origin who settled in America and in other areas of immigration changes developed in this traditional marriage pattern in the course of time. These changes were connected, among other things, with the spread of secularization and the modern complexion of Jewish life. There emerged some tendency for a larger proportion of Jews to remain unmarried which was already particularly marked in Central and Western Europe between the world wars and has again become conspicuous since the 1970s. There was also a systematic rise in age at first marriage, very clearly shown by retrospective census data on the large body of European Jews, mainly from Eastern Europe, who settled in Israel (see Table 4). Between the world wars, Jews in Central and Eastern Europe already had a higher marriage age than the general population of the respective countries. In the United States, Jews participated in a general reduction of the marriage age, but according to an official sample survey of 1957, their median age at first marriage was somewhat higher than among the rest of the population. It is obvious that these trends among Jews of European origin, namely the increase in the proportion never married and in marriage age, were bound to have a depressing influence on fertility levels.

A major trend in the modern marriage pattern of Diaspora Jews is the increase in out-marriage. Because of the inconsistency in the use of words like *intermarriage* and *mixed marriage* the term *out-marriage* will be used here for all unions in which only one partner is, or was, a Jew. The statistical information available on this topic has been scanty and unsatisfactory because of both the paucity of sources and difficulties in measurement. In relation to measurement, it should be noted that most available data reflect the religious diversity of marriage partners at a specified time while ignoring previous diversity that was overcome by change of religion on the part of one of them. Therefore, the data tend to give an underestimate of the real extent of out-marriage among Jews. There are two main types of sources: statistics of current weddings and statistics of couples in the population as ascertained by censuses or surveys. Because of the rising trend of out-marriages, their proportion is higher in the data derived from the former source.

An increase in out-marriage among Jews was observable in European countries of strong Jewish assimilation and in immigration countries overseas as early as the 19th century. Out-marriage reached considerable proportions in some larger Jewish populations of Europe between the world wars. Since World War II, a rise in the proportion of out-marriages has been noticeable among the Jews in Europe, America, South Africa, and Australia. There are, however, great differences in the actual extent of out-marriage. While it spells the disintegration of some smaller Jewish groups in Europe where most marrying Jews contract out-marriages, it used to be much more limited in America until the early 1960s (see Table 5).

Table 5: Recorded Out-Marriages of Jews (Selected Data)

Country or City	Period	Per 100 Jewish	
		Grooms/Husbands	Brides/Wives
		Current Weddings	
Amsterdam	1926–1927	14	13
Netherlands	1951–1962	41	36
Switzerland	1951–1965	46	26
Prussia	1875–1884	5	5
Germany	1901–1904	8	7
	1926–1930	27	17
Berlin	1951–1964	75	32
	1876–1880	16	12
	1901–1904	18	12
	1925–1926	30	18
Vienna	1926–1927	12	11
Italy	1951–1964	61	29
	1936–1937	35	34
Milan	1934–1936	43	33
	1952–1955	52	39
Hungary	1895–1899	3	3
	1925–1926	13	11
Budapest	1896–1900	7	7
	1926–1927	18	16
Latvia	1925–1927	1	2
U.S.S.R.[1]	1924–1926	7	6
R.S.F.S.R.[1]	1924–1926	21	12
Ukraine	1924–1926	4	5
Belorussia	1924–1926	2	4
Canada	1926–1930	4	1
	1941–1945	7	3
	1951–1955	8	4
	1961–1965	12	6
		All Existing Couples	
Netherlands	1954	30	22
Switzerland	1880	3	2
	1910	5	4
	1930	9	8
	1950	19	10
	1960	25	12
Austria	1961	36	15
Italy	1965	22	10
U.S.A.	1957	5	3
Australia	1911	28	15
	1933	21	12
	1961	12	6

[1] European territories only.

Main Sources: Compilations contained in the publications listed in the Bibliography. The data are official ones, except for those on "all existing couples" in the Netherlands and Italy which were obtained through Jewish-sponsored population surveys.

Since then it has been on the increase there also, as shown particularly by current country-wide data from Canada, by intergenerational comparisons made from data of local Jewish community surveys in the United States, and especially by the National Jewish Population Surveys of 1970, 1990, and 2001. The proportion of recorded out-marriages was generally higher among Jewish men than Jewish women, but over time the gap has narrowed.

The basic causes of out-marriage are the growing interaction of Diaspora Jews with surrounding society, the weakening of religious links and of ethnic identity, and assimilation. There are also contributory demographic factors: the limited size of many Jewish populations, especially after the Holocaust; the increased geographical dispersion of the Jews; and distortions in the age-sex composition of Jewish populations which themselves are partly connected with their smallness as well as with the aftereffects of the Holocaust and other factors. It is noteworthy that even before the middle of the 19th century in America and in the early part of this century in Australia, a marked tendency toward out-marriage prevailed in the then small Jewish populations but its frequency greatly diminished after the arrival of large waves of new Jewish immigrants. Similarly, it is found that at present out-marriage among the Jews of a given country is more frequent in localities or regions with fewer Jews.

Out-marriage is of great importance to the demography of the Jews. It often spells demographic losses through the drop-out of out-marrying Jewish spouses or of the children of such marriages. The direct statistical information available on the balance of demographic losses and gains occasioned by out-marriage generally indicates a loss to the Jewish side in Western and Eastern Europe and in the United States. The affiliation balance may turn in favor of the Jewish community in the case of some Latin American countries such as Mexico or Venezuela where the incidence of out-marriage is quite low.

Conversions to Judaism prompted by marriage pose problems of identity in the present and following generations. Some data on ex-Jews and persons of mixed (Jewish and non-Jewish) origin are available from Germany. In relation to 100 infants born to all Jewish couples including the out-married, those with only one parent whose religion was recorded as Jewish were 13 percent in Prussia during 1925–28 and 51 percent in West Germany during 1951–64 (both figures do not include illegitimate births by Jewish women). According to the Nazi census of 1939, 307,600 persons of Jewish religion were enumerated in Germany, Austria, and the Sudeten region, but there were a total of 330,600 "Jews according to race" and another 112,600 "mixed" persons with one or two Jewish grandparents of whom only 7,200 were Jews by religion. From the accession of the Nazis to power in Germany until that census (1933–39), the number of Jews by religion had dropped to less than one-half in the enumerated areas, mainly through emigration. It may be assumed that the relative extent of emigration was smaller for the other categories of persons with one or two Jewish grandparents. It might be roughly conjectured that their number corresponded to about one-quarter of the Jews by religion at the beginning of the 1930s.

Glimpses of the traditional marriage patterns of the Jews in Asia and Africa are found in Israel statistics, particularly in the data of the 1961 population census (see Table 6). First marriages had been practically universal and occurred at an early age, especially among the girls, and remarriage was frequent, primarily because of the rather high mortality. Among the

Table 6: Marriage Patterns of Jews in Asia-Africa (Persons who Immigrated to Israel), 1961

Country Of Birth	Age at Marriage[1]		Percent Ever Married at age 45–49[3]	Percent Married More than Once by Age 65+[3]
	Mean Age	Percent Married Young[2]		
			Men	
Asia and Africa – total	24.2	22	97	24
Thereof: Yemen, Aden	20.8	44	99	43
Iraq	26.5	15	95	16
Iran	24.3	22	98	29
Turkey	25.8	10	99	21
Egypt	26.5	7	95	15
Libya	23.5	22	97	22
Tunisia, Algeria	24.0	19	99	24
Morocco, Tangier	22.5	27	99	22
			Women	
Asia and Africa – total	19.4	39	98	10
Thereof: Yemen, Aden	17.0	55	97	20
Iraq	19.8	36	97	6
Iran	18.4	48	99	12
Turkey	23.1	14	97	10
Egypt	21.8	19	95	13
Libya	19.3	37	(100)	7
Tunisia, Algeria	20.7	27	99	7
Morocco, Tangier	17.4	54	99	12

[1] Age at first marriage of persons who married before migration to Israel.
[2] Married up to age 19 for men, and up to age 17 for women.
[3] Per 100 persons born in Asia-Africa and living in Israel in 1961.
Source: Israel Population Census, 1961, vols. 22, 32.

Asian-African Jews enumerated in Israel in 1961, the proportion of individuals who had married at an early age was particularly high among those married in Yemen. Yet, the Israel data also show some rise in the age of Asian and African Jews at first marriage in the period prior to the mass migration to Israel and a higher marriage age among the better educated. Out-marriages were apparently rare among the Jews in Asia and Africa. In Mandatory Palestine and Israel, virtually all Jews have been in the habit of marrying, including those of European origin. The marriage age of the Jews from Asia and Africa went up, especially among women; the marriage age of the Jews from Europe, on the other hand, somewhat dropped and a tendency clearly emerged toward standardization of the respective patterns of all Jews in Israel. Out-marriage was rare in Israel until the arrival of a substantial number of non-Jewish immigrants in the framework of the major exodus from the former Soviet Union after 1989.

Data on Jewish divorces can be obtained from statistics reflecting current registration of such events or from information supplied by censuses and surveys on the composition of a Jewish population according to marital status. Sources of the latter kind usually show a higher proportion of divorced persons among women than among men, because of the greater tendency of men to remarry. In comparing the frequency of divorce among Jews and the general population of a country in the Diaspora, the religious orientation of the latter and prevailing legal arrangements must be taken into account. The Roman Catholic Church does not permit divorce, whereas it is not infrequent in Muslim societies. In some countries a status of separation is recognized. For an assessment of the relative frequency of divorce among the Diaspora Jews of European origin, their urbanization and socioeconomic stratification must be taken into consideration. The data available point to an increase in divorce in the Jewish populations of Europe and America during the 20th century but there were considerable differences between various countries in the actual proportion of divorced Jews. There also were marked differences between countries in the relative frequency of divorce among the Jews and among the general population, respectively. In Canada, an increase in the proportion of divorced Jews occurred from 1931 to 1961, and the Jews there had somewhat higher proportions of divorces than the general population. In the United States, considerable differences emerged in the extent of divorce among Jews according to the data available from local studies. The overall prevalence of divorce was lower among Jews than among the total U.S. population, but over time Jews tended to close that gap. Divorce was not rare among the Jews in Asia and Africa.

Births

Data on birth and on fertility can be derived either from current statistics, based on registration of the births that take place, or from censuses and surveys. In the latter case, retrospective questions may be asked about the children born to each woman. Failing such a specific inquiry, the sex-age distribution obtained from a census or population survey permits calculation of the "fertility ratio" also called "child-woman ratio" which is the ratio of the number of young children alive to the number of women of reproductive age. For improved measurement, child mortality up to the date of enumeration is accounted for. The average number of children living in each family is a rough indication obtainable from censuses. The ratio between the number of 0–4-year-old children and that of 5–9-year-old children shows recent changes in the frequency of births.

In Europe, the birth rate of the Jews was, on the whole, high in the past. As early as the first half of the 19th century, however, birth rates found among the Jews were somewhat lower than those among the general population in some countries and cities of Central Europe. In large parts of Eastern Europe, the birth rate of the Jews continued to be very high and similar to that of the respective general populations until near the end of the 19th century.

The Jews preceded the general population of their countries of residence in the reduction of natality and in the adoption of family planning through birth control methods. The reasons for this differential may be the above-mentioned greater concentration of Jews in those social strata which, in general, reduced births more rapidly such as the urban, were better educated, engaged in white-collar occupations; the fact that mortality of the Jews went down more rapidly causing Jewish families to experience the economic pressure exercised by the survival of more children at an earlier date; possibly also the greater concern of Jews for the proper upbringing of their children, as well as the eagerness of Jews for upward social mobility, and other related factors.

The decrease in Jewish births was a gradual process. In some countries, however, it proceeded rather quickly. In Europe, this development spread, on the whole, from west to east. As early as the eve of World War I, there were cities in Europe where the Jewish birth rate had dropped so low that it was barely able to balance the current deaths. This situation intensified in the 1920s and became still more acute and widespread during the general slump in births in the 1930s when the economic and political crisis was aggravated for the Jews in Europe by ever more menacing manifestations of antisemitism. In North America as well, the high fertility of the Jewish immigrants from Eastern Europe quickly gave way to drastic birth limitation. Retrospective fertility data, subsequently obtained in the United States and Canada, show that Jewish women who had spent their most fertile years during the 1930s and early 1940s had borne, on the average, less than two children – not enough for demographic replacement. Then the Shoah overtook European Jewry; births became rare and most young children perished.

After World War II, Jews in Western Europe, America, and Australia participated in the "baby boom" characteristic of those years. The survivors in Europe had the special reason of wishing to reconstitute their families. However, this upsurge of natality among the Jews was rather short-lived. In the United States by the late 1950s and in Western Europe by the early 1960s it was followed by another decline in births. In Eastern Europe, barely any postwar birth-rate recovery emerged. The ensuing data from all over the world show that natality and fertility were lower among Jews than among the general population of their respective countries of residence. This can be seen from decreasing absolute figures and crude birth rates, as well as from the age breakdown of Jewish children (the ratio of 0–4-year-olds to 5–9-year-olds), according to censuses and surveys. It is true that the age structure of the Jewish adults was unfavorable to current births, because the prospective mothers belonged to the comparatively small cohorts born during the great slump in births of the 1930s. But when the age composition turned to be more favorable to Jewish natality for a while as the comparatively large cohorts born during the "baby boom" around 1950 were reaching procreative age, the expected rise in the Jewish birth rate did only partially materialize. Fertility indicators which are less affected by the actual age composition, also pointed to a decline in Jewish fertility. Indeed, birth rates and fertility levels also registered declines in the general population of many technologically advanced countries during the 1950s or 1960s, and even more significantly during the 1970s. Low fertility levels, anticipated by Jewish populations, lead nearer to, or aggravate, insufficient demographic replacement all across developed countries.

There are variations in the actual levels of fertility and natality of Jews throughout their global geographical dispersion. Yet these levels are universally rather low when assessed as a source for the growth, or even for the mere maintenance, of Jewish population size. The present low fertility of the Jews in most Diaspora countries is a major cause of concern for the demographic future of large sections of the Jewish people.

Among Jews of European origin in Mandatory Palestine and Israel, there was a rapid decline in fertility in the 1920s and 1930s to a low at about 1940. Yet the crude birth rate remained substantial because of the comparatively young age composition of this immigrant population. There, too, a "baby boom" was followed by a renewed drop in fertility; however, fertility remained above replacement level. It is noteworthy that the European Jews who immigrated after the establishment of the State of Israel increased their fertility from its level abroad, which was quite insufficient for demographic replacement, to a level which, though moderate, was sufficient for this end.

The Jews of Asia and Africa used to have high fertility in their countries of residence. Retrospective data from Israel on fertility of immigrants abroad prior to immigration show that women gave birth to six or seven children on the average. Though differentiation of fertility according to educational level of women had already set in, the great majority of women had not attended school or had reached only low educational attainment and were very prolific. Jews in Egypt and Turkey had markedly lower fertility, just as they differed in socioeconomic status from other Asian-African Jews. The overwhelming majority of the Jews from Asia and Africa moved to Israel or to France and other countries of Europe and America. Israel data show a rapid fertility decline throughout the 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s under the influence of the new surroundings, and similar developments took place in other countries where the socioeconomic status of Jewish migrants from Asia and Africa was generally higher than that of their peers who had moved to Israel.

Illegitimate births, insofar as statistical data are available, were on the whole less frequent among Jews than among the respective general populations. However, percentages of such births recorded from Central Europe in the period between the world wars and again in recent decades were not negligible. An altogether different matter was the lack of an officially recognized status for many religious Jewish marriages in some parts of Eastern Europe, which led to the offspring of such unions being registered by the authorities as "illegitimate."

Natural Increase

In the past, mortality, and especially child mortality, was so high as to almost offset high fertility; as a consequence, natural increase was small and population growth was slow. On the whole, this may also be presumed to have been the situation of the Jews before the modern demographic evolution. As mortality declined, while fertility continued to be high or at least moderately high, considerable natural increase was generated. This was the demographic situation of most of European Jewry during a great part of the 19th century. East European Jewry, which adopted widespread birth control comparatively late, displayed natural increase on such a substantial scale that its numbers rose from about five and a half million to seven million during 1880–1914, despite the emigration of more than 2,500,000 persons overseas or to Western Europe. As the Jews had preceded the general population of their countries of residence in the reduction of mortality, they enjoyed, for a considerable time, relatively higher natural increase.

When the subsequent fertility decline among Jews became more acute, their natural increase dwindled and became smaller than that of the corresponding general populations. Extreme instances were Jewish populations in Central Europe that already had a yearly surplus of deaths over births from some time in the 1920s before the accession of the Nazis to power. In the United States and Canada in the 1930s, Jewish fertility was insufficient for demographic replacement in the long run.

The Shoah liquidated not only about one-third of the Jewish people, but also had aftereffects that were highly detrimental to the further demographic development of the survivors. Distortions in the age-sex distribution and the reduced size of the Jewish communities extant in Europe or scattered through migration to other regions of the Diaspora enhanced the chances of out-marriages with their consequent demographic losses to the Jewish people.

After the short-lived Jewish "baby-boom" following World War II, the growth prospects of Jewish Diaspora populations became far from encouraging. In Central and Western Europe all the evidence shows an outright deficit in the balance of births and deaths. For Eastern Europe including the Soviet Union, direct evidence and statistics available on the age composition of immigrants to Israel show that fertility was long below replacement level. As regards the Jews in the United States and Canada, a decline in births since the late 1950s and early 1960s is clearly documented. It is evident that the rate of natural increase cannot be very considerable. This is also the conclusion from data available for South Africa and Australia.

The small natural increase, or even decrease, of Diaspora Jews is the more disquieting from the viewpoint of the demographic future of the Jewish people. Since World War II, and more especially since the 1970s when an unmistakable tendency to increasing out-marriages and some withdrawals emerged, a small natural increase in a Jewish population became insufficient to maintain Jewish population size irrespective of migratory influences. Aggravating circumstances were low fertility; advanced aging; out-marriages and withdrawals. Only by viewing all of these negative factors together, is a realistic picture obtained of the demographic situation and perspectives of most Jewish Diaspora communities in Europe, North America, and other overseas countries.

Until mass emigration following Israel's independence in 1948, the Jews in Asia and Africa were in a stage of rapid and accelerating demographic expansion. Exceptions to this generalization were presented by the Yemenites, whose mortality was still too high to leave much room for natural increase, and on the other hand, the Jews in Turkey and Egypt, whose fertility had already been reduced considerably. The first effect of migration to Israel and to France was a reduction in mortality, which boosted natural increase for a while; however, the fertility decline, which soon set in, operated in the opposite direction. While the transfer of many Jews from Asia and Africa to Israel, France, etc., raised the average fertility and natural increase among the Jewish population in the receiving countries, it tended to lower the fertility and natural increase of the Jewish people as a whole.

Into the 21st Century

Over the last quarter of the 20th century, distinct erosion in conventional marriage patterns among Jews reflected similar general trends among developed Western societies. Propensities to marry significantly diminished. An increase in unmarried couples living together overwhelmingly composed by one Jewish and one non-Jewish partner in the Diaspora, did not compensate for fewer and later marriages. Divorce rates increased and tended to approach the higher rates of non-Jews. In Israel such trends were more conservative, but they could be observed too, as demonstrated by the presence of over one million non-married individuals among the adult Jewish population around 2005.

Among Jews who married since the 1990s, in the United States 50 percent or more had a non-Jewish partner, between 35 and 45 percent did in France and the U.K., and higher percentages approaching 70 and 80 percent did in the FSU and other Eastern European countries. The differential frequency of out-marriages of Jewish men and women tended to disappear, equalling the higher levels previously recorded for men. The majority of children of out-marriages were not identified as Jews. During the 1990s, similar relatively low proportions of children of out-marriages (about 20 percent) were identified by the respective parents as Jewish in Russia (with rather underdeveloped Jewish community resources), as in the United States (with highly developed Jewish resources). In 2001, that percent had risen to about one-third in the U.S. As a compound consequence, the configuration of Jewish households was characterized by an increasing share different from the conventional nuclear family inclusive of two Jewish parents living with their Jewish children. In the Diaspora this comprised an ever smaller minority of all Jewish households.

In a general context of low and declining death rates, life expectancy at birth surpassed 80 years for women and 75 for men. Fertility was quite stable among Jews in Israel, while it turned to be about one half lower among the rest of

Jewish communities worldwide. The latter reflected or even often anticipated the general decline of fertility in the more developed countries. Jews in Israel were an exception, becoming with 2.6–2.7 children on average the population with the highest fertility among developed nations. Jews from similar countries of origin who migrated to Israel or to Europe ended up adopting the quite different social norms and behaviors on fertility of their countries of absorption. In Israeli society, community was an important intervening factor in fertility trends resulting in larger families than could be found among Jews with similar backgrounds that moved to other countries. Cultural, religious, and community related determinants of higher fertility in Israel led to a unique surplus of natural increase and helped to maintain a comparatively young age composition among the Jewish population. The number of Jewish births in Israel was higher than the number of Jewish deaths by over 45,000 in 1990, by over 58,000 in 2001, and by over 67,000 in 2004.

In the Diaspora low fertility was the main determinant of rapid Jewish population aging. This in turn significantly contributed to a negative balance between Jewish births and deaths. Among the better documented examples, in the Russian Republic the number of Jewish deaths exceeded the number of Jewish births by over 10,000 in 1988, and by 7,600 in 2000 among a greatly diminished Jewish population. In Germany, the excess of Jewish deaths over Jewish births was over 300 in 1990, and had grown nearly over threefold in 2004 while the Jewish population itself had grown by three thanks to the steady inflow of immigrants from the FSU. In the U.K., each year the number of Jewish deaths surpassed by over 1,000 the number of Jewish births. The spiral of low fertility, aging, and partial erosion of the younger generation through the non-affiliation with Judaism of a large portion of the children of out-marriage foreshadowed significant further changes in the demographic profile of world Jewry.

While the world's developing countries continue to experience fast population growth rates and also the populations of many of the technologically advanced countries recorded substantial growth – increasingly due to international migration rather than to natural increase – the Jewish Diaspora at the beginning of the 21st century was in a rather precarious demographic situation. Thanks to the persisting natural increase in Israel, world Jewish population kept close to zero population growth.

See also *Demography; *Migrations; *Population; *Statistics.

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[Usiel Oscar Schmelz / Sergio DellaPergola (2nd ed.)]

VITEBSK, capital of Vitebsk district, Belarus. The first Jewish settlement appears to have been established in Vitebsk at the end of the 16th century. The charter given to the residents of Vitebsk in 1597 by Sigismund III Vasa forbids Jews "in accordance with long-held practice" to dwell within the city. Still, it appears that some Jews did live there, under the protection of the local nobility, both before and after 1597. The Jewish community developed, though not without conflict with the Christian population of the city over Jewish rights and privileges. In 1627 the local ruler S. Sangushko granted permission for the construction of a synagogue in the city. A document from the 17th century takes note of "the Jew's gate."

During the war between Poland and the government of Moscow in 1654, Jews fought in the defense of the city. When it fell to the Russians, their property was confiscated and they were taken captive, not being released until peace was achieved with Poland (1667). Upon the Jews' return they had to enter into litigation with their neighbors who had appropriated their property. In 1679 King John III Sobieski granted a charter to the Jews, restoring their former privileges and promising them freedom of religion and commercial rights. This charter was renewed and confirmed by the kings of Poland in 1729 and 1759. In 1708, during the war with Sweden, the Jewish quarter of Vitebsk was destroyed by fire. The local residents then occupied the plot where the synagogue had been and built a church upon it. The Lithuanian supreme court ordered them to return the land to the Jews and pay damages of 13,500 gold pieces. The Jewish community of Vitebsk was part of the Council of the *Lands. It was under the jurisdiction of the *Brest-Litovsk community and through it was subject to the Lithuanian Council. The Vitebsk Jewish community kept a *pinkas (minute-book) from 1706.

With the first partition of Poland in 1772 Vitebsk was annexed to Russia. At that time the community numbered 1,227 persons, or about a quarter of the town's population. Most of Vitebsk's trade in flax and tobacco was conducted with Riga by way of the Dvina River. With the completion of the Orel-Vitebsk-Dvinsk railroad during the 1860s the commerce of Vitebsk with regional towns and villages increased and the Jewish community grew accordingly. After their expulsion from Moscow in 1891 some of the Jews transferred their businesses to Vitebsk. In 1897 the city had 34,420 Jews (52.4% of the total population).

Vitebsk was a stronghold of Orthodox Judaism, containing elements of Lithuanian Jewish scholarship, and even stronger ḥasidic influences. At the end of the 18th century the founders of Lithuanian Ḥasidism, Menahem *Mendel of Vitebsk and Shneur Zalman of Lyady, were active in the city. Strong *Ḥabad ḥasidic influences were present. The rabbi of the city from 1803 to 1860 was Yiẓḥak Isaac Behard, who was both kazyonny *ravvin (government-appointed rabbi) and the choice of the *admor.* Jekuthiel Zalman Landau succeeded him in the rabbinate serving also as head of the yeshivah of Vitebsk. After Landau moved to St. Petersburg the community did not select a new chief rabbi, as a result of a dispute between the Ḥasidim and **Mitnaggedim*. During the last years of the 19th century 72% of the school-age children studied in the *ḥeder* and *talmud torah* schools of Vitebsk.

The settlement of Jews in Vitebsk who had been expelled from Moscow strengthened the *Haskalah elements in the city. The Ḥibbat *Zion movement began to develop, as did the Socialist movement at a later date. Vitebsk was one of the first centers of the *Bund. In 1901 the Zionist leader Grigori (Ẓevi Hirsch) *Bruck was selected as *kazyonny ravvin* of Vitebsk. He had great influence upon the life of the community, even after he was deposed by the authorities. This occurred as a result of his position as a delegate to the *Duma, in which he signed the Wyborg Proclamation. The Zionist and *Po'alei Zion movements flourished, causing the *talmud torah* to be converted into a Hebrew school. After 1905 several private gymnasia opened in the city, most of the students being Jewish. The artist Y. Pen opened an art school which trained hundreds of young people, including Marc *Chagall and S. Yudovin. S. *An-Ski and C. *Zhitlovsky were both from Vitebsk. During World War I Vitebsk served as a way station for tens of thousands of Jews who had been expelled from Lithuania. Several thousands of them settled there permanently.

With the advent of Soviet rule the Vitebsk Jewish community began to decline. Thousands of residents who had come from Lithuania and Latvia used their rights of relocation and emigrated from the Soviet Union. The *Yevsektsiya established one of its centers in Belorussia in Vitebsk, publishing the paper *Der Royter Shtern* ("The Red Star") until 1923. In 1921 a public trial "over the *ḥeder*" was conducted in Vitebsk and several synagogues in the city were confiscated. The Vitebsk *He-Ḥalutz movement was harassed and came to an end during the middle of the 1920s. Vitebsk had a semi-legal Ḥabad yeshivah until 1930. In 1923 there were 39,714 Jews (43.7% of the total population). In 1926 there were 37,013 (37.5%).

With the Nazi conquest of the city in July 1941 part of the Jewish population fled into the interior of Russia. The city was destroyed in a fire started by the retreating Red Army. The 16,000 Jews who remained behind were imprisoned in a ghetto. On October 8, 1941, their systematic liquidation began. After the liberation of the city from the Germans Jews began to return. In the later 1960s the Jewish population was estimated at about 20,000 but there was no synagogue. Most left during the large-scale emigration of the 1990s.

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[Yehuda Slutsky]

VITERBO, town in central Italy. Documents show Jews living in the town in 1272; in 1294 the loan-banker Elia resided there, and a few years later the number of Jews had increased to such an extent that in 1313 a Christian proposed setting up an institution that would collect all the Jews together to convert them. In the 14th century some of the moneylenders left Viterbo to found the settlement at Urbino and others moved to Orvieto. In 1427 the Franciscan friar Bernardino da *Siena delivered inflammatory sermons in Viterbo. The town came under the rule of the Church in 1435 and 15 years later the Jews were compelled to wear the *badge. In 1538 the banking permits were withdrawn. At that time, the Jews owned two synagogues and a medicinal spring called the "bath of the Jews." As in the other Church possessions, a ghetto was established in Viterbo in 1555, and the community leaders were thrown into prison. After Pius V was elected to the papacy, the Jews were expelled from all the minor cities of the papal states (1569). Ten families were readmitted to Viterbo in 1586, but in 1593 they were definitely banished. Later, Jewish merchants were allowed to visit the town only during the fair; at one of these, in 1705, a group of Jews were accused of a blood *libel but they were acquitted the following year. A number of notable copyists and physicians came from Viterbo, including the talmudist Theodorus de Sacerdotibus (Eliezer ha-Cohen), physician to Pope Julius III.

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[Attilio Milano]

VITERBO, CARLO ALBERTO (1889–1974), leader of Italian Jewry. Born in Florence, Viterbo studied law at the University of Pisa, coming under the influence of S.H. *Margulies and A. *Pacifici. An early Zionist, he participated in numerous congresses and was president of the Italian Zionist Federation and of Keren Hayesod. In 1936–37, he went on a study tour of North African Jewish communities on behalf of the Italian Jewish community. He also made contact with the *Falashas in Ethiopia, then under Italian rule, and published new documents he had found on their history (*Annuario di Studi Ebraici*, 2 (1937), 125ff.). From 1944 Viterbo edited the weekly *Israel*. He also published some Hebrew language textbooks (1933, 1955, 1968).

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[Alfredo Mordechai Rabello]

VITERBO, JEHIEL ḤAYYIM (c. 1766–c. 1842), a rabbi of Ancona, scholar, and poet. Among his poems is a eulogy of 26 stanzas on the death of Ḥayyim Joseph David *Azulai in which he alludes to the 31 works of the latter.

He published two volumes of sermons in Leghorn, *Yiḥyu Dagan*, for Sabbaths and festivals (1830), and *Va-Yeḥi Od*, which includes a commentary on *Pirkei Avot* and responsa (1839). After his death, *Va-Yeḥi va-Yitten* (1843) appeared. Viterbo was in close contact with the *yishuv* in Ereẓ Israel. Many of his letters and poems remained in manuscript and are in the archives of the Budapest rabbinical seminary.

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VITKIN, JOSEPH (1876–1912), precursor of the Second Aliyah, teacher, and communal worker. Born in Mogilev, Belorussia, he went to Ereẓ Israel in 1897, where he worked as a laborer. Later he became a teacher and headmaster at a Gederah school, where his reforms led to his being invited to become headmaster of the school in Rishon le-Zion. In 1904 he became headmaster of the school at Kefar Tavor (Mesḥah), and two years later he returned to teaching in Rishon le-Zion, where he remained for the rest of his life. Vitkin was the precursor of the Second Aliyah both chronologically and in his ideological contribution to the pioneering movement in Ereẓ Israel. His influential pamphlet entitled *Kol Kore el Ẓe'irei Yisrael Asher Libbam le-Ammam u-le-Ẓiyyon* ("A Call to the Youth of Israel whose Hearts are with their People and with Zion," 1905), signed Ḥavurat Ẓe'irim me-Ereẓ Israel ("A Group of Young People from Ereẓ Israel") contains all the principles of the labor movement of the Second Aliyah. He forcefully rejected "diplomatic" Zionism and condemned a Zionism that merely entailed shekel- and share-buying by Jews in the Diaspora. He demanded that Diaspora youth unite for *aliyah* and sacrifice for their homeland, as other nations do for their countries. He even outlined plans for a new type of settlement based on self-employed labor on nationally owned land. He ended the pamphlet with the appeal: "Hasten, Heroes of Israel, renew the days of the Biluim with even greater strength and vigor, for otherwise we shall be lost." When the *Ha-Po'el ha-Ẓa'ir Party was formed, he became a member and was the first to demand that, in addition to "conquest of labor" by Jewish workers as wage earners on Jewish-owned farms, the party should advocate "conquest of the soil," i.e., agricultural settlement by Jewish worker-pioneers. He developed a theoretical and practical educational system uniting Jewish values with love of nature.

A selection of his writings appeared in 1912. A new comprehensive edition, containing letters, an appraisal, and a detailed bibliography, edited by E. Shoḥat, appeared in 1961. Kefar Vitkin in the Ḥefer Plain is named after him.

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[Getzel Kressel]

VITORIA, town in N. Spain, S.E. of Bilbao. Vitoria was founded in 1181 by King Sancho I of Portugal, the "City Builder" (1185–1211), and destroyed by fire in 1202. The town recovered in the days of Alfonso *X (1252–84) of Castile, and it appears that the Jews helped to develop it anew. The Jewish quarter was situated in the eastern part of the city, along the battlements. Isaac ibn *Ẓadok (Çag de la Maleha) was a tax farmer there in 1276. Toward the end of the 13th century the community was one of the moderately important Castile communities. Little is known about the community in the 14th century. In 1439 Don Shem Tov ibn Naḥmias collected dues from the fairs held in the Basque country and taxes from the whole of Castile. From 1482 the anti-Jewish decrees issued by the Cortes of *Toledo (1480) were put into effect in Vitoria also. Nevertheless, the crown often intervened on behalf of the Jews there, granting them a charter of protection as late as 1488. Following the edict of expulsion (May 1492), the community leaders of Vitoria negotiated with the municipal authorities regarding the fate of Jewish communal property. The Jewish cemetery was given to the town council, which undertook to take care of it and never to build on it. The place was subsequently known as the *Judimendi* ("Jews' Mount"). The synagogue was also given to the town council and turned into a school. In July 1492 the majority of the Jews of Vitoria left the town for nearby Navarre. In order to speed up their assimilation, in 1493 the Conversos who had remained were scattered throughout the town and not allowed to live in a separate quarter. In 1952, the Jews of *Bayonne, descendants of the Jews of Vitoria, reached an agreement with the town releasing it from its duties toward former Jewish property. The remains in the old cemetery were collected and reburied in a common grave, with a monument to commemorate the old community of Vitoria.

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[Haim Beinart]

VITORIA, FRANCISCO DE (d. 1592), Marrano prelate. He was the son of the New Christian Duarte Nuñes, and two of his brothers lived as Jews in Safed and Tripoli respectively, under the names of Abraham and Jacob Curiel. Many other members of his immediate family also reverted to Judaism, while Isaac de Mattathias *Aboab was his great nephew. Entering holy orders, Francisco became bishop of Tucumán (now in Argentina) in 1583 and was later nominated archbishop of Mexico. He aroused great enmity, however, and was recalled for investigation to Madrid, charges both of corruption and of Judaizing being involved. He died before the inquiry was concluded.

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[Cecil Roth]

°**VITRUVIUS, POLLO** (or **Mamurra**; first century B.C.E.), Roman architect and engineer, author of a work on architecture. In it (8. 3. 8) he says that at Joppa in Syria and in Nomad Arabia there are lakes of immense size producing much bitumen which is gathered by the neighboring tribes. The reference, which seems to be to the Dead Sea, is similar to that in *Zenophilus (Xenophilus), who likewise speaks of a lake near Joppa with bitumen.

[Louis Harry Feldman]

VITRY (**le-Brûlé**, today **Vitry-en-Perthois**, not to be confused with Vitry-le-François) town in the department of Marne, N. France. When Louis VII, king of France, sacked the town in 1142, he is said to have spared the Jews, who therefore constituted the majority of the population for a while. In 1230, when Thibaut IV, count of Champagne, granted a communal charter to Vitry, he retained for himself the "guard and jurisdiction" over a number of categories of its inhabitants, particularly the Jews. In 1321, after having been accused of poisoning the wells together with the lepers, 77 Jews were immediately massacred, a large number succeeded in escaping, and another 40 were imprisoned. Once the prisoners realized the hopelessness of their situation, they chose death at the hands of one of their companions, who was then killed by the Christians. There is today a small Jewish community in Vitry-le-François, founded in the 16th century as a refuge for the inhabitants of Vitry-le-Brûlé which had been destroyed by fire. Vitry-le-François was built a few miles away from the burnt town. Simḥah b. Samuel, who is said to be the author of the talmudical and liturgic compendium known as *Maḥzor Vitry, was a native of the town.

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[Bernhard Blumenkranz]

VITTA, CINO (1873–1956), Italian jurist. Vitta was professor of administrative law first at the Florence Institute of Social Science and then professor at the universities of Cagliari, Modena, and Turin. An authority on all branches of public law his treatise *Trattato di diritto amministrativo* (2 vols., 1954–55^4), on administrative law, ran into several editions. He also taught international law and lectured at the Hague Academy in 1930, 1934, and 1936. During World War II, Vitta was president of the Jewish community of Florence, a position that had been held by his father and grandfather before him. During the Nazi occupation he and his wife were hidden in the Siena mental hospital. After the war he returned to teaching.

Among his publications: "Il Diritto pubblico degli Ebrei," in: *Accademia Mazionale dei Lincei*, 6 (1951), 109ff.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Recueil des Cours de l'Académie de Droit International de la Haye*, 56 (1936), 303f. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** *Novissimo Digesto Italiano*, 20 (1975), 1033 f.

[Giorgio Romano / Alfredo Mordechai Rabello (2nd ed.)]

VITTORIO VENETO, town in N. Italy, formed in 1866 by the union of the two adjacent towns of Serravalle and Ceneda. The presence of Jews in Serravalle is attested in 1398, but nothing is known of their subsequent history. In 1597 Israel di Conegliano was authorized to open a loan-bank in Ceneda; in spite of two expulsion attempts, in 1631 and 1638, the *Conegliano family remained in the town throughout the 17th century. In the 18th century a number of Jews were enclosed in a small ghetto. There were 45 Jews (11 families) in Ceneda in 1765, out of a total population of 7,946. Their status was then superior to that of the other Jews in Veneto, as shown by the fact that in 1770 they obtained the revocation of a 1767 prohibition to trade in grain. About the second half of the 18th century a "council of Jews" (*corpo degli ebrei*) was formed, which was comparatively influential at the beginning of the following century, when it included the important Luzzatto, Romanin, Gentili, Fontanella, Valenzin, Conegliano, and Pincherle families. Lorenzo da *Ponte (Conegliano) was born in Ceneda. However, in 1870 only 50 Jews remained in Vittorio Veneto and their number progressively decreased, although there was a Gemilut Ḥasadim society. The cemetery at Vittorio Veneto was not established until the second half of the 19th century; before then the Jewish cemetery of *Conegliano was used. A private synagogue existed from 1646; it was completely renovated in 1701, in a style similar to the synagogue of Conegliano. It has been transferred to the Israel Museum in Jerusalem.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Milano, Bibliotheca, nos. 1171f., 1418f.; Milano, Italia, index; Roth, Italy, index; idem, *Venice* (1930), index; J. Pinkerfeld, *Battei Keneset be-Italyah* (1954), 40; F. Luzzatto, in: RMI, 22 (1956), 42–43, 122–3, 274–5; idem, *Cronache storiche della Università degli Ebrei di San Daniele del Friuli* (1964), 74, 132; U. Nahon, *Aronot Kodesh ve-Tashmishei Kedushah me-Italyah be-Yisrael* (1970), 20–26.

[Alfredo Mordechai Rabello]

VIVANTE, CESARE (1855–1944), Italian jurist. Born in Venice, Vivante graduated in law from the University of Padua and in 1882 at the age of 27 became professor of commercial law at the University of Parma, and in 1889 at the University of Bologna. From 1898 he was professor of commercial law at the University of Rome, a post he held for over 30 years until his retirement. He presided over numerous legislative commissions and was chairman of the Italian Commission for the Reform of the Commercial Law Code.

Vivante is considered the founder of the modern Italian school for the study of commercial law. He developed a new inductive approach to its study, establishing the principles from the agreed rules of law while at the same time coordinating commercial law principles with those of civil law. His works include *Trattato di diritto commerciale* (4 vols., 1893), *Il Contratto di assicurazione* (3 vols., 1894), which ran into several printings and was translated into many languages, and his classic *Instituzioni di diritto commerciale* (1891), a standard textbook which attained 60 printings. Vivante was a cofounder of the *Rivista del diritto commerciale* in 1903, the leading Italian journal on commercial law. Among his pupils was Tullio *Ascarelli who succeeded him as professor of commercial law at Rome.

In Bari, at the beginning of 1980s, the "Istituto Commerciale C.V." was founded and in Catania a way was dedicated to his name. The *Rivista della Scuola Superiore dell'economia e delle finanze* published on the Internet his speech (1888) for "un codice unico delle obbligazioni."

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Studi in Onore di Cesare Vivante*, 2 vols. (1931). **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** *Novissimo Digesto Italiano*, 20 (1975), 1034.

[Giorgio Romano / Alfredo Mordechai Rabello (2nd ed.)]

VIVANTI, DAVID ABRAHAM (1806–1876), Italian rabbi. Born in *Ancona, Vivanti came from a well-known Italian-Jewish family, originally from Mantua, which had settled in Ancona in the first half of the 18th century. When still a youth, he was ordained as a rabbi and appointed to the *bet din* at Ancona, and in 1840 became rabbi of the community.

Vivanti wrote commentaries on the Pentateuch and Psalms, both of which are unpublished. His annotations to the *Shulḥan Arukh*, arranged in alphabetic order and containing halakhic decisions both of his own and earlier authorities, and annotations to the *Sefer ha-Ḥinnukh* (according to the Venice edition of 1600), together with a *kinah* composed by him for the 24 martyrs of Ancona and some homilies, were published by H. Rosemberg, *Keẓat mi-Kitvei … David Avraham Ḥai* (1932); and in Italian *Saggio degli Scritti degli Rabbini David Abraham Vivante* (1929).

[Alfredo Mordechai Rabello]

VIVANTI CHARTRES, ANNIE (1868–1942), Italian novelist. Annie Vivanti was born in London, the daughter of an Italian political exile, her mother being a German writer. In 1890 she became famous with the publication of *Lirica*, a volume of verse, prefaced by the eminent Italian poet Giosuè Carducci. Abandoning verse for fiction, she wrote several novels including *Circe* (1912); *Vae victis!* (1917), a dramatic though naïve account of the relationship between the victors and the vanquished of World War I; *Naja tripudians* (1920) and *Fosca, sorella di Messalina* (1922). In a novel in English, *Marie Tarnowska* (1915), she analyzed the problem of crime, which she considered a hereditary physical disease devoid of any moral implication. Her years in England, Switzerland, and the U.S. inspired a collection of short stories, *Zingaresca* (1918). She also wrote two plays: *L'Invasore* (1916) and *Le bocche inutili* (1918).

A representative of Italian romanticism at its most decadent, Annie Vivanti was true to the fashion of her times even in her private life. She married an Irish lawyer and journalist, John Chartres, whom she supported in his campaigns for Irish independence. Her daughter, Vivien Chartres, a talented violinist, inspired her best novel, *The Devourers* (1910). The "devourers" are the infant prodigies who sacrifice their parents to their own talents. Vivien Chartres died during an air raid in London in 1941. Annie Vivanti herself suffered from Mussolini's antisemitic laws: her books were banned in Italy, and she spent some time in internment. She died a lonely woman in Turin.

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[Giorgio Romano]

VIVES, JUAN LUIS (1492–1540), Spanish humanist. A recent study by Pinta y Llorente and Palacio, *Procesos Inquisitoriales contra la familia judía de Luis Vives* (1964), established that his mother became a Christian only in 1491, that she was said to have continued Jewish practices after her baptism, that she was condemned by the Inquisition 24 years after her death, and that her remains were burned and her property confiscated. Vives' father was delivered in 1524 "to the secular arm" by the Inquisition, which usually meant death. This evidence indicates that Vives was of Jewish origin and that he must have been fully aware of this through the fate of his parents.

Vives studied Latin and Greek at Valencia and then, in 1509, went to the University of Paris. He found the scholasticism taught there sterile, and later bitterly attacked his studies and teachers. He said the university was like "an eighty-year-old lady, sick, senile, and in imminent danger of death." Vives' first major work, *Adversus pseudodialecticos* (1520), was a strong attack upon the school. In 1512 he moved to Bruges where he studied and taught children of influential families. In 1517 he began teaching at the new University of Louvain and became a close friend of Erasmus, whom he had long admired. The religious struggles in the Low Countries, Erasmus' departure for Basle, and the condition of the university led Vives to go to England, where he was immediately received by the humanists and by the court. Vives was offered a post at Alcalá, but refused to return to Spain. Instead he became a professor at Oxford. Political problems involving Henry VIII and Catherine of Aragon finally led to Vives' dismissal. He returned a bitter and poor man to Bruges, where he wrote his major works in isolation and discontent.

Vives' writings include criticisms of scholasticism, reform of education, the classics, social problems, philosophy, and religion. His most famous works, extremely popular in the 16th century, were his commentaries on Saint Augustine (1522); *De Anima et Vita* (1538); *Dialogi: Exercitatio Lingae Latinae* (1538; trans. W.H.D. Rouse, *Scenes of School and College Life*, 1931); *De Institutione feminae Christianae* (1524; trans. R. Hyrde, *The Instruction of a Christen Woman*, 1541); *Introductio ad Sapientiam* (1524; trans. R. Morison, *An Introduction to Wysedome*, 1540); and *De Veritate Fidei* (posthumous, 1543). Vives was the first advocate of secular education and state, rather than Church, social welfare. His philosophical concern was not to find ultimate truth (since he believed that metaphysics could only yield conjectures), but rather a basis for human conduct. He was the first modern to investigate human psychology empirically, and developed an early form of naturalism. Though many of his writings deal with Christian religious subjects (including a criticism, mild for the time, of Judaism in *De Veritate Fidei*), he was not concerned with doctrinal or institutional elements of Christianity, but mainly with morality. Like Erasmus, he advocated a nontheological religion as a way of life. Vives' philosophical-ethical religion may represent a Marrano compromise with Christianity, interpreting it as an ethic rather than as a set of dogmas.

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[Richard H. Popkin]

VIZHNITSA (Rom. **Vijnita**; Yid. **Vizhnits**), town in Chernovtsy district, Ukraine. Before World War I Vizhnitsa belonged to Austria, and between the world wars to Romania. The town derives its fame from the local ḥasidic rabbis (see hasidic dynasty *Vizhnitz). Jews began to settle in the town under Moldavian rule in the mid-18th century. In 1774, under Austrian administration, there were 60 Jewish families (191 persons); by 1782 there were 61 families, and in 1807 there were 64. Later many Jewish settlers were attracted by the Vizhnitsa rabbis and by 1900 there were 4,738 Jews and in 1930, 2,666. A *ḥevra kaddisha* existed from 1768. After the Austrian annexation the Jews were subject to restrictions and persecutions; 19 families were expelled in 1774 on the claim that they did not contribute to the town's agricultural development. In 1789 the authorities ordered the expulsion of all the Jews for the same reason, but this order was not carried out entirely.

During World War I the town was nearly destroyed. The Jews fled to Vienna and some did not return. The rabbi at that time, Israel Hager of the *Kosov dynasty, moved to *Oradea, where he established his court. Vizhnitsa now ceased to be a ḥasidic center.

Under early Austrian rule the community was affiliated with the *Chernovtsy congregation and became independent only in the mid-19th century. By 1888 there were already eight prayer houses, classed according to the congregants' professions. There was a large yeshivah, and in 1921 a Hebrew elementary school was founded. Between the world wars Zionist youth and adult groups were active. Several descendants of the ḥasidic dynasty settled in Israel, where they established yeshivot and ḥasidic centers in Haifa and Bene Berak. From 1941 the Jewish community suffered drastically, and in August of that year 2,800 Jews were deported to death camps. About 800 remained alive and most of them immigrated to Israel.

In 2005, the city had a Jewish community center.

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[Yehouda Marton]

VIZHNITZ, ḥasidic dynasty, founded by MENAHEM MENDEL BEN ḤAYYIM HAGER (1830–1884). After the death of his father, the *ẓaddik* of Kosov (1854), Menahem Mendel began to lead the community of Vizhnitz (Vizhnitsa) where he also served as *av bet din*. He became famous as a miracle worker and a distributor of amulets. He headed *Kolel Vizhnitz and Maramuresh, a fund for the poor in Ereẓ Israel. He also attempted to settle the dispute between R. Ḥayyim *Halberstam of Zanz (Sandz) and the sons of R. Israel of *Ruzhin. His book *Ẓemaḥ Ẓaddik* (1885) was written in the spirit of ḥasidic Kabbalah.

His oldest son BARUCH (1845–1893) served as a ḥasidic rabbi in Vizhnitz for eight years, and gathered around him many Ḥasidim. A collection of his writings was published as *Imrei Barukh* (1912). Seven of his nine sons and three of his sons-in-law were ḥasidic rabbis, a fact which contributed to divisions among the Ḥasidim and gave rise to controversy. He was succeeded by his son ISRAEL (1860–1938). R. Israel was very popular and had thousands of ḥasidic followers. He founded a big yeshivah called Bet Israel and moved to Grosswardein (Hung. Nagyvarad) which became a center of Ḥasidism in Hungary. His publications include *Ahavat Yisrael* (1943) and *Or Yisrael* (1938). Other sons of R. Baruch with many followers included ḤAYYIM OF ITINIA (1864–1935) and PHINEHAS OF BORSA (d. 1941). The successors of the Vizhnitz dynasty in Bene-Berak, Israel, the sons of R. Israel, include: ḤAYYIM (1881–1979); whose teachings are in *Kunteres ha-Likkutim* (1949); ELIEZER (1889–1946), author of *Dammesek Eliezer* (1949); and BARUCH, of Siret-Vizhnitz (1895–1972). The *Ẓaddikim* of Vizhnitz were active in spreading Torah learning; in Israel they established yeshivot and housing for their Ḥasidim.

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[Avraham Rubinstein]

VLADECK, BARUCH CHARNEY (1886–1938), U.S. journalist, civic leader, and public official; brother of Daniel *Charney and Shmuel *Niger. Born in Dukor, near Minsk, Belorussia, Vladeck abandoned religious study in his teens in favor of political action. A lifelong socialist, he had been a revolutionary in Russia, but became a moderate in the United States. Between 1904 and 1908, he agitated extensively for the Jewish Labor *Bund, and was imprisoned three times. He wrote Yiddish poetry and prose. In 1908, he immigrated to the United States, becoming city editor of the *Jewish Daily Forward* in 1916, and business manager of that newspaper from 1918. From 1918 to 1921, he sat on the board of aldermen in New York City as a Socialist member. Long active in the public housing movement, Vladeck was appointed to the New York City Housing Authority in 1934. In 1938, he served on the City Council, leading a coalition of its pro-La Guardia members. President of ORT from 1932 to 1938 and chairman of the Jewish Labor Committee from 1934 to 1938, Vladeck was an opponent of Communist influence in the labor movement and was influential in helping to align Jewish labor with other segments of the Jewish community.

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[Franklin Jonas]

VLADIMIR VOLYNSKI (formerly **Lodomira**, Pol. **Wlodzimierz**; in Jewish sources: **Lodmer**, **Ladmir**, or **Ludmir**), city in Volhynia district, Ukraine. Jews from *Kiev, *Khazaria, and other eastern communities settled in the city in the 12th century. They established an important station there on the trade route between eastern and western Europe, which was subsequently visited by Jewish merchants from *Ashkenaz. The Jewish community was destroyed by Tatars in the 1240s but it was renewed on a small scale in the early 15th century under Grand Duke Witold of Lithuania. An organized community was founded in the early 16th century and it developed rapidly after the Polish annexation of *Volhynia (1569).

In the charter of privileges given to the city in 1570 by King Sigismund II Augustus, the Jews were granted equal rights with gentile citizens. During the 16th century the Jews of Vladimir Volynski traded at the fairs in Lublin, Poznan, and Cracow, where they sold furs, woolen cloth, and wax. The richer Jews engaged in estate-leasing and tax-farming. From the middle of the 16th century several famous rabbis lived in Vladimir Volynski, e.g., *Isaac b. Bezalel, who served from 1547 to 1570, Menahem Isaiah b. Isaac (known as Menahem-Mendel R. Avigdors; 1591), who later became rabbi of Cracow (d. 1599), and the talmudist *Isaac ben Samuel ha-Levi (1580–1646), who was born in Vladimir Volynski. The outstanding talmudist and author, Yom-Tov Lipmann *Heller, was rabbi of the community from 1634 to 1643.

The community suffered greatly during the *Chmielnicki massacres (1648–49) in which many Jews were murdered. After repeated attacks in 1653 and 1658, the heads of the community were forced to borrow large sums to save the Jews from impoverishment. Their economic situation improved in the late 17th century. In 1700 Augustus II awarded Fishel Lewkowicz of Vladimir Volynski the title of "royal agent and purveyor and official secretary for the Council of the Four Lands." In 1765 1,327 Jews paid the poll tax.

The economic crisis which befell the Polish kingdom in its last years affected the Jewish population in Vladimir Volynski. By 1784 there were only 340 Jews in the city. In 1795 it was annexed by Russia. In the 19th century the Jewish population increased, numbering 3,930 in 1847 and 5,854 (66% of the total) in 1897. They traded in grain and lumber, and engaged in shopkeeping, tailoring, hatmaking, and shoemaking. The hasidic movement became influential in the community, especially under the direction of Moses Solomon Karliner and the Maid of *Ludomir.

There were 5,917 Jews there in 1921 comprising 51% of the population, and by 1931, 10,665 (44%). In 1926, 84% of the businesses were in Jewish hands. There were *Tarbut, *Beth Jacob, and Yavneh schools. The Jews of Vladimir Volynski organized *self-defense against the attacks of May 1923, and in the 1930s they protested vigorously against the antisemitic boycott. In the city council elections of 1929, 12 of the 24 seats were won by Jews.

[Arthur Cygielman]

Holocaust Period

When the war broke out between Germany and Poland on Sept. 1, 1939, thousands of Jews from western Poland sought refuge in the city, bringing the number of Jews in the city to 25,000. When the city passed to Soviet rule (1939–41), a unique effort was made by the Jews of the city to guarantee a Hebrew education for the children. The Tarbut leaders successfully acquired the local authorities agreement to run a Hebrew language school, on condition that all religious studies be removed from the program. However, the school only functioned for two months for in November 1939 the regional Soviet authorities in Rovno intervened and the language of instruction became Yiddish. In the summer of 1940 many Zionist leaders and refugees were exiled to the Soviet interior. The Germans entered on June 25, 1941. On July 5, 150 Jews were rounded up by the Germans and Ukrainians and murdered in the prison courtyard. A *Judenrat was established in 1941, headed by Rabbi Morgenstern. When he died two months later, his post was filled by a lawyer, Weiler. Weiler refused to hand over the victims to the Germans and committed suicide together with his family. In August–December 1941 the Germans continued to murder the Jews, disposing of their victims in mass graves in the prison courtyard. On Feb. 27, 1942, 250 Jews were taken for forced labor to the Kiev area. On April 13, 1942 a ghetto was set up in two sections: one for skilled craftsmen, nicknamed by the Jews "the ghetto of life", and a second ghetto for the non-productive, called the "ghetto of the dead." They contained altogether about 22,000 Jews. In the summer of 1942 some young people made attempts to contact the partisans operating in the vicinity. On Sept. 1, 1942, an *Aktion* ("action") began, lasting two weeks, in which 18,000 Jews were murdered. Four thousand Jews were killed in the prison courtyard and 14,000 in pits prepared in the Piatydni area. Following this *Aktion*, the area of the ghetto, now reduced in size, contained only 4,000 persons. Leib Kudish, who collaborated fully with the Germans, was placed at the head of the Judenrat. On Nov. 13, 1942, another *Aktion* began, lasting several weeks, following which only 1,500 Jews were left alive and registered while a group of "illegals" continued to exist. During the last *Aktion* an armed group of young Jews took up a fortified position in a bunker near Cygielnia, but they were discovered by the Germans, and 13 fell in the fight. In 1943 the Germans continued in their hunt-down of "illegals" i.e., those who did not possess work permits. The victims were shot in prison. On Dec. 13, 1943, the last of the Jewish community was liquidated, and many of those who tried to escape were killed by Ukrainian peasants or members of the Polish underground Armia Krajowa. The city was freed from the Germans on July 22, 1944, at which time only a few dozen Jews were found alive. A society of former residents of the city functions in Israel.

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[Aharon Weiss]

VLADIVOSTOK, city in Maritime Territory, formerly Russian S.F.S.R., now Russian Federation. Jews began to arrive in Vladivostok at the close of the 19th century, forming part of those exiled to the Russian Far East regions. In 1897 there were 290 Jews in Vladivostok (1 percent of the total population), representing an organized community administered by the Zionists until the Soviet occupation in 1922. In 1926 the community numbered 1,124 (1 percent of the total population). Although it is known that with the development of the city and the growth of the Jewish settlement of the nearby region of *Birobidzhan, the number of Jews increased, in 1970 no information was available concerning any organized Jewish life in Vladivostok. In 2005 the original synagogue was again in use and a Sunday school was being run by the community.

[Yehuda Slutsky]

VOET, ANDRIES (1907–1982) U.S. physical chemist. Born in Amsterdam, Voet was chief chemist at an inks works in Hilversum until he went to the U.S. He joined the General Printing Ink Corporation and then (from 1943) the J.M. Huber Corporation in Borger, Texas, heading their physical research from 1950. He was a consultant to the U.S. Industrial Intelligence Agency in Germany (1945). Voet was an authority on the theory and practical applications of printing inks, carbon black, pigments, resins and their reactions with the surfaces on which these are imprinted. He took out over one hundred patents. His book *Ink and Paper in the Printing Process* (1952) is a classic in this field.

[Michael Denman (2nd ed.)]

VOGEL, ARTHUR ISRAEL (1905–1966), British organic chemist. Born and educated in London, he spent his career at Woolwich Polytechnic (London) from 1932. In 1934 he became head of the department of chemistry. He was the author of textbooks known and used throughout the world: *Elementary Practical Chemistry* (1936), *Textbook of Qualitative Chemical Analysis* (1937), *Textbook of Quantitative Chemical Analysis* (1939), *A Textbook of Practical Organic Chemistry* (1948), and *Elementary Practical Organic Chemistry* (1957), each of which ran to several editions.

VOGEL, DAVID (1891–1944), Hebrew poet and writer. Born in Satanov, Russia, he spent his youth in Vilna and Lvov and in 1912 settled in Vienna. Upon the outbreak of World War I, Vogel was imprisoned in Austrian detention camps as an enemy (Russian) national. He was released in 1916 but thereafter lived a solitary life, finding refuge in the seclusion to which he had already given expression in his youthful Hebrew diary, and which is the cornerstone of all his poetry.

His poems were published from 1918 onward in Hebrew journals in various countries, and the only volume of poems he ever published, *Lifnei ha-Sha'ar ha-Afel* ("Before the Dark Gate"), appeared in Vienna in 1923. Vogel settled in Paris in 1925, immigrated to Palestine in 1929, but left a year later. After traveling to Warsaw, Vienna, and Berlin he returned in 1932 to his beloved Paris. During these years he published his stories *Be-Veit ha-Marpe* (1927; "In the Sanatorium"); a novel *Ḥayyei Nissu'im* (1929–30; "Married Life"); *Le-Nokhaḥ ha-Yam* (1932 34; "Facing the Sea"), and prepared a second volume of poems for publication which he did not live to publish. When World War II broke out Vogel was incarcerated in French detention camps as an enemy national (now an Austrian). These experiences are described in the manuscript of his diary (in Yiddish). After the capitulation of France, Vogel was released (1941) and lived in Hauteville near Lyons. There he was arrested by the Nazis in February 1944, and most likely perished in a concentration camp.

Vogel's poetry is completely introspective and describes a dream world, disjointed and purposeless. The main subjects are love, lost childhood, and fear of oblivion, which fuse together to create a sense of alienation and isolation. The constant presence of death becomes the basic sense of existence. The poems are extremely restrained in tone but their lack of pathos serves only to intensify the dread. Vogel's imagery is startling and elliptic and most of his poems are written in free rhythm, without ordered rhyming. Their framework appears loose: unequal sections, and only vague hints as to the affinity between them. Both the external and the inner-psychological plots of his prose works are developed within a framework of time and a given society. *Be-Veit ha-Marpe* creates an atmosphere of despair and aimlessness against a background of life in a tuberculosis sanatorium (Vogel and his wife were both stricken with this disease). *Ḥayyei Nissu'im*, a psychological novel set in Vienna after World War I, depicts a pathological love affair between a Jew and a gentile baroness. Vogel's stories generally were favorably received but had little influence.

His poetry, on the other hand, aroused varied and conflicting reactions, reflecting the changing trends in Hebrew literary criticism. His first poems already won him admirers (among them J.Ḥ. *Brenner), but also dismayed more traditionalist critics (including Ḥ.N. Bialik), who found them entirely illogical. In the 1930s and 1940s he was almost totally ignored as a literary figure but was "rediscovered" in the 1950s. Unlike his early admirers who spoke of his "gentle delicacy," the new critics pointed out the power of his allusive expression and regarded him as an important forerunner of Hebrew modernism.

His complete poems have been published, with an introduction and bibliography by Dan Pagis: *Kol Shirei David Vogel* (1966). Since the 1980s there has been a growing interest in the works of Vogel, who is considered by literary critics to be one of the seminal innovators of modern Hebrew prose. Menaḥem Peri rediscovered and published (1986) the novel *Ḥayyei Nissu'im* (English translation: *Married Life*, 1988 and 1998) and *Taḥanot Kavot* (novellas and diaries, 1990; *Extinguished Stations*) in his series Ha-Sifriah ha-Ḥadashah. The collected poems were published in 1971, 1975 and 1998. An English translation of the novella *Facing the Sea* is included in A. Lelchuk and G. Shaked (ed.), *Eight Great Hebrew Short Stories* (1983). Vogel's diaries and autobiographical notes

1912–1922 and 1941/42 were published in German as *Das Ende der Tage*, with a forward by Amir Eshel. A list of other works translated into English appeared in Goell, Bibliography, 56, and further information concerning translations is available at the website ITHL at iwww.thl.org.il.

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[Dan Pagis]

VOGEL, SIR JULIUS (1835–1899), prime minister of New Zealand. Born in London, Vogel was attracted to Australia by the gold-rush and settled in Melbourne in 1852. Unable to make a fortune in the mines, he immigrated to New Zealand in 1861, became a journalist, and edited the colony's first daily newspaper, the *Otago Daily Times*. In the following year he was elected to the Otago provincial council. In 1863 Vogel became a member of the house of representatives where his mastery of financial issues brought him to the fore. He was made colonial treasurer in 1869 and acquired great prestige by successfully negotiating a loan with the British government for the construction of roads and railways. In 1873 Vogel became prime minister and set about reducing the autonomy of the New Zealand provinces with the intention of abolishing the regional system and strengthening the hand of the central government. This policy lost him considerable popularity and in 1875, while on a visit to London to negotiate fresh loans, he resigned. He was briefly prime minister again in the following year, and from 1876 to 1881 was agent-general of New Zealand in London. There he succeeded in persuading the British government to pass the Colonial Stock Act, thereby allowing for the inscription of colonial loans. Vogel returned to New Zealand in 1884 and became colonial treasurer for a second time. However, bitter criticism of his policy of public borrowing forced him to resign in 1887 and he left for London shortly afterward. He took no further part in New Zealand politics. Vogel was knighted in 1875, and died in East Molesley, Surrey. In 1889 Vogel published a novel, *Anno Domini 2000; or, Women's Destiny,* in which he predicted that women would rule and poverty would be abolished.

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VOGEL, KAREL (1897–1961), Czech-English sculptor. Born in Bohemia, educated in Prague, Vogel fled to England in 1939. He gained success as a portraitist and executed a number of public commissions. He also did a series of small nudes in bronze which showed the influence of Rodin. Vogel worked at London's Camberwell School of Arts and Crafts, where he was head of sculpture. His work is in important museums in London and in Prague.

VOGEL, SIMON (1850–1917), Hungarian soldier. Born in Karczag, Vogel joined the Austro-Hungarian army as a private but was selected for the officers' school and fought in the Bosnian campaign. Teaching at the Kassa cadet academy, Vogel was introduced to Emperor Francis Joseph I and was promoted to colonel with command of a regiment. He was made governor of Sarajevo in 1903 and represented the Austrian army at the marriage of King Alphonso XIII of Spain in 1906. In 1909 he became a major general and retired soon afterward.

VOGEL, WLADIMIR (1896–1984), composer. Born in Moscow, Vogel studied piano and theory privately, and was influenced by Scriabin, whom he saw performing at a concert. During World War I he was interned in the Urals and later went to Berlin, where in the 1920s he studied with Thiessen and Busoni. In 1935 he settled in Switzerland and taught composition privately. After World War II he became an honorary member of the Academia Sta. Cecilia in Rome and an ordinary member of the Akademie der Kuenste in Berlin. He won several prizes, including the composer's prize of the Schweizerischer Tonkűnstlerverein. Vogel experimented a great deal with the use of "speaking choirs," being influenced by Communist agit-prop, melodrama, and Expressionist music. He wrote a number of dramatically impressive oratorios and cantatas using this technique, such as *Wagadus Untergang durch die Eitelkeit* (1930) and *Thyl Claes, fils de Kolldraeger* (1938–45). Starting with his Violin Concerto (1937) Vogel used 12-note technique. In some of his later works he was inspired by architectural, pictorial, and graphic images (*Inspiré par Jean Arp*, 1965; *Graphique*, 1976; *Verstrebungen*, 1977).

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[Claude Abravanel / Yulia Kreinin (2nd ed.)]

°**VOGELSANG, KARL VON** (1818–1890), Austrian conservative clerical publicist, and antisemite. Vogelsang was born in Liegnitz (Legnica), Silesia, and studied jurisprudence. A Protestant by upbringing, Vogelsang embraced Catholicism like many other citizens in Mecklenburg after the crisis of the 1848 revolution. In 1850 he therefore lost his position. In the 1860s he and his family moved to Austria. He finally settled in Vienna in 1875 and became the editor of *Vaterland*, an ultra-conservative and clerical daily, the ideological organ of the antisemitic Christian Social movement. His first year was devoted, inter alia, to attacking the minister of justice, Julius *Glaser (a converted Jew), and defending the striking Brno textile workers (many of whose employers were Jewish). A fierce opponent of liberalism and capitalism, which he blamed for all the ills of society, he identified modern Jewry with capitalism, the disrupter of the ideal Christian, feudal, corporative, social fabric. Though not a racial antisemite, he prepared the grounds for modern conservative antisemitism by furnishing it with a wide social appeal: castigating the insolent "*Judenpresse*," despising godless and greedy "*Reformjuden*," and thundering against the "*Judenboerse*." The demagogic talent and later mayor of Vienna, Karl Lueger, took over Vogelsang's political objectives and popularized them. Notwithstanding his antisemitic ideology, Vogelsang was highly respected by the Austrian Conservatives even after the Shoah; in 1990 a special Austrian stamp recalled the 100th anniversary of his death.

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[Albert Lichtblau (2nd ed.)]

VOGELSTEIN, family in Germany, active in the Reform-Liberal movement.

HEINEMANN VOGELSTEIN (1841–1911) was rabbi at Pilsen and Stettin (Szczecin) and founder and president of the Association of Liberal Rabbis and a vice president of the Association for Liberal Judaism (Vereinigung fuer das Liberale *Judentum). He published a prayer book (1894–96) eliminating references to the restoration of Jewish nationhood. A strong anti-Zionist, he was among the *Protestrabbiner in 1897 and published in 1906 a pamphlet *Der Zionismus, eine Gefahr fuer die gedeihliche Entwickelung des Judentums*. He also wrote *Kampf zwischen Priestern und Leviten seit den Tagen Ezechiels* (1889).

His son HERMANN VOGELSTEIN (1870–1942) occupied rabbinical posts at Oppeln (Opole), Koenigsberg, and Breslau. In 1938 he emigrated to the United States. His writings include *Die Landwirtschaft in Palaestina zur Zeit der Misnah – Der Getreidebau* (1894); *Militaerisches aus der israelitischen Koenigszeit* (1906); *Zur Vorgeschichte des Gesetzes ueber die Verhaeltnisse der Juden vom 23. Juli 1847* (1909). With Paul *Rieger he wrote the standard history of the Jews in Rome (*Geschichte der Juden in Rom*, 2 vols., 1895–96) of which a revised edition in English (by M. Hadas) appeared in the Jewish Communities Series of the Jewish Publication Society of America (JPSA; 1940).

Another son of Heinemann, Ludwig *Vogelstein, became a metal magnate and philanthropist.

THEODOR VOGELSTEIN (1880–1957) also a son of Heinemann, was a banker, industrialist, and cofounder of the Democratic Party of the German Weimar Republic. During the Nazi regime he emigrated to Paris where he later died.

JULIE VOGELSTEIN-BRAUN (1883–1971) a daughter of Heinemann, was a writer. She edited Otto Braun's writings after his death (*Schriften eines Frueh-Vollendeten*, 1920), and wrote *Geist und Gestalt der abendlaendischen Kunst* (1957) and *Was niemals stirbt* (1966).

MAX VOGELSTEIN (1901–) son of Hermann, served as rabbi in Frankfurt on the Main and Koblenz (1935–38), and taught at the Jewish Teachers' Academy in Berlin (1934–35). In 1938 he emigrated to the United States. He made a special study of biblical chronology, on which he published, among other works, *Fertile Soil: A Political History of Israel…* (1957).

VOGELSTEIN, LUDWIG (1871–1934), U.S. business executive, philanthropist, and communal leader. Vogelstein, who was born in Pilsen, Czechoslovakia, went to the U.S. in 1896 as the representative of the metal firm of Aaron Hirsch & Sohn of Halberstadt. He later founded his own metal-dealing firm, which subsequently merged with the American Metal Co., Ltd. (1920). In 1924 Vogelstein became that firm's first vice president and later chairman of its executive board. He also founded and developed several large mining and metal companies in the U.S. and Canada. A vigorous supporter of Reform Judaism, Vogelstein predicted the eventual merging of all movements of Judaism. He was a staunch anti-Zionist. Extremely active in Jewish communal life, Vogelstein served as chairman of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations; trustee-at-large for the support of Jewish Philanthropic societies; vice president of the World Union for Progressive Judaism; governor of Hebrew Union College; director of the Jewish Publication Society; and president of Temple Beth-El (New York City), and a trustee after its merger with Emanu-El.

°VOGÜÉ, CHARLES EUGENE MELCHIOR, COMTE DE (1829–1916), French architect and archaeologist. De Vogüé was born in Paris into one of the oldest families of the French aristocracy. In 1853/54 he went on research trips in Ereẓ Israel and Syria, discovering many ruined cities in Hauran and Northern Syria with well-preserved remains. His books *Mélanges d'architecture orientale* (1866) and *L'architecture civile et religieuse du Ier au Vieme siècle dans la Syrie centrale* (2 vols., 1866–77) opened a new chapter in the architectural history of the Roman-Byzantine period in Ereẓ Israel and Syria. De Vogüé also published sketches of the Temple enclosure, *Le Temple de Jérusalem* (1865–67), including a restoration of the Second Temple which is still of value today. The inscriptions found on his travels are translated and clarified in *Inscriptions sémitiques* (1869–77). After the establishment of the Third Republic he became the French ambassador in Constantinople (1871) and Vienna (1875–79).

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[Michael Avi-Yonah]

VOHRYZEK, JOSEF (1926–1998), Czech literary critic, translator, and prose writer. Born in Prague, Vohryzek was sent by his parents (who perished in the Holocaust) to Sweden in 1940, where he lived until 1950. In 1956 he graduated from Charles University in Prague, where he studied Czech and literary sciences. In his articles in the literary monthly *Květen* ("May"), where he worked from 1956 to 1985, he refused to adopt the Marxist-Communist dogma. In 1959 he had lost his job at the Institute for Czech literature of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences because of his criticism of the Communist Party's policies. Vohryzek worked as a translator (especially from Swedish – Lindgren, Bergman, Strinberg, Ibsen) and an editor. After 1970 he was forced to do only manual jobs. He signed Charter 77 and became its spokesperson in 1987. A collection of his articles from the 1960s was published as *Kniha Josefova* (1986 in *samizdat* "The Book of Josef"; in 1995 as *Literární kritiky* ("Literary Criticism")). His experimental prose work *Chodec* ("The Walker," 1964) was inspired by his stay in Sweden. After 1989 he was fully occupied with literary criticism and with the issue of antisemitism. He wrote excellent critical works on the books of J. Kovtun; I.B. *Singer; S. *Wiesenthal; and V. Černý.

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[Milos Pojar (2nd ed.)]

VOLCHKO (Pol. **Wolf**, **Wólczko**, also known as **Tsolner**; d. 1441?), Polish merchant, revenue officer, banker, purveyor to the king, and founder of settlements. Although the date of his birth is unknown, he originated in the town of Drogobych. A wealthy Jew, he became the banker and official agent (*Officialis Noster*) of Ladislaus II Jagello (1386–1434), king of Poland. Volchko was very successful in financial affairs, tax-collection, commerce, and the founding of settlements (*locator*). The earliest evidence of his activities is a document (1404) which names him as executor of a large sum of money in the king's name for the town of *Lvov (Lemberg). For the next 30 years his affairs also involved the lease of the king's and the town's revenues in Lvov, and those of the customs stations of *Chelm and the salt mines of Drogobych. In addition to granting credit to the king and his court, Volchko also lent money to members of the feudal aristocracy with the king's consent. In 1419 he built himself a magnificent house in the Jewish quarter of Lvov which, at the close of the 16th century, finally became the property of the *Nachmanovich family who later built a synagogue in it. Volchko also engaged in the import of spices, silk, furs, and English cloth as well as in the export of wax. In 1423 the king granted him administrative rights and jurisdiction over the village of Werbiz (near *Sambor), which he developed most successfully on the strength of privileges similar to those of the *Magdeburg Law. To show his satisfaction, the king extended Volchko's rights to other estates in the vicinity. In letters-patent of the king in 1425, however, it was hinted that Volchko converted to Christianity. Volchko gave cause for disappointment in this hope and thus gave Church officials pretext to demand his removal from the estates on the basis that it was forbidden for a Jew to have jurisdiction over Christian settlers. Until 1432 Volchko succeeded in establishing more villages but in time he was compelled to retire from these activities and his rights were taken over by Christians.

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[Arthur Cygielman]

VOLCKER, PAUL A. (1927–), U.S. economist. Volcker, who was born in Cape May, N.J., was educated at Princeton, Harvard, and the London School of Economics. He began at the New York Federal Reserve Bank as a summer research assistant in 1949, returned as an economist in the research department in 1952, and became a special assistant in the securities department in 1955. Two years later he became a financial economist at Chase Manhattan Bank and returned there in 1965 as a vice president. He served as undersecretary of the treasury for international monetary affairs from 1969 to 1974. He played an important role in the decision surrounding the American decision to suspend gold convertibility in 1971, which resulted in the collapse of the Bretton Woods system. In general Volcker acted as a moderating influence on policy, advocating the pursuit of an international solution to monetary problems. From 1979 to 1987, Volcker served as chairman of the Federal Reserve System, under presidents Jimmy Carter and Ronald Reagan, and president of the Federal Reserve Bank of New York from 1975 to 1990. Volcker's tenure at the Fed was credited with ending the United States inflation crisis of the early 1980s by constricting the money supply through a sharp increase in interest rates. Inflation, at 9 percent in 1980, was lowered to 3.2 percent by 1983. This was predictably accompanied by a decrease in growth, a recession, and by an increase in unemployment, which rose to the highest levels since World War II. When the inflation was resolved and interest rates were lowered, unemployment and domestic economic growth returned to their normal levels. In the late 1990s Volcker headed a panel that looked to mediate a dispute between Swiss banks and Holocaust survivors. The panel was created by the World Jewish Restitution Organization and the Swiss Bankers Association in 1996 to investigate the dormant accounts. The Jewish groups had accused the Swiss banks of hoarding the wealth of Holocaust victims. Hundreds of auditors pored over bank records for three years, identifying nearly 54,000 accounts that may have belonged to victims of the Nazis. The commission's report lent credence to long-standing charges that the Swiss banks had turned a deaf ear to the needs of Jewish depositors while responding to the orders issued by officials in Nazi Germany. The commission also concluded that it saw no reason to revise the $1.25 billion settlement that Swiss banks agreed to in 1998 to pay Holocaust-era claims. In April 2004 Volcker was assigned by the United Nations to research possible corruption in the Iraqi Oil for Food program. In a report summarizing the research, Volcker accused Kojo Annan, son of United Nations secretary general Kofi Annan, and the Swiss company Cotecna Inspection, Annan's employer, of trying to conceal their relationship. The report accused more than 2,200 companies and prominent politicians of colluding with Saddam Hussein's regime to bilk the humanitarian mission of $1.8 billion. It blamed shoddy management for allowing the corruption to go on for years. The investigators found that companies and individuals from 66 countries paid illegal kickbacks using a variety of methods, and those paying illegal oil surcharges came from, or were registered in, 40 countries. Volcker maintained his interests in the business world. He served on the board of the Nestlé Corporation from 1988 on and was chairman of the Washington-based Group of Thirty.

[Stewart Kampel (2nd ed.)]

VOLHYNIA (Rus. **Volyn**; Pol. **Wolyá**), historic region in N.W. Ukraine. Under czarist rule most of it was incorporated into the province of Volhynia. Today, the greatest part of it is divided up into the oblasts of *Zhitomir, *Rovno, and Volyn in the northwest part of Ukraine. The earliest information on Jews in Volhynia is in a report on the mourning of the Jews of the town of *Vladimir Volynski over the death of the prince of Volhynia, Vladimir Vasilkovich (d. 1288). However, there is reason to believe that there was already a Jewish settlement there in the 12th century. The Jews continued to live in Volhynia after it was annexed by *Lithuania. Among the Jewish communities whose members were granted rights of residence by the Lithuanian Grand Duke Witold were those of Vladimir-Volynski and *Lutsk.

During the first half of the 15th century, a wealthy Jew leased properties in the town of Vladimir-Volynski and even received an estate from the duke. Jewish landowners in the district of Lutsk are also mentioned during the second half of that century. In 1495, the grand duke of Lithuania, Alexander Jagellon, expelled all the Jews from his country, including those of Volhynia. In 1503, Alexander authorized the Jews to return to Lithuania and restituted their property, with the exception of their estates. In 1507 the ancient rights of residence of the Jews were again ratified by the authorities, and from then until the incorporation of Volhynia into the territories of the Polish Crown (1569), there was a considerable increase in the Jewish population of the region. During this period there were 13 Jewish settlements in Volhynia, including four principal communities (*Ostrog, Vladimir-Volynski, Lutsk, *Kremenets) which together numbered 3,000 members.

The Jews of Volhynia engaged mainly in commerce, but there were also some craftsmen, such as tailors and furriers, among them. Tension arose between them and the townsmen over Jewish economic activities. At the time the authorities, and particularly Queen Bona (1493–1557) – within the limits of her estates – defended the rights of the Jews. The general policy of the authorities toward the townsmen was marked by a tendency to increase their obligations, which also affected the Jews. During the second half of the 16th century, the Jews began to lease inns and engaged in various branches of the economy connected with the estates.

The expansion and consolidation of the Jewish settlement during this period made Volhynia a center of Jewish culture. By the middle of the 16th century, the area already boasted such distinguished scholars as Solomon *Luria, who held rabbinical office in Ostrog, and *Isaac b. Bezalel, the rabbi of Vladimir-Volynski. The golden era of Volhynian Jewry was the period between the annexation of the area to the Polish Crown in 1569 and the massacres of 1648. The establishment of towns on the steppes in the wake of the rapid settlement of the Ukraine and improved conditions of security led to the expansion of the Jewish population of Volhynia into new areas; especially due to migration from the towns to the townlets. In 1648 there were 46 Jewish settlements in Volhynia with a population of 15,000.

After the annexation, the Jews of Volhynia received legal status, equal to the Jews of Poland, whose rights surpassed those of the Jews of Lithuania. The Jews of Vladimir-Volynski (1570) and Lutsk (1579) were exempted from the payment of custom duties throughout the Polish kingdom. The Jews of Volhynia enjoyed the protection of the royal officials, who even defended their rights before the aristocracy and all the more so before other classes. With the weakening of royal authority at the close of the 16th and early 17th centuries, the Jews had the protection of the major landowners, mainly because they had become an important factor in the economy of Volhynia. At the close of the 16th century, the noblemen began to lease out their estates to Jews in exchange for a fixed sum which was generally paid in advance. All the incomes of the estate from the labor of the serfs, the payments of the townsmen and the Jews (who lived in the towns which belonged to the estate), innkeeping, the flour mills, and the other branches of the economy were handed over to the lessee. During the term of his lease, the Jew governed the estate and its inhabitants and was authorized to penalize the serfs at his discretion. During that period, a Jew named Abraham who lived in the town of Turisk became renowned for his vast leases in Volhynia. However, with the exception of these large leases, which were naturally limited in number and on which there is no further information from the beginning of the 17th century, many Jews leased inns, one of the branches of the agricultural economy of the estates, or the incomes of one of the towns or townlets. A lessee of this kind was actually the agent and confidant of the owner of the estate and the financial and administrative director of the economy of the aristocratic class. As a result of his functions, such a lessee exerted administrative authority and great economic influence, a situation which embittered the peasants, the townsmen, and the lower aristocracy. The lease of estates, together with the trade of agricultural produce derived from them, constituted the principal source of livelihood of the Jews of Volhynia.

Cultural and social life also prospered between 1569 and 1648. Each one of the four principal communities became an important Jewish center, and leading personalities, such as Mordecai b. Abraham *Jaffe (author of the *Levushim*), R. Isaiah b. Abraham ha-Levi *Horowitz' (SHe-La-H), R. Samuel Eliezer b. Judah ha-Levi *Edels (Ma-Ha-RSHA), R. Yom Tov Lipmann *Heller (author of *Tosefot Yom Tov*), *David b. Samuel ha-Levi (Ta-Z), and many others, held rabbinical office in them. The rabbis of the principal communities and the leaders of the province (Volhynia was one of the "provinces" of the *Council of the Lands) convened from time to time to discuss affairs of common interest, but every principal community retained its independence, a fact which caused controversies between the communities. The above-mentioned rabbis and leaders also participated in the conventions of the provinces from the inception of the "Council of the Lands" in Poland in the 1580s. It also appears that earlier, before 1569, they participated in the Lithuanian conventions. In Volhynia, as in the other "provinces", there was a supreme bet *din whose seat was in Ostrog and before which any person who refused to be judged by the *bet din* of his town could present his case; disputes between communities were also brought before this *bet din*.

The rebellion of the peasants and the Cossacks in 1648, led by *Chmielnicki, undermined the very foundations of the Jewish settlement in Volhynia. The Jews of Volhynia, unlike those of the Dnieper region and the plain, knew of the defeats suffered by the Polish army and the massacres of Jews, and the overwhelming majority of them sought refuge in the fortified cities. However, after the fall of the fortress of Polonnoye into the hands of the rebels, as a result of the treason of the Ukrainian townsmen, and the massacre of the Jews of the town, a mass exodus toward the west began. The few who remained in Volhynia were put to death or converted, and Jewish homes and property were thoroughly ransacked. Although those who had fled returned to their residences after a few months (the first of them even before the end of 1648), the Jewish settlement in Volhynia, like the region as a whole, did not recover completely. Volhynia was transformed from a region which served as an economic, social, and administrative hinterland for the extensive colonization of the Ukrainian plain, into a border area of the kingdom, and its importance declined even further after the wars of the middle of the 17th century.

During the 1660s, when a period of relative calm dawned on Poland, the Jewish settlement of Volhynia appears to have regained its former dimensions. In the late 1670s there were about 20,000 Jews living in Volhynia. Thereafter, the number of Jews grew steadily, due to natural increase and to settlement in townlets and small villages. A total of 51,736 Jews were counted in 116 localities in Volhynia in 1765. However, there is reason to believe that their numbers were actually greater because a section of the population evaded the census, which was carried out for purposes of tax collection. About 30% of the Jews lived in over 2,000 villages; in three communities there were between 2,000 and 2,500 people, and in six communities there were between 1,000 and 2,000.

Large leases of whole estates are not in evidence during this period, but a considerable number of Jews leased inns or individual branches of the agricultural economy. Some of the Jews acted as the agents of various landowners, whereas others traded with the farmers. A number of them also traded with other parts of Poland or even traveled abroad to attend fairs. The percentage of craftsmen was also on the rise. In the main towns (the so-called royal towns), the townsmen succeeded in completely undermining the position of the Jews, but the Jews established themselves from the economic point of view in smaller towns (the so-called private towns) owned by noblemen. The owners of these towns compelled the townsmen to do agricultural labor for them; and many of the town dwellers therefore gradually moved over to the suburbs, which became semi-agricultural settlements, while in the town centers the Jewish population that kept its distinct urban character continued to increase. This evolution further strained the relations between townsmen and Jews, and there were ample opportunities for anti-Jewish incitement by the clergy.

From the beginning of the 18th century, a series of misfortunes and persecutions befell the Jewish population of Volhynia: a rebellion of the Cossacks broke out in 1702 and several bands penetrated into Volhynia; the Polish armies and the Cossacks of Mazeppa, who came to suppress the rebellion, also robbed the Jews and molested them. During the Great Northern War between Sweden, Poland, and Russia, Swedish regiments invaded the area (1706) and imposed heavy levies on the population. They were followed by the Russian and Polish armies, which continued to exact extortion from the Jews. From the 1730s onward, the Jews of Volhynia were the victims of repeated attacks by the *Haidamacks. From the 1740s to 1760s, there were most frequent blood libels in eastern Poland, possibly against the background of the rivalry between the Catholic and Russian Orthodox clergies. In 1747, there was a *blood libel in Zaslavl; in 1755 an attempted blood libel in Kremenets; and in 1756 a blood libel in Yampol.

The great revolt of the Haidamacks in 1768 affected the Jews of Volhynia to a relatively slight degree. Two years later, however, "the plague – may we be saved from it – broke out, while a conflagration raged in many districts through innumerable towns and villages, so that the Jews deserted their lands, abandoned their houses, and animals and fled to the forests and the fields; this confusion also struck the province of Volhynia" (Jacob Israel ha-Levi, *Aguddat Ezov*, 2 (1782), 24). After the massacres of 1648, the importance of Volhynia declined but its cultural organization was strengthened. During this period, the autonomous province of Volhynia remained one of the provinces of the Council of the Lands, and its representatives attended meetings. The activities of the provincial council, which met every three years with the participation of the delegates from the principal communities, also continued. During this period, the communities of Dubno and *Kovel were added to the provincial council. Toward the middle of the 18th century there were frequent disputes within Volhynia; for example, the trustees of the province complained against the communities of Ostrog ("the first and leading one among the communities of Volhynia") and Lutsk for their refusal to contribute toward the province's expenses. Controversies also broke out between the principal communities and the petty communities ("the environs"), which sought to liberate themselves from the authority of the former. It is worth noting that even after the dissolution of the Council of the Lands in 1764, the principal communities of the province continued to convene and deliberate.

Volhynia (together with neighboring *Podolia) was also the first arena of *Ḥasidism. Several members of Israel Baal Shem Tov's company were of Volhynian origin, and during the following generation, Ḥasidism made rapid progress in Volhynia. *Jacob Joseph, one of the most prominent disciples and followers of the tradition of the Baal Shem Tov, lived in Polonnoye; the leader and successor of the Baal Shem Tov, *Dov Baer, in Mezhirech and Rovno; and R. Phinehas in *Korets (where an important press of the Ḥasidim was established); *Levi Isaac in Berdichev; R. *Wolf in Zhitomir; *Moses Ḥayyim Ephraim in Sudilkov; R. Feivish in *Zbarazh; R. Samson in *Shepetovka; R. Zeev Wolf in Zbarazh; R. Mordecai in Kremenets; R. Moses in Zvahi; R. Isaac in Radziwill; R. Joseph in Yapol (the last five were the sons of R. Mekhel of *Zolochev); R. Abraham in Trisk. In the 1760s, the Ḥasidim already exerted much influence in Volhynia and Dov Baer was a decisive authority in the public affairs of Volhynia. The administration of the communities of Volhynia was subsequently controlled by the Ḥasidim, and all appointments required the consent of the *ẓaddikim*. The first partition of Poland in 1772 and the separation of Volhynia from Galicia, to which it was attached mainly by social and economic ties, left a considerable imprint on the Jewish population of the region. The great fair of *Lvov was transferred to Dubno and helped the development of that community. Fairs also flourished in several other towns of Volhynia. At the close of the century, Berdichev became an important commercial center for the whole vicinity.

In the second (1793) and third (1795) partitions of Poland, sections of Volhynia were annexed by the Russian Empire, and the province of Volhynia was created from them in 1799. At first the political changes did not affect the sources of livelihood of the Jews or even the organizational systems of the communities; the proximity to the Austrian border, particularly to the important commercial town of *Brody, encouraged the Jews to establish commercial relations with Austria, even to the point of smuggling. This situation was brought to the attention of the Russian authorities during the first years after the annexation, and in 1812 the governor of the province of Volhynia suggested that the Jews be removed from a border strip 50 versts wide to prevent them from smuggling. This proposal received royal assent in 1816. In 1825, it was extended to all the western provinces of Russia, though in practice it was never fully applied. In 1843, an order was published to remove the Jews from the border region "without any excuses." At that time, Jews from the provinces of Lithuania and Belorussia began to immigrate to Volhynia. In 1847, there were 174,457 Jews in Volhynia. Industry began to develop among the Jews, and toward the middle of the 19th century a number of wealthy Jews leased the alcoholic beverage excise from the government. As a result, the number of Jewish innkeepers also increased. Many Jews traded in agricultural produce and tobacco. In 1885 there were no Christian merchants of the first and second guilds in Volhynia, whereas the number of Jews who belonged to these guilds amounted to 113; in the third guild, there were 3,749 Jewish and 56 Christian inhabitants of Volhynia.

In 1821, R. Isaac Dov (Baer) *Levinsohn returned from Galicia to his native town of Kremenets, and a center of the *Haskalah was thus created in Volhynia. In the early 1830s, through the initiative of the physician Rutenberg of Berdichev, a circle of *maskilim* named "Ḥevrat Shoḥarei Or ve-Haskalah" ("Society of the Seekers of Light and Enlightenment") was organized in Volhynia. At that time, the author Abraham Baer *Gottlober, who influenced many youths in the spirit of the Haskalah, was living in Volhynia. The Haskalah also made progress among the wealthy, including the lessees of the tax on alcoholic beverages. From the 1840s, the Russian government endeavored to propagate education among the Jews of Russia. Zhitomir, where one of the two Hebrew presses permitted by the government to function (in 1845) and the government rabbinical seminary (opened in 1848) were located, became an important center of the Haskalah movement in southwestern Russia.

The emancipation of the peasants in 1861 and the Polish rebellion of 1863 caused far-reaching changes in the economic and social development of Volhynia that affected the Jews. The decline of the estates of the Polish nobility, the construction of railways, and the creation of direct lines of communication with the large commercial centers deprived the Jewish masses of their traditional sources of livelihood and impoverished them. This prompted the Jews to develop industry. Of the 123 large factories situated in Volhynia in the late 1870s, 118 were owned by Jews. The number of craftsmen also increased. In 1862, a vocational school, the first of its kind in Russia, opened in Zhitomir. In 1897, there were 395,782 Jews living in Volhynia constituting 13.21% of the total population; 30% of them lived in the towns, 49% in the townlets, and 21% in the villages. The Jews constituted one half of the population of the towns. Forty per cent of Volhynia's Jews earned their livelihood from commerce, 25% from crafts, 12.5% from public and private services, 3.7% from haulage, and 2.3% from agriculture. The industries in which they engaged were light and nonmechanized and consisted essentially of the processing of agricultural produce, wood, hides, soap, etc. During the last quarter of the 19th century, the Jews of Volhynia, together with those of other parts of Russia, organized their public life and entered upon a political struggle for their rights. By the 1880s cells of the Ḥovevei Zion had already been established in the towns and townlets of Volhynia, and at the beginning of the 20th century branches of the *Bund and the Zionist parties were organized. Ḥasidism, however, continued to exert the most decisive influence.

The Jews of Volhynia were not harmed directly by the pogroms in Russia during the 1880s and in 1905–06. Many disasters befell them during World War I and the Russian civil war, however. In 1915 the Russian soldiers perpetrated pogroms in Volhynia, as in the other regions within proximity of the front, when they enforced the expulsion of the Jews because of their supposed disloyalty to Russia. In the summer of 1917, soldiers fleeing from the front murdered and robbed Jews in various parts of Volhynia. The situation deteriorated in the wake of the hostilities between the Ukrainians and the Bolsheviks in 1918, and the disorders reached their climax in a series of pogroms against the Jews by armed bands and in the frequent changes of regime in 1919–20. Many thousands died in these pogroms. During the Polish-Soviet war of 1920, the Jews of Volhynia suffered at the hands of both sides. In the peace treaty signed between Russia and Poland, the greater part of Volhynia went to the Poles, while the towns of Zhitomir, *Ovruch, and their surroundings remained under Soviet rule. In the 1926 census 65,589 Jews were counted in Russian Volhynia, while some 300,000 Jews lived in Polish Volhynia in the early 1930s. The economic discrimination against Jews by the Polish government was evident in Volhynia as in other parts of Poland, but Jewish cultural and social life prospered there. Jewish educational institutions, parties, the courts of ḥasidic *ẓaddikim*, etc., developed freely. The Jews of Volhynia, as in other parts of Poland, played an important role in *aliyah* to Palestine and the support to the *yishuv.*

The situation in the Soviet part of Volhynia was rather different. A brief period of cultural awakening in the 1920s was followed by the decline and the apathy of the 1930s, when many active Jews abandoned the townlets for the larger towns of the Ukraine and inner Russia. After the division of Poland in September 1939 according to the Hitler-Stalin agreement, the whole of Volhynia was annexed by the Soviet Union, and a policy of liquidation of the Jewish parties, organizations, and institutions was pursued until the German attack on the Soviet Union in June 1941.

Holocaust Period

The extermination of the Jews of Volhynia began in the first days after the outbreak of the war between Germany and the Soviet Union. In many places, the Ukrainians perpetrated acts of murder before the arrival of the Germans or immediately after it. In Zhitomir, 2,500 Jews were exterminated during the last week of July 1941, while several thousands were confined to a ghetto which was liquidated on September 19 of the same year (mainly by Ukrainians). Ghettos were set up in various towns in formerly Polish Volhynia. They continued to exist until the autumn of 1942, and during the months of September–November the Jews were exterminated and the ghettos of Rovno, Kremenets, and Dubno were liquidated. It is difficult to estimate the number of Jews who perished in Volhynia, but there is no doubt that it reached tens of thousands. After World War II, some of the few survivors returned to the towns of Volhynia, but the Holocaust and the Soviet policies of the 1950s and 1960s had completely obliterated the communal and public Jewish life that had existed in Volhynia for about eight centuries.

In 2005, two Holocaust monuments were erected in the city.

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[Shmuel Ettinger]

VOLKOVYSK (Pol. **Wolkowysk**), city in Grodno oblast, Belorus. Jews were first mentioned as living in the environs of Volkovysk in 1577. In 1766 the Jews paying poll tax in the city and its environs numbered 1,282. Volkovysk was annexed by Russia in 1795, and by 1797 there were 1,477 Jews and Karaites, comprising 64% of the population. There were 1,429 Jews in 1847; 5,445 (64% of the total) in 1897; and 5,130 (46%) in 1921. In the 19th century the Jews engaged in shopkeeping, crafts, and marketing agricultural products; they founded textile plants, sawmills, a brewery, a tannery, and manufactured tobacco products. Many Jews earned their livelihood by providing services and purveying to the nearby Russian army camp. The Jewish proletariat began to organize in 1897 under the influence of the *Bund, which began its activities when a strike broke out in the tanneries. A large yeshivah was founded in Volkovysk in 1887 and existed up to World War I. Between the world wars all the Jewish parties were active in the city, as well as a branch of *He-Ḥalutz. The educational institutions of the community comprised a school and kindergarten of the *Tarbut network, a Hebrew high school named Herzliyya (founded 1927), Taḥkemoni and Yavneh schools, a *talmud torah*, and a CISHO (see *Education) school. There was also a cooperative farmers' union (with 35 farms) for the purchase of equipment and marketing of their produce. Between 1924 and 1929 a Yiddish weekly, *Volkovisker Lebn*, was published. The rabbis of the community included Jonathan b. Mordecai *Eliasberg in the 1890s; Isaac Elhanan *Spektor lived there in the 1830s. Eliyahu *Golomb, Raphael Klatzkin (the Habimah actor; d. 1987), and Naḥman Rachmilewitz (Lithuanian minister for Jewish affairs), were originally from Volkovysk.

[Dov Rubin]

Holocaust Period

With the outbreak of the German-Soviet war (June 22, 1941), Volkovysk was heavily bombed by the Germans. Several hundred Jews were among those killed. A few escaped with the retreating Soviet army. From the start of the Nazi occupation many Jews were massacred, some of them denounced by Poles. A ghetto was set up on Dec. 13, 1941. In May 1942 about 2,000 Jews were exterminated near the town. The head of the *Judenrat, Ajzik Weinberg, attempted to alleviate the suffering of the community and established contact with the partisans. A Jewish underground movement organized groups to join the partisans in the forests. Discovering that Jewish doctors had helped the partisans, the Germans arrested all 11 doctors in the ghetto, severely tortured them, and, when they refused to denounce their colleagues, hanged them in the town square. On Nov. 2, 1942 all of the Jews were rounded up in a former prisoner-of war camp, joined within a few days by all the Jews of the surrounding areas – a total of 20,000 persons. They lived in overcrowded huts below ground level. By the end of 1942, about 18,000 people were deported for extermination to the death camp of *Treblinka. The Volkovysk camp was liquidated on Jan. 12, 1943, and the remnants of the town's community were transferred to *Auschwitz.

[Aharon Weiss]

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VOLKSPARTEI, JUEDISCHE (Jewish National Party; **Juedisch-nationale** or **Juedische Partei**), political arm of the Zionist movement for domestic policy (Landespolitik) in Austria from 1906 to 1934. The party had branches throughout Austria, excepting Galicia, which had an independent organization after 1908. It stressed Jewish pride and rejected the participation of Jews in other national movements. Accepting the idea of an Austrian multinational state, it demanded recognition of the Jews as one of the peoples therein and the transformation of their religious communities into national communities. The Jewish National Party found many adherents in eastern Austria. In the west, it was largely popular among university students. It published weekly papers in several places and from 1919 to 1927 the daily *Wiener Morgenzeitung*. In 1908 Benno Straucher was elected Reichsrat deputy from Bukovina and formed the Jewish Club with three deputies from Galicia (Heinrich Gabel, Arthur Mahler, and Adolf Stand). In 1911 only Straucher's seat was retained. With the break up of the Austrian Empire in 1918, the party lost most of its followers and was virtually limited to Vienna. There it succeeded in 1919 in electing its leader, Robert *Stricker, to the Austrian parliament, where he cast the only vote against proclaiming Austria to be a part of Germany. He vigorously defended equality of rights for Austrian Jews, but he failed to be reelected in the Reichsrat election of 1921 owing to changes in the parliamentary election law. In 1919 the party gained three seats in the city council, to which Leopold Plaschkes, Jakob Ehrlich, and Bruno Pollack-Parnau were elected. In 1923 it lost two of the three seats, with Plaschkes remaining city councilor. In 1927 it lost the last seat. The party participated in subsequent elections with ever diminishing returns. It was successful in the Vienna religious community, however, where it obtained a change in the electoral rules, first gaining strong representation in the 1920s, and finally reaching a majority when Desider *Friedmann was elected community president in 1933.

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[Hugo Knoepfmacher / Evelyn Adunka (2nd ed.)]

VOLLI, GEMMA (1900–1971), Italian historian and teacher. Born in Trieste, Gemma Volli devoted herself to Jewish studies, and especially to the history of Italian Jewry in its relations with the Church.

Of particular interest are her papers on the *Mortara case in the *Rassegna Mensile d'Israel* (26, 1960 and 28, 1962) and in the *Bollettino del Museo de Risorgimento* (5 (1960), 1087 ff.). Her articles and lectures on the cult of Simon of Trent (in *Il Ponte*, 19 (1963), 1396 ff.; and RMI, 31 (1965), 570 ff.) led to its abolition by the Church (Oct. 26, 1965); as a consequence, the Jewish *ḥerem* on the city of Trent lost its validity. Volli did the same service in exposing the cult of Lorenzino da Marostica (RMI, 34 (1968), 513 ff., 564 ff.). Her other works include *Breve storia degli Ebrei d'Italia* (1961); *"La vera storia del protocolli dei Savi anziani di Sion"* (II Ponte, 13 (1957), 1649 ff.); and *Gli Ebrei a Lugo* (1970).

Her name was commemorated in the preface to the theatrical story about Simonino from Trento, "Shalom Alechem" by A. Zanotti – R. Fracalossi (Rovereto, 2005) for her contribution to the abolition of the cult of Simonino. Her *Gli Ebrei a Lugo* has been republished.

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[Alfredo Mordechai Rabello]

VOLOS (**Volo**), principal port city of Thessaly, Greece. The community of Volos was founded in the 19th century by a considerable number of Jews who came from the Peloponnesus after the Greek Revolution and the destruction of all of its Jewish communities. The community numbered 35 families in 1850. A new Romaniot synagogue was built in 1865 with the assistance of the Barons Rothschild and Hirsch of Paris. The rabbi was Samuel Molcho. One of the first schools to be opened by the *Alliance Israélite Universelle was in Volos (1864), which was also attended by many Greek children. Due to financial problems, communal apathy, defective instruction, dwindling enrollment, and abhorrent sanitary conditions, the school closed permanently in 1878. In 1889 and 1893 the community suffered from blood libels. At the end of the Turko-Greek war in 1897, anti-Jewish riots broke out, and many Jews fled to *Salonika. In 1909 there were 150 Jewish families and in 1913 about 1,000 persons. In 1910, the Zionist organization Po'alei Zion was founded, and in 1933 the Maccabi scout movement was founded. In 1940 the Jewish population of the city was 882. In 1943 the Jews dispersed themselves in the surroundings, but 130 of them fell into the hands of the Nazis and were included in a transport to the death camps. Rabbi Moshon Pessah, in consultation with the local Greek-

Orthodox Metropolit Ioachim, decided that he would not turn over communal lists to the German commander, and had the insight and courage to advise his community members to flee to the Pelion Mountains and elsewhere outside of Volos in the Thessaly region. Mainly the very poor, old, or those who returned to the city because of the rigors of mountain village life or to get supplies were caught and deported to Birkenau. Some of the Jews of Volos were in a special ELAS Jewish unit in the Pelion Mountains, and throughout Thessaly the Jews cooperated with the British in sabotage against German targets. In 1948 there were 565 Jews in the town; in 1958, 230; and in 1967, 210. In the earthquakes of 1955 and 1957, damage was done to the synagogue. It was decided to rebuild it on the same site, and money was raised from the Greek Board of Jewish Communities, the Salonikan Jewish community, the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee, and private donors. In 1987, antisemitic graffiti were sprayed on the synagogue and Jewish stores in Volos.

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[Simon Marcus / Yitzchak Kerem (2nd ed.)]

VOLOZHIN (Pol. **Wołożyn**), city in S. Molodechno oblast, Belarus; in Poland before 1793 and between 1921 and 1945. Jews were living in Volozhin in the 16th century. They numbered 383 in 1766, 2,452 in 1897 (including the Jews in the vicinity), and 1,434 (54.5 percent of the total population) in 1921; out of 5,600 inhabitants in 1931, the large majority were Jews. They were mainly occupied in small-scale commerce, forest industries, flour milling, tanning, brickmaking, and crafts for the requirements of the agricultural locality. In World War II, on the eve of the Holocaust, according to estimates by survivors, there were approximately 3,000 Jews in Volozhin. They were "liquidated" in three Aktionen, the first following the German occupation of the town, the second on May 10, 1942, and the third in September 1942.

Volozhin Yeshivah

Volozhin acquired importance in Jewish life in Lithuania and Russia in the 19th century from its yeshivah, founded by Ḥayyim *Volozhiner and named Eẓ Ḥayyim in his honor. It was mainly established to serve as a barrier to the spread of *Ḥasidism, especially among the youth when it became clear that the strong opposition to Ḥasidism had been unable to halt its advance. R. Ḥayyim considered that it was the *pilpul* (casuistic) method of yeshivah teaching, divorcing study of the Talmud from its halakhic foundations, that was the reason for the dissatisfaction among the youth and that pushed many of them into the arms of Ḥasidism because of the religious stimulus and inspiration it offered. Hence the yeshivah he envisaged was to educate its pupils in the methods taught by *Elijah b. Solomon Zalman, the Gaon of Vilna: analysis of the text and understanding of its plain meaning. According to one tradition, the yeshivah was founded on the instructions of the Gaon, although it was established in 1803, several years after he died.

Two yeshivot already existed in Vilna when R. Ḥayyim decided to establish the yeshivah in Volozhin for reasons unknown – possibly to remove it from the influence of the *Vilna community administration, then rent by severe internal discord, and so that he could guide it in accordance with his own views. His opposition to the students' boarding out and the responsibility he took upon himself for their gaining a means of livelihood (about the time the yeshivah was founded he called on the Jewish communities to support it), despite the heavy burden which this devolved on him, evinced his concern to prevent the students from coming under external influence. R. Ḥayyim's endeavors prevented the yeshivah from becoming a merely local institution, and made it into a foundation supported by the whole of Jewry; it thus became a prototype for the Lithuanian yeshivot founded subsequently.

Teaching in the yeshivah began with only ten students, but it rapidly acquired a name among the Jewish public. It became so highly esteemed that the military governor of Lithuania in 1813, during the Napoleonic wars, issued a document of protection to R. Ḥayyim instructing all military units "to safeguard the chief rabbi of Volozhin, Ḥayyim ben Isaac, his schools and educational institutions… and to extend to the above-mentioned chief rabbi every assistance and protection…" The number of students had already risen to 100. In the meantime a special building for the yeshivah had been erected (of wood). The main lectures were given by R. Ḥayyim himself, his son-in-law R. Hillel, rabbi of Horodono (Grodno), and his son R. Isaac.

After R. Ḥayyim's death in 1821 his son R. Isaac served as principal of the yeshivah. Around this time (1824) the Russian authorities decided to close the yeshivah for reasons that are not clear. However, despite the official order prohibiting its existence, the yeshivah continued to function and expand. The number of students rose to 200 and its buildings were enlarged. The head of Volozhin yeshivah was considered at the time to be among the leaders of Russian Jewry, even by the authorities, and when in 1843 the government decided, in line with the recommendations of its "Jewish Committee," to convene a conference of rabbis to discuss problems of Jewish education, R. Isaac was invited to attend. He took this opportunity to obtain official recognition of the yeshivah through the record at the ministry of education of the letter of protection which had been issued at the time to his father. Since R. Isaac was then occupied with public matters and the administrative and financial affairs of the yeshivah, the task of teaching was principally delegated to his two sons-in-law, R. Eliezer Isaac Fried and Naphtali Ẓevi Judah *Berlin (Ha-Neẓiv). By then a controversy had already begun in the yeshivah, because, in contradiction to the tradition laid down by its founder,

R. Eliezer Isaac inclined to favor *pilpul*, and had a following among the students.

After the death of R. Isaac in 1849, R. Eliezer Isaac Fried was appointed principal of the yeshivah and R. Naphtali Ẓevi Judah Berlin the vice principal. R. Eliezer Isaac did not live much longer, and after his death in 1854, when both R. Berlin and R. Ḥayyim's grandson, R. Joseph Baer *Soloveichik, were both appointed principals, a severe disagreement broke out over the method of instruction, in which R. Joseph Baer favored the *pilpul* method, and had many supporters among the yeshivah students. When the controversy threatened to endanger the existence of the yeshivah, a delegation of prominent Lithuanian rabbis, including David Tevele of Minsk, Joseph of Slutsk, Isaac Elhanan *Spektor of Kovno, and Ze'ev the *Maggid* of Vilna, went to Volozhin in order to settle the controversy. The committee ruled that R. Berlin should be the principal of the yeshivah while R. Joseph Baer should serve as his deputy. From then on the yeshivah was headed by two persons – the principal of the yeshivah and his vice principal. In 1865 R. Joseph Baer left the yeshivah to serve as rabbi of Brest-Litovsk (Brisk). R. Raphael Shapira, son-in-law of R. Berlin, was appointed in his place, serving in this position until 1881. His successor was R. Ḥayyim *Soloveichik, son of Joseph Baer and grandson of R. Berlin.

At the end of the 1850s the government renewed the campaign against the *ḥadarim* and yeshivot. It was helped by a number of the *maskilim* who sent memoranda to the state-appointed Jewish Committee requesting that the yeshivot should be closed down as "nurseries of fanatical rabbis." The government evidently considered that so long as the yeshivot continued, the graduates of the state rabbinical seminaries would not be accepted to rabbinical offices, and that the Volozhin yeshivah was the chief rival of these seminaries. Thus in April 1858 the yeshivah was closed down by order of the authorities on the ground that its syllabus had not been submitted for approval to the ministry of education. Prominent Jews in Vilna and Minsk sent a request to the authorities to permit the yeshivah to reopen since "the Volozhin yeshivah, because of the esteem in which its founder was held, had acquired a high reputation from its foundation. By faithfulness to its mission it had made a noteworthy contribution to the spiritual education of our people. We owe a debt of gratitude to the large number of rabbis in various towns, many of whom have become prominent as authors of important works in rabbinical literature." Despite all the efforts on the part of the Jews, the authorities did not rescind their decision. However, like the order of closure of 1824, it did not have noticeable practical effects.

R. Berlin proved a most able administrator, and he was assisted in this by his wife Batya Miriam. The number of pupils continued to grow, reaching 300 at the end of the 1870s and 400 at the end of the 1880s, by then also attracting students from outside Russia – from England, Germany, Austria, and even America. Berlin also considerably expanded the budget of the yeshivah, which in 1885 reached 16,675 silver rubles, of which some 6,000 were expended on support of the students (the juniors received two to four rubles monthly, and the seniors four to ten), and 3,618 rubles on teachers' salaries. At the end of the 1860s R. Berlin went to collect funds for a new building and library, and sent emissaries to all parts of the Diaspora. The appeal succeeded, and a stone building of three stories was built with the funds.

A daily program was established for the students. Prayers were held at 8 A.M., and they then took breakfast. Afterward the weekly portion was read and explained by the principal of the yeshivah. Study proceeded from 10 a.m. to 1 p.m., during which the supervisor ensured that none of the students missed study. A lecture followed (delivered in the 1880s by R. Ḥayyim Soloveichik, son of R. Joseph Baer, in the first part of the week, and by R. Berlin in the second) and then came the midday meal. The students returned to the yeshivah at 4 P.M., held *Minḥah*, and studied until 10 P.M. *Ma'ariv* was then held, preceding supper. Many would return to the yeshivah and study until midnight. They would sleep until 3 A.M. and return to study until morning. The atmosphere of the yeshivah was created by the study circle of young students devoted in their enthusiasm for Torah study. At certain periods the principal of the yeshivah would examine the students once in each term (*zeman*).

In the 1860s opposition began to be voiced in the Jewish press to the yeshivot. Only the extreme *maskilim* demanded that they should be closed down; others criticized their system of study and its contents and wished to introduce general subjects, as had been instituted in the rabbinical seminaries in Germany and in Western countries. R. Berlin adamantly opposed any changes of this nature. However, when the Pahlen Commission was sitting in St. Petersburg and discussing the Jewish question, a number of Jewish communal leaders regarded it necessary to demonstrate to the authorities that the Jews were ready to make changes. On pressure from them in 1887 a number of prominent rabbis, including Isaac Elḥanan Spektor, Joseph Baer Soloveichik, and R. Berlin, convened in St. Petersburg, and at this meeting it was decided on the appointment of a special teacher to instruct the yeshivah students in Russian and arithmetic, provided that these studies would not be conducted within the yeshivah, but outside it. Volozhin yeshivah refrained from translating this decision into practice.

Despite the vigilance of the supervisors and the severe discipline in the yeshivah, external influences began to infiltrate there. At first the influence of the *Musar movement had begun to be felt. Study of ethical works like *Ḥovot ha-Levavot* and *Mesillat Yesharim* won acceptance by many. This opened the doorway to a religious awakening in the *musar* spirit despite the reservations of the heads of the yeshivah. On the other hand the ideas of *Haskalah were increasingly disseminated in the yeshivah and in the 1880s the Ḥovevei Zion also attracted many students. R. Berlin's sympathy with the latter helped to propagate its ideas in the yeshivah.

However, the spiritual excitement raised by these influences did not end there. A growing number of students read

Haskalah literature in Hebrew and other languages despite the energetic opposition of the principal. The *maskilim* began to demand changes in the yeshivah's regime, which finally brought intervention by the Russian educational authorities. On Dec. 22, 1891, the Russian minister of education published the "Regulations concerning Volozhin Yeshivah," which defined the yeshivah as a private open educational institution, and its pupils were required to study general subjects to elementary school standard. The regulations stated that any digression from them would lead to the closing down of the institution. R. Berlin did not agree to the regulations, and on Jan. 22, 1892, the authorities announced the closure of the yeshivah. R. Berlin and the students were expelled from Volozhin.

However, a few years later the yeshivah was reopened. In 1895 the government permitted use of the yeshivah building as a place of prayer. The students reassembled and laid the foundation for reviving the yeshivah. It continued to expand and develop until World War I (from 1899 under R. Raphael Shapira as principal). When the battle zone reached the vicinity of Vilna, the heads of the yeshivah left Volozhin with the rest of the Jewish refugees for the Russian interior (Minsk). The yeshivah did not resume activity until 1921. It existed, though with reduced numbers and influence, until the liquidation of the last 64 students in the Holocaust. The last to head the yeshivah were R. Jacob Shapira (d. 1936) and his son-in-law Ḥayyim Wulkin, who perished in the Holocaust. Many of the students of Volozhin yeshivah distinguished themselves in Hebrew literature and public leadership, including Ḥ.N. *Bialik, who left an enduring monument to the yeshivah in his poem "*Ha-Matmid*" and M.J. *Berdyczewski.

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[Shmuel Ettinger]

VOLOZHINER, ḤAYYIM BEN ISAAC (1749–1821), rabbi and educator, leading disciple of R. Elijah b. Solomon Zalman the Gaon of Vilna and of R. Aryeh *Gunzberg (author of *Sha'agat Aryeh*). R. Ḥayyim was the acknowledged spiritual leader of non-ḥasidic Russian Jewry of his day. Ḥayyim distinguished himself both in the theoretical and practical spheres. In 1802 he founded the renowned yeshivah of *Volozhin (later to be named Eẓ Ḥayyim in his honor), which became the prototype and inspiration for the great talmudic academies of Eastern Europe of the 19th and 20th centuries, and similar schools in Israel, the United States, and elsewhere. His yeshivah, which the poet Ḥ.N. *Bialik was later to call "the place where the soul of the nation was molded" transformed the whole religio-intellectual character of Lithuanian Jewry. Imbued with his educational philosophy, it raised religious scholarship in Lithuania to the unique status it was to enjoy there until the Holocaust. It attracted students from afar enhancing the dignity of their calling. Ḥayyim set high standards for admission, insisting on extreme diligence and constancy of study, and instituted in the yeshivah the system of collegial study (*ḥavruta*), preferring it to self-study. The talmudic methodology, which was introduced by Ḥayyim into the yeshivah, was that of internal criticism of texts which he had learned from the Vilna Gaon. Though humble and of pleasant disposition, Ḥayyim was fearlessly independent in his scholarly endeavors. His insistence upon "straight thinking" (*iyyun yashar*), as opposed to the complicated dialectics common to much of the talmudic discourse of his time, led him occasionally to disagree even with decisions of the Shulḥan Arukh, albeit with appropriate reverence. The theological framework for Ḥayyim's educational philosophy is contained in his posthumously published *Nefesh ha-Ḥayyim* (Vilna, 1824), which is addressed primarily to "the men of the yeshivah." Quoting widely from Kabbalistic as well as rabbinic sources. R. Ḥayyim elevated the study of the Torah to the highest value it had ever been accorded in Judaism. He held the hypostatized Torah to be identified with the mystical **Ein Sof*, and he therefore considered study of Torah as the most direct form of unmediated communion with God. In reaction to the ḥasidic thinkers, he defined *Torah li-Shemah* as study for the sake of understanding, rather than as ecstasy or mystical theurgy, regarding this as the ideal form of motivation for study. This cognitive teleology of Torah study was allied with an emphasis on the objective performance of the commandments and a corresponding devaluation of the subjective, experiential component of religious observance. In the great polemics of his day between the Ḥasidim and the *Mitnaggedim*, R. Ḥayyim was the acknowledged leader of the latter. He was the leading ideological spokesman for classical rabbinism, his critique of Ḥasidism being thorough and deliberate. Yet in the communal aspects of the controversy, he was a decided moderate. Thus, despite his enormous reverence for the Vilna Gaon (rivaling the loyalty of Ḥasidim to their *ẓaddikim*), he did not sign the ban against the Ḥasidim. Both these attitudes, that of theological firmness and personal mellowness, were revealed in the *Nefesh ha-Ḥayyim*, which thus became a mitnaggedic response to the dialogue begun by the ḥasidic teacher, R. *Shneur Zalman of Lyady, and the beginning of the reconciliation of the two groups. The ḥasidic reaction to R. Ḥayyim's critique was reflected in the pseudonymous *Meẓaref Avodah*, published in Koenigsberg, 1858. R. Ḥayyim was also the author of a number of important responsa, published in *Ḥut ha-Meshullash* and

Kedushat Yom Tov; Ru'aḥ Ḥayyim, a commentary on Mishnah *Avot* (and, like the *Nefesh ha-Ḥayyim*, posthumously published by his son and successor, R. Isaac); and of a number of introductions to works of the Vilna Gaon.

[Norman Lamm]

VOLOZHINER, ISAAC BEN ḤAYYIM (d. 1849), talmudist and yeshivah head. Son of the founder of Volozhin yeshivah, popularly known as "Itzele of Volozhin," he acquired some secular knowledge, including foreign languages. Isaac taught at the yeshivah during his father's lifetime, and, upon his father's death, succeeded him as principal and became rabbi of the Volozhin community. After the Russian government closed the yeshivah in 1824, Isaac continued to maintain it, the local authorities closing their eyes to his activities. He exercised a profound influence on all the Lithuanian communities, particularly among the *Mitnaggedim*. Eliezer Isaac and Naphtali Ẓevi Judah *Berlin, both of whom taught in the yeshivah, became his sons-in-law, and on his death assumed the leadership of the yeshivah. Volozhiner took an active part in communal affairs. In 1824 M. *Lilienthal sought his support in the establishment of Jewish schools under government auspices. In the summer of 1843, together with M.M. *Shneersohn, Jacob Halpern, and B. Stern, he participated in the conference called by the government on the education of Jews, and defended the stand of the Orthodox circles, who objected that government-run schools might prove a danger to Jewish education and would be fruitless without political rights for Jews. In the end, however, he was compelled to submit to the demands of the government. He was one of those who gave approvals to the textbooks published by the government for Jewish children. He also gave his approval for the publication in Vilna of Mendelssohn's *Biur.* When asked for his reaction to the Russian government's degree ordering the style of clothing to be changed, he ruled that "the law of the government is binding" provided that it applied to all the inhabitants of the state. While taking part in the conference, Isaac obtained the government's permission to maintain the Volozhin yeshivah. He published *Nefesh ha-Ḥayyim* (Vilna, 1824), his father's ethical work, with his own glosses and a biographical introduction. He died in Ivenitz, in the district of Minsk. *Millei de-Avot* (1888), his homiletical commentary on *Avot*, was published posthumously.

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[Yehuda Slutsky]

VOLPA (Pol. **Wolpa**; Yid. **Volp**, **Volpe**), town in Grodno district, Belarus. A Jewish community existed there from the early 17th century. In 1766 there were 641 Jews in Volpa who paid the poll tax; they numbered 700 in 1847; 1,151 (58% of the total) in 1897; and 941 (54.3%) in 1921. In the 17th century the community built a wooden synagogue which became famous for its original beauty. Besides their traditional occupation with commerce and crafts the Jews in Volpa engaged in domestic farming. In 1886 there were two tanneries, a dye works, and a brewery. Lack of rail connections prevented further industrial development and the Jews of Volpa took to gardening and tobacco growing, becoming expert in these fields. Before World War I there were 29 Jewish farms on an area of 242 hectares (597 acres); 73 hectares (180 acres) were Jewish owned and the rest were rented from gentile farmers. In 1921, 429 of the 941 local Jews made their living by farming. With the beginning of Polish rule in 1919 the armies stationed near Volpa incited much anti-Jewish activity. In 1929, the Jews were forbidden to grow tobacco, their main source of livelihood. Some of them turned to vegetable farming, cucumbers for pickling being their special crop.

Zionist organizations such as Ereẓ Yisrael ha-Ovedet were active in Volpa between the two world wars. There were a Hebrew *Tarbut school and a Hebrew and Yiddish library each containing 3,000 volumes. The community was annihilated in the Holocaust.

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[Dov Rubin]

VOLPE, ARNOLD (1869–1940), conductor. Born at Kovno, Lithuania, Volpe emigrated to the U.S. in 1898. There he conducted the Young Men's Symphony Orchestra (1902–19), the Volpe Symphony Orchestra (1904–1914) founded by him, the Washington D.C. Opera Company (1919–22), and the University of Miami Symphony Orchestra (1926–40). He was also director of the orchestral school of the Kansas City Conservatory (1922–25). In 1918 he founded the celebrated summer concerts at the Lewisohn Stadium, New York.

°**VOLTAIRE** (**François-Marie Arouet**; 1694–1778), French philosopher. No writer contributed so much as Voltaire to the destruction of the traditional beliefs fundamental to European society before the French Revolution: belief in the divine right of monarchy, in the legitimacy of the privileges of the nobility, and in the infallibility of the Church. Voltaire's philosophical convictions were those of a deist, not an atheist. It is also noteworthy that he attacked the biblical belief in the unity of mankind; to blacks, for instance, he attributed an inferior and separate origin. The better to ridicule the established Church, or, in his own words "Écraser l'Infâme," Voltaire preferred to concentrate his attacks on the Old Testament and its followers, the Jews; this he did in such a manner that in antisemitic campaigns in the following centuries he was used as an authority and frequently quoted. From the psychological point of view it seems that the antisemitism of Voltaire, far from being a tactical stratagem, expressed in the facility of his attacks against the Jews, was primarily a result of his hatred for the Church. For instance, it is characteristic of Voltaire that in his polemics with Isaac de *Pinto, he forgot the habitual formula which followed his usual way of signing, "Écrasez l'Infâme," and signed instead: "Voltaire, chrétien gentilhomme de la chambre du Roi très-chrétien." Historically speaking, Voltaire's outlook was a powerful contribution to the creation of the mental climate which made possible the emancipation of the Jews, but at the same time it prepared the ground for the future racial antisemitism. Just after Voltaire's death, Zalkind *Hourwitz, librarian to the king of France, wrote: "The Jews forgive him all the evil he did to them because of all the good he brought them, perhaps unwittingly; for they have enjoyed a little respite for a few years now and this they owe to the progress of the Enlightenment, to which Voltaire surely contributed more than any other writer through his numerous works against fanaticism." Two centuries later this judiciously balanced judgment seems to have been only partially warranted. Recent scholars such as A. Hertzberg (see bibliography) have seen Voltaire as one of the founders of modern secular antisemitism (see *Antisemitism).

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[Leon Poliakov]

VOLTERRA, Italian family especially prominent during the Renaissance. In 1408, BONAVENTURA, son of Genatano of Bologna, was invited to open a loan-bank in Volterra and the name of the city became his own and his descendants'. He may have been the copyist of a Hebrew work on logic. His son MANUEL opened a loan-bank in Florence in 1459. He was very affluent but his family apparently lost its wealth. One of his sons was the traveler MESHULLAM DA *VOLTERRA. Another son, ABRAHAM, opened a loan-bank in Gaeta, southern Italy. Another, LAZZARO (ELIEZER), continued in banking in southern Italy, in Siena and in Florence. His wife Hannah was the daughter of Jehiel b. Isaac da *Pisa. He was in touch with Johanan *Allemanno on philosophical questions. He also wrote poetry, including love poetry. ḤAYYIM (VITA) BEN MOSES of Venice and later Finale, Senigallia, and Ancona, engaged enthusiastically in rabbinic disputes. About 1714 he got into trouble with the Inquisition and took refuge for a time in London (Ms. Roth 262). VITO *VOLTERRA was an Italian jurist.

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[Menachem E. Artom]

VOLTERRA, EDOARDO (1904–1984), Italian jurist. Born in Rome, he was the son of Vito *Volterra, the Italian mathematician. He became professor of Roman law successively at the universities of Cagliari, Parma, Pisa, and Bologna. Volterra was removed from his teaching posts in 1938 under the Fascist antisemitic laws. He was decorated for his bravery in fighting the Germans during the last year of the war. He returned in 1945 to Bologna where he was rector until 1947. He became professor of law at the University of Rome in 1951.

Volterra's numerous publications include *Collatio Legum Mosaicorum et Romanarum* (1930), *La Conception du mariage d'après les juristes romains* (1940), and *Instituzioni di Diritto Romano* (1961). He also wrote many articles on family law which were notable for their clarity and wide range of knowledge.

[Giorgio Romano]

He was appointed constitutional justice of Italy (1971–1980); in 1971 the University of Rome published six volumes in his honor, *Studi in onore di Edoardo Volterra;* his books were very popular among scholars. Republished in 1980 was his *Istituzioni di Dirito Romano* as was in 1983 his *Diritto Romano e Diritti Orientali* (originally published a few months before the racial legislation). In 1991 six volumes of his *Scritti giuridici* were published. The British Academy's Research Projects hosted an important internet site called *Project Volterra Database* in honor of his memory. In 2005 the University of Rome commemorated the 100th anniversary of his birth.

[Alfredo Mordechai Rabello (2nd ed.)]

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VOLTERRA, MESHULLAM BEN MENAHEM, DA (Bonaventura di Manuele; 15th century), Italian traveler. Volterra was partner and later owner of his father's affluent loan-bank in Florence; he also traded in precious stones. He was interested in Jewish literature and philosophy, and was friendly with Lorenzo de Medici to whom he once sent a gift of game. In the spring of 1481 he set out for Ereẓ Israel in order to fulfill a vow made when he got into trouble in Florence. He sailed from Naples to Egypt by way of Rhodes, and then went by land over the Sinai peninsula, arriving in Jerusalem on July 29, 1481. After remaining about a month, he returned via Venice, where he arrived in October. Volterra wrote in Hebrew an account of his journey (Massa Meshullam mi-Volterra be-Ereẓ Yisrael, ed. A. Yaari, 1949; abridged English translation in E.N. Adler (ed.), *Jewish Travellers* (1930), 156–208) which contains a wealth of information about the cities he visited – Alexandria, Cairo, Gaza, Hebron, Jerusalem, Jaffa, Beirut, Damascus – their Jewish communities and traditions; he also gives much information of economic interest. While occasionally noting local legends, he is often skeptical about them. He shows also some familiarity with classical literature. His style is readable and attractive although containing some grammatical errors and numerous Italian expressions. In 1487 Meshullam again left for a trip to the east for commercial reasons, traveling part of the way with R. Obadiah di *Bertinoro. Another Meshullam da Volterra, according to Abraham Portaleone, drew up in 1571 a price list of gems in the world market.

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[Menachem E. Artom / Avraham Yaari]

VOLTERRA, VITO (1860–1940), Italian academic. Born in Ancona, he studied in Florence and graduated in mathematical, physical, and natural sciences from the University of Pisa. When 23 years old he taught rational mechanics at the University of Pisa, where he became dean of the Faculty of Sciences. He moved to the University of Turin in 1893. Volterra became a member of the Academy of the Lincei, of which later he was also president. He was dean of the faculty of sciences at the University of Rome in 1907. Volterra was always anti-Fascist. A subscriber to the "Croce Manifesto" drawn up by the anti-Fascist intellectuals, he was among the very few Italian professors to refuse to swear allegiance to the Fascist regime, thus losing his chair. He died in Rome. The department of mathematics at the University of Rome was dedicated in his name.

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[Massimo Longo Adorno (2nd ed.)]

VOLYNSKI, AKIM LEVOVICH (pseudonym of **A.L. Flexer**; 1863–1926), Russian literary critic and art historian. Volynski studied law, but abandoned an academic career which would have required his conversion to Christianity. His early writings dealt with Jewish themes and appeared in Russo-Jewish periodicals. In 1884 he co-edited an anthology entitled Palestina. His works include books about *Spinoza, S.S. *Frug, the Bible in Russian poetry, Dostoevski, and religious philosophy. He wrote a definitive essay on L.O. *Levanda, the historian of Russian Jewry. Volynski's opposition to the "progressive" critics and their philosophy of materialistic positivism aroused tremendous controversy, and he was branded "decadent." After the 1917 Revolution, he abandoned literary criticism and became head of the Choreographic Institute in Leningrad.

Critical essays which he wrote as an editor of the monthly *Severny vestnik* ("Northern Courier") appeared in two collections: *Russkiye kritiki* ("Russian Critics," 1896) and *Borba za idealizm* ("The Fight for Idealism," 1900). Volynski's last books dealt with ballet. Among his works is a book on the aesthetics of dance, *Kniga Likovanii* ("The Book of Exultations," 1923). He also wrote a volume on Leonardo da Vinci.

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[Yitzhak Maor]

°**VOLZ, PAUL** (1871–1941), German Bible scholar. Born in Lichtenstern (Wuerttemberg), Volz was professor in Tuebingen from 1909.

He wrote a comprehensive exposition of Jewish eschatology, which in opposition to the religio-historical school, he considered as genuinely "biblical-Israelite" (*Juedische Eschatologie von Daniel bis Akiba*, 1903; second edition: *Die Eschatologie der juedischen Gemeinde im neutestamentlichen Zeitalter*, 1934). In his work *Mose, Ein Beitrag zur Untersuchung ueber die Urspruenge der israelitischen Religion* (1907), Volz concludes from the post-mosaic pre-prophetic religion that Moses was the founder of a YHWH League; in the second edition (*Mose und sein Werk*, 1932) he regards Moses as the founder of the people and the Decalogue as his authentic program. He anticipated S. Mowinckel's explanation of the Festival of Tabernacles as a New Year Festival of YHWH, in analogy with the Babylonian New Year Festival (*Das Neujahrfest Jahwes*, 1912). With his disciple W. Rudolph, Volz opposed the prevailing theory of the Pentateuch in that he contested the existence of the Elohist source (*Der Elohist als Erzaehler*, 1933). Another well-known work by Volz is *Der Prophet Jeremia* (1922, 1928^2).

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[Rudolf Smend]

VON FURSTENBERG, DIANE (1946–), U.S. fashion designer. Von Furstenberg, the daughter of a Holocaust survivor, became an internationally celebrated designer whose achievements were predicated largely on one simple dress. She was born Diane Halfin in Brussels, 18 months after her mother, Liliane, was liberated from Auschwitz. Her father, Leon, a Russian émigré, raised the family in Belgium and Diane was educated in Spain, England, and Switzerland. While studying economics at the University of Geneva, she met Egon von Furstenberg, a Swiss-born German prince. They married in 1969 and moved to New York. In 1970, shortly after the birth of her first child, Alexandre, she launched Diane Von Furstenberg Studio. A year later, her daughter, Tatiana, was born. By 1972, she had created the dress that was to catapult her to fame. Made of Italian printed jersey, it was a simple wrap-around style designed to cling to the body without looking vulgar. It seemed to symbolize the vast changes in sexual and social attitudes then taking place in the U.S. and was a nationwide success, landing Von Furstenberg on the covers of *Newsweek* and the *Wall Street Journal*. By 1976, the modestly priced dress – known simply as The Wrap – had sold in the millions. A version was hung in the Smithsonian Institution in Washington, D.C. But by the late 1970s, von Furstenberg's marriage had dissolved and the market had become oversaturated with the dress. Demand dwindled. She sold her apparel business to Carl *Rosen of Puritan Fashions and licensed her name for products ranging from luggage to cosmetics. In 1979, she created Tatiana, a fragrance that became a best seller. But she was forced to sell her cosmetics and fragrance business in 1983 because it was undercapitalized. Von Furstenberg left the U.S., traveled widely, lived in Bali, then Paris and returned to New York in 1990. In 1992, she created a company called Silk Assets and offered its products on QVC, a television shopping channel. QVC was eventually acquired by Barry *Diller, the founder of Fox Broadcasting and a long-time intimate who would become Von Furstenberg's second husband. In her first appearance on the channel, Von Furstenberg sold $1.3 million worth of silk separates in one hour. In the late 1990s, she revived her wrap dresses and found a receptive new audience in the daughters of her earliest customers. Her company expanded into jewelry and cosmetics and by 2005, Diane von Furstenberg boutiques were in New York, Miami, London, and Paris. Von Furstenberg has also produced books and been involved in movies. In 1998, she published a memoir, *Diane: A Signature Life*. Earlier, she had produced a series of home furnishing books. She was an executive producer of *Forty Shades of Blue*, a drama that won a prize at the 2005 Sundance Film Festival. She was elected to the boards of the Council of Fashion Designers of America and U.S.A. Network Inc. in 1999 and was awarded a CFDA Lifetime Achievement Award in 2005. Von Furstenberg, an early supporter of the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington, was honored by the Anti-Defamation League and by Israel's Shenkar College.

[Mort Sheinman (2nd ed.)]

VON WEISL, ZE'EV (**Wolfgang**) (1896–1974), physician, Zionist leader, journalist and writer. Born in Vienna and an active Zionist from youth, during World War I he was a lieutenant in the Austro-Hungarian army, and after the collapse of the monarchy led a Jewish defense unit to forestall attacks on the Jewish Quarter of Vienna.

He graduated as a physician in 1921 and emigrated in 1922 to Palestine where he was a laborer as well as a practicing physician. In 1923 he returned to Vienna, resuming his Zionist activities and contributing to the *Neue Freie Presse* and the *Wiener Morgenzeitung*. He was correspondent for the *Vossische Zeitung* and *Chicago Tribune* for the Middle East, traveling extensively there, interviewing numerous Moslem leaders including Kings Ibn Saud, Feisal and Fuad. He was imprisoned in Persia as a suspected British spy. Lecturing extensively in Europe on behalf of the Revisionist Movement, he was among its founders and leaders in Palestine, a member of the editorial board of *Do'ar ha-Yom*, and editor of *Ha'am*. In 1936 he was elected president of the New Zionist Organization (NZO). In 1940 he escaped from Paris and resumed his political and journalistic activities in Palestine. In 1942 he was chairman of the Palestine NZO. In June 1946 he was interned in the detention camp at Latrun and was released after a prolonged hunger strike, but in 1947 he was again interned together with other Jewish leaders. He was wounded in the War of Independence.

Among his numerous works are *Der Kampf um das Heilige Land* (1925), *Allah ist gross* (1937), and *Tish'im u-Shenaim Yemei Ma'aẓar ve-Ẓom* (1947).

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[Joseph Nedava (2nd ed.)]

VOORSANGER, JACOB (1852–1908), U.S. Reform rabbi. Voorsanger, born in Amsterdam, Holland, received his rabbinical education there and in 1872 settled in the United States. After holding several pulpits, he became associated with Emanu-El Congregation in San Francisco in 1886, first as assistant to Rabbi Elkan *Cohn, and, upon the latter's death in 1889, as rabbi. Well versed in Jewish literature, an energetic worker, and an able preacher and writer, Voorsanger became the foremost rabbi on the West Coast. He knew 13 languages and taught at the University of California Berkeley. He was classically Reform in his religious orientation and actively opposed Zionism. Among the rabbis he influenced were boys in his own congregation, Judah L. Magnes, Martin A. Meyer, who was his successor, and his son Elkan Voorsanger. In 1895 he founded the weekly *Emanu-El*, which achieved prominence on the West Coast. He published *Chronicles of Emanu-El* (1900) and also compiled a Sabbath evening service. Voorsanger's *Sermons and Addresses*, ed. by O.I. Wise, was issued in 1913. He was not open to the immigration of Eastern European Jews and proposed a quota on the number of immigrants, especially to San Francisco.

[Sefton D. Temkin / Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

VORARLBERG, autonomous province in W. Austria. Jews lived in the village of Feldkirch in the early 14th century. Seven Jewish families who moved without permission, in 1343, to Bludenz, continued to remain the property of their former lord, Duke Ulrich I of Montfort, according to a decision of the court. Virtually no Jews lived in the isolated and mountainous region in the following century. In 1559 the city of Bregenz received the privilege of not tolerating Jews within its walls; nonetheless, a **Schutzjude*, Wolf, was given permission to settle there in 1584. In 1617 Jewish refugees from Burgau were invited to settle in *Hohenems, where they soon constituted a flourishing community; by 1624 a Hebrew printing press was in operation in the city. In 1676, however, they were expelled. Jews first came to Sulz in 1637 but the community assumed permanent form only in 1676, when refugees from Hohenems settled there. Between 1676 and 1688 the community numbered about 65. Only the three richest Jewish families were allowed to remain in Sulz in 1688 when an expulsion order of the Vorarlberg estates was modified by the emperor; by 1743 their number had grown to ten. In 1744 the local militia, after a victory against French invaders, plundered the synagogue and Jewish homes and expelled the ten Jewish families, who thereafter found asylum in Hohenems. The refugees appealed to *Maria Theresa when the Vorarlberg estates attempted to forbid their return. The empress's decision on restitution was never carried out.

Severe economic restrictions which forbade the Jews to engage in trade within the semi-autonomous province forced them to become large-scale exporters and importers of goods (mainly textiles) from neighboring Switzerland, Italy and Bavaria. The Jewish community of *Saint Gall, Switzerland, was founded by merchants from Hohenems. The Jews established and developed the textile industry in Hohenems and later, in Bregenz. After all economic and civil disabilities were abolished in 1867 in Austria, a sharp numerical decline subsequently set in as the Jews moved to the major cities. The Jewish population declined from 246 in 1869 to 126 in 1910 and 42 in 1934 and ended in the Nazi period. After World War II

(1946) 400 *displaced persons (DPs) were temporarily interned in Bregenz.

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[Harry Wasserman]

VORENBERG, JAMES (1928–2000), U.S. lawyer. Vorenberg, the son and grandson of presidents of the Gilchrist Company department store in Boston, graduated from Harvard College and its law school, where he was president of the *Law Review.* He served in the United States Air Force and then became clerk for Justice Felix *Frankfurter of the Supreme Court in 1953 and 1954. He joined the Boston law firm of Ropes & Gray in 1954 and returned to Harvard as a professor of criminal law in 1962. He was active in legal and public affairs. From 1965 to 1967 he served as executive director of a commission appointed by President Lyndon B. Johnson to study the growing problem of crime in America. The report the commission produced reflected Vorenberg's observation that fighting crime required solutions such as rehabilitation services and larger court staffs that were far more complex than those that had been relied upon traditionally, such as larger budgets for the police. He published an article suggesting that the American tradition of giving prosecutors unfettered power had gone too far and proposed limits on their authority. At Harvard, he worked to broaden police understanding of legal principles. In 1973 Vorenberg was selected as one of the senior assistants to Archibald Cox, helping to organize the office that had been established to investigate the burglary at Democratic Party headquarters at the Watergate complex and assertions of campaign sabotage by the Committee to Re-Elect President Richard M. Nixon. Vorenberg set up the staff that continued the investigation that led to Nixon's resignation. In 1981 Vorenberg became dean of the Harvard Law School. His eight-year tenure was somewhat stormy because of bitter disputes over tenure decisions involving professors who advocated a school of legal thought known as critical legal studies, which asserted that law was not neutral. Critical legal scholars argued that law was an oppressive tool of the rich and powerful. While the battles raged, some black Harvard law students protested, saying that there were not enough minority members on the law school faculty. Vorenberg was largely credited with keeping the law school intact during that period. He also was an advocate of affirmative action, to increase the number of minority faculty and students.

[Stewart Kampel (2nd ed.)]

VORONCA, ILARIE (originally **Eduard Marcus**; 1903–1946), Romanian and French poet. Born in Brăila, Romania, Voronca published his first verse in Lovinescu's review Sburătorul Literar in 1921. He himself edited Integral and contributed to many of the avant-garde publications of his time. His books of poetry, beginning with *Restristi* ("Hard Times", 1923) provoked varied reactions among critics.

An outstanding pioneer of modernism, Voronca wove futurism, Dadaism, and surrealism into his Romanian verse collections which include *Ulise* (1928), *Brățara nopților* ("Bracelet of the Night," 1929), *Zodiac* (1930), *Incantații* ("Incantations," 1931), *Petre Schlemihl* (1932), and *Patmos* (1934). In two volumes of essays, *A doua lumină* (1930) and *Act de prezență* (1932), Voronca termed the poet a "*Wandering Jew without a shadow" and a "Peter Schlemihl without a homeland," who could be certain only of universal uncertainty and whose sole religion should be poetry.

During the early 1930s Voronca immigrated to France, where he began writing in French, eventually publishing some two dozen volumes of verse. He made important contributions to periodicals such as the *Nouvelles littéraires, Cahiers du Sud*, and *Cahiers juifs*. Collections of this period include *Permis de séjour* (1933), *Ulysse dans la cité* (1933), *La joie est pour l'homme* (1936), and *Beauté de ce monde* (1940). During World War II Voronca was active in the French Maquis and allegedly converted to Catholicism. This abandonment of Judaism – if it indeed took place – did little to relieve the poet's inner anxiety which, in the form of a profound restlessness, appears in such later titles as *Les témoins* (1942), *Souvenirs de la planète terre* (1945), and *Contre solitude* (1946). Voronca finally committed suicide.

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[Dora Litani-Littman]

VORONEZH, city and region in Southern Central Russia. The province of Voronezh lay outside the Jewish Pale of *Settlement, and until 1917 Jews were forbidden to settle there. The Russian authorities also took special steps at the beginning of the 19th century to remove Jews from the province, in order to prevent them from influencing those Russian sectarians who inclined toward Judaism (the Subbotniki, who were numerous there). Small groups of Jews, entitled to settle outside the boundaries of the Pale, nevertheless found their way into the province during the 19th century. In 1874, 319 Jews lived in the town and obtained permission to maintain a synagogue in a private house. The constitution of their community received official authorization in 1890. In 1897 there were 2,888 Jews in the Voronezh province, of whom 1,708 resided in the town of Voronezh. The Jewish population of the town was assaulted during the wave of riots which broke out in Russia in October 1905, and the community was attacked again during the Russian Civil War (1918–20). After World War I, the number of Jews in Voronezh increased and by 1926 had reached 5,208 (4.3% of the general population). The community suffered severely during the Nazi occupation (July 1942 to January 1943). According to the 1959 census, there were 6,179 Jews in the Voronezh district, most of whom lived in the city of Voronezh, though their real number was estimated at close to 10,000. There was no synagogue, as the old synagogue was turned into a storehouse for building material (reported in the *New York Times*, June 19, 1959). When the Jews attempted to repossess the synagogue, the authorities said that they must first purchase a new storehouse and then renovate the building, but the community lacked the necessary funds. In 1959 the Star of David was removed from the synagogue wall. There was no separate Jewish cemetery. In 2002 there were 1,522 Jews in the Voronezh district.

[Abraham N. Poliak]

VORONOFF, SERGE (1866–1951), surgeon and physiologist. Born in Russia, he was educated in Paris, where he served as chief surgeon of the Russian Hospital. He was later appointed director of the biological laboratory of Ecole des Hautes Études and director of experimental surgery at the Collège de France at Nice. When the Nazis occupied France. he fled to Portugal and later to the United States.

Among Voronoff's early successes was an increase in the yield of wool from sheep by gland transplants. Encouraged by the results, he tried to find a means to rejuvenation, attempting to stimulate the flow of sex hormones by the transplantation of glands from higher primates to human subjects. He claimed that the human life-span could thus be prolonged to 140 years. Voronoff attempted to cure thyroid deficiencies by similar means. His publications include *Traité des greffes humaines…* (1916); *Conquest of Life…* (1928); *Sources of Life* (1943); *Love and Thought in Animals and Men* (1937); and *From Cretin to Genius* (1941).

VORSPAN, AL (1924–), a leading Jewish spokesperson and author on social justice concerns during the second half of the 20th century. *Vorspan served as the long-time senior vice president for social justice of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations (now the Union for Reform Judaism). His social justice textbooks (*Justice and Judaism*, *The Prophets*, *Tough Choices*, *Jewish Dimensions of Social Justice*) have been widely used for 50 years in Reform religious schools, adult education programs, and social action committees. For a quarter century, he taught popular social justice seminars for rabbinical students at HUC-JIR in N.Y.

Raised in St. Paul, Minnesota (along with his brother Rabbi Max *Vorspan, a Conservative Rabbi who served as the vice president of the California-based University of Judaism), he was greatly influenced by the liberal politics of Hubert Humphrey (senator and vice president). After serving in the U.S. Navy during World War II, he began working in New York City at the National Jewish Community Relations Advisory Council. Quickly developing a national population for his eloquence, writing and programmatic skills, in 1953 he was hired as the deputy to Rabbi Eugene J. Lipman in heading the Reform Movement's new social justice program, of which he assumed leadership from 1961 to 1993.

He is credited with playing a key role in stimulating the creation of congregational social action committees, helping to make them a norm in American Jewish life and being a defining expositor of the social justice emphasis of Reform Judaism. The impact was significant. According to J.J. Goldberg in his book *Jewish Power*, "The Reform [C]ommission [on Social Action], … [r]un on a shoestring from the New York offices of the Reform synagogue union, could mobilize an army of congregants through the social-action committees of hundreds of Reform temples nationwide." He played a leading role in the efforts that led to the creation of the Religious Action Center of Reform Judaism, the Reform Movement's social justice center in Washington, D.C.

In the national social justice battles of the mid-century, Vorspan was constantly at the forefront of Jewish efforts. One of the Jewish community's leading proponents of civil rights, Vorspan was part of a 16-person delegation of prominent Reform leaders (all the others, rabbis) who traveled at Dr. Martin Luther King's invitation to St. Augustine, Florida, in 1964 to protest racial discrimination. They were arrested and issued a widely discussed public letter calling the Jewish community to arms in the civil rights struggle.

An outspoken critic of the Vietnam War, he helped, with Rabbi Maurice Eisendrath, to lead the Reform Movement to condemn the war in 1965, several years before other national Jewish organizations did so. Similarly, on Soviet Jewry, domestic poverty, anti-apartheid efforts, women's rights, Middle East peace and the United Nations (at which he served as the NGO representative of the UAHC/URJ), his prolific writings and eloquent speeches shaped and mobilized the social justice activities of large segments of the political liberal Jewish community.

[David Saperstein (2nd ed.)]

VORSPAN, MAX (1916–2002), U.S. rabbi and administrator. Born in St. Paul, Minnesota, Vorspan was ordained by the Jewish Theological Seminary in 1943. During his senior year, he served first as assistant director of the Seminary School of Jewish Studies (1943) and then as the program director of the 92nd Street Young Men's Hebrew Association. Upon graduation, he enlisted in the army as a chaplain, serving in Saipan until the end of World War II. Discharged when the war was over, he accepted a pulpit in Pasadena, California, where he established the first Reconstructionist Congregation in the West. He then joined the Brandeis Camp Institute as an associate director, where he established a reputation as a creative administrator and popular lecturer.

In 1954, Vorspan was invited to become the first full-time registrar and instructor at the University of Judaism, which was then the West Coast branch of the Jewish Theological Seminary. He remained there for some 40 years, retiring in the early 1990s as associate professor of American Jewish history and senior vice president. Universally liked, he was instrumental in establishing the Pacific Southwest Coast Region of the United Synagogue, Camp Ramah in California, and the University's School of Fine Arts.

In addition to his classes at the university, Vorspan lectured widely throughout the West. He published a number of popular articles and cowrote *The History of the Jews of Los Angeles.*

[David L. Lieber (2nd ed.)]

VORST, LOUIS J. (1903–1987), chief rabbi of Rotterdam, Holland. The son of a diamond worker, Vorst entered the Amsterdam Rabbinical and Teachers' Seminar in 1914 and obtained the degree of "*Maggid*" in 1924. He taught at Jewish elementary schools in Amsterdam and in 1927 became head of Jewish studies at the new Jewish post-elementary school there. In 1931 he was invited by Chief Rabbi A.B.N. Davids of Rotterdam to head Jewish education in that city. When Chief Rabbi Davids died in Bergen-Belsen in 1945, Vorst, who had survived although seriously weakened, returned after the liberation to Rotterdam where he took over most of the duties of Chief Rabbi Davids as well as resuming his own duties. He was given the personal title of rabbi, although he had not obtained the rabbinical diploma entitling him to become a chief rabbi. In 1959 he passed the rabbinical examination at the Amsterdam Ashkenazi Seminar and was then appointed chief rabbi of the Rotterdam District. He retired in 1971 and went to live in Israel. On his retirement he was made a Commander in the Order of the Netherlands Lion.

On his promotion to the position of chief rabbi, the Jewish Congregation of Rotterdam in September 1959 published a volume of essays (*Opstellen*) in his honor.

[Henriette Boas]

VOS, ISIDOR H.J. (1887–1942), Dutch physician and liberal politician. Vos was head of the hygiene department of the Netherlands army headquarters (1914–18), and later an Amsterdam councilor and alderman. From 1928 to 1940 he was a member of the second chamber of the Dutch parliament. Given the opportunity to leave Holland after the German invasion in World War II, he sent his family away but he stayed, and died in a concentration camp.

VOSKHOD (Rus. "Dawn"), a periodical in the Russian language published in St. Petersburg from 1881 to 1906. The magazine was established by Adolph *Landau, who transformed his annual literary-scientific publication *Yevreyskaya Biblioteka* ("Jewish Library") into a monthly. Early in 1882 Landau added a weekly supplement to *Voskhod* called *Nedelnaya khronika Voskhoda* ("Voskhod Weekly Chronicle"). From 1885 to 1899, this was the only Jewish periodical published in Russian and it served as the vehicle for the Russian-Jewish intelligentsia which had not severed its ties with Judaism. Although the subscribers (who numbered more than 4,000 in the 1890s) were scattered throughout Russia, they were especially numerous in the southern districts of the Jewish Pale of Settlement.

Among the most important associates of the magazine were S. Grusenberg, who edited the weekly *Chronicle*, and S. *Dubnow. In the late 1890s, when Landau had to interrupt his work with *Voskhod* for prolonged periods because of ill health, Grusenberg served as its editor. Dubnow commenced his work with *Voskhod* by writing sharp polemical articles on religious and educational reform for Jews and later edited its department of literary criticism. He also published certain historical studies, as well as "Letters on Old and New Judaism," first stating his theory of *autonomism, which ran counter to the views of the editors of *Voskhod* and their sympathizers.

Two principles guided the editorial policy of *Voskhod*: confidence in progress and faith in the ultimate triumph of Russian Jews in their struggle for complete emancipation, and the conviction that because Russia was the homeland of its Jewish citizens, solutions to both internal and external Jewish problems had to be found within Russia itself. Although *Voskhod* was not against the idea of a limited settlement of Jews in Ereẓ Israel, it opposed the *Ḥibbat Zion movement and was particularly antagonistic to Zionism. At the same time, the journal opposed total assimilation, advocating the preservation of national-religious Jewish values while encouraging Jews to become more familiar with the Russian language and culture. It also fostered the idea of developing a Jewish literature in the Russian language. *Voskhod* called upon the Russian Jewish intelligentsia to remain close to the masses of the Jewish people and to devote themselves to the public struggle for Jewish rights, participating as individuals in organized Jewish community life, education, and social welfare. The magazine also hoped to raise the standards of the rabbinate in Russia by establishing a theological seminary similar to those of Western Europe. It also suggested a plan for increasing the productivity of Russian-Jewish economic life by having Jews engage in physical labor, especially in agriculture.

Between 1881 and 1884 *Voskhod* courageously called for a Jewish self-defense organization. Its polemic outcries against the Russian authorities, anti-Jewish laws and acts, and the hostile Russian press were regarded as one of the chief tasks of the editorial board, which devoted a special section to the problem, "Echoes of the Press." In 1891, after two warnings, the magazine was suspended by the government for six months. When it was resumed, it had to submit the material of its weekly edition to the censors prior to each publication, a procedure which sharply curtailed its freedom of expression.

Voskhod published studies by A.A. *Harkavy, the basic historical research of S. *Bershadski on Lithuanian Jews and of V. *Nikitin on Jewish agricultural settlements in Russia, and the essays of S. Dubnow on the history of Ḥasidism. It also introduced the works of the historians S. *Ginsburg, Y. *Hessen, P. *Marek, S. Posner, I. *Zinberg, and others. Translations from the literature of the Wissenschaft des Judentums which appeared in Western Europe were also included. As supplements, it offered basic works on the history of the Jewish people, including the writings of Josephus, the *Geschichte der juedischen Literatur* by Gustav *Karpeles, the *History of the Jews* by S. Dubnow, an *Anthology of Jewish Folk Songs* by S. Ginsburg and P. Marek, and a "Systematic Bibliographical Guide to the Literature Pertaining to Jews in the Russian Language." In its "Literary Chronicle" (whose editors included I.L. Gordon, S. Dubnow, and S. Ginsburg), *Voskhod* reviewed new books on Jews and Judaism in Hebrew and other languages. The attitude of the editors toward the Yiddish language changed in the course of time, moving from a complete negation of its value to an appreciation of Yiddish as a positive factor in shaping both the Jewish image and the way of life of the Jewish masses. *Voskhod* also gave its attention to textbooks and children's literature. In its "Literary Chronicle," it published translations from the works of K.E. *Franzos, L. *Kompert, I. *Zangwill, E. *Orzeshkowa, and others, as well as numerous historical novels. Among the Russian-language short-story writers who contributed to *Voskhod* were I.L. *Levanda, G. *Bogrov, M. *Ben-Ami, N. Pruzhanski, and S. Yaroshevski (a prolific, though superficial, writer whose works generally preached assimilation). Articles and reports of events in both the Diaspora and Ereẓ Israel (including correspondences from H. Hissin, M. Meirovitz, and Ḥemdah *Ben-Yehuda) also found their way into the journal.

In the summer of 1899 Landau sold the magazine to a group of young writers (including J. *Brutzkus, L. *Bramson, S. Ginsburg, and M. *Vinawer), some of whom were nationalists and even Zionists. M.N. *Syrkin became the official editor. The declared aim of the new owners was to serve Jews through "… developing [their] national consciousness, [and] raising the cultural level of the masses." In order to compete with the Russian daily press for the attention of Jewish intellectuals in the provinces, the editors attempted in 1900–01 to publish the weekly supplement (whose name was itself changed to *Voskhod*) as a semiweekly. The new *Voskhod* carried Zionist articles and many translations from Yiddish and Hebrew. The number of subscribers reached 5,000. In 1903, after the pogroms in *Kishinev, issues 16 and 17 of the weekly were confiscated because of an article advocating Jewish *self-defense. In 1904 the weekly was suspended for six months and some of the material that had been prepared for it was published in the monthly. From 1900, the new *Voskhod* had to compete with *Budushchnost* ("The Future"), published by S. Grusenberg. Gradually, an anti-Zionist group led by M. Vinawer took over the direction of the *Voskhod*; the Zionists left it and in 1904 began publishing a Russian-language periodical of their own, *Yevreyskaya Zhizn* ("Jewish Life"). In 1906 *Voskhod* ceased publication.

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[Yehuda Slutsky]

VOSKOVEC, GEORGE (1905–1981), Czech actor. Voskovec, born in Sazava, worked with Jan Werich at the "Liberated Theater for Prague," 1927–38. He spent the war years in the U.S., and returning to Prague in 1946 he adapted several American plays before finally leaving Czechoslovakia in 1953. In 1956 he acted in *Uncle Vanya* in New York and *The Diary of Anne Frank* in London. He also appeared in *The Tenth Man* in New York (1959), in Shakespeare at Stratford, Connecticut, and in *The Physicists* (1964). His films included *Twelve Angry Men, The Bravados*, and *The Spy who came in from the Cold.*

VOTICE (Ger. **Wotitz**), town in S. Bohemia, Czech Republic. The first evidence of a Jewish community dates from a document of 1538 concerning a Jewish cemetery. In 1570 there were 13 Jewish families in Votice. A synagogue was built in 1661 and renovated in 1724. The synagogue was torn down in 1949–50. Fifty families lived there in 1799. Votice was an agricultural center, and many Jews earned their livelihood as grain merchants and as **arendas* ("land-leasers") on the surrounding estates. There were 340 Jews in Votice proper in 1869 and 1,015 in the district; in 1902 there were 560 Jews living in 12 localities; in 1910 there were 163 Jews in the town and 348 in the district; in 1930 the community numbered 76. The community had an active cultural life. Outstanding among its rabbis were Jedidiah Tia Weil and Moses Bloch (1847–53). The family names Wotizky and Utitz probably indicate origin in this community. Under the Nazi occupation in 1942 all the Jews were deported to extermination camps. The community's synagogue equipment was sent to the Jewish Central Museum in Prague. A Jewish community was not reestablished after World War II. The synagogue and the cemetery, with gravestones dating from the 18th century, were still in existence in 1970. The names of the victims of the Holocaust were included in the memorial at *Tabor.

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[Jan Herman / Yeshayahu Jelinek (2nd ed.)]

VOWS AND VOWING. The Hebrew נֶדֶר (*neder*), a vow, is used in the Bible for a promise made to God to perform some deed (e.g., Gen. 28: 20) as well as for a prohibition which a person imposes upon himself to abstain from something which is otherwise permitted. The former is contrasted in the Mishnah with the *nedavah*, the free will offering (Kin. 1:1) while the latter is differentiated from the *shevu'ah*, the oath. The distinction between these two appears to be largely technical, but it has far-reaching consequences in the practical sphere. In the vow the person prohibits the thing to himself by declaring, "I take upon myself"; in the oath he prohibits himself to the thing by saying, "I swear to do this, or not to do this." It is with the second category, of vow, that the Talmud largely concerns itself, and to which this entry is confined.

The enormous importance of the vow and its serious consequences are reflected in the fact that a whole tractate of the Talmud, consisting of 11 chapters in the Mishnah and 91 folios in the *Gemara*, is devoted to it (see **Nedarim*), excluding the *Nazirite vow, to which a separate tractate is devoted. The biblical laws of vowing are to be found in Numbers 30: 1–16. No explicit provision is made there for absolution from vows (*hattarat nedarim*), the Bible permitting only the voiding of a vow (*hafarat nedarim*) in the case of an unmarried woman by her father, and a married woman by her husband, providing he did so "in the day that he heareth." Nevertheless, the rabbis evolved an elaborate machinery for the absolution of vows, although they frankly admitted that "the rules about the absolution of vows hover in the air and have nothing to support them" (Ḥag. 1:8). The first vow mentioned in the Bible is that of Jacob (Gen. 28:20) and it receives the indirect assent of God (Gen. 31:13). So with regard to the tragic vow of Jephthah (Judg. 11:30–40) there is no suggestion that it was wrong of him to make it, although the Midrash declares that he could have been absolved from it by Phinehas the high priest, and only the personal foolish pride of both prevented it being done (Gen. R. 60:3).

In Ecclesiastes, however, the first doubt, though a qualified one, is expressed about the advisability of making vows. "When thou vowest a vow unto God, defer not to pay it… better is it that thou shouldst not vow, than thou shouldst vow and not pay" (5:3–4). There is a difference of opinion in the Talmud (Ḥul. 2a) as to the implication of this verse. R. Judah states, "Better than both is he who vows and pays," and in the Mishnah (Dem. 2:3) confines this injunction not to be profuse in vows to the *ḥaver*, while R. Meir is of the opinion, "Better than both is he who does not vow at all." Both views find their expression in rabbinic literature. The Midrash (Lev. R. 37:1, which reverses the authors) states: "He who vows and pays receives the reward both for his vow and its fulfillment," and "he who vows and pays his vow will be vouchsafed to pay his vow in Jerusalem" (*ibid.* 37:4). The weight of opinion, however, especially in the Talmud, is in favor of completely refraining from vows. Samuel goes so far as to say, "Even when one fulfills his vow he is called wicked" (Ned. 22a), while R. Dimi calls him a sinner (Ned. 77b). It is even said that as a punishment for taking vows one's children die young (Shab. 32b).

It was as a result of this view that the elaborate procedure for the absolution of vows, which annulled them *ab initio*, was developed. The annulment depended on finding a "door of regret," the establishment of circumstances which the person taking the vow had not taken into consideration or known about at the time when he took the vow – had he done so he would not have take the vow. The annulment had to take place before a properly constituted *bet din* of three, and the formula of absolution is: "It is absolved to thee, it is absolved to thee" (Sanh. 68a). On the question of the application of the vow, it is emphasized that one follows the popularly accepted connotation of the word used, and not its literary or biblical meaning. The whole of the sixth chapter of Mishnah *Nedarim* and half of the seventh confine themselves to examples. For instance, a vow to abstain from milk does not include whey, "meat" excludes soup, "wine" only grape wine, and "clothes" excludes sackcloth or sheets.

Vowing has practically disappeared from Jewish practice. A curious exception is the accepted formula for making offerings when called up to the reading of the *law (see *Torah, reading of). The donation is introduced by the words *ba'avur she-nadar* ("inasmuch as he has vowed") – which is the origin of the Yiddish word "*shnodder*" for an offering.

Despite the accepted formula which established a promise or an undertaking as a vow, the sanctity of the word was so highly regarded that the verse "that which is gone out of thy mouth thou shalt observe and do" (Deut. 23:24) was taken as a separate injunction, independent of the words which follow "according as thou hast vowed." Even more, it was interpreted as meaning that "the mere utterance of thy lips is equivalent to a vow," giving a simple statement of intention the force of a vow (Ned. 7a), as a result of which the custom developed of adding to any such statement the disclaimer *beli neder* ("without it being a vow"). The Shulḥan Arukh (YD 203:7) permits the taking of vows when its purpose is to rid oneself of bad habits.

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[Louis Isaac Rabinowitz]

VOZNESENSK, city in Nikolayev district, Ukraine. The Jewish settlement in Voznesensk was founded during the first half of the 19th century by several of the numerous Jews who migrated from northwestern Russia to "New Russia" (Ukraine). There were 1,249 Jews in Voznesensk in 1864; 5,932 in 1897; and by 1926 the 5,116 Jews formed 23.7% of the total population. The Jews of Voznesensk suffered severely during the Russian Civil War (1918–20) and were exterminated when the Germans occupied the town during World War II. In 1959 there were again Jews in Voznesensk (900, forming about 3% of the population). Most left in the 1990s.

[Abraham N. Poliak]

VOZNITSYN, ALEXANDER ARTEMYEVICH (d. 1738), a proselyte officer in the Russian navy. The Russian authorities accused Voznitsyn of having converted to Judaism under the influence of the Jew Baruch b. Lev of Dubrovno, who had already been suspected of proselytizing. Both Voznitsyn and Baruch were brought before the "Bureau of Secret Investigations" of St. Petersburg, which made extensive use of torture in interrogating persons suspected of plotting against the state. The matter was made known to Czarina Anna, who ordered that the bill of indictment be transferred to the senate. Under the pressure of the czarina and despite the opinion of the ministry of justice that evidence to condemn the two men was insufficient, both were burnt at the stake. The entire episode only served to intensify the already hostile Russian policy toward Jews. The legal dossier, taken from the archives of the Holy Synod of Russia, was published by I. Markon as a supplement to the collection *Perezhitoye* (with vols. 2–4, 1910–13).

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[Abraham N. Poliak]

VOZROZHDENIYE (Rus. "Renaissance"), Jewish nationalist and socialist group in Russia between 1903 and 1905. It was also connected with groups of Russian Jewish students in Western Europe. Some of the former members of the "Ḥerut" group of Berlin (whose leader had been Nachman *Syrkin) were among the members and supporters of Vozrozhdeniye, e.g., M. *Silberfarb and Z. *Kalmanovitch; members of *Po'alei Zion and of similar orientation also took part, e.g., S. *Dobin, M. Levkovski, J. Novakovski, *Ben-Adir (A. Rosin), N. *Shtif,

B. Friedland, P. *Dashewski, J. Bregman, and W. Fabrikant, and such personalities as M.B. *Ratner, Ch. *Zhitlowsky, and A. Mandelberg. At a meeting of Zionist-socialist students in Rovno (Passover, 1903), the initiative was taken for the convocation of the Vozrozhdeniye foundation conference in Kiev (Sukkot, 1903), which became its center. The detachment from political indifferentism, which had prevailed in Po'alei Zion (particularly within its Minsk trend) was shattered by the *Kishinev pogrom, the Jewish *self-defense movement, and the wave of political strikes and demonstrations which began to engulf Russia. Political activism against the czarist regime became predominant. Simultaneously, during and after the *Uganda controversy, the crisis in the Zionist concept of settling Ereẓ Israel encouraged territorialist trends.

In Vozrozhdeniye the divergence between the territorialist and the autonomist ideologies became apparent, and the autonomist trend gradually gained the upper hand. Its general theory was that the national factor in history would not disappear because it was immanent in human experience in every generation, and was of a progressive nature. Capitalism not only fails to bring about the erosion of national existence by cosmopolitan amalgamation but even enhances national separateness in human society. This process is nurtured, among others, by the democratization of life and by the social and cultural activization of the popular classes, who thus also develop their own natural national forms of existence and creativeness. This is also the background of the national liberation movements of oppressed peoples. National differences will not disappear in the future socialist system, but they will coexist in greater harmony. Within this conceptual framework, Vozrozhdeniye integrated its doctrine of Jewish national life and future. It rejected the pessimism of the Zionist "negation of the Exile." There were opportunities for revival under Diaspora conditions by positive initiatives in various spheres of life and culture: education, productivization, organization of social classes, and political-ideological trends of which the nation was composed. Above all, it claimed that it was possible to attain a recognized official status of the Jews in their countries of residence as part of the state in the form of a national-political autonomy, which would be headed by national Jewish assemblies or diets ("Sejms"). The ultimate territorial concentration of the Jews was an ideal and the final objective, which would be achieved in an undetermined time and place. However, there existed an immanent, organic relationship between the achievement of this final aim and the day-to-day "activity of the present" in its various forms. The Zionist objective – in fact, the territorialist one – would be achieved not as a result of negative factors or of catastrophic misfortune. It would be a gradual evolution of events reflecting the growth of vital and positive forces within the nation in the lands of its dispersion, after it had organized and consolidated itself in the framework of national-political autonomy. The Jewish labor movement should be based on three principles: socialism (as the final objective); revolutionary struggle against absolutism and the bureaucratic regime; and national autonomy (both as an end in itself and as a way for gaining territory for the Jewish people in the future). This ideological system was developed in the Russian organ of the group which bore its name. Numbers 1–2 were published abroad (also in Yiddish under the title *Di Yidishe Frayhayt*) at the beginning of 1904, and issue numbers 3–4 were published at the end of 1904; a third issue (St. Petersburg, 1905) contained a comprehensive essay by Ben-Adir on the "National Ideal and the National Movement." In December 1904 (January 1905), the *Zionist Socialist Workers' Party was founded with the participation of delegates of Vozrozhdeniye. However, because of their rejection of "Sejmism," Dobin, Novakovski and Levkovski resigned from the new party and remained active within Vozrozhdeniye. The second conference of Vozrozhdeniye was held in September 1905. It was attended also by the young Berl *Katznelson. The attempt to establish a joint party with the Ereẓ Israel-oriented Po'alei Zion was unsuccessful because of the issue of affiliation to the Zionist Organization. After the establishment of the Jewish Social Democratic Party *Po'alei Zion under the leadership of B. *Borochov the members of Vozrozhdeniye held the foundation conference of the Jewish Socialist Workers' Party (Sejmists) in Kiev (April, 1906), after which the group disbanded. The autonomism promoted by Vozrozhdeniye influenced not only Borochov's Po'alei Zion but also the Zionist Organization of Russia, as reflected in the *Helsingfors Program.

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[Moshe Mishkinsky]

°**VRCHLICKÝ, JAROSLAV**, pseudonym of **Emil Frída** (1853–1912), Czech poet, playwright, and translator. Vrchlický was born in Louny, Bohemia. The most prolific and perhaps the greatest Czech writer of the 19th century, he wrote more than 160 books, and was professor of literature at the Czech University of Prague. Vrchlický was interested in Judaism and Jewish literature (Torah, Talmud) from his earliest years; at least a hundred of his poems and three of his plays are based on Jewish themes.

One of Vrchlický's greatest works is his dramatic 400-page poem *Bar Kochba* (1897). This was translated into German, as was his comedy *Rabínská moudrost* ("Rabbinic Wisdom," 1886), based on the life of R. *Judah Loew of Prague. Samson is the hero of a dramatic *Trilogie o Simsonovi* (1901), one part of which was set to music by J.B. Foerster. He translated many important poetic works from French, Italian, German, English, Spanish, and Portuguese into Czech. Vrchlický also translated into Czech many poems on Jewish themes by great foreign authors. In addition to *Byron's *Hebrew Melodies*, Vrchlický published translations of poems by *Judah Halevi and Ibn *Gabirol, and Morris *Rosenfeld's *Songs of the Ghetto.*

To Rosenfeld he also dedicated two poems and an essay, *Básník žargonu* ("The Poet of Jargon," 1906). Vrchlický's Czech translations of the Hebrew poets were based on Selig Heller's German renderings, those from Rosenfeld's Yiddish on the English version by Leo Wiener. Vrchlický's *Bar Kochba* was translated into Hebrew by Abraham *Levinson. For a time, Vrchlický was a member of the Austrian parliament's Upper House. While practically all histories of Czech literature written before World War II state that Vrchlický was of Jewish origin on his father's side, later studies reject this claim and the formerly accepted theory of Vrchlický's Jewishness seems now to be at least disputable.

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[Avigdor Dagan]

°**VRIEZEN, THEODORUS CHRISTIAAN** (1899– 1981), Dutch biblical scholar and Semitist. Born in Dinxperlo, Vriezen was a teacher of religion at The Hague from 1929 to 1941, and graduated as doctor of theology in 1937, the title of his thesis being *Onderzoek naar de paradijsvoorstelling bij de oude semietische volken*. In 1940 he taught Babylonian-Assyrian language at the University of Utrecht; in 1941 he became ordinary professor of Old Testament studies at the State University of Groningen, and in 1965 at the State University of Utrecht.

Of his many articles and books written on the Old Testament and the *Umwelt* of Israel, the best known are his *De Literatuur van Oud-Israel* (1961), *De godsdienst van Israel* (The Religion of Israel, 1963) and his *Hoofdlijnen van der theologie van het Oude Testament* (1954), which was translated into many languages.

[Adam Simon Van Der Woude]

VROMAN, AKIVA (1912–), geologist. Born in Holland, Vroman graduated from the University of Utrecht in 1935. Upon immigration to Ereẓ Israel, he made a geological survey of the southwest region of the Carmel in 1936. He received his doctorate from the Hebrew University in 1938. From 1948 to 1955 he made extensive geological surveys of Israel, including a geological mapping of the Negev with Dr. J. Bentor. He received the Israel Prize for science in 1955.

VROMAN, LEO (1915–), Dutch poet and biologist. Born in Gouda, Vroman fled to England when the Germans invaded Holland and then spent the war years in the Dutch East Indies. In 1945 he went to the U.S., where he worked as an animal physiologist until he retired. After a stay in New Jersey he settled in New York. In 1938 he became engaged to Tineke Sanders. Separated during WWII, they married in 1947, one day after their reunion. She played a colorful role in his poetry and prose ever since. Vroman has a unique place in Dutch experimental poetry, his language – a mixture of colloquial and extremely sophisticated speech – being notable for a biological terminology that creates surrealistic effects. His best-known works are *Gedichten* (1946), written between 1942 and 1945, and *Gedichten, vroegere en latere* (1949), poetry of the years 1935–40 in Holland, of 1940–41 in the Dutch East Indies, and of 1946–48 in the U.S. Memories of his youth were expressed in the epic poem *Inleiding tot een leegte* (1955); war experiences in *De adem van Mars* (1956); and the secret of life and death in *De Ontvachting* (1960). Much of Vroman's verse is included chronologically in the prize-winning collection *126 Gedichten* (1964). Vroman also composed English verse, collected in *Poems in English* (1953). His prose works include the short story *Tineke* (1948), and the collection *Snippers van Leo Vroman* (1958). He further published diary notes under the title *Vroeger donker dan gisteren. Herfstdagboek* (Amsterdam 2004). Of particular note are his letters from the U.S.: *Brieven uit Brooklyn* (1975). His collected poetry appeared in 1985, *Gedichten 1948–1984* (Amsterdam), a feat that by no means signified the end of his activity as a poet. He published new volumes almost every year, such as *Psalmen en andere gedichten* (Amsterdam 1995). Leo Vroman's gifts were not confined to literature – he was a fine artist, and throughout his work his poems were regularly accompanied by subtle drawings.

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[Gerda Alster-Thau / Maritha Mathijsen (2nd ed.)]

VUGHT (also called **Kl Herzogenbusch**), the site of a minor Nazi camp for Dutch Jewry in the province of Brabant, Holland. It was established in 1942 under the supervision of WVHA. Karl Chmielewski, who was a veteran of Mauthausen, was its commandant. He was joined by a staff of 80 Kapos, but unlike the situation in Mauthausen, these Jews were not to be mistreated. Two categories of Jews were interned in Vught: textile and diamond workers who had lost their original status as "privileged" Jews; and those who in April and May 1943 had to leave certain provinces which were being "cleansed" of Jews. Originally, the camp was said to be a labor camp; most were employed outside the camp in fur and clothing manufacturing; others worked in construction of fortifications. There was a unique arrangement with the Philips Company, which employed some 1,200 prisoners. The company insisted that the inmates who worked for them be given a hot meal each day and not be deported. Dr. Arthur Lehmann served as the head of the Jewish administration of the camp and he functioned as best he could given his limited and derivative powers to treat his fellow Jews well. He kept a detailed record of life in Vught. Conditions deteriorated when Adam Grunewald replaced Chmielewski; he in turn was removed for excessive punishments, which bespeaks the unusual situation of the camp. Grunewald was replaced by Hans Huttifg.

From Jan. 13, 1943, until Sept. 6, 1944, Vught served as a transit point for Jews who were sent on to death camps. Approximately 12,000 Jews passed through Vught. Transports reduced the camp population and then others arrived. Most notorious of all the transports from Vught was one that took place via *Westerbork to *Sobibor on June 5, 1943, consisting of 1,266 children under the age of 16. They were murdered upon arrival. In the end even the Philips Company could not protect its Jews from deportation, but not for want of trying. Those who were sent to Auschwitz were selected for work for Telefunken by an agreement between the two corporations. But conditions in Auschwitz were so harsh that of the 517 Philips workers who were deported to Auschwitz, only 160 – less than one in three – survived. Among them were nine children and more than 100 women.

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[Abel Jacob Herzberg / Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

VULGATE (Latin *Vulgata* (*versio*); "common version"), *Jerome's translation into Latin of the Bible, Apocrypha, and New Testament. Jerome's translation enjoyed general appreciation and acceptance in Western Christendom during the Middle Ages, thus becoming known as the Vulgate. Until recently the Vulgate was the only text used in the Roman Catholic liturgy. For a full discussion, see *Bible, Translations.

VULTURES, a number of carrion-eating birds. They are recognizable by their blunt claws, in which they differ from other birds of prey, and their bald heads (except for the bearded vulture). These are useful birds since they act as scavengers, and formerly were very common in Israel. In recent times, however, they have diminished in number, and some species are in danger of extinction due to the use of chemical pesticides to kill various animals (like jackals and mice), causing the vultures to die from eating the poisoned carcasses. Four species of vulture are mentioned in the Bible: *nesher* (AV, "eagle"; JPS, "great vulture"), *ozniyyah* (AV and JPS, "osprey"), *peres* (AV, "ossifrage"; JPS, "bearded vulture"), and *raḥam* (AV, "gier-eagle"; JPS, "common vulture"). The first three are mentioned together as forbidden for food (Lev. 11: 13, Deut. 14: 12).

There is no doubt that the *nesher* (נֶשֶׁר) of the Bible is the griffon vulture – *Gyps fulvus*. It is the largest of Israel's carnivorous birds, its outstretched wings sometimes attaining a span of ten feet. It does not prey on living things but feeds on carcasses; as mentioned in Job (39: 27–30): "She dwelleth… on the rock…. From thence she spieth out the prey; her eyes behold it afar off… and where the slain are, there is she." It has no feathers on its neck to prevent the blood of the carcass from congealing when the vulture puts its head inside it, and hence its designation of "baldhead" (Micah 1: 16). It is one of the longest-lived birds (cf. Ps. 103: 5). The pair of vultures builds its nest on the peaks of lofty rocks (Jer. 49: 16; etc.). The fledgling develops slowly, and the parents tend it with devotion and train it to fly (cf. Deut. 32: 11). (On the identification of the *nesher* with the eagle, see *Eagle.) The name *ozniyyah* (עָזְנִיָּה) appears to be connected with the bird's strength; it is called *oz* ("strength") in the Mishnah, which states that articles used to be made from its wings (Kel. 17: 14). Whereas the griffon vulture was common near settlements, it was pointed out that the *ozniyyah* was found only in places far away from settlements (Ḥul. 62a). The reference is to the black vulture, which is similar in build to the griffon vulture, but has only a bald head and not a bare neck. Two species are found in Israel, the *Aegypius monachus*, which is dark brown and very rare, and the *Aegypius tracheliotus*, found in the Negev and distinguished from the former by its brightly colored belly.

The Talmud (*ibid.*) notes that like the *ozniyyah* the *peres* (פֶּרֶס) is not found in inhabited localities. It is identified with the bearded vulture, the *Gypaetus barbatus*. It is presumed that the name *peres* derives from the fact that it breaks (*pores*, פּוֹרֵס) the bones of carcasses by dropping them from a height in order to eat the marrow. It is recognizable by the hairy beard fringe at the end of its beak, and is widely dispersed geographically, being found in southern Europe, Africa, and Asia, although in all these places it is rare. In Israel too, in the mountains of the Negev, only solitary pairs are found. The *raḥam* (Deut. 14: 17, רָחָמָה) is also mentioned as a bird forbidden as food (Lev. 11: 18), and its similar name in Arabic is the basis of its identification with the *Neophron percnopterus*, the Egyptian vulture. It is the smallest of Israel vultures and is found in flocks near garbage heaps where it feeds on carcasses and insects. When young it is brown in color and later becomes white. In the Talmud the *raḥam* is identified with a bird called the *sherakrak*, which, according to the *aggadah*, if it will sit upon the ground and chirp, thus gives a sign of the advent of the Messiah (Ḥul. 63a). Apparently the reference is to a bird of the genus *Merops* which is never seen resting on the ground.

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[Jehuda Feliks]

VYGOTSKI, LEV SEMYONOVICH, (1896–1934), Soviet psychologist and author. Vygotski joined the Institute of Psychology in Moscow in 1924. In 1932 he founded the laboratory of psychology at the All-Union Institute of Experimental Medicine in Moscow, where studies by psychologists and psychiatrists were carried out on disintegration of personality in various neuropsychiatric disorders. He advanced the psychological diagnostics of mental disturbances (Vygotski's blocks for the study of concept formation) and methods for teaching mentally retarded children. His main concern was a theory of historicocultural development of man's highest mental functions, such as conceptual thinking and voluntary control of behavior. After his premature death the creative impetus he imparted to Soviet psychology was carried on by a group of his close associates including A.R. *Luria and B.V. Zeigarnik.

His publications in English included "The Problem of the Cultural Development of the Child," in *Journal of Genetic Psychology*, 36 (1929), 415–34; "Thought in Schizophrenia," in: *Archives of Neurology and Psychiatry*, 31 (1934), 1063–77; and *Thought and Language* (trans. from Russian with introd. by J.S. Bruner, 1962). His publications in Russian include: *Pedagogicheskaya psikhologiya* ("Educational psychology," 1926); *Pedologiya v shkol'nom vozraste* ("Paedology of the School Age") 1928; *Voobrazheniye i tvorchestvo v detskom vozraste* ("Imagination and Creativity in Children," 1930); *Umstvennoye razvitiye detey v protsesse obucheniya* ("Effects of Schooling on the Child's Mental Development," 1935); and *Psikhologiya iskusstva* ("Psychology of Art," 1965).

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[Josef Brozek]

VYSOKOYE (Pol. **Wysokie Litewskie**), city in W. Brest oblast, Belorus; in Poland-Lithuania before 1795 and between the two world wars. Jews were living in Vysokoye from the late 16th century. A community was organized in the early 17th century, which by decision of the Lithuanian Council (see Councils of *Lands), came under the jurisdiction of the Brest community. The synagogue, built of stone in 1607 was enlarged in 1828. In 1650 a meeting of the Lithuanian Council took place in Vysokoye. Jewish economic activity in the second half of the 18th century was encouraged by the owner of the town, Duchess A. Jablonowsky (1728–1800), in accordance with her policy toward Jews in Semiatycze and *Kock. A bet midrash was established in 1757. A new building was completed to house the bet midrash in 1837 and a new cemetery was opened in 1898. A *talmud torah* was founded in 1853. The Jewish population numbered 1,475 in 1847 and 2,876 (85% of the total) in 1897. In the 19th century Jews engaged in the trade of agricultural products, tailoring, tanning, carpentry, and transportation. Between the two world wars, when it was part of independent Poland, there was a Hebrew *Tarbut school. The community, which numbered 1,902 (91%) in 1921, was annihilated in World War II.

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[Arthur Cygielman]

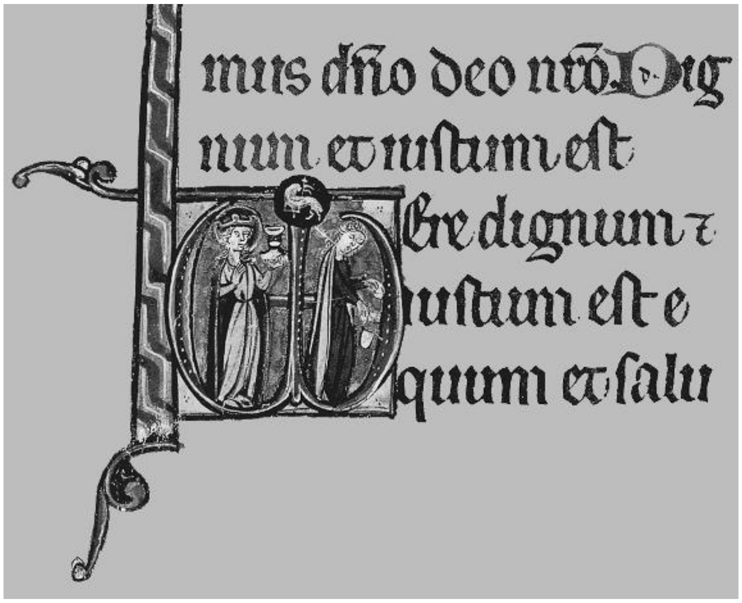

Illuminated "W" used to represent the sound of the initial letter of the Latin word Vere. *The figures represent Ecclesia and Synagoga. Detail from the* Missal of Paris, *France 12th century, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. Lat. 8884, fol. 130.*

Wa-Wei

WACHNER, LINDA JOY (1946–), U.S. apparel industry executive. Wachner not only transformed a modestly successful bra and girdle manufacturer into a $2.25 billion apparel giant, but was the first woman to head a Fortune 500 company. She was born in Manhattan, the daughter of Herman Wachner, a furrier, and his wife, Shirley, a saleswoman at Saks Fifth Avenue, and raised in Queens. When she was 11, severe scoliosis put her in a full-body cast for a year, an experience, she says, that developed her tenacious nature and taught her to be self-reliant. She graduated from high school at 16, then earned a B.S. in economics and business at the University of Buffalo in 1966. After joining Associated Merchandising Corp., a New York City buying office for department stores, at $90 a week, she became an assistant buyer at Foley's, a store in Houston, Texas, in 1968. A year later, she was a bra buyer at R.H. Macy's in New York City. In 1973, she met and married Seymour Appelbaum, a man 31 years her senior. In 1974, she joined Warnaco, becoming a vice president in 1975. In 1978, she was recruited to run the U.S. division of Max Factor, a money-losing cosmetics company. Wachner cut costs, laid people off, and produced a $5 million operating profit in her second year. In 1983, Wachner's husband, who had a serious heart condition, died. Wachner tried to buy the Max Factor business, but her offer was rejected and she was forced out. Eager to run her own show, Wachner engineered a $550 million hostile takeover of Warnaco in 1986 and quickly began to remake the 113-year-old company, which had a stable of prestigious brand names but did not market them effectively. Annual volume was $425 million when Wachner took over. Becoming chief executive in 1987 and chairman in 1991 – the year she took the company public – she was called "America's most successful businesswoman" by *Fortune* magazine. The same publication also anointed her one of America's "toughest bosses." In 1997, Wachner acquired Designer Holdings, a company licensed to make Calvin *Klein jeans. A year later, Warnaco business began to suffer, a victim of dwindling demand for its products, lower market share, a weakening economy, and several problematic licensing deals. In addition, Wachner's difficult personality was blamed for many top managers leaving the company. Perhaps most important was a nasty, headline-making fight with Calvin Klein over the way his jeans, which accounted for 25 percent of Warnaco's overall sales, were made and marketed. Klein said Warnaco was not only selling the high-prestige jeans to low-end discount houses, but altering designs and skimping on quality. Wachner counter-sued and a settlement was reached in January 2001. Warnaco stock, which had traded at $44 a share in 1998, was down to 39 cents a share in 2001, and Wachner's personal stake in the firm had fallen from some $200 million to $1.8 million. The company filed for bankruptcy in 2001 (emerging in 2003) and Wachner was fired. She sued for $25 million in severance pay, but settled for $452,000.

[Mort Sheinman (2nd ed.)]

WACHSTEIN, BERNHARD (**Dov Ber Wachstein**; 1868–1935), historian, bibliographer, and genealogist. Born in Tłuste, Galicia, he was educated in the Vienna rabbinical seminary and University of Vienna. In 1903 he became librarian of the Vienna community. He broadened the Judaica collection and was made assistant director in 1906; later he became director of the library, which he built up to 50,000 volumes, making it one of the richest and best ordered in Europe. In 1912 and

1917 he published his two-volume master work, *Die Inschriften des alten Judenfriedhofes in Wien*, a scholarly study of the tombstones of the Viennese Jewish community dating from 1540 to 1783. Wachstein subsequently rendered a similar service to the community of *Eisenstadt (*Die Inschriften des alten Judenfriedhofes in Eisenstadt,* 1922) and also published a number of monographs on Moravian communities. He compiled a bibliography of Hebrew eulogies in the holdings of the community library in Vienna (*Mafteach Ha-hespedim. Zur Bibliographie der Gedaechtnis- und Trauervorträge in der hebraeischen Literatur,* 4 vols., 1922–32) as well as bibliographies of the writings of G. *Wolf and M. *Guedemann. Together with Alexander Kristianpoller and Israel Taglicht, he published an anthology on Hebrew journals in Vienna (*Die Hebraeische Publizistik in Wien*, 3 vols., 1930). In 1939, a few years after his death, YIVO published the *Vakhsteyn-bukh,* a compilation in his memory.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: S. Chajes, *Bibliographie der Schriften Bernhard Wachsteins* (1933); N.M. Gelber, in: S. Federbusch (ed.), *Ḥokhmat Yisrael be-Ma'arav Eiropah*, 1 (1958), 232–40; A.M. Habermann, in: *Yad la-Koré*, 5 (1957–59), 163–5; S. Wachstein, *Hagenberggasse,* 49 (1996; Eng. *Too Deep Were Our Roots,* 2001).

[Mirjam Triendl-Zadoff]

WACHTLER, SOL (1930–), U.S. jurist, chief judge of the New York State Court of Appeals. He was born in Brooklyn, New York, and received his B.A. cum laude and his law degree from Washington and Lee universities. He was in private law practice in Jamaica, Long Island, until his appointment as a justice of the New York Supreme Court in 1968; later that year he was elected to a full term in the court. In 1972 he was elected to the New York State Court of Appeals, the state's highest court, and in January 1985 Governor Cuomo appointed him chief judge of the State of New York and the Court of Appeals. In this position he supervised a system that included some three thousand judges and about twelve thousand non-judicial personnel.

As chief judge of the Court of Appeals, Wachtler said that he set for himself two chief missions: to achieve collegiality for the court, so that it may speak with "one voice" and win for itself again the reputation it enjoyed under the leadership of Benjamin N. *Cardozo; and to streamline and modernize the administration of the state's judicial system.

In 1992 Wachtler's career came to a grinding halt when he was arrested by the FBI for stalking and harassing the woman with whom he had been having an affair for several years. In 1993 he was indicted on five counts of extortion, mailing threats, and lying to a government agency. He pleaded guilty to harassment and was sentenced to 11 months in a medium-security federal prison, which followed a year of home confinement. This harrowing experience is chronicled in his book *After the Madness: A Judge's Own Prison Memoir* (1997).

His own personal demons notwithstanding, in his capacity as a jurist Wachtler initiated reforms in a number of controversial areas. For example, he declared it unconstitutional that a man could rape his wife and go unpunished; he extended the human rights law to prohibit discrimination against obese people; he provided women with more power to fight gender bias; and he endorsed gay rights.

Wachtler went on to teach law at the Law School at Touro College in Huntington, New York. In 2000 he received the President's Award of the New York State Mental Health Association for the work he did on behalf of the mentally ill. Wachtler co-authored the novel *Blood Brothers* (2003) with David Gould, a former assistant district attorney.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: J. Caher, *King of the Mountain: The Rise, Fall, and Redemption of Chief Judge Sol Wachtler* (1998).

[Milton Ridvas Konvitz / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

WADDINGTON, MIRIAM (**Dvorkin**; 1917–2004), Canadian poet. Waddington was born and raised in Winnipeg, Manitoba. She attended high school in Ottawa and earned a B.A. from the University of Toronto in 1939. Subsequently, she earned an M.S.W. from the University of Pennsylvania in 1945, and an M.A. from the University of Toronto in 1968. She married the journalist Patrick Waddington in 1939 (from whom she was later divorced) and had two sons.

In 1945, Waddington moved to Montreal, where she was employed as a social worker and participated in the city's literary life. She contributed poems to *First Statement* and *Preview* and published her first book of poems with First Statement Press. In 1960, she returned to Toronto, where she worked for North York Family Services. From 1964 until her retirement in 1983, Waddington was a professor of English at Toronto's York University.

Waddington published 12 books of poetry. Her earliest collections (*Green World*, 1945; *The Second Silence*, 1955; *The Season's Lovers*, 1958) established her reputation as a lyricist. Waddington's poetry mines the historical past and individual memory. Her work is characterized by intensely visual images that evoke landscape and daily life. At the same time, her oeuvre reflects a lifelong engagement with social issues, which she attributed to her Jewish upbringing, particularly as they affect women. Throughout several decades, she experimented with form and language in poems that reveal – with increasing concision and gentle irony – the contradictory meanings of ordinary life (*The Glass Trumpet*, 1966; *Say Yes*, 1969; *Dream Telescope*, 1972; *Driving Home*, 1972). By celebrating small pleasures, her poems on aging (in *The Price of Gold*, 1976; *Mister Never*, 1978; *The Visitants*, 1981; *The Last Landscape*, 1992) subdue the pain of loneliness. Her *Collected Poems* was published in 1986, and an excerpt from one of her poems appears on the Bank of Canada $100 note. Waddington won the Montreal Jewish Public Library's J.I. Segal Foundation Award in 1972 and 1986.

Waddington also published *Summer at Lonely Beach and Other Stories* (1982), a collection that draws on her childhood and youth in southern Manitoba, and *Apartment Seven* (1989), a volume of essays. She wrote *A.M. Klein* (1970), a pioneering critical study of the Canadian poet, and edited *The Collected*

Poems of A.M. Klein (1974), as well as *John Sutherland: Essays, Controversies and Poems* (1972).

[Ruth Panofsky (2nd ed.)]

WADI AL-NAṬṬŪF, site of the first discovery of the prehistoric Natufian culture in Ereẓ Israel. Starting in the Judean hills c. 12½ mi. (20 km.) north of Jerusalem, Wadi al-Naṭṭūf joins Naḥal Ayalon in the coastal plain near Or Yehudah, and near the village of Shuqbā the wadi turns sharply to the southwest; on the northern side of this turn is the Shuqbā Cave, 72 ft. (22 m.) above the wadi-bed and 656 ft. (200 m.) above sea level. The cave, composed of three chambers, measures 131 × 131 ft. (40 × 40 m.); the vault, 82 ft. (25 m.) above the floor of the cave, contains two open chimneys.

The Shuqbā Cave was excavated in 1928 by D. Garrod in one of the earliest cave excavations in Ereẓ Israel. The cave was the first to reveal a Mesolithic cultural stage, dating to about 10,000 years ago, which Garrod called Natufian after the name of the wadi. Four stages were distinguished in the cave, including, from bottom to top: layer D, with an upper Mousterian industry; layer C derived from D and redeposited with abraded implements; layer B containing the Natufian industry; and the uppermost layer A with pottery dating from the Early Bronze Age to recent times. The Natufian of layer B is characterized by an important group of microliths – tiny stone implements – of which the majority are lunates (crescentshaped blades) and also including triangles, trapezes, and various small-backed blades. Among the non-microlithic artifacts were scrapers, gravers, borers, etc., as well as sickle blades which make their first appearance in the Natufian culture. Bone tools, mainly awls, are also typical of this stage. The Natufian tool kit is regarded as representing a more or less intensive collection of wild cereals in conjunction with the traditional food supply acquired through hunting and food gathering. The report that a domesticated dog was found in the Natufian culture at Shuqbā is dubious.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Garrod, in: *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society*, 8 (1942), 1–20.

[Avraham Ronen]

WADI DĀLIYA, valley 12 mi. (c. 19 km.) N.W. of Jericho. In 1962 Bedouin discovered a number of papyri in the Maghārat Abu Shinjah in Wadi Dāliya. The cave was cleared in 1963 by P. Lapp. The finds included over 200 skeletons, jewelry, 128 seals of documents, and a number of legal documents from Samaria, dated 375 (or 365) B.C.E. The Aramaic documents mention Yoshua son of Sanballat (II) the (hereditary) governor of Samaria, and the prefect Hananiah. They mention conveyances of land, manumissions, and the sale of slaves (including one Nehemiah to the Samaritan noble Yehonur). The people in the cave seem to have fled there during the Samaritan revolt against Alexander the Great and appear to have perished in a Macedonian attack.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: F.M. Cross, in: D.N. Freedman and J.C. Greenfield (ed.), *New Directions in Biblical Archaeology* (1969), 41–63.

[Michael Avi-Yonah]

WAGENAAR, LION (1855–1930), Dutch rabbi. Wagenaar served as chief rabbi of Friesland (1886) and Gelderland (1895), and as rector of the Nederlands Israelietisch Seminarium, the Jewish theological seminary of Amsterdam, from 1918 until his death. A disciple of J.Z. *Duenner, he published many historical-critical articles on talmudic-halakhic subjects and translated the prayer book into Dutch, with a commentary and historical expositions.

A jubilee volume (*Feestbundel*) in his honor was issued in 1925 by the Genootschap voor de Joodsche Wetenschap in Nederland, with a bibliography of his writings. After his death a collection of 31 articles was published (*Ellu le-Aḥavah*, 1932).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Wininger, Biog, s.v.; S. Dasberg, in: *Bijdragen en Mededeelingen van het Genootschap voor de Joodsche Wetenschap in Nederland*, 5 (1933), 19–26.

[Frederik Jacob Hirsch]

°**WAGENSEIL, JOHANN CHRISTOPH** (1633–1705), Christian Hebraist. While professor at the University of Altdorf, he published a series of writings on Judaism and the Jews whose missionary intention is manifest. His most important work was *Tela ignea Satanae, Hoc est: arcani, et horribles Judaeorum adversus Christum Deum et Christianam religionem libri* ("Flaming Arrows of Satan; that is, the secret and horrible books of the Jews against Christ, God, and the Christian religion"; Altdorf, 1681), a collection of works written by Jews for use in Jewish-Christian disputations and controversies. Wagenseil published these for the first time, with a Latin translation and his own introduction, with the intention of making Christians aware of the Jewish objections to Christianity and thus to refute them. Since this compilation of Jewish polemical writings made Jewish criticism of Christianity widely known, it was used in anti-Jewish propaganda, but these same criticisms were also employed by some opponents of religious fanaticism, such as *Voltaire and the Encyclopedists. Later, in *Denunciatio christiana de blasphemiis Judaeorum in Jesum Christum* (Altdorf, 1703), Wagenseil appealed to the Protestant rulers to prevent the Jews from blaspheming Christianity and to try to convert them (though without persecutions and forcible means, to which he was opposed). A varied collection of essays on Jewish matters, *Benachrichtigungen wegen einiger die gemeine Juedischkeit betreffenden Sachen* (Leipzig, 1705), included a missionary essay and a work against *blood libel.

Earlier in his life Wagenseil published Latin translations of the mishnaic tractate *Sotah* (Altdorf, 1675) and extracts from the Talmud and *Ein Ya'akov* with the sources. Corrections to *Sefer ha-Nizzaḥon* by Yom Tov Lippmann Muelhausen are incorporated at the end of this book. In his determination to understand Judaism in all its ramifications, Wagenseil learned Yiddish and studied its literature. His collection, *Belehrung der juedisch-teutschen Red- und Schreibart* (Koenigsberg, 1699), includes Passover songs in Yiddish, the *Megillat Vinz* of Elhanan b. Abraham Hellen (describing the *Fettmilch uprising in Frankfurt), a Yiddish version of the Arthurian legend, and a Yiddish version of *Hilkhot Derekh Ereẓ Rabbah ve-Zuta*. Wagenseil was on friendly terms with some Jews, and an interesting correspondence with his teachers has survived. Considered the father of Scandinavian Hebrew studies, he trained a group of Hebrew scholars who were interested in acquiring information on Judaism, such as J.J. *Schudt.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: J. Weissberg, in: *Zeitschrift fuer Deutsche Sprache*, 25 (1969), 154–68; Graetz, Hist, 5 (1895), 185–8; H. Thompson, *Wagner and Wagenseil* (1927); B. Weinryb, in: *Gedank un Leben*, 2 (1944), 109–18; H.J. Schoeps, *Philosemitismus im Barock* (1952), index; Fuerst, Bibliotheca, 489; ADB.

[Judah M. Rosenthal]

WAGENSTEIN, ANGEL RAYMOND (1922–), Bulgarian novelist and screenwriter. Born in Plovdiv, Bulgaria to a Jewish workers' family, Wagenstein was active in the partisan resistance movement in World War II. Captured and tortured, he was sentenced to death and only saved by the rapid advance of the Red Army in August 1944.

After the war he studied cinema in Moscow and went on to write more than 50 screenplays for feature films, documentaries, and animated cartoons produced in Bulgaria, Germany, Russia, the Czech Republic, Greece, China, and Vietnam. *Stars* (*Zvezdi*), dealing with the fate of the Jews during the Holocaust, won a special prize at Cannes in 1959. As a novelist he wrote the prizewinning trilogy *Petoknizie Isaakovo* ("Isaac's Pentateuch") on Jewish life in the 20th century, *Avram Karkacha*, and *Sbogom Shanhai* ("Good-bye Shanghai"), which won the Jean Monet Prize in 2004.

Wagenstein was one of the 12 dissidents invited to the historic meeting with President Mitterand at the French Embassy in Sofia before the collapse of totalitarianism in Bulgaria. After the changes in 1989 he was elected as a deputy in the National Assembly, which produced the new democratic constitution of Bulgaria. He was named a chevalier in the French Order of Merit.

[Emil Kalo (2nd ed.)]

WAGG, British family of stockbrokers and merchant bankers. This prominent English financial dynasty was founded by JOHN WAGG (1793–1878), a German Jewish immigrant who began the family City of London stockbroking firm of Helbert, Wagg & Co. in 1823. Wagg was a relative of the *Rothschilds and acted as their stockbrokers. His sons ARTHUR WAGG (1842–1919) and EDWARD WAGG (1843–1933) developed the firm into a merchant bank dealing with the distribution and arbitrage of international securities. The firm was notable for treating its staff well, introducing a pioneering pension scheme. Arthur's son ALFRED RALPH WAGG (1877–1969) served as chairman of the firm from 1922 until 1954. In 1962 Helbert, Wagg merged with the famous non-Jewish City merchant bank J. Henry Schroder & Co. to form J. Henry Schroder, Wagg & Co. In 2000 Citigroup, the American bank, acquired the firm, renaming it Citigroup Global Market Ltd.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: ODNB online; R. Roberts, *Schroders: Merchants and Bankers* (1992).

[William D. Rubinstein (2nd ed.)]

WAGG, ABRAHAM (1719–1803), loyalist merchant. Wagg was probably born in London. He settled in New York in about 1770 and became a wholesale grocer and chocolate manufacturer. In that year he married Rachel Gomez (1739–1809), daughter of Mordecai Gomez (1688–1750). He remained in New York City during the English occupation of the city in 1776. As a member of the militia and fire watch, he suffered severe injuries which caused him to become lame. He took an oath of allegiance to Great Britain in 1777 and two years later sailed for England. He settled in Bristol and from there unsuccessfully sought restitution for his properties seized in New York.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: C. Roth, in: AJHSP, 31 (1928), 33–75.

[Leo Hershkowitz]

WAGHALTER, IGNATZ (1882–1940), conductor and composer. Born in Warsaw, Waghalter studied in Berlin, where he became conductor of the Comic Opera. From 1912 to 1923 he was conductor and general musical director of the German Opera House in Berlin-Charlottenburg. In 1925 he visited the United States and conducted the New York State Symphony Orchestra for one season. In 1933 he moved to Prague, in 1934 to Vienna, and after 1938 he settled in New York. As a composer he was best known for his operas, particularly *Mandragola* (1914), based on Machiavelli's comedy. He also wrote operettas, works for strings, piano works, a vaudeville (*Bibi*), songs to Yiddish texts, and piano arrangements of Yiddish songs. Waghalter wrote an autobiography, *Aus dem Ghetto in die Freiheit* (1936).

°WAGNER, RICHARD (1813–1883), German composer. Disillusioned by the failure of the 1848 revolution, in which he had played an active part, Wagner (like *Proudhon and other early socialists) made a bitter attack on the Jews, whom he portrayed as the incarnation of money power, symbolized by the Rothschilds and commercialism (he published "Das Judentum in der Musik" anonymously in *Neue Zeitschrift fuer Musik*, 1850). This common stereotype and the composer's emotional aversion to Jews were given a kind of rationalization in his racial deterministic theories. He transferred his dislike to the cultural field, denying Jewish cultural creativity in general and, in particular, that the composers Giacomo *Meyerbeer and Felix *Mendelssohn or Heinrich *Heine could be considered truly creative. In ambiguous terms, under the guise of speaking of their redemption, he conceived the idea of the extinction (*Untergang*) of the Jews. Under his own name Wagner republished the article as a separate pamphlet with a supplement, "Enlightenment on Jewry in Music," in 1869, blaming his current problems on the alleged control of the press, theater, and cultural life by Jews, and including in his strictures those non-Jewish writers and editors who were opposed to his chauvinism. Identifying modern materialism with alleged Jewish influence, he envisaged the forced removal of Jews from cultural life or, alternatively (since he was inconsistent), their complete assimilation by means of art and music. Like the original article, the pamphlet, the ideas of which were eagerly seized on by Eugen

*Duehring, provoked a storm of controversy. In a series of articles entitled "German Art and Politics" (1867) in the semiofficial Bavarian *Sueddeutsche Presse*, Wagner expounded his ideas of the pure-blooded German mission, opposed to "alien" French and Jewish materialism. Founding his own paper, the *Bayreuther Blaetter* (1878), he (and his disciples) used it as a platform for his notion that the pastoral Germans of romantic idyll were economically dominated by Jewish speculators and bankers, and reiterated his view on the control of cultural life by Jews, borrowing phrases from the antisemite Wilhelm *Marr. In "Know Thyself," a supplement to *Religion und Kunst* (1881), Wagner deplored the granting of civil rights in 1871, applauded political antisemitism, and branded the Jews as the "demon causing mankind's downfall" (*Untergang*).

Wagner's antisemitism was shared by his devotees, and above all by his wife, Cosima, trustee of his estate for 47 years. She and Houston Stewart *Chamberlain, who married Wagner's youngest daughter in 1908, established the "Wagner cult" as a faith adumbrating the Nazi Fuehrer principle. Wagner Clubs were founded on an international scale from the 1860s on. Wagner began publishing his *Collected Works* in 1871; by 1912 they comprised 12 volumes. The articles and pamphlets on Jews and antisemitism are reprinted in volumes 5, 8, and 10. Wagner's works, which circulated widely among the educated classes, made antisemitism culturally respectable, and generally spread racialist doctrines, popularizing those of *Gobineau, with whom he was personally acquainted. Wagner's political writings were among the great ideological influences on Adolf Hitler, and his favorite reading. He was an admirer of his operas from his early youth and had them regularly performed at Bayreuth in connection with the Nazi Party conventions. The question of Wagner's parentage – whether he was the son of his legal father, Carl Friedrich Wagner, or the actor Ludwig Geyer (whom his mother married eight months after the former's death) – led to the widely circulated rumor that he was of Jewish origin. According to recent research, Wagner was Geyer's illegitimate son. But Geyer was the descendant of German Protestants whose ancestry could be traced back to the late 17th century. The genealogical investigation was undertaken by the Nazis to remove all doubts concerning their cultural and ideological hero.

In the State of Israel, Wagner's music remained excluded from the repertoire of its Philharmonic Orchestra and broadcasting program, in spite of divergent opinions and even protests.

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[Toni Oelsner]

WAGNER, SIEGFRIED (1878–1952), Danish sculptor. Born in Lyngby, Wagner had a special position among Danish sculptors because his work showed the influence of the old Oriental style rather than the modern Danish tradition, and because of his immense productivity. His work adorns squares in Copenhagen and many other towns. His memorial in the Jewish cemetery, Copenhagen, to the Jews who died in *Theresienstadt concentration camp consists of the Lion of Judah. Wagner often used Jewish motives in his work.

WAGNER, STANLEY M. (1932–), U.S. rabbi, academician, and community leader. Born in Brooklyn, New York, Wagner was educated at Yeshiva University, where he was ordained (1956) and wrote his doctoral dissertation on "Religious Non-Conformity in Ancient Jewish Life" (1964), a study of talmudic terms and categories for deviant religious behavior. After holding pulpits, as well as university teaching positions, in Lexington, Kentucky (1957–61) and Baldwin, New York (1961–70), Wagner served as executive vice president of the Religious Zionists of America (Mizrachi – Ha-Poel ha-Mizrachi (1970–72). In 1972, he was appointed rabbi of the Beth HaMedrosh HaGodol (BMH) congregation, the oldest traditional congregation in Denver (founded in 1897), serving there until his retirement in 1997. At the beginning of his tenure, Wagner led the BMH into affiliation with the Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations. At the end of his tenure, another traditional congregation, Beth Joseph, merged with the BMH and was housed in its facility.

In his 25 years in the Denver rabbinate, Wagner played a major role in reinvigorating communal Jewish life in Denver, due to his rabbinic, academic, and inter-religious activism, reflecting his interest in ideological diversity, first evident in his doctoral research. While serving as a congregational rabbi, Wagner also served as professor of Jewish history at the University of Denver (1972–99), where in 1975 he founded and directed the Center for Judaic Studies, which sponsored, in addition to its academic program at the university, courses in Judaica at local Christian seminaries, the Rocky Mountain Jewish Historical Society, and Beck Archives of Rocky Mountain Jewish History, a Holocaust Awareness Institute, and community cultural outreach programs. In 1982 he founded the Mizel Museum of Judaica, and served as its director until 2000. Wagner was also the only rabbi to serve as chaplain of the Colorado State Senate (1980–98). He was an outstanding example in the United States during last third of the 20th century of a rabbi as communal leader, institutional builder, and chief executive officer.

Wagner's publications include *A Piece of My Mind* (1979), and several volumes which he edited, including *Great Confrontations in Jewish History* (1977), *Traditions of the American Jew* (1977), and (with Raphael Jospe) *Great Schisms in Jewish History* (1981). He also served as general editor of a six-volume series on *Christian and Jewish Traditions in the 20th Century*. After his retirement, Wagner collaborated with Israel Drazin on a multi-volume English translation of and commentary on Targum Onkelos, *Understanding the Bible Text: Onkelos on the Pentateuch.*

Wagner's commitment to community-wide service, transcending denominational divisions, led him to write a halakhic study validating the "Denver Conversion Program," in which Orthodox, Conservative, Reform, and Reconstructionist rabbis cooperated in a joint educational program preparing candidates for conversion, and delegating authority for conversion to an Orthodox Bet Din which accepted candidates for conversion from all movements, and who were to be recognized, in turn, by the entire community. The program, which led to widespread controversy and was ultimately rejected by many Orthodox authorities (see the discussion in Samuel Freedman, *Jew vs. Jew: The Struggle for the Soul of American Jewry* (2000) and the symposium "The Denver Conversion Experience," in: CCAR *Yearbook* XCVI (1986), 47–58), provided a precedent and paradigm for the official Neeman Commission, charged by the government of Israel with developing an effective mechanism for resolving the difficulties of conversion in the Jewish state.

[Raphael Jospe (2nd ed.)]

WAHB IBN MUNABBIH (d. ca. 110/728), Yemenite scholar and ascetic, probably of Jewish origin. Wahb was one of the most important conduits of Isrāʾīliyyāt or biblical materials (both Jewish and Christian), including "Tales of the Prophets" (Arabic: *qiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ*) into Islamic tradition; in his days the gates were still wide open. He claimed to have read the "books" *(kutub)* of the famous Jewish converts to Islam, ʿAbdallāh ibn Salām and *Kʿab al-Aḥbār. According to one of Wahb's contemporaries, who was critical of his immodesty, he boasted that he commanded the combined knowledge of these two scholars. Wahb was born in *Sanʿa or in Dhimār south of Sanʿa. His mother was of the aristocratic tribe of Ḥimyar. As to his father, the least prestigious, and hence the most trustworthy, version has it that he was a mawlā or client of the Abnāʾ, i.e. the descendants of the Sassanian warriors who conquered the *Yemen in the sixth century C.E. Other versions have it that his father was of the Abnāʾ themselves, or even a descendant of one of the Sassanian emperors. After converting to Islam, his father became a disciple of *Muhammad's Companion Muʿādh ibn Jabal who was one of Muhammad's envoys to the Yemen. There were many scholars among Wahb's relatives and direct descendants. His brother Hammām (d. 101/719 or 102/720), for example, left a collection of *ḥadīths, i.e., sayings and accounts ascribed or related to Muhammad and his Companions.

Under the caliph ʿAbd al-Malik, Wahb officiated as a salaried preacher (*qāṣṣ*, until 75/694). He was an expert reader of the *Koran, besides being one of the earliest compilers in Islam; his biography of Muhammad, which is replete with miracles, reveals a Shīʿite bias. Wahb's traditions are often quoted in Koran exegesis, and many of them deal with the merits of Jerusalem and Palestine (or Syria; Arabic: Shām). Under the caliph Omar II, the former salaried preacher was appointed qadī or judge of Sanʿa, an office he also held at the beginning of Yazīd ibn ʿAbd al-Malik's caliphate (more precisely until 103/721). His appointment was frowned upon by those who deplored any form of cooperation with the government. Also under Omar II, probably in conjunction with his judgeship, Wahb was in charge of the treasury (probably in Sanʿa). Taking the government's side, Wahb engaged in polemics against rebellious Khārijites who argued that it was illegitimate to pay taxes to oppressive rulers. Still, under the caliph Hishām ibn ʿAbd al-Malik, Wahb was jailed and died as a result of flogging ordered by the governor of the Yemen. Wahb's adherence to the doctrine of *qadar* or free will was probably behind his chastisement, since there is in this context a reference to an ordeal he underwent (*umtuḥina*). In addition to human informants, Wahb relied on written materials: his brother Hammām is said to have bought for him "books." A prominent Yemenite scholar figuratively warned a pupil of his against the "saddle-bag" of Wahb and another scholar, since they were "owners of books, i.e. they transmitted from leaves." Wahb is rarely quoted in the canonical collections of ḥadīth, although most experts on the quality of ḥadīth transmitters considered him trustworthy.

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[Michael Lecker (2nd ed.)]

WAHL, ISAAK (1915–2004), Israeli agronomist. Wahl was born in Kherson, Ukraine, and after immigrating to Palestine in 1933 studied botany at the Hebrew University. In 1939 he began to teach natural science at the Ben Shemen Youth Village, while writing his doctoral thesis on the biology of a local mushroom in the Herzl Forest under the supervision of Prof. Israel Deisers, the father of phytopathology (plant diseases) in Israel. In 1946 he left Ben Shemen and began to teach at the Mikveh Israel Agricultural School, where he gained his practical knowledge of agriculture. Inspired by Aaron *Aaronson's discovery of the wild ancestor of wheat, Wahl began to take an interest in native species of wild cereal grains and the ability to withstand disease that they had developed over thousands of years.

While doing research at the University of Minnesota in 1949, Wahl was invited by Senator Hubert Humphrey to join a research group investigating the state's declining grain production. Wahl came up with a hybrid of American and sturdier Mediterranean strains that resolved the problem. In 1951 Wahl returned to Israel and became an associate professor at the Aaronson School of Agriculture (later the Faculty of Agriculture) in Rehovot. In 1966 Wahl moved to Tel Aviv University, where he established the Cereal Crops Research Institute.

Wahl was the recipient of many prizes, including the Technion's Harvey Prize for Science and Technology (1978) and the Bruno Kreisky Human Rights Prize (1985) for research that led to increased food production in the third world. In 1992 he was awarded the Israel Prize in agriculture. The Awards Committee cited Prof. Wahl as "one of the fathers of phytopathology in Israel and one of the greatest researchers in the field the world over." His work made possible the establishment of the Wild Cereals Gene Bank, the source for improved grain harvests all over the world.

[Ruth Rossing (2nd ed.)]

WAHL, JACQUES HENRI (1932–), French civil servant. Wahl was born in Lille, N. France, where his father had a small business. After graduation from the prestigious School for National Administration, he entered the French civil service and held a senior position in the Ministry of Finance. From 1970 to 1972 he was economic minister at the French embassy in Washington and was a member of the board of the International Monetary Fund. In 1978 he was appointed secretary-general of the Elysée Palace, a post regarded as equivalent to that of chief of staff at the White House.

WAHL, JEAN (1888–1974), French philosopher. Wahl was born in Marseilles, studied at the Sorbonne, and taught at Besançon, Nancy, and Lyons. In 1941 he was imprisoned in a concentration camp, but was rescued and went to the U.S., where he taught at the New School for Social Research in New York City, Mount Holyoke, and Smith College. After World War II, he became a professor at the University of Paris and also developed the Collège Philosophique for the presentation and discussion of philosophical themes.

Wahl wrote many important works, both on traditional philosophy and on existentialism, of which he became a leading exponent. He wrote *Les Philosophies pluralistes d'Angleterre et d'Amérique* (1920; *The Pluralistic Philosophies of England and America*, 1925), on Descartes and Hegel, and the important *Etudes Kierkegaardiennes* (1938), which brought Kierkegaard's thought to the attention of the French intellectual world. He followed this with a series of works developing the existentialist position, both in terms of its history and of his own ideas. Wahl stressed the role of traditional philosophy in his major work, *Etude sur le Parménide de Platon* (1926). He also wrote a volume of poems.

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[Richard H. Popkin]

WAHL, SAUL BEN JUDAH (in state documents of Poland-Lithuania, **Saul Judycz**; 1541–c. 1617), merchant and *parnas* of *Brest-Litovsk Jewry; son of Samuel Judah b. Meir Katzenellenbogen, rabbi of *Padua, where he was born. In his youth Saul Wahl went to Brest-Litovsk to study, and remained there, becoming a wealthy merchant. In 1578 King Stephen Bathory leased him the salt pans in the grand duchy of Lithuania with the sole right to sell their products and in 1580 also the salt mine at *Wieliczka near Cracow. Later Wahl farmed the king's revenues in the Brest-Litovsk region, and in 1589 King Sigismund III granted him the status of servus regis. From the 1580s Saul Wahl was among the *parnasim* of the Brest community and a leader of Lithuanian Jewry, taking an important part in the *Council of the Lands from the beginning of its existence. In 1593, through the mediation of Wahl, the Brest-Litovsk community was granted the right to adjudicate lawsuits between Jews, despite strong opposition from the city council. He built the women's gallery in the Brest-Litovsk synagogue in memory of his wife. Little is known of the last years of his life; S.A. *Bershadski has argued (in Voskhod, 5 (1889), 1–4) that Wahl died after 1622.

A number of legends grew up around the figure of Saul Wahl. Some scholars regard them as an expression of the economic and political achievements of the Jews in Poland before the catastrophe of the *Chmielnicki persecutions of 1648. One legend relates that, during the interregnum of 1587, before the election of King Sigismund III to the throne of Poland, Saul Wahl was chosen to perform a high royal function; another legend even attributes to him the title of king for a day before the final ratification of the election of Sigismund. The legends explain Wahl's rise to greatness in the patronage accorded to him by Prince Radziwill (apparently Mikolaj Kraysztof "the orphan," 1549–1616) who at a critical time during a pilgrimage to Padua received immediate aid from R. Judah, Saul Wahl's father. Of Saul Wahl's sons, Meir Katzenellenbogen-Wahl was rabbi of Brest and one of the founders of the Council of Lithuania in 1623, and Abraham (Abrashka) was rabbi of Lvov for many years. According to legend, Saul Wahl married his beautiful daughter to a rabbi of Brest-Litovsk of the same name as his.

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[Alexander Carlebach]

WAHLE, RICHARD (1857–1935), Austrian philosopher and psychologist. He was professor at Czernowitz and then at Vienna. He was a critic of traditional metaphysics, insisting that all that is knowable are "occurrences," but not their causes. Philosophically he was a skeptical agnostic about the possibility of knowing reality. In psychology he rejected any theory concerning psychic entities or powers. He also wrote on the philosophy of culture and history and on Spinoza.

His major writings include *Gehirn und Bewusstsein* (1884); *Das Ganze der Philosophie und ihr Ende* (1894, 1896^2); *Ueber den Mechanismus des geistigen Lebens* (1906); and *Die Tragikomoedie der Weisheit* (1915, 1925^2).

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Philosophie Richard Wahles und Johannes Rehmkes Grundwissenschaft (1926); F. Austeda, in: *Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, 8 (1967), 275–6, incl. bibl.

[Richard H. Popkin]

WAHRMANN, ABRAHAM DAVID BEN ASHER ANSCHEL (c. 1771–1840), ḥasidic rabbi. Born in Nadvornaya, Ukraine, Wahrmann was a disciple of *Levi Isaac of Berdichev and *Moses Leib of Sasov. He served as rabbi in Jazlowce (Jazlowice) from 1791, and when his father-in-law Ẓevi Hirsch Kro, author of *Neta Sha'ashu'im* (1829) and *av bet din* in Buchach, died in 1814, Abraham was appointed to his position. While living in Buchach, he began to behave like a *ẓaddik*, prayed according to *nusaḥ Sefarad*, and prolonged the morning prayer to noon. Scholars in the town opposed him, but many gathered round him to enjoy his teachings and blessings. He trained many disciples and wrote the following important halakhic and ḥasidic works: *Da'at Kedoshim*, in three parts (part one 1871); *Maḥazeh Avraham* (1876); *Tefillah le-David* (1876); *Divrei Avot* (1879); *Eshel Avraham* (1931); and *Divrei David* (1892).

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[*Encyclopaedia Hebraica*]

WAHRMANN, ISRAEL (1755–1826), Hungarian rabbi and grandfather of Moritz *Wahrmann. Wahrmann, who was born in Obuda, Hungary, studied at the yeshivot of *Eisenstadt, Pressburg (*Bratislava), and *Prague. He subsequently served as rabbi in Posen, Bodrogkeresztur, and Pest (from 1799), where he had been living since 1796. As a result of his efforts, the first Jewish elementary school was opened in Pest in 1814. In 1825 Wahrmann obtained an edict ordering that Jewish secondary school students should receive instruction in their own religion even when attending schools maintained by Christian denominations. He introduced regular synagogue services for young people on the Sabbath, preaching the sermons himself. The first constitution of the Jewish congregation of Pest was a result of his efforts, as was the foundation of the Shi'ur Society for the promotion of learning, and other communal institutions (such as Bikkur Ḥolim). Land for the Jewish cemetery of Pest was acquired during Wahrmann's ministry. Two of his sermons were published.

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[Jeno Zsoldos]

WAHRMANN, MORITZ (1831–1892), Hungarian economist and businessman. Wahrmann, who was born in Pest, Hungary, entered his father's textile business and in 1859 became the sole owner. His articles in *Pester Lloyd* attracted the attention of F. *Deák, who subsequently supported him in the election campaign which made him the first Jewish member of the Hungarian parliament (1869). There, he served as chairman of the finance committee. At the same time, he was president of both the Pester Lloyd Co. and the Budapest Chamber of Commerce and Industry. Wahrmann advocated the acquisition of landed property by Jews, regarding it both as a profitable investment and as a means of gaining a foothold in the landed gentry class. He believed that it would promote the assimilation and social equality of Jews, but failed to realize the dangers of the inevitable hostile reaction. As vice chairman of the first General Congress of Hungarian Jews (1868–69), he supported an autonomous religious and educational establishment for Hungarian Jewry; he also spoke in favor of this in parliament. From 1883 until his death he was president of the Jewish community of Pest, where he instituted various organizational reforms. His term of office was also marked by the founding of the Jewish hospital and the Jewish community center of Budapest (1889 and 1891).

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[Jeno Zsoldos]

WAISMANN, FRIEDRICH (1896–1959), Austrian philosopher. One of the original members of the Vienna Circle, he was born in Vienna. He was assistant of the German neopositivist philosopher Moritz Schlick at Vienna University (1929–36), and then lectured at Cambridge (1937–39). He then went to Oxford as reader in the philosophy of mathematics, and later as reader in the philosophy of science. Waismann's philosophy began as a rather orthodox version of logical positivism, but under the influence of Wittgenstein's later views changed radically, moving away from an emphasis upon formalism to a type of extreme informalism. His later work, such as the series of articles entitled "Analytic-Synthetic" (*Analysis*, 1949–53) and "Language Strata" (*Logic and Language*, 1953), attempts to relieve philosophical perplexity by contrasting the rigid caricatures of language use developed by traditional philosophers with the flexible, subtle, and fluid use of language in its everyday employment. The high point in this development is to be found in his paper "How I See Philosophy" in *Contemporary British Philosophy* (1956) where he contends that philosophy is "very unlike science in that in philosophy there are no proofs, no theorems and no questions that can be decided."

Apart from these influential papers, Waismann's main contributions are to be found in *Einfuehrung in das mathematische Denken* (1936; *Introduction to Mathematical Thinking*, 1951), and *The Principles of Linguistic Philosophy*. The latter work was unfinished at Waismann's death, and was edited by R. Harre and published in 1965.

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[Avrum Stroll]

°**WAKEFIELD, ROBERT** (**Wakfeldus**; d. 1537), English Hebraist and Orientalist. Born in Pontefract, Yorkshire, Wakefield was educated at Cambridge and then served as professor of Hebrew at Louvain (1519) and at Tuebingen (1520–23) before being recalled to England to serve as a chaplain to Henry VIII. He taught at Cambridge from 1524 and in 1530 was appointed first professor of Hebrew at the University of Oxford, where his students included the future Cardinal Pole. His pioneering work, *Oratio de laudibus et utilitate trium linguarum, Arabicae, Chaldaicae, et Hebraicae, atque idiomatibus hebraicis quae in utroque testamento inveniuntur* (London, 1524), "On the value of Arabic, Aramaic, and Hebrew," was the first English publication to contain Hebrew and Arabic type. Dedicated to Henry VIII, it displays Wakefield's considerable rabbinic scholarship and his familiarity with medieval Hebrew literature. A supplementary work, *Syntagma de Hebraeorum Codicum incorruptione…* (London, c. 1530), was published with an address on the study of Hebrew which the author delivered at Oxford in the same year. Both works were printed by Caxton's successor, Wynkyn de Worde. Wakefield also wrote a Paraphrasis in Librum Koheleth (n.d.). Wakefield held the leading Jewish writers of the Middle Ages in high regard and believed that Hebrew was God's own language.

His younger brother, THOMAS WAKEFIELD (d. 1575), was appointed first regius professor of Hebrew at the University of Cambridge in 1540. His temporary replacement in this post by Paulus *Fagius (1549–53) is thought to have been brought about by his loyalty to Catholicism. In 1569 Thomas Wakefield was finally replaced by the convert Immanuel *Tremellius.

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[Godfrey Edmond Silverman]

WAKSMAN, SELMAN ABRAHAM (1888–1973), U.S. microbiologist and Nobel Prize winner. Born in Priluki, Russia, he was taken to the United States as a child. From 1925, he taught at Rutgers University, heading its Institute of Microbiology from 1949. Although Waksman's research interests involved various aspects of soil microbiology, he is best known for his investigations of antibiotics, particularly streptomycin. The term antibiotic, a substance produced by one microorganism that kills other microorganisms, was coined by Waksman. When he began his search for antibiotic substances in the 1930s, he had already many years of experience with a group of fungi known as the actinomycetes, and he was very familiar with their abundance, distribution, taxonomy, and activities. In the course of their work Waksman and his colleagues developed many specialized techniques which were valuable in the cultivation of microbes, as well as the isolation and purification of active antibiotics.

Streptothricin, the first antibiotic substance he isolated from an actinomycete, was too toxic for therapeutic use. Returning to a species of fungus that he had first described in 1916, he found a strain that produced a substance possessing antibacterial activity but was less toxic. The fungus, *Streptomyces griseus*, was grown in submerged culture. The isolation of the new antibiotic, which he named streptomycin, was done by adsorption on charcoal, removing it from the charcoal by treatment with dilute acid, followed by drying and crystallization. Using standardized strains of bacteria, a series of laboratory tests were performed to investigate the bacteriocidal properties of streptomycin. It proved to be effective against a great variety of bacteria, including the tubercle bacillus, and was categorized as a broad-spectrum antibiotic. Waksman and his coworkers began the work of elucidating the chemical structure of streptomycin, but the task was completed by other investigators. Streptomycin, one of the most useful antibiotics to be discovered, was considered a major breakthrough in the area of chemotherapy. Following this work, Waksman and his coworkers continued the search for antibiotics and succeeded in finding several more. He was elected to the National Academy of Sciences and in 1952 was awarded the Nobel Prize for Medicine and Physiology. His autobiography, *My Life with the Microbes*, appeared in 1954.

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[Norman Levin]

WALBROOK, ANTON (1896–1967), Austrian actor. Born Adolf Wilhelm Anton Wohlbruck in Vienna, Walbrook was the son of a Jewish mother and a non-Jewish circus clown whose family had been actors since the 18th century. He was educated at Catholic schools and was an officer in the German army during World War I, held as a prisoner of war by the French for several years. He began his career under Max *Reinhardt and later starred in German films. He settled in England in 1937 and won acclaim for his stage performances in *Design for Living* (1939) and *Watch on the Rhine* (1942). His film career, spanning three decades, included roles as Prince Albert in *Victoria The Great* (1937); *Sixty Glorious Years* (1938); *Dangerous Moonlight* (1941), where he gave the first performance (through an offstage pianist) of the famous *Warsaw Concerto*; *The 49th Parallel* (1941); *Colonel Blimp* (1943); *The Queen of Spades* (1948);*The Red Shoes* (1948); and *I Accuse!* (1958), based on the *Dreyfus Case. Walbrook gave part of his earnings from each film to help Jewish refugees. He became a British subject in 1947 but then went frequently to Germany for film and television roles, dying in Bavaria.

ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY: ODNB online.

WALD, ARNOLD (1932–), Brazilian lawyer. Born in Guanabara, Wald lectured at the universities of Rio de Janeiro and Niteroi and in 1966 became professor of civil law at the University of Guanabara, where he lectured for more than 30 years. From 1966 to 1967 he was attorney general of the state of Guanabara, secretary general and vice president of the Institute of Brazilian Lawyers and the Brazilian Committee of Comparative Law. Wald was Brazilian delegate to several international congresses on comparative law and published a number of books and papers on his specialty including *Influência do di-*

reito francês sôbre o direito brasileiro no domînio da responsabilidade civil (1953), *O Mandado de Segurança* (1968), *Direito de familia* (1998,) and *O novo direito de familia* (2000).

[Israel Drapkin-Senderey]

WALD, GEORGE (1906–1997), U.S. biologist and biochemist; Nobel Prize winner. Born in New York City, he received his B.Sc. in 1927 from New York University and his Ph.D. from Columbia University in 1934, where he developed his continuing interest in the biochemistry of vision. In 1934 he joined the Biological Sciences Department at Harvard University, where he rose to the rank of full professor in 1948. After discovering vitamin A in the retina, he showed that a derivative of this substance (retinene) is the primary lightsensitive pigment. Retinene is joined to specialized retinal proteins (opsins) in the visual pigments which abound in tiny structures of the retina called rods. Upon exposure to light, this attachment is broken as a result of chemical rearrangement of the retinene molecule, and ultimately vitamin A is produced. The significance of this fundamental biochemical cleavage pattern was enhanced by Wald's demonstration that it underlies the visual process in all organisms which possess a highly structured eye. Specific modifications of retinene and vitamin A characterize the lower vertebrates and provide biochemical insights into evolutionary relationships. He was the recipient of many honors and in 1967 was awarded the Nobel Prize for physiology and medicine. He wrote a widely acclaimed laboratory manual for general biology and co-authored *General Education in a Free Society* (1945). He was also active in the political arena and played a leading role in mobilizing opposition to U.S. involvement in the Vietnam war.

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[George H. Fried]

WALD, HENRI (1920–2002), Romanian philosopher; regarded as an authority on trends in contemporary philosophy and dialectical logics. Born into a Jewish family of humble means, Wald lectured at Bucharest University on logic and the theory of knowledge from 1948 to 1962, and in 1953 was appointed director of the department of dialectical materialism at the Institute of Philosophy of the Rumanian Academy.

Wald's works included *Rolul limbajului în formarea și desvoltarea ideilor* ("The Role of Speaking in the Formation and Development of Ideas," 1956); *Filozofia Deznădejdii* ("The Philosophy of Desperation," 1957); *Structura logică a gindirii* ("The Logical Structure of Thought," 1962); and *Realitate și limbaj* ("Reality and Speaking," 1968). Later he also became interested in linguistics and semantics, fields to which his contribution was a most important one.

Wald was also interested in the development and criticism of Marxian theory that did not follow the Leninist line. He also published several valuable contributions to the history of Jewish culture in the publications of the Jewish community.

[Dora Litani-Littman / Paul Schveiger (2nd ed.)]

WALD, HERMAN (1906–1970), South African sculptor born in Hungary, the son of a rabbi. Wald settled in South Africa in 1937. Among his principal works are a monument to martyred European Jewry, "Kria," which stands at the entrance to the Witwatersrand Jewish Aged Home, Johannesburg, and a memorial to the Six Million, in the grounds of the West Park Jewish Cemetery, Johannesburg. His later works include municipal fountains and decorations for synagogues in Johannesburg and Cape Town.

WALD, JERRY (1912–1962), U.S. screenwriter and producer. Wald was born in Brooklyn, N.Y. During 1934–41 Wald wrote or coauthored a number of scenarios, including *They Drive by Night*. Then, as an associate producer (1941) and producer (1942–50) for Warner Brothers, he turned out a number of successful films, including *Destination Tokyo, Objective, Burma!*, and *Johnny Belinda*. In 1950 he formed the independent Wald-Krasna Productions with the writer Norman Krasna, an arrangement which ended in 1952. Wald then became production vice president at Columbia. From 1956 he headed Jerry Wald Productions at Twentieth Century-Fox.

WALD, LILLIAN (1867–1940), U.S. social worker. Lillian Wald was born in Cincinnati, Ohio, to a German-Jewish immigrant family and was raised in Rochester, N.Y. As a child, Lillian Wald had all the comforts of upper middleclass life. Her decision to become a nurse led ultimately to contact with the immigrants of New York's Lower East Side, and she soon resolved to bring nursing care and hygienic instruction to the needy. These activities led to a concern for the total needs of the individual and to the establishment of the Nurses (Henry Street) Settlement in 1895. Combined with nursing services were campaigns for improved sanitation, pure milk and the control of tuberculosis, plus the full range of educational, recreational, and personal services offered by the settlement.

Lillian Wald was the very prototype of the liberal reformer of the early 20th century. She disliked millennialism because it too often traded present gains for future hopes; she was deeply interested in people but demanded that reform proceed from fact and sound argument, not sympathy; and she realized that charity could make no dent in social problems since it left both the individual and the environment unchanged. Instead, the state must take the responsibility for creating the proper conditions for a decent and humane society. Thus she campaigned for the end of child labor, supported trade unions, and was an important member of most of the leading social reform organizations of the day.

Vigorously opposed to U.S. entry into World War I, Lillian Wald was president of the American Union against Militarism. In destroying the brotherhood of man and stirring national and ethnic hatreds, war attacked her basic beliefs and the work of a lifetime. Once the United States entered the conflict, she did her best to preserve civil liberties and maintain the social welfare gains of the previous two decades. Although in close contact with the Jewish community of the Lower East

Side, Lillian Wald never identified with her coreligionists as such. She urged a fundamental brotherhood among men, for she had found "that the things which make men alike are finer and stronger than the things which make them different." She wrote *House on Henry Street* (1915) and *Windows on Henry Street* (1934).

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[Irwin Yellowitz]

WALDEN, AARON BEN ISAIAH NATHAN (1838–1912), ḥasidic author and bibliographer in Poland. Born in Warsaw, Walden was a Ḥasid of R. Menahem Mendel of Kotsk and R. Isaac Meir Alter of Gur. For many years he worked as proofreader at Ephraim Baumritter's publishing house in Warsaw. He became particularly well known for his bio-bibliographical work, *Shem ha-Gedolim he-Ḥadash*, following the same structure and augmenting the *Shem ha-Gedolim* of Ḥ.J.D. *Azulai. It was published in several editions and widely circulated. The first part of the work is an alphabetical list of over 1,500 rabbis and authors, the second part lists over 1,600 works, also in alphabetical order (1864; 1870^{2}; 1879^{3}; with additions and corrections by Walden's son JOSEPH ARYEH LEIB, and subsequent editions).

Walden also published Simeon b. Isaac ha-Levi Oshenburk's *Devek Tov* on *Rashi's commentary on the Pentateuch with many emendations (1895); a new edition of *David b. Solomon ibn Abi Zimra's (Radbaz) responsa, Parts 1–7 (1882); Moses *Alshekh's commentary on the Five Scrolls (1862); and *Mikdash Me'at* (1890–93), an anthology of the *aggadah* on the Psalms in five parts. He died in Kielce.

Walden's son MOSES MENAHEM published several works on the history of Ḥasidism in Poland: *Ohel ha-Rabbi* (1913), including tales about Jacob Isaac ha-Ḥozeh ("the Seer") of Lublin; *Beit ha-Ḥayyim* (1930–31) on rabbis who died in Kielce; *Ve-Khabbed Av*, supplements to *Shem ha-Gedolim he-Ḥadash* (1923); *Nifle'ot Yiẓhak* (1914), on the brothers Mordecai Menahem and Jacob David Kalish; and *Nifle'ot ha-Rabbi* (1911), also on Ha-Ḥozeh of Lublin.

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[Naphtali Ben-Menahem]

WALDEN, HERWARTH (originally **Georg Lewin**; 1878–1941), German author and editor. Born in Berlin, Walden studied music in Italy and Berlin. In 1907 he founded a society for the cultivation of the arts (Verein fuer Kunst) – a forum for progressive poets, artists, architects, and scientists – and edited the literary and theatrical sections of several German periodicals. But it was as the founder and editor of *Der Sturm* (1910–32) that he was most influential in propagating his theories of expressionism in art, music, and literature. Walden's first novel, *Das Buch der Menschenliebe* (1916), and his first drama, *Weib* (1917), were followed by two more novels and eight plays. These, however, were less significant for his generation than was his theory of abstract art or his aid to early expressionists, futurists, and cubists, who had been rejected by the official artists' associations and important galleries alike. *Der Sturm* reproduced drawings and woodcuts by members of the Bruecke, and in particular works by the fiery young Austrian, Oskar Kokoschka, Walden's special protegé. In 1912 he opened a gallery dedicated to everything new and provocative from a number of countries. The names of the artists sponsored by the Sturm Gallery in its first decade included Albert Bloch, Ludwig *Meidner, Jakob *Steinhardt, and, above all, Marc *Chagall. His last work was a collection of lyrics, *Im Geschweig der Liebe* (1925). Walden was associated with the German left-wing intelligentsia and was himself pro-Communist. In 1932 he emigrated to the U.S.S.R., where he worked as a teacher of German. He published articles in the German exíle press in publications such as *The Word* (*Das Wort*) and *International Literature* (*Internationale Literatur*) until 1938. He became a victim of Stalinist police persecution, dying after seven months in jail. His wife (from 1901 until 1911) was the poet Else *Lasker-Schueler. In 2002 the correspondence between Herwarth Walden and Karl Kraus was published, entitled *Feinde in Scharen: ein wahres Vergnügen dazusein; Karl Kraus – Herwarth Walden; Briefwechsel 1909–1912*, by G.C. Avery.

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[Sol Liptzin / Konrad Feilchenfeldt (2nd ed.)]

WALDENBERG, ELIEZER JUDAH (1912–), rabbi. Born in Jerusalem, Rabbi Waldenberg is the author of the multivolume series of responsa entitled *Ẓiẓ Eliezer* dealing with actual problems of life in Israel and abroad and published several other books on questions of *halakhah*. From 1957 he was president of the District Rabbinical Court of Jerusalem. In 1976 he was awarded the Israel Prize for rabbinical scholarship.

WALDHEIM AFFAIR. The "Waldheim Affair" is the term conventionally applied to the controversy surrounding the disclosure of the previously unknown past of Kurt Waldheim, former secretary general of the United Nations, which arose during his campaign for the Austrian presidency in 1986. The affair not only focused international attention on Waldheim personally, but also raised broader questions relating to the history of antisemitism in Austria and the role Austrians played in the Nazi dictatorship and the "Final Solution." A concomitant of the Waldheim affair was the reemergence in Austrian political culture of the appeal to antisemitic prejudice for political ends. Employing a coded idiom more appropriate to "post-Auschwitz" political debate, the Waldheim camp (principally the Christian Democratic Austrian People's Party [ÖVP], which had nominated him) helped construct a hostile image of Jews ("Feindbild") which served both to deflect criticism of Waldheim's credibility and to explain the international "campaign" against him. The central assumption of this "Feindbild" was that Waldheim and Austria were under attack from an international Jewish conspiracy.

Kurt Waldheim had enjoyed an exceptionally successful career in the Austrian foreign service after World War II. Taken on as secretary to Foreign Minister Karl Gruber in 1946, Waldheim served in various posts abroad and in Vienna, including two stints as Austrian representative to the UN, and was appointed foreign minister in January 1968 by Chancellor Josef Klaus (ÖVP). His term as minister ended in March 1970, when the Socialists (SPÖ) under Bruno Kreisky won the parliamentary elections. Shortly thereafter, Waldheim returned to New York as Austria's ambassador to the UN. In January 1971, he was again in Vienna temporarily to run as the ÖVP candidate for president, which in Austria is a largely ceremonial post for which elections are held every six years. Though he made a very respectable showing, Waldheim lost to the incumbent Socialist Franz Jonas and afterward returned to his post in New York. On December 22, 1971, Waldheim was elected secretary general of the UN, and reelected to a second term in 1976. His bid for a third term, however, failed, and in March 1982, Waldheim, described by one journalist as "the most successful Austrian diplomat since Metternich," finally came home to Austria.

Waldheim's international prominence and personal ambition left few in doubt that he would run for the Austrian presidency in 1986, but it was unclear whether as the candidate of the ÖVP, or as a consensus candidate of the two major parties. The ÖVP hoped to draw maximum political advantage from Waldheim's candidacy for itself, without identifying him so closely with it that it would endanger either Waldheim's election as president or the hoped-for attendant political "turn." Then chairman Alois Mock pushed through Waldheim's nomination by the ÖVP as a "non-partisan" candidate in March 1985, more than a year prior to the elections, very early by traditional Austrian standards. The SPÖ, also conscious of Waldheim's electoral appeal, had not ruled out a joint candidacy until confronted with the ÖVP's fait accompli. One month later, the SPÖ presented Kurt Steyrer, then minister for health and environment, as its standard bearer. Two minor candidates, Freda Meissner-Blau from the Greens, and Otto Scrinzi, former FPÖ member of parliament and representative of the (German) nationalist far right in Austria, also entered the race.

The relatively uneventful early phase of the campaign, in which Kurt Waldheim was the clear front runner, ended abruptly in March 1986. Indeed, the Waldheim affair may be properly said to date from March 3, 1986, when the Austrian weekly *Profil* published documents first revealing details of Waldheim's unknown past. *Profil*'s disclosures were followed on March 4 by nearly identical revelations by the *World Jewish Congress (WJC), and the *New York Times* (NYT). The key to unlocking the evidence was said to be a picture published by an army unit, which placed Waldheim in Yugoslavia at a specific time and thus could unlock his wartime record. This gave historian Robert Herstein, who was commissioned by the World Jewish Congress, a place to begin.

Waldheim had always denied any affiliation with the Nazis of any kind, and, in both his public statements and in the relevant passages in his memoirs, had claimed that his military service ended in the winter of 1941–42, with his wounding on the eastern front. The evidence made public by *Profil*, the WJC, and the NYT suggested on the contrary that the former secretary general had been a member of the Nazi Student Union and that he had also belonged to a mounted riding unit of the Sturmabteilung, or SA, while attending the Consular Academy in Vienna between 1937 and 1939. Other documents revealed that Waldheim had been declared fit for duty in 1942, after his wound had healed. By the end of March 1942, Waldheim had been assigned to Army High Command 12 (which became Army Group E in January 1943), then based on Thessalonika (Salonica), and remained attached to it until the war's end. Army Group E, commanded by Alexander Löhr, was known for its involvement in the deportations of Jews from Greece and for the savagery of its military operations against Yugoslav partisans and their suspected civilian supporters.

For his part, Waldheim denied membership in any Nazi organization and offered evidence suggesting his ideological hostility to Nazism. He conceded having served in Army Group E, but denied participation of any kind in atrocities committed by units under Löhr's command, and claimed to have known nothing of the deportation of the Jews of Thessalonika.

The more general strategy pursued by Waldheim and his supporters was to brand the disclosures as part of a "defamation campaign" designed to inhibit his chances in the presidential election. Waldheim's argument ran along the following lines: the accusations of the WJC and the NYT represent a continuation of a slander campaign which the SPÖ had been waging against him for some time. The Socialists or their accomplices had fed documents to the WJC and the NYT in order to damage Waldheim's international reputation, his main advantage over Steyrer. Such allegations were all the less credible, since Waldheim had been cleared by the Austrian secret service at the time he entered the diplomatic service 40 years previously. Moreover, during his candidacy for UN secretary general, the CIA, the KGB, and the Israelis all investigated him and would not have allowed his election had there been anything in the least incriminating against him. He had not mentioned his tour of duty in the Balkans in his memoirs, Waldheim claimed, because he had had such a minor function and also because his injury on the eastern front had represented a major caesura in his life. He also said that he knew nothing of Jewish deportations and had had nothing to do with other atrocities. But if Waldheim were to be blamed for such things, then truly every Wehrmacht soldier would also come under suspicion.

Although the Waldheim affair became an international media extravaganza, the principal source of documents relating to Waldheim's past, as well as his most vocal critic, was the WJC, an organization based in New York whose primary activities involve campaigning to defend threatened Jewish communities throughout the world and lobbying for what it perceives as the common interests of Jews. The series of press releases and disclosures of documents (24 between March 4 and July 8, date of the second round of the Austrian presidential election) by the WJC set the pace and largely the terms for the debate on Waldheim in the United States. In the early phase of the controversy, the WJC published evidence relating to Waldheim's membership in the SA and Nazi Student Union, which it believed amounted to proof of his "Nazi past." The material on Waldheim's wartime past the WJC first presented was patchy and inconclusive, but over the next several months it made public dozens of additional documents which helped complete the picture of Waldheim's various duties in the Balkans.

On March 22, the WJC published a copy of the Central Registry of War Criminals and Security Suspects (CROWCASS), a list compiled by the U.S. Army of persons suspected of war crimes, showing that Waldheim had been sought by Yugoslavia after the war for, among other things, murder. The basis for the CROWCASS listing was a file of the United Nations War Crimes Commission (UNWCC), and this latter file was in turn based on a dossier prepared by the Yugoslav authorities and submitted to the UNWCC shortly before it concluded its deliberations in 1948.

With the publication of the Yugoslav file, known as the Odluka, or "Decision," the debate on Waldheim's past acquired a far more serious dimension: allegations of war crimes had been leveled against Waldheim by the Yugoslav War Crimes Commission, and these had been reviewed and endorsed by the UNWCC. The WJC's subsequent disclosures as well as the discussion on Waldheim's past in general were heavily influenced by this new discovery.

On March 25, 1986, the WJC presented the findings of Robert E. Herzstein, the historian it had commissioned to look into Waldheim's past. Herzstein had discovered that Waldheim had served as a staff officer in the military intelligence department of Army Group E and had been assigned to the Battle Group West Bosnia, whose troops were responsible for the slaughter of thousands of Yugoslavs in the Kozara Mountains in 1942. Waldheim had also received an award for valor (the King Zvonimir medal) from the puppet Croatian government at the end of this campaign.

The WJC continued to offer documents it felt corroborated the findings in the Odluka, and pressed U.S. Attorney General Edwin Meese to place Waldheim's name on the so-called "watch list" of undesirable aliens, effectively barring him from entering the U.S. In the international media, calls for the publication of Waldheim's UN file were coupled with more intensive efforts to find a "smoking gun."

The issues involving Waldheim's possible criminality were in any event never self-evident. The possibilities for inferring something opprobrious about Waldheim's service in the Wehrmacht from his previously concealed "Nazi past" were legion, while the publication of the CROWCASS and the Yugoslav Odluka transformed vague intimations about his military duties into concrete juridical suspicion.

Embarrassing, if not necessarily incriminating, documents were surfacing daily, but there were few around who could reliably interpret what they meant. Moreover, merely keeping track of Waldheim's whereabouts in the Balkans was difficult: he had served in seven different posts in at least ten locations in Serbia-Montenegro, Albania, and Greece. The issue of Waldheim's possible war criminality was also complicated by ignorance about the practice of the Nuremberg Tribunal. On the one hand, much of what the Wehrmacht did to Yugoslav partisans was gruesome but "legal." On the other hand, the conditions under which an officer of Waldheim's rank and position could even incur criminal liability were narrowly circumscribed. Categories of guilt, complicity, responsibility, etc., easily elided, while the suspicious background to the compilation of the Odluka, which undermined if not vitiated the charges made in it, only became known later.

In Austria itself, Waldheim and his supporters continued to portray all new claims about his wartime role as slander, and Waldheim as the victim of a coordinated international "defamation campaign," initiated by socialists, led by the World Jewish Congress, and promoted by the international press, particularly the *New York Times*. In the course of the election campaign, the WJC became the main object of abuse, and the abundant political invective arrayed by politicians of the ÖVP against it as scapegoat helped promote and legitimate antisemitic prejudice in public discourse to an extent unseen since 1945. Waldheim also attempted to identify his own fate with that of his generation and country by claiming that he, like thousands of other Austrians, had merely done his "duty" under Nazi Germany, an appeal which struck a responsive note among many Austrian voters. In the election on May 4, 1986, Waldheim polled 49.7% of the votes, just short of the majority needed to win. During the six weeks leading up to the second round, the Socialists emphasized their candidate's ability to reconcile a divided nation, but to no avail. Waldheim won the second round handily: his 53.9% of the votes was the largest of its kind (i.e., when not running against an incumbent) in the Second Republic.

Whatever actually determined Austrian voting behavior is open to a great deal of speculation, but the result was almost certainly not affected in any significant way by a negative backlash against the Waldheim camp's antisemitic wager. At the same time, the election does not appear reducible to a moral referendum on Waldheim or his past, for it is doubtful either that Austrian voters conceived the election in such ethico-political terms or that their votes reflected their respective moral choices. Dissatisfaction with government policies or the desire to deliver a protest vote for any one of several reasons seem to have motivated voters at least as much as a reflexive national spite or even antisemitic prejudice. What cannot be doubted is that Waldheim's diminished credibility and his perceived trivialization of Nazi atrocities (in the eyes of his critics, if not his supporters) did not cost him the election.

Contrary to Waldheim's expectations, interest in the unanswered questions about his past did not disappear after his election. Waldheim received no official invitations from any country in Western Europe, and some official government visitors to Austria even avoided traveling to Vienna, as protocol would otherwise have required them to pay a courtesy call on the Austrian president. Some prominent private individuals, such as political scientist Ralf Dahrendorf, also boycotted events where Waldheim would have been present. In April 1987, the U.S. Department of Justice announced that it was placing Waldheim on the watch list, further reinforcing his pariah status.

Since Waldheim's election, three independent research efforts, a commission of seven historians established at the request of the Austrian government, a panel of five international jurists engaged by British and U.S. television production companies, and a commission of the British Ministry of Defense, have illuminated Waldheim's wartime career in great detail, and none found anything in Waldheim's behavior which could implicate him personally in any criminal activity. Waldheim himself considered these judgments a complete vindication, and he and his supporters found the stigma which still attached to him incomprehensible.

Waldheim's diplomatic isolation was broken initially by Pope John Paul II, who received Waldheim officially in June 1987, and Waldheim subsequently visited a few Arab countries, some of whose papers had defended Waldheim against ostensible Zionist attacks. Though in April 1990 the U.S. Justice Department confirmed its decision to bar Waldheim, an indication of a possible thaw in attitudes toward Waldheim came the following July, when presidents Richard von Weizsäcker of Germany and Vaclav Havel of Czechoslovakia publicly met Waldheim at the Salzburg Festival, where Havel gave the ceremonial address in which he, albeit, indirectly attacked Waldheim by speaking of those who distort their memoirs.

In Austria itself, President Waldheim did not become the kind of integrative figure he had wished. Waldheim was initially an irritation and embarrassment to many, and was even forced by opponents in the government into remaining silent at the official commemoration of jubilee of the Austrian *Anschluss* in March 1988. During the second half of his term, which ended in 1992, on the other hand, Waldheim's treatment in the press suggested that increasing numbers of Austrians had accepted Waldheim as president, even though he would never be accorded the respect and affection his predecessors had enjoyed.

More broadly conceived, the Waldheim affair symbolizes the postwar unwillingness or inability adequately to confront the complications of the Nazi abomination. It remains to be seen whether current infelicitous images of Austria's Nazi past will be supplanted by the more prosaic Trapp family pendant, or whether the Waldheim affair becomes the occasion for a more general effort on all sides to come to terms with the past. If so, then Waldheim may indeed be said to have performed an important function.

[Richard Mitten]

There were two collateral impacts of the Waldheim Affair. Simon *Wiesenthal, a citizen of Austria, refused to join the World Jewish Congress in its assessment that Waldheim was a war criminal. Always cautious before making such an accusation, he remained unconvinced. His hesitation was not shared by the *Simon Wiesenthal Center, which joined the WJC in pressing the case. It was rumored that this cost him the Nobel Peace Prize that was awarded to Elie *Wiesel that year. Secondly, the U.S. ambassador to Austria was a then young American Jew, descendent of a family that traced its roots to the Austro-Hungarian Empire and heir to a great cosmetics fortune. Ronald *Lauder experienced antisemitism directly for the first time. This experience aroused in him the desire to act affirmatively on behalf of the Jewish people and gave rise to his important efforts to rebuild Jewish life in Central and Eastern Europe through the foundation he established.

[Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

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WALDINGER, ERNST (1896–1970), Austrian poet. Born in Vienna, Waldinger had both a secular and an Orthodox education. He volunteered for military service in 1915 and two years later was severely wounded on the Romanian front. After hospitalization he studied at the University of Vienna, where he received his Ph.D. in 1921. He then turned to poetry, choosing classical forms rather than the free verse of the dominant expressionists. Although he published individual poems from 1924, Waldinger's first verse collection, *Die Kuppel*, did not appear until 1934. It was followed by others, notably *Der Gemmenschneider* (1937), and in later years by *Musik fuer diese Zeit* (1946); *Glueck und Geduld* (1952); *Zwischen Hudson und Donau* (1958), a volume of selected poems; and *Gesang vor dem Abgrund* (1961). Forced to immigrate to the U.S. in 1938, Waldinger first lived in New York and worked in a library, in a department store, and for the U.S. government during World War II. In 1947 he was appointed professor of German literature at Skidmore College, Saratoga Springs, New York, where he taught until 1965. A master of the sonnet and the ode, he drew his inspiration chiefly from classical myths, musical compositions, war experiences, and the Austrian and American landscapes. His Jewish background inspired poems such as "Jehuda Halevis Tod," "Die Opferung Isaaks," and "Der Sabbat." *Ich kann mit meinem Menschenbruder sprechen* (1965) was his outstanding book of verse.

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[Sol Liptzin]

WALDMAN, LEIBELE (c. 1907–1969), *ḥazzan*. Born in New York City, Waldman was recognized as a child prodigy and officiated as a *ḥazzan* and appeared in concerts while still a youth. He held positions in Boston, Passaic, and New York and sang regularly on the radio, rapidly becoming most popular. He possessed a warm, well-rounded, lyric baritone voice which, together with his clear diction and easy-flowing style, was particularly suited to the liturgical pieces and Yiddish religious folksongs which he performed in concerts and on his numerous records.

WALDMAN, MORRIS DAVID (1879–1963), U.S. social worker. Born in Bartfa, Hungary, Waldman was taken to the United States when he was four years old. He lectured at Columbia University (1916–18). He was rabbi of Temple Anshe Emeth in New Brunswick, New Jersey, in 1900–03, and in 1906–08 he directed the *Galveston Movement which was created to direct eastern European immigrants from the East Coast of the United States to less populous areas. Waldman was managing director of the United Hebrew Charities of New York from 1908 to 1917, vice president of the New York State Conference of Charities and Correction (1912), president of the New York City Conference of Charities (1915), and in 1927 was president of the National Conference of Jewish Charities. He traveled widely in the United States, setting up federations of Jewish charities to coordinate local Jewish philanthropy. Waldman spent 1921–22 in organizing relief for Central European Jewish communities, and was European director of the war orphans department and of the medico-sanitary department of the Joint Distribution Committee. In 1928 he became executive secretary of the American Jewish Committee, serving until 1945. From 1942 to 1945 he served as executive vice president of the Committee.

Waldman was responsible for many innovations in social work, including the District Service Plan in Boston, geared to serve family units rather than individual members of families; a planned parenthood clinic in Detroit; and bureaus of Jewish education based on the principle of community control. He helped to create the Bureau of Philanthropic Research and the National Desertion Bureau (of which he was the first chairman). He was also instrumental in having a human rights provision put into the United Nations charter. Additionally, he was active in the non-Zionist section of the Jewish Agency for Palestine; in the British-Zionist negotiations on Palestine, he represented the non-Zionist views. He opposed Jewish nationalism which he defined as the "organization of the scattered Jewry of the world into an international political unit or entity," although at the American Jewish Committee he tried unsuccessfully to bring agreement between Zionists and the non-Zionists in the organization. He later favored the establishment of Israel. Waldman's activities are recorded in *Not By Power* (1953), an autobiography. He also wrote *Sieg Heil* (1962), about Hitler's treatment of the Jews.

WALDMAN, MOSHE (1911–1996), Yiddish poet, journalist, and editor. Born in Ozorkow near Lodz, Waldman attended a Polish school and a modern Hebrew institution. After spending several years in Lodz (1927–31), where he edited the children's literary magazine *Lomir Kinder Lernen* and co-edited the journal *Di Fraye Yugnt*, he moved to Warsaw and then to Paris and Brussels. After publishing an article about Zishe *Bagish in the Brussels Yiddish press and a poem in a Philadelphia journal (1932), Waldman contributed poetry, criticism, and articles about education issues to various journals in Lodz, Warsaw, Cracow, Paris, New York, Buenos Aires, Mexico, and Tel Aviv. On his return to Warsaw (1933), he led various cultural activities of Po'alei Zion until World War II. In 1938 his first collection of poems, *Fartunklte Frimorgns* ("Darkened Mornings"), appeared. The original tone of the then still unknown poet attracted the attention of Dov *Sadan, who printed Hebrew translations of two poems in the Tel Aviv daily *Davar*. In September 1939 Waldman fled to Bialystok and from there was deported by the Soviets to Komi; he lived in Bukhara (1941–46). Among the survivors of the Holocaust who returned to Lodz, he tried to rebuild a Jewish life there, but in 1949 he immigrated to Paris, which became a flourishing postwar center of Yiddish culture. Waldman's interests then focused on promoting the survival of Yiddish culture. In Paris, he initiated educational and cultural projects, and helped Yiddish writers and artists arriving from eastern Europe. For decades he had a vitalizing effect on young people whom he inspired to take responsibility for the Yiddish cultural heritage. His indefatigable efforts played an important role in the growing interest in Yiddish literature and culture in Paris among young researchers and translators. His poem *Gang aroyf tsu Yerusholayim* ("Ascending to Jerusalem," 1976) was accompanied by French and Hebrew translations. A splendid volume of his collected poetry, *Fun Ale Vaytn* ("From All Remote Regions," 1980), appeared with an introduction by D. Sadan and illustrations by various artists. In 1983 he was awarded the Manger Prize. Two collections of his poetry in Hebrew translation appeared (1985, 1986). Later in life, he often went for longer sojourns to Israel with his wife, the Yiddish novelist Menuha Ram.

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WALDMANN, ISRAEL (1881–1940), Zionist, active in the Ukrainian government-in-exile. Waldmann was born in Chortkov, east Galicia. In 1897 he was forced to leave school before completing his studies because of his connections with Zionism. He worked as a legal assistant to the Ukrainian leader Dr. V. Holubovych in Ternopol, and through the latter's influence became acquainted with the Ukrainian intelligentsia and its fledgling nationalist movement. (The Zionist movement stayed neutral in the struggle for Ukrainian self-determination.) Waldmann engaged in Zionist politics during the elections to the Austrian parliament in 1907 and 1911. During World War I he left for Vienna, where he continued his close contacts with the Ukrainian nationalists who had set up their national council in Vienna under Dr. Petrushevych. At that time he published a daily, *Lemberger Zeitung*, supporting Jewish national claims. He was chosen to serve as Jewish representative for eastern Galicia in the Ukrainian national government which was organized in 1918 in Stanislav, but, before his appointment was officially recognized, the expansionist Polish regime annexed Galicia, and the Ukrainian administration was transferred to Vienna in May 1919. Waldmann continued as a propagandist for the Ukrainian leadership and accompanied their representative to the peace talks between Russia and Poland held in Riga in 1921.

In the *Steiger case (1924–25), when a Jew was accused of attempting to kill the Polish president, Waldmann tried to induce the Ukrainian nationalists to admit publicly their responsibility for the act. When his pleadings were ignored, he decided to reveal the Ukrainians' guilt to the public, thereby dissolving his connections with their movement. He testified before the court in Lvov, and several days later Steiger was acquitted. Waldmann was denied residence in Poland and thereafter lived in Vienna until 1935, when he went to Palestine. He died in Jerusalem.

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[Moshe Landau]

WALDTEUFEL, EMIL (1837–1915), composer. He was born in Strasbourg, where his father, Lazare Waldteufel (Wallteufel), was a piano teacher at the conservatory, and his brothers were also active as musicians. Emil Waldteufel studied at the Paris Conservatory, but left before graduating and began to write dance music. His waltzes became perennial favorites, including *Très Jolie* (op. 154), *Dolores* (op. 170), *Estudiantina* (op. 191), and especially *España* (op. 286) and the "Skaters' Waltzes" (*Les Patineurs*, op. 183). In 1865 Waldteufel was appointed chamber musician to Empress Eugénie and director of the court balls.

WALES, country of the United Kingdom. No Jewish communities are recorded there during the Middle Ages. However, individual Jews are mentioned in places where English influence was prevalent, such as Caerleon and Chepstow. The charters of newly created boroughs in northern Wales in 1284 included the "liberty" to exclude Jews. In the 18th century Jews began to resettle in Wales. They are found in *Swansea from 1731, a community being organized in 1768. The *Cardiff community followed in 1840. In the second half of the 19th century other communities were established, especially after the beginning of the Russian-Jewish influx to Britain in the 1880s. The newly arrived immigrants set up small businesses and pawnbroking establishments in the mining towns of Tonypandy, Tredegar, Aberdare, Llanelly, Merthyr Tydfil, Pontypridd, Porthcawl, and elsewhere. An attempt to introduce Polish Jews into the coal mines failed owing to local opposition, which had some antisemitic undertones. The disorders in South Wales during the miners' strike in 1911 took on an anti-Jewish tinge. On August 18–19 several Jewish-owned shops and houses were looted and wrecked in Tredegar, and the disorders swiftly spread to other mining towns in the area, driving hundreds of Jews to seek refuge elsewhere. Winston *Churchill, then home secretary, was responsible for sending troops to put down the disorders. These anti-Jewish riots, virtually the only example of violent antisemitism in modern British history, have been the subject of much dispute among historians. They also contrast starkly with the long-established Welsh Protestant tradition of philo-semitism and pro-Zionism, which produced such figures as David *Lloyd George, who promulgated the Balfour Declaration. With the change in economic circumstances in

South Wales after World War I, many of the small communities in the mining centers ceased to exist. While the parent community of Welsh Jewry, Swansea, decayed, Cardiff became a considerable Jewish center. Llanelly, Bangor, and the resort town of Llandudno (in northern Wales) had small communities. The total number of Jews in Wales in 1967 was estimated at 4,300 (3,500 in Cardiff).

In later years the Jewish population of Wales declined considerably. The 2001 British census found 941 declared Jews in Cardiff, 170 in Swansea, 39 in Newport, and smaller numbers in other towns, about 1,300 in all. Cardiff (the capital of Wales) has an Orthodox and a Reform synagogue and a number of representative institutions. There are also Orthodox synagogues in Llandudno, Newport, and Swansea.

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[Zvi Zinger (Yaron)]

WALETZKY, JOSH, U.S. filmmaker and musician. Waletzky was born in New York City. Early on his father, Sholom Waletzky, introduced him to Yiddish melodies. Waletzky studied piano and composition at the Juilliard School from 1959 to 1965 and spent a semester studying under Peter Schickele. He graduated from Harvard College in 1969 with a bachelor's degree in linguistics and mathematics. Waletzky sang with the Yugntruf Ensemble, and in 1970 he wrote and directed the Yiddish operetta *Chelm, Undzer Shtetl* with Zalman Mlotek, which was staged at New York's 92nd Street Y. He performed with the Yiddish Youth Ensemble on *Yiddish Songs of Work and Struggle* (1972), a recorded collection of hymns and ballads from the Jewish workers' movements. At NYU Film School, he composed the music for and directed the Yiddish-language film *Dos Mazl* (1974). Waletzky worked as a sound editor on the documentary *Ibeorgun* (1975), followed by work on the Oscar-winning *Harlan County, U.S.A.* (1976), directed by Barbara *Kopple. He composed music for the film *Circle in the Square* (1976), as well as for two shorts, *Car Wash* (1977) and *Body Shop* (1977), for the PBS children's show *Sesame Street*. He served as musical director for a production of *The Jewish Woman* (1977) at the American Jewish Theatre, and scored *The Good Omen* (1978). Waletzky returned to sound editing for two Oscar-nominated documentaries, *With Babies and Banners: The Women's Emergency Brigade* (1978), which recounted the 1937 sit-down strike against General Motors, and *The War at Home* (1979), which followed the antiwar movement in Madison, Wisconsin. After working on the album *Past and Present* (1980) with Kapelye, a klezmer band he helped found, Waletzky starred with the band in the film and on the soundtrack for *The Chosen* (1981). In 1981, he was producer-director of *Image Before My Eyes*, a documentary about Jewish life in prewar Poland, and he served as script and musical consultant for the Barbra *Streisand film *Yentl* (1983). In 1986, Waletzky directed, scored, and cowrote the Jewish resistance documentary *Partisans of Vilna* (1986) with Aviva Kempner. Later Waletzky focused his attention on directing musical documentaries, including *Pavarotti and the Italian Tenor* (1991), *Music for the Movies: Bernard Herrmann* (1992), *Music for the Movies: The Hollywood Sound* (1995), and *Sacred Stage: The Mariinsky Theater* (2005). Other documentaries have included *Dashiell Hammett: Detective, Writer* (1999) and *The Endurance: Shackleton's Legendary Antarctic Expedition* (2000). In 2001, he released a CD of Yiddish songs, *Crossing the Shadows*.

[Adam Wills (2nd ed.)]

WALEY, family of English Jews, active in various branches of public and intellectual life. The Waley family traces its descent from Benjamin Levi (d. 1784), an engraver from Wiesbaden who settled in Portsmouth in 1740. His son Jacob (d. 1817) married ELIZABETH WALEY, and their son SOLOMON JACOB (d. 1864), a successful stockbroker, adopted his mother's original family name in 1834. JACOB WALEY (1818–1873), eldest son of Solomon Jacob, was educated at London University and was among the first Jews called to the English bar. He achieved an eminent position as a lawyer and, in addition, was professor of political economy at University College, London, 1853–66. He was an active member of the Jewish community, being a founder of the United Synagogue, first president of the Anglo-Jewish Association, and president of the Jews' Hospital and Orphan Asylum. His brother, SIMON WALEY (1827–1875), was prominent as a stockbroker, but was also a talented musician. He composed for both piano and orchestra and wrote some pieces for the synagogue. His son ALFRED JOSEPH WALEY (1861–1953), a leading member of the London Stock Exchange, was treasurer of the Royal Academy of Music (1924–46) and chairman of its committee of management from 1946. Jacob's daughter JULIA MATILDA (1854–1917) married Nathaniel Louis Cohen (1846–1913) and was mother of Sir Robert Waley *Cohen. She was president of the Union of Jewish Women and active in many other public bodies, and she wrote devotional literature for Jewish children. A sister, RACHAEL SOPHIA WALEY, married David Frederick Schloss (1850–1912), a prominent Fabian who wrote studies of the London poor; after the outbreak of World War I their sons assumed their mother's family name. SIR (SIGISMUND) DAVID WALEY (1887–1962), who was educated at Rugby and Oxford, spent his working life in the British Treasury, where he became one of its highest officials. Seriously wounded in World War I, he became an expert in external finance; after World War II he was attached to the European Recovery Department of the Foreign Office and during 1951–52 represented the United Kingdom on the Commission on German Debts. He was knighted in 1943. His brother Arthur *Waley was a poet and translator of Chinese and Japanese literature.

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[Sefton D. Temkin]

WALEY, ARTHUR (1889–1966), English poet and translator of Oriental literature. Originally named Arthur David Schloss, Waley was born in Tunbridge Wells and was educated at Rugby and at Cambridge University. The family changed its name to Waley in 1918. From 1912 to 1930 he was assistant keeper of the Department of Prints and Drawings at the British Museum but devoted much of his time to the translation of Chinese and Japanese literature. In 1918 he published his translation of *One Hundred and Seventy Chinese Poems* and between 1925 and 1933 the classic Japanese romance, *The Tale of Genji*. The Chinese poems were a genuine popularization of material previously accessible only to specialists, and many poets derived inspiration from the technical adroitness of Waley's free verse. The modern British interest in syllabics – poetry measured by syllable rather than stress – derived from Waley's Chinese translations, just as the extraordinary popularity of the haiku in English arose from his translations from the Japanese. Through his translations, Waley brought something new into English poetry; a quiet, meditative tone, far removed from the crude Orientalizing of the 19th century. However, Waley never visited China. He apparently felt that his detachment from the immediate scene would enable him to concentrate upon more permanent issues and values. Waley's later work is mainly of interest to specialists, much of it lying in fields remote from creative literature.

He wrote several books on Chinese philosophy, notably *Three Ways of Thought in Ancient China* (1939). His last publications were mostly biographical and historical – *The Opium War Through Chinese Eyes* (1958), studies of the Chinese poets Li Po and Po Chu-I, and *The Secret History of the Mongols* (1963). He was made a Companion of Honor (CH) in 1956. His *Madly Singing in the Mountains*, edited by Ivan Morris (1970), is an anthology of writings with an appreciation of his work.

ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY: ODNB online.

[Philip D. Hobsbaum]

WALINSKY, family of U.S. Jews in public service. OSSIP JOSEPH (1886–1973) was a U.S. labor leader and a journalist. Born in Grodno, Russia, Walinsky in his youth was involved in the Jewish socialist underground (1903) and was arrested. He immigrated to London, England, where he was active in the trade union movement (1904–07), edited Jewish trade union publications (1907–09), and became one of the founders of the Jewish fraternal order, the *Workmen's Circle (1912). From 1912 to 1915 Walinsky lived in Toronto, Canada, as a union manager. In 1915 he arrived in New York, again starting as union manager, and became a regular contributor to the Jewish press. In 1918 Walinsky became president of the International Leathergoods, Plastics and Novelty Workers Union. During the same year he presided over the first American Labor Conference for Palestine and remained an active leader in the National Committee for Labor Israel. In 1956 he published a book of Yiddish poems, *Lament and Song*. Walinsky retired from his union presidency in 1957, concentrating on leading about 2,600 *landsmanschaften*, fraternal orders, and folk organizations in their campaigns for Israel Bonds, UJA, and Histadrut.

His son LOUIS JOSEPH (1908–2001) was a U.S. economist. Born in London, England, and educated in the United States, Walinsky from 1931 was a teacher and lecturer. From 1943 to 1947 he was economic consultant and director of the Materials Division, U.S. War Production Board, and director of the Office of Economic Review and Analysis of the Civilian Production Administration. After that (1947–49) Walinsky became financial director of the latter organization, director of Germany-Austria Operations, and secretary general of the World ORT Union. Subsequently he was economic adviser to the governments of many Asian, African, and Latin American countries, as well as Australia. From 1953 to 1958 he served as an adviser to the government of Burma. In the 1960s he was a consultant to the World Bank. Among his publications are *Economic Development in Burma* (1962); *The Planning and Execution of Economic Development* (1963); and *Issues Facing World Jewry* (1981).

Ossip's daughter ANNA WALINSKA (1906–1997) was an artist. She ran the Guild Art Gallery in New York in the 1930s, traveled around the world in the 1950s, and created more than 1,000 works on canvas and paper over nine decades. A well-known portrait artist, she painted such subjects as Eleanor Roosevelt, Arshile Gorky, Mark Rothko, and U Thant. Her work is exhibited in galleries and museums around the world, including the Smithsonian Art Museum, the National Portrait Gallery, the Holocaust Museum, and Yad Vashem.

Louis' son ADAM (1937–) was a U.S. attorney. Born in New York, he joined the U.S. Department of Justice under Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy. He was Kennedy's legislative assistant and main speechwriter, accompanying him on his trips to South Africa and Latin America. After Kennedy's death he ran unsuccessfully for the office of attorney general of the State of New York (1970). From 1971 to 1995, Walinsky practiced law with the New York firm of Kronish, Lieb, Weiner & Hellman. He was a member and chairman of the New York Commission of Investigation from 1978 to 1981. In 1995, he began to serve full time as president of the Center for Research on Institutions and Social Policy, which concentrates on issues affecting law enforcement and social change. He is considered the father of the Police Corps, a program that strengthens American law enforcement by adding citizens to the police force; they serve four-year terms and receive four-year college scholarships in exchange for their commitment to serve as police officers. The Police Corps became law in 1994 as part of the Omnibus Crime Bill. Walinsky is a trustee of the Robert F. Kennedy Memorial.

[Frederick R. Lachman / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

WALKIN, AARON (1865–1942), Lithuanian rabbi, communal leader, and author. Born in Shumyachi, Belorussia, Walkin received his education at the Volozhin yeshivah where he studied under R. Naphtali Ẓevi Judah *Berlin. After the yeshivah was closed in 1892, he continued his studies in Kovno under R. Isaac Elhanan *Spektor. Walkin served successively as the rabbi of the communities of Gruzdziai and Seduva in Lithuania, and Mstislavl in Belorussia. After World War I he became the rabbi of the important Jewish community of Pinsk. He was active in *Agudat Israel and, with Meir *Hildesheimer, visited the United States on its behalf in 1914. Walkin and most of his family were murdered by the Nazis during the summer of 1942.

Walkin was considered a leading writer of responsa of this period, and his published responsa appeared in two volumes under the title *Zekan Aharon* (1932, 1938; reprinted in the U.S., 1951, 1958). His talmudic novellae *Beit Aharon* were published in four volumes (to *Bava Mezia*, 1905, reprinted 1965; to *Ketubbot*, 1911; to *Bava Kamma*, 1923, reprinted 1963; to *Gittin*, 1939, reprinted 1955). Walkin also published *Ḥoshen Aharon*, a commentary to the Shulḥan Arukh *Hoshen Mishpat* in three volumes (1927, 1928, 1930). His sermons entitled *Mezaḥ Aharon* were published in two volumes, the first of which was reprinted by war refugees in Shanghai (vol. 1, 1902, 1908, 1928, 1945; vol. 2, 1926). He also issued a new edition of the *Sefer Yere'im* of Eliezer b. Samuel of Metz, which included his own commentary entitled *Saviv li-Yre'av* (1935, reprinted 1960).

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[Aaron Rothkoff]

WALKOMITZ, SIMḤAH ḤAYYIM (sometimes pronounced **Wilkomitz**), (1871–1918), Hebrew teacher and educator. Born in Nesvizh, Belorussia, Walkomitz became interested in the *Haskalah movement and went to Vilna, where he broadened the scope of his studies. He joined the *Benei Moshe Association and in 1896 went to Ereẓ Israel. As a teacher, he helped to lay the foundations of Hebrew education, stressing the labor ideal. He taught in Reḥovot, Metullah, Rosh Pinnah, and Jaffa, devoting his major efforts to the establishment and development of the school at Rosh Pinnah, where, from 1902, he was headmaster for 16 years. The first rural educational institution in Ereẓ Israel, this school served as a model for the entire country. Walkomitz was among the founders of the *Teachers' Association in Ereẓ Israel, delivering a comprehensive lecture at its first meeting in 1903 on the image of the Hebrew rural school. The anthology *Ha-Moreh* ("The Teacher," 1959), dedicated to his memory, contains appreciations of Walkomitz, as well as his own articles and model lessons, which had previously appeared in various periodicals. His son, AMI ASSAF (1903–1963), a member of the moshav *Bet Yehoshua, was a *Mapai member of Knesset and served as deputy minister of education and culture from 1958 to 1963.

[Gedalyah Elkoshi]

WALKOWITZ, ABRAHAM (1878–1965), U.S. painter. Walkowitz, who was born in Tumen, Russia, was taken as a boy to New York, where he lived on the Lower East Side. Jacob *Epstein was a neighbor and close friend. He eked out a living by lettering diplomas and shingles for doctors' offices. By 1906 he had saved enough to study for two years in Paris. When he returned to New York and showed his paintings in a basement storeroom, they were dismissed by most of the critics as "monstrosities." In 1913 Walkowitz was invited to exhibit ten works in the historic Armory Show in New York. One of his earliest backers was Alfred *Stieglitz, the art dealer. As the public grew used to the anti-academic manner of the new painters, he began to be a success, and his paintings were acquired by leading American museums. Walkowitz drew and painted assiduously until the 1930s, when failing eyesight made it difficult for him to work, and by the mid-1940s he stopped painting completely. As his own creative powers declined, he devoted his time to posing for colleagues, and in 1944 the Brooklyn Museum mounted an exhibition, "One Hundred Artists and Walkowitz" consisting of paintings and sculptures with himself as subject. Walkowitz' style ranges from Romanticism to abstract art. He began by painting dark, misty landscapes but changed in time to warmer and fresher colors. His subjects were confined mainly to outdoor scenes with figures, and for many years his favorite model was the dancer Isadora Duncan.

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[Alfred Werner]

WALLACE, IRVING (1916–1990), U.S. writer. Born in Chicago, Ill., Wallace grew up in Kenosha, Wis., where his father, an immigrant from Russia, was a clerk in a general store. He always wanted to be a writer, Wallace said. He sold his first article, *The Horse Laugh*, to *Horse and Jockey Magazine* for $5 while in high school. He attended the Williams Institute in Berkeley, Calif., where he took creative writing courses, and then moved to Los Angeles and began to write full-time in 1937. After service in World War II, where he wrote scripts for training films, Wallace wrote fiction and nonfiction articles for a number of periodicals. Unable to make ends meet as a magazine writer, he moved into screenwriting. Among the films he worked on were *Split Second, The West Point Story, Meet Me at the Fair*, and *The Big Circus*. Turning to fiction, he wrote two books that were ignored by the critics. But in 1960, he published *The Chapman Report*, a novel about the impact of a sex survey on some Los Angeles suburban women. It became a bestseller, and, as a film in 1962 starring Jane Fonda, Shelley Winters, and Efrem Zimbalist, Jr., it was a big moneymaker. In addition to his own books, Wallace collaborated with his wife, Sylvia, his daughter, Amy, and his son, David Wallechinsky, who used the name the family had in Russia. Wallace wrote 15 novels all told, including *The Prize* (1962), *The Nympho and Other Maniacs* (1971), and *The Guest of Honor* (1989).

[Stewart Kampel (2nd ed.)]

WALLACE, MIKE (**Myron Leon**; 1918–), U.S. television journalist. Born in Brookline, Massachusetts, Wallace received a B.A. from the University of Michigan in 1939. He gained prominence in 1956 for his penetrating interviews on New York television. He wrote a column for the *New York Post*, "Mike Wallace Asks" (1957–58; published as a book under the same title in 1958), ran the radio series *New Beat* (1959–61), and worked as staff correspondent for CBS News (1963–64). He hosted several TV series, such as *Night Beat* (1956); *The Mike Wallace Interview* (1957–58); and *Biography* (1961–64). He was the anchor on the *CBS Morning News* from 1963 to 1966. From 1968 he was one of the main correspondents on the popular news magazine series *60 Minutes*. In 1990 CBS News presented the one-hour special *Mike Wallace Then and Now*, which highlighted his 40 years of reporting and interviewing.

Wallace also hosted the TV series *20th Century with Mike Wallace* (1995) and appeared in such TV documentaries as *The Uncounted Enemy: A Vietnam Deception* (1982); *Watergate: The Secret Story* (1992); *The Real Malcolm X* (1992); *Hugh Hefner: Once upon a Time* (1992); *Rod Serling: Submitted for Your Approval* (1995); *Ayn Rand: A Sense of Life* (1997); *Dead Blue: Surviving Depression* (1998); *Breaking the News* (2001); and *The 100 Most Memorable TV Moments* (2004).

Wallace interviewed kings, presidents, and prime ministers, dictators and divas, musicians and millionaires. Among his many honors and awards are 19 Emmy Awards, three Peabody Awards, and the Robert F. Kennedy Journalism Award. In 1989 he was honored by Chicago's Museum of Broadcast Communications for his lifetime contribution to radio and television. In 1991 he was inducted into the Television Academy Hall of Fame and was honored by the Radio/Television News Directors Association with the Paul White Award. In 1993 he was named Broadcaster of the Year by the International Radio and Television Society. In 2002 he received a Lifetime Achievement Emmy.

Wallace's published works include *Close Encounters: Mike Wallace's Own Story* (with G.P. Gates, 1985) and *Between You and Me: A Memoir* (with G.P. Gates, 2005).

[Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

WALLACH, ELI (1915–), U.S. actor. Born in Brooklyn, New York, Wallach received a B.A. from the University of Texas. He got his dramatic training with the Actors Studio and the Neighborhood Playhouse. He was in the Broadway cast of *Mister Roberts* in 1949, and in 1951 won a Tony Award for his portrayal of the Sicilian lover in the Tennessee Williams play *The Rose Tattoo.* In 1954 he appeared in London in *Teahouse of the August Moon*. With his wife, Anne Jackson, to whom he has been married since 1948, he shared several successes, notably on Broadway in *Rhinoceros* (1961) and *Luv* (1964). He also appeared in *Staircase* (1968); *Promenade, All* (1972); *The Waltz of the Toreadors* (1973); *Saturday Sunday Monday* (1974); *Twice around the Park* (1982); *Café Crown* (1989); *The Price* (1992); and *The Flowering Peach* (1994).

Wallach made his film debut in 1956 in *Baby Doll* and had roles in more than 100 movies. Among them are *The Lineup* (1958); *Seven Thieves* (1960); *The Magnificent Seven* (1960); *The Misfits* (1961); *How the West Was Won* (1962); *Lord Jim* (1964); *How to Steal a Million* (1966); *The Good, the Bad and the Ugly* (1966); *The Tiger Makes Out* (1967); *How to Save a Marriage* (1968); *Mackenna's Gold* (1969); *The Angel Levine* (1970); *Cinderella Liberty* (1973); *Crazy Joe* (1974); *The Deep* (1977); *Movie Movie* (1978); *The Salamander* (1980); *The Hunter* (1980); *Tough Guys* (1986); *Nuts* (1987); *Terezin Diary* (1989); *The Godfather, Part 3* (1990); *Mistress* (1992); *Night and the City* (1992); *Two Much* (1995); *The Associate* (1996); *Keeping the Faith* (2000); *Advice and Dissent* (2002); *The Root* (2003); and *King of the Corner* (2004).

He also appeared in a host of TV series and TV movies. In 1967 he won a Best Supporting Actor Emmy for his role in the TV movie *Poppies Are Also Flowers.* His autobiography *The Good, the Bad, and Me: In My Anecdotage* was published in 2005.

[Jonathan Licht / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

WALLACH, MOSHE (**Moritz**; 1866–1957), pioneer of medicine in Ereẓ Israel. Wallach, born in Cologne, Germany, received an Orthodox education and studied medicine at Berlin and Wuerzburg. In 1891 he settled in Jerusalem and opened a clinic in the Old City. With financial support from Amsterdam and Frankfurt, he purchased land at a deserted spot outside the city walls for the establishment of a modern hospital. Named Sha'arei Ẓedek ("Gates of Righteousness"), the hospital was opened in 1902. Attached to it was a small farm. He served as director of the hospital until his retirement in 1947, giving it its Orthodox stamp.

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[Getzel Kressel]

WALLACH, OTTO (1847–1931), German organic chemist and Nobel Prize winner. Wallach was born in Koenigsberg and worked in Bonn from 1870. He was appointed professor in Berlin (1876) and head of the department of pharmacy (1879–89). From 1889 until he retired in 1915 he was professor at Goettingen and director of the university's chemical institute, continuing his research until he was 80.

In 1884 knowledge in the field of "ethereal oils" was in a state of utter confusion. Wallach, after many years of work, characterized 12 terpenes which were different from one another, in place of the far greater number of products previously thought, and charted their interrelationships and determined their structures, based on rings with six carbon atoms as the basic skeletons. He received the 1910 Nobel Prize for Chemistry for "his pioneer work in the field of alicyclic compounds." His work was scientifically important in clarifying a field of natural products, and also (through his students) led to the industrial synthesis of camphor and artificial perfumes. He wrote *Terpene und Kampfer* (1909, 1914). Wallach received many honors and was president of the German Chemical Society.

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[Samuel Aaron Miller]

WALLACH, YONA (1944–1985), Israeli poet. Wallach was born in Tel Aviv and was an active member of the literary group known as the "Tel Aviv poets," a circle which emerged around the literary journals *Akhshav* and *Siman Keriah* in the 1960s, with the aim of imbuing Hebrew poetry with an avant-garde, daring spirit. Her first collection, *Devarim* ("Things"), appeared in 1966, followed during her lifetime by *Shenei Ganim* ("Two Gardens," 1969), *Shirim* (1976), and *Or Pere* ("Wild Light," 1983). She also wrote for and appeared with an Israeli rock group, and in 1982 some of her poems were set to music and recorded. Wallach, one of the most original, venturesome voices in contemporary Hebrew poetry, explores inner processes of emotion and perception, reflects on the energies of the feminine body, on the ambiguities of sexual fulfillment, and is indeed one of the first feminine revolutionaries in Israeli writing. Written in fluid lines, her lyrical verse defies conventional poetic structures, offering her readers deliberately provocative, subversive lines of utmost intensity. Little wonder then that her poetry was considered obscene and tasteless, as when she mentioned the *tefillin* in a poem describing the sexual act. Yigal Sarnah wrote her biography (1993), portraying a woman who in her habits and life-style, as well as in her artistic work (be it poetry or performance of rock music) always sought the extreme. After her early death, "Selected Poems 1963–1985" was published. An English volume with poems appeared in 1997 and individual poems have been translated into a number of languages. For information concerning translation, see the ITHL website at www.ithl.org.il.

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[Anat Feinberg (2nd ed.)]

WALLANT, EDWARD LEWIS (1926–1962), novelist. Although Wallant's writing career was brief, he earned a reputation for craftsmanship and concern for moral values in his works, which included *The Human Season* (1960), *The Pawnbroker* (1961; made into a film after its publication), *The Tenants of Moonbloom* (1963), and *Children at the Gate* (1964), which dealt compassionately with the lives of ordinary people. Wallant's presentation of Judaism often focuses on a love for the marginalized, the stranger, and the "other," as well as Judaism's demands for dignity and justice. His works are often the ground in which Judaism and Christianity meet, suggesting that there is a common situation for faith as well as a common ground in which they encounter one another.

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[Lewis Fried (2nd ed.)]

°WALLENBERG, RAOUL (1912–?), Swedish diplomat who became a legend through his work to save Hungarian Jewry at the end of World War II. Descended from a long line of bankers and diplomats, he was an architect by profession, a graduate of the University of Michigan. In 1936, he spent six months in Haifa, where he studied management at the Holland Bank, and first met with Jewish refugees from Germany. Upon his return to Stockholm, he became the foreign representative of a central European trading company, whose president was a Hungarian Jew, K. Lauer.

In July 1944, the Swedish Foreign Ministry, at the request of the American *War Refugee Board, sent him on a rescue mission to Budapest as an attaché to the Swedish Embassy. By this time, 437,000 Hungarian Jews had already been deported to death camps, and deportation had been ordered for Budapest Jewry. He had a great deal of cash, provided by Jewish organizations, since the WRB was to be financed by private contributions, and permission to employ unorthodox methods to save Jews. He had one other advantage. He was operating in a climate where everyone knew that Germany would lose the war and the only remaining question was when. Hence neutral countries, including Sweden, and even some German allies, were positioning themselves for the postwar world.

Wallenberg's chief operation was the distribution of Swedish certificates of protection ("Wallenberg Passports" or *Schutz-Paesse*), which were initially granted to Jews who had some link with Sweden. Wallenberg applied pressure on the Hungarian government and gained friends and assistants for his work. His department, "Section 3 – for Humanitarian Aims," employed 300 Jews. When the *Arrow Cross seized power in October 1944, Wallenberg initiated the establishment of the "international ghetto." About 33,000 Jews, 7,000 of whom had Swedish protection, thus found refuge in houses flying the flags of neutral countries. Wallenberg did not work alone. His efforts were joined by Carl Lutz, a Swiss diplomat, and by Giorgio Perlasca, an Italian businessman who posed as a Spanish diplomat and worked with the Zionist underground. Without any authorization or authority, Perlasca offered Spanish safe passes to Jews and established children's houses. He explained his motivation: "I simply cannot understand why a man can be persecuted because he is of a different religion from mine."

When threats did not work Wallenberg offered bribes, or even stood between Jews and their captors, saying they would have to take him first. When Jews had no authentic identification papers, Wallenberg came up with forged papers or driver's licenses. Anything that looked like an official paper, document, or list of names was flourished by an imperious Wallenberg with an air of authority that intimidated even Nazi officials. Wallenberg did not back down even in the face of personal danger. *Eichmann made threatening noises, saying, "Accidents do happen, even to a neutral diplomat." Wallenberg's car was rammed.

In November 1944, thousands of Budapest Jews, including women and children, were forced on a "death march" via the town of Hegyeshalom, to the Austrian border. Wallenberg and Per Anger, the Embassy's secretary, followed after them with a convoy of trucks carrying food and clothing, and he himself distributed medicine to the dying and food and clothing to the marchers. By superhuman efforts he managed to free some 500 persons and return them to Budapest. He saved several hundred members of labor detachments who had been put on the deportation train. In Budapest, he organized "International Labor Detachments" and even a "Jewish Guard" consisting of Aryan-looking Jews dressed in SS and Arrow Cross uniforms, and established two hospitals and soup kitchens. Eichmann threatened to kill him, referring to him as "*Judenhund Wallenberg*." Wallenberg formulated a comprehensive plan to restore the Hungarian economy when peace came. When the Soviet army entered Budapest on January 16, 1945, 100,000 Jews were still alive. Many, if not most of them, owed their lives to Wallenberg and his colleagues. At that moment, Wallenberg's struggle seemed to be over. He should have been able to look forward to returning home in honor. He approached Soviet officials with a plan for the postwar rehabilitation of Hungarian Jews. On January 17, 1945, Wallenberg was seen by Dr. Erno Peto, one of his closest collaborators, in the company of Soviet soldiers. He said: "I do not know whether I am a guest of the Soviets or their prisoner." He was never seen as a free man again. During the liberation, he had presented himself to Soviet army guards, who were reconnoitering the streets of Budapest.

For ten years, the Soviet Union denied that Wallenberg was in their custody. But after the death of Stalin and the thaw of the Khrushchev years, the Soviet Union formally announced that Wallenberg had been arrested. They produced a death certificate to substantiate their claim that he had died of a heart attack in 1947.

Yet up until the 1980s, there were occasional reports from former political prisoners who said they had seen an aging Swede in various Soviet prisons. In 1991, on the eve of the collapse of the Soviet Union, Mikhail Gorbachev presented the Wallenberg family with Wallenberg's diplomatic passport.

In 1981 the United States Congress gave Raoul Wallenberg honorary citizenship, an honor previously accorded only to Winston Churchill. The United States Holocaust Memorial Museum is located on Raoul Wallenberg Place and Yad Vashem has named him Righteous Among the Nations.

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[Livia Rothkirchen / Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

WALLENROD, REUBEN (1899–1966), Hebrew writer on American Jewish life. Born in Vizno, Belorussia, he emigrated to Ereẓ Israel in 1920, but shortly afterward left to study in France and the United States. Wallenrod served as instructor and later professor of Hebrew literature at Brooklyn College in New York. From 1929, he frequently contributed stories and essays to Hebrew periodicals.

His novels *Ki Fanah Yom* (1946; *Dusk in the Catskills*, 1957) and *Be-Ein Dor* (*At Ein Dor*, 1953), as well as his collections of short stories *Ba-Deyotah ha-Shelishit* (1938) and *Bein Ḥomot New York* (1952), describe the life of immigrant Jews in the United States and their difficulty in adjusting to their new surroundings. Among his works are essays and literary criticism *Mesapperei Amerikah* (1958), a travelogue *Derakhim va-Derekh* (1951), and others. He was coauthor, with Abraham Aharoni, of *Fundamentals of Hebrew Grammar* (1949) and *Modern Hebrew Reader and Grammar* (1945). In English he wrote *The Literature of Modern Israel* (1956) and in French, *Dewey, l'éducateur* (1932).

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[Jerucham Tolkes]

WALLENSTEIN, ALFRED (1898–1982), U.S. cellist and conductor. Born in Chicago, Wallenstein was taken when still a child to California, where he played the cello in theater orchestras and later in the San Francisco Orchestra. After studying the cello and medicine in Europe, he became first cellist of the New York Philharmonic under Toscanini (1929) and, from 1931, began appearing on the radio as conductor. Two years later he formed the Wallenstein Sinfonietta, a radio orchestra which became famous for its high standard of performance and its extensive repertoire of classical and contemporary music. From 1943 to 1956 Wallenstein conducted the Los Angeles Philharmonic and, after 1952, was also music director of the Hollywood Bowl.

WALLENSTEIN, MEIR (1903–1996), Orientalist. Born in Jerusalem, Wallenstein taught in Palestine (1925–29) and in Manchester, England (1932–38). From 1946 he was reader in medieval and modern Hebrew at Manchester University, and in 1970 he settled in Jerusalem.

Wallenstein's works include studies on Moses Judah Abbas and his contemporaries in *Melilah*, 1–4 (1944–50); *Hymns from the Judean Scrolls* (1950); *Some Unpublished Piyyutim from the Cairo Genizah* (1956); *The Neẓer and the Submission in Suffering Hymn from the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed., with translation, 1957); and he edited J. Jaffe's *Ahavat Ẓiyyon vi-Yrushalayim* (1946).

WALLICH, German family that produced many scholars, rabbis, and physicians. The family origin can be traced to the 13th century. The name of Walch is first mentioned in 1349. It applies to a physician who appears in the register of Jews exiled from Worms and Speyer. ABRAHAM WALCH was the authority responsible for the observance of customs within the Worms community and signed, as chairman, the "Worms Judenordnung" in 1584. JOSEPH BEN MEIR WALLICH, also known as Pheibusch, obtained his doctorate at Padua around 1600 and was appointed by the emperor "Jew Doctor" of Worms. His medical activity is also mentioned in *Mainz about 1605. Soon thereafter, he had to defend himself before the Senate against a charge of poisoning, brought by his non-Jewish colleagues. ISAAC (d. 1632) left a catalog of folksongs of his day, written in Hebrew letters. MOSES WALLICH (d. 1739) is the author of the so-called "*Ku-Bukh*" published in Frankfurt in 1687, which is a collection of fables in the Yiddish dialect.

From Worms the family spread to Metz, Frankfurt, Bonn, Coblenz, Mainz, Copenhagen, and many other places. In 1747, SOLOMON EMMANUEL WALLICH, who studied in Heidelberg, was appointed "Jew Doctor" in Mainz by the elector Frederick Charles. He, too, had to overcome opposition of non-Jewish as well as Jewish non-qualified colleagues. ABRAHAM WALLICH, who resided in Frankfurt, compiled a popular medical booklet named "Harmonica Wallichia Medicia," which was published only posthumously (1700) by his son, JUDAH LOEB, also a physician, under the title: *Sefer Dimyon ha-Refu'ot, Terufot le-Khol Minnei Ḥola'im, u-Mashveh Refu'ot ha-Guf bi-Refu'ot ha-Nefesh*. Because of the Wallichs' reputation, one of them was even called to the sickbed of Louis XV of France. The name is also mentioned in the records of other German cities, e.g., in an antisemitic leaflet with woodcuts representing the desecration of the *Host in *Passau (1470). NATHANIEL WALLICH (1787–1854), born in Copenhagen and well known as a physician and botanist, as well as director of the Calcutta Botanical Gardens, specialized in the flora of India, Hindustan, and Burma. Other descendants were the Jerusalem pioneer and director of the Sha'arei Ẓedek hospital, Moshe (Moritz) *Wallach, and the chemist and Nobel Prize winner, Otto *Wallach.

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[B. Mordechai Ansbacher]

WALSTON, SIR CHARLES (1856–1927), British archaeologist and writer. Born Charles Waldstein in New York and educated at Columbia University and in Germany, Walston (as he was known from 1918) came to England in 1880 and taught classical archaeology at Cambridge University from 1883 to 1907. He was director of the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge (1883–89), and as director of American School of Archaeology in Athens (1889–93) led the excavations at Plataea, Eretria, and the Hera sanctuary at Argos. His interests included contemporary art history, art education, psychology, and ethics, and among his varied writings was *The Jewish Question and the Mission of the Jews* (1899). He was knighted in 1912. His son, BARON HENRY WALSTON (1912–1991), a farmer and agricultural researcher, was given a life peerage in 1961 and, in 1964–67, served as a junior minister in Harold Wilson's Labour government. From 1968 until 1981 he served as chairman of the Institute of Race Relations.

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[Penuel P. Kahane / William D. Rubinstein (2nd ed.)]

WALTER, BRUNO (**Bruno Walter Schlesinger**; 1876–1962), conductor. He was born in Berlin, where he studied at the Stern Conservatory. At 17 he became voice coach at the Cologne Opera and the following year assistant conductor, under Gustav *Mahler, at the Municipal Theater in Hamburg. He conducted in various German towns until 1900, when he became conductor at the Berlin Opera, but he left after a year to become Mahler's assistant at the Vienna Opera, where he remained until 1912. In 1917 he was engaged as general director of the Munich Opera, which gained a brilliant reputation for its fine repertory and high standard of performance. From 1922 he worked as a guest conductor, making his American debut and conducting at the Salzburg Mozart Festival. In 1925 he became conductor of the Municipal Opera in Berlin-Charlottenburg, and in 1929 of the Leipzig Gewandhaus Orchestra. In 1932 he was a guest conductor of the New York Philharmonic and was reengaged for the next three seasons under Toscanini. Meanwhile, the Nazis came to power and he lost his German engagements. In 1936 he accepted the post of musical director of the Vienna Opera, but when the Nazis overran Austria in 1938 he moved to France. On the outbreak of World War II he emigrated to the United States, settling in California, and from 1947 to 1949 was conductor and musical adviser of the New York Philharmonic.

Walter was equally eminent as a conductor of orchestral and operatic music. A classicist among conductors, his interpretations were characterized by a contemplative, lyrical quality and by sensitive color and phrasing. He excelled as an interpreter of Mozart and above all of Mahler, with whom he had worked in close friendship for so many years. He conducted the first performances of *Das Lied von der Erde* and of Mahler's ninth symphony, and remained a lifelong champion of his music. Walter was also a composer, but discouraged the performance of his own works. A man of wide culture, he wrote several books: *Von den moralischen Kraeften der Musik* (1935); *Theme and Variations* (1947; autobiography); *Gustav Mahler; ein Portraet* (1957); and *Von der Musik und vom Musizieren* (1957; *Of Music and Music-Making*, 1961).

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WALTERS, BARBARA (1931–), U.S. broadcast journalist. Born in Boston, Massachusetts, Walters received a B.A. in English from Sarah Lawrence College in New York in 1953. She began her career as a writer for local television stations on the

East Coast. In 1961 she joined NBC's *Today* show, and in 1964 she became its lead female correspondent. She was already earning a reputation as a skilled reporter and interviewer at a time when women's function on news programs was usually subordinated to the male anchors. She hosted the TV series *Not for Women Only* (1971–76). In 1974 NBC accorded her the status of co-host on *Today*, a position she retained until 1976. Walters had a string of exclusive interviews with personalities of international status – including Fidel Castro, Anwar Sadat, and every U.S. president since Richard Nixon. In 1976 she joined ABC as co-anchor of its evening news with Harry Reasoner, at a salary of $1 million per year for five years. She thus became the first female to anchor a news broadcast on a major network and the first anchorperson to earn a million dollars a year. While Walters' arrival did not signal the ratings boost for which ABC had hoped, she remained on contract to the network and flourished with a series of interview specials and as a correspondent on the newsmagazine *20/20*, of which she was the co-host from 1984 until 2004. Among her many television stints and appearances, she hosted the running interview series *The Barbara Walters Specials* (which began in 1976); served as substitute anchor on *ABC News Nightline* (1991–2004); hosted the TV series *Turning Point*, along with such journalists as Peter Jennings and Diane Sawyer (1993–97); and hosted the music show in a *New Light '94* (1994); the TV special *A Celebration: 100 Years of Great Women* (1999); and the TV talk show *The View* from 1997, serving as its executive producer in 1999–2000.

Among her many honors and awards, Walters was nominated for 18 Emmy Awards and won one in 2003 for *The View*. She was inducted into the Television Academy Arts and Sciences' Hall of Fame in 1990; she received a Lifetime Achievement Award from the International Women's Media Foundation (1991); was honored by the American Museum of the Moving Image (1992); received a Lifetime Achievement Award from Women's Project and Productions (1993); and in 1996 was honored by the Museum of Television and Radio for her contributions to broadcast journalism. Walters wrote *How to Talk with Practically Anybody about Practically Anything* (1970).

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[Rohan Saxena and Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

°**WALTON, BRYAN** (1600–1661), English churchman and Orientalist. Born in Yorkshire, Walton studied at Cambridge University and became active in ecclesiastical affairs. As a result of his High Church views and undisguised royalist sympathies, he retired to Oxford in 1639 and there devoted himself to Oriental studies during the 1640s. When a new Polyglot Bible was published in Paris in 1645, Walton began preparing a project of the same kind, but of greater scope and quality, and as the *Biblia Sacra Polyglotta*, this eventually appeared in six volumes (London, 1654–57). The outstanding work of its type, Walton's London Polyglot contained texts in nine languages, including the Hebrew Old Testament, the Greek Septuagint, the Latin Vulgate, the Samaritan Pentateuch, the Targums, Ethiopic versions of Psalms and Song of Songs, and a Persian translation of the Pentateuch. It also contained the Apocrypha, with Hebrew versions of Tobit by Paulus *Fagius and Sebastian *Muenster. Among the scholars who contributed to the London Polyglot were Edmund *Castell and John *Lightfoot. Walton's own *Prolegomena*, one of the outstanding early introductions to the Old Testament, later appeared separately and, in this form, went through several editions. The Polyglot as a whole still retains much scholarly value and interest. As a reward for his loyalty to the crown, Walton was made bishop of Chester after the restoration of Charles II in 1660.

WALZER, MICHAEL (1935–), U.S. philosopher and professor. Born in New York to parents Joseph and Sally, Walzer graduated summa cum laude from Brandeis University and holds a B.A. in history. He continued his studies as a Fulbright Fellow at Cambridge University, and then earned a Ph.D. in political science and history from the Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University. From 1962 to 1966, he was an assistant professor of politics at Princeton University, before he moved to Harvard and taught as a professor of government. He became a UPS Foundation Professor of Social Science at the Institute for Advanced Study in 1980 at Princeton. In addition to teaching, Walzer acted as both co-editor of *Dissent* and a contributing editor of *The New Republic*, as well as a member of the editorial board for *Philosophy and Public Affairs*, an academic journal. He was also a member of the board of governors at The Hebrew University.

An accomplished writer on topics of multiculturalism, political theory, and moral and social philosophy, Walzer was often hailed as one of the country's foremost political thinkers. His writing and speeches often tackled some most vexing topics of the current era, namely war and the reasoning, or justification, behind the wars and clashes of recent years. Walzer's theories look to historical thought and events to create understanding of today's issues; his current work includes a collaborative project on the history of Jewish political thought, and a study of "difference" in its many forms.

Walzer's body of published work includes more than 20 works written or edited by Walzer, among them *Just and Unjust Wars: A Moral Argument with Historical Illustrations* published in 1977 and reprinted in 1992; *Spheres of Justice: A Defense of Pluralism and Equality* (1983); *The Jewish Political Tradition,* edited by Walzer and two others (2000, Volume 1 and 2003, Volume 2); and *Arguing About War* (2004). His dozens of articles on topics such as political action, equality, war, Israel, and multiculturalism were published in a variety of scholarly and political journals.

Walzer was a member of the American Philosophical Society, International Affairs Committee of the American Jewish Congress, and the Institute for Jewish Policy Planning and Research at the Synagogue Council of America. He was also a member of the Conference for the Study of Political Thought and the Society of Ethical and Legal Philosophy. He had a special relationship with the Shalom Hartman Institute, where he has worked with Judaic scholars to shape a new understanding of the Jewish political tradition.

[Lisa DeShantz-Cook (2nd ed.)]

WALZER, RICHARD RUDOLF (1900–1975), scholar of Greek and Arabic philosophy. Born in Berlin, Walzer left Germany when Hitler came to power and, from 1933 to 1938, was lecturer in Greek philosophy at the University of Rome. He went to Oxford where he lectured in Greek, Arabic, and Hebrew philosophy. Walzer discovered much lost Greek material in Arabic philosophical writings, and contributed both to the understanding of Greek thought and of its use and development by medieval Islamic thinkers.

Walzer's publications include *Magna Moralia und Aristotelische Ethik* (1929); *Aristotelis Dialogorum Fragmenta* (1934, 1963^2); *Studi su Al-Kindi* (with H. Ritter and M. Guidi, 2 vols., 1938–40); *Eraclito: Raccolta dei frammenti* (1939); *Al-Farabius: De Platonis Philosophia* (with F. Rosenthal, 1943): translations of Galen, *On Medical Experience* (1944), and *Galen on Jews and Christians* (1949); and he edited *Galeni Compendium Timaei Platonis* (with P. Kraus, 1951), and *Greek into Arabic: Essays on Islamic Philosophy* (1962).

[Richard H. Popkin]

WANAMAKER, SAM (1919–1993), U.S. actor, director, producer. Born in Chicago, Wanamaker attended Drake University and studied acting at the Goodman Theater in Chicago. Despite a rich career in acting and directing, Wanamaker gained his greatest notice for his efforts to build an exact reconstruction of William Shakespeare's Globe Theatre, originally erected and used in the 17th century on the banks of the Thames River. Before his death in 1993, Wanamaker had raised over $10 million for the building, completed in 1997. For this effort, Wanamaker was posthumously awarded the 1994 Society of London Theatre Award for Outstanding Achievement. Wanamaker got his start as a stage actor in summer stock productions during the 1930s. From 1943 to 1946, he served in the U.S. armed forces. By the 1950s, he had expanded his talents to directing, including *Purple Dust, The World of Sholem Aleichem*, and *The Three Penny Opera*. In Liverpool, he directed and acted at the New Shakespeare Theatre in the plays *A View From the Bridge, Tea & Sympathy, Finian's Rainbow, Cat on a Hot Tin Roof, King of Hearts, Bus Stop,* and *The Rose Tattoo.* He is well known for his depiction of Iago in *Othello.* Concurrent with his stage directing and acting, he established a film career in *Taras Bulba* (1962), *Those Magnificent Men in Their Flying Machines* (1965), *Death on the Nile* (1978), *Private Benjamin* (1980), *The Competition* (1980), and *Irreconcilable Differences* (1984). He began acting in TV in the 1970s, including roles in the TV series *Berringer's* (1984) and in the award-winning TV drama *Holocaust.*

[Amy Handelsman (2nd ed.)]

WANDERING JEW, figure in Christian legend condemned to wander by Jesus until his second coming for having rebuffed or struck him on his way to the crucifixion. The story has given rise to a variety of folktales and literature still flourishing into the 20th century. Like the image of the Jew in popular conception, the personality of and tales about the Wandering Jew reflect the beliefs and tastes of the age in which he is described. While in the era of Church dominion he inspires religious horror and exhortations to piety, the character is later used as a vehicle for social satire, and even appears as a tragic figure expressing a spirit of revolt against the Church and the established order. He also appears in his old role as a target for modern *antisemitism. The name Wandering Jew has been given to a card game, a game of dice, plants, and birds. The legend has obvious affinities with other tales of eternal wanderers, primarily Cain (with whom the Jewish people as a whole is identified by Christian homilists, beginning with *Tertullian (150–230)).

Origin

At first the legend had only indirect connections with the Jews. Its beginnings have been traced (by L. Neubauer, see bibliography) to the New Testament story of the high priest's officer who struck Jesus (John 18: 20–22); it subsequently became linked and equated with other figures and elements, and in particular was associated with sayings attributed to Jesus foretelling his second coming (Mat. 16: 28; John 21: 20). The legend changed, and details were added. This story of the sinner doomed to eternal life apparently circulated in oral tradition in the Near East and eastern Mediterranean as late as the 15th century.

When the legend appeared in Europe, it readily gave expression to the prevailing medieval anti-Jewish hostility. The first written account specifically mentioning a Jew condemned for his sin to live until Jesus' second coming is recorded in a 13th-century chronicle of Bolognese origin. This states that, in 1223, some pilgrims at the monastery of Ferrara related "that they had seen a certain Jew in Armenia who had been present at the Passion of the Lord, and, as He was going to His martyrdom, drove Him along wickedly with these words 'Go, go, thou tempter and seducer, to receive what you have earned.' Jesus is said to have answered him: 'I go, and you will await me until I come again.'" The Jew subsequently repented of the deed, converted to Christianity, and led an ascetic life while enduring his punishment (*Ignoti Monachi Cisterciencis S. Mariae de Ferraria Chronica…* ed. A. Gandenzi, 1888). The English chronicler Roger of Wendover relates in his *Flores Historiarum* for 1228 that an Armenian bishop visiting the monastery of St. Albans told substantially the same story, adding that the man had struck Jesus. The tale was incorporated by Matthew Paris (d. 1259) in his widely circulated *Chronica Majora*, and in many other writings – in entirety or mentioned – in chronicles, poems, tractates, pilgrim itineraries, and miracle plays, from the 13th to 16th centuries in Italy, Spain, France, and England. The scene with Jesus is said to have been painted by Andrea Vanni of Siena (d. 1414).

At the beginning of the 17th century a chapbook was printed in German which accentuated the anti-Jewish implications of the legend, and was to popularize it further and inaugurate its transposition to further literary genres. Evidently based on Matthew Paris' chronicle, it first appeared under different imprints in Germany dated 1602, entitled *Kurtze Beschreibung und Erzehlung von einem Juden mit Namen Ahasverus*. In the copy published under the imprint of "Christoff Creutzer of Leyden" it is related that Paulus von Eitzen, bishop of Schleswig, in the winter of 1542, when attending church in Hamburg, saw a tall man, dressed in threadbare garments, with long hair, standing barefoot in the chancel; whenever the name of Jesus was pronounced he bowed his head, beat his breast, and sighed profoundly. It was reported that he was a shoemaker named Ahasuerus who had cursed Jesus on his way to the crucifixion. On further questioning he related the historical events that had occurred since. He conversed in the language of the country he happened to be visiting. This version shows "Ahasuerus" as a fully fledged personification of the Jewish people, incorporating the themes of participation in the crucifixion, condemnation to eternal suffering until Jesus' second coming, and the bearing of witness to the truth of the Christian tradition. The description of his person suggests the well-known figure of the Jewish *peddler.

In former versions of the legend, the man who assailed Jesus is referred to by various names: Cartaphilus, Buttadeus, Buttadeo, Boutedieu, Votadio, Juan Espera en Dios. Subsequently the name Ahasuerus (then a cant name for Jew through the familiarity it achieved in *Purim plays) became the most common appellation of the Wandering Jew in later literature, though in French he is frequently called Isaac Laquedem (corrupted Hebrew for "Isaac the Old" or "from the East"). In the German connotation he appears in a distinctly anti-Jewish light, referred to as the "Eternal Jew" (Ger. *Der ewige Jude*), which in English and French versions became the "Wandering Jew" (*le Juif errant*).

Numerous reissues of the chapbook appeared in German in varying versions in the 17th century, nine of which are attributed to the authorship of a (pseudonymous) Chrystostum Dudulaeus Westphalus. It was translated or paraphrased into French (notably the *Histoire admirable du juif errant*, c. 1650, reprinted well into the 19th century), Danish (*Sandru Beskriffuelse*, 1621), Swedish (*Jerusalems Skomager*, 1643), Estonian (printed at Reval, 1613), and Italian (*Narrazione d'un Giudeo errante*, and others).

In Folktale

Well over 100 folktales have invested the legend of the Wandering Jew with many local variations in places far apart, e.g., when the moon is old, he is very very old, but when the moon is young he turns young again (Ukraine); he may only rest for as long as it takes to eat a morsel of white bread (Westphalia), and can only rest on two harrows or a plowshare (Denmark, Sweden). Throughout the Alps his appearance presaged some calamity. In France his passing was connected with storm, epidemics, or famine; 19th-century museums in Ulm and Berne even exhibited large shoes allegedly worn by the Wandering Jew. Mark Twain, in his *Innocents Abroad* (1869), summarizes a local version of the legend told in Jerusalem by his guide in the Via Dolorosa.

After 1600 the Jew was reported to have made his appearance in localities in numerous countries at various dates (among many: Luebeck, 1603; Paris, 1604; Brussels, 1640; Leipzig, 1642; Munich, 1721; London, 1818).

In Literature

In the 17th and 18th centuries the Wandering Jew was the subject of *complaintes* or lyric laments by French popular singers. In England a 17th-century ballad entitled "The Wandering Jew" was printed in Percy's *Reliques* (1765). *The Wandering Jew or Love's Masquerade*, a comedy by Andrew Franklin, was produced at Drury Lane, London, in 1797.

From the end of the 17th century the Wandering Jew was used to describe "at first hand" events in world history or remote corners of the earth. *Goethe planned an epic poem based on the legend to survey events in history and religion and the Church (begun c. 1773; pub. by J. Minor, *Goethes Fragmente vom ewigen Juden…* 1904). The Wandering Jew became a popular theme in Romantic literature, ushered in by the Swabian poet Christian Friedrich Daniel Schubart's *Der ewige Jude* (1783), a poem in which Ahasuerus, standing on Mt. Carmel and overcome by despair, recounts how he has vainly sought death in battle, fire, flood, and tempest. Shelley invests him in *Queen Mab* (1813) with Promethean dimensions as the rebel against the dictates of a tyrannical deity.

Other literary treatments of the legend include, in French, Edgar Quinet's modern morality play *Ahasverus* (1833); Eugène Sue's highly colored novel *Le Juif errant* (1844–45), an anti-Jesuit satire (filmed in France in 1926); and a novel by Dumas Père, *Isaac Laquedem* (Paris, 1853). Gustav Doré published 12 engravings illustrating the legend in 1856. There is a short satirical story by Guillaume Apollinaire (1910; translated into English by R.I. Hall, *The Wandering Jew*, 1965). In Danish, Hans Christian Andersen's drama, *Ahasverus*, was first staged in 1847. Among German writers, Karl Gutzkow (*Plan eines Ahasvers*, 1842) identifies him with the evil attributes of Judaism. Kierkegaard in his notes (1835–37) depicts Ahasuerus as a man whom God cursed and outlawed. To Maxim *Gorki Ahasuerus is a symbol of all Jews in "The Jewish Massacre." August Strindberg in a short poem dealt with Ahasuerus' difficulties in coping with the complexities of modern life (in *Ordalek och Smakonst*, Stockholm, 1905).

English and American literary treatments include George Croly's historical novel *Salathiel* (1827), Nathaniel Hawthorne's story in *Mosses from an Old Manse* (1846), Rudyard Kipling's "The Wandering Jew" (in *Life's Handicap*, 1891), a yarn by A.T. Quiller Couch (in *Old Fires and Profitable Ghosts*, 1900), and short stories by William Sydney Porter (O. Henry; in *Sixes and Sevens*. 1911), and John Galsworthy (*A Simple Tale*, 1914), and E. Temple Thurston's popular play *The Wandering Jew* (1920).

Another popular work was the erotic interpretation in the U.S. novel *My First Two Thousand Years* by G.S. Viereck and P. Eldbridge (1928).

Among Jewish authors who have used the legend as a symbol are Jaroslav Vrcblický, the Czech poet (in three poems between 1872 and 1902), Abraham Goldfaden (poem in Yiddish, *Evige Yude*, Frankfurt, 1880s), and David Pinski (a one-act Yiddish play *The Eternal Jew*, 1906). The Wandering Jew appears as the narrator in the biography of Jesus by Edmond Fleg (1933).

Movies include the Yiddish film *The Wandering Jew* (1933), starring Jacob Ben-Ami, and an English film of the same name with Conrad Veidt (1935).

The hatred of the old superstition is turned into understanding and blessing in the Danish Hans Hartvig Seedorf's poem "Ahasuerus and the Plough" (1961), in which Ahasuerus is bidden to rest on his plow and thus bless the earth: for by the Jew "stones become grapes/ and figs grow from sand./ Pass between lilies, thou son of Israel,/ into the Promised Land of desire."

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[Yvonne Glikson]

WANDSBECK, a district of Hamburg, N.W. Germany. Jews were permitted to settle in Wandsbeck in about 1600 by Count Breido Rantzau, when he saw the usefulness of the Jews in nearby Hamburg. The Wandsbeck community was Ashkenazi; they consecrated a cemetery in 1634. When in 1649 the Ukrainian refugees from the *Chmielnicki massacres were expelled from Hamburg, some of them settled in Wandsbeck. Jews from Wandsbeck visited the Leipzig fairs between 1678 and 1748. From 1671 until 1811 the *Altona, *Hamburg, and Wandsbeck communities were united (AHW). From 1688 some Ashkenazi Jews from Hamburg belonged to the Wandsbeck community, but from 1710, when Ashkenazi Jews were allowed to live in Hamburg, the importance of the Wandsbeck community declined. In 1734 there were 123 Jewish families; they had a synagogue in Peterstrasse.

A number of Hebrew books were printed in Wandsbeck between 1688 and 1722. With the arrival in Wandsbeck in 1726 of Israel b. Abraham Halle, the proselyte printer, a serious printing venture began, which owed its inspiration to Moses *Ḥagiz, who was the official censor. Between 1726 and 1733 not fewer than 23 (Bamberger), but perhaps as many as 40, items were issued here, many of them works of Ḥagiz himself.

After the disbandment of the united communities (AHW), the Wandsbeck Jews came under the jurisdiction of the Altona rabbi until 1864, when they elected their own rabbi. In 1905 there were 60 Jewish families in Wandsbeck.

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[Zvi Avneri]

WANNEH, ISAAC BEN ABRAHAM (**Mahariv**; mid-17th century), Yemenite kabbalist. His works and the kabbalistic books which Wanneh copied assisted the propagation of *Kabbalah in *Yemen. His most important enterprise was the arranging of the Yemenite *maḥzor* on the basis of the Kabbalah and its interpretations. With the penetration of the printed *maḥzorim* of the Sephardi rite into Yemen, Wanneh ranked among the faction which was inclined toward the newer version that was inspired by the sanctity of Ereẓ Israel and the mystic conceptions of the kabbalists of *Safed. He enlarged the text of the prayers of Yemenite Jewry with numerous additions of prayers and *piyyutim* which were written by kabbalists, especially those for the Sabbath and festivals. The *maḥzor* which he introduced is a synthesis of the old and the new. His commentary, which is based on the plain and homiletic meanings and the Kabbalah, is the first commentary to have been written to the Yemenite prayer book. He entitled this book Pa'amon Zahav ve-Rimmon (Ms. Sassoon, 337), but it is called *Ḥiddushin* ("Novellae") by the copyists.

His other works include a commentary on *Maimonides' laws of ritual slaughter and the forbidden foods (Bodleian Library, Ms. Heb. f. 8, fol. 187); *Rekhev Elohim*, an explanation on the subjects of the *sefirot* and the Divine chariot; *Tikkun Seder Hashkamat ha-Keri'ah ba-Laylah; Bat Melekh; Mevasser Tov*, which appears to deal with the Messiah and the Redemption, but only its name is known. He is also renowned in popular legend as a miracle worker.

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[Yehuda Ratzaby]

WANNSEE CONFERENCE. The "Wannsee Conference," as it became known after the war, was a high-level meeting that took place on January 20, 1942, to discuss the "Final Solution" of the Jewish Question. The meeting had been called by Reinhard *Heydrich, the head of the Reich Security Main Office (Reichsicherheitshauptamt, or RSHA), which controlled both the Nazi Security Police (Gestapo and Kriminalpolizei) and the SS intelligence service (Sicherheitsdienst, or SD). Heydrich had invited some 14 senior SS officers, Nazi Party officials, and civil servants to meet originally on December 9, 1941, but fallout from the Japanese invasion of Pearl Harbor and a temporary worsening of the situation on the Eastern Front led to postponement. The gathering finally convened on January 20 in a splendid villa on the shores of Berlin's Lake

Wannsee. One of Heydrich's subordinates, Adolf *Eichmann, took minutes, 30 copies of which were evidently distributed among the participants and other interested parties in the following weeks. The only surviving copy, marked No. 16 out of 30, was found in March 1947 among German Foreign Office files by American War Crimes investigators. After that discovery, the minutes, or "Wannsee Protocol," rapidly attained postwar notoriety.

The document's resonance derived above all from the coldly bureaucratic clarity with which it articulated a pan-European plan of genocide. The minutes are summary rather than verbatim, so we cannot be sure of all that was said, but the principal element of the conference was evidently Heydrich's lengthy exposition of past, present, and future policies. Some parts of the minutes were shrouded in euphemism, as when Heydrich discussed what the Protocol refers to as "new possibilities in the East." A table slated 11 million European Jews, listed by country, for inclusion in these "possibilities." Because of such euphemisms, Holocaust deniers among others have claimed that murder was not on the agenda, but elsewhere the Protocol is unequivocal:

> In large, single-sex labor columns, Jews fit to work will work their way eastwards constructing roads. Doubtless the large majority will be eliminated by natural causes. Any final remnant that survives will doubtless consist of the most resistant elements. They will have to be dealt with appropriately, because otherwise, by natural selection, they would form the germ cell of a new Jewish revival.

As far as we can tell from the minutes, other contemporary sources, and postwar testimony, none of the participants, many coming from dignified, well-established ministries that had long predated the Nazi state – the Ministry of the Interior, the Ministry of Justice, the Foreign Ministry, and the Reich Chancellery – protested. For the U.S. investigators after the war, a leading member of whom was Robert Kempner, formerly a high-flying (Jewish) civil servant in the pre-1933 Prussian Justice Ministry, it was almost incredible that such educated and apparently civilized men, eight of them holding doctorates, had concurred with such a plan. As a symbol of the calm and orderly governance of genocide, the Protocol remains without parallel.

For all the minutes' shocking clarity, historians have found it hard to reach agreement over the Wannsee Conference's function and significance. Some copies of the invitations to the meeting survive, and both their wording and Heydrich's opening remarks suggest that the Wannsee gathering was needed to clarify fundamental issues before the full "solution" was inaugurated. For early postwar observers, credence was lent to the idea of Wannsee's centrality in planning the "Final Solution" by wartime statements of the governor general of German-occupied Poland, Hans *Frank, which had already come to light before the Wannsee Protocol itself was found. Around the time the Wannsee meeting had originally been scheduled to take place, Hans Frank had alluded to fundamental discussions on the Jewish question concurrently taking place in Berlin. When coupled with the Protocol's systematic listing of all European Jews slated for "solution," many postwar observers believed it was at the Wannsee Conference that genocide had been decided upon. Yet what made this unlikely was the fact that mass killings of Jews had begun on the territory of the Soviet Union six months *before* the meeting, and that by the time Heydrich and his guests convened in Wannsee preparations for the Belzec camp were well underway, and the Chelmno death camp was murdering at full tilt. Moreover, there was the question of who had the power to make such decisions in Nazi Germany. Neither Heydrich nor his guests were in a position to unleash the Final Solution. Historians tend to believe those decisions lay with Hitler and Himmler.

Historians have therefore long debated how to interpret a meeting that claimed fundamental significance yet came so late in the day. The absence of any record of a clear Fuehrer order to kill Europe's Jews, and the rather ragged process by which killings expanded from shootings in the Soviet Union to a pan-European shooting and gassing program, have led historians to a variety of interpretations of the Holocaust's origins. Thus their conclusions about Wannsee's function have differed in line with their broader understanding of the Final Solution. Those who believe a fundamental command to kill Europe's Jews was given in July 1941 or indeed earlier, for example, see the Wannsee meeting as at best of secondary interest and sometimes as an almost entirely symbolic affair. For those scholars, by contrast, who believe that a decision to murder all European Jews – as opposed to the Soviet killings – crystallized piecemeal over the second half of 1941, the meeting's timing makes more sense as a response to an emerging consensus among Nazi leadership about the way to go forward. Something that may also have affected the timing of the meeting was the negative reaction among some Berlin officials to the rapidly disseminated news that Berlin Jews had been included in mass shootings in the Soviet Union toward the end of November 1941. These shootings in Kovno and Riga in November signaled the first mass executions of German Jews, something that had a different psychological significance than the already familiar content of reports about the murder of Russian and East European Jews. Wannsee may thus have been convened partly to ensure that the Reich's ministries were on board with the program.

What we can say with certainty is that Heydrich had invited many of the agencies with whom he and his RSHA staff had regularly clashed over lines of authority. Indeed, representatives of Hans Frank's civilian authority in the Polish General Government were, along with their SS counterparts, added only as an afterthought after an SS representative from Poland visiting Himmler in Berlin complained about Frank's resistance to the SS mandate. Heydrich's aim was clearly to impose the SS' and specifically his leadership on the Jewish question. To suppress any latent opposition to the deportation of more German Jews, he wanted to obtain agreement on any special categories to be exempted – highly decorated Jewish veterans from World War I and so forth. A substantial element of the

Protocol consists of detailed discussion of how to deal with special and borderline categories. Echoing proposals long articulated by Party radicals, Heydrich sought to overturn most of the special exemptions for the so-called *Mischlinge* (half-Jews and quarter-Jews) and also for Jews in mixed marriages that the Ministry of the Interior and the Reich Chancellery had thus far managed to maintain. This was the one significant area in which the Protocol records any counter-proposals to Heydrich's own suggestions, although in advocating the "compromise" of sterilizing all half-Jews, the Interior Ministry's Wilhelm Stuckart went much further in Heydrich's direction than had previously been the case.

Historians disagree too about the Conference's impact. Some contemporary documents as well as postwar testimony suggest that Reinhard Heydrich was very pleased with the meeting's outcome. It is certainly the case that both the deportation of German Jews, and the killing rate of Polish Jews rapidly accelerated in the spring, though how far this had been facilitated by the meeting itself is unclear. On the matter of the *Mischlinge,* follow-up meetings showed that considerable resistance to their being equated with "full Jews" remained, and in this regard Heydrich did not achieve the breakthrough he had hoped for.

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[Mark Roseman (2nd ed.)]

WAQQĀṢA (or **Ruqqasa**), Moroccan family known in *Ceuta and *Fez from the 13th century. The Waqqāṣa family maintained contacts with the first *Merinid princes, particularly with the future sultan Abū-Yaʿqūb Yūsuf, whose private affairs they managed. According to the historian Ibn Khaldūn (14th century), the family encouraged the ruler's desire for wine. The Waqqāṣas' influence grew within the retinue of the prince, and when Abu-Yaʿqūb ascended the throne in 1286, he chose KHALIFA BEN ḤAYUN BEN WAQQĀṢA, known as Khalīfa al-Kabīr (Khalifa the Elder), first as *qahramān al-dār* (palace intendant) and then officially as chamberlain with very extensive powers. From then onward the Waqqāṣas dominated the viziers and other Muslim officials of the government and provided a growing number of intendants and stewards. Khalīfa al-Kabīr, who was very favorably looked upon by the sovereign and had amassed an immense fortune, acted as a dictator with unlimited powers. He was assisted by his brother ABRAHAM, his brother-in-law Moses Sebti, and his cousin KHALĪFA AL-ṢAGHĪR (Khalifa the Younger), who shared their relative's powers in every sphere. The vizier Abdallah ben Abu-Medyen, who was jealous of their position, plotted against them, succeeded in slandering them before the sovereign, and suggested a method of striking out at them. They were suddenly disgraced and arrested near *Tlemcen, which was besieged at the time by the Merinid army. Khalīfa al-Kabīr and all his relatives were executed in 1302, the only exception being Khalīfa al-Ṣaghīr. The latter subsequently entered the service of another sultan, Abu Rabīʿa, and became an all-powerful chamberlain. The kings of Aragon flattered this great personality and sent emissaries to him to assist them in inducing the sultan to join in an alliance against the kingdom of Grenada. Prior to this, Khalīfa al-Ṣaghīr found the opportunity to take vengeance against the vizier Abu-Medyen, who was put to death on the basis of the former's accusations. New intrigues subsequently resulted in the execution of Khalīfa al-Ṣaghīr and his entire retinue in 1309.

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[David Corcos]

WAR AND WARFARE.

TO THE DESTRUCTION OF THE FIRST TEMPLE

The methods of offensive and defensive warfare developed side by side in the Ancient Near East. The development of weapons was dependent upon the supply of raw materials, such as stone, metal, and wood; the technical developments of the period, e.g., the development of a metallurgical industry, the manner in which wood was treated, and that in which different materials, such as wood and metal, were joined; and the need, i.e., whether methods of warfare developed by one country necessitated corresponding developments to counteract them by a rival country.

Weapons

THE EARLY BRONZE AGE (C. 3150–2200 B.C.E.). The beginning of urbanization and the consequent development of more sophisticated armies in the Early Bronze Age also brought about the development of more sophisticated weapons, and the first metal weapons appear at this time. Several types of bows (Heb. קֶשֶׁת, *keshet* (*qeshet*)) are known in this period: the simple double-convex Egyptian bow; the early Mesopotamian bow, shaped like a simple curve; and the composite bow, developed by the Akkadians in the second half of the third millennium. Arrows (Heb. חֵץ, *ḥez*) were hollow reed shafts, their bases usually feathered. Arrowheads were at first made of flint and later of metal. Tubular leather quivers (Heb. אַשְׁפָּה, *ʾashpah*) with circular bases have been found in Egypt. The spear (Heb. רֹמַח, *romaḥ*) was used for hand-to-hand combat (Num. 25:7–8) while the javelin (Heb. חֲנִית, *ḥanit*), a smaller and lighter weapon, was thrown from a distance (I Sam. 18:11). Spearheads found in Palestine (Kefar Monash and Tell el-Hesi) are triangular with a protuberant midrib and a tang terminating in a hood, which was fitted into the staff. The sword (Heb. חֶרֶב, *ḥerev*, also used for dagger), battle-ax, and mace were the principal weapons used on the battlefield. The technical limitations of the period for the production of long and tough metal blades were the main obstacle in the development of the sword as a basic weapon. At this time, swords were straight, double-edged, and pointed, an average of 10 in. (25 cm.) in length. They were designed mainly for stabbing, as if they were daggers. A second type of sword, the sickle-sword, developed in Mesopotamia in the second half of the third millennium B.C.E., was used for striking. There were two types of axes (Heb. גַּרְזֶן, *garzen*): the cutting ax and the piercing ax, developed as an answer to the metal helmet. Technically, they are divided into two groups according to the manner in which they were attached to the wooden staff: the shaft-holed axes and the tangled axes, both of which were developed in this period. The Sumerian infantry, for which there is the most information on military dress in this period, wore sleeveless leather vests with metal studs, presumably the earliest known coats of mail. Their metal helmets (Heb. קוֹבַע, *kova* (*qova*ʿ)) were slightly pointed, and they carried large rectangular shields (Heb. מָגֵן צִנָּה, *magen ẓinnah*) of wood and leather (?) to which a metal disk was attached.

Chariots (Heb. מֶרְכָּבָה, *merkavah*; רֶכֶב, *rekhev* is mostly collective, "chariotry") were not weapons in themselves but were used as mobile firing bases. They had to fulfill two basic requirements: stability and speed. These contradictory functions followed the development of the chariot, which was first evolved by the Sumerians at the beginning of the third millennium B.C.E. Two-wheeled and four-wheeled chariots are evident at this time, both drawn by two pairs of horses.

THE MIDDLE BRONZE AGE (THE AGE OF THE PATRIARCHS; C. 2200–1550 B.C.E.). The most advanced type of bow, the composite bow, was developed in Akkad in the second half of the third millennium (see above). While the highly technical skill that the bow required is not evident among the nomads who penetrated and conquered Syria and Mesopotamia, the appearance of the composite bow fully developed at the beginning of the Late Bronze Age shows that composite bows were in use in the Middle Bronze Age. Most of the data on bows comes from Egypt. The conservative Egyptians continued to use the simple double-convex bow, as seen in the wall paintings at Beni-Hasan, and the Asiatics in the same painting also carry this bow. Also portrayed is a workshop for the manufacture of bows, and the use of the bow in battle. Quivers did not change much, and the Egyptian ones have the same form as earlier ones. The same type of quiver is carried by one of the Asiatics in the Beni-Hasan wall painting.

Spears and javelins are divided into two types according to the method of attachment to the wooden staff: the tanged head and the socketed head. Tanged javelin heads have been found mainly in the tombs of the nomadic peoples of Middle Bronze Age I. The blade is typically leaf-shaped, with a long tang ending in a hook. With the javelin-heads have been found pointed metal skewers, also with long hooked tangs, which were presumably the butt ends of the javelin (Heb. אַחֲרֵי הַחֲנִית, *ʾaḥarei ha-ḥanit*), used either as weapons (II Sam. 2:23) or to stick the weapon into the ground when not in use (I Sam. 26:7). The socketed javelin head appears at the time of the Hyksos. Both the javelin head and the socket were cast in the same mold, the socket being wrought into shape afterward. The sicklesword, used for striking, was modified in the Middle Bronze Age, when it was made in a mold and the handle was attached to the hilt by a metal rivet. The length of the handle was twice as long as the blade. Several well-preserved examples have been found at Byblos, Shechem, and in Egypt. The dagger-sword was also developed in this period. Those of Middle Bronze Age I, found mostly in tombs, are straight and narrow, with a prominent central spine. The hilt was made together with the blade and had up to ten rivets. From their length of approximately 12 to 15 in. (30 to 40 cm.) it can be assumed that they were used for striking and thrusting. While the sickle-sword was used for striking, broader and shorter daggers for stabbing also appear at this time (Middle Bronze Age II B-C). In accordance with their function, they were strengthened by ribs and a central spine. The hilt was made together with the blade and a crescent-shaped stone or metal piece served as a pommel. While the development of the sword as the main weapon of the infantry lagged because of technical difficulties, the battle-ax that replaced it in hand-to-hand combat made rapid technical advances. The blade of the lugged, tanged ax is narrower and longer than previously, and the cutting edge is shaped like a crescent, and is wider than the rest of the blade. Such axes were used by the Egyptian army as piercing axes until the beginning of the New Kingdom. The triple-tanged ax was used at the beginning of the Middle Kingdom in Egypt mainly as a cutting ax. Demand for a special ax for piercing metal helmets gave rise to several changes in this ax. One of the axes developed to serve this need was the "eye ax," used in the 20th–19th centuries B.C.E. The three tangs of this ax ended in a semicircular shaft, thus forming two "eyes." Such axes were used in the 12th dynasty period and in Palestine, Syria, and Anatolia, and a group of ceremonial gold "eye-axes" have been found at Byblos. In Syria and Palestine in the 19th century, the "eye-ax" was developed into the "duck-bill" ax, which had a longer blade, a narrower cutting edge, and narrower oblong "eyes," which gave the ax its name. The haft was curved to prevent its slipping from the hand. Such axes were found mainly in Syria, and one of the Asiatics in the Beni-Hasan wall painting carries one. Shaft-holed axes, the typical piercing battle-ax, appear in Syria and Palestine in the 18th century B.C.E. and were used throughout Middle Bronze Age II. The forerunner of this ax was used in the Akkadian army. It has a long and very narrow blade, with a shaft no wider than the blade. Technical changes usually consisted of a strengthening of the shaft and a better means of connection between the haft and the blade.

Data from the Middle Bronze Age provide no information on the development of the means for personal protection and the chariot. However, the highly technical advances made at the beginning of the Late Bronze Age could not have been developed in a vacuum and presumably the personal equipment of this period was similar to that of the succeeding period (see below).

THE LATE BRONZE AGE (1550–1200 B.C.E.). The composite bow, made of wood from birch trees (?), tendons of wild bulls, horns of wild goats, and sinews from the hocks of bulls (Aqhat A, tablet 6, lines 20–23; Pritchard, Texts, 151), was the only type of bow used by archers in this period. The highly technical skill required for its manufacture made it the weapon of the armies of the empires and of the wealthy ruling class of the city-states. The two basic types, triangular and bi-concave, were both used during the same period. The triangular bow is shaped like a shallow isosceles triangle with a wide-angled peak. The arms of the bi-concave bow curve near the ends at the points to which the string is attached. A special bow case was attached to the Egyptian chariot, the bow being the main weapon of Egyptian charioteers. The charioteer had a quiver attached to the right side of the chariot and sometimes additional ones on his shoulders. Quivers, made of leather with a shoulder strap, remained long and cylindrical, and each contained 25 to 30 arrows. Arrowheads were leaf-shaped with a central ridge. To train soldiers in the operation of the bow, on foot or while driving a chariot, special training programs were devised, in which ranges and target shooting were employed (I Sam. 20:20–22). Spears and javelins did not change much from those of the Middle Bronze Age. They were used by the infantry of all armies, especially by the assault phalanx. They were the main weapon of Hittite charioteers, while Egyptian charioteers used the bow, as is clearly seen in the reliefs portraying the battle of Kadesh. Improvements in the melting and casting of metal are evident in the swords and daggers of this period. For the first time, the complete weapon – blade, hilt, and handle – was cast in a single mold for additional strengthening of the weapon. The sickle-sword remained the main type of sword, but the relative sizes of the hilt and handle became 1:1. Daggers were straight and narrow, the handle becoming part of the blade. The handle of both the sickle-sword and the dagger was molded with side flanges, the resulting recess in the center of the handle perhaps being filled by plates. At the end of the period, due to the influence of the Sea Peoples, a straight, long sword took the place of the sickle-sword. The two main types of battle-axes continued in this period. The Egyptians still used the tanged ax-head with extended lugs for better attachment to the wood haft. This ax-head, with a crescent-shaped cutting edge, was used throughout the period with only small changes. The blade was shortened and the cutting edge narrowed. The socketed battle-ax, mainly used by armies of the northern countries, underwent slight changes. The blade was widened and prongs were attached to the socket opposite the blade. This type of ax disappeared at the beginning of the Iron Age.

The development of the piercing battle-ax and the composite bow necessitated a development in personal defense. Body armor was composed of leather or rough cloth, to which oblong scales made of thin leaves of bronze were attached. The size of the scales varied according to their position on the coat. According to the Nuzi tablets, each coat of chain mail contained 400 to 600 scales. Such armor had several disadvantages: weight, cost, and the joints at the sleeves, between the scales, and at the collar, which were the weakest points (I Kings 22:34). Chain mail was used by charioteers and archers, as well as for protection of the chariots and horses. Several outfits have been found in Egypt, Syria, Palestine, and Mesopotamia, and they are represented in the wall reliefs of the Egyptian kings, especially in the chariot reliefs of Thutmose IV and those of Ramses II portraying the battle of Kadesh. Several types of helmets were used by the Late Bronze Age soldiers. The Canaanites wore a round metal helmet that covered the back of the neck but exposed the ears, as represented on the carved ivory plaque from Megiddo. The Asiatics that fought Thutmose IV wore slightly pointed helmets covered by feathers or decorated leather, with a tassel attached to the crown and knotted at the back like a plait. The Hittite helmet as represented on the King's Gate at Boghazköy is pointed with well-defined ear and neck shields and a long tassel. Another type of Hittite helmet is shown in the reliefs of the battle of Kadesh, in which Hittite charioteers wear round helmets covering the neck and exposing the ears. The pharaoh had a special battle crown known as the Blue Crown. The development of armor resulted in a reduction in the size of the shield, which was composed of a wooden frame covered with leather. The Egyptians used a small oblong shield with a round top. A metal disk was later added at the top. The Hittites carried a shield shaped like the number eight. The Canaanite shield was small and rectangular and was later replaced by a small round shield.

The chariot reached a high point of development in this period. It was brought to Egypt by the Hyksos, and the Egyptian chariots of the 16th–15th centuries are imitations of the Canaanite ones. The Egyptian chariots were light, with two wheels, a pole, and a yoke to which two horses were harnessed. The earlier chariots were lighter, with four-spoked wheels and an axle-rod placed near the rear of the body. The frame was constructed of wood and partly covered with leather or light wood. The pole ran underneath the body for additional support, and a double-convex yoke was nailed at the forward end. Chariots of the 14th–13th centuries B.C.E., such as that of Ramses II, were heavier with six-spoked wheels and an axle-tree at the rear of the body. The Egyptian chariot was built to carry a driver and an archer. A bow case and quiver were attached to it. While Canaanite chariots were copied by the Egyptians at the beginning of the period, under Egyptian rule in Canaan, Egyptian chariots were copied by the Canaanites, as seen in the ivory plaque from Megiddo. Hittite chariots, as represented on the reliefs of Ramses II portraying the battle of Kadesh, were heavier, with six-spoked wheels and an axle-tree placed under the middle of the chariot or near the rear. Two horses were harnessed to it, and a driver, a javelin hurler, and a shield bearer rode in it. While the Egyptians employed their chariots as mobile bases for the archers, the Hittites used them as mobile bases for the infantry, which was armed with javelins and capable of fighting as infantry without the chariots.

The principles of warfare as known today were also employed in the Ancient Near East. The techniques included surprise attack, ambush, concentration of power, methods to ensure maximum mobility, and the interconnected use of different forces of the army. Battles usually were fought on the main roads, such as the battle of Megiddo between Thutmose III and the Syro-Palestine coalition headed by the king of Kadesh. Prior to this battle in the summer of 1468 B.C.E., Thutmose III and his army, which included chariots and infantry, camped at Yehem (Kh. Yama (?)), where the pharaoh received the latest intelligence information concerning the king of Kadesh and his allies, who were reportedly waiting for him near Megiddo. A staff meeting with the Egyptian commanders was held and the three possible approaches to Megiddo were discussed. The commanders preferred to march along the easier routes, the southern one, via Taanach, or the northern one, via Djefti. They argued against the use of the main route via the wadi ʿAruna, because the way becomes narrow and they would be forced to march "one man behind the other, and one horse behind the other." Thutmose III, however, decided to take the more dangerous route on principles of honor and for the sake of achieving a tactical surprise. The entire Egyptian force marched through the pass, in a long procession without encountering any resistance or harassment, regrouped, chose the ground on which the battle would be fought, and won the battle. The Egyptian army, instead of pursuing the fleeing Canaanites, began to loot the camp. Thus the Canaanites managed to take refuge in Megiddo, and it took the pharaoh seven more months of siege to conquer the city and break the rebellion.

Further data concerning the conduct of war are given in the Egyptian description of the battle of Kadesh on the Orontes. In the summer of 1286 Ramses II marched to Syria to check the advance of the Hittites, taking with him four brigades. Before he crossed the Orontes, two *Shosu* (Bedouin) came to his camp and gave him false information – that the Hittites were camping at Aleppo to the north of Kadesh. Acting on this information, Ramses II divided his forces and headed for Kadesh with only two brigades, those of Amon and Re. He arrived at Kadesh with the leading Amon brigade, and while he encamped, his scouts discovered the Hittite army hidden beyond the city of Kadesh. The Hittite chariots then attacked, destroyed the Re brigade while it was marching unawares toward the city, and then struck north, breaking into the fortified camp of the pharaoh. Only the leadership and valor of Ramses and the employment of his reserve brigade saved the Egyptians from total defeat. A mere glimpse of the military tactics of the armies is given in the descriptions of these two battles. However, they reveal that these armies were aware of the advantages of surprise attack, the importance of military intelligence, the deployment of armies marching into battle (with or without a defended flank according to the terrain and the time of day), the division of the army into separate chariot and infantry units, and military discipline.

THE IRON AGE (THE PERIOD OF THE JUDGES AND THE UNITED KINGDOM; 1200–900 B.C.E.). After a period of decline at the beginning of the period, the bow continued in the tradition of the Late Bronze Age. The composite bow was used by all armies. Changes in the shape of quivers and arrows were marginal. Arrowheads lost their protruding spine and some of those found in Palestine and Syria carried inscriptions, such as "the arrow of ʿAbdlabiʾat" (חץ עבדלבאת). The sling, essentially a shepherd's weapon, also appears on the battlefield, as in the confrontation of David and Goliath (I Sam. 17).

The spear and the javelin, along with the sword and the bow, were the basic weapons of the infantry. Deborah lamented that her army was not prepared because it lacked spears: "Was there a shield or spear among forty thousand in Israel?" (Judg. 5:8). The main type was a shaft-holed spearhead with a long blade and a very broad midrib. The finest description of these weapons occurs in that of Goliath's armament (I Sam. 17:5–7): he had a special hurling javelin, with a finger-loop like a "weaver's beam" on the shaft. Under the influence of the Philistines, the sickle-sword changed into a long, straight iron sword used for cutting and thrusting. Since the smiths at that time were all Philistine, the Israelites were not able to produce similar swords (I Sam. 13:19). The new type of sword, described in Judges 3:16, replaced the sickle-sword as the basic weapon.

The Philistines brought with them weapons that had been developed in the Aegean. In the wall reliefs of Ramses III at Medinet Habu, each group of Sea Peoples wore slightly different helmets and armor, perhaps as a tribal distinction. The Philistines wore feather-crested helmets, while the other groups wore horned helmets or helmets with disks and horns. The body was protected by a coat of armor made of numerous metal strips laid at angles to each other, thus forming inverted V's or V's, depending upon the tribe. The lower part of the body was protected by a kilt with two strips of leather (?) forming a cross in the front. The Philistine army fought in groups of four, each soldier armed with either a long sword or a pair of spears, and protected by a round wood and leather shield. In hand-to-hand combat, the duelist, like Goliath, was protected by a man-sized shield carried by a special shield bearer (I Sam. 17:7). The bow and the battle-ax were not included in the Philistine arsenal. While the bow remained a decisive weapon on the battlefield, the long, straight-bladed sword took the place of the ax. It is interesting to compare the dress and weapons of Goliath with those of David. The former had, besides a sword (I Sam. 17:51), "a helmet of brass upon his head, and he was clad with a coat of mail, and the weight of the coat was 5,000 shekels of brass. And he had greaves of brass upon his legs, and a javelin of brass between his shoulders. And the shaft of his spear was like a weaver's bow; and his spear's head weighed six hundred shekels of iron; and his shield bearer went before him" (I Sam. 17:5–7). David was clad in Saul's "apparel, and he [Saul] put a helmet of brass upon his head, and he clad him with a coat of mail. And David girded his sword upon his apparel" (I Sam. 17:38–39).

While the Egyptian army continued to use the same type of chariot as was used in the Late Bronze Age, the Philistines employed a heavy chariot with six-spoked wheels and a crew of three, armed with hurling javelins like the Hittite charioteers. The Israelite tribes, when settling in the hill country, "drove out the inhabitants of the hill country, for he [Judah] was unable to drive out the inhabitants of the valley, because they had chariots of iron" (Judg. 1:19). The tribal army of Deborah and Barak was victorious over the chariots of Sisera in a battle in the Jezreel Valley (Judg. 4:13–15). David and Solomon were the first to form chariot squadrons in the Israelite army, and Solomon built special cities for chariots (I Kings 10:26; II Chron. 1:14). At the same time, Solomon was the main trader in horses and chariots between Egypt and the Hittites (I Kings 10:28–29).

The technique of night attack can be seen in the description of the battle between Gideon and the Midianites (Judg. 6–8), the latter being mounted on camels. The army of Gideon encamped "beside En-Harod; and the camp of Midian was on the north side of them, by Gibeath-Moreh, in the valley." After the Israelites had assembled, Gideon chose only 300 of them, for a surprise night attack requires only a small number of men. Before the attack, Gideon reconnoitered outside the Midian camp. His plan of attack was simple, with the 300 men divided into three companies under the leadership of Gideon, an agreed signal, and the battle cry of "For the Lord and for Gideon." After a timetable for the attack was set, the Israelites attacked the enemy camp during the changing of the guard. The attack was executed according to plan and the enemy was put to flight. Gideon asked the Ephraimites to block the retreat of the Midianites across the Jordan, while he and his army pursued the fleeing enemy until it was destroyed and the Midianite kings captured.

THE IRON AGE: THE KINGDOMS OF ISRAEL AND JUDAH (900–586 B.C.E.). The main sources of this period for information on the military organization are the wall reliefs found in the palaces of the Assyrian kings. The prophet Isaiah describes the character and great strength of the Assyrian army (5:26–28), which was imitated by the other armies of the ancient Near East. The army was divided into three forces – infantry, cavalry, and chariots – as described in the Bible: "And muster an army like the army that you have lost, horse for horse, and chariot for chariot" (I Kings 20:25); "For there was not left to Jehoahaz of the people save fifty horsemen and ten chariots and 10,000 footmen" (II Kings 13:7). Besides his special weapons, each soldier had a basic armament of a sword, a coat of mail, and a helmet. The design of this basic armament was slightly changed from the reign of one king to the other. The iron sword was long and straight with a double edge, and the handle was constructed to fit to the fingers. It was carried in a sheath shaped like the sword, and a floral decoration was occasionally added near the opening and the base. The sheath was hooked to the belt on the left side and held in place by a leather strap that circled the left shoulder. The coat of armor, shaped like a sack with an opening for the head and short sleeves, was full-length in the ninth century B.C.E. A special scarf of scales used by archers connected the helmet to the armor. In the eighth and seventh centuries the chain mail dress was shortened into a shirt. The shape of metal helmets varied from conical and pointed to feather-crested, according to the troops wearing them and the reigning king.

The infantry (Heb. *ragli, ish ragli*; I Kings 20:29) was divided into four groups: archers (Heb. *dorekhei qeshet*; Jer. 50:14; *nosheqei qeshet*; I Chron. 12:2), slingers (Heb. *kalla'im*; II Kings 3:25), spearmen (Heb. *ʿorekhei ẓinnah wa-romaḥ;* I Chron. 12:9), and auxiliaries. While the spearmen, the assault troops of the army, defended themselves with shields which were rectangular, round, or curved with a round top, depending upon the period, the archers and the slingers were without shields, and special shield bearers were attached to their companies. The infantry took part in battles in the open field and in assaults on fortified cities with no change in their equipment. The cavalry (Heb. *parashim*) only participated in open field engagements and were equipped with either bows or spears. While mounted spearmen defended themselves with round shields, mounted archers, who needed the use of both hands in combat, were protected by mounted shield bearers. The cavalry operated either as independent units or as a mobile defense for the chariots. Chariots (Heb. *rekhev, ḥeil rekhev*) as the main assault force underwent many changes in Assyrian military history. The earliest known ones, those of Ashurnaṣirpal II (883–859 B.C.E.), were heavier than those known from the preceding period. Each had six-spoked wheels of medium size, an axle-rod at the rear of the body, and a heavy pole. Two horses were harnessed to it and a third, riding as an outrigger, was held in reserve. The crew consisted of a driver, who also served as a spearman, and an archer. A shield bearer was added to the king's chariot. The chariots of Tiglath-Pileser III (745–727 B.C.E.) are heavier still, and the wheels are larger with eight spokes. A driver, archer, and shield bearer rode in the chariot, the latter protecting the others with two round shields. The number of horses and, correspondingly, of yokes was increased to four. The tendency of the kings following Tiglath-Pileser III was to build heavier chariots. In the time of Ashurbanipal (668–630 B.C.E.), the crew numbered four – a driver, an archer, and two shield bearers.

A complicated description of the battle between Ahab and Ben-Hadad of Aram is given in I Kings 20:1–23. This battle took place in the Samarian Hills, and the Arameans blamed their defeat on the fact that the Israelite God "is a God of the hills; therefore they were stronger than we; but let us fight against them in the plain, and surely we shall be stronger than they." Subsequently, a second battle was fought in the plain of Aphek in the Golan (I Kings 20:23–30). The two armies faced each other for seven days before finally joining battle, which the Arameans again lost.

Fortifications

THE EARLY BRONZE AGE (C. 3150–2200 B.C.E.). The widespread urbanization which had its beginnings in this period created a need for a developed civic organization, a central administration, and the means for defense of the city. Armies were created, and military engineers designed city walls and inner citadels, fortified city gates and bastions. Posterns were built into the city wall for use in counterattack. The achievements of these engineers have been preserved in the monuments and remains uncovered by archaeologists. The earliest plans of fortified cities are preserved on the ceremonial slate palettes of the late pre-Dynastic period in Egypt (late 4th millennium). These show square or rectangular fortified cities with wide walls, square towers, and a parapet around the top for protection of the defenders. Three fortified enclosures dating to the Second Dynasty in Egypt were found at Hierakonpolis and Abydos. Incomplete fortifications that have been uncovered in Palestine usually have very thick walls, 13–26 ft. (4–8 m.) thick, built of the materials available in the region, i.e., of either stone or brick or a combination of the two, the stone forming the foundation and the brick the superstructure. Such walls were found at Megiddo, Ai, Bet-Yeraḥ, and Jericho. They were fortified with semicircular towers, as at Ai, Arad, and Jericho (and as represented in a wall relief from Deshashah in Egypt, detailing the Egyptian assault of a Syrian city), and/or with rectangular towers as at Tell el-Far'ah (biblical Tirzah), Jericho, and Ai. City gates are of two types. At Tell el-Far'ah and Jericho passageways flanked by two protruding towers were found. The second type, as found at Khirbet et-Tabaik (Rosh ha-Nikrah), features an indirect approach between the inner and outer entrances, thus forcing the attacker to turn in the middle of the attack. The forerunners of certain methods of fortification which occur in a more advanced form in the Middle Bronze Age were found in this period. Thus a primitive glacis was uncovered at Gezer, Tel ʿAierani, and Taanach, and a small fosse (moat) at Jericho.

Three methods were employed to conquer a fortified city: direct approach, i.e., penetrating the wall by breaching, climbing it, or digging a passage underneath it; siege; indirect approach, i.e., penetration by ruse. Only when the first method was employed does material evidence remain; for evidence of the other two, written documents must be used. Direct approach was employed to either penetrate the wall in an undefended spot or to attack the gate, the most vulnerable point in the wall. In such an attack, ladders were used for scaling the wall, or axes, spears, and later the battering ram were used for breaching it, all under the covering fire of archers. The weapons of this period were primitive, but even the large walls of the cities crumbled in front of them, as attested by the many layers of destruction found in excavated sites. Hoes and battering poles for breaching the city wall, and mobile and non-mobile ladders for scaling them were widely used by the Egyptian army.

THE MIDDLE BRONZE AGE (2200–1550 B.C.E.). This period is divided into the pre-Hyksos period (Middle Bronze IIA in Palestine, the 12th Dynasty in Egypt; c. 2000–1750 B.C.E.) and the Hyksos period (Middle Bronze IIB–C in Palestine, the 13th–17th Dynasties in Egypt; cf. 1750–1550 B.C.E.). An excellent example of Egyptian fortifications of the first period was excavated at Buhen in northern Nubia. The citadel measures approximately 170 × 180 m. and has four lines of defense: an inner wall, outer wall, moat, and fortified gate. The brick inner wall is approximately 16½ ft. (5 m.) thick and approximately 33 ft. (c. 10 m.) high. At intervals of 16½ ft. (5 m.) square bastions protrude from the face of the wall. Battlements and balconies crown the top of the wall. The outer wall, lower than the inner one in the typical Egyptian style of this and the preceding period, has a series of semicircular bastions at intervals of 33½ ft. (10 m.). On top of the wall and the bastions are two rows of embrasures, one above the other. A dry moat was excavated at the foot of the outer wall, with a counterscarp on the opposite side. The gate complex consisted of two rectangular towers, which protruded beyond the counterscarp and flanked a narrow passageway leading to a two-doored gate. Remains of a wooden drawbridge were found over the moat. While the ground outside the wall was covered by the archers from at least three directions, the weakest point of the defenses was the gate, and burnt layers at this spot show that the citadel was breached here. A citadel represented on a wall painting at Beni-Hasan in Egypt has a wall sloping outwards at the bottom and topped by balconies and two gates with battlements. A fortified gate excavated at Megiddo was reached by a stairway protected by a wall. The outer and inner entrances are on an indirect axis, which, together with the nearby gate tower, provided an ample means of defense against attack. The appearance of the chariot and a developed battering ram changed the nature of fortifications. The gates could no longer be built with an indirect approach or with a stepped passageway, as chariots could not maneuver under such conditions. Means to protect the wall and its base against the battering ram had to be devised. The walls were built upon large ramparts of terre-pisée, as found at sites as far afield as Syria and Egypt, and at *Sharuhen (Tell al-Fāriʿa), Tell el-ʾAggul (Beth-Egliam), Lachish, Hazor, Tel Dan, and Jericho in Palestine. The outer face of the rampart was made into a glacis, which was constructed of several layers of terre-pisée, in a sandwich pattern, and was faced with bricks, stones, or hardened clay. A fosse was excavated at the foot of the glacis and a counterscarp built on the outer edge. The gates were built against the inner face of the city wall. Three pairs of pilasters flanked the passageway, creating two guardrooms, while also serving as piers for the upper stories of the gate tower. The gate was protected by two multistoried rectangular towers, usually not protruding from the outer face of the wall. This type of gate has been found in almost every excavated site of this period, such as Hazor, Gezer, Beth-Shemesh, and Shechem in Palestine, and Alalakh and Qatna in Syria.

The main development in offensive weapons was the battering ram (Heb. כַּר). Primitive ones are represented in the relief from Deshasheh, but the first representation of one whose users are covered against arrows from the wall by a hut-shaped enclosure appears in the Beni-Hasan wall painting. The battering ram is also mentioned in the Mari letters and the Boghazkőy archives, which deal with problems of use, special methods of construction, and mobility.

THE LATE BRONZE AGE (1550–1200 B.C.E.). The cities of this period occupied the same sites as those of the Middle Bronze Age and where the defenses were still standing, they were reused, with generally only small changes being made. The main feature which emerges in this period is a citadel built inside the city on the highest point. A palace and temple were built inside the citadel. Elevations of Canaanite cities are shown in the wall reliefs of the 19th Dynasty, whose kings, Seti I and Ramses II, conquered many of them. The cities are stereotyped, being built on a mound with two main features of defense – an outer city wall and an inner citadel, both with semicircular battlements and rectangular balconies. The cities had one or two rectangular gates of the same type as the Middle Bronze II gates, at Megiddo, Hazor, and Gezer. Archaeological remains that exhibit the new developments in military engineering are scarce. One of them is the eastern city gate at Shechem, which is constructed of two pairs of pilasters, with a guardroom between them. The pilasters served as piers for the upper stories of the gate tower. Remains of citadels and fortified temples, called *migdal* in the Bible (Judg. 9:46–49, 50–52), were found at Shechem, Megiddo, and Beth-Shean. The rectangular temples at Megiddo and Shechem were protected by thick walls, with a pair of square towers flanking the entrance. According to biblical descriptions and archaeological evidence, they were multistoried. The fortifications of Boghazkőy, the Hittite capital, exhibit several new features in military architecture. The walls were constructed as casemates, with a low outer wall in front of them. Several underground posterns were found underneath the walls. The gates, known as the King's Gate and the Lion's Gate, were formed by two pairs of pilasters with a guardroom between them and a passageway flanked by two multistoried towers.

Most information on war of offense in this period comes from Egyptian wall reliefs and documents and from the Bible. The Egyptians employed all the three possible methods of offense: direct and indirect approach and siege. While assaulting a city, the shock troops, protected by shields, used scaling ladders to climb the wall or attempted to breach the city gates with battle-axes. No battering ram appears in Egyptian reliefs. When direct approach was impossible or too dangerous, the Egyptians laid siege to the city, which sometimes lasted up to three years, as that of ʿAhmose (Amasis), the founder of the 18th Dynasty, against Sharuhen in Southern Palestine. Ruse was also employed in the conquest of cities. One of the most well-known is the Trojan horse, which ended the siege of Troy. Joshua employed ruses at least twice. That used against Jericho (Josh. 6) is still obscure. A clearer stratagem is that used against Ai (Josh. 8:3–8), in which Joshua and the Israelites drew the inhabitants out of the city by feigning retreat. Burnt levels, found at Beth-El, Lachish, Tell Beit Mibsim, and Hazor, indicate the destruction caused by the Israelites in their conquest of the land.

THE IRON AGE (1200–900 B.C.E.). Excavation has revealed remains of the fortifications of the kings of the United Monarchy, Saul, David, and Solomon. Geba, or Gibeath-Shaul (present-day Tell el-Ful) was the capital of Saul's kingdom. The citadel, dating from the second half of the 11th century, was built with a casemate wall and a corner tower with three chambers. Architectural remains from the time of David are scant. Although remains of fortifications have been found in Jerusalem, it is difficult to attribute any of them to David with certainty. From the Bible it is known that he fortified the city after the expulsion of the Jebusites (II Sam. 5:9). Solomon continued to build in Jerusalem. Besides the erection of the Temple and the palace, he completed the Millo (the fill between the city of David and the Temple Mount) and fortified the city (I Kings 11:27). Remains of two towers, a huge stone glacis, and a gate found in Jerusalem are attributed to the time of David and Solomon. Solomon built extensively throughout the country as well (I Kings 9:15). Excavations at the three cities, Hazor, Megiddo, and Gezer, have shown that all were built according to the same general plan, with almost identical gates. The cities were fortified by casemate walls, a type of construction introduced into Palestine possibly by the Hittites via Syria. The casemates in such walls were used as garrisons and for storage. The gates of these cities were designed with an entrance flanked by two square towers, which led to a roofed passageway with three guardrooms on either side. The walls of the guardroom served as piers for support of the upper story.

The destruction of many cities in the devastating campaign of Pharaoh Shishak in approximately 920 B.C.E. and the appearance of the mighty war machines of the Assyrian army changed the methods of fortification under the divided monarchy. Each kingdom built a peripheral defense (II Chron. 11:6–12). Besides these cities, a chain of citadels was built along the main roads and trade routes and on the frontiers (II Chron. 26:9–10). Casemate walls remained only in nonstrategic places, such as Tell Beit Mirsim in southwest Judah. This was the main feature of citadels in the wilderness, i.e., the Negeb. A fine example of such citadels is that at Kadesh-Barnea, which is rectangular, 100 × 166½ ft. (30 × 50 m.), and fortified by a casemate wall, with square towers at the corners and in the middle of each side. Similar citadels have been found in the Negeb, such as at Arad and Khirbet Uzzah. Inner citadels and fortified palaces, as the palace of Ahab in Samaria and a palace excavated at Ramat Raḥel (Beth-Cherem) near Jerusalem, were also fortified by casemate walls. Defense of the main cities changed with the reappearance of the battering ram, for which there is no extant evidence in the Late Bronze Age and the time of the United Monarchy. The hollow casemate wall was unable to withstand the breaching power of this weapon. The space between the wall was hastily filled with stones, and later a new solid stone wall was built. The outer face of the wall was constructed with salients and recesses. Secondary defenses took the form of a low outer wall, towers and bastions in the weak spots, and a stone glacis. Battlements and balconies were built on top of the walls. A wooden frame to hold the shields of the defenders was added to the battlement to protect the upper body of the warrior, and a screen of shields was thus formed. This structure is clearly seen in the reliefs portraying Sennacherib's assault against Lachish and is described in the Bible (II Chron. 26:15). Gates also changed, usually following the design of gates in Syria and Assyria. The depth of the entrance was lessened, and a gate with two chambers on either side and two protruding towers was constructed. This style was typical of the ninth century, while a gate with a single chamber on either side and two towers was typical of the eighth century. Gates with a broken approach to the main entrance are also known from this period, especially at Samaria, Lachish, Tell el-Far'ah, and Tell-Muqana' (Ekron). The preparations taken by King Hezekiah of Judah in the face of the coming siege of Jerusalem by Sennacherib are described in II Chronicles 32:3–5 and included the construction of new waterworks, known as the Siloam tunnel, to bring water directly into the city (II Kings 20:20; II Chron. 32:30).

The development of the battering ram in the time of the Judges and the United Monarchy is not known, and the casemate walls constructed at this time were not built to withstand the attack of battering rams. It must be assumed that attacks were carried out along traditional lines, i.e., by means of siege, scaling the walls, and indirect approach, especially surprise attacks. When Shechem rebelled against Abimelech the son of Gideon, who had usurped the kingship there, he divided his troops into three groups and by means of ambush and surprise, stormed the outer city walls (Judg. 9:43–45). After the conquest of the outer city walls, only the citadel remained, which Abimelech destroyed by fire (Judg. 9:48–49). David's campaigns against fortified cities consist of the conquest of Jerusalem by an obscure method (II Sam. 5; I Chron. 11) and the classic battle of Rabbath-Ammon, which can be divided into five stages. The first phase was a battle in the open field, with the purpose of destroying the armies of the Ammonites and their allies, thus preventing a counterattack on the exposed flanks and rear of the Israelites when it later laid siege to the city (II Sam. 10). The second phase was the besieging of the city (*ibid.* 11:1). In the third stage the Israelites tried to breach the walls while the Ammonites counterattacked (*ibid.* 11:23–25). The conquest of the "royal city" and the "city of waters" (*ibid.* 12:26–28) constituted the fourth stage, and the conquest of the inner citadel, the last (*ibid.* 12:29).

The Assyrians were the dominant military power in the Near East at the time of the divided kingdom. Their military might was organized into units, each with a defined purpose, and it was under them that the art of siege was developed. From the reign of Ashurnaṣirpal II (883–859 B.C.E.) onward, the battering ram reappeared as a decisive siege machine. Both mobile and stationary battering rams were used by the Assyrian army at this time. The mobile type had six wheels and a body built on a wooden frame, with the sides covered by rectangular shields. The front was protected by sheets, probably of metal, behind which a turret rose. Inside the turret hung a rope to which the battering ram was attached like a pendulum. The top of the turret was protected by a metal (?) dome with embrasures. The metal cutting head of the ram was shaped like an ax-head, which could be inserted with force between the bricks or stones of the wall and, by levering on all sides, could remove them from the wall, causing collapse. The battering rams were protected by archers mounted on mobile towers. Ashurnasirpal's methods of siege are portrayed in the wall reliefs in his palace at Nimrud. There, the covering fire of archers protects the assault troops, which use four methods of penetration: battering rams breach the main wall of the city; sappers dig underground tunnels; armored sappers demolish the outer wall with pikes and spears; and spearmen scale the wall with scaling ladders. In the reign of Shalmaneser III (858–824 B.C.E.), two new mobile battering rams appear, as seen in the reliefs of the bronze gates at Balawat. These rams have four or six wheels, a turret, and a fixed battering head, shaped like a boar's snout. This type of battering ram was presumably used mainly against city gates. Those of Tiglath-Pileser III (745–727 B.C.E.) and Sargon (721–705 B.C.E.) were light and very maneuverable. They have four wheels and the wooden frame was covered with metal-studded hides. The turret was lower and the cutting edge of the battering ram was shaped like a spearhead. These machines were often operated in pairs and were placed on special man-made ramparts, on which they were driven toward the wall. Several improvements were made in the battering rams of Sennacherib (704–681 B.C.E.), which have a longer pole and higher turret. One member of the crew was a fireman, who poured water onto the front of the battering ram with a long spoon to extinguish the torches thrown by the defenders. The siege of Jerusalem by the Babylonians is summarized by the prophet Ezekiel (21:27): "In his [the king of Babylon] right hand is the lot of Jerusalem, to set battering rams, to open the mouth for the slaughter, to lift up the voice with shouting, to set battering rams against the gates, to cast up mounds [i.e., for the battering rams], to build forts."

[Yitzhak Margowsky]

SECOND TEMPLE TO 614

In the period of the Second Temple, Judea was incorporated in the Persian Empire and had no independent army. Jews served as mercenaries of the Persian king at *Elephantine (Yeb) in Upper Egypt; they were organized in companies (called a *degel* – "flag") and had their own temple. In Judea proper, the Persian governor (who was normally a Jew) had a bodyguard; Nehemiah came with Persian troops, but Ezra refused such protection. In case of need, the governor (as in the case of Nehemiah) could mobilize the entire able-bodied population. During the building of the wall of Jerusalem, the people were armed with swords, spears, and bows and had coats of mail (Neh. 4:10). A trumpeter was kept ready for signaling.

In the Hellenistic period Jews served in the Ptolemaic armies; they were holders of military cleruchies; they were classified as "Persians of the Epigone," one rank below the Macedonians and Greeks and above the native Egyptians. Two of them, *Ananias and Helkias, were generals of Cleopatra III and their standing influenced the policy of the Egyptian government in relation to Alexander Yannai. In Perea, east of the Jordan, the Jewish family of the *Tobiads had its own cleruchs, as known from the Zeno papyri. The militant nature of Jason, the former high priest, who was allied with the Tobiads, shows their readiness to fight. During the conquest of Jerusalem by Antiochus III, the Jews actively supported the Seleucid attack on the Egyptian garrison in the Temple citadel. The Seleucid king settled Jewish cleruchs in Asia Minor as reliable and good soldiers. However, until the Hasmonean revolt the Jews as a nation fought no wars.

Driven by necessity the rebels under Judah Maccabee gradually acquired the necessary military skills. It is not clear whether the strategic and tactical genius shown by the Jewish leader was the result of his service with some Hellenistic army or of a natural ability. In the beginning the Jewish rebels were badly armed; Judah himself had to pick up and use the sword of his first defeated enemy, Apollonius the governor of Samaria, after the battle. The Jewish forces were properly organized only at Mizpeh; on the eve of the battle of Emmaus Judah used the biblical grouping into "thousands and hundreds and fifties and tens" (I Macc. 3:55) and appointed the "scribes of the people" (*grammateis tou laou*) as a kind of military police. The wars of Judah Maccabee were distinguished by his aptitude for strategic thinking, as witnessed in the blockade of Jerusalem and his swift movements on the inner line of communications which headed off successive Seleucid attempts (four in all) to break through to the besieged city. In his tactics Judah knew how to use the ground; he selected for his attacks the passes leading up to Judea (Lebonah?, Beth-Horon, and Emmaus) and was a master of surprise in the field. His campaign against Nicanor was marked by an attack from an unexpected direction and a massive pursuit which led to the disintegration of the enemy forces. Judah's last battle at Elasa was fought against overwhelming forces and even then he achieved a partial success.

Jonathan, the second leader of the revolt, was for some time forced to carry on an "underground" guerrilla warfare from his stronghold in the Judean Desert. His strength lay in mobility and surprise attacks; the operation against the people of Medeba and his subsequent escape from the army of Bacchides, which had cornered him between the Jordan and the Dead Sea, show a high degree of tactical skill. When besieged in Beth-Bassi Jonathan wisely refused to play the enemy's game and concentrated on harassing him from outside the siege lines. Like his brother Judah, Jonathan had the advantage of a superior intelligence, the fighting being in his own country and among his people. Once installed in Jerusalem as governor and high priest, Jonathan was de facto independent and was able to train a regular force. He fortified Jerusalem (one of his towers can be still seen on the Ophel hill). During his time the Jews attained military superiority in the south of the disintegrating Seleucid empire and moved at will all over Coele-Syria. Jonathan's crowning achievement was the battle near Jamnia (Jabneh) against the forces of the Syrian general, Apollonius. Hitherto, the Jews had been successful mainly on hilly ground, where the Seleucid phalanx could not properly operate. Apollonius invited Jonathan to fight in the plain and prepared an ambush; his cavalry attacked the Jewish forces from the rear, while the infantry held them in front. Under these unfavorable conditions the Hasmonean army showed its mettle; while the enemy "cast their darts at the people from morning till evening," the Jewish ranks remained unbroken till the enemy's cavalry wearied. It was now evident that the Hasmonean army could fight the Greeks under any conditions. In the time of Simeon, the last of the Hasmonean brothers, the Jews developed their skill in siege warfare of the Hellenistic type. They constructed a siege tower (*helepolis*) which was instrumental in the taking of Gezer. Such knowledge must have been most useful in the wars of Simeon's successors, John Hyrcanus (135–104 B.C.E.), Judah Aristobulus I (103 B.C.E.), and Alexander Yannai (103–76 B.C.E), as their conquests were mainly of fortified places. Hyrcanus' sons besieged Samaria for a whole year; the evidence of the destruction wrought by them is still visible. Alexander Yannai, who gradually obtained control of almost all of Ereẓ Israel, was singularly unlucky in the open field; he lost his battles against Ptolemy Lathurus, king of Cyprus, at Zaphon, east of the Jordan; against the Seleucids, Antiochus XII and Demetrius III (at the Yarkon and at Shechem); and against the Nabatean Obodas at Gedor. Nevertheless, by dint of perseverance and skill in siege warfare, he took Gaza, the northern coast including the Carmel, and most of the lands east of the Jordan, turning the Dead Sea into an inland Jewish lake. One ominous development in his time was the employment of foreign mercenaries, Pisidians, Cilicians, and others, in the Hasmonean service. They stood by the king in his war with the Pharisees when the latter allied with a Seleucid invader, but this use of mercenaries was in itself a sign of the increasing Hellenization of Jewish military life and the loss of the moral qualities which had hitherto distinguished it. Under Salome Alexandra, the armed forces were neglected by the ruling Pharisees, and this nearly led to a revolt under her second son *Aristobulus. The civil war which followed the death of the queen and the Roman intervention diminished the fighting capacity of the Judean army, although it still gave a good account of itself with Antipater, Herod's father, when coming to the aid of Julius Caesar in Egypt.

Herod's superior military capacity defeated his Hasmonean rival Mattathias Antigonus. Once king, Herod was able to raise some Jewish and Idumean troops, with which he defeated the Nabatean Arabs. He settled Idumeans and Babylonian Jews to police Batanea and Trachonitis and thus secured these lands for peaceful colonization. He also raised cohorts from his cities Caesarea and Sebaste. His bodyguard was composed of non-Jews, with an addition of Thracian mercenaries and of German and Gaulish soldiers, the gift of Augustus. Herod also had a navy with which he came to help the Romans in the Black Sea.

Augustus had released the Jews from the obligation to serve as auxiliaries in the Roman armies, and with the decline of the Herodian house their troops also diminished, although even Agrippa II still maintained some cavalry. What fighting was done until the first Roman War was by Zealot guerrillas, who were as a rule suppressed without much difficulty by the local levies of the procurators. Only in specially difficult situations, such as at the annexation of Judea and the first census, did the legate of Syria intervene with his legions.

The first war against Rome (66–73 C.E.) was begun by the Zealots, but the command soon passed to the aristocratic circles who planned the creation of an army able to meet the Romans in the field. At the beginning of the struggle Judea and Galilee were divided into military districts, with Josephus being given the command of Galilee. Their unexpected victory over Cestius Gallus, the legate of Syria, on his retreat from Jerusalem by the pass of Beth-Horon, provided the insurgents with much needed arms and siege engines. Their efforts to attack Ascalon failed, however. In Galilee, the most exposed part of the territory in revolt, Josephus made an effort to train a field army, only to see it dispersed at the first encounter with Vespasian. In his despair he fled to the fortress of Jotapata, which fell after a siege of 47 days, although he displayed most of the ruses of siege warfare. The failures in Galilee exposed the weakness of the tactical conception of the Jewish leadership; unable to hold the field they preferred to lock themselves up in strongholds, which were bound to fall when attacked systematically by the Romans. The Jewish war effort dissolved into a series of siege operations against Gamala, then Jerusalem, and finally Masada. The Zealot leaders John of Giscala and Simeon bar Giora were unable to make headway until it was much too late. The Jews fought with great bravery, which is attested also by Josephus, who saw the siege of Jerusalem from the Roman side. They turned the Roman siege machines against their makers, succeeded in burning down the Roman apparatus and in undermining and destroying the siege dams. In the end, however, the methodical warfare of the Romans, coupled with starvation, prevailed in Jerusalem; Masada, which was provided with food and water, succumbed to a high siege dam and tower. The scanty evidence of the weapons used in defending these places show that the Jews used the standard equipment of the Roman army and its auxiliaries. There were even some naval combats in this war, near Jaffa and on the Sea of Galilee, probably in the style of the naval battle from Yannai's days depicted on a wall of Jason's Tomb, Jerusalem.

The second war with Rome (or the war of *Bar Kokhba, 132–135) was preceded by a Jewish rising in Cyrenaica and Egypt against Trajan. Its leader, Lucuas or Andreas, penetrated into Egypt from Cyrenaica; although Alexandria was saved at the beginning of the revolt (115), it lasted until 117 when it was crushed by a special Roman army commanded by Marcus Turbo. The fight was waged with great ferocity. At the same time the Jews of Mesopotamia defended their cities against Trajan, and although they could not stop him, they upset his timetable.

The war of Bar Kokhba was the last great armed struggle of the Jews as a nation until modern times. Its history shows that the Jews had learned well the lessons of the earlier war. The war was carefully prepared; the Jews tendered offers to supply the Roman army with weapons and deliberately delivered them sub-standard; the arms were rejected and went to arm the insurgents. Bar Kokhba avoided sieges; positions in the field were prepared, probably connected with each other, in order to hold up the Roman advance. The command of the Jewish army remained from beginning to end in the hands of Simeon bar Kosiba (Bar Kokhba). When the war broke out, the Jews soon seized Jerusalem and the whole of Judea, possibly even parts of Samaria; they were joined by gentiles who rebelled against Roman society. In the course of the war one Roman legion, the XXII Deioteriana, was probably destroyed completely; it disappears from the Roman army lists. In the end the Romans had to concentrate an army of several legions (including parts of legions from Moesia). Bar Kokhba's army was finally besieged in Bethar, but some of the insurgents fled to the caves above the Dead Sea. Their archives, discovered in 1960–61, throw much light on the military, civil, and religious organization of Bar Kokhba's army and administration. While he took care of sequestrating food and arresting malcontents, Bar Kokhba also ordered the collection of the "four species" for making *lulavim*. The Bar Kokhba war marks the last great military effort of the Jewish nation in Ereẓ Israel. It was followed by two minor occasions on which the Jews took up arms against their oppressors. One was the revolt which broke out at Sepphoris in 351 against Gallus Caesar, the tyrannical emperor Constantinus II. The rebels, led by a certain Patricius, seized the armory and were able for some months to maintain a semblance of government in Galilee (Sepphoris and Tiberias) and Lydda. The revolt was suppressed by the Roman general Ursicinus, who defeated the Jews near Acre and advanced into Galilee.

In 614, at the approach of the Persian armies, the Jews rose again. Their force numbered some 20,000 men from the mountains of Galilee and around Jerusalem. They succeeded this time in taking Acre, but failed before Tyre. Nevertheless they were useful allies in the siege of Jerusalem by the Persians, which ended with the capture of the city and the establishment of a short-lived government there. The Jewish leader in this war is known to us only under the pseudonym "Nehemiah son of Ḥushi'el." The Persians soon dissolved their alliance with the Jews, and this last military effort came to nought.

[Michael Avi-Yonah]

For modern period see: *Israel, State of: Israel Defense Forces; *War of Independence; *Sinai Campaign; *Six-Day War; *Yom Kippur War; *Lebanon War.

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WARBURG, family of German and U.S. Jews.

PAUL MORITZ WARBURG (1868–1932) was a banker and philanthropist. Born in Hamburg, Germany, he became a partner in 1895 in his family's banking house, M.M. Warburg and Co. In the same year he married Nina Loeb, daughter of Solomon Loeb of Kuhn, Loeb and Co. of New York. In 1902 Warburg moved to the United States and became a member of the Kuhn, Loeb firm. Warburg's contribution to the U.S. banking system was considerable. One of the chief architects of the legislation establishing the Federal Reserve System in 1913, he served as a member of the Federal Reserve Board (1914–16) and as its vice governor (1917–18). Although he declined reappointment and returned to private banking, Warburg maintained an active interest in the board by serving as a member (1921–23) and president (1924–26) of its advisory council. He also wrote several books expounding his belief in the necessity for a strong, politically independent central banking system in the United States. Active in philanthropic and civic affairs, Warburg was a leading figure in the work of the *American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee, the Federation for the Support of Jewish Philanthropic Societies in New York City, the American Society for Jewish Farm Settlement in Russia, the Juilliard School of Music, the National Child Labor Committee, Tuskegee Institute, and many others. He wrote *Federal Reserve System – Its Origin and Growth* (1930).

Paul Warburg's son, JAMES PAUL (1896–1969), was also a banker. He was born in Hamburg, Germany, and was taken to the United States in 1902. After service with the Navy Flying Corps in World War I, Warburg pursued a career in finance, serving as president of the International Acceptance Bank and director of the Bank of the Manhattan Company. He was also one of the major backers of the highly successful Polaroid Corporation. A liberal Democrat, Warburg was a member of President Franklin D. Roosevelt's "brain trust" during the early years of the New Deal. At the same time, he entered a new phase of his career as a prolific writer, first of poetry and technical works on textiles, later of popular volumes on economics, public affairs, and foreign policy. In the late 1930s, Warburg urged U.S. intervention against Nazi Germany and during World War II served as deputy director of the Office of War Information. Disenchanted with the Cold War atmosphere of the 1950s, Warburg consistently championed the cause of peaceful coexistence of the major powers, awareness of the dangers of German rearmament, and the necessity for an independent, progressive U.S. foreign policy. He wrote the autobiographical *The Long Road Home* (1964).

FELIX MORITZ (1871–1937), a brother of Paul M. Warburg, was also born in Hamburg, Germany. He moved to the United States in 1894, married Jacob H. Schiff's daughter Frieda (see below) in 1895, and became a partner in his father-in-law's banking firm, Kuhn, Loeb and Co. Although Warburg participated, as partner and later as senior partner in Kuhn, Loeb and Co., in the financial aspects of the economic and industrial transformation of the U.S., his chief interests were philanthropy, education, and culture, and his contributions in these fields were considerable. He was one of the earliest supporters in New York City of the Educational Alliance and the Henry Street Settlement, organizations facilitating the absorption of immigrants. He served on the New York City Board of Education (1902–05) as a New York State probation commissioner, and he was active in movements to combat juvenile delinquency and family desertion. Deeply interested in music and art, he was a leader in the development of the Juilliard School of Music, the New York Philharmonic Symphony Orchestra, and the erection of the Fogg Museum of Art at Harvard University. His educational activities included service as a trustee of Teachers College of Columbia University, financial support of the Horace Mann and Lincoln Schools, presidency of the American Association for Adult Education, and trusteeship of the American Museum of Natural History.

A key figure in the German-Jewish elite which dominated the U.S. Jewish community in the early decades of the 20th century, Warburg's manifold activities displayed a wide range of sympathetic interests. He was chairman of the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee from its establishment in 1914 until 1932, a major contributor to the American Society for Jewish Farm Settlement in Russia, and founder of the Refugee Economic Corporation. At home, he led in the formation in 1917 and subsequent administration of the Federation for the Support of Jewish Philanthropic Societies of New York City and was president of the Young Men's Hebrew Association of New York. He generously supported Jewish education, including the Hebrew Union College and, especially, the Jewish Theological Seminary and the Graduate School for Jewish Social Work. Not a Zionist, Warburg nevertheless was active in promoting Jewish settlement in Palestine through major support of the Palestine Economic Corporation and The Hebrew University. He cooperated with Louis *Marshall, president of the American Jewish Committee (of which Warburg was a member), and Chaim *Weizmann in the broadening of the *Jewish Agency for Palestine to include non-Zionists. Chairman of the Agency's administrative committee, he resigned in 1930 in protest against British policies restricting Jewish immigration, and, in 1937, he protested the British plan for the partition of *Palestine.

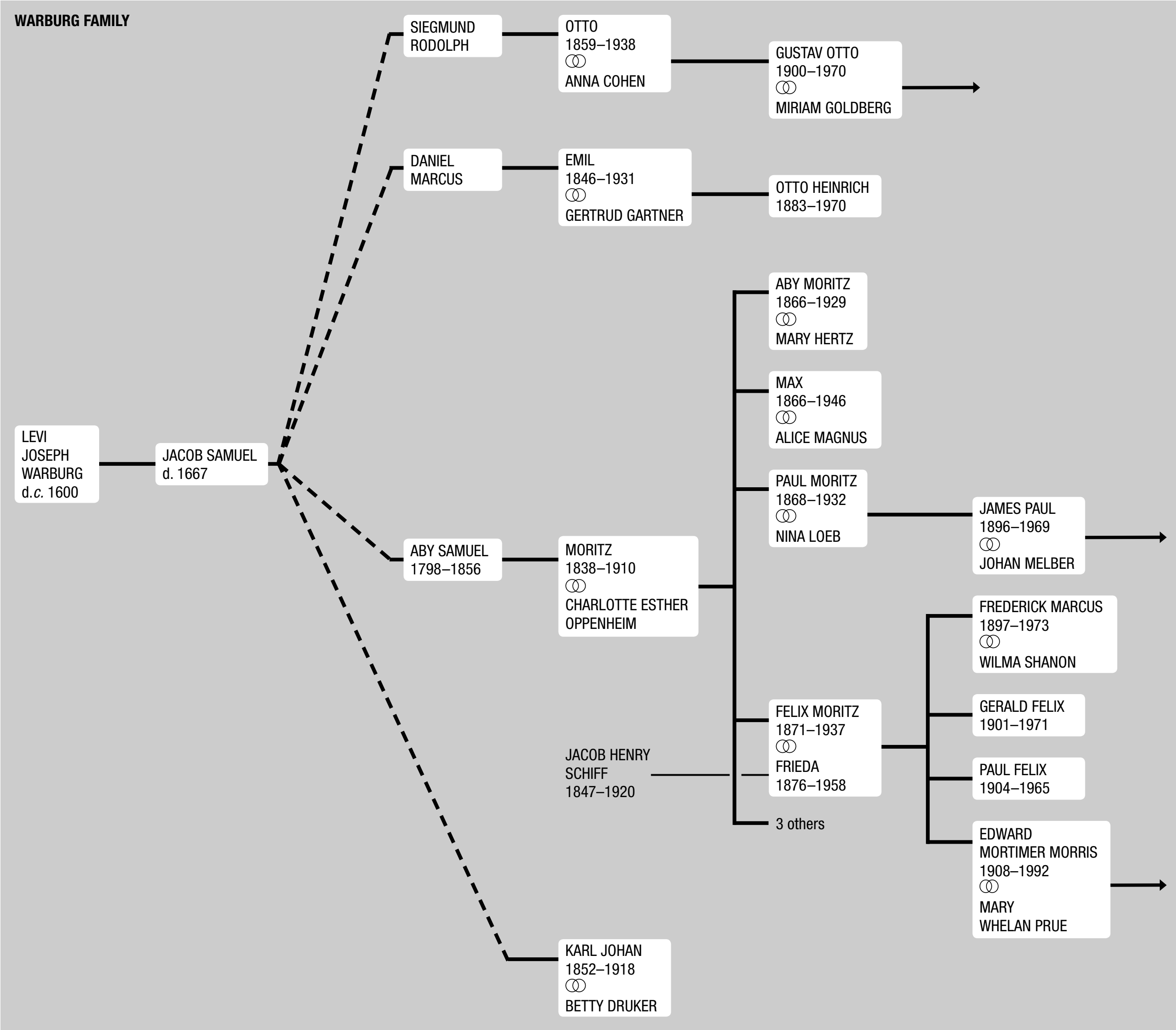
WARBURG FAMILY
LEVI JOSEPH WARBURG d.c. 1600
JACOB SAMUEL d. 1667
SIEGMUND RODOLPH
OTTO 1859–1938 ⚭ ANNA COHEN
GUSTAV OTTO 1900–1970 ⚭ MIRIAM GOLDBERG
DANIEL MARCUS
EMIL 1846–1931 ⚭ GERTRUD GARTNER
OTTO HEINRICH 1883–1970
ABY SAMUEL 1798–1856
MORITZ 1838–1910 ⚭ CHARLOTTE ESTHER OPPENHEIM
ABY MORITZ 1866–1929 ⚭ MARY HERTZ
MAX 1866–1946 ⚭ ALICE MAGNUS
PAUL MORITZ 1868–1932 ⚭ NINA LOEB
JAMES PAUL 1896–1969 ⚭ JOHAN MELBER
FELIX MORITZ 1871–1937 ⚭ FRIEDA 1876–1958
JACOB HENRY SCHIFF 1847–1920
3 others
FREDERICK MARCUS 1897–1973 ⚭ WILMA SHANON
GERALD FELIX 1901–1971
PAUL FELIX 1904–1965
EDWARD MORTIMER MORRIS 1908–1992 ⚭ MARY WHELAN PRUE
KARL JOHAN 1852–1918 ⚭ BETTY DRUKER

Felix Warburg's wife, FRIEDA (née SCHIFF; 1876–1958), was a philanthropist and communal leader. She was associated with her husband in numerous philanthropies and was also a leading figure in her own right. Among her major interests were the Young Women's Hebrew Association and the Visiting Nurse Service of New York. Although a non-Zionist, she was active in the work of Hadassah, especially its Youth Aliyah and the hospital in Jerusalem, and the American Friends of The Hebrew University. Her largest single gift was $650,000 in 1951 to the United Jewish Appeal to aid in the absorption of immigrants to Israel.

Felix and Frieda Warburg's son FREDERICK MARCUS (1897–1973) was a banker. After service in the U.S. Army during World War I, he was an investment banker, serving with the American International Corporation (1919–21), M.M. Warburg and Co. (1922–27), and Lehman Brothers (1927–30). In 1931 he became a partner of Kuhn, Loeb and Co. Among the civic and communal groups in which he served as officer or trustee were the American Museum of Natural History, Boy Scout Council, National Recreation Association, and the Federation of Jewish Philanthropies of New York. During World War II Warburg rose to the rank of colonel in the U.S. Army Special Service Division.

His brother GERALD FELIX (1907–1971) made his debut as a cellist with the New York Philharmonic in 1925, was a member of the Stradivarius Quartet from 1930 to 1936, and organized the Stradivarius Society. He was also a founder and conductor of the Brooklyn Symphony Orchestra and served as an officer of the New York City Center and Carnegie Hall.

Another brother PAUL FELIX (1904–1965) was active in banking and related fields, including service with the International Acceptance Trust Company, Bank of the Manhattan Company, J.S. Bache and Company, and, from 1951 to 1961, Carl M. Loeb, Rhoades and Co. He was a founder and president of the Federation Employment Service. During the 1930s he was active in bringing child refugees from Nazi Germany to the United States, and during World War II he served in the army as an intelligence officer and military attaché at the U.S. embassy in Paris. From 1946 to 1950 he was a special assistant at the U.S. embassy in London. A prominent member of the Republican Party, he was a director of the United Republican Finance Committee.

Another brother EDWARD MORTIMER MORRIS (1908–1992) graduated from Harvard University in 1930. He did not engage actively in the family's banking business, but was immersed in a variety of cultural, communal, and philanthropic activities. His interest in the fine arts was expressed through teaching at Bryn Mawr College (1931–33), extensive foreign travel, a notable private art collection, service as a founder and trustee of the Museum of Modern Art in New York, and chairmanship of the American Patrons of the Israel Museum. He was a member of the Board of Regents of New York State, a trustee of the Institute of International Education, and special assistant to the governor of New York on cultural affairs. Most significant in Warburg's career was his outstanding Jewish philanthropic leadership. He was chairman of the *American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (1941–66) as well as chairman (1950–55) and honorary chairman from 1956 of the United Jewish Appeal. In 1967 he became president of the United Jewish Appeal of Greater New York. Warburg's interest in Israeli institutions included trusteeship in the American-Israel Cultural Foundation and membership in the Board of Governors of The Hebrew University. During World War II he served in the U.S. Army, rising to the rank of major.

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[Morton Rosenstock]

WARBURG, ABY MORITZ (1866–1929), German historian of art and civilization. Warburg was born in Hamburg. His main field of study was the intellectual and social context of Renaissance art. His works such as *Bildniskunst und Florentinisches Buergertum* (1902); *Die Grablegung Roger van der Weydens in den Uffizien* (1903); and *Francesco Sassettis letztwillige Verfuegung* (1907) were concerned with the relationship between classical antiquity and the Christian religion in the Renaissance. *Italienische Kunst und internationale Astrologie im Palazzo Schifanoja zu Ferrara* (1912) revealed the importance of classical astrology in Renaissance art. *Heidnisch-antike Weissagung in Wort und Bild zu Luthers Zeiten* (1920) and *Orientalisierende Astrologie* (1926) also discussed the beliefs and superstitions of the period. In these works and in numerous essays, Warburg developed an interdisciplinary approach to art history, which aimed to investigate the psychological and cultural role of symbolism in general. Warburg founded the Kulturwissenschaftliche Bibliothek Warburg, which opened officially in Hamburg in 1926, and was transferred to London in 1933 when Hitler came to power. In London it became known as the Warburg Institute and was incorporated in 1944 into the University of London. It consisted of 60,000 volumes and 20,000 photographs, and its purpose was to extend Warburg's own researches by tracing the influence of classical antiquity on all subsequent civilizations. The work was carried out by a group of mainly Jewish scholars which included Erwin *Panofsky and Ernst *Cassirer. The lectures given at the Institute were published as *Vortraege der Bibliothek Warburg*. The Institute publishes the journals *Studies of the Warburg Institute* and the *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, and the Warburg Haus publishes Warburg's own papers under the title *Gesammelte Schriften*.

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WARBURG, FREDERICK (1898–1981), British publisher. Warburg was born in London. He was not directly related to the famous German banking family and attended a leading public school, Westminster, on a scholarship. After serving as an officer in World War I, he attended Oxford University and then entered the publishing firm of George Routledge & Sons, but was dismissed in 1935 after the death of its head. With a friend, Roger Senhouse, he purchased the failing publishing firm of Martin Secker, renaming it Secker & Warburg, and developed it into one of the most influential and prestigious firms in Britain. It is most famous for publishing George Orwell's great works *Animal Farm* and *1984*; its other authors included such luminaries as H.G. Wells and Thomas Mann. In 1952 Warburg helped found the influential magazine *Encounter*, and, in 1954, defended an important obscenity lawsuit over the publication of Stanley Kaufman's *The Philanderer.* In later years his firm published a new string of notable works, among them *The Bridge on the River Kwai* and William L. Shirer's *Rise and Fall of the Third Reich.* Warburg published two volumes of autobiography, *An Occupation for a Gentleman* (1959) and *All Authors Are Equal* (1973).

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[William D. Rubinstein (2nd ed.)]

WARBURG, GAVRIEL REUBEN (1927–), Israeli Orientalist. Warburg, a grandson of Otto *Warburg, was born in Berlin, Germany, but immigrated with his parents to Palestine in 1934. From 1946 to 1964 he was a member of kibbutz Yeḥi'am. In 1968 he was appointed lecturer in the Department of Middle Eastern History of the University of Haifa, was chairman of the department from 1969 to 1972, senior research Fellow at the Research Institute on Communist Affairs and at the Middle East Institute at Columbia University in New York from 1972 to 1973, and in the latter year was appointed associate professor at Haifa. In 1974 he was appointed rector of the University. Warburg published *The Sudan under Wingate* (1971); *The Rise and Decline of the Sudanese Communist Party* (1974), *Egypt and Sudan* (1985), and *Islam, Sectarianism and Politics in the Sudan Since the Mahdiyya* (2003).

WARBURG, KARL JOHAN (1852–1918), Swedish literary historian. Warburg was born in Göteborg, where his father was the Danish consul. Warburg became professor of literature and art history at the Göteborg Academy in 1890. He moved to Stockholm ten years later and from 1901 organized and administered the Swedish Academy's Nobel Library. In 1906 he was elected to the chair of literature at the University of Stockholm, succeeding Oskar Ivar *Levertin. As a literary critic and contributor to the liberal press, Warburg had a considerable influence on Swedish cultural life. His outstanding achievement was the monumental *Illustrerad svensk litteraturhistoria* (1896–97; 6 vols., 1926–30^3), an authoritative history of Swedish literature written in collaboration with Johan Henrik *Schück. This was the first serious attempt to investigate the subject from its 17th-century beginnings, and was characterized by keen psychological insight. Warburg also played an active part in Jewish communal affairs and, from 1905 until 1908, was a member of the Swedish parliament.

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[Hugo Mauritz Valentin]

WARBURG, MAX M. (1867–1946), German banker. His family, the *Warburgs, had been successful in private banking for more than a generation. After studying business in Germany, Great Britain, and the Netherlands, Warburg worked in his family's M.M. Warburg Bank in Hamburg. He became one of the leading personalities in late Imperial Germany concerning international industrial banking. Interested in the welfare of the Reich, he concentrated on colonial affairs. From 1903 he was a member of the Hamburg parliament. In the same year he became one of the rare Jews who could directly contact German Emperor Wilhelm II. Though he followed the path of acculturation, Warburg was a member of the Jewish community in Hamburg. Compared to his elder brother, the famous art historian Aby *Warburg, who agreed with his younger brother to forgo leading the family bank – though always receiving enough money to buy books for his library – Max M. Warburg developed a more uncomplicated and direct relation towards his own Jewishness. During World War I Warburg was – together with Albert *Ballin – one of the main promoters and founders of the "Reichseinkauf" (later "Zentraleinkaufsgesellschaft"), a state-owned central organization to buy food for Germany in foreign countries during the war years. Later, Warburg was attacked by antisemites for this activity. Together with his brother Felix M. Warburg, who was a successful banker in the U.S., Max M. Warburg organized financial aid for Jews in Eastern Europe. As the war led to increasing antisemitism, Warburg started to ask officials to protect Jews against discrimination. During the war Warburg came to be one of the leading figures to advise German politicians, diplomats, and the military in financial matters. In October 1918 he was appointed a financial advisor to the chancellor (*Reichskanzler*) Prinz Max von Baden. In 1919, Warburg served the German delegates during the negotiations on the Versailles peace treaty as an economic specialist. Warburg preferred to keep a low profile. When Walther *Rathenau asked him in early 1922 to join the cabinet (*Reichsregierung*) as minister of finance he refused, saying that two Jewish ministers would be too much for Germany. After the assassination of Rathenau the murderers planned also to kill Warburg. In 1924 he was appointed a member of the board (*Generalrat*) of the Reichsbank. The Warburg Bank was still one of the most important banking companies in Germany. From the late 1920s on Warburg intensified his interest in Zionism.

From World War I on, his brothers Felix M. and Paul M. Warburg opened the doors to the leading financial circles in North America for their brother. This was – again – especially helpful, when Germany urgently needed fresh capital during the world economic crisis between 1930 and 1932. After the Nazis came to power in Germany, the Warburg Bank came under increasing pressure. Max M. Warburg focused on helping Jewish emigrants to get their money out of Germany via the Palaestina-Treuhand GmbH. After the Warburg Bank was closed by the National Socialists, Warburg himself immigrated in 1938 to New York, where he died.

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[Christian Schoelzel (2nd ed.)]

WARBURG, OTTO (1859–1938), botanist and the third president of the World Zionist Organization. Born in Hamburg to a wealthy, assimilated family, *Warburg received an exclusively secular education. He completed his studies in the natural sciences in 1883 and decided to become a botanist, beginning his scientific career with studies in plant physiology and anatomy and specializing in tropical plants and plant geography and development. From 1885 to 1889 he conducted research expeditions in southern and eastern Asia and on the southeast Asian islands as far as East Australia. His observations on these expeditions provided the basis for his research work, as he discovered many hundreds of new types and species of plants. In 1892 he was appointed to a professorship at the University of Berlin. The most important of his scientific works are his books *Kulturpflanzen der Weltwirtschaft* (1908) and *Die Pflanzenwelt* (3 vols., 1916–23), a storehouse of botanical information on plant families and species, with special emphasis on their uses. A number of plant species are named after Warburg (*warburgia, warburgiella, warburgina*).

Warburg became a Zionist through the influence of his father-in-law, Gustav Cohen. In 1894 he was a member of the committee of *Ezra, the Berlin society of Ḥovevei Zion (see *Ḥibbat Zion). Together with his father-in-law, he joined *Herzl's supporters. He regarded the large-scale settlement of Ereẓ Israel as the basis for a Jewish state and, though a political Zionist, he was opposed to delaying settlement until the granting of a charter. Warburg also favored large-scale Jewish settlement in the countries close to Ereẓ Israel, since he believed that Ereẓ Israel would thus have a reservoir of political, economic, and demographic assistance. He participated in the attempts to settle Jews in Anatolia beginning in 1900, planning to settle there 100,000 Jews in 500 villages, and undertook the financial support of two Jewish settlements from his personal funds. From 1900 to 1906 Warburg dealt with Jewish agricultural and urban settlement in *Cyprus and encouraged the *Jewish Colonization Association (ICA) in its initial steps in this venture. In 1905–06 he planned the settlement of a million Jews in Mesopotamia (now Iraq), but opposed Herzl's proposals regarding *El-Arish and refused to join the Zionist El-Arish expedition. After his first visit to Ereẓ Israel, he drew closer than ever to Herzl and became his adviser on matters pertaining to settlement, providing him with the relevant material for his utopian novel *Altneuland*. From the Sixth Congress (1903), at which he supported the *Uganda Scheme, Warburg became active in the Zionist Organization. At the same Congress he was elected chairman of the Palestine Commission which later became the primary factor in the settlement program of the Zionist Organization, and initiated its publication *Altneuland*.

Warburg's main contribution to Zionism was his role in advancing practical settlement work in the Zionist Organization. He urged the Jewish Colonization Association and the *Jewish National Fund to purchase land, and encouraged the investment of private Jewish capital in agriculture, industry, and commerce. On Warburg's initiative, the Zionist Organization established the *Palestine Office under the direction of Arthur *Ruppin in 1905, as well as the Palestine Land Development Company. He played a large part in the establishment of the experimental agricultural station at Athlit under the direction of Aaron *Aaronsohn.

After Herzl's death (1904), Warburg was elected to the Zionist Executive. He disagreed with the views of David *Wolffsohn, who remained faithful to the doctrine of political Zionism. With the emergence of the leadership of the practical Zionists, Warburg was elected president of the World Zionist Organization in 1911 and technically remained in office through World War I, until 1920, while during the war years the center of world Zionist activity moved first to Copenhagen and then to London. He was elected primarily for fostering practical settlement work in Ereẓ Israel. However, he had to cease activity of this kind completely when war broke out, and he concentrated instead on purely political efforts, e.g., by using his influence with the German Foreign Ministry to restrain Turkish persecution of the Jews in Palestine. After the war, Warburg dedicated himself to scientific work in Palestine. From 1921 he directed the agricultural research station at Rehovot, and from 1925 he also headed the botany department of The Hebrew University. During the 1930s Warburg divided his time between Palestine and Germany, due to his wife's illness. Severely ill himself, he spent his last years bedridden in Berlin, where he died a lonely death under Nazi rule. Sedeh Warburg, a moshav on the coastal plain, is named after him.

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[*Encyclopaedia Hebraica*]

WARBURG, OTTO HEINRICH (1883–1970), German biochemist and Nobel Prize winner; Warburg was born in Freiburg, Baden, the son of the physicist Emil Warburg (1846–1931), and, like his father, was baptized. He worked on radiation physics in the Physikalische Reichanstalt Berlin-Charlottenburg, of which his father was president from 1906 to 1922. In 1918 he went to the Kaiser Wilhelm Institut fuer Biologie in Berlin-Dahlem, and for over 30 years from 1930 was director of the Kaiser Wilhelm Institut fuer Zellphysiologie. He was one of the very few scientists of Jewish descent who remained undisturbed in his position during the Nazi period. He never taught, except for directing his research associates. Warburg was awarded the Nobel Prize for Physiology and Medicine in 1931 "for his discovery of the nature and mode of action of the respiratory enzyme." Warburg also designed a manometric apparatus for measuring the respiration of cells, tissues, or extracts of tissues, and an inhibition technique employing carbon monoxide, which are both widely used by biochemists all over the world.

Warburg contributed to scientific journals, and wrote several books, including *Stoffwechsel der Tumoren* (1926; *The Metabolism of Tumours*, 1930); *Katalytische Wirkungen der lebendigen Substanz* (1928); and *Heavy Metal Prosthetic Groups and Enzyme Action* (1949).

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[Samuel Aaron Miller]

WARBURG, SIR SIEGMUND (1902–1982), British merchant banker. Warburg was born at Tubingen, Germany, a member of the famous German banking family, although from one of its less affluent branches. Nevertheless, in 1919 he entered the family bank, M.M. Warburg & Co. of Hamburg, spending long periods in London and New York as he learned his trade during the 1920s. He was made a partner in 1930. The way ahead seemed clear when Hitler came to power in 1933. Warburg immediately left for London, where he founded a small merchant bank, the New Trading Company; he became a British subject in 1939. In 1946 his bank was renamed S.G. Warburg & Co. By a process of meticulous research, information-sharing on a daily basis among all executives, and a painstaking personal approach to its clients, it gradually became an important force in the City of London. In 1957 it became a member of the Accepting House Committee, thus joining the City's financial elite. Warburg pioneered new (and perhaps surprising) takeover techniques, especially in the 1958 purchase of British Aluminium, and spent much of the rest of his life trying to create a genuinely global merchant bank. He was knighted in 1966 and spent most of his last years in Switzerland.

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[William D. Rubinstein (2nd ed.)]

WAR CRIMES TRIALS.

Crystallization of the Principles of International Criminal Law

Immediately after the outbreak of World War II, when the first Nazi violations of the laws and customs of war as defined by the Hague and Geneva Conventions were revealed (and in particular as they affected the noncombatant population and prisoners of war), the Allies began to publish official notes, warnings, and declarations. On September 3, 1939, Czechoslovakia's president-in-exile, Eduard Beneš, sent a letter to the British prime minister Neville Chamberlain, reporting the persecution of his country's civilian population at the hands of the Nazis. In 1940 several statements were published by the governments of the United Kingdom, Poland, Czechoslovakia, and France on the violations of the laws of war in Poland. Crimes against Jews were likewise mentioned. These governments warned Germany and stressed the responsibility of the Nazi regime for the criminal acts. On October 25, 1941, President Franklin D. *Roosevelt of the United States – then a neutral nation – stated that "the Nazi treatment of civilian population revolts the world," while British prime minister Winston *Churchill declared that "retribution for these crimes must henceforward take its place among the major purposes of the war." But this was more an expression of outrage in a propaganda war than a concrete plan of action for a postwar world. After the German invasion of the Soviet Union in June 1941 and the ensuing crimes against the civilian population and prisoners of war, the Soviets also began to publish statements on the subject. The Soviet foreign minister, Vyacheslav Molotov, declared in his notes of November 7, 1941, and January 6, 1942, inter alia, that the Soviet government held the leaders of Nazi Germany responsible for the crimes committed by the German army. One of the important steps toward punishment can be seen in the St. James Declaration made in London on January 13, 1942, in which the representatives of the governments-in-exile – of Belgium, Netherlands, Yugoslavia, Norway, Greece, Luxembourg, Poland, Czechoslovakia, and the Free French – declared that the punishment, through the channels of organized justice, of criminal acts perpetrated by the Germans against civilian populations was among the principal war aims of the signatories. Also present at the St. James Conference were representatives of belligerent but nonoccupied countries, among them the United Kingdom and the United States. The St. James Declaration did not specifically mention the crimes against the Jews. This policy of *Totschweigen* ("hushing up" the Jewish tragedy) aroused Jewish opinion in the U.S. and Britain, and a protest against this policy was lodged on February 18, 1942. Only on December 17, 1942, did the British foreign secretary, Anthony Eden, make a statement in the House of Commons (published simultaneously in London, Moscow, and Washington) on the physical destruction of Jews, of which the Allies had a growing awareness, as it developed, in 1941 and 1942 (see *Holocaust).

Another important step toward this objective was the publication of the Moscow Declaration of November 1, 1943, in which the three principal powers, Britain, the United States, and the Soviet Union, solemnly committed themselves to the punishment of those responsible for war crimes. The Moscow Declaration distinguished between criminals whose acts were committed within the boundaries of specific countries and the "major criminals" whose "offenses have no particular geographical location and who will be punished by a joint decision of the governments of the Allies."

The first international body to make preparations for punishment of the criminals was the United Nations War Crimes Commission (UNWCC). A proposal for its formation was announced in October 1942 and it was constituted on October 20, 1943. Its objects were to investigate the atrocities and record the names of the individuals responsible. Participants in the commission were representatives of Australia, the United States, Belgium, Britain, Denmark, the Netherlands, Yugoslavia, Greece, Luxembourg, Norway, New Zealand, China, Poland, Czechoslovakia, France, and Canada. The Soviet Union, embroiled in controversy over the composition of its representation, did not join the commission.

At the Yalta Conference in February 1945, the last attended by Roosevelt, the president advanced the idea that an international tribunal should be convened to try Nazi leaders for planning and waging a war of aggression and for war crimes. Soviet leader Joseph *Stalin favored the legalist approach but wanted to confine the process to crimes committed in war; Churchill and Eden preferred summary trial and execution.

The various Allied activities culminated in the London Agreement of August 8, 1945, which established the International Military Tribunal, and in the Tribunal's charter, which dealt with substantive and procedural rules. One of the decisive contributions toward the formulation of the revolutionary principles of Nuremberg was made by Hersch *Lauterpacht, a British Jewish law professor originally from Galicia. Lauterpacht defined the three crimes in the charter: crimes against peace, war crimes, and crimes against humanity. In his studies and books, Lauterpacht, who later became a judge of the International Court of Justice, formulated the "Nuremberg principles," which were accepted not only in the London

Charter but also in the development of international criminal law in general.

The first comprehensive description of violations of international military law was offered by Raphael *Lemkin – a Polish Jewish legal scholar who had lost his family in the Holocaust – in his book *Axis Rule in Occupied Europe* (1944). It was Lemkin who coined the term "genocide," which was not adopted by the courts but served as the subject of a special international convention. The main theoretical and practical work in the field by world Jewish institutions was done by the *Institute of Jewish Affairs of the *World Jewish Congress. The political department of the *Jewish Agency also collected incriminating material, prepared lists of war criminals, and presented them to the institutions of the Allies dealing with the location and trial of Nazi criminals.

There were differences of opinion among the Allies as to what to do with the Nazi leadership. As the war was ending, President Roosevelt was at first convinced by Henry *Morgenthau, his Jewish secretary of the Treasury, that the top Nazi leaders should be summarily shot once caught. At the Quebec Conference in September 1944, Churchill also supported this approach. A list of 2,500 "archcriminals" set for execution by military firing squad was being created by Morgenthau's assistants. Secretary of War Henry Stimson strongly argued, however, for holding trials. After a great deal of intracabinet dueling, Roosevelt eventually abandoned the so-called Morgenthau Plan (which also called for destroying Germany's industrial capacity and turning it into "a country primarily agricultural and pastoral in its character") in favor of Stimson's legalist approach. Murray Bernays, a young Jewish lawyer in Stimson's office, drafted the first outline of how the Nazi archcriminals should be tried. Bernays also came up with the idea of putting on trial not just individuals but also Nazi organizations, using the Anglo-American legal doctrine of conspiracy liability. Stalin also favored trials, but the kind of show trials mounted by the regime in the Soviet Union, in which guilt was predetermined. The Soviet Union and France were uninterested in conspiracies and Britain shied away from conspiracies against the peace. The Soviet Union wanted to restrict the trials to the war years alone. Ambiguity papered over diplomatic differences. The importance of the trials was enhanced when President Harry S. Truman named Supreme Court Justice Robert Jackson, who took leave from the Court, as the chief American prosecutor. The move was virtually unprecedented and it enhanced the stature of all that was to follow.

Number of Nazi Criminals and Their Collaborators

As it is not possible to establish exactly the number of German criminals who participated in the annihilation of the Jews; only an estimate is possible. One ordinarily thinks of two main groups of criminals: the instigators, planners, and commanders who directed the killing operations or with whose knowledge, agreement, or passive participation these acts were committed; and the actual implementers of the plans and commands at various levels of authority and initiative. But there was also a wider circle of persons involved, including those who designed and engineered the gas chambers and the crematoria and those who built the economic infrastructure that allowed the camps to flourish. Also involved were the corporations that invested in these camps, and that used slave laborers there and worked them to death. The first group, to which the leadership of the German government belonged – the heads of ministries, the Nazi Party, the armed forces, the Gestapo, the SS, and the RSHA (*Reichssicherheithauptamt*, Reich Central Security Office) – numbered many hundreds. The second group included hundreds of thousands – members of the Gestapo, the SS, the Waffen SS, the SD, the police with its many branches, the armed forces; officials from special departments of the Foreign Ministry and Ministry of the Interior who dealt with Jewish matters, the staffs of the concentration camps, doctors who practiced in the concentration camps, lawyers, judges, and many others. The estimate of hundreds of thousands who participated actively in the annihilation of the Jews and other crimes is no exaggeration. This number, furthermore, does not include collaborators from the conquered territories – Croats, Ukrainians, Latvians, Lithuanians, Estonians, Byelorussians, Russians, and others. Many tens of thousands of collaborators who participated in the planning and execution of the murder of Jews, Soviet prisoners of war, and local civilian populations were able to retreat together with the Germans as they fled from Eastern Europe, and later escaped – posing as innocent refugees – to the United States, Canada, Great Britain, Australia, and Latin America. During the war, many of these killers were organized in special units – often referred to as *Schutzmannschaft* units – mostly within the framework of the Security Police (SD), among them such notorious murder squads as the "Special Detachment" (*Ypatingas burys*) and the 12th Lithuanian Auxiliary Police Battalion in Lithuania and the Arajs Kommando in Latvia. They not only carried out the orders of the Nazis, but also killed tens of thousands of Jews on their own initiative. The murder of the Jews of Kaunas and other areas in Lithuania, for example, began immediately upon the evacuation of the Soviet army from these places, even before the first German soldiers entered. The same was true in the parts of Poland that had been occupied by the Soviet Union in 1939, in western Ukraine, and elsewhere.

Trials in Allied Military Tribunals

Nazi war crime trials began during World War II itself. The first trial of perpetrators of crimes against civilian populations was conducted in the liberated territories of the Soviet Union. The trial dealt with the abominable actions committed by the German invaders in the city of Krasnodar in the northern Caucasus. It opened on July 14, 1943, after the liberation of the area, with eleven accused, of whom eight were sentenced to death. The second trial dealing with annihilation of civilian populations and prisoners of war took place in the city of Kharkov, Ukraine, in December 1943. Three Germans, *SS men and police, and a Russian collaborator were tried, and all were sentenced to death by hanging. At this trial, for the first time, documentation of the annihilation of civilian populations by gas was shown.

THE INTERNATIONAL MILITARY TRIBUNAL (THE FIRST NUREMBERG TRIAL). The specific question of war crimes and crimes against Jews, defined then as "crimes against humanity" under the general policy of the infamous Final Solution, was considered only after World War II, first by the International Military Tribunal (IMT) at Nuremberg that tried the heads of the Nazi regime who had been captured by the Allies.

The IMT trial, the first of the Nuremberg trials, was conducted from November 1945 to October 1946. The defendants included Hermann *Goering, the most prominent Nazi the Allies had captured, who officially held the title of Commander of the Luftwaffe and several departments of the SS; Hans *Frank, governor general of occupied Poland; Ernst *Kaltenbrunner, head of the RSHA; Joachim von *Ribbentrop, Reich minister for foreign affairs; Julius *Streicher, gauleiter of Franconia and editor of *Der *Stuermer*, the infamous antisemitic publication; Martin *Bormann, chief of the chancellery of the Nazi Party and Hitler's private secretary, who was tried *in absentia*. (Some of the most prominent Nazi criminals and German government leaders managed to evade justice and were not brought to trial at Nuremberg, including *Hitler, *Himmler, *Goebbels, and Robert Ley, who committed suicide [the latter hanged himself in his cell while awaiting trial at Nuremberg]; Reinhard *Heydrich, charged by Goering with the implementation of the Final *Solution, was assassinated in 1942; Heinrich *Mueller, one of the heads of the *Gestapo, disappeared without a trace. Martin Bormann, tried in absentia, was never found. Having fled from the chancellery bunker on May 1, 1945 as the Red Army was closing in, he was said to have been killed by the Russians; his death in Berlin was supposedly confirmed by evidence found in 1972, but he was also rumored to have escaped to South America.)

In accordance with the principles of the London Charter of August 8, 1945, an indictment was brought by the principal prosecutors of the four main Allied powers, detailing the accusations against each of the defendants as well as against six organizations defined as criminal: the Reich cabinet, the Leadership Corps of the Nazi Party, the SS, the SA, the Gestapo and SD, and the General Staff and High Command of the German armed forces. In preparing the material, as well as during the trial, the four prosecutors had the cooperation of the delegations of the other members of the anti-Nazi alliance and some representatives of Jewish organizations, in particular the World Jewish Congress' Institute of Jewish Affairs, founded as a documentation center in 1941, headed by Jacob *Robinson. The latter assisted in the preparation of the material and in the formulation of the statement concerning the persecution and murder, which the Germans called "extermination," of the Jews. Nuremberg was chosen as the site of the trial not because of the Nuremberg Laws or its role as the location of grand Nazi Party rallies but because the city had not been completely ruined during Allied bombing raids and was in good enough condition to host the trials, with a standing courthouse (still in use today). Courtroom 600 of the Palace of Justice, where both the IMT trial and subsequent American zonal trials were held, is still in use as a working courtroom.

The proceedings began on November 20, 1945 and were concluded on October 1, 1946 – the date of Yom Kippur (the Jewish Day of Atonement) that year – with a judgment in which twelve defendants were sentenced to death, three to life imprisonment, four to prison terms, and three acquitted. The death sentences were carried out by hanging on October 16–17, 1946, except for that of Goering, who took poison before he could be executed.

Justice Jackson set the scene in his opening statement:

> In the prisoners' dock sit twenty-odd broken men. Reproached by the humiliation of those they have attacked, their personal capacity for evil is forever. It is hard to perceive in these miserable men as captives the power by which as Nazi leaders they once dominated much of the world and terrified most of it. Merely as individuals, their fate is of little consequence…
>
> What makes this inquest significant is that these prisoners… are the living symbols of racial hatreds, of terrorism and violence, and of the arrogance and cruelty of power… Civilization can afford no compromise with the social forces which would gain renewed strength if we deal ambiguously or indecisively with the men in whom those forces now precariously survive.

The charter of the International Military Tribunal at Nuremberg served as a basis for domestic laws later enacted in countries in which trials of war criminals were conducted (except for the Federal Republic of [West] Germany, which did not officially adopt the Nuremberg principles). The Tribunal, and four-power cooperation in general, did not continue after the judgment, due to the deteriorating relations between the Western Allies and the Soviet Union, leading to the onset of the Cold War.

British historian David Cesarani has assessed the importance of these trials: "The Nuremberg tribunal established a model for the future. It generated a detailed record and accumulated a mass of material, which ensured that the history of the Nazi era would not be forgotten easily and would make political distortions more difficult. The tribunal… satisfied the popular desire for retribution… and made, for the first time[,] the political echelon accountable in a court of international law for the planning and conduct of war." In 2005–06, on the sixtieth anniversary of the trials, conferences were held around the world commemorating their significance to the growth of international criminal law. A conference in Washington, D.C. cited the Nuremberg proceedings as "the birth of [modern] international law." The *ad hoc* international tribunals created by the UN Security Council in the late 1990s to try perpetrators of the atrocities in Yugoslavia and the genocide in Rwanda were directly modeled on the Nuremberg proceedings, and became the first international trials for war crimes and crimes against humanity since Nuremberg. The permanent International Criminal Court, established at the beginning of the twenty-first century, is also in a direct lineage from Nuremberg. The trials also led to subsequent action by the United Nations, such as the 1948 Genocide Convention and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

Certain dimensions of the IMT trial remained unclear. There was confusion between war crimes and crimes against humanity. The specific nature of what happened to the Jews became a background to the trial rather than its central theme; contrary to current popular belief, the crimes of the Holocaust played only a secondary role. The major emphasis, especially for the Americans, was to try the Nazi leadership for the crime of waging aggressive war.

Of significance also was that the Tribunal did not accept the defense of "merely following orders," though in many subsequent trials such a defense was invoked.

The proceedings also provided copious documentary evidence of the crimes committed by Nazi Germany. The material (trial transcripts, affidavits, and documents) was published in an official edition of 42 volumes in English, French, and German (English title: *Trial of the Major War Criminals*) between 1947 and 1949 (the "Blue Series") and constituted an invaluable contribution to the administration of justice to Nazi criminals in various countries, as well as to the study of the Nazi Party and the German administrative apparatus that implemented the "Final Solution to the Jewish Question" that is now known as the Shoah or Holocaust.

The Nuremberg judgment constitutes an important historical turning point, one of the great landmarks in the development of international law and international relations, whose importance has grown in recent years. Despite Nuremberg not being a trial specifically of the Holocaust, the IMT proceedings did expose the criminal measures against the Jewish people and did not submerge the victimization of the Jews in the general category of "racial persecution," "stateless persons," or other euphemisms. In this respect, it served as a binding precedent that was followed in subsequent trials almost everywhere. On the other hand, the IMT followed the provisions of the charter and considered as crimes against humanity only such crimes that were somehow connected with "crimes against peace" or war crimes – in other words with crimes committed after the outbreak of the war. Consequently, no attention was paid to such crimes as the April 1, 1933 boycott, the Nuremberg laws, *Kristallnacht*, etc.

There were many who found the trial problematic. Some Germans considered it victors' justice. Others regarded it as *ex post facto* law. The role of the Soviet Union in the invasion of Poland was deliberately ignored. Still others felt that Nuremberg was a distraction because they wanted to focus on the future and the swiftly developing Cold War – the next war – and not the last war. Others felt that the punishment given the convicted defendants, however great, was inadequate given the magnitude of the crimes. In subsequent years, as the punishments meted out to subsequent defendants became less severe, some questioned whether any real justice was achieved or merely the appearance of justice.

On December 20, 1945, the four Allied governments in occupied Germany enacted Control Council Law No. 10, which had special significance for the continuation of the Nazi trials and the definition of crimes against humanity. This law, with minor modifications, eliminated the connection between crimes against humanity and the two remaining crimes (crimes against peace and war crimes), and raised crimes against humanity to a level equal to that of the other two. This also extended the period covered by the law from the war years alone to the entire Nazi period. Control Council Law No. 10, whose articles dealt mainly with crimes against humanity, enabled each of the Allies, as well as military and civilian tribunals, to hold trials in conquered territories in Germany.

INDIVIDUAL ALLIED MILITARY TRIBUNALS. The 1945–46 trial at Nuremberg of the surviving Nazi leadership was the only one conducted by the IMT. Later trials, called Subsequent Nuremberg Proceedings or zonal trials (and also widely known as "Nuremberg Trials") were conducted by military tribunals of the four occupying Allied powers within their own occupation zones, under the terms of Control Council Law No. 10.

Twelve trials of special significance were conducted at Nuremberg by U.S. military tribunals ("Nuremberg Military Tribunals," composed of American judges) in 1946–49. (Other U.S. military tribunal trials were held at Dachau, also in the U.S. Occupation Zone, during the same period.) Justice Jackson's deputy, Telford Taylor, a lawyer serving in the U.S. Army and given the rank of brigadier general, took over the job as chief counsel for the prosecution after Jackson's return to the U.S. Supreme Court at the conclusion of the IMT proceedings.

The twelve cases were brought against groups of important Nazis who bore the chief responsibility for some of the most serious and significant of Nazi crimes. They were:

1. The Medical Case, November 21, 1946–August 20, 1947
2. The Milch Case, December 20, 1946–April 17, 1947
3. The Justice Case, February 17–December 4, 1947
4. The Pohl Case, March 10–November 3, 1947
5. The Flick Case, April 19–December 22, 1947
6. The I.G. Farben Case, August 14, 1947–July 30, 1948
7. The Hostage Case, July 8, 1947–February 19, 1948
8. The RUSHA Case, October 10, 1947–March 10, 1948
9. The *Einsatzgruppen* Case, July 3, 1947–April 10, 1948
10. The Krupp Case, September 17, 1947–April 10, 1948
11. The Ministry Case, November 15, 1947–April 14, 1949
12. The High Command Case, December 30, 1947–October 28, 1948

As noted above, the crimes committed against the Jews were not the main focus of the IMT trial. During the subsequent trials, however, much more attention was paid to acts of cruelty and the annihilation of Jews under the Nazi regime. The Jewish question had special significance in the following trials: the Pohl Case, in which Oswald Pohl and 17 others were tried for committing crimes against the inmates of the concentration and death camps, and especially against Jews; the *Einsatzgruppen* Case, the trial of 24 SS and Gestapo men from the *Einsatzgruppen* (special "mission units" or task forces) who headed firing squads that murdered approximately a million Jews in the conquered German territories in Eastern Europe, and particularly in the Soviet Union; likewise, the Ministries Case, with 21 defendants including three government ministers, molders of Reich policy, who were tried for abetting the preparation of the war and creating the conditions for the implementation of the crimes of the Nazi regime. In the last trial Robert *Kempner, one of the chief U.S. prosecutors, presented to the Tribunal and the entire world one of the most important Nazi documents from the files of the German Foreign Ministry relating to the annihilation of the Jews. It was the record of the *Wannsee Conference of January 20, 1942, during which cooperation was requested and received from all party and government institutions involved in the implementation of the Final Solution. The *Einsatzgruppen* trial was primarily a trial of documents. The chief prosecutor in the case, Benjamin Ferencz, a young American Jewish lawyer working under Taylor, was able to obtain conviction of the generals responsible for the murders by these mobile killing squads by introducing into evidence the operational field reports sent to Berlin from the killing fields of the Soviet Union. The Medical Case trial led to the enunciation of new principles of medical ethics, known in medical circles as the "Nuremberg Code" and taught now in every medical school in the United States. The ten-point Nuremberg Code prohibits experimentation on human subjects without their "informed consent" and gives the subject or patient the right to stop the experiment or treatment at any time.

One hundred seventy-seven Nazis were tried and convicted in these twelve trials. Of these, twelve were sentenced to death, 25 to life imprisonment, and the remainder to long prison terms. Proximity to the crime was taken as a measure of guilt. Those who were directly involved in the killing – doctors, concentration camp heads, *Einsatzgruppen* officers – received the most severe sentences. Thus, those who profited by the crime and developed the infrastructure that enabled the killings to proceed were treated more leniently.

The U.S. tribunals met in 1,200 sessions, and the trial transcripts cover 330,000 pages, aside from documents entered in evidence. This vast corpus of material supplements extensively that from the International Military Tribunal. A large part of the documentation of the military tribunal trials was published by the U.S. authorities in 15 volumes (*Trials of War Criminals* – "Green Series") in 1949–53.

In the U.S. military tribunal trials conducted in Dachau, 1,517 of the 1,941 defendants who were tried by 1949 were found guilty. Of these, 324 were sentenced to death, and 278 of these sentences were actually carried out.

In the British Occupation Zone, in Lueneburg, Hamburg, and Wuppertal, 1,085 defendants were tried before British military tribunals and 240 were sentenced to death. Among the more important trials in the British Zone, that of the SS guards at the *Bergen-Belsen concentration camp (the Bergen Trial, September 17–November 17, 1945) should be mentioned. Josef Kramer, the camp commandant, and his accomplices were convicted. Kramer was put to death.

In the French Zone, 2,107 defendants were tried and 104 sentenced to death.

The total number of Nazi criminals convicted in the three Western occupation zones between 1945 and 1949 was 5,025, of whom 806 were sentenced to death. Four hundred eighty-six death sentences were carried out; the remainder were commuted to prison terms of varying lengths.

Official or semiofficial figures are not available for the trials of Nazis in the Soviet Occupation Zone. It is assumed, however, that tens of thousands of Germans were tried there and that most of them were convicted and in large measure deported to Soviet territories to serve their sentences. (In 1955, in the wake of a Soviet-West German agreement, 8,877 criminals were freed. Another 749 were handed over to West Germany for further investigation.)

In the course of its work, the United Nations War Crimes Commission prepared 80 lists of war criminals, which together comprised 36,529 names (including Japanese). The Commission published a number of partial statistics on the period until March 1, 1948. The authorities of the United States, Great Britain, France, Greece, Netherlands, Norway, Poland, and Yugoslavia conducted 969 trials, in which 3,470 German defendants were tried. Death sentences were passed for 952; 1,905 were sentenced to varying prison terms, and 613 were acquitted.

Before the trials concluded, the political climate changed. The Cold War had begun and both the Americans and the Soviet Union were vying for the esteem of the German people. For some Americans, the Korean War made putting the Nazi period in the past ever more urgent. John J. McCloy, a former assistant secretary of war who became U.S. high commissioner for Germany in 1949, promulgated the Clemency Act in January 1951, commuting many of the convicted war criminals' sentences. By 1958 nearly all prisoners had been freed.

Trials in Liberated Countries and Israel

WEST GERMANY AND AUSTRIA. *West Germany.* Courts in postwar Germany began to function at the end of 1945, when some of the Allies reinvested the Germans with the right to hold trials. According to a summary prepared by the Federal Department of Justice in Bonn, indictments were issued by the West German authorities against 9,401 Nazi criminals between 1945 and Jan. 1, 1969. Of these, twelve were condemned to death (through 1949), 98 to life imprisonment, 6,002 to various prison terms, and the remainder acquitted or never brought to trial. All in all, during the above period, investigations were carried out against 79,401 accused Nazi criminals. 13,000 were tried and 6,487 were convicted; 6,197 were sentenced to prison (thirteen to life terms) and 23 to death. Among the most important trials were those of the Treblinka guards (1959–65); the Auschwitz SS personnel (1963–79 and 1963–64); Franz Stangl, commandant of Sobibor and Treblinka (1974–75); the Majdanek case (1975–81); and Josef Schwammberger, commandant of the Mieliec, Rozvadow, and Przemysl forced labor camps in Poland, who also destroyed the Przemysl ghetto (1991–92).

Three periods are discernible in the trial and punishment of Nazi criminals in West Germany: 1) from the close of the war until 1952, the "denazification period"; 2) 1952–57, a period of relative cessation of legal activities in this area; and 3) from 1958 on, with the establishment of the Central Office of the State Judicial Authorities (*Zentralstelle der Landesjustizverwaltungen*) in Ludwigsburg.

Immediately after the end of World War II, the Allies realized that in the interests of international security, Germany must be thoroughly purged of its Nazi elements. "Denazification," the process of purging the German state and civil society of their Nazi elements, began in 1945 and had several aspects: military, political, and legal. In the military sphere, the magnitude of the German defeat ensured that the German military posed no threat to the occupying armies; the Allied military governments in occupied Germany further secured themselves by means of preventive arrest of members of all Nazi government, military, police, and party bodies. In the political sphere, denazification proceedings were intended to prevent Nazis not included in the list of war criminals from assuming influential positions in the political, economic, and social life of Germany, and to assure the process of German democratization. In the legal sphere, investigations of Nazi functionaries were carried out and those accused of crimes prosecuted, when the evidence warranted (trials and denazification were not the same thing). More than 3,000,000 Germans were obliged to undergo this process, and trials were conducted against accused Nazi criminals in both Allied and German courts. From 1946 to 1952, trials were held by the West German states of, inter alia, participants in the **Kristallnacht* riots (November 9–10, 1938), and the number of accused reached several hundred.

When a state and civil society are dominated so totally by a ruling party that all officials either willingly or by necessity adhere to its expressed ideology, it is difficult to purge these people from its institutions, including the judiciary and legal community and the government bureaucracy, and still have a functioning system. Denazification, therefore, was not at all successful, and most former Nazis, especially in the judiciary, returned to their old posts.

After 1953, denazification ceased in West and East Germany. Searching for criminals not yet brought to trial abated, and many were able to flee Germany and go elsewhere. Latin America was a frequent destination, as were Arab countries. As a result murderers lived freely and with only vague fears throughout the world – Adolf Eichmann lived in Argentina; the physician Josef *Mengele lived in Argentina until 1960 and later in Paraguay and Brazil; Horst Schumann, who performed medical experiments on Jewish prisoners in the concentration camps, lived in Ghana until his extradition; Franz Stangl, commandant of the *Treblinka and *Sobibor death camps, lived in Syria and Brazil until his extradition; and there were plenty of others. And many lived freely in East and West Germany as well. West German authorities rationalized this by claiming that the Nuremberg trials, even though they had been held in Germany, did not evoke the appropriate reaction in the country. After its overwhelming defeat, the German nation was busy repairing the ravages created by the war. Appropriate documentation was lacking, as the victors had taken all the German archives that remained after the war. The reservoir of potential witnesses that existed in Germany between 1945 and 1950 and constituted an important element in gathering complaints and evidence, disappeared with the elimination of Displaced *Persons camps and the migration of the refugees to Israel and other countries. Most importantly, the Cold War became a central concern of the Allies and the politics of fighting it predominated. There was less incentive for the Western allies to pursue war crimes trials. In addition, Germans in general, and their official institutions, maintained that they were not completely aware of the extent of the crimes committed by the Nazis. It was only in the wake of the 1958 Ulm trial against the members of the *Einsatzkommando Tilsit*, which operated in Lithuania, that most Germans learned of the extent of the crimes – or so it was argued.

Whatever the validity of this claim, it is a fact that 1958 marked a turning point in the attempt to bring Nazi criminals to justice within the territory of the Federal Republic of Germany, and, to a far lesser extent, in Austria. In a number of places suitable conditions and tools were created for renewed activity in this field, especially in West Germany, Israel (where Yad *Vashem, the memorial institution whose work includes documentation of the Holocaust, was established, as was a special police unit for Nazi criminals), and the United States (where the Institute of Jewish Affairs concentrated exclusively on assistance to German and Austrian judicial authorities). In the Ulm trial, it became clear to the prosecution that until that time the crime of the Final Solution was barely considered by the German courts and that those mainly responsible for its planning and execution were not tried at all. This had to do with the restrictions placed by the Allies on the authority of the West German courts, which were loosened only later.

As a result of this trial, there was an awakening among liberal jurists in Germany. Thirteen years after the end of the war, a special meeting of the ministers of justice of the 13 *Laender* (states) then constituting the Federal Republic was held in city of Ludwigsburg, near Stuttgart. Following the suggestion of the minister of justice of Baden-Wuerttemberg, the ministers of the federal Laender decided in October 1958 to create the aforementioned *Zentralestelle der Landes-*

justizverwaltungen zur Aufklaerung der NS-Verbrechen (Central Office of the State Judicial Authorities for the Investigation of National Socialist Crimes – Central Office, for short). This authority started its work in Ludwigsburg on December 1, 1958.

According to the administrative agreement of the Laender, the task of the Central Office consisted of collecting and sifting all obtainable records about relevant criminal acts under investigation, examining crimes, classifying them and determining the whereabouts of the perpetrators. The office was obliged to coordinate preliminary inquiries and transmit relevant information to the appropriate public prosecutors and to be of further assistance to them.

As the Central Office itself was not a public prosecution office, it could not prefer charges, apply for arrest warrants, or examine property, but was obliged to pass its findings to the public prosecutors. The Central Office had no competence to investigate genuine war crimes. It also did not initially possess any jurisdiction to investigate killings in those concentration camps which were located in the area of the Federal Republic. Later on – at the end of 1964 – its jurisdiction was extended and it then investigated such crimes committed in German territory, with the exception of those committed by the Reich Central Security Office, which remained within the jurisdiction of the Chief State Prosecutor at the Supreme Court of Justice.

Under the terms of the Administrative Agreement, public prosecutors were obliged to forward to the Central Office all the findings they obtained during proceedings and present the minutes of the examination sessions of accused and witnesses, as well as other relevant documents together with their concluding notes. The Central Office registered these documents in card indexes. In January 1985, the central card catalogue in the Central Office contained more than 1.3 million cards arranged alphabetically as well as by the sites at which the acts were committed and by which division (*Dienststelle*). The data was obtained from witnesses, the accused, and other persons. The document collection included more than half a million individual documents about the Nazi era (mainly photocopies) and more than 500 microfilms. These were also available for use through separate document catalogues.

Initially, the Central Office was entrusted with the investigation, in addition to murders, of crimes classified as manslaughter. The statute of limitations ran out on these as of May 8, 1960. As a result only those murders which are defined as willful murders can be prosecuted. A law of December 1979 lifted limitations for all murders, not only Nazi killings.

The employees of the Central Office were generally prosecutors and investigating judges; the majority were devoted young people, who were not adults when the Nazi crimes were committed. They began their work by becoming acquainted with the problem, gathering documentary material and establishing ties with Israel and Jewish institutions in the United States. This office did not deal with crimes committed within German territory itself; those crimes were prosecuted by the regular judicial authorities in the states in which the alleged perpetrators resided, as were crimes committed outside Germany – the Central Office gathered information, and individual states undertook investigations and trials.

The Central Office came up against many problems. On the one hand, its activities were an annoyance and a threat to German circles that included many influential figures who wanted to forget the past, e.g., ex-Nazi politicians, judges and police officials, and adherents of *neo-Nazism. On the other hand, prosecutors encountered many difficulties and obstacles in gathering documentary material scattered in many countries. Certain countries, for political reasons, were not always willing to assist by placing the material in their possession at the disposal of the German authorities.

In addition, in dealing with Nazi crimes, investigation authorities had to take into consideration further difficulties. Many witnesses who were victims of National Socialism were no longer alive or were unwilling to give testimony about their terrible experiences, especially in the oppressive atmosphere of a courtroom. Proof becomes more difficult to establish over time. Some survivors refused to return to Germany even for a trial. Others were angry at what they considered the disrespectful tone of cross-examination. Ordinary victims had usually been in contact only with low-level perpetrators and not with those in charge, the leaders. In cases of culprits who were not known to their victims either by name or by appearance verification could be arrived at only through documentary evidence. Documents often arrived in the form of photocopies from the archives of Eastern European states and were therefore distrusted, or flatly rejected, by certain circles in the Federal Republic. In some trials in which such documentary evidence was introduced, counsel for the defense asked the courts not to accept it. (When, however, incontestable originals were placed at the courts' disposal, no further attempts were made to dispute the authenticity of these documents.) Unfortunately, in several cases, such documentary proof was entirely missing, as the documents had been destroyed shortly before the end of the war or never existed. These proceedings were almost always dependent on the testimony of witnesses. But it is only natural that, decades after the events, the value of such testimony becomes more and more questionable. In addition, the exterminations of the National Socialist era were not carried out openly, but in specially chosen localities, behind walls and fences and under the strictest secrecy.

The problem of locating witnesses was even greater with respect to German nationals, who were unwilling to give incriminating testimonies against their accomplices. The reservoir of witnesses was therefore usually limited to the circles of the perpetrators or the victims. Many of those who witnessed such acts or were in contact with those who committed them were afraid to expose themselves to investigation; they remained silent, because of misguided solidarity with the perpetrators, or because they had suppressed the terrible events from their memory. The victims were often able to recall the essentials, but had forgotten details which seemed to them at the time unimportant and which might have been crucial for the proceedings. They often instinctively substituted for their imperfect knowledge hearsay evidence and conclusions reached later, often after discussion with other survivors. Perpetrators, times, and places became confused, especially as many of the victims had passed through a dozen or more camps. Still, even in these cases remarkably precise testimonies were often given which could be – sometimes through documentation – unequivocally verified. It has also been repeatedly established that witnesses for the accused contacted each other, sometimes in an organized fashion, to coordinate their exonerating statements.

Many of the investigations handed over for legal action were completed with the trial and conviction of the accused, e.g., the trials of the SS men from the staff of the *Chelmno death camp; the members of the *Einsatzgruppen* who operated in Belorussia; the Heuser trial involving the destruction of the Jews of Minsk; the trials of the murderers of the Treblinka, Auschwitz, and Sobibor death camps and the Tarnopol, Czestochowa, Lvov, and Stanislav ghettos. Special units of the criminal police were established to assist the Central Office; their task was to interrogate witnesses in Germany, locate criminals, and make arrests on the basis of the office's data. Among the important cases dealt with by the Central Office are those of the *Einsatzgruppen*, with all their units, that operated mainly in the German-occupied Soviet territories, and the infamous *Aktion Reinhard* case, the operation aimed at murdering Polish Jews. The Central Office also investigated the crimes committed in the ghettos in Poland and in all German-occupied countries of Europe. Again, it is important to note that an enormous amount of investigatory work was also undertaken by each state prosecuting attorney's office – for example, in the Auschwitz trial, most of the investigation was done by the prosecution and the court in Frankfurt.

An important limitation of the prosecution of Nazi killings was the amendment of Article 50, Paragraph 2 of the Penal Code passed in October 1968, whereby persons who had participated in such murders could be punished only if their own special criminal characteristics, such as delight in murder, avarice, or other base motives such as racial hatred or lust for revenge, were proved. Failure to prove these meant that the act was covered by the statute of limitations and was not actionable as of May 8, 1960. Other related manifestations, such as extreme cruelty and malice, were, however, excluded from the above amendment.

In performing its functions the Central Office cooperated from the outset with private and state institutions in Germany and elsewhere – especially with institutions in Israel, the U.S., and France – to obtain documentary proofs or testimonies of witnesses. From 1965 the Central Office was also given the opportunity, after appropriate agreements were reached, to cooperate with states of the Eastern Bloc and to make use of the extensive documentary material in their archives. Difficulties arose with regard to cooperation with the states of the Middle East, South American countries, and also the German Democratic Republic (East Germany). Interpol had declined to help in clarifying Nazi crimes, as it classified these in the category of political offenses, with which, according to its constitution, it is not supposed to deal. As a not insignificant number of persons sought for had succeeded, equipped with false personal documents and in some cases helped by the Vatican, in disappearing into Arab or South American countries, which as a rule declined extradition of these persons, proceedings against these accused often remained unsettled. For example, Walter Rauff, former *SS-Standartenfuehrer* and director of the technical department of the RSHA dealing with the use of gas, lived until his death in 1984 in Chile, and could not be extradited. It is also possible that some accused lived unidentified in the Federal Republic.

In comparatively numerous cases the accused committed suicide in detention or died during the proceedings. Often, the inability of a defendant to stand trial – supported by official medical examinations – resulted in the suspension of the proceedings. The fact that these suspensions have occurred more frequently in Nazi trials than in other legal proceedings is related not to the indulgence of the courts, but to the age of the defendants. 2005 was sixty years after liberation and thus a thirty-year-old officer in 1945 was by then 90 and likely to plead ill health and feebleness. With defendants at death's door, some have suggested that no trials be held and that the courts simply wait for time to take its toll.

All these circumstances now necessitate an especially careful and precise examination of testimonies by the courts. Proceedings have often terminated – in spite of very lengthy searches throughout the world for witnesses – with verdicts of acquittal because of possible errors in testimony, following the principle "*in dubio pro reo*" (when in doubt, favor the accused). As over the years the number of living witnesses has decreased and their memories have deteriorated, the proportion of acquittals in forthcoming cases will undoubtedly increase.

The fall of the Berlin Wall and the incorporation of the German Democratic Republic into the Federal Republic did not lead to identification or prosecution of East Germans now under the jurisdiction of the Central Office. The unified German government was more interested in trying former East German Communist Party leaders and former Berlin Wall guards responsible for the killing of East Germans attempting to escape than in prosecuting aged pensioners with a Nazi past.

As of 2004, the Central Office had 35 suspected Nazi war criminals under review. In 2003, two new indictments were filed for murder, and these were the only murder charges outstanding against former Nazis or collaborators anywhere in the world.

Chances of obtaining additional convictions, moreover, remain small, for reasons apart from failing memories. As the Canadian historian Rebecca Wittmann has pointed out, the conservative German judiciary has always been loath to convict aging German pensioners for wartime acts. A prominent example is the case of Friedrich Engel, a former Nazi SS officer known as the Butcher of Genoa, for his part in the wartime massacre of 59 Italian POWs. In 2002, a Hamburg court found Engel guilty of murder and sentenced him to seven years' imprisonment. In 2004, however, Germany's Federal Court of Justice threw out the conviction. Although the appellate court agreed that Engel ordered the execution, it held that the charge of murder had not been sufficiently proven and would have required a retrial which would not take place because of Engel's advanced age. In 2006, Engel died of natural causes at age 97 in Hamburg.

Austria. Despite the proclamations and claims of government circles in Austria about the desire to eradicate traces of Nazism and antisemitism from the country, the acts of the Austrian courts attest to the opposite. Only isolated trials against Nazi criminals were held in Austria in the 1960s, and all the verdicts constituted a mockery of justice and law, to the point of arousing wrath the world over. Among those brought to trial were Franz Novak, an SS member and aide to Adolf Eichmann, who organized the transport of tens of thousands of Jews to the gas chambers (he was tried in 1964 and sentenced to eight years. A new trial was held in 1966 and he was acquitted. He was tried again in 1969 and sentenced to nine years and a fourth trial was held in 1972 when he was found guilty and sentenced to seven years); Franz Murer, the murderer of Vilna Jewry, who was acquitted by the court in Graz of a charge of murder and is free; Erich Raja Rajakowitsch, another of Eichmann's aides, responsible for sending tens of thousands of Dutch Jews to the death camps, who was sentenced to two and a half years' imprisonment; and the Mauer brothers, criminals who committed atrocities and murdered the Jews of the city of Stanislav, Poland (now in the Ukraine).

While Austria as of 2004 had 27 ongoing investigations, the only convictions obtained there have been those discussed in the preceding paragraph. In February 2006, Ephraim Zuroff of the *Simon Wiesenthal Center called Austria "a paradise for Nazi criminals" after failing to convince the Austrian government of Prime Minister Wolfgang Schuessel to take more active measures to investigate and prosecute suspected former Nazis still living in Austria.

Former United Nations Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim, who later became President of Austria, was known to have lied about his whereabouts during World War II (he served in Yugoslavia in the vicinity of the places where atrocities were committed). He was placed on the "Watch List" for Nazi War Criminals by the Department of Justice of the United States, but his personal responsibility for crimes has not been established by a Court of Law.

Punishment of Criminals Tried in West Germany and Austria. In contrast to the period immediately after the war, when membership in a Nazi organization was sufficient for a prima facie case, current German criminal law stipulates that proof must be given that an individual defendant committed acts of murder or was an accomplice to such acts. The Federal Republic's Justice Ministry did not adopt any of the international criminal provisions and chose instead to try Nazi criminals under the existing pre-Nazi German penal code that had been established in 1871. Although it was still possible to find Jewish eyewitnesses to testify against low-ranking Nazis, it was almost impossible to do so in the case of high-ranking officials, those who gave the commands. Jews were seldom in direct, eyewitness contact with the leaders, merely with the lower-level officials who operated in the vicinity of Jews. Thus, it was only on the basis of testimony given by accomplices or documents from the period that they could be brought to trial, and these were often unavailable or nonexistent. The verdicts of trials against accused Nazi criminals in West Germany, and even more so in Austria in the 1950s, often reflected the tendency to acquit them or spare them severe punishment on the ground that they had committed their criminal acts out of "an error of conscience." Defendants were tried as either perpetrators of or accomplices to murder; they could not be tried for manslaughter after 1960, as noted above, because of the 15-year statute of limitations on manslaughter. There was a 20-year limitation on charges of murder, which was hotly debated throughout the 1960s and the 1970s but was ultimately never invoked vis-à-vis Nazi crimes. Defendants who were convicted were largely convicted as accomplices, because in order to convict them as perpetrators (earning an automatic life sentence) the prosecution had to show their inner motivations. Elements of inner motivation included lust for killing, sexual drive for killing, cruelty, treachery, base motives (defined in Nazi trials as racial hatred, and very hard to prove). Above all, the prosecution had to prove the individual initiative of the defendant in order to get a conviction of murder. This led to a strong focus on defendants who committed brutal acts in excess of their orders. The "just following orders" defense had already been thrown out at Nuremberg, as it had been proven there that no Nazi or SS officer or enlisted man had ever been punished or even investigated for refusing to carry out these kinds of orders.

Despite the substantial amounts of documentary material and testimony presented against them, many of the criminals convicted nonetheless received sentences that did not stand in any reasonable proportion to the extent of their crimes. Tens of thousands of other defendants enjoyed the immunity afforded by the German statute of limitations, twice extended. Prior to the 1979 amendment it was only 30 years in the case of murder. The reasons for this leniency included the fact that many German and Austrian judges or jurors themselves served the Nazi regime and some of them had been members of the Party. Even those who were not Nazis were not inclined to mete out severe punishments to their neighbors. The indifference of the bulk of the German and Austrian public to the question of Nazi criminals also played a role in this matter.

Various circles in Germany and a large part of the German press protested more than once against the absurdity of the light punishments or acquittals of the criminals in comparison to punishments meted out to ordinary thieves, murderers, and others. In contrast, the voices of Nazi sympathizers encouraged the acquittals and the lenient sentences. The response to the German broadcast of the American television docudrama *Holocaust* in 1978, and to growing international pressure, led West Germany to decide not to invoke the statute of limitations on crimes of murder committed during the Holocaust.

Nevertheless, as discussed above, the overly strict legalistic approach adopted by German judges and the lack of political will or popular support to continue investigations and prosecutions of aged Nazis, has resulted in the failure to bring many Nazis to justice. As Rebecca Wittmann observes, "[C]hanges to the law made it easier and easier for those who had the most power in the Nazi regime – the desktop murderers – to go free or escape trial, and in the end only the most sadistic – and exceptional – of Nazi criminals, usually camp guards, were tried and convicted of murder. On the one hand, there were thousands of trials. On the other hand, the continuities in the judicial personnel made the sentences and interpretation of the laws extremely favourable to the defendants…. The law was not the setting in which Germans would come to recognize the wholesale complicity of an entire generation."

OTHER LIBERATED COUNTRIES. In the years after the end of the war, many countries that had been occupied by the Germans conducted a large number of trials of Nazi occupiers and their collaborators, most in accordance with special legislation, but the number of defendants of German origin was relatively low. The reason is that the Nazi criminals, except those who had been captured before the end of the war, were not always found within the borders of the countries in which the crimes were committed. Through 1949, hundreds of Nazi criminals were extradited to the legal authorities of these countries, but others remained free because no extradition agreements were in place. Extradition activities continued only until 1950 when the cold war set in. Summarized below are several trials, held in countries that are of special interest from a Jewish perspective.

In Poland, trials of Nazi criminals were held from 1944 in accordance with special legislation. Special tribunals were established that functioned until 1946, after which the accused were tried by ordinary courts. During the two years 2,471 defendants were convicted (out of about 10,000); 631 were sentenced to death and the remainder to varying prison terms. Especially significant in their bearing on the Holocaust were the cases of Amon Goeth, commandant of the *Plaszow concentration camp, in 1946, who was sentenced to death; of Ludwig Fischer, governor of the Warsaw district, who was found guilty and executed in Poland in 1947; and Rudolf *Hoess, commandant of the *Auschwitz death camp (Hoess was hanged on a gallows outside the gas chamber at Auschwitz; the gallows is still there as a kind of memorial to his crimes); of SS General Jakob Sporrenberg, responsible for the *Majdanek death camp, in 1950, who was found guilty and executed; and of SS General Juergen *Stroop, suppressor of the Warsaw ghetto uprising, in 1951, who was also found guilty and executed. According to unofficial statistics Polish tribunals dealt with about 40,000 persons, both Germans and collaborators, accused of Nazi crimes.

In Czechoslovakia, the following, inter alia, were tried for war crimes: Dieter *Wisliceny, an aide to Eichmann; Karl *Frank, commander of the police and the SS in Czechoslovakia; Monsignor Josef Tiso, president of the Nazis' Slovak puppet state, and Alexander Mach and Anton Vasek, leading collaborators responsible for the annihilation of Jews in Slovakia, who were found guilty and hanged. According to available statistics, 19,000 persons were brought to trial for Nazi crimes and collaboration in Czechoslovakia, the vast majority of them local collaborators.

In Hungary, according to official statistics of the Ministry of Justice, up to March 1, 1948, the Hungarian government instituted proceedings against 39,514 persons, of which 31,472 had been completed and 8,042 were still pending in 1948 when the regime changed. The courts dismissed 5,954 cases, 9,245 cases resulted in not guilty verdicts, and 19,273 defendants were sentenced to prison terms. Three hundred twenty-two persons were sentenced to death and 149 actually executed. No official data is available for post-1948 trials. The swift execution of the Holocaust in Hungary – the Germans occupied the country in March 1944, Jews were ghettoized in April and 437,402 deported between May 15 and early July – was an important ingredient in the war crimes trials in that country. Among the minor war criminals were those of the "labor battalions" and people involved in the deportation of the Jews. As to major war criminals, a former prime minister, László Bárdossy, was held responsible for the deportation of Jews to *Kamenets-Podolski and for the *Novi Sad massacre; he was executed. Another former prime minister, Béla Imrédy, was charged with responsibility for, among other things, the anti-Jewish laws and for the destruction of Hungarian Jewry; he, too, was executed. Three leading men of the Ministry of Interior – the minister, Andor Jaross, and the state secretaries, László Baky and László Endre, who played a leading part in the destruction of Hungarian Jewry – were sentenced to death and executed. Practically all members of the Szálasi and Sztójay governments (including the prime ministers) were tried and sentenced to death.

In the Netherlands, most of the trials took place between 1948 and 1952. More than 200 accused collaborators were tried, as well as several Germans. Among the latter, the trials of the following should be mentioned: Hans Rauter, commander of the police and SS in the Netherlands, in 1948; Wilhelm Harster, commander of the SD in the Netherlands, who bore the chief responsibility for the deportation of Dutch Jews to the death camps, and Ferdinand aus der Fuenten, Harster's aide, also responsible for the deportation of the Jews, both in 1949. Rauter was sentenced to death, and after being denied a pardon, was executed on March 25, 1949. Harster was sentenced to twelve years imprisonment (he was later sentenced to an additional 15 years in another trial in Munich). Aus der Fuenten's original death sentence was later commuted to life imprisonment.

Many trials were also held in Denmark, Belgium (610), Norway (81), and France (2,345), among them those of Karl Oberg and Helmut Knochen, police and SS commanders responsible for the deportation of French Jews to the death camps. All in all, according to West German sources, about 80,000 Germans were convicted in all countries (including the then Soviet Union and East Germany) for committing crimes against humanity. The number of local collaborators reached the tens of thousands. For example, 13,600 collaborators were tried in Denmark alone. More than 90 percent of all collaborators were sentenced to fewer than four years' imprisonment.

THE SOVIET UNION. The Soviet Union played a major role in the prosecution of Nazi war criminals and collaborators in Eastern Europe. During the initial decade after the war, thousands of accused perpetrators were put on trial in the Soviet republics that had been under German occupation – although not always for their role in the murder of the Jews. Unfortunately, no exact figures exist on the number of such trials and their results, but from the information available in the post-Communist era, it is clear that the number of those punished is relatively high when compared to Western countries. Since numerous local Nazi collaborators in these areas actively participated in the mass murder of Jews, these trials and the transcripts, documents and secondary sources published in their wake are of great importance for Holocaust history. Unfortunately, the trials were not, and the publications are not, entirely free of Soviet propaganda, which diminishes their value. The Soviets' policy of denying or minimizing (depending on the era) the singularity of the fate of the Jews and their suffering during World War II must also be considered in evaluating these sources.

Many of those convicted by Soviet courts were executed for their crimes, while others were sentenced to lengthy terms in prison camps or in exile. Many were freed in the 1955 amnesty granted by Nikita Khrushchev. Trials were held in the Soviet Union of Soviet citizens who collaborated in occupied territories during the war. Inasmuch as official publications and documents on these trials are not available, information about them was gleaned primarily from publications of the Soviet information agency, Tass. Also implicated in these trials were collaborators who had previously been Soviet citizens, i.e., those who had fled from the Soviet army – both deserters and Soviet POWs who were recruited by the Germans and later found asylum in Western countries. Trials since 1961 have not dealt explicitly with the annihilation of Jews *qua* Jews, while in trials held previously, Jews were submerged in the broad category of Soviet citizens, in keeping with the Communist interpretation of the war. There were notable exceptions such as the October 1965 trial in Riga, Latvia that considered the annihilation of the Jews and the role of Latvian collaborators in it.

The breakup of the Soviet Union led to the opening of wartime archival materials in Moscow and other Russian cities, and newly discovered Soviet documents became quite useful in the prosecution of aging collaborators living in the United States. Russia itself did not hold any trials, and there was no call for such trials to be held in Russian territory. But there were unprosecuted Holocaust perpetrators still living in Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia, and Ukraine at the end of the twentieth century. Unfortunately, these countries showed little or no interest in investigating their local populace. Latvia and Lithuania did mount some investigations and Lithuania was able to obtain one conviction of a local collaborator in the 1990s.

Trials Outside Continental Europe

Trials also occurred outside continental Europe, at a distance from the site of the crime.

ISRAEL. In spite of all their problematic features and limitations, the trials recorded above can lay claim to notable achievements. A vast store of documentary material on the criminal policies of the Nazi regime toward the Jewish population and on the responsibility of the leaders for the crimes was collected by the Allies. Likewise, trial records and collections of documents from the main trials, in various languages, were also published. In all these trials, the specific persecution of Jews was considered as only one of the many facets of Nazi criminality, all of which were required to establish the responsibility of the accused for various violations of international law: crimes against peace, war crimes, and crimes against humanity. In contrast, the only trial that dealt specifically and comprehensively with the Final Solution was the *Eichmann trial held in Jerusalem in 1961–62. The Eichmann trial had important implications for the trials of Nazi criminals and their aides in those countries where such trials were still being conducted (West and East Germany, Austria, and the U.S.S.R.). In the wake of renewed interest in the prosecution of Holocaust perpetrators generated by the Eichmann trial, Simon *Wiesenthal opened an office in Vienna and relaunched his efforts to bring Nazi war criminals to justice. He had closed his first office in Linz in 1954 after the Cold War dampened Allied enthusiasm for the prosecution of Nazi war criminals in West Germany.

A second trial in Israel, that of death camp guard John Demjanjuk, was held more than a quarter of a century later, in 1988. Demjanjuk was tried as "Ivan the Terrible," who operated the gas chambers at Treblinka, but his original conviction and death sentence were overturned when doubt was cast on his identification as Ivan, doubt which also raised questions regarding the accuracy of survivor testimony. The Demjanjuk trial obviously had significantly less impact than the Eichmann trial, but by then the memory of the Holocaust was less dependent on trials and more institutionalized and broadly based on scholarship, writing and film. Demjanjuk, a naturalized American citizen, later returned to the United States after serving seven years in Israel for his role as a concentration camp guard (he was kept in prison while his case was being appealed, the death sentence triggering an automatic Supreme Court appeal in Israel). Late in 2005, he was ordered deported from the United States for concealing his wartime past when applying for immigration and naturalization.

THE UNITED STATES. Since the passing of the most intense phase of the Cold War in the 1950s and early 1960s, and the Eichmann trial in 1961–62, the country that has been most active in pursuing Nazi war criminals has been the United States, where the presence of many Nazi war criminals and collaborators was first exposed in the mid-1970s. Because of doubts about whether they had jurisdiction to prosecute crimes committed overseas in which neither the suspects nor the victims were American citizens, American legal authorities decided to press only civil charges against suspected war criminals, for immigration and naturalization violations. Thus, in effect, Nazi war criminals have been tried for concealing their wartime activities when they applied to enter the United States and/or when they applied for U.S. citizenship. In 1978 Congress passed the Holtzman Amendment, sponsored by Representative Elizabeth *Holtzman of New York, that enabled the United States to deport aliens if they had been Nazi criminals or accessories to Nazi crimes; in 1979 the U.S. Justice Department established its Office of Special Investigations (OSI) for this purpose. As of 2006, OSI has won verdicts against more than one hundred Nazi war criminals, with more than eighty having been denaturalized and more than sixty having been removed or deported.

The Demjanjuk case was a matter of overreach by OSI, which did not pursue him merely as a camp guard, which was easily provable, but as Ivan the Terrible. After Demjanjuk's conviction in Israel, the Supreme Court of Israel overturned the verdict because of questions relating to an essential document supplied by the Soviet Union supposedly identifying him as the notorious Ivan, and Demjanuk was freed and returned to the United States. OSI moved against him again and won both denaturalization and deportation rulings. In December 2005, after exhausting all his appeals, the 85-year-old Demjanuk was ordered by an immigration judge to be deported from the United States, presumably to Ukraine, his place of birth.

A statistical summary of OSI's activities since 1979 shows the following results as of early 2006:

Persons whose denaturalization and/or removal have been sought: 132

Persons denaturalized or removed to date: 101 (81 denaturalized and 60 removed, of whom 19 had never become citizens)

Persons placed on the "watch list" for possible exclusion from the U.S.: nearly 70,000

Persons excluded at U.S. ports of entry: 170 (during 458 border stops or inquiries)

Cases in litigation: 20

Peak number of cases in litigation: 28 (in 1984)

Persons under investigation: 94

Preliminary inquiries underway: 167

Investigations opened to date: 1,517

Investigations closed to date: 1,423

[Emmanuel Brand / Rebecca Wittmann and Michael J. Bazyler (2nd ed.)]

THE UNITED KINGDOM. The presence of suspected Nazi war criminals in the United Kingdom was first exposed by Zuroff, who compiled an initial list of 17 suspects which was submitted to the British consul in Los Angeles by Rabbis Marvin Hier and Abraham Cooper on October 22, 1986 with a request that the U.K. government conduct a comprehensive investigation of the scope of the problem. Although the government initially refused to even consider any legal action in these cases, it ultimately agreed to the establishment of an official commission of inquiry following a series of exposés by Scottish Television on Nazi war criminals living in the U.K., pressure brought to bear by the All-Party War Crimes Group headed by Members of Parliament Merlyn Rees and Greville Janner, and groups such as the Wiesenthal Center.

On February 8, 1988, Home Secretary Douglas Hurd announced the appointment of an official War Crimes Inquiry, to be headed by Sir Thomas Hetherington and William Chalmers. The War Crimes Inquiry completed its report on June 16, 1989, and it was presented to Parliament in July 1989. The report confirmed that a number of persons implicated in Nazi crimes had managed to enter the U.K. after the war and were still alive, and recommended that legislation be introduced to give domestic courts jurisdiction over "acts of murder and manslaughter, or culpable homicide" committed as war crimes in Germany or in German-occupied territory during World War II by persons found in the United Kingdom. "Consideration should be given," it stated, to prosecution "in three cases in which there appears to us to be a realistic prospect of conviction on the evidence already available." Other cases, the report stated, merited investigation.

The proposed legislation twice passed in the House of Commons only to be rejected by the House of Lords. It became law on May 10, 1991, after it passed the Commons a third time, enabling U.K. courts to try British citizens and residents for murder and other culpable homicides committed between 1933 and 1945 in Germany and German-occupied territory. Later in 1991, war crimes units were set up in the Crown Prosecution Service and the Metropolitan Police (New Scotland Yard).

On July 13, 1995, the British government instituted its first prosecution, a criminal case brought against Semyon Serafimovich, the alleged former chief of police in the city of Mir, Byelorussia (Belarus), for complicity in the mass murder of Jews in 1941 and 1942. The case had originally been expected to go to trial in 1996. At the committal hearing, the prosecution's key witness was Oswald Rufeisen, a Jew who, while masquerading as a Pole, had actually worked for a time as an interpreter for Serafimovich. (Rufeisen, who saved the lives of several hundred Jews in Mir by tipping them off to the planned liquidation of the community, converted to Catholicism after the war and settled in Israel, where he was known as Brother Daniel. He died there on July 30, 1998). On January 17, 1997, however, Serafimovich was adjudged by the court mentally incompetent to stand trial, reportedly on the basis of Alzheimer's disease. He died in hospital seven months later, on August 7, 1997.

On September 26, 1997, the government made its second arrest, taking into custody Anthony (Andrzej) Sawoniuk, 76, of East London. Sawoniuk was charged with murdering three unnamed Jewish women and two named Jewish men in 1942 in the vicinity of the town of Domachevo, Byelorussia (now in Poland), while serving as deputy commander of the *Schutzmannschaft* in Domachevo. Committal hearings began in London on April 20, 1998. On May 29, 1998, magistrate Graham Parkinson committed Sawoniuk for trial on four of the five charges brought by the government, and granted him bail. The fifth charge failed because the necessary witness was unable to travel from Poland to testify. The defense conceded that there was sufficient evidence for indictment with respect to three of the charges. In April 1999, at the conclusion of an Old Bailey trial, Sawoniuk was convicted of multiple murders and was sentenced to two life terms. On February 10, 2000, a three-judge panel of the Court of Appeal unanimously affirmed the conviction, rejecting Sawoniuk's contention that it was impossible to obtain a fair trial on charges involving events of so long ago. Sawoniuk died in a Norwich prison more than five years later, in November 2005.

At the conclusion of the Sawoniuk trial, Scotland Yard announced that the War Crimes Unit, which had once employed eleven police officers, two historians and a support staff, was being scaled down to a small staff to conclude its work, and that any new allegations received would be investigated by Scotland Yard's Organised Crime Group. On October 13, 1999, Scotland Yard announced that it had been advised by the Crown Prosecution Service that there was insufficient evidence to mount a prosecution in the one remaining case that it had referred to the CPS under the War Crimes Act of 1991. The same day, a Scotland Yard spokesperson announced that in light of the CPS's decision in the case, all of the War Crimes Unit's inquiries had now been exhausted and the unit would be shut down, and by year's end it was closed.

Ironically, the case which had been instrumental in convincing the British government to take legal action against the Nazi war criminals in the U.K. – that of Lithuanian police battalion officer Anton Gecas (Antanas Gecevicius) of Edinburgh, whose unit murdered thousands of Jews in Lithuania and Belarus – was never brought to trial. Gecas had worked for British intelligence following his arrival in the U.K., a factor that apparently influenced the authorities. The Lithuanian government sought Gecas' extradition, but he died in 2001 before he could be sent to Vilnius for trial.

CANADA. In April 1987, special units were set up within the Canadian Justice Department and the Royal Canadian Mounted Police to handle war crimes cases.

In September 1987, Canada's criminal code was amended to allow prosecution of persons implicated in war crimes and crimes against humanity committed anywhere outside Canada at any time before or after the law's enactment. The legislation received Royal Assent on September 16, 1987. This amendment was possible despite the fact that the Canadian Constitution's Charter of Rights and Freedoms, adopted in 1982, contains a provision, Section 11(g), barring the enactment of ex post facto criminal legislation, because the same section allows conviction for acts or omissions that were criminal "according to the general principles of law recognized by the community of nations."

During the period 1987 through 1994, six proceedings were initiated, four of them criminal cases. Only the two civil cases were successful. It was the 1994 decision in the case of the Hungarian gendarmerie commander Imre Finta, in which his defense of "superior orders" was accepted by the Supreme Court of Ontario, that ultimately forced the Canadian government to switch to the model employed by the United States. Thus on January 31, 1995, the Canadian government announced that it would henceforth emphasize the bringing of civil cases – citizenship revocation and deportation actions – rather than criminal prosecutions, since all previous criminal cases had been unsuccessful. This change meant that Canadian prosecutors would now be proceeding much as the U.S. Justice Department's Office of Special Investigations had since its inception in 1979. As of early 2005, a total of 21 civil cases have been brought with the following results: eight denaturalizations; two cases in which defendants voluntarily left Canada; three cases lost by the government. None of those denaturalized has yet been removed from the country.

AUSTRALIA. The presence in Australia of Nazi war criminals was first exposed in April 1986 by journalist Mark Aarons. In response the government established an official commission of inquiry, headed by retired civil servant Andrew C. Menzies, which confirmed the suspicions raised by Aarons and others. These others included the Wiesenthal Center, which submitted to the Australian government on September 1, 1986 a list of forty suspects known to have emigrated to Australia. In April 1987, the authorities established a Special Investigations Unit (SIU) in the federal Attorney-General's Department to handle these cases. More importantly, in January 1989, the Australian War Crimes Act of 1945 was amended to permit the prosecution in ordinary Australian courts, rather than military tribunals, of persons who committed war crimes outside the country during World War II.

The government closed down the SIU on June 30, 1992, despite its being clear that the problem of Nazi criminals in Australia had hardly been solved. In fact, at that point, 841 persons had been investigated (of whom 542 had been located) but only three had been brought to trial, none of whom was convicted.

Subsequently, additional allegations against suspected Nazi war criminals living in Australia were raised, primarily by Zuroff, and extradition requests for two Australian residents accused of Nazi crimes were submitted, one by Latvia (for Arajs Kommando officer Konrad Kalejs) and one by Hungary (for the soldier Karoly Zentai). As of early 2006, however, Australia had failed to take successful legal action against a single Holocaust perpetrator living in the country.

Cancellation of Pardons Granted to Holocaust Perpetrators. One of the byproducts of the efforts to bring Nazi war criminals to justice has been the attempt to prevent the granting of pardons and "rehabilitations" to convicted Nazi war criminals. Following the demise and dismemberment of the Soviet Union, each of the former Soviet Baltic republics launched an extensive rehabilitation program that included legal pardons and generous financial compensation for those considered illegally convicted by Soviet courts. Even though Nazi war criminals were not supposed to be eligible for such pardons, in practice at least dozens of such criminals were rehabilitated in Lithuania and Latvia. The Simon Wiesenthal Center exposed this process in Lithuania and Latvia and played a leading role in the efforts to cancel the pardons. So far, over 160 pardons for Nazi-era crimes have been cancelled in Lithuania and two in Latvia thanks to these efforts.

[Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

The Impact of the Trials

After 1958, and especially after the capture and trial of Adolf Eichmann, a change became noticeable in the pursuit of Nazi criminals. In Germany and in other countries, investigations were renewed against a number of Nazis who had long ceased to be of official interest; the search for Nazi criminals who had thus far succeeded in avoiding imprisonment was intensified; the possibilities for Nazis to exploit the rights of asylum in other countries were diminished; there was an increased awareness that the crimes of the Nazis must not be forgotten and that the criminals must be punished in order to prevent a recurrence of the crimes. Although the sentences meted out to Nazi criminals in most of the trials in West Germany, and especially in Austria, were in no way proportionate to the crimes (if proportion were at all possible), the careful preparation of the trials by the prosecution and the openness and thoroughness of the substantiated verdicts, based, inter alia, on testimony given by Jewish victims, resulted in their contributing significantly to the research of Holocaust history for the education of the German people, and especially German youth.

[Emmanuel Brand]

The investigation of Nazi crimes has remained a controversial chapter of postwar German history, both in private discussion and public debate. All nuances of opinion are represented, starting with the reproach of "fouling one's own nest" from right-wing, neo-Fascist, neo-Nazi circles, through the widespread criticism heard in Germany and elsewhere (and not only in Eastern Europe) that the investigation of Nazi crimes was, from the outset, carried out only half-heartedly, and ending with the repeatedly voiced opinion that people should try to forget what happened in those wretched times. Martin Hirsch, a former German federal judge, has said about the reproach of "mud-slinging" that he finds it shocking that the same people who "fouled the nest" in those days in such a terrible way should now level this accusation against those who try to cleanse it.

Oftentimes, trials in the latter years of the twentieth century had an unintended disquieting impact on the societies in which they were held. In France, Klaus Barbie, the former head of the Gestapo in Lyon – known as the "Butcher of Lyon" – was brought to trial after a decade of work by Nazi hunters Serge and Beate *Klarsfeld. French politicians had preferred to ignore the issue, as it once again raised questions about Vichy France and the participation in its government by postwar French politicians. Barbie stood trial in Lyon between May 11 and July 4, 1987. The evidence brought exposed the cooperation between fleeing SS men and Allied intelligence services (Barbie had worked for the Americans after the war, and they had helped him escape prosecution). The defense contested the moral standing of those who tried Barbie and the discrepancies in memory some four decades after the fact between resistance leaders and Jews. Barbie was found guilty but the trial was less than a clear success in the battle for memory.

Another French trial, that of Paul Touvier, was also disruptive to French self-perception. Touvier had been a high-ranking officer in the Vichy government. Convicted of collaboration in 1946 and sentenced to death, he went into hiding with the assistance of the Roman Catholic Church. In 1967 there was an attempt to clear his record, but it backfired as resistance veterans and Jews demanded that he be tried. He then disappeared, certainly not unassisted. He was tried and found not guilty because he had been an agent of Vichy France, but the outrage that greeted the verdict led to an appeal which overturned the verdict and Touvier was found guilty, the first Frenchmen to be found guilty of crimes against humanity.

The trial of Maurice Papon, another high-ranking functionary of the Vichy regime, was held in 1997 for his role in the deportation of the Jewish men, women and children from Bordeaux. A high-ranking civil servant in postwar France – he was chief of the Paris police and eventually became a minister in the cabinet of President Valery Giscard d'Estaing – Papon was found guilty of complicity in crimes against humanity and sentenced to ten years' imprisonment. (While Papon was chief of police, he was responsible for the murder of Algerian demonstrators – the number is disputed – in 1961.) He was released in 2002 on grounds of ill health and was still living as of early 2006.

No trial was held for Vichy police chief René Bosquet, who was finally indicted after being protected from prosecution for years. He was assassinated in 1993 by a deranged assailant shortly before his trial was scheduled to begin.

Ongoing Investigations

Zuroff is the last of the Nazi hunters. He has brought considerable pressure to bear on various governments, especially following the demise of the Soviet Union and the fall of Communism. Among his important initiatives has been "Operation Last Chance," a joint project of the Simon Wiesenthal Center and the Targum Shlishi Foundation of Miami, founded by philanthropist Aryeh Rubin, which offers financial rewards for information that will facilitate the prosecution and punishment of Holocaust perpetrators. Besides leading to the issuing of three arrest warrants, two extradition requests, and dozens of new investigations, the project, which by 2005 had been launched in nine countries (Germany, Austria, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Poland, Romania, Croatia, and Hungary), raised public consciousness in these countries regarding the complicity of the local population in the mass murder of Jews during World War II by employing media ads that focused on this issue.

Each year the Wiesenthal Center issues an Annual Status Report on the investigation and prosecution of Nazi war criminals worldwide. In 2005 it reported that the investigation and prosecution of Nazi war criminals continued in sixteen countries, among them countries such as Germany, Austria, Lithuania, Latvia and Poland – where the crimes of the Holocaust were committed – and others, like the United States, Britain, Canada and Australia, which afforded postwar havens to Holocaust perpetrators. From April 1, 2004 until March 31, 2005, five convictions of Nazi war criminals were obtained, all in the United States. Most of those convicted served as armed guards in death camps and/or concentration camps in Poland and Germany. The number of convictions is lower by two than the number achieved during the previous year. From January 1, 2001 through March 31, 2005, a total of thirty-two convictions of Nazi war criminals were obtained all over the world. Of these convictions, 23 were in the United States, where the violations are civil, relating to providing false information on visa applications rather than to the actual crime, with the others in Germany (3), Canada (3), Poland (1), France (1) and Lithuania (1).

During the period from (April) 2004 through March 2005, legal proceedings were initiated against at least six Nazi war criminals in four countries – three in the United States, one in Hungary, one in Denmark and one in Lithuania. The number of indictments obtained in this period is lower by four than the figure achieved during the previous year. From January 1, 2001, through March 1, 2005, 33 new indictments have been submitted against Nazi war criminals, the majority in the United States. New investigations were initiated in eleven countries against at least 663 suspected Holocaust perpetrators. In 2005, there were ongoing investigations against more than 1,252 suspected Nazi war criminals in 16 countries, with the largest number of cases being investigated in Poland (450), the United States (246), Austria (199), Canada (190), Latvia (58) and Germany (46).

The Ukraine will not address the issue of Holocaust perpetrators, and Austria is unwilling to prosecute Milivoj Ašner, who served as police chief of Pozega, Croatia during World War II and played an important role in the persecution and deportation to concentration camps, where they were murdered, of hundreds of Jews, Serbs and Gypsies. Sweden and Norway no longer investigate Nazi war criminals due to existing statutes of limitation.

[Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

Implications for the Twenty-First Century

There is much about international criminal law in the twenty-first century that tends to be taken for granted: ousted tyrants such as Slobodan Milosevic, of Serbia and Yugoslavia, and Saddam Hussein, of Iraq, being brought to trial at the bar of justice; tribunals of various sorts springing up as the result of human rights violations in places such as Rwanda, Sierra Leone, and Cambodia; perpetrators of Nazi-era atrocities being hauled before courts in the United States, stripped of their citizenship and deported; and the existence of a permanent International Criminal Court, with wide-ranging jurisdiction to try the most serious offences in the international legal lexicon, though its authority is not accepted by all. Additionally, terms such as "crimes against humanity," "genocide," and "war crimes" have become part and parcel of the daily vocabulary, and are encountered with great frequency. In various ways, the world has become blasé about such matters – to the extent that it is often forgotten what a recent phenomenon all of this is. New generations growing up in the modern era could easily be forgiven for thinking that it has always been this way.

Yet, as recently as 1945, it would have been unthinkable. On November 20 of that year, Sir Geoffrey Lawrence of the British Court of Appeals, presiding over the opening of the International Military Tribunal trial of major war criminals at Nuremberg, solemnly intoned, "The trial which is now about to begin is unique in the history of the jurisprudence of the world…"

The uniqueness began with the very fact that there were trials at all. Thanks in large measure to President Truman and Justice Robert Jackson, who took leave from the Supreme Court of the United States to be the chief prosecutor, the British view favoring a "political solution" (translation: just take them out, put guns to their heads and shoot them) did not prevail.

The U.S. rationale was threefold: precedents had to be established in international law to place the relevant legal principles as well as the process of justice on a firm, well-established footing, and to send an unequivocal message to future would-be Hitlers of the fate that potentially awaited them; a high moral plane had to be established, in marked contrast to the wanton brutality practiced by the defendants, signifying that civilized society would not respond in kind; and a comprehensive historical record had to be collated systematically for the benefit of future generations, thereby enabling them to learn the lessons of the Nazi era.

Besides being the first international tribunal in history to try criminal offences, the IMT at Nuremberg also established two other precedents of a procedural nature: "Crimes… are committed by men, not by abstract entities…," thereby resoundingly affirming the charges against the leaders of the Nazi regime, who argued that since, under international law, only states had legal personality, it was the state of Germany that should have been tried. In the process, too, it was made abundantly clear that heads of state, heads of government and other national leaders could not hide behind claims of immunity in an international tribunal.

At the substantive level, Nuremberg added two major criminal offenses to the canons of international law: planning and conducting aggressive warfare, the culmination of the work of some three decades of whittling away at the unfettered right of states to declare and conduct wars; and crimes against humanity, contemplating acts such as extermination, enslavement, and other inhumane acts directed against civilian populations. The body of international law dealing with such crimes which was thereby established on a sound foundation was further enlarged in 1948, with the adoption of the Genocide Convention, directed against acts intended to wipe out whole populations, defined by race, religion, nationality, or ethnicity.

The precedents thus created have reverberated into the twenty-first century. The tribunals for Rwanda and Yugoslavia were based directly on the Nuremberg tribunals, while seeking to improve on the original model, for instance by conferring jurisdiction to investigate and prosecute alleged crimes by all sides to the conflict, not just the losers. In addition, other models have developed. National courts exercise jurisdiction to try the very same crimes referred to above, most famously in the trial of Adolf Eichmann in Jerusalem over his central role in the Final Solution. In Sierra Leone, what was established was a hybrid tribunal, combining national as well as international elements. In the "Pinochet model" a Spanish magistrate almost succeeded in having the former Chilean dictator extradited from Britain to face trial over atrocities committed by his regime. In 1998, the Rome Statute creating the new, permanent International Criminal Court was adopted by 120 nations, thus addressing yet another shortcoming of Nuremberg, namely the ephemeral nature of the tribunals. (It should be noted that the United States has refused to ratify the Rome Statute and thus exempts itself from the International Criminal Court's jurisdiction, while Israel, which has signed on to the Court, is currently refusing to obey a ruling against it declaring illegal the separation wall it is building on occupied Palestinian territory.)

The evolution of the procedural dimension has been matched at a substantive level. Thus, although crimes against humanity and genocide lie at the heart of prosecutions of large-scale human rights violations, both have evolved over the decades. For instance, the modern definition of crimes against humanity expressly includes rape. And, in patrilineal societies, rape may also constitute genocide, where it takes place across ethnic lines, with the aim of producing offspring which take on the father's ethnicity and prevent the mother's group from reproducing itself.

The Nuremberg model lay largely dormant for some 45 years. Beginning in the 1990s, however, prosecution of international crimes gained considerable momentum, to the extent that the world began to become a small and distinctly uncomfortable place for tyrants, or at least some of them. In this fashion, profound meaning began to be breathed into the remarks of Lord Justice Lawrence that followed his above-quoted opening: "… and it is of supreme importance to millions of people all over the globe." The revolution wrought by Nuremberg, and its abiding legacy, is indeed that.

[Harry Reicher (2nd ed.)]

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WARENDORF, town in the former Prussian province of Westphalia, N.W. Germany, after 1945 in North Rhine-Westphalia. In the Middle Ages Jews from Warendorf are mentioned only once, in 1387 in Cologne. From the early 16th century many Jews settled in the bishopric of Muenster; they are first mentioned in Warendorf in 1553. After 1628, jurisdiction over the Jews in the bishopric of Muenster passed to the bishop, and under his protection a Jewish community gradually developed in Warendorf. It was one of the largest in the bishopric and remained its main community until the abolition of episcopal rule in 1802, as no Jews were allowed to reside in the city of Muenster until the Emancipation. Warendorf was the seat of the *Obervorgaenger* (elder) of the Muenster **Landjudenschaft*, founded in 1651, as well as of the Muenster **Landrabbiner* after the Muenster rabbinate had become separated from that of Cologne. The first *Landrabbiner* was Samuel Michel Essingen (1742), known as a disciple of Jonathan *Eybeschuetz. His successor was Michael Meyer Breslau of Hildesheim (1771–89), *Court Jew and mint supplier to the Muenster bishop; Michael Meyer was followed by his son David Breslau (1790–1815). A synagogue is first mentioned in 1709; it was renovated in 1808 and 1897. The community of Warendorf owned a cemetery from 1773; after 1823 a new cemetery was acquired. From one or two Jewish families living in Warendorf, their number grew to 18 (88 persons) in 1803 when the bishopric came under Prussian rule. Since neighboring Muenster was now open to Jewish settlement, a number of Jews left Warendorf. The community later increased slightly. It numbered 99 in 1833; 55 in 1849; 85 in 1880; 43 in 1933; and 15 in 1939.

The synagogue was destroyed in 1938. The last six Jews from Warendorf who had not emigrated were deported, with other Jews of the Muenster region, to Riga on Dec. 13, 1941, and murdered there. A memorial to the martyrs was consecrated in the cemetery in 1970.

The community was not reconstituted after the war. In 1971 two Jews were living in the town. The synagogue building was used as a dwelling. A plaque commemorates the former synagogue.

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[Bernhard Brilling]

WARFIELD, DAVID (1866–1951), U.S. actor. His roles ranged from a youthful burlesque, "Solomon Yankel," to a controversial portrayal of Shylock. His Jewish specialty was developed by David *Belasco into the role of Solomon Levi in *The Auctioneer* (1901) which Warfield played for three years, establishing the type of sentimental Jewish hero. Another of his long-playing roles was that of the German musician in *The Music Master*, a play which ran from 1903 to 1907, and again in 1917–18. In 1922 at the height of Warfield's popularity, Belasco produced *The Merchant of Venice*, and Warfield portrayed Shylock as a man crazed by persecution. The adverse criticism which greeted this interpretation was said to have influenced his retirement in 1924. Warfield was a collaborator in a volume of sentimental sketches, *Ghetto Silhouettes* (1902).

[Samuel L. Sumberg]

WARHAFTIG, ZERAH (1906–2002), lawyer and leader of the National Religious Party in Israel. Born in Volkovysk, Belorussia, Warhaftig became active in the Mizrachi movement and at the outbreak of World War II fled to Lithuania and, through Japan, to the United States, where he became deputy director of the Institute for Jewish Affairs of the *World Jewish Congress. In 1947 he settled in Palestine, became a member of the Va'ad Le'ummi, and in 1948 a member of the Provisional State Council, serving as one of the framers of its constitution. He was also a signatory of Israel's Declaration of Independence. In 1948 he set up and directed the Institution of Hebrew Law at the Ministry of Justice. From 1948 to 1963 he was a lecturer of law at the Hebrew University. Warhaftig was repeatedly elected to the Knesset on the Ha-Po'el ha-Mizrachi (later *National Religious Party) list and served in the Israel government as minister of religious affairs from 1960. In 1970, Warhaftig was elected chairman of the *curatorium* of Bar Ilan University. In 1983 he was awarded the Israel Prize for special contribution to law and society.

Warhaftig published articles on religious and political affairs and, while in the United States during World War II, published in English *Starvation over Europe* (1943), *Relief and Rehabilitation* (1944), and, after the war, *Uprooted* (1946). His works in Hebrew are *Ha-Ḥazakah ba-Mishpat ha-Ivri* ("Presumption in Hebrew Law," 1954) and *Al ha-Shipput ha-Rabbani be-Yisrael* ("Rabbinical Judgment in Israel," 1955).

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[Joshua Gutmann]

WARKA, hasidic dynasty in Poland. Its founder, ISAAC (KALISH) OF WARKA (1779–1848), became one of the most noted *ẓaddikim* in central Poland in the first half of the 19th century. Born at Zolochev, after his marriage at the age of 14 he moved to Zarek (Bremberg). He officiated as rabbi in Gowanczow and then in the village of Ruda. His teacher, David of *Lelov (Lelow), would travel with him to the "courts" of *ẓaddikim*, and in this way he became a student in the *bet midrash* of *Jacob Isaac ha-Ḥozeh (the "Seer") of Lublin, and a disciple of *Simḥah Bunem of Przysucha and his son, Abraham Moses. After the early death of the latter in 1829, Isaac settled in *Przysucha, becoming the acknowledged leader of the Ḥasidim there. Some time later he moved to the small town of Warka (Warsaw district), where he gathered many disciples round him, including *ẓaddikim* and *admorim* such as Jacob Aryeh of *Radzymin, Dov Baer (Berish) of Biala, Shraga Feivel of Goerits (Gorzyca), Jehiel of *Aleksandrow, and others. He was also a friend of Menahem Mendel of *Kotsk and Mordecai Joseph of *Izbica Lubelska, and often visited Israel *Ruzhin and Meir of Peremyshlyany.

Isaac of Warka negotiated with influential people on behalf of the Jews to obtain the abrogation of hostile decrees, including the conscription of young Jews for military service (*Cantonists; 1827), and the prohibition forbidding the Jews to wear their traditional dress (1845). To achieve these he attempted to invoke the assistance of Sir Moses *Montefiore and the British government in influencing Czar *Nicholas I. In 1846 Isaac met Sir Moses when the latter passed through Poland.

Because of his activities Isaac was given the appellation "Lover of Israel." A characteristic story relates that Menahem Mendel of Kotsk sought Isaac of Warka in the upper world after the latter's death, and passed through the *heikhalot* (upper halls) until he found him in a field by a river, where he was standing, bent, leaning on his stick and looking at the river – made by the tears of the Jewish people – unable to move from there. Tales concerning him and his novellae on the Torah were collected in *Ohel Yiẓḥak* (Piotrkow, 1814) by Meir Walden, and in *Huẓẓak Ḥen* (1947), by Noah Weintraub.

Isaac of Warka's son, JACOB DAVID OF AMSHINOV (1814–1878), founded the Amshinov dynasty. Born at Zarek, he was a pupil of Menahem Mendel of Kotsk. After his marriage he lived at Gur (*Gora Kalwaria), and later at Przysucha, becoming in 1849 the leader of a large group of Ḥasidim at Amshinov. Like his father he was active in Jewish affairs. Following enactment of the law prohibiting Jews from growing a beard and sidelocks, he was put in prison with R. Isaac Meir of Gur on the charge of inciting the masses to revolt against the government. However, he succeeded in obtaining revocation of the decree and received a personal certificate of protection from a minister in Warsaw, forbidding anybody to harm him. He died in Italy where he had gone for medical treatment. His son MENAHEM (1860–1918), continued to head the Amshinov dynasty for 40 years.

The second son of Isaac, MENAHEM MENDEL OF WARKA (1819–1868), continued the Warka ḥasidic dynasty. He was known as the "silent *ẓaddik*." In contrast to his brother Jacob David, in his youth he was not very studious. After his father's death he refused to take over the leadership. However, Shraga Feivel of Goerits, who substituted for him, died six months later, and Menahem Mendel then became the leader against his will. He usually secluded himself and conversed and taught little on Torah, mainly speaking briefly and by implication. Most of the time he spent in silence in accordance with the scriptural saying, "To thee silence is praise" (Ps. 65:2). In Menahem Mendel's opinion, one should not speak of the Torah unless one is overflowing with it. The real cry of prayer is worship within the heart, without uttering a sound, and on this point he would preach with quotations from many biblical verses. In his words, man possesses three fine things: an erect bow, a silent shout, and a motionless dance. From what his pupils related it would appear that silence was his mode of speech. Tales describe meetings between him and contemporary *ẓaddikim* where not a word was uttered, all sitting in complete silence. His pupil, Dov Baer of Biala, testified that he sat with the rabbi and all his Ḥasidim around the table in dead silence: "I felt that all my blood vessels were about to burst, so closely did he examine me, but I passed the test and gave replies to all his questions." Menahem Mendel was even gay in his silence, preaching forgetfulness of the cares of the morrow, and was given to strong drink, which in his opinion led to the love of God, and joy.

Menahem Mendel's son, SIMHAH BUNEM (1851–1907), emigrated to Ereẓ Israel in 1887. He was imprisoned by the Turks and expelled after spending some months in Tiberias. He went back to Poland, staying in Otwock, and returned to Ereẓ Israel in 1906. At first he lived in Jerusalem but settled in Tiberias shortly before his death.

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[Esther (Zweig) Liebes]

WARNER, family of pioneers of the motion picture industry and founders of Warner Bros. Pictures, Inc. The Warners date their entrance into the industry from 1903, when they rented a vacant store in New Castle, Pennsylvania. There were nine children in this Polish immigrant family, but only four were active in the business: Harry, the eldest (1881–1958), born in Poland; Albert (1883–1967), born in Baltimore; Sam (1884–1927), and Jack, born in London, Ontario (1892–1978). As their enterprise prospered, the brothers opened more theaters. In 1912, they decided to produce films themselves. Sam became technical chief of the studio, Albert handled distribution, Harry was business head, and Jack, the showman, was in charge of production.

In 1917 they scored a coup by filming *My Four Years in Germany*, from the book by U.S. Ambassador James W. Gerard, who had been ordered home from Berlin. It was at that time one of the most significant pictures yet made.

In 1923 they became incorporated as Warner Brothers Pictures, Inc. By 1925 the company was a leader in the silent film business. That year they bought the Vitagraph Company, which owned an invention that synchronized sound with action, called Vitaphone. In 1927 Warner Brothers issued *The Jazz Singer*, thus marking the official debut of talking pictures and revolutionizing the industry.

During the 1930s the Warners acquired the Stanley Company of America, which controlled 250 cinema buildings. This guaranteed them an outlet for all their films. They set the scale for film musicals with the lavish *Gold Diggers* series and films built around "headline" news, such as *G-Men* (1935) and *China Clipper* (1936), and spectacles such as *A Midsummer Night's Dream* (1935) and *The Adventures of Robin Hood* (1938). They also used the screen for presenting social issues such as *The Life of Emile Zola* (1937) and *The Black Legion* (1937), which involved racial and religious bigotry.

In 1951 the company was forced to divest itself of its theaters after the film industry lost a 13-year suit brought by the U.S. Government on anti-trust charges. The Warner studios continued to be one of the leaders in Hollywood through the 1960s. Branching out into television, Warner has produced a wide variety of sitcoms and action series, such as *Maverick*; *Murphy Brown*; and *Lois and Clark*. By 1993 Warner Bros. was ranked as Hollywood's largest supplier of television programs. In 1995 Warner and the Tribune Company launched the WB television network, targeting the teenage viewing audience with such weekly series as *Buffy the Vampire Slayer* and *Dawson's Creek*. In the late 1990s Warner obtained the rights to the immensely popular *Harry Potter* novels and released four film adaptations between 2001 and 2005.

Acquisitions held by Warner include the television cartoons of Hanna-Barbera Productions; the TV and film holdings of Lorimar; and rights to the majority of the film library of Castle Rock Productions.

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[Stewart Kampel / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

WAR OF INDEPENDENCE (Heb. מִלְחֶמֶת הָעַצְמָאוּת *Milḥemet ha-Aẓma'ut*, or מִלְחֶמֶת הַקּוֹמְמִיּוּת *Milḥemet ha-Komemiyyut*, or מִלְחֶמֶת הַשִּׁחְרוּר *Milḥemet ha-Shiḥrur* (the War of Liberation)), war waged by the Jews of Palestine for survival, freedom, and political independence against the Arabs, mainly from the neighboring countries, between the end of November 1947 and July 1949.

The war was divided into two distinct phases: the first began on Nov. 30, 1947, the day after the UN General Assembly adopted its resolution on the partition of Palestine, and ended on May 15, 1948, when the British forces and administration were withdrawn from the country; the second started on the day after the British evacuation and came to an end on July 20, 1949, when the last of the armistice agreements was signed (with Syria). In the first phase, the *yishuv* and its defense forces, organized in the *Haganah, were under attack by Palestinian Arabs, aided by irregular volunteers from Arab countries. In the second phase, the army of newly independent Israel – officially established on May 28 as the Israel Defense Forces (see *Israel, State of: Defense Forces) – fought primarily against regular troops from Egypt, Iraq, Transjordan, Syria, and Lebanon, who were supported by volunteer detachments from Saudi Arabia, Libya, and the Yemen. In both phases, the avowed purpose of the Arabs was to frustrate the UN partition resolution and prevent the establishment and consolidation of the Jewish state.

THE FIRST PHASE: NOVEMBER 30, 1947–MAY 14, 1948

The Jewish Forces

At the beginning of the first phase, Arab attacks were carried out by loosely organized bands led by representatives of the Palestine Arab political organizations. As early as October 1947, however, the *Arab League had instructed its member states to train volunteers and collect money and arms for the Palestine Arabs. The first Arab onslaughts were resisted by the mobilized units and active reserves of the Haganah, which consisted, in addition to headquarters, service units, and a small ordnance industry, of four battalions of *Palmaḥ, consisting of 2,100 men and women and 1,000 reserves (in October); Ḥish (Ḥeil Sadeh – field force or infantry), with 1,800 on active service and 10,000 reserves; and Ḥim (Ḥeil Mishmar – guard or garrison force), with 32,000 registered members, responsible for static defense. The Ḥish was organized mainly in area commands named after the region (e.g., Givati, Golani, Carmeli), which later developed into brigades. There were also the *Gadna, trained in auxiliary functions, who would later fill the ranks of the Palmaḥ and the Ḥish. On the eve of the war, the Haganah had in its secret arsenals over 15,000 rifles of various makes, a small quantity of light machine guns, and a few dozen medium machine guns and 3-inch mortars, as well as hand grenades, explosives, and Sten submachine guns manufactured in its clandestine workshops. There were also two other armed underground organizations that operated independently during the first phase: the IẒL (*Irgun Ẓeva'i Le'ummi), with 5,000 members at the beginning of the war, and Leḥi (*Loḥamei Ḥerut Israel), with 1,000 members.

Repelling the Arab Offensive: November 29, 1947–March 1948

From the start, the nature of the Arab offensives was determined by a number of factors: the existence of a considerable number of Jewish settlements in predominantly Arab areas, the mixed Arab-Jewish population of several cities, and Arab control of most of the hill region and of the major road arteries. The first attack took place on Nov. 30, 1947, when a Jewish bus was ambushed near Lydda. The next day, the Arab Higher Committee declared a general strike, and on December 2 an Arab mob attacked and destroyed the commercial center in Jerusalem. There was also Arab firing in Haifa and on the border between Tel Aviv and Jaffa. After Arab attacks, on December 10, on Jewish vehicles in the Negev and on the Jerusalem–Kefar Eẓyon road, Haganah and IẒL forces started to hit back at concentrations of Arab bands. During December, Arab- and Jewish-controlled areas were gradually demarcated; in the mixed cities, areas between Jewish and Arab residential quarters were evacuated and contested. In the battle for the roads, which was gaining in intensity, the Arabs had the upper hand, largely as a result of the attitude of the British forces, which were neutral in theory and pro-Arab in fact. For political reasons, 33 Jewish settlements, which according to the partition resolution were to be included in the Arab state, were not evacuated.

On January 10, a 900-man force of the Arab Liberation Army, commanded by Fawzī al-Qāwuqjī and trained on the other side of the border, attacked Kefar Szold and was repulsed. The following days were marked by attacks on isolated Jewish settlements in the Jerusalem and Hebron hills, Upper Galilee, and the Negev. A platoon of 35 men, on its way to reinforce the isolated Eẓyon bloc of settlements (Kefar Eẓyon, Massu'ot Yiẓḥak, Ein Ẓurim, and Revadim) was wiped out in a fierce engagement near Beit Nattīf. There were continual attacks against Jewish population centers and Jewish workers in enterprises employing both Arab and Jewish labor. Explosive charges were set off in Jewish areas of Haifa and Jerusalem; in the capital, the targets were the offices of *The Palestine Post* (February 1), Ben-Yehuda Street, one of the principal shopping thoroughfares (February 22), and *Jewish

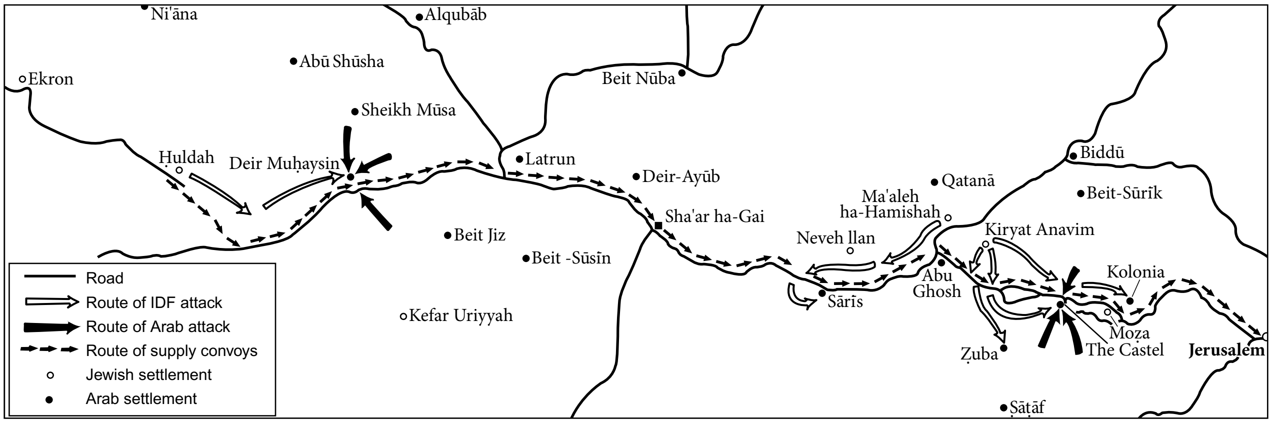

Map 1. Operation Naḥshon, April 6–15. Based on Historical-Geographical Atlas of Ereẓ Israel.

Agency headquarters (March 11). The outlying Jewish quarters in the southeastern part of Jerusalem were cut off from the center. On most of the roads, Jewish communications were maintained by means of armored vehicles and convoys, which left at odd hours, usually at night, and used circuitous routes. In March, Jewish traffic to several quarters of Jerusalem and on some of the country's principal roads came to an almost complete standstill.

On February 16, the Arab Liberation Army attacked Tirat Ẓevi and was forced to withdraw with heavy losses. In March, having failed to capture Jewish settlements, the Arab forces concentrated on the battle for the roads, while continuing their attacks on outlying districts in the mixed towns and on settlements in the north, the Jerusalem mountains, and the Negev. Nevertheless, a convoy of armored trucks succeeded in making the trip from Negbah to Gat, which had been cut off for a long period, and an Arab arms convoy was ambushed and destroyed near Kiryat Motzkin. In general, the Arabs scored considerable success in the battle for the roads: on March 26 Jewish traffic on the coastal road leading to the Negev came to a complete stop; a convoy on its way back to Jerusalem from the Eẓyon bloc was trapped near al-Nabī Dāniyāl and another, which tried to reach Yeḥi'am, was ambushed and wiped out.

Throughout this period, however, the Jewish defense forces made substantial progress in organization and training. By the end of March, 21,000 men aged 17–25 were under arms. The manufacture of antitank projectors, submachine guns, and explosives was greatly stepped up, and large quantities of light arms, purchased in Czechoslovakia, were expected to arrive. The *yishuv*'s air force consisted of 30 light planes for reconnaissance, transportation, and supply to isolated areas. The Arab forces – both the locally organized National Guard and the volunteers from the Arab states – were also growing.

Jewish Forces Take the Initiative: April 1948–May 15, 1948

The hour of military decision was fast approaching. The impending British evacuation made action imperative in order to gain control of the area allotted to the Jewish state and to improve the Jewish position in the face of the expected Arab invasion, while the growth of its strength made it possible for the Haganah to take the initiative. A comprehensive operational plan ("Plan D") had been adopted for execution in stages, depending upon the rate of British withdrawal and developments on the various fronts. The first objective was to open the road to Jerusalem. For this purpose Operation Naḥshon was planned; a force of 1,500 men was mobilized and equipped, in part with Czech arms which had been secretly landed on April 1. Two preparatory actions were carried out: the blowing up of the headquarters of Hasan Salāma, the Arab area commander, near Sarafand, and the capture of Qasṭal (Castel), an Arab village dominating the approaches to Jerusalem. Operation Naḥshon began on April 6, Haganah forces taking the Arab village of Ḥuldah, the Wadi al-Ṣarrār Camp, and Deir Muḥaysin (Beko'a). They encountered fierce opposition, especially on the Qasṭal hill, which changed hands several times until April 10, when the Arabs finally withdrew; on the previous day, the commander of the Arab forces in the Jerusalem area, ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Husseini, was killed in battle. By April 15, when Naḥshon came to an end, three large convoys carrying food and arms had reached Jerusalem.

Meanwhile the Arab Liberation Army, still under Qāwuqjī's command, had made another attempt to capture a Jewish settlement. On April 4 it had shelled Mishmar ha-Emek, following up with an infantry attack, which was beaten back. A second attack, next day, was halted by the intervention of British troops, and a cease-fire was proclaimed, during which the women and children were evacuated. At the end of the cease-fire, Haganah forces counterattacked, capturing several strongholds southeast of the village on April 12 and routing an Arab force which was trying to renew the attack. Qāwuqjī appealed for help to the commander of a battalion of Druze mercenaries encamped at Shfāʾ ʿAmr (Shefaram). This force attacked two strongholds east of Ramat Yoḥanan between April 12 and 14, but was repulsed with heavy losses and took no further part in the war. Qāwuqjī was now in danger of being cut off from his base, and he decided to withdraw to Jenin. The artillery at his disposal was transferred to Jeru-

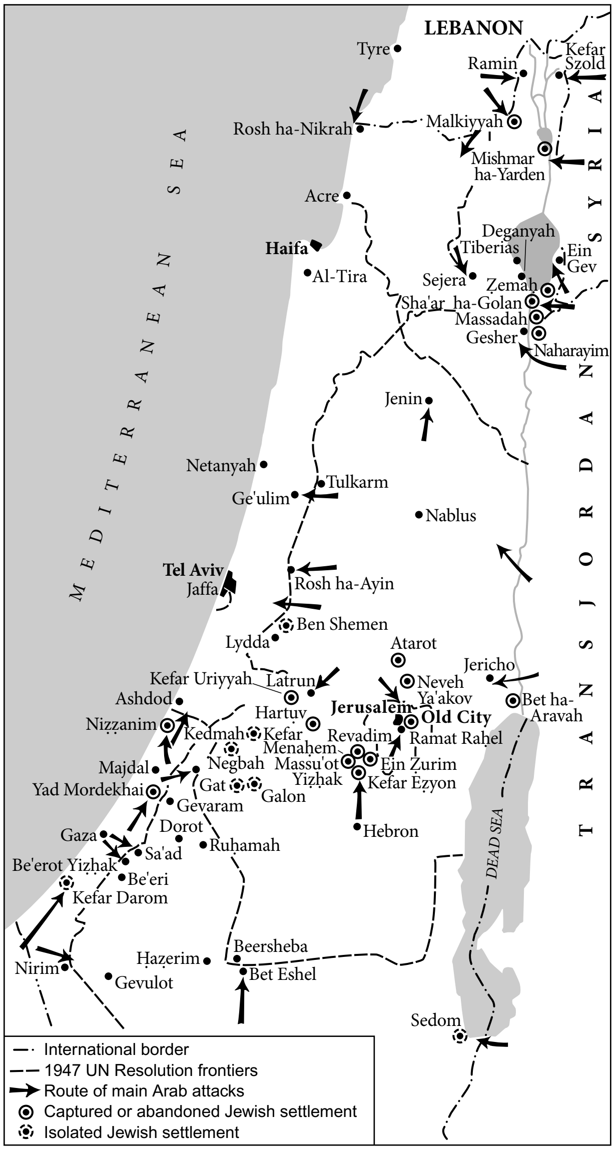
LEBANON
SYRIA
TRANSJORDAN
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DEAD SEA
Tyre
Ramin
Kefar Szold
Rosh ha-Nikrah
Malkiyyah
Mishmar ha-Yarden
Acre
Haifa
Al-Tira
Deganyah
Tiberias
Ein Gev
Sejera
Zemah
Sha'ar ha-Golan
Massadah
Gesher
Naharayim
Jenin
Netanyah
Tulkarm
Ge'ulim
Nablus
Tel Aviv
Jaffa
Rosh ha-Ayin
Ben Shemen
Lydda
Atarot
Jericho
Kefar Uriyyah
Latrun
Neveh Ya'akov
Bet ha-Aravah
Ashdod
Hartuv
Jerusalem
Old City
Nizzanim
Kedmah
Kefar Menahem
Revadim
Ramat Rahel
Majdal
Negbah
Massu'ot Yizhak
Ein Zurim
Kefar Ezyon
Yad Mordekhai
Gat
Galon
Gevaram
Dorot
Gaza
Ruhamah
Hebron
Sa'ad
Be'erot Yizhak
Be'eri
Kefar Darom
Beersheba
Hazerim
Bet Eshel
Nirim
Gevulot
Sedom
International border
1947 UN Resolution frontiers
Route of main Arab attacks
Captured or abandoned Jewish settlement
Isolated Jewish settlement

Map 2. From the invasion to the first truce, May 15–June 11, 1948. Ibid.

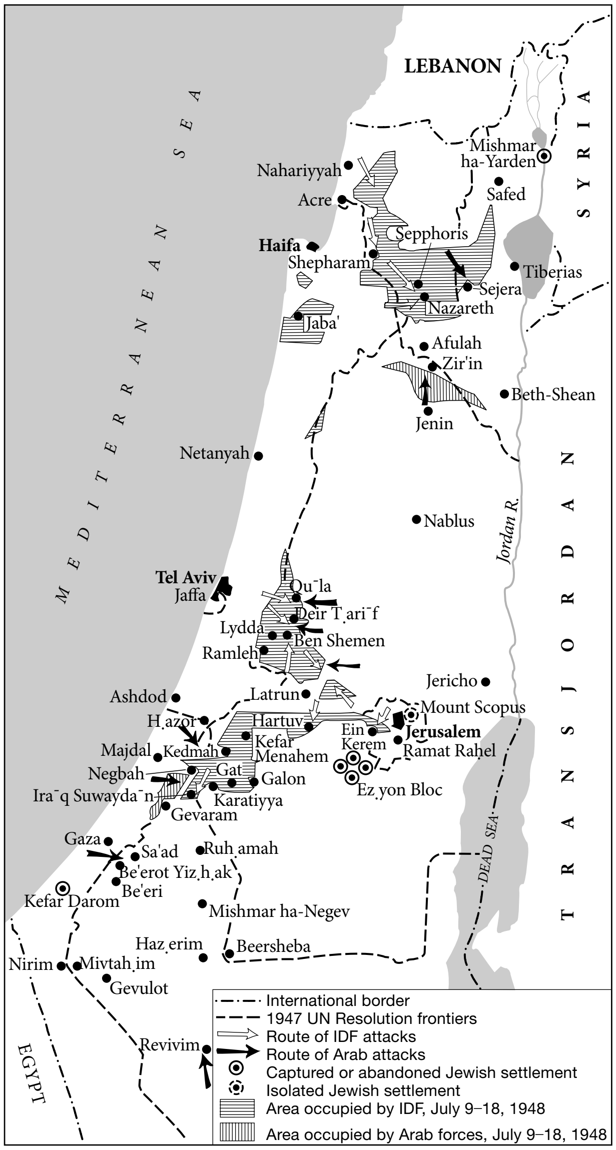
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DEAD SEA
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Nahariyyah
Safed
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Haifa
Sepphoris
Shepharam
Tiberias
Sejera
Nazareth
Jaba'
Afulah
Zir'in
Beth-Shean
Jenin
Netanyah
Nablus
Tel Aviv
Jaffa
Qula
Deir Tarif
Lydda
Ben Shemen
Ramleh
Jericho
Latrun
Mount Scopus
Ashdod
Hazor
Hartuv
Ein Kerem
Jerusalem
Majdal
Kedmah
Kefar Menahem
Ramat Rahel
Negbah
Gat
Galon
Ezyon Bloc
Iraq Suwaydan
Karatiyya
Gevaram
Gaza
Ruhamah
Sa'ad
Be'erot Yizhak
Kefar Darom
Be'eri
Mishmar ha-Negev
Hazerim
Beersheba
Nirim
Mivtahim
Gevulot
Revivim
International border
1947 UN Resolution frontiers
Route of IDF attacks
Route of Arab attacks
Captured or abandoned Jewish settlement
Isolated Jewish settlement
Area occupied by IDF, July 9–18, 1948
Area occupied by Arab forces, July 9–18, 1948

Map 3. The "Ten Days," July 9–18, 1948. Ibid.

salem and at the beginning of May began shelling the Jewish quarters of the city.

The success of Naḥshon and the defeats inflicted on the Arabs at Mishmar ha-Emek and Ramat Yoḥanan encouraged the Haganah to continue the implementation of Plan D. On April 18, troops of the Golani area command (later the Golani Brigade) and the Palmaḥ cut in two the Arab part of Tiberias, where the Jewish quarter was under heavy attack. The Arabs decided to leave the town and were evacuated with British aid. On April 21, when the British started to concentrate their remaining forces in the Haifa port area, the battle for Haifa began. The Jewish forces captured it within 24 hours and most of the Arab inhabitants left, despite Jewish assurances that no harm would befall them if they stayed.

The capture of Tiberias and the opening of roads leading to eastern Galilee made it possible to reinforce the Haganah troops in "the finger of Galilee" at the northern tip of the country. On April 14, a Palmaḥ unit infiltrated into Safed, bolstering the defenses of the besieged Jewish quarter. As part of Operation Yiftaḥ – designed to win Upper Galilee and gain control of its major arteries – Haganah forces occupied the Rosh Pinnah police fortress and a neighboring army camp as soon as these were evacuated by the British (April 28). Two attempts were made to capture al-Nabī Yūshaʿ, the fort on a ridge dominating the Ḥuleh Valley, which had been handed over to the Arabs by the British, but failed, with the loss of 28 Haganah men. On May 1 the Arabs launched an attack on the beleaguered village of Ramat Naftali, with the support of Lebanese army artillery and armored cars. With the help of a few Piper Cub airplanes, the settlers managed to hold out, and Operation Yiftaḥ could proceed according to plan. On May 3, a second Palmaḥ battalion entered Safed, but the first Jewish

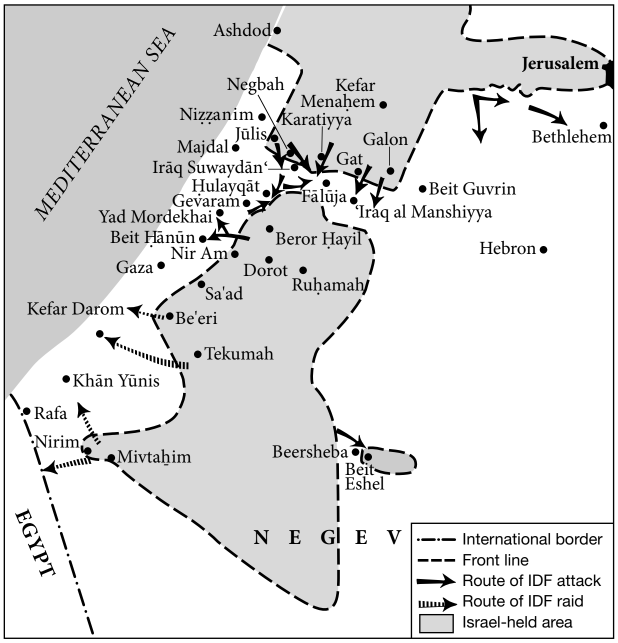
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
Ashdod
Jerusalem
Negbah
Kefar Menaḥem
Nizzanim
Karatiyya
Julis
Majdal
Galon
Gat
Bethlehem
Iraq Suwaydān
Ḥulayqāt
Gevaram
Fālūja
Beit Guvrin
ʿIraq al Manshiyya
Yad Mordekhai
Beit Ḥanūn
Beror Ḥayil
Nir Am
Hebron
Gaza
Dorot
Ruḥamah
Sa'ad
Kefar Darom
Be'eri
Tekumah
Khān Yūnis
Rafa
Nirim
Mivtaḥim
Beersheba
Beit Eshel
EGYPT
N E G E V
International border
Front line
Route of IDF attack
Route of IDF raid
Israel-held area

Map 4. Operation Yo'av, Oct. 15–22, 1948. Ibid.

attack, on May 6, ended in failure; the Arabs brought in reinforcements and began using artillery. A new attack, on May 10, resulted in the capture of the key positions in the town. The Safed Arabs, numbering some 10,000, fled en masse, followed by the Arab villagers of the Ḥuleh Valley, and on the eve of the Arab states' invasion the Jewish forces were in control of a continuous area in eastern and upper Galilee.

Further south, Golani troops occupied the Arab town of Samakh (Ẓemaḥ) and the police fortresses at Samakh and Gesher as soon as the British had withdrawn from them (April 29). Arab Legion troops, supported by artillery and armored cars, attacked Gesher but were beaten back. Beisan (Beth-Shean) fell to the Haganah on May 12; so did a number of villages in the Mount Tabor area, Arab Shajara, Bethlehem (in Galilee), the erstwhile German colony of Waldheim, and Umm al-Zīnat in the southern Carmel. In Operation Ben-Ami, troops of the Carmeli area command captured the strongholds dominating Acre, A-Ziv (Akhziv), and Basah (Beẓet), and reestablished overland connection with Yeḥi'am and the Ḥanitah group of settlements. (Acre itself was taken on May 17.)

In the Tel Aviv area, the Alexandroni, Kiryati, and Givati brigades launched Operation Ḥameẓ on the eve of Passover and occupied several Arab villages, including Hiriya, Sakiya,

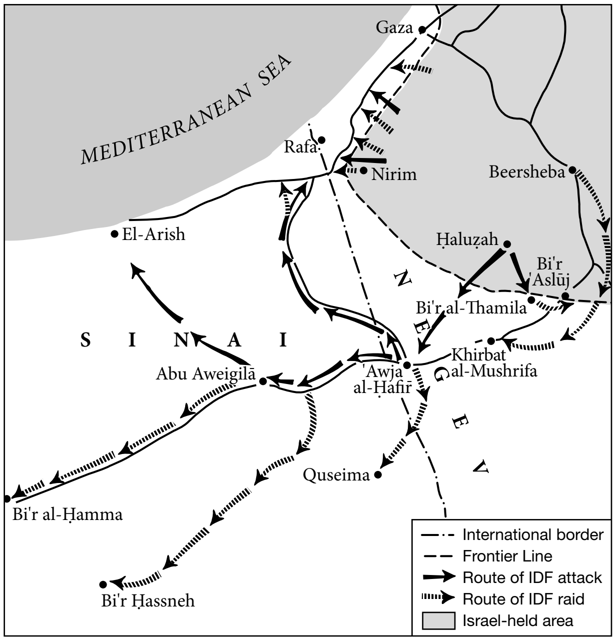
Gaza
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
Rafa
Nirim
Beersheba
El-Arish
Ḥaluẓah
Bi'r 'Aslūj
Bi'r al-Thamila
S I N A I
N E G E V
Abu Aweigilā
'Awja al-Ḥafīr
Khirbat al-Mushrifa
Quseima
Bi'r al-Ḥamma
Bi'r Ḥassneh
International border
Frontier Line
Route of IDF attack
Route of IDF raid
Israel-held area

Map 5. Operation Ḥorev, Dec. 22, 1948–Jan 7, 1949. Ibid.

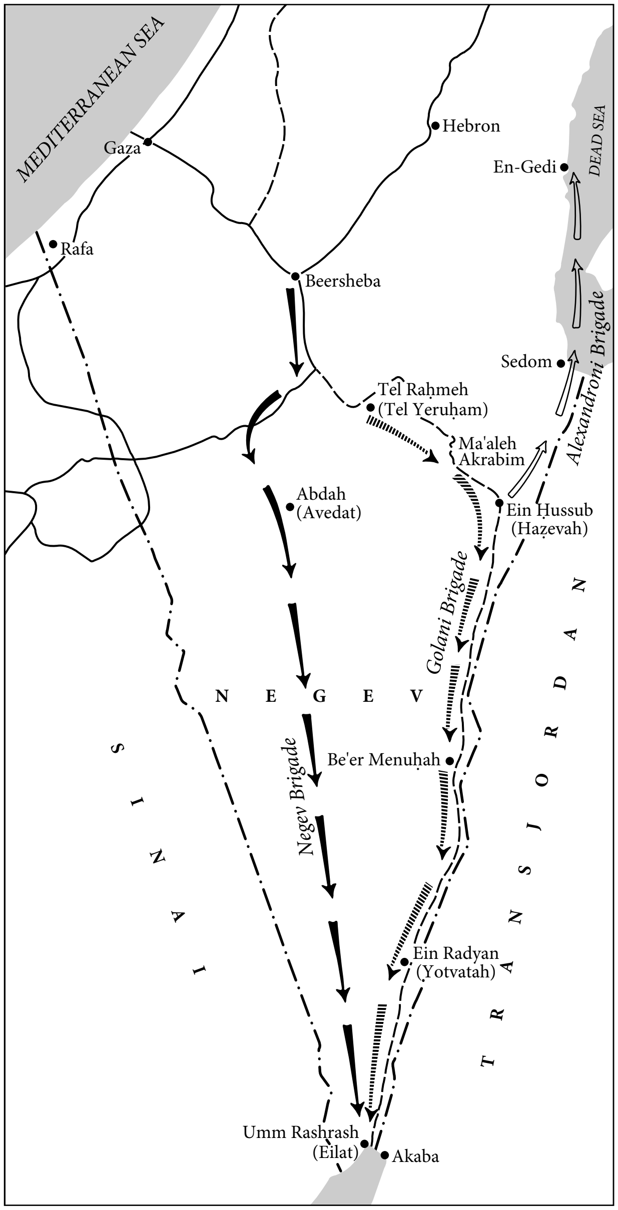
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
Gaza
Hebron
En-Gedi
DEAD SEA
Rafa
Beersheba
Alexandroni Brigade
Sedom
Tel Raḥmeh (Tel Yeruḥam)
Ma'aleh Akrabim
Abdah (Avedat)
Ein Ḥussub (Ḥaẓevah)
Golani Brigade
N E G E V
S I N A I
Negev Brigade
Be'er Menuḥah
T R A N S J O R D A N
Ein Radyan (Yotvatah)
Umm Rashrash (Eilat)
Akaba

Map 6. Operation Uvdah, March 3–10, 1949. Ibid.

Salame, and Yazur, and encircled Jaffa, which had been included in the area of the Arab state envisioned in the partition resolution. Meanwhile, I.Ẓ.L. forces attacked Manshiye and other northern quarters of Jaffa, but met with heavy resistance, and British forces intervened. The attack was renewed on April 26 and Manshiye was cut off. The encirclement of Jaffa was completed on April 29, and most of its 70,000 Arab inhabitants fled. Its final surrender came on May 13, when the British troops had left.

On April 9, a combined IẒL and Leḥi force attacked Deir Yassin, an Arab village on the outskirts of Jerusalem. Two hundred Arabs, including women and children caught up in the fighting, were killed. The heavy casualties were given wide publicity in the Arab world as a deliberate massacre and intensified the panic among the Arab population, which was one of the causes of their flight. On April 13, a convoy to the Hadassah Hospital on Mt. Scopus was attacked by Arabs and 77 people – mainly doctors and other medical personnel – were massacred. British troops stationed nearby made no attempt to interfere with the slaughter. In view of rumors that the British intended to advance the date of their evacuation of Jerusalem, the Harel Brigade of the Palmaḥ was transferred to the capital. As soon as the brigade convoy had passed through, the Arab Liberation Army seized the strongpoints dominating the road to Jerusalem, and once again the city was cut off. Although the rumors of an earlier British withdrawal proved false, it was decided to launch Operation Yevusi to reestablish the links with the isolated quarters and nearby settlements: Neveh Ya'akov, Atarot, and Mount Scopus in the north, and Mekor Ḥayyim, Ramat Raḥel and Talpiyyot in the south. An attack on Nebi Samwil, on April 22, ended in failure, and while Harel troops succeeded in taking the Sheikh Jarraḥ quarter of Jerusalem on April 26, British troops forced their withdrawal. Two days later, an attempt was made to capture the Augusta Victoria buildings on the Mount of Olives and thereby gain control of the road to Jericho, but this, too, was unsuccessful. An attack on the St. Simon Convent in the Katamon quarter, launched on April 29, was successful, however. Both sides had reached the point of exhaustion when Haganah reinforcements were sent in and decided the issue. The resulting capture of Katamon made it possible to reinforce the isolated Mekor Ḥayyim quarter. Another attempt to open the road to Jerusalem, Operation Makkabbi, also failed: although the Harel Brigade took the village of Beit Maḥsir and Givati captured the *Latrun detention camp, only a few dozen trucks got through to Jerusalem before the road was once more blocked.

On May 4 the Arabs attacked the Eẓyon bloc with the support of an Arab Legion armored unit and four British tanks. The attack was beaten off, but the defenders suffered heavy losses, which were irreplaceable owing to the complete isolation of the four villages. On the eve of May 12 the Arab forces succeeded in cutting the block in two; the following day they captured a strongpoint dominating the area between Kefar Eẓyon and Massu'ot Yiẓḥak, and Arab Legion armored cars penetrated into Kefar Eẓyon. After the defenders had surrendered, many were massacred by Arab villagers from the Hebron area, and on May 14 the survivors were taken captive by the Arab Legion. On May 14, when the last British troops left Jerusalem, forces of Eẓyoni, the capital's infantry brigade, launched Operation Kilshon ("Pitchfork") to seize the areas evacuated by the British and prevent their being taken over by the Arabs.

In the six weeks preceding the establishment of the State of Israel and the invasion by regular Arab armies, the Jewish forces had taken over Haifa, Jaffa, Safed, and Tiberias, encircled Acre, and captured about 100 Arab villages. Apart from the Latrun sector of the Jerusalem road, the Jewish armed forces could move freely on most of the major arteries of communication. The Palestine Arab forces had been routed, and the Arab Liberation Army had suffered heavy defeats in the north and in the Jerusalem Corridor. The Jews had lost several hundred men, but they now had 30,000 young men under arms, ready to meet the invaders. The arrival of the first boatload of Czech arms and the acquisition of antitank and antiaircraft guns had considerably improved the quantity and quality of the arms at their disposal, but they still lacked field artillery and fighter planes.

[Netanel Lorch]

THE SECOND PHASE: MAY 15, 1948–JULY 20, 1949

The Arab Armies Invade

On May 15, 1948, the day the British Mandate over Palestine ended, the regular armies of five neighboring Arab states invaded the new State of Israel, which had proclaimed its independence the previous afternoon. The invasion, heralded by an Egyptian air attack on Tel Aviv, was vigorously resisted. From the north, east, and south came the armies of Lebanon, Syria, Iraq, Transjordan, and Egypt. (Saudi Arabia sent a formation that fought under Egyptian command; Yemen considered itself at war with Israel but sent no contingent.)

The Jews found themselves in a precarious situation. The invading forces were fully equipped with the standard weapons of a regular army of the time – artillery, tanks, armored cars and personnel carriers, in addition to machine guns, mortars and the usual small arms in great quantities, and full supplies of ammunition, oil, and gasoline. Egypt, Iraq, and Syria had air forces. As sovereign states, they had no difficulty (contrary to the pre-state Jewish defense force) in securing whatever armaments they needed through normal channels from Britain and other friendly powers.

The Jews had no matching artillery, no tanks, and no warplanes in the first days of the war. Some supplies of these weapons arrived in the days that followed, however, and turned the tide. Little more than small arms – and not enough of those to go round – a few homemade, primitive armored cars, and some light training planes were all that had been available to the *Haganah, the underground defense force controlled by the responsible Jewish authorities during the British Mandate. However, it could now emerge aboveground as the army of the sovereign State of Israel, though the constitutional formalities establishing the army were completed only on May 28 with the publication by the Provisional Government of the Israel Defense Forces (IDF) Establishment Order. Haganah's general staff and commanders continued their functions in the IDF, with the difference that their identities were now no longer secret. The two dissident organizations, Irgun Ẓeva'i Le'ummi (IẒL) and Loḥamei Ḥerut Israel (Leḥi), agreed to discontinue their independent activities, except in Jerusalem, and to the absorption of their members into the IDF. Their units in Jerusalem were disbanded in September, following an ultimatum by the IDF.

Invaded from all directions, Israel had suddenly to cope, as it were, with the outbreak of a thousand fires, and to do so with limited means. Numerous settlement outposts in Galilee and the Negev were isolated, open on all sides to Arab attack, and had to rely on their own tenacity and meager armories to stave off defeat. The hastily mobilized army had to engage in offensive action to dislodge the enemy from key positions, block the advance of their columns, and rush to seal gaps in Israel's defenses.

Until the First Truce: May 15–June 11, 1948

THE EGYPTIAN ADVANCE. In the south, Egyptian forces jumped off from their advance bases in Sinai and crossed the frontier. Passing through Arab-populated territory, one formation moved up the coastal road to Gaza; another was landed by ship at Majdal further north; a third drove up from Abu Aweigila northeast to Beersheba, some of its units pressing on later to the Arab towns of Hebron and Bethlehem, where they linked up with Transjordan's Arab Legion and took up positions just south of Jerusalem. The major enemy forces were those at Gaza and Majdal, and their main thrust was aimed at Tel Aviv, though they could also penetrate from Majdal to other vital sectors in the interior of the country. To stop them, Israel deployed the Negev Brigade, operating south of the Majdal–Bet Guvrin line, and part of the Givati Brigade deployed north of it. There were also some 27 settlements scattered in the area, 22 of which had less than 30 defenders. Five of these kibbutzim lay alongside what was later known as the Gaza Strip. The Egyptians decided to wipe them out before proceeding to Tel Aviv, to protect their rear and flanks. Their first target was Kefar Darom (see *Benei Darom), a religious kibbutz 7 mi. (11 km.) south of Gaza, which had already withstood attacks by units of the extremist Egyptian movement, the Muslim Brothers, in the pre-state fighting. In an assault only a few days earlier, the Orthodox Jewish defenders had filled the small bags that held their *tefillin* with TNT and flung them at their assailants, after they had exhausted their stock of hand grenades. On the morning of May 15, eight Egyptian tanks approached the kibbutz, their guns blazing, followed by infantry. Having no artillery, the 30 defenders had no other course but to wait until the enemy came within range of their small arms, and then they opened fire. One Piat antitank weapon that had been rushed to the kibbutz during the night was quickly put in to action, and direct hits were scored on the enemy lead tanks. The remaining tanks thereupon turned around in retreat, exposing the infantry to fire from the kibbutz. Enemy armored vehicles returned later, but only to cover the retreat of the infantry. As a parting gesture, they mortared and shelled the kibbutz but made no further attempt to take it, contenting themselves with occupying positions covering its perimeter.

While Kefar Darom was under attack, another formidable Egyptian column attacked kibbutz Nirim, with its 40 defenders, further to the south. Nirim lost more than half its men in killed and wounded, but repulsed the enemy. Next day the Egyptians returned to their attack, accompanied by air bombardment. They were again driven back. Thereafter they did not attempt a ground assault, but kept the settlement isolated and subjected it to periodic shelling and air bombardment. The pattern at Kefar Darom and Nirim was to be typical of all but a few of the encounters between the enemy and kibbutzim on all fronts throughout the country.

There was, however, one kibbutz which the Egyptians considered it vital to liquidate if they were to proceed with their drive on Tel Aviv. This was Yad Mordekhai, close to the coastal highway between Gaza and Majdal and blocking the linkup of these two Egyptian bases. After their bitter experience, the Egyptians prepared the attack more carefully and assigned larger forces – two infantry battalions, one armored battalion, and one artillery regiment. Nevertheless, it took them five days of hard fighting to overcome the defenders, who numbered, together with reinforcements from the Negev Brigade, no more than one infantry company. Shortly before dawn on May 24, their plight desperate, with many killed and wounded, ammunition spent, and their last machine gun out of action, the defenders abandoned the settlement, creeping through the enemy lines under cover of darkness and carrying their wounded with them. Although Yad Mordekhai fell, the five days of resistance proved crucial. It held up the main Egyptian advance, and in that time the IDF was able to strengthen the defenses nearer to Tel Aviv, dispatch reinforcements to the south, and acquire heavier weapons and some fighter planes, which were to play a key role in the major confrontation.

The major phase of this confrontation began on May 29, when the Egyptian forces had regrouped after the Yad Mordekhai battle and a column of brigade strength, numbering some 500 vehicles, moved north from Majdal, passed Ashdod, and halted at the Ashdod bridge 2 mi. (3 km.) to the north. The IDF units in this area were from the Givati Brigade, and their sappers had blown up the bridge the night before. With the column held up, the IDF GHQ sent the first four Messerschmidt fighter planes, which had just arrived and been hastily made ready for action, to attack it. It was the first time the enemy had seen Israeli fighter planes, and this new factor made the column vulnerable. The Egyptians accordingly proceeded to dig in. Now they were subjected to another weapon that they had not encountered from Israel before – some 65 mm. artillery which had just been landed and rushed into action. These guns shelled the column, while other Givati units harassed it continuously. The destroyed Ashdod bridge, only some 20 mi. (32 km.) from Tel Aviv, was to prove the northernmost limit of the Egyptian advance throughout the war. Though halted and harassed, the Egyptian brigade had not lost its fighting capacity, and during the next few days it sought out targets in the vicinity. Attacks on the kibbutz of *Negbah failed. The attack on kibbutz *Niẓẓanim, launched on June 7, succeeded, however. Givati also had its gains and failures in attacks and counterattacks.

By now, after feverish efforts at the United Nations, it was evident that a truce would soon be called. Each side tried desperately to improve its positions before the cease-fire. The most important Israeli failure was the unsuccessful attempt to take the ʿIrāq Suwaydān police fort and breach the east-west line from Majdal through Suwaydān to Fālūja. This meant that the Negev was cut off from land communication with the north. On June 11, the first truce went into effect. It lasted a month.

THE FIGHT FOR JERUSALEM. Jerusalem and the corridor to the west were the scenes of continuous bitter fighting throughout the four weeks that ended with the June truce. The Israelis suffered heavy losses and several serious setbacks, the most important of which were the loss of the Jewish Quarter of the Old City and the failure to take Latrun at the western end of the corridor. But they emerged with West Jerusalem intact and in possession of a tenuous link with the coast. The Arabs had several military successes, but they failed in their major objective – the conquest of West Jerusalem (the New City), with its 100,000 Jews, whose citizens were holding out on starvation food rations and the troops on "starvation rations" of ammunition. They now had to cope not only with hunger, but with a military onslaught from all directions and with the constant shelling of their homes by Arab Legion 25-pounders and Egyptian heavy artillery and mortars from positions near Bethlehem. As the British departed and the Arab Legion came in, the Eẓyoni Brigade succeeded, in "Operation Pitchfork," in consolidating all the Jewish areas in the New City and beating off all penetration attempts by the enemy. But the perimeter of these areas was now the front line. The main Jewish outpost in the south, the Eẓyon Bloc, had fallen on May 14. On that night and the next, the two northern settlements in the heart of the Arab hills, *Atarot and Neveh Ya'akov, were evacuated. On May 21, there was a powerful attack by units of the Arab Legion and the Egyptian Muslim Brothers on *Ramat Raḥel at the southern edge of Jerusalem, which changed hands three times in the next four days, being captured during the day and recaptured at night. On the 25th, the defenders, assisted by a unit from the Harel Brigade, fought a daylong battle and routed their assailants. Successive Arab Legion attempts to break into the New City were all repelled, often in hand-to-hand fighting, while armored cars were knocked out at close range with Molotov cocktails.

In the most desperate position was the Jewish Quarter of the Old City, close to the *Western Wall, whose strategic situation was far outweighed by its deep meaning for Jewry. The Jews living there, mostly elderly folk engaged in religious study, with their families, were completely surrounded by Old City Arabs and Arab Legion forces. The Jews had been strengthened during the previous months by some 80 members of the Haganah, some of whom had been there for months, and others who had fought their way through the walled city to help organize the defenses. There were also some IẒL personnel. On May 16 the Arab Legion attacked from all directions, and although the Jews resisted with homemade incendiary bombs, hand grenades, submachine guns, and a meager quantity of explosives, they were steadily pressed back from house to house, as each was destroyed by the powerfully armed Legion. On May 19 a Harel unit managed to blast the Zion Gate and reach the Jewish Quarter; but it withdrew the following day. Legion pressure mounted, but renewed attempts to reinforce the beleaguered defenders failed. On May 28 the Jewish Quarter surrendered.

To break the siege of Jerusalem, it was essential to capture Latrun, astride the highway from the coast. The Israel GHQ set up a special brigade, the 7th, for this task. It was composed of one hastily assembled armored battalion, with half-tracks that had just reached Israel's shores; one infantry battalion with men drawn from existing formations; and one battalion made up of new immigrants who had also just arrived in the country and who had received some training with dummy weapons in the displaced persons' camps in Europe and the immigrant camps in Cyprus.

The 7th Brigade was thrown into action immediately, without time to organize and train together. At the last minute, a veteran battalion of the Alexandroni Brigade was included. A two-battalion attack was launched on May 25, Alexandroni making a frontal assault on the Latrun police fort and village, with the battalion of new immigrants assigned to secure its right flank. The assault should have started in darkness, but there was a delay and it was past dawn when they approached the fortified Arab Legion positions. The element of surprise was lost, and the assault came under such fierce fire that they were forced to retire with heavy casualties. The brigade tried again on May 30, the Alexandroni battalion being replaced by a battalion from Givati. The armored battalion made the main assault this time, fighting its way right up to the police fort, and even succeeding in breaking into the courtyard. But the battalion sappers, who were to breach the wall of the fort, were hit by Legion shells, and the untrained infantry units failed to reach them. The battalion retired. The third attempt to capture Latrun was made on the nights of June 9 and 10, the Yiftaḥ Brigade of the Palmaḥ, which had been operating in Galilee, replacing the 7th Brigade, and a Harel battalion also taking part. This attack also failed, and it was about to be resumed when the cease-fire took effect at 10:00 on June 11.

In the meantime, however, an alternative link between Jerusalem and the coast had been discovered and rendered serviceable. This was a rough dirt track, broken by a steep wadi, on which hundreds of elderly men worked night after night to make it fit for vehicles. They dubbed it the "Burma Road." With the truce, Jerusalem was joined to the coastal plain, its siege days over.

IN THE COASTAL STRIP. In the central sector, the narrow coastal strip in the Sharon was gravely threatened by the tough-fighting Palestinian Arabs in the Samarian bulge, stiffened by the surviving irregulars of the Arab Liberation Army under Fawzī al-Qāwuqjī. Their chief centers were the towns of Nablus, Jenin, and Tulkarm, the point of a dagger thrusting at nearby Netanyah on the coast. On May 24 one Iraqi armored brigade and two infantry brigades occupied this "triangle" and prepared for offensive operations. The Iraqi forces had started crossing the Jordan on May 15 and were active in the southern part of the Jordan Valley, south of the Syrian invaders. But they had suffered two severe setbacks, being repulsed at kibbutz *Gesher and by a Haganah unit at *Belvoir. When the Arab Legion moved its main forces in the "triangle" to the Latrun and Jerusalem sectors, the Iraqis moved in. Defense of the Sharon was in the hands of the Alexandroni Brigade.

On May 25, the Iraqis tried to cut through to Netanyah, capturing one kibbutz and attacking three others near Tulkarm. The captured kibbutz was retaken by Alexandroni and the Iraqi drive was temporarily stopped. But it was evident that the only way for the Israel forces to prevent an all-out assault toward the coast by so powerful an enemy force was to keep it on the defensive. On May 29, the Golani Brigade penetrated the "triangle" from the north, taking several villages plus the strongholds of *Megiddo and al-Lajjūn, which offered a good base for an attack on Jenin. This was undertaken on the nights of May 31 and June 1 by one battalion from Golani and two battalions of the Carmeli Brigade, which had been operating in western Galilee. Golani captured all enemy positions in the valley leading to Jenin, and on the following night the Carmeli formations seized the two key hills southeast and southwest of the town, holding them against fierce counterattacks throughout the next day. Then the men of Golani entered and took the town. The Iraqis rushed up more reinforcements, and the fighting was heavy. But the Israel troops held firm. Since the IDF could spare no forces for an operation to take the whole of the Arab bulge, it decided on an orderly withdrawal from Jenin. This was carried out on June 4, with the Israeli units taking up defensive positions on the southern slopes of Mt. Gilboa. Shortly thereafter, an Alexandroni unit captured the key village of Qāqūn just north of Tulkarm. The only Iraqi gain before a truce was the seizure of the headwaters of the Yarkon river and the pumping station at *Rosh ha-Ayin (Ra's al-ʿAyn).

THE SYRIAN ATTACK REPULSED. In the north, the Syrians crossed into Israel just south of Lake Kinneret and spearheaded their invasion on the night of May 15 with a crack infantry brigade, a battalion of armored cars, one of artillery, and a company of tanks. Facing them in the Jordan Valley were a cluster of kibbutzim, whose members were a kind of Haganah garrison force and a Haganah battalion for offensive action drawn from the Golani Brigade. The Syrian aim was to rout the kibbutzim, cross the Jordan, and then make a lightning dash westward through mostly Arab-held territory of Lower Galilee to Haifa. The first Syrian targets were Ẓemaḥ, at the southern tip of Lake Kinneret, and *Sha'ar ha-Golan, and *Massadah (not to be confused with Masada on the Dead Sea), the two easternmost kibbutzim in the area. Though they suffered heavy losses, the Jewish defenders held all three positions. On the 18th the enemy again assaulted Ẓemaḥ in full force. It fell after stubborn fighting; Sha'ar ha-Golan and Massadah had been evacuated shortly before. The front line now shifted to *Deganyah, the very first kibbutz to have been established (in 1909). The attack on Deganyah was launched early on May 20 by a Syrian infantry company, five tanks, and numerous armored cars, after the kibbutz had been heavily shelled. They managed to reach the outer perimeter and came steadily on. Then one tank was knocked out. A second, which had got right through to the kibbutz, was halted by a Molotov cocktail (the remains of the tank are still there), and a third was disabled by a three-inch mortar. Armored cars that reached the trenches were put out of action by Piats and Molotov cocktails. The infantry was dealt with by small-arms fire. At noon two old pieces of artillery, which had just arrived in the country, were rushed to Deganyah and put into action against Syrian concentrations of armor and support units. This probably tipped the balance, for the Syrians then retired, also evacuating Ẓemaḥ and taking up positions in the hills to the east.

Apart from minor clashes, the Syrians made no further attacks in this sector, and their aim of a lightning drive to Haifa was abandoned.

Instead, they sought to make local territorial gains and use their powerful force to nip off the northeastern tip of Upper Galilee. While they were regrouping, a huge supply base was blown up by a Haganah sabotage squad, and the Syrian assault was postponed. It came, however, on June 6, directed against *Mishmar ha-Yarden, north of Lake Kinneret, and was accompanied by heavy shelling and air bombardment of the kibbutzim in the area. The attack was repelled with heavy losses on both sides; but a renewed attack on June 10 was successful, so that the truce found the Syrians with a foothold on the Israel side of the Jordan. On the same day, *Ein Gev, the only Jewish kibbutz on the eastern shore of Lake Kinneret at the time, fought off a heavy enemy attack, and did so again when it was attacked the next day despite the truce. The ceasefire became effective in this sector only on June 12.

THE LEBANESE ASSAULT. The invasion route chosen by the Lebanese army was through Malkiyyah, just west of the powerful, Arab-held police fort of Nabī Yūshaʿ, on the ridge dominating the Ḥuleh Valley. Jewish defense in this sector was the responsibility of the Yiftaḥ Brigade of the Palmaḥ, which had effected the remarkable capture of *Safed a few days earlier. On the night of May 14/15, a Yiftaḥ battalion cut across the mountains on foot toward the Lebanese border, skirted the Nabī Yūshaʿ fort, and, without resting, went straight in to storm Malkiyyah and nearby Kadesh. Both fell after heavy fighting. But the next day the Lebanese put in a determined counterattack, and the Palmaḥ men were forced to retire, taking up positions between the border and Nabī Yūshaʿ. That night, a unit of the battalion infiltrated deep into Lebanon and cut an important supply route. This action, together with their casualties in retaking Malkiyyah and Kadesh, stopped the Lebanese from pursuing the Yiftaḥ battalion, which accordingly attacked Nabī Yūshaʿ the next night and was successful. (In an earlier, heroic but unsuccessful, attempt just before independence, 28 Yiftaḥ men had lost their lives.) On the 18th the Palmaḥ launched the attack on Malkiyyah, taking the enemy by surprise by approaching from the rear – from inside Lebanese territory. Malkiyyah fell. With the Lebanese advance halted, the Yiftaḥ Brigade was rushed south to take part in the urgent actions in Jerusalem and the Corridor. Replacing Yiftaḥ was the newly formed Oded Brigade, consisting of men from local settlements, a Haifa Haganah battalion, and new recruits.

In western Galilee, the Carmeli Brigade, ready to meet a possible Lebanese invasion through *Rosh ha-Nikrah on the coast, cleared the stretch from Haifa to the border, taking Acre on May 17. Carmeli later operated in the Jordan Valley and in the Jezreel Valley just north of Jenin.

On June 6, simultaneously with the Syrian attack on Mishmar ha-Yarden, a combined two-brigade force of Syrians, Lebanese, and Qāwuqjī's reorganized Arab Liberation Army attacked Malkiyyah and overran the small Israel garrison that had been left there. Through this gap poured units of the Liberation Army that proceeded to consolidate themselves in heavily Arab-populated Central Galilee and remained there when the truce went into effect.

The First Truce: June 11–July 9

The truce was supervised by Count Folke *Bernadotte, the mediator for Palestine who had been appointed by the UN General Assembly on May 21, together with teams of UN observers made up of army officers from Belgium, France, Sweden and the United States. It was to last 28 days (the UN hoped it would be extended), and the observers were to ensure that neither side gained any "military advantage" during the truce by the acquisition of additional arms or "fighting personnel."

On the tenth day of the truce, a grave intra-Jewish incident occurred when an IẒL arms vessel, the *Altalena*, attempted to land its weapons on the shores of Israel. It had left a French port early in June, and IẒL refused to hand it over to the Israel government. When IẒL persisted in its refusal to agree to the government's conditions, the landing was resisted by force. The ship was set on fire just off the Tel Aviv beach by IDF troops, who then waded into the water to rescue IẒL personnel. There were casualties on both sides.

In the meanwhile, both the Arab and Israel armies used the truce to improve their positions. The IDF engaged in more rigorous training of its men – established settlers, new immigrants (*Gaḥal), and volunteers from overseas (*Maḥal) with World War II battle experience; regrouping its forces; and readying for action more of the newly arrived heavy weapons and planes (flown by local pilots and overseas volunteers). Toward the end of the truce period it became clear that the truce would not be prolonged. The one agreement Bernadotte was able to arrange between the two sides was the demilitarization of the Mount Scopus area in Jerusalem. The truce ended at 6 A.M. on July 9 and hostilities were resumed. They lasted ten days and were followed by the second truce.

The "Ten Days": July 9–18

ON THE EGYPTIAN FRONT. In the south, the Egyptians had taken advantage of the truce to bolster their Majdal-Bet Guvrin line, cutting northern Israel off from the Negev. Their strength was now four brigades. Twenty-four hours before the truce ended, on the morning of July 8, they launched a series of attacks on both sides of the line, ejecting an IDF unit from Kawkaba to the south, but being badly mauled when they tried to take Beit Darās to the north. That night, Givati units attacked the line from the north, capturing the villages of ʿIrāq Suwaydān, Beit (Bayt) ʿAffa, and ʿIbdis – the last in a tough battle in which they routed two Egyptian companies and captured large quantities of weapons and ammunition. A Negev Brigade unit, attacking the line from the south, was less successful; it seized several positions but failed in its assault on the ʿIrāq Suwaydān police fort. (Suwaydān village and, later, Belt ʿAffa had, accordingly, to be abandoned.) For the next eight days, the two IDF brigades fought continuously to contain the more powerful Egyptians, break their line, and join in the defense of local kibbutzim, notably Negbah and *Beʾerot Yiẓḥak, which held out miraculously against overwhelming enemy forces. On the night of July 17, with another truce about to be called, the IDF launched a determined attack on two positions astride the Egyptian line, Ḥatta and Karatiyya, located between ʿIrāq Suwaydān and Fālūja. Taking a key role in the combined Givati-Negev brigades action was a commando battalion from a newly created armored brigade that had made a spectacular dash through the town of *Lydda a few days earlier and had been rushed down to reinforce Givati. Ḥatta and Karatiyya fell, thereby breaching the Majdal-Fālūja line. When the truce came on the evening of July 18, Egyptian east-west communications were thus severed, and the Israelis had a direct land connection with the Negev.

ON THE CENTRAL FRONT. The IDF's greatest offensive effort during the ten days of fighting was directed against the Arab Legion on the central front, the area between Tel Aviv and Jerusalem. With the major objective of taking the two towns of Lydda and *Ramleh, clearing the central area, and then, if there was still time, attempting the capture of Ramallah and Latrun, the IDF organized a strong force, headed by the commander of the Palmaḥ, consisting of the Yiftaḥ Brigade, the new 8th Armored Brigade – comprising a tank battalion, a commando battalion of jeeps and half-tracks – and two battalions from the Kiryati and Alexandroni Brigades, as well as additional artillery and engineering units. The action was called "Operation Dani." Two forces struck in a pincer movement, one moving on Lydda and Ramleh from the northwest, the other from the southwest. Yiftaḥ, the southern force, captured ʿInāba and Jimzū and by the afternoon of the 10th fought its way through to *Ben Shemen, to the rear of Lydda. One unit turned westward to take Kefar Daniel, which cut off Ramleh from the east. The armored brigade moved off along the northern arc on the morning of the 10th and captured Wilhelma, Ṭīra, and other villages en route and then swung south to Deir Ṭarīf, ready to meet the southern pincer forces at Ben Shemen. During this advance, a small force darted off to capture al-Sāfiriyya and then pushed on to capture the Lydda airport. Thus, within a day and a half of the resumption of hostilities, the largest airport in the Middle East and a dozen key villages had fallen to the IDF in the first engagements in which Israel units had used armor. At Deir (Dayr) Ṭarīf the tank battalion was held up by strong Arab Legion forces based on Beit Nabālā across the road, on the western slopes of the hills. Fighting there was heavy, and Deir Ṭarīf fell only on the following day. The commando battalion did get through to Ben Shemen, however, on the afternoon of the 10th, having bypassed Deir Ṭarīf. Then, without pausing to rest or wait for the required artillery support, it made a surprise dash to Lydda, breaking into the city past Arab positions, driving right through it and shooting it up, and repeating the same maneuver on its way back. This was one of the most daring actions of the war and caused utter confusion in the enemy ranks. They were still dazed when Yiftaḥ troops moved in to effect the city's capture. The Arab Legion counterattacked the next day without success. On July 12, Kiryati units took Ramleh, which surrendered after a brief engagement, and, north of this sector, Rosh ha-Ayin, which had been seized by the Iraqis in June, was recaptured.

The Arab Legion now regrouped its forces to strengthen the defenses of Ramallah and Latrun. With reinforcements brought from Jerusalem, the Legion held the Latrun enclave with a full brigade and considerable armor. For the next few days it fought stubbornly – and effectively – being saved by the truce from the attacks of the Yiftaḥ and Harel units. But north of Latrun, Israel units pressing southward from Lydda and Ramleh captured Shiltā, Barfīlyya, Burj, Bīr (Bi'r) Maʿin, and Salbit. This brought them to positions from which they dominated the Ramallah-Beit Nūba-Latrun road. Southeast of Latrun, Harel, again responsible for the Jerusalem Corridor, widened it by capturing important positions on its southern edge, including Hartuv. In and around Jerusalem, *Ein Kerem and Malḥa were captured by local Jerusalem units, who had been engaged in heavy fighting throughout the ten days in different quarters of the city. But the truce found the Old City still held by the Arab Legion. The one Legion gain was the capture of a building belonging to a certain Mr. Mandelbaum. This later became the celebrated Mandelbaum Gate, the crossing point between Jordan and Israel during the period from the armistice to the *Six-Day War.

OPERATIONS IN THE NORTH. The most spectacular operation in the north during the ten days of fighting was "Operation Dekel," which culminated in the capture of Nazareth. It was carried out by a group consisting of the 7th Brigade and a battalion from Carmeli, with some support from Golani. After capturing several Arab positions between the coast and the foothills southeast of Acre, the force successfully attacked the Shefaram (Shefāʿ Amr) on July 14 and pressed on southeast to take Ẓippori the following day after stubborn fighting. The opposing Arab force in this region was Qāwuqjī's Arab Liberation Army, which at that moment was placing very heavy pressure on *Sejera, to the east. With the fall of Ẓippori, and Qāwuqjī's main force still being resisted by the Jewish settlement of Sejera, the people of Nazareth began to panic as the main brigade column advanced on the city. At the same time, a small unit from Golani moved toward Nazareth from the Jezreel Valley, suggesting to Qāwuqjī that he was also threatened by a strong force from the south. When the brigade was less than a mile from the town, however, the commander of Nazareth sent out an armored car unit to block its advance. The brigade column went straight on without pausing, firing as it moved. After desultory fighting, the city surrendered on the evening of July 16. Qāwuqjī himself, together with the bulk of his forces, succeeded in escaping into the mountains to the north through trails that IDF troops had not yet had a chance to seal. The result of "Operation Dekel" was to free the entire belt of Lower Galilee from Haifa Bay to Lake Kinneret.

Further north, the Carmeli Brigade undertook operations whose major aim was the elimination of the Syrian salient at Mishmar ha-Yarden, and whose lesser purpose was the containment of the enemy within the area of the bridgehead. Fighting was intense throughout the entire ten days, with positions like Dardara and Hill 223 changing hands as many as three times. The battles ended in a stalemate, with the Syrians still in Mishmar ha-Yarden; but the Syrians were stopped from advancing even the short distance westward to cut the Rosh Pinnah-Metullah road.

AIR AND NAVAL OPERATIONS. The Israel air force, with its newly acquired warplanes, though inferior in number and type to those of the enemy, was very active during these ten days, carrying out support, pursuit, and bombing missions. Three World War II Flying Fortresses carried out air attacks on Egypt en route to Israel on July 14, one bombing Cairo and the others attacking Rafa and El Arish. Damascus was also bombed. The Israel navy, having feverishly reconditioned the hulks of "illegal" immigrant boats, bombarded Arab centers along the Carmel coast, sabotaged ships near Gaza, and shelled the Lebanese port of Tyre. Most of the navy's casualties, however, were suffered on land when an amphibious company was rushed to the southern front during the critical operation to break the Egyptian Majdal-Fālūja line to reinforce Givati.

The Second Truce

Breaches of the second truce, which went into effect at 7 P.M. on July 18, began almost from the first day. In the Jerusalem area the Arab Legion intensified its bombardment of the New City, and during the remainder of July, August, September, and October, Jerusalem was shelled, mortared, and machine-gunned almost every night. (The attacks stopped only on November 30, when both sides agreed to a "sincere cease-fire.") On August 12, the Legion destroyed the Latrun pumping station, even though it was under UN control, but Israel quickly laid a pipeline along the "Burma Road" and kept Jerusalem supplied with water. In the north, Qāwuqjī's Arab Liberation Army kept up sporadic harassment of Jewish positions.

Clearing the Road to the Negev: October 15–22

In the south, the Egyptians soon ignored the truce provisions and denied Jewish convoys passage through the Ḥatta-Karatiyya gap in their line. They seized positions outside the truce boundaries and then extended their attacks to several IDF posts that covered the gap. On October 15, the Israel army and air force turned to the offensive after the Egyptians had attacked a convoy proceeding south and raided inter-kibbutz communications. In a brisk seven days' campaign, the road to the Negev was opened and the Negev was cleared of Egyptian troops.

During this period, Operation Yo'av (also known by its preliminary name, Operation Ten Plagues) was carried out. In the reorganization that the army had carried out during the preceding truce months (when, incidentally, officers had been given ranks for the first time), the country had been divided into four military commands. The southern front command, headed by the Palmaḥ commander, was responsible for Operation Yo'av. The force consisted of three infantry brigades, Negev, Givati and Yiftaḥ, plus an armored battalion from the 8th Armored Brigade and the largest artillery formation that had ever been available to the IDF. (The Oded Brigade joined the command on October 18.) During the truce months, Yiftaḥ was flown south in an extraordinary airlift – since the Egyptians had blocked the road – to relieve the Negev Brigade, which was lifted north to rest, reorganize, and prepare for resumed action.

On the night of October 15 the Israel Air Force bombed bases from which Egyptian assaults had been launched and also attacked Egypt's advanced airfield at Rafa. This action kept most of the Egyptian front-line fighters out of the skies and gave the IDF air superiority for the first time. The Israel navy also took part in these southern engagements, shelling enemy coastal installations, preventing supplies from reaching Gaza and Majdal by sea, and scoring a spectacular triumph on the very eve of the truce, when its special unit sank the *Amir Fārūq* ("Emir Farouk"), flagship of the Egyptian navy, off the shores of Gaza.

On the ground, Yiftaḥ troops led off by carrying out a series of raids and sabotage actions against Egyptian concentrations and communications in the coastal strip north and south of Gaza, to the links between Rafa and Gaza, and between Gaza and Majdal. The Givati and the armored battalion went into action to break the Majdal-Bet Guvrin line. In heavy fighting, the tank unit failed to take ʿIrāq al Manshiyya, just east of Fālūja. Next night, Givati units made a breakthrough west of Fālūja, fighting their key battles at Hill 113 and nearby Egyptian strongholds dominating the crossroads between Majdal and Fālūja. After stiff hand-to-hand engagements, the positions were captured and held against heavy Egyptian counterattacks. On the night of the 16th, Givati advanced southward and took the Heights of Kawkaba, commanding the road running north–south. But Yiftaḥ failed to take the Heights of al-Ḥulayqāt further south, which also commanded that road. Ḥulayqāt fell only on October 20, after other Yiftaḥ units had succeeded in capturing several nearby positions. The road to the Negev was now clear, in spite of the fact that the ʿIrāq Suwaydān police fort had successfully resisted a further Israel attack to capture it.

Meanwhile, the Security Council was anxiously trying to effect a cease-fire, and the IDF recognized that it had little time to exploit the successful opening of the Negev road. At 4:00 on the morning of October 21, the IDF moved to capture Beersheba. Taking part were the bulk of the 8th Brigade; a Negev Brigade battalion, which had dashed south along the road within hours of the capture of Ḥulayqāt; and the Negev Brigade's commando battalion, which had already been operating in the south, harassing the enemy in the Gaza-Rafa region. While some units took up blocking positions north and south of the town to hold up Egyptian reinforcements, and another carried out a diversion action in the direction of Hebron, the main IDF force advanced on the city from the west. There was stiff fighting inside the city, but at 8:00 a.m. a white flag went up on the police fort, and by 9:15 the capture of Beersheba was complete.

During Operation Yo'av, the Harel Brigade was active in the mountainous area between the Jerusalem Corridor and Bet Guvrin, greatly widening the approaches to Jerusalem and cutting the Egyptian artery from Bet Guvrin to Bethlehem. Detachments from the Eẓyoni and Givati Brigades took part in some of these actions. A truce was ordered for 3:00 p.m. on October 22, but there was some action in the days immediately following. The police fort of Bet Guvrin fell on October 27, and after the Egyptians had retreated southward from Ashdod (October 28) and Majdal (November 6) to Gaza, IDF troops occupied the coastal strip down to Yad Mordekhai. Trapped in a pocket, which was centered around Fālūja and included ʿIrāq Suwaydān on the west and ʿIrāq al Manshiyya on the east, was an entire Egyptian brigade, consisting of some 4,000 troops headed by a brave Sudanese commanding officer who refused to surrender. On November 9, the area of the "Fālūja Pocket," as it came to be called, was reduced by IDF's capture of the village and police fort of ʿIrāq Suwaydān, in one of the numerous actions in which both sides engaged to improve their positions despite the truce.

The Arab Liberation Army Driven Off: October 29–31

In the north, Qāwuqjī's Arab Liberation Army which did not consider itself bound by the United Nations truce, carried out local attacks during the cease-fire months. On October 22, thinking that the IDF would be too preoccupied with actions in the Negev, Qāwuqjī launched a strong attack on the outpost of kibbutz *Manarah, a kibbutz on the ridge near the Lebanese border above the Ḥuleh Valley. They captured the strongpoint of Sheikh ʿAbbād, repelled a counterattack by the local IDF unit, and ambushed the reinforcements who were rushed in to relieve Manarah, inflicting heavy casualties on them as they tried to negotiate the steep heights. Israel's protests to the UN were unavailing. The Arabs continued to hold Sheikh ʿAbbād and captured further hill positions, cutting the Manarah-Nabi Yūshaʿ track and dominating the *Rosh Pinnah-*Metullah road. On the night of October 28, the IDF initiated Operation Ḥiram, striking not at the point of attack selected by Qāwuqjī, but at his main bases, in an effort to rout his army. The forces available to the northern front commander were four brigades: the 7th (together with the armored battalion that had fought with it in Operation Dekel), Oded, Golani, and Carmeli. The air force was active in bombing and ground-support missions. The main action fell to the 7th Brigade, which pushed off from Safed in a western and northwestern drive on Sasa, the heart of Upper Galilee. In less than 24 hours of hard fighting, they made a lightning advance through the rugged hills and captured Meron (succeeding in the second attack); took Safsāf; sped on to the powerful stronghold of Jish, which had been reinforced by a Syrian battalion and which they overcame in stiff combat; and by nightfall on the 29th were in Sasa. In a coordinated action, Oded started eastward at zero hour from bases near Nahariyyah also aiming for Sasa, so that the Arab Liberation Army would be encircled and squeezed by Oded thrusting from one direction and the 7th Brigade from the other. Oded's first objective was Tarshīḥa. Several outposts near the approaches to the town were captured, but Tarshīḥa itself held firm. It surrendered only on the morning of the 30th, after Golani had undertaken a series of diversionary actions in the south that sent the Liberation Army northward.

In a quick change of plan, Golani was ordered to exploit its success and push on to ʿAylabūn, which it captured, while the 7th Brigade, further north, also exploited its success by advancing northeastward on Malkiyyah. Oded detachments, who by now were driving eastward beyond Tarshīḥa, engaged Arab forces retreating from the south, and then, after reaching the frontier road with Lebanon, changed direction and pushed due west, clearing the entire road up to the Mediterranean coast. The 7th Brigade took Malkiyyah by surprise, coming at it from the south, and captured it. This relieved the pressure on Manarah, and the Carmeli Brigade, covering the eastern sector to prevent a Syrian breakthrough from Mishmar ha-Yarden, now moved to the offensive. It crossed into Lebanon and captured a number of villages lying near the Manarah road. Some of its detachments reached the Litani River. (The Lebanese villages were given up by Israel in the *armistice agreement which was signed in March 1949.) When the survivors among Qāwuqjī's forces realized that they were being squeezed from the east, south, and west, and particularly after the fall of their key centers at Jish, Sasa, and Tarshīḥa, they started evacuating the pocket, using little-known tracks to make their way northward into Lebanon. When the cease-fire was ordered on October 31, 60 hours after the start of the action, the entire Galilee was clear of the Arab Liberation Army.

Expelling the Egyptians: December 22–January 7

In the south, there were infractions of the truce by both sides throughout November and December; but those of the Egyptians were more serious, as they had more to gain, having lost so much. They attacked Jewish settlement communications, sabotaged the inter-settlement water pipeline, and tried to seize Negev outposts in order to improve their military positions. They also refused to implement a Security Council order (which Israel accepted) to start armistice talks, unless Israel first allowed the release of the trapped Fālūja brigade. Israel said it would release the force as soon as talks got under way. Egypt remained adamant, and its forces continued their harassing activities in the Negev. Israel then decided to launch Operation Ḥorev, aimed at expelling the Egyptians from the borders of the country. The forces taking part, under the commander of the southern front, were the 8th Armored and the Negev brigades, which had participated in Operation Yo'av; the Alexandroni and Golani brigades, which replaced Givati and Yiftaḥ; and two battalions and an additional unit from the Harel Brigade. The Egyptians were entrenched along two main wings, the western and stronger of the two, forking north from ʿAwjā al-Ḥafīr along the Sinai border into the coastal strip through Rafa to Gaza, and the eastern one curving in an arc northeast from ʿAwjā through al-Mushrifa and Bīr (Bī'r) ʿAslūj to 15 mi. (24 km.) south of Beersheba. The main effort called for in the first phase of IDF's operation was the destruction of the eastern arm, with its heavily defended strongpoints ranged all along the main, hard-topped Beersheba-ʿAwjā highway. To effect surprise, the IDF decided to use a little known old Roman road cutting directly across the desert through Wadi al-Abyaḍ from Beersheba to ʿAwjā, which would bring its forces in the rear of ʿAwjā and of the Mushrifa and Bīr ʿAslūj bases. This ancient track had to be prepared by the engineers to take vehicles, however, and such work could not be started without losing the element of surprise until the campaign was under way. It was accordingly decided to start operations with feinting and diversionary attacks on the western Egyptian wing, which would also promote the impression that this was the main objective, and then deliver the principal punch to the east wing.

On the afternoon of December 22, the coastal strip was heavily shelled, and that night Golani units went into action cutting enemy communications between Rafa and Gaza and trying to seize key hills. For the next 48 hours IDF fought bitter battles and suffered many casualties in strong Egyptian counterattacks, displaying particular heroism in the battle for Hill 86 (from which they eventually had to retreat). But they fulfilled their task of diverting the enemy's attention from the eastern wing and misleading them as to IDF's true intentions.

On the morning of December 25 (a storm and flooding forced a postponement of zero hour by a day) the 8th Armored and Negev brigades set forth from al-Khalaṣa, south of Beersheba, on their appointed tasks. The Negev Brigade cut southward, aiming for Mushrifa, and had to fight a series of stiff battles for the well-defended group of hills round al-Thamila, close to the ʿAwjā-Bīr (Biʾr) ʿAslūj road. The Egyptians counterattacked heavily, and one Negev unit lost half its men trying to hold one key height. But it was soon regained, and by the morning of December 26 the key middle bastions of the Egyptians between ʿAwjā and Bīr ʿAslūj were in Israeli hands, with Bir ʿAslūj, the northeastern terminal of the Egyptian line, cut off and the rear of ʿAwjā exposed.

Meanwhile, the Armored Brigade had had a very difficult drive southwest across the Roman road to the south, and despite the brilliant work of the engineers in making the track passable, there were delays. The main force, which was to have reached the ʿAwjā area by dawn on the 26th, did not get there until the late afternoon, when it engaged ʿAwjā's outposts but was not in a position to launch its main attack. The offensive was carried out on the morning of the 27th, after roadblocks had been established north and west of ʿAwjā. The attack, in which the commando battalion of the Armored Brigade played a key part, was heavily resisted; Egyptian ground forces were aided by their air force, which bombed and strafed the Israeli units. But by 8:00 A.M., ʿAwjā fell, and thereafter Egyptian troops began evacuating their strongholds in the rear of ʿAwjā, with Israeli units in hot pursuit. The Negev Brigade completed its task of clearing the entire line up to and including Bīr ʿAslūj, which it occupied just after midday, and then raced westward along the paved road, joining up with the Armored Brigade at ʿAwjā in the afternoon. The Beersheba-ʿAwjā highway was now open, and no Egyptian troops were left on Israeli soil.

IDF then continued westward and northwestward from ʿAwjā into Sinai in pursuit of the Egyptian forces. On the night of the 28th, the Negev Brigade plus the Armored Brigade's tank battalion carried out an attack on Abu Aweigilā, some 30 mi. (48 km.) west of the international border, commanding the important junction of the road west to Ismailia and the road northwest to El-Arish. Golani units assisted by carrying out operations to halt enemy reinforcements. Captured enemy transport was used for the fast move (which led to a mishap soon after they crossed the border when, with enemy markings still on them, they were attacked by Israeli planes). The column advanced, battling defensive strongpoints en route, until they reached the outposts of Abu Aweigilā itself. There was stubborn fighting through the night, but the outposts were finally captured, and by dawn Negev units entered Abu Aweigilā. Almost without pause, part of the force pressed forward to raiding operations, though subjected to Egyptian air bombing. The tanks and commando units advancing northwest reached the El-Arish airfield, destroying installations and capturing one Spitfire intact, and went on to fight a brisk battle with the battalion-held outpost of Bīr Laḥfan, which they captured. But with no supporting troops, and the tanks badly in need of maintenance, the units returned to Abu Aweigilā on December 30. On the previous day as well, a light mobile unit sped westward to raid the air base at Bīr Ḥamma more than 50 mi. (80 km.) west of Abu Aweigilā, and returned. The 30th was spent in capturing Egyptian defense positions between Abu Aweigilā and El-Arish, between ʿAwjā and Rafa, and al-Quṣayma, some 20 mi. (32 km.) south of ʿAwjā.

By this time, however, with IDF forces inside Sinai in pursuit of the enemy, strong diplomatic pressure was being exercised on the government of Israel. Britain even threatened to activate the Anglo-Egyptian Treaty of 1936 unless the IDF withdrew to the international boundary. The front command was accordingly given orders to evacuate Sinai by January 2, 1949, but to continue operations within the boundaries of mandatory Palestine. The last Israeli actions inside Sinai were a Harel raid on Bīr Ḥassneh and the destruction of a large bridge spanning the Ismailia-Abu Aweigilā road. The next few days were spent in bitter fighting in the Rafa area, mostly by the Golani and Harel brigades, supported by the Armored and Negev brigades, in which several outposts of Rafa, stubbornly contested by both sides, kept changing hands. With the enemy squeezed back toward the coast, the IDF prepared to attack Rafa itself, but was prevented from doing so by the cease-fire, which became effective on the afternoon of January 7. On that day, five British fighters zoomed low over Israel battle positions and were shot down by Israeli planes. It transpired later that they were on armed reconnaissance flights, but they had been taken for Egyptian warplanes, which had been strafing Israeli units daily. This action caused a furor in the British parliament, where the government was strongly criticized – particularly by Winston Churchill, who was then leader of the opposition – for sending planes over the battle area in what seemed an open act of British intervention.

The Alexandroni Brigade had been assigned to contain and then subdue the Egyptian brigade trapped in the Fālūja Pocket. It attacked ʿIrāq al-Manshiyya on the night of December 27 and fought a hard battle. But the defenders under their Sudanese commander put up very stout resistance, battling with bravery and skill and effecting determined counterattacks when any position fell. The Israelis withdrew. The Fālūja Brigade was released only with the signature of the Israel-Egypt armistice agreement at Rhodes on February 24, and was saluted for its bravery by its Israeli adversaries as it left.

Under that agreement, Israel was permitted to maintain only defensive troops in the western Negev, from Fālūja to Eilat. They were free, however, to maintain whatever forces they considered necessary in the eastern half of the Negev. Up to then, Israel had controlled the Negev by regular patrols, without having a permanent force at the southern tip on the Gulf of Akaba. Early in March, the Negev Brigade set off from the northern Negev to trek south along interior tracks through sand and rock, hill barriers, and canyons, while the Golani Brigade moved along the Arabah. On the afternoon of March 10, 1949, the Israeli flag was hoisted on a few mud buildings, abandoned by a Transjordanian detachment, at what was known then as Umm Rashrash and now as Eilat. The spearheads of both brigades arrived almost simultaneously. The armistice agreement with Transjordan was signed, also at Rhodes, on April 3, 1949. On March 23 an agreement was signed with Lebanon at Rosh ha-Nikrah; and the last armistice agreement, with Syria, was signed on July 20. These acts officially ended Israel's War of Independence.

[Moshe Pearlman]

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WAR REFUGEE BOARD, a United States government agency established to assist refugees during World War II. In the autumn of 1943, at the initiative of the Emergency Committee to Save the Jewish People of Europe (the Bergson group), members of Congress introduced a resolution urging the creation of a government agency to rescue refugees from Hitler. At the same time, aides to Treasury Secretary Henry *Morgenthau, Jr., discovered that the State Department had been obstructing opportunities to rescue Jewish refugees and blocking the transmission to the U.S. of information about German atrocities. With pressure building in Congress and the press, Morgenthau, armed with a report from his staff about the State Department's actions, brought the issue to President Roosevelt in January 1944. FDR pre-empted Congressional action by establishing the War Refugee Board.

The WRB was handicapped from the outset. By the time it was established, more than four million Jews had already been slaughtered. As its agent in Istanbul, Ira Hirschmann, put it, the agency was created "at five minutes to twelve [midnight]." Moreover, Roosevelt had established the WRB primarily as a political gesture, and gave the new agency little financial or other support. Private Jewish organizations contributed more than 90 percent of its budget. Fortunately, the board, led by executive director John Pehle, was staffed largely by the same Treasury Department officials who helped lobby for the agency's creation in the first place. Their creativity, determination, and zeal helped overcome some of the administrative and other obstacles they encountered. The WRB's representatives in Turkey, Switzerland, North Africa, Portugal, and Italy energetically employed unorthodox means of rescue, including bribery of border officials and the production of forged identification papers and other documents needed to protect refugees from the Nazis.

The WRB's agents arranged for some 48,000 Jews to be moved from Transnistria, where they would have been in the path of the retreating German army, to safe areas in Romania. About 15,000 Jewish refugees, and about 20,000 non-Jewish refugees, were evacuated from Axis-occupied territory, and at least 10,000 more were protected through various WRB-sponsored activities.

As the German deportation of Hungarian Jews to Auschwitz got underway in the spring of 1944, the WRB launched a campaign of psychological warfare aimed at the Hungarian authorities, whose cooperation was crucial to the success of the deportations. The WRB engineered a series of threats of postwar Allied retribution against collaborators, including public statements to that effect by President Roosevelt, Congressional leaders, and other prominent Americans. Their warnings were conveyed to Hungary through diplomatic channels, radio broadcasts, the European press, and the dropping of leaflets by Allied planes. The WRB's efforts also helped elicit pleas to the Hungarian leadership from the Vatican, the International Red Cross, and the king of Sweden. When the Hungarians finally succumbed to these pressures, about 120,000 Jews remained alive in Budapest. Many had been sheltered by the Swedish diplomat Raoul *Wallenberg, who, with financial and logistical backing from the WRB, organized a network of safe houses in the city.

The WRB took action in other areas, as well. It arranged for the shipment of tens of thousands of food parcels to concentration camp inmates during the final months of the war. The board also helped Herbert Pell, the U.S. representative to the Allied War Crimes Commission, put pressure on the State Department to take a stronger stand on the postwar prosecution of Nazi war criminals.

Some of the board's efforts met with less success. For months, it sought to persuade President Roosevelt to establish temporary shelters for refugees in the United States, but in the end he agreed to just one token shelter for a group of 982 refugees in Oswego, New York. The board repeatedly asked the War Department to bomb the railroad lines leading to Auschwitz or the gas chambers and crematoria, but the requests were rejected. The State Department, too, often refused, or delayed, cooperating with the board's requests for assistance, despite the fact that the president's executive order creating the WRB specifically required such cooperation. The British government likewise responded coldly to the board's efforts and sometimes even impeded them.

Given the magnitude of the Nazi genocide, WRB director John Pehle was correct in his later assessment of the board's accomplishments as "late and little." Still, the WRB deserves credit for playing a major role in the rescue of more than 200,000 refugees during the final 15 months of the war despite numerous and daunting obstacles.

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[Rafael Medoff (2nd ed.)]

°**WARREN, SIR CHARLES** (1840–1927), British army officer, police commissioner, and archaeologist. Warren entered service in the Royal Engineers in 1857. He carried out a survey of Gibraltar from 1861 to 1865 and conducted excavations at Jerusalem from 1867 to 1870. Together with C.R. *Conder, he published the results of the survey of western Palestine which Conder had completed in 1881. Warren also conducted a survey of southern Transjordan. In his archeological work in Jerusalem Warren concentrated on excavating the outer wall of the Temple enclosure. Digging a series of underground tunnels, he labored under vast difficulties. Among his discoveries was the wall of the Ophel. Warren recorded the results of his excavations with great care, and they provided the main source of information on the Herodian wall down to its foundation until excavations were again undertaken there in 1968. He also preserved and registered every object he uncovered – a new departure at that time – which gave his work lasting value. His topographical and historical theories, on the other hand, have for the most part become obsolete.

Among his publications are *The Recovery of Jerusalem* (1871), *Underground Jerusalem* (1876), *The Survey of Western Palestine* (with C.R. Conder, 1884), and several works on problems of ancient weights and measures (especially *The Early Weights and Measures of Mankind*, 1913). Warren was one of the founders of the Palestine Exploration Fund and a member of its Executive Committee from 1871 until his death.

Warren was among those who advocated the Jewish settlement of Palestine (in *The Land of Promise*, 1875). In his opinion the country with its natural borders could absorb 15 million people if all its resources were exploited properly. Warren is most famous today for his time as commissioner of the Metropolitan Police from 1886 until 1889, when, among other things, he had to deal with the "Jack the Ripper" murders in Whitechapel. Warren acted with great sensitivity towards the large Jewish community in London's East End, ordering that antisemitic graffiti found near the scene of one murder be immediately erased, for fear that it would stir up anti-Jewish hostility. His role is discussed in all of the many accounts of the "Ripper" crimes, generally regarded as the most famous unsolved murders in history.

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[Michael Avi-Yonah]

WARRENS, ROSA (1821–1878), Swedish poet and translator. Born in Karlskrona, she spent much of her life in Hamburg and died in Copenhagen. Apart from important contributions to the study of Scandinavian folklore and Norse legend, she published Nordic verse in German translation: *Schwedische Volkslieder der Vorzeit* (1856), *Daenische Volkslieder* (1858), and *Schottische Volkslieder* (1861). Her other works include three volumes of Norwegian, Icelandic, and Finnish folk songs and a collection of original verse (1873).

WARSAW (Pol. **Warszawa**), originally capital of the Masovia region; from the 16th century, capital of Poland. Jews were apparently living in Warsaw by the end of the 14th century, but the first explicit information on Jewish settlement dates from 1414. In 1423 the records show ten Jewish families paying tax in Warsaw, and about the same number exempted. The hostility of the townsmen of Warsaw to Jewish settlement in the capital was particularly strong. In 1483 the Jewish inhabitants were expelled, although some were living there three years later. There is no information about Jews in the city between 1498 and 1524; evidently they had either been driven from the city entirely or remained in the outskirts on property owned by the Polish magnates from where they could enter the city for business purposes. Eventually, in 1527, the townsmen of Warsaw obtained the privilege *de non tolerandis Judaeis*, authorizing the exclusion of Jews from the city. Because of its importance as a political and commercial center, however, their connection was not entirely severed. A number of Jews were able to continue to reside in the outskirts, and some managed to gain access to Warsaw itself. When the national Sejm (diet) transferred its sessions to Warsaw in 1572 Jews were permitted to enter the city during its conventions. The time permitted for their sojourn was subsequently extended to a period of two weeks before and after the sessions. In addition, Jewish representatives (*shtadlanim*) of the *Councils of the Lands, empowered to negotiate with royalty and the nobility, also visited Warsaw. A number of other Jews obtained authorization by various means to enter the city temporarily even while the Sejm was not sitting. One of the customary "arrangements" was the "daily ticket" system, which gave the holder of a ticket the right to stay in Warsaw for 14 days. A census of 1765 records that there were 2,519 Jews in Warsaw.

During the *Haidamack attacks of 1768 fugitives from the eastern districts of Poland flocked to the outskirts. The census for 1792 records 6,750 Jews in Warsaw, forming 9.7% of the total population: 30.4% of those economically active were engaged in commerce or as taverners, 26.7% in craft or industry, 41.4% in undefined occupations, and 1.5% in domestic employment or as simple laborers. Several scores of Jewish entrepreneurs engaged in flourishing business as moneylenders, court factors of royalty or the nobility, army suppliers, or agents for foreign embassies. These were the nucleus of the great Jewish bourgeoisie which subsequently formed in Warsaw; they were mainly immigrants from abroad or from other towns in Poland.

Throughout the period of unofficial settlement the townspeople spared no efforts to drive the Jews from the capital. A partial expulsion of the Jewish residents was enforced, in conjunction with organized street attacks, in 1775 and 1790. After the first partition of Poland (1772), Warsaw Jewry, in particular the poorer sector, took an energetic part in the Polish uprising against the Russians. Many Jews volunteered for guard duties, and a number joined in the fighting in the Jewish legion formed under Berek *Joselewicz. In their onslaught the Russian troops massacred the Jewish civilian population, in particular in the Praga suburb where resistance was fierce. Legend associates the name of Joseph Samuel *Zbitkower with large-scale rescue operations during the massacre.

After Warsaw passed to Prussia in 1796, Warsaw Jewry was subjected to the *Juden Reglements* of 1797. Only Jewish residents of the city prior to 1796 were allowed to stay; the others were only permitted the right of temporary domicile, in a reversion to the old "daily ticket" system. In 1805 fresh attacks on Jews in Warsaw were made by the Polish populace. Nevertheless, there was now continuous immigration of German-speaking Jews from Prussia, Silesia, and other places to Warsaw, and the Jewish population increased from 7,688 (12% of the total) in 1797 to 11,630 (17.4%) in 1804.

Within the Duchy of Warsaw (1807–13)

After the formation of the Napoleon-sponsored duchy of Warsaw the Jews were not deprived of the rights of citizenship, but in 1808, under the "infamous decree" of *Napoleon, restrictions were imposed on Jewish rights for ten years. During this period Warsaw Jewry was burdened with heavy taxes. In 1809 a "Jewish quarter" was established outside in which the only persons permitted to reside were Jewish owners of real estate, wholesale merchants, manufacturers, bankers, army suppliers, and doctors, on condition that they wore European dress, were able to read and write Polish, German or French, and sent their children to general schools. The "daily ticket" was abolished in 1811. The vicissitudes of war between 1812 and 1815, and the inimical attitude of the government of the duchy, led to a reduction of the number of Jewish residents in Warsaw, who in 1813 numbered 8,000.

From 1527 until the Prussian conquest no authorized community (*kehillah*) had existed in Warsaw. However, the Jews living in the city and environs met for prayers, established prayer houses and charitable associations, and appointed a *syndic-parnas*, to direct the tax administration, exercise judicial power, and organize the census, among other duties. He was assisted by *dayyanim* and a sworn-in *meturgeman* (interpreter). Rabbis had also officiated without authorization. The Prussian administration had appointed a representation for Warsaw Jewry with the right to exercise the **ḥerem* (excommunication) to facilitate tax collection. Thus the Warsaw community was revived and had the opportunity of appointing authorized rabbis. During the existence of the duchy of Warsaw the community extended its authority until it was transformed in practice from a local body to an institution representative of the Jewry of the whole duchy.

*Ḥasidism spread to Warsaw toward the latter part of the 18th century. A celebrated public disputation between spokesmen of the Ḥasidim and *Mitnaggedim* was held in the Praga suburb in 1781. On the other hand, a small circle of *maskilim* also formed in this period, which included a number of wealthy arrivals from abroad, physicians, and others. In 1802 Isaac Flatau founded the "German Synagogue," in which traditional services were held but sermons were delivered in German. A government-sponsored rabbinical seminary was established in 1826, which the Orthodox members of the community strongly opposed. It continued for 37 years, until the Polish uprising of 1863, and became a center for assimilationist and reformist tendencies.

Within Congress Poland (1815–1915)

During the existence of Congress Poland, the size of the Warsaw community increased to become the largest in Europe. The Jewish population numbered 15,600 (19.2% of the total) in 1816, 72,800 (32.7%) in 1864, 130,000 (33.4%) in 1882, 306,000 (39.2%) in 1910, and 337,000 (38.1%) in 1914. Natural increase was responsible for only part of this growth, which was mainly the outcome of the migration to Warsaw beginning in the 1860s and particularly after the *pogroms in Russia of 1881, when 150,000 Jews moved to Warsaw, a substantial number coming from Lithuania and Belorussia, and from the Ukraine.

From 1815 there was a sharp deterioration in the status of Warsaw Jewry. The area of the "Jewish quarter" was further restricted, the system of "daily tickets" was reintroduced, and the animosity of the general populace increased. The second half of the 19th century inaugurated a change for the better, and was marked by some rapprochement between certain Jewish and Polish circles. In 1862 the restrictions relating to all the Jews of Congress Poland were lifted. The Jews of Warsaw took an active part in the two Polish uprisings against Russia, especially in the second in 1863.

At the end of the 1870s there was a recrudescence of anti-Jewish feeling in Warsaw and throughout Poland. In December 1881 a pogrom broke out in Warsaw in the wake of the Russian pogroms, motivated in particular by the notion that the "Litvaks" (Lithuanian Jews) were the promoters of russification in Poland. The elections to the fourth Imperial *Duma of 1912, in which Warsaw Jewry returned a left-wing candidate, further aggravated anti-Jewish hostility.

Throughout this period, the Warsaw Jews considerably extended their activities in the economic sphere, and the social and economic differences within the community grew more marked. Jews played an important role in finance and all sectors of commerce and also in industry. Of the 20 bankers in Warsaw in 1847, 17 were Jews. Jewish bankers initiated and developed various industries in the state, participated in the construction of railroads, held the monopoly for the sale of *salt and alcoholic beverages, leased the Jewish taxes, and engaged in other activities. In 1849 Jews formed 52% of the total persons engaged in commerce. Nevertheless this *haute bourgeoisie*, despite its economic importance, formed a negligible percentage in the total Jewish population of Warsaw, in 1843 forming 2.2% of the number of Jews actively employed there. In this year about 30% of the Jews earned a livelihood from commerce, mainly as shopkeepers or peddlers, about one-third as artisans and laborers, 13.5% as carters, porters or day laborers, and 12.5% as domestic workers. The proportion of Jews engaged in commerce increased until the 1870s but afterward dropped in face of growing Polish competition.

In 1862 the main source of livelihood for the Jewish proletariat was commerce and crafts: 31.7% were employed in commercial establishments, 27.9% in crafts, and 4.5% in industry; the number in industry later increased, although mainly in small or medium industry, large industries, even under Jewish ownership, taking a smaller number of Jewish workers; 2.8% of the Jews were employed in finance, 1.9% in transportation, and 1.9% in the liberal professions. The large percentage of domestic workers (29.3%) reflects the migration of unemployed women to the metropolis. Later, part of this number was absorbed into the garment and tobacco industries.

Social and Cultural Developments

Ḥasidism spread rapidly in Warsaw. In 1880 two-thirds of the 300 approved synagogues, and many prayer rooms, were ḥasidic, and this also reflected the proportion of Ḥasidim to the total Jewish population in the city. The *Mitnaggedim* were augmented by the end of the 19th century with the advent of the "Litvaks."

The tendency to *assimilation in Warsaw began with the penetration of German cultural influences, in which an important role was played by the wealthy arrivals from the West at the end of the 18th century and the beginning of the 19th, whose ranks were reinforced by wealthy Jews of Polish birth. Later the attachment of the assimilationists became closely orientated to Polish culture and society, and in the second half of the 19th century the tendency spread to the youth of wider circles. The assimilationists took an active role in the leadership and cultural life of the community. The incidence of conversion in Warsaw became the highest in Eastern Europe: in the first half of the 19th century 70 bankers, industrialists and large-scale merchants, 15 printers, and 20 officials adopted Christianity.

In 1883 the society of She'erit Israel of the Ḥovevei Zion was established in Warsaw, led by Israel Jasinowski and Saul Phinehas *Rabinowitz, and in 1890 the society Menuḥah ve-Naḥalah was founded, led by Eliyahu Ze'ev *Lewin-Epstein, which established the moshavah of *Reḥovot in Ereẓ Israel. The Geulah Company, formed in 1904, participated in acquiring land for the society of Aḥuzzat Bayit which pioneered the building of Tel Aviv. The circles of Ḥovevei Zion in Warsaw concentrated in particular in the synagogue of Ohel Moshe, founded in 1885, and subsequently in the Moriah synagogue founded in 1908, at which Isaac *Nissenbaum served as preacher.

A number of Zionist youth and student circles, whose leadership included Jan Kirshrot, Yiẓḥak *Gruenbaum, and Yosef *Sprinzak, combined in the society Ha-Teḥiyyah in 1903. Its ranks included supporters of differing national and socialist ideologies who soon separated. Some of its members joined the Zionist Democratic Fraction, under the leadership of Gruenbaum. Another group became a formative influence in the Po'alei Zion, under the leadership of Yiẓḥak *Tabenkin and Ben-Zion Raskin, and in Ẓe'irei Zion, led by Sprinzak. After the split in the Sixth Zionist Congress over the *Uganda scheme (1903), the supporters of Theodor *Herzl and the political Zionists joined in the Meginnei ha-Histadrut which established its headquarters in Warsaw.

At the end of the 19th century Jewish socialist societies and workers' circles were consolidated into the *Bund, under the leadership of Leo Goldman, John Mill, and Ẓiviah Hurvitz, originally from Vilna. The Bund conducted its activities among the Jewish workers, organized strikes and May 1st demonstrations, and promoted Yiddish culture: it was opposed to Zionism and the movement to revive Hebrew.

Until the end of the 1860s the Warsaw community leadership was mainly Orthodox, excepting for the periods 1841–44 and 1856–58, when the president of the community was Matthias Rosen, an assimilationist who was acceptable to all groups of the community. After a financial criterion was established in the elections, the assimilationists assumed the leadership of the community by agreement with the Ḥasidim, and controlled its affairs for over 50 years, between 1871 and 1926. Zionist opposition to the assimilationists was organized for the first time in 1899.

Four rabbis served for the whole of Warsaw and its vicinity, all *Mitnaggedim*: Solomon Zalman *Lipshitz, 1819–39; Ḥayyim *Dawidsohn, 1839–54; Dov Berush *Meisels, 1854–70; and Jacob *Gesundheit, 1870–73, who was not accepted by the Ḥasidim and was removed from office with the help of the assimilationists. The rabbis served in conjunction with *dayyanim*. Attempts to establish a *Reform synagogue in Warsaw were unsuccessful. The only innovation introduced by the "modernized" congregations was that sermons in their synagogues were preached in German or Polish. Rabbis in these synagogues were Abraham Meir Goldschmidt, Isaac Kramsztyk, Mordecai *Jastrow, Isaac Cylkow, Samuel Abraham *Poznanski, and Moses *Schorr.

The main trend of Jewish education in Warsaw was Orthodox. In the middle of the 19th century, 90% of all Jewish children of school age attended *ḥeder*. Subsequently the percentage decreased, and by the end of the century only 75% attended *ḥadarim*. In 1896 there were 433 authorized *ḥadarim*, in Warsaw and a large number of unauthorized ones. In 1885 circles of Ḥovevei Zion established the first *ḥeder metukkan*, or modern *ḥeder*, in Warsaw. In 1820 three state schools for Jewish children had been opened under the supervision of Jacob *Tugendhold, but the Orthodox opposition curbed the development of general schools. On the threshold of World War I there were 20 elementary schools in Warsaw in which the language of instruction was Russian. Attempts to open private schools for boys met only with limited success. On the other hand, the girls' secondary schools, which disseminated Polish culture, were more popular; even Ḥasidim, who normally insisted on an extreme Orthodox education for their sons, sent their daughters to them. In 1895, 19 schools of this type existed in Warsaw. Vocational training courses, a secondary school with a scientific trend (1878–88), and a trade school were also opened. The first Hebrew kindergarten was founded by Jehiel Heilperin in 1909, in conjunction with a course for kindergarten teachers, opened in 1910.

Jewish Press

The Haskalah literature in Warsaw was of an inferior standard and made little impact. However, in the 1880s, Warsaw became the center for Hebrew publishing in Poland and throughout Russia. The daily and weekly press, the many literary organs, and other periodicals which now began to burgeon, marked the transition from the world of Haskalah to the new Hebrew literature. They provided a platform for the elite of the writers, poets, scholars, and journalists. In 1862 the Hebrew periodical **Ha-Ẓefirah* was established as a weekly by Ḥayyim Selig *Slonimski, which after a series of intervals and setbacks became a daily in 1886 and the central organ for Russian Jewry. Other daily or weekly Hebrew newspapers also published in this period did not continue for long, generally for lack of readership; the heavy hand of the censor also proved a stumbling block. The pioneer of Hebrew publishing in Warsaw was A.L. Ben Avigdor (see *Shalkovich) while the most active personality in journalism and literature was Nahum *Sokolow.

The first Yiddish (and Polish) weekly was *Der Beobakhter an der Weykhsel*, published in 1823–24 by assimilationist circles. The transition in *Yiddish literature to new forms and contents originated with Y.L. *Peretz and his circle and the literary publications which they founded, *Yidishe Bibliotek* (1891–95) and *Yontev Bletlakh* (1894–96). After a number of unsuccessful attempts, two Yiddish periodicals became established which soon began to overtake the Hebrew press: Samuel Jacob Jackan began to publish the daily *Yidishes Tageblat* in 1906, changed in 1908 into **Haynt*. Zevi *Prylucki established the daily **Moment* in 1911. Polish periodicals also appeared, first sponsored by the assimilationists, among them the weekly *Jutrzenka*. At the beginning of the 20th century national newspapers were also published in Polish.

World War I and the Polish Republic

During World War I thousands of refugees arrived in Warsaw. In 1917 there were 343,400 Jews (41% of the total population). The German occupation brought improvement from the political standpoint, but the concentration of refugees and the havoc wrought by war increased the economic distress.

During the period of renewed Polish independence (1918–39) the Jewish population of Warsaw showed marked growth, but a decrease compared with the general population. In 1918 the total was 320,000 (42.2%), and in 1938, 368,400 (29.1%). The tendency of the Polish state to centralize economic activity in its own institutions, the antisemitic direction of its policy and the antisemitic feelings rife among the Polish public, as well as the economic action taken against the Jews (see *Poland), severely affected Jewish life in Warsaw. The number of Jewish unemployed reached 34.4% in 1931, while that of those without means of livelihood was even greater. In 1933 half of the members of the Warsaw community were exempted from the communal tax as they were unable to furnish the minimal payment of five zlotys a year. Consequently the pressure of emigration increased, in particular to Palestine.

Warsaw was the headquarters of Jewish parties and movements in Poland, the arena of the struggle for Jewish representation in the state Sejm and Senate, and the center of Jewish cultural and educational activities, of the arts, scholarship and literature, and of the Jewish national press. A fierce political struggle was waged over the character that Jewish life in Warsaw should assume. Ḥasidism continued to be an important factor in Jewish affairs. Many of the ḥasidic *admorim* of various dynasties settled in Warsaw. Assimilation became a less important issue, and the chief political struggle was between the Zionist factions and the Orthodox-ḥasidic groups, which combined in the *Agudat Israel. Between 1926 and 1936 the direction of Warsaw communal affairs was in the hands of Agudat Israel and the Zionists, either in coalition or alternately. However, in 1936 the Bund gained the lead in both the elections to the communal leadership and the Jewish representation on the Warsaw municipality. The Polish government annulled the results of the democratically held communal elections and appointed another community board (*kahal*) which continued in office until the German occupation in World War II.

JEWISH EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS. During the inter-war period a number of Jewish school systems existed: six Hebrew-national elementary schools, established by the Zionist Tarbut organization; four Yiddish secular schools established by the CYSHO supported by the Bund and the left Po'alei Zion; a Yiddish-Hebrew school of the Shulkult organization, separated from the CYSHO; an Orthodox school of Agudat Israel (Ḥorev for boys and *Beth Jacob for girls) – the exact number of their schools is not known but the number of the pupils exceeded that for other schools; two bilingual (Polish-Hebrew) elementary schools and one secondary school of the Yavneh founded by *Mizrachi; and numerous private secondary schools. Most Jewish children attended the state schools. In neighborhoods where there were Jewish concentrations, some of these schools were solely intended for Jewish pupils: lessons were held on Sundays instead of the Sabbath, and the schools were known as *szabatówki*. In 1928 the Institute for Jewish Studies, Makhon le-Ḥokhmat Yisrael, was opened, and the name was subsequently changed, as its sphere of activity expanded, to Makhon le-Madda'ei ha-Yahadut. Moses Schorr, Meir *Balaban, Abraham *Weiss, and Menahem (Edmund) Stein served as principals.

During this period Hebrew literature and press declined. Many of the Hebrew writers emigrated to Ereẓ Israel. Attempts to continue publication of Hebrew dailies were unsuccessful; not one lasted for an appreciable time. The most important publishing house of Hebrew books in Warsaw was that of A.J. *Stybel. On the other hand, the Yiddish and Polish Jewish press increased its output. Other Yiddish dailies were published alongside the *Haynt* and *Moment*, including party organs and unaffiliated papers, with a wide public and considerable influence on their readers. In 1917 *Nasz Kurjer* was published under the editorship of Jacob Apenszlak, which changed to *Nasz Przegląd* in 1920, a national independent daily. Other weeklies and periodicals were also published.

[Avraham Rubinstein]

Hebrew Printing

The beginning of Hebrew printing in or near Warsaw was due to the desire of the government to stem the outflow of capital abroad for the import of Hebrew books. In Warsaw the first Hebrew book (Ẓevi Hirsch b. Ḥayyim's notes on the Yalkut Shimoni *Ẓemah le-Avraham*) was printed by Peter Zawadzki in 1796. After his death his widow continued printing – mainly anti-hasidic literature – until 1801. Another non-Jewish Hebrew printer was V. Dombrowsky (to 1808). The first Jewish-owned press was that of Ẓevi Hirsch Nossonowitz of Lutomirsk, who printed, with Krueger's Novydwor type, from 1811, in partnership with Avigdor Lebensohn 1818–21, and afterward the two of them separately, Nossonowitz now changing his name to Schriftgiesser ("type-caster"). He died in 1831, succeeded by his son Nathan; the firm continued for another century, printing a Talmud edition (1872). Lebensohn and his descendants were active to 1900. More than 30 additional presses were established in Warsaw during the 19th century, including that of S. Orgelbrand and sons, who printed Talmud editions as well as *Turim*, Maimonides' *Yad*, the Shulḥan Arukh, and a Mishnah edition.

Among the moving spirits of Hebrew printing in Warsaw was Isaac Goldmann (1812–1887), who ran his own press from 1867 producing more than 100 books, among them Talmud tractates. In 1890 the brothers Lewin-Epstein established a Hebrew printing house, which is still active in Israel. A dozen or so more presses were set up in the first quarter of the 20th century. At the outbreak of World War II in 1939 more than 1,000 workers were engaged in the Hebrew printing works in Warsaw.

Holocaust Period

When German forces entered the city on Sept. 29, 1939, there were 393,950 Jews, comprising approximately one-third of the city's population, living in Warsaw. Between October 1939 and January 1940 the German occupation authorities issued a series of anti-Jewish measures against the Jewish population. These measures included the introduction of forced labor; the order that every Jew should wear a white armband with a blue star of David, and the special marking of Jewish-owned businesses; confiscation of Jewish real estate and other property; and a prohibition against Jews using the railway and other public transportation.

THE GHETTO. In April 1940 the Germans began constructing a wall to enclose the future Warsaw ghetto. On October 2, the Germans established a ghetto for all Warsaw Jews and Jewish refugees from the provinces. Within six weeks all Jews or persons of Jewish origin had to move into the ghetto, while all "Aryans" residing in the assigned area had to leave. The ghetto originally covered 340 hectares (approximately 840 acres), including the Jewish cemetery. As this area was gradually reduced by the Germans, the walls were moved, and the number of gates changed. In the autumn of 1941 the ghetto was divided into two parts, joined by a bridge over Chlodna Street. The gates were guarded by German and Polish police from the outside and by the Jewish militia (*Ordnungsdienst*) from the inside and only those with a special permit could enter or leave the ghetto. In the beginning, the Warsaw city hall, German political authorities, and a special office, the "*Transferstelle*," responsible for financial affairs, dealt with the ghetto's administration. However, from April 1941 a German commissioner, Heinz Auerswald, was appointed over the ghetto. The head of the Jewish community council was Adam *Czerniakow, an engineer who had been appointed by the mayor of Warsaw during the siege (Sept. 23, 1939). By order of Hans Frank (Sept. 28, 1939), a *Judenrat was created, consisting of 24 members, and presided over by Czerniakow. Czerniakow carried out his functions for the general good under trying conditions, often interceding with the German authorities to ameliorate the repressive regulations. He tirelessly supported social and cultural institutions in the ghetto and provided relief wherever possible.

Originally some 400,000 Jews were crowded into the area of the ghetto. The reductions in its size necessitated internal shifting and further overcrowding, so that thousands of families were often left without shelter. The situation was further aggravated when some 72,000 Jews from the Warsaw district (see *Poland) were transferred to the ghetto, bringing the total number of refugees to 150,000 (April 1941). The average number of persons per room was 13, while thousands remained homeless. The ghetto population during various periods prior to July 1942 is estimated to have been between 400,000 and 500,000. The confiscation and plunder of Jewish property was conducted by the "*Transferstelle*." In January 1942, Jewish goods valued at 3,736,000 zlotys ($747,200) were confiscated; in February – 4,738,000 zlotys ($947,600); in March – 6,045,000 zlotys ($1,209,000); and in April-6,893,000 zlotys ($1,378,000). The ghetto population received a food allocation amounting to 184 calories per capita a day, while the Poles received 634, and the Germans 2,310. The price per large calorie was 5.9 zlotys (about $1) for Jews, 2.6 zlotys (50 cents) for Poles, and 0.3 zlotys ($.06) for Germans. The average allocation per person in the ghetto was four pounds of bread and a half pound of sugar a month. The dough was mixed with sawdust and potato peels.

The ghetto suffered from mass unemployment. In June 1941, 27,000 Jews were active in their professions, while 60% of the Jewish population had no income at all. A small number of Jews who had their own tools and machines found employment in factories taken over by Germans. Wages were minimal. For 10–12 hours of strenuous labor, a skilled worker earned 2½–5 zlotys ($0.50–1.00) daily. There was an acute shortage of fuel to heat the houses. In the winter of 1941–42, 718 out of the 780 apartments investigated had no heat. These conditions led to epidemics, especially typhoid. The streets were strewn with corpses due to starvation and disease. Bands

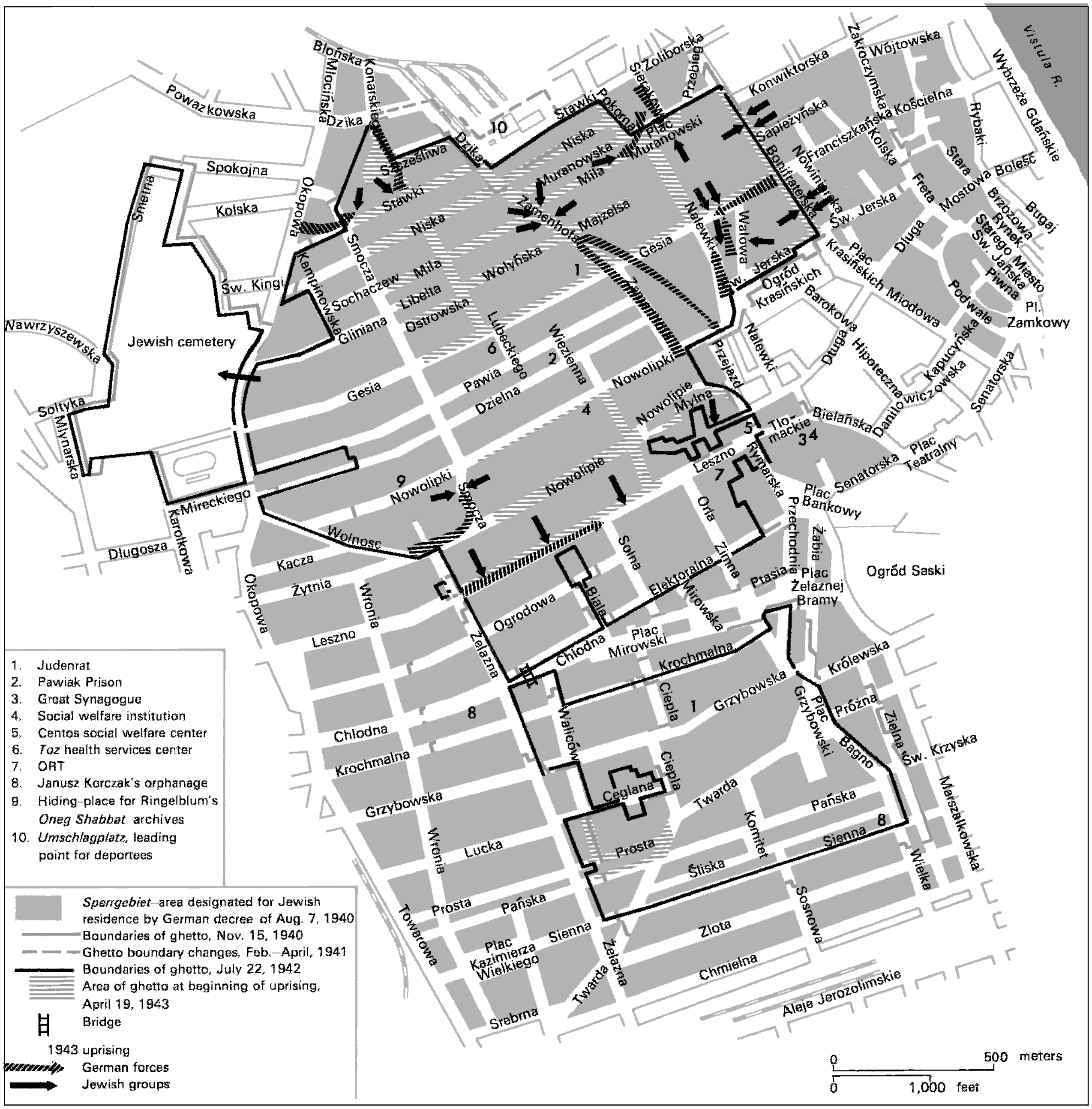

1. Judenrat
2. Pawiak Prison
3. Great Synagogue
4. Social welfare institution
5. Centos social welfare center
6. Toz health services center
7. ORT
8. Janusz Korczak's orphanage
9. Hiding-place for Ringelblum's Oneg Shabbat archives
10. Umschlagplatz, leading point for deportees
Sperrgebiet—area designated for Jewish residence by German decree of Aug. 7, 1940
Boundaries of ghetto, Nov. 15, 1940
Ghetto boundary changes, Feb.–April, 1941
Boundaries of ghetto, July 22, 1942
Area of ghetto at beginning of uprising, April 19, 1943
Bridge
1943 uprising
German forces
Jewish groups
Vistula R.
Jewish cemetery
Ogród Krasińskich
Ogród Saski
Pl. Zamkowy
Plac Bankowy
Plac Teatralny
Plac Mirowski
Plac Żelaznej Bramy
Plac Grzybowski
Plac Kazimierza Wielkiego
Plac Krasińskich
Plac Muranowski
Powązkowska
Spokojna
Kolska
Smętna
Okopowa
Św. Kingi
Nawrzyszewska
Sołtyka
Młynarska
Mireckiego
Karolkowa
Długosza
Błońska
Młocińska
Konarskiego
Dzika
Stawki
Pokorna
Żoliborska
Przebieg
Niska
Muranowska
Miła
Zamenhofa
Majzelsa
Smocza
Kamionkowska
Sochaczew
Libelta
Gliniana
Ostrowska
Wołyńska
Lubeckiego
Więzienna
Gęsia
Pawia
Dzielna
Nowolipki
Nowolipie
Mylna
Przejazd
Nalewki
Wałowa
Konwiktorska
Zakroczymska
Wójtowska
Sapieżyńska
Bonifraterska
Franciszkańska
Kościelna
Kolska
Nowiniarska
Św. Jerska
Freta
Długa
Stara
Rybaki
Mostowa
Bolesć
Wybrzeże Gdańskie
Brzozowa
Bugaj
Rynek Starego Miasto
Św. Jańska
Piwna
Podwale
Miodowa
Barokowa
Hipoteczna
Kapucyńska
Daniłowiczowska
Senatorska
Bielańska
Tłomackie
Leszno
Rymarska
Przechodnia
Orla
Solna
Żabia
Ptasia
Elektoralna
Zimna
Mirowska
Wolność
Kacza
Żytnia
Wronia
Ogrodowa
Biała
Żelazna
Chłodna
Krochmalna
Ciepła
Grzybowska
Królewska
Próżna
Zielna
Św. Krzyska
Marszałkowska
Bagno
Wielka
Walicòw
Ceglana
Twarda
Komitet
Pańska
Sienna
Sosnowa
Śliska
Prosta
Lucka
Towarowa
Złota
Chmielna
Srebrna
Aleje Jerozolimskie
500 meters
1,000 feet

Plan of Warsaw ghetto, 1940–43, after J. Ziemian, The Borders of Warsaw Ghetto, *Jerusalem, 1971.*

of children roamed the streets in search of food. A few women and children occasionally slipped across to the "Aryan" side, in an attempt to find food or shelter. The Polish police usually seized them and turned them over to the Germans. In October 1941 the authorities declared that leaving the ghetto without permission was punishable by death.

From time to time the authorities rounded up able-bodied people in the streets and sent them to slave labor camps. In April 1941 some 25,000 Jews from the Warsaw ghetto lived in these camps under conditions that rapidly decimated their numbers. After the outbreak of the German-Soviet War (June 1941), many of the inmates in the camps were executed.

It is estimated that by the summer of 1942, over 100,000 Jews died in the ghetto proper. Nevertheless, the morale of the ghetto inhabitants was not broken, and continual efforts were made to overcome the German decrees and organize relief. Illegal workshops were gradually established for manufacturing goods to be smuggled out and sold on the "Aryan" side. These included leather products, metals, furniture, textiles, clothing, and millinery. At the same time raw materials were smuggled in. In this way thousands of families were sustained. The smuggling of foodstuffs into the ghetto, carried out by Jewish children, was especially intensive. In December 1941 the official import of foodstuffs and materials into the ghetto was valued at 2,000,000 zlotys ($400,000) while illegal imports totaled 80,000,000 zlotys ($16,000,000). Social welfare institutions were active to combat hunger and disease. The *Centos for social welfare, the *Toz for health services, and other organizations re-formed and established hospitals, public kitchens (daily providing over 100,000 soup rations), orphanages, refugee centers, and recreation facilities. In each block of houses a committee for charitable work functioned and also engaged in cultural and educational activities, such as reading groups, lectures, and musical evenings. A network of schools, both religious and secular, as well as trade schools functioned in the ghetto. Some of these schools were illegal and could operate only under the guise of soup kitchens. Similarly, medical, technical, and scientific training was given under the guise of trade courses. By the end of 1940 the Jewish historian, Emmanuel *Ringelblum, established a secret historical and literary society under the code name of *Oneg Shabbat*. This group set up secret archives on the life and martyrdom of the Polish Jews under the Nazis. These archives, which were hidden in several places, were discovered after the war. Despite the closing down of all synagogues and the prohibition against public worship, clandestine services were held, especially on holidays. Yeshivot secretly functioned. The *ẓaddikim* of *Aleksandrow and *Ciechanow were hidden and cared for by their followers. Many religious Jews held the view that their sufferings were preliminary to the coming of the Messiah. There were many instances of heroism by ultra-Orthodox Jews in the face of death. Hillel *Zeitlin, the famous religious writer, arrived at the "*Umschlagplatz*" (assembly point) during the 1942 deportation, proudly dressed in his religious garb. Janusz *Korczak, the director of the Jewish orphanage, continued to give hope and courage to his wards until he boarded the death train together with the children.

FORMATION OF RESISTANCE. The main form of resistance in the ghetto revolved around the underground political life which existed throughout the German occupation. The most active were the Zionist groups – *Po'alei Zion, *Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir, Deror, *Betar, *Gordonia, as well as the Bund and the Communist-inspired Spartakus organization. As early as Passover 1940 the Germans, with the cooperation of Polish hooligans, provoked a pogrom in the Jewish district. Underground Jewish groups organized effective self-defense. After the ghetto was established, underground activity increased, as the purely Jewish environment offered better security against denunciations and infiltration of German police agents into the ranks of the underground. The political underground movements in the ghetto engaged in such activities as disseminating information, collecting documents on German crimes, sabotaging German factories, and preparing for armed resistance. A series of illegal periodicals appeared in Hebrew, Yiddish, and Polish. Among the best known were the following Hebrew publications: *Deror*, circulated by the *He-Halutz organization; *El Al, Itton ha-Tenu'ah*, and *Neged ha-Zerem* by Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir: *Magen David* by Betar; *Sheviv* by the General Zionists; Yiddish publications: *Bafrayung* by He-Halutz; *Morgenfray* and *Biuletin* by the Bund: and Polish publications: *Awangarda* by Po'alei Zion; *Jutrznia* and *Plomienie* by Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir.

The first Jewish military underground organization, Swit, was formed in December 1939 by Jewish veterans of the Polish army. Most of its members were Revisionists. The organization was headed by David Apelbaum and Henryk Lipszyc, aided by a Polish major, Henryk Iwanski.

Early in 1942 a second underground fighting organization emerged, created by four Zionist groups: Po'alei Zion, Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir, Zionist Socialists, and Deror, as well as the Communist organization. It soon became known as the anti-Fascist bloc. Its leaders were Szachna Sagan, Aron Lewartowski, Josef Kaplan, and Josef Sak. Four commanders were appointed: Mordecai *Anielewicz, Pinkus Kartin, Mordecai Tenenbaum, and Abram Fiszelson. The Bund did not join the bloc but created its own fighting organization "Samo obrona" (self-defense) under the command of Abraham Blum. None of the three military organizations of the ghetto succeeded in acquiring arms prior to July 22, 1942, when mass deportations to *Treblinka death camp were initiated by the Nazis.

FIRST MASS DEPORTATIONS. The deportations were preceded by a series of terrorizing "actions," when scores of people were dragged out of their homes and murdered in the streets. Just one day before the mass deportations to Treblinka began (July 21, 1942), 60 hostages were taken to the Pawiak Prison. Three days later, the president of the Judenrat, Adam Czerniakow, committed suicide following a demand by the Nazis that he cooperate with them in the deportations. His successor, Maksymilian (Marek) Lichtenbaum, also an engineer, obeyed the Nazi orders. The number of deportees averaged 5,000–7,000 daily, sometimes reaching 13,000. Some of the victims, resigned to their fate as a result of starvation, reported voluntarily to the "*Umschlagplatz*," lured by the sight of food which the Germans offered to the volunteers, and by the promise that their transfer to "the East" meant they would be able to live and work in freedom. In the beginning, the Germans exempted from deportation employees of the ghetto factories, members of the Judenrat and Jewish police, and hospital personnel, as well as their families. Thousands of Jews made feverish attempts to obtain such employment certificates. In the course of time even these "safe" categories were subject to deportation. The number of victims, including those murdered in the ghetto and those deported to Treblinka, totaled approximately 300,000 out of the 370,000 inhabitants in the ghetto prior to July 1942. This major *Aktion* lasted from July 22 until Sept. 13, 1942. Following the deportations, the ghetto area was drastically constricted so that some factories and several blocks of buildings were left outside the new walls and cordoned off with barbed wire to prevent anyone finding shelter there. The Germans also fixed the number of inhabitants allowed to remain in the ghetto at a maximum of 35,000 persons.

ACTIVE RESISTANCE. The leaders of the underground movements appraised the new situation. At their first meeting, they decided to create the Jewish Fighting Organization (Żydowska Organizacja Bojowa-ZOB), and take active steps to oppose further deportation. A few members of the underground managed to escape from Treblinka, and brought to the ghetto information about the real fate that awaited the deportees, namely physical annihilation. Because of the blockade it was not even possible to pass this information on to the non-Jewish population.

Some 30,000–35,000 Jews, most of them factory workers and their families, legally remained in the ghetto and were employed within or outside the ghetto. In addition, there were between 20,000 and 30,000 Jews living on in the ghetto "illegally." By the end of 1942 there was an influx of several thousand Jews from the labor camps which had been closed. At this time some Jews hiding on the "Aryan" side were seized and returned to the ghetto. In this period intensive preparations were made for armed resistance. The Bund also joined the ZOB, while the Revisionists continued to adhere to their separate organization, Swit. Appeals were made to several Polish underground organizations for the acquisition of weapons. An emissary of the ZOB, Arie (Jurek) Wilner, succeeded in persuading the commanders of one of the Polish underground armies (Armia Krajowa) of the necessity of supplying weapons to the ghetto underground and, after long negotiations, about 100 firearms and some hand grenades were sent into the ghetto. Another small quantity of arms was supplied by the Communist "People's Guard." The Revisionists also obtained several loads of arms from two Polish underground organizations led by Major H. Iwanski and Captain Szemley (Cesary) Ketling. Several secret workshops were established in the ghetto to manufacture homemade hand grenades and bombs, and some additional arms were bought on the black market. At the same time, a network of bunkers and subterranean communication channels was constructed to enable combat against the superior German forces and to protect the non-fighting population.

The second wave of deportations began on Jan. 18, 1943, when the Nazis broke into the ghetto, surrounded many buildings, and deported the inhabitants to Treblinka. They liquidated the hospital, shot the patients, and deported the personnel. Many factory workers who had been employed outside the ghetto were included among the deportees. The underground organizations, insufficiently equipped and ill-prepared, nevertheless offered armed resistance, which turned into four days of street fighting. This was the first case of street fighting in occupied Poland. The Germans, fearing the impact of this outburst on other parts of Poland, stopped the deportations, and attempted to carry out their aim by "peaceful" means, namely by voluntary registration for the alleged labor camps. The underground, in turn, conducted an intensive information campaign about the real intentions of the Nazis. As a result the second wave of deportations was suspended after four days, during which the Germans managed to send only 6,000 persons to Treblinka. About 1,000 others were murdered in the ghetto itself.

THE GHETTO UPRISING. After this *Aktion*, daily life in the ghetto was paralyzed. Walking in the street was punishable by death. Only groups of workers marching under armed guard were to be seen. Social institutions ceased to function and the Judenrat, most of whose members were killed in the January *Aktion*, were reduced to a small office. The underground organizations, however, were preparing for armed resistance in case a further attempt would be made by the Germans to liquidate the ghetto. Mordecai Anielewicz now headed the ZOB. The members of his command were: Itzḥak (Antek) *Cukierman, Herz Berlinski, Marek Edelman, Zivia Lubetkin, and Michal Rojzenfeld. The entire force was divided into 22 fighting units, each unit affiliated with one of the political groups. Israel Kanal was commander of the units operating in the central area of the ghetto; and Eleazar Geller and Marek Edelman commanded the factory units. The ZOB underground headquarters were at 18 Mila Street. The Revisionist commanders were Leon Rodal, Pawel Frenkiel, and Samuel Luft.

On April 19, 1943, a German force, equipped with tanks and artillery, under the command of Col. Sammern-Frankennegg, penetrated into the ghetto in order to resume the deportations. The Nazis met with stiff resistance from the Jewish fighters. Despite overwhelmingly superior forces, the Germans were repulsed from the ghetto, after suffering heavy losses. Sammern-Frankennegg was relieved of his command, and Gen. Juergen *Stroop, appointed in his stead, immediately resumed the attack. Street fighting lasted for several days, but when the Germans failed in open street combat, they changed their tactics. Carefully avoiding any further street clashes, the Germans began systematically burning down the houses. The inhabitants died in the flames, while those hiding in the canals and bunkers were killed by gas and hand grenades. Despite these conditions, the Jewish fighting groups continued to attack German soldiers until May 8, 1943, when the ZOB headquarters fell to the Germans. Over a hundred fighters, including Anielewicz, died in this battle. Several units continued to fight even after the fall of the ZOB and Revisionist headquarters. Armed resistance lasted until June 1943. With the help of the Polish "People's Guard" some 50 ghetto fighters escaped from the ghetto and continued to fight the Germans in the nearby forests as a partisan unit named in memory of Anielewicz.

The Warsaw ghetto uprising had an enormous moral effect upon Jews and non-Jews throughout the world, especially since it was prepared and carried out under conditions which practically excluded *a priori* any attempt at armed resistance. Despite the vastly unequal forces, the uprising continued for a long time and constituted the largest battle in occupied Europe before April 1943 (excepting in Yugoslavia). This battle also had its impact upon the Polish population, resulting in the intensification of resistance by the Poles as well as by Jews throughout the country. On May 16, 1943, Stroop reported to his superiors on the complete liquidation of the Warsaw ghetto. As a token of his victory he blew up the Great Synagogue on Tlomacka Street. According to his report, the Germans in the course of one month's fighting had killed or deported over 56,000 Jews. The Germans themselves officially suffered 16 dead and 85 wounded between April 29 and May 15, but it is conjectured that the German casualties were in fact much higher. In the course of the following months, the Germans penetrated the empty ghetto and hunted down the remnants hiding in the ruins, often using fire to overcome sporadic resistance, which continued until August 1943.

The Warsaw ghetto uprising became an event of world history when details of what happened became known after the war. Among the writers who depicted life in the ghetto and the underground fighters were Yiẓḥak L. Katznelson, John Hersey, and Leon *Uris.

After the liquidation of the ghetto, the surviving members of the ghetto leadership continued underground work on the "Aryan" side of Warsaw. The underground's main activity was to assist Jews living on the "Aryan" side, either in hiding or by means of forged documents. According to their figures, the number of Jews on the "Aryan" side reached 15,000 (May 1944). They also established contact with Jewish organizations abroad and received financial assistance. Among their leaders were Adolf *Berman of Po'alei Zion and Leon Fajner of the Bund. Emmanuel *Ringelblum continued his scientific work of collecting evidence on Nazi crimes until March 1944, when he was seized and executed. Hundreds of Jews were active in the Polish underground of Greater Warsaw, particularly Hanna Szapiro-Sawicka, Niuta Tajtelbaum, Ignacy Robb-Narbutt, Menasze Matywiecki, and Ludwik Landau. When the Polish uprising in Warsaw broke out on Aug. 1, 1944, over 1,000 Jews in hiding immediately volunteered to fight the Germans. Hundreds of them fell in the battle, among them a member of the high command of the People's Army, Matywiecki, and Pola Elster, a member of the Polish National Council. In addition, the remnants of the ZOB, under the command of Cukierman, and a group of liberated prisoners from the city concentration camp, participated in the uprising.

[Danuta Dombrowska]

Post-War Developments

About 6,000 Jewish soldiers participated in the battle for the liberation of Warsaw. Warsaw's eastern suburb, Praga, was liberated in September 1944, and the main part of the city on the left bank of the Vistula on Jan. 17, 1945. On that day only 200 Jewish survivors were found in underground hideouts in the ruins of destroyed Warsaw. By the end of 1945 about 5,000 Jews had settled in Warsaw. That number was more than doubled, when Polish Jews, who had survived the war in the Soviet Union, returned. Warsaw became the seat of the Central Committee of Polish Jews. On April 19, 1948 (the fifth anniversary of the Warsaw ghetto uprising) a monument executed by N. Rapaport in memory of the ghetto fighters was unveiled in the square called "The Ghetto Heroes' Square." In 1949 a number of Jewish cultural institutions (The Jewish Historical Institute, the Jewish Theater, editorial staffs of the Yiddish papers *Folksshtime* and *Yidishe Shriften*) were transferred from Lodz to Warsaw. A club for Jewish youth, "Babel," was opened there and one synagogue was rebuilt. After the war Warsaw Jews left Poland in three main waves: in 1946–47 after the great pogrom in *Kielce; in 1957–58; in 1967–68 when the Polish government launched its official antisemitic campaign. After 1968 Jewish institutions, although officially not closed, had actually ceased to function. The number of remaining Jews, mostly aged people, was estimated at 5,000 in 1969.

[Danuta Dombrowska / Stefan Krakowski]

In the following two decades Jewish life in Warsaw was dormant, as in all of Poland, with one synagogue open and no rabbi. With the fall of Communism Jewish life revived. Poland now had a chief rabbi whose seat was in Warsaw. A primary school and kindergarten were opened and Jewish courses were offered at the university. Warsaw's Jewish Historical Institute housed Emanuel *Ringelblum's famous ghetto archive as well as a 60,000-volume library while the Warsaw Yiddish Theater was the only regularly functioning Yiddish theater in the world, though most of the actors were non-Jews. In the early 21st century the majority of Poland's 8,000 registered Jews lived in Warsaw, though it was believed that there were many more people of Jewish ancestry.

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WARSCHAWSKI, MAX (1925–), rabbi and scholar, chief rabbi of Bas-Rhin (Alsace, France), Warschawski was born in Bischeim, a suburb of Strasbourg, to an Alsatian family whose roots go back to Eastern Europe. He was a student of Chief Rabbi Abraham Deutsch, and during World War II studied in the Jewish Seminary of Limoges, to where the Alsatian Jewish community was evacuated in 1939. After the liberation, he completed his studies in Paris and London and became rabbi of his hometown Bischeim. He was in charge of religious teaching in Strasbourg. He was appointed rabbi of Strasbourg in 1954; then he became deputy chief rabbi in 1961 and chief rabbi in 1970. He was active and successful in developing Jewish education both in Jewish schools and in state schools. He was also active in welcoming in Alsace Jews from North Africa, mostly from Algeria, who massively emigrated in 1962. His aim was to avoid what had happened in the inter-war period, when Alsatian Jews had refused to welcome Jewish immigrants from Eastern Europe and from Germany. The old Jewish community of Strasbourg became more diverse in the 1960s, and Warschawski struggled to maintain its unity. Under his guidance, Jewish life flourished in Strasbourg: many students engaged in Jewish learning and were of a strong Zionist bent; new synagogues were built in the city and its suburbs. Warschawski, together with his wife, Mireille (born Metzger), tried to be a rabbi for both secular and Orthodox Jews. He maintained strong ties with the Jewish scouts (Éclaireurs Israélites de France). Warschawski also worked as a historian of the Jews of Alsace, studying the traditions of this ancient, deeply rooted community, saving the artifacts he could find (delivering them to Strasbourg museums), and writing numerous articles in the Jewish press on these old rural communities. With his wife, he wrote a textbook for young Jewish students about the Bible, *Ma Bible illustrée* (1957). With his wife, he immigrated to Jerusalem in 1988.

[Jean-Marc Dreyfus (2nd ed.)]

WAR SCROLL, manuscript comprising 18 columns found among the manuscripts in Qumran Cave 1 in 1947 and acquired by E.L. *Sukenik for the Hebrew University; it is now in the Shrine of the Book, Jerusalem. Two fragments of the scroll were discovered when the cave was officially inspected early in 1949; further fragments of a different recension of the same work were found in Cave 4.

Summary

The work contains prescriptions for the eschatological warfare, lasting 40 years, which will end with the extermination of wickedness (embodied in the "sons of darkness") and the triumph of righteousness (embodied in the "*sons of light"). It is in some degree a Midrash on Daniel 11:40ff., describing in detail how the last great enemy of the people of God, together with his supporters, "shall come to his end, and none shall help him" (Dan. 11:45), and how Michael will stand up to champion the cause of God (Dan. 12:1). The exiles will return from "the wilderness of the peoples" to encamp in "the wilderness of Jerusalem" and in the first instance they will give battle to the *Kittim and their allies, extirpating them first from Syria and then from Egypt. This phase of the war lasts six years. A pure sacrificial worship is established in Jerusalem, organized by a worthy priesthood. There remain 29 years for fighting (for every seventh year is free from war); during these remaining years the other enemies of Israel are attacked and wiped out in turn: those of the family of Shem in the first nine years, the family of Ham in the next decade, and the family of Japheth in the final decade.

The Holy War

The whole campaign is envisaged in terms of the ancient institution of the holy war; slogans emphasizing this are inscribed on the trumpets and on the standards of the sons of light. Some of these slogans have the character of "orders of the day," as when Judah Maccabee, before joining battle with Nicanor, gave the watchword "God's help" (II Macc. 8:23). The "great standard at the head of all the people" was to bear the inscription "Peoples of God" (1QM 3:13), which may be compared with Simeon's official title *sar am El* (I Macc. 14:28). As Judah, before leading his troops into battle, reminded them how divine help had come to their ancestors in similar crises, in the destruction of Sennacherib's army (II Macc. 8:19), so encouraging episodes from Israel's history are invoked in the *War Scroll*: "Goliath of Gath, a mighty man of valor, Thou didst deliver into the hand of David Thy servant, because he trusted in Thy great name" (1QM 11:1ff.). As Judah and his men, returning from victory, "sang hymns and praises to heaven" (I Macc. 14:24), so the *War Scroll* prescribes a hymn of thanksgiving to be sung after battle (1QM 14:4ff.) as well as blessings to be pronounced before and during the action itself by the high priest and the priests and levites (1QM 10:1ff.). As befits a holy war, the priesthood plays a leading part; special vestments are prescribed for its members to wear during battle, in which they accompany the fighting men to strengthen their hands and blow the trumpets for advance, engagement, and return. But when the rout of the sons of darkness begins, "the priests shall sound from afar when the slain fall, and they shall not come to the midst of the slaughter lest they be defiled by unclean blood, for they are holy and must not profane the oil of their priestly anointing with the blood of a nation of vanity" (1QM 9:7–9). Ceremonial purity is insisted upon throughout; not only are the men engaged in a holy war but the holy angels go with their armies. The soldiers must therefore abstain from sexual intercourse while on active service; latrines must be separated from the camp by 2,000 cubits; physical blemishes incapacitate a man from military service as rigorously as they do from ministry in the sanctuary (1QM 7:3–8).

Contemporary Models

While the fundamental principles of the action are those of the holy war, the detailed directions about battle formation, tactics, and weapons are fairly closely related to contemporary practice. It does not appear that the author of the work had ever seen a battle; as in Chronicles, the sons of darkness remain passive and allow the sons of light to carry out their plan of war against them without offering much resistance. Yet the author and his associates had made it their business to study contemporary military manuals, and the results of their study are incorporated in the *War Scroll*. It is debated whether their models were Hellenistic or Roman, but the battle formation has more in common with the Roman *triplex acies* than with the Hellenistic phalanx, and the arms for defense and attack resemble those which are attested for the Roman armies in the age of Caesar. That Jewish generals did adopt Roman models is evident from Josephus' account of his training and equipping the forces which he commanded in Galilee at the beginning of the war against Rome (Jos., Wars, 2:577ff.); a comparison between this account and the *War Scroll* shows some impressive points of resemblance, except that Josephus was more of a realist than the author of the *War Scroll* and tried to anticipate the probable action and reaction of the enemy. The detailed way in which the prescriptions are particularized makes it quite improbable that the conflict with which the *War Scroll* is concerned is an allegorical conflict against spiritual forces of wickedness (like John Bunyan's *Holy War*); fighting with material weapons against foes of flesh and blood is envisaged, even if the course of the action turned out differently from that anticipated in this blueprint when at last the sons of light declared war on the Kittim.

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[Frederick Fyvie Bruce]

WARSHAVSKY, YAKIR (1885–1942), Yiddish and Hebrew novelist and journalist. Born in Mlawa, Poland, to a ḥasidic merchant family, Warshavsky received a traditional education and studied secular subjects on his own. He worked as a Hebrew teacher, an official in Jewish institutions, and a Zionist organizer, as well as writing articles, stories and sketches for various Yiddish and Hebrew periodicals, influenced by his townsman and classmate, Joseph *Opatoshu. Articles about his 1914 trip to Palestine became the basis for his first book, *Min ha-Moledet* ("From the Homeland," 1919). His collection of tales, *Di Letste* ("The Last Ones," 1929), described Polish ḥasidic life vividly and sympathetically. He lived in Warsaw, continuing to work and write during World War II in the Warsaw Ghetto until his murder by the Nazis in the summer of 1942.

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[Melech Ravitch/ Lily O. Kahn (2nd ed.)]

WARSHAWSKI, MARK (1848–1907), Yiddish poet and song-writer. Born in Odessa, he practiced law in Kiev. He wrote both the words and the music of his songs, improvised couplets and sang them at various gatherings, but remained unaware of the literary and folk quality of his songs until *Sholem Aleichem encouraged him to publish them and wrote the introduction to Warshawski's *Yudishe Folkslider mit Notn* ("Jewish Folksongs with Music," 1900). A second edition, with additional poems and biographical information, was published in Odessa (1914) and a third edition in New York (1918). A fourth edition, edited by S. Rozhansky (Rollansky), appeared in Buenos Aires in 1958. Warshawski's songs and poems, written in a simple, unsophisticated style, describe the joys and sorrows of everyday life. In contrast to many writers of his period, who were generally critical of Jewish ways, he wrote with enthusiasm about customs and modes of life. "Oyfn Pripetshik," glorifying the old-fashioned *ḥeder*, became one of the most popular Jewish songs, attaining the status of a folk song. His wedding songs and his hymns to Zion brought cheer, comfort, and hope to Russian Jews under czarist oppression.

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[Elias Schulman / Tamar Lewinsky (2nd ed.)]

WARSHAWSKY, ISAAC (pseudonym **Ben Asher**; 1832–1903), Hebrew writer and linguist. Born in Odessa, Warshawsky taught Hebrew at a *talmud torah*, Judaism at a government school there, and supervised several charitable institutions. He published articles in the Hebrew and Russo-Jewish press.

A proponent of the purity of the Hebrew language, he wrote the polemic, *Li-Teḥiyyat Sefat Ever* (2 vols., 1893, 1902), attacking those who were developing the language without due regard to its grammar. Among his other works are *Ha-Ḥoker* (vol. 1, 1863 in Hebrew, vol. 2, 1866 in German) and a history of Israel until the building of the Second Temple, *Toledot Yisrael* (1867, and many other editions).

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[Gedalyah Elkoshi]

WARSKI-WARSZAWSKI, ADOLF (1868–1937), Polish Communist leader. Born in Cracow into an assimilated family which favored Polish independence, he was connected from early youth with the Polish workers' movement. Warski-Warszawski was one of the founders of the Polish Labor Union, and organized the Social Democratic Party of Poland and Lithuania. He took an active part in the Russian revolution of 1905 and was arrested by the czarist authorities on several occasions. During World War I Warski-Warszawski represented the Polish Democrats at the anti-war conferences of Zimmer-Wald and Kiental (Switzerland). After the war he was one of the founders of the Polish Communist Party and was a member of its central committee and political bureau. He was elected as a Communist member of the Sejm, and won a reputation for his courageous speeches and sharp criticism of the authorities. When the Communist Party was made illegal in 1930 he emigrated to the Soviet Union, where he became a prominent figure in the Polish section of the Communist International. In 1937, during the great purges in the U.S.S.R., he was accused of treason and of being a counterrevolutionary, and he was imprisoned and executed.

[Abraham Wein]

WARSZAWSKI, OSER (**Varshavsky**; 1898–1944), Yiddish novelist. Born in Sochaczew, Poland, he astounded the Yiddish literary world with his youthful novel *Shmuglares* ("Smugglers," 1920), dealing with Polish-Jewish life under German occupation during World War I. The language is laced with dialect and vulgarity; the focus skips from one underworld character to another; the descriptions are bloodily expressionistic. The influence of his patron, the naturalistic novelist I.M. *Weissenberg, is obvious. Five Yiddish, three Russian, and one Hebrew edition of *Shmuglares* appeared within a decade. In 1924 Warszawski settled in Paris, where he edited with Peretz *Markish the second issue of the Yiddish avant-garde journal **Khalyastre*, and associated with the foreign, often Jewish, artists of Montparnasse. From the Nazi occupation of France until his arrest by the Gestapo in Rome in May 1944, Warszawski penned fictionalized chronicles of Jewish life in occupied Paris and Vichy France. After his murder at Auschwitz and the liberation of France, his widow Marie published his wartime writings in both Yiddish and (French) translation, which posthumously transformed Warszawski from the author of a paradoxical Yiddish bestseller into one of the rare writers who, like Isaiah *Spiegel, produced Holocaust fiction simultaneously with the incomprehensible events they recount and rework.

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[Melech Ravitch / Alan Astro (2nd ed.)]

WARWICK, town in central England. Jews are not mentioned there until the 13th century. They were excluded in 1234, but subsequently the community seems to have attained relative importance and was the seat of an *archa. The local synagogue was in the house of an active financier named Elijah, but the Elijah of ווראיק referred to in a medieval Hebrew source is probably Elijah of York. No Jewish community has existed in Warwick since the expulsion of the Jews from England in 1290.

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[Cecil Roth]

WASHINGTON, a Pacific Northwest state of the United States, with a Jewish population – including Seattle – of approximately 45,000 Jews (2003). A Latvian adventurer, Adolph Friedman, who came to Washington in the late 1840s, is considered the first Jew to have settled in the new territory. Others soon followed – German-speaking Jews in the 1850s; Yiddish-speaking Jews in the 1880s; and Judeo-Spanish (Ladino) speaking Jews in 1902. By 1889, when Washington became the 42nd state, Jews had been contributing to the state's economy and growth for four decades. One of them, Edward S. Salomon, became territorial governor in 1870, others joined state legislators and/or became city mayors. Successful entrepreneurs, such as the Schwabacher family, had businesses throughout the state.

By 1920 just over 10,000 Jews called Washington State home. They would be joined by immigrants fleeing Hitler's Germany before World War II, survivors from Hitler's death camps, and people who moved west to take advantage of Washington's mild climate, beautiful lakes and mountains, welcoming businesses, excellent medical facilities, and, in Seattle, opportunities and amenities of the University of Washington. Unlike the first three groups who were mainly businessmen and women, the latter group were or became physicians, professors, teachers, rabbis, cantors, musicians, artists, and business and health workers of all kinds. They would invigorate Jewish life and add to the state's culture and economy.

The first Jewish organizations in Washington were benevolent societies rather than temples or synagogues. The desire for a Jewish cemetery led Jews in Olympia and small towns around Puget Sound to establish the Hebrew Benevolent Society of Puget Sound in 1873. They also made clear that the society would "aid and assist poor and distressed co-religionists." The Hebrew Benevolent Association of Tacoma

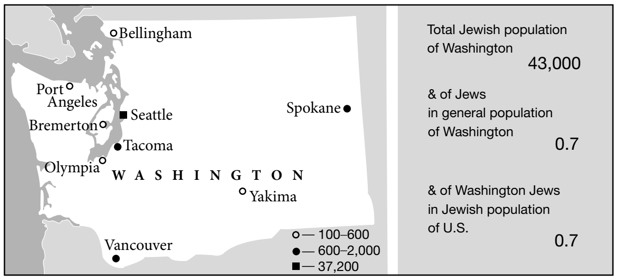
Bellingham
Port Angeles
Seattle
Spokane
Bremerton
Tacoma
Olympia
WASHINGTON
Yakima
Vancouver
○— 100–600
●— 600–2,000
■— 37,200
Total Jewish population of Washington
43,000
& of Jews in general population of Washington
0.7
& of Washington Jews in Jewish population of U.S.
0.7

Jewish communities in Washington. Population figures for 2001.

also followed that example. Soon other Jewish communities throughout the state set up a myriad of voluntary organizations to help the unfortunate as well as to enhance the lives of Jews in the state.

Tacoma, Spokane, and Seattle all had religious congregations before 1900. All were Reform, sometimes modified to contain elements of an Orthodox service. Others, like Bellingham and Everett, chose Orthodox. The small community of Aberdeen followed Reform, but services included Orthodox rituals. All the cities except Spokane were in the western part of the state, the largest population area.

After World War II, Jewish religious life in Washington expanded. Newcomers and the maturing new generations of Americanized Jewish children either established new congregations in cities such as Richland, Wenatchee, and Vancouver, or changed the status of existing ones. For example, in Tacoma and Spokane the Reform and Orthodox combined to form one place of worship.

Another great expansion of Jewish religious life started in the 1970s and accelerated into the 1990s. In many congregations, half the couples had only one partner who was Jewish, a reflection of the growing trend of interfaith marriages throughout the United States. The founding of a temple or synagogue for a special group of people, say gays or lesbians, or becoming Reconstructionist became unremarkable and Reform and Conservative congregations welcomed women rabbis and cantors. In 2003 there were 41 religious congregations offering services.

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[Jacqueline Williams (2nd ed.)]

WASHINGTON, D.C., capital of the United States. Jewish population (est. 2005), 27,735; general population, 572,059; Jewish population of the Washington metropolitan area, 215,000; general population: 5,162,029; sixth largest Jewish community in the nation.

Early Arrivals and First Congregations

In contrast to U.S. cities where the first Jews, often Sephardi in origin, arrived in the 17th and 18th centuries, Washington's Jewish community got a later start. The diamond-shaped area along the shores of the Potomac River was not designated as the future home of the federal district until 1790; the federal government arrived 10 years later. Washington's economy, based largely on the presence of the federal government, lacked the manufacturing of other cities. Jewish residents in the first decades of the 19th century, and many of those who followed later, were attracted by the growing capital's economic opportunities or arrived to pursue federal service. As Washington was not a port of entry, 19th- and early 20th-century immigrants did not arrive in the city directly. Most had previously spent time in port cities such as New York and Baltimore.

Among the earliest Jewish residents was land speculator and builder Isaac Polock, grandson of a founder of the Newport, Rhode Island, synagogue, who arrived from Savannah, Georgia, in 1795. Anticipating the ensuing needs of the federal government, Polock completed a row of buildings near the President's House. Known as the Six Buildings, they initially housed the U.S. State Department and the Secretary of the Navy. In 1828, Captain Alfred Mordecai, of North Carolinian colonial lineage, was assigned to the Washington Arsenal and made his home in Washington. His daughter, Rosa (b. 1839), was the first known Jewish child born in Washington. Mordecai became superintendent of the Arsenal during the Mexican-American War (1846–1848). Rather than fight against his native South, he resigned from the army at the start of the Civil War.

For decades, the numbers of Jews in Washington remained small, estimated at only 25 in 1847. The population grew significantly in the late 1840s and the 1850s with the arrival of German-speaking immigrants fleeing dwindling economic prospects, harsh restrictions, and failed revolutionary movements in Central Europe. Many of the new arrivals were merchants who catered to the growing federal city. In 1852, 21 German-speaking men met in a Pennsylvania Avenue home to form Washington's first Jewish congregation, which would become known as the Washington Hebrew Congregation. The congregation petitioned Congress (constitutionally responsible for local law) for legislation ensuring its right to own property in Washington. President Franklin Pierce signed "An Act for the Benefit of the Hebrew Congregation in the city of Washington" on June 2, 1856. U.S. Navy Captain Jonas P. Levy, a president of the congregation and a popular hero of the Mexican-American War, assisted the congregation in that endeavor. Today one of the nation's largest Reform synagogues, Washington Hebrew, is the only congregation in the country with a Congressional charter.

During the Civil War (1861–1865), the city's Jewish population grew from 200 to almost 2,000, with some soldiers staying in Washington after completing their service. Most Jewish newcomers were merchants arriving to serve the wartime boom. One newspaper reported six kosher restaurants operating in the capital during the 1860s. Washingtonians organized the first Washington lodge of B'nai B'rith (the Elijah Lodge) in 1864. During the war, the women of the Washington Hebrew Congregation raised money for the U.S. Sanitary Commission, and the congregation's visiting nursing corps ministered to injured soldiers. Among the Jewish Civil War soldiers cared for by the Washington Hebrew nurses was Leopold Karpeles who was awarded the Medal of Honor for his service during the Battle of the Wilderness (1864). After the war, Karpeles married his nurse, Sarah Mundheim, and became a clerk in the U.S. Post Office Department.

Changes to the liturgy and the introduction of a melodeon (an organlike keyboard instrument) at the Washington Hebrew Congregation upset a small group of like-minded traditionalists who resigned to found Adas Israel Congregation in 1869. President Ulysses S. Grant attended the 1876 dedication of its synagogue, the first building constructed as a synagogue in Washington. Grant's presence at the dedication was particularly meaningful. During the Civil War, General Grant had issued Order No. 11 (1862) expelling Jews "as a class" from Mississippi, Tennessee, and Kentucky on charges of war profiteering.

In 1861 the Washington Hebrew Congregation established the city's first Jewish school, an all-day program that compensated for the lack of public schooling in the District of Columbia. By 1870, with a new public school system in place, the Jewish elementary school closed. For more than half a century Jewish education in the nation's capital would consist of supplementary classes meeting on weekday afternoons and on weekends.

New Immigrants, New Congregations

By 1880, many of Washington's 1,500 Jews were second-generation Americans, including shopkeepers, clerks, established merchants, and a smattering of professionals. They were soon joined by a new wave of Jewish immigrants, Orthodox Jews fleeing Eastern Europe's pogroms, poverty, and forced military service.

The influx of newer immigrants in the 1880s and 1890s made necessary new philanthropic institutions, including the Hebrew Relief Society (1882; later the United Hebrew Relief Society), United Hebrew Charities (1890), the Jewish Foster Home (1908), the Hebrew Free Loan Society (1909), and the Hebrew Home for the Aged (1914). One of the outstanding leaders in these endeavors was Minnie Lansburgh Goldsmith (1871–1971), daughter of department store owner Gustav Lansburgh. She served as president of the United Hebrew Charities, led fundraising efforts for the Jewish Foster Home and the Hebrew Home for the Aged, and helped create Washington's Community Chest, predecessor to the United Way. The arrival of new immigrants increased Washington's Jewish community to 10,000 by 1920.

Zionist activity in Washington dates to the early 20th century, with the founding of the Washington Zionist Organization, the local chapter of the Zionist Organization of America (c. 1901), Washington Poale Zion Society, and Washington's first Hadassah chapter (1919), formed shortly after a visit to the city by Hadassah founder Henrietta Szold.

Jews principally settled where existing commercial development suggested the viability of small businesses, running grocery stores, meat markets, dry goods establishments, hardware stores, and the like across the city. Families often lived above their shops and formed congregations in the neighborhoods. One of the largest concentrations of Jewish residents clustered around Seventh Street NW, one of the city's main business districts. Amid small furniture, fancy goods, jewelry, and millinery shops, several Jewish merchants expanded their businesses into fashionable department stores such as Lansburgh's, Hecht's, and S. Kann & Co. In the early 20th century, enough families lived in the Seventh Street neighborhood to support three synagogues within as many city blocks: Washington Hebrew Congregation, Adas Israel Congregation, and Ohev Sholom Congregation (1886), the first congregation in Washington founded by Russian Jews.

New immigrants also joined the handful of German-speaking Jewish merchants in Georgetown and Southwest Washington. In Georgetown, German-speaking Jews had established the Mount Sinai Society (1860s), later absorbed into Washington Hebrew. In 1910, Orthodox Russian immigrants founded Kesher Israel Congregation, which remains on the same site today.

In the early 20th century, close to 200 Jewish families in Southwest D.C. supported two synagogues, Talmud Torah Congregation (1887) and Voliner Anshe Sfard (1908). Al Jolson (born Asa Yoelson) attended synagogue at Talmud Torah, where his father, Moshe Yoelson, served as a cantor, *mohel* and *shoḥet*. Many Russian Jewish immigrants also settled along H Street NE in the early 1900s and founded Ezras Israel Congregation (1907). A small community of Orthodox Jews living nearby on Capitol Hill established the Southeast Hebrew Congregation (1909).

Wartime Washington and the Great Depression

World War I introduced a new wave of soldiers and government war workers to the capital. A group of young men who had formed the Young Men's Hebrew Association (YMHA; 1911) organized activities for arriving government workers and the first servicemen's club in the United States. The YMHA and the Young Women's Hebrew Association (1913) hosted dances, Sabbath services, and recreational opportunities for the thousands of Jewish servicemen and servicewomen posted in Washington during the war. After the war, national and local leaders raised money to build an impressive Jewish Community Center (JCC) on Sixteenth Street (1926), one mile from the White House. A local Jewish newspaper, the *National Jewish Ledger* (now *Washington Jewish Week*), began publication in 1930. The Jewish Community Council organized in 1938 as a unified voice for communal organizations on issues of importance to the Washington Jewish community.

As Jews became more established, they moved uptown into neighborhoods made possible by the development of streetcar suburbs in the northernmost areas of Washington and in nearby Maryland. New congregations were also founded in these uptown neighborhoods. The move northward was restricted in part by developers who placed covenants in real estate deeds prohibiting sale or lease to Jews, African Americans, and other racial and ethnic groups in areas like Spring Valley, an upscale neighborhood, and parts of Chevy Chase, Maryland. Although the Supreme Court ruled restrictive covenants unconstitutional in 1948, their effects lingered in many neighborhoods.

Although the presence of the federal government spared Washington the worst of the Great Depression, organizations like the Hebrew Sheltering Society provided kosher meals, a change of clothes, and lodging for those newly arrived in Washington and looking for work. The 1930s and 1940s saw a more than doubling of Washington's Jewish population, as young professionals arrived to work on President Franklin Delano Roosevelt's New Deal, for the war effort, and in an expanding civil service. Many of them first-generation Americans, they helped shape and implement New Deal policies and programs of social relief and reform.

As Hitler's grip tightened on Europe in the 1930s, Washington became a fulcrum of Zionist and rescue activity. Washingtonians worked to rescue European Jewish children and to support a Jewish homeland in Palestine as a haven for refugees. In 1938, 4,000 protesters packed the Daughters of the American Revolution's (DAR) Constitution Hall to pressure the British government to open Palestine to Jewish immigration. Local clergy of many faiths, civic leaders, and congressmen addressed the crowd and attendees petitioned President Roosevelt to intercede on behalf of Jews seeking to immigrate. The Women's Auxiliary of B'nai B'rith's Argo Lodge, whose anniversary luncheon in 1938 was attended by First Lady Eleanor Roosevelt, raised money on behalf of European Jewish refugees. Denise Tourover, Hadassah's first Washington representative, led lobbying and fundraising efforts to rescue the "Teheran children" – 700 Polish orphans stranded in Persia after making their way out of Europe. In 1943 she pleaded with State Department officials and ambassadors until British ships finally transported the children to Palestine.

As the nation mobilized for war, Jews were among the tens of thousands of soldiers and war workers who arrived to serve at the epicenter of the Allied war effort. In 1941 alone, the JCC room registry helped find housing for 4,000 Jews in local boarding houses, some of which catered to Jewish residents with kosher-style meals. Local organizations and synagogues sponsored religious services for military personnel.

Like American Jews in general, Washington Jews held differing views about Zionism. In 1940 and 1941, leaders of the Washington chapter of the Zionist Organization of America (ZOA) worked to build local membership. The Washington apartment of Supreme Court Justice Louis D. Brandeis served as a salon for national and local Zionist leaders. Rabbi Norman Gerstenfeld of the Washington Hebrew Congregation spoke ardently against the idea of a Jewish state. Local Zionists – such as Edmund I. Kaufmann, Zionist Organization of America president (1940–1941), and Rabbi Isadore Breslau, director of the American Zionist Bureau's lobbying efforts – rose to prominence on Washington's national stage.

In the aftermath of World War II, many of the most influential members of Washington's Jewish community participated in a secret fundraising campaign to support the Haganah in its war for independence. Men and women raised money to provide ships and crews to support Aliyah Bet (illegal immigration to Palestine), to purchase machinery for a munitions factory, and supply World War II surplus weapons and explosives for the Haganah. The local United Jewish Appeal met its first million-dollar campaign in 1946 to help meet the overwhelming economic and social needs of Jewish immigrants in Palestine. In 1947, Washington Jews tapped personal connections in the embassies and the White House to influence the UN vote on the partition of Palestine.

As David Ben-Gurion proclaimed the independence of Israel in Jerusalem on May 14, 1948, an exuberant crowd of Washington Jews gathered at the Jewish Agency building on Massachusetts Avenue NW. They danced and sang as the new flag was raised. Local Jews selected and purchased Israel's first embassy near Embassy Row shortly after statehood. Formerly non-Zionist and anti-Zionist organizations and individuals, including Rabbi Gerstenfeld, came to support the new nation. The presence of the Embassy of Israel in Washington reinforced the community's ties to Zionism, with the ambassador and his family playing an active role in local religious and community life.

Suburbanization

With the expansion of the federal bureaucracy in the postwar period, returning veterans and newly arrived government workers contributed to the transformation of Washington from capital city into metropolitan region. Seeking new homes, many Jewish residents joined an exodus to the Maryland and Virginia suburbs. By 1956, half of the area's 81,000 Jews lived outside the city limits. Many Jewish-owned businesses followed. Synagogues also moved to follow their congregants, and suburban residents formed new congregations, including the Arlington Fairfax Jewish Center (now Etz Hayim), which began meeting in Arlington, Virginia, in the early 1940s, and the Montgomery County (Maryland) Jewish Center (now Ohr Kodesh), founded in 1947. Jewish builders and real estate developers played a major role during Washington's postwar building boom. When it opened in 1944, Hebrew Academy (Orthodox) became the first day school in the Washington area in nearly a century. A number of smaller schools, including Beth Jacob School and a Yeshiva High School, operated in Washington for a number of years in the 1950s and 1960s.

In the late 1950s community leaders made plans to move communal agencies to the Maryland suburbs to serve the burgeoning suburban population. In 1969, the Jewish Community Center, the Hebrew Home for the Aged, and the Jewish Social Services Agency (later joined by the United Jewish Appeal (UJA) and the Jewish Community Council) relocated to a centralized campus of Jewish institutional life in Rockville, Maryland. The process was accelerated by the urban riots in the late 1960s. As Jews left Washington, D.C. neighborhoods and fled to the suburbs, so, too, did Jewish institutions. B'nai Israel relocated to Rockville – as part of a cluster of Jewish institutions that included the JCC of Greater Washington, the Hebrew Home for the Aged and the Charles E. Smith Jewish Day School. Adas Israel almost moved from its Quebec Avenue NW site, save for the objection of some donors, who had only recently contributed to its construction. Within several years, it was again thriving, as the Metro opened almost at its front door.

The Jewish Community Council placed civil rights issues at the forefront of its activities in the 1950s and 1960s.

The Council lent its name to the Thompson's Restaurant court case, decided by the Supreme Court in 1953, which ended segregation in public accommodations in Washington. Following *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954), which declared segregated public schools unconstitutional, the Council worked with city and religious leaders to encourage peaceful integration.

Washingtonians joined thousands in the national Jewish community who protested the treatment of Soviet Jews with massive demonstrations on the Mall in the 1970s and 1980s and maintained a daily vigil outside the Soviet embassy from 1970 to 1991. Church groups took over the vigil on Shabbat and on the High Holidays.

The 21st Century Community

In 2005, 83 percent of greater Washington's 215,000 Jews lived in the Maryland and Northern Virginia suburbs. Although the Jewish community is clustered most densely in lower Montgomery Country, Maryland (36 percent), the community now extends to the far reaches of the Greater Washington, D.C. metropolitan region. Northern Virginia experienced a 111 percent growth in its Jewish population between 1983 and 2003. In 2004, Congregation Sha'are Shalom built the first Jewish house of worship in Loudoun County, Virginia (25 miles from Washington, D.C.). Over 70 congregations and three JCCs serve the metropolitan area. The Washington-Baltimore corridor is virtually one continuous city, yet the Jewish communities of Washington and Baltimore are quite separate and the Jewish community of Columbia, Maryland, is also independent, though more linked to Baltimore than to Washington.

In addition to synagogue religious schools, serving the community in the area of Jewish education are the Hebrew Academy (1944), which had moved from 16th Street in Washington to nearby Silver Spring, and then again out closer to the Orthodox community in Kemp Mill; Charles E. Smith Jewish Day School (1972; a community day school, which evolved out of a Solomon Schechter Day School established in the 1960s), one of the largest day schools in the Diaspora, located in Rockville; the Jewish Primary Day School, first housed at Adas Israel congregation and later at the 16th Street home of the Hebrew Academy (1987; an independent, community K-6 school); and Gesher (Northern Virginia's community day school).

The Jewish Community Relations Council of Greater Washington, comprised of over 210 constituent organizations in the early 21st century, encourages collaborative partnerships within the area's Jewish community and between the Jewish community and the broader society. One local project has provided tours of the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum for Washington, D.C. police officers. The United States Holocaust Memorial Museum is a major presence of Jewish memory adjacent to the National Mall and has drawn almost four out of five American Jews as pilgrims.

Although the majority of the Jewish community lives in the suburbs, a resurgence of interest in maintaining a Jewish presence downtown has occurred over the last decades. District residents formed a new downtown Jewish Community Center in the late 1970s, and in the 1990s purchased, restored, and reopened the original JCC building. The first building constructed as a synagogue in Washington is listed on the National Register of Historic Places and is maintained by the Jewish Historical Society of Greater Washington as the Lillian and Albert Small Jewish Museum. The second home of Adas Israel, a church for half a century, has been restored and reopened as the Sixth and I Historic Synagogue, providing a downtown meeting place for the community.

Jews and the Federal City

Jewish Washingtonians have served in elected and appointed positions in the local and federal governments since the 19th century. Adolphus Solomons (1826–1910), publisher and proprietor of a Washington bookstore, served in the Washington, D.C. House of Delegates (1871). He turned down the offer of the governorship of the District, as the position would have required working on the Sabbath. Simon Wolf, who moved to Washington in 1862 after receiving his law degree, served as recorder of deeds for the District of Columbia. In the 20th century, local Jews have served in the district government and as ambassadors, policy advisors, heads of federal agencies and Supreme Court justices. Many have joined local synagogues and taken part in the life of the Washington Jewish community. Senator Joseph Lieberman, the first Jewish candidate for vice president (2000), is a member of Kesher Israel Congregation in Georgetown. Many Jews who come to Washington for what they think to be a brief stay in elective office or government service make Washington their permanent home. Senators and congressmen, Supreme Court justices, cabinet officials, ambassadors to the United States from foreign countries and high-ranking staff of the executive branch, the judiciary and the Congress, and their spouses and children, are found in synagogues and schools, ordinary participants in Jewish life.

Washington's confluence of religious, civic, and political life and its status as national and international capital have made it a fitting backdrop for national Jewish dialogues. In the 19th century, Adolphus Solomons counseled local and national Jewish leaders and played a pivotal role in convincing President Lincoln to allow Jews to become military chaplains during the Civil War. Simon Wolf, one of the most influential Jewish leaders of his time, advocated on behalf of Jewish issues worldwide through his work with the Board of Delegates of American Israelites. When the Board merged with the Union of American Hebrew Congregations in 1878, Wolf served as chairman of the UAHC's Board of Delegates of Civil and Religious Rights for over 30 years. In 1913, Carrie Simon, wife of Rabbi Abram Simon of the Washington Hebrew Congregation, created the National Federation of Temple Sisterhoods.

Lobbyists, activists, dignitaries, and philanthropists convene in Washington to discuss support for Israel and legislative issues of concern to the American Jewish community. Many national Jewish organizations and lobbying groups, including the American-Israel Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC), the national office of the Jewish War Veterans, the Union of Reform Judaism's Religious Action Center, B'nai B'rith International (which established its national office in Washington in 1943), and Hillel: The Foundation for Jewish Campus Life, are headquartered in the capital.

[Laura Burd Schiavo (2nd ed.)].

°**WASHINGTON, GEORGE** (1732–1799), commander in chief of the American forces in the Revolutionary War and first president of the United States. So far as can be ascertained, Washington's Jewish associations were exclusively official, and despite claims in earlier Jewish sources, no Jew ever served him as aide-de-camp.

Three members of the Franks family had dealings with him. In 1758, when Washington took command of Braddock's defeated forces in western Pennsylvania, he applied to David *Franks (1720–1794) of Philadelphia for supplies. Franks served as agent for a British syndicate quartermastering British colonial forces and was banished behind the British lines for his loyalist sympathies in 1778. The Jew whom Washington came to know best was David Solebury *Franks (c. 1742–1793), who joined the patriot forces in Montreal in 1776. By June 1778 he was aide-de-camp to General Benedict Arnold, commandant at Philadelphia. Two years later Franks was on Arnold's staff when the latter turned traitor, but he was later exonerated from all charges. Franks continued functioning as a military and diplomatic courier, rising to the rank of lieutenant-colonel. In November 1789, as secretary of a commission to the Creek Indians, he dined with the commissioners at Washington's table. The yellow fever epidemic that killed Franks brought Washington in touch with Isaac W. Franks (1759–1822). In the fall of 1793 Washington sought a suburban presidential mansion outside disease-ridden Philadelphia; he rented Franks' Germantown house.

Solomon *Bush (1753–1795) served under Washington as a captain of a Pennsylvania battalion in the Battle of Long Island. He rose to lieutenant-colonel, the highest rank achieved by a Jew on active duty. Philip Moses Russell (1747–1830) served as surgeon's mate with Virginia regiments from 1775 to 1778, becoming ill as the result of his ministrations at Valley Forge. In applying for a pension his widow stated that he had received a letter of commendation from General Washington. The Prager family, merchants from Holland, settled in Philadelphia, ignoring their Jewish origins. In July 1784 Washington furnished one of them with letters of introduction and, three years later, while attending the Constitutional Convention, Washington dined at the Prager home.

Washington was inaugurated as president of the United States on April 30, 1789. Within one week, Levi Sheftall, as president of the newly reorganized *Savannah Hebrew congregation, penned a congratulatory letter which Washington acknowledged. Savannah's hasty action embarrassed Shearith Israel Congregation, located in the then capital city of the U.S., New York. Its leadership delayed until June 1790 before inviting the congregations in Newport, Philadelphia, Charleston, and Richmond to join in preparing a message to the president. Newport declined because Rhode Island had not yet ratified the Constitution. However, when Washington made a visit to Newport on August 17, 1790, Moses *Seixas, as president of that congregation, and also as grand master of the masonic lodge, presented two letters to Washington. For the congregation he wrote extolling a government, "which to bigotry gives no sanction, to persecution no assistance…." In his response, Washington repeated these phrases. When Shearith Israel continued to procrastinate, Manuel *Josephson, president of the Philadelphia congregation, took the occasion of the government's move to Philadelphia to present the congratulations of the four remaining Hebrew congregations on December 13, 1790.

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[Malcolm H. Stern]

WASHOFSKY, MARK E. (1952–), U.S. Reform rabbi, academician. Washofsky was born in New Orleans, Louisiana, and received his B.A. from the University of Alabama in 1974. In 1980, he was ordained at *Hebrew Union College, where he earned a Ph.D. in 1987. He served as rabbi of Beth Israel Synagogue in Hamilton, Ohio (1981–85), while also teaching homiletics at the Cincinnati campus of HUC-JIR. In 1985, he was appointed associate professor of rabbinics and elevated to professor in 2001. A scholar in the field of the literature of the Talmud and **halakhah*, his subspecialty is the divergent traditions of Ashkenaz and Sepharad. In the Reform movement, Washofsky has been the chairman of the Committee on Responsa of the *Central Conference of American Rabbis since 1996. He was a major contributor to *The Oxford Dictionary of the Jewish Religion* and is the author of *Jewish Living: A Guide to Contemporary Reform Practice* (2001). He also coedited (with Gunther *Plaut) *Teshuvot for the Nineties: Recent American Reform Responsa* (1997).

[Bezalel Gordon (2nd ed.)]

WASIT, city in S. Iraq, founded about 703 by al-Ḥajjāj, governor of Babylonia on behalf of ʿAbd al-Malik, the *Umayyad caliph. Situated in a fertile region on the banks of the Tigris, Wasit was a populous center under the Umayyads and *Abbasids; it retained its importance during the Late Middle Ages up until the 16th century when the city fell into ruins as a result of the Tigris changing its course to a more eastward one. Under the Abbasid caliphs, Wasit had one of the leading Jewish communities in Babylonia, and, as reported by *Nathan ha-Bavli, paid an annual tax of 150 dinars to the *Sura academy. It was still a flourishing community in the 13th century; in 1201 R. Daniel b. Eleazar b. Ḥibat Allah, the head of the Baghdad academy, addressed himself to the communities of Basra and Wasit (in connection with *Beit Keneset shel Ezra*), from which it appears that these were the two outstanding communities in southern Babylonia. Some of the members of the *Ibn al-Barqūlī family, a prominent Jewish family of Wasit in this period, served in government posts. Judah *Al-Harizi visited Wasit and in his report praised the dignitary Samuel, who may be identical with Samuel ibn al-Barqūlī. The poet *Eleazar b. Jacob composed many poems in honor of Joseph ibn al-Barqūlī, a resident of Wasit. *Matteh Oz*, a work dating from this period, is a collection of sermons given by Isaac Sar-Shalom in Wasit and other southern Babylonian towns from 1210 to 1232 (Neubauer, Cat, no. 1001).

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[Eliyahu Ashtor]

WASKOW, ARTHUR (1933–), founder of the American movement for Jewish Renewal. As the leading proponent and founder of the American religious movement for Jewish Renewal, Waskow's midrashic interpretations of Jewish texts have sparked a renaissance of interest in the connection between Jewish spirituality and social justice in contemporary America.

Born in Baltimore, Md., Waskow received his bachelor's degree from Johns Hopkins University in 1954 and a master's degree (1956) and doctorate (1963) in U.S. history from the University of Wisconsin. From 1959 to 1982, he worked in Washington, D.C., on public policy concerning military strategy and disarmament, race relations, nonviolent action, the Vietnam War, and renewable energy sources. He also served as a founder and fellow of the Institute for Policy Studies from 1963 to 1977.

Throughout the 1960s, he was active in writing, speaking, electoral politics, and nonviolent protests against racism and the Vietnam War. In 1981 and 1986, along with eight other plaintiffs from the Washington area, he won a lawsuit against the FBI for illegal and unconstitutional harassment of his antiwar work, under its COINTELPRO program.

In 1969, Waskow's life took a new turn, toward leadership in the renewal of Jewish life in America. This work first began when Waskow wrote *The Freedom Seder*, a Passover *Haggadah* that wove together the traditional text with passages from leaders of social justice movements, such as Martin Luther King. Waskow continued to work as a writer, teacher, and organizer in the movement to renew Judaism. His other notable titles include *These Holy Sparks: The Rebirth of the Jewish People* (1983), *Tales of Tikkun: New Jewish Stories to Heal the Wounded World* (1997), and *A Time for Every Purpose Under Heaven*: *The Jewish Life-Spiral as a Spiritual Path* (2002), the latter two coauthored with Phyllis Berman.

In 1982, Waskow moved to Philadelphia to become a member of the faculty of the Reconstructionist Rabbinical College, where he founded The Shalom Center, a think tank concerned with Jewish thought and action in response to the dangers of the nuclear arms race and other global environmental threats. During this era, he founded the journal *Menorah: Sparks of Jewish Renewal*, of which he was editor since its inception. In 1993 The Shalom Center left the Reconstructionist Rabbinical College and merged with P'nai Or, founded by Rabbi Zalman *Schachter-Shalomi, to form ALEPH: Alliance for Jewish Renewal. In 1995, after five years of directed study and writing, Waskow was ordained privately as a rabbi by four individuals (three rabbis – one ḥasidic, one Conservative, and one Reform – and a feminist theologian) in the custom of Jewish renewal. In 2005, The Shalom Center became an independent organization, with Waskow as rabbinic director.

Waskow devoted his life's work to raising questions of social justice in the Jewish community. In addition to his pioneering work on eco-Judaism and public opposition to the wars in Vietnam and Iraq, Waskow may be best known for his writing and teaching on behalf of a two-state solution for peace between Israel and the Palestinian people. He was among the leaders of Breira in the 1970s and of New Jewish Agenda in the 1980s, and was one of the peace activists invited to the White House to witness the signing of the Israeli-Palestinian Declaration of Principles in September 1993.

[Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

WASSER, DENNIS M. (1942–), U.S. lawyer. Born in Brooklyn, N.Y., Wasser and his family moved to California, where he earned a bachelor's degree from the University of California, Los Angeles, and a law degree from the University of Southern California. A member of the firm Wasser, Cooperman & Carter in Los Angeles, Wasser first gained fame when he represented the tennis star Billie Jean King, who was sued by her former lover, a woman, who sought property and support for the rest of her life. King and her husband won the suit, and Wasser's reputation in family law was established. Over the years, he represented a galaxy of Hollywood celebrities in divorce actions, including Steven *Spielberg, Clint Eastwood, Tom Cruise, James Woods, Jane Fonda, Richard *Dreyfus, Lionel Richie, Jennifer Lopez and the wife of Michael *Douglas. Wasser also successfully represented the baseball star David Justice in a "palimony" suit and negotiated on behalf of Kirk Kerkorian, who was sued for child support by a woman he lived with but whose baby he had not fathered. Wasser wrote and lectured widely on family and divorce law.

[Stewart Kampel (2nd ed.)]

WASSERMAN, DALE (1917–), U.S. playwright. Born in Rhinelander, Wisconsin, Wasserman came to the fore when he adapted Ken Kesey's novel *One Flew Over the Cuckoo's Nest* (1963) for the stage. This was followed by *Man of La Mancha* (1965), for which Wasserman received many awards, including a Tony Award and a Critics Circle Award. His other plays include *Western Star*; *An Enchanted Land*; *Players in* *the Game*; *Beggar's Holiday*; *Boy on Blacktop Road*; and *The Stallion Howl.*

Wasserman also wrote screenplays for such feature films as *The Vikings* (1958); *Cleopatra* (1963); *Quick, before It Melts* (1964); *Mister Buddwing* (1966); *A Walk with Love and Death* (1969); and his own *Man of La Mancha*, which he also coproduced (1972).

For television, Wasserman wrote the adaptations for the productions of *The Citadel* (1960) and *The Power and the Glory* (1961), as well as *Long after Summer* (1967). He also wrote for a number of television series, such as *Studio One* (1948); *Armstrong Circle Theatre* (1950); *Kraft Television Theater* (1953); *The DuPont Show of the Month* (1957); and *G.E. True* (1962). Wasserman's book *The Impossible Musical: The Man of La Mancha Story* was published in 2003.

[Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

WASSERMAN, DORA (1919–2003) and **BRYNA** (1947–), Yiddish theater directors. Dora Wasserman was born Dora Goldfarb in Chernikhov in the U.S.S.R. to a poor family. After graduating from high school, she studied voice and went on to train with the Moscow Yiddish Academy under Solomon *Mikhoels. She worked with the Tyuz children's theater in Kiev, the Kiev State Theater, and the Zhitomir Theater until the Soviet Union entered World War II. On the road in 1944, she met and married her husband, Shura Wasserman, in Kazakhstan. They had two daughters, Bryna and Ella. After the war, Dora formed a theater troupe and performed in DP camps in Austria. Wasserman immigrated to Montreal in 1950 and organized children's Yiddish theater groups. In 1957 she formed the Yiddish Drama Group, an adult ensemble created under the auspices of the Montreal Jewish People's Schools. She received support for the theater from the Jewish community, as well as from the wider theater community. The well-known Québecois actor Gratien Gélinas provided technical and material support. In 1967 the company was invited to join the new Saidye Bronfman Centre.

Wasserman went on to produce or direct more than 70 plays for the Yiddish theater. She worked closely with many of the writers who presented works at the company or whose works she adapted for the Yiddish theater. She acquired exclusive stage rights to the works of Isaac Bashevis *Singer. She had Ted Allan's play, *Lies My Father Told Me*, translated into Yiddish (1984), and then staged Michel Tremblay's Quebec classic, *Les Belles Soeurs* (1992). She produced *Fiddler on the Roof* for the first time in Yiddish (1993). The company toured in Israel, the United States, Austria, and Russia. Wasserman was invested as a member of the Order of Canada and the Order of Quebec. In 1996, after Dora Wasserman suffered a stroke, her daughter Bryna took over the artistic directorship of the Yiddish Theatre.

Bryna Wasserman grew up around productions at the Yiddish Theatre. She received a BFA and an MFA in directing from the Tisch School of Fine Arts (NYU), and worked at English and Yiddish theaters, including the Vivian Beaumont at Lincoln Center, Mercer Street, Vancouver Opera House, American Place, and the Folksbiene Playhouse. In 1998 she was appointed artistic director of the English-language theater program for the Theatre of the Saidye Bronfman Centre for the Arts. Under her direction, both the SBC Theatre and Dora Wasserman Yiddish Theatre have received MECCA (Montreal English Critics' Circle) Awards. The Dora Wasserman Yiddish Theatre remains North America's only Yiddish theater company in permanent residence.

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[Rebecca E. Margolis (2nd ed.)]

WASSERMAN, ELHANAN BUNIM (1875–1941), Lithuanian talmudic scholar, yeshivah head, and communal leader. Wasserman received his education at the yeshivot of Volozhin and Telz, which were headed at the time by Eliezer *Gordon and Simeon *Shkop, respectively. In 1899 he married the daughter of Meir Atlas, rabbi of Salant, and spent some years studying in his father-in-law's home. In 1903 he was appointed head of the yeshivah of Amtshilov, where he proved an outstanding teacher, greatly influencing his students. He joined the *kolel* of the Ḥafeẓ Ḥayyim in Radun in 1907 and remained there until 1910, when he was appointed rabbi of Brest-Litovsk. During World War I he returned to Radun, and when the war reached that town the yeshivah moved to Smilovichi, where Wasserman was appointed its head. After the war he moved to Poland and established a yeshivah at Baranowicze, which became one of the most famous in eastern Europe. He was one of the main pillars of the *Agudat Israel movement, together with Ḥayyim Ozer *Grodzinski and the Ḥafeẓ Ḥayyim, and was regarded as the latter's spiritual successor. Wasserman emerged as one of the outstanding leaders of Orthodox Jewry. In addition to his academic activities, he played a major role in communal affairs, contributing extensively to the Jewish press, and figuring prominently at Agudat Israel conferences.

He wrote *Ikvata di-Meshiḥa* (1942), and published the responsa of Solomon b. Abraham *Adret (the Rashba) with annotations (1936^2). His talmudic novellae appeared in the rabbinic journal *Sha'arei Ẓiyyon* (1929–34) and in other publications. At the outbreak of World War II he fled to Vilna and, in June 1941, while on a visit to Kovno, was arrested by the Nazis together with 12 other rabbis and sent to his death. On their last journey he encouraged his fellow victims to walk proudly and with head erect. "The fire which will consume our bodies will be the fire through which the people of Israel will arise to a new life," he assured them.

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[Mordechai Hacohen]

WASSERMAN, LEW (1913–2002), U.S. entertainment executive. Born Lewis Robert Wasserman in Cleveland, Ohio, to Russian immigrant parents, Wasserman worked as an usher at a vaudeville theater during high school. After graduating in 1930, he worked as a promoter for the Mayfair Casino nightclub. The Music Corporation of American (MCA) talent agency hired him in 1936 as national director of advertising and publicity, and two years later Wasserman moved to Los Angeles. As vice president of MCA's motion picture division, Wasserman brought in such A-list celebrities as Billy *Wilder, Bette Davis, Jimmy Stewart, Gene Kelly, and Ronald Reagan, and won greater control for his clients by doing away with the standard seven-year studio contract and earning them a percentage of the box office. By 1946 he had risen to president of MCA, and in the early 1950s Wasserman branched out with an MCA motion picture division. In 1958, Wasserman purchased a portion of Paramount Pictures' film library for $10 million, and then sold the broadcast rights to television stations for more than $30 million. MCA purchased Universal Studios and Decca Records in 1962, and soon found itself under the scrutiny of the Justice Department, which forced MCA to divest itself of its talent business. Subsequently, Wasserman became involved in politics, holding fundraisers for political campaigns, and courting presidential candidates; Wasserman was also active in donating to Jewish and Catholic charities. In 1973, Wasserman was named chairman of MCA, following Jules Stein's retirement. Soon after he launched the phenomenon of the "summer blockbuster" with such films as *Jaws* (1975) and *Star Wars* (1977). In the late 1970s and 1980s, MCA expanded its television stake by producing such programs as *The Rockford Files*, *Columbo*, *Kojak,* and *Miami Vice*. In 1990, MCA was sold to the Japanese electronics company Matsushita, which allowed Wasserman to maintain his chairmanship. Matsushita sold its stake in MCA to Seagram in 1995, which all but ended Wasserman's control of the company. That same year, Wasserman, in his trademark thick black frame eyeglasses, was presented with the Presidential Medal of Freedom by President Clinton. Wasserman has been the subject of many books, including *When Hollywood Had a King* by Connie Bruck (2003), as well as a documentary, *The Last Mogul* (2005).

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[Adam Wills (2nd ed.)]

WASSERMANN, AUGUST VON (1866–1925), bacteriologist and immunologist. Born in Bamberg, he studied medicine and worked initially at the Institute for Infectious Diseases in Berlin, under Robert Koch. In 1906 he was appointed head of the Serum Department in the institute, and in 1913, head of the Institute of Experimental Medicine at Dahlem near Berlin. Wassermann was one of the founders of immunology, his great discovery being the reaction for the sero-diagnosis of syphilis, which bears his name. This test, which he published in 1906 together with Albert Neisser and Carl Bruck, became one of the most important methods of the sero-diagnosis, and Wassermann used it to prove the syphilitic nature of the tabes dorsalis and progressive paralysis. He developed specific antisera for determining the origin of proteins and blood cells originating from different animals; he also investigated, with Paul *Ehrlich, methods for the determination of the potency of therapeutic sera. He co-edited the first encyclopedia of medical bacteriology and immunology, *Handbuch der pathogenen Mikroorganismen* (1903–13). In 1913 he was ennobled. Throughout his life he remained linked to Judaism.

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[Aryeh Leo Olitzki]

WASSERMANN, JAKOB (1873–1933), German novelist and essayist. In his autobiography, *Mein Weg als Deutscher und Jude* (1921; *My Life as German and as Jew*, 1933), Wassermann reviews his life from his birth in Fuerth, an industrial center of Franconia and the seat of an ancient Jewish community. He had an unhappy childhood and youth and, during his years of penury, found escape from despair in literary visions. In Munich, Wassermann joined the staff of *Simplizissimus*; from 1898 he lived in Vienna. In time he became friendly with Hugo von *Hofmannsthal, Arthur *Schnitzler, and Thomas *Mann. For his first novel, *Die Juden von Zirndorf* (1897; *The Dark Pilgrimage*, 1933), Wassermann utilized personal experiences interwoven with old myths and legends of Franconian Jewry to present a vivid portrait of changing Jewish life in his native province. He won wider recognition with *Caspar Hauser oder die Traegheit des Herzens* (1908; *Caspar Hauser*, 1928), the tragic story of a foundling. The unusual individual at odds with society was also the main theme of *Das Gaensemaennchen* (1915; *The Goose Man*, 1922), a novel about a musician and composer burdened with guilt and tragedy through his concentration on his art and withdrawal from life.

Wassermann's international vogue dates from *Christian Wahnschaffe* (2 vols., 1919), a grandiose epic of Europe on the eve of World War I, which became an American best seller under the title *The World's Illusion* (1920). The novels that followed include *Ulrike Woytich* (1923; Eng. *Gold*, 1924), a critical analysis of materialistic greed; *Der Fall Mauritius* (1928; *The Mauritius Case*, 1929), which castigated the worship of legalism; *Etzel Andergast* (1930; Eng. 1932) and its sequel, *Joseph Kerkhovens dritte Existenz* (1934; *Joseph Kerkhoven's Third Existence*, 1934), clinical studies set against the political and moral chaos after the German defeat of 1918; and many other less profound, but popular, works. He also wrote biographical sketches of Christopher Columbus (1929) and Hofmannsthal in *Hofmannsthal der Freund* (1930).

Wassermann was preeminently a gifted storyteller. In his long prose epics he drew characters from various social strata who seek God despite their horrible experiences, and eventually find salvation after perilous adventures.

Wassermann was an articulate exponent of German-Jewish assimilation and an implacable foe of Jewish nationalism. He believed in a Jewish priestly and prophetic mission among the nations, yet held the "Chosen People" idea to be "plainly absurd and immoral." In his view, the Jews were unfitted for common action and had no talent for politics. Reconstituted as a nation in line with Zionist aspirations, they would be an international laughingstock. Wassermann insisted that his own work exemplified the synthesis of Germanism and Judaism which others should follow, but he abhorred apostasy. The triumph of Nazism and the burning of his books in German towns brought Wassermann back to the spiritual ghetto from which he had always fled and to a common destiny with the eastern European Jews with whom he had always denied kinship. Wassermann published a second autobiographical work, *Selbstbetrachtungen* (1933), but *Ahasver*, a novel intended to describe the epic history of the Jews, was never completed.

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[Sol Liptzin]

WASSERMANN, OSCAR (1869–1934), German banker active in Jewish organizations. The scion of an old established family of Jewish merchants in Bavaria, which in 1880 founded the bank A.E. Wasserman in Bamberg, he opened its Berlin branch in 1900 and served as its director, together with his cousin Max, until 1912, when he became a member of the board of directors of the Deutsche Bank. Chosen in 1923 to stand at the head of the board as its "speaker," a post he held until his dismissal in 1933, Wassermann became one of the central German bankers, serving on many governmental and official committees, such as the Council of the Reichsbank. Unlike most descendants of the *Court Jews who severed their ties with the Jewish community, Wassermann was a learned and conscious Jew, albeit not orthodoxly observant, who knew Hebrew and the Bible and was a patron of many Jewish institutions of learning and philanthropy. Although an alleged "non-Zionist," Wassermann was among the founders (1922) of the German *Keren Hayesod and served as its president and a member of its world board of directors. In 1927/28 he took part, together with Lord *Melchett, Felix *Warburg, and Lee *Frankel, in the Joint Palestine Survey Commission, that prepared the ground for enlarging the *Jewish Agency in 1929 by adding non-Zionist representatives. As one of the signatories of the new Agency's charter, Wassermann occupied leading positions in its administrative and financial committees.

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[Avraham Barkai (2nd ed.)]

WASSERMAN SCHULTZ, DEBBIE (1966–), first Jewish congresswoman ever elected from Florida. Born and raised on Long Island, N.Y., she ran for student council each year and lost. She attended the University of Florida and graduated with a bachelor's degree in political science in 1988 and with a master's degree in 1990. At 26 she became the youngest woman ever elected to the State House. She served eight years in the House, two as minority leader, and then moved to the State Senate from 2000 to 2004. During her last year in the Florida Senate, Wasserman Schultz was among Democratic lawmakers who presented a plan for overhauling the state's education system, but it was ignored in the Republican-controlled Legislature.

She also was an outspoken opponent of a proposed state constitutional amendment that the legislature has put on the ballot to require parental notification before minor girls can obtain abortions. "History has shown that we have had terrible, terrible results when abortion wasn't safe and legal, and that's what we're going to be forcing here," she said.

She ran on a liberal platform that included promises to spend more on health care and education. "We live in the greatest country in the world," Wasserman Schultz said. "Yet we have sick children whose families cannot afford to take them to a doctor." She wants to extend health care for every child and young adult up to age 25, not just those from low-income families. She has been critical of Congress for failing to fully fund federal education programs.

She stepped up to a Congressional seat when Peter Deutsch, the incumbent Congressman, ran for an open Senate seat. She won the election without a primary opponent, a rarity for an open seat, and swamped her opponent in the general election from her heavily Democratic, heavily Jewish District.

Wasserman Schultz was appointed to the Financial Services Committee, the committee in the House of Representatives that oversees the entire financial services industry, including the securities, insurance, banking, and housing industries. The committee also oversees the work of the Federal Reserve, the Treasury, the Security and Exchange Commission (SEC) and other financial services regulators. Most recently, Wasserman Schultz was appointed to the Committee on the Judiciary, with responsibility for the administration of justice in Federal courts, administrative bodies, and law enforcement agencies. It also handles issues relating to bankruptcy, espionage, terrorism, the protection of civil liberties, constitutional amendments, immigration and naturalization, claims against the United States, presidential succession, antitrust law, revision and codification of the statutes of the United States, state and territorial boundary lines, and patents, copyrights and trademarks. Particularly important in our time is the committee's oversight responsibility for the Departments of Justice and Homeland Security.

Wasserman Schultz has been a critic of the war in Iraq, saying it has diverted the United States from fighting terrorism and been too costly in lives and treasure. She also is committed to supporting Israel as "the lone democracy in the Middle East."

WASSERSTEIN, BERNARD (1948–), British historian. Born in London and educated at Oxford University, Wasserstein taught at Brandeis and Glasgow Universities and was president of the Oxford Centre for Hebrew and Jewish Studies from 1996 to 2000. In 2003 he became professor of history at the University of Chicago. Wasserstein has written prolifically on modern Jewish history in such works as *The British in Palestine* (1978), *Britain and the Jews of Europe, 1939–1945* (1979), *The Secret Life of Trebitsch Lincoln* (1989), *Vanishing Diaspora* (1996), and *Divided Jerusalem: The Quest for the Holy City* (2001). In 2000–2 he was president of the Jewish Historical Society of England.

[William D. Rubinstein (2nd ed.)]

WASSERSTEIN, BRUCE (1948–), U.S. entrepreneur. Wasserstein, who was born in Brooklyn, N.Y., graduated from the University of Michigan and then earned two degrees from Harvard, one from the business school and one from the law school. In addition he was a Knox traveling fellow at Cambridge University, earning a graduate diploma in comparative legal studies in economic regulation. Wasserstein's first job was at the white-shoe law firm Cravath, Swaine & Moore, but he was recruited by Joseph R. Perella to join the First Boston Corporation in 1977. Two years later Perella stunned his boss by asking him to make Wasserstein co-head of mergers and acquisitions, his equal. In 1988 the pair formed Wasserstein, Perella & Company, which became one of the most prominent mergers-and-acquisitions advisers. They helped broker more than 1,000 transactions worth $250 billion, including Texaco's acquisition of Getty Oil. When Perella left the firm in 1993, he sold all his stock, although, for contractual reasons, his name stayed on the door. In 1992 the firm took Maybelline, a cosmetics company, private and then spun it off in a public offering in 1992. In 1994 the firm owned Collins & Aikman, an automotive supplies maker that filed for bankruptcy protection. In 2000, at the top of a bull market, Wasserstein sold his boutique investment bank Wasserstein, Perella to Germany's Dresdner Bank for $1.5 billion. Wasserstein pocketed more than $600 million on the deal. Over the years, Wasserstein wrote four books: *With Justice for Some: An Indictment of the Law by Young Advocates* (1972), *Corporate Finance Law* (1978), *Big Deal: The Battle for the Control of America's Leading Corporations* (1988), and *Big Deal: Mergers and Acquisitions in the Digital Age* (2001). He also had a hand in publishing, owning American Lawyer Media's collection of 29 legal newspapers and magazines around the country, and *The Deal*, a publication covering the mergers marketplace. In 2004 he added *New York* magazine to his media empire. After Wasserstein left the Dresdner Bank, he took the top position at Lazard Frères, the famously secretive investment bank. Michel David-Weill, the patriarch of Lazard, and Wasserstein had a public feud over the direction of the firm. In 2005 Wasserstein succeeded in taking Lazard public after David-Weill was bought out. Wasserstein and Lazard made a substantial profit on the initial deal.

[Stewart Kampel (2nd ed.)]

WASSERSTEIN, WENDY (1950–2006), prize-winning U.S. playwright and the first woman to receive the Tony Award for Best Play. Wasserstein, the youngest of four children of Lola (Schleifer) and Morris Wasserstein, a prosperous textile manufacturer, was born in Brooklyn and grew up in Manhattan. She received a B.A. from Mount Holyoke College in 1971 and an M.F.A. from the Yale School of Drama in 1975. Her plays, which have strong feminist themes tempered with humor and compassion, include *Uncommon Women and Others* (1975); *Tender Offer* (1983); *Isn't It Romantic* (1983); and *The Heidi Chronicles* (1989), which won both a Tony Award and the Pulitzer Prize. While many of her plays had distinctively Jewish elements, *The Sisters Rosenzweig* (1992) explicitly portrays the different ways three sisters come to terms with their Jewish heritage. Other plays include *An American Daughter* (1997), *Old Money* (2000), and *Third* (2005).

Wasserstein was also a prolific writer in other genres, including television and film. Collections of her essays include *Bachelor Girls* (1991) and *Shiksa Goddess* (2001). She was the author of *Sloth* (2005), part of a series on the seven deadly sins published by Oxford University Press. Wasserstein died of cancer in New York City, leaving behind a daughter born in 1999. Her papers are collected at the Mount Holyoke Archives, South Hadley, Massachusetts.

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[Judith R. Baskin (2nd ed.)]

WASSERZUG (Lomzer), ḤAYYIM (1822–1882), cantor and composer. Born in Sieradz, Poland, Wasserzug became cantor in Konin at the age of seventeen. In his years at Nowy Dwor, near Warsaw (1841–54), he introduced four-part choral music to the Polish synagogue, despite the bitter opposition of the Ḥasidim. He pursued his innovation as cantor in Lomza (1854–59) and Vilna (1859–67). In 1868 he emigrated to England, and, until his death, officiated at the North London Synagogue. In 1878 he published *Shirei Mikdash*, with his own compositions and some older melodies all simply harmonized for cantor and choir. Wasserzug had a voice remarkable for its quality and compass, and he drew great crowds wherever he sang. He was offered a contract to sing in opera, but refused it on religious grounds.

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[David M.L. Olivestone]

WAT, ALEXANDER (**Szymon Chwat**; 1900–1967), Polish author, editor, and translator. Born in Warsaw, Wat was an active pamphleteer for the Polish "New Art," futurist movement, coediting *Nowa Sztuka* (1921–22) and the *Almanach Nowej Sztuki* (1924–25). From 1929 onward he edited the leftist literary monthly *Miesięcznik Literacki* and worked as a literary editor in the Gebethner and Wolff publishing house (1932–39). During World War II he lived in Soviet Kazakhstan, returning to Warsaw in 1946. He subsequently took a lead in postwar Polish literary life, but emigrated to France in 1963.

His works include *Bezrobotny Lucyfer* ("The Unemployed Lucifer," 1927), collected stories; *Ucieczka Lotha* ("Lot's Escape," 1948–49), a novel; and *Wiersze* ("Poems," 1957). Wat's painful experiences in the U.S.S.R. and during the Stalinist period in postwar Poland shattered his Communist ideals. His last works, such as the verse collection *Ciemne świecidło* ("The Dark Spangle," 1968), which appeared posthumously in Paris, display a swing to religious feeling and mysticism, with the writer seeking a new road to an understanding of the world and its many complexities. Wat also published many translations from Russian and Western literature.

[Stanislaw Wygodzki]

WATCHERS. In Daniel 4:7ff., Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, relates a strange dream of his and its interpretation by the Jewish savant, Daniel. A baleful message is delivered by a heavenly being, referred to as an *ʿir we-qaddish*, the so-called "Holy Watcher" (4:10). The exact interpretation of the name of this being is somewhat problematic. Rashi explains it to mean an angel, deriving the word from the Hebrew *ʿr* "to be awake," and explains that an angel is always awake. The Greek versions of Aquila and Symmachus translate the term, "Wakeful One," a translation which is the source of our English, "Watcher" (Fitzmyer, in bibl., p. 72), an archaic word for one who is awake. However, the Septuagint has simply angel. That the term means angel can be shown from the *Genesis Apocryphon* of the Dead Sea Scrolls, where the word *ʿir* is in clear parallelism with "sons of heaven" (2:1). Also in the *Zadokite Documents*, the "Watchers" are associated with the legend of angelic intercourse with women (A 2:17–18). In Daniel itself, they seem to be some sort of heavenly council (4:14). The "Watchers" figured prominently in pseudepigraphic and later mystical literature.

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[Daniel Boyarin]

WATEN, JUDAH (1911–1985), Australian novelist and critic. Born in Odessa, Waten was taken to Ereẓ Israel shortly after his birth, but in 1914 the family immigrated to Australia. An active anti-Fascist, he did much during and after World War II to assist refugees seeking a haven in Australia. He was a fervent Communist, and some of his journalistic work was devoted to cultural aspects of left-wing politics. Unlike many intellectuals who supported Communism, Waten became closer to the Soviet Union after 1956. His political writings were often viewed as propaganda, especially his repeated denials of Soviet antisemitism.

Several of his novels deal with Jewish characters and settings. His best-known work, *Alien Son* (1952), was one of the first Australian novels to deal with Jewish themes and is seen as a landmark in Australian literature. He also wrote *The Unbending* (1954), *Distant Land* (1962), and *From Odessa to Odessa* (1969). Three other novels were *Shares in Murder* (1957), *A Time of Conflict* (1961), and *Season of Youth* (1966). Waten was an important literary critic and also translated works by Hertz *Bergner and Pinchas *Goldhar from Yiddish into English. His own novels have been translated into Russian, German, Dutch, and Chinese. Although an anti-Zionist, Waten retained his links with the Jewish community. He published an autobiography, *Scenes of a Revolutionary Life*, in 1982.

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[Greer Fay Cashman / William D. Rubinstein (2nd ed.)]

WATTASIDS (**Banu Wattas**), Moroccan dynasty related to the *Merinids. The Wattasids ruled much of eastern *Morocco in the 13th century and replaced the Merinids in the years 1472 to 1554. Their capital, court, and administrative center were situated in *Fez. During the Wattasids' reign the Jewish community expanded demographically and prospered, as the waves of immigration of the *megorashim* (the ones expelled) from Spain resettled in parts of Morocco beginning in 1492. Several Jews were diplomats, financial advisers, and ministers in the Wattasid court. The most noted among them were Jacob Rosales, Abraham Cordovi, and R. Jacob Roti, the **nagid* of the Fez Jewish community during the 1530s and 1540s. Roti was an affluent merchant with international connections who carried on extensive and delicate negotiations with *Portugal – then a vital commercial and military power – which occupied key Moroccan towns. In the 1530s he even served as foreign minister. Another Jewish diplomat was Moses Abutam. In 1554, the Sharifian Saʿdi dynasty overthrew the Wattasids. The Saʿdis claimed to be descendants of the Prophet *Muhammad and dominated Morocco until 1660.

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[Michael M. Laskier (2nd ed.)]

WATTERS, LEON LAIZER (1877–1967), U.S. scientist, teacher, writer, and communal leader. Watters was born in Salt Lake City, Utah. After teaching chemistry at Columbia University (1898–1900) and the University of Cincinnati (1901–2), he became a food and drugs investigator for the City of New York and presented papers on that subject before the American Association for Advancement of Science. Watters developed a method for sterilizing catgut used as sutures in surgery. He founded the Watters Laboratories and Hospital Supply Company, which he later sold to the Air Reduction Company (1948). During World War I he built the first portable disinfectors for the U.S. Army and Navy. In World War II he designed a mobile hospital unit that was used in North Africa by the British. A civic-minded scientist, Watters was a founder and president of the Utah Club of New York, head of the advisory committee of Cooper Union, and a member of the Chemists Club of New York. At the suggestion of his friend Albert Einstein, he endowed the Watters Memorial Research Laboratory for experimental research in pure physics at the California Institute of Technology and established scholarships and students' loan funds at the University of Utah. Active in Jewish life, Watters was chairman of the New York section of the Jewish Welfare Board during World War I. He served at one time as vice president of the Hebrew Technical Institute and as treasurer of the New York YMHA. Watters' nontechnical writings included *Pioneer Jews of Utah* (1952); his papers are at the American Jewish Archives at Hebrew Union College in Cincinnati, Ohio.

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[Isidore S. Meyer]

°WATZINGER, CARL (1877–1948), German archaeologist. Watzinger taught as lecturer in Berlin (1905), assistant professor in Tostock (1905–09), and professor in Giessen (1909–16) and Tuebingen (from 1916 until his death). Together with E. *Sellin, he directed excavations at Jericho and published the excavation report (1913). He also collaborated with H. Kohl in clearing ancient synagogues in the Galilee; the publication of their results *Antike Synagogen in Galilaea* (1916) remains to this day the basic study of the earlier type of synagogues in Israel.

During World War I Watzinger participated in German surveys. He was the author of two works on Damascus – *Damaskus, die antike Stadt* (1921), and *Damaskus, die islamische Stadt* (1924). After the war he published a study of the finds of Megiddo (1921) and a work on the antiquities of Ereẓ Israel, *Denkmaeler Palaestinas*, 2 vols. (1931–35).

[Michael Avi-Yonah]

WAWELBERG, HIPOLIT (1843–1901), banker and philanthropist. Born in Warsaw, he was a son of the merchant banker and *maskil*, Ẓevi Hirsch Wawelberg. From his youth he advocated the assimilation of Polish Jewry into the gentile population, but his longtime residence in St. Petersburg (from 1869), where he managed a branch of his father's bank, brought him into close contact with Jewish public workers and Jewish affairs. He was appointed a member of the Committee for the Struggle Against Civil Discrimination against Russian Jews, headed by Baron Horace *Guenzburg. He was also active in the *Society for the Promotion of Culture among the Jews of Russia and contributed liberally to various Jewish cultural and charitable institutions. Wawelberg displayed particular concern for the settlement program of Baron de *Hirsch in Latin America, and in 1899 he donated a large sum to the *Jewish Colonization Association (ICA) for this purpose. ICA responded by renaming the settlement Santa Elena (in Argentina) "Wawelberg." He also generously supported the school for crafts of the Warsaw Jewish community and founded a Jewish agricultural school in *Czestochowa. Wawelberg sided with those Polish circles that advocated a compromise with the Russian regime, and, to encourage this tendency, he founded a liberal Polish weekly *Kraj*, in St. Petersburg. It was outstanding for its literary standard. He financed the publication of the Warsaw Polish daily *Kuryer Polski*, whose trend was also liberal, advocating sympathy for Russia and fighting antisemitism. Wawelberg donated large sums for the publication of inexpensive editions of the works of classical Polish writers and is still considered one of the greatest Maecenases of Polish literature. He believed that a cultural and social rapprochement between Polish Jewry and their gentile neighbors could be effected through the establishment of institutions in which Jews and Poles would work together. In 1895 he contributed to the establishment of an industrial school in Warsaw. When the school reverted to the Polish government (1918), Wawelberg's heirs inserted a clause into the agreement stating that Jewish students were not to be discriminated against, although this was not abided by. Before his death, Wawelberg established a fund at the University of Lvov to encourage research in Jewish history in Poland. This fund was helpful to several Jewish historians, such as M. *Schorr, M. *Balaban, and I. *Schip̄er.

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[Gedalyah Elkoshi]

WAXMAN, AL (1936–2001), Canadian actor, director, teacher. Waxman was born in Toronto. His parents, immigrants from Poland, owned and operated a small restaurant in downtown Toronto. His mother continued in the food service industry after her husband died when Al was only nine years old. From his early teens Waxman wanted to be an actor and, by the time he was 17, he was performing in live CBC radio dramas. He gathered together enough money to study theater at New York's Playhouse Theater before moving to London in 1961 for further study. He struggled to find acting jobs in London and Hollywood and appeared in several films. His acting breakthrough came after his return to Toronto, where he was hired for a starring role in the sitcom *The King of Kensington*, a successful Canadian series that ran for five seasons. He added to his own celebrity as a regular character in the American television detective series *Cagney & Lacey*, which ran for 125 episodes beginning in 1981. Waxman never again lacked for work as an actor on televison, in films, or on stage. After a career that spanned more than 50 years, Waxman is regarded as a pioneer in Canadian theater, television, and film. He acted in, directed, produced, or wrote more than 1,000 radio, television, theater, and film productions. He also taught theater for 10 years at York University in Toronto. In the years before his death, Waxman was drawn to the stage. In 1997 he played the role of Willy Loman in the Stratford Festival production of *Death of a Salesman*. The year before his death, he directed a well-received production of *The Diary of Anne Frank*, and at the time of his death, Waxman was about to play Shylock in the Stratford production of *The Merchant of Venice*.

Waxman was honored with many awards and was active in many Jewish and larger community organizations. In 1997 he was named to the Order of Canada, the highest award Canada can bestow on a citizen.

[Joel Greenberg (2nd ed.)]

WAXMAN, MEYER (1887–1969), scholar of the history of Jewish literature and rabbi. Born in Slutzk, Russia, Waxman received a traditional yeshivah education. He emigrated to the United States in 1905 and studied at the Jewish Theological Seminary, where he was ordained as a rabbi in 1913. After serving for some years in rabbinical posts, he became principal of the Mizrachi Teachers Seminary (1917–21) and director of the Mizrachi Zionist organization (1921–24). In 1924 he joined the faculty of the Hebrew Theological College in Chicago, where he served as professor of Hebrew literature and philosophy until his retirement in 1955, also teaching at the College of Jewish Studies in Chicago. He moved to New York where he continued his literary and scholarly activities until his death. Waxman was an extremely prolific writer on the history of Jewish thought and literature, publishing hundreds of articles in Hebrew, Yiddish, and English. Many of his articles were collected in volumes of essays, *Ketavim Nivḥarim* (2 vols., 1943–44), *Galut u-Ge'ullah* (1952), and *Moreh ha-Dorot* (1963). He wrote studies in the history of Jewish philosophy, including the *Philosophy of Don Hasdai Crescas* (1920) and a translation, with introduction, of Moses Hess's *Rome and Jerusalem* (1945). Waxman's works, *A Handbook of Judaism* (1947) and *Judaism-Religion and Ethics* (1958), were widely used. His major work was *History of Jewish Literature* (4 vols., 1941; 5 vols., 1960^2), a comprehensive detailed account of the main trends in Jewish literature from the end of the biblical period until the present day. In this work Waxman summarizes and evaluates the works of Jewish literature in all fields. On the occasion of his 75th birthday a jubilee volume was published containing articles in English and Hebrew, *Meyer Waxman – Jubilee on the Occasion of his 75th Birthday* (ed., Judah Rosenthal, 1967), which includes an evaluation of Waxman's achievements by Chaim Rothblatt and a bibliography compiled by L. Mishkin.

[Seymour Siegel]

WAXMAN, MORDECAI (1917–2000), U.S. Conservative rabbi, interfaith activist. Waxman was born in Albany, N.Y., and received his B.A. from 1937. In 1941, he was ordained at the *Jewish Theological Seminary, which awarded him an honorary D.D. in 1968. After serving as rabbi of Temple Beth Israel in Niagara Falls, N.Y. (1941–42), he became founding rabbi of North Park Congregation Shaare Tikvah in Chicago, Illinois (1942–46), leaving the synagogue for two years during World War II to serve as a chaplain in the U.S. Army. In 1947, he was appointed rabbi of Temple Israel in Great Neck, Long Island, where he remained for 55 years, until his death. Under his leadership, Temple Israel grew from 100 member families to 1,300 families.

Waxman emerged as a leader in the Conservative movement after he edited and wrote the introduction to *Tradition and Change* (1958), the definitive anthology of writings on the views and philosophy of *Conservative Judaism. He became chairman of the Membership Committee of the *Rabbinical Assembly (1966–68) and subsequently editor of the journal *Conservative Judaism* (1969–74). He also chaired the RA's Committee on the Study and Reevaluation of the Community Service Program (1969–70) – a requirement that JTS graduates enter the military chaplaincy or a designated alternative equivalent that had become so unpopular during the Vietnam War that it was terminated. In 1974, Waxman was elected president of the Rabbinical Assembly, where he worked to strengthen RA representation in the World Council of Synagogues, the official representative of Conservative Judaism in the *World Zionist Organization. Seeking to establish Conservative Judaism in Israel, he pressed for greater coordination among the various Israel programs sponsored by the RA, the JTS, and United Synagogue. Also during his term of office, the RA approved the plan to publish a new commentary on the Torah for use in Conservative synagogues.

Following his term in office, Waxman became president of the Conservative movement's World Council of Synagogues (1980–85) as well as president of the Synagogue Council of America (1983–85). As president, and later as chairman of the National Council of Synagogues (1996–97), he participated in the annual assemblies on world Jewish affairs convened by the presidents of the state of Israel, as well as in the deliberations of The Hebrew University's Diaspora Institute headed by Moshe *Davis. He was also instrumental in obtaining the funding for the first headquarters of the United Synagogue of America in Jerusalem.

Waxman, who served as chairman of the International Jewish Committee for Interreligious Consultation (1985–87), was particularly active in Catholic-Jewish relations. In 1987, he led a delegation of Jewish leaders that met with Pope John Paul II at Castel Gondolfo to resolve the *Waldheim affair. Soon after, he spoke for American Jewry in welcoming the pope to the United States. For many years thereafter, Waxman and Cardinal William Keeler of Baltimore co-chaired an annual series of Catholic-Jewish dialogues. He helped draft the welcoming Jewish response to the Vatican document *We Remember: A Reflection on the Shoah* and worked to implement its mandate that Jews and Catholics sponsor joint educational programs on the Holocaust. His efforts were instrumental in bringing about the establishment of diplomatic relations between the Vatican and the State of Israel (1993). In 1997 he was awarded the Nostra Aetate Award, and in 1998 he became the first rabbi to be named by the pope a Knight Commander of the Order St. Gregory the Great.

Concerned about widening differences within the American Jewish community, Waxman joined with Reform, Orthodox, and Reconstructionist rabbis in the 1986 "Symposium for Unity" – a traveling panel that discussed Jewish issues from the perspectives of the four denominations. He was also a contributor to numerous publications, including the *Encyclopedia Judaica*. In recognition of his many contributions, he was named Rabbi of the Year in 1991 by the New York Board of Rabbis – the first rabbi to receive the $10,000 Finkle Prize that accompanies this designation. Other honors bestowed on him were the Lifetime Achievement Award from the Ziegler Rabbinic School of the University of Judaism (2001), and the Louis Finkelstein Award from the Jewish Theological Seminary of America (2002).

[Bezalel Gordon (2nd ed.)]

°**WAY, LEWIS** (1773–1840), British missionary. Way was educated at Eton and Oxford and became a barrister. At the age of 40, out of religious inclination, he became interested in Jews and Judaism and joined a British missionary society. He visited Jewish settlements in eastern Europe and came to the conclusion that the Jews should be granted civil rights and their economic situation improved, so that they would become attracted to Christianity. During his stay in Russia, Way heard about the interest of Czar *Alexander I in the conversion of Jews. In 1818, during the assembly of the heads of the European states (Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle (Aachen)), he submitted several memoranda to Alexander I and other participants in which he suggested granting Jews equal rights and access to public office, compulsory military service, apportionment of land for Jewish agricultural settlement, and encouragement of the settlers through exemption from taxes and granting of loans. He suggested compelling poor Jews to teach their sons a craft, the opening of educational institutions to Jews, and the establishment of elementary schools for Jewish children. On the other hand, Way proposed taking strong measures against those Jews engaged in nonproductive professions. Under the influence of Alexander I the participants at the conference adopted a favorable attitude to Way's memoranda, though without any practical results. The memoranda were published in 1819 under the title *Mémoire sur l'état des israélites dédiés a leurs Majestés Impériales et Royales réunies au congrès d'Aix-la-Chapelle*. It probably had a certain influence on Czar *Nicholas I and his government in determining their Jewish policy.

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[Yehuda Slutsky]

WAYNE AND SHUSTER, Canadian comedy team often regarded as the founding fathers of English Canadian TV comedy. FRANK SHUSTER (1916–2002) and JOHNNY WAYNE (John Louis Weingarten; 1918–1990) were both born in Toronto. Johnny Wayne, son of a successful clothing manufacturer, was raised in downtown Toronto, the eldest of seven children. Frank Shuster grew up in Niagara Falls, Ontario, where his father operated a local theater before returning to Toronto. The two first met in Toronto's legendary Harbord Collegiate, high school to many in Toronto's inner-city Jewish community. Wayne and Shuster each went on to complete a degree in English at the University of Toronto, where they also wrote, produced, and starred in a number of student variety shows. They worked briefly at CBC radio in the early 1940s before joining the Canadian infantry in 1942. In the military they wrote and performed for the Big Army Show, which entertained Canadian troops across Canada and, after the invasion of Europe, in the Netherlands, Belgium, and France. After the war, they returned to CBC, where they remained Canada's premier comedy team until Wayne's death in 1990. During their early years they wrote all their own material, but they later hired other writers to work with them. In general, their comedy was literate, middle-brow, and upbeat. They never resorted to cruel humor, preferring the send-up to the put-down.

Relentlessly loyal to Canada and the Canadian "voice," the comedy team resisted the temptation to relocate to the United States. But Wayne and Shuster's comedy became well known in the United States. They made a record-setting 67 appearances on *The Ed Sullivan Show.* After first appearing on the *The Ed Sullivan Show* in 1958, Sullivan was so enamored of the pair that he agreed to a one-year contract granting them complete freedom to decide on the length, frequency, content, sets, and supporting cast of all their sketches. They proved to be Sullivan's most popular act in 10 years of broadcasting. Edited versions of their many CBC television specials were also highly popular in American syndication, and Wayne and Shuster made frequent appearances on the BBC. The pair won numerous awards, including the illustrious Silver Rose of Montreux. In 1998 the Margaret Collier Award paid tribute to the duo's routines at the Gemini Awards, and twice TV critics and editors in the United States chose Wayne and Shuster as the best comedy team in North America. In 1999, their names became part of the Canadian Walk of Fame in Toronto. A year later, the duo was also among the first six inductees into the Canadian Comedy Hall of Fame.

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[Joel Greenberg (2nd ed.)]

WAŻYK (Wagman), ADAM (1905–1982), Polish poet and novelist. A member of the *Awangarda* group, he published poems and prose and coedited the "New Art" *Almanach Nowej Sztuki* (1924–25). After World War II, Ważyk coedited *Kuźnica* and *Twórczość* and wrote many verse collections, plays, novels, and essays. His *Poemat dla dorosłych* ("Poem for Adults," 1956) heralded Poland's anti-Stalinist campaign.

WDOWINSKI, DAVID (1895–1970), participant in the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising and founder of the Zydowski Zwiazek Wojskowy (ZZW; Jewish Military Union). Born in Bedzin, Wdowinski studied psychiatry at the universities of Vienna, Brno, and Warsaw. He became very involved in the Zionist Revisionist movement. Whereas many Jewish leaders fled in the wake of the German invasion of Poland, Wdowinski remained in Warsaw and was very active in underground activities in the ghetto. In particular he was the Revisionist representative in the Zydowski Towarzystwo Opieki Spolecznej (Jewish Mutual Aid Society), which engaged in welfare work. Around the time the great deportation was drawing to a close, and nearly 265,000 Jews had been deported to Treblinka, the ZZW was formed by Wdowinski, Dr. Michael Strykowski, and Leon (Arie) Rodal. Pawl Frankiel, of Betar, was made the military commander of the organization and Wdowinski apparently set its political tone. The ZZW never integrated into the main underground fighting organization in Warsaw, the Zydowska Organizacja Bojowa (The Jewish Fighting Organization), but the two groups did coordinate their activities to a certain extent during the spring of 1943. The ZZW did not participate in the first armed clash in the ghetto, in January 1943. During the April uprising its fighters fought fiercely near Muranowska Square, in one of the major battles of the rebellion. Other ZZW men fought in the Brushmakers' area of the ghetto, and still others in the area where supplies were kept. Wdowinski was captured by the Germans during the uprising and was sent to various concentration camps but survived. He settled in the United States after the war and in 1961 was a witness at the Eichmann Trial. He published his memoirs, *And We Are Not Saved* (1963).

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[Robert Rozette]

WEBB, JACK (1920–1982), U.S. actor, director, producer. Born Jack Randolph Webb in Santa Monica, California, Webb graduated from Belmont High School, and served in the Air Force from 1942 to 1945. Webb began his entertainment career as a radio announcer in San Francisco, followed by roles in the radio dramas *Pat Novak for Hire* (1946) and *Johnny Modero* (1947). He married actress Julie London (née Julie Peck) in July 1947, but they divorced in 1953. Webb made his feature film debut in *He Walked by Night* (1948), followed by roles in such films as *Sword in the Desert* (1949), *The Men* (1950), and *Sunset Boulevard* (1950). In 1949, he created the radio drama *Dragnet*, which was the first series based on actual police files. While the show moved to television in 1951, he continued to produce the radio version until 1955. Webb played the cool, emotionless Sgt. Joe Friday throughout the series' incarnations, including the highly rated television runs from 1951 to 1959 and 1967 to 1970, as well as the 1954 feature film. Webb began directing and starring in his own films, *Pete Kelly's Blues* (1955), *The D.I.* (1957), and *-30-* (1959). In 1958, he published a book about the Los Angeles Police Department, *The Badge: True and Terrifying Crime Stories That Could Not Be Presented on TV*. Webb followed up his success on *Dragnet* by producing such television dramas as *Adam 12* (1968–70), *The D.A.* (1971), *Emergency!* (1971–75), and *Project Blue Book* (1978). In respect for the man who became so closely associated with the department, the LAPD lowered its flags for Webb when he died, an honor traditionally reserved for fallen police officers and government officials.

[Adam Wills (2nd ed.)]

WEBER, KOLOMAN (d. 1931), Czechoslovakian Orthodox rabbi. Weber attended yeshivot in Pressburg (*Bratislava), where he received *semikhah*. He served first as rabbi of Rete but made his name as rabbi of *Piestany, Slovakia, where he remained for 29 years, waging a bitter battle against *Neologists and *Zionists. After World War I, Weber was instrumental in organizing the autonomous Orthodox *Zentralkanzlei* of Jewish communities in Slovakia, which he headed autocratically for 12 years. In March 1926, Emil *Margulies accused Weber in the *Selbstwehr* of expropriating for his own use large sums from the American Jews' Central Relief Committee, and Weber took legal action against him. In the course of the trial it came out that Weber and Rabbi Simon Hirschler had received 100,000 crowns in order to split the Jewish vote in Subcarpathian Ruthenia by creating a "Jewish Economic Party," thus keeping the Zidovska strana (the "Jewish Party") out of parliament and benefitting the ruling Agrarian party. Although he lost his suit, neither his power nor combativeness suffered. He died a few years later in an accident.

[Henry Wasserman]

WEBER, MAX (1881–1961), U.S. painter. Weber was born in Bialystok, Poland, and taken to New York at the age of ten. From 1905 to 1909 he worked and exhibited in Paris. He was a pupil of Henri Matisse and a close friend of Henri Rousseau. Back in New York, he arranged the first American Rousseau exhibition. Weber's work, highly controversial and often attacked by critics, was shown at avant-garde galleries but was unappreciated for many years. The artist had to support himself and his family by teaching, mainly at the Art Students League. His breakthrough finally came in 1948 with a comprehensive retrospective exhibition at the Whitney Museum of American Art, New York. In the years to follow, he received many prizes and awards and in 1955 was elected member of the National Institute of Arts and Letters.

His compositions grew bolder, more abstract, but without severing completely the link to nature. In sensuous, rich colors, geometrical patterns, they seemed to catch the dynamism of the metropolis. His subject matter included somber and melancholy landscapes with trees; well-arranged still lifes; plump and unseductive, yet disturbing, nudes; musicians; sweating workmen; and Orthodox Jews. Weber frequently stressed the dynamism of Jewish groups in action, using their eloquent hands to underline an argument, or dancing ecstatically in the *shul*. He was also a distinguished sculptor, whose three-dimensional work veers toward the abstract. He published *Cubist Poems* (1914), and *Essays on Art* (1916).

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[Alfred Werner]

WECHSLER, DAVID (1896–1981), U.S. psychologist. Born in Lespedi, Romania, he was taken to the United States in 1902. He was chief psychologist, Bellevue Psychiatric Hospital (1932–66). He was also clinical professor of the NYU College of Medicine (1942). He was the originator of several widely used intelligence tests. Wechsler's greatest contribution was in the field of mental measurement. He demonstrated that there is a change and a differential decline with age in human abilities. His intelligence tests are based upon the concept of intelligence as being much more than the sheer ability to reason, deal with symbols, abstract, and conceptualize. He stressed that there were also volitional and non-intellective factors in intelligence. Thus his tests combining verbal and performance items were based on a non-hierarchical concept of intelligence, and the IQ was derived from the average of tested abilities in which equal credit was apportioned to subtests measuring abstract as well as concrete tasks. WAIS or Wechsler Adult Intelligence Scale was prepared in such a way as to underemphasize speed of response and present items of interest to most adults. The use of his scales made it possible to make quantitative as well as qualitative observations of behavior and thought processes, and permitted, through pattern analysis, a diagnostic approach to intellectual deficiencies, organic brain disorders, schizophrenia, etc. These tests were adapted for use in many countries, and hundreds of publications describing and discussing them have appeared in almost all languages.

He was the author of articles and of books on adult intelligence: *The Measurement of Emotional Reactions* (1925, includes bibl.); *Wechsler-Bellevue Intelligence Scale* (1939); *Wechsler Intelligence Scale for Children* (1949); *The Range of Human Capacities* (1955^2); *Wechsler Adult Intelligence Scale* (1955); *The Measurement and Appraisal of Adult Intelligence* (1958^4); and *Wechsler Pre-school and Primary Scale of Intelligence* (1968).

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[Boris M. Levinson]

WECHSLER, ELINA (1952–), Argentinean poet. Born in Buenos Aires, she was a psychoanalyst by profession. She left Argentina in 1977 as a consequence of the military dictatorship that unleashed extreme political repression and violence and took up residence in Madrid. Wechsler was the author of four collections of poetry: *El fantasma* (1983), *La larga marcha* (1988), *Mitomanías amorosas* (1991), and *Progresiones en un cierto mes de julio* (1995). Her poetry is characterized by her questioning approach, most likely influenced by her training in psychology. Her early volumes are linked rather directly to her exile and the political repercussions she suffered in her personal life as a result. Likewise, her writing focuses on issues of identity that specifically deal with being a woman and Jewish. She often seeks to examine these aspects of her identity through the lyrical treatment of such female figures as Lilith, Eve, and Lot's wife. She is also the co-author of *La metáfora milenaria: una lectura psicoanalítica de la Biblia* (1993), an insightful reading of the Bible that has much in common with many of the questions she raises in her poetry.

[Darrell B. Lockhart (2nd ed.)]

WECHSLER, HERBERT (1909–2000), U.S. legal scholar. Wechsler was born in New York City and graduated from Columbia University Law School in 1931. A member of the Columbia Law School faculty from 1933 until 1978, he was at the time of his death the Harlan Fiske Stone Professor of Constitutional Law Emeritus. Wechsler specialized in criminal and constitutional law, and in the practice of law. During his career he served as law secretary to Supreme Court Justice Harlan F. Stone and as counsel to Senator Robert F. Wagner, when the latter was minority leader in the N.Y. State constitutional convention of 1938. During World War II he was assistant attorney general in charge of the war division of the U.S. Department of Justice. Wechsler participated in the establishment of the International Military Tribunal at Nuremberg in 1945, and then served as principal technical adviser to the U.S. judges in the Nuremberg war-crime trials. During 1941–45 he also served by appointment of the U.S. Supreme Court on the committee that drafted the federal rules of criminal procedure and on that court's advisory committee to revise its rules of practice. He was a member of the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice, which reported in 1967.

In 1952 Wechsler was appointed chief reporter in the preparation of the model penal code, which was approved by the American Law Institute (ALI) in 1962. He became director of the institute and also chairman of the permanent editorial board for the Uniform Commercial Code. From 1961 he was a member of the temporary commission of the New York State Legislature to draft a revision of the state's penal law and code of criminal procedure. Wechsler appeared as counsel in many important cases before the U.S. Supreme Court. He served as director of the ALI from 1963 to 1984, after which he became director emeritus. In 1993 he was awarded the Institute's Henry J. Friendly Medal for his "outstanding achievement in promoting reform and clarification of the law" and for the extent to which his "outstanding intelligence, integrity, and devotion to the law enriched the areas of constitutional law, criminal law, and federal jurisdiction."

He wrote *Principles, Politics, and Fundamental Law* (1961), *Criminal Law and its Administration* (with Jerome Michael, 1940), *Federal Courts and the Federal System* (with Henry M. Hart, Jr., 1953), *The Nationalization of Civil Liberties and Civil Rights* (1968), and many articles in professional periodicals. Wechsler believed that "the main constituent of the judicial process is precisely that it must be genuinely principled, resting with respect to every step that is involved in reaching judgment on analysis and reasons quite transcending the immediate result that is achieved." Thus judicial review, if it is to be faithful to its function or its authorization, must operate in accordance with what Wechsler styles "neutral principles."

[Julius J. Marcke / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

WECHSLER, ISRAEL (**Spanier**; 1886–1962), U.S. neurologist, born in Lespedi, Romania. He was taken to the U.S. at an early age and educated in New York. He taught at Columbia University (professor of clinical neurology, 1931) and served as consulting neurologist at various New York hospitals. He was president of the American Neurological Association (1958). He was a member of the Board of Governors of The Hebrew University of Jerusalem from 1930 and president of the American Friends of The Hebrew University.

Wechsler made special studies on various aspects of epilepsy. He recommended the use of ephedrine in the treatment of autonomic epilepsy and paraldehyde intravenously for status epilepticus. He also did research on Vitamin E in amyotrophic lateral sclerosis. He is the author of *Textbook of Clinical Neurology* (1927, 1958^8) and *The Neurologist's Point of View: Essays on Psychiatric and Other Subjects* (1945).

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[Suessmann Muntner]

WECHSLER, JAMES ARTHUR (1915–1983), U.S. editor and author. Born in New York, Wechsler graduated from Columbia University in 1935. In his early years Wechsler wrote for the *Student Advocate, The Nation*, and the New York liberal daily, *P.M.*, where he served as assistant editor and Washington bureau chief. In 1946 he joined the staff of the *New York Post* as Washington correspondent. He was particularly concerned with civil liberties and labor relations. In 1948 he was appointed editor of the *Post*. Under his editorship the paper assumed the role of crusader, taking on such issues and public figures as J. Edgar Hoover, Senator Joseph McCarthy, Richard Nixon's slush fund, and the mass evictions incurred by Robert Moses' slum clearance program. He served as editor until 1961, when the reins were turned over to executive editor Paul Sann, and Wechsler became a columnist and chief of the editorial page.

Wechsler's books include *Revolt on the Campus* (1935); *Labor Baron* (1944); *The Age of Suspicion* (1953); *Reflections of an Angry Middle-Aged Editor* (1960); and *In a Darkness* (1972).

[Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

WECHSLER, JUDAH (1832–1907) U.S. Reform rabbi, journalist, interfaith and civil rights activist. Wechsler was born in Bavaria and studied at the yeshivah of Würzburg, where he was ordained an Orthodox rabbi. Arriving in the United States in 1857, he served the Jewish community of Portsmouth, Ohio, as **ḥazzan* and **shoḥet,* before becoming rabbi of the Reform Indianapolis Hebrew Congregation in Indianapolis, Indiana (1861–64). A pioneer in conducting interfaith services, he was the first rabbi to preach in the city's Methodist church. When the congregation was having financial difficulties, Wechsler took the pulpit of a congregation in Richmond, Virginia (1864–67), returning to Indianapolis in 1867. In 1869, he served a congregation in Columbus, Ohio, moving to New Haven, Connecticut, in 1872, and then to Temple Mt. Zion in St. Paul, Minnesota (1882–92). His final pulpit was in Meridian, Mississippi (1892–97); in retirement, he moved back to Indianapolis, where he remained until his death.

In St. Paul, Wechsler – who was a member of the *Central Conference of American Rabbis from its founding in 1889 – strove to bring his temple into the *Union of American Hebrew Congregations and the mainstream of Reform Judaism. He also became the patron of a utopian-style colony in Painted Woods, South Dakota, populated by immigrants fleeing czarist Russia. The colony grew to nearly 250 people; but when it ultimately failed, Wechsler moved on to another tremendous challenge in Meridian, Mississippi, where he took a courageous stand on behalf of improving the education and status of African-Americans. He was so instrumental in the building of a high school for blacks that the school bears his name.

In 1884, Wechsler traveled to the West Coast and chronicled his visits to Jewish communities in Portland and San Francisco. He was a regular contributor to the **American Israelite* and the *Jewish Messenger,* and his articles were frequently translated into Hebrew for publication in the European Jewish press.

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[Bezalel Gordon (2nd ed.)]

WECHSLER, MAX (pseudonyms: **Germanicus**; **I.H. Văleanu**; **Ieșau**; 1870–1917), Marxist theoretician and leading member of the general and Jewish socialist movement in Romania. In the 1890s he was among the founders of the first independent Jewish socialist society, which was formed in *Jassy under the name of *Lumina. Wechsler fought against the refusal of the Romanian Social-Democratic Party to conduct a special campaign for the emancipation of the Jews. He was among the signatories to the memorandum of the society to the Fourth Congress of the Second International in London (1896). Wechsler was one of the editors of the society's organs in Romanian (*Lumina*) and Yiddish (*Der Veker*). He rejected the demand for assimilation and conversion as a condition for the civic emancipation of the Jews. After the establishment of the new Social-Democratic Party, a few years before World War I, Wechsler joined its ranks. In May 1917 he was accused by revolutionary soldiers of complicity in the liberation of the party's leader, his friend Christian Rakovski (the future president of Soviet Ukraine). He was imprisoned by the Romanian military authorities and put to death.

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[Moshe Mishkinsky]

°WEDGWOOD, JOSIAH CLEMENT, FIRST BARON (1872–1943), British statesman and supporter of Zionism. Wedgwood was a member of the famous pottery family and was educated at Clifton College. He first worked as a naval architect and a military officer. He was a member of Parliament from 1906 to 1942, when he received the title baron; until 1919 he was a member of the Liberal Party, and from then on a member of the Labour Party. While serving on the Gallipoli front as an artillery officer in 1915, Wedgwood met the men of the Zion Mule Corps, commanded by Joseph *Trumpeldor, and from then on took an active interest in Zionism. He participated in the political efforts which led to the *Balfour Declaration in 1917 and was among those who influenced President Wilson's delegate at the Versailles Peace Conference, Colonel House, to take a sympathetic stand toward Zionism. Between the two world wars, he visited several countries on Zionist missions and made two visits to Palestine in 1926 and in 1934. Wedgwood envisaged a Jewish state on both sides of the Jordan that would be a member of the British Commonwealth. He was among the founders of the "League for the Seventh Dominion" and in 1928 published *The Seventh Dominion*, a work on this subject. He realized at an early stage that the British government would abandon its pro-Zionist policy and concluded that the Jews must fight the British administration with all the means at their disposal – including illegal ones. He was close to V. *Jabotinsky and the *Revisionist movement and often voiced criticism of the Zionist and *yishuv* leadership for their loyalty to the British authorities. He even drew up a plan for war against the Mandatory government that provided, inter alia, for "illegal" *immigration and for armed resistance to repressive acts perpetrated against the Jews by the British authorities. On the outbreak of World War II, Wedgwood called for the establishment of a Jewish fighting force within the framework of the British army.

Wedgwood published a number of books, including *Testament to Democracy* (1943), *Forever Freedom* (with A. Nevins, 1940), and *Palestine: The Fight for Jewish Freedom and Honor* (1926), a collection of speeches made in America. One of the leading gentile pro-Zionists of his time, he wrote an autobiography, *Memoirs of a Fighting Life* (1940). Dame C.V. Wedgwood (1910–1997), the famous historian, was his niece.

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WEEDS. Israel abounds in species of weeds, the climatic and soil conditions causing the speedy proliferation of both cultivated plants and weeds. Many of them are *thorns. The prophets frequently warned that because of sin, misfortunes would befall Israel's agriculture and the land would produce weeds in place of cultivated plants. Isaiah in particular warns against the transformation of the sown and planted area into *shamir* and *shayit* ("briars and thorns"), a general term for all the species of weeds that flourish among cultivated crops. These weeds start as annual plants, then lowly shrubs grow, and finally the field turns into a forest (cf. Isa. 7). Normally weeds grow in fields of grain in Israel, the most conspicuous being *tares, species of *mustard, Scolymus thistle (*ḥo'aḥ*), and *Ridolfia segetum* (*boshah*, "noisome weeds"). Job (31:40) swears that if he has indeed sinned, then let him be cursed, "Let *ḥo'aḥ* grow instead of wheat, and *boshah* instead of barley." The *amora* Oshaiah observes that it can be deduced from this verse "that a field that produces *ḥoḥim* is good for wheat, while a field that produces *boshah* is good for barley" (Tanḥ. B. Deut. 25), showing that these weeds are indications to cultivate plants.

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[Jehuda Feliks]

WEEGEE (1899–1968), U.S. photographer. Born Usher Fellig in what is now the Ukraine, Weegee went to the United States, where he was renamed Arthur, as a boy. He was the second of seven children of Jewish parents who fled antisemitic pogroms spreading throughout the Russian *Pale of Settlement. Weegee became the ultimate crime-news photographer in a newspaper career that ran from 1935 to 1946.

Weegee attended local public school on the Lower East Side up to seventh grade. At 15 he left home and earned his living selling candy to factory workers and working in restaurants. He became an assistant to a photographer, loading glass-plate holders and magnesium flash power. For a time he accompanied silent films on the violin, and he later wrote that he loved playing on the audience's emotions. One critic said he simply switched instruments. After years on the fringes of photography as a street portraitist, darkroom assistant, printer, and technician, he set out as a freelancer, hanging out at Manhattan police headquarters, waiting to fill the needs of picture-hungry tabloids and magazines. He specialized in the night shift, from 10 P.M. to 5 A.M. He lived in a rundown room near a police station and woke up as night fell. He was the first photographer given a permit to install a short-wave radio for police and fire calls in his car, and he had a small darkroom in his trunk. He was usually the first to arrive at a murder scene, a fire, an arrest, or a rescue. Gangland killings became a trademark, but he had remarkable range, from the homeless, to strivers, to freaks, politicians, and celebrities to tender shots of people afflicted or uplifted by everyday life. He exposed the faces of accident victims, survivors, and helpless sufferers. In one famous image, two women watching relatives burn to death in a fire are convulsed with grief and horror. In his book *Naked City,* Weegee said he cried when he took the picture. A critic said he combined "instincts of a bloodhound, a Peeping Tom, a showman and a human-interest editor." Weegee himself said, "Crime was my oyster, and I like it, my postgraduate course in life and photography."

Weegee used infrared film to register in the dark or low light to catch lovers in the movies and on the beach at night. His artless, mostly unposed, shots not only made him famous but also inspired a generation of younger photographers, from Diane *Arbus to Andy Warhol. One of Weegee's more famous photographs, "The Critic," of 1943, shows two elegantly clad women, furred and jeweled, sweeping grandly past a shabby, angry-looking bystander as they arrive at the opera. The truth, as Weegee revealed in his 1947 book, *Weegee's World*, is that he asked an assistant to ply the "bystander," a regular at bars on the Bowery, with cheap wine and then pose her near the curb as the socialites emerged from their limousines. Disheveled and barely able to stand up, she stared drunkenly at the women as Weegee's flashbulbs popped.

His only steady affiliation, with the newspaper *PM*, lasted 4½ years, beginning in 1940. Some of his most important work appeared in *PM*. After the publication of *Naked City,* Weegee went to Hollywood, where he served as a consultant on the film made from his book and played some minor film roles. He was the set photographer and technical consultant for Stanley *Kubrick's antiwar classic *Dr. Strangelove* (1963). Kubrick originally ended the film with a pie fight in the war room. He didn't like that ending, so he destroyed the negative and replaced it with the final wild cowboy ride on a nuclear bomb. The only record of the pie-fight sequence is Weegee's photographs.

No one is sure where he got the name Weegee, which he adopted in 1938. Some said it came from his job as a "squeegee boy," removing excess water from prints before they were put in darkroom dryers. Others suggested that it reflected a craze in the 1930s for the supposedly clairvoyant Ouija board, whose fanciful border was illustrated by fictional characters, one of whom resembled the photographer. Weegee himself said the name reflected his own clairvoyance at sensing photo opportunities, but his statements were not always trustworthy. Later he elaborated the name to Weegee the Famous.

[Stewart Kampel (2nd ed.)]

WEGROW (Pol. **Węgrów**; in Jewish documents: **Vengrove**), town in Warszawa province, E. Poland. Jews settled there at the beginning of the 16th century, when it was under Lithuanian rule. They engaged in trading both locally and abroad, and in tax farming. An organized community was established soon after the middle of the 16th century. After the town was incorporated within the kingdom of Poland in 1569, the community developed rapidly to achieve a leading position among the communities of the region. The owner of the town, Jan Kazimierz Kraniński, in an attempt to attract new Jewish settlers, granted the community in 1655 a privilege confirming its right of judicial autonomy, freedom to engage in trade and crafts, and exemption from municipal taxes. It imposed on the Jews an annual tax of two zlotys per household, and a one-time payment of six zlotys by new families as a domiciliary fee. At the beginning of the 17th century the Wegrow community had jurisdiction over the communities of Ciechanowiec, *Sokolow, and later Miedzyrzec *Podlaski and others. After a prolonged struggle against the *kahal* of *Tykocin, the Wegrow *kahal* obtained official representation at the *Council of Four Lands, and from the 1660s headed the independent *galil* (province) of Wegrow, which survived until 1764. In 1715 the Ciechanowiec community broke free of the authority of Wegrow, to be followed by Miedzyrzec in 1753. In 1765 there were 3,623 poll-tax payers under the community's jurisdiction, of whom 581 lived in the town. In 1764 the Wegrow community was the sixth largest in the Polish kingdom. Up to 1788 the Jewish community of the Praga suburb of Warsaw was affiliated to that of Wegrow as regards the payment of the poll tax.

In the second half of the 18th century Jews of the town traded in cattle, participated in the fairs of Breslau, Berlin, and Koenigsberg, and were occupied as tailors, weavers, furriers, bakers, and carters. The Jewish artisans were mostly organized in independent guilds. The *pinkas* of the *dayyanim* of Wegrow for 1781 to 1814 (now in the National and University Library in Jerusalem) provides an important source for the social and economic life of the community. In the 1790s Jewish entrepreneurs established workshops for wool weaving and tanning, and wealthy merchants were purveyors to the Polish and Russian armies. In 1794 a branch of the Hebrew printing press of *Nowy Dwor, founded by J.A. Krieger, printed books in Wegrow, including *Josippon.

In 1815 Wegrow was incorporated within Congress Poland. The community numbered 1,463 (48% of the town's population) in 1827; 2,343 (61%) in 1857; and 5,150 (62%) in 1897. From the 1870s many Jews took up occupations as jewelers, manufacturers of luxury goods and ritual articles, and engaged in transportation. At the beginning of the 20th century many Jews in Wegrow were occupied in the knitting and tanning industries. The *Bund gained considerable influence among the local workers in 1905.

In 1918 the *Po'alei Zion established Bet Borochov; later Tarbut, Central Yiddish School Organization (CYSHO), Yavneh, and Beth Jacob schools were established. In Orthodox circles the Gur (*Gora Kalwaria) Ḥasidim became influential. The Jewish population numbered 5,227 (55%) in 1931.

[Arthur Cygielman]

Holocaust Period

At the outbreak of World War II there were about 6,000 Jews in Wegrow. Immediately after the German army entered the town, attacks were made on the Jewish population, and on Sept. 23, 1939 (the Day of Atonement), the rabbi of Wegrow, Mendel Morgenstern, was tortured to death. During 1940 about 1,500 Jews from other parts of Poland were forced to settle in Wegrow, and the number of Jews there had grown to about 7,500 by the beginning of 1942. On Sept. 22, 1942, several thousand Jews from Wegrow and the vicinity were transferred to the *Treblinka death camp, where they perished. However, the majority of the Jewish population had managed to escape to the surrounding forests the previous day. Almost all of them were eventually caught and shot by German armed units who searched them out. The last 100 Jews, who had remained in a local forced-labor camp, were executed on May 1, 1943.

The community was not reconstituted after the war.

[Stefan Krakowski]

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WEICHERT, MICHAEL (1890–1967), Yiddish theatrical producer, who worked in the Warsaw ghetto during World War II. Born in Galicia, Weichert studied drama in Vienna, and in Berlin under Max *Reinhardt. After World War I he returned to Poland and joined the *Vilna Troupe, which by then had moved to Warsaw. Among his productions for them was his dramatization of Sholem *Asch's *Kiddush ha-Shem* (1928). He also helped to run a Yiddish drama school, and when the Vilna Troupe broke up continued to work as teacher and producer, introducing Jewish audiences to modern social drama. When the Germans invaded Poland in World War II, Weichert accompanied the Jewish masses into the Warsaw ghetto and played an important part in organizing Jewish life while this was still possible. He left an account of his work there in *Yidishe Aleynhilf 1939–1945* ("Jewish Self-Help"), a two-volume work published in 1962. He survived the Holocaust, and in 1957 went to Israel, where he wrote his memoirs in three volumes (*Zikhroynes*, 1960–63).

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[Joseph Leftwich]

WEICHMANN, HERBERT (1896–1983), German politician. The son of a doctor in Silesia, Weichmann became an official in the Weimar government. He was a provincial judge from 1926 to 1927 and from 1927 to 1933 held a number of important governmental posts. With the advent of the Hitler regime, Weichmann left Germany for France, Spain, and finally the United States, where he became a university lecturer. In 1948 Weichmann returned to Germany. At the invitation of the burgomaster of Hamburg he joined the city's administration. He held high positions and was himself eventually elected burgomaster (1965–71). In 1965 Weichmann entered the Bundesrat (the Federal Upper House) as a Social Democrat and became its president. In this capacity, he was acting president of federal Germany in the absence of the president from the country. Weichmann, whose family was killed by the Nazis, regularly attended synagogue services and emphasized his Jewishness at every opportunity. He always rejected the frequent suggestion that he be considered for the presidency of the Federal Republic because he felt that, as Jew, he would be a burden on relations with the Arab world.

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[Monika Halbinger (2nd ed.)]

WEIDENFELD, (Arthur) GEORGE, Baron (1919–), British publisher. Weidenfeld was born in Vienna. Following the Anschluss in 1938, he immigrated to Great Britain and joined the BBC where he worked in overseas intelligence and as a commentator on European affairs. Weidenfeld was a lecturer at Chatham House and in 1945 founded *Contact*, a journal of contemporary affairs and the arts. In 1948, together with Nigel Nicolson, he set up Weidenfeld and Nicolson, a large British publishing house, whose program is divided equally between general literature, academic books, and art and illustrated productions, and publishes the works of many Israeli scholars. In 1969 a subsidiary company was established in Jerusalem.

Weidenfeld was political adviser to President Chaim *Weizmann from 1949 to 1950, and his close association with Israel dates from that period. He was later chairman of the Board of Governors of Ben-Gurion University of the Negev and a member of the Board of Governors of the Weizmann Institute of Science. In 1969 Weidenfeld was knighted and in 1976 given a life peerage. Weidenfeld was one of the best known and most successful of postwar British publishers and produced many works of Jewish interest by a range of Jewish notables, among them Moshe *Dayan, Dr. Henry *Kissinger, Golda *Meir, and Sir Martin *Gilbert. He was the author of an autobiography, *Remembering My Good Friends*, in 1994.

[Asher Weill]

WEIDENREICH, FRANZ (1873–1948), German anatomist, physical anthropologist, and paleontologist. Born in the Palatinate, Weidenreich taught anatomy at Strasbourg from 1899 to 1918 and at Heidelberg from 1921 to 1924. In 1928 he was appointed professor of anthropology at Frankfurt University. In 1935, during the Nazi regime, he left Germany and took a position at Union Medical College in Peking (Beijing), China. He settled in the United States in 1940, and from 1941 until his death was affiliated with the Museum of Natural History in New York City. A leading scholar of human evolution and morphology, Weidenreich became internationally known for his studies of *Homo Sinanthropus*, the human fossil remains discovered in China in 1927 of which he gave the first description in 1943. He also investigated the later *Homo Sapiens* group found at Chou Kou Tien in north China, Neanderthal skeletons from Europe and Central Asia and, together with the Dutch paleontologist Gustav Koenigswald, the remains of *Pithecanthropus, Maganthropus* and *Paleojavinicus* from Java.

Among the problems dealt with by Weidenreich in his articles were the relation of erect posture to the evolution of the foot, hand, pelvis, and skull, and the influence of the expansion of the brain on human development. His shorter anthropological papers written from 1939 to his death were published in 1949 (Eng.; ed. by S.L. Washburn and D. Wolffson).

[Ephraim Fischoff]

WEIDER, BEN (1924–), Canadian businessman, physical fitness enthusiast, and Napoleon scholar. Weider was born into a working-class Montreal family. After serving in the Canadian military during World War II, and with only an elementary school education, he joined his brother Joe, who was publishing a bodybuilding magazine. Together the brothers expanded into the manufacture and sale of bodybuilding equipment. Their business now includes the manufacture of nutritional food and health supplements. Though Joe eventually moved to the United States, while Ben stayed in Canada, their holdings have become a sport, physical fitness, and bodybuilding empire. Two Weider companies, Weider Sports Equipment and Weider Health and Fitness, are estimated by some industry analysts to control as much as 25 percent of the worldwide health and fitness market.

To generate interest in bodybuilding and bring recognized standards to international weightlifting, in 1946 Ben Weider established the International Federation of Bodybuilders (IFBB). It has since become the world's oldest organization for bodybuilders and fitness competitors, active in over 170 countries. As the president of the IFBB, Weider worked to have bodybuilding and the IFBB recognized on the world sports stage. In 1998 the International Olympic Committee granted the IFBB official recognition as the international governing body of weightlifting.

From his home in Montreal, Weider was active in the Montreal and Canadian Jewish communities and an advocate of building political, ethnic, and religious understanding through sports and physical fitness. His efforts have been widely recognized in Canada and abroad. The Montreal YMHA is named in his honor. He was also granted several honorary degrees and the Order of Canada, the nation's highest citizen award.

Weider is also an acknowledged Napoleon scholar and served as president of the International Napoleonic Society. He is credited with groundbreaking research on the French emperor. He published several books on Napoleon, including *The Murder of Napoleon*, which was translated into 39 languages and sold over a million copies.

[Avi Hyman and Brenda Cappe (2nd ed.)]

WEIDMAN, HIRAM ((**Chaim**) **Leib**; 1862–1933) and **MORDECAI S.** (1864–1952), businessmen and Winnipeg communal leaders. Born in Orla near Bialystok in Russian Poland, the brothers moved to Winnipeg in 1882, where they lived for two years, and then worked on farms in the Jewish agricultural colony of New Jerusalem in present-day Saskatchewan. They returned to Winnipeg in 1887, when Hiram opened a grocery and jewelry business and Mordecai ran a fruit store. Both brothers branched out into other areas of retail, but their most enduring business began in 1909 when together they opened a wholesale grocery business, with Hiram as president and Mordecai as vice president.

Hiram and Mordecai shared strong anti-socialist sentiments, and were both opponents of the Winnipeg General Strike of 1919. But there were also some political differences between the brothers. An advocate of free trade, Hiram supported the Liberal Party and was a founder of the Hebrew Liberal Club in 1908. Mordecai, in contrast, supported the Conservative Party. He helped organized Jewish support in Winnipeg for the Conservatives, and in 1908 was chosen as one of three vice presidents of the Hebrew Conservative Club of Winnipeg. In 1910 he was elected to the executive committee of the Hebrew Conservative Association. Although an ardent Conservative, that same year Mordecai voted for Solomon Hart Green, a Liberal who became the first Jew elected to the Legislative Assembly of Manitoba.

Both men were active in communal affairs, together founding the Shaarey Zedek Synagogue in 1889, with Hiram serving as synagogue president from 1920 to 1921. They were both strong supporters of Jewish education, and together were founders of a Hebrew literary society. Hiram also was a moving force behind the establishment of a *talmud torah*. Both were committed Zionists: Hiram was a founder of Winnipeg's Zionist society in 1898, and helped found the Federation of Canadian Zionist Societies a year later. In response to the 1903 Kishinev pogrom, Hiram spearheaded the formation of a committee to raise relief funds. In 1923, Hiram and Mordecai traveled to Poland, where they made donations to Jewish institutions and charities, and from there to Palestine, where their parents had immigrated in 1904. The brothers deeded the Jerusalem home of their parents to a Jewish maternal aid society, and donated money towards the home's upkeep.

In the 1920s, even as a new generation of Weidmans moved into the family business, Hiram and Mordecai retained their positions in the family firm, and continued to do so until they died. At the time of his death, Mordecai was one of the last of the Russian Jewish immigrants to Winnipeg.

[Henry Trachtenberg (2nd ed.)]

WEIDMAN, JEROME (1913–1998), U.S. novelist. Born in New York City, Weidman obtained first-hand knowledge of the Jewish garment industry while working his way through college. In his first novel, *I Can Get It for You Wholesale* (1937), later made into a musical, he described the rise of an unscrupulous go-getter in the dress trade. His second novel, *What's in It for Me?* (1938), which had a similar setting, aroused a storm of protest because of its unpleasant portrayals of Jewish characters. During World War II, Weidman worked for the Office of War Information and there found material for his satire on war propaganda, *Too Early to Tell* (1946). In his novel, *The Enemy Camp* (1958), Weidman analyzes relations between Jews and non-Jews on the basis of his own experiences as a young man. The short stories of *My Father Sits in the Dark* (1961) contain nostalgic glimpses of East Side Jews. Weidman's style is restless, naturalistic, and colored with slang and satiric overtones. In his portrayal of Jewish types, he takes his place beside other Jewish writers of his age group such as Budd *Schulberg, Norman Katkov, and Albert *Halper, but was less unkind than some of his contemporaries. Hedonistic in his attitude, Weidman remained generally aloof from the strivings of the Jews of his generation. Weidman also wrote the book for a musical, *Fiorello* (1959), which was awarded a Pulitzer Prize. Later works included *Back Talk*, essays (1963), a short story collection entitled *The Death of Dickie Draper and Nine Other Stories* (1965), *Fourth Street East: A Novel of How It Was* (1970), and the autobiography *Praying for Rain*.

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[Sol Liptzin]

WEIDNER, PAULUS (c. 1525–1585), physician and rector of Vienna University. Born in Udine, Italy, as Asher Judah b. Nathan Ashkenazi (the physician and diplomat Solomon *Ashkenazi was his brother), he studied medicine at Padua and was invited by the estates of Carinthia to practice there, in a province where Jews were not allowed to reside. After a period of spiritual struggle he embraced Christianity in Vienna in 1558. His first book, *Loca praecipua fidei christianae* (1559), was an attempt to persuade the Jews of the truth of Christianity; the work showed his mastery of Hebrew and Christian sources. Weidner enjoyed the substantial patronage of the Austrian emperors, whom he served as physician. On March 13, 1560, *Ferdinand I, after repeatedly postponing the expulsion of Bohemian Jewry, ordered all its Hebrew books to be brought to Vienna; they were checked by Weidner, who found no fault in them and had them returned. A year later the Jews of Prague were forced to listen to a series of conversionary sermons preached by him. Weidner's last published work was *Sententiae Hebraicae* (1563), a collection of proverbs, mainly from Pirkei *Avot, in Hebrew, German, and Latin. After his conversion he was accepted by the University of Vienna, where he became dean of the faculty of medicine six times and thrice rector of the university. The title "von Billerburg" was granted him in 1582.

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°**WEIGAND, THEODOR** (1864–1963), German archaeologist. Weigand went on expeditions for the Prussian Oriental Museum from 1895 and for a time was the scientific attaché in the German embassy in Constantinople. During World War I Weigand served as a staff member of the German Denkmalschutz-Kommando for the preservation of antiquities in Syria and Palestine and conducted a survey of the Negev – the first in which air photography was used in archaeological work – and of Petra. From 1911 to 1931 he was director of the antiquities department of the Berlin Museum, and from 1932 until his death the head of the German Archaeological Institute.

[Michael Avi-Yonah]

WEIGEL (Zaluszowska), CATHERINE (c. 1460–1539), martyr in Poland. Catherine was the wealthy widow of Melchior Weigel, a merchant-patrician and member of the Cracow municipal council. In 1530, at an advanced age, she was accused of Judaizing. She recanted, but in 1539, on further accusation, refused to do so again, and was burned at the stake. According to the chronicler Lukasz Gornicki, as well as eyewitnesses, the 80-year-old woman went to her death courageously. Asked "Do you believe in His [God's] only son, our Lord Jesus Christ?" she said: "God had neither wife nor son, nor does He need this; for only mortals need sons. We are His children … and all who walk in His ways are His children" (*Dzieje w Koronie Polskiej* (1637), 5). Whether Catherine was a Jewess to the full or a radical anti-Trinitarian, her death made a great impression. On the king's order the heads of the Cracow community were arrested, and a number of Jews fled. The rabbi of the town, the physician Moses Fishel, suffered so much in prison that he died a short time after his release. This event started off a Judaizing scare, and a hunt for proselytes to Judaism which was relentlessly pursued in *Poland-*Lithuania in 1539–40.

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[Arthur Cygielman]

WEIGEL, HELENE (1900–1971), actress and intendant of the Berliner Ensemble. Born in Vienna, she went to Frankfurt after her training and later to Berlin, where she was taught by Max Reinhardt and appeared at the Volksbühne and at the Deutsches Theater.

In the early 1920s she met Bertolt Brecht. The couple married in 1929 and had two children. Weigel inspired the female figures in her husband's work and played them on stage. In 1933 the family emigrated to the United States (via Prague, Vienna, Paris, Switzerland and Scandinavia), where Weigel dedicated herself to her family.

A year after the family's return from the U.S. in 1947, Weigel played the main character in the world première of Brecht's *Die Antigone des Sophokles* in Switzerland. In the same year the couple went to East Berlin. In 1949 Weigel became intendant of the newly established Berliner Ensemble, which she and Brecht led to an international reputation.

In 1950 Weigel was a founding member of the Deutsche Akademie der Künste (German Academy of Arts) in East Berlin. In 1954 she ran as a candidate of the SED for the Berlin parliament. Three times (1949, 1953, 1960) she was awarded with the National Prize of the GDR. She also received the "Vaterländischer Verdienstorden in Silber" (Patriotic Order of Merit in Silver) and the "Clara-Zetkin-Medal."

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[Monika Halbinger (2nd ed.)]

WEIGERT, CARL (1845–1904), German pathologist. Born in Muensterberg, he worked as an assistant to famous anatomists and pathologists, including Julius *Cohnheim. In 1897 he was appointed professor of pathological anatomy at the Senckenberg Institute of Frankfurt (director from 1884).

He discovered and developed methods for the staining of tissues and bacteria, and these methods helped greatly in the development of histology and bacteriology. Weigert's staining methods are still used in histology. He made important studies on tissue degeneration, on embolism and on miliary tuberculosis.

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[Joshua O. Leibowitz]

WEIGERT, FRITZ (1876–1947), German physical chemist and biochemist. Born and educated in Berlin, he was the nephew of Paul *Ehrlich and of C. *Weigert. He was on the staff of Berlin University from 1908. From 1914 until the Nazis forced him to leave in 1935, he was professor of photochemistry in Leipzig University. He immigrated to Britain and from 1936 was director of the Physiochemical Department of the Cancer Research Institute at Mount Vernon Hospital, Northwood.

He elucidated the metabolism of the carcinogenic hydrocarbon 3, 4-benzpyrene by fluorescence spectroscopy. His books included *Die chemischen Wirkungen des Lichts* (1911) and *Optische Methoden der Chemie* (1927).

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[Samuel Aaron Miller]

WEIGHTS AND MEASURES. From the earliest period of their history the Jews were alive to the necessity of an accurate system of weights and measures, and an honest handling of them. The first legislation in the interest of economic righteousness in general is found in Leviticus 19:35 and Deuteronomy 25:13–16, and the prophets constantly denounced the use of false measures (Amos 8:5; Hos. 12:8; Micah 6:10; see also Prov. 11:1; 16:11; 20:10). Rabbinic legislation went so far as to demand the periodic cleaning of weights, scales, and measures lest their true standard be impaired by dirt (BB 5:10; see also BB 89a-b).

Metrological Systems in the Bible and the Ancient Near East

An authoritative and accepted system of weights for buying and selling, building, measuring areas, and the like is a necessity of civilized life. Therefore even in very ancient periods fixed measurements were established, initially for barter, estimation of distances, etc., and later for more complex needs such as building, the division of land, the digging of canals, and others. For that reason, most of the first measures were natural or common physical phenomena, such as the palm of the hand, a day's journey, seeds of grain, and simple utensils. As time progressed, the measures were improved and made more precise, but they were still called by their ancient names. Various systems of measurement developed in the large cultural centers of Egypt and Mesopotamia from a very early period. There, even complex reckoning was carried out to determine the equivalence between the different categories, that is, to reckon volume in terms of weight or area, and the like.

This type of reckoning is not found in the Bible though it was certainly known in Israel. An allusion to a similar reckoning is found in the Bible in a verse which expresses acreage in terms of volume of seed requirement: "And he made a trench about the altar, as great as would contain two measures of seed" (I Kings 18:32; see also Jer. 27:16; Isa. 5:10b (see *Targum), and later sources down to modern Palestine Arab usage).

The weights and measures in the Bible are in large part based upon the weights and measures which were accepted by the ancient peoples, the names of the measures also being the same. In Israel, measures of several peoples were used simultaneously: from Mesopotamian measures, the kor, *se'ah*, shekel, and others; from Egyptian measures, the ephah, hin, and others; and measures whose names were borrowed from the Canaanites such as *letekh* and *kikkar*. Apparently the Israelites adopted the measures from the Canaanites, who lived in the land before them, along with the names which were originally Egyptian and Mesopotamian. For this reason Egyptian measures have been found that have Mesopotamian names. Some measures, since they are not found among the neighboring countries, were apparently established in Israel.

In biblical measures, it is customary to distinguish between natural measures (measures established in reference to parts of the human body, utensils, average sizes of burdens loaded on animals, etc.) and between measures established by reckoning which were fixed and precise. In some cases the Bible explains the relationship between measures, but it is difficult today to establish their absolute values because as early as the days of the Second Temple the biblical measures were abolished, and later translators and commentators were inclined to identify them with their contemporary measures without being precise as to their values.

In the metrology practiced in the Ancient Near East, there were measures which differed in their absolute value but were identical in name, for example: in Egypt and Mesopotamia, the short cubit was in use along with the long cubit, and there were also different weights, light and heavy, called by the same name, such as the mina. Double weights of this sort were in use also in Palestine, as has been proven from the Bible and from archaeological finds, and were in use there almost until modern times.

Aside from these, there were measures confined to specific localities. Ancient documents provide evidence of weights named for cities: "Alalakh weight," "Carchemish weight," and the like. This custom, too, was practiced in Palestine. In addition to the already-mentioned difficulties, there is the problem of the durability of these weights, since it is likely that with the passage of time many changes took place in them. The ascertaining of biblical measures and the determination of their values in terms of present-day measures is done mainly on the basis of archaeological finds. In the excavations carried out in Palestine, many weights have been uncovered and also fragments of vessels upon which measurements of volume have been written. Linear measure can be reckoned according to ancient structures whose measurements are marked. In the neighboring countries – mainly Egypt, Syria, and Mesopotamia – actual measuring rods of wood and stone were uncovered, along with weights and economic documents, all of which are valuable aids in determining the biblical measures. However, it still cannot be known whether these measures are identical with biblical measures and which of the various standards the Bible used. The Bible demands the use of correct measures and promises long life to one who is careful in this matter (Deut. 25:13–16; Amos 8:5, et al.).

Linear Measure

The units of length mentioned in the Bible, as well as those used by other ancient peoples, are derived from average measures of the length of human limbs. Names of measures based on the limbs of the body are in use in some languages even to this day.

It appears that in the early period it was customary to measure with the limbs themselves: the part of the arm from the elbow to the tip of the middle finger is the "standard cubit [lit. by a man's forearm]" (Deut. 3:11); the span (*zeret*) was the distance between the tip of the little finger and the tip of the thumb with the fingers straddled. The measurement of the handbreadth was the width of the four fingers, and the fingerbreadth was measured according to the width of the finger. As time progressed, absolute and more precise values and relationships were established for these natural measures, though these were still named according to the parts of the body.

The large measures mentioned in the Bible are based upon crude estimates such as the range of the bowshot (Gen. 21:16), i.e., the distance which the bow is able to shoot the arrow. In several places in the Bible, the expression *kivrat ʾerez*, "a short distance," is mentioned (Gen. 35:16; 48:7; II Kings 5:19) which seems to mean a journey of two hours. Greater distances were measured by days' journey (Gen. 30:36; 31:23; et al.).

Among the instruments used for measuring small units of length, the Bible mentions: *ḥut*, "thread" (Jer. 52:21); *ḥevel*, "rope" (Amos 7:17); *ḥevel middah*, "measuring line" (Zech. 2:5 [1]; *kav* (*qav*) *ha-middah*, "measuring line" (Jer. 31:38 [39]; *petil pishtim… u-qeneh ha-middah*, "line of flax… and measuring reed" (Ezek. 40:3). It is likely that all or some of these instruments were used regularly for linear measure and it should be noted that the rope served as a standard measurement of length among several ancient peoples.

Five small units of length are mentioned in the Bible. Their exact length is not explicit but their interrelations are generally established: *kaneh* (*qaneh*), "reed"; *ʾammah*, "cubit"; *zeret*, "span"; *ṭefaḥ/ṭofaḥ*, "handbreadth"; and *ʾeẓbaʿ*, "fingerbreadth." The most important and basic measure was the cubit. It appears that there were two values for the cubit which were in use in different periods: the short cubit is implicit in II Chronicles 3:3 in the description of the Temple, "in cubits of the old standard," and the meaning of the verse is that the measurements of the Temple are given in terms of the ancient cubit and not the longer royal cubit which was in use in this time. In the description of the future sanctuary in Ezekiel 40:5 (see also 48:13), the second or long cubit is mentioned: "and the length of the measuring reed in the man's hand was six long cubits, each being a cubit and a handbreadth in length." The cubit in this description exceeds the normal cubit by one handbreadth and thus contains seven handbreadths and not six like the short cubit. Ezekiel uses the long Persian cubit, which was in use also in Mesopotamia, and which may have come into use in Palestine during the time of the Return. (See Table: Units of Length-Bible.)

Table 1. Ratio between the Units of Length in the Bible

	reed	cubit	handbreadth	fingerbreadth
According to the short cubit				
reed	1			
cubit	6	1		
handbreadth	36	6	1	
fingerbreadth	144	24	4	1
According to the long cubit				
reed	1			
cubit	6	1		
handbreadth	42	7	1	
fingerbreadth	168	28	4	1

Attempts have been made to learn the value of the cubit in terms of present-day measures by comparisons with ancient structures whose measurements are noted, such as the tunnel of Siloam dating to the reign of Hezekiah; or on the basis of the measurements of buildings which, in the opinion of their excavators, were built in whole cubits, such as the walls of Hazor, Megiddo, and Gezer from Solomon's time (I Kings 9:15); or by estimating the volume of "the molten sea" which stood in the Temple (I Kings 7:23 – 26; II Chron. 4:2). However, all of these calculations are unreliable. Various scholars (e.g., R.B.Y. Scott) – some on the basis of comparisons with Egyptian and Mesopotamian standards, and some according to parallels from Hellenistic sources – established the values shown in Table: Value of the Cubit.

Table 2. Conjectured Value of the Cubit

long cubit (28 fingerbreadths)	–	521.0 mm.
short cubit (24 fingerbreadths)	–	446.0 mm.
handbreadth (4 fingerbreadths)	–	74.0 mm.
fingerbreadth	–	18.6 mm.

These figures probably approximate the actual values of the measures, but they cannot be considered precise.

Volume

As was the case with linear measures, human limbs were initially used to measure volume. The small units were: *komeẓ* (*qomeẓ*, "handful"; Lev. 2:2; 5:12), which is the measure of the grasp of three fingers and perhaps is the *shalish* mentioned in Isaiah 40:12; *ḥofen* (Ex. 9:8, et al.), which is the entire palm of the hand; and *ḥofnayim*, which is two handfuls. They were also accustomed to measuring with receptacles which the farmer used at home and in the field; the omer (*ʿOmer*) is a bundle of ears of corn; a quantity of wine in the measure of a skin (jar) is also mentioned (I Sam. 1:24). The values of these measures cannot be established, for it is certain that they were not precise; later on some of them did become fixed, their previous names being preserved. It is likely that various foods used to be prepared in fixed portions, and therefore the Bible notes quantities of food, liquid and dry, in numbers of portions without designating the volume (I Sam. 25:18; II Sam. 16:1, et al.).

The units of volume mentioned in the Bible are the following:

homer (Lev. 27:16; Isa. 5:10; Ezek. 45:11; 13:14; Hos. 3:2);
kor (Ezek. 45:14);
letekh (Hos. 3:2);
ephah (Ex. 16:36; Ezek. 45:11, 13; 46:14, et al.),
bath (Ezek. 45:11, 14; II Chron. 2:9);
se'ah (Gen. 18:6; I Sam. 25:18; I Kings 18:32; II Kings 7:1, 18, et al.);
hin (Ex. 29:40; Ezek. 45:24; 46:11, 14, et al.);
omer (Ex. 16:16, 36; Lev. 23:10 – 14, et al.);
ʿissaron (Ex. 29:40; Lev. 14:21; Num. 15:4, et al.);
qav (II Kings 6:25);
log, which is the small liquid measure (Lev. 14:10, 12, 15, 21, 24).

(See Table 3: Measures of Volume and Their Ratios).

It is worth noting the mixture of the decimal system which was used in Egypt and the sexagesimal system of Mesopotamia which is most characteristic of the scale of weights and measures in Palestine. Also the names – as was noted – are in part from Egyptian measures and in part from Mesopotamian measures.

If a distinction is made between liquid and dry measures, the following tables can be set up as seen in Table: Dry and Liquid Measures.

Table 4. Distinction between Dry and Liquid Measures

Dry		Liquid	
homer	1	kor	1
letekh	2	bath	10
ephah	10	hin	60
se'ah	30	*log*	720
omer – *ʿissaron*	100		
qav	180		

Scholars no longer attempt – as in previous generations – to equate these measures with Greek and Roman measures and thereby determine their absolute values, because this was based on conjecture only. The only method by which modern scholars can determine the values of these weights is to measure the volume of vessels discovered in excavations in Palestine whose capacity is marked on them, such as fragments of vessels with the words *bt*, "bath," or *bt lmlk*, "royal bath," written upon them. According to W.F. Albright's calculations, which are accepted by most scholars today, the "royal bath" has a capacity of 22 liters. (See Table: Scale of Measures of Volume.)

Table 5. Scale of Measures of Volume (Dry and Liquid)

homer – kor	220.0 liters
letekh	110.0 liters
ephah – bath	22.0 liters
seʾah	7.3 liters
hin	3.6 liters
omer – ʿissaron	2.2 liters
qav	1.2 liters
log	0.3 liters

Aside from the inscriptions "bath" and "royal bath," some potsherds were discovered during excavations with inscrip-

Table 3. Measures of Volume and Their Ratios

	Homer – kor	*letekh*	ephah – bath	*seʾah*	hin	omer – *ʿissaron*	*qav*	*log*
homer – kor	1							
letekh	2	1						
ephah – bath	10	5	1					
seʿah	30	15	3	1				
hin	60	30	6	2	1			
omer – *ʿissaron*	100	50	10	3 1/2	1 2/3	1		
qav	180	90	18	6	3	1 4/5	1	
log	720	360	72	24	12	7 1/5	4	1

tions which in general designate the type of goods and the quantity; however, for the most part, the names of the units of volume are missing from these inscriptions (a common practice in the Bible also; see I Sam. 25:18; II Sam. 16:1). A shard was found at Tell Qasileh bearing the inscription (according to the reading of B. Mazar), "To the king, 1,100 [measures of] oil, from Aḥiyahu." The liquid measure is not explicit: in the opinion of Mazar, the *log* is intended. Another inscription, discovered in Kadesh-Barnea, reads 51, and according to M. Dothan, it designates five measures of oil and the hin is intended. Also discovered in Samaria were tens of ostraca upon which measures of oil and wine are mentioned by the *nbl*, "skin" (biblical, *nevel*, cf. I Sam. 1:24; 25:18; II Sam. 16:1, et al.). The units of volume mentioned in the Elephantine papyri from the fifth century B.C.E. are *seʾah* and *qav*, the measure being designated by the first letter only. This way of designating measures continued in Palestine until the end of the Second Temple, as a vessel uncovered in the ruins of Qumran reveals. Upon it is inscribed: "two *seʾah* and seven *log*." This vessel has the capacity of 35.65 liters.

Area Measure

The main measure of area in the Bible is the *ẓemed* (I Sam. 14:14; Isa. 5:10), which refers to the area which a pair of oxen can plow in one day. This method of measuring area persists into the Mishnah and the Talmud Ancient Near East and later passed on to the Romans. In Rome the unit of area used was called *jugerum* from *jugum*, "yoke" (Pliny, *Naturalis Historia*, 18:9), while the modern measures feddan and acre have similar meanings. These measures, which in the beginning were not precise, in time became more clearly defined.

There was also another system of measuring area mentioned in the Bible, based upon the quantity of seeds sown in it (Lev. 27:16; I Kings 18:32; Isa. 5:10b (see *Targum)); and, needless to say, this measurement was not precise. This system was especially prevalent in Mesopotamia, and a formulation of this measure there reads: *bīt 1 imēru*, "property measuring one homer." This method of measuring area persists into the Mishnah and the Talmud (BB 7:1; 2:5, et al.) and is also attested in a deed from the time of the Bar Kokhba revolt. The Bible uses more precise measurement in its description of a rectangular area, noting the measure of the length and width in cubits or parts of cubits, and also adds the adjective *ravuʿa*, "square" (Ex. 27:1; 28:16, et al.). Ezekiel also notes the areas of the entire complex of buildings in the Temple in cubits (Ezek. 40).

Weights

WEIGHT IN THE BIBLE. The verb shql ("to weigh") is shared by all Semitic languages; and generally the system of weights used by Semitic peoples is the same. Weights, for the most part, were made of stone, hence the Bible refers to weights generally as "stones" (ʾeven). In Akkadian, weights are called also aban kīsi, "stones from the bag," which consist of stones placed in a cloth bag (Micah 6:11; Prov. 16:11, et al.). In Ugaritic too the word ʾabn, "stone," signified weights; but there have also been found many cast metal weights from the biblical period. During the Persian period, the metal weight became a coin and indication of this process can be seen in the Septuagint where the word for shekel, σίκλος, is changed to the word for the coin didrachm, δίδραχμον. Similarly they translated beka (beqaʿ), δραχμή, and gerah, ὀβολὸς.

In some ancient countries, especially in Mesopotamia, the old unit of weight was a seed of grain. Although the Bible used the names of early Mesopotamian weights, it does not mention this particular weight since the reciprocal relationship between Israel and Mesopotamia in weights, as in measures of volume, appears only in a relatively late period (apparently the Neo-Babylonian; see below).

Seven weights are mentioned in the Bible: talent, mina, shekel, beka, gerah, *pim*, and *kesiṭah*. A scale of the relationships between the first five weights mentioned can be established on the basis of the Bible and other sources; the absolute and relative value of the *pim* can be determined from archaeological finds (see below). The seventh weight, the *kesiṭah* (Gen. 33:19; Josh. 24:32; Job 42:11), seems to be an archaic weight and the origin of its name and its metrological value are not known. (Some believe it means rather "a sheep or goat.")

The basis of the biblical system of weights becomes clear by investigating the interrelationships of the three most important weights, the talent, shekel, and gerah.

The talent (*kikkar*), was the largest unit of weight in the Bible, and was already known by the same name in Ugaritic. In Ugaritic it was pronounced *kakaru*, as has been shown from Akkadian documents from Ugarit and Alalakh where the Canaanite name appears in the forms *qaq*(*q*)*aru*(*m*), *kakaru*(*m*). The very name *kikkar* testifies to the round shape of the weights. The relation between the talent and the shekel becomes clear in Exodus 38:25–26. The half shekel brought by 603,550 men amounted to 100 talents and 1,775 shekels. Thus the following calculations can be made as seen in Table: Shekel and the Talent.

Table 6. Relation between the Shekel and the Talent

603,550 half-shekels	=	300,000 + 1775 shekels
300,000 shekels	=	100 talents
3,000 shekels	=	1 talent

This system of dividing the talent into 3,000 shekels differs from the Mesopotamian system which divides the talent into 3,600 parts, and is the same as the Ugaritic system where the talent is also divided into 3,000 shekels. From this it follows that the biblical division is based upon an ancient Canaanite tradition.

The shekel (Akk. *šiqlu*; Ugaritic, *ṯ~ql*; early Aram. *shql*; late Aram. *tql*) is the most basic weight, as its name, which means simply weight, testifies. Since the shekel is the definite weight, an expression such as "1,000 silver" (Gen. 20:16) can be explained as 1,000 shekels of silver, and the name of the weight is omitted since it is self-explanatory. Abbreviations like these are also found in other Semitic languages. The fundamental nature of the shekel can also be seen in the fact that all weights which the Bible explains are explained only in terms of the shekel.

The gerah is known in Akkadian as *girû*. The basic meaning of the Akkadian word is a grain of carob seed. The value of the gerah is the 20th part of a shekel (Ex. 30:13), unlike the Akkadian *girû* which is the 24th part of a *šiqlu*. S.E. Loewenstamm noted that the ratio 24:20 is identical with the ratio 3,600:3,000, and therefore he holds that the division of the shekel into 20 gerah is based upon the same ancient Canaanite tradition according to which the talent was divided into 3,000 shekels.

The mina (Heb. *maneh*; Sum. *mana*; Akk. *man* –; Ugaritic, *mn*), which designates a weight of approximately 50 or 60 shekels (see below), is found in the Bible primarily in the late books (Ezek. 45:12; Ezra 2:69; Neh. 7:70, 71). In the period preceding the destruction of the First Temple, the mina is mentioned only once, in the verse about Solomon's shields (I Kings 10:17). From this it is reasonable to assume that in ancient times in Israel reckoning was done in shekels and talents only, and the mina was not used except in unusual situations. It appears that this practice too had its roots in an ancient Canaanite tradition, for in Ugaritic writings many calculations are found involving shekels and talents and very few involving the mina. The value of the mina is defined in Ezekiel 45:12. From this verse it follows that the mina is equivalent to 60 shekels like the Akkadian *man* –. However, there is reason to assume that Ezekiel's definition was influenced by his Mesopotamian environment, and that the Canaanite-Israelite mina was equivalent to only 50 shekels. First, it appears that there are two systems intertwined in Ezekiel's words. Portions of 15 and 20 shekels are appropriate for a mina of 60 shekels, as they equal a fourth and a third of it. Not so a portion of 25 shekels which is appropriate only for a mina of 50 shekels, of which it would comprise half. F. Thureau-Dangin found support for the existence of a Canaanite mina of 50 shekels in Ugaritic weights which contain 50 Ugaritic shekels. He regarded these as weights of a mina. According to this, the ratio of the Mesopotamian weight to the Canaanite weight would be 60:50, like the ratios 3600:3000 and 24:20 which were dealt with above. Support for this system can also be found in the passages which speak of payment of 50 or 100 shekels (Deut. 22:19, 29, et al.), which probably refer to payments of one or two minas. Moreover, there are signs that the Mesopotamian system of Ezekiel did not succeed in supplanting the Canaanite system. The Septuagint (LXXA) reads for Ezekiel 45:12: "five shekels shall be five shekels, and ten shekels shall be ten shekels, and your mina shall be fifty shekels"; and although Borrois advanced proofs to show that this version should not be preferred over the Masoretic Text, this version is significant. It provides evidence that at the time of the translation, the mina consisted of 50 shekels.

The beka is mentioned twice in the Bible (Gen. 24:22; Ex. 38:26) and its value is explicitly determined as one-half a shekel. Its name is derived from the root *bqʿ*, "to break, to divide," and its basic meaning is "a part." According to the reckoning of a mina as 50 shekels, the Table: Weight and their Ratios 1 may be set up:

Table 7. Measures of Weight and Their Ratios (mina = 50 shekels)

	talent	mina	shekel	beka	gerah
talent	1				
mina	60	1			
shekel	3,000	50	1		
beka	6,000	100	2	1	
gerah	60,000	1,000	20	10	1

However, on the basis of Ezekiel 45:12 according to which the mina contains 60 shekels and on the assumption that Ezekiel divided the talent (*kikkar*) into 60 minas, the Table: Weight and their Ratios 2 may be set up.

Table 8. Measures of Weight and Their Ratios (mina=60 shekels)

	talent	mina	shekel	beka	gerah
talent	1				
mina	60	1			
shekel	3,600	60	1		
beka	7,200	120	2	1	
gerah	72,000	1,200	20	10	1

This table is arranged according to the Mesopotamian system and contains nothing from the Canaanite-Israelite system except the division of the shekel into 20 gerah instead of 24.

In addition to being divided into the beka and gerah, the shekel is also divided into a fourth and a third (I Sam. 9:8; Neh. 10:33). There is support for this division both inside and outside Palestine. From Assyrian documents found at Calah it is evident that the shekel was very often divided there into many more subunits, but there is no proof that this was so in Israel as well.

Also mentioned in the Bible is the *peres* (Dan. 5:25, 28), and C. Clermont-Ganneau has suggested that it is half a mina. This weight is mentioned also among bilingual weights (Akkadian-Aramaic) from the Persian period and its written form is פרש. The *peres* is also mentioned in the Mishnah (Pe'ah 8:5; Ḥul. 11:2) and its value there is half a *zuz*.

In establishing the value of the shekel there is an additional complication in that the Bible mentions at least three kinds of shekels: in Genesis 23:16, a shekel of silver "at the going merchant's rate [*ʿover la-soḥer*]," which is similar to the Akkadian expression *ina manê ša tamkari*, "in the merchant's mina"; in Exodus 30:13, "shekel by the sanctuary weight [*ha-qodesh*]"; and in II Samuel 14:26, "shekels by the king's weight [*be-ʾeven ha-melekh*]," that is, shekels stamped by the royal treasury as proof that they are perfect. Also in the Elephantine papyri from the Persian period it is said "royal weight" (באבני המלכא or במתקלת מלכא). It cannot be determined whether these shekels were equivalent in value, but on the basis of evidence from external sources, it appears that there were differences between them.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL FINDS. In excavations carried out in Palestine many weights have been uncovered – some with the weight marked on them, but most without any notation. The shape of the weights, for the most part, is semicircular (dome-shaped). There are also some cast metal weights that are rectangular and cube-shaped, and some that are oval or in the shape of animals. Most of the weights found in Palestine are from the end of the period of the monarchy (the seventh to sixth centuries B.C.E.).

Very few weights and inscriptions with the word shekel written explicitly have been found in strata from the Israelite period. A bronze weight in the shape of a turtle was found in the coastal plain; on its reverse side it bears the inscription (according to the reading of A. Reifenberg) פלג שקל, and on the front, פלג רבעית, and its weight is 2.63 gm. And in fact, a weight of this sort (one-quarter shekel) is mentioned in 1 Samuel 9:8. Another bronze weight from Samaria, also in the shape of a turtle, bears the inscription חמש ("five"), and this has been interpreted to mean five gerahs, that is one-quarter of a shekel, and its weight is 2.49 gm. Another weight from Samaria is marked on one side ל[ק]רבע ש and on the other רבע נצף, and its weight is 2.54 gm. (see below). At Tell Qasileh an ostracon was found with the following inscription engraved upon it: [ז]הב אפל לבית חרן and here too, B. Mazar interprets the letter *sin* to mean shekels. Two ostraca containing calculations in shekels were also found in Yavneh-Yam. Many weights found in excavations bear a special mark in the form of ≡ש, with another sign next to it which in general designates the number of units. These weights have for some time been considered shekels. They were discovered for the most part at localities in the Kingdom of Judah, in the following places: Gibeon, Jerusalem, Ramat-Raḥel, Gezer, Tel Zechariah, Tell Jedideh, Lachish, En-Gedi, Tel Malḥatah, and Arad; and others in the coastal plain; Tel Jemmeh, Nebi Rubin, Yavneh-Yam, and Ashdod. Only one weight of this type is known from the area of Samaria, and it was discovered at Shechem. Many others of unknown provenance are in private collections.

Scholars have been greatly divided as to the interpretation of the sign x̲ which appears on the weights. Thompson thought that this sign was taken from the Egyptian *nb* ("gold") weight which weighs approximately 12 gm. On the basis of a bronze weight of 12.28 gm. which was discovered at Gezer and upon which is written the number two and next to it *lmlk*, Diringer and Borrois maintain that the purpose of this sign is to designate the royal shekel which was fixed at 11.3 gm.; and this was the accepted opinion among scholars in the past. Recently the debate was revived when R.B.Y. Scott suggested that the sign be interpreted as a schematic drawing symbolizing the word *ẓeror*, that is, a cloth bag, tied at the top, in which precious metals were wrapped. Y. Yadin, basing his opinion on these weights from Gezer and upon the image of a scarab found in the Elephantine Papyri upon which the word למלך, *lmlk*, also appears, maintains that this sign is merely a schematic drawing of the well-known royal scarab which is found on common *lmlk* seals. In his opinion, in every case where this sign is written, it serves as a recognized sign designating the word *lmlk*, that is, the official royal standard.

Alongside this sign is usually written an additional sign which all scholars interpret as a number which notes the quantity of royal shekels contained in each weight. By examining the average weight of all the weights of this kind which have been discovered up till now, it becomes evident that they were clearly divided into weights of one unit (11:3 gm.); two units (22.6 gm.); four units (45.5 gm.); eight units (91.2 gm.); 16 units (188.5 gm.), and 24 units (268.24 gm.). In line with this, Yadin assumes that the numerical signs are Hebrew and signify parallel units (that is, they designate the numbers 1, 2, 4, 8, etc.). Against this, Aharoni, following Scott, conjectures that these numbers are actually Egyptian-hieratic which were copied on weights of the Judahite kingdom and stand for the values 5, 10, 20, and 30. The contradiction between the division of the weights into units of 4, 8, 16, and 24 and the values of the Egyptian numbers he explains by saying that the basic weight, that of eight shekels, is identified with the Egyptian *dbn* which was chosen by Josiah for international trade. Since the *dbn* weight is divided into 10 *qdt*, it means that Judahite weights of 4, 8, 16, and 24 units are equivalent to 5, 10, 20, and 30 *qdt*. The hypothesis of Scott and Aharoni that the signs on the large units are Egyptian is reasonable, all the more so since much important evidence has been gathered concerning the use of hieratic numbers in Israel during this period (from an ostracon from Arad, among other sources). However, in spite of this, it is difficult to assume that the Egyptian system itself was adopted in Israel, since the basic unit in the shekel system – as Aharoni also notes – is a weight of eight shekels. This division, different from that practiced in Egypt (division by tenths) or Mesopotamia (division by sixths), and which is evidence of Phoenician-Israelite local distinctiveness, is the same phenomenon which was found in the biblical system of weights. Likewise, it is difficult to imagine that they used one system for weighing and actually meant a different system (an uncommon situation in the metrological systems of the Ancient Near East). Another suggestion which Aharoni himself raised, and then rejected, is more reasonable; it is that the Egyptian numbers were carved on the weights because of their simple form (it is difficult to carve complex numbers on small stone weights) without paying attention to their original values, and that the Egyptian number five was understood to be four in Israel. Support for this interpretation is found on an ostracon from Yavneh-Yamon which, according to the reading of J. Naveh, is inscribed "the weight of four [shekels of] silver" and next to it is the common sign for the unit of four shekels, which is to say that they did not read this number five and intend four, but rather also read the number as four.

Weights with Designations Discovered in Israel. Three other types of weights, also from the end of the Kingdom of Judah, have been discovered in Israel and their names are inscribed on them in full: *nẓp, pym*, and *bqʿ*.

The word *nẓp* does not appear in the Bible and is known only from the inscriptions on these Hebrew weights, and also from Ugaritic. The word *nẓp* is explained on the basis of the Arabic *nisf*, "half." If this interpretation is accepted, the weight of the *nẓp* unit is half of 19.75 gm. since the average weight of the *nẓp* is 9.8 gm. This unit of weight is not known in Israel. In R. de Vaux's opinion, the *nẓp* is half the weight of the Ugaritic shekel, which is known as the "heavy shekel" and weighs from 18.7 to 23.4 gm. It is also possible that the *nẓp* does not belong at all to the metrological system based on the shekel but rather to a different and unknown system. At least one weight which is a subunit of the *nẓp* was found in Samaria. On it is written רבע נצף, "one quarter," and it weighs 2.54 gm. According to this, the whole *nẓp* weighs 10.16 gm. However, on the second side of the weight is written ל[ק]רבע ש, "one-quarter shekel," and some see this as additional proof that two standards existed side by side in Israel, and one weight could be at the same time one-half shekel according to one standard and a whole shekel according to the other. Seventeen *nẓp* weights have been discovered.

The *pim* is mentioned once in the Bible (I Sam. 13:21). *Pim* (*pym*) weights which were uncovered in excavations helped to clarify the obscure verse I Samuel 13:21, but not to explain the name. Several scholars tried, unsuccessfully, to explain it. Clermont-Ganneau suggested: *pi* (*shenayi*)*m* (according to Zech. 13:8), that is two portions, i.e., two-thirds. E.A. Speiser held that its source is from the Akkadian *šinipu*, that it means two-thirds (of a shekel), and that in Canaan they borrowed the last part of the word from Mesopotamia, interpreted it as a third, and made it dual. Diringer and Borrois also think that the *pim* is two-thirds of a standard shekel but that Speiser is correct that the source of the word is foreign and that it has no meaning in Hebrew. Twelve such weights have been discovered, and their average weight is 7.8 gm.

The beka is the one unit of weight mentioned in the Bible whose value has been determined. It is half a shekel (see above). However, this value does not correspond to the beka (*bqʿ*) weights found in excavations. In Israel, seven weights have been found with the name beka written on them. On some the name is written in full, and on some only the letter ב (*beth*) appears. Their average weight is 6.03 gm. more than the value of the half-shekel of 11.3 gm. The heaviest one is 6.65 gm. and the lightest 5.55 gm. Petrie believes that the beka is an extremely ancient unit of weight which was used in Egypt and has been discovered in pre-dynastic graves of the Amration period (the fourth millennium B.C.E.). In his opinion, the beka was the common weight used in Egypt for gold and its weight was 12.28–13.90 gm. If Petrie's opinion is accepted the Israel beka would be half the weight of the Egyptian weight which Petrie established as the Egyptian beka. Reifenberg publicized a coin from the Persian period bearing the inscription beka; its weight is 3.88 gm.

Weights Marked with Numbers. In addition to the aforementioned weights, some 20 weights marked with numbers (either letters or numerals) have been uncovered in excavations, and their weights range from 1.52 to 7.05 gm. Recently, Scott has gathered all the above-mentioned finds, sorted them into groups, and tried to determine their precise relationships to the perfect weights mentioned above. However, all attempts – those of Scott as well as his predecessors – to determine the exact value of these small weights, are very unreliable since there are no written sources about the detailed division of the Israelite shekel into small subunits.

A large number of weights have been discovered which contain no inscription, no number, and no sign whatsoever. Examination of these weights has not led, in general, to sufficient clarification. Among them, it is worth noting in particular two weights. One was found at Tell Beit Mirsim, weighing 4,565 gm., and in W.F. Albright's opinion has the value of eight minas of 50 shekels each (that is, the weight of 400 shekels). The second is a basalt stone weight from the area around Taanach which weighs 4,780 gm. This weight is decorated with the relief of a winged lion and in addition bears the personal name *Šmʿ*. In N. Avigad's opinion, the value of this weight is eight minas of 50 shekels, that is, 400 shekels, which, he believes, is a standard weight (compare "four hundred shekels of silver at the going merchant's rate," Gen. 23:16). Scott's explanation as noted above is that the shekel weights were established according to the Egyptian standard and interprets the unit of 400 shekels as 50 *dbn*. In his opinion, that is the reason for the special Israelite system of weights which contains only 50 shekels in a mina. However, we have already found this division at Canaanite Ugaritic and it is more plausible that the special Israelite system was based upon the ancient Canaanite system and not the Egyptian system.

[Eliezer Bashan (Sternberg)]

In the Talmud

After a long and complex development (cf. Jos., Ant., 14:105; 3:144), the talmudic system emerges. In it the Italian mina was equated with 100 *denarii* (TJ, Shek. 2:4, 46d; mina = *litra* = Roman *libra* originally; TJ, Ter. 10:7b), thus equaling 1 1/24 Roman pounds (Tanḥ. B., Ex. 109). However, the Talmud mentions yet another maneh of 40 shekels (160 *denarii*; Ḥul. 137b–138a), and there were also regional variations (Ḥul. 12b). The biblical gerah was identified with the current *meʾah* ("obol" = ⅙ drachma; Bek. 50a). The syncretist system was linked to the Tyrian standard and conveniently dovetailed with the monetary system. (See Table: Syncretist System in the Talmud.)

Besides the rough and ready measures, e.g., *komeẓ* ("three-fingers full"; Lev. 2:2), or *ḥofen* ("handful"; Ex. 9:8, etc.), a carefully graduated system, primarily of Mesopotamian origin, was used from earliest times both for dry and liquid measures. The relationships between the various denominations are amply attested, revealing the system. (See Table: Measures of Volume in the Talmud.)

Table 9. Syncretist System of Weights and Measures in the Talmud

	Kikkar **(“talent”)**	**mina**	**Italian mina**	***tartimar*** **(=⅓)**	***Unkiyyah*** **“uncia”)**	**sela (“hetra-drachm”)**	**Shekel (“½ biblical shekel”)**	***zuz*** **(“denar- ius”)**
Kikkar (“talent”)	1	37	60	120	750	1,500	3,000	6,000
mina		1½	1⅗	3⅕	20	40	80	160
Italian mina			1	2	12½	25	50	100
tartimar (=⅓)				1	6¼	12½	25	50
Unkiyyah (“uncia”)					1	2	4	8
sela (“hetra-drachm”)						1	2	4
Shekel (“½ biblical shekel”)							1	2
zuz (“denar-ius”)								1

Table 10. Measures of Volume (Dry and Liquid) in the Talmud

A. Dry		**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**	**7**	**8**
		homer	***letekh***	**ephah**	***seʾah***	**–**	**omer**	***qav***	**–**
	B. Liquid	**kor**	**–**	**bath**	**–**	**hin**	***ʿissaron***	**–**	***log***
1 homer	kor	1	2	10	30	60	100	180	720
2 *letekh*	–		1	5	15	30	50	90	360
3 ephah	bath			1	3	6	10	18	72
4 *seʾah*	–				1	2	3⅓	6	24
5 –	hin					1	1⅔	3	12
6 omer	*ʿissaron*						1	1⅘	7⅕
7 *qav*	–							1	4
8 –	log								1

The table shows the influence of the sexagesimal system with a parallel decimal subdivision, while philological analysis shows the terms to be derived from Mesopotamian (e.g., 1AB, 4), Egyptian (3A, 5B), and Canaanite (2) sources. In rabbinic times the *log* was further subdivided as follows: 1 *log* = 2 *toman* = 4 *reviʾit* = 6 *beiẓah ukl a* = 36 *mesurah* = 64 *kurtov*. According to *Eruvin* 83a there were at least three standards current (with a 30% variation; cf. Jos., Ant., 3:197, 321; 8:57; 9:86), but the basic standard was probably linked to the Roman one (Kelim 17:11), so that the *log* equaled the *sextarius* (Gr. *xestes*), giving a *seʾah* of 1½ *modii*-16 *sext.* = 1 *mod.*-(but cf. TJ,

Ter. 5:1, 43c). For cubic equivalents see TJ, *Pesaḥim* 10:1, 37c, where 1 *reviʾit* = 7⅓ cu. *eẓba* (“digit”), while *Eruvin* 14b states that a *mikveh* containing 40 *seʾah* is 3 cu. *ammah*. However, in view of the differing standards of length (see below), it is difficult to reach any absolute value for these measures.

Alongside this developed system of exact measures, the rabbis introduced a series of “rule of thumb” measures, readily recognizable by all. Thus one was punishable for eating (most) forbidden foods only after having had an amount equal to a medium-sized olive (*ke-zayit*). The standard for (transgressing the stricture on) leavened bread on the Passover and for eating on the Day of Atonement was a (large) *kotevet* (a certain species of date), while that for carrying on the Sabbath was a *gerogeret* (“dried fig”). These measures bore no easy relationship to the established metrological system. They themselves were at most ready and approximate, and their relationship to the exact measures likewise. Thus the *ke-zayit* was probably about half a *beiẓah*, the *gerogeret* larger than the *ke-zayit* but smaller than the *kotevet*, and the *kotevet* larger than the *gerogeret* but still smaller than a *beiẓah*. In recent years the size of these measures has been the subject of considerable controversy.

Length. The most common metrical denominations are measures of length derived from parts of the human body: the finger-breadth (digit), handbreadth or palm, cubit (from *cubitum*, elbow) or length of the forearm. It is this latter, in Hebrew *ammah*, which appears to be the basic unit of the Palestinian system (Kelim 17:9–10). Normally the *ammah* consisted of handbreadths (*tefaḥ*, pl. *tefaḥim*); however, Ezekiel 40:5 and 43:13 suggest that there was also an *ammah* of seven *tefaḥim*. This seems to be paralleled by the Egyptian system, which had a “short” cubit of six handbreadths, and a “royal” one of seven. The Mishnah too tells of different *ammot* (Kelim, *ibid.*). There is considerable discussion as to the precise length of the *ammah* (or *ammot*), as different sources yield varying results, and much has been written on the subject. All that can be stated with real certainty are the relationships between the different units:

1 *ammah* = 3 *zeret* = 6 *tefaḥ* = 24 *eẓba*. The only multiple of the *ammah* mentioned in the Bible is the *kaneh* (“reed”) of Ezekiel 40:5, which according to *Menaḥot* 97a equals six *ammot*. Longer measures were approximate, e.g., a bowshot (Gen. 27:16), day’s journey (Gen. 30:36, etc.; see also Gen. 35:16). In the Greco-Roman period there was a syncretistic system for the longer measures, in which the *mil* (Roman mile, *milion* in Matt. 5:41) of 2000 *ammah* was reckoned at 7½ *stadia* (Heb.

ris, Yoma 6:4), giving a convenient division of the *parasang* (Heb. *parsah*) into 30 *stadia*.

Surface. In biblical times the concept of area was expressed by squaring the length, i.e., "x *ammot* squared" (*ravu'a*, passive participle from *arba*, "four"). In the Mishnah it is expressed in the form "x *ammot* by [*al*] × *ammot*." In antiquity two methods were used to measure land:

(a) a standard was based on the area plowed by a yoke of oxen in a given time (cf. Roman *jugum, jugerum*);

(ii) an area was judged by the amount of seed required to sow it (a method of Mesopotamian origin).

Both methods were known and practiced in biblical times, the former being alluded to in Isaiah 5:10, the latter in I Kings 18:32 (cf. Lev. 27:16). In the Mishnah the size of a field is uniformly calculated by the second method. The whole series of dry measures (see above) was employed in this system. The size of these surface measures may be in terms of *ammot* from certain talmudic equations. Thus from *Eruvin* 96a it emerges that a "*beit se'atayim*" (2 *se'ah* plot) equaled the area of the Tabernacle's court, 5,000 sq. *ammot*. Hence, a "*beit se'ah*" = 2,500 sq. *ammot* (BB 26b). The obscure *ma'anah* of I Samuel 14:14 is identified with a four *se'ah* plot (= *beit haperas*; Oho. 17:1), and said to be 10,000 sq. *ammot*. (See Table: Measures of Surface.)

The *ammah* varied between the approximate limits of 45.75 and 53.34 cm. (18 and 21 in.), but the upper limit may be even higher (21½ in., for example). The *beit se'ah*, which was 2,500 sq. *ammot* would therefore be equal to 1,143 – 1,333.5 sq. m. However, the variation in *se'ah* measures would affect this calculation.

The basic measure of capacity is the *log*:
1 *log midbarit* = 503.5 cc. = grm (= 30.7 cu. in.)
1 *log yerushal mit* = 699.4 cc. = grm (= 39.6 cu. in.)
1 *log sepphorit* = 777.4 cc. = grm (=47.4 cu. in.)

The basic weights were the *sela* = 224 grains and the mina (40 selas) = 8,960 grains. All other measures may be calculated from these, according to the ratios given. However, the resultant calculations will only have a "probability truth-value," as the range of variation grows in the higher multiples.

As measures (*shi'urim*) are of great halakhic importance, there were throughout the ages constant attempts to reevaluate them in current terms. There has thus grown up over the years a considerable body of halakhic material dealing with metrology, which affords much valuable information.

[Daniel Sperber]

Criminal Law. The biblical injunction, "You shall not have in your pouch alternate weights, larger and smaller; you shall not have in your house alternate measures, a larger and a smaller; you must have completely honest weights and completely honest measures" (Deut. 25:13–15) was interpreted not as prohibiting any fraud by means of false weights and measures (which is dealt with in Lev. 19:35–36), but as applying to the manufacture or possession of any weights or measures, including utensils (such as pots or pitchers), which might be used for weighing or measuring and cause false weighing or measuring (BB 89b; Maim. Yad, Genevah 7:3; Sh. Ar., ḤM 231:3). While the manufacture of false weights and measures may be punishable with *flogging, the mere possession thereof is not, the violation of a negative injunction being so punishable only where an act is committed, as distinguished from the omission to get rid of the prohibited utensils. In order effectively to enforce the prohibition, courts in talmudical times appointed market inspectors charged with the control of all weights and measures even in private houses (BB 89a). There are detailed provisions for the manner in and the materials with which weights and measures are to be manufactured or repaired so as to be and remain accurate (Maim. Yad, Genevah, 8:4–11; Sh. Ar., ḤM 231:4–11). It is said that the crime of false measures is graver than even those crimes (like incest) which are punishable with *karet* (*Divine Punishment); the latter can be expiated by repentance and flogging, whereas in the case of the former repentance is of no avail, since neither the damage caused or the persons to whom restitution has to be made can be ascertained (BB 88b and Rashi ad loc., Maim. Yad. Genevah 7:11).

[Haim Hermann Cohn]

The Approach in Jewish Law

The dominant approach in Jewish law to the subject of weights and measures is the insistence that any doubt be resolved by the merchant in favor of the customer. Where the price is established by weight according to a scale, the merchant compares the two sides of the scale – the weight as opposed to the merchandise. However, if it is difficult to be certain of the comparison, the merchant must make his estimation in favor of the customer. Where the custom was not to make such a

Table 11. Measures of Surface and Their Ratios

	beit-kor	*beit- letekh*	*beit- peras*	*beit- zemed*	*beit-se'ah*	*beit-kav*	*beit-rova*	square *ammot*
beit-kor	1	2	7½	10	30	180	720	75,000
beit-letekh		1	3¾	5	15	90	360	37,500
beit-peras			1	1⅓	4	24	96	10,000
beit-zemed				1	3	18	72	7,500
beit-se'ah					1	6	24	2,500
beit-kav						1	4	416⅔
beit-rova							1	104⅙
square *ammot*								1

determination, the merchant must add an additional amount of merchandise for which he does not charge, and there is also a minimum amount that is required to be added. This law is derived from the verse in Deuteronomy 25:15: "A perfect and just weight…" and, as explicated in the Talmud, "'just' – [take] of yours and give him" (BB 88b; Sh. Ar., ḤM, 231:14). Due to the stringency of the requirements, the question arises as to whether imprecision in weights and measures may be pardoned. Tosefta BB 5:4 states: "…one sells to another one *log* [liquid measure or dry measure] and a half [*log*], a quarter [*log*], an eighth [*log*]: when he calculates the bill he may not say fill up this measure and say, sell me this (*kortov*) (1/64 portion) for the science of measures is not dependent on people, and it is God who has set his name upon them, because the verse ends with 'I am the Lord your God' [Lev 19:36]." Some commentators are of the opinion that agreeing to pardoning inexactitude is not effective, insofar as it may mislead people into thinking that this is the local custom, from which they will learn to cheat. Others are of the opinion that pardoning is effective, based on the Mishna in BB 7:2 (BB 103b), regarding one who sells a *bet kor* (area of land in which one can sew a particular amount of produce) and says to the buyer that the measure is "more or less." Even if he sold less or more, up to a certain percentage of the quantity a deviation of certain amount is permitted, and the transaction is valid (see Sh. Ar., ḤM 231:1 and *Kesef Kedoshim*; *ibid*; 209.1, Sh. Ar., ḤM 209:1; *Teḥumin* 3, p. 338).

The question arises today in the context of factories requesting a certain acceptance of imprecision on their part. The term for this is "scale tolerance." For example, a factory packages a line of products on a production line; each box or bag is stopped at a particular point on the line for a predetermined number of seconds, is filled with a predetermined amount from a container that is poured into it, is automatically closed, and continues on the line. The manufacturers claim that on occasion, unpredictably, the measurements in this process will be imprecise, as in the case where some of the product is spilled or the bag's progress is off schedule on the production line by a second more or less. They therefore demand that they not be checked on the basis of a single bag, but rather according to the average of a number of bags. The European Market has approved this arrangement – one which seems to require an act of pardoning imprecision in advance. If, on the other hand, we were to require the manufacturers to take into consideration the "determination" in favor of the consumer, they would raise the price of the product accordingly. It may be that an arrangement could be used whereby the labeling states that the package contains 98 to 102 tea bags, as in the case of the declaration of "more or less" cited above, or perhaps 98 to 103 tea bags, in order to fulfill the obligation of the determination in favor of the customer (see *Teḥumin* 3, *supra*).

[Itamar Warhaftig (2nd ed.)]

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WEIL, A. LEO (1858–1938), U.S. lawyer and civic reformer. Weil was born in Keysville, Charlotte County, Virginia. He practiced law in Bradford, Pennsylvania, from 1879 until he moved to Pittsburgh in 1888. There he organized the Voters' League of Pittsburgh and was its president for almost 30 years. The league's purpose was to fight corruption in public office and ensure honest elections. Weil believed that if leaders were honest, the ills of society could be cured without radical changes, maintaining that religious teachings and the laws of the land were sufficient to supply the maximum good. One Voters' League campaign resulted in 149 indictments, and led to the abolition of the city's councils (150 members) and the establishment of a new nine-member body in its place. An investigation of the city's school system led to its reorganization and substantial improvement. Weil became known for his successes in these activities and was invited to help organize reforms in other states.

An active participant in Jewish life, Weil served on the board of Temple Rodef Shalom, Pittsburgh, and was its vice president. He was one of the incorporators of the American Jewish Committee and a member of the executive committee, as well as a trustee of the Jewish Publication Society of America. Weil was vice president of the National Municipal League, of the World Union for Progressive Judaism and of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations. He was on the executive committees of the Pennsylvania Civil Service Association and of the Federated Jewish Philanthropies of Pittsburgh.

WEIL, ANDRÉ (1906–1998), U.S. mathematician. Born in Paris, Weil was appointed professor at the Aligarh Muslim University in India at the age of 24. He returned to Europe to join the faculty of science at the University of Strasbourg in 1933. He was a lecturer at Haverford College and Swarthmore College in the U.S. from 1940 to 1942, and in 1945 joined the faculty of philosophy at the University of São Paolo in Brazil as professor of mathematics. He returned to the U.S. in 1947 to join the department of mathematics at the University of Chicago, and from 1958 was at the Institute of Advanced Studies in Princeton until he retired.

Weil contributed widely to many branches of mathematics, including the theory of numbers, algebraic geometry, and group theory. Among his books are *Foundations of Algebraic Geometry* (1946, 1962), *Introduction l'étude des variétés kaehlériennes* (1958), *Adeles and Algebraic Groups* (1961), and *Basic Number Theory* (1967). In 1979 Weil was awarded the Wolf Prize, and the following year the American Mathematical Society awarded him its Steele Prize. In 1994 he received the Kyoto Prize from the Inamori Foundation of Japan.

[Maurice Goldsmith]

WEIL, ERIC (1904–1977), German philosopher. Born in Hamburg, he worked for his doctorate under Ernst *Cassirer. In 1933 Weil immigrated to France and in 1945 was appointed Maître de Recherche at the Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique and professor at the École Pratique des Hautes Études of the Sorbonne. In 1956 he took up the post of professor of philosophy in Lille and in 1968 was appointed professor of philosophy at Nice. Weil represents a classical tradition in philosophy according to which man is a rational but finite being. Although considering that past philosophical systems form the main stages of the development of the human spirit, Weil, unlike Hegel, does not think that Reason realizes itself entirely in the historical process. Philosophy is confronted by an eternal task: to grasp violence and to come to terms with it. In application, philosophy is not an Olympian and harmonious activity, but a moment of peace and reflection between violent events. In politics there is no reasonable attitude other than the desire for success, and success can result only from a certain capacity for thinking. Philosophers can locate reason in political actions and show that pure violence can never be a permanent scheme of action. Politics is always involved with morality, which for Weil is the refusal of the individual to accept foreign values and external influences. Man lives in inner (intellectual) freedom, and he wants his legitimate wishes to be satisfied. Dissatisfaction – even if no more than a vague sentiment – introduces a dialectical element into society, causing a dangerous antagonism between man and man. So, like politics, morality too is exposed to violent eruptions, and humanity needs philosophy in order to understand the nature of real human satisfaction. The latter consists in leading a meaningful life and attaining true knowledge of an ever-present reality.

He wrote *Logique de la Philosophie* (1950), *Hegel et l'État* (1950), *Philosophie Politique* (1956), *Philosophie Morale* (1961), and *Problèmes Kantiens* (1963).

[Eugene Jacob Fleischmann]

WEIL, FRANK LEOPOLD (1894–1957), U.S. lawyer and communal leader. Weil founded the law firm of Weil, Gotshal and Manges in 1926. Weil led many Jewish and general community efforts in a voluntary capacity. Long active in scouting, he was a member of the national executive board of the Boy Scouts of America and chairman of the Jewish Committee on Scouting. He was president of the 92nd Street YM-YWHA, New York, 1932–40 and of the N.Y. Metropolitan Section of the National Jewish Welfare Board (JWB). From 1940 to 1950 he served as president of the National Jewish Welfare Board and in this capacity convened the first meeting which created the United Service Organizations (USO), becoming a vice president and later chairman of the President's Committee on Religion and Welfare in the Armed Forces. As president of the JWB during World War II, he succeeded in mobilizing U.S. Jewry for moral and religious support of the military on an unprecedented scale and received the Medal of Merit, the highest U.S. government civilian award.

Weil was also instrumental in initiating the historical study of JWB and the Jewish community center movement with a view to determining their postwar objectives. The significant recommendations of the JWB survey were adopted in 1948. During Weil's presidency, JWB undertook the sponsorship of the Jewish Book Council of America; the National Jewish Music Council; and, for several years, the American Jewish Historical Society. He was a founder and president of the World Federation of YMHAS, Jewish Community Centers, and of the National Social Welfare Assembly. In 1952 he was chairman of the National Citizens Committee for UN Day. A vice president of Temple Emanu-El, New York, he was elected chairman of the board of governors of Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion, which established the Frank L. Weil Institute of Advanced Studies in Religion and the Humanities in his memory.

[Philip Goodman]

WEIL, GOTTHOLD (1882–1960), Orientalist. Born in Berlin, Weil began his academic career at the Berlin State Library in 1906, and in 1918 became director of its Oriental department, which he had founded. Teaching post-biblical Jewish history and literature at Berlin University from 1912, he was appointed professor in 1920. In 1931 he was appointed professor of Semitic languages at the University of Frankfurt, in succession to Josef *Horovitz. Weil was dismissed by the Nazis with the rest of his Jewish colleagues in 1934. From 1935 to 1946 he was head of the National and University Library in Jerusalem and also held the chair of Turkish studies at The Hebrew University (to 1952).

Weil's main field was Arabic studies, but he had wider Jewish interests as well and was on the board of various Jewish cultural institutions in Germany, and a governor of The Hebrew University. World War I directed his interest to Turkish studies. Tatar prisoners of war gave him the opportunity to conduct linguistic research, and he also published a *Grammatik der osmanischtuerkischen Sprache* (1917). His work in the field of Arab philology was concerned in the main with the history of Arab grammar (*Abul Barakat ibn al-Anbari, Die grammatischen Streitfragen der Basrer und Kufer*, 1913), and he also wrote about Arabic prosology (*Grundriss und System der altarabischen Metren*, 1958). In 1953 he published *Maimonides Responsum ueber die Lebensdauer* (text with German translation). On the occasion of his 70th birthday a *Festschrift* was issued by the Institute for Oriental Studies of The Hebrew University.

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[Lothar Kopf]

WEIL, GUSTAV (1808–1889), Orientalist. Born in Sulzburg, Baden, to a rabbinical family, he was schooled at home and at Metz, and later studied at Heidelberg, where he began his work in Arabic which he continued in Paris. As a correspondent he went with the French forces to *Algeria (1830) and proceeded to *Cairo, where he spent over four years as French instructor at a medical school, devoting most of his time to enriching his Arabic and mastering Persian and Turkish. He spent some time at Constantinople. Upon his return to Heidelberg, he was employed as librarian, later as teacher, and, after two decades, was awarded a professorship. His extensive literary output attempted to present a general survey of Arab letters and history, often on the basis of manuscript material. It can be divided into (1) work on the *Koran and tradition, e.g., the first introduction to the Koran (*Historischkritische Einleitung*, etc., 1844) and a study tracing the rabbinic background of much of the biblical lore of the Muslims (*Biblische Legenden der Muselmaenner*, 1845; English tr. 1846); (2) translations (of the Arabian Nights; the biography of the Prophet by Ibn-Isḥāk); (3) history, especially *Geschichte der Chalifen* (5 vols. 1846–62); a shorter work was translated by S. Khuda Bukhsh as *History of the Islamic Peoples* (Calcutta, 1914).

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[Moshe Perlmann]

WEIL, JACOB BEN JUDAH (d. before 1456), German rabbi and halakhic authority in the first half of 15th century. The name Weil was derived from the town of that name in the Neckar district. Weil's main teacher was Jacob *Moellin (the Maharil), who ordained him and appointed him rabbi of Nuremberg. Moellin granted him permission to establish a yeshivah there, but he refrained out of respect for Zalman Katz, who had previously been appointed to this office (Responsa Weil, no. 151). It appears, however, that from 1422 he served in both offices. Weil also refers to Zalman Ronkel of Mainz as "my teacher" and states that he studied in his yeshivah (*ibid.*). After Nuremberg he was in *Augsburg, then in *Bamberg for a short period, and from 1444 he was rabbi of *Erfurt. Scholars from various communities, including Israel *Isserlein, addressed their halakhic problems to him. Weil became renowned through his volume of responsa (Venice, 1523, frequently republished) which contains 193 responsa. They were copied during his lifetime and some are found among the responsa collections of other rabbis. Particularly well known is his *Hilkhot Sheḥitah u-Vedikah* ("laws of slaughtering and examination"), which was accepted as halakhic practice by the Ashkenazim and has been republished more than 70 times. These laws were first published in his responsa (Venice, 1549), and various scholars, among them Solomon *Luria (the Maharshal), added glosses, explanations, and novellae. The section *Bedikot* (Venice, 1552) was first published separately, but from the Mantua, 1556, edition, it was published together with the laws of slaughtering and given the title *Shehitot u-Vedikot*.

Apart from their halakhic importance, Weil's responsa are a valuable source for the social and religious history of German Jewry. They reflect the various problems that occupied the Jews of Germany during his era and, in particular, throw light on the internal organization of the communities. Particularly noteworthy is his responsum in connection with the rabbinic office. In his view the claim of presumptive right (*ḥazakah) does not apply to the rabbinical office, and any scholar has the right to take up residence in a town where there is a rabbi whose authority has been accepted by the community and may act as rabbi in the same manner as the incumbent; "and we have also seen in our own generation several places where there are two rabbis, and we have never heard that one had a greater right than the other" (Responsum 151). In one responsum he complains about the decline in the honor of the rabbinate and attacks those rabbis "who declare their own importance [and] administer their office in a high-handed manner, treading upon the heads of ordinary Jews and imposing monetary fines upon them in order to promote their own honor." In answer to the query of a contemporary scholar who complained that certain litigants refused to accept him as *dayyan* over them, he points out that nowadays "the generations have degenerated, understanding has declined, the *dayyanim* have deteriorated, and there is not a single scholar in the world who is an acknowledged expert." He attests of himself that "during my whole life l have never acted as judge over any one against his will, and always refrain with all my might from acting as a judge" (no. 146).

His *Hilkhot Shehitah u-Vedikah* was intended primarily for *shoḥatim*, to enable them to revise the laws. For this reason the sources are not given, nor does the work contain halakhic novellae, but merely gives the ruling in the briefest terms. He stresses the final halakhic ruling but also gives the local customs. Also appended to his Responsa is *Dinim ve-Halakhot*, in 71 sections, on the laws of divorce, **ḥaliẓah*, redemption of the firstborn, repentance, and the festivals, giving the halakhic ruling and relegating the sources to the end of his responsa. Two additional pamphlets appended to the responsa are: a collection of the novellae of the author of the *Aguddah* and the *Nimukkim* of *Menahem of Merseburg. Weil permitted the use of *pilpul merely as an aid to study, but in his practical halakhic rulings he relied only upon "clear proofs, clarified and complete, and elucidated from the plain meaning" (no. 164). Solomon Luria states that Weil was the chief of the **aḥaronim* and that all his successors relied upon his rulings. The *aḥaronim*, especially Moses *Isserles, attached great importance to his rulings, accepting them as binding. Of the many commentaries on his *Hilkhot Sheḥitah u-Vedikah*, the *Ohel Yisrael* (Wandsbek, 1733) of Israel of Copenhagen should be noted. It contains additions by later authorities and also includes questions "that should be asked of those coming to receive ordination," so that they can show their familiarity with the subject.

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[Yehoshua Horowitz]

WEIL, JIŘI (1900–1959), Czech writer, journalist, and translator. Born in Praskolesy, Bohemia, Weil completed his studies of Slavonic philology and comparative literary history at Charles University in Prague in 1928. As a student, he became a member of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and began to work at the Soviet embassy. In 1933 he left for Moscow, where he translated Russian, Soviet, and Marxist literature (Gorky, *Pasternak, Lenin, Majakovsky). His critical letters about the conditions of life in the Soviet Union may have contributed to his sudden expulsion from the Soviet Communist Party and later from the Czechoslovak party. He was sent to the Soviet East (Alma-Ata and a labor camp in Central Asia) as a reporter and returned to Czechoslovakia in 1935. After the German occupation of Czechoslovakia, he lost his job and started to work in the Jewish Museum in Prague. When in 1942 he was summoned, as a Jew, for deportation to Theresienstadt, he feigned suicide in the Vltava River and lived in hiding until 1945. After the war he worked as an editor, as he was out of favor with the dogmatic Communists who took power in 1948. Some of his books could be published only in the 1960s and after 1989.

Weil belonged to the modernist literary group Devětsil, whose avant-garde members took inspiration from France and the Soviet Union. From 1933 he was a co-editor of the progressive magazine *Tvorba* ("Creation"). In 1924, Weil published his literary survey "Russian Revolutionary Literature," followed by "Czechs Are Building in the Land of the Five-Year Plans," 1937. His novel *Moskva – hranice* ("Moscow – the Border," 1937, 1991) was the first to tell the truth about the purges and trials under Stalin's rule. Both style and content were met with anger from the Communists, and Weil was criticized severely. He therefore did not dare to publish his next novel, "Wooden Spoon" (1977, in *samizdat*, 1992), which was set in the *Gulag*. His historical novel *Makanna, otec divů* ("Makanna, Father of Wonders," 1945, 1948) appeared after the war; he also published collected stories from the Protectorate, *Barvy* ("Colors," 1946); another series of stories, containing two with Jewish themes, *Vězeň chillonsk* ("Prisoner of Chillon," 1957), and "Elegy for 77,297 Victims," 1958, 1999. The fate of Czech Jews under the Nazis is described in Weil's two novels *Life with a Star* (1989, 1991, 1998, with a preface by Philip *Roth) and, posthumously, *Mendelssohn on the Roof* (1998). The first one is a Kafkaesque and existentialist account of human suffering in the form of a Jew in Nazi-occupied Prague attempting to hold on to his humanity. The second book is also dedicated to the Jewish tragedy of that time.

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[Milos Pojar (2nd ed.)]

WEIL, JOSEPH (1897–1977), U.S. electrical engineer. Born in Baltimore, Weil received his B.A. from Johns Hopkins in 1918 and his M.S. from Pittsburgh in 1926. Weil joined the faculty at the University of Florida in 1921, and was professor and head of the department of electrical engineering from 1931, and dean of the college of engineering, 1937–63. He was a consulting engineer to municipalities, industrial organizations, radio stations, and U.S. government agencies; he was closely involved in defense training courses, civilian pilot training, and manpower commissions. Weil was the first, and for many years the only, Jewish faculty member at the University of Florida.

[Sharon Zrachya (2nd ed.)]

WEIL, NETHANEL BEN NAPHTALI ẒEVI (1687–1769), German rabbi. In his youth Weil studied at the yeshivah of

Abraham *Broda in Prague, and in Metz. Later, he served as head of a yeshivah in Prague. On the expulsion of the Jews from Bohemia in 1744, he was appointed rabbi of the Schwarzwald (Black Forest) district. In 1750 he became rabbi of Karlsruhe.

He is known mainly for his *Korban Netanel*, a comprehensive commentary on *Asher b. Jehiel's commentary to *Mo'ed* and *Nashim*. This was the first Hebrew book printed and issued in Karlsruhe (1755) and has been printed in all editions of the Talmud containing the *Rosh*. He also wrote *Netiv Ḥayyim* (Fuerth, 1779), annotations to the Shulḥan Arukh, *Orah Ḥayyim*, and *Torat Netanel*, responsa and sermons (2 vols., Fuerth 1795).

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[Zvi Meir Rabinowitz]

WEIL, R. ADRIENNE (1903–?), French naval engineer, Adrienne Weil was born in Paris, where her father was professor of philosophy at the Sorbonne, and her mother a senior official in the Ministry of Education. From 1940 to 1944 she was at the Cavendish Laboratory, Cambridge University. From 1951 she was contractual engineer for arms and construction in the French Navy.

WEIL, SIMONE (1909–1943), French philosopher. Simone Weil was one of those rare thinkers whose life and thought were inseparable. Born into an upper-class Paris family (her brother was André *Weil), she lived most of her adult life in circumstances of physical deprivation. In 1934, wishing to share the experiences of the poor, she gave up teaching philosophy to become a factory worker. The fruit of this experience was *La Condition Ouvrière*, published posthumously in 1951. In 1936 she joined the Republicans in the Civil War in Spain, and in 1940, after the Nazi invasion, she worked as a farm laborer in southern France. In 1942, she left the U.S., where she had immigrated with her family, intending to return to France and join the Resistance. She never got further than England where, weakened by the hardships of her earlier life, she permitted herself to die of starvation. Most of Simone Weil's writings, published posthumously, consist of fragments from her notebooks, letters, articles, and memoranda, and can perhaps best be regarded as the testimony of a life of relentless dedication to the search for absolute truth and social justice. She was a mystic in the tradition of the 14th-century German theologians Meister Eckhart and St. John of the Cross, both of whom influenced her thought. Although she never actually converted to Catholicism, she experienced a mystical encounter with Jesus in 1938. Her main reason for not converting was that she found it impossible to accept the unchristian historical role of the Church. On the other hand, her attitude towards Judaism was one of total and blinding rejection. She considered it a racial, nationalistic, and cruel religion, and attributed all the evil in Christianity, such as the Inquisition and the killing of heretics, to its Jewish sources.

Published selections of her writings include: *Cahiers* (3 vols., 1951–56; *Notebooks*, 2 vols., 1956); *La pesanteur et la grâce* (1946; *Gravity and Grace*, 1952); *L'Enracinement* (1949; *The Need for Roots*, 1952); *Attente de Dieu* (1950; *Waiting on God*, 1951); and *Lettre à un religieux* (1951; *Letter to a Priest*, 1953).

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[Myriam M. Malinovich]

WEILER, JACK D. (1904–1995), U.S. realtor and communal worker. Weiler, who grew up in New York City, held leadership positions in several Jewish organizations, particularly in the UJA since its inception in 1939. From 1953 he was a national chairman of the organization. He represented the UJA in this capacity on the Joint Distribution Committee and became the committee's vice chairman and director. Also on the UJA's Executive Committee, the organization's top policy-making body, he became chairman of trustees for the Greater New York UJA, a select group of New York community leaders. A real estate man, Weiler joined with his brother-in-law, Benjamin *Swig, in 1937 to form one of the most successful real estate firms in the country, with one office in San Francisco and another in New York. The partners bought and sold real estate in cities throughout the United States. He also served as chairman of the finance committee for Senator Herbert H. Lehman in 1950 and for New York City Mayor Robert Wagner in 1956. Weiler's holdings included 5 million square feet in New York City; 1.5 million in California; and a community of more than 2,000 homes on the southern ridge of Jerusalem.

Other organizations in which Weiler held leadership positions include the State of Israel Bond Organization, the Federation of Jewish Philanthropies, the New York Board of Rabbis, and the Jewish Theological Seminary of America. Some of the institutions that Weiler contributed to are the Jack D. Weiler Hospital of Yeshiva University's Albert Einstein College of Medicine in New York City; the chaplaincy of the New York Board of Rabbis; and, in Israel, the architecture department of Bezalel Academy of Art, and the Jack D. Weiler Fund for Research into Halakhic Philosophy at Bar-Ilan University.

WEILL, ALEXANDRE ABRAHAM (1811–1899), French author. Born in Alsace, Weill trained for the rabbinate in Frankfurt, where he also studied languages and literature. Abandoning rabbinics in 1836, he went to Paris where, armed with an introduction from Heinrich *Heine, he gained admittance to the principal literary salons. His friends included Balzac (whom he later criticized), Gérard de Nerval, Victor Hugo, and *Meyerbeer. Weill was a prolific author, publishing over 40 books and hundreds of articles in a variety of French and German journals. His subjects ranged from religious polemic and historical studies to linguistic speculation, mediocre poetry, and autobiography. His *Sittengemaelde aus dem elsaessischen Volksleben* (1847), tales of village life in Alsace, provides invaluable source material for the Jewish social historian.

His biographical studies include *Ludovic Boerne* (1878) and *Souvenirs intimes de Henri Heine* (1883). *La France Catholique* (1886) was his energetic reply to Edouard *Drumont's notorious antisemitic libel. Weill's kabbalism, later formulated in *Mystères de la Création* (1855), probably influenced the last book of Hugo's *Contemplations*. One of his many biblical publications maintained that the altar of the Tabernacle was in effect an electrical device. In 1890 he published an autobiography, *Introduction à mes mémoires*.

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WEILL, KURT (1900–1950), composer. The son of a *ḥazzan*, Weill was born in Dessau and studied under the composer Busoni in Berlin. He at first wrote operas and symphonic and chamber music, but later turned to social satire in the theater. Weill formed an association with the German dramatist Bertolt Brecht, with whom he produced a "singspiel," *Aufstieg und Fall der Stadt Mahagonny* (1927–29), a savage satire on American life. In 1928 he composed, again with Brecht, *Die Dreigroschenoper*, a modern version of the English 18th-century ballad-opera *The Beggar's Opera*. This was an extraordinary success in Europe and the United States. After the Nazis seized power in Germany, Weill, accompanied by his wife, the actress Lotte Lenya, moved to Paris and then to London, finally settling in the U.S. in 1935. Unusually adaptable, Weill became acclimatized to American theatrical ways and produced a number of successful musical works, including the Jewish opera *The Eternal Road* (1937) based on the historical pageant *Der Weg der Verheissung* written by Franz Werfel; *Knickerbocker Holiday* (1938), *One Touch of Venus* (1943), and *Love Life* (1948). He also wrote a one-act American folk opera, *Down in the Valley* (1948), and the music for Ben *Hecht's pageant in honor of the State of Israel, *A Flag is Born* (1948). With Hindemith, Kurt Weill was instrumental in shaping the genre of *Gebrauchsmusik* (utilitarian music), which aimed at producing music accessible to the masses and capable of performance by non-professional groups. This did not, however, exclude the application of dissonant counterpoint and harmony. Weill made liberal use of modern dance rhythms, particularly jazz, often combining these modern resources with nostalgic and even sentimental ballad forms. Weill's music paved the way for many experiments of his younger German contemporaries, including B. Blacher, C. Orff, and H.W. Henze; it also impressed and inspired his American colleagues, such as Aaron *Copland. Today Weill is rightfully considered one of the most influential German composers of his generation.

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[Nicolas Slonimsky / Yulia Kreinin (2nd ed.)]

WEILL, MICHEL AARON (1814–1889), French rabbi. Weill, who was born at Strasbourg, studied at the Ecole Rabbinique at Metz and at the Sorbonne in Paris. In 1845 he was appointed teacher and subsequently chief rabbi at Algiers, the first Frenchman to hold this office (1846–64). In 1876, after a period of temporary retirement, Weill became rabbi of Toul. He resigned in 1885 and settled in Paris to devote himself to writing.

His chief works are *Le Judaisme, ses dogmes et sa mission* (4 vols., 1866–69) and *La morale du Judaïsme* (2 vols., 1875–77). His son GEORGES WEILL (1865–1942) was a historian, author of *L'éveil des nationalités et le mouvement libéral 1815–1848* (1930, 1962).

WEILL, RAYMOND (1874–1950), French Egyptologist and historian. He directed excavations in Egypt, in the Sinai Peninsula, and, under the auspices of Baron Edmond de Rothschild, in Jerusalem on the hill of Ophel (1913–14; 1923–24). The latter expedition revealed a large area of the southern part of the city of David, including a great part of its eastern fortifications and a complex of tombs, which Weill thought to be those of the kings of Judah. These excavations are described in *La Cité de David* (2 vols., 1920–47). In 1920 he was appointed professor of Egyptology at the Ecole des Hautes Etudes in Paris, and in 1931 he became professor of Oriental history at the Sorbonne.

Among his numerous publications are: *Recueil des inscriptions égyptiennes du Sinai* (1904); *Les origines de l'Egypte pharaonique* (1908); *Les décrets royaux de l'ancien empire égyptien* (1912); *La fin du moyen empire égyptien* (1918); *L'installation des Israélites en Palestine* (1924); *Bases, méthodes et résultats de la chronologie égyptienne* (1926); *La Phénicie et l'Asie occidentale* (1939; 1949^2).

WEILL, SANFORD I. (1933–), U.S. banker, financier, and philanthropist. The son of Polish immigrants, Weill was born in Brooklyn, N.Y. When his parents could not find housing, they enrolled him at the Peekskill Military Academy. He attended Cornell University, where he was a member of the Air Force ROTC. Although he wanted to be a pilot, that was not to be. In 1955 he got his first job on Wall Street as a runner for Bear Stearns. While there he became friends with Arthur Carter, who was working at Lehman Brothers, and he became a licensed broker. In 1960, Carter, Roger Berlind, Peter Potoma, and Weill formed Carter, Berlind, Potoma & Weill. After the New York Stock Exchange brought disciplinary proceedings against Potoma, he left the firm. In 1968 the firm became Cogan, Berlind, Weill & Levitt (Marshall Cogan, Roger Berlind, who later became a Broadway producer, Arthur Levitt). Weill was chairman from 1965 to 1984, a period in which the firm completed over 15 acquisitions to become the country's second largest securities brokerage firm. The company became CBWL-Hayden, Stone in 1970, Hayden Stone in 1972, Shearson Hayden Stone in 1974, when it merged with Shearson Hammill & Co., and Shearson Loeb Rhoades in 1979, when it merged with Loeb Rhoades Hornblower. With capital totaling $250 million, Shearson Loeb Rhoades trailed only Merrill Lynch as the securities brokerage industry's largest firm. In 1981 Weill sold the company to American Express for about $930 million in stock. He began serving as president of American Express in 1983 and as chairman and chief executive of its insurance subsidiary, Fireman's Fund Insurance, in 1984. Frustrated with the direction of the company, Weill quit American Express in 1985. The following year he went to Minneapolis to persuade Control Data to spin off its subsidiary, Commercial Credit, in a public offering worth $850 million. Weill took over as chief executive, investing $7 million of his own money. He also acquired its subsidiary, a property and casualty insurance concern called Gulf Insurance. By 1988 Weill and his team had turned Commercial Credit around and acquired the Primerica Corporation for $1.5 billion along with its holdings, the brokerage Smith Barney and the A.L. Williams insurance company, renamed Primerica Financial Services. Over the next two years Primerica absorbed the consumer lending operations of Barclays American/Financial. In 1992 alone, Primerica raised $625 million by selling nonstrategic assets. Weill then bought 27 percent of Travelers Insurance for $722 billion. He personally earned $67.6 million that year, most of it from stock options, making him the second highest-paid executive in the United States. The following year Weill realized an old dream. He regained control of Shearson (now Shearson Lehman), buying it back from American Express for $1.2 billion. By doing so, he acquired Shearson's 8,400 brokers and state-of-the-art back office, while leaving behind Shearson's litigation liability. In 1996 Weill added to his holdings, at a cost of $4 billion, the property and casualty operations of Aetna Life & Casualty, and the following year he acquired Salomon, the parent company of Salomon Brothers, for over $9 billion in stock. In April 1998 Travelers announced an agreement to undertake the $76 billion merger between Travelers and Citicorp, the parent company of Citibank, to create Citigroup. Citicorp was the world's largest supplier of credit cards, and Citibank was the second largest bank in the United States. At the beginning of the day the merger was announced, the two companies were valued at $70.6 billion. By the end of the day the value had jumped to $83.6 billion. In 2002 the company was rocked by a wave of scandals that followed the stock market downturn. Weill was replaced as chief executive of Citigroup in 2003. He served as chairman until 2006. Weill's career was also marked by extensive philanthropy. He endowed Cornell's medical school in 1998 with a $100 million pledge, and it was named the Joan and Sanford I. Weill Medical College and Graduate School of Medical Sciences. As chairman of Carnegie Hall he raised $60 million for renovation of its facilities, and one of the concert halls is named for him. He was the principal sponsor of the High School of Economics and Finance in New York and worked with the Disney Company to create, at the children's museum in Baltimore, Md., a game to teach youngsters about capitalism.

[Stewart Kampel (2nd ed.)]

WEILL, SHRAGA (1918–), Israeli artist. Weill was born in Nitra, Czechoslovakia. He first studied sculpture with a local sculptor, but continued at the Prague School of Art. His first graphic works were produced during World War II, part of which he spent in prison, having been convicted of membership in the underground movement. Weill immigrated to Israel in 1947 and settled in kibbutz Ha-Ogen. During 1949–1955 he worked as an illustrator, illustrating several books of poems and biblical stories, such as Lea *Goldberg's "The Love of Samson," "The Song of Songs," and the "Dead Sea Scrolls," with drawing depicting desert landscapes or local people. In 1954, he studied in Paris at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts. Weill worked in many artistic media – painting, drawing, illustration, mural painting, and reliefs. In 1965, he illustrated *Kohelet* (the Book of Ecclesiastes) with more abstract stylization, but a continuity of his earlier style is still noticeable. He was commissioned to prepare several large works for public buildings, including metal reliefs for the doors of the main entrance to the Knesset building in Jerusalem (1966), in which he used popular symbols and motifs, diffusing them in an abstract composition with biblical and Jewish subjects; a relief for the Hilton Hotel, Tel Aviv; one for the Wolfson House at the Weizmann Institute, Reḥovot; and another for the Israel Pavilion at "Expo 67," Montreal, Canada. His works are represented in the Israel Museum, Jerusalem, the Nelson-Atkins Gallery of Art, Kansas City, Mo.; the William Hayes Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University; and Los Angeles County Museum.

[Judith Spitzer]

WEIN, GEORGE (1925–), U.S. pianist, jazz festival organizer, record label founder and owner, entrepreneur. George Wein is nothing if not a realist. When he realized that despite his family pedigree (his father was a prosperous doctor in Newton, Mass., who also played piano) he was more drawn to music than to grad school, he dropped out of Harvard to play jazz wherever he could in the Boston area. When he realized that, as he himself has said, he was not a great musician, merely a highly professional one despite training with Margaret Chaloff and Teddy Wilson, he started a Boston jazz club, Storyville, which quickly became a mecca for music both old and new. Wein was adept at finding and filling gaps in the music community; his most famous invention, the Newport Jazz Festival, first staged in 1954, was the first regular outdoor jazz festival in the world. When Newport became a less convivial venue in the 1970s, he moved it to New York without hesitation (although a small version has continued in Newport throughout). His programming has always been an inventive balance between the commercial and artistic, mixing every possible genre of jazz and related musical crossovers. As Wein has said, a jazz festival should offer "a broad spectrum of what jazz is in any given year." Wein also pioneered the concept of corporate sponsor association with music events, putting sponsors' names on his festivals long before the practice became the norm. Among his many honors it should be noted that he was both a member of the Legion d'Honneur in recognition of his creation of the contemporary jazz festival, and a recipient of a Jazz Masters award from the National Endowment for the Arts. This is only appropriate for someone who single-handedly remade the business end of jazz. "Not many people can say they changed the world and make it stick," remarked Gene Santoro in *Nation*. "Without Wein everything from Woodstock to Jazz at Lincoln Center might have happened differently – if it happened at all."

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[George Robinson (2nd ed.)]

WEINBAUM, MARK EFIMOVICH (**Veinbaum**, 1890–1973), U.S. journalist. Born in Proskurov, Ukraine, Weinbaum went to the U.S. in 1913. He was associated with several Russian-language publications, joining the staff of *Russkoye Slovo* in 1914, and later founding his own journal *Russkiy Golos* (1917–20). In 1925 he became editor and co-owner of the influential *Novoye Russkoye Slovo*. From 1948 he was director and president of the Fund for the Relief of Russian Writers and Scientists in Exile.

WEINBERG, GLADYS DAVIDSON (1909–2002), U.S. archaeologist and daughter of Hebrew literary scholar Israel *Davidson and Carrie Dreyfuss Davidson, editor of *Outlook* magazine of the United Synagogue of America's Women's League. Weinberg was raised in New York City and received her B.A. from New York University in 1930 and her Ph.D. from Johns Hopkins in 1935 for a dissertation on the excavations at Corinth. In 1931, she joined the Johns Hopkins University expedition to Olynthus and continued her research in Greece from 1932 to 1939 as a Fellow of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, and then as a member of the American School Excavations at Corinth. From 1940 to 1943, she worked as assistant curator of ancient art at the Princeton Art Museum. After marrying fellow archaeologist Saul Weinberg, she worked as translator and librarian in the Foreign Service Auxiliary of the U.S. State Department in Istanbul and Athens (1943–45), and then as librarian of the American School of Classical Studies in Athens (1946–48). Serving as editor of the magazine *Archaeology* (1952–67), Gladys Weinberg conducted excavations searching for ancient glass factories in the eastern Mediterranean, becoming a leading authority on glassmaking technology in ancient Greece, Crete, and Israel. Cofounder of the Museum of Art and Archaeology at the University of Missouri-Columbia, after 1962 she served as its curator of ancient art, then as assistant director and research fellow; she also founded and edited the museum's annual, *Muse*, from 1966–77.

In addition to publishing numerous articles, Weinberg coauthored and/or edited several important archaeological publications, including *Small Finds from the Pnyx*, 1 (1943); *Corinth: The Minor Objects* (1952); *The Antikythera Wreck Reconsidered* (1965); *Excavations at Jalame, Site of a Glass Factory in Late Roman Palestine* (1988); and *Selected Glass Vessels in Ancient Greece* (1992). She was made an honorary life member of the American Association of University Women and the Archaeological Institute of America. In 1985, Gladys Davidson Weinberg, together with her husband Saul Weinberg, received the Gold Medal for Distinguished Archaeological Achievement from the Archaeological Institute of America. The following year, she became the recipient of the Percia Schimmel Award for Archaeological Exploration in Biblical Lands from the Israel Museum. The Saul and Gladys Weinberg Papers can be found in the archives of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens.

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[Harriet Pass Freidenreich (2nd ed.)]

WEINBERG, HARRY (1908–1990), U.S. philanthropist. Born in Sambur, Galicia, Weinberg immigrated to America at the age of four. He grew up in Baltimore in absolute poverty but, by the age of 40, he was a millionaire and, by the time he was 50, he was a billionaire. He lived in Hawaii for the last 20 years of his life where, for a time, he was the largest individual landowner in the state.

With all his money, Weinberg never indulged himself. In the 1950s, after purchasing the Scranton, Pennsylvania, bus lines, he lived in a rented, second-floor apartment, even though he could have bought the entire block the house stood on.

Weinberg was known for working seven days a week, and his main interest appeared to be in acquiring as much as he could. His chief hobby was charity. In the late 1930s, he pledged support from his then meager assets to enable many German Jews to reach safe haven in America. When his wealth had increased, he gave annual grants to yeshivot and Orthodox synagogues in Baltimore, even though he was not Orthodox. He donated $3 million to the Honolulu congregation for its building and an endowment fund. He aided the Associated Jewish Community Federation of Baltimore in many ways. He also gave funds to many non-Jewish institutions.

He established two foundations. The first, the Harry and Jeanette Weinberg Foundation established in 1959, had assets at his death of almost $1 billion and was the 11th largest private foundation in the U.S. By 2005 it was still one of the largest such institutions in the U.S., with assets of approximately $2 billion. The other foundation, the Harry Weinberg Foundation, was worth $90 million and was devoted solely to the benefit of the Associated Jewish Community Federation in Baltimore.

The larger foundation disburses $100 million annually. Its charter stipulates that 25% of its disbursements go to organizations that primarily benefit Jews and 25% to organizations that primarily benefit non-Jews. The remaining 50% goes to any groups – Jewish or non-Jewish – deemed worthy by the foundation's trustees. There are no geographical limitations on disbursements, and it was intended that both Israel's and Baltimore's homeless would benefit. It has expanded to include Hawaii, northeastern Pennsylvania, New York, and the former Soviet Union, providing grants for such needs as food, shelter, health, and socialization, and to enhance the individual's ability to meet those needs for himself.

[David Geffen / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

WEINBERG, JACOB (1879–1956), composer and pianist. Weinberg taught in his native Odessa from 1915 to 1921 and emigrated to Ereẓ Israel in 1922. He left for the United States in 1926.

His works include the opera *The Pioneers* (Philadelphia, 1926; *He-Ḥalutz* 1932), one of the first operas based on life in Ereẓ Israel; music for the Sabbath morning service, *Shabbat ba-Areẓ* (1939), an experiment in the use of Palestinian folk melodies in modern style in the synagogue; and *Tefillot le-Shabbat* ("Prayers for the Sabbath"). He also wrote oratorios, *Isaiah* (1953), and *The Life of Moses* (1955); music for texts from the Dead Sea Scrolls, and *The Gettysburg Address* (1954).

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[Edith Gerson-Kiwi]

WEINBERG, JEHIEL JACOB (1885–1966), talmudic authority, thinker, and teacher. Weinberg studied in the yeshivot of Mir and Slobodka. In 1907 he was appointed rabbi in his native Pilwishki (in Lithuania). While there, he lectured to a group of advanced Talmud students and contributed articles to the periodical *Yagdil Torah*. With the outbreak of World War I, Weinberg went to Germany and studied at the University of Giessen, where he was granted his doctorate for his thesis on the masorah. He was appointed rabbi of the Charlottenburg district of Berlin and in 1924 began to lecture in Talmud and *halakhah* at the *Rabbiner-Seminar Fuer Das Orthodoxe Judentum, of which he later became rector. In his lectures and essays, Weinberg introduced German Orthodoxy to the viewpoints of the eastern European yeshivot. Following the closing of the Rabbiner-Seminar by the Nazis, he returned to eastern Europe and was later interned in various concentration camps. After the war, broken in health, he settled in Montreux, Switzerland, from where he exercised considerable influence, primarily through his writing. A profound talmudic scholar, at home in the critical-historical approach of modern scholarship, well read in general literature, and familiar with current problems, he educated a generation of intellectuals who became rabbis and communal leaders. He maintained close relations with the leading talmudists of his time and was held in respect by European scholars, becoming a link between eastern and western Jewry.

Weinberg's most important work is his responsa *Seridei Esh* (1961–69) in four volumes, the third and fourth volume appearing posthumously. Among the practical problems discussed are whether animals may be electrically stunned before *sheḥitah*, whether it is permitted to have a bat mitzvah ceremony for girls corresponding with the boys' bar mitzvah, and whether Jews may lecture on Jewish law to gentiles. In the course of his responsa, which reflect his independent and incisive reasoning, Weinberg elucidates many talmudic themes. He was considered an authoritative halakhist, and problems were addressed to him from all parts of the world. His essays (published in *Li-Ferakim*, 1936, and *Das Volk der Religion*, 1949) reveal not only his own originality, but the profound influence upon him of the ideas of Israel *Lipkin (Salanter) and Samson Raphael *Hirsch. His talmudic genius is apparent in *Meḥkarim ba-Talmud* (1937–38). Weinberg was also a frequent contributor to rabbinic periodicals. He died in Montreux and was buried in Jerusalem.

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[Mordechai Hacohen]

WEINBERG, SAUL S. (1911–1992), U.S. educator and archaeologist. Born in Chicago, Weinberg received an M.S. in architectural history from the University of Illinois in 1933 and a Ph.D. from Johns Hopkins in 1935. He spent much time in Greece between 1936 and 1948. In 1948 he began his academic career at the University of Missouri and was appointed professor of classical archaeology in 1956. In 1957 he and his wife Gladys founded the Museum of Art and Archaeology at the University of Missouri, and in 1961 he became its director. Weinberg distinguished himself as a teacher, excavator, scholar, and museologist. He participated in or directed excavations in Greece (at Corinth and Elateia), Cyprus (at Kourion and Episkopi), Crete (at Tarrha), and Israel (at Tel Anafa and Shamir). In 1969 he became chief curator of the Biblical and Archaeological Department of the Israel Museum and also taught prehistory at The Hebrew University. In 1975 he was made a fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences. In 1985 he and Gladys received the Gold Medal of the American Institute of Archaeology, and in 1986 they received the Percie Schimmel Award of the Israel Museum, Jerusalem, for archaeological exploration in Bible lands.

In addition to numerous articles, Weinberg published two volumes of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens publications, *Geometric and Orientalizing Pottery* (1943) and *The Southeast Building, The Twin Basilica, The Mosaic House* (1960), and also published *The Stone Age in the Aegean* (Cambridge Ancient History, 1 (1965^2), ch. 10). He edited *The Aegean and the Near East: Studies Presented to Hetty Goldman…* (1956).

Gladys Davidson Weinberg (1909–2002), also an archaeologist, was one of the foremost authorities on ancient and medieval glass. She specialized in ancient miniature art. She was the editor of *Archaeology* magazine from 1952 to 1967 and curator of Ancient Art of the Museum of Art and Archaeology at the University of Missouri from 1962 to 1973. She served as assistant director of the museum from 1973 to 1977, after which she was a research fellow. She was made an honorary life member of the Archaeological Institute of America. Her books include *Small Objects from Pnyx* (with Dorothy Burr Thompson, 1942); *Corinth: The Minor Objects* (1952); *Excavations at Jalame, Site of a Glass Factory in Late Roman Palestine* (1988); and *Selected Glass Vessels in the National Museum, Athens, Greece* (1992).

[Penuel P. Kahane / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

WEINBERG, SIDNEY J. (1891–1969), U.S. investment banker. Weinberg was born in New York City and at the age of 16 entered the Wall Street investment banking house of Goldman, Sachs & Co. After serving in the navy during World War I, Weinberg rejoined Goldman, Sachs. He subsequently bought a seat on the New York Stock Exchange (1925) and became a firm partner (1927). Weinberg's reputation as a corporate finance expert was such that he once sat simultaneously on the boards of directors of 31 companies. In 1956 Weinberg supervised the $650 million sale of Ford Motor Company stock, then the greatest such undertaking in business history. A Roosevelt supporter from 1932, he was offered, but declined, the post of ambassador to the U.S.S.R. in 1936. In 1933 he founded the Business Council, a forum for presenting the business view on the state of the nation and economy to Washington. He served as assistant director of the War Production Board during World War II, special assistant in the Office of Defense Mobilization during the Korean War, and as unofficial financial and economic advisor to U.S. presidents from Roosevelt through Kennedy.

WEINBERG, STEVEN (1933–), U.S. physicist and Nobel Laureate in physics. Born in New York, Weinberg graduated A.B. from Cornell University (1954) and studied at Copenhagen Institute for Theoretical Physics before receiving his Ph.D. in physics from Princeton University (1957) under the direction of Sam Treiman. After appointments at Columbia University (1957–59) and the Lawrence Radiation Laboratory, Livermore, California (1959–60), he was successively professor of physics at the University of California at Berkeley (1959–69) and at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (1969–73). He was Higgins Professor of Physics at Harvard University and Senior Scientist at the Smithsonian Astrophysical Observatory (1973–83) before moving to the University of Texas at Austin as Jack S. Josey – Welch Foundation Professor, Regental Professor of Science, and founding director of the Theory Group in the College of Natural Sciences. His research concerns the interactions between strong electromagnetic force and the weak forces which allow beta decays of the nucleus, and hence radioactivity. Neutrinos and, to a lesser extent, electrons account for these interactions. Weinberg's theoretical concept of these processes has been largely validated experimentally. This field has fundamental implications for understanding the formation of complex inorganic and biological molecules from elements formed in the evolution of the universe, with the ultimate objective of explaining the physical basis of matter throughout the universe. He was awarded the Nobel Prize (1979) jointly with Abdus Salam and Sheldon Glashow. His many honors include membership in the U.S. Academy of Sciences (1972), the JR Oppenheimer Prize (1973), foreign membership in the Royal Society of London (1982), the U.S. National Medal of Science (1991), and the Benjamin Franklin Medal of the American Philosophical Society (2004). He was visiting professor at the Weizmann Institute (1985). Among his many national and international commitments to scientific education and planning, he was director of the Jerusalem Winter School of Theoretical Physics from 1983. Weinberg was also active in teaching and writing on the social and philosophical implications of modern science. He served as consultant for the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency. His books for general readers include *The First Three Minutes: a Modern View of the Origin of the Universe* (1977), *Elementary Particles and the Laws of Physics* (with R.P. Feynman) (1987), *Dreams of a Final Theory* (1993), *Facing Up – Science and Its Cultural Adversaries* (2001), and *Glory and Terror – the Growing Nuclear Danger* (2004). His contributions to the field of scientific writing have been recognized by his receipt of the American Institute of Physics and U.S. Steel Foundation Science Writing Award (1977) and the Lewis Thomas Prize honoring the scientist as poet (1999).

[Michael Denman (2nd ed.)]

WEINBERG, ẒEVI ZEBULUN (1883–1971), Hebrew author. Born in Praga, near Warsaw, he became an instructor in Jewish subjects in Augustov, Suvalki, and Warsaw. In Warsaw, he established a Hebrew high school and was among the founders of the Polish Association of Hebrew Authors and Journalists, which he headed for a short time. In 1934 he emigrated to Ereẓ Israel, where he taught at the Tel Mond School.

His first story, *Nissayon* ("Test"), was published in *Ha-Zeman* (1905); subsequent stories appeared in various Hebrew periodicals. He served as an editor of the monthlies *Kolot* (1924) and *Reshit* (1933). While his early stories realistically describe Jewish life in Poland, those of his post-migration period relate the Israel experience. His books are *Bayit u-Reḥov* (1931);

Bi-Derakhim Afelot (1942); *Meḥiẓot* (1943); *Asher Avar* (3 vols., 1950–56); *Poh ve-Sham* (1954); *Adam be-Oholo* (1955).

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[Jerucham Tolkes]

WEINBERGER, JAROMIR (1896–1967), composer. Born in Prague, Weinberger studied at the Prague Conservatory and with Max Reger in Leipzig. In 1922 he visited the U.S., and on his return to Europe he taught in various cities, but his center was in Prague. In 1937 he emigrated to the U.S., settling in St. Petersburg, Fla. Although best known for his operas, Weinberger also wrote orchestral, choral, and instrumental works. His early compositions were in the style of the French impressionists, but later works were inspired by Czech folk music and the school of Dvorak and Smetana. His picturesque folk-opera *Švanda dudák* ("Schwanda the Bagpiper," 1927), written in the tradition of Smetana, won Weinberger immediate popularity, and was translated into 17 languages and performed throughout Europe and the U.S. The opera's "Polka and Fugue" is a concert staple.

Other operas are *Lidé z Pokerflatu* ("The Outcasts of Poker Flat," after Bret Harte, 1932) and *Wallenstein* (1937), a lyric tragedy after Schiller. After leaving Europe, Weinberger became deeply influenced by American culture and completely changed his style. Among his later works are *Variations and Fugue on Under the Spreading Chestnut Tree* (1939), *Lincoln Symphony* (1941), *Ecclesiastes*, for soprano, baritone, mixed chorus, and organ (1945), *Prelude and Fugue on Dixie*, and *Legend of Sleepy Hollow.* Some of his music on Jewish subjects is still unpublished.

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WEINBERGER, MOSHE (1854–1940), rabbi. Born in Hungary, he studied with Samuel Ehrenfeld, Elazar Loew, Moses Sofer, and Meir Perles and immigrated to the United States in 1880 for reasons unknown. Fervently Orthodox, deeply learned, and highly unsuccessful, he was in the wrong place at the wrong time, or he was the wrong man for his place and his time. A sense of his experience in the United States can be found in his book written in Hebrew, not Yiddish, on Jews and Judaism in New York (1887), in which he bemoans Jewish life in New York City and criticizes its materialism, its impiety, the low level of Jewish learning and Jewish life, and the terrible standards of *kashrut*. "Great cantors, but empty synagogues" is the way he characterized Jewish life. His message to those who had not yet come to the United States was simple: Don't! It was not a happy report, but it did not stem the tide of immigration. Jonathan Sarna describes his book as the best "single source for Orthodox Jewish life among early East European immigrants." It is a non-romantic portrait. The heroes resist and do not embrace Americanization.

He then became rabbi in Scranton, Pennsylvania, in 1890 and moved on to Philadelphia three years later, and his career was on the upswing. He then returned to New York to be rabbi of the Beth Hamidrash Hagadol, Anshei Ungarn (Hungary). He attempted to organize a Yeshivat Or-Hayyim but, in the end, could not open the school. His experience with his congregation was no better. His congregation was appreciative neither of his learning nor of his educational interests. He hung on but was not supported adequately, so he had to earn additional money elsewhere. In 1906 there was violence directed at him toward the end of Passover and the police were called in to settle the matter. He resigned, entered the *matzah* business and wrote an open letter to his congregation.

He wrote *Kuntres Halakhah le-Moshe* (1884), *Rosh Divrei Moshe* (1895), *Ho'il Moshe* (1895), *Halakhah le-Moshe* (1902); *Divrei Shalom ve-Emet* (1908), and *Dorosh Darash Moshe* (1914).

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[Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

WEINER, ANTHONY (1964–), U.S. congressman. Born in Brooklyn, New York, Weiner attended Brooklyn Tech High School, then earned his bachelor's degree from the State University of New York at Plattsburgh in 1985. Following graduation, he relocated to Washington, D.C., to work for U.S. congressman Charles *Schumer, serving in various positions, including budget director, press assistant, and foreign affairs assistant. Weiner returned to Brooklyn as Schumer's district office liaison and later became his chief advisor.

In 1991, following a New York City charter revision that created new City Council districts, Weiner ran in the newly created Forty-Eighth District. He was elected, becoming at 27 the youngest person ever elected to the New York City Council. Weiner served on the City Council until 1998, winning reelection by large margins and earning a reputation as a gifted speaker and a leading consumer advocate. He chaired the Subcommittee on Crime in Public Housing.

In 1998 Charles Schumer vacated his seat in Congress to run for the U.S. Senate, and he endorsed Weiner's campaign to fill the Congressional seat. After winning the hotly contested Democratic primary, Weiner easily won election over his Republican opponent, Louis Telano. Weiner has since served as the representative of the Ninth District of New York, winning three successive reelections.

Weiner serves on Congress's Judiciary Committee, where his legislative efforts have included an increase in funding for DNA testing to solve crimes, as well as measures to protect women from sexual predators. He was a sponsor of the "COPS" program to increase police presence on city streets nationwide.

Following the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks on New York and Washington, D.C., Weiner was appointed to the Homeland Security Task Force, the only Task Force member from New York. He worked to pass legislation that would increase the flow of information between state and federal authorities, and to overhaul building collapse investigations. In 2004, following conflicting statements from the Department of Justice, the Federal Bureau of Investigation, and the Department of Homeland Security regarding the likelihood of an impending al-Qaeda attack, Weiner called on President Bush to clarify the chain of command, stating that the conflicting statements suggested "an intelligence community in disarray."

In 2005 Weiner ran for the Democratic nomination for mayor of New York City, coming in second to Fernando Ferrer. When it initially appeared that the results might force a runoff election, Weiner withdrew and endorsed Ferrer, purportedly at the urging of high-ranking Democrats, including Schumer. Though absentee ballots in fact placed Ferrer's results over the required 40 percent, Weiner's withdrawal was seen as a politically savvy move that could serve him well in the next mayoral race.

[Dorothy Bauhoff (2nd ed.)]

WEINER, LAZAR (1897–1982), composer and conductor. Born at Cherkassy, near Kiev, Weiner immigrated to the United States at the age of 17. He settled in New York, where he conducted choral societies and the Mendelssohn Symphony Orchestra of Brooklyn. Weiner was also conductor at the Central Synagogue, New York City, on the Message of Israel radio programs, and of a YMHA chorus. From 1952 he taught at the Hebrew Union School of Education and Sacred Music. His compositions include the cantatas *Legend of Toil* (1933), *Fight for Freedom* (1943), and *To Thee, America* (1944), several Friday evening services, a Saturday morning service, ballets on Jewish subjects, and choral arrangements of Jewish folk songs. His son, YEHUDI (1921–), was also known as a composer. Weiner's musical score to a Yiddish play, *Generations of Green Fields,* played by the Folksbiene, was produced in 1974 and was widely acclaimed.

WEINER, LEO (1885–1960), composer and teacher. Born in Budapest, Weiner was professor at the Budapest Academy from 1908 to 1949, and gained a reputation as a teacher. As a composer, Weiner was a moderate modernist of a stature recognized beyond the borders of his country. His music, written in a Hungarian idiom, has a light and vivacious touch and shows the influence of both the French and German schools. Weiner wrote orchestral works, chamber music, piano pieces, incidental music, and music for children. He also published several books on music theory.

WEINER, RICHARD (1884–1937), Czech poet, author, and journalist. Weiner was born in Písek, Bohemia. Although for many years Paris correspondent of the leading Czechoslovak newspaper *Lidové Noviny,* Weiner was essentially a poet. His books of verse, *Pták* ("The Bird", 1913), *Usměvavé odříkání* ("Smiling Abandon," 1914), *Mnoho nocí* ("Many Nights," 1928), *Zátiší s kulichem, herbářem a kostkami* ("Still Life with Owl, Herbarium and Dice," 1929), and *Mezopotámie* (1930, 1965), made an original, substantially Jewish contribution to modern Czech poetry. In his short stories he displays typically Jewish qualities of irony and self-criticism and a desire to reconcile opposites. Weiner's prose, often reminiscent of *Kafka's in his use of a psychoanalytic technique, often, like a cubist painter, showing things simultaneously from different angles, provides a surprising contrast between the simplicity of his plots and the complexity of his characters. His short story collections include *Netečný divák* ("The Apathetic Spectator," 1917), *Lítice* ("Furies," 1916), *Škleb* ("The Grimace," 1919, 1993), *Lazebník* ("The Barber", 1929, 1967, 1974), and *Hra doopravdy* ("A Play in Earnest," 1933, 1967, 1974). His deep interest in the Jewish problem is revealed in a number of his essays. Weiner repudiated Jewish assimilation and admired Zionist ideals, without, however, joining the Zionist movement, and he remained a solitary, split character, like many of the characters he described in his stories. An anthology of Weiner's poems, *Sluncem svržený sok* ("The Rival Toppled by the Sun"), was published in 1989. After the fall of the Communist regime Weiner's collected works began to be published.

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[Avigdor Dagan / Milos Pojar (2nd ed.)]

WEINFELD, EDWARD (1901–1988), U.S. federal judge. Born in New York City and raised on Manhattan's Lower East Side, Weinfeld attended law school at night while working at various jobs. He received his LL.B. degree in 1921 and his LL.M. in 1922, both from New York University. Entering private practice in New York, he was active in the Democratic Party. In 1935, he served as chief counsel for the New York State Legislative Committee Investigating Bondholders Commission. In 1939, Governor Herbert *Lehman named Weinfeld as New York State's first housing commissioner, a post he held until 1942. He served as vice president and director of Citizens Housing and Planning Council for New York State from 1943 until 1950, when President Harry Truman appointed him as a judge in the U.S. District Court in the Southern District of New York.

Weinfeld gained a reputation as a dedicated jurist whose decisions were rarely reversed. His long career saw many notable cases, including the bribery trial of James Marcus, a former New York City Water Commissioner, and the Quentin Reynolds-Westbrook Pegler libel trial. In another prominent case, he ruled that Senator Joseph R. McCarthy's Committee on Government Operations lacked the authority to investigate author Corliss Lamont. Yet Weinfeld maintained that "every case is important"; he was known for his extensive research and precisely written decisions.

A member of the American Bar Association and the New York State Bar Association, Weinfeld received numerous awards and honors, including the American Law Institute's Henry Friendly Medal in 1987 for outstanding contributions to the law, and New York's LaGuardia Medal in 1988. Justice William J. Brennan, Jr., of the U.S. Supreme Court, stated that "there is no better judge on any court." Weinfeld's biographer William Nelson, who holds the position of Edward Weinfeld Chair at New York University Law School, has described him as the "preeminent trial judge in twentieth-century America." Though many had hoped that Weinfeld would be named to the Supreme Court, he expressed pride in serving on the district court. At the time of his death in 1988 at age 86, he was the oldest active federal district judge in the United States.

[Dorothy Bauhoff (2nd ed.)]

WEINGARTEN, JOAB JOSHUA (1847–1922), Polish rabbi. Regarded by Abraham Bornstein of Suchaczew as his most brilliant pupil, he and his teacher exchanged numerous responsa. Weingarten had strong leanings toward Ḥasidism; from 1880 he was rabbi in several Polish cities and finally in Konskie, being thereafter known as "the Rabbi of Konskie." He was considered one of the greatest halakhic authorities in Poland, and many Polish rabbis addressed halakhic questions to him, but in his replies, contrary to the usual practice, he does not mention the name of his correspondents. His replies were always brief and to the point; he justified this brevity by stating that his decisions might not be regarded as the final *halakhah*. He was the author of *Ḥelkat Yo'av* on the four parts of the Shulḥan Arukh (2 pts., 1903–05). A second, revised, edition, with a supplement containing his glosses to the Babylonian and Jerusalem Talmuds, was published in Jerusalem in 1950. In this work he disagreed, at times in disparaging terms, with the views of several accepted halakhic authorities, charging them in the introduction with being ignorant of the stylistic features of Hebrew. His work became a classic among Polish scholars, among whom his novellae circulated. In the appendix to the work, entitled *Kabba de-Kashyata*, he lists 103 insoluble problems (the numerical value of *kabba* (קבא) being 103). His son Meir, who succeeded him as rabbi of Konskie, was killed by the Nazis.

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[Itzhak Alfassi]

WEINGREEN, JACOB (1908–1995), Hebrew and Bible scholar. Born in Manchester, he graduated from Trinity College, Dublin, where he became professor of Hebrew in 1939 and served until his retirement in 1978. During the period immediately following World War II, he served as director of education in the Displaced Persons' Camp in Bergen-Belsen.

Weingreen's best-known publication, *A Practical Grammar for Classical Hebrew*, was published in 1939 and remained in general use 50 years later. A French edition, *Hébreu Biblique*, appeared in 1984. His other works included *Classical Hebrew Composition* (1957), *From Bible to Mishna – The Continuity of Tradition* (1976), and *Introduction to the Critical Study of the Text of the Hebrew Bible* (1982). His writings, as well as his teaching, were distinguished by their lucidity.

He received many honors and was president of the Society for Old Testament Studies, Great Britain and Ireland (1961), of the British Association of Jewish Studies (1976), and governor of the *Irish Times* Trust from 1974.

An abiding interest in archeology led to his foundation of what, on his retirement, was named the Weingreen Museum of Biblical Antiquities in Trinity College, Dublin. His contention that the Book of Deuteronomy is not, as widely believed, one of the main sources of the Pentateuch, because it bears the characteristic of a mishnah, caused a stir among biblical scholars.

[Asher Benson]

WEINHEIM, town in Baden-Wuerttemberg, Germany. In the latter half of the 13th century it had a relatively large Jewish community, but in 1298 the synagogue, in which 70 Jews had sought refuge from the *Rindfleisch persecutions, was burnt down. Among the martyrs were several of the *Kalonymus family. A smaller community was established soon afterward. During the *Black Death persecutions (1349), Duke Rupert I granted asylum to Jewish refugees. In his reign a synagogue and cemetery were in existence. After his death (1390) the community declined and left few traces until the late 17th century, when a synagogue was built for the 15-family community by its leader, Oppenheim. At that time a guild was organized which was against Jewish bakers and millers; market regulations assigned them a special quarter. In 1906 a new synagogue, financed by the Hirsch family, who owned the tanning factory, was dedicated. The community comprised 188 persons in 1910 (1.3 percent of the total population) and 168 in 1933; subsequently a decline set in. On Nov. 10, 1938, the furnishings of the synagogue were demolished by axe-wielding Nazis; later it was blown up. On Oct. 22, 1940, 40 Jews were deported to *Gurs. In 1967 two Jews were living in Weinheim. A plaque (mounted in 1967) commemorates the destroyed synagogue. Another memorial (mounted in 1999) is dedicated to the victims of the Nazi era. The 17th-century synagogue (which was sold in 1906) is now a residential building.

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[Larissa Daemmig (2nd ed.)]

WEINHOUSE, SIDNEY (1909–2001), U.S. biochemist. Weinhouse was born in Chicago and obtained his B.S. (1933) and Ph.D. (1936) in biochemistry from the University of Chicago. After postdoctoral studies in Chicago, he joined Temple University Medical School, Philadelphia (1947), becoming professor at (1950) and director of the Fels Institute for Cancer Research (1963–75). His research interests concerned carbohydrate metabolism, leading him to discover the enzyme glucokinase and enzyme expression in cancers. Weinhouse was a lifelong gifted teacher, and his honors included election to the U.S. National Academy of Sciences (1979).

[Michael Denman (2nd ed.)]

WEININGER, OTTO (1880–1903), Austrian psychologist and philosopher. Weininger was born in Vienna. From 1898 he studied philosophy, biology, psychology, physics, and mathematics at the University of Vienna. He rejected his original positivistic view, and, influenced by, among others, Plato, Kant, St. Augustine, Neoplatonism, and Wagner, he converted to Protestantism the day he received his Ph.D. in 1902. He then wrote his major work, *Geschlecht und Charakter* (1903; *Sex and Character*, 1906), a philosophical justification of male superiority expressing misogynistic and antisemitic views. After its publication, he sank into a deep depression, culminating in his suicide, at the age of 23, in the same house in which Beethoven had died. Shortly after his death, his unpublished essays and aphorisms appeared under the title *Ueber die letzten Dinge* (1904^1) and in a second edition with a biographical introduction by Moriz Rappaport (1907^2). Much later, two other works were published: *Otto Weininger, Die Liebe und das Weib* (1917), and *Taschenbuch und Briefe an einen Freund*, ed. by A. Gerber (1919). In 1990 Weininger's collected works and letters appeared under the title *Eros und Psyche* (1990), ed. by H. Rodlauer. Weininger's *Geschlecht und Charakter* became well-known after his death; following Max Nordau's discussion of it in the *Vossische Zeitung*, it had almost 30 editions in German (Hebrew ed. 1953). Weininger's theory is based on a fundamental relationship between sex and character. Every human being is a combination of male and female elements. He saw Man as the positive, productive, logical, conceptual, ethical, spiritual force capable of genius, while Woman is the negative one, incapable of any of these virtues. Woman is either interested purely in sexual pleasure (the Prostitute) or in procreation (the Mother). As a result, the ideal Woman depends on Man, on the Phallus, and her emancipation, as well as the spiritual progress of Man, depends upon ending coitus.

In his discussion of Judaism, Weininger saw the characteristics of the Jew as even worse than those of Woman. The Jew is a force which exists within people, not just in individual Jews (it is found also in non-Jews). The disadvantage of the Jew compared to Woman is that the latter at least believes in the Male while the Jew believes in nothing. Hence the Jew gravitates towards Communism, anarchism, materialism, empiricism, and atheism. Zionism, Weininger claimed, could only come about after the rejection of Judaism, since Jews could not grasp the idea of a state. The Jewish religion he saw as belief in nothing, in contrast to the positive faith he found in Christianity. Weininger's views combined elements of romanticism, Wagnerianism, Nietzscheanism, modern psychology, and biology, with many original insights. His opinions and arguments were taken over by Nazi thinkers as justification for their views. After the war the attitude towards Weininger's work and figure shifted from an ideological use of his ideas towards a search for an understanding of his thoughts and behavior within the framework of the humanities and social sciences. In 1982 the Israeli playwright Y. Sobol wrote for the stage *Nefesh Yehudi: ha-Layla ha-Aḥaron shel Otto Weininger* (*Weiningers Nacht*, 1986, 1988^2).

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[Richard H. Popkin / Noam Zadoff (2nd ed.)]

WEINMANN, JACOB (1852–1928), Bohemian industrialist. Born in Dobra, near Klatovy (Bohemia), in 1874 Weinmann was placed in charge of the Aussig (Usti nad Labem) coal business which was then owned by the Prague Bankverein. After the collapse of that bank, he took over the coal business under the name of Eduard J. Weinmann and subsequently developed it into one of the largest enterprises in Europe. He was instrumental in the great expansion of the coal industry in northwestern Bohemia. He was also very active in charitable and humanitarian pursuits, both Jewish and non-Jewish, providing them with considerable financial support.

Jacob's son, FRITZ, conducted unsuccessful negotiations with the Nazis, who confiscated the Weinmann concern for the Hermann Goering Werke. His brother, HANS, was held as surety in Prague but escaped. Both arrived in America in 1941; Fritz changed his name to Frederick Wyman, and Hans' son, Charles, joined the Unitarian Church. A foundation bearing the Weinmann name was established in 1947.

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[Oskar K. Rabinowicz]

WEINPER, ZISHE (pseudonym of **Zise Weinperlech**; 1893–1957), Yiddish poet, short story writer, editor, and essayist. Weinper was born into a ḥasidic family in Turisk (Ukraine). His father was a cantor and a member of the Trisker rebbe's inner circle. As a youth, Weinper wandered throughout the Ukraine and Poland and in 1910 moved to Warsaw, where he began his literary career. In 1913 he emigrated to the U.S., where he became associated with the Yiddish literary group Di *Yunge. He continued his literary activities while also working as a house painter and elementary school teacher. In 1917, he edited the literary journal *Der Onheyb,* which included his own works as well as those of his contemporaries such as B.J. *Bialostotsky, Aaron *Nissenson, and Naphtali *Gross. In 1918, Weinper joined the British *Jewish Legion and served in the Middle East. After returning to New York, he resumed publishing his poems, short stories, and essays in Yiddish publications such as *Morgn-Zhurnal, Fraye Arbeter Shtime,* and *Tsukunft*. The Depression of the early 1930s and the rise of Hitler in 1933 led him to join the radical left, and he became the poet and moving spirit of the Yidisher Kultur Farband, the leftist Yiddish cultural federation. His lyric volumes *Poemen Vegn di Neviim* ("Poems about the Prophets," 1951) and *Leyd un Freyd* ("Sorrow and Happiness," 1954) gave expression to his later, less optimistic moods.

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[Sol Liptzin / Marc Miller (2nd ed.)]

WEINREB, FRIEDRICH (**Fryderyk**, **Freek**, **Fischel**; 1910–1988), economist. An unprecedented controversy developed in the Netherlands in the 1960s over the World War II activities of Friedrich Weinreb, a native of Lemberg whose family had settled in Scheveningen during World War I. When the Nazis occupied the Netherlands in 1940 Weinreb was a senior staff member of the Netherlands Economic Institute in Rotterdam. In 1941, shortly after losing his job due to anti-Jewish measures, he started a swindle, telling fellow Jews that the Nazis had permitted him to set up emigration destined for unoccupied France and Portugal. Three to four thousand Jews paid him to be on his – unfortunately, only imaginary – emigration list. He also managed to deceive the Nazis, collaborating with them in a second imaginary emigration plan that helped the Nazis track down Jews and Jewish valuables. He went into hiding with his family in 1944.

After the liberation Weinreb was sentenced to six years of imprisonment for swindling and betraying fellow Jews. Some sympathizers regarded him as a second Dreyfus and campaigned for his release. Owing to Queen Wilhelmina's jubilee he was released in December 1948.

The debate about his war past began in 1965, when the Dutch-Jewish historian J. Presser, basing his opinions mostly on Weinreb's voluminous memoirs, declared him an alternative hero who had resisted the Nazis with cunning and deceit. After the publication of Weinreb's memoirs in 1969 many journalists, politicians, historians, and critical intellectuals became involved in a public debate. Two publicists, Renate Rubinstein and Aad Nuis, and a Weinreb Committee dedicated themselves to the cause of Weinreb's rehabilitation. The dispute split society into Weinreb believers and non-believers, the latter being a minority. In particular, the novelist W.F. Hermans and journalist and high school teacher Henriëtte *Boas became fierce opponents of Weinreb. The 1976 report issued by the Rijksinstituut voor Oorlogsdocumentatie (Netherlands Institute for War Documentation) determined that he was a fantasizer and swindler, whose memoirs were largely false, and that his collaboration had resulted in 70 deaths. His activities did contribute to some Jews' survival, but most Jews who fell for Weinreb's swindle were deported and killed.

The enigma of Weinreb's beguiling talents is the more interesting because he proved to be a charlatan in other spheres of life as well, conning high-ranking officials of the Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs, leading a group of religious followers from 1948, and being convicted in 1957 and 1968 for posing as a medical doctor and for sexual offenses. Eventually, to avoid imprisonment, Weinreb left the country in 1968. He settled in Switzerland, where he continued to be a religious guru until his death in 1988.

Weinreb inspired extreme characterizations ranging from "messianic" to "the embodiment of evil." He won goodwill and stirred up trouble wherever he went. For a small group of followers Weinreb remains a hero and a guru. In fact, he was both a villain and a victim, and his historical accounts proved a miscellany of fact and fabrication, hardly suitable as a reliable historical source.

His memoirs cover the following: on World War II, *Collaboratie en Verzet* (1969); on the aftermath, *De gevangenis, Herinneringen 1945–1948* (1989); on religion, *De Bijbel als schepping* (1963) and *Ontmoetingen met mensen en engelen* (religious memoirs; 1982).

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[Regina Grüter (2nd ed.)]

WEINREICH, MAX (1894–1969), Yiddish linguist, historian, editor. Born in Kuldiga (Latvia), Weinreich made his debut as a Yiddish writer at the age of 13, and became a contributor to various Yiddish, Russian, German, and later English publications. After studying at the universities of St. Petersburg and Berlin, he completed a doctoral thesis on the history of Yiddish philology at the University of Marburg (1923; *Geschichte der jiddischen Sprachforschung*, 1993).

Early in his career Weinreich became a prominent educator in various capacities, ranging from the teaching of Yiddish literature at the Vilna Yiddish Teachers' Seminary to serving as leader of a Yiddish scouting movement, Di Bin ("The Bee"). He was instrumental in giving Yiddish linguistics a solid, scholarly footing. Co-founder with Nokhem *Shtif, Elias *Tcherikover, and Zalmen *Rejzen of the *YIVO Institute (1925), and YIVO's guiding spirit, he was largely responsible for its achieving a worldwide reputation. As director of YIVO's Research Training Division and organizer of its graduate school, Weinreich successfully educated young Yiddish scholars, among them, his son, Uriel *Weinreich. At the World Congress of Linguistics in Copenhagen (1936), he lectured on "Yiddish as an Object of General Linguistics," and in 1940, he immigrated with his son Uriel to the U.S., where he became the country's first university professor of Yiddish, teaching Yiddish language, literature, and folklore at the College of the City of New York and Columbia University, while serving as the scholarly director of YIVO.

Weinreich's wide array of books and studies include his *magnum opus*, *Geshikhte fun der Yidisher Shprakh* ("History of the Yiddish Language," 4 vols., 1973; Engl. transl. of vols. 1–2, 1980), the culmination of a half century of research on Yiddish sociolinguistics, tracing the thousand-year development of Ashkenazi culture and the Yiddish language as integral to the Jewish way of life. He studied the development of Yiddish from its origins in Germany, through Eastern Europe and into the second diaspora, creating the basic concepts and theoretical tools of the linguistic study of Jewish languages. Prominent among his other works are *Hitlers Profesorn* (1947; English transl. 1946) – probably the best documented indictment of German scholarship during the Nazi regime; *Shturemvint* ("Tempest," 1927), sketches on 17th-century Jewish history; *Bilder fun der Yidisher Literatur-Geshikhte* ("Sketches from the History of Yiddish Literature," 1928); *Der Veg tsu Undzer Yugnt* ("Path to Our Youth," 1935), a socio-psychological study of Jewish youth in Eastern Europe; and *Di Shvartse Pintelekh* ("Black Dots," 1939), a history of alphabets. Weinreich translated Homer, Freud, and Ernst Toller into Yiddish and edited the periodicals *Yidishe Filologye* (1924–26), *Filologishe Shriftn* (1926–29), *Yivo-Bleter* (1931–50), and the critical edition of S. *Ettinger's works, N. Stutchkoff's *Oytser fun der Yidisher Shprakh* ("Thesaurus of the Yiddish Language"), Y.L. Cahan's *Shtudyes vegn Yidisher Folkshafung* ("Studies in Yiddish Folklore"), and *Yidishe Folkslider mit Melodyes* ("Yiddish Folksongs with Melodies").

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[Mordkhe Schaechter / Jean Baumgarten (2nd ed.)]

WEINREICH, URIEL (1925–1967), Yiddish and general linguist, editor, and educator. Despite his early death, he left behind him the equivalent of several lifetimes of research and creativity – an unbelievably wide range of investigations.

Born in Vilna, the son of Max *Weinreich and a well-known editor-educator, Regina Weinreich (Szabad), the young Weinreich was exposed from earliest childhood to the best Vilna had to offer intellectually. Uriel Weinreich went to the United States in 1940 and as a linguist he was an immediate success ("The twenty minutes that it took him to read, before a well-attended annual meeting of the Linguistic Society of America, his paper '*Sabesdiker Losn*: A Problem of Linguistic Affinity' transformed a practically unknown young man into an enthusiastically applauded leader of the new generation" [Y. Malkier]). The monograph *Languages in Contact: Findings and Problems* (1952), based on his doctoral dissertation, became a standard reference work in its field; the textbook *College Yiddish: An Introduction to the Yiddish Language and to Jewish Life and Culture* (1949) went through five editions and ten printings within a 10-year span. Appointed professor of Yiddish language, literature, and culture at Columbia University in 1959, Uriel Weinreich was also chairman of the university's Department of Linguistics (1957–65). His extraordinary teaching capabilities are attested to by the fact that some of his students became leading linguists at various universities. Equally impressive were Weinreich's achievements as editor of, for example, the U.S. State Department's *Problems of Communism* (1950–51), of the linguistic journal *Word* (1953–60), of the first three volumes of *The Field of Yiddish: Studies in Yiddish Language, Folklore, and Literature* (1954, 1963^2, 1969^3), and of the *YIVO's *Yidisher Folklor* (1954–62). He was the editor of the Yiddish section in the Encyclopaedia Britannica's *World Language Dictionary* (1954). Special mention should be made of his *Yiddish Language and Folklore (A selective bibliography for research)* (1959), compiled jointly with his wife, Beatrice Weinreich.

Uriel Weinreich's research papers, written and published in Yiddish, English, Hebrew, French and Russian, ranged topically from a cultural history of Yiddish rhyme through such fields as phonology, grammatical theory, bilingualism, language standardization, dialectology, semantics, and lexicology. Almost every research paper and lecture of his was a trailblazing venture, greeted by acclaim on all sides.

The two crowning achievements in Uriel Weinreich's work are the pioneering *Language and Culture Atlas of Ashkenazic Jewry* (at Columbia University, 1950–) – one of the world's largest collections of spoken language – and the *Modern English-Yiddish, Yiddish-English Dictionary* (1968). The atlas, initiated, organized and directed by U. Weinreich under a grant from the National Science Foundation, is an ongoing, large-scale project designed to record and study Yiddish dialects by harnessing the methods of advanced linguistic research and computer data processing. The dictionary is a climax in the history of Yiddish lexicography, both in its unsurpassed scholarly quality and its immediate wide popularity.

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[Mordkhe Schaechter]

WEINRUB, MATVEY, Soviet lieutenant general, Hero of the Soviet Union. In World War II, at the battle of Stalingrad, he commanded the armor of the 62nd army, and his small tank force twice succeeded in preventing the Germans from reaching the Volga. Weinrub was promoted to major general with command of the armored division of the 8th guards army which recaptured the Donets coalfield and Odessa and advanced to Berlin.

WEINRYB, BERNARD DOV SUCHER (1900–1982), economic and social historian. Born in Turobin, Poland, Weinryb studied in Breslau at the Jewish Theological Seminary and at the university, was librarian at the seminary in 1931–33, and worked on the editorial staff of the *Encyclopaedia Judaica* in Berlin and Zurich (1933–34). In 1934 he emigrated to Palestine, where he lectured at the School of Social Work and School of Economics to 1939. Moving to the United States, he taught at the Herzliah Teachers' Seminary and at the Jewish Teachers' Seminary, New York (1941–48). Weinryb was lecturer at Brooklyn College (1948–51), worked as an economist for the State Department (1951–55), and lectured at Columbia University (1950–56), Yeshiva University (1948), and as professor of Jewish history and economics at Dropsie College (from 1949).

To the economic history of Russian and Polish Jewry Weinryb contributed *Studien zur Wirtschaftsgeschichte …* (1933); *Neueste Wirtschaftsgeschichte …* (1934; Hebrew and English summary, 1939); *Te'udot le-Toledot ha-Kehillot ha-Yehudiyyot be-Polin* ("Texts and Studies in the Communal History of Polish Jewry," 1951, introduction and notes in English); *Be-Reshit ha-Sozyalizm ha-Yehudi* ("In the Beginnings of Jewish Socialism," 1940). On the sociology of the yishuv in Palestine he wrote *The Yishuv in Palestine: Structure and Organization* (1947); *Jewish Vocational Education* (1948); *Ha-Dor ha-Sheni be-Ereẓ Yisrael ve-Darko ha-Mikẓo'it* ("The Second Generation in Ereẓ Israel and its Occupational Status," 1954). Together with S.D. Loewinger, Weinryb prepared a *Catalogue of Hebrew Manuscripts in the Jewish Theological Seminary, Breslau* (1965) and *Yiddische Handschriften in Breslau* (1936). He also wrote *The Jews of Poland* (1972) and *Studies and Documents in Modern Jewish History* (1975). Weinryb edited (and contributed to) *Studies and Essays in Honor of A.A. Neumann* (1962). He published over 300 articles in periodicals.

WEINSHALL, Ereẓ Israel family. BEN ZION ZE'EV (Vladimir; 1863–1943) was born in Grodno, studied at the Russian Military Academy of Medicine, and served as a government doctor in the Caucasus. He was employed among the "*Mountain Jews" to fight cholera, while his permanent residence was in Baku, where he worked for 20 years (1902–22). He was a member of the Zionist movement from its inception, having joined Ḥovevei Zion in Minsk during the Bilu period (1882–83). During 1917–20 he edited the Russian-language Zionist newspaper in the Caucasus, *Yevreyski Kavkazski Vestnik*. He settled in Palestine in 1922, and, after serving as village doctor in Reḥovot (1923–24) and municipal doctor of Tel Aviv (until 1926), he settled in Haifa, where he opened a private practice. In 1928, he was elected president of the Haifa branch of the Medical Society.

His son JACOB (1891–?) was born in Tiflis in the Caucasus. Serving in the Russian army as medical officer in 1916, he joined Joseph *Trumpeldor in his attempt, after the Russian Revolution, to organize Jewish soldiers of the Russian army to effect a breakthrough on the Caucasus front and conquer Palestine. In 1922 he settled in Palestine, serving as a doctor in the *kuppat Ḥolim of the Histadrut until 1932. He was a member of the municipal council of Tel Aviv (1925–28), a delegate to the first and second Asefat ha-Nivḥarim, and a member of the Va'ad Le'ummi. He took part in the establishment of the Union of Zionist Revisionists at its founding conference in Paris (1925) and was chairman of its central committee in Palestine until 1928. After the assassination of Chaim *Arlosoroff, he published a novel based on the murder and trial, entitled *Ha-Mishpat Yatḥil Maḥar* ("The Trial Will Begin Tomorrow"), which appeared in the Revisionist newspaper *Ha-Am*. In 1939 he founded the biweekly *Ha-Ḥevrah*. A prolific writer, he favored the biographic and historic-novel form, including *Hans Herzl* (1945), *Marco Baruch* (1949), *Aggadat Onkelos* ("The Onkelos Legend," 1951), and others. He wrote a book about *Jabotinsky (*Jabo*, 1954).

His second son ABRAHAM (1893–1968) was born in the Caucasus. In 1920 he settled in Haifa, where he was appointed municipal legal adviser. An expert on questions concerning real estate, he was instrumental in the acquisition of valuable land for Jewish settlement, including the land for Nahariyyah, Shavei Zion, and a new commercial center in Haifa. Weinshall's legal essays were published in the professional organ *Ha-Peraklit*. He became chairman of the Revisionist central committee in Palestine. During 1925–31 he was a member of the Jewish community council of Haifa, also serving in 1927–33 as a member of the Asefat ha-Nivḥarim and the Va'ad Leummi. He published and edited the first newspaper of Haifa, *Ha-Ẓafon*, during 1926–27. In 1937 Abraham dissociated himself from the Revisionists and submitted a memorandum to the British government on the solution of the Palestine problem in the name of a group headed by him called Benei Ḥorin. In 1947 he was detained in the Latrun camp by the British authorities, together with other political leaders.

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WEINSTEIN, AARON (known as **Yerahmiel** or **Rahmiel**; 1877–1938), *Bund leader in Russia. He was born in Vilna, and, while a student at the teachers' training college, he joined a secret socialist circle. In the late 1890s he headed the Bund organization in Warsaw. He was a delegate at the third (1899) and fourth (1901) conventions of the Bund and was a member of its executive committee from 1901 to 1920. Weinstein was among the Bund delegates at the Russian Social-Democratic congress held in London in 1907. He directed the authorized publishing house of the Bund "Di Velt," contributed to the Bundist press, and, during the period of reaction after the abortive revolution in 1905–06, supported the "legalist" trend in the Bund. He was among the four Bundists who took part in the meeting of Jewish communal leaders held in Kovno in 1909, and a delegate at the All-Russian Convention of Craftsmen in 1911. Weinstein was jailed for political activities on several occasions, and during World War I was exiled to Siberia, from where he was released after the February Revolution in 1917. At the tenth conference of the Bund (April 1917), he was elected chairman of its central committee, and moved to Minsk. There he was also elected to head the town council. Up to 1918 Weinstein had identified himself with the right wing of the Bund, but at its 11th conference (March 1919) he veered to the left. With his sister-in-law, Esther (Malkah) Frumkin, he headed the pro-Communist majority at the 12th conference of the Bund (April 1920), but opposed hostile government action against the socialists. He played a decisive role in the incorporation of the Kombund (Communist Bund) within the Communist Party (1921). After this, he held important state functions: chairman of the Popular Economic Council in Belorussia; vice chairman of the Council of Popular Commissars in Kirghizia (1922–23); member of the Collegiate of the Commissariat of Finances, and other positions in the government and economic administration. His Jewish activities were essentially connected with the agricultural settlement schemes; he was vice chairman of Komerd and chairman of Gezerd in Moscow. At the time of Stalin's purges in the 1930s, he was accused of "Bundist nationalism" and arrested. He committed suicide in prison.

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[Moshe Mishkinsky]

WEINSTEIN, BERISH (1905–1967), Yiddish poet. Born to a ḥasidic family in Rzeszow (western Galicia), he moved to Vienna in 1923 and to New York two years later. His first book, *Brukhvarg* ("Fragments," 1936), is a masterpiece of rough expressionism. In long, Whitmanesque lines, elliptical syntax, and Galician dialect, Weinstein describes the depths of eastern Europe and New York, a world of sailors, thieves, and bloodthirsty gentiles. In his second book, *Reyshe* ("Rzeszow," 1947), in which he recreates his vanished birthplace, a noted center of religious learning, Weinstein began an autobiographical trilogy, continuing with *Amerike* (1955) and *Dovid Hameylekhs Giter* ("King David's Estates," 1960), where he glorifies the formation of the State of Israel. In 1949 Weinstein collected his early poems into *Lider un Poemes* ("Poems and Long Poems"), where few pieces from *Brukhvarg* reappear, and even they are severely shorn of their roughness and descriptive detail: Weinstein had elided his original and daring modernism in order to write in the vein of nostalgia and nationalist Jewish unity demanded by conservative critical taste after the Holocaust. His last book of verse, *Basherte Lider* ("Destined Poems"), appeared in 1965.

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[Leonard Prager / Itay Zutra (2nd ed.)]

WEINSTEIN, HARVEY (1952–) and **BOB** (1954–), U.S. entertainment executives. The brothers were raised in Flushing, New York. Harvey enrolled at the University of Buffalo, while Bob went to the State University of New York at Fredonia; however, neither Weinstein graduated. Harvey became involved in concert promotion on campus, and eventually purchased a theater where he booked music acts and featured films between performances. The Weinsteins went to the Cannes Film Festival in 1979 and purchased the soft-core film *Goodbye, Emmanuelle*, which enabled them to start Miramax. The studio, named for the Weinstein's parents and set up at first in Harvey's one-room apartment in New York, distributed independent and foreign films other studios refused to handle. The Weinsteins' first Academy Award win was for the Danish film *Pelle the Conqueror* (1987), which took the 1988 Oscar for best foreign film. When Miramax received a $5 million investment from Midland Montague in 1988, the brothers began producing their own films, such as *Scandal* (1989), about the British Profumo scandal. However, Miramax first major successes were *sex, lies and videotape* by Steven Soderbergh, which cost $1.1 million to make and pulled in $24 million in the North American box office, and the Oscar wins for *My Left Foot* (1989). *The Crying Game* (1992) led to another hit for Miramax, garnering six Oscar nominations and one win for the studio. In 1993, Bob Weinstein founded Dimension Films, a studio for genre films, such as *Scream* (1996) and *Spy Kids* (2001). *The Piano* (1993) was the next hit for Miramax, with three Academy Award wins and Cannes' Palme d'Or. In 1993, Disney purchased Miramax for $65 million, but left the Weinsteins in control of projects under $12 million. When the Motion Picture Association of America's Ratings Board handed down an X rating to the film *Tie Me Up! Tie Me Down!* (1990), the Weinsteins sued, which led the board to create the NC-17 rating for films featuring adult content that was not pornographic in nature. Miramax continued to rack up hits with *Pulp Fiction* (1994), *Il Postino* (1994), *Trainspotting* (1996), *The English Patient* (1996), *Good Will Hunting* (1997), and *Shakespeare in Love* (1998), among many other titles. In all, Miramax projects received 243 Academy Awards nominations and the studio enjoyed 57 wins before Disney took full control of the company and its film library in 2005. The Weinsteins still retained control of Dimension Films, and launched a new venture called the Weinstein Co.

[Adam Wills (2nd ed.)]

WEINSTEIN, JACK B. (1921–), U.S. federal judge. Born in Wichita, Kansas, Weinstein graduated from Brooklyn College of the City University of New York in 1943 and served as an officer in the U.S. Navy during World War II. He received his law degree from Columbia University in 1948. In 1949 and 1950 he served as law clerk to Judge Stanley H. Fuld of the New York Court of Appeals. In 1953 Weinstein entered private practice and began teaching at Columbia Law School, where he continued to teach until 1998. From 1956 to 1967 he was County Attorney of Nassau County, New York.

Weinstein served as special counsel to the New York Joint Legislative Committee on Motor Vehicle Problems, and as counsel to New York State Senator Seymour Halpern. He was secretary of the Nassau County Board of Ethics, and he served as consultant and reporter for the New York Temporary Commission on Courts in 1966. In 1967 he served as adviser to the New York State Constitutional Convention.

That same year he was appointed by President Lyndon Johnson as a federal judge in the Eastern District of New York. Weinstein served as chief judge of the Eastern District from 1980 to 1988, becoming senior judge in 1993. He ruled on many high-profile mass tort cases, including those involving asbestos, Agent Orange, tobacco, and handguns, and the 1999 case of *Hamilton v. Accu-Tek*, in which damages were awarded based on negligent marketing. He is considered to have had a significant influence on the law of mass tort litigation. The *New York Times* called Weinstein the "quintessential activist judge."

Judge Weinstein was considered an authority on a wide range of issues, including procedure, legal ethics, judicial administration, and the role of science in the courts. He was the author of numerous articles for law reviews, and his works include widely cited treatises and casebooks on New York civil procedure and federal evidence rules, including *Reform of Federal Court Rule Making Procedures* (1976), *Basic Problems of State and Federal Evidence* (1976), *Mass Torts: Cases and Materials* (1994), and *Individual Justice in Mass Tort Litigations* (1995).

A member of the New York State Bar Association, Judge Weinstein was the recipient of numerous awards and honors, including the Judicial Recognition Award of the National Association of Defense Lawyers, the Edward J. Devitt Distinguished Service to Justice Award, the Columbia Law School Excellence Award, the Honorable William J. Brennan Award of the New York State Association of Criminal Defense Lawyers, and the *National Law Journal*'s Lawyer of the Year Award.

[Dorothy Bauhoff (2nd ed.)]

WEINSTEIN, JACOB (1902–1974), Reform rabbi. Born in Stephin, Russia, he immigrated to the United States at the age of seven with his family to Portland, Oregon, where he became a protégé of Charles E. Wood, the city's most prominent civil liberties and labor lawyer, whose clients included Jewish anarchist Emma *Goldman.

He went to Reed College in Oregon and then the Hebrew Union College, where he was ordained in 1929.

He was rabbi of Congregation Beth Israel in Austin, Texas, from 1929 to 1930. A year later he moved to San Francisco, where he was rabbi of Congregation Shearith Israel. He became involved in the Mooney Billings case, defending striking longshoremen, as well as urging higher wages for department store employees to a congregation that included the owners of these stores. His career in San Francisco did not last for long. He went to New York for three years and then returned to San Francisco, not as a congregational rabbi but as director of the School for Jewish Studies in San Francisco from 1935 to 1939.

Jacob Weinstein became rabbi of KAM in Chicago, Illinois, in 1939 and served there until 1967. He was a leading spokesman for Judaism's mission of social action in American society. A fervent opponent of racism, he helped integrate the Hyde Park neighborhood as a paradigm of solidarity and cooperation. He nudged the labor movement in the United States and in Israel toward egalitarian and humanitarian goals. He influenced such politically well-known Chicago figures as Arthur J. Goldberg and Abner Mikva, as well as Democratic presidential candidate (in 1952 and 1956) Adlai Stevenson and a host of younger rabbis and lay leaders in the Chicago and national communities.

During the years of World War II, Rabbi Weinstein served as public member of the Chicago area War Labor Board, which arbitrated a crushing load of contract disputes between workers and their employers. This experience led to subsequent arbitration assignments in the labor relations field. He served on the Public Review Board of the United Auto Workers, established by legendary Labor leader Walter Reuther in 1957 to mediate and adjudicate disputes within the union. Among his colleagues on that board were Msgr. George Higgins, chair of the Catholic Conference on Social Research; Prof. Frank McCulloch, formerly head of the Labor Education Division at Roosevelt University, and Dr. Robin Flemming, labor arbitrator and president of the University of Michigan.

He was president of the Chicago Board of Rabbis from 1947 to 1949, during the time in which the post-war transformation of the Jewish community was taking root and when the State of Israel was established. He was president of the Hyde Park Council of Churches and Synagogues from 1948 to 1950. Admired by his colleagues, nationally as well as locally, he was president of the Central Conference of American Rabbis, from 1965 to 1969. An ardent laborite and Zionist, he was President of the National Committee for Labor Israel in 1974. President John F. Kennedy, under the influence of Secretary of Labor Arthur J. Goldberg, appointed him to the President's Commission on Equal Employment Opportunity. He also served on the Business Ethics Advisory Committee to the secretary of commerce.

He is the author of *A Rabbi's Rabbi: The Life of Solomon Goldman*, his Conservative Colleague in Chicago, a tribute to their friendship and to his scholarship. An avid letter writer, he was both a serious pastor, writing to congregants in the army or after losses and at milestone occasions, and a significant and courageous, liberal political and religious leader.

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[Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

WEINSTEIN, LEWIS H. (1905–1996), U.S. attorney and communal leader. Weinstein, born in Arany, Lithuania, was taken to the United States as an infant and grew up in Portland, Maine. He received his law degree from Harvard Law School in 1930. He was admitted to the Massachusetts bar and practiced law. During World War II he served in the army, in 1944 on General Eisenhower's staff as liaison to General Charles de Gaulle, and in 1945 as a lieutenant colonel and chief of the liaison section in the European Theater of Operation. He was among the Allied troops that took part in the liberation of the concentration camp prisoners at the end of the Holocaust. Weinstein returned to a Boston law practice and was active in local, state, and national bar associations.

Among his many interests was housing; he served as counsel for urban renewal agencies and on city, state, and federal housing agencies, and taught city planning at Massachusetts Institute of Technology and law at Harvard and other professional institutions. His wide-ranging interest in Jewish life led to his service as chairman of four national Jewish agencies: the Council of Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds (1965–66); the National Community Relations Advisory Council (1960–64); the American Jewish Conference on Soviet Jewry, which he helped found and which he served as cochairman from its inception and from 1968 as chairman; and the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations (1963–65). He also served a number of local, state, and national organizations, including the Temple Mishkan Tefila board, Boston's Hebrew College (president, 1946–53), and the Combined Jewish Philanthropies of Greater Boston as president and general campaign chairman.

At Harvard's Center for Jewish Studies, Weinstein established the annual Selma and Lewis Weinstein Prize in Jewish Studies, awarded to the best undergraduate essay in Jewish studies. Weinstein's autobiography *Masa: Odyssey of an American Jew*, which chronicles his journey from the shtetl to Harvard Law School, was published in 1989. His book *My Life at the Bar: Lawyer, Soldier, Teacher, and Pro Bono Activist* appeared in 1993.

WEINSTOCK, SIR ARNOLD, BARON (1924–2002), British industrialist. Born in London, the son of a tailor, Weinstock studied statistics before becoming a junior administrative officer in the Admiralty in 1944. He left government service in 1947 to engage in finance and real estate development, and in 1952 became the managing director of Radio and Allied Industries. In 1949 he married the daughter of Martin (later Sir Martin) Sobell, the head of the General Electric Company (GEC). He became a director of GEC in 1961 and served as its managing director from 1963 to 1996. Under his direction, after many economies in production and management, GEC quadrupled its earnings. In 1967 Weinstock won a prolonged, bitter battle for control over Associated Electrical Industries. GEC and AEI were merged into General Electric Ltd., which thus became the biggest telecommunications and electronics combine in Britain. In 1970 he received a knighthood for his contribution to the expansion of his country's exports. He was then invited by the British Government to head a new company responsible for the development of Britain's domestic nuclear power, in which GEC holds a 50% interest. He was described as "the ablest young industrialist in England" and became one of the most successful British industrialist of his time. He was given a life peerage in 1980.

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[Morton Mayer Berman]

WEINSTOCK, HARRIS (1854–1922), U.S. businessman and communal leader. Weinstock, who was born in London, emigrated to the U.S. and settled in California in 1869. Entering business with his half brother David Lubin in Sacramento and San Francisco, he established the Weinstock, Lubin Company in 1888, which became known for its one-price policy and enlightened employee relations. In 1908 Weinstock established an automobile supply business in San Francisco, and was also vice president of the Weinstock-Lubin Real Estate Company. Weinstock's interest in labor relations and in civic government brought him invitations to participate in numerous civic activities. He was a member of the Board of Trustees of the State Library, the Board of Freeholders of the State Board of Horticulture, the Executive Board of the National Civic Federation, and others. In 1908 he was appointed by Governor Gillet to investigate labor conditions throughout the world, publishing his conclusions in *Strikes and Lock-Outs* (1911). President Wilson appointed him to the Industrial Relations Commission in 1913, and he also served on the Industrial Accident Commission at the invitation of Governor Hiram Johnson, a close friend. In 1915 he was appointed State Market Director. Weinstock, who was active in the California Progressive movement, was often called upon to mediate strikes. With David Lubin he was an influential supporter of cooperative marketing and agriculture reform.

Deeply interested in Jewish life, Weinstock served for a number of years as president of his congregation in Sacramento, where on occasion he conducted the service and delivered the sermon. He was author of a number of articles on Judaica, including religious and economic essays entitled *Jesus the Jew and Other Addresses* (1902). During World War I Weinstock led fund raising for the American Jewish Relief Committee.

[Max Vorspan]

WEINSTOCK, HERBERT (1905–1971), U.S. writer and musicologist. Weinstock was born in Milwaukee and attended the University of Chicago. He became a music editor at the New York publishing firm of Alfred A. Knopf (1943–59 and

1963–71). Weinstock was also a prolific writer and published books on *Tchaikovsky* (1943), *Handel* (1946), *Chopin* (1949), and *Music as an Art* (1953). However, most of his writings were more especially on operatic subjects, including *The Opera: a History of its Creation and Performance, 1600–1941* (New York, 1941; 1962^2 as *The World of Opera*); *Donizetti and the World of Opera in Italy, Paris and Vienna in the First Half of the Nineteenth Century* (1963), as well as his later works dedicated to the biographies of *Rossini* (1968) and *Bellini* (1971). From 1966 he was also New York correspondent for the British journal *Opera*.

[Max Loppert / Amnon Shiloah (2nd ed.)]

WEINTRAUB, SOLOMON (1781–1829), Polish cantor; also known as Solomon Kashtan, after his native town in Volhynia. He was cantor in Dubno, but often traveled from town to town giving performances, and was noted for his fervor and singular coloratura. He was the first cantor to leave written compositions, and he created an Eastern European style. Most of his works remained in manuscript (Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati), but a selection was edited and published in modern form by his son, ZEVI HIRSCH ALTER WEINTRAUB (1811–1882). The latter succeeded him as cantor in Dubno (1830–35), and was cantor in Koenigsberg (1838–80). He made his father's work part three of his *Schire Beth Adonai oder Tempelgesaenge* … (3 pts., Leipzig, 1860; 1955^3).

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[Ernst Daniel Goldschmidt]

WEINZWEIG, HELEN (**Tenenbaum**; 1915–), Canadian author. Weinzweig was born in Poland and immigrated to Canada at the age of nine with her divorced mother. She did not know her father until she was an adult. Weinzweig grew up in the Jewish immigrant district of Toronto and deliberately abandoned her native Polish and Yiddish languages. In Toronto, she attended school for the first time. Her mother remained a single parent and was sole provider at a time when women rarely found themselves in such circumstances. Weinzweig's story "My Mother's Luck," included in her short story collection and adapted as a one-act play, records the difficult life and dynamic character of her mother.

During adolescence, Weinzweig spent two years at a sanatorium while recuperating from tuberculosis. It was during this period that she developed the love of reading that continued throughout her life. After completing high school, Weinzweig was forced by the Depression to work successively as a stenographer, receptionist, and salesperson. She married the composer John *Weinzweig in 1940 and they had two sons.

Weinzweig's first novel, *Passing Ceremony* (1973), published when she was 58, is highly experimental in form and presents a somber, ironic picture of the ritual of marriage, the "passing ceremony" of its title. As an expressionistic work, *Passing Ceremony* employs strategies from other genres – film, painting, and music – to bring meaning and unity to an otherwise senseless marriage between a homosexual and a promiscuous woman. Weinzweig's narrative style blends the surreal and the gothic and communicates her belief in the paradox that tragedy always lurks beneath the comfortable and conventional surface of everyday life.

Basic Black with Pearls (1980), Weinzweig's second novel and winner of the City of Toronto Book Award, is an ingenious work of puzzles that also exposes the vacuousness of traditional marriage. Written as a highly subjective interior monologue, its protagonist is the respectable Shirley Kaszenbowski, née Silverberg, alias Lola Montez, a middle-class, middle-aged, married woman in a basic black dress and pearls who travels the world to meet her elusive lover, Coenraad, an alleged spy for an unidentified "Agency." Shirley's chameleon-like transformations imply that all behavior is mere acting, and Weinzweig's innovative use of the mask motif heightens the interplay of reality and illusion that is at the heart of this novel.

A View from the Roof (1989) is a collection of thirteen short stories whose range of themes and styles evoke Weinzweig's novels. The short story "The Sea at Bar" appeared in the journal *Parchment* (vol. 2, 1993–94).

[Ruth Panofsky (2nd ed.)]

WEINZWEIG, JOHN (**Jacob**; 1913–2006), Canadian composer and teacher. Born in Toronto to Polish immigrant parents, Weinzweig first studied music at the Workman's Circle Peretz School, at Toronto high schools, and privately. In 1934–37 he studied with Healey Willan at the University of Toronto, where he founded and conducted the University of Toronto Symphony Orchestra. At the invitation of Howard Hanson, he completed a M.Mus. (1938) in composition at the Eastman School of Music. Weinzweig's *Suite for Piano* (1939) contains Canada's first 12-tone writing.

Except for a 1943–45 stint in the RCAF, Weinzweig taught at the Toronto Conservatory from 1938 to 1960. Having composed music for four National Film Board movies (1941–45) and for about 100 CBC Radio dramas (1941–51), he taught composition and orchestration at the University of Toronto in 1952–78. Among his many renowned students were Murray Adaskin, Harry Freedman, Srul Irving Glick, and Brian Cherney.

Among his concert works are Divertimento No. 1 (1946) for flute and orchestra, which won the Silver Medal at the 1948 Arts Olympiad; the Cello Sonata "Israel" (1949); *Dance of the Massadah* (1951) for baritone and piano, based on Yiẓḥak *Lamdan poems and commissioned by the Canadian Jewish Congress; *Am Yisrael Chai!* (1952) for chorus, based on Weinzweig's translation of Malke *Lee's text; *Wine of Peace* (1957) for soprano and orchestra, dedicated to "the United Nations, where the dreams of mankind for peace on earth become a reality"; *Dummiyah/Silence* (1969) for orchestra, which he described as a reaction to the horrors of the Holocaust; and the choral "Prisoner of Conscience" (1986) dedicated to Amnesty International.

Weinzweig played a central role in founding both the Canadian League of Composers (1951) and the Canadian Music Centre (1959). In 1967, he was awarded the B'nai Israel Beth David Synagogue Scroll of Honour for outstanding contributions to Canadian culture. Other accolades include honorary doctorates from the Universities of Ottawa (1969) and Toronto (1982), an appointment as Officer of the Order of Canada (1974) and Member of the Order of Ontario (1988). A recipient of the Canadian Music Council Medal in 1978, Weinzweig was designated "President Emeritus" by the Canadian League of Composers in 1981. He is also the first composer to receive the Canada Council's Molson Prize (1981) and the Roy Thomson Hall Award (1991). Subsequently Weinzweig received the Toronto Arts Award for Music (1998) and the SOCAN (Society of Composers, Authors and Music Publishers) Lifetime Achievement Award (2004). He married the fiction writer Helen *Weinzweig.

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[Jay Rahn (2nd ed.)]

WEISBERGER, BERNARD ALLEN (1922–), U.S. historian. Born in New York, Weisberger taught at several universities before being appointed adjunct professor of history at New York University. Weisberger won many awards and wrote books in a popular style supported by careful research and profound thought. He was a member of the National Hillel Commission and a dedicated participant in the civil rights movement. After teaching at such universities as Wayne State, the University of Chicago, and the University of Rochester, he gave up the classroom and dedicated his time to writing. He was a contributing editor for *American Heritage,* where he wrote a column entitled "In the News" for more than 10 years.

Among his many books are *They Gathered at the River* (1958), a provocative study of Protestant revivalism; *The New Industrial Society* (1969); *The American Heritage History of the American People* (1971); *Pathways to the Present* (1976); *The Impact of Our Past* (1976); *Reaching for Empire* (1980); *From Sea to Shining Sea* (1981); *The Statue of Liberty* (1985); *Many People, One Nation* (1987); *The La Follettes of Wisconsin* (1994); and *America Afire* (2000).

[Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

WEISENBURG, THEODORE H. (1876–1934), U.S. physician. Weisenburg was born in New York City and, having suffered from a nervous disorder as a child, he determined to devote himself to the field of neurosurgery. In 1908 be was chairman of the American Medical Association's section on nervous and mental disorders.

Weisenburg taught at the University of Pennsylvania (1904–07) and at the Medico-Chirurgical College in Philadelphia. After the college became a part of the university, he became a professor of neurology (1918) and in 1920 a vice dean of the college. He became particularly noted as a pioneer in the use of moving pictures for the study of patients with nervous and mental disorders.

From 1905, Weisenburg was an active member of the American Neurological Association and became its president in 1918. In 1919 he became editor of *Transactions*, the association's journal. Weisenburg also edited the *Archives of Neurology and Psychiatry* from 1920 until his death.

With the aid of a grant from the Commonwealth Fund of New York City, Weisenburg embarked on a planned program of research, which included adult intelligence tests. In 1933–34 he was made president of the Association for Research in Nervous and Mental Diseases. He was also a member of the Examining Board for Certification of Specialists in Neurology and Psychiatry. His books *Aphasia* (1935) and *Adult Intelligence* (1936) were published posthumously.

WEISER-VARON, BENNO (1913–), journalist, author, diplomat, and university lecturer. Born in Czernovitz (Austro-Hungarian Empire), after the outbreak of World War I he moved with his family to Vienna. In 1938 he had almost completed medical studies. As a student he was active together with Teddy *Kollek and Ehud *Avriel in diverse Zionist student organizations.

After the annexation of Austria to the Third Reich, he left in autumn 1938 for Ecuador via Amsterdam and settled in Quito, where he succeeded in obtaining visas for his family and his fiancée. As one of the only European refugees to be proficient in Spanish, he was hired in April 1940 by the leading newspaper of Quito, *El Comercio*, to cover the events in Europe, on which he had a daily column, "El Mirador del Mundo" ("Observer of the World").

In 1945 he attended the first Latin American Zionist Congress in Montevideo and established close ties with leading Zionist activists in Latin America – among others Moshe Toff (later Tov). As a newspaperman he met for an interview in Buenos Aires Juan D. Peron, at that time Argentina's vice president. In spring 1946 he established, at the request of Nachum Goldmann, a regional agency for the Jewish Agency in Bogota. In June 1947 he was called to New York as acting director (for Tov), and later director, of the Latin American Department of the Jewish Agency. His main mission was to create and maintain Latin America's support at the UN for the Zionist cause and later for the State of Israel. Weiser succeeded in securing Ecuador's crucial vote, on November 29, 1947, at the special session of the UN General Assembly, in favor of the UNSCOP partition plan for Palestine, the decision for the establishment of a Jewish state.

In 1957, as ambassador of the State of Israel, he represented the country at the inauguration of Luis Somoza Debayle as president of Nicaragua. In 1960 he was asked to take over the Israel-Iberoamerican Institute of Cultural Relations in Jerusalem and moved with his family to Israel. He reported on the Eichmann trial for several newspapers. In 1964 Weiser was appointed the first ambassador of Israel to the Dominican Republic and adopted, on the advice of Prof. Efraim E. Urbach, the name Varon, and in 1966 he was also named nonresident ambassador to Jamaica. As a result of the Six-Day War of 1967, Weiser was asked to proceed to New York to join the Israeli delegation to the UN, headed by Abba Eban. When Paraguay was elected to the UN Security Council for 1968–69, Weiser was appointed as the first Israeli ambassador to Paraguay. On May 4, 1970, the embassy offices in Asunción were invaded by two Palestinians intent on killing the Israeli ambassador. After shooting Edna Peer dead and wounding Diana Zawluk with five bullets (she survived), the invaders had no bullets left for the ambassador. Weiser-Varon terminated his diplomatic activities for the State of Israel in 1972.

In 1973 he moved to Boston and wrote articles for publications such as *Commentary*, *Midstream*, the *New York Times*, and the *Boston Globe*. In 1986 he joined the department for Jewish Studies at Boston University, retiring in 2001.

Among his writings are *El Mirador del Mundo* (1941), *Yo era Europeo* (1942), *Visitenkarte* (1957), and *Professions of a Lucky Jew* (1992).

[Gabriel E. Alexander (2nd ed.)]

WEISGAL, ABBA JOSEPH (1885–1981), *ḥazzan*. Weisgal was born in Poland where his father, the local *ḥazzan*, was his first teacher. After serving as *ḥazzan* in Ivancice, Czechoslovakia, he emigrated to the United States in 1920 and became *ḥazzan* of the Chizuk Amuno congregation of Baltimore, Maryland, officiating for more than 50 years. Joseph Levin, a *ḥazzan* and musician, wrote a work entitled *Emunah Abba* about Weisgal's compositions and published it together with those compositions in a volume called *Shirei Ḥayyim ve-Emunah* (1982). Weisgal was the brother of Meyer *Weisgal and the father of Hugo *Weisgal.

[Akiva Zimmerman (2nd ed.)]

WEISGAL, MEYER WOLF (1894–1977), Zionist. Born in Kikol (near Lipno), Poland. Weisgal emigrated to the U.S. in 1905. From 1921 to 1938 he served as national secretary of the Zionist Organization of America, and became Chaim *Weizmann's personal political representative in the U.S. In 1940 he participated in the establishment of the U.S. section of the Jewish Agency for Palestine, serving as its secretary general until 1946. He was appointed organizing secretary of the *American Jewish Conference in 1943. In 1944 Weisgal began his dynamic public relations activities on behalf of the *Weizmann Institute of Science. He established his residence in Israel in 1949 on the campus of the Institute at Reḥovot and took over the management of its affairs as chairman of the Executive Council. He served as president from 1966 to 1969 and then as chancellor. Weisgal was closely connected with the arts in the U.S. and Israel. He edited several newspapers and books of Jewish interest (*The Maccabean*, 1918–21, and *New Palestine*, 1921–30), and produced a number of plays, including Franz Werfel's *The Eternal Road*, directed by Max Reinhardt in 1937 in the U.S. He edited the book *Theodor Herzl, a Memorial* (1929), and two books on Weizmann: *Chaim Weizmann: Statesman, Scientist, Builder of the Jewish Commonwealth* (1944), and *Chaim Weizmann: A Biography by Several Hands* (1963^2). Weisgal's autobiography, … *So Far*, was published in 1971 and the Hebrew translation, *Ad Kan*, in 1972. He was buried on the grounds of the Weizmann Institute.

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[Rinna Samuel]

WEISGALL, HUGO (1912–1997), composer, conductor, and teacher. Born in Ivancice, Czechoslovakia, Weisgall emigrated to the United States in 1920. He conducted orchestras in Baltimore and was active in Jewish musical life, directing the Har Sinai Temple Choir (1931–42) and the Youth Alliance Orchestra (1935–42). From 1946 to 1947 he was a cultural attaché at the U.S. embassy in Prague. Weisgall also taught in New York City at the Juilliard School of Music (1956–60) and at Queen's College (1960–1983), and from 1952 was faculty chairman of the cantors' institute of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America. He was a nephew of Meyer *Weisgal.

His compositions include operas, such as *Six Characters in Search of an Author* (1956), *Athaliah* (1964), and *Nine Rivers from Jordan* (1968), as well as ballets, and choral and orchestral works.

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WEISS, ABRAHAM (1895–1970), East European talmudic scholar and Zionist. Weiss was born in Podhajce, eastern Galicia. He completed his studies in history and classical philology at the University of Vienna in 1921 and received ordination at the Vienna Rabbinical Seminary in 1922. He taught Talmud and rabbinics at the Institute for Jewish Science in Warsaw (1928–1940) and at Yeshiva University in New York 1940–1967. In 1967 he settled in Israel, lecturing at Bar-Ilan University. From 1935 to 1940 Weiss was vice president of the Mizrachi Organization in Poland; he was also active in the World Zionist Organization for many years. Weiss was noted for his pioneering talmudic research, embodied in several articles dealing with the complete range of tannaitic, amoraic, and early gaonic literature. Most noteworthy for his examination of the Talmud's history and development are *Hithavvut ha-Talmud bi-Shelemuto* (1943), *Le-Ḥeker ha-Talmud* (1954), and *Al ha-Yeẓirah ha-Sifrutit shel ha-Amora'im* (1962). The application of scientific methodology to the clarification of talmudic law and literature and his resultant conclusions are best exemplified in *Seder ha-Diyyun; Meḥkarim be-Mishpat ha-Talmud* (1957), and *Diyyunim u-Verurim be-Bava Kamma* (1966). His views on the Mishnah's composition and structure are given in *Le-Ḥeker ha-Sifruti shel ha-Mishnah* (HUCA, 16 (1941), 1–33, Heb. sect.). His findings on the Babylonian Talmud's evolvement and the saboraic and early gaonic activities opened many new avenues in talmudic jurisprudence and historiography.

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[Meyer S. Feldblum]

WEISS, ALBERT PAUL (1879–1931), psychologist and social philosopher, Weiss, who was born in Steingrund, Germany, went to the U.S. as a child. He spent most of his teaching and research career at Ohio State University. He was one of an important group in the U.S. who demanded an objective and natural science approach to all behavior, including human. Weiss held a reductionist view that psychology is a sector of biology, and biology ultimately a sector of physics, but he also especially emphasized the key role of social factors in determining human behavior. Terms such as "biosocial behavior" and "social status" were used by Weiss to describe the human being as a social reactor in a social context without compromising his belief in the physical nature of man, as well as of man's environment. Thus, even in his treatment of human learning and processes of behavior modification, Weiss dwelt more on social variables than on neurophysiological ones. Weiss sought to realize a mission for scientific psychology in practical human affairs, the goal being to achieve greater human welfare in a stable, rational, and peaceful society under the guidance of "behavioristic ethics." Weiss' major works include: *A Theoretical Basis of Human Behavior* (1925); and "Feeling and Emotion as Forms of Behavior," in: *1st International Symposium on Feelings and Emotions, 1927* (Wittenberg, 1928).

[William N. Schoenfeld]

WEISS, AURELIU (1893–1962), Romanian literary critic. A leading Bucharest lawyer, Weiss wrote original and scholarly studies of Romanian and foreign authors collected in *Studii literare* (1922) and *Autori si păreri* ("Authors and Opinions," 1929). Weiss made his reputation, however, when he settled in Paris after World War II. His later works, many of which appeared posthumously, include *Le destin des grandes oeuvres dramatiques* (1960; Eng., 1965); *Le théatre de Luigi Pirandello dans le mouvement dramatique contemporain* (1964); and *Le monde théatral de Michel de Ghelderode* (1966).

WEISS, AVI (1944–), Orthodox Jewish activist. Avraham "Avi" Weiss was born in New York City and received his rabbinical ordination at the Rabbi Isaac Elchanan Theological Seminary (Yeshiva University) in 1968. He quickly established a reputation as an activist on behalf of Jewish communities everywhere and served for 10 years as Chairman of the Student Struggle for Soviet Jewry (SSSJ).

Through the 1980s, Weiss extended his passionate but non-violent activism to a wide range of Jewish causes. In 1985, he traveled to Bergen-Belsen to protest President Reagan's visit to the Bitburg military cemetery. In 1989, Weiss led demonstrations at the site of a Carmelite convent that had been established at Auschwitz, which, he asserted, threatened to "Christianize the memory of the Holocaust," and which had already desecrated the burial site of over a million murdered Jews. In 1991, he rose to the defense of the Lubavitch community of Crown Heights after anti-Jewish riots broke out there, accusing the mayor of New York and the city's police department of turning a blind eye and allowing the rioters to vent. He went on to found the grassroots organization AMCHA/Coalition for Jewish Concerns, of which he continues to serve as national president.

On issues pertaining to the State of Israel, Weiss was a vocal opponent of any recognition of the Palestinian Liberation Organization or of its leader, Yasir Arafat. He led numerous public demonstrations against the PLO and Arafat in front of the PLO's offices in Manhattan, and was an outspoken critic of the 1993 Oslo Accords. In 1994, he was arrested in Oslo while protesting the awarding of the Nobel Peace Prize to Arafat.

In addition, Weiss emerged as a Modern Orthodox visionary due to his position as congregational rabbi at the Hebrew Institute of Riverdale. Under Weiss' leadership, HIR quickly grew into a formidable synagogue. Weiss taught and practiced a unique inclusive philosophy, throwing open the doors of his Orthodox synagogue to the Orthodox and the non-Orthodox alike, as well as to the physically and mentally challenged. He launched innovative programs to include women in Orthodox practice, establishing a Women's Prayer and Torah Reading Service in 1974, and, in 1999, naming a *madrikhah ruḥanit* (religious mentor) at HIR, the first woman to serve an Orthodox congregation in a quasi-rabbinic role. At the same time, Weiss mentored numerous assistant rabbis and rabbinic interns at HIR, many of whom went on to assume major pulpits of their own.

In 2000 Weiss founded Yeshivat Chovevei Torah (YCT), the Modern and Open Orthodox Rabbinical Seminary. The mission of YCT is to produce rabbis who are classically trained and dedicated to strict halakhic observance, and who are open and inclusive in their construction of Orthodox communities, sensitive to the religious aspirations of women, and welcoming of Jews of all backgrounds.

Weiss is the author of two books, *Principles of Spiritual Activism* (2002), and *Women at Prayer: A Halakhic Analysis of Women's Prayer Groups* (1990).

[Yosef Kanefsky (2nd ed.)]

WEISS, ERNST (1884–1940), Austrian novelist. Born in Bruen, Weiss studied medicine and traveled to the Orient as a ship's doctor. During World War I he served as a medical officer in the Austrian army on the eastern front. After achieving some success as a playwright, he devoted himself to literature, working in Berlin and Munich. A pupil of *Freud and a friend of *Kafka, *Werfel, and *Brod, Weiss was a master of the psychological novel. His basic theme is strife between individuals – son against father, husband against wife, lover against beloved. The heroes are often physicians.

His novels include *Der Kampf* (1916), *Tiere in Ketten* (1918), *Nahar* (1922), *Georg Letham, Arzt und Moerder* (1931), and *Boëtius von Orlamuende* (1928). He also wrote a successful drama, *Tanja* (1920); *Das Versoehnungsfest* (1920), a verse collection; and several volumes of short stories. During the Third Reich, Weiss fled from Vienna to Prague, and from Prague to Paris. Two of his last novels were *Der Gefaengnisarzt oder Die Vaterlosen* (1934) and *Der Verfuehrer* (1938). When the Nazis entered Paris, the embittered and lonely writer committed suicide. *Der Augenzeuge* (1963), a posthumous novel, describes the ordeal of a Jewish physician whose ex-patient, an unbeloved World War I soldier, becomes the *Fuehrer* of the Third Reich. In 1982 an edition of selected works appeared in 16 volumes, edited by P. Engel and Volker Michels.

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[Sol Liptzin]

WEISS, ISAAC HIRSCH (1815–1905), scholar and writer on the history of the Oral Law. Weiss, who was born in Gross-Meseritsch (Velke Mezirici), Moravia, studied in the yeshivot of Trebitsch and Eisenstadt. He subsequently engaged in business, corresponded on halakhic topics with leading rabbis, and for a short time headed a yeshivah in his native town. In 1846 he began publishing Hebrew poems and studies on the Talmud. After losing his wealth, he migrated to Vienna and became a proofreader in a printing press. In 1864 he was appointed lecturer in talmudic literature in the Vienna Bet ha-Midrash founded by A. *Jellinek. Weiss was opposed both to the conservative spirit prevailing in the Hungarian yeshivot and to extreme Reform. His aim was to blend fundamental talmudic condition with secular culture and the critical scientific method. His moderate position aroused against him not only the anger of the rabbis of the older generation and the Orthodox, but also the criticism of the Reformers. He was opposed to the Ḥibbat Zion movement and to the idea of settling Ereẓ Israel, regarding them as dangerous since they accorded with the view of the antisemites that there was no place for Jews in Europe. In his opinion the nationhood of Jews consisted of their Torah and religion, and they must await in exile the redemption of Heaven. On the other hand he understood the importance of the Hebrew language and wrote his compositions in it.

Weiss' scholarly work was wholly devoted to the study of the Oral Law. He published two **midreshei-halakhah* with introductions and notes: the **Sifra* (1862) and the *Mekhilta* (1865), and wrote a grammar book, *Mishpat Leshon ha-Mishnah* (1867). He published many articles, some of which appeared in periodicals which he founded and edited (both *Beit ha-Midrash* (1865–66) and *Beit Talmud* (1881–86; founded jointly with M. *Friedmann)).

Weiss' largest and most important work is the five-volume *Dor Dor ve-Dorshav* (1871–91). This work, in which he described the history of the Oral Law from its beginning (before the Written Law) until after the expulsion from Spain, deals not only with the sequence of the *halakhah*, but also with the development of the *aggadah*, with the history of talmudic and rabbinic literature and with the character traits of important sages. From his critical approach to the sources, Weiss understood the development of the *halakhah* and its historical background. Into this vast amount of material Weiss brought system and order without multiplying small details. The work is distinguished by its picturesque and fluent language and by its vivid descriptions. At times, however, there are errors in his conclusions and it is also tendentious. Weiss, who belonged to the *Haskalah generation, frequently imposed his own view upon the sources and described the characters of scholars and works in accordance with his own views. Sometimes he drew general conclusions from particular points or concepts without properly examining the material. N. *Krochmal's *Moreh Nevukhei ha-Zeman* gave Weiss the impetus to write this work. He also transferred from the domain of history to that of rabbinic literature, though without justification, the view of Krochmal that a period of decline in Jewish history began from the 13th century. In its time *Dor Dor ve-Dorshav*, which was published a number of times and had a large circulation, particularly in eastern Europe, exercised great influence. However, there were also among the scholars of the older generation radical opponents who wrote works critical of it, some of them attacking Weiss personally. (The most important of his critics was Isaac *Halevy in his *Dorot ha-Rishonim*.) Despite all its faults – or perhaps just because of them – its contribution to the study of the Talmud was great. Its very composition was audacious, and nothing similar has subsequently been written. "There are things which Weiss completely demolished; and there are also things which he built permanently" (L. Ginzberg). Weiss also composed an autobiography with the title *Zikhronotai* (1895); it appeared in serial form in *Genazim* (1, 15–53 (1961)) with an introduction and notes by G. Kressel.

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[Moshe David Herr]

WEISS, ISAAC JACOB (1902–1989), rabbinical scholar. Born in Dolina, Poland, Weiss studied in various yeshivot and became head of the Yeshivah of Munkacs (Mukachevo; then Czechoslovakia, now Soviet Ukraine), at the age of 20. In 1929 he was appointed *dayyan* of the important Jewish community of *Oradea.

During World War II, he and his family escaped deportation and found refuge in Romania. Returning after the war, he became the spiritual leader of what was left of the community and took a prominent part in its reconstruction. In 1949 he immigrated to Britain where he was appointed senior *dayyan* of the Manchester and Salford Jewish Community, and was soon recognized as an outstanding halakhic authority. His first halakhic work, *Divrei Yiẓḥak*, appeared in 1941. From 1955 successive volumes of his responsa (*Minhat Yiẓḥak*) began to appear, and a six-volume edition was published in Jerusalem (1973–75), including homiletic material, which also appeared in a separate volume under the same title. An appendix to the first volume of the second edition, titled *Pirsumei Nisa* (pp. 265 ff.), gives a moving description of life under the Nazi-dominated Hungarian regime and of his miraculous escape into Romania. In 1968 Weiss was appointed head of the *bet din* of the ultra-Orthodox Ashkenazi community (*Edah Ḥaredit*) of Jerusalem.

[Alexander Carlebach]

WEISS, JIŘÍ (1913–2004), Czechoslovak film director. Weiss made documentaries and won an international prize in 1934 at the Venice Biennale and the Czechoslovak Stage prize in 1937. During World War II, he made films for the exiled Czechoslovak government in London. He returned to Prague in 1945 and won the State film prize for the historical picture *Vstanou noví bojovníci* ("New Fighters Will Rise," 1951) a film on coal miners without professional actors. He also won the Critics Prize, Berlin, for *31 ve stínu* ("31 Degrees in the Shade," 1965). His best film, *Romeo, Julie a tma* (1961) was based on an anti-Nazi novel by Jan Očenášek. In 1966 he made *Razda po nazdem* ("Murder Czech Style"). After the Soviet invasion in 1968 he fled the country, returning in 1989 to make *Martha und Ich*, his first film in 23 years. In the interval he lived in the United States, teaching at Hunter College, New York, and Santa Barbara, Calif., and writing two plays and a volume of memoirs.

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WEISS, JOSEPH G. (1918–1969), researcher of Ḥasidism and Jewish mysticism. Weiss was born in Budapest, Hungary, to a *Neologist family. In 1939 he immigrated to Palestine and studied medieval Jewish-Spanish literature at The Hebrew University of Jerusalem. Under the influence of Gershom *Scholem he changed his field of interest to Jewish mysticism and specialized in the doctrines of Rabbi *Naḥman of Bratslav. In 1951 he immigrated to England. He studied and taught in Oxford, Leeds, Manchester, and London, where he stayed for the rest of his life. From 1959 Weiss was the head of the Institute of Jewish Studies and, later on, also a professor at the University College London, as well as editor of the *Journal of Jewish Studies*. Throughout his life Weiss maintained a close and complex relationship with his teacher Gershom Scholem, and was considered by Scholem as one of his closest and most talented pupils. The results of Weiss' works in the field of research of Bratslav Ḥasidism and the Ḥasidic Movement in general, published in many articles, were innovative and influenced by his unique personality. He had an existential view of the figure and doctrines of Rabbi Naḥman (*"Ha-Kushya be-Torat Rabbi Naḥman,"* in: *Alei Ayin* (1952)), which changed over time to psychological and mythological analysis (*"Iyyunim bi-Tefisato ha-Aẓmit shel R. Nahman,"* in: *Tarbiz* (1958)). In this article he emphasized the notion that all the writings of Rabbi Naḥman, especially his stories, are actually a mythological autobiography of Rabbi Naḥman himself, and the figures mentioned in the texts are reflections of his tormented personality. Weiss' work was collected after his death in a Hebrew volume *Meḥkarim be-Ḥasidut Braslev* (1974), ed. by M. Piekarz, and in *Studies in Eastern European Jewish Mysticism* (1985, 1997), ed. by D. Goldstein.

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[Noam Zadoff (2nd ed.)]

WEISS, JOSEPH JOSHUA (1907–1972), British radiation chemist. Weiss was head of the chemistry department in the Textile Institute, Sorau, Germany (1928–30) and worked at the Kaiser Wilhelm Institute for Physical Chemistry, Berlin-Dahlem (1930–33) and then at University College, London (1934–39). He was professor of radiation chemistry at the University of Newcastle (1956). Weiss was an authority on chemical reactions induced by atomic radiations, particularly gamma rays.

WEISS, JOSEPH MEIR (1838–1909), Hungarian rabbi and author. Weiss was born in Munkacz (Mukachevo), where his father Samuel Ẓevi was the head of the *bet din*. He studied under his uncle Yiẓḥak Izak Weiss in the small town of Svalyava (now in the Ukraine), later at the yeshivah of Meir Eisenstadt and his son in Ungvar, and subsequently in the yeshivah of Shmelkel Klein in Nagyszőllös (Vinogradov). After his marriage he conducted a yeshivah in Brusa, Turkey. On the death of his wife he returned to his parents' home in Munkacz. After his remarriage, he stayed with his father-in-law. Weiss was an adherent of the ḥasidic rabbi Isaac Izak Eichenstein of Zydaczow (Galicia), whom he considered to be his teacher in *Kabbalah, and with whom he stayed for a time. After Eichenstein's death many of his Ḥasidim regarded Weiss as his successor and began to attend upon him frequently in great numbers. He also visited Ḥayyim Halberstam, the ḥasidic rabbi of Zanz, whose authority he accepted. He became the founder of the ḥasidic dynasty of *Spinka, which combines the characteristics of those of Zydaczow and Zanz. Many legends and remarkable stories circulated about him, some of which are given in the *Pe'er Yosef*, and he was the author of *Imrei Yosef*, a work on the Pentateuch. He also published *Likkutei Torah ve-ha-Shas* of his teacher and uncle, Yiẓḥak Izak of Zydaczow.

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[Samuel Weingarten-Hakohen]

WEISS, MANFRÉD (1857–1922), industrialist and a pioneer of industry in Hungary. Born in Pest, Weiss founded, together with his brother Berthold, the first canning factory in Hungary, which was later enlarged and converted into the armaments factory at Csepel, a suburb of Budapest. The latter enterprise was capable of supplying all the armaments of the Hapsburg Empire in the event of war, and during World War I, 30,000 workers were employed in it. After Hungary's defeat in World War I, Weiss began to manufacture household appliances, agricultural machines, and motorcars. He was the founder of the national union of Hungarian industrialists (GYOSZ) and was also involved in Jewish public life, founding several charitable institutions, among them a Jewish maternity home (named after his wife), and a hospital for chronic diseases. He also fostered such Jewish public activities as the national council for the preparation of a united Jewish autonomy (1912), which included both *Neologist and Orthodox members.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Egyenlöség*, no. 52 (1922), 21–3; J. Dálnoki Kováts, *Ipari öntudatunk ébresztöi és munkálói* (1943), 250–2.

[Jeno Zsoldos]

WEISS, MEIR (1902–1998), Bible scholar. Born in Budapest, he became a rabbi and received a doctorate from the Royal Science University of Hungary in Semitic linguistics, history of the Ancient Near East, and Roman history. He immigrated to Israel in 1945 and worked as a teacher and principal in various schools. From 1957 he lectured in Bible at Bar-Ilan University and from 1960 at The Hebrew University, where he became a professor in 1972. He was a pioneer among modern biblicists in his holistic appreciation of each book for its own sake; he published collections of articles and a commentary on Job. In 1990 he received the Israel Prize for Jewish studies. Among his writings are *Ha-Mikra ki-Demuto* (1967, 1987); *The Story of Job's Beginning* (1983); *Mikra'ot ke-Havanatam* (collected essays; 1987); *Sefer Amos* (1992); *Emunot ve-De'ot be-Mizmorei Tehillim* (2001).

[Fern Lee Seckbach]

WEISS, MELVYN I. (1935–), U.S. lawyer. Born in the Bronx, N.Y., and educated at City College's Baruch School and New York University Law School, Melvyn Irwin Weiss practiced law in New York while building his firm, Milberg Weiss Bershad Hynes & Lerach, into the country's premier securities class-action law firm. Its lawyers became corporate America's most aggressive and nettlesome private legal adversaries. Weiss embodied one of Wall Street's worst nightmares: the shareholder lawsuit. He was one of the first to test a 1966 law that permitted them, and he became dean of the practice. Along the way, he forced Wall Street to be more accountable to investors. He won nearly $30 billion from more than 1,000 companies, including Prudential and Drexel Burnham Lambert as well as Charles Keating's failed savings and loan empire. His later targets included several public investment banks and Enron, the energy company that bilked states and others with false companies. Weiss also earned the enmity of the accounting profession for his long-standing accusations of laxity in corporate oversight, and accompanying lawsuits. After working together for nearly three decades Weiss and one of his partners, William S. Lerach, parted bitterly as both came under investigation by Federal prosecutors. Weiss was honored many times, and his awards included the Anti-Defamation League humanitarian award, the United Jewish Appeal's Proskauer award, and the B'nai B'rith of Argentina Dignity and Justice Award. He served as a director and member of the executive committee of the Israel Policy Forum and the American Jewish Congress.

[Stewart Kampel (2nd ed.)]

WEISS, PAUL (1901–2002), U.S. philosopher. Weiss was born in New York and studied under Morris Raphael *Cohen. He received his Ph.D. from Harvard University in 1929, where he studied with philosopher Alfred North Whitehead. He lectured for a year at Harvard and Radcliffe and then taught at Bryn Mawr. Weiss began as a logician and later went into metaphysics, art, and aesthetics. In 1946 he was the first Jew to be appointed to the faculty of the undergraduate college at Yale, and from 1963 he was professor until he retired in 1969 as professor emeritus. In 1947 he founded the Metaphysical Society of America and its academic journal *The Review of Metaphysics,* which he edited until 1964. Through his teaching and writing Weiss was influential in the revival of interest in metaphysics in the United States and played an important role in the Peirce Society and the Metaphysical Society of America. Together with Charles Hartshorne he edited *The Collected Papers of C.S. Peirce*. He was active in Jewish affairs.

After his retirement from Yale, Weiss began to challenge the issue of age discrimination. He was offered a chair at Fordham University, but it was later revoked because he was too old (69). Weiss sued the university in 1971 for age discrimination but lost the controversial $1 million suit. Again, after having taught for many years as the Heffer Visiting Professor of Philosophy of Catholic University in Washington, he discovered that the university's refusal to renew his contract was due to his advanced age. After an official inquiry into the matter by the Equal Opportunity Commission, the university reinstated him for two more years, after which he retired. Weiss was elected to the Library of Living Philosophers, which published *The Philosophy of Paul Weiss* in 1995 as part of a series of volumes devoted to influential philosophers.

The man who staunchly fought against age discrimination lived to be 101.

Weiss's major works include *Reality* (1938); *Nature and Man* (1947); *Man's Freedom* (1950); *Modes of Being* (1958); *Nine Basic Arts*; and *The World of Art* (both 1961); *Religion and Art* (1964); *The God We Seek* (1964); *Making of Men* (1967); *First Considerations* (1977); *You, I, and the Others* (1980); *Privacy* (1983); *Toward a Perfected State* (1986); *Being and Other Realities* (1995); *Emphatics* (2000); and *Surrogates* (2002).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: I. Lieb (ed.), *Experience, Existence, and the Good: Essays in Honor of Paul Weiss* (1961); T. Krettek (ed.), *Creativity and Common Sense: Essays in Honor of Paul Weiss* (1987).

[Richard H. Popkin / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

WEISS, PETER (1916–1982), German playwright and author. A half-Jew, Weiss, who was born near Berlin, left Germany in 1934, spending two years in England and two more in Prague, before settling in Sweden in 1939. There he made his career as a painter, film producer, and writer. At first he wrote stories such as *Der Schatten des Koerpers des Kutschers* (1960) and *Abschied von den Eltern* (1961; *Leavetaking*, 1966), but broadened his scope in the novel, *Fluchtpunkt* (1962; *Vanishing Point*, 1966; together with *Leavetaking* as *Exile*, 1968). This last is an autobiographical work of passionate intensity covering the career and successive exiles of the hero from the age of 18 until his 30th year. The book reveals the young art student's rebellion against middle-class conformity, and the anguish of a Jewish manufacturer's son who, on his mother's side, belongs to the nation of the persecutor. As a dramatist, Weiss gained international fame with his play, *Die Verfolgung und Ermordung Jean Paul Marats …* (1964; *The Persecution and Assassination of Jean-Paul Marat as Performed by the Inmates of the Asylum of Charenton under the Direction of the Marquis de Sade*, 1965). In his *Die Ermittlung* (1965; *The Investigation*, 1966), Weiss made use of the documentation produced at the Frankfurt trial of the Nazi war criminals responsible for the brutalities at Auschwitz.

His other works include *Der Gesang vom lusitanischen Popanz* ("Song of the Lusitanian Bogey," 1966), *Diskurs ueber die Vorgeschichte und Verlauf des lang andauernden Befreiungskrieges in Viet Nam* (1968), and, in Swedish, *Sangen om Utysket* ("The Song of the Scarecrow," 1968), and *Trotskij i exil* ("Trotsky in Exile," 1970).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: L. Kahn, *Mirrors of the Jewish Mind* (1968), 232–6.

WEISS, SAMSON (1910–1990), U.S. rabbi and Orthodox leader. Born in Emden, Germany, Weiss received his rabbinical diploma at the yeshivah of Mir. He received his Ph.D. summa cum laude at Dorpat University, Estonia, after studying at the universities of Breslau, Berlin, and Zurich. He headed the Hebrew department of the Jewish teachers' college in Wuerzburg, Germany, before immigrating to the United States in 1938. After teaching at the Ner Israel Yeshivah in Baltimore (1938–40), Weiss moved to Detroit to direct Yeshivath Beth Yehudah in that city (1941–44). He moved to New York in 1944 where he became rabbi of Congregation Orach Chaim and organized *Torah Umesorah, a national association for the promotion of Hebrew day-school education. In 1945 he founded and became director of Young Israel's Institute for Jewish Studies and two years later was made director of the National Council of *Young Israel, serving in this position until 1956, when he became executive vice president of the *Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations of America. Weiss resigned from the latter position in 1972 to settle in Israel. He maintained his position as professor of Jewish philosophy at Touro College and was first chairman of the Department for Judaica Studies at Touro.

WEISS, SAMUEL ARTHUR (1902–1977), U.S. congressman and judge. Weiss, born in Krotowica, Poland, went to the United States as an infant and was educated at Duquesne University (1927). He played football while in college, retaining a devotion to athletics throughout his subsequent career. Admitted to the Pennsylvania bar in 1927, he organized a private practice in Pittsburgh. He was elected to the state legislature as a Democrat in 1934 and served there from 1935 to 1939. Weiss represented the 31st Congressional District in the U.S. House of Representatives from 1941 to 1946, the first Jew elected by the district. His congressional activities reflected a continuing interest in Jewish matters, as well as in promoting physical fitness. He resigned from Congress when he was elected judge of the Allegheny County Court of Common Pleas, sitting on that bench from 1946 to 1967.

He was a referee for the National Football League from 1942 to 1954 and officiated in collegiate football as well. Long associated with B'nai B'rith in his home state, Weiss served as national vice president from 1949 to 1967. He was tri-state regional chairman of the United Jewish Appeal from the 1950s.

WEISS, YAACOV (1924–1947), Jew executed by the British in Palestine. Weiss was born in Nove Zamky, Czechoslovakia, and joined the local Betar as a boy of ten. In 1945 he was apprehended in attempting to enter Ereẓ Israel "illegally" and was imprisoned in Athlit. On his release he joined the IẒL and took part in many of its operations, the last being the break into Acre prison when, with Avshalom Ḥaviv and Meir Nakar, he was captured, sentenced to death, and hanged.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Y. Nedava, *Olei-ha-Gardom* (1966); Y. Gurion, *Ha-Niẓẓaḥon Olei Gardom* (1971).

WEISSBERG, ISAAC JACOB (1840–1904), Hebrew writer and linguist. He was born in Polonka in Minsk district and contributed to various publications, including **Ha-Meliẓ, *Ha-Maggid*, and *Ha-Asif. He opposed both modern Hebrew style, because of the linguistic innovations it contained, and the infiltration of European literary movements into Hebrew literature. His own style is biblical and florid.

He collected and published the letters of J.L. *Gordon (2 vols., 1894), the letters of I.B. *Levinsohn to Dr. R. Kalischer (1896), and the letters of Isaiah Tugendhold (*Divrei Yeshayah ben Ya'akov Tugendhold*, 1896). His works include *Ga'on ve-Shivro* (1883); *She'elat ha-Nashim al pi ha-Talmud* ("The Question of Women According to the Talmud," 1890); *Dalet Tekufot le-Divrei ha-Yamim li-Venei Yisrael* ("Four Periods in the History of the Children of Israel," 1898); and *Mishlei Kadmonim*, ("Ancient Proverbs," 1900).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Kressel, Leksikon, 1 (1965), 672–3; *Lu'aḥ Aḥi'asaf*, 9 (1902), 361–2; Ha-Mashkif (pseud. J. Klausner), in: *Ha-Shilo'ah*, 14 (1904), 193–4.

[Gedalyah Elkoshi]

WEISSBERG (Veysberg), JULIA LAZAREVNA (1878/80–1942), composer and critic. Born in Orenburg, Russia, she studied at the historico-philological faculty of the Women's University and graduated from St. Petersburg Conservatory in 1912, where she studied composition under Rimsky-Korsakov, whose son, Andrei, she later married. From 1912 to 1914 she studied in Berlin with Humperdinck and Reger. From 1915 to 1917 she was coeditor of the periodical *Muzykalny Sovremennik*. Not evacuated from German Nazi-blockaded Leningrad, she perished during the siege. Her compositions were often lyrical and sometimes in an exotic vein. She also wrote music for children. Among her works were operas, including *Rusalochka* ("The Little Mermaid"; 1923), *Gusi-lebedi* ("Geese-Swans"; 1937) and others; a cantata for chorus and orchestra *The Twelve* (1925); a symphonic poem, *At Night* (1935), and songs.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: NG^2; M.F. Gnesin, *Moi vospominania o N.A. Rimskom-Korsakove* ("Thoughts and Reminiscences on Rimsky-Korsakov"; 1956), incl. Weissberg's writings and correspondence with A.K. Glazunov.

[Marina Rizarev (2nd ed.)]

WEISSBERG, MEIR (Max; 1856–1930), scholar and historian of modern Hebrew literature. Born at Bukaczowce in Galicia, he was appointed teacher in the public school system in Galicia in 1884, became headmaster of the Stanislav public school and, from 1888 until 1925, served as instructor in Jewish religion and the German language at the government high school of the city. He devoted himself to the study of Hebrew Haskalah literature, especially that of Galicia with which, being one of its products, he was thoroughly familiar.

He published a large number of essays on the subject in German, Polish, and Hebrew. His principal works are: *Die neuhebraeische Aufklaerungsliteratur in Galizien* (1898); *Woelwel Zbarazer, der fahrende Saenger des galizisch-juedischen Humanismus* (1909).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Rejzen, Leksikon, 1 (1929), 963–5; G. Bader, *Medinah va-Ḥakhameha* (1934), 90; R. Fahn, in: *Arim ve-Immahot be-Yisrael*, 5 (1952), index.

[Gedalyah Elkoshi]

WEISSENBERG, ALEXIS (**Sigismond**; 1929–), pianist. Weissenberg was born in Sofia. He studied piano with his mother and then with Pancho Vladiguerov. During the German occupation he and his mother were briefly confined in a concentration camp. He was taken to Ereẓ Israel in 1945, where he gave his first performance with an orchestra. In 1946, he entered the Juilliard School of Music as a pupil of Olga Samaroff, and also studied with Arthur *Schnabel and Wanda *Landowska. Having won the Leventritt Award (1947), he made his New York debut with G. *Szell and the New York Philharmonic, and thereafter commenced his American, and later (1951) his European career. He settled in France and in the early 1950s retired from the concert hall in order to study and teach (at the Accademia Chigiana, Siena, where his pupils included Rafael Orozco); he returned only in 1966, with performances in Berlin. From that time he refashioned an important international career as a virtuoso pianist of great (if sometimes eccentric) prowess, noted for his interpretations of Romantic music.

ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY: Grove online; *Baker's Biographical Dictionary* (1997); J. Holcman, "The Tangled Talents of Sigi [Alexis] Weissenberg," in: *Pianists, On and Off the Record: The Collected Essays of Jan Holcman* (2000), 155–61.

[Max Loppert / Naama Ramot (2nd ed.)]

WEISSENBERG, ISAAC MEIR (**Itshe**; 1881–1938), Yiddish novelist and dramatist. Weissenberg was born in Zelechow, Poland, and began his literary career in 1904 as a disciple of Y.L. *Peretz, with realistic tales of small town life in Poland. In his earliest story, "*Dor Hoylekh ve-Dor Bo*" ("One Generation Passeth Away and Another Generation Cometh," 1904), he depicted an undernourished father who collapsed in a shoe factory, his son being expected to replace him as an object of exploitation. In "*Di Meshugene in Dorf*" ("The Village Madwomen," 1905), he showed a young girl desperately resisting her mother's efforts to compel her submission to the unloved husband imposed on her. His best work of fiction was his novella *A Shtetl* ("A Town," 1906), which dealt with the conflict between the older Jewish generation, steeped in tradition and following the guidance of religious leaders, and the rising generation which was receptive to new ideas, especially Bundism and Socialism, and which relied more upon pistols than upon the Psalms. In Weissenberg's stories, Jewish workers were beginning to become class-conscious, engaging in strikes, organizing demonstrations, rebelling against Czarist officials and local bosses.

Weissenberg edited *Yudishe Zamlbikher* (1918–20) the literary organ of the Yiddish intellectuals of Warsaw after the death of Peretz. As editor and critic he was an embattled figure, engaging in constant polemics with the outstanding Yiddish writers, but also encouraging young novelists, such as Oser *Warszawski and Simon Horenczyk, to follow in his footsteps and to write in a purely naturalistic style. Weissenberg visited the U.S. in 1923, but returned to Warsaw to continue the struggle for his ultra-realistic literary approach. His dramas, praised by the discerning critic *Baal-Makhshoves, did not meet with general acclaim. His translation of the *Thousand and One Nights* in six volumes (*Tauzent un Eyn Nakht*, 1922) achieved considerable popularity. A full list of his works appears in his *Geklibene Verk* (1930).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Rejzen, Leksikon, 1 (1926), 967–72; LYNL, 3 (1960), 415–8; A.A. Roback, *Story of Yiddish Literature* (1940), 223–7; M. Ravitch, *Mayn Leksikon* (1947), 80–5; I. Howe and E. Greenberg, *A Treasury of Yiddish Literature* (1954), 295–307. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** I. Oren (ed.), *Kratkaia evreĭskaia entsiklopediia*, 1 (1976), 599; G.G. Branover (ed.), *Rossiĭskaia evreĭskaia entsiklopediia*, 1 (1994), 200–1; G. Estraikh, *In Harness: Yiddish Writers' Romance with Communism* (2005), 79, 171.

[Sol Liptzin]

WEISSENBERG, SAMUEL ABRAMOVICH (1867–1928), Russian physician and anthropologist. He was born in Elizavetgrad in the Ukraine. After Cesare *Lombroso, Weissenberg was perhaps the most distinguished of that first generation of Jewish anthropologists who became interested in Jewish ethnic and physical characteristics. For his anthropometric research on the Jews of southern Russia, which was published in *Archiv fuer Anthropologie* in 1895, he was awarded a gold medal by the Moscow Society for Natural Sciences. His research culminated in his book *Wachstum des Menschen nach Alter, Geschlecht und Rasse* ("Growth of Man as Related to Age, Sex, and Race," 1911). Weissenberg traveled extensively, amassing material for anthropological studies of the Jews of Palestine, Syria, Iraq, North Africa, and Yemen, as well as of various Karaite communities. Many of his essays on Jewish folklore, proverbs, and folk music were published in the influential journal *Globus*.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Wininger, Biog, 6 (1925), 249–50, includes bibliography; Rejzen, Leksikon, 1 (1926), 973–5.

[Ephraim Fischoff]

WEISSER, ALBERT (1918–1982), U.S. musicologist, composer, editor, and choral conductor. Born in New York City of Russian-Jewish parentage, he attended high school in Queens and sang in the choir of his uncle, the renowned cantor Joshua S. *Weisser. He studied piano with Isaiah Seligman and played with various dance and jazz bands prior to entering New York University in 1940. In 1942 he was drafted into the U.S. Army, and later earned a Purple Heart for wounds received during the Normandy invasion. While convalescing in England, he studied privately with composer Ralph Vaughn Williams. He resumed his studies in composition (at NYU) under Miriam Bauer and Philip James. Upon graduating in 1948, he entered the master's program in musicology. Under the guidance of Curt Sachs, he wrote his thesis on "The Jewish National Music in Russia," which was later published as *The Modern Renaissance of Jewish Music: Events and Figures, Eastern Europe and America* (1954). He also studied privately with Lazare *Saminsky, who encouraged his work on the St. Petersburg School. He was music director of Temple Israel (Great Neck) until 1960. He taught at Brooklyn College from 1959 to 1969 and at the Jewish Theological Seminary (New York), where he taught the history of Jewish music and music theory from 1970 until his death. While serving as first president of the newly founded *American Society for Jewish Music (1974–82), he conceived the scholarly journal *Musica Judaica*. He published *Bibliography of Publications and Other Resources on Jewish Music* (1969), and "The Music Division of the Jewish-Ethnographic Expedition in the Name of Baron Horace Guinsbourg (1911–1914)," in *Musica Judaica*, 4 (1981–1982), 1–7.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: I.J. Katz: "In Memoriam: Albert Weisser (1918–1982)," in: *Musica Judaica*, 4 (1981–1982), 87–98 (includes his complete writings and compositions).

[Israel J. Katz (2nd ed.)]

WEISSER (Pilderwasser), JOSHUA (1888–1952), *ḥazzan* and composer. Born in Novaya Ushitsa, Ukraine, Weisser studied with several notable *ḥazzanim*, including Eliezer *Gerovich, before taking his first position as *ḥazzan* in Vinnitsa at the age of 20. He emigrated to the United States in 1914 and officiated in various New York synagogues. Weisser composed music for each synagogue service, including the usually neglected weekday service.

He published several collections of liturgical music, including *Ba'al Tefillah* (2 vols., 1936–40) and *Shirei Beit ha-Keneset* (2 vols., 1951–52). His work *Avodat ha-Ḥazzan* (2 vols., 1943–48) is a valuable reconstruction of the east European cantorial style. Weisser was also active in publishing ḥasidic songs, including those of *Modzhitz and *Ḥabad, and notated the music in S. Zalmanoff (ed.), *Sefer ha-Niggunim*, 1 (1948).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: E. Zaludkowski, *Kult-Treger fun der Yidisher Liturgye* (1930), 279–81; M. Wohlberg, in: *Cantors Voice* (Sept. 1952), 2, 7; A. Weisser, *Modern Renaissance of Jewish Music* (1954), 144–5; P. Kavon, in: *Journal of Synagogue Music* (Jan., 1968), 16–42.

WEISSKOPF, VICTOR F. (1908–2002), physicist. He was born and educated in Vienna before gaining his Ph.D. in physics at the University of Goettingen under the supervision of Eugene *Wigner (1931). He worked with Erwin Schroedinger and Werner Heisenberg at the University of Berlin (1931–32) and in Niels *Bohr's laboratory in Copenhagen (1932–33), supported by a Rockefeller scholarship and supplemented by a stipend from the Carlsberg brewery. He next worked with Wolfgang *Pauli at the Federal Institute of Technology in Zurich (1934–36). Aware that the rise of Nazism precluded a career in Germany, Weisskopf went first to Kharkov, Ukraine (then in the Soviet Union), where he worked with Lev *Landau. After eight months he was offered both a position at the University of Rochester, New York, and a better-paid post in the University of Kiev, Ukraine. His impressions of the Soviet Union persuaded him to move to Rochester (1937). In 1944 he joined the Manhattan Project in Los Alamos as a group leader in the Theoretical Division. After World War II Weisskopf joined the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT) (1946–60) before moving to the Centre Européenne pour la Recherche Nucleaire (CERN) in Geneva, initially as one of five directors but as director-general after one year (1961–65). He returned to MIT as head of the department of physics (1967–73), but he taught in Geneva every summer. He continued his research after 1973. Weisskopf was a theoretician who entered the then very small and illustrious coterie of nuclear physicists. He was admired for his ability to reformulate abstruse mathematical concepts in comprehensible physical language. In the 1930s he was concerned with the application of quantum mechanics to electromagnetic fields and devised mathematical solutions that accelerated progress in this contentious subject. His main contribution to the Manhattan Project was to calculate the effects of nuclear fission explosions, but he also worked on the peaceful applications of nuclear energy. In Geneva, despite the physical problems of a hip injury sustained in a traffic accident, he presided over the introduction of the challenging and ultimately highly successful program in accelerator physics designed to study the interaction of subatomic particles colliding at high velocity. Weisskopf was renowned for his helpfulness to his colleagues, regardless of their status. His books for students and laymen were highly influential, and *Knowledge and Wonder: The Natural World as Man Knows It* (1962) was selected as the science book of the year for young people. Weisskopf's concerns over nuclear weapons began in 1944, and he was a founder member of the Federation of Atomic Scientists. These concerns were heightened when he witnessed the Trinity test, and by the Hiroshima and Nagasaki bombs. He was present at the first Pugwash meeting (1957) and prominent in the subsequent organization. His honors included membership in the U.S. National Academy of Sciences and the (70-member) Pontifical Academy of Sciences (1975). His awards included the Max Planck Medal (1956), the U.S. National Medal of Science (1980), the Wolf Prize in physics (1981), the Oppenheimer Medal (1983), and the Public Welfare Medal of the U.S. National Academy of Sciences (1991). He was also a Mozart scholar.

[Michael Denman (2nd ed.)]

WEISSLER, BARRY and **FRAN**, U.S. theatrical producers. Fran Weissler majored in drama at New York University, while her husband, she said, dropped out of Rutgers Law School after a year. Both started out in retailing but formed the National Artists Management Company in 1970 to bring classic plays to children. Beginning in 1982 with *Othello,* the Weisslers produced 19 plays on Broadway through to a revival of *Sweet Charity* in 2005. Their presentations on Broadway, including *Medea* (1982), *Your Arms Too Short to Box With God* (1982), *Zorba* (1983), *Cabaret* (1987), *Macbeth* (1988), *Gypsy* (1989), *Cat on a Hot Tin Roof* (1990), *Fiddler on the Roof* (1990), *Grease* (1994), and *Chicago* (1996), which ran for 10 years as a revival. They received five Tony awards, for *Chicago, Othello, Fiddler on the Roof, Gypsy,* and *Annie Get Your Gun* (1999).

[Stewart Kampel (2nd ed.)]

WEISSMAN, BARUCH MORDECAI (1887–1966), Russian Yiddish and Hebrew writer. Weissman was born in Slovechno, Ukraine, where his father was a poor farmer. Before and during World War I he taught Hebrew in Jewish religious schools in Bessarabia, but in 1917 he lived in Odessa where he became friendly with Ḥayyim Naḥman *Bialik and Ahad *Ha-Am. He abandoned an attempt to leave secretly for Ereẓ Israel via Romania in 1919, fearing that the authorities might not let his family join him, and in the mid-1920s he moved to Kiev where he taught in Jewish schools. Having become an ardent advocate of the Soviet regime, he published articles in Soviet periodicals in Yiddish, mainly condemning the Jewish religion. In 1933 he went with his family to Birobidzhan, where he taught at a secondary pedagogical school and also contributed to the local *Birobidzhaner Shtern*, but returned to Kiev in the late 1930s. Under the influence of the state-inspired antisemitism of the Stalin regime in 1937–38, the Holocaust, and especially after the establishment of the State of Israel, however, Weissman came to terms with the Jewish religion again. In 1952 he began writing a diary in Hebrew, which he continued until September 1956. Some of the entries are in the form of letters to the future reader. Toward the end of 1955 they started reaching Israel by devious ways and were published in the newspaper *Davar* under the title *El Aḥi bi-Medinat Yisrael* ("To my Brother in the State of Israel") and were also broadcast. In 1957 a limited edition of a book with the same title was published containing extracts from the diary "by an anonymous Soviet Jew," without the author's name, and his authorship was revealed only after his death. He was nevertheless arrested in 1957 and sentenced to five years imprisonment in labor camps on charges of Zionist activity. In 1960 he was released on account of old age and poor health, and settled in Boyarka, near Kiev. A posthumous edition of Weissman's diary, which included only part of the 1,300 manuscript pages, was published in 1973 under the title *Yoman Maḥteret Ivri* ("Hebrew Underground Diary"). The diary is further evidence of the continuing tradition of the literary activities in Hebrew in the U.S.S.R., decades after it was forced underground by Soviet authorities. Simple and unsophisticated in form, written in the Hebrew style of the beginning of the 20th century, the diary is a moving human document full of sorrow for the cultural traditions of the Jewish people, ruthlessly persecuted in the U.S.S.R., imbued with indignation and sarcasm directed against those responsible for the state antisemitism in the U.S.S.R., and filled with a profound love for Israel which he saw as the sole assurance of Jewish survival.

[Michael Zand (2nd ed.)]

WEISSMANDEL, MICHAEL DOV (1903–1956), rabbi and Jewish resistance leader. An Orthodox rabbi, son-in-law and close associate of Rabbi Unger of Nitra, Weissmandel began his public and social activities during the Nazi period when Jews were deported from Slovakia, engaging non-Jewish emissaries to send food, clothing, and money to the deportees temporarily "settled" in the territories of the General Government in Poland. Weissmandel belonged to the core of the underground "Working Group" and was the initiator of the *Europa Plan to rescue the remnants of European Jewry, seeking to bribe Nazi officials to forestall the deportation of Jews. When an initial $20,000 ransom to Dieter Wisliceny, Eichmann's deputy in Slovakia, which he reported to his superiors, halted a limited deportation, the Working Group and Weissmandel in particular thought they had hit upon a formula that might save Jews. When the vast sums promised were not forthcoming from the West, most particularly from the *American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee, which was prohibited by law from transmitting funds behind enemy lines during wartime, Weissmandel turned bitter and interpreted the slow responses that he was receiving from Switzerland as indifference born of assimilation. In a remarkable and extraordinary situation, he worked closely with a woman Zionist leader, Gisi *Fleischman, in a rare display of cooperation. Fleischmann and Unger were cousins and this certainly helped mediate the vast political divide. His letters, addressed to the Jewish leadership of the free world "in the style of the Marranos," castigated indifference and begged for action to save the Jewish remnants from extermination. He was frantic and he communicated this both in his letters and his postwar memoirs. He sought $200,000 as a down payment on a $2 million ransom. In April 1944, he warned Hungarian Jewry of the impending deportations. He was part of the group that received the report from Rudolf Vrba and Alfred Wetzler, who had escaped from Auschwitz on April 7 and reported both on the activities of Auschwitz and of the plans for the impending arrival of Hungarian Jews. On May 27 two more Jews, Czeslaw Mordowicz and Arnost Rosin, escaped; their report was direct evidence of what was happening to Hungarian Jews (437,000 Jews were deported on 147 trains from May 15 to July 8, 1944, mostly to Auschwitz, where most were gassed upon arrival). The Working Group passed on this information to world leaders, the government of Slovakia, and the Catholic Church. Weissmandel implored world Jewish leaders to demand that the Allies bomb the murder installations at Auschwitz. In the autumn of 1944, the deportations from Slovakia resumed. He was deported with his family but jumped from the transport on its way to Auschwitz. His wife and children were killed at Auschwitz. Later he was on the Kasztner train that went to Switzerland. After the war he lived in the United States and reestablished the Nitra Yeshiva in Mount Kisco, New York, where he died. His book of memoirs, *Min ha-Meẓẓar* ("From the Depths"), was published posthumously in 1960. It is a bitter, condemnatory work, powerful and furious. It is also a problematic work for historians as it is difficult to tell what he wrote and what was written by his brother and students after he died.

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[Livia Rothkirchen / Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

WEISSMANN, ADOLF (1873–1929), music critic and writer. Born in Rosenberg, Silesia, Weissmann settled in Berlin, and became music critic of the *Berliner Tageblatt* and the *Berliner Zeitung am Mittag*. He died in Haifa while on a lecture tour. His lively and original books include studies of Bizet, Chopin, Verdi, Puccini, *Die Musik in der Weltkrise* (1922; *The Problems of Modern Music*, 1925), *Die Musik der Sinne* (1925), and *Die Entgoetterung der Musik* (1928; *Music Come to Earth*, 1930).

WEISS-ROSMARIN, TRUDE (1908–1989), U.S. editor, scholar, author, lecturer. Born in Frankfurt am Main, she was the daughter of Jacob Weiss, a prosperous wine merchant, and Celestine Mulling. Although her parents attended Jewish religious services, they were highly acculturated to German bourgeois life. In Frankfurt, Weiss-Rosmarin studied at the Freie Jüdische Lehrhaus established by Franz *Rosenzweig. She was a university student in Berlin, Leipzig, and Würzburg, where she received her doctorate in 1931 in Semitics, archaeology, and philosophy. Her dissertation, "Mention of Arabia and the Arabs in Assyrian-Babylonian Texts" was later published. In 1930 she married Aaron Rosmarin, a Russian Jewish scholar; they immigrated to the United States in 1931 and had one son. Unsuccessful in obtaining a university position in Assyriology, Weiss-Rosmarin established in Philadelphia, under the auspices of Hadassah, the School of the Jewish Woman, modeled on Rosenzweig's Frankfurt Lehrhaus; she served as director from 1933 to 1939. Weiss-Rosmarin designed a rigorous curriculum for Jewish women, based on Hebrew, Yiddish, biblical studies, rabbinic sources, Jewish history, and philosophy. As an intellectual feminist, she hoped that serious education would overcome women's traditional exclusion from Jewish learning. Hadassah withdrew its support in 1936, following disputes with Weiss-Rosmarin, and the school closed in 1939. However, Weiss-Rosmarin and her husband continued publication of the school newsletter, *The Jewish Spectator*. Weiss-Rosmarin became sole editor in 1943, and over the next 40 years the journal became an influential voice for rabbis and Jewish professionals on a wide range of topics. Weiss-Rosmarin was a popular and provocative lecturer; she contributed widely to other publications and she also taught Jewish history at New York University. Her books include *Religion* *of Reason: The Philosophy of Hermann Cohen* (1936); *Hebrew Moses: An Answer to Sigmund Freud* (1939); *The Oneg Shabbat Book* (1940); *Jewish Women Through the Ages* (1940); *Jewish Survival* (1949); *Saadia* (1959); and *Jewish Expressions on Jesus: An Anthology* (1977). Weiss-Rosmarin was a national co-chair of education for the Zionist Organization of America and served on the advisory boards of the National Jewish Curriculum Institute and the Jewish Book Council. Her first marriage ended in divorce in 1951; she later married Nissim Sevan. Weiss-Rosmarin moved to Santa Monica, California, in 1978; she died there of cancer. Her papers are in the American Jewish Archives in Cincinnati, Ohio.

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[Carole S. Kessner (2nd ed.)]

WEISZ, MAX (1872–1931), Hungarian rabbi and scholar. Weisz was born in Budapest, where he received rabbinic ordination at the Landesrabbinerschule. He became a rabbi in Pest and professor at the Landesrabbinerschule. A pupil of David *Kaufmann, Weisz did research in Jewish history, history of civilization, and literature. When the Kaufmann library became the property of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Weisz was named its archivist.

He prepared the *Katalog der hebraeischen Handschriften und Buecher in der Bibliothek des Prof. Dr. David Kaufmann* (1906), and edited, from this collection, the ritual book *Seder Troyes* by Menahem ben Joseph (in: *Sefer Yovel … Moses Aryeh Bloch* (1905), 97–137, Heb. pt., and in the same year also separately), and an Italian-Jewish *minhag* book from the 13th century (in *Ha-Ẓofeh, le-Ḥokhmat Yisrael*, 13 (1929), 217–45). As a result of his studies of the Kaufmann *genizah*, he published letters he had discovered, the liturgic compositions of a *paytan* he called Samuel (*Seridim me-ha-Genizah*, 1924), geonic texts (in: *Ve-Zot li-Yhudah … li-Khevod … Yehuda Aryeh Blau* (1926), 159–63), and *Festschrift … der … Landesrabbinerschule* (Heb. pt., (1927), 77–97).

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[Alexander Scheiber]

WEISZ, VICTOR ("**Vicky**"; 1913–1966), British caricaturist whose incisive drawings and gift for portraying political personalities in mock-heroic attitudes won him a wide following. Born in Berlin of Hungarian parents, he was trained at the Berlin Art School and worked for German newspapers. He immigrated to England in 1935, became attached to the *New Chronicle* in 1941, and later joined the *Daily Mirror.* He was naturalized in 1946. He did much of his best work for the *New Statesman* from 1954, and for the *Evening Standard* from 1958.

He illustrated several books and also published several collections of his work: *Stabs in the Back* (1952); *New Statesman Profiles* (1957); *Vicky's World* (1959); *Vicky Must Go* (1960); *A Selection of "Evening Standard" Cartoons* (1962); and *Home and Abroad* (1964). "Vicky" was one of the most famous political cartoonists in modern Britain. He was termed "the fifth estate of the realm" by Michael Foot, and was responsible for such popular political images as that of Harold Macmillan (British prime minister, 1957–63) as "Super-Mac." In private life, however, Weisz was extremely insecure. He was married four times, suffered from depression, and committed suicide at the age of 52.

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WEITER, A. (pseudonym of **Eisik Meir Devenishski**; 1878–1919), editor, political agitator, and Yiddish writer. Born in a village near Vilna, Weiter early joined the revolutionary movement, becoming active in the Jewish Labor *Bund. Imprisoned in 1899 and in 1902–04, he participated in the 1905 Revolution. In 1910 he became the first editor of the Vilna-based Boris Kletzkin Yiddish publishing house. He proposed its strictly non-profit character and aspiration to maximize the author's royalties. In 1912, he was exiled to Siberia, where he remained until the outbreak of the 1917 Revolution. He then lived in Petrograd and Nizhni Novgorod and at the end of 1918 settled in Vilna, where he was shot by the Polish Legionnaires who occupied the city in 1919.

Weiter wrote plays, short stories, and essays. In his early period (1898–1906), most of his writings were of a political nature, but in his second period (1906–19) his plays were free of any political motifs. In his blank-verse play, *Fartog* ("Dawn," 1907), he displayed in symbolic form the moods of the Jewish intellectuals on the eve of the 1905 Russian Revolution. In his second play, *In Fayer* ("In Fire," 1910), Weiter expressed the alienation and loneliness of the younger generation and their longing for a full and creative Jewish life. In his third drama, *Der Shtumer* ("The Mute," 1912), he portrayed the suffering of his generation, whose expectations of a new freedom were not fulfilled. Weiter was one of the first writers to give expression to the estranged Jewish intellectual's longing to return to Jewishness and to his renewed search for Jewish roots and Jewish values.

In 1908, A. Weiter, together with S. Gorelik and Samuel *Niger, edited and published the *Literarishe Monatshriftn*, a journal which became a rallying point for the young writers who believed in a renaissance of Jewish life and letters and a revitalized Jewish culture. Among the works that Weiter translated were Gorki's *My Childhood* and Max Halbe's *In Stream* (together with Z. *Rejzen). Weiter's works were published in a one-volume edition in Vilna (1923), edited, with a full biography, by A.J. Goldshmidt.

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[Elias Schulman / Gennady Estraikh (2nd ed.)]

WEITZ, JOSEPH (1890–1972), Hebrew author and a director of the *Jewish National Fund (JNF). Born in Burmel, Volhynia, Weitz went to Ereẓ Israel in 1908. He worked as an agricultural laborer and watchman and in 1911 was one of the founders of the Union of Agricultural Laborers in Ereẓ Israel (Histadrut ha-Po'alim ha-Ḥakla'im be-Ereẓ Yisrael). In 1915 he was appointed manager of the *Sejera farm, and between 1919 and 1932 he was inspector of plant and afforestation in the JNF settlements. From 1932 Weitz was director of the JNF's Land Development Division and, from 1950, a member of its board of directors. In these capacities he played an important role in the acquisition and development of land for the JNF and in the planning of agricultural settlement.

Weitz's literary work is varied and encompasses both Israeli agriculture and children's stories. He is outstanding in his descriptions of the landscape of Israel, which are noteworthy for their lyricism as well as their profound knowledge of the country. He wrote books and pamphlets of belles lettres and on various agricultural and land settlement themes. His principal work is *Yomani ve-Iggerot la-Banim* ("My Diary and My Letters to My Sons," 5 vols., 1965). *Bi-Netiv ha-Hagshamah*, a collection of essays published in 1950 in honor of his 60th birthday, included a biography, a bibliography, and an appraisal of his work. *Adam im Aẓmo* ("Man by Himself") appeared in 1966 in honor of his 75th birthday and includes a bibliography of his writings.

His son RA'ANAN (1913–1998), who was born in Reḥovot, held the posts of the head of the Land Settlement Department of the *Jewish Agency, chairman of the National and University Institute of Agriculture, and head of the Settlement Study Center. Among his works are *Derakheinu ba-Ḥakla'ut u-va-Hityashevut* (1958), *Agriculture and Rural Development in Israel: Projection and Planning* (1963), *Ideology and Farming – Characteristic Variables in the Moshavim* (with D. Solomanica and U. Shaked, 1975), and *The Southern Project, A Proposal for the Development of a Rural Region in the South of Israel* (1975), and numerous publications on agriculture and rural development. In 1973 Weitz was appointed a member of the Council for Higher Education, as well as professor of regional development theory in the School of Social Work, Haifa University, relinquishing the position in 1978 when he was appointed to a similar position at Bar-Ilan University. He lectured on the subject at many international conferences held in Germany, Italy, Brazil, Costa Rica, Venezuela, Mexico, and South Africa. Upon his 70th birthday, friends presented him with the book *Ḥaverim Mesiḥim im Ra'anan* (1983). In 1990 he was awarded the Israel Prize for exemplary lifelong service to society and the State.

Another son, YEḤIAM (1918–1946), who was born at Yavne'el, was killed during the struggle against the British regime while dynamiting the bridge at Achzib in Western Galilee. A book of his letters appeared in 1948 and in 1966, and kibbutz Yeḥi'am in Western Galilee is named for him.

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[Gedalyah Elkoshi]

WEITZ, NAPHTALI (1866–1935), physician and *yishuv* leader. Born in Odessa, Weitz was active in the *Ḥovevei Zion movement from 1884. He studied medicine at Kharkov University, where he became a member of a Jewish national student association in 1885. From 1888 Weitz studied at the Sorbonne in Paris. He attended an international conference of Ḥovevei Zion in Paris in 1894 and was elected to the movement's central committee. In 1898, at the request of Baron Edmond de *Rothschild, he and his wife, Hannah, who was also a physician, went to Ereẓ Israel, where Weitz was employed as a physician in the settlements of Upper Galilee and in *Zikhron Ya'akov, and they worked hard to eradicate malaria. In 1907 he moved to Jerusalem, where he practiced medicine in various medical institutions. He was a founder of the Jerusalem Hebrew Gymnasium (high school) and the Bet ha-Am cultural center. As a Russian national, he was deported to Egypt during World War I; there he served on the Refugee Aid Committee and helped found the Zion Mule Corps. When the British conquered Palestine, he was the first to receive a permit to return.

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[Israel Klausner]

WEIZMAN, EZER (1924–2005), Israeli air force commander, politician, and seventh president of Israel, member of the Ninth, Eleventh, and Twelfth Knessets. A nephew of Chaim *Weizmann, he was born in Tel Aviv. He learned flying at the Haifa Aviation Club, joined the British Air Force in 1942, obtained his pilot's wings in 1944, and served in Egypt and India. In 1946 he joined the IẒL. In 1947 he joined the Haganah's air service, which preceded the establishment of the Israel Air Force of which he was one of the founders. At the beginning of the War of Independence he was sent to Czechoslovakia to learn to fly Messerschmidt planes and fly one of them back to Israel. In the course of the war he participated as a fighter pilot on all fronts, and flew ammunition and supplies to the Negev and to *Gush Etzyon. He was appointed squadron leader in 1949, and in 1950 was named head of operations of the Air Force staff. The following year he attended the RAF Staff College in England and became wing commander in 1953. Weizman was appointed commander of the Israel Air Force in 1958, serving in that position until 1966. During his tour of duty he formulated the air-force strategy that was successfully implemented in the first hours of the Six-Day War of 1967. From 1966 to 1969 Weizman served as head of the Operations Branch in General Headquarters, and was appointed deputy chief of staff with the rank of major general under Chief of Staff Yitzhak *Rabin. When Rabin suffered a 24-hour breakdown at the outbreak of the Six-Day War, he asked Weizman to take command but soon returned to active service. In 1969 Weizman retired from the army, and joined the *Ḥerut Movement. Though not elected to the Seventh Knesset in 1969 he was appointed minister of transportation on behalf of Gaḥal in the second government established by Golda *Meir, resigning from the government, along with other members of Gaḥal, against the background of Meir's willingness to consider the Rogers Plan. From 1971 to 1972 he served as chairman of the Ḥerut movement but resigned over a controversy with Menaḥem *Begin on the distribution of seats in the party's Central Committee. He rejoined the Ḥerut Movement in May 1973. After his son Shaul was wounded in the course of the Yom Kippur War, Weizman started to become more moderate in his approach to the conflict with the Arabs. In the 1977 elections he served as the Likud's campaign manager, and was elected to the Knesset and appointed minister of defense.

He played a major role in the peace process with Egypt, establishing warm relations with Egyptian President Anwar *Sadat and Prime Minister Mustafa Halil. He was a member of the delegation, headed by Begin, which negotiated the Camp David Agreement with Egypt in September 1978, and participated in the negotiations leading up to the Peace Agreement with Egypt in March 1979. He was responsible for the Litani Operation in Lebanon in March 1978 but soon thereafter proposed the establishment of a National Peace Government – an idea rejected by Begin. Weizman became increasingly critical of the government's attitude toward a settlement with the Palestinians and clashed with Ariel *Sharon over his settlement activities. In May 1980 he resigned from the government, allegedly over cuts in the defense budget, but in fact because he disagreed with Begin over the way in which the negotiations on autonomy for the Palestinians were being conducted. In November 1980 he voted against the government in a vote on a motion of no-confidence. As a result he was expelled from the Ḥerut Movement, but refused to relinquish his Knesset seat. From 1980 to 1984 Weizman engaged in business, but before the elections to the Eleventh Knesset in 1984 he decided to form a new party by the name of Yaḥad, which won three seats. Soon after the elections, however, he joined the Alignment, and thus helped tip the balance in favor of the establishment of a National Unity Government based on parity between the two main political blocs and a rotation in the premiership. From 1984 to 1988 Weizman served as minister without portfolio, in charge of Arab affairs. In the government formed by Yitzhak *Shamir in 1988 Weizman was appointed minister of science and technology. However, at the end of 1989 Shamir threatened to fire him from the government because he had had unauthorized contacts with PLO members. After the breakup of the National Unity Government in March 1990 he decided to distance himself from politics, and in February 1992 resigned his Knesset seat, calling upon Shimon *Peres and Yitzhak *Rabin to do the same.

The following year he was elected as Israel's seventh president. He was Israel's most political president, frequently speaking his mind and being criticized for it. When Rabin was prime minister, Weizman was disappointed with the way the peace process with the Syrians was progressing and hoped to meet with President Hafiz al-*Asad in Jerusalem or Damascus, feeling that he had much in common with the Syrian president, since both were presidents, both had been pilots, and both had lost sons in accidents. But Asad did not respond, and Weizman adopted a more rigid position toward Syria. After the Palestinian terrorist attacks in the beginning of 1996, he called for the suspension of talks with the Palestinians. After Binyamin *Netanyahu was elected prime minister he criticized him for the way he was conducting the peace process, and enraged Netanyahu by visiting President Hosni *Mubarak of Egypt to discuss ways of getting the peace process out of the stalemate it had entered. He was also criticized by Yosef Tomi *Lapid for going to see the mentor of Shas, Rabbi Ovadiah *Yosef, to try to convince him to support the peace process. Weizman managed to enrage many women by expressing chauvinist positions regarding the place of women in society, the homosexual community by making homophobic remarks, and many citizens for his frequent refusal to reduce the sentences of prisoners imprisoned for criminal offenses. Nevertheless, due to his charm and sincerity, and his practice of visiting the families of fallen soldiers, and visiting many of the wounded in the hospital, he was extremely popular in the general public, and was viewed by many as "the ultimate Israeli" – for better or for worse. Weizman was elected to a second term as president in 1998, and could have remained president until 2003. However, following a police investigation over alleged improper financial contacts with the French millionaire Eduard Sarousi (the investigation was closed for lack of evidence), and failing health, he decided to resign in July 2000, and retired to his home in Caesarea.

He wrote *On Eagles' Wings: The Personal Story of the Leading Commander of the Israeli Air Force* (1979); *The Battle for Peace* (1981); with Dov Goldstein, *Lekha Shamayim, Lekha Ereẓ* (1993); and *Rut Sof: Biografiyah* (2002).

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WEIZMANN, Russian family, one of whose members, Chaim *Weizmann, became the first president of the State of Israel. There were 15 children in the family. OZER (1850–1911), the head of the family, was a timber transporter and the only Jew appointed *starosta* (head of the village) in Motol. In about 1894 he moved to Pinsk and succeeded in business there. He was a *maskil*, versed in Judaism, and an early Zionist, as well as representative to the Sixth Zionist Congress (1903). RACHEL-LEAH (1852?–1939), his wife, settled in Palestine in 1920 and established the first home for the aged in Haifa. Their daughter ḤAYA (later LICHTENSTEIN; 1878–1959), a teacher, settled in Palestine in 1921 and taught at the Herzlia High School in Tel Aviv, and later in the Levinsky Teachers' Seminary in Tel

Aviv. She was the president of the Benot Berit Society from 1946 to 1950 and published her memoirs in two volumes (1947–48 and 1952–53). Another daughter GITA (later DOUNIE; 1884?–?), a music teacher, studied at the Warsaw Institute of Music (1901–05) and settled in Haifa in 1911. She was one of the founders of the Haifa School of Music (1924), now known as the Dounie-Weizmann Conservatory. A son MOSES (MOSHE; 1879–1957), a chemist, settled in Palestine in 1924, lived in Jerusalem, and in 1947 was appointed the head of the organic chemistry laboratory of The Hebrew University, where he became professor. Another brother, MIKHAIL (YEḤIEL MIKHL; 1892–1957), an agronomist and the father of Ezer *Weizman, settled in Ereẓ Israel in 1914, becoming director of the Palestine Government Department of Agriculture and Fisheries (1920–28) and manager of the Imperial Chemical Industries, Middle Eastern Zone (1928–35). Later he worked independently in industry in the development of Tel Mond. Another brother SAMUEL (SAMUIL; 1882–?), an engineer, joined the Zionist Socialist Workers' Party (Territorialist) c. 1906. He was engaged as an engineer in Kiev and during World War I in the Moscow Machine Tool Factory. After the Russian Revolution he directed industrial plants in Soviet Russia. He died after World War II in a penal camp. ANNA (ḤANNAH; 1886?–1963), a chemist, worked on the staff of the Moscow Institute of Biochemistry. She settled in Palestine in 1933 and was appointed to the staff of the Sieff Research Institute in Reḥovot (later the Weizmann Institute of Science).

WEIZMANN, CHAIM (1874–1952), first president of the State of Israel, president of the (World) Zionist Organization (1920–31 and 1935–46), and distinguished scientist. He was born on Nov. 27, 1874 (8 Kislev 5635), in the village of Motol near Pinsk, in the Russian Pale of Settlement. He was the third child of Ozer Weizmann, a timber merchant, who made his living by floating logs to and along the Vistula for processing and export in Danzig, and of Rachel-Leah, daughter of Michael Tchemerinksy (see *Weizmann family). They were married when the husband was 16 years of age and his bride less than 14. Chaim was one of 15 children, of whom 12 survived infancy and lived to old age. Chaim's childhood years were typical of the Jewish *shtetl*, an autonomous island within the vast and hostile Russian world. In his autobiography *Trial and Error* he wrote: "We were strangers to their ways of thought, to each other's dreams, religions, festivals, even languages. There were times when the non-Jewish world was practically excluded from our consciousness, as on the Sabbath, and still more on the spring and autumn festivals.… We were separated from the peasants by a whole inner world of memories and experiences. My father was not yet a Zionist, but the house was steeped in rich Jewish tradition; and Palestine was at the center of the ritual.… The return was in the air, a vague deep-rooted Messianism, a hope which would not die" (1949 edition, pp. 10–11). Weizmann's early education was imparted by a *melammed* who taught him the Bible and Hebrew grammar, and immersed him in memories of departed Jewish glory. The Weizmann Archives in Reḥovot display a Hebrew letter which young Chaim wrote at the age of 11, containing this stirring call: "For why should we look to the Kings of Europe for compassion that they should take pity upon us and give us a resting-place? In vain, all have denied: The Jews must die, but England will nevertheless have mercy upon us. In conclusion to Zion Jews to Zion let us go."

At the Realschule in Pinsk, he showed an early talent for scientific studies. His family had fallen on hard times, and the boy had to give private lessons in Hebrew and other subjects to children of wealthier Jewish families. On completing his secondary school course at the age of 18, he already displayed a versatile intellectual energy. He was known for hard and tenacious labor and was prominent among his contemporaries for a bent for ironic humor and a tendency to dominate any company in which he found himself. As it was difficult for Jews to obtain entry to Russian universities, where a *numerus clausus* was strictly applied, Weizmann set out in 1892 to study in Germany, where he enrolled at Darmstadt Polytechnic, supplementing his frugal means by teaching Russian at a Jewish school in a neighboring town. After two terms at Darmstadt, he moved to Berlin to study biochemistry at the Institute of Technology in Charlottenburg.

First Zionist Steps

In Berlin, he joined a glittering circle of Zionist intellectuals, Der Juedisch-Russische wissenschaftliche Verein, including Nachman *Syrkin, Leo *Motzkin, and Shemaryahu *Levin. It was a period of strong ideological conflict within the Zionist Movement, and Weizmann and his friends soon came under the spell of *Aḥad Ha-Am, who defined the object of Jewish nationalism in cultural and spiritual terms. In 1896, the Jewish world was electrified by the appearance of Theodor *Herzl with his revolutionary vision of separate Jewish nationhood and the establishment of the Jewish State. Weizmann and his followers were already steeped in this concept, which was not new to his generation of Russian Jews, but they were attracted by the political sweep and emotional depth of Herzl's call, despite his lack of roots in the authentic Hebrew traditions. Above all, the Russian Zionists were elated by the unexpected adherence to their cause of a sophisticated Western Jew, whose dignity of bearing contrasted with the somewhat bohemian and untidy atmosphere in which Russian Zionism flourished. Owing to a visit to Moscow during the summer vacation of 1897, Weizmann was unable to get back in time for the First Zionist Congress at Basle, but he was a delegate to the second in 1898. In the same year, he went to Fribourg University, Switzerland, to complete his doctorate. He sold his first chemical patent and, in 1901, laid the foundations of his academic career, when, at the age of 27, he became an assistant lecturer at Geneva University. From this point onward, his life was to be divided between his Zionist passion and his scientific vocation. He soon became a prominent figure in the Zionist Movement. He did not doubt Herzl's primacy, and admired the patience with which the leader pursued his political aims; but he developed a critical attitude to Herzl's emphasis on the external forms of diplomacy and his relative indifference to the need for creating tangible social facts. On the eve of the Fifth Zionist Congress in Basle in 1901, Weizmann and his friends created the *Democratic Fraction whose aim was to break out of Zionism's diplomatic emphasis, in order to develop cultural, educational, and social institutions in Ereẓ Israel which would both symbolize and stimulate the concrete work of state-building. At this formative stage in his political evolution, Weizmann was already displaying the skeptical, hard-headed empiricism which held his visionary emotions in check. While Herzl pursued a charter from the sultan of Turkey and worked himself toward an early grave amid ceaseless interviews with European dignitaries, Weizmann and his group devoted themselves to the dissemination of Hebrew culture and published a pamphlet, *Eine juedische Hochschule*, calling for the establishment of a Hebrew university which would be Zionism's spiritual center and scientific bulwark. Hundreds of Weizmann's early letters are devoted to this project.

In 1903, the Movement was torn apart by the *Uganda controversy. The British foreign secretary, Lord Lansdowne, had tentatively suggested Jewish settlement in an area of 5,000 square miles in the East African Protectorate. The most powerful state in the Western world had taken Jewish nationalism seriously enough to offer it a territorial abode, at a time when the fearful persecution of Russian Jews seemed to make their physical rescue more urgent than anything else, and Herzl was inclined to accept the offer as a *Nachtasyl* – a temporary shelter – on the road to Zion. The Russian Jews, however, led by *Ussishkin, would not agree to a Zionism without Zion. Weizmann, deeply rooted in Jewish tradition and East European Jewry, ultimately came down on the side of Herzl's opponents. The great leader died in 1904, a broken and frustrated man, and yet a splendid figure, bequeathing his legend to the Jewish people as the symbol and portrait of its future sovereignty.

Zionism was in the doldrums, and Weizmann's post in Geneva was petering out. He felt the need for a new start and decided to leave for England in 1904 to open the second chapter in his Zionist and scientific life. In 1906 he married Vera Chatzmann (see below), a medical student from Rostov-on-the-Don, whom he had known for five years and wooed in an ardent correspondence. He had started research at Manchester University in 1905 and began to lecture and hold tutorial classes in his subject. In 1907, he was appointed senior lecturer. He maintained his ties with the Zionist Movement, and at the Seventh Zionist Congress, in 1905, was elected to the Larger Actions Committee (later called the General Zionist Council), the supreme body in inter-Congress periods. For the greater part of his remaining years, English life and culture were to excite his admiration. He was deeply impressed by the order, courtesy, reticence, symmetry, and tranquil superiority of the English temperament in its best expressions, and he had a premonition that the decisive turning point in Jewish history would come through intersection with British interests. In 1906, he had a sudden opportunity of explaining the Zionist idea in Manchester to the prime minister, Arthur James *Balfour. Balfour had been puzzled by the Zionist rejection of the Uganda opportunity and wanted to meet an anti-Ugandist who would explain this quixotic step. When Balfour asked Weizmann why he was against Uganda, the younger man, with some effrontery, asked Balfour whether, if he were offered Paris, he would abandon London. Balfour answered, "No, but London is the capital of my country." Weizmann replied, "Jerusalem was the capital of our country when London was a marsh." It was from that date that Balfour became a captive of the Zionist dream.

In Manchester, Weizmann's scientific work became more fertile than ever before. He strove to break down the social barriers which cut him off as a young foreigner from the life of British Jewry, and to make contact with a group of young Manchester Jews, Simon *Marks, Israel *Sieff, and Harry *Sacher, who, in their subsequent affluence, were to help carry him forward to the full expression of his powers. These three, together with some London colleagues, Leonard *Stein, Leon *Simon, and Samuel Landman, formed a nucleus around which British Zionism was to grow. Weizmann soon resumed touch with European Zionism. In 1907, the year in which his eldest son, Benjamin, was born, he delivered an important speech at the Eighth Zionist Congress at the Hague, making a fervent plea for practical work in Ereẓ Israel, in addition to diplomatic activity. "If we achieve a synthesis of the two schools of Zionism," he said, "we may get past the dead points … If you tell me that we have been prevented by local difficulties, by the Turkish authorities, I will not accept it. It is not wholly the fault of the Turks. Something can always be done." He pleaded that, even if a charter, such as Herzl had dreamed of, were possible "… it would be without value unless it rested, so to say, on the very soil of Palestine, on a Jewish population rooted in that soil, on institutions established by and for that population" (*Trial and Error*, p. 122).

This "synthetic Zionism," as it came to be known, was thenceforward the principle of his Zionist work and exercised a significant influence on the Movement as a whole. At the end of the Congress, he paid his first visit to Ereẓ Israel. He was acutely depressed by the experience. Zionism had hardly made any visible impression on the country's landscape. The Turkish government and the major Western powers – Britain, France, and Germany – regarded the Movement as a wild obsession. It was also held in visible contempt by the powerful Jewish communities in London, Paris, and Berlin. But it was this contact with the realities of Ereẓ Israel that stimulated him to press with redoubled energy for immediate practical work there; it was then that he laid out the program of his Zionist work for the next eight years. As chairman of the Standing Committee, he was now able to exercise more influence on the proceedings of the Congresses. At the same time, he was strengthening his roots in English life. In Manchester, he became reader in biochemistry and began to make his mark as a teacher and research worker. The course of his life and, therefore, of Zionist history was nearly changed when he was frustrated in the hope of obtaining a professorship in Manchester, but he sought to balance academic disappointment by intensified Zionist activity. In 1914, he joined in the struggle to ensure that the language of the new Technical School (*Technion) in Haifa, established by the German-Jewish community, should be Hebrew and not German. As a scientist, he knew the limitations of the Hebrew language, but he felt that the Movement would lose its spirit once it cut itself off from its roots in the Jewish past.

World War I

The outbreak of World War I brought Weizmann from the margin to the center of Jewish history. He was now 40 years of age, holding no executive position in the Zionist Movement. Indeed, the Zionist Executive in Berlin found it necessary to reinforce its position in London by sending Nahum *Sokolow and Jehiel *Tschlenow to London. Supported by the English Zionists, by Aḥad Ha-Am, by Haham Moses *Gaster, spiritual head of the Sephardi community, and by Vladimir *Jabotinsky, who shared a flat with him in South London for a time, Weizmann embarked upon an independent effort to win political support for Zionist aims. He paid no attention to his own hierarchical deficiencies. There seemed to be a promise in the air of new opportunities to be snatched from the changing interests and fortunes of the powers. He gathered his friends around him, watched and nursed his chances, and then intervened in the central political arenas with such massive authority and sureness of timing as to change the direction of his people's history.

The link between him and the British government was created by C.P. *Scott, editor of the *Manchester Guardian*, who maintained close relations with cabinet ministers, and especially with *Lloyd George. Weizmann charmed Scott into the understanding and support of Zionist aims. The first contacts which Scott made for him were with Herbert *Samuel and Lloyd George. Samuel was then head of the Local Government Board in Asquith's Cabinet; later he was to hold the posts of postmaster-general and home secretary. To Weizmann's surprise, this cool, rational, unsentimental Jew had already been fired by the emotion of Zionism, and was even preparing a memorandum proposing the establishment of a Jewish state in Palestine after the defeat of the Turkish Empire. The prime minister, Mr. Asquith, and most of his colleagues were unimpressed by the memorandum, but Lloyd George enthusiastically accepted Samuel's approach. More surprisingly, the foreign secretary, Sir Edward Grey, revealed a sympathetic attitude. Thus, Weizmann found his field already plowed to good effect.

It was not until 1916 that he took the initiative of Zionist advocacy in British governmental circles. In that year, when the prospect of Allied victory was dim, his access to British ministers was facilitated by his successful establishment of a process that would yield acetone, a solvent needed for the production of munitions, which brought him into contact with all kinds of people in the British government, including such men as Winston *Churchill, the first lord of the admiralty, and Lloyd George, minister of munitions. In connection with his work, he moved to London, where he had more leisure for his political work. When the Asquith government resigned, Lloyd George became prime minister and Balfour, foreign secretary. Fortune had smiled broadly on Weizmann's efforts; the two British statesmen, a Welshman and a Scot, most sensitively attuned to his ideas, now held the central place in Britain's international relations.

The practical calculations which drove British statesmanship to support of the Zionist program have never been precisely explained. It is certain that one of the aims was to strengthen the British sympathies of American Jews, and especially of Zionist leaders such as Justice *Brandeis of the Supreme Court, who was a friend of President Wilson. But British policy was also inspired by the hope of keeping Palestine out of the hands of France, which, through its traditions of ecclesiastical protection, had a stronger status in the Levant. This was certainly the chief impulse which moved Sir Mark Sykes, one of the secretaries of the British War Cabinet, who met Weizmann in the early part of 1917 at the house of Moses *Gaster. Some military commentators and strategists were sponsoring an idea of a Jewish homeland in Palestine as an assurance of British interests at a strategic point along the route to India. Others were impressed by the ardor of Zionist conviction in Russia. Thus, they came together in a somewhat quixotic alliance to create a strong movement on Zionism's behalf in Whitehall. Opposition, however, came from some British Jews, led by Edward *Montagu, later to be secretary for India, and Claude *Montefiore, president of the Anglo-Jewish Association, who feared that recognition of Jewish nationhood would cast a shadow on the allegiance of Jews to countries of which they were citizens. At one stage, in 1917, Weizmann felt so frustrated by this opposition, as well as by bureaucratic obstruction to his scientific work in the admiralty, that he decided to resign his chairmanship of the English Zionist Federation, to which he had been elected that year. It was at this stage that his friend and mentor, Aḥad Ha-Am, commanded him in paternal tones to follow his destiny to the end, arguing that, since he had never been appointed by anybody to lead the Zionist Movement, there was nobody to whom he could properly submit his resignation; nothing but the commanding attributes of his own personality and the new opportunities of Jewish history had laid the charge upon him.

Weizmann went on building his structure of support and brought his efforts to a triumphant consummation in the early fall of 1917. Despite the opposition of some British Jews and skepticism in some parts of the British Cabinet, Lloyd George and Balfour eventually approved his request for a statement of sympathy for Zionist aims, and the famous *Balfour Declaration was issued on Nov. 2, 1917. The Declaration, which was Weizmann's primary achievement, was a turning point in modern Jewish history. The idea of restoring Jewish political nationhood had passed from fantasy into the world of politics. A leading diplomatic historian has described Weizmann's role as "the greatest act of diplomatic statesmanship of the First World War," declaring that "not even … Masaryk and Venizelos can compare in stature with Weizmann" (Sir Charles Webster, *The Art and Practice of Diplomacy* (1961), 114). The spectacular nature of his achievement had made him the central figure in the public life of the Jewish people; he was recognized as such by Jews and non-Jews alike. His position in international life even conveyed a premonition of Jewish sovereignty. Heads of state, ministers, and high officials, behaved toward him as though he were already president of a sovereign nation equal in status to their own. He and they knew that this was not strictly true; but something in his presence and in their own historic imagination forbade them to break the spell.

Weizmann's Jewish and international eminence was immediately reflected in the tasks now laid upon him. In 1918, he was appointed head of the Zionist Commission then sent to Palestine by the British government to advise on the future settlement and development of the country. He was ceremonially received in audience by King George v beforehand. After a reunion with Jabotinsky in Cairo, he arrived in Palestine, where he was greeted rhapsodically by the Jewish community and with greater reserve by the British military authorities. The conqueror of the Holy Land, General *Allenby, showed a respectful deference, but both he and other British authorities were skeptical of Weizmann's prospects of success, unless he could achieve an understanding with Arab nationalism. Weizmann crossed to Akaba to meet Emir Feisal, son of the sharif Hussein of Mecca, and undisputed leader of Arab nationalism, to whom the British government had made promises of Arab independence throughout Syria and Iraq, but not in Palestine. Feisal made written pledges to Weizmann promising to recognize Zionist aims in Palestine, provided that the aims of Arab nationalism were achieved in Iraq and Syria. The hour of grace was short. Feisal did not obtain what he had hoped from the Allies in Syria and Iraq. He therefore felt released from his promises to Weizmann. The Arab-Jewish alliance was frustrated because its basis and conditions had been undermined by the Western Powers. In 1918, Weizmann laid the foundations of The Hebrew University of Jerusalem. In 1919, he led the Zionist delegation to the Peace Conference at Versailles, where the committee of ten victorious Allies heard him, together with Sokolow and Ussishkin, plead for international ratification of the Balfour Declaration. By this time, the influential supporters of Zionism were not confined to Britain. President Wilson, General *Smuts, and others helped Weizmann to bring about the adoption of the Mandate for Palestine. In this document, whose preamble referred to the historical connection of the Jewish people with Palestine, the realization of the Zionist dream became an integral part of international law.

The Balfour Declaration had been greeted by world Jewry as a kind of Magna Carta; the caution and ambivalence of its formulation could not dim its inner glow. When the Mandate embodying the Declaration was ratified by the international community, Jewish hopes had no bounds. In some parts of the Diaspora, the messianic fervor was so intense that Weizmann found it necessary to sound a cautious note: "A state cannot be created by decree, but only by the forces of the people and in the course of generations. Even if all the governments of the world gave us a country, it would be a gift of little worth, but, if the Jewish people will go and build Palestine, the Jewish state will become a reality."

The 1920s and 1930s

During the 1920s and 1930s, he worked within the gap between the dream and the reality. He was confronted by formidable difficulties, not all of them from without. In 1920, at the Zionist Conference in London, he was elected president of the Zionist Organization, thus achieving formally a position already unchallenged in practice. But now, for the first time, his leadership was disputed. The American Zionists, led by Justice Brandeis, openly questioned his empirical, pioneering approach and the centralized character of the organization. He was forced to defend the principles which had inspired his Zionism from the days of his youth. He could not compromise with the concept of organizational centrality; unless the Jewish people were a single historic unit, there would be no reason to justify its specifically national claims. He was convinced that a nation cannot be arranged from above; it must build itself from below. In the economic sphere, he believed that there should be an attempt to enhance the status of national institutions in the hope that they would evolve into sovereign authorities. He was suspicious of excessive emphasis on financial orthodoxy. He attached vital importance to the social originality of the cooperative villages (moshavim) and collective settlements (kibbutzim), just as he continued to foster and promote the seed of an independent Jewish culture. From his own humble origins and from the atmosphere of the Pale of Settlement he had absorbed a populist emphasis which remained with him at every stage of his career.

In any case, he was now politically indispensable. He was universally recognized as the most authoritative figure in Jewish life, and after much argument and contention he usually got his way. The position was different in his contact with the Mandatory power. The appointment of the Jew, Sir Herbert Samuel, as the first high commissioner of Palestine had messianic implications for Jews in Palestine and elsewhere. But the British administration in Palestine soon fell away from the generous visions which had inspired Balfour and Lloyd George. Its main objective now was not so much to promote the Jewish national home as to mitigate Arab resentment at its progress. Immigration was cut down. Little protection was offered to Jews attacked by Arab gunmen, and embarrassed efforts were often made to persuade the Arabs that the Balfour Declaration meant even less than it said. In these conditions, every Jewish immigrant brought to Palestine and every acre of land purchased there were the fruit of a bitter struggle which Weizmann and his colleagues had to wage with the Mandatory administration in Jerusalem and with the Colonial and Foreign Offices in Whitehall.

Weizmann bore the fatigue of this effort with stoic dignity and patience. He did not believe that spectacular turns of fortune, such as that which he had instigated in 1917, were part of normal historic development. He faced his querulous people with the harder doctrine of gradual evolution to be maintained by sheer hard work. A Jewish national society could be built only "house by house, dunam by dunam." The political struggle would only be resolved if diplomatic efforts were reinforced by facts more substantive than diplomacy. If the reality of a Jewish nation were created, then the recognition of it would only be a matter of time and fortune. Not all Zionists shared this view. No sooner had Weizmann emerged victorious from his struggle with Brandeis than a more serious conflict broke out between him and his friend Jabotinsky, who, in Weizmann's eyes, attached an excessive importance to the declaratory aspects of diplomacy and gave less attention to the prosaic construction of social facts. Jabotinsky's *Revisionist Party, as well as some other Zionist groups, also opposed Weizmann's proposals for the establishment of an "enlarged" *Jewish Agency, incorporating the Zionist Organization and providing a framework for enlisting the support of all Jews, Zionists, and non-Zionists, for the development of the national home. However, Weizmann, who attached historical importance to the scheme, persisted, and in 1929, after bitter and prolonged debates in the Zionist Movement and negotiations with non-Zionist bodies and personalities, the first conference of the enlarged Jewish Agency for Palestine met in Zurich, with some of the most glittering figures in Jewish life standing behind him on a common platform.

Weizmann attached great importance to the Arab problem. He thought that a major effort should be made to secure regional harmony. The key to the situation, he said, lay in "genuine friendship and cooperation with the Arabs to open the Near East for Jewish initiative. Palestine must be built without violating the legitimate interests of the Arabs. Not a hair on their heads shall be touched. The Zionist Congress … has to learn the truth that Palestine is not Rhodesia, and that 600,000 Arabs live there, who, before the sense of justice of the world, have exactly the same right to their homes in Palestine as we have to our National Home." This utterance was later to have a prophetic ring. It did great credit to Weizmann's statesmanship; on the other hand it elicited no response from Arab leaders. In 1920, 1921, 1929, and 1936, murderous attacks were launched upon Jewish communities, often with heavy loss of life. On each occasion the British government responded by penalizing the victims and rewarding the authors of the assaults.

In 1930, the British abandonment of obligations toward the Zionists was so blatant that Weizmann angrily resigned his office. A vast wave of public protest rose up against the colonial secretary in the British Labour government, Lord Passfield, whose White Paper threatened to strangle the Jewish national home. Ramsay MacDonald, the prime minister, had to acknowledge the force of public dissent by sending a letter to Weizmann in which he renewed the main assurances which Zionists considered essential in the policy of the Mandatory power.

A year later there was a stormy Zionist Congress meeting in Basle at which Weizmann was not reelected to office. He had undermined his position by refusing to placate his critics; he had even been quoted in a newspaper as holding no special brief for the idea of a Jewish majority in Palestine. This was undoubtedly a misrepresentation of his philosophy; his empirical mood always forbade him to adopt slogans which were not effective for the task at hand. He believed that a Jewish majority would ultimately be brought about, not by premature incantation but by the assiduous addition of immigrant to immigrant, house to house, village to village, city to city. The paradox of Weizmann's dismissal was underlined by the election of his closest colleague, Sokolow, as president of the Jewish Agency. This was a confession that no policy other than that of Weizmann could command support.

Hitler had now come to power in Germany; the shadow of future Jewish disaster was growing longer. Weizmann devoted the years of his removal from office to projects closest to his heart. He undertook fund-raising tours for Zionist agencies, threw himself into the work of rescuing refugees, and made special efforts to salvage for Ereẓ Israel some of the Jewish scientific talent being destroyed in Nazi Germany. In 1935, after four years of non-presidency in which his preeminence was, if anything, emphasized by lack of office, he was restored to the helm. The story of Weizmann's life between the two world wars is one of patient accumulation against obstacles created by Arab hostility, British coldness, and Jewish dissension. He saw, in spite of everything, the contours of Jewish nationhood becoming firmly set, the national home growing in cohesion and individuality: by 1939 it had a population of 450,000; its economic and technological levels were spectacular by Middle Eastern standards, although well below the best European average; but it was a source of pride for the Jewish people and, for the world, a fascinating and original spectacle. Here, and only here, the Jews faced history in their own authentic image; they were not a marginal gloss on other societies.

To preserve his personal and intellectual independence, Weizmann had clung tenaciously to his scientific interests; in the early 1930s he laid the foundations of the Daniel Sieff Institute at *Reḥovot, which later burgeoned into the *Weizmann Institute of Science, and in 1937 he made his home in Reḥovot.

A significant Zionist breakthrough was achieved in 1937, when a British Royal Commission headed by Lord Peel agreed, under Weizmann's prodding, to recommend the establishment of a Jewish state in a part of Palestine. In that plan the territorial provisions for Jewish statehood were very disappointing; the area allotted for Jewish sovereignty was little more than 2,500 square miles. But, once Jewish statehood had been proposed as a serious and practicable solution, it was never to leave the international agenda. It may even be said that from 1937 onward the establishment of a sovereign Jewish state was only a matter of time. This brilliant achievement owed much to a remarkable oratorical success by Weizmann. Appearing before the Royal Commission, for over two hours he delivered an address of towering majesty and deep pathos. One passage in particular was never to be forgotten: "There are in this part of the world 6,000,000 people doomed to be pent up in places where they are not wanted and for whom the world is divided into places where they cannot live and places which they cannot enter." At the Zionist Congress in 1937, Weizmann proposed that the principle of partition be accepted while an effort be made to improve its territorial provisions. The Arabs rejected the entire proposal. In Britain, a majority of the House of Commons supported the plan; but the government gradually retreated from it, under the impact of Arab resistance and in obedience to a growing national timidity.

Weizmann, together with *Ben-Gurion and most – but not all – of the Palestine labor leaders, was fully aware of the limitations of the truncated state that was offered to them, but they were obsessed by the idea that the whole future of the Jewish people was in the balance. With civil war in Spain, Italian aggression in Abyssinia, and the German *Anschluss* with Austria, the international horizon was growing darker. The spirit of appeasement and cowardice to be later reflected in the Munich Agreement had its reflection in the British attitude toward the Jewish national home. In 1939, after conferences at St. James' Palace, in which the Jewish delegation was again led by Weizmann, a White Paper was published which effectively proposed to bring an end to Zionist aims. Severe restrictions were imposed upon the purchase of land by Jews; and after five years, during which a maximum of 75,000 immigrants were to be admitted, no further immigration could be admitted except in the improbable contingency of Arab consent.

In the summer of 1939, Zionist leaders assembled at Geneva for their biennial Congress in a mood of tragic expectation. A great doom was in the making, and it seemed to be coming on relentlessly. While the Congress was debating the British betrayal of its obligations to a small people which in Weizmann's words was "battered and bleeding from a million wounds," the news came of the Soviet-German agreement which heralded the assault on Poland and the outbreak of World War II. In the closing moments of the Congress Weizmann loomed with tragic tenderness above the delegates, many of whom knew that their own fate, as well as that of the communities of which they were members, was horribly sealed.

World War II

When World War II broke out, Weizmann immediately promised the British government all possible aid by the Jewish population in Palestine and the Jewish people outside. He also tried to renew the scientific cooperation which had enhanced his political status in Britain in World War I. His efforts now were less fruitful. Although hard pressed for manpower, the British government found ways of delaying the proposed formation of a Jewish military unit. Weizmann's scientific offers were rebuffed. In 1942 his son Michael was killed in action with the Royal Air Force over the English Channel. In the early years of the war, his influence and pressure did not enable him to prevent such tragedies as that of the vessel *Struma*, which sank with Jewish refugees aboard in the Black Sea, owing to the refusal of the Mandatory government to give them entry to Palestine.

The national home was not static during the war years. Its population grew by immigration, authorized and unauthorized; its manpower increased its defensive capacity by massive enrollment in the British forces; and its incipient industrial potential found an outlet through supplies and manufacture in support of the Allied war effort in the Middle East. But the main thrust and accent of Weizmann's work were aimed at obtaining a satisfactory political settlement at the end of the war. In London, he invested much effort and persuasion on Winston Churchill, who gave him frequent and sometimes dramatic assurance that he would not let Zionism down. But there was nothing in the daily practice of Whitehall, or of the administration in Jerusalem, which gave any support or reinforcement to Zionist hopes. In any case it was evident that the balance of world power was changing. To Weizmann, as well as to Ben-Gurion, it was evident that the United States was destined to have a strong and perhaps decisive voice in the Middle Eastern future. In 1941 and 1942, Weizmann spent much time in New York and Washington in a sustained effort to enlist American leadership on behalf of Zionist aims. In a notable article, written in the New York quarterly, *Foreign Affairs*, he outlined the project for the establishment of a Jewish commonwealth in Palestine. In April 1942, under Ben-Gurion's initiative, this concept became official Zionist policy. The resolution, adopted at a conference in the Biltmore Hotel (the *Biltmore Program), spoke of a Jewish commonwealth in the entire area of Western Palestine. When the physical danger to Palestine was removed through British victories against Rommel's armies in the western desert, Zionist prospects appeared temporarily to improve. In August 1944, Churchill instructed his secretary of state for war to reply affirmatively to Weizmann's request for the formation of a Jewish fighting force. At the same time, it became known that British ministers were actively discussing and analyzing various partition plans, which would involve the establishment of an independent Jewish state as soon as the war came to an end.

But these hopes were fragile and transient. As the fearful dimensions of the Jewish Holocaust in Europe became known, Weizmann began to wonder whether any victory for Zionism would come in time to save his people from a fatal and horrible depletion of its resources and strength. The assassination of the British minister of state in Cairo, Lord Moyne, by Jewish underground fighters acting against the will and authority of the Jewish Agency, brought about a temporary alienation of Churchill from his Zionist sympathies. The work on partition proposals was suspended, and the British government turned instead to the task of suppressing the growing movements of Jewish resistance in Palestine.

To add to his burdens, Weizmann found that his leadership was no longer unquestioned throughout Palestine Jewry. He arrived in Jerusalem on Nov. 15, 1944, and later celebrated his 70th birthday amid a deep chorus of public affection. But among the leadership there was a different story. New forces were jockeying for position, and Ben-Gurion no longer found himself working in fraternal association with his older chief. In particular, there was a demand, even in responsible Zionist circles, for a more militantly anti-British attitude than Weizmann, with all his frustrations, seemed willing to accept. When the war with Germany ended in May 1945, Weizmann's troubles were compounded by the first serious breakdown of his health. He became affected by glaucoma and was condemned to temporary blindness and tense, agonizing operations. Less than two months after the end of the German phase of World War II, he was shatteringly disappointed by a letter that he received on June 9, 1945, from Churchill, stating: "There can, I fear, be no possibility of the question being effectively considered until the victorious allies are definitely seated at the peace table." Weizmann's hope that a substantive move would be made as soon as the German war was over, had thus been shattered. Churchill was winding up his historic ministry with the 1939 White Paper unabrogated, with no commitment on the record, and with Weizmann left high and dry, standing before the Jewish people baffled, enraged, and empty-handed. A week later Churchill was out of office and, a few months after that, his voice from the opposition benches was castigating the new Labour government for not giving Zionism its due. By this time President Roosevelt was dead. He had shown an ominous coolness toward Zionism at the end of his final presidency; but his administration contained many stalwart supporters of Weizmann's cause. Now, with Churchill and Roosevelt both gone, Weizmann had to begin again.

The Bevin Period

In London, he was to know nothing but discouragement and defeat. The Labour government, under Prime Minister *Attlee and Foreign Minister *Bevin, turned its back drastically on previous British commitments and on its own far-reaching promises of support for Zionism. In the United States the Zionist cause prospered more; but when President Harry S. *Truman urged the Attlee-Bevin government to admit 100,000 Jewish *displaced persons from refugee camps in Europe to Palestine, he met with a flat refusal. A joint Anglo-American commission of enquiry recommended the immediate entry of 100,000 immigrants, but Attlee and Bevin found reasons for evading the recommendations of a body which they themselves had appointed. The deadlock was sharp. It was constantly deepened by an almost inevitable growth in Jewish resistance activities in Palestine. The relations between Britain and organized world Jewry became so embittered that the years of grace, beginning with the Balfour Declaration and the Mandate, were almost entirely lost from memory. It was against this unpromising background that Weizmann's position as leader of the Zionist Movement came to an end. When the first postwar Zionist Congress assembled in Basle, in 1946, the British connection and the Zionist attitude toward the Mandatory power were the fundamental issues before it. Weizmann returned to London, defeated as a champion of the "Anglocentric" point of view, although he had in fact no illusions left about the attitude of the British government toward Zionism.

With leadership passing into other hands, it seemed as if Weizmann's public life was finished. There was, however, to be a dramatic and moving series of epilogues. In February 1947, the last Zionist efforts at reaching a solution within the British Mandatory framework ended in failure. The British government submitted the future of Palestine to discussion and recommendation by the General Assembly of the United Nations. Weizmann now held no official position in the Zionist Movement, but it was taken for granted that he must be a principal spokesman of the Jewish national cause in what was evidently going to be a crucial and decisive phase. When a United Nations special committee went to Palestine in the summer of 1947, its members conferred in detail and at length with Weizmann, who now openly advocated a partition compromise. Later in the year, despite the burdens of age and illness, he went to New York, where he made a moving and unforgettable appeal to the General Assembly. He knew that this would be his last appearance at the bar of the nations. He showed all his old qualities of eloquence and sardonic humor. He made light of the Arab spokesmen's assertion that the Jews were the descendants not of the Hebrew kingdoms, but of the Khazars of southern Russia. "It is very strange, all my life I have been a Jew, felt like a Jew, and I now learn that I am a Khazar." On the idea that the Jewish national home should accept minority status within an Arab state, he said, "Those of us who made our homes in Palestine did not do so with the object of becoming Arab citizens of the Jewish persuasion." In a final grand and weary gesture he reminded the General Assembly's committee that it was meeting under the providence of history. "The Lord shall set His hands the second time to recover the remnants of His people, and He shall set up an ensign for the nations and shall assemble the outcasts of Israel and gather together the dispersed of Judah from the four corners of the earth."

In the next few months he was destined to be the primary architect of two achievements: the retention of the Negev area in the United Nations plan for a Jewish state; and the spectacular recognition of Israel by the United States. He secured these results by capturing the trust and imagination of President Truman. In each case the president, under Weizmann's urging, overruled powerful interests within his own administration which favored a more reserved attitude toward Zionism and a purposeful attempt to win Arab support for American policies. Thus, on Nov. 29, 1947, when the United Nations voted the partition proposal with the Negev included in the Jewish state, and on May 14, 1948, when Palestine Jewry proclaimed its statehood, Weizmann stood in the center of his people's gratitude. He had been specially insistent that the Palestine Jewish leadership proclaim Jewish statehood on the withdrawal of the British, no matter what was said or proposed by the United Nations or the major powers. It was a strange role for the so-called "moderate" to be summoning the Jewish people to the utmost intransigence and tenacity. His feeling was that war with the Arab world had become inevitable. For that very reason it was essential that the ordeal be faced from the starting point of an existing Jewish statehood.

May 14, 1948, was a red-letter day for Weizmann in New York. His colleagues and rivals in Tel Aviv had proclaimed the Jewish state to whose establishment he had dedicated his life and dreams; and President Truman, in direct response to Weizmann's letter, had authorized the recognition of Israel by the United States. Moreover, before the day was out, a telegram had come from Israel on behalf of the Palestine labor leaders, expressing their intention to propose him for the presidency of the new state. "Mine eyes have seen the coming of the glory of the Lord," wrote Justice Felix Frankfurter; "happily you can now say that and can say what Moses could not." Albert Einstein wrote to him, "I read with real pleasure that Palestine Jewry has made you the head of their state and so made good, at least in part, their ungrateful attitude toward you." A few days later Weizmann went to Washington, where he was received by President Truman with the full trappings belonging to his presidential status. He secured from Truman a promise to finance Israel's early economic development by a loan of $100,000,000; and to establish full diplomatic relations with Israel once its first government was democratically elected.

First President of Israel

In February 1949, the first elected parliament of Israel, meeting specially in Jerusalem, elevated Weizmann from the presidency of the Provisional State Council to the title of president of the State of Israel. But age and sickness had now overtaken him at a point at which he could give little consecutive service to the state. He was sufficiently alert and competent to express fierce resentment and surprise at the rigid limitations of his office. He found himself virtually confined to those ceremonial activities in which he had at no time in his life shown the slightest interest. The Israel government of the time showed a lack of imagination and a failure of historic deference. Weizmann's name was not included among those who had signed the *Declaration of Independence; and even his request to receive the Cabinet minutes regularly was not fully answered.

His final months were spent in sharp ambivalence of feelings. On the one hand, he had, unlike Moses, passed beyond Pisgah into the Promised Land. His historic imagination could not fail to be stirred by the thought that he had come the full circle, from Motol, near Pinsk in the Russian Pale of Settlement, to the presidency of an independent Jewish state, which to less sensitive minds had seemed such a wild and chimerical dream. The Weizmann Institute of Science, which was inaugurated on Nov. 2, 1949, as a growing complex of laboratories and libraries, already showed promise, later amply fulfilled, of placing Israel high in the universal enterprise of scientific research. On the other hand, he chafed at his inability to impress the new society with his own message of social progress, intellectual integrity, aesthetic refinement, and manifest dedication to peace. Israel had been born in violence and conflict; it continued to live an embattled existence.

There were times when Weizmann was seized by a poignant concern for Israel's inner quality; but, whenever he fell into doubts and regrets, he looked through his window at Reḥovot upon the verdant rolling plains and rich orange groves surrounding the scientific laboratories established under his inspiration. On a clear day his gaze would go as far as the Judean Hills. The landscape in between was dotted with villages and townships indicative of the new impetus given to Jewish national vitality. And then a deep contentment would come upon him, and his mind would become serene, as befitted a man who to a degree unshared by any figure in contemporary history had seen an improbable vision translated, largely through his own effort, into vibrant and solid reality. After a long and painful illness, which for some months left him entirely incapacitated, he died on Nov. 9, 1952. He was survived by his wife, whose implacable loyalty and devotion had sustained and consoled him throughout the years; and by his elder son, Benjamin. His grave was situated at his own wish in the garden of his home in Reḥovot. At the initiative of his closest friend, Meyer *Weisgal, who had helped him found the Weizmann Institute, a graceful plaza was constructed in his memory by *Yad Chaim Weizmann* (Weizmann National Memorial), with the assistance of the government and the Jewish Agency. His archives and library were established in the Weizmann memorial area.

Weizmann's autobiography, entitled *Trial and Error*, appeared in 1949. A selection of his speeches from 1901 to 1936, entitled *Devarim*, appeared in four volumes in 1937. Some of his speeches and essays include: *Eine juedische Hochschule* (1909) written together with M.M. *Buber and B. *Feiwel; *Die Hebraeische Universitaet in Jerusalem* (1913), a speech at the laying of the cornerstone for The Hebrew University (1919); *The Jewish People and Palestine*, a statement made before the Palestine Royal Commission on Nov. 25, 1936, on Palestine's role in the solution of the Jewish problem in *Foreign Affairs*, 20 (1942), 324–38; *We Do Not Want to Return to the Past* (1946); *We Warned You, Gentlemen* (1947). His letters and papers are being prepared for publication. The first volume of the *Letters and Papers of Chaim Weizmann* appeared in 1969 and publication was completed in 1980 with the 23rd volume.

[Abba Eban]

As Chemist

In 1910 Weizmann became associated with a British team seeking (unsuccessfully) to make synthetic rubber. A possible starting point was butanol. Weizmann, who had been studying chemical reactions effected by bacteria, isolated a starch-decomposing anaerobic organism *Clostridium acetobutylicum* which produced butanol, acetone, and ethyl alcohol by fermenting a mash of cooked corn. In World War I the ministry of munitions needed great quantities of acetone, and Weizmann went to work in the Lister Institute and at the Admiralty Cordite Factory, Poole. His efforts were directed toward developing his laboratory work into a technical process – the first use of a biological process for industrial production (other than the age-old procedures for making alcoholic beverages). Because there was insufficient grain in wartime Britain, plants were set up also in India, Canada, and the U.S. After the war the U.S. plants became the Commercial Solvents Corporation, which went on making acetone by the Weizmann process for many years, until overtaken by purely chemical processes. Later he worked on naphthacene derivatives from phenols and phthalic anhydride, on the photochemistry of aqueous solutions of amino acids, and on the reaction of acetylene with ketones, but mainly on the production of aromatic hydrocarbons by high-temperature cracking of petroleum. This process was developed after the war at Partington, Lancashire, by the Manchester Oil Refinery and Petrochemicals Ltd., the plant being later acquired by Shell. Weizmann wrote many papers and took out some 100 patents (in which he called himself Charles Weizmann).

[Samuel Aaron Miller]

His wife, VERA (née Chatzman; 1882–1966), was the daughter of an assimilated well-to-do Jewish family beyond the *Pale of Settlement in Rostov-on-Don. She studied medicine at the University of Geneva, where she met Weizmann, and she married him in 1906. Soon after their marriage they went to Manchester, where she worked for a number of years as a medical officer at Manchester clinics for schoolchildren. At all times she was of great help to her husband in his Zionist work. She was a co-founder of *WIZO, for many years the chairman of its executive, and later its honorary president. During World War II she was chairman of *Youth Aliyah, and after 1948 she devoted much of her time and effort to Magen David Adom and the organization for disabled veterans. Her memoirs, *The Impossible Takes Longer*, were published in 1967.

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WEIZMANN INSTITUTE OF SCIENCE, a center of scientific research and graduate study, is located on 300 acres (1.2 sq km) of lawns and gardens in the town of Reḥovot, Israel – 14 miles (22 km) south of Tel Aviv and 35 miles (50 km) west of Jerusalem. In 1996, the Institute community numbered 2,400 scientists and support staff, including more than 850 scientists-in-training pursuing advanced degrees at Weizmann's Feinberg Graduate School. In 2005 it numbered 2,500 scientists.

The Institute's campus of some 40 buildings grew out of the Daniel Sieff Research Institute, founded in 1934 by Dr. Chaim *Weizmann, the distinguished scientist and Zionist leader President of Israel. The Sieff Institute was established in memory of Daniel Sieff by his parents, Israel and Rebecca *Sieff of the United Kingdom. On November 2, 1949, with the agreement of the Sieff family, the Institute was renamed and formally dedicated as the Weizmann Institute of Science.

The Institute is administered by a board of governors and an executive council. It is headed by a president assisted by four vice presidents and the deans of the five faculties and the Feinberg Graduate School.

The Institute consists of 18 research departments grouped into five faculties: Biology (Biological Regulation, Immunology, Molecular Cell Biology, Molecular Genetics and Neurobiology), Biophysics-Biochemistry (Biochemistry, Membrane Research and Biophysics and Plant Genetics), Chemistry (Chemical Physics, Environmental Sciences and Energy Research, Materials and Interfaces, Organic Chemistry and Structural Biology), Mathematical Sciences (Applied Mathematics and Computer Science, and Theoretical Mathematics), and Physics (Condensed Matter Physics, Particle Physics and Physics of Complex Systems).

To promote the interdisciplinary contacts which increasingly characterize today's front-line science, the Institute has created 19 research centers, generally organized as intellectual rather than physical entities.

The presidents of the Institute have been: Chaim Weizmann (1949–52); Abba *Eban (1959–66); Meyer W. *Weisgal (1966–69); Albert B. *Sabin (1969–72), Israel Dostrovsky (1973–75), Michael Sela (1975–85), Aryeh Dvoretzky (1985–88) and Haim Harari (1988–2001), and Ilan *Chet (2001–). From 1952 to 1959, Meyer *Weisgal headed the Institute as chairman of the Executive Council.

The Institute's budget (approximately $181 million in 2004/5) is covered mainly by funds from the Israel government (36%), private donations and research grants (24%), as well as financial and other revenues.

Institute scientists acted as pioneers in various areas of science locally. They were the first to introduce cancer research in Israel, to design and build the first computer in Israel and one of the first anywhere, to establish the first nuclear physics department, the first research accelerators for the study of atomic nuclei, the first and, so far, only, submicron research facility for advancing the electronics industry, and the first advanced solar energy research facility in Israel and one of only a handful worldwide.

More than half of all Institute research is aimed – in one way or another – at battling cancer. Among past achievements is the identification of the genetic origins of some types of leukemia as well as of genes that induce or suppress malignancies. Major efforts are directed at the study of autoimmune diseases, and two medications for multiple sclerosis based on Institute research are already reaching patients. Basic research is elucidating brain structure and function and neurological disease.

At the solar facilities, researchers pursue the development of new ways to harness the sun's energy. Scientists engaged in environment-related studies analyze local aquifers, develop water protection and purification systems. Institute chemists work in areas ranging from basic investigation of the elements to the development of new materials. Photochromic materials that reversibly darken when exposed to sunlight are the result of a Weizmann Institute discovery.

Accomplishments of Institute mathematicians include the development of "smart cards" and decoders that prevent unauthorized access to confidential computer data and commercial satellite TV, and software architecture allowing people to meet "virtually" through the Internet.

Institute physicists first proposed the existence of an elementary particle called the top quark, and contributed to the identification of another particle called a gluon. They now conduct advanced experiments at the European Laboratory for Particle Physics (CERN) in Geneva and at the DESY Laboratory in Hamburg. In the new field of submicron research, scientists are growing crystals in layers no more than a few atoms thick which will result in smaller and faster computer chips for the electronics industry.

The Institute's Feinberg Graduate School, operating under charter from the State of Israel and the Board of Regents of the State of New York, confers M.Sc. and Ph.D. degrees in the life sciences, chemistry, physics, mathematics, computer science and science teaching. More than 10 percent of the student body hails from abroad and English is the official language of instruction. Over the years the Feinberg Graduate School has produced more than 30% of Israel's Ph.D.'s in science and its alumni hold key positions both in Israel and overseas.

The Science Teaching Department has played a pioneering role in raising the level of science teaching in primary and secondary schools, and the Youth Activities Section's extracurricular programs introduce thousands of Israeli youngsters each year to the thrill of scientific discovery. The Section also runs the Institute's Garden of Science, a unique hands-on outdoor science park.

The Institute's Yeda Research and Development Company was founded in 1959 to promote the commercial applications of Institute research. By the mid-1990s some 10% of the Institute's operating budget was derived from Yeda's activities. Yeda has been involved in the licensing of scores of patents and technologies to industry, and in the establishment of numerous spin-off companies in Israel and abroad.

The Weizmann Institute played a key role in the founding of Israel's first high-tech industrial park, Kiryat Weizmann, and a new science-based industrial park now under construction near the campus.

The Institute maintains strong ties with preeminent research institutions throughout the world, attracts many foreign scientists (about 600 a year work in its laboratories for varying periods of time), and is a venue for international scientific conferences.

Yad Chaim Weizmann is a memorial area covering Dr. and Mrs. Weizmann's private estate, their graves near their former home and a memorial plaza. It was established after Weizmann's death in 1952 by the government of Israel and the Jewish Agency Executive and incorporated as a separate institution in 1955. The primary objective of Yad Weizmann was to promote the "Weizmann heritage" in humanitarian, cultural and aesthetic terms. To this end, the memorial foundation has, among other programs, sponsored lectures in the sciences and humanities by leading world scholars and savants, and organized a variety of events. The foundation is responsible for maintaining the Weizmann Archives and for publishing more than 25,000 of Weizmann's papers and letters in 25 volumes. Its permanent exhibition reflects Weizmann's lifelong activities as scientist and statesman. Yad Weizmann conducts tours of the historic home of Dr. Weizmann designed in the 1930s by architect Erich Mendelsohn.

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[Meyer Wolf Weisgal]

Members of the Jewish community known as Abayudaya in Mbale, Uganda, 224 km east of Kampala, leave their synagogue after morning prayers, 2005. © *Patrick Olum/Reuters/Corbis.*

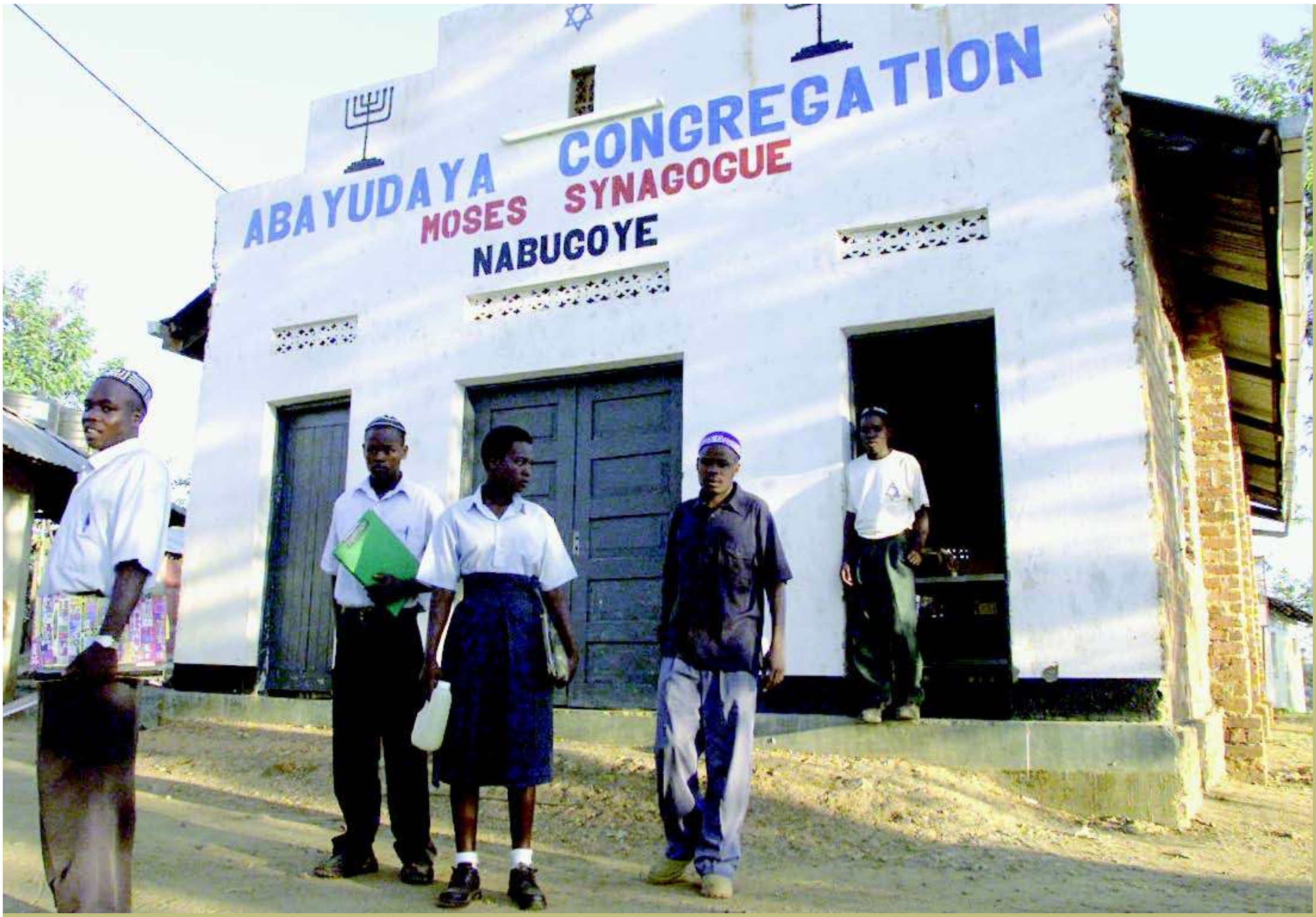

In 2005, the worldwide Jewish population was estimated to be close to 14 million persons, with its largest numbers in North America and Israel. Despite the large concentrations in these two geographical areas, there are Jews all over the world who come from a variety of racial and ethnic backgrounds. Here are a few faces that illustrate the diversity and vibrancy of Jewish life in its many world-scattered communities.

COMMUNITIES

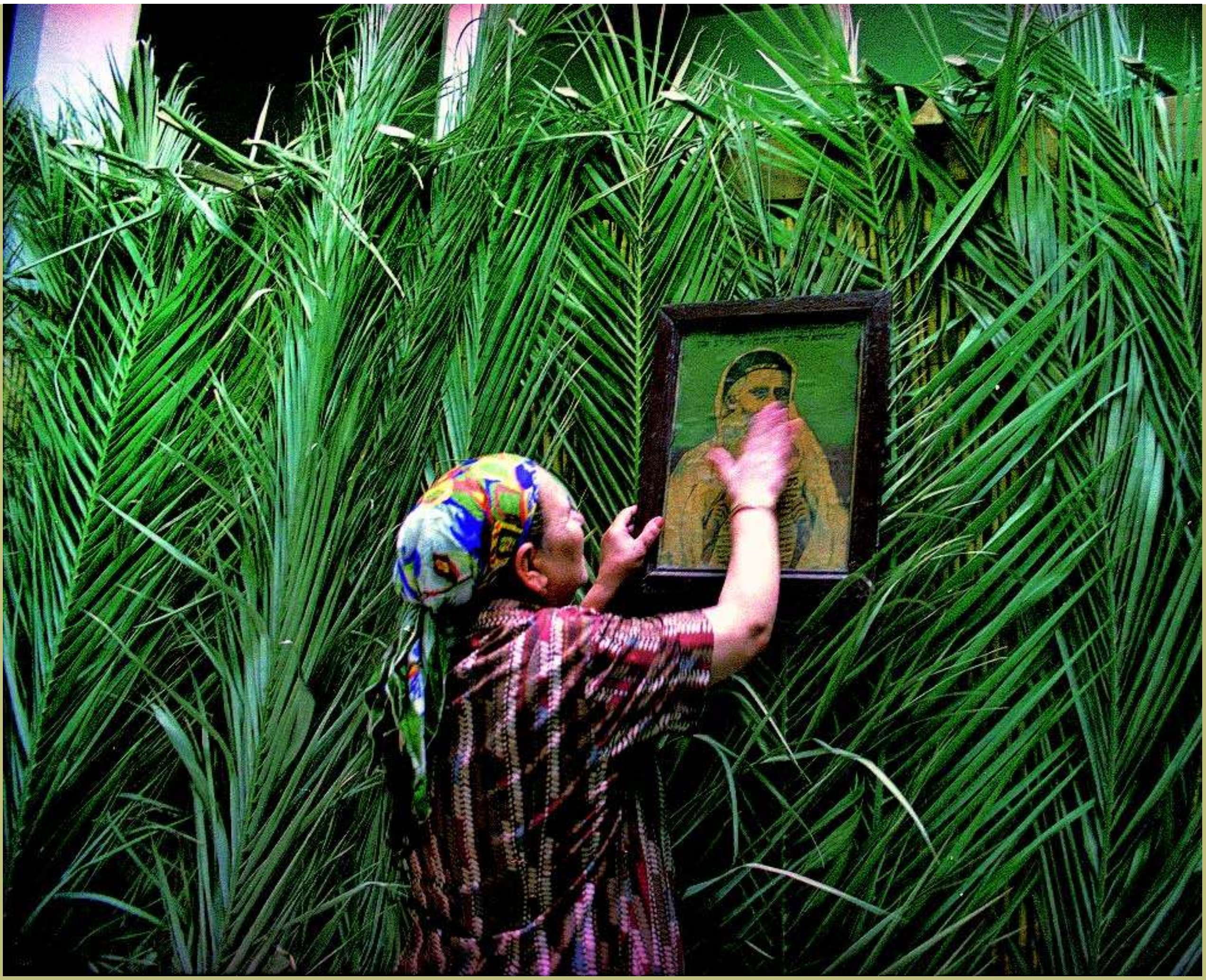

ABOVE: ***Sukkah*** **in the Jewish Quarter (Mellah) of Marrakesh, Morocco, 1994. Moroccan Jews often build their** ***sukkot*** **with palm-tree branches or reeds, so that they look completely green from the outside.** ***Sukkot*** **are decorated with pictures of venerated rabbis, mainly of R. Simeon bar Yohai, traditional author of the Zohar. Every night during Sukkot selected portions from the Zohar are recited.**
Photo: Alex Levac, Israel. By courtesy of Beth Hatefutsoth Photo Archive, Tel Aviv.

(opposite page): **A teenage Ethiopian boy prepares to pray at the Beta Israel School in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, 2003. Although many members of the Jewish community in Addis Ababa were airlifted by the Israeli government in the 1980s and 1990s, in 2003 17,000 Ethiopian Jews were still awaiting** ***aliyah*****, or emigration to Israel.** *Photo by Natalie Behring-Chisholm/Getty Images.*

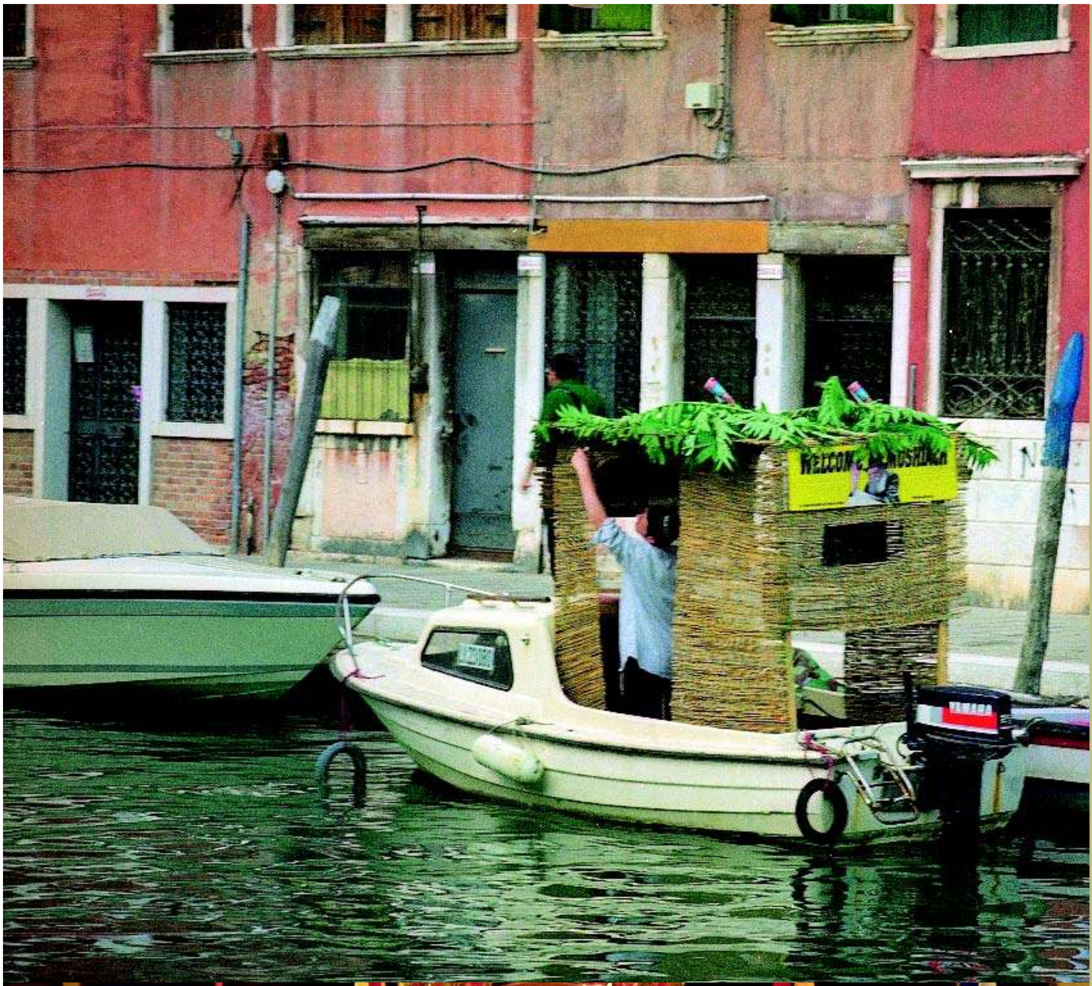

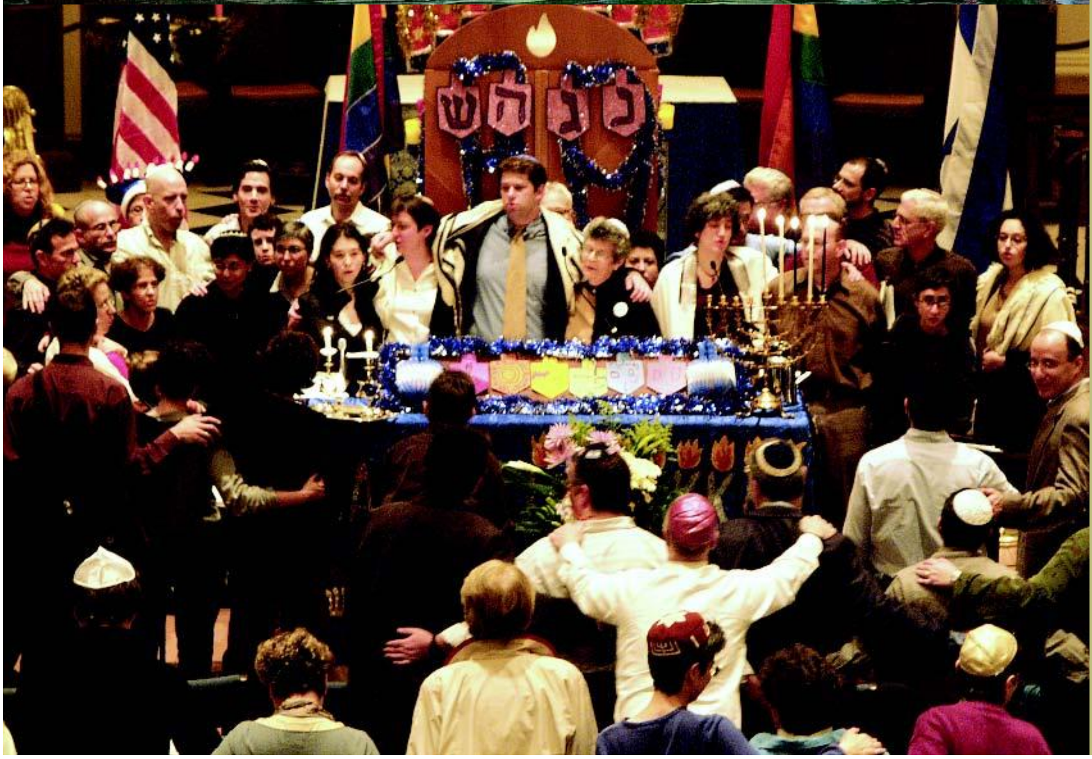

(opposite page) TOP: **An Israeli dressed as a clown performs for a group during Purim celebrations in Hebron, West Bank, 2006.** *GALI TIBBON/AFP/ Getty Images.*

(opposite page) BOTTOM: **Matisyahu, a Lubavitch Hasidic Jew who raps over reggae music about traditional Jewish beliefs, performs the night before the beginning of Passover in Northampton, Massachusetts, 2006.** *Photo by Mario Tama/Getty Images.*

(this page) TOP: ***Sukkah*** **posed on a boat in the canals of the Ghetto in Venice, Italy, 2004. The idea was initiated by Chabad House, the Lubavitch institution in the city.** *Photo: Ya'akov Brill, Israel. By courtesy of Beth Hatefutsoth Photo Archive, Tel Aviv*

(this page) BOTTOM: **Members of Congregation Beth Simchat Torah celebrate Hanukkah, 2004. The synagogue serves the gay, lesbian, bisexual, and transgender communities in New York City.** *Courtesy of Congregation Beth Simchat Torah. Photo by Donna Aceto.*

ABOVE: **Students at Heschel High School, a private Jewish school in New York City, listen to a lecture from behind their laptop computers.** *© Richard Levine/Alamy.*

(opposite page): **A rabbi arrives to run the mechanical grape sorter to begin the winemaking process at a Kosher winery in Saint-Émilion, France, 2003.** *© Lucille Bass/Corbis.*

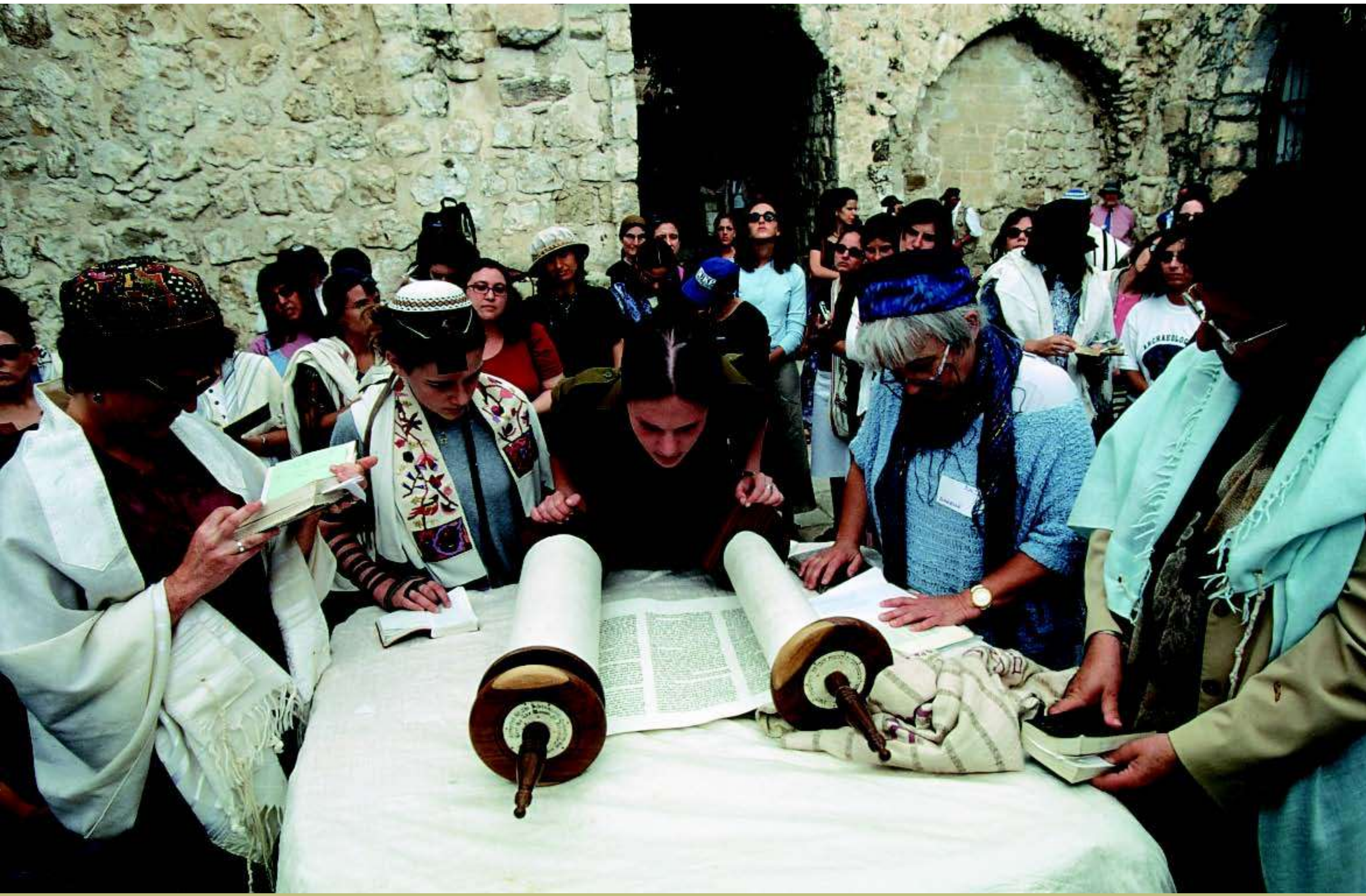

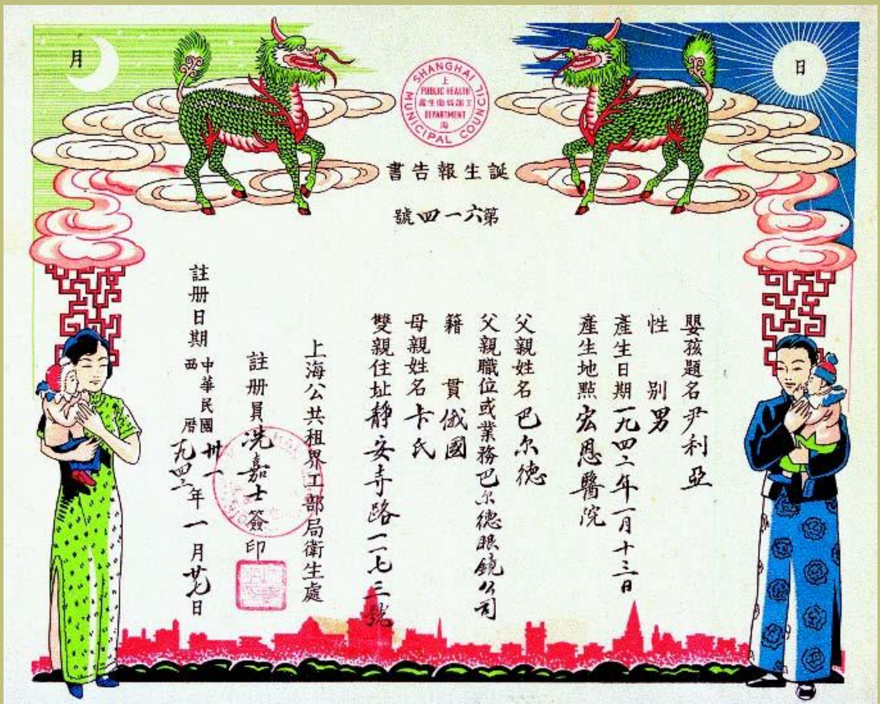

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性　別男

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ABOVE: **A group of Israeli women pray at the Western Wall, 2000.** *© Ricki Rosen/Corbis.*

LEFT: **Birth certificate of Ilia Bard issued by the health department of the municipal council of Shanghai, China, December 1942.** *Photo: Eliahu Bard, Israel. By courtesy of Beth Hatefutsoth Photo Archive, Tel Aviv.*

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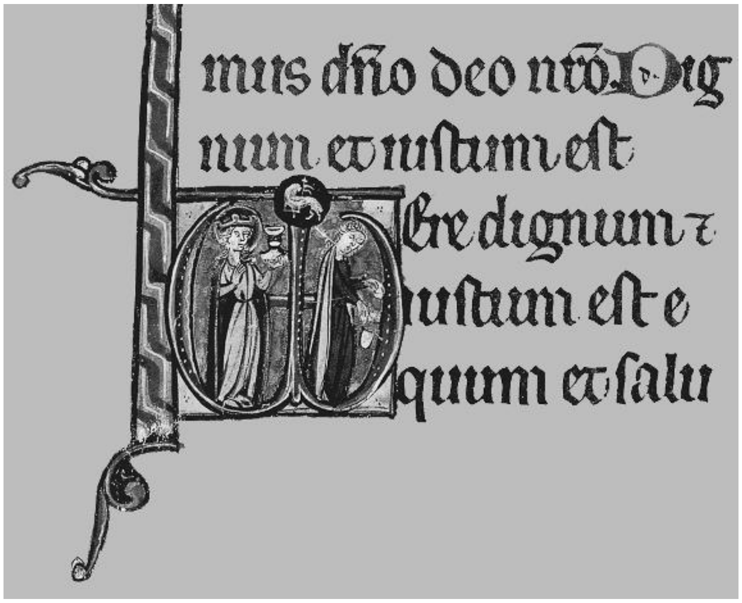

Illuminated "W" used to represent the sound of the initial letter of the Latin word Vere. *The figures represent Ecclesia and Synagoga. Detail from the* Missal of Paris, *France 12th century, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. Lat. 8884, fol. 130.*

Wel-Wy

WELENSKY, SIR ROY (**Roland**; 1907–1991), Rhodesian statesman. Welensky was a leading figure in the political life of Northern Rhodesia (now Zambia) and Southern Rhodesia for nearly 25 years. He was a member of the National Council of the Railway Workers' Union and a founder of the Northern Rhodesia Labor Party. During World War II Welensky was director of manpower and a member of the executive council (1940–53). He campaigned for federation of the two Rhodesias in close association with Sir Godfrey Huggins (Lord Malvern), the first prime minister of the Federation, whom he succeeded in 1956. Welensky advocated a policy of "partnership" between the white and non-white races of the Federation. The partnership failed, either because it was unworkable or because, as many claimed, it was never properly applied owing to white opposition, and the Federation broke up in 1963 despite all Welensky's efforts. He retired from politics, settling as a farmer in Southern Rhodesia, and wrote an account of the Federation in *Welensky's 4,000 Days* (1964). In 1966, Welensky tried to come back to politics but was defeated in the election. One of 13 children of Michael Welensky (from Lithuania), a boardinghouse keeper, and his Afrikaner wife who converted to Judaism on their marriage, Welensky maintained links with Jewry. In his teens he was a railroadman, took up boxing, and in 1926–28 was the heavyweight champion of the Rhodesias. He lived his last year in England.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: D. Taylor, *The Rhodesian* (1955); G. Allingham, *The Welensky Story* (1962). **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** ODNB online; R. Welensky, *Welensky's 4000 Days: The Life and Death of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland* (1964).

[Lewis Sowden]

WELLER, MICHAEL (1942–), U.S. playwright. Born in New York, Weller was educated at Brandeis and Manchester University. He entered the New York theater scene in 1972 with his play *Moonchildren.* He followed this great success with a number of finely crafted scripts, including *Fishing* (1973); *The Greatest Little Show on Earth* (1974); *The Bodybuilders* (1975); *Grant's Movie* (1976); *Dwarfman* (1977); *Loose Ends* (1978); and *Spoils of War* (1988). Weller's other plays include *Split* (1979); *Barbarians* (1982); *The Ballad of Soapy Smith* (1985); *Ghost on Fire* (1987); *Lake No Bottom* (1991); *Buying Time* (1995); *What the Night Is For* (2002); and *Approaching Moomtaj* (2004).

Weller wrote the screenplay for the film version of the musical *Hair* (1979) as well as for *Ragtime* (Oscar nomination for Best Screenplay, 1981); *Lost Angels* (1989); the TV version of *Spoils of War* (1994); and was a writer/producer of the TV series *Once and Again* (1999–2002).

Weller was a co-founder of the Mentor Project at the Off-Broadway Cherry Lane Theatre. He also worked as an adviser for several emerging theater companies. In 2005 the Broken Watch Theater Company named its new venue in New York City the Michael Weller Theater.

[Jonathan Licht / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

WELLESZ, EGON JOSEPH (1885–1974), musicologist and composer of Jewish origin. Wellesz, who was born in Vienna, was a pupil of Arnold *Schoenberg and one of the first to follow his twelve-tone system. He was also his first biographer (1921). He studied musicology with Guido *Adler and in 1913 became a lecturer at the University of Vienna. In 1929 he was appointed professor of the history of music and specialized in research on Baroque opera.

Wellesz's greatest significance, however, lies in his study of Byzantine church music, and the music of the Oriental churches in general, on which he came to be considered the greatest authority of his time. As early as 1915 he discovered the Oriental maqāma *principle in the Serbian liturgy. Soon afterward he found the lost key for deciphering the musical notation of the medieval Byzantine chant. This caused a general reorientation in the study of the early history of music.

Wellesz was forced to leave Austria in 1938. He went to Oxford, where from 1940 he lectured on the history of music. In 1948 he was appointed university reader in Byzantine music. His *History of Byzantine Music and Hymnography* (1949, 1963^{3}) has become an undisputed standard work on this subject, on which he also wrote a great number of special studies.

In 1931 Wellesz became general editor of *Monumenta Musicae Byzantinae*, in 1957 coeditor of the monumental *New Oxford History of Music* (of which he himself edited Vol. 1), and in 1966 coeditor of the periodical *Studies in Eastern Chant*.

Wellesz was also very productive as a composer, his compositions including some ten operas and ballets, eight symphonies, and a great number of orchestral and chamber music.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: R. Schollum, *Egon Wellesz: eine Studie* (1963); Redlich, in: *Musical Quarterly*, 26 (1940), 65–75; Reti, *ibid.*, 42 (1956), 1–13, incl. bibl.; Tillyard, in: E. Wellesz and M. Velimirović (eds.), *Studies in Eastern Chant*, 1 (1966), XIII–XV; MGG s.v.; Grove, Dict, and supplement.

[Edith Gerson-Kiwi]

WELLESZ, JULIUS (1872–1915), Hungarian rabbi and scholar. Wellesz, born in Budapest, was ordained at the Budapest Rabbinical Seminary in 1890 and received a Ph.D. at Budapest University (1895) for a thesis on Abraham de Balmes as a philologist, *Abrahám de Balmes mint nyelvész*. An eminent preacher, Wellesz served as rabbi in several Hungarian cities, including Csurgo, Nagybittse, and Obuda. Some of his speeches were published separately, and others in the Hungarian Jewish homiletical review, *Magyar Zsinagóga*. He also devoted himself to philological research and contributed various studies on the Hebrew Bible, Midrashim, and Jewish folklore, but his main interest was in researching Franco-German responsa literature of the 11th–13th centuries.

Among his writings are *Isaak b. Moses Or Zaru'a* (in MGWJ, 48 (1904)); *Ueber R. Isaak b. Moses Or Sarua* (in JJLG, 4 (1906)); *Ḥayyim b. Isaac Or Zaru'a* (in REJ, 53–59 (1907)); and *Meir b. Baruch of Rothenburg* (in REJ (1909–11), 2 parts). His excellent monograph on Rashi, *Rasi Elete és működése* (Hung., 1906) was acclaimed by Jewish scholars and attracted attention abroad.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: M. Weisz, in: *Magyar Zsidó Szemle*, 32 (1915): I. Schmelczer, in: *Studies in Bibliography and Booklore*, 8 (1966), 10–16.

[Imre Schmelczer]

°**WELLHAUSEN, JULIUS** (1844–1918), German Semitist. Born in Hameln, Wellhausen was the son of a Lutheran clergyman, He studied in Goettingen under H. Ewald and was professor of theology in Greifswald from 1872 to 1882. However, he resigned from this position because he did not believe himself equal to the task of "preparing the students for serving the Protestant Church." He was professor of Oriental studies in Halle from 1882 to 1885, in Marburg from 1885 to 1892, and in Goettingen from 1892.

Wellhausen summed up the conclusions of the 19th-century Pentateuch criticism and based upon it a new comprehensive view of the history of Ancient Israel. He also analyzed the Gospels of the New Testament and the pre-Islamic and early Islamic tradition of the Arabs. In his first important book, *Der Text der Buecher Samuelis* (1871), Wellhausen made consistent use of the Septuagint in order to arrive at the original text of Samuel; in his second important book, *Die Pharisaeer und die Sadducaeer* (1874), he followed mainly Josephus and the New Testament in his description of the two parties and their relationship. He then turned to the tradition concerning the beginnings of Ancient Israel. In *Die Composition des Hexateuchs* (1889), he put forward a new and modified hypothesis concerning the four sources: Jahwist (J), Elohist (E), Deuteronomy (D), Priestly Code (P). Taking as his starting point the works of K.H. Graf and A. Kuenen, he reversed the chronological order: he dated the Priestly Code, which had until then been regarded as the oldest source (*Grundschrift*, "primary source"), from the period after the Babylonian Exile. In 1878, he analyzed the remaining historical books (Bleek-Wellhausen, *Einleitung in das Alte Testament*, "Introduction to the Old Testament," 4th–6th editions, 1878–93) and he applied the conclusions of this research in his historiography *Geschichte Israels* (1878; later *Prolegomena zur Geschichte Israels*, 1882; *Prolegomena to the History of Ancient Israel*, 1885) in which he revived the theses of W.M.L. de Wette and W. Vatke. He considered the Priestly Code and Chronicles as sources not for the history of Ancient Israel but only of post-Exilic Judaism. Ancient Israel did not yet know theocracy as a hierocratic institution but only as an idea. The actual law originated only shortly before the Exile (Deuteronomy); after the Exile it became the basis of the canon in the form of the ritual law written down by the priests. In 1894, Wellhausen wrote his *Israelitische und juedische Geschichte* ("The History of Ancient Israel and of the Jews") as a development of the sentence "YHWH the God of Israel, Israel the people of YHWH," which he called the "foundation on which the collective consciousness of Israel has rested at all times." He included in this history, as a matter of course, a chapter on the Gospels, though later he published this only with reservations. He concerned himself with the Arabs first of all for the sake of the history of Ancient Israel, namely in order to "become acquainted with natural man in whom the law of the Lord was implanted by priests and prophets." He believed that the best explanation of the religion of Ancient Israel was to be found in the religion of the pre-Islamic Arabs (*Reste arabischen Heidentums*, 1887). Here also, a critical appraisal of the sources led him to a historiographic synthesis: *Das arabische Reich und sein Sturz* (1902).

Wellhausen was not only a penetrating analyst, but also an excellent writer. He had a great deal of effect even on his adversaries, who attacked him vehemently, for instance with the claim (today definitely disproved) that he was a Hegelian. The driving force behind his historiography was a delight in the free development of human individuality. His view of Ancient Israel has been corrected in many details by the further development of literary criticism (H. Gunkel) and recent research on the Ancient Near East.

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[Rudolf Smend]

WELLS (Heb. בְּאֵר, *be'er*, pl. בְּאֵרוֹת, once (Jer. 6:7) בָּיִר, perhaps rather to be read בֵּיר), shafts dug from the surface of the ground to the groundwater. They are of utmost importance in countries with limited rainfall, where springs and perennial streams are few, and particularly vital in nomadic society, since they provide water for the tribe and their livestock (Gen. 29:2). At times rivalry develops among the nomads for the possession of a well. Wells range in size from great shafts many feet deep to shallow pits, depending on the geological formation of the area and its general water level. Biblical wells were located in the wilderness (Gen. 16:14), in valleys (Gen. 26:17), near cities (Gen. 24:11), in fields (Gen. 29:2), and in courtyards (II Sam. 17:18). In order to keep the water supply uncontaminated and to prevent people or animals from falling in, wells were covered (Gen. 29:3; Ex. 21:33). Wells were often designated by specific names in order to commemorate tribal history, such as Esek, Sitnah, and Rehoboth (Gen. 26:20–22). *Be'er* is an element of several place-names, e.g., Beer-Lahai-Roi (Gen. 16:14) and Beer-Sheba (Gen. 21:14), indicating the existence of well-known wells in these places.

Wells are to be distinguished from *cisterns (בּוֹר, pl. בּוֹרוֹת), i.e., subterranean waterproof chambers which store the runoff from roofs, etc. (cf. Lev. R. 18:1, where R. Akiva sees in the word בּוֹרְאֶיךָ (Eccles. 12:1) a combination of בְּאֵר, בּוֹר and בּוֹרֵא).

In the Aggadah

Among the "ten things which were created on the eve of the Sabbath" (cf. Creation, i.e., which are of semi-miraculous character) is enumerated "the mouth of the well." The reference is to the well mentioned in the Song of the Well (Num. 21:16–18). According to the *aggadah* this well, which was created to reward *Miriam for singing the Song of the Sea (Exod. 15:21, Num. R. 1:2), accompanied the children of Israel throughout their wanderings in the wilderness, and disappeared when she died. It was, however, restored through the merit of *Moses and *Aaron, who are the "princes" who "dug it" (v. 17), and it disappeared on Moses' death (Shab. 35a, Ta'an. 9a). According to some, however, the references are to the well of the rock which Moses struck (Num. 20:7–11).

WELLSTONE, PAUL (**David**; 1944–2002), U.S. senator. Wellstone was born in Washington, D.C., and raised in Arlington, Va.; his parents were Russian immigrants. He earned his degrees at the University of North Carolina (B.A. 1965, Ph.D. 1969) and taught political science at Carleton College, Northfield, Minn., from 1969 to 1989. He ran unsuccessfully for Minnesota state auditor in 1982. He was the co-chair of the Minnesota Democratic presidential primary campaign of Jesse Jackson in 1988. In 1990 he was elected to the U.S. Senate, defeating an incumbent Republican, Rudy *Boschwitz, marking the first time in American history that two self-identified Jews had run for the Senate against one another. Boschwitz, itching for a rematch, passed up an open seat in 1994 and ran against Wellstone in 1996, but Wellstone again prevailed, this time handily. While running for reelection again against another Jew, Norman Coleman, Wellstone was killed in a plane crash, along with his wife, daughter, and five other people in October 2002.

Wellstone was an activist in progressive causes from the time he was an undergraduate. He marched for civil rights for African Americans and wrote his doctoral thesis on black militancy. At Carleton, he demonstrated against the Vietnam War and supported other causes, such as ending South African apartheid and providing legal assistance to the poor. In the Senate, Wellstone took active liberal positions on social and political issues, including human rights, health care, social security, worker safety, the environment, abortion, gun control, and campaign finance reform. He sought to strengthen government health, welfare, and education programs and increase their funding.

He opposed the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) in 1993; he opposed both the Gulf War of 1991 and the Iraq War of 2003, whose authorization he voted against in one of his last Senate votes in October 2002 – the only Democrat in a close race for reelection to do so. He was a loving and critical supporter of Israel, and vigorously opposed Israeli settlements. He enthusiastically supported the peace process. He also was sharply critical of the Palestinian Authority and its failure to conclude peace and accept moves toward a two-state solution. A Wellstone legacy is that he brooked no double standards on human rights and peace and was widely respected for the integrity of his views and for his personal decency. This integrity and decency made him a respected senator, one who could work with the arch right winger Senator Helms on religious freedom and with Conservative Senator Domenici on mental health strengthening government support.

Wellstone had also grown as a Jew, visiting Israel for the first time in 1991, studying Judaism with Rabbi Bernard Raskas of St. Paul, who secured a commitment from Wellstone to study a Jewish text for at least 15 minutes daily. Wellstone felt comfortable in Jewish Progressive circles. He and his wife had not raised their children as Jews, yet their three children felt themselves to be Jews, an example of what Daniel Elazar calls the permeability of identity boundaries in contemporary America.

Former vice president Walter Mondale was coaxed into running for Wellstone's seat in the last days before the election; Norman Coleman defeated him.

[Drew Silver (2nd ed.)]

WELNER, PINCHES (1893–1965), Yiddish and Danish author and journalist. Born in Lodz, Poland, he joined the *Bund in 1904, emigrated first to Argentina, then to Denmark in 1913, and earned his livelihood as a weaver and tailor. Later he made his name as a Yiddish writer and as Denmark's chronicler of East European Jewish life. He also wrote for the general and Jewish press in Scandinavia and other countries and contributed to Yiddish journals in many countries.

Welner's books only appeared after World War II (his early works were generally written originally in Yiddish, but published first in his Danish translation). *In Yene Teg* ("In Those Days," 1958; Danish tr. *I hine Dage*, 1949) deals with the Nazi persecution of the Danish Jews and their famous escape across the Øresund in 1943, a theme that also inspired a later work, *Bay di Bregn fun Oresund* ("On the Shores of the Øresund," 1957; Danish tr. *Ved Øresunds bredder*, 1953). The Polish *shtetl*, with its traditional Jewish types, retained its hold on Welner's imagination and provides the setting for *Den Brogede Gade* ("The Confused Street," 1960); there is also some vivid description and autobiographical material in *Fra Polsk jøde til dansk* ("From Polish to Danish Jew," 1965), which depicts Jewish refugee life in Denmark before and during World War I. Welner published several other books, the last of which, *Fremmed fugl* ("Strange Bird," 1966) is a collection of short stories. A vice president of *YIVO, Welner was an active Zionist, serving as president of the Danish branch of the Iḥud Olami (*Po'alei Zion), which he himself had founded. In 1946 he published *Krigen mod jøderne* ("War against the Jews"), an attack on the British policy in Palestine.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Dansk skønlitteraert forfatterleksikon 1900–1950*, 3 (1964), s.v. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** LNYL 3, (1960), 483–5.

[Torben Meyer / Jerold C. Frakes (2nd ed.)]

WELSH, ARTHUR L. (**Al**; 1881–1912), pioneer U.S. aviator. Welsh, who was born near Kiev, Russia, was taken to the United States in 1890. In 1905 he joined the U.S. Navy, serving for four years. His interest in flying led him to join Orville Wright's flying class in 1910, and after several months, when he had learned to fly solo, he joined the Wright Brothers Aviation School in Dayton, Ohio, as an instructor. He tutored many important U.S. aviators, including General Henry H. Arnold, U.S. Army Air Force Chief of Staff during World War II. Welsh established many flying records and won a number of trophies, including the George Campbell Cup for altitude at Belmont Park in 1911. His trophies and records are at the National Air Museum of the Smithsonian Institution in Washington, D.C. In 1912 Welsh was assigned by the Wright Brothers to supervise flight training for the War Department at College Park, Maryland. He died in a plane crash during a flight intended to establish a new altitude record.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: S.H. Holland, in: *The Record* (Jewish Historical Society of Greater Washington), 4 (1969), 9–22.

[S.H. Holland]

WELT, DIE ("The World"), the first modern Zionist weekly, founded by Theodor *Herzl, which first appeared in Vienna on June 4, 1897, and, starting with the Fifth *Zionist Congress (Dec. 1901), served as the official organ of the *World Zionist Organization until World War I. From January 1906, after the Zionist Executive had moved to Cologne (1905), the paper was accordingly published there, but, from October 1911 until its last issue of September 25, 1914, in Berlin.

The paper was initiated by Herzl as a privately financed venture to disseminate the Zionist idea, to prepare the first Zionist Congress, and to reply to Jewish critics like W. *Bambus. Herzl was assisted by his brother-in-law, Paul Naschauer (1867–1900), as official publisher, and by S.R. *Landau as first editor-in-chief, who was succeeded by S. *Werner on October 8, 1897. Herzl himself, who had attended to almost every technical detail and initially supplied much of the content, agreed to stay anonymous in order to defuse a severe conflict with his employers at the *Neue Freie Presse*, E. *Bacher and M. *Benedikt, who strongly opposed Zionism. In the first two years Herzl spent a great deal of his own money on *Die Welt*, until he founded a separate joint-stock company together with Heinrich Rosenbaum. Although the paper, after ten months, had only found 280 subscribers in Vienna, its circulation eventually rose to a high of 10,000 a week.

In his first editorial, on June 3, 1897, Herzl defined the guidelines of the new paper: "Our weekly is a 'Jew Paper' [*Judenblatt*]. We take this word, which is supposed to be a term of calumny, and wish to make it a word of honor. … *Die Welt* will be the organ of those men who wish to lead Jewry out of these times into a better era." Herzl deliberately chose a yellow cover, once the *"badge of shame," now to become a "badge of honor," and inserted a *Magen David with a depiction of the Eastern Mediterranean in the title, designed by H. *York-Steiner. Appearing on Fridays, *Die Welt* reported on Jewish and Zionist events, fought antisemitism and assimilation, introduced Hebrew and Yiddish literature in translation, and demanded improvements in the Jewish life of the Diaspora and Ereẓ Israel. As Elon stated in his biography of Herzl (1975), the paper was "a new turn in 'parochial' Jewish journalism in the West; aggressive, polemical, belligerent, witty, it dared to discuss Jewish problems and travails openly, with uncommon candor."

Until April 1899, *Die Welt* was edited by S. *Werner, succeeded by Erwin Rosenberger (until June 1900), Isidor Marmorek (until Dec. 1900), B. *Feiwel (until July 1901), A.H. Reich (until March 1902) and Julius Uprimny (until Dec. 1905). From January 1906, Feiwel, together with A. *Coralnik, continued the paper in Cologne, succeeded by Julius Berger, and finally Moritz Zobel, who remained its editor also in Berlin from October 1911. A Yiddish publication of the same name appeared for about a year (1899–1900). From 1907, the Hebrew *Haolam* (“The World”) also served as an international Zionist organ until 1950. *Die Welt* ceased publication in September 1914. The title of Herzl’s paper was revived by the Vienna weekly *Die Neue Welt* (1927–38) of R. *Stricker and again, in 1947, by the Vienna monthly *Neue Welt*, which has continued to appear in the early 21st century as *Illustrierte Neue Welt*. Digitized versions of Herzl’s *Die Welt* and Stricker’s *Die Neue Welt* are available online in Compact Memory’s “Internetarchiv juedischer Periodika.”

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[Josef Fraenkel / Johannes Valentin Schwarz (2nd ed.)]

WELTSCH, FELIX (**Baruch**; 1884–1964), philosopher and publicist; cousin of Robert *Weltsch. Born in Prague, from 1910 to 1939 Weltsch served as a librarian at Prague University and from 1940 at the National Library in Jerusalem. From 1919 to 1938 he was editor of the Zionist weekly *Selbstwehr* (“Self-Defense”) in Prague. He left Czechoslovakia with a group of 150 emigrants to Palestine on the night preceding the occupation by the Germans (March 14–15, 1939). In his first book, *Anschauung und Begriff* (“Intuition and Concept,” 1913), written together with Max Brod, he developed his own theory on the relation of concept to observation. In 1918 he published a juridical-philosophical study called *Organische Demokratie* (“Organic Democracy”), followed by his major philosophical work, *Gnade und Freiheit* (“Mercy and Freedom”).

Among his major essays are: “*Nationalismus und Judentum*” (“Nationalism and Judaism,” 1920); “*Zionismus als Weltanschauung*” (“Zionism as an Encompassing Philosophy,” 1925), written together with Max Brod; “*Judenfrage und Zionismus*” (“The Jewish Problem and Zionism,” 1929); *Palaestina – Land der Gegensaetze*, (“Palestine – Land of Contrasts,” 1929); *Anti-semitismus als Voelkerhysterie* (“Antisemitism as Hysteria of the Nations”, 1931).

In *Das Wagnis der Mitte* (“The Daring of the Center,” 1937, 1967^2) he developed his philosophy of the creative center. In his pamphlet *Allgemeiner Zionismus* (“General Zionism”) he tried to apply this philosophy to Zionist ideology and policy.

Among Weltsch’s later works is *Ha-Di’alektikah shel ha-Sevel* (“The Dialectic of Suffering,” 1944), in which he revealed his general theory of the dialectics of the “spiral.” Thought goes around in a circle, but it rises above it. Thus, from despair, from the destruction of the idea in matter, the flame of the idea bursts forth anew and recharges itself toward its formation in a new reality. In *Teva, Musar u-Mediniyyut* (“Nature, Morals, and Policy,” 1950) he considered how the feeble spirit can survive in the body and the material world. The solution was not the subjugation of nature by the spirit, but the “Law of Minimum.” Nature does not have to fill all the vacuum of possibilities, but only a part of it that is required by the spirit in order to exist in the world. In political terms this means security, but the minimum of security; armament, but the minimum of armament; and likewise, the minimum standard of living, violence, etc. In 1954 Weltsch edited *Prag vi-Yrushalayim* (“Prague and Jerusalem”), a collection of essays on Jewry and Zionism in Bohemia and Moravia in memory of Leo Herrmann.

Weltsch was a close friend of Franz Kafka. Among his articles about Kafka are “The Rise and Fall of the German-Jewish Symbiosis: The Case of Franz Kafka” (in the *Year Book of the Leo Baeck Institute*, Vol. 1, 1956), “Religion und Humor im Leben und Werk Franz Kafkas” (“Religion and Humor in Franz Kafka’s Life and Work”, 1957; Heb. 1959), and “Franz Kafka’s Geschichtsbewusstsein” (“Franz Kafka’s Consciousness of History”) in *Deutsches Judentum, Aufstieg und Krise* (1963). He also published a work on the philosophy of Henri Bergson and a study entitled *Das Raetsel des Lachens* (“The Enigma of Laughter,” 1935).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: S.H. Bergman, in: *Haaretz* (March 5, 1937; Oct. 20, 1950); MB (Nov. 27, 1964); M. Brod, in: *Zeitschrift fuer die Geschichte der Juden*, 1 (1964), 201–4.

[Samuel Hugo Bergman]

WELTSCH, ROBERT (1891–1982), Zionist editor and journalist. Born in Prague, while a student he joined the Zionist students’ society Bar Kochba. During World War I he served as a frontline officer in the Austro-Hungarian army. In 1920 he participated in the Prague Conference at which the Ereẓ Israel *Ha-Po’el ha-Ẓa’ir Party formed a union with *Ẓe’irei Zion organizations in Eastern and Central Europe (Hitaḥadut). In the same year he was appointed editor of *Die *Juedische Rundschau*, the organ of the Zionist Federation of Germany, which was widely read by German-speaking Zionists all over Europe. In 1921 he was elected by the 12th Zionist Congress at Carlsbad as alternate member of the Zionist Executive representing Hitaḥadut. Weltsch retained his post as editor of *Die Juedische Rundschau* until 1938, when he left Berlin and settled in Jerusalem. Until 1945 he edited the German-language weekly *Yedi’ot shel Hitaḥadut Olei Germanyah* (afterward also the organ of the Aliyah Ḥadashah Party) and also contributed articles to *Haaretz*. From 1946 he lived in London as the *Haaretz* correspondent there. He lived his last years in Jerusalem.

In the Zionist movement Weltsch called for an understanding with the Arab national movement, and for many years he was close to the *Berit Shalom movement, which supported the creation of a bi-national state in Ereẓ Israel. A series of articles he wrote in 1933, after Hitler came to power, earned him fame throughout the Jewish world and had a profound effect on the morale of German Jews; one of the articles, published on April 1, 1933, bore the title "Tragt ihn mit Stolz, den gelben Fleck" ("Wear It with Pride, The Yellow Badge"), which became the slogan for German Jews who had found their way back to Jewish values. The entire series was published in a special volume under the title *Ja-Sagen zum Judentum*. In 1963 he edited *Deutsches Judentum, Aufstieg und Krise. Festschriften* were published in his honor for his 60th and 70th birthdays (1951, 1961).

[Walter (Shlomoh) Gross]

°**WENCESLAUS IV** (1361–1419), German emperor from 1378 to 1400 and king of Bohemia from 1378 to 1419; son of Charles IV. Wenceslaus, who was in constant pecuniary need, continued his father's policy of relinquishing his legal and economic rights over the Jews (see *servi camerae regis) in return for financial benefits. After protracted negotiations, on June 12, 1385, he concluded a treaty at Ulm with the Swabian *League, whereby, for an indemnity of 40,000 florins, any debts to Jews of less than one year's standing were to carry no interest, while the others were to be computed as capital and interest and the total reduced by one quarter. In order to carry out this project, all the Jews in the kingdom were imprisoned simultaneously, their pledges and records were confiscated, and they were thrown on the mercy of the city councils which were given the right to arbitrate in disputes between them and their debtors. This measure, which barely alleviated Wenceslaus' financial needs, caused economic havoc throughout the country. Five years later Wenceslaus arrived at an agreement with the chief princes of his lands, secular and clerical, whereby they were to be freed from all debts to Jews in return for high indemnities. This measure, a severe blow to the cities in possession of the promissory notes given by Jews, was not fully carried out. In 1398 Wenceslaus had to promise that he would not again cancel debts to Jews.

Though Wenceslaus offered special rights to the Jews of *Eger (Cheb) in return for compensation, he was prompted by economic considerations. He acquiesced in the massacres of the Jews in *Prague and *Goerlitz in 1389, and tried to profit from them.

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WENDLAND, PAUL (1864–1915), German classical scholar. Wendland was professor at the universities of Kiel, Breslau, and Goettingen. His main field of study was the religious beliefs of the classical world and their relations to Judaism and early Christianity (*Die Hellenistisch-roemische Kultur in ihren Beziehungen zu Judentum und Christentum* (1912²). He also edited the Greek text of the Letter of Aristeas (*Aristeae ad Philocratem epistula* …, 1900), as well as some writings by Philo (*Neu entdeckte Fragmente Philos* …, 1891). He wrote the following works on Philo: *Philo's Schrift ueber die Vorsehung* (1892) and *Philo und die kynisch-stoische Diatribe* (1895).

[David Flusser]

WENDROFF, ZALMAN (pseudonym of **Zalman Vendrovsky**; 1877–1971), Yiddish author. Born in Slutsk, Belorussia, Wendroff moved to Lodz at the age of 16, worked in a factory, studied dentistry, and published his first articles about Jewish life in Lodz, in the journal *Der Yud*. Emigrating to England, he was befriended by the anarchist thinker Rudolf Rocker, who helped him publish short stories in anarchist and Zionist journals. The 1905 Revolution found him back in Russia, where he worked as a teacher of English. With the collapse of the revolution, he left for the U.S. In New York, he wrote humorous sketches, articles and short stories for both the anarchist *Fraye Arbeter Shtime* and the Orthodox daily, *Morgn-Zhurnal*. When the latter journal sent him as its correspondent to Russia, he made his home in Warsaw for seven years, also writing for Warsaw's Yiddish daily, *Haynt*. From 1915, he lived in Moscow, working for Jewish organizations during World War I and in the Commissariat for Nationalities after the 1917 Revolution. At the same time he continued to act as correspondent for Yiddish dailies in New York, Warsaw, and Vilna.

Wendroff's stories appeared in various periodicals, in booklets which sold for a few pennies each, and in collections, beginning with *Humoresken un Ertseylungen* ("Humoresques and Stories," 1911, 1921²). Most popular were two Yiddish volumes which appeared under the Russian title *Pravozhitelstvo* (the legal term for the right to live outside the *Pale of Settlement; 1912). In humorous and tragic tales were described the life of Jews who, though not allowed to dwell outside the Pale, somehow managed to circumvent Czarist restrictions and to carry on a harried existence in forbidden cities as artisans, businessmen, and students. Wendroff had difficulty finding his place in Soviet literary circles, and Moses Litvakov criticized him for taking the line of least resistance and becoming an imitator of Sholem Aleichem. In the 1920s, his articles appeared regularly in the New York *Forverts*.

His book, *Afn Shvel fun Lebn* ("On the Threshold of Life," 1941), appeared just before the German assault upon Moscow. During World War II he worked for the Moscow foreign-language radio service. After the war he was accused of cosmopolitanism and contact with enemy agents and was arrested in 1950 and condemned to ten years' imprisonment. Released in 1956, he returned to Moscow, where he was treated as the doyen of surviving Yiddish writers and contributors to *Sovetish Heymland*. His last Yiddish book, *Undzer Gas* ("Our Street") appeared in Moscow in 1967.

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[Jerucham Tolkes / Gennady Estraikh (2nd ed.)]

WENGEROFF, PAULINE EPSTEIN (1833–1916), author of *Memoiren einer Grossmutter. Bilder aus der Kulturgeschichte der Juden Russlands in 19. Jahrhundert* ("Memoirs of a Grandmother: Scenes from the Cultural History of Russian Jews in the Nineteenth Century"; 2 vols., Berlin, 1908, 1910). Wengeroff was born in Bobruisk into the upper echelons of Russian Jewry. The prosperous Epsteins were pious and strict in their religious practice, but Pauline's father, Judah Epstein, an accomplished Talmud scholar, was also an enthusiast of Haskalah and encouraged his daughters in their study of German. In 1849, Pauline married Chonon Wengeroff, who became a successful banker and served on the city council of Minsk. The couple had seven children. The first volume of *Memoiren einer Grossmutter*, published when Wengeroff was in her seventies, details the observance of the Jewish holy days and festivals in her parental home in the 1840s. Following the success of this work, she wrote a second volume that expanded her childhood recollections into a complex autobiography.

Written after the end of the Russian Haskalah, the memoirs depict traditional Jewish culture and family, their disintegration, and the emergence of Jewish modernity from a female perspective. Wengeroff's two volumes, whose significance for the history of Jewish folklore, haskalah, and assimilation was recognized from the beginning, were republished during her life and posthumously. They are a significant source on women's ritual practices, socialization of girls, and the role of gender in the experience of Jewish modernity. Skillfully crafted and written, they are also the first full-fledged self-referential writing by a woman in the history of Jewish literature to refract an age through the experience of women and to achieve publication through the author's efforts. Wengeroff is not simply an apologist for tradition; she shared many of the core values of the Haskalah and wrote in German. But she excoriates the wanton abandonment of tradition by modernizing Jewish men and their encroachment on women's control of the family, which robbed women of the ability to transmit Judaism, with catastrophic results.

Wengeroff's children included Semyon *Wengeroff, a prominent historian and critic, who converted to Christianity. Her daughter, Zinaida (1867–1941), was a renowned Russian literary critic who emigrated to the United States. Wengeroff considered the conversions of several of her children her greatest tragedy. In her later years, in addition to writing *Memoiren*, she devoted herself to providing vocational and Jewish education to impoverished young women.

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[Shulamit S. Magnus (2nd ed.)]

WENGEROFF (Vengerov), SEMYON AFANASYEVICH (1855–1920), Russian literary and intellectual historian. Wengeroff's numerous works include monographs on Turgenev, Goncharov, and Gogol, as well as studies of literary critics such as Belinsky. Wengeroff was also a renowned bibliographer and editor of scholarly reference works, including the unfinished six-volume biobibliographical dictionary of Russian writers and scholars, *Kritiko-biograficheskiy slovar russkikh pisateley i uchenykh* (1889–1904). His other achievements include the establishment in 1917 of the Russian Book Chamber *(Rossiyskaya knizhnaya palata)*, which was still publishing weekly guides to all printed matter published in the U.S.S.R. 50 years after his death. Wengeroff ultimately converted to Russian Orthodoxy, probably because baptism was indispensable to a scholarly career in Czarist Russia. His mother, Pauline *Wengeroff, recalled in her memoirs (in L.S. Dawidowicz (ed.), *The Golden Tradition* (1967), 160–8) that her son was once expelled from school for refusing to kneel before an icon. Of Wengeroff's sisters, one married the writer Nikolai *Minski, another Leonid *Slonimski, a third was Zinaida Wengeroff (see Pauline *Wengeroff), and another was Isabel Wengeroff (Vengerova) 1877–1956), pianist and music teacher at the Curtis Institute in Philadelphia.

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[Maurice Friedberg]

WERBEL, ELIAHU MORDECAI (1806–1880), Hebrew author. Werbel was born in Ternopol, East Galicia, and educated at the secular Jewish school established by Joseph *Perl. From 1839 he taught at a similar school in Odessa founded by Bezalel Stern, until the school's closure by government order in 1874. He wrote a long literary poem *Edim Ne'emanim o Ḥuldah u-Vor* ("Faithful Witnesses or a Weasel and a Hole," 1852).

The poem's theme is borrowed from an ancient legend, mentioned in the Talmud and elaborated upon in the *Arukh*, of a weasel and a hole who avenge the disloyalty of a man to a young lady whom he had promised to marry. The poem is written in the euphuistic style of the period and was the source for the play *Shulamit* (1886), by Abraham Goldfaden (son-in-law of Werbel) and for poems by many other authors. Werbel contributed regularly to the monthly *Ha-Boker Or*, in which his *Tokhen Alilah*, four literary poems on the blood libel, appeared in 1881. His Hebrew translations of poetry and prose were collected in his book *Siftei Renanot* (1864). He also completed the Hebrew translation of Lessing's *Nathan der Weise* begun by Abraham Ber Gottlober (1874). Unlike many of his contemporaries he neither criticizes nor satirizes the older generation.

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[G.El.]

WERBER, BARUCH (1810–1876), Hebrew author and editor. Born in Brody, Galicia, he began his literary career writing for the Hebrew weekly *Ha-Mevasser*. In 1865, he founded the weekly *Ivri Anokhi* in Brody, editing it until his death. This was devoted primarily to news and popular science, and although it had a conservative and moderate orientation, sharply attacked the ultra-Orthodox Galician followers of the *rebbe* of *Belz. Among his writings are: *Megillat Kohelet*, an introduction and commentary to Ecclesiastes (1862, 1876); *Toledot Adam*, a biography of the French public figure, Albert Cohen (1870).

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[Gedalyah Elkoshi]

WERBLOWSKY, RAPHAEL JUDA ZWI (1924–), scholar in the field of comparative religion. Born in Frankfurt on the Main, Werblowsky lectured at Leeds University, the Institute of Jewish Studies, Manchester University (1951–56), and then at the Hebrew University, Jerusalem, where he was a professor from 1962, and served as dean of the Faculty of Humanities from 1965 to 1969. Among his published works are *Lucifer and Prometheus, a Study of Milton's Satan* (dissertation, with an introduction by C.G. Jung, 1952); *Das Gewissen in juedischer Sicht* (1958); *Joseph Karo – Lawyer and Mystic* (1962; dealing mainly with Karo's mystical experiences as recorded in his *Maggid Meisharim); Anti-semitisme, anti-Zionisme* (with H. van Praage, written in Dutch, 1969); and *Beyond Tradition and Modernity* (1976). Werblowsky translated from Dutch into English J.L. Palache's *Semantic Notes on the Hebrew Lexicon* (1959) and was editor of the *Encyclopedia of Jewish Religion* (with G. Wigoder, 1965, 1990^2) and *The Oxford Dictionary of the Jewish Religion* (1997). He represented Israel at many international conferences on Jewish-Christian relations. For the first edition of the *Encyclopaedia Judaica* he was a consulting editor and the divisional editor of Judaism.

WERFEL, FRANZ (1890–1945), Austrian novelist, playwright, and poet. The son of a prosperous Prague manufacturer, Werfel was a friend of Max *Brod and Franz *Kafka. He rejected the business career his father chose for him, and echoes of their disagreement are apparent in the story, "*Nicht der Moerder, der Ermordete ist schuldig*" (1920). While working as a publisher's reader in Leipzig (1911–14), Werfel attended the university there. His earliest verse collections, *Der Weltfreund* (1911), *Wir sind* (1913) and *Einander* (1915), substituted religious intoxication for the skepticism and sophistry to which his Austrian contemporaries were largely addicted. In his *Euripides: Die Troerinnen* (1915), an expressionist adaptation of the classical tragedy, war is seen through the eyes of the conquered and enslaved. Three years in the Austrian army on the Russian front (1915–17) confirmed Werfel in his pacifism, and the war poems of *Der Gerichtstag* (1919) voiced his longing for the rejuvenation of a blood-drenched world through love and universal brotherhood. After the war Werfel became a freelance writer in Vienna and Berlin. In *Beschwoerungen* (1923) he ecstatically called for a new, Dionysian comradeship with all creation – man, beast, and stone. Werfel's marriage in 1918 to Alma (Schindler) Mahler, the daughter of a famous Austrian painter and widow of the composer Gustav *Mahler, established him in Viennese society. Turning to the theater, he triumphed with the trilogy *Spiegelmensch* (1920) and his drama *Bocksgesang* (1921), but had less success with *Juarez und Maxmilian* (1924), a play about the ill-fated Hapsburg emperor of Mexico, and *Paulus unter den Juden* (1926; *Paul among the Jews*, 1928). In *Der Weg der Verheissung* (1935; *The Eternal Road*, 1937), a biblical play set to synagogal music by Kurt *Weill and staged in New York by Max *Reinhardt, Werfel revealed his spiritual homelessness and the tragic ambiguity of his religious position. When he abandoned expressionism for historical themes, Werfel portrayed not the lords and victors, but rather the lowly and defeated. His epic novel *Die vierzig Tage des Musa Dagh* (1933; *The Forty Days*, 1934) depicted the hopeless struggle of the Armenians against the Turkish hordes. Werfel never actually embraced Christianity, although his essay, *Die christliche Sendung* (1917) was a step in that direction. Toward the end of his life he reassessed his position as a Jew in *Zwischen Oben und Unten* (1946), where he declared that God would one day settle the reckoning in Israel's favor. He also wrote: "Religion is the everlasting dialogue between humanity and God. Art is its soliloquy."

In 1938, Werfel fled to France. When the German army invaded France in 1940, he fled once more and managed to reach the United States. He spent his last years in California, where he completed *Das Lied von Bernadette* (1941), an account of the visionary of Lourdes. This became famous in the English-speaking world as *The Song of Bernadette* (1942) and was later made into a motion picture. *Jacobowsky und der Oberst* (1944; *Jacobowsky and the Colonel*) was a tragicomedy about the flight of a Polish aristocrat and a resourceful little Jew before the German advance into France. During his exile in France, from 1938 to 1940, Werfel wrote a novel depicting the life of the Jews in Burgenland and their sufferings after the annexation of Austria by the Nazis. The manuscript was hidden for years and was first published posthumously in 1954, under the title *Cella und die Ueberwinder* (Frankfurt; republished in East Germany, 1970). The book is one of the most powerful literary expressions of the Holocaust and represents an entirely new aspect of Werfel's creative work. Other novels by Werfel were *Verdi. Roman der Oper* (1924; *Verdi*: *A Novel of the Opera*, 1925), which promoted a Verdi revival in Germany; *Der veruntreute Himmel* (1939); and *Stern der Ungeborenen* (1946; *Star of the Unborn*, 1946). *Gedichte aus den Jahren 1908–1945*, a collection of Werfel's best poems, was published in 1946.

In the postwar years there was an increasing interest in Werfel both in West and East Germany, and his works continue to appear in English as well. Among the doctoral theses on him, mention should be made of D. Kuhlenkamp's *Werfels spaete Romane* (1971), which contains an extensive bibliography.

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[Sol Liptzin / Yehouda Marton]

°**WERGELAND, HENRIK ARNOLD** (1808–1845), Norwegian poet. Wergeland occupies a unique place in the cultural history of Norway as a leading figure in intellectual and national life in the 1830s and 1840s. In his *Norges Konstitutions Historie* ("History of the Norwegian Constitution," 1841–43), he praised the constitution of 1814 but also voiced his displeasure (in Section II of the work) at the illiberal prohibition of Jewish immigration, a view which he also expressed in a number of newspaper articles. In 1839 Wergeland submitted to the Storting (parliament) a detailed proposal to rescind this prohibition (see *Norway), emphasizing considerations of justice and reconciliation. In his popular work, *Indlaeg i Jødesagen* ("Essays About the Jewish Question"), Wergeland spoke out against anti-Jewish prejudice, writing about Jewish religion, nationality, and patriotism, the occupations of Jews, their philanthropic activities, and moral excellence. Although he did not disregard the economic advantages which the admission of Jews would bring to Norway, moral considerations were of paramount importance to him; Christianity, justice, and charity demanded that the prohibition be rescinded. His collections of poetry, *Jöden* ("The Jew," 1842), and *Jödinden* ("The Jewess," 1844), contributed greatly toward creating a sentiment favorable to the Jews. They were translated into German under the title, *Der Jude und die Juedin* (1935), by the Oslo rabbi, Julius Samuel. Many of these poems, which still appear in anthologies, and which are also used in schools, have Jewish themes. In his essay *Jødesagen i det norske storting* ("The Jewish Cause in the Norwegian Parliament"), Wergeland described the parliamentary debate of 1842. He corresponded with prominent Jews in other countries, particularly in Sweden. After his death Scandinavian (primarily Swedish) Jews erected a memorial to him at his grave. It was unveiled in 1849 at a well-attended public ceremony and in the presence of three Swedish Jews, who had come to Norway with letters of safe-conduct. In 1851 the prohibition against Jewish immigration was rescinded.

Wergeland was instrumental in creating the special way Norwegians celebrate May 17, Norway's Constitution Day. Every May 17 children all over Norway march through the main streets in brass bands followed by children dressed in their best clothing or national costumes, singing, cheering, and waving Norwegian flags. On the morning of this day members of the Jewish community of Oslo (DMT) commemorate Wergeland, as they have since the 1920s, by gathering at his grave before the parades begin. A member of the Jewish Youth Organization (JUF) delivers a speech and lays a garland of flowers on the grave. The Norwegian national anthem is then sung. In latter years the speeches have addressed the importance of following in Wergeland's footsteps with regard to present-day prejudices.

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[Oskar Mendelsohn / Lynn C. Feinberg (2nd ed.)]

WERNER, ERIC (**Erich**; 1901–1988), musicologist and composer. Born in Ludenberg (near Vienna), Werner attended the Berlin Hochschule fuer Musik, graduating in 1924. He studied piano, organ, and composition in Vienna and Berlin (with E. Kornauth, F. Schreker, and F. Busoni), and musicology in Vienna, Prague, Berlin, Göttingen, and Strasbourg (with G. *Adler, R. Lach, G. Schünemann, C. *Sachs, J. Wolff, F. Ludwig, and T. Gerold), as well as Judaic studies and comparative religion (with M. *Buber, I. *Heinemann, J. *Horowitz, and E. Mueller). He earned his doctorate at the University of Strasbourg, in 1928, after submitting his dissertation in Latin, under the guidance of Théodore Gérold. His thesis deals with a comparative study of the Western Christian and Jewish forms of cantillation motives. After teaching at Holzminden and at the conservatory and gymnasium in Saarbrücken, Werner became lecturer at the rabbinical seminary in Breslau in 1935–38, and also taught Latin and music at the Jewish high school there. In 1938, seeking refuge from the Nazi regime, he and his wife emigrated to the United States, where, in 1939, he was invited to join the faculty at Hebrew Union College (Cincinnati) as A.Z. *Idelsohn's successor, remaining until 1951. There his full schedule included teaching, directing the choir and worship services, and serving as organist. The college's magnificent Edouard *Birnbaum collection provided material for his early research. His conception of a school of sacred music in New York, linked with Rabbi Stephen Wise's Jewish Institute of Religion (founded in 1922), was ultimately realized in 1950. Resettling in New York, he continued teaching until his retirement in 1967. From 1967 until 1971 he was the head of the department of musicology founded by him at Tel Aviv University.

A Guggenheim Fellowship (awarded in 1957) supported research on his work *The Sacred Bridge; the Interdependence of Liturgy and Music in Synagogue and Church During the First Millennium,* 2 vols. (London, 1959; New York, 1984), the first major synthesis of a basic direction of inquiry in both Jewish and European musicology. Werner's pathfinding studies encompassed such diverse topics as comparative Jewish and Christian chant, synagogue liturgy in medieval times, and the traditional music of Ashkenazi Jewry. Highly critical of the Wagner circle, he also wrote on Mozart, *Mahler, and Bruckner, and contributed a significant biography on *Mendelssohn. His book *Mendelssohn*: *A New Image of the Composer and His Age* (1963) is another significant reinterpretation. Mathematics, philosophy, and aesthetics are central facets in many of his writings. His liturgical music settings reflect current musical trends while preserving unity in the spirit of tradition.

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[Bathja Bayer / Israel J. Katz (2nd ed.)]

WERNER, HEINZ (1890–1964), psychologist. Born in Vienna, Werner served as professor of psychology at Hamburg University from 1926 and emigrated to the United States in 1933. After teaching briefly at Michigan, Harvard, and Brooklyn College, Werner assumed the Clark University professorship which he occupied for the rest of his career. His major interests centered on the expressive-symbolic and perceptual processes. He did work on child development, especially with regard to word comprehension. His best-known book is *Comparative Psychology of Mental Development* (1948, 1957), which is essentially a revision of his earlier *Einfuehrung in die Entwicklungspsychologie* (1926, 1933[2], 1953[3]). In it he expressed the conviction that developmental psychology should not serve merely as a subject matter, but as a method of study. In 1957, Werner's department at Clark University was expanded into an Institute of Human Development, and Werner became a major proponent of the developmental viewpoint in the world of psychology. In 1960 there appeared *Perspectives in Psychological Theory: Essays in Honor of Heinz Werner*, edited by B. Kaplan and S. Wapner, which contains, inter alia, a list of some 150 articles and books by Werner. He coauthored *Symbol Formation* (1963), an organismic-developmental approach to language and the expression of thought. Upon his death, Clark University renamed its department the Heinz Werner Institute of Developmental Psychology.

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[Aaron Lichtenstein]

WERNER, MICHAEL (1912–1989), sculptor. Werner was born in France but grew up in Austria, where he was educated, as well as at Oxford University, and in Paris. He settled in England in 1938 and held his first one-man exhibition of sculpture in 1949. He subsequently exhibited regularly in London galleries, as well as in mixed international collections. His commissions include portrait busts of George Bernard Shaw, for the Royal Court Theatre, London; a head of W.H. Auden, and a mural of 18 panels for Foxford School, Coventry. Werner was also a distinguished teacher and in 1968 became Senior Tutor at Watford School of Art and other institutions. In the 1960s he became well known for his innovative collages.

[Charles Samuel Spencer]

WERNER, SIEGMUND (1867–1928), one of Herzl's early aides and editor of *Die Welt*. Born in Vienna, Werner completed his studies in medicine in 1896. In his student days he was a member of national-Jewish and Zionist societies, and when Herzl came upon the scene, Werner became one of his devoted assistants. In 1897, he succeeded the first editor of *Die Welt*, Saul *Landau, retaining the appointment until the middle of 1899 and reassuming the editorship for the period 1903–05. His leading articles, as well as the general policy of the paper, conformed to Herzl's views; during the *Uganda Scheme controversy, he accorded both sides equal treatment, a policy which also coincided with Herzl's wishes. He was at Herzl's side when Herzl died and wrote a gripping description of this experience in *Die Welt*. Werner continued as editor until the paper was moved in 1905 to Cologne, which became the seat of Zionist headquarters. Later he moved to Iglau, Moravia, where he took up the practice of dentistry, while continuing his Zionist activities. He was the author of a book of verse (1903). Werner's exchange of letters with Herzl was published by Joseph Fraenkel in *Dr. Siegmund Werner, ein Mitarbeiter Herzls* (1939); his correspondence with Nathan *Birnbaum was published in *Shivat Ẓiyyon*, 2–3, pp. 275–299.

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[Getzel Kressel]

WERSES, SAMUEL, (1915–), Hebrew literature scholar and educator. Born in Vilna, Poland, Werses emigrated to Palestine in 1936, where he studied Hebrew literature, completing his doctorate in 1947. From 1953 until his retirement in 1983, he was member of the Hebrew literature department of the Hebrew University. He was awarded the Israel Prize in 1989 for research in Hebrew literature. His research focused on Haskalah and modern Hebrew literature, with an emphasis on studying literary genre as they developed and their links to world literature. Among his works are *Mi-Mendele ad Hazaz* ("From Mendele to Hazaz," 1982) and *Haskalah ve-Shabta'ut* ("Haskalah and Shabbateanism," 1988), a study of trends and forms in the literature of the Haskalah (1990), a book on Agnon (2000), and *Mi-Lashon el Lashon: Yeẓirot ve-Gilgulehen be-Sifruteinu* (1996). Together with Ch. Shmeruk, he edited a book on the cultural life of the Jews in Poland between the two World Wars (*Bein Shetei Milḥemot Olam*, 1997). A bibliography of his works was prepared by R. Schenfeld in 2002.

[Fern Lee Seckbach]

WERTH, ALEXANDER (1901–1969), British journalist and author. Born in St. Petersburg and educated in Glasgow, Werth started his career on Glasgow papers and became Paris correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian* (1932). He went to Moscow as *Sunday Times* and BBC correspondent in 1940, and from 1949 was Paris correspondent of *New Statesman* and New York *Nation*. He wrote mainly on France and Russia, including *The Destiny of France* (1937), *France and Munich* (1939), *Leningrad* (1944), *The De Gaulle Revolution* (1960), *The Khrushchev Phase* (1961), *De Gaulle* (1965), and *Russia at Peace* (1968). His *Russia at War, 1941–1945* (1964), based in part on his experiences as a correspondent there, remains one of best and most vigorous accounts of the Nazi invasion of the USSR.

Werth entered the Majdanek death camp with Soviet forces in July 1944 and was one of the first Western correspondents to report in detail on a Nazi extermination camp, nine or ten months before the more famous accounts of the liberation of German concentration camps like Buchenwald.

WERTHEIM, family of German department store owners, originating from Stralsund. In 1876 ARTHUR WERTHEIM established a small dry goods store in Stralsund. His son, GEORGE WERTHEIM, introduced new practices, such as fixed prices and low markups, which ensured the store's success and led to the opening of a second store at Rostock. Subsequently George and his three brothers ventured into Berlin, where they concentrated on inexpensive mass consumer goods and soon added two additional stores. The 1905 turnover of the main store reportedly totaled the equivalent of $15 million. The building standing on one of Berlin's main thoroughfares, and designed by Alfred *Messel, became a landmark of the German capital. In 1908 WOLFF WERTHEIM separated from his brothers to open another department store in Berlin which, however, failed to equal the former achievement. In 1933 the company owned seven stores. After World War II it became part of the Hermann *Tietz corporation, Hertie, and descendants of the founders retained a considerable interest in the establishment.

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[Edith Hirsch]

WERTHEIM, ABRAHAM CAREL (1832–1897), Dutch banker, philanthropist, and political leader. Trained in banking, he joined the bank of his uncle, Abraham Wertheim (1803–1889), who later became his father-in-law. The firm, Wertheim and Gompertz, developed into a leading banking institution, and Wertheim achieved recognition as a leader in his field. He played a prominent role in the establishment of many important commercial, industrial, and shipping enterprises. He also shared in promoting the development of the state railroads. In the 1870s he successfully introduced many large-scale United States loans on the Dutch market.

The name A.C. Wertheim is proverbial for his welfare work. Every morning before office hours he would receive the needy with their requests for financial support without making any distinction as to religion or social status. When in 1855 the Society for Public Welfare (Maatschappij tot Nut van 't Algemeen) first accepted Jews, Wertheim became a member and advanced to chairman of the national board. Under his direction a modern hospital in Amsterdam, a society for the blind, and an organization for the improvement of common housing were established.

Being particularly erudite Wertheim also participated in the cultural field. He was involved in the founding of the main national theater company (Het Nederlandsch Tooneel) and the Dutch Dramatic Arts Academy. When the Amsterdam Municipal Theater burned down in 1890 he made a generous contribution to start its immediate reconstruction. He was instrumental in the acquisition of valuable artifacts by museums.

For many years Wertheim served as a member and later as chairman of the board of the Amsterdam Ashkenazi Community. His formula for well-integrated Jewish life in the Netherlands was "to be a Jew in the synagogue and a burgher in the streets."

Politically he was the leader of the Amsterdam Liberals, whom he represented as a member of the North Holland Provincial Council and from 1886 to 1897 of the national Senate. A park in Amsterdam has been named after him.

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[Daniel M. Metz (2nd ed.)]

WERTHEIM, MAURICE (1886–1950), U.S. banker. Born in New York, he was vice president and secretary of the United Cigar Manufacturers' Company from 1907 to 1913. In 1915 he joined the investment banking house of Hallgarten and Co., and in 1927 he established his own firm, Wertheim and Co. He served on the War Production Board and the Board of Economic Welfare during World War II. He was a patron of art and education, and his financial contributions enabled the liberal journal *The Nation* to continue publication when it was in financial straits during the Depression. Wertheim was a founder of New York's Theater Guild and a member of the Harvard Fund Council. He was president of the *American Jewish Committee (1941–43) and played a prominent part in bringing together opposing forces in American Jewish communal life. He was the father of Barbara *Tuchman.

[Joachim O. Ronall]

WERTHEIM, ROSALIE (Rosy) MARIE (1888–1949), composer. Wertheim was born in Amsterdam and exhibited musical gifts from an early age. In addition to studying piano and voice, she studied composition with Bernard Zweers and Sem Dresden. She taught piano and solfege at the Amsterdam Muzieklyceum. Her early interest in social work and concern for the working classes grew into a deep commitment. She taught piano to poor children, supported a number of needy families from her own income, conducted a children's chorus in a low-income neighborhood, and conducted the Jewish women's chorus of the Religieus Socialistisch Verbond in Amsterdam.

In 1929 she moved to Paris to study composition with Louis Aubert. Her home became a haven for Dutch artists and composers, and a veritable salon for leading French composers such as *Milhaud, Honegger, Messiaen, Jolivet, Ibert, and Elsa Barraine. Between 1929 and 1935, her works were frequently included on concert programs in Paris. In 1935 she left Paris for a year in Vienna, studying with Karl Weigl. She spent the next two years in the United States, where her music was well received in the New York Composers' Forum. During her time in the States she also worked as foreign correspondent for Dutch newspapers, as she had done in Paris and Vienna. She returned to Amsterdam to find a quickly deteriorating situation. Forced into hiding during the Nazi occupation, she gave secret concerts in the basement of her home, frequently presenting works by Jewish composers, whose music had been outlawed.

Like many of her Dutch contemporaries in the 1910s and 1920s, Wertheim was drawn to French music, particularly the works of Debussy, Ravel, and Stravinsky. Among her most successful works were the *Piano Concerto*, written in 1940 and premiered by the well-known and respected conductor of the Residentie Orchestra, Willem van Otterloo; the *Divertimento for Chamber Orchestra* (1934) and the *String Quartet* (1932), both performed in New York; a piano suite; and a *Trio for flute, clarinet, and bassoon*. Her music is often cheerful, neo-classical in style, and at times quite playful.

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[Melissa de Graaf (2nd ed.)]

WERTHEIMER, ASHER (1844–1918), British art dealer. One of the most famous fine art dealers of his time, Wertheimer inherited his Bond Street business from his father, SAMSON (d. 1892), who founded it in the mid-19th century. He developed it into one of the most significant in Britain, a rival to *Duveen Brothers and other dealers who sold art to the very rich. Wertheimer bought many works from the Russian nobility for sale in the West, and in 1898 paid the colossal sum of £122,000 for 83 paintings from the Hope Collection. Wertheimer is best remembered today for the famous portraits of him and his family painted by John Singer Sargent. Wertheimer left over £1.5 million at his death, a vast fortune at the time.

[William D. Rubinstein (2nd ed.)]

WERTHEIMER, CHAIM ERNST (1893–1978), Israeli biochemist. Born in Buehl, Germany, he was appointed professor at the University of Halle in 1927. Emigrating to Ereẓ Israel in 1934, Wertheimer became head of Hadassah's Chemical Laboratory in Jerusalem and later of its Clinical Biochemistry Laboratory. He was a founder and the second dean of the Hadassah-Hebrew University Medical School. Internationally known for his research on diabetes and fat metabolism, he was awarded the Israel Prize for Medical Science in 1956 and the Bunting Prize of the American Association for Diabetes Research in 1964.

[Lucien Harris]

WERTHEIMER, EDUARD VON (1848–1930), Hungarian historian. Wertheimer was born in Pest. He became a lecturer at the University of Kolozsvár in 1877 and later held successive professorships at two law schools, Nagyszeben and Pressburg. In 1900 he was elected a corresponding member of the Hungarian Academy, and in 1903 was knighted and given the surname "de Monor." On his retirement in 1914, he was appointed a privy councilor (Hofrat). He spent the last years of his life in Berlin.

Wertheimer's principal scholarly interests were the foreign policy of the Hapsburg monarchy and the history of Hungary during the early years of the 19th century. His main work in the former field was *Gróf Andrássy Gyula élete és kora* ("Graf Julius Andrássy, his life and his time," 3 vols., 1910–13), a study of dualism and the role of Hungary. His important contributions to 19th-century history were *Ausztria és Magyarország a XIX század első tizedében* ("Austria and Hungary during the First Decade of the 19th century," 2 vols., 1890–92); and *Az 1811–12 magyar orszaggyülés* ("The Hungarian Diet of 1811–12," 1899). Among his other books were: *Bismarck im politischen Kampf* (1929); *Die drei ersten Frauen des Kaisers Franz* (1893), and *Der Herzog von Reichstadt* (1902; *The Duke of Reichstadt, Napoleon II*, 1905).

[Baruch Yaron]

WERTHEIMER, JOSEPH RITTER VON (1800–1887), Austrian pedagogue, philanthropist, and merchant. Born in Vienna of a well-to-do Jewish family, Wertheimer first served as a clerk in his father's commercial activities and soon became his partner. Though involved in the practical world of commerce, Wertheimer used his free time to study pedagogics. In his twenties, he embarked on a trip through Germany, Italy, France, and England in order to broaden his cultural background. His interest in pedagogical matters led him to take particular note of English kindergartens, and he returned home eager to further the building of kindergartens in Austria. As a first step, he translated a work on kindergarten schooling which he called *Ueber fruehzeitige Erziehung und englische Kleinkinderschulen* (1826, 1828). Despite vociferous opposition to the "feather-brained scheme," Wertheimer founded the first kindergarten in Vienna in 1830 with the cooperation of a Catholic priest, Johann Lindner. Subsequently other kindergartens were founded in many Austrian cities. He also established the Allgemeine Rettungsgesellschaft, a society for assistance to released criminals and guidance for juvenile delinquents.

Wertheimer was deeply involved in Jewish activities. In 1840 he organized the Verein zur Foerderung der Handwerke unter den Israeliten, an organization which enabled thousands of Jewish children to learn useful occupations. In 1843 he established a Jewish kindergarten and in 1860 a Society for the Care of Needy Orphans of the Israelite Community, which established an orphan asylum for girls. As trustee, and later as president, of Vienna's central communal body and founder and president of the Israelitische Allianz zu *Wien (1872–87), Wertheimer played a leading role in the struggle to achieve equal social and political status for Jews. In 1842 he advocated the emancipation of Austrian Jews in his *Die Juden in Oesterreich*… (2 vols., 1842), published anonymously, because such works were then prohibited. He also wrote, among other books, *Therese: Ein Handbuch fuer Muetter und Kinder-*

waerterinnen (1835) and *Die Stellung der Juden in Oesterreich* (1852). He was editor of the *Jahrbuch fuer Israeliten* (11 vols., 1855–65).

Wertheimer's services were recognized by the Austrian emperor who, in 1868, conferred upon him the order of the Iron Crown and the accompanying title of nobility.

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[Morton Mayer Berman]

WERTHEIMER, MAX (1880–1943), founder of Gestalt psychology. Wertheimer was born in Prague, Czechoslovakia. After studying philosophy and psychology, he spent some years in independent investigation until, in 1910, he arrived at the University of Frankfurt, where he began the studies with which his name is connected. There he met Wolfgang Koehler and Kurt *Koffka, with whom he formed a lifelong association and who helped pioneer the Gestalt movement. In 1916 he went to lecture at Berlin University and returned to Frankfurt in 1929 as professor of psychology. With the rise of Hitler in 1933, Wertheimer emigrated with his family to the United States, joining the faculty of the New School for Social Research in New York City.

Gestalt psychology begins with the observation that experiences and actions are not adequately described as a sum of elements, that there are innumerable psychological facts – such as melodies and visual forms – that also refer to qualities in wholes only. Wertheimer proposed that there are wholes with their own properties and tendencies that are not discoverable in their isolated parts, that a whole determines what the properties of its parts will be. This statement of the problem of part-whole relations, central to Gestalt theory, broke decisively with the presuppositions of atomistic psychology.

Wertheimer's perceptual investigations laid the concrete foundations of Gestalt psychology. In 1912 he showed that the experience of movement cannot be split up into a sum of successive sensations, that it is an effect of stimulus events cooperating to produce a new unitary outcome. His account of the principles of perceptual grouping was another major contribution. How does mosaic of discrete stimulations produce a unitary percept? The discovery of this question was one of Wertheimer's great achievements. Investigators had previously taken the formation of units for granted; Wertheimer showed that this was a central problem for the psychology of perception. He identified certain selective principles of grouping, among them those of proximity, similarity, closure, common fate, and good continuation. He held that one principle, that of Praegnanz, was inclusive of the others, the principle that grouping tends toward maximal simplicity and balance, or toward "good form." In this manner he established that perception is a product of organization. Gestalt psychology revolutionized the modern study of perception and affected the outlook in other areas of psychology. Wertheimer related the problems of Gestalt theory to issues of logic, aesthetics, and ethics. Keenly sensitive to the human implications of psychological doctrines, he questioned prevalent assumptions about man as a creature of habit and the relativism of his values.

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[Solomon Asch]

WERTHEIMER, SAMSON (1658–1724), Court *Jew in Vienna; scholar, *shtadlan*, and philanthropist. Born in Worms of a learned father, Wertheimer studied at the yeshivah in Frankfurt. In 1684 he married the widow of Nathan Oppenheimer and through her family came into contact with Samuel *Oppenheimer, who brought him to Vienna, appointing him manager of his affairs and presenting him to Emperor Leopold I. The wealthiest Jew of his day, from 1694 to 1709 Wertheimer was the chief administrator of the financial affairs of the emperors Leopold I, Joseph I, and Charles VI. He placed enormous sums at the disposal of the government, particularly during the Spanish War of Succession and the war against Turkey, and acted as court agent to the emperor and the rulers of Saxony, Mainz, Trier, and the Palatinate. Emperor Leopold I had such confidence in Wertheimer that he also entrusted him with diplomatic missions. On the occasion of the marriage of the emperor's brother, Prince Charles Philip, to the daughter of the king of Poland, Wertheimer succeeded in obtaining from the latter a dowry of 1,000,000 florins; in appreciation of this the emperor awarded him 1,000 ducats and presented him with his portrait. Paintings of the king of Poland and three prince electors were found in his estate. After the death of Oppenheimer in 1703, Wertheimer was appointed chief agent of the court (*Hoffaktor*); he then found new sources of income for the imperial treasury by improving the salt industry of Siebenbuergen, increasing the export of salt by removing several customs stations and by leasing the mines. At the same time he organized the monopoly of the Polish salt trade, arranging for and financing the transfer of the salt from *Wieliczka to Hungary and Silesia. The conference of Utrecht (1714), which brought to an end the Spanish War of Succession, was financed by the Wertheimers, who also paid the expenses of the Austrian ambassador. Ten imperial soldiers guarded his house and he was known by the title of *Judenkaiser* (Jewish Emperor). He invested his fortune in over half a dozen houses and estates in Vienna, Austria, and Germany. Together with other Court Jews, he saved the Jews of Rothenburg from expulsion by the payment of a large sum of money. He also intervened successfully with the authorities on behalf of the communities of Worms and Frankfurt. Speaking for all the Jewish communities in the empire, in 1700 he appealed to the emperor against the incitement of Johann *Eisenmenger; as a result, the emperor forbade the latter's antisemitic book to be circulated. Because of poor health, Wertheimer generally conducted his affairs from his home in Vienna and did not travel extensively, as was the custom of other Court Jews.

Wertheimer was offered the office and title of *Landesrabbiner of Hungarian Jewry for his aid in reestablishing communities and synagogues ravaged by warfare; the title was confirmed by the emperor and was the only one he used, though Moravia, Bohemia, and Worms accorded him similar honors. A scholar and patron of scholars, he financed the printing of the Babylonian Talmud undertaken at Frankfurt (1712–22) by his son-in-law, Moses *Kann. Some of the sermons he delivered in the synagogue in his home have been preserved. He also left behind manuscripts that dealt with various aspects of *halakhah*, Midrash, and Kabbalah. He built a large synagogue in Eisenstadt and one in Nikolsburg. Judah *he-Ḥasid and his group were supported by Wertheimer, who bore the title of *Nesi Ereẓ Israel* and was in charge of the transfer of money collected throughout Europe to the Holy Land (see *Hierosolymitanische Stiftung).

In his old age, Wertheimer retired from court affairs, handing them over to his son WOLF, who was instrumental in organizing the diplomatic effort for the repeal of Maria *Theresa's expulsion of Prague Jewry. Wolf went bankrupt in 1733 after Bavaria had refused to honor its debts to him. These were eventually acknowledged after more than 20 years of litigation; payments, in installments, to his sons commenced after his death (1763). Wolf's grandsons, JOSEPH (1742–1811), HERMANN (1750–1812), and LAZAR (1740–1818), became members of the nobility, with the title Edler von Wertheimstein, in 1791, 1792, and 1796 respectively. Most of their descendants were baptized.

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[Yomtov Ludwig Bato]

WERTHEIMER, SOLOMON AARON (1866–1935), rabbinical scholar and bibliophile. Wertheimer, born near Pressburg (Bratislava), Slovakia, grew up in Jerusalem. He became interested in the many rare books he found in Sephardi yeshivot and, despite penury, began to collect Hebrew books and manuscripts, particularly Oriental ones, including some unique specimens. Wertheimer was one of the first to publish some of the Cairo *Genizah* treasures.

His Midrash collections, containing some hitherto unknown works, are *Battei Midrashot* (4 parts, 1893–97), *Leket Midrashim* (1903), and *Oẓar Midrashim* (2 parts, 1913–14). A revised and enlarged two-volume edition of these collections appeared during 1948–53, edited by his grandson A.J. Wertheimer. Wertheimer also published geonic and medieval responsa: *Kohelet Shelomo* (1899), *Ginzei Yerushalayim* (3 parts, 1892–97), *Zikkaron la-Rishonim* (1909), and *Ge'on la-Ge'onim* (1925). Among his original works are *Darkah shel Torah* (1891), on the methodology of *halakhah* and *aggadah; She'elot Shelomo* (2 parts, 1932–33), responsa; *Be'ur Shemot Nirdafim sheba-Tanakh* (1924; 1953^2), a work on biblical synonyms. The revised edition of the last by his sons includes a biography and a bibliography of his published books and numerous manuscripts, among them commentaries on Bible and Mishnah, a *siddur*, a Passover *Haggadah*, and a supercommentary on Naḥmanides' Bible commentary. Wertheimer also contributed to learned periodicals and was active as a preacher.

[Zvi Kaplan]

WERTHEIMER, STEF (1926–), Israeli industrialist. Born in Germany, he came to Palestine with his family in 1937. After service during Israel's War of Independence he continued with the development of armaments. In 1951 he founded the ISCAR (Israel Carbides) company, which became a world leader in the production of precision carbide metalworking tools. In 1981, after four years in the Knesset, he devoted his efforts to developing the Galilee, with a residential project, Kefar Veradim, and the Tefen industrial park. He initiated the establishment of several other Galilee industrial parks. These enterprises generated 10,000 jobs in 150 plants and together with ISCAR around $2 billion in annual exports.

Wertheimer was a creative and innovative thinker. The ISCAR complex is enhanced by works of art and even an industrial museum, and to create a bright and cheerful atmosphere, Wertheimer had all the factory floors painted yellow. In 1991 he received the Israel Prize for special contribution to society and the state. In 2006 ISCAR was sold to Oscar Buffett for $4 billion.

[Fern Lee Seckbach]

WESEL, BARUCH BENDET BEN REUBEN (also called **Benedict Reuben Gomperz**; d. c. 1753), German rabbi and author. Baruch Benedict was called Wesel after the town where he was born. He was a member of the distinguished *Gomperz family of Germany and western Europe. His grandfather, Elijah Gomperz, was a Court Jew of Frederick William I of Prussia and through his influence greatly assisted his coreligionists. His father was a wealthy Berlin merchant. In 1724 Wesel was appointed one of the three members of the Breslau *bet din* and wrote a commendation for the *Sha'arei Tefillah* of Solomon Zalman Hanau. In 1728 the *Council of Four Lands appointed him rabbi of the Polish community in Breslau. That same year he wrote a commendation for the printing of the Pentateuch in Dyhernfurth. He inherited a considerable fortune from his father, engaged in business, and did not take a salary from the community. Unsuccessful management of his business affairs, however, led to his financial ruin, and in 1733 the community reinstated his salary. He subsequently applied to be exempted from the high taxes imposed upon wholesale merchants and to be transferred to the category of second-class taxpayers. His application was rejected, however, and he was imprisoned, compelled to pay, and deprived of the title rabbi. He was expelled from Breslau in 1738, but was permitted to take up residence in the neighboring villages. When Frederick II conquered Silesia in 1740, Wesel sent him a laudatory poem in Hebrew and German, written as an acrostic of his name, and Frederick noted this. Subsequently, in 1744, when 12 Polish-Jewish families were granted a permanent permit to live in Breslau, and when a special privilege was granted to Polish merchants, Wesel was elected chief rabbi of Breslau, and the Prussian government recognized him and his community. The same order also permitted the Jews to establish a cemetery in Breslau (previously they had to use the cemetery of Dyhernfurth). Wesel suggested that the funds for the cemetery and for taxes generally be raised from a special tax imposed on meat. However, he did not live long enough to consecrate the cemetery, and he himself was buried in Dyhernfurth. Ten of his responsa were published in 1745 under the title *Mekor Barukh* and republished with additions by his son in 1771.

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[Itzhak Alfassi]

WESKER, ARNOLD (1932–), English playwright. Born of immigrant Yiddish-speaking parents (the father was a tailor) in London's East End, Wesker held various jobs after he left school, including kitchen porter and pastry cook. These laid the foundations of his early plays, which have an autobiographical content. *The Kitchen* (1960), for example, is at once a literal representation of life behind the scenes in a restaurant and an allegory of the struggle, competition, and near-slavery of the social world. Wesker is best known for the trilogy of plays entitled *Chicken Soup with Barley, Roots*, and *I'm Talking about Jerusalem* (1959–60). These constitute an ambitious attempt to probe the symptoms of a sick society. *Chicken Soup with Barley* deals with Jewish society in the East End of London during the 1930s and 1940s; it shows the idealistic socialism, which was the main barricade against Sir Oswald Mosley's fascist movement, giving way to an easy, postwar conformity. *Roots* represents these same decadent values subsisting in a country community. In *I'm Talking About Jerusalem*, Wesker shows a young couple endeavoring to establish an ideal community in the country in the immediate postwar period of 1946. These plays are written in realistic prose with a poetic undercurrent. Though partly inspired by the disillusionment of his time, Wesker also exhibits a visionary quality and a desire for reform and renewal.

In *Chips with Everything* (1962), apparently based upon Wesker's own period of national service in the Royal Air Force, the characters are shallow stereotypes, the officers tyrants and decadents, the men simple philistines or easily led slaves. In the 1960s a great deal of Wesker's energy went into forming and administering "Centre 42." This organization, named after a Trade Union Congress resolution supporting the arts, was intended to sponsor festivals and eventually to institute its own cultural program. Its cultural basis at the beginning rested solidly on Wesker's own plays, which took an unashamedly propagandist turn in *Their Very Own and Golden City* (1966). A late play is *Denial* (2000).

Six Sundays in January has some Jewish interest. The title is that of the first story in the volume and was published in the *Jewish Quarterly* in 1958 and in *Modern Jewish Stories* in 1963. Wesker's writings have been translated into 17 languages. With Harold *Pinter, he is probably the best-known contemporary Anglo-Jewish playwright. He has written an autobiography, *As Much As I Dare* (1994).

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[Philip D. Hobsbaum]

WESSELY, NAPHTALI HERZ (**Hartwig**; 1725–1805), Haskalah poet, linguist, and exegete. Wessely's ancestors had fled Poland during the Chmielnicki pogroms and settled in Wesel on the Rhine, from where the family took its name. Born in Hamburg, Wessely spent his childhood in Copenhagen, where his father was a purveyor to the king of Denmark. He received his religious education at the yeshivah of Jonathan *Eybeschuetz, who influenced him greatly, and read literature and scientific works in a number of European languages, Associated with the Feitel Bank, Wessely's business affairs took him to Amsterdam and Berlin. In Berlin he met Moses *Mendelssohn and contributed a commentary on Leviticus (Berlin, 1782) to the *Biur*.

Wessely began his literary career with the Hebrew translation of the apocryphal work *Wisdom of Solomon* (from Luther's German translation), to which he appended a brief commentary, later elaborated into a full-length exegesis, *Ru'aḥ Ḥen* (Berlin, 1780; Warsaw, 1885). He pioneered in the revival of biblical Hebrew, and his translation, written in the vivid and lofty style of the Scriptures, prompted later Haskalah writers to translate apocryphal works into biblical Hebrew. The linguistic problems he encountered led to a number of philological works such as *Gan Na'ul* (or *Levanon*; 2 vols., Amsterdam, 1765–66; Lemberg, 1806), a work on Hebrew synonyms and roots, and *Yein Levanon*, a commentary on the mishnaic tractate *Avot* (Berlin, 1775; Warsaw, 1884), which also concentrates on linguistic aspects. While Wessely's focus is often linguistic, his exegesis shows also wide knowledge and learning, and his commentaries were well received by orthodox scholarship. He is, however, mainly known as a poet – *Shirei Tiferet* (1789–1802) is the major literary work of the German Haskalah – and as a pioneer in education and an advocate of the Enlightenment through his *Divrei Shalom ve-Emet* (1782), a call in support of the Edict of Tolerance (*Toleranzpatent, 1782) of Joseph II of Austria.

Poetry

Shirei Tiferet ("Poems of Glory"), Wessely's magnum opus, is a long epic on the life of Moses and the Exodus from Egypt, modeled after similar epical works by Klopstock and Schiller. Embellished with legends from the Talmud and the Midrash, the work is essentially didactic and is suffused with the rationalist spirit of the age. Thus the concept of the mission of the Jewish people is reflected in the description of the revelation at Sinai; the quest for salvation and for an end to the suffering of the Jewish people also clearly echo throughout the poem. Divided into six parts, containing 18 cantos, the narrative of the poem stretches from the persecution of the Jews by Pharaoh and Moses' birth to the giving of the Law. Wessely's great prosodic innovation was the introduction of the alexandrine (the 12-syllable heroic line of contemporary French poetry) into modern Hebrew poetry. The poem, however, is little more than a narrative in verse of the Bible story, its principal aim being didactic rather than aesthetical. Wessely, in the rabbinic tradition, intended his poem to be a commentary on certain obscure passages in the Bible, yet at times he used the narrative only as a pretext to display his poetic virtuosity and his structural prowess.

While the work as a whole may be of little literary merit, there are certain beautiful poems, such as the lyrical introductions to the cantos which are invocations to God. There are also a number of fine poetic passages in the cantos themselves: some describe feelings, while others are didactic in content, such as the depiction of Israel's mission and its destiny in the seventh canto. *Shirei Tiferet* served as a model to later Hebrew poets. The epic was published in full after the poet's death (Prague, 1809), and sections of it were translated into German and French.

Among his other poetic works is *Mehallel Re'a*, an introduction to the translation of Exodus. In his commentary to Exodus, Wessely criticizes the inadequate, faulty educational methods in the contemporary Jewish schools. He also wrote a number of occasional poems.

Wessely was a trailblazer in style. The syllabic meter and the strophic structure he introduced became standard models for Hebrew poets for over 60 years. He also revived the biblical Hebrew style in literature and lent to the language flexibility and vividness.

Linguistic Method

Striving to use a lofty biblical style in order to recreate the flavor and form of biblical writing, Wessely tried to arrive at the original meaning of synonyms in the Bible. His approach was philological rather than exegetical, and he viewed the problem not only from a theoretical and abstract point of view, but primarily practically, i.e., how to use the synonyms for rhetorical purposes. This pragmatic approach also determined Wessely's method in his studies of the Hebrew language. He demanded that biblical Hebrew provide him with the necessary linguistic means and devices for his literary needs. His great sensitivity to the language allowed him to grasp the spirit of the biblical tongue and to penetrate its mysteries. Psychology for him was the key to an understanding of the language in general, and of the individual meaning of synonymic words in particular. The Hebrew language seemed to him as vital in his time as it had been in the ancient past and, though it was not spoken, it remained superior to all other living tongues. Hence his philological assumption that there are no synonyms in Hebrew (an assumption which is in accord with the principle accepted in linguistics that language does not suffer excess and either rejects superfluous words or invests them with new meaning), a characteristic he ascribed only to Hebrew because of his mystical relation to the language. Wessely, however, was extreme in his theory and refused to acknowledge the possibility of synonyms even in poetry; he thus attributed new meaning to an idea repeated in different words. The starting point of his philological research is not the word itself, but the concept that the written words give rise to. He therefore ascribed a separate meaning to each word and disregarded the connotations that have accrued to a word in the course of the historical development of the language.

Wessely's linguistic theory also influenced his style and he showed the way for the writing of pure biblical Hebrew. His prose style, however, is a fusion of Hebrew styles of different historical periods.

Commentary

Imrei Shefer, a commentary on Genesis, is the fruit of lectures given by Wessely to young audiences in Berlin. Portions of the work were published by *Mekiẓe Nirdamim (Lyck, 1868–71). Mendelssohn also asked him to write a commentary to Leviticus (Berlin, 1782) for the *Biur*. Writing in a light and flowing style, Wessely explains every Hebrew word and refers to earlier commentators. He attempted to reconcile the plain meaning of the Scriptures with the commentaries in the Talmud and the Midrashim by means of a detailed analysis of every word, a method which often led to lengthy and sophistic distortions of the simple meaning of the text. Mendelssohn edited the work; he shortened it, interpreted difficult passages that Wessely had failed to explain, and added comments to passages in which the opinions of the two scholars differed. The Gaon of Vilna, *Elijah b. Solomon Zalman, praised the work, but the *maskilim* considered it too scholarly.

Educational and Public Activities

Wessely's epistle *Divrei Shalom ve-Emet* (Berlin, 1782), is a call to the Jewish community of Austria to comply willingly with the order of the Edict of Tolerance of the Austrian emperor Joseph II to open schools for Jewish children in which German would be taught. The work is the first methodical composition in Hebrew on Jewish education written in the spirit of the Haskalah. Wessely distinguishes between two types of studies: what he called *Torat ha-Adam* ("human knowledge"), and instruction in the Law of God. The acquisition of human knowledge demands instruction in subjects which are necessary to man's relationship with man, namely, a training in general subjects and ethics, i.e., secular studies common to the human race. The divine teachings are the heritage of the people of Israel alone and are identical with the Torah of Moses. Jewish education should be founded on both studies, with a schooling in human knowledge preceding divine subjects, since these should serve as a basis for the study of Torah. Without general education it is impossible to understand divine teachings. Wessely came to the conclusion that he who studies the Torah without acquiring common human knowledge, will, when he grows up, become a burden upon society.

His opinions were strongly opposed by the Orthodox, especially by Ezekiel b. Judah *Landau of Prague, *David Tevele b. Nathan of Lissa, and the Gaon Elijah of Vilna. A bitter controversy ensued. Wessely responded to the rabbis in his epistles *Rav Tov le-Veit Yisrael* (Berlin, 1782); *Reḥovot* (Berlin, 1785); and *Mishpat* (Berlin, 1784), all of which were later collected under the title *Divrei Shalom ve-Emet*; sections were translated into French, German, Dutch, and Italian.

Wessely also wrote a number of other works, the most important of which is *Sefer ha-Middot* or *Musar Haskel* (Berlin, 1784), a collection of essays on the essence of the soul and its faculties. The work reflects contemporary philosophical and ethical German thought. *Sefer ha-Middot* became popular among learned Jews in Eastern Europe. Some of Wessely's works are still in manuscript.

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[Joshua Barzilay (Folman)]

WESSELY, WOLFGANG (1801–1870), Hebrew scholar and jurist; the first Jew to hold a full professorship in Austria. Born at Trebitsch, Moravia, in 1829, he was the first Jew to receive a doctorate in philosophy from Prague University; four years later he received a doctorate in civil law, and later published legal studies. He also applied for a doctorate in canon law, but as a Jew, was rejected. Wessely first served as a teacher of religion at a Jewish school in Prague and compiled a catechism, *Netib Emuna* (1841), which went through eight editions. In 1844, after the death of the Hebrew censor, Carolus *Fischer, Wessely applied for the post of translator at this office, also presenting the authorities with a proposal for the "establishment of an institute for the science of Judaism [*Wissenschaft des Judentums] and its rabbinical literature at the local university." The conservative leaders of the Prague community, M. *Landau, Samuel Freund, and S. Rapoport, were hostile to Wessely's proposal, and also questioned his qualifications for initiating it. However, Christian academic opinion was on Wessely's side. In 1846 Wessely began to lecture at Prague University on Hebrew and rabbinical literature before a mixed Christian and Jewish audience. In 1851 he was appointed, in addition, extraordinary professor of criminal law. He promoted the introduction of the jury system into Austria. In 1861 he became a full professor at the university.

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WEST, MAE (1893–1980), U.S. actress, writer, and singer. Born Mary Jane West in Brooklyn, New York, to John P. West and Matilda Delker-Dolger, a German Jewish model and dressmaker, at seven West was winning talent shows. A year later she joined Hal Claredon's stock company in New York. By 1907, she was a vaudeville performer with Frank Wallace, whom she married in 1911 and separated from a few months later. In September 1911, West appeared on Broadway in *A la Broadway* and then in *Hello, Paris*. In 1912, she appeared in *A Winsome Widow* and developed a solo act later that year. In 1918, she starred in the comedy musical *Sometime*, followed by the musical revue *The Mimic World* (1921). In 1926, West wrote and starred in the play *Sex*, which drew the attention of censorship groups. After more than a year on stage, policed arrested West and the cast of *Sex* on obscenity charges; West served ten days in jail and paid a $500 fine, becoming a national celebrity. West became a success with such plays as *Diamond Lil* (1928), which featured the line, "Why don't you come up sometime and see me?"; *Pleasure Man* (1928); and *The Constant Sinner* (1931) (the latter two closed over censorship issues). West went to Hollywood in 1931, appearing in the film *Night After Night* (1932). She went on to write her next eight films, which included *She Done Him Wrong* (1933), based on *Diamond Lil*; *I'm no Angel* (1933), with Cary Grant; *Belle of the Nineties* (1934); *Goin' to Town* (1935); *Klondike Annie* (1936); *Go West Young Man* (1936); *Every Day's a Holiday* (1938); and *My Little Chickadee* (1940), which paired West with W.C. Fields. In 1942, Wallace returned to sue West for divorce and alimony; West made an undisclosed settlement. Her 1943 film *The Heat's On* did not fare well with critics, and West returned to Broadway with *Catherine Was Great* (1944). In 1948, West starred in the short-lived *Ring Twice Tonight*, which was followed with a revival of *Diamond Lil* (1948–51). West toured with the nightclub act Mae West and Her Adonises from 1954 to 1956, and released several albums of her songs, starting with *The Fabulous Mae West* (1955). She made an appearance on the television sitcom *Mister Ed* (1964) and an ill-fated return to the silver screen in the sex-change comedy *Myra Breckinridge* (1970) and *Sextette* (1978), an adaptation of her play *Sex*.

[Adam Wills (2nd ed.)]

WEST, NATHANAEL (pseudonym of **Nathan Wallenstein Weinstein**; 1903–1940), U.S. novelist. Widely regarded as one of the most distinguished American novelists of the 1930s, West was the son of Russian-Jewish immigrants who had settled in New York City, and a brother-in-law of the writer S.J. *Perelman. He began his first novel during his student days at Brown University. Later published as *The Dream Life of Balso Snell* (1931), this was a surrealistic fantasy dwelling on human corruption. It shows the influence of western European symbolists such as James Joyce and other modern experimental writers, particularly those of France. For six years, beginning in 1927, he was a hotel manager in New York. During that time he worked at developing a prose style marked by economy of diction, poetic richness, and psychological depth, and published his second novel, *Miss Lonelyhearts* (1933). Though it was his masterpiece, it was not a popular success. It depicted a once-cynical newspaper columnist dispensing compassion, love, and help to victims of personal or social failure. *A Cool Million* (1934) satirized American fascists veiling themselves in democratic values, myths, and history. From 1935 he worked in Hollywood, remaining there as a scriptwriter until his death in an automobile accident. His fourth novel, *The Day of the Locust* (1938), was a grim satire of American life set in Hollywood. West's achievement rested primarily upon his ability to portray the sordidness, violence, humor, and tragedy of American life. Self-rejection was epitomized in his change of name from Nathan Weinstein and was perhaps the cause of his virtually antisemitic ridicule of Jews and Jewishness in his novels. West was active in movements against Nazism, economic exploitation, and abridgment of democratic rights.

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[Brom Weber]

WESTCHESTER COUNTY, county in New York State. Located immediately north of New York City, and ranked 12th among American counties in per capita personal income, Westchester County is home to the eighth largest Jewish community in the nation, numbering 129,000 in 2002.

Established in 1683, the 500 square mile county was predominantly rural before the introduction of commuter railroads in the mid-19th century. Jews have lived in Westchester since colonial times. In the early 18th century the family of Jechiel Hays migrated from Holland. His sons and grandsons were farmers and shopkeepers in Rye, New Rochelle, Bedford, North Castle, and Pleasantville. The Hays family has preserved Jewish continuity in the county ever since, though some have maintained residences in both New York City and Westchester. Prominent figures were Daniel Peixotto *Hays (d. 1923), Democratic Party figure, Jewish communal activist, and second mayor of Pleasantville; and Arthur Hays *Sulzberger (d. 1968), publisher of the *New York Times*.

The Hays family was not typical; the Jewish population grew only after the eastern European migration of 1880–1924 that formed America's core Jewish population. Most of the immigrants were storekeepers and artisans living and working in cities and villages in the southern, eastern and western fringes of the county. They labored long hours to feed, clothe, and provide simple comforts for local residents and sustain their own large families. Some Jews ventured into the countryside as itinerant peddlers. A few owned and operated farms. Jewish communal life revolved around self-help organizations, kosher grocery and butcher shops, and 17 traditional synagogues. A smaller group of acculturated Jews owned large local businesses or commuted to work in New York City. Along with prospering Russian-born Jews, they established Reform synagogues in the southernmost cities of Yonkers, Mount Vernon, and New Rochelle.

In the 20th century, Westchester Jewry underwent three periods of rapid expansion. The first was the 1920s. A boom in cheap transportation facilitated commutation to Manhattan and the Bronx. When modestly priced automobiles, a new parkway system, and comfortable railroad cars made suburban living attractive, a Jewish middle class found its way to the county. The pattern of settlement was uneven. Jewish commuters and established local businessmen resided comfortably along the tree-lined streets of the southern tier cities and centrally located White Plains. Jewish developers sold Scarsdale lots to other Jews. Jews were not, however, welcome in the other "first class villages" of Bronxville, Rye, Larchmont, and Pelham Manor; nor were they wanted in sections of northern Westchester and some Hudson River villages.

Until the Great Depression Jewish-owned stores and factories brought prosperity to Westchester cities and villages. New wealth facilitated the formation of synagogues as well as the expansion of local communal institutions and chapters of the major Jewish organizations.

Some Jews, however, never made it to the middle class; they remained in low-income, low status occupations, toiling as milkmen, trolley conductors, prison guards, ferry operators, and junkmen, unable to accumulate enough capital to establish stable businesses.

A cohort of radical factory workers and storekeepers from New York City formed summer camps and colonies in northern Westchester. During the summer months they enjoyed fresh air, green grass, wholesome recreation, and endless political debates.

The second period of Westchester Jewry's rapid expansion was the post World War II era (1946–1970), when new social and political factors facilitated increased Jewish settlement. As a result of the increased openness in American society and new laws, heretofore-insurmountable barriers crumbled. After the federal government outlawed restrictive residence clauses in 1948, Jews purchased houses in villages along the Hudson River and Long Island Sound, as well as in developing sections of Mt. Vernon, Yonkers, New Rochelle, and White Plains. The Jewish concentration in Scarsdale swelled incrementally to form about a third of the population.

That antisemitism was not dead, however, is indicated by two phenomena, one far more disconcerting than the other. Country clubs, long the bastion of upper-class snobbery, remained closed to Jews (who formed 11 of their own). Much more serious were the Peekskill Riots. For several years a consortium of the summer camps and colonies invited bass-baritone Paul Robeson, a multi-talented African-American singer, actor, and political radical, to perform. After the Labor Day concert of 1949, local ruffians, screaming anti-black, anti-Communist and anti-Jewish epithets, pelted cars and buses exiting the grounds. Police looked on impassively while the rioters damaged vehicles, inflicting injuries upon the passengers.

Untouched by the Peekskill incident, many Jews welcomed new opportunities to live and work in the county. Teachers found positions heretofore denied them. Some Westchester-born college-educated sons (and later, daughters) returned from war and university to apply new technology and selling techniques to their fathers' businesses. Others preferred to practice law and medicine near home to commuting to New York.

During the immediate postwar period Jewish communal life flourished. People who had seldom attended religious services in the city joined synagogues when they moved to Westchester. They raised money to help Orthodox, Conservative and Reform congregations relocate existing institutions and construct new ones in villages where none had existed before. Premier architects Philip Johnson, Marcel Breuer, and Louis Kahn designed houses of worship in Port Chester, Scarsdale, and Chappaqua.

As the excitement of newness abated, economic and social circumstances again restructured the Westchester Jewish community. In the 1970s and 1980s embattled school systems, high taxes, and societal problems rendered the southernmost cities less desirable. Major synagogues in Yonkers and Mt. Vernon merged, relocated further north, or gave up the ghost. The second wave of feminism and inflated housing prices brought women into the workplace; consequently fewer devoted energy to congregational sisterhoods and Hadassah. As well, predominantly male Jewish organizations, such as the Jewish War Veterans and B'nai B'rith, no longer attracted newcomers. Remaining service, defense, and charitable organizations moved their headquarters to south-central Westchester – i.e., the area centered in White Plains, Scarsdale, and northern New Rochelle.

Change was also apparent in the business and professional profile of Westchester Jewry. While many Jews continued to commute to New York City, an ever-increasing minority worked closer to home. The professional staffs of area hospitals became disproportionately Jewish. Corporate chains slowly ground down the independent pharmacies, privately owned clothing stores, and dry goods emporia. The result was that few shops along the Main Streets of Port Chester and New Rochelle, for example, heavily Jewish in the early 20th century, remained under Jewish ownership. Consequently sons and daughters who returned to Westchester after college took over only those family businesses that were sizeable or cutting-edge. Otherwise, they found opportunity in the corporate parks and professional offices constructed all over the county.

The most recent Jewish influx began in the early 1990s. At a time when the population of American Jewry and New York Jewry remained static, Westchester Jewry experienced a 40% growth, from 91,000 in 1991 to 129,000 in 2002. Housing costs and lack of space in built-up areas moved the population northward. By 2005, northern Westchester matched south-central Westchester in Jewish population and affluence. A case in point is the fact that the Reform congregations of Chappaqua and Bedford nearly match the largest temples in Scarsdale and White Plains in size, beauty and membership.

Judaism in northern Westchester presents an uneven pattern. On the one hand Jewish religious practice is weaker in northern Westchester than in areas closer to New York City. More Jews in this area are married to non-Jews, and for many others, Judaism is a seasonal matter. In 2002 about three-quarters attended a *seder* and fasted on Yom Kippur, but only 16% lit Shabbat candles and 7% kept kosher. On the other hand, recent arrivals to northern Westchester have launched a number of new Jewish institutions. Pleasantville, home to the pioneering Hays family, but with a weak Jewish presence through most of the 20th century, now hosts the Richard J. Rosenthal JCC and the Pleasantville Community Synagogue. Newcomers have initiated Jewish study groups, havurot, and congregations in villages with no previous Jewish address. Most Northern Westchester synagogues identify as Reform, but with a decidedly independent streak. Publicity for The Jewish Family Congregation, South Salem, for example, boasts that it "practices Reform Judaism with a traditional flavor."

In the early 21st century, however, the core of Westchester Jewish life nevertheless remained in south-central Westchester. More Jews there than in other sections of the county observe Jewish rituals and attend synagogue on a regular basis, contribute to Jewish causes, visit Israel with some regularity, enroll their children in Jewish schools, and supply leadership for Jewish organizations in the county and New York City.

For all Westchester Jewry, there was a discernable Jewish profile. In 2002 Westchester Jews constituted 9% of Jewish households in the eight counties of the UJA/Federation of New York service area (New York City, Long Island and Westchester). Half (51%) belonged to synagogues, a considerable advance over the 43% regional total. Among Westchester Jews 42% identifed as Reform, 31% as Conservative and 9% as Orthodox, a deviation from the comprehensive New York profile, where the percentages are more balanced: 29%, 26% and 19% respectively. In a child-centered region, over half of the Jewish children are enrolled in supplementary schools connected to synagogues, while 31% attend four Jewish day schools and two high schools that follow Orthodox or Conservative models. A few adolescents travel to Jewish high schools in New York City.

Virtually all children in Jewish families attend college or university, and many do not return to Westchester. The future of Westchester Jewry depends upon opportunities in business and the professions and the continued appeal of life in New York and its environs.

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[Baila Round Shargel (2nd ed.)]

WESTERBORK, the main transit camp for Dutch Jewry during the German occupation of Holland. The camp, situated in an extremely isolated region in the northeast of the country, had been set up by the Dutch government in 1939 with a financial guarantee from Dutch Jewry, in order to shelter numerous Jewish refugees fleeing from Germany who crossed the Dutch frontiers illegally. The first group came on Oct. 9, 1939. The camp held some 750 refugees when, on July 1, 1942, the Germans took command, after extending it considerably. From that date, more than 100,000 Jews arrested throughout the country remained for several days or weeks in Westerbork, where they had to work before being deported to other camps, primarily Nazi death camps, as part of the "final solution of the Jewish problem" (see *Holocaust: General Survey). During this period the camp was continually overcrowded. On Oct. 2, 1942, 13,000 Jews were imprisoned in Westerbork in one single *Aktion*. Thousands of them had to sleep on the floor without mattresses or blankets. Food and sanitary conditions were deplorable. By September 1944, a total of 93 trains, consisting of 20 trucks and containing 1,000–2,000 Jews, left Westerbork. Jewish officials were in charge of the internal organization and held responsible for maintaining law and order among the internees. Of those deported 54,930 went to Auschwitz in 68 transports, and 34,313 to Sobibor on 19 transports; most of these prisoners were killed upon arrival. In addition, 4,771 went to Theresienstadt, which itself was a transit camp. Nine transports were sent to Bergen-Belsen with 3,762 inmates. A special Jewish police force was created for this purpose. The most important task of these Jewish officials was to determine the order in which Jewish families were to be deported. Most of the Jewish officials, including their president, had been selected from the German-Jewish refugees who constituted the older segment of the Westerbork population. This frequently gave rise to serious conflicts, especially between Dutch and German Jews. Westerbork had its own theater, where famous German artists who had fled to Holland gave performances, as well as an orchestra. An excellent hospital, with a capacity of 1,725 beds, had 120 surgeons, more than 1,000 employees, and a completely equipped operating theater, various clinics, a pharmacy, and laboratories. The camp also maintained various schools and a playground for children, workshops for the repair of clothes and shoe shops, a bathhouse, and a post office. At the end of the war, only 900 Jews remained in Westerbork when the Canadians liberated the camp. The German commander, A.K. Gemmeken, was sentenced by a Dutch court to 10 years' imprisonment. Among those deported from Westerbork on one of the last trains in September 1944 was Anne *Frank and her family.

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[Abel Jacob Herzberg / Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

WESTERN WALL (Heb. הַכֹּתֶל הַמַּעֲרָבִי), that section of the western supporting wall of the *Temple Mount which has remained intact since the destruction of the Second Temple (70 C.E.). It became the most hallowed spot in Jewish religious and national consciousness and tradition by virtue of its proximity to the Western Wall of the Holy of Holies in the Temple, from which, according to numerous sources, the Divine Presence never departed. It became a center for mourning over the destruction of the Temple and Israel's exile, on the one hand, and of religious – and in the 20th century also national – communion with the memory of Israel's former glory and the hope for its restoration, on the other. Because of the former association, it became known in European languages as the "Wailing Wall" (or similar appellations). Most of the Western Wall of the Temple Mount, which was about 1,580 ft. (485 m.) long, is hidden by the buildings adjoining it. The accessible portion of the Wall was (until June 1967) no longer than 91 ft. (28 m.) from the Maḥkama building garden on the north to the Prophet's Gate (Barclay's Gate below the Moghrabis' Gate) on the south. In front of it ran a stone-paved alley no wider than 10 ft. (3.3 m.) bordered on its west by a slum area, the Moghrabi Quarter, established in the 14th century. The Wall above ground consisted of 24 courses of stones of different types of dressing and decreasing in size and age, reaching a total height of 58 ft. (18 m.) with 19 ft. (6 m.) above the level of the Temple Mount. In Warren's work in the 19th century 19 more courses were detected buried underground, the lowest founded on the natural rock of the Tyropoeon Valley.

In 1968 the ground in front of the Wall was excavated to reveal two of the buried courses of stone, and the Wall as it exists today consists of eight courses of huge, marginally dressed ("Herodian") stones from the Second Temple period, above which are four layers of smaller, plainly dressed stones from the Moslem (Umayyad) period, eighth century. The upper stones were constructed from the Mamluk period and later. Jewish travelers since the Crusader period used to marvel at the immense dimensions of the lower stones – average height 3¼ ft. (1 m.), and length 10 ft. (3.3 m.), but some as long as 39 ft. (12 m.) and weighing over 100 tons – and believed (incorrectly) that they were part of Solomon's Temple. In order to withstand the pressure of the soil and debris fills situated behind the Wall, the courses of stone were laid with a slight batter, with each row being set back about two inches relative to the one beneath it. The Wall thus slants slightly eastward. This factor, the weight of the stones, and the accuracy of the cutting accounts for the unusual stability of the Wall.

In Jewish Tradition and History

Since 135 C.E. (the failure of the *Bar Kokhba revolt), the prayers of Israel both in Ereẓ Israel and throughout the Diaspora were directed toward the site of the destroyed Temple. The Temple itself as well as all the structures on the Temple Mount were completely effaced, and thus the walls, the only remnants of the Temple Mount, became endeared to the Jews. It cannot be determined with certainty from what point prayers were offered just at this particular section of the Western Wall. The Midrashim already refer to the general sanctity of the Western Wall of the Temple in the fourth century C.E., perhaps referring to the time of Julian the Apostate. They speak of "the Western Wall of the Temple" or of "the Western Gate," from which the Divine Presence never moves, which was not destroyed and never will be destroyed (Ex. R. 2:2; Num. R. 11:2, etc.). It seems probable, however, that the rabbis were referring to the Western Wall of the Holy of Holies and that its indestructibility is symbolic rather than actual, since that wall was in fact destroyed. The notion of the ever-present **Shekhinah* therefore became associated with the Western Wall (of the Temple Mount). An 11th-century source – referred to as the "prayer at the gates" document – is known from the Cairo **Genizah*, and according to it Jews conducted prayers next to the Western Wall not in the present location but farther north immediately opposite the Holy of Holies of the Jewish Temple, i.e., in the area in front of "Warren's Gate." In the 12th century *Benjamin of Tudela mentions Jews coming to the Western Wall for prayers and to the "Mercy Gate," but it is possible that the other walls to the south and east also served a similar purpose. Later visiting rabbis (12th–15th centuries) also refer to the walls of the Temple Mount, but they, too, are not site-specific in terms of a gathering spot for Jewish worship along the Western Wall. The Western Wall is not mentioned at all by *Naḥmanides (13th century) in his detailed account of the Temple site in 1267 nor in the report of *Estori ha-Parḥi (14th century). It does not figure even in descriptions of Jerusalem in Jewish sources of the 15th century (e.g., Meshullam of Volterra, *Obadiah of Bertinoro, etc.). The name Western Wall, used by Obadiah, refers – as can be inferred from the context – to the southwestern corner of the wall, and there is no hint that there was a place of Jewish worship there.

It is only from the 16th century that Jews began praying at the present location and this is clear from the available sources.

Thenceforth all literary sources describe it as a place of assembly and prayer for Jews. According to a tradition transmitted by Moses *Ḥagiz, it was the sultan Selim, the conqueror of Jerusalem, who recovered the Wall from underneath the dungheap which was hiding it and granted permission to the Jews to hold prayers there. No Muslim sources about Jerusalem bear any evidence of Arab interest in the Western Wall. The nearby area became Muslim religious property at least as early as in the 13th century, and from 1320 there is mention of the Moghrabi Quarter established there.

With the expansion of the Jewish population in Ereẓ Israel from the beginning of the 19th century onward, and with the increase in visitors, the popularity of the Western Wall grew among Jews. Its image began to appear in Jewish folkloristic art (upon ritual articles, seals, and title pages) and later also in modern art drawings (B. Shatz, J. Steinhardt, M. Chagall, and others). It also became a subject of literary creation. The 19th century also saw the beginning of the archaeological study of the Western Wall. In 1838 *Robinson discovered the arch since named after him, immediately south of the Western Wall, and in the 1850s J. Barclay investigated the lintel of an ancient gate (now in the corner of the women's section; see *Temple, The Second). In 1865 C.W. *Wilson described the arched structure previously discovered by Tobler in the 1830s. From 1867 Sir Charles *Warren sank shafts around the perimeter walls of the Temple Mount and was able to ascertain its full height on three sides. Excavations were conducted to the south of the Western Wall, beneath Robinson's Arch, to the southwest corner of the Temple Mount, as well as along the southern Temple Mount Wall, by B. Mazar from 1967 to 1978. More recently excavations were made beneath Robinson's Arch by R. Reich and Y. Bilig. To the north of the Western Wall, excavations were made along the Western Wall of the Temple Mount by the Ministry of Religious Affairs, and following that systematically by D. Bahat.

During the 19th century attempts were made on behalf of the Jewish community in connection with the Wall. In the 1850s Ḥakham Abdullah of Bombay failed in his efforts to buy the Wall. Sir Moses Montefiore tried in vain to obtain permission for placing benches or for installing a protection against rain there. Permission to pave the street was, however, granted. Occasionally a table for the reading of the Torah was placed near the Wall, but had to be soon removed at the demands of the Muslim religious authorities. In 1887 Baron Rothschild offered to buy the whole Moghrabi Quarter, and have it demolished. He proposed to the government that for the funds received the Waqf should obtain other lands and resettle there the residents evacuated from the Moghrabi Quarter. Although negotiations reached an advanced stage the plan never materialized for reasons not properly clarified to the present day. It is probable that objections were raised not only on the part of the Waqf, but also on the part of the rabbis and communal leaders of the Sephardi community on whose full cooperation Rothschild made conditional his handling of this delicate matter. It appears that certain rabbis observed that the conditions laid down for the designated Jewish sacred trust (*hekdesh*) would convert the area into a public domain (*reshut ha-rabbim*) with regard to carrying on the Sabbath and thus create halakhic difficulties. In addition interests and counter-interests among the trustees of the various Sephardi sacred trusts foiled the plan.

Shortly before World War I, a further attempt to purchase the surroundings of the Western Wall was made by the Anglo-Palestine Bank. These negotiations were interrupted by the outbreak of the war. In 1912 the Turkish authorities ordered the removal of a partition between men and women, benches, a glass cupboard for candles, a table for reading the Torah, etc., about the introduction of which the Waqf had complained.

After the Balfour Declaration and the British Mandate had given the Jews a recognized national status in Ereẓ Israel, they began to add national significance to the traditional religious significance of the Western Wall. The Arab mufti incited his community against the Zionists (who, he claimed, intended to seize control of the Wall) by proclaiming it a sacred Muslim site which he named after the legendary horse "Al-Burak," upon which Mohammed is supposed to have ridden to Jerusalem and which he allegedly tied to this wall during his visit. Many intercommunal conflicts about the Western Wall occurred in the 1920s. In order to antagonize the Jews the mufti ordered the opening of a gate at the southern end of the street thus converting it into a thoroughfare for passersby and animals. In addition the Muslims deliberately held loud-voiced ceremonies in the vicinity. They also complained again about the placing of accessories of worship near the Wall, and a partition (between men and women) was forcibly removed – by the British police – on the Day of Atonement 1928. In August 1929 an instigated Muslim crowd rioted among the worshipers and destroyed ritual objects and, following the excitement and unrest this created, murderous riots broke out a few days later.

The British set up a committee of inquiry and consequently an international committee (consisting of a Swede, a Swiss, and a Dutchman) was appointed by the League of Nations to resolve "the problem of the Wall." Although this committee ascertained that the place was indeed holy to Jews well before the time of Saladin (i.e., 1187), this was most likely a reference to the holiness of the Temple Mount as a whole, with no clear chronological data as to the origins of the worship at the Western Wall being available to them. The committee met in Jerusalem, in the summer of 1930, and the results of "the trial of the Wall," as it became known, were as follows:

(a) the Muslims had absolute ownership of the Wall;

(b) the Jews had the uncontested right to worship and to place seats in the street;

(c) the Jews were not to blow the *shofar* there.

The Arabs objected. The Jews accepted, except for the prohibition to blow the *shofar*, which was considered a searing humiliation. Indeed, each year nationalist youths would blow the *shofar* near the Wall at the termination of the Day of Atonement, which would always lead to the intervention of the British police.

From December 1947, after bloody incidents with the Arabs, Jews were no longer able to approach the Western Wall, and after the capitulation of the Jewish Quarter (of the Old City) in May 1948, Jews were prevented for 19 years from even looking at the Wall from afar. The paragraph in the cease-fire agreement granting freedom of access to the holy places was not kept by the Jordanians.

The Wall was liberated on the third day of the Six-Day War (June 7, 1967) by Israel's parachutists breaking through the "bloody gate," which the mufti had opened. The Moghrabi Quarter was immediately demolished and on the first day of Shavuot, one-quarter of a million Jews swarmed to the place. Subsequently the buildings placed against the Wall in its continuation southward were removed. The entire cleared area in front of the Western Wall was leveled and converted into a large paved open space. The lower square near the Wall is the prayer area, where one may find people praying or studying, either singly or in groups, day and night throughout the year. Since the liberation of the Wall, it has hosted national events and ceremonies, such as bar mitzvahs, the swearing in of new IDF troops, and memorial and religious services with the attendance of government officials. Under Israeli administration, the excavations made by Warren in 1867, north of the Wall beneath the Muslim structures, were renewed and extended, uncovering the continuation of the Wall northward beyond Wilson's bridge. To the south, too, archaeological excavations progressively revealed the impressive extent of the Wall. One of the main findings of the excavations was the Wall's tunnel, 488 meters in length. The tunnel passes near the foundations of the Western Wall of the Temple Mount and is considered the closest point to the Holy of Holies (*Kodesh ha-Kodashim*). Inside the tunnel is located the Warren Gate, one of the gates to the Temple which were closed by the Muslim Waqf. The tunnel was opened to the public in 1996 by order of Binyamin *Netanyahu, then Israel's prime minister. It led to violent clashes between Palestinians and Israeli police and soldiers which cost the lives of 15 Israelis and numerous Palestinians. Another site in the Wall complex is the archeological garden, located south of the Wall and consisting of remains of Jerusalem from the Second Temple period, mainly *mikva'ot* (see **mikveh*). In addition, there is a Herodian commercial street, with the remains of shops, which led visitors towards the Temple Mount. At the southern edge of the Wall a pile of hewn stones bears witness to the destruction of the Temple. Among the stones, archeologists have found a special one chiseled on five sides. The inscription led them to believe that it was the one used by the priest to announce the beginning of the Sabbath to the people of Jerusalem. Near the archeological garden is the Davidson Center, a glass building with four underground floors where exhibits from the Second Temple and Byzantine periods are on display.

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[Jacob Auerbach / Dan Bahat and Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

°**WESTERWEEL, JOHAN** ("**Joop**"; 1899–1944), Dutch educator and Righteous Among the Nations. Born in Zutphen, the Netherlands, to parents belonging to the Darbyite Church, also known as the Plymouth Brethren, Johan (better known as Joop) Westerweel attended a denominational teachers college and developed a personal philosophy that combined elements of socialism with his own version of evangelical Christianity. His first teaching job was in the Dutch East Indies (today Indonesia), but he was soon in trouble for protesting the exploitation of the native population by the Dutch masters. When he refused to report for compulsory military training because of his pacifistic beliefs, he was expelled from the colony. Returning home, he joined the teaching faculty of a school, and later became principal of a Montessori school in Rotterdam. It was there, some while later, that he first came into contact with Jewish refugees from Germany and learned about the plight of the Jews under Hitler. Thus came about his contact with the Dutch branch of *He-Ḥalutz, an organization that prepared young people for a life of pioneering and agricultural work in Palestine and which had a training farm in Loosdrecht, near Amsterdam. In August 1942, when the 50-or-so trainees and instructors at the farm learned that they were slated for deportation within a few weeks, the group's leaders, Menachem Pinkhof and Joachim ("Shushu") Simon, turned to Westerweel for help; he had already temporarily hidden several Jews in his home. After listening attentively to their plans to help build a new society in Palestine, though opposed to nationalism in any form, he was impressed by their idealism and concluded that he had at least found a cause worthy of his fundamentalist piety, combined with his faith in socialism and his contempt for the Nazis. Immediately swinging into action, Westerweel set in motion a far-ranging plan to temporarily hide the farm's staff and students with friendly gentile families, assisted by trustworthy persons since then known as the Westerweel group, and then gradually move them to neutral Spain, whence they would proceed to Ereẓ Israel. To get to Spain meant traveling hundreds of miles across German-occupied Belgium and France, armed with forged papers. Westerweel organized and personally directed virtually every aspect of this operation, aided by his wife, Wilhelmina, and about a dozen underground activists, escorting most of the escapees all the way from the Netherlands to the Franco-Spanish border on the peak of the Pyrenées mountains. One of them recalled his parting words one freezing afternoon in 1944 high up in the mountains. "You are on the threshold of freedom. Soon you will arise in the land of freedom and will fulfill your goal of building Ereẓ Israel as a homeland for the world's Jews. I wish each of you happiness and good luck, but do not forget your comrades who fell along the road and by sacrificing their lives paved the way for your journey to freedom.… Remember the world's suffering, and build your land in such a way that it justifies its existence by providing freedom for all its inhabitants and abandoning war." Not long afterward, on March 11, 1944, he was arrested by the Germans at a Dutch-Belgium border-crossing point; Wilhelmina had already previously been arrested and confined to the Vught concentration camp. Brutally tortured, Joop refused to divulge the names of his associates. He was executed on August 11, 1944, just a few days after an attempt to rescue him ended in failure. He had once told his Jewish associates, "You're wrong in thinking I am helping you because you are Jewish. Even if you were blacks or Hottentots, no matter what, I would help you in the name of justice, for you are in need." While awaiting execution, Joop Westerweel penned a farewell message to his Jewish friends. It reads in part: "There they are … all my comrades, standing side by side with me; together we have advanced along this road to confront the enemy.… Whether I die or live is now all the same to me. A great light has dawned within me, enriching me. It is time for silent thoughts. The night is dark and long. But I am fully aglow from the splendor within me." His wife, Wilhelmina, was dispatched to Ravensbrueck concentration camp and luckily survived. The couple's four children were in hiding with friends. In 1963, Yad Vashem awarded Joop and Wilhelmina Westerweel the title of Righteous Among the Nations.

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[Mordecai Paldiel (2nd ed.)]

WESTHEIMER, FRANK HENRY (1912–), U.S. organic chemist. He was born in Baltimore, Maryland, and educated at Dartmouth College and Harvard University, where he received his M.A. and Ph.D. He was National Research Fellow at Columbia University (1935–36) before joining the department of chemistry at the University of Chicago (1936–1954) where he became professor (1948). During this period he supervised the National Development Research Council's Explosives Research Laboratory (1944–45). He was Morris Loeb Professor of Chemistry at Harvard (1954–83) after which he became professor emeritus. Westheimer was among the first chemists to apply physical techniques to analyzing biochemical reactions, and he made outstanding contributions to understanding the molecular mechanics of reactions involving phosphate esters, biphenyls, and beta-keto acids. He was a renowned teacher with a great interest in chemistry education; the Westheimer Report (1965) was the first to assess its relevance to U.S. public affairs. His many honors include the Cope Award (1982), the National Medal of Science (1986), the Priestley Medal (1988), and the Willard Gibbs Medal (2003). He was a foreign member of the Royal Society of London and was a member of the President's Science Advisory Committee (1967–70).

[Michael Denman (2nd ed.)]

WESTHEIMER, RUTH (1928–), sexologist and broadcaster. Born Karola Ruth Siegel to an affluent family in Frankfurt, Germany, she was sent to boarding school in Switzerland while her parents attempted to arrange passage for the rest of the family out of Nazi Germany. She was never to see them again; it is probable that they died in Auschwitz.

A staunch Zionist, she immigrated to Palestine at age 16, where she joined the Haganah and learned Hebrew. She moved to Paris in 1950, where she earned a degree in psychology from the Sorbonne. Moving to the U.S. in 1956, she received her doctorate in education from Columbia University in 1970.

Westheimer became familiar to millions of radio and TV viewers and listeners as Dr. Ruth, dispensing frank, unambiguous, commonsensical advice on sexual matters in a thickly European-accented English to callers. She received her initial break in the media in 1980 when WYNY-FM, a New York City radio station, gave her a late-night slot for her show *Sexually Speaking*. By 1983 it was the top-rated radio show in New York City and cleared the way for her to move into television with the widely syndicated *The Dr. Ruth Show* (1984–91). She also hosted the TV talk show *What's Up, Dr. Ruth?* (1989–90). From 2000 she appeared as Dr. Ruth Wordheimer in the educational/fantasy TV series *Between the Lions* on PBS. She also had a syndicated newspaper column called "Ask Dr. Ruth."

Advocating good sex in the context of loving relationships, Dr. Ruth also used books to spread her message. Her many publications include *Dr. Ruth's Guide to Good Sex* (1983); *Dr. Ruth's Guide to Married Lovers* (1986); an autobiography, *All in a Lifetime* (1987); *Sex and Morality* (1991); *Dr. Ruth's Guide to Safer Sex* (1992); *The Art of Arousal* (1993); *Dr. Ruth's Encyclopedia of Sex* (1994); *Sex for Dummies* (1995); *Heavenly Sex: Sexuality in the Jewish Tradition* (with J. Mark, 1995); *The Value of a Family* (with B. Yagoda, 1996); *Grandparenthood* (1998); *Pregnancy Guide for Couples* (with A. Grunebaum, 1999); *Power: The Ultimate Aphrodisiac* (2001); *Romance for Dummies* (2002); and *Human Sexuality* (with S. Lopater, 2002).

She maintained ties with Israel, visiting frequently and cooperating in joint projects with Israeli academics and publishers. In that sphere, she wrote *Surviving Salvation: The Ethiopian Jewish Family in Transition* (1993).

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[Rohan Saxena and Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

WESTPHALIA, region in Germany. During the Middle Ages Jews lived not only in the duchy of Westphalia but also in many of the bishoprics, cities, and earldoms of the region known as Westphalia. Jews were present in most areas by the beginning of the 13th century; many came from *Cologne, where a flourishing community existed at the end of the 12th century. They generally settled in small numbers; the first organized communities existed in *Muenster, *Minden, and *Dortmund, where Archbishop Conrad of Cologne granted the Jews a charter of privileges in 1250. Until the middle of the 14th century, they were under the jurisdiction of the country nobles. Later, with the strengthening of the towns, the Jews were placed under the municipal jurisdiction, and the number permitted to settle was limited. They earned their livelihood primarily by moneylending. The Jews of Westphalia were victims of the *Black Death persecutions in 1348–49, but during the second half of the 14th century they returned to the towns from which they had fled or had been expelled. Despite local expulsions, Jewish settlement continued in Westphalia. In the latter part of the 17th century, as well as in the 18th century, Jewish autonomy was severely restricted by governmental control and regulation. Nevertheless, the number of Jews increased. They were engaged not only in moneylending but also as merchants in gold, silver, cloth, and livestock.

The establishment of the Kingdom of Westphalia by Napoleon in 1807 brought a dramatic change in the status of the Jews. The Napoleonic kingdom was located to the west of Westphalia and was made up of portions of Hanover, Hesse, and other states. On January 27, 1808, the Jews were granted civic rights and – as the first Jews of Germany – could settle throughout the kingdom, engage in the profession of their choice, and had total freedom of commerce. After a few months, a *consistory was founded using the French institution as a prototype, and existed from 1808 to 1813 in the capital, *Kassel. Its president was Israel Jacobson, financial adviser to King Jerome Bonaparte, assisted by rabbis Loeb Mayer Berlin (1738–1814), Simon Kalkar (1754–1812), and Mendel Sternhardt (1768–1825). Also participating in the work of the consistory were two scholars, David Fraenkel (1779–1865), publisher of *Sulamit*, and Jeremiah *Heinemann (1778–1855). The secretary was S. Markel, the attorney for the municipal council of Kassel. Its task was the supervision of all Jewish activities in Westphalia. Innovations in the religious service were introduced that aroused considerable controversy, and new schools were formed, including a seminary in Kassel for the training of teachers and rabbis in 1810. Of particular interest was the experimental school in Kassel that combined secular and Jewish studies. Westphalia was divided into seven districts, each with its rabbi and his assistant. Jews were compelled to choose family names. Many were attracted by the liberal policies of the kingdom, and by 1810 the number of Jews had risen to 19,039. In 1813, however, the kingdom was abolished, and with it the consistory was dissolved.

Parts of the region known as Westphalia were included in the Prussian province of Westphalia in 1816, and the status of the Jews became similar to that of their coreligionists of Prussia. Together with them, they gradually obtained their *emancipation between 1847 and 1867. In 1881 an organization of Westphalian communities was formed. The notorious antisemite Adolf *Stoecker was active in Westphalia at the end of the 19th century. The Jewish population of Westphalia numbered 21,595 in 1932 (0.45% of the total). The principal communities were *Gelsenkirchen (population 1,440); Muenster (600); *Bielefeld (860); *Bochum (1,152); Dortmund (3,820); and *Hagen (650).

The rise of Nazism led to considerable Jewish emigration from Westphalia, as well as intensive adult education efforts on the part of the Jewish community. Many synagogues were destroyed in November 1938, and mass deportations emptied Westphalia of its Jews by 1941.

The community was renewed after the war, and a number of synagogues rebuilt. In 1946 Westphalia became a part of the modern federal state of North Rhine-Westphalia. There were 924 Jews living there in 1970. In 1989 the nine Jewish communities in Westphalia numbered 745. In 2004 there were ten communities with 7,204 members. The biggest communities are Dortmund (3,409); Bochum (1,147); and Muenster (753). This remarkable increase of membership is explained by the immigration of Jews from the former Soviet Union after 1990. In 1992 the Jewish museum of Westphalia was opened in the small town of Dorsten.

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[Zvi Avneri / Larissa Daemmig (2nd ed.)]

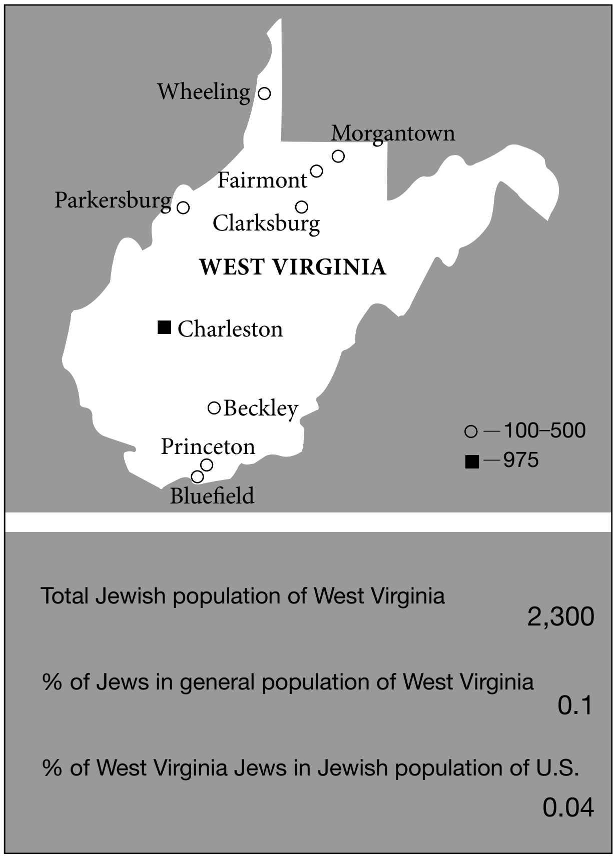
Wheeling
Morgantown
Fairmont
Parkersburg
Clarksburg
WEST VIRGINIA
Charleston
Beckley
Princeton
Bluefield
○ —100–500
■ —975
Total Jewish population of West Virginia
2,300
% of Jews in general population of West Virginia
0.1
% of West Virginia Jews in Jewish population of U.S.
0.04

Jewish communities in West Virginia. Population figures for 2001.

WEST VIRGINIA, state in the E. Central section of the U.S. Coal mining has been the predominant industry, but with automation the number of coal miners has declined and there has been some migration out of the state. The Jewish population has also declined. From a reported high in 1956 of 6,000, the Jewish population fell to 4,755 in 1967 and, in 2001, 2,300 out of the total population of 1,808,000. The 2001 figures for the major Jewish communities were Beckley, 120; Bluefield-Princeton, 200; Charleston, 975; Clarksburg, 110; Fairmont, 140; Morgantown 200; Parkersburg, 110; and Wheeling, 290. Jewish life in the state has been largely a coextension of the religious organization. The first congregation, Leshem Shomayim, was formed in Wheeling in 1849; Charleston's B'nai Israel was formed in 1873. West Virginia's congregations, their numbers permitting, have always tried to maintain rabbinical leadership on a regular basis. The smaller congregations, unable to do so, have, especially in the southern part of the state, welcomed Reform student rabbis. Over a period of two or three decades more than 60 such rabbis served the smaller communities.

In addition to the congregations themselves, there are congregational women's organizations in most of the communities and congregational men's organizations in a few. Both the Zionist Organization and Hadassah are represented in five of the communities. The National Council of Jewish Women has a chapter only in Charleston. Fund-raising is conducted by a Federated Jewish Charities organization in Charleston, Huntington, and Bluefield-Princeton; in Wheeling it is conducted under the auspices of a Jewish community council. In the last few years there has been a considerable influx of Jewish students from the northern cities. Morris Harvey College in Charleston has roughly 300 Jewish students; Marshall University in Huntington, 65; and West Virginia University in Morgantown, 300. The state university has a Hillel Foundation which was directed by Rabbi Herbert J. Wilner, who also served as spiritual leader of Morgantown's Congregation Tree of Life. Jews have always taken a vigorous part in public affairs. In 1957–58, Harold L. Frankel served as mayor of Huntington. Serving in the West Virginia House of Delegates (lower division of the state legislature) in the early 1970s were Ivor F. Boiarsky, Simon H. Galperin, Jr., and Leo G. Kopelman. Paul J. Kaufman was a member of the Senate. Fred H. Caplan was a member of the five-man Supreme Court of Appeals. Others serving in the previous decade in the House of Delegates were David A. Abrams, David M. Baker, Stanley E. Deutsch, and Fred H. Caplan. Rabbis, too, have been prominently involved in state affairs. Rabbi Martin Siegel of Wheeling was chairman of the West Virginia Arts and Humanities Council; Rabbi Samuel Cooper, from 1932 rabbi of Charleston's B'nai Jacob Congregation, was chairman of the West Virginia Human Rights Commission. Rabbi Samuel Volkman, rabbi of Charleston's B'nai Israel Congregation from 1952 and regional director of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations from 1957 to 1959, served as a member of the West Virginia Advisory Committee to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights.

[Samuel Volkman]

There were two synagogues in Charlestown, a traditional congregation with an Orthodox rabbi and a Reform Congregation. There was a Conservative Synagogue in Clarksburg and a joint Conservative/Reform Congregation in Huntington. There were Reform Synagogues in Logan, Martinsburg, Parkersburg, Welsch, Wheeling, and Williamson

BIBLIOGRAPHY: A.I. Shinedling, *West Virginia Jewry: Origins and History, 1850–1958*, 3 vols. (1963).

°**WETTE, DE, WILHELM MARTIN LEBERECHT** (1780–1849), German biblical scholar and theologian; born at Ulla, near Weimar, and died in Basle. De Wette came from a family of Protestant clerics of Dutch origin. He was appointed privatdocent in theology at the University of Jena in 1805. From 1807 to 1810 he was professor of biblical exegesis at Heidelberg. At *Schleiermacher's suggestion he was invited to join the newly established faculty of theology in Berlin, but his liberal views caused his dismissal in 1819. He returned to Weimar and stayed there until he was offered the post of professor of ethics and theology at Basle in 1822. This marked the beginning of the second phase of his scholarly activity, during which he became more and more conservative in his views, thereby arousing the antagonism of the rationalists, to whom he had himself previously belonged.

In his lifetime, de Wette was one of the most renowned theologians and religious scholars. In Bible criticism, his main contributions are to be found in his early writings – his dissertation on Deuteronomy, written in Latin (*Dissertatio critico-exegetica, qua Deuteronomium a prioribus Pentateuchi libris diversum* …, 1805) and his book *Beitraege zur Einleitung in das Alte Testament* (2 vols., 1806–07). As against the "fragments" hypothesis prevailing at the time, he maintained the unity of the Book of Deuteronomy and pointed out its unique qualities, both in form and contents. It was he who linked Deuteronomy to the reform introduced by *Josiah (II Kings 22–23), concluding that the book had been composed in that period. He also asserted that the Former Prophets were edited by the Deuteronomistic school, and deprecated the historical reliability of the books of Chronicles. These conclusions eventually became cornerstones of modern biblical scholarship and established de Wette as one of the great biblical scholars of the 19th century. Another noteworthy work of de Wette in the field of biblical criticism was his *Commentar ueber die Psalmen* (1811, 1836^4) which betrays J.G. Herder's influence, stressing as it does the aesthetic aspect of the text. This was also the first attempt to classify the Psalms on the basis of literary genres, a method subsequently developed by Hermann *Gunkel. De Wette's German translation of the Bible (1809–11), including the Apocrypha, is distinguished by its strict adherence to the original, sometimes to the extent of sacrificing the fluency of the translations.

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[Menahem Haran]

WETTSTEIN, FEIVEL HIRSCH (1858–1924), Polish historian. Wettstein spent his whole life in his native Cracow, where he owned a bookstore. Through the influence of his teacher, Ḥayyim Nathan *Dembitzer, and while still young, he began to study the history of the Jews in Poland, especially in Cracow, from material available in old responsa and in the minute books and archives of communities and societies. His monographs (published in various periodicals) illuminated obscure periods in the history of the Jews of Poland and served as valuable sources for historians of Polish Jewry such as Meir *Balaban and others. Wettstein's studies are distinguished by careful scholarship and the avoidance of unfounded conjectures.

His works include *Kadmoniyyot mi-Pinkesa'ot Yeshanim le-Korot Yisrael be-Polin bi-Khelal u-vi-Cracow bi-Ferat* (1892); a biography, *Le-Toledot S.J. Rapaport* (1900); *Devarim Attikim mi-Pinkesei ha-Kahal bi-Cracow* (1901); and *Le-Korot ha-Yehudim be-Polin u-ve-Yiḥud bi-Cracow* … (1918).

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[Gedalyah Elkoshi]

WETZLAR, city near Koblenz, Germany. Evidence for the presence of Jews in Wetzlar dates from after 1250, but Jews probably settled there as early as 1200. Although in 1265 Archbishop Werner of Mainz promised to protect the Jews of Wetzlar, toward the end of the century they were among those Jews accompanying R. *Meir b. Baruch of Rothenburg in his attempted emigration from Germany. A *Judengasse* (see *Jewish Quarter) in Wetzlar dates from 1292; a synagogue was established by 1318. Both Jews and Christians acted as moneylenders in the city, lending a considerable sum to Emperor Louis IV in 1347. In 1349 the *Black Death persecutions brought an end to the community, but by 1360 Jews were once more residing in the city. In 1382 King *Wenceslaus extended the privilege of admitting Jews to the municipal council of Wetzlar. There were 20 Jews in the city in 1385 and 30 in 1442. In 1524 the municipal authorities sought to regulate *kasher* slaughtering, and in 1544 they unsuccessfully attempted to expel the entire Jewish community. By 1546 there were 50 Jews in Wetzlar. They were all expelled in 1598, but by 1604 some had returned, their number growing to 80 by 1625. A cemetery was consecrated in 1626; until then burial had taken place in Frankfurt. In the second half of the 16th century Isaac Levita, a Jew born in Wetzlar, was appointed to teach at the University of Cologne after he had converted to Protestantism. Also of prominence during the period were R. Joel of Wetzlar (d. 1698) and R. Solomon b. Simeon Wetzlar, author of *Ḥakirot ha-Lev* (Amsterdam, 1731).

The 18th century brought with it a significant rise in Jewish economic activity. Around 1735 Leib Wetzlar was a known business associate of Joseph Suess *Oppenheimer, and Abraham Wetzlar (1715–1799) became a financier of the imperial court. Although the population was legally limited to 12 families of **Schutzjuden* for most of the 18th century, in actuality 18 to 20 families, comprising some 100 persons, lived in Wetzlar during that time. In 1756 a synagogue was dedicated by the Jewish community. Some amelioration of discriminatory practices against Jews was brought about by Napoleonic reforms, beginning in 1803, but a reaction to this followed again after Wetzlar's incorporation into Prussia in 1815. By 1823 there were 101 Jews in the city. In 1880 there were 210; and in 1933 there were 132. Although the community supported a religious school, it considered itself under the jurisdiction of the rabbinate of Marburg. It maintained a synagogue, a cemetery, and a philanthropic organization. During the Holocaust, 41 Jews from the district emigrated and 68 perished.

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[Alexander Shapiro]

WETZLAR VON PLANKENSTERN, aristocratic Austrian family. The first identifiable member of the family was AMSCHEL WETZLAR of Frankfurt (d. 1605?); one of his descendants moved to Offenbach where ABRAHAM WETZLAR (c. 1714–1799) was born. During the Seven Years' War (1756–63) Abraham became an army contractor for Austria and amassed a large fortune. In 1763 he received the title of court agent and six years later obtained permission (together with Isaac *Arnstein) to live among the Christians of Vienna (other distinguished Jews received this privilege only in 1782). On Feb. 17, 1776, he converted to Catholicism and adopted the name Karl from his godfather, Count Pálffy. Shortly thereafter he addressed an obsequious letter to the emperor, enumerating his services to the state, and requesting to be elevated to the nobility with the title of imperial counselor, the one sign of favor from which he had been excluded by his former religion. His request was granted by Joseph *II who remarked: "Since part of his family is already baptized and the rest will soon follow, I agree to the requested ennoblement." During the next three years his ten children were all baptized and received the title von Plankenstern; only LEONORE (1732–1813), his wife, remained true to her religion, unsuccessfully opposing the apostasy of her family. Karl Abraham, determined to become the equal of his fellow noblemen, was accepted into the ranks of the aristocracy and was invested with the estates he had acquired in Lower Austria.

Karl Abraham's daughters married into respected aristocratic families, as did his four sons. The latter did not possess their father's business acumen and the family fortunes gradually declined. All his grandsons entered the army or navy. His son RAYMUND (1752–1810) married Joanna Theresia von Picquigny (1749–1793), herself a daughter of a recently converted French army supplier. Raymund, a music lover, was Mozart's landlord, patron, and godfather to his eldest child. Other distinguished descendants were IGNAZ (1787–1841), who married into the Arnstein family and received Austria's highest military decoration in 1815; HEINRICH ADOLF (1813–60), who joined the Ottoman army and became a Muslim; GUSTAV (1813–1881), who attained the rank of field marshal-lieutenant; and KARL VON BEMBRUNN, who became an actor in 1810 after being captured by the French and forced to swear not to fight against them. He appeared on the stage under the pseudonym Carl Carl, much to the displeasure of his former comrades.

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WEXLER, HARRY (1911–1962), U.S. meteorologist. Born in Fall River, Mass., Wexler entered the Federal Weather Bureau in 1934 and was appointed head of the research section of its scientific services in 1946. From 1955 until his death, he was research director of the Weather Bureau and was also chief scientist in the U.S. Antarctic Expedition during the Third International Geophysical Year, of which he was one of the main organizers. One of Wexler's important published contributions dealt with the high concentration of ozone in the Antarctic atmosphere. He advanced a theory which shed light on the mechanism of air circulation at the South Pole and stressed the importance of ozone as a trace element. He studied volcanic dust and its influence on the world's climate and climatic variations and on the expansion of storms in the upper atmosphere.

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[Dov Ashbel]

WEXLER, ROBERT D. (1951–), U.S. educator. Wexler was born in Los Angeles in 1951 and received his early Jewish education at Wilshire Boulevard Temple, a Reform congregation. He was introduced to traditional Judaism when he attended a local Orthodox summer camp, where he met his future wife, Hannah Goldhaar, and became profoundly influenced by her family, who were Holocaust survivors and deeply committed to Zionism.

While attending UCLA as an undergraduate, Wexler began taking classes at the Los Angeles branch of the Hebrew Union College (HUC), with the intention of becoming a Reform rabbi. But he was increasingly drawn to a more observant life style and a more traditional theology, and in 1969 he left HUC and enrolled part-time at the University of Judaism (UJ).

After receiving his B.A. in sociology in 1971, he enrolled full-time at the UJ's new pre-rabbinic program, and later spent three years in the rabbinical school of the Jewish Theological Seminary in New York, where he was ordained in 1977. In order to prepare himself for possible future immigration to Israel, Wexler spent those same three years in New York earning an M.B.A. degree from Baruch College of the City University of New York. Wexler also taught at JTS's Prozdor High School. Before returning to Los Angeles in 1978, he spent a year on the faculty of Princeton University in the Department of Near Eastern Languages.

At the invitation of then-president David Lieber, Wexler was invited to join the faculty of the University of Judaism in 1978. Wexler also enrolled in a doctoral program at UCLA, where he received both an M.A. and Ph.D. from the Department of Near Eastern Languages. At the University of Judaism, Wexler filled a variety of administrative positions before succeeding David Lieber as president in 1992.

Wexler became an adherent of the social philosophy of Mordecai Kaplan and the concept of Judaism as a civilization. Recognizing the growing trend away from denominationalism, Wexler quickly steered the UJ toward a nondenominational position within the Jewish mainstream.

During the first decade of his presidency, Wexler launched three major initiatives: the Ziegler School for Rabbinic Studies, the Center for Israel Studies, and the Ziering Institute. In 1995 he founded at the UJ the Ziegler School of Rabbinical Studies, which was the first American rabbinical school in the western United States.

The Center for Israel Studies was created in response to Wexler's growing conviction that American Jews needed to be educated more fully about the history, politics, and culture of the modern state of Israel. In 2001 the UJ inaugurated a lecture series at the Universal Amphitheater, which has been attended by over 5,000 people annually. Serving as moderator of the series, Wexler gained a reputation for his interviews with national political figures, such as former U.S. president Bill Clinton, former Israeli prime ministers Ehud Barak and Shimon Peres, and former U.S. secretaries of state, Henry Kissinger and Madeleine Albright.

In addition to his work at the University of Judaism, Wexler served in a variety of community leadership roles. He chaired the Los Angeles Federation's Commission on Israelis and the Committee on Jewish Education.

[Iris Waskow (2nd ed.)]

WEXLER, WILLIAM ABE (1913–2000), U.S. communal leader. Wexler, born in Toledo, Ohio, was an optometrist practicing in Savannah, Georgia, from 1938. He served a term as alderman in Savannah in 1946–47. He first took on a national leadership position as chairman of the United Jewish Appeal from 1951 to 1956 and led the Israel Bond drive from 1957 to 1963. Wexler was president of B'nai B'rith from 1965 until 1971. Under his aegis B'nai B'rith maintained an action policy that encouraged participation by young people through Hillel Foundations and the Young Adult groups, despite turbulence and disaffection among students; solidified the Jewish community's efforts to support Israel, through B'nai B'rith and through the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations, which Wexler chaired from 1968 to 1972; and aided in the campaign in support of Soviet Jewry. In 1971 he succeeded Nahum *Goldmann as president of the *World Conference of Jewish Organizations.

WEXNER, LESLIE H. (1937–), U.S. entrepreneur, civic leader, and philanthropist. Born in Dayton, Ohio, Wexner moved to Columbus, Ohio, when he was a teenager. After graduating from Ohio State University, he worked briefly in his father's clothing shop. In 1963 his own merchandising career began when he borrowed $5000 from an aunt and opened the first "The Limited" store in Columbus, Ohio. "The Limited" (now "Limited Brands") has grown to encompass thousands of stores throughout the United States, but Wexner's corporate headquarters and home remain in Columbus. In recent assessments by *Forbes* magazine, his wealth has been estimated at $2.6 billion.

The Wexner Foundation and the Wexner Heritage Foundation (now part of The Wexner Foundation) were established by Wexner in 1984. The Wexner Heritage program was designed to provide young American Jewish lay leaders with a two-year intensive Jewish learning program, thus deepening their understanding of Jewish history, values, and texts and enriching their leadership skills. By the end of 2005, approximately 1,500 North American Jewish leaders from 31 cities had participated in the program.

In 1988 The Wexner Foundation introduced a Fellowship Program for outstanding rabbinical students and graduate students in Jewish education and Jewish communal service programs. The same year the foundation established a grants program for academic institutions of all types to build and improve training programs for Jewish community professionals. Eventually, the Fellowship Program was expanded to include top candidates for academic Jewish studies and the cantorate. By the end of 2005, approximately 300 outstanding Jewish professional leaders from a wide array of religious affiliations and professional groupings had participated in the Wexner Graduate Fellowship Program.

Additionally, in 1988, the Wexner Israel Fellowship Program was created. Annually, up to 10 outstanding mid-career Israeli public officials are selected to study for a master's degree in the mid-career program of Harvard's Kennedy School of Government. The goal of the fellowship is to provide Israel's next generation of public leaders with advanced leadership and public management training. As of the end of 2005, 163 Israeli public officials had participated in the Israel Fellowship, including leaders who had gone on to become director generals of government ministries, generals and commanders in the Israeli military, and top advisors to prime ministers.

The Wexner Foundation appeared early on the scene of Jewish private philanthropy and in many ways pioneered a new field that has grown to include dozens of private foundations that devote themselves on a national and international scale to the needs of the Jewish people. The Wexner Foundation has never wavered from its focus upon Jewish leadership, and its professionalism, standards of program excellence, and strong relationships with Jewish communities and organizations have created a model of practice for Jewish private philanthropy that has passed the test of time.

Wexner's leadership among major Jewish philanthropists was evidenced by his role in helping to convene and ultimately lead a group of some two dozen philanthropic peers in an effort that was known technically as the "Study Group" but more widely as the "Mega Group." This group of elite Jewish philanthropists was formed in 1991 and developed as an effort to conduct a high-minded philanthropic discussion about the pressing issues of the Jewish people. The group motivated a number of individual and collaborative philanthropic initiatives that, arguably, would not have otherwise occurred, including the Partnership for Excellence in Jewish Education, Birthright Israel, the upgrading of national Hillel, and more. Wexner co-chaired the group with Charles Bronfman during the final years of its existence. While the group no longer exists in its original form, successor groups have surfaced and many of the original members continue to work closely with each other as a result of the associations they developed within the Study Group.

Leslie Wexner's wife, Abigail Wexner, an accomplished attorney, has emerged as a major civic and philanthropic leader in her own right, and has also worked closely with The Wexner Foundation in shaping its programs and future. Mrs. Wexner has served as Chair of The Columbus Foundation and as Chairman of the Board of Children's Hospital, Columbus. She is nationally recognized as a leader who has spearheaded cutting edge programs and services addressing domestic violence in central Ohio and beyond.

Leslie Wexner's philanthropy revolves around a belief in the centrality of leadership and its potential to shape the future. This passion for developing leaders is at the heart of the programs of the Foundation, but extends far beyond them as well.

In business, his storied rise as the son of working class immigrants who became the innovator of specialty retailing in America is near legendary. Wexner began his company in 1963 with one store in Columbus, Ohio. "The Limited" had sales of $473 on the first day of business and first year sales of $160,000. Today, as Chairman, President and CEO of Limited Brands, he leads a company that operates more than 3700 stores, including Victoria's Secret, Express, The Limited, Henri Bendel, Bath and Body Works, and The White Barn Candle Company. Sales for Limited Brands exceeded $9.4 billion in 2004.

In civic life, Wexner's leadership was the force behind the development of the Wexner Center for the Arts at Ohio State University, behind the creation of the Wexner Institute for Pediatric Research at Children's Hospital, and that elevated Columbus' United Way to successes never before imagined. By example, he has sought to "give back" to the community in many ways. He is also a founding member of the Ohio State University Foundation, Chairman of the Columbus Partnership, and Chairman Emeritus of the Ohio State University Board of Trustees.

Wexner serves as Visiting Instructor of Leadership at Harvard University's Kennedy School of Government, where he also sits as a member of the Visiting Committee. His annual lectures on leadership at Harvard are attended by a wide cross-section of students, faculty, and community leaders. The Wexners also spearheaded the development of the Center for Public Leadership at the Kennedy School. Directed by David Gergen, the Center has already become one of North America's most prestigious academic initiatives for the study, teaching, and development of public leadership.

In Jewish life, his leadership activities have been widely acknowledged, including honorary degrees from Yeshiva University, Hebrew Union College, the Jewish Theological Seminary of America, and Brandeis University. In Central Ohio, Wexner's leadership of the Columbus Jewish Federation and his role in developing Wexner Heritage Village (a campus of services and residences for the elderly), the Wexner Jewish Student Center at Ohio State University, and other model programs underscore a personal philosophy that integrity in philanthropy must begin at home, in one's own community, and expand outward from that basis.

In the final analysis, Wexner's impact upon the Jewish people will be his investment in Jewish leaders – in Israel and in North America. Wexner's leadership programs take seriously the responsibility and capacity of leaders to shape a new future for the Jewish people. His programs are pluralistic and embrace the wide sweep of diversity within Jewish life, while building community and commonality from that diversity. Many imagine that there will be Wexner Israel Fellows who will become prime ministers of the State of Israel, Wexner Graduate Fellows who transform Jewish professional leadership into a new force for change in the coming century, and Wexner Heritage alumni who will rethink and rebuild their Jewish communities into more relevant, responsive and dynamic organizational forms. Meanwhile, Wexner and his wife continue to exercise their own leadership, in business, politics, and civic and Jewish life – forever learning and teaching the meaning and promise of mobilizing others around the enduring values and challenges of human life.

[Larry Moses (2nd ed.)]

WEYL, MEIR BEN SIMḤAH (1744–1826), German rabbi. Weyl was born in *Lissa and studied under Ẓevi Hirsch of Janow. He arrived in Berlin in 1783 and was soon elected head of the *bet midrash* and *dayyan*. After Hirschel Levin's death (1800) the reform-minded community leaders delayed his appointment as rabbi until 1809, when they reluctantly made him *Vize-Ober-Landrabbiner.* His patriotic sermons of 1809–13 won him renown. One such sermon of 1813 was republished after World War I as proof of Jewish patriotism. Weyl battled against the Berlin *Haskalah movement and its chief representative, David *Friedlaender. An acknowledged talmudic authority as well as a vehement opponent of Reform, in 1818 the Orthodox elements in the community of Copenhagen appealed to him in their conflict with a Reform group. He sharply attacked the use of German in prayer, and largely through his efforts a royal order was issued dated Dec. 23, 1823, that Jews were to pray only according to their previous custom. When in 1824 the elders of the Berlin community contemplated establishing a teachers seminary and invited L. *Zunz and L. *Bendavid to plan the syllabus, Weyl retaliated by appealing directly to Altenstein, the minister of religion, with his own plan, which was approved. For lack of community support, however, the plan for a seminary was soon dropped. Weyl held halakhic discussions with Akiva *Eger of Posen and Solomon Zalman *Posner of Warsaw.

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WHEAT, grain belonging to the genus *Triticum*, of which many species exist. Several species of *Triticum* are grown in Israel, some called *ḥittah* (pl. *ḥittim*) and others *kussemet, kusmin*, and *shippon* (for this identification see *Five Species).

(1) *Ḥittah* is the name applied to two species grown in Israel: hard wheat – *Triticum durum*, and bread wheat – *Triticum vulgare* (*aestivum*). The former is called "dark" and the latter "white" in the Mishnah (BB 5:6). The name *ḥittah*, with slight variations, is common to all the Semitic languages, mostly in the form of *ḥintah*, connected with the verb *ḥanot* ("to project"), because the grains project from the pales of the ear of the wheat when it ripens. In rabbinic literature these are termed *levush* ("garment"). When threshed, these *levushim* disintegrate and the grain emerges. Hence the saying: "In the time to come [at the resurrection] the righteous will rise [dressed] in their own clothes. This can be deduced a fortiori from a grain of wheat. If a grain of wheat that is buried naked sprouts up with many garments …" (Ket. 111b). *Ḥittah* is the most valuable of the five species of cereal. According to one *aggadah*, "the tree of knowledge was *ḥittah*" (Sanh. 70b). It is mentioned first among the seven species with which Israel is blessed (Deut. 8:8). It requires good and well-tilled land, and an abundance of *ḥittim* symbolizes well-being and peace (Ps. 81:17).

Wheat, like *barley, is sown at the beginning of the winter, but it develops more slowly (Ex. 9:31–32) and ripens about two months after barley, from which the *Omer* is brought on Passover. Seven weeks later "the firstfruits of the *ḥittim* harvest" are offered (Ex. 34:22). Ezekiel (27:17) mentions "*ḥittim* of Minnith" which "Judah and Israel" peddled, the reference being to the locality of Minnith in the land of Ammon (Judg. 11:33). Similarly, Arbelite and Midian *ḥittim* are mentioned as excellent varieties (TJ, Sot. 9:13, 24b; Shab. 9:6, 12b). The *aggadah* refers to 500 confections made from *ḥittim* (Lam. R. 3:17 no. 6). The choicest *ḥittim*, used in meal-offerings, came from Michmas and Zoniḥah (Men. 8:1). Wheat was dearer than barley, and according to Josephus (Wars 5:427), it was the food of the rich. During the time of the Mishnah and Talmud, however, when the agricultural situation in Israel improved, wheat became the common food of all. "One who grows wheat is sure of his bread, but one who buys wheat in the market, his future is doubtful" (Men. 103b).

(2) *Kussemet* or *kusmin* has been identified with emmer wheat – *Triticum dicoccum*, a plant which has grown in Israel from earliest times. Remnants have been found in excavations in Israel and in Egyptian tombs. A similar species, *Triticum dioccoides*, grows wild in Israel and apparently is the species from which emmer wheat originated. The discovery of this species by Aaron *Aaronsohn in Rosh Pinah in 1906 caused a sensation in the botanical world. He maintained that it was the "mother" of all species of wheat, an opinion still upheld by some botanists. The general opinion, however, is that it is the "mother" of emmer wheat only. Like the *ḥittah*, the *kussemet* was not smitten by the hail in Egypt because it ripens late and its growth is slow (Ex. 9:32). Isaiah (28:25) enumerates it among the crops sown by the farmer, and it was also included in the mixed bread that Ezekiel ate for 390 days (Ezek. 4:9). In rabbinical literature it is always included among the five species of corn. In taste it is very like *ḥittah* (Ḥal. 4:2; Pes. 35a), but its nutritional value in relation to bulk is less because of the chaff that sticks to the grains (BM 40a). To remove these husks the wheat was moistened and trodden by cattle so as to release the grain (BM 89b and Rashi). In Aramaic *kussemet* is called *gulba* (Men. 70a), a word meaning "cut" or "shorn," a similar connotation to *kussemet*, which comes from *kasam* meaning "clipper of hairs" (cf. Ezek. 44:20). The name derives from the short hairs of the ears which look as though they have been cut. Another species of wheat, spelt wheat or *Triticum spelta*, identified by some commentators with *kussemet*, has similar characteristics, but no remnants of spelt from the biblical period have been found in the region. It seems that it is the *shippon* of rabbinical literature.

(3) *Shippon* is also enumerated among the five species of corn. For the law of *mixing of species it is regarded as belonging to the same species as *kussemet* (*kusmin*; Kil. 1:1), but in taste it is associated with barley (Pes. 35a). These indications are compatible with spelt, which resembles emmer wheat but has a barley flavor. Apparently its growth was not very widespread (at the present day also, its growth is very limited), and it is mentioned only a few times in rabbinical literature. This identification is mentioned by the *Arukh* (s.v. *dashr*). Now, however, it is usual, following Rashi, to identify *shippon* with rye – *Secale cereale*. This identification cannot be accepted, as this plant is not suited to the conditions of Ereẓ Israel and was not grown there. It is also erroneous, as is usually done, to apply the name *kussemet* to buckwheat – *Fagopyrum esculeutum* – since it was never grown in Israel and does not fit any of the descriptions of *kussemet*.

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[Jehuda Feliks]

WHITE, HARRY D. (1892–1948), U.S. economist. Born in Boston, Mass., White spent his early years in his father's hardware business, and for several years taught on Sunday mornings at the Home for Jewish Children in Dorchester. After serving overseas during World War I, White became head of Corner House, a settlement house in New York City, and worked as director of a summer camp for boys. While studying for his doctorate at Harvard, he was an instructor in economics; from 1932 to 1934 he taught at Lawrence College in Wisconsin.

White moved to Washington in 1934 to serve as a financial expert at the U.S. Treasury. He became the chief economic analyst for the U.S. Tariff Commission, but soon returned to the Treasury Department to serve as the principal economic analyst in the division of research and statistics, and in 1936 as assistant director of research. In 1938 White was made director of monetary research. His monetary proposals were accepted as the basis for the Bretton Woods Conference, attended by representatives of 44 nations. The "White Plan," which was accepted over the "Keynes Plan," called for the establishment of international trade based on the gold monetary unit. White became assistant secretary of the Treasury in charge of monetary research and foreign funds control in 1945 and the following year was made U.S. executive director of the International Monetary Fund. While in the Treasury Department, he managed the currency stabilization fund, represented the Treasury at committee meetings of the Economic Defense Board, and was a trustee of the Export-Import Bank. He is considered the author of the "Morgenthau Plan" for dealing with postwar Germany, and of other postwar economic plans. White was accused of giving information to a wartime Soviet spy ring and of pushing certain employees toward positions in government in which they would have access to information. He endured a congressional investigation while suffering from heart trouble, which was greatly aggravated by the strain of the sessions, and he died before the investigations had been concluded. White wrote *The French International Accounts: 1880–1913* (1933) and he updated F.W. Taussig's *Some Aspects of the Tariff Question* (1934^3).

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WHITE, MORTON GABRIEL (1917–), U.S. philosopher. Born in New York, White received his Ph.D. from Columbia University in 1942. He taught physics at City College, Columbia, and at the University of Pennsylvania. In 1948 he joined the staff at Harvard as professor of philosophy, where he taught until 1970. From 1954 to 1957 he served as chairman of the philosophy department. From 1970 to 1987 he was a professor at Princeton's Institute for Advanced Study. After retiring from teaching, he was named philosophy and intellectual history professor emeritus at the institute's School of Historical Studies.

White's main philosophical contributions are in the areas of epistemology and social and political philosophy. Such works as *The Origin of Dewey's Instrumentalism* (1943) and *Social Thought in America* (1949) reveal the influence of American pragmatism in his thought. White also wrote on the paradox of analysis, a dilemma which holds that all analysis is either trivial or false, and on the analytic-synthetic distinction. In his paper "The Analytic and the Synthetic: An Untenable Dualism" in *John Dewey: Philosopher of Science and Freedom* (ed. by S. Hook, 1950), White contends that the distinction is one of degree and not one of kind, as traditional philosophers maintain.

Among his other important publications are *Toward Reunion in Philosophy* (1956); *Religion, Politics and the Higher Learning* (1959); *The Intellectual vs. the City* (with L. White, 1962); *Foundations of Historical Knowledge* (1965); *Science and Sentiment in America* (1972); *The Question of Free Will* (1993); his autobiography, *A Philosopher's Story* (1999); *A Philosophy of Culture* (2002); and *From a Philosophical Point of View* (2004).

[Arthur Stroll / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

WHITE, ROBERT MAYER (1923–), U.S. meteorologist. Born in Boston, Mass., White received a B.A. degree in geology from Harvard University and M.S. and Sc.D. degrees (1950) in meteorology from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. White was president of the National Academy of Engineering from 1983 to 1995. Prior to that, he was president of the University Corporation for Atmospheric Research (UCAR). He served in scientific leadership positions under five U.S. presidents. He was appointed chief of the U.S. Weather Bureau and the first administrator of the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration. His years of government service include positions as U.S. Commissioner to the International Whaling Commission and U.S. Permanent Representative to the World Meteorological Organization. He is credited with bringing about a revolution in the U.S. weather warning system with satellite and computer technology. Before joining the government, he founded one of the first corporations devoted to environmental science and services.

White was the Karl T. Compton Lecturer at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology in 1995–96. He was a senior fellow at UCAR and the H. John Heinz III Center for Science, Economics, and the Environment. His many awards include the Rockefeller Public Service Award for the Protection of Natural Resources and the International Meteorological Organization Prize.

[Bracha Rager (2nd ed.)]

WHITE, THEODORE H. ("**Teddy**"; 1915–1986), U.S. journalist and author. White was born in Boston, Massachusetts. He studied at Harvard University, graduating in 1938. His grandfather was a rabbi from Pinsk who spent his last days in pious devotion at the Western Wall in Jerusalem. In his autobiography *In Search of History (*1978), White refers to his Jewish and Hebrew education. "What I learned, then, from age 10 to age 14, when I went on to evening courses at the Hebrew College of Boston was the Bible …." "We learned it, absorbed it, thought in it, until the ancient Hebrew became a working rhythm in the mind, until it became a second language. Memory was the foundation of learning at the Hebrew school, and the memory cut grooves on young minds that even decades cannot erase. Even now, when a biblical phrase runs through my mind, I am trapped and annoyed unless I convert it into Hebrew – whereupon the memory retrieves it from Boston, Mass., where little Jewish-American boys were forced to learn of nomads and peasants of three thousand years ago, forced to learn of spotted lambs, of the searing summer and of the saving rains (Yoreh and Malkosh)." In later years, he used to make his own Haggadah for Passover written on special cards and assigning the parts to his children. In his youth, Teddy White helped to organize the student Zionist activists on the New England campuses in the Avukah (Torch) Society. He helped organize a boycott of German goods in Boston. White was "lured" however to other interests which he defined as Harvard and history. A year after graduating from Harvard, Teddy White was *Time* magazine's war correspondent in China and, by 1945, at the age of 30, he was Time Bureau Chief. His first book (with Annalee Jacoby) was *Thunder Out of China* (1946). Between 1948 and 1953, White was in Europe and wrote *Fire in the Ashes* (1953). Returning to the U.S., White became a national political correspondent for *The Reporter* magazine, then for *Colliers*, and then for *Life.* He also published two novels (*The Mountain Road* [1958] on the evacuation of Chinese and American armed forces and *The View from the Fortieth Floor* [1960] on his 1950s stint at *Collier's* magazine) and one play and wrote several television documentaries.

White achieved his greatest acclaim as the author of a series of books called *The Making of the President* for 1960, 1964, 1968, and 1972 elections, for which he won the Pulitzer prize, and a wrap-up volume called *America in Search of Itself,* published in 1982. He had planned a 1976 "Making of the President" book, but the Watergate scandal led him to write *Breach of Faith* instead.

[Shimshon Arad (2nd ed.)]

WHITE PAPERS, British government statements of policy presented to parliament; they played an important part in the history of Mandatory Palestine. Six such documents were issued between the years 1922 and 1939:

(1) Statement of Policy June 1922 (Churchill White Paper);

(2) Statement of Policy October 1930 (Passfield White Paper);

(3) Statement of Policy July 1937 (on the Peel Commission's report);

(4) Statement of Policy December 1937 (appointment of the Woodhead Commission);

(5) Statement of Policy November 1938 (on the Woodhead Commission's report);

(6) Statement of Policy May 1939 (MacDonald White Paper).

The Churchill White Paper (1922)

This document, for which Winston *Churchill was responsible as colonial secretary, contained the first important official statement of British government policy after the *Balfour Declaration. While reaffirming the declaration, it stated that there was no question of Palestine becoming "as Jewish as England is English" and that the Arabs need have no fear of "the disappearance or the subordination of the Arabic population, language or culture in Palestine." The Balfour Declaration, the statement continued, did not "contemplate that Palestine as a whole should be converted into a Jewish National Home, but that such a Home should be founded in Palestine." The development of the Jewish National Home meant "not the imposition of a Jewish nationality upon the inhabitants of Palestine as a whole, but the further development of the existing Jewish community [which, in another passage, was said to have "national" characteristics] with the assistance of Jews in other parts of the world, in order that it may become a center in which the Jewish people as a whole may take, on grounds of religion and race, an interest and a pride." To enable this community to develop, however, "it is essential that it should know that it is in Palestine as of right and not on sufferance," the statement declared. That was why international guarantees were necessary.

The statement went on to say that Jewish immigration must continue, but must not exceed "whatever may be the economic capacity of the country at the time to absorb new arrivals"; that the government intended "to foster the establishment of a full measure of self-government"; and that, as the next step, it proposed to set up a Legislative Council consisting of 12 elected and ten appointed members, headed by the high commissioner. The Zionist Executive reluctantly accepted the policy set out in the statement, while the Palestinian Arabs did not.

The Passfield White Paper

This was issued by the colonial secretary, Lord Passfield (Sidney Webb), in the wake of the riots of 1929. The causes of the riots and the situation in Palestine had been investigated by the Shaw Commission (see *Palestine, Inquiry Commissions), and an inquiry into land settlement, immigration, and development had been carried out by Sir John Hope Simpson, who was pessimistic as to the possibilities of further Jewish immigration and settlement without displacing Arabs (see Palestine, Inquiry Commissions). A central theme in the White Paper, which was issued simultaneously with the Hope Simpson report, was the argument that under the terms of the *Mandate and the Balfour Declaration, "A double undertaking is involved, to the Jewish people on the one hand and to the non-Jewish population on the other." It rejected the view that the passages regarding the Jewish National Home were the principal feature of the Mandate.

The statement dealt with practical policy under the heads: security, constitutional development, and economic and social development. It declared that the government "will not be moved from their duty by pressure or threats" and that "any incitements to disorder or disaffection, in whatever quarter they originate, will be severely punished." It proposed the establishment of a Legislative Council, with a composition similar to that proposed in the Churchill White Paper. If any section of the population failed to cooperate, steps would be taken to ensure the appointment of the requisite number of unofficial members. In any case, the statement continued, the high commissioner would continue to have the necessary power to enable the Mandatory to carry out its obligations.

The White Paper accepted Hope Simpson's conclusion that "for the present and with the present methods of Arab cultivation there remains no margin of land available for agricultural settlement by new immigrants," with the exception of reserves held by Jewish agencies. It severely criticized the principle of Jewish labor, which, it implied, was detrimental to the Arab population, and "difficult to reconcile" with Zionist declarations of a desire to live in friendship with the Arab people. Transfers of land would be permitted only insofar as they did not interfere with the land development plans of the Palestine Administration. In determining the "economic capacity" of the country to absorb new immigrants, not only Jewish but Arab unemployment must be taken into account, and Jewish immigration would be suspended if it was held to prevent Arabs from obtaining employment.

The White Paper was severely criticized by some British statesmen as a departure from the obligations of the Mandate. *Weizmann resigned from the presidency of the Jewish Agency in protest, declaring that the White Paper went far toward "denying the rights and sterilizing the hopes of the Jewish people in regard to the National Home" and aimed at "crystallizing the development of the Jewish National Home in its present stage." A special British cabinet committee entered into negotiations with representatives of the Jewish Agency, which resulted in a letter from Prime Minister Ramsay MacDonald to Weizmann on Feb. 13, 1931, which was to be communicated as an official document to the League of Nations and embodied in a dispatch as an instrument to the high commissioner. Ostensibly, the letter was no more than an interpretation of the Passfield White Paper, but in reality it canceled much of its anti-Zionist implications. It reemphasized "that the undertaking of the Mandate is an undertaking to the Jewish people and not only to the Jewish population of Palestine" and reaffirmed the preamble of the Mandate, which includes the Balfour Declaration and the historical connection of the Jewish people with Palestine. The letter also stressed the positive obligations of the Mandate, such as facilitating Jewish immigration and encouraging settlement by Jews on the land.

The White Paper of July 1937

This was a statement of British government policy issued together with the report of the Royal Commission on Palestine (the Peel Commission). It stated that the British government accepted the commission's partition plan in principle and would take the necessary steps to put it into effect. Until the establishment of Jewish and Arab states, the government would not surrender its responsibilities for peace, order, and good government throughout Palestine. In the interim period, two steps would be taken: "to prohibit any land transactions which might prejudice such a scheme" and to limit immigration between August 1937 and March 1938 to 8,000.

The White Paper of December 1937

This consisted of a dispatch from W. Ormsby-Gore, the colonial secretary, to A.G. Wauchope, the high commissioner for Palestine, announcing the appointment of the Woodhead Commission to consider the details and practical possibilities of a partition scheme. If the government regarded the new partition scheme as "equitable and practicable," it would refer it to the League of Nations. After that body's approval "a further period would be required for the establishment of new systems of government," possibly including a system of cantonization or separate Mandates for the new Arab and Jewish areas.

The White Paper of November 1938

After the publication of the Woodhead Commission's findings, which, in effect, canceled out the recommendations of the Peel Commission, the British government came to the conclusion that the political, administrative, and financial difficulties involved in the "proposal to create Arab and Jewish independent states inside Palestine are so great that this solution of the problem is impracticable." Instead, the government would "make a determined effort" to promote "an understanding between the Arabs and the Jews." With this end in view the government would convene a conference (see *Saint James' Conference) with representatives of the Palestinian Arabs and of neighboring states … and of the Jewish Agency to confer about "future policy, including the question of immigration into Palestine." If no agreement was reached "within a reasonable period of time" the British government would take its own decision.

The Malcolm MacDonald White Paper (May 1939)

The failure of the St. James' Conference led to the publication of the White Paper of May 1939. Since the Royal Commission's partition proposal had "been found to be impracticable," the British government had devised "an alternate policy." In order to remove any doubts, the statement continued, "His Majesty's Government now declares unequivocally that it is not part of their policy that Palestine should become a Jewish State." Moreover, they would indeed regard it as "contrary to their obligations to the Arabs under the Mandate …" The government was charged with the development of self-governing institutions and regarded it as "contrary to the spirit of the Mandate" to keep the Palestinian population for ever under a Mandatory regime. It announced that "The objective of His Majesty's Government is the establishment within ten years of an independent Palestine State" in which the essential interests of both Arabs and Jews should be safeguarded. There would be a transitional period during which the "people of Palestine will be given an increasing part in the government of the country." Both sections would have an opportunity to participate, but "the process will be carried on whether or not they both avail themselves of it." In the first stage, steps would be taken to place Palestinians – Arabs and Jews in proportion to their respective populations – in charge of government departments.

IMMIGRATION. The government decided to curtail Jewish immigration. The principle of economic absorptive capacity, established in the White Paper of 1922 was to be replaced by a new, political, principle. The British government claimed it could not find in the Mandate any support for the view that immigration must be allowed to "continue indefinitely," or that economic absorptive capacity must be the only consideration. Although Jewish immigration had been absorbed economically, the Arabs' fear of indefinite Jewish immigration had also to be taken into account in deciding immigration policy. To expand the Jewish National Home indefinitely, the government believed, would mean "rule by force," and it had therefore decided "to permit further expansion of the Jewish National Home by immigration only if the Arabs are prepared to acquiesce in it." During the next five years Jewish immigration would be limited to 75,000, bringing the Jewish population up to approximately one-third of the total population of Palestine. After the end of the five-year period no further Jewish immigration would be permitted "unless the Arabs of Palestine are prepared to acquiesce in it," and the government "will not be under any obligation to facilitate the further development of the Jewish National Home by immigration regardless of the wishes of the Arab population."

LAND TRANSFER. In certain areas, the statement declared, there was no room for further transfers of Arab land, and in other areas transfers must be restricted. The high commissioner would, therefore, be given general powers to prohibit and regulate transfers of land, and on Feb. 28, 1940, the high commissioner promulgated the Land Transfer Regulations, in fact dividing the country into three zones: Zone A, including the hill country and certain other areas – 64% of Palestine – in which the transfer of land to anyone other than a Palestinian Arab was prohibited, save in exceptional circumstances; Zone B, including the Jezreel Valley, eastern Galilee, most of the Coastal Plain (except for the Tel Aviv district), and the Negev – 31% of the area – in which transfers were permitted only in specified circumstances; and Zone C – 5% of the country's area – which would remain a "free zone."

The White Paper was regarded by the Zionist movement and many outside it as a final betrayal of Britain's obligations to the Jewish people under the Balfour Declaration and the Mandate. The announcement of this policy at the outset of the Jewish mass flight from Europe became the starting point for the active struggle of the *yishuv* against the Mandatory regime in Palestine.

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[Daniel Efron]

WICKED PRIEST (Heb. כֹּהֵן הָרֶשַׁע, *Kohen ha-Resha*), character mentioned in the *Dead Sea Scrolls as the inveterate enemy of the *Teacher of Righteousness. He was a man of whom better things were once expected: "He was called by the name of truth when first he arose, but when he ruled in Israel his heart was exalted and he forsook God, and dealt treacherously with the ordinances for the sake of wealth. He looted and amassed the wealth of the men of [v]iolence who rebelled against God; and he took the wealth of nations, adding to himself iniquity and guilt, and acted in ab[om]inable ways with every defiling impurity" (1QpHab. 8:8–13). He is described as "the priest who rebelled [and transgressed] the ordinances of [God]" (1QpHab. 8:16ff.), "the priest whose shame was mightier than his glory, for he did not circumcise the foreskin of his heart but walked in the ways of drunkenness to quench his thirst" (1QpHab. 11:12ff.). He "wrought abominable works and defiled the sanctuary of God" and in the cities of Judah he "plundered the wealth of the poor" (1QpHab. 12:8–10).

He is chiefly reprobated for his attack on the Teacher of Righteousness: he laid hands on him in an attempt to kill him. But God, according to the commentary (from Cave 4) on Psalm 37, delivered the Teacher from him and reserved a fearful judgment for the Wicked Priest, "delivering him into the hands of the violent of the gentiles to execute[vengeance]on him" (on Ps. 37:32ff.). There was one special occasion when he manifested his enmity toward the Teacher: that was when he "pursued after the Teacher of Righteousness to swallow him up in his hot fury, even to his place of exile, and on the occasion of the sacred season of rest, the Day of Atonement, he appeared among them to swallow them up and make them stumble on the fast-day, their sabbath of rest" (1QpHab. 11:4–8). This suggests that the Teacher and his company observed a different *calendar from the Wicked Priest, so that what was the Day of Atonement for the former was a secular day for the latter.

But condign judgment awaited the Wicked Priest. "Because of the [evil] done to the Teacher of Righteousness and the men of his council, God gave him into the h[ands of]his[en]emies, to afflict him with a stroke, to make him waste away in bitterness of soul, because he acted wickedly toward His elect" (1QpHab. 9:9–12). Because of his rebellion against the ordinances of God, "they smote him with the judgments of wickedness, and wrought horrors of sore diseases on him and deeds of vengeance on his body of flesh" (1QpHab. 8:17–9:2). Because of his shameful drunkenness, "the cup of[Go]d's fury will overwhelm him, to add to his[shame and]ignominy" (1QpHab. 11:15ff.). Because of his plundering "the poor" (by whom perhaps the members of the Qumran community are specially intended), "God will condemn him to destruction even as he plotted to destroy the poor" (1QpHab. 12:5ff.).

Since the Qumran community apparently maintained the exclusive right of the house of Zadok to the high priesthood, a high priest of any other line would be to them a wicked (i.e., illegitimate) priest *ex hypothesi*. But the references quoted above point to one Wicked Priest par excellence. Many suggestions about his identity have been made, ranging in date from the apostate Menelaus, appointed by Antiochus IV in 171 B.C.E. (so H.H. Rowley) to Eleazar b. Ananias, captain of the Temple at the outbreak of the war against Rome in the autumn of 66 C.E. (so C. Roth, G.R. Driver). He has even been identified with Paul of Tarsus (so J.L. Teicher). But the majority verdict favors one of the Hasmonean priest-rulers, though there is no unanimity as to which of them should be preferred. The principal choices are Jonathan (so G. Vermes, J.T. Milik, E.F. Sutcliffe); Simeon (so F.M. Cross); Alexander Yannai (J.M. Allegro, W.H. Brownlee, J. van der Ploeg) and Hyrcanus II (A. Dupont-Sommer). In some cases these identifications (e.g., those with Menelaus and Eleazar) are closely tied in with identifications of the Teacher of Righteousness, and since the description of the Wicked Priest is generally applicable to so many figures known to the history of the period, only an agreed conclusion (which is not yet in sight) on the time when the teacher arose and his community was organized will carry with it a definitive solution to the problem of identifying the Wicked Priest.

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[Frederick Fyvie Bruce]

WIDAL, FERNAND (1862–1929), French physician, born in Algeria, where his father served as an army doctor. He studied medicine in Paris and worked there. In 1894 he was appointed associate professor, in 1911 full professor, and in 1912 he was elected member of the Academy of Sciences. He instituted a vaccination against typhoid fever in 1888. The innovation was adopted universally and it was used by all the armies that participated in World War I. In 1896 he discovered a method for the serological diagnosis of typhoid fever, which was named after him and became the prototype for the serodiagnosis of other communicable diseases. He also developed methods for diagnosing different diseases by determining the types of cells in inflammatory exudates, thus establishing the basis of cytodiagnosis. His most important contribution to pathological physiology was his recognition of the significance of chloride (in table salt) in causing edema, and he instituted a low-salt diet in cases of fluid retention in the body, which is used nowadays universally. In his research on kidney diseases, he worked on the significance of renal failure, which manifested itself in the defective ability of the body to excrete blood nitrogen. He described the various forms of jaundice, especially those caused by hemolysis, and demonstrated the fragility of red blood cells in cases of familial jaundice. He also did research work on anaphylaxis, streptococcal infections, cardiovascular diseases, and the nervous system.

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[Joshua O. Leibowitz]

°WIDMANSTETTER, JOHANN ALBRECHT (**Widmanstadius**, or **Lucrecius**; 1506–1557), Austrian statesman, humanist, and Orientalist. An outstanding Catholic scholar, Widmanstetter became chancellor of Lower Austria and rector of the University of Vienna. He traveled widely, learning Arabic in Spain and Hebrew among Spanish Jewish exiles in Naples. He was also able to conduct a correspondence in Hebrew and his bookplate was phrased in Latin, Hebrew, and Syriac. Widmanstetter's teachers included Johann Reuchlin, David b. Joseph ibn Yaḥya, Baruch of Benevento, and Benjamin d'Arignano. In 1529, he met the Christian Hebraist Egidio (Aegidius) da *Viterbo in Venice, and three years later attended lectures on the Kabbalah held at the Naples home of Judah Abrabanel's brother Samuel. Widmanstetter collaborated with Guillaume *Postel in the publication of the first edition of the Syriac New Testament (Vienna, 1555) and attributed errors in the Koran to the influence of the Kabbalah. He collected many rare Hebrew and Oriental manuscripts and printed works (some obtained from Elijah Levita), which were later bequeathed to the Munich Royal Library.

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[Godfrey Edmond Silverman]

WIDOW (Heb. אַלְמָנָה, *almanah*; pl. אַלְמָנוֹת, *almanot*).

Biblical Period

The Hebrew substantive *almanah*, usually translated "widow," often does not simply denote a woman whose husband is dead, but rather a once-married woman who has no means of financial support, and is therefore in need of special legal protection. Many widows would fall into such a classification because of their husbands' death, but others who could rely on the support of a new husband (by levirate marriage or otherwise), an adult son, or a father-in-law, would not. Thus, the *almanot* as a class in Israelite society in biblical times were often considered as comprising not merely women whose husbands had died but, rather, once-married women who no longer had any means of financial support. Such being the case, many famous biblical widows (e.g., Ruth, Orpah, and Naomi (Ruth 1–4); Abigail (I Sam. 25); Bath-Sheba (II Sam. 11)), will not be discussed in this article. Since they are never referred to as *almanot*, there is doubt as to whether they were regarded as such. All of them must have had some means of financial support. Only women who are specifically called *almanah* will be dealt with here.

IN EARLY LEGAL CODES. The main evidence for the above definition of the Hebrew word *almanot* comes from several sections of the Middle Assyrian Laws, where the Akkadian etymological equivalent of *almanah, almattu*, denotes the woman in question:

> [If], while a woman is still living in her father's house, her husband died and she has sons [she shall live where she chooses in] a house of theirs. [If] she has no [son, her father-in-law shall marry her to the son] of his choice… or if he wishes, he may give her in marriage to her father-in-law. If her husband and her father-in-law are both dead and she has no son [only then] has she the status of a woman without male support (*almattu*); she may go wherever she pleases (par. 33; in: Pritchard, Texts, 182).
>
> When a woman has been given [in marriage] and the enemy has captured her husband, if she has no father-in-law and no son, she shall remain for two years [at her husband's estate]. During those two years, if she has not sufficient to live on, she shall come forward and [so] declare; she shall became a ward of the palace; …She will stay for two years [at her husband's estate] and then she may live with the husband she chooses. They [the judges] will draw up a document for her [stating she is] a woman without male support (*almattu*). If in later days, her missing husband has returned home, he may take back his wife who was married to an outsider… (par. 45; in: Pritchard, Texts, 184; cf. also pars. 28, 34, in: Pritchard, Texts, 182, 183) and Hammurapi Law Code, par. 177 (in: Pritchard, Texts, 174)).

In all the Akkadian codes, women whose husbands have died, but who do have some means of support, are not given any particular title and are never called *almattu* (e.g., Middle Assyrian Laws, par. 46). According to G.R. Driver, "these considerations suggest that a woman became an *almattu* only when there is no one with a duty to support her" (in: Driver and Miles, *The Assyrian Laws*, in bibl., 225). Further evidence for this definition of *almattu* is found in the usage of the Akkadian *almānūtu*, "lack of support by a male householder" (abstract formation of *almattu): bēl bīti imâtma bītu šû almānūtam illak*, "The owner of the house will die, and that house will have no male to support it" (A. Boissier, *Documents assyriens relatifs aux presages* (1894–99), 5:2; cf. CAD, vol. 1, pt. 1 (1964), 362). There are only a few cases in the biblical law codes where *almanah* does not agree with the definition of the Akkadian *almattu*. These are the laws concerning the ineligibility of the *almanah* to become the wife of the high priest (Lev. 21:14) or, unless she is the widow of a priest, to become the wife of any priest (Ezek. 44:22; the rabbis, however, by artificial exegesis, make this verse mean the same thing as Lev. 21:14 – ordinary priests are not prohibited from marrying any widow): the right of the priest's daughter to return to her father's house and partake of *terumah* should she become an *almanah* (Lev. 22:13), and the vow of the *almanah* being legally binding on her (Num. 30:10). In these cases, but only in these, *almanah* must be translated as "widow." Note that in each of these cases the term *almanah* is juxtaposed to terms having to do with marital status – *betulah*, "unmarried woman" (Lev. 21:13, Ezek. 44:22) and *gerushah*, "divorced woman" (Lev. 22:13; Num. 30:10; cf. Lev. 22:12; Num. 30:7ff.). Elsewhere, there is a general pronouncement against the mistreatment of the *almanah* (Ex. 22:21) and there are many other cases, where the humanitarian nature of the author of Deuteronomy (cf. Weinfeld, in bibl.) caused him to prescribe many new laws concerning the protection of the *ger*, "stranger," *yatom*, "fatherless," *almanah*, and levite. In these cases, *almanot* must refer to "women once-married who no longer have any means of financial support." One may not keep the garment of the *almanah* as a pledge (Deut. 24:17), nor turn back and pick up dropped sheaves during harvest time (Deut. 24:19), dropped fruit from olive trees (Deut. 24:20), or grapes that have fallen off the vine (Deut. 24:21); for these must go to the *almanah* and the other classes mentioned above. These socially disadvantaged groups must be permitted to partake of the third-year tithes (Deut. 14:29; 26:12, 13), the freewill contributions made on the occasion of Shavu'ot (Deut. 16:11), and to rejoice during Sukkot (Deut. 16:14). There is also a curse against anyone who would subvert the legal rights of these disadvantaged groups (Deut. 27:19), and God is described as the protector of the rights of these classes (Deut. 10:18). It should also be mentioned that some scholars claim that there is evidence in the Ugaritic texts for the giving of a special dispensation to the *almnt* during time of war. However, the passages in question from the Keret Epic (I Krt 96–97, 184–5) are very obscure and have been interpreted by other scholars quite differently. No conclusions should be drawn until some additional evidence of a more concrete nature is found.

AS TITLE OF INDIVIDUALS. The earliest and by far the most famous biblical personage given the title of *almanah* was Tamar, the daughter-in-law of Judah (Gen. 38). When Judah's son Er died, leaving Tamar a childless widow, Judah told Onan, his secondborn, to live with Tamar as husband and wife so as to beget an offspring for his dead brother (see Deut. 25:5–10). Onan, bearing in mind the fact that the offspring, whom he would have to bring up, would not count as his, practiced only *coitus interruptus* with her (Gen. 38:9). For this, God punished him with death, and the responsibility passed on to the third and youngest of the three sons, Shelah. However, Judah, fearing that marriage to Tamar was unlucky, claimed that Shelah was too young to fulfill his duty and sent Tamar away to live in the house of her own father "as an *almanah*" (Gen. 38:11). Given paragraph 33 of the Middle Assyrian Law Code quoted above, it is interesting to note that Tamar was called an *almanah* only when Judah, her father-in-law, sent her out of his house. It might reasonably be asked whether Tamar would have been called an *almanah* at all had she remained in the house of her father-in-law.

When Shelah grew up and Judah still did not give him to her as a husband, she resorted to the following ruse. At a time when Judah was likely to be attracted by a sexual opportunity, she removed "her garments of *almanah*-hood," i.e., "the clothes of her status as *almanah*," and sat down, veiled, in a spot where she knew that Judah was to pass and where a woman sitting alone was likely to be taken for a prostitute. Judah, not recognizing her because of her veil, became her customer. When he later learned that his daughter-in-law was pregnant, Judah at first ordered that she be burned (Gen. 38:24). When Tamar, however, privately proved to him that he was the father of her child, he publicly declared that not she but he was at fault, since her conception through him was justified by his failure to give her to Shelah. The legal background of the episode is not only Deuteronomy 25:5ff. (levirate marriage), but also the Middle Assyrian Laws referred to above, for only the latter provides evidence that the father-in-law has the privilege of deciding to which of his surviving sons the widow is to be given or even of taking her for himself. Elsewhere, the woman hired by Joab to play the part of an *almanah* so as to induce David to take back his son Absalom (II Sam. 14:1ff.) claims (verse 5): "I am an *almanah*. My husband died." Both Hiram (I Kings 7:14) and Jeroboam I (I Kings 11:26) are designated as sons of an *almanah*. With respect to the latter, who was responsible for the splitting of the United Monarchy, there is a very interesting, somewhat parallel, Akkadian omen, which occurs many times: *mār almattim kussi'am isabbat*. "The son of an *almattum* will seize the throne" (A. Goetze, *Old Babylonian Omen Texts*; Yale Oriental Series, 10 (1947), 41:30).

Finally, Elijah is sent by a divine call to the house of an *almanah* whose son he later revives (I Kings 17). This woman is described as having no means of livelihood, living in abject poverty, and being on the verge of starvation (I Kings 17:12). Clearly, she is not merely a widow, but rather "a woman once married who no longer has the means of financial support."

AS A SOCIALLY DEPRIVED CLASS WHICH MUST BE PROTECTED. From the time of Urukagina of Lagash (c. 2400 B.C.E.), there is recorded evidence concerning the special responsibility of the Mesopotamian king to protect socially disadvantaged groups. In law codes, both in the prologue of Ur-Nammu (c. 2100 B.C.E.) and the epilogue of Hammurapi (c. 1800 B.C.E.), the king claims to have fulfilled this obligation. Hammurapi, for example, states that he wrote his laws:

> *dannum ensam ana la habalim*
> *ekutam almattam sutesurim*,
> In order that the mighty shall not wrong the weak,
> In order to provide justice for the homeless girl
> and the once married woman without financial support
> (Epilogue, XXVB:59–62).

Also the two Ugaritic kings mentioned in the epics are spoken of as either having fulfilled or not fulfilled this responsibility. In the Keret epic, King Keret's son twice accuses him of neglecting his duties:

> *ltdn dn almnt*
> *lttpt tpt qsr nps*,
> You do not judge the cause of the *almnt*,
> Nor adjudicate the case of the wretched (II Krt 6:33–34; cf. 45–48)
> *lpnk ltslhm ytm*
> *bʿd kslk almnt*,
> You feed not the fatherless before you,
> Nor the *almnt* behind your back (II Krt 6:48–50)

Conversely, in the Aqhat Epic, King Daniel is portrayed as a righteous king:

> *ydn dn almnt*
> *ytpt tpt ytm*
> Judging the cause of the *almnt*,
> Adjudicating the case of the fatherless (II D 5:7–8; cf. I D 23–25 [restored]).

Here it should be observed that the parallelism *ytm//almnt*, used in two of the above Ugaritic quotations, is also present in Hebrew poetry (e.g., Isa. 1:17, 23; Ps. 68:6). Another parallel pair of words which exist in both Hebrew and Ugaritic is Hebrew שְׁכוֹל//אֲלְמֹן (Isa. 47:8, 9) = Ugaritic *tkl//ulmn* (SS 8–9), which is probably to be translated "bereavement//status of being an *almnt*."

The Hebrew prophets often spoke out against the upper-class exploitation of the *almanah* and the other disadvantaged social groups. These protests can be found in the words of First Isaiah (e.g., 1:17, 23; 10:2), Jeremiah (e.g., 7:6, 22:3), Ezekiel (e.g., 22:7), Zechariah (7:10), and Malachi (3:5). Perhaps the clearest parallels to the Ugaritic and Mesopotamian evidence quoted above, however, are those biblical passages which speak of God as the protector of these disadvantaged classes:

> Father of the fatherless, and judge of the *almanot* is God in his holy abode (Ps. 68:6; cf. 146:9).

AS A DESCRIPTION OF A CITY. The above definition of *almanah* is indirectly supported by those biblical passages in which cities are called *almanah* (Isa. 47:8, 9; 54:4; Jer. 51:5; Lam. 1:1). In those passages where the city involved is Israel (Isa. 54:4; Jer. 51:5; Lam. 1:1), the traditional interpretation has always been to translate *almanah* as some kind of temporary widow whom God has left for the time being. This image would correspond with the divorce imagery of Hosea concerning God and Israel (Hos. 1–3). However, aside from the problem of understanding what a "temporary widow" is (cf. Rashi, Lam. 1:1), there is also the much more severe problem of understanding how this imagery could apply to Babylon (Isa. 47:8, 9). However, if *almanah* is understood as referring to a city with no means of independent support, i.e., a vassal or tributary nation, all cases of this metaphor then make sense. In the case of Babylon, the nation which was once "mistress of kingdoms" (Isa. 47:5, 7) will now become like an *almanah*. Thus, according to this interpretation, "mistress of kingdoms" and *almanah* are exact opposites and Babylon's punishment becomes much more fitting – she who once subjugated many nations will now become subjugated herself. In the case of Israel becoming an *almanah*, in Lamentations 1:1 this interpretation is further corroborated by the parallelism in that verse: "She has become like an *almanah*//She has become like a tributary nation."

[Chayim Cohen]

In Jewish Law

From the legal point of view, a widow is a woman who was married in a valid marriage and whose husband has died; if any doubt arises as to her widowhood, she will have to prove that she was so married (for the origin of the word "widow," see Levy, J., Neuhebr Tal, s.v. *alman*). The rabbis of the Talmud exegetically explained the name *almanah* ("widow") as being derived from the words *al maneh* ("because of the *maneh*"), i.e., because her statutory **ketubbah* is a *maneh* (= 100 zuz) and not 200 as in the case of a virgin (Ket. 10b).

PERSONAL STATUS. A widow is generally free to marry any man except a high priest (Lev. 21:14); if she marries the latter she becomes a *ḥalalah* (see **Yuhasin*; Lev. 21:15; Kid. 77a; Sh. Ar., EH 7:12). For the prohibitions imposed upon her in consequence of her previous marriage, see Prohibited *Marriages, and for the law prohibiting the widow of a childless brother to marry without prior *levirate marriage or *ḥaliẓah*.

RIGHTS AND OBLIGATIONS. The widow is entitled to the return of all her property of whatever kind, since her ownership of it is not affected by marriage (see *Husband and Wife; for the difference in this respect between the different kinds of her property, see *Dowry). In Jewish law a widow does not inherit her husband (see *Succession), but she is entitled to her *ketubbah* and the rights due to her by virtue of its provisions, which the husband's heirs must satisfy out of the estate; the most important of these provisions relate to her maintenance. She is entitled to the said rights by virtue of her being the widow, and it is therefore unimportant whether and to what extent she possessed property during the marriage. Her said rights arise upon marriage by virtue of law: "a man, upon marrying a woman, becomes bound to her in respect of the statutory *ketubbah*… and her right to be maintained out of his property and to live in his house after his death throughout her widowhood" (Maim. Yad, Ishut 12:1; Sh. Ar., EH 59:1–2); but they become due only upon her husband's death, since the *ketubbah* is "like a debt payable at some future date and will be recoverable only after the husband's death…" (Maim. Yad, Ishut, 16:3; Sh. Ar., EH 93:1). Since the said rights accrue to the widow by virtue of her *ketubbah*, they do not exist if she has lost her right to the *ketubbah* (see *Divorce).

Inasmuch as the rights of the widow arise upon her marriage and not upon the husband's death, he cannot prejudice them by his will, and any testamentary disposition to the effect that the widow shall not be entitled to her *ketubbah* or maintenance out of his estate is void (Ket. 68b; Sh. Ar., EH 69:2; 93:3). No express reference need be made to these rights in the *ketubbah* deed since they arise upon the marriage as a condition laid down by the *bet din* (*tenai bet din*), i.e., by virtue of law, although they are based upon her being entitled to a *ketubbah* (Ket. 52b; Sh. Ar., loc. cit).

SATISFACTION OF THE WIDOW'S RIGHTS OUT OF THE ESTATE. According to talmudic law, a widow can enforce her *ketubbah* and its provisions, including maintenance, only against the immovable property which forms part of the estate (Ket. 81b; Sh. Ar., EH 100:1). However, since the development of trade and the decrease of landholding among Jews led creditors to rely also upon the movables of debtors for repayment of their debts, the *geonim* ordained that the movable property of the estate should also be attachable for the widow's rights (Tos. Ket. 51a; Rosh to Ket. ch. 6:5; Sh. Ar., EH 100:1). Since the time of Maimonides, it has become customary to include in every *ketubbah* deed a provision rendering the husband's movable property so attachable, whether acquired at the date of the marriage or to be acquired by him thereafter (Maim. Yad, Ishut, 16:8; see *Lien).

SATISFACTION OF THE WIDOW'S RIGHTS AGAINST PURCHASERS. The husband's property being subject to the *ketubbah*, the widow may, in the event of the estate being insufficient to cover it, follow the property in the hands of the purchasers, i.e., recover the amount of the *ketubbah* out of immovable property which the husband or his heirs have transferred to others. This remedy, however, is not available with regard to movables so transferred, since, contrary to the case of immovable property, where the purchaser can be required first to find out whether the vendor can indeed transfer it free from all encumbrances, in the case of movables, owing to regulations of furthering commerce (*takkanot ha-shuk*), that cannot be required lest commercial stability would thereby be impaired (Ket. 51a; Sh. Ar., EH 100:1). On the other hand, if the husband has transferred his property by way of *donatio mortis causa* (see *Wills), the widow is entitled to be satisfied for her *ketubbah* out of the movable property also, inasmuch as in such a case the property has passed upon death, subject to her rights which accrued to her already in his lifetime (Sh. Ar., ḤM 252:1, EH 100:1, and *Rema* ad loc.). The rabbis, however, also prescribed that for her maintenance the widow cannot proceed against purchasers (see above) even in respect of immovable property, since the amount to be recovered is not a determinate sum but may vary periodically with her requirements, and a purchaser cannot know the precise debt for which the property is charged (Git. 48b, 50b and *Rashi* ad loc.; Sh. Ar., EH 93:20). On the other hand, as in the case of the *ketubbah*, the widow here may also recover from property transferred by way of *donatio mortis causa* (Sh. Ar., ḤM 252:1, EH loc. cit.). The said limitations upon the right of the widow to receive her *ketubbah* and maintenance from the husband's property which has been transferred to others do not apply if it was transferred fraudulently in order to deprive the widow of it, as "the sages of the Talmud set themselves against anyone who intends to defraud and negate his act" (Resp. Rosh, 78:1 and 3). Accordingly, upon proof that the heirs intend as a means of evasion to dispose of the immovable property of the estate and that her maintenance rights will be prejudiced thereby, she may apply to the court for a prohibitory injunction against them; but she cannot do so in regard to movable property of the estate, since the above-mentioned geonic regulation does not extend to such property (Yad, Ishut, 18:11–13 and *Maggid Mishneh* thereto; Sh. Ar., EH 93:21).

THE WIDOW'S MAINTENANCE. The widow is generally entitled to receive the same maintenance as she was entitled to receive during the husband's lifetime. The same rules therefore apply, e.g., maintenance will include clothing, residence, medical expenses, use of household articles, and the like. Similarly, the principle also applies that "she rises with him but does not descend with him," i.e., that she is entitled to the same standard of maintenance she was entitled to during her late husband's lifetime (Ket. 48a and 103a; Sh. Ar., EH 94:1 and 5). To some extent her said right to maintenance is affected by the very fact of her widowhood, since the personal relationship upon which her rights were based during her husband's lifetime is now absent, and she is now alone, so that her requirements are reduced. For this reason, although entitled to reside in the same apartment in which she lived with her husband, she is no longer entitled to occupy the whole of it if she, being alone, is not in need of it even in order to maintain her social status (Sh. Ar., EH 94:1; *Rema* ad loc. and commentaries PD 19, pt. 2 (1965), 338). Similarly, she is not entitled to transfer ownership of the apartment to others nor to let the whole or part of it, since the right of residence is conferred upon her in order to enable her to maintain her social status but not to make a profit (Sh. Ar., loc. cit.). The right of the widow with regard to the apartment is merely to have the use of it; therefore, upon her death, it returns to the heirs of the husband only, and does not form part of her estate (*Beit Shemu'el* 94, n. 4).

This right of residence is not affected by sale of the apartment by the heirs, and the new owner cannot evict the widow from it (Sh. Ar., EH 94:4). Where the widow is unable to live in the apartment, for instance, if it is destroyed, she is entitled to receive out of the estate an amount necessary for renting another suitable apartment (*Ḥelkat Meḥokek* 94, nos. 6, 7). If the widow survives with small children of the husband, both boys and girls, and the estate is insufficient to maintain all of them, her right prevails; if, however, the young children surviving with her are either all boys or all girls, they all take equally (Ket. 43a and Tos. ad loc.; note the alternative opinion in Sh. Ar., EH 93:4; see also EH 113:6 regarding the priority of the widow's maintenance to the right of the daughters to their dowry out of the estate, and for the reason for the aforesaid distinction, see *Beit Shemu'el* and *Ḥelkat Meḥokek* to EH 93:8–9).

THE WIDOW'S CLAIM FOR PAST MAINTENANCE. A widow is entitled to maintenance, also for the time prior to her claim, since there is no reason to assume that she has waived her right to it. This contrasts with the right to maintenance of a wife who is entitled to it only as from the date of claim onward. If the widow has not claimed for a long period – such as when, being a wealthy woman, she delays for three years or, being poor, she delays for two years – she is presumed to have waived the past maintenance unless the presumption is rebutted by the facts, such as by the fact of her right having been secured by a pledge or mortgage (EH 93:14 and see *Limitation of Actions).

THE WIDOW'S RIGHT TO HER EARNINGS AND THE INCOME FROM HER PROPERTY. Parallel to the rule prevailing during the husband's lifetime concerning his right to the wife's earnings, the heirs are entitled to the widow's earnings in consideration of her maintenance (Sh. Ar., EH 95:1). On the other hand, they are not entitled to the income from her property, as is the husband to the income from the wife's property – since to the husband it is due in consideration of her redemption only, i.e., of his obligation to ransom her if she is taken captive so that she can return and live with him as his wife, a reason not applicable in respect of the heirs. Correspondingly, the heirs are under no obligation to ransom her either when she has fallen into captivity or finds herself in a similar situation, for instance, when she cannot return from abroad except upon payment of a considerable sum which she does not possess (Ket. 52a; Yad, Ishut, 18:5 and 8; Sh. Ar., EH 78:8; 94:7; 94:4).

EXPIRATION OF THE WIDOW'S RIGHT TO MAINTENANCE. Since the widow is entitled to maintenance by virtue of the provisions of the *ketubbah* (see above), i.e., only while entitled to the *ketubbah*, her right to maintenance will expire upon her no longer being entitled to the *ketubbah*, i.e., if she has lost her right to it by virtue of law or if she has actually received payment of it from the heirs. Likewise, since one of the conditions in law connected with her maintenance is that she shall not be "ashamed," i.e., to enable her to preserve the honor of her husband, she will lose such right upon her voluntarily claiming her *ketubbah* in court – for by doing so she implicitly declares herself no longer concerned with the honor of her husband or with his heirs (Ket. 54a; Sh. Ar., EH 93:5; and *Ḥelkat Meḥokek*, n. 13).

The widow's right to maintenance also ceases if she remarries (see *Marriage), because under the *ketubbah*, which is the source of her right, she is entitled to maintenance during widowhood only. According to most of the authorities, she even loses her maintenance upon her engagement for a new marriage – although by it alone she does not create a new personal status – because by it she shows that she no longer wishes to preserve the honor of her first husband and remain his widow (Ket. 52b; 54a; Sh. Ar., EH 93:7 and *Rema* ad loc.).

THE PROBLEM OF DENIAL OF MAINTENANCE BY INVOLUNTARY RECEIPT OF THE KETUBBAH. Since the widow – if she has not lost her right to maintenance otherwise (see above) – is entitled to maintenance only so long as she has not received or claimed her *ketubbah* by legal process, opinion was divided already in the time of the Mishnah as to whether the heirs may compel her to receive it and thereby be released from their obligation to maintain her. It was finally decided that this question depends upon custom, because maintenance of the widow is one of the provisions of the *ketubbah*, and in all matters relating to the *ketubbah*, "local custom," i.e., the custom of the place of marriage, applies, such custom being considered a condition of the marriage and therefore not to be varied but with the consent of both spouses (Sh. Ar., EH 93:3 and *Ḥelkat Meḥokek*, n. 5). According to the custom of the people of Jerusalem and Galilee, the choice lay with the widow alone, and therefore they inserted in the *ketubbah* deed a term, "You shall dwell in my house and be maintained in it out of my estate throughout the duration of your widowhood" (Ket. 52b; 54a and Tos. ad loc.). According to the custom of the people of Judea, however, the choice was left with the heirs, and there the corresponding term in the *ketubbah* deed was therefore, "until the heirs shall wish to pay you your *ketubbah*" (*ibid.*). As regards this difference in custom it was said that, while the people of Jerusalem cared for their honor, the people of Judea cared for their money (TJ, 4:15, 29b). The *halakhah* was decided in accordance with the custom of Jerusalem and Galilee, i.e., whenever there is no other fixed custom or rabbinical *takkanah*, the choice lies solely with the widow, and the heirs cannot deprive her of maintenance against her wishes (Ket. 54a and Tos. ad loc.; Yad, Ishut, 18:1; Sh. Ar., EH 93:3; and see *Conflict of Laws).

Inasmuch as economic conditions during marriage may so change that the estate might be insufficient to provide both for the maintenance of the widow and for inheritance for the heirs – a state of affairs which the husband certainly did not intend – many of the authorities were of the opinion that it is proper to make a *takkanah* permitting the heirs to deprive the widow of her maintenance by payment to her (against her will) of her *ketubbah (Rema* EH 93:3 and *Pitḥei Teshuvah* thereto, n. 5). Accordingly, various *takkanot* were made in the matter and the most well known, cited also in the Shulḥan Arukh, are those known as the *Takkanot* of Toledo, Spain, of the 13th century, which in their main provisions laid down that the heirs may discharge their obligation for the widow's maintenance by payment unto her of her *ketubbah*, which, if it amounts to more than half the value of the estate, shall be deemed to be discharged by payment unto her of half such value (Resp. Rosh 55; Sh. Ar, EH 118 and commentaries).

In Ereẓ Israel there is a distinction between the Sephardi and Ashkenazi communities. The former follow the author of the Shulḥan Arukh, i.e., that the choice lies with the widow alone and the heirs cannot rid themselves of the obligation for her maintenance against her wishes (Sh. Ar., EH 93:3). The Ashkenazim permit the heirs to do so by payment unto the widow of the *ketubbah* even if she does not agree to it. That is certainly the situation when the widow was the second wife of the deceased, but it is also customary with a first wife, although the rabbinical courts endeavor to get the parties to agree to a fair arrangement under which the widow will not lose her maintenance. At any rate, the heirs are not entitled to evict the widow from the marital home, and she is to be provided with the household utensils and silverware forming part of the estate, the size of the estate being taken into account (*Pithei Teshuvah*, nos. 5 and 6 to Sh. Ar., EH 93; *Sha'arei Uzzi'el*, 2 (1946), 244, nos. 14, 15; *Beit Me'ir*, EH 93:3; 94:1).

THE STATE OF ISRAEL. As to the personal status of the widow in the State of Israel, the rules of the *halakhah* generally apply, both in the rabbinical courts and in the secular civil courts, in the latter except insofar as private international law imports other rules. With regard to the widow's financial rights, however, the Succession Law of 1965 provides that the *halakhah* shall apply in the rabbinical courts alone, and only if all the interested parties have expressed their consent to it in writing (sec. 155). Failing such consent, jurisdiction is in the civil courts alone, and these apply the provisions of the said law only (secs. 148 and 151). Under these provisions the widow is entitled to a part of the estate as an heir. In addition, if she is in need of it, she is also entitled to maintenance out of the estate; the amount of such maintenance is fixed by the court, taking into account all the circumstances, and particularly to what she is entitled as an heir and the extent of her *ketubbah* (secs. 56–65).

[Ben-Zion (Benno) Schereschewsky]

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WIEDENFELD, DOV (1881–1965), *rosh yeshivah* and *posek*, popularly known as the "Tshebiner Rav." Belonging to a prominent Galician rabbinic family, he received his education from his father Jacob, the author of the *Kokhav mi-Ya'akov* (1933), and from his own brothers, R. Isaac, the rabbi of Grimailov, and R. Nahum, the rabbi of Dubrovitsa. Although widely recognized as a scholar, R. Dov refused to enter the rabbinate and instead became a businessman in Trzebinia. In 1923, following the death of Trzebinia's rabbi, Wiedenfeld acceded to the requests of the community to become its spiritual leader. He now officially opened a yeshivah in Trzebinia which soon attracted 70 students, and his opinion in halakhic questions was eagerly sought by his colleagues throughout Galicia and Poland. Many of his decisions were later recorded in his *Dover Meisharim* (3 vols., 1937–51). During World War II he escaped from Trzebinia to Lvov and was later exiled to Siberia by the Communists. Here, under the most trying conditions, he still continued his talmudic studies, recording his new interpretations on scraps of paper and pieces of wood. In 1946 Wiedenfeld arrived in Jerusalem following Chief Rabbi Isaac *Herzog's intervention with the British government. There he reestablished his yeshivah, which he named *Kokhav mi-Ya'akov* and continued to respond to the many inquiries on Jewish law which he received. Following the death of R. Isaac Zeev *Soloveichik in 1960, Wiedenfeld was considered the final authority of his generation by many Orthodox Jews.

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[Aaron Rothkoff]

WIELICZKA, town in Cracow province, S. Poland, in the historic region of *Lesser Poland. Rights to exploit the celebrated salt mines in Wieliczka were leased by Jews, including Saul *Wahl, from the 14th to the end of the 18th century. However, an organized Jewish community was established there only in the second half of the 19th century. The Jewish population numbered 614 in 1890, 981 (15.5% of the total) in 1900, and 1,700 in 1921.

[Abraham N. Poliak]

Holocaust Period

On the outbreak of World War II there were about 1,300 Jews in Wieliczka. The Germans occupied the town on Sept. 7, 1939. In summer 1942 the Jews from the whole county were concentrated in Wieliczka. The Jewish community was liquidated on Aug. 27, 1942, when 8,000 Jews from Wieliczka and its vicinity were deported to *Belzec death camp, 500 to Stalowa-Wola forced labor camp, and 200 to Plaszow concentration camp. After the war the Jewish community of Wieliczka was not reconstituted.

WIELUN (Pol. **Wieluń**, Rus. **Velyun**), district town in the province of Lodz, Poland. Jewish merchants settled in Wielun about the middle of the 16th century when the town prospered as a station on the commercial route from Poland and Lithuania to Silesia. A privilege, *de non tolerandis Judaeis*, was granted to Wielun in 1566. A Jewish settlement was reestablished at the close of the 18th century. There were 70 Jews (6% of the population) in Wielun in 1808; 642 (16.5% of the population) in 1857; and 2,732 (38%) in 1897. When the town was rebuilt after the great fire of 1858, the head of the local community, Leib Kon, succeeded in thwarting the plans for erecting a Jewish quarter. The overwhelming majority of Jews earned their livelihoods as craftsmen and a minority engaged in commerce. The first synagogue (1799) was situated in an ancient building acquired from a monastery. A large synagogue was built in its place in 1855. Until 1848 the Jews buried their dead in the cemetery of Dzialoszyn. In the early 1850s, as a result of a cholera epidemic, a local cemetery was acquired. From the 1850s the influence of *Ḥasidism began to be felt in the community. At the close of the century R. Menahem Mendel Grynberg held rabbinical office. During World War I hundreds of Jewish workers from Lodz found refuge in Wielun. In 1921 Jews numbered 4,818 (44% of the population). Between the two world wars Jewish craftsmen (65% of the working population in the community) formed trade unions (as builders, carpenters, tinsmiths, locksmiths, barbers, etc.). The town's transportation was developed by Jewish initiative in providing buses and lorries. The community's educational institutions included a talmud torah, Yesodei ha-Torah, *Yavneh schools, a *Beth Jacob school, and a large yeshivah in which about one-third of the Jewish pupils studied. Both the *Zionist movement and *Agudat Israel were active in the community, and delegates from the Jewish population were an important factor in the municipal council. Before the Holocaust there were outbreaks of antisemitism in the town: a boycott of Jewish trade, attacks on the synagogue and its worshipers, and there was an attempt to provoke a blood libel (1937).

[Arthur Cygielman]

Holocaust Period

About 4,200 Jews lived in Wielun in 1939. During World War II the town underwent heavy bombardment and the Jewish hospital was among the numerous buildings destroyed. The ancient synagogue of Wielun was also destroyed and part of the Jewish population escaped to the nearby city of *Zelow. When that town was occupied by German forces, most of the Jews returned and found shelter in barracks and in damaged buildings. The Germans soon began to kidnap able-bodied Jews in the streets for slave labor in what became daily raids. Jewish slave labor was used for the construction and repair of the roads and buildings, and in demolition work (including that of the synagogue). Another group of Jews was forced to build a swimming pool for the Germans, using tombstones from the Jewish cemetery for paving it. Pillage of Jewish property went on without interruption. Even the liturgical objects and the library of manuscripts in the synagogue were looted by the Nazis. Several hundred Jews from the neighboring villages escaped to Wielun, but the Jewish population constantly decreased as a result of either "voluntary" or forced transfers to other parts of Poland. In February 1942, the Germans publicly executed ten Jews on the pretext that they violated the prohibition against the preparation of kosher meat. In June 1942, the president of the *Judenrat was murdered by the Germans, and during that same summer the ghetto was surrounded by German police and a large number of Jews were deported to an unknown destination. The liquidation of all the Jewish communities in Wielun county began on Aug. 22, 1942, when the entire Jewish population (about 10,000) from the neighboring towns and villages were driven to Wielun and kept in the Augustine Church without food or water for several days. The sick, the weak, and the old were murdered in the church, and the rest, together with the Jews of Wielun, were sent to the death camp at *Chelmno. Only a small number of physically fit were sent to *Lodz Ghetto.

[Danuta Dombrowska]

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WIENER, family of medalists active in Belgium. JACQUES (1815–1899) was the oldest of three brothers who were to become famous as medalists. Born in the Rhineland of Hungarian immigrants, he was apprenticed at the age of 13 to his uncle L. Baruch, a fine engraver in his own right. The two signed some earlier medals jointly. At the age of 30 Wiener was the first to conceive the idea of engraving in precise detail the exterior and interior of a monument on the obverse and reverse of a medal. He engraved with great delicacy ten medals of famous Belgian churches. This he followed with a series of 41 medals, issued between 1850 and 1865, illustrating the most famous European buildings. He also engraved the first Belgian stamps, and for many years was head of the government plant issuing these stamps. Among the hundreds of medals of this master, there are several of Jewish interest, e.g., the 1841 Opening of the Jewish Home for the Aged in The Hague and the 1861 Opening of the Synagogue at Cologne.

Leopold (1823–1891) studied with his older brother Jacques and then became a pupil of David d'Angers in Paris. In 1847 he returned to Belgium and started engraving a series of large historical medals which commemorated contemporary events and became very popular. In 1864 he was appointed first engraver to the Belgian mint, holding the post until his death. He was responsible for all the currency of Leopold II – some 150 pieces. At the same time he continued striking medals. He also had a considerable reputation as a sculptor; several of his monumental works still adorn public places in Belgium. One medal of special Jewish interest is his 1859 portrait study of Henri Loeb, chief rabbi of Belgium.

Charles (1832–1888) was the third and youngest of the Wiener brothers and, perhaps, had the most brilliant career. He studied at Brussels and Paris where he was a student of Oudiné. In 1865 he settled at The Hague as engraver to the king of Holland, but moved to London, where he was assistant engraver at the Royal Mint. He then went to Lisbon as chief engraver of the Portuguese coins. Returning to Brussels in 1867, Charles devoted himself to medals, which he produced in large number, some in conjunction with his brother Jacques. His English pieces have best withstood the test of time. Of Jewish interest are three portrait medals: E.A. Astruc, chief rabbi of Belgium; Jules Anspach, mayor of Brussels; and a dual portrait of Sir Moses and Lady Judith Montefiore.

[Daniel M. Friedenberg]

WIENER, ALEXANDER S. (1907–1976), U.S. immunohematologist. Born and educated in New York, he was appointed professor of forensic medicine at the New York University School of Medicine in 1938. Together with Karl *Landsteiner, Wiener discovered the Rh human blood factor. He also worked out in detail the serology, genetics, and nomenclature of the entire Rh blood group system. He discovered the Rh blocking antibody and was the first to introduce exchange transfusion for the treatment of erythroblastosis fetalis. Other blood group factors discovered by Wiener include Kell, Ca, U, M^e, and the I-i blood group system. Wiener wrote books and articles in the field of blood groups and acted as a member of the editorial boards of several leading medical publications.

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[Fred Rosner]

WIENER, ALFRED (1885–1964), public figure. An Arabist by education, he served as secretary to Paul *Nathan from 1911 to 1914. After serving in World War I Wiener became active in the CV (*Central-Verein deutscher Staatsbuerger juedischen Glaubens) of which he became secretary general. He belonged to the pro-Palestine wing of the CV which, from 1929, collaborated in the non-Zionist part of the enlarged Jewish *Agency and the Keren *Hayesod. At the end of 1933, with the help of Professor David *Cohen, he founded the Jewish Central Information Office in Amsterdam which was brought over to London in 1939 and was later named Wiener *Library. The rest of his life was dedicated to this institute.

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[Yehuda Reshef]

WIENER, ERNEST EDOUARD (1882–1973), Belgian soldier and engineer. A grandson of Jacques *Wiener, he was born in Brussels to a family which played a prominent role in Belgian arts, finance, and politics. He entered the Military Academy in 1899. While a lieutenant, he studied electrical engineering at the Montefiore Electro-Technical Institute in Liège, from which he graduated in 1909. During World War I, he was appointed to important commands and was wounded while trying to rescue some soldiers under artillery fire. From 1929 to 1936, he was in charge of studies at the Military Academy, first as assistant director and then as director. In 1940, he was a major-general commanding Transmission Troops and Services at Supreme Headquarters. As a prisoner of war for five years in German camps during World War II, he showed great dignity both as a soldier and as a Jew, and when he retired from active service in 1946, he was made a lieutenant-general, the highest rank in the Belgian Army.

During his life, Wiener was active in scientific and technical societies and was president, inter alia, of the Belgian section of the International Electro-Technical Committee. Following the family tradition, he became a member of the Consistoire Central Israélite de Belgique, the official representative body of Belgian Jewry. He was elected president in 1938, but could only act as a delegate until 1950, when he assumed the post with full title, occupying it until 1956. Most of his efforts were devoted to the reconstruction of the religious communities throughout the country and to the reorganization of several communal services. General Wiener was decorated by the British, French, and Belgian governments.

[Willy Bok]

WIENER, HAROLD MARCUS (1875–1929), English Bible scholar. Wiener was born in London. Although a lawyer by profession, he devoted most of his life to biblical research. He settled in Palestine in 1924, believing that a religious renaissance was imminent. His main objective was to minimize the conflict between the various religions in the land, and he devoted the last five years of his life to a rapprochement between Arabs and Jews. He supported an Arab school and provided funds for scholarships for young Arabs. His house was called the House of Humanity. Despite these activities, Wiener was killed by an Arab gang on Aug. 13, 1929. He said to his attackers, who did not recognize him, *ana yahud* ("I am a Jew"), and these words sealed his fate.

In his studies Wiener insisted that the Pentateuch was written by Moses, but developed a critical method of biblical interpretation, by which, using the ancient versions, he attempted to establish a correct text. Wiener was prominent among those who opposed the J. *Wellhausen school of Bible research by scholarly methods. Among his major works are *Essays in Pentateuchal Criticism* (1909); *The Origin of the Pentateuch* (1910); *Prophets of Israel in History and Modern Criticism* (1923); *Early Hebrew History and Other Studies* (1924); and *Posthumous Essays* (1932). In addition, the following essays were reprinted separately: *Notes on Hebrew Religion* (1907); *The Date of the Exodus* (1916); *The Religion of Moses* (1919); *The Main Problem of Deuteronomy* (1920); and *Altars of the Old Testament* (1927).

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[Yehuda Komlosh]

WIÉNER, JEAN (1896–1982), French pianist and composer. He was born in Paris to a family of Austrian origin. He studied at the Conservatoire de Paris with A. Gédalge. After World War I he was among the first to defend jazz music in France. Between 1920 and 1924 he organized the Concerts Wiéner, which contributed to making known his friends, the French "Group of Six" (Honegger, *Milhaud, Auric, Poulenc, Tailleferre, Durey), as well as the works of M. de Falla, I. Stravinski, A. Schonberg, A. Berg, and A. Webern. It was in that framework that D. Milhaud conducted the first performance of Schoenberg's *Pierrot Lunaire*. Along with Clement Doucet he formed a piano duo, which gave 2,000 concerts between 1925 and 1939. His compositions were strongly influenced by American jazz, which he helped to popularize in France. Among his works are *Franco-American Concerto* (1922–23), piano and violin music, an operetta, and music for the cinema, theater, radio, and television.

[Amnon Shiloah (2nd ed.)]

WIENER, LEO (1862–1939), philologist and historian of Yiddish language, literature, and folklore. Born in Bialystok, Poland, he studied at the University of Warsaw in 1880, and then in Berlin. In 1882 he immigrated to the U.S. He became a lecturer in the department of Germanic and Romance languages at the University of Kansas (1892–95), and taught in the Department of Slavic Studies at Harvard University (1895–1930), becoming assistant professor in 1901 and professor in 1911. Wiener published articles on Yiddish linguistic elements in Polish, German, Ukrainian, and Belorussian (1893–1904). In his work *The Popular Poetry of the Russian Jews* (1899), he not only studied Yiddish folk poems but analyzed the poetry of *badḥanim*. He was the first to introduce the poetry of Morris *Rosenfeld, who had been a sweatshop worker, to the general public by translating his poems into English (*Dos Liderbukh,* "The Songbook," 1897) under the title *Songs from the Ghetto* (1898). In 1898, Wiener traveled to Europe to collect material for his pioneering volume, *The History of Yiddish Literature in the Nineteenth Century* (1899). I.L. *Peretz encouraged him and Abraham Elijah *Harkavy, librarian at the Asiatic Museum of St. Petersburg, presented him with a thousand Yiddish books, which formed the basis of the Yiddish collection of the Harvard University library. After the turn of the century Wiener's interest in Yiddish declined. He compiled a valuable anthology of Russian literature (2 volumes, 1902–03) and translated Tolstoy into English (24 volumes, 1904).

He was the father of Norbert *Wiener.

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(1953); S. Niger, *Bleter Geshikhte fun der Yidisher Literatur* (1959), 283–93.

[Sol Liptzin]

WIENER, MAX (1882–1950), Reform rabbi, author, and theologian. Born in Oppeln (Germany), he studied at the University of Berlin, where he received his Ph.D. in 1906, and at the Juedisch-theologisches Seminar in Breslau and the Lehranstalt fuer die Wissenschaft des Judentums in Berlin. He was ordained there in 1908.Wiener served the congregations in Duesseldorf, where he was assistant to Rabbi Leo *Baeck (1909–12), and then as rabbi in Stettin. He was a chaplain in France with the German Army during World War I. In 1926 he moved to Berlin where he was a communal rabbi for the liberal congregations. He succeeded Julius *Guttmann at the Lehranstalt fuer die Wissenschaft des Judentums. He was active as a member of the national board of directors of the Juedischer Kulturverband, which was constituted to give work to unemployed Jewish artists and musicians by having them perform in concerts and theatrical performances, as well as lectures for the Jewish community. He was one of the great scholars saved by the Hebrew Union College and its visionary president Julius *Morgenstein, and brought to the United States, literally plucked from the fire. Together with other scholars, including Abraham Joshua *Heschel, he was invited to HUC, where he became a member of the faculty and a congregational rabbi in Fairmont West, Virginia. He later moved to Congregation Habonim in New York, which was a synagogue in Washington Heights composed of German Jewish refugees, in what euphemistically became known as the "Fourth Reich" in Manhattan.

Wiener saw the essence of Judaism in the teaching of the prophets (*Die Anschauungen der Propheten von der Sittlichkeit* ("The Prophetic View of Ethics," 1909)), but he was critical of 19th-century Reform (*Juedische Religion im Zeitalter der Emanzipation*, 1933 – a standard work) and took a position sympathetic to Zionism and the historical character of Judaism and the Jewish people. Wiener also published *Juedische Froemmigkeit und religioeses Dogma* (1924); *Religion in dieser Zeit* (1934); and compiled *Abraham Geiger und liberales Judentum* (posthumous 1962). He was on the board of the *Reconstructionist* and served as editor of the *Jewish Lexicon* (1927; his work was adapted for the *Universal Jewish Encyclopedia*).

His son THEODORE WIENER (1918–) was librarian at the Hebrew Union College–Jewish Institute of Religion, Cincinnati, from 1959, after serving as rabbi in a number of Reform congregations. From 1964 Wiener was supervisor of the Hebrew Language Unit in the Descriptive Cataloging Division at the Library of Congress. He published bibliographies of Leo Baeck (1954), Samuel *Cohon (1956), and Solomon B. Freehof (1964) and was co-translator with E. Spicehandler of B. Felsenthal's letters to J.H. Schorr (1958).

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[Jakob J. Petuchowski / Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

WIENER, MEIR (1893–1941), poet, novelist, and literary critic. Born in Cracow, Wiener received a traditional and secular education and was influenced by his tutor, Ben-Zion Rappaport. During World War I he studied at the universities of Basel and Zurich, later living in Vienna, Berlin, and Paris (1918–26). After immigrating to the Soviet Union in 1926, he became a Soviet citizen, living and working in Kharkov, Kiev, and, from 1933, Moscow. During World War II he volunteered for the Soviet army and was killed near the city of Vyazma during the defense of Moscow. Until his departure for the Soviet Union he wrote mostly in German, including *Messias* ("Messiah," 1920), a collection of mystical meditative elegies; *Die Lyrik der Kabbalah* ("The Lyric of the Kabbalah," 1920), a selection of Hebrew religious poetry in free translation with introductory notes; *Von den Symbolen* ("On Symbols," 1924), an aesthetical-philosophical treatise; political articles, philosophical essays and book reviews, mostly on Jewish subjects, published in the periodicals *Jerubbaal*, *Esra*, *Der Jude*, *Menorah*, *Wiener Morgenzeitung* and others. Together with H. *Brody he published *Mivḥar ha-Shirah ha-Ivrit* ("Selection of Hebrew Lyric," 1922) from the Middle Ages, with his own Hebrew introduction. He began writing Yiddish poetry and fiction in the early 1920s, but was unable to find a publisher for his works outside the Soviet Union. His extensive literary activity up to 1926, which also includes the expressionistic Yiddish novel *Ele Faleks Untergang* ("Ele Falek's Downfall"; written in Berlin in 1923, published in Kharkov 1929), reflects his search for a mode of expression adapted to the conceptual and emotional struggle of the young Jewish intelligentsia between the world wars. He attempted to define Jewish identity and destiny while vacillating between spiritual Zionism and Martin *Buber's teaching on the one hand, and social political radicalism and expressionistic trends in art and literature on the other. He probed deeply into traditional Hebrew poetry and Jewish mysticism and their human and religious significance for modern people in general, and the Jews in particular. His personal and ideological disappointments, lack of a sense of mission, and absence of a place in the intellectual life in Western and Central Europe, as well as his contacts with leftist circles in Berlin and Vienna, including Soviet Yiddish authors Leyb *Kvitko and *Der Nister, caused him to immigrate to the Soviet Union, where he concentrated his energy and talents on Yiddish literature. His main work there was devoted to the research and publications of the Jewish scientific institutes in Kharkov, Kiev, and Moscow in the 1920s and 1930s, where he also played an important role as counselor, editor, and teacher. He headed the Department of Yiddish Language and Literature at Moscow State Pedagogical Institute (1934–38) and directed and participated in the editing of Yiddish literature ranging from folk-song collections and the anonymous comedy *Di Genarte Velt*, to the writings of Solomon *Ettinger, Israel *Axenfeld, Sholem Yankev *Abramovitsh, and *Sholem Aleichem. His editions have served as models ever since; his prefaces to these editions were collected along with additional articles and published in his book *Tsu der Ge-*

shikhte fun der Yidisher Literatur in Nayntsentn Yorhundert (2 vols., 1945–6²). Although this book had not been planned as a comprehensive study, it is, together with his later book, *Vegn Sholem Aleichems Humor* (1941), one of the most notable achievements of criticism and investigation of 19th-century Yiddish literature. Wiener's books evince penetrating knowledge of the subject against a broad literary and cultural background, but also show the author's dependence on Marxist conceptions and Soviet ideological trends predominant at the time. He also published works on Marxist literary theory, theoretical problems in folklore, and criticism of such contemporary Yiddish writers in Russia and abroad as H. Leyvick, David *Bergelson, Perez *Markish, Leib Kvitko, and Itzik *Kipnis. Despite his declared allegiance to Marxist criticism, he had to defend himself in 1932 against critics who accused him of "dangerous deviationism." Towards the end of the 1930s, the emphasis of his research shifted from the sociological aspects of literature towards the issues of style and psychology of literary characters. He continued to write fiction, including the story of Cracow Jews in the 17th century, *Kolev Ashkenazi* (1934, 1939²) and the unfinished novel *Baym Mitllendishn Yam* ("At the Mediterranean Sea," 1936) set in Venice of the first half of the 17th century. Some of Wiener's works were published posthumously in *Sovetish Heymland: the story *Los Khudios* ("The Jews"; 10, 1968), and his fascinating memoirs which include vivid descriptions of his family and the Jewish Cracow of his childhood and youth (9, 10, 1969). But his major novel, tentatively titled *Der Groyser Roman* ("The Great Novel"), portraying the Jewish literary and artistic scene of Berlin of the early 1920s in which Wiener actively participated, remains unpublished.

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[Chone Shmeruk / Mikhail Krutikov (2nd ed.)]

WIENER, NORBERT (1894–1964), U.S. mathematician; inventor of the science of cybernetics. Born in Columbia, Missouri, Wiener was a child prodigy. He was the son of Leo *Wiener, historian of Yiddish language, literature, and folklore and professor of Slavic languages, who made incessant intellectual demands on his son (and who did not reveal their Jewishness – a fact discovered by Norbert Wiener only when he was in his teens). Wiener began to read scientific books at four, and by seven was familiar with the theories of natural scientists, such as Darwin, and with psychiatrists such as Charcot and Janet. He entered Tufts University at 11, and obtained his Ph.D. at Harvard University at 18. At Cambridge, England, he studied under such world-famous personalities as the philosopher Bertrand Russell and the mathematician G.H. Hardy. Wiener's main innovation as a mathematician was to develop a mathematics based upon imprecise terms reflecting the irregularities of the physical world. He sought to reduce these random movements to a minimum in order to bring them into harmony. During World War II, he applied his concepts to work connected with antiaircraft defense, and this led to advances in radar, high-speed electric computation, the automatic factory, and a new science he created called cybernetics, a word he coined from the Greek word for "steersman," meaning the study of control. This followed his attempt as a mathematician to find the basis of the communication of information, and of the control of a system based on such communication. Wiener suggested the use of cybernetics in diagnostic procedures and indicated the similarity between certain types of nervous pathology and servomechanism (goal-directed machines such as guns which correct their own fixing malfunctioning). His book *Cybernetics* (1948) was a scientific bestseller and transformed him into a public figure as the pioneer of computer development. For the last 17 years of his life he refused to take part in any military research. His book *The Human Use of Human Beings* (1950) sought to alert the layman to the dangerous social consequences of his theories. He wrote an autobiography in two parts: *Ex-Prodigy* (1953) and *I Am a Mathematician* (1956).

[Maurice Goldsmith]

WIENER, PHILIP PAUL (1905–1992), U.S. philosopher. Born in New York, Wiener taught at City College from 1933. He was a founder of the *Journal of the History of Ideas* (1940) and was its executive editor. In 1960 he became the vice president of the International Society for the History of Ideas, and in 1958–59 was the president of the Peirce Society. Wiener's interest was in examining the development of ideas in terms of their cultural connections and relationships.

He wrote *Evolution and the Founders of Pragmatism* (1949) and *Readings in Philosophy and Science* (1953); He edited works on the history and philosophy of science, on the history of ideas, and on C.S. Peirce, and translated works from the French. His edited works include *Leibnitz Selections* (1951); *Roots of Scientific Thought* (with A. Noland, 1957); *Ideas in Cultural Perspective* (with A. Noland, 1962); *Charles S. Peirce: Selected Writings* (1966); *Renaissance Essays* (with P. Kristeller, 1968); *Basic Problems of Philosophy* (et al., 1972); *The Dictionary of the History of Ideas* (1973); and *Violence and Aggression in the History of Ideas* (1974).

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[Richard H. Popkin / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

WIENER, SAMUEL (1860–1929), Hebrew bibliographer. In 1887 Samuel Wiener was called upon by the Royal Academy of Sciences in St. Petersburg to work in its department of Hebrew and Yiddish books at the Asiatic Museum attached to the Academy. He assisted Moses Aryeh Leib *Friedland (1825–1899), the wealthy St. Petersburg communal worker and philanthropist, in acquiring and arranging a large and valuable collection of Hebrew books and manuscripts entrusted to the Asiatic Museum in 1892.

His large bibliographical work *Kohelet Moshe* (Bibliotheca Friedlandiana), which lists all the books in Hebrew characters of the Asian Museum, remained unfinished; the first seven volumes, covering the letters *alef* to *kaf* and a total of 5,507 entries, were published (1893–1918), and the eighth volume, containing the letter *lamed*, was edited by Joseph Bender, and published in 1936. This bibliography is unequaled in Hebrew for its accuracy and itemization. In his work *Reshimat Haggadot Pesaḥ* ("List of Passover *Haggadot*," 1901), Wiener describes about 900 Passover *Haggadot*. He also edited and completed the work of I.T. Eisenstadt, *Da'at Kedoshim* (1897–98).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: A. Marks, in: *Hadoar*, 8 (1929), 387 8; A. Tauber, in: KS, 6 (1930), 108; LNYL, 3 (1960), 451–2; E. Simon, in: *Mitteilungen der Soncino-Gesellschaft*, 6 (1930), 27–28.

[Gedalyah Elkoshi]

WIENER GESERA, persecutions of Jews in *Vienna and its environs in 1421. The early 15th century was a period of rising hatred of the burghers of Vienna against the Jews, kindled in part by Jewish wealth. The *Hussite heresy had widespread reverberations in Austria at the time, and it was generally held that Jews and Hussites maintained close contact. Duke Albert V, inclined to religious fanaticism and disturbed by the Hussite rebellion, was also deeply in debt to Jewish moneylenders and without the means of repayment. At Easter 1420 a rumor was spread among the population of Vienna that a rich Jew named Israel had bought consecrated *Hosts from the wife of a Church sexton in Enns, and distributed them among other Jews who desecrated them. The Jews who were implicated were brought to Vienna, imprisoned, and tortured. On May 23, 1420, the Jews were rounded up in all the cities and towns of Austria and their possessions taken from them. The wealthy were imprisoned in Vienna, while the poor were put into boats without oars on the Danube at the mercy of the stream. Some Jews were held captive in houses, others in the synagogues. Children were separated from parents and husbands from wives, and an attempt was made to convert them to Christianity. The rabbis of Italy appealed to Pope Martin V for his intervention on behalf of the Jews of Austria. He reacted by threatening with excommunication anyone who forced Jews to convert. Nonetheless, many of the children taken from their parents were carried off to monasteries and there forcibly converted. A great many of those imprisoned committed suicide, including those held in the synagogues; the last one alive, R. Jonah, set fire to the corpses and died on the funeral pyre. The Jews who were left, 120 women and 92 men, were burned at the stake on March 12, 1421. All the property of the Jews passed to Duke Albert. The stones of the synagogue were used in building the university. Some Jews escaped to Bohemia; a very few managed to maintain an illegal existence in Austria. The proud Vienna community numbering between 1,400 and 1,600 existed no longer, and the city became known in Jewish tradition as "Ir ha-Damim" ("The City of Blood").

BIBLIOGRAPHY: S. Krauss, *Die Wiener Gesera* (1920); M. Grunwald, *Vienna* (1836), 34–37: A. Zehavi-Goldhammer, in: *Arim ve-Immahot be-Yisrael*, 1 (1946), 191–3; O.H. Stowasser, *Zur Geschichte der Wiener Gesera von* 1421 (1920).

[B. Mordechai Ansbacher]

WIENER LIBRARY, Jewish information institute in London, founded in 1934 in Amsterdam as the Jewish Central Information Office, by David Cohen, its president, and Alfred *Wiener, its director. The aim of the institute was to communicate material on the realities of *national socialism to Jewish organizations and leaders for effective action with the authorities of their respective countries. It collected, inter alia, Nazi news publications (up to the end of World War II). The institute supplied information for the defense of David *Frankfurter and for the trial of the publishers of *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion* in Switzerland. At the end of 1938 a special collection of material on the November *Kristallnacht* was initiated. In the spring of 1939 the seat of the institute was transferred to London. The Amsterdam branch and most of its personnel became victims of the Nazis. During World War II the library collaborated with the British authorities and the BBC. Special stress was laid on the collection of material on war criminals, which was supplied to the International Military Tribunal in Nuremberg. In recognition of these services the library received the bulk of the copies of prosecution documents. In 1946 a bi-monthly, *The Wiener Library Bulletin*, was initiated. With volume XIX, no. 3 (1965), its publication ceased, but it was replaced by a new publication under the same title with a change in interests and contents. The 19 volumes are a treasure of information on Nazism, Fascism (including neo-Nazism and neo-Fascism), Jewish affairs, and the Holocaust in particular. After the death of Alfred Wiener in 1964, Walter Z. *Laqueur became director of the library. He inaugurated the *Journal of Contemporary History* (1966), catalogs of the book collection, and monographs on the library's research subjects. Four catalogs of the library had been previously published.

[Yehuda Reshef]

At the end of 1974 it was announced that the Wiener Library would be transferred to Tel Aviv University; the move was completed in 1980 with a microfilm library, covering periodicals, press archives, and rare books, to be maintained in London. From 1974 to 1980 Tel Aviv University contributed to the maintenance of the library in London. Despite the move of some of its holdings to Israel, it continues as the Institute of Contemporary History and Wiener Library, at Devonshire Street in central London. It contains one of the largest libraries of books and archives relating to the Holocaust period in Europe, over 50,000 items. Its director in 2005, Ben Barkow, was the author of *Alfred Wiener and the Making of the Holocaust Library* (1997). The Library publishes a newsletter and other works and holds lectures and conferences.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: J. Robinson and P. Friedman, *Guide to Jewish History under Nazi Impact* (1960), 108–9; Wiener Library; *The Wiener Library, Its History and Activities*, 1934–1945 (1946); R. Weltsch, in: YLBI, 9 (1964), xxix–xxx.

WIENER NEUSTADT, city in Lower Austria. Jews were living there soon after the city's foundation in 1192. Gravestones in the Jewish cemetery date from 1252 and 1261. In 1277 the rights of the Jews in the city were somewhat curtailed, but the Jewish community developed, flourishing in particular in the 15th century. In proximity to the synagogue were a square, a garden, and a poorhouse. The name of one communal leader, Joseph b. Moses Knoblauch, who "did many good deeds for the congregation," is mentioned in *Leket Yosher* (ed. by J. Freimann, 2 (1903), 40). In 1416, when the Jews of Wiener Neustadt were ordered to pay more than one-fifth of their income in taxes, a "communal regulation was drawn up for collection of the tax by two persons in authority and the other scholars among them" (Israel Isserlein, *Terumat ha-Deshen*). The Jews of Wiener Neustadt took part in its defense, and their rabbi "would permit them to do all manner of work on the Sabbath to protect [the city] from its enemies, in accordance with the instructions of the gentile citizens and noblemen" (*Leket Yosher*, pt. 1, 68).

From the mid-13th century on, many noted rabbis lived in Wiener Neustadt, including *Ḥayyim b. Moses; Moses *Taku; *Ḥayyim b. *Isaac; R. Shalom; Isaac *Tyrnau; and Israel *Isserlein. There was an important yeshivah there during the 15th century. In the second half of that century John *Capistrano visited Wiener Neustadt and preached against the Jews. After several anti-Jewish decrees, the Jews were expelled from the city in 1496. The synagogue was converted into a church. Refugees from Oedenburg (Sopron), Hungary, settled in the city in the early 18th century, totaling 535 persons in 1708. However, clerical agitation and popular pressure forced them to leave soon afterward. Jewish peddlers and merchants, mainly from nearby *Burgenland, continued to visit the city but they were not allowed to stay overnight. In 1848 J.H. Friedenthal settled in Wiener Neustadt, and by 1869 there were 173 Jews living there. Permission to open a cemetery was not granted until 1889. A Moorish-style synagogue was built in 1902; it served 1,059 persons in 1923 when Rabbi H. Weiss officiated.

In the early 1930s there were 1,300 Jews. In May of 1938, there were 347. During *Kristallnacht* (Nov. 9–10, 1938) homes, furniture, and bank accounts of Jews were confiscated by the S.A.; the Jews there who did not emigrate were expelled or transported to Vienna. In January 1968 three Jews lived in Wiener Neustadt.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Germania Judaica*; M. Pollak, *Juden in Wiener Neustadt* (1927); S. Eidelberg, *Jewish Life in Austria in the XVth Century* (1962); L. Moses, *Juden in Niederoesterreich* (1935), index; MHJ, 4 (1938), index s.v., *Newnstat*, 6 (1961); 8 (1965); 9 (1966), index s.v. *Bécsujhely.*

[Haim Hillel Ben-Sasson]

WIENIAWSKI, HENRI (1834–1880), Polish violinist and composer. Born in Lublin, Wieniawski entered the Paris Conservatory at the age of eight and three years later won the first prize in violin. After his first concert in St. Petersburg in 1848, he appeared in Finland, the Baltic provinces, and Poland. After further study in Paris (1849), he toured Europe with his brother Joseph, pianist, and in 1850 was appointed solo violinist to the czar. He taught at St. Petersburg for a year and then toured the U.S. with the pianist Anton *Rubinstein from 1872 to 1874. From 1874 to 1877 he taught in Brussels. Wieniawski's perfect technique, combined with warmth and delicacy, gained him wide admiration. After the fashion of other virtuosos, he also composed many works for the violin, including two concertos and his popular *Légende*, which he frequently played with his brother. His music is notable for its Slavic idiom and temperament, often exaggerated.

His brother, JOSEPH (1837–1912), studied in Paris and later in Weimar under Liszt. From 1866 he taught at the Moscow Conservatory and founded his own piano school. After a sojourn in Warsaw, where he directed the Music Society, 1875–76, he settled in Brussels and became professor at the conservatory. His works include a piano concerto, waltzes, mazurkas, and Études.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: J. Reiss, *Henryk Wieniawski* (Pol., 1931); I. Yampolski, *Genrik Venyavskiy* (Rus., 1955); L. Delacroix, *Joseph Wieniawski* (Fr., 1908); MGG, s.v.; Grove, Dict., s.v.

[Meir Katz]

WIERNIK, PETER (1865–1936), U.S. Yiddish journalist. Wiernik was born in Vilna, but emigrated to the U.S. in 1885 and settled in Chicago, where he wrote for the Yiddish Chicago Daily Courier. From 1901 to 1936 he was editor for New York's most important Yiddish daily, the *Jewish Morning Journal.* His editorials, possessed of intelligence, good taste and tolerance, advocated a fusion of modern Orthodoxy and Americanism, and evinced a coolness to political Zionism and hostility to socialism. In addition to Yiddish, he also wrote in Hebrew and English, and was for a time editor of the *Amerikaner.* Besides the editorials, Wiernik's most important work was his *History of the Jews in America* (1912; 1931, reprinted 1972). His Yiddish autobiography, written in 1934, appeared weekly in the *Morning Journal*, Sept. 2–Dec. 23, 1951. He was also active in communal matters and was a member of the executive of the Joint Distribution Committee.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Reisen, *Lexicon*, 1, 990–93, LNYL, I–II, 456–59.

[Joseph Hirsch (2nd ed.)]

WIERNIKORSKI, JUDAH (1823–1901), Russian rabbi. Born in Slonim, Judah was known as an *illui* ("child prodigy"). At the age of 10, he is said to have been completely conversant with three of the six orders of the Talmud: *Mo'ed, Nashim*, and *Nezikin*. At the age of 11, he married a cousin and remained in his father-in-law's house until he was 13. He then went to study with R. Isaac of Volozhin and in 1840 under R. Israel *Lipkin in Vilna. Deciding to devote himself to teaching rather than accept a rabbinical appointment, Judah was given the position of *rosh yeshivah* of Slonim by R. Joshua Isaac in 1861. He remained there until 1900 when he immigrated to Ereẓ Israel to spend his last days. He died in Jerusalem.

His works include *Penei Yehudah*, novellae on the tractates *Shabbat* and *Ketubbot* (1870); *Leket Yehudah*, sermons (1872); and *Penei Yehudah* on *Bava Kamma* and *Keritot* (1890). The manuscript of his *Penei Yehudah* on *Pesaḥim* and a commentary on the *Sefer ha-Bahir* ascribed to *Neḥunya b. ha-Kanah were burnt in a fire in his town.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Aḥi' asaf*, 9 (1901), 428–9.

WIERUSZOWSKI, HELENE (1893–1978), German-U.S. historian. Born in Elberfeld, her career in historical research was ended in 1933 by the Nazis. After teaching in Spain and Italy, she emigrated to the United States in 1940. In 1949 she joined the history faculty at City College, New York, becoming the first full-time female member of City College's department of history. Her most important books are *Vom Imperium zum nationalen Koenigtum* (1933), *The Era of Charlemagne* (with S. Easton, 1961), *The Medieval University* (1966), and *Politics and Culture in Medieval Spain and Italy* (1971). She wrote an essay on "Peter von Aragon und die Juden; Eine Politik des gerechten Ausgleichs" (in *Estudis Universitares Catalans*, 22 (1936), 239–62).

ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY: E. Polak, *A Medievalist's Odyssey: Helene Wieruszowski, Scholar* (2004).

WIESBADEN, city in Germany. Individual Jews lived in Wiesbaden in the 14th and 15th centuries. During the 16th century the local count gave them protection against the opposition of the city. In 1620 a number of Jewish refugees arrived there but had to leave after six years. Other Jews, however, were permitted to reside there from 1638. They numbered five families in 1697, nine in 1724, and 11 in 1747. At that time a synagogue, cemetery, and a bathhouse were established. The countess Charlotte in 1732 prohibited the establishment of further synagogues, the public discussion of religion, and profits on moneylending exceeding 5–6 percent. By 1803 there were 14 Jewish families living in Wiesbaden and 42 in the vicinity. Abraham *Geiger introduced his first reforms while acting as rabbi there (1832–38). Forty Orthodox families established an independent community in 1876. The Jewish population numbered 990 in 1875; 2,744 (2.5 percent of the total) in 1910; 3,088 (3 percent) in 1925; 2,713 (1.7 percent) in 1933; and 1,232 (0.7 percent) in 1939. The teacher and reader of the adjacent community of Biebrich was the celebrated scholar Seligmann *Baer. The community maintained a number of educational and welfare institutions, including a "Lehrhaus" for Jewish adult education.

After the rise of the Nazis to power, the Jews of Wiesbaden suffered persecution like those in the rest of Germany. The synagogues were burned in 1938. In 1942, 1,100 Jews were deported from Wiesbaden; during August 1942, 40 Jews committed suicide.

In 1965 there were 350 Jews living in Wiesbaden (0.1 percent of the total population). A new synagogue was opened in 1966. The Jewish community numbered 319 in 1989; 400 in 1990; and 692 in 2004. The increase is explained by the immigration of Jews from the former Soviet Union. A small museum, financed by the city, has an exhibition of the Jewish history of Wiesbaden.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: P. Lazarus, *Die juedische Gemeinde Wiesbaden 1918–1947*, (1949); H. Thomae (ed.), *Weg und Schicksal. Aus der Geschichte der Wiesbadener Juden* (1966); *Germania Judaica*, 2 (1968), 904; 3 (1987), 1642–43; *Festschrift zur Fuenfzigjahrfeier des Synagogen-Gesangvereins zu Wiesbaden* (1913). **ADD BIBLIOGRAPHY:** B. Post (ed.), *Juden in Wiesbaden. Von der Jahrhundertwende bis zur "Reichskristallnacht"* (1988); D. Lottmann-Kaeseler (ed.), *Osteuropaeisches Judentum in Wiesbaden* (1991) (Begegnungen, vol. 2); L. Bembenek and H. Dickel, "Ich bin kein deutscher Patriot mehr, jetzt bin ich Jude," in: *Die Vertreibung juedischer Buerger aus Wiesbaden (1933 bis 1947)* (1991); H-G. Buschmann and E. Vollmer, *Die sieben juedischen Friedhoefe Wiesbadens* (1997). **WEBSITE:** www.am-spiegelgasse.de.

[Ze'ev Wilhem Falk]

WIESEL, ELIE (**Eliezer**; 1928–), journalist, novelist, professor, human rights activist, and Nobel Peace Prize recipient. Born in Sighet, Romania, in a town that became part of Hungary in 1940, Wiesel was raised in a fervently Orthodox and ḥasidic milieu. Prior to 1944, life in Sighet seemed normal, at least to a young studious boy. The Germans invaded Hungary in March 1944, Jews were ghettoized in April, and in May 1944, Elie, his parents, and three sisters were deported along with the rest of Sighet's Jews to Auschwitz, where his mother and younger sister were killed and he survived with his father and two older sisters. He remained in Auschwitz until the infamous death marches of January 1945 and then was forcibly evacuated to Buchenwald, where his father died from exhaustion, starvation, and despair. After his liberation at the Buchenwald concentration camp on April 11, 1945, he was among the 400 Jewish war orphans transferred by the Oeuvre de Secours aux Enfants (Children's Aid Society) to France, where he was later reunited with his older sisters, Hilda and Bea. From 1948 to 1951, he studied philosophy, psychology, and literature at the Sorbonne, and continued his Jewish learning with a talmudic scholar named Shushani, a figure who later would appear in a number of his novels and lectures. He supported himself by writing for the French newspaper *L'Arche* and the Israeli daily *Yedioth Aharonoth*. Wiesel was drawn to the writings of the contemporary French existentialists Albert Camus, André Malraux, and Jean-Paul Sartre, and the Catholic writer François Mauriac, who encouraged the young reporter to write about the suffering of the Jews in the Nazi death camps.

Wiesel had in fact taken notes of his experiences and thoughts from the first days of his liberation, even while recovering in the hospital. He felt compelled "to trace the tragedy back to its origins and causes," but fearing that the event was "so profound that it cannot be transmitted at all," he vowed to wait ten years before publishing a book on the subject. In 1956, the same year he left Paris and settled in New York, Wiesel's 250-page abbreviated memoir of life in the camps, *Und di Velt hot Geschvign* ("And the World Was Silent"), appeared in Buenos Aires. An abridged version, translated from Yiddish to French (*La Nuit*) with an introduction by François Mauriac, was issued in 1958, and two years later in English (*Night*). A classic in Holocaust literature that is widely used in high schools and colleges, *Night* paved the way for publication of other first-person accounts by Shoah survivors, whom Wiesel recalls "were afraid or shamed to broach the subject."

Night was followed by two novels, *L'Aube* (1960; *Dawn*, 1961) and *Le jour* (1961; *The Accident*, 1962), both dealing with the postwar experiences of Holocaust survivors. Writing in French, Wiesel established his characteristic themes and storytelling style in three subsequent novels: *La ville de la chance* (1962; *The Town Beyond the Wall*, 1964), *Les portes de la forêt* (1966; *The Gates of the Forest*, 1966), and *Le mendiant de Jérusalem* (1968; *A Beggar in Jerusalem*, 1970), which won the Prix Medicis in Paris. Wiesel also publicized the plight of Soviet Jews in a nonfiction account based on his visit to the Soviet Union, *Les Juifs du silence* (1966; *The Jews of Silence*, 1966).

Wiesel's essays on the importance of memory and the struggle against injustice in a post-Holocaust world are included in several collections: *Le chant des morts* (1966; *Legends of Our Time*, 1968), *Entre deux soleils* (1970; *One Generation After*, 1970), *Un Juif aujourd'hui* (1977; *A Jew Today*, 1978), and the three-volume collection, edited by Irving Abrahamson, *Against Silence: The Voice and Vision of Elie Wiesel* (1985). His later essay collections include *From the Kingdom of Memory* (1990) and *After the Darkness* (2002). His autobiography appeared in two volumes: *Tous les fleuves vont à la mer* (1994; *All Rivers Run to the Sea*, 1995) and *Et la mer n'est pas remplie* (1996; *And the Sea Is Never Full*, 1999).

Drawing on his childhood ḥasidic roots, Wiesel based several books on the stories and folklore of famous *rebbe*s, their religious struggles and the battles they waged against despair: *Célébration hassidique* (1972; *Souls on Fire*, 1972), *Four Hasidic Masters* (1978), and *Contre la mélancolie: celebration hassidique II* (1981; *Somewhere a Master*, 1982). From 1967, Wiesel gave an annual lecture series at New York's 92nd Street Y, popularizing Jewish learning and the midrashic style of teaching. These and other lectures, which focus on portraits of biblical, rabbinic, and ḥasidic figures, are collected in *Célébration biblique* (1975; *Messengers of God*, 1976), *Images from the Bible* (1980), *Five Biblical Portraits* (1981), *Silences et mémoire d'hommes* (1989), *Sages and Dreamers* (1991), and *Wise Men and Their Tales* (2003).

Wiesel wrote two plays – *Zalmen, ou la folie de Dieu* (1968; *Zalmen, or the Madness of God*, 1974) and *Le procès de Shamgorod* (1979; *The Trial of God*, 1979), and a cantata, *Ani Maamin* (music by Darius Milhaud, 1973). The idea of *The Trial of God* came from an event he witnessed in Auschwitz – a *bet din* called to put God on trial for failing to act. This play, with its perplexing, unanswered questions, generated considerable dialogue with Christian theologians. As Wiesel wrote in *Night*, "I did not deny God's existence, but I doubted His absolute justice." Many of Wiesel's works question God's silence, but even more, they question human silence in the face of persecution and injustice.

Wiesel wrote several essays emphasizing the importance of historical memory, particularly in reaction to Holocaust deniers and anti-Zionists. "Anyone who does not actively, constantly engage in remembering and making others remember," he wrote, "is an accomplice of the enemy." For Wiesel, the Holocaust is "the ultimate event" that has changed everything that follows and consequently should change our response to human suffering. This theme reverberates through his later novels: *Le serment de Kolvillag* (1973; *The Oath*, 1973), *Le testament d'un poète juif assassiné* (1980; *The Testament*, 1981), *Le cinquième fils* (1983; *The Fifth Son*, 1985), *Le crépuscle, au loin* (1987; *Twilight*, 1988), *L'oublié* (1989, *The Forgotten*, 1992), *Les juges* (1999; *The Judges*, 2002), and *Le temps des déracinés* (2002; *The Time of the Uprooted*, 2005). His books are written in French, and many were translated into English by his wife, Marion (married 1969; they have one son, Elisha).

Wiesel has taught the humanities, religion, philosophy, and literature at several colleges and universities, including City College, City University of New York from 1972 to 1976, Yale University from 1982 to 1983 as a Henry Luce Visiting Scholar, and Boston University in 1976. As a survivor, author, professor, and public figure (he was the chairman of the United States President's Commission on the Holocaust, then founding chairman of the United States Holocaust Memorial Council in Washington, D.C.), Wiesel has leveraged his moral authority in support of the State of Israel, Soviet Jewry, and oppressed peoples everywhere. He brought world attention to the plight of Miskito Indians in Nicaragua, Cambodian refugees, South Africans under apartheid, Muslims in Bosnia, Tutsis in Rwanda, Sudanese in Darfur, and other victimized groups. Wiesel was also a vocal critic of those who would dishonor the memory of the victims by the denial, trivialization, or political exploitation of the Holocaust. His most famous intervention came on April 19, 1985, on the occasion of President Ronald Reagan's presenting him with the United States Congressional Gold Medal. Wiesel publicly implored the president to cancel his planned visit to the cemetery in Bitburg, Germany, where members of the SS are buried. Speaking "truth to power," Wiesel stated, "that place is not your place, Mr. President. Your place is with the victims of the SS."

Wiesel received a number of international honors, including the Nobel Peace Prize (1986); *Grand-Croix de la Légion d'Honneur* (France, 2001); *Grã-Cruz da Ordem Nacional do Cruzeiro do Sul* (Brazil, 2001); Order of Merit of the Republic of Hungary (2004); the King Hussein Award of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan (2005); and more than 100 honorary degrees from universities worldwide.

In awarding him the Peace Prize, Nobel Committee Chairman Egil Aarvik characterized Wiesel as "a man who has gone from utter humiliation” to become a “messenger to mankind… to awaken our conscience, because our indifference to evil makes us partners in the crime.” In 1987, using his Nobel Prize money, he and his wife, Marion, established the Elie Wiesel Foundation for Humanity, which organizes international conferences in pursuit of strategies to combat hatred and indifference.

Refusing to surrender to despair, Wiesel’s literary works and public activism continue to stress “the importance of remaining human in an inhumane world, of affirming hope in man – in spite of man.”

[Aron Hirt Manheimer and Bonny V. Fetterman (2nd ed.)]

WIESELTIER, MEIR (1941–), Hebrew poet and translator. Born in Moscow, Wieseltier came to Israel as an eight-year-old child. He grew up in Netanyah and later studied English literature, history, and philosophy at the Hebrew University. In the early 1960s, having spent some time in England and France, he became one of the leading figures of the so-called “Tel Aviv Circle” (with Yona *Wallach and Yair Hurvitz) which sought to break with the ironic, impersonal, and non-political writing of poets such as Nathan *Zach and imbue Hebrew poetry with a refreshing, avantgardist and experimental spirit. Wieseltier was co-founder of the literary magazine *Siman Keriah*. His first collection of poems, *Perek Alef, Perek Beit* (“Chapter 1, Chapter 2”), appeared in 1967, followed two years later by *Meah Shirim* (“100 Poems”). Other collections include *Kaḥ* (“Take It,” 1973), *Davar Optimi, Asiyat Shirim* (“Something Optimistic, The Making of Poems,” 1976), *Penim va-Ḥuẓ* (“Interior and Exterior,” 1977), *Moẓa el ha-Yam* (“Exit into the Sea,” 1981), *Kiẓẓur Shenot ha-Shishim* (“The Concise Sixties,” 1984), Ii *Yevani* (“Greek Island,” 1985), *Mikhtavim ve-Shirim Aḥerim* (“Letters and Other Poems,” 1986), and *Maḥsan* (“Storehouse,” 1994). Wieseltier’s poetry is subjective, often unconventional in diction and tone, and occasionally deliberately full of pathos. Loss, death, and the ambiguities of the human predicament are the major themes of his oeuvre. Underlying some of the poems is a pronounced disdain for bourgeois norms and superficial ideologies and at the same time an ambivalent relationship to Tel Aviv, the city in which he resides. His “poetry of iconoclasm,” as it was once defined, shows the influence of French surrealism and of modern Anglo-American poetry. Wieseltier is also known as one of the finest translators of English, French, and Russian poetry into Hebrew. He translated a number of Shakespearean tragedies and novels by Virginia Woolf, E.M. Forster, and Charles Dickens. In 2000 he was awarded the Israel Prize for literature. A collection of selected poems in English translation appeared under the title *The Flower of Anarchy* in 2003; individual poems have been translated into various languages. Further information concerning translation is available at the ITHL website at www.ithl.org.il.

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[Anat Feinberg (2nd ed.)]

WIESENTHAL, SIMON (1908–2005), the world’s most famous “Nazi-hunter,” the personification of the efforts to bring Nazi war criminals to justice after World War II. Born in the Galician city of Buczacz, then part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire and after World War I part of independent Poland (today located in Ukraine), Wiesenthal was forced to study architectural engineering at the Technical University in Prague due to restrictive Polish quotas on Jewish students. After completing his studies, he returned to Poland, obtained certification as an architect, and began working in his profession in the (then) Polish city of Lwow (Lvov).

During World War II, Wiesenthal was incarcerated in nine concentration and labor camps, among them Janowska, Plaszow, Auschwitz, Gross-Rosen, and Mauthausen, from which he was liberated, barely alive, on May 5, 1945, by the United States Army. During the course of the war, he narrowly escaped death several times, and twice attempted to commit suicide to avoid being tortured. It was these close encounters with almost certain death, and his conviction that many Jews far more worthy than himself had perished in the war, to which he attributed his strong motivation to lend significance to his own survival. A postwar incident, shortly after liberation, in which Wiesenthal was beaten by a former kapo in Mauthausen, who was summarily punished by the American commander of the camp, who assured the Jewish survivor that the supremacy of the rule of law had been restored, deeply influenced his decision to abandon his profession and devote his life to the efforts to facilitate the prosecution of Holocaust perpetrators.

Wiesenthal began his career with the War Crimes Unit of the U.S. Army in Austria and later, in 1947, established the Jewish Historical Documentation Center in Linz, where he collected the testimonies of hundreds of Holocaust survivors. In 1954, however, Wiesenthal closed the center due to waning interest in the prosecution of Nazi war criminals, which he primarily attributed to the growing tensions of the Cold War. In his opinion, the perpetrators of the Holocaust were the biggest beneficiaries of the hostility between the superpowers, which severely limited the efforts to bring them to justice. He sent his files to Yad Vashem, and went to work for Jewish organizations assisting refugees from Eastern Europe.

In 1961, however, following the *Eichmann trial in Jerusalem, Wiesenthal opened the Documentation Center in Vienna and resumed his efforts to bring Nazi war criminals to justice, a mission which he continued virtually until his death. Although he played no role in the actual capture of Eichmann, who was kidnapped by the Mossad in Argentina in 1960 and brought to Israel to stand trial, Wiesenthal gained international stature due to his connection to the case. In 1947 he had prevented Eichmann's wife, Vera, from having Eichmann declared officially dead by an Austrian court (which would have led to the removal of his name from the lists of wanted criminals) and was the first to point to Argentina as his possible haven. After he closed his office in 1954, Eichmann's file was the only one he kept.

Over the years, Wiesenthal played a crucial role in the exposure and apprehension of numerous Nazi war criminals, many of whom were prosecuted and punished. Among his most famous cases were those of Treblinka and Sobibor commandant Franz Stangl, whom he tracked down to Brazil; notoriously cruel Majdanek guard Hermine Braunsteiner Ryan, whom he found in the United States; Sobibor deputy commander Franz Gustav Wagner (Brazil); and Karl Silberbauer (Austria), the Gestapo operative who arrested Anne *Frank and her family in their hiding place in Amsterdam. In addition, Wiesenthal played a prominent role in the ultimately successful worldwide efforts to convince the West German government not to impose a statute of limitations on the prosecution of Nazi war criminals whose implementation was scheduled to go into effect in 1979.

Throughout his life, Wiesenthal stressed the importance of remembering the crimes of the Holocaust and preserving the accuracy of the historical record. In that respect, he achieved worldwide status as a spokesperson for both the survivors and the victims of the Holocaust, an achievement which perhaps surpasses his role as a "Nazi-hunter." His accomplishments in this role were largely significant during the 1950s and 1960s, when there was little public interest in the subject of the Holocaust.

Wiesenthal's work was guided by three major principles: the primacy of the rule of law, his refusal to categorize people by their religion or ethnic origin, and the importance of noting the fate of the Nazis' non-Jewish victims. Thus he steadfastly opposed revenge attempts, emphasized the fact that the nations that produced killers also had Righteous Gentiles, and consistently stressed the fact that the Jews were not the Nazis' only victims. These points found expression in the numerous books he wrote, especially in his best-known works, *The Murderers among Us* (1970) and *Justice Not Vengeance* (1989). In *The Sunflower* (1970) and the novel *Max and Helen* (1982), he explored the themes of forgiveness and reconciliation.

A stubborn defender of his views, Wiesenthal was involved in two well-publicized controversies, one with Austrian chancellor Bruno *Kreisky, whom he criticized for including former Nazis in his government, and a second with the World Jewish Congress, which questioned his apparent lack of enthusiasm for their campaign to prosecute Austrian president (and former UN secretary-general) Kurt Waldheim for war crimes he ostensibly committed during World War II. Various detractors accused him of claming credit for the achievements of others, particularly in the Eichmann case.

In 1979, the *Simon Wiesenthal Center was established by Rabbi Marvin *Hier in Los Angeles. While a separate organization, its high-profile activities, both in the fight against antisemitism and the continued efforts to bring Nazi war criminals to justice, have added to Wiesenthal's international stature and fame, though his association with the organization that bore his name was limited. The recipient of numerous honors, doctorates, and prizes, his efforts to perpetuate the memory of the victims and hold their killers responsible were most appreciated during his last years, when public interest in the Holocaust reached unprecedented heights.

[Efraim Zuroff (2nd ed.)]

WIESNER, JEROME BERT (1915–1994), U.S. electrical engineer and educator; president of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT). Wiesner, who was born in Detroit, Michigan, was associate director of the broadcasting station at the University of Michigan from 1937 to 1940 and assisted in developing modern electronic techniques for use in the speech department. In 1940 Wiesner was appointed chief engineer of the Acoustical and Record Laboratory in the Library of Congress. During World War II, he was consecutively: associate leader of the radio frequency development group at MIT's radiation laboratory; project engineer of a key radar development program; group leader of Project Cadillac which was assigned to devise an airborne radar system; and a member of the Los Alamos Laboratory staff (1945). Wiesner returned to MIT as assistant professor (1946), and subsequently held several other university posts before being appointed provost in 1966. In 1971 he was named its president – the first Jew to be appointed to that position, which he held until 1980. He was a member of the President's Science Advisory Committee (1957), served as staff director of the American Delegation to the Geneva Conference for the Prevention of Surprise Attack (1958), and in 1961 was appointed special assistant for science and technology by President Kennedy. From 1962 to 1964 he was director of the Office of Science and Technology. Wiesner played an important role in the development of the concept of scatter transmission and in the application of statistical methods to communications engineering. He was a member of the board of governors of the Weizmann Institute from 1964, and advised on education and science policy in Israel. He wrote *Where Science and Politics Meet* (1964).

WIESNER, JULIUS VON (1838–1916), Austrian botanist. Born in Moravia, Wiesner showed an early bent for botany, publishing his first scientific paper, on the flora of the vicinity of Brno, when he was hardly 16 years old. After receiving his Ph.D. at the age of 22, he taught plant physiology at the Vienna Polytechnic Institute and at Mariabrunn. In 1873, Wiesner was made professor of plant anatomy and physiology at the University of Vienna, where he remained for 36 years, until his retirement in 1909. Wiesner was one of the founders of modern economic botany.

His major work in this area was *Die Rohstoffe des Pflanzenreiches* (1873), a comprehensive treatment of the world's plants as sources of gums, resins, fibers, and other economically valuable products. No less outstanding were Wiesner's contributions to basic botanical science. He did important research on the effect of light on plants, on the process of chlorophyll formation, and on the power of movement in plants. In his *Die Elementarstructur und das Wachstum der lebenden Substanz* (1892), Wiesner put forward a theory (now only of historical interest) that the cell is not the ultimate unit of life but is composed of simpler elementary units, which he called "plasomes."

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[Mordecai L. Gabriel]

WIEVIORKA, ANNETTE (1948–), historian. She was born in Paris to a Jewish family of Polish origin. Her grandfather Aby was a noted Parisian Yiddish poet and a translator from Yiddish into French. In her youth, Wieviorka was a convinced Maoist who went to China with her husband and her son, and worked as a French teacher in Canton, between 1974 and 1976. She wrote a book about her experience in China (*L'écureuil de Chine*, 1979). A high school teacher in Paris from 1976 to 1990, she started doing research in French history and opened a new field, the history of collective memory of the Holocaust in France. Her important dissertation on the making of the memory of deportation in France just after the liberation, published in 1992, proved to be a pathbreaking work. In her book she thoroughly studied the way French public opinion discovered the atrocities of the Nazi camps, and how the French administrations and the French army helped in liberating the camps. In addition, she focused on the reception of the very first testimonies given in France by Jewish survivors. In her complete scanning of these testimonies, she argued that, far from being shy of testifying, the survivors were immediately active in trying to describe the horror they had witnessed and had gone through, but that nobody was then ready to hear their statements: the handful of survivors wrote numerous books, which were not read. With the passing of time, the French leaders were ready to acknowledge the sufferings of Resistance fighter deportees, more of whom survived their deportation as they were not sent to Auschwitz. The historian concluded that "Buchenwald masked Auschwitz." As a researcher Wieviorka entered the National Center for Scientific Research (CNRS) in 1990, and she continued her work on the memory of the Holocaust in France. Among many other books, she wrote a short work, *The Era of the Witness* (*L'ère du témoin*, 1998; English, 2006), in which she asserted the central role of witnesses in the remembrance of the Shoah in contrast to works of scientific research. Starting in 1961 with the Eichmann trial in Jerusalem, she described this trend up to the early 21st century, when the words of an Auschwitz survivor are almost sanctified. Between 1997 and 2000, she was a member of the official commission, appointed by the prime minister, in charge of searching for looted Jewish assets and properties in France. An advocate for the rights of Jewish families to fully recover what had been taken, she explained the necessity of this research to appease the tensions that arose in France. In France, Wieviorka is a public figure, who regularly appears in the media to explain the Holocaust to a wider audience. Her short book on Auschwitz, targeting a teenage audience, *Auschwitz expliqué à ma fille* (1999), is a worldwide bestseller, translated into a dozen languages. Her publications include *Les livres du souvenir, mémoriaux juifs de Pologne* (1983); *Le procès Eichmann* (1989); *Déportation et génocide, entre la mémoire et l'oubli* (1992); *Mille ans de cultures ashkénazes* (ed. et al., 1994); *Passant, souviens toi…* (1995); *Le Procès de Nuremberg* (1995); *Les Procès de Nuremberg et de Tokyo* (1996); and *Auschwitz, 60 ans après* (2005).

[Jean-Marc Dreyfus (2nd ed.)]

WIGNER, EUGENE PAUL (1902–1995), Nobel laureate in physics. Wigner was born in Budapest and was one of a small number of extraordinarily talented Hungarian-born physicists who contributed to the transformation of Newtonian physics. Wigner obtained his doctorate from the Technische Hochschule (later Universitaet) in Berlin in 1925, where his contacts with physicists of equal standing were established at colloquia of the German Physical Society. He worked at a Kaiser Wilhelm Institute, followed by the University of Goettingen, until his recruitment by Princeton University in 1930, a move precipitated by his early perception of the Nazi menace. In 1936–38 he worked at the University of Wisconsin before returning to Princeton. He moved to the University of Chicago (1942–45) to contribute to the Manhattan Project, before becoming director of research and development at the Clinton Laboratories (later Oak Ridge National Laboratory) (1946–48). However, from preference for teaching and research, he returned to Princeton for the rest of his career. His main interests in theoretical physics concerned quantum mechanics and nuclear reactions but later became more philosophical. He was awarded the Nobel Prize in 1963 (jointly with Maria Goeppert-Mayer and Hans Jensen) for the invariance principle, which concerns the rules governing observable physical events. He was also a practical engineer. His involvement in the Manhattan Project arose from his fear that the Nazis might develop nuclear weapons, and he helped to prepare Einstein's letter to President Roosevelt. He contributed to the design of the first experimental fission reactor in Chicago and the first reactor for plutonium production at Hanford. His honors included the U.S. Medal of Merit (1946), the Fermi Prize (1958), the Atoms for Peace Award (1960), and the U.S. National Medal of Science (1969). In 1970 he was elected a fellow of the Royal Society and other learned societies, including the National

Academy of Sciences and the American Academy of Art and Sciences. He was a member of the General Advisory Committee to the U.S. Atomic Energy Commission from 1952 to 1957, was reappointed to the Committee in 1959, and served on it until 1964.

[Michael Denman (2nd ed.)]

WIGODER, BASIL THOMAS, BARON (1921–2004), British lawyer. Wigoder was born in Manchester, son of Philip I. Wigoder, a prominent local Zionist, and educated at Manchester Grammar School and Oxford. At Oxford he was president of the Union. After his military service in World War II, he joined the Liberal Party and unsuccessfully contested a number of elections. From 1963 to 1965 he was chairman of the Liberal Party executive and in 1965–66 of the Liberal Party Organizing Committee. He ceased much of his political activity in the mid-1960s and concentrated on his legal work, acquiring recognition through his appearances in leading criminal cases. In 1966 he was made a Queen's Counsel and in 1971 a Recorder of the Crown Court. In 1974 he was created a life peer, and served as Liberal Whip in the House of Lords.

WIGODER, GEOFFREY (1922–1999), editor. Born in Leeds, England, Wigoder was educated at Trinity College, Dublin, Oxford, Jews' College, London, and the Jewish Theological Seminary, New York. In 1949 he settled in Jerusalem. He was director of Israeli radio's Overseas Broadcasts, founder-director of the Oral History department and Jewish Film Archives in the Hebrew University's Institute of Contemporary Jewry, historical adviser to the Diaspora Museum (Beth Hatefutsoth) in Tel Aviv, and founder-director of the Steven Spielberg Film Center at the Hebrew University. In 1991 he was visiting professor of Modern Jewish Studies at the University of Manchester. Wigoder succeeded Cecil Roth as editor in chief of the *Encyclopaedia Judaica* in 1970 (having previously been deputy editor in chief) and edited its year books from 1981 and the CD-ROM edition. He is author of *Abraham ben Hayya's Meditation of the Sad Soul, The Story of the Synagogue, Jewish-Christian Relations after World War II*, and *Jewish Culture.* He edited many reference works, including *The Standard Jewish Encyclopedia, Dictionary of Jewish Biography, Encyclopedia of Judaism, The Oxford Dictionary of the Jewish Religion* (with R.J.Z. Werblowsky), *New Encyclopedia of Zionism and Israel, Illustrated Dictionary and Concordance of the Bible, Jewish Art and Civilization*, and the three-volume *Encyclopedia of Jewish Life Before and During the Holocaust.*

Wigoder was one of the pioneers in the field of interfaith relations and Jewish-Christian dialogue. He served as the Israeli representative of the International Jewish Committee for Inter-Religious Consultations for over 20 years, becoming its chairman late in life.

WIHL, LUDWIG (1807–1882), German poet and journalist. Born in Wevelinghofen, near Aachen, Wihl received a good Jewish education and then studied philosophy and Oriental languages. His doctoral thesis on Phoenician inscriptions so impressed his teacher at the Munich University, the philosopher F.W. von Schelling, that he was recommended for a professorship. As he refused to abandon Judaism, the post was denied him, and he had to earn his living as a journalist. Wihl contributed to the periodicals of the Young Germany movement, especially to *Gutzkow's *Phoenix*. After the publication of his first volume of poems in 1836 he visited Paris. There he met *Heine, about whom he wrote in unflattering terms, and Heine's retaliatory attack was so vicious that it destroyed Wihl's reputation as a poet. During the revolution of 1848 Wihl published an article which was so outspoken that he had to flee to France to escape a prison sentence. He taught German literature and philosophy at Grenoble until the outbreak of the Franco-Prussian War in 1870, when he sought a final refuge in Brussels.

Wihl's works include *Geschichte der deutschen Nationalliteratur* (Altona, 1840); *Westoestliche Schwalben* (Mannheim, 1847), a collection of verse; and *Le mendiant pour la Pologne* (Paris, 1864), poems in French and German.

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[Sol Liptzin]

WIJNKOOP, DAVID (1876–1941), Dutch Communist. Born in Amsterdam, Wijnkoop was the son of the Amsterdam rabbi Joseph David (1842–1910), who manifested himself as a "*rebbe* of the people," a position, which led to a serious break with the chief rabbi of Amsterdam, J.H. Dünner (1833–1911). This conflict was one of the factors which turned his son, David, into a rebel. David Wijnkoop, future first leader and talented propagandist of Dutch Communism, was attracted to Marxism as a student. At first he joined the Labor Party (SDAP) and in 1905 he became a member of its executive. But as one of the founders of the radical-Marxist newspaper *De Tribune* he was expelled from the party. In 1909 Wijnkoop founded his own social democratic party, initially called the Social Democratic Party, which became the Communist Party of Holland (CPH; later: CPN) in 1918. He was the CPH's chairman and sat in the Second Chamber of parliament from 1918 to 1940 as a Communist representative. He was also a member of the Amsterdam municipal council and the North Holland provincial council. Between 1925 and 1930 Wijnkoop became involved in a heated party struggle and was dropped by Moscow. He then founded an independent Communist Party. In 1930 the two parties fused after Wijnkoop publicly confessed his guilt.

Though David Wijnkoop is said to have expressed his support for the Second Zionist World Congress, in 1898, this sympathy was short-lived. In 1903, in protest against the *Kishinev pogrom, the Dutch Zionist Movement and the Labor Party (SDAP) each organized a protest. It was Wijnkoop who, on behalf of the SDAP, gave a Marxist interpretation of the Russian anti-Jewish violence. According to him the pogrom was both an expression of the conflict between peasant and moneylender, and an instrument of the czarist regime to suppress the revolutionary tide.

After his comeback in 1930 Wijnkoops position within the CPH was fairly weak. He died in May 1941, a few months after the February strike against the Nazis in Amsterdam, and was accompanied to his grave by hundreds of people.

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[Evelien Gans (2nd ed.)]

WILBUSCHEWITZ, family of pioneers in Ereẓ Israel. The head of the family, ZE'EV WILBUSCHEWITZ, was a landowner who lived near Grodno, Lithuania, and whose children joined the Zionist movement. His eldest son, ISAAC, went to Ereẓ Israel with the *Bilu group in 1882, but contracted yellow fever, returned to Russia, and drowned in the Neimen River. GEDALIAH WILBUSCHEWITZ (1865–1943), a mechanical engineer, went to Ereẓ Israel in 1892 and was a founder of a machine and metal-casting factory in Jaffa. This was the first Jewish enterprise of its kind in the country. During World War I he served as chief engineer of Jamal Pasha's headquarters in Damascus. After the war he worked as an engineer in Haifa. He published "*Mi-Zikhronot Ḥalutz ha-Ta'asiyyah ha-Ivrit*" in *Sefer ha-Aliyah ha-Sheniyyah* (1947). MOSHE WILBUSCHEWITZ (1869–1952), a chemical engineer and inventor, improved the margarine production process and invented a type of whole-meal bread (*leḥem ḥai*). He went to Palestine in 1919 and was one of the founders of the Shemen edible-oil products factory in Haifa. He held novel opinions on meteorology and climatology and established a special laboratory bearing his name at The Hebrew University campus on Mount Scopus in order to engage in research in this field. NAḤUM WILBUSH (WILBUSCHEWITZ; 1879–1971) was a mechanical engineer. He moved to Ereẓ Israel in 1903 and founded Atid, the first edible-oil factory in the country, at first situated in Ben Shemen and later in Haifa. He was a member of the Zionist Organization's delegation to East Africa to survey the possibilities for Jewish settlement in Uganda, and his book *Ha-Massa le-Ugandah* (1963) is a diary of this journey. During World War I, he served as an engineer in the Turkish army and was responsible for supplying water to the forces stationed in the Damascus region. Their sister was Mania Wilbuschewitz *Shochat.

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[Yehuda Slutsky]

WILCHEK, MEIR (1935–), biophysicist. Born in Warsaw, Wilchek saw his youth disrupted by World War II, which he spent in Russia, mostly in Siberia. His family came to Israel in 1949 and eventually settled in Reḥovot where he finished high school. He received his doctorate from the Weizmann Institute and joined the department of biophysics, becoming professor in 1974 and later chairman. He was awarded numerous prizes, including the Rothschild prize for chemistry in 1987, the Wolf Prize for medicine in 1987, and the Israel Prize in life sciences (1990) for his discovery and development of the technology of chromotographic linkage. He was a foreign associate of the U.S. Institute of Medicine and National Academy of Science and a member of the Israel Academy of Sciences.

WILD BULL (Heb. רְאֵם, *reʿem* or רֵים, *reim*), a powerful animal (Num. 23:22) whose strength is primarily in its horns (Deut. 33:17). It is parallel to the strong ox (*ibid.*; Isa. 34:7) but, unlike the ox, cannot be domesticated (Job 39:10–11). The animal referred to, the *Bos primigenius*, is called in Akkadian *rimu*, and was an extremely powerful animal which is depicted in many Assyrian hunting scenes. It was relentlessly hunted and, as a consequence, was entirely exterminated a few generations ago. In Arabic the name *rim* is given to the *antelope, the *Oryx leucoryx*. The biblical *re'em* apparently applies to this animal also, as in Psalms 92:11, which refers to the yard-long horns of the antelope. Similarly, the *Sifrei Deuteronomy* (323) declares that "the horns of the *re'em* are beautiful but it is not strong." In the *aggadah* the *re'em* is depicted as an animal of fabulous size. Because of its size, Noah could not bring it into the ark and tied it to the outside (Gen. R. 31:13). To David it looked like a mountain (Mid. Ps. to 22:25). In later Midrashim the *shor ha-bar* ("wild ox") is reserved, like the *Leviathan, for the banquet arranged for the righteous in the world to come. In earlier sources, however, the reference is to the *behemoth. In the *halakhah* there is a discussion as to whether the *shor ha-bar* is a *kilayim with the ox (Kil. 8:6; Tosef., *ibid.*, 1:8). R. Yose in the Mishnah (Kil. 8:6) regards it as belonging to the category of beasts (non-domesticated animals), while the sages classify it as a (domesticated) animal. The Jerusalem Talmud explains the difference, in that the latter regard it as an animal that was originally domesticated but escaped and reverted to its wild state, while the former holds that it was always wild (*ibid.*, 8:6, 31c). R. Yose identifies it with the *te'o* of Deuteronomy 14:5, but it is not clear whether he means the bison or the *buffalo.

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[Jehuda Feliks]

WILDENSTEIN, French family of art collectors, connoisseurs, and dealers. NATHAN (1851–1934) opened a small shop in the Rue Laffitte in Paris in 1890 and by the end of the century was considered one of the five most important art dealers in Paris. He opened a gallery in New York in 1903.

His son GEORGES (1892–1963), born in Paris, followed the family tradition, studied French art and joined his father in the business. In 1902 his catalog for the Fragonard exhibition at the Louvre became the model for all later catalogs. He wrote several biographies of French painters: Aved (1922), Louis Moreau (1923), a book on Lancret (1924), and one on Chardin (1933). He opened two more branches of the gallery in London and one in Buenos Aires. In 1941 he settled in the United States.

Daniel Leopold (1917–2001), Georges' son, an art dealer, was born in France. He went to the United States in 1940 and from 1959 to 1962 was chairman of the board of Wildenstein and Company Inc., New York. He wrote articles on art for many magazines both in the United States and in France.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* (July 1963), supplement.

WILDER, BILLY (1906–2002), U.S. film director and writer. Born in Vienna, Wilder began as a newspaperman, and got his start in the film industry in Berlin by writing scripts. He left Germany in 1933 and reached Hollywood in 1934. At Paramount studios he collaborated with Charles Brackett, a former drama critic for *The New Yorker*, and together they wrote 14 successful films, including *Ninotchka* (1939); *Ball of Fire* (1941); *Double Indemnity* (1944); *The Lost Weekend* (1945); *A Foreign Affair* (1948); *The Emperor Waltz* (1948); and *Sunset Boulevard* (1950). After they had parted in 1950, Wilder wrote successes such as *Stalag 17* (1953); *Sabrina* (1954); *The Seven Year Itch* (1955); *Love in the Afternoon* (1957); and *Witness for the Prosecution* (1958). Wilder, whose films were characterized by novel situations and swift dialogue, teamed with I.A.L. Diamond to make *Some Like it Hot* (1959); *The Apartment* (1960); *Irma la Douce* (1961); *The Fortune Cookie* (1966); and *The Private Life of Sherlock Holmes* (1970). Many of these he also produced and directed.

Other Wilder films include *The Spirit of St. Louis* (1957); *One, Two, Three* (1961); *Kiss Me, Stupid* (1964); *Avanti!* (1972); *The Front Page* (1974); *Fedora* (1978); and *Buddy Buddy* (wrote, 1981).

For more than a quarter of a century, Wilder was one of the most successful filmmakers in Hollywood. His many accomplishments and accolades include six Oscars – two for direction, three for screenwriting, and one for producing. In 1986 he received a Lifetime Achievement Award from the American Film Institute. In 1988 he received the Irving G. Thalberg Memorial Award, given to "a creative producer who has been responsible for a consistently high quality of motion picture production."

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[Stewart Kampel / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

WILDER, GENE (**Jerry Silberman**; 1933–), U.S. actor. Born in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, Wilder received a B.A. from the University of Iowa. He taught fencing before making his off-Broadway debut in Arnold Wesker's *Roots* in 1961. Moving on to the Broadway stage, Wilder appeared in *The Complaisant Lover* (1961); *Mother Courage and Her Children* (1963); *One Flew over the Cuckoo's Nest* (1963); *The White House* (1964); and *Luv* (1964).

He made his film debut as the undertaker in *Bonnie and Clyde* (1967). Wilder was nominated for an Academy Award for his next film, *The Producers* (1968), and from then has starred in a variety of comedy vehicles (also writing and directing some of them), including *Start the Revolution without Me* (1970); *Willy Wonka & the Chocolate Factory* (1971); *Everything You Always Wanted to Know about Sex but Were Afraid to Ask* (1972); the drama *Rhinoceros* (1974); *Blazing Saddles* (1974); *Young Frankenstein* (written with Mel Brooks; Oscar nomination for Best Adapted Screenplay, 1974)*; The Adventures of Sherlock Holmes' Smarter Brother* (wrote, directed, 1975); *Silver Streak* (1976); *The World's Greatest Lover* (1977); *The Frisco Kid* (1979); *Stir Crazy* (1980); *Hanky Panky* (1982); *The Woman in Red* (1984); *Haunted Honeymoon* (1986); *See No Evil, Hear No Evil* (1989); *Funny about Love* (1990); *Sunday Lovers* (1990); and *Another You* (1991).

Wilder also appeared in several TV movies; had guest roles on a number of television shows; starred in the sitcom *Something Wilder* (1994–95); and was the voice of the Letterman on the children's educational program *The Electric Company* (1972–77). In 2003 he was nominated for an Emmy for his appearance on the sitcom *Will and Grace.*

Wilder has been married four times, with his marriage (1984–89) to comedienne and co-star Gilda *Radner the most publicized. After she died of ovarian cancer, Wilder co-founded Gilda's Club, a support group to raise awareness about the disease.

His autobiography, *Kiss Me Like a Stranger: My Search for Love and Art*, was published in 2005. He also wrote *Gilda's Disease* (with Dr. S. Piver, 1996).

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[Jonathan Licht / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

WILDER, HERTZ EMANUEL (1888–1948), activist, Yiddish journalist, and newspaper editor. Wilder was born in a Romanian village at the foot of the Carpathian Mountains. He was educated in *ḥeder* and public schools in Craiova, and graduated from a commercial state school in Bucharest, where he became active in Jewish literary and Zionist circles. He immigrated to Canada in 1903 and settled in Winnipeg, where he lived until his death. He was employed in banking, business, and printing.

Wilder was active in Winnipeg Jewish institutional life, and played leadership roles in causes such as education, war relief, and immigrant aid. He also served as first English secretary of the Canadian Jewish Congress, and as vice president of the Zionist Organization of Canada. His Yiddish poems, short stories, and articles on Jewish and non-Jewish issues and historical materials on Jewish settlement in Western Canada appeared in the *Winnipeg Dos Folk* and *Der Kanader Yid* (renamed *Dos Yidishe Vort*, 1915). In 1915 Wilder assumed ownership of the *Israelite Press*, and until 1933 served as president and managing editor of the bilingual Yiddish-English weekly *Dos Yidishe Vort/Israelite Press*, which briefly appeared as a daily in 1928. As editor, Wilder fostered Yiddish literature and encouraged contributions by young Yiddish writers. Wilder was a pioneer of the Anglo-Jewish press in Western Canada, and in 1920 he founded the short-lived weekly *Guardian*, where he published his English translations of Yiddish literature. Wilder left the weekly *Dos Yidishe Vort* for financial reasons, but returned as co-publisher in 1946 and contributed a regular English language column until his death.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: C.L. Fuks, *Hundert Yor Yidishe un Hebreyishe Literatur in Kanade* (1982), 106; H. Gutkin, *Journey into Our Heritage: The Story of the Jewish People in the Canadian West* (1980), 179; L. Levendel, *A Century of the Canadian Jewish Press: 1880s–1980s* (1989), 24.

[Rebecca E. Margolis (2nd ed.)]

WILDERNESS or desert; (Heb. צִיָּה, יְשִׁימוֹן, מִדְבָּר). In most biblical passages *midbar* refers principally to an uninhabited, uncultivated land (e.g., Jer. 2:2; 22:6; Ps. 107:4, 33–36) but sometimes also denotes complete desolation (e.g., Num. 20:4–5; Deut. 8:15). In defining desolation there is, in effect, no difference between *midbar* and the corresponding nouns, *yeshimon* and *ẓiyyah*, which are partially identical with it. However, *midbar* is the more comprehensive concept since it includes also marginal land on the borders of the *yeshimon*, "the pastures of the wilderness," and even settlements on its fringes (cf. Isa. 42:11, "the wilderness and the cities thereof"). At times *midbar* signifies a pasturage for flocks (Ex. 3:1; Ps. 78:52), the word being derived, it is suggested, from the Aramaic *dbr*, which denotes leading sheep to pasture.

In the Bible various tracts of wilderness are called after adjacent territories or settlements, such as the wilderness of Edom (II Kings 3:8), Moab (Deut. 2:8), Damascus (I Kings 19:15), Judah (Judg. 1:16), En-Gedi (I Sam. 24:2), Beer-Sheba (Gen. 21:14), Maon (I Sam. 23:24, 25), Shur (Ex. 15:22), Kadesh (Ps. 29:8), Gibeon (II Sam. 2:24), Jeruel (II Chron. 20:16), and Tekoa (20:20).

Palestine was a frontier country which was sometimes raided by marauders from the wilderness who spread havoc and destruction. During the second millennium B.C.E., a period of decline, which continued for centuries, overtook Transjordan as a result of the incursion of nomads of the wilderness. In the Israelite period (first millennium B.C.E.) too, marauders made inroads into the country and pillaged the permanent settlements, leaving devastation in their wake. The rural culture and urban settlement in Palestine and in countries of the East generally were based on a constant state of vigilance against the tribes of the wilderness.

The Bible mentions perils of the wilderness which endanger man's life – hunger, thirst, wild animals. The wilderness is an "evil place" (Num. 20:4–5), and its wide expanses constitute a threat to human beings (Deut. 1:19; 8:15; Isa. 21:1). It is described as a land of the shadow of death, or of thick darkness (Jer. 2:6, 31).

While not ignoring the hardships of the wilderness, the distress of the Israelites, who had come out of Egypt, in Sinai and in the Negev, their hunger and thirst, their complaints and rebelliousness against the terrors of the *yeshimon*, the Bible sometimes regards the wilderness as the cradle of Israel's sins. The sins in the wilderness – whether the making of the golden calf (Ex. 32–33), the rebellion of Koraḥ and his company (Num. 16–17), or the episode of Baal Peor (Num. 25) – became a symbol for all succeeding generations. Thus several Psalms refer to the Israelites' grave sins in the wilderness which determined their fate (Ps. 78:14–41; 106:14–33). Ezekiel makes particularly strong references to the sins of the generation of the wilderness, both fathers and children, and sees in these sins an original sin, as it were, which persisted from the time the Hebrews lived in Egypt, and the punishment for which is visited upon all generations (Ezek. 20:7–26).

In contrast to the negative view of the wilderness period as an age of sin, several prophets refer to it as a time of the nation's purification at the dawn of its history. Thus Hosea and Jeremiah compare Israel to the youthful wife of God whom he found "in the land of great drought," and who followed and cleaved to Him "in a land that was not sown" (Jer. 2:2–4:6; Hos. 2:16–17; 9:10; 13:5). Engraved in the people's memory was the tradition of God's revelation at Sinai and in the wilderness of Seir and the Negeb (Ex. 19:20; Judg. 5:4–5; Hab. 3:3–7). At Sinai, according to this tradition, the Israelite religion crystallized, the Ten Commandments, the laws, and the statutes were given, and the covenant between Israel and its God was made. There, too, Israel enjoyed the special providence of God and was chosen as His people, a theme emphasized particularly in Deuteronomy.

However, the view of the wilderness as the scene of the purification from sin does not mean that the prophets idealized either the essential character of the wilderness or nomadic existence as a way of life (see *Nomadism). This theory, whose main protagonists have been Budde, Stade, Meyer, Flight, and others, is without foundation. The prophets never set the wilderness in opposition to an agricultural civilization, frequently used by them to symbolize a life of abundance and tranquility. Even the *Rechabites did not advocate a return to the wilderness, and there is no proof that they in fact had their home there (cf. the interpretations of Hos. 2:16–17; 12:10 in the Book of *Hosea, and the articles referred to in connection with those interpretations). What can be said on the positive side is that as early as in biblical times the wilderness served as a refuge for anguished, embittered men, whether rebels against society or recluses in search of seclusion (I Sam. 24:1–2; 26:1–4; Job 30:3–8). It is against this background, and not on the basis of idealization, that Jeremiah's yearning, "Oh for a lodging place for wayfarers in the wilderness, that I might leave my people" (Jer. 9:1) is understood. Seclusion in the wilderness, as a historical phenomenon, is known from Second Temple times.

In the Aggadah

The two ways of evaluating the generation of the wilderness, alluded to in the Bible, persisted in the *aggadah*, though in a new idiom, and formed the subject of conflicting views between R. Eliezer and R. Akiva. Whereas the latter held that the generation of the wilderness has no share in the world to come and will not stand at the last judgment, R. Eliezer applied to them the verse (Ps. 50:5); "Gather My saints together unto Me; those that have made a covenant with Me by sacrifice" (Sanh. 10:3). The entire subsequent midrashic tradition follows his line of approach. The Israelites of the wilderness generation are called Darda (Heb. דרדע = דר, "generation," and דע, "knowledge"; cf. I Kings 5:11), "because they were extremely knowledgeable [בני דעה]" (Mid. Prov. to 1:1). The verse (Song 3:6) "Who is this that cometh up out of the wilderness" is interpreted as "her [Israel's] rise dates from the wilderness" (Song R. 3:6, no. 1), since from it came all Israel's virtues in Torah, prophecy, and kingship. However, the diasporas are also compared to the wilderness.

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[Samuel Abramsky]

WILDMANN, ISAAC EISIK (**Haver**; 1789–1853), rabbi in Poland-Lithuania. He served as rabbi in the communities of Rozinoi, Volkovysk, Tikocyn, Siauliai, and Suwalk. In addition to his eminence in *halakhah*, he was a kabbalist in the tradition of the school of *Elijah b. Solomon Zalman, the Gaon of Vilna, and wrote *Magen ve-Ẓinnah* (Koenigsberg, 1855), a defense of Kabbalah against the attacks of Judah Leone *Modena's *Ari Nohem*. Wildmann was a prolific writer in both *halakhah* and Kabbalah.

His works include *Beit Yiẓḥak* (Suwalk, 1836), on the negative and positive commandments; *Binyan Olam*, responsa on *halakhah* (Warsaw, 1851); *Beit Olamim* (1889) on the *Idra Rabba*, a part of the Zohar; *Yad Ḥazakah* (1842), a commentary on the Passover *Haggadah; Pitḥei She'arim* (1888), a detailed exposition of Isaac *Luria's kabbalistic system; *Be'er Yiẓḥak* (1889), a commentary on the rabbinical collectanea *Likkutei ha-Gra* of the Gaon of Vilna.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Fuenn, Keneset, 95.

[Zvi Meir Rabinowitz]

WILENSKY, MICHAEL (1877–1955), Hebrew philologist. Born in Kremenchug, Ukraine, Wilensky was raised in a hasidic family of the *Chabad movement. He studied at a Chabad *yeshivah* and at the University of Berne, where he received his doctorate in 1912. He went on to specialize in mathematics at the University of Kazan, Russia. After the 1917 Revolution he settled in Odessa. There his interest in Jewish studies was aroused by Ḥ.N. *Bialik, and he worked on the staff of Tarbut until 1920. In 1921 he left for Berlin to join *Dvir Publishing. He edited Abraham ibn Ezra's grammatical works, *Safah Berurah* and *Moznayim* (both not published), contributed articles to historical journals and to the German *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, and worked with the Verein zur Gruendung einer Akademie fuer die Wissenschaft des Judentums. His principal accomplishment in Berlin was his publication of Jonah *ibn Janaḥ's *Sefer ha-Rikmah*, accompanied by his own elaborate annotations (vol. 1, 1929; vol. 2, 1931, 1964^2). In 1934 Wilensky escaped from Germany to Lithuania, and in 1935 he arrived in the U.S. There, upon the invitation of Julian Morgenstern of Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati, he compiled a catalog of all the manuscripts in the institution's library.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: N.H. Tur-Sinai et al, in: M. Wilensky (ed.), *Sefer ha-Rikmah*, 1 (1964^2), introd.

WILENSKY, MOSHE (1910–1997) Israeli composer. Born in Warsaw, he studied composition and conducting at the state conservatory of Warsaw. After graduating there he left in 1932 for Israel. He was pianist at the "Matate" satiric theater and composed music for songs, as well as background music for documentary movies made by the Carmel studios. At the Matate Theater Wilensky discovered Yemenite songs through the repertoire of singer Esther Gamlieli. When the Li-la-lo Theater was created in 1944, Wilensky was offered the job of "house composer" and met there singer Shoshana *Damari, who was to become the principal performer of his songs. During the War of Independence, Wilensky and Damari toured army posts and performed for soldiers. In 1949, they left for a series of performances in the United States where they remained almost a year. Wilensky wrote the melodies for many of the songs of the Chizbatron, the first of the army bands created during the War of Independence. From the 1950s onwards Wilensky set to music hundreds of songs for singers and army bands. He also wrote the scores for a number of musical comedies such as *Shulamit* (1957), *Fishka*, and *Same'aḥ ba-Namal*.

Wilensky was among the founders of the Artists and Composer's Union. In 1961 he became director of the light music division of Kol Israel, a position he held for many years.

Many of his songs are considered to be among the best of Hebrew music, and Wilensky was awarded the Israel Prize in 1983. He composed songs to the texts of many famous Israeli poets, and his songs appear in hundreds of booklets and discs. Among the books containing selections of his songs are *Tamid Kalaniyyot Tifraḥna* ("Poppies Will Always Bloom," 1978) *Al ha-Kevish Yare'aḥ* ("On the Road Is a Moon," 1982), *Moshe Wilensky, Zer Kalaniyyot* ("Moshe Wilensky, a Bouquet of Poppies," 1980).

[Nathan Shahar (2nd ed.)]

WILENSKY, YEHUDAH LEIB NISAN (1870–1935), Zionist leader. He was born in Chechersk, Belorussia. In 1891, while a student in Berlin, he joined the Benei Moshe Society and the Russian-Jewish Scientific Society. He was a delegate to the First Zionist Congress and attended all subsequent congresses until his death. Responding to Theodor Herzl's call for the "conquest of the communities," he gave up his profession as chemist and became government-appointed rabbi of the Nikolayev community from 1903 to 1906. He democratized the life of the community, introduced modern Hebrew education, and promoted Jewish *self-defense against pogroms. His activities on behalf of an investigation into the role played by the authorities in the pogrom that took place in Nikolayev in October 1905 led to his arrest and expulsion from Russia. For the next five years, Wilensky lived in Berlin, where he was on the staff of the Hilfsverein der deutschen Juden and utilized his position to further understanding between German and East European Jewries. In 1911 he returned to Russia and, after the 1917 Revolution, was elected chairman of the Kharkov Jewish community. In 1919 he led a Jewish delegation that met with the "White" Army general Anton *Denikin to urge the cessation of pogroms by his troops. When the Red Army took over southern Russia, Wilensky had to flee the country by way of the Caucasian border, reaching Palestine in 1920. During the period 1921–32 he served as a Keren Hayesod emissary in Europe and South America (Chile made him its honorary consul in Jerusalem) and was particularly successful in propagating Zionism in Romania. His memoirs and letters, together with a monograph about him written by his daughter Miriam *Yalan-Stekelis, were published in 1968.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: M. Yalan-Stekelis, in: *He-Avar*, 13 (1966), 134–49.

[Yehuda Slutsky]

WILENTZ, ROBERT N. (1927–1996), U.S. jurist. Born in Perth Amboy, New Jersey, Wilentz attended Princeton University, received his B.A. from Harvard, and his law degree from Columbia. He joined his father's law firm in Perth Amboy and practiced from 1952 to 1979. He was elected to the New Jersey legislature in 1966 and served until 1969. He was in the U.S. Navy in World War II. In 1979 he was appointed chief justice of the New Jersey Supreme Court for a seven-year term, and his appointment was made permanent in 1986. Under his administration, the New Jersey Supreme Court achieved a reputation for not being reluctant to move creatively towards adjudication in areas previously untouched by judicial action.

DAVID WILENTZ (1896–1988), father of the chief justice, was the attorney general of New Jersey who prosecuted Bruno Richard Hauptmann in 1932 for the kidnapping-murder of the twenty-month-old son of Charles A. Lindbergh. In 1919 he founded the law firm Wilentz, Goldman, and Spitzer, which grew to become the largest law firm in Central New Jersey.

[Milton Ridvas Konvitz / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

WILHELM, KURT (1900–1965), rabbi. Born in Germany, he studied at German universities, at the Jewish Theological Seminary in Breslau, and in New York. Wilhelm officiated as rabbi in Germany from 1925 until 1933 when he immigrated to Palestine. In 1936 he founded the Liberal congregation Emet ve-Emunah in Jerusalem where he served as rabbi until 1948, when he went to Stockholm to officiate as chief rabbi of Sweden. He also lectured at Stockholm University on Jewish subjects. Wilhelm advocated a positive and moderate liberalism, similar to Conservative Judaism. He belonged to the circle which supported Arab-Jewish understanding, and was active in promoting Jewish dialogue with Christianity and other religions. He published a number of scholarly collections: *Juedischer Glaube* (1961) on Judaism and *Wissenschaft des Judentums* (1967) on German Jewish scholarship, among others.

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[Hugo Mauritz Valentin]

WILKES-BARRE AND KINGSTON, cities in N.E. Pennsylvania with a Jewish population of 3,000 (in 2005). The first Jews were Moses Libien from France (1835), Hirsch Koch (1836), and Martin Long (1838) from Bavaria. By the 1840s, 13 Jews lived in Wilkes-Barre and held Orthodox services as Congregation B'nai B'rith which became Reform in 1860. Rabbi Albert Friedlander was their leader. In 1970 they moved to Kingston, had 220 members, and were led by Rabbi Arnold Shevlin. By 2005 they had 200 households, with Rabbi Fred Davidow officiating.

East European Jews arrived in the 1870s, forming five Orthodox congregations. The principal Orthodox congregation is Ohav Zedek, founded by Hungarian Jews in 1902. Rabbi Isadore Mayer Davidson became chief rabbi in 1920.

Conservative Temple Israel was founded in 1922 and is the largest with 450 families, led by Rabbi Larry Kaplan and Cantor Ahron Abraham. Abraham D. Barras was rabbi from 1952 to 1983 and initiated bat mitzvah ceremonies. He took Christian clergy on Temple Israel tours to Israel and Egypt and led a mission to Israel and Rome, where they had an audience with the pope and the chief rabbi of Rome.

The Jewish Community Center was founded as the YMHA in 1863. Louis Smith was the director of the JCC from 1925 until 1976. He was very influential and recognized for his excellence by national UJA. Julia Lieberman created Home Camp, and K'Ton Ton camp was directed by Evelyn Gurbst. In 2005 JCC membership was 901 families, its executive director was Don Cooper. The JCC lists 1,500 men and women who served in the military. A senior kosher meal program and day care were initiated, and the JCC camp was renovated. The Jewish Federation sponsors the United Jewish Campaign. In 1999 there appeared a book on Wilkes-Barre Jewry, *The Jews of Wilkes-Barre: 150 Years 1845–1995 in the Wyoming Valley of Pennsylvania*, edited by S. Spear, P.J. Zbiek, E.C. Levin, and M. Levin.

The first Jew elected to office was Abram Salsburgh who served as district attorney of Luzerne County from 1904 to 1910. Some long-serving communal leaders were Rabbi Marcus Salzman, 35 years; Rabbi Isadore Davidson, 43 years; Rabbi Mayer Pernikoff, 47 years; Rabbi Abraham D. Barras, 31 years; Arnold Shevlin, 22 years; and Louis Smith, 52 years.

Men and women of achievement were Judge Max Rosenn and Jesse Choper, who became dean at the University of California Law School; Dr. David Rutstein, first chair of Harvard Medical School's department of preventive medicine, and Harry Reich, the first surgeon to perform a laparoscopic hysterectomy; Mendy Rudolph, NBCA referee, and Sandy Padwe, dean of Columbia University Graduate School of Journalism. Barbara Weisberger was with the Pennsylvania Ballet; Louis Teicher joined Arthur Ferrante playing duo pianos. Martin Yudkovitz was president of NBC Interactive Media. Sanford J. Ungar, author, editor, and former NPR host, was President of Goucher College. David Horowitz was a United Nations journalist, and his brother Emanuel Winters Horowitz wrote short stories. Their father was Cantor Aaron Horowitz.

The United Hebrew Institute is the local Jewish day school. It provides an academic foundation with modern technology in secular and religious studies. The current director is Rabbi Eli Kugielsky. There are two other denominational Hebrew schools. The Jewish Family Service, directed by Dorothy Schwartz (1952–74) and now by Howard Grossman, offers counseling and assistance.

Wyoming Valley has excellent interfaith relationships. Five churches contributed to the construction of Temple B'nai B'rith's first building. Esther B. Davidowitz was the Jewish editor of *Your Life is Worth Living* by Bishop Fulton J. Sheen.

The five local colleges exemplify this cooperation. Penn State, W.B., had many Jewish advisory board members, faculty, and administrators. Mimi Unger Fredman has been chair of the Penn State Board of Trustees. King's College has Jewish members on its board, faculty and administration. Attorneys Harold Rosenn and Murray Ufberg served on the College Misericordia Board of Trustees as vice chairmen with other Jewish board members. Sister Carol Rittner and Sister Siena Finley taught Holocaust courses. College Misericordia has an outstanding Jewish Elderhostel program. The first president of Wilkes University, Dr. Eugene S. Farley, invited Jewish participation. There were many Jewish faculty, administrators, and trustees. Robert S. Capin was a teacher, dean and president of Wilkes College. Buildings were named by Aaron Weiss, Max Roth, Nathan Schiowitz, Robert Fortinsky, Arnold Rifkin, and Robert S. Capin. Louis Schaffer, Joseph Savitz, and Eugene Roth served as chairmen of the board of Wilkes University. Luzerne County Community College was founded in 1966. William Davidowitz was co-chairman of the building committee. Jewish citizens served on their Board of Trustees and as faculty members. Sheldon Spear taught a Holocaust course. Generous Jewish philanthropy has been consistent for all institutions.

In 1911 Seligman J. Strauss was elected judge on the Luzerne County Court of Common Pleas, followed by Jacob Schiffman from 1962 to 1970. Perry J. Shertz sat on the Superior Court as an associate judge in 1980. Nochem Winnet became judge of the Municipal Court. The Honorable Max Rosenn has a life appointment as judge of the U.S. Court of Appeals on the Third Circuit, with a courthouse named after him. Rosenn, Jenkins and Greenwald was the first law firm with Jewish partners, followed by Winkler, Danoff and Lubin. There were approximately 60 Jewish lawyers (in 2005).

Wilkes-Barre city councilmen included Joseph K. Weitzenkorn, Maurice Ziegler, and Jacob D. Groh. Marvin Rappaport, Sallyanne Rosenn, Mimi Cohen, and Wilbur Troy were elected to Kingston Borough Council. Ethel Price served as County Commissioner. In 1931 Herman J. Goldberg was an assistant district attorney. Richard Goldberg became chief Luzerne County solicitor and retired as a full colonel in the PA National Guard. Arthur Silverblatt was first assistant district attorney. David Schwager became solicitor for the county assessors.

The physicist David Bohn wrote a quantum mechanics text and reformulated Einstein's theories. Architect Samuel Z. Moskovitz designed 600 buildings and was president of the American Institute of Architects. Photographer Mark Cohen exhibited at the New York Museum of Modern Art.

Judge Rosenn said, "The Jews of Wilkes-Barre and Kingston have the support and friendship of the larger community. And we have a history of over one hundred and fifty years to learn from and build upon."

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[Esther B. Davidowitz, Alfred S. Groh, and Steven Davidowitz (2nd ed.)]

WILLEN, JOSEPH (1897–1985), U.S. social welfare and fund-raising executive. Born in Kushnitsa, Russia, Willen immigrated to the U.S. in 1905. He served in the U.S. Army in World War I. Subsequently he joined the staff of the Federation of Jewish Philanthropies of New York. After serving in a number of capacities, he was executive vice president of the federation from 1942 to 1967, serving as executive consultant from 1967. During his tenure, the federation raised approximately $360,000,000 in its annual campaigns. Willen pioneered the federation's fund-raising techniques, organizing donors into separate committees for professions, localities, and fraternal and benevolent societies, as well as professionalizing the Women's Division fund-raising efforts. Known as a master of philanthropic fund-raising, Willen initiated and directed the federation's successful $200,000,000 "City of Life" campaign for new buildings and institutions. He also served as director of the Greater New York Community Council, on the New York City Welfare and Health Council, and on many Jewish institutions. He was a member of the board of trustees of Brandeis University (1963–73).

Willen's first wife, PEARL LARNER WILLEN (1904–1968), was a communal leader in human welfare organizations. She served the National Council of Jewish Women as chairman of the committee on public affairs (1951–54), vice president (1951–63), and president (1963–66), and was president of the

International Council of Jewish Women (1954–57). She was also a member of the board of governors of The Hebrew University and was active in civil rights and poverty programs and organizations. In 1965 she was one of the driving forces in the Women in Community Service's coalition to help at-risk young women in the U.S. find employment through the Job Corps.

°**WILLIAM OF AUVERGNE** (c. 1180–1249), French theologian and philosopher. Born in Aurillac, William was professor of theology at the University of Paris and bishop of that city from 1228 until his death. His principal work is *Magisterium divinale*, a collection of treatises which includes *De primo principio*, or *De trinitate* (1228), *De anima* (1230), and *De universo* (between 1231 and 1236). William's writings are contained in *Opera omnia* (2 vols., Paris, 1674; repr. 1963). In his writing William combined two tendencies, which during their development in the 12th century had been kept apart: the systematization of theological doctrines and the philosophic investigation of man's position in the universe. But methodologically he distinguished between philosophy and theology, holding that philosophy is an independent discipline with its own rules. A member of the first generation of Paris masters to utilize Aristotelian, Islamic, and Jewish thought, William followed Aristotle and Maimonides in his psychology and cosmogony and the Platonic-Neoplatonic tradition, which he knew to a large extent through Augustine, in metaphysics, cosmology, and epistemology.

William had high regard for the Jewish Neoplatonist Solomon ibn *Gabirol, whose *Mekor Ḥayyim* he read in a Latin translation. However, William considered Gabirol, whom he knew as Avicebron, an Arab by nationality and perhaps a Christian by religion. Although he admired Gabirol, William disagreed with him in holding that the world was created directly and freely through God's will without any intermediary beings.

William was also familiar with, and drew upon, Maimonides' *Guide of the Perplexed*, which became known in Latin translation in the West in the 1240s. He utilized, especially, Maimonides' description of the sublunar world and his criticism of the Greek doctrine of the eternity of the world. However, although William cites Avicebron by name, he does not mention Maimonides, probably because he knew Maimonides was a Jew. Evidence for this view is William's contention that the Jews betrayed their own religion and were worthy of condemnation. He held that at first the Hebrew people were content with the Torah and Prophets, but later they were seduced into believing incredible stories, referring to the Talmud. He felt there were only a few exceptions – men who had lived among the Arabs and became philosophers (*De universo* 1:3, 31). This view is paralleled in a papal legate report defending the suppression of the Talmud (1239–47) as not conflicting with the Church's consideration of Judaism as a *religio licita*. William had been a member of the legate's court in Paris.

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[Hans Liebeschutz]

WILLIAMS, CHARLES (1893–1978), British film and broadcasting music composer. Born Isaac Cozerbreit in east London, the son of a Jewish concert singer, Charles Williams – as he was known from the time of World War I – worked as a freelance musician in silent films in London in the 1920s, becoming one of the most distinguished writers of film music for the British cinema and, later, an equally important composer of theme music for British radio and television. His best-known works include "The Dream of Olwen," often played as a serious short piano concerto, *While I Live* (1947), and "The Jealous Lover," originally composed in 1949 for the film *That Dangerous Age* and revived in 1960 as the theme from Billy Wilder's *The Apartment,* winning an Oscar. Williams also composed the theme music for the Australian Broadcasting Corporation's television programs, played several times a day on Australian television, "Majestic Fanfare" (1952), and such BBC theme music as "The Young Ballerina" (1951) for *The Potter's Wheel.*

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[William D. Rubinstein (2nd ed.)]

WILLNER, ITAMAR (1947–), Israeli chemist. He was born in Bucharest, Romania. He completed his Ph.D. studies in chemistry in 1978 at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. After postdoctoral research at the University of California, Berkeley, he joined the Institute of Chemistry at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem in 1982. In 1986 he was appointed as professor at the Hebrew University. His research activities over the years attempted to combine biomolecules with synthetic and chemical assemblies to yield materials and systems of new functions and properties, and to prepare man-made materials that mimic biological functions. The research fields developed by him include light-induced electron-transfer and artificial photosynthesis, molecular electronics and optoelectronics, biomolecular electronics and optoelectronics, nanotechnology and nanobiotechnology, and the control of surface properties by functional monolayers and thin films. Until 2004 he co-authored over 420 papers and scientific chapters in books, and presented the research results at numerous worldwide symposia. His pioneering accomplishments were recognized with many international and national awards and distinctions. Among them are the Kolthoff Award (1993), the Max-Planck Research Award for International Cooperation (1998), the Israel Chemical Society Award (2001), and the Israel Prize in chemistry (2002). He is a fellow of the American Association for the Advancement of Science (AAAS), a member of the Israel Academy of Sciences, and a member of the European Academy of Sciences.

[Bracha Rager (2nd ed.)]

WILLOW (Heb. עֲרָבָה, *aravah*). The Bible describes the willow as a tree that grows rapidly near water (Isa. 44:4) and in whose shade the *Behemoth reclines (Job 40:22). The exiles from Judea hung their harps on willows by the rivers of Babylon, loath "to sing the Lord's song in a foreign land" (Ps. 137:2). The willow is one of the *Four Species and is characterized as possessing "neither taste nor fragrance," thus symbolizing those among Israel "who are neither learned nor possessed of good deeds" (Lev. R. 30:12). Although the identification of the *aravah* with the willow is undoubted, it should be noted that in the time of the Mishnah philological problems had already arisen in connection with this identification. The *amora* Ḥisda states that after the destruction of the Temple the name of the *aravah* (*Salix*) and *ẓafẓafah* (poplar, *Populus*) were interchanged (Shah. 36a), and in fact in Arabic it is the poplar which is called *a'rb* (Heb. *aravah*) and the willow, *ẓafẓaf* (Heb. *ẓafẓafah*). The rabbis pointed out the difference between these two genera with regard to validity for the precept of the Four Species: "The willow has a red stalk, an elongated leaf and a smooth [leaf] edge. The *ẓafẓafah* has a white stalk and a round leaf with a serrated edge" (Suk. 34a). The conclusion finally reached is that the willow with the serrated leaf is also valid (*ibid.*). The willow was also used during the festival of Tabernacles, the altar being decorated with willow branches which were brought from Moẓa near Jerusalem. There is undoubtedly a connection between the willow growing by the waterside and the prayer for water on Hoshana Rabba, as well as the prayer for rain on Shemini Aẓeret (eighth day of solemn assembly), the last day of Tabernacles, when "they are judged in respect of water" (RH 1:2).

The willow is a very useful tree. Its soft branches were used for wicker work (Bik. 3:8). The wood withstands rot and was therefore used for building boats called *arba*, the spelling for *aravah* in Aramaic and Syrian. Its fruit contains soft fibers, which are the *petilat ha-idan* ("wick of bast"), used as wicks for lamps (Shab. 2:1). Though not a fruit tree, according to the agricultural folklore of the period fruit trees could be grafted on to it (see TJ, Or. 1:2, 61a). Two species of willow, the *Salix acmophylla* and *Salix alba*, as well as hybrids of both species, grow wild in Israel on the bank of streams and rivers. Another species, *Salix babylonica*, the weeping willow, originated in China.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Loew, Flora, 3 (1924), 323–37; J. Feliks, *Olam ha-Ẓome'aḥ ha-Mikra'i* (1968^{2}), 113–5. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** Feliks, Ha-Ẓome'aḥ, 115.

[Jehuda Feliks]

WILLOWSKI, JACOB DAVID BEN ZE'EV (Heb. רידב"ז, **Ridbaz**; 1845–1913), Lithuanian talmudist and *rosh yeshivah* in Ereẓ Israel. Willowski was born in Kobrin, Russia. In his youth his brilliant attainments were already recognized. In 1868 he was appointed rabbi at Izballin; in 1876 of Bobruisk; and in 1881 "*moreh ẓedek* and *Maggid meisharim*" (teacher and preacher) of Vilna, the title accorded to the spiritual leader of that community, since it had no official rabbi. He later successively served as rabbi of Polotsk, Vilkomir, and Slutsk. At Slutsk he founded a yeshivah which soon became famous throughout Russia. In 1903 he moved to the United States where he was appointed chief rabbi of a group of Orthodox congregations in Chicago. He was also designated the *zekan ha-rabbanim* ("elder rabbi") of America by the then newly organized *Union of Orthodox Rabbis. However, due to what he considered to be the neglect of religious life there, he left the United States in 1905 and immigrated to Ereẓ Israel. He settled in Safed where he founded a large yeshivah named Torat Ereẓ Israel, popularly known as "Yeshivat ha-Ridbaz." He took issue with R. Abraham Isaac *Kook, then rabbi of Jaffa, for his lenient ruling permitting farmers to work the land during the Sabbatical Year. When the Sabbatical Year came in 1910, Willowski urged them not to work the land, and established an international charity fund to sustain those who followed his decision. His published talmudic works and responsa gained him a worldwide reputation as a preeminent rabbinical scholar. He was particularly renowned for his two commentaries to the Jerusalem Talmud, one of which followed the method of *Rashi in explaining the meaning of the text, while the other, in the manner of the **tosafot*, was a deeper and more critical exposition. These commentaries, together with the text of the Jerusalem Talmud, were published in 1898–1900.

He also wrote *Migdal David* (1874) and *Ḥanah David* (1876), both containing novellae and comments on the Babylonian and Jerusalem Talmuds; Responsa (1881); *Nimmukei Ridbaz*, a commentary to the Pentateuch (1904); *Responsa Beit Ridbaz* (1908); and annotations on R. Israel of Shklov's *Pe'at ha-Shulḥan* (1912).

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[Aaron Rothkoff]

WILLS (Heb. צַוָּאָה). A will is a person's disposition of his property in favor of another in such manner that the testator retains the property or his rights to it until his death. There are three different forms of wills, each governed by different legal rules as regards their time of coming into effect and their scope and manner of execution. These are *mattenat* (or *ẓavva'at*) *bari*, i.e., a (literally) gift by a healthy person; *mattenat* (or *ẓavva'at*) *shekhiv me-ra*, i.e., a gift by a person critically ill; and *meẓavveh meḥamat mitah*, i.e., a gift in contemplation of death. There are detailed biblical provisions regarding the legal order of *succession (Num. 27:8–11; Deut. 21:16–17). However, save for isolated hints (see e.g., Job 42:15), there is no biblical provision regarding the possibility of a person determining the disposition of his property after his death in a manner not according with the rules laid down for the legal order of succession.

Mattenat Bari

A person who wishes to give his property to a person who is not his legal heir must divest himself of it during his lifetime so that the property shall not, on his death, automatically be dealt with in accordance with the laws of succession (*Rashbam*, BB 135b). He may, however, donate the body of the property by way of a gift taking immediate effect, while retaining for himself the usufruct of the property until his death (BB 8:7: "From today and after my death"). This is a *mattenat bari*. In form this disposition by will is identical to donation in the case of regular gift. Since the legator transfers his property to the legatee "from today," he may not afterward retract from the will, although the legatee only becomes entitled to the usufruct of the property after the legator's death (Sh. Ar., ḤM 257:6, 7). A will from which it may be inferred that the transfer (**kinyan*) is "from today and after death," is regarded as one in which these words are expressly stated (BB 136a; Tur and Sh. Ar., ḤM 258). It is not possible for the legator to bequeath by way of *mattenat bari* any property except that which is then in his possession (*Rema*, ḤM 257:7; see also *Contract). If the legator employs the words, "from today if I should not retract until after my death," or "from today if I do not retract during my lifetime," he is free to retract from the bequest (Tos. BM 19b; Sh. Ar., ḤM 257:7).

Mattenat Shekhiv me-Ra

A *shekhiv me-ra* is a person who is "ill and confined to bed." According to Maimonides, a *shekhiv me-ra* is "a sick man whose entire body has been weakened and whose strength has waned because of his sickness, so that he cannot walk outside and is confined to bed" (i.e., critically ill; Yad, Zekhiyyah 8:2). Unlike the *mattenat bari*, the provisions of a *mattenat shekhiv me-ra* come into effect on the death of the legator (*ibid.*), since the scholars enacted that the latter form of testacy should be regarded in law as a form of inheritance which comes into effect on the benefactor's death (BB 149a). The scholars enacted far-reaching alleviations with regard to the formalities of conveyance by *mattenat shekhiv me-ra*, dispensing with the need for a formal *kinyan* since "the instruction of a *shekhiv me-ra* has the same force as a document written and delivered" (Git. 13a) and because this was a *takkanah* of the scholars aimed at easing the mind of the sick person (Yad, Zekhiyyah 8:2). The wishes of the testator may be expressed orally or in writing, or by implication (BB 156b; Git. 15a; Sh. At., ḤM 250:7). The will may be an unwitnessed, handwritten deed, to be delivered to the beneficiary (Git. 71a; see Yad, Naḥalot 4:1).

If this form of will is formulated orally by a *shekhiv me-ra* before witnesses, the latter may reduce its terms to writing for delivery to the beneficiary. The delivery may take place during the testator's lifetime or after his death, since this instrument is written solely as a record of the testator's oral statements which immediately on recital take effect as the will (*Sma*, ḤM 253, n. 77).

The special validity which attaches to a *shekhiv me-ra* will is forfeited if the testator should employ one of the regular forms of *kinyan* for gift (Ket. 55b), since in so doing he manifests his intention to effect no more than a regular *mattenat bari*. This result would follow, for instance, if the benefactor should effect a *kinyen sudar* or *ḥazakah*, a lifting or pulling, or a gift *aggav karka* (incidental to land generally; Tos. BB 152a; Tur, ḤM 250:28; Yad, Zekhiah 8:10, 11; *Sma*, ḤM 250, n. 54), or, similarly, if he should draw up a deed, or declare his will and tell the witnesses to draw up a deed for delivery to the beneficiary (Yad, Zekhiyyah 8:12, 13). If the testator declares, orally or in writing, that his resort to a *kinyan* customary for a gift is meant to add rather than detract from his true purpose (a procedure known as *yippui ko'aḥ*), or if it should be apparent that he erroneously believed a *kinyan* was required to effect a *mattenat shekhiv me-ra*, the fact of the *kinyan* will not detract from the validity of the will as a *mattenat shekhiv me-ra* (*Taz*, ḤM 250:17).

The will of a *shekhiv me-ra* is valid only if the testator "gave all his property and left nothing [for himself]; but if he left a part it is like the *mattenat bari* which is only acquired by a formal *kinyan*." The explanation for this is that a *shekhiv me-ra* who only disposes of part of his property does not do so in the expectation of his death – otherwise he would dispose of all his property; hence it is inferred that he intends to make a regular *mattenat bari*, which leaves no room for application of the rabbinical enactment that his instruction "has the same force as a document written and delivered" (Sh. Ar., ḤM 250:4; BB 151b). At the same time, even if a *shekhiv me-ra* leaves part of his property (for himself), his disposition will require no *kinyan* if it is made *meḥamat mitah* – that is, when it appears from his statements, explicitly or implicitly, that the disposition is made by him in the apprehension of death (Sh. Ar., ḤM 250:7; BB 151b). This is in fact the position in practically every case of a will made by a *shekhiv me-ra*. The will of a *shekhiv me-ra* may be retracted from by the testator (Yad, Zekhiyyah 9:15) by way of his oral or written expression of the wish to revoke the will (*Rashbam*, BB 152b). The revocation need not be express and will be implied if the testator makes another will relating to the same property (TJ, BB 8:7, 16b; BB 135b; Yad, loc. cit.). Revocation of part of a will is regarded as a revocation of the whole (BB 148b), and the same consequence follows if the testator should will his estate to several persons and afterward revoke his bequest to any one of them (*Rema*, ḤM 250:12). The will of a *shekhiv me-ra* is automatically revoked on the latter's recovery from his illness (Git. 72b), notwithstanding any prior express stipulation by him to the contrary. This is explained on the grounds of an enactment by the scholars that the expressed wishes of a *shekhiv me-ra* should be fulfilled out of apprehension for the mental agony which the latter might suffer if left in doubt about the fulfillment of his wishes; hence, on his recovery, the justification for the *takkanah* falls away, since he is once again in a position to make the disposition in any manner he desires (Resp. Rashba, vol. 1, no. 975).

Meẓavveh Meḥamat Mitah

The scholars widened the concept of a *shekhiv me-ra* in recognizing as equally valid the will of a "healthy" person if made *meḥamat mitah*, that is, in contemplation of death – *mortis causa*. A "healthy" person is regarded as having willed his property *meḥamat mitah* in one of the following circumstances: when he is seriously ill (even though he does not fall within the definition of a *shekhiv me-ra* – see above); when he is about to be executed under the law of the land; when he sets out with a caravan on a desert journey; and when he leaves on a sea voyage (Git. 65b, 66a and *Rashi* ad loc.). These four circumstances correspond to those in which it is incumbent to offer thanksgiving to the Almighty (Psalm 107; Ber. 54b). A disposition *meḥamat mitah* requires no formal *kinyan*, whether it relates to all or only a part of the testator's property (Yad, Zekhiyyah 8:24; Sh. Ar., ḤM 250:8). The manner of evolution of the law concerning a *meḥamat mitah* disposition is described in the language of the Mishnah, pertaining mainly to the laws of divorce but extended also to the laws of wills, as follows: "At first they used to say: If a man was led forth in chains and was about to be executed under the law of the land and said, 'Write out a bill of divorce for my wife,' they would write it out and deliver it [because being in a state of bewilderment he said only 'write out' and did not manage to say also 'deliver']… Then they changed this and said, 'Also if a man went on a voyage or set out with a caravan.' R. Simeon Shezuri says, 'Also if a man was at the point of death'" (Git. 6:5). The *halakhah* was decided according to R. Simeon (TJ, Git. 6:7, 48a).

Some scholars held that it was only in the matter of granting a divorce that a valid *meḥamat mitah* disposition was constituted in any one of the four above-mentioned circumstances (*Piskei ha-Rosh*, BB 9:18; *Beit Yosef*, ḤM 250, no. 13), and that any other *meḥamat mitah* disposition was only valid in the case of a person seriously ill or one about to be executed, but not in the other two cases. The scholars made this distinction on the basis that in the latter two cases the testator harbors the intention of returning to his home (Rosh, loc. cit.), or that death is not imminent (Nov. Rashba, BB 146b; *Maggid Mishneh*, Zekhiyyah 8:24). Other scholars (*Beit Yosef*, loc. cit., quoting Alfasi, Maimonides, and Naḥmanides) took the view that there was no reason for distinguishing between a divorce and the disposition of property by will for this purpose.

A "healthy" person whose will is not made within the framework of one of the above-mentioned circumstances is not regarded as a person willing his property *meḥamat mitah*, notwithstanding his express declaration that he is acting as such out of fear that he might die suddenly (Resp. Rashba, vol. 1, no. 975; vol. 3, no. 118; Sh. Ar., ḤM 250:14). Hai Gaon was of the opinion that if a "healthy" person willed his property in the apprehension of sudden death and in fact died shortly thereafter, his will was to be regarded as one *meḥamat mitah* (Judah b. Barzillai, *Sefer ha-Shetarot*, no. 54; *Keneset ha-Gedolah*, ḤM 250, *Beit Yosef*, no. 131).

Undertaking and Acknowledgment or Admission (Odita, Hoda'ah)

One of the telling limitations imposed by Jewish law on the different forms of testamentary disposition is the fact that the disposition is valid only in respect of property in the possession of the testator at the time the will is made (Yad, Mekhirah 22:1, 5). To overcome this limitation there evolved the use of a will formulated as an undertaking, since the law, although it precluded any possibility of a person transferring property not yet in existence or possessed by him (in his *reshut*), presented no obstacle to undertaking an obligation in respect of such property (Resp. Rashba, vol. 3, no. 118). Such an undertaking could be affected in writing or before witnesses, and also by way of an acknowledgment (of indebtedness) called *odita*. According to one view an *odita* may only be affected by a *shekhiv me-ra* (*Ittur*, s.v., *Hoda'ah*; *Or Zaru'a*, no. 477, 4).

If the aforesaid undertaking is made in writing and the instrument is delivered before witnesses, the beneficiary may recover it even from *nekhasim mesh'ubadim* (i.e., encumbered and alienated property; see *Lien; but if not so delivered, the beneficiary may only recover from *nekhasim benei ḥorin* ("free property"; *Maggid Mishneh*, Mekhirah 11:15; Sh. Ar., ḤM 40:1 and *Siftei Kohen* thereto, no. 3). In the case of an undertaking before witnesses, the benefactor declares, "Be witnesses unto me that I obligate myself," and the witnesses acquire from him (Yad and Sh. Ar., loc. cit.). The acknowledgment may also be made by the benefactor acknowledging indebtedness in writing or by declaring before witnesses: "Be witnesses unto me that I am indebted"; in this event the witnesses do not require a formal acquisition (*kinyan*) from the benefactor (*Sma* 40:1; *Netivot ha-Mishpat* 40, *Mishpat ha-Urim* n. 1 and *Mishpat ha-Kohanim*, n. 3).

A testamentary disposition by undertaking or acknowledgment is irrevocable, whether effected by a *bari* or a *shekhiv me-ra*, and in the latter case the disposition is not revoked on the benefactor's death (R. Isaac, in Tos. BB 149a; Sh. Ar., ḤM 250:3). The usual time specified for fulfillment of the undertaking is an hour before the death of the benefactor so that the beneficiary should be unable to demand fulfillment during the benefactor's lifetime, since the due date of fulfillment is ascertainable only after the latter's death. However, it is essential that the due time of fulfillment be fixed at a date within the benefactor's lifetime, since an undertaking falling due for fulfillment after the promisor's death is void (Resp. Maharik, no. 89). Testamentary dispositions of this nature have been customary throughout the Diaspora in various forms and degrees of complexity. It is possible that the use of this form of will was adopted to avoid giving the appearance that the inheritance was being diverted from the legal heir – conduct of which the Mishnah says "The sages do not approve of him" (BB 8:5); it was therefore preferred through the means of such an undertaking to avoid a legal devolution of the estate. Widespread use of such an undertaking was made in the *shetar ḥaẓi zakhar*, a deed by means of which a father gave his daughter a share of the property equal to one-half of a son's portion (under the laws of succession). This deed, given to the daughter upon her marriage, may be regarded as a form of irrevocable will of the father (the deed being irrevocable in order to ensure the father's donation to his daughter and her husband). In this case, too, the time of fulfillment usually specified is one hour before the father's death. In order to overcome the difficulty of donating a specified portion of one's estate upon a daughter's marriage, at a time when the exact extent of the estate is still unknown, the following procedure was laid down: the father acknowledges that he owes his daughter a sum of money exceeding the estimated value of one-half of a son's share, adding a condition that the heir shall have the option either to pay this amount to the daughter of the deceased, or to give her a share of the estate equal to one-half of a son's portion (*Naḥalat Shivah*, no. 21; *Rema*, ḤM 281:7 and EH 108:3).

Mitzvah to Carry out the Wishes of the Deceased

Although a will may be invalid for one reason or another, it may still be recognized in certain circumstances in terms of the rule that "It is a *mitzvah* to carry out the wishes of the deceased" (Ket. 70a, Git. 14b). Thus it is the duty of the legal heirs to carry out the wishes of the testator, and this is a duty which the courts will enforce. However, the above rule is not always to be applied as a strict legal duty, and when the duty is merely a moral one, the court will not compel compliance with the testator's directions (*Shevut Ya'akov*, vol. 1, no. 168). The rule applies to the bequest of both a *bari* and a *shekhiv me-ra* (Yad, Zekhiyyah 4:5; Sh. Ar., ḤM 252:2) whether made orally or in writing (Tos., BB 149a). The rule's scope of operation is a matter of scholarly dispute; there are three different views:

(1) that it applies only in respect of property deposited with a trustee, at the time of the bequest, so that he should carry out the latter (Resp. Ritba, no. 54; *Rema*, ḤM 242:2);

(2) that it applies even when the property is not deposited as mentioned above, provided that the legal heir of the deceased has been directed to carry out the bequest and does not object thereto (Resp. Ritba, loc. cit.; *Sha'arei Uzzi'el*, 1 (1944), no. 21);

(3) that it is applicable in every event, and even if the bequest has not been directed to any of the legal heirs, the latter are obliged to carry it out (*Haggahot Mordekhai*, BB no. 666). According to the aforementioned rule, ownership of the bequested property does not automatically pass to the beneficiary, but the duty is imposed on the legal heirs to transfer the said property to him (*Rashi*, Git. 14b; *Mordekhai*, BB, no. 630), from which derives an important distinction between a will taking effect by virtue of the above-mentioned rule and the wills of a *bari* and a *shekhiv me-ra*, namely: in the former case the beneficiary is not entitled to recover the bequested property from third-party purchasers (*Haggahot Mordekhai*, BB, no. 666), where he does have this right in the latter case (Resp. Rosh 86:5; Sh. Ar., ḤM 111:9 and 257:6).

Capacity to Bequeath

A person's legal capacity to make a bequest is generally coextensive with his capacity to make a regular gift, but there are a number of special rules relating to the former:

(1) Although, according to some of the *posekim*, a minor generally requires his guardian's approval in order to make a gift (Yad, Mekhirah 29:7; Sh. Ar., ḤM 235:2), such approval is unnecessary as regards a *mattenat shekhiv me-ra*. The explanation for this apparently lies in the fact that a *mattenat shekhiv me-ra* falls due after the benefactor's death, whereas guardianship terminates on the minor's death, and also because the primary task of a guardian is to safeguard the minor's interests, a task which falls away on the minor's death (Resp. Maharam Alshekh, 101).

(2) It is doubtful whether the tacit *shekhiv me-ra* bequest of a deaf-mute (*ḥeresh*), is valid, even though his tacit, regular gift is valid. The doubt arises from the fact that both the possibility of alienating by implication and a *mattenat shekhiv me-ra* derive from rabbinical enactment, whereas the rule is that "one does not add one *takkanah* to another" (BM 5b). On the other hand, it is possible that the rule, "the instruction of a *shekhiv me-ra* has the same force as a document written and delivered," applies also to the tacit acts of a deaf-mute – even with regard to his disposition of land and despite the fact that he cannot do so by way of a regular gift (*Kesef ha-Kedoshim*, 250:6).

(3) A proselyte has no capacity to make a *shekhiv me-ra* bequest: "A *mattenat shekhiv me-ra* has been given the same force by the rabbis as an inheritance; therefore where there can be inheritance there can also be gift and where there cannot be inheritance there also cannot be gift" (BB 149a). Hence, in view of the fact that a proselyte who leaves no offspring conceived after his proselytization has no heirs (Tos. BB 149a), he cannot make a *mattenat shekhiv me-ra* (Sh. Ar., ḤM 256:1 and *Rema* thereto). According to some scholars, his capacity to bequeath is only limited as regards offspring conceived before his proselytization and who are not his legal heirs, but his *shekhiv me-ra* bequest made to any other person is valid (Sh. Ar., ḤM 256, *Sma* thereto n. 3). Other scholars hold that the *shekhiv me-ra* bequest of a proselyte is of no effect, regardless of who the beneficiary may be (*Hassagot Rabad* on *Rif*, BB 149a, in the name of Hai Gaon; *Hassagot Rabad* on Yad, Zekhiyyah 9:7). According to another view, the rule that it is a *mitzvah* to carry out the wishes of the deceased does not apply to a proselyte (Tos., BB 149a; Tur, ḤM 256:7–9; *Rema*, ḤM 256:1).

Capacity to Benefit from a Bequest

A person's legal capacity to benefit from a bequest is generally coextensive with his capacity to receive a regular gift, but here, too, there exist a number of special rules:

(1) According to some of the *posekim* a proselyte cannot receive a *mattenat shekhiv me-ra* (Rabad, quoted in *Shitah Mekubbeẓet*, BB 149a and *Tosefot Rid*, ad loc., end of no. 14).

(2) Even the *posekim* who hold that a person cannot give a regular gift to his offspring as long as they are *embryos, agree that it is acceptable for him to make them a *shekhiv me-ra* bequest (*Beit Yosef* and *Derishah*, ḤM 210, no. 3; *Siftei Kohen*, ḤM 210, n. 1).

A person who lacks capacity to benefit from a bequest, may benefit from it if it is executed in the form of assignment to a third party on his behalf. This possibility also applies in the case of a *mattenat shekhiv me-ra*, and it is possible to benefit an embryo in this manner, even according to the *posekim* who reject the possibility of a *mattenat shekhiv me-ra* in favor of an embryo (Tur, ḤM 210:1).

Subject Matter of the Bequest

In general the restrictions placed on the possible subject matter of a regular gift are applicable also as regards the subject matter of a bequest. According to certain *posekim*, a person cannot make a *mattenat shekhiv me-ra* and retain for himself the usufruct of the property in question, even though this may be done in the case of a regular gift (Rabad, quoted in *Beit Yosef*, ḤM 209:10; opinion quoted by *Rema*, ḤM 209:7). The reason for this is that a *mattenat shekhiv me-ra* is acquired after the benefactor's death so that his retention of the usufruct is solely for the benefit of his legal heirs and not for himself. A bequest may be made of property in kind and also in the form of a fixed payment (Ta'an. 21a; Ket. 69b), or by establishing a fund, with the income from it designated for a particular purpose (*Pitḥei Teshuvah*, ḤM 246, n. 2). It is possible for the testator to nominate an executor (*apotropos*) of his estate (Tur, ḤM 250:1 and 33). There is also an opinion that a *shekhiv me-ra* may entrust the executor with the actual decision as to division of the estate (*Mordekhai*, BB, no. 600).

At times wills have included charitable bequests. When such a bequest is made in a manner whereby the principal is established as a perpetual fund, while the income from it is dedicated to the charitable purpose, the estate – or the portion concerned – is known as a *keren kayyemet* (Resp. Rashba, vol. 3, no. 295; *Keneset ha-Gedolah*, YD 253; see also *Consecration and Endowment).

Form and Wording of Wills

It is desirable that it be indicated in the will whether the testator is a *bari* or a *shekhiv me-ra*, although omission to do so does not affect the will's validity (Yad, Zekhiyyah 9:22; Tur, ḤM 251:3). In the case of a dispute between the legal heirs and the beneficiaries under the will, the burden of proof as to the testator's state of health devolves on the latter, since the legal heirs are deemed entitled (*muḥzakim*) to the estate's assets and "the burden of proof rests on the claimant" (Yad and Tur, loc. cit.; Sh. Ar., ḤM 251:2). The following are the customary versions, since talmudic times, to describe the testator's state of health: for a *mattenat bari*, "while he was walking on his feet in the market"; for a *mattenat shekhiv me-ra*, "while he was ill and confined to his bed"; and for a *shekhiv me-ra* will reduced to writing only after the testator's death, "and from his illness he died" (BB 153a, 154a), this version being essential since the disposition will be void if the testator should not die from the illness (BB *ibid.*; Sh. Ar., loc. cit.).

The testator must employ the phraseology which is effective for transfer of title in regular gifts. Thus it is necessary for the testator to use a verb denoting gift (*natan*, "gave," etc.; BB 148b; Sh. Ar., ḤM 253:2). A *shekhiv me-ra* testator who bequeathes in favor of his legal heir may employ a verb denoting inheritance (ḤM 281:3). The phraseology used by the testator must clearly show that the testator is alienating the asset concerned and not that he is promising to transfer title to it (*Rashi*, Git. 40b). Use of the past or present tense confers title but not use of the future tense (Yad, Zekhiyyah 4:11; Sh. Ar., ḤM 245:1). On the other hand, a *shekhiv me-ra* will couched in the future tense, is valid since in this case the testator speaks of a gift to take effect in the future – after his death. However, even a *shekhiv me-ra* will is invalid if phrased as a mere promise (*Beit Yosef*, EH 51–end of s.v. שנים; *Maggid Mishneh*, Yad, Mekhirah 2:8; *Baḥ*, ḤM 253:2). Language phrased in the form of a request to the testator's legal heirs to give specific assets to the beneficiaries under the will is valid and effective (*Piskei Maharam*, no. 99; *Rema*, ḤM 250:21).

As in all cases of gift, the will of both a healthy person and that of a *shekhiv me-ra* must be executed in public, and the testator must direct the witnesses to sign the will in like manner: "… Sit in the markets and public places and write for him openly and publicly a deed of gift" (Yad, Zekhiyyah 5:1, 4; BB 40b; Tur, ḤM 242:7). A *meḥamat mitah* testator is not required to direct that the disposition be made public (Yad, Zekhiyyah 9:2), but if he should expressly direct the witnesses to keep his will secret, it will be invalid (*Perisha*, ḤM 242:4).

Interpretation of Wills

Wills are generally subject to the same principles of interpretation as are all other documents (see *Interpretation). The process of *umedana* ("estimation") is of particular application to the interpretation of wills – that is the process of endeavoring to fathom the mind of the testator in order to understand his true intention – and the will itself is virtually the exclusive means to do this. The legal heirs of the deceased are deemed to be in possession of his property. Hence, a person claiming under the will is subject to the rule that "the holder of a deed is always at a disadvantage," for the reason that "the burden of proof rests with the claimant" (Bik. 2:10; Ket. 83b), and the beneficiary under the will accordingly has the burden of proving that the testator's intention was such that the will should be interpreted in his favor. The aforementioned rule only applies where doubt has arisen with regard to the interpretation of the will, and it does not operate in order to void the will entirely (Resp. Ribash, no. 145; Sh. Ar., ḤM 42:9).

The principle of estimation may serve to entirely invalidate a will. Thus in a case where a *shekhiv me-ra*, in the belief that his son is dead, bequeaths all his property to another, the disposition will be invalid if it should subsequently transpire that the son is alive – and in this event the latter will inherit from his father (BB 146b). Similarly, in certain circumstances a beneficiary under a will may become the mere custodian of the estate assets should it be so determined as an outcome of estimation that it was this that the testator intended (BB 131b; Sh. Ar., EH 107 and ḤM 246:4–12).

Various rules were determined with regard to the interpretation of certain expressions in a will. Thus with reference to a *shekhiv me-ra* will, it was laid down that the term *banim* means "sons" and excludes daughters (TJ, Ket. 13:1, 35d) and that the intention of the testator who bequeaths all his property to his *banim*, when he has one son only and daughters, is to bequeath all to his son (BB 143b and see the biblical texts there cited; Yad, Zekhiyyah 11:1). Disputed in the Talmud is the intention of the testator who bequeaths to his *banim* when he has a single son and a grandson, and it was decided that in such a case it is not intended that the grandson be included (*ibid.*).

If a will contains contradictory directions which cannot possibly be reconciled with each other, the direction recorded last in the will prevails, on the assumption that the testator has repudiated the earlier direction (BB 10:2; Yad, Malveh 27:14; Sh. Ar., ḤM 42:5). However, when the contradiction emerges from the directions contained in one and the same passage of the will, the later reference is of no special import and the rule that "the holder of a deed is always at a disadvantage" applies (*ibid.*).

Authority to interpret documents is in general entrusted to the courts. With regard to a *shekhiv me-ra* will this authority is sometimes entrusted to the persons present at the time of its execution (BB 113b; Sh. Ar., ḤM 253:1). Thus if a *shekhiv me-ra* bequeathed his property in the presence of three persons, the latter may adjudge in the matter of the will and with reference to any doubt arising in connection with its interpretation (*Rema*, ḤM 253:1). However, if these persons were requested to be present as witnesses to the will, they will be disqualified from acting as judges in matters concerning the will (*Beit Yosef*, ḤM 7:6; Sh. Ar., ḤM 7:5). Another opinion that they will be disqualified even if they were not requested to serve as witnesses but intended to act as such (*Rashbam*, BB 113b) was rejected by a majority of the *posekim* (Tos. BB 114a; Sh. Ar., loc. cit.). Three persons present at the time of the testamentary disposition may only act as judges in connection with it when the will is made in the daytime, since the *halakhah* is that the adjudication shall not take place at night (see **Bet Din*; Sh. Ar., ḤM 5:2 and 253:1). If sums of money are bequeathed by a *shekhiv me-ra* to several persons, and it transpires that the latter's estate is lacking in funds, the position will depend on the way in which the bequest is worded. If the wording is, "give two hundred *zuz* to A, three hundred *zuz* to B, and four hundred *zuz* to C," each of the persons mentioned receives only his proportionate share of the available amount; if, however, the wording is, "give two hundred *zuz* to A, thereafter three hundred *zuz* to B and thereafter four hundred *zuz* to C," the parties will take precedence in turn in accordance with the order in which their names are mentioned (Yad, Zekhiyyah, 10:13, 14).

Accrual of Rights under a Will

The beneficiary under a *mattenat bari* becomes entitled to the disposition in accordance with the terms of it, that is to the body of the property immediately and to its fruits upon the donor's death. In this case the beneficiary's right to the body of the donated property is a regular proprietary right, which he may, therefore, sell even during the donor's lifetime, and if the beneficiary should predecease the donor, the former's heirs become entitled to the donation (Sh. Ar., ḤM 257:4). The beneficiary under a *shekhiv me-ra* will becomes entitled to the bequeathed property upon the testator's death since a *shekhiv me-ra* will is subject to the same law as is succession according to law (see above). Therefore, if the beneficiary should predecease the testator, the former's heirs do not become entitled to anything at all (Sh. Ar., ḤM 125:9 and *Siftei Kohen*, thereto, 36).

Renunciation of Rights under a Will

In general, a person's refusal to accept property given to him as a gift will be effective if the refusal is made before the property comes into his possession, and in this event he does not become entitled to it (Ker. 24b). In the case of a gift or bequest made in the beneficiary's presence, the latter must at this very stage express his refusal of it (Sh. Ar., ḤM 245:10); if he should wish to renounce a gift or bequest not made in his presence, he must do so immediately on becoming aware of it (Rif, *Halakhot*, BB 138a; *Piskei ha-Rosh, ibid.*; Yad, Zekhiyyah 9:13). A renunciation made by a beneficiary who remains silent for a period after having become aware that the gift or bequest has been made is ineffective (Yad, Zekhiyyah 9:14; Sh. Ar., ḤM 245:10). The renunciation must be made in an unequivocal manner, and the beneficiary must clearly state that he has no intention at all of becoming entitled to the gift or bequest and that it is a nullity *ab initio* (Yad, Zekhiyyah 9:13; Sh. Ar., ḤM 245:7 and *Sma* thereto, n. 18).

Fideicommissary Bequests

The testator may direct that particular assets shall be given to the beneficiary for a limited period and that after this period these assets shall pass to another. A will is generally made in this form when the testator wishes to ensure that his property shall not, after the beneficiary's death, pass to the latter's heirs but shall go to some other person (Yad, Zekhiyyah 3:9; Sh. Ar., 241:6; *Rema*, ḤM 248:3). In principle there is no restriction on the possible order of successive beneficiaries which the testator may determine, but in practice this right is qualified by the requirement that all the beneficiaries must be alive at the time the gift or bequest is made (Resp. Rosh, no. 84:1 and 2). Each beneficiary under such a will in turn enjoys the usufruct of the bequeathed property and has the right to deal with the latter as with his own property – even to sell it.

A moral prohibition was imposed on the sale of such property by any one of the fideicommissaries – save for the last beneficiary mentioned in the will – since this was held to amount to a frustration of the testator's original intention; a sale effected by one of the fideicommissaries contrary to the above prohibition is nevertheless valid (BB 137a; Yad, Zekhiyyah 12:8, 9). A disposition of the bequeathed property by way of a *shekhiv me-ra* will on the part of a fideicommissary is ineffective, since the property only passes into the new beneficiary's possession after the testator's death and at this time the property is no longer the latter's but that of the fideicommissary next in line in terms of the original will (BB 137a; Yad, Zekhiyyah 12:10).

In the case where property is bequeathed to an unmarried woman, "to you and thereafter to A," and the woman subsequently marries, the property will not pass in turn to A but the woman's husband will become entitled to it (Ket. 95b); however, if a bequest of this nature is made to a married woman, the beneficiary next in line will in turn succeed to the property, since this will be assessed to have been the testator's true intention (Ket. loc. cit.;Yad, Zekhiyyah 12:12; Sh. Ar., EH 91:2 and ḤM 248:8).

Where property is bequeathed by a *shekhiv me-ra* will to a legal heir of the testator "to you and thereafter to A," the property will not upon the beneficiary's death pass to A but to the beneficiary's legal heirs (Yad, Zekhiyyah 12:7; Sh. Ar., ḤM 248:1; BB 129b and *Rashbam*, ad loc.). The explanation for this is as follows: since in a *shekhiv me-ra* will the property only passes to the beneficiary after the testator's death, and since the beneficiary is a legal heir of the testator, the former becomes entitled to the property by virtue of the law of the Torah and the testator may not stipulate that his property shall after the beneficiary's death pass to A and not to the beneficiary's legal heirs, for this is a stipulation contrary to the law of the Torah and therefore void; this rule is referred to in the Talmud as *yerushah ein lah hefsek* ("an inheritance cannot be terminated"; BB 129b, 133a).

Takkanot Concerning the Form and Execution of Wills

In many communities different *takkanot* were enacted with regard to various documents which, in particular, obliged those executing the documents to do so before a scribe or rabbi (Sh. Ar., ḤM 61:1), both as a protection against forgeries and in order to make the documents publicly known (*Baḥ*, ḤM 61:1). At times it was laid down that a document executed contrary to a particular *takkanah* was of no effect and a fine was even imposed on the person who executed it (S. Buber, *Anshei Shem* (1895), 225f.). In some cases it was necessary for certain deeds to be publicly announced in the synagogue (Resp. Ribash, no. 88; Resp. Rashba, vol. 3, no. 431). The manner of execution of wills was specially dealt with in a number of *takkanot*. Thus two years after the expulsion of the Jews from Spain, the *takkanot* of Fez were enacted which included, among others, this *takkanah*: "Whoever shall wish to make a gift or will, whether male or female, shall do so before the *ḥakham* or *dayyan* of the town, otherwise the gift or will shall be of no worth" (*Kerem Ḥamar*, vol. 2, no. 11). This *takkanah* was later extended (*ibid.*, no. 19) and a further *takkanah* prescribed that "any *shekhiv me-ra* will or gift which shall not be made before the *ḥakham* or *dayyan* of the town shall be null and void; that is, everything that a *shekhiv me-ra* shall do is void if not done before a *dayyan*" (*ibid.*, 36a/b, *takkanot* pertaining to ḤM, no. 4). These *takkanot* were apparently enacted for two reasons: to ensure that the testator was of sound mind when making the will, and so that the scholar could stress before the testator the fact that the latter was transferring the inheritance from his legal heirs to someone else, a consequence looked upon with disfavor by the scholars (*Mishpatim Yesharim*, no. 2:161, and see above). Similar *takkanot* were enacted also in Jerusalem (Resp. Mabit, no. 2, pt. 2, no. 1).

Jerusalem Takkanot

It was the custom that the estate of a person who died in Jerusalem without leaving any heirs in Ereẓ Israel passed to the public, a custom apparently aimed at preventing the authorities from taking the estate. The public would administer the estate, and if the heirs of the deceased later came to claim the estate, it would be sought to influence them to leave part of it to the community chest. At a later stage a *takkanah* was enacted to the effect that the estate of a deceased person without any heirs in Ereẓ Israel actually passed to the public (see Rivlin, in bibl.). However, even after the enactment of this *takkanah* a person could still keep his estate from passing to the public by making a will. A deterioration in the position of Jerusalem Jewry led to the enactment of a number of further *takkanot* in this connection. Thus in 1730 there was a reinstatement of an ancient *takkanah* which laid down that a will had to be executed before communal representatives and that it was necessary that there be present a representative of the communal leadership of Constantinople, communal appointees, as well as a **parnas* and scribe of the community and, failing this, the will would have no validity. At the same time it was expressly laid down that a person could bequeath as he wished before the above-mentioned persons (*Sefer ha-Takkanot ve-Haskamot… Yerushalayim…* (1883^2) 24b, 25b, 26a). In 1737 a far-reaching *takkanah* was enacted which forbade a person without heirs in Ereẓ Israel from making a will (*ibid.*, 18a/b). When this *takkanah* was circumvented by persons who made a *mattenat bari* abroad before coming to settle in Ereẓ Israel, there was enacted a *takkanah* in 1776 which rendered invalid various kinds of wills, including a *mattenat bari* "from today and after my death," whether executed in or outside of Ereẓ Israel (*ibid.*, 29a/b). In 1810 Ashkenazi Jews (*Perushim*) began to settle in Ereẓ Israel, and they objected to the above *takkanot*. For some years a dispute was waged in regard to these *takkanot*, and in the end they were not followed by the Ashkenazi Jews (see Rivlin, in bibl., p. 61).

Takkanot Concerning Disposition of the Property of Spouses

The Toledo *takkanot* enacted in favor of the wife's family were aimed at preventing the entire assets contributed by the wife to her husband from passing to the latter on her death. These *takkanot* provided that the wife's relatives – who would normally inherit from her in the event that she survived her husband – should receive one-half of her estate. It was decided by Asher b. Jehiel that a wife could not dispose of her property by will so as to leave it all to her husband or some other person and thereby frustrate the object of the above *takkanot* (Resp. nos. 55:1 and 40:2). In consequence of the decision, *takkanot* were enacted in the communities of the Spanish exiles which expressly incorporated the import of the decision into the Toledo *takkanot*. The exiles of 1391 who settled in North Africa enacted – under the guidance of R. Simeon b. Ẓemaḥ *Duran – a series of *takkanot*, the third of which, among others, rendered it forbidden for a woman to make any form of will in which she purported to transfer one-half of her estate "to any person in the world save to any offspring she has by her husband who would be her nearest heir; and if she has done so, it shall henceforth be null and void" (*Tashbeẓ*, 2:292).

From the statements of the *posekim* of the Moroccan communities, it appears that despite the existence of various *takkanot* which followed those of Toledo, it still remained possible for a woman to make gifts to her husband or other persons (*Mishpat u-Ẓedakah le-Ya'akov*, pt. 2, no. 83; *Mishpatim Yesharim*, no. 2:211). On the other hand it was decided there that a *shekhiv me-ra* bequest made by a woman in which she gave a large part of her property to her husband was invalid (*Ner Ma'aravi*, no. 1:16). Another *takkanah* enacted in Fez imposed restrictions on the husband's freedom to make a testamentary disposition of his property by prescribing that if the wife objected to the *shekhiv me-ra* will of her husband, her share – or that of her heirs – in the estate would remain unaffected by the will. Another *takkanah* laid down that before distribution of the estate in accordance with the existing *takkanot*, there were to be recovered from it *mattenat bari* but not *shekhiv me-ra* bequests to which the wife of the deceased objected (*Kerem Ḥamar*, vol. 2, 34b, no. 6; the scholars were divided on the interpretation of this *takkanah* – see *Mishpatim Yesharim*, no. 2:268).

In consequence of the migrations of the Spanish exiles similar *takkanot* to those of Toledo were enacted in many communities of the Mediterranean countries. In some places a woman was expressly precluded from bequeathing part of her property to her husband; this was prescribed, for instance, in the *takkanot* of Arta (*Torat Ḥayyim*, EH 24), apparently enacted in 1597 (see Resp. Ranaḥ, no. 25).

In the State of Israel

In the Succession Law of 1965 the Knesset partly adopted and partly rejected different principles pertaining to testamentary dispositions in Jewish law. The *mattenat bari* and *shekhiv me-ra* forms of will were adopted both in formulation and content (sec. 23; M. Elon, in: ILR, 4 (1969), 133 f.). The Law – in reception of Jewish law principles and contrary to English law – empowers the court to give effect to a formally defective will when there is no doubt as to its genuineness (sec. 25).

[Shmuel Shilo]

A Will Formulated as a Request

Rabbi Israel Isserlein (Resp. Terumat Ha-Deshen, *Pesakim u-Ketavim*, (Ashkenaz, 15th century), 99) was asked about a will in which the testator turned to his son, requesting him to waive a particular debt that someone owed him; the question was whether this request was in fact an integral part of the will or merely a request or recommendation. His answer was that he was inclined to view this as a will in every respect, and that the use of the form of request, rather than instruction, was merely in order for the matter to be dealt with amicably. The Rema (Sh. Ar., ḤM, 250:21) ruled, on the basis of this responsum, that where a will is drafted in the form of a request, it is to be considered as a statement of a *shekhiv me-ra*, of one who is critically ill, and therefore to have the binding force of a will. Other halakhic decisors expressed doubts regarding this matter, in view of the fact that further on in this responsum Rabbi Isserlein himself questioned whether this was in fact the law (*Ḥiddushei Rabbi Akiva Eiger*, ad loc.; *Beit Yosef*, ḤM 253).

Rabbi Isserlein's responsum and Rema's ruling were considered in decisions of the rabbinical courts in the State of Israel when adjudicating a case in which the language of the will was framed as a request. The Regional Rabbinical Court in Petaḥ Tikvah (File 1862/28) ruled that, even according to the opinion of the Rema, an additional reason is needed in order for the request to be considered a will, noting that in his responsum Rabbi Isserlein had explained that the provision was framed as a request in order for the matter to be dealt with amicably. Thus, only where there is an additional rationale to explain the background for using the form of request, such as that brought by Rabbi Isserlein, which explained the background of the request, may a request be viewed as a provision of a will. In the appeal, the Israeli Rabbinical Court of Appeals (5731/4, 8 PDR 240) rejected the reasoning of the Regional Rabbinical Court and stated that Rabbi Isserlein's opinion implies that any request constitutes a will unless there is cause to believe otherwise, in which case an additional rationale is needed, and the decision of the Rema is applicable to any ordinary case of a will written as a request (*ibid*., pp. 245–47).

A similar question came before the Israeli Supreme Court when the deceased left a letter recommending to the person whom he had designated as his heir not to accept the inheritance (CA 202/85 *Kleine-Beck v. Goldberg*, 41(2) PD 753; *per* Justice Menachem Elon). The family of the deceased argued that this constituted a revocation of the will, whereas the person designated as heir argued that this was only a recommendation. The District Court ruled according to the responsum of Rabbi Isserlein – namely, that a request constitutes a will and thus the earlier will must be viewed as having been revoked. The Supreme Court ruled that a distinction must be made between a request, that must be viewed as a will under Jewish Law, and the case under consideration, in which the document at issue was a letter containing a recommendation, that could not even be considered as a request; hence its language should not be viewed as a will, and the letter did not revoke the earlier will (*ibid*, pp. 768–70).

Enforcing a Defective Will

Wills that are drafted by notaries, in accordance with the laws of the State, often contain elements that would be considered defects according to Jewish Law and that would, prima facie, prevent their execution. Nevertheless, the accepted practice is to uphold such wills and to regard them as valid, pursuant to the principle of custom (see *Custom). The basis for this position is the responsum of the Radbaz (1:67) ruling that the custom is to uphold instruments of the non-Jewish legal authorities. Even though the rule is that custom generally cannot override or invalidate rulings based on Torah, here there is no actual invalidation of Torah law governing inheritance, but simply a ruling that the gift was a valid gift on the basis of custom. A similar ruling was given by Rabbi David Ḥai Hacohen (*Resp. Radakh* 26:3; Italy-Greece, 16th century).

According to the opinion of some of halakhic authorities such wills should be upheld pursuant to the principle of *dina de-malkhuta dina* (see **Dina de-Malkhuta Dina).* Some are of the opinion that this is only possible when an act of acquisition (*kinyan*) was performed at the time the will was written (*Arukh ha-Shulḥan*, ḤM 68:6), while according to others no such act is necessary (Resp. Iggerot Moshe, *Even Ha-Ezer*, nos. 104–105).

There are additional cases in which a will is inconsistent with the requirements of Jewish Law and the rabbinical courts nevertheless make an effort to uphold these wills relying, inter alia, on the following solutions:

1. In cases in which it may be inferred from the language of the document that the testator is only transferring ownership after his death (i.e., where the testator writes that he bequeaths his property "*after* my death"), this wording may be interpreted as "bequeathing in the contemplation of my death" (see *supra*), inasmuch as there is a tendency in the rulings of halakhic decisors of recent generations to broaden the possibilities of viewing the will of a healthy person as "a will in the contemplation of death."

2. The use of the rule "it is a *mitzvah* to carry out the wishes of the deceased," as cited above, while adopting the approach that broadens its application beyond the cases in which the property has been transferred to a trustee. This is especially the case where the will bequeaths the property for a charitable purpose.

3. Where funds deposited in a bank account are bequeathed. In such cases inasmuch as the funds have been deposited with the bank in accordance with the bank's procedures, which require the bank to transfer the money to the heirs pursuant to the will, which is probated according to civil law, it is authorized to and required to act according to its procedures.

In the State of Israel – Later Developments

As stated above, some of the sections of the Succession Law, 5725 – 1965, adopted various provisions of Jewish Law. An example of this is Section 42(b) of the Succession Law, dealing with the case of consecutive heirs, which provides, inter alia, that the first heir "may deal with what he received as his own and the second shall only take what the first has left." This provision is consistent with the provisions of Jewish Law, as discussed at length above. In a case decided by the Supreme Court (CA 749/82 *Moston v. Wiederman*, 43(1) PD 278), the testator provided in his will that his property would be bequeathed to his wife and that upon her death it would pass to his legal heirs. After studying and discussing the sources of Jewish Law on this subject, the Court ruled that the testator's wife was entitled to the property and was entitled to carry out any legal transaction regarding them, including their sale, but that she could not bequeath them in her will to other beneficiaries. This was because immediately upon her death the ownership of the property returns to the legal heirs of the first testator, in accordance with the provision of Jewish Law that the first beneficiary may transfer the estate in any manner except by will, not even by way of a *shekhiv me-ra's* will to other beneficiaries (*ibid,* pp. 289–93; *per* Justice Menachem Elon); for a detailed discussion of the aspects of this subject in Jewish law see *Law and Morality).

The origin of Section 23 of the Succession Law in the Jewish Law regarding *shekhiv me-ra* served as the basis for the interpretation given to this section by the Supreme Court in the *Koenig* decision (FH 40/80 *Koenig v. Cohen*, 36(3) PD 701). That case involved a will that a woman left on a piece of paper, undated and unsigned, a moment before she took her life. The justices' opinions were divided regarding the legal validity of the will. Justice Menachem Elon ruled that the document should be regarded as a will in contemplation of death, given that a *shekhiv me-ra's* will and a will in contemplation of death are valid even without a *kinyan*, and even if there were not two witnesses at the time it was drawn up, there is a presumption, by virtue of the special circumstances involved in its drafting, that it reflected her considered wishes and decision (Rambam, Yad, *Zekhiyah u-Matanah,* 8:2, 4, 24, 26; *Sema*, ḤM 253:1). In view of this, the will in the case under consideration, that had no date and to which there were no witnesses, must be validated, notwithstanding its omissions and defects (*ibid*, pp. 733–38).

In another decision (CA 2555/98 *Abergil v. Ben Yair*, 53(5) PD 673), the Supreme Court ruled that the drafting of a will pursuant to the rules of Jewish Law, in the manner of granting a gift while alive, is to be treated by the civil courts as a will and not as a gift, and the provisions of the Succession Law, 5725 – 1965, will apply rather than those of the Gift Law, 5728 – 1968. The Court (Justice Y. Englard) cited the Jewish Law sources discussed above, dealing with the will of a healthy person by way of a gift while living, ruling that Jewish Law indeed considers it a gift, and not a will. However, this is because this is the only recognized way under Jewish Law to distribute the estate to parties other than the legal heirs; hence, this act must be judged according to its *substance*, and should be regarded as a *will* rather than as a *gift* (p. 686 of the decision). In view of this, the Court ruled that even a will drafted in accordance with Jewish Law must fulfill the requirements of Succession Law 5725 – 1965 regarding wills. It should be noted that, regarding this approach of the civil courts, there were those who commented that the decision represents a degree of restriction of the freedom to enter into contractual agreements, inasmuch as it does not permit a person to give his property as a gift in accordance with the model of a "living gift" under Jewish Law.

[Menachem Elon (2nd ed.)]

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WILLS, ETHICAL. The Bible contains examples of wills given by the great sages, especially that of Jacob (Gen. 49), but they possess no special religious or ethical theme. This holds true for the Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs, one of the major works in the *Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha written during the Second Temple period and shortly after its destruction. The prototype of the medieval ethical will may be found in the Book of Proverbs, where much of the practical ethical advice is given in the manner of instructions from a father to his son.

Talmudic literature contains many aggadic passages quoting or purporting to quote deathbed instructions by great sages to their pupils. These passages, collected by I. Abrahams in the first chapter of his anthology *Hebrew Ethical Wills* (2 vols., 1926), do not concentrate on ethical themes, though some contain ideas similar to those that appear later in the medieval literature. However, Hebrew ethical wills of the Middle Ages are not a direct development of these sayings.

In the Hebrew poetry of the classical Andalusian period there are some examples of ethical wills, for instance, a poem of Samuel ha-Nagid dedicated to his son Yehosef (*Yehosef Kol Asher*) before one of his battles with Granada's army. Seeing death very close, Samuel collected in the poem the best advice for his son.

Medieval ethical wills are an integral part of medieval Hebrew *Ethical Literature, which, although it undoubtedly has deep roots in the traditional talmudic and midrashic literature, is mainly a product of medieval ideologies – i.e., Jewish philosophy, Ashkenazi Ḥasidism (see *Ḥasidei Ashkenaz), and Kabbalah. The aim of ethical literature was to apply theological, psychological, and anthropological conclusions of the ideologies to the everyday life, social and religious, of the average Jew. Various types of literary works were developed for this purpose: ethical treatises dealing with several moral problems, according to subjects or alphabetical order; monographs and homiletical works that deduced ethical norms from the ancient texts; and the ethical will that began to develop in European Jewish communities during the Middle Ages.

Ethical wills differ from other kinds of ethical literature in several ways. Whereas ethical literature usually gives a lengthy theoretical basis for behavioral requirements, ethical wills ordinarily only point out the right way, disregarding the ideological foundations. Thus they are a more practical, behavioral type of literature, close in some respects to the literature of the *hanhagot* (see *Ethical Literature) whose sole aim is to instruct the reader in right behavior in the manner of halakhic literature (but dealing with some subjects not covered by *halakhah*). The literary form of the will – as teachings given by a dying father to his sons gathered around his bedside – does not leave much space for elaborations on or explanations of the traditional basis for the commandments. Ethical wills, therefore, comprise short ethical treatises, very practical in character.

In many ethical wills, every paragraph opens with the words "my son." Sometimes legends arose describing in detail the circumstances under which the will was given. Some wills are described as letters sent by a father, who was far away (in Palestine, for instance), to his sons, instructing them in the basic moral and ethical teachings. In later generations this became an accepted literary form for any short work dealing with the basic ethical norms. The titles of such works, especially in Eastern Europe in the 18th century, suggest a will, e.g., *Naḥalat Avot* ("Inheritance of the Fathers"). It is doubtful whether any extant work of this sort was actually a will, the term "will" having been used only to imply that here in a short form is the essence of the ethical teachings of a certain writer.

Their literary form made ethical wills popular and respected, with readers looking upon them as the last will and testament of a great scholar that should be accepted and followed. Naturally, some writers created pseudepigraphic works, attributing them to great sages of their time who did not happen to write such a treatise themselves. Medieval and early modern times offer examples of such pseudepigraphical works, from the "will" attributed to Maimonides to that attributed to *Israel b. Eliezer Ba'al Shem Tov. The *Ẓavva'at ha-Rivash* (1793) was attributed to the Ba'al Shem Tov, although the work was mainly a compilation of sayings primarily from the writings of Dov Baer of Mezhirech.

The literary form of the will also influenced writers of major ethical works. Jehiel b. Jekuthiel of Rome, author of the *Ma'alot ha-Middot*, a major ethical book of the 13th century, used the form of the will, with the words "my son" beginning many parts of the work. Even Isaiah b. Jacob ha-Levi *Horowitz, whose family produced several ethical wills (see below), used this form in his monumental ethical work *Shenei Luḥot ha-Berit*.

Probably the earliest extant ethical will in Hebrew, a translation from the Arabic, comprises a short chapter in the **Mivḥar ha-Peninnim*, a collection of ethical epigrams attributed to Solomon ibn *Gabirol and translated into Hebrew by Judah ibn *Tibbon. The chapter entitled "The Gate of the Commandment of the Scholar to his Son" includes various epigrams on almost all aspects of human behavior and is part of the philosophical ethical literature, although the philosophical presuppositions are almost nonexistent within the chapter itself.

Another early example is the treatise **Orḥot Ḥayyim* ("Ways of Life"), first attributed to the talmudic sage *Eliezer b. Hyrcanus, and later to the 11th-century Ashkenazi scholar *Eliezer (ha-Gadol) b. Isaac of Worms. Modern scholars disagree about the date of this work – Zunz considers that it was written early in the Middle Ages, about the eighth century, whereas G. Scholem holds that it forms part of the literature which emanated from the same circle that produced the Zohar in the 13th century. *Orḥot Ḥayyim*, a popular work, is a fine example of the literary genre – it includes, in short paragraphs addressed to the writer's sons, advice and instruction about practical, behavioral problems in ethical, moral, religious, and social life, without any specific ideological basis (which is one of the reasons why it is so difficult to determine its time and place of composition). Judah ibn *Tibbon's ethical will, written about 1190 and addressed to his son Samuel, who translated Maimonides' *Guide of the Perplexed* from Arabic to Hebrew, is one of the classics in this genre. Although the will contains the usual detailed and practical instructions from a father to his son on moral behavior, it also is characterized by features rarely found in ethical wills. For example, the will is introduced and concluded by a poem, and within the body of the will there are a number of poetical passages, some of which were taken from *Samuel ha-Nagid's *Ben Mishlei*. A second unusual feature is Judah's reference to many details of family life, his designation of bridegrooms for his daughters and a bride for his son. Apparently the testament is an actual private ethical will from one person to another, and not just a literary work. Thirdly, in this work, also known as "A Father's Admonition" (*Musar Av*), the author clearly reproves his son for his laziness, his lack of interest in books in general and in Arabic in particular, and many other faults of character which seem incongruous in the man who translated the *Guide of the Perplexed*. Perhaps parts of the will were written when Samuel was quite young, and other parts were added later. In addition, the author dwells at length upon the right way to maintain and preserve a library, for Judah possessed one of the most important libraries of his time.

From the 13th century, ethical wills became not only a popular Hebrew literary genre, but also customary practice within certain families. Apparently the custom was maintained in the family of *Asher b. Jehiel (father of the author of the *Turim*), which moved from Germany to Spain. Extant are the "Rules" which R. Asher gave to his family, and a will addressed to the sons of R. Jacob, the son of R. Asher. It is probable that R. Judah, Jacob's brother, also wrote such a will which had come down as an anonymous work.

This custom seems to have been prevalent in one of the most important families in Eastern Europe during the 16th and 17th centuries, the Horowitz family, whose place of residence was usually Prague. In the 16th century Abraham *Horowitz wrote the important ethical will which became widely known as an independent ethical work, *Yesh Noḥalin*. His son, Jacob, wrote a will in the form of emendations of and additions to his father's ethical book, and the two works were often printed together. The grandson, Shabbetai Sheftel *Horowitz, the author of *Shefa Tal*, carried on the family tradition. Although many of this family were kabbalists who helped to spread Lurianic Kabbalah in Eastern Europe, kabbalistic ideas do not occupy a major place in their ethical wills.

Ethical wills sometimes reflect major controversies and trends within Judaism. The 13th-century will of Joseph ibn Kaspi of Provence, known also as *Sefer ha-Musar* ("The Book of Ethics") or *Yoreh De'ah* ("Teacher of Knowledge"), reflects the fierce controversy between the practitioners of Jewish philosophy, especially the followers of Maimonides, of which Ibn Kaspi was one, and their opponents. Ibn Kaspi tries to reconcile the idea of philosophical knowledge as the supreme religious value with the traditional expressions of devotion. Another glimpse into major problems in the history of Jewish thought is provided by the will of *Elijah b. Solomon Zalman of *Vilna (the Vilna Gaon), who addressed a will to his sons when he set out for Palestine (which he never reached). The will expresses the extreme pietism and devotion of the opponents of Ḥasidism in the 18th century. Elijah advised his sons that in order to avoid interrupting their study of Torah they should never set foot outside their houses unless it was absolutely necessary. He even advocated praying at home because the many people congregated in the synagogue might prove distracting or inspire evil thoughts. From these strictures it is not surprising that he was the leader in the opposition to Ḥasidism. In general, ethical wills reflect in a concise and clear way the main concerns of the writer and the social or ideological group within Judaism to which he belongs.

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[Joseph Dan]

WILLSTAETTER, RICHARD (1872–1942), German organic chemist and Nobel laureate. Willstaetter, who was born in Karlsruhe, became professor at Munich in 1902, and three years later professor at the Technische Hochschule in Zurich. His research showed that chlorophyll, the essential agent for plants to absorb sunlight and carbon dioxide for synthesis, has two components, contains magnesium, is closely analogous to the red pigment of blood, and contains phytol. He was awarded the 1915 Nobel Prize in chemistry "for his researches on plant pigments, especially chlorophyll." In 1912 he became director of a new Kaiser Wilhelm Gesellschaft zur Foerderung der Wissenschaften in Berlin-Dahlem, and studied other plant pigments, the carotenes, and the anthocyanins. In World War I he was awarded the civilian Iron Cross for work on gas masks. In 1915 he became director of the State Chemical Laboratory. At a time when enzymes were still considered to be mysterious agents specific to life processes, he emphasized the view that they are chemical substances.

When by 1924 suitable Jewish candidates were being rejected for positions in the university, Willstaetter reacted to this manifestation of antisemitism by resigning his chair at the University of Munich. He devoted himself to scientific organizations, publications, special lectures, and industrial consultations. In March 1939 the Gestapo ransacked his house and ordered him to leave Germany. He went to Locarno, Switzerland, where he died. His autobiography, *Aus meinem Leben*, appeared in 1949.

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[Samuel Aaron Miller]

WILMINGTON, the largest city in Delaware, midway between New York and Washington, some 27 miles south of Philadelphia and 70 miles north of Baltimore. In 1995, 7,600 Jews, 56% of Delaware's Jews, lived in Wilmington and its suburbs. Since 1879, when Delaware's first Jewish organization, the Moses Montefiore Society, was formed, Wilmington has been the center of Jewish life in the state.

Central European and native-born Jews who came to Wilmington from neighboring American cities established the Moses Montefiore Society. Within a few years, eastern European Jews arrived in large numbers. In addition to working as tailors, shoemakers, milliners, and shopkeepers, many of them worked in Wilmington's expanding shipbuilding, railroad car and morocco plants as carpenters or unskilled laborers. The eastern Europeans quickly outnumbered the founders, but the groups worked together to build Wilmington's synagogues and agencies. (See *Delaware.) Given Wilmington's prosperity, the Jewish population grew quickly from 94 people in 1879 to nearly 4,000 by 1920.

Wilmington's moment of glory was the 1918 War Relief Campaign sponsored by the American Jewish Relief Committee. Recognizing the full extent of the suffering in Europe, the AJRC set a national goal of 30 million dollars, an unattainable goal for Jews alone. The agency chose Wilmington, which was known to have very good relations between the Jewish and general community, for an experimental appeal to non-Jews and assigned it a goal of $75,000. With the generosity of Wilmington's established leaders, Pierre duPont and members of the duPont family, Senator Willard J. Saulsbury, then president pro tem of the U.S. Senate, and Wilmington's industrial leaders, the campaign surpassed its goal and raised $125,000. Wilmington became known nationally as the model city of charity and good will, the place where the campaign became "not only a Jewish movement but a human movement."

During the World War I era, the most affluent members of the Jewish community moved north across the Brandywine River, but most Jews continued to live and work in the downtown area. They ran many of Wilmington's leading stores like J.M. Lazarus' Wilmington Dry Goods, Snellenburg's, Keil's, and Braunstein's. By the 1960s, 35% of Wilmington's Jews had moved to the suburbs; only 53% still lived in the city. To meet the new reality, community leaders closed the old Jewish Community Center and built a new one in northern New Castle County on Garden of Eden Road in 1969. Adas Kodesch Shel Emeth (Orthodox) and Temple Beth Emeth (Reform) also moved out of the downtown area in mid century. Beth Shalom (Conservative) was always north of the Brandywine River.

As Wilmington developed into a corporate capital and then a financial/banking center, many Jews found jobs in those fields as well as in other professions. In 1995, 55% of Wilmington's Jews had a four-year college degree or a graduate degree. The vast majority of Wilmington's Jews lived in the suburbs; few lived in the city. The total population of the city and suburbs had not increased much, from an estimated 7,200 Jews in 1962 to an estimated 7,600 in 1995. A multi-year expansion and renovation of the Garden of Eden Campus began in 2003 following a community wide campaign that raised more than 21 million dollars.

During the World War II era, Jewish education became a community priority. The Jewish Federation of Delaware, which was formed in 1935, led a community effort to establish a United Hebrew School. Although the school closed after about 13 years, the focus on education continued. Wilmington Gratz Hebrew High School, a branch of the successful Philadelphia school, opened in 1965. Albert Einstein Academy, the state's only Jewish day school, began in 1970. The Florence Melton Mini School brought its adult education program to Wilmington in 2001.

At the end of the 20th century, 33.3% of Wilmington's Jews defined themselves as Conservative, 30% as Reform, 7.3% as Orthodox, 0.8% as Reconstructionist and 27.7% as Just Jewish.

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[Toni Young (2nd ed.)]

WILNA, JACOB BEN BENJAMIN WOLF (d. 1732?), rabbi, *posek*, and Shabbatean kabbalist. His name indicates that he was born in Vilna. He was a member of the circle of *Judah Ḥasid (Segal) ha-Levi, but it is not clear if he joined this circle while still in Europe and went with them to Ereẓ Israel in 1700 or whether he went there earlier. In any case, he clearly studied Kabbalah in Vilna. While in Jerusalem, he attempted to join the Sephardi community and was a member of the *bet ha-midrash* of Abraham *Rovigo and a member of the *Yeshivah Bet Ya'akov Ferrera* of the Sephardim. In 1707 Jacob signed the ordination of David *Oppenheim with the leaders of the Ashkenazi community in Jerusalem. In Jerusalem he associated with Nathan Nata *Mannheim, a member of the circle of Judah Ḥasid. The two collaborated in the writing of *Me'orot Natan*, which includes the *Me'orei Or* of Meir *Poppers, with their commentary *Ya'ir Nativ* (Frankfurt, 1709). Between 1702 and 1725, he left Jerusalem three times, twice as an emissary of the Ashkenazi community. Jacob visited Turkey, Germany, Holland, and Italy, propagating Kabbalah wherever he went. In 1726 he returned to Safed and from 1728 served as the rabbi of Safed and as head of the yeshivah. He was a moderate Shabbatean and material on his "belief" is included in Shabbatean manuscripts. Jacob was considered the authoritative kabbalist by his contemporaries in Turkey, Ereẓ Israel, Italy, and Poland. His eminence in Kabbalah is attested by Abraham *Gershon of Kutow (Kuty). He died in Safed at an old age. His glosses on *Tikkunei Zohar* were published with the text (in Orta Koi, near Constantinople, 1709).

His son ḤAYYIM NISSIM YERUḤAM (1704?–1775), kabbalist and rabbi, was born in Jerusalem, and was also a Shabbatean kabbalist. He, too, joined the Sephardi community. Ḥayyim left Jerusalem on several occasions on missions for the Ashkenazi community and later became one of its scholars. Apparently he died in Damascus. There is no evidence for the view that Jacob Wilna was the ancestor of the *Elyashar family.

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[Abraham David]

WILPON, FRED (1936–), U.S. sports executive and real estate developer. Wilpon, who was born in Brooklyn, N.Y., graduated from the University of Michigan. He worked for Hanover Equities Corporation in New York from 1959 to 1969, rising to vice president. He joined Peter Sharp & Co. as a vice president and two years later co-founded the realty investment concern Sterling Equities of Manhasset, N.Y., which developed and invested in real estate. From 1972, Sterling Equities and its affiliates purchased or developed over 17 million square feet of commercial property, 45,000 residential units, 8.5 million square feet of retail property, and three major sports complexes. In 1980 Wilpon and Saul Katz, the founders of Sterling Equities, acquired a partnership interest in the New York Mets professional baseball team, one of the major sports franchises in the United States. In 1985 Sterling invested in Pathogenesis Laboratories, a medical research company focused on treatments for cystic fibrosis. Five years later Sterling joined with American Securities Capital Partners to form the first of four investment funds that invested in and managed real estate in 43 states. In 2000, he and Katz co-founded, and Wilpon became chairman of, the Brooklyn Baseball Company, owner of the Brooklyn Cyclones, a minor league team. It marked the return of baseball to Brooklyn, which had been without a professional team since the departure of the Brooklyn Dodgers in 1956. In 2002 Sterling became full owner of the Mets, and Wilpon remained chairman and chief executive through the early years of the 21st century. His son Jeff was senior executive vice president and chief operating officer of the Mets. Other members of the Wilpon family served on the board of directors. Wilpon was a member of the New York City Housing Task Force and served as a trustee of the Jewish Institute for Geriatric Care in New Hyde Park, N.Y.

[Stewart Kampel (2nd ed.)]

°WILSON, SIR CHARLES WILLIAM (1836–1905), English army officer and topographer. Wilson entered the Royal Engineers in 1855. He directed the survey of Jerusalem (1864–66) and the survey of Sinai (1868–69) for the Ordnance Survey. He later served as consul in Turkey, intelligence officer during the wars in Sudan (1884–85), and director-general of the Ordnance Survey from 1886 to 1894, when he retired from military service with the rank of major-general. His publications on Ereẓ Israel include the first exact map of Jerusalem (1864), which still serves as the topographical basis of the Old City; explanatory notes on the map (1865); and a map of the Sinai Peninsula (1869). Wilson also contributed to the volume on Jerusalem (1880) in the series *Picturesque Palestine*. During his work Wilson identified remains of the bridge which connected the Temple Mount with the Upper City in the Second Temple period; this has been named after him. He was one of the leaders of the ill-fated expedition to rescue General Gordon in the Sudan in 1885 and was knighted the same year. Wilson again visited Palestine in 1899 and 1904, trying to discover sites relating to early Christianity.

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[Michael Avi-Yonah]

°WILSON, HAROLD, BARON WILSON OF RIEVAULX (1916–1995), British prime minister. Wilson was the son of an industrial chemist in Huddersfield, Yorkshire, and was educated at Oxford. He entered Parliament in 1945, serving as the youngest member of Clement *Attlee's cabinet in 1947–51. He became leader of the Labour Party in 1963 and served as prime minister in 1964–70 and 1974–76. Wilson had particularly close relations with members of the Jewish community, especially as his confidential advisors, such as his solicitor and confidante Lord *Goodman and a Yorkshire industrialist, Lord *Kagan, from whom he sought economic advice.

Wilson admired Jews for those qualities he saw in himself: intelligence, social commitment, and an ability to rise above class-imposed obstacles.

No fewer than 40 Jews were elected as Labour members of Parliament at the 1966 general election (out of 363 Labour MPs), and the Wilson years probably marked the zenith of the nexus between British Jewry and the Labour Party, especially among those who were young during the time of fascism. Subsequently, many in the Jewish community moved to the political right. Like most social democrats of his generation, Wilson was a strong supporter of Israel and wrote a book on the subject, *The Chariot of Israel: Britain, America, and the State of Israel* (1981).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: ODNB online.

[William D. Rubinstein (2nd ed.)]

WILSON, "SCOTTIE" (1891–1972), painter. Britain's best known "naive" painter, Wilson was an endearing eccentric. He was born Lewis Freeman to eastern European immigrant parents in the Jewish section of the Gorbals slum district of Glasgow. Some sources state that he was born in London, although "Scottie" refers to his place of birth and the broad accent he retained all his life. His formal education ended at the age of nine, after which he worked with an elder brother as a street-trader in Glasgow. In 1906 he enrolled in the Scottish Rifles and served in India and South Africa. His later work bears some resemblance to Indian bazaar painting, and he regularly incorporated in his works the design of the lotus flower. During World War I he served on the western front, after which he returned to street-trading in London and Scotland. In the early 1930s he immigrated to Canada, working as an itinerant trader between Toronto and Vancouver. It was there that his artistic career started. He often related the tale of finding a beautiful gold pen, with a broad nib, which inspired him to doodle; images and faces seemed to flow from the pen involuntarily and he became obsessed with the results. Dozens of notebooks became filled with elaborate decorative patterns, fantasies based on images of childhood, in which nature was always beautiful and humans were always ugly. He began to use colored inks in delightful images of elaborate gardens, with fountains and resplendent flora and fauna. His favorite artist was Blake, whose mystical innocence is reflected in his work. After World War II he returned to London, and within a short time considerable interest was shown in his work. In Paris he was greatly encouraged by the artist Jean Dubuffet, who showed a particular interest in the work of children and eccentrics. Exhibitions of his drawings brought Wilson considerable fame; he was commissioned to paint murals for the National Bank of Switzerland, Basle, and dinner services by the Royal Worcester Porcelain Company. His work was acquired by the Tate Gallery, London, the Museum of Modern Art, New York, the Musée d'Art Moderne, Paris and many other public collections. Among the numerous works about Scottie Wilson is a monograph by Mervyn Levy (1966). More have appeared since his death.

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[Charles Samuel Spencer]

WILSON, SOL (1896–1974), U.S. painter, printmaker, educator. Born in Vilno, Russia, now Poland, Wilson emigrated to the U.S. in 1911. He studied art at Cooper Union and the National Academy of Design. Like many other American artists of his generation, he worked for the Works Project Administration during the Depression: among his public works were the paintings *The Indian Ladder* (1940) for the town of Delmar in New York and *Outdoor Sports* (1942) for Westhampton Beach, also in New York. His paintings of figures, interiors, and landscapes reveal the influence of his art teachers, George Bellows and Robert Henri. His visits to Massachusetts fishing villages resulted in numerous images of fisherman, boats, and harbors, such as *Torn Sail* and *Provincetown Deck*, rendered in expressive jewel tones of red, green, blue, yellow, or in a palette of earth tones, exemplified in *To the Island*. Wilson taught at the Art Students League and the American Artists School. He lived predominantly in New York, but also spent time in Provincetown and Rockport, Massachusetts. His work has been exhibited at the Art Institute of Chicago, the Carnegie Institute, the Corcoran Gallery, the National Academy of Design, the Library of Congress, and the Whitney Museum, among other places. His work can be found in the collections of the Biro-Bidjan Museum, Russia, the Brooklyn Museum, the Metropolitan Museum of Art, and the Smithsonian, among other museums.

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[Nancy Buchwald (2nd ed.)]

°WILSON, WOODROW (1856–1924), 27th president of the United States (1913–21). Wilson tried to remain neutral during World War I but finally led his country into the conflict. After victory, he helped design the Versailles settlement, to which the U.S. Senate refused assent. Although Louis D. *Brandeis, whom Wilson appointed to the Supreme Court, oriented the president to the Zionist program, Wilson's prior approval of the Balfour Declaration derived from Allied grand strategy. Thereafter, Wilson displayed increased interest in the Jewish National Home concept and on several occasions gave it his public blessing, much to the chagrin of State Department personnel. Wilson also helped write into the 1919 treaties guarantees for the minority enclaves (including Jews) in the newly created states of eastern Europe. Wilson's benevolence toward Zionist aspirations reflected his concern for all suppressed nationalities and an idealism toward the future of the Holy Land stemming from a rich Christian background. In Wilson's day, the affinity between the United States and world Jewry was translated into Zionist terms.

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[Selig Adler]

WINAWER, BRUNO (1883–1944), Polish playwright and novelist. A Warsaw physicist, Winawer wrote many successful comedies in the style of G.B. Shaw. His belief that technical progress was the basis for social and political change found expression in his novels and in plays such as *Roztwór profesora Pytla* ("Professor Pytel's Chemical Solution," 1919) and *R.H. Inżynier* ("R.H., the Engineer," 1923).

WINCHELL, WALTER (1897–1972), U.S. newspaper columnist. Winchell, a New Yorker by birth, began contributing theatrical gossip to the house organ of a theater chain when he was a young vaudeville actor. This led the New York *Graphic* to give him his own column, "On Broadway," in 1924, and in 1929 he moved to Hearst's *Daily Mirror*. Over the years he gained a position of unmatched power among newspaper writers. His sources included presidents and kings, industrial tycoons, the leaders of show business, and gangster racketeers. His popularity was due mainly to the sensational disclosures for which he became a byword. In the mid-1950s, at the peak of his career, he had an estimated public of more than 35 million readers as a syndicated columnist in more than 2,000 daily newspapers.

Winchell ruled the airwaves from 1930 to 1957, when he captivated radio audiences with his colorful, fast-paced, delivery of entertainment news, gossip, and innuendo. In 1956 he debuted on television, hosting *The Walter Winchell Show*, a weekly variety program; and from 1957 to 1958 he hosted *The Walter Winchell File*, a series about the crime stories he had covered while working with the New York City Police Department. Most memorable to television viewers at the time was Winchell's rapid-fire narration on the popular crime drama series *The Untouchables* (1959–63), based on the 1930s exploits of real-life FBI special agent Elliot Ness and his team, and mobster Al Capone and his henchmen.

The TV biopic *Winchell* was made in 1998, directed by Paul Mazursky and starring Stanley Tucci in the title role. Winchell was inducted into the Radio Hall of Fame in 2004.

His book *Winchell Exclusive: Things That Happened to Me – and Me to Them* was published in 1975.

As founder of the Damon Runyon Cancer Fund in 1946 in memory of his writer friend, Winchell raised millions of dollars for cancer research and care. By 2005 the foundation had invested more than $170 million in cancer research, supporting some 3,000 scientists in the U.S.

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[Bernard Lewis / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

WINCHESTER, cathedral city in Hampshire, S. England. Jews are first mentioned there in 1148 when, in the survey of city property, Benedict and Ursulinus are recorded as tenants of the bishop. A community subsequently grew up and was possibly visited by Abraham *Ibn Ezra, who mentions the city in his astronomical writings. It was the only large town in England where there were no anti-Jewish disorders in 1190, but a *blood libel resulted in some disturbance two years later. It ranked fourth in the *Donum*. During the 13th century the community was one of the most important in England and an *archa was situated there. The Jewish quarter was in the heart of the city (the present Jewry Street). The constable of Winchester Castle was also Keeper of the Jews. A tower in the castle was known as the Jews' Tower – either because Jews were permitted to take refuge there or because it was used for their periodical imprisonments. The community experienced a series of child-murder accusations between 1225 and 1235. It may have been in connection with one of these that in 1235 the leading member of the community, Abraham Pinch, was hanged in front of the synagogue which he himself maintained. The most tragic event occurred in 1262, when Simon de Montfort sacked the Jewish quarter in Winchester. Among outstanding local capitalists in the second half of the 13th century was Licoricia, who was murdered in 1277; her son Benedict was among the Winchester Jews hanged in 1278 on a charge of coin clipping. Benedict fil' Abraham of Winchester, on the other hand, was the only known English Jew in the Middle Ages to be admitted to the Merchant Guild (1268). Another son of Licoricia, Asher, scratched an inscription, recorded by John Selden, on the wall of his dungeon in Winchester Castle, where he was imprisoned when the Jews of England were arrested in 1287. About this time, the principal Winchester synagogue was confiscated. Approximately 16 local Jewish householders remained by the time of the expulsion of the Jews from England in 1290, their wealth valued at £44. No organized Jewish community has existed there in recent times.

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[Cecil Roth / Joe Hillaby (2nd ed.)]

°**WINCKLER, HUGO** (1863–1913), German Orientalist and Bible scholar. Winckler was born in Graefenhainichen. He became a lecturer at Berlin University in 1891 and professor extraordinary in 1904. During the first years of his scholarly activity, he devoted himself to the study of Assyrian inscriptions; he published the Sargon inscriptions in 1889, as well as various studies on the ancient Near East which included a history of Israel, *Geschichte Israels*… (2 vols., 1895–1900), and a work on the code of Hammurapi, *Die Gesetze Hammurabis*… (1902). In 1903–04 he took part in the excavations of Sidon and from 1906 to 1912 was in charge of the German excavations at Boghazköy (ancient Hattusas, the capital of the Hittite Empire in Asia Minor). There he was successful in discovering the royal Hittite archives, opening the history of the Hittite kingdom to the scholarly world. Winckler did not, however, live to see the deciphering of the Hittite language. He was one of the founders of the pan-Babylonian school in the study of the Bible. These scholars claimed that there was a single common cultural system, overwhelmingly influenced by the Babylonians, which extended over the whole of the ancient Near East. This school assumed that the Bible was also rooted in this culture, and not merely influenced by it. The other prominent exponents of this school were Winckler's disciples, F. *Delitzsch and A. *Jeremias.

Winckler's other publications included a critical edition (written with L. Abel) of the Tell el-Amarna letters, *Der Thontafelfund von El-Amarna* (2 vols., 1889–1900); a German translation of these letters, *Die Thontafeln von Tell-El-Amarna* (2 vols., 1896); *Das Alte Westasien* (1899); and publications in the series *Der Alte Orient*.

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[Michael Avi-Yonah and Menahem Haran]

WINDER, LUDWIG (1889–1946), Bohemian journalist and writer. Born in Schaffa in Moravia, Winder grew up in nearby Holleschau, where he was raised in an atmosphere of religious rigor. After moving to Vienna, he worked for the liberal newspaper *Die Zeit* before joining the editorial staff of the nationalist *Deutsche Zeitung Bohemia* in Prague. In 1917, he published his first novel, *Die rasende Rotationsmaschine*, which illustrates the difficulties Jews from religious eastern communities faced in integrating themselves into modern western society. Subsequent novels, such as *Die juedische Orgel* (1922) and *Hugo: Tragoedie eines Knaben* (1924), deal primarily with the desperate struggle of young eastern Jews for a secular existence, and show – as the posthumously published manuscript *Geschichte meines Vaters* suggests conclusively – autobiographical traces. Throughout his writings, Winder perceives modern Jewish existence as a state of alienation and psychic deformation, limited by confining traditions and antisemitism. In later novels, he shifted his focus towards the history and downfall of the Austrian Danube monarchy, vividly envisioned in *Die nachgeholten Freuden* (1927), *Der Kammerdiener* (1945), and especially in *Der Thronfolger* (1938), which, critical of the Austrian Archduke Franz Ferdinand, was immediately banned. A member of the so-called "Prague circle" and a close friend of Max Brod, Felix Weltsch, Johannes Urzidil, and Oskar Baum, Winder fled Prague in 1939 with his wife and older daughter (his younger daughter died in Bergen-Belsen in 1945), settling in England, where he lived until his death. During his last years, he finished two additional novels: *Die Novemberwolke* (1942), a story about emigrants during a bombing night in London, and *Die Pflicht* (1943), which deals with Czech resistance to the German invaders.

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[Philipp Theisohn (2nd ed.)]

WINE, fermented grape juice. (For wine in biblical times, see *Food.) Wine was a popular beverage in talmudic times. Produced in winepresses called *bet ha-gat* (Tosef., Ter. 3:7), and stored in wine cellars called *heftek* or *appotik* (Av. Zar. 2:7), the newly pressed wine, prior to fermentation, was known as *yayin mi-gat* ("wine from the vat"; Sanh. 70a); *yayin yashan* ("old wine") was wine from the previous year, and that from earlier vintages, *yashan noshan* ("old, very old"). The last was usually diluted by one-third with water in order to reduce its potency.

Varieties of Wine

Several varieties of wine are mentioned in the Talmud:

(1) *aluntit* ("old wine mixed with clear water and balsam," Av. Zar, 30a);

(2) *kafrisin* ("caper wine," Ker. 6a; according to Rashi, Cyprus wine);

(3) *ilyaston* ("a sweet wine produced by drying the grapes in the sun for three days, and then treading them in the midday heat"; BB 97b; Men. 8:6);

(4) *me'ushan* ("from the juice of smoked or fumigated sweet grapes"; Men. *ibid.*);

(5) *appiktevizi* ("an aperitif"; Shab. 12a);

(6) *pesinyaton* ("a bitter wine"; TJ, Av. Zar. 2:3, 41a);

(7) *ẓimmukin* ("raisin wine"; BB 97b);

(8) *inomilin* ("wine mixed with honey and pepper"; Shab. 20:2);

(9) *enogeron* ("wine added to oil and garum"); and

(10) *kunditon* ("wine mixed with spices"; TJ, Av. Zar. *ibid.*). Matured sour wine was called *ḥomeẓ* ("vinegar").

Attitude of the Rabbis to the Consumption of Wine

The rabbis considered that wine taken in moderation induces appetite, "sustains and makes glad" (Ber. 35b), and is beneficial to health. "Wine is the greatest of all medicines: where wine is lacking, drugs are necessary" (BB 58b). Old wine, in particular, benefits the intestines, though ordinary wine may do harm (Ber. 51a), an assertion corroborated by the story of the rabbi who was cured of a severe bowel disorder by drinking 70-year-old apple wine (Av. Zar. 40b). R. Eleazar suggested (Meg. 16b) that "old wine" was among "the good things of Egypt" which Joseph sent to his aging father (Gen. 45:23), whereas according to some opinion the "tree of knowledge" of which Adam ate was a vine (Ber 40a; Gen. R. 15:7).

The rabbis deliberately rejected the suggestion that abstention from wine and meat be mandatorily instituted as a sign of mourning for the destruction of the Temple. They maintained that such a decree would impose unbearable hardship on the public (BB 60b). At the end of days wine will form an integral part of the eschatological banquet (Ber. 34b). The rabbis are known to have indulged; some, notably Mar Ukva (Shab. 140a) could drink with ease, while others, like R. Judah (whose capacity was severely tested by the four *seder* cups, Ned. 49b) could not. The rabbis even suggested that wine was an inducement to the advancement of their chosen calling. R. Huna maintained that it "helps to open the heart to reasoning" (BB 12b), and Rabbah advised students whose supplies of wine were limited to drink it in large mouthfuls, in order to secure the maximum benefit (Suk. 49b). Sleep or a long walk (BB 10a; Er. 64b) was prescribed for those who interpreted this advice too literally and became heavy with drink.

Excessive consumption of alcohol was frowned upon and overindulgence was thought to be injurious to health, as was shown by Abba Saul (a gravedigger by profession), who, upon examining the skeletons of various corpses, deduced what the effect of liquor was on the bones (Nid. 24b). A prayer recited in a state of intoxication is "an abomination" (Er. 64a).

Wine in Religious Ceremonies

The ceremonies of *Kiddush and *Havdalah on Sabbaths and Festivals should be performed with wine (Pes. 105b–6a). Only in countries where beer is the national beverage may the latter be substituted for *Havdalah* (Pes. 107a). Four cups of wine must be drunk at the *Passover *seder*, two cups at weddings, and one at circumcisions. Indeed, the goblet of wine and the benediction recited over it symbolize the festivity of the occasion. During the nine days of *Av, wine may only be drunk at *Kiddush* on Sabbath.

In accordance with the biblical injunction to "give strong wine to him that is ready to perish, and wine unto the bitter in soul" (Prov. 31:6), a "cup of consolation" was offered to the bereaved after a funeral at the "meal of comforting." Originally, it was ten glasses of wine to which were added four more (Ket. 8b). In modern times this practice has been discontinued (Tur, YD 378).

Before drinking wine, a special benediction is recited "for the fruit of the vine" (Ber. 6:1; Sh. Ar., OḤ 202:1), in contrast to the *She-ha-Kol* benediction, which is the normal blessing for all juices extracted from fruit or vegetables. Grace, after eating food prepared from the designated produce of Ereẓ Israel (grapes, figs, olives, pomegranates, or dates), is also recited after drinking wine (Sh. Ar., OḤ 10:8, 11; see *Grace after Meals). One who leads a group of three or more males in the recitation of the Grace after Meals may pronounce the blessing over a cup of wine, which is then sipped by those present (Sh. Ar., OḤ 190). When drinking in company, it is customary to wish one another *le-Ḥayyim* ("to life"; Shab. 67b).

Wine of Gentiles

Wine consecrated by gentiles for idol worship is called *yein nesekh* ("libation wine") and, like anything so dedicated, is absolutely forbidden. A person may not drink such wine, derive any benefit from it, nor handle it (Sh. Ar., YD 133:5–6). Any food or drink brought into contact with more than one-quarter of a *log* of *yein nesekh* (or *setam yeinam*, see below) is rendered unclean (Av. Zar. 31a).

Wine processed and/or bottled by gentiles for regular use (and not idol worship) is called *setam yeinam* ("ordinary wine"). It is, however, equally forbidden in order to avoid the suspicion that it may possibly be *yein nesekh*, and to avert intermarriage with non-Jews resulting from social intercourse with them (Deut. 7:7; Sanh. 106a; Av. Zar. 36b, and Rashi, loc cit). The prohibition did not include "boiled wine" (Av. Zar. 29b); wine whose taste was dominated by its content of honey and spices; nor, according to some opinions, an alcoholic beverage consisting of one part of wine to seven parts of water; nor other alcoholic beverages (e.g., whiskey, beer, etc.).

The interdiction against the drinking of non-Jewish wine is so severe, that even if a gentile merely touches wine prepared by a Jew it is still prohibited, unless the bottle was securely corked and sealed. Most later rabbinic authorities ruled, however, that if a gentile touched the wine of a Jew with the intention of causing him damage by "defiling" it, the Jew may drink the wine; this is done in order to discourage other gentiles from following suit. The "gentile" referred to above is one who "serves idols"; "the wine of a non-Jew who does not serve idols is forbidden as far as drinking is concerned (because of the fear of intermarriage), but the Jew may trade in it since there is no fear of idolatry. If a gentile, however, touches the wine "by accident," it is permitted, even for consumption. Many authorities maintain that since non-Jews have ceased to be idolaters, their touch should always be considered "accidental" and the wine thus fit for consumption (Isserles to Sh. Ar., YD 124:24). Some authorities also state that a Jew who drinks wine belonging to a Christian has not committed a sin which would invalidate him as witness before a rabbinic court (Isserles, Responsa, ed. Cracow 1640, no. 124; later editions omitted this responsum).

In the rapidly changing society of modern times, where the Jewish community must inevitably come into closer contact with the non-Jewish world, these laws are mainly honored in the breach except among the Orthodox. The Rabbinical Assembly of the Conservative movement in the United States has ruled that non-Jewish wine may be consumed generally, but only Jewish (*kasher*) wine may be used for religious ceremonies.

See also the various types of alcoholic beverages.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Eisenstein, Dinim, 168f.

WINE, SHERWIN (1928–), Humanist rabbi. Born in Detroit, Michigan, Wine left his Conservative Jewish upbringing to found the world's first non-deified Jewish movement known as Humanistic Judaism. Self-described as strongly Jewish but with a focus on culture rather than religion, Wine earned degrees from the University of Michigan and Hebrew Union College in an effort to build a career as a counselor to the Jewish people. In 1963, he founded the Birmingham Temple in suburban Detroit, the first Humanistic congregation.

In the Birmingham Temple's library, a Torah stands on a pedestal, one of the "good books" offered there. Humanism focuses on Judaism as a culture and humans as self-reliant.

Wine established the Birmingham Temple with eight families who wanted to belong to a Jewish community without the trappings of formal religion. The Temple membership now numbers about 400 families.

In 1969, he helped establish the Society for Humanistic Judaism as a national outreach vehicle for the movement. In 1986, the International Federation of Secular Humanistic Jews was formed to connect Humanistic Jews around the world. Wine became the dean of the International Institute for Secular Humanistic Judaism in North America. The movement started ordaining rabbis in 1992, two of whom succeeded Wine upon his semi-retirement in 1997.

He was involved in organizing the Leadership Conference of Secular and Humanistic Jews, the Center for New Thinking, the North American Committee for Humanism, the Humanist Institute and the Conference of Liberal Religion. He is the author of "Humanistic Judaism," "Judaism beyond God," "Celebration," and "Staying Sane in a Crazy World." Wine also contributed to *Judaism in a Secular Age: An Anthology of Secular Humanistic Jewish Thought*.

Before founding the Humanistic movement, Wine served two years in Korea as a U.S. Army chaplain and several years as a rabbi at Reform pulpits in Detroit and Windsor. Wine believes the Jewish people survived history by human will. Today, the secular Humanistic movement involves more than 30,000 people across North America, but it has yet to gain acceptance by the rest of the Jewish movements.

[Lynne Schreiber (2nd ed.)]

WINE AND LIQUOR TRADE.

Talmudic Period

The strict prohibition against the use of gentile wine during the talmudic period, originally limited to wine used in idolatrous libations but later extended to include all non-Jewish wine (Av. Zar. 2:3, and 36b), must of necessity have concentrated the Jewish wine trade in the hands of Jews. Apart from this, however, there is no evidence of any specific Jewish aspect to the wine trade during this period. There are references to Jewish keepers of wine taverns (Lev. R. 12:1). A certain difference may be detected between Ereẓ Israel and Babylonia. Whereas in the former, a Mediterranean country, Jews drank wine in preference to other alcoholic beverages, in Babylonia the brewing of beer and other alcoholic beverages was much more common. Some of the Babylonian *amoraim* were brewers, among them R. Papa, who was regarded as an expert and amassed a considerable fortune from it (Pes. 113a; BM 65a). However the vine was cultivated in the neighborhood of Sura and Jews were engaged in the manufacture and sale of wine (Ber. 5b).

Middle Ages (to 16th Century)

As a result of both the historio-economic and the religious factors, during the Middle Ages viticulture was one of the branches of agriculture in which Jews had traditional interest and technical proficiency. The rabbinical responsa and **takkanot* provide ample instances of the endeavors made by Jews to obtain supplies of suitably pure wine and the arrangements made for doing so. This was perhaps one of the main reasons why the Jews continued to engage in viticulture longer than in other types of agriculture in this period, though from the 11th century the sources mention that Jews in Western Europe also drank mead. In several areas, Jewish winegrowers or vintners also sold wine to Christians. In the region of Troyes, the teacher of *Rashi (b. 1050) used to sell "from his barrel to the gentile" (Rashi, Resp., no. 159). The Jews of Speyer and Worms were licensed by the emperor in 1090 "to sell their wine to Christians" (Aronius, Regesten, nos. 170–1).

The antagonisms created by the sale of a product to which Jews and Christians attached divergent sacral usages and regulations are reflected in complaints such as that "on the insolence of the Jews" by archbishop *Agobard of Lyons, who wrote (c. 825): "As to wine which even they themselves consider unclean and use only for sale to Christians – if it should happen that some of it is spilt on the earth, even in a dirty place, they hasten to collect it and return it for keeping in jars." The problem is even more strongly presented by Pope *Innocent III in his letter of January 1208: "At the vintage season the Jew, shod in linen boots, treads the wine; and having extracted the purer wine in accordance with the Jewish rite they retain some for their own pleasure, and the rest, the part which is abominable to them, they leave to the faithful Christians; and with this, now and again, the sacrament of the blood of Christ is performed." The description may apply either to Jewish vintners and vineyard owners or to Jews who made arrangements with Christian owners to permit the Jews to extract pure wine in accordance with Jewish law.

In the Muslim countries the Jewish wine trade assumed considerable proportions, as indicated by examples from 12th-century Egypt. It is reported in 1136 that "four partners [all Jews] joined in the production of wine with the enormous sum of 1,510 dinars"; upon liquidating the partnership and paying their taxes, all expressed their satisfaction (S.D. Goitein, *Mediterranean Society* (1967), 364). In about 1150 a Jewish estate included 1,937 jars of wine, worth about 200–300 dinars (*ibid.*, 264). The amounts cited indicate that such thriving business had Muslim customers besides Jews and Christians. In England, in the 12th and 13th centuries, Jews imported wine, and "were exempt from paying any custom or toll or any due on wine, in just the same way as the king himself, whose chattels they were" (Roth, England, 102–3; cf. also 115, note). In Central Europe, Jewish drinking habits were already gradually changing in the 13th century, as shown by the man who asked R. *Meir b. Baruch of Rothenburg for his opinion "about beer [i.e., whether this might be used for **Kiddush*], for in his locality there is sometimes a lack of wine." R. Meir answered: "There is no wine in Westphalia, but in all [other] principalities there is abundant wine; and there is wine in your city throughout the year. It seems to me that you personally drink mostly wine; and if at the end of the year there is some dearth of wine you will find it in your neighborhood.... Certainly you know that it is proper to recite *Kiddush* over wine" (Meir b. Baruch of Rothenburg, Resp., ed. by Y.Z. Kahana, vol. 1, nos. 72, 80).

While by the 15th century Jews must have practically ceased to own vineyards and practice viticulture, trade in wine and other alcoholic beverages was becoming a major Jewish occupation in the German and west Slavic lands. This was part of the general trend of increasing commerce between town and country in this period in which Jews took an active part, not least because they were expelled from the larger cities (see *Expulsions). The competition of the Jewish vintner was an object of complaints by the guilds, such as that of Regensburg in 1516 (cf. R. Straus, *Urkunden und Aktenstuecke zur Geschichte der Juden in Regensburg* (1960), 291, no. 833). In part, this commerce was combined with credit extension, as explained by Jews in Regensburg in 1518, who lent money to the boatmen carrying wine to the city and were sometimes repaid in kind (*ibid.*, 358, no. 988).

In both Muslim and Christian Spain, the sale and consumption of wine in the Middle Ages were subject to taxation by the autonomous Jewish communal administration. The unbroken records give evidence of the significant scale on which Spanish Jewry engaged in business. Copious wine drinking by the upper Jewish social strata is also frequently mentioned in Jewish poetry in Spain. After 1391 exiles from Spain carried their wine trade to Islamic countries, and occasionally aroused opposition from their hosts. These traditions and trends were in part continued, in part considerably modified, in the course of the 16th and 17th centuries.

[Haim Hillel Ben-Sasson]

16th Century to Modern Times

From the 16th to the 19th centuries the production and sale of alcoholic beverages was a major industry in Poland-Lithuania and Russia. It also occupied an important place in the economy of Bohemia, Silesia, Hungary, and Bessarabia. As essentially connected with agriculture, it was carried out in rural estates and formed one of the main sources of revenue for their proprietors. The Jews entered this industry under the **arenda* ("rental") system in the rural economy in which by the 16th century they played an essential role. The Jewish tavern keeper became part of the regular socioeconomic pattern of life in the town and village. The association of the Jew with this activity contributed another negative feature to the popularly created image of the Jew while also affecting Jewish living habits and standards. The alcoholic beverage industry afforded to the Jews a variety of occupations and a source of livelihood enabling them to raise their living standards.

In almost all the rural estates in Poland, the owners held the monopoly over the production and sale of alcoholic beverages, and the heavy drinking habits of the peasants in these countries made it a highly lucrative prerogative. The participation of Jews took the form of leasing in one of the following ways: The lease of breweries, distilleries, and taverns which was part of the wider *arenda* system in Poland and in Ukrainian and Belorussian territories: often, the lease of breweries and distilleries, together with taverns, formed a separate concession; the basic leasehold concession of the single tavern, which was rented either directly from the noble estate owner or from a larger-scale Jewish leaseholder. All leases were granted for a limited term, often for three years, sometimes for one year only. Jewish communal regulations (*takkanot*) effectively limited competition between Jews in bidding for the leases at least to the end of the 17th century (see *Councils of the Lands). Tavern keepers were the largest group of Jews occupied in the industry. They frequently belonged to the poorer class of Jew who had contact with the peasants.

The industry also accounted for an appreciable number of brewers and distillers who worked for the brewery or distillery leaseholders as employees. They were sometimes also employed by taverners. In the middle of the 17th century, this group represented about 30% of the Jews engaged in the production and sale of alcoholic beverages on Polish territory. On the crown estates, the income from the production and sale of alcoholic beverages amounted to 0.3% of the total revenues in 1564, and to about 40% in 1789, an immense increase directly connected with the participation of the Jews in this industry.

Jews also played a similar role in the towns. The location privileges accorded to townships in Eastern Europe usually granted the municipality the right to lease production and sale of alcoholic beverages in the town to an individual local resident. Jews also often competed with other townsmen for this concession, and were generally more ready to supply credit than their Christian competitors. In 1600 the magistrate of Kazimierz complained: "The Jews are not permitted to keep taverns, and yet they deal openly in the sale of vodka, wine, and mead; they hire musicians to tempt in people" (M. Balaban, *Dzieje Żydów w Krakowie i na Kazimierzu*, 1 (1931), 197). Jewish sources confirm the nature of the competition that took place in the cities. The communal regulations for the district of Volhynia of about 1602 enjoin that:

In order to prevent the entry… [to Jewish houses] of gentiles, who came to buy on Saturdays and Festivals, they [the Jewish taverners] should all of them be compelled to take down the sign that they hang up over the entrance to the house on weekdays to let it be known that there is beer and mead inside for sale. That sign shall they take down before the beginning of Sabbath until its end (see H.H. Ben-Sasson, in: *Zion*, 21 (1956), 199).

In *Belaya Tserkov in about 1648, 17 taverns were owned by Jews, although the Jewish population consisted of only 100 families. In towns in Poland and Lithuania where the monopoly was held by the city, it was also leased to Jews. The municipal prerogative was usurped by the manorial owners of the towns during the 17th century, and the concessions for production and sale of alcoholic beverages were leased to Jews on an increasing scale. In the old crown cities, Jews also often leased the tavern from the city authority.

In the second half of the 16th and the first half of the 17th century, a considerable number of Jewish distillers, brewers, and taverners were thus occupied on the estates of the magnates situated in the Belorussian and Ukrainian territories under Poland. Ruin came in 1648–51, following the *Chmielnicki uprising. After the truce was concluded between Poland and Russia in 1667, Jewish taverners could again settle in the Ukraine in the region on the right bank of the River Dnieper; the lands on the left bank passed to Russia, from which Jews were excluded. Jewish taverners were not therefore found in the latter area until the end of the 18th and beginning of the 19th century. The proportion of Jews gainfully engaged in the production and sale of alcoholic beverages amounted in 1765 to 15% of the Jewish residents in the towns, and at the period of the partitions of *Poland-Lithuania (1772–95) to about 85% of Jewish residents in rural areas. In 1791 it was estimated that if the Jews were to be debarred from leasing taverns, about 50,000 people would have to replace them in this occupation, and this was used as an argument against the Russian authorities when they wished to exclude the Jews, in territories then annexed to Russia, from this source of livelihood.

In the period before 1648, Jewish participation in the liquor trade as taverners gave rise to social tensions, which are reflected in contemporary Jewish works and communal regulations, while furnishing a source for anti-Jewish accusations and conflicts between the peasants and Jewish taverners. Antisemites ascribed the drunkenness prevalent among the peasants, and their permanent state of indebtedness, to the wily Jewish taverner, who also extended credit to them. During the 17th and 18th centuries there were uprisings against Jewish leaseholders on numerous estates in Poland, and the complaints of the peasants on the crown estates were often taken up by the courts. After 1648, as opportunities for employment narrowed with the progressive deterioration in Poland of the economy and culture, the hostility intensified and conditions became more difficult for the Jews, in particular for the keeper of the single tavern. He was at the mercy of the despotic noble who ruled the village. In his autobiography Solomon *Maimon recalls vivid childhood memories of the tribulations of a Jewish leaseholder in the 18th century.

Toward the end of the 18th century, in particular after the *Haidamack massacres of 1768, spokesmen of Polish mercantilist and physiocratic theories represented the presence of Jews in the villages and taverns as highly detrimental to Polish economy and society. With few exceptions, the opinion prevailed that the Jewish leaseholders were responsible for the deterioration of the towns and the misery of the countryside. To gain control of these concessions was of greatest importance to the impoverished Polish towns, as the production and sale of alcoholic beverages was a principal branch of the urban economy and its principal source of revenue. Elimination of Jews from this occupation became, therefore, one of the main slogans of the All-Polish middle-class movement between 1788 and 1892. The Polish Sejm ("diet") had passed a bill in 1776 establishing the prior right of the citizen to the lease of the production and sale of alcoholic beverages in smaller towns. However, few candidates with the necessary capital could be found, and these soon had to give it up. As a result, in these towns also the lease passed to Jews. In 1783 an order was issued in Belorussia debarring Jews from traffic in alcoholic beverages in the towns, and the income from taverns was given to the municipalities; but this was canceled in 1785.

Following the partitions of Poland-Lithuania, the Jews in the taverns and villages became the scapegoats of the Russian and Polish ruling classes for the poverty and wretchedness of the peasants. These classes were closely bound by social interests and class consciousness, although divided by national and religious enmities. In the large tracts now occupied by Russia the peasants were of the Greek Orthodox faith, and although despised socially, were now the concern of the Russian authorities. The allegation against the Jew as "the scourge of the village," intoxicating the ignorant peasant because of the misery of his lot, became a spurious slogan for social reform for both the rulers of Russia and their Polish opponents. Elimination of Jewish taverners had started even before the partitions of Poland, and subsequently proceeded with the approval of the Russian governors.

The other states which had gained Polish territory also took up this policy, although with less concentration. The Patent of Tolerance issued by the Austrian emperor *Joseph II in 1782 ordered all the owners of estates to discharge Jewish leaseholders from their domains within two years. This decision was, however, not carried out. About 1805 the Prussian authorities prepared a ban against leasing taverns to Jews, but owing to the occupation of the country by Napoleon, it was never put into effect. In 1804 Russian legislation prohibited Jews from living in the villages. In the period of Napoleon's ascendancy, the Russian authorities refrained from taking action, and in 1812 the orders were suspended. However, after 1830, the stereotype of Jewish guilt for the drunkenness of the peasants was widely propagated in the Polish press. Steps were taken for supervision of the Jews in the name of benefiting the peasant. In Bessarabia the participation of Jews in the production and sale of alcoholic beverages was limited in 1818. Legislation passed in Russia in 1835 prohibited the Jews from selling alcoholic beverages on credit to the peasants, and canceled all the peasants' debts to Jewish taverners. A law of 1866 permitted Jews to lease breweries and distilleries only in towns and villages inhabited by Jews. These measures had little result. In Belorussia between 1883 and 1888, 31.6% of the distilleries in the province of Vitebsk and 76.3% in that of Grodno were Jewish-owned. Full rights to produce and trade in alcoholic beverages in Russia had been permitted to Jews belonging to the category of "merchants of the first class," but after 1882 restrictions were also applied against them.

The part played by Jews in the liquor industry continued to concern the Russian government well into the 20th century, even though assuming other forms. The emancipation of the peasants, cancellation of the compulsory quota of consumption, and abrogation of the monopoly of the estate owners changed the economic character and social aspects of the problem. In independent Poland between the two world wars, various economic and legal measures were taken to drive the Jews from this branch, including regulations for hygiene and manipulation of the state monopoly on the sale of vodka. The development of capitalist industry and trade in the second half of the 19th century and freer access to Jews to take up crafts, enabled many Jews in Eastern Europe to enter other branches of the economy. Even so, the image of the Jew invoked by antisemites in Eastern Europe still made frequent use of the hated Jewish taverner.

The feelings of loathing with which the Jew regarded his place behind the tavern counter is powerfully expressed by the poet Ḥ.N. *Bialik. The taverner and his family saw themselves placed at the:

> meeting between the gates of purity and defilement…/ There, in a human swine cave, in the sacrilege of a tavern, /in streams of impious libation,… /over a yellow-leaved volume, /my father's head appeared, the skull of a tortured matter… /… in smoke clouds, his face sick with sorrow, eyes shedding blood… /the faces were monstrous… the words a filthy stream… /To a child's ear alone… /serenely quietly flowed, the murmur of Torah… the words of the living God… /He [the taverner] would sit… among stretched-out revelers,/… mounting the scaffold each day, thrown to the lions each day… (trans. by Robert Friend, in S.Y. Penueli and A. Ukhmani (eds.), *Anthology of Modern Hebrew Poetry*, 1 (1966), 47–48.)

[Jacob Goldberg]

IN NORTH AMERICA. In addition to the prohibition against partaking of non-Jewish wine, its ceremonial use for various occasions, such as **Kiddush* and on all festive occasions, as well as the need for all wine and liquors to be *kasher* for Passover, observances both practiced even by those who were not particular with regard to non-Jewish wine for ordinary use, resulted in a specific Jewish trade in wine (and for Passover in other liquors) for specific Jewish consumption in all countries. The needs of the Jewish population were met by local manufacturers especially where wine could not be imported from Ereẓ Israel.

U.S. Jews tended to make their wine personally or in small shops. The 19th amendment to the U.S. Constitution and the Volstead Act, which prohibited the manufacture and sale of intoxicating beverages, made an exception in favor of such beverages when needed for religious purposes. Abuses of this privilege by some Jews to supply the illegal liquor market disturbed U.S. Jewry. They led to the issuance of a controversial responsum by the talmudic scholar Louis Ginzberg, *Teshuvah al Devar Yeinot,* etc., permitting grape juice to be used for religious purposes instead of wine. Following the end of Prohibition in 1933, the business of several Jewish wine manufacturers reached national proportions, supplying the non-Jewish as well as the Jewish market. In the U.S. few Jews were tavern keepers. However, they were prominent among distillers and retailers. Such families as Bernheim, Lilienthal, and Publicker were important distillers, and the general prominence of Jews as retail merchants included the selling of bottled liquor.

Some Jewish firms grew to considerable proportions in Europe as well as the U.S. Many expanded their activity to include general trade in wine and liquors and this may be the origin of the extensive representation of Jews in the English public house trade, for example, the firm of Levy and Franks.

Sedgewick's, owned by the *Bronfman family of Canada, became one of the largest distilleries in the world.

WINE INDUSTRY IN EREẒ ISRAEL. In Ereẓ Israel a few small winepresses were owned by Jews, mainly in the Old City of Jerusalem and in other ancient cities inhabited by Jews, before the beginning of modern Jewish settlement in the second half of the 19th century. These were simple household winepresses, catering chiefly to local consumption. The raw material was supplied by Arab vineyards in the surrounding hill regions. The first vines of European variety were planted at the *Mikveh Israel agricultural school founded in 1870. The school also built the first European-style wine cellar, which is still in use. With the beginning of modern Jewish settlement, the first vineyards were planted at *Rishon le-Zion and later in other moshavot. Baron Edmond de *Rothschild, who sponsored early Jewish pioneer settlement in Ereẓ Israel, had high hopes that viticulture would develop as one of the main economic bases for the Jewish villages. He invited specialists from abroad, who selected high-grade varieties in order to produce quality wines. After the harvest of the first crops, he built large wine cellars at Rishon le-Zion (1889) for Judea, and at *Zikhron Ya'akov (1892) for Samaria. These cellars were equipped with refrigerators to retard fermentation and thereby improve quality.

The Baron paid high prices for the grapes in order to assure the settlers a decent standard of living. Economic prosperity resulted in a rapid development of viticulture, and, at the end of the century, vineyards covered about half of the total Jewish land under cultivation. In the course of time, millions of francs were paid to maintain high wine prices, and many settlers concentrated on making wine as their sole occupation. A large overstock of wine accumulated, and wine surpluses continued to increase until a crisis was reached. It was decided to uproot one-third of the vineyards in order to reduce the size of the crop and maintain prices. The winegrowers were compensated by the Baron, and, instead of vineyards, planted almond trees, olives, and the first citrus groves. In 1890–91, the vineyards in Samaria and Galilee were attacked by phylloxera, which ruined the *Rosh Pinnah plantations. The infected vines had to be uprooted and replaced by pest-resistant plants brought from India.

In 1906 the management of the wine cellars at Rishon le-Zion and Zikhron Ya'akov was handed over to the farmers, who founded the Carmel Wine Growers Cooperative. At the same time, several private wine cellars, such as Ha-Tikvah and Naḥalat Ẓevi were established. Their wine was sold both locally and abroad. During World War I, the local wine found a greatly increased market among the German, British, and Australian troops passing through the country. After the war, however, the Ereẓ Israel wine industry lost its principal markets: Russia, because of the Revolution; the United States, because of Prohibition; and Egypt and the Middle East, because of Arab nationalism. The industry had to undergo a period of adaptation. The acreage under grapes was reduced, chiefly in Judea, where vineyards were replaced by citrus groves. On the other hand, additional areas were planted, mainly in the Zikhron Ya'akov area. During World War II, new plantations were developed on a smaller scale, and with the establishment of the State of Israel (1948), the wine-growing areas covered about 2,500 acres (10,000 dunams). At that time there were 14 wine cellars in Israel.

Large new areas were planted in the Negev, the Jerusalem area, Adullam, and Galilee – some of which had never previously been considered suitable for wine growing. With successive waves of immigrants, drinking habits have changed. During the earlier period 70%–75% of the wine consumed was sweet, but later, two-thirds of the total consumption was dry wine. The Israel Wine Institute, established in cooperation with the industry and the government, undertakes research for the improvement of wine production in Israel. Preference is given to wine plantations in the hilly regions. Varieties of better quality are selected, and new varieties are introduced. Israel wine is exported to many countries of the world. It is widely in demand among Jews for ritual purposes but efforts have been made to broaden the market.

[Nathan Hochberg]

The Israeli wine industry underwent a revolution starting in the 1970s and now numbers hundreds of wineries, ranging from leaders like Golan Heights, Carmel, and Barkan Wine Cellars to boutique wineries like the prize-winning Domaine du Castel in the Judean Hills. Israeli wines are now served in quality restaurants in 40 countries, with exports of $13 million in 2005 and domestic sales of around $150 million. Around 7,500 acres of vineyards produce about 50,000 tons of grapes a year

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°**WINGATE, ORDE** (**Charles**; 1903–1944), British Army officer who served in Palestine during the 1936–39 riots. Wingate was born in India into a nonconformist family; his grandfather had helped conduct a Church of Scotland mission in Budapest for poor Jews and his parents served as missionaries. He was raised on the Bible and kept it at his side throughout his life. Wingate was commissioned in 1923. From 1928 to 1933 he served with the Sudan Defense Force and also studied Arabic and Semitics. In February 1934 he was sent on a one-man mission to search for the mysterious Zarzura oasis in the Libyan Desert (reported in the *Geographical Journal*, 83 (1934), 281–308). In 1936, after his promotion to captain, he was posted to Palestine and played a leading role in fighting the Arab terror campaign, particularly the attacks on the Iraqi-Haifa pipeline, for which he was awarded the D.S.O. He gained the confidence of the *yishuv* authorities, established contact with the *Haganah, and with its help formed the Special Night Squads (SNS), a unit made up largely of Haganah fighters whom he trained in unorthodox but highly successful tactics in countering and preventing Arab attacks. Wingate became a passionate supporter of the Jewish cause in Palestine; the *yishuv* responded in kind and referred to him as "*Ha-Yedid*" ("The Friend"). His highly individualistic character, disregard for the conventional rules of military behavior, and his propagation of Zionism finally resulted in 1939 in his being transferred from Palestine with an endorsement in his passport stating that "the bearer … should not be allowed to enter Palestine." He had, however, left a lasting impression upon the country, and some of the young Jews whom he had befriended and trained were to become military leaders in the State of Israel.

In the early stage of World War II, Wingate commanded an antiaircraft battery in Britain. In 1941 he was "rediscovered" and assigned to lead a force against the Italians in Ethiopia. He played a decisive role in the liberation of the country (he was joined in the campaign by some of the former SNS fighters, at his own request) and was at Haile Selassie's side when the emperor reentered Addis Ababa. His talents were then employed in Burma, where he trained and led the Chindits, a special jungle unit that operated behind the Japanese lines. Winston Churchill, who regarded Wingate as a man of genius, invited him in 1943 to join him in his meeting with Roosevelt in Quebec. Wingate was killed in an air crash in the Burma jungle in 1944 and buried at Arlington National Cemetery in Virginia, U.S. By then he had become a major-general.

Wingate's personality and military genius made a profound impact on the *Palmaḥ and the Haganah and, through them, on the Israeli Defense Forces. He, in turn, dreamed of leading the army of the future Jewish state. His devotion to the Jewish people and Ereẓ Israel persisted up to his death. In a letter to a friend in Palestine (1943) he wrote, in Hebrew, "If I forget thee, O Jerusalem…." Israel has not forgotten *Ha-Yedid*. A children's village on the slopes of Mt. Carmel is named Yemin Orde, the College of Physical Education near Netanyah and a forest on Mount Gilboa bear his name, and there is a Wingate Square in Jerusalem. His wife, Lorna, although a gentile, was a leader of *Youth Aliyah in Britain.

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[Moshe Dayan]

WINGER, DEBRA (1955–), U.S. film actress. Born in Cleveland Heights, Ohio, Winger spent two years of her youth in Israel (where she served for three months in the army and worked on a kibbutz). She returned to the U.S. and first came to serious notice as John Travolta's co-star in *Urban Cowboy* (1980). She was subsequently chosen for the female lead opposite Richard Gere in *An Officer and a Gentleman* (1982), for which she received her first Best Actress Oscar nomination. Winger went on to appear in such films as *Terms of Endearment* (Oscar nomination for Best Actress, 1983); *Legal Eagles* (1986); *Black Widow* (1987); *Betrayed* (1988); Arthur Miller's *Everybody Wins* (1990); *The Sheltering Sky* (1990); *Leap of Faith* (1992); *A Dangerous Woman* (1993), *Wilder Napalm* (1993); *Shadowlands* (Oscar nomination for Best Actress, 1993); *Forget Paris* (1995); *Big Bad Love* (produced, 2001); *Radio* (2003); and *Eulogy* (2004).

On television, she appeared three times in 1976–77 in the role of Wonder Girl on the series *Wonder Woman.*

She was married to actor Timothy Hutton from 1986 to 1990. She married actor Arliss Howard in 1996.

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[Jonathan Licht and Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

WINIK, MEIR (1886–1966), agronomist. Born in Odessa, Winik graduated as a technological engineer from the Polytechnic of Warsaw. Immigrating to Ereẓ Israel in 1906, he was employed as a chemical engineer at the wine cellars of Rishon Le-Zion and in 1910 proceeded to Paris to study the fermentation of grapes and soil problems at the Pasteur Institute and the National Agricultural Institute. Returning to Ereẓ Israel, he introduced many modern scientific processes in the manufacture of wine and the improvement of grape strains and soil quality. He enlisted in the Jewish Legion of the British Army during World War I and after the war taught chemistry at the Agricultural School of Mikveh Israel. He was awarded the Israel Prize for Agriculture in 1956.

WINKLER, HENRY (1945–), U.S. actor, writer, director, and producer. Winkler was born in New York City to Harry Irving Winkler, a lumber executive, and Ilse Anna Maria (née Hadra), German Jews who had escaped the Nazis before the beginning of World War II. Winkler attended high school at the Horace Mann School in Riverdale, New York, and graduated from Emerson College with a bachelor's degree in 1967. After receiving a master of fine arts degree in drama from Yale in 1970, the five-foot-six actor appeared in dozens of commercials before making his film debut in the 1950s gang feature *The Lords of Flatbush* (1974) with the then unknown Sylvester Stallone. Winkler joined the cast of the 1950s sitcom *Happy Days* (1974–84), achieving pop stardom as the motorcycle-riding mechanic Arthur "Fonzie" Fonzarelli, a role that earned him two Golden Globe awards. While still on *Happy Days*, Winkler starred in films such as *Heroes* (1977) and *Night Shift* (1982), directed by *Happy Days* co-star Ron Howard. In 1978, Emerson College honored Winkler with a doctorate in Hebrew literature. After *Happy Days,* he concentrated on coproducing the television show *MacGyver* (1985–92) and directing feature films such as *Memories of Me* (1988) and *Cop and a Half* (1993). Winkler served as executive producer for Rob *Reiner's *The Sure Thing* (1985) and the film *Young Sherlock Holmes* (1985). He stepped out from behind the camera again to star in the made-for-television movies *Absolute Strangers* (1991) and *The Only Way Out* (1993), as well as for the shortlived sitcom *Monty* (1994). Winkler also returned to feature films with roles in *Scream* (1996), *The Waterboy* (1998), *Little Nicky* (2000), and *Holes* (2003). In 2003, the dyslexic Winkler and Lin Oliver began releasing titles in the ongoing Hank Zipzer book series for young adults, which focused on the misadventures of a fourth-grader with learning difficulties. In 2005 he starred in the CBS series *Out of Practice.*

[Adam Wills (2nd ed.)]

WINKLER, IRWIN (1931–), U.S. film producer. Born in New York City, Winkler graduated from New York University. He served in the army beginning in 1951. After a brief stint as an agent at the William Morris agency, he went to Hollywood in 1966. His first production, with a partner, Robert Chartoff, was *Double Trouble* (1967), starring Elvis Presley (instead of the star he intended for the role, Julie Christie). From that point, Winkler and Chartoff went on to produce some of the most provocative films of the 1970s and 1980s, including John Boorman's *Point Blank* (1967); Sydney Pollack's *They Shoot Horses, Don't They?* (1969), which garnered nine Academy Award nominations; John Avildsen's *Rocky* (1976) and the four other *Rocky* movies; Martin Scorsese's *New York, New York* (1977), starring Liza Minnelli and Robert De Niro; and *Raging Bull* (1980), with De Niro as the boxer Jake LaMotta; as well as *The Right Stuff* (1983), based on Tom Wolfe's book about the nation's first astronauts. On his own, Winkler produced such films as Costa-Gavras' *Betrayed* (1988) and *Music Box* (1989) as well as Scorsese's *Goodfellas* (1990). Winkler then turned to directing, and made films like *Guilty by Suspicion* (1991), which he also wrote, starring De Niro; *Night and the City* (1992), based on Jules Dassin's film noir; the suspense thriller *The Net* (1995), with Sandra Bullock; and *At First Sight* (1999), with Val Kilmer and Mira Sorvino. His films amassed 12 Academy Awards from 45 nominations, including four best picture nominations. He also directed and produced the critically acclaimed drama *Life as a House,* starring Kevin Kline, Hayden Christensen, and Kristen Scott Thomas, and *The Shipping News* (both 2001), based on the Pulitzer Prize-winning novel by E. Annie Proulx and starring Kevin Spacey, Julianne Moore, and Judi Dench. Winkler teamed with Kline again for *De-Lovely* (2004), a biography of the songwriter Cole Porter.

Three of Winkler's films were listed on the American Film Institute list of the top 100 films of all time.

[Stewart Kampel (2nd ed.)]

WINKLER, LEO (**Judah**; 17th century), leader of the Vienna Jewish community at the time of the expulsion of the Jews from the city in 1670. By profession a physician, he graduated from the medical school in Padua in 1629. He corresponded with the Christian Hebraist Johann Christoph *Wagenseil, and ably represented the community when it was threatened with expulsion. In conjunction with Herz *Coma and Enoch *Fraenkel he signed a letter to Manuel Texeira requesting the intervention of Queen Christina of Sweden on behalf of the Jews. With Coma he offered 100,000 gulden to *Leopold I to enable 1,000 Jews to remain in Vienna. He was also among the signatories of the request for assistance to the Venice communities. His sons ISAAC and JACOB graduated as physicians in Padua in 1669. Winkler apparently later settled in *Poznan (Posen), where Jacob was a physician.

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[Meir Lamed]

WINNIK, HENRY ZVI (1902–1982), Israeli psychiatrist and psychoanalyst. Winnik was born near Chernovtsy (Bukovina) into a family of intellectuals and Zionists. His postgraduate experience included laboratory work with F. Georgi, and in psychiatric hospitals in Chemnitz and Berlin. In Berlin he met Wilhelm *Reich and Otto *Fenichel, through whom he entered psychoanalysis. He was trained at first at the Berlin Psychoanalytic Institute, leaving with the advent of Hitler in 1933. He continued in Vienna with noted supervisors such as Helene *Deutsch, maintaining his contact with clinical psychiatry. He became a training analyst in 1938 and, on Anna *Freud's advice, left for Bucharest to develop analysis there. Political events there, however, and the outbreak of the war did not permit him to work. He left for Palestine in 1942 where he became the director of the Geha mental hospital of Kuppat Ḥolim, developing modern methods of institutional care. In 1950 he became the director of its Talbieh mental hospital in Jerusalem.

From 1944 he was a member of the executive of the Israel Neuropsychiatric Society, and its chairman from 1961 to 1965. Winnik had met Max *Eitingon in Berlin and joined him at the Psychoanalytic Institute in Palestine. In 1955 he became its chairman – a post he held four times. From 1954 he was professor at The Hebrew University-Hadassah Medical School in Jerusalem. He founded the *Israel Annals of Psychiatry* and served as its editor-in-chief. His testimony in Israel's courts contributed to the establishment of the principle of irresistible impulse. Winnik published many papers on a broad range of psychiatric, psychoanalytic, and forensic subjects.

[Louis Miller]

WINNINGER, SOLOMON (1877–1968), biographer. Winninger was born in Gura-Humorului, Bukovina, and worked as a post office official in Czernowitz (Chernovtsy) until 1941. In 1950 he settled in Israel. Winninger's *Grosse juedische Nationalbiographie* (7 vols., 1927–36) contains 14,000 biographies of prominent Jews. A further 17,000 (Ms., Jewish National and University Library) remained unpublished.

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[Nathan Michael Gelber]

WINNIPEG, capital of Manitoba, Canada, the province's largest city and the center of Jewish life in the province. In 2001 Winnipeg's 14,765 Jews constituted only 2.2 percent of the city's population of 661,730. However, they also constituted fully 97 percent of all Jews in Manitoba. In 1881 there were only 23 Jews in Winnipeg. That number grew to 1,164 in 1901 and reached a high of 19,376 in 1961 before beginning a gradual decennial decline to less than 15,000 in 2001. Winnipeg has also dropped in size from third to eighth place among Canadian cities, while the city's Jewish population dropped from third to fourth place among Canadian Jewish communities behind Toronto, Montreal, and Vancouver.

Jewish congregational life began early in Winnipeg's history. In 1883, after the first influx of Jews from Russia, an attempt was made to establish a single congregation in Winnipeg, but disagreements between the earlier Jewish residents and recently arrived and more Orthodox immigrants prevented agreement. In 1887 a *Manitoba Free Press* church survey found "three congregations of the Hebrew faith" but no synagogue building and suggested that if united, "the Hebrews would form a congregation of respectable numbers, and … soon possess a building creditable to themselves and to the city." In 1889 unity was achieved and Shaarey Zedek, the first synagogue, was founded, but a group favoring a "*sefardishe minhag*" soon started the Rosh Pina synagogue.

In the 1960s Winnipeg had 12 synagogues plus the Chesed Shel Emes funeral home. The two largest congregations, Shaarey Zedek in the city's south end and Rosh Pina in the north end, were Conservative; the others were Orthodox and all but one in the north end, where most Jews then lived. In 1965 the Reform Temple Shalom was opened in the south end, and in 1976 a new conservative synagogue, Beth Israel, opened in the north. By the end of the century the majority of Winnipeg Jews had moved from the north end to the south end. Declining membership forced a merger of the three largest north end congregations: Rosh Pina, B'nai Abraham, and Beth Israel, to form Etz Chayim on the premises of Rosh Pina. In 2005 Winnipeg had nine synagogues, six in the north end, including a Lubavitch Center with north and south end branches.

In 1883, Beth El religious school opened, teaching Bible and Jewish history in English to 50 students; a year later Russian newcomers opened a *ḥeder*, with 12 students instructed in Yiddish. In 1902 a King Edward Talmud Torah, named for the new British monarch, opened next to the synagogue. The

B'nai Zion Congregational Hebrew School opened in 1906. Five years later the two schools united with 250 students, and in 1913 a new Talmud Torah building was opened, doubling as a Jewish community center.

Secular Jewish life also flourished in Winnipeg. In 1914 Labor Zionists and Socialists opened the Yiddish Radical School, renamed after I.L. Peretz in 1915. By 1921 the more radical Arbeiter Ring Yiddish school was established, and at one point Winnipeg had five Yiddish secular schools. In 1919 the Peretz School Muter Farein opened the first kindergarten in the city and a year later started a Jewish day school, possibly the first of its kind in North America. By 1963 the I.L. Peretz Folk School was the only remaining Yiddish secular school and in 1983 it merged with the Talmud Torah, which by then had north and south branches, and also operated the Joseph Wolinsky Collegiate. In 1997 the Talmud Torah north and south branches were closed and Jewish education in Winnipeg became consolidated in the Gray Academy at the Asper Jewish Community Campus, opened that year in the south end on the bank of the Assiniboine River. The Herzliah Congregation operates Ohr Hatorah, an Orthodox elementary day school.

There has also been a longstanding Jewish presence on campus. In 1915, a Menorah Society was formed at Winnipeg's University of Manitoba. It sponsored varied Jewish campus activities, including annual Jewish theater productions such as an English-language version of Shalom Aleichem's *It's Hard to Be a Jew*. In response to accusations that the university maintained quotas on Jewish and other minority enrollment in the Medical School, in 1943 the Avukah Zionist Society undertook to investigate. By the end of 1944 they succeeded in exposing the quota system and forced an end to the system. During World War II, Hillel organized on campus and helped initiate Jewish studies courses in 1950–51. By 1964 the University of Manitoba established the first Judaic Studies Department in Canada, headed by Rabbi Zalman Schachter, founder of the Jewish Renewal Movement. In 1989 the department was disbanded, just as Jewish Studies departments were growing in other Canadian universities.

Winnipeg's Jewish community has been characterized by vibrant organizational life. By 1900 **landsmannshaften* and benevolent societies were growing, and the Winnipeg Zionist Society had 100 members. In 1909 B'nai B'rith was established and United Hebrew Charities was organized. Concern that United Hebrew Charities was controlled by Jews in the city's south end led to formation of the North End Relief Society, but the two groups joined forces in 1914. That year Winnipeg and the farm settlement in Lipton, Saskatchewan, became the first two communities in Canada to collect funds for Jewish war relief. In 1915 the Western Jewish Fund for the Relief of War Sufferers was established, and in 1916 Winnipeg hosted a conference of 18 western centers that called for the establishment of a Canadian Jewish Congress. A year later Winnipeg hosted the 15th national convention of the Canadian Zionist Federation, and in 1919 a delegation of 20 Winnipeg Jews participated in Montreal meetings organizing the Canadian Jewish Congress.

By 1920 Winnipeg had a Jewish Orphanage and Children's Aid Society, an Old Folks Home, a YMHA Center, and a Jewish Immigrant Aid Society and, by the mid-1920s, the Orphanage, the Old Folks Home, and Hebrew Relief became beneficiaries of centralized fundraising by the Federated Budget Board, and in 1938 a Jewish Welfare Fund was established to raise funds for Jewish schools and social agencies. In the 1950s a new YMHA Community Center was built which housed the Welfare Fund, the Canadian Jewish Congress, and Zionist Organization regional offices. In the 1960s, the Winnipeg Congress Council had representatives of every local Jewish organization, and Congress Western Region Council had members in Beausejour, Brandon, Dauphin, and Portage la Prairie. The Welfare Fund, Congress and the Zionist organization jointly ran the Combined Jewish Appeal for local, national, Israeli, and overseas agencies. During the 1967 Six-Day War crisis, Winnipeg played an exemplary role in the national Israeli Emergency Campaign.

In 1973 the Welfare Fund and the CJ Congress office merged to form the Winnipeg Jewish Community Council – later the Jewish Federation/Combined Jewish Appeal. In 1997 the Asper Jewish Community Campus was opened in three remodeled Winnipeg heritage buildings on the south bank of the Assiniboine River. The campus houses the Gray Academy of Jewish Education, the Rady Community Centre, successor to the YMHA; the Jewish Heritage Centre of Western Canada, including the Jewish Historical Society and Archives, the Marion and Ed Vickar Jewish Musem and the Freeman Family Holocaust Education Centre; the Kaufman-Silverberg Library, the Berney Theatre and offices of Federation / CJA, Jewish Foundation of Manitoba (founded 1964), Jewish Child and Family Services, Winnipeg Jewish Theatre, B'nai B'rith, and Winnipeg Zionist Initiative. Winnipeg North has a thriving Gwen Secter Senior Centre sponsored by the National Council of Jewish Women and a Na'amat Hall (Pioneer Women), which is also used by United Jewish Peoples Order for public forums and a Yiddish Mameloshen group. The Sholem Aleichem Community runs a Sunday school and sponsors secular holiday events.

Concerned with the gradual decline in Winnipeg's Jewish population, in the late 1990s the Jewish Federation started "Grow Winnipeg," a program of outreach to Jews, especially in Latin America. By 2005 this program had brought 168 South American Jewish families to Winnipeg, comprising 482 individuals. The total number of new arrivals was 564 families, comprising nearly 1,500 individuals, including people from Argentina, Russia, and Israel. These newcomers receive special community services and their presence is reflected in the publication of columns in Russian and Spanish, as well as Hebrew and Yiddish, in the *Jewish Post and News*. For most of the 20th century Winnipeg was served by three Jewish papers, the Yiddish-language *Israelite Press* (*Yiddishe Vort*) founded in 1917, which became bilingual before it ceased publication in 1981, and the English language *Jewish Post* founded in 1925 and *Western Jewish News* founded a year later. The two English language papers merged in 1987.

Very conscious of its history, the Winnipeg Jewish community has been a leader in archival and museum preservation and in celebrating community history. The local Archives Committee was instrumental in organizing both the Canadian Jewish Congress Archives Committee and the Jewish Historical Society of Western Canada. In 1972 the Jewish Historical Society mounted an exhibit entitled "Journey Into Our Heritage," exploring the history of the Jews of Western Canada. It ran for six months at the Manitoba Museum, toured Canada, and was exhibited at the Museum of the Diaspora in Tel Aviv.

Jews in Winnipeg have also made a prominent contribution to the larger community. Perhaps nowhere is this more true that in the legal system. Samuel *Freedman was the first Jew named to the Manitoba Court of Queen's Bench (QB) and later to the Court of Appeal, serving as Manitoba Chief Justice in 1971–83; Israel Nitikman was appointed a judge to the Court of the QB in 1962. In 1967 Roy Matas was appointed a judge to that court and was elevated six years later to the Court of Appeal. In 2005 the Manitoba Court of Appeal had three Jewish judges, the Court of Queen's Bench had seven Jewish judges out of 40, and there were also seven Jews on the Provincial Court.

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[Abraham Arnold (2nd ed.)]

WINOGRAND, GARRY (1928–1984), U.S magazine photojournalist and advertising photographer who developed an unusual style of "street" photography that helped change the nature of the genre. He photographed primarily on the streets of New York, the city in which he was born, portraying passers-by with an immediacy and physicality rarely found in still images. "I photograph to find out what something will look like photographed," he said of his method, which incorporated rapid-fire shooting technique, wide-angle lenses and skewed framing for a satirical and sometimes disturbing vision that became popular in the 1970s. His pictures, which deceptively resembled snapshots, were crammed with activity. By traditional standards, critics said, the pictures represent the opposite of real-world photography. But they have the vitality, incongruity, and inexplicability of daily life. John Szarkowski, director of the Museum of Modern Art's photography division, called Winogrand "the central photographer of his generation." In a show at the Modern in 1988, Winogrand's work was divided chronologically: work from the 1960s on women (many published in the 1975 book *Women Are Beautiful*); on zoos (from *The Animals*, a 1969 book and show), and on public events in which the presence of the news media is significant (from "Public Relations," Winogrand's show at the Modern in 1977). In 1978, Winogrand, who freed himself from convention by tilting the frames of his images in an effort to develop fresh ways to depict the world, moved to Los Angeles. There, where street life took place in cars, Winogrand made many pictures from the front seat of an automobile. The images relegated human beings to a far distance.

To be a great photographer, Winogrand claimed half-seriously in the 1970s, was first, to be Jewish. The best ones, in his opinion, shared this birthright. By his definition, Jewish photographers were nervy, ironic, disruptive of artistic norms, and proud outsiders. Winogrand left behind some 2,500 rolls of exposed but undeveloped film, plus 6,500 developed rolls for which no contact sheets had been made, making a total of 300,000 unedited images. The Modern arranged to have the film developed and contacts prints made.

[Stewart Kampel (2nd ed.)]

WINSTEIN, SAUL (1912–1969), U.S. physical organic chemist. Winstein was born in Montreal, Canada. He did research at the California Institute of Technology, Harvard University, and the Illinois Institute of Technology. From 1947 he was professor of chemistry at the University of California at Los Angeles (1947).

WINSTON, ROBERT, BARON (1940–), British physician, broadcaster, and fertility expert. Winston graduated from London University as a gynecological surgeon and became a noted pioneer of fertility and IVF techniques. He is well-known both for his scientific papers and for his programs on BBC television such as *The Human Body* (1998), *The Secret Life of Twins* (1999), and *Superhuman* (2000), which drew large audiences. Winston was professor of fertility studies at Imperial College School of Medicine, London, and received a life peerage in 1995. He served as chair of the House of Lords Select Committee on Science and Technology and was awarded the Royal Society's Faraday Gold Medal.

[William D. Rubinstein (2nd ed.)]

WINSTON, STAN (1946–), U.S. director and visual effects artist. Winston grew up in Arlington, Virginia. After graduating from the University of Virginia in 1968, Winston moved to Los Angeles to be an actor. Influenced by Lon Chaney, who did his own makeup in *Phantom of the Opera* (1943), Winston became a makeup apprentice with Walt Disney Studios. He worked 6,000 hours for Disney, which culminated in his first Emmy win for the television movie *Gargoyles* (1972). Among his first jobs after leaving the studio in 1972 were cosmetically aging actress Cicely Tyson to 110 in the television movie *The Autobiography of Miss Jane Pittman* (1974), which led to another Emmy win, and makeup work on the set of the miniseries *Roots* (1977). He earned his first feature film makeup credit for *The Wiz* (1978), and received his first Oscar nomination for his work on the robot comedy *Heartbeeps* (1981). In 1978, he founded Stan Winston Studio in Van Nuys, California. Winston provided visual effects and second-unit direction for the groundbreaking science fiction film *The Terminator* (1984). This collaboration with director James Cameron led to his helming the special effects unit and creating alien effects for *Aliens* (1986), which won Winston his first Oscar. In 1987, he earned a third Oscar nomination for his creation of the alien in *Predator* (1987), and in 1988 he directed his first feature film, *Pumpkinhead*. Winston earned a fourth Academy Award nod for makeup work on Tim Burton's *Edward Scissorhands* (1990), but won Oscars for makeup and visual effects when he joined Cameron on the big-budget *Terminator* sequel, *Terminator 2: Judgment Day* (1991). The Penguin makeup he created for Danny DeVito in Burton's *Batman Returns* (1992) led to his seventh Academy Award nomination, and after directing his second feature, the straight-to-video *The Adventures of a Gnome Named Gnorm* (1994), Winston won a fourth Oscar for creating the life-sized dinosaurs in *Jurassic Park* (1993). Winston, Cameron, and Industrial Light and Magic designer Scott Ross joined forces in 1993 to form Digital Domain, a computer animation special effects company whose first project was the much publicized adaptation of Anne Rice's *Interview With the Vampire* (1994). However, he and Cameron eventually resigned from the company in 1998. Winston signed a development deal with DreamWorks in 1996, and one year later he founded Stan Winston Productions, which provided special effects, animatronics and makeup for films such as *The Lost World: Jurassic Park* (1997), which earned him his ninth Oscar nomination; *End of Days* (1999); *Jurassic Park III* (2001); *A.I. Artificial Intelligence* (2001), his 10th Academy Award nod; *Pearl Harbor* (2001); *Terminator 3: Rise of the Machines* (2003); and *Constantine* (2005).

[Adam Wills (2nd ed.)]

WINTER, GUSTAV (1899–1943), Czech journalist and author (brother of Lev Winter, the statesman). He was press officer of the Czechoslovak mission to the League of Nations in Geneva, and Paris correspondent for *Právo Lidu* ("The People's Right"), the organ of the Social Democratic Party. Winter was regarded as the best-informed Czech correspondent in France.

He published *Státníci dnešní Francie* ("French Statesmen of our Days," 1927), and *Kniha o Francii* ("Book on France," 1930) for which he received the highest Czechoslovak literary award. *To není konec Francie* ("This is Not the End of France," 1941) was published in London, where he had fled after the fall of France. Winter was also the author of a book of poetic reportage on Spain, *Don Quijote na rozcestí* ("Don Quixote at the Crossroads," 1935) and translator of Čapek and Masaryk into French.

[Avigdor Dagan]

His brother LEV (Leo) WINTER (1876–1935), Czech politician, was born in Hroby in S. Bohemia. Winter studied law at Prague University and joined the Czech Social Democratic Party at the age of 19. In 1907 he was elected to the Austrian Reichsrat (Parliament) and reelected in 1911. In the Austrian Parliament he was active in committees on social legislation. In 1918 he was a member of the revolutionary Czech National Council and became minister of social welfare in the first Government of the Czechoslovak Republic. In 1923 he presented to Parliament the Social Insurance Law, which had been drafted primarily by him. He served two more terms as minister of social welfare and was member of parliament until his death. He wrote several books on social and legal problems, and also translated the first volume of Marx's *Kapital* into Czech. Winter took no part in any Jewish activities.

[Chaim Yahil]

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WINTER, JACOB (1857–1941), German rabbi and scholar. Born in Hungary, Winter served from 1886 as rabbi in Dresden and received the honorary title of professor from the king of Saxony for his scholarly work.

His main achievement was the three-volume encyclopedic work, *Die juedische Litteratur seit Abschluss des Kanons* (3 vols., 1894–96), a prose and poetry anthology with biographical and literary-historical introductions, edited in cooperation with the German Orientalist August *Wuensche and leading scholars of the time. The work became a standard reference book on post-biblical Jewish literature. An earlier study by Winter was *Die Stellung der Sklaven bei den Juden…* (1886). Together with Wuensche, he also translated into German (with annotations) the halakhic Midrashim *Mekhilta* (1909) and *Sifra* (1938), and edited the second volume of M. Lazarus, *Die Ethik des Judentums* (1911).

WINTER, PAUL (1904–1969), New Testament scholar. Born in Czechoslovakia, Winter by profession was a lawyer in his native land until the Nazi occupation in 1939. Escaping from Czechoslovakia, he joined the free Czech forces in the Middle East, where he served for several years and participated in the battle of El-Alamein and the Normandy landings. After his release from the armed forces he settled in England, where he lived until his death. In his later years he suffered great poverty. His main contribution to scholarship was *The Trial of Jesus* (1961), which created a great deal of interest in the scholarly world with its thesis that Jesus was not condemned by a Jewish court but by the Romans for political, not religious, crimes. He was regarded as one of the leading New Testament scholars of his time.

[Seymour Siegel]

WINTERNITZ, EMANUEL (1898–1983), musicologist who specialized in organology, musical iconology, and art history. Born in Vienna, he studied piano, musicology (under his uncle, Oscar Kapp), and composition (under Franz Schmidt). After serving three years in the Austrian army during World War I, he studied law at the University of Vienna (earning an LL.D., 1922), and lectured on aesthetics and the philosophy of law at the Volkshochschule and at the University of Hamburg. From 1929 he practiced corporate law, while undertaking private studies in music and musical instruments. Fleeing

Nazi-occupied Austria, he immigrated to the United States in 1938. There, he was lecturer at the Fogg Museum of Harvard University (1938–41), and in 1941 at the Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York). In 1942 he was appointed Keeper of the museum's musical instruments. From 1949, until his retirement in 1973, he served as curator of musical instruments. His most successful concert series "Music Forgotten and Remembered," utilizing the museum's instruments, ran for 18 consecutive years. In 1972, both he and Barry *Brook established the Research Center for Music Iconography. He was a lecturer at Columbia University (1947–48) and taught as visiting professor at Yale, Rutgers, CUNY, and SUNY at Binghamton. His publications include *Musical Autographs from Monteverdi to Hindemith* (1955), *Musical Instruments of the Western World* (1966) *Musical Instruments and their Symbolism in Western Art* (New York, 1967), and *Leonardo da Vinci as a Musician* (1982).

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[Israel J. Katz (2nd ed.)]

WINTERNITZ, MORITZ (1863–1933), Orientalist. Born in Horn, Austria, Winternitz received the degree of doctor of philosophy in 1886 from the University of Vienna. In 1888 he went to Oxford, where he spent the next ten years acting in various educational capacities, including teacher of German and librarian at the Indian Institute (1895). In 1899 he became instructor of Indology and general ethnology at the German University of Prague, and in 1911 was appointed professor of Sanskrit.

Winternitz's main work was *Geschichte der indischen Literatur* (3 vols., 1908–22; *History of Indian Literature*, 3 vols., 1927–59; 1959–63^2). His other works include *A Catalogue of South Indian Sanskrit Manuscripts Belonging to the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland* (1902), *A Concise Dictionary of Eastern Religion: Being the Index Volume to the Sacred Books of the East* (1910); *Die Frau in den indischen Religionen* (1920), and *Rabindranath Tagore* (Ger., 1936). Winternitz also edited several Sanskrit texts.

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WINTERS, SHELLEY (**Shirley Schrift**; 1922–2006), U.S. actress. Born in East St. Louis, Ill., Winters appeared in the operetta *Rosalinda* (1942). Her first successful film was *A Double Life* (1948). Later she became famous for her interpretation of two prototypes – a street girl and a mother. In 1959 she won an Oscar for her supporting role in *The Diary of Anne Frank*, and in 1965 she won another Academy Award for *A Patch of Blue*. Her other films, which number more than 120, include *The Great Gatsby* (1949); *Frenchie* (1950); *A Place in the Sun* (Oscar nomination for Best Actress, (1951); *Executive Suite* (1954); *Mambo* (1954); *I Am a Camera* (1955); *The Big Knife* (1955); *The Night of the Hunter* (1955); *The Chapman Report* (1962); *Lolita* (1962); *The Balcony* (1963); *Alfie* (1966); *Harper* (1966); *The Three Sisters* (1966); *Enter Laughing* (1967); *The Poseidon Adventure* (Oscar nomination for Best Supporting Actress, 1972); *Blume in Love* (1973); *Diamonds* (1975); *Next Stop, Greenwich Village* (1976); *King of the Gypsies* (1978); *The Magician of Lublin* (1979); *S.O.B.* (1981); *The Delta Force* (1986), *An Unremarkable Life* (1989); *Stepping Out* (1991); *The Pickle* (1993); *Heavy* (1995); *The Portrait of a Lady* (1996); *Gideon* (1999); and *La Bomba* (1999).

On Broadway, Winters appeared in such plays as *Rosalinda* (1942–44); *Oklahoma!* (1943–48); *A Hatful of Rain* (1956); *The Night of the Iguana* (1962); *Who's Afraid of Virginia Woolf?* (1965); *Under the Weather* (1966); *Minnie's Boys* (1970); and *The Effect of Gamma Rays on Man-in-the-Moon Marigolds* (1978).

She appeared frequently at Jewish benefit rallies.

Winters was married to actors Vittorio Gassman (1952–54) and Anthony Franciosa (1957–60).

She wrote the autobiographies *Shelley: Also Known as Shirley* (1980) and *Shelley II: The Middle of My Century* (1989).

[Jonathan Licht / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

WINTERSTEIN, ALFRED (1899–1960), Swiss biochemist. Winterstein was born in Zurich where his father, Ernest Heinrich Winterstein (1865–1949), was professor of chemistry. He joined the faculty of Zurich's Polytechnicum (1934). He became a senior director of the Hoffmann-La Roche Company in Basle. His fields of research included hematology, vitamins and carotenoids, and hormones.

WINTROBE, MAXWELL MYER (1901–1986), U.S. hematologist. Wintrobe was born in Halifax, Nova Scotia, and graduated in medicine from the University of Manitoba, Winnipeg. He worked in the departments of medicine at Tulane University, New Orleans (1927–30), and Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore (1930–43), before becoming professor and chairman of the department of medicine at the newly established University of Utah (1943–67), where he was distinguished professor of medicine until his retirement in 1977. Wintrobe's main clinical and research interests were in hematology, and he contributed greatly to the major expansion of clinical practice, teaching, and research in this field. He introduced exact laboratory techniques which form an essential part of modern hematological practice. His textbook on clinical hematology, in 2005 in its 10th edition, became a standard work. His many honors include election to the U.S. National Academy of Sciences (1973). He was also a member and chairman of the Scientific Advisory Committee to the Scripps Research Foundation (1964–74).

[Michael Denman (2nd ed.)]

WIRSZUBSKI, CHAIM (1915–1977), classical scholar. Born in Vilna, Wirszubski settled in Palestine in 1934. He taught classics at the Hebrew University from 1948 (from 1956 as professor).

He published *Libertas as a Political Idea at Rome during the Late Republic and Early Principate* (dissertation, 1950) and edited G.R. Moncada's *Sermo de Passione Domini* (1963). He translated Spinoza's *Theological-Political Tractae* (*Ma'amar Teologi-Medini*, with notes, 1961) into Hebrew and wrote an introduction to the Hebrew translation of Tacitus' *Annals* (*Sifrei ha-Shanim*, 1962). Wirszubski dealt in two lectures with Flavius Mithridates and his Latin translation *Liber Redemptionis* (*Nosaḥ Kadum shel Perush Moreh Nevukhim…*) of Abraham Abulafia's kabbalistic commentary on Maimonides' *Guide* (1964, 1969). He also devoted some articles to the Shabbatean movement.

°**WIRTH, CHRISTIAN** (1885–1944), *SS-Sturmbannfuehrer* instrumental in the mass extermination of Jews in German-occupied Poland. Wirth was born in Oberbalzheim, Wuettemberg, where he was a career criminal police detective. He became a member of the Nazi Party in 1931 and joined the SS in 1939. He was assigned to Operation T-4, the German program to "eliminate life unworthy of living" – to murder the mentally retarded, the physically infirm, and the handicapped – and from October 1939 until August 1941 he was chief of office staff and personnel at the "*euthanasia" killing center at Hartheim. As an inspector of killing facilities at all other "euthanasia" killing centers, Wirth developed gas chambers for killing institutionalized persons with disabilities. In late autumn 1941, he transferred to Lublin District, where he was assigned to develop the Belzec killing center. In 1942 Globocnik appointed him inspector of the SS Special Detachments with overall supervisory responsibility for Belzec, Sobibor, and Treblinka. At these three Aktion Reinhard camps more than 1.5 million Jews were killed. There were less than 200 known survivors. Belzec was open for only ten months as a killing center; the other two camps were open for less than two years each. They were closed when their jobs were done and the Jews of Poland were virtually all murdered. When these camps closed, Wirth and his colleagues Globocnik, Hering, and Oberhauser were transferred to Trieste in December 1943 where he commanded an SS *Einsatzkommando* "R" group. Wirth was reported killed by partisans in Istria in May 1944.

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[Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

WIRTH, LOUIS (1897–1952), U.S. sociologist. Born in Gemuenden on the Main, Germany, Wirth emigrated to the United States as a young man and studied medicine and social work and then sociology. He taught at Tulane University and from 1940 to 1952 at the University of Chicago. He was an editor of the *American Journal of Sociology*, regional director of the National Resources Planning Board, director of planning of the Illinois State Postwar Planning Commission, and president of the Social Science Research Council (1932, 1937), the American Sociological Society (1947), and the International Sociological Association (1949). In addition, Wirth was active in the American Council on Race Relations and the American Jewish Committee.

A foremost representative of the Parkian school of sociology, Wirth combined theoretical insight with intensive practical application. His position was that sociology was concerned with unique phenomena only insofar as knowledge of them was required for the purpose of valid generalization and scientific prediction. His intense concern with the maintenance and development of democratic institutions and the furtherance of social justice led to his interest in the elimination of discrimination against racial and cultural minorities, in systematic socioeconomic planning, and in a workable theory of public opinion and mass communication. Methodologically, Wirth was a typologist, combining the "ideal type" construction of the German sociologists Max Weber and Ferdinant Toennies with the formulation of what may be called "real types," which is the hallmark of the Parkian school of sociology. A typology of minorities is contained in "The Problem of Minority Groups," in *The Science of Man in the World Crisis* (ed. Ralph Linton, 1945), and in "Morale and Minority Groups," in *American Journal of Sociology*, 47 (1941/42). His theory of urban sociology is expounded in "Urbanism as a Way of Life," *American Journal of Sociology*, 44 (1938/39). *The Local Community Fact Book* (1938) presents a model for the investigation of urban phenomena. Wirth's interest in the sociology of knowledge is documented in his preface to the English edition of Karl Mannheim's *Ideology and Utopia* (1936).

Wirth was intensely interested in the sociology of the Jews, as part of his general interest in the incorporation of minorities in a democratic state. His dissertation *The Ghetto* (1928, 1956^2) analyzes the Jewish settlement on Chicago's west side not merely as a physical abode but as a state of mind; the outward pull of the larger society and discriminatory rejection by that society correspond to flight from the narrow restrictions of the ghetto and longing for its sheltering intimacy. Wirth saw the solution of the dilemma in the abolition of discrimination and complete acceptance of the democratic way of life.

[Werner J. Cahnman]

WISCHNITZER, MARK (1882–1955), historian, sociologist, and communal worker. In his youth Wischnitzer lived in Galicia, Vienna, and Berlin. On returning to his native Russia, he devoted himself to the study of Jewish history. From 1908 to 1913 he edited the section on the history of the Jews in Europe in the Russian-Jewish *Yevreyskaya Entsiklopediya* (from the third volume on). From 1909 to 1912 he lectured at the institute of Baron David Guenzburg in Petrograd on Oriental affairs and Jewish scholarship. From 1914 to 1916 he was the initiator and editor of *Istoriya Yevreyskogo Naroda* ("History of the Jewish People") in Moscow. He was also a member of the society for Jewish history and ethnography in Petrograd and participated in its quarterly *Yevreyskaya Starina* ("The Jewish Past"). From 1919 to 1921 he stayed in London, where he engaged in journalism and continued his research. From 1921 to 1937 he was secretary of the *Hilfsverein der Deutschen Juden, in which he engaged in welfare enterprises for the Jews of eastern Europe, visited the regions of Jewish settlement in Russia, and finally (1933–37) concentrated on organizing the emigration of Jews from Nazi Germany to the countries of the West and overseas. During the period he lived in Berlin, Wischnitzer served with his wife, Rachel Wischnitzer, as director of the Jewish publication *Rimon* in Berlin and London (1922–24) and from 1925 was editor of the history section in the *Encyclopaedia Judaica* in Berlin. He occupied himself with the history of the Jewish guilds in Poland and Lithuania during the 17th and 18th centuries and devoted a study to them in Yiddish (1922). His *History of Jewish Crafts and Guilds,* which includes a list of his previous works on the subject, was published posthumously in 1965. He also published *Die Juden in der Welt* (1935).

After leaving Nazi Germany, Wischnitzer entered the service of the *American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee in Paris (1938); however, World War II compelled him to go to the Dominican Republic (1940) and then to the United States (1941). He continued his communal service in the U.S. with the Council of Jewish Organizations and Welfare Funds and worked on editing the *Universal Jewish Encyclopedia*. He devoted his work *To Dwell in Safety, The Story of Jewish Migration Since 1800* (1948) to general Jewish migration. He published the memoirs of Dov Ber *Birkenthal, in the description of whose life and times both literary and social views are intertwined; this appeared as *Zikhronot R. Dov mi-Boliḥov* (1922, repr. 1969; *The Memoirs of Ber of Bolechow* (1922)).

His wife RACHEL WISCHNITZER (née Bernstein; 1885–1989) was a scholar of Jewish art. Born in Minsk, she studied architecture in Paris. She edited the first periodicals for Jewish art, *Rimon* (in Heb.) and *Milgroym* (in Yid.; 1922–24), while she was in Berlin. These were printed by the Rimon publishing house which her husband had established. During this period she was director of the Jewish museum in Berlin (1934–38) and published *Gestalten und Symbole der juedischen Kunst* (1935), as well as contributing to the German *Encyclopaedia Judaica* and many other periodicals. In 1940 she went to the U.S., where she served as contributing editor for Jewish art of the Universal Jewish Encyclopedia (1948) and also wrote on the synagogue of *Dura-Europos. She wrote *Synagogue Architecture in the United States* (1955) and *The Architecture of the European Synagogue* (1964). Rachel Wischnitzer strove to clarify the development of Jewish iconography, especially the literary background to the development of subjects and symbols in Jewish art, e.g., her book on Dura-Europos is replete with biblical and talmudic passages which enlighten the artistic intent. She was also a firm advocate of using the values of traditional Jewish art in the works of modern Jewish art.

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[Abraham N. Poliak]

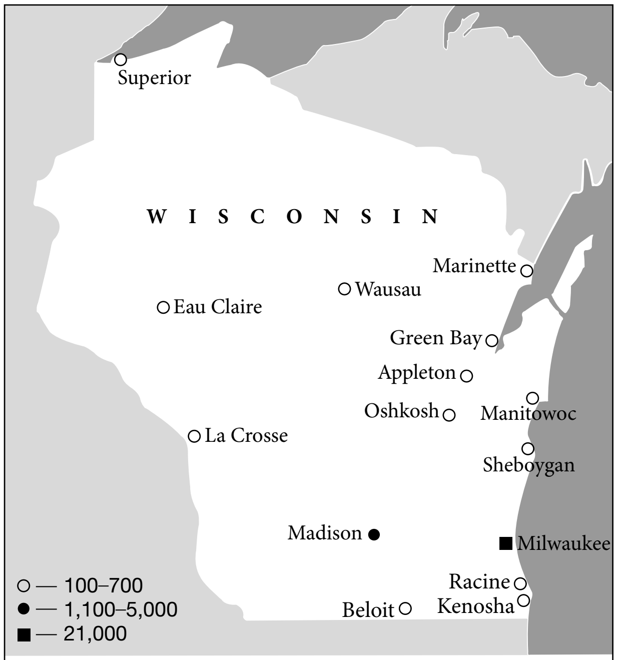

Total Jewish population of Wisconsin	28,000
% of Jews in general population of Wisconsin	0.5
% of Wisconsin Jews in Jewish population of U.S.	0.45

Jewish communities in Wisconsin. Population figures for 2001.

WISCONSIN, a state in the north-central U.S.; Jewish population of approximately 28,000 in a general population of about 5.5 million (2001), or 0.5%. German, Bohemian, Austro-Hungarian, and a smaller number of English Jewish immigrants were among the earliest settlers in Wisconsin, arriving from the 1840s to the 1860s with French, English, German, and Scandinavian gentiles. Yet the first known Wisconsin Jew was Jacob Franks, a fur trader of English ancestry who settled in Green Bay in 1793. His associate and nephew, John Lawe, served in the first Wisconsin Territory Legislature in 1836 and was a county judge. The first organized Jewish community arose in Milwaukee in 1844. By 1856, the city had three synagogues. In Wisconsin's capital, Madison, Jews organized a benevolent society in 1858 and built a synagogue, Shaarei Shamayim, in 1863. The building, one of the oldest remaining synagogues in the United States, has been moved from downtown to a city park. Another early settler, Alsatian-born Bernard Schleisinger Weil, owned thousands of acres of farmland northwest of Milwaukee. The town of Schleisingerville (later renamed Slinger) was named for him. He was the first Jew to serve in the Wisconsin Legislature – four years after statehood was declared in 1848. English-born John Meyer Levy, another influential newcomer, arrived in the Mississippi River settlement of La Crosse in 1845. He succeeded in business and served as mayor from 1860 to 1861 and 1866 to 1868. Levy held the first known worship services there (interfaith) and co-founded the first synagogue in Wisconsin's third

Jewish community. In addition to Milwaukee and Madison, German Jewish immigrants were prominent in business and politics in Appleton, an industrial and university city whose first rabbi was Mayer Samuel Weiss, father of illusionist Harry Houdini, born Erich Weiss. The 19th-century Wisconsin Jewish population was estimated at 2,600 in an 1880 study. So it was the mass Russian and eastern European Jewish immigration from 1881 to 1924 that gave the state most of its Jews. By 1899, the Jewish population had risen to 10,000, then to 28,000 in 1920, and more than 39,000 in 1937, the peak year. Most of the second wave of immigrants came to Milwaukee, where the established Jewish community formed the Settlement House. The facility offered classes to immigrants that led to publication of the long-running *Settlement Cookbook*. Other Russian and eastern European Jews spread around the state, creating Orthodox Jewish communities in two dozen municipalities in the 1920s and 1930s and accounting for a Jewish presence in some 180 more – primarily as merchants. In 1904, five immigrant families cleared land for a Jewish farming settlement in central Wisconsin. Part of a national Jewish agricultural movement, the Arpin settlement grew to 20 families and in 1915 established the county's only synagogue. Poor crop yields and a lack of marriageable young Jews compelled most families to leave by 1922. Sheboygan Jewry exceeded 1,000 in the 1920s and 1930s. With three Orthodox synagogues and several *shoḥatim*, Sheboygan was known among U.S. Jews as "Little Jerusalem." Other traditional Jewish communities with synagogues developed in: Antigo, Ashland, Hurley, Marinette, Superior, and Wausau in the north; Eau Claire and La Crosse in the west; Beloit, Madison, and Monroe in the south; and Appleton, Fond du Lac, Green Bay, Kenosha, Manitowoc, Milwaukee, Oshkosh, and Racine in the east. After the war, most of the smaller Jewish communities shifted to Conservative or Reform Judaism, building or buying new synagogues in a dozen cities. By the year 2000, Wisconsin's synagogues were centralized to 14 municipalities, but Jews remain a presence in nearly 70 communities. Most of the small-town synagogues serve Jews in outlying areas. Regional havurah groups meet regularly in Waukesha County, west of Milwaukee; Door County, on Wisconsin's Lake Michigan peninsula; and the northernmost three counties – Douglas, Bayfield and Ashland. The University of Wisconsin campuses in Milwaukee and Madison house Centers of Jewish Studies, both founded with the help of the Wisconsin Society for Jewish Learning. B'nai B'rith, once a unifier for Jewish men and their families throughout the state, has faded, though the B'nai B'rith Youth Organization reaches a plurality of Jewish teens. Hadassah, National Council of Jewish Women, and Na'amat USA continue to attract women. The Milwaukee Jewish Federation and Madison Jewish Community Council raise funds and coordinate local Jewish activities. Wisconsin Jews who attained national recognition include Israeli Prime Minister Golda *Meir, of Milwaukee; Sens. Herbert *Kohl of Milwaukee and Russell *Feingold of Madison, both Democrats; Socialist Victor *Berger; playwright and novelist Edna *Ferber of Appleton; Newton Minnow, chairman of the Federal Communications Commission; Martin F. Stein of Milwaukee, national chairman of the United Jewish Appeal and CLAL; Depression-era photographer Esther Bubley of Phillips; Allan H. "Bud" *Selig of Milwaukee, commissioner of major league baseball; jazz pianist and scholar Ben Sidran of Madison; and Yiddish poet Alter Esselin of Milwaukee.

[Andrew Muchin (2nd ed.)]

WISDOM; WISDOM LITERATURE.

Connotation of Wisdom

Wisdom (Heb. *ḥokhmah*) has a wide range of meanings in different contexts, as illustrated in stories about Solomon, the traditional paragon of wisdom: cunning (I Kings 2:6, 9), moral discernment (3:9, 12), understanding of justice (3:28), encyclopedic knowledge (5:9, 14 [4:29, 34]), literary skill (5:12, [4:32]), and ability as ruler (5:21 [5:7]). In Job 39:16–17 and Ecclesiastes 2:3 it means simply intelligence. Its primary meaning is superior mental ability or special skill, without a necessary moral connotation (Ex. 35:31–33; II Sam. 14:1ff.). The *ḥakham* was the knowledgeable man, hence a counselor, teacher (Ex. 35:34; Prov. 12:15). Skills were acquired through training, *musar* (Prov. 1:2–6); life situations called for counsel, *ʿeẓah* (I Kings 12:8; Prov. 1:30). The highest skill was that of living successfully, with divine and human approval. The idea of wisdom as a fundamentally ethical and religious quality of life is developed in Job, Proverbs 1–9, the Wisdom Psalms, and Daniel, and later in Ben Sira, Wisdom of Solomon, and Tobit. Special senses of *ḥokhmah* are understanding of dreams and omens (Gen. 41:15, 39; Dan. 1:17); knowledge properly belonging to God alone (Gen. 3:22; Ezek. 28:2–3); and righteousness, in eschatological times (Dan. 11:33; 12:10; the term here is *maskilim*).

As a historical phenomenon, biblical wisdom designates a distinctive cultural tradition and scholarly activity in the history of ancient Israel, continuing in early Judaism and Christianity. It was a way of thinking and an attitude to life that emphasized experience, reasoning, morality, and general human concerns not restricted to Israelites. Its interest was in individuals and their social relationships rather than in the distinctive national religion and its cult. A generalized religious element was present from the first in wisdom's recognition of the rightness of a certain order of life; only in its later stages – as in Ben Sira – were the wisdom and the national-religious traditions joined together. In keeping with this striving for order and equilibrium, the wisdom teachers sought to provide rules and examples of personal morals and, on a theoretical level, meanings and values through reflection, speculation, and debate.

History of the Wisdom Tradition

The history of the wisdom tradition in Israel can be sketched only in broad strokes because the evidence is slight and often ambiguous. Wisdom was a tradition as old as the society itself, a constant factor in its daily life rather than a self-conscious movement. The folk wisdom rooted in the mores of family and tribe has left traces in popular proverbs (Gen. 10:9; I Sam. 24:14; I Kings 20:11) and in references to local sages (II Sam. 14:2; 20:16). With the advent of the monarchy, royal counselors became influential (II Sam. 16:20ff.; I Kings 12:6ff.), and in effect, some were cabinet ministers (I Kings 4:1ff.; Isa. 36:3). Professional scribes and a literate elite court were probably mainly responsible for the production of wisdom and other literature later attributed by tradition to King *Solomon himself (I Kings 5:9–14 [4:29–34]; cf. Prov. 25:1). Temple scribes would be engaged in the composition of psalmody.

In the eighth century Hezekiah's men engaged in collecting Solomonic proverbs (Prov. 25:1) and probably also in assembling the religious and other writings of Judah and Northern Israel. That Isaiah had been a teacher of youth is implied by his opponents' mockery (Isa. 28:9–10; cf. 19:11–12). Both Isaiah and Jeremiah found themselves in conflict with royal counselors who thought themselves wise, i.e., politically expert (Isa. 29:14ff.; Jer. 9:22 [23]; 38:1ff.). Jeremiah clashed with the temple scribes as well (8:8). In *Baruch we see a professional scribe at work (Jer. 32:9ff.; 36:4). When Jerusalem fell to the Babylonians, the exiled scribes undoubtedly carried with them scrolls around which literary activities were centered in their new community.

After the Return, when Judah became a semi-independent temple state under a Persian governor, religious authority was assumed by priests and scribes as custodians of the national-religious tradition. This tradition had now taken form as the Torah and other sacred books, which implied changes in the status of the learned. Ezra the priest bore the official title "secretary of the Law of the God of heaven" (Ezra 7:12). The Torah was both code and creed; it was also the summation of Israel's distinctive religious wisdom (Deut. 4:6). Temple scribes and wisdom teachers turned their attention to Torah study, with two results: the two streams of wisdom tradition and covenant theology coalesced, and a new kind of wisdom piety developed (cf. Ps. 1, 119). At the same time the folk wisdom of home and marketplace continued, but with a more positive ethical and religious orientation as in Proverbs 1–9 and Ben Sira. Independent thinkers like *Koheleth and the author of the Wisdom of Solomon in the Hellenistic period began to write in more philosophic language, and found a following among their compatriots.

International Background and Setting

The international background and setting of Hebrew wisdom are acknowledged in the Bible itself and have become fully evident with increasing knowledge of the literary remains of ancient Near Eastern peoples. Solomon's wisdom is said to have surpassed that of Egypt and the *Kedemites (I Kings 5:10–11 [4:30–31]). The wise men of Egypt are referred to again in Genesis 41:8 and Isaiah 19:11–12; those of Edom in Jeremiah 49:7 and Obadiah 8; those of Phoenicia in Ezekiel 27:8–9; 28:3–5; and those of Persia in Esther 1:13. Although in Babylonia "'wisdom' refers to skill in cult and magic lore… [there is] a group of texts which correspond in subject matter with the Hebrew Wisdom books" (W.G. Lambert; cf. Dan. 1:20).

In Egyptian thought the cosmic order and the moral order were one, to be realized in thought, speech, and behavior. Characteristic documents are the "Instructions" by a king or high official to his son, such as those of Ptah-hotep, Merika-Re, Ani, and Amen-em-opet (cf. Pritchard, Texts, 412ff.). Amen-em-opet bears remarkable similarities to Proverbs 22:17–24:12. Other Egyptian wisdom works are The Divine Attributes of Pharaoh, The Song of the Harper, The Eloquent Peasant, and The Dispute over Suicide (Pritchard, Texts, 405–10, 431–34). The last two, like Job, touch on an innocent sufferer's cry for justice and the dubious value of a sufferer's life. Another type of Egyptian wisdom is found in the onomastica or "noun lists" with their comprehensive outline of knowledge; these may have influenced Genesis 1; Psalms 148; Job 38–39; etc.

Mesopotamian wisdom writing originated with the Sumerians. They too produced noun lists of phenomena, and introduced evaluations of them in dispute fables, e.g., between summer and winter, cattle and grain (Pritchard, Texts^3, 592–3). Human experiences and character were portrayed in adages, parables, and anecdotes (Pritchard, Texts^3, 593–4). Corresponding to the "Instruction" form are the Counsels of Wisdom, Counsels of a Pessimist, Advice to a Prince, Teachings of *Ahikar (the last of Assyrian origin but preserved in Aram; Pritchard, Texts^3, 595–6). In the "problem" writings, the main issues are death and the suffering of the righteous. In the Gilgamesh Epic, the hero goes in search of the secret of immortality and learns that only gods are deathless. In the Dialogue of Pessimism, death is seen as the great equalizer. In a Sumerian poem "Man and his God" an upright man who suffers has no recourse but to pray for deliverance. Two works from the Kassite period in Babylonia deal with the same theme: in "Let me praise the Lord of Wisdom" a sufferer reflects that trouble comes without apparent reason, because humans cannot know the will of the gods; in "The Babylonian Theodicy" the issue is debated by a sufferer and his friend, their views corresponding broadly to those of Job and his friends (Pritchard, Texts^3, 589–91, 596–604). The Sumerian gods represented forces with which humans must come to terms, whereas the Babylonian gods were more thought of as subject to moral standards, like human beings. To the Egyptians *ma'at* ("truth, right, justice") was a cosmic reality to which even the gods were subject. The Egyptians looked for judgment and compensation in the afterlife. In Babylonia (as in Israel until a late period, cf. Dan. 12:2) appropriate rewards or punishments were expected in the present life, and divine justice was often called in question.

No wisdom writings survive from Edom or Phoenicia. Ugaritic literature includes maxims in the father-to-son form, and presumably a more extensive Canaanite wisdom literature existed.

The Wisdom Books of the Hebrew Bible

These wisdom books are *Proverbs, *Job, and *Ecclesiastes, with which *Psalms and Song of Songs are associated in

Roman Catholic tradition. Significantly, all these are among the Hagiographa (*Ketuvim*), the part of the Hebrew Bible most remote from the interests of the Torah, and the last part to be approved as scripture. Most of the other works in the Hagiographa have some connection with wisdom in form, in content, or historically. In addition, though not accepted as canonical in Jewish tradition, two major wisdom books and some shorter works from pre-Christian Judaism were included in the Greek and Latin Bibles: the Wisdom of *Ben Sira, a latter-day Book of Proverbs; the Wisdom of *Solomon, a treatise on Hebrew wisdom addressed both to Jews and to non-Jews; *Tobit, a morality tale incorporating two short collections of precepts; the poem in Baruch 3:9ff. calling on Israel to return to the ways of wisdom; an account of a wisdom contest inserted in I Esdras at 3:1–4:41; and three highly colored parabolic tales added to the Greek version of Daniel.

The great variety comprised within the category of wisdom literature is evident. These writings have in common the theme and practice of wisdom as a distinct way of life and thought, and employ certain favorite literary forms and a characteristic vocabulary. The theme is developed with different emphases: on the one hand traditionally conservative, didactic, and worldly-wise, on the other hand radically critical and theologically innovative. The first is carried out by various methods of authoritative instruction; the second – on a more sophisticated level – by challenging accepted ideas and stimulating original thought. It will be noticed that the religious component of wisdom teaching becomes more explicit as time goes on.

Wisdom was not seen as a natural endowment, though the capacity to attain it might be considered a natural endowment. Wisdom had to be learned, and could be taught. Even so, it remained a divine gift rewarding those who desired it enough to submit to its discipline (Prov. 2). The two principle methods of teaching were *musar* (instruction, training) and *ʿeẓah* (counsel, persuasion), according to whether the teacher's authority was imposed or freely sought. A parent's instruction was mandatory and entailed correction of the disobedient (Prov. 23:13). To the extent that the teacher in a school assumed the parental role (Prov. 1:8) his words had the same dogmatic tone. In the main, however, the teacher's *musar* was an appeal to reason and conscience, and to the pupil's own desire for knowledge and understanding. This is evident in the variety of literary forms found in the wisdom writings, whose primary objective was to teach: the sentence saying or proverb; the rhetorical question; the admonitory precept or maxim and their expansion into longer discourses; soliloquy and debate; descriptive, metaphorical, and meditative poetry; parable and allegory; the imaginative tale and the illustrative anecdote.

Precepts express the imperatives of social order or religious belief; with the teacher they take the form of exhortation to which is added a statement of motive or result (cf. Prov. 19:20; 25:17). Often the imperative is implied rather than expressed (Prov. 25:27a). In Proverbs 1–9 precepts are expanded into ten longer discourses beginning "My son(s)!" In the two poems in 1:20–33 and chapter 8 wisdom itself is personified as a female; in the former she berates fools for their refusal to listen, and in the latter appeals for a hearing on grounds of her priceless worth and her prime role in the creation of the world. Behind this personification lies the reality that there is regular reference to wise women in the Bible (Judg. 4:29; II Sam. 14:2; 20:16) and that a mother might teach her son (Prov. 6:20). Some scholars view Wisdom as an ancient Hebrew goddess. Precepts predominate in 22:17ff., the section closely resembling the Instructions of Amen-em-opet.

A proverb is a short pregnant sentence or phrase whose meaning is applicable in many situations and which is made memorable by vivid imagery or witty expression, often marked by alliteration or assonance. It draws attention positively or negatively to an order of life, right values, and proportions. The prosaic folk saying is brief and pointed: "From wicked men comes wickedness" (I Sam. 24:14 [13]) or "One donning armor should not boast as if he were taking it off" (I Kings 20:11). The proverbs of two (or more) lines in a parallelism, characteristic of Solomonic proverbs in Proverbs 10:1ff. and 25:1ff., have been expanded probably for teaching purposes as cue and response. Examples of folk sayings supplemented in this way are Proverbs 11:2a; 12:11a; and 26:17a. Sayings in the form of a culminating numerical progression like Proverbs 30:18–19 are a kind of riddle, also suitable as a teaching tool.

The art of composing vivid narratives, similes, and metaphors also serves the purposes of the teacher. The word *mashal* ("likeness") has a wider connotation than "proverb." Its commonest form is the simile: "Like clouds and wind that bring no rain is a man who boasts of giving but does not give" (Prov. 25:14). When a simile is expanded into a short story, it becomes a parable. The best-known parables in the Hebrew Bible come from the prophets Nathan and Isaiah (II Sam. 12:1ff; Isa. 5:1–7); the only developed wisdom parable also is found in Isaiah, in 28:23–29. Ecclesiastes 9:13–16 is sometimes cited as a parable but strictly this is rather an illustration since in a parable the audience is expected to recognize the analogy and draw its own conclusions. Although the wisdom teachers do not use the parable, they do make effective use of teaching illustrations. In Proverbs 1:11–14 the very words of the thugs who are tempting the unwary youth are quoted, and 6:12–13 is a true-to-life description of the conspirator. In Proverbs 7:6ff. there is a graphic sketch of the prostitute's behavior and in 23:29ff. one of the drunkard's.

An allegory relates to a metaphor as a parable relates to a simile. In Ecclesiastes 12 the approach of death is pictured in terms of the onset of darkness in a village street. The metaphor of wisdom, personified as a woman (Prov. 7:4), is developed in the poems of Proverbs 1:20–33, where she speaks like a prophetess, and in chapter 8 (cf. Ecclus.), where she speaks of YHWH's co-worker in the creation of the world. In Proverbs 9 wisdom and folly are personified as rival hostesses inviting men to different kinds of banquets.

The paradigmatic narrative, which evokes admiration for a hero or heroine evincing moral qualities deserving of imitation, was another tool of the wisdom teachers. The story may be quasi-historical, as in the case of the story of Joseph in Genesis. It may be clearly fictional, as with Ruth, Daniel 1–6, Esther, and Judith. The prose folk tale which introduces the poem of Job serves the same purpose. The wisdom characteristics of the Joseph story have been pointed out by G. von Rad: a man of unusual ability, intelligence, and moral integrity is shown as triumphing over all adversities, and becoming the principal counselor at the court of Pharaoh. The story in Genesis 3 of human disobedience and expulsion from Eden also has certain wisdom features. The wondrous tree and the talking snake belong to the world of the fable, but these are only incidental. The story can be read as a parable of human alienation from God through disobedience, and illustrates graphically the subtle process of temptation. More important, it probes profound problems in the sphere of wisdom: the nature and limitations of human knowledge and the relation of knowledge to morality. Humans claim to decide for themselves what is good and what is evil, in response to desire, but in asserting their independence find themselves exiled from life and good to a world of death and evil.

See Books of *Proverbs, *Job, and *Ecclesiastes.

Wisdom Psalms

The Wisdom Psalms are those with resemblances to the characteristic themes, tone, literary forms, and vocabulary of the wisdom tradition. They appear to be the products of a new type of personal piety which developed after the Exile, when the written Torah replaced prophecy as YHWH's living voice to His people. Scribal experts in the handling and interpretation of scripture had assumed a new position of religious authority, and the wisdom, prophetic, and cultic traditions were mingled. "God" in the generalized sense of older wisdom writings was now definitely identified with YHWH, the covenant God of Israel.

Some Psalms, such as 1 and 37, are unified compositions representing this new wisdom piety. In others the sapiential features are apparent only in certain parts (e.g., 94:8–13). In still others a poem of another type has been labeled as a wisdom poem (Ps. 2:12d; 111:10). The Psalms with the best claims to be classed as Wisdom Psalms are 1, 19b, 32, 34, 37, 49, 78, 112, 119, 127, 128, and 133. Their most significant feature is that they are addressed primarily to a human audience rather than to God, and their tone is didactic or hortatory. The presence of wisdom vocabulary and stylistic forms can be observed. Psalm 37 is an alphabetical acrostic comprising a series of precepts and proverbs commending a life of piety. Psalm 49 identifies itself as a *mashal*, or wisdom utterance, concerning a riddle (*ḥidah*). Psalm 127 consists of two expanded proverbs.

The principal themes of the Wisdom Psalms are:

(1) the antithetical ways of life of the righteous and the wicked;

(2) the appropriate rewards and retribution in store for each respectively;

(3) the qualities and behavior of the righteous as evoking admiration;

(4) study of the Torah as the focus of piety and a source of pure delight;

(5) life and vitality as fruits of righteousness, which is true wisdom;

(6) personal trust in YHWH;

(7) the search for light on problems of faith;

(8) encouragement to faith and obedience through reflection on YHWH's mighty acts on behalf of His people (see also *Psalms).

The Concept of Wisdom

The concept of wisdom as developed in the long course of Israel's cultural and religious history is different from and broader than the various meanings and uses of the term *ḥokhmah* (see above). All these denote elements and aspects of one thing – the activity of mind – introducing order in place of confusion, expanding and structuring knowledge, and purposefully directing the actions of men. The continuity of the wisdom tradition lay in the constant enlargement and enrichment of this faculty of applied intelligence.

At first the noun *ḥokhmah* denoted simply the state of being wise. It was no more than a linguistic correlative of the adjective *ḥakham* ("wise") and the verb *ḥakham* ("to be wise"), the adjectival use being basic. The wise were more capable, knowledgeable, skillful, intelligent, imaginative, and resourceful than their fellows, who consequently would look to them for counsel and leadership. The sharing of knowledge made of the wise man a teacher. Confidence in his counsel imbued him with the potentiality for leadership and ultimately for government. The general orderliness observable in the natural world called for an order of values as well as a structure of power in human society, and for meaning to justify both. Stimulated by access, through literacy, to the ideas of other wise men, the counselor became a thinker, concerned with understanding and moral judgments as well as with knowledge. Worshipping a God whose commands were not arbitrary but ethically conditioned, this counsel passed beyond the defensive morality of the tribe and the prudential morality of the individual to an ethic resting on beliefs held to be sacred.

If men could be wise to some degree in this deeper sense, God axiomatically was all-wise, good, and just, despite any appearances to the contrary. The creative and providential ordering of the world were acts of divine wisdom, which is sovereign, creative, and dynamic. Thus wisdom becomes fully conceptualized when personified pictorially in Proverbs 8 as a personal instrument of God in the planning and implementation of the created order.

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[Robert B.Y. Scott]

WISE, GEORGE SCHNEIWEIS (1906–1987), sociologist; first president of *Tel Aviv University. Born in Pinsk, Poland, he went to the U.S. to study in 1926 and graduated from Columbia University in 1930. He served as associate director of its Bureau of Applied Social Research from 1949 to 1952, and lecturer on the sociology of Latin America from 1950 to 1952. For his assistance in the anti-illiteracy campaign in Mexico in 1944–46 he was decorated with the order Aguila Azteca by the Mexican government in 1946, and was visiting professor at Mexico University from 1956 to 1957. Long a supporter of The Hebrew University, he was chairman of its board of governors from 1953 to 1962. In 1963 he was elected president of the newly established Tel Aviv University, which developed rapidly during his tenure of office. In 1971 he became its chancellor. Apart from wide business interests, he took part in Jewish public activities in the United Jewish Appeal and other bodies. He is author of *The Breakdown of Parental Authority in Polish Immigrant Families in the United States* (1931), *Caudillo* (1951), a study of Latin American dictatorship, and *Mexico de Aleman* (1952).

WISE, ISAAC MAYER (1819–1900) U.S. Reform rabbi, architect of Reform Judaism in America. Wise was born in Steingrub, Bohemia, and studied at yeshivot in Prague and Vienna. In 1843, he became the rabbinical officiant (Religionsweiser) in Radnitz, Bohemia. Disillusioned about career prospects for Jews in central Europe, he emigrated to the United States in 1846. He became rabbi of Congregation Beth El in Albany, N.Y., introducing reforms such as mixed seating, choral singing, and confirmation. In 1847, he joined a **bet din* in New York, presided over by Max *Lilienthal, and conceived the idea of its authorizing a single ritual for the American Jewish community. The attempt proved abortive; but in 1848, he issued a call for a meeting the following year to establish a union of congregations. Again the attempt failed, but Wise persisted in advocating the idea. Meanwhile, he was earning a reputation as a writer, contributing regularly to Isaac *Leeser's *Occident* and the New York Jewish weekly, *Asmonean*. In 1850, as Wise pondered accepting the position of rabbi of Congregation Beth Elohim in Charleston, South Carolina, disagreements among the members of Beth El over Wise's reforms caused a split in the congregation that erupted into an actual melee at Rosh Hashanah services; Wise and his followers left to form a new congregation, Anshe Emeth, the first synagogue in the United States to be established with mixed seating from the outset.

In 1854, Wise became rabbi of Congregation B'nai Jeshurun in Cincinnati, Ohio, where he remained for the rest of his life. Within a few months of his arrival, he began to publish a national weekly, *The Israelite*, later renamed the **American Israelite*, and a German supplement *Die Deborah*. By the end of the year, he had founded Zion College, which combined Hebrew and secular studies. In 1855, he issued a call for a synod that would be the guiding authority of American Judaism, and succeeded in organizing a rabbinical conference, which met that year in Cleveland. The conference agreed to call a synod and adopted a platform that recognized the Bible as divine and declared that it "must be expounded and practiced according to the comments of the Talmud." The Orthodox, as represented by Isaac *Leeser, were at first satisfied, but soon grew suspicious of Wise's intentions. Moreover, the Cleveland Platform was scathingly attacked as treachery to the cause of Reform by David *Einhorn, a radical Reformer from Germany who had just become a rabbi in Baltimore. The plan for a synod collapsed.

Wise nevertheless went ahead with some of the projects discussed at Cleveland. In 1856, he published *Minhag America*, a prayer book that modified traditional Hebrew ritual. Despite repeated setbacks, Wise always returned to his advocacy of a union of congregations, a common prayer book, and a college to train American rabbis. He expounded his ideas not only in his writing but in repeated visits to the scattered Jewish communities of America. The recriminations over the Cleveland Conference, and then the Civil War, deferred practical action. The establishment of the *Board of Delegates of American Israelites (1859) and Maimonides College (1867) by traditionalist forces aroused his sarcastic hostility.

Wise showed no sympathy for the Abolitionist agitation which preceded the Civil War. He venerated the American Union and was prepared to tolerate slavery rather than contemplate its dissolution. During the Civil War, he joined the "Copperhead" Democrats and even accepted their nomination to be a candidate for the Ohio State Senate, until his congregation forced him to withdraw from the race. After the Civil War, Wise renewed his push for a union of congregations. He attended the 1869 rabbinical conference in Philadelphia organized by Einhorn (see *Reform Judaism), but distanced himself from its resolutions, fearing that their radical standpoint would put an end to the dream of a comprehensive union of American synagogues under his leadership.

The next few years were punctuated by fierce exchanges between Wise and the more Germanic and radical Reform eastern rabbis – who refused to attend rabbinic conferences organized by Wise in Cleveland, Cincinnati, and New York. In 1873, lay leaders in Cincinnati closely associated with Wise succeeded in forming the *Union of American Hebrew Congregations, a loose confederation of congregations primarily from the South and West. Wise was particularly focused on one of the UAHC's objectives – the establishment of a rabbinical college. In 1875, he was appointed the first president of *Hebrew Union College. The famous *treife* banquet served on the occasion of the first ordination of HUC rabbis ended all hope for a unified American Judaism. The observant stormed out and, for a time, there was only Reform Judaism and everybody else. (More than 125 years later, at the inauguration of David Ellenson as president of HUC, a kosher meal was served, a mark of significant transition within Reform Judaism.)

For the remainder of his life, Wise labored in the interests of the college. He was devoted to his students, earning their affection in return. He ordained more than 60 rabbis and continued to lead them as the founding president of the *Central Conference of American Rabbis, a position he held from 1889 until his death. During his lifetime, when it came to key developments in the shaping of the Reform movement's ideology, Wise was relegated to a secondary position: the Pittsburgh Platform of 1885 (see *Reform Judaism) was the work of Kaufmann Kohler, and the Union Prayer Book was based on Einhorn's *Tamid* rather than Wise's *Minhag America*. On another front, the influx of a large community of eastern European Jews thwarted his prediction that Orthodoxy would not survive on American soil; with that reality, Wise's vision of a singular American Judaism was doomed, and the basic pattern of denominational Judaism established. But Wise's foresightedness and tenacity in laying its three institutional cornerstones earned him the title "founding father" of the indigenous Reform movement in America – and insured that his legacy, rather than the short-lived victories of his radical Reform rivals, would ultimately prevail. (His strident opposition to political Zionism also influenced the Reform movement for nearly half-a-century; eventually, however, Reform Judaism joined the Zionist fold.)

Although known more as a leader than a scholar, Wise did write a number of books: *History of the Israelitish Nation* (1854), *Minhag America* (1856), *Minhag America* (1866), *The World of My Books* (n.d.), *Selected Writings of Isaac M. Wise, with a Biography* (ed. Philipson and Grossman, 1900, rev. 1969), and *Reminiscences* (ed. David Philipson, 1901, rev. 1945).

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[Bezalel Gordon (2nd ed.)]

WISE, JONAH BONDI (1881–1959), U.S. Reform rabbi. Son of Isaac Mayer *Wise, he was ordained by Hebrew Union College in 1903. In 1904 he was appointed to Mizpah Temple, Chattanooga, Tennessee, and in 1906 to Temple Israel, Portland, Oregon. While in Portland he established a weekly Jewish newspaper, *The Scribe*. In 1925 Wise moved to New York and there served as rabbi of the Central Synagogue until his death. Within his congregation he did not depart from the classical pattern of Reform Judaism; family connections and an aptitude for social life helped to establish his position. In 1934 he established the weekly radio program "Message of Israel." He was an active worker for the *American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee, serving as national chairman 1931–38. He visited Europe several times on its behalf and represented it at the Evian Conference on Refugees, 1938. In the following year he became national chairman of the United Jewish Appeal, though he rejected Zionism.

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[Sefton D. Temkin]

WISE, LOUIS ELSBERG (1888–?), U.S. organic chemist. Born in New York, Wise was appointed in 1919 professor of forest chemistry at New York State University (Syracuse). In 1933 he became professor of organic chemistry at Rollins College, and from 1941 was at the Institute of Paper Chemistry at Lawrence College, Wisconsin. His contributions were mostly on the chemistry of wood.

WISE, ROBERT EARL (1914–2005), U.S. film producer and director. Born in Winchester, Indiana, Wise worked at RKO studios from 1933 to 1943, and edited Orson Welles' classic, *Citizen Kane* (Oscar nomination for Best Editing, 1941). He was made a director in 1943 and became one of Hollywood's most successful filmmakers. He won four Academy Awards – as director and producer of *West Side Story* (1961), and co-director and producer of *The Sound of Music* (1965), one of the most profitable films ever made. In all, he directed more than 40 films. Among them are *The Body Snatcher* (1945); *The Set-Up* (1949); *The Day the Earth Stood Still* (1951); *Executive Suite* (1954); *Somebody Up There Likes Me* (1956); *Until They Sail* (1957); *I Want to Live* (Oscar nomination for Best Director, 1958); *Run Silent, Run Deep* (1958); *Two for the Seesaw* (1962); *The Haunting* (produced, 1963); *The Sand Pebbles* (produced, Oscar nomination for Best Picture, 1966); *Star* (1968); *The Andromeda Strain* (produced, 1971); *Two People* (produced, 1973); *The Hindenburg* (produced, 1975); *Audrey Rose* (1977); *Star Trek – The Motion Picture* (1979); *Rooftops* (1989); and the TV movie *A Storm in Summer* (2000).

Among his many honors and awards, Wise received the Irving G. Thalberg Memorial Award in 1967 for his contribution to the industry as a creative producer, and the American Film Institute Life Achievement Award in 1998. Wise served as president of the Directors Guild of America from 1971 to 1975, and as president of the Academy of Motion Picture Arts and Sciences from 1985 to 1988. He was active in the civil rights movement in Hollywood.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: S. Leeman, *Robert Wise on His Films: From Editing Room to Director's Chair* (1995); F. Thompson, *Robert Wise: A Bio-Bibliography* (1995).

[Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

WISE, STEPHEN SAMUEL (1874–1949), U.S. rabbi and Zionist leader. Born in Budapest, Hungary, Wise was taken to the United States at the age of 17 months. From childhood he was determined to become a rabbi like his father, Rabbi Aaron Wise, who, together with Alexander *Kohut and Gustav *Gottheil, rabbi at Temple Emanu-El, helped to prepare him for the rabbinate. He was graduated with honors from Columbia University at the age of 18. Ordained in 1893 by Adolph *Jellinek of Vienna, he became assistant rabbi of New York City's Congregation B'nai Jeshurun, and assumed full responsibility after the death of Rabbi Henry S. Jacobs.

In 1900, shortly before marrying Louise Waterman, Wise became rabbi of Temple Beth Israel in Portland, Oregon, where for the next six years he pioneered in interfaith cooperation, social service, and civic leadership. His sermons are collected in *Beth Israel Pulpit: Sermons* (2 vols., (1905–06). He also served as unpaid commissioner of child labor for Oregon.

In 1902 Wise received his Ph.D. degree from Columbia University for his translation and editing of Solomon ibn Gabirol's *Improvement of the Moral Qualities*. For the Jewish Publication Society he translated the Book of Judges for their English version of the Bible, submitting his work in 1908.

Wise had begun his Zionist career during the late 1890s, helping to articulate the movement's ideology and organize its followers. A founder of the New York Federation of Zionist Societies in 1897, he led in the formation of the nationwide Federation of American Zionists in 1898 and served as honorary secretary until 1904, in close cooperation with Theodor Herzl. He had met Herzl at the Second Zionist Congress in Basle in 1898 and at that time agreed to serve as American secretary of the world Zionist movement. In 1914 he was instrumental in creating the Provisional Executive Committee for General Zionist Affairs and later headed it.

He acted as an important intermediary to President Woodrow *Wilson and Colonel Edward House in 1916–19, when, with Louis D. *Brandeis and Felix *Frankfurter, he helped formulate the text of the Balfour Declaration of 1917. He spoke on behalf of Zionist aspirations in Palestine at the Versailles Peace Conference of 1918–19, where he also pleaded for the cause of the Armenian people. He was vice president of the Zionist Organization of America from 1918 to 1920 and president from 1936 to 1938. On several occasions he served as chairman of the United Palestine Appeal. Though he worked closely with Chaim *Weizmann, David *Ben-Gurion, and Abba Hillel *Silver, he often disagreed with them on specific policies and broke relations with Weizmann in the 1920s and with Silver in the 1940s. His views at times conflicted with those of the Zionist organizations as well. Yet Wise always sought unity for the movement, which did not at that time have the backing of a united Jewry or the sympathy of the non-Jewish community. His *Great Betrayal* (1930), written with Jacob De Haas, reviews the history of British policy toward Palestine up to the Passfield White Paper in 1930.

To direct American Jews into pro-Zionist channels, lead them to more liberal objectives in the United States, and create a more democratic base in American Jewish life, Wise led in the organization of the American Jewish Congress, first on a provisional basis in 1916–19, then more permanently in 1920; he served as vice president in 1921–25 and as president or honorary president until his death. It was regarded as an alternative to the more established and more quiescent American Jewish Committee, which was dominated by the German-Jewish establishment that had been in the United States for a generation or more. The American Jewish Congress was more activist and more public in its protests.

Wise sounded the first warnings of the dangers of Nazism to the Jewish and non-Jewish world and sought to organize opposition to it and protection for the victims of Hitler. He organized a movement to boycott German goods in 1933, seeing it as appropriate public protest, against the advice of some German Jews in Germany who urged caution and that American Jews not to be provocative. In 1936 he organized the World Jewish Congress and headed it until his death in 1949. As a Zionist leader, president of the American and World Jewish Congresses, and co-chairman of the *American Jewish Conference, he presented the Jewish cause to President Franklin D. Roosevelt and the U.S. State Department, as well as to the general public, Jewish and non-Jewish. He was the recipient of the all important telegram from Gerhart Riegner that was sent to him in August 1942 via the State Department but never delivered to him. He received it from a second source, Samuel Silverman, a member of the British Parliament, It said:

> That there has been and is being considered in Hitler's headquarters a plan to exterminate all Jews from Germany and German controlled areas in Europe after they have been concentrated in the east. The number involved is said to be between three and a half and four million and the object to permanently settle the Jewish question in Europe.

The telegram spoke explicitly of Zyklon B. It should be noted that the telegram that Wise received, important as it was, was already long out of date. The Final Solution was already operative policy of Germany in all occupied territories. At Wannsee, the list was of 11 million Jews and the death camps of Belzec, Sobibor, and Treblinka were fully operative, the deportation of the Jews of Warsaw had began more than a month before.

Wise took this information to the State Department, which informed him that they already knew of it but could not confirm it; they requested that he not go public with the information until it could be confirmed. In November they confirmed this information to him and Wise did go public, but the State Department did not confirm it to the press, so Wise's release of this information was unofficial, from a Jewish rather than a governmental source.

Wise led the one meeting that the Jews had with President Roosevelt in 1943, which lasted some half an hour. It began with some banter between the president and Wise, and then a prayer was recited. Wise presented the president with a briefing paper, and the president indicated that he knew what was happening. He asked for concrete suggestions and there were few. The president then spoke for almost all the remaining time and, at the end of the allotted time, the meeting was interrupted by staff and concluded.

History has not been kind to Wise, who tried to lead a divided American Jewish community during the most perilous time in Jewish history. He was known in his day as an activist who had been protesting Nazism at its inception and led Stop Hitler Now rallies in 1943 and onward. Yet he is regarded by the younger generation as a symbol of ineffective and timid Jewish leadership, just when boldness and brilliance were required. He is regarded as too close to President Roosevelt and reluctant to criticize him for fear of wounding him politically. Some, but not all, of the criticism is unfair, as many who write judge him by the power and influence of the Jewish community in the last third of the 20th century and not by the reality of his time.

Beyond his public role lay the commitment to his vocation as a rabbi. Wise first sprang into national prominence in 1906 when, after preaching trial sermons at Congregation Emanu-El in New York City, he rejected overtures to serve as rabbi because his demand for a "free pulpit," not subject to control by a board of trustees, was refused. His famous "Open Letter to the Members of Temple Emanu-El of New York on the Freedom of the Jewish Pulpit" is reprinted in his autobiography, *Challenging Years* (1949, pp. 86–94), with a discussion of Louis Marshall's denial that the congregation had called Wise to its pulpit (cf. *Louis Marshall, Champion of Liberty: Selected Papers and Addresses*, vol. 2, 1957, note pp. 831–7). A year later he returned from Oregon to New York and founded the Free Synagogue, based on freedom of pulpit, free pews to all without fixed dues, outspoken criticism of social ills, the application of religion to their solution, and an extensive program of social welfare. His sermons are collected in *Free Synagogue Pulpit: Sermons and Addresses* (10 vols., 1908–32).

In 1922 he launched the Jewish Institute of Religion (JIR), a new kind of seminary which provided training of rabbis from all branches of Judaism, education of Jewish scholars, and preparation of leaders for community service. He served as president until 1948, when JIR merged with *Hebrew Union College in Cincinnati, Ohio, and Nelson *Glueck assumed the presidency.

A social liberal, Wise was co-founder of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in 1909 and the American Civil Liberties Union in 1920. He pleaded for clemency and justice on behalf of Sacco and Vanzetti in 1927. He was also active in organizations such as the Child Labor Committee, the Old Age Pension League, the Religion and Labor Foundation, and the League to Enforce Peace. Also, he battled for the rights of workers to organize, and championed the strike against the U.S. Steel Corporation in 1919 and the Passaic textile union strike in 1926. He actively campaigned for Woodrow Wilson in 1912 and 1916, and later supported the candidacies of Alfred E. Smith, Norman Thomas, and (from 1936 on) Franklin D. Roosevelt. With John Haynes Holmes, he headed the City Affairs Committee which exposed corruption in New York City and finally succeeded in forcing the resignation of Mayor James J. Walker in 1932.

Like his Christian counterparts and friends, Walter Rauschenbusch, Josiah Strong, and Washington Gladde, Wise was a forthright, forceful, and influential preacher of social concerns. His opinions and attitudes are expressed in his *Child Versus Parent* (1922); *As I See It* (1944), a collection of his articles for the journal *Opinion*, which he edited from 1936 to 1949; *Personal Letters of Stephen S. Wise* (1956, ed. by J.W. Polier and J.W. Wise); *Stephen S. Wise: Servant of the People – Selected Letters* (1969, ed. by CH Voss). The complete collection of Wise's papers, donated by his daughter Justine to Brandeis University, have been fully catalogued by the American Jewish Historical Society.

[Carl Hermann Voss]

His wife, LOUISE WATERMAN WISE (d. 1947), was a communal worker, artist, and translator. In her youth she came under the influence of Felix *Adler, founder of the Ethical Culture movement, and was imbued by him with a passion for social justice. During her husband's rabbinate in Portland, Oregon, she founded that city's Visiting Nurse Association. In New York she established, in 1914, the Free Synagogue's Child Adoption Committee. She presided over this first Jewish agency of its kind, and by the time of her death, when it was taken over by New York's Federation of Philanthropies, more than 3,500 Jewish children had been placed in private homes. In 1933 she organized and became the first president of the Women's Division of the American Jewish Congress. As refugees from Germany began to come in greater numbers, she established Congress Houses which provided temporary homes for thousands of refugees. Mrs. Wise's translations of Aimé Pallière's *Unknown Sanctuary* and Edmond Fleg's *Why I Am a Jew, My Palestine*, and *The Land of Promise* helped to popularize these works for English readers. Her paintings of portraits, landscapes, and moving representations of persecuted Jews were widely exhibited. Their son JAMES WATERMAN WISE (1901–1983) held various positions as an organization executive, including director of the Stuyvesant Neighborhood House in New York City, and national secretary of Avukah, the U.S. students' Zionist Federation which he helped to found in 1925. He was editor of *Opinion*, a special correspondent for New York dailies, and a popular radio commentator. His published works include *Liberalizing Liberal Judaism* (1924); *Jews Are Like That* (under the pseudonym Analyticus, 1928); *Legend of Louise*, a brief biography of his mother (1949); and *A Jew Revisits Germany* (1950). In the early 1950s he moved to Geneva where, as an art connoisseur, he engaged in the purchase of paintings for private collectors and museums in the U.S.

[Morton Mayer Berman]

Rabbi Wise's daughter, JUSTINE WISE POLIER (1903–1987), attorney and jurist, was born in Portland, Oregon. Admitted to the New York bar in 1928, she subsequently became the first woman referee in the Workmen's Compensation Division of the New York State Department of Labor (1929–34). She subsequently served as a justice in the Domestic Relations Court of New York City from 1935 to 1962. Justine Polier served as a special adviser to Eleanor Roosevelt in the Office of Civilian Defense in 1941 and 1942. From 1962 on she was a judge in the New York State Family Court.

Her Jewish and civic activities included service as president of Louise Wise Services (from 1941), the Wiltwyck School for Boys (from 1960), and the national women's division of the American Jewish Congress (1948–1956); chairman of the national executive committee of the women's division of the American Jewish Congress (1956–1960); member of the executive of the World Jewish Congress (from 1956); member of the White House Planning Conference on Civil Rights (1965); and as New York delegate to the White House Conference on Children (1960). Among her works on child welfare, psychiatry, and the law are *Everyone's Children, Nobody's Child* (1941); *Back to What Woodshed?* (1956); *View from the Bench: the Juvenile Court* (1964); and *The Rule of Law and the Role of Psychiatry* (1968).

[Carl Hermann Voss]

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WISEMAN, ADELE (1928–1992), Canadian author. Wiseman was born and raised in Winnipeg, Manitoba. Her parents had emigrated from the Ukraine in 1923 and spent two years in Montreal before settling in Winnipeg's North End, a vibrant enclave of Jewish, German, Ukrainian, and Slavic immigrants. Wiseman earned a B.A. in English and psychology from the University of Manitoba in 1949. Following graduation, she lived in London, Rome, and New York, where she wrote and worked at a number of jobs. From 1964 to 1969 Wiseman lived in Montreal, where she taught English at Sir George Williams (now Concordia) University and Macdonald College of McGill University. She was later writer-in-residence at several Canadian universities and head of the May Studios (Writing Program) at Banff Centre for the Arts. She married the marine biologist Dmitry Stone in 1969 (from whom she was later divorced) and had one daughter.

Wiseman published two novels, *The Sacrifice*, which won the Governor General's Literary Award for Fiction in 1956, and *Crackpot* (1974). Both novels employ biblical metaphors, are set in (the unnamed city of) Winnipeg, and explore the lives of Jewish immigrants who settle on the Canadian Prairies. *The Sacrifice* is the tragic story of a butcher who murders a local temptress. The biblical story of Abraham and Isaac resonates throughout Wiseman's narrative. Her own Abraham – once proud and certain – is transplanted from the Old to the New World, where he loses his third son and his precarious hold on life in a novel that charts the demise of a patriarch. *Crackpot* shifts from the tragic to comic mode and experiments with narrative form and perspective. The work celebrates the resilience of Hoda, an obese Jewish prostitute whose life, like Abraham's, is shattered by moral and spiritual challenges.

Wiseman also wrote two plays (*The Lovebound*, ca. 1960; *Testimonial Dinner*, 1978); two books for children (*Kenji and the Cricket*, 1988; *Puccini and the Prowlers*, 1992); and three works of nonfiction (*Old Markets, New World*, 1964; *Old Woman at Play*, 1978; *Memoirs of a Book Molesting Childhood and Other Essays*, 1987). The short story "Goon of the Moon and the Expendables" appeared in *Malahat Review* (vol. 98 (1992), 5–44). Her correspondence with a fellow writer and friend is available in *Selected Letters of Margaret Laurence and Adele Wiseman* (1997).

[Ruth Panofsky (2nd ed.)]

WISEMAN, FREDERICK (1930–), U.S. producer, director, and writer. Born in Boston, Massachusetts, Wiseman graduated from Williams College in 1951 and from Yale Law School in 1953. After serving as a graduate fellow for one year at Harvard, he was drafted into the army, serving from 1954 to 1956. After working briefly as an assistant to the Massachusetts' attorney general, Wiseman went to Paris, where he studied experimental filmmaking from 1956 to 1958. After he returned to the United States, he taught at Boston University's Institute of Law and Medicine from 1958 to 1961 and served as a research associate at Brandeis University from 1962 to 1966. In 1964, he bought the rights to Warren Miller's 1963 novel *The Cool World* and produced a film version directed by Shirley Clarke. He directed his first film in 1966, *Titicut Follies*, a stark documentary about the conditions at the Massachusetts Correctional Institution at Bridgewater. While his films feature no commentary and no music, Wiseman acknowledges that his fly-on-the-wall films are edited in a way that conveys his point of view. After *Titicut Follies*, Wiseman made *High School* (1968), an examination of the experiences of middle-class students in a Philadelphia high school. In 1968, he contributed to the screenplay for *The Thomas Crown Affair*, but was never credited for his work. Wiseman followed up his documentary films with *Law and Order* (1969) and *Hospital* (1970), an emergency room expose that earned Wiseman a best documentary Emmy. In 1970, he established Zipporah Films, a distribution company named for his wife. From 1971 to 1981, Wiseman had contracts with PBS to shoot one film per year with no limits on time or subject, to be shown first on New York's WNET. His studies included *Basic Training* (1971); *Juvenile Court* (1973); *Welfare* (1975); *Meat* (1976); and *Sinai Field Mission* (1978), which featured American soldiers on a peacekeeping mission in the Sinai Desert; and *Manouevre* (1979). In 1980, Wiseman made the fictional film, *Seraphita's Diary*. He continued his documentary filmmaking with such films as *Racetrack* (1985), *Deaf* (1986), *Blind* (1987), *Zoo* (1993), and *High School II* (1994), a return to topics introduced in 1968. His *La Comédie-Française ou L'amour Joué* (1996) was another departure for Wiseman, focusing positive attention on an institution. Wiseman continued to direct documentaries and dramas, most notably the Holocaust drama *The Last Letter* (2002), but also branched out into theater direction. In 2004, Wiseman wrote and directed *The Last Letter*, an off-Broadway show based on Vasily Grossman's 1960 novel *Life and Fate*.

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[Adam Wills (2nd ed.)]

WISEMAN, SHLOIME (1899–1985), Canadian teacher, Yiddish and Hebrew translator, and critic. Wiseman emigrated to

Montreal from Dinovitz, Podolia, in 1913. He was the son of the teacher Shmuel Wiseman, who was a *maskil*, a Bible specialist, and a Hebraist. Shloime, following in his father's footsteps, earned both a B.A. (1920) and M.A. (1923) in pedagogy from McGill University in Montreal even as he was beginning his career as a teacher in the city's Yidishe Folk Shule, a leftist afternoon school created in 1914. A gifted teacher, in 1920 he was offered the directorship of the institution. He held that position until his retirement in 1969. He also served as lecturer in Hebrew at Sir George Williams University (1953–55) and was the first principal of Montreal's Jewish Teachers' Seminary (1952).

In addition to teaching, Wiseman immersed himself in Montreal's Yiddish-speaking community and its cultural life. As a young teacher he also began writing for the Montreal Yiddish press about pedagogy and the responsibilities of teachers in the maintenance and dissemination of Jewish culture. His first serious text appeared in 1916 and he continued to submit articles in Yiddish, Hebrew, and English to Canadian Jewish newspapers and specialized American periodicals. But Wiseman did not limit himself to articles about pedagogy. He also wrote about literature and philosophy. In 1931, he published a three-volume literary anthology for Yiddish schools entitled *Dos Vort*. In 1955, working in collaboration with Mordecai Husid, he published a collection of poems written by the late J.J. *Segal under the title of *Letste Lider.* Wiseman demonstrated his skill as a Hebrew literary critic and translator in 1956 when he assembled, translated, and published a selected anthology of 28 American short-story writers entitled *Mesapperim Amerikayim*. In 1976 Wiseman also published a Hebrew translation of the work of the ancient Greek philosopher Epictetus.

[Pierre Anctil (2nd ed.)]

WISLICA (Pol. **Wiślica**), village in Kielce province, central Poland; town in Sandomierz province in the kingdom of Poland until 1795. Jews settled in Wislica at the beginning of the 16th century. In 1542, after the townsmen obtained a royal privilege (*de non tolerandis Judaeis*) excluding Jews from Wislica, the Jews settled in the suburbs outside the town wall. During the war with Sweden (1656), 50 Jewish families were massacred by Stefan *Czarniecki's soldiers. At the end of the 17th century, Jews settled again in Wislica. An organized community was established at the beginning of the 18th century. A synagogue was then built in the outskirts of the town and a cemetery opened. In 1765, 184 Jews living in the suburbs and 72 in the surrounding villages paid the poll tax. In 1815 Wislica was included within Congress Poland. Until 1862, as Wislica was situated near the Austrian border, the settlement of Jews there was restricted. In 1827 there were 785 Jews living in Wislica (47.1% of the total population). Their number increased to 1,370 in 1857 (69%). Their main occupations were commerce on a small scale, crafts, and transportation. In 1921 there were 1,341 Jews living in Wislica (63%).

Holocaust Period

On the outbreak of World War II there were about 1,500 Jews in Wislica. The community was liquidated on Oct. 3, 1942, when 3,000 Jews from Wislica and its vicinity were deported to *Jedrzejow and from there to the *Treblinka death camp. The community was not reconstituted after the war.

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°**WISLICENY, DIETER** (1911–1948), German *SS officer. Originally a journalist, he joined the SS in 1934 and also the SD, where he served in its headquarters in Berlin (see *Gestapo). In 1936 he was appointed head of its Jewish subsection (II 112), but was transferred in 1937 to the SD in Danzig. *Eichmann, who had been one of his subordinates in II 112, got him attached in 1940 to the RSHA's Jewish section (IV D4). Wisliceny was sent to Slovakia as "adviser" for Jewish affairs in the German legation. Slovakia was an ally of Germany and quite responsive to it. He supervised the introduction of the anti-Jewish legislation in Slovakia. In the spring of 1942 he organized the deportation of 55,000 Slovak Jews to Poland. When deportations were stopped, inter alia by the intervention of the Church and some say even the government, Wisliceny started negotiations on the *Europa Plan with the "Working Group" (see Gisi *Fleischmann and Michael *Weissmandel), which believed that it had come upon a formula for saving the Jews by ransom. An initial sum was given Wisliceny, who reported it to his superiors; more was promised but could not be delivered. But the initial acceptance spurred the Working Group into activity to obtain the money and offer it to Nazi officials. In March 1943 Eichmann sent him to *Salonika to deport the Jewish community. Wisliceny carried out his task in two months, utterly destroying the Jewish community and sending it to Auschwitz. He stayed in Greece until the end of 1943, when he returned to Slovakia. From March 19, 1944, he served on the staff of Eichmann's special commando in Hungary. He organized the mass deportations of 437,402 Jews on 147 trains within 56 days. Once again Jewish leaders tried to approach him in an effort to save the Jewish community. He was the liaison in the negotiations with the Relief and Rescue Committee of Budapest in the so-called Blood for Goods exchange. In December 1944 Eichmann had become suspicious of him, and arranged his transfer to the section of the Gestapo dealing with Slovak affairs. At the end of the war Wisliceny surrendered to the Americans and served as an inexhaustible source of evidence. After having been both a prosecution and defense witness at the International Military Tribunal in Nuremberg, he was extradited to Czechoslovakia. After a prolonged trial in Bratislava he was condemned to death and hanged (1948). During his incarceration he wrote important affidavits regarding the Final Solution, his boss Adolf Eichmann, the Mufti of Jerusalem, and the proposed Blood for Goods exchange.

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[Yehuda Reshef / Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

°**WIŚNIOWIECKI, JEREMI** (1612–1651), a Polonized Russian prince, one of the most powerful magnates of Poland-Lithuania in the 17th century. Wiśniowiecki owned enormous estates in the Ukraine on the Dnieper River which were exposed to Cossack and Tatar invasions. The Jews who settled there were murdered during the Cossack riots. Wiśniowiecki had a private army of about 3,000 soldiers. He was a gifted military commander and was successful in many battles against the Cossacks and Tatars, especially in the years 1648–51. Wiśniowiecki also defended the Jews living on his estates against the Cossack units under *Chmielnicki. Nathan Nata *Hannover, author of the chronicle *Yeven Meẓulah*, written in the 17th century, glorified Wiśniowiecki. He wrote that the latter was the mainstay in the fight against the Cossacks, the cruel enemy of the Jews.

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[Jacob Goldberg]

WISSE, RUTH R. (1936–), scholar of Yiddish literature. A naturalized U.S. citizen born in Cernauti, Romania, Wisse received her undergraduate degree from McGill University in 1957 and her doctorate in 1969. She was assistant professor of Jewish literature at McGill from 1968 to 1971 and was a senior lecturer at Tel Aviv University and The Hebrew University of Jerusalem from 1971 to 1973. She returned to McGill as associate professor in 1975 and was appointed professor in 1978 and chairperson of the Department of Jewish Studies in 1986. She joined Harvard University in 1993, serving as director of the Center for Jewish Studies until 1996, when she was named Martin Peretz professor of Yiddish literature.

Wisse is considered a leader in the revival of interest in Yiddish literature and in the study of the Yiddish language. Her critically acclaimed work *The Modern Jewish Canon: A Journey through Literature and Culture* (2000), an overview of what she defines as the notable Jewish literary works of modern times, has been said to define the modern Jewish experience through the Jewish literature of the 20th century. Her literary defense of the State of Israel, *If I Am Not for Myself –: The Liberal Betrayal of the Jews* (1992), generated a divided critique. Here Wisse contends that liberalism, which would seem to offer promise for modern Jews, has instead fostered an environment that has allowed a propaganda campaign against the Israeli cause. Criticized for an oversimplification of the Arab-Israeli conflict and for using revelations about her personal life in what was termed a political diatribe, the book nevertheless was considered a compelling argument by some reviewers.

Wisse's academic reputation rests on her edited collections of Jewish literature and her literary criticism. In addition to *The Modern Jewish Canon,* her works include *The Schlemiel as Modern Hero* (1970), *A Little Love in Big Manhattan* (1988), and *I.L. Peretz and the Making of Modern Jewish Culture* (1991). She served as editor of *A Shtetl and Other Yiddish Novellas* (1972) and *The I.L. Peretz Reader* (1990), and as co-editor, with Irving Howe and Chone Shmeruk, of *The Penguin Book of Modern Yiddish Verse* (1987).

She is also prominent politically, advocating strong support for Israel and combating what she perceives to be a surge in antisemitism at the turn of the 21st century. It was Wisse, among others, whom literary critic Leon Wieseltier had in mind when he described the "ethnic panic" among American Jews. She opposed a chair in Holocaust studies at Harvard. "It's a strange idea," she said, "You don't have a chair in modern Jewish history, but you have one on the destruction of the Jewish people." She was a member of the search committee, which rejected all candidates for the position; the chair remained unfilled and the money was returned to the donor.

A fellow of the American Academy for Jewish Research, Wisse is the recipient of numerous awards and honors, including the J.I. Segal Award for Literature in 1971 and 1989, the Torch of Learning Award from The Hebrew University in 1993, and the Jewish Cultural Achievement Award from the National Foundation for Jewish Culture in 2001.

[Dorothy Bauhoff (2nd ed.)]

WISSENSCHAFT DES JUDENTUMS (Ger.; "Science of Judaism"; in Hebrew *Ḥokhmat Yisrael*).

Origin and Definition

The term "Wissenschaft des Judentums" first made its appearance among young Jewish intellectuals during the 1810s and 1820s. Its principal objective, as it was then defined in the *Zeitschrift fuer die Wissenschaft des Judentums* (1822), was the study of Judaism by subjecting it to criticism and modern methods of research. It was emphasized that research must encompass Judaism in its most comprehensive sense: its cultural heritage, the totality of conditions under which it existed and faced its destiny, "the knowledge of Judaism through its literary and historical documentation, and… a statistical knowledge of Judaism in relation to the Jews of our time in all the countries of the world" (*ibid.* pp. 1, 18). The use of the term "science" sought to exclude an approach devoid of criticism of tradition and presupposed principles and beliefs to be proved *a posteriori* by debate or casuistry.

The desire for a scientific knowledge of Judaism gave rise to research at first in Germany (during the early 1820s) within a limited circle of young Jews, the second generation of the Berlin Haskalah. Later it became the legacy of all the important Jewish communities and one of Judaism's outstanding manifestations in modern times. With the development of the Science of Judaism, its ramification into many spheres and subjects (Bible criticism, Talmud, Jewish literature of all periods, history and archaeology, religious philosophy, and the like), "Science of Judaism" came to signify the totality of studies concerning the Jewish people and of Judaism. In several countries these studies came to be referred to by such terms as "Judaistica," "Judaica," and "Jewish Studies."

Motives, Determining Factors, Generations

The desire for a scientific knowledge of Judaism was not solely theoretical, but was essentially a public trend, a response to the demands which had emerged as a result of the changes in the conceptions, the world outlook, and the Jewish feeling of most of the intellectuals of the younger generation. It was connected with the Jewish awakening among the younger generation and which one of its contemporaries (Lazar *Riesser) described as the return to their people of "unruly sons and carefree daughters" who had previously "trodden upon all that was designated as Jewish." This awakening was also a reaction to the violent anti-Jewish propaganda which was conducted in German literature by the German student movements and to the *Hep! Hep! pogroms which deeply affected the second-generation *maskilim*; this awakening was also connected with the improvement of their intellectual standards and in a deepening of their philosophical views. The best among them were attached to the cultural heritage of Judaism and did not reconcile themselves to its abrogation and disappearance within German society. They were aware of the fact that in Germany modern Hebrew literature was being led "to the grave" (Zunz) because of the voluntary integration of the Jews within German culture and language. The indifference of the younger generation to Judaism and their estrangement from the heritage of generations, accompanied by contempt for Judaism, its values, and its honor, not only endangered Judaism but also struck a severe blow at the image of the modern Jew: one who despised his past and was ashamed of it, was regarded as a wretched and deficient human figure by the intellectual and moral leaders of the time.

All the *maskilim*, and those who had been aroused to work in favor of their people, shared a renewed feeling of Jewish identity and a desire to introduce widespread reforms into the "house," to which they were returning, in which they wished to remain, and within which they intended to work; by nature these reforms were widespread and touched upon beliefs and views, ways of life and the structure of society, education, and culture, and schools and synagogues. The "House of Israel" was to be presented, both internally and externally, in all its cultural values and historical splendor. They believed that civic equality of the Jew, which was not accompanied by the recognition of the cultural value of his Judaism, was of little importance. This feeling of Jewishness had permeated into considerably wide circles of that generation. This called for a spiritual self-determination equivalent to a recognition of Judaism as a subject of scientific investigation. Serious research would also serve as a solid basis in the struggle for the survival of the Jewish community and would lead to the complete adaptation of Jewish life within state and society. That life would thus benefit from a new and more spiritual image of Judaism, of which it stood so much in need.

From the beginning "Science of Judaism" was thus marked by three elements: self-consciousness, propaganda for internal consumption, and the pleading of its cause before the outside world. These three factors were in evidence throughout, though not to an equal extent or in the same form. As the development of Jewish education and culture during the 19th and 20th centuries internally and the struggle for status externally followed the same pattern throughout the Diaspora, so did "Science of Judaism" in all the countries in which it was cultivated.

These views were voiced by L. Zunz in a statement that only "Science of Judaism" of a standard recognized in the world of European scholarship would be able to bestow upon Judaism the status and the respect which was due to it and gradually arouse the best elements of the Jewish people and unite them. It was therefore the task of Jewish science to win for the Jews a recognized and equal status in the world of culture and spiritually unite the Jewish people. Scholarly activities were to be devoted principally to the study of Hebrew literature, in which resided the spiritual uniqueness of Judaism. These basic views of the early days of the movement greatly influenced the choice of research areas and the course of its development.

Five factors determined the development of the movement, established its trends, marked and singled out its spheres of research, and marked the boundaries between successive generations. These were the following:

(1) the extent of Torah erudition and Hebrew Haskalah in the European countries inhabited by Jews;

(2) the level of humanistic studies in these countries and the extent in which Jews could benefit from general education;

(3) the political, legal, and social status of the Jews in these countries and their struggle for equality;

(4) the cultural, religious, and public ferment within the Jewish population of these countries and the internal polemics within the communities; and

(5) the type of Jewish classes to which Jewish Science addressed itself, and the organizations upon which the scientific activity in the research of Judaism was based. In accordance with the permutations and changes in these factors, the history of Jewish Science – from its beginnings until our time – can be divided into four generations:

(A) the generation of its founders – 1822–54, from the appearance of Zunz's *Zeitschrift fuer die Wissenschaft des Judentums* (1822 to that of **Monatsschrift fuer die Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums* in 1851/52 and the establishment of the Juedisch-theologisches Seminar in Breslau (1854);

(B) the generation of consolidation and organization – 1854–96, to the discovery of the *Genizah (1896) and the first attempts to summarize the achievements of the "Science of Judaism" (1894);

(C) the generation of confusion and compilation – 1896–1925, to the opening of the Judaistic Institute of the *Hebrew University in Jerusalem; and

(D) the generation of renewal and growth – from 1925 to the present day which is the generation of transition "from the Science of Judaism to Jewish Sciences."

Leopold Zunz

"Science of Judaism" was born with the publication by Leopold *Zunz of his pamphlet *Etwas ueber die rabbinische Literatur* (1818) and his first articles in *Zeitschrift* (on place names in Spain mentioned in Hebrew-Jewish literature; on *Rashi, and his outline of a future statistics of Judaism).

Scientific interest in the Jewish cultural heritage and its history was, however, born before Zunz. The Hebrew poet Solomon *Levisohn, who during his brief life and under most difficult conditions engaged in research work into the language of the *Mishnah (*Beit ha-Osef*, 1812) and the phraseology on the Bible (*Meliẓot Yeshurun*, 1816), published many lectures in German on Jewish history (1820) and also wrote the first biblical geography in Hebrew (*Meḥkerei ha-Areẓ* 1819); Zunz's colleague I.M. *Jost also preceded him with his *Geschichte der Israeliten* (9 vols., 1820–29). Though written more in the Haskalah spirit than in that of scientific research, it nevertheless made a considerable impression on the public. Zunz, however, was the man who symbolized the "Science of Judaism"; he was the first to lay down a detailed program for it, and his works were the first which in practice contained the methods of research which it was to adopt. By his idealism and humanistic fervor and by his ambition to introduce the Jewish cultural heritage into general humanism by and through scientific study of Judaism, Zunz became the symbol of the whole of the "Science of Judaism."

The program which Zunz outlined in his *Etwas ueber die rabbinische Literatur* was the study of Hebrew literature and its history; it included the study of Judaism in all its manifestations: theology, religious worship of Israel; Jewish law, Hebrew literature in particular, of every category and form, including that on the natural sciences and technology and the contribution of the Jews to their development. Jewish ethics and education, which in reality are the practical conclusions of the outlook and the views of generations, also figured in Zunz's program. He also had a program for research into the Judaism of his day. In his essay on Jewish statistics he declared that the purpose of these "statistics" (in those days, this term signified "social science," sociology) would be to acquire a complete picture of the contemporary Jewish condition by a systematic study of that entity which was the result not only of "origin and religion" but also of common language and history and which showed itself in specific qualities and outlook, professional structure, and organized arrangements. Zunz also outlined the methods to be adopted for the collection and the study of data; he had demonstrated them in his earlier work, which abounds in instructions on research methods, such as examination of sources to ascertain the periods and the places of authors, their personalities, and the reliability of the evidence which they handed down. He also pointed out sources which had not yet been exploited (commemorative coins, tombstone inscriptions, etc.), as well as the importance of responsa as a historical source particularly for the history of the economic life of the Jews. Zunz also drew the attention of researchers to community registers and their importance as a historical source.

The methodical innovation in Zunz's work on Rashi lay in the collecting and comparative study of manuscripts of Rashi's commentaries. From Rashi's works he drew information on the man and his work, his family, his studies, the languages with which he was familiar, and the extent to which he employed them – even a description of his library. The little book made a great impression, especially on Torah students in Western and Eastern Europe, who had become familiar with general culture to varying degrees. They discovered that the Torah was a world by itself and could be of interest to an enlightened man. Many of Zunz's contemporaries admitted this influence and the important role which it played in their lives. To a large extent, all the scholars of the first generation of Jewish Science were the disciples of Zunz: they learned from his methods and followed his example.

The First Generation of Scholars

During the first generation of the promoters of the "Science of Judaism" the foundations were laid for research into all the spheres of Judaism. Of the eight outstanding scholars, S.J. Rapoport, Zunz, S.D. *Luzzatto, and Krochmal – the elders of that generation – and Z. *Frankel, *Geiger, *Munk, and Steinschneider – its younger members – each devoted himself to a specific sphere, opened new vistas for their study, and paved the way for their successors.

The first member of the "generation of the founding and establishment" of the "Science of Judaism" was S.J.L. *Rapoport, whose field was the research of talmudic and rabbinic literature and the history of those periods. His work encouraged and paved the way for a scientific approach to talmudic and rabbinic literature as a source for the study of Jewish history. Rapoport aimed at the enlightenment of the Jewish nation and the strengthening of its self-consciousness. Zunz, on the other hand, who came to be influenced by Rapoport, devoted himself mainly to the history of Jewish liturgy. His meticulous attention to detail, and the interlacing of these details with historical periods and localities and the development of Jewish religious and intellectual life, raised his works to the rank of classics, retaining their importance to the present day.

The early scholarly activity of Samuel David Luzzatto was connected with Hebrew linguistics and the Targum Onkelos, followed by biblical exegesis. His main importance lies in the discovery of numerous and important Hebrew manuscripts and their publication, among them collections of poems by *Judah Halevi ("*Betulat Bat Yehudah*," 1840; "*Diwan*," 1844). The wide influence Luzzatto had on his generation is essentially due to his critical evaluation of the past. He fought against disruptive trends in Judaism, the delusions of the emancipation, and the whole outlook of his generation. He called for the existence of Judaism as a separate religious-national entity living according to its usages and the principles of its ethics. He appraised earlier conflicts with the viewpoint of those of his day (*Meḥkerei ha-Yahadut*, ed. Tevunah, Warsaw, 1913). Thus, he was to a certain extent responsible for extracting the "Science of Judaism" from the domain of individual scholars engaged in research and making it a public concern.

Nahman *Krochmal's *Moreh Nevukhei ha-Zeman* ("Guide of the Perplexed of the Generation") was published in 1851 but was written during the 1830s, after the publication of the biographies of Rapoport, Luzzatto's criticism of A. *Ibn Ezra and *Maimonides, Zunz's work on homiletics, and Jost's history. This "Guide" was an attempt to provide a philosophical-historical answer to the problems of the time: how to prevent the disintegration of Jewry by making it conscious of its unity; by salvaging at least part of the authority of religious tradition and strengthening it through sacrificing some of it; by an attempt to strengthen the belief in the future of Judaism; and by finding methods of adapting it for its future task. Krochmal's work summed up the early achievements of the "Science of Judaism" in fostering Jewish self-consciousness: it included Zunz on the spiritual unity of the nation throughout the generations, the nationalist element in enlightenment (Rapoport), and the faith of Luzzatto in the eternity of the Jewish people and its religious character. Krochmal's historical-critical approach paved the way for further research. Jost had described Jewish history in all its periods but Krochmal was the first to adumbrate a unified conception of Jewish history as a whole. The "Guide," both in content and form, ranks among the most important works of the "Science of Judaism" and Hebrew literature in general.

Frankel, Geiger, Munk, and Steinschneider

Although Zunz had pointed out on the title page of his *Gottesdienstliche Vortraege* (1832) that it was "a contribution to the study of antiquity, Bible criticism, and the history of literature and religion," only the younger members of the founding generation devoted their work to biblical and religious research and laid the foundations for its future development. Zacharias *Frankel did this for Jewish law, the history of *halakhah*, and the study of the Talmud. With scholarly caution and care in phrasing and conclusions Frankel established the historical factor in the evolution of Mishnah, the *Talmud, and the *halakhah*, pointing out its principal stages.

The work of Abraham *Geiger, the leading spokesman of the religious reform movement, extended over many spheres of the "Science of Judaism," such as the study of the Bible versions, the ancient *halakhah*, and Jewish sects, and subjects ranging from the languages of the Mishnah, the Hebrew poetry of Spain, and the biblical exegesis of France to the Jewish scholars of Italy during the 16th and 17th centuries. For Geiger all these had the internal evolution of Judaism in common; the reformer occasionally introduced contemporary polemics, consciously or unconsciously, into the study of the past. His largest work was *Urschrift und Uebersetzungen der Heiligen Schrift in ihrer Abhaengigkeit von der inneren Entwicklung des Judentums* (1857). Though subsequent research refuted most of Geiger's conclusions, his contribution to the development of the "Science of Judaism" should not be ignored. There was a great methodical innovation in Geiger's system: the textual discrepancies in the Bible were used by him as the foundation for a history of Judaism. The "Urschrift" aroused strong polemics and its reformist orientation impaired its influence, though it inspired students in later generations.

Solomon *Munk and Moritz *Steinschneider were the first scholars of Oriental philology, particularly Arabic, among the founders of the "Science of Judaism." They developed new methods of research into medieval Jewish literature, in general, and the contribution of the Jews to the development of the sciences, in particular. Munk was the first to make use of the Arabic sources in the study of the history of Jewish literature and thought. His essays on the medieval Jewish scholars who wrote in Arabic, such as *Saadiah Gaon, Joseph ibn *Aknin, and Jonah *Ibn Janaḥ, were based on Arabic sources and presented these scholars in a new light. His research into the history of Jewish philosophy was of prime importance. In his *Mélanges de Philosophie juive et arabe* (1859) he revealed Solomon ibn Gabirol as the author of *Fons Vitae* and in his edition of the Arabic original of Maimonides' "Guide" (1856–66) he laid the foundation for the study of medieval Jewish philosophy.

Steinschneider opened new vistas of bibliographical Jewish literature which won him the title of "father of Jewish bibliography." Three of his works are of particular value: his survey of "Jewish Literature," his catalogs of Hebrew manuscripts, and his books on the Hebrew translations of the Middle Ages and the Arabic literature of the Jews. His survey of Jewish literature was the first comprehensive review of the literary activity of the Jews in all languages and at all periods, from the conclusion of the Bible until the end of the 18th century. Steinschneider's catalogs of the Hebrew manuscripts of five large European libraries (*Bodleian of Oxford, Leyden, Berlin, Minsk, and Hamburg) disclosed treasures of Jewish literature and culture which had hitherto been hidden. The meticulous accuracy in his description and the astonishing knowledge which underlies them became a wonder; they continue to guide scholars in their research into the numerous problems which these discoveries initiated. His works on the translations and the Arabic literature of the Jews became the basis for research into the Jewish history, literature, and culture of the Middle Ages.

Plans for University Faculties; Periodicals; Influence on a Wider Public

The "Science of Judaism" of the founder generation was concentrated in the hands of individuals. They worked in this field "for its own sake" and in their hours of leisure, as they had to teach in schools (Zunz, Munk, and Steinschneider), hold rabbinical office (Rapoport, Frankel, and Geiger), or were engaged in business (Krochmal). Luzzatto was the only one who, as lecturer at the rabbinical seminary in Padua, was more or less directly connected with his scholarly activity. The ideal of the Jewish scholars of those days was the opening of a faculty for the sciences of Judaism or Jewish theology in one of the universities. Zunz declared this at the outset of his activity, Geiger preached in favor of this, and there was even a public demand for the foundation of a "Jewish theological faculty" and a "Jewish seminary" in Germany. Committees were set up and funds were raised (1838). During the brief spring of the Revolution of 1848, Zunz submitted a memorandum to the University of Berlin on the allocation of a place to the "Science of Judaism," but the university rejected this proposal. In reality, the "Science of Judaism" had little appeal for the public and was restricted to the scholars engaged in the subject.

In about 1838 Geiger attempted to amalgamate all those engaged in the "Science of Judaism" into one group. It was joined by over 20 people, including Jost, Zunz, Rapoport, Munk, J.N. Derenbourg (see *Derenburg family) and others. Even though this society was not properly "organized," it faithfully expressed one of the characteristic traits of the generation: a readiness to assist colleagues, including scientific collaboration. It was no accident that one of the literary forms of the publications of the "Science of Judaism" in that generation was that of the "letter," or "epistle," in which scholars and researchers described their work to each other. There were not periodicals exclusively consecrated to the "Science of Judaism"; even Geiger's *Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift fuer Juedische Theologie* (1834–48) was mainly devoted to contemporary problems which, in the opinion of Geiger, were bound up with its struggle for Reform by the creation of a "Jewish theology" based on historical criticism.

The research work of the "Science of Judaism" was published in the Hebrew periodicals of the Haskalah movement (**Bikkurei ha-Ittim* (1821–32) of Jeiteles in Prague, **Kerem Ḥemed* (1833–56) of Goldenberg in Galicia; *Ziyyon* (1841–42) of Jost and M. *Creizenach in Frankfurt; *Pirḥei Ẓafor* (1841–44) of Vilna) and in the German-Jewish press, such as L. *Philippson's *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judentums* (1837–1922), J. *Fuerst's *Der Orient* (1841–51) and Jost's Israelitische Annalen (1839–41) of which only one of the latter (*Orient*) contained a special literary supplement of scientific standard. Yet this first generation of the "Science of Judaism" was of great historical importance. A desire to explore the past grew among many of the intellectuals of the younger generation. Dozens of authors and students from every quarter, the old and the young, from Germany, Austria (mainly Bohemia, Moravia, and Galicia), France, Italy, Poland, and Russia – some of whom eventually achieved fame – published studies and reviews, articles and notes on the "Science of Judaism" in Jewish periodicals, in Hebrew and other languages. Among them were also scholars whose principal scientific activity was in other spheres, but who felt the need to engage themselves also in the "Science of Judaism."

Disrespect toward Judaism and contempt for its past was on the decline among Jewish and Christian intellectuals, while self-respect was rising among the Jewish public. From this point of view the influence of the "Science of Judaism" was more powerful among the Jewish masses of Eastern Europe: the inclination toward Hebrew of the Haskalah movement and its nationalist tendencies bore the imprint of the "Science of Judaism" and the new perspective on the Jewish past and culture which it had given to that generation. The polemics on religious reforms which perturbed West European Jewry, particularly German Jewry, were also considerably influenced by the "Science of Judaism" and took place against a scholarly background. As a result of this the public became aware of the necessity to promote the development of the "Science of Judaism," to consolidate it, and to organize it.

Rabbinical Seminaries, Learned Societies, and Periodicals

The establishment of the *Juedisch-theologisches Seminar in Breslau (1854) marked the beginning of the second generation of the "Science of Judaism." This was the first institution which made it possible for scholars to devote themselves entirely to the "Science of Judaism." They also could train new generations of students by associating them in the probing of the problems which held the attention of their teachers. Z. Frankel, who headed the seminary for 20 years, was aware of its scientific mission in addition to its practical objectives – the training of rabbis, and during the first years also of teachers. For the first time a modern curriculum for the dissemination of higher Jewish learning was established. It was based on new methods of research while aiming at appropriate standards of knowledge in Bible, the Talmud, and rabbinic literature. The scientific standard of the first teachers (Frankel, the historian *Graetz, the classical philologist Jacob Bernays (see *Bernays family), and the teacher of Jewish religious philosophy Manuel *Joel), the strict demands on the students' preliminary knowledge, and the relationship between their Jewish education and their university studies, as well as the encouragement given to the students in their research projects, assured the success of the foundation.

Approximately 100 of the 300 students who graduated from the seminary during the first 40 years of its existence engaged in Jewish scholarship and published research work, among them Israel Levy, Saul Horowitz, Adolf *Schwartz, Alexander *Kohut, W. *Bacher, J. *Theodor, M. *Guedemann, D. *Kaufmann, N. Porges and J. Perles, H. *Gross, and J. *Freudenthal and Jacob Gutmann. These scholars published much of their research in the *Monatsschrift fuer Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums*, which was founded by Frankel in 1851 and continued to appear until 1939.

The Breslau Seminary became the model for most rabbinical seminaries founded during this period in several countries, and which became centers of the "Science of Judaism." In Berlin the *Hochschule (Lehranstalt) fuer die Wissenschaft des Judentums was founded by Geiger in 1870, and its Orthodox counterpart, E. *Hildesheimer's Rabbinical Seminary, in 1873. The Bet ha-Midrash Lilmod u-Lelamed of Vienna was founded by A. *Jellinek in 1863; the *Ecole Rabbinique was transferred to Paris in 1859 and Jews' College was established in London in 1856. The Landesrabbinerschule of Budapest was founded in 1877 and the Juedisch-theologische Lehranstalt in 1893. Leading Jewish scholars such as A. Berlin, J. *Barth, D. Hoffmann, I.H. *Weiss, M. *Friedmann, M. *Friedlander, Israel *Abrahams, W. Bacher, D. Kaufmann, L. *Blau, A. *Buechler, and A. Schwarz headed and taught at these seminaries. Higher institutes for the training of rabbis were also founded in the United States, such as the Jewish Theological Seminary in New York and *Hebrew Union College in Cincinnati, although at first they did not influence the development of the "Science of Judaism."

In addition to rabbinical seminaries, several other institutions were founded and a number of societies were organized during this period for the promotion of Jewish scholarship (see *Learned Societies). In 1855 the Institut zur Foerderung der israelitischen Literatur was established by Philipson, Jellinek, and Jost. The Zunzstiftung was established in 1864 (on the occasion of Zunz's 70th birthday); the interest from it was placed at his disposal for the rest of his life, after which it was consecrated to works in the spirit of Zunz. In 1864 the *Mekiẓe Nirdamim society was founded, whose aim it was to publish important Hebrew manuscripts. In 1869 Moses *Montefiore founded the Yeshivat Ohel Moshe vi-Yhudit in Ramsgate; it was to give aged scholars the possibility of pursuing their work in material security. In 1880 the Société des Études Juives was founded in Paris; its organ became the *Revue des Études Juives (1880), which rivaled the "Monatschrift" in importance and is still published. All these institutions and societies helped in the progress of the "Science of Judaism." Important *libraries were attached to them, building up collections of manuscripts and rare books.

About 20 periodicals devoted to the "Science of Judaism" were published during that period. These publications were often somehow connected with the above institutions and published by them with the active collaboration of their teachers and students. Apart from those already mentioned, these were the *Magazin fuer Geschichte, Literatur und Wissenschaft des Judentums*, published in Berlin by A. *Berliner and D. Hoffmann (1874–93), the *Jewish Quarterly Review (London, from 1889), and the *Hebraeische Bibliographie*, published by Steinschneider (1858–82). Important periodicals and literary organs were published in Hebrew, mainly on the initiative of individual scholars, such as Senior Sachs' **Kerem Ḥemed* (1854–56) and *Ha-Yonah, Ha-Teḥiyyah* (1851–57), of Schorr's **He-Ḥalutz* (1852–89); Blumenfeld's *Oẓar Neḥmad* (1856–63); T.H. Weiss' and M. Friedmann's *Beit ha-Midrash* and *Beit ha-Talmud* (Vienna, 1881–89); and Kobrak's *Jeschurun (1856–78).

Almost all Hebrew periodicals published articles as well as manuscripts in the field of the "Science of Judaism," some of them by prominent scholars. Among them were S.J. *Fuenn's weekly, later monthly, **Ha-Karmel* (1860–80), P. *Smolenskin's **Ha-Shaḥar* (1869–85), and among the annuals Sokolow's **Ha-Asif* (1885–89, 1894) and S.P. *Rabbinowitz's *Keneset Yisrael* (1886–88). **Ha-Maggid* (1856–1903), the first weekly Hebrew newspaper, carried a special section, *Ha-Ẓofeh le-ha-Maggid*, most of which was consecrated to the "Science of Judaism" and published contributions of Jewish scholars from Eastern and Western Europe. The large correspondence on subjects of the "Science of Judaism" also shows the wide interest taken in it within the Jewish communities of the East and the West.

During this period the development of the "Science of Judaism" was marked by a strong historical trend. Much attention was given to the history of the Jews in the lands of their dispersion, to the countries and their communities, and to their beliefs and views. In their usages and institutions it was possible to determine the evolution from one period to another and from one country to another. This historical trend was the result of external and internal circumstances. The struggle for emancipation continued during all the years which followed upon the formal granting of equality. Jews were compelled to struggle not only for the practical application of this equality but also for its public recognition.

The *antisemitism which emerged in the course of the 19th century in the form of a popular movement and as a platform for the political organization of the masses intensified this struggle. Jewish communities were obliged to stress the historical foundation of their demands and claims. It was believed that they would then be regarded as an organic part of the state or country, as they had participated in their political and cultural development. This is evident in the activities of the historical societies and commissions, which were then formed in almost every country (the first in Germany in 1885, from Steinschneider's circle) for the collection of historical records on Jewish settlements and their history, and their subsequent publication.

Historiography

The same trend was responsible for such studies as those of Darmesteter on Rashi's *La'azim* and the French exegetic literature (1872); Guedemann's *Geschichte des Erziehungswesens* (1880–88); and studies on Jewish philosophy during the Hellenistic period (Freudenthal) and the Middle Ages (Jacob Guttmann). Internal conflicts within the communities were also responsible for the historical trend in the "Science of Judaism." All the factions in the polemics on religious reforms sought to find support in historical research: either to prove that non-organic and "incidental" strata had been added to the basic structure of Judaism according to time and place, and these should be rejected; or out of a desire to preserve the integrity of historical Judaism and its continuity while accepting the principle of evolution within it and historical change as a fact; or by explaining by means of historical research the changes within the framework of Judaism which was in itself stable and immutable.

In practice, historical research constituted an encounter of all the trends of Judaism with the past. The historical approach within the "Science of Judaism" was due to a large extent to the influence of H. Graetz and his work. Together with the 11 volumes of his Geschichte, Graetz published 150 preliminary studies on all the periods of Jewish history (mostly in the *Monatsschrift*). These studies provided ample material for later historians. Graetz's influence is also reflected in areas in which the "Science of Judaism" made particular progress during this second period: the history of the Oral Law and medieval and modern Jewish history. To the first belongs Karaite studies by Simḥah Pinsker, P. Frankel, and A. *Harkavy; I.H. Weiss' *Dor Dor ve-Doreshav* (1871–91) and the polemical researches of J.H. *Schorr and Abraham Krochmal; and the studies of Leopold *Loew (e.g., *Die Lebensalter in der juedischen Literatur*, 1875). With their many-sided work Bacher and David Kaufmann followed to a considerable extent in the footsteps of their teacher Graetz. They did influential research in the fields of *aggadah* and Hebrew philology (Bacher) and on Jewish and religious philosophy and communal and family history. They also paved the way for a history of Jewish art and archaeology (D. Kaufmann).

Research into the language of the Talmud and the Targums were undertaken by Jacob *Levy in his dictionaries, Kohut's *Arukh ha-Shalem* (1878–92), and Fuenn's *Oẓar Leshon ha-Mikra ve-ha-Mishnah* (1884–1900). A. *Neubauer and A. *Berliner wrote on the geography of the Talmud, and R.N. *Rabbinovitz did pioneer work on the text of the Babylonian Talmud, *Dikdukei Soferim* (1868–86). In the sphere of Jewish history, the most influential writers were M. *Wiener, M. *Kayserling, and Joseph *Jacobs, developing new methods in the use of new sources for the study of history of the Jews in various countries. The growth of large Jewish libraries with their collections of manuscripts and the opening of the great general libraries to Jewish scholars, as well as the publication by them of manuscript catalogs, encouraged scholars to publish the "secrets" of bygone generations. The number of works that were published from manuscripts during this period, whether for the first time or in different versions, amounted to several hundreds of the medieval period alone.

The scholars of the older generation were joined by younger ones who published manuscripts in the fields of their particular interest. These critical editions, with their notes and introductions, succeeded in drawing attention to subjects which had been neglected, perhaps owing to the limited material available. First among the scholars in this field were Solomon *Buber (Midrashim and medieval *halakhah*), Berliner (Rashi's Pentateuch commentary, Targum Onkelos, historical texts), Derenbourg (Saadiah), Harkavy (the period of the *geonim*, texts and records on the history of the Jews in Russia), Senior *Sachs (Gabirol's poetry with commentaries), Jellinek (minor *Midrashim* from Kabbalah literature), A. Neubauer (historical texts), and David Kaufmann (historical and literary texts).

The three elements which fashioned the character of the second generation "Science of Judaism" – the rabbinical seminaries, the concentration on local Jewish history, and the emphasis on the publication of manuscripts – were responsible for a decline in the "Science of Judaism" and the self-criticism with which its past and future prospects were viewed. The framework of the rabbinical seminaries, in which the link between general and Jewish scholarship was tenuous (the student studied general sciences at the universities), kept distinguished scholars away, as they did not wish to confine themselves to a "ghetto" (Steinschneider), or it made them join the universities at a later stage (J. Bernays and I. *Goldziher). This lowered the standard of instruction in these institutions. In addition, the practical objective (the rabbinate) of the seminary course did not assure a continuation of the scholarly work, except for the limited number of those who took up a teaching career. Criticism of the "Science of Judaism" at the close of the 19th century was expressed in a current saying: its protagonists are rabbis who begin with the publication of a medieval text and end with writing the history of their community, or that of one of the neighboring communities.

This was the situation during those years in which the changes in the status of the Jew called for stock-taking by every Jewish intellectual. Antisemitism had succeeded in isolating the Jews socially. The emancipation of the Jews had constantly to be fought for, and this perturbed the Jews in general, as well as every individual Jew to varying extents. As a result of the constant tension, this self-consciousness became a moral necessity for every Jewish intellectual who did not wish to abandon his people in the hour of its plight. The pogroms and persecutions which took place in Russia became a Damoclean sword for all Jews, and the mass emigration from Russia through Central and Western Europe on its way to the transatlantic countries revived universal Jewish ties which had been weakened over the past generations. Collaboration in matters of Jewish concern in various countries was encouraged, and a whole network of world Jewish organizations and institutions of unprecedented dimensions in Jewish history came into being.

These activities, which were marked by high organizing ability and financial generosity, accompanied Jewish misfortunes at the time of the Russian pogroms (1881–1920). They also called for a fundamental assessment and serious scientific study of the Jewish situation. The nationalist movement whose slogan was "Rebellion against the Exile" (see *Ḥibbat Zion and *Zionism) considered as one of its first tasks a renewal of Jewish historic consciousness by imparting to the intelligentsia a knowledge of Judaism and its values, based on the results of scientific research. The nationalist movement did in fact initiate literary activities with the aim of "ingathering" the outstanding works of the past in accordance with contemporary requirements (*Aḥad Ha-Am and the establishment of the publishing house *Achiasaf*). Preliminary plans were drawn up for a "summing up" of the "Science of Judaism" and its achievements in the form of an *encyclopedia (*Oẓar ha-Yahadut* of Aḥad Ha Am) which would pass on to the present-day generation the "Torah" of Judaism clearly and without scientific discussions.

The Socialist and revolutionary agitation gave Jewish historical research a new subject – the working classes. It called for research into the Jewish economy, the way of life of the masses, and the promotion of a popular national culture for which there was a growing demand; it was to be fostered and had to be considered from a scientific angle. As a result, the objectives of the "Science of Judaism" and its methods became problematical and led to a number of experiments in promoting and planning research. These became the outstanding characteristics of the third generation of the "Science of Judaism."

The establishment of institutions and organizations for the promotion of the "Science of Judaism," such as the *Gesellschaft zur Foerderung der Wissenschaft des Judentums (Berlin, 1902) and the Verein zur Gruendung und Erhaltung einer Akademie fuer die Wissenschaft des Judentums (Berlin, 1920), was an innovation in that these were not connected with rabbinical seminaries and had no other objective but the promotion of science. Another innovation was the establishment of societies and institutions for the promotion of research in subjects with which the "Science of Judaism" had not dealt until then, such as Jewish ethnography (in the framework of "the Historical-Ethnographical Society" of St. Petersburg; the "Ethnographical – Historical Expedition" of *An-Ski, 1912); research into Jewish statistics (Verein fuer Juedische Statistik, Berlin, 1902), the publication of a special periodical for Jewish demography and statistics (in German, under the editorship of A. *Ruppin); Jewish art ("*Society for Jewish Folk Music," St. Petersburg, 1908), the exploration of Palestine and its antiquities (the Palestine Exploration Society was founded in Jerusalem, 1919); and similar projects.

There was also an innovation in the surveys which were carried out by Jewish organizations and were of importance to all subsequent research. The collection of material on the economic situation of the Jews in Russia (in 1898–99) by a team of experts for the *Jewish Colonization Association (*Recueil de matériaux sur la situation économique des Israélites en Russie*, 2 vols., Paris, 1906–08; there is also a Russian edition) became the basis of all subsequent research on the Jewish economy in Russia (Jacob *Lestschinsky). The two volumes which contained the material on the pogroms in Russia (*Die Judenpogrome in Russland*, 2 vols., 1910), which were published by the Zionist Relief Fund (under the editorship of L. *Motzkin), were a contribution of great importance in this sphere. A fresh development was the rise of non-commercial publishing companies such as *Achiasaf*, Warsaw, and the *Jewish Publication Society of America (Philadelphia), one of whose aims was the propagation of the "Science of Judaism."

Such ventures often foreshadowed institutions. Thus "YIVO" (Yidisher Visnshaftlikher Institut, established in 1925) was heralded by *Der Pinkas* ("Yearbook on the history of Yiddish literature and its language, folklore, criticism and bibliography"; Vilna, 1912), edited by S. *Niger. This annual published B. Borochov's "Documents on the Philology of Yiddish Language Research." The friends of Yiddish and popular Jewish culture grouped themselves around him. The third generation of the "Science of Judaism" had three achievements to its credit:

(1) The summing up of the "Science of Judaism" in *The Jewish Encyclopaedia* (see *Encyclopedias; 1901–06), which was devoted to the "history of the Jewish people, its religion, its literature, and its customs from antiquity to the present era";

(2) The planning of basic reference books, which required the collaboration of scholars;

(3) The discovery of the *Genizah*.

The *Jewish Encyclopaedia*, which formed the basis of the *Yevreyskaya Entsiklopediya* (1908–13; see *Encyclopedias) and the *Oẓar Yisrael* (1906–13; see *Encyclopedias), was published with the participation of Jewish scholars from many countries, as well as a large number of non-Jewish scholars. This encyclopedia summed up the achievements of the "Science of Judaism" in every sphere.

The Gesellschaft zur Foerderung der Wissenschaft des Judentums, one of whose principal tasks was the publication of reference books of a high standard, was unable to complete its program, though in those works it did publish it raised the standards of the "Science of Judaism" and met the demands of the time. The society turned to several Jewish scholars who had achieved repute for their contributions to the general sciences and encouraged them to carry out work in the field of the "Science of Judaism." The society thus published, among others: Georg *Caro's *Sozial-und Wirtschaftsgeschichte der Juden im Mittelalter und der Neuzeit* (1908–20), Eduard *Mahler's *Handbuch der juedischen Chronologie* (1916), Samuel *Krauss' *Talmudische Archeologie* (3 vols., 1910–12), and I. *Elbogen's *Der Juedische Gottesdienst in seiner geschichtlichen Entwicklung* (1924). The program for an Akademie fuer die Wissenschaft des Judentums, which was submitted by its first director (Eugen *Taeubler), envisaged a *Forschungsinstitut* whose members, mostly younger scholars, took on specific projects in their respective fields of study. These were discussed at the meetings of the institute under the guidance of its director. Some of the scholars who worked in the Akademie later became prominent in the "Science of Judaism."

The investigation of the Cairo *Genizah* by Solomon Schechter (1847–1915) and the publication and study of its contents had a revolutionary impact on the "Science of Judaism." It made research possible on periods and subjects in which lack of source material had made research difficult. Out of the *Genizah* Schechter published about two-thirds of Ben Sira in the Hebrew original (1899); materials on the life of Saadiah and his writings; material on the history of the Jews of Palestine during the 11th century; and material on the history of Jewish sects. *Genizah* research enriched the "Science of Judaism" during the first years after its discovery and added new chapters on Jewish history and literature, particularly in the field of Midrash and the literature of the *geonim* (Louis *Ginzberg, Israel *Davidson, and Jacob *Mann), in that of prayers and hymns (Davidson and Elbogen), and in Jewish history in the Orient, particularly Egypt and Palestine (Mann, R. *Gottheil, and others). The progress of the "Science of Judaism" in the United States is also linked with the personality and work of Schechter. At the Jewish Theological Seminary of America, of which he was the head from his arrival in New York (1902), he gathered a team of scholars (Louis Ginzberg, Israel Friedlander, A. *Marx, and I. Davidson), built up its library, which later became one of the largest Jewish libraries – it is particularly rich in Hebrew manuscripts – and raised the seminary to the rank of one of the leading institutions of the "Science of Judaism."

In Eastern Europe, especially in Russia, where almost half of the world's Jewish population lived, the "Science of Judaism" made little progress in spite of intensified Jewish consciousness and a strong nationalist movement. The government – under the influence of the leaders of Orthodox Jewry – would not authorize the establishment of a seminary for the training of modern rabbis and Jewish scholars. Those engaged in the study of Jewish sciences were either authors and scholars, who as a result of publicistic discussions on contemporary problems had passed on to the study of Jewish history (S. *Dubnow, S. *Ginsburg, P. *Marek, J. *Hessen, S.P. Rabbinowitz, B.Z. *Katz), or rabbis and Torah scholars who had adopted, under the influence of the "Science of Judaism," modern methods (such as B. Ratner in his *Ahavat Ẓiyyon vi-Yrushalayim* (1904–17) on the text of the Jerusalem Talmud and H. *Tchernowitz (Rav Ẓai'ir) in his *Le-Toledot ha-Shulḥan Arukh ve-Hitpashetuto; Ha-Shilo'aḥ*, 1899–1900). Others, speaking out in defense of traditional Judaism by exposing the inner contradictions of the *Haskalah, tried to offer a better understanding of Judaism and its moral values (S.A. Horodezky, W. Jawitz), or to refute the conclusions of the "Science of Judaism" and its historical criticism (Isaac ha-Levi).

Only a few Jewish scholars in Eastern Europe, most of whom had been educated in Western Europe, made a substantial contribution to the "Science of Judaism" writings, at least partly in Hebrew (S.A. *Poznański). Contributing western scholars included Abraham *Kahana in "*Perush Madda'i la-Tanakh*" and *Horodezky in *Ha-Goren*. The influence of the "Science of Judaism" in Eastern Europe extended to Palestine, where particular emphasis was put on Hebrew linguistics and the geography of Ereẓ Israel (E. *Ben-Yehuda's massive *Millon* (dictionary) and his "Memoirs"; the activities of the *Va'ad ha-Lashon* (see: Academy of Hebrew Language) periodical, 10 volumes; and A.M. *Luncz's *Jerusalem* (1882–1917). These studies also found an echo outside Palestine (D. *Yellin, the brothers J.J. and A.S. *Yahuda, E. *Gruenhut, A.M. Toledano). Some of the leading scholars (M. Friedmann and W. Bacher, A. Berliner and A.E. Harkavy, S.A. Poznański and S. Krauss, D. Kaufmann and M. Steinschneider) cooperated with them. There was also a certain increase in Hebrew publications dealing with subjects of the "Science of Judaism." The initiative of Bialik in 1923 (with I. Elbogen, J.N. *Epstein, and N.H. *Tur-Sinai (Torczyner)) to publish *Devir* (periodical for the "Science of Judaism") appeared to herald a new era. Its program included "research on the present condition of living, creative Israel," and research into "popular literature" and "Jewish literature of the last century."

With the establishment of the Hebrew University in Jerusalem, a new era began for the "Science of Judaism." For the first time it found itself in its entirety within a framework of an institution of higher education and learning – with Jewish life in all its manifestations and developments as its object – to which the Jewish social reality in its ancient homeland gave a territorial-historical continuity and national and cultural stability. These factors widened the spheres of research. New, or almost new, subjects came to the fore, such as the archaeology and geography of Ereẓ Israel, talmudic philology, Jewish Hellenism, Hebrew law, Jewish mysticism, modern Hebrew literature, Yiddish and its literature, Jewish sociology, and the study of contemporary Jewry. Judaic studies thus replaced the "Science of Judaism." This development also influenced the "Science of Judaism" in the United States, almost the only country in the Diaspora where it continued to advance as a cultural-spiritual factor in the life of its Jewish community. As for other countries, particularly in Central and Eastern Europe, the "Science of Judaism" was integrally bound up with the struggle of the Jewish communities for their survival in an age in which Jewish diaspora existence was threatened by assimilation, on the one hand, and persecution and extermination, on the other.

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[Benzion Dinur (Dinaburg)]

WISSOTZKY, KALONYMUS ZE'EV (1824–1904), merchant, philanthropist, and supporter of *Ḥibbat Zion. Born in Zhagare (Kovno province), Wissotzky attended yeshivot and then tried his hand at agriculture. Having failed, he became a businessman and, in 1858, he moved to Moscow, where he established the famous tea firm that bears his name (*Aḥad Ha-Am was at one time manager of its London branch). He became a wealthy man and took an interest in public affairs, especially by subsidizing charitable institutions and causes. Wissotzky was one of the earliest adherents and supporters of the Ḥibbat Zion movement in Russia. In 1885 he visited Ereẓ Israel on behalf of the movement and prepared a survey of the general condition of the *yishuv* and of the new settlements that was to have a profound effect upon the practical work of Ḥovevei Zion in the country. For the rest of his life, he maintained his philanthropic activities, supporting Hebrew literature in particular. (*Ha-Shilo'ah, the Hebrew monthly, was financed by him in the first years of its existence.) Under Aḥad Ha-Am's influence he donated 20,000 rubles for the publication of a Hebrew encyclopedia for Jewish studies (1894). This project being canceled, the money was given instead to the society of *Marbei Haskalah* in Russia. According to his will, his entire share in the Wissotzky tea firm (one million rubles) was given to charity, including national Jewish purposes, among them the establishment of the Haifa Technion. In 1898 he published *Kevuẓat Mikhtavim* ("Collection of Letters"), which contains his impressions of the trip to Ereẓ Israel and various other documents relating to his activities in behalf of Ḥibbat Zion.

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[Getzel Kressel]

WISTRICH, ROBERT S. (1945–), British-Israeli historian and writer on antisemitism. One of the best-known contemporary historians of antisemitism and related topics, Robert Wistrich was born in the Soviet Union but lived in England. He was educated at Cambridge and London Universities. Wistrich held chairs at London University and the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. From 2002 he was director of the Vidal Sassoon International Center for the Study of Antisemitism in Israel. His many books include *Revolutionary Jews From Marx to Trotsky* (1976), *Socialism and the Jews* (1982), and *Antisemitism: The Longest Hatred* (1991), which was made into a successful television series.

[William D. Rubinstein (2nd ed.)]

WITKON, ALFRED (1910–1984), Israeli jurist. Born in Berlin, Witkon settled in Palestine in 1935 and engaged in private practice and teaching at the Jerusalem Law School until 1948, when he joined the Israel Defense Forces, becoming a captain in the Legal Corps. He was president of the Jerusalem District Court from 1948 to 1954, when he was nominated to the Supreme Court. He lectured on tax legislation at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem and at Tel Aviv University and published numerous contributions to law journals, and in particular in the Israel Law Review. His major publications, all of which are in Hebrew, were *Law and Society* (1954), *Law and Politics* (1965), and *Laws of Taxation* (1969).

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[Alexander Zvielli]

WITNESS (Heb. עֵד), one that has personal knowledge of an event or a fact. The evidence of at least two witnesses was required for convicting the accused (Num. 35:30; Deut. 17:6; 19:15; cf. I Kings 21:10, 13). Commercial transactions of importance took place in the presence of witnesses at the gate of the town (Gen. 23; Ruth 4); when a document was drawn up, it was signed by witnesses (Jer. 32: 12). The witness of a grave offence, such as enticement to idolatry, was bound by law to expose the offender; if the penalty for the crime was stoning, the witness was obliged to throw the first stone (Deut. 13:7ff.; cf. Lev. 24:11; Num. 15:33). False testimony is banned (Ex. 20:14 [16]; 23:1; Deut. 5:17 [20]; cf. Prov. 6:19; 14:25, et al.). The convicted false witness bears the penalty that would have been inflicted upon the accused (Deut. 19:16–21; cf. Sus. 60–62; Jos., Ant. 4:219; Code of Hammurapi, 1–4-Pritchard, Texts, 166).

A curse could be publicly uttered against a witness who withholds testimony (Lev. 5:1; Prov. 29:24; cf. Judg. 17:2). Lasting inanimate objects, such as stones (Gen. 31:48), the moon (Ps. 89:38), or poems can be invoked as witnesses: "Therefore, write down this poem and teach it to the people of Israel; put it in their mouths, in order that this poem may be my witness against the people of Israel" (Deut. 31:19; cf. vs 21, 26). The Lord Himself is sometimes called upon as witness (Gen. 31:50; Mal. 2:14), or as a prosecuting witness (I Sam. 12:5; Jer. 29:23; 49:5; Micah 1:2; Mal. 3:5). By its very existence, Israel is a witness of the fact that God is Redeemer and Lord of history (Isa. 43:9–10; 44:6–9). There is nothing in biblical law concerning the qualification of witnesses, but, according to Josephus, the credibility of the witnesses is established by their past life, while neither women nor slaves were allowed to testify (Jos., Ant. 4:219).

In Jewish Law

DEFINITION. Jewish law distinguishes between attesting and testifying witnesses. The former are required to be present at, and then and there attest, formal legal acts which failing such attestation, are normally invalid; the latter are required to testify in court, either to an act previously attested by them or to any fact they have witnessed. The rules on competency (see below) apply to testifying witnesses only. a document duly attested by at least two attesting witnesses and confirmed by the court (see Sh. Ar., ḤM 46:7–8) is admitted as evidence and equivalent to oral testimony in civil cases, and need not be proved by testifying witnesses (Sh. Ar., ḤM 28:12).

The distinction between testifying and attesting witnesses has practical significance also for purposes of modern Israel law. While the validity of an act governed by Jewish law (e.g., marriage or divorce) may depend on the competency under Jewish law of the attesting witnesses, which will have to be determined according to Jewish law, the competency of testifying witnesses, even concerning acts governed by Jewish law, will always be determined by the law of the court (*lex fori*) in which the evidence is taken.

THE TWO-WITNESSES RULE. As a general rule, no single witness alone is competent to attest or testify: there must always be at least two (Deut. 19:15; Sif. Deut. 188; Sot. 2b; Sanh. 30a; Yad, Edut 5:1). The following are some of several exceptions to the general rule: whenever two testifying witnesses would be sufficient to prove a claim, one is sufficient to require the defendant to take an *oath that the claim is unfounded (Shev. 40a; Ket. 87b; BM 3b–4a; Yad, To'en 1:1); thus, in the case of widow claiming on her *ketubbah* or the holder of a bill claiming on it, where a single witness has testified that the claim had already been settled, the interested party will be required to take the oath before being allowed to recover (Ket. 9:7; Sh. Ar., ḤM 84:5). Conversely, a party who has partly admitted a claim will be excused from taking the oath if he is corroborated by at least a single witness (*Rema* ḤM 87:6; *Beit Yosef* ḤM 75 n. 3); and the testimony of a single depositary who still held the deposit was considered sufficient to prove which of the rival claims to a deposit was valid (Git. 64a; Sh. Ar., ḤM 56:1). A woman is allowed to remarry on the testimony of a single witness that her husband is dead (Yev. 16:7; Eduy. 6:1, 8:5; Ber. 27a; Ket. 22b–23a); and the testimony of a single witness is normally sufficient in matters of ritual (Git. 2b–3a; Yad, Edut 11:7). In criminal cases, both witnesses must have witnessed the whole event together (cf. Mak. 1:9), but in civil cases, testimonies of various witnesses to particular facts, as well as a witness and a document, may be combined to satisfy the two-witnesses rule (Sh. Ar., ḤM 30:6).

COMPETENCY. Maimonides lists ten classes of persons who are not competent to attest or testify, namely: women, slaves, minors, lunatics, the deaf, the blind, the wicked, the contemptible, relatives, and the interested parties (Yad, Edut 9:1).

(1) *Women*. By the method of *gezerah shavah* (see *Interpretation), it is derived from Scripture that only men can be competent witnesses. Maimonides gives as the reason for the disqualification of women the fact that the bible uses the masculine form when speaking of witnesses (Sif. Deut. 190; Shev. 30a; Sh. Ar., ḤM 35:14; Yad, Edut 9:2), but Joseph Caro questioned the validity of this derivation in view of the fact that "the whole Torah always uses the masculine form" (*Kesef Mishneh* to Yad, Edut 9:2). Another reason was suggested in the Talmud: that the place of a woman was in her home and not in court (Shev. 30a; cf. Git. 46a), as the honor of the king's daughter was within the house (Ps. 45:14. It is perhaps

noteworthy that the Tur (ḤM 35) omits women from the list of incompetent witnesses). Women are admitted as competent witnesses in matters within their particular knowledge, for example, on customs or events in places frequented only by women (*Rema* ḤM 35:14; *Darkhei Moshe* ḤM 35, n. 3; *Beit Yosef, ibid.*, n. 15; *Terumat ha-Deshen* Resp. no. 353); in matters of their own and other women's purity (Ket. 72a; Ket 2:6); for purposes of identification, especially of other women (Yev. 39b); or in matters outside the realm of strict law (BK 114b). In post-talmudic times, the evidence of women was often admitted where there were no other witnesses available (cf. e.g., Resp. Maharam of Rothenburg, ed. Prague, no. 920; Resp. Maharik no. 179), or in matters not considered important enough to bother male witnesses (Resp. Maharik no. 190; *Sefer Kol Bo* no. 116). In Israel, the disqualification of women as witnesses was abolished by the Equality of Women's Rights Act, 5711 – 1951.

(2) *Slaves*. Witnesses must be free Jewish citizens (*Benei Ḥorin u-Venei Berit*; BK 1:3), excluding both slaves and non-Jews (BK 15a; Yad, Edut 9:4; Sh. Ar., ḤM 34:19). The evidence of non-Jews is admitted if secular law so requires (*Maggid Mishneh*, Malveh 27:1), as well as to attest or identify documents made in non-Jewish courts, or whenever the court sees no reason to doubt their objectivity (*Tashbeẓ* 1:78; *Beit Yosef* ḤM 34, n. 22; *Baḥ* ḤM 34:32; *Keẓot ha-Ḥoshen* 68, n. 1; Tos. to Git. 9b).

(3) *Minors*. A person is incompetent as a witness until he reaches the age of 13. Between the ages of 13 and 20, he is competent as a witness with regard to movable property, but in respect of immovable property he is competent only if he is found to have the necessary understanding and experience (BB 155b; Yad, Edut. 9:8; Sh. Ar., ḤM 35:3). From the age of 20, all disqualification by reason of age is removed.

(4) *Lunatics*. In this category are included not only insane persons (for definitions see *Penal Law), but also idiots and epileptics (Yad, Edut 9:9–10; Sh. Ar., ḤM 35:8–10).

(5) *The Deaf*. Both the deaf and the dumb are included in this category (see *Deaf-Mute). "Despite the fact that their vision may be excellent and their intelligence perfect, they must testify by word of their mouth, or must hear the warning which the court administers to them" (see *Practice and Procedure), and as they cannot speak or hear, they cannot testify (Yad, Edut 9:11; Sh. Ar., ḤM 35:11).

(6) *The Blind*. "Despite the fact that they may be able to recognize voices and thus identify people, they are by Scripture disqualified as witnesses, for it is written, 'whether he hath seen or known' [Lev. 5:1] – only one who can see can testify" (Yad, Edut 9:12; Sh. Ar., ḤM 35:12).

(7) *The Wicked*. According to the Bible, "the wicked" or "the guilty" are unjust witnesses (Ex. 23:1), therefore they are a priori disqualified. They may be divided into five groups: criminals, swindlers, perjurers, illiterates, and informers. "Wicked" or "guilty" are epithets attributed to persons who have committed capital offenses (Num. 35:31) or who are liable to be flogged (Deut. 25:2), hence these are incompetent witnesses (Yad, Edut 10:2; Sh. Ar., ḤM 34:2). A person who has committed any other offense or who is liable to any other punishment is also deemed incompetent as a witness, although not in the Bible (*Rema* ḤM 34:2). Into the category of swindlers fall thieves and robbers (Sh. Ar., ḤM 34:7); usurers (*ibid.*, 34:10); tricksters, gamblers, and gamesters (Sanh. 3:3; Sh. Ar., ḤM 34:16), as well as idlers and vagabonds who are suspected of spending their leisure in criminal activities (Yad, Edut 10:4; Sh. Ar., ḤM 34:16). Tax collectors who do not work for a fixed salary, but receive as remuneration a portion of the moneys collected, are suspected of appropriating more than is due to them, and therefore are incompetent witnesses (Yad, loc. cit.; Sh. Ar., ḤM 34:14); another reason for their disqualification was said to be that they were suspected of undue preferences and discriminations in assessing tax liabilities (*Rema* ḤM 34:14). Once a witness was found guilty of perjury, he would no longer be a competent witness, even after he had made good any damage caused by his false testimony (Sanh. 27a; Yad, loc. cit. Sh. Ar., ḤM 34:8). A man who has no inkling of Bible and Mishnah, nor of civilized standards of conduct (*derekh erez*), is presumed to be idle and disorderly (Kid. 1:10) and therefore incompetent as a witness (Kid. 40b; Yad, Edut 11:1; Sh. Ar., ḤM 34:17). This presumption is rebuttable by evidence that, notwithstanding the man's illiteracy, his conduct is irreproachable (Yad, Edut 11:2–4; Sh. Ar., loc. cit.). A fortiori, agnostics (*eppikoresim*) and heretics, including those who transgress law or ritual from conviction or malice, are wholly and irrevocably disqualified (Yad, Edut 11:10; Sh. Ar., ḤM 34:22). Though not technically transgressors of the law, *informers are considered worse than criminals and hence incompetent (Yad, loc. cit.; Sh. Ar., loc. cit.).

(8) *The Contemptible*. It is presumed that people who do not conform to the conventions of society, for example, by eating in the streets (Kid. 40b), or walking around naked while working (BK 86b), or accepting alms from non-Jews in public (Sanh. 26b), would not shrink from perjuring themselves, and therefore are incompetent witnesses (Yad, Edut 11:5; Sh. Ar., ḤM 34:18).

(9) *Relatives*. The biblical injunction that parents shall not be put to death "for" their children, nor children "for" their parents (Deut. 24:16), was interpreted as prohibiting the testimony of parents against children and of children against parents (Sif. Deut. 280; Sanh. 27b), and served as the source for the disqualification of relatives in general (Yad, Edut 13:1). The Mishnah lists as disqualified relatives: father, brother, uncle, brother-in-law, stepfather, father-in-law, and their sons and sons-in-law (Sanh. 3:4); the rule was extended to cover nephews and first cousins (Yad, Edut 13:3; Sh. Ar., ḤM 33:2). Where the relationship is to a woman, the disqualification extends to her husband (Yad, Edut 13:6; Sh. Ar., ḤM 33:3). The fact that a disqualified kinsman does not maintain any connection with the party concerned is irrelevant (Yad, Edut 13:15; Sh. Ar., ḤM 33:10). Witnesses who are related to one another are incompetent to attest or testify together (Mak. 6a); similarly witnesses related to any of the judges are incompetent (Sh. Ar.,

ḤM 33:17). As relatives are incompetent to testify for or against the party to whom they are related, a fortiori the party himself is incompetent to testify for or against himself, for "a man is related to himself" (San. 9b–10a; Yev. 25b). But while the incompetency of the relatives results only in their testimony being inadmissible as evidence, there can be no "testimony" of a party at all (*Piskei ha-Rosh* Mak. 13–14; Rosh. Resp. no. 60:1; Nov. Ramban Mak. 6b; Nov. Ran Sanh. 9b; Resp. Ribash nos. 169 and 195), and everything he says in court is properly classified as pleading.

(10) *The Interested Party*. A witness is disqualified where any benefit may accrue to him from his testimony (BB 43a; Yad, Edut 15:1), as where he has some stake in the outcome of the proceedings (Sh. Ar., ḤM 37:1; Yad, Edut 15:4). However, the benefit must be present and immediate and not speculative only (Sh. Ar., ḤM 37:10). The question whether some such direct or indirect benefit may accrue to a witness is often puzzling: "these things depend on the discretion of the judge and the depth of his understanding as to what is the gist of the case at issue" (Yad, Edut 16:4; Sh. Ar., ḤM 37:21). It is a "well-established custom" that where local usages or regulations are in issue townspeople are competent witnesses, even though they may, as local residents, have some interest in the matter (Rosh, Resp. 5:4; Sh. Ar., ḤM 37:22). The same "custom" would appear to apply to attesting witnesses who were appointed as such by authority (cf. Sh. Ar., ḤM 33:18). In criminal cases, there is no disqualifying "interest"; thus, the kinsmen of the murdered man are competent witnesses against the murderer, those of the assaulted against the assailant, and the victim of an offense against the accused (*Rema* ḤM 33:16; *Siftei Kohen* ḤM 33 n. 16).

DISQUALIFICATION. No witness may say that he is (or was) wicked so as to disqualify himself from attesting or testifying (Sanh. 9b; Yad, Edut 12:2; Sh. Ar., ḤM 34:25). A party who wishes to disqualify witnesses of the other party has to prove their incompetency by the evidence of at least two other competent witnesses (Sanh. 3:1; Yad, Edut 12:1; Sh. Ar. ḤM 34:25). Disqualification as a witness is not regarded as a penalty, and hence no previous warning is required; but in cases of improper or contemptible conduct and minor transgressions, it has been suggested that a person should not be disqualified as a witness unless previously warned that this would happen if he persisted in his conduct (Yad, loc. cit.; Sh. Ar., ḤM 34:24).

Where a witness attested an act or a document, he cannot testify that he was incompetent to do so (Ket. 18b & 19b; Yad, Edut 3:7; Sh. Ar., ḤM 46:37). It might be otherwise if his signature could be identified only by his own testimony: if he could be heard to deny his signature, he ought also to be heard to say that his signature was worthless (Ket. 2:3; Sh. Ar., ḤM loc. cit.) – always provided he did not incriminate himself.

Where the court has reason to suspect that a person offered as a witness is incompetent, it may decline to admit his testimony (*Rema* ḤM 34:25; Yad, To'en 2:3), and ought to turn him down as an attesting witness (Sh. Ar., ḤM 92:5 and *Siftei Kohen* ad loc.). Where a witness has given evidence, and it subsequently transpires that he was incompetent, his evidence will be regarded as wrongly admitted and the case be reopened only if the incompetence was derived from Scripture or had been announced by public proclamation (Sanh. 26b; Yad, Edut 11:6; Sh. Ar., ḤM 34:23). A person called to attest or testify together with another person whom he knows to be incompetent as a witness must decline to attest or testify, even though the incompetence of the other is not yet known or proven to the court (Yad, Edut 10:1; Sh. Ar., ḤM 34:1). The rationale of this rule appears to be that since the incompetence of any one witness invalidates the evidence of the whole group of witnesses to which he belongs (Mak. 1:8; Yad, Edut 5:3; Sh. Ar., ḤM 36:1), if the first man attested or testified notwithstanding the other's incompetence, the evidence would be nullified (cf. *Siftei Kohen* ḤM 34, n. 3). In civil cases, parties may stipulate that, notwithstanding any incompetence, the evidence of witnesses named shall be accepted and acted upon by the court (Sanh. 3:2; Yad, Sanhedrin 7:2; Sh. Ar., ḤM 22:1).

Disqualification no longer holds: in the case of criminals, after their punishment is completed (Yad, Edut 12:4; Sh. Ar., ḤM 34:29); in the case of wicked persons not liable to punishment, when it is proved to the satisfaction of the court that they have repented and that their conduct is now irreproachable (*ibid.*) – there are detailed provisions as to what acts constitute sufficient proof of repentance (Yad, Edut 12:5–10; Sh. Ar., ḤM 34:29–35); and in the case of relatives, after the relationship or affinity has come to an end (Yad, Edut 14:1; Sh. Ar., ḤM 33:12).

REMUNERATION. As a financial interest in the testimony disqualifies the witness, the stipulation or acceptance of remuneration for testifying invalidates the evidence (Bek. 4:6). However, where the witness has returned the fee he received before testifying, his evidence is admissible; the acceptance of remuneration in itself is not a cause of incompetence, but is visited with the sanction of invalidating the evidence as a deterrent only (*Rema* ḤM 34:18). The rule prohibiting remuneration is confined to testifying witnesses only; attesting witnesses may always be remunerated (*ibid.*) and there are express provisions for the remuneration of witnesses attesting divorces (Sh. Ar., EH 130:21). A man suspected of accepting money for giving evidence is not a credible witness and should never be believed (Tosef. Bek. 3:8). A man who hires false witnesses to testify for him is answerable to Heaven, though not himself criminally responsible (see *Penal Law; Yad, Edut 17:7; Sh. Ar., ḤM 32:2; *Rema* ad loc.).

DUTY TO TESTIFY. Any person able to testify as one who has seen or learned of the matter who does not come forward to testify is liable to punishment (Lev. 5:1), but the punishment will be meted out to him by God only (see *Divine Punishment; BK 55b–56a). While in criminal cases the witness is under obligation to come forward and testify of his own accord, in civil cases the duty to testify arises only when the man is summoned to do so (Yad, Edut 1:1; Sh. Ar., ḤM 28:1). Kings are exempt from the duty to testify (Sanh. 2:2; Yad, Edut 11:9) and though high priests are generally exempt, they must testify for the king (Yad, Edut 1:3). The duty relates only to matters which the witness has seen himself, or which he has heard from the mouth of the accused or a party to the action; a man may not testify to things of which he has no personal knowledge (*Rema* ḤM 28:1), nor may he testify on what he has heard other people telling him, however true and trustworthy it may appear to him (Yad, Edut 17:1,5), and any such testimony is regarded as false (*ibid.*).

Persons who were 'planted' and hidden on the premises to overlook a certain act or overhear certain words are not admitted as witnesses (Yad, Edut 17:3), except in the case of prosecution against inciters to idolatry (Sanh. 7:10; Sanh. 29a, 67a). A witness whose memory is defective may be allowed to refresh it by looking at what he had written at the time, or even by listening to the evidence of other witnesses (Ket. 20b; Yad, Edut 8:2; Sh. Ar., ḤM 28:14; *Beit Yosef* ḤM 28, n. 13–14), but not by what the party tells him, unless that party is a scholar and not suspected of using undue influence (Yad, Edut 8:3). Yet the fact that the witness recognizes some contemporary handwriting as his own does not render the writing admissible in evidence if he does not remember the facts to which that writing relates (Sh. Ar., ḤM 38:13; cf. Yad, Edut 8:1). There is no presumption that the passage of time adversely affects any witness' memory (Sh. Ar., *ibid.*).

EXAMINATION. The biblical injunction, "thou shalt then inquire and make search and ask diligently" (Deut. 13:15), was literally interpreted to require testifying witnesses to be subjected to three different kinds of examination: enquiry (*ḥakirah*), investigation (*derishah*), and interrogation (*bedikah*; Sanh. 40a). Originally, the rule was held to apply in all cases, both civil and criminal (Sanh. 4:1), but it was later relaxed to apply in criminal cases only, and possibly in cases of tort, so as not to render the recovery of debts too cumbersome and thus "shut the doors before borrowers" (Sanh. 3a, 32a; Yev. 122b; Yad, Edut 3:1; Sh. Ar., ḤM 30:1). It is the duty of the court, Maimonides says: "to interrogate the witnesses and examine them and question them extensively and probe into their accuracy and refer them back to previous questions so as to make them desist from or change their testimony if it was in any way faulty; but the court must be very careful lest, by such examination, 'the witness might learn to lie'" (Yad, Edut 1:4 based on Sanh. 32b). The purpose of the examination is, of course, to find out if the witnesses are truthful and consistent; even though all potentially untruthful witnesses have already been sifted and excluded by disqualification, further precautionary rules were deemed necessary to make sure of the witness' veracity.

Ḥakirah is the examination relating to the time and place at which the event at issue occurred (Sanh. 5:1; Sanh. 40b). Every examination starts with questions of this kind, which are indispensable (Nov. Ran. Sanh. 42a). The particular legal importance of this part of the examination is due to its function as sole cause for allegations of perjury (Yad, Edut 1:5).

Derishah is the examination relating to the substance of the facts at issue: who did it? what did he do? how did he do it? did you warn him beforehand? etc. (Sanh. 5:1, 40b). Or, in civil cases, how do you know the defendant is liable to the plaintiff? (Sanh. 3:6). As this line of examination is likewise indispensable, it is regarded in law as part of the *ḥakirah* (Yad, Edut 1:4).

Bedikah is a sort of cross-examination relating to accompanying and surrounding circumstances and not directly touching upon the facts in issue (Yad, Edut 1:6). The more a judge conducts examinations of this kind the better (Sanh. 5:2), because it leads to the true facts being established (Deut. 13:15; Sif. Deut. 93, 149; Sanh. 41a). On the other hand, questioning of this kind is dispensable, and judgment may be given on the testimony of witnesses who have not been so cross-examined (Nov. Ran Sanh. 40a). The conduct and amount of cross-examinations is at the discretion of the judges; they ought to insist on it whenever there is the least suspicion of an attempt to mislead or deceive the court (*din merummeh*; Shev. 30b–31a; Yad, Sanh. 24:3 and Edut 3:2; Sh. Ar., ḤM 15:3). Such suspicion may arise, for instance, where several witnesses testify in exactly the same words – which would not normally happen unless they had learned their testimony by heart (TJ, Sanh. 3:8; *Piskei ha-Rosh,* Sanh. 3:32; Sh. Ar., ḤM 28:10). In these cases, cross-examination should concentrate on points on which suspicion arose and not be allowed to spread boundlessly (Nov. Ran, Sanh. 32b; Ribash, Resp. no. 266; *Rema* ḤM 15:3). If, notwithstanding all cross-examination, the witnesses are consistent in their evidence but the judge is not satisfied that they are telling the truth, he should disqualify himself and let another judge take his place (Shev. 30b–31a; Sanh. 32b; Yad, Sanh. 24:3; Sh. Ar., ḤM 15:3), or he might even, if satisfied that there had been an attempt to mislead the court, furnish the innocent party with a certificate in writing to the effect that no other judge should entertain the suit against him (Rosh, Resp. no. 68:20).

DISPROOF. Where two sets of witnesses contradict each other on a matter material to the issue, i.e., under either *ḥakirah* or *derishah* as distinguished from *bedikah* (Yad, Edut 2:1), the evidence of either set is insufficient in law to establish the facts at issue. The reason is that there is no knowing which of the two groups of witnesses is testifying to the truth and which is lying (Yad, Edut 18:2, 22:1; Sh. Ar., ḤM 31:1). Where, however, there are inconsistencies or contradictions within the evidence of one set of witnesses and none within the other, the evidence of the consistent group will have to be accepted – the other being dismissed as untruthful because inconsistent. After a fact has been established judicially on the strength of the testimony of two (or more) consistent witnesses, the findings of fact will not necessarily be affected by contradictory witnesses coming forward after judgment (TJ, Yev. 15:5), but the court may always reopen a case where fresh evidence becomes available (see *Practice and Procedure).

Contradictions on matters not material to the issue will not normally affect the admissibility of the testimony (Sanh. 41a; Nov. Ran ad loc.), though the court may reject the testimony as unreliable because of contradictions on immaterial points (Yad, Edut 2:2). It seems that in civil cases, contradictions must always relate to matters material to the issue in order to warrant their rejection as insufficient (Sanh. 30b; Yad, Edut 3:2; Sh. Ar., ḤM 30:2). Where one witness positively testifies to a fact material to the issue, and the other testifies that the fact is unknown to him, the testimony of the former is deemed to be contradicted; where the fact testified to is not material to the issue, the ignorance of the second witness does not amount to contradiction (Yad, Edut 2:1). As there is no knowing whether the contradicting or contradicted evidence is true, neither will be regarded as perjury. While evidence of perjury must be given in the presence of the perjured witnesses, evidence contradicting previously given testimony may be given in the absence of the former witnesses (Ket. 19b–20a; Yad, Edut 18:5).

Where the evidence of witnesses to the effect that a man is "wicked" and hence incompetent to testify is contradicted by other evidence, even though the first evidence is insufficient in law to disqualify him, the man will not be admitted as a witness because of the doubts arising on his credibility (Yad, Edut 12:3); but there is a strong dissent holding that every man is to be presumed competent until proven otherwise by valid and conclusive evidence (Tos. to Ket. 26b s.v. *Anan*; *Shitah Mekubbeẓet* Ket. 26b).

[Haim Hermann Cohn]

Further Aspects

DEFINITION. In contrast to Western legal systems, in which the litigant has the right to testify, Jewish law distinguishes between litigants and witnesses, and the laws governing the plaintiff and the defendant are distinct from the laws of testimony. Research has thus far illuminated the foundation and legal rationale for the distinction between a litigant – who may plead his/her own case but not testify – and a witness, who testifies for another (Hefetz, *Mikkumah shel Edut ba-Mishpat ha-Ivri*). In modern times, jurists have proposed anchoring the principle that "A litigant cannot be a witness" in the Israeli laws of evidence (Draft Bill for Amendment to Testimony in Civil Cases, by Dr. S. Ginnosar and Dr. Y. Kister).

Certain scholars have attempted to characterize testimony as a special means of proving matters and deciding a case. The institution of testimony (the set of witnesses) is a quasi-judicial one for the determination of facts, similar to the jury in Anglo-American law. Qualification for testimony is determined by competency requirements that are fundamentally similar to those for membership in the judiciary (Hefetz, *Mikkumah shel Edut*; Ettinger, *The Role of Witnesses*).

A person's classification as a witness and his belonging to a set of witnesses turns on the question of whether the witnesses' function is to witness a particular act or to testify in court (this distinction is largely similar to that between constitutive witnesses, *eidei kiyyum*, and testifying witnesses, *eidei ra'ayah*). Witnesses appearing in court officially receive that status at the stage at which the court administers the admonishment (Mishnah, Sanh. 3:6; 4:5). However, the criterion differs regarding witnesses who observe an event for the purposes of attesting to it. One scholar (Radzyner, *Hatra'ah be-Edim u-Teḥilat Edut*) suggested that Rabba's statement in the Talmud, "Did you come to observe an event or to testify?" refers to a case in which the witnesses were summoned in advance to witness a certain act (Makk. 6a). According to this understanding, in all cases in which the witnesses are called upon to attest to an event, or to sign a document, when a question of their legal competency arises the purpose of their coming must be ascertained. If a relative or legally incompetent person states that he came to testify, the contract is disqualified. The first stage in defining the summoned witnesses as a set of witnesses begins from the moment they intended to attest to the event, and not just to observe it.

TESTIMONY RECORDED IN LEGAL DOCUMENTS (SHETAR). A central rule regarding the validity of signed documents as admissible evidence is the dictum of Resh Lakish, that "signatures of witnesses to a document are as reliable as if their evidence had been investigated in the *bet din*." The accepted interpretation of this dictum is that this refers to biblical law, which makes a substantive distinction between attesting to a document and other forms of testimony (including the affidavit). In most forms of testimony one cannot waive the requirement that witnesses be interrogated by the court, whereas documents can be accepted as evidence without the court conducting any enquiry pertaining to the witnesses who signed it. On the other hand, one of the scholars (Sinai, *The Geonic and Maimonidean Approach to Testimony Recorded in Legal Documents*) demonstrated that certain 12th-century *rishonim* (e.g., Maim., Edut 3:4; R. Simḥah of Speyer, cited in *Mordekhai* on Kiddushin, pt. 569–570) had another conception, whose sources are found as early as the works of the *geonim* (see Rav Sherira Gaon, cited in *Sefer ha-Terumot*, Pt. 13, sec. 1:3), and which is also consistent with the simple meaning of the talmudic sources. According to this conception, the biblical conditions for the admissibility of testimony do not distinguish between attesting to a document and other forms of testimony. Under biblical law all forms of testimony must be given by witnesses in court, thus enabling their examination and interrogation by the court, in accordance with the talmudic rule. "By biblical law, both monetary and capital cases require inquiry and investigation" (Sanh. 32a); the admissibility of written testimony was the result of a rabbinic enactment, "so as not to close the door to borrowers" (Maim., *ibid*). Nevertheless, even according to the latter view, written testimony is valid even under biblical law in cases of ritual matters (*issur*) and especially regarding a *get*, because these as distinct from capital and monetary cases, do not need to be clarified by the court (Maim., Yad, Gerushin 7:24; cf. Sinai's interpretation, ibid., p. 126). This is likewise the conception evinced by Maimonides' comments on examination and interrogation of the testimony that frees a woman from the bonds of *aginut*, regarding which he writes that the Sages allowed a woman to remarry on the basis of testimony that the husband had died, "even on the basis of a written document, and without examination and interrogation." The reason for this is that "the Torah insists upon testimony by two witnesses and the other rules concerning testimony only in those matters, the truth of which cannot be ascertained except out of the mouths of witnesses and by their testimony, as, for example, when they testify that A has slain B or has made a loan to B. But in matters that can be ascertained through means other than the testimony of the particular witness, where he cannot clear himself if he is exposed as a false witness, as when he has testified that so-and-so is dead, the Torah does not so insist, because in such cases it is uncommon for a witness to testify to a falsehood" (Yad, Gerushin 13:29).

In explaining this ruling, one of the scholars focused on the basic distinction between matters requiring a court ruling, such as capital and civil cases, regarding which the stringent rules of testimony are applied, and ritual matters, including the release of an *agunah*, in which the matters permitted or prohibited are applicable by themselves, irrespective of the court ruling (Sinai, *Investigation of Agunah Witnesses*, 360–364).

THE TWO WITNESS RULE. One of the scholars showed that the rule "by two witnesses shall a matter be established" should not be regarded as an all-inclusive and rigid rule and that, in fact, the courts rely as a matter of course on less than two witnesses, as well as on circumstantial evidence (H.S. Hefetz, "According to Two Witnesses?: Circumstantial Evidence in the Bet Din in Practice" (Hebrew), *Takdim*, 2 (1989), 59–84. See also *Evidence.)

In one of the decisions of the Israeli Supreme Court, Justice Silberg relied on the concept that testimony of one witness is sufficient to compel an oath by the opposing litigant, in support of the view that testimony of one witness is only considered as contested if it was rejected by opposing testimony (CA 88/49 *Rosen v. Biali*, 5 PD 72, 73, 78–80).

COMPETENCY. In any case of hearing testimony, courts operating on the basis of Jewish law are required to determine the competency of the witnesses, and in many cases are unable to accept the testimony of incompetent witnesses. Nonetheless, one of the foremost rabbinical judges, who subsequently served as chief rabbi of Israel, stressed that

> It goes without saying that the *bet din* is authorized to hear the truth from any person, in any form, to form an impression. Even where the witnesses are incompetent under halakhic principles, their testimony may aid them in drawing conclusions based on common sense presumptions (*umdana*) or as proof of an objective reality. In many cases, the court is empowered to use its discretion to rule in reliance on other forms of proof and common sense conclusions, even in the absence of valid testimony. (Rav A. Bakshi-Doron, "*Kabbalat Edim be-Bet ha-Din*," in: *Torah she-be-al Peh*, 22 (1981), 81–88, 84).

A comprehensive study by Hayyim Hefetz dealt with the status of circumstantial evidence (Hefetz, *Ra'ayot Nesibatiot*; on matters of evidence and presumption, see *Evidence). The difference between testimony proffered by competent witnesses as opposed to that of incompetent witnesses has been explained by one scholar (Ettinger, *The Role of Witnesses*) as being based on a fundamental distinction between testimony and credibility. This distinction is manifested in the willingness to accept testimony of incompetent witnesses (such as testimony for an *agunah,* that her husband died), even though they are not considered as "witnesses" in the formal sense, though their testimony is relied upon.

Women. The Scriptural source for the disqualification of women as witnesses is both amorphous and disputed. This substantiates the theory forwarded by one scholar, who stated that the disqualification of women as witnesses was an accepted rule among the talmudic sages, who attempted to establish its biblical source even though it was not of explicit scriptural origin (Ettinger, *Isha Ke-Ed be-Dinei Mamonot*, p. 245).

One scholar suggested that the historical reason for disqualification of women as witnesses was based, not on a supposed lack of intelligence, nor on a lack of understanding of the imperative of telling the truth, but rather because, inasmuch as women are not accustomed to dealings in the marketplace, they are not used to earning a living or dealing with public affairs. Their lack of understanding of the ways of the world and the market place, a skill acquired by virtue of practical encounter and dealings with other people, renders them unequipped to understand the actions of others and hence to testify regarding their actions (S. Albeck, *Ha-Ra'ayot be-Dinei ha-Talmud*, Ramat Gan, 1987, p. 97).

Both of these positions served to explain the legal, as opposed to the historical, reason for a woman's disqualification as a witness: is it owing to her lack of reliability (for she is liable to withdraw her testimony "having been tempted or out of fear"; see Tosefta Ket. 3:3, ed. Lieberman; Maim., Yad, Gerushin 13.29); or is the disqualification a "scriptural edict" (*gezerat ha-katuv*), and not based upon unreliability (Resp. Rashba, attributed to Naḥmanides, no. 128). The practical difference between the two approaches is crucial, as demonstrated by one of the scholars (Ettinger, *ibid.*, 249–50). If the disqualification is substantively based on the woman's lack of reliability, there could at least theoretically be a change in the law. Such a change would be effected by way of interpretation, assuming that the factual-social reality had changed, to the extent of eliminating any presumption of a difference of any nature between men and woman in terms of their reliability for testimony. On the other hand, if the disqualification is a formal one, the tendency would be to limit the scope of the prohibition, and to waive it under certain circumstances, in the same way as when the law is altered directly by force of an enactment.

The more lenient approach to acceptance of a woman's testimony is usually found in the Ashkenazi tradition, whereas the tendency of Spanish medieval scholars is to totally ban women as witnesses. It may be presumed that this dispute reflects differences in the status of women in the two parallel Jewish societies of that time. Scholars of that period have shown that Jewish women enjoyed a better status in Ashkenazi society than in Sephardi society, and that as such the Ashkenazi authorities did not hesitate to limit the scope of the prohibition on women as witnesses (Ettinger, *ibid.* 255).

Two chief rabbis of Israel commented on the issue of accepting women's testimony in our times, as follows: Rav Ouziel argued that a woman was disqualified as a witness because she was liable to lack precision in her testimony due to her lack of experience in commercial-market affairs. Based on this reasoning he infers that in all matters with which they are familiar, we may rely on their testimony, and that the community is therefore empowered to enact regulations to validate a woman's testimony in contemporary times (Resp. Mishpatei Uziel, ḤM no. 20). In this context, a significant step was taken by Rabbi Herzog, as indicated in his decisions given when serving on the Rabbinical Court of Appeals in 1948 (collection of decisions of the Chief Rabbinate, ed. Z. Warhaftig, 1985, p.11). Rav Herzog states that the rabbinical judge has discretion to evaluate the testimonies, and if he deems that the witnesses are telling the truth, he is even entitled to accept a woman's testimony.

The Wicked. The Talmud discusses the question of how to characterize a "wicked" person who is disqualified as a witness (Sanh. 27b). According to Rava, only the "wicked who robs" is disqualified – in other words, a person who transgressed an offense of a monetary nature. According to Abbaye, any "wicked" person is disqualified. The *halakhah* was codified in accordance with the latter view. Their dispute may quite possibly turn on the reason for disqualifying the wicked person for testimony. According to Abbaye, for whom the disqualification also applies to strictly religious offenses, its source lies in a Scriptural edict. Rava, however, who limits the disqualification to the financially wicked, apparently sees its source as being the unreliability of the witness who is a criminal (this interpretation is suggested by *Nimmukei Yosef* on Rif, ad loc. 5b of the Rif, s.v. *itmar*). From Maimonides *Mishnah Commentary*, in Sanhedrin 3:3, one scholar inferred (Sinai, *Be'ur Shitat ha-Rambam be-Inyan Kashrutam shel Resha'im le-Edut*), that a distinction must be made between one who violates prohibitions concerning monetary matters (*ḥamsan*), and one who transgresses non-monetary offences. With respect to the latter the prohibition derives from a Scriptural edict, whereas for the former there is a substantive rational reason – namely, the fear of perjury. A similar approach is taken by *Keẓot ha-Ḥoshen*, 52:1). This is also the approach evidenced in the comments of Justice H. Cohn regarding suspected tax evaders, of whom he writes that "This renders them suspect of perjury, for just as they do not recoil from obfuscations and lies in order to evade tax [or another kind of breach of the law], they will similarly not shy away from obfuscation and lies in order to win their case. This is the obvious rationale of the Torah in its disqualification of wicked persons as witnesses, inter alia 'those who take money that is not theirs' (in the language of Maimonides, *Edut* 10.4)" (CA 41/75 *Nili v Shlomi*, 30 (2) PD 3, 6–7).

It is suggested in the research literature that one view the disqualification of the wicked – even if they had not committed monetary offenses – as part of the overall approach of the Torah, and not just as a specific "Scriptural edict" (Sinai, *ibid.*, 298). There are numerous commandments in the Torah in respect of which the "wicked" are not considered as belonging to the community of Israel (Yad, Gezelah va-Avedah 11:2; Mamrim 5:12; Evel 1:10; Edut 11:1). On this basis, we may reasonably surmise that, with respect to testimony, the biblical innovation was that all wicked persons are disqualified for testimony, and as such they are subsumed within the general system of witnesses who are excluded from the Community of Israel. Conceivably, one could add that proffering testimony is regarded as a religious duty, in which not all can partake.

The reason for disqualifying the wicked for testimony has important legal ramifications in our times, regarding the issue of the competence of witnesses who are not religiously observant. In a 1948 judgment, Chief Rabbi Herzog wrote (*Collection of Decisions of the Chief Rabbinate,* ed. Z. Warhaftig, 1985, p. 137) that the offender's disqualification is rooted in his unreliability only, for which reason "one must have taken into consideration that in a time… and place where… non-observance is widespread… this kind of offense will not necessarily impugn the reliability of the witnesses." Consequently, in his view, "If it is clear to the Court that this person [i.e., who does not live a traditional religious life] is not likely to perjure himself for personal benefit, then he may be accepted as a valid witness."

Another legal ramification of the rationale for disqualifying the wicked for testimony that emerges from Maimonides' *Mishnah Commentary* (ibid.) relates to the possibility of the wicked person regaining the status of competent witnesses. As indicated by one of the scholars (Sinai, *ibid.*, 300–308), Maimonides' view is that, with respect to those who committed monetary offenses, their return to the status of legitimate witnesses is contingent upon their allaying our fears that they may perjure themselves for monetary gain. Accordingly, they must abandon "the path of the sinners," and their repentance must be unequivocal. The criterion for such repentance is that they be placed in a situation that invites the commission of the offense that they were accustomed to committing, yet despite having the opportunity of committing the offense, they desisted. This would constitute irrefutable proof of the sincerity of their repentance, that they had freed themselves of their lust for money, and thus we need no longer fear their return to the path of sin. Nonetheless, the recovery of their status as competent witnesses may still be contingent upon the particular circumstances and nature of the crime (Yad, Edut 12).

Persons guilty of non-monetary transgressions only regain competence as witnesses after receiving the punishment of flagellation (Yad, Edut 12.4). The reason, as indicated in Maimonides' *Mishnah Commentary* (*ibid.*), is that those subject to flagellation return to competence even without repentance, because their initial disqualification is not rooted in the fear that they will lie, but derives rather from the Scriptural edict: "Put not thy hand with the wicked to be an unrighteous witness." Hence, having received lashes, they are once again regarded as "thy brother" and regain their competence, even in the absence of repentance (Sinai, *ibid.*, 309–310).

Incidentally, in one of the judgments of the Israeli Supreme Court, Deputy President Menachem Elon wrote that "based on the overarching principle of 'after receiving lashes – he is like your brother' (Mishnah, Makkot 3:15), Jewish law prescribed a series of rules intended to rehabilitate the criminal who served his sentence, and thus preserve his rights as a human being, as your brother and as your neighbor" (ALA 18/84 *Karmi v. State Prosecutor,* 44 (1) PD 353, 375), and also receives expression in the Crime Register and Rehabilitation of Offenders Law, 1981, which is based on the principles of Jewish law (see judgment, ibid; Elon, *Ha-Mishpat ha-Ivri*, pp. 1434–1435)

In another Supreme Court judgment, Justice Silberg alluded to the concept taken from Jewish law in responsa of the *aḥaronim*: to wit, that a person disqualified as a witness due to the offense committed as a result of and in connection with his testimony, is only disqualified after completing his testimony. (CA 238/53 *Cohen v. Attorney General*, 4 PD 4, 30–31).

The Interested Party. A fascinating question that arose in modern times relates to the status in Jewish law of a witness who turns state's evidence (i.e., one offered immunity from punishment for his own crimes in return for testifying against another criminal). The various problems posed by a conviction resting on the testimony of a person who turned state's evidence is a classic example of the "interested party" and of one who "receives benefit for testifying." All of these issues are dealt with in a comprehensive study (E. Shochetman, *Eduto shel Ed Medinah le-Or ha-Mishpat ha-Ivri*). In terms of being "an interested party," the author argues that such a person should be disqualified as witness, because the consideration given him for his testimony is given by one party (the prosecution – District/State attorney), because he is under pressure for his testimony to be consistent with that given to the police during his preliminary interrogation, and because it must conform with the prosecutor's anticipations. Another problem is the granting of immunity against criminal prosecution in return for giving testimony, which constitutes the granting of benefit to the witness in return for his testimony. This is in direct contravention of the commandment to give evidence gratuitously, and under Mishnaic law, such testimony is invalid (Mishnah, Bekhorot, 4:6). The *halakhah* in this matter is in accordance with the view of Rema (ḤM 34:18). On this basis, the author concludes that even in terms of the law of "he who receives benefit for testifying," the state's witness should be disqualified. On the other hand, Shochetman suggests that the institute of "states evidence" might be validated by the enactment of a regulation allowing the court discretionary power to deviate from regular laws of evidence, in an attempt to provide a halakhic solution for situations in which an offender whose guilt is clear may still escape punishment altogether.

DISQUALIFICATION. A comprehensive study concerning the prohibition against self-incrimination in Jewish law was conducted by A. Kirschenbaum (*The Criminal Confession in Jewish Law*), some of the main aspects of which will be discussed below. The talmudic principle that invalidates a person's confession to a criminal offense is without parallel in any of other legal system, whether in the ancient world, in the medieval period, or in modern times. Jewish law determined that no person could be convicted on the basis of his own confession, both with respect to considering the confessor as "wicked," his disqualification as a witness, and with regard to punishment. The author of the above study distinguished between the theoretical halakhic rule, which totally denies the admissibility of a criminal confession, and practical *halakhah*, which was prepared to accept it, as dictated by the exigencies of the period. However, even when an admission was accepted, the original *halakhah* left its imprint, and whenever the exigencies of the period did not compel deviation from the classical *halakhah* – i.e., the vast majority of cases – the courts would abide by the classical position of Jewish law. It should be noted that the Israeli Supreme Court also gave expression to the classical position of Jewish law (see e.g. Justice Elon, Cr.A. 543/79 *Nagar v. State of Israel*, 35 (1) 113). Over the last few years there has been growing support for deviation from the principle of admitting a confession of an accused. In fact, in one of the judgments, Justice Dalia Dorner expressed a lone opinion that drew inspiration from Jewish Law, as a system in which human experience lead to the creation of a rule that disqualifies the admission of the accused (FH 4342/97 *State of Israel v. Al-Abid,* 51 (1) PD 736, par. 3 of judgment).

DUTY TO TESTIFY. The religious duty to testify exists even when the witness is not called upon to testify by the interested party, for conceivably the litigant may not even be aware of the existence of that witness. In a decision given by the Tel Aviv Rabbinical Court, File 15453/5745, the court ruled that in view of this halakhic duty, "the claim of immunity is not accepted (i.e., in accordance with Section 90 of the Chamber of Advocates Law, 5721 – 1961), because that claim contradicts the biblical command 'If he does not utter it, then he shall bear his iniquity' (Lev 5:1)."

Unlike the accepted rule in many legal systems, under Jewish law there is no automatic swearing of a witness to tell the truth. However, "Should the court perceive a need dictated by the times, to impose an oath on them so that they shall say the truth – it may do so" (Rema, ḤM 28:2). The halakhic position was adopted in Israeli law in the Rules of Evidence Amendment (Warning of Witnesses and Abolition of Oath) Law, 5740 – 1980, which provides that "Notwithstanding anything provided in any other law, a witness about to testify in any judicial or quasi-judicial proceeding shall not be sworn" (Section 1). Nonetheless, the court was conferred discretion to swear in a witness "Where the court has reason to believe that swearing a witness may assist in discovering the truth." However, under those circumstances "the witness may, after stating that he does so for reasons of religion or conscience, make an affirmation rather than taking an oath, unless the court is satisfied that he does not invoke those reasons in good faith." Even where the witness does not make an oath, the court must warn him that he must tell the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, and that he will be liable for the penalties prescribed by law if he fails to do so (Section 2). The procedure for warning witnesses is further expanded in *Practice and Procedure.

A highly instructive innovation pertaining to secret monitoring appears in a judgment of Justice Menachem Elon (FH 9/83 *Military Court of Appeals v. Vaknin*, 43 (2) PD 837, 857–859), where it states that "under special circumstances secret monitoring is a mitzvah, as when needed in order to create evidence in a case of serious criminal activity (incitement and enticement), in which case 'witnesses are hidden behind a partition' (Mishnah, Sanh. 7:10) and it is permitted in order to create evidence with respect to any kind of criminality" (see Rabbi Joseph Babad, *Minḥat Ḥinukh*, §462). Justice Elon's comments were cited approvingly by Rav S. Dikhovsky, "*Ha'azanat Seter,*" in: *Teḥumin*, 11 (1990), 299–332, at 302–3.

In another interesting decision of Justice Türkel, a precedential rule was crystallized in a matter yet to be addressed by Israeli case law. The question concerned a judge giving testimony at the witness stand (LCA 3202/03 *State of Israel v. Yosef*), 58 (3) PD 541, at par.10 of judgment). Justice Türkel relied on the sources of Jewish law regarding the retaining of the dignity of the *dayyan*, in addition to the sources dealing with the possibility of taking testimony from a learned scholar in his home, in deference to his revered status (Maim., Yad, Edut 1:2). Justice Türkel drew an analogy from these sources to the immediate question of the judge as a witness.

EXAMINATION. In a court procedure conducted in accordance with Jewish law, the judge is charged with the examination of witnesses, and in principle the litigants and their attorneys do not have the possibility of examining the witnesses. (Regarding court's intervention in the judicial proceedings, see *Practice and Procedure.) In this context, the Rules of Procedure of the Rabbinical Courts of Israel establish a new and interesting arrangement. Regulation 89 (Section 1) states that: "The witness presents the testimony and is then examined by the *Bet Din*. After that, he can be examined by the party that summoned him, and then by the opposing party." The principal examination is inquisitorial, conducted by the *Bet Din* itself, and followed by examinations conducted by both parties (examination in chief, and cross-examination). Insofar as the examination of witnesses by the litigants is purely for purposes of promoting the *Bet Din*'s examination, the *Bet Din* has broad discretion in the examination of witnesses, and is even empowered to deviate from this format where circumstances necessitate it. Section 3 of the aforementioned regulation states "the *Bet Din* is permitted to ask further questions at all times, and to allow the litigants or any one of them to do so." Regulation 90 provides: "The *Bet Din* is permitted to disallow any question presented to a witness and to terminate the questioning of a witness by the litigants, if the *Bet Din* suspects that the question may mislead or prompt the witness to lie, or if the *Bet Din* deems the question superfluous, insulting or intimidating." A similar arrangement (to that provided in said Regulation 90) was established by the Israeli legislator in the Amendment of Procedure (Examination of Witnesses) Law, 5718 – 1957.

In the Israeli Supreme Court, Justice Menachem Elon relied on the procedures for examining witnesses in Jewish law to indicate the importance of the cross-examination (Cr.A. *Hag' Yichyeh v. State of Israel*, 45 (5) PD 221, 264–265.)

In the vast majority of civil suits and personal status suits, the *Bet Din* is not required to conduct a rigorous, punctilious examination of the witnesses, the like of which is mandatory in criminal cases, and the degree of its intervention (which for the most part did not consist of professional *dayyanim*) in the examination of witnesses was minimal. The following alternative grounds for leniency with regard to procedural strictures relating to competency of the *dayanim* and examination of witnesses were invoked by the Sages: "in order not to lock the door on borrowers" (Sanh. 32b); "in order to lock the door on perpetrators of injustice" (*Piskei Ha-Rosh*, to Sanh. 81.1); and "public policy" or "to distance tortfeasors" (Ha-Meiri, in *Bet Ha-Beḥirah* on Sanh. 3b, at p. 6 (Ralbag ed.)). These reasons are applicable both with respect to matters involving financial loss and, in effect, in most civil matters, as well as in matters concerning personal status. As shown by one of the scholars (Sinai, *The Court's Intervention in Litigation According to Jewish Law*, p. 249), the position adopted by halakhic authorities was that strict compliance with the two aforementioned limitations would severely impair the efficiency of the judicial system, precisely concerning those issues with which the rabbinical courts are frequently engaged on a daily basis. This position relied inter alia on the explicit talmudic testimony that in regular matters involving monetary loss, lenience was permitted and matters were heard even before non-professional judges so that suits could be heard by lay judges who were not experts in the secrets of examination and investigation. This in turn engendered a parallel policy of leniency regarding the extent to which the *dayyanim* were involved in the process of examining witnesses, and the abrogation of the obligation to conduct a punctilious examination and investigation in those fields (i.e., monetary, personal status). The result was the conducting of an efficient hearing in every-day matters. Moreover, even in the realm of personal law, the accepted approach is that the *Bet Din* does not conduct a rigorous, meticulous examination of the witnesses (Yeb. 122b). A number of explanations have been offered to explain this tendency: the purpose and role of the witnesses and of the *Bet Din* in matters of personal status as distinct from capital and civil matters; or the tendency towards lenience that characterizes the laws of the *agunah*; or against the background of "*takkanat ha-lovim*" (so that lenders will not be deterred from loaning) (Sinai, *Ḥakirat Edei Hagannah – Le-Hithavvutan shel Tefisot Mishpatiyyot*).

With regard to reliance on written records, it should be added that in a recent ruling of the District Court in Jerusalem (CF (Jer) 4177/02 *Ashkenazi v. Gandin*, (unpublished) par. 6; delivered in 2005) Judge Yosef Shapira accepted the testimony of the defendant-doctor in a medical negligence suit, to the effect that the plaintiff had never actually visited her clinic. His acceptance of this testimony was based inter alia on the presumption that had the plaintiff actually visited her clinic, she would presumably have examined him at the time and recorded his particulars in his patient card, in view of his being a new patient. This factual determination was based on Jewish law, which permits reliance on records in booklets or the computer, in accordance with the *halakhah* codified in the Shulḥan Arukh (ḤM 91.5).

An interesting example of reliance on the Jewish law regarding examination of witnesses appeared in a recent decision of District Court Judge Pilpel (CF (TA) 2070/00 *Avidan v. Avidan* (Tak-Dis 2005 (2), 5676, 5681). The case concerned a suspicion of fraudulent signature on a deed, in the context of the English legal doctrine of "*non-est factum*." In her decision, Judge Pilpel wrote that, "this subject and the decision thereon were already discussed in ancient times by the Babylonian *geonim*" (see *Oẓar ha-Geonim le-Ketubbot*, 183, pp. 92–93). The *geonim* were asked about the validity of a deed when it was known that the witnesses signed thereon were illiterate. They responded that such a situation is "a total farce" and would sow suspicion in any reasonable person's heart, and accordingly the nature of the signature demands examination (Dr. Y. Sinai, "The Geonic and Maimonidean Approach to Testimony Recorded in Legal Documents (*Shetar*)" in: *Dinei Israel*, 22 (2003), 111).

Regarding fraudulent claims see *Practice and Procedure.

DISPROOF. In one of the first decisions of the Israeli Supreme Court it was ruled (per Justice Simha Assaf) on the basis of the Talmud (Sanh. 41a) that a distinction must be made between a conflict that involves the core of a given matter and one regarding trivial conditions. The distinction is explained as follows: "If one of the witnesses was not precise in the details of his testimony, this does not perjure his entire testimony. It is precisely the perjured witnesses, who have carefully coordinated their testimonies, who are more able to submit perfect testimony, without any contradictions. Truthful witnesses, on the other hand, may contradict one another, and even contradict themselves in unimportant details, especially in those pertaining to peripheral aspects of the event, because they were not in a relaxed state of mind, and they were shocked by the confusion and pandemonium that resulted from the event" (Cr.A. 3/48 *Katz-Cohen v. Attorney General*, 2 PD 681, 686–687). Justice Assaf's contention was that contradictory witnesses should not necessarily be disqualified where the contradiction relates to non-substantive matters. In another Israeli Supreme Court judgment, he found additional support for this contention in the words of Rav (TJ Sanh. 4:1, 22a), who when hearing witnesses whose testimony was substantially similar, to the extent of their using the same words, he suspected them of being false witnesses who had coordinated their testimony, and he would investigate and examine them. However if their testimony was not couched in precisely the same wording, each of them describing the event using different words, then he would only investigate to ensure that their testimony provided a sufficiently accurate description of the event so as to be relied upon.

Justice Assaf offered a further justification for this rule stating that, "Just as no two prophets prophesize in the same style, then *a fortiori* two laymen (Resp. *Zikhron Yehudah*, by R. Judah ben Asher, no. 72)" (Cr.A. *Suleiman v. Attorney General*, 6 PD 824, 826).

In another judgment of the Israel Supreme Court, Justice Silberg invoked the principle whereby "testimony that cannot be refuted is not valid" in an interesting manner, as the basis of the requirement for corroborating evidence in sexual offenses. Justice Silberg justified the need for external corroborative evidence in addition to the testimony of the complainant as follows: "Since the testimony of the complainant is almost always 'testimony that cannot be refuted' given that it concerns intimate matters that occurred behind closed doors, where no-one can see, and hence there are no witnesses for the defense who can help the innocent person who is under suspicion" (Cr.A. *Saadia v. Attorney General*, 16 PD 1860, 1862).

[Yuval Sinai (2nd ed.)]

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°**WITTE, SERGEY YULYEVICH, COUNT** (1849–1915), Russian statesman. Between 1892 and 1903 he was finance minister and exerted much influence in the economic and foreign policies of Russia. In 1894 he introduced the government monopoly in the alcoholic liquors trade, a measure which removed within a few years tens of thousands of Jewish families from this branch of the economy. Witte was opposed to the aggressive policy of Russia in the Far East and, after the defeat of the Russian army in 1904, led the delegation which signed the Peace Treaty of Portsmouth with Japan (1905). He was among the advocates of the Constitution of October 1905 and headed the Council of Ministers until April 1906. As a result of these activities and his efforts to obtain foreign loans, Witte met with Jews both in Russia and western Europe, as well as in America. He criticized the discriminatory policy and spoke against the persecution of the Jews, which he believed was responsible for the active participation by Jews in the Russian revolutionary movement and the difficulties encountered by the Russian government in its foreign policy and on the international financial market.

When *Herzl visited St. Petersburg, during the summer of 1903, he conferred with Witte on the subject of obtaining authorization for issuance of shares in Russia by the Jewish Colonial Trust. During his last years Witte wrote his memoirs (3 vols., 1922–23), which contain material on the economic and political history of the Jews in Russia.

[Yehuda Slutsky]

WITTENBERG, YIẒHAK (**Itzig**; 1907–1943), first commander of the Jewish fighters' organization in the Vilna ghetto (Fareynegte Partizaner Organizatsye, United Partisan Organization, FPO). He was born into a working class family and worked as a tailor before the war and was a Communist from his youth. During the Soviet occupation of Vilna he was a Communist activist. He became one of the leaders of the Communist underground during the German occupation.

The fighters' organization was established in the ghetto after the Nazis systematically murdered more than 40,000 Vilna Jews, after transporting them to the site of the massacre at *Ponary. After the organization was established, Wittenberg was chosen commander. He headed the training program and was an outstanding officer. On July 15, 1943, one of Wittenberg's contacts was caught by the Nazis outside the ghetto, who were apparently unaware of the existence of the FPO. On the evening of the same day, the leaders of the fighters' organization were ordered to appear before Jacob Gens, the chief of the Jewish police in the ghetto, to provide an explanation. The commanders appeared at the appointed hour, and after a short period *SS men broke into the office by the side door with their guns pointed at the fighters. They were ordered to identify Wittenberg, but refused to answer, until Gens himself pointed him out. Wittenberg was handcuffed and taken out in the direction of the gate of the ghetto, but his captors never succeeded in getting him there. The ghetto fighters attacked the SS men and in an exchange of fire succeeded in freeing Wittenberg. Instead of attacking the ghetto and destroying it with Wittenberg inside, the SS handed Gens an ultimatum that he must turn Wittenberg over to them before 3:00 A.M. or they would destroy the ghetto and all its inhabitants.

Due to the tempestuous situation created in the ghetto after Gens repeated the ultimatum, it was necessary to extend the time to 6:00 A.M. At first, people were unwilling to believe Gens' testimony that the Germans intended to destroy the ghetto. Two camps quickly emerged: representatives of the fighters, who believed that under no circumstances was Wittenberg to be given over to the Nazis; and those who supported Gens and demanded that it was necessary to spare the ghetto and hand Wittenberg over to the Germans at the appointed hour, so as not to endanger the entire ghetto for the sake of one man. They also felt that the time was not ripe for a general uprising. The exchanges between the two sides reached the proportions of a civil war in the eyes of the Nazis, who stood on the side waiting for the time to run out. The fighters opened up negotiations with the chief of police with the intention of offering a volunteer to deceive the Germans or to claim that Wittenberg had escaped. But Gens rejected the suggestion. The fighters were close to despair, seeing all their preparations for the fateful day collapsing because of one incident, and they demanded that Wittenberg give the order to fight. But Wittenberg was not prepared to allow Jew to fight Jew until his fighters reached their real enemy. Full of confidence, he walked out into the deserted street, approached the ghetto gate, and turned himself over to the Germans. He was subsequently tortured and died. Some say that he took his own life in prison.

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[B. Mordechai Ansbacher / Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

WITTGENSTEIN, LUDWIG (1889–1951), Austrian-British philosopher who profoundly influenced Anglo-Saxon analytic philosophy through his analysis of language; brother of the musician Paul *Wittgenstein.

Life

Wittgenstein was born in Vienna in 1889, the eighth and youngest child in a well-off and cultured family. He had three Jewish grandparents. As a child he was baptized, but he never was a religious Catholic. After a private education at home, he attended school in Linz, where, coincidentally, Adolf Hitler also was a pupil. He studied engineering in Berlin and then went to Manchester, England, to study aerodynamics. There he read Bertrand Russell's *Principles of Mathematics* and became interested in logic and the logical basis of mathematics. In 1911 he met Gottlob Frege (1848–1925) who demonstrated that one can derive mathematics from logic, and singled out the problem of the inaccuracy of language. Frege referred him to Russell, whom Wittgenstein visited in the same year, and who stimulated him to be active in philosophy.

What vividly interested him was language. In 1913 and 1914, he worked during long periods in Norway in order to clarify logic. With the outbreak of World War I he became a volunteer in the Austrian army. In 1916 the first version of his famous *Tractatus Logico-Philosophicus*, Wittgenstein's essay on language and logic, was ready. In the same year, he left for the front. In 1918, he was taken prisoner of war in Italy. Upon his return to Vienna, he studied to become a teacher and gave away his personal fortune.

At first, Wittgenstein could not find a publisher for his *Tractatus*. It was finally published in 1922 in the series *Annalen der Naturphilosophie*. He worked as a gardener and also as a teacher in several elementary schools. He was successful when teaching superior pupils, but was a failure with other pupils, whom he treated harshly. In 1925 he again visited England where he became an advanced student, and in 1929 received his Ph.D. on the basis of his *Tractatus*. In 1930 he started teaching in Cambridge. The *Tractatus* was the only work he published, although he desired also to publish his later work *Philosophische Untersuchungen*.

Teaching at the university did not prevent Wittgenstein from opposing any form of academic philosophy. He developed a growing resistance toward the mathematical and scientific way of thinking as the only ways of philosophizing. In 1935 he pondered immigrating to Russia. In 1939 he was promoted to the rank of professor.

During the difficult years of the Shoah, the Wittgenstein family in Vienna were considered non-Jewish, thanks to a friend, the Catholic teacher Ludwig Hänsel, who had access to leading political figures of that time. It was probably on instructions of Arthur *Seyss-Inquart, who was responsible for the destruction of Dutch Jewry and who was tried in the Nuremberg trials, that the family was not killed.

For some time, Wittgenstein left his academic position and worked in a London hospital. In 1948 he left for Ireland. In the summer of 1949, he visited America, where he became ill. In 1950 he returned to London, without a job and without money. During the last months of his life he wrote *On Certainty*. He died in 1951.

Work

Customarily, one distinguishes between Wittgenstein's early work, the *Tractatus* (1922), and his later work, e.g., the *Philosophical Investigations* (published posthumously in 1953).

Fortunately, there exists Wittgenstein's voluminous *Nachlaß,* of which various manuscript were published, as *Zettel*, *On Certainty*, *Remarks on the Foundations of Mathematics*, *Culture and Value*, and *Remarks on the Philosophy of Psychology*. There are further the *Notebooks 1914–1916* and, finally, the notes made by his students, e.g., *The Blue and Brown Books, Lectures and Conversations on Aesthetics,* and *Psychology and Religious Belief*.

The Vienna Circle interpreted his early work in the direction of logical positivism, on the basis of the picture-language discussed in the *Tractatus*. It is, however, questionable if there is enough supporting evidence for speaking of Wittgenstein I and II. It is the same person who, during his entire life, developed a critique of language, attacking the picture theory of meaning. In all of his philosophical activities, he waged "the battle against the bewitchment of our intelligence by means of our language" (*ein Kampf gegen die Verhexung unsres Verstandes durch die Mittel unserer Sprache*) (*Philosophical Investigations*, 109) and wanted the reader to take upon himself the task of clarifying his language. The theory developed in the early work was written to be rejected, and the *Investigations* clarified the questions that were raised in the *Tractatus*. Wittgenstein wanted the old thoughts and the new ones be published together.

Philosophical problems were for him first of all problems of language. He was convinced that, if one would study the logic of language, one would be able to solve many philosophical problems.

Investigation of the Use of Language

The *Tractatus* describes the limitations of language. Logic is what is "true." There is the simple tautological equation A = A. Further, there is the formula A is not not-A: I cannot eat and not eat at the same time. Finally there is the dilemma: or A or not-A: or it rains or it doesn't.

Wittgenstein doubts if one really says something with this logic that it is true under all circumstances. Mathematics, too, is logic: it is a priori true, not based upon experiments: 5 and 5, for instance, is 10, and one does not have to verify that. Finally, Wittgenstein maintains in his *Tractatus* that only scientific utterances give certainty about reality. But scientific utterances are not necessarily true: reality could also be different.

The last sentence of the *Tractatus* (7) reads: "Whereof one cannot speak, thereof one must be silent." (*Wovon man nicht sprechen kann, darüber muß man schweigen*). Through this sentence, Wittgenstein makes much of human life unspeakable, at least in the logical picture-language. The entire domain of speaking on ethics and God has to remain separated from the purely descriptive language. Ethical utterances are authoritative, but distinguished from utterances on facts. About God you cannot speak as about things in the world. Aesthetic and ethical judgments cannot be expressed within logical language, they are not facts and cannot be pictured in thought. Real questions, questions of life, are not scientific questions. Picture-language is thus problematical. Wittgenstein therefore found it useful to study ordinary language with its different language games. Philosophy can, accordingly, be a remedy against the bewitchment of thought by language.

THE COMPLEXITY OF ORDINARY LANGUAGE. It was Wittgenstein's life task to understand ordinary language. One may say for instance that one "has" a book, that one "has" children, or that one "has" a headache. All these are different forms of "having" which are not reducible to each other. One cannot solve this complex reality by speaking about the "essence" of having (as did Plato), which would transcend all these forms of "having." Neither can one reduce something to something else, as is frequently done in psychology. All this proves that we are "bewitched" by wrong visions on language.

The word "essentially" was for Wittgenstein a word that one has to avoid. He left out the "eternal" truth beyond or above reality and concentrated upon the detail that always deviates from a preexisting "essence." We should stop using the word "essentially," as if in having a child, a book or a headache the same unchangeable "having" would return. This would come to being guilty of a logical way of speaking (A = A), that says nothing.

Wittgenstein and Judaism

Recent research has investigated Wittgenstein's thought in light of his Jewish background. Rush Rhees has written on Wittgenstein's self-understanding. He notes that, in 1936, Wittgenstein confessed to his friends and family that he was more Jewish than was generally known. In his book on Wittgenstein and Judaism, Ranjit Chatterjee writes that, with this confession, Wittgenstein indicated that in his work, one may find many a Jewish element, and that Wittgenstein developed an intellectual Jewishness and expressed his inner Jewish feeling in a disguised way. Wittgenstein also remarked to his friend M.O'C. Drury that his own thinking is not Greek, but "one hundred percent Hebrew thinking." With his "Hebrew thinking" he wanted to unmask the idolatry of picture language. On the other hand, Steven Schwarzschild saw Wittgenstein as being alienated from his Jewishness, and as suffering from self-hatred.

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[Ephraim Meir (2nd ed.)]

WITTGENSTEIN, PAUL (1887–1961), pianist. Born in Vienna, Wittgenstein studied and made his debut there in 1913. During World War I he lost his right arm at the Russian front and embarked on an extraordinary career as a one-handed pianist. He left Austria in 1930 and after 1933 settled permanently in the United States. His repertoire consisted of works he had adapted or those especially written for him, such as Ravel's *Concerto for Left Hand*, Richard Strauss' *Parergon zur Symphonia Domestica* and *Panathenaeenzug*, and many other concert and chamber works by Erich Wolfgang *Korngold, Benjamin Britten, and Hans Gál. He published a pedagogical work, *Schule der linken Hand.*

WITTKOWER, RUDOLF J. (1901–1971), historian of art and architecture. Born in Berlin, he studied at the universities of Berlin and Munich. From 1923 to 1928 he worked in Italy, and in 1924 was appointed lecturer at Cologne University. When Hitler came to power, Wittkower emigrated to England and became professor at the University of London (1949–55). In 1954 he moved to the United States, where he was made chairman of the department of art history and archaeology at Columbia University, New York.

Wittkower is known for his studies of Italian Renaissance and Baroque art, such as *Art and Architecture in Italy 1600–1750* (1958) and books on Bernini and the Caracci. His *Architectural Principles in the Age of Humanism* (1949), a study of the principles underlying the architecture of the Italian Renaissance, influenced the thinking of students of architecture.

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WITTLIN, JÓZEF (1896–1976), Polish poet, author, and translator. Born in Dmytrów, Galicia, Wittlin was raised in Lvov and served in the Austro-Hungarian army during World War I. From 1919 onward he was connected with the Polish expressionist group centered in the periodicals *Zdrój* and *Skamander* and in 1927 moved from Lvov to Warsaw. An outstanding exponent of Polish expressionism, Wittlin first achieved fame with his verse collection *Hymny* (1920), which resembled German expressionist writing. His two other major works were a modern Polish translation of Homer's *Odyssey* (1924) and the novel *Sól ziemi* (1936; *The Salt of the Earth*, 1939?). A prolific writer, he also published many stories, sketches, and essays, as well as various translations of foreign classics, from the Sumerian *Gilgamesh Epic* (1922) to Hasek's *The Good Soldier Schweik* (1931). Wittlin made his mark as the leading pacifist writer in Poland between the world wars. After fleeing to France and Portugal, he emigrated to the U.S. in 1941 and settled in New York, where he became a coeditor of the Polish émigré weekly *Tygodnik Polski*.

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[Stanislaw Wygodzki]

WIZEN, MOSHE AHARON (1878–1953), Hebrew grammarian. Born in Rozwadow, Galicia, Wizen was reared in a traditional ḥasidic atmosphere, and at the same time acquired proficiency in several languages. He started to teach at the age of 18, and in 1904 he went to Switzerland for two years to study at the University of Berne. In 1906 he moved to Lemberg, and worked there until the outbreak of World War I, when he was drafted into the army. After the war he settled in Vienna, where he taught in the Jewish Teachers' Seminary established by Zvi Hirsch Perez *Chajes. In 1938 he immigrated to Ereẓ Israel; he directed Hebrew language courses in Tel Aviv.

As a young man, Wizen published poems and feuilletons in *Ha-Pisgah* and *Ha-Maggid*; but his subsequent labors were devoted primarily to linguistic research. Wizen wrote a comparative grammar of Hebrew and other Semitic languages, *Torat ha-Lashon – Sefer Dikduk Sefat Ever* (1923). However, unlike his predecessors, he did not confine himself to the language of the Bible, but also included in his work linguistic forms found in the rabbinic and post-rabbinic period (indicating by different symbols the time when each word was first used). He dealt systematically with vocalization, inflection, and word-formation. He provided comprehensive paradigms of the conjugations and the declensions, including forms that do not appear in the sources but are nonetheless implied by virtue of the system.

While Wizen's general classification of the parts of speech is based upon that of the medieval grammarians, his internal classifications of words derive from the approach adopted by modern grammarians of the Hebrew language. His division of the noun (greatly influenced by that of Brockelmann into declension groups and groups of derivatives) accords with present-day linguistic theory, as do his description and explanations of the vowels (as for example his treatment of the "intermediate" or "half-sounded" *šewa*). He supported his description of the Hebrew verb-root by comparison with Akkadian and explained the forms of the verb in different conjugations by comparison with proto-Semitic, adding notes to illuminate any apparently irregular form; and following Abraham *Ibn Ezra, he also wrote a section on incompatible consonants in the root – a subject avoided by later grammarians.

[Menahem Zevi Kaddari]

WIZO (Women's International Zionist Organization), women's Zionist movement founded in London on July 11, 1920, at an international conference of women Zionists convened by the Federation of Women Zionists of the United Kingdom.

History and Organization

The leaders of the new movement were Vera *Weizmann, Rebecca *Sieff, Romana Goodman, Edith Eder, and Henrietta Irwell. Rebecca Sieff was the first president of WIZO and held this office until 1963, then becoming honorary life president until her death in 1966. At the time of WIZO's establishment, the British administration in Palestine had just been established and the new Russian regime had given rise to considerable Jewish emigration from Russia that was expected to turn to Palestine. The women Zionist leaders felt that since the women immigrants, even more than the men, would have to adjust to a new way of life, they should be prepared and trained. It was felt that women Zionists throughout the world would be more sensitive to this task than the Zionist movement in general and that therefore a special women's organization was needed. WIZO's original program of activities was divided into three categories: professional and vocational training for women, with special emphasis on preparation for agricultural pioneering; education of women to relate to their society as informed and civic-minded citizens; care and education of children and youth.

During the first 20 years of its existence, WIZO had its headquarters in London and built up a network of federations throughout Europe (with the exception of the U.S.S.R.) and in most other countries of the world (except the U.S., where *Hadassah already existed). The headquarters were then transferred to Tel Aviv. In 1970 Raya *Jaglom was elected president, serving until 1996. During her term of office, WIZO was established in the U.S. in 1981. In 1996, Michal Modai, former chairman of the executive of the Israel Federation and of the World WIZO Executive, was elected president of World WIZO. Helena Glaser, chairperson of the WIZO Israel Federation, was elected chairperson of the World WIZO Executive.

After World War II the number of federations was considerably reduced, since the communist bloc and most of the Muslim countries were excluded, but this was soon counteracted by the gradual reopening of the European federations, some of them actually on the heels of the liberators.

By 1996, with the end of the cold war and the opening up of the communist bloc, WIZO had renewed activities in Hungary and the Czech Republic (then Czechoslovakia), both in 1990, and groups had also been started in Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia. Furthermore, in 1981, after reaching an agreement with Hadassah, it also started working in the United States, where it has a dynamic, constantly growing federation.

WIZO's quarter of a million members are organized in 50 federations throughout the world in the following countries: Argentina, Australia, Austria, Barbados, Belgium and Luxembourg, Bolivia, Brazil, Canada, Chile, Columbia, Costa Rica, Curacao, Czech Republic, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Finland, France, Germany, Gibraltar, Great Britain and Ireland, Greece, Guatemala, Holland, Honduras, Hong Kong, Hungary, Israel, Italy, Jamaica, Japan, Mexico, New Zealand, Norway, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Portugal, Singapore, South Africa, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Trinidad, United States, Uruguay, Venezuela, Zaire, and Zimbabwe.

WIZO is recognized by the UN as a Non-Governmental Organization (NGO) and as such has consultative status with the UN Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) and UN International Children's Emergency Fund (UNICEF).

WIZO is a member of the *World Zionist Organization and of the *World Jewish Congress and is on the executive of both. It is also on the board of governors of the Jewish Agency.

The highest governing body of the movement is the world WIZO Conference, which meets every four years in Israel, determining overall policy and approving the budget and activity reports. It is composed of representatives from all the federations according to the size of their membership. The conference elects the president of World WIZO and the World WIZO Executive which is composed of 50 members: 25 members resident in Israel (most of them heads of the World WIZO departs that run the various WIZO institutions and services in Israel) together with heads of the 25 largest Diaspora federations. The executive elects the chairman and treasurer. WIZO is a non-partisan organization of volunteers, both at the leadership and grass roots level.

Of all WIZO's federations the Israel federation is by far the largest, with close to 100,000 members organized in 145 branches in all parts of the country. While the Diaspora federations concentrate mainly on Jewish and Zionist education, strengthening the bond with Israel and fundraising to help finance WIZO's work in Israel (and also to some extent social and educational projects in their own countries), the Israel federation works directly with and on behalf of the local population, including those of the minority communities. It defines its aims in these fields as follows: to advance the status of women, defend their rights and achieve gender equality in all fields; to combat domestic violence; to assist in the absorption of new immigrants and to contribute to family and community welfare, with special emphasis on single parent families, women, children, and the elderly.

Status of women has always been a priority of the Israel federation. The Equal Rights for Women Law of 1952 was passed on the initiative of then WIZO Israel chairman Rahel Kagan, who represented the organization in Israel's first Knesset. Today, WIZO remains active in this field.

World WIZO, too, has in recent years become active in promoting women's rights and the federations work in close cooperation with other women's organization's in their own countries and are represented on all national and international bodies dealing with women's affairs. The movement participated actively in the UN's conferences on the status of women in Mexico, Copenhagen, Nairobi, and Beijing.

In addition to advancing the status of women, the main aims of the entire movement are, nevertheless, focused on Israel and remain largely what they have been ever since the organization's beginning: to provide for the welfare of infants, children, youth, and the elderly. While during waves of mass immigration, the stress was placed on immigrant absorption services, today the most urgent need is deemed to be combating violence in the family. All WIZO's services and institutions in Israel are set up after close consultations with government and local authorities and have their full cooperation.

The following description of WIZO's 800 institutions and services in Israel presents a clear picture of the condition and needs of the population of Israel.

Institutions and Services

EARLY AGE CARE AND EDUCATION. WIZO's 234 day institutions serve 15,000 infants and small children and include day care centers, special multi-purpose day care centers for high risk children, toddlers' homes, pedagogical centers, after-school centers, therapeutic child centers, toys and games libraries, and four residential family units (Neve WIZO).

FOR CHILDREN AND YOUTH. Catering to 34,700 older children and youth are 11 schools and youth villages and 78 youth clubs.

The schools, which were among WIZO's earliest projects, were established originally either to train girls and young women for a pioneering agricultural life or to provide a home for child survivors of the Holocaust. Today, these day and boarding schools provide vocational, agricultural, and artistic training at a variety of academic levels, ranging from special education to a post–high school level college of design. The student populations consist of both native Israelis and new immigrants; outstanding students as well as low achievers; children from well-established families and welfare cases.

Also in this category are a shelter for girls in distress (Beth Ruth), facilities for the rehabilitation and advancement of marginal youth, and remedial army preparation courses for drop-out girls.

FOR WOMAN AND FAMILIES. WIZO has two shelters for battered wives and a half-way house project; four centers for the prevention and treatment of domestic violence; hot lines in Hebrew, Russian, and Amharic, for battered women; a rape crisis center and hotlines; and 28 legal advice bureaus on family matters (also dealing with specific problems of new immigrant women and single-parent families. Beit Heuss is a recreation home with supportive workshops for women and couples with a common problem.

Assistance is given in immigrant absorption, including special services on caravan sites.

For the elderly there are 100 clubs and sheltered employment facilities as well as a Parents' Home.

Other WIZO services are vocational training and advancement for women, summer camps for needy mothers of large families, and care for families of war victims and single-parent families.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Grove and Pollak (eds.), *The Saga of a Movement – WIZO 1920–1970* (1971); Herzog and Greenberg, *A Voluntary Women's Organisation in a Society in the Making – WIZO's Contribution to Israeli Society*. **WEBSITE:** www.wizo.org.

[Rosa Ginossar / Aliza El-Dror (2nd ed.)]

WLOCLAWEK (Rus. **Votslavsk**), city in central Poland. Jews began to settle in Wloclawek at the beginning of the 19th century. The Jewish population numbered 208 in 1803, 4,248 in 1897, 6,831 (21% of the total population) in 1909, and 10,209 (18.3%) in 1931. In the interwar period Zionist and other national groups were active in the community. In the census of 1931, 96% of the Jews declared their mother tongue to be Yiddish or Hebrew. Among the outstanding personalities of Wloclawek were R. Judah Leib *Kowalsky, a leader of the Mizrachi movement in Poland, and Abraham Leib Fuks, a physician and a Zionist leader. There was a Jewish gymnasium in the city and two weeklies in Yiddish – one Zionist, and the other Zionist-Revisionist.

[Yehuda Slutsky]

Holocaust Period

When World War II broke out, the Jewish community of Wloclawek, with approximately 13,500 persons out of a general population of 60,000, increased in size as refugees came in from neighboring communities. The German army occupied Wloclawek (renamed Leslau) on Sept. 14, 1939, and incorporated it in the Warthegau district (see *Poland) of Germany. Liquidation of the Jewish community began almost immediately, with the active help of the local Germans (*Volksdeutsche*) and the support of the Polish population. All the synagogues were destroyed by fire. Hundreds of Jews were taken hostage and ransoms for them were extorted. In December 1939 deportations to eastern Poland began. Many Jews fled to nearby towns and to *Warsaw, while 3,000 remaining Jews who were segregated into a ghetto (October 1940) suffered from the food shortage and disease. The *American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee helped many destitute families, and a soup kitchen was opened. Until the liquidation of the ghetto on April 27, 1942, the Jewish cemetery served as a clandestine meeting place for instructing Jewish children, and even for theatrical performances and a makeshift library for exchanging books. At the end of April 1942 the inmates of the ghetto were all sent to *Chelmno extermination camp, and the ghetto was burned down by the Nazis.

Contemporary Period

When the war was over, the surviving remnants of the Wloclawek Jewish community gradually returned to their home town in search of relatives and friends. In 1946, some Jews who returned from the Soviet Union resettled in Wloclawek. The JDC helped to organize cooperatives of Jewish tailors and dressmakers, and Jewish cultural life was renewed. In the first few years after the war the military commander of Wloclawek was a Jew, Michael Weinstein. In 1946 he successfully averted a pogrom on the Jewish quarter by incited peasants. In the course of the following years most of the Jews of Wloclawek left for Israel, the last ones settling there after the Six-Day War (1967).

[David Dori]

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Vloẓlavek ve-ha-Sevivah, Sefer Zikkaron* (1967, Heb. and partly Yid.); Y. Trunk, in: *Bleter far Geshikhte*, 2 (1949), 64–166; *Yoyvel-Bukh fun Branch 611 Arbeter Ring* (1951).

WLODAWA (in Jewish sources: **Vlodavi**), city in Lublin province, eastern Poland. Jews first settled there in the second half of the 16th century. A community was organized in the early 17th century under the jurisdiction of the *Brest community. In 1648 *Chmielnicki's armies massacred the local Jews, as well as others who had taken refuge there, and set fire to their houses. However, the community was reconstituted soon afterward. In the second half of the 17th century a stone baroque-style synagogue was built; enlarged 100 years later, it was still standing in 1970. In the 18th century the Jews of Wlodawa engaged in the leasing of estates, the timber trade, tailoring, and tanning. In 1765 there were 630 Jews who paid the poll tax. The community grew rapidly, numbering 2,236 (74% of the total population) in 1827 and 4,304 (72%) in 1857. It decreased to 3,670 (66%) in 1897. In the 19th century Wlodawa Jews engaged in commerce in agricultural products and manufacture of alcoholic liquor, as well as tailoring, furriery, and hat-making. *Ḥasidism gained many followers in this period.

Between the two world wars, in independent Poland, all Jewish parties were active in the city. The Jewish population numbered 4,196 (67% of the total) in 1921. In the 1929 municipal elections, 11 Jews were among those elected for the 24 seats. The last rabbi of the community, Moses Baruch Morgenstern, perished in the Holocaust.

[Shimshon Leib Kirshenboim]

Holocaust Period

In 1939 there were 5,650 Jews living in Wlodawa. The German army entered the town in mid-September 1939 and immediately subjected the Jews to persecution. However, no ghetto was established at the beginning, and until the end of 1941 life for Jews in Wlodawa was somewhat easier than in most of occupied Poland. The situation deteriorated drastically at the beginning of 1942. In April 1942 about 800 Jews from *Mielec, in Cracow province, and about 1,000 Jews from Vienna were deported to Wlodawa. On May 23, 1942, the first deportation to *Sobibor death camp took place (the exact number of deportees is unknown). In June 1942 all the children up to the age of ten were taken to Sobibor and murdered. On Oct. 24, 1942, the entire Jewish population was sent to death in the Sobibor gas chambers. During these deportations hundreds of Jews fled to the forests and organized partisan units, the best known of which was commanded by Yehiel Grynszpan and operated in conjunction with Soviet and left-wing Polish guerrillas. Most of the Jewish partisans fell in the forests, but a few score managed to survive until the liberation of the Wlodawa region, while several others succeeded in crossing the River Bug and joined Soviet partisans in the Polesie forests.

In the late autumn of 1942 the Germans ordered the establishment of a special ghetto in Wlodawa for all Jews who voluntarily left their hiding places in the forests of the northeastern Lublin province. They were promised that no further deportations would take place. Several thousand Jews who had taken refuge in the forests, but who lacked arms and food supplies and could not survive the winter there, trusted the German promise, and settled in the new Wlodawa ghetto. On April 30, 1943, all were deported to Sobibor and murdered. Jews from Wlodawa who managed to survive in the partisan units left Poland immediately after the war. The Jewish community in Wlodawa was not reconstituted.

[Stefan Krakowski]

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Halpern, Pinkas, index; S. Dubnow (ed.), *Pinkas ha-Medinah* (1925), index; B. Wasiutyński, *Ludność żydowska w Polsce w wiekach XIX i XX* (1930), 34, 63, 64, 77, 201, 210; A. Wein (ed.), *Żydzi a powstanie styczniowe* (1963), index; N.N. Hannover, *Yeven Meẓulah* (1966), 57, 58; BŻIH, no. 21 (1957), 21–92.

WODZISLAW (Pol. **Wodzisław Ślawski**), town in Katowice province, southern Poland. Jewish settlement in Wodzislaw dates from the 17th century. The Jews there mainly engaged in commerce, and a number of wealthy merchants used to do business at the great fairs of Leipzig and Breslau. The community numbered 200 Jewish householders in 1655–56, at the time of the Polish war with Sweden. Toward the end of the 17th and during the 18th centuries, the Wodzislaw community attained considerable influence. It ranked as a principal *kehillah* within the communal framework (see *Councils of the Lands), and its leaders also took an active part in the affairs of Polish and Lithuanian Jewry as a whole. Rabbis of Wodzislaw include Menahem b. Zalman Gabais, author of *Neḥamat Ẓiyyon* (Frankfurt, 1677), Joseph Joske b. Herz of Lvov, and Samuel b. Uri Shraga *Phoebus, author of *Beit Shemu'el*. The Jewish population in Wodzislaw numbered 1,002 in 1765, 1,563 (72.5% of the total) in 1857, 2,667 (73.6%) in 1897, and 2,839 (73.2%) in 1921.

[Nathan Michael Gelber]

Holocaust Period

On the outbreak of World War II there were about 2,400 Jews in Wodzislaw. In September 1942, 300 Jews from Wodzislaw and its vicinity were deported to the *Treblinka death camp. The Jewish community was liquidated in November 1942 when the remaining 300 Jews were deported to *Sandomierz and shared the fate of that community. After the war the Jewish community of Wodzislaw was not reconstituted.

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WOGUE, LAZARE ELIEZER (1817–1897), French rabbi, scholar, and journalist. Wogue, born in Fontainebleau, was ordained in 1843 at the École Centrale Rabbinique in Metz. In 1851 he began to teach German and theology there (in 1859 it became the Séminaire Israélite de France and was transferred to Paris), retaining his two chairs until his retirement in 1894. From 1868 Wogue was also director of the *talmud torah* of the Séminaire Israélite. The most important of his many scholarly works is a translation of the Pentateuch with commentaries (1860–69), which is the one used in the *Bible du Rabbinat* edited by Z. Kahn.

Among his other publications are *Le Rabbinat Français au XIXe siècle* (1843), *Le Guide du Croyant Israélite* (1857, 1898^2), *Histoire de la Bible et de l'Exégèse biblique jusqu'à nos jours* (1881), a French translation (1882) of the first two volumes of *Geschichte der Juden* by H. Graetz, *Esquisse d'une théologie juive* (1887), and *La Prédication Israélite en France* (1890). He also translated various Hebrew works. Among the manuscripts he left is a tract on theology. A prolific writer, Wogue wrote many articles which were published in such Jewish periodicals as *La Paix* and *l'Union Israélite*. He was editor in chief of *l'Univers Israélite* during 1879–95.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: M. Reines, in: *Oẓar ha-Sifrut*, 5 (1896), 143–53; *L'Univers Israélite*, 52 (1896/97), 132–8.

[Colette Sirat]

WOHL, HENRYK (1842–1907), Polish revolutionary. Born in Warsaw into a patriotic family supporting Polish independence, Wohl took part in the Polish uprising of 1863, and became head of a department in the insurrectionist government. After the collapse of the revolt, he was condemned to death by the Russians, but the sentence was commuted to life imprisonment with forced labor in a remote part of Russia. After serving 20 years he was allowed to return to Poland. On his grave in the main avenue of the Jewish cemetery in Warsaw, a memorial of three unpolished stones symbolizes Poland under the three partitions. The memorial was the center of many demonstrations during the Czarist domination of Poland.

[Abraham Wein]

WOHLBERG, MOSHE (**Max**; 1907–1996), *ḥazzan.* Wohlberg was born in Humene in Czechoslovakia. When he was four, his family moved to Budapest, where he sang with the choir of the Rombach synagogue. He studied in the *yeshivot* of Nagy Karoly and Szatmar. His family moved to the United States, where he completed his Hebrew studies at the Herzliah Hebrew Teachers' Institute in New York. He studied music with Arnold Zemachson, sang in the choir of the Metropolitan Opera, and held several positions as cantor in the United States. His chief activity was in the field of training cantors, and he had hundreds of students. From 1948 to 1951 he was the second president of the Cantors Assembly. From 1952 he was professor of liturgy at the Cantors' School of the Jewish Theological Seminary in New York. He was considered an authority on prayer rites and published many articles on the history of liturgy. His published compositions can be found in collections such as *Chemdat Shabbat* and *Yaḥad B'kol* (Cantors Assembly). A recording of his singing of 19th-century compositions by ḥazzan-composers of the period is available through Musique Internationale Chicago

[Akiva Zimmerman / Raymond Goldstein (2nd ed.)]

WOHLGEMUTH, JOSEPH (1867–1942), rabbi, educator, and theologian. Wohlgemuth, born in Memel, as a child moved with his family to Hamburg, where his grandfather, Isaiah Wohlgemuth, became stipendiary rabbi (Klausrabbiner). Wohlgemuth studied at the Berlin Rabbinical Seminary and at the university, teaching at the same time and for many years afterward at the Adass Yisroel religious school. In 1895 he was appointed tutor and lecturer in religious philosophy, homiletics, and practical *halakhah* at the seminary, where he exercised considerable influence on several generations of students for the Orthodox rabbinate. In 1932 broken health forced him to retire to a sanatorium in Frankfurt.

Wohlgemuth's published works include: *Die Unsterblichkeitslehre in der Bibel* (1899); *Beitraege zu einer juedischen Homiletik* (1904); *Das juedische Religionsgesetz in juedischer Beleuchtung* (2 vols., 1911–19), a study of the problem of *Ta'amei ha-Mitzvot* (the ideology of the practical commandments); *Bildungsprobleme in der Ostjudenfrage* (1916); *Das Tier und seine Wertung im Judentum* (1930); and *Grundgedanken der Religionsphilosophie Max Schelers* (1931). His *Der badische Gebetbuchentwurf…* (1907) and *Gesetzestreues und liberales Judentum* (1913) are a defense of Orthodoxy against Reform. In *Der Weltkrieg im Lichte des Judentums* (1915), he extolled Germany's "civilizing mission." Wohlgemuth also translated (with J. Bleichrode (1899, 1939^7) M.Ḥ. Luzzatto's ethical guide, *Mesillat Yesharim* (1906) into German. In 1914 he founded the monthly **Jeschurun*, which under his editorship became (to 1930) the leading Orthodox periodical in the spheres of Jewish scholarship and thought, and to which he contributed important articles – both on scholarly subjects and on current affairs. A Festschrift was issued in honor of his 60th birthday (*Juedische Studien*, 1928).

His son, JUDAH ARI WOHLGEMUTH (1903–1957), educator and author, taught at Jewish schools in Telsiai, Lithuania, and Riga, Latvia, before spending eight years with his family in a labor camp in Siberia. Wohlgemuth published *Vom Denken und Glauben unserer Zeit* (1935); *Fragt immer: gut oder boese* (1954), dealing with the religious and philosophical problems raised by the Holocaust; and a trilingual poem, "Pesaḥ be-Novosibersk 1942" (1963), written in exile in Siberia.

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°WOJDA, CAROL FREDERICK (1771–1846), senior official in the senate of the Duchy of Warsaw (see *Poland), and member of the committee for Jewish affairs established in 1808. Wojda presented his proposals for solving the "Jewish problem" to the senate in 1809, recommending changes in the Jewish way of life, abrogation of communal and judicial autonomy, educational reform including the teaching of Polish and German, acceptance of European dress, and prohibition of the sale of liquor by Jews. The changes were to have been effected within ten years, after which emancipation was to be granted to Jews in the "productive" professions and to educated businessmen. To accelerate the process of assimilation, Wojda proposed that Jewish residence in the towns not be restricted to special quarters. He also recommended the establishment of a *consistory on the French model to deal with Jewish affairs. Wojda's program was not even debated. In 1815 he presented to the head of the committee for Jewish affairs a memorandum incorporating this plan.

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[Nathan Michael Gelber]

WOLBERG, LEWIS ROBERT (1905–1988), U.S. psychiatrist and psychoanalyst. Born in Russia, Wolberg was taken to the United States at the age of nine months. When he completed his training, he was appointed clinical professor of psychiatry at the New York University Medical School and a training analyst at the New York Medical College from its beginning in 1943. He was a founder of the American Academy of Psychoanalysis. Although trained in psychoanalysis in its more classical form, he rapidly became aware of the need for innovations. He was a pioneer in the field of dynamic psychiatry and contemporary psychotherapy. In 1945 he founded the Postgraduate Center for Mental Health, of which he was medical director and dean, and later dean emeritus. Here he created a model community mental health center based upon a multidisciplinary approach to treatment, training, research, and prevention. He was in the forefront of new ways to bring a mental health orientation to the individual, the family, the neighborhood, the nation, and the international community. A leading authority on hypnosis, Wolberg pioneered the use of this technique for more than 50 years. He was an outstanding teacher and a member of many psychiatric associations and published extensively in professional and popular periodicals.

His most important books are *Hypnoanalysis* (1945), *The Technique of Psychotherapy* (2 vols, 1954), *Medical Hypnosis* (2 vols., 1948), *Short-Term Psychotherapy* (1965), *Psychotherapy and the Behavioral Sciences* (1966), *The Dynamics of Personality* (1970), *Hypnosis, Is It for You?* (1972), and *The Practice of Psychotherapy* (1982).

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[Yehudith Shaltiel]

WOLBROM, town in Cracow province, Poland. Jews settled there at the end of the 17th century. An organized Jewish community existed from the 18th century under the jurisdiction of the Cracow community. In 1765 there were 303 Jews in Wolbrom who paid the poll tax. The town was incorporated in Congress Poland in 1815. In 1827 the Jews numbered 724 (27% of the total population). Following the economic development of the town in the 19th century, the number of Jews increased to 1,466 (59%), despite the restrictions on Jewish settlement in force there between 1823 and 1862, because of the town's proximity to the Austrian border. The main occupations of the Jews were petty commerce, weaving, tanning, and locksmithing. In the 19th century Ḥasidism had a strong influence in Wolbrom. Between 1897 and 1921 the number of the Jews increased from 2,901 to 4,276 (59%). Before the outbreak of war in 1939, there were about 5,000 Jews living in Wolbrom.

Holocaust Period

During World War II, under the German occupation, Wolbrom came under the province of Cracow of the General Government. The Germans entered Wolbrom on the first day of the war, Sept. 1, 1939. Scores of people were immediately shot. Afterward all the Jewish inhabitants were driven out of Wolbrom in the direction of Zawiercie. On the three-day march many succumbed to torture by the guards. On September 7 the surviving Jews returned and were set at forced labor, particularly in the forests. In the fall of 1941 a ghetto was established in Wolbrom which the Jews were forbidden to leave, under pain of death. Nearly 8,000 Jews, among them about 3,000 deportees and refugees, were concentrated inside the ghetto. The liquidation of the Jews in Wolbrom ghetto began on Sept. 6 or 7, 1942, when the German police and Ukrainians drove all the Jews to the railway station, where the Germans carried out a *Selektion*. About 2,000 old and weak persons were taken to the forest where mass graves had been made ready. After undressing completely, they were shot. The remaining Jews at the station were loaded on to train cars that evening. At the stopovers the Germans cast away the corpses of those who had suffocated in the cars. The deportees were taken to *Belzec death camp. Some hundreds of men were chosen by selection and transported to labor camps. After the liquidation of the Jewish community in Wolbrom, the Jewish cemetery became the site of executions for Jews found or denounced while hiding. From mid-September 1942 until the end of 1944 nearly 400 Jews were shot in this manner.

Only some 300 Jews from Wolbrom survived the war. They did not resettle in Wolbrom, and most of them emigrated.

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[Danuta Dombrowska]

WOLF (Heb. זְאֵב), the *Canis lupis*, is frequently mentioned in the Bible and rabbinical literature as a wicked and cruel beast (Ezek. 22:27) found in desert regions (Jer. 5:6) which seizes its prey at night (Zeph. 3:3; Hab. 1:8). Wolves were a serious danger to flocks of sheep (cf. Isa. 11:6). The Mishnah states that "when there is a visitation of wolves," i.e., when they appear in packs, the shepherd cannot be held liable for the loss of the sheep of which he is in charge (BM 7:9). Wolves are stated on an occasion to have killed 300 sheep (TJ, Beẓah 1:160a), and to have torn to pieces two children in Transjordan (Ta'an. 3:6). The wolf is like a big sheep dog (cf. Ber. 9b). According to the Mishnah, "a wolf and a dog," though similar, constitute *mixed species (Kil. 1:6). Even in recent times wolves have been known to attack flocks of sheep in Ereẓ Israel. It can get into the fold and strangle a number of sheep (on occasions sucking their blood, cf. Ezek. 22:27), but it carries off only one sheep, sometimes carrying it a considerable distance to its lair in the mountains of Transjordan. The Midrash to Psalms 10:14 mentions the legend of Romulus and Remus being suckled by a she-wolf.

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[Jehuda Feliks]

WOLF, U.S. family of communal leaders with branches in Philadelphia and Washington. The brothers ELIAS WOLF (1820–after 1881) and ABRAHAM and LEVI WOLF (1811–1893) were born in Bavaria and emigrated to the United States. Elias Wolf arrived about 1840, going to Philadelphia. He obtained a good education, particularly in Hebrew. After a few years he went to Wilmington, North Carolina, and in 1850 to Ulrichsville, Ohio. He settled permanently in Philadelphia in 1856, where with his brothers he managed the family manufacturing interests. The family established and kept a close association with Rodeph Shalom Congregation, with Elias Wolf serving as vice president in 1867 and as president in 1871.

All of Elias Wolf's five sons took part in communal life in Philadelphia. EDWIN (1855–1934) was born in Ulrichsville a year before his father returned to Philadelphia for good. He was educated in public schools and then joined his father's business, taking over when the latter retired in 1877. Subsequently he left the firm due to ill health and in the 1880s worked with his brothers in their various enterprises. In later life he held a number of civic and communal positions, serving on the Philadelphia Board of Education, to which he was elected in 1901, as president of the Jewish Publication Society from 1903 to 1913, and as chairman of the Board of Governors of Dropsie College.

Edwin Wolf's son MORRIS (1883–1978) was born in Philadelphia. He graduated from the University of Pennsylvania and was admitted to the Pennsylvania Bar in 1903. For more than 50 years he was a senior partner of the well-known firm of Wolf, Block, Schorr, and Solis-Cohen in Philadelphia, which he had founded in 1903. He served as assistant district attorney for the city of Philadelphia in 1909–10, as state deputy attorney general in 1913–14, and as a member of the Court of Common Pleas after 1930. One of his legal clients was the noted book dealer Abraham Simon Wolf *Rosenbach. Morris became a prominent bibliophile and book collector in his own right as a result of his contacts with Rosenbach.

Morris' son EDWIN WOLF II (1911–1991) was a librarian, historian of U.S. Jews, and bibliographer. At age 18 he began a long association with Abraham Simon Wolf Rosenbach, preparing most of the catalogs for the Rosenbach Company. Toward the end of his years with Rosenbach (to 1952), whose career he describes in *Rosenbach: A Biography* (1960), he managed the Philadelphia office of the firm. During World War II he served in military intelligence as a French and German interpreter and in counterintelligence. After he left the Rosenbach Company in 1952, he became librarian for the Library Company of Philadelphia (from 1953 to 1984), the oldest subscription library in the United States, with extensive Judaica holdings. In addition to his work in preserving the documents of the past, Wolf was also instrumental in presenting new works through the Jewish Publication Society of America. Elected a trustee in 1935 "in place of his grandfather," as he notes in one of his elegantly concise annual reports (see American Jewish Year Book), he served as president (1954–59) and from 1965 as chairman of the publications committee.

Edwin Wolf II wrote *History of the Jews of Philadelphia from Colonial Times to the Age of Jackson* (1957), with Maxwell Whiteman; *Philadelphia: Portrait of an American City* (1975); and many monographs. His catalogs include *Descriptive Catalogue of the John Frederick Lewis Collection of European Manuscripts* (1937); *William Blake 1757–1827* (1939), prepared with Elizabeth Mongan, *William Blake's Illuminated Books: A Census* (1953; repr. 1968), edited jointly with Geoffrey Keynes; *Bibliothesauri: Or Jewels from the Shelves of the Library Company of Philadelphia* (1966); *A Flock of Beautiful Birds* (1977); and *Legacies of Genius: A Celebration of Philadelphia Libraries* (1988).

[Claire Sotnick and Hillel Halkin]

WOLF, ABNER (1902–?), U.S. neuropathologist. Born and educated in New York City, Wolf was appointed professor of neuropathology at the College of Physicians and Surgeons from 1951 and at Columbia Presbyterian Medical Center from 1964. Wolf served as president of the American Association of Neuropathologists (1951–52) and the New York Neurological Society (1956–57). He was a member of numerous professional societies and published extensively. He was editor in chief of the *Journal of Neuropathology and Experimental Neurology* from 1963.

WOLF, ABRAHAM (1876–1948), English philosopher. He was professor of logic and scientific method at University College, London, concurrently lecturing at the London School of Economics and Political Science. From 1931 until his retirement in 1941, he was dean of the faculty of economics and political science at the University of London. He was a member of the editorial board of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* and was also the editor of the *History of the Sciences Library.* His main works deal with logic and scientific method, Spinoza, Nietzsche, and the history of science. He also wrote on higher education in Nazi Germany and in German-occupied countries.

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[Samuel Hugo Bergman]

WOLF, ALFRED (1915–2004), rabbi, community leader, and interreligious pioneer. Born in Eberbach, Germany, to Hermann and Regina Levy Wolf, Alfred Wolf was one of five rabbinic students brought to the United States by Hebrew Union College in 1935 to continue their studies away from Nazi persecution.

Wolf earned a B.A. at the University of Cincinnati in 1937, was ordained at HUC in 1940, and completed a Ph.D. in religion at the University of Southern California in 1961. Wolf held pulpits in Toronto, Ontario, and Dothan, Alabama (1940–46), before serving as the Union of American Hebrew Congregation's Southeast Council Regional Director (1945–46) and then moving to Los Angeles to serve as the UAHC's Western Regional Director (1946–49). In 1949, he joined Edgar F. Magnin and Maxwell Dubin to become the third member of Wilshire Boulevard Temple's rabbinic staff, which provided religious leadership for the West's largest congregation. After retiring as Wilshire's Senior Rabbi in 1985, he served as director of the American Jewish Committee's Skirball Institute on American Values and became its director emeritus in 1996.

Wolf's influence on Jewish life in Southern California was immediate and far-reaching. In 1946, there were only six Reform congregations in the greater Los Angeles area. Three years later, thanks in part to his energetic efforts with the UAHC – and the Jewish population explosion – there were 18. Upon his arrival at Wilshire Boulevard Temple, he initially focused his attention on creating programs for Jewish youth. He reinstated the bar mitzvah, built up the religious school to 2,000 students, and, most significantly, started one of the nation's first Jewish summer camp programs, which eventually included Camp Hess Kramer (1952) and Gindling Hilltop Camp (1968) on 200 coastal acres in Malibu. Wolf's concept for Jewish camping had its roots in the hills of Germany, where the life-long hiker led Jewish youngsters on outings even after Hitler's ascent to power. The Malibu camps have been attended by more than 50,000 children and are used throughout the off-season by numerous community groups from across the region.

Wolf was determined to assume a leadership role in promoting community and interreligious relations in America. He served as chairman of the Los Angeles County Commission on Human Relations, offering important guidance in the aftermath of the 1965 Watts Riots, and in 1969 he co-founded the Interreligious Council of Southern California, which became the first such organization in the U.S. to encompass virtually all of the world's major religions. In 1987, Wolf was selected to address Pope John Paul II on behalf of the entire Southern California Jewish community during the pontiff's historic visit to Los Angeles.

Among Wolf's numerous other active affiliations were the Southern California Board of Rabbis, the Pacific Association of Reform Rabbis, the Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion Board of Governors, the National Commission on Interfaith Relations, the American Jewish Committee's Los Angeles Executive Board, the Los Angeles Jewish Federation Council, and the American Academy of Religion.

[Robin Kramer (2nd ed.)]

WOLF, ARNOLD JACOB (1924–), U.S. Reform rabbi. Wolf was born in Chicago, Illinois, and received his B.A. from the University of Cincinnati in 1945. He chose to remain at Hebrew Union College rather than to move to New York's Jewish Theological Seminary when Abraham Joshua *Heschel left HUC along with students such as Samuel Dressner and Richard L. Rubenstein. In 1948, he was ordained at *Hebrew Union College, which awarded him an honorary D.D. in 1973. Following ordination, he served as assistant rabbi of Emanuel Congregation in Chicago (1948–51; 1953–57), interrupting civilian life to serve as a chaplain in the U.S. Navy during the Korean War (1951–53). He was also the first director of the Summer Camp Institutes of the National Federation of Temple Youth (1948–51). In 1955, he became rabbi of Chicago's Congregation B'nai Joshua (1955–57), while launching his own television and radio programs broadcast over the Midwest affiliates of the CBS and ABC networks. In 1957, he was founding rabbi of Congregation Solel, an experimental synagogue in the Chicago suburb of Highland Park (1957–72). He also taught at the University of Chicago Divinity School, Loyola Marymount University, and the College of Jewish Studies (now Spertus Institute).

In 1972, he decided to leave the pulpit, and Wolf was appointed Jewish chaplain at Yale University, where he also lectured in the philosophy department and served as a commissioner of the Board of Ethics of the city of New Haven. His years on campus were marked by a particularly Jewish brand of social activism: he was chairman of Breira, a group that aimed for shared responsibility by Israeli and Diaspora Jewry for Middle East peace (1973–75), opposed Israel's settlements policy, and sought to talk with the Palestinians. He was a founding contributing editor (with Eugene *Borowitz with whom he had been a fellow student at HUC) of *Sh'ma, A Journal of Jewish Responsibility*. He was also the first official Jewish representative to attend a World Council of Churches Assembly (1975).

In 1980, Wolf returned to Chicago to become rabbi of Illinois' oldest Jewish congregation, Kehilath Anshei Maarav-Isaiah Israel, where he became emeritus in 2000. He resumed leadership roles in the community, becoming president of the Chicago Association of Reform Rabbis (1995–96). In 2002, he was named resident scholar at the Foundation for Jewish Studies in Washington, D.C.

Wolf, who served as theology editor of *Judaism* magazine from 1998, wrote more than 350 essays as well as four books: *Challenge to Confirmands: An Introduction to Jewish Thinking* (1963), *Rediscovering Judaism: Reflections on a New Theology* (1965), *What Is Man?* (1968), and *Unfinished Rabbi* (1998). He also co-edited (with Lawrence *Hoffman) *Jewish Spiritual Journeys* (1997).

[Bezalel Gordon (2nd ed.)]

WOLF, ERIC ROBERT (1922–1999), anthropologist. Born in Vienna, Austria, in 1922, Eric Robert Wolf was an anthropologist who studied peasant societies. Born in an upper middle class family, his family moved to Sudetenland in 1933. His father was an Austrian textile factory manager; his mother was a member of Russian nobility. Wolf grew up on the Czech-German border at the time the Nazi Party was in its ascendancy and antisemitism was on the increase. His father sent him to England to the Forest School in Walthamstow; his family later escaped Germany and immigrated to England, where they were interred as enemy aliens. They eventually moved to the United States in 1940. When World War II broke out, Wolf was studying biochemistry; he left his studies and served in one of the U.S. Army's mountain troop divisions, earning a Silver Star. He returned to school at the end of the war, changing fields to anthropology. He graduated from Queens College in New York City in 1946 and finished a Ph.D. at Columbia University in 1951. He began his career as an academic, first at the University of Illinois and later at the University of Virginia, then Yale and the University of Chicago. He spent 10 years on the faculty at the University of Michigan, from 1961 to 1971, before moving to the Herbert H. Lehman College and Graduate Center at the City University of New York, as a distinguished professor, until his retirement in 1992.

Immediately after graduate school, Wolf focused his work on Mexican history and civilization, looking at the progression of culture and community from pre-Hispanic to Hispanic Mexico. While at Columbia, Wolf became acquainted with Marxism, which led him to his studies of peasantry and their role in complex societies. In the 1950s, he became part of a group of anthropology scholars known as "neo-evolutionists," who challenged the established culturalist tradition. His first book, *Peasant Wars of the Twentieth Century,* examining six political uprisings, was published in 1969. Later in his career he did ethnographic research on Alpine communities, integrating historical and ethnographic perspectives, introducing the notion of ecological constraints on development. Active in the antiwar movement during the Vietnam War, he continued his peasant studies, publishing several influential studies of peasant revolutions. He wrote the book many regard to be the masterpiece of his career in 1982, *Europe and the People Without History.* In this book, Wolf argued market forces created tribes just as they created civilizations and nations. These forces changed world populations by creating giant labor migrations such as the European expansions into Africa, the Americas and the Orient and that the common people in the world were both agents of this change as well as its victims. His last work in 1999, *Envisioning Power Ideologies of Dominance and Crisis*, compared the violent regimes of the Aztec, the Kwakiutl of the Pacific Northwest, and the Nazis. In addition to being a scholar of great reputation, Wolf was also a dedicated teacher who embraced teaching undergraduates when he might have easily excused himself from such duties. Wolf died in Irvington, New York, of colon cancer.

[David Weinstock (2nd ed)]

WOLF, FRIEDRICH (1888–1953), German playwright, author, and essayist. Wolf, who was born in Neuwied am Rhein, rebelled against his middle-class Jewish upbringing and ran away from home, hoping to become a painter in Munich. After varied experiences working on Rhine steamers and even in the Salvation Army, he qualified as a physician and served as a German medical officer during World War I. Wolf's growing opposition to the war led to his confinement in a mental hospital, where he was allowed to treat other patients. A member of the short-lived Dresden Soviet (1919), he joined the Communist Party in 1928, became active in leftist intellectual circles, and visited the U.S.S.R. in 1931. Two years later he immigrated first to Switzerland, and then to France, where he lived until 1941, except for the time he spent fighting in the republican army during the Spanish Civil War. In 1941 Wolf escaped from a detention camp in occupied France and made his way to the U.S.S.R., where he became a radio propagandist and a co-founder of the Communist-sponsored Committee for a Free Germany (1943). He returned to Germany as a Red Army medical officer in 1945. From 1950 to 1951 he was East Germany's ambassador in Warsaw.

Wolf's early expressionism dominated his plays such as *Mohammed* (written 1917, publ. 1924) and *Der Mann im Dunkel* (1925), but political engagement characterized his many later works. These include the dramas *Der arme Konrad* (1924), *Cyankali* (1929), *Die Matrosen von Cattaro* (1930; *The Sailors of Cattaro*, 1935), *Florisdorf* (1935, Eng. 1935), and *Das trojanische Pferd* (1937). Other works published before World War II (many printed in Moscow) were *Der Sprung durch den Tod* (1925) and *Die Nacht von Béthineville* (1936), stories; and *Zwei an der Grenze* (1938), an autobiographical novel. Wolf's best-known drama, *Professor Mamlock* (1933, first as *Dr. Mamlocks Ausweg*; Eng. 1935), was widely circulated among exiled democrats and underground resistance workers. He published a stream of stories and plays during and after World War II, including the autobiographical *KZ Vernet* (1941), *Zwei Kaempfer vor Moskau* (1942), *Heimkehr der Soehne* (1944), *Menetekel oder die fliegenden Untertassen* (1952), and the drama, *Thomas Muenzer* (1953). Wolf also wrote essays on the theater and published five volumes of collected plays (1946–49). He was twice awarded East Germany's National Prize (1949, 1950). Between 1960 and 1967, a 16-volume edition of his complete works appeared.

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[Godfrey Edmond Silverman]

WOLF, FRUMET (**Francisca** née **Brilin**; 1770–1849), community leader. Born in Pressburg (Bratislava) into a prominent scholarly and wealthy family, she married a widower, Chajjim Joachim Wolf of Eisenstadt. An intelligent, compassionate woman, Frumet was appalled at the domination of the community by a small oligarchy of wealthy men, who were totally insensitive to the community's needs. In 1793 she wrote a pamphlet, *Pasquill Zettelech*, circulated anonymously in the community, sharply critical of the wielders of power in the community and their policies. The pamphlet was confiscated and destroyed, but not before its content caused a great stir among the Jews of the city. A ban of excommunication was pronounced not only against the anonymous author, but also against anyone involved in the distribution of the pamphlet. At that point, Frumet identified herself as the authoress. She was fined and forbidden to attend synagogue for a certain time after a plea for clemency was made on the part of her husband. The issue remained a subject of public debate, involving, among others, representatives of the patron of Eisenstadt, Duke Esterházy, until it was finally resolved in 1804. After the death of her husband, Frumet Wolf continued to manage his business and even succeeded in strengthening and enlarging it. She was also well known in Eisenstadt and Burgenland as a philanthropist, assisting the poor financially and providing them with counseling in their private lives. Her will, written in German, is preserved, and is an important source for information on the cultural and economic life of the Jews of Eisenstadt.

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[Yehouda Marton / Albert Lichtblau (2nd ed.)]

WOLF, GERSON (1823–1892), Austrian historian and educator. Wolf was born in Holleschau (Holesov), Moravia. After a brief preoccupation with talmudic studies in Nikolsburg he moved to Vienna, where he studied pedagogy, philosophy, and languages. In 1849 he published a booklet, *Die Demokratie und der Sozialismus*, and several radical articles. Although he was ordered to leave Vienna in the wake of these publications, he managed to stay with the help of influential friends. In 1852 he was imprisoned for a number of weeks on suspicion of being a revolutionary. In 1854, after having worked in several schools, he was appointed a teacher of religion in the Vienna community and became inspector of its religious studies in 1884. Wolf founded a youth library and, together with others, an aid organization for poor Jewish students in Vienna. In addition to surveys and documents on the history of the Jews in Worms, Bohemia, Moravia, and Austria (particularly of the Jews in Vienna), he published a textbook for Jewish schools and a survey of the Austrian educational system. He also wrote biographies of I.N. *Mannheimer and J. *Wertheimer. His works include *Ferdinand II und die Juden* (1859); *Judentaufen in Oesterreich* (1863); *Die Vertreibung der Juden aus Boehmen 1744* (1869); *Geschichte der Juden in Wien 1156–1876* (1876); *Die alten Statuter der juedischen Gemeinden in Maehren* (1880); and *Die Juden* (1883). Wolf wrote regularly for the *Monatsschrift fuer Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums* (1858–87) and published a series of articles in the periodical *Ha-Mazkir* (1858–61).

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[Zvi Avneri / Mirjam Triendl (2nd ed.)]

WOLF, GUSTAV (1887–1947), German artist. Wolf began his artistic training at the private school of Hans Thoma (1839–1924), who wanted to promote Wolf's talent and encouraged him in his own style of art. Wolf's paintings belong to symbolism, including motifs of his own experiences, imagination, and visions, such as mythical creatures, as do his woodcuts *Zehn Holzschnitte I–X* from 1910. Wolf served as professor of graphic arts at Karlsruhe until the Nazis came to power. In 1938, Wolf emigrated to the United States. Living in exile, horrified and frustrated by the Holocaust, Wolf created in 1945 several expressionistic paintings with illustrations of the Jewish victims in the concentration camps. He was primarily a printmaker. His publications include *Die Schoepfungstage* (seven lithographs, with the biblical texts on the creation of the world), color woodcuts for a novel by Jacob Picard, and a portfolio of etchings, *Vision of Manhattan*. His work is characterized by vivid imagination and emotional intensity. Most of his artistic works are exhibited at the Gustav-Wolf-Kunstgalerie in Oestringen, Germany.

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[Jihan Radjai-Ordoubadi (2nd ed.)]

°**WOLF, JOHANN CHRISTOPH** (1683–1739), German bibliographer, *Hebraist, and Orientalist. Born at Wernigerode (Prussia). Wolf studied Hebrew at Wittenberg University and, during study tours in Holland and England, met such Christian Hebraists as Vitringa, *Surenhuis, *Reland, and *Basnage. He became professor of Oriental languages and literature at the Hamburg gymnasium (1712) and was an ardent collector of Hebrew books and manuscripts. Deciding to devote himself to publishing a full list of all extant Hebrew books, he utilized the noted David *Oppenheim collection at Hanover for this purpose. The result of Wolf's research was his *Bibliotheca Hebraea* in 4 volumes (Hamburg, 1715–33).

Volume 1 (1715) contains an alphabetical list of Jewish authors with biographical notes. Volume 2 (1721) is divided into subject headings such as Bible, Apocrypha, Masorah, Mishnah, Talmud, Kabbalah, Hebrew grammar and antisemitic literature, with a short description of the nature of the books listed. Volumes 3 (1727) and 4 (1733) are supplements to the first two. Although he drew upon the works of bibliographers who preceded him (especially *Bartolocci and *Bass), Wolf offered in his *Bibliotheca* thousands of corrections and additions to the works of his predecessors. In 1829, when the Oppenheimer library was acquired by Oxford University for the *Bodleian collection, M. *Steinschneider used Wolf's *Bibliotheca* as the basis for the compilation of his Bodleian catalogue, referring to Wolf's work on almost every page. Until Steinschneider's catalogue, Wolf's *Bibliotheca* was considered the best Jewish bibliography, and Christian scholars for over a century and a half derived their knowledge on such works as the Mishnah and Talmud from Wolf's book.

Wolf also wrote a history of Hebrew lexicons (his Ph.D. dissertation at Wittenberg, 1705) and a book on the *Karaites, *Notitia Karaeorum* (Hamburg, 1714). He bequeathed his library, containing some 25,000 Hebrew books and manuscripts, to the city library of Hamburg.

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[Abraham Meir Habermann / Aya Elyada (2nd ed.)]

WOLF, LEYZER (pseudonym of **Eliezer Mekler**; 1910–1943), Yiddish poet. His bizarre parodies, grotesques, and dramatic sketches bridged popular and elite impulses in the literary group *Yung-Vilne. His first book, *Evigingo* (1936), was an exotic parody of Europe printed in the Roman alphabet. The collections *Shvartse Perl* ("Black Pearls," 1939) and *Lirik un Satire* (1940) gathered poems published previously in the Yiddish press. In 1938–39, he mentored *Yungvald*, a group of younger aspiring writers, including Hirsh *Glick. Wolf died of hunger while a war refugee in Soviet Uzbekistan. A posthumous volume, *Di Broyne Bestye* ("The Brown Beast," 1943), satirized fascism. A selection of his best poems, *Lider* (1955), included a critical introduction and biographic sketch by Leyzer Ran.

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[Justin D. Cammy (2nd ed.)]

WOLF, LUCIEN (1857–1930), Anglo-Jewish publicist and historian. Wolf, who was born in London, was the son of a Bohemian political refugee who worked as a pipe manufacturer. He began writing for newspapers at the age of 17. His first regular employment was with the *Jewish World*, of which he later became editor (1905–08). His fluency in French and German was an asset in this profession, and he gradually became known as a foreign affairs expert. His articles in the *Fortnightly Review* and elsewhere, under the pseudonym "Diplomaticus," commanded wide attention. From 1890 to 1909 he was foreign editor of the then-influential *Daily Graphic*. Aroused by the pogroms of 1881, Wolf became extremely interested in Russian affairs, acquired a reputation as an expert in the field, and edited the bulletin *Darkest Russia* (1912–14). He was supplied clandestinely with information through a network initiated by Isaac Elhanan *Spektor. Wolf's anti-Russian attitude made it difficult for him to continue to work as a foreign correspondent after Great Britain's entry into World War I as Russia's ally. In 1917 he became the secretary of the Joint Foreign Committee (of the *Anglo-Jewish Association and the *Board of Deputies of British Jews). As such, he attended the postwar Paris Peace Conference, where he was regarded as a spokesman of "western" Jewry. Although he strongly opposed Jewish nationalism in any form, he was largely responsible for the *Minorities Treaties to safeguard the civil and religious rights of central and eastern European Jews. Subsequently, he acquired a reputation as an authority on minorities problems at the sessions of the *League of Nations at Geneva. Originally an admirer and, to some extent, supporter of Herzl, Wolf later became the principal English spokesman of anti-Zionism, though after 1905 he collaborated with *Zangwill in the Jewish Territorial Organization (see *Territorialism). His hopes that the Wilsonian settlement in Europe at the close of World War I would lead to the protection of its Jewish populations proved tragically naïve.

He had early begun research in Anglo-Jewish history, which he continued throughout his life. He wrote the centennial life of Sir Moses *Montefiore (1884), was one of the organizers of the Anglo-Jewish Historical Exhibition of 1887, and founded the Jewish Historical Society of *England in 1893 (serving repeatedly as its president). His principal work was on the "middle period" of Anglo-Jewish history (after the expulsion of 1290) and on the resettlement. His contributions, based almost wholly on original sources, were of primary importance and placed the study of the subject on a new basis. These researches attracted Wolf to the history of the Marranos. He edited reports on trials of Jewish interest from the *Canary Islands Inquisition records and in 1925 prepared a report on the contemporary Marranos of *Portugal, a historical contribution of great importance. He contributed a most important article to the 11th edition of the *Encyclopedia Britannica* on antisemitism, on the history of which he was the recognized authority in the English-speaking world. His collected *Essays in Jewish History,* edited by Cecil Roth in 1934, contains an account of his life. In the non-Jewish sphere he wrote a life of the English statesman Lord Ripon (1921). During the last 30 years of his life, he was hampered by almost total blindness (only partly relieved by an operation) but triumphantly overcame it. An account of Wolf's wartime activities is Mark Levene's *War, Jews, and the New Europe: The Diplomacy of Lucien Wolf, 1914–1919* (1992).

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[Cecil Roth]

WOLF, RICHARD RIEGEL (**Subirana Lobo**, **Ricardo**; 1889–1982), plenipotentiary minister of Cuba in Israel (1961–73), scientist, and founder of the Wolf Foundation in 1975. Born in Hanover, Germany, he was a socialist during the government of the Kaiser, member of the then illegal Social-Democratic Party and the German Zionist movements of the left. He immigrated to Cuba in 1913.

As a student of chemistry, he made an important discovery related to the recovery of residual iron during the founding process, which was successfully applied in steel mills around the world, making him a millionaire. In addition to Cuba, Germany, and Israel, he also lived at times in Barcelona, Italy, and Istanbul. In 1924, he married Francisca Subirana, a Cuban, and, contrary to tradition, adopted her surname.

Although a successful businessman, he actively supported the Cuban Revolution and its leader, Fidel Castro, from the beginning. He became an advisor to the government and promoted support for Land Reform. In 1961, he was named head of the Cuban Diplomatic Mission in Israel, the only Cuban embassy that the Revolutionary Government established at no cost because, as he had promised, Wolf paid for the building, salaries, and costs of representation.

He planted the basis for a fertile relationship between Cuba, his adopted country, and Israel, through the creation of a Friendship Association that substituted for official channels and promoted the collaboration of Israeli agricultural technicians with Cuba. Despite the difficulties imposed by the political alliances of the two countries, he added a profound dimension to the understanding of and empathy with Jewish reality among the Cuban leadership.

When Cuba broke off diplomatic relations with Israel in 1973, Wolf, who was 84 years old, decided to stay in Israel. He and his wife Francesca founded the Wolf Foundation that awards prizes to outstanding scientists and artists, irrespective of their nationality.

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[Maritza Corrales (2nd ed.)]

WOLF, SIMON (1836–1923), U.S. lawyer, communal leader, and lobbyist. Born in Hinzweiler, Germany, Wolf, the son of Levi Wolf and nephew of Elias *Wolf, went to the United States in 1848 and settled in Ulrichsville, Ohio. In 1860 he served as an alternate delegate to the Democratic national convention, but shortly thereafter formed a lifelong allegiance to the Republican Party. Disillusioned with a business career, Wolf studied law in 1862 and went to Washington, where he opened a law practice. After the presidential election of 1868, when he publicly defended General Ulyssses S. *Grant against charges of antisemitism stemming from a Civil War incident, Wolf was rewarded with the post of recorder of deeds for the District of Columbia. He held this post until 1877, when political pressures forced his resignation, and then served as a judge of the municipal court in the district. In 1881 he became the United States consul in Egypt, where he tried to foster trade between the two countries. In 1882 Wolf resumed his law practice in Washington, D.C. At that time Washington was sufficiently provincial to allow easy access to all political leaders and Wolf availed himself of this privilege; he soon viewed himself as a spokesman for the U.S. Jewish community to the federal government and claimed a personal acquaintance with every president from Lincoln through Wilson.

A skillful organizer, Wolf was the representative of *B'nai B'rith in Washington, serving as its president in 1904. Early in his career he acquired the permanent chairmanship of the Committee on Civil and Religious Rights of the *Union of American Hebrew Congregations (see *Board of Delegates of American Israelites). He scored several achievements in social justice and liberal legal interpretations, which included a ruling from the immigration authorities that persons dependent on private charities were not liable to deportation as public charges, and the postponement for four years of the enactment of a restrictive immigrant literacy bill. He was said to have saved some 103,000 aliens from deportation through personal intervention. Wolf publicized the plight of Russian and Romanian Jewry by securing in 1870 the appointment of a Jew, Benjamin F. *Peixotto, as consul to Bucharest; by urging the publication of Secretary of State John Hay's Romanian Note, reiterating basic rights for Jews; by helping to effect the quick release of the Kishinev Petition, aimed at world censure of Russian antisemitism; and by working for the abrogation of a discriminatory Russo-American commercial treaty (1911). As a spokesman for Reform Judaism, Wolf opposed governmental attempts to identify Jews as a group and was vociferous in denying Zionist aspirations, a matter in which he claimed assurances from President Wilson. Jealous of his prerogatives, Wolf engaged in internecine quarrels with the *American Jewish Committee. A member of the Washington Board of Charities and of its Board of Education, he served as president of the Washington Hebrew Congregation. Wolf wrote numerous articles and two large works: *The American Jew as Soldier, Patriot and Citizen* (1895), a study of Jews in the U.S. armed forces (1774–1865), and an autobiography, *The Presidents I Have Known* (1918). A collection of *Selected Addresses and Papers* appeared in 1926. His papers are on deposit at the American Jewish Historical Society.

Wolf's son, ADOLF GRANT (1869–1947), was born in Washington, D.C., admitted to the bar in 1893, and for 11 years conducted a law practice in Washington. In the early 1900s he was appointed associate justice of the Supreme Court of Puerto Rico, serving on the bench until 1941, when he retired. He was also a member of the Commission of Uniform State Laws (Puerto Rico) from 1918 to 1930.

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[Esther Panitz]

WOLFE, Canadian family. RAY D. WOLFE (1917–1990), entrepreneur and philanthropist, and ROSE SENDEROWITZ WOLFE (1919–), social worker, community leader, fundraiser, and philanthropist, were both born into eastern European immigrant working-class families in Toronto. They married in 1940 after Rose graduated with a degree in social work and Ray with a degree in arts from the University of Toronto.

Ray, who had failed his university courses in finance and commerce, masterminded the growth of a small family produce wholesaler into the Oshawa Group – one of Canada's largest food-drug-department store businesses. After serving in the Royal Canadian Air Force in 1943–46, Ray returned to his floundering family business and as chairman and CEO built it into a major Canadian corporation. He established a personal reputation for business acumen, honesty, and philanthropy. He was appointed to the boards of large Canadian corporations, becoming the first Jew to sit on the boards of Canadian Pacific Limited and the Bank of Nova Scotia. He was very active in the Jewish community, serving on the boards of the Canadian Friends of Haifa University, Canada-Israel Institute for Industrial Research and Development, and the Canadian Council of Christians and Jews. He was chair of the United Jewish Welfare Fund, a governor of Toronto's Mount Sinai Hospital, and founding publisher and chair of the weekly *Canadian Jewish News*. The Ray D. Wolfe Fellowship, which supports advanced research in Jewish studies at the University of Toronto, was established in his memory by the Canadian Jewish News. In 1980 Ray was awarded the Order of Canada.

In 2000, the Rose and Ray Wolfe Chair in Holocaust Studies was established at the University of Toronto. The chair was created by Rose and reflected her long association with the university and her devotion to social welfare and human rights issues. Rose's early social work career with Toronto's Jewish Family and Child Service placed her with Jewish youngsters who had survived the Holocaust and entered Canada as orphans in 1947–48. This professional work led Rose to a career as a volunteer which focused on education, social justice, and community relations. She was active in more than 20 social, cultural, and educational organizations. From 1983 to 1991, while an officer of the Canadian Jewish Congress (Ontario), Rose served as chair of the Joint Community Relations committee devoted to improving Jewish relations with other ethnic groups, the media, and government. She was also a member of the board of the Banting Research Institute, McMichael Canadian Art Collection, and the Pearson College of the Pacific. Among her affiliations, Rose was a director of Mount Sinai Hospital, where the family established the Ray D. Wolfe Department of Family Medicine.

Rose's many positions included the presidency of the Jewish Family and Child Service in Toronto, the Women's Division of the UJA, and the Federation of Jewish Women's Organizations. She became the first female president of the Toronto Jewish Congress (later the UJA Federation of Greater Toronto), responsible for all Jewish social agencies and educational institutions, and in 1991–97 she served as the first Jewish chancellor of the University of Toronto, where she had long been a key fundraiser. She was honored with an honorary doctor of laws degree from the University in 1998, the Human Relations Award from the Canadian Council of Christians and Jews in 1985, and the 1980 Jewish National Fund's Negev Dinner. Rose Wolfe was awarded the Order of Ontario in 1982 and the Order of Canada in 1999.

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[Paula Draper (2nd ed.)]

WOLFE, ALAN S. (1942–), U.S. scholar of political science. Born in Philadelphia, Wolfe received his bachelor's degree from Temple University in 1963. He did graduate work in political science at Vanderbilt University and in 1967 received his Ph.D. in political science from the University of Pennsylvania. From 1966 to 1968 he was an assistant professor of political science at Douglass College, and from 1968 to 1970 was assistant professor at the College of Old Westbury of the State University of New York. Wolfe taught as a visiting scholar at several universities, including Harvard and the University of California at Berkeley. In 1979 he joined the faculty of Queens College as an associate professor, later becoming a full professor of sociology.

In 1991 Wolfe was named the dean of the Graduate Faculty of Political and Social Science and the Michael E. Gellert Professor of Sociology and Political Science at the New School for Social Research. In 1993 he joined Boston University as university professor and professor of sociology and political science. He was named the director of the Boisi Center for Religion and American Public Life at Boston College in 1999, also holding an appointment as professor of political science.

A contributing editor of *The New Republic* and *The Wilson Quarterly*, Wolfe also wrote for *Harper's*, *The Atlantic Monthly*, and *Commonweal*. He wrote *America's Impasse: The Rise and Fall of the Politics of Growth* (1981), in which he argues that differences between the Republican and Democratic parties have diminished as the demands of economics have become paramount. His works *One Nation, After All* (1998) and *Moral Freedom: The Search for Virtue in a World of Choice* (2001) were selected as *New York Times* Notable Books of the Year. His many other works include *The Transformation of American Religion: How We Actually Practice Our Faith* (2003), *An Intellectual in Public* (2003), and *Return to Greatness: How America Lost Its Sense of Purpose and What It Needs to Do to Recover It* (2005).

Wolfe received numerous grants and awards, including grants from the Russell Sage Foundation, the Templeton Foundation, and the Lilly Endowment. He was the George Herbert Walker Bush Fellow at the American Academy in Berlin in

2004, and he received the Award for Public Understanding of Sociology from the American Sociological Association in 2001. He served as an advisor to President Bill Clinton for the State of the Union Address in 1995.

[Dorothy Bauhoff (2nd ed.)]

WOLFE, BERTRAM DAVID (1896–1977), U.S. historiographer. Born in New York City, Wolfe became involved in radical politics, first as a socialist and later as a member of the Workers (Communist) Party. He edited the party's organ, *The Communist*, 1927–28. In 1929 he was expelled from the party and became active in the Communist opposition group. He thus became what was called a "Lovestoneite," one of the Right Opposition the party expelled along with Jay Lovestone. Wolfe later broke with the Marxist left.

Wolfe and his wife, Ella, had experience of the Soviet Union in the early years of Stalin's rule and knew the Russian leader personally. Wolfe's scholarly work was chiefly in the field of Marxist history and Soviet affairs. His book *Three Who Made a Revolution* (1948) is a biographical study of Lenin, Trotsky, and Stalin. Among his other works are *Keep America out of War* (with N. Thomas (1939); *Communist Totalitarianism* (1961), first published under the title *Six Keys to the Soviet System* (1956); *Marxism, One Hundred Years in the Life of a Doctrine* (1965); *Strange Communists I Have Known* (1965); *The Bridge and the Abyss* (1967); and *An Ideology in Power* (1969). *A Life in Two Centuries*: *An Autobiography* was published in 1981. He was also the biographer of Diego Rivera, e.g., *The Fabulous Life of Diego Rivera* (1963).

Wolfe was a fellow of the Russian Institute of Columbia University and the Hoover Library.

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[Ezra Mendelsohn / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

WOLFE, HUMBERT (**Umberto Wolff**; 1885–1940), English poet and critic. He was born in Milan but was taken as a baby to Bradford, England, where his father was a wool merchant. He was naturalized in 1891. Wolfe was educated at Bradford Grammar School and Oxford and went into the civil service, where he rose to be deputy secretary at the Ministry of Labor (1938–40). During World War I, from 1915 to 1918, he held an important position in the Ministry of Munitions. Wolfe's first published poems, a collection entitled *London Sonnets* (1920), were characterized by a certain facetiousness and by an attempt to imitate colloquial speech. Other early works included *Shylock Reasons with Mr. Chesterton* (1920), *Circular Saws* (1923), *Lampoons* (1925), *Humoresque* (1926), and a long verse satire on the popular press, *News of the Devil* (1926). His first real success was a volume of light verse entitled *Cursory Rhymes* (1927). Later volumes, notably *Requiem* (1927), took life more seriously. *The Uncelestial City* (1930) represented an unsuccessful return to his earlier manner, and volumes in his more usual strain which appeared over the next ten years added little to his reputation. He translated Rostand's *Cyrano de Bergerac* (1937) and wrote an English adaptation of Jenő *Heltai's Hungarian verse comedy, *The Silent Knight* (1937). His critical writings include studies of Herrick, Shelley, and Tennyson. Wolfe was only mildly interested in Jewish affairs but translated Edmond *Fleg's *Wall of Weeping* (1929) and some of *Heine's poems. His autobiographical works, *Now a Stranger* (1933) and *The Upward Anguish* (1938), reveal his sense of alienation from Jews and Judaism; in 1908 he had become an Anglican. Rather incongruously, Wolfe also wrote excellent accounts of the Ministry of Munitions during World War I which are highly regarded as administrative history.

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[Philip D. Hobsbaum]

WOLFENBUETTEL, town in Lower Saxony, Germany. There was a small Jewish community in Wolfenbuettel during the 18th century. In 1781 a synagogue was erected to replace the prayer room that had previously been in use. After a new synagogue was dedicated in 1893, the old one was used as a private dwelling. A cemetery was acquired by the community in 1724 (it was desecrated in 1938). The small community is mainly known for the Jewish school that was established in the town. In 1786 Philip Samson and his brother Herz, **Landrabbiner* and *Court Jew of the duke of Brunswick, founded a *bet midrash* for poor boys, under the directorship of Philip, where four to five hours a week were set aside for secular studies (German, arithmetic, etc.). Ten years later another school was founded, endowed by Herz's widow. In 1806–07, under the influence of Israel *Jacobson, the schools amalgamated and revolutionized their curriculum. Less emphasis was given to talmudic studies, which were eventually replaced by catechism. The innovations were carried out by one of the first pupils, S.M. Ehrenburg, who conducted the earliest confirmation ceremony in 1807. The first to be confirmed was Leopold *Zunz, who taught in the school for five years; his contemporary at school was the historian I.M. *Jost. Attendance at the Samsonsche Freischule grew from about a dozen pupils in the late 18th century to 150–200 a century later, when it had become a recognized *Realgymnasium* (high school). It included a hostel. French and English were taught, and Jewish studies included Bible with Mendelssohn's translation, Jewish laws and customs, and a little Jewish history. The trend was that of liberal Judaism. The school was closed on Sabbaths and open on Sundays. In 1928 it was closed following the post-World War I inflation. There were 125 Jews living in Wolfenbuettel in 1932 and 112 in 1933. They maintained two philanthropic organizations. The community ceased to exist during World War II. There are memorials at the Jewish cemetery (from the 1970s and 1980s). A memorial (inaugurated in 1988) and a commemorative plaque (inaugurated in 2000) are dedicated to the former synagogue. In 2005 a new memorial was built to commemorate the Jewish citizens who lived in Wolfenbuettel during the Nazi era.

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[Abraham J. Brawer]

WOLFENSOHN, JAMES DAVID (1933–), international peace envoy, Olympian, philanthropist, investment banker and president of the World Bank. Wolfensohn was born in Sydney, Australia, and enrolled at age 16 at Sydney University, where he discovered a latent talent for fencing. Five years later, Wolfensohn fenced for Australia in the 1956 Olympics. That same year he completed his law degree and the following year, was accepted to do an M.B.A. at Harvard.

After a few years, he returned to Australia where his career as an international investment banker took seed. Over the years he held several executive-level positions in firms in Australia, the U.S., and the United Kingdom. In his late forties, he opened his own boutique investment bank.

Passionate about the performing arts, he was always closely involved in a range of cultural activities. As chairman of the board of Carnegie Hall, he was a driving force behind its restoration.

When he was appointed chairman of the board of trustees of the John F. Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts in Washington, D.C., the center was economically and philosophically troubled. He changed its focus, concentrating on education and increasing performance and outreach initiatives. For his contribution to the arts, Wolfensohn received numerous awards, including a Knight Commander of the Most Excellent Order of the British Empire.

As a committed philanthropist, he was devoted to humanitarian causes. He was president of the International Federation of Multiple Sclerosis Societies and personally financed AIDS initiatives for the disabled. Widely recognized for his voluntary work, he was decorated by the governments of Australia, Brazil, France, Germany, Georgia, Morocco, Norway, Peru, Pakistan, and Russia.

A proud Jew, Wolfensohn chaired the Jerusalem Foundation, was a director of the Jerusalem Music Center and a member of the advisory committee of Yad Hanadiv. He won the American Jewish Committee Herbert H. Lehman, Human Relations Award, and was a trustee of the Fifth Avenue Synagogue.

Wolfensohn received nine honorary doctorates, served as chairman of the board of the Institute for Advanced Study at Princeton University, and was a fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences and of the American Philosophical Society. He was a member of both the Council on Foreign Relations and the Century Association of New York and an honorary trustee of the Brookings Institution.

During his presidency of the World Bank between 1995 and 2005, Wolfensohn made poverty reduction the raison d'etre of the Bank and changed its face by describing the challenge of development in terms of people not numbers.

As his term at the bank was ending, in 2005 the Quartet of powers – the United States, Russia, the United Nations and the European Union, which had joined together to help to attain peace in the longstanding Arab/Israeli conflict – appointed Wolfensohn as their special envoy for peace.

[Jill Margo (2nd ed.)]

WOLFENSTEIN, ALFRED (1888–1945), German poet, playwright, and translator. Born in Halle an der Saale, Wolfenstein qualified as a lawyer but lived as a freelance writer in Berlin and Munich until he emigrated to Prague after the Nazis came to power. In 1938 he fled to Paris and, after the German occupation, wandered through France, eventually returning to the capital under an assumed name. The liberation found him seriously ill, and he committed suicide in a hospital. Wolfenstein was an expressionist poet with no overt political or social outlook. He always emphasized the loneliness of the artist but confessed his Jewishness in the essay *Juedisches Wesen und neue Dichtung* (1922).

His verse collections include *Die gottlosen Jahre* (1914), *Die Freundschaft. Neue Gedichte* (1917), and *Menschlicher Kaempfer* (1919). He also published lyrical dramas and a collection of 30 stories, *Die gefaehrlichen Engel* (1936). His other works include a prizewinning biographical study of the French poet Rimbaud (1930) and various translations from French and English. He edited two volumes of the poetry annual *Die Erhebung* (1919, 1920) and an anthology of world poetry, *Stimmen der Voelker* (1938).

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[Rudolf Kayser]

WOLFERT, IRA (1908–1997), author and journalist. Best known for his reporting during World War II and for his Pulitzer Prize-winning book, *Battle for the Solomons* (1943), Wolfert also wrote *American Guerrilla in the Philippines* (1945) and published short stories in various magazines. His novel, *Tucker's People* (1943), was based to a very large extent on material he had gathered as a reporter. It was filmed in 1948 as *Force of Evil*. In 1948 he published *An Act of Love*, with characters burdened by their Jewishness. His career fell into eclipse over the next two decades but interest in his work revived somewhat in the 1970s.

WOLFF, ABRAHAM ALEXANDER (1801–1891), chief rabbi of Copenhagen. Born in Darmstadt, Germany, he graduated from the University of Giessen in 1821, writing for his dissertation *Der Prophet Habakkuk* (Darmstadt, 1822). Some years later he wrote *Torat Yisrael*, a textbook on Judaism which was translated into Dutch, Danish, and Swedish. After serving in the rabbinate of Giessen for two years, in 1828 he was appointed chief rabbi in Copenhagen, continuing in office for over 62 years. During this period, Wolff, who combined the traditional spirit with a modern outlook, had a decisive influence in shaping the character of the Denmark community. He succeeded in reconciling the traditional and liberal parties. In the new synagogue, built on his initiative in 1833, Wolff was able to unify the disintegrated community. He instituted the traditional services with revisions, accompanied by a sermon. Many of his sermons have been published. He provided a Danish translation of the prayer book (1856) and translated the Pentateuch and *haftarot* (1891–94, part published posthumously). In *Talmudfjender* (1878) he replied to attacks by some Danish clergymen on the Jews and Judaism. Wolff also wrote *Bibelhistorie for Skole og Hjem* (1867), a biblical history for Jewish school and home use, and defended his innovations in the ritual in *Ateret Shalom ve-Emet*, or *Stimmen der aeltesten glaubwuerdigsten Rabbinen ueber die Pijutim* (1857). He was awarded the title of professor and created a Knight of the Order of Danebrog.

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[Leni Yahil]

WOLFF, ALBERT LOUIS (1884–1970), conductor and composer. Born in Paris, Wolff was associated with the Opéra Comique, becoming chorus master in 1908, conductor in 1911, and principal conductor in 1922. In 1924 he was made musical director of the Théatre des Champs Elysées, and later conducted the Concerts Lamoureux and the Concerts Pasdeloup. Famous as a conductor of French music, he toured widely in Europe and in South America (1940–45) and conducted at the New York Metropolitan Opera (1919–21). His best-known work is the opera *L'Oiseau bleu* (1919).

WOLFF, BERNHARD (1812–1879), also **Bendit Wolff** or **Wolff-Benda**, German journalist and publisher. Born the second son of the Berlin banker Marcus Wolff (1759–1835), Bernhard Wolff was trained in medicine but took up journalism. After the death of his father, who had lost all his assets, Wolff joined the old Berlin book publishing firm Vossische Buchhandlung as part-owner, translating scientific works from French and English. Shortly before the 1848 revolution he acquired the *Berliner Bank-, Börsen- und Handelszeitung* and, in April 1848, was among the founders of the liberal Berlin daily *National-Zeitung*, which he managed till 1850, finally becoming its owner.

In 1849, with the backing of the electrical entrepreneur Werner Siemens (1816–1892), Wolff established the world's first telegraphic news agency in Berlin, the Telegraphisches Korrespondenzbuero Bernhard Wolff, later called Wolff's Telegraphisches Bureau (WTB). WTB was to become the most important German news agency, expanding to other German cities and several European capitals, and even taking over *Reuter's office in Berlin. In 1865, WTB was transformed into a joint-stock company, the Continental Telegraphen Compagnie; the Prussian government also started to subsidize WTB. Wolff remained director of the firm until the 1870s; from the 1870s on, WTB had official standing, being virtually owned by the German government. In 1933, the Nazis changed the name of WTB to Deutsches Nachrichten-Bureau (DNB) which, in 1946, became the Allgemeiner Deutscher Nachrichtendienst (ADN), the official news agency of the German Democratic Republic. In 1994, it merged into the Deutscher Depeschen-Dienst (DDP) agency. Wolff's *National-Zeitung* eventually became part of the *Mosse publishing house. Wolff died in Berlin.

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[Johannes Valentin Schwarz (2nd ed.)]

WOLFF, CHARLOTTE (1897–1986), pioneering Jewish lesbian physician, psychotherapist, and sexology researcher in Germany and England. Born in Riesenburg, West Prussia, but raised in Danzig and Dresden, Charlotte Wolff matriculated at the University of Freiburg in 1920 and studied in Königsberg and Tübingen before completing her doctorate in medicine in Berlin in 1926. In 1931, she began working in the Institute for Electrophysical Therapy at the Neukölln clinic and was appointed its director the following year. She also had a small private medical and psychotherapeutic practice. An active member of the Verein Sozialistischer Ärzten (Association of Socialist Physicians), Wolff did volunteer work in a marriage counseling center in Berlin, distributing family planning information and providing poor women with contraception devices.

After the Nazi takeover in 1933, Charlotte Wolff was dismissed from her position in the outpatient clinic and was detained briefly by the Gestapo. Soon thereafter, she managed to escape to France and then England and began researching and writing books on chirology; she initially supported herself by analyzing hands because, as a refugee, she was not permitted to practice medicine. In 1937, Wolff became a permanent resident of England and gained permission to practice as a psychotherapist. In 1941, she was made a Fellow of the British Psychological Society and in 1947, she became a naturalized British citizen, but she was not officially reinstated as a physician until 1952.

In the 1960s, while writing her first autobiography, homosexuality became Charlotte Wolff's new field of research. She published *Love Between Women* (1973), a landmark study based on interviews with more than a hundred lesbians. She later wrote a book on bisexuality and a 1986 biography of Magnus Hirschfeld, the pioneering German-Jewish sexologist. In the 1970s, her books began to be translated into German; she was invited to come to Germany to speak about her experiences and her research on homosexuality and bisexuality in 1978 and again in 1979. As a Jew and a lesbian, Wolff believed that she was a quintessential outsider belonging to two persecuted minorities, but towards the end of her life, she found acceptance in British and German lesbian feminist circles, making important contributions to the study of homosexuality in both her adopted country and her native land. Other books include *Studies in Hand Reading* (1936); *The Human Hand* (1942); *The Hand in Psychological Diagnosis* (1950); *On the Way to Myself: Communications to a Friend* (1969); and *Hindsight* (1980).

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[Harriet Pass Freidenreich (2nd ed.)]

WOLFF, GUSTAV (1834–1913), British shipbuilder. Wolff was born in Hamburg to a Jewish family which had been baptized as Lutherans. He came to Liverpool in 1849 to join his uncle, a partner in a large firm of shipowners, and served an apprenticeship in engineering. From 1857 he was a partner in the Belfast shipbuilding firm of Harland & Wolff, which became one of the largest in the world and was also a leading manufacturer of shipping equipment such as marine rope. Much of the prosperity of late Victorian Belfast was due to his firm, which employed 15,000 men at the time of his death. Wolff served as a Unionist (Conservative) member of Parliament for a Belfast seat from 1892 until 1910. Although he was an Anglican, he maintained extensive contacts with the Jewish community in Britain and with overseas Jewish entrepreneurs, such as Albert *Ballin in Germany. Wolff died soon after his firm built its most famous ship. Tragically, it was the *S.S. Titanic*.

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[William D. Rubinstein (2nd ed.)]

WOLFF, HERMANN (1845–1902), concert manager and music critic. Born in Cologne, Wolff served for some time as Anton *Rubinstein's secretary. In 1881 he founded the concert management firm in Berlin bearing his name (later known as H. Wolff and J. Sachs), which became well known throughout Europe and was associated not only with the promotion of individual artists but also with the organization of important concert series in Berlin and Hamburg. Wolff was also editor of the *Neue Berliner Musikzeitung* (1878–79) and coeditor of the *Musikwelt*.

WOLFF, JEANETTE (1888–1976), prominent German Jewish Socialist. Born in Bocholt, Westphalia, she qualified as a nurse, later became an educationist and, after moving to Belgium, joined the Socialist Party and became active in the Labor Youth Movement. She returned to Germany in 1910 where she continued her political activity, and after her marriage took an increasing interest in Jewish activities, joining the German Jewish Women's Organization, which she represented on the Council of the Red Cross during World War I. After the war she became a prominent member of, and public speaker for, the Society of German Citizens of the Jewish Faith. As a result of her fearless denunciation of Nazism, she was placed under protective custody when the Nazis came to power and, although released in 1935, was continually harassed by the Gestapo and was eventually deported to the Riga ghetto and other camps. Returning to Berlin in 1946 she rejoined the Socialist Party, was elected a deputy to the West Berlin House of Representatives, and from 1952 to 1961 was a member of the Bundestag. Wolff continued her Jewish activities. She was cochairman of the Union of German Jewish Women, vice chairman of the Central Council of Jews in Germany, and chairman of the Society for Christian-Jewish Cooperation.

She was awarded the Great Service Cross of the German Order of Merit of the West German Government and the Leo Baeck Prize of the Central Council of Jews in Germany in 1975.

Wolff wrote *Sadism as Lunacy* on her experiences in the concentration camps, in which she attempted to analyze objectively the reasons for Nazi barbarity. Her autobiography *Mit Bibel und Bebel* remained in fragments and was published in 1980.

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WOLFF, JOSEPH (1795–1862), world traveler and Christian missionary to the Jews in the Oriental Diaspora. Born in Weilersbach, Bavaria, the son of a rabbi, he converted to Catholicism in 1812. He was admitted to the Collegio Romani in 1816, but after being expelled because of his heretical views, he moved to England and joined the Anglican Church. In 1827 he married the daughter of the Earl of Oxford, and their son was Sir Henry Drummond Wolff, the well-known diplomat and politician. He studied Oriental languages and theology at universities in Vienna and Tuebingen, among others. Thereafter he became a missionary to the Jews, traveling to Palestine, Kurdistan, Mesopotamia, Turkey, Persia, Khurasan, Bukhara, India, Yemen, Abyssinia, and many European countries.

He undertook his first great missionary journey to the Orient in 1821, which he described in *Missionary Journal and Memoirs of Reverend Joseph Wolff* (3 vols. London, 1827–29). After touring the British Isles and Holland in 1827, and Palestine and Cyprus in 1829, in 1831 he undertook his second journey to Asia, which he described in *Researches and Missionary Labours Among the Jews, Mohammedans, and other Sects (1831–1834)* (2 vols., London, 1835). In 1836 he traveled to the U.S., where he delivered a sermon before Congress in Washington, received a degree at Annapolis, Maryland, and was ordained as deacon in New Jersey. In 1838, however, he returned to England, accepting a parish in Somerset and occupying this office until his death. He left in 1843 for a second journey to Bukhara, having offered to search for Charles Stoddart and A. Conolly, two high-ranking English officers imprisoned by the emir of Bukhara. However, they had been executed before his arrival, and Wolff himself narrowly escaped a similar fate. The Bukharan episode is described in *Narrative of a Mission to Bukhara to Ascertain the Fate of Colonel Stoddart and Captain Conolly* (2 vols., London, 1845), which ran into seven editions.

His writings contain interesting and valuable details about the Jews and Jewish communities in the regions he had visited, but because of his missionary zeal and erratic character, Wolff's data lack objectivity and reliability.

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[Walter Joseph Fischel]

WOLFF, THEODOR (1868–1943), German journalist, politician, and editor-in-chief of the *Berliner Tageblatt* (est. 1872). Born in Berlin, the son of a wholesale dealer, Wolff joined the publishing house of his uncle Rudolf *Mosse in 1887. There he trained as a clerk and started writing for the *Berliner Tageblatt*. In 1889, together with Maximilian *Harden, he was among the founders of the Freie Buehne, an independent theater modeled after the Théatre-Libre in Paris. He was appointed chief Paris correspondent in 1894 and reported the *Dreyfus trial, side by side with his colleague Theodor *Herzl from Vienna. In 1906, he was called back to Berlin as editor-in-chief of the *Berliner Tageblatt*, which he made a leading liberal paper in and outside Germany until 1933. In his widely read Monday evening editorials, signed "TW," Wolff followed a policy of Franco-German understanding and Anglo-German rapprochement. At the outbreak of World War I he opposed extreme nationalist tendencies and annexationist demands. Often in difficulties with the censor, he was for some time forbidden to write. In 1918, together with E. *Feder and others, Wolff was among the founders of the German Democratic Party (DDP) but resigned in 1927 largely because of its rather right-wing *Kulturpolitik*. Until 1932, he served as a political advisor to Gustav Stresemann (1878–1929) and Heinrich Bruening (1885–1970).

After the rise of Hitler, Wolff, regarded as a leading representative of the Weimar system, was forced to flee Germany and left Berlin on the night of the *Reichstag* fire (February 27, 1933). Via Munich and Austria, he first went to Zurich and, in 1934, on to Nice. In 1937, he was officially expatriated. He continued his literary and journalistic work, contributing to papers such as the *Pariser Tageblatt* of G. *Bernhard and the *Aufbau* in New York. In autumn 1941, his visa to the U.S. expired before he was able to use it. In May 1943 he was arrested in Nice by the Italian army, handed over to the Gestapo and sent to Germany, where he was detained at several concentration camps, including Sachsenhausen and Oranienburg. In August 1943, he was taken to the Jewish hospital in Berlin-Moabit, where he died the following month.

Besides novels and plays, Wolff published various volumes of political surveys and memoirs, including *Der Heide* (1891), *Der Untergang* (1892), *Die Suender* (1894), *Die stille Insel* (1894), *Niemand weiß es* (1895), *Die Koenigin* (1898), *Pariser Tagebuch* (1908), *Spaziergänge* (1909), *Vollendete Tatsachen, 1914–1917* (1918), *Das Vorspiel* (1924), and *Anatole France* (1924). After 1933 there appeared *Der Krieg des Pontius Pilatus* (1934), *Der Marsch durch zwei Jahrzehnte* (1936; reprinted in 1989 as *Die Wilhelminische Epoche*), and *Die Schwimmerin* (1937); posthumously published was *"Die Juden." Ein Dokument aus dem Exil 1942/43* (1984).

In 1961, the foundation of the Hamburg paper *Die Welt* established the Theodor-Wolff-Preis for outstanding journalistic achievements.

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[Erich Gottgetreu / Johannes Valentin Schwarz (2nd ed.)]

WOLFF, WERNER (1904–1957), U.S. existential psychologist. Born in Berlin, Wolff was one of the first to introduce existentialist psychology in the U.S. In 1933 he left Germany, spent three years at the University of Barcelona and then settled in the United States. He worked at Columbia (1940–42) and served as professor at Bard College in Annandale-on-Hudson, New York, from 1942 onward. He studied the expression of personality in complex movements, in children's drawings, and in handwriting, and wrote books on his findings.

WOLFFSOHN, DAVID (1856–1914), second president of the World Zionist Organization. Born in Dorbiany, Russian Lithuania, Wolffsohn received a religious education. In 1873 his parents sent him to live with his brother in Memel (now Klaipeda) in order to avoid conscription to the czarist army. He studied at a *talmud torah* under Rabbi Isaac *Ruelf, who later became one of the leading forerunners of the *Ḥibbat Zion movement, and who very much influenced Wolffsohn. At an early age Wolffsohn began to earn his living in Loebau, East Prussia, and in Lyck, where he made the acquaintance of David *Gordon, the editor of the Hebrew newspaper *Ha-Maggid* and one of the first proponents of Ḥibbat Zion. He moved from place to place and worked at various jobs, at one time even as a peddler. He finally settled down in the timber trade, first working for others, and later independently, becoming prosperous.

Wolffsohn's bent for public life was first displayed in his activities in various Jewish communities. This did not appear to satisfy him, however, and he joined various cultural and philanthropic organizations. He finally found his place when he chanced to hear a lecture in Cologne given under the auspices of the Society for Jewish History and Literature. This forum was utilized by Max *Bodenheimer to propagate his Jewish nationalist ideas. After one of Bodenheimer's lectures, which had aroused the opposition of the majority of those present, Wolffsohn rose to defend the speaker and his views. After making Bodenheimer's acquaintance in this way, he began to find an outlet for his public activities in Ḥibbat Zion. Wolffsohn was possessed of an unassuming nature, which prevented him from pushing himself to the fore. In later years he was almost the only one of Theodor *Herzl's associates who lacked a formal secular education, and continuous association with all the "Doctors" in Herzl's circle most probably gave rise to guarded feelings of inferiority.

Wolffsohn was one of many whose latent sympathy for the Zionist idea was fired by the appearance of *Der Judenstaat*. He met Herzl in the autumn of 1896, was immediately captivated, and promised his assistance, especially in matters of finance. From then on he was Herzl's constant companion, and is one of those most frequently mentioned in Herzl's diaries. His imagination was set aflame by Herzl's political vision, which, despite Wolffsohn's habitual reserve and cultivated image as a "businessman," motivated him throughout.

Wolffsohn's debt to Herzl is universally recognized; what is less well known, however, is the fact that Herzl owed much to Wolffsohn as well. Herzl, who knew almost nothing of Jewish life, found in him a teacher and a guide. At the height of the preparations for the First Zionist Congress, in the sphere of protocol so dear to Herzl's heart, Wolffsohn gave the Zionist Movement its first two symbols: the colors blue and white on the model of the *tallit*, for the movement's flag, and the ancient term *shekel, for the Zionist members' due. He was the moving spirit behind the founding of the *Jewish Colonial Trust, which he directed until his last days, as well as of all the other financial and economic institutions of the movement. Despite his enormous admiration for Herzl, Wolffsohn never hesitated to disagree with him on matters with which Herzl was insufficiently acquainted. It was this quality above all that endeared him to Herzl, who portrayed him in glowing terms as "David Litwak" in his novel *Altneuland*. Wolffsohn accompanied Herzl on his journey to Ereẓ Israel to see Emperor William II (1898) and on his journeys to Turkey. Herzl's death was a terrible blow to Wolffsohn, who, in lieu of the eulogy forbidden by Herzl, swore to cherish his memory by repeating the words "If I forget thee, Jerusalem, let my right hand forget its cunning" at his graveside. Herzl nominated him as the guardian of his children, and Wolffsohn, himself childless, was a loving and devoted father to them until he died.

Herzl's death was a critical blow to the Zionist Movement, then split between those in favor of the *Uganda Scheme and those opposed to it, and on more or less parallel lines between the political Zionists and the "practical" ones. Herzl had managed to bridge these differences by his personal authority, but he left no one to take his place. Wolffsohn was a member of the delegation that asked Max *Nordau to take Herzl's place. Nordau refused, but suggested instead that Wolffsohn himself was the most suitable candidate, and, at the conference of the Zionist Federation of Germany (Cologne, April 1905), Adolph *Friedemann offered Wolffsohn the presidency. His consistent rejection of these proposals, which was both honest and modest, was prompted by his conviction that no one person, least of all himself, was worthy to take Herzl's place. In the end, a triple leadership was agreed upon: Wolffsohn, Nordau, and Otto *Warburg. This compromise was accepted by the Seventh Zionist Congress, which elected him chairman of the Executive and the Zionist General Council.

Wolffsohn's leadership of the Zionist Movement was overshadowed by tragedy. The giant figure of Herzl constantly before him and the rest of the movement was the source of a great deal of bitterness in his life and a spur to the opposition that began to appear at the start of his tenure. Wolffsohn built up his self-confidence very slowly, until he came to the point where he was a competent enough speaker to parry the thrusts of the opposition. His roots in eastern European Jewish life added to his confidence and enabled him to introduce elements of humor and traditional associations into his speeches, which the Jewish masses found very appealing.

The Seventh Zionist Congress not only put an end to the Uganda Scheme but also effected a programmatic innovation by achieving a compromise between the "practical" and the political Zionists that called for settlement activity within the framework of the *Basle Program. Practical work in Ereẓ Israel was not made conditional on the attainment of a "charter." Although Wolffsohn tried to reconcile differences in the Zionist camp, full unity was not achieved because each side believed he was putting the other side's program into effect. This moderate position became his guiding policy, but it could not be viable for any length of time because it encountered much opposition, despite the fact that Wolffsohn made executive posts available to his staunchest opponents.

After Wolffsohn moved the central Zionist office to Cologne, the *Jewish National Fund center, under Bodenheimer, was transferred there as well. He invited Nahum *Sokolow to act as general secretary of the Zionist Organization and founded the official Hebrew newspaper of the Zionist Organization *Haolam* (1907), which was initially edited by Sokolow. He took part in the conference of Jewish organizations in Brussels (1906) that met to organize matters concerning emigration. Although the practical results of the conference were insignificant, its value lay in the fact that the Zionist Organization made its appearance side by side with other worldwide Jewish organizations. When his health collapsed, Wolffsohn set out on a holiday to South Africa (1906), a journey which was transformed into a triumph for Zionism and became the foundation stone of the South African Zionist Federation. On his return he visited Ereẓ Israel and published his impressions in *Die Welt*.

The compromise between the political and the "practical" Zionists, which took place at the Eighth Zionist Congress in The Hague (1907) and was theoretically expressed in Chaim *Weizmann's famous speech on "synthetic Zionism," found its mediator in Wolffsohn, who restrained both sides at once. His emphasis on efficiency in practical work earned him the epithet "*kaufmaennisch*," a barb directed against him by both sides. He revealed his ability as a leader capable of deciding between extremely opposed views and methods, while simultaneously insisting that everything was being done in the spirit of Herzl. All the practical programs then being instituted (the opening of branches of the Jewish Colonial Trust in Ereẓ Israel, the beginnings of settlement, the activities of the JNF) were, in Wolffsohn's opinion, a continuation of the plans and the activities of Herzl's period. He was elected president by 135 votes to 59.

Afterward Wolffsohn went to Turkey, but was prevented from seeing the sultan by the outbreak of the revolution of the Young Turks (1908), which disrupted all his arrangements. At this time he also showed himself capable of decisive action by agreeing to grant a JNF loan to the first settlers of Aḥuzat Bayit, the nucleus of Tel Aviv, despite widespread opposition on the grounds that the requested loan was against the regulations of the JNF. Great demonstrative value was attached to Wolffsohn's journey (accompanied by Sokolow) to Russia in 1908 and to the splendid reception he was accorded by Prime Minister Stolypin, Foreign Minister Isvolsky, and other members of the government. Although his attempts to secure legal status for the Zionist Organization in Russia were unsuccessful, the downtrodden Jews of Russia experienced a degree of gratification at the show of cordiality with which he was received by the government. On the outbreak of the revolution of the Young Turks, Wolffsohn was one of the few Zionists to retain his composure and refuse to be drawn into the excited political scheming rife in the movement. Instead, he proceeded to organize a branch of the Jewish Colonial Trust in Constantinople and found and acquired newspapers there for the propagation of the Zionist point of view. In 1908 he also visited Hungary, where the Zionists were under severe attack from the assimilationists with government assistance, and succeeded in seeing the prime minister and lessening the tension to a certain extent.

Wolffsohn, who enjoyed Nordau's support, was again elected president of the Zionist Organization, despite the opposition to him that gained in strength, reaching its climax at the Ninth Congress in Hamburg (1909). He did everything in his power to bring the opposition, the "practical" Zionists, closer to the leadership, but all his efforts were in vain. His health was rapidly failing and, finally, proved insufficient to meet the demands of the struggle with the opposition. At the Tenth Congress (Basle, 1911) he resigned from the leadership of the movement, retaining only the directorship of the financial and economic institutions. The center of the movement moved from Cologne to Berlin, and Wolffsohn, apart from remaining active in the above institutions, also undertook various journeys on behalf of the cause. He intended to settle in Ereẓ lsrael and even learned to speak Hebrew with this end in view, but he died before this could be accomplished. He was buried in Cologne, and in 1952 his remains were brought to Israel and interred next to Herzl's grave on Mt. Herzl in Jerusalem. His estate provided the means for the National and University Library building in Jerusalem, which also houses his archives, including diaries and letters, and contains a room named in his honor.

It was only after Wolffsohn's death that his personality and work were fully appreciated. Only then was he recognized, even by his opponents, as a man of the people who had risen from the ranks by virtue of decades of devoted work. He was also a symbol of the synthesis between East and West, combining the best qualities of both European Jewish communities. His good nature, however, made him an easy prey for all those who considered Herzl's successor fair game for any treatment they cared to mete out to him. This was the source of the tragic quality that permeated the period of his leadership of the Zionist Movement.

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[Getzel Kressel]

WOLFOWSKI, MENAHEM ZALMAN (1893–1975), Hebrew writer and translator. Born in Russia, Wolfowski served in the Russian army during World War I and immigrated to Ereẓ Israel in 1921. After working for three years in road and building construction, he turned to teaching and editing, working for the Miẓpeh and Ha-Kibbutz ha-Me'uḥad publishing houses. Wolfowski published poems, stories, criticism, and articles in various periodicals and literary anthologies in Ereẓ Israel.

His books of poetry are *Sofei Shevilim* (1928) and *Shirim u-Fo'emot* (1953). He also published the short story collections *Yeled Yullad Lanu* (1950) and *Beit Yisrael* (1963), and a series of books for young people. In 1968, a collection of his essays and memoirs appeared, *Kerovim ba-Nefesh*. After the death of M. *Poznanski, he completed the edition of J.Ḥ *Brenner's writings (vols. 2–3, 1960–67). Wolfowski translated more than 50 books, including works by Turgenev, Dostoevski, and Tolstoy, as well as historical works and children's books.

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[Getzel Kressel]

WOLFSBERG, small town in Carinthia, S. Austria; under the rule of the Bamberg bishopric in the 13th century. Jews are first mentioned there in 1289, and in 1304 the duke of Carinthia granted them a charter of privileges, which was renewed in 1311. During the Host libel at *Pulkau (1338), the Jews of Wolfsberg were accused of having stolen the consecrated bread of the Eucharist, having made it bleed, and having tried to burn it. More than 70 Jews were burned at the stake on August 19, and the community disappeared. In 1346 one Jew was permitted to resettle in Wolfsberg.

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[Meir Lamed]

WOLFSKEHL, KARL (1869–1948), German poet. Born in Darmstadt, Germany, he claimed descent from the patrician *Kalonymus family, which settled in Mainz more than a thousand years before his birth, and insisted on his right to regard himself as a representative of the authentic German spirit. After his university studies he came under the influence of the lyric poet Stefan George (1868–1933) whom he hailed as his master and with whom he collaborated in the publication of the three-volume *Deutsche Dichtung* (1901–03) and the *Blaetter fuer die Kunst* (1892–1919). From 1899 to 1932 Wolfskehl's Munich home was the meeting place of the George Circle and Wolfskehl himself its only Jewish member. His early lyrics, which began to appear in 1897, his *Gesammelte Dichtungen* (1903), and *Der Umkreis* (1927) all follow the standards of George's neoclassicism, and there was also a powerful mystic current in his writing. Three traditions shaped Wolfskehl's poetic personality: the German, the Greco-Roman, and the biblical. The biblical influence appeared in 1905 in the lyrical drama *Saul*, but it was only after he left Germany in 1934 that Jewish themes became dominant in his verse. Wolfskehl lived in Italy and Switzerland until 1938 and thereafter in New Zealand. Because both his German and his Jewish feelings were so deep-rooted, the persecution of Jews by Germans was profoundly shocking to him, and in the autobiographical song *An die Deutschen* (begun in Rome in 1934 and completed in New Zealand in 1944; published 1947) the homesick poet took leave of his native land.

Other poems reflecting his heartbreak are those in *Die Stimme spricht* (1934) and in the volumes published posthumously, *Hiob* (1950), and *Sang aus dem Exil* (1951). The correspondence of Wolfskehl's last decade in Auckland (*Zehn Jahre Exil…*, 1959) gives clear insight into his later, more universalist and cosmopolitan, outlook. In 1960 a hitherto unpublished work appeared in Amsterdam in German under the Hebrew-German title *Kalon Bekawod Namir – "Aus Schmach wird Ehr"* ("We will Exchange Disgrace for Honor"; cf. Hos. 4:7). His *Gesammelte Werke* was published in two volumes in 1960.

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[Sol Liptzin]

WOLFSOHN, JULIUSZ (1880–1944), pianist, critic, and composer. Born in Warsaw, Wolfsohn studied piano at the conservatories in Warsaw, Paris, and in Vienna, where he wrote music and criticism for the *Montagblatt*. On his return to Poland in 1925, he wrote for *Muzykai Rytm* and lectured on Jewish music and musicians and on the interpretation of Chopin. Wolfsohn settled in the United States in 1933. He composed a number of works on eastern European Jewish themes, including *Jewish Rhapsody, Hebrew Suite*, and *Twelve Paraphrases on Jewish Melodies*.

WOLFSOHN-HALLE, AARON (1754–1835), writer. Born in Germany, Wolfsohn-Halle taught in a Jewish public school in Breslau from 1792 to 1807, serving the last five years as its principal. Among the most radical of the early *maskilim*, he was one of the editors of **Ha-Me'assef* during its Berlin period, and editor in chief in 1797. Among his own various contributions to the periodical was the play *Siḥah be-Ereẓ ha-Ḥayyim* (in *Ha-Me'assef*, vol. 7, 1794–97), in which *Maimonides and Moses *Mendelssohn meet in paradise. The author praises Mendelssohn and combines his own radical views of the Haskalah with acrimonious remarks against the Talmud and the Kabbalah. His school text, *Avtalyon* (Berlin, 1790–1814^3), the first written for Jewish pupils, was a pioneer attempt to relate Bible stories in simplified Hebrew prose. In addition, Wolfsohn-Halle published the books of Job (1826) and I Kings (1827) in the Mendelssohn translation, with his own commentary; wrote in German, translating some biblical books into German; and published works in Yiddish, including *Reb Ḥanokh ve-Reb Yosefkhi*, a satirical play replete with Haskalah didacticism. An earlier Hebrew version of this play, written in the 1790s, recently discovered, was published in 1955 (PAAJR, vol. 24, with notes). In 1995, a new transcription of *Leichtsinn und Froemmelei. Ein Familiengemaelde in drei Aufzuegen* appeared, edited by G. Och and J. Strauss, and following the Breslau edition of 1796.

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[Getzel Kressel]

WOLFSON, ELLIOT (1956–), U.S. professor of Judaic studies. He received a bachelor of arts and master of arts degree from Queens College (1979) and a master of arts (1983) and doctoral degree (1986) from Brandeis University. He conducted research at The Hebrew University, Jerusalem, in 1984 and 1985 and was a fellow at the International Center for the University Teaching of Jewish Civilization in the Diaspora. In 1986 and 1987 he was an Andrew W. Mellon Teaching Fellow in the Humanities at Cornell University.

Wolfson taught at Queens College in 1988–89, then at the Jewish Theological Seminary of America from 1989 to 1993. He taught at Princeton University in 1992, was a visiting professor at the University of Chicago and the Russian State University for the Humanities, and an adjunct professor of Jewish history at Columbia from 1989 to 2000. Wolfson became an assistant professor of Hebrew and Judaic Studies at New York University in 1987, then an associate professor in 1991, and he was appointed professor in 1995. In 1996 he was named the Abraham Lieberman Professor of Hebrew and Judaic Studies. He served as the director of Religious Studies from 1995 to 2002.

Wolfson's research interests include the history of Jewish mysticism, comparative mysticism, the phenomenology of religion, hermeneutics, literary theory, and gender studies. His works include *The Book of the Pomegranate: Moses de León's Sefer ha-Rimmon* (1988); *Through a Speculum That Shines: Vision and Imagination in Medieval Jewish Mysticism* (1994); *Circle in the Square: Studies in the Use of Gender in Kabbalistic Symbolism* (1995); *Abraham Abulafia – Kabbalist and Prophet: Hermeneutics, Theosophy, and Theurgy* (2000); *Pathwings: Poetic-Philosophic Reflections on the Hermeneutics of Time and Language* (2004); and *Language, Eros, Being: Kabbalistic Hermeneutics and Poetic Imagination* (2005). *Through a Speculum That Shines* received in 1995 an award from the American Academy of Religion.

Wolfson edited *Rending the Veil: Concealment and Secrecy in the History of Religion* (1999) and coedited, with A. Ivry and A. Arkush, *Perspectives on Jewish Thought and Mysticism* (1998). He wrote extensively for academic journals, including the *Association for Jewish Studies Review, Harvard Theological Review, Jewish Quarterly Review*, and others, and contributed to many collections of essays, including *Gender and Judaism* (1995) and *Perspectives on Jewish Thought and Mysticism* (1998).

A fellow of the American Academy for Jewish Research, Wolfson is a member of the American Academy of Religion, the World Union of Jewish Studies, and the Medieval Academy of America.

[Dorothy Bauhoff (2nd ed.)]

WOLFSON, HARRY AUSTRYN (1887–1974), historian of philosophy. Born in Belorussia, Wolfson received his early education at the Slobodka yeshivah. Emigrating to the United States in 1903, he studied at Harvard and, from 1912 to 1914, held a traveling fellowship from Harvard, which enabled him to study and do research in Europe. In 1915 he was appointed to the Harvard faculty, becoming professor of Hebrew literature and philosophy in 1925. From 1923 to 1925 he also served as professor at the Jewish Institute of Religion. Wolfson received many academic honors for his pioneering researches. He was a fellow of the American Academy for Jewish Research, serving as its president from 1935 to 1937, and a fellow of the Mediaeval Academy of America. He was president of the American Oriental Society in 1957–58, and also held membership in the American Academy of Arts and Sciences. In 1958 he was awarded the prize of the American Council of Learned Societies. In 1965 the American Academy for Jewish Research published the *Harry Austryn Wolfson Jubilee Volume* (in English and Hebrew) in his honor.

Wolfson – whose writings are marked by a mastery of the philosophic literature in the several languages in which it was written, penetrating analysis, clarity of exposition, and felicity of style – wrote many books and articles. (A bibliography, appearing in the *Jubilee Volume* (Eng. sec., pp. 39–49), contains 116 items, which were published between 1912 and 1963.) His early articles, several of which dealt with issues in the philosophies of Crescas and Spinoza, were followed by his first book, *Crescas' Critique of Aristotle*, which, though completed in 1918, was not published until 1929. The volume contains a critical edition of part of Crescas' *Or Adonai* (the section dealing with the 25 propositions which appear in the introduction to the second part of Maimonides' *Guide*), an exemplary English translation, and an introduction; but of special importance are the copious notes which take up more than half of the volume. In these notes Wolfson discusses, with great erudition, the origin and development of the terms and arguments discussed by Crescas, and he clarifies Crescas' often enigmatic text. In the introduction (pp. 24–29) Wolfson describes the "hypothetico-deductive method of textual study" which guided him in all his works (see introductions to his other books). Akin to the method used to study the Talmud known as *pilpul*, this method rests on the assumptions that any serious author writes with such care and precision that "every term, expression, generalization or exception is significant not so much for what it states as for what it implies," and that the thought of any serious author is consistent. Hence it becomes the task of the interpreter to clarify what a given author meant, rather than what he said, and he must resolve apparent contradictions by means of harmonistic interpretation. All this requires great sensitivity to the nuances and implications of the text and familiarity with the literature on which a given author drew. Like the scientific method, the "hypothetico-deductive" method proceeds by means of hypotheses which must be proved or disproved, and it must probe the "latent processes" of an author's thought.

The investigation of the background of Crescas' thought involved Wolfson in an intensive study of the commentaries on Aristotle's works written by the Islamic philosopher Averroes. However, most of these commentaries existed only in manuscripts, and so Wolfson proposed the publication of a *Corpus Commentarionum Averrois in Aristotelem* (in: *Speculum*, 6 (1931), 412–27; revised version, *ibid.*, 38 (1963), 88–104). This corpus was to consist of critical editions of the Arabic originals, and of the Hebrew and Latin translations; and it was to contain English translations and explanatory commentaries by the editors. The Mediaeval Academy of America undertook to sponsor this project and Wolfson was appointed its editor in chief. By 1971, nine volumes of the series had appeared.

In 1934 Wolfson's two-volume *The Philosophy of Spinoza* appeared. Applying the "hypothetico-deductive" method, Wolfson undertook to unfold "the latent processes" of Spinoza's reasoning. Following the arrangement of Spinoza's *Ethics*, Wolfson explained the content and structure of Spinoza's thought and discussed extensively the antecedents on which he drew. By the time he had completed his *Spinoza*, Wolfson had conceived the monumental task of investigating "the structure and growth of philosophic systems from Plato to

Spinoza," working, as he put it, "forwards, sideways, and backwards." As work on this project progressed, he continued to publish articles. His next book, *Philo: Foundations of Religious Philosophy in Judaism, Christianity, and Islam*, appeared in two volumes in 1947 (1948^2, 1962^3). *Philo had until then been considered an eclectic or a philosophic preacher, but Wolfson undertook to show that behind the philosophic utterances scattered throughout Philo's writings there lay a philosophic system. More than that, he held that Philo was the founder of religious philosophy in Judaism, Christianity, and Islam, and that "Philonic" philosophy dominated European thought for 17 centuries until it was destroyed by Spinoza, "the last of the medievals and the first of the moderns."

After publishing more articles, Wolfson in 1954 completed another two-volume work, *The Philosophy of the Church Fathers* (1964^2). However, he decided to publish only the first volume, which appeared in 1956. Following the pattern established in his *Philo*, but allowing for differences occasioned by Christian teachings, Wolfson devoted this volume to faith, the Trinity, and the incarnation, discussing not only the orthodox but also the heretical views.

In 1961 a collection of Wolfson's articles appeared under the title *Religious Philosophy: A Group of Essays*.

[Arthur Hyman]

WOLFSON, SIR ISAAC (1897–1991), British financier and philanthropist. Wolfson was born and grew up in a poor district of Glasgow, the son of a picture frame maker who had migrated from Bialystok. After leaving school at the age of 14, Wolfson worked for his father as a traveling salesman. He moved to London in 1922 and went into business, joining the Great Universal Stores a decade later and becoming its chairman in 1946. He made the GUS Group one of the world's foremost industrial and commercial empires. He built up a chain of nearly 3,000 retail stores, dealing in furniture and soft goods, developed the largest mail order business in Britain, and controlled a road transport organization in Britain second only to the nationalized British Road Services. His interests in Britain and the U.S. extended to banking, insurance, building, real estate, and shipping.

After World War II Wolfson began to devote himself more intensively to Jewish and general philanthropy. In 1955 he formed the Wolfson Foundation which by 1970 had distributed over £20,000,000 (approximately $56,000,000) in charitable contributions to numerous establishments in Britain and the British Commonwealth for the advancement of health, education, the liberal arts, science and engineering, youth and student welfare, and various other humanitarian and academic purposes. He became associated with business undertakings in Israel and used the profits to further his philanthropic interests there. The Edith and Isaac Wolfson Trust provided funds for building the Supreme Rabbinical Center in Jerusalem (Hechal Shlomo, named for his father), 50 synagogues throughout the country, and the Kiryat Wolfson housing projects for new immigrants in Jerusalem and Acre, which included schools and synagogues. He contributed to the development program of The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, the Technion, and especially the Weizmann Institute of Science. Wolfson was made a baronet in 1962 in recognition of his public services. In 1963 he became the only non-scientist to be elected a Fellow of the Royal Society. He founded Wolfson College at Oxford with a contribution of £2,000,000, which was matched by a similar endowment by the Ford Foundation, and in 1977 also founded Wolfson College, Cambridge. He was appeal chairman of the Joint Palestine Appeal of Great Britain and Ireland from 1950 onward, and president of the *United Synagogue. By the time of his death he had given away £130 million to various philanthropic causes and was probably the greatest British philanthropist of his time. His son BARON LEONARD WOLFSON (1927–) succeeded him as chairman of GUS and was president of the Jewish Welfare Board from 1972 to 1982. Also a great philanthropist, he was given a life peerage in 1985.

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[Julian Louis Meltzer]

WOLFSON, THERESA (1897–1972), U.S. economist. Born and raised in Brooklyn, Wolfson received her B.A. from Adelphi College in 1917, her M.A. from Columbia University in 1923, and her Ph.D. from the Brookings Institution in 1926. A specialist in labor economics and industrial relations, she researched and published studies on discrimination against women in the workplace and within trade unions. A researcher, activist, and educator, Wolfson began her long career investigating wage standards and working conditions in the New York garment industry. She worked as a field agent for the National Child Labor Committee (1918–20), as executive secretary of the New York State Consumers League (1920–22), and then as director of education at the Union Health Center of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union (1925–27). Wolfson married Dr. Iago Galdston in 1920 and the couple had two children. Following a 1935 divorce, Wolfson married Austin Bigelow Wood, a professor of psychology at Brooklyn College, in 1938.

In 1928 Wolfson was appointed instructor of economics at the Brooklyn branch of Hunter College, soon to become Brooklyn College, and was subsequently promoted to the rank of professor of economics and labor relations. She also taught adult education courses for the ILGWU, the Headgear Workers Union, and the Summer School for Office Workers, as well as courses in the continuing education program at Sarah Lawrence College after her retirement from Brooklyn College in 1967. During her lifetime, Wolfson's students dedicated a collection of books on labor-management relations at Brooklyn College Library in her honor; after her death, her colleagues established an annual scholarship for graduate study in labor economics in her memory.

In addition to her book, *The Woman Worker and the Trade Unions* (1926), Wolfson published many scholarly and popular articles and was on the editorial board of *The Woman Today*. She served on the public panel of the War Labor Board (1942–45); the national panel of arbitrators of the American Arbitration Association; the State Board of Mediation (1946–53); the Kings County Council Against Discrimination (1949–53); and as New York chapter president and member of the executive board of the Industrial Relations Research Association. In 1957, she received the John Dewey Award of the League for Industrial Democracy in recognition of her achievements as mediator of industrial disputes. Theresa Wolfson's extensive papers can be found in the Kheel Center for Labor-Management Documentation in the Catherwood Library at Cornell University.

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[Harriet Pass Freidenreich (2nd ed.)]

WOLFSTHAL, CHUNE (1851–1924), composer. Born in Tysmenitsa, Galicia, Wolfsthal was the son of a cantor. Together with his six brothers he organized the well-known Kapelle Wolfsthal ensemble in Tarnopol. It toured widely and entertained both at gentile social functions and at ḥasidic courts. After service as a military bandmaster, Wolfsthal became conductor at the Jewish Theater in Lvov but was forced to flee to Vienna in 1914, and returned to Tarnopol after the war. The operettas which he composed, *Der Teufel als Retter, R. Jehuda Halevi, Der komische Ball, Die Malke Schwo, Die Tochter Jeruschulajims, Die Drei Matunes* (from the story by I.L. Peretz), and *Bostenai* were written in the classical pattern of Johann Strauss and Suppé operettas. They were played in every Jewish theater in the world and made Wolfsthal's reputation second only to that of Abraham *Goldfaden. He also composed waltzes, marches, and dances which attained great popularity. Despite his success, Wolfsthal lived and died in poverty.

WOLKOWISKI, JEHIEL BER (1819–1903), wealthy merchant and leader of the community of Bialystok. A dynamic personality, Wolkowiski was outstanding for his brilliant economic initiative. He amassed a fortune by trading textiles from factories in Germany and succeeded in marketing them in an efficient manner at the fairs of Lithuania and Ukraine. As a result of his connections with the Russian authorities he acted as the leader of the community for 50 years (1850–1900), in spite of its lack of official status. His control over the administration of several banks also enabled him to exert influence on the municipal leaders and the local police, and he developed many charitable institutions in the community. Their officials acted upon his instructions. He did many favors for individuals, and became well known for saving Jewish youths who had been forced into military service. Although he possessed a limited education, Wolkowiski maintained a religious atmosphere in his home and a special *bet midrash*, which continued to exist until World War II. An opponent of Ḥibbat Zion and Zionism, he attacked R. Samuel *Mohilewer. In 1894 the authorities granted him a special status according to which he could vote and be elected to office.

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[Moshe Landau]

WOLLENBORG, LEONE (1859–1930), Italian statesman. He became famous especially as founder of the savings and agricultural cooperative credit banks. He founded the first of them in 1883. Wollenborg was elected as deputy in 1893; he was appointed undersecretary at the Ministry of Finance in 1898, and he became minister of finance in 1901. Wollenborg became senator in 1914.

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[Massimo Longo Adorno (2nd ed.)]

WOLLHEIM, GERT H. (1894–1974), German expressionist painter, born in Dresden. From 1911 to 1913 Wollheim studied in Weimar at the school of fine arts. Among his teachers were Gottlieb Forster and Albin Egger-Lienz. As a young artist he exhibited in Herwarth Walden's progressive Der Sturm Gallery in Berlin. During World War I, he fought on the eastern and western fronts and was wounded in the stomach, an experience which became crucial for his later art work. His work is violent and contorted, and stresses the element of the grotesque. Some of his compositions mingle figures in everyday dress with figures of masqueraders. In 1919 he left Berlin for Duesseldorf, where he created many of his woodcuts, etchings, and paintings to express his terrible experiences of war. The monumental triptych *The Wounded* has the figure of a soldier in the position of the crucified Jesus, with lacerated belly, as its centerpiece (1919, private collection). Wollheim shared his studio in Duesseldorf with his friend Otto Dix and joined the association Das Junge Rheinland as well as the Aktivistenbund 1919, a group of young leftist intellectuals and artists.

In 1933 he emigrated to Paris, where he founded the Kollektiv Deutscher Kuenstler in 1936–37. In 1938 the Nazis showed three works of Wollheim in their exhibition "Degenerate Art" in Munich as examples of accomplished madness. From 1939 to 1942 he was detained in the camps at Vierzon, Ruchard, Gurs and Septfonds, France. In 1942 he was able to escape to Nay, where he and his wife were hidden by a peasant woman. In 1947 he emigrated to New York. In 1961, on the occasion of the exhibition at the Museum of Art, Duesseldorf, he visited Germany for the first time since 1933. In 1971 his work was on exhibition in Berlin. Wollheim died in New York.

Today the art of Wollheim is considered to be a synonym for aggressive avant-garde art and the attempt to illustrate the inner feelings of mankind in hyper-expressionist painting. His surreal and fantastic landscapes with monstrous figures and symbols point to the work of Hieronymus Bosch, such as *Paradis terrestre* (1936, private collection) or *The Kingdom of Punctuation Marks* (1953, private collection). Moreover, he went on to represent the abuses of the Nazi regime in expressive forms, as in *Gurs VII: Death Transport* (1940, private collection) and *Six Millions* (1962, Museum Duesseldorf). Most of his paintings, some 450 works according to the estimate of the artist himself, were either destroyed in, or have been missing since, World War II.

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[Jihan Radjai-Ordoubadi (2nd ed.)]

WOLMAN, ABEL (1892–1989), U.S. sanitary engineer, pioneer in problems of environmental pollution. Born in Baltimore, Maryland, Wolman became professor of sanitary engineering at his alma mater, Johns Hopkins University, lecturing there from 1937 to 1957. Working in the field of water supply and sewage, Wolman did much toward maintaining proper sanitation throughout the United States. He was an early advocate of a national water policy, and as early as 1946 demanded that industry assume responsibility for alleviating pollution. He was consulted by the U.S. Public Health Service, the U.S. Departments of Defense, Agriculture, and the Interior, the Red Cross, the Tennessee Valley Authority, the American Railroad Association, and many municipalities. An authority on environmental sanitation at the UN, Wolman's expertise was sought in India, Ceylon, Taiwan, Argentina, Brazil, and the Arctic. He was chief consultant for Israel's Jordan River project and, from 1958, consultant for all water development in Israel. Disposal problems took on a new dimension with the worldwide proliferation of atomic activity, and Wolman was appointed by the U.S. Atomic Energy Commission to evaluate the dangers of cumulative radiation. In 1967 he became a consultant on biotechnology in the atmosphere for the National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA). Wolman served as president of the American Public Health Association and was editor of the *Journal of Public Health.* A prolific contributor to professional journals, he wrote on such diverse subjects as malaria, ice engineering and the legal aspects of water supply. Many of his articles are reprinted in *Water, Health and Society: Selected Papers by Abel Wolman* (G.F. White, ed., 1969). He was co-author of *The Significance of Waterborne Typhoid Fever Outbreaks* (1931), and was the editor of *The Manual of Water Works Practice* (1925). For a period of 60 years Wolman succeeded in focusing his attention on the total human environment, responding in both technological and human terms to the threats to the environment that result from technological progress.

WOLMARK, ALFRED (1877–1961), British painter. Born in Warsaw, he was taken to the East End of London as a child and studied in the Royal Academy Schools. He made his reputation at the Whitechapel Art Exhibition of 1906, where his work was praised by perceptive art critics. In his early period, he painted Whitechapel scenes and Rembrandtesque studies of Jewish subjects, such as rabbis and talmudic students. Later he developed into a brilliant colorist. His use of color was so bright that in an exhibition of the International Society of Artists no English painter dared hang work next to his. His work was finally placed next to Van Gogh's. Wolmark did portraits of many noted literary figures and, in 1925, provided illustrations for an edition of the works of Israel *Zangwill. A retrospective exhibit of Wolmark's work was held at London's Ben-Uri Gallery in 2004.

ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY: ODNB online.

WOLOFSKY, HIRSCH (1878–1949), Canadian Yiddish publisher and author. Wolofsky was born in Shidlovtse (Szydlowiec), Poland, into an observant ḥasidic community to which his father was crown rabbi. He received a traditional religious education until orphaned at 15. He moved to Lodz, married, and immigrated to Canada via England in 1900 to join a brother in Montreal. In 1907 Wolofsky founded Canada's first enduring Yiddish daily, the *Keneder Adler* (Canadian Jewish Eagle), and served as managing editor until his death. Wolofsky's newspaper served a wide readership across ideological lines. It promoted Jewish education, establishment of a Canadian Jewish Congress, creation of a Jewish Community Council (Va'ad Ha'ir), and building of a Jewish hospital.

The *Adler* attracted Jewish writers of international renown such as Hebraist Reuben Brainin, who served as editor from 1912 to 1915, and featured many of Canada's Yiddish writers. Wolofsky's *Adler* subsidized the literary and scholarly pursuits of its associates and published many of their books. Among the books published was Canada's first Yiddish book: Moshe Elimelech Levin's *Kinder Ertsiyung bay Yidn* ("Children's Education Among Jews," 1910), and a local edition of the Talmud, the *Adler's Shas Talmud Bavli* or, as it became popularly known, the *Montreoler Shas* ("Montreal Talmud," 1919).

Wolofsky also wrote for the *Adler.* He published three Yiddish books: a travelogue titled *Eyrope un Erets-Yisroel nokh dem Veltkrig* ("Europe and the Land of Israel after the World War," 1922), a volume of contemporary commentary on the weekly Torah portions, *Fun Eybign Kval* ("From the Eternal Source," 1930), and a book of memoirs, *Mayn Lebns Rayze* ("Journey of My Life," 1946; Eng. tr. 1945, Fr. tr. 2000). In addition, Wolofsky served as publisher of the Anglo-Jewish weekly the *Canadian Jewish Chronicle* (founded 1914). He held various leadership positions in the Montreal Jewish community, including the vice presidency of both the American Union of Polish Jews and the Canadian Jewish Congress.

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[Rebecca E. Margolis (2nd ed.)]

WOLOMIN (Pol. **Wołomin**), town in Warszawa province, east central Poland. The town developed toward the close of the 19th century, and, situated on the Warsaw-Bialystok railway line, became a commercial and industrial center. Jews numbered 3,079 (49.3% of the total population) in 1921. Although they were active in the town's development, during the 1930s they were ousted from their positions and by 1939 their proportion in the town's population had fallen to 22% (3,000 Jews). In general, Jews earned their livelihood from commerce, from such crafts as dyeing, baking, tailoring, and joinery, and from renting houses to summer guests. Some Jews also owned tanneries and glass factories. Communal and cultural activities revolved around the Peretz Library and the *Maccabi and *Ha-Po'el societies. Jews won five of the municipal council's 24 seats in the 1934 elections. Ze'ev Bergeisen, who was rabbi from the early 1900s until the Holocaust, had a profound influence on the life of the Jewish community.

[Shimshon Leib Kirshenboim]

Holocaust Period

On the outbreak of World War II there were about 3,000 Jews in Wolomin. A large-scale *Aktion* took place on Oct. 4–6, 1942, when over 600 Jews were shot in Wolomin and the rest deported to the *Treblinka death camp. After the war the Jewish community of Wolomin was not reconstituted.

WOLOWSKI (Schor), Christian family in Poland of Jewish origin. In 1755–56, its members joined the *Frankists, after which they converted to Catholicism. Until the 1830s the Wolowski family exclusively married apostate Frankists, but subsequently they also contracted mixed marriages.

ELISHA SCHOR, the first known of the ramified Wolowski family, was a descendant of Zalman Naphtali Schor, rabbi of *Lublin. For many years Elisha Schor held the position of *Maggid* in the community of *Rogatin, and was among the leaders of Shabbateanism in the southeastern sector of the Polish kingdom. In 1755, with his sons and his son-in-law Hirsch Shabbetais, the husband of his daughter Hayyah, he joined the sect of Jacob Frank, whom he regarded as the loyal successor of Shabbateanism. It was at Elisha's initiative and with his participation that the disputation with the rabbis was held at *Kamenets Podolski in June 1757; he also signed the *Patshegen ha-Ta'anot ve-ha-Teshuvot* ("Summary of the Arguments and the Replies"). After the death of Bishop M. Dembowski, the patron of the Frankists, Elisha was compelled in the autumn of 1757 to flee across the Turkish border with his followers. He died there during a popular outbreak against the members of the sect.

The children of Elisha Schor, Solomon, Nathan, Lipman, Hayyah, and their families adhered to the Frankist sect, until their conversion to Christianity in 1759, when they changed their name to Wolowski (Pol. *wol* = Heb. *shor*). They held various positions in the court of Jacob Frank in Poland and in Offenbach.

FRANCISZEK LUKASZ WOLOWSKI, son of Solomon and grandson of Elisha, became secretary of King Stanislaus II Augustus, and was raised to the nobility in 1791. JAN KANTY WOLOWSKI (1803–1864), jurist, great-grandson of Elisha Schor, held the position of secretary of state in Congress Poland and was one of the draftsmen of the civil code of Poland. In 1839 he was raised to the nobility by Nicholas I and in 1861 was appointed dean of the faculty of law at the University of Warsaw. He was the only former Frankist not ashamed of his Jewish origin, of which he was even proud.

FRANCISZEK WOLOWSKI (1776–1844), jurist and statesman, great-grandson of Elisha Schor, was a member of the Polish Sejm (Parliament) in 1818 and between 1825 and 1831. He was raised to the nobility in 1823. In 1830, at the time of the Polish uprising, he opposed emancipation of the Jews. After the suppression of the uprising, he emigrated to France with his family. His son LOUIS FRANCOIS WOLOWSKI (1810–1876), French economist and statesman, born in Warsaw, took part in the Polish uprising of 1830–31, and later emigrated to France. In 1834 he began to publish the periodical *Revue de législation et de jurisprudence*. From 1848 to 1851 he was a delegate in the constituent and legislative assembly of France. In 1852 he founded the Crédit Foncier bank. In 1871 he was elected to the National Assembly. His important works are *Etude d'économie Politique et Statistique* (1864); *La Question des banques* (1864); and *L'Or et l'argent* (1870).

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[Arthur Cygielman]

WOLPE, DAVID E. (1908–), Yiddish writer. Born in 1908 in Keidan in Kovno province (Lithuania), Wolpe was educated in both the traditional *ḥeder* and in the Tarbut Hebrew high school. Fired early with socialist ideals, he joined the Zionist-socialist youth movement Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir at 16 and became the founding editor of its Hebrew journal, *Ha-Nesher*. In 1930 he immigrated to Palestine as a pioneer of the organization's kibbutz, today Kibbutz Bet Zera, one of the oldest and most prosperous kibbutzim in the Jordan valley. He also worked in the orange groves and vineyards of the Jewish settlements Binyaminah and Petaḥ Tikvah, before leaving the kibbutz in 1933 to become a building laborer in Tel Aviv. Returning to Europe in 1936, Wolpe joined the Lithuanian army, but from 1941 was interned in the Kovno ghetto, from which, in 1944, he was transported to Dachau. In 1945 he was among the survivors liberated by the U.S. army. Sent to recover in the St. Ottilien Hospital in Bavaria, he met and married there an 18-year-old Jewish refugee and fellow patient. In 1951 Wolpe immigrated to South Africa, where he immediately plunged into the Yiddish literary life of Johannesburg, becoming a prolific contributor to all the local Yiddish and Hebrew journals and serving as editor of South Africa's only Yiddish monthly, *Dorem Afrike* (1954–70). He serialized his memoirs, *A Yid in der Litvisher Armey* ("A Jew in the Lithuanian Army") in

South Africa's only Yiddish newspaper, the *Afrikaner Yidishe Tsaytung* (1959–60).

Wolpe's first love was poetry, and in 1978 he published his collected verse, written over a period of some 30 years, in the substantial volume, *A Volkn un a Veg* ("A Cloud and a Way"). Much praised when it first appeared, this anthology was awarded the prestigious Itsik Manger Prize in Israel in 1983. He also published a volume of literary essays, *A Vort in Zayn Tsayt* ("A Word in Its Time," 1984); a critical study of the work of Abraham *Sutzkever, *Mit Avrom Sutskever iber Zayn Lidervelt* ("The Poetic World of Abraham Sutzkever," 1985); a collection of short stories, *Heymen, Khaloymes, Koshmarn* ("Homes, Dreams, Nightmares," 1987); two further volumes of poems and essays, *Krikveg* ("The Way Back," 1991) and *Iber Mayne Vegn* ("Along My Roads," 2002); and a two-volume autobiography, *Ikh un Mayn Velt* ("I and My World," 1997–99). In his nineties Wolpe continued to write from his home in Johannesburg. His abiding contribution to Yiddish literature was well summed up in the citation for the Manger Prize: "He is full of poetic paradox: his ever-present unrest and doubt are an expression of emotional creative nature."

[Joseph Sherman (2nd ed.)]

WOLPE, DAVID J. (1958–), U.S. congregational rabbi, orator, teacher, and writer. Wolpe was born in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania. His early education was in Jewish day schools in Harrisburg and later at Akiba Academy in Philadelphia. Wolpe's father, Rabbi Gerald Wolpe, served as the spiritual leader of Philadelphia's Har Zion Congregation, one of the flagship congregations of the Conservative Movement.

Wolpe attended the University of Pennsylvania, where he received his B.A. degree in English literature; he also spent a year studying abroad at the University of Edinburgh. Wolpe enrolled in the University of Judaism's (UJ) pre-rabbinical program in 1982 and was immediately identified as one of their most promising students. During his two years at the UJ, Wolpe published his first monograph, "Secret Thought and Normal Mysticism." He also served as a rabbinic intern at Congregation Adat Ariel in North Hollywood. After spending a year studying at the Schechter Institute and The Hebrew University in Jerusalem, Wolpe continued his studies at the Jewish Theological Seminary (JTS) from which he was ordained in 1987.

Wolpe joined the faculty of the University of Judaism in 1987 and taught there for eight years. He also served as director of the library and as special assistant to UJ President Robert Wexler. In 1995 Wolpe took a position at JTS as both an instructor in Jewish Thought and as assistant to Chancellor Ismar Schorsch.

A frequent contributor to a variety of Jewish and general periodicals, Wolpe's first book, *The Healer of Shattered Hearts*, appeared in 1990. This was followed by *In Speech and In Silence* (1992), *Teaching Your Children about God* (1993), *Why be Jewish?* (1995), *Making Loss Matter* (1999), and *Floating Takes Faith* (2004).

Wolpe was persuaded to return to Los Angeles to accept the position of senior rabbi of Sinai Temple in 1997. Since his arrival, the congregation has increased from 1,150 member families to over 1,800. He inaugurated Friday Night Live, an innovative Shabbat evening program that draws over 1,700 single Jewish adults each month. In general, Wolpe attracts in excess of 1,000 attendees for each Shabbat morning service.

After returning to Los Angeles, Wolpe undertook a part-time lecturer position at the University of Judaism, where he teaches homiletics. He also serves as a lecturer in modern Jewish thought at the University of California at Los Angeles.

In 2002, Wolpe generated considerable controversy when, during a Passover sermon, he opined that the Exodus story was most likely not the record of an actual event, citing a lack of archeological evidence. He was, however, insistent that the mythic narrative remains important for the Jewish people.

With the retirement of Ismar Schorsch from the position of chancellor of the Jewish Theological Seminary in 2005, Wolpe was heralded as a likely candidate to succeed him. Nevertheless, Wolpe elected to remain at Sinai Temple. In an article that appeared in the Los Angeles *Jewish Journal* in December 2005, he urged that Conservative Judaism be reconceived in terms of the covenantal relationships that Jews have forged with God, one another, and with the rest of the world. He advocated that the name of Conservative Judaism be officially changed to Covenantal Judaism.

[Robert Wexler (2nd ed.)]

WOLPE, HOWARD ELIOT III (1939–), U.S. congressman and scholar. A native of Los Angeles, Wolpe attended public schools there. He earned his bachelor's degree from Reed College in 1960 and received a Ph.D. in African studies from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology in 1967. His doctoral work included two years of field study in Nigeria.

From 1967 to 1972, Wolpe taught in the political science department of Western Michigan University in Kalamazoo, specializing in African political systems. He also served as a consultant to the Peace Corps. Developing an interest in local politics, Wolpe was elected to the Kalamazoo City Council in 1969. In 1972 he was elected to the Michigan State Legislature, the first Democrat to represent Kalamazoo. He served there until 1976, when he ran unsuccessfully for the U.S. Congress. He was subsequently hired as the regional representative of U.S. Senator Donald Riegle. In 1978 Wolpe was elected to Congress as representative of Michigan's Third Congressional District, traditionally a Republican stronghold.

Following his reelection to Congress in 1980, Wolpe was appointed chair of the Africa Subcommittee of the Foreign Affairs Committee, a position he held from 1981 to 1992. Considered a compassionate proponent of economic aid to emerging African nations, Wolpe was a leading critic of American military aid to Zaire, and he opposed the Reagan administration's requests for increased military aid to Kenya, the Sudan, Morocco, and Tunisia. He was highly critical of South African apartheid. He argued throughout his legislative career for a more informed consideration of African perspective in formulating U.S. policy toward African nations.

In 1992, following reformulation of Michigan's congressional districts, Wolpe retired from Congress. He then served under President Bill Clinton as special envoy to Africa. He was named the director of the Africa Program at the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars in Washington, DC, a program aimed at promoting dialogue among policymakers and academic specialists regarding U.S. policy toward African nations.

Wolpe is the author of several books, including *Urban Politics in Nigeria* (1974), *Nigeria: Modernization and the Politics of Communism* (as editor, with Robert Melson, 1971), and *United States and Africa: A Post-Cold War Perspective* (with David F. Gordon and David Miller, Jr., 1998). He was a visiting fellow in the Foreign Policy Studies program of the Brookings Institution. Wolpe also headed the Burundi Leadership Training Program, funded by the World Bank and the U.S. Agency for International Development, which aims to reduce factionalism in post-conflict Burundi.

[Dorothy Bauhoff (2nd ed.)]

WOLPE, STEFAN (1902–1972), composer. Born in Berlin, Wolpe studied at the Berlin Academy of Music under Paul Juon and Franz Schreker. In 1933 he settled in Jerusalem, where he taught at the Palestine Conservatory of Music until 1938 and greatly influenced the first generation of locally educated composers. He subsequently settled in the United States and from 1951 taught at various New York institutions. His music belongs to the Schoenberg and Webern schools and shows strong Jewish influence. Among his compositions are a ballet, *The Man from Midian* (1940); an oratorio, *Israel and his Land*; a cantata, *Jigdal*; and chamber and choral works.

WOLPER, DAVID LLOYD (1928–), U.S. producer of films and television documentaries. Born in New York, Wolper's first commercial venture was to buy old Hollywood films and to sell them to the infant television industry. In 1958 he formed Wolper Productions. His film *The Race for Space* (1959) established his reputation as an independent documentary producer and earned an Academy Award nomination for Best Documentary. Other notable productions were *The Miracle* (1959); *Biography*, a weekly TV series (1961–64); *The Making of the President, 1960* (1963); the TV series *Hollywood and the Stars* (1963); *The Legend of Marilyn Monroe* (1964); *National Geographic Specials* (1964–75); *Let My People Go* (1965), the story of the creation of the State of Israel; *The Rise and Fall of the Third Reich* (1968); *The Unfinished Journey of Robert Kennedy* (1970); *Victory at Entebbe* (1976); the TV miniseries *Roots* (Peabody Award and an Emmy for Outstanding Series, 1977); *Hollywood: The Gift of Laughter* (Emmy nomination, 1982); the TV miniseries *The Thorn Birds* (1983); *Liberty Weekend* (two Emmy nominations, 1986); *The Betty Ford Story* (1987); *Murder in Mississippi* (Emmy nomination, 1990); *The Plot to Kill Hitler* (1990); *Dillinger* (1991); the miniseries *Queen* (Emmy nomination, 1993); and the TV miniseries *The Mists of Avalon* (2001).

Wolper also ventured into feature film production. His movie credits include *The Devil's Brigade* (1968); *If It's Tuesday It Must Be Belgium* (1969); *Willy Wonka and the Chocolate Factory* (1971); *This Is Elvis* (1981); *Imagine: John Lennon* (1988); *Murder in the First* (1995); *Surviving Picasso* (1996) and *L.A. Confidential* (1997).

In 1985 he received the Jean Hersholt Humanitarian Award. Wolper wrote *Producer: A Memoir* (with D. Fisher, 2003).

[Jonathan Licht / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

WOLPERT, LUDWIG YEHUDA (1900–1981), German sculptor and designer. Wolpert was born in Hildesheim, Germany, the son of an Orthodox rabbi. In 1916 he went to Frankfurt-on-the-Main, where he studied at the School for Arts and Crafts until 1920. After a few years working as a sculptor, Wolpert registered again at the school and specialized in metalwork. His teachers, among others, were the Bauhaus artist Christian Dell and the silversmith, sculptor, and designer of Judaica Leo Horovitz, son of the Orthodox rabbi Marcus *Horovitz. Under the guidance of Leo Horovitz, Wolpert became involved in creating modern Jewish ceremonial art. His famous Passover set, created in 1930, is made out of silver, ebony, and glass (replica in the Jewish Museum, New York; the original is lost) and reveals the strong influence of the Bauhaus designers of the late 1920s who worked under the slogan "form follows function." The same concept also guided the creation of a modern set of Torah silver commissioned by the family of Reuben Hecht for the Orthodox Frankfurt synagogue at the Friedberger Anlage, which was destroyed in 1938. Before Wolpert emigrated to Palestine in 1933, some of his works were shown in the exhibition *Cult and Form* (1931, Berlin et al.) and in an exhibition of ceremonial art in the Berlin Jewish Museum (1932). From 1935 he taught metalwork at the New Bezalel School for Arts and Crafts in Jerusalem. Wolpert's personal achievement is the introduction of Hebrew letters as the dominant artistic element in the creation of Jewish ceremonial art. This is visible in one of his most outstanding works, a Torah Ark in copper and silver (1948, Harry S. Truman Library, Independence, Missouri), where the Hebrew text represents an integral part of the whole design. In 1956 he was invited to New York to establish the Tobe Pascher Workshop for Jewish ceremonial objects at the Jewish Museum. During his time in the U.S. Wolpert took part in designing several synagogue interiors and exterior furnishings, such as at Temple Emanuel, Great Neck, New York, and the Beth El Synagogue, Minneapolis, Minnesota. Until his death in 1981 he directed the workshop and had a great influence impact on his students, such as his daughter Chava Wolpert-Richard and Moshe Zabari.

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[Philipp Zschommler (2nd ed.)]

WOLSEY, LOUIS (1877–1953), U.S. Reform rabbi. Wolsey, born in Midland, Michigan, was ordained in 1899 by Hebrew Union College. From 1899 to 1907 he led Congregation B'nai Israel in Little Rock, Arkansas. He then served as rabbi at Congregation Anshe Chesed, Cleveland, leading in the construction of its Euclid Avenue Temple. When he left this congregation in 1925, it had increased from 150 to over 1,300 families. He was rabbi at Philadelphia's Rodeph Shalom Congregation from 1925 to 1947. Wolsey helped lead Reform organizations as president of Hebrew Union College Alumni Association (1914–16), executive board member of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations (1925–29), and president of the Central Conference of American Rabbis (1925–27). He was a founder in 1926 of the World Union for Progressive Judaism, and was chairman of the committee that revised the *Union Hymnal* published in 1936.

Although comparatively favorable to nonpolitical aspects of Zionism during his Cleveland years, Wolsey was one of the group of rabbis who opposed the Central Conference resolution for the establishment of a Palestinian Jewish military unit in 1942, and he led the dissident group through several conferences that formed the *American Council for Judaism. He resigned his council vice presidency in 1946 to protest its stand against unrestricted Jewish immigration to Palestine, and resigned from the council itself in 1948. Wolsey found it irreligious and anti-humanitarian in the face of "a harried European Jewry," and demanded that it dissolve. Likewise, "the Zionist movement… should dissolve into a unity of world Jewry for the creation of a Jewish culture and a Jewish life in Israel."

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WOMAN. This article is arranged according to the following outline:

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THE HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

Biblical Period

Recovering the lives of Israelite women in the biblical period is difficult because the major source, the Hebrew Bible, focuses on national concerns rather than on the lives of ordinary individuals and also because its principal interest is in the lives of men rather than those of women. In addition, the biblical text postdates, often by centuries, the periods it purports to record. Another problem is that much of the Bible originates in and reflects the urban setting of Jerusalem, whereas most Israelites lived in agrarian households in small villages or walled agricultural towns that were not true cities. However, a multidisciplinary approach, using biblical data along with information produced by archaeology and also ethnographic data and interpretive models from anthropology, can bring the women of ancient Israel into view.

The Hebrew word *ishah* means both "wife" and "woman," signaling the fact that a woman's identity was virtually inseparable from her status as a married woman. It was inconceivable that a woman might willingly live on her own apart from a family structure. Israelite marriage was not the kind of love-based companionate relationship that is the ideal in the modern world; rather, it was a heterosexual pairing meant to provide offspring to assure generational continuity in a land-based society. The conjugal pair with their children would also constitute a work force sufficient to meet the needs of a family in an agrarian society; and the children would be the ones to care for their parents should they survive into old age. Having children was a non-negotiable necessity.

MARRIAGE AND CHILDREN. The Bible does not have a term for "marriage" as such. The formation of a marital bond is indicated by saying that a man "takes" a woman. The narrative of the courtship of Isaac and Rebecca, for example, culminates in the statement that "he took Rebecca and she became his wife" (Gen. 24:67). That a man "takes" a wife is a reflection of the patrilocality of Israelite households. That is, the bride would move to the household of the bridegroom, who usually resided with his own family. An extended family would thus be formed, although each constituent nuclear family might have its own abode within a family compound. The incest laws in Leviticus may have originated to deter problematic sexual intimacy among members of a complex household group.

Financial arrangements generally accompanied marriage except among the poorest families. Although there are no "marriage laws" as such in the Bible, information in narratives indicates that a bride's family typically provided a dowry, usually consisting of moveable property such as jewelry, clothing, and household utensils. In wealthier families, livestock and servants might also be included (see Gen. 24:59; 29:24, 29). The dowry could be supplemented by the groom and his family (Gen. 24:53). Although her husband would have had some access to the dowry during the duration of the marriage, it theoretically remained the woman's possession.

Another marital payment was made by the groom's family to that of the bride. This betrothal gift, sometimes erroneously called "bride price" (*mohar*; see Gen. 22:17; 34:12; I Sam, 18:25), has often been interpreted as evidence that a man purchased a woman. The fact that a word sometimes used for "husband" is *ba'al*, which can (but does not always) mean "master," has also been adduced to claim that a woman is the property of her husband. Similarly, the use of the verb *kanah*, which can mean "to buy" but more generally "to acquire," to describe Boaz' marriage to Ruth (Ruth 4:10) has also been interpreted as an indication of male ownership of women. However, such assertions are now known to be flawed.

In anthropological perspective, the dowry as well as the betrothal gift functioned in overlapping ways to maintain the viability of a family. The betrothal gift would provide some compensation to a woman's family, who would lose the labor of a daughter upon her marriage. The dowry would constitute a woman's chief means of support in the event of widowhood or divorce, especially if she had no sons or if her father was deceased. And the two payments together served to establish and solidify alliances between a woman's natal family and her marital one. Such connections were important in agrarian communities; they served to increase the likelihood of mutual aid in the event of economic or other difficulties, not unusual in Israelite households living in marginal ecological zones. Betrothal and dowry payments together served important economic, social, and legal functions.

To refute the notion of male ownership of women is not the same as establishing equality in the relationship. Perhaps the greatest imbalance was in the area of sexuality. Once a woman was betrothed, her fiancé, and then her husband, had exclusive rights to her sexuality. The patrilineal nature of Israelite society, with land and property transferred across generations via the male line, is likely the reason for the stringency in biblical legal precepts dealing with a woman's sexuality. The gender asymmetry in the treatment of sexuality is evident in Deuteronomy 22:13–21, in which a bridegroom claims that his wife is not a virgin. The ensuing elaborate procedure for dealing with this accusation reflects the value of virginity as a means to assure a groom of his paternity of children she will bear. Gender disparity is also evident, for similar reasons, in the different treatment of women and men in biblical adultery laws (Lev. 20:10; Deut. 22:22–28), where sex between a married man and an unmarried woman is discouraged but not proscribed. Concern for heirs is also a factor in the institution known as levirate marriage, in which a childless widow would marry her deceased husband's brother, with the first son produced by that liaison considered the dead man's heir (Deut. 25:5–10; cf. the narratives of Tamar, Gen. 38, and Ruth). The case of the daughters of Zelophehad (Num. 26:33; 27:1–11; 36:1–12) would seem to mitigate the absolute nature of Israelite patrilineality; however, the inheritance of land by daughters in that case is accompanied by provisions that the land would remain within the clan.

The powerful male interest in transmitting property to biological heirs is also a factor in the existence of polygamy, or rather polygyny (more than one wife), in ancient Israel, as in the ancient Near East in general. Monarchs may have had multiple wives as a sign of their high status and to solidify political alliances, and wealthy individuals may have had more than one wife as a sign of affluence. But in most instances, taking a second wife or a concubine would have occurred because the first wife did not produce offspring. The Genesis narratives give us the impression that polygyny was common. However, shorter life spans for women than for men (meaning a shortage of women of child-bearing age) and the fact that most people probably lived near the poverty level (meaning the inability of a family to support multiple wives) would have precluded polygyny for all but the wealthy. Indeed, many biblical texts, such as Genesis 2:24, the Song of Songs, several passages in wisdom literature, and even legal rulings such as Exodus 21:4–5, reflect a monogamous norm.

Although dissolution of a marriage was sometimes unavoidable, very little is known about provisions for divorce. Isaiah 50:1 mentions a bill of divorce (cf. Mal. 2:14, which refers to a marriage contract), indicating that formal documents were used for establishing or dissolving a marriage, although probably only for people of means. The sole biblical text with divorce rulings, Deuteronomy 24:1–4, addresses a particular situation, the case of a man seeking to remarry a woman to whom he had once been married. Unfortunately, it gives the impression that only men could initiate divorce in the biblical period. Information from extra-biblical sources (e.g., the Elephantine papyri) and indirect information from other biblical texts, such as the narrative of a Levite's secondary wife leaving him (Judg. 19:2), provide reason to contest that notion.

WOMEN IN HOUSEHOLD LIFE. It would be incorrect to assume that women were subordinate to and dominated by men in all aspects of life. Indeed, with few resources available from outside the household, the relationship between a woman and her husband was one of interdependence and complementarity in the various functions of household life.

As the primary unit of social existence, the family household was the locus of the activities necessary for the maintenance and continuity of life. Family life was task-oriented; without the labor of both women and men, and also children, survival in the marginal habitat of the highlands of Ereẓ Israel would not have been possible. But the responsibilities of all family members were not the same. The division of labor by gender, albeit with some overlap, was the most efficient way to accomplish the myriad of household tasks. In addition to procreation, households served the economic, educational, and religious needs of their members.

Economic Roles. Women's economic roles, which included growing field and horticultural crops and keeping domesticated ruminants (mainly sheep and goats), were manifold and complex. Although they participated to some extent in the male-dominated agricultural tasks of growing grains and also helped tend orchards and vineyards, especially in labor-intensive harvest periods (see Ruth 2: 8–9), their own agricultural activities probably involved growing garden vegetables and herbs. Women's major contributions to the household economy were largely the time-consuming food- and fiber-processing jobs, the former on a daily basis and the latter more likely on a seasonal basis. That is, the agricultural products of the household had to be transformed into edible and wearable form through the expertise and labor of women.

Cereal products were the most important food source in the biblical period, with bread providing an estimated 50% of the daily caloric intake. The transformation of grain into edible form involved parching or soaking, grinding, and heating and/or leavening. With an average family size of six persons, three hours of work per day would have been required to produce enough edible grain. With the assistance of older children, women did the work of bread production and also processed and prepared supplementary foodstuffs, mainly fruits, vegetables, and legumes and also dairy products. Some of these would have been eaten raw; but many, such as milk, olives, capers, grapes, nuts, figs, and dates, were also variously churned, pressed, pickled, roasted, or dried on a seasonal basis. Meat would have been eaten rarely, probably only at festivals.

The onerous nature of these food preparation tasks was offset by certain positive aspects. Unlike the often frustrating male tasks of growing field and horticultural crops, in which yields could be drastically affected by periodic droughts or infestations of insects, food preparation, even of limited amounts, always yielded a finished product. Thus, women experienced constant gratification from their daily work, repetitive as it was. Another positive feature was the mastery of technology involved, for the various food-processing procedures each involved considerable technical skill.

Just as important as the individual benefits were the social and political aspects of food preparation. Grinding implements are often found in clusters in the archaeological recovery of dwellings from the biblical period, indicating that women from neighboring households gathered together, undoubtedly to chat and sing, during the long hours spent preparing grains and other foods. The time spent together helped forge women into informal social networks in a way that the more solitary tasks performed by men did not. These networks also constituted a social safety net for Israelite women, facilitating assistance when illness or emergency threatened a neighboring household. Moreover, as is known from ethnographic studies of agrarian households in pre-modern settings, these networks operated on a political level as well. That is, women gained access to information that influenced community decisions made by male officials. Such indirect female political power is typically unrecognized but nonetheless real.

Women's economic roles extended beyond food processing. They gathered garden or wild herbs and plants to concoct medicinal substances used in folk remedies. Although sophisticated ceramic vessels may have been procured from traveling potters or urban workshops, women, perhaps several in a village, likely produced simple storage jars, cooking pots, and serving bowls for everyday use. However, perhaps the most important household activity, because of its potential for commercial activity beyond the household (see Prov. 31:13 and 24), was textile production.

Spinning, weaving, and sewing were woman's domain in the ancient Near East from time immemorial. The discovery in dwellings of the biblical period of spindle whorls, weights used in vertical, warp-weighted looms, and bone needles and weaving tools testify to the production of fabrics in Israelite households. Like grain processing, the procedures involved in making textiles were often time-consuming and tedious. It takes several hours of spinning, for example, to produce the amount of yarn or thread needed for an hour of weaving. Women in pre-modern cultures typically do textile work together; indeed, some of the procedures, such as weighting and even working a warp-weighted loom, were best done by women working in tandem. The personal, social, and political benefits that accrued to women (and their daughters) as transformers of food products were intensified by the shared experience of working with fibers to produce garments and coverings for their families and perhaps also for barter or sale.

Educational and Managerial Roles. The primary care of young children was the mother's responsibility. The child-care component of a woman's workday was subsumed into her daily obligations, no doubt with the assistance of older children and elderly parents. From a very young age, children assisted in household tasks, with women supervising offspring of both genders until boys were old enough to accompany their fathers into the fields. Given the absence of any formal or institutionalized education in the biblical period, except perhaps for a handful of upper-class urban males, women were the chief educators and socializers of both boys and girls in their early years and into adolescence. Fathers surely educated sons in the tasks and activities performed mainly by males. The educative roles of women are not very visible in the Bible, where the mention of sages and elders gives the impression of a male monopoly in teaching skills and inculcating traditional practices and beliefs. However, an understanding of the dynamics of an agrarian household indicates the prominence of women in this role.

A mother's educative role was hardly trivial. It involved instruction in the technologies of household life, in appropriate behavior (as reflected in many of the precepts in the book of Proverbs), and also in the transmission of culture and values more generally. However androcentric and upper-class Proverbs may be, it is nonetheless clear from the frequent parallelism of "mother" and "father" (1:8; 4:3; 6:20; 15:20; 19:26; 20:20; 23:22, 25; 28:24; 30:11, 17) that both parents had important educative roles. And because women had more contact hours with children, their interactions with offspring were of foundational significance in transmitting many aspects of Israelite culture from one generation to the next. It is hardly an accident that the very notion of "wisdom," which includes technical expertise as well as social sagacity, has important female aspects, arguably rooted in the broad role of women in caring for and socializing their children. Note that the biblical word for wisdom in the Bible, *ḥokmah*, is feminine; wisdom is personified as a woman in Proverbs (1:20–33; 3:13–18; 4: 1–9; 7:1–5; 8:1–36; 9:1–6; 14:1); the "strong woman" (*eshet ḥayil*) of Proverbs 31 is characterized as speaking wisdom and teaching kindness (verse 26); and two narratives feature "wise women" (II Sam. 14:1–20; 20:14–22) with none featuring a "wise man."

A woman's educative role was not limited to the instruction of her own children. In the complex, multi-generational Israelite households, older women served as household managers, instructing their own children as well as daughters-in-law and nieces in the array of tasks performed by women as well as in appropriate behaviors. The fifth commandment (Ex. 20:12 and Deut. 5:6) and the demanding (and probably idealized) family laws of Exodus 21:15, 17 and Leviticus 20:9, which were likely concerned with the behavior of adult children in multi-generational households, underscore the authority of both parents. This is in contrast to some ancient Near Eastern societies that apparently favored men over women in assigning authority over offspring. Another indication of female authority in household life is the fact that mothers predominate in the Bible as the ones who name their children. In light of women's extensive educative and managerial roles, the appearance of the phrase "mother's household (*bet ʾem*)" rather than the usual "father's household (*bet av*)" several times in the Bible is noteworthy. "Mother's household" appears in passages dealing with the internal life of the household (Gen. 24:28; Ruth 1:8; Songs 3:4; 8:2) and seems to indicate that women controlled most household activities (as in the case of the Shunammite woman, II Kings 4:8–37; 8:1–6), whereas men controlled supra-household lineage interactions.

Religious Roles. The predominance of women in household education and management may have been replicated in household religious roles. Although the Bible's focus is on temple or tabernacle and on national or communal practices, there are clear indications of family celebrations that punctuated the annual religious calendar. For example, Passover in its origins was likely a home-based spring festival involving specific kinds of food preparation; the other major festivals, similarly grounded in the agricultural calendar, no doubt involved family feasting. Household Sabbath traditions are difficult to trace back to the biblical period, but the manna provisions for the seventh day, as well as post-biblical sources, indicate festal meals were part of the holy day of rest. The domestic celebration of festivals and observance of Sabbath are inconceivable without special meals requiring women's culinary expertise and labor.

In addition, women undoubtedly participated in celebrations at shrines near their homes and even initiated cultic activity. The Hannah narrative is instructive in this regard (I Sam. 1–2). Hannah accompanies her husband and his secondary wife and their children to an annual sacrifice at the cult center of Shiloh. In addition, she comes "before the Lord" to make a vow and a sacrifice in the hopes of ending her barrenness. Although post-biblical textual traditions try to obfuscate her role, the Masoretic text clearly indicates that Hannah, having become pregnant and given birth to Samuel, fulfills her vow by bringing sacrifices to Shiloh. Although Deuteronomy 16:16 does not enjoin women to participate in the pilgrimage festivals in Jerusalem, they were not precluded from doing so. Moreover, other passages in Deuteronomy (e.g., 12:12; 16:11, 14) are gender-inclusive in their instructions for bringing sacrifices and celebrating at the central shrine. And dozens of priestly passages use the gender-inclusive term *nefesh*, indicating that women as well as men were mandated to offer certain sacrifices (see, e.g., Lev.2:1 and Num. 5:6).

The participation of women in extra-household religious life and in family celebrations was only part of their religious roles. Those religious activities carried out *only* by women, known through archaeological and ethnographic evidence, were arguably the most important aspects of women's religious lives. Women in pre-modern cultures typically coped with the many problems related to childbearing, which today would be dealt with by medicine, through behaviors that might be termed "magic" but were clearly religious in nature. Facing the possibility of barrenness, childbirth complications, difficulty in lactation, and high infant mortality rates (as many as one in two infants did not survive to the age of five), women performed a variety of rituals in order to keep away the evil spirits thought to be the cause of problems and to attract benevolent ones to assure reproductive success. Many of these apotropaic practices, such as wearing shiny amulets or eye beads to avert the "evil eye," tying a red thread around the wrist or ankle of newborn (cf. Gen. 38:28, where such a thread is a marker), keeping a light burning in a birthing room or place where an infant sleeps, salting and swaddling a newborn (see Ezek. 16:4), continued into the post-biblical period and are found in Muslim and Christian as well as Jewish families well into the 20th century.

Women's household religious praxis can be understood to have empowered them in respect to their concerns about life-and-death matters. Their religious activities focused on the welfare of their families and themselves. Women were ritual experts, for they possessed the requisite knowledge to perform rituals in a prescribed and efficacious way using specific materials and artifacts. Such knowledge was transmitted across generations by older women to younger ones, just as experienced priests educated younger ones in the intricacies of communal ritual. Moreover, household rituals dealing with childbirth were carried out for women by women, including neighbors, relatives, and sometimes midwives (I Sam. 4:20; cf. Ruth 4:13–17). Women's religious practices were profoundly important components of their adult lives.

WOMEN OUTSIDE THE HOUSEHOLD. The midwives who assisted Israelite women in childbirth were religious specialists as well as health-care practitioners, since prayers and potions are part of the culture of childbirth in traditional societies. Other female religious specialists may have included temple servitors (Ex. 38:8; I Sam.2:22). There were surely diviners, as is apparent from the strong anti-divination passage in Ezekiel 13:17–23 addressed to a group of female prophets. Yet not all female prophets were viewed so negatively. Miriam (Ex. 15:20) and Deborah (Judg. 4:4), two of the most prominent women in the Bible, are called prophets, as are Huldah, the first person to issue a ruling establishing the authenticity of a text as God's word (II Kings 22:14–16), and Noadiah, a leader of the postexilic community (Neh. 6:14). Many other religious specialists are reviled, as in the gender-inclusive denunciations in Leviticus 19:31; 20:6, 27; Deuteronomy 18:11, a sure sign that women's services were being utilized. Women served as necromancers, mediating between dead ancestors and their living relatives, as the story of the medium of Endor (I Sam. 28:7–25) suggests. Women also were sorcerers and are specifically condemned as such (Ex. 22:18; cf. Isa. 57:3).

Other female professionals, less explicitly religious, are also mentioned in the Bible. Deborah is a "judge," a charismatic military leader, as well as a prophet. The wise women of Tekoa and Abel help resolve national crises. Troops of female musicians appear in several instances in which military victory attributed to divine intervention in human affairs is celebrated (Ex. 15:21; I Sam. 18:6–7; II Sam. 1:20; Ps. 68:25; Jer. 31:4,13). These cases reflect a special musical genre, unique to women, involving drums, dancing, and singing. Women as well as men are mentioned as professional singers (II Sam. 19:35; Ezra 2:65; Neh. 7:67; Eccl. 2:8; 12:4) and perhaps even temple singers (I Chron. 25:5–6). As is true in many traditional societies, women were deemed more expert in mourning rituals than men (Jer. 9:17–20; Ezek. 32:16). And some women, perhaps those unable to support themselves in any other way, are depicted as prostitutes, an occupation condemned in priestly texts but viewed matter-of-factly in narratives about the heroines Rahab (Josh. 2,5) and Tamar (Gen. 38), and the two women who brought their dispute to Solomon (I Kings 3:16–28).

These varied professional activities are noteworthy because they negate the image of women as confined to the household. In addition, recognizing their existence has important implications for understanding the lives of the women engaged in these occupations on a part-time or full-time basis. Many of these professional specialists, including musicians and singers, mourning women, wise women, and even midwives and prophets, functioned in groups or were connected to each other in loose, guild-like associations. The "daughters" learning dirges in Jeremiah 9:20 and wailing over Saul in II Samuel 1:24 are analogous to "sons" in the phrase "sons [company; disciples] of the prophets" (e.g., II Kings 5:22; 6:1) in that they constituted a guild of professional mourning women. The biblical silence about other such groups does not mean that they did not exist; informal organizations of women with technical expertise in certain areas, such as birthing or healing, are found widely in ancient cultures, including in neighboring Mesopotamia and Anatolia. These women would gather occasionally or even at regular intervals to share knowledge, train newer members of their group, and, in the case of musical professions, compose songs and rehearse in preparation for performances.

Membership in such groups, which typically are organized hierarchically with senior or more talented members earning the esteem of the others and exercising control of group functions, provided women with opportunities to experience prestige and status. Moreover, whether they functioned in groups or as individuals, female professionals provided necessary services for their communities. In so doing, they had the opportunity to experience the benefits of contributing to the public weal. Moreover, those whose roles were performative, as ethnomusicologists have shown, were likely to have subverted or suspended existing hierarchies during performances by virtue of the rhetorical power of their expressive acts. It is noteworthy that societies in which women have rich opportunities for extra-household association are generally considered the least repressive with respect to gender.

CONTESTING THE IDEA OF PATRIARCHY. The term "patriarchy" has not been used in this discussion of women in the biblical period. To be sure, Israelite society was both patrilocal and patrilineal: the major public offices were held mainly by men; and men controlled women's sexuality. Yet the conventional wisdom about pervasive male, or patriarchal, dominance in hierarchical structures affecting all domains of Israelite life can be disputed. If "patriarchy" means that men dominate or monopolize all the pursuits that a society most values, then it is incumbent to ask whether all members of a society value the same pursuits and also whether women themselves have important or even autonomous roles in relation to those pursuits.

Power in pre-modern communities is hardly unitary. There were multiple loci of power in Israelite society, with women as well as men shaping household and community life. The gendered spheres of life within the household, except for sexuality, can be considered complementary rather than hierarchical; men controlled certain activities and subsistence tasks, women had sole expertise and responsibility in others, and some were shared. Furthermore, the existence of female professionals means that there were women's groups with their own hierarchies and that women functioned in public roles, some of which, including mourning, midwifery, certain types of musical performances, perhaps sorcery, were largely or exclusively female.

Anthropologists studying pre-modern societies who are dissatisfied with the shortcomings of existing models of sociocultural complexity have suggested that *heterarchy* rather than *hierarchy* is a better way to understand complex traditional societies. The term *heterarchy* refers to an organizational pattern in which "each element possesses the potential of being unranked (relative to other elements) or ranked in different ways, depending on systemic requirements." Social systems can be related to each other laterally as well as vertically. In this conceptualization, the activities of Israelite women can be considered subsystems, each with its own rankings and statuses. Especially in professional groups but also in informal networks, women exercised leadership and dominance vis-à-vis other women in the system. Looking at women's systems, along with those of men, as constituents of the heterarchical complexity of Israelite society rescues women from the notion of oppression, as implied by the term patriarchy, and allows a more nuanced reading of their lives.

[Carol Meyers (2nd ed.)]

Post-Biblical and Talmudic Period

The authors who left their imprint on history did not view post-biblical Jewish women as equal to men, just as they were not viewed as equal in the Greco-Roman, Semitic, Egyptian, or Persian societies in which Jews lived. The difference between Jews and their neighbors is to be found in the explanations offered for women's lower status. Jews of late antiquity located the origins of female inequality in the narratives and injunctions of the Hebrew Bible. Women's subordinate position was understood as a consequence of Eve's role in Genesis 2:4–3, both as a secondary creation and as guilty of the original sin. Thus, the second century B.C.E. Jerusalemite sage Ben Sira accuses all women of bringing death to the world, obviously referring to the incident in the Garden of Eden (Ecclus. 25:24), and a Jewish pseudepigraphic composition, usually referred to as the *Book of Adam and Eve*, further elaborates this theme. Later midrashic literature continues in the same vein. Women are said to be punished for bringing death into the world: they suffer while giving birth, are subjected to their husbands (as already suggested in Genesis 3:16), and confined at home as in a prison, and must cover their heads when they go out (*Avot de Rabbi Nathan* B, 42). Their function at funerals (preparing the body, mourning the dead) are understood as consequence of their responsibility for human mortality. Even the special commandments reserved for women – lighting the Sabbath candles, setting aside the *ḥallah* portion, and the laws pertaining to menstruation (*niddah*) – are viewed as retribution for that sin (e.g. Gen. R. 17:8).

Contemporary concerns and Hellenistic influence merged with the biblical justification for women's subordination. In one midrash the rabbis compared the biblical story of the creation of women with the Greek Pandora myth, which also depicted woman as a secondary creation who released all evils, including death into the world, when she opened a forbidden box. In the midrashic version, Eve is compared to a woman whose husband gave her all his property save one barrel, which she was not to open. Yet, she could not contain her curiosity, opened it, and unloosed scorpions and snakes (Gen. R. 19:10). The rabbis compare this anecdote to the story of Adam and Eve, who were told to eat from all trees except the tree of knowledge. However, Eve ate from it and consequently she and Adam and all their descendants experienced suffering.

LEGAL POSITION. Jewish women's secondary legal position also has its origins in the Hebrew Bible, particularly in injunctions in the legal sections of the Pentateuch. However, biblical law was of Semitic origin, and reflected a society that upheld polygyny and bride-price marriages. Internal developments, however, as well as influence from Greek and Roman practice, tended toward monogyny and dowry marriages. Thus, some biblical injunctions associated with women were reevaluated and reformed.

Numbers 27 (1–11) discusses the daughter's right in her father's inheritance. The daughters of Zelophad had no brothers, and demanded of Moses the right to inherit. Moses recognized the justice of their claim and ruled in their favor, but his decision clearly stated that Jewish daughters could inherit from their fathers only where there are no sons and if they married within their own tribe (Num. 36:10). Although this ruling is often upheld as an example of an emendation favoring women in biblical law, it was certainly not egalitarian (since it denied other daughters the right to inherit). It also prevented further egalitarian legislation in this field in late antiquity, since the Bible itself made a clear distinction between sons and daughters. Thus, Second Temple Pharisees, in their legal dispute with their Sadducees opponent (TJ, BB 8:1, 16a), zealously upheld this ruling as the final word on the matter. Their opponents, on the other hand, were probably influenced by the Greco-Roman world, in which women were equal heirs to their fathers. They claimed that this law is unfair, and therefore could not reflect the divine intention. Their reliance on the sages of the gentiles (*ḥakhmei goyim*) is stated explicitly in the source. Yet the Pharisee position won the day.

*Levirate marriage is the obligation of a childless widow to marry her dead husband's brother, discussed in Deuteronomy 25:5–9. The rabbis of late antiquity maintained this institution and an entire tractate in the Mishnah (*Yevamot*) is devoted to its intricacies. The Talmuds greatly praise Rabbi Yose, who took his sister-in-law in levirate marriage (e.g. TJ, Yev. 1:1,2b). However, the Bible also includes, albeit grudgingly, a move to release the levirate bride from her levir. This action is called *ḥaliẓah*, and requires a ritual in which the reluctant levir is denigrated – his rejected intended spits in his face and removes his shoe. Despite praise for levirate marriage, its practice was almost completely abandoned by the end of the second century C.E., as it often clashed with a tendency toward monogyny, at least in the Land of Israel. One talmudic text suspects all levirate matches as emanating from lust of the partners, and likens the offspring of such unions to bastards (*mamzerim* – Yev. 39b). The rabbis ceased to view this release ritual as a negative dereliction of duty and maintained that in their day *ḥaliẓah* was the norm rather than the exception. Thus, we see how in some cases post-biblical Judaism maintained biblical law without maintaining its spirit.

Some biblical laws concerning women were greatly expanded. One such example is the laws of menstruation (**niddah*), which are discussed in Leviticus 15:19–24. It is not clear whether these laws originally applied to the entire female population. Some scholars maintain that they were intended for the separation and special elevation of the priestly caste. During the Second Temple period, however, the laws of *niddah* were strictly upheld by most segments of Jewish society and greatly elaborated upon by the rabbis in the Mishnah. They state specifically that members of the Sadducee sect and of the Samaritan denomination observed these rites differently (Nid. 4:1–2), obviously indicating that control of women and their actions was a site of sectarian struggle. After the destruction of the Temple, most purity regulations were abandoned. *Niddah* regulations, however, were upheld and even expanded. For example, the rabbis demanded that a woman examine her internal parts often, to discover whether she was or was not bleeding. This is because they maintained that everything a woman touches between one examination, when she discovered herself pure, and the next, when she was found to be menstruating, is retroactively defiled (Nid. 1:1). They demanded that women who had ceased to bleed at the end of their menstrual periods further refrain from immersion in the ritual bath (*mikveh*) and sexual intercourse with their husbands for seven additional "clean" (or "white") days, to ensure absolutely that they would not defile (Nid. 33a). This phenomenon suggests a significant rabbinic anxiety over ritual impurity in the marital context and women's unruly biological functions in general.

Another biblical institution was the test of the bitter water (*sotah*), according to which a wife suspected of infidelity could be tested by a magical procedure in the Jerusalem Temple (Num. 5). In this ritual the woman was brought to the priest who revealed her hair, tore her clothes and made her drink water mixed with earth and ink. This test, so it was believed, would reveal the woman's guilt. The ritual was still practiced in Second Temple times, but was strongly criticized and perhaps even abandoned altogether toward the end of the period. Rabban *Johanan ben Zakkai, an important rabbi of the last generation before the destruction of the Temple, is reported to have secured the abandonment of this practice (Mish., Sot. 9:9). Whether the report is correct or is a retroactive projection on earlier times is not clear. In any case, the problematic nature of this institution may be reflected in the fact that the biblical text of the *sotah* was inscribed on a golden tablet and donated to the Temple toward the middle of the first century B.C.E. This donation came from an influential Jewish convert and foreign queen – Helene of Adiabene – probably as a political statement on the *sotah* debate (Mish., Yoma 3:10). This does not mean, necessarily, that women supported the procedure, while men (like Rabban Johanan ben Zakkai) rejected it. It suggests, more likely, that this woman – Helene – and this man – Rabban Johanan ben Zakkai – were to be found on different sides of the debate. In any case, after the destruction of the Temple the institution was often viewed as ineffective. Guilty women, it was maintained, could withstand the test if they had a meritorious past (Sot. 3:4). The water also tested men who were accused of the same transgressions (Sot. 5:1). This literary trend indicates that rabbinic texts represent Rabban Johanan ben Zakkai's side of this debate.

Many issues associated with women's legal and social status simply are not dealt with in biblical legislation and significant innovations occurred in Second Temple and talmudic Judaism. Thus, according to rabbinic sources, the rabbinic leader *Simeon ben Shetaḥ, instituted the Jewish marriage contract, the *ketubbah*, during the Second Temple period (Tosef., Ket. 12:1; TJ, Ket. 8:11, 32b–c; TB, Ket. 82b). The meaning of this innovation was that several of the woman's rights in marriage were made legally binding by a written document, including financial support for the widow and divorcée. Marriage contracts were produced by some of the societies with which the Jews came in contact, such as the Greeks. Furthermore, we know that marriage contracts were a reality and not a rabbinic fiction, because contemporaneous Jewish marriage documents were discovered in the Judean Desert in the mid-20th century. Although all of these documents were written for Jews, they are diverse in nature and are written in Aramaic or in Greek. They also display a plethora of traits that are incompatible with the rabbinic *ketubbah* but can be easily traced to Greek and Roman legal tradition. These documents, most of which predate the Mishnah by several decades, attest to the early legal and historical origins of the rabbinic institution of the *ketubbah*, even as they reveal alternative literary models.

THE CULT AND PUBLIC LIFE. Some scholars speculate that women may have held some sacred offices in the First Temple. However, with the final victory of monotheism in Judaism at the beginning of the Second Temple period (early sixth century B.C.E.), women were completely excluded from officiating in Jewish cultic practices. Their secondary role in the cultus was exemplified by the existence of a women's court in the Jerusalem Temple, beyond which women were not allowed to proceed into the holy precincts unless they were bringing a special sacrifice (Jos., War 5:198–99, Mish., Mid. 2:5–6). Furthermore, women had no official role in the Temple staff. The only mention of women in association with the running of the Temple is that of weavers of the Temple veil (*Syrian Baruch Apocalypse* 10:19; Tosef., Shek. 2:6). Weaving in general was a traditional feminine occupation, and women weavers producing sacred garments were present in many Greek Temples at the time. Nevertheless, in our sources, even this minor appearance of women on the scene of the Temple was played down. Thus, while the Tosefta clearly mentions the women weavers (Tosef., Shek. 2:6), its more authoritative counterpart, the Mishnah, mentions only the male supervisor of these activities in a parallel passage (Mish., Shek. 5:1).

After the destruction of the Second Temple, the exclusion of women from Jewish religious activities continued within rabbinic legislation, which exempted them from virtually all time-bound commandments, including daily prayer, the wearing of phylacteries, residing in the Sukkah, and going on pilgrimages (Mish., Kid. 1:7). These commandments, as opposed to others which are not time-bound, are clearly cultic in nature. Women's exclusion from them meant their expulsion from Jewish cultic life.

However, outside the official Temple cult, women were not legally barred from any office and took part in various public functions. This can be exemplified foremost by the fact that in Second Temple times a female member of the Hasmonean dynasty served as queen (Alexandra *Salome (Shelomẓiyyon); 76–67 B.C.E. – Jos., Ant. 13:407–32). She inherited the throne from her husband (in the same way that contemporaneous Egyptian-Ptolemaic queens gained their thrones). In an earlier episode, *Josephus (the main historical source for the queen's reign) tells us that Shelomẓiyyon's father-in-law had also attempted to appoint his wife as heir some 30 years earlier, although his attempt failed when his son seized power and had the queen executed (Jos., Ant. 13:302). From this we may surmise that there was a struggle within the Hasmonean dynasty between those who maintained that the queen should succeed her husband and others who believed it was a son's right. Queenship was obviously a secular office, but it is significant that a woman held this office because the monarch (in this case Shelomẓiyyon) was hierarchically positioned above the religious establishment. Thus, it was the queen who nominated the high priest, and not *vice versa*. Not surprisingly, Shelomẓiyyon nominated her elder son to the office.

Following the destruction of the Second Temple (and in the Diaspora even during its existence), the synagogue took over the many of the cultic functions of the Temple. Since the synagogue was not included in the biblical cultic system, exclusion of women from communal and religious participation was not yet entrenched. Inscriptional evidence, particularly from the Diaspora, reveals that some women carried titles such as *archisynagogos (head of synagogue), presbyter (elder), or mater synagogos (mother of the synagogue), apparently indicating that women played central synagogue roles alongside men.

Alternative religious outlets were also available to women during Second Temple times. For example, they took an active interest in the programs of Jewish sects and could join some as full-fledged members. Philo describes the Diaspora ascetic sect of the *Therapeutics. This Jewish-Egyptian group chose to withdraw from human society and live a life of contemplation in the desert. It consisted of both male and female members, whose burdens and responsibilities were of equal value. The nature of the interaction between the sexes in that sect can be described as "equal but separate" (Philo, *De Vita Contemplativa*).

The Pharisee sect seems to have encouraged women's involvement and support. They were sponsored not just by the Hasmonean queen Shelomẓiyyon but also by Herodian women and by women of the high-priestly families. Probably too, women were not just sympathetic supporters but active members of the group. Thus, rabbinic texts dealing with the *ḥavurah* (apparently the Pharisee table-fellowship) indicate that equal demands were made of men and women (Tosef., Dem. 2:16–17). The invisibility of women in Pharisaism, reflected in most rabbinic texts, results from an androcentric authorship, as well as a deliberate attempt by later rabbis to erase women's presence and, indeed, all sectarian characteristics from the earlier Pharisees.

Women may also have been involved in the activities of the *Dead Sea Sect. Dead Sea scrolls mention women elders and female scribes. They also discuss in detail laws applying to all the family and one document describes the responsibility of the sectarian wife to give evidence against her husband in cases were his behavior transgresses sectarian law (see below). Female skeletons, discovered in the cemetery of Qumran, were probably those of members of the Dead Sea Sect buried in the communal cemetery.

It is likely that women were active participants in the various sectarian organizations that fomented the revolt against Rome in the years 66–73 C.E., of which the *Zealots were but one. Most of our evidence for women's participation in these groups refers to the company that followed *Simon bar Giora. We hear both that women constituted part of his entourage (Jos., War, 4:505) and that his wife was one of his constant companions (*ibid.,* 4:538). But more circumstantial evidence is also available. Both the Jewish writer Josephus and the Roman historian Tacitus refer to women who joined in the fighting against Rome (Jos., War 3:303; Tacitus, *Histories* 5, 13:3). Women were present on Masada and took part in the famous suicide pact practiced by the defenders of the rock (*ibid*., 7:393). Furthermore, women served as prime role models in the two main ideological innovations of the Zealot movement of the revolt against Rome. The first was personal zealotry, in which an individual aided his or her community by assassinating a public figure. The best literary example of such an action is the female heroine *Judith, who, by slaying the general Holofernes, delivered her people from foreign conquest. The second ideology typical of the zealot movement was the idea of self-inflicted martyrdom, namely suicide rather than subjugation to the enemy. This was practiced by Jews throughout the war against Rome and is nowhere better exemplified than on Masada. The only literary role model for this action from Second Temple times is the mother of the seven Maccabean martyrs, portrayed in the fourth book of Maccabees. In this later composition, the mother chooses to take her own life rather than subject herself to the will of the Greek ruler (IV Macc. 17:1).

Finally, there is little doubt that Jewish women became important supporters of the Jesus movement prior to the Crucifixion. Jesus' followers included women, and when he was arrested, and all his male supporters deserted him, it was women who cared for his burial, and were thus the first witnesses to his resurrection. These women, it should be remembered, were Jewish and not Christian, and their story belongs to Jewish history.

Women's support for sectarian organizations and nascent religious and ideological movements is a universal social phenomenon. Within Second Temple Judaism, such affiliation was a means of social and vocational expression for marginalized groups, such as women, who were barred from participating in the official power and influence systems. However, once sects like the Pharisees and Christians achieved political success, they not only legislated against women's holding positions of equality and power but also attempted to erase any traces of the central roles women had once played.

Women are frequently portrayed in late antique Jewish sources as exercising magical power; they are accused of being witches and practicing sorcery (e.g. TJ, Sanh. 7:19, 25d; TB, Sanh. 67a). Most stories of witchcraft and magicians in rabbinic literature focus on women: one tradition mentions a female leader of sorceresses (TB, Pes. 110a), while another tells of a woman whose healing powers are a guild secret (TJ, Shab. 14:4, 14d). This association of women with the occult by male writers in androcentric sources may reflect unsympathetic interpretations and misunderstandings of women's religious and even professional activities, of which we now know very little. Women's intensive involvement in the medical profession, as well as their roles as midwives and cooks, gave them knowledge of herbs and chemical processes, adding to their expertise as potential healers. When their healing efforts were unsuccessful, however, these failures could be represented as malicious malpractice, sorcery, and poisoning. At one point in Second Temple history this disparaging attitude toward women's activity seems to have erupted into a full-scale witch-hunt. This event, which probably took place during the reign of Queen Shelomẓiyyon, is recorded laconically in rabbinic literature. The Mishnah states simply that Simeon ben Shetaḥ (apparently Shelomẓiyyon's Pharisee advisor) hanged 80 women in Ashkelon (Mish., Sanh. 6:4). The Jerusalem Talmud, however, specifically identifies the women as witches (Sanh. 6:9,23c). Since witch-hunts are a universal phenomenon, a historical kernel for this story seems certain.

In fact, very few Jewish women frequented public places or filled important offices in late antiquity. Although the sources exerted considerable energy to bring this minority of independent and assertive women under male control, most Jewish women were engaged in home-based activities. For these women the sources are both prescriptive and descriptive.

WOMEN AND THE RABBIS. The most complete literary corpus dealing with women's position in Judaism in antiquity is found in the Order of Women (*Nashim*) in the Mishnah (edited ca. 200 C.E.). This collection is an attempt to organize neatly the messy issue of patriarchal control of women in Jewish law. As a consequence, rabbinic literature, particularly the Mishnah, is more restrictive toward women's participation in public and private life than the picture of actual life that seems to emerge from Second Temple sources. For example, rabbinic literature excludes women altogether as witnesses in a court of law (RH 1:8; Sif. Deut. 190). During the Second Temple period, however, women apparently did serve in such a capacity. In the Dead Sea sect, for example, one text suggests that wives were encouraged to give evidence against their husbands in the sect's tribunal (1QSa 1:10–11). This was not a very feminist piece of legislation, since it was intended to distill in female as well as male members the priority of loyalty for the sect over loyalty for one's spouse. Yet, it indicates that the rejection of women as witnesses, later considered a time honored Jewish tradition, was unknown to the Dead Sea sect. Similarly, in descriptions of Herod's court women are often portrayed as giving evidence in important trials (e.g. Jos., Ant. 17:65).

Divorce constitutes another example. The right to divorce in the Bible, described incidentally as part of the law that forbids a man to remarry his wife after she was married to another (Deut. 24:1–4), does not give the husband the absolute prerogative to dissolve a marriage. Rabbinic literature, however, constructs divorce as a unilateral action, reserved to the husband alone (Mish., Git. 9:3). Nevertheless, one of the documents discovered in the Judaean Desert seems to indicate that outside of rabbinic circles women could and did initiate divorce proceedings. In this document a woman by the name of Shelomẓiyyon, daughter of Joseph of Ein Gedi, sends her husband, Eleazar son of Hananiah, a document terminating their marriage. The words she uses to describe the transaction are "a bill of divorce and release," just as in the mishnaic text (Git. 9:3). This document is one example of how reading rabbinic literature alone as a reflection of Jewish social reality in late antiquity may distort our view.

The codification of rabbinic sources also brought about a tightening of control over women within rabbinic circles themselves. The entire corpus of rulings associated with the House of Shammai was rejected wholesale by the descendents of the House of Hillel who edited the Mishnah. While the Shammaitic corpus may, in general, have displayed a more somber view of life, it likewise represented a more benign view of the position of women in Judaism. Thus, the House of Shammai supported a woman's right to run her business transactions independently (Ket. 8:1) and argued for the reliability of a widow's testimony regarding the death of her husband, demanding a full payment of her wedding settlement into the bargain (Ed. 1:12). And since Bet Shammai accepted the unilateral nature of rabbinic divorce, they protected women by limiting considerably the grounds on which a husband could sue for divorce (Git. 9:10).

Other examples of the curtailment of women's rights within rabbinic literature are found in the early rabbinic composition *Sifrei Deuteronomy*, usually assigned to the influential school of Rabbi Akiva. In its insistence that various nouns in the Hebrew Bible that could be understood collectively should be understood as referring only to males, *Sifrei Deuteronomy* exempted women from a large number of roles and activities. For example, it interpreted the phrase "and you shall teach them to your sons" [rather than the alternate reading "to your children"] (Deut. 11:19) to mean that the Torah viewed only sons but not daughter as entitled to learn Torah (Sif. Deut. 46). Likewise the biblical words, "You shall set up a king over you" (Deut. 17:14) were understood as ruling queenship illegal (Sif. Deut. 157). Interestingly, the same composition mentions with great admiration the queenship of Queen Shelomẓiyyon (Sif. Deut. 42). Such contradictions, however, are hardly surprising within a literature that was in the process of transforming itself in new directions and attempting to conceal earlier practices.

Rabbinic literature, however, is not uniform, and a tightening of control over women may be evident in one of its compositions, while the reverse may be detected in another. Judith Hauptman has shown that while the Mishnah is restrictive, careful reading of its sister collection of legal traditions, the Tosefta, can reveal a less rigid attitude toward women's position. For example, while the Mishnah reserves procreation as a commandment to men alone, the Tosefta can envision a situation where women are equally commanded to fulfill it. Unlike the Mishnah, however, the more benign Tosefta never became canonized and its rulings never became law.

The rabbis who composed rabbinic literature were, in the main, scholars who envisioned a society that valued learning above all. Learning became an important status symbol and a means of achieving social mobility that endowed its initiates with social privileges. Men were encouraged to learn Torah and become literate. For this reason, the rabbis' attitude toward women's literacy and the learning of Torah is of special importance. To begin with, rabbinic literature displays some ambivalence on this question. The Mishnah presents the issue as a dispute between two sages in which one rabbi is specifically quoted as supportive of teaching daughters Torah (Sot. 3:4). The more lenient Tosefta even suggests that women were not altogether absent from rabbinic academies. Thus, a woman by the name of Beruriah is mentioned as formulating a halakhic principle (Tosef., BM 1:6). However, by the time that the Babylonian Talmud came to be composed the idea of a female students was so unusual that the rabbis transformed Beruriah into a superhuman scholar (TB, Pes. 62b). At the same time, their restrictive policy toward the freedom and independence of women in all walks of life eventually won the day in this field as well, and women were exempted and then barred from all participation in Jewish learning (see in particular TB, Kid. 30a). This meant, of course, that throughout Jewish history Jewish women have produced very little written evidence and have, for the most part, remained mute to us.

In most respects, late antique Jewish attitudes towards women, with small nuances, conformed to larger social norms in the cultures in which Jews thrived. While it is difficult to know the extent to which the attitudes and practices codified in rabbinic writings were actually realized in the various environments in which Jews lived, one can confidently state that the idealized society delineated in rabbinic literature is patriarchal and androcentric. Women are constructed as second class dependents whom are generally under the aegis of a male relative. Independent women of means, such as widows and divorcées, were seen as potentially disruptive and social custom strongly encouraged their remarriage and return to male control.

[Tal Ilan (2nd ed.)]

Medieval Islamic World and Spain

THE ISLAMIC EXPERIENCE. The lives of Jewish women in regions under Islamic rule were influenced in many ways by the social mores of Muslim culture. Polygamy and concubines, for example, permitted under Islamic law, were also features of Jewish family life. While Jewish women of prosperous families were not literally isolated in women's quarters as were Muslim women of comparable social status, community norms dictated that the woman's place was in the home. In addition, reports indicate that Jewish women wore black veils outside the home so as not to be distinguished from Muslim women. In some countries, the robes and pants women donned were quite similar to those of the men, but the veil revealed their gender.

Although available information for the early days of Islam is rather limited, sources refer to two unusual Jewish women of this era. A poet from Yemen named Sarah was apparently a contemporary of the prophet Mohammed (570–632); she was said to have been a guerilla fighter who was murdered by a Muslim agent. One of her extant poems in Arabic, recorded in *Kitab l-Aghani*, a 10th-century collection edited by Abu al-Faraj al-Isbahani, immortalizes the infamous massacre of the Jewish tribe, the Banu *Qurayza, by Arab forces.

Dahia Al-*Kahina, a convert to Judaism, led North African Berber tribes who thwarted the Arab military in its first attempt to conquer the Maghreb at the end of the seventh century. The details of her policies are rather muddled as are the dates of her rule, but she apparently destroyed settlements under her own sovereignty in the mistaken hope of dissuading the Arabs from pursuing a second attack from the south. In the long run, the Arabs triumphed and gained access to all of North Africa and eventually to Spain. However, until this defeat, Dahia was a successful ruler of Byzantines, Jews, and Christians in the region for a considerable amount of time. Arab historians record the defeat of this Berber Jewish queen; in his 14th-century accounts, Ibn Khaldun glorified the remarkable victory of Islam over this "cruel" monarch.

With the conquest of Spain in 711, Arab culture strongly shaped the subsequent development of the Spanish Jewish community. Poetry flourished, first in Arabic and later in Hebrew, and a few examples of women who were proficient in this art survive. Qasmunah of Andalusia was adept in writing verses in the genre known as *muwashshaḥ*, a rather difficult style because of the frequent variations that are part of its format, rhyme, and meter. Her writings reflect not only a familiarity with Arabic poetry, but display intelligence, cultivation, and originality. Her father trained her in the art of writing poems in this genre; his technique was to compose a line by himself and then challenge her to complete the verse with her own complementary line. The father is recorded as Ishma'il Ibn Bagdalah and it is possible that this name is a distorted version of Ibn Nagrilla, or *Samuel ha-Nagid (993–1055), who is known to have had a daughter.

Genizah Society. The majority of available source material concerning medieval Jewish women in the Muslim world is found in the documents of the Cairo **Genizah* (950–1250). Painstaking reconstruction of *Genizah* fragments that began in 1947 and ended in 1984 have demonstrated that the wife of *Dunash ben Labrat, the 10th-century poet who initiated the use of Arabic poetic forms in Hebrew, was also a poet in her own right in Spain. Her reconstructed poem begins, "From the wife of Dunash ben Labrat, to him." In a tragic and nobly restrained style, it refers to a forced separation between a husband and his wife and infant son; promises of faithfulness and love abound. In his reply, Ben Labrat refers to his wife as "an erudite woman like you." Ezra Fleisher has recounted the tale of this reconstruction as well as what is known of the authors; he suggests that this nameless woman might well be the first known proficient female Hebrew poet (E. Fleisher, "On Dunash Ben Labrat and His Wife and His Son," *Jerusalem Research in Hebrew Literature*, 5 (1984), 189–202 (Heb.)).

A similarly fascinating reconstruction from *Genizah* fragments was achieved by Joseph Yahalom and Edna Engel concerning the life of another Jewish woman from the upper echelons of society, in this case a convert from a wealthy French Catholic family who married David Narbonne, a respected member of an elite Jewish family from Provence in the second half of the 11th century. Her conversion to Judaism infuriated her Catholic relatives, so the couple crossed the Pyrenees into Spain to avoid their wrath. Narbonne and his wife eventually settled in Manyo, but as fate would have it, this community suffered a pogrom; Narbonne was murdered in the synagogue and two of the couple's children were taken captive. The community provided the widow with a loan to redeem her children and a letter of recommendation to fellow Jews in other communities to come to her aid. A second letter continues her saga. The convert remarried but was still being pursued by her relatives. The latter eventually located her, at which time she was incarcerated and sentenced to death. A daring rescue was carried out, the prison guards were bribed, and this woman was whisked away from her cell in the dead of night. Since these documents were found in the Cairo *Genizah*, one assumes that she eventually sought refuge in Egypt where her Christian family would have no standing. It is admirable to see how the Jewish communities in Spain supported this woman, giving her loans and letters to enable her survival despite the fact that she was essentially an outsider, a non-Spanish convert to Judaism (E. Engel, "The Wanderings of a Convert from Provence" (Heb.) and Y. Yahalom, "The Manyo Epistles: The Handwriting of a Rural Scribe from Northern Spain" (Heb.), *Sefunot*, 7 (1999), 13–21; 23–33).

While most of the information from the Cairo *Genizah* repository concerns the Jews of medieval Fustat (Old Cairo), *Genizah* sources also document a larger Mediterranean society. This was due to the mobility of numerous members of this community and their ongoing contacts with Jews in Yemen, India, North Africa, and Spain. S.D. Goitein translated the letter of a medieval trader from Fustat who traveled between Aden and India after having lost all of his initial investment in a shipwreck. His wife, and especially her father, felt that he had more or less abandoned her, and one of their missives asks that he send her a divorce writ. His long letter of reply, in which he defended his personal conduct and emphasized his own suffering, alluded to letters from his wife which had been characterized by frequent rebukes. Another letter translated by Goitein contains information about a merchant who left a concubine and son behind in his travels, making no provisions for them; presumably these were not unusual occurrences. Some men were absent for lengthy periods of time, and their wives and other members of the family begged them to return and rejoin the family. Rabbis such as Maimonides were quite concerned with husbands who abandoned their wives and families, often because they had wed other women and begun parallel families elsewhere.

While the men, in their role as merchants, did the majority of the traveling, some women had to leave their homes because of marital alliances and visits to family members who resided elsewhere; often the *kebira* or matron of the family was sent on a mission that could only be entrusted to her. *Genizah* documents refer to a woman who had fled from the land of Israel during the Crusades and who appealed to the congregation for aid during services, stopping the prayers at the permitted time as was acceptable for those whose cases were urgent and needed to be brought to immediate attention. In a letter stamped with the caliph's seal, a wealthy matron admonishes emissaries assigned to bring funds to the Holy Land not to delay their journey but to set forth immediately to alleviate the suffering of those in need of support.

Literacy. Women were concerned with education and sometimes they themselves were rather literate. Joel Kraemer has unearthed numerous letters from the *Genizah* written by women. While some of these might have been dictated to scribes, the custom of paying a professional to stylize a letter was common for both men and women and does not necessarily establish literacy or illiteracy on the part of the sender. Many of the discovered letters allow us to hear the voices of women whose language was not necessarily as elegant as that of the men, but whose messages were clear and direct, often reflecting a respectable level of literacy.

Some women had dowries that included writing tables and others left instructions in their wills for their sons as well as their daughters to be given private lessons. A question posed to Maimonides referred to a group of girls receiving lessons from a paid teacher; the girls had apparently been misbehaving and had vexed their blind teacher who swore he would never teach them again.

As traditional as *Genizah* society appeared to be, nonetheless there were women who diverged from the norm. In the 12th century, the daughter of Samuel ben Ali of Baghdad, a Babylonian *gaon,* taught at her father's yeshivah in a modest fashion. She was reported to have had expertise in Scripture and Talmud.

At the same time, a study of two responsa by Maimonides reveals the story of an impoverished woman in 12th-century Cairo who was desperately trying to care for two children while her husband was absent for long periods of time. She found a solution by teaching in a school run by her brother. She continued in her capacity at the school even after her brother also left the city, indicating that she was respected for her abilities.

The community's vote of confidence in her teaching was manifested by the fact that the parents of the pupils continued to bring their children to her school even though they had other alternatives. The uniqueness of this set of responsa lies in the fact that one hears both sides of the story. The husband first asked the court if he could have permission to marry a second wife, although their marriage contract clearly stated that he could not do so without the first wife's permission (which was not forthcoming). Maimonides informed him that this was an ironclad clause, but if he desired to restrain his wife from teaching, he could do so legally and with the support of the court. The wife then presented her case. After describing the years of abandonment and neglect with which she had to contend, this anonymous teacher argued that her husband had been repeatedly undependable in the past, that she had built up her student clientele over time, and that were she to give up her teaching she would not easily be able to resume her school should her husband again disappear. Maimonides's remedy is that the Jewish rabbinical court compel the husband to divorce his independent wife on the grounds that he had not fulfilled his legal obligation to support her. Moreover, he advises the wife to refuse all relations with her husband and to forfeit her marriage portion, probably long ago squandered in any case, since these actions, too, would constitute grounds for divorce. After that, Maimonides says, "She will have disposition over herself, she may teach what she likes, and do what she likes"; however, he rules that "if she stays with her husband, he has the right to forbid her to teach."

Innovations and Aberrations in Jewish Law. In medieval Ashkenazi society, women were influenced by the high level of piety that had permeated Christian society and began to initiate changes such as observance of time-bound commandments. No similar developments have been discovered in the medieval Sephardi or Oriental world. The rabbis did not encourage female observance of men's commandments, and women who taught children Bible appear to be among the most learned Jewish females in their Muslim-influenced environment.

However, some women did rebel against religious authority. Maimonides' responsa offer information on a "*Mikveh* Rebellion." At the end of the 12th century, many Egyptian Jewish women discontinued bathing in the ritual bath, preferring to use public bathhouses or to wash their bodies at home under more pleasant conditions than contemporaneous *mikva'ot* apparently afforded. The Egyptian rabbis were infuriated by this tactic, which, in their eyes, was akin to following Karaite practice. This rebellion seemed to have been organized and successful and lasted several years until it was decisively quelled, proving that the women were easily not deterred by the serious threats made by the rabbis.

In later periods, women also banded together to make similar decisions that were unpopular with the rabbis, also around issues of ritual immersion. When the water at the ritual bath was deemed too cold, women refused to go; in Cairo, Jerusalem, and Hebron, women entered the Turkish bath after *mikveh* immersion. Some used the ancient canal of Cairo which was rejected as an option by rabbis like the Radbaz (*David ibn Zimra) because the water did not flow all year round; nevertheless, the women continued using it. Some women whom did not want to wait until the conclusion of the Sabbath to bathe, moved things up and immersed a day earlier. In sixteenth-century Damascus, there were women who went to bathhouses during the day and when the rabbis discovered this, they had a lock installed; undeterred, some of the women broke down the door in defiance of the rabbis.

Marriage. Polygamy, or more accurately polygyny (the practice of a man having more than one wife) was a feature of Jewish life in the Islamic world where Muslim men were permitted to take up to four wives. Needless to say, a husband's taking a second wife presented a threat to the first wife. As early as 1100, the *nagid* *Mevorakh ben Saadiah, following talmudic precedent, declared that a protective clause could be included in the marriage contract (*ketubbah*) to prevent polygamy. M.A. Friedman has named this "the monogamy clause" and determined that it was included in most contracts in the *Genizah* period. In addition, fathers who were anxious to protect their daughters included clauses regarding their right to work, to retain earned income, etc. While one would assume that only wealthy men could afford second wives, this was not always the case (such as the aforementioned teacher's husband). In some instances, husbands took a second wife when the first wife appeared unable to bear children.

Professions. Women could maintain a certain level of independence if they had monetary sources of their own. On the whole, wealthy working women like the broker *Wuhsha al-Dalala, seem to be the exception to the rule, although there were professional teachers, especially of crafts taught to girls. Many women earned money from needlework, particularly embroidery; entrepreneurial women served as brokers who collected the spun threads, textiles, and embroidery work of other women and sold them to merchants. In addition, there were women in traditional professions such as midwives, keeners, healers, and landladies who rented out property they owned.

WOMEN IN MEDIEVAL SPAIN. Unfortunately, no significant collection of documents about Jewish social life has been found in Spain and thus the reconstruction of women's lives, particularly during Islamic rule (8th–11th/13th century) is not very comprehensive. The influence of Islam on the Jewish community and upon its women was similar to that of *Genizah* society: seclusion of women was considered to be the ideal; polygamy was acceptable; and having sexual relations with concubines appears to have been accepted social custom. The ruling of R. *Gershom mandating monogamy did not apply to the Sephardi or Oriental communities. Although the rabbis in Castile expressed occasional opposition to the practice of polygamy, prominent figures in Spanish Jewry, such as the 14th-century leading Aragonese rabbi *Ḥasdai Crescas, had two wives. In the matter of *yibbum or ḥaliẓah* for a childless widow, Ashkenazi rabbis preferred *ḥaliẓah*, releasing the widow from any obligation to marry her brother-in-law. Sephardi rabbis, however, often showed a preference for *yibbum* (marriage of the widow to her husband's brother); the fact that he might already be married was not a matter of concern in this environment.

Rabbinical leaders were in disagreement on whether maintaining a concubine was acceptable; many believed this practice would prevent less desirable forms of sexual immorality such as adultery with married women. *Naḥmanides, for example, felt that it was preferable for men to support concubines rather than to indulge indiscriminately in relations with numerous women. Jews often had Muslim female servants or slaves and the masters frequently had sexual relations with them; at times these women converted and married their former masters. A ban was issued by the community of Toledo in 1281 against taking Muslim concubines but apparently was not very effective.

Jewish men frequented bordellos and did not seem to discriminate concerning the prostitute's religious preference. There was a Jewish brothel in 13th-century Saragossa. Some of the rabbis debated as to whether it was preferable to choose a Jewish versus non-Jewish prostitute. Since frequenting a brothel was something of a luxury, it was generally an option for men with financial means.

Girls were engaged to be married at a very early age both in Jewish and Muslim society. Often the groom was considerably older than the bride. In both societies, the young bride was frequently widowed at a tender age; this was the fate of many orphaned Jewish girls who were married off to much older men. If the widow remarried and her second husband died, she was considered a "murderous wife" (*katlanit*). Based on talmudic legal precedent, such a woman was not permitted to marry a third husband, even if she was still quite young, since she was considered dangerous to men. This trend was exacerbated with the growing popularity of mysticism in Spain. The *Zohar discouraged remarriage for widows as the deceased husband was supposedly waiting for the wife whose spirit was linked with his; a struggle with the new husband might even result in the latter's demise. Maimonides objected to branding these young widows as "untouchables" and ruled in favor of a third marriage for these widows. Avraham Grossman has claimed that Maimonides' principled stance against superstition and his pragmatic response to a real social problem had a great impact on sages who acted after him in Spain and in the Muslim world, as well as in Ashkenazi periphery, and saved "thousands" of women from a bitter fate (A. Grossman, "The Killer Wife," *Tarbiz*, 50 (1998), 531–61 (Heb.)). This issue also arose following the riots and forced conversions of 1391 when many women were also left widowed. Following Maimonides, it was generally accepted that if a husband had died as a martyr or as the result of the plague, the designation of "murderous wife" (*katlanit*) would not be applied to the widow and she would be allowed to re-marry.

Jewish women in Spain engaged in traditional professions as midwives, wet nurses (for Christian families too), healers, and peddlers, as well as merchants and moneylenders. Poorer women would work in the ritual bathhouse or for the burial society. Again, there is sparse material available concerning women in the Muslim period, although they seem to have been more active in the economy under Christian rule. Women were present in the marketplace and many middle class women took over for their husbands in their absence due to travel or after their deaths. In the 14th century, women dealt in foodstuffs, handicrafts, spinning, weaving, leather crafts, and the manufacturing as well as sale of footwear.

Inheritance and Guardianship. The widow stands out as the most active and independent woman in Jewish society, especially if she had financial means. She might have inherited from her father or husband, as a stipulation in the will itself, in the form of a gift, or as a condition in the marriage contract. There seems to have been some positive influence from Christian and Muslim society concerning bequests to widows or daughters who would not normally have inherited anything under Jewish law. In Egypt, for example, daughters were often given a tenth of the deceased father's estate (as compared to an eighth in Islamic law). The option also existed in Muslim countries whereby the father could leave his estate to a Muslim institution such as a children's endowment. The result was that his children, male and female, were granted perpetual use of his estate and Jewish inheritance customs would effectively be bypassed. These unusual methods were accepted, albeit grudgingly, by the Jewish community because claims taken to Muslim courts would have resulted in even more favorable results for the women in the family.

At the beginning of the 13th century, a change occurred regarding the fate of a woman's property if she predeceased her husband. Originating in Toledo, the decision was made that if the couple had children, the surviving husband no longer inherited everything as was customary in talmudic law, but had to share with the next generation. The sons and daughters shared equally with the husband and if there were no children, the woman's mother would receive half the dowry if she had provided it; otherwise, the estate was divided between the husband and heirs from his wife's father's side of the family. This regulation stood out in sharp contrast to the customs in the Levant, such as the Damascus regulation, which favored the traditional method; after the 1492 expulsion from Spain, the regulations co-existed, although some rabbis were unhappy with the situation. In the 16th century a compromise was made whereby two-thirds of the deceased wife's dowry went to her husband and the rest to her relatives, unless there were children; in that case, he was entitled to all of her property. This too was subject to additional changes.

Another difference between local inheritance customs is reflected in the assessment of the marriage contract. The Spanish custom was to record a sum to represent the total value of the dowry whereas the Jews in the Middle East listed the value of each item individually. The latter method proved to be detrimental to the woman as values appreciated and depreciated and items that could still be used were returned in order to deduct their value. According to Lamdan, in dealing with dowries as well as monetary assessments, the Spanish system favored the women; this might have been due to the fact that they were a wealthier community than those of the Middle East and more concerned with protecting their daughters in case they were widowed or divorced.

On the other hand, a husband could sidestep Jewish custom and make his wife an heir, even a universal or main heir, should he predecease her. In Christian Spain, many Jews did so in Latin wills upheld by Christian courts. As a result, the widow gained a large degree of independence. Widows were also named as guardians both of property and of their children, often as part of a committee. This joint guardianship was not due to lack of confidence in the women, but in order to protect them from being burdened with sole liability. Many examples of female guardians as part of a group can be found in Aragon, even though the local law did not advocate the formation of committees. These women often continued their husbands' businesses or engaged in their own. Quite a few of them were engaged in money-lending, particularly in the new community of Perpignan in the 13th century; some were married although most were widows. The tendency in this community, for example, was for widows (both Christian and Jewish) not to re-marry. These women did not want to lose their newly independent status or to complicate the lives of their heirs by collecting their dowries. The communities did not pressure them, most likely because they were contributing to the local economy and were not a drain on local resources.

Post-1492. The expulsion of 1492 resulted in a chain of upheavals for the Spanish Jewish community and affected many other Diaspora communities as well, especially those that received the exiles. Immediate effects included impoverishment and the breakdown of family units, for some members preferred to convert. In addition, many of the exiles were robbed, raped, and killed en route to their chosen destination. Serious problems resulted, including women whose husbands had converted to Christianity and had not given them divorce papers. Dilemmas faced the rabbis in Diaspora communities who needed to decide the fate of these potentially "chained women" (*agunot*). Problems of this sort were particularly acute in Salonika. Many of the rabbis did not want to cut off ties to their *Converso brethren and thus discourage their future possible return to Judaism. In addition, decisions had to be made as to whether an apostate was considered a *levir* in case his brother died childless and left a widowed sister-in-law. If the rabbis ruled that the convert was still part of the community, the decision left the women at a disadvantage as it was nearly impossible either to get a divorce or perform *ḥaliẓah* long distance. As time passed, the rabbis' attitudes changed and became more lenient in terms of the women's situation.

Most of the Jews who left Spain came into contact with other Sephardi and Oriental Jews; the nature of this contact depended upon their destination. Jewish women in the Ottoman Empire at this time were relatively independent, and engaged in moneylending, petty commerce, artisanry, and real estate. Some embroidered and others sold needlework. Some were brokers for products made by Muslim women who did not have the option of entering a public domain like the marketplace. There is even a record of a women welder in 16th-century Cairo. Many of these women had stipulations in their marriage contracts stating that their handiwork belonged to them. Goitein commented that in medieval Cairo, ready-made food could be purchased in the market; it seems that this was still the case in the late 15th century as well (R. Obadiah of Bertinoro). Cairo *Genizah* letters written by female exiles from Spain clearly reflect a new level of independence created by the experience of immigration and the encounter with non-Iberian communities.

[Renée Levine Melammed (2nd ed.)]

Medieval Christian Europe

Between the rise of Islam (seventh century) and the 15th century, most Jews lived outside the Land of Israel, with significant populations in the Muslim worlds of North Africa, the Middle East, Western Asia, and Spain (Sepharad). Far smaller numbers of Jews lived in Christian Europe (Ashkenaz). One of the major intellectual endeavors of medieval Judaism was the continuation of the talmudic enterprise through collections of rabbinic answers to legal questions (responsa literature), the production of legal codes, and biblical and talmudic commentaries. These sources confirm that medieval legal authorities continued rabbinic patterns in ordaining separate gender roles and religious obligations for men and women, and in relegating females to secondary, enabling positions. However, norms and customs of local environments were also factors in how Jewish social life developed, since Jews assumed the language, dress, and many of the social practices of their non-Jewish neighbors, including cultural attitudes regarding appropriate female behavior. In medieval Christian Europe where Christian women had a wide range of public and private social, economic, and religious roles, the position of Jewish women markedly improved, relative both to the talmudic era and to the situation of Jewish women in Muslim countries. The reason, beyond a larger environment that was relatively supportive of female initiative, was the economic success that transformed the relatively small Jewish communities of Ashkenaz into a bourgeois society. As Jews prospered in trade and money lending, Jewish women played increasingly vital and often autonomous part in their family's economic lives, both as merchants and as financial brokers, allowing them to achieve almost unprecedented status and power in Jewish communal life.

The small Jewish communities of medieval Christian Europe lived in an atmosphere of religious suspicion and legal disability. Beginning with the period of the major Crusades (1096–1204), Jews were gradually limited from virtually any source of livelihood but moneylending; following 1215, they were often compelled to wear distinctive clothing and badges. By the end of the Middle Ages, Jews were expelled from areas where they had long lived (including England in 1290, and Spain in 1492); those who remained in Central Europe after the mid-16th century were compelled to live in crowded ghettos. Despite their political insecurity, the Jews of Ashkenaz enjoyed a high standard of living and were significantly acculturated. This is evident in the women's names that appear in extant sources of various kinds: Alemandina, Belassez, Blanche, Brunetta, Chera, Columbina, Duzelina, Fleur de Lys, Floretta, Glorietta, and the like, are far more common in our various sources than biblical appellations. (Jewish women in the Muslim realm similarly tended to have names of Arabic derivation).

WOMEN'S HIGH STATUS. Prior to the mid-12th century, most Jewish men were merchants and many traveled extensively. Like the Christian women of the upper bourgeoisie and lower nobility among whom they lived, Jewish women were often left to manage things at home while husbands were absent. And like Christian women, Jewish women had significantly more freedom of movement and higher social status than women in the Muslim world. This high status is indicated, in part, by the large dowries Jewish women brought into marriage. Since the capital with which a young couple started life had its origin mainly in the bride's portion, parents demanded strong guarantees in the *ketubbah* (marriage contract) that the bride would be treated with respect, that her marriage would have some permanence, and that she would have financial security. While the dowry of a deceased childless wife legally belonged to her husband, a 12th century enactment made all the dowry returnable to the father should his daughter die in the first year of marriage. This was to encourage fathers to endow their daughters generously; if a woman died in the second year of marriage without children, one half was to be returned.

A further recognition of the high status accorded to Jewish women in this milieu, as well as an indication of the influence of the prevailing mores of the Christian environment, is the 11th century *takkanah* (rabbinic ruling) forbidding polygyny for Jews in Christian countries. This change in traditional Jewish law is attributed to Rabbi *Gershom ben Judah (c. 960–1028), the first great rabbinic authority of West European (Ashkenazi) Jewry. A. Grossman suggests that the edict forbidding polygyny was also motivated by the involvement of many German Jewish men in international trade which often involved lengthy sojourns in Muslim countries. Some of these merchants may have married second wives while absent from home for long periods of time; the problem of deserted wives and their children is often referred to in Jewish legal literature from the Muslim environment and R. Gershom's ban (of excommunication) may have been intended to prevent such callous behavior that also strained community welfare resources. The important *takkanah* that no woman could be divorced against her will also originates in this time period. In fact, divorce appears to have been less common among Jews in medieval Christian Europe than in the Muslim milieu, perhaps because it was not a sanctioned act within Christian society. It was also the custom here, as in Muslim lands, for

Jewish husbands to leave their wives with a conditional divorce document when they set out on journeys so that their wives would be free to remarry should they fail to return after a specified length of time.

MARRIAGE. Jewish girls in this society, despite rabbinic prohibitions to the contrary, were betrothed very young, often at the age of eight or nine. A young woman might be married at 11 or 12, while her husband would be almost the same age. The responsa of R. *Meir of Rothenburg (d. 1293) records an instance of a young girl, married before the age of twelve, who went to court against her mother who had interfered in a marital dispute between the young bride and her husband. R. Meir ruled that the young wife is in no way bound by agreements her mother made without her knowledge and he takes for granted that it is the young woman who is in control of the couple's financial resources (*Teshuvot R. Meir*, Cremona edition, no. 217).

Early marriages were motivated by the religious desire to remove young people from the sexual tensions which might lead to sin. Economic factors were also operative since a well-dowered young couple could support themselves immediately, learning the business at the same time. Marriages could form an enduring and profitable partnership between two wealthy families, while settling a young daughter well proved her desirability and increased her family's prestige. Conversely, a broken engagement might give rise to rumors concerning the rejected bride and her relatives that could harm her own future marriage chances and those of other family members. Such anxieties contributed to an 11th-century *takkanah* imposing a ban of excommunication against those who violated a betrothal agreement; in most cases the guilty parties were bridegrooms and their families.

One topic on which the sages of France and Germany spoke out very strongly, and another indication of women's prominent social status, was the impermissibility of spousal abuse for any reason. Wife-beating was recognized as grounds for divorce; methods of enforcing the granting of a divorce in such cases were taken far more seriously than in any other part of the Jewish world. Concerning one such case, R. Meir of Rothenburg wrote, "A Jew must honor his wife more than he honors himself. If one strikes one's wife, one should be punished more severely than for striking another person…. If [the abuser's] wife is willing to accept a divorce, he must divorce her and pay her the *ketubbah*" (*Teshuvot R. Meir*, Prague edition, no. 81; cf. Cremona edition, no. 291).

Jewish medieval literature expresses positive attitudes towards marriage and sexuality that were at odds with medieval Christian teachings, which enjoined celibacy on the representatives of the Church, and taught that the only purpose of marital sexuality should be procreation. It is not surprising that Christian writers criticized Jewish sexual behavior, real and imagined. Influence from the Christian environment may account for the ambivalence towards sexuality characteristic of the German-Jewish pietists of the 12th and 13th centuries, the *Ḥasidei Ashkenaz, whose writings, such as *Sefer *Ḥasidim* (Book of the Pious), express not only an obsessive concern with the ubiquity of extramarital sexual temptations, but also a profound ambivalence about the joys of licensed sexual activities. Although a happy marital relationship lessened the likelihood of involvement in illicit sexual temptation or activity outside marriage and was, therefore, a good thing, they were concerned that it might also distract a man from God, who should be the focus of his greatest and most intense devotion (Baskin, 2006). One unfortunate consequence of the dissonance occasioned by these contradictory mandates was the objectification of all women and their frequent representation as vessels of sexuality and erotic distraction in certain pietistic Jewish writings.

During the Middle Ages, marriages between Jews and members of other religions were generally forbidden by religious and secular law in both Muslim and Christian realms. This is not to say that liaisons between Jews and non-Jews did not exist; they were common and at many different levels of intensity, but for a romance between a Jew and a non-Jew to progress to a recognized marriage, one of the parties to the relationship would have to convert. Generally speaking, it was the woman who did so.

Even without the possibility of marriage, Jews and gentiles were involved in a variety of sexual contacts, ranging from visits to prostitutes, involvement with maidservants, a recognized relationship with a mistress or lover, to common-law marriages. A romantic relationship which led to tragic consequences may have existed between *Pulcelina, a prominent 12th century moneylender, and Count Thibaud of Blois. All such liaisons were decried by both Jewish and non-Jewish authorities, and offenders, particularly those involved in permanent or semi-permanent relationships, were sometimes prosecuted by Church authorities, occasionally receiving the death penalty. There was more tolerance on the Church's part of Christian men having affairs with Jewish women, probably because Jewish mistresses were likely to adopt their lover's faith; indeed, the seduction/conversion of a Jewish girl by a Christian suitor became a popular theme in Christian literature. Not surprisingly, Jewish authorities objected to such relationships far more strenuously than the much more common occurrence of Jewish men keeping a Christian mistress, or maintaining sexual involvements with non-Jewish servants. There is no doubt that concern about all Jewish-Christian sexual liaisons was among the factors leading to efforts by the Church to isolate Jews from Christians; it was most likely because of fear of sexual contacts between Christians and Jews that Church legislation (beginning with the Fourth Lateran Council of 1215) forced Jewish women to wear a distinguishing badge at a younger age than was required for Jewish men, and often insisted that women wear humiliating attire, such as one red slipper and one black.

ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES. Jewish women's economic activities generally supplied a part or even the whole of the family income, sometimes allowing their husbands to devote themselves to study. This economic success empowered Jewish women not only in their domestic lives but in the religious and communal realm, as well. The medieval responsa literature is replete with references to women's business undertakings and to their frequent meetings and travels with Jewish and gentile men for business purposes; no objections are cited anywhere to women's wide ranging freedom of action. That women who traveled could be at risk from violent attacks was an accepted part of their economic lives, as it was of men's. *Sefer Ḥasidim* gives evidence of this: "A woman who was traveling heard that a group of gentiles was approaching her and she feared they might rape her. In such a case, she is permitted to dress in a nun's clothing so that they will think she is a nun and not attack her sexually. And if a woman traveling hears that a group of Jewish ruffians is approaching her, she is permitted to dress in non-Jewish dress and say that she is a gentile. She may warn them that she will cry out and report them, and she may also cry out at once in order that gentiles will come to help her, even if they kill the ruffians" (SḤ Bologna ed., par. 702). A responsum of the 12th-century German sage, R. Eliezer b. Joel Halevi, concerns a woman who set out on trade with two Jewish men, one of whom raped her during the journey. On the question of whether or not the woman was also culpable, in that she had acted immodestly by being alone with men contrary to talmudic law, R. Eliezer replied in the negative, saying "Day after day women go forth with two or three men, and seeing that the sages of Torah offer no protest, are unaware that it is forbidden" (*Or Zarua* 1, p. 166, no. 615).

Women engaged in all kinds of commercial operations and occupations, but moneylending was especially preferred; widows would frequently continue their financial activities, occasionally in partnership with another woman (see *Banking and Bankers). Such entrepreneurship undoubtedly required some degree of literacy in the vernacular and training in mathematics and bookkeeping skills. *Licoricia of Winchester was a highly successful Jewish businesswoman in England who had direct business dealings with the king. Her five sons, known as "sons of Licoricia," continued their mother's business after her murder in 1277. Some women were involved in craft activities they learned from their fathers or husbands, as well, and there are references in Jewish and Christian sources to independent Jewish women who practiced medicine or worked as midwives. Several medieval obstetrical treatises in Hebrew, apparently intended for female midwives, indicate that at least some women involved in medical practice were literate in that language (Barkai; Shatzmiller).

RITUAL OBSERVANCE. All Jewish women acquired domestic skills in childhood. These included not only the rudiments of cooking, needlework, and household management, but also the rules of rabbinic Judaism applicable to home and marriage. Basic religious training was considered essential so that a woman would know how to observe dietary laws, domestic regulations pertaining to the Sabbath and festivals, and the other commandments relevant to her family life and her relations with her husband. *Sefer Ḥasidim* ordains that a father is required to teach his daughters those practical commandments and halakhic rules essential for correct observance, but goes on to warn that "an unmarried man should not teach a girl, not even if the father is present, for fear that he will be sexually aroused or she will be overcome by her passions." Rather a father should teach his daughter and a husband should teach his wife (SḤB, par. 313).

Particular anxiety is expressed in several sources that women should not only be assiduous but also expeditious in observing "family purity" regulations. In his 14th-century ethical will, R. *Eleazar of Mainz advised his daughters to "scrupulously obey the rules applying to women," advising that "they should carefully watch for the signs of their periods and keep separate from their husbands at such times …. They shall be very punctilious and careful with their ritual bathing, taking with them women friends of worthy character" (Abrahams, pp. 209–10). *Sefer Ḥasidim* endorses similar sentiments and advises against using *mikveh* immersion as a bargaining pawn in domestic quarrels: "A father should tell his daughter who is about to be married not to postpone the time of her immersion in the *mikveh,* and not to say to her husband, 'I will not immerse in the *mikveh* unless you give me a certain amount of money or such-and-such gift'" (SḤB, par. 506). *Sefer Ḥasidim* also mentions a woman who refused to immerse in the *mikveh* until her miserly husband agreed to purchase books and donate them to charitable purposes. The husband complained to a rabbinic authority who told him, "Blessed is she for having brought pressure on you to perform a good deed. This is her only means of compulsion." To the wife, however, the sage said, "If you can find another way to persuade your husband to act generously, then well and good, but don't pressure him by withholding marital relations, because he will have sinful thoughts, you will keep yourself from becoming pregnant, and you will only increase his anger" (SḤB, par. 873).

Some women used their refusals to immerse in the *mikveh* as a strategem out of an unhappy marriage when their husbands would not agree to a divorce. A wife who refused sexual relations was considered a *moredet*, a rebel, and was subject to a daily monetary fine; when the value of her dowry had been exhausted, the husband was compelled to divorce her. Such an expedient might be acceptable to an unhappy wife who had the financial support of her relatives. In cases where rabbinic authorities determined that a woman had refused sexual relations or fled because her husband was repulsive to her, to escape blatant physical or emotional abuse, or due to a lack of economic support, her husband could be compelled to give her a divorce and return her dowry.

Jewish customary law concerning the menstruating woman (*niddah*) became more exclusionary in the Middle Ages, particularly in the Christian sphere. According to the highly influential *Baraita de-Niddah*, a book apparently of the geonic period, the *niddah* was forbidden to enter a synagogue, to come into contact with sacred books, to pray, or to recite God's name. These customs were followed in many locales during the medieval and early modern eras, although they have no basis in *halakhah*. Generally, they were endorsed by rabbinic authorities who praised compliant women for their piety. Even where menstruating women did attend and enter fully into synagogue services, one late fifteenth century source reported, "They take care only not to look at the Torah scroll when the sexton displays it to the congregation" (Jacob Landau, *Sefer ha-Agur*, sec. 1388).

RELIGIOUS PRACTICE. While most Jewish boys were literate in Hebrew, and some became quite learned, only a few girls from elite families ever learned much Hebrew. However, lack of Hebrew learning was not seen as an impediment to religious practice and prayer for either women or men, since as *Sefer Ḥasidim* advises, "one should learn the prayers in a language one understands, for prayer is first and foremost an entreaty of the heart and if the heart does not understand what issues from the mouth how can the supplicant benefit? It is better to pray in whatever language [the person] praying understands" (SḤB, par. 588).

An indication of women's high status in Ashkenaz is their voluntary assumption of religious practices from which they were exempt in talmudic Judaism. Women, for example, were permitted in 12th-century Germany and northern France to perform and to recite blessings over time-bound positive precepts, such as putting on *tefillin* (phylacteries) even though they were exempted from them by *halakhah*; the 12th-century scholar, R. *Simḥah of Speyer included women among the quorum of ten people required to recite the grace over meals. Another example of women's assumption of ritual roles in the public domain is the insistence of prominent women in serving as godmother (*sandeka'it*) at the circumcision of a son or grandson. R. Meir of Rothenburg, a major rabbinic leader of the 14th century, attempted to abolish this practice, since he believed the presence of perfumed and well-dressed women in the synagogue among men was immodest. His failure to do so (this custom continued until the beginning of the 15th century), indicates Jewish women's high status and financial clout in the communal realm of Ashkenaz. However, as the political and economic situation of European Jewish communities gradually worsened, beginning in the 13th century, and traditional practice and laws were reasserted, most of the gains Jewish women had achieved, in this and other areas of daily life, were firmly curtailed.

Some learned women, usually from rabbinic families, led prayers for the other women of their communities. Among women who are described as women's prayer leaders are the 12th-century *Dulcea, the wife of R. *Eleazar of Worms, discussed below, and Urania of Worms of the 13th century, whose headstone epitaph commemorates her as "the daughter of the chief of the synagogue singers…. she, too, with sweet tunefulness officiated before the women to whom she sang the hymnal portions." The Worms synagogue had a separate room in which women's prayers took place, perhaps with a peephole into the larger sanctuary so that the prayer leader could keep her place in the service.

Jewish women appear to have been less likely than men to choose the always available option of conversion to Christianity, perhaps because the benefits such conversion offered to a woman were far fewer than those available to a man. A number of legal queries to rabbinic leaders deal with the question of a woman's divorce from a converted husband. The rabbinic authorities did everything possible to free a Jewish wife from such a marriage and guarantee the return of her property so that a remarriage might occur.

Women are strikingly prominent in 11th-century Hebrew Crusade chronicles which describe the devotion of numerous Jewish women who actively sought death for themselves and their children rather than apostasy. Some scholars have suggested that many of the horrific events narrated in these Hebrew chronicles are imaginative reconstructions, meant to express the high esteem in which women were held in Ashkenazi society and to provide didactic models for future generations of women who might confront similar circumstances. Some have also wondered if women are praised so highly in order to cast shame on men of their own times who were very far more likely than women to become Christians. S. Einbinder has pointed out a deliberate downplaying of female agency in later Jewish liturgical poems on themes of martyrdom that focus more on women's passivity and vulnerability to male assault. This difference in the portrayal of women may be no more than a reflection of the formulaic conventions of the poetic genre. However, given the steady deterioration of women's legal status in Ashkenaz during this same time period, Einbinder's suggestion that "the rabbi-poets increasingly emphasized the sanctity of family bonds and rabbinic authority" to the detriment of female agency and independence is quite persuasive. By representing women as "defenseless and violated," male authors enhanced their own communal power in an effort to rally other men in opposition to a common enemy against whom all Jews were increasingly powerless.

PERSONAL DOCUMENTS. Many ideals of medieval Jewish family life, including the value placed on education, are evident in the medieval ethical will. Such moral testaments, left by a parent for his or her children, sum up the author's life's experience and values, and advise offspring on the proper conduct of their lives. One example is the will of Eleazar b. Samuel of Mainz, a 14th-century Jew of whom nothing else is known. Eleazar's will urges all his children to attend synagogue in the morning and evening, and to occupy themselves a little afterwards with "Torah, the Psalms, or with works of charity." His daughters are particularly requested to obey the laws applying to women, "modesty, sanctity, and reverence should mark their married lives," and they must "respect their husbands and be invariably amiable to them." Daughters, as well as sons, are admonished to live in communities among other Jews so that their children may learn the ways of Judaism, and, significantly, he insists that "they must not let the young, of either sex, go without instruction in the Torah [Hebrew Bible]." Eleazar specifically requests that his daughters prepare beautiful candles for the Sabbath, and that they refrain from risking money in games of chance, although they may amuse themselves for trifling stakes on New Moons, days customarily celebrated as holidays by Jewish women. Eleazar urges his children to avoid "mixed bathing and mixed dancing and all frivolous conversation." He further suggests that his daughters "ought to be always at home and not be gadding about." Nor should they stand at the door, watching whatever passes: "I ask, I command, that the daughters of my house be never without work to do, for idleness leads first to boredom, then to sin. But let them spin, cook, or sew." Eleazar's obvious concern for his daughters' educations, for their mode of life, and his knowledge of the pitfalls they might encounter is vibrant testimony to a Jewish society in which women played many active roles (Abrahams, 209–10).

The esteem granted a beloved wife, and a description of her activities, is found in the lament of an important spiritual leader, R. Eleazar ben Judah of Worms, known as the Roke'aḥ, for his exemplary wife, Dulcea and his two daughters, killed by intruders in their home in 1197. He relates that Dulcea, who supported her family and her husband's students through her business ventures, was also involved in religious activities, attending synagogue regularly, sewing together 40 Torah scrolls, making wicks for the synagogue candles, and instructing other women and leading their prayers. Of his thirteen-year-old daughter, the father poignantly wrote that she had "learned all the prayers and melodies from her mother. She was pious and wise, a beautiful virgin. She prepared my bed and pulled off my boots every night. Bellette was nimble about the house, and spoke only truth, serving her Maker and spinning and sewing and embroidering." And of his younger daughter, Hannah, Rabbi Eleazar remembers: "Each day she recited *Shema Yisrael* and the prayer that follows it. She was six years old and could spin, sew and embroider, and entertain me by singing" (Baskin, 2001).

MYSTICISM AND FOLKLORE. While celibacy and monastic living allowed some Christian women to be recognized as scholars, saints, and mystics, rabbinic insistence on universal marriage forbade any access to such life alternatives for Jewish women. Formal Judaism offered no adult avenues through which Jewish women could express their spiritual aspirations beyond marital devotion, maternal solicitude, observance of domestic Jewish rituals, and acts of charity to others. Jewish religious leaders criticized women who adopted ascetic practices such as fasting, prayer, and acts of personal deprivation; these traditional male methods of expressing devotion to God were seen as a dereliction of a woman's primary duties to her husband and family, and were suspect even in the unmarried girl and the widow (cf. Sot. 22a).

Given these prohibitions, it is not surprising that medieval Jewish mysticism was an essentially male endeavor. Moreover, in the gender imagery which pervades medieval Jewish mystical writings, the male, created in the divine image, is construed as the dominant, primary sex, while females are seen as passive and secondary. In sexual union female distinctiveness is effaced, and similarly, by analogy, the **Shekhinah*, the feminine aspect of the divine, will ultimately be absorbed by the preeminent male entity, the **Ein- Sof* (the infinite and eternal aspect of God), from which she was originally derived. While the *Shekhinah* as bride is a positive symbol, pointing to divine unity, the *Shekhinah* alone, sometimes represented as a *niddah*, is dangerous, since the unconstrained female and her menstrual blood are linked to the demonic forces responsible for evil in the world.

Many of the negative attitudes towards women entrenched in rabbinic traditions are prevalent in medieval Jewish folklore, as well. One example is traditions about the demon *Lilith. These are synthesized in the 11th-century *Alphabet of Ben Sira*, where rabbinic speculation about the "first Eve," who refused to submit to Adam's mastery and established herself as an independent sexual entity, merges with legends about demons who kill infants and endanger women in childbirth. In later Jewish folklore and mysticism, Lilith is the exemplar of rebellious wives and the fiendish enemy of submissive women and their children. Associations between women and witchcraft, already present in rabbinic literature, also appear in *Sefer Ḥasidim,* which assumes that even the most pious woman has the potential, however unwitting, to tempt a man to sin or sinful thoughts.

[Judith R. Baskin (2nd ed.)]

Early Modern Period

SEPHARDI DIASPORA. As R.L. Melammed comments above, the experience of immigration and the encounter with non-Iberian communities offered some female exiles from Spain, particularly those with significant financial resources, a new level of empowerment and independence. Powerful widows, such as Benvenida *Abravanel, and Doña Gracia *Nasi (1510–1569), both of the 16th century, continued their deceased husbands' business ventures successfully, intervened with rulers on behalf of threatened Jewish communities, and were renowned for their philanthropy and their support of Jewish culture and learning.

Benvenida Abravanel, niece of the statesman-philosopher Isaac *Abravanel, married her first cousin, Samuel. The couple left Spain in 1492 for Italy and Don Samuel became head of the Jewish community in Naples. Benvenida was an educated woman who established a good relationship with the duchess of Tuscany. When the Jews of Southern Italy were threatened with expulsion in 1541, Benvenida used her influence to negotiate a postponement of the decree. Following her husband's death in 1547, she took over his business concerns and attained important trade privileges. Benvenida also gained renown as a pious and charitable woman, much given to fasting, whose home was a center of study and culture.

Gracia Nasi was born a New Christian and was baptized as Beatriz de Luna in Portugal. Her husband Francisco, whom she married in 1528, left her half of his property when he died in 1536. Once the Inquisition was established in that same year, Doña Gracia realized that Portugal was no longer a viable home for a crypto-Jew and with her family resolved to return to an open observance of Judaism elsewhere, taking care to move slowly to preserve the maximum amount of their fortune. Ultimately, the family ended up in Constantinople where Doña Gracia supported numerous scholars and rabbis and aided in the publication of scholarly works.

Because of her connections, wealth, mobility, and foresight, Doña Gracia managed to escape the reach of the Inquisition. However, many other crypto-Jewish women were not so fortunate. As the Spanish and Portuguese Inquisitions became obsessed with discovering unfaithful New Christians (see also *Conversos), women were particularly at risk, since they played a crucial role in perpetuating Judaism in this period. Without communal institutions or leadership, the home became the sole center of Jewish continuity and women were central in preserving Jewish domestic rituals, especially the dietary laws and Sabbath observance. Such practices were always dangerous, since servants often testified to the Inquisition about their employers' judaizing activities. Numerous crypto-Jewish women were arrested and tortured, and many sacrificed their lives as martyrs for their faith in the course of the 15th and 16th centuries.

WOMEN IN THE PUBLIC SPHERE IN ITALY, 1600–1800. Since the 19th century historians have asserted that Renaissance Italy was a period in which women attained a new and more equal status in society, and Jewish writers have accepted this view concerning Italian Jewish women, as well. Close examination of the various sources of Jewish communal history in the early modern period, however, demonstrates that while women did function in some public capacities in Italian Jewish communities, there was not a significant departure from traditional attitudes about appropriate female roles. Nevertheless, the Jewish communities of Italy were highly acculturated and there were opportunities for a few unusual women to shine in literature and the arts.

At least two Jewish women in 17th–century Italy became distinguished published writers in Italian. Devora *Ascarelli translated Hebrew liturgical poetry into rhymed Italian, presumably for use by female worshippers. Her *Abitacolo degli oranti*, completed in 1537 and published in 1601, may be the earliest published work in Jewish literature written by a woman. The most accomplished Jewish woman of this period in terms of education and literary productivity was the writer and poet Sara Coppio *Sullam (1592–1641). Born to a wealthy and prominent Jewish family in Venice, Sullam married Jacob Sullam, a local Jewish leader. She formed a salon of mostly Christian men of letters for whom she provided financial support as well as intellectual friendships that sometimes soured. As a female Jewish writer, Sullam was an ideal target for accusations intended to undermine her accomplishments as a woman and a Jew. However, she was able to respond to her detractors in witty and biting prose and poetry. Another talented woman of this period was the professional singer known as Madama Europa De' *Rossi, a highly accomplished performer in the court of the Gonzaga family in late 16th and early 17th century Mantua and the sister of the composer and musician Salamone De' *Rossi.

As early as the 13th century in Italy, certain rabbis allowed girls to receive a Jewish education. Most young women learned to read and write Italian at school or at home, and some learned Hebrew, as well. Teachers of girls were often women and those who taught Hebrew were known as *rabbit* or *rabbanit*. Other women, often widows, offered instruction in domestic skills. Two women of this period exceptional for their learning were sisters, Fioretta (Bat Sheva) Modena and Diana Rieti. According to the Venetian rabbi Leon *Modena (1571–1648), Fioretta's nephew, the women had mastered Torah, Mishnah, Talmud, Midrash, Jewish law, and Kabbalah (Modena, *Ḥayyei*, fol. 15b). At the age of 75, after the death of her husband, Solomon da Modena, Fioretta set out to live in Safed, a city known for its many mystics.

An interesting feature of the early modern Italian Jewish community is the licensing of specific women to act as ritual slaughterers and to porge (*nikkur* or *treibern*) animals. This contrasts with efforts by rabbis elsewhere in Christian Europe to limit women's rights to be involved in kosher slaughtering and porging. The probable reason for this liberality was so women could provide food for their families in isolated locations, such as summer houses in the mountains, or in distressed circumstances (see **Sheḥitah*: Women and *Sheḥitah*).

CENTRAL EUROPE. The invention of printing in the 15th century, which made the dissemination of popular literature practicable and inexpensive, played an important role in expanding Jewish women's religious lives and piety in Central and Eastern Europe in the early modern period. Female access to reading matter in the vernacular had a transformative effect for many women, deepening their knowledge of Judaism and Jewish traditions and even empowered a few women to become writers, themselves. Rabbinic injunctions against women's learning were believed to apply to Talmud study but not to the Bible or legal rulings necessary for women's everyday activities. While Jewish women were generally ignorant of Hebrew, most were literate in Jewish vernaculars (Judaeo-German (Western Yiddish) in Central Europe and Yiddish in Eastern Europe, written in Hebrew characters), which had long been essential to women's economic activities. Translations of the Hebrew Bible, the first books to be printed in the Jewish vernacular, gave women access to Judaism's holy texts. Particularly popular were the *Taytsh-khumesh*, first published by Sheftl Hurwitz in Prague in 1608 or 1610, and the *Tsenerene*, by Yankev ben Itzkhok Ashkenazy (c.1590–1618), both of which included homilies on the weekly biblical readings from the Torah and Prophets, as well as stories, legends, and parables drawn from rabbinic literature, the Zohar and other mystical texts, and histories and travel accounts. *Musar* literature, ethical treatises which discussed proper conduct, woman's religious obligations, and her relations with her husband, such as the *Brantshpigl* ("Burning Mirror") by Moses ben Henoch *Altschuler (1596), and the *Meneket Rivkah* of Rebecca bas Meir *Tiktiner of Prague (d. 1550; posthumously published in the early 17th century), were also available to female readers. These vernacular books intended for women were also read by Jewish men, many of whom were not possessed of significant Jewish scholarship; they were printed in a special typeface, *vayber taytsh* ("women's vernacular") based on the cursive Hebrew hand women were taught for business contracts, marriage agreements, and correspondence.

Although all the Hebrew and Aramaic prayers of the standard liturgy were translated into Judaeo-German/Yiddish, they were never as central to women as **tkhines*, supplicatory prayers which were intended for female use in Jewish rituals and in worship, both in the synagogue and at home. Collections of such prayers began to appear in the 16th century. C. Weissler has pointed out that while much of this literature was written by men for women, and represents men's conceptions of women's religious lives, *tkhines* do demonstrate what women prayed about and offer insight into how they understood the meanings of their religious acts.

Although some attributions of *tkhines* to female authors or editors seem doubtful, there were women like Rebecca Tiktiner who wrote and published *tkhines* collections. Weissler has written that *tkhines* written by women sometimes articulate both the sanctification of women's traditional roles and a critique of them. Sarah Rebecca Rachel Leah *Horowitz (c. 1720–c. 1800), the highly educated author of the *Tkhine imohes* ("*Tkhine* of the matriarchs"), emphasizes the power and importance of women's prayer. In the *Shloyse she'orim* ("Three Gates"), *Sarah bas Tovim (probably 18th century) made use of rabbinic and mystical texts in Yiddish to construct a new vision of women's religious lives in which women's prayer was as significant as men's.

Collections of prayers and religious texts in Yiddish and in European vernacular languages, intended for female use, were produced into the 20th century. *Stunden der Andacht* ("Hours of Devotion"), a German prayer book for women written by Fanny *Neuda (d. 1894) went through 28 editions by the 1920s and was also translated into English. These prayers for women reflect a personal rather than a communal understanding of Judaism, one in which women often called upon the biblical matriarchs to intercede with God on behalf of the worshiper and her family. Inasmuch as some of these prayers were written by women, they also represent some of the earliest extant expressions of female spirituality in Jewish tradition.

COURT JEWS. One early modern woman who wrote in her own voice was Glikl bas Judah Leib (*Glueckel of Hameln; 1646–1724). Her autobiography, written to drive away the melancholy that followed her husband's death and to let her children know their ancestry, is an engrossing document which interweaves and juxtaposes pious tales and moralizing with Glickl's accounts of events in her own life and those of her loved ones. Born into the prosperous Court Jew milieu of Central Europe, Glikl was well read in Judaeo-German literature, and had some knowledge of Hebrew and German as well; her memorial notice characterizes her as "a learned woman" (*melummedet*), unusual praise in her time and place. Betrothed at 12, married at 14, and the mother of 14 children, Glikl was active in business and pious in religious observance, including regular synagogue attendance. At the threshold of modernity, both as a woman and as a Jew, Glikl's business activities reflect the growing economic participation of Jews in the non-Jewish world, while her religious and secular educations speak to the broader horizons and new educational opportunities available to some 17th century Jews – including women.

Esther Schulhoff Aaron *Liebmann (c. 1645–1714) came from the same milieu as Glikl. Married first to Israel Aaron (d. 1673), supplier to the Brandenburg court and founder of the Berlin Jewish community, Esther subsequently wed Jost Leibmann. Liebmann's first wife, Malka, was Glikl's niece and Liebmann himself learned the jewelry business from Glikl's husband, Ḥayyim Hameln. Esther and her husband were the court jewelers to Frederick I of Prussia and the leading family in the Berlin Jewish community. Esther worked actively alongside her husband and successfully carried on their business after her husband's death. Like many Court Jews, Liebmann's fortunes depended on the favor of the ruler. After the death of Frederick I and the accession of Frederick William I in 1713, Esther Liebmann was put under house arrest and released only after she had paid the king a substantial fine.

WOMEN, MYSTICISM, AND MESSIANIC MOVEMENTS. Women are connected with both mysticism and the messianic movements that are a significant feature of Jewish history in early modern Europe. This phenomenon first appeared among crypto-Jewish women in Spain. As R. Melammed has written, Conversas, observing secretly, in the hope of salvation, were likely candidates for a mystical or messianic penchant. During the post-expulsion period, several women and girls experienced visions and delivered messianic prophecies, particularly in the La Mancha and Extremadura region of Castile. Between 1499 and 1502, Mari Gómez of Chillón and Inés, a 12-year-old from Herrera, inspired a renewal of Jewish observance, with special emphasis on fasting, based on their predictions of the imminent arrival of Elijah, heralding messianic redemption in the Land of Israel. This movement was quickly extinguished by the Inquisition: Inés was burned at the stake in 1500 and Mari Gómez escaped to Portugal.

In 1524–1525, Benvenida Abravanel, a wealthy exile from Spain who had settled in Italy, became an enthusiastic supporter of the messianic pretender David *Reuveni (d. 1538).

She is said to have sent him financial support, a silk banner with the ten commandments written in gold on both sides, and a Turkish gown of gold cloth.

Rachel *Aberlin (second quarter of the 16th century, Salonika (?)–first quarter of 17th century, Damascus (?)), is described as a mystic in *Sefer ha-Ḥezyonot* ("The Book of Visions"), the memoir of her contemporary Ḥayyim *Vital. Vital, the most prominent disciple of the greatest 16th century kabbalist, Isaac *Luria, refers to "Rachel Aberlin" and "Rachel ha-Ashkenaziah" frequently in entries that provide rare insight into the mystical religiosity of early modern Jewish women in the period preceding Shabbateanism. Aberlin is portrayed in *Sefer ha-Ḥezyonot* as a woman who regularly experienced mystical visions, from pillars of fire to Elijah the Prophet. She is said to have been "accustomed to seeing visions, demons, souls, and angels." Aberlin seems to have been an important figure to other women in her community, who regarded her as a spiritual leader.

Sarah, one of the wives of the preeminent messianic figure of the early modern period, *Shabbetai Ẓevi (1626–1676), continues to be an enigma to historians. Apparently a survivor of the 1648 Chmielnicki pogroms in Poland who had been brought up as a Christian, Sarah attracted attention with her beauty and her claims that she was destined to marry the messiah. According to some reports, Sarah was an erstwhile prostitute, who had traveled from Poland to Amsterdam and then to Italy, where she worked as a servant for various Jewish families and institutions. Exactly how she and Shabbetai Ẓevi were brought together is unknown. However, the couple was married in Cairo in March, 1664. At least one source reports that Shabbetai married her because of her ill repute, so as to fulfill the word of the prophet Hosea, "take yourself a wife of whoredom" (1:2). Sarah, who subsequently gave birth to a son and a daughter, converted to Islam shortly after her husband in 1666. In 1671, Shabbetai divorced Sarah, even though she was pregnant, and arranged a marriage with another woman. He then changed his mind and took Sarah back. She died in 1674.

An interesting facet of Shabbetai Ẓevi's messianic claims was his promise to ameliorate the secondary status of women in Judaism. He allowed women in synagogues he visited in Constantinople, Smyrna, and Salonika to be called up to the Torah. According to G. Scholem, Shabbetai is reported to have promised in 1665 that he would lift the "curse of Eve" from women, and added, "Blessed are you, for I have come to make you free and happy like your husbands, for I have come to take away Adam's sin." Scholem has suggested that Shabbetai may have been attracted by "the audacity of Sarah, the reputed harlot, because he cherished the dream of the reparation of Adam's sin and of the consequent restoration of woman to her original freedom" (p. 405). Scholem goes on to say the idea that the messiah would repair Adam's sin was current in Lurianic mystical writings but that Shabbetai seems to have been the first to make the connection in terms of the emancipation of women.

Eva *Frank (1754–1816), daughter of the charismatic Shabbatean leader Jacob *Frank (1726–1791) played a major role in the messianic and antinomian Frankist movement. Originally named Rachel, she is referred to in Frankist writings as the Lady, the Virgin, or *Matronita*, the Aramaic name of the mystical female entity *Shekhinah*. She became known as Eva following the conversion of her family to Christianity in 1760. Jacob Frank saw himself as the eternal messiah and told his followers that Eva-Rachel should be recognized as the mystical royal figure of the *Shekhinah* who would lead them as a messianic redeemer in his temporary absence. Ultimately, Frank claimed, he would be reborn and united with his daughter in "the unity of Messiah and *Shekhinah*." After Jacob Frank's death in 1791, Eva led the Frankist community in its hopes of imminent messianic redemption. Even after she died, many Frankist families continued to keep her portrait and honored her as a saintly woman who was falsely reviled.

ḤASIDISM. The development of the pietistic/mystical movement Ḥasidism in 18th–century Poland had a profound and lasting impact on East European Jewry. Ḥasidism brought no improvements for women's status, however, and in some ways intensified negative views of women already present in Jewish mysticism and traditional rabbinic Judaism. Ḥasidic tradition preserves descriptions of daughters, mothers and sisters of rabbinic leaders who are said to have themselves led ḥasidic communities and to have adopted rigorous standards of personal piety. Among them are Sarah Frankel *Sternberg (1838–1937), daughter of ḥasidic Rabbi Joshua Heschel Teomim-Frankel and wife of the *ẓaddik* Ḥayyim Samuel Sternberg of Chenciny, a disciple of the famed Seer of Lublin. After her husband's death, she is said to have functioned successfully as a *rebbe* in Chenciny and was highly regarded for her piety and asceticism. Her daughter, Hannah Brakhah, the wife of R. *Elimelekh of Grodzinsk, was an active participant in the life of her husband's court. A. Rapoport-Albert has pointed out that there is little written documentation about these women and that their authority was based on their connection to revered male leaders.

The one apparent example of a woman who crossed gender boundaries to achieve religious leadership in a ḥasidic sect with some success was the well-educated, pious, and wealthy Hannah Rochel Werbermacher (1815–1888?), known as the Holy Maid of *Ludomir. Werbermarcher, who acquired a reputation for saintliness and miracle-working, attracted both men and women to her "court," to whom she would lecture from behind a closed door. Reaction from the male ḥasidic leaders of her region was uniformly negative, and pressure was successfully applied on Hannah to resume her rightful female role in marriage. Although her marriages were unsuccessful, they had the intended result of ending her career as a religious leader, at least in Poland. Around 1860, Werbermacher moved to Jerusalem where she re-established herself as a holy woman. Here, too, she attracted a following of ḥasidic women and men, as well as Sephardi and possibly some Muslim Arab women, and led gatherings at the Western Wall, the Tomb of Rachel, and her own study house.

Ḥasidism, in its emphasis on mystical transcendence, and on male attendance on the rabbinic leader, the *zaddik* or *rebbe*, to the exclusion of the family unit, contributed significantly to the breakdown of the Jewish social life in 19th–century Eastern Europe. Similar tensions between family responsibility and devotion to Torah were also present among the non-ḥasidic learned elite of this milieu, where wives tended to assume the responsibility for supporting their families while husbands were studying away from home. D. Biale has noted that the sexual ascetism of the homosocial ḥasidic courts and rabbinic yeshivot of the 18th and 19th centuries offered young men a welcome withdrawal from family tensions and the threats of modernity. However, the negative attitudes toward human sexuality they found in these environments were often openly misogynistic, incorporating many demonic images of women from rabbinic, kabbalistic, and Jewish folklore traditions.

[Judith R. Baskin (2nd ed.)]

Modern Central and Western Europe: 1780 to 1939

The *Haskalah, the Jewish Enlightenment movement which began in late 18th century Germany, brought enormous changes to Jewish religious, political, and social life in Central and Western Europe. Receptive to modernity and European culture, the Haskalah insisted that Jewish acculturation to the mainstream mores and customs of the public sphere was not incompatible with adherence to Jewish tradition and rituals in the private domain of home and synagogue. While the goals of Jewish political emancipation and achievement of full civil rights, with their accompanying economic benefits, were central to this movement, some of its supporters also championed religious change within the Jewish community. Most modern forms of Jewish religious practice, *Reform Judaism, *Conservative Judaism, and Modern *Orthodoxy, were shaped in this milieu. Moses *Mendelssohn, the founder of the Haskalah in Central Europe, and others of his circle, also advocated social change in gender relations, opposing arranged marriages and advocating love matches.

Adoption of the language and values of the non-Jewish world tended to occur first among the wealthiest Jews who had frequent economic dealings with non-Jews. D. Hertz and B. Hahn are among those who have chronicled the lives of women from Berlin's wealthy Jewish elite in the last decades of the 18th century. In a Jewish society in which girls received only minimal religious education, instruction in music and modern languages, together with exposure to a new world of secular novels, poetry, and plays, distanced young women from brothers and husbands whose lives were focused on traditional Jewish learning and commerce and finance. It is not surprising that many of these wealthy and accomplished women, such as Henriette *Herz, Dorothea *Mendelssohn, Rahel Levin *Varnhagen, and Fanny von *Arnstein (a Berlin native who moved to Vienna), found success in a *salon society where gentiles and Jews mixed socially. For some of these women, divorces from Jewish husbands were followed by conversions to Christianity and marriage to gentile suitors, often from the impecunious nobility. The absolute number of women who followed this course was small and their motives for doing so were complex. However, for these Jewish women, abandoning Judaism meant integration into the dominant upper-class culture and society. In making the choices they did these women experienced "at an early date and in a gender-specific way the basic conflict between group loyalty and individual emancipation that would torment so many European Jews in the two centuries to follow" (Hertz, 1991, p. 198).

The experiences of Jewish women of the salon world were not typical for most Western and Central European Jewish women. Scholars like M.A. Kaplan and P.E. Hyman have shown that by the mid-19th century processes of acculturation and assimilation, followed in some cases by dissolution of minority ties through conversion and/or intermarriage, were generally quite different for women and men. Gender tended to limit the assimilation of Jewish women, rendering their progress to integration halting and incomplete in comparison to Jewish men. Confined to the domestic scene, restricted in their educational opportunities, and prevented from participating in the public realms of economic and civic life, Jewish women had far fewer contacts with the non-Jewish world. Rather, women were encouraged to cultivate a home-based Judaism in which spirituality was expressed in domestic activities. As Kaplan has demonstrated through memoirs, diaries, personal correspondence, and cookbooks, at a time when male synagogue attendance and ritual performance was declining, it was most often women who transmitted Jewish values to their families through a form of domestic religion which united traditional Jewish cooking and some form of home observance of the Sabbath and other holidays. Perhaps because they had been excluded from so many public rituals to begin with, women's Judaism was essentially domestic, and in secularized homes they were often the last to preserve elements of Jewish tradition. Sigmund Freud, for example, persuaded his wife to drop all religious practices, but throughout their marriage Martha Freud and her husband argued over her wish to light candles on the Sabbath.

Rachel *Morpurgo (1790–1871), the Italian Hebrew poet, is an exceptional example of the impact of the Haskalah on a Jewish woman. Born in Trieste, she was a relative and close friend of Samuel David *Luzzatto (1800–1865), a major figure in modern Jewish thought and Hebrew literature, with whom she studied Hebrew religious texts and poetry for many years. Morpurgo's extensive education was acquired at home, alongside her brother and cousin, from private tutors and family members. Like Italian Jewish women of previous generations Morpurgo worked in the family business, as a turner on a lathe, a skill she learned from her uncle and father. After her marriage to Jacob Morpurgo in 1819, she was no longer able to give much time to study and writing since her husband disapproved of these activities and insisted that she devote herself to domestic duties. Prior to her marriage Morpurgo had maintained an extensive Hebrew poetic correspondence with Luzzatto; he published her writings 30 years later in *Kokhevei Yiẓḥak* (1847) to enormous acclaim. Morpurgo's poems and letters were collected and were published as an anthology entitled *Ugav Raḥel* (ed. V. Castiglioni [1890], rep. 1943).

In 19th century England, a significant number of Jewish women worked in the public domain to hasten Jewish enlightenment and emancipation and to further religious reform. These include active advocates of liberal Judaism like Lily *Montagu, and writers of both fiction and non-fiction with Jewish themes directed to Jewish and gentile audiences such as Grace *Aguilar (d. 1847), and the sisters, Marion *Moss (1821-1907) and Celia *Moss (1819–1873). In her extremely popular book, *The Women of Israel*, Aguilar defended the exalted position of women in Judaism, highlighting what she described as women's traditional role in hastening redemption as "teachers of children" and through other domestic activities. M. Galchinsky has noted that despite their uplifting messages, Jewish women's success in the world of literature was profoundly threatening to the men of their milieu; while male Jewish reformers were compelled to support at least a degree of female emancipation in principle, they were determined to limit, trivialize, and undermine women's writing and influence in the public sphere.

Nineteenth century domestic Judaism throughout Central and Western Europe not only reflected traditional Judaism's preferred positioning of women in the private realm of husband and family, but was also a form of Jewish conformity to the Christian bourgeois model of female domesticity which put religion in the female sphere. Jewish literature and the Jewish press of the late nineteenth century, both in Europe and the United States, where the Jewish community prior to 1881 was overwhelmingly of Central European origin, described the Jewish woman as the "guardian angel of the house," "mother in Israel," and "priestess of the Jewish ideal," and assigned her primary responsibility for the Jewish identity and education of her children. This was a significant indication of acculturation in an ethnic group in which men had historically fulfilled most religious obligations, including the Jewish education of their sons. Moreover, this shifting of responsibility for inculcating Jewish identity and practices to women led rapidly from praise to denigration, as commentators began to blame mothers for their children's assimilation. Such criticisms not only allowed men to ignore the implications of their own assimilationist behavior, but also revealed central tensions in the project of acculturation itself, including a communal inability to prevent individual defections to the larger society.

Reform Judaism, which sought to offer 19th century Western and Central European Jews a modernized form of Jewish belief and practice emphasizing personal faith and ethical behavior rather than ritual observance, proclaimed that women were entitled to the same religious rights and subject to the same religious duties as men in both home and synagogue. Emphasis on religious education for girls and boys, including the introduction of a confirmation ceremony for young people of both sexes, and an accessible worship service in the vernacular, also made the new movement attractive to many women. Pressure from young women may have prompted the Reform rabbinate to adopt the innovation of double ring wedding ceremonies in which not only men but women made a statement of marital commitment. In fact, however, European Reform Judaism made few substantive changes in women's actual synagogue status, offering no extension to women of ritual participation in worship and maintaining separate synagogue seating for men and women well into the 20th century (see *Synagogue: Women and the Synagogue).

Emulation of Christian models of female philanthropy and religious activism played a significant part in middle-class Jewish women's establishment of service and social welfare organizations in the 19th and early 20th century centuries in Germany and England. Such organizations as the *Juedischer Frauenbund in Germany (founded in 1904 by Bertha *Pappenheim), the Union of Jewish Women in Great Britain (founded in 1902), and the *National Council of Jewish Women in the United States (founded in 1893), cooperated in the international campaign against coercion of poor women into prostitution. They also argued for greater recognition of women within their respective Jewish communities as "sustainers of Jewish communal life and guardians against defection from Judaism." Women's activism in Europe and Great Britain positively affected the Jewish community in such areas as social welfare services, feminist trade unionism, support for women's suffrage, and agitation for religious change. Women who worked for these goals also blurred the boundaries between traditional male and female spheres as they acquired administrative expertise and assumed authoritative and responsible public roles.

While most Jewish women in Central Europe in the first decades of the 20th century conformed to the bourgeois models of early generations and focused their energies on home responsibilities and volunteer organizations, some achieved less conventional lives. Jewish women made up a disproportionately large percentage of the early generations of women who sought university education and professional training in Germany and Austria in the early 20th century. Many of these women made important contributions as academics, educators, social scientists, scientists, and physicians and helped pave the way for far larger numbers of middle-class professional women in the late 20th century. H.P. Freidenreich, has written that in an era when married women had a difficult time advancing their professional lives, many university women chose to devote themselves to their careers, tending not to marry or to marry later in life. While most university-educated non-Jewish women tended to become teachers, Jewish women followed the patterns established earlier by Jewish men, and became physicians, scientists, and social scientists, as well as academics and lawyers. A number applied their professional skills to improving the lives of women and children. Many female Jewish physicians specialized in gynecology or pediatrics and advocated for the widespread availability of contraception and legalized abortion; female psychiatrists and psychoanalysts often focused on childhood disorders and trauma. Unlike most of their Christian counterparts, Jewish university women tended to be on the political left. Mostly from highly acculturated middle class Jewish homes, few of these women were connected with the organized Jewish community prior to 1933.

Most of the discrimination these women faced in the early inter-war period was due to their gender, since educated women, in Europe and elsewhere, were often unpaid and underemployed. Even those who achieved academic positions rarely achieved tenure or the recognition they deserved, whether in Germany or Austria, or elsewhere after emigration. Antisemitism also played a role in limiting job opportunities before 1933. With the advent of the Nazi era, professional women, as all Jews, were forced to flee Europe in order to survive. Those who were able to leave Germany and Austria, often at a relatively advanced age and under adverse circumstances, had mixed success in reconstructing their lives and careers.

M.A. Kaplan has chronicled the everyday tyranny German Jews experienced under the Nazi regime from the perspectives of gender, delineating the ways in which women were more sensitive to the experience of discrimination, how women were usually more anxious to leave and risk uncertainty abroad, how women often were compelled to assume "male" roles within and outside the family, and how being female shaped an individual's destiny. After 1933, drastic changes for Jews in the public domain transformed occupational patterns in Jewish families. As Jewish businessmen and professionals were forced from their occupations, many married women had to enter the job market for the first time, often after training in service occupations. Although economic prospects were poor for all, women showed more adaptability than men. And as the family became a refuge from Nazi-imposed social, economic, and psychological hardships, women felt obligated to run their households smoothly even while functioning as the family's wage earner and advocate in the outside world.

Kaplan has also shown that parental desires to keep daughters at home, and preferential treatment of boys by Jewish welfare organizations providing career training, meant that girls were usually only 25 to 30 percent of participants in these vocational programs, often to their detriment. Still, as the situation of Germany's Jews worsened, community efforts to save all young people grew. By 1939, 82 percent of children 15 and under and 83 percent of young people between 16 and 24 had managed to escape Germany.

Following the pogrom of November 1938, more than 20,000 Jewish men were arrested while women witnessed the vandalizing of their homes. From this point on women rescued men, pulled together immigration papers, and where possible extricated their families from increasingly certain disaster. However, gender also played a role in emigration; by 1939, women, mostly elderly, were 57.5 percent of Germany's Jewish population, and they died disproportionately in Hitler's camps, a trend that has been documented for all European Jewish women.

Kaplan has also examined the situation of Jews who had intermarried, noting that almost all German Jews who survived Nazism without emigrating were partners in mixed marriages. While the Nazis condemned such unions and encouraged their dissolution coercively, gender played a crucial role, since Nazi sexism privileged couples with "Aryan" men over those with Jewish men. Nevertheless, "Aryan" men were more likely than "Aryan" women to divorce or abandon a Jewish spouse, although many mixed unions endured almost unbearable pressures.

[Judith R. Baskin (2nd ed.)]

Eastern Europe in the 19th and 20th Centuries

Jewish women in Eastern Europe were marginalized by both ethnicity and gender. In some respects, their individual and collective stories were cut from the same cloth as the larger Jewish historical narrative; at the same time, gender also had a distinct impact in the arenas of religion, family and work, education, culture, and political life.

Female spirituality was deeply embedded in Ashkenazi Judaism. While women possessed a rudimentary understanding of Jewish theology, commandments, and values, they were excluded from participation in public worship and study. As a result, "female variants" of elite male culture emerged with new styles of prayers and learning. The recitation of **tkhines* or supplicatory prayers formed an integral part of women's piety. Unlike formal liturgy, these Yiddish prayers, which addressed everyday concerns and the three female commandments (**ḥallah*, **niddah*, and *hadlakah* or lighting *candles), were voluntary, personal, and could be recited at any time. In lieu of Hebrew and Aramaic texts, women (and "men who are like women" in their lack of Hebrew knowledge) read popular religious literature in the vernacular such as the *Tsenerene* ("Go Forth and See"), a collection of homilies on the weekly Torah portion. To facilitate greater participation of women in their section of the synagogue, architects in Poland began to include women's annexes (*wibershule*) starting in the 16th century, which later became integral parts of the buildings as "women's sections" (*ezrat nashim*). Moreover, the sacralization of popular customs such as *kneytlakh legn* (candlemaking from wicks used to measure graves) lent greater value to female religious rituals.

Gender ideals also shaped Jewish women's status and roles in the family and in the social world of the *shtetl (see *Shtetl: Women and the Shtetl), the small towns where most East European Jews lived. A patriarchal division of labor allocated domestic chores and child rearing to women. However, in contrast to the cult of middle class domesticity in the West, economic necessity and cultural ideals forced the majority of East European women to contribute to the family economy. As a rule, most couples labored together to earn a livelihood by running a family business or earning separate wages. Sometimes, however, the onus of breadwinning fell disproportionately on the shoulders of Torah scholar's wives so that the husbands could study. I. Etkes suggests that elite society of religious learning was successful in constructing women's tacit acceptance of these roles as a privilege that bestowed cultural prestige. While they formed a small minority, these wives in turn served as a "legitimating symbol" to be emulated by ordinary women. Ḥasidic wives whose husbands spent all their time in the company of fellow Ḥasidim or the *rebbe* assumed a similar burden. Yekhezkel *Kotik (1847–1921) was particularly critical of the extreme poverty in which many of these families lived. With the onset of industrialization in the late nineteenth century, many Jews left the shtetl for the large cities of the Pale of Settlement. Women began to work in workshops and factories where they dominated the needle and garment trades. By 1921, Jewish women who worked in industry comprised 55.9 percent of Jewish wage earners in Poland.

Despite the modicum of power that Jewish women exercised in the family economy and household, they were vulnerable in matters of family law. In czarist Russia, where Jews retained autonomy over their own marriages and divorces, rabbinic authorities adjudicated all cases based on *halakhah*; in Galicia, Jews rejected civil marriage, which had been introduced by the Hapsburg state in 1783, and continued to follow religious procedures. Jewish women became increasingly powerless in divorce suits and not simply because of their husband's unilateral prerogative to dissolve marriages. More important was the breakdown of rabbinic control over these broad rights, which had served to protect women previously. As a result, wives found it difficult to secure a *get* (bill of divorcement) from husbands for wife beating and other reasons or to protest a coerced divorce. In response, some resorted to new strategies by turning to state courts and government institutions to enforce or overthrow a rabbinic decision and to secure their monetary rights. Despite these innovative venues, Jewish women still suffered from specific disabilities under Jewish law, especially as **agunot* ("chained" women who were unable to remarry).

The Jewish Enlightenment movement in Eastern Europe, which began in the last few decades of the nineteenth century, was very different from the Haskalah in the West, lacking both the emphasis on Jewish achievement of political rights and civic equality, and the impetus for religious reform, since neither were likely to be achieved in the conservative Eastern European environment. Nor was the impoverished and predominantly small town Jewish population an appropriate constituency for the middle-class norms and values of the West. Rather, the Haskalah in Eastern Europe was a secularizing process which caused many to discontinue religious observance while fostering a Jewish national/ethnic identity, often linked to socialist and/or Zionist political goals. East European women were frequently in the forefront of this movement of cultural transformation.

Women's political involvement was due, in part, to the fact that Jewish women gained greater exposure to the secular world as a result of a gendered system of education in Eastern Europe. While boys received a formal religious schooling starting at an early age, most girls obtained an informal domestic education. The Orthodox community did not begin to provide vehicles for female religious education until after World War I (see Sarah *Schenirer, founder of the *Beth Jacob school network). At a minimum, a large segment of women gained literacy in Yiddish in order to read devotional literature. Alongside these sacred books, it was not uncommon to find popular tales about knights (*Bove Maaseh*) or the adventures of Sinbad the Sailor (*Centura Ventura*). These reading habits made it easy for women to shift to secular Yiddish popular literature by Isaac Meir *Dik, *Shomer, and others. In middle-class and wealthy families, daughters studied foreign languages, music, and art with private tutors without any censure from the Orthodox establishment. Others attended the newly secular schools for girls throughout the Russian empire. Ita Kalish, who grew up in a ḥasidic family observed that the sons studied at the *shtibl* while the girls learned about the "purity of Polish culture" in foreign schools. While not all women were educated, the "benefit of marginality" granted them access to new, modern ideas and prepared them to serve as agents of acculturation in their homes.

Moreover, girls and women in East European Jewish society, where the strong capable woman shrewdly interacting with the outside world was the dominant cultural ideal, were also secularized by their active participation in public economic life. In many ways late 19th century Eastern European women were far more involved in the process of Jewish assimilation than women in Western Europe or the United States. This is evident in the large numbers of East European Jewish women who sought higher education and professional training in Western Europe, a significantly higher percentage of female conversions to Christianity, and particularly in female involvement in a wide range of political movements, discussed below, which offered women opportunities for activism and leadership unavailable in traditional Jewish society.

The Jewish community of Eastern Europe had many social strata. Jews at the higher economic levels moved beyond shtetl society and had closer contacts with the wider world far earlier than their less prosperous co-religionists. The memoirist Pauline Epstein *Wengeroff (1833–1916), who grew up in a wealthy household in the 1830s and 1840s with a father and brothers-in-law who were extremely receptive to the promises of the Haskalah, was an unusually well-informed and well-read woman for her time and place. She received private tutoring in German and Russian as an adolescent, and she became a great enthusiast of literatures in both these languages. In the early days of her marriage she helped her husband improve his German skills, a necessary accomplishment for success in business. This emphasis on a Jewish culture deeply intertwined with the broader intellectual and artistic interests of the modern world was central to the Wengeroffs' family life and values. C. Balin has studied the literary remains, both published and unpublished, of a number of Russian-speaking daughters of prosperous middle-class urban Jews in the late 19th and 20th centuries. Like Wengeroff's daughters, some of these acculturated young women attended gymnasia, learned European languages, and earned university degrees, following educational, artistic, and professional paths comparable to those of many contemporaneous middle-class Jewish girls in Western Europe.

However, with education and acculturation, many Jews of the higher social echelons lost any sense of allegiance to the Jewish people or heritage. Wengeroff wrote her autobiography, *Memoiren einer Grossmutter: Bilder aus der Kulturgeschichte der Juden Russlands im 19. Jahrhundert* (Berlin, 1913; 19192), towards the end of her life. She presents herself as the casualty of significant social transformations which had undermined the female role for which she had been prepared and called into question many of the values with which she was raised. Nor did she see her tragedy as affecting only herself. As she wrote of the baptisms of her children: "Gradually this sorrow lost the significance of a personal tragedy and turned more and more into a national tragedy. I grieved not just as a mother, but as a Jew, for the entire Jewish people, which was losing so many of its strong members" (p. 226).

Wengeroff, in her own way, was part of a larger cohort of Jewish women in Eastern Europe at the end of the 19th and in the early decades of the 20th century who began to explore the greatly enlarged opportunities for self-expression offered by modern secular culture by writing poetry and prose, in languages that included Yiddish, Hebrew, Polish, Russian, and German. While male supporters of the Haskalah in Eastern Europe lauded the process of modernization, they expressed deep ambivalence about the notion of female equality and the intrusion of women into their cultural domain. Nonetheless, *maskilot* like Miriam *Markel-Mosessohn, Devorah Ephrati, Hannah Bluma Sultz, Sarah Shapira, Sarah-Feiga Foner Meinkin, and others became an integral part of the Haskalah movement as producers of culture. The "anxiety of authorship" led some to write under pseudonyms while others adopted palimpsestic writing to hide the true meanings in hidden layers – a strategy used by *maskilim* in general. However, in the case of the *maskilot*, their hidden layers concealed an authentic feminine voice as well as the opinions of an enlightened individual. Up through the interwar years, Jewish women continued to contribute to the Russian and Polish language press and published their own volumes of literature, poetry, or history. However, estrangement from Jewish life frequently accompanied self-realization: to become a Jewish woman writer was to become a cultural anomaly. Often the price of such achievement was equivocal exile from a male culture profoundly uncomfortable with female intellectual assertiveness.

Disillusionment with the old order and aspirations to create a more egalitarian society drew Jewish women into the public political arena. Inspired by the works of Alexander Herzen, Nikolai Chernyshevskii, and other influential writers, women joined the Russian revolutionary movements in disproportionate numbers starting in the 1870s. From the onset, personal and political liberation were intricately connected as Jewish women rebelled against patriarchal oppression and legal disabilities. The most famous revolutionary, Gesia Gelfman, ran away from her prosperous Orthodox home on the eve of her wedding to join the People's Will and participate in the assassination of Alexander II.

However, by the end of the 19th century, the composition and nature of Jewish involvement with socialism (see *Socialism: Women and Socialism) was transformed by the growth of a massive Jewish artisanal working-class in the cities of Eastern Europe. As Jewish women flocked into light industry, primarily the needle trades, but also tanning, bristle making, and cigar and cigarette production, many began to organize as workers and as Jews to protest their exploitative working conditions. Jewish women joined the socialist-oriented *Bund when it formed in Vilna in 1897, comprising one-third of its membership, and occupied many of its middle rank leadership roles, much to the chagrin of traditional families. In the early 1920s, the Bund established a separate women's division, the Yidishe Arbeter-Froy Organizatsie (YAF) and two sister youth groups (Zukunft and Sotsialistisher Kinder Farband) – a common practice among leftists groups in Poland. The women's auxiliary focused on the critical needs of working women, especially the need for child care. While the Bund articulated egalitarian ideals, female activists complained that gender relations and roles had changed little in the family. Male activists expected their wives to perform all their traditional domestic roles even at the expense of missing meetings and activities. As in most revolutionary parties, broader political goals took precedence over the woman's question. Jewish feminist activists persisted and founded the Jewish Women's Association in 1920.

Other women, like Puah Rakovsky, chose to devote their political energies to *Zionism. Two newspapers, *Di froy* (The Woman) and *Froyen-shtim* (Women's Voice) appeared in the mid-1920s with the goal of combining Zionist and feminist aspirations. Both sought to encourage women in their dual struggle as the female half of an oppressed and persecuted people.

Jewish women's lives changed abruptly with the outbreak of World War II. Studies have shown that gender played a critical role in the different male and female responses to crisis and strategies for survival during the Shoah. Prewar socialization proved critical in the early years. In Poland, Jewish women who had significant familiarity with the Polish language and customs as a result of sex-segregated education comprised the majority of Jews who lived on the Aryan side. A Yad Vashem survey found that women were more successful in their disguise due to greater confidence in their physical appearance (i.e., no circumcision), lack of a Jewish accent, fine Polish mannerisms, and attentiveness to the feelings and reactions of others. Moreover, they were more likely to receive assistance from non-Jewish individuals and organizations. These women participated in resistance and rescue activities as couriers and fighters.

Prewar gender roles also persisted in the ghettos. Women assumed the traditional role of caring for their families; however, basic domestic tasks such as feeding the children now required great ingenuity and courage. All Jews, including former housewives, were forced to work in order to survive. Wage differentials in the ghetto were substantial: women often received two-thirds or three-quarters the pay of male workers; moreover, they had a more difficult time finding scarce jobs due to their lack of skills. Another obvious distinction was women's reproductive capacity, which was the target of infamous Nazi policies. In the ghettos, Germans instituted a policy of compulsory abortion. Women with young children and visibly pregnant women were immediately exterminated in the death and labor camps. Women were also more likely to experience rape and sexual harassment at the hands of foster family members, fellow inmates and guards. Testimonies reveal that German commanders selected the most beautiful girls as personal "housemaids" at their own discretion. Some women had no choice but to enter sexual relationships in order to obtain better rations or conditions. In the ghettos and camps, women devised new strategies to survive emotionally and mentally. In contrast to men, many of whom stopped washing or shaving, the majority of women attempted to take care of their personal hygiene. They also formed surrogate families, especially camp sisters and mothers, to provide mutual aid and sustenance.

At the end of World War II, the majority of East European Jewish women survivors opted to immigrate to Israel or America, leaving behind a rich historical legacy.

[ChaeRan Freeze (2nd ed.)]

North America

FROM THE COLONIAL PERIOD TO 1945. Jewish women in colonial America continued their accustomed domestic roles while simultaneously integrating themselves into the wider culture. Often they did so ingeniously, adjusting, adapting, and reinterpreting American forms to serve their Jewish purposes. The first two Jewish women known by name in North America, Ricke Nunes and Judith Mercado, most likely widowed heads of families, were among the 23 Jews who arrived in New Amsterdam in 1654 from Brazil.

Most colonial Jewish women were respectable matrons; their households, as in the case of Rebecca Machado *Phillips (1746–1831), who bore twenty-one children, could be quite large, but others were much smaller. Certainly, dietary laws were followed in many homes. When, in 1774, Hetty Hays suspected that she had bought meat that was not properly kashered, she was ordered to "do Cassarar [kasher], or properly Clense, all her Spoons, plates and all other utensals, used in her House" (Snyder, 25). The extent of observance of traditional **niddah* regulations in this early community is unclear. The first known communal **mikveh* was built by the Jews of Philadelphia in 1786.

Abigaill *Franks (1696?–1756), whose letters form the largest body of writings by a Jewish woman in North America, honored the Sabbath and holidays and kept kosher. She told her son Naphtali never to eat anything at her brother's home, because she knew his household did not observe the dietary laws. Franks ensured that her daughters as well as her sons learned Hebrew. But, she also displayed an independence of mind typical of other American Jewish women. Yearning for a modernized Judaism, she wrote in 1739, "I Must Own I cant help Condemning the Many Superstions wee are Clog'd with & hartly wish a Calvin or Luther would rise amongst Us[.] I Answer for my Self… I don't think religeon Consist in Idle Cerimonies" (Smith, 17). The costs of the open society and such impulses were high. When Franks's daughter Phila married outside the faith, her spirit was crushed; none of Abigail's two dozen grandchildren seems to have passed on Judaism to the next generation.

On Sabbaths and festivals Jewish women joined their male relatives in worship. The second synagogue built in colonial America, in Newport, Rhode Island in 1763, was constructed with an upper level women's gallery that dispensed with the additional grilles and curtains found in European synagogues. This established a pattern in American synagogue architecture in which woman could see and be seen (see *Synagogue: Women and the Synagogue).

In 1820 the Jewish population in the United States was less than 3,000. Jews lived out their lives among their Christian neighbors and represented Judaism to them, inviting Gentile friends to celebrate with them at their weddings and circumcisions. Early America's Jewish women joined these Christian friends and neighbors to aid others. In 1801, Rebecca Machado Phillips and some 20 other Philadelphia women, Christians and Jews, including Rebecca *Gratz (1781–1869), founded the Female Association for the Relief of Women and Children in Reduced Circumstances. Jewish women also supported the needs of their own community; in 1782, when Philadelphia's Jews built a new synagogue, Rebecca Phillips and Grace Nathan raised funds to purchase its ritual objects.

In the 19th century Rebecca Gratz was the epitome of Jewish American female volunteerism. Also a founder of Philadelphia's Orphan Asylum, she is best remembered for her endeavors on behalf of the Jewish people. Gratz founded the Female Hebrew Benevolent Society in 1819 to aid the Jewish poor and protect them from Christian missionizing. In 1838, when she established the first Hebrew Sunday School in America, she launched the prototype of a new educational setting for America's Jewish children and opened a new avenue for Jewish women's communal activism as teachers.

Between 1820 and 1880, America's Jewish population grew to 250,000, mainly due to immigration from German-speaking lands. In 1846, eleven women from New York's Temple Emanu-El established the Unabhängiger Orden Treuer Schwestern. The only independent female fraternal order then in America, it eventually sparked a web of lodges offering newly American Jewish women mutual aid in times of emergency and sickness and guaranteeing members a decent burial.

Another important public avenue for Jewish women's piety was literature. Penina *Moïse (1797–1880) of Charleston, South Carolina, published poems in the leading papers and periodicals of her day. She was superintendent of Beth Elohim Congregation's Sunday school and was the author of the first American Jewish hymnal; many of her hymns were used in the Reform movement well into the 20th century. Periodicals directed at American Jewish women, such as *Die Deborah*, published in German between 1855 and 1902, and *American Jewess*, the first English-language periodical for American Jewish women, edited by Rosa *Sonneschein in 1895–99, informed and entertained female readers and also provided vehicles for Jewish women's writing.

The best known Jewish female writer was poet Emma *Lazarus (1849–1887). In the early 1880s, deeply disturbed by the Russian pogroms whose refugees she met through her work with the Hebrew Emigrant Aid Society, she called for founding a Jewish state in Palestine ("The Jewish Problem," 1883). Her 1883 magnum opus, "The New Colossus," inscribed on the pedestal of the Statue of Liberty, portrays America as the "Mother of Exiles" welcoming "the huddled masses yearning to breathe free."

Between 1881 and 1924, some two million East European Jews streamed to America. Propelled by grinding poverty, violent pogroms, and the dislocations of revolutionary turmoil and war, theirs was overwhelmingly a migration of families. When the male head of the household journeyed ahead, as Israel Antin, father of author Mary *Antin, did in 1891, he spent the next years scrimping and saving to buy passage for his wife and children. This migration utterly transformed American Jewry. By 1930 the 4.4 million American Jews, 3.6 percent of the U.S. population, comprised nearly a third of world Jewry.

Domestic concerns were central to the East European Jewish immigrant women and their daughters who lived in the crowded tenements of immigrant enclaves such as New York's Lower East Side, Boston's North End, and Chicago's West Side. Many strove to adhere to Judaism despite significant economic need. When the price of kosher meat soared from 12 to 18 cents a pound in New York in 1902, immigrant mothers broke into butcher shops, set meat afire, and shared recipes for meatless meals to compel their neighbors to honor their kosher meat boycott.

Established and prosperous American Jewish women, generally of Central European origin, were anxious to help their struggling and impoverished co-religionists. The *National Council of Jewish Women, founded in 1893 by Hannah Greenebaum *Solomon (1858–1942), protected Jewish immigrant girls traveling without guardians from falling into *prostitution. They and other middle-class American Jewish women established vocational training and classes for immigrants to learn American customs. East European Jewish immigrant women also established their own social welfare agencies. Poor immigrant women who had fallen upon hard times, like the newly widowed, and entrepreneurial women, who wanted to buy cloth to sew or coal to heat the bathhouse, could borrow money from immigrant women's credit networks operated by those just slightly better off than they.

Jewish American women had frequently participated in the economic lives of their family. In the colonial era, married Jewish women managed family businesses while their husbands traveled and widows kept kosher boardinghouses. In the 19th century, many Jewish women "helped out" in family businesses, selling clothing and canned goods, saddles and blankets from behind the counters of the dry goods stores their husbands owned in the small towns dotting the landscape of the South and the West. But 19th-century middle-class propriety in America, as in Western and Central Europe, expected women to busy themselves with their homes and families while leaving economic concerns to their men. Following these bourgeois ideals, many Jewish women, prior to 1880, eschewed the public world of business for the private sphere of their homes.

East European Jewish immigrants, however, came from a world which desperately needed and valued women's contributions to the family economy. In Russia young Jewish women had worked primarily in the needle trades. Their mothers sold goods in the marketplace. Immigrant Jewish women came to America expecting to work, and they, especially the unmarried, found employment in the burgeoning ready-made clothing industry. Married Jewish women contributed to the family economy in other ways, taking in piecework to sew at home or opening their tenement apartments to boarders. They also sold goods from pushcarts on the streets or worked in the family's five-and-dime or soda fountain. Later in the 1920s and 1930s, their daughters, aspiring to white-collar work, became salesclerks and bookkeepers. Those who were able to take advantage of New York's tuition-free Hunter College would go on to teach in the city's ever-expanding public schools.

But it was Jewish women's employment in the garment industry, especially in the dress and waist trade, that shaped their politics. Some immigrant working girls had already participated in political movements, unions, and workers' actions in Europe. Low wages, poor working conditions, and frequent layoffs propelled many others into the *International Ladies' Garment Workers Union (see *Socialism: Women and Socialism). In the 1909 "Uprising of the 20,000" the shirtwaist makers struck, seeking a fifty-two-hour workweek and paid overtime. This labor action helped launch "The Great Revolt," which spread to Philadelphia, Chicago, Cleveland, and Kalamazoo and emboldened the American labor movement. By 1919, half of all garment workers were members of a union. Fannia M. *Cohn,* Rose *Schneiderman,* Pauline *Newman, and Clara Lemlich *Shavelson,* all East European-born, experienced the shirtwaist strike as the formative event of their activist youth, as did Theresa *Malkiel, who later became an important Socialist Party activist and immortalized her experiences in the novel, *Diary of a Shirtwaist Striker* (1910). Many female Jewish trade unionists such as Bessie Abramowitz *Hillman, continued their socialist-inspired activism through progressive and reform politics in the New Deal. Labor unrest also provides a context for the neighborhood politics of kosher meat boycotts and the rent strikes Jewish women would stage into the 1930s. Not surprisingly, these same immigrant women actively campaigned for the New York State suffrage bill in 1917.

As immigrant Jewish women and their American-born daughters ascended to the middle-class, they acculturated to middle-class norms that presented women as wives and mothers who were largely uninvolved in economic endeavors and political crusades. American Jewish women with time for leisure pursuits adopted the Chinese game of mah jongg; vacationed with their children in Jewish bungalow colonies in the Catskills, while their husbands spent the week at work in the city; and became consumers of culture, of the theater, movies, and literature. But, most importantly, middle-class leisure allowed America's Jewish women to invent new spaces for themselves in American Judaism that became essential to sustaining Jewish life in America (see *Synagogue: Women and the Synagogue; *Philanthropy: Women and Philanthropy).

Synagogue sisterhoods encouraged women to be exemplary Jewish wives and mothers, to extend the boundaries of their home to the synagogue, equipping its kitchens, and catering its lunches. By 1923, women affiliated with each of the denominational synagogue movements of American Judaism, Reform, Conservative, and Orthodox, had created national organizations of synagogue sisterhoods (see *National Federation of Temple Sisterhoods, *Women's League for Conservative Judaism; Carrie Obendorfer *Simon; Mathilde Roth *Schechter). Other American Jewish women found places in the ladies' branches of *landsmannschaften or the socialist brotherhood of the Yiddish-speaking *Arbeter Ring*, or *Workmen's Circle.

Zionism, the movement for a Jewish homeland in Israel, also commanded American Jewish women's energies, enthusiasms, and commitments. In 1912, Henrietta *Szold, one of the most remarkable Jews of her era, transformed a small Zionist study circle into *Hadassah, the Women's Zionist Organization of America, which would grow into the largest women's organization in America. Through it and other women's Zionist groups, including *AMIT (Mizrachi Women's Organization of America), founded in 1925 by Bessie Goldstein *Gotsfeld; *ORT (Organization for Rehabilitation through Training); and *Pioneer Women, American Jewish women would help support human needs in the State of Israel into the 21st century.

Jewish women in America continued these commitments at home and abroad, even as the Great Depression strained their household economies and propelled some back into the workforce. In the 1930s, America's Jewish women also struggled against the growing menace of Nazi persecution. In the 1930s, the women of the American Jewish Congress picketed Woolworth's to boycott the sale of German goods and battled antisemitism at home. The shelters they established in the 1930s to house refugees fleeing Nazism would soon house allied soldiers as America entered World War II.

Not all Jewish women were concentrated in the Eastern part of the United States. Nevertheless, even those in the Midwest and West, like Rachel *Calof (1876–1952), who was a homesteader in North Dakota, faced the same challenges: how to raise and sustain a Jewish family in the midst of America. They found similar answers in the synagogue sisterhoods they joined in Omaha, Nebraska, and the Hadassah chapters they founded in Detroit, Michigan. Frances Wisebart *Jacobs (1843–1892), known as Denver's "Mother of Charities," helped organize and led the Hebrew Ladies' Benevolent Society, founded the nonsectarian Denver Ladies' Relief Society, and served as the impetus behind the founding of National Jewish Hospital for Consumptives. Florence Prag *Kahn (1866–1948) of San Francisco, the first Jewish congresswoman, was elected in 1924 to the United States House of Representatives for the first of six two-year terms. And Ray *Frank (1861–1948), a California native who spent some years in the Pacific Northwest, was the first Jewish woman to preach and lead religious services from a North American pulpit.

1945–2005. In the 60 years since the end of World War II, America's Jewish women remained devoted to their homes and families, synagogues and Jewish organizations, although they lived out these commitments in new settings These included the emerging Jewish suburbs and cities with growing Jewish populations, like Miami and Los Angeles. Making these neighborhoods their own, women shopped at the Jewish bakeries and kosher butchers that cropped up. They helped start new synagogues and supported educational and social programs for their children from pre-school through the high school years. They imported Ḥanukkah lamps and candlesticks from Israel and sold them in gift shops run by the sisterhoods in their new temples. With antisemitism waning in American life, these women, increasingly the daughters and the granddaughters of the East European Jewish immigrants, also discovered opportunities to acculturate more fully into the American scene. Hence, for many, Jewish commitments became but a single strand in the design of their lives, perhaps more intensive when their children were young, and less so earlier and later.

Ḥasidic communities took shape in North America in the interwar period and grew substantially after World War II. Ḥasidic women continue to stand out from the rest of America's Jewish women with distinctively modest dress and head coverings (see *Ḥasidim: Women in Ḥasidism). Ḥasidic daughters mostly eschew higher education, marry young, usually meeting their husbands through professional matchmakers, and have large families. While many in the ḥasidic world were born into it, some Jewish women have entered this world from the outside.

A high level of education is characteristic of most American Jewish women: 1990 figures indicated that over 85 percent of Jewish women aged 30–39 had gone to college and 30 percent had gone on to graduate school. Similarly, three-quarters of Jewish women aged 25–44 and two-thirds of those aged 45–64 were part of the labor force. Moreover, an increasing number of Jewish women over the decades have entered and achieved in the professions, the entertainment industry, and the arts. American Jewish women have a long history, as well, of success as business entrepreneurs in a number of industries, including cosmetics, dolls and children's toys, fashion, and the food and hotel industries (see Beatrice *Alexander; Jennie *Grossinger; Ruth Mosko *Handler; Estee *Lauder; Judith *Leiber; Mary Ann Cohen *Magnin; Regina *Margareten; Mollie *Parnis; and Ida Cohen *Rosenthal). The ground-breaking two-volume reference work, *Jewish Women in America: An Historical Encyclopedia*, ed. Paula E. Hyman and Deborah Dash Moore (1997), provides biographies of the hundreds of Jewish women who have made significant contributions in numerous areas of endeavor to American and American Jewish life from the colonial period to the present.

American Jewish women, including Betty *Friedan, Gloria *Steinem, and Letty Cottin *Pogrebin, have been in the forefront of the second wave of American feminism that began in the late 1960s (see *Feminism). At the same time, individual Jewish women have carved out personal places in American judicial and political life. Among them are Congresswomen Bella *Abzug, N.Y. Supreme Court judges Birdie *Amsterdam and Judith *Kaye; Supreme Court Justice Ruth Bader *Ginsberg; and United States Senators Barbara *Boxer and Dianne *Feinstein, both from California.

Feminism has also led to major changes in women's status and roles in American Judaism, including the equality of women in synagogue worship outside of Orthodox Judaism (see *Synagogue: Women and the Synagogue; *Liturgy), a plethora of new opportunities for Jewish learning for girls and women across the denominations, and the flourishing of Jewish feminist scholarship and theology (see *Feminism; *Theology: Feminist Theology). The public honoring of young women's coming of age in the synagogue, the *bat mitzvah, had become widespread by the late 1960s.

Since the 1970s American Jewish women have also been ordained as rabbis and cantors (see *Ḥazzan*; *Semikhah*: Ordination of Women; *Rabbi, Rabbinate; *Synagogue); the first American female rabbi, Sally *Priesand, was ordained in 1972. Occupying a historic place in the annals of Judaism, female rabbis have sought to open worship and practice to women's particular concerns. Their astonishing creativity, part of the emergence of feminist Judaism, has produced new prayers and ceremonies for conception, pregnancy, and childbirth; for those grieving infertility, suffering stillbirth, and turning to adoption; for the onset of menses and the completion of menopause; and for healing after rape, for remaining single, and for acknowledging marital separation (see *Ablution; *Birth; *Marriage; *Mikveh*; *Niddah*; *Feminism; *Theology: Feminist Theology; *Liturgy). Furthermore, feminism has also encouraged the inclusion within the Jewish community of many women formerly marginalized, including single women, divorced women, and lesbians (see *Feminism; *Lesbians; *Synagogue: Women and the Synagogue).

Feminism has brought alterations to all sectors of Jewish communal life. Certainly many women have given up the hours they once devoted to volunteer activities for fulltime employment, Many women who continue to volunteer now divert their energies to causes beyond the Jewish community, especially those that support and further gender equality. This has resulted in a decline in numbers and an aging of volunteers in many of the established Jewish women's organizations and synagogue sisterhoods at century's end. Nevertheless, feminism has also allowed for the creation for new avenues for Jewish women's communal and religious activism. These include adult *b'not mitzvah*, feminist *seders*, *Rosh Ḥodesh* groups (see *Bat Mitzvah; *Passover: Women and Passover; *New Moon), and the new spaces for women's projects which have sprung up in Jewish community centers and federations.

Although an increasing number of qualified women professionals are employed in Jewish agencies, the Jewish communal sphere has been slow to recognize and encourage female leadership potential. This resistance to women in positions of authority is indicative of the sexual politics of contemporary Jewish identity in general. While some men will continue to resist what they perceive as female encroachment on male hegemony in the public domain, others may simply abandon Jewish communal institutions and Judaism to women altogether. As S.B. Fishman has cautioned, the stakes for American Jews are significant since, "The American Jewish community not only shares in all the human consequences of feminism but also carries with it the additional responsibility of preserving three thousand years of Jewish history and culture and confronting the problems of a numerically challenged population as well" (Fishman, 247). However, if the past is any indication, forces from outside the Jewish community will be as influential as any from within in determining the roles of women in American Judaism and American Jewish life in the 21st century.

[Pamela S. Nadell (2nd ed.)]

Modern Muslim Worlds

The position of Jewish women and gender relations in the countries of the modern Muslim world, including Turkey, Iran, Iraq, North Africa, Yemen, and the Middle East, were shaped by Jewish law and traditions, the practices of the surrounding Muslim society, and the gradual penetration of Western ideas, customs, and political influence. Due to the wide geography and heterogeneous social and cultural composition and political life of the Muslim world, the amount of external influence on Jewish life varied. It tended to be strongest in urban centers (where most Jews lived) in those countries with closer ties to the West. Internal communal initiatives also brought about new developments and with the passing of time gender relations among Jews in most regions gradually changed from patterns developed in the medieval era.

A division between the realms of women and men was intrinsic to the Muslim world: women were in charge of maintaining the home, while men provided the material means for the family's existence. These well-defined differences in gender roles were also followed in Jewish communities and they had implications for behavior, division of physical space, work, religious activity, education, spirituality, and recreation. An unquestioned gender hierarchy led to different attitudes towards men and women throughout their lives. The birth of a boy was welcomed and celebrated with traditional Jewish rites and particular local ones, while the birth of a girl was rarely celebrated, and at times even deplored. Upon death, too, formal attitudes were different; ceremonies honoring deceased women were rare. Gender preference also had an impact on marriage since lack of male children was considered the woman's fault. If the first wife did not give birth to a son within a certain period of time (usually ten years), a husband could divorce her or marry a second wife, even if daughters had been born.

Gendered space was characteristic of the Muslim world and of the Jewish communities who lived within it. Women spent most of their time within their household whereas men went outside for work and spiritual activities. Most occupational, social, cultural, and religious activities were gender-based; any mixed gender activities occurred mainly within the family circle. Consequently, the internal structure of the home was gender-based, with kitchens and sleeping quarters perceived as the women's space, with men's temporary admittance there at night, while men occupied the public areas of the house. Women in towns rarely stepped outside the house; when they did, they were usually accompanied and veiled. Clothing restrictions were usually less strict for young girls. Urban women were also restricted regarding the places they could visit, usually limited to the homes of other women, the gender segregated ritual bath, the cemetery, and the synagogue. The latter, however, was considered men's space, and most did not have a special women's section until modern times. Sporadic female synagogue attendees observed the service from windows or gates. Markets were also male space and men usually did the daily shopping. Some urban women carried out trades among women, Jewish and even Muslim, but this was unusual, and rarely brought them in contact with men. Gender segregation and clothing restrictions were somewhat lighter in rural areas where most community members were relatives and women's work required departure from the restricted limits of the house.

These social divisions by gender had implications throughout life. Males were part of the women's world only as toddlers; partial separation started when the boys went to school, and culminated once they went out to work. As they grew older, both genders met mainly in close family circles or among a somewhat larger group during special family or seasonal celebrations. Even on these occasions, men and women were often segregated; in many regions men and women ate apart at home and celebrated separately during larger gatherings. This lengthy separation resulted in shyness between married couples; in some locales they hardly spoke with each other, did not use each other's names, and were ignorant about sexual issues, resulting in late pregnancies.

Many female responsibilities remained the same throughout life, but their degree, intensity, and character were also based on the woman's stage within the overall life cycle. Upon their marriage brides usually moved to the extended family household of their husbands where the mother in-law or oldest matriarch headed the female hierarchy. The position of women was also influenced by socioeconomic and geographical settings. Women on the margins – the poor and those living in small isolated villages – had more freedoms.

Regular female household duties included food preparation and serving, cleaning and heating, and care taking, especially of children. The basic duties of women in urban and rural regions were similar, but concepts of what constituted a household were different, based on socioeconomic and geographic conditions. In the village, demographic conditions enlarged the physical space: since the community was smaller, most members were in various degrees of kinship, thus allowing women to have freer contact with men. This enabled women to carry out regular duties outside the house, not only in the attached garden, but also in far away fields. These duties, in turn, made it possible for women to mingle with women outside their family as well as with men, both Jewish and gentile.

The position of rural women was also shaped by economic factors. Women worked in the vegetable garden attached to the house and drew water and fetched wood. Rural girls drew water daily from a source that either belonged exclusively to Jews or to the whole village. This resulted in the village well becoming a center for social interaction. Men were attracted to these gatherings of young women, but due to the large concentration of members of both genders who were often kin, there was little opportunity for privacy in these meetings. Still, these gatherings could result in the formation of couples, although parental approval for marriage was required. In town, on the contrary, until a late period, male water sellers brought water to homes, and rain water was collected in reservoirs.

In the village, wood for cooking and heating was usually fetched weekly by a group of women who left early in the day. They often had to walk a great distance and returned carrying a heavy load on their heads. This activity was accompanied by songs which strengthened group identity and consolidation and served as a diversion from hard labor. Although fetching wood was carried out in groups, and usually did not bring women in contact with men, some urban rabbis objected to it because it was in contrast to city modes of behavior and modesty.

Traditionally, some women worked outside their home due to economic need or in order to perform unique female assignments. In the first category were maids, petty merchants, peddlers, and even ritual butchers (in Yemen), while in the second category were midwives, cosmeticians (mainly for brides), and mourners. Some women gained income from handicrafts which they produced at home by spinning, knitting, weaving, or embroidery. Most women gave their earnings to their male guardians – be it father, brother, or husband. Nonetheless, throughout the period, women often had independent authority over their dowry, and thus some economic power. Older women, and especially widows, had the most social and economic independence, and could invest in economic enterprises and contribute to various private and communal causes, including the establishment of religious institutions and the writing of Torah scrolls.

Towards the second half of the 19th century changes emerged in urban areas as a result of harsher economic conditions, the growing presence of European enterprises, and the increase of employment opportunities following the introduction of new jobs. Increased availability of formal education, including vocational training, also played a significant role. At first, female wage earners were mainly from among the poor, who worked outside their household as long as they were single; married women still rarely worked outside their homes. Initially most jobs were an extension of traditional women's tasks or related to their handicrafts. Thus, a large number of women worked as maids, mostly, but not exclusively, in Jewish households. Those with skills such as needlework and ironing worked either in gender segregated workshops or at home. Only gradually, in the 20th century, did women start to enter mixed-gender workplaces, as nurses, factory workers, and office employees. Even then, women often worked separately. Nonetheless, opportunities for unsupervised intergender interaction increased among Jews and between Jews and gentiles. The opening of kindergartens and girls' schools called for the employment of female teachers and directors. This led to temporary migrations of single women and married couples, mostly within the *Alliance Israélite Universelle (AIU) educational network, mainly from Turkey and Morocco. With the spread of state schools, especially after independence, Jewish women also began to teach in non-Jewish schools (e.g., in Morocco).

With the passing of time, a growing number of women wanted to join the workforce not only out of economic necessity, but also in order to satisfy their personal ambitions, interests, and desire for public service; some regarded it as a means for self affirmation and independence. This tendency was the strongest in those urban centers which were exposed to Western influences, in countries such as Turkey and Morocco. However, despite the growing numbers of women in the workforce, they rarely reached leadership positions, even in fields where their number was high, like teaching. This resulted from their lesser leisure time due to continued responsibilities at home and from continuing gender bias against women in managerial roles.

The different status of women and men was reflected in their educations. Education for men was intended to enable them to participate in synagogue worship and communal affairs and to prepare them to support their families financially. Girls' education, too, provided them with tools to perform their specific tasks. Since their world was mainly domestic, they learned how to maintain a Jewish home, mostly from older female relatives. All home activities had a specific Jewish character and were performed within a broader Jewish framework. Thus, the preparation of food was ruled by strict religious laws regarding *kashrut*, with further instructions for the Passover festival. In addition, girls learned some Hebrew prayers which related to women's religious obligations, such as lighting the Sabbath lights. In time, girls were instructed in regulations governing ritual purity and received some sex education. Girls, who were mainly illiterate, memorized appropriate religious rules and prayers from their female relatives, most of whom had gained their knowledge in a similar way.

Women were not required or expected to participate in the formal male conducted communal service in the synagogue and thus had no need to be instructed in Hebrew. Some girls did learn to read Hebrew, usually from male relatives. On a few occasions, little girls were sent to mixed-gender schools, but their studies lasted a shorter time than the boys'. Although it was very rare, some women became teachers of little children, while a very few others were renowned for their Jewish learning. While all males had a Hebrew name (sometimes in addition to one in the local dialect), many women had names in the vernacular or in European languages, further distancing them from the more prestigious male culture.

A major component of female spirituality was women's poetry, which was part of their life and in their local dialect. Such poetry expressed the individual and the group at work, recreation, celebration, and worship. It dealt with daily issues and events, including specific feasts and celebrations, matters of belief, and private life. Girls were exposed to it from an early age, hearing older female relatives sing individually or together in private or at work, during leisure time, family celebrations (especially at weddings), seasonal feasts, and while honoring the Torah and local places of worship like synagogues and tombs of saints.

Since women tended to be illiterate, their poetry was oral and given to constant change. While many songs had a basic pattern, individuals often improvised to emphasize specific events, personalities, and places relating to a particular occasion. Women usually sang only for women or in family gatherings. Those who sang to a larger non-kin, mixed-gender audience were often from a lower social status and were despised. Female poetry was also a channel for inter-communal and inter-denominational contact and influence. At times, women mixed with the crowds surrounding singers of another group, even belonging to another religion, to learn new songs and melodies. Thus, female poetry and music eased the burden of heavy labor, strengthened group ties, served as a means of artistic expression and form of worship, and even served as a bridge between communities.

Men's poetry, on the other hand, was more rigid and less understood by the masses. Much of it was religious poetry in Hebrew, unintelligible to the majority who knew only the local Jewish dialect. It was mostly created by known poets and sung by professionals. Even the poetry in the local dialect was generally composed by individuals and much less given to improvisation. Consequently, it was easier to preserve and study men's poetry. But although many men listened to this art form, only relatively few could fully understand and appreciate it or contribute to its development. Women, on the other hand, could enjoy, participate, and contribute to their poetry throughout life, regardless of age, status, or occupation.

Women of several households used to gather in their limited leisure time, talking, singing, and doing their handicrafts, which were often intricate artistic creations, unique to specific regions and the bearer's stage in life. During these meetings, female poetry was sung by any member of the group. Girls were exposed to this rich creative environment from an early age, observing visual art in its development, hearing poetry while it was composed, and becoming aware of intimate issues related to family life. Thus, although most girls were illiterate, they acquired the skills of creativity from a tender age and developed their own forms of spirituality in a supportive environment.

The long established cultural equilibrium in Jewish communities under Islam was shattered when new educational systems were introduced, although in many cases schools were established in response to indigenous requests. Among the major elements active in modern Jewish education, including female education, were the Paris-based Alliance Israélite Universelle, beginning in the 1860s (mainly in Morocco, Turkey, Palestine, Iraq and Iran), and the Zionist movement, through local activists and emissaries from Palestine (mainly in Iraq, Tunisia, Morocco, and Libya) during the 20th century. Other modern schools were mostly foreign or, later, run by the state. Communal educational systems were slow to change, and usually did so in response to outside competition. Jewish leadership often opposed modern education because it was geared towards alien value systems and threatened to dispossess traditional functionaries. The opposition was less fierce towards formal female education, both because the community did not provide one and because a secular or Jewish system could draw girls away from missionary schools. Still, in some places, like Iraq and Palestine, there was rabbinic opposition to any formal female education out of fear that educated girls, as the mothers of the next generation, would champion change. Formal female education not only made women literate, but also facilitated another major departure from tradition, the mass entry of women into teaching.

Early girls' schools emphasized vocational training, complemented with a few academic subjects. The focus on vocational education was an effort to attract poor girls, who would acquire profitable professions which could be performed at home. There was a fear that emphasis on academic studies would come at the expense of mastering household skills and would make girls feel superior to their environment and even equal to men, thereby diminishing their chances to marry. Since Muslim girls rarely received formal vocational training at the time, Jewish girls encountered little competition in the professions they learned in school.

Jewish girls' schools were established later than schools for boys, there were usually fewer female than male students, and even fewer girls passed the level of primary education. This was due to continued communal desire for women to marry young and to the fact that secondary education was usually mixed. Schools were mostly segregated by gender, but mixed schools (with either separate-gender classes or mixed ones) existed too, mainly for economic reasons in small communities. Although the attendance of Jewish girls at missionary or state schools increased their chances of meeting gentiles, some Jewish parents sometimes selected missionary schools, as was the case in Egypt and Aden, because of the European languages they taught and the free tuition they offered. Similarly, parents opted at times for state schools, as was the case in Iraq and Iran, because of their sheer number in comparison to Jewish schools, especially at the high school level. In the republic of Turkey, all foreign, religious, and communal schools were gradually closed beginning in the late 1920s.

Those Jewish girls who did receive modern educations often became agents of change. However, the gap between expectations and reality tended to be wide for educated young women. Even when they managed to enter the "men's world," they generally held lower rank jobs with virtually no likelihood of advancement.

Leisure time activities were traditionally gender-based. Women's meetings often incorporated an element of work, private or communal. In addition to home gatherings, adult women met towards the week's end to clean the synagogue and prepare it for the Sabbath, while neighboring women provided them with refreshments. On these occasions female poetry was sung in praise of the Torah scroll. Women frequented the synagogue for worship much less than men. Most women could not pray from prayer books and usually voiced improvised prayers, blessings, and wishes in the vernacular, sending kisses to the Torah scroll. Women were also active in self-help societies, mainly for the needy, including poor brides and the sick. Men's leisure time activities were more text-oriented, usually in the form of prayers or community sponsored study groups, where men passively listened to readings from religious literature or chanted Psalms. Men also met for recreational purposes in coffee houses and drinking places.

Towards the end of the 19th century, new leisure time activities sprang up side by side with traditional ones. Many of the new patterns resulted from foreign influences and the new educational systems. The AIU was very active in this respect, especially in Morocco and Turkey. In anticipation of the foundation of an AIU school, a local AIU committee was established to advance AIU goals, to promote the establishment of an AIU school, and then to serve as a support group for the school. Most AIU committee members were men, but a few women participated too, usually when supporting girls' and mixed schools. The AIU also triggered the establishment of welfare-oriented organizations, which included many female members. Following a few years of a school's existence, an alumni organization was established, supporting the school, mainly through paid cultural and social activities. These organizations were at first often gender-based, but gradually attracted women and men for mixed-gender activities.

The 20th century witnessed the establishment of specific organizations for youth, focusing at first on recreation (mainly sports, parties, and performances), often as an offshoot of an adult organization (e.g., the Maccabi sport organization establishing Young Maccabi). The earlier organizations of this kind were mainly for men, but women were accepted as guests; only at a later stage (mostly in the 1940s) were women admitted as full members or in a separate branch.

The next step, taken mainly in Palestine, Iraq, Tunisia, Morocco, and Libya, was the establishment of ideologically focused Zionist youth organizations. Established by local Zionists and with the support and at times the guidance of emissaries from Palestine, these youth organizations aimed to change the world view of the youth and thus of the community at large. One of their central goals was to create a "New Jew," a term incorporating both men and women, based on an ideal of gender equality. Consequently, the youth movements were for both genders, although some of their activities were gender-based. Deep-rooted concepts, however, were slow to change: girls were less active in mixed group discussions, there were fewer girls than boys in most movements, and fewer still in leadership positions. And although the movements advocated the equal place of women in the new, productive (i.e., agricultural and industrial) workplace, fewer women joined the agricultural training farms (*hakhsharah*), and both there and in the clubs women carried out traditional female tasks, such as cleaning and cooking. Most often, "New Women" found themselves living in a conceptually old world, regardless of their personal spiritual and professional metamorphosis.

Traditional gender divisions had implications on marriage. Only in the village could young people of both genders meet relatively freely, usually when girls performed their daily task of drawing water. Even in villages, however, the final decision concerning marriage rested with the parents. In some regions, young men could influence the choice of their bride through the intervention of local, even Muslim, dignitaries. In urban settings, where most Jews lived, the opportunities for young people to meet were very limited. Apart from family gatherings, which were often gender segregated, some regions had special events which enabled the youth to meet. A very famous occasion took place in Tripoli, Libya, on the last day of Passover, when girls stood beautifully dressed outside their homes, waiting for young men to indicate to their parents which girl they wanted to marry, leaving the negotiations to the parents. Much of the matchmaking was conducted during the informal meetings of family and neighborhood women, who knew quite well the most intimate details about each other and their families. Although girls were usually allowed to reject a prospective bridegroom, they were not supposed to initiate the choice, and the decision of the couple was based mainly on an occasional glimpse. The older women, on the other hand, knew much of the family background and the character of the younger generation and based their decisions on this information. The economic details of the marriage were settled by the fathers. After a decision was made, the couple was not supposed to meet until the wedding.

Most first time brides were in their early teens with somewhat older grooms. At times, though, girls were forced to marry old men. In many places girls unmarried by their mid-teens were considered old spinsters, almost unmarriageable, except to less sought after men, including the poor, disabled, or old. Marriage of minors, even below the age of ten, took place relatively rarely, and happened mainly in Yemen. In some places, babies were given out in marriage, but these agreements were sometimes broken. As a result of Muslim influence, polygyny was accepted among Jews in the Muslim world, but Jewish law required that both wives be treated equally, sexually and economically. Polygyny was not widespread and happened mainly among Yemeni and Kurdish Jews and in rural areas or when the first wife did not give birth to a son.

Preparations for weddings were elaborate, culminating in a week of festivities. The bride, for whom this was the major public event of her life, was adorned and wore luxurious clothing and jewelry (which at times passed from one bride to another). Before the wedding, the bride and her female relatives went to the *mikveh* (ritual bath), an occasion which could be used by her future female in-laws to watch for any hidden physical imperfection.

The introduction of European educations, the operation of youth movements, and the entrance of women into the workforce gradually changed these practices, mainly in the urban centers. Modern educators tried to keep girls in school, in part to postpone the age of marriage. The AIU was active in this trend from the late 19th century on, trying to influence communal leaders to permit marriage only above a certain age. Many couples met as a result of the activities of youth movements (mainly beginning in the 1940s). The entrance of women into the workforce delayed the age of marriage and facilitated contacts among young people, even of different religions and nationalities. As a result, over time most engaged couples knew each other and even chose each other and the marriage age rose, although parental consent for marriage was usually required. These changes took place mainly in the urban centers and on the Mediterranean and Atlantic coasts. They were much less common in Iran, Yemen, and rural hinterlands.

[Rachel Simon (2nd ed.)]

Israel

THE OLD YISHUV. Throughout the early modern and modern periods, until the end of the 19th century, the Jewish population of Palestine was centered in Jerusalem. This population, primarily made up of spiritual seekers from all parts of the Jewish world, survived on charitable contributions from Diaspora communities. These **ḥalukkah* payments, distributed separately by Ashkenazi and Sephardi religious authorities, were originally intended to enable Jewish men to devote their lives to Torah study and prayer. However, demographic data demonstrates that women, mainly widows who had come to the Holy Land to spend their remaining days visiting sacred sites and preparing themselves for the next world, were the majority of the Jewish population of Jerusalem in the 19th century and they also benefited significantly from *ḥalukkah*. As M. Shilo has shown, in the course of the 19th century the male religious establishment linked *ḥalukkah* to pious and modest behavior by the enforcement of by-laws (*Takannot Yerushalayim*) that applied to men and women alike. A number of these regulations constructed all women as objects of sexual temptation and attempted to limit severely women's presence in the public domain. Any mingling between men and women was looked upon as a sin, and husbands and the fathers were expected to supervise the women of the family to preserve the sanctity of the community and to ensure that the family received its allotted share of *ḥalukkah*. Women and their needs were always subordinated to a traditional male view of how society should be arranged.

From the late 19th century on, with the growth of Zionist movements of various kinds, the population of the Old Yishuv (Jewish settlement) was augmented with increasing numbers of immigrants, from both Eastern Europe and from Middle Eastern Jewish communities, such as Yemen. Zionists from Eastern Europe were particularly intent on building up the land and engaging Jews in economic endeavors. In this era the highly religious nature of the Jewish communities of Jerusalem (of both European and Middle Eastern origins) slowly began to change owing to the influx of largely secular immigrants and infusions of funds from Zionist organizations abroad. The areas of transformation with special impact for women included the introduction and external funding of various educational alternatives for girls, including vocational training, and gradual improvements in health care options.

THE NEW YISHUV. The inequality in the treatment of the sexes exemplified in the Old Yishuv community of Jerusalem continued to be a reality in the modern Jewish settlement of the land. The pioneers of the First Aliyah (1882–1903) and Second Aliyah (1904–18), included both men and women. Most of the women of the First Aliyah accompanied their husbands and settled into domestic roles in agricultural settlements (moshavot) or urban environments. The women of this immigration, many of whom were as deeply committed as their husbands to their new lives in Palestine, faced a difficult struggle to achieve any public recognition and participation. Many of the idealistic young people of the Second Aliyah, inspired by the fervor of Labor Zionism, had been trained to work the land in Zionist training schools in Russia, which stressed the equality of women and men. On arriving in Palestine, most young single women, a significant minority among the second wave of immigrants (17–18%), found their options limited and their choices narrowed, simply as a result of their gender. Feeling betrayed by their male comrades, who did not support their struggle, and limited by male perceptions of their biological inequality, unmarried women were virtually unemployable as agricultural workers, and were forced to survive by providing the men with kitchen and laundry services. As Raḥel *Yanait, wife of Israel's second President, Izhak *Ben-Zvi, and a noted educator and writer recalled of those days. "In the thick of that passionate movement toward the land the women workers suddenly found themselves thrust aside and relegated once more to the ancient tradition of the house and the kitchen. They were amazed and disappointed to see how the cleavage was opening, the men comrades really united themselves with the land, but they, though on it, not becoming part of it. The united front was cracking" (*Plough Woman*, 109). Or as Ziporah Bar-Droma put it, "In Palestine there came a parting of the ways. Over there in the Russian exile, men and women had been equal comrades in the movement. We worked together, suffered together in the prisons and in the remote countries to which we were expelled; the moment the first pioneer certificates reached us, admitting us into Palestine, we were divided into the two classes: men comrades and women comrades.… And when we landed we were actually separated into two groups: In the one group were those who were 'building the country' and in the other were those who would take care, in every day matters, of 'the builders of the country'" (*PW*, 145).

Denied membership as single women in most collective settlements, and refused employment as agricultural workers, a few women founded successful female agricultural and urban collectives, and women's training farms. Such women's farms excelled particularly as tree nurseries. Raḥel Yanait, as an early settler, wrote: "With our own hands we raised, on our soil, tens and hundreds of thousands of shoots, and a kind of bond was created between our fruitful little corners and the wild bare hills around us. We were participants in the great task of re-afforesting the country" (*PW*, 112). Here on their own farms, women were able to forge their own connection to the land, and their belief that they were helping to build something new went hand in hand with their own feeling of self-renewal. Yet for every place for a woman in such a settlement, there were dozens who were turned away for lack of resources to provide them support and employment.

In the years following World War I, the majority of single women in the Yishuv were unable to find agricultural employment. In order to survive, many ended up working in cities as cooks or laundresses, seamstresses or clerks, or maids in private homes. Under the immigration regulations imposed by the British mandate on the Third Aliyah (1919–23), women were allowed to enter Palestine as dependents, wives, and elderly mothers, but only to a limited extent as prospective workers who could receive a labor immigration permit. Although men and women immigrated in roughly similar numbers (36 percent were women), two-thirds to 90 percent of all women came as dependents, as compared to 10 to 20 percent of all men. Labor permits were allocated to over 50 percent of all men and to only 10 percent of the immigrant women. Moreover, the vast majority of adult Jewish women who immigrated to Palestine had little relevant occupational experience to enable them to become active, equal partners, let alone self-sufficient members, of their new community. In these years many of the goals of the Second Aliyah were being implemented, including the establishment of the Histadrut, the General Federation of Hebrew Labor (1920) and the Women Workers' Movement (1921).

Some of women's complaints about the inequity of their situations were met by the *kibbutz movement, at least for that small group of women who gained entry into a kibbutz. Many of these kibbutzim were dedicated to bold social restructurings of the family in order to create a society in which each individual would achieve economic independence. In such a social setting wives would not be dependent upon their husbands and would no longer be subservient to them. In the kibbutz the family was to be renewed in such a way that men and women would be equal and independent partners sharing common goals; here, women were to be emancipated from the demands of the home and from childcare so that they might work productively and creatively with men in building the land.

Yet even on the kibbutz, women mainly worked in the kitchens and laundries. And here, in this experimental setting, woman's role in childcare raised issues which remain problematic. Many kibbutzim opted for bringing up children collectively in children's houses under the care of nurses and teachers. Parents would only see their children for an hour or two each day. In this way mothers would be freed to function as independent members of the collective, and children would benefit from a feeling that all the adults of the kibbutz were concerned for their development and care. Yet as one kibbutz theorist, Eva Tabenkin, admitted in the early 1930s, perhaps collective child rearing asked too much, "We are worried constantly by one thought: how can we bring into the life of the child which is being cared for in the home, the bright glance and the loving smile of the mother for which even the tiniest creature instinctively longs?" "But," she went on to say, "we cannot forget what was in our minds when we approached the whole problem at the beginning, what ideals and wishes we had regarding life in Palestine generally and our own lives in particular. For it is only as part of a high cultural life that the group upbringing of children has meaning, and only in the larger setting of a general ideal will we find the strength to continue seeking, through this form, a loftier and finer life for ourselves and our children" (*PW*, 159).

Most women in the Yishuv were married mothers of children. The pre-Zionist communities of both the Ashkenazi Orthodox and Jews of Middle Eastern origin were strongly committed to the establishment of families. Women of these communities tended to marry at a relatively early age. Many among the more recent Zionist immigrants arrived already married and most others married, as well. Community studies conducted in Jerusalem and Haifa in the 1930s indicate that by 35 to 40, all but five percent of Jewish women in the Yishuv had married, and the majority of women bore children. Despite the varied Zionist utopian visions of the new Jewish society to be built in Palestine, traditional gendered divisions of labor and patterns of authority tended to be preserved in the Jewish families of the Yishuv, with the exception of the kibbutz experiment described above.

Few married women in the Yishuv worked outside their homes. Those who did faced the inevitable conflicts of the working woman who must leave her children in the care of another with few social supports. "What is a mother to do," one woman asked, when, "in spite of the place which the children and the family as a whole take up in her life, her nature and her being demanded something more. This woman cannot divorce herself from the larger social life. She cannot let her children narrow down her horizon. And for such a woman there is no rest" (*PW*, 164). "Am I at fault," asked the writer, Golda *Meir (then Meyerowitz), "if after giving my family a place in my heart there is something left over which has to be filled by things outside the family and the house?" Society, she acknowledged, can offer no easy answer, for as Meir wrote, "This eternal inner division, this double pull, this alternating feeling of unfulfilled duty today toward her children, the next day toward her work. This is the burden of the working mother" (*PW*, 165).

As D. Bernstein has written of pre-State Israel, women's unequal and marginal position in the labor market, and their sole responsibility for family care, created a distinctly different life pattern for women as compared to that experienced by men. Since the private sphere, where women were central, was all but invisible and since women were only intermittently visible in the all important public sphere, women were essentially excluded from power and influence as the Yishuv moved towards the immense challenges of statehood in the years following World War II.

ISRAEL SINCE 1948. Modern Israel continues to be far from progressive where the status of women in concerned, and is, at the beginning of the 21st century, more conservative than most other western democracies on women's issues (see *Feminism: Feminism, Zionism, and the State of Israel). Despite significant achievements and continuing progress, as a whole Israeli women continue to earn less that their male counterparts, are less visible and influential in the political arena, do not share equal responsibilities or privileges in the military, have unequal rights and freedoms in family life and law, and are secondary in shaping the nation's self image and cultural orientation.

The unequal status of Israeli women is a result of generations of past discrimination in Jewish tradition in general, as well as the additional impact of highly conservative Middle Eastern cultures on many Israelis from Muslim countries. Women suffer numerous disadvantages in the workplace, mandated by paternalistic legislation and the expectation that women will also assume most household responsibilities. Israeli women continue to fulfill the traditional Jewish role of enablers, supporting their husbands and sons, who hold the primary power and powerful jobs, and whose lives are at risk in defending the state. Only a small number of Israeli women reject women's subsidiary roles; most believe that women will not achieve equality as long as war and conflict is a dominant theme in Israeli society.

Jewish women in Israel are significantly disadvantaged in personal status issues. When the State of Israel was established in May, 1948, the Declaration of Independence stated that "The State of Israel will maintain equal social and political rights for all citizens, irrespective of religion, race, or sex," a sentiment reiterated in 1949, in the basic guidelines of the first government of Israel. Yet 1953 legislation awarded the Orthodox religious establishment monopolistic control over marriage and divorce for all Jewish citizens, thus legalizing women's substantial legal disadvantages in the *halakhah*, particularly in areas of family law. There is no civil marriage or divorce in Israel, nor do Reform, Conservative, or Reconstructionist Judaisms, with their more egalitarian approaches, have any official standing. Particular problems are connected with the dissolution of Jewish marriages since, according to *halakhah*, a Jewish woman cannot obtain a divorce without the permission of her husband. Many men refuse to grant their wives a divorce document, sometimes attempting to extort large sums of money from the estranged wife's family before they will comply with a religious court's ruling and agree to the legal dissolution of the marriage. Many refuse to comply at all, leaving the wife in legal limbo. The issue of the over 5,000 *agunot*, women who cannot obtain a divorce because their husbands refuse to grant one or because the husbands cannot be located, is the best known instance of the inability of the Orthodox rabbinate to deal with real social problems which cause immense pain and suffering to women and their families. Only recently have women begun to fight back, forming an International Coalition for *Agunah* Rights, reflecting an intensive effort to reform what are perceived as unjust and discriminatory divorce proceedings in rabbinical courts worldwide.

Although women are eligible for military service, most women in the army are assigned to education, clerical work, and training. Fewer than half of all eligible women are actually conscripted because they are not really needed, although army technology is beginning to create more equal tasks for the Israeli woman. Moreover, since the beginning of the 21st century rapid changes in women's opportunities in the military have been underway. In early 2000, the Israeli Defense Forces decided to deploy women in the artillery corps, followed by infantry units, armored divisions, and elite combat units. The Navy also decided to place women in its diving repair unit. At the beginning of 2004, about 450 women were in combat units; in late 2005, it was announced that three female pilots, including one combat pilot, would shortly complete training and join the nine other female soldiers in Israel's Air Force.

Given the historical pattern of secondary female military roles, however, women remain poorly represented in the upper echelons of the military, as they are in public and political life and in the civil service and academia. Since an important premium is put on military background as the necessary precondition for public office, women have found it very difficult to break into the political system.

Prolonged military conflict highlights various norms which are antithetical to the promotion of gender equality. These include the glorification of the hero and of macho-like ideals which may be necessary to ensure a continued commitment to defense and security. These values tend to glorify military prowess and to stress loyalty and commitment which are carried over from military to civilian life. One consequence of the emphasis on national security is that what are seen as women's issues, particularly in the areas of health, education, and welfare, are almost always given low priority in terms of policy considerations. More significantly, women have not been able to articulate their position on matters of general concern because the primary questions on the national agenda have come to be defined as male issues requiring an expertise that only men have acquired.

A report on the status of women in Israel in 2004 presented by the Israel Women's Network to the Committee for the Advancement of the Status of Women is Israel's parliament (Knesset) indicates that of 121 countries in which women are included in the legislature, Israel, despite having once been led by a woman prime minister, ranks 66th. Women constitute only 15% of Israel's 120-member Knesset, placing Israel somewhere between the Arab world and developing countries in its attitude to female politicians. The Committee for the Advancement of the Status of Women and individual female Members of Knesset are attempting to advance women's status through legislation. Their initiatives address a variety of gender issues such as equality at work, violence against women, welfare, health, and fertility concerns. The Authority for the Advancement of Women, established by law in 1998, is authorized to encourage, coordinate, promote and monitor the government's and the local authorities' activities regarding women's status, to promote legislation, and to advise the government on the enforcement of laws promoting the status of women. It is also expected to initiate research and to enhance public awareness through the media and education. The growing awareness of the status of women in the early 21st century has led to an increasing presence of women in managerial and decision-making positions. Prime Minister Ariel *Sharon included a record number of women ministers (three) and deputy ministers (two) in his government.

Israeli women are highly educated. Approximately 22% of Israel's women have 13–15 years of formal education compared to 20% of men, although 4.5% of women have no schooling compared to 1.8% of men. However, while 57% of all academic degrees are earned by women, and 46% of the doctoral students are women, only 22% of senior faculty members and 7.8% of full professors are women.

Government figures indicate that in 2000, 45.44% of the labor force were women, of whom only 15.8% worked full time, compared to 34.1% of the men. The average monthly salary for women was 60.18% of men's wages and the average wage-per-hour was 80.5% of that of men. In general, women worked mostly in lower-paying jobs, in services, education, health, welfare and clerical positions, and were significantly less represented in prestigious and lucrative occupations. Government statistics also indicate that violence against women is a serious problem in Israel, ranging from spousal abuse, sexual violence, sexual harassment, incest, and trafficking in women for prostitution. It is estimated that a significant number of women suffer from domestic violence. Facilities for their support and care are woefully inadequate.

The Israel Women's Network, founded by Alice Shalvi in 1984, is an advocacy group for women's rights that concentrates on legislative and political efforts to overcome discrimination against women in the workplace, military, religious courts, and in the healthcare and educational arenas. With particular attention to violence and sexual harassment, the IWN helped secure passage in 1998 of legislation criminalizing sexual harassment and holding both the harasser and employer responsible for civil damages. In recent decades, Israel's nascent feminist movement has begun to bring cases to Israel's Supreme Court (see below: The Judicial Perspective) on issues as diverse as access to abortion, women's right to be elected to and hold seats on municipal religious councils, and the ability of women's prayer groups to hold services at the Western Wall.

Several feminist organizations emerged beginning in the 1980s that called for return of the occupied territories to Palestinian control, and condemned the violence and impoverishment in those territories. Women in Black was founded in 1988 to hold weekly silent vigils of Israeli and Palestinian women calling for an end to the occupation. It now has an international peace network and has been nominated for the Nobel Peace Prize. New Profile is a feminist organization that seeks to change Israel from what it perceives to be a militarized to a peace-seeking culture, and works especially on educating children for peace (see essays in Fuchs). At other end of the political spectrum, Women in Green advocates the annexation of Judea and Samaria and supports continued Jewish settlement there.

This increased feminist activity, influenced by the women's movement throughout the Western world, is indicative of the gender and religious tensions that characterize Israeli society in 2006.

Similar concerns are also evident in the kibbutz movement at the beginning of the 21st century. Recent studies indicate that the ideology of equality with which the movement began has never been realized. At present, the division of labor parallels occupational profiles outside the kibbutz, with women predominating in education, childcare, food preparation, and laundry, while men more commonly choose revenue producing occupations in agriculture and industry. One consequence is that women are seen as providing services while men, who are seen as earning money for the kibbutz, come to be regarded as the experts in management and fiscal policy making. Thus men are far more likely to be elevated to leadership positions in the kibbutz, thereby gaining disproportionate power, status, and respect. Similarly, changes in the organization of family life on the kibbutz have added to women's burdens. Where once virtually all kibbutzim provided separate housing for children, who would spend a few hours of relaxation time with their parents, today children almost never sleep in children's houses. This means that women assume the primary responsibility for child care and the increase in household tasks associated with a family sharing living quarters which were often intended only for two. It is not surprising that there is growing dissatisfaction with kibbutz life among younger women who struggle with the contradiction of being "homemakers without homes" (Palgi; essay in Fuchs).

In microcosm, the status of women in Israel is a result of generations of past gender discrimination from a variety of sources, both religious and cultural, together with the problems of inequality which surface in a society experiencing an ongoing state of military conflict. The legal advocacy and political activities of some women in recent times constitute alternative approaches to combating women's unequal roles, but fundamental transformations in Israel's legal structure are necessary if these are to be realized. Similarly, true change for women will only come when the adjudication of family law issues is removed from the sole control of the Orthodox rabbinate which has been inflexible in easing the discriminations against women inherent in halakhic tradition.

[Judith R. Baskin (2nd ed.)]

THE JUDICIAL PERSPECTIVE: WOMEN AND THE ISRAELI COURTS

The issue of the status of women, by its very nature and its significance for society and the family, exemplifies the importance of finding a synthesis between *halakhah* and the needs of the place and time. This was true over the generations, in the worlds of the *tannaim,* the *amoraim* and the *geonim,* in the world of the medieval authorities (*rishonim*) as well as of the *aḥaronim,* during their various periods and dispersions. Since the beginning of the Emancipation period, new considerations and elements have arisen, and special creativity has been evident since the restoration of Jewish political independence in the State of Israel.

Justice M. Elon opens his discussion of the topic (*Ma'amad ha-Ishah – Mishpat ve-Shipput*, *Masoret u-Temurah: Arakhehah shel Medinah Yehudit ve-Demokratit* (2005), pp. 17–18 (henceforth Elon, *Ma'amad ha-Ishah*) with the following words:

> The issue of the status of women is one of the striking examples of creativity in the world of *halakhah* in days of old and in our times. The word *halakhah* is derived from the root *halokh* ("go"), as explained by Rabbi Nathan ben Rabbi Yehiel of Rome, author of the *Arukh*, in the 11th century: "that which goes from of old until the end [of time], or [that way] in which Israel goes." I am inclined to add that the word *halakhah* bears the additional aspect of creativity. That is, the halakhic Sages viewed themselves as commanded to *go* forward, to *lead halakhah* in a creative manner and in accordance with the circumstances of their time; that is, *halakhah* goes (*holekhet*) forward. Regarding

> the issue of the status of women, this "going" of the *halakhah*, which includes accommodating its foundations and principles to the needs of the time and the place, is given very prominent and creative expression. Nonetheless there are a number of grave issues relating to the status of women that have been partially resolved, but have not yet found their full resolution, such as the problem of women who have been refused a divorce, abandoned wives, and the like; and we must work hard to find a convenient and satisfactory solution (see **Agunah*). In general, however, the status of women in Judaism has from its very beginning been dynamic, in a state of constant creativity, especially in comparison with parallel systems. Halakhic creativity has always found expression in *theoretical study*, through examination of the halakhic principles and statutes, and in the *practical application* of those principles in changing circumstances. In every realm, but especially in that of the law and all its branches, *halakhah* is forced to deal with the question of how on the one hand, to continue the past, from the starting point of the existing *halakhah* – to continue the chain; while, on the other hand, to study and apply the *halakhah* with creativity and in a manner appropriate to the times. Creativity in this context means resolving the needs of the *present*, its problems and demands, through a deep and fitting analysis of the world of Jewish Law and its principles in the *past*, in order to find the appropriate path toward the *future*.

The issue of the status of women, with the great creativity that has been demonstrated therein, serves as an example of the manner in which Judaism has found a *synthesis*, which today is called a synthesis of the values of the State of Israel as a Jewish and democratic state (see *Values of Jewish and Democratic State).

This article will give a number of concrete examples taken from Israeli law and the rulings of the Israeli Supreme Court, an appreciable portion of which are the rulings of Deputy Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, Justice Menachem Elon, who gave a number of concrete decisions on issues pertaining to the status of the women. These examples provide a wealth of material regarding the reciprocal influence of *halakhah* and society; of pluralism and differences of opinion; of activism and restraint; creativity and the avoidance thereof; and the like. All this material provides an impressive picture of how and in what manner the "Jewish" and "democratic" elements of the State of Israel have been combined, how the "Jewish" element has been influenced by the "democratic" and how it has preceded it. Some topics relating to the status of the women have already been discussed at length in other entries; see, for example, **Agunah*; *Husband and Wife; *Parents and Child; *Wills; *Succession; *Maintenance, **Ketubbah*. These topics will not be discussed here in detail, but references will be made to certain conclusions that may be drawn from them.

Husband and Wife

The relationship between husband and wife is central to the issue of the status of women, and has been discussed extensively and often in the legal system (see, for example, Cr.A. 92/2157, *Padida v. the State of Israel*, 47 (1) PD 81; CA 79/458 *Nir v. Nir*, 35 (1) PD 518; and cf. *Husband and Wife). It has been noted that the fundamental legal principles underlying this relationship are based on the words of the *beraita* (Yev. 62b): "Our Rabbis taught: The man who loves his wife as himself, and honors her more than himself [Rashi, s.v. *yoter*: Because disgrace is more difficult for a woman than for a man] who guides his sons and daughters in the right path and arranges for them to be married near the period of their puberty, of him Scripture says: 'And you shall know that your tent is at peace, and you shall visit your habitation, and shall miss nothing.' (Job 5:24)." This, in brief, is the structure of the family cell, as viewed by the Sages. Maimonides codified this law in similar fashion: "Therefore the Sages laid down that a man shall honor his wife more than his own self and shall love her as he loves himself, and shall constantly seek to benefit her according to his means… and shall speak gently with her; that he shall be neither sad nor irritable" (Yad, *Ishut* 15:19). Similarly, the Talmud states: "Rabbi Helbo said: A man should always be careful about his wife's honor, for blessing is found in a man's house only on account of his wife. As it is stated: 'And he treated Abraham well for her [= Sarah's] sake' (Gen. 12:16)" (BM 59a). In his discussion of this issue, Justice Elon states (*Ma'amad ha-Ishah*, pp. 194–228, at 195):

> These are the fundamental demands. But social reality, throughout the generations and the dispersion, did not always meet them. Thus, a series of judicial rulings discuss cases of violence and abuse on the part of a husband toward his wife, and aggressive and inappropriate behavior on the part of a wife toward her husband. The halakhic authorities responded in resolute fashion, whether by way of judicial decisions or by way of legislation of special enactments. These issues have been discussed in the rulings of the Israeli courts, and the deliberations and rulings follow Jewish Law – its sources, its deliberations, and its rulings.

The substantive difference between Jewish Law over English law with respect to the rape of a woman by her husband has also been discussed in this context (see: CA 80/91, *Moshe Ben Meir Cohen v. the State of Israel*, PD 35(3) 281). Justice Elon summarizes the issue as follows (*Ma'amad ha-Ishah*, p. 228): "Jewish Law rescued the honor of women in the State of Israel from the dread of the 'democratic' norm, taken from English law, by which a husband has the right to rape his wife. The ancient Jewish norm, established thousands of years ago, established that a woman is not 'a captive in the hands of her husband,' and thus protects the rights and dignity of a woman. This is the law that is appropriate for the State of Israel as a Jewish and democratic state, Jewish *before* democratic."

A Woman's Economic Rights

The mutual respect that must be demonstrated between husband and wife in their personal relations has already been noted. A number of examples of creativity regarding the status of women in the area of economic rights should also be noted. They include: the independence of a woman's economic status; her right to compensation at the time of divorce; joint property rights in assets acquired during the marriage (see also Elon, *Ma'amad ha-Ishah*, pp. 229–54). These topics have been discussed at length in the entry *Husband and Wife, *Maintenance, **Ketubbah*, and others.

In terms of halakhic creativity and the protection of the status of women in Judaism, a fundamental principle is that "a woman is not considered her husband's daily laborer in exchange for maintenance." According to *halakhah*, a man is obligated to provide his wife with maintenance (not only food, but also medical expenses, raiment, lodging and all her other necessaries), and in exchange is entitled to the benefit of her handiwork (Yad, Ishut 12:1–4). The woman may, of her own choice, waive her maintenance, keeping for herself the proceeds of her handiwork. The husband does not have the parallel right: he cannot deny his wife maintenance by waiving the benefit of her handiwork.

Creative decisions regarding the woman's status were also given with respect to property relations between husband and wife. This began in the rulings of the rabbinical courts in the 1940s, even before the establishment of the State of Israel. The issue is discussed in CA 2/77 *Azugi v. Azugi*, PD 33(3) 1, 17ff [henceforth: *Azugi*] and in CA 630/79, *Lieberman v. Lieberman*, PD 35(4) 359, 372–73. Justice Elon summarizes the issue as follows (*Ḥakikah Datit* (1968), pp. 165–67):

> One of the great innovations of the rabbinical courts in the area of divorce law is the wife's right to receive a certain financial sum at the time of divorce, in addition to her *kettubah.* This sum varies according to the circumstances of the particular case. The rabbinical courts refer to this additional sum as compensation. According to the accepted law prior to this innovation, except for in certain cases, at the time of divorce a woman was entitled to receive her *kettubbah* and to take back the property that she had brought into the marriage. This property included: (a) *nikhsei ẓon barzel* – that part of the woman's property that the couple agree will be given to the almost total ownership of the husband, to the extent of his accepting responsibility for any damage caused thereto, and which, upon the termination of the marriage, the woman would receive the value of in accordance with the sum stipulated in the *kettubah;* and (b) *nikhsei melog* – that part of the woman's property whose principal remains in the wife's ownership even after the marriage, but whose fruits (the proceeds of the principal) belong to the husband. The husband bears no responsibility for damage to *nikhsei melog.* Upon dissolution of the marriage – whether by death or divorce – the woman receives the value of the *nikhsei melog* at the time of termination of the marriage. Hence, if their value rises, she profits, and if their value decreases, she loses. The *halakhah* did not recognize the wife's right to receive, at the time of divorce, a share of the assets accumulated during the period of the marriage, unless the parties had an agreement to that effect, even though these assets often come into existence through the combined efforts of husband and wife. This problem has troubled every legal system, and the Knesset considered various private bills regarding a married couple's joint property. It was against this background that the institution of monetary compensation awarded to a woman at the time of divorce came into being through the rulings of the rabbinical courts.

Another innovation related to the woman's economic rights was the establishment, through the rulings of the Israel Supreme Court (*Azugi ibid.*), of the principle of partnership in property acquired during marriage according to Jewish Law. The law regarding partnership in property was created and developed by the justices of the Supreme Court on the basis of the presumed intention of the two spouses to join their assets, and does not follow automatically from the marital bond between them. This bond serves as the background for the couple's conduct and for additional factors in the lives of the married couple that serve as the basis for the legal presumption of partnership in their assets. The legal reasoning that gives validity to the partnership in assets lies in the presumption of implied agreement that may be inferred from these facts and circumstances. This presumption draws its legal force from the fundamental principles of Jewish Law regarding freedom of contract and power of custom – in all its various forms – that finds expression in tendencies in Israeli society and in the creative and decisive power of presumptions.

Succession Rights of Daughters and Wives

The issue of succession in Jewish Law was treated in the entry *Succession. The daughter's standing as lawful heir of her father's estate went through many stages of development and creativity: beginning with the story of the daughters of Zelophehad, who claimed that, as their father had died without leaving a son, and that unless they inherited him, his name would disappear from his family, because his estate would not remain within his family (Num. 27:1–11; 36:1–12); continuing in talmudic law, through the periods of the *geonim*, the medieval and early modern authorities; and down to the post-Emancipation period, in the various centers of Jewish life. The influences of the diverse socio-economic realities at the various stages are evident. Prior to the establishment of the State of Israel, the inheritance rights of daughters were discussed by the two chief rabbis, Herzog and Ouziel. The issue found its resolution in Succession Law, 5725 – 1965, which recognizes no distinction between sons and daughters (see *Ma'amad ha-Ishah*, pp. 255–78).

According to the early *halakhah*, the husband is heir to his wife's estate, but the wife is not a legal heir to that of her husband (Yad, Naḥalot 1.8). By rabbinic enactment, a widow is entitled to reside in the same apartment in which she lived with her husband, and to receive the same maintenance from his estate as she was entitled to receive during his lifetime. These provisions apply automatically, even if the husband did not explicitly commit himself to them in his wife's *ketubbah.* This issue underwent many changes over the course of the generations. In the Ordinances of the rabbinical courts of the Land of Israel of 5703 (1943) (Ordinance 174, 182–183), the rabbinical court agreed that the husband's estate be divided in accordance with the Mandatory Succession Order of 1923, which awards a woman a share in the estate (see: *Ma'amad ha-Ishah*, pp. 279–96).

The Right to Vote and the Right to Be Elected to Public Office

THE RULING IN THE SHAKDIEL CASE. The issue of a woman's right to vote and to be elected to public office was discussed in the *Shakdiel* case (HC 87/153 *Leah Shakdiel v. Minister of Religious Affairs et al.*, PD 42(2) 221). This ruling is the subject of a detailed discussion in *Ma'amad ha-Ishah* (pp. 51–101), which opens as follows:

> The ruling in the *Shakdiel* case, which was given in May 1988, prior to the passing of Basic Law: Human Dignity and Liberty in 1992, constitutes a classic example of the need for creative interpretation for the resolution of new problems arising in different times and places, and the method of this interpretation. Through an analysis of this ruling, we learn about differences in opinion among the halakhic authorities regarding the necessity and appropriateness of fitting a particular issue in the world of *halakhah* into the new social reality in which they are living. The great creativity evident in their method may serve as an important source of inspiration as we occupy ourselves with the question of the synthesis of the Jewish heritage with the needs of a modern democratic state.
>
> Mrs. Leah Shakdiel – a resident of the town of Yeroḥam in the Negev, a teacher of Judaic studies, an Orthodox Jewess and a member of the Yeroḥam Municipal Council – turned to the Israeli Supreme Court sitting as the High Court of Justice regarding the decision that had been taken to disqualify her from serving as a member of the religious council of Yeroḥam. The claim of the respondents to the petition – the Municipal Council, the local rabbi, the Minister of Religious Affairs and the Committee of Ministers – was that a tradition exists, according to which women are not to be nominated for membership in a religious council. This was supported by an opinion of the Council of the Chief Rabbinate that women may not be permanent members of religious councils. The concern was likewise raised that Mrs. Shakdiel's membership would disrupt the orderly course of activity of the religious council.
>
> After examining all the factual material before him and the claims and arguments of the parties, and after taking note of the sources of *halakhah* and Jewish Law, and the legal material of the laws of the Knesset and the rulings of the courts, Justice Elon concluded that Mrs. Shakdiel's petition should be allowed. The ruling therefore stated: "We therefore decide that she (i.e., Shakdiel) shall be included in the membership of the Yeroḥam religious council, as a nominee on behalf of the municipal council, as her nomination had been presented to the Minister of Religious Affairs with the formation of the religious council."

The Bible, the Talmud, and later sources mention distinguished women – prophetesses, judges, queens, and wise and scholarly woman. These were isolated incidents; the guiding rule – one of great significance in the edifice of the Jewish family over the generations – was: "All the glory of the king's daughter is within" (Ps. 45:14). This verse was taken to mean that a woman earns merit by educating her children and managing her home, and that it is not womanly to be involved in public affairs. A clear and concise expression of this theme is found in Maimonides' reading of Deuteronomy 17:15: "'You shall set a king over you.' "One does not place a woman on the throne, as it said: 'a king over you' – and not a queen. Likewise, for all offices in Israel, only a man may be appointed" (Yad, *Melakhim* 1.5). Maimonides' opinion that men alone may be appointed to public office, and not women, was the accepted position for many years. This was the customary and accepted norm in the general social and economic realms as well. This position was subjected to question in light of changing time and place at the beginning of the previous century, when the question arose whether women should be granted the right of franchise. The question arose primarily in relation to elections of the institutions of self-government of the Jewish community in the Land of Israel just after the end of World War I. It might be recalled that, until then, women had been denied the right to vote in most countries throughout the world, and that it was only during the latter half of the 1910s that women were given full rights to vote and to stand for election in most states and provinces of the United States and Canada, and in Russia, England, and Germany. In some countries, such as France, this right was only granted as recently as 1944, and in Switzerland as late as 1971.

The views of the rabbinical scholars on this issue fell into three camps. The majority opinion was that women should not be granted election rights, whether active, i.e., the right to vote, or passive, i.e., the right to be elected. Some of the authorities held that women have active election rights but not passive ones. A third camp was of the opinion that there is nothing in the *halakhah* to prevent women from exercising both active and passive election rights – that is, women may both vote for and be elected to public and governmental office.

Rabbi Abraham Isaac ha-Kohen Kook, chief rabbi of the Land of Israel, one of the leading halakhic authorities and thinkers of the Zionist movement, belonged to the camp that denied women both active and passive election rights (see: *Ma'amarei ha-Ra'ayah*, *Kovez Ma'amarim me-et ha-Ra'ayah Kook zazal*, Jerusalem 1984, pp. 189–94). Rabbi Kook discussed the matter from three perspectives: in terms of the law – whether it is permitted or forbidden; in terms of public welfare – whether or not granting women the right of franchise will bring good to the community; and in terms of the ideal – whether our moral consciousness obligates granting election rights or denies it. From the legal perspective, Rabbi Kook followed the earlier halakhic authorities in maintaining that the duty of public service is imposed on men, and not on women. He was also concerned about problems of modesty stemming from a mingling of the sexes in public life. As to the public welfare, Rabbi Kook advocated maintenance of the connection with the sources of Judaism and the Bible, in the name of which the nations of the world recognized at that time the rights of the people of Israel to the land of Israel. "As regards the ideal status of women" – that is, absolute equality of men and women – Rabbi Kook says that "that was a vision for the future… that is as yet entirely unreflected in contemporary cultural life, which is corrupt from within, even though it sparkles from without." Out of concern about injury to the delicate fabric of life and the balance between family life and public life, Rabbi Kook had reservations about granting election rights to women. In his usual manner, he based his decision not only on abstract halakhic principles, but upon his understanding of the delicate balance in the social reality of his time. This position was also advocated by Rabbi

Hayyim Ozer Grodzinski, of Vilna, Lithuania, and Rabbi Israel Meir ha-Kohen of Radin, near Vilna.

An entirely different approach was taken in a responsum written by Rabbi Ben Zion Ouziel, chief Sephardi rabbi of the Land of Israel (see *Resp. Mishpatei Uziel*, vol. 3, ḤM, no. 6). Regarding active election rights, Rabbi Uziel argued that there is no halakhic rule, implicit or explicit, that denies such rights. As for passive election rights, he was of the opinion that the position of Maimonides, according to which " only a man may be appointed for all offices in Israel" only applies to appointments by the Sanhedrin. Regarding a woman's eligibility for public office, however, there is no question of *appointment*, but only of *acceptance*. For by means of the elections a majority of the community expresses its opinion, consent, and trust as regards the elected persons, empowering them to supervise all public affairs; "even Maimonides admits that there is no hint of prohibition in this respect." As for the considerations of public welfare and modesty, Rabbi Ouziel wrote that:

> Reason would have it that there is no licentiousness in any serious conference or useful discussion; and every day, men meet with women on commercial business and negotiate with each other, yet none of this produces any alarm or outcry. Indeed, even those given to sexual abandon do not contemplate forbidden acts while they are seriously bent on their business affairs. The admonition of our Rabbis, 'Do not converse too much with a woman' (Mishnah, Avot 1:5), refers to unnecessary idle talk, the kind of conversation that leads to sin. It does not apply, however, to a conversation or debate about important public affairs; and sitting together for the purpose of public work, which is Divine service, does not engender sinful habits or lead to levity. The entire Jewish people, men and women, are holy and are not to be suspected of breaching the bounds of modesty and morality… In conclusion: (a) A woman has the full right [to participate in] elections so that she may be obligated to obey the representatives chosen to lead the people. (b) A woman can also be elected if the community consents and so legislates (*supra*, pp. 34–35).

Other views expressed on this issue were based on a different analysis of the social reality of the period, through which women were granted an allowance to vote and to be elected to public office by distinguished Rabbis (Shakdiel case, pp. 251–54). A different line of reasoning appeared in a responsum by Rabbi Yehiel Weinberg, who served as head of the Rabbinical Seminary in Berlin (*Resp. Seridei Esh*, vol. 2, no. 52, vol. 3 no. 105). He writes:

> "With respect to your question of women's election rights, Rabbi D.Z. Hoffman allowed them to vote but not to be elected; but the Rabbis in the Land of Israel, as well as Ḥafeẓ Ḥayyim and Rabbi Ḥayyim Ozer Grodzinski and others, barred even this active election right. On the other hand, Chief Rabbi Ouziel, in his *Resp. Mishpatei Uziel*, permits women to both vote and to stand for election. So why should I thrust myself into the controversy between those who permit and those who prohibit; *let time take its course and render the decision*."

Justice Elon interpreted this position as follows (*Shakdiel* case, pp. 260–61):

> That expression should not be regarded as an evasion of decision-making duty; rather, it embodies one of the methods employed in halakhic decision-making. As is known, custom is one of the sources of *halakhah*. At times custom serves to decide the law where there are different opinions among the halakhic authorities; sometimes it decides the law on a question that has arisen in practice and to which there is no known answer in the existing *halakhah* (a lacuna); and at times custom not only adds to the existing *halakhah* but even alters one of its rules. This latter function of custom is limited to civil or monetary law alone and, with certain exceptions, does not apply to matters of religious law (*issur*)… As for the role of custom in deciding the religious law where there are differences of opinion among the halakhic authorities, it states in the Talmud, in response to the question of how to decide the law when the authorities are divided: "Go out and see what the people are doing" (Ber. 45a; Eruv. 14b; TJ Pe'ah 7:5). "Let time take its course and render the decision," as Rabbi Weinberg put it, is thus an accepted method of decision-making: let the ultimate ruling be in accordance with the custom followed by the public. (See *Custom.)

Rabbi Moses Feinstein also discussed this issue in the course of a responsum (*Resp. Iggerot Moshe*, YD, vol. 2, no. 44) regarding "the widow of a scholar who was a *kashrut* supervisor, who has been left penniless and lacking means of sustenance for her orphan sons. She being a modest woman and truly God-fearing, and also wise, understanding, and responsible, [the question is] whether one may rely upon her to take the place of her husband as a supervisor, in this manner to provide for herself and her sons." Rabbi Feinstein ruled that "there is no reason for apprehension regarding her trustworthiness, for if she is regarded as a worthy woman who knows and understands how and what to supervise, she may be relied on." Further on, Rabbi Feinstein concludes that, while the office of *kashrut* supervisor is a position of authority, a woman may nevertheless be appointed to this office. In Rabbi Feinstein's view, Maimonides' ruling that only men may be appointed to an "office" is not based on any Talmudic source, but represents "his own reasoning," and there were many authorities who disagreed. "Therefore, because of the widow's great need for her sustenance and that of her orphan sons, one may rely on those who disagree with Maimonides and appoint her as a supervisor in her husband's stead" (*Shakdiel,* pp. 261–62).

The ruling on the sensitive matter of the *Shakdiel*, which was based on Jewish Law, concludes as follows:

> We are aware of the sensitivity of the halakhic, social, and public aspects of the matter. We are also aware of the grave reservations entertained by those entrusted by law with the power of decision, who have rightly sought to avoid an ideological or quasi-halakhic confrontation with the halakhic authorities in Israel today… But none of this is sufficient to free us from the decree of the Israeli law which prohibits discrimination against the petitioner that would exclude her from membership in the Yeroḥam religious council… It pains us that the decision [of the Chief Rabbinate of Israel] was not in favor of the petitioner, even though a decision in her favor would have the sanction of the *halakhah*, according to the opinion of prominent authorities" (*Shakdiel* pp. 271–72).

The Halakhah and Women's Study of Torah

THE RULING IN THE NAGAR CASE. Another example of creativity regarding the status of women in our time – which was also the subject of judicial rulings – relates to the study and teaching of Torah by women and to women. In the *halakhah*, this issue also relates to the issue of parent-child relations (see *Parent and Child). The issue of Torah study and the related issue of parent-child relations was subject to the judicial rulings of the Israeli Supreme Court, especially in the *Nagar* case, which was brought before a "Special Tribunal" composed of Chief Justice of the Supreme Court Meir Shamgar, Deputy Chief Justice Menachem Elon, and *dayyan* of the Rabbinical Court of Appeals Rabbi Joseph Kapaḥ (ST 81/1, *Yehiel Nagar v. Orah Nagar*, PD 38(1) 365 (henceforth *Nagar*)). The case began as a question of parent-child relations, but it came to include a comprehensive discussion of the issue of women and Torah study – both learning and teaching. It should be noted that the Nagar ruling relates to the status of women in the *domestic-social setting*, whereas the ruling in the Shakdiel case (which was given after the *Nagar* ruling) relates to the status of women in the *public setting*. The question to be decided in the Nagar case was: who has the right to decide about a child's education, his father or his mother? The case involved a divorced couple who disagreed about the educational system in which to enroll their children. The father, who was newly Orthodox, wished to enroll his children in the religious educational system, whereas the mother who continued her previous life-style, objected. The rabbinical court ruled that since *halakhah* imposes the obligation to educate his children on the father, he is entitled to decide on the type of education. In the framework of this case, the Supreme Court discussed two issues: the one, a parent's right and obligation to decide on a child's school; and the second, Torah study for women.

A PARENT'S RIGHT AND OBLIGATION TO DECIDE ON A CHILD'S EDUCATION. Justice Elon opened his discussion regarding the right and obligation to decide about a child's education as follows:

> With all due respect, it seems to me that the unequivocal assertion of the rabbinical court, that the obligation to educate his children devolves upon the father, and therefore it is he who has the exclusive right to decide on the form of that education, would not have withstood appeal in the Rabbinical Court of Appeals, had such an appeal ever been heard. Not only does this assertion contradict the Women's Equal Rights Law regarding equal rights of guardianship of the father and the mother, which requires that equal consideration be given to the preferences of the father and the mother regarding their children's education; with all due respect, it seems to me that this assertion does not even correspond to the accepted view on this issue in the world of *halakhah* of our time.

The ruling notes that various medieval authorities were of the opinion that Rabbi Johanan and Resh Lakish disagree on the question whether the obligation to educate a child in the performance of *mizvot* falls exclusively upon the father or also upon the mother (Naz. 28b; and Meiri, *Bet ha-Beḥirah*, ad loc.). Modern authorities also disagree on this matter (see: R. Abraham Danzig, *Ḥayyei Adam*, Sect. 66, no. 2: "A father is obligated to educate his son and daughter, and some say that the duty of education applies to the mother as well"; Rabbi Jacob Ettlinger, *Arukh le-Ner*, Suk. 2b). Moreover, the primary burden of education usually falls upon the mothers, "who send their children to school, oversee them to assure that they engage in Torah study, show them compassion when they come home from school, and encourage them with treats to desire Torah study" (Rabbi Jonah Gerondi, *Iggeret ha-Teshuvah*, no. 72). Mothers also bear greater responsibility for rebuking their children than do fathers, "because they are available and found more often at home" (Rabbi Isaiah Horowitz, *Shenei Luḥot ha-Berit*, *Sha'ar ha-Otiyot*, *Derekh Ereẓ*). A mother's obligation finds explicit mention in Scripture: "My son, hear the instruction of your father, and do not forsake the Torah of your mother" (Prov. 1:8).

The right and duty to educate a child is a central factor with respect to his custody. In the context of custody rights, according to *halakhah*, the term education, includes, in addition to Torah study, vocational training and, most importantly, fashioning the child's personality. It is thus that halakhic scholars account for the assumption that the daughter must always be with her mother and, above the age of six, the son with his father: "For just as a mother will instruct her daughter in the way of girls, so a father will instruct his son what befits him" (Rabbenu Yeroḥam, *Toledot Adam ve-Ḥavah*, *Sefer Ḥavah*, Sect. 23:3); "And he must teach him the method of study and the ways of men" (*Resp. Rashba, ha-Meyuḥas la-Ramban*, no. 38; see also *Resp. Radbaz*, vol. 1, no.429). This is the basis for the ruling of the Rabbinical Court of Appeals that the distinction between boys and girls with respect to custody of a child over the age of six applies even when the parents are not religiously observant: "Even in a case where the two parties fail to educate their children toward the practice and study of Torah, the obligation of a father to his son and the right of the son vis-à-vis his father, is that the son should be near his father and in close connection with him, so that he may strengthen his masculine identity and character traits" (Rabbinical Appeal 33/39, p. 259, following R. Kapaḥ). Moreover, as for a son's education, "a father can teach his son what he is obligated to teach him, even if he is not with him, e.g., by hiring a teacher or apprenticing him to a craftsman" (responsum of R. Isaac Molina, published from a manuscript by Abraham David, *Kiryat Sefer* 44 (1969), 557). This has special significance in our day, when a child's education, in all its various forms, takes place in a wide variety of educational institutions. Thus, the Rabbinical Court of Appeals issued a ruling relating to the aforementioned distinction and making reference to a disagreement between Maimonides and Rabbi Abraham of Posquières (Yad, Ishut 21.17): "However, regarding a son who studies Torah, surely Maimonides writes… that the teacher must teach them all day long and part of the night, in order to train them to study during the day and at night… Thus, the father is not left with any time to teach his son, but only that he should be under his supervision for eating and sleeping, and regarding this it may be argued that the father has no priority over the mother" (File (Jerusalem) 24/42, p. 17, per R. Abraham Shapira).

This was also the conclusion in the *Nagar* case (p. 403): "While these arguments were put forward regarding the right of custody over the son, they also have considerable implications for the question of the priority given to the father to decide the form of [his son's] education-schooling. Since the child's education is no longer provided personally by the father, and it is not the father who teaches him, but rather the teachers in his school and his rabbis, it stands to reason that these should act as the agents of both the parents and with their consent."

TORAH STUDY FOR WOMEN. According to the *halakhah* in the Mishnah and Talmud, a father must teach his son Torah, but a mother is exempted from this obligation (Kid. 29a, Mishnah and Gemara *ibid.*). This law is summarized by Maimonides (Yad, Talmud Torah 1:1): "Women… are exempt from the study of Torah; but a father is required to teach his minor son Torah; as it is said: 'You shall teach them to your sons and speak of them' (Deut. 11:19). A woman is not required to teach her son, since only those who are obligated to study are also obligated to teach."

As early as in the tannaitic period, differing views were expressed regarding this "triple" exemption of women – the exemption of a mother with respect to teaching her son, of a woman with respect to study, and of a daughter with respect to being taught by her father. According to Ben Azzai, "One is obligated to teach his daughter Torah," while Rabbi Eliezer ben Horcanus took the view, "Whoever teaches his daughter Torah is considered as if he taught her *tiflut*" – licentiousness (M., Sot. 3:4). Although various talmudic and post-talmudic sources have spoken in praise of wise and learned women, the view of Rabbi Eliezer came to be accepted as the law.

With the passage of time, the law on this subject underwent a number of changes; the prohibition against teaching Torah to women was constructed more narrowly, both in terms of the subjects permitted to be taught (the Written Law and various laws with practical relevance) and how deeply the material should be taught. The *halakhah* established that a woman is under no obligation to study Torah, and therefore is not obligated to teach Torah. This was essentially the situation until different rulings and conceptions penetrated the world of *halakhah*, a small number over the course of history, and far more in recent generations.

The social changes that have transpired in recent times have had an evident and far-reaching effect on halakhic decision making regarding Torah study for woman and by women. Rabbi Zalman Sorotzkin, one of the leading authorities in the world of yeshivot, has ruled: "Recent times are not like earlier times: in earlier times, Jewish families lived according to the rules of the Shulḥan Arukh, and it was possible to learn the entire Torah from daily life at home… But today… not only is it *permitted* to teach Torah and reverence towards God to the daughters of our generation, but there is *an absolute duty* to do so, as we have explained; and it is a great *mitzvah* to establish schools for girls to implant in their hearts a pure faith and [to teach them] Torah and the commandments…" (Rabbi Zalman Sorotzkin, *Moznayim la-Mishpat*, 1955, sec. 42).

Halakhic decision-making does not break completely with the existing *halakhah*, but rather limits it, and distinguishes between prior and newly developing *halakhah*. In light of the contemporary social and ideological reality that is undergoing fundamental changes, women today are integrated in all areas of activity, in the academic world, in the business world, and in all social life. This reality is no longer commensurate with the conclusions drawn in a different time and under different circumstances, based upon the principle of "All the glory of the king's daughter is within" (Ps. 45:14). Familiarity with and knowledge of the halakhic sources is necessary for both men and women in order to deal with the challenges of the time. For this reason the prohibition to teach one's daughter Torah has been restricted. Rabbi Moshe Malka, head of the rabbinical court of Petaḥ Tikvah, summarized the matter as follows: "Rabbi Eliezer would certainly admit that it is not at all forbidden to teach a woman even the Oral Law, so that she may be able to exercise care in observing all the laws of the Torah that pertain to her work and activities. Indeed, it is our duty to educate her to the fullest extent possible…" (*Resp. Mikveh ha-Mayyim*, vol. 3, YD, no. 21).

The permission granted to women to study Torah, which has been understood by some as an obligation, was expanded in a ruling of Justice Elon, with the agreement of Dayyan Kapaḥ, to also include an obligation imposed on the woman to teach her children Torah (*Nagar,* pp. 406–7):

> In summary, as we have seen, the law that a father is obligated to teach his son Torah, but the mother is exempt, is based on the law that the father himself is obligated to study Torah, and the woman is exempt from such self-study, following the rule that only one whose duty it is to learn has a duty to teach. In our day, after such an fundamental change has taken place, that not only is there no prohibition, but women are even obligated to study Torah, and women not only study for themselves, but also teach the children of others, the conclusion seems to follow that the obligation to teach a son Torah falls equally upon the father and the mother, following the rule that whoever has the duty to learn has also the duty to teach. All the more so this is true when we are dealing with fulfilling the obligation by way of expressing an opinion regarding the school to which the son should be sent. And were I not hesitant, I would say that the Rabbinical Court of Appeals, had it been asked to deal with obligation of educating children, both sons and daughters, would have concluded that it is a joint right and obligation falling upon both parents, subject of course to the special education that a father must give to his son and a mother to her daughter through understanding of and identification with the children of their own gender.

WOMEN'S PRAYER. Another issue that the Supreme Court was asked to consider in connection with the status of women in the world of *halakhah* was that of public prayer conducted by women (see: HC 257/89 *Anat Hoffman et al v. the Trustee over the Western Wall et al.*; and HC 90/2410, *Susan Alter et al. v. the Minister of Religious Affairs*, 48 (2) PD 265–358 (henceforth Women of the Wall); Elon, *Ma'amad ha-Ishah*, p. 119–193).

The issue of women's prayer, their obligation and their exemption, and other related topics, has been discussed at length in the literature of *halakhah* and Jewish thought. The discussion has greatly expanded in recent times in light of the social changes that have transpired. The halakhic questions that have arisen in this connection relate to the laws of prayer: First, is a woman permitted to wear a *tallit*? And second, is she permitted to carry a Torah scroll and read from it? These two questions relate to another issue, namely, the nature of public prayer conducted by women.

Underlying these issues is the halakhic principle stating that women are exempt from time-bound positive commandments, that is, those whose performance depends upon a fixed date or time (e.g., during the day and not at night, during particular hours of the day, on specific days or festivals, and the like; M., Kid. 1:7; Kid. 32a; Maim. Yad, Avod. Zar. 12:3; Yad, Ẓiẓit 3:9; Sh. Ar., OḤ, 17:2; S.J. Berman, "The Status of Women in Halakhic Judaism," in: *Tradition,* 14 (1973) 11–13). Various rationales have been offered for this exemption (see, for example, R. Elyakim Ellinson, *Bein ha-Ishah le-Yoẓerah: Ha-Ishah ve-ha-Mitzvot* (vol. 1, second ed., Jerusalem, 1982), p. 30ff.) According to the prevalent view, a woman is exempt from these obligations so as to make it easier for her to fulfill her role in the world, and not because of any inferiority in relation to the man. In the world of Judaism, the primary role assigned to a woman is to build the home and family – "All the glory of the king's daughter is within" (Ps. 45:14). Hence, the Sages determined that any *mitzvah*, whose performance depends on a particular time, is not binding upon a woman, so as not to make it more difficult for her to fulfill that role.

This rationale is already found in the halakhic literature of the Middle Ages (see: *Sefer Abudraham ha-Shalem: Seder Tefillot shel Ḥol*, Pt. III, *Birkot ha-Mitzvot*), and was well-summarized by Rabbi Moses Feinstein (*Resp. Iggerot Moshe*, OḤ, pt. 4, no. 49):

> For most women in the world are not wealthy, and the burden of child-rearing, which is the most important work for God, blessed be He, and for the Torah… Women's nature is more amenable to child-rearing, for which reason they were granted the leniency of not being obligated in Torah study and the time-bound positive commandments. Therefore, even if the circumstances of living in the world would change for all women, and for wealthy women at all times, and even were it possible to transfer child-raising to certain men and woman, as in our country – Torah law would not change, nor even rabbinic law. … You must understand that this is not because women are lower in the level of holiness than men, for with respect to holiness they are equal to men regarding obligation in *mitzvot*. For the command of *mitzvot* is due only to the holiness found in Israel, and all the verses regarding holiness were said to the women as well. At the beginning of the conditions for receiving the Torah: "You shall be My own treasure from among all peoples… and you shall be to Me… a holy nation." All this was said to the house of Jacob, namely, the women, and told to the children of Israel, that is, the men. And wherever you find the matter of the holiness of Israel, it also refers to women. Therefore, women also recite blessings over the commandments, using the formula, "Who has sanctified us with His commandments," like men, even over those commandments that the Torah did not obligate her [to fulfill]. It is merely a leniency for some reason that God, blessed be He, wished to be lenient with them, as explained above, but not because of some deficiency, God forbid. As for the obligations between husband and wife, the husband is obligated to honor his wife, and the wife her husband, with no distinction. And many women were prophetesses and they were governed by all the laws of prophecy like men. They are praised for many things, both in Scripture and in the words of the Sages, of blessed memory, even more so than men. There is no belittlement of their dignity or anything else in the fact that they are exempt from Torah study and the time-bound positive commandments. And there is no reason for resentment whatsoever. This, you must explain over and over again."

A unique rationale for the exemption regarding time-bound positive commandments given to women was suggested by Rabbi Samson Raphael Hirsch, pioneer of the school of Torah with *derekh ereẓ* (in his commentary to Lev. 23:43): "Their exemption from time-bound positive commandments is most certainly not on account of their being considered in any way of lesser worth or importance. Rather, it seems to us much more likely that the Torah did not impose these commandments upon women because it did not consider it necessary that they be demanded of women. God's Torah takes it for granted that women have greater love and more devoted enthusiasm for their God-serving calling, and that this calling involves less danger in their case than for men whose devotion to Torah is more exposed to the temptations which occur in the course of business and professional life. Accordingly, it does not find it necessary to give women these spurring reminders to remain true to their calling, or warnings against weaknesses in their business lives.

Justice Elon summarized the issue in his ruling in the Women of the Wall case (pp. 305–6):

> The "exemption" from time-bound positive commandments – such as public prayer, *shofar* blowing (on Rosh ha-Shanah) and taking the *lulav* (on Sukkot) – does not deprive a woman of permission to fulfill these positive commandments if she so desires. According to many halakhic authorities, when a woman fulfills a time-bound positive commandment, she is also permitted to recite the same appropriate blessing as that said by men: "Who has sanctified us with His commandments and commanded us…" (*Tosafot*, Kid. 31a, s.v. *delo mafkidna*; Ramban, ad loc., s.v. *man de-amar li*; Ritva, novellae, ad loc., s.v. *katvu ba-Tosafot*; Ra'avyah, vol. 2, no. 597).

Based on the above, the halakhic authorities ruled that a woman who wishes to participate in congregational prayer is not counted toward a *minyan*, the required quorum of ten. This was based upon the reasonable and logical reason that one who is exempt from the *mitzvah* cannot be counted in the obligatory quorum that constitutes the *minyan*. The same rationale has been applied to a man who is exempt from *mitzvot* under certain circumstances. Thus, for example, a person whose close relative died but has not yet been brought to burial is classified as an *onen* – a person in the initial stage of mourning immediately after the death prior to the burial. During this period, he is exempt from the obligation to fulfill *mitzvot*, due to his emotional state and his preoccupation with the burial. According to many halakhic authorities, during this period of *onenut*, since he is exempt from the obligation to pray, he is not counted toward a *minyan* (*Sheyarei Keneset ha-Gedolah*, OḤ, 55; *Hagahot Bet Yosef*, 4; *Resp.* Paraḥ Mateh Aharon, vol. 1, no. 19; *Resp.* Shevut Ya'akov, vol. 2, no. 25).

For this reason, women are counted toward the required quorum with respect to obligations that for one reason or another bind them (e.g., Megillah reading, public sanctification of God's name, and others). Moreover, according to some halakhic authorities, women are obligated in prayer, but they are not obligated in *congregational prayer* (Ber. 20a–b; Maim. Yad, Tefillah 1:2; Sh. Ar., OḤ, 106:1–2, and *Magen Avraham*, ad loc., no. 2).

There is a difference of opinion as to whether women are obligated in all three daily prayers – the Morning, Afternoon, and Evening services – or only in some of them. According to one of the most noted authorities of the past century, Rabbi Israel Meir of Radin, women are obligated to recite the morning and afternoon services (*Mishneh Berurah* on Sh. Ar., OḤ 106.4). Others are of the opinion that women are not at all obligated in prayer, given that it is a time-bound positive commandment. According to *halakhah*, a *minyan* of ten men is required in order to fulfill the obligation of communal prayer, and only in a *minyan* may "matters of holiness" – that is, prayers and blessings which sanctify God, such as *kaddish*, *barekhu* and *kedushah* – be recited (Meg. 23b), and only in a *minyan* does the prayer leader repeat the *Amidah* prayer. Women are not counted toward a *minyan* of ten, for reasons that we will explain below. There are other matters as well – e.g., the priestly blessing, the special *zimmun* recited in the presence of ten, and others – that require a quorum of ten men. The halakhic authorities disagree about the underlying rationale (see Maim., Yad, Tefilah 8:4–6; Sh. Ar., OḤ, 55:1, 69:1). As stated above, women are not counted toward the required minyan, except in certain special cases, according to certain halakhic authorities (see: A. Frimer, "Women and Minyan," in: *Tradition*, 23:4 (1988), pp. 54ff.; A. Weiss, *Women at Prayer* (1990 (13–56)).

It follows from all the above that *halakhah* does not take a hierarchical or condescending attitude toward women. On the contrary, women have "greater affection and more devoted enthusiasm" than men, and it was unnecessary for time-bound positive commandments to be required of them. The halakhic exemption granted women is rooted in *halakhah*'s great attentiveness to the special circumstances of a woman's life, the fact that the burden of child-rearing falls primarily on her shoulders. It is, therefore, clear that she is permitted to take part in the observance of such *mitzvot*, even if she is not obligated to do so (see: D. Sperber, "*Tefilat Nashim*," in *Minhagei Yisra'el* (vol. 7, Jerusalem, 2003), pp. 68–81).

Halakhah's attitude toward the new phenomenon of-women's "prayer groups" has been discussed in light of the sources cited above. The discussions begin with concrete halakhic questions, e.g., wearing a *tallit* and reading the Torah.

Women are exempt from wearing *ẓiẓit* (ritual fringes) and wrapping themselves in a *tallit*, for this is a *mitzvah* that is considered among the time-bound positive commandments, its obligation being limited to daytime, as opposed to night. However, as stated earlier, while women are *exempt* from the obligation to fulfill time-bound positive commandments, they are *permitted* to do so. This applies to the *mitzvah* of *ẓiẓit* as well. In fact, it is in the context of his discussion of this *mitzvah* that Maimonides records the general principle. He states as follows (Yad, Ẓiẓit 3:9): "Women… are exempted by scriptural law from the obligation of having fringes on their garments… If women… desire to wear garments with fringes, no objection is raised, but they do not recite the blessing. The same is the rule with respect to other positive precepts from the obligation of which women are exempt. If they wish to fulfill them without reciting the blessing, no objection is raised." R. Abraham of Posquières agrees that women may fulfill such precepts (*Hagahot ha-Rabad*, ad loc.), and adds that they may even recite a blessing (see also Rabad's comment to *Sifra*, *Vayikra*, *parshata* 2).

There are divergent views in the world of *halakhah* regarding whether or not women who fulfill time-bound positive commandments of their own volition are permitted to recite a blessing. Rabbi Moses Feinstein, in the previously mentioned responsum (*Resp. Iggerot Moshe*, OḤ, part 4, no. 49) rules that, just as women are permitted in general to fulfill time-bound positive commandments and to recite a blessing over them, so too regarding *ẓiẓit*, "a woman who so desires may don a four-cornered garment that is different than a man's garment, put fringes on it, and fulfill the *mitzvah*." But he adds a reservation that runs throughout the responsum: "Clearly, however, this only applies when her soul yearns to fulfill the precepts, even though she was not commanded. Since, however, this is not her intention, but only an aspect of her protest against the Torah, this is not at all an act of *mitzvah*, but, on the contrary, a forbidden act, involving the heresy of believing that the laws of the Torah can be changed." Justice Elon commented on this reasoning (*Ma'amad ha-Ishah*, pp. 131–32):

> "The requirement is that one must perform a *mitzvah* for the purpose of fulfilling the mitzvah, and not out of disregard for a halakhic rule, motivated by 'the alien consideration' of objecting in principle to the exemption because it is offensive to women. In the world of *halakhah* this requirement serves as a firm foundation for legislating enactments, instituting customs and introducing changes into them. The litigants presented us with a letter written by Rabbi Tendler, Rabbi Feinstein's son-in-law, clarifying his father-in-law's position as to his concern that the women's prayer groups are motivated by alien considerations, as stated above, and that the permission to wear a *tallit* applies only when it is clear that their intention is for the sake of

> Heaven, without any questioning of Israel's Torah and customs. This argument is included among the moral understandings of the world of *halakhah*, which serve as a weighty factor in *halakhah*'s policy of decision-making in general, and in especially sensitive issues, like the one before us, in particular.

In both earlier and more recent generations, there were women who were accustomed to wear a *tallit* and recite a blessing, with the approval of the halakhic authorities (see Y.Z. Kahana, *Teshuvot*, *Pesakim u-Minhagim Maharam mi-Rotenburg*, p. 141, no. 24; *Resp. Ẓemaḥ Ẓedek*, OḤ, no. 3, which goes into a full and detailed discussion of the issue; Y.M. Toledano, *Ner ha-Ma'arav*, p. 155; and see S. Ashkenazi, *Ha-Ishah ba-Aspaklariyat ha-Yahadut*, 1953, vol. 1, p. 137). It was nevertheless not the general custom of women, at least not in recent generations, to wear *ẓiẓit* or enwrap themselves in a *tallit*, unlike the case regarding other time-bound positive commandments, such as blowing the *shofar*, waving the *lulav*, or sitting in the *sukkah*, which they were accustomed to fulfill. The reason lies in the custom, first mentioned by the Maharil, that women should abstain from so doing (*Resp. Maharil ha-Ḥadashot*, Jerusalem, 1977, OḤ, no. 7, pp. 13–14). The custom is cited by the Rema (Sh. Ar., OḤ, 17.2) as follows: "Nevertheless, if [women] wish to wrap themselves [in a *tallit*] and recite the blessing, they are permitted to do so, just as is the case with the other time-bound positive commandments… It appears, however, as haughtiness. Therefore, they should not wear *ẓiẓit*, since it is not an obligation on the person." According to some more recent authorities, the common practice today is in fact that women do not wear *ẓiẓit* (*Kaf ha-Ḥayyim*, OḤ, 17, no. 8; *Arukh ha-Shulḥan*, OḤ, 17:2–3, and see there the explanation offered by the author of the *Arukh ha-Shulḥan* regarding what the Rema says that "it appears as haughtiness," and his conclusion: "Therefore, we do not allow her to practice this *mitzvah*, and thus is the custom, and there must be no deviations"; cf. Rabbi S. Yisraeli, "*Nashim be-Kiyyum Mitzvot*," in *Ha-Ishah ve-Ḥinukhah* (Emunah, 1980, p. 29).

As for the issue of Torah reading by women, most halakhic authorities maintain that a woman is exempt from the obligation of public Torah reading, since it is regarded as a time-bound positive commandment (*Tosafot*, R.H. 33a, s.v. *ha-Rabbi Yehudah*, *ha-Rabbi Yose*; and see there a detailed discussion of most of the topics discussed here; Ran on Alfasi, Meg. 23a, s.v., *ha-kol olin le-minyan shiv'ah*; *Resp. Maharsham*, vol. 1, no. 158; *Arokh ha-Shulkhan* OḤ, 182:6). The *mitzvah* of public Torah reading is defined as a time-bound positive commandment, since it is limited to specific times. Women, therefore, are not counted toward the quorum of ten required for the Torah reading, just as they are not counted toward the quorum of ten required for congregational prayer. They are, however, permitted to read the Torah in the context of women's prayer groups. A question arises regarding the *barekhu* blessing that accompanies the Torah reading, since that falls into the category of *devarim she-bi-kedushah*. Rabbi Tendler summarized the issue in his aforementioned letter: "They may also read from a Torah scroll, but they must be careful to do so in such a way that it not be mistaken for public Torah reading. For example, they may not recite a blessing in public; either they should rely on a blessing that had been recited earlier, or if such a blessing had not yet been recited, they should recite it quietly to themselves." The letter concludes: "There is no absolute prohibition for a menstruating woman to gaze upon or touch a Torah scroll. While it is proper to be stringent, nevertheless it has become customary to be lenient in the matter." It is on this basis that the question of a women's *minyan* was discussed.

Before the modern period, women generally did not go to synagogue for the purpose of congregational prayer. In modern times, women began to attend synagogue services on the Sabbath and festivals. The prayer service and Torah reading was conducted entirely by the men and in the men's section. The woman sat in the women's section that was set apart from the men's section. They played a solely passive role in the service, that is to say, in the women's section, they recited the entire prayer service that was recited and conducted in the men's section. In the last generation, certain women have expressed the desire to conduct a prayer service that would be composed and conducted entirely by women, but not as was customary in a *minyan* composed of men – that is, with *kaddish*, *barekhu*, and other such elements – but rather without these passages, so as not to violate the laws of *halakhah*. These women referred to such services as "prayer groups" or "*tefillah* groups," in order to distinguish between them and a men's *minyan.* Some Orthodox rabbis have supported these women's prayer groups; others, however, while recognizing and encouraging the social and intellectual achievements of religiously observant women in our day, object to women's "prayer groups," and view them as a serious violation of *halakhah* (Women of the Wall, pp. 306–7).

Today, the number of women's "prayer groups" is not large; they were first established in the United States, and there are only a few of them in the State of Israel. The two approaches of Orthodox Jewry, while agreeing on many points, differ bitterly on this issue, the controversy having found widespread written expression. Rabbi Herschel Schechter ("*Ẓe'i Lakh be-Ikvei ha-Ẓon*," in *Beit Yiẓḥak,* 17 (1985), 118, at p. 127 (henceforth: Schechter)) maintains that: "We have never seen nor heard of such a practice of arranging a separate Torah or *megillah* reading for women, or of arranging separate *hakafot* for women. The obligation falls upon us to continue the tradition of our fathers and their fathers before them regarding the manner of observing the *mitzvot*." Therefore, "since women had never been accustomed to observe the *mitzvot* of prayer and Torah reading in this manner, we must not deviate from the tradition of our fathers, and make up new practices… Not only must we continue the tradition of our fathers, but there is also a prohibition to deviate from customary practices. While it is true that 'we have never seen' is not proof, nevertheless, the *Shakh* (YD 1:1) has already explained… that in any event such conduct establishes a custom… and thus these practices involve [the violation of] the prohibition of changing customs" (*ibid.*, pp. 128–29).

This approach was not accepted by Justice Elon who stated (Women of the Wall, p. 313): “This assertion is not free of uncertainty. The absence of a custom does not necessarily constitute proof of the negation of that arrangement; in certain situations there exists a lacuna which may be filled, when the time and the need arrive – obviously, when this does not involve [the violation of] a halakhic prohibition.”

Rabbi Schechter views Orthodox women’s prayer groups as a “falsification of the Torah” (p. 119), because “it is their intention to show everyone that women are as important as men.” According to Rabbi Schechter, the congregational prayer of these Orthodox women involves a violation of the prohibition against adopting non-Jewish practices (*ibid.*, p. 131). For “it is known that these practices were not introduced in our time in a vacuum, but as a result of the general movement for the liberation of women, whose objective in this area is licentiousness, to equate women with men in every way possible” (*ibid.*). The reference here is not to non-Jewish practices in general, but to “non-Jewish practices regarding the performance of religious duties” (*ibid.*). Justice Elon commented on this (Women of the Wall, pp. 321–25):

> With all due respect to the distinguished author, it is difficult to fully understand what he means. Why should we suspect those who participate in the public prayer groups designed for women and conducted by them of such grave intentions and objectives, when their entire conduct demonstrates their meticulousness about *halakhah*: for example, not to recite *devarim she-bi-kedushah*, such as the prayer leader’s repetition of the A*midah* and the like? Does this not in itself prove that the objective of the organizers of the women’s public prayer services – with their observance of the framework of *halakhah* and its laws – is [to fill] a spiritual need that stems from knowledge of the *mitzvot* and *halakhah*, of the Torah and the ways of Torah scholars and thinkers? This seems so, particularly in light of the fact that these young girls, teenagers, and women, are meticulous about the ways of *halakhah*, both trivial and serious, and have studied for many years in educational institutions that promote Torah and *derekh ereẓ*, and it is because of this education that they seek their own expression, within the framework of *halakhah*, by way of prayer groups, the subject of our discussion.

In Rabbi Schechter’s sharp objection to women’s prayer groups, even when they do not constitute a “*minyan*,” he relies on the rulings of two of the generation’s leading authorities, Rabbi Moses Feinstein and Rabbi Joseph B. Soloveitchik. Rabbi A. Weiss correctly noted that Rabbi Schechter was imprecise on this point. As for the position of Rabbi Soloveitchik, nothing was ever committed to writing, and the view that is attributed to him was reported by rabbis and disciples who had consulted with him. According to their reports, Rabbi Soloveitchik did not object to the existence of women’s prayer groups per se, but to particular elements that were practiced in such groups, such as the recitation of the blessing before and after the Torah reading (see Rabbi Weiss, *ibid.*, pp. 107–8). As for the position of Rabbi Moses Feinstein, this is stated explicitly in a detailed responsum (*Resp. Iggerot Moshe*, OḤ, pt. 4, no. 49), mentioned earlier. This responsum does not give voice to an objection in principle to women’s prayer groups, when their intentions are in fact for the sake of Heaven, but only to certain changes adopted in such prayer groups regarding Torah reading (see Rabbi Weiss, *ibid.*, pp. 108–10). As stated in earlier comments, according to Rabbi Schechter, the world of *halakhah*, by its very essence, is not stagnant; it is open to new laws and enactments, according to the needs of the time and place. There are, however, matters and principles regarding which halakhic creativity must demonstrate great caution, and according to him, the matter under discussion is included among them. He is aware of the changes that have occurred in recent generations regarding the social standing of women, their knowledge of *halakhah* and their general education, but he argues that all these do not justify the changes involved in women’s prayer groups, that are influenced by alien and non-halakhic considerations, with all that they involve with respect to the centrality of prayer and the synagogue in Jewish tradition (see, *ibid.*, end of p. 125 and p. 127ff. regarding “the pillar of *mitzvah* in the deeds of *mitzvah*, and pp. 130–31 regarding the special stringency concerning “synagogue traditions”).

Rabbi Weiss espouses the opposite view. In his comprehensive monograph on the topic, he concludes his discussion of women’s prayer groups with the following (pp. 123–24): “Within Halakhic guidelines, woman may participate in women’s prayer groups, as long as these groups fall into the halakhic category of *tefillah* and not *minyan*… Participants in such groups are not rebelling against Torah Judaism. Quite the contrary. They are seeking to instill greater religious meaning in their lives. Their purpose is not to diminish the Torah, but to enhance their Jewish commitment and halakhic observance… Their quest to reach nobly to attain this lofty objective should be applauded.”

THE WOMEN OF THE WALL CASE. The issue of women’s prayer was dealt with by the Israeli Supreme Court on several occasions. The first ruling (Women of the Wall case) involved two petitions presented by women who wished to conduct their prayer service in the Western Wall plaza, while carrying Torah scrolls, wearing *tallitot*, and reading out loud from the Torah. The prayer of these women aroused the fierce objection of the overwhelming majority of those praying at the Wall – both men and women – which was accompanied by disturbances and physical and verbal violence. Justice Elon issued a detailed and comprehensive ruling on the matter, close to a hundred pages in length, based on the above-cited and other sources. While he was of the opinion that a women’s *minyan* does not contradict the Jewish character of the state, *he ruled that there must be no deviations from local custom, because changes in custom will result in strife and quarreling.* He concludes his ruling as follows (pp. 350–51):

> It is clear beyond all doubt that granting the petitions before us will give rise to exceedingly difficult, bitter, and sharp controversy, accompanied by violence that will end in bloodshed. It is an uncontested fact that the overwhelming majority of people visiting the Western Wall day and night for the purpose of prayer are counted among those who maintain and believe,

> honestly and innocently, that the changes sought in the two petitions before us involve a desecration of the prayer site adjacent to the Western Wall. Not only would these changes lead to very difficult and violent controversy, but the laws of *halakhah* would prevent people, men and women, from conducting their prayers at the Wall… It is clear and unnecessary to say that the petitioners have the right to pray as they please in their congregations and synagogues, and nobody will prevent them from doing so. The freedom of worship of the petitioners remains firmly in place. However, owing to the uniqueness of the Western Wall, and the great sensitivity in the holiest place to the entire Jewish people, prayer in this unique and special place should be conducted in accordance with the common denominator that allows for the prayer of every Jew; namely, in accordance with the custom that has prevailed there for generations.

It should be noted that the Supreme Court addressed the issue in two additional, later occasions (HC 3358/95 *Anat Hoffman et al v. Administrative Director of the Prime Minister's Office et al*, PD 54(2) 345; HC 4128/00, *Administrative Director of the Prime Minister's Office v. Anat Hoffman et al*, PD 57(3) 289).

BAT MITZVAH CELEBRATIONS. As we have seen, practice and custom (see **Minhag*) have had great impact upon decision-making in matters related to the status of women. In this context it is interesting to examine the attitude of the halakhic authorities to the celebration of bat mitzvah of a young girl who has reached the age of maturity (*Ma'amad ha-Ishah*, pp. 137–42). It should first be noted that Rabbi Yehiel Weinberg discussed the issue (*Resp. Seridei Esh*, vol. 3, nos. 93–96) whether it is permissible to perform circumcision of an infant, or that of an adult who had not been circumcised in infancy, under anesthesia, in order to lessen the pain and suffering caused by the procedure. He answers in the negative, especially with respect to the circumcision of an adult. In another responsum, Rabbi Weinberg was asked about celebrating the bat mitzvah of a girl upon reaching her 12th birthday, just as it has always been customary to celebrate a boy's bar mitzvah upon his reaching the age of 13. On this matter, he answered in the affirmative, namely, that a celebration should be held for a girl as well. What is common to the two responsa is that they both deal with innovative practices, the one regarding circumcision, and the other regarding the celebration of bat mitzvah. In a lengthy and detailed responsum, Rabbi Weinberg explains his negative reply regarding the use of an anesthetic during circumcision, arguing that this possibility had already existed in ancient times, during the Talmudic period, but it had met with the opposition of the halakhic authorities for the halakhic reasons detailed in his responsum. This being the case, we apply the principle that "the custom of Israel is considered Torah," and do not deviate from the customary practice. In contrast, regarding the celebration of a girl's bat mitzvah, Rabbi Weinberg's reply was in the affirmative, and the reasoning expressed in his responsum is very instructive. Indeed, bat mitzvah celebrations had not been customary in previous generations, and thus, "there are those who argue against allowing a bat mitzvah celebration, on the grounds that it contradicts the custom of the earlier generations, who did not practice this custom" (*ibid.*, p. 297, col. 1). However, he refutes this argument:

> In truth, however, this is not a [valid] argument, for in earlier generations it was unnecessary to engage in girls' education, for every Jew was full of Torah and fear of God, and the air of every community in Israel was filled with the spirit of Judaism… Now, however, the generations have drastically changed… [Moreover,] It pains the heart that with regard to general education – the teaching of languages, secular literature, natural sciences, and humanities – people are concerned about girls in the same way that they are concerned about boys, but they totally neglect religious education – the study of Scripture and the ethical literature of the Sages, and training in the practical *mitzvot* that are binding upon women. Fortunately, the leading authorities of the previous generation recognized the problem and established institutions of Torah and religious strengthening for Jewish girls. The establishment of the great and comprehensive network of Bet Ya'akov schools is the noblest demonstration of our generation. Common sense and pedagogical principle almost demand that we celebrate a girl's reaching the obligation of *mitzvot*. The distinction made between boys and girls regarding the celebration of their maturity seriously offends the sensitivities of the girl who comes of age (*ibid.*, p. 297, col. 2).

As for the concern of "alien considerations" underlying the introduction of the new practice of celebrating a bat mitzvah – that is to say, such celebrations involve an imitation of non-Jewish practices – Rabbi Weinberg says as follows:

> Our brothers who have recently introduced the practice of celebrating a bat mitzvah say that they have done so in order to strengthen in the heart of a girl who has reached [the age of] *mitzvot* her love for Judaism and its commandments, and to arouse a feeling of pride in her Judaism and in her being the daughter of a great and holy people. It is of no concern to us that the Gentiles also celebrate confirmation whether for boys or for girls; they conduct their ceremony and we ours; they pray and bow down in their churches and we bow down and prostrate ourselves and give thanks to the King of Kings, the Holy One, blessed be He (*ibid.*, p. 297, col. 1).

Justice Elon summarizes this issue in the aforementioned Women of the Wall case:

> In summation, a custom that deviates from a pre-existing custom, such as using anesthetics during circumcision, should not be accepted; for this is the power of custom, that it becomes law, and there is no halakhic justification to change it, unless it is justified in the light of the social changes and legitimate ideological changes in the world of *halakhah*. On the other hand, introducing a new custom, such as celebrating a girl's bat mitzvah, which does not contradict the existing law, and whose non-existence in the past stems from a specific social-ideological reality that has now entirely changed… It is right and fitting that it be accepted, on its own merits and in order to prevent a situation in our generation, as formulated by Rabbi Yehiel Weinberg, in which "the distinction made between boys and girls regarding the celebration of their maturity seriously offends the sensitivities of the girl who comes of age."

The practice of celebrating a girl's *bat mitzvah* upon her reaching the age of 12 was also discussed by Rabbi Moses Feinstein (*Resp. Iggerot Moshe*, OḤ, no. 104). Rabbi Feinstein raises doubts about the propriety of introducing the custom of a bat mitzvah celebration, and he sees such a celebration, not as a *se'udat mitzvah* [a meal constituting a *mitzvah*], but merely a birthday party." Rabbi Feinstein absolutely forbids the celebration of a bat mitzvah in a synagogue, but permits it at home. He adds that this celebration involves the alien consideration of imitating a practice observed in circles that do not accept *halakhah* whatsoever.

Rabbi Feinstein's responsum implies that he was not in favor at all of introducing the custom of celebrating bat mitzvah. In this connection, there is an interesting ruling of the former chief Sephardi rabbi of Israel, Rabbi Ovadiah Yosef, who views the celebration in a positive light, and even promotes it: "It seems that there is certainly a *mitzvah* to arrange a joyous meal for the bat mitzvah, according to what Maharshal (R. Solomon Luria) says in *Yam shel Shelomo* (*Bava Kamma*, Ch. 7. 37) that there is no *se'udat mitzvah* greater than a bar mitzvah banquet… Since she becomes obligated in the *mitzvot*, and she is like an adult who is commanded to perform the *mitzvot*, regarding all the *mitzvot* that are binding upon a woman, [the celebration] is certainly a *mitzvah*" (*Resp. Yabi'a Omer*, Vol. 6, OḤ, no. 29, sec. 4). Rabbi Yosef discusses the issue again in another responsum (*Resp. Yeḥavveh Da'at*, vol. 2, no. 29), where he writes (p. 111): "In truth, opposing bat mitzvah celebrations allows sinners to accuse the Sages of Israel of depriving the daughters of Israel and discriminating between boys and girls." He also cites and relies upon the words of Rabbi Yehiel Weinberg, in responsum no. 93, that this does not involve emulation of non-Jewish practices, and the non-celebration of a bat mitzvah involves discrimination against girls and a serious offense to a girl's sensitivities. Further on, R. Yosef relies on additional responsa of contemporary Sephardi sages, including Rabbi Ovadiah Hadayah, who allow bat mitzvah celebrations (*Resp. Yaskil Avdi*, vol. 5, OḤ, no. 28). Rabbi Ovadiah Yosef refers to the position of Rabbi Moses Feinstein, who raised doubts about the propriety of celebrating a bat mitzvah, as stated earlier, and expresses his disagreement: "But with all due respect, his words are incorrect, for since she becomes obligated in the *mitzvot*, and she is like an adult who is commanded to perform the *mitzvot*, regarding all the *mitzvot* that are binding upon a woman, [the celebration] is certainly a *mitzvah*" (*Resp. Yabi'a Omer, ibid.*)

Rabbi Ovadiah Yosef summarizes his ruling as follows (*Resp. Yeḥavveh Da'at*, *ibid.*): "The practice of making a celebration and festive meal of thanksgiving in honor of a bat mitzvah girl on the day she reaches 12 years and a day is a good and fitting practice. And it is preferable that they speak there words of Torah, as well as praises of God. One must be meticulously careful to observe the rules of modesty according to our holy Torah… And God will not withhold good from those who walk uprightly." (Regarding bat mitzvah celebrations, see *Ma'amad ha-Ishah*, pp. 137–42, 145, 149–150).

AGUNOT. A major and central topic relating to the status of woman in the world of Judaism is the topic of *agunot* (wives who are unable to receive a *get* due to husband's recalcitrance or disappearance). This discussion of this issue began in the tannaitic period and continues to this very day, and it is a striking example of creativity and decision-making in the world of *halakhah*, in accordance with the time, place and situation, and in accordance with the truth of the law and the truth of the judge. It is an instructive example of the influence of historical reality on the methods of creating and fashioning *halakhah*, and regarding the integration of *halakhah* and society in the world of Judaism – thoughts, doubts and differences of opinion. The issue is multi-faceted – an entire world of *halakhah* and Jewish thought. (For a detailed discussion, see **Agunah*).

In this context we will cite the following comments of Justice Elon's (M. Elon, *Ḥakikah Datit be-Ḥukei Medinat Yisra'el u-bi-Shefitah shel Batei ha-Mishpat u-Batei ha-Din ha-Rabbaniyyim* (1968), pp. 182–84):

> *Halakhah* has the capability, the authority, and the duty to resolve, those problems, the results of which contradict the goals of the halakhic system itself, and which from the perspective of *halakhah* itself, must be resolved. The classic example of such problems are cases of *agunah*, whether resulting from the disappearance of the husband or other similar situations. Needless to say, *halakhah* has no interest in causing the woman pain and suffering; *halakhah*'s sole interest is that a married woman not take another husband, and that a *yevamah* (widow whose husband died without offspring) who did not perform *halitzah*, not be permitted to others. There may be ways of not regarding the woman as a married woman, for example, by way of a condition attached to the marriage and by way of a nullification of the betrothal – as a result of which the widow will not be regarded as a *yevamah.* This manner of solution was introduced by Mahari Brin (Sh. Ar., EH, 157:3). In such cases, *halakhah* has both the authority and the duty to resolve these problems, for it is the goal of *halakhah* that the woman – every woman –not remain an *agunah.* This is the background of the extensive discussion found in halakhic literature of ways to release an *agunah*, beginning with Rabban Gamaliel the Elder through countless generations of those who made enactments and proposed solutions in order to save a woman from being and suffering as an *agunah.* It should be stated and emphasized that the way to resolve the matter is not easy, if only for the reason that in recent centuries the tendency has been to make little or no use whatsoever of ordinances in this sensitive and delicate area of marital law. However, the needs of the individual and the community, and most importantly, the essence and goals of *halakhah* itself, necessitate the speedy resolution of these problems in the framework of *halakhah* and by the halakhic authorities.

It should again be noted that a partial resolution of the problem of *agunot* has been reached through the legislation and judicial rulings of the State of Israel, i.e., through the sanctions (*harḥakot*) mentioned in Rabbinical Courts Law (Enforcement of Divorce Judgments) 5755 – 1995 (see: *Ma'amad ha-Ishah*, pp. 351–52). These sanctions follow in the footsteps of the enactments of Rabbenu Tam, one of the greatest Tosafists of the 12th century. The coercive force of such sanctions is limited, when the husband refuses to submit and continues in his perverse and abusive ways, despite the sanctions imposed upon him. Similarly, these sanctions are effective only when the *agunah's* husband lives within the borders of the State of Israel, but not when he lives outside the country, where Israeli law cannot be executed or enforced. It may, however, be assumed that the very passage of the law of sanctions in the State of Israel has had a certain impact on Jewish courts around the world, especially when the sanctions are based and rooted in the world of *halakhah* in the ordinances of Rabbenu Tam.

The fitting and complete resolution of this problem would lie in the enactment of a *takkanah* allowing for the retroactive nullification of the marriage, based on a two-thousand-year-old enactment of Rabban Gamaliel the Elder, *nasi* of the Sanhedrin in the Land of Israel. Today, when the Land of Israel and the State of Israel have once again been reestablished as the center of the Jewish people – out of this new reality there have emerged the need and the possibility of resolving the problem of *agunot* by way of the enactment of a *takkanah* allowing for nullification of the marriage, an enactment initiated in the Land of Israel and in the State of Israel, around which the entire Jewish people throughout the Diaspora will rally.

A change as blessed and as momentous as the change that has transpired in our days with the establishment of the State of Israel can and should bring about the restoration of the enactment, the basis of which is found in the tannaitic period, and which was in effect for many generations– namely, nullification of a marriage based on the principle that a man takes a woman under the conditions laid down by the rabbis, and the rabbis – the halakhic authorities in the Land of Israel and the dispersion – may annul the marriage. This is the way of resolving the *agunah* problem and of redeeming the *agunot* from their plight (see *Ma'amad ha-Ishah*, pp. 297–372).

Conclusion

In one of the major rulings the Israeli Supreme Court dealing with the status of women, the court stated the following: (Shakdiel case, pp. 269–70):

> It need scarcely be said that in the world of the *halakhah* we do not discuss purely legal-halakhic questions, in the sense of juridical rights and duties. Rather, the ideological and normative values of Jewish religious life are inherent in and inseparable from the subject of the discourse. For there is a great principle: "Read not *halikhot* [ways], but *halakhot* [laws]." In the same way we can say by way of paraphrase: "Read not *halakhot*, but *halikhot*. For the laws of justice and the ways of life are intertwined. The scholarly passages here cited are not limited to the exposition of the legal issues, but also contain lengthy and detailed discussions of the conceptual implications of Jewish family life – the roles of the father and the mother, of woman and man, domestic harmony, the concept of modesty, and so on. This is because examination of these concepts is essential to the juridical-halakhic ruling on our subject. However, these important concepts must be addressed according to both their original significance and their contemporary setting, as we have learned from the passages quoted.

At the end of the book, *Ma'amad ha-Ishah – Mishpat ve-Shiput, Masoret u-Temurah: Arakhehah shel Medinah Yehudit ve-Demografit* (pp. 453–56), Justice Elon writes:

> We have chosen a concrete example, a specific topic, which contains a combination of "Jewish" and "democratic," with the objective of analyzing the detailed laws, *halakhot* and principles in it; how the laws, *halakhot* and principles work and how they were applied in the social, economic and practical reality in which they were activated and applied; how "this one came and taught about that one, and that one came and completed this one, and they became as one in our hands." For there is no comparison between a general examination of principles and a detailed discussion of its practical applications in daily life… which is an issue that lives, breathes, acts, is acted upon, is activated and activates, diversified and many-faceted – in every period and in every society.

Rabbi Samuel Harkevalti writes (*Resp. Ma'ayan Ganim*, no. 313): "The women whose hearts made them willing to approach the work, the work of God, out of their choice of good, they will ascend the mountain of God, and rest in His holy place, for they are distinguished women. And it is incumbent upon the Sages of their generation to glory and honor them, and strengthen their hands, 'Go and succeed, may Heaven help you.'" It seems that the issue of the status of women that is dealt with in many entries in this Encyclopedia and in many rulings of the Israeli Supreme Court have created a synthesis between its being a Jewish state and its being democratic.

Justice Elon concludes his book (p.456):

> Out of all this, so we hope, it will be easier for us to understand the importance, the necessity and the possibility of executing and fulfilling the role and mission imposed upon us, as stated in Basic Law: Human Dignity and Liberty and Basic Law: Freedom of Occupation: "to establish in a Basic Law the values of the State of Israel as a Jewish and democratic state" – the strength and creativity of the Jewish together with the democratic. May this be the reward of our toil and study.

[Menachem Elon (2nd ed.)]

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WOMEN'S LEAGUE FOR CONSERVATIVE JUDAISM. Founded in 1918 as the National Women's League of the United Synagogue of America, this new organization responded to the call of Solomon *Schechter to harness women's energies and talents to promote an American Judaism that was rooted in history and tradition. In 1918, his widow Mathilde Roth *Schechter, Women's League founding president, drafted the blueprint for its future work as the coordinating body of Conservative synagogue sisterhoods. She led Women's League to set an agenda that included service to home, synagogue, and community, with special concern for youth and adult education, the blind, and the welfare of students at the Jewish Theological Seminary. By 1925 Women's League had grown from 26 founding sisterhoods to 230, with a membership of 20,000 women. In 2005, its goals remained much the same as at its founding: to strengthen and unite its 700 synagogue women's groups; to help their 120,000 members perpetuate Conservative Judaism in the home, synagogue, and community; and to strengthen their bonds with Israel and with Jews worldwide.

In its first decades Women's League created student houses, the first in New York in 1918, to serve as homes away from home for Jewish students and also Jewish servicemen on leave. Its education department published books to deepen its members' Jewish knowledge, including Deborah Melamed's *The Three Pillars: Thought, Worship and Practice* (1927) and the popular *Jewish Home Beautiful* (1941) by Betty D. Greenberg and Althea O. Silverman. Women's League also began publishing its magazine Outlook in 1930. Educating its members and enhancing their observance of Jewish tradition remained a priority of Women's League over the years. In 1931 it helped establish the Women's Institute of Jewish Studies at the Jewish Theological Seminary. In 1993 it formed *Kolot Bik'dushah* to recognize those of its members who have mastered the skills of leading services and reading from the Torah. Women's League saw as its special task to help raise funds to enhance student life at the Seminary. In addition, Women's League helped the Jewish blind though the Jewish Braille Institute. The organization's commitment to liberal political and social issues emerged in the resolutions its members adopted over the years.

In 1972 the association formally changed its name to the Women's League for Conservative Judaism, signifying that it was no longer a subsidiary of the United Synagogue, but rather an independent body of Jewish women dedicated to Conservative Judaism. At the same time Women's League expressed an increasingly forceful position calling for egalitarianism in the Conservative synagogue.

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[Pamela S. Nadell (2nd ed.)]

WOOD. In Hebrew the word ʿeẓ (עֵץ) means both "tree" and "wood" (also "stick"). The Bible speaks of special craftsmen for woodworking, *ḥarashei ʿeẓ*, who worked in the various branches of wood manufacturing (Ex. 31:5; II Sam. 5:11; I Chron. 22:15, et al.). The Bible also mentions several types of wood which were treated for various purposes; gopher wood (Gen. 6:14), cedar wood (Ezra 3:7; et al.), acacia wood (Ex. 38:1, et al.), juniper wood (בְּרוֹשׁ; I Kings 6:34), almug wood (I Kings 10:11), and olive wood (I Kings 6:31). Apparently, cedars and cypress trees were used primarily for the construction of ornate buildings, while the other types were used mainly in the construction of furniture, other articles, and utensils. Cedars and almug wood were imported from abroad, mainly during the period of the monarchy, while acacia and olive trees were common in Palestine.

The Bible mentions wooden handles and axes (Deut. 19:5), spear handles (II Sam. 21:19), etc. Stone implements were attached to the wooden handles by tying them together with sinews or ropes, while metal blades of various shapes and having different uses were attached to wooden handles by tying them with cords, by driving one end into the wood, and by making a metal hole into which the wood was inserted and riveted. The Bible mentions a number of pieces of wooden furniture which were used in the Temple and the Tabernacle: the table of display (Ex. 25:23–30), the ark (Ex. 25:10–14), the altar for burnt offerings (Ex. 38:1), and the incense altar (Ex. 37:25). In connection with the laws of uncleanness and purification, the Bible mentions various wooden articles (Lev. 15:12). These are mainly various household utensils: mortars, dishes, spoons, etc. The number of wooden objects from the biblical period which have been discovered in the archaeological excavations in Israel is very small because of decay. The richest in wooden furniture and vessels are the MBII tombs in Jericho, where many tables, bowls, combs, jugs, and toilet boxes were preserved. When the Bible sharply criticizes idol worshipers, it indicates that they are worshipers of wood and stone, the work of men (Deut. 4:28). The use of wood in the construction of houses in Palestine is most variegated. It began with the building of huts from branches which were cut down and left in their natural state, and continues, until today, with the use of processed wood in the consolidation of frames of building and in the covering of wooden structures, as columns for reinforcing walls, for the roofing of clay, stone, or straw buildings, and for making doors and windows.

[Ze'ev Yeivin]

Wood Offerings

On nine different specified dates during the year, designated families brought wood offerings for the Temple sacrificial service. On the 15th of *Av, the priests, levites, and all those not certain of their tribal descent were permitted to join the family designated for that day in bringing the wood offering (Ta'an. 4:5). One of the reasons given for the joyful celebrations on the 15th of Av is that each year on this day felling trees for the altar was discontinued. The reason given is that after this time the strength of the sun lessens and its rays are no longer sufficiently strong to dry the fresh-cut logs (Ta'an. 31a). The wood most preferred for the altar was boughs of fig trees, nut trees, and oil trees (Tam. 2:3).

The rabbis praised the family of Salami Netofah for their efforts in getting wood to the Temple at a time when the ruling authorities placed guards on the roads to prevent Jews from bringing wood to the altar. This family conceived the stratagem of making the logs into ladders which they carried on their shoulders. When stopped by the guards the family explained that they were going to use the ladders to take down young pigeons from the dovecote. Once past the guards, they dismantled the ladders and brought the logs to Jerusalem (Ta'an. 28a).

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WOOG, MAYER (1833–1896), Yiddish playwright. Born in Hegenheim, Woog was the most representative writer of 19th-century Alsatian Yiddish theater. His comedies of village manners present a Jewish world in tension between tradition and modernity as well as in its relations with the gentile environment. The plays are characterized by their quadrilingualism (Yiddish-Alsatian, Alsatian, German, and French) and their written form (Gothic script). Their primary themes are marriage (*Der Gaasejopper macht Chasene*, "The Goat-Seller Marries," 1877), medicine (*Bas Jechido*, "The Only Daughter," 1884), and market conversation (*Schmues-Berjendes*, "Gossip," 1880, and *Deforim Beteilim leeri Keilim*, "Chatter," 1888).

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[Astrid Starck (2nd ed.)]

WOOLF, BOB (1928–1993), pioneering U.S. sports and entertainment agent who emerged in the mid-1960s as the first of a generation of agents and lawyers who altered the way athletes are paid – from five-figure salaries in the 1960s, before free agency, to $250 million for multiyear contracts today. His sports clients included Larry Bird, Carl Yastrzemski, Joe Montana, Julius Erving, Doug Flutie, and Vinny Testaverde; his entertainment clients included Larry King, Gene Shalit, and New Kids on the Block; he negotiated big deals with Donald Trump, Ted Turner, Roone Arledge, and Red Auerbach. Woolf's family moved from Portland, Maine, to Boston when he was 16, and he graduated from Boston Latin School, and later from Boston College (1949), where he received a four-year basketball scholarship. After obtaining his law degree from Boston University Law School, and enlisting for a two-year stint in the U.S. Army, Woolf opened a successful Boston practice. In 1964, Earl Wilson, a Boston Red Sox pitcher who used Woolf as a tax lawyer, asked him also to handle his endorsement contracts. This led, in 1966, to Woolf's first contract negotiation with a team for Wilson. Since most players had no contract representation, Woolf quickly built a stable of clients, representing nine of the 12 Boston Celtics in their late 1960s championship years, and 14 of the members of 1967 Boston Red Sox. Within five years, Woolf had acquired 300 clients in all sports in all major cities. Woolf was not only an agent, he was a fan. His office in Boston's John Hancock building overlooked Fenway Park, with a telescope aimed at the mound and batter's box. Woolf estimated that he had negotiated more than 20,000 contracts by 1992, but grew increasingly concerned by the spendthrift ways of young clients who did not know the value of a million dollars. "I'm very Jewish-oriented," said Woolf in 1992, "[and] … I'm proud of the basketball tournament that's been held in my name in Israel for the past 15 years." Woolf's widow, Ann, administers the Bob Woolf Foundation. Woolf is the author of *Behind Closed Doors* (1976) and *Friendly Persuasion: My Life as a Negotiator* (1990).

[David Brinn (2nd ed.)]

WOOLF, SIR HARRY, BARON (1933–), British judge. Born in Newcastle-upon-Tyne, the son of a builder and architect who later moved to Scotland, and was educated at Fettes, a leading Scottish public school, and London University, Woolf was a barrister before being appointed a High Court judge in 1979, serving until 1985 when he began an impressive rise up the ranks of the British judiciary. He served as a lord justice in 1985–95, a lord of appeal in ordinary with a seat in the House of Lords in 1992–96, master of the rolls in 1996–2000, and lord chief justice from 2000. He is known for his often controversial decisions, generally in the direction of insisting on the welfare of prisoners. Woolf was president of the International Jewish Lawyers' Association from 1993. He was knighted in 1979 and made a life peer in 1992.

[William D. Rubinstein (2nd ed.)]

WOOLF, LEONARD (**Sidney**; 1880–1969), English publisher and writer. The son of a London barrister who was a member of the Reform synagogue, Woolf had ambivalent feelings about family and religious loyalties and, as a convinced rationalist, saw little virtue in any religion. Woolf's father died when he was 12, leaving his family in some difficulties. He attended St. Paul's School and Cambridge on scholarships. As a classical student at Cambridge, he became friendly with a group of intellectuals who were to form the nucleus of London's famous "Bloomsbury Circle." They included John Maynard Keynes, Lytton Strachey, E.M. Forster, and J.T. Stephen, whose sister, Virginia, Woolf married. At Cambridge, Woolf was the first Jew elected to the "Apostles," the famous secret debating society. From 1904 until 1911 he was a colonial administrator in Ceylon, responsible for governing 100,000 people while still in his twenties. From this experience he acquired a lifelong hostility to British imperialism. In 1917 Leonard and Virginia started the Hogarth Press as a hobby: it became famous through the publication of Virginia's novels, T.S. Eliot's *The Waste Land*, the English translation of *Freud's works, and S.S. Koteliansky's translations from the Russian. Just as his experiences as a civil servant in Ceylon had led Leonard Woolf to disapprove of imperialism, so the sight of poverty in the East End of London converted him from liberalism to socialism. He joined the Fabian Society and became involved in the political, trade union, and economic aspects of the British Labour movement.

His two outstanding political works were *International Government* (1916), an early blueprint for the League of Nations, and *Empire and Commerce in Africa* (1920). Woolf was on the editorial staff of the *Contemporary Review* (1920–21), literary editor of *The Nation* (1923–30), and coeditor of *The Political Quarterly* (1931–59). He was also closely associated with *The New Statesman and Nation*. His books include: *The Village in the Jungle* (1913), inspired by his stay in Ceylon; *Hunting the Highbrow* (1927), essays; *Quack, Quack* (1935), a book about dictatorship; *Barbarians at the Gate* (1939); and *After the Deluge* (2 vols., 1931–39), and its sequel, *Principia Politica* (1953), a study of communal psychology. Woolf wrote an outstanding series of autobiographical works: *Sowing* (1960), *Growing* (1961), *Beginning Again* (1964), *Downhill All the Way* (1967), and *The Journey, Not the Arrival, Matters* (1969). Although a significant figure in his own right, Woolf is best remembered today as the husband of Virginia (1882–1941), who has attained almost cultlike status since her death. The nature of their relationship, and Woolf's own role in formulating her iconic status, have been the subjects of continuing debate, as has been her response to his Jewish origins. Similarly, the "Bloomsbury Group" has generated a veritable industry among biographers and literary historians.

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[Renee Winegarten / William D. Rubinstein (2nd ed.)]

WOOLF (Wulff), MOSHE (1878–1971), Israeli psychiatrist and author. Born in Odessa, Russia, Woolf studied medicine in Berlin. Here he started his psychiatric training under Mendel and Jolly and soon became Ziehen's first assistant in the laboratory of the Charité, the university hospital in Berlin. In 1907, while working at Mendel's psychiatric sanatorium, he made his first acquaintance with Freud's works, which proved crucial to his further scientific development. He joined the sanatorium of Berlin-Lankwitz and in 1908 became Juliusburger's assistant. When Karl Abraham returned from Zurich at that time and joined the same sanatorium, he became Woolf's teacher and introduced him to psychoanalysis proper. In 1911 he returned to Russia as the only trained analyst in that country, where his many widespread and diverse activities eventually resulted in the acknowledgment and development of psychoanalysis. After the revolution he joined a large psychiatric outpatient clinic and taught at the second medical clinic of the University of Moscow. At the same time he did additional work at the psychoanalytically oriented children's home of Zermakow. Although he lived in Russia, he became a member of the Vienna Psychoanalytical Society in 1912. In 1927 he left Russia for political reasons and returned to a psychoanalytic institution, the Tegelsee sanatorium, where he worked under Ernst Simmel until 1930.

In 1933 he emigrated to Palestine. Max Eitingon, who arrived in Palestine in the same year, together with Woolf and I. Schalith founded the Palestine Psychoanalytic Society in 1934. After Eitingon's death, Woolf became president of the Israel Psychoanalytic Society, a position he held for ten years.

Woolf's earliest paper on children was "Beitraege zur infantilen Sexualitaet" (1912), which dealt with some cases of momentary loss of consciousness which Woolf considered caused by hysteria. "Phantasie und Wirklichkeit im Seelenleben des Kleinkindes" (1934) was delivered to an educational board of the Communist Party, in order to influence it not to forbid the reading of fairy tales. His paper, "Prohibitions Against the Simultaneous Consumption of Milk and Flesh in Orthodox Jewish Law" (1945), historically and analytically traces the sources for ritual laws applying to food and to Passover. Some of his publications are considered basic contributions to the psychoanalytic theory, for example, "Fetishism and Object Choice in Early Childhood" (published in *Psychoanalytical Quarterly* 15 (1946), 450–71).

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[Gad Tadmor]

°WOOLLEY, SIR CHARLES LEONARD (1880–1960), English archaeologist. From 1905 to 1907 he was assistant keeper in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. His earliest excavation work was carried out in England (Corbridge, 1906–07), Nubia (1907–11), and at Carchemish, Turkey (1912–14). In 1914 he took part, along with T.E. Lawrence, in the expedition surveying Sinai and the Negev, which was a cover for the British military mapping of the Sinai Peninsula. Their report, *The Wilderness of Zion* (1915), presents the first detailed description of the Byzantine cities of the Negev. During World War I Woolley served as a military intelligence officer and was taken prisoner by the Turks in 1916. He was an officer in the military administration in north Syria in 1919, at which time he resumed excavation at Carchemish. This was followed by work at Tell *el-Amarna in Egypt (1921–22), and at *Ur of the Chaldees (1922–34), where he discovered the royal tombs of the first dynasty with their magnificent treasures, and also uncovered the city dating from the time of Abraham (Ur III). He then directed excavations in southern Turkey (Hatay province), first at el-Mina (ancient Greek port of Poseidium) from 1936 to 1937 and afterward at Tell Atshana (1937–39), where he unearthed the remains of the *Alalakh kingdom. During World War II he was archaeological adviser to the British War Office and after the war again excavated at Tell Atshana (1946–49). In addition to his excavation reports, he wrote *Ur of the Chaldees* (1929); *The Sumerians* (1929); *Middle East Archaeology* (1949); *A Forgotten Kingdom* (1953); several popular works, especially *Digging Up the Past* (1930); and his memoirs, *Spadework in Archaeology* (1953).

[Michael Avi-Yonah]

WORCESTER, town in central England. It was founded around 1159 and had a small Jewish population until the late thirteenth century. After the persecutions under John, the regents for Henry Ill confirmed the right of Jews to live there unmolested. In 1219, however, Bishop William de Blois promulgated restrictive measures against them. The so-called "Parliament of Jews" was held at Worcester in 1241, when 109 representatives of the 21 recognized Jewish communities were summoned to apportion a tax levy among themselves. The Jews suffered greatly in the Barons' Revolt (1264–65). Their expulsion from the city to Hereford was secured by Eleanor, the queen mother, in 1275. There were few Jews in Worcester in the 19th century. A small community was founded during World War II. The Jewish population in 1968 was 56, but no organized community exists today.

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[Vivian David Lipman / Joe Hillaby (2nd ed.)]

WORCESTER, U.S. city in Massachusetts, 40 mi. (64 km.) W. of Boston. Its population was 172,648 (2000 census), with an estimated Jewish population of 10,000 in the city and surrounding area, which includes such communities as Westborough, Northborough, Shrewsbury, Fitchburg, and Leominster.

The earliest settlement of Jews in the Worcester area occurred during the American Revolution when the British occupied *Newport, R.I., and several Jewish families, headed by Aaron *Lopez, a wealthy shipping merchant, left that city to live for the duration of the war in Leicester, five miles from Worcester. After the war the Leicester community dissolved when the Jewish families returned to Newport. Worcester had no permanent Jewish settlement until after the Civil War, when the *Straus and Gross families established stores in the city. In 1870 Jewish immigrants from Eastern Europe began to come to Worcester in larger numbers.

Congregations

The first congregation, Sons of Israel, was established in 1877, and a burial society was formed the same year. As the Jewish population grew, congregations – all located on the East Side – multiplied to total 13. With the shift of the Jewish population to the West Side of the city, most of them closed. Sons of Jacob and Shaarai Torah (1904), which was merged with Sons of Abraham (1887), have survived.

In 1968, three Orthodox congregations remained on the East Side – Sons of Jacob; Sons of Zion, a small congregation; and Shaarai Torah – Sons of Abraham, at the synagogue erected in 1906. A West Side branch of Shaarai Torah – Sons of Abraham was established in 1959. Rabbi Joseph Gold, who came to the congregation in 1954, served both branches. Earlier rabbis included Meyer Greenberg (1947–54) and Gershon Appel (1943–47), who pursued his Ph.D. at Harvard and went on to congregations in Seattle and New York before becoming a professor of philosophy at Stern College. In addition to Shaarai Torah – Sons of Abraham, there were in 1968 five other congregations on the West Side.

Temple Emanuel (Reform), established in 1921, moved to permanent quarters in 1923. In 1949 it erected a large synagogue which was considerably expanded in 1961. The congregation grew rapidly to become the Jewish community's largest, with a membership of over 1,300 families. Maurice M. Mazure, the first rabbi (1923–26), was followed by Julius Gordon (1926–29), Levi A. Olan (1929–48; d. 1984), and afterwards by Joseph Klein and Jordan Milstein. Hugo Chaim *Adler, who achieved fame as a composer of synagogue music, was cantor of Temple Emanuel from 1939 until his death in 1955.

Congregation Beth Israel (Conservative), formed in 1924, built a house of worship in 1939, and in 1959 erected a larger synagogue. Its rabbis included Herbert Ribner (1948–55), Abraham Kazis, who began in 1955, and was followed by Joel Pitkowsky.

Congregation Beth Judah (Orthodox), founded in 1948, was headed in 1968 by Rabbi Reuven Fischer. Congregation Tifereth Israel (Orthodox), established in 1959, was led in 1968 by Rabbi Herschel Fogelman. It was associated with the Chabad *Lubavitch movement. Temple Sinai (Reform) was established in 1957; its rabbi (1970) was John J. Rosenblatt. In 2005 Seth Bernstein was the rabbi.

Congregations in Westborough include Beth Tikvah, whose rabbi was Fred Benjamin, Bnai Shalom, whose rabbi was Laurence Milder, and Chabad, whose rabbi was Micoel Green.

In addition to the congregational school, the Ivriah School, a community *talmud torah* supported by the Worcester Jewish Federation was formed in 1927 by combining the Hebrew Free School (established 1905) with the existing Orthodox congregational schools. It ceased to exist in the 1980s, but in the early 21st century there were two day schools, the New Jewish Academy established in 2005 (the successor to the Solomon Schechter Day School), a community transdenominational school which recognizes and respects all forms of Jewish practice, and the Yeshiva, the Chabad-Lubavitch day school.

Community Organizations and Leadership

In 1920 a number of existing charitable organizations were combined to form the United Jewish Charities, later the Jewish Social Service Agency, and in 1968 called the Jewish Family Service. The Jewish Community Council, formed in 1936, and the Jewish Welfare Fund, established in 1939, were merged in 1947 to form the Worcester Jewish Federation. The Jewish Community Center, established in 1950, used the old Temple Emanuel building until its new structure was built in 1966. The Jewish Home for the Aged, founded in 1915, at first served also as an orphanage but by 1968 was restricted to caring for the aged and infirm.

In the early years of the community Jews were mainly peddlers and small-scale shopkeepers. By the 1960s they were engaged in every branch of industry and commerce and in all professions. Among Jews in public office was Joseph C. Casdin, a member of the City Council from 1956, who served his fourth term as mayor in 1968. Past City Council members include Louis Glixman, Elias Pofcher, and Israel Katz. Other officials include Elton Yasuna, who served on the School Committee, and Edward Landau, elected to the committee in 1967; Archibald M. Hillman (d. 1959), assistant city solicitor and, later, city solicitor; Wilfred B. Feiga, assistant clerk of Superior Court (1922–65) and president of the Free Public Library (1932; 1966); Judge Jacob Asher (d. 1956), special justice of the Central District Court; and Judge Joseph Goldberg, appointed to the Central District Court in 1953. There was an additional Jewish mayor in Worcester, Jordan Levy. First elected to the City Council in 1978, he was mayor for eight years.

The playwright S.N. *Behrman has described some of the colorful personalities in the Jewish community during his youth in his partly fictional and partly autobiographical *Worcester Account* (1954). A weekly newspaper, the *Jewish Civic Leader*, served the community from 1923.

[Joseph Klein]

The Worcester Jewish Federation was re-named the Jewish Federation of Central Massachusetts in 1997 to more accurately reflect the area that the Federation serves: not just the city of Worcester, but all of Worcester county, including the Westborough area (which includes Westborough, Northborough and Shrewsbury). The Westborough area is the home to a JCC, a Conservative congregation, Beth Tikvah, and a Reform Temple, Bnai Shalom. Chabad has a presence there as well.

Clark University is located in Worcester. It has a distinguished Judaic Studies program staffed by, inter alia, Everett Fox, who wrote an important translation of the Torah based on the principles of the Buber-Rosenzweig translation of the early 20th century, and Debórah Dwork, who headed its graduate program in Holocaust Studies, the first of its kind in the United States. Clark boasts that it was the only university to invite Sigmund Freud to lecture during an American visit. Neighboring Holy Cross University has an annual lecture on the Holocaust and programs in Jewish-Catholic relations.

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[Howard Borer (2nd ed.)]

WORD, in the Bible, primarily renders the Hebrew *davar*, but also *omer* (pl. *amarim*), *imrah*, and *peh* (lit. "mouth"). "The word of the Lord," an oft–recurring scriptural phrase, signifies a divine communication to man that reveals God's character or His will, as in Isaiah 50:4ff. This revelation can assume many forms, such as oracles (e.g., Judg. 20:18ff.), visions (e.g., Amos 7:1ff.), and dreams (e.g., Gen. 15:12ff.), as well as prophecy and religious teaching in general, including the divinely given laws. In the broadest sense, the Scriptures taken as a whole, and subsequently the totality of Jewish spiritual teaching, fall within the connotation of God's word. In certain biblical passages, the divine word is personified, e.g., "So shall My word be that goeth forth out of My mouth: it shall not return unto Me void, except it accomplish that which I please, and make the thing whereto I sent it prosper" (Isa. 55:11; cf. also Ps. 33:6; 147:15). This biblical feature has antecedents in Sumerian and Babylonian literature, where the "word" is an agent of the gods' beneficence, but more especially of their wrath. In wisdom literature this process of hypostatization becomes even more marked, only *ḥokhmah* ("Wisdom") is substituted for the divine word, to which it is closely related ideologically (e.g., Prov. 8:1ff.; 9:1–6; Job 28:12–28). However, throughout the Hebrew Bible the figurative character of the personification is never in doubt.

A further stage in the evolution of the concept of the divine word is reached in apocryphal and rabbinic literature. Here the Word emerges as a distinct entity (cf. Wis. 18:15; Mekh., Be-Shallaḥ, 10; Avot 5:1). Furthermore, there arose a negative attitude toward the attribution to God of any anthropomorphic characteristics or the use of language that appeared to detract from the divine dignity. To avoid anthropomorphisms, the Targum employs the *memra* ("utterance"). For example, Deuteronomy 1:32 is rendered, "… ye have not believed in the *memra* of the Lord." Thus the *memra* connotes the manifestation of God's power in creating the world and in directing history. It acts as His messenger and is generally analogous to the *Shekhinah* ("Divine Presence") and the Divine Wisdom. New and fateful significance was given to the Word by Philo's doctrine of the Logos (the Greek term means both "word" and "reason"). On the one hand, Philo borrowed some of his ideas from the Stoics (Logos as the active and vivifying principle of the universe), who in turn are indebted to Heraclitus ("the dividing Logos," which creates by the fusion of contrasts); he was also influenced by Plato's "theory of ideas." On the other hand, Philo's Logos is rooted in the biblical idea of the creative word of God, the Targum's *memra*, the mystical concepts of the *merkavah* ("divine chariot"), the *Shekhinah*, the name of God, and the names of the angels. The multi-faceted character of the Logos is reflected in the many metaphorical epithets applied to it by Philo: "divine thought," "the image of God," "the firstborn son," "the archpriest," "the paraclete of humanity." Philo paved the way for later Christian theology. In the prologue to John's Gospel (1:14) this is carried farther, and "the Word made flesh" is identified with Jesus. Philo's Logos is no more than an "archangel of many names," the rational principle in the divine nature, the creative mediator between God – the One who is all-perfect and all-good – and the world of matter, which is inherently evil; but the Johannine Logos is a separate divine entity. At this stage the Word created an impossible gulf between Judaism and its daughter faith.

[Israel Abrahams]

WORKMEN'S CIRCLE (Yid. **Arbeter Ring**), U.S. socialist and culturally oriented Jewish fraternal order; founded in New York in 1892 by Jewish immigrant workers and chartered on a national basis in 1900 for the twofold purpose of providing its members with mutual aid, health, and death benefits, and other fraternal services, and of supporting the labor and socialist movements throughout the world. Dedicated to the promotion of progressive Yiddish culture, the Workmen's Circle developed a broad spectrum of cultural activities, including publication of books and magazines, promotion of adult education, sponsorship of singing and dramatic clubs, etc.

During its early period, the leadership of the Workmen's Circle shared the assimilationist-cosmopolitan attitudes of some of the earliest founders of the Jewish labor movement in North America. Later, with an influx of *Bundist immigrants who had either been active in or supporters of the unsuccessful Russian revolution of 1905, a more explicitly Jewish consciousness – secular, progressive, and Yiddish-language–based – was introduced to the Workmen's Circle. These ideas permeated its governing bodies, while individual branches included within their ranks individuals associated with a range of secular movements on the political left.

In 1916, it entered the field of Jewish education by resolving to establish schools for Jewish children, with the first Workmen's Circle afternoon school opening in 1917. The I.L. Peretz schools subsequently became the largest network of

Jewish secular *shuln* (schools) in the United States and Canada.

For many years, the Workmen's Circle was an important repository of socialist sentiment. Many of its activists were active in the Socialist Party, trade unions, and the larger Jewish labor movement. As a result, it became known as "the Red Cross of the labor movement," and was proud of the appellation. A founder and leader of the People's Relief Committee during World War I years, in 1934 it was a founder, and for many years the backbone, of the *Jewish Labor Committee. It also spearheaded the formation of the *Congress for Jewish Culture in 1948.

While initially sympathetic to the Bolshevik Revolution and the new Soviet regime, the Workmen's Circle was critical of the Soviet government's repression of non-Communist socialists. Internecine battles of the early 1920s within the entire U.S. left, not just the Workmen's Circle, pitted Communists against Socialists, and by 1929, the organization became explicitly anti-Communist in orientation. Communists and their allies either left of their own accord or were expelled at that time. Many of those who left were active in the formation of the International Workers' Order and its Jewish People's Fraternal Order. After that breach, the Workmen's Circle often struggled against Communist ambitions within the Jewish community in general, and the environment of the Jewish labor movement in specific.

Starting with the Roosevelt Administration, many in the organization left the socialist world, joining New Deal Democrats. Some left out of conviction that the Democrats were enacting parts of the socialist program. The anti-war position of the Socialist Party in the pre-Pearl Harbor period affected others. The post-war years brought about a gradual move from socialism and social democracy. Bundist anti-Zionism was never as strong in the U.S. as in Europe, and it has been a staunch, albeit not uncritical, supporter of the State of Israel since its formation. At the turn of the 21st century, the organization was far from its explicitly socialist origins, but in a more general sense part of the liberal/left, having as a general goal the creation of *a shenere un besere velt*, "a more beautiful and better world."

Along with other groups that were initially fraternal organizations which drew their membership primarily from the immigration community, the Workmen's Circle had to confront the challenge of establishing a following among native-born Jews, and those whose first, and often only, language was English, not Yiddish. This challenge was especially severe as the founders and their children died off, although it did make headway among the offspring of the older members. In 1925, the Workmen's Circle had its peak membership of 87,000. This was when the wellspring of Jewish immigrants from Europe was closed by U.S. immigration policy changes, and the organization's membership began to decline. In 1967, it was down to 64,000, in over 420 branches, 98 of which were English speaking. By 1978, the number was 55,000; in 1998, 25,000; and by 2005, 15,000, in some 200 branches, virtually all of which were English speaking. As the organization moved away from a "benefits" orientation to focus on public programs of Yiddish and Jewish culture, education and social action, however, the historic definition of "dues-paying membership" has become less relevant to the organization: in 2005, it was estimated that nearly 50,000 individuals were involved to some degree with the Workmen's Circle via attendance at WC-sponsored events, as contributors, purchasers of goods and services including benefit policies, Jewish Book Center, etc. The same is true when looking at the branch structure, which was formed when communication was primarily face-to-face, and the Jewish community was less mobile. In recent years, WC activities and structure are more district- or region-oriented (e.g., Boston, Los Angeles, Detroit), and often WC work is national in nature. Some branches are simply remnants of the structure of earlier generations.

At the end of 2005, there were 15 WC-sponsored or associated *shuln*, many of which were the core of a local Workmen's Circle group. It maintains two geriatric centers for aged community members, and operates Circle Lodge, a summer resort/vacation center, and Camp Kinder Ring, a children's camp founded in 1927, both in the Catskills, Dutchess County, New York. The WC also sponsors the Folksbiene Theater, a Yiddish theater founded in 1915 as an amateur venue, which today operates under professional direction and supports several choirs. The Yiddish publication, *Der Fraynd*, founded in 1910, and the English-language *Workmen's Circle Call*, founded in 1933, both ceased publication in the 1990s. Ironically, in 2005, negotiations with the English-language *Jewish Currents* – which had roots in the U.S. Jewish Communist camp – led to a cosponsorship by the Workmen's Circle and the Association for Jewish Secularism.

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[Charles Bezalel Sherman / Arieh Lebowitz (2nd ed.)]

WORLD CONFERENCE OF JEWISH ORGANIZATIONS (COJO), roof organization established in Rome in 1958 with the participation of the following organizations: *American Jewish Congress, *B'nai B'rith, *Board of Deputies of British Jews, *Canadian Jewish Congress, Conseil Représentatif des Juifs de France (CRIF), Delagación de Asociaciones Israelitas Argentinas (*DAIA), Executive Council of Australian Jewry, Jewish Labor Committee, South African Jewish Board of Deputies, and the *World Jewish Congress. Avraham *Harman of the Zionist Executive participated in convening the first meeting of COJO (together with Nahum *Goldmann of the World

Jewish Congress and Philip *Klutznick of B'nai B'rith), but the World Zionist Organization decided not to affiliate with COJO formally. At the initial meeting, these organizations decided to establish COJO as a consultative group on a two-year trial basis, after which they would decide whether they wished to disband or create a fully functioning world Jewish organization dealing with all matters concerning Jewish life. They also decided to explore the desirability of establishing a world council on Jewish education.

Two years later, at a meeting in Amsterdam, the organizations decided neither to disband nor to transform COJO into a fully functioning international organization but to continue COJO on an ongoing basis as a consultative group, meeting from time to time to keep each other informed on problems of mutual concern. Nahum Goldmann was elected as chairman, Label *Katz (of B'nai B'rith) as co-chairman, and Yehuda Hellman as secretary-general. COJO subsequently met regularly at least once a year and deliberated such problems as Soviet Jewry, the Middle East situation, Jews in Arab countries, the Arab boycott, problems of Jews in South America, and other issues.

In 1962 COJO convened in Israel a world conference on Jewish education. Although elaborate plans were laid down, administrative difficulties, differences of opinion, and a lack of funds prevented these plans from fully materializing. At a meeting in Geneva in 1969, COJO adopted the recommendation of a special subcommittee and abandoned the plans for a world conference on Jewish education in favor of a more modest project under the aegis of a COJO Commission on Jewish Education to be established in Jerusalem. Elected to head this commission were Ḥayyim Finkelstein, chairman of the Jewish Agency's Department on Jewish Education, and Jay Kaufman (d. 1971), executive vice president of B'nai B'rith.

At the meeting in Jerusalem in the winter of 1965, COJO further regularized its work by adding to the list of its officers a vice chairman representing the Board of Deputies of British Jews. One year later a representative of DAIA was also elected as a vice chairman. In 1967 the World Zionist Organization became a full member of COJO, and Louis A. *Pincus and William A. *Wexler became co-chairmen. (In 1971 W.A. Wexler was elected president.) On the eve of the Vatican Council II meeting (Feb. 27, 1962), COJO submitted a memorandum to the Vatican on behalf of its member organizations. At their 1970 meeting, the officers of COJO recommended that a clearinghouse be established for the dissemination of relevant documents and information to serve the needs of member organizations and enhance the airing of views and ideas. Although the growth of COJO was slow and undramatic, the members managed to keep together and met regularly to discuss problems of mutual interest.

[Yehuda Hellman]

WORLD JEWISH ASSOCIATIONS. This article is confined to organizations that encompass Jews and Jewish activities cutting across the borders of various countries. Associations of this nature have existed for more than a century. Among the histories of dispersed communities of ethnic, religious, or any other character, nowhere can one find the same wealth of organizational experience in the political, social, and cultural spheres as among the Jews. Three interrelated features characterize these organizations: (1) all their activities are international, as Jews throughout the world constitute a single entity; (2) through its organizations Jewry relates itself to international bodies and their laws; (3) organization is the quality that all Jewish communities must have in common and is what unites them. A nation without president, government, or distinct framework of services, it nevertheless has representatives – "*negotiorum gestores*" in Herzl's terminology – and leaders of sectional organizations who engage in deliberations on lines of policy, "administrative" activities, and independent political action in both the foreign and social arenas. The community, scattered as it is, has its common needs and services, its financial structure, and its patterns of loyalty.

Nevertheless, all of its services are decentralized, and since they must be geared to practical demands they are in constant flux. They include organs of protection and are based on principles of protection. In these efforts, Jewry has to rely on international law and its institutions, and it can only do so through organization. However, there can be no comprehensive organization – whether for protection, welfare, education, fund-raising, or emigration – unless there is a non-governmental organization (NGO) arrangement for it.

Since World War II, the special status of NGOs has been consolidated, mainly in the form of "consultation" with the main intergovernmental organizations (IGOs), primarily the United Nations. As a social phenomenon, however, the NGO is far older, as are its functions and achievements in the history of Jewry. Jews, on their part, played an important role in developing the awareness, within the organized international community, of the need to recognize the status of NGOs and their public services. Jewish world organizations became a pioneering force in the field of international group activity and group protection. The history of this policy, often pursued under the greatest sacrifices and against the heaviest odds, is a vital part of Jewish history. Organization proved to be the main precondition for self-assertion and protection. The whole organizational preparation of Israel's statehood developed within strict NGO patterns, and the same holds true for minority protection in the interwar period and the negotiation of restitution after the Holocaust.

Early Conditions and Organized Charity (19th Century)

With the possible exception of the struggle for Greek independence (and the political activities of Irish emigrants to the United States) international organization developed within Jewry earlier than within any other dispersed community. It was a response to dire need, preceding any clear definition or practicable anticipation of its future. This transition from the generally amorphous condition of Jewry as late as the 18th century occurred with the French Revolution (the Emancipation Act of 1791) and Napoleon's *Sanhedrin, which, whatever the purposes it was meant to serve, or the objections to it, established an organ representing several branches of the Jewish world community. In addition to the French participation, there were 18 representatives from Piedmont, 16 from Regno, and several rabbis from Germany. Joseph David *Sinzheim, the rabbi of Strasbourg, presided. His summary of the session was issued in a proclamation in French and Hebrew, an indication that it was also addressed to Jews abroad. In one of the early Jewish papers in French, *L'Univers Israélite* (1851), Jules Carvallo proposed the establishment of an international Jewish congress, mainly with a view to protecting Jews in the Middle East.

After the Napoleonic era certain developments took place at the intergovernmental political level, and already at the Congress of Vienna (1815) a number of Jewish problems was discussed. The rise in status of some wealthy Jews on the one hand, and new concepts of law invoked by outstanding Jewish lawyers and politicians on the other, initiated a new kind of activity, as symbolized in the joint journey to Cairo of Moses *Montefiore from London and Adolphe *Crémieux from Paris to appeal against the judgment in the Damascus blood libel. In a sense, the establishment of the *Alliance Israélite Universelle (1860), the first Jewish NGO and one of the first international NGOs in general, was a formal expression of the change in organized Jewish activities. Sister organizations in London (*Anglo-Jewish Association) and Vienna (*Israelitische Allianz zu Wien) followed soon after. At the same time, certain wealthy Jews had been carrying out widespread international charity work, serving in effect as substitutes for entire welfare organizations, with knowledgeable secretaries at headquarters and agile agents abroad. These included such renowned figures as Sir Moses *Montefiore, Baron Maurice de *Hirsch, Baron Edmond de *Rothschild, Baron Horace *Guenzburg, Jacob H. *Schiff, and Julius *Rosenwald. Later, the work initiated by them was carried on either by foundations which they established (*Jewish Colonization Association, *PICA) or formal organizations like *ORT and the American Jewish *Joint Distribution Committee (JDC).

Organization for Welfare and Protection

The foreign interests of the Alliance Israélite Universelle and the Anglo-Jewish Association soon shifted from the Middle East to Russia and Eastern Europe. A series of conferences, missions, and welfare organizations characterized the next half century. "The public demonstration, the conference, the international gathering for Jewish purposes, now a phenomenon of everyday life in Jewry, owe their origin to the [Anglo-Jewish] Association and to the Alliance" (Nahum Sokolow). Matters took a similar course in the United States, though still focusing on local welfare and the settlement of Jewish immigrants, mainly from Russia. A vast network of organizations was created: *B'nai B'rith, founded in 1843, became an international order in 1882; HIAS (see *United Hias Service) developed during the 1880s; the *American Jewish Committee was founded in 1906, and the American Joint Distribution Committee in 1914. The three latter organizations, though American only, developed worldwide services for Jews in many countries – the Jewish response to World War I and the postwar disaster in Russia and the Succession States.

With the rise of Emancipation, European Jewry experienced several severe shocks: in the 1880s pogroms and persecution in Russia and Romania and a ritual murder trial in Austria-Hungary (*Tiszaeszlar), and in 1890s the Dreyfus affair in France. Jewry began to react, both out of great and urgent need and as a result of the consolidation of the economic and professional power of individual Jews. Up to World War I, the main organizational effort was concentrated in areas of distress. It found its expression in a proliferation of welfare organizations (including the *Hilfsverein der deutschen Juden, founded in 1901) and in the emergence of organizations for "self-emancipation" and other activities, such as the *Ḥibbat Zion, the socialist *Bund (established in 1897), and the Zionist Organization (founded in the same year, see *Zionism).

Jewish Political Activity: Zionist "Negotiorum Gestio"

Radical reforms were proposed by Theodor Herzl. He rejected both the affirmation of Diaspora life and belief in assimilation or socialism or a retreat into a secluded religious community as enduring solutions of the Jewish problem. He emphatically denied that welfare and charity should be envisaged as long-term methods. Only the establishment of a Jewish state was comprehensive enough a foundation upon which to build a permanent edifice. Herzl quickly arrived at the conclusion that here was need for a world Jewish organization which would take account of all principal factors involved: exodus, settlement, and protection. Organizations should not only be an instrument for foreign policy, but also a body as democratic as possible under the specific conditions of a dispersed nation, designed to incorporate the political will of Jewry; to represent it, to elect its leaders, and to plan its policy. Before providing the nation with territory on which to settle, Herzl wanted to provide it with those organs necessary for its full identity, political activity and functioning. In Herzl's vision, Jewish national self-determination, as an organizational and political proposition, would have to crystallize according to two legal postulates: first, that the Zionist movement be recognized as the *negotiorum gestor* for Jewry as a whole; and second, that Jewry's return to Ereẓ Israel would give rise to a "national home for the Jewish people secured under public law." Herzl did not succeed in obtaining the charter for the "national home," but he succeeded in organizing the Zionist movement, first of all by convening a Zionist Congress "as our first national institution," with several functional subsidiaries.

The First Test: World War I and Its Aftermath

The great test came under the conditions that brought about the dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire, the victory of the principle of national self-determination, and the establishment of the League of Nations as guarantor of the mandates and minorities regimes. In this context, the Zionist vision became politically relevant. Herzl's yearning for a "charter" now proved to have opened a door toward internationalization of the Jewish problem in regard to both method and settlement. The League of Nations' Mandate for Palestine was based on the idea of a Jewish National Home. Thus, at the end of World War I, Palestine was drawn into the orbit of supra-governmental as well as Jewish non-governmental organization. Article 4 of the League of Nations' Mandate called for the establishment of a Jewish Agency, by implication a Jewish body broader than the Zionist Organization, which was nonetheless recognized as such *per interim*. At the Annual Zionist Conference of 1922, the Zionist Organization formally assumed the rights and duties of the Jewish Agency for Palestine. It also expressed the wish that "the Jewish Agency shall represent the whole Jewish people. "The Zionist General Council also passed a resolution (in February 1923) providing that "the controlling organ of the Jewish Agency shall be responsible to a body representative of the Jewish People." Consent was also given to negotiate with leading non-Zionists and various Jewish associations for their participation in an "Agency" to be active in Palestine. An agreement for the establishment of this Jewish Agency was signed in Zurich on Aug. 14, 1929.

Simultaneously with the establishment of the mandate system, the League of Nations created the Permanent Mandates Commission, a supervisory organ for mandate administration, thus creating the formal prerequisites for the protection of group rights, through which representatives of the group organized as an NGO had *ex lege* access to the leading intergovernmental organizations and the possibility of appeal against the mandatory. The procedure was by way of petition and reviews ("observations") or mandatory reports. The Jewish Agency for Palestine came to be regarded by Jews and many non-Jews as the "Jewish State *in statu nascendi*" (*ha-medinah be-derekh*). It assumed a vital function: to represent effectively the interests of Jewry at large in matters pertaining to its National Home. Great Britain, as the mandatory power, was thus faced by an organization representing not only the Jews of Palestine but world Jewry in its relation to Palestine. This role was revived after World War II, when it prevented Great Britain from disposing of Palestine in a deal with the Arabs. Thus, during the interwar period, when Jewry had just acquired a certain minority consciousness (see below), the Zionist movement pressed it in the direction of a community consciousness, or, properly speaking, a definite nationalist consciousness.

Minority Rights and Organization for Reconstruction and Protection

With the Peace Conference of 1919, a stage was reached whereby an organized Jewish world effort for minority rights and self-protection could have developed, having for the first time a definite organization with which to apply at first to the Peace Conference itself and later to the resulting League of Nations. Nevertheless, this development was uneven and fortuitous. From the end of 1918, several Jewish delegations began to converge toward Paris, mainly from the vast belt of political chaos that spread from the Baltic to the Black Sea. New states were emerging and claiming recognition, and the question was whether the international community should not insist on prior guarantees for the rights of minorities and of those groups (being the most outstanding) which would have no state of their own to protect their rights and interests. Anxious to establish a united Jewish front, these Jewish delegations associated themselves with the initiative of the representatives of the *American Jewish Congress, to set up (on March 25, 1919) a coordinating Comité, des Délégations Juives auprès de la Conférence de Paix, presided over by the president of the American Jewish Congress, Julian *Mack, with Louis *Marshall of the American Jewish Committee and Nahum *Sokolow of the Zionist Organization as vice president and Leo *Motzkin as general secretary. Most regional bodies were represented on the Comité as was the B'nai B'rith. However, the Alliance Israélite and the British Joint Foreign Committee refused to participate, although they too intervened politically. Formally, the Jewish delegations had only the status of petitioners. They spoke in the name of elected "congresses," "councils," or federated Jewish communities, and the Comité des Délégations Juives claimed to be the spokesman for more than 10,000,000 Jews. The main approach in 1919 was based on the idea that a minority had rights that an organized representative organization could invoke before an authoritative diplomatic forum acting in the name of international law. In words more appropriate to current procedural concepts, a situation developed in which the protection of beneficiary rights arising out of minority treaties was confined to non-governmental entities operating in constant "consultation" with the IGO.

Nevertheless, the impetus of 1919 soon slackened. In 1927 the Comité des Délégations Juives was reorganized, and a Council for Jewish Minority Rights was established at Geneva to underscore its permanent role. In truth, the real struggle still lay ahead when the Council reentered the arena. In May 1933 it had to plead before the League Council (and in October 1933 before the General Assembly) for the Bernheim petition, to the effect that certain measures of the newly established Hitler regime in Germany were "null and void for Upper Silesia." The petition was successful and showed that individual complaints, if based on international law, could be processed with the aid of an interceding non-governmental body of international standing.

An additional form of consultative function for non-governmental bodies was created in October 1933, when an autonomous Office of the High Commissioner for Refugees (Jewish and other) coming from Germany was established by the General Assembly of the League of Nations. The Office had a governing body consisting of government representatives and an advisory council made up of representatives of "private organizations."

Organizations for relief operated alongside political ones. About a dozen new Jewish organizations had sprung up or had been reorganized since the end of World War I, most of them of welfare type. The enormous devastation resulting from World War I, the new regime in Soviet Russia and the famine there, and the establishment of other regimes gave rise to activities which generally confirmed the existence of Jewish solidarity throughout the world. An immense organization had emerged in the United States for fund-raising (mainly the JDC) and in Europe and other parts of the world for on-the-spot relief, reconstruction, and emigration.

The World Jewish Congress

Hitler's successes on the domestic front made it apparent that Jewry had to prepare for a fight on an international scale against Nazism, its agents – the German settlements throughout the world – and their local antisemitic allies. Leo Motzkin was one of the first to assert that the Council for Jewish Minority Rights must become a fighting political organization in the name of Jewry as a whole. Stephen *Wise, Louis *Lipsky, and other leaders of the American Jewish Congress associated themselves with his initiative, as had Nahum *Goldmann and others in Europe. A reorganization of such scope proved necessary, since it became clear that the postwar period of protection of minority rights under League of Nations patronage was drawing to an end.

In 1932 the first world Jewish conference was convened in Geneva: 17 countries were represented, but the American Jewish Committee, the B'nai B'rith, the Board of Deputies of British Jews, and the Central-Verein Deutscher Staatsbuerger juedischen Glaubens in Germany still refused to participate. Four years later, in August 1936, the *World Jewish Congress (WJC) was formally Founded by 280 delegates from 33 countries assembled at Geneva. Their aim was to create "a permanent address for the Jewish people." The WJC became a voluntary, cooperative association of federations of local Jewish organizations. It did not interfere with the internal life of any federation or community, but it also maintained that no single community or organization, however important and influential, should be entitled to act unilaterally on behalf of the community or any branch of it without being empowered to do so; nor should any community, however small, be excluded from joint action. The WJC declared that it "does not seek to be regarded as [the] 'Government' of the Jewish people outside Palestine." At the international level, it had to assume the function of the Comité des Délégations Juives. It directed a few diplomatic campaigns against Germany, Poland, Romania, and Nazi-occupied Austria. In 1938, at the International Refugee Conference at Evian, the WJC had to fight for the very right of the Jew to be considered a refugee and thus claim the rights of first asylum and transit migration in the countries bordering on Germany.

World War II

Jewry entered World War II as its first victim rather than an ally; it lacked even the limited status and facilities of the various governments-in-exile. The possibility of non-governmental action was considerably reduced, being limited to a few humanitarian efforts *in extremis*. The paradox was that at a time when community consciousness was at its peak, operational capacity was at its lowest. Nevertheless, two problems kept organized efforts alive: the welfare problem of the remnants of European Jewry and the political problem of Jewry in Palestine. It is a tribute to their organizational capacity that the postwar Jewish organizations succeeded in realizing three major aims:

(1) to ensure favorable developments in regard to Palestine;

(2) to secure reparations from West Germany and thus a modicum of relief for more than a million survivors; and

(3) to maintain consultations and later consultative status with the newly established IGOs, particularly the United Nations, UNESCO, and the Council of Europe.

In San Francisco, where the United Nations was established in 1945, it was again the Jewish Agency for Palestine that acted as the representative of the Jewish people vis-à-vis Palestine as well as the nascent Jewish State, particularly when the "first round" was fought in UNCIO for what became Article 80 of the Charter. After the War, when the Anglo-American Commission arrived in Palestine in 1946, it reported that the Jewish case was "presented at full length and with voluminous written evidence, in three series of public hearings: in Washington by the American Zionists, in London by the British Zionists, and finally, and most massively, by the Jewish Agency in Jerusalem. The basic policy advocated was always the same – the so-called Biltmore Program of 1942." The same can be said about the discussions with *UNSCOP in Palestine as well as at UN headquarters on the basis of the UNSCOP report. In this struggle, the Jewish case, as presented by the Jewish Agency, was supported by all the major Jewish organizations. As earlier, the mere fact of having been organized in a democratically structured world organization – the Zionist Organization – had allowed Jewry to respond to events through organized representations, which had been the case from 1917 on, when the Balfour Declaration had been published, up to July 7, 1948, when for the first time a representative of the State of Israel was invited to attend a meeting, the 330th, of the Security Council of the United Nations.

Another aim during the postwar years was to provide for the preservation of human rights in at least three of the five peace treaties with former Nazi satellites – Romania, Hungary, and Bulgaria. By coincidence, these countries were the only ones still to have Jewish minorities, to have turned communist, and to have been obligated by post-World War I arrangements. However, the effort was unsuccessful: no trace remained of the minority rights established in Eastern Europe after World War I. The situation was different in the West. The experience leading to Jewish world community consciousness, which had become rooted in 1933 with the ascension of Hitler to power, did not cease after the War. The War ended with valuable property remaining without owners but traceable to public or private Jewish ownership. It was pointed out that survivors within a given group had the most valid right to advance the thesis of collective restitution. After the Paris Reparations Conference of December 1945, the Jewish Agency for Palestine and the JDC were appointed as "field organizations" for the implementation of a part of the program established by the Conference, and a new era commenced for Jewish NGOs. A major achievement was the establishment in 1951 of the World *Conference of Jewish Material Claims against Germany, the most representative body established thus far, and of a parallel committee for Austria in 1952. These organizations, as well as the Jewish Restitution Successor Organization (JRSO) and the Jewish Trust Corporation for Germany (JTC), established the principle that NGOs can be partners in international legal negotiations and agreements with sovereign or other entities, the outstanding case being the Wassenaar Protocol of Sept. 10, 1952, between the Claims Conference and the government of the Federal Republic of Germany. Moreover, JRSO, together with the JTC for Germany, Ltd., London, and the Branche Française de la JTC, entered into agreements with Bonn (1956) on the payment of compensation in lieu of restitution. Among all the Western states, only in the case of Austria have these efforts met with frustration during all these years.

Jewry's transition from World War II into a greatly changed Europe must be viewed against the background of the Holocaust. The Claims Conference, powerful enough to guarantee annual allocations of $10,000,000 for public use over 12 years, began to plan reconstruction. Roughly 75% of this sum went for basic programs of relief, economic rehabilitation, emigration and resettlement, and 10–15% was allocated for cultural and educational reconstruction. The balance was divided more or less equally between legal aid and historical research into the Holocaust. In 1960 a Standing Conference on European Jewish Social and Welfare Services was established to make formal the *de facto* cooperation existing among local communities and voluntary agencies, such as JDC, ORT, HIAS, etc. Its greatest achievement was the resettlement of refugees from Algeria in France and Israel. Upon winding up its activities, the Claims Conference used its last allocation of over $10,000,000 to establish the Memorial Foundation for Jewish Culture.

Summary

If within a decade or so after the end of World War II, the most urgent needs for Jewish survival were fulfilled – the establishment of the State of Israel, the resettlement of *Displaced Persons, survivors, and refugees, and the repossession of ownerless Jewish property – the continued existence of Jewish NGOs nevertheless became necessary. There were many reasons for this. The need for protection of Jewish minorities became progressively acute in Communist and Arab countries. The B'nai B'rith Anti-Defamation League (active in the United States, Canada, and Mexico) also found a vital field of activity. The fight against racial and religious prejudice and intolerance and several other issues concerning human rights became one of the central themes within leading IGOs (the United Nations, UNESCO, ILO, the Council of Europe). Finally, there has been a tendency for education to replace welfare as the major Jewish concern.

The American Jewish Conference on Soviet Jewry, which, together with similar bodies in Israel and Europe, sponsored the World Conference of Jewish Communities on Soviet Jewry (Brussels, 1971), became a potent factor in the struggle for the rights of the Jews in the Soviet Union. Despite the looseness of its organization, or perhaps because of it, participation and representation on a very wide scale was made possible. The same also holds true for the Comité International pour la Déliverance des Juifs au Moyen Orient established in Paris (1970) to act on behalf of the remaining Jews in distress in Arab countries.

Since 1945 there has been a tendency to establish new organizations and seek consultative status for them with the United Nations or their agencies. Up to 1961 there were no less than 22 new or regrouped Jewish NGOs. Thus, out of 20 Jewish NGOs in the group of principal organizations (international or national with several areas of operation: see chart), six are postwar creations or adaptations, nine have direct and five indirect consultative status with the UN Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC), and several an analogous status with other IGOs. Moreover, six national organizations indirectly enjoy such consultative status (see also *United Nations, Specialized Agencies and Other Bodies).

The proliferation of organizations added impetus to a phenomenon long observed in Jewish organization: their coalition or federalist nature. Thus, the Zionist Organization and the Jewish Agency have been governed for decades by carefully balanced coalitions, under conditions of continually renewed attempts at broadening partnership. They became the operational vehicle for world Jewry's participation in Israel's activities and development as the National Home of Jewry. (According to the Jerusalem Program of 1968, the main aim of Zionism is the unity of the Jewish people and the centrality of Israel in Jewish life.) In this sense it should be compared to earlier organizations. The Comité des Délélegations Juives was formed in response to external circumstances. Its membership was heterogeneous in many respects, but they united in what they viewed as a common purpose. Later, the World Jewish Congress was established as a federation of "national" Jewish associations. If these were "roof organizations" with functions of coordination, some less formal solutions were adopted wherein coordination required no permanent executive apparatus, such as the *World Conference of Jewish Organizations (COJO, founded 1958) and the U.S. Conference of Major Jewish Organizations (generally known as the Presidents' Conference). The main Jewish organizations are represented in all, or most, of these coordinating bodies: the JDC, the Jewish Agency, B'nai B'rith, and the World Jewish Congress. On the other hand, in some of them the absence of the American Jewish Committee is conspicuous. In many of them there is little contact between the organization and the Jewish population at large, and the situation is still similar to what it was at the time of Baron de Hirsch and his welfare secretariats. Jewry is still to a large degree governed by self-perpetuating oligarchic establishments, and the process of full democratization, as envisaged by Herzl, remains a vision of the future.

Jewish world organizations have until now contributed little that is new toward maintaining the consciousness of a common faith, culture, and destiny in Jewish communities.

It is still the position that while many organizations engage in educational activities on a local and national scale, only the Zionist Organization is at present important, though still an inadequate, educational agency on a world scale. (Attempts to establish a World Council for Jewish Education have failed so far; a well-attended World Conference on this subject had met in Jerusalem in August 1962). The main problem of contemporary Jewish world organization is whether its current political activity is sufficient to create a meaningful pattern of activity on behalf of the dispersed Jewish community as a whole – that is, a pattern in which both the Israel-centered part of Jewish identity and heritage and the contribution of Diaspora Jewry to the world's pluralist societies will be recognized as representing an independent entity. Both are confronted with obstacles – the main ones being old-fashioned antisemitism and the latter-day New Left. Nor has much changed in local intergroup relations, the various guest-nations still finding it easier to accommodate the different shades of local acculturation and compromise of Diaspora Jewry than an Israel-oriented Jewry. On the other hand, considering matters in the light of Jewish experience. it would seem that there is hardly any more support, or room, for a Dubnovian affirmation of a Diaspora Jewish culture, notwithstanding the need of the various Jewish NGOs to derive authority for their fight for the consolidation of human rights in general, and Jewish rights in particular, as representatives of a definite cultural identity and interest within a structuralized open society.

Nota Bene

While it is quite clear that the sole purpose of Jewish associations has been the maintenance of the Jewish community, particularly in its dispersal across the often fortuitous boundaries of non-Jewish nations, there have been malicious allegations that it was the intention of Jewry "to rule the world," even if this involved the destruction, or at least corruption, of the non-Jewish nations (see *Elders of Zion, Protocols of the Learned). While it is difficult to eradicate such aberrations, a study of the activities of the organizations previously described reveals nothing more than a desire to be left in peace to develop freely and autonomously.

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[Josef J. Lador-Lederer]

WORLD JEWISH CONGRESS (WJC), a "voluntary association" of "representative Jewish bodies, communities, and organizations" throughout the world, organized to "assure the survival, and to foster the unity of the Jewish people" (arts. 1 and 2 of its constitution). The central Jewish communal bodies and major representative organizations of more than 60 countries belong to it (1969). Its immediate aims are: to coordinate the common interests of its member organizations; to defend the rights, status, and interests of Jews and Jewish communities; to encourage and assist the creative development of Jewish social and cultural life throughout the world; and to act on behalf of its member organizations before governmental, intergovernmental, and other international authorities with respect to matters which concern the Jewish people as a whole (art. 2 of the constitution). The organization does not intervene in the domestic political affairs of any country (art. 3). Only democratic bodies which remain autonomous are entitled to membership, which will be granted, as a general rule, to only one representative national Jewish body of any country (art. 4). A plenary assembly is the supreme authority of the Congress (art. 5), and an executive committee and a governing council conduct the affairs of the organization (art. 8).

History

The origin of the concept of the World Jewish Congress may be found in the early cooperative efforts by Jewish communities around the world in religious, legal, political, and relief matters. The origin of the World Jewish Congress can be traced to ideological developments within the American and European Jewish communities during and after World War I. In 1919 the *Comité des Délégations Juives was established, led by Leo *Motzkin, and, after three preparatory conferences, the first World Jewish Congress convened in Geneva, Switzerland, in 1936. 280 delegates represented the Jews of 32 countries under the leadership of Stephen *Wise and Nahum *Goldmann.

Policy and Action

The history of the World Jewish Congress is involved in the most tragic period of contemporary Jewish life – Nazi barbarism, rescue attempts, and relief and rehabilitation programs. The World Jewish Congress played a central role in the creation of Jewish policies with regard to the peace treaties, the prosecution and trial of Nazi war criminals, the adoption of a scheme of indemnification and reparations for Jewish victims of the Holocaust, and the rehabilitation of Jewish life in the years after the war.

Action on behalf of Jewish communities exposed to particular dangers, like those of Eastern Europe and Arab countries; relations with non-Jewish religious bodies; the fight against neo-Nazism and antisemitism; representation before international organs (the United Nations, UNESCO, regional intergovernmental organizations, and others); and, above all, the preservation of the identity of Jewish communities in view of the increasing trend to assimilation, are on the agenda of the different departments of the WJC. It maintains four branches of its executive – in North America, South America, Europe, and Israel – as well as a research branch, the Institute of Jewish Affairs, formerly in New York and presently in London, to execute its policies and direct its activities.

In 1981, Edgar M. *Bronfman was elected president of the World Jewish Congress. Under his leadership through the early years of the 21st century the WJC was in the forefront of the struggle for Soviet Jewry, the campaign to expose the

Nazi past of Kurt Waldheim and achieve moral and material justice for victims of the Holocaust and their heirs, and the fight against antisemitism and right-wing extremists like Jorge Haider as well as defense of Israel in the international arena.

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[Natan Lerner]

WORLD LABOR ZIONIST MOVEMENT, organizational framework encompassing the *Israel Labor Party and groups in the Diaspora actively supporting it. Until 1968, before the merger of *Mapai, *Aḥdut ha-Avodah (B), and *Rafi in Israel, this function was carried out mainly by "Iḥud Olami Po'alei Zion-Z.S. Hitaḥadut," which served as the world union of Mapai and its Diaspora supporters. From the earliest days of organized Zionism, there have been groups that combined a belief in Zionism with an attachment to the doctrines of socialism. The emphasis of these groups would sometimes be placed on one or another of the ideologies. Socialist Zionist circles criticized the Zionist movement in its early days because it concentrated on the political task of securing a National Home, disregarding the need to create a Jewish working class imbued with progressive ideas and a search for social justice. The Zionist socialist groups had their divisions and different trends. They had developed independently in various countries and were directly influenced by the revolutionary and social democratic movements of their respective countries. As far back as the First Zionist Congress (1897), an attempt was made to create an international union of Zionist socialists. In the early part of the 20th century, groups began to be established in the large Jewish centers of Russia, Poland, Austria, Galicia, and England. The publications of Ber *Borochov and Nachman *Syrkin, the former following Marxist reasoning and the latter a more idealistic approach, influenced the groups toward different ideological trends.

After World War I the differences crystallized. On one end was the Left Po'alei Zion, almost completely Marxist, which opposed cooperation with "bourgeois" Zionism; in the center the *Po'alei Zion, which sought to become the labor wing of the organized Zionist movement; and at the other end *Ẓe'irei Zion-Hitaḥadut, a moderate Jewish labor movement centered on the pioneering efforts in Ereẓ Israel. The two parties, Po'alei Zion and Hitaḥadut, were linked ideologically with the labor parties in Ereẓ Israel; Po'alei Zion with Aḥdut ha-Avodah and Ẓe'irei Zion – Hitaḥdut with *Ha-Po'el ha-Ẓa'ir. The contacts with parties in Ereẓ Israel had a decisive influence upon the development and the activities of the Zionist labor groups in the Diaspora. Thus when the two main labor parties in Palestine united and established the Mapai Party (1930) the merger prepared the ground for the union of the two parallel parties in the Diaspora.

In 1931–32 a number of consultations were held in the countries of the Diaspora and the conditions for attaining a complete union of the two parties were discussed. These discussions were successful to the degree that the decisive majority on both sides were won over to the idea, although there were smaller groups that did not accept the merger and broke away. It was not until 1932 that a world organization was established at a conference in Danzig, where organized labor movements from Palestine were also represented for the first time. The Palestine parties had themselves effected union, and the parties in the Diaspora followed their lead. The movements united in most European countries, notably Poland, Eastern Galicia, Germany, Romania, Czechoslovakia, Lithuania and Latvia, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, Greece, and in the United States and South America. In each case, however, there were groups which did not join the merges, especially the left Po'alei Zion groups, which broke away and later aligned with the internal Mapai opposition group, Si'ah Bet, later called Aḥdut ha-Avodah after it split from Mapai (see *Aḥdut ha-Avodah B). The world organization centered on Mapai became known as the Iḥud Olami and its secretaries were Anselm Reiss and Aryeh *Tartakower.

The Iḥud Olami was not only an ideological movement. Although no obligation was placed upon its members to settle in Palestine, the atmosphere created encouraged *aliyah* and "self-realization." The movement extended the maximum help to the *He-Ḥalutz groups that had sprung up all over Europe. The parties affiliated with the Iḥud Olami organized professionals and artisans within the framework of Ha-Oved. The deteriorating economic position of the Jewish masses in Eastern Europe brought tens of thousands of people into the movement. In the course of time it became a valuable and large source for *aliyah*. The movement also took an active part in the struggle for Jewish rights in postwar Europe but its main emphasis was on building up Ereẓ Israel in accordance with pioneering labor ideology. Material that flowed from the nerve center in Ereẓ Israel was distributed, and emissaries, particularly from collective and cooperative labor settlements in Palestine, were encouraged to work in the Jewish communities in order to intensify their Zionism and promote Hebrew education and *aliyah*, pioneering, and settlement. The Iḥud Olami maintained contact with branches in Europe, the United States, South America, South Africa, and Australia. In North Africa there were well-organized groups in Algeria, Tunisia, and Morocco.

The Iḥud Olami formed a united labor wing of the Zionist movement and played a leading role in the debates at the Zionist Congresses and in the manning of the various positions. For many years, the principal positions on the *Jewish Agency Executive were held by representatives of the Iḥud Olami. In 1936–37 the head office of the Iḥud Olami was transferred to Palestine, and a succession of leading members of Mapai acted as secretary-general: Melech Neustadt (Noy); Haim *Shurer; Yiẓḥak Harkavy; and Meir Argov.

In 1968, following the creation of the Israel Labor Party by merging Aḥdutha-Avodah (B), Mapai, and Rafi, in Israel, a world conference was called to amalgamate the two supporting movements in the Diaspora (Rafi had no Diaspora organization). A single organization was created at this conference called the World Labor Zionist Movement. Yiẓḥak Korn, who had been serving as secretary-general of the Iḥud Olami, was elected secretary-general of the united movement. In the last years of the 1960s the united labor Zionist movement became an influential factor in the World Zionist movement. It was the initiator of the move to separate the functions of the Jewish Agency from those of the Zionist Organization in order that the latter might concentrate on the tasks of encouraging *aliyah*, Jewish education, and the mobilizing of the Jewish masses for Zionism. The creation of a special *aliyah* movement in the Western countries was largely the fruit of Labor Zionist movement initiative. The movement extended its activity to embrace work among students and the parents of children attending Jewish day schools. Its constituent parties were active among non-Jewish labor movements, notably the Labor Friends of Israel in Britain, which did much to combat anti-Israel propaganda. In the ensuing decades it continued to promote the Labor Zionism philosophy, supporting youth movements and other organizations abroad.

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[Moshe Rosetti]

WORLD SEPHARDI FEDERATION. Since the establishment of the Zionist movement, efforts have been made to organize the Sephardi communities throughout the world in support of settlement in the Land of Israel, and were accelerated after World War I and the Balfour Declaration. Various organizations were formed, particularly among the youth, and a Conference of Sephardi Communities was held during the World Zionist Congress in Vienna in 1925. Many Sephardi leaders opposed this on the grounds that it would give rise to separation between Sephardi and Ashkenazi Jewry. Mr. Picciotto, a Syrian Jew who lived in London, was elected chairman. As a result of his efforts, a number of agricultural settlements of Sephardi Jews were established, including Kefar Ḥittim, Zur Moshe, and Beit Ḥanan. However, the organization was dissolved after a short time.

In 1947 an organization of Sephardi Jews in the Land of Israel was set up under the leadership of E. Eliyashar, who visited South America to establish links between the Sephardi communities there and the *yishuv* in the Land of Israel. In 1950 contacts were also made with Sephardi communities in France, England, and the United States. A preparatory meeting was convened in Paris to establish a Sephardi World Congress, and among its members were David Sitton, Ovadiah Kimhi, Mr. Kaxbalko of London, and Simian Nissim of the United States.

The Congress was held in Paris in November 1951, and A. Ben-Roy of London was elected president with E. Eliyashar and Bekhor Shitrit (then Israel's minister of police), Elias Taubal of South America, and the Ḥakham S. Gaon of the English Spanish and Portuguese Congregation, as vice presidents.

Headquarters were established in London, but because of the opposition of the Left Sephardi workers in Israel, an attempt to make it a worldwide organization failed.

During the Second Sephardi Congress held in Jerusalem in May 1954, additional efforts were made to reach an understanding between the two parties, but they failed. As a result of this crisis, Mr. Ben-Roy resigned, and Mr. Sebag-Montefiore of London was elected. The new president, a non-Zionist, opposed joining pro-Zionist organizations in general and the Zionist Federation in particular. Both the Left and the Right in the Israeli branch tried in vain to persuade him to change his attitude. As a result, Sebag-Montefiore resigned and two months later Eli Nachmias, of the Sephardi community of Paris, was elected president. Though he warmly endorsed all cultural activities in Israel, he refused all contact between the Federation and any Zionist organizations. This attitude was strongly criticized by Sephardi Zionists both in the Diaspora and in Israel, and as a result Mr. Nachmias resigned.

After 1967, a new leadership emerged under Eliyahu Eliyashar of Jerusalem and Edgar Abravanel of Paris. The dynamic director-general Gad Ben-Meir in London added much vitality to the World Sephardi Federation. Emphasis was placed on scholarships for disadvantaged Oriental youth in Israel, and strengthening programs that would help them finish high school, pass matriculation exams, and advance to university.

In February 1973, Nessim David Gaon, a leader of the Sephardi community in Switzerland, was elected fourth president of the Federation. His activity on behalf of the economically distressed and his support for educational institutions in Israel were well known and appreciated, and he was highly regarded by the heads of the state and of the Zionist movement. His election gave the Federation considerable power.

Even before his election, during the 28th Zionist Congress held in Jerusalem in February 1972, the Sephardi Federation had been accepted as a member of the Zionist Organization, which gave the Federation new status in the eyes of Sephardi Jewry. In response to a request by the Federation's delegates to the Congress – which numbered 15 members from Israel and abroad – a special department of the Zionist Organization was established to deal with their problems on an international basis. As a result, delegates were sent to Sephardi communities in the United States, Canada, France, and England. For the first time in the history of Zionist activities among Sephardi Jews, youth groups from the United States, Canada, France, S. America, and Iran participated in special seminars organized for them in Israel. This youth, hitherto dissociated from Zionism and the building of the Jewish State, began to absorb the Zionist doctrine, and on their return became enthusiastic supporters of the State of Israel. The activities in Israel were concentrated mainly in the field of education. Thanks to the initiative of the Federation's president, a special fund was established for students and the economically underprivileged.

It was agreed to establish a special course at the University of Haifa for the training of public leaders from among the inhabitants of development towns and distressed areas. The course opened with 90 students who were chairmen of councils and heads of departments in development towns. It was agreed to establish similar courses in the universities of Beersheba, Bar Ilan, Tel Aviv, and Hebrew University of Jerusalem, and by the end of 1977 a total of 800 students participated. At the end of the 1970s funds were made available to establish an institute for Sephardi studies at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem called Misgav Yerushalayim, which now publishes scholarly works on Sephardi and Oriental Jewry in literature, history, and language, and organizes large-scale international conferences every four years.

At a plenary conference held in Geneva in 1979, a new structure was decided upon for the Federation, whereby the presidium was to consist of ten representatives each, from Israel and the Diaspora, the former including four delegates from the Likud, three from the Labor Alignment, two from the religious parties, and one independent, while the latter would have two delegates each from the U.S., Latin America, and France, and one each from Britain, Canada, Spain, and the rest of Europe.

In the 1980s and 1990s, the World Sephardi Federation was dormant. By 1985 the budget of the Department of Sephardi Communities of the Jewish Agency was cut to such an extent that it had no funds for activities and only paid salaries. By and large the World Sephardic Federation failed to deal with issues of Sephardi identity, education, rabbinic training, intermarriage and assimilation in the Diaspora, and Sephardi/Mizraḥi poverty and alienation in Israel. The organization remains closed to the outside world and to the Sephardic public in the Diaspora and Israel, and has failed to cultivate or attract young leadership, admit women, and include and unite the extremely fragmented Sephardi/Mizraḥi public consisting of more than 70 diverse ethnic groups throughout the Diaspora and in Israel.

The World Sephardi Federation has since moved its headquarters to Israel. Since the death of Shelomo Abutbul, who was the head of the Va'ad Edah ha-Sefardit of Tel Aviv-Yaffo, the archives of the World Sephardi Federation have remained in a warehouse in Tel Aviv and off-limits to the public and interested researchers.

[David Sitton / Yitzchak Kerem (2nd ed.)]

WORLDS, THE FOUR. The use of the term "world" in the sense of a separate spiritual unit, a particular realm of being, came to the halakhic kabbalists from the heritage of neoplatonism. At an early stage, from the beginning of the 13th century, many such "worlds" are mentioned, representing a mixture of original Jewish, gnostic, and neoplatonic concepts. In the development of the doctrine of the ten **Sefirot*, each *Sefirah* was considered as a complete world in itself which, in a way, had a mystical topography of its own. The world of *emanation could be seen as such a unit, but so could every single component or some of its configurations. Medieval philosophy knew of three worlds: the higher world comprising the separate intelligences often identified with the angels, the middle world of the spheres of heaven, and the lower, sublunar, world of nature and man. It was a natural step to add the world of the Godhead which could be identified with the world of emanation (*Aẓilut*, or the ten emanations) to this scheme. That way, four worlds would emerge. However, this did not occur in the development of the Spanish Kabbalah, where the doctrine of the four worlds originated. Rather, it had its origin in speculations connected with the interpretation of Isaiah 43:7: "Everything called by my name – for my glory I have created it, have formed it, yea I have made it." The three words used here, creation, formation, and making or achieving (*beri'ah, yeẓirah, asiyyah*), were interpreted by many authors as pointing to the progressive stages of divine activity. These stages could be seen in two perspectives: as declining from the purely spiritual to the material, or as progressing from as yet undetermined forms of being to more and more manifest ones, which in the stage of "making" would achieve a perfect shaping of the original divine purpose. In kabbalist literature these two tendencies complement each other and appear beside one another, first in the writings of the kabbalists of Gerona and later in several parts of the *Zohar. The Hebrew word *asiyyah* combines the two meanings of making and acting, and it was in this latter sense of activity that the term was frequently used by the kabbalists.

In the writings of *Azriel of Gerona, the three potencies of creation, formation, and activity are already defined as being comprised within the highest potency of divine emanation (*Aẓilut*), but they are never spoken of as worlds. This transition occurred first in the writings of *Moses b. Shem Tov de Leon. In one of his Hebrew books, *Maskiyyot Kesef*, written after 1293 (MS Adler, 1577), he quotes from an unknown source called *Yerushalmi* – in fact a lost part of the *Midrash ha-Ne'lam* in the Zohar – a statement according to which the soul of man "is from the world of creation and from the world of formation, and its completion [or perfection] is nowhere but in the world of action which is this our world." When a man leaves the world, his soul is comprised of all the three worlds – if he actually has fulfilled his task. Allusions to such three worlds are indeed found in the Aramaic text of the Zohar without being elaborated (for instance: 1, 62a). Another stage of this development is documented by the *Tikkunei Zohar*, the latest stratum of the Zohar which clearly differentiates between four stages in the development of creation without calling them "worlds." The author knows of "ten *Sefirot* of *Aẓilut* in which the king, his real self and his life, are one," whereas this is not the case in the "ten *Sefirot* of *beri'ah*, or creation": "The highest cause radiates into the ten *Sefirot* of *Aẓilut* and the ten of *beri'ah*, and also shines in the ten orders of the angels and the ten spheres of heaven, and he calls these ten ranks of angels the ten *Sefirot* of *Yeẓirah*, or formation." In other passages of the same stratum four manifestations of the figure of man are already mentioned, clearly pointing to four layers of being: they know of an "Adam of *Aẓilut*, an Adam of *beri'ah*, of *yeẓirah*, and of *asiyyah*" (1, 22b, and end of *Tikkun* 67).

These are the preparatory stages from which a fully fledged theory of four worlds emerged at the beginning of the 14th century, particularly in the writings of *Isaac b. Samuel of Acre and the anonymous "treatise on emanation," Massekhet *Aẓilut. Here, God is said to have created four worlds, corresponding to the four letters of His name:

(1) the world of *Aẓilut*, which is like a garment of light to the source of all being;

(2) the world of *beri'ah*, creation, which is essentially the sphere of the throne of God and the seven palaces surrounding it;

(3) the world of *yeẓirah*, formation, which is the world of the *Merkabah seen by Ezekiel, and of the ten ranks of angels, dominated by *Metatron;

(4) the world of *asiyyah*, filled with the lower ranks of angels, who receive the prayers of man, but also with the hosts of *Samael and his devilish companions. This world is dominated by the angel *Sandalfon. Evidently there was no clear-cut definition of the status of the sublunar terrestial world which sometimes is made a part of the fourth and sometimes remains outside of this hierarchy. The realm of the powers of evil, the *kelippot*, could be identified with the world of *asiyyah*, at least as a part of it, but could be located outside this scheme, as indeed it sometimes was in later writings.

It is equally clear that this order of four worlds expressed a declining order of being, from the divine down to the nearly or completely material. This scheme could be relatively easily combined with the teachings of the Zohar, and became accepted doctrine of the kabbalists from the early 16th century onward. Especially the worlds of *beri'ah* and *yeẓirah* were elaborated in great detail in the writings of Moses *Cordovero and Hayyim *Vital, Isaac *Luria's disciple. Cordovero tended to include the realm of the *kelippot* and the whole visible creation within the fourth world of *asiyyah*, whereas the Lurianic Kabbalah tended to differentiate between them. According to Luria, only the fall of Adam brought about the confusion between the spiritual world of *asiyyah* and the material world of the *kelippot* which, in the messianic period, will again be completely separated from each other. The basic structures of the five *Parẓufim*, the configurations of the ten *Sefirot* described under anthropomorphic symbols, are repeated all over the four worlds. Luria's descriptions of the world of *beri'ah* is much more complicated than in former sources. The seven palaces in this structure are seen as exterior projections of its basic substance, and there is considerable vacillation regarding the place of Metatron and Sandalfon who appear in the worlds of both *beri'ah* and *yeẓirah*, apparently representing different stages of their manifestation. Metatron, the highest of all angelic structures, is even said to have his head in the world of *beri'ah*, his ethereal body in *yeẓirah*, and his feet in *asiyyah*. The teachings regarding the latter three worlds in Luria's Kabbalah are almost completely new and were meant to add to the many stages which the mystical *meditation must traverse in order to fix itself on the realm of divinity.

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[Gershom Scholem]

WORM. The word *tola'at* or *tole'ah* is employed in the Bible and the Talmud both for destructive caterpillars and for the rainworm; sometimes the combination *rimmah ve-tole'ah* (= maggots and worms) occurs. One of the curses in the commination of the Bible is that "the worm" shall eat the vines (Deut. 28:39). The Talmud (Ḥul. 67b) speaks of "the worm in the roots of the vines," referring to the beetle *Schistocerus*. The worm which smote Jonah's *kikayon* (Jonah 4:7) was presumably the caterpillar of a beetle of the genus *Capnodis* or *Cerambyx*. The Midrash states that "this worm makes the tree barren" (Mid. to Ps. 22:7). The worms that caused the manna to rot (Ex. 16:20) were fruit-fly maggots. In the Bible *rimmah ve-tole'ah* symbolizes the decomposition of the body after death (Isa. 14:11; Job 21:26), since these feed upon the decaying corpse. Man is compared to them because of his end and his frailty (Isa. 41:14; Job 25:6). They are the maggots of the carrion flies *Lucilia* and apparently also the rainworm *Lumbricus*, found in large quantities in soil rich in rotting organic material. This last is called *shilshul* in rabbinic literature (RH 24b) and in modern Israel.

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[Jehuda Feliks]

WORMANN, CURT (1900–1991), librarian. Born in Berlin, he served from 1923 as assistant head and, later, head of the department for Adult Education of the Kreuzberg district of Berlin, as well as teaching at the Berlin Library School. In 1933 he settled in Palestine and became academic librarian at the Tel Aviv Municipal Library (1937–47). He then became director of the Jewish National and University Library in Jerusalem (1947–68). When the library on Mount Scopus became inaccessible (1948), Wormann showed great resourcefulness in providing books for faculty and students. Under his direction, hundreds of thousands of books looted by the Nazis were salvaged after the war and acquired for the University Library. The library collection tripled and the collection of manuscripts grew to 25,000 items. Many valuable collections of printed books and manuscripts were acquired during this period.

In 1956 Wormann founded, with the aid of UNESCO, a graduate library school in Jerusalem, which significantly improved library standards in Israel. He served as president of the Israel Library Association from its establishment in 1952 and represented Israel at UNESCO and International Federation of Libraries conferences.

Wormann's published works include: *Der deutsche Bauernroman* (1923); *Die russische Literatur der Gegenwart* (1931); and *Autoritaet und Familie in der deutschen Belletristik nach dem Weltkrieg* (1936).

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[Shlomo Shunami]

WORMS, city in Germany. Documentary evidence points to the settlement of Jews in Worms at the end of the tenth century. The community grew during the 11th century, and a synagogue was inaugurated in 1034. In 1076–77 there was already a Jewish cemetery, which has been preserved and is the oldest in Europe. At the end of the 11th century the role of Jewish merchants in Worms was of such importance that they are mentioned by King Henry IV in a privilege document of 1074 before "the other inhabitants of Worms." Around 1090 the king granted to the Jews of Worms a charter of privileges similar in most respects to the charter granted to the Jews of *Speyer. The Jews of Worms were granted freedom to travel without restriction throughout the kingdom (they visited the fairs of *Cologne) and to engage in commerce without paying customs duties. They were authorized to function as moneychangers, and could hire Christian workmen, wetnurses, and maidservants. The Jews were granted the right to own movable and real property. It was forbidden to convert their children forcibly to Christianity, and a Jew who converted lost his share in his father's property. In lawsuits between Jews and Christians, each litigant was to be judged according to his own legal code; Jewish as well as Christian witnesses were necessary before judgment could be passed against a Jew. Lawsuits between Jews would be judged according to Jewish law. The Jews were subject to the king's jurisdiction only. They were given extensive autonomy and could choose their own leadership, subject only to certification by the king.

A number of distinguished scholars were active in Worms during this period: among the "Sages of Worms" were Judah b. Baruch, a disciple of R. Gershom b. *Judah and a prominent halakhic authority; the hymnologist Meir b. *Isaac; Jacob b. *Yakar and Isaac b. *Eleazar, teachers of *Rashi during his stay in Worms; Kalonymus b. Shabbetai of Rome, who became head of the yeshivah after the death of R. Jacob b. Yakar; and Solomon b. *Samson, a halakhic authority and hymnologist who may well have been the *Episcopus Judaeorum* ("Bishop of the Jews") to whom the charter of Worms was addressed. While the scholars of *Mainz engaged exclusively in the study of Talmud, those of Worms also commented on Bible and Midrash and composed *piyyutim*.

This flourishing period was interrupted by the persecutions of the First *Crusade that took place in May 1096. The crusaders, drawn from the simple townfolk and the peasants of the surrounding villages, attacked the Jews in Worms. Some of them were killed in their homes or took their own lives, while others found refuge in the palace of the bishop, until they were overwhelmed and massacred or chose to kill their children and then themselves. The number of martyrs reached 800. Only a few saved themselves by accepting baptism, but in the following year Henry IV allowed them to return to Judaism.

After a short while a new community was established in Worms, and in 1112 Emperor Henry V renewed the customs exemption which his father had granted to the Jews of the city. In the meantime, Jewish economic activity there had taken a new direction: commerce was replaced by *moneylending. At the time of the Second Crusade in 1146, the Jews of Worms fled to fortresses in the surrounding region until the danger had passed. Subsequently the community grew in numbers. The synagogue was renovated (1174–75) and a women's gallery was added (1213); a new *mikveh* was constructed (1186), and the cemetery was enlarged (c. 1260).

During the 13th century the Christian bishop assumed jurisdiction over the Jews in lawsuits with Christians, as well as in criminal law. He also collected a tax from them, in addition to that imposed by the king. The civic status of the Jews was determined by the municipal council. The Jews received its protection and were obligated in return to defend the town in case of attack. During the siege of Worms, in 1201, the Jews took part in its defense. Their obligation to military service later was exchanged for a payment toward the fortification of the city. A regular tax which the Jews paid to the city is first mentioned in 1265. During the 13th and 14th centuries the kings transferred to the city an ever greater portion of the taxes paid by the Jews, and the municipal authority over the Jews thus became more extensive. Finally, in January 1348, Charles IV waived all the royal rights over the Jews of Worms in favor of the city. The community was led by 12 elected *parnasim*. The bishop of Worms appointed one of them "Bishop of the Jews" for life. The last "Bishop of the Jews" died in 1792.

The scholars of Worms took part in the rabbinical *synods which were convened in the Rhineland, as well as in the drafting of communal regulations for the three communities of Speyer, Worms, and Mainz, which had wide-ranging influence on Ashkenazi Jewry (see *Shum). The most important halakhic authorities of Worms in the period were the *paytan* Menahem b. *Jacob; Eleazar b. *Judah, disciple of Judah he-Ḥasid ("the *Pious"), the author of *Sefer ha-Roke'aḥ*; and Baruch b. Meir and his son Meir of Rothenburg (*av bet din* of Worms; d. 1281). From the beginning of the 14th century there was, however, a spiritual decline in the community, and its influence waned.

On Second Adar 10, 5109 (1349), at the time of the Black *Death, anti-Jewish violence broke out in Worms. Some Jews managed to escape to Sinsheim, *Heidelberg, and other localities in the *Palatinate; all the other members of the community set fire to themselves in their homes or were massacred by rioters. The property of the Jews was confiscated by the town, but the latter was also compelled to pay assignments which the king had granted to several of his creditors on account of the tax which was due to him. The local authorities therefore considered it advantageous to authorize the settlement of the Jews in the city once more (1353–55).

This third community fixed the day of Adar 10 as a perpetual fast day. The new community did not acquire the splendor of the past. Even so Jacob Moses *Moellin (the Maharil) preferred to live there in his old age and died in Worms in 1427. The kings and governors of the Palatinate renewed the "seals" of the community from time to time, but an uprising of craftsmen in 1615 caused the Jews to flee from the town; the synagogue and the cemetery were desecrated. Samuel Bacharach, the rabbi of the community, was among the refugees. In 1616 the uprising was subdued by the governor, and the Jews returned to Worms. The first *parnas* of the renewed community was David Joshua Oppenheim, who in 1624 built the *bet midrash* attributed to Rashi. Another *parnas*, Abraham b. Simeon Wolff Oppenheim, was the father of the noted David *Oppenheim. Samuel *Oppenheimer and Samson *Wertheimer, who achieved fame in Vienna, were also natives of Worms. The rabbinical office was then held by the kabbalist Elijah b. Moses *Loanz. From 1650 to 1670, Moses Samson b. Abraham Samuel *Bacharach acted as rabbi and *av bet din* of Worms. It was in his days that Jephthah Joseph Yozpa, a scribe, recorded the legends then current in Worms on the glorious past of the community (*Sefer Ma'aseh Nissim*, Amsterdam, 1696).

Ten years after Worms had been set on fire by the French, in 1689, the community of Worms was again reconstituted. The first rabbi appears to have been Jair Ḥayyim b. Moses Samson *Bacharach (d. 1702), author of *Ḥavvat Ya'ir*. During the 18th and 19th centuries Worms no longer ranked among the important communities of Germany, even though it was still renowned and remained attached to its ancient customs. During the 19th century there were about 800 Jews living in the city. They were granted civic rights along with the Jews of *Hesse, and in 1848 a Jew was elected mayor of Worms.

Holocaust and Contemporary Periods

On the eve of the rise of the Nazis to power, in 1933, there were 1,016 Jews living in Worms. Many Jews emigrated following the boycott of Jewish goods and other forms of harassment. A concentration camp was set up in the vicinity of the city. Nazi persecution stimulated communal activity in the sphere of Jewish adult education, and, after the expulsion of Jewish children from the public school, a Jewish school was founded in Worms in 1936. The ancient synagogue and the *bet midrash* of Rashi were destroyed on *Kristallnacht*, Nov. 9–10, 1938, but the cemetery was saved from destruction by Dr. Ilert, a benevolent non-Jew. Ninety-seven Jews were taken to concentration camps. By May 1939 only 316 Jews remained in Worms. During World War II, in 1941–42, the remaining Jews in Worms were deported to concentration camps and few survived. After the end of the war some Jews again settled in Worms, but the community was not reorganized. The German authorities rebuilt the synagogue and the *bet midrash* from their ruins (1961) and preserved the ancient cemetery. The archives of the community of Worms of 1522 were sent to the General Archives of Jewish History in Jerusalem.

In 1982 the Jewish museum of the history of the Jewish community in Worms was opened at Rashi House, located on the site of the former *bet midrash*. The cellar and parts of the first floor originate from the second half of the 14th century; the rest of the building was erected in 1982. In 2005, a celebration was held in the city to commemorate the 900th anniversary of Rashi's death. In 2005 there were 133 Jews living in Worms, members of the Jewish community in Mainz. The majority are immigrants from the former Soviet Union who moved to Germany after 1990.

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[Zvi Avneri]

WORMS, AARON (1754–1836), rabbi in France, born in Geislautern, Saar, son of R. Abraham (Aberle) Joseph. Aaron attended the yeshivah at Metz directed by R. Aryeh Loeb b. Asher *Guenzburg. In 1777 he became rabbi in Kriechingen (Créhange), Lorraine, and in 1785 was appointed *dayyan* in Metz and principal of its yeshivah. From 1813 he served as deputy rabbi, and from 1831, rabbi of Metz.

Although strictly orthodox, he was sympathetic to those desiring the integration of Jews into gentile society through "improvement of morals." During the French Revolution, he joined the National Guard and served as a member of the *Assembly of Jewish Notables and the Great *Sanhedrin (1806–07), where he expressed the view that the granting of civil rights to the Jews would encourage them to assume added responsibilities toward the state. In the Sanhedrin he gave an address on the relations between Jews and non-Jews according to the Talmud, in which he maintained that the phrase *ovedei kokhavim u-mazzalot* (idolators) does not apply to the non-Jews of the present time. On the contrary, the Talmud enjoins a spirit of brotherhood between Jews and non-Jews. He also expressed the view that it is preferable to pray in the vernacular and to understand what one is saying than in Hebrew if one could not understand it. For this reason he took no part in the "temple controversy" in Hamburg in 1818/19. Worms also opposed the retention of customs which had their basis in superstitious beliefs, as well as the exaggerated use of *piyyutim* in the prayers. R. Aaron encouraged the foundation of an educational institution in Metz where children were also taught secular subjects. He urged Jews to learn and practice crafts.

His work *Me'orei Or* was published anonymously in seven parts, the first three between 1790 and 1793; the last four, published between 1819 and 1831, were entitled *Be'er-Sheva, Or la-Mo'ed, Ben Nun*, and *Ken Tahor.* It examines questions of *halakhah* in the Talmud and Shulḥan Arukh and the origins of *minhagim*, and elucidates *aggadah*. Certain sections of the work include a "*mahadura batra*" ("final rescension") which complements the commentary and notes in the body of the work. He included in his works a considerable number of poetical compositions, *piyyutim* for festivals, Sabbath songs and hymns, and *seliḥot* for the High Holydays. He also published a commentary on the *Maḥzor* and the Passover *Haggadah*.

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[Yehoshua Horowitz]

WORMS, ASHER ANSHEL (1695–1759), German physician and Hebrew author. In 1723, Asher was appointed physician at the Jewish hospital at Frankfurt on the Main, a position he occupied until his death. He was interested in a wide range of subjects: mathematics (in his youth he wrote a textbook entitled *Mafte'aḥ ha-Algebrah ha-Ḥadashah* ("Key to Modern Algebra"; Offenbach, 1721), physics, logic, ethics, metaphysics, grammar, and, particularly, Hebrew literature and the masorah. His most important work in this last area was *Seyag la-Torah* ("A Fence around the Torah"), published posthumously by his son, the physician Simeon Wolf Worms (Frankfurt on the Main, 1766). It comprises three essays dealing with the nature of the masorah, the masoretes and their times, their identification with the Tiberias schools or with *Ezra and his group, an explanation of the abbreviations used by them, and a correction of the errors that had crept into the masorah. Asher held that "in every generation diligent scribes arose" who preserved the masorah, until the masoretes of Tiberias "corrected all the errors that had occurred in it from the days of Ezra to their own times," and that the masoretes were not the inventors of vocalization, but its transcribers. In the introduction to the work, Worms accused Joseph Heilbronn of Eschwege, who had seen the manuscript before publication, of plagiarizing whole sections of it in his commentary on the masorah, *Mevin Ḥiddot* (Amsterdam, 1765). Heilbronn attempted to defend himself in a pamphlet, *Merivat Kodesh* (Amsterdam, 1766), to which Simeon Wolf Worms replied in his pamphlet *Prodogma Ḥadashah* (Amsterdam, 1767). The controversy was settled by Wolf *Heidenheim who confirmed, on the basis of the first page of *Mevin Ḥiddot*, which he had in his possession, all the charges of plagiarism leveled against Heilbronn.

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[Yehoshua Horowitz]

WORMS, DE, family originating in Frankfurt and prominent in finance and politics in England in the 19th century. They traced their descent back to R. Aaron *Worms whose grandson, BENEDICT DE WORMS (d. 1824), married Jeanette von Rothschild in 1795. The family subsequently settled in London where Benedict, with his sons, MAURICE BENEDICT (1805–1867) and GABRIEL BENEDICT (1802–1881), established the family retailing business. As a result of a visit to Ceylon, his sons built up one of the biggest and best cultivated tea plantations on the island, known as the Rothschild Estate. Their brother, SOLOMON BENEDICT (1801–1882), spent some time there doing pioneering work on the estate. In 1871 he was made a baron of the Austrian Empire for financial services and charity, and three years later was granted a warrant to use this title in Britain in recognition of his work in Ceylon. His eldest son, BARON GEORGE (1829–1912), was vice president of the Royal Society of Literature (1896–1900) and headed the family firm. He wrote *The Currency of India* (1876). Solomon Benedict's third son, HENRY (first Baron Pirbright; 1840–1903), was educated at London University and became a barrister, but, after a short time at the bar, assisted his brother George in conducting their father's retailing business. He entered Parliament in 1880 as a Conservative and in 1885 was made parliamentary secretary to the Board of Trade in Lord Salisbury's first government. He was the first professing Jew to hold ministerial office in a Tory government. In 1888, the year he was made a member of the Privy Council, Henry represented Britain at the international conference for the abolition of sugar bounties and was elected its president. He was undersecretary of state for the colonies from 1888 to 1892. In 1895, in Lord Salisbury's third administration, he was given a peerage. In Parliament he championed the cause of oppressed Romanian Jews. He held a number of communal offices, including those of treasurer and vice president of the United Synagogue. He was also president of the Anglo-Jewish Association (1872–86) until forced to resign after attending the marriage of his daughter at church. He was a Fellow of the Royal Society and a man of considerable erudition. His books included *The Earth and Its Mechanism* (1862); *The Austro-Hungarian Empire* (1870) and *England's Policy in the East* (1877).

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WORMS, RENÉ (1869–1926), French social scientist. He taught chiefly economic subjects at the University of Caen, the École des Hautes Études Sociales, the Institut Commercial, and the École des Hautes Études Commerciales in Paris. Worms' importance for sociology rests largely with his organizational activities. He was the founder of the *Revue internationale de sociologie* (1892), the Institut International de Sociologie (1893), and the organizer of the annual sociological congresses, as well as the Bibliothèque Sociologique Internationale. Worms and the institutions which he helped to create became the major points of resistance against the prevailing Durkheimian influences in French sociology. As an author, he started by standing for an organicistic approach to society but modified his position later in life.

The best-known work of Worms's organicistic period is *Organisme et société* (1896); others are *Eléments de philosophie scientifique et de philosophic morale* (1891), *Psychologie collective et psychologie individuelle* (1899), *Philosophie des sciences sociales*, 3 vols. (1903–07; 2nd ed. 1913–20), *Les principes biologiques de l'évolution sociale* (1910), *La sociologie; sa nature, son contenu, ses attaches* (1921), as well as numerous articles in the *Revue internationale de sociologie*.

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[Werner J. Cahnman]

WORMSER, ANDRÉ (**Alphonse Toussaint**; 1851–1926), composer. Born in Paris, Wormser won the Rome Prize in 1872 for the cantata *Clytemnestre*. He composed successful operas, orchestral and choral works, piano pieces, and songs. His best-known composition is the pantomine "wordless opera," *L'Enfant prodigue* (1890).

WORMSER, OLIVIER BORIS (1913–1985), French diplomat and member of banking family, born in Paris. He began his career in 1933 as a foreign service officer upon his appointment as an attaché to the French embassy in Rome. He taught law briefly at the University of Dijon (1938–39) and in World War II joined the Free French movement in London. After his return to France, he occupied key posts in policy formulation, particularly in the field of economics, and as an administrator in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. In 1966 he became French ambassador to the Soviet Union and in 1969 governor of the Banque de France.

[Joachim O. Ronall]

WORMSER, SECKEL (**Isaac Loeb**; 1768–1847), talmudist and kabbalist, born in Michelstadt in Hessen. He received his talmudic education in Frankfurt on the Main, in the yeshivah of Nathan Adler, and followed in his footsteps, accepting a rigorously ascetic "hasidic" way of life and turning to kabbalistic studies. After his first marriage he returned, about 1790, to Michelstadt where he maintained a yeshivah for many years and served, at first unofficially, until 1822 as a recognized district rabbi. About 1810, after the death of his wife, he lived for some time in Mannheim. For years, his "ḥasidic" behavior and extreme vegetarianism created considerable tension between him and the majority of his small community, but his reputation as a master of occult powers spread rapidly and Wormser became known throughout Germany as the "Ba'al Shem of Michelstadt." He denied any such supernatural power but agreed to receive people who sought his advice and guidance, giving them natural remedies, specifics, and sometimes amulets. He became particularly known for his treatment of lunatics. Among the Jews of southern Germany many traditions survived regarding his miraculous cures and other feats. He studied German philosophy and was particularly attracted by Schelling. In 1825 his house and large library were destroyed by fire. Of his talmudic writings, preserved by his descendants, almost nothing was published. A catalogue of his second library is preserved in Ms. Heidenheim 206, in the Central Library in Zurich.

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[Gershom Scholem]

WORMWOOD, according to most commentators to be identified with the scriptural לַעֲנָה (*la'anah*). It indicates evil (Deut. 29:17; Amos 5:7; et al.) as does the drinking of the liquid extracted from it (Lam. 3:15; et al.). In Arabic it is called *shi'ah* and in Syriac *shiha*. Consequently the opinion has been expressed that the *si'aḥ* in the phrase עֲלֵי שִׂיחַ in Job 30:4 means "the leaves of the wormwood." The Peshitta identifies *aḥad hasiḥim* ("one of the shrubs") of the desert under which Hagar cast Ishmael with wormwood (Gen. 21:15).

Several species of wormwood grow wild in Israel in the sandy and desert regions. The most common is *la'anat ha-midbar* ("desert wormwood"), the *Artemisia herba-alba* whose juice has a very bitter taste. It is possible that wormwood juice was extracted from it, as, despite its bitterness, it was regarded by the ancients as having therapeutic qualities. The Romans used to give it (absinthium) to the victors of the chariot races to drink since "health is an honorable prize" (Pliny, *Historia Naturalis* 27:45–46). In Greek, wormwood is called *apsinthion* (as the Septuagint translates *la'anah*). The Talmud (Av. Zar. 30a) mentions "bitter *apsintin* wine," i.e., wine to which *apsinthion* (wormwood) was added, not unlike modern vermouth, which is wine to which the species *Artemisia absinthium* has been added ("wormwood" is probably a corruption of the word vermouth).

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[Jehuda Feliks]

WOROSZYLSKI, WIKTOR (1927–1996), Polish poet, editor, and translator. Born in Grodno, Woroszylski began writing in 1945 and was chief editor of the literary weekly *Nowa Kultura* (1956–57). His works include the verse collections *Ojczyzna*

("Fatherland," 1953) and *Wiersze i poematy wybrane* (1955); *Noc komunarda* ("Night of the Communards," 1949); and a comprehensive study of the Soviet poet Mayakovski (1965; *The Life of Mayakovsky*, 1970). He also published translations from Russian literature.

WORSHIP, service rendered to God and comprehending both the attitude of reverence and love toward the Deity and the activity – in conduct as well as ritual – in which the homage finds expression.

Terminology

The biblical vocabulary of worship is extensive and varied. The following are the principal terms employed:

1. *hishtaḥawah*, "to prostrate oneself," is the most frequently used (86 times);
2. *ʿavad*, "to serve";
3. *yare'*, "to revere";
4. *sheret*, "to minister," especially in a cultic sense;
5. *darash*, "to seek, inquire";
6. *sagad* (Heb.), *seged* (Aram.) (both in Daniel), "to bow."

There are also other terms used to express various liturgical acts and the feelings of joy awakened by worship.

Ideological Basis

The earlier version of this entry hewed closely to the position of Yehezkel *Kaufmann whose work, though ingenious, overstated the contrasts between Israel and its neighbors. In addition, as was true of his contemporaries, Kaufmann equated the religion of ancient Israel with the religion of the Bible. The present revised entry concentrates on the biblical view of worship, namely that Israelites must worship Yahweh alone, without equating that view with the actual patterns of worship in ancient Israel, which require separate investigation. For all its distinctiveness, Israelite religion fit neatly into ancient Near Eastern patterns. Like their neighbors, the Hebrews had no concept of nature or its immutable laws. As such, they believed that it was possible to influence the powers that be in human favor by acts of ritual and worship. God might sometimes be spoken of as beyond human understanding (Isa. 40:28; 55:9; Ps. 145:3; Job 5:9) but is accessible nonetheless. Humans turn to the divine, sometimes out of a sense of wonderment and awe, of reverence and gratitude, of joy and trust, which call forth a desire for adoration and thanksgiving. At other times distress and danger impel people to seek God's help, for He is the ultimate source of salvation (Isa. 43:11; Hos. 13:4). God is perceived as both near (Ps. 145:18) and far (Ps. 22:12). Sin estranges humans from God. In biblical thinking rebellion against the Divine will, revealed in His commandments, and the breaching of His eternal covenant, creates a gulf between divinity and humanity, which only atonement can bridge. Penitents seek expiation for their transgressions through confession and sacrifice (Lev. 4 and 16). There are times when the acts of an inscrutable providence result in human challenge and protest (Gen. 18:24; Jer. 12:1ff.; Job, passim). Biblical worship had room for all these human reactions.

Israel's contemporaries had forms of worship analogous to those of Israel; Hebrews and their neighbors shared the notion that it was possible for humans to have some control over their destinies. Both Yahweh and his divine contemporaries demanded the service of the clean of hand and pure of heart (Ps. 24:4; Egyptian Book of the Dead, chapter 125).

Humans have always been conscious of a certain duality in divine worship. In a Hittite inscription designated *Instructions for Temple Officials* it is stated:

> Are the minds of men and of the gods generally different? No! …When a servant is to stand before his master, he is bathed and clothed in clean [garments]; he either gives him his food, or he gives him his beverage. And because he, his master, eats [and] drinks, he is relaxed in spirit and feels one with him. But if he [the servant] is ever remiss, [if] he is inattentive, his mind is alien to him. And if a slave causes his master's anger, they will either kill him… (ANET, Pritchard, Texts, p. 207).

The author discerns a twofold approach to the deity:

(a) the avoidance of uncleanness and whatever else may vex the divinity;

(b) the provision of offerings.

The same negative and positive approaches to God are reflected in the positive precepts and prohibitions of the Torah. The two aspects are found, for example, in the ritual laws of purification and the ceremonial observances, respectively. They are likewise discerned on the higher level of ethical conduct: wrongdoing is to be eschewed and righteousness is to be pursued in the service of God (Isa. 1:16–17). For worship is not solely or even primarily a matter of ritual. It is of supreme significance that in Micah's formulation of the fundamentals of religion two of the three requirements ("to do justly and to love loving kindness") concern human relationships, and only the third ("to walk humbly with thy God") refers to the Deity (6:8). The Hittites and the Hebrews depicted their gods in human imagery. Both required just and ethical conduct along with ritual, as did the Egyptian and Mesopotamian gods.

Emphasis is often given to the antithesis between cultic observances and righteous conduct. The former is deemed to belong to the priestly conception of religion, whereas the prophets, it is held, rejected ritual and stressed the spiritual approach to God. To some extent this is true. The fact that prophets often railed against the mechanical potency of ritual proves that the concept had deep roots, encouraged of course by the priesthood (Lev. 16:30, 34), whose income depended on it (Hos. 4:8). Yet, the Bible does not show a hard and fast dichotomy. Priests could also be prophets (Jeremiah, Ezekiel); prophets, when necessary, emphasized the importance of ritual requirements (Ezek. 40–48; Haggai 1:2ff.; Mal. 1:8, 12–14). The Torah ordains cultic regulations in juxtaposition to its formulation of ethical principles (e.g., Ex. 20:8–14; Lev. 19:15–22), or synthesizes them into a single law (e.g., Deut. 16:14). Late prophetic teaching lent support to this view (Mal. 3:4–5). The attempt to interpret liturgical and ethical requirements as diametrical opposites serves to compartmentalize the life of the worshiper; the Bible seeks to make it whole. It points to the ultimate purpose of religion in key passages like these: "And thou shalt love the Lord, thy God…" (Deut. 6:5); "And thou shalt love thy fellow as thyself" (Lev. 19:18); "For I desire loving kindness and not sacrifice…" (Hos. 6:6). Worship unites in itself both outward forms and religious inwardness. At the same time some of Israel's religious teachers realized that there was a tension between the observance of the external rites and the inner content of religion in which lurked the danger of formalism and hypocrisy. The prophets inveighed against these tendencies. They denounced corrupting wealth and callous indifference to the needs of the poor (Amos 3:12, 15; 4:1ff.; 5:11; 6:4–6); sacrifices and celebrations that were rooted in unrighteousness and insincerity (Amos 5:21ff.; Isa. 1:11ff.); and taking advantage of religious festivals to engage in illicit sexual behavior (Amos 2:7; Hos. 4:13ff.); whoring after the Baals (Hos. 2ff.; Jer. 3:1ff.); the intemperance and evildoing of priests and false prophets (Isa. 28:7ff.; Hos. 4:4–10); and the horror of sacrificing children to Moloch/Baal (Jer. 7:31; 32:35; cf. Lev. 18:21; Deut. 18:10). Even the Temple was not spared when it ceased to be a center of holiness (Jer. 7:11ff.; Micah 3:12). The prophets did not hesitate to condemn practices that were inherently good but had become vitiated by dishonorable conduct and iniquitous living (Amos 5:21–24; Isa. 1:11ff.; Jer. 6:20). The prophets did not disapprove of sacrifices if offered in sincerity and truth (Mal. 3:4). It was to falsehood and evil that they were opposed. They demanded loyal obedience to the will of God instead of the sacrilege of a cult that was no more than blasphemous hypocrisy (Hos. 6:6; Jer. 7:21–23; Micah 6:6–8; cf. Ps. 51:16ff.). Righteous living was fundamental to true worship. But in a different constellation of circumstances the later prophets, in particular, urged earnest devotion to the forms of organized religion as vital to the survival of the faith and the nation.

The Elements of Biblical Worship

The fabric of Israel's worship was woven of many strands. These may be summarized as acts of purification; dietary laws; sacrifices, tithes, and other offerings; the observance of the Sabbath, festivals, and fast-days; and prayer understood in its broadest sense.

The laws of defilement and purity – largely in Leviticus (e.g., 14:9; 15:11; 17:15–16), Numbers (ch. 19), and Deuteronomy (e.g., 21:1–9) – and the dietary regulations (Lev. 11; Deut. 12:16; 14:4ff.), irrespective of their conjectured origin, form in the Bible part of the law of holiness (Lev. 11:44). "I shall wash my hands in innocence" (Ps. 26:6; cf. 73:13; 24:4).

In a sense, the sacrifices – both public and private – the firstlings, the first fruits, as well as the tithes and other priestly and levitical dues (Ex. 13:11ff.; Lev. 1–7; 27:30–33; Num. 5:9ff.; 15:18ff.; 18:8ff.; Deut. 12:17ff.; 14:22–29; 15:19ff.; 24:19–21; 26:1–14) are comparable to taxes, rents, and fines (R.H. Pfeiffer). Yet as was true in other ancient religious systems, the sacrificial system was a dramatic approach to the divine, an act of homage and thanksgiving (Ps. 24:1; I Chron. 29:14), or of expiation (in His grace God accepts the oblation instead of the sacrificer's life). Hence when the true significance of the offerings was forgotten it was said that God actually revoked them (Isa. 1:11; Ps. 50:8ff.).

The Sabbath and the other holy days of Israel's calendar have played an immeasurable role in developing and ennobling Israel's worship. The attempt to find the origin of the Sabbath in the Babylonian *šapattu* has proved abortive. Whatever its origin, the idea of the Sabbath in the scriptural context is a unique institution, meant to articulate divine sovereignty over time, just as the sabbatical year articulates divine sovereignty over territory. From one point of view, it was Israel's answer to the Egyptian bondage; any human being, even a slave, needs rest. Not only humans, but also animals require recuperation from toil (Ex. 23:12; Deut. 5:12–15). In the Exodus version of the Decalogue, the Sabbath assumes cosmic significance; it becomes a memorial to the story of Creation (Ex. 20:8–11; cf. Gen. 2:1–4). Nor were the prophets less emphatic in stressing the hallowed character of the day (Isa. 58:13–14; Ezek. 20:20), and Nehemiah took stern measures to enforce its observance. An extension of the Sabbath idea is to be seen in the sabbatical year (Ex. 23:10ff.; Deut. 15) and in the year of jubilee (Lev. 25).

Like the Sabbath, the festivals were designed to bring the worshiper nearer to God. They were occasions of deep religious joy (Deut. 16:15; Neh. 8:10ff.). Biblical religion, while deploring all forms of intemperance and overindulgence, nevertheless looked askance at asceticism. Wine was created to gladden the human heart (Ps. 104:15). The Lord was to be served in gladness (Ps. 100:2; cf. Shab. 30b). Modern research has conjectured that certain biblical festivals are derived from earlier lunar and solar celebrations in antiquity, or are related to Canaanite agricultural feasts, which have been adapted to Israelite thinking. Without entering into the validity of these theories, it must be stressed that the religious significance of these observances is not in their supposed origin, but in their scriptural presentation. The paschal offering and the Feast of Unleavened Bread (Ex. 12; Deut. 16:5–6; Ezek. 45:21), and the Feast of Tabernacles (Booths) or of Ingathering (Ex. 23:16; 34:22; Lev. 23:34ff.; Num. 29:12–39; Deut. 16:13–15; 31:10–13) mark respectively the barley harvest and vintage time. As such they had a thanksgiving character; they gave expression to the Israelite's gratitude to God for the earth's bounty. But to the agricultural aspect a historical element was added: Passover calls to mind the deliverance from Egyptian bondage (Ex. 12–13; 23:15; Deut. 16:1–8) and Tabernacles is a reminder of the Lord's care for Israel during their desert wanderings (Lev. 23:43). Israel found God not only in the phenomena of the world, but also in the providential course of events. This historical insight plays an important role in Israel's worship, both in its ceremonial and in its prayers (e.g. Ps. 136; I Chron. 16:8ff.). The Feast of Weeks (Ex. 34:22; Deut. 16:10 – also called the Feast of the Grain Harvest (Ex. 23:16) and the Day of First Fruits (Num. 28:26) – is in its biblical setting a purely agricultural celebration, but in rabbinic times it evolved into the festival of the giving of the Torah at Sinai. Characteristically, too, when farmers brought their first fruits before the Lord, they expressed gratitude in a succinct historical review (Deut. 26:5–10). Minor celebrations, such as Purim (Est.) and Ḥanukkah (the Festival of Dedication; see I *Macc. and II *Macc.) based on Hellenistic models, obviously have a historical motif. The same is true of the fast days of the fifth and seventh months (Zech. 7:3–5), recalling the fall of Jerusalem. But the Day of Atonement (Lev. 16) is entirely religious in character; and the Day of Blowing the Horn, called New Year – Rosh Ha-Shanah – in rabbinic literature (Lev. 23:24; Num. 29:1), and the New Moon (Num. 28:11ff.; I Sam. 20:5ff.; II Kings 4:23, etc.) and the Feast of the Wood Offering (Neh. 10:35; 13:31) were likewise unrelated to historical events. It should also be noted that the special sacrifices (Num. 28–29) which marked all the major celebrations served to emphasize the religious nature of these occasions; and the inwardness of these observances was illuminated by prophetic teaching (Isa. 1:11ff.; 58:3ff.; Joel 2:13).

Finally it should be observed that biblical worship might be individual and collective. Examples of personal worship abound throughout the Bible: the Patriarchs, Moses, Joshua, Hannah, and Hezekiah, among others. Without doubt David composed a number of prayers (cf. II Sam. 7:18–29) and some of his compositions are certainly in the Book of Psalms. But apart from this, the Book of Psalms contains a variety of prayers and hymns that voice the personal supplications, hope, faith, and joy of the authors. These may have been subsequently adapted to national or congregational use, but their individual significance was not wholly lost. To the same category of worship belong also the private sacrifices brought to the Temple, although the ritual formed part of the general priestly ministrations.

At the same time the Bible ordains and illustrates various forms of public worship. Of this aspect of worship the Bible likewise furnished innumerable examples (the public sacrifices; the Temple choral services; the statutory assembly prescribed in Deut. 31:10ff.; and historic occasions like those described in I Kings 8:1ff.; Neh. 8:1ff., etc.). The synagogue services of a later period continued the tradition of congregational prayer and study, without excluding opportunities for personal religious meditation.

Developments in Israel's Worship

Biblical religious rites clearly underwent a continuous process of development. The biblical account of worship in the patriarchal age reflects practices originating in different times and places. Altars were built and the name of YHWH proclaimed (Gen. 12:7–8; 13:4). Tithes were given (Gen. 14:20) and sacrifices offered (Gen. 22:13; cf. 4:3–4; 8:20). The Lord entered into a covenant with Abraham, the accompanying ritual being reminiscent of *Mari customs (Gen. 15; cf. Jer. 34:18). Prayer (Gen. 24:12ff.) and acts of purification (35:2ff.) are mentioned. The Patriarchs blessed their children (27:27–29, 39–40; 49:3ff.) and Jacob made a vow (28:20ff.). The Lord blessed the Patriarchs, assured them of His salvation, and promised the land of Canaan to their children (12:2ff.; 26:3–5; 24; 28:13–15, etc.). In some cases the patriarchal tales reflect family religion that persisted through time in ancient Israel, without an elaborate priesthood or sanctuary; the theophany granted a family elder could determine the site of worship.

The *Tabernacle and its cult (Ex. 25–31; 35–40) reflect worship in monarchic as well as exilic and post-exilic Israel. Prophets like Amos, Hosea, and Jeremiah held that the wilderness period determined the basic character of Israel's authentic worship (Amos 5:25; Hos. 2:16–17; Jer. 7:21–23).

At times, syncretism was rife; the prohibitions against taking over Canaanite sacred sites and practices (Deut. 12:2–3; 30–31) prove that such was the case. At times YHWH was worshiped under the guise of Baal; or along with him (I Kings 18; II Kings 21:3). Saul, Samuel, and David were zealous advocates of the worship of Yahweh alone to exclusion of all other gods, while other kings like *Solomon (see I Kings 11:4), *Ahab, and *Manasseh worshiped other gods alongside Yahweh. David united the nation and chose a central site for worship at the new capital, Jerusalem. He assembled the material for the future Temple and reorganized the priesthood (II Sam. 8:7–12; 17–18). He is said to have enriched Israel's psalmody and introduced instrumental music into public worship (Amos 6:5; I Chron. 15, 16, and 25). He also organized a processional ceremony in which the Ark of the Covenant was brought to Jerusalem, perhaps on one of the great festivals (II Sam. 6; cf Ps. 24 and 132). Solomon built the central Temple in Zion, where worship was strongly ecclesiastical – mediated by the priests and levites – and markedly national, with universal tones appearing in Second Temple writings (Isa. 56:6–7; 66:23; Zech. 14:16–19).

[Israel Abrahams / S. David Sperling (2nd ed.)]

Second Temple

The Babylonian Exile seemed at first to be the final catastrophe which must quench the last flickering flame of Israel's true faith (Ezek. 20:32; Ps. 137). But it was just at this tragic juncture in its history that the Jewish people rose to the full stature of its national greatness. Under the inspiration and direction of prophets like Ezekiel and the so-called Deutero-Isaiah, the exiled people transmuted disaster into a new vision of life, which they proceeded to implement with unflagging vigor. Prayer, by no means absent from pre-Exilic worship, began to play an ever greater role; many psalms were composed or elaborated at this period. The first tentative steps were also taken towards the collection of Israel's sacred literature. It may well be that the foundations were then laid of the concept of synagogal worship, which differed radically from the Temple service. It was decentralized, the stage replaced the priest; prayer was substituted for the altar-offerings, scriptural reading and interpretation became a vital component of religious life; and the seeds of religious study and preaching began to burgeon. The accent was on spiritual education. In the words of R.T. Herford: "In all their long history, the Jewish people have done scarcely anything more wonderful than to create the synagogue. No human institution … has done more for the uplifting of the human race." Even if there were no synagogues actually established in the Exile (but see Ezek.

11:16; 33:30–32), they were certainly to be found in Judea by the fourth century B.C.E. They did not rival the Temple but complemented and survived it.

Upon the return of the exiles, in several stages, under the benignant Persian rule, Jewish religious life assumed new spiritual dimensions and an unprecedented dynamism. The people turned their back completely on idolatry, and worship became more spiritualized (cf. Ps. 26:6ff.). Under the persistent urging of the prophets Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi, the Temple was rebuilt and its worship acquired new dignity and earnestness. The daily and festival sacrifices were, in time, accompanied by a unique treasury of psalmody, to which choral and instrumental music lent great beauty. Ezra, like a second Moses, made the nation Torah conscious as never before (cf. Ps. 1 and 119). Nehemiah, by his firm and able administration, gave the people greater unity and inner strength. According to some historians (notably L. Finkelstein), some of the earliest rabbinic traditions are to be traced back to the Exile period. Be that as it may, Judaism became in the early days of the Second Temple era an impregnable religious citadel that served to preserve Jewish identity, without government or country, through long centuries. But in the final analysis Israel's worship was neither primarily prophylactic nor narrowly national. It was perhaps Israel's greatest contribution to spiritual civilization, and its seminal power was such that it provided the framework and much of the content of Christian and Islamic worship to this day.

[Israel Abrahams]

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WORTSMAN, YECHESKIEL CHARLES (1878–1938), Zionist journalist. Born in Zvonets, Podolia, Wortsman completed his studies in chemistry at Basle University. During his student days he was active in the Zionist Movement and, together with Chaim *Weizmann, Nachman *Syrkin, and others established the first Zionist society in Berne. He also participated in the First Zionist Congress in Basle (1897). Wortsman began his journalistic activities at an early age and contributed articles to the Yiddish press on current affairs which were devoted principally to promoting Zionism. He also wrote one of the first Zionist propaganda pamphlets in Yiddish, *Vos Vilen di Tsionistn* (1901), and a booklet on the Jewish National Fund (1903). In 1904 he began to publish a Yiddish journal in London entitled *Di Yidishe Tsukunft.* From 1907 Wortsman lived in the United States, and for the rest of his life played a role in the Yiddish press there and in Canada, both as an editor and a regular contributor.

[Getzel Kressel]

WOSK, family of Canadian businessmen and philanthropists. Brothers BENJAMIN (1913–1995) and MORRIS (1917–2002) came to Vancouver, British Columbia, from Russia in 1929. They were sponsored by their cousin ABRASHA WOSK (1899–1980), one of the founders of the Vancouver Jewish community's Home for the Aged and the Achduth Society, which provided loans to immigrants. Together, Ben and Morris built the Wosk department store chain and acquired considerable real estate holdings, concurrently becoming major philanthropists and community leaders. For Ben's work with such charities as the B.C. Heart Foundation and Lions' Club, and many hundreds of individuals whom he helped without fanfare, he was named to the Order of Canada in 1978. He was also a major donor to the Schara Tzedeck synagogue and new Vancouver Jewish Community Centre, which is home to the Wosk Auditorium. Morris Wosk likewise made many significant contributions to both local and international causes. He was a prominent promoter of Israel Bonds and the Jewish National Fund of Canada, as well as numerous educational and health facilities such as the Vancouver General Hospital. In 1995 he commissioned four Torah scrolls for Vancouver's newest Jewish congregations. His long association with Simon Fraser University (SFU) included capital fund donations for the construction of the Morris J. Wosk Centre for Dialogue, an institute for the promotion of discussion and mutual understanding. In 1999 Morris and his son, Rabbi Dr. YOSEF WOSK, provided an endowment to establish a publishing arm for the Vancouver Holocaust Education Society. As the director of SFU's Interdisciplinary Program in the Department of Continuing Studies, Yosef has continued the Wosk family's close relationship with the university, as well as the tradition of philanthropy and support of Israel. He is the founder of SFU's Philosophers' Café, the world's largest series of café discussion gatherings. Morris's other two sons, Mordechai and Ken, have also been active in Jewish causes and philanthropy in Vancouver. Morris's wife, Dena, was a supporter of the arts, especially music.

[Barbara Schober (2nd ed.)]

WOUK, HERMAN (1915–), U.S. novelist and playwright. The son of Russian immigrants, Wouk was born in New York City. For six years he worked as a radio writer and, when the United States entered World War II, joined the Navy as a line officer, serving in the Pacific for four years. Wouk's wartime experiences gave him the material and background for his best seller *The Caine Mutiny* (1951). It sold 3,000,000 copies, won the Pulitzer Prize for fiction, was turned into a successful Broadway play by the author (*The Caine Mutiny Court Martial*, 1954), and was later made into a motion picture. Wouk's other novels include *Aurora Dawn* (1947), a satire on the advertising business; *The City Boy* (1948); *Marjorie Morningstar* (1955), the story of a stage-struck Jewish girl; *Youngblood Hawke* (1962), about the tribulations of a successful writer; and *Don't Stop the Carnival* (1965). A leading Orthodox layman, Wouk taught English at Yeshiva University. *This Is My God*

(1959) was his best-selling affirmation of faith in traditional Judaism, reached after much self-examination and exposure to the non-religious influences of his college years and public life. Wouk's *Winds of War*, regarded as one of his best novels, was published in 1971. It led the *New York Times* bestseller list for 24 weeks. The sequel, *War and Remembrance* (1978), dealing with the Holocaust in the framework of the major battles of World War II, also topped the *New York Times* bestseller list. His later works include the novel *Inside, Outside* (1985) which deals with Judaism in private life and in politics, and *The Will to Live On: This Is Our Heritage* (2000). He was vice president of the Fifth Avenue Synagogue and endowed several Jewish educational causes in the U.S. and Israel.

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[Joseph Mersand]

WOYSLAWSKI, ZEVI (1889–1957), Hebrew writer and critic. Woyslawski studied at the Odessa yeshivah, at the Oriental Studies Academy founded by Baron Guenzburg in St. Petersburg, and at Odessa University. His literary career began in 1918 in *Ha-Shilo'ah. Three years later he left Russia as one of the group of writers headed by *Bialik and settled in Berlin. There he contributed to the periodical *Haolam* and edited the publication *Atidenu* (1923–24). He emigrated to Palestine in 1934 and played a prominent role in literary life: as a member of the Central Committee of the *Writers' Association, editor of its literary journal *Moznayim* (1942–47), chairman of the Israel branch of PEN, and a member of the Hebrew Language Academy. In his philosophical writings, Woyslawski examined the essence of recent Jewish culture against the background of European culture. His main contribution to the study of Hebrew literary criticism was the introduction of the socio-cultural method of analysis. He wrote *Yeḥidim bi-Reshut ha-Rabbim* on the Jews in European culture (1956), and translated Shemaryahu *Levin's autobiography into Hebrew, as well as works by Hermann Cohen, Martin Buber, Schopenhauer, Freud, and other philosophers. Woyslawski felt that the test of the Hebrew language was its ability to convey other cultures, a strength that he displayed in his translations.

His books include *Eruvei Rashuyyot* (1944); *Ḥevlei Tarbut* (1946), a sociological study of national and linguistic problems; *Be-Mazzal Ma'adim* (1952); *Al ha-Mizpeh* (1959); *Orot ba-Derekh* (1960); *Ha-Roman ve-ha-Novellah be-Sifrut ha-Me'ah ha-Tesha Esreh* (1961); *Mishnat Zimmel al Ru'aḥ ha-Rekhushanut* (1966).

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[Efraim Shmueli]

WRESCHNER, ARTHUR (1866–1932), psychologist. Born in Breslau, Wreschner began his career in the field of philosophy, writing a doctoral dissertation on Kant's and Platner's theories of knowledge for the University of Berlin. He remained at the university to study medicine, and after receiving his degree in 1900, moved to Zurich. There he became instructor in psychology at the Technische Hochschule and at the university where, in 1910, he was appointed professor. Wreschner wrote a number of scholarly books, his specific interests being reflected in *Methodologische Beitraege zu psychophysischen Messungen* (1898); *Die Reproduktion und Assoziation von Vorstellungen* (1907–09); *Die Sprache des Kindes* (1912); and *Das Gefuehl* (1931). His son WALTER WRESCHNER (1904–), an attorney, became president of the Israelitische Kultusgemeinde in Zurich in 1955, and was president of the Keren Hayesod for Switzerland.

WRITERS' ASSOCIATION IN ISRAEL (Heb. אֲגֻדַּת הַסּוֹפְרִים הָעִבְרִים בְּיִשְׂרָאֵל), organization of Hebrew writers established in 1921 in Tel Aviv by a conference of 70 writers, presided over by Nahum *Sokolow. Attempts to found a Hebrew writers' association in Russia and other East European countries had been made by Mordekhai b. Hillel Hacohen, but they proved unsuccessful, generally due to difficulties in procuring a license from the czarist authorities. When the association was founded in Ereẓ Israel, its objectives were set as "the cultivation and growth of Hebrew literature through the cooperative efforts of Hebrew writers; and the defense of the spiritual and material interests of those in the field of literature." The founding conference of the Writers' Association also accepted a resolution "to demand that the Zionist Organization regard Hebrew literature as an integral part of Zionist work and support it."

In the middle of the 1920s, after Ḥayyim Naḥman *Bialik and a group of Hebrew writers from Russia settled in Palestine, substantial impetus was given to the activities of the association. Bialik actively participated in the literary life of the country and declared that:

> The goal toward which the Writers' Association aspires is not to make writers in a flock, all of whose members dance to the tune of the same pipe and are under the staff of the same shepherd. We desire and aspire to diversify, to the joy of blessing and plenty. Each must travel his own special path, the path with which God has blessed him; each will demand of himself according to the path he has chosen and according to the gift God has given him. We ask only one thing: that we will all be infused with one consciousness-that the writers are the servants of the nation and of its eternal values.

In 1928 Bialik was elected president of the Writers' Association. Its organ, *Moznayim* ("Scales"), began as a weekly and then became a monthly. Over the years, many changes were made in the journal and it went through crises and periods during which publication ceased. Editors changed, and with them so did the trends of the publication, but the journal survived and provided an opportunity for literary men of various schools and points of view to contribute. After Bialik's death in 1934, Saul *Tchernichowsky was elected president of the association, and he continued to serve in this capacity until his death in 1944.

The association published series of books, founded funds to aid writers, and in special instances concerned itself with finding work for writers in need. It maintained ties with publishers to determine fair fees for writing and translation. Under the aegis of the association, literary collections were published, meetings and conventions held, a rest home was established for writers at Zikhron Ya'akov, and a house was purchased in Nehorah, in the heart of the newly developed Lachish region, for writers to use.

From 1948, with the establishment of the State of Israel, the mass immigration and growth of the population, the association received new members and broadened the scope of its activities. Among its projects are: the Makor Library for the encouragement of original works, in whose framework six books of fiction, poetry, criticism, and philosophy appear each year; Nefesh Books, which serve as a memorial to writers by publishing their works for the first time or reissuing them; the regularly published "Popular Selection of Our Literature" – selections of the representative works of various authors in popular editions; and the *Collection of Israel Writers*, a large annual in which works by authors of various ages and literary schools are brought together.

From 1951 the association ran the Asher Barash Institute of Records, which serves as one of the important bio-bibliographical sources for research into modern Hebrew literature, especially for students. The institute operates in the following fields: bibliographical records, keeping of archives, collection of newspaper items on writers, and the collection of photographs of writers from various periods of their lives. Among the publications of the institute are the collection *Genazim*, which appears every two years and includes material from the archives never before published; the quarterly *Yedi'ot Genazim*, which provides material about dead authors when the anniversary of their birth or death falls during the period of publication.

The Writers' Association is represented in a substantial number of literary prizes awarded in Israel, such as the Fund for the Encouragement of Original Creations, established in honor of Yiẓḥak Lamdan, which is funded by part of the association's budget. Each year it frees a specific number of writers for a period so that they may complete their literary work. The Prime Minister's Fund for Creative Writing was founded by Levi Eshkol in 1968 on the initiative of the Writers' Association. Each year it awards prizes to five authors in order to free them from their daily work for a year and enable them to devote their time to realizing a literary goal. The association also hosts authors – both Jewish and non-Jewish – from abroad.

More than 300 writers belonged to the association in the beginning of the 1970s, and anyone who has published two books is eligible to submit an application for membership. Efforts were made to bring new immigrant writers into the association, and a decision was taken to accept new immigrant authors who did not write in the Hebrew language. The association initiated a project to translate works by these writers into Hebrew (Shevut) in order to both bring these works to the Hebrew-reading public and aid in the cultural absorption of the writers themselves.

The conference of the Writers' Association serves as a forum to discuss problems in the field of Hebrew literature and often resulted in intellectual clashes between different generations and schools of writers. It meets every two years during Passover, and its deliberations also cover problems of a political nature. The offices of the association, including the editorial offices of *Moznayim*, and the Asher Barash Institute, are housed in Bet ha-Sofer, in Tel Aviv, named in honor of Tchernichowsky. The building also contains the Tchernichowsky Museum. The Writers' Association is represented in the Institute for the Translation of Hebrew Literature. The association maintains branches in Jerusalem and Haifa, which carry out their own literary activities, lectures, symposia, and the publication of the yearbooks *Jerusalem* and *Carmelit*, respectively.

[Dov Chomsky]

WRITING (Scripts, Materials, and Inscriptions).

SCRIPTS AND MATERIALS

General Survey

From the end of the third millennium B.C.E., the art of writing was practiced in the ancient Near East (see *Alphabet). Here, the pictographic, cuneiform, and hieroglyphic scripts were invented and developed. In particular Canaan, situated on the cultural crossroads between Egypt and Mesopotamia and beneficiary of their scribal traditions, produced new indigenous writing systems. Some, like the Byblian pseudo-hieroglyphs, the enigmatic Balua stele, or the inscribed bricks from Deir ʿAllā, ancient Succoth, were limited to specific centers. These short-lived systems indicate a high degree of scribal experimentation and originality. It is no wonder then that the Canaanites invented the alphabet. They discovered that their language contained some 30 phonemes and that each one could be represented by an individual sign. The social effects of this revolutionary discovery were not to be felt for several generations.

Between the 17th and 12th centuries B.C.E., the primitive, pictograph-like alphabet was employed in Shechem, Gezer, Tell al-Ḥāsī, Tell al-ʿAjūl, Beth-Shemesh, Megiddo, Tell Rehov, Tell Beit Mirsim, and Lachish. These inscriptions are generally called Proto-Canaanite. Another, larger group, the so-called Proto-Sinaitic inscriptions (1500 B.C.E.) were probably written by a colony of northwest Semitic slaves who worked the mines in Wadi Ma'ara, near Sarābīṭ al-Khādim. It seems that this script generally served a religious function and may have been developed by a Canaanite priesthood. Certainly, all official government documents were written in cuneiform (e.g., el-Amarna letters) which obscured the alphabetic script.

It was during this period that a novel attempt to employ the alphabet was initiated at *Ugarit (1370–1200 B.C.E.). Perhaps as a result of the desire to express the local literature in its own medium, a cuneiform alphabet, influenced by the dominant Mesopotamian system, was devised. A similar trend may be noted in other Canaanite cities as well (Beth Shemesh, Taanach, Mount Tabor). This script as well as an earlier attempt to adapt the cuneiform signs to surfaces other than clay by giving them linear form (personal name incised on a pottery jar from Hazor, arrowhead from Lebanon) did not survive the disappearance of the Babylonian scribal centers in Canaan and Syria toward the end of the Bronze Age.

The political and cultural break with Mesopotamia, as well as the administrative needs of emerging young societies, accelerated the development of the linear alphabet. The letters were simplified, beginning the process that was to evolve into a cursive form. The first alphabetic system to emerge was the 22-letter Phoenician script, which appeared by about 1100 B.C.E. Most likely it was this script, or a slightly older form, that is found on bronze arrowheads in Beth-Lehem and Lachish. This system retained the general form and order of the earlier alphabetic scripts and probably the mnemonic device for its study – all thanks to a strong local scribal tradition. It was the Phoenician alphabet that was to be adopted by the Israelites, Arameans, and later by the Greeks. The new medium was adopted early in Israel's history and deeply affected its civilization. Monotheism was grasped now in terms of a written covenant between God and Israel. The central cult object was the Decalogue cut in stone, and later became the Torah scroll. Israelite religion elevated writing from a means of recording the mundane to a medium of revelation.

Perhaps it was because of the relative simplicity of the alphabet or the fact that Israel had no conservative scribal class with vested interests, that biblical society as a whole became "book-centered." Any tribesman, even a non-priest, could emerge as a literate leader (Josh. 8:32–35; 24:26).The establishment of the monarchy and the process of urbanization resulted in a greater diffusion of writing (among members of the government service, army personnel, the mercantile class, stonemasons, ivory cutters, potters, and others; see the following section). By the time that Deuteronomy appeared in the late seventh century, it might be taken for granted that a king could read, and that there would be enough people in a town who could write the Decalogue or a portion of it on the gates of a city or a house (Deut. 6:9; 17:18).

By Hezekiah's time, a great deal of literary activity was going on. Older written traditions were collected and edited (Prov. 25:1). The classical prophets, or their disciples, wrote down their messages. Prophesies were illustrated by written texts (Isa. 8:1; Jer. 17:1; Ezek. 37:16; Hab. 2:2), which could only have meaning for a populace with a reasonable number of readers (cf. Isa. 10:19). Furthermore, a paleographic study of Hebrew epigrapha indicates an increased diffusion of this skill toward the end of the monarchy. Similarly, the wide use of inscribed personal seals bearing fewer designs and iconographic motifs again argues for a growing literate social body during the First Temple period.

Writing Surfaces

STONE. Stone is the earliest known writing surface; it continued to be used throughout the ages, especially when permanence was desired. Three main types of stone inscriptions can be noted in the ancient Near East: a) monumental inscriptions for public display; b) seals made of semiprecious stones; and c) flakes or pieces of soft stone (e.g., limestone) which constituted cheap writing material.

Monumental Inscriptions. Both Egypt and Mesopotamia had long traditions of writing on stone. The latter area, poor in natural stone, imported the material for royal inscriptions. During the second millennium B.C.E. several Egyptian kings set up their victory stelae in Canaan: Thutmose III, Seti I, Ramses II, and Ramses III. This custom was followed by Sheshonk I (935–915), the biblical Shishak, at Megiddo. Assyrian kings, as well, left several stone monuments describing their victories in Canaan and indicating the extent of their rule. Tiglath-Pileser I (1114–1076 B.C.E.) set up an inscription at Nahr el Kalb, as is already noted by Shalmaneser III (858–824 B.C.E.) who did the same. The latter erected a second stela on Mt. Baal Rosh, which some scholars identify as Mt. Carmel, while Tiglath-Pileser III (745–727 B.C.E.) erected one in the vicinity of Wadi el-Arish, the biblical Brook of Egypt. Isaiah, in referring to such "boundary stones," said: "In that day there shall be an altar to the Lord in the midst of the land of Egypt and a pillar at the border thereof 'To the Lord'" (19:19).

Fragments of a three-dimensional stone inscription of Sargon II, discovered during excavations at Ashdod and dating to between 712–705 B.C.E., have also been published. Prior to the establishment of the Israelite monarchy, there seem to have been few local stonemasons in Canaan (II Sam. 5:11). The earliest stone monuments were probably not inscribed at all. They were composed of natural, unfinished stone found at hand (Gen. 31:45–48; Josh. 4:3; I Sam. 7:12; 15:12; II Sam. 8:13). The emphasis upon unhewn stones in the cult reflects the presedentary stage of Israelite history (Josh. 8:31). While this was generally the case, it was during this period of Israelite history that stone was first used as a writing surface for documents of religious importance. Foremost was the Decalogue, incised on two stone tablets (Ex. 24:12; 34:1; Deut. 4:13). At Shechem, the covenant was rewritten on large natural stones, smoothed over with plaster (Deut. 27:2–3; Josh. 8:32; cf. 24:25–26).

With the establishment of the Davidic monarchy and the subsequent influence of Phoenician material culture (I Kings 7:13 ff.), monumental inscriptions must have been composed though they have yet to be found (cf. II Sam. 18:18; Ps. 2:7). This is suggested by the many monumental inscriptions discovered in neighboring countries (see below). These monumental inscriptions can be classified into four types: (1) Display inscriptions proclaiming the king's achievements in subduing his enemies and bringing prosperity to the local citizens. Among the northwest Semites, these documents are characterized by the introductory formula: "I, N. (son of N.) king of PN." Generally, much credit is given to the patron deity who came to the king's aid in the time of his distress. The document usually concludes with a series of curses against those who might want to damage its text. (2) Votive inscriptions recording donations, the name of the donor, and the name of the recipient deity, and noting the donor's piety. The text concludes with a request for a blessing, usually long life (cf. I Kings 3:11ff.). (3) Funerary inscriptions noting the name of the deceased and his title or profession, and containing a word to potential grave robbers that there are no valuables in the sepulcher, and a curse on anyone who disturbs the dead. These notices were written on the sarcophagus or at the entrance to the tomb. (4) Border markers and treaties, a legal genre defining the relationship between two parties. The former, known as *kudurrus* in Mesopotamia, were most extensively used during the Kassite period. The most impressive known treaty written on stone is the Sefire inscription between Matti'el and Barga'yah (c. 750 B.C.E.) composed in Aramaic.

Seals. Many *seals found in and around Israel are decorated with various scenes or designs that are derived ultimately from Egyptian or Phoenician iconographic motifs. Most often, there was a space or register left empty for the name of the buyer. Besides his own name and that of his fathers, he would note also his title ("scribe," "chamberlain," "servant of king…"). Some seals have a dedicatory formula, as well, and may indicate that the seal was a votive offering, especially when cut in the positive. The seal was used to indicate ownership, and was often impressed on jars before firing. It also served to verify standard measures, or, in official documents and letters, the name and authority of the sender (I Kings 21:8; Esth. 8:8).

Flakes. Flakes or small pieces of stone were used as a cheap writing surface for business notations or school texts. The most famous Hebrew inscription of this type is the *Gezer Calendar written on limestone and shaped to roughly resemble the rectangular form of a writing tablet. It is most probably a school text, an assumption corroborated by the fact, among others, that at least one side is a palimpsest.

PAPYRUS. The papyrus reed, cultivated from earliest times especially in the Delta, was a major natural resource of ancient Egypt. The hieroglyphic sign for Lower Egypt is the papyrus plant. Papyrus was found in the Ḥuleh swamp, though in limited quantities, and near the Naḥal Arnon in Transjordan. During the Arab conquest it was introduced into Sicily where it can still be found.

In Egypt, it was an all-purpose plant used for making, among other things, clothing and boats (cf. Ex. 2:3; Isa. 18:2); primarily, it was employed as a writing surface. The earliest written papyri date from the Fifth Dynasty (2750–2625 B.C.E.), though uninscribed rolls have been found dating to as early as the First Dynasty (c. 3000 B.C.E.). Pliny the Elder, the Roman naturalist (d. 79 C.E.), gives a detailed description of the manufacture of papyrus writing material:

> The raw material taken from the tall plants – some as high as 35 feet – consisted of strips cut lengthwise from the pith of the three-sided stalks. Strips of equal length and quality were then arranged on a flat surface, in the manner of latticework, in a horizontal and vertical layer, the former representing the recto and the latter the verso side of the sheet. Through the application of pressure and water from the Nile – perhaps with the occasional addition of glue – the layers were merged into a fairly homogeneous mass, which was then exposed to the sun. After drying, the sheets were rubbed smooth with shells or ivory and perhaps whitened with chalk. Excess moisture was forced out by additional pounding.

The manufacture and trade in papyrus was probably always a royal or state monopoly. Such was the case in the time of the Ptolemies and Caesars. J. Černy has even suggested that the Greek word "papyrus" is derived from an original, though undocumented, *p3 – pr* – ʿ3, "the [stuff] of Pharaoh," indicating a royal monopoly. The earliest reference to papyrus in Canaan is found in the Egyptian text "The Journey of Wen-Amon to Phoenicia" (c. 1090 B.C.E.). Smendes (Ne-su-Ba-neb-Ded), the founder of the 21st Dynasty and ruler of Lower Egypt, sent 500 rolls of papyrus to Zakar-Baal, king of Byblos, in partial payment for a shipment of cedars. This large quantity of writing material most likely reflects the extensive use of the alphabetic script by this time in Canaan, which is corroborated by the repeated references to written documents in the story (letters, royal records, and stelae). Byblos became an agent for the export of papyrus throughout the Mediterranean lands. So much so that it gave its name to the product: in Greek, *biblos* came to mean "book" or "papyrus," and from this the word "Bible" is derived. By Herodotus' time, papyrus had become the standard writing material for most of the ancient world surrounding the Mediterranean Sea (*Persian Wars*, 5:58). It was to remain in use until replaced by true paper, brought from China between the seventh and tenth centuries C.E. There is no specific reference to papyrus in the Bible (but cf. Isa. 23:3). Some scholars, though, infer from the description in Jeremiah 36:23–25 that the prophet's scroll was made of papyrus, which is more easily cut and less odorous than leather.

The earliest Hebrew papyrus dates from the late eighth or early seventh century B.C.E. and was discovered in 1951 in Wadi Murabbaʿāt in the Judean Desert. This palimpsest contains the remains of a letter and instructions for the delivery of food supplies. Several clay bullae from the sixth century bear the marks of papyrus fibers upon which they were impressed. The most famous is the impression of *Igdlyhw ʾšr ʿl hbyt* (*Le-Gedalyahu ʾasher ʿal ha-bayit*; cf. II Kings 25:22) found at various sites in Judah.

The oldest known Aramaic papyrus is a letter discovered in Saqqāra, Egypt, from a king by the name of Adon to his Egyptian overlord. Most scholars agree that it was sent from the Philistine coast, possibly from Ashdod, just before Nebuchadnezzar's invasion in 604 or 598 B.C.E.

The second half of the first millennium B.C.E. saw the widespread use of papyrus for sundry government, religious, and personal documents. Of particular Jewish interest are the *Elephantine papyri (late fifth century). They include official letters and private papers that shed much light on the internal affairs, religious life, and relations with gentile neighbors in this military colony situated near the First Cataract on the Nile. Among these documents, is a fragment of the oldest known version of the Sayings of Ahikar. A small number of the Dead Sea Scrolls were also written on this material.

ANIMAL HIDES. Sheep, goat, and calf hides, after proper preparation, served as one of the principal types of writing surfaces in the Fertile Crescent. There is no contemporary record of preparation of this material, which probably did not differ from the modern process. The skins were washed, limed, dehaired, scraped, washed a second time, stretched evenly on a frame, scraped a second time, inequalities being pared down, and then dusted with sifted chalk and rubbed with a pumice. In the earlier period, the skin was prepared to receive writing only on the hairy side, though in exceptional cases, such as in a long text, it was inscribed on both sides (Ezek. 2:10; cf. Er. 21a).

During the Hellenistic period the skins were treated so as to receive writing on both sides. The improved method was attributed to Eumenes II (197–158 B.C.E.), whose capital, Pergamum, gave its name to the new product – "parchment." In due time, a distinction was made between the coarser and finer types of this material. The latter was manufactured from more delicate calfskin or kidskin, especially from stillborn calves or lambs, and was called "vellum." By the second century C.E., vellum began to compete with papyrus. In the next two or three centuries, with the introduction of the codex, its popularity was assured and it superseded ordinary parchment for the most valued books.

The earliest mention of a leather writing surface is found in an Egyptian text from the Fourth Dynasty (c. 2550 B.C.E.), while the oldest extant example of such a writing surface dates from the 12th Dynasty (2000–1800 B.C.E.). It continued to be used in Egypt until the Arab conquest, though to a limited extent, because of the ubiquitous papyrus.

The use of skins as a writing surface first appeared in Mesopotamia in eighth-century Assyrian reliefs. No doubt, this surface was introduced by the Aramean scribes who found clay tablets unsuitable for their alphabetic script. The fifth-century Greek historians Herodotus and Ctesias noted that the barbarians continued to use leather for writing, while on the Greek mainland this substance had been replaced by papyrus. Ctesias remarked that the Persians wrote their royal records on *diphtherai*, i.e., skins. This has been corroborated by the discovery of 12 letters belonging to Arsames, the satrap of Egypt (fifth century B.C.E.), where the cache was found.

There is no explicit biblical reference to writing on leather, nor are there extant leather rolls, prior to those discovered at Qumran. In spite of this, there is general agreement that throughout the First and Second Temple periods the ancient Israelites primarily used animal hides on which to write their official documents and religious literature. Leather is a much more durable surface than papyrus. The sheepherding Israelites, like the Arameans and the Transjordanian nations, were more likely to use this local resource than to import Egyptian papyrus. During the Second Temple period the references to writing on animal hides are clearer. They no doubt reflect a continuation of the earlier period, since there was no reason to change suddenly to leather at this time.

The Dead Sea Scrolls are the earliest Hebrew texts written on leather that have been discovered so far. They provide firsthand evidence of the ancient scribal technique of preparing and writing on this surface. This scribal tradition was codified by the rabbis (Tractate *Soferim*) and is still followed in the writing of Torah scrolls, *mezuzot*, and **tefillin*.

POTTERY. By far the largest number of inscriptions from the biblical period were written on *pottery. The material can be classified into two distinct types: (1) whole pots that bear a short notice, inscribed either before or after firing and (2) *ostraca, or broken potsherds, generally bearing longer inscriptions. While there is no biblical reference to this writing surface, this cheap and easily available material was widely used not only in Israel but throughout the ancient world. The inscriptions on pottery usually give the owner's name, the capacity of the jar, i.e., *bt lmlk*, "royal bath," or a dedicatory notice. An example of the latter has been found on a pot bearing the word *qdš*, "holy," at Hazor, and on another container in the excavations at Tell Beer-Sheba, which was probably used for a *minḥah* offering at the local sanctuary (Y. Aharoni).

From the end of the eighth century B.C.E., it became customary to indicate important data on the handles of jars. Generally, this was done by impressing a seal on the soft clay before firing. Some 80 "private" and about 800 *lmlk* seal impressions were counted. The latter indicate a standard capacity assured by the king, as well as noting one of the four Judean cities where the contents were "bottled" (Hebron, Ziph, Socoh, and *mmšt*). Most of the inscribed handles from Gibeon were incised after firing and probably indicate a tax formula: *Gbʿn, Gdr, Amryhw*, i.e., "(To) Gibeon (from the village) Gedor (sent by) Amaryahu."

Ostraca (singular: ostracon) is the technical term for potsherds that were used for writing. Pottery was particularly suitable for those scripts employing pen and ink or brush and paint, though the surface might be incised as well. The earliest literary reference to ostraca is that of the fifth-century Athenian custom of voting powerful and dangerous citizens into exile. In order to do so, 10,000 ostraca had to be inscribed with the unlucky man's name. The term "ostracism" is derived from this custom. In Israel, small pieces of potsherds seem to have been used in local lotteries in biblical Arad and Masada of the Second Temple period. (For a list of the ostraca of ancient Israel known at present see Inscriptions, below.) A survey of the ostraca shows that this surface was used for letters, tax dockets, fiscal notices, name lists, and at least one court petition. The cheapness of the material indicates the secondary importance of most of the inscriptions or possibly the hard-pressed circumstances at the time of writing, when papyrus and leather were reserved for more important documents. Furthermore, the ostraca provide some idea of the caliber and diffusion of writing among the bureaucracy, army personnel, and local scribes in ancient Israel.

CLAY. This substance was the standard writing material in Mesopotamia from the third to the first millennia B.C.E. The alluvial soil of the Tigris-Euphrates valley made clay the most readily available and thus the cheapest form of writing material in this area. This medium spread with the cuneiform script to the Elamites, Hittites, and Canaanites.

The Ugaritic literature and the el Amarna letters, in addition to other smaller archives (Alalakh, Taanach) and single documents from Syria and Canaan, were inscribed on clay. With the decline of Mesopotamian influence toward the end of the second millennium B.C.E., this writing surface became obsolete. Furthermore, suitable clay was not commonly found in this area, nor was it easily adaptable to the emerging linear alphabet. The only biblical reference to an incised clay tablet is one found in a Babylonian context and interestingly not an inscription but rather a "blueprint" of Jerusalem: "Son of man, take thee a tile [*levenah*] and lay it before thee and trace upon it a city, even Jerusalem" (Ezek. 4:1).

METALS. Various inscriptions from the ancient and classical worlds have been found written on gold, silver, copper, bronze, and lead. These artifacts corroborate the many Hebrew and north Semitic literary sources which mention these writing surfaces. A small (6.7 cm. × 2.2 cm.) gold case from the north Syrian kingdom of Sm'al bears the dedicatory inscription: "This *smr* fashioned by Kilamuwa son of Ḥayya, for Rakabel. May Rakabel grant him long life" (c. 825 B.C.E.). Similarly, Yehawmilk, king of Byblos (fourth century B.C.E.), presented a gold votive inscription to his divine patroness. In ancient Israel, this precious metal was employed in Temple ornaments and priestly vestments. The high priest's diadem was made of gold and inscribed: "Consecrated to the Lord" (Ex. 28:36–38).

Examples of ex-voto inscriptions on silver platters were found near Ismailiya in north Egypt. One of them reads: "This Qinu the son of Gashmu, king of Kedar, offered to Hani'ilat." These date from the fifth century B.C.E. The donor may be the son of Nehemiah's enemy Geshem the Arab (Neh. 6:1ff.).

The famous Copper Scroll from Qumran is a unique find. This writing surface was chosen specifically to record a list of fabled treasures. Its weight and inflexibility would make it an impractical writing surface for frequently read scrolls.

Bronze seems to have been a more common writing surface. Beginning in the 1950s and 1960s, inscribed bronze arrowheads and javelin heads as well as a spatula were discovered in Phoenicia and Israel. Some have been explained as cultic or magical texts. These inscriptions date from the 12th century to 950 B.C.E. and, therefore represent paleographically the earliest form of the Phoenician alphabet. Several inscriptions in the so-called pseudo-hieroglyphic script of Byblos were written on bronze as well.

There is a growing collection of bronze weights, many of which were cast in the form of animals or parts of the human body. One turtle-shaped weight found at Ashkelon reads "quarter shekel" (cf. I Sam. 9:8) and weighs 2.63 gm. Another of the same design from Samaria reads "a fifth" and weighs 2.499 gm.

There are many references in Greek and Roman sources to lead as a surface for magical texts and even for such literary works as that of Hesiod. Probably following this tradition, a lead scroll inscribed with Psalm 80 in Greek was found at Rhodes. No such material is known from ancient Israel, though some have understood the term *ʿoferet*, "lead" (Job 19:24), as referring to such a writing surface. Apart from the bronze weights, inscriptions on metal were generally of a religious nature, many of which bore dedicatory formulas and were ultimately donated to a temple treasury.

IVORY. Excluding several personal seals, most, if not all, inscriptions on ivory can be classified into two types: joiners' markings and dedicatory formulas (cf. below Wax). The former are single letters of the alphabet incised on the back of ivory inlays in order to facilitate the process of assembling them. The ivory inlays found in the palace at Samaria are indicative of contemporary styles of decorative art favored by the Israelite aristocracy (Amos 3:15).

As was the case with precious metals, ivory was donated to the patron deities. Of particular interest is one of the Megiddo ivories dated between 1350–1150 B.C.E. which bears the hieroglyphic inscription:

> The Singer of Ptah, South-of-His Wall
> Lord of the Life of the Two Lands [i.e., Egypt] and Great Prince of Ashkelon. Kerker.

The dedication is to the Egyptian god Ptah, who is here called by three of his titles, the third of which indicates a cult seat in Ashkelon. The votaress Kerker seems to be a singer at that Canaanite temple. W.F. Albright has suggested that she be identified with Calcol, a pre-Israelite singer of renown (I Kings 5:11).

Ivory gifts were presented to the king as well. An example may be found in a recently discovered ivory piece from Tell Nimrūd, ancient Calah, dating to the mid-eighth century B.C.E. The legible part of the inscription is in good Hebrew (probably from Samaria) and reads *mmlk gdl*, "from the Great King." This title is probably a Hebrew translation of the well-known Akkadian royal epithet *šarru rabû* (cf. II Kings 18:19; Isa. 36:13). There is a similar ivory inscription from Arslan Tash, north Syria, which reads *lmrn ḥz'l* "for our lord Hazael" (I Kings 19:15). It was most likely among the spoils taken from Damascus in 796 B.C.E. by Adad-nirâri III, king of Assyria.

WOOD. Wood was employed throughout the ancient world as a writing surface. Egyptian inscriptions have been preserved on wooden statues and sarcophagi, as well as on wooden tablets coated with stucco which were frequently used for school exercises. The Bible seldom explicitly mentions this surface.

The earliest clear reference to writing on wood is found in connection with an attempt to challenge Aaron's priestly authority and is employed in substantiating his legitimacy: "Speak to the Israelite people and take from them – from the chieftains of their ancestral houses – …12 staffs in all. Inscribe each man's name on his staff… also inscribe Aaron's name on the staff of Levi…" (Num. 17:17–26). The inscription is the simple type indicating ownership and was probably incised *le-Aharon* – the writing surface being almond wood (verse 23).

Ezekiel employed a wood writing surface in his famous prophesy of the restoration of national unity (37:16–23): "And thou, son of man, take thee one stick [*ʿeẓ*] and write upon it: 'For Judah' [*li-Yhudah*] and for the children of Israel his companions; then take another stick, and write upon it: 'For Joseph' [*le-Yosef*], the stick of Ephraim, and all the house of Israel his companions; and join them for thee one to another into one stick, that they may become one in thy hand" (verses 16–17).

P.J. Hyatt has suggested, *en passant*, that the prophet may have used wooden writing tablets and joined them together in the form of a diptych, i.e., a two-leaved "book." This suggestion might be reconsidered in the light of the later discovery of such writing material from Mesopotamia (see following paragraph) as well as the prophet's known use of other local surfaces (Ezek. 4:1) and general familiarity with the scribal art. Wooden writing boards may be implied in the undefined term *luḥot* (Hab. 2:2). Since clay tablets were not used in Israel at this time and stone tablets are usually defined as such (Ex. 24:12; 31:18; Deut. 4:13, et al.), the prophet may have been referring to tablets of wood. Furthermore, the verb *beʾer*, as shown by Z. Ben Ḥayyim, means to incise on a hard surface.

WAX. It has long been known that wax writing surfaces were employed in Egypt, Greece, and Italy during the Classical period. In addition to much pictographic evidence, especially from Italy, a school text from Fayyum, Egypt, from 250 B.C.E. was found that had a red wax surface and on the reverse one in black. Properly treated, wax has the quality of being a lightweight substance that can be easily reused.

This surface is mentioned in older literary sources from Mesopotamia. An important discovery at ancient Calah during the 1950s were 16 ivory boards with the same number of wooden boards in a well in Sargon II's palace (717–705 B.C.E.). They were constructed so as to contain an inscription on wax. One of the tablets was still covered with beeswax, compounded with sulphide of arsenic or orpiment, bearing the text of a well-known astrological text *Enuma Anu Enlil*. Since these boards were tied or hinged together forming a diptych, triptych, or polyptych, they may be called the earliest known form of the book.

An Aramean scribe holding an oblong, book-shaped object, with ribbed markings at the edge for hinges, is clearly depicted on the stele of Bar-rākib, king of Smʾal. This picture predates the above Calah material by about a quarter of a century and demonstrates the Western Semites' familiarity with this writing surface.

GRAFFITI. These are rough scratchings of names, short notices, and etchings incised by an unpracticed hand on walls or on natural stone surfaces. Two examples of graffiti from the biblical period were discovered during the 1960s. In 1961 several short notices were found in a burial cave northeast of Lachish dating from the sixth century B.C.E. One or two seem to be prayers and another a series of curses. The longest inscription reads: "The Lord is God of the World, the mountains of Judea are His, the God of Jerusalem." From ninth-century Kuntillet Ajrud in Sinai we have mention of YHWH and his *Asherah. Later, several other graffiti have come to light from Khirbat al-Kawm, in the same general vicinity as the above. From this eighth-century site we have again mention of YHWH and his Asherah. Here again several curse formulas have been scribbled on the walls of a family tomb.

TATTOO MARKS. A more unusual writing surface was the human skin, originally incised with a slave mark indicating ownership, but occasionally with a sign demonstrating fidelity to a deity. It was done by cutting into the skin and filling the incision with ink or a dye. This method is already noted in the Mishnah: "If a man wrote [on his skin] pricked-in writing [he is culpable]… but only if he writes it and pricks it in with ink or eye-paint or aught that leaves a lasting mark" (Mak. 3:6). The Bible categorically forbids this practice: "You shall not make gashes in your flesh for the dead or incise any marks (*ketovet qaʿaqaʿ*) on yourselves; I am the Lord" (Lev. 19:28). While this was generally the rule, there seem to have been cases where devotees of YHWH did incise His name on their arms. Isaiah may be referring to this custom when he says: "One shall say: 'I am the Lord's'; And another shall call himself by the name Jacob; and another shall inscribe his hand 'Belonging to the Lord'…" (44:5; cf. also Job 37:7), and perhaps figuratively: "Surely I have graven upon your palms: Thy sealings (!) are continually before me" (Isa. 49:16). Furthermore in Elephantine, slaves of Jews were marked with the name of their owner (Cowley, Aramaic, 28:2–6), as was the general practice.

Writing Equipment

THE PEN. Several different types of writing implements were employed in accordance with the different types of surfaces. Inscriptions on stone or metal required a chisel, whereas for clay or wax a stylus would suffice. In Mesopotamia, the stylus was made of reeds, hardwood, or even bone and metal. There is no pictographic evidence from ancient Israel nor is there any artifact that can be definitely identified as a stylus. The literary sources do mention at least two kinds of tools for writing on stone: an "iron pen," *ʿeṭ barzel*, and a hard stone stylus, *ẓipporen shamir* (Jer. 17:1; Job 19:24). The *ḥereṭ* may have been a tool for working on metal or wood (Ex. 32:4).

The Egyptians used a rush, cut obliquely and frayed at the end forming a brush, to write with ink on papyrus, hides, ostraca, and wood. A similar type of pen seems to have been used on the Samaria and Lachish ostraca. This instrument was probably called "the scribe's pen," *ʿeṭ sofer,* [*soferim*] (Jer. 8:8;

Ps. 45:2), in order to differentiate it from the stone engraver's "iron pen." Likewise, the *ḥereṭ ʾenosh*, the "common or soft stylus" (Isa. 8:1), is not the same as that mentioned above.

At the end of the third century B.C.E., Greek scribes living in Egypt invented a new type of reed pen pointed and split at the end. The quill, used to this day by Torah scribes (*soferei setam*), was introduced during the Middle Ages in Ashkenazi communities.

From earliest times, the Egyptians wrote in black and red ink. Black ink was made from carbon in the form of soot mixed with a thin solution of gum. This solution was molded and dried into cakes, which were mixed with water before use. In producing red ink, red ocher, or red iron oxide was substituted for carbon.

In Israel, a similar type of black ink was probably used, though the Lachish ostraca show traces of iron. The Hebrew word for ink is *deyo* (Jer. 36:18), a term whose etymology is uncertain. In at least one of its solutions, the ink did not easily penetrate the writing surface and could be erased with water (Num. 5:23). Most of the Dead Sea Scrolls were written with a carbon ink, while the badly damaged *Genesis Apocryphon* was written with the metallic mixture.

The copy of the Septuagint presented to Ptolemy II was written with a gold additive (Aris. 176), a practice followed among some circles in writing the Tetragrammaton but which the rabbis specifically forbade (Sof. 1:9).

PEN CASE AND PALETTE. The ancient Egyptians carried their brushes in a hollow reed case. They added to this a wooden palette containing two depressions for the cakes of black and red ink. This was joined by a cord to a small cup designed to hold water for moistening the ink. A stylized drawing of these three pieces became the hieroglyphic sign S Š, meaning "writing" or "scribe." Later the pen case and palette were combined and easily carried on the belt (cf. Ezek. 9:2–3, 11). An Egyptian ivory pen case dating from the time of Ramses III was found at Megiddo. The biblical term for this item is *qeset*, derived from the Egyptian *gsti*. A razor for cutting leather or papyrus (Jer. 36:23) and probably a straight edge for ruling lines as well as a cloth or sponge for erasures completed the equipment required by the scribe.

[Aaron Demsky]

INSCRIPTIONS

The number of inscriptions found in Palestine is relatively small. The only monumental inscription of the type known from neighboring lands found there (except for a three letter fragment from eighth-century B.C.E. Samaria) is the Tell Dan Inscription (bibliography in Schwiderski, 409). This Aramaic inscription has attracted wide attention because it appears to mention "the House of David." This paucity of material is undoubtedly due to the fact that Palestine often served as a battlefield and many of its principal cities were frequently destroyed.

The earliest inscriptions in a language closely related to Hebrew are (a) those in the Proto-Byblian script, which has not been fully deciphered as yet, from the early second millennium; (b) those in the Proto-Sinaitic pictographic script from the 15th century B.C.E. found at Sarābīṭ al-Khādim; and (c) those in the *Ugaritic cuneiform alphabet from Ras Shamra. The Proto-Canaanite inscriptions on artifacts from Gezer, Lachish, and Shechem ranging from the 17th to the 14th centuries B.C.E. are closely related to the Proto-Sinaitic, while short tablets in a form of the Ugaritic alphabet from Beth-Shemesh, Kawkab al-Hawāʾ, and Taanach are from the 14th–13th centuries B.C.E. and early alphabetic writing comes from a variety of sites of the 13th–12th centuries B.C.E. There is still some degree of disagreement as to the deciphering of these brief inscriptions. Inscribed bronze arrowheads from the end of the 12th century found at Al-Khaḍr, near Beth-Lehem, and similar artifacts from a slightly later period found at other sites provide a link with the later developed Phoenician-Hebrew script.

The earliest Phoenician inscriptions are those from Byblos, beginning with that on the Ahiram sarcophagus from the tenth century and those of the other members of Ahiram's dynasty. The earliest Hebrew inscription is on a limestone plaque from Gezer; it contains an agricultural calendar and was written toward the end of the tenth century (see *Gezer Calendar). The Moabite stone from about 840 B.C.E. (discovered in 1868) recounts, in a dialect close to Hebrew, the rule of Omri over Moab (II Kings 3) and subsequent Moabite victories over Israel. It is of prime linguistic importance, but also gives an insight into Moabite religion and the history of the period (see *Mesha Stele). The fragmentary Amman Citadel Inscription, whose language is very close to Hebrew but whose meaning is far from certain, is also from this period. The Kulamuwa inscription in Phoenician from Zenjirli, in southwestern Turkey, celebrates the victory of Kilamuwa over his enemies and records his role in bringing prosperity to his people. One of the earliest Aramaic inscriptions was found near Aleppo. It is dedicated to Melqart, god of Tyre, and comes from the middle of the ninth century B.C.E. (COS II, 152–53). Of great importance is the bilingual Aramaic and Akkadian royal inscription found at Tel Fekherye in 1979 (Swiderski, 194, with bibliography; COS II, 153–54). Minor Aramaic inscriptions have also been found at En-Gev, Hazor, and Tell Dan in Galilee.

From the late ninth and the eighth centuries there are a number of Hebrew inscriptions: (a) a series of small inscriptions from Hazor which contain primarily names; (b) the *Samaria ostraca: 63 dockets written in ink on potsherds referring to deliveries of oil and wine. Although they are short – listing the regnal year, a place name, a personal name, and a quantity of oil and wine – they allow an insight into the administration of the Northern Kingdom. They shed light on the northern dialect of Hebrew and since they contain many Baʿal names, they are of use in discussion of the religious situation in the Northern Kingdom; (c) the Tell Qasīla ostraca: one refers to a shipment of oil, while another reads: "gold of Ophir for Beth-Horon, 30 shekels"; (d) a series of *seals that can be ascribed to this period, some containing names familiar from the Bible such as Ahaz, Jeroboam, and Isaiah; and e) the inscription *qdš* on vessels from Beer-Sheba and Hazor.

The *Siloam tunnel inscription, discovered in 1880, dates from the end of the eighth century. It commemorates the completion of the tunnel between the "Virgin's Spring" and the pool of Siloam – whose purpose was to bring water to the city (cf. II Kings 20:20; II Chron. 32:30). The six-line inscription is written in straightforward Hebrew. From this period also come tomb inscriptions found in caves in the village of Silwān such as that of the royal steward "…yahu, who is over the house" (cf. Isa. 22:15). The papyrus palimpsest from Murabbʾāt may be dated to the end of this period, while a jar inscription found at Azor, near Jaffa, reading *lšlmy* is in the Phoenician script.

It is from this century that there are important Phoenician and Aramaic inscriptions from Syria and southwest Turkey. The Karatepe inscription, from the Adana area, is the longest Phoenician inscription known to date. It commemorates the victories and deeds of King Azitawadda of the Danunians and was inscribed upon orthostats and statues as part of the city gate along with a version in hieroglyphic Hittite. In phraseology and idiom it is often very close to biblical Hebrew and sheds light on the religious practices of the period. There are also texts in the Ammonite language from this period: a) the inscription of King Yariḥʿazor of Beth ʿAmmon; and b) the Ammonite text in Aramaic script from Deir ʿAllā.

The Aramaic inscriptions include the Zakkur inscription (c. 775) commemorating the victory of Zakkur of Hamath and Luath over the Aramaic league under Bir-Hadad son of Hazael of Damascus. This inscription contains important references to prayer and prophecy. The Sefire treaty inscriptions from north Syria contain the treaty made by the king of Arpad and his overlord, the king of the Kashkeans. This is the longest extant inscription in early Aramaic. It contains details concerning the parties to the treaty, the witnessing gods, imprecations upon the treaty breaker, details of the treaty's provisions, and also geographic information. Besides its philological importance, it has supplied considerable information of a cultural and historical nature and has clarified biblical terms and formulas. Of the Aramaic inscriptions from Zenjirli, two (Hadad, Panamu) are in the local dialect (Samalian; known already from Kulamuwa's time) while the others are in Early General Aramaic. They are important for Aramaic religion and also attest to the growing power of the Assyrians under Tiglath-Pileser III.

Phoenician had spread during these centuries to the Mediterranean isles and inscriptions have been found in Cyprus, Sardinia, and elsewhere. The incantation plaque, in Aramaic script but Phoenician language, from Arslan Tash in upper Mesopotamia attests to the continuity of literary idiom and to the symbiosis of the Canaanite and Mesopotamian cultures among the Arameans in the early seventh century. The spread of Aramaic as the lingua franca of the Near East (cf. II Kings 18:26) is seen in the use of Aramaic on an ostracon containing a letter found at Ashur and also in the use of Aramaic dockets on cuneiform tablets at Ashur and elsewhere. Two inscribed funerary stelae in Aramaic come from Neirab near Aleppo. An interesting ostracon from Nimrūd presents a list of exiles with typical Israelite names. Excavations at Nimrūd have also produced inscribed objects (bronzes, ivories, and ostraca) in Hebrew, Aramaic, and Phoenician.

In Palestine during the seventh century, Hebrew inscriptions are found on seals, weights, measures of capacity, and jar handles. *Weights bearing the inscription *bqʿ* or *pym*, both known from the Bible, and *nṣp* are found in many Judahite sites and the words *hīn* and *bat* (*bt lmlk*) – well known from the Bible as names of units of cubic measure – have been found on pots and jugs. There are, from the mid-seventh century onward, an important series of jar handles engraved with the winged sun disk scarab seal, or *ṭet* symbol, with the royal stamp reading *lmlk*, "of the king," and the name of one of four cities: *šwkw* (Socoh), *hbrn* (Hebron), *z* (*y*)*p* (Ziph), and *mmšt* (unidentified). The legend *lmlk* refers to weights and measures standardized by the royal administration. The *lmlk* and *ṭet* symbols are found at a later period on jars from Phoenicia, Elephantine in Egypt, and Carthage. The jars were in all likelihood used for wine. From the reign of Josiah there are a number of ostraca from a site south of *Yavneh-Yam. The longest one consists of 14 lines in which an agricultural worker, protesting his innocence, petitioned a superior asking for the return of a cloak wrongly taken from him (cf. Ex. 22:25). The language reflects the legal terminology of the period (i.e., line 10: "and all my brothers will testify for me," *y ʿnw ly*). The graffiti from the area of El-Qom, near Hebron, are primarily tomb inscriptions recording the name of the owner of the tomb. Inscriptions on a bowl and a decanter were also found there, as well as inscribed weights. The Hebrew ostraca found at *Arad are from the late seventh century. They are concerned mainly with the delivery of wine, flour, bread, and oil to certain persons and also to the Kittim (*ktym*), a term used in the Bible for people from Cyprus or the Aegean isles. Small ostraca bearing the names of the priestly families Pashhur (*pšḥr*) and Meremoth (*mrmwt*), known from the Bible, were also found. One ostracon has a reference to the Korahites (*bny qrh*), and another to the Kerosites (*qrwsy*), known from Ezra 2:44 and Nehemiah 7:47 as a family of temple servants, and also to the Jerusalem temple (called *byt whwh*). There are also references to the city Ramath-Negeb and to the Edomites and to events in the area.

The Ophel ostracon found in Jerusalem and containing a poorly preserved list of names with patronymics and residences in all likelihood belongs to the beginning of the sixth century. The jar handles from al-Jīb reading *gbʿn* (together with personal names) has clinched the identification of that site with Gibeon. Three inscriptions in a cave at Khirbat Beit-Lay, south of Jerusalem, are of religious significance since they ask help of YHWH and refer to Judah and Jerusalem. The 21 ostraca found at Tell al-Duwayr (commonly known as the "*Lachish letters") are of prime importance since they come from the period shortly before the destruction of the Temple in 587 and reflect the circumstances of that period. Only seven are well enough preserved to offer a continuous text. They contain lists of names, simple business documents, and the correspondence of the military governor Yaush and his subordinates. They are written in idiomatic classical Hebrew and contain interesting expressions such as the oath *ḥyhwh*, "as Yahweh lives." There is also a reference to a prophet in these texts. Many of the personal names found in these ostraca are familiar from the literature of the period. Seals of the period contain names such as Gedaliah, Jaazaniah, and that of King Jehoiachin. Seals from Ammon, Moab, and Edom are known from this and earlier periods. An Aramaic letter, written by a ruler of one of the cities of the Philistine coast, was found at Saqqarah in Egypt.

The excavations at Lachish produced for the post-Exilic period an interesting inscribed incense altar (*Ibntʾ*) which may have been dedicated to the Lord (line 3: *lyh* – if this reading is correct). Recent excavations have greatly increased the number of inscribed objects found in Palestine from the Persian and Hellenistic periods. From Arad alone there are about 100 ostraca in Aramaic from the late fifth century; they deal primarily with matters of local economy. An ostracon from approximately the same period was found at Ashdod referring simply to a plot of land as 'Zebadiah's vineyard' (*krm zbdyh*; in Ashdodite? cf. Neh. 13:24). Ostraca in Aramaic from this period have been found at Tell al-Fārʿa and Beer-Sheba in the south and at Tell Saʿīdiyya in the Jordan Valley. An ostracon from a slightly earlier period was found at Heshbon in Moab.

The earliest stamp seals of the Persian period are those inscribed *msh* (or *mwsh*). There are several types of *yhd, yhwd*, and *yh* stamps from this period with the *yh* stamps presumably the latest. The coins from Judah are also inscribed with the legend *yhd* in archaic Aramaic lapidary script. Some stamps have *yhwd* plus a name; the stamps from Ramat Raḥel contain a name and in all likelihood the word *pḥrʾ*, "the potter."

The Aramaic papyri found in a cave in the *Wadi Daliya are dated from 375 to 335 or slightly later. The content of all the papyri is legal or administrative and they were executed in Samaria. They deal with possession of slaves and also with loans, sales, and marriages. The name Sanballat appears on both papyri and sealings. The papyri were probably hidden in these caves by refugees from Samaria at the time of Alexander the Great's conquests. Aramaic ostraca from En Gedi and Elath from the early fourth century have been published; and from the latter site ostraca in Phoenician and Edomite are known. The Tobiah inscriptions from ʿAraq el-Emir in Transjordan stem typologically from this period.

A revival of the Paleo-Hebrew script takes place during this period. It is found on seals from Daliya and Makmish and also on several coins. It is frequently found on the jar stamps of the third century from Judah, on stamps inscribed with *yhwd* (Yehud) plus symbol, and on the pentagram stamps bearing the inscription *yršlm* (Jerusalem). This script is then used for some texts found at Qumran and on Hasmonean coins and also on those of the first revolt and the Bar Kokhba revolt. It is from this late Paleo-Hebrew script that the Samaritan script developed. The earliest Samaritan inscription, found in the Ionian capital at Emmaus, stems in all likelihood from the first century C.E.

Many of the important inscriptions from the Phoenician coast such as the Eshmunazor, Bodashtart, and Tabnit funeral inscriptions, etc., as well as those from Umm al-ʿAwāmid, come from the Persian and Hellenistic periods. These inscriptions are replete with phrases reminiscent of biblical idiom (e.g., stock (usually, but erroneously, "root") below, boughs (usually, but erroneously, "fruit") above) and religious phraseology that clarify biblical references (e.g., "a place to lie on with the Rephaim"). Inscribed ostraca, seals, and coins are also found. In the east, Phoenician spread to Greece and Egypt; Cyprus, Malta, Sardinia, Sicily and the isles remain a source of written material. In the west, Carthage, rich in inscriptions, became an important center of Phoenician culture, and from there it radiated to Spain, the Balearic islands, and southern France. The sacrificial tariffs from Marseilles and Carthage list animal offerings with payments due to the priests and the sharing of sacrifices. Scholars have noted marked similarities to the Priestly Code. The bilingual Phoenician-Etruscan Pyrgi inscriptions from fifth-century southern Italy have great linguistic importance, while many Punic and neo-Punic inscriptions from North Africa provide an insight into the continuity of Canaanite culture and language outside the Phoenician mainland. Jars inscribed in Phoenician were found at Bat Yam and Shiqmona; a lead weight was found at Ashdot-Yam.

Aramaic became the official language of the Achaemenid Empire and inscriptions in this language are found for this and later periods in North Arabia, Egypt, Turkey, Georgia, Syria, Iraq, Iran, Afghanistan, and India. The many papyri and ostraca from Elephantine, Hermopolis, and elsewhere in Egypt, and the Arsham letters are of prime importance. The Sheikh Faḍl inscriptions (fifth century) mentioning Tirhaka, Neco, and Psammetich and the silver bowls from Wadi Tumilat, mentioning Gashmu the Kedarite (cf. Neh. 2:19; 6:1, 2, 6) are noteworthy. Aramaic versions (on papyrus) of the Behistun and Naksh-i Rustam inscriptions of Darius I, albeit fragmentary, are known. The Taymāʾ inscription attests to the penetration of Aramaic culture into North Arabia and the many Aramaic dockets on Neo-Babylonian cuneiform tablets (fifth century) attest to the spread of Aramaic there. These tablets often record business transactions of the Judean exiles.

The Aramaic-Lydian bilingual from Sardis and the boundary, funerary, and commemorative inscriptions found elsewhere in Turkey and later in Armenia are of philological and cultural interest. In these countries, Greek often superseded Aramaic during the Hellenistic period. In those areas in which Aramaic remained a language of spoken or written communication, national scripts developed such as the Jewish, Nabatean, Palmyrene, Elymaic, Hatrene, and Syriac. The earliest Nabatean script was found at Ḥaluṣa (c. 170 B.C.E.); other inscriptions were found at ʿAvdat and in the Sinai Peninsula. It is in this script that the inscriptions in Palestine of the late Second Temple period are written. Among the inscriptions from the late period of the Second Temple besides those found at Qumran on jars and ostraca, leather parchment, papyrus, and metal, which cannot be enumerated here, the following may be noted: (1) the Jason Tomb inscriptions in Aramaic from the period of Alexander Yannai; (2) the inscriptions on ossuaries usually listing simply the name of the person reinterred therein. Three are worthy of particular attention: (a) from the Bethpage cave whose lid contained a list of workers; (b) from Givʿat ha-Mivtar in north Jerusalem mentioning "Simon, builder of the sanctuary" (*smwn bnh hklh*); and (c) from Jebel Hallat eṭ-Ṭūri which declared that all the valuables in the ossuary were a *qorban* to God; (3) the Bene Ḥezir inscription on a tomb in the Kidron Valley; (4) the Aramaic inscription now in the Israel Museum in Jerusalem that announced the removal of Uzziah's bones to their new resting place; (5) the inscriptions found during the excavations at the Western and Southern retaining walls of the Temple mount, especially the one reading *lbyt htqyʿh*, "to the place of the (trumpet) blowing," which surely came from the Herodian Temple; (6) the small stone weight found in the "burnt house" in the "Jewish Quarter" of Jerusalem bearing the name of the highly placed priestly family Kathros (*qtrs*); (7) the relatively long Aramaic inscription in Paleo-Hebrew script found in a burial cave in Givʿat ha-Mivtar; (8) inscribed objects from Masada including 14 biblical, apocryphal, and sectarian scrolls. Jugs are inscribed with their owner's name; column drums are marked, and a great number of ostraca contain Hebrew names and a variety of letters. The name Ben Ya'ir (*bn y'yr*) surely refers to Eleazar ben Jair the Zealot leader.

[Jonas C. Greenfield]

IN THE TALMUD AND HALAKHAH

The tremendous importance attached by the talmudic sages to the art of writing is reflected, according to one interpretation, in Mishnah *Avot* 5:6, which includes among the "ten things which were created on the eve of the Sabbath" (of creation, i.e., which partake of the semi-miraculous) *ha-ketav ve-ha-makhtev* ("writing and the instrument of writing"). The usual explanation is that the phrase applies to the writing of the Decalogue, which is mentioned afterward, but another view is that it applies to the art of writing as a whole. On the other hand there was the realization that the committal of doctrine to writing had a possibly deleterious effect in that it introduced an inflexibility and a finality to doctrine which should remain flexible and elastic. According to I.H. Weiss (Dor, 1, 1–93), it was this which lay behind the prohibition on committing the Oral Law to writing. The Written Law was final and decisive; its interpretation had to remain open to adjustment.

Writing, its materials, its regulations, and its instruments play a prominent part in the *halakhah*. They are important in the laws of writing a **Sefer Torah*, which must be written on parchment with a quill and indelible ink (the same applies to **tefillin* and **mezuzot*, with slight variations). An exception is the portion of the **Sotah* (the woman suspected of adultery – Num. 5:11–31), since the Bible explicitly states that the writing had to be erased in the bitter waters. There are different regulations for the writing of a bill of divorce, and lastly there is the prohibition of writing on the Sabbath, and the regulations as to what constitutes writing. It is almost entirely in connection with those laws that the many details concerning writing and writing materials occur (cf. especially Shab. 12:3–5, Git; 2:3–4 and the corresponding Tosefta and the relevant discussion in the Talmuds). Whereas for the writing of the *Sefer Torah* and other sacred writings only parchment made from the hide of permitted animals could be used, after the required treatment, bills of divorce could be written on paper made from papyrus. The prohibition of writing on the Sabbath applied to all permanent writing materials. A differentiation is made between permanent writing materials and non-permanent ones. In the former the Mishnah enumerates olive leaves and a cow's horn, to which the Tosefta (Shab. 11 (12):8) adds carob leaves or cabbage leaves. It is difficult to see how they could be used widely. Non-permanent writing materials are given as leaves of leeks, onions, vegetables, and the sorb apple tree.

Owing to the scarcity and high cost of paper, particularly parchment, it was used more than once, by rubbing out the writing with stone and superimposing new writing. It is this palimpsest which is referred to in the dictum of Elisha b. Avuyah, who compares learning as a child to "ink written on clean paper" and learning in one's old age to "ink written on erased paper" (Avot 4:20; Git. 2:4, where erased paper is equated with *diftera* (Gr., διφθέρα), hide which has been treated with salt and flour, but not with gall nuts).

A similar distinction is made between permanent and non-permanent inks. To the former belong ink proper (*deyo*), caustic, red dye, and gum (Shab. 12:4; Sot. 2:4). The Tosefta (Shab. 11 (12):8) adds congealed blood and curdled milk, as well as nutshells and pomegranate peel, which were widely used for making dyestuffs. Ink was made from a mixture of oil and resin, which hardened and to which water was added. Any oil or resin could be used, but the best quality was that of olive oil and balsam (Shab. 23a; 104b). The most permanent ink, however, was made by adding iron sulphate or vitriol (*kankantum* or *kalkantum*, properly קלקנתים, Gr. χάλκανθον) to the ink, which made it a deep black, and it was therefore also used as boot-blacking (Git. 19a). This admixture made the ink completely indelible and was therefore prohibited for use in writing the passage of the *Sotah* (Er. 13a). Non-permanent inks were made from "taria water" (juice of wine), fruit juices, and juice of gall nuts (Git. 19a). There is an interesting reference to invisible writing: "These people of the East are very cunning. When one of them wishes to write a letter in secret writing to his friend he writes it with melon water and when the recipient receives it he pours ink over it and is able to decipher the writing" (TJ, Shab. 12:4, 13d; Git. 2:3, 44b).

It would appear originally the custom to use gold lettering for the writing of the *Sefer Torah*, since the Midrash (Song. R. 1:11; cf. *ibid.* 5:11) applies the verse "we will make the circlets of gold, with studs of silver" (Songs 1:11) to the writing and the ruled lines respectively. According to the Letter of Aristeas, the *Sefer Torah* presented by Eleazar the high priest to Ptolemy Philadelphus was written in letters of gold (cf. Jos., Ant., 12:89). However, such ostentation was later forbidden and tractate *Soferim* (1:9) states, "it is forbidden to write [a *Sefer Torah*] in gold. It happened that in a *Sefer Torah* of Alexandria all the divine names were written in gold, and when it was brought to the notice of the sages they ordered it to be hidden away." There is also mention of Queen *Helena of Adiabene having the passage of the *Sotah* written on a gold tablet (Yoma 37a; Git. 60a). Simeon b. Lakish, however, said that it referred only to the initials. The professional scribe, the *livlar* (librarius), used a *kalmus* (calamus), a quill made of reeds (Shab. 1:3; cf. Ta'an. 20b). For ordinary writing the *makhtev*, a two pointed pin, or stylus, was used, one end for writing and the other for erasing (Kel. 13:2; Tosef., Kel.; BM 3:4). The inkwell, called a *kalmarin* (καλαμάριον), was provided with an inner rim to prevent spilling (Mik. 10:1). This inkwell was used by ordinary people. The inkwell of the scribe, called the *bet deyo* (ink container), had a cover (Tosef., Kel. BM 4:11) and mention is made of the "inkwell of Joseph the Priest which had a hole in the side" (Mik. 10:1).

Pen, paper, and inkstand are referred to as "things of honor" in a peculiar context. Rabban Simeon b. Gamaliel states that any idol which bears something in its hand is forbidden. The Jerusalem Talmud makes an exception in the case of "something of honor" and specifies "paper, pen, and inkwell" (Av. Zar. 3:1, 42c bottom). The word *kalmarin* is also used for the pen-case (Yalk, Num. 766). Among the other instruments of the scribe were the *olar*, the pen-knife used for cutting the reed to make the quill (Kel. 12:8; Tosef. Kel.; BB 7:12); the *izmel*, a knife for cutting the paper (Targ. Jon. to Jer. 36:23; Heb. *ta'ar*, cf. Targ. Jon. to Ps. 45:2); and the *sargel*, a sharp instrument for drawing the lines on the parchment or paper. For sacred writings the *sargel* had to be made from a reed (TJ, Meg. 1:11, 71d; Sof. 1:1). "Writer's sand" was used to dry the ink (Shab. 12:5).

After the invention of printing, the question was raised whether the laws of writing – e.g., with regard to the *Sefer Torah*, the prohibition of writing on the Sabbath, and the writing of a bill of divorce – apply to the printed word (cf. Resp. Samuel di Medina (Maharashdam) YD 184; B. Slonik, Resp. *Masat Binyamin* 94).

[Louis Isaac Rabinowitz]

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WRONKI (Ger. **Wronke**; in Jewish sources: **Vronik**), town in Poznan province, western Poland. The Jewish community of Wronki was first organized in the early 17th century. In 1607 permission was granted to build a synagogue, and in 1633 a royal privilege confirmed the rights of the Jews in the town. They engaged in wholesale trade and crafts; toward the end of the 17th century they participated in the *Leipzig fair. At that time representatives from Wronki served in important posts on the *Council of the Lands. In 1765 the poll-taxpaying Jews of Wronki and surrounding villages numbered 483. Their occupations included tailoring, goldsmithery, and weaving. The debts of the community then reached the enormous sum of 200,000 zlotys. From 1793 up to 1918 the town was under Prussian rule. In 1808 there were 543 Jews in Wronki (32% of the total population); 791 (35%) in 1840; 604 (24%) in 1871; 528 (12%) in 1895; 380 (8%) in 1905; 314 (6.5%) in 1910 and 187 (4%) in 1921. In the 1860s the local Jews started to move westward to Berlin and other large German cities. When the city was annexed to Poland in 1918 the Jewish population continued to dwindle.

[Shimshon Leib Kirshenboim]

Holocaust Period

On the outbreak of World War II Wronki had 31 Jews. On Nov. 7, 1939, all the Jews were deported to the Generalgouvernement via Buk, in Nowy Tomysl county. In the small town of Buk about 1,300 Jews from many other places in the districts of Poznan (Posen) and Inowroclaw (Hohensalza) were concentrated, and sent a month later to the Mlyniewo camp near Grodzisk Poznanski (Suedhof). From there they were sent on to Sochaczew-Blonie county in the Warsaw District, where they were allowed to disperse among the small towns of the region.

[Danuta Dombrowska]

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WRONSKY, SIDDY (1883–1947), expert in social welfare and social pedagogy. Born in Berlin, she was an influential figure in bringing about the professionalization of social work in Germany and Palestine. She began her training as a teacher and specialized in *Heilpaedagogik*, working as a volunteer in a school for developmentally disabled children. In 1908 she became the director of the Archiv fuer Wohlfahrtspflege, and she also served as co-editor of the prestigious journal *Deutsche Zeitschrift fuer Wohlfahrtspflege*. She taught at the social work training school that was founded by Alice Salomon, the Soziale Frauenschule, in Berlin, as well as at the Deutsche Akademie fuer soziale und pädagogische Frauenarbeit. Through her writing and teaching, she introduced new and modern methodologies for the treatment of welfare recipients through an emphasis on individualized care.

In addition to her role in German social welfare, she was also a centrally important figure in Jewish social welfare after World War I. She became a member of the board of the newly founded Zentralwohlfahrtsstelle der deutschen Juden (Central Welfare Bureau of German Jews) and served on a variety of its commissions dedicated to reforming Jewish social welfare. Wronsky became a Zionist through her work with East European refugees in Berlin during World War I and helped found a Zionist women's organization. In 1933, she was dismissed from her positions and fled to Palestine shortly thereafter. In Palestine, she worked in the social department of the Va'ad Le'ummi and founded the first social work education school, the Sozialschule Jerusalem of the Va'ad Le'ummi. She died in 1947, shortly before the founding of the State of Israel.

Her major works include *Leitfaden der Wohlfahrtspflege* (with Alice Salomon, 1921); *Methoden der Fuersorge* (1930); and *Sozialtherapie und Psychotherapie in den Methoden der Fürsorge* (1932).

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°WUENSCHE, AUGUST KARL (1839–1913), German scholar of the Bible and *aggadah*. Wuensche, who was born in Haimwalde, Germany, was a pupil of Franz *Delitzsch and Julius *Fuerst. He wrote commentaries on Joshua (1868) and Joel (1872), and also general studies such as *Die Schoenheit des Alten Testaments* (1906), and *Die Bildersprache des Alten Testaments* (1897). His main researches, however, were in rabbinic literature. His translations into German of the *aggadot* of the Jerusalem and Babylonian Talmuds, *Der Jerusalemitische Talmud … Haggadischen Bestandteilen* (1880), and *Der Babylonische Talmud…* (1886–89) gave Wuensche a great reputation among scholars. He also translated the *Midrash Rabbah*, the *Pesikta de-R. Kahana*, and the Midrash of the five scrolls, as well as a five-volume collection of Midrashim from the *Beit ha-Midrash* of A. *Jellinek entitled *Aus Israels Lehrhaus* (1907–10). Of great importance is Wuensche's three-volume anthology of Jewish literature after the conclusion of the Bible, *Die juedische Literatur seit Abschluss des Kanon*, (1894–96), which he edited with Jacob *Winter. His other works include: *Neue Beitraege zur Erlaeuterung der Evangelien aus Talmud und Midrasch* (1878); *Die Raetselweisheit bei den Hebraeern* (1883); and *Die Freude im Alten Testament* (1896).

[Jerucham Tolkes]

WUERTTEMBERG, state in Germany. There is evidence that the Jewish community of *Heilbronn in Wuerttemberg was one of the earliest in Germany. An inscription bearing the name of "Nathan the Parnes" on the entrance of the *mikveh* apparently dates from the latter half of the 11th century. Information on Jewish settlement in Wuerttemberg becomes more definite in the early 13th century. Jews are known to have settled in 65 localities there before the *Black Death persecutions. These settlements suffered during the *Rindfleisch massacres of 1298 and again in the *Armleder uprising of 1335–37 but soon recovered. At that time the more important Jewish communities were centered in Heilbronn, *Ulm, *Esslingen, and Schwaebisch Gmuend. At first the Jews paid their taxes directly to the king, the count of Wuerttemberg, or to a nobleman to whom the king had granted taxing privileges; from the middle of the 14th century, however, most cities acquired taxation rights over the Jews living within them. Jews in positions of financial responsibility were helpful to many cities during a period of territorial expansion in the 14th century. During the 15th century, however, many Jews in Wuerttemberg became impoverished due to heavy taxation and the official cancellation of debts that were owed to them. Throughout the 15th century the Jews were alternately enabled to settle or expelled by the nobles, and by the end of the century they had been banished from most of the towns. In 1521 a decree was issued expelling the Jews from the entire duchy. Nevertheless, some of them managed to remain in many of the small villages during the 16th and 17th centuries. Jewish settlement in Wuerttemberg was substantially renewed only in the 18th century when Jews were first allowed to visit fairs and trade in cattle; later they were allowed to settle permanently in the duke's private lands and several other limited areas. With the aid of Joseph Suess *Oppenheimer, several Jews were granted residence in *Stuttgart and Ludwigsburg.

The dukes subsequently enacted more liberal regulations concerning Jewish settlement, such as the Hochberg Regulation of 1780. During the 18th century they retained a number of *Court Jews who aided significantly in the economic development of the duchy. When Napoleon added large areas to Wuerttemberg in 1806, the Jewish population rose from 534 to 4,884; by 1817 there were 3,256 Jews living in 79 localities. Jews were permitted to live in cities such as Ulm, from which they had previously been excluded. The body tax (*Leibzoll) was abrogated and Jews were accepted in the army. The improved attitude toward the Jews did not deteriorate after Napoleon's downfall. In 1828 a law was issued obliging Jewish children to receive a secular education; this, however, applied only to shopkeepers and craftsmen and discriminated against peddlers, cattle traders, brokers, and moneylenders. The law recognized the organization of local communities, and in 1831 a central Jewish executive was created in Stuttgart that functioned under governmental supervision. The constitutions of the local communities were drawn up along similar lines to those applied to the Christian communities. The chief rabbi was a government official; but when the chief rabbi Joseph Meir, who was of Reformist bent, tried to introduce the 60 *Hymns of Israel*, mostly of his own composition, into the traditional liturgy, most congregations refused to adopt the proposal, although it came from an official source. However, the Jews did not gain full civil equality in Wuerttemberg until April 25, 1828, and their religious life still remained subject to governmental supervision. Full autonomy was granted in 1912 and was supplemented by additional legislation approved in 1924. The Jewish population increased from 8,918 in 1828 to 11,916 in 1925, organized in 51 communities. By 1933 the number had decreased to 10,023, in 43 communities.

Holocaust Period

Antisemitism was already a significant political factor in Wuerttemberg at the end of the 19th century. With the growth of Nazism from 1925 to 1933, the party became increasingly active in its propaganda campaign against the Jews. After the rise of the Nazis to power, the boycott of Jewish goods, as well as general harassment, led many Jews to emigrate from Wuerttemberg, and 9,000 left there in 1935. While the Zionist movement had not been generally strong in Wuerttemberg, 200 Jews from the village of Rexingen immigrated to Palestine in 1938 to found the settlement of *Shavei Zion.

In October 1938 Jews of Polish extraction were deported back to Poland. On Nov. 9–16, 1938, 18 synagogues in Wuerttemberg were burned to the ground, and 12 others were severely damaged; 875 Jews were imprisoned. Jewish enterprises were "aryanized" and a systematic plan was put into action to rid Wuerttemberg of its Jewish communities. From 1941 to 1945, there were 12 deportations totaling 2,500 Jews from Stuttgart; 260 committed suicide before deportation. Only 180 survived the war; 200 Jews who had intermarried were spared deportation.

[Zvi Avneri]

Contemporary Period

After the Holocaust a few Jews returned to Wuerttemberg. The community of Stuttgart was reconstituted and a new synagogue built; for the most part, what was left of the Jewish community in Wuerttemberg were unused synagogues and abandoned cemeteries.

The Jewish community of Wuerttemberg numbered 677 in 1989 and 2,881 in 2004. The increase is explained by the immigration of Jews from the former Soviet Union. In 1989 the majority lived in Stuttgart; in 2004 about 45 percent lived outside Stuttgart. There are branch communities in *Ulm (founded 2002), Reutlingen, and Hechingen. New branches were to be established in Heilbronn, Heidenheim, and Schwaebisch-Hall.

[Zvi Avneri / Larissa Daemmig (2nd ed.)]

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WUERZBURG, city in Bavaria, Germany. The Jewish community of Wuerzburg was founded around 1100. The Jews settled near a swampy area that was, however, in the center of the town. Some lived outside this quarter, and there were Christians living among the Jews. In 1147, at the time of the Second Crusade (see *Crusades), the Crusaders, reinforced by rabble from the surrounding countryside, attacked the community. Three rabbis, a scribe, and three other Jews were publicly martyred. The bishop of the town ordered that the bodies of the martyrs be gathered and buried in his garden; he later sold the site to the community, which converted it into a cemetery. During the 13th century the number of Jews grew considerably, not only as a result of natural increase but also through the addition of newcomers ariving from *Augsburg, *Mainz, *Nuremberg, and *Rothenburg. A *Judengasse* is noted in 1182, a school in 1170, and a synagogue in 1238. In the 12th and 13th centuries Wuerzburg became an influential and important center of Jewish learning. Foremost among the scholars associated with the city during the period were Joel ha-Levi, son-in-law of *Eliezer b. Nathan (Raban) of Mainz; his son, *Eliezer b. Joel ha-Levi (Rabiah); *Isaac b. Moses ("Or Zaru'a") of Vienna, who taught in the yeshivah at Wuerzburg; and his celebrated students *Meir b. Baruch and Mordecai b. Hillel. Of note also were *Eliezer b. Moses ha-Darshan, Samuel b. Menahem, and Jonathan b. Isaac. This large community was destroyed in the *Rindfleisch persecutions of 1298. About 900 Jews lost their lives, including 100 who had fled from the surrounding area to seek refuge in Wuerzburg.

The community was subsequently renewed, this time principally by Jews from *Cologne, *Strasbourg, *Bingen, and *Ulm, as well as from Franconia, Thuringia, and Swabia. The Jews paid taxes to both the bishop and the king. In practice, the Jews were under the protection of the bishop, who governed them through a series of regulations issued on his own initiative. His protection aroused the objection of the townspeople, but after the Jews had aided in the financial expenditure of fortifying the city, the burghers were more sympathetic. However, during the *Black Death persecutions of 1349, the Jews were accused of poisoning the wells in Wuerzburg; in desperation they set fire to their own houses on April 21, 1349, and perished. Among the martyrs was Moses ha-Darshan, head of the yeshivah. The survivors fled, some to *Erfurt, *Frankfurt, and Mainz, and the bishop took possession of their property.

By 1377 Jews were to be found once more in the city; at the beginning of the 15th century a community had been reconstituted and the cemetery returned to Jewish possession. A new synagogue was built in 1446, but the community remained small in the 15th century. In 1567 the Jews were expelled from the town and settled in nearby Heidingsfeld. Bishop Julius expropriated the cemetery in 1576, and he founded a hospital on its site, which still exists. While a few Jews lived in the city during the following centuries, the community was not renewed until the 19th century. In 1813 there were 14 families in the city, and the rabbi of Heidingsfeld then settled in Wuerzburg. The synagogue was inaugurated in 1841. Isaac Dov (Seligman Baer) *Bamberger acted as rabbi from 1839 to 1878. In 1864 he founded a teachers' seminary from which hundreds of teachers graduated and taught in the Jewish schools of Germany. The yeshivah founded during his lifetime was also renowned. Wuerzburg became the spiritual center for the numerous village communities of Franconia. They prayed according to the *minhag* of Wuerzburg and addressed their halakhic questions to the rabbis there. In 1884 a Jewish hospital was founded in Wuerzburg. The Jewish population numbered 2,600 (2.84 percent of the total) in 1925, and 2,145 (2.12 percent) in 1933.

With the rise of Nazism, many Jews emigrated from Wuerzburg. On Nov. 9–10, 1938 (*Kristallnacht*), the synagogue was destroyed. From 1941 to 1945 the 1,500 remaining Jews were deported to concentration camps. After the war, 52 Jews returned to their city. In 1967 there were 150 Jews living in Wuerzburg; they had a community organization and possessed a synagogue and an old-age home.

The synagogue was consecrated in 1970. The Jewish community numbered 179 in 1989 and 1,045 in 2004. The increase is explained by the immigration of Jews from the former Soviet Union. In 2001, construction began on Shalom Europa, a new cultural and community center located next to the synagogue. Slated for completion in 2006, the center was to house offices, classrooms, a club for senior citizens, the Ephraim Gustav Hoenlein Genealogy Project of the Ronald S. Lauder Foundation (founded in 2002), and a documentation center of Jewish history and culture in Lower Franconia. The former old-age home, which is part of the complex, was rebuilt by the Ronald S. Lauder Foundation and houses the Lauder Chorev Center for educational seminars and youth get-togethers.

In 1987, when a house in Wuerzburg-Pleich was demolished, 1,508 Jewish gravestones and gravestone fragments were discovered, dating from 1138 to 1347. This was the largest such find in the world. The stones will be exhibited in the community center.

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[Zvi Avneri / Larissa Daemmig (2nd ed.)]

WUHSHA AL-DALLALA, 11th century *Cairo businesswoman or banker. Born in *Alexandria as Karima, the daughter of a banker named Ammar, she became known as Wuhsha (the desirable one or the one pined for) al-dallala (the broker). After moving to Fustat, she married Aryeh of Sicily and gave birth to a daughter whose name does not appear in her will, but rather in later documents; the couple subsequently divorced. Her name is mentioned in many *Genizah documents, either because of her extensive business transactions, including loans, or because her descendants were identified by their connection to her.

*Goitein first discovered Wuhsha's existence from a document dated 1098 in which she expressed annoyance at receiving a court summons based on a business associate's minor claim. Unlike most of the more secluded women in the Jewish community, no introduction was deemed necessary when she appeared in court. One of the most impressive documents extant is her will, written in Arabic at the turn of the century. In it, she provided for ornate funeral arrangements and left considerable sums of money to her surviving brother and to one of her two sisters; the largest bequest was to her son, as well as funds to provide him with a private tutor. Generous donations were left for all four Cairo synagogues, for the needy, and for the cemetery.

Wuhsha never re-married but rather took a lover from Ashkelon with whom she shared an apartment. When she became pregnant, Wuhsha feared social ostracism of her son (which would prevent a desirable marriage) and arranged a surprise visit to her chambers by male witnesses so as to record a deposition confirming that Hassun was the father of her child. Apparently Wuhsha chose not to marry her companion in order to deny him access to her wealth. In her will Wuhsha canceled a considerable debt Hassun owed her but made clear that he was not to receive a penny from her estate.

Wuhsha's deviation from social norms did not pass unnoticed; on one Yom Kippur the president of the Iraqi synagogue expelled her from the congregation. Her later bequest to this very synagogue could be interpreted as acceptance of her fate or, alternatively, as a way for her to have the last word, knowing that her money would not be refused. Wuhsha was an independent and determined woman whose life decisions were not always popular. She clearly left a distinct impression on her peers and on their descendants.

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[Renée Levine Melammed (2nd ed.)]

WUNDERBAR, REUBEN JOSEPH (1812–1868), Latvian-born educator and historian. Wunderbar wrote a book about the Jewish colonists in the Kherson region (1840) and was invited by Max *Lilienthal to become a teacher at the Jewish school in Riga of which he was for a time the director. In 1848 he returned to his native Mitau (Jelgava) and became a teacher of religion and a government interpreter, and on several occasions he served as the community's government-appointed rabbi. He published many articles in German-Jewish periodicals and wrote a study on the Jewish calendar. Wunderbar's importance as a historian rests primarily on two of his books which have retained their value as a source of information and research. The first, *Geschichte der Juden in den Provinzen Liv und Kurland* (1853), is a pioneer work on the history of the Jews in *Courland, based on independent research in archives and the use of rare manuscripts and paintings. The second book, *Biblischtalmudische Medicin* (1850–60), is also a pioneer work in the field, despite several inaccuracies and some errors. Although Wunderbar had no formal training, he had a surprising understanding of medical matters.

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[Joshua O. Leibowitz]

WUNDERLICH, FRIEDA (1884–1965), economist. Born in Berlin, she became a leading expert in the fields of national economy, labor legislation, sociology, and social politics. She taught at the Vocational Institute (Berufspaedagogisches Institut) in Berlin and from 1924 to 1933 was an editor of the periodical *Soziale Praxis*. She took an active part in political life and was town councilor for Berlin (1926–33), and a member of the Prussian Parliament (1930–33). When Hitler rose to power she left Germany for the U.S., where she became professor of sociology and social politics at the Graduate Faculty of Political and Social Science at the New School for Social Research.

In Germany she published many books and articles, such as *Hugo Muensterbergs Bedeutung fuer die Nationaloekonomie* (1920); *Die Bekaempfung der Arbeitslosigkeit in Deutschland seit Beendigung des Krieges* (1925); *Der Kampf um die Sozialversicherung* (1930); and *Versicherung, Fuersorge und Krisenrisiko* (1932). In the U.S. she wrote *Labor under German Democracy* (1940) and *British Labor and the War* (1941).

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[Shalom Adler-Rudel]

WUPPERTAL, city in North Rhine-Westphalia, Germany; formed by the amalgamation of Elberfeld, Barmen, and other towns in 1929. Elberfeld had a Jewish population by the latter part of the 16th century – in 1593 every Jew had to contribute ten thalers for the defense of the town. An expulsion order of 1598 was carried out only half-heartedly. Sixty Jewish families were admitted in 1671. A new *Judenordnung* ("Jews' Statute") was introduced into the duchy of Juelich in 1749, imposing a heavy tax burden. The yarnmakers of Elberfeld had always strenuously opposed Jewish settlement, and in 1794 all Jews were expelled from the town, returning when it was under French rule (1806–15). Their position then greatly improved. In 1808 there were nine Jewish families in the town, and 21 in 1818. A synagogue was built in 1865. In 1875 the number of Jews in Elberfeld was 813, growing to 1,104 in 1880; 1,705 in 1905; and 3,000 in 1932. The poet Else *Lasker-Schueler was born there.

After the 1794 expulsion, Jews were admitted into Barmen under French rule; however, by 1877 there were no more than ten families in the town. The community numbered 584 in 1905, and 750 (0.33 percent of the total population) in 1926 (unchanged in 1933).

The number of Jews in Wuppertal was approximately 3,500 (0.8 percent) in 1933, but had decreased to just over 1,000 in 1939, plus about 650 so-called *Mischlinge* (mixed Jews). In November 1938 the synagogues were destroyed and many Jewish inhabitants deported to *Dachau. Most of those who remained at the outbreak of war in 1939 perished in the Holocaust. A "branch" of the *Buchenwald concentration camp operated outside Wuppertal in 1942–43. A small Jewish congregation was re-established after 1945, numbering approximately 150 persons in 1967.

The Jewish community numbered 82 in 1989 and 2,293 in 2004. The increase is explained by the immigration of Jews from the former Soviet Union. A new synagogue was consecrated in 2002. In 1994 a new cultural and educational center was opened in memory of the members of the Jewish community who were expelled and killed during the Nazi era. Built on the site of the destroyed synagogue in Elberfeld, it serves as a venue for exhibitions, lectures, and seminars. Wuppertal is the seat of the Else Lasker-Schueler Society, founded in 1990.

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[Larissa Daemmig (2nd ed.)]

WURZBURGER, WALTER S. (1920–2002), rabbi, academician, communal leader. Wurzburger was among the most important Modern Orthodox rabbinic leaders and intellectuals in the latter half of the 20th century. Born in Munich, he escaped the Holocaust by immigrating to the United States in 1938, ultimately receiving ordination at the Rabbi Isaac Elchanan Theological Seminary of *Yeshiva University and an M.A. and Ph.D. in philosophy from Harvard University. After serving as rabbi of Chai Odom in Dorchester, Massachusetts (1944–53) while at Harvard, Wurzburger was called to the pulpit of Congregation Shaarei Shomayim in Toronto, Canada's largest Orthodox congregation, and was regarded as a shining light in Canadian Jewry. In 1967, he assumed the pulpit of Congregation Shaarey Tefila in Far Rockaway, New York, which, under the leadership of Rabbi Emanuel *Rackman, had become one of America's preeminent Orthodox synagogues. He taught philosophy at Yeshiva College from 1961 and served both as president of the (Orthodox) Rabbinical Council of America and of the Synagogue Council of America. Wurzburger was one of Rabbi Joseph B. *Soloveitchik's most ardent disciples and he carried his teacher's philosophy and theology into the public arena through his articles and lectures, and as editor-in-chief of *Tradition*, the widely respected journal of the Rabbinical Council of America. He received the National Rabbinic Leadership Award of the Orthodox Union. Wurzburger's most important work was *The Ethics of Responsibility* (JPS, 1994) in which he described the Jewish ethical value system which flowed from the *halakhah*, Judaism's legal parameters. He also wrote *A Treasury of Tradition* (1967, 1994). He was a contributing editor of *Sh'ma* and a representative of a time when Modern Orthodoxy was liberal in its orientation, embracing all denominations of Jews and cooperating with the non-Orthodox rabbinic world.

[Stanley M. Wagner (2nd ed.)]

WURZWEILER, GUSTAV (1896–1954), U.S. banker and philanthropist. Wurzweiler was born in Mannheim, Germany. After serving in the German forces during World War I, he established his own banking firm and accumulated a fortune. When he left Nazi Germany for Belgium in 1936, Wurzweiler managed to take out much of his wealth. He lived in Brussels from 1936 to 1941, and then emigrated to the United States where he again established himself successfully as a financier. In 1950 he became a member of the New York Stock Exchange. An Orthodox Jew, Wurzweiler established the Gustav Wurzweiler Foundation in 1950 to aid Jewish cultural, social, and educational agencies, with emphasis on higher education, research in Jewish history, aid to the handicapped, and support for congregations.

By 1970 about 100 institutions had received grants, with the Leo Baeck *Institute a major beneficiary. Among the foundation's grants was $1,000,000 in 1962 to the Graduate (renamed Wurzweiler) School of Social Work of Yeshiva University, augmented in 1968 by a $500,000 grant to establish a doctoral program.

WYDEN, RONALD STEPHEN (1949–), U.S. senator. Ron Wyden is the son of a German Jewish refugee, Peter Wyden, who was the author of *Stella*, a book about the most beautiful girl in his class in Germany who used her beauty as a weapon in survival. One of his grandfathers edited the works of Schopenhauer. His father worked for the *St. Louis Dispatch* and *Newsweek*, so Ron Wyden grew up in St. Louis and Washington, D.C. Among his classmates was Hubert Humphrey III, son of the senator and vice president. He then moved to Palo Alto where he played basketball in high school and at the University of California Santa Barbara before an injury ended his playing days. Only then did he begin to take his studies seriously, and he graduated from Stanford before moving to the University of Oregon to study law.

In Portland, he worked as a campaign aide to Senator Wayne Morse and then as director of the Gray Panthers organizing the elderly. His first effort in politics was to sponsor a referendum for reducing the price of dentures. He ran for Congress at the age of 31 from Portland and, after Robert Packwood resigned, he ran for the Senate in 1996, defeating Gordon Smith, who later became his Senate colleague, by a small margin in a tight race. It was the first race in the country to use mail ballots alone.

In the Senate he worked with Charles Grassley to insist on disclosures of senatorial holds. He was known for his work on behalf of the elderly. During the Reagan Administration and again in the George W. Bush Administration he was an ardent defender of Social Security. He joined with Republican colleagues of the Senate and the House to ensure that the Internet be tax-free, and restricting spam. He was active concerning the environment, sponsoring with Henry Waxman the Clean Air Act. He was also active in the campaign against tobacco. Although he opposed Oregon's assisted suicide law, he defended it against Congressional efforts to override state law with federal regulation. He was a strong advocate for a woman's right to choose and sought to bring RU 486, the morning after pill, to the United States. He also served on the Senate Intelligence Committee and was a firm voter against the Iraq war.

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[Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

WYGODZKI, STANISLŁAW (1907–1992), Polish poet and author. Born in Bedzin, where his father, Isaac Wygodzki, was a leading Polish Zionist, Wygodzki was attracted to Communism in his youth and in 1925 was condemned to two years' imprisonment for his political activities. He began his literary career in 1928 with contributions to the literary weekly *Wiadomości Literackie*, later writing for *Głos Literacki, Miesięcznik Literacki*, and other periodicals. Wygodzki's first verse collection appeared in Moscow in 1933. During World War II he was deported from the Bedzin ghetto to Auschwitz, where he managed to survive until the liberation. In 1947 Wygodzki returned to Poland and resumed his literary work. He published many volumes of poetry and prose, including *Pamiętnik miłości* ("Diary of Love," 1948), *W kotlinie* ("In the Dell," 1949), *Widzenie* ("Encounter," 1950), *Pusty plac* ("Empty Square," 1955), and *Koncert życeń* ("Request Concert," 1960). Wygodzki's works reflect his deep concern for the fate of his fellow-men, their moral purity and strength, and his struggle against social evils. His books were translated into many languages. Wygodzki also published translations from Yiddish literature (including Sholem *Asch). *Zatrzymany do wyjaśnienia* ("Detained for Explanation") which, confiscated in Poland in 1957, appeared in Israel (in Hebrew) in 1968. He emigrated to Israel in that year. He was the *Encyclopaedia Judaica* departmental editor (first edition) for Polish literature.

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WYLER, WILLIAM (1902–1981), U.S. film director and producer. Born in Mulhouse, Alsace, Wyler emigrated to the United States in 1920 with his uncle, Carl *Laemmle, head of Universal Pictures. In 1925 he directed the first of 50 two-reel Westerns, starting his long series of major works, first with Universal and then in association with other studios. An early success was the film version of Elmer *Rice's play *Counsellor-at-Law* (1933), as well as the adaptation of Sinclair Lewis' *Dodsworth* (Oscar nomination for Best Director, 1936). He broke new ground with *These Three* (1936), the successful adaptation of Lillian Hellman's *The Children's Hour*, a play with a lesbian theme. Four more milestones in his directorial career were *Jezebel* (produced, 1938); *Wuthering Heights* (Oscar nomination for Best Director, 1939); *The Letter* (Oscar nomination for Best Director, 1940); and *The Little Foxes* (Oscar nomination for Best Director, 1941). During World War II he served as an officer with the U.S. Air Force, where he made the documentary *The Memphis Belle* and the Navy film *The Fighting Lady*, which won an Oscar for Best Documentary.

After the war, Wyler directed such distinguished films as *The Heiress* (produced; Oscar nomination for Best Picture and Director, 1949); *Detective Story* (produced; Oscar nomination for Best Director, 1951); *Roman Holiday* (produced; Oscar nomination for Best Picture and Director, 1953); *The Desperate Hours* (produced, 1955); *Friendly Persuasion* (produced; Oscar nomination for Best Picture and Director, 1956); *The Big Country* (produced, 1958); *The Collector* (Oscar nomination for Best Director, 1965); *How to Steal a Million* (1966); *Funny Girl* (1968); and his final film, *The Liberation of L.B. Jones* (1970).

Wyler was among Hollywood's foremost filmmakers and was the recipient of many honors, including three Academy Awards, for directing *Mrs. Miniver* (1942), *The Best Years of Our Lives* (1946), and *Ben-Hur* (1959). In 1966 he received the Irving G. Thalberg Memorial Award, for the consistently high quality of his motion picture production. In 1976 he received the American Film Institute's Lifetime Achievement Award.

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[G. Eric Hauck / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

WYNN, ED (**Isaiah Edwin Leopold**; 1886–1966), U.S. comedian. Born in Philadelphia of an immigrant family from Prague, Wynn was known for 60 years as "The Perfect Fool." His early appearances on Broadway included *The Deacon and the Lady* (1910); *Ziegfeld Follies of 1914*; *Ziegfeld Follies of 1915*; *The Passing Show of 1916*; and *Sometime* (1918). In 1919, when earning $1,700 weekly, he joined a choristers' strike and was then blacklisted by managements. Using his savings, Wynn wrote, staged, composed the music, and performed in the *Ed Wynn Carnival* (1919–21); *The Perfect Fool* (1921–22); and *The Grab Bag* (1925) on Broadway. He later performed in *Manhattan Mary* (1927), and wrote, staged, produced, and performed in *Simple Simon* (1930–31); *The Laugh Parade* (1932); *Boys and Girls Together* (1941); and *Laugh, Town, Laugh* (1942). During the 1930s he became one of the first radio comedy stars, creating the role of the Texaco Fire Chief.

His films roles include *Follow the Leader* (1930); *The Chief* (1933); the voice of the Mad Hatter in *Alice in Wonderland* (1951); *The Great Man* (1956); *Marjorie Morningstar* (1958); *The Diary of Anne Frank* (Oscar nomination for Best Supporting Actor, 1959); *Cinderfella* (1960); *The Absent-Minded Professor* (1961); *Babes in Toyland* (1961); *Son of Flubber* (1963); *The Patsy* (1964); *Mary Poppins* (1964); *Those Calloways* (1965); *The Greatest Story Ever Told* (1965); *The Daydreamer* (1966); and *The Gnome-Mobile* (1967).

Wynn had many forays into television as well. He hosted the *Camel Comedy Caravan* variety show (1950), starred in *The Ed Wynn Show* sitcom (1958–59), and was a guest on dozens of panel, variety, and drama series. He appeared in the TV drama *Requiem for a Heavyweight* (1956) and the TV movies *Meet Me in St. Louis* (1959), *Miracle on 34th Street* (1959), *The Golden Horseshoe Revue* (1962), and *For the Love of Willadean* (1964). In 1950 he was awarded an Emmy for Most Outstanding Live Personality, and *The Ed Wynn Show* won an Emmy for Best Live Show. He earned Emmy nominations for three of his drama series performances (1957, 1958, and 1961).

He was the father of actor Keenan *Wynn (1916–1986).

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[Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

WYNN, KEENAN (**Francis Xavier Aloysius**; 1916–1986), U.S. actor. Born in New York, the son of Ed *Wynn (1886–1966). Keenan toured in stock companies and appeared on the New York stage and on television before making his debut in films in *See Here, Private Hargrove* (1944). His Broadway performances include *Remember the Day* (1935), *Hitch Your Wagon* (1937), *The Star-Wagon* (1937), *One for the Money* (1939), *Two for the Show* (1940), *The More the Merrier* (1941), and *Strip for Action* (1942).

A long-standing character actor, Wynn made more than 100 television appearances and performed in more than 170 films. He was nominated once for an Emmy for his performance in an episode of the TV series *Police Woman*. Of his career Wynn is said to have commented, "My billing has always been 'and' or 'with' or 'including.' That's all right; let the stars take the blame."

Wynn's feature film roles include *The Hucksters* (1947), *My Dear Secretary* (1949), *Annie Get Your Gun* (1950), *Royal Wedding* (1951), *Kiss Me, Kate* (1953), *The Man in the Gray Flannel Suit* (1956), *Don't Go Near the Water* (1957), *A Hole in the Head* (1959), *The Absent-Minded Professor* (1962), *Dr. Strangelove* (1964), *The Patsy* (1964), *The Americanization of Emily* (1964), *The Great Race* (1965), *Finian's Rainbow* (1968), *MacKenna's Gold* (1969), *Loving* (1970), *The Mechanic* (1972), *Snowball Express* (1972), *Nashville* (1975), *High Velocity* (1976), *Just Tell Me What You Want* (1980), *Best Friends* (1982), and *Black Moon Rising* (1986). Wynn's final role was as Butch in the TV pilot and comedy series *The Last Precinct* (1986).

Wynn's autobiography, *Ed Wynn's Son*, was published in 1959.

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[Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

WYNN, SAMUEL (1891–1982), Australian wine merchant and communal leader. Born Shlomo Weintraub near Lodz, Wynn was educated at a local yeshivah and joined the family wine-making business. He came to Melbourne, Australia, in 1913 to escape conscription into the czarist army and opened a vineyard near Stawell, Victoria. Wynn bought his first wine-retailing shop in Melbourne in 1918 and began bottling his own vermouths and wines in the mid-1920s. In 1927 he established Australian Wines Ltd., which, by the mid-1940s, were the largest winemakers and retailers in the country. In the post-war era Wynn Estates Pty. Ltd., as it was then known, became internationally known and probably Australia's most famous brand of wines. Wynn was also closely connected with Jewish causes, twice serving as president of the Zionist Federation of Australia. His wife IDA (née Siegler, c. 1896–1948), a Canadian, was a philosopher who was a friend of Martin *Buber, as well as a leading Australian Zionist and president of Australian WIZO.

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[William D. Rubinstein (2nd ed.)]

WYNN, STEVE (**Stephen Alan**; 1942–), U.S. casino developer. Wynn was born in New Haven, Conn., and raised in Utica, N.Y. His father, Michael Weinberg, ran a string of bingo parlors in the eastern United States and died shortly before Wynn graduated from the University of Pennsylvania in 1963. Wynn took over the family's bingo operation in Maryland and did well enough to accumulate the money to buy a small stake in the Frontier Hotel and Casino in Las Vegas. In the early 1970s, Wynn was part of a land deal with two titans of the Las Vegas casino industry, Howard Hughes and Caesars Palace, and they won a controlling interest in the Golden Nugget. Wynn renovated, revamped, and expanded the Golden

Nugget, whose annual profit soared from a little over $1 million to over $12 million. Wynn built another Golden Nugget in Atlantic City, N.J., in 1984. In 1984 Wynn was estimated to be worth $100 million. In 1986 he bought a large piece of land next to Caesar's Palace. He then sold the Atlantic City Nugget for $440 million and used much of the money to build the Mirage, a 3,000-room hotel and casino, in 1989. The Mirage set a new standard for size and lavishness. It featured an indoor forest and an outdoor "volcano," and with high-quality room appointments the Mirage was a great success. The Mirage was financed largely with junk bonds issued by Michael *Milken and it proved to be enormously successful, further enhancing Wynn's image in Las Vegas. Wynn expanded further on his concept of the luxury casino with the Bellagio, which had an artificial lake, an indoor conservatory, and an art gallery in which Wynn displayed museum-quality artworks, and branches of high-end boutiques and restaurants located in Paris, San Francisco, and New York. Mirage Resorts was sold to MGM Grand in 2000 to form MGM Mirage. With the money he made on the deal, Wynn built a new resort, the Wynn Las Vegas, which opened in 2005. According to Forbes magazine, Wynn became a billionaire in 2004, when his net worth was estimated at $1.3 billion. Wynn's art collection, on display to the public at Wynn Las Vegas, includes paintings by Picasso, Vermeer, Van Gogh, Gauguin, Warhol, and Matisse.

[Stewart Kampel (2nd ed.)]

WYOMING, a central Rocky Mountain state in the western United States. Its total population in 2000 was 493,782, ranking it the least populated state in the nation. Its Jewish population was approximately 400. The 140-year history of the Jews of Wyoming is a paradigm for the Jewish experience in the West and in America.

By 1868, the gleaming tracks of the Union Pacific Railroad had reached southeastern Wyoming. The opportunities in Cheyenne and Laramie, both nicknamed "Hell On Wheels," attracted a number of German Reform Jews, who had deserted their homeland after the egalitarian reforms of the Revolution of 1848 failed to materialize. Those who ventured to Wyoming were mostly peddlers or frontier merchants who dealt in clothing, liquor, cigars, and sundry items. Intent on fitting in, they noted with satisfaction that they were readily accepted as fellow pioneers. Ernestine Rose, a close friend of Susan B. Anthony, rode up and down the territory on horseback and in stagecoaches campaigning to grant full equality to women. Her mission was successful. In 1869, Wyoming granted women the right to vote and is nicknamed "The Equality State." "Jew Jake" (Jacob Louis Kaufman) built a roadhouse in La Belle in 1879 to service the cowboys as they rode through during the great Texas cattle drives. And legend has it that, as early as 1890, Max Meyer's dry goods store contracted with the John B. Stetson Company to make 10-gallon hats to sell to both rodeo and range cowboys.

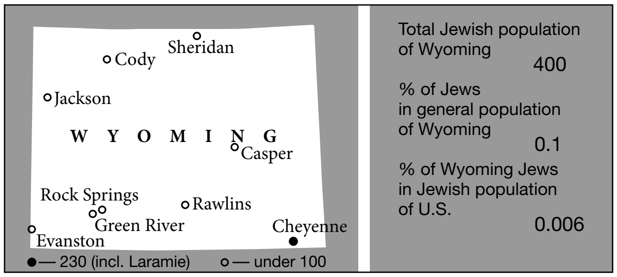

Jewish communities in Wyoming. Population figures for 2001.

Between 1881 and 1914, a flood of eastern European Jews from the Pale of Settlement crowded into the United States. Philanthropist Baron de Hirsch funded the Jewish Agricultural Society, an organization whose mission was to spread Jews throughout America. They sent some newly arriving immigrants to Wyoming to fulfill their agricultural dreams. The population of these would-be farmers in towns like Huntley was so high that it was necessary to hire a Yiddish-speaking teacher to instruct their children in public school. Other Jews were lured to Wyoming as a result of two Congressional Homestead Acts, which gave land to settlers in exchange for improving upon it. Primarily Orthodox Jews, this second wave of immigrants brought with them their customs, tools, and rituals; setting up synagogues, sacred burial grounds, and kashering capabilities. By 1919, the Orthodox synagogue in Cheyenne quietly absorbed the remnants of the Reform community into its own. Wyoming was indeed a place to strive for "a sack and a shovel, and shovel in the gold."

Opportunities for Jews in this rugged land were limited only by the extent of their imaginations.

Fred Goodstein, operating American Pipe and Supply, came to Casper in 1923 to take advantage of Wyoming's oil boom. He undoubtedly became the wealthiest man in the state, and more likely, the entire Rocky Mountain region. In 1930, Sol Bernstein opened what would become the largest mail-order western-wear store in the world. From the mid-1930s to the mid-1950s, Wyoming's Jewish communities reached their strides. Anchored by stable marriages and successful businesses, Wyoming's Jews continued to be gratified by the feeling that both America and their adopted state had smiled upon them. New synagogues were built in Casper and Cheyenne. Weddings and bar mitzvahs were frequent enough to make full-time rabbis a necessity. Prayer books, Torahs and worshipers were plentiful throughout the state. The *Wyoming Jewish Press* was published in newspaper form by Abe Goldstein between 1930 and 1940. During WWII, a burgeoning of Jewish military personnel brought more Jews to Wyoming. Those that stayed and married invigorated and further strengthened Wyoming's vibrant and visible Jewish community. Subsequent to the war, a small wave of Holocaust survivors found the people and opportunities of Wyoming to be safe and relatively free of antisemitism.

From the mid-1950s to the mid-1970s, college education of Wyoming's Jewish youth was an expected norm. The comforts and success of Jewish life in Wyoming was now perceived as a possible liability for the immigrants' progeny. The entire baby-boom generation was encouraged by their parents to seek Jewish mates and professional career opportunities in locations other than the high plains. Intermarriage, divorce and a seeming lack of religious observance ran rampant among Wyoming's Jews, just as it did throughout most of America.

The end of the 20th century marked a new pattern of immigration and observance for Wyoming's Jews. No longer concerned with escaping the political and social persecutions of their ancestors, this new immigration is often comprised of people searching for the rewards of material success they have achieved in other places. Jackson Hole in the Grand Tetons is a prosperous second-home destination for those wanting a reprieve from the pressures of frenzied city life, and is the fastest-growing Jewish community in the state. James Wolfensohn, former head of the World Bank, and Alan Hirschfield, former president and CEO of Columbia Pictures, call Wyoming their home. Throughout the state, women no longer are content to silently witness ritual practices previously reserved for men only. And other long-time residents make conscious choices to live meaningful Jewish lives apart from an organized Jewish community.

Questions abound. Are the new Jews of Wyoming or merely in Wyoming? Are they observing real Judaism or inventing a new style that is far afield from the laws of the Torah? Is the strain and excitement of changing religious interpretation inherent to keeping Jewishness alive? Is it simply a divine right to be a Jew, regardless of the details? Answers vary, but it is certain, after more than 140 years on the high plains, that the Jews of Wyoming still find ways to keep themselves and their progeny ever-conscious of their Jewish lives. To those that have wandered in the wilderness for thousands of years, the landscape called Wyoming is familiar territory.

Institutional Data

The highest concentration of Jews in Wyoming is to be found in the areas surrounding Jackson, Casper, Cheyenne, and Laramie. There are synagogues in Casper and Cheyenne and ongoing official community gatherings in Jackson and Laramie. The University of Wyoming supports an active branch of Hillel. There is currently no full-time rabbi in the state, though Jackson brings in a rabbi monthly and on holidays. Cheyenne employs a part-time cantor and Casper and Cheyenne have weekly lay-led services. Laramie's community has monthly and holiday lay-led services. All communities bring in a trained rabbi or cantor for High Holy Day services. Casper, Jackson, and Cheyenne have sacred burial ground, with Cheyenne having an active *ḥevra kaddisha*. All communities have at least one Torah, women are counted in *minyanim*, and each has an education program for youth and adults. Cheyenne, the oldest congregation, has a stream-fed *mikveh* and a fully equipped kosher kitchen.

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[Penny Diane Wolin (2nd ed.)]

WYSZKOW (Pol. **Wyszków**), town in Warszawa province, eastern central Poland. The first Jews settled in Wyszkow in the late 18th century. In 1827 the Jewish population numbered 278 (29% of the population). Throughout the 19th century no restrictions were put on Jewish settlement, and in 1857 the Jewish population had reached 1,067 (67%). The wealthier Jews engaged in the timber trade and the brewing of beer; others engaged in tailoring, fishing, carpentry, tanning, haulage, and shopkeeping. In the late 19th century the community was influenced by the ḥasidic groups of *Aleksandrow and Gur (*Gora Kalwaria). In 1897 Wyszkow contained 3,207 Jews (64%). At the beginning of the 20th century a Jewish workers' union was formed, and during the uprisings of 1905 the Jewish youth organized *self-defense. A Jewish library opened in 1909. After the Red Army retreated in 1920, some officers of the Polish army accused the Jews of Wyszkow of treason, almost inciting a pogrom.

Between the two world wars Abraham Cytryn headed the "Bet Yosef" yeshivah, which had 250 students. There was a CYSHO school (see *Education) between 1925 and 1930 and a *Beth Jacob school. Jacob Aryeh Morgensztern, who later led the *Radzyn Ḥasidim, served as rabbi of the community until 1932. He was succeeded by his son, David Shelomo Morgensztern, who was killed in the Holocaust. Economic competition in the 1930s caused an increase in antisemitism. Mordecai *Anielewicz, commander of the Warsaw ghetto uprising, originated from Wyszkow.

[Arthur Cygielman]

Holocaust Period

At the outbreak of World War II there were about 5,000 Jews in the town. The German army entered Wyszkow on Sept. 11, 1939, and organized anti-Jewish riots in which 65 Jews were shot. A few days later, the entire Jewish population was expelled and forced to move eastward into Soviet-occupied territory. After the Warsaw ghetto uprising, the survivors of the Jewish Fighters' Organization formed a partisan unit named after Mordecai Anielewicz that operated in the forests near Wyszkow. After the war, no Jewish community was reconstituted in Wyszkow.

[Stefan Krakowski]

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WYSZOGROD (Pol. **Wyszogród**; Yid. **Vishegrod**), town in Warszawa province, eastern central Poland. A Jewish settlement in Wyszogrod is mentioned for the first time in 1422, when Jews received authorization from Prince Ziemowit IV (c. 1352–1426) to engage in commerce and crafts and to establish their own institutions. During the 16th century Jews established workshops for weaving. In the second half of the

18th century a synagogue was erected, built of stone in the late baroque style according to plans by the architect David Friedlander; it was destroyed by the Nazis in 1939. In 1765 the 684 Jews paid the poll tax, and 1,410 Jews paid the poll tax in 208 surrounding villages. The community numbered 2,883 (90% of the total population) in 1808; 2,458 (73%) in 1827; and 2,841 (74%) in 1857. From the mid–19th century many Jews moved from Wyszogrod to Plock and Warsaw; in 1897 there were 2,735 (66%) Jews in the town and in 1921, 2,465 (about 57%). During the 1920s eight of the 12 members of the municipal council were Jews. Because of the town's location on Poland's principal waterway, the Vistula River, Jews there engaged in interurban trade. Their position deteriorated, however, on the eve of World War II as a result of antisemitic pressure and boycott propaganda. N. *Sokolow was born in Wyszogrod. The last rabbis to hold office were David Bornstein (until 1922) and Naphtali Spivak, both of whom died in the Holocaust.

[Shimshon Leib Kirshenboim]

Holocaust Period

At the outbreak of World War II there were about 2,700 Jews in Wyszogrod. On Nov. 19, 1942, the Jewish community was liquidated when the Jews were expelled to Czerwinsk and Nowy Dwor, and from there deported to the *Treblinka death camp. After the war the Jewish community was not reconstituted.

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WYZANSKI, CHARLES EDWARD, JR. (1906–1986), U.S. jurist. Born in Boston, Massachusetts, Wyzanski received his A.B. from Harvard College in 1927 and his LL.B. from Harvard Law School in 1930. He served as law clerk to Judge Augustus N. Hand and Judge Learned Hand, practiced law in Boston, and then joined the New Deal Administration of President Franklin D. Roosevelt as solicitor, later serving as acting secretary of labor in the Department of Labor (1933–35). From 1935 to 1937 he was on the staff of the solicitor general, arguing the constitutionality of the Wagner National Labor Relations Act and the Social Security Act. Named U.S. district judge for the district of Massachusetts, he took his seat in 1942, becoming the first Jewish judge of the United States District Court of Massachusetts. In 1966 he was elevated chief judge of the court and served in that capacity until 1971, when he assumed senior status.

Wyzanski served as president of the board of overseers of Harvard University and, from 1952, was a trustee of the Ford Foundation. In the role of teacher, Wyzanski was a lecturer in government at Harvard University (1942–43) and in law at Massachusetts Institute of Technology (1949–50) and Stanford University (1949–51). In 1974 he was a professor of law at Columbia University.

Wyzanski received many public and academic honors. His essays have been collected under the title *Whereas: A Judge's Premises* (1965; paperback repr., *New Meaning of Justice*). He contributed to the *Harvard Law Review* and other professional and popular magazines. Considered one of the ablest judges on the federal bench, Wyzanski's decisions were respected as far-reaching and erudite. He believed that, although it was important to learn the principles of the law, it was even more necessary to accept the challenge of understanding them. In his analysis of the Nuremberg Trials in 1946, he noted that law is not power but restraint on power, a maxim he endeavored to apply in his legal thinking.

Harvard established the Judge Charles Wyzanski Award, a prize given to students who are interested in the law, vigorous conversation, and theoretical and practical issues of justice.

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[Julius J. Marcke / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

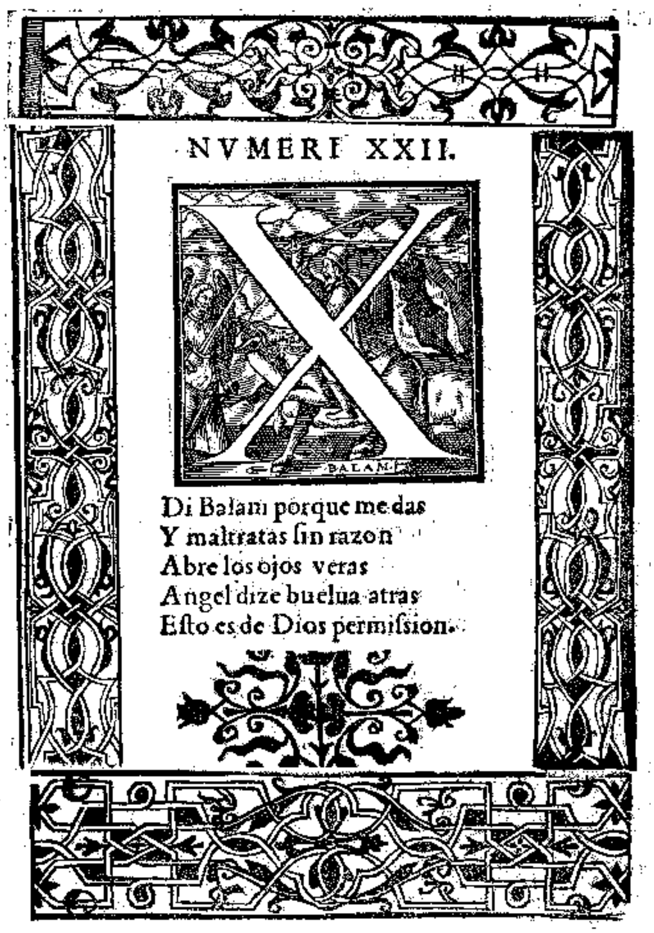

NVMERI XXII.

Di Balam porque me das
Y maltratas ſin razon
Abre los ojos veras
Angel dize buelua atras
Eſto es de Dios permiſsion.

The letter "X" is set against an illustration of the story of Balaam and his ass (Num. 22), with a rhyme in which the animal asks his master why he is maltreating him. Page from a book of designs for the alphabet, Libro en el quell hay muchas suertas de letras historiada … *by Juan de Yciar, Saragossa Spain, 1955, London, British Museum, c. 53, c. 24 fol. 15r.*

Xa-Xi

XANTEN, town in Germany. The first documentary evidence for the presence of Jews in Xanten dates from the period of the First *Crusade when Jews from *Cologne sought refuge there. On June 27, 1096, the crusaders reached Xanten as well, and some 60 Jews were either killed or had committed suicide. Among the martyrs were Moses ha-Kohen, rabbi of Xanten, and an unidentified proselyte. In 1197 the Rhenish communities paid the bishop for permission to bury the six martyrs of Neuss in the Xanten cemetery. Though Jewish moneylenders were found in Xanten in the 13th century, the market day was held on the Sabbath so as to exclude Jews from trade (1236). The community suffered badly during the *Black Death persecutions of 1349. Reports from the 15th and 16th centuries point to Jewish activity as moneylenders. In the 17th and 18th centuries there were apparently only small numbers of Jews in Xanten. From 1690 Xanten was the meeting place for the Rhenish Jewish Diet and in 1787 a special building, which also contained a synagogue, was set aside for the assembly's meetings. In 1860 the community had its own elementary school; in 1890 it counted 85 persons. A butcher and former *shoḥet*, Adolf Wolff Buschoff of Xanten, was the victim of a blood *libel in 1892. Accused by a Catholic of murdering a Christian boy, a charge taken up by the antisemitic press, Buschoff was arrested but then discharged for lack of evidence. A debate in the Prussian Diet, which gave the antisemite A. *Stoecker an opportunity to fulminate against the Jews, resulted in the arrest of Buschoff for a second time; but a jury at Cleves found him innocent (1892). The community did not survive this agitation and gradually decreased to 30 persons (9.6 percent of the population) in 1916 and 14 in 1930. The synagogue was destroyed by the Nazis in November 1938.

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XANTHI (**Ksanthi**, **Xanthie**, **Eskedje**), city located in northeastern Greece in the region of Greek Thrace between Drama and Cuomotini. This town in the past has had the reputation for producing the best tobacco in the world.

At the beginning of the 20th century, several Jewish families came to the city from Adrianople, Didymoteikhon, and Salonika. In 1913, they established a Jewish community there. The Jews spoke Judeo-Spanish and only in 1926 did they establish a synagogue. In 1924, the Jewish community represented by David Arditis, Abraham Tabach, Abraham Bellos, and Yehuda Cohen purchased a plot of land for a synagogue and community center at the junction of Anatolikis Thrakis Street and Stavrou Hadjistavrou Street. The basilica of the synagogue was influenced by the Reform synagogues of Europe and the Great Synagogue of Edirne. Next to the synagogue was a two-floor community center, where the school was on the ground floor, the first floor was for the office of the headmaster, and the second floor housed the community center. The Sephardi Jewish community of Xanthi was a central cultural community for the Jews of Thrace.

In 1913, after the Balkan wars, Xanthi was annexed to Bulgaria. In 1913, there were 1,290 Jews in the area of Xanthi. Under the Bulgarians, a branch of the organization Hahistadrut leSafa veLeTarbut Ivrit (The Federation for the Hebrew Language and Culture), which was founded in Bulgaria in 1914, was started in Xanthi. In 1918, in Xanthi a branch of Kadima was formed for the dissemination of the Hebrew language and culture and to educate toward Jewish nationalism through Hebrew language, Hebrew literature, Jewish history, and Ereẓ Israel geography classes. The branch also organized literary evenings, hikes, and parties, started a library, and translated material from Bulgarian and Hebrew to Judeo-Spanish. It had 55 members, most of whom were graduates of the Jewish French Alliance Israélite Universelle school system.

Many of the Jews were tobacco workers, artisans, and small merchants. The Jewish community had two philanthropic organizations: Agudat Bikur Holim and Agudat Nashim, a women's organization.

After World War I, in 1919, Greek sovereignty replaced Bulgarian rule. During the Bulgarian retreat, the Bulgarians accused the Jews of having received the Greek army joyfully. One of the Bulgarian newspapers exploited this accusation and attacked all of Bulgarian Jewry. In 1919, there were 70–74 Jewish families (some 300–350 people). During the Asia Minor war of 1922, the community had 700 members. At the beginning of the 1920s, it was estimated that 250 Jewish families lived in relative prosperity. Most Jews lived in the poor neighborhood of Pournali or Pournari, the wealthier Jews lived in Ano Poli (Upper Town).

In 1910, Mois Bassat, an anti-Zionist assistant principal of Alliance Israélite Universelle schools, changed his outlook, became a Zionist, and was chosen as president of the new B'nai Zion Zionist league in Xanthi.

In the early 1920s, the Zionist organization B'nai Zion was active, led by the dentist Isaac de Botton. From time to time, the organization raised money for the Jewish National Fund. In 1922, Isaac de Botton edited the Judeo-Spanish Zionist newspaper *La Fuerza*. In 1924, he published the Judeo-Spanish periodical *El Progresso*. The periodicals wrote on local and regional events, and news from the Jewish world. On the occasion of the inauguration of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem in 1925, he issued *Leumi* (National) in Judeo-Spanish. In 1922 the youth of the community organized into the Zionist HaTikva sport organization. In the mid-1920s, a Jewish scout troop organized in Xanthi, and they eventually allied with the Salonikan Jewish Boy Scout Chapter Maccabee. There was also a Jewish youth theater group, which was highly praised in the local press, and a Music and Sports Association. The community also had the club Cercle Israélite.

In 1923, Yitzhak Daniel was named the honorary president of the Jewish community, and David Arditti was president. Another six men were on the Executive Committee, as well as the chief rabbi Haim ben Avraham and school principal Yitzhak Meshulam. The Executive Committee determined community dues, and appointed members to committees that dealt with Bikur Holim, the synagogue, and education. The community received an annual allotment from the municipality for operating expenses, and the Ministry of Public Education via the governor general of Thrace contributed an annual sum for religious institutions and communal education. The next communal rabbi was Avraham Haviv for most of the 1920s, followed by Rabbi Raphael Nissim Latin.

In the early 1920s, the new Jewish school had 44 boys and 67 girls. The students paid tuition and there were teachers for Greek and French. Yitzhak Meshulam was the principal. In the absence of Hebrew, which was criticized in the Zionist organ *La Fuerza,* it was decided to give the management of the school to the Alliance Israélite Universelle, and Avraham Benveniste of Salonika was hired to be principal and French teacher. In 1924, 150 children were enrolled in the school. In the early 1930s, during the depression, the construction of a school ran into financial problems, and in 1934 the Bank of Athens proposed to sell the school structure in a public auction. The community went into action, found financial help from private businessmen like Karl Shefer, and businesses, and managed to pay the bank. The new principal was Vitali Matalon, who also taught French. The Zionists demanded that Hebrew be taught and that it be taught by members of the Zionist organizations Hatze'irim Hayehudim, which was founded in 1934 and had 80 members, and HaTikva. In 1936, after a court case involving the Jewish community and the widow of the deceased, the community finally received the estate of the tobacco worker Yitzhak Daniel, who died in 1924. A large sum of 1,200,000 drachmas was to be divided as follows: 200,000 for the building of the synagogue, 500,000 for the land for a synagogue, and a scholarship fund of 500,000 for scholarships for two students annually.

In 1937, during the Metaxas dictatorship in Greece, the school received an increased allocation from the government, and solved the school's water shortage problems by putting in a water system. On the other hand, the same nationalist government in the same year ordered that weekly hours for the instruction of Judaism be cut, including the teaching of Hebrew, religion, and history. In 1938, the community was further enraged when, within a few days, the government ordered the school to collect all religious books, i.e., prayer books, weekly Torah portion lessons, holiday *maḥzor* prayer books, psalm books, Midrashim, and commentaries on *Me'am Loez*.

Three major tobacco companies in Xanthi belonged to Jews: Commercial, Herman Spearer, and David Arditis' company, which manufactured cigarettes. Jews also worked in the flour industry, the textile trade, ready-made clothes, haberdashery, leather accessories, and other industries.

In 1934 Leon Amarilio sat on the Municipal Council, and in 1938, David Attas was president of the Jewish community.

In 1934 the community numbered 1,100, but by World War II the community only numbered 120–140 families (600 people).

In April 1941, Xanthi was occupied by the Bulgarians, allies of the Nazis, who already decided in December 1940 to implement anti-Jewish legislation and the Nuremberg laws. The Bulgarian military forces began pillaging and plundering the Jews.

The Jews were compelled to wear the yellow Star of David, and they were forbidden to work in their professions in commerce and industry.

Jews had to mark their homes with a sign stating they were Jews. They could not leave the city and they had a nightly curfew. Gangs robbed Jewish stores and there were random checks in Jewish houses. Communication with the outside world was blocked and the Bulgarian government confiscated Jewish property. On February 22, 1943, the Bulgarian commissar for Jewish affairs, Alexander Belev, came to Xanthi to supervise deportation plans and preparations. At midnight March 4, 1943, the Bulgarians arrested 550 Jews in Xanthi and took them to a tobacco warehouse on 1 Salaminas Street. Only six escaped from the internment. The day of the arrest, the local tobacco merchant Yehuda Perahia was in Cavalla and managed to escape to Salonika. They were transferred to Drama by trucks and from there they were loaded on trains to Dupnitza in Bulgaria and were exposed to horrid conditions. Then on March 19, 1943 they were sent to Lom by train and from there taken by boat to Vienna and then sent by train to Treblinka where they met their deaths. The Bulgarians looted Jewish homes and shops. After the liberation, Yehuda Perahia returned to Xanthi and resumed his job as the head of a commercial tobacco company. He eventually donated his Judeo-Spanish newspaper collection from before World War II Salonika to the Ben-Zvi Institute Library in Israel. He would pray in Cavalla on holidays. In the 1960s the members of the family of Jak Cazes left the city to migrate to Israel.

In 1963, the community center was sold to the Boy Scouts. The dilapidated synagogue building in Xanthi was sold in 1992 and demolished in 1995. The cemetery is still on Xanthis-Diomidias Street beyond the train tracks. It is walled, but abandoned, and contains a few graves dating after 1923.

On March 3, 2001, the Municipality of Xanthi organized a memorial event for the annihilated Jews and the next day a memorial plaque was put in a wall in the tobacco warehouse at 1 Salaminas Street, to remind the local residents of the forced exodus of the Jews from there, their removal from the city, and the end of the Jewish community. Thomas Exarhos' book in Greek on the Jews of Xanthi, published by the Cultural and Development Center of Thrace, was presented within the framework of the special events.

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[Yitzchak Kerem (2nd ed.)]

XENOPHON OF LAMPSACUS (second century B.C.E.), author of a fanciful travel book in Greek. He has been identified with Xenophon, author of a guide to Syria, quoted anonymously on the subject of Jerusalem's topography in Eusebius, *Praeparatio Evangelica*, 9:36.

XIMENES, SIR DAVID (1776–1848), English army officer. Born in London, into a distinguished Jewish family, Ximenes joined the British army and served in North America. He returned to Britain in 1805 and commanded the 62nd Regiment in Ireland. He later fought in Italy, Spain, and Portugal. Ximenes was knighted in 1832 and retired with the rank of lieutenant general in 1847. He had no direct connection with the Jewish community.

ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY: J. Picciotto, *Sketches of Anglo-Jewish History* (1875), 303–4.

XIMENES, SIR MORRIS (**Moses**; c. 1762–1837), English magnate. Born in London, Xiemenes was a member of the Stock Exchange and made a fortune. In 1792 he was the leading spirit in an unsuccessful expedition, partly composed of and mainly supported by London Sephardim, for the colonization of the island of Bulama off the west African coast. In 1802 he declined to serve as warden of the Bevis Marks synagogue and was converted to Anglicanism. During the Peninsular War (1812–15) Xiimenes raised and commanded a brigade of Wargrave Rangers. He acquired a country estate and built a mansion at Bear Place in Berkshire. Ximenes became a captain of militia, sheriff of Berkshire, and a knight. He is mentioned by name in Frederick Marryat's novel *Olla Porida* (1841) as the only well-known person in England whose name began with an "x." He was the brother of Sir David *Ximenes.

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[Cecil Roth / William D. Rubinstein (2nd ed.)]

XIMENES (**Ish Yemeni**), **SOLOMON MORDECAI** (d. 1825), Sephardi rabbi. Ximenes' antecedents are unknown, but from

1769 to 1770 he served as the last Hakham of the Sephardi community of Hamburg, succeeding Jacob Bassan. Later he entered the service of the London Sephardi community as a teacher and member of its *bet din* and gave expert evidence of Jewish marriage law in lawsuits in 1793 and 1798. His views embroiled him in disputes with the community; he expressed contrition in December 1804 but was again at loggerheads with it in 1811. In 1800 he published in London Part 1 of his bizarre work *The Expected Good end … containing the birth of Jacob, his dream of the ladder, various objections on some of the verses of King Solomon. Some observations on the structure of the Tabernacle. Temple of Solomon …, etc.* He was active in Freemasonry. He hebraized his name to Ish Yemeni.

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XIMENES (JIMENES) DE CISNEROS, FRANCISCO (originally Gonzales, 1436–1517), ecclesiastical statesman and regent of Castile from 1516 to 1517. After studying at Salamanca and Rome until 1465, Ximenes claimed the archpriesthood of Uceda, despite the archbishop of Toledo's wish that he resign; he was consequently imprisoned for six years. Inflexible resolution and personal austerity characterized his career. He joined the Franciscans, becoming Queen Isabella's confessor in 1492, archbishop of Toledo and chancellor of Castile in 1495, and grand inquisitor and cardinal under Ferdinand in 1507. He died hours after his dismissal by the youthful Charles v.

Ximenes, allegedly with the help of Jews, captured Oran in 1509 while crusading against the Moors of Africa. Although he was an unrelenting inquisitor of lapsed "New Christians" (2,500 were burned during his office), he strove to check inquisitional abuses (extortionism, immorality, etc.), but could not enforce central registration of "familiars" or gangs maintained by the inspectors. Since inquisitional charges without the naming of witnesses were preferred, defense was hampered; when the New Christians offered Charles (as they had earlier with Ferdinand) 800,000 crowns to reform the procedure, the monarch refused, dissuaded by Ximenes' intervention.

Conversos suffered no discrimination at the university founded in 1500 by Ximenes at Alcalá de Henares (Latin, "Complutum") – the site of his early schooling – unlike the situation at other Spanish universities. The "Complutensian Polyglot" Bible (6 vols., 1513–17), produced through Ximenes' personal initiative and patronage, was the first Bible with parallel Hebrew, Greek, Latin, and (for the Pentateuch) Aramaic texts; a Hebrew vocabulary was appended. For this work, significant manuscripts and competent editorship were sought, the latter from among converted Jews (Alfonso de *Zamora, Pablo Coronel, Alfonso de Alcalá). Four of the Hebrew codices utilized survived, but the form of the text presupposes also manuscripts from no later than the ninth century with the simpler Babylonian punctuation. These were apparently sold as waste to a fireworks maker in 1739, but their survival in Spain until the expulsion testifies to the strong Babylonian influence on medieval Spanish Jewry.

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[Raphael Loewe]

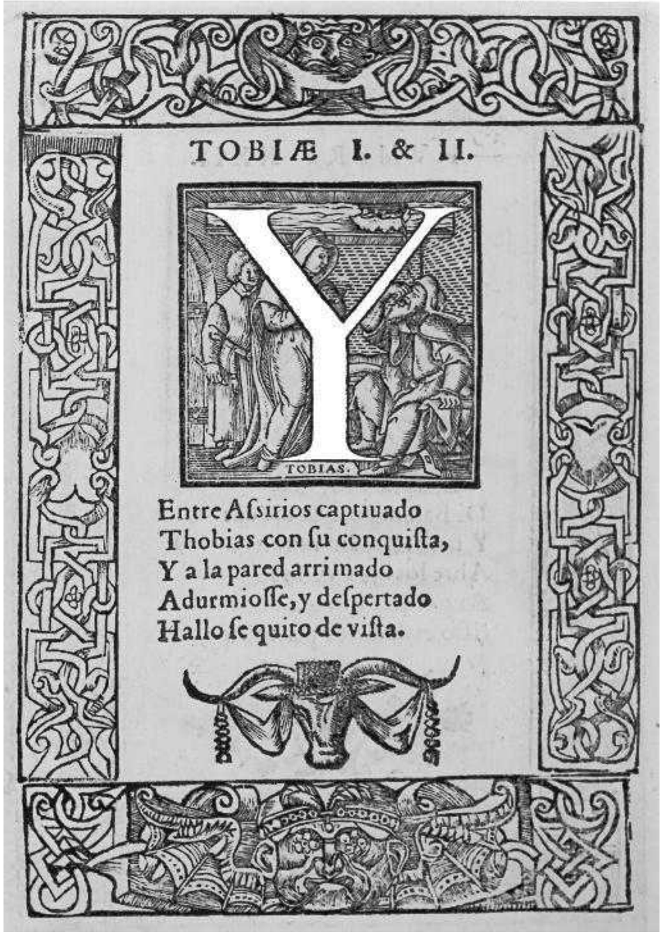

TOBIÆ I. & II.

TOBIAS.

Entre Aſsirios captiuado
Thobias con ſu conquiſta,
Y a la pared arrimado
Adurmioſſe, y deſpertado
Hallo ſe quito de viſta.

The letter "Y" set against an illustration of Tobit awakening to find himself blind (Tob. 2:9–10), with a rhyme describing the event. Page from a book of designs for the alphabet, Libro en el quell hay muchas suertas de letras historiada … *by Juan de Yciar, Saragossa Spain, 1955, London, British Museum, c. 53, c. 24 fol. 15v.*

Ya-Yz

YA'ACOBI, GAD (1935–), Israeli politician, member of the Seventh to Twelfth Knessets. Ya'acobi was born in Kefar Vitkin where he attended high school. After serving in the IDF in 1953–56, he studied economics and political science at Tel Aviv University and completed an M.A. in economics in 1959. Ya'acobi was assistant to Minister of Agriculture Moshe *Dayan in 1960–61, and headed the Agricultural Planning and Development Center in the Ministry of Agriculture (1961–66). In 1965 he was one of the founders of the *Rafi Party, and in 1966–69 was a member of the Histadrut Central Committee, and of the Ḥevrat ha-Ovedim Executive. In 1967 he participated in the Harvard University International Seminar, headed by Professor Henry *Kissinger. Ya'acobi became a member of the Labor Party Bureau in 1968, when the party was first established. He was first elected to the Seventh Knesset in 1969, and served as deputy minister of transportation under Golda *Meir in 1969–74, and as minister of transportation under Yitzhak *Rabin in 1974–77. In 1977–84, when the Labor Alignment was in opposition, he served as chairman of the Knesset Economics Committee and as chairman of the Socioeconomic Committee of the Labor party. In 1980–82 he taught political science at Haifa University.

In the National Unity Government formed in 1984 Ya'acobi was appointed minister of economics and inter-ministerial coordination. He later changed the name of his ministry to the Ministry of Economic Planning. In this position Ya'acobi stood behind the organization of the Task Force established together with Jewish businessmen from abroad to encourage investments in Israel. After making numerous proposals over the years for electoral reform, soon after the formation of the National Unity Government he was appointed chairman of a joint Labor-Likud Committee on electoral reform that proposed changing the Israeli electoral system to a mixed system in which half the Knesset members would be elected in multi-member constituencies and the other half on the basis of proportional representation. However, while the reform was approved by the Labor Central Committee, it was rejected by that of the Likud, and the idea was buried. In 1987, following the resignation of Amnon *Rubinstein from the Ministry of Communications, Ya'acobi was appointed in his place, and continued to serve in this position from 1988 until March 1990 when the Labor Party left the National Unity Government. After Ya'acobi failed to be elected to the Thirteenth Knesset, he was appointed by Minister for Foreign Affairs Shimon *Peres as Israel's permanent representative to the United Nations, serving in this position in 1992–96. Next he served as chairman of the board of directors of the Israel Electric Corporation until 1998, and in 2000–03 was chairman of the Ports and Railways Authority. Ya'acobi started teaching political science at Tel Aviv University in 1998, and from 2003 taught at the Interdisciplinary Center in Herzliyyah. He was a member of the Ben-Gurion Foundation, the Rabin Center, the Alterman Foundation, and served on the boards of directors of several corporations.

In addition to having written numerous books on politics and reminiscences, Ya'acobi has written three children's books, poetry, and articles in the press. Among his works are *The Government of Israel* (1982) and an autobiography, *Ḥesed ha-Zeman* (2002).

[Susan Hattis Rolef (2nd ed.)]

YA'ALEH VE-YAVO (Heb. יַעֲלֶה וְיָבֹא; "may [our remembrance] arise and come … before Thee"), the name of the additional prayer recited on the new moon and on festivals, during the evening, morning, and afternoon *Amidah* (with the exception of Rosh Ha-Shanah and the Day of Atonement), and during the *Grace after Meals. First mentioned in the Talmud (Ber. 29b; Sof. 19:7), its style is similar to that of the early *paytanim*. The name is derived from a phrase in its opening line. Specific mention is made of the occasion on which it is said (e.g., "this day of Passover") in the body of the request for "deliverance, happiness, grace, kindness, mercy, life, and peace." According to Rashi, it is also a "supplication for Israel and for Jerusalem, and for the reinstitution of the Temple service and of the sacrifices of the day" (Rashi to Shab. 24a). For this reason the prayer is recited during the 17th benediction in the *Amidah* and the third in the Grace after Meals, which deal with those subjects. The problem as to whether its omission during the recital of either of these benedictions requires that it be repeated is answered differently according to the occasion and the festival (Sh. Ar., OḤ 424: 1). In communal worship, when in the course of this prayer the reader recites the phrases "remember us O Lord our God, thereon for good," "be mindful of us for blessing," and "save us unto life," it is customary for the congregation to respond to each with "Amen."

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YA'ALON, MOSHE (1950–), 17th chief of staff of the IDF; known by the nickname Boogie. Ya'alon was born in Israel as Moshe Smolansky. He was a member of the No'ar ha-Oved ve-ha-Lomed youth movement and joined kibbutz Gerofit. During the Yom Kippur War he fought on the southern front as part of the paratroop reserves. After the war he rejoined the army and underwent officer training. From 1974 to 1978 he commanded a platoon and company in the Naḥal brigade. In 1978 he commanded the paratroop reconnaissance unit in the Litani operation in Lebanon. In 1986 he was promoted to colonel and given command of the elite General Headquarters reconnaissance unit, while in 1990 he was given command of the paratroop brigade. Subsequent command positions included Judea and Samaria, Army Intelligence, and the Central Command. In 2000 he became deputy chief of staff and in 2002 chief of staff, serving just three years, without the customary one-year extension, against the background of his opposition to Sharon's Gaza disengagement plan. During his service as chief of staff, the IDF had to contend with the second Intifada and terrorist attacks on Israel's civilian population. During his long service he completed a B.A. in political science at Haifa University.

[Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

YAARI, ABRAHAM (1899–1966), bibliographer, historian, translator, and librarian. Yaari, brother of Yehudah *Yaari, was born in eastern Galicia and settled in Palestine in 1920. He taught at a Tel Aviv school, and worked in the Hebrew National and University Library from 1925. Beginning his literary career by publishing reviews and articles on education, Yaari later specialized in literary studies, bibliography, and the history of Jewish settlement in Palestine. He rediscovered little-known Hebrew books, especially those printed in the Oriental countries, see e.g., his *Reshimat Sifrei Ladino* (1934) and *Ha-Defus ha-Ivri be-Arẓot ha-Mizraḥ* (1936–40). He published letters, memoirs, travel descriptions from hitherto unknown manuscripts, and many bibliographies which he supplemented by comprehensive introductions.

Among Yaari's works are *Sheluḥei Ereẓ Yisrael* (1951), a comprehensive anthology concerning the emissaries of Ereẓ Israel; *Iggerot Ereẓ Yisrael* (1934, 1950^2), an anthology of letters relating to Ereẓ Israel from the Babylonian Exile to modern times; *Diglei ha-Madpisim ha-Ivriyyim* (1943), about Hebrew printers' marks; *Zikhronot Ereẓ Yisrael* (2 vols., 1947), 120 memoirs from the 17th–20th centuries in Palestine (abridged English version, *The Goodly Heritage*, 1958); *Ha-Maḥazeh ha-Ivri ha-Mekori ve-ha-Meturgam…* (1956^2), a bibliography of plays presented in Hebrew and in Hebrew translation; *Bibliografyah shel Haggadot Pesaḥ* (1960), a major work describing 2,717 different editions of the Passover *Haggadah; Toledot Ḥag Simḥat Torah* (1964), describing customs of the festival in various communities in different eras; and the posthumously published *Ha-Defus ha-Ivri be-Kushta* (1967), a history of Hebrew printing in Constantinople (Istanbul) from 1504. He also translated many writers into Hebrew and was one of the editors of the bibliographical journal *Kiryat Sefer*.

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YA'ARI (Wald), ME'IR (1897–1987), ideologist and leader of *Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir and *Mapam; member of the First to Seventh Knessets. Ya'ari was born in Rzeszow, Galicia. He moved to Vienna before the outbreak of World War I, and volunteered for the Austrian army at the age of 17, serving as an officer until the end of the war. In 1919 Ya'ari began agricultural training on the estate of a Jewish landowner near Vienna. He joined one of the first groups that constituted Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir in Vienna, which at the time combined romanticism with Martin *Buber's philosophy and Gustav *Landauer's socialism. In 1920 Ya'ari settled in Palestine, living at first in Kinneret, where he participated in the construction of the Tiberias-Ẓemaḥ and Tiberias-Tabgha roads. Later he lived in Upper Bitania with a group of friends who engaged in hard physical labor. The nightly conversations there eventually evolved into the collection of essays titled *Kehilliyyatenu* ("Our Community"), describing the conflict between the romantic Zionist dreams and the harsh reality of Ereẓ Israel.

As the leading ideologist of Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir Ya'ari was largely responsible for changing it from a romantic youth movement into an indigenous political and educational body with a defined Left-wing ideological platform. For close to half a century he played a key role in forging the basic principle of "ideological collectivism," stating that the *kibbutz could not exist unless it was based on collectivism, in the economic, socio-cultural, and ideological-political spheres.

Ya'ari adhered to Ber *Borochov's doctrine of a synthesis between settlement work and class struggle, and attempted to base Mapam, established in 1948, on "an alliance between city workers and agricultural settlements." Although for many years Ya'ari, who was a Marxist, openly and emphatically supported the socialism of the Soviet Union, he denounced its injustices, and voiced his criticism of the Soviet attitude toward Soviet Jewry, and toward Zionism. Ya'ari was the first secretary general of Mapam, serving in this position from 1948 to 1971. He was first elected to the First Knesset as the leader of Mapam. By the mid-1950s, following the doctors' trials in Moscow, and Mordechai Oren's trial in Prague, he became increasingly disenchanted with Soviet socialism. After the 1967 Six-Day War he strongly supported the alignment of Mapam with the *Israel Labor Party, and in his last Knesset – the Seventh Knesset elected in 1969 – ran on the Alignment list. He supported the Alignment until 1984, when the Labor Party decided to join a National Unity Government with the Likud.

Among his writings are *Be-Meri Vikku'aḥ* ("In the Revolt of Debate," 1940); *Be-Derekh Arukah* ("The Long Road," 1947); *Ketavim* ("Writings," 1947); *Kibbutz ha-Galuyot ba-Aspaklaryah shel Yameinu* ("Ingathering of the Exiles in Our Time," 1954); *Mivḥanei Dorenu* ("Trials of Our Generation," 1957); *Be-Siman Aḥdut ve-Aẓma'ut* ("For Unity and Independence," 1968); and *Ba-Ma'avak le-Amal Meshuḥrar* ("In the Struggle for Freed Labor," 1972).

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[Jacob Amit / Susan Hattis Rolef (2nd ed.)]

YAARI, MENAḤEM (1935–), Israeli economist. Yaari was born in Jerusalem and studied at the Hebrew University and Stanford University in California. A professor of mathematical economics at the Hebrew University, Yaari was director of its Institute for Advanced Studies between 1985 and 1992. From 1991 he was a member of Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities and served as a vice president in 1994–95. In 1992–97 he was president of the Open University. In 1999 he became chairman of the Jerusalem Music Center Executive Committee. Yaari published papers on subjects such as consumerism under conditions of uncertainty, the allotment of resources over time, and insurance and economic justice. In 1987 he received the Israel Prize for economics. In 1994 he was awarded the Rothschild Prize in social sciences.

YAARI, YEHUDAH (1900–1982), Hebrew writer; brother of Abraham *Yaari. Born in Galicia, Yaari joined the Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir movement, and in 1920 emigrated to Palestine. He worked in Ruḥamah and Kiryat Anavim, as well as on the building of the Afulah-Nazareth highway. He became one of the founders of the first Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir kibbutz, eventually settling with the group in Bet Alfa. In 1926 he left the kibbutz and moved to Jerusalem, where he was employed at the National Library. He studied librarianship in New York (1928–30), and afterward took on a teaching post in Canada (1931–33). On his return to Palestine, he was appointed to a position in the head office of the Keren Hayesod, which he held until 1955. From 1955 to 1957 he was cultural attaché at the Israel Legation in Sweden and other Scandinavian countries. He served as director of the Department for Cultural Relations of the Foreign Ministry (1957–61) and as consul general in Amsterdam (1961–62). Yaari is one of the representative writers of the Third Aliyah, depicting the lives and struggles of those Jews who went to Ereẓ Israel after World War I. In his novels and stories he recreates the figures of the devoted young *ḥalutzim* who cleared the swamps of the Ḥuleh in the Galilee (as Yaari himself did). But his ties to Europe are still strong, and he contrasts the destruction of the *shtetl with the rise of the new settlement in Palestine. His publications include the novels *Ka-Or Yahel* (1932; *When the Candle was Burning*, 1947) *Shoresh alei Mayim* (1950), and several collections of short stories.

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[Getzel Kressel]

YAD (Heb. יָד). The word *yad*, in addition to its primary meaning of "hand," has three secondary meanings in Hebrew.

(1) The pointer used by the reader to indicate the place during the reading of the Torah (see *Torah Ornaments). The *yad*, however, of which there are many artistic designs, is more than an ornament. In order to ensure that the scroll would not be touched by the bare hands because of its sanctity, the rabbis enacted that hands which touch the scroll (see *Sefer Torah) become unclean in the second degree (Yad. 3:2 and 4:6, where Rabban Johanan b. Zakkai answers the satirical question of the Sadducees about this apparently paradoxical law that the holiest of articles should render unclean). Although the laws of ritual cleanness no longer apply, the Talmud states "He who holds a *Sefer Torah* naked will be buried naked" (Shab. 14a), and as a result the *yad* was introduced.

(2) A memorial or a monument (cf. Isaiah 56:5). In II Sam. 18:18 it is stated, "Now Absalom in his lifetime had taken and set up for himself a pillar which is in the king's valley… and he called the pillar after his own name and it is called the Yad of *Absalom unto this day." On this basis the word is used in modern Hebrew for memorial. It is, however, largely applied to a memorial institution rather than to a monument. Thus the institution set up in Jerusalem to commemorate the victims of the Nazi Holocaust is called *Yad Vashem, the memorials for fallen soldiers Yad la-Banim, and for individuals, Yad Ben-Zvi, Yad ha-Rav Herzog, and so on.

(3) The *Mishneh Torah* of Maimonides is most commonly referred to as the Yad, the first word of the phrase "*yad ha-ḥazakah*" (the "mighty hand" – cf. Deut. 34:12). Maimonides did not give this name to the work. It refers to the fact that it contains 14 books, the numerical equivalent of *yad* being 14.

[Louis Isaac Rabinowitz]

YADAYIM (Heb. יָדַיִם), tractate in the order *Tohorot – Mishnah and Tosefta – dealing with the laws of washing the hands (see *Ablution) and their ritual impurity. The Mishnah contains four chapters.

The first deals with the quantity of water needed, and the vessels and water suitable for washing the hands. The second chapter discusses invalid washing of hands, the part of the hand to which the law of impurity applies, and doubtful cases of impurity of the hands. Chapters 3 and 4 deal with the *halakhot* of impure hands, in particular with the Holy Scriptures that "render the hands ritually unclean" (see *Ablution). Included in this is the question of whether the Songs of Songs and Ecclesiastes render the hands unclean. As this was one of the problems which occupied the attention of the sages "on that day" (when they appointed Eleazar b. *Azariah (3:5 in place of the *nasi* Rabban *Gamaliel), many other *halakhot* are included which have nothing to do with impurity of hands but were discussed "on that day" (4:1–4), since they were all found together in the source before Judah I *("Rabbi"). For the same reason when at the end of the tractate (4:6) a dispute is cited between the Pharisees and the Sadducees about holy writings rendering the hands impure there are added three other disputes between the Pharisees, Sadducees, and Judeo-Christians (4:7–8). As a result *Yadayim* contains valuable sources for the problem of the establishment of the biblical canon and the history of the *halakhah*.

The Tosefta contains two chapters. Chapter 1 and the beginning of chapter 2 (1–8) are parallel to chapters 1 and 2 of the Mishnah, but they include many *halakhot* not mentioned in the Mishnah and at times their order differs from that of the Mishnah. On the other hand the second part of the Tosefta (2:9–20), corresponding to chapters 3 and 4 of the Mishnah, is poorer. It contains mainly *beraitot* parallel to the Mishnah or adding a few details to it. At the end of the tractate (2:20) there are preserved two more disputes on the Second Temple period that are of great historical importance; one between the Pharisees and the Boethusians, the second between the Pharisees and the *tovelei shaḥarit* ("the morning bathers"; see *Ablution).

[Moshe David Herr]

YAD ḤANNAH (Heb. יַד חַנָּה), two kibbutzim in central Israel near Tūl Karm, founded as a single settlement in 1950 by Ha-Kibbutz ha-Me'uḥad. The members, immigrants from Hungary and Israel-born youth, split in 1954 into two parts. One, affiliated with the Israel Communist Party, maintains the existing village and constitutes the only communist-affiliated settlement in the country. The group remaining with Ha-Kibbutz ha-Me'uḥad built Yad Ḥannah Bet in the vicinity. Both settlements were exposed border outposts until the Six-Day *War (1967). Both kibbutzim had economies based on irrigated field and fodder crops, citrus groves, flower cultivation, and other branches. In the mid-1990s, the kibbutz affiliated with the Communists had 76 inhabitants, while the kibbutz belonging to Ha-Kibbutz ha-Me'uhad had 140. In 2002 the combined population was 117. Subsequently the kibbutz filed a request to change its status to a moshav in order to absorb new members and ensure the future of the settlement. The name commemorates Hannah *Szenes.

[Efram Orni / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

YADIN (Sukenik), YIGAEL (1917–1984), Israeli archaeologist; second chief of staff, and politician, member of the Ninth Knesset. Born in Jerusalem, Yadin was the son of the archaeologist Eliezer Lipa *Sukenik. He went to the Hebrew Gymnasium in Jerusalem, and at the age of 15 joined the Haganah. In 1935 he started studying archaeology, history, and Arabic at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. Following the outbreak of the Arab disturbances in 1936, Yadin left his studies in favor of active military service. He was first engaged in field units, and later in command and training. In 1939 he was appointed as Yitzhak *Sadeh's adjutant. In 1943 he was appointed head of the Operations Section in the Haganah General Staff. Following disagreements with Sadeh, he returned to his studies, receiving his M.A. in 1945. In 1947, not long before the UN approval of the partition plan of Palestine, he was recalled by David *Ben-Gurion for active military service, filling a variety of positions in the course of the War of Independence. When Ya'akov *Dori fell ill, Yadin served as acting chief of staff. In this period he objected to the plan to capture the Latrun area, and Ben-Gurion's decision to disband the *Palmaḥ. Yadin served as the military advisor to the Israeli delegation to the armistice talks with Egypt in Rhodes, and participated in the talks that followed in Lausanne. In 1949, following Dori's retirement, Yadin received the rank of lieutenant general, and was appointed as Israel's second chief of staff. As chief of staff he reorganized the IDF and established the standing army, compulsory military service, and the reserves system. In December 1952, at the age of 35, he resigned, as a result of differences of opinion with Ben-Gurion over cuts in the IDF budget. He then devoted himself to scientific work at the Hebrew University in the field of archaeology and research into Israeli antiquities. He became a lecturer at the Hebrew University in 1953, and received his Ph.D. in 1955 for a thesis on the "War of the Sons of Light against the Sons of Darkness," one of the *Dead Sea Scrolls. For this study Yadin received the 1956 Israel Prize for Jewish studies. In 1955 he was appointed lecturer in archeology at the Hebrew University and ran the excavations at *Hazor, which continued from 1955 to 1958, and again in 1968. His other famous excavations were in the Qumran caves in the Judean Desert in 1960–61, at *Masada in 1963–65, and at Megiddo in 1966–67. He was appointed professor in 1963. In his excavations Yadin employed thousands of volunteers from Israel and abroad and trained a new generation of young archaeologists in Israel. He also helped bring archaeology to the general public and was a popular lecturer and broadcaster. He gained international acclaim for his historical-philological decoding and interpretations of the Dead Sea and Judean Desert scrolls. Upon his initiative, the Shrine of the Book was built at the Israel Museum in Jerusalem, to house the scrolls. In 1968 Yadin became editor of the archaeological journal *Kadmoniot*. Yadin often cast new light on basic problems of the biblical, Second Temple, mishnaic, and talmudic periods, not only through the excavations themselves, but through an original approach that brought the actual artifacts into a general cultural context, with special reference to contemporary literary evidence. Yadin was critical of Moshe *Dayan's private archaeological exploits and collection of antiques.

On the eve of the Six-Day War, Yadin served as military advisor to Prime Minister and Minister of Defense Levi *Eshkol, until Dayan was appointed minister of defense. Following the Yom Kippur War, Yadin was appointed one of the five members of the Agranat Commission established to inquire into the events and developments leading up to the war. In the late 1950s he headed a movement that called for reform of Israel's electoral system. However until 1976 he rejected all offers to enter the political arena. In that year, against the background of popular dissatisfaction with the ruling Labor Alignment, and growing protest, he established the *Democratic Movement for Change (DMC), together with Prof. Amnon *Rubinstein, Shmuel *Tamir, Me'ir *Amit, and others. The DMC ran in the elections to the Ninth Knesset in 1977, receiving an impressive 15 seats. However, even though the DMC joined the new government established by Menaḥem *Begin, and Yadin was appointed deputy prime minister, Begin had a majority in the Knesset without it, and soon the new party disintegrated. Yadin remained in the government until Begin formed his new government in August 1981 after the elections to the Tenth Knesset, but had little influence, and lost much of his popularity. From September 1978 to March 1981 he belonged to a parliamentary group called the Democratic Movement, and after this group ceased to exist remained a single MK, without any formal status. In August 1981 he retired from politics to return to academic life until his death in 1984.

Among his writings are *Ha-Megillot ha-Genuzot mi-Midbar Yehudah* ("The Hidden Scrolls from the Desert of Judea," 1957); with Chaim Rabin, *Aspects of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (1958); *Military and Archeological Aspects of the Conquest of Canaan in the Book of Joshua* (1960); *The Scroll of the War of the Sons of Light against the Sons of Darkness* (1962); *The Art of Warfare in Biblical Lands in the Light of Archaeological Study* (1963); *Apocrypha Ecclesiasticus: The Ben Sira Scroll from Masada*, with introduction, emendations, and commentary (1965); *Masada: Herod's Fortress and the Zealots' Last Stand* (1966); *Bar Kokhba: The Rediscovery of the Legendary Hero of the Second Jewish Revolt Against Rome* (1971); *Hazor, the Rediscovery of a Great Citadel of the Bible* (1975); *The Temple Scroll; the Hidden Law of the Dead Sea Sect* (1985); and *Investigations of Beth Shean: The Early Iron Age Strata* (1986). Among works he edited are *Jerusalem Revealed: The Archeology in the Holy City 1968–1974* (1975), and *The Documents from the Bar Kokhba Period in the Cave of Letters: Hebrew, Aramaic and Nabatean-Aramaic Papyri* (2002).

Yigael Yadin's brother YOSEF (1920–2001) was one of the founders of the *Cameri Theater in Tel Aviv and participated in numerous plays and films. He was awarded the Israel Prize for screen and theater arts in 1991.

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YADLIN, AHARON (1926–), Israeli politician. Yadlin was born in Ben Shemen, Israel. He became a member of kibbutz Ḥaẓerim, of which he was general secretary. From 1950 to 1952 he was a member of the Executive Council of the *Histadrut and from 1955 to 1957 served as principal of Bet Berl, the Labor Party's educational center. Yadlin was elected to the Fifth Knesset in 1961 and re-elected through the Ninth Knesset, serving as deputy minister of education from 1966 to 1972. In the latter year he was elected secretary of the Israel Labor Party, and in 1974 was appointed minister of education and culture, retaining the office until the general election of May 1977 when the Alignment was defeated. He was reelected to the Ninth Knesset, but in January 1979 resigned, in accordance with a kibbutz decision on the rotation of Knesset members, and returned to his kibbutz. After his retirement he served as chairman of the Prime Minister's Fund for Hebrew Writers and as chairman of the Postal and Philatelic Museum at the Eretz Israel Museum.

YAD MORDEKHAI (Heb. יַד מָרְדְּכַי), kibbutz in southern Israel, between Ashkelon and Gaza, affiliated with Kibbutz Arẓi, Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir. Yad Mordekhai was founded by a group from Poland in 1943, during the Nazi Holocaust in Europe, in a drive to enlarge Jewish settlement in Ereẓ Israel toward the south and Negev. In the *War of Independence (1948), the invading Egyptian army, in its advance along the coastal highway, concentrated its tank, artillery, and aircraft forces in an attack on the kibbutz, but was held at bay by the sparse number of settlers for six days. The village was by then reduced to ruins and the survivors, carrying their wounded, succeeded in slipping through the ring of siege and reaching Jewish positions miles away (May 1948). The site was retaken in October 1948. The kibbutz was rebuilt on a far larger scale, but still occupied a border position (close to the Gaza Strip) until the *Six-Day War in 1967. In 2002 the population was 699. The economy was based on farming and the kibbutz also marketed honey and manufactured computerized irrigation systems as well as operating a shopping center. The kibbutz maintains a museum of the *Holocaust and ghetto resistance. A large bronze statue in memory of the ghetto fighters and a reconstruction of the 1948 battle site are located there. The name commemorates Mordecai *Anielewicz.

WEBSITE: www.yadmor.org.il.

[Efraim Orni]

YAD VASHEM (The Holocaust Martyrs' and Heroes' Remembrance Authority), Israel's and the Jewish people's national Holocaust memorial institution. The name is taken from Isaiah 56:5, "And I will give them in my house and within my walls a memorial and a name (a *Yad Vashem*)… that shall not be cut off." Yad Vashem is dedicated to perpetuating the memory of the victims of the *Holocaust, and to research, documentation, publication, and education. Plans for a project for a lasting remembrance began during World War II, initiated by Mordechai Shenhavi, and were approved at the first post-war meeting of the General Zionist Council (London, 1945) whereby an institution was set up, headed by the *Va'ad Le'ummi. After the creation of the State of Israel, the minister of education and culture, Ben-Zion *Dinur, proposed the setting up of a Remembrance Authority in Jerusalem, on Har Hazikaron (the Mount of Remembrance), for the "six million members of the Jewish people who died a martyrs' death at the hands of the Nazis and their collaborators." The task of Yad Vashem is "to gather in material regarding all those Jewish people who laid down their lives, who fought and rebelled against the Nazi enemy and their collaborators, and to perpetuate their memory and that of the communities, organizations, and institutions which were destroyed because they were Jewish…"

The complex that makes up Yad Vashem extends over 50 acres. It includes the Holocaust History Museum and Hall of Names, Holocaust Art Museum, Exhibitions Pavilion, Visual Center, Learning Center, synagogue, unique outdoor monuments, and the most important repository of information on the Holocaust in the world. At its height, the annual number of visitors to Yad Vashem has surpassed two million people.

A decade in the making, the new Holocaust History Museum combines the best of Yad Vashem's expertise, resources, and state-of-the-art exhibits to take Holocaust remembrance well into the 21st century. The new Holocaust History Museum occupies over 4,200 square meters, mainly underground. Both multidisciplinary and interdisciplinary, it presents the story of the Shoah from a unique Jewish perspective, emphasizing the experiences of the individual victims through original artifacts, survivor testimonies, and personal possessions. Its 180-meter–long linear structure in the form of a spike cuts through the mountain with its uppermost edge – a skylight – protruding through the mountain ridge. Galleries portraying the complexity of the Jewish situation during those terrible years branch off this spike-like shaft, and the exit emerges dramatically out of the mountainside, affording a view of the valley below. Unique settings, spaces with varying heights, and different degrees of light accentuate focal points of the unfolding narrative. The museum building was designed by renowned Israeli architect Moshe Safdie. The display was designed by Dorit Harel.

At the end of the Museum's historical narrative is the Hall of Names – a repository for the "Pages of Testimony" commemorating the names and biographic details of Jews who perished during the Holocaust. Pages of Testimony are filled out by family members, friends, or neighbors, many of them survivors of the Holocaust, and serve as symbolic "*maẓevot*" or "tombstones" for their loved ones. On these special acid-free pages the following are inscribed in full: the name of the victim, his or her date and place of birth, the place of residence before the war, the profession, the parents' and spouses' names, and where and when they perished during the Holocaust. A photograph is attached when available. The Pages of Testimony are preserved in special "Yizkor files," classified according to the Hebrew alphabet by the family name and the first name of the victim. The Pages of Testimony have now been digitized and are available online in the Central Database of Shoah Victims' Names, which also includes names from historical documentation and other sources. The number of Jews commemorated in the database to date is close to 3.1 million.

The Hall of Remembrance is a solemn tent-like structure that allows visitors to pay their respects to the memories of the martyred dead. On the floor are the names of some of the Nazi murder sites throughout Europe, and in front of the memorial flame lies a crypt containing ashes of victims. The Hall of Remembrance was designed by architect Aryeh Elhanani.

The Valley of the Communities is a massive outdoor monument to the Jewish communities that were destroyed or damaged in World War II. Seen from the floor of this unique site, the rock walls rise up to a height of some 30 feet or more, and are engraved with the names of more than 5,000 communities, symbolically embedded forever in the very bedrock of Israel. The Valley itself extends over two and a half acres, and is a labyrinth of courtyards and walls, of openings and dead ends arranged to roughly correspond to the geographic arrangement of the map of Europe and North Africa. The Valley of the Communities was designed by Israeli architects Dan Zur and Lippa Yahalom.

The Children's Memorial, hollowed out from an underground cavern, is a tribute to the approximately 1.5 million Jewish children who perished during the Holocaust. Memorial candles, a customary Jewish tradition to remember the dead, are reflected infinitely in a dark and somber space, creating the impression of millions of stars shining in the firmament. The names of murdered children, their ages, and countries of origin can be heard in the background. The Children's Memorial was designed by Moshe Safdie.

The Memorial to the Deportees is an original cattle-car, appropriated by the German Railway authorities and given to Yad Vashem by the Polish authorities. It stands on an iron track which juts out from the slopes of Yad Vashem into the Judean hillside.

Other features are the Avenue and Garden of the Righteous Among the Nations, which honor those non-Jews who risked their lives to help the persecuted Jews in the Holocaust, the Monument to the Jewish Soldiers, the Partisans' Panorama, and the sculpture garden.

The Yad Vashem Archives is the largest and most comprehensive repository of documentary material on the Holocaust in the world. In its ongoing work collecting documentary materials, it has accumulated approximately 68,000,000 documentary pages on the Holocaust to date, close to 300,000 still photographs, as well as thousands of audio and videotaped testimonies of survivors. Yad Vashem's library has the world's most comprehensive collection of books on the Holocaust. It holds more than 112,000 titles in 52 languages, and thousands of periodicals.

The International School for Holocaust Studies is the only school of its kind in the world. With 17 classrooms, a modern multimedia center, resource and pedagogical center, an auditorium, and more than 100 educators on its staff, the school caters annually to more than 100,000 students and youth, 50,000 soldiers, and thousands of educators from Israel and around the world. Courses for teachers are offered in eight languages other than Hebrew, and the school also sends its professional staff around the world for the purpose of Holocaust education. In addition, the school arranges symposia and offers online teaching courses, as well as developing a variety of educational programs and study aids on the Holocaust. The educational rationale of the School places a strong emphasis on Jewish life before the war, daily life of Jews during the Holocaust, and the return to life of Holocaust survivors. Yad Vashem age-appropriate educational materials are multidisciplinary, multidirectional, and multifaceted and are available in many languages both in print and online.

In 1963, Yad Vashem embarked upon a worldwide project to grant the title of Righteous Among the Nations to non-Jews who risked their lives to save Jews during the Holocaust, and did not precondition such aid by any reward or compensation. To this end, Yad Vashem set up a public commission headed by a retired Supreme Court justice, which is responsible for granting the title. The commission is guided by certain criteria, and meticulously studies all pertinent documentation, including primary evidence by survivors and other eyewitnesses before reaching its decision. As of January 2006, 21,310 people had been recognized as Righteous Among the Nations. A person thus recognized is awarded a specially minted medal bearing his/her name, a certificate of honor, and the privilege of his/her name being added on the Righteous Wall of Honor in the Garden of the Righteous Among the Nations. An amendment to the Yad Vashem Law stipulates that any Righteous is entitled, on request, to receive honorary citizenship.

The International Institute for Holocaust Research plans and carries out often groundbreaking research projects, organizes international seminars and conferences, coordinates joint projects with far-flung research institutes, and hosts research fellows from Israel and around the world. Research publications include the annual journal *Yad Vashem Studies*, since 1957, and a series on Jewish communities in Europe under the title *Pinkasei ha-Kehillot* ("Encyclopedia of the Communities"). Through its Publications Department, Yad Vashem publishes approximately 40 books in Hebrew and English annually, including research publications, documents, diaries, and memoirs. Yad Vashem's landmark publications include *Documents on the Holocaust* (1981), *The Encyclopedia of the Holocaust* (a joint publication, 1990), and Yad Vashem's international conference proceedings, the first of which discussed rescue attempts during the Holocaust (1968). Recent important publications include *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations* (six volumes through 2006), *The Auschwitz Album, A Comprehensive History of the Holocaust* (11 volumes to date in Hebrew; the whole series is being published in English in cooperation with the University of Nebraska), the Search and Research series, *Last Letters from the Holocaust*, and *The Wolfsberg Machzor 5705*. Yad Vashem also issues a quarterly magazine in Hebrew and English.

Yad Vashem's website, www.yadvashem.org, contains extensive online resources about the Holocaust, including thousands of photos, documents, testimonies, and artifacts as well as online exhibitions, classroom activities, commemorative ceremonies, and lesson plans. In addition, the Central Database of Shoah Victims' Names provides online access to the names and biographical details of millions of Holocaust victims.

The official State ceremony opening Holocaust Martyrs' and Heroes' Remembrance Day, on 27 Nisan, is held at Yad Vashem, attended by the president and prime minister of Israel, government ministers, Holocaust survivors, and thousands of members of the public.

Yad Vashem is the most visited site in Israel after the Western Wall. Many hundreds of official visitors of the State come to Yad Vashem each year, and it is protocol for all visiting foreign ministers, prime ministers, and heads of state to include Yad Vashem in their itinerary. On March 23, 2000, Pope John Paul II paid a historic visit to Yad Vashem and spoke of the imperative to remember the Holocaust.

Ben-Zion Dinur and Aryeh L. Kubovy were respectively first chairman of the Yad Vashem Directorate and first chairman of the Yad Vashem Council. Subsequently, Katriel Katz, Gideon *Hausner, Yosef *Burg, and Prof. Szewach Weiss have been chairmen of the Council and Yitzhak *Arad (1972–93) and Avner *Shalev (1993–), chairmen of the Directorate.

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YAGUPSKY, MÁXIMO (1906–1996), Argentinean Jewish intellectual, community leader, and teacher. He was born in La Capilla, one of the Jewish agricultural colonies administrated by ICA, in the province of Entre Ríos, Argentina, to parents who were immigrants from Bessarabia. He started his general and Jewish studies in the local Jewish school in the colony and later studied in public schools. He continued studying Jewish subjects with his father and with a local rabbi. He was a teacher in Buenos Aires in Jewish schools of the Cursos Religiosos network maintained by the Congregación Israelita and ICA and in the 1930s was supervisor of the schools of this network in the provinces. Appearing in the local Jewish press, his articles expressed a Jewish national and Zionist position. Yagupsky was director of the Editorial Israel which published many Jewish books in Spanish in the 1940s and in the 1950s. From 1946 to 1948 he directed the Latin American Department of the American Jewish Committee in New York and in 1948 he opened a branch of this institution in Buenos Aires and acted as its director until 1961. From then and until 1968 he was the director of the American Jewish Committee in Israel. In that year he returned to Buenos Aires.

Yagupsky translated the *siddur* and the Torah into Spanish. He published *Soliloquios de un judío* ("Monologues of a Jew," 1986). In the book *Conversaciones con un judío* ("Conversations with a Jew," 1977) edited by Mario Diament, Yagupsky shared his thoughts and memories. He edited the journals *Comentario* ("Commentary") in Buenos Aires and *Amot* in Tel Aviv. He was also active in Jewish journals in Spanish, Hebrew, Yiddish, and English. In 1988 he received the Prize for Intellectual Merit of the Latin American Jewish Congress.

[Efraim Zadoff (2nd ed.)]

YAGUR (Heb. יָגוּר), kibbutz in northern Israel, in the Zebulun Valley, 7 mi. (11 km.) S.E. of Haifa, affiliated with Ha-Kibbutz ha-Me'uḥad. Yagur was founded in 1922 by the "Aḥavah" group of *Gedud ha-Avodah ("labor legion"), whose members came to the country with the Third *Aliyah. Yagur soon became the largest kibbutz in the country. In addition to developing mixed, intensive farming and industry, it provided a large number of laborers for the Haifa port, and the Haifa industrial zone. In the 1936–39 Arab riots, Yagur suffered from repeated attacks. In June 1946 the kibbutz was subjected to a severe arms search by the British Army. After the *Haganah's central arms cache was discovered there, many members were taken to detention camps. In 1970 Yagur had 1,150 inhabitants. In the mid-1990s the population was approximately 1,390, but by the end of 2002 it had dropped to 1,080. Yagur is considered a wealthy kibbutz. It operated a packaging plant in partnership with American National Can, a kitchen cabinet plant, a large plant nursery, a TV studio, a theme park and activity center for children. Yagur's farming branches were field crops, orchards, dairy cattle, and poultry and included the manufacture of cooking and table oil. Inside the kibbutz is a disco club attracting people from all over the area. Yagur also ran a vocational training school for alternative medicine as well as several cultural institutions. The name Yagur is mentioned in Joshua 15:21, in reference to a different site.

WEBSITE: www.yagur.com.

[Efraim Orni / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

YAḤAD (Heb. יַחַד; "union" or "unity"). This term is used in the Bible most often adverbially in the sense of "together." In some of the *Dead Sea Scrolls it appears as a designation of the group usually identified as the *Qumran sect or community. The Qumran *Community Rule is entitled the "Rule [**serekh*] of the *yaḥad*," and the members of its community are called "men of the *yaḥad*" (1QS 6:21, etc.; possibly also CD 20:32). Knowledge of this community must be based principally on those Dead Sea Scrolls which can reasonably be recognized as its own documents, along with such evidence from the excavations at Khirbet Qumran as can be correlated with the contents of these documents. The identification of the word *yaḥad* on an ostracon discovered in 1996 at Qumran, and which would have confirmed its location at Qumran, has been challenged.

Origin and Organization

The origins of the *yaḥad* appear to be described in the *Damascus Document, which suggests a number of stages (1:3–12). First, a remnant of Israel was allowed by God to survive the Babylonian exile; then these were "visited" by God and a "seedling" (*shoresh matta'at*) sprouted "to possess the land." After 20 years of "groping the way," God raised for them a "*Teacher of Righteousness" to "guide them in the way of his heart." It is this last stage, under the leadership of the "Teacher," that in the opinion of most scholars accords with the formation of the *yaḥad.* The earlier stages appear to represent a wider movement that, after the emergence of the *yaḥad*, no doubt continued, since the Damascus Document (1:13–2:1) suggests that the Teacher's appearance generated conflict with a group led by the "Spouter of Lies" – presumably a polemical reference to a rival leader within the existing group. The death of the *moreh ha-yaḥid* (perhaps to be emended to *moreh ha-yaḥad*) is mentioned in CD 20:14. In the Habakkuk **pesher*, no doubt a product of the *yaḥad*, the "Liar" is mentioned also, though the Teacher is opposed mainly by a "Wicked Priest," a figure thought to be a national leader but absent from the Damascus Document. Because of this and other discrepancies between the accounts, it is impossible to decide why the *yaḥad* came into existence. Broadly speaking, two possibilities exist: that it consisted originally of the followers of a "Teacher" who split with the leadership of an existing movement; or that the Teacher was the founder of a new movement that separated from the rest of Judaism and later assumed different forms, including the *yaḥad*. On the former view, inner-sectarian motives may have been instrumental in the formation of the *yaḥad* – such as the Teacher's claim to be an eschatological leader (see CD 6:11), in which case the existing movement arose for reasons (such as differences over calendar and purity laws) that the *yaḥad* inherited in addition to its own distinct ideology. On the latter view, the *yaḥad* is more probably a penitential movement, reacting to the conviction that divine anger was about to befall Israel. Further possible clues might lie in the *Thanksgiving Hymns (*Hodayot*), if they could be read autobiographically as compositions of the Teacher, for they represent the author as the persecuted founder of a community, articulating a profound belief in his existential, and probably eschatological, redemption and fellowship with the heavenly beings. The Community Rule itself does not mention the teacher, but contains passages (cols. 8–9) that in the opinion of many scholars, represent the original aims and organization of the *yaḥad*. On this view, a nucleus of 15 men – three priests and 12 laymen – formed its core. Among the convictions held in these passages is that the land cannot be atoned for by the existing sacrificial cult, which is corrupt; instead a human sanctuary, containing an inner, priestly "holy of holies" must fulfill this function, without sacrifice, by living lives of utter holiness. To this end the members were to segregate from the "sinful" and make a "way in the wilderness" (Isa. 40:3) in order to study the law. This is often interpreted as entailing a physical withdrawal to the Judean Desert, to the west shore of the Dead Sea.

That the *yaḥad* evolved over its history has long been deduced by scholars on the basis of analysis of the Community Rule, and has been confirmed by the recovery from Cave 4 of editions differing from the Cave 1 text. For example, the "men of the *yaḥad*" in 1QS 5:1 are "men of the Torah" in 4QSe 1:1, while the Cave 4 texts refer only to the authority of the "congregation," but in 1QS, the "sons of Zadok" usually (but not always) hold sway. In addition, the "discourse on the two spirits" in 1QS 3–4 is absent from many of the Cave 4 editions. Reconstructing the growth of this document is complicated by the fact that while literary and structural considerations suggest that the Cave 1 version is the latest, it seems palaeographically to be the earliest. However, the disciplinary rules in 1QS 5–7 appear in all editions and are thus part of the earliest organization of the *yaḥad*, and in many respects they agree with a similar code in the Cave 4 versions of the Damascus Document. There were two stages in the novitiate, each lasting one year. Those who completed the first year deposited their private property with the community treasurer, but not until the completion of the second year, if the candidate made the grade, was it merged with the common stock. Anyone who "knowingly deceived with regard to property" was excommunicated for one year from "the purity of the many" and had his rations reduced by one quarter. Longer or shorter terms of this excommunication from sharing in the solemn acts of fellowship, together with reductions of rations for a stated period, were the customary penalties for breaches of discipline. For more heinous offenses complete expulsion was laid down. "The many" (*ha-rabbim*) is the designation of the general membership of the community, while the spiritual leader is called *maskil* (both terms appear in Daniel 11 and 12). The whole membership met in assembly from time to time. Rules of precedence were laid down with regard to the taking of their seats – first the priests, then the elders, then the others, each in his position – and standing orders were strictly enforced. Anyone who wished to speak might stand up and say, "I have a word to say to 'the many,'" and if he received permission he might speak. Speaking out of turn, interrupting, or behaving indecorously during the session received appropriate punishment.

Religious Practice

The *yaḥad* appears to have been a celibate, male group. Communal meals, worship, and consultation were regular features of daily life. Such activities could be carried out by any group of ten, provided one of them was a priest. Among other things, it was the priest's privilege to say grace before he and his companions partook of a communal meal. In each group of ten, there was always one (though not always the same one) engaged in the reading and exposition of the Law. The night was divided into three watches, and during each watch one-third of the membership stayed awake to listen to the reading and exposition and to voice the appointed blessings. The community's abstention from common worship at the Temple was primarily due to their belief that such worship was unacceptable to God under the prevailing establishment; but participation would have in any case been difficult since they observed as a matter of religious duty the *calendar prescribed in the Book of Jubilees and not the lunisolar calendar by which the sacred years in the Temple were reckoned. The *yaḥad* attached great importance to ceremonial washing; the purificatory ablutions which the levitical law prescribes for the priests appear to have been obligatory for all the members. They were not merely initiatory but were performed frequently. Yet it is made clear that ceremonial washing in itself had no cleansing efficacy if a person's heart was not right with God. The washing of the body was acceptable only if it was the outward sign of inward purity.

Eschatological Expectations

Beliefs about the future are not entirely consistent among the writings of the *yaḥad*, though it certainly believed, whether prompted by scripture or calculation or both, in an imminent divine judgment. The members of the community came to regard themselves not merely as the remnant of Israel but as on one side of a dualistic universe, in which light and darkness (or truth and falsehood) were balanced and opposing forces. Each side comprised both angelic and human beings, and was led by its respective heavenly "prince," and light would finally conquer darkness. Such a developed dualistic doctrine is found only in texts associated with the *yaḥad*, though dualistic and predestinarian tendencies are also present in the Damascus Document. Zoroastrian influence on this developed dualism is probable. Yet more traditional, Jewish expectations of the future are represented by belief in the coming of a prophet and the "anointed ones of Aaron and Israel" (1QS 9:11). In that new age the anointed priest would be paramount, the lay Messiah being subordinate to him (as in Ezek. 44:3ff.). The Davidic Messiah may be the "star … out of Jacob" (Num. 24:17) to whom reference is made in a number of Qumran documents (CD 7:19; 4Q *Testimonia*; 1QM 11:6), in which case he should be the commander of the Children of Light (see *Sons of *Light) in their end-time struggle against the children of Darkness (depicted in the *War Scroll), though strangely he does not appear, only his shield. In this depiction of this final struggle, which can be assigned to the *yaḥad*, dualistic and nationalistic perspectives are combined, with the "children of Light" taking on the identity of Israel, and the "children of Darkness" led by the Kittim, almost certainly the Romans. The war would end in the defeat of the nations and victory for "Israel" but would also represent light vanquishing darkness and evil disappearing forever. That cosmic, national, and sectarian perspectives can be merged into a single coherent expectation is hard to imagine, but the War Scroll (in its various editions) may represent an attempt to do just that.

Suggested Identifications

The members of the *yaḥad* – and those of its parent movement – have been identified at one time or another with Essenes, Zealots, Sicarii, Pharisees, Sadducees, Jewish Christians, and Karaites. The majority verdict favors the Essene identification. Qumran fits the elder Pliny's description of the Essene community, but Josephus and Philo suggest a wider dispersal, which fits better the community of the Damascus Document. There are impressive similarities between the evidence of the Qumran texts and the first-century accounts of the Essenes; yet there are points of difference too. The identification of the community with the Zealots was once supported by several scholars, and Hippolytus says that one branch of the Essenes was known as Zealots (Philosophumena 9:21). Some scrolls possibly originating at Qumran were found at Masada. Qumran itself was apparently attacked by the Romans during the war of 66–70; and the War Scroll envisages a battle that involved Rome. But there are links with Pharisees in the extension of levitical purity beyond the priesthood and in devotion to Torah observance, while connections with Sadducees might be seen in some of the *halakhah* preserved among the Scrolls. It remains possible that the *yaḥad* was none of these, but an otherwise unknown sect among many movements that may have arisen during one of the most turbulent religious and political eras in Jewish history, between the Maccabean revolt and the war with Rome.

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[Frederick Fyvie Bruce / Philip R. Davies (2nd ed.)]

YAHIL (Hoffmann), CHAIM (1905–1974), Israeli diplomat and Zionist. Yahil was born in Wallachisch Meseritsch, Austro-Hungary (later Czechoslovakia), and founded there the local branch of the Zionist youth movement, Blau-Weiss, and later became a member of the movement's national council in Czechoslovakia.

He immigrated to Ereẓ Israel in 1929, but later returned to Europe where he received his Ph.D. in political science, in Vienna. He then engaged in social and Zionist activity in Prague, returning to Ereẓ Israel in 1939.

During World War II he was a member of the Haifa and, subsequently, Tel Aviv Labor Councils. In 1945 he was among the first Palestinian emissaries to liberated Europe, as director of the Palestinian Relief Unit under the auspices of UNRRA, sponsored by the Jewish Agency. In this connection he was involved in all activities concerning Jewish Displaced Persons, their organization, education and movements into Germany by *Beriḥah and from Germany by *Aliyah Bet.*

Upon the establishment of the State of Israel he was accredited to the Occupying Power as the first Israeli Consul in Munich. From 1951 he was a member of the Israeli Foreign Service, serving successively as director of information, deputy-director of the Reparations Mission to Germany, ambassador to Scandinavia, and director-general of the Israeli Foreign Ministry (1960–64). Subsequently, he established and headed the Diaspora Center, a joint enterprise of the Israeli Government and Jewish Agency (1965–68) which enabled him to foster Israeli-Diaspora relations. He was appointed the first chairman of the Israel Broadcasting Authority (1965–72). He was the *Encyclopaedia Judaica* divisional editor for contemporary Jewry.

During his term of office relations with Africa were developed and technical cooperation with developing countries institutionalized. Yahil was a firm believer in socialism, but after a life-long association with the Labor Zionist party, he left it in 1972, becoming a founding member and leader of the Land of Israel Movement, which advocated an undivided Israel.

His first work *Trager der Verwirklichung, Die Zionistische Arbeiterschaft im Aufbau* (1938) was published under his original name Chaijim Hoffmann; he also published *Scandinavian Socialism in its Implementations* (Hebrew, 1966). After his death there appeared *Hazon U-Ma'avak* (1977), a selection of articles he wrote between 1965 and 1974, and *Israel's Foreign Relations*, Vols. I and II (1976), jointly with Meron Medzini.

YAH RIBBON OLAM (Aram. יָהּ רִבּוֹן עָלַם; "God, master of the universe"), one of the most popular Sabbath table hymns (*zemirot). The hymn, written in Aramaic, was composed by the 16th-century kabbalist poet, Israel b. Moses *Najara ("Israel" is the acrostic of the five verses), and is based on Daniel 3:32–33. It was first published in a second and enlarged edition of his *Zemirot Yisrael* (Venice, 1600). The hymn, which has been set to innumerable tunes, contains no allusion to the Sabbath. It is a song of praise to the "King of Kings," who rules the world in His endless power and glory. After describing the wonders of God's creation, the poem concludes with a prayer that God may redeem Israel and restore Jerusalem, "the city of beauty."

YAHRZEIT (Yid.; Ger. **Jahrzeit**; lit. "year time," i.e., anniversary), the anniversary of a death. For the determining of the *yahrzeit*, see *Mourning. The commemoration of the *yahrzeit* (on the Hebrew date of the anniversary) is observed both for outstanding individuals and for parents; though some extend it to the other five close relatives for whom mourning is enjoined, brother and sister, son and daughter, and spouse. With regard to the former, *Rashi finds authority for it as early as the amoraic period. He quotes from a geonic responsum on the *riglei* ("festivals"), there mentioned as an amoraic institution: "the anniversary of the death of a great man was established in his honor, and when that day arrives, all the scholars in the region assemble and visit his grave with the ordinary people, and hold a ceremony there" (to Yev. 122a). The only *yahrzeits* which occur in the calendar in one way or another are the 7th of *Adar, the traditional date of the death of Moses (though observed only by minor liturgical changes and as the most common date for the annual banquet of the **ḥevra kaddisha*), *Lag ba-Omer, the traditional date of death of Simeon b. Yoḥai (observed by popular pilgrimages to his grave at Meron); and the 3rd of Tishri, the Fast of Gedaliah (see *Fasts and Fasting), which is stated to be the day "on which Gedaliah b. Ahikam was murdered" (RH 18b; this was not observed as a *yahrzeit* but for its historical implications). The only biblical worthy whose day of death is recorded is Aaron (Num. 33:38), but the day is not commemorated. The Ḥasidim commemorate the *yahrzeit* of their respective dynastic leaders, but the commemoration takes a joyous form as the day on which he was translated on high. In recent times annual commemorations of such national figures as Herzl, Bialik, Rabbi A.I. *Kook, Z. *Jabotinsky, and past presidents of the State of Israel have been instituted.

Detailed regulations have been laid down for the observance of family *yahrzeits*. Where he is able to do so, the *yahrzeit*, as the person observing it is also called, conducts the weekday service, and even if not, recites **Kaddish*. If the Torah is read on that day, he is called to the reading of the Torah; otherwise, he is called on the preceding Sabbath. A 24-hour memorial candle is lit for that day, as a symbol of the verse "the soul of man is the lamp of God" (Prov. 20:27). Fasting is recommended as an act of piety (Isserles, YD 402:12), but is not commonly observed.

The first known authority to employ the word *yahrzeit* was *Isaac of Tyrnau in his *Minhagim* book, and he is followed by Mordecai Jaffe (*Levush Tekhelet*, no. 133). Among the Sephardim the observance is called *naḥalah*, but so widespread is the use of the word *yahrzeit* that despite the fact that it is Yiddish, it is often found in Sephardi religious works. Filial piety has made the *yahrzeit* one of the most widely held observances in Judaism. Even in small communities where there is difficulty in assembling the necessary *minyan* for the congregational service, special arrangements are made for such worship when there is a *yahrzeit*. Its observance is an act of pious commemoration and emphasizes faith in the immortality of the soul.

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[Louis Isaac Rabinowitz]

YAHŪD, collective noun and appellative for Jews in pre-Islamic Arabian poetry, the *Koran, and Islamic literature, cognate with the less common plural *hūd* and the uniquely Koranic *hāda,* a verb that means "to be Jewish" or "to practice Judaism." For the most part *Yahūd* is used to describe either the Jews of, or slightly preceding, *Muhammad's time or Jews living anywhere between then and the time of the writer employing the term. This is in distinction to the equally widespread *Banū Isrā'īl* which – with some significant exceptions in the Koran and its commentaries, where it refers to Muhammad's Jewish contemporaries – generally indicates ancient Israelites from the period of the patriarchs and the exodus from *Egypt all the way down to Jesus and the destruction of the Second Temple (and thus this designation often includes Christians). A third term, *ahl al-kitāb* (people of the book, scriptuaries), is essentially a timeless epithet for the Jewish people (though it, too, frequently encompasses Christianity). While the latter two labels are sometimes employed in neutral or even positive contexts, the *Yahūd* are almost invariably portrayed as evildoers.

According to Islamic tradition Muhammad first came into consistent contact with Jews after the *hijra* – the emigration of the fledgling Muslim community from Mecca to Yathrib/Madīna (*Medina) in 622 C.E. – where a number of Jewish tribes (chief among them the Banū *Qaynuqāʿ, *Naḍīr, and *Qurayẓa) had once dominated, but now were dominated by, the pagan Aws and Khazraj. Though at the beginning Muhammad wooed the Jews – including them in his "Contract of Madīna," adopting many of their rites, and presenting himself as the successor to the illustrious line of biblical prophets – their unwillingness to accept his new dispensation (and their frequent mocking of the same) soon soured relations between the Muslim and Jewish communities. After the Battle of Badr (624 C.E.) the Banū Qaynuqāʿ were exiled from Madīna and their property confiscated in punishment for alleged fifth-column activity, and the Banū Naḍīr shared their fate the following year in the wake of the Battle of Uḥud. The Banū Qurayẓa were dealt with far more harshly following the Battle of the Trench (627 C.E.), their 800 or so men publicly executed in the center of town and their women and children sold into slavery. In 628 C.E. the northern Jewish fortress of Khaybar, whither many members of the exiled tribes had fled, was reduced by Muslim forces. The survivors were allowed to remain on their land in exchange for a tribute consisting of half the annual produce. (Muhammad married the wife of the "king of Khaybar" – the 17-year-old Ṣafiyyah – after torturing her husband to death for not revealing the whereabouts of his treasure. This was his second wife of Jewish origins.) The Jews of Khaybar were finally expelled after Muhammad's demise by the second caliph, ʿOmar, in fulfillment of Muhammad's dying injunction that "two religions shall not coexist in Arabia."

The portrayal of Jewish norms and historiography in Islamic classical literature ranges from the impressively accurate (including near verbatim recapitulations of biblical and midrashic passages and relatively sophisticated rehearsals of talmudic *sugyot*) to the confused, propagandistic, and fantastic (Jews excise urine-splattered flesh, pluck each other's eyes out in retribution, are enjoined by the Torah to forgo booty in war, and believe Ezra is the son of God as Christians believe Jesus is the son of God; Jewish law forbids the consumption of geese and ducks, prohibits the use of sand for purification if water cannot be found, and commands its adherents to slaughter a yellow heifer if an unidentified corpse is found in a field; the Second Temple was destroyed by Antiochus, the *shekhinah* was the head of a dead cat, the messiah is known in Jewish tradition as *al-dajjāl* ("the deceiver"), King David had one hundred wives and Moses accompanied his people into the promised land). With rare exceptions, the Jews are perceived in Muslim literature as the historical epitome of excess and evil and – having been abandoned by God as a result of such noxious traits – also the model of misery. They may be said to function as the emblem of all that Muslims should not be, a kind of *sunna* (exemplary tradition) in reverse. They will ever be Islam's nemesis (far more so than the Christians), until they are ultimately defeated and destroyed in the Eschaton.

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[Z.A. Maghen (2nd ed.)]

YAHUDA, ABRAHAM SHALOM (1877–1951), Orientalist. Born in Jerusalem of a Baghdad family, Yahuda was taught by his brother ISAAC EZEKIEL YAHUDA, who was 13 years his senior and the author of a comprehensive collection of Arabic proverbs (*Mishlei Arav,* 1932). At the age of 15 he published his first book (*Kadmoniyyot ha-Aravim*, "Arabs' Antiquities," 1895^{2}). He went to Europe to study Semitics at Heidelberg and Strasbourg, where he was the pupil of Th. *Noeldecke. From 1904 to 1914 Yahuda lectured at the Berlin Hochschule (Lehranstalt) fuer die Wissenschaft des Judentums and from then to 1922 was professor at the University of Madrid. During World War I, while in Madrid, he tried to persuade King Alfonso XIII to use his influence with the emperors of Germany and Austria on behalf of the Jews of Ereẓ Israel. These activities were later criticized by Chaim Weizmann in his autobiography *Trial and Error* to which Yahuda replied in his *Dr. Weizmann's Errors on Trial* (1952). After 20 years of travel during which time he acquired a valuable collection of books and manuscripts – part of which he later sold to the British Museum – he became professor at the New School for Social Research, New York in 1942. He died in New Haven, Connecticut.

Yahuda's published works include his critical edition of the Arabic text of Bahya ibn Paquda's *Duties of the Heart* (1912), to which he also wrote *Prolegomena* as his doctoral thesis (1904); a volume of Hebrew poems (*Kol Arvi ba-Midbar,* 1903); *Bagdadische Sprichwoerter* (1906); *Jemenische Sprichwoerter aus Sanaa* (1911); and a collection of papers on Jewish-Arab relations (*Ever ve-Arav*, 1946). The publication of his *Die Sprache des Pentateuch in ihren Beziehungen zum Aegyptischen* (1929; *The Language of the Pentateuch in Its Relation to Egyptian* (1933); popular English edition *The Accuracy of the Bible*, 1934), in which he claimed strong Egyptian influence on the language of the Pentateuch – particularly in the stories of Joseph, the exile in Egypt, and the Exodus – produced worldwide discussion, but his theories were rejected by Bible and Oriental scholars as well as Egyptologists. Yahuda himself did not change his views, which he continued to proclaim in lectures.

A considerable part of Yahuda's library was bequeathed to the Jewish National and University Library. It contains about 1,500 manuscripts, mostly Arabic, but some hundreds are in Hebrew and other languages; some are illuminated and very valuable.

[Martin Meir Plessner]

YAHUDI, YUSUF (1688–1755), Bukharan poet. Yahudi was an exponent of that branch of Persian poetry in Hebrew characters which began with *Shahin and *Imrānī of Shiraz. His poems included an ode devoted to the praise and glory of Moses and hymns in honor of biblical heroes such as Elijah as well as other poems bearing his name in acrostic, some of which are bilingual and trilingual and form even today an integral part of the spiritual heritage of the Persian-speaking Jews of Bukhara. His Tajiki version of *Haft Braderan* ("The Seven Brothers"), based on the Midrash on the martyrdom of *Ḥannah and her seven sons, and his commentary to *Megillat Antiochus* are still popular. Yusuf Yahudi was also noted for his translations of the religious songs of Solomon ibn *Gabirol and Israel *Najara, which were collected in *Judeo-Persian songbooks such as *Yismaḥ Yisrael*.

Under his influence a school of Jewish poets in Bukhara came into existence whose members followed his example in composing Judeo-Persian poetry in their own dialect.

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[Walter Joseph Fischel]

YA'ISH, BARUCH BEN ISAAC IBN (15th century), philosopher and translator. Probably born in Spain, Ibn Ya'ish lived and died in Italy. He had a good knowledge of Hebrew, Latin, and Arabic. Ibn Ya'ish wrote a Hebrew commentary in ten chapters on Avicenna's *De Medicamentibus Cordialibus* ("On Cardiac Remedies") entitled *Be'ur la-Sammim ha-Libbiyyim*, in which he quotes Aristotle and Averroes (Bodl, Ms. Mich., Add. 16).

He translated Aristotle's *Metaphysics* into Hebrew from the Latin at the request of Samuel Ẓarphati, under the title *Mah she-Aḥar ha-Teva* (Bodl. Mich., 421). In the introduction to his translation Ibn Ya'ish explains that he based his translation on the Latin, rather than the Arabic, because the Arabic was confused. It also seems that Ibn Ya'ish had a role in producing a Hebrew translation of an anonymous Latin commentary on Aristotle's *Ethics*. A commentary on the Song of Songs, Ecclesiastes, Proverbs, and Job, which is called *Mekor Barukh* (Constantinople, 1576), and which bears the name Baruch ibn Ya'ish, was written by Ibn Ya'ish's great-grandson and namesake.

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[Hirsch Jacob Zimmels]

YAKHINI, ABRAHAM BEN ELIJAH (1617–1682), kabbalist and preacher, one of the leaders of the Shabbatean movement. Yakhini was born and lived his entire life in Constantinople. He was a pupil of R. Joseph di Trani and an influential preacher in the community. From adolescence, he was attracted by Lurianic *Kabbalah and wrote books and sermons according to the Lurianic system. He would note his dreams in his books. These dreams are of great interest. Yakhini was also a rhetorician and a poet; in 1655 he published *Hod Malkhut*, an imitation of Psalms. He knew of Shabbetai *Ẓevi while the latter was in Constantinople in 1658. However, there is no indication that Yakhini believed his messianic claims. His detailed notes on Kabbalah from 1658 to 1663 are preserved in a manuscript (*Sefer Razi Li*) and contain no indication of Shabbateanism. Only with the outbreak of the Shabbatean movement in the fall of 1665 did Yakhini join the "believers." He became its leading disciple and major spokesman in Constantinople. He also traveled to Smyrna and was appointed as a "King of Israel" by Shabbetai Ẓevi in December 1665. After Shabbetai Ẓevi's apostasy, Yakhini persisted in his belief and remained the head of the Shabbatean minority in Constantinople. He maintained personal contact and corresponded with Shabbetai Ẓevi and the rest of the movement's leaders. His relations with the rabbis of Constantinople, who now took a negative view of Shabbateanism, were tense. But apparently they did not dare harm him. He circulated books and poetry in honor of Shabbetai Ẓevi and the Shabbatean faith until his death, and in the last year of his life he contacted Abraham Miguel *Cardozo. Even after his death, Yakhini continued to influence Shabbatean circles, especially the sect of converts to Islam, the *Doenmeh of *Salonika. The many tales about him in *Me'ora'ot Ẓevi*, (1813) are not based on historical sources but are the products of the imagination of an anonymous author who wished to write a novel on Shabbetai Ẓevi.

Of Yakhini's numerous works there have been preserved in manuscript *Sefer Razi Li* and *Peli'at Da'at* (Ms. Adler), *Sefer Vavei Ammudim* (Ms. Oxford), sermons on Shabbetai Ẓevi written between 1681 and 1682, a book of various notes which was in the possession of R. Abraham Danon, several pamphlets on the Lurianic Kabbalah, and sermons and poems in honor of Shabbetai Ẓevi. A long letter to the Christian scholar Warner (Ms. Leiden) is preserved.

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[Gershom Scholem]

YAKIR, YONAH (d. 1937), Soviet general. Born in Kishinev, Yakir commanded the 45th division of the Red Army during the Civil War and was later promoted to general with command of the Kiev district. He was one of the founders of the Red Army armored corps and in 1937 was made military commander of the Ukraine and a member of the Supreme Military Council. Shortly afterward Yakir was arrested on charges of spying and executed. He was posthumously rehabilitated in 1945 and a postage stamp was issued in 1954 in his memory.

YAKNEHAZ (Heb. יַקְנְהַ״ז), abbreviation composed of the initials of the Hebrew words; יַיִן *yayin* ("wine"), קִדּוּשׁ *Kiddush* ("sanctification"), נֵר *ner* ("light"), הַבְדָּלָה *Havdalah* ("separation"), and זְמַן *zeman* ("time," meaning blessing of the time, i.e., *She-Heḥeyanu*). The word served as a mnemotechnic aid for the correct sequence of the benedictions of the *Kiddush* on the eve of a festival which coincides with the conclusion of a Sabbath. The abbreviation originates in the Talmud (Pes. 102b–103a), and sounds similar to the German phrase "*jag den Has*" ("hunt the hare"). Hence also the hare-hunting scenes in many illustrated Passover *Haggadot* (e.g., *Haggadah of Mantua*, 1561).

YAKNEHAZ (pseudonym of **Isaiah-Nissan Hakohen Goldberg**; 1858–1927), Yiddish and Hebrew writer. Born in a village near Minsk, Yaknehaz began, in 1878, writing Yiddish and Hebrew literary essays which aroused great interest. A decade later, *Sholem Aleichem reprinted the most famous of these, *A Brif fun Lite keyn Amerike* ("Letter from Lithuania to America"), in which, as in hundreds of later tales and sketches, Yaknehaz portrayed the life of the small Jewish town in a simple unsophisticated style. He was popular among the masses for almost half a century. His influence on young Abraham *Reisen was considerable. After the Russian Revolution, he continued to publish in the Soviet Yiddish periodicals. The government of Soviet Belorussia granted him a pension. His collections of stories appeared in Minsk in 1940–41.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Rejzen, Leksikon, 1 (1926), 1273–75; LNYL, 4 (1961), 271f; Kressel, Leksikon, 1 (1965), 413f.

[Shlomo Bickel and Sol Liptzin / Gennady Estraikh (2nd ed.)]

YAKUM (Heb. יָקוּם; "He Shall Rise"), kibbutz in central Israel, in the southern Sharon, 7 mi. (11 km.) S. of Netanyah, affiliated with Ha-Kibbutz ha-Arẓi ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir. Yakum was founded in 1947, during the struggle of the *yishuv* with the Mandatory government. The founders were Israeli-born graduates of the Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir movement, joined mainly by immigrant youth from Holland, Bulgaria, and France. In 1970 Yakum had 358 inhabitants, in the mid-1990s the population increased to 470, rising still further to 523 by 2002. Farming was based mainly on plantations and dairy cattle. The kibbutz had a factory for specialized plastics products. In addition, it benefited from its proximity to the Tel Aviv conurbation. It had an interest in a nearby gas station, operated a convention center, and developed a hi-tech industrial park on its land.

WEBSITE: www.yakum.co.il.

[Efraim Orni / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

YALAN-STEKELIS (formerly **Wilensky**), **MIRIAM** (1900–1984), Hebrew poet and writer of children's literature. Born in Russia, Miriam Yalan-Stekelis immigrated to Ereẓ Israel in 1920, and lived in Jerusalem, working at Hadassah. From 1926 she was in the Slavonic Department (heading it 1929–56) of the Jewish National and University Library. Her husband was Moshe *Stekelis.

In 1922 she began to publish (two poems in *Ha-Ḥayyim*) and subsequently her works appeared in various newspapers and journals. Her children's poetry which first appeared in 1934 (mainly in *Davar li-Yladim*) was followed by many children's books. She received the Israel Prize for children's literature, 1957, and published three volumes of collected works, *Shir ha-Gedi, Yesh Li Sod, Ba-Ḥalomi* (1958–63). *Sheker*, a collection of three stories, appeared in 1966. A collection of poems and stories (*Shirim ve-Sippurim*) was published in 1987. Miriam Yalan-Stekelis translated to and from Hebrew, including Russian folktales into Hebrew, *Peraḥ ha-Shani* (1952), and the diaries and letters of J. Trumpeldor into German. In 1968 she published the memoirs of her father, Yehudah Leib Nisan *Wilensky, to which she added much biographical material.

ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY: Y. Zoref, *Shirat ha-Yeladim shel M.Yalan-Shtekelis* (1991). M. Regev, "*Bein Zikkaron Otobiografi le-Sippur Yeladim*,," in: *Ma'agalei Keriah*, 22 (1994), 21–25; M. Rosenberg, *Iyyunim bi-Shetayim mi-Yẓirot M. Yalan-Shtekelis* (1993).G. Almog, *Tefisot Olam ve-Gishot Ḥinukhiyyot bi-Yẓiratah shel M. Yalan-Shtekelis li-Yeladim* (1995); R. Garon, *Reẓef u-Temurah be-Shirat ha-Yeladim shel M. Yalan-Shtekelis* (1996); R. Gonen, "*Miryam Yalan Shtekelis bi-Re'i ha-Iyyur*," in: *Iyyunim be-Sifrut Yeladim*, 12 (2002), 39–59; G. Almog, "*Bein Sippur le-Shir*: *M. Yalan-Shtekelis*," in: *Iyyunim be-Sifrut Yeladim*, 13 (2003), 63–73.

[Getzel Kressel]

YALKUT (HA-) MAKHIRI (Heb. יַלְקוּט הַמָּכִירִי), an anthology of aggadic Midrashim by Machir (Makhir) b. Abba Mari, on the lines of the **Yalkut Shimoni* but more limited in scope. The following extant portions have been published: Isaiah (1893) by J.Z. Kahana-Spira; Hosea (in: JQR, 15 (1924/25), 141–212) by A.J. Greenup; the rest of the Minor Prophets (1909–13) also by Greenup; additional fragments of Hosea and Micah in the *Gaster Anniversary Volume* (1936), 385–73) by J. Lauterbach; Psalms (1900) by S. Buber; Proverbs, chapters 2–4 (1927) by J.M. Badhab; Proverbs 18–31 (1902); and fragments of Proverbs 2, 3, 13, and 14 (in: E. Gruenhut, *Sefer ha-Likkutim*, 6 (1903) by E. Gruenhut. In the extant introductions at the beginning of Isaiah and Psalms, Machir mentions a *Yalkut* to the "Prophets, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel." In view of this separate mention of Jeremiah and Ezekiel, Greenup assumes that "Prophets" refers to the Early Prophets and that the author intended to cover all the books of the Bible, excluding those covered by the *Midrash Rabbah*. This, however, is doubtful; the "Prophets" may refer to the later prophets and the Hagiographa. It is certain, however, that only part of the original *Yalkut* has been preserved.

The *Yalkut* includes quotations from many sources: the tannaitic and amoraic literature and many of the homiletical Midrashim. The sources are usually given, though sometimes merely "Midrash" or "Midrash *Aggadah*" is stated; also, the quotations are not always to be found in the existing editions of the sources indicated. Machir is usually exact in giving the actual language of his sources, and as he had many manuscripts (apparently of Sephardi origin) before him, his work is often a basis for restoring the correct reading. There is no information about Machir or the period when the *Yalkut* was compiled. The author traces his ancestry back six generations, but these ancestors cannot be identified. The colophon to the Leiden manuscript states that it was sold in 1415, thus determining the latest possible date the work was compiled. Most scholars attribute it to the 14th century, but Gaster was of the opinion that it was compiled in the 12th century, apparently in Spain, and assumed that the author of part two of the *Yalkut Shimoni*, who according to Gaster lived in the 14th century in Spain, made use of the *Yalkut* (*ha-*) *Makhiri*, abridging and summarizing it. This theory has, however, been disproved by Epstein. Both Epstein and Buber claim correctly that neither anthologist knew the other and point out that they differ in their method of citing sources, that each of them cites Midrashim unknown to the other, and that certain Midrashim were known to them under different names. That it was compiled in Provence, the generally accepted opinion, merely because the name Machir was known there, is not supported by internal evidence or by the local dialects. On the contrary, Machir's use of a *Deuteronomy Rabbah* (published by S. Lieberman, 1940, 1965^2) which was known only in Spain and the statement of Shabbetai Bass in the *Siftei Yeshenim* (Amsterdam, 1680, 29, no. 42) possibly relying upon a tradition that "the *Yalkut* (*ha-*) *Makhiri* was compiled before the Spanish expulsion" (*Kunteres Aḥaron*,) at least tends to support the assumption that Machir came from Spain.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: S. Buber, in: *Ha-Ḥoker*, 2 (1894), 88–96; J. Piumer, in: *Me'assef*, 2 (1902), 37–43; M. Gaster, in: REJ, 25 (1892), 44–64 (= *Studies and Texts*, 3 (1925–28), 57–68): idem, *Exempla of the Rabbis* (1924), 35–39; A. Epstein, in: REJ, 26 (1893), 75–82: Zunz-Albeck, Derashot, 415.

[Jacob Elbaum]

YALKUT SHIMONI (usually referred to as **"the Yalkut" of Simeon of Frankfurt**) the best known and most comprehensive midrashic anthology, covering the whole Bible. Some scholars (S.J. Rapoport, etc.) claimed that its author and compiler was Simeon Kara, the father of Joseph Kara and a contemporary of Rashi, but A. Epstein showed that there is no basis for this view. He proved that the Simeon mentioned by Rashi is not the compiler of the *Yalkut* and attributed it to a Simeon ha-Darshan, who lived in the 13th century. Nothing is known of this Simeon, except for a reference by M. Prinz to a "Rabbenu Simeon, chief of the preachers of Frankfurt." The copyist of the Oxford manuscript of 1308, as well as the publishers in Salonika, simply refer to him as *ha-darshan* ("the preacher"), but Prinz's view that he came from Frankfurt is supported by the traditions of the Jews of that town. Zunz dated the Midrash to the 13th century based on the facts that Nathan b. Jehiel of Rome, Rashi, and other 12th-century scholars did not know the *Yalkut*, its use of sources which date at the earliest from the end of the 11th century (according to Zunz – including *Exodus Rabbah, Numbers Rabbah, Midrash Avkir, Divrei ha-Yamim ha-Arokh*, etc.) as well as the fact that Azariah dei *Rossi had a manuscript of it written in 1310. Not all of Zunz's arguments are valid. For example, Rapoport has shown that the *Yalkut* does not utilize *Exodus Rabbah* and *Numbers Rabbah*, but Zunz's view as to its date prevails, despite Gaster's claim that it was compiled in Spain in the 14th century. The attempt of Aptowitzer to predate it to the middle of the 12th century is not convincing. Nevertheless, the *Yalkut* began to circulate widely only at the end of the 15th century, becoming popular and relied on to such an extent that the study of its midrashic sources was neglected. The reason for its late circulation lies in the historical circumstances of those times. The copying of a work of such great volume as the *Yalkut* was difficult and the period was equally barren in creativity in other spheres. The first to mention the *Yalkut* was Isaac Abrabanel, and his son Samuel possessed a copy of part of the *Yalkut* to the prophets.

The aim of the compiler of the *Yalkut* was to assimilate the bulk of rabbinical sayings at his disposal, following the order of the verses of the Bible. It contains more than 10,000 statements in *aggadah* and *halakhah*, covering all the books of the Bible, most of its chapters, and including commentaries on a substantial part of individual verses. He collected material from more than 50 works (in *halakhah* and in *aggadah*) both early and late. The *Yalkut* is the only source for some of them, including *Sifrei Zuta, Yelammedenu, Midrash Esfah, Midrash Avkir*, *Midrash Tadshe*, *Devarim Zuta*, etc. The identification of these works was made possible in part by the author's custom of noting the source for his statement (in the manuscripts they are in the margin, in the first printed edition in the text, and in later printed editions again in the margin). These source-notes, however, are incomplete; in hundreds of places no reference is given and even in cases where they are, mistakes and corruptions have crept in, many of them in the late editions.

The *variae lectiones* of the *Yalkut* are of great importance, but great caution must be exercised in relying upon them, especially as regards the later editions, for three reasons: Sometimes the compiler based himself on faulty manuscripts; his method of assembling statements from various sources and combining them caused him at times to abridge and even alter them; and editors and printers used a free hand in altering passages according to their own views. Their tendency, in the words of M. Prinz in the introduction to his edition (Venice, 1566), was to straighten out the words "that were topsy turvy, first things last and last things first, omissions and additions, letters and words distorted and crossed out, partially obliterated and worked over," at times adding to the corrupt state of the text.

Many paragraphs in the *Yalkut* are numbered and are commonly designated *remazim* ("allusions") by the author, though he sometimes employs the term *siman* ("sign") and in a number of places *erekh* ("topic"). The total number of these *remazim* is 966 (963 in the Salonika edition) for the Pentateuch and 1,085 for the other books of the Bible. The method followed in numbering the *remazim* is puzzling: the author does not number each quotation, and although there are numbers covering a few lines dealing with a single dictum (Isaiah 444 has 3 lines) there are also some of exceptional length containing numerous statements extending to several columns (cf. Deut. 938). There are *remazim* which cover the commentary to two successive paragraphs and some even to two successive books. Zunz regarded this numbering as arbitrary, but it seems probable that it served an internal need of the book itself, its purpose being not to divide the work into sections, but to indicate those statements to which he intended to refer in some other part of his work. In fact, in the Oxford manuscript and in the Salonika edition, the number is placed by the side of the particular statement to be referred to elsewhere and not at the beginning of the section (this explanation was put forward by H.Z. Finkel of Jerusalem, and cf. D. Hyman, in: *Hadorom*, 12 (1960), 144–7 and *Mekorot Yalkut Shimoni* (1965), 6–7). In addition to these *remazim*, in various books there is an added division whose nature is not always clear. From the indications in the first edition, it is clear that the author follows the order of books of the Bible given in the Talmud (BB 14b), placing Jeremiah and Ezekiel before Isaiah. In the printed editions the accepted order has been followed, and in consequence the printers, at the beginning of the commentary to Isaiah, quoted the relevant passage from *Bava Batra*, "the sages have taught that the order of the prophets is Joshua, Judges, Samuel, Kings, Jeremiah, Ezekial, Isaiah, the Twelve," and explaining that this accounts for the order in the numbering of the *remazim*. From the Venice edition (1566) onward the numbering is also corrupt.

The numbering of the Psalms in the *Yalkut* differs from the traditional one. The anthologist notes the number at the beginnings of each Psalm and only gives 147. This division was customary in the amoraic period, and the author apparently took it from the Midrash to Psalms which interpreted the verse (Ps. 22:4) "Yet thou art holy, O Thou that art enthroned upon the praises of Israel" (i.e., Jacob) to mean that "the 147 Psalms in the Book of Psalms correspond to the 147 years of Jacob." This division appears only in the Salonika edition and was subsequently blurred. The chief printed editions of the *Yalkut Shimoni* are Salonika editions, Prophets and Hagiographa (1521) and Pentateuch (1526). To this edition a *kunteres aḥaron* (addendum) was added (at the end of part 1) containing 256 *remazim* from the *aggadot* of the Jerusalem Talmud, with deviations from the present order of the tractates and 55 *remazim* from the *Midrash Yelammedenu* on the Pentateuch to all of which cross-references occur in the main work. This addendum was omitted from all subsequent editions. Since then the *Yalkut* has been published frequently but many errors have crept into it. For accurate reading one can rely only on the Salonika edition, which was published from manuscripts, and on the manuscripts available today in the libraries of Oxford, Vienna, Parma, and Hamburg, although they are mostly fragmentary and even in their totality do not cover all the books of the Bible. A. Epstein, in dealing with the differences between the Salonika and Venice editions, proved that the editor of the Venice edition, Meir Prinz, used the printed Salonika edition as the basis of his edition, although he made many changes to it at his discretion, and this impaired it. Hyman, in his *Mekorot Yalkut Shimoni* to the Prophets and Hagiographa, gives the sources of the *Yalkut* in accordance with the manuscripts and first editions and adds his own sources. He also gives the passages, including several long and important ones, which occur in the first edition and in the manuscripts but were excluded from the later editions by the censor.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Zunz-Albeck, Derashot, 146–9, 443–7; A. Epstein, in: *Ha-Ḥoker*, 1 (1891), 85–93, 129–37; idem, in: *Ha-Eshkol*, 4 (1902) 273–5; 6 (1909), 183–210; idem, *Mi-Kadmoniyyot ha-Yehudim* (1957; = vol. 2 of his *Kitvei*), 278–327, 351–4; idem, in: REJ, 26 (1893) 75–82; M. Gaster, *The Exempla of the Rabbis* (1924), Eng. pt. 21–39; E.Z. Melamed, *Midreshei Halakhah shel ha-Tanna'im be-Talmud Bavli* (1943), 68–70; D. Hyman, in: *Hadorom*, 12 (1960), 144–7; idem, *Mekorot Yalkut Shimoni* (1965), introd; S. Abramson, in: *Sinai*, 52 (1963), 146.

[Jacob Elbaum]

YALON (originally **Distenfeld**)**, HANOCH** (**Henoch**; 1886–1970), Hebrew linguist. Born in Trutky, near Lopatin in Galicia, Yalon was influenced by his older brothers who had become *maskilim*, and became well versed in the Hebrew literature of the *Haskalah. At the age of 22 he went to Lemberg (Lvov) where he taught Hebrew. He studied Akkadian at Lemberg University and during World War I moved to Vienna where he studied Semitic languages at the university.

Yalon was invited in 1921 to teach at the Mizrachi Teachers' Seminary in Jerusalem, where he was employed until 1946. He then devoted his life solely to research. In 1962 he received the Israel prize for Jewish scholarship. In 1963 a jubilee volume was published in his honor.

Yalon's published work is comprised only of articles, most of which were collected in three books: *Mavo le-Nikkud ha-Mishnah* ("Introduction to the Vocalization of the Mishnah," 1964); *Pirkei Lashon* ("Studies in the Hebrew Language," 1971; posthumously); and *Megillot Midbar Yehudah* ("Studies in the Dead Sea Scrolls," 1967). He also edited *Kunteresim le-Inyenei ha-Lashon ha-Ivrit* (vol. 1, 1937–38; vol. 2, 1938–39; altogether four issues); and *Inyenei Lashon* (two issues, 1942–43).

Yalon's achievements as an innovator in the field of research on the Hebrew language were considerable. His studies cover all periods of the history of the Hebrew language: the Bible, mishnaic Hebrew, *piyyut*, medieval grammarians, Hebrew poetry in Spain, rabbinical Hebrew, grammarians of more recent centuries, and the Haskalah literature down to the contemporary spoken language. Yalon was the first to recognize the importance of the living traditions of Hebrew, especially that of the Yemenite community. While teaching at the Mizrachi Seminary, whose students came from all ethnic groups in the country, he observed the differences between the living traditions. He found that the Yemenite tradition was close to Hebrew and Aramaic with the Babylonian vocalization. Up to this time it was customary to dismiss the oral traditions of the various communities as "errors." Yalon, however, showed that sometimes their traditions had a Hebrew basis which was different from that transmitted by the masoretes of Tiberias.

His approach established research in mishnaic Hebrew grammar on a new basis. Like J.N. *Epstein, by whom he was greatly influenced, and S. *Lieberman, he realized that the printed versions of mishnaic Hebrew texts were unreliable and therefore one must go to the manuscripts. Consequently he showed that between the grammar of mishnaic Hebrew and biblical Hebrew there were far greater differences than had been thought up to his time.

His achievements were no less in the field of criticism. Yalon wrote about scholars who were fixed in their views which were based on past and dated scientific methods. Outspoken and very sharp in his criticisms, Yalon showed great courage in his attack. His critical activity was admirable for he persisted in it knowing that it would have little effect. Only toward the end of his life he realized that his teachings, and not those of his rivals, had triumphed in the research of Hebrew linguistics in Israel. To the public at large Yalon was known mainly as the scholar who had vocalized the six books of the *Mishnah (with a commentary by Ḥ. *Albeck, 1952–58, 1958–592). Yalon did not aim at a pure scientific vocalization which would reflect the original form, but at times he even left the faulty vocalization which had become sanctioned through the acceptance of all the communities for many generations.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Sefer Ḥanokh Yalon* (1963), 9–50; Y. Kutscher, in: *Haaretz* (April 13, 1962, March 27, 1970, March 30, 1971).

YALOW, ROSALYN SUSSMAN (1921–), U.S. medical physicist and Nobel laureate in physiology or medicine. Yalow was born in New York and received her B.A. from Hunter College (1941) and M.S. and Ph.D. in nuclear physics from the University of Illinois under the direction of Maurice Goldhaber (1945). After teaching at Hunter (1946–50), she started her long association with the Bronx Veterans Administration Hospital. She set up the radioisotope service over the period 1950–70 and became head of the nuclear medicine service (1970–80), senior medical investigator (1972–92) and director of the Solomon A. Berson Research Laboratory (1973–92). She was also appointed research professor (1968–74) and distinguished service professor (1974–79) in the department of medicine of the affiliated Mt. Sinai School of Medicine. Yalow was professor at large at Albert Einstein College of Medicine and Yeshiva University (1979–85) and chairperson of the department of clinical science at Montefiore Hospital in the Bronx (1980–85). She was professor emeritus from 1985 and Solomon A. Berson Distinguished Professor at Large at Mt. Sinai School of Medicine from 1986. Her collaboration with Solomon Berson began in 1950 and lasted until his death in 1972. They developed the technique of radioimmunoassay which became the standard method of measuring small amounts of peptide hormones and other substances in blood and tissues for research and routine clinical purposes, and they established the basic principles of subsequent immunoassays. Throughout her career she made major contributions to studies of hormones and especially insulin in health and disease. Yalow was awarded the Nobel Prize for this work (1977) jointly with Roger Guillemin and Andrew Schally. Her other honors include the Gairdner Award (1971), the inaugural Hagedorn Memorial Lecture (1973), membership in the U.S. National Academy of Sciences (1975), and the Lasker Award for Basic Medical Science (1976). Yalow was an early advocate and role model for women's right to pursue a career in science.

[Michael Denman (2nd ed.)]

YALTA, city and port in the Crimea, Russia. The winter palace of the czar's family, Livadiya, was situated near the town and as a result Jewish residence was restricted. From 1837 to 1860 Jews were forbidden to live there at all. Between 1860 and 1893 the prohibition was lifted, but from 1893 only those Jews who were registered as inhabitants or those with rights to reside anywhere in Russia were authorized to remain there. The others, including sick persons who had been sent there for convalescence, were expelled. In 1897 there were 1,025 Jews (approximately 8% of the total population) in Yalta. By 1926 their numbers had increased to 2,353 (6.2%). With the German occupation of Crimea at the end of 1941, the Jews who had remained in the town were concentrated in a ghetto and on Dec. 16–17, 1941, about 1,500 people were murdered.

By 2005, Yalta had a Jewish community center and a charity center called Hesed Naftul. In 2004, for the first time in 80 years, a Sefer Torah was brought to the town by a group of rabbinical students.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Merder fun Felker* (1945).

[Yehuda Slutsky]

YALTA (fourth century C.E.), wife of Naḥman (d. 320) and daughter of the Exilarch (Kid. 70a). When Naḥman entertained prominent scholars he would ask them to send her their greetings. On one occasion he asked Rav Judah, a prominent contemporary, who was visiting him on a legal matter, to send her greetings. Judah objected, however, quoting successive statements in the name of Samuel as to the impropriety of having associations with women. Yalta thereupon sent a message to her husband: "Settle his case before he makes you appear like any ignoramus" (*ibid.*, 70a–b). On another occasion, when her husband was entertaining *Ulla, and the latter stubbornly refused to send her any wine of the cup over which he had recited a blessing, she reportedly broke 400 jars of wine in her anger (Ber. 51b). She also apparently had a sharp tongue, and commented on his refusal, "Gossip comes from peddlers and vermin from rags," i.e., what can you expect from a man like that? (*ibid.*). When dissatisfied with the ruling of one rabbi she appealed to another, apparently concealing from him the fact that she had already consulted one (Nid. 20b). She once said to her husband, "The Torah has permitted something of a similar taste for everything it has forbidden; I would like to eat meat in milk," whereupon he told the butcher to give her roasted udder (Ḥul. 109b).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Hyman, Toledot, 757f.

[Harry Freedman]

YAMIM NORA'IM (Heb. יָמִים נוֹרָאִים; "Days of Awe"), a term applied to the period from the first day of *Rosh Ha-Shanah until the *Day of Atonement and more particularly to these two festivals. This period is more commonly referred to as the *Ten Days of Penitence. *Yamim Nora'im* is also the title of a compilation on the subject by S.Y. *Agnon.

YAMMIT REGION.

Upbuilding

Of all the new regions whose development was projected after the 1967 Six-Day War, the northeast corner of Sinai initially appeared to be the least promising. This was the Rafiah Salient, which later became known as the Yammit Region, an area whose thick dune cover gave it the aspect of a typical desert. With a scant rainfall of 5–8 inches per year, it was obvious that water for development purposes would have to be taken from Israel's scanty supply. Prospects for future settlement seemed poor. The region was inhabited by several thousand semi-sedentary bedouin, who eked out their livelihood from flocks of sheep and goats, some date-palm groves and rhicinus bush plantations, and small vegetable plots in the depressions between shore dunes. Occasionally they supplemented their income by selling quails, which they caught along the shore during the season of migratory flight.

However, Israel's ruling party at the time, the Alignment Party, felt the necessity of creating a barrier in this region between Egypt and the Gaza Strip, even though in principle they were not opposed to the return of territories for peace. For this reason, it was decided to develop the area.

Once construction was begun, Yammit soon proved its superiority to other regions of settlement, in several respects: The sand dunes were found to be well suited to drip irrigation farming, and the mild climate was beneficial to crops. The water supply was augmented by a shallow coastal aquifer, although it was still necessary to obtain water from Israel's national carrier. It therefore became possible to plan for a larger area of cultivation and a larger population than were originally envisaged. The fine beaches were a tourist attraction. Moshe Dayan, among others, suggested developing Yammit as Israel's third Mediterranean seaport, and industrial firms considered the possibilities for establishing various enterprises. The planning authorities also intended substantial improvements for the local Bedouin as well. Yammit was also blueprinted as a favorable inflow site for the projected Mediterranean–Dead Sea saltwater canal.

By 1977, the year of Sadat's peace initiative, the town of Yammit had over 2,000 inhabitants and was growing fast. By 1981, another 2,000 were living nearby, in the rural center of Avshalom, the kibbutzim Sufah and Ḥolit, and the moshavim Dikla, Ḥaruvit (Tarsag), Ne'ot Sinai, Netiv ha'Asarah, Nir Avraham, Peri'el, Sadot, Talme Yosef and Ugdah. Several more settlements were in the planning stage, and reclamation work by JNF crews was under way. Over 12,000 dunams were under irrigation. Roses, carnations and other flowers were being cultivated in more than 200 greenhouses, as well as under light cover and in open fields. Citrus groves, vineyards and orchards of tropical fruit such as mangoes were flourishing. The settlers tended vegetables, principally out-of-season winter crops, both in greenhouses and in the open. Their fruit and flowers found a ready market in Europe. Scientists contributed their expertise in the areas of water usage, new equipment, construction of greenhouses, seed selection, etc., thus enhancing Israel's reputation for agricultural research. Moshav Sadot, with 70 families and a population of over 350, was one of several settlements which greatly increased their farm production by employing bedouin laborers. They incurred criticism from the Moshav Movement and Labor circles in general for this step, which was seen as a departure from their ideological principles and an inducement to outside Arabs to settle nearby and swell the region's non-Jewish population. A modern, well-equipped regional school was established near Sadot, and Yammit also established educational facilities. In the south of the region, the Etam military airport was considered the most advanced of its kind.

To the Evacuation

Even after Sadat's visit to Jerusalem, it was generally felt that everything possible should be done to retain the Yammit Region. The Likkud government later agreed to suspend the establishment of new Yammit Region settlements while continuing to develop those already in existence. This was done as a gesture to Egypt and the U.S. But Egypt adamantly insisted on a return to the pre-1948 borders, and the 1978 Camp David Accords dashed any hope that Egypt would permit the settlers to remain in Sinai after it was returned to her. In the Knesset discussion on Camp David, both the Likkud coalition and the Alignment opposition defined the evacuation of the area as Israel's most painful concession, but most held it to be an unavoidable step in the peace process. (There were, however, dissenters in both parties, and in the religious and nationalist parties as well.) Among certain circles the hope was expressed that something might occur in the two-and-a-half years remaining before the set evacuation date, which would prevent the evacuation of the Sinai settlements, without, however, interrupting the peace process. Begin decreed that everything should proceed normally in the region until the very last day. In July 1981 the chairman of the Knesset Security and Foreign Committee, Moshe Arens, expressed his reservations concerning the decision to cede northern Sinai, and in August Prime Minister Begin declared that Israel would have to reconsider the evacuation timetable if the Egyptian president continued to stall on renewal of talks on autonomy in Judea and Samaria. Sadat's murder (October 6 1981) raised expectations among the opponents of evacuation that the timetable might be postponed, but this was not the case. One week later the Israel government unanimously agreed to proceed with implementation of the peace treaty as planned. On October 20 President Mubarak announced his intention of continuing the peace process even after Egypt had received all of Sinai. Some Israelis feared that the Sinai evacuation would set a precedent affecting all the administered regions, but others felt that it was a conciliatory step that could win Western and Egyptian acceptance of a continued Israeli presence in Sinai.

These speculations disrupted plans for the orderly liquidation of property in Sinai, with minimal losses to the settlers and the State. They also hampered plans for developing the Pitḥat Shalom (Peace Salient) area in the northwestern Negev, to where most of the Yammit villages were due to be transferred.

It was generally accepted that the settlers should be compensated for the time, money and pioneering efforts that they had invested in the Yammit area. Furthermore, it was hoped that generous remuneration would encourage them to found new settlements elsewhere in Israel. But as a result of the uncertainty surrounding the actual evacuation of Yammit, costs soared and negotiations were protracted. Moreover, opinions differed as to the extent and nature of the compensation, and the amount to be deducted for income tax. The government offered advance payment to the settlers to enable them to prepare in good time for their new lives elsewhere, and after much controversy, the Knesset adapted the Compensation Law on March 30, 1982.

More serious was the struggle with the "League for Preventing the Sinai Retreat" (also known as "Ma'oz"). At its core were *Gush Emunim and the Ha-Teḥiyyah Party (an extreme nationalist political party), but it had many other sympathizers, including some within the government. In May 1979, when Ne'ot Sinai (the settlement closest to El-Arish) was handed over to Egypt six months in advance as a goodwill gesture, volunteers from the League joined local settlers in protesting the move and clashed violently with Israeli soldiers who were sent to remove them.

Ma'oz initiated the founding of new settlements in the westernmost part of the area. Ḥaruvit was established at the time when the Knesset was endorsing the Camp David Agreement, Aẓmonah in 1980, Ḥaẓar Adar in December 1981, and Ma'oz ha-Yam as late as January 1982. Groundbreaking ceremonies were attended by many sympathizers, including some from the Labor Party. These gatherings, although unauthorized, were permitted to take place. The movement also occupied houses left by settlers who had returned to the "Green Line" (the original boundaries of the State of Israel). Ha-Teḥiyyah demanded a plebiscite on evacuation, and the League's nationwide street poll claimed to have collected 700,000 signatures. More volunteer "nuclei" were created in Yammit, Talme Yosef, and Nir Avraham, with the number of "squatters" mounting to 200, and later 350 families. However, not all the veteran settlers welcomed their presence and there were cases of blows and quarrels. Government reaction was divided between those who demanded a forceful reaction and those who advised moderation.

At the end of February 1982 the army set up road blocks to prevent all but genuine inhabitants from entering the area. Defense Minister Ariel Sharon declared March 1 to be the evacuation date, instructing the army to refrain from using violence under any circumstances. The Yammit and Merḥav Shelomo regions were pronounced military zones. Tension rapidly mounted, the inhabitants staged a demonstration of passive resistance to the army, and supporters in Israel declared hunger strikes. Evacuation was postponed until April 1, but permission was obtained for the settlers to remain for the Passover holiday.

On April 19, the army began to remove the resisting settlers and Ma'oz militants. Rabbi Meir Kahane, leader of the Jewish Defense League, rushed from New York to Yammit, where some of his followers were threatening to commit suicide in their bunker rather than comply with the army. He managed persuade them to leave. From April 23, all remaining buildings and installations were systematically reduced to rubble and then flattened, and roadways were torn up. Resistance eventually petered out with no serious clashes. The last Israelis departed on April 25, and by April 26, 1982, all of Sinai was in Egyptian hands.

[Efraim Orni (2nd ed.)]

YAMPOLSKY, BERTA (1934–), choreographer and artistic director of the Israel Ballet. Born in Paris to Russian parents, Yampolsky immigrated at a young age with her family to Israel. She studied with Valentina Archipova Grossman and Mia *Arbatova and continued her studies at London's Royal Ballet. She and her husband, Hillel Markman, were leading soloists in many dance companies all over the world and returned to Israel in 1964. In 1967, the husband-and-wife team established the Israel Ballet. As its choreographer, she produced dramatic ballets, abstract and contemporary in the neoclassical style. In 1977, in Santiago, Chile, she was awarded the prize for the best foreign choreographer for her work entitled *Dvořák Variations*. She created most of the dances for the company, including *The House of Bernarda Alba* (1978), *Carmen* (1980), *Untitled* (1981), *Mendelssohn Concerto* (1982), *Opus 1* (1983), *The Nutcracker* (1985), *Two by Two* (1989), *Harmonium* (1989), a full-length version of *Romeo and Juliet* (1989), *Valse Mephisto* (1992), *Gurre Lieder* (1996), *Ecstasy* (1998), and *Medea* (1999). The repertoire of the company includes a number of works by George Balanchine, as well as works by Roberto Lazzini, Heinz Spoerli, Roberto Trinchero, and the renowned work of John *Cranko, *Onegin*.

In 1998, she received the Minister of Education and Culture Lifework in Dance Award. In 2004 the company numbered 35 dancers, most of them Israeli-born, some immigrants from the former U.S.S.R. and the rest from Western countries. The troupe performed in Israel and at major dance festivals abroad.

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[Ruth Eshel (2nd ed.)]

YANG-CHOU (formerly **Wei-yang**), city in Kiangsu province, China. It had connections with the Jewish community of *Kaifeng. A few scattered references to Jewish and Chinese individuals from Yang-chou are found in the Chinese stele inscriptions of the Kaifeng Jews, dating from 1489 and 1512, and several Chinese officials from Yang-chou helped in the preparation of these inscriptions. A member of the Kaifeng Chin family had his home in Yang-chou, but he donated "a copy of the Scriptures of the Way [*Tao*], and set up the second gateway" in the Kaifeng synagogue. The oral tradition of the existence of a sizeable community and even of a synagogue in Yang-chou cannot be corroborated.

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[Rudolf Loewenthal]

YANKOWICH, LEON RENE (1888–1975), U.S. jurist. Born in Romania, he went to the U.S. in 1907. In 1927 he was appointed to the Superior Court bench in Los Angeles County, California, and in 1935 he became a judge of the Federal District Court. He sponsored social legislation for women, was an authority on the law of libel, and as judge became famous for liberal decisions in favor of illegitimate children and in favor of the federal government's claim of mineral lands against the claims of Standard Oil Co. of California.

[Milton Ridvas Konvitz (2nd ed.)]

YANNAI, or **Yannai Rabbah** (**the Great**), early third century Palestinian *amora*. It seems highly likely that the late "*tanna*" Yannai, who is mentioned in Avot 4:14, and Tosefta Sanhedrin 2:5, is to be identified with the early *amora* Yannai (S. Friedman, Language and Terminology in Talmudic Literature). According to a genealogical scroll found in Jerusalem, Yannai was descended from the high priest, Eli (TJ, Ta'an. 4:2, 68a). Yannai transmitted some halakhic rulings in the name of Judah ha-Nasi (TJ, Ḥag. 3:2, 79b), but his main teacher was Ḥiyya, whom he consulted in difficult cases, and who predicted that Yannai would one day to be a leader in Israel (TJ, Dem. 7:1, 26a). Yannai's daughter married a son of Ḥiyya (Ket. 62b), and he also had a son, Simeon (TJ, MK 2:2, 81a). Though Yannai is recorded in one place as having prayed in Sepphoris (TJ. Ber. 4:6, 8c), Halevi maintains that he always lived in Akbara in Upper Galilee. There he established an academy (TJ, Er. 8:4, 25a), where his pupils lived as a family and tilled the land in addition to their studies (TJ, Shev. 8:6, 38b). The rulings of the academy of Yannai are frequently quoted in the Talmud. His best known pupils were *Oshaiah (Ket. 79a), *Aibu (Kid. 19a), and above all, Johanan and Resh Lakish, who transmitted many of his halakhic decisions (TJ, Kil. 8:1, 31b; BK 52a and 115a; et al.). After his death his pupils turned to Yohanan for guidance (TJ, Shev. 8:6, 38b). Yannai was noted as both a halakhist and an aggadist. An important principle enunciated by Yannai has become part of the general Jewish outlook: danger may not be incurred in the expectation of a miracle (Shab. 32a). He counseled submission to the ruling power (Zev. 102a), and permitted the fields to be sown in the sabbatical years (regarding its force as only rabbinical) to meet the government's heavy taxation (Sanh. 26a). He also ruled leniently with regard to tithing (BM 87bf.).

Yannai was a wealthy man (Kid. 11a), owning an orchard (MK 12b) and vineyards (BB 14a). He was very charitable and at one time, for certain religious reasons, declared the fruit of his orchard free to all for one year (MK 12b). His sensitivity to the feelings of the poor is indicated in his dictum, "Better not to give charity at all, than to shame the recipient by giving it to him in public" (Ḥag. 5a). He compared the man who studies without fear of God to one who makes his door before erecting the building (Shab. 31b). The commandments would retain their validity, he held, even after the *Resurrection of the Dead (Nid. 61b). According to a tradition in the Babylonian Talmud, in his last testament he enjoined his children not to bury him in white, lest his place be among the wicked and he would appear like a bridegroom amid mourners, nor in black, lest his place be amid the righteous, and he would appear like a mourner amid bridegrooms (Shab. 114a).

Apart from Yannai the Great, there were several other *amoraim* of this name. Since the name is often given without patronymic or title, it is not always clear to whom it refers. Yannai b. Ishmael, a Palestinian *amora* of the late third century, is mentioned several times. Laws are quoted in his name concerning liturgy (Ta'an. 14a) and in several aggadic passages, one concerning the tragic victims of Bethar (Git. 58a) and others dealing with biblical themes (BM 86b). A general plea for tolerance may be read into the reply he attributes to Abraham's visitors, who, when he invited them to wash their feet (Gen. 18:4), rebuked him: "Do you take us for Arabs who worship the dust of their feet? Ishmael (who does likewise) has already issued from you" (BM 86b).

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[Benjamin Cohen]

YANNAI, liturgical poet, one of the principal representatives of the old Palestinian *piyyut*.

References to Yannai in the Sources

Yannai is first mentioned in *Kirkisani's *Kitāb al-Anwar* (beginning of the tenth century) once, together with Eleazar (i.e., *Kallir) and Phinehas, as a composer of Hebrew hymns, and in two other places as an authority on religious law. Kirkisani mentions that *Hai (b. David), head of the Pumbedita academy, and his father, after having found rabbinical sources for all but two rules in *Anan's Karaite code of law, finally found these in Yanai's *Ḥazzanah*. Around the same time *Saadiah names the following among the "elder poets" whose verses he declares as models: *Yose b. Yose, Eleazar *(Kallir), *Joshua, and *Phinehas. An anonymous manual of poetry from Saadiah's circle cites poems by the "famous Yannai" as the example of rhymed prose. An anonymous poem of similar provenance, and the grammarian *Yehudi b. Sheshat (second half of the tenth century), name Yannai and Kallir in succession. *Gershom b. Judah (*Me'or ha-Golah*) states that Yannai, whom he cites as one of the earliest authors, composed *kerovot* for all weekly Torah portions. Finally, in a Hebrew manuscript (Munich, Ms. 69) and in a liturgical work of Ephraim of Bonn, Yannai is named as Kallir's teacher. Ephraim adds that in "Lombardy" (i.e., Italy), Yannai's hymn "*Onei Pitrei Raḥmatayim*" is not recited because he was considered to be Kallir's murderer: he supposedly put a scorpion in his pupil's sandal, thus causing his death.

Rediscovery of Yannai's Works in the *Genizah*

Yannai is not mentioned in later literature; modern research made his name and works known again. The scholars who first engaged in research on Yannai had only fragments of a *kerovah* ("*Onei Pitrei Raḥamatayim*") and a *piyyut* ("*Az Rov Nissim*") from the Passover *Haggadah* as material (it was later discovered that this *piyyut* was part of the *kerovah*). Yannai's personality was brought into new light only in the 20th century with the discovery and publication of Cairo *Genizah fragments. In 1901 S.H. Wertheimer published two poems attributed to Yannai (*Ginzei Yerushalayim*, 2 (1901), 18b). In 1903 S. Poznański found a list of books where the *Ḥazzanah* of Yannai is mentioned as a special work (JQR, 15 (1903), 77, no. 12). Davidson's publications opened new horizons for research into Yannai. In 1910 he found a *Genizah* fragment with quotations and beginnings of poems from the "*Maḥzor Yannai*"; this established the existence of a greater poetic work of Yannai's. In 1919 he found in some Greek-Hebrew *genizah*, fragment palimpsests (published by F.C. Burkitt in *Fragments of the Book of Kings* (1897), and by C. Taylor in *Hebrew-Greek Cairo Genizah Palimpsests*, 1900) some of Yannai's *kerovot* which were thought lost, and which he later published with notes by L. Ginzberg (*Maḥzor Yannai* (1919)). In 1928 Davidson found – following a suggestion by Brody – three other poems by Yannai among the *Genizah* fragments in the Bodleian Library: he published them in *Genizah Studies* (vol. 3, 1928). Paul Kahle published, in the *Masoreten des Westens* (1927; 24–27 (Heb. part) with Ger. translation, 59–66), two poems that had already been published as anonymous in 1898–99, with supralinear (Palestinian) vocalization, which he recognized as Yannai's. Apart from that, Kahle found some *Genizah* fragments in Cambridge (Taylor-Schechter Collection) and in Leningrad/St. Petersburg (Collection of the Archimandrite Antonin), which also contained *kerovot* by Yannai and which were in part published by M. Kober (1929). Many more texts by Yannai were identified by J. Schirmann in the large *Genizah* collections especially in Cambridge in 1931 and 1932. They were photographed for the Archives of the Berlin Institute for Research of Hebrew Poetry, together with thousands of other *Genizah* fragments. M. Zulay discovered many more unknown texts by Yannai among the fragments and collected all Yannai's works known to him, in a critical edition (1938). Zulay, more than any other researcher, was interested in Yannai, and apart from important text editions, also conducted intensive research into Yannai's language. J. Mann (1940), S. Widder (1941), I. Sonne (1944), Zulay himself (1947), A. Diez-Macho (1955), and A. Murtonen (1958) published important additions to Zulay's preceding work. Among the most recent publications of Yannai's poetry, it is worth mentioning J. Yahalom's (1978), and above all the edition of Z.M. Rabinowitz (1985–87), with the additions and comments of N.M. Bronznick (2000).

Yannai's *Kerovot*

Davidson established already in his first publication the scheme of the structure of Yannai's *kerovot*, which with some modifications is still valid. (It is doubtful that Yannai invented the special structure of the *kerovah*; its regular and rather complicated features make a slow evolution probable.) This type of *kerovah* served as the model for all his successors, although they differ in many details. Yannai wrote essentially two kinds of *kerovot:*

(1) The *kedushta*, a poem for the Sabbath *Shaḥarit* (morning service) based on the first three benedictions of the *Amidah* and dealing with the biblical portion of each Sabbath. The third *kedushta* contains Yannai's name in an acrostic; it also alludes to the *haftarah* of the relevant biblical portion;

(2) The *shivata*, for the *Musaf* and the eve of Sabbaths and festivals, based on seven benedictions of the *Amidah* (the first three and the last three being always included).

Yannai's Dates

A close relationship between the older Palestinian Midrashim and Yannai's poetry can be established by numerous parallels in content and style. It cannot be determined, however, whether the Midrashim influenced his poetry, or whether both, belonging to approximately the same period, represent the same spirit in somewhat different forms. It is difficult to accept Yannai's compact style with its many allusions to classical sources as his own creation. Between Yannai and *Yose b. Yose – his only predecessor known by name – there is a linguistic disparity which can be explained only by assuming several intermediary stages in language development between them. Furthermore, it is clear that Yannai lived some centuries before Saadiah, who already considers Yannai to belong to the dim past. As historical perspective was undeveloped in Kirkisani's day, his reference (see above) does not prove that Yannai lived before Anan, but only that a later author (Hai b. David) found two points of Karaite law in Yannai's work. The tale of Yannai's relation to Kallir, being legendary, does not help in the determination of Yannai's dates, apart from the fact that Kallir's dates too are uncertain. While modern scholars have accepted the sixth–seventh century as a dating for Yannai, an older one (fourth–fifth century) is also possible.

Yannai's Provenance

For several reasons, it is obvious that Yannai must have lived in Palestine. His *kerovot* are written according to the *triennial Palestinian cycle; only Christians are named as Israel's enemies; and his name is usually spelled יַנַּיי, according to the usage of the Jerusalem Talmud, and not יַנַּאי. Other Diaspora countries were not yet Jewish cultural centers and, therefore, cannot be taken into account. What Gershom b. Judah says of him (see above) has been fully confirmed by modern research. Yannai's *Ḥazzanah* (Arabization of the Hebrew *ḥazzanut*, "liturgy") must have contained *kerovot* to all the portions of the (triennial) Palestinian cycle; used by the Palestinian community in Cairo, it was fragmentarily preserved there in the *Genizah*. The work could have been considered as a source of religious law, as it contained, apart from the *aggadah*, much halakhic material. With the rapid diffusion of Kallir's works, though, it became obsolete and lost its standing in literature.

Yannai was probably the first, or one of the very first, to introduce into the tradition of Jewish liturgical poetry the rhyme and the alphabetic and nominal acrostic.

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[Jefim (Hayyim) Schirmann]

YANNAI (Jannaeus), ALEXANDER (b. c. 126–76 B.C.E.), Hasmonean ruler of Judaea (103–76 B.C.E.), son of John Hyrcanus; was high priest and king. According to Josephus, Yannai was hated by his father and for this reason was forced to spend his childhood in Galilee. When his eldest brother, Aristobulus, inherited the high priesthood from their father, he was imprisoned together with other brothers and his mother for fear they would attempt to seize power. Upon the death of Aristobulus, his widow, Salome Alexandra, designated Yannai as the successor, and the new high priest married his sister-in-law, in accordance with the Jewish rite of levirate.

Since Josephus holds that Aristobulus had already transformed the government into a kingdom, he also assumes that Yannai inherited the kingship from him. However, Strabo's assertion (16:2, 40) and the testimony of Aristobulus' and Yannai's coins may support the opinion that Aristobulus never was a king and that Yannai became a king only at a later stage of his rule.

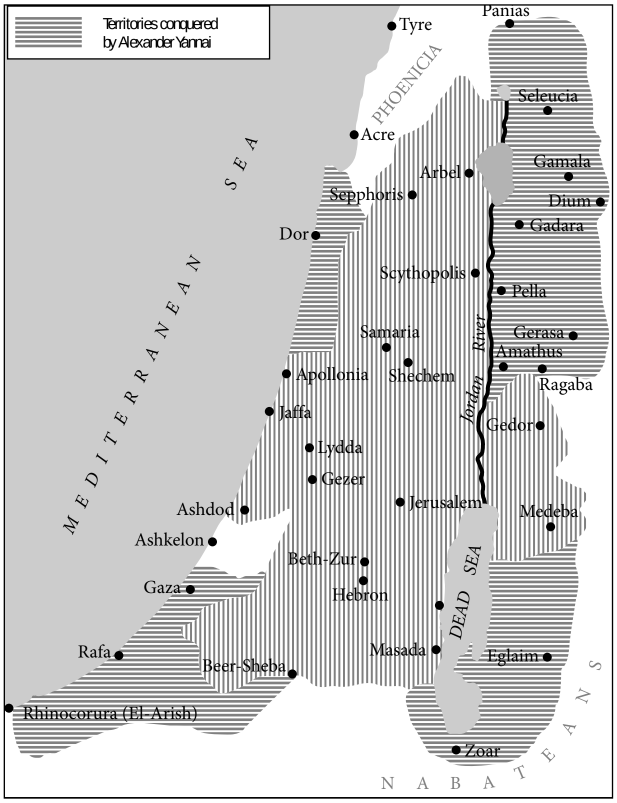

The kingdom of Alexander Yannai, 103–76 B.C.E. Based on Zev Vilnay, New Israel Atlas, *Jerusalem, 1968.*

The political history of Judaea under Yannai may be divided into four periods. The first period extends from 103 until about the year 95. At the start of his rule, Yannai took advantage of the dissensions inside the Ptolemaic kingdom and besieged one of the most impressive Ptolemaic strongholds on the Mediterranean coast: Ptolemais (Acco). Ptolemy Lathyrus, who previously was compelled to retreat to Cyprus by his queen Cleopatra III, his mother, promptly reacted. While leaving part of his army besieging Ptolemais, he invaded Judaea and defeated Yannai. The latter was saved only by Cleopatra's intervention. She launched a military campaign against Lathyrus, took again Gaza and Ptolemais, and forced him to retreat again to Cyprus. Thus freed from Lathyrus' threat, Yannai seems to have turned to Transjordan, perhaps in order to take revenge upon Lathyrus' allies, notably Theodorus, the tyrant of Amathus. Yannai succeeded in conquering Gadara in Transjordan, and Amathus. In the meantime, Cleopatra met her death, while Lathyrus carried on waging war against his brother Ptolemy Alexander. As a result, Yannai turned again to the Mediterranean coast, and this time, he succeeded in subduing Gaza (c. 96). By this time, he had gained control of the entire coastal region from Mount Carmel in the north down to the Egyptian border (with the exception of Ashkelon).

The second period extends roughly from c. 95 to 88. It seems that strengthened by his successes, Yannai assumed the title of king only at this stage of his rule, thus claiming to be free of any other political power. In any case, Yannai's military policies may have overly angered the Jewish population and a civil war broke out, which lasted six years and whose leaders were probably the Pharisees. Since they were unable to defeat the king's army reinforced by mercenaries, they called the Seleucid overlord of Judaea, Demetrius III, to come and fight against Yannai. Demetrius invaded Judaea and defeated Yannai near Shechem (89/88 B.C.E.). Taking advantage of Yannai's weakness, the *Nabateans compelled him to relinquish the territories he previously conquered in Transjordan.

In the aftermath of his defeat, Yannai was compelled to renounce the title of king. He seems to have spent the next three years fighting his Jewish opponents and recovering from his bitter defeat. Having subdued their most powerful stronghold, Bethoma, he made his opponents prisoners, and bringing them back to Jerusalem, he ordered eight hundred of them to be crucified. Both Josephus and Qumranic *Pesher Nahum* echo the horror of such a cruel deed.

The last period of his rule (84–76 B.C.E.) was the culmination of his power and of the territorial expansion of his kingdom. Both Ptolemaic Egypt and Seleucid Syria were on their decline. Although he still endured attacks from Seleucids, Antiochos XII Dionysus attempted to again subdue Judaea on his way against the Nabateans and from Nabateans themselves, when Aretas became the ruler of Damascus. However, with the appearance of the Armenians under Tigranes in 83 B.C.E., and Lathyrus' death in 80 B.C.E., Yannai got rid of his old enemies and felt free to recapture most of the territory east of Jordan, the Decapolis and Golan. New series of coins were struck bearing the title of king once again.

Yannai met his death while besieging Regev, a fortress east of Jordan. According to his will, the throne went to his widow. He left two sons, Hyrcanus and Aristobulus, the former nominated high priest by Alexandra, until the civil war which erupted after the death of their mother (67 B.C.E.).

Yannai and the Pharisees

Josephus on the one hand and rabbinic sources on the other record a number of clashes between Yannai and the Pharisees (e.g., Ant., 13:372–383; Kid. 66a; Sot. 47a; Sanh. 19a). However, according to Josephus (Ant., 13:400–404), on his death bed the king advised his wife to yield a certain amount of power to them, so that she could govern with no problems.

Yannai and Qumran Literature

Yannai appears at least in two Qumranic compositions. *Pesher Nahum* is indignant of the way the "Lion of Wrath" took revenge of "those who seek smooth things" by hanging men alive after Demetrius' unsuccessful attempt to conquer Jerusalem (1Qp Nahum 1:2–8). The historical coincidence points to Yannai's deed against his opponents, mainly Pharisees (here surnamed "those who seek smooth things").

Although the king is named "Alexander Yannai" by Josephus and "Yannai the king" by rabbinic literature, his full name was "Alexander Jonathan" (or "Yehonathan") as attested to by his coins. Therefore most scholars think a previously unknown prayer (4Q448) recalls him when speaking of "Jonathan the king." The editors understood the prayer as "for the welfare of King Jonathan and his kingdom." However the meaning of the biblical phrases quoted by the author suggests another interpretation. It is rather a call to God to arise against Jonathan the king so that God's kingdom may be blessed.

Another group of texts, mainly *Pesher Habakkuk*, recalls the way the "Wicked Priest" persecuted the "Teacher of Righteousness," the head of the Dead Sea sect, and his group. The phrase "Wicked Priest" seems to aim at the High Priest living in Jerusalem, contemporary of the Teacher of Righteousness. Thus some scholars identify this figure with Alexander Yannai, while other scholars seek to identify him with one of his predecessors or successors. An additional hypothesis suggests to understand the phrase "the Wicked Priest" as a generic surname referring to each of the Hasmonean rulers, one after the other. The various opinions seem to result from the supposed times of the Teacher of Righteousness.

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[Emmanuelle Main (2nd ed.)]

YARCHO, NOE (Noah; 1862–1912), Argentine physician. Yarcho was one of the first to practice medicine in the settlements of the *Jewish Colonization Association (ICA) in Argentina. Born of a religious family in Slutsk, Russia, he worked for a while in England and in 1893 he left for Argentina, accompanied by his wife, sister of the cooperativist leader Miguel *Sajaroff. They settled in the center of the Jewish settlements of Entre Ríos. In 1894 Yarcho faced an exanthematic typhoid epidemic which exhausted the newly arrived settlers. He later wrote the first medical study on this disease to be published in Argentina. He practiced his profession with fervent idealism, striving to give spiritual as well as physical help to the Jewish and native settlers of the vast region.

[Lazaro Schallman]

YARDENAH (Heb. יַרְדֵּנָה), moshav in northern Israel, 7 mi. (12 km.) N.E. of Beth-Shean, affiliated with Tenu'at ha-Moshavim. Yardenah was founded in the framework of the "town to country movement" in 1952 by laborers originating from Iraqi Kurdistan. The moshav, with 370 inhabitants in 1968, was outstanding among the Jewish settlements for the large size of its families. Ever since its founding Yardenah suffered from enemy attack and, in the period after the *Six-Day War (1967), came under particularly frequent and heavy shelling from Jordanian artillery from beyond the border. Intensive field crops, especially cotton, constituted the prominent farming branch. In 2002 Yardenah's population was 439. The name is derived from the nearby Jordan River.

[Efraim Orni]

YARĪM, town in the central mountains of *Yemen, about 60 miles (100 km.) south of *San'a on the way to Ta'izz, built on a 2,400 m high plateau and dominated by the massif of nearby Mount Sumarrah, which rises to about 3,000 m. Yarīm is rich in historical sites, including Ḥimyari. In antiquity, the Yarīm area was the core of the state of Ḥimyar, which ruled over much of southern *Arabia from about 115 B.C.E. to 575 C.E. The Ḥimyari capital was Ẓafar, about 10 miles (15 km.) south of Yarīm. In the geonic period there existed in Yarīm an important community which contributed to the Babylonian academies. One of the last *geonim* complained to two inhabitants of Yarīm that their townspeople had stopped sending contributions to the academy and demanded that what was legally owing to the academies be sent to him. There is no further record of Jews in Yarīm until the 18th century, when the traveler *Niebuhr makes a parenthetical reference to them. He writes that when, in 1763, the grave of one of his fellow travelers, who had been buried in Yarīm, was desecrated, the Jews were forced to see to his reburial, since they had to perform all lowly tasks. During the last generation before the emigration to Israel, the 100-family Jewish community dwelt in a separate neighborhood, with four synagogues. Their leader was R. Ḥayyim Qāfiḥ, whose father Mussa Qāfiḥ functioned as the regional governor under the Ottoman Turks, entitled to judge Jews as well as Muslims. Some of the Jews were wholesale traders, but most of them were craftsmen: weavers, ironsmiths, cobblers, potters, and carpenters.

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[Yosef Tobi (2nd ed.)]

YARIV (Rabinowitz), AHARON (1920–1994), Israeli soldier and politician. Yariv was born in Riga, Latvia, and immigrated to Ereẓ Israel with his parents in 1935. He joined the *Haganah in 1938 and in World War II served in the Palestinian units of the British army and with the Jewish Brigade.

On the outbreak of the War of Independence he was appointed deputy-commander of the Alexandroni Brigade and subsequently commander of the Carmeli Brigade. He was later appointed head of operations of the Israel Defense Forces and from 1954 to 1956 headed the newly formed Staff School of the Army. In January 1964, he was appointed chief of military intelligence, a position he held until his release from the army in 1972 when he was appointed adviser to the prime minister on the war against terrorism abroad, serving in that capacity until 1973. On the outbreak of the Yom Kippur War he was appointed assistant to the chief of staff, and headed the negotiations for the disengagement of forces with Egypt on the Cairo-Suez road. Elected to the Eighth Knesset on behalf of the Israel Labor Party he was appointed minister of communications in the government of Golda Meir in March 1974 and minister of information in the government of Yitzhak Rabin in June of that year, but resigned in January 1975.

YARKON or **ME-YARKON** (**Jarkon**; Heb. מֵי [הַ]יַּרְקוֹן), river on the border of the tribe of Dan, which is described as passing Bene-Berak, Gath-Rimmon, and "Me-Jarkon, and Rakkon, with the border over against Joppa" (Josh. 19:45–46). The majority of scholars, regarding the form Rakkon as a haplography, identify the Yarkon mentioned there with the river known in Arabic as Nahr al-ʿAwjā, the second largest source of water in Israel. The Yarkon rises from the vicinity of Tell Aphek (Ra's al-ʿAyn), approximately 8 mi. (13 km.) from the sea, and after describing a bow to the north, falls into the sea at Tel Aviv, after a course of approximately 16 mi. (26 km.). It receives several tributaries, of which the Naḥal Natuf (Wadi Deir (Dayr) Ballūṭ), from the north, and the Naḥal Aijalon (Wadi al-Muṣrā), from the south, are the largest. At present, the river is barred by a sandy spit, but in ancient times it was navigable for a certain length. This explains the existence of an ancient port and storage center at Tell Qasīle, approximately 2 mi. (3 km.) inland, on the northern bank of the river.

The name Yarkon is derived from the root *yarok* ("green"), which refers to the color of its waters. According to Greek legend, it was in the waters of this river that Perseus washed his sword after killing the dragon and liberating Andromeda on the rocks before Jaffa; therefore, at certain seasons, its waters run red. This fact is explained by the red soil (*ḥamrā'*) through which the Yarkon runs. In the Mishnah (Par. 8:10), it is referred to as Me-Puga, the waters of Pegai (the Greek name for Tell Aphek, from where the river rises). It is listed in the Talmud (BB 74b) and elsewhere as one of the four rivers of the Holy Land; due to its swampy origin, its waters were unusable for service in the Temple. As the most prominent of the east-west water courses passing the coastal plain, the Yarkon served as the boundary of the territories of Jaffa, Philistia, and Judea at various times. Passage over it was sufficiently difficult to cause the course of the Via Maris to be diverted so as to pass Tell Aphek, a fact which explains the importance of this site. Alexander Yannai tried to use the line of the river as an obstacle to the advance of the Seleucid army southward by fortifying it. Remains of his fortifications have been found at various places in Tel Aviv.

In early Arab times, the Yarkon was called Nahr Abu Fuṭrus, a corruption of the name *Antipatris, the city founded by Herod at Tell Aphek. On its banks the famous battle of al-Tawwāḥīn between the Tūlūnid Egyptian and the Abbasid troops was fought for the possession of Palestine in 885. In Crusader times, it was known as the "River of Jaffa" (Flum de Japhe), rising at the "tower of the silent springs" (*Toron quod superiacet surdis fontibus*). Even at that time it was called Nahr al-ʿAwjā ("the tortuous river") by the Arabs, a name which the Crusaders corrupted to les Loges. The first accurate mapping of the Yarkon was made by Jacotin in 1799. In the 19th century, its basin became one of the centers of Jewish settlement, beginning with Petaḥ Tikvah and then Bene-Berak, Ramat Gan, and Tel Aviv. Its waters were used for irrigation and other purposes by the settlements along its course; a project to exploit it for generating electricity had to be given up. The crossing of the Yarkon by Allenby's army in 1917 marked the culmination of the first British campaign in Palestine. In recent years, half of its waters have been diverted to irrigate the Negev, thus reducing its level and drying out its bed drastically. The establishment of new settlements and industries along its course introduced pollutants into the water. As a result, only in the eastern part of the river, near its sources, is there running water. Its western part contains seawater. In 1988 the Yarkon Authority was established to clean up the river, and a large park, the Yarkon Park, was created on its western bank. However, the river remained polluted, and the Maccabiah tragedy of 1997, when a bridge collapsed as the Australian contingent crossed it, cost people their lives due to exposure to the polluted waters of the Yarkon.

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[Michael Avi-Yonah / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

YARKONAH (Heb. יַרְקוֹנָה), moshav in central Israel, in the southern Sharon south of Hod ha-Sharon. Yarkonah was founded in 1932 by veteran farm laborers of the "illegal" immigration and *Third Aliyah who, in the initial years, developed their homesteads and farms while continuing to earn their livelihood as hired laborers. After the *War of Independence (1948), two more moshavim, Adanim and Neveh Yarak, were established in the neighborhood. In 1970, Yarkonah had 110 inhabitants, in the mid-1990s the population grew to approximately 150, and in 2002 to 272. Its farming consisted mainly of citrus groves.

[Efraim Orni]

YARKONI, YAFFA (1925–), Israeli popular singer. Born in Givatayim, Yarkoni first became known during the War of Independence in the *Ḥishtron* military troupe, whose repertoire mainly suited the salon, e.g., the tangos "*Sheḥarḥoret*," "*Ḥabibi*," and "*Al Na Tomar Li Shalom*." At the same time, Yarkoni also sang military songs such as "*Bab el-Wad*." Although these were seen as a break with her previous style, in fact many songs, like "*Ha'amini Yom Yavo*," shared features of both. Shortly after the war, Yarkoni also became a leading singer of children's songs like "*Aggalah im Susah*," a song that combines Russian and Oriental influences. Yarkoni also followed folkloristic trends, especially in the masterful recordings with the Emanuel Zamir group. She remained a leading figure in Israeli popular music during the 1950s and 1960s. She performed the winning songs in 1965 and 1966 Israel Song Festival. In the 1970s she participated in several children's song festivals. Around 1970 she had new successes, such as "*Keshehayinu Yeladim*" (1969) and "*Pamela*" (1971). After the early 1970s she recorded few new songs but did produce new versions of her old repertoire, many of them collected in a 5-CD compilation of her songs (1998). In 1998, Yarkoni was awarded Israel Prize for her achievements in the field of Hebrew song.

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[Yossi Goldenberg (2nd ed.)]

YARMOLINSKY, AVRAHM (**Abraham**; 1890–1975), U.S. literary scholar and biographer. Born in the Ukraine, Yarmolinsky immigrated to the U.S. in 1913. He was head of the Slavonic division of the New York Library (1918–55) and was active in stimulating Slavonic research.

His major works include *Turgenev: The Man, His Art, and His Age* (1926); *Dostoevsky, A Life* (1934; republished in 1957 as *Dostoevsky, His Life and Art*); and *Literature under Communism* (1969), a study of literary policy under Stalin after World War II. He translated (with his wife Babbette *Deutsch) *Modern Russian Poetry* (1921), *Contemporary German Poetry* (1923), and *Russian Poetry* (1927). Yarmolinsky's Jewish interests were reflected in his study, *The Jews and Other Minor Nationalities Under the Soviets* (1928). He also wrote *Road to Revolution* (1957) and edited an *Anthology of Russian Verse, 1812–1960* (1962).

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[Sol Liptzin]

YARMUK (Heb. יַרְמוּךְ), a confluent of the Jordan River on its east side. The Yarmuk is the second largest river in Ereẓ Israel (after the Jordan) in volume, and the third largest in length (after the Jordan and Naḥal Paran); it is the largest river in Jordan. The etymology and meaning of the name are unknown. The Yarmuk is first mentioned in Hebrew in the Mishnah: "The waters of the Jordan and the Yarmuk are invalid because they are mixed waters" (Par. 8:10), i.e., it was forbidden to use them for sprinkling in cases of uncleanness, for which purpose only running water is permitted (Num. 19:17). According to *Estori ha-Parḥi, the mixed waters in the Mishnah refer to the waters of Ḥammat-Gader, which empty into the Yarmuk (*Kaftor va-Feraḥ*, 7, ed. Luncz, p. 125) – thus the Mishnah considered the Yarmuk as the river starting at Ḥammat-Gader and its continuation below. In the Babylonian Talmud (BB 74b) and *Midrash Tehillim* (to 24), on the other hand, the entire course of the river is called the Yarmuk, since it is enumerated as one of the four rivers comprising the border of Ereẓ Israel. The Yarmuk appears in variant spellings in Greek and Latin: Pliny the Elder, in the time of the destruction of the Second Temple, mentions it as Hieromices (not Hieromax) and it appears as such on coins of Gadara; on the Peutinger Map it appears as Heromicas. Byzantine writers of the 8th–11th centuries refer to it as Hiermochthas or Thos. In Arabic the lower course is called Nahr al-Yarmuk and the middle course is called Shariʿat al-Munaḍira.

On maps the upper course coincides with Wadi Zaydī, the longest intermittent stream joining the Yarmuk. Wadi Zaydī rises in the heights of Mt. Bashan and receives water from ephemeral streams descending from Tell al-Jaynāʾ and Tell al-Kulayb, for about 12½ mi. (20 km.). In the mountains it contains water all year long. In the tableland it passes by Bozrah and Edrei, and after this point its continuation, called Wadi al-Madān in Arabic, contains water most of the year and often all year long. About 9 mi. (15 km.) northwest of Edrei the Madān is joined by Wadi al-Dhahab, which also descends from the Bashan, and 2 mi. (3 km.) after this junction a tributary with abundant and perennial water – Wadi al-Bajja – empties into the Dhahab. Wadi al-Bajja issues from a small lake and springs in Muzayīb. From this junction and below, the Yarmuk is a perennial river even in years of drought. After Edrei the bed of the Yarmuk deepens and after passing the mouth of the Bajja it becomes a deep gorge, which is much lower than the plateau on both its sides.

The tributaries to the east and west have not cut courses as deep as the Yarmuk and the smaller they are the higher is the level from which they fall to the bed of the Yarmuk. Waterfalls are thus created – in the small tributaries, right on the slope of the Yarmuk, and in the large tributaries, which have hollowed out channels as deep as the main bed, at some distance away. The waterfalls are especially numerous during heavy rains, when water also rushes down the ephemeral streams. The first large permanent waterfall is situated near Zīzūn north of the Yarmuk. About 3 mi. (6 km.) west of Zīzūn the Yarmuk receives the al-Shallāla River, which flows from the south from northern Gilead near the Jabbok; it is a perennial stream for the last 12½ mi. (20 km.) of its course. Then the al-ʿAlān River flows from the Bashan plateau and joins Wadi al-Iḥrayr (or Ḥarīr) near its mouth. In Arabic the ʿAānl is called "*nahr*," i.e., a perennial stream, but this is true for only about 9 mi. (15 km.) of its length. The Iḥrayr rises in the northern Bashan tableland near the large village of Sanamayn, and the network of its tributaries also extends through the northern part of Mt. Bashan. Because of its large drainage area, huge quantities of water rush down during torrential rains and contribute much to the flooding of the Yarmuk.

The last large tributary of the Yarmuk is Nahr al-Ruqqād, which rises in northern Golan near Tell al-Shaykha and passes through the eastern part of the Golan. From the mouth of Wadi Shallāla to Ḥammat-Gader, the Yarmuk plain forms an arc to the north whose chord is about 12 mi. (19 km.) long, and when the lower part of the Shallāla is added, a semicircle is formed with a diameter of about 13½ mi. (22 km.). Inside the arc several small streams from the Gilead empty into the Yarmuk. From Ḥammat-Gader the Yarmuk flows in an easterly direction, and when it enters the Jordan Valley, it turns southeast to follow the southern slope of the valley. As long as the Yarmuk is in a gorge, its bed is 56 to 63 ft. (17 to 19 m.) wide and only a few small sections are not affected during its flooding. In the Jordan Valley the bed at first is only slightly lower than its banks but after several hundred meters the river bed cuts deeply into the soft marl soil.

A famous battle between the Byzantines and the Arabs was fought on the banks of the Yarmuk on Aug. 20, 636. Outflanked by the Muslims from the northeast and blinded by a desert wind from the sandy south, the Byzantine army perished in the ravines of the river gorge; this battle decided the fate of Syria in favor of the Muslims. In memory of this victory, the "Liberation Army" of Fawzi al-Kaukji in 1947 called itself the "Army of the Yarmuk"; it was defeated and dispersed in 1948 near *Mishmar ha-Emek.

To utilize the Yarmuk's water for irrigation by gravitation, it must be diverted before it leaves the gorge either into a canal extending along the eastern end of the Jordan Valley or into a high aqueduct. The former method was used by the Jordanians in 1960–62 and the latter by Jews in Jordan Valley settlements. In 1908 a railway line was installed through the Yarmuk Valley to connect Haifa with the Hejaz railway (now operating from Damascus to Maʾon in Edom), but in 1948 this linkup with Haifa was cut and the railway's importance ceased. From 1920 the Yarmuk formed the boundary between Syria and Jordan. Its name regularly crops in talks about a regional peace agreement in the Middle East, due to its importance as water source for Israel, Syria, and Jordan.

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[Michael Avi-Yonah / Abraham J. Brawer / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

YARON, REUVEN (1924–), Israeli scholar of Roman and ancient Near Eastern law. Yaron, born in Vienna, settled in Palestine in 1939. He taught jurisprudence at the University of Aberdeen (1956–57) and in 1957 began to teach Roman law at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem, and subsequently taught ancient Near Eastern law as well (from 1962). In 1967 he became dean of the law faculty at the Hebrew University. Yaron was an excellent Romanist and a leading historian of ancient Oriental law in the contemporary period, noted for his mastery of the sources and philology, methodological acumen, imaginative grasp of the legal milieu of antiquity, and selection of fundamental topics. His work testifies to the necessity of a background in non-Jewish legal developments for an understanding of Jewish ones. Yaron was appointed director of the Jewish National and University Library, Jerusalem, in 1973, resigning in 1978 when he was appointed head of the Israel Broadcasting Authority.

Yaron's works in English include *Gifts in Contemplation of Death in Jewish and Roman Law* (1960); *Introduction to the Law of the Aramaic Papyri* (1961); and *The Laws of Eshnunna* (1969, 1988^2). His Hebrew publications include *Ha-Mishpat shel Mismekhei Yeb* ("Laws of the Elephantine Documents," 1961) and *Meḥkarim be-Mishpat Romi* ("Studies in Roman Law," 1968).

YARON (Zinger), ẒEVI (1921–1977), Zionist thinker and educator. Born in Rzeszow, Poland; his family moved to Belgium in 1925. He escaped alone to England in 1940, studied at Yeshivat Etz Ḥayyim in London, and at Manchester University. During his stay in England he became a leading member of the Religious Zionist Youth Movement (Baḥad), serving as *madrikh* of the Thaxted Hachsharah Farm from 1945 to 1947 and director of the Mercaz Limud in Manchester from 1947 to 1950.

In 1950 he immigrated to Israel and was a founder of kibbutz Lavi in the Galilee, director of the cultural department of *Ha-Kibbutz ha-Dati from 1953 to 1957, deputy editor of the religious weekly *Panim el Panim*, and director of the religious section of the Youth and He-Ḥalutz Department of the Jewish Agency. He also taught at the School for Overseas Students of the Hebrew University.

He was a member of the Israel Interfaith Committee, editor of the quarterly *Forum*, and founder and first editor of *Ammudim*, the monthly of Ha-Kibbutz ha-Dati. His major work in addition to numerous articles on religion and state was *Mishnato Shel ha-Rav Kook* (The Teachings of Rabbi Kook, 1974).

YAROSLAVSKY, YEMELYAN (Gubelman; 1878–1943), Russian communist leader, publicist, and historian. Born in Chita, Yaroslavsky joined the Russian Social-Democratic Workers' Party at its founding in 1898 and became a close collaborator of Lenin. He moved to St. Petersburg in 1903 and participated in the revolution of 1905. During the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917, he was a leader of the armed uprising in Moscow and an active figure of the Communist Party. In 1923, he was made a member of the Central Committee of the Party. Yaroslavsky was one of Stalin's principal supporters. In 1921, he became one of the three secretaries of the Party Central Committee and in 1934 was made a member of the strategic Party Control Commission. He served on the Central Executive Committee of the U.S.S.R. and was a deputy to the Supreme Soviet. He was also a member of the editorial board of both the Party newspaper, *Pravda*, and the Party's theoretical organ, *Bolshevik*. Yaroslavsky acquired a notorious reputation as chairman of the League of Militant Godless, the Party organization that campaigned on behalf of atheism against all religions. He was the coauthor of an important history of the Soviet Communist Party, editor of the periodical *Istoricheskiy Zhurnal* ("History Journal"), and served on the editorial board of *Istorik-marksist* ("The Marxist Historian"), a major scholarly journal. During World War II he was head of the Communist Party's propaganda department.

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[William Korey]

YARROW, SIR ALFRED, FIRST BARONET (1842–1932), British shipbuilder. Yarrow was the son of an Anglican merchant; his mother, Esther Lindo, came from an old Sephardi family. Yarrow was educated at University College School, London, and was then apprenticed to a marine engineer. The firm he founded in the 1860s, Alfred Yarrow & Co., became one of the leading naval boat builders in the world, producing 29 destroyers and many gunboats and other vessels for the Royal Navy. Yarrow pioneered the torpedo boat as well as a variety of important innovations in ships' boilers and propellers and introduced aluminum and other lightweight materials into ship design. In 1906–8 he moved his works from London to the River Clyde near Glasgow. He gave very substantial sums to charity and in 1916 was made a baronet (a hereditary knight.) His son SIR HAROLD YARROW, Second Baronet (1884–1962), was chairman of the firm for 40 years.

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[William D. Rubinstein (2nd ed.)]

YARROW, PETER (1938–), U.S. folk singer, producer, composer, songwriter, member of the folk trio Peter, Paul and Mary. Born in New York City, Yarrow began his singing career after graduating from Cornell University. He moved to Greenwich Village, where he met Noel "Paul" Stookey and Mary Travers and formed the group Peter, Paul and Mary, which become the most popular folk group of the 1960s, as well as leaders of the 1960s folk revival. The group made its debut in 1961 at the Bitter End coffeehouse, a bastion of folk music, and recorded its eponymous debut album the following year, which spawned such hits as "Five Hundred Miles" and "Lemon Tree," as well as covers of Pete Seeger's "Where Have All the Flowers Gone" and "If I Had a Hammer." The album remained on the Billboard Top 100 for the next three years. "If I Had a Hammer" won the trio the first of its two Grammy Awards, for Best Performance by a Vocal Group and Best Folk Recording. The group's 1963 album, *In the Wind*, with its cover version of Dylan's "Blowin' in the Wind," sold 300,000 copies in less than two weeks. "Puff, the Magic Dragon," written by Yarrow as a college student in 1958, was first released on 1963's *Moving* and became a No. 1 single, and one of the most popular children's songs of all time. Yarrow's involvement in the U.S. civil rights movement led the group to sing "If I Had a Hammer" at the historic March on Washington in 1963, as well as to participate in the Selma-to-Montgomery march in 1965. Yarrow was an active participant in the anti-Vietnam War movement, and coproduced numerous events for the peace movement. The group supported Senator Eugene McCarthy's presidential campaign for the democratic nomination in 1968, and independently released a single titled "Eugene McCarthy for President." Yarrow married the senator's niece, Mary Beth McCarthy, and the couple had two children, but later divorced. *Album 1700* (1967) initially spawned two hits, "I'm in Love With a Big Blue Frog," and "I Dig Rock and Roll Music," but it was not until two years later when DJs started playing "Leaving on a Jet Plane," a song by the then-unknown John Denver, that the album saw a No. 1 hit. In 1970, Yarrow pleaded guilty to taking "immoral and indecent liberties" with a 14-year-old girl who came to his hotel room for an autograph, and subsequently served three months in jail. He was pardoned by President Jimmy *Carter in 1981. By the time the group broke up in 1970 to pursue solo careers, it had earned eight gold and five platinum albums. Yarrow continued to focus on his songwriting and political activism, and produced three Emmy Award-winning CBS specials based on "Puff the Magic Dragon." In 1978, Peter, Paul and Mary reunited for an antinuclear benefit, which led to sporadic reunion shows throughout the 1980s. The group released a record of new material in 1988, *A Holiday Celebration*, and subsequently released several live albums and a few new albums of original material. Their children's album, and accompanying television special, "Peter, Paul and Mommy, Too," won the group a Grammy and an Emmy. The group was inducted into the Vocal Group Hall of Fame in 1999.

[Harry Rubenstein (2nd ed.)]

YASKI, AVRAHAM (1927–), Israeli architect. Born in Kishinev, Yaski was brought to Palestine in 1935. A prizewinning architect, he designed the social sciences wing of the Givat Ram campus of the Hebrew University, the IBM building in Tel Aviv, the Ben-Gurion University of the Negev campus, and the Gilo neighborhood in Jerusalem. In 1982 he was awarded the Israel Prize for architecture.

YASSER, JOSEPH (1893–1981), organist, musicologist, and theorist. Born in Lodz, Poland, he began his musical studies in Moscow at the age of six under the pianist Jacob Weinberg. In 1917, he graduated from the Moscow Conservatory, where he studied with Alexander Goedicke and Leonid Sabaneyev. There he was appointed director of the Organ Department and concurrently served as organist for the Bolshoi Theater. Following a three-year sojourn in China, where in Shanghai he directed a choral society; he immigrated to the United States in 1923. Settling in New York, he established a reputation as a performing artist, whose organ recitals earned him positions at prestigious Reform synagogues, and ultimately as organist and choirmaster at Temple Rodeph Shalom from 1929 to 1960.

He published an important treatise, *A Theory of Evolving Tonality* (1932), which postulates the evolution from the primitive pentatonic (5-tone) through the diatonic (7-tone) and chromatic (12-tone) scale to the formation of an ultrachromatic scale of 19 microtonal intervals of equal size. His second and controversial treatise on *Medieval Quartal Harmony* (1938) proposed the 4th as a preferred interval over the 5th for accompanying plainchant. Yasser wrote articles on various aspects of Jewish and Russian music, served on the faculty of the Cantors' Institute at the Jewish Theological Seminary (1952–60), and was one of the founders of the American Musicological Society (1935); he was actively involved with the Jewish Music Forum (1945–55) and the National Jewish Music Council (1944–60).

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[Israel J. Katz (2nd ed.)]

YASSKY, HAIM (1896–1948), medical administrator in Palestine. Born in Kishinev, Bessarabia, Yassky took part in underground Zionist activities and in Jewish *self-defense in Odessa. He went to Palestine in 1919, just before his final medical examinations. After working as a sanitary inspector, he went to Geneva, completing his medical studies and specializing in ophthalmology. He joined the *Hadassah Medical Organization in 1921. In 1924 he successfully tackled the scourge of trachoma in Judea and earned wide recognition. Appointed director of Hadassah Medical Organization in 1931, he initiated the erection of the Rothschild-Hadassah University Hospital on Mount Scopus (1939), a medical center that established high standards in the Middle East. He developed blueprints for the Jerusalem Medical School and for the immigrant medical service. Yassky was killed by Arabs in the massacre of April 13, 1948, while leading staff and colleagues in a convoy from the city to Mount Scopus. The Hadassah Hospital in Beersheba and the chair of social medicine at the Hebrew University-Hadassah Medical School were named after him.

[Eli Davis]

YATED NEEMAN, Israeli daily newspaper published in Benei Berak. Established in 1985, *Yated Neeman* is the acronym of "*Yoman Da'at Torah*" ("Torah Opinion Journal"). It was founded as a rival newspaper by the Degel ha-Torah Party after Rabbi Eliezer *Shach, the spiritual leader of Lithuanian ("Litvak") Jews, resigned from the Council of Torah Sages – the umbrella group of ḥaredi rabbis – after the Council declined to publish his views in the Agudat Israel party newspaper *Hamodia* in a dispute with the Gur Rebbe over sanctioning the erection of a hotel in Tiberias at the site of Jewish graves. Its founding editor was Moshe Grylick. In 1988 he was succeeded by Natan Grossman.

Yated Neeman and *Ha-Modi'a* remained the only party newspapers in Israel, the former reflecting the views of Degel ha-Torah, as when it refused to take advertisements for housing in the ḥaredi town of Emanuel because it was beyond the "green line"; Shach argued that *piku'aḥ nefesh* (the saving of life) took precedence over the biblical injunction not to relinquish Jewish land in Ereẓ Israel.

In addition to party journalism, it also acted as an educational instrument. The newspaper was controlled by a spiritual committee, whose censors examined the contents of each issue – editorial and advertising – prior to publication to ensure it did not offend ḥaredi sensibilities. Sex-related content and pictures of women were taboo in conformity with ḥaredi views on modesty (*ẓeniyut*). The names of women journalists on the newspaper were abbreviated. Much crime went uncovered. Entertainment and sports were also not covered. In aspiring to build the model Jewish society, the ḥaredi newspaper was also a channel to educate readers in the historical ḥaredi opposition to Zionism as premature vis-à-vis the coming of the Messiah, and to attack Israeli institutions like the Knesset and the Supreme Court for making decisions regarded as running counter to Torah values.

It published eight pages daily, including national political news, news about the Lithuanian ḥaredi sector, and world news. On weekends it had two supplements: a magazine, and a *kadosh* section containing inspiring essays by rabbis on the weekly Bible reading, Jewish law, and Jewish history. On Thursdays there were family supplements geared to women and on Tuesdays a children's supplement.

Shach's death in 2001 left a void. The dispute over whether Rabbi Elyashiv or Rabbi Steineman would become Shach's recognized successor was also played out in *Yated Neeman*. The editors became divided, with the daily edition, edited by Grossman, identifying with Rabbi Elyashiv and the Sabbath edition identifying with Rabbi Steineman.

Nineteen percent of ḥaredim read *Yated Neeman* daily in 2005, and 21% read the Sabbath eve issue. A 1995 survey found that 64% of the newspaper's readers defined themselves as Lithuanian ḥaredim and 22% were undefined ḥaredim (only 7% replied that they were ḥasidim). The newspaper had to contend with a rival ḥaredi commercial press, which grew in the 1980s and 1990s. A weekly English-language newspaper broke away from the Hebrew paper and was published in the United States. In conformity with the ḥaredi rabbinic ban on the Internet, the newspaper had no website.

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[Yoel Cohen (2nd ed.)]

YATES, SIDNEY RICHARD (1909–2000), U.S. lawyer and congressman. Born in Chicago, Illinois, Yates received a B.A. from the University of Chicago in 1931 and a Juris Doctor degree in 1933. He was admitted to the Illinois bar in 1933, and practiced law in his own firm. He was assistant attorney to the Illinois Bank Receiver (1935–37) and assistant attorney general attached to the Illinois Commerce Commission (1937–40). He served in the U.S. Navy during World War II (1944–46). First elected to Congress in 1948, Yates was on the Appropriations Committee and the Committee on Small Business of the House of Representatives for ten years. In 1962 he yielded his seat to run successfully for the Senate. The following year President John F. Kennedy appointed him U.S. representative to the Trusteeship Council of the United Nations, with the rank of ambassador. There he served until 1964, when he returned to his former position in the House of Representatives, remaining there until 1999. A friend of Adlai Stevenson, he was always considered a liberal. He opposed the supersonic transport (SST) and the Sentinel antiballistic missile system (ABM), fought for ecology measures, urban housing improvements, and changes in the electoral system. Yates was a member of the American Veterans Committee, the Decalogue Society of Lawyers (editor of its bulletin in 1947), and the Chicago Council of Foreign Relations.

YAVETS, ZVI (1925–), historian. Yavets was born in Czernowitz, Romania, and made his way to Palestine in 1944. He obtained his doctorate from the Hebrew University of Jerusalem in 1956, and after few years as a lecturer at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, he moved to Tel Aviv University in 1959. In 1962–64 he served as dean of University of Addis-Ababa in Ethiopia. In 1964 he was appointed as dean of Humanities in Tel Aviv University and from 1966 he was chairman of the Department of History at Tel Aviv University. In 1970 he became chairman of the Graduate School of History. Yavets also held the Lessing Chair in Roman History from 1976. His book *Princeps and Plebs* (1969) was of seminal importance to the field of Roman history. His other books – he wrote 23 and edited 9 – and over 50 articles made significant contributions to the study of Greek, Roman, and Jewish history in ancient times. He was awarded the Israel Prize for the humanities in 1990.

[Fern Lee Seckbach / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

YAVIN, ḤAYYIM (1932–), Israeli TV news presenter. Yavin began his media career in 1956 on Israel's Kol Israel radio station as a news, entertainment, and music presenter. In 1962 he helped start up a new radio station, Ha-Gal ha-Kal, which later became Reshet Bet, Kol Israel's second station. Subsequently he became a producer, editor, and presenter in the documentary department. When the Israeli government decided to establish a TV channel, he was chosen to present the first news edition. From then on he was the main presenter of the nightly news on Israeli TV. He also produced TV documentaries and taught in academic institutions. Yavin was famous for his announcement of Menaḥem *Begin's 1977 election win with the single word *mahapakh* ("upset"), which marked a dramatic highpoint in Israeli broadcasting and became a Hebrew idiom. In 1977 he was awarded the Israel Prize for media.

YAVNE'ELI (Jawnieli, Warshavsky), SHEMUEL (1884–1961), labor leader in Ereẓ Israel. Born in Kazanka, a village near Kherson, Ukraine, Yavne'eli went to Ereẓ Israel in 1905, worked as an agricultural laborer in Judea, and contributed to the labor periodicals, particularly *Ha-Po'el ha-Ẓa'ir*. In 1911 he was sent to *Yemen at his own request by the Palestine Office of the Zionist Organization to study the Jewish community there and encourage it to migrate to Ereẓ Israel. He undertook two lengthy journeys in Yemen: one from *Aden through Sanʿa to Hodeida, and the other from Aden to *Hadramaut, reaching *Habbān. Yavne'eli rode on mules and donkeys; he was bearded and dressed in Yemenite fashion. The Jews of Yemen and Hadhramaut saw in him a harbinger of the imminent redemption of the people and the land of Israel through *aliyah* and by tilling the ancestral soil. The journey lasted over a year, and subsequently large groups of Yemenite Jews migrated to Ereẓ Israel, reaching it before the outbreak of World War I. The journey is described (with documents) in Yavne'eli's book, *Massa le-Teiman* ("Journey to Yemen," 1952). He was a member of the executive committee of the *Aḥdut ha-Avodah Party and later a member of the *Mapai central committee. He was also active in the *Histadrut in the cultural and educational spheres, and also in the social insurance system.

His other books include: *Bi-Negohot ha-Yamim* (collected articles 1951) and *Aliyat ha-Yesod* (1952). He edited the writings of Berl *Katznelson and published studies in Zionist history: *Tekufat Ḥibbat Ẓiyyon* (2 vols., 1961^{2}) and *Be-Vokrah shel Tenu'ah* (1939). Three volumes of his collected works appeared in 1961–62 (bibliography of his writings, vol. 3, 335–56).

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YAVNEH, development town in central Israel, 5 mi. (8 km.). S.W. of Reḥovot. At the end of the 19th century the population of the Arab village Yibn, on the site of historical *Jabneh, increased due to the proximity of such Jewish settlements as *Gederah and *Reḥovot, which supplied opportunities for hired labor and constituted markets for farm products. Arab farmers added garden crops to their grain fields and later planted citrus groves. In 1943 the village had about 3,600 inhabitants and in 1947 about 4,000. During the *War of Independence *Haganah forces occupied Yibnā in May 1948, thereby halting the Egyptian army's advance against Jaffa and Tel Aviv. From the end of 1948 Jewish immigrants were housed in the abandoned village, and in 1949 a number of moshavim – Ben Zakkai, Bet Gamli'el and Benayah – were founded in the vicinity. Yavneh gradually became a semi-urban agglomeration and received municipal council status. In the first phase, small trade, hired labor in farming and industry, and some auxiliary farming formed a narrow economic base. Living standards were low, housing was often primitive, and social cases were numerous. With progressive industrialization, including the transfer of several enterprises from the Tel Aviv area to Yavneh, the town progressed economically, particularly in the 1960s. It contains leather, textiles, metals, and other industries. New housing quarters were built and social and educational standards improved. Its population increased from 1,600 in 1953 to over 10,100 in 1970. By the mid-1990s the population was 25,600, further rising to 31,700 in 2002 and occupying an area of 12 sq. mi. (30 sq. km.). Yavneh received city status in 1986. The main latter-day economic branches were industry, crafts, commerce, and services. A splendid *Mamluk building is traditionally held to house the tomb of R. *Simeon ben Gamaliel II, the Sanhedrin president at Jabneh.

WEBSITE: www.yavne2000.net/yavne/index.html.

[Efraim Orni / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

YAVNEH (Heb. יַבְנֶה), kibbutz in the southern Coastal Plain of Israel, about 5 mi. (8 km.) S. of the town of Yavneh, affiliated with Ha-Kibbutz ha-Dati. It was founded in 1941 by pioneers from Germany. They were later joined by members from English-speaking and other countries and by Israeli-born graduates of the *Bnei Akiva movement. Yavneh soon became a center of the religious kibbutz movement and set up a yeshivah, Kerem be-Yavneh, and a *Youth Aliyah village, Givat Washington. In 1970, Yavneh numbered 645 inhabitants; a further 200 lived at the yeshivah. In the mid-1990s the population was approximately 730, rising to 1,030 in 2002. The kibbutz developed intensive, mostly irrigated farming as well as having poultry, turkeys, dairy cattle, and field crops. It also produced cattle feed and had a hatchery turning out 600,000 chicks a week along with a food preserves plant and watch factory. The historical name Yavneh was chosen for the kibbutz for its proximity to the historical site of *Jabneh.

[Efraim Orni / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

YAVNEH-YAM, LEGAL DOCUMENT FROM, an inscribed potsherd (maximal measures: 8 × 6 in., or 20 × 16 cm.) containing a Hebrew letter of 14 lines, found in the guardroom of an ancient fortress excavated at Meẓad Ḥashavyahu by J. Naveh (1960), about one mile south of Yavneh-Yam (Minat-Rubin). The examination of the pottery found on the site (partly East Greek sherds of the Middle Wild Goat Style from 630–600 B.C.E.), the historical and geographic considerations, as well as the paleographic evidence indicate that the fortress was built by *Josiah king of Judah (640–609 B.C.E.).

The letter begins with the following phrase: "Let my lord the governor hear the word of his servant." The addressee apparently was Josiah's military governor in the newly conquered coastal area which formerly belonged to the Philistines. In the letter, written by a local scribe, a reaper, who was employed in harvesting at a royal estate named Ḥaẓar-Asam, complains of the confiscation of his coat by a man named Hoshaiahu the son of Shobai, evidently the governor's official. It seems that the charge in question was one of idling. The reaper requests the governor to return his garment, because he has finished his quota and his fellow reapers are prepared to testify his innocence.

This document sheds light on laws concerning negligence in the biblical period, well known from cuneiform sources (see

Driver-Miles in bibl.). Exodus 22:25–26, which admonishes the creditor to give back the debtor's garment "before the sun goes down," reflects a similar situation, and was instituted to protect the debtor.

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[Joseph Naveh]

YAVOROV (Pol. **Jaworów**), city in Lvov oblast, Ukraine, within Poland until World War II. The first information about Jewish settlement in Yavorov dates from 1538. The community increased during the 16th and 17th centuries. In 1627, 56 Jewish families are recorded, 23 of them houseowners; besides merchants and artisans the community included viticulturists. An agreement concluded in 1641 between the Jews and burghers of Yavorov regulated the social and economic status of the Jews of the city. Many Jews in Yavorov perished during the *Chmielnicki massacres in 1648. The community was later reconstituted; in 1658 it received assistance from King John Sobieski, the owner of the city, in building a magnificent wooden synagogue. Within the communal framework, the Yavorov congregation formed part of the borough of *Lvov, and played an important role in community affairs. The Jewish population in Yavorov numbered about 700 in 1765; 1,837 (about 21% of the total population) in 1857; 2,405 in 1921; and 2,950 (about 27.5%) in 1931. Among scholars of Yavorov, the best known are Ḥayyim b. Leib, *parnas* and leader of the Councils of the *Lands from 1673 to 1690; the preacher Berechiah *Berakh the younger, who lived in Yavorov between 1725 and 1730; and Jehiel *Altschuler (about 1753).

[Aryeh-Lieb Kalish]

Holocaust Period

Before the German invasion (June 1941), the Jewish population of Yavorov numbered more than 3,000. Early in July 1941 the Germans ordered the Jews to remove all ritual articles and prayer books from their homes, throw them into the flames of the burning synagogue, and stand by and chant religious melodies. That month 15 persons were shot. In April 1942, 1,000 young Jews and in July, 100 girls were deported to the Janow camp. On Nov. 7–8, 1942, an *Aktion* took place: 1,300 persons were deported to the *Belzec death camp and about 200 were shot on the spot. Some 200 persons found refuge in hideouts but were discovered and shot a few days later. The remaining Jews were concentrated into the ghetto, where Jews from Mosciska, Krakowiec, Sadowa Wisznia, Wielkie Oczy, Szklo, Ozomle, and other nearby towns were also brought. In the spring of 1943 an organized group of youths fled to the forest. They obtained arms and conducted partisan activities in the Lubaczewski area. Artur Henner headed one group and Henry Gleich another. Most of the youths fell in battle. On April 18, 1943 the ghetto was liquidated. Some Jews hid in bunkers in the Janow forest, but most of them were exterminated.

[Aharon Weiss]

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YEAR (Heb. שָׁנָה, *shanah*), the period during which the earth makes one complete revolution around the sun. This period corresponds roughly to 12 revolutions of the moon around the earth. The determination of the length of a year and its 12 parts for fixing agricultural, cultic, and political cycles led to the development of calendars. Three of these are clearly attested in the Bible. The most common one, which is accepted by the priestly stratum of the Pentateuch (e.g., Lev. 16:29), designates the months of the year numerically as do the pre-Exilic prophets (e.g., Jer. 28:1). Elsewhere in the Pentateuch, as in the pre-Exilic historical books, the months are given names of apparently Canaanite origin. The Book of Deuteronomy employs each system once (Deut. 1:3; 16:1). Post-Exilic writings designate the months by names of Babylonian origin.

The priestly calendar called for a solar year made up of 12 months of 30 days each. Thus the sun and moon were to "serve as signs for the set times – the days and the years" (Gen. 1:14), but not for the months. Consequently, the duration of the Deluge – from the 17th of the second month to the 17th of the seventh month – was exactly 150 days (Gen. 7:11; 8:3–4).

In this calendar the days were counted from sunrise, as noted by Ibn Ezra in his commentary on Genesis 1:5. Leviticus 23:32, however, may point to the reckoning of days from the end of twilight.

The first month of the year in the priestly calendar was that in which Passover fell (Ex. 12:1–2, 18). Thus there were five and a half months intervening between the first day of the Feast of Tabernacles (Lev. 23:39ff.) and the beginning of the new year and exactly six months between the former and the first day of the Feast of Unleavened Bread. A second biblical calendar, that of the Covenant Code (Ex. 21–24) and the Smaller Covenant Code (Ex. 34) designated the Feast of Ingathering as the end of the year (Ex. 23:16) or the turn of the year (Ex. 34:22). In this calendar, therefore, the Feast of Unleavened Bread would presumably come in the seventh month. The latter was designated by the name Abib, "green ear of grain," rather than by number.

The designation of this month by name and the general agreement that the Covenant Code reflects the early monarchical period or the period of the Judges have led to the assumption that the calendar of JE is the same as that referred to in I Kings 6–8. There it is stated that the foundations of Solomon's Temple were laid in the month of Ziv (I Kings 6:1,37), that the Temple was completed seven years later in the month of Bul (I Kings 6:38), and that it was dedicated in the month of Ethanim (I Kings 8:2). The special word for month (Heb. *yeraḥ*) used in these contexts which is attested altogether only 12 times in the entire Hebrew Bible, refers specifically to a lunar month. In each of these passages in I Kings the narrator gives the equivalent date according to the priestly calendar. The lunar month of Ziv is therefore designated also as the second 30-day month (Heb. *ḥodesh*).

Evidently the transition from a year of named lunar months to a year of numerically designated months of 30 days each took place between the time of King Solomon and the redaction of the Book of Kings. The months of the later calendar were designated by the term previously employed for New Moon (Heb. *ḥodesh*, e.g., I Sam. 20:18).

The calendar of the early monarchy corresponds to the *Gezer Calendar in three respects. These are (1) the lunar month (Her. *yeraḥ*); (2) the association of the names of months with agricultural phenomena; and (3) the beginning of the year with the ingathering (Heb. *ʾasif*).

There is no biblical evidence as to how the lunar calendar of the early monarchy was reconciled with the solar year. It is obvious, however, that this agricultural calendar could not ignore it. The 360-day priestly calendar, however, may very well not have been reconciled with the true solar year by intercalation inasmuch as the Egyptians assumed a 360-day year down to 237 B.C.E.

The third biblical calendar, which is first attested in Zechariah 1:7 and 7:1, employs the Babylonian month names, which go back to the calendar of Nippur that antedated Hammurapi. According to rabbinic tradition, these names were imported by those who returned to the land of Israel from the Babylonian Exile (TJ, RH 1:2, 56d). It is most likely that these immigrants also introduced the lunar-solar calendar and the intercalation of a month to reconcile the lunar and solar years, a characteristic of the Babylonian calendar. The adoption of the Babylonian calendar was also responsible for the custom of reckoning the day from the previous evening (e.g., Esth. 4:16; Dan. 8:14). While Zechariah and Esther (Esth. 2:16, et al.) clarify dates in the priestly calendar by reference to the Babylonian system, Nehemiah (Neh. 2:1) employs only the Babylonian names of months.

The Book of Jubilees and the Book of Enoch both reflect sectarian tendencies which regarded the Babylonian lunar-solar calendar as offensive to God as the eating of blood (Jub. 6:38). The sectarians opposed the rabbis' adjustment of the calendar based on the observation of the moon, and they insisted on no deviation from a year of 52 weeks and 364 days (Jub. 6:30–32). The 364 days were attained by counting 12 months of 30 days each and four intercalary days (I En. 82:6). Despite speculations to the contrary, the testimony of the sources admits of no further adjustments.

It has been widely asserted that the priestly calendar's numbering of the months beginning with that in which Passover falls reflects the Babylonian *akītu*-festival or spring New Year. Y. Kaufmann, however, has argued convincingly that both the spring and the autumn New Years are of equally ancient native Israelite origin. Thus the very oldest biblical calendars (Ex. 23:15; 34:18) begin the numbering of the festivals with the Feast of Unleavened Bread while even the priestly calendar figured the beginning of the agricultural year from the seventh month of the liturgical year (Lev. 25:8; cf. Deut. 11:12; 31:10).

Aside from the 50 days which intervene between Passover and Pentecost (Lev. 23:16; Deut. 16:9), there is no evidence for a pentecostal calendar in ancient Israel. The theory which assumes such a calendar is based on a most dubious interpretation of the time-unit *ḥumuštum* mentioned in Old Assyrian economic texts from Cappadocia.

In the Pentateuch years and months are sometimes numbered from the Exodus (Ex. 19:1; Num. 9:1) as in I Kings 6:1. The pre-Exilic prophets and historical books generally number the years in accordance with the years of the reign of the kings of Israel and Judah while post-Exilic writers number the years with reference to the years of the reign of the ruler of Persia (Haggai 1:1; Neh. 2:1).

In Jewish tradition, the religious year begins in the month of Nisan, while the civil year (e.g., in reigns of kings or in contracts) in Tishri.

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[Mayer Irwin Gruber]

YEDIDYAH (Heb. יְדִידְיָה), moshav in central Israel, 3 mi. (5 km.) N.W. of Netanyah, affiliated with Tenu'at ha-Moshavim. Yedidyah was founded in 1935 by settlers from Germany and had 285 inhabitants in 1970. In the mid-1990s the population was around 395, further increasing to 489 in 2002. Its economy was based mainly on citrus groves, olive plantations, flowers, plant nurseries, dairy cattle, and poultry. The moshav was named after the philosopher Philo (Yedidyah).

[Efram Orni / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

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YEDINTSY (Rom. **Edineți**), town in N. Moldova in the region of Bessarabia. Yedintsy developed in the first half of the 19th century from a village into an urban settlement as a result of the settlement of Jews who were then coming to Bessarabia. In 1897 the Jews numbered 7,379 (72 percent of the total population) and in 1930 5,341 (90.4 percent). The writer Judah *Steinberg lived there at the end of the 19th century. The institutions of the community included a hospital, established in 1930, and a *Tarbut school.

[Eliyahu Feldman]

Holocaust Period

The town was occupied by Germans and Romanians on July 5, 1941. Within two days 500 to 1,000 Jews were murdered. Women and young girls were raped and some of them committed suicide. The victims were buried in three large ditches and the Jewish gravediggers who had interred the bodies were in turn murdered and buried on the spot. Romanian gendarmes and troops were assisted in the massacre of the Jews by many of the peasants living in the area. In the middle of August a concentration camp was set up at Yedintsy, where all surviving Jews and those from different places in the north of Bessarabia, particularly from *Bukovina, were interned. In September there were about 12,000 Jews in the camp. Many of the inmates succumbed to disease, cold weather, hunger, and thirst; 70 to 100 persons died every day. On Sept. 16, 1941 all the inmates of the camp were deported to *Transnistria and only a few managed to survive. The few dozen families still alive at the end of the war settled either in Chernovtsy or in Israel. Only a handful chose to return to Yedintsy. In the late 1960s the Jewish population was estimated at about 200. There was no synagogue although the Jewish cemetery was still extant.

[Jean Ancel]

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YEDIOTH AHARONOTH, afternoon daily newspaper founded in Tel Aviv in 1939 by Nahum Komerov. The following year the newspaper came into the possession of a printer named Alexander *Mozes. Its editorial operation was administered by Alexander's father, Yehudah, who took on the title of publisher, and brother, Noah. The paper consisted of mostly two pages daily, and had a circulation of only 30,000. Facing heavy financial losses, the family sold half of the newspaper's stock to *Mapai in 1949. But its major crisis had occurred a year earlier in February 1948, when its editor, Dr. Azriel *Carlebach, and most of its journalistic and administrative staff walked out overnight, partly because of excessive intervention by management in editorial matters, and a lack of clear demarcation between editorial content and advertising interests. The group formed their own newspaper, **Maariv*, to be owned and run by journalists. *Maariv* grew to became Israel's largest newspaper with an estimated circulation of 200,000. Rebuilding *Yedioth Aharonoth*, Yehudah Mozes appointed Dr. Herzl *Rosenblum as editor, with responsibility for the op-ed pages and a daily signed editorial which appeared for over 40 years until his retirement in 1986. Dov *Yudkovsky, the managing editor for news, conceived the newspaper to be the "the people's newspaper," with both a tabloid appearance and editorial matter of interest to readers from the professional classes. With the death of Yehudah in 1955, Noah Mozes became publisher. By the end of the 1960s, *Yedioth Aharonoth* drew even with *Maariv* in its circulation war, and in the mid-1970s took over the lead, maintaining its position since. Its publication schedule gradually moved to the early morning. By the end of the century, the newspaper had achieved a very high circulation: a 2005 Teleseker survey reported that 42% of Israelis read it daily, and 54% the Friday weekend issue.

The newspaper's financial structure is centralized, with its company stock comprising 100 basic shares and 1,400 regular shares. The basic share stock was divided between family members. Following Noah Mozes' death in a traffic accident in 1986, his son, Arnon ("Noni"), became publisher and sought to monopolize the running of the newspaper and its associated operations by buying out the stock of other family members. Dov Yudkovsky, who was Yehudah Mozes' cousin, was fired, and he moved to *Maarriv* where he became editor. In the 1990s the newspaper became involved in the so-called wiretapping affair with *Maariv.* Editor Moshe Vardi and assignments editor Ruth Ben Ari received suspended sentences. Vardi was reinstated afterward and continued as editor until his retirement in 2004, upon which Rafi Ginat, an Israel Television journalist, was appointed editor.

In 2000 the newspaper created an Internet website, Y-Net, with a separate reporting staff. In 2005 it had 3.3 million users monthly. The newspaper's growth in the 1980s and 1990s extended to a chain of 17 local newspapers, special interest publications including women's magazines, shares in the Channel 2 television network, and book publishing.

[Yoel Cohen (2nd ed.)]

YEFET, SARAH (1934–), Israeli historian specializing in the biblical historiography of the Second Temple period and the Jewish interpretation of the Bible in the Middle Ages. Yefet was born in Petaḥ Tikvah. She received her Ph.D. in Bible studies from the Hebrew University of Jerusalem in 1973, becoming a lecturer (1973) and professor (1987) in the Department of Bible Studies there. From 1984 to 1986 she was the head of the department. From 1990 to 1993 and in 1996 she served as professor in the Beit Midrash for Jewish Studies in Jerusalem. During these years she was a visiting professor in various universities in the United States and Britain, including Berkeley, Oxford, Harvard, and Cambridge. In 1996–97 she was the chairwoman of the academic committee of Magnes Press and in 1997–2001 she was the head of the National and University Library. Yefet published many articles and books, among them *Rabbi Samuel ben Meir's Interpretation of Ecclesiastes* (1985); *Rabbi Samuel ben Meir's Interpretation of Job* (2000); *Studies in Bible* (1986); and *The Bible in the Light of Its Interpreters* (1996). In 2004 she received the Israel Prize for Bible studies.

[Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

YEFINGAR, Jewish agricultural settlement on the River Ingul (Kherson district, Nikolaev province of Ukraine), which existed from 1809 to 1941. The first settlers attracted by the political support of the Czarist government for agriculture were, evidently, from Lithuania. There were 48 families with 276 people who originally took up viticulture and kitchen-gardening. In 1897, Yefingar had a Jewish population of 2,038 out of a total population of 2,226 and had a Jewish school. Under the Soviets a Jewish collective farm was established in Yefingar which became one of the most prosperous in the province. With the German attack on Russia in June 1941 almost all the male population was called up military service; several days before the arrival of German forces teenagers and all means of transportation were mobilized. The other inhabitants were not evacuated. After Yefingar was occupied by the German troops, all the remaining Jews (521 people) were executed by the Germans and their local accomplices on September 10, 1941. After the war Yefingar was renamed Plyushchevka. The inscription on the monument there, set up with great difficulty by relatives of those massacred, does not indicate that the victims were Jews. No Jews now live in the village and the former Jewish cemetery has been destroyed.

[*Shorter Jewish Encyclopedia in Russian*]

YEFROYKIN, ISRAEL (1884–1954), socialist and communal leader, born in Vieksniai, Lithuania. In 1904 he became active in the Zionist socialist group *Vozrozhdenie. He was among the founders in Russia of the monthly *Yidishe Velt* in 1912 with S. *Dubnow, I. *Zinberg, and others. After the February 1917 Revolution he organized with S. Dubnow, N. *Shtif, and others the Yidishe *Folkspartei. In 1920 he went to Paris with a delegation of the *YEKOPO (Jewish Relief Committee), and directed its central office there until its liquidation in 1925. He was one of the founders of the *World Jewish Congress in 1936. With E. *Tcherikower he published *Oyfn Sheydweg* ("On the crossroads," Paris 1939), a literary anthology. During World War II he took refuge in Montevideo, Uruguay, where he was coeditor of the review *Shriftn* and joined the Po'alei Zion – Hitaḥadut party. He subsequently returned to Paris, where between 1948 and 1952 he edited the review *Kiem*. His writings include *In Kholem un oyf der Vor* ("In Dream and Reality," 1944); *A Kheshbn Hanefesh* ("Introspection," 1948); and *Kedushe un Gevure bay Yidn Amol un Haynt* ("Self-Sacrifice and Heroism by Jews in the Past and Today," 1949).

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YEḤI'AM (Heb. **יְחִיעָם**), kibbutz in northern Israel, 7 mi. (12 km.) E. of Nahariyyah, affiliated with Kibbutz Arẓi, ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir. Yeḥi'am was founded by pioneers from Hungary and Israel-born youth in 1946, at a time of maximum tension between the *yishuv* and Mandatory authorities. Its establishment in the brush-covered mountain terrain near the crusader castle ruin Jūdīn was valued as a step of political importance. In the *War of Independence, the isolated kibbutz held out against overwhelming odds using the castle as a fort. A convoy of 47 men to reinforce Yeḥi'am was ambushed and wiped out near *Kabri (March 28, 1948). The siege was lifted in May 1948. The front lines finally receded from Yeḥi'am with Operation Ḥiram (October) which cleared all of Galilee. In 1970 Yeḥi'am had 415 inhabitants, dropping to 362 in 2002. Its economy was based on citrus groves, plantations, and poultry. The kibbutz also produced meat products and operated guest rooms. The name commemorates Yeḥi'am Weitz, who fell with 13 comrades on June 17, 1946, in an action to blast the Achzib bridge (*Gesher ha-Ziv).

[Efraim Orni]

YEHOASH (pseudonym of **Yehoash Solomon Bloomgarden**; 1872–1927), Yiddish poet and translator. Yehoash was born in Virbalen, Lithuania, and as a boy he read maskilic literature as well as studying Torah with his father, briefly attending the yeshivah of Volozhin, only to begin a career as a Hebrew poet. At the age of 17 he took his first Hebrew poems to Warsaw, where I.L. *Peretz encouraged him to continue writing Hebrew and Yiddish lyrics. The following year Yehoash immigrated to the U.S. He made no headway either as a Hebrew poet or in various callings – bookkeeping, tailoring, peddling, and Hebrew teaching. For a decade he faced severe privations until he contracted tuberculosis and went to the Denver Sanatorium for Consumptives in 1900 to recuperate. There he remained for almost ten years, maturing as a Yiddish poet, publishing his poems, ballads, fables, and translations in leading dailies, periodicals, and literary almanacs. In his early 30s, he undertook to translate the Bible into a modern Yiddish which would combine scholarly precision with simple idiomatic language, a task to which he devoted the rest of his life. While at work on this translation, he prepared, together with Charles D. Spivak, his physician and the co-founder of the sanatorium, a Yiddish dictionary, first published in 1911, which defined about 4,000 Hebrew and Aramaic words used in Yiddish and which went through many editions as a basic reference work.

Returning to New York in 1909, Yehoash had to struggle to make a living, even though his fame was worldwide and Yiddish periodicals in many lands gladly published his contributions. In January 1914, he left for Ereẓ Israel and settled in Reḥovot. He mastered classical Arabic and translated portions of the Koran and Arabian tales into Yiddish. When the Ottoman Empire entered World War I, he returned to New York and published the story of his experiences in three volumes of travel sketches, *Fun New York biz Rekhovot un Tsurik* ("From New York to Reḥovot and Back," 1917–18; Eng. *The Feet of the Messenger*, 1923). His sojourn in Ereẓ Israel as well as his knowledge of Arabic proved useful to him in his work on the translation of the Bible. Although he had published a Yiddish rendering of several biblical books including Isaiah and Job in 1910, he realized the inadequacy of this initial attempt and began anew. His more adequate rendering, starting with Genesis, appeared in installments in the New York daily *Der Tog* from 1922. At the time of his death only the Pentateuch translation had been published, but the rest of the biblical books were printed from his manuscripts. His version was hailed as a contribution of national significance. The translator drew upon idiomatic treasures of various Yiddish dialects, upon the *Khumesh-Taytsh* (the Old Yiddish, word-for-word translation of Pentateuch), vocabulary used by *melammedim* in Ashkenazi schools for many generations, and expressions of the **Ẓe'enah u-Re'enah* (*Tsene-Rene*), with its archaic patina. Yehoash was thus able to retain the rhythm and flavor of the Hebrew to a larger extent than preceding Bible translators. The two-volume edition, with parallel Hebrew and Yiddish texts, distributed in tens of thousands of copies, became a standard work for Yiddish-speaking homes throughout the world. In 1949, Mordecai Kosover edited Yehoash's notes to the Bible, which afforded an insight into the translator's many years of wrestling with the sacred text.

Yehoash, who also translated Longfellow's *Hiawatha* and the *Rubáiyát* of Omar Khayyam into Yiddish, was far ahead of his time in terms of his own poetry. When the first edition of his *Gezamelte Lider* ("Collected Poems") appeared in 1907, he was widely hailed as a first-rank artist. His lyrics were reprinted in anthologies and school texts, and were translated into many languages. An English translation, *Poems of Yehoash*, by Isidore Goldstick, appeared in 1952, and a Hebrew version (1957) was a cooperative venture by a number of significant Hebrew writers, including Jacob *Fichmann and Dov *Sadan. Yehoash's two later lyric volumes (1919 and 1921) linked him with *Inzikhism, the modernist trend of introspection in post-World War I Yiddish poetry, the leaders of which acclaimed him as their forerunner. Yehoash gave expression in his lyrics to his awareness of a divine force permeating the universe. He re-imagined in verse biblical and post-biblical legends, tales from medieval Jewish chronicles, and ḥasidic lore, versified fables from the Talmud, Aesop, La Fontaine, and Lessing, and created new fables of his own. He wrote romantic, ghostly ballads, but he also felt the spell of Peretz, his lifelong friend, and strove for classical purity and perfection in rhythm and rhyme.

Yehoash also influenced American Jewish poetry in English, notably the modernist work of Louis Zukofsky.

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[Melech Ravitch]

YEHOSHUA, AVRAHAM B. (1936–), Israeli novelist, short-story writer, playwright, and essayist, considered both nationally and internationally one of the foremost Israeli writers; recipient of all the literary prizes awarded in Israel including the prestigious Israel Prize (1995). He was also awarded many international prizes, such as the National Jewish Book Award in the U.S., the Jewish Quarterly-Wingate prize in the U.K., and the Boccatio and Lampeduza prizes in Italy. Yehoshua's books have been translated into 26 languages, and many of his stories and novels have been adapted for the theater, cinema, television, and opera.

While Yehoshua's literary works focus on the hidden realms of the individual psyche embedded in its familial, social, and cultural context, his challenging essays address ideological, political, and ethical issues. In these essays Yehoshua questions the very tenets of Israeli society: Judaism, Zionism, religion and nationalism, the Israel-Palestinian conflict, and antisemitism.

A.B. Yehoshua was born in Jerusalem, the fifth generation of a Sephardi family on his father's side, and the first generation on his mother's side. His father, Jacob Yehoshua, an Orientalist by training, wrote a number of books recounting the life of the Sephardi community in Jerusalem from the end of the 19th century to the beginning of the 20th, and two books on the Palestinian press of that time. While his father's occupation with the language, history, and culture of the Palestinians probably opened Yehoshua's eyes to their unique plight and thus indirectly influenced his *Weltanschauung* in general, his father's numerous books served him in the writing of his most acclaimed novel, *Mar Mani* (1990; *Mr. Mani*, 1992). The background of his mother – Malka née Rosolio, born to a rich merchant in Morocco – was a source of inspiration for his novel *Massah el Tom ha-Elef* (1997; *Voyage to the End of the Millennium*, 1999). Although Yehoshua's family was observant, his parents, avid Zionists, sent him to a secular school, the Hebrew Gymnasium in Jerusalem. Yehoshua was also active in the scout movement. His early exposure to the moderate Sephardi version of Jewish tradition along with his secular education and Zionist ideology contributed to a lifelong preoccupation with the complex theme of identity which underlies all his writings.

Upon the completion of his military service (1957), Yehoshua began studying Hebrew literature and philosophy at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. At that time, he started publishing his first short stories, later collected in his first book *Mot ha-Zaken* (1962). After his graduation, he taught literature in Jerusalem, and then moved to Paris, where he spent the next four years (1963–67). There he served as a school principal and later as the general secretary of the World Union of Jewish Students. During his stay in Paris, he also completed his second book of short stories and novellas, *Mul ha-Ye'arot* (1968; *Three Days and a Child* 1970). In all, Yehoshua published four collections of short stories before he wrote his first novel, a genre to which he has devoted most of his later writings.

Yehoshua's early stories drew immediate attention from literary critics: some were critical of the nightmarish impact of an absurd, alienated reality presented in those stories, others recognized the influence of Agnon and Kafka on his early stories, acknowledged his unique talent, and predicted that he would leave his mark on Israeli literature. Whereas the first volume of stories is surrealistic and grotesque, placed in a no man's land, his later stories, though still grotesque and terrifying, have become more realistic, placed in the familiar settings of Israeli scene. The gripping plots, a hallmark in all of Yehoshua's writing, evolve around single, lonely, and lethargic characters controlled by underlying destructive powers, unconsciously driven to their unavoidable ends.

Returning to Israel shortly after the 1967 war, Yehoshua joined Haifa University as the head of the department for the advancement of immigrant and minority students. Five years later he was appointed professor of comparative and Hebrew literature (1972); a position he held until his retirement in 2002. Following the Six-Day War and its ensuing upheaval, Yehoshua became involved in various left-wing movements and started publishing essays in which he elaborated his ideological and political stance. His active participation coupled with his intellectual and rhetorical skills have made him one of the major spokesmen for the Zionist left wing and the Israeli peace camp, at home and abroad. Many of his thought-provoking and often controversial essays were later published in two volumes: *Bi-Zekhut ha-Normali'ut* (1980; *Between Right and Right* 1981), and *Ha-Kir ve-ha-Har* (1989). Another volume of essays, *Kokha ha-Nora shel Ashmah Ketanah* (1998), focuses on the moral dilemmas underlying all great literary texts.

After the publication of his first novel, *Ha-Me'ahev* (1977; *The Lover*, 1978), Yehoshua wrote eight novels, exploring innovative artistic forms, enlarging the historical scope from which the narrative is told, tackling new terrains, retrieving the writers' lost "authority over sociological, economical, historical, and ideological issues."

In *Ha-Meahev* and in *Gerushim Me'uḥarim* (1982: *A Late Divorce*, 1984), his second novel, the plot is retold by different voices and from different points of view, thus reflecting the essence of the polyphonic Israeli society and giving voice to hitherto muted voices within that society, such as that of a slightly deranged expatriate, or an Arab-Israeli youth (*Ha-Me'ahev*). The scene of events in these, and in most of Yehoshua's novels, is the family, where identity is forged and which also serves as a mirror of society. The first novel encounters the chain of events of a family in a state of deterioration following the father's attempt to revive his long-lost libido by introducing two lovers into the household. The second novel expounds the effects of a bitter and fatally late divorce on the three children of the family, leading to the ultimate destruction of the father.

Hailed by readers and critics, *Mar Mani*, Yehoshua's most ambitious novel, is one of the most interpreted novels of modern Hebrew literature. Like its predecessor *Molcho* (1987; *Five Seasons* 1989), its unique perspective is achieved by juxtaposing the Sephardi angle with the Ashkenazi one: whereas in *Molcho* Yehoshua's narrator follows Molcho, a Sephardi Jerusalemite, throughout the first year of mourning following the death of his "yekke" Ashkenazi wife, in *Mar Mani* Yehoshua employs a polyphonic device in a highly artistic and innovative manner, unfolding the story of more than five generations of a Sephardi family, the Manis, through five one-sided dialogues related by "outsiders," mostly Europeans, about their fatal encounter with one or more of the Manis. In particular, the genealogical novel explores the often disastrous effects of the unconscious, personal and collective, on individuals as well as on nations. The novel encompasses close to 200 years, and explores new terrain (such as Poland and Crete), different cultures (such as the Minoan), and diverse languages (such as Yiddish and Ladino), attempting to understand in depth the complex relationship between Judaism and Zionism, Israel and the Diaspora, religion and nationalism, and above all, the human psyche, where the struggle to make sense of it all takes place.

Wanderlust, restlessness, and a drive to uncover unconscious desires and anxieties send many of Yehoshua's characters on eventful journeys to unknown continents where the confrontation with the irrational is inevitable, such as: Benji's passage to and from India in *Ha-Shivah me-Hodu* (1994; *Open Heart* 1995); Ben Attar's marine voyage to Europe at the end of the first millennium in *Masah el Tom ha-Elef'*; Professor Rivlin's repeated travels to Jerusalem, the West Bank, and an Arab village in the Galil in *Ha-Kalah ha-Meshaḥreret* (2002; *The Liberating Bride*, 2004); and the Via Dolorosa journey of the manager of the human resource division to an unnamed northern country in *Sheliḥuto shel ha-Memuneh al Mashabei Enosh* ("The Mission of the Human Resource Man," 2004). Yehoshua's strength in portraying dramatic situations, often by means of fatal albeit healing confrontations, was also expounded in his plays such as *Layla be-Mai* (1969; "A Night in May," 1974), and *Ḥafaẓim* (1986; "Possessions," 1993), and many of his stories and novels have been adapted for the theater such as *Mar Mani*; for the cinema: *Ha- Me'ahev;* and in 2005 his own libretto based on *Masah el Tom ha-Elef,* for the opera.

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[Doreet Hopp (2nd ed.)]

YEHUD (Heb. יְהוּד, יְהֻד), urban settlement in central Israel, 8 mi. (12 km.) E. of Tel Aviv. On the site, mentioned in Joshua 19:45 as one of the towns of the tribe of Dan, ancient tombs, coffins, and remnants of structures were found. An Arab village on the site, named Yahdiyya, expanded in the 20th century, as a result of the development of the region by Jewish settlement. Earlier, several of the founders of *Petaḥ Tikvah, who had to evacuate that settlement temporarily because of the danger of malaria, stayed at Yehud between 1882 and 1893. In Israel's *War of Independence Yahūdiyya was taken, together with the nearby Lydda Airport, by Israel forces in July 1948 and evacuated by its Arab inhabitants. At the end of the same year the first Jewish settlers arrived, and the place soon absorbed numerous newcomers from various countries, subsequently increasing its population from 3,200 in 1950 to 8,600 in 1970. The original plan to base local settlement on full or auxiliary farming was gradually superseded by urbanization and industrialization, as Yehud became part of the outer ring of the Tel Aviv conurbation. In 1951 Yehud received municipal council status and in 1955 it received city status. Its area is 1.6 sq. mi. (4.1 sq. km.). While a number of inhabitants continued to be employed in other centers of the Tel Aviv region, industry, with 32 local enterprises (motor cars, sweets, knitting, textiles, and other branches), became the principal foundation of Yehud's economy. To a certain degree the town also served as a commercial center for settlements of the vicinity (Neveh Efrayim (Monosson), Savyon, Gannei Yehudah, etc.). In the mid-1990s the population was approximately 17,300, increasing to 22,000 in 2002.

[Shlomo Hasson /Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

YEHUDAI BEN NAḤMAN (**Yehudai Gaon**) head of the academy of Sura c. 757–61. Yehudai was one of the scholars of Pumbedita, but the Exilarch Solomon b. Ḥasdai transferred him to Sura, because "there was no scholar in Sura who was his peer in knowledge" (*Iggeret Sherira Ga'on*, ed. by B.M. Lewin (1921), 107) – despite his advanced age, the fact that he was blind, and as an exception to the tradition of Sura not to appoint as its head anyone who had not been educated there. During his period at Sura, his brother Dudai served as *Gaon* of the Pumbedita academy. Yehudai is referred to as "light of the world, holy and pure" and *Sherira states that "we may not do what Yehudai refrained from doing" (*Teshuvot ha-Ge'onim*, ed. by J. Mussafia (1864), no. 43). His pupils included Ḥaninai b. Huna and Natronai Nasi b. Ḥakhinai; the most distinguished was Ray Abba (Rabbah), the author of a collection of *halakhot*. Yehudai is the first in the geonic period to whom or to whose pupils is attributed the authorship of a book, the *Halakhot Pesukot. In *halakhah* Yehudai based himself entirely upon the Babylonian Talmud and the traditions of the **savora'im* and merely gave the final ruling of the Talmud, omitting the halakhic discussion. He attempted to reestablish talmudic law and averred that he had always replied to halakhic questions with proof from the Talmud as interpreted by his teachers in practice (*Ginzei Schechter,* 2 (1929), 558). He was the first *gaon* to compile responsa, 131 of which are extant; these are distinguished by their brevity, merely giving the ruling without quoting the sources or the reasons for his decision. In consequence of his ambition to make the Babylonian Talmud and the customs of the Babylonian academies authoritative throughout the Diaspora, Yehudai was the first *gaon* to establish contact with the Jewish communities of North Africa. He protested to the Jews of Ereẓ Israel that their customs were "customs due to persecution" which originated in the religious persecutions in that country at the close of the Byzantine era, and demanded that they accept the customs of Babylon. Some scholars assert that these opinions of Yehudai were very much a matter of conjecture and exaggeration. According to *Pirkoi ben Baboi, a pupil of Yehudai's pupil, Rav Abba, who reproduced certain passages of Yehudai's in his own work, the scholars of Ereẓ Israel opposed him and continued to rely upon their ancient custom and traditions. In some cases Yehudai's rulings did not accord with the custom of Sura. Thanks to his activity, however, the influence of the Babylonian academies spread and the Babylonian Talmud became the sole authority for halakhic ruling. Yehudai and his pupils fought fiercely against the spread of *Karaism in Babylonia, and succeeded in defending the Oral Law by stressing the importance of the Talmud and the especial authority of the scholars in these areas (e.g., family law) challenged by the Karaites. According to some, however, Yehudai's aim in his work was not to combat Karaism since *Anan effected the communal schism only during the last years of Yehudai, and the need to consolidate and summarize halakhic material is understandable even without the rise of Karaism. In consequence of his blindness, Yehudai's rulings and directives were written by his pupils and as a result many interpolations by his pupils found their way into his works. Yehudai is described by Pirkoi b. Baboi as "great in sanctity and purity, in piety and in humility, and meticulous in the observance of all the precepts. He dedicated himself to Heaven, and brought people nearer to the Torah and its precepts" (*Ginzei Schechter,* 2 (1929), 556 f.).

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[Yehoshua Horowitz]

YEHUDI BEN SHESHET (or **Sheshat**; second half of tenth century), Spanish Hebrew grammarian and poet. A student of *Dunash b. Labrat, Yehudi wrote, between 970 and 990, a work against the responsa of the students of *Menaḥem b. Saruk written in reply to Dunash's criticism of their teacher (the only manuscript of the work was published by S.G. Stern in 1870, and again by M.E. Varela in 1981). Yehudi's work is composed like the responsa of Dunash and those of the students of Menaḥem: the first part is in metric form (154 verses in the same meter and rhyme of Dunash's panegyric to Ḥisdai and of the answer of the disciples of Menaḥem, attacking the adversaries directly), and is followed by rhymed prose serving as introduction to the second part, which contains explanations of metalinguistic subjects in the poem. From this work, the names of several of Menaḥem's students are known: Ibn *Kapron, Judah b. David *Ḥayyuj, and Isaac b. *Gikatilla.

Yehudi deals with 42 questions, answering the greater part of the objections which Menaḥem's students had made against Dunash. In 21 responsa, explanations are given for some biblical terms. In ten responsa Yehudi deals with roots of several words and lexical units to which they belong. In one responsum, Yehudi replies to the objection voiced by Menaḥem's students concerning the introduction of Arabic metric patterns into Hebrew poetry. In four responsa he deals with objections against Dunash's usage of several words. Yehudi defends his teacher by citing biblical usage. Three responsa object to some usages of Menahem and his students. Another deals with the position of *dalet* and *tet* in the classification of the letters of the alphabet into "root" letters and "servile" letters (prefixed, infixed, suffixed), defending Dunash's point of view against all the other medieval grammarians. In the last responsum, Yehudi admits that one objection made by Dunash was based on a misunderstanding.

While discussing the meaning of specific terms, Yehudi also comments on general questions of grammar that go beyond the specific problem, e.g., dealing with the meaning of the word *kemaḥ* ("flour," Gen. 18:6). Yehudi deals also with the meaning of the term *ke-mashma'o* ("as its meaning"), which had been used by Menaḥem 161 times in his *Maḥberet*. A matter of principle, such as to what extent Aramaic is to be relied upon when explaining a Hebrew term in the Bible, is dealt with in the discussion on the meaning of the word *piggeru*, interpreted by Menaḥem as "they stayed behind" and by Dunash, basing himself on the Targum, as "they were destroyed; they were weakened" (I Sam. 30:10). In dealing with the word *lo* (Ex. 21:8), he also explores the general problem of *keri* and *ketiv*. Generally, Yehudi does not bring new opinions but repeats those of Dunash, adding intricate arguments which border sometimes on insult and abuse. Nevertheless, Yehudi does make some original contributions; in the discussion of the term חוֹנָךְ (*ḥonakh*, Ps. 53:6), for example, he remarks that there are grammatical forms impossible in the Bible, but possible in post-biblical (paytanic) usage. On other occasions he maintains that the Hebrew language in his time has reduced to a very sorry state, and there are forms that might have been found in it had we known the language in its fullness. Like Dunash, he defends linguistic comparatism, known at least in the work of Saadiah, against the anti-comparatist attitude of Menaḥem and his disciples.

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[David Tene / Angel Sáenz-Badillos (2nd ed.)]

YEIVIN, ISRAEL (1923–), Hebrew Language scholar, son of Yehoshua Heschel *Yeivin. Israel Yeivin was born in Berlin and in 1925 came with family to Palestine. In addition to supervising the ancient literature section in the Academy of the Hebrew Language's Historical Hebrew Language Dictionary project, he did research on ancient biblical manuscripts as part of the Hebrew University Bible project. He was professor in the Hebrew University Hebrew Language department. In 1989 he received the Israel Prize for research in the Hebrew language. Among his books are *Keter Aram Zova, Nikkudo u-Te'amav* ("Keter Aram Zova. Its Vocalization and Cantillation Signs," 1969) and *Masoret ha-Lashon ha-Ivrit ha-Mishtakefet ba-Nikkud ha-Bavli* ("The Hebrew Language Tradition as Reflected in the Babylonian Vocalization," 1985; Ha-*Masorah la-Mikra'i* ("The Biblical Masorah," 2003).

[Fern Lee Seckbach]

YEIVIN, SHEMUEL (1896–1982), Israeli archaeologist. Born in Odessa, he studied at the Herzlia Gymnasium in Tel Aviv and the universities of London and Berlin, specializing in Egyptology and Semitic philology. He took part in the excavations at Luxor (1924) and Beth-Shean (1924–28) and in the University of Michigan expedition to Seleucia in Iraq (1929–37). He was co-director with J. Krause-Marquet of the excavations at Ai (1933). He was a member of the Hebrew Language Committee (1935–42); chairman of the Jewish Palestine Exploration Society (1944–46); chief Hebrew translator for the British Mandatory government of Palestine (1944–48); director of the Department of Antiquities in Israel (1948–61); secretary and then editor of the *Encyclopaedia Biblica*; professor of biblical history and archaeology at Tel Aviv University; and member of the Hebrew Language Academy. In 1968 he received the Israel Prize for Jewish studies. His publications include *Toledot ha-Ketav ha-Ivri* (1939), *Milḥamot Bar Kokhva* (1946), and *Kadmoniyyot Arẓenu* (1955), an archaeological handbook written jointly with M. Avi-Yonah.

[Michael Avi-Yonah]

YEIVIN, YEHOSHUA HESCHEL (1891–1970), Hebrew writer and editor. Born in Vinnitsa, Ukraine, Yeivin studied medicine, but gradually left his profession in favor of literature. After emigrating to Palestine in 1924, he joined the founders of the Revisionist movement in 1928 and henceforth became an editor of its press and a regular contributor to it.

His first literary articles and essays appeared in *Haolam* of Odessa, and he continued to publish in *Ha-Tekufah* and other periodicals. In the Revisionist press he published articles and novels on historical subjects. In 1959 he won first place in the Israel Bible Contest. His books include: *Sippurim* (1928); *Be-Sod Ḥalalim* (1930); *Uri Ẓevi Greenberg, Meshorer Meḥokek* (1938); *Milḥemet Beit Ḥashmonai* (a story about the Hasmoneans, 1953); *Ha-Ḥayyah ha-Revi'it* (1949); *Mi-Me'onot Arayot* (stories of the underground movement, 1954); *Bi-Shevilei Emunat Yisrael* (essays, 1960); and *Ha-Malkhut Asher Lo Tissof* (1967).

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[Getzel Kressel]

YEKOPO (acronym of **Yevreyskiy komitet pomoschi zhertvam voyny** – "Jewish Relief Committee for War Victims"), organization formed in Russia after the outbreak of World War I to succor Jewish war victims. The need for such relief was most urgent because many Jewish communities were situated in the battle regions and had already suffered heavily during the first days of the war. Many refugees streamed to the rear from the front. The situation deteriorated with the intensification of the anti-Jewish policy adopted by the military authorities, which at first took the form of the detention of Jews as hostages and subsequently of mass expulsions from the battle regions. These persecutions reached their climax in the great expulsion of the Jews from the provinces of *Kovno and *Courland in the spring of 1915. It was also necessary to support the tens of thousands of families of Jewish soldiers. The committee of Petrograd rapidly became the central committee to which all the local branches addressed themselves. Its task was to raise funds and distribute them among the local committees and the various bodies that preoccupied themselves with the different relief activities as well as the organization and supervision of relief activities in various places. The committees of Moscow (YEVOPO) and of Kiev (KOPE) were of particular importance.

The YEKOPO was headed by members of the older intelligentsia and the leading capitalists of St. Petersburg, such as Baron A. *Guenzburg, H. *Sliozberg, D. *Feinberg, M. *Vinawer, L. *Bramson, and J. *Brutzkus. The brunt of the practical work, however, was carried out by "accredited" officials of the committee who came mainly from the ranks of the popular intelligentsia and more particularly from among the members of the Jewish Socialist parties. The committee received much support from the older societies, such as the *Society for the Promotion of Culture among the Jews of Russia, *ORT, *Jewish Colonization Association (ICA) and *OZE. Relief took the form of arrangements for the transportation of the refugees; the provision of escorts for their convoys; provisional arrangement for their nutrition, clothing, and accommodation; the provision of medical care; the organization of "medical-sanitary units"; the care of children and, later, efforts to find them employment and occupations; the establishment of credit funds; the development of vocational schools and courses, etc. In addition, the committee represented the Jewish population before the authorities in its demands for assistance to the Jewish war victims.

For internal and external political reasons, the government recognized the committee and encouraged it by granting authority to its delegates and workers; they received the status of government officials, a factor of prime importance during the period of the hostilities. The committee also maintained relations with the general public institutions, such as the All-Russian Alliance of Towns, and zemstvo workers. By the end of 1916, the committee had provided its services to 240,000 Jews (out of the estimated total of 350,000 Jewish war refugees). The funds received by the central committee in Petrograd until then – 31,000,000 rubles – were derived from the sources as shown in the table below.

Source	Total in rubles	%
Russian government	17,179,000	55.8
General Russian Relief Committee	292,000	0.9
American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (United States)	7,258,000	23.6
British Jewry	1,693,000	5.5
South American Jewry	403,000	1.3
France (through Rothschild)	250,000	0.8
Contributions of the Jews of Petrograd	2,012,000	6.5
Contributions of the Jews in the provinces	1,700,000	5.6
Total	30,787,000	100.0

The important allocation of the government is also of historical and political significance, as is the considerable contribution of the Jews of the United States. The participation of Russian Jewry in this relief enterprise was larger than is apparent in the table, because many of the funds which were collected in the provinces did not pass through the treasury of the central committee but were directly spent by the local committees. A considerable part of the communities' funds were derived from a system of compulsory contributions.

The activities of YEKOPO also encompassed the Jews of the regions occupied by the Russian army in Galicia and Bukovina. In the execution of their tasks, several divergences of opinion emerged between the workers of the committee, mainly over cultural problems (religious or secular education, schools in the Russian, Hebrew or Yiddish languages), with each side attempting to divert the relief activities in the direction of its own outlook. Much material on the history of this relief work is to be found in the central periodical of YEKOPO, *Pomoshch* (1915–16; later *Delo Pomoshchi*, 1916–17). After the Revolution of February 1917, when the focus of the political activity of Russian Jewry was transferred to the public organizations and the parties, YEKOPO pursued its relief work in a restricted sense. It also continued its activities during the civil war years, when the central role was played by the committee of Kiev (KOPE). In 1920, with the establishment of the Jewish-Soviet relief organization *Idgeskom*, the YEKOPO was in practice absorbed by it. The committee of YEKOPO continued to function in the provinces of *Vilna and *Novogrudok, within the borders of independent Poland, where it concentrated efforts on the rehabilitation of the communities which had been severely affected by World War I and the Polish-Soviet war. The committee was then headed by Dr. Z. *Shabad and was mainly supported by the *American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (JDC).

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[Yehuda Slutsky]

YEKUM PURKAN (Aram. יְקוּם פֻּרְקָן; lit. "may deliverance arise"), the name of two prayers recited in the Ashkenazi rite immediately after the reading of the **haftarah* on the Sabbath. Written in Aramaic, the prayers derive their name from their opening words. Both are very similar in form. The first consists of a prayer for the welfare of the students in the academies of Ereẓ Israel and Babylonia, their teachers, the exilarchs, and the judges. Many of the phrases of this prayer resemble those of the *Kaddish de-Rabbanan* ("the scholars' *Kaddish*"). In modern times, some communities have added the phrase *Ve-di be-khol arat galvatana* ("and all that are in the lands of the dispersion") in order to make this prayer more meaningful (Baer's *Siddur,* 229). The second is a more general prayer for the welfare of the congregation, similar in content to the Hebrew prayer *Mi she-Berakh* which follows it. The prayers are not found in the Babylonian *siddurim* of *Amram Gaon and *Saadiah Gaon, although they were probably written in Babylonia. The first is found in the *Maḥzor Vitry, and the second in the *Roke'aḥ* of *Eleazar b. Judah of Worms (1160–1238). Both prayers are absent from the Sephardi rite, although a similar but more lengthy prayer entitled "Prayer for the Congregation" is found in some Yemenite prayer book manuscripts (Duschinsky, in bibl., 194–7).

These prayers are not recited on festivals. A reason given for this is to enable the worshippers to leave the synagogue earlier and enjoy the meals which they are permitted to cook on the holidays (S. Shuck, *Siddur Rashban* (Vienna, 1894), 20b).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Duschinsky, in: *Livre d'Hommage … S. Poznański* (1927), 182–98.

YELLIN, pioneer family in modern Ereẓ Israel. YEHOSHUA (1843–1924), pioneer in Ereẓ Israel, was born in Jerusalem, the son of the prosperous Yellin-Tavia family from Lomza, Poland, that immigrated to Ereẓ Israel in 1834. He married into the Yehuda family of Baghdad and learned Arabic and Oriental customs in the home of his father-in-law, Shelomo Yeḥezkel Yehuda. In 1860, under the auspices of the British consul, James *Finn, he and his father purchased land in the village of Kalonya (Colonia) on which the settlement of Moẓa was established in 1891. Yehoshua was one of the founders of Naḥalat Shivah, the third Jewish quarter of Jerusalem built outside the Old City by residents of the city (1869).

In 1876 he belonged to the group that tried to buy government lands near Jericho for the establishment of a settlement to be called Petaḥ Tikvah – an attempt that failed because of the opposition of the Turkish government in Constantinople. In 1882 Yellin entered his son David, born in Jerusalem, at the Alliance Israélite Universelle school just opened in Jerusalem and was thus the first member of the Ashkenazi community to ignore the boycott imposed by its rabbis (led by Rabbi Moshe Yehoshua Leib *Diskin) on study in schools. As a punishment he was deprived of his allocation from the *ḥalukkah. In 1897 he was elected a member of the Jerusalem Town Council and served in this capacity until 1901. In his later years he wrote memoirs, *Zikhronot le-Ven Yerushalayim* ("The Memoirs of a Son of Jerusalem," 1924), which are a source for the history of the old Jewish community in Jerusalem at the end of the 19th century.

[Yehuda Slutsky]

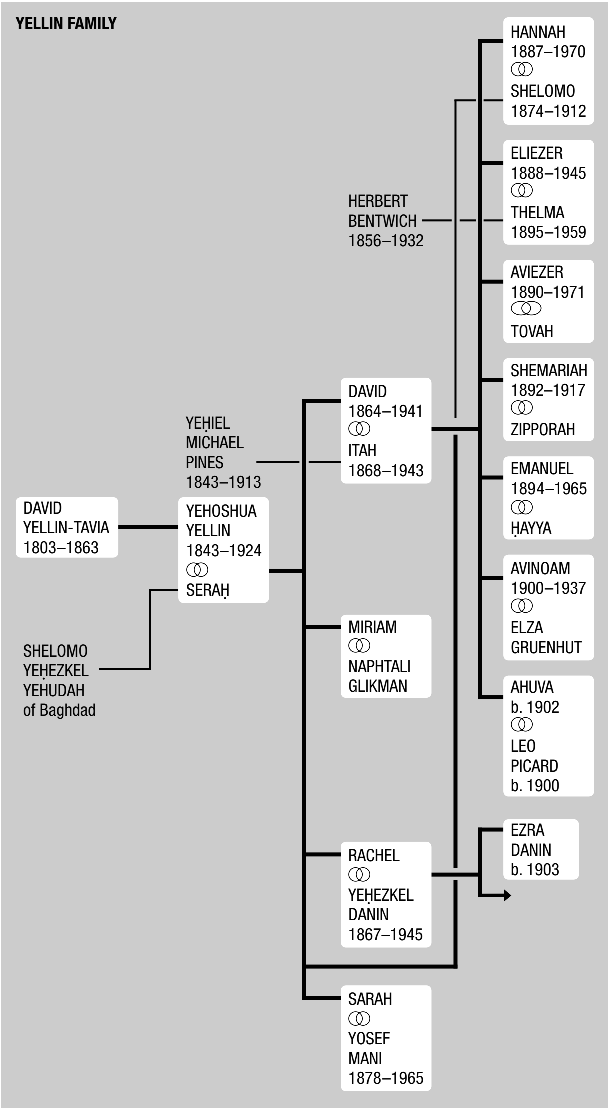
YELLIN FAMILY
DAVID YELLIN-TAVIA 1803–1863
SHELOMO YEḤEZKEL YEHUDAH of Baghdad
YEḤIEL MICHAEL PINES 1843–1913
YEHOSHUA YELLIN 1843–1924
SERAḤ
DAVID 1864–1941
ITAH 1868–1943
MIRIAM
NAPHTALI GLIKMAN
RACHEL
YEḤEZKEL DANIN 1867–1945
SARAH
YOSEF MANI 1878–1965
HERBERT BENTWICH 1856–1932
HANNAH 1887–1970
SHELOMO 1874–1912
ELIEZER 1888–1945
THELMA 1895–1959
AVIEZER 1890–1971
TOVAH
SHEMARIAH 1892–1917
ZIPPORAH
EMANUEL 1894–1965
ḤAYYA
AVINOAM 1900–1937
ELZA GRUENHUT
AHUVA b. 1902
LEO PICARD b. 1900
EZRA DANIN b. 1903

His son, DAVID YELLIN (1864–1941), was a distinguished teacher, writer, scholar, and one of the leaders of the *yishuv.* David studied at the Eẓ Ḥayyim yeshivah and also acquired a general education and knowledge of both Eastern and Western languages. In 1882 he became a pupil (later teacher) in Jerusalem at the Alliance Israélite Universelle school and at the Laemel school. In 1903 Yellin was one of the organizers of the founding conference of the *Teachers' Association at Zikhron Ya'akov and was the association's president. In 1912 he became deputy director of the teachers' seminary founded by the *Hilfsverein der Deutschen Juden (Ezra) in Jerusalem. During the language controversy, when the Hilfsverein tried to introduce German as language of instruction, he founded the Hebrew Teachers' Seminary (later at Bet ha-Kerem in Jerusalem) and was its principal until his death. In 1926 he was appointed professor of Hebrew poetry of the Spanish period at the Hebrew University. His knowledge of Arabic language and literature brought him to a deep understanding of Hebrew poetry written in Spain, and he published a number of works by Spanish Hebrew poets. In addition to research works in the field of poetics, he wrote *Torat ha-Shirah ha-Sefaradit* (1941), in which he described the techniques of various poets, types of poems, meters, and the influence of Arabic poetry on that of Hebrew poets in Spain. Yellin was active in the development of Jerusalem and its institutions, participating in the establishment of new quarters and public buildings such as the Zikhron Moshe quarter, the Laemel school, and the Bet ha-Kerem Seminary. Together with his father-in-law, Y.M. *Pines, and E. *Ben-Yehuda, Yellin sat on the Va'ad ha-Lashon (Hebrew Language Committee). He also helped to establish the National Library and organize *B'nai B'rith in the country. He was a member of the Ottoman parliament (1913) and a leader of the Jewish community's aid committee during World War I. He was among the first public figures in the country to join the Zionist movement openly, took part in Zionist Congresses, and in 1917 was exiled by the Turks to Damascus. From 1920 to 1925 he was a member of the Jerusalem Town Council and deputy mayor, introducing the municipality's first Hebrew seal. From 1920 to 1928 David was chairman of the Va'ad Le'ummi (National Council of the Jews of Palestine) and appeared as a Jewish representative on the League of Nations "Wailing Wall Committee" (1931).

Apart from textbooks (the best known is *Mikra le-Fi ha-Taf*, 1900–01), and translations from Arabic (*Shirat Shemu'el Ben Adaya*) and from European languages (e.g., *The Vicar of Wakefield*), David published many studies on Hebrew language and grammar (e.g., *Dikduk ha-Lashon ha-Ivrit*, 1942; *Toledot Dikduk ha-Lashon ha-Ivrit ve-Hitpatteḥutah*, 1947); and on the Bible (among them commentaries on the books of Job and Isaiah, 1927). The first two volumes of his selected writings, which appeared in 1936 and 1939, contain a selection of his articles in the Hebrew press in Jerusalem and are a valuable source on the history of the *yishuv*. David Yellin was a symbol of the integration of the Ashkenazi and Sephardi communities in Ereẓ Israel, which was also expressed in his scholarship. He was also a leader in education as it developed in the *yishuv*.

David's second son AVIEZER (1890–1971), educator, was born in Jerusalem and attended the Laemel school and the Ezra Teachers' Seminary. He taught in Bulgaria in 1910 and later in the Ezra Seminary. During World War I he founded the first Hebrew girls' school in Damascus. Aviezer was one of the founders and leaders of the *Maccabi and scout movements in Israel. He was a delegate to the first Asefat ha-Nivḥarim (Elected Assembly of Palestine Jews) and a member of the Jewish Communal Council in Jerusalem. In 1925 he became a member of the central committee of the Teachers' Association and served as its secretary until 1956 when he was elected as its honorary president. He wrote many articles on education, sports, and current affairs.

[Benzion Dinur (Dinaburg)]

David's fifth son, AVINOAM (1900–1937), educator and Orientalist, was born in Jerusalem. He translated *The Book of Ahikar the Wise* from the Syriac and Aramaic into Hebrew (*Sefer Aḥikar he-Ḥakham*, 1937) and published modern textbooks for the study of Hebrew and classical Arabic (the latter together with Levi *Billig), as well as numerous studies and articles. A member of the Hebrew Language committee (Va'ad ha-Lashon), he became supervisor of Jewish schools in the British Mandatory administration. He was killed in Jerusalem by Arab rioters.

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YELLIN-BENTWICH, THELMA (1895–1959), Israeli cellist and pedagogue, a leading personality in the creation and shaping of musical life in Israel. She was born in England as the ninth child of the aristocratic Bentwich family, all the members of which received professional instrumental training. She studied at the Royal College of Music in London, and was accepted by Pablo Casals as a private pupil. In 1915 she founded in London the all-women trio with Myra *Hess and Jelly d'Arranyi. Yet the tensions of the life of a traveling professional soloist did not suit her nature. In 1919 she joined her brother and two sisters who had already settled in Jerusalem and married Eliezer Yellin, the son of David *Yellin. In 1921 she founded the Jerusalem Music Society which pioneered high quality weekly concerts of chamber music in Jerusalem to a cosmopolitan audience of Jews, Arabs, British, German, and members of other nationalities. The backbone of these concerts was the Jerusalem String Quartet, the first in the country, with her sister, violinist Margery Bentwich. In 1951 she joined the Israeli String Quartet with Lorand and Alice Fenyves (violins) and Oeden *Partos (viola). She also appeared with the Philharmonic and radio orchestras and taught cello and chamber music at the academies of music in Tel Aviv and Jerusalem as one of the most admired cello pedagogues in the country. Her plans for a "music gymnasium" for talented children came to fruition in 1962 in Tel Aviv when the Thelma Yellin Gymnasium was opened.

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[Jehoash Hirshberg (2nd ed.)]

YELLIN-MOR (Friedman), NATHAN (1913–1980), one of the leaders of *Loḥamei Ḥerut Israel and Israeli politician, member of the First Knesset. Born in Grodno, Poland, Yellin-Mor completed his studies as an engineer in Warsaw, where he joined the Berit ha-Ẓiyyonim ha-Revizyonistim and *Betar movements and in the late 1930s supported extreme activism, associated, in Palestine, with the *Irgun Ẓeva'i Le'ummi (IẒL). In 1938–39 Yellin-Mor edited the short-lived Warsaw Yiddish daily *Di Tat*, which was an IẒL organ. After the outbreak of World War II, Yellin-Mor managed to reach Palestine and joined Avraham *Stern, who decided to break away from the IẒL and establish a new organization that was called Loḥamei Ḥerut Israel (Leḥi). In 1941 he traveled to Syria on behalf of Stern, with the purpose of reaching neutral Turkey in order to contact representatives of Nazi Germany and offer them cooperation against the British in exchange for a mass evacuation of European Jews to Palestine. However, he was arrested by the British in Syria and imprisoned in Palestine. In 1943 he escaped from a detention camp with a group of his colleagues through a tunnel. After his escape Yellin-Mor became one of a triumvirate of Leḥi leaders, replacing Stern, who was murdered by the British in 1942, concentrating on military operations until 1948.

He was arrested together with other Leḥi members by the Israeli police after the assassination of the UN mediator Count Folke Bernadotte in the fall of 1948. An Israeli military court found him guilty of membership in a terrorist organization but acquitted him of complicity in Bernadotte's assassination. Yellin-Mor was included in the general amnesty granted by the Provisional Government, and ran in the elections to the First Knesset in 1949 on the "Fighters" (*Loḥamim*) ticket that was made up of former Leḥi members. However, he was the only member elected, and soon after his election to the Knesset, he underwent an ideological shift that took him to the extreme Left. Together with Uri *Avneri, he established in 1956 a political group called "Semitic Action" (Ha-Pe'ulah ha-Shemit), which supported the idea of a Jewish-Arab federation in the territory of Mandatory Palestine that would form part of a broader Middle East federation. Yellin-Mor was not elected to the Second Knesset, went into business, and edited a journal called *Etgar* ("Challenge"), in which he professed his views. After Avneri entered the Knesset in 1965, Yellin-Mor left all direct political activity.

His writings include *Loḥamei Ḥerut Yisrael: Anashim, Ra'ayonot, Alilot* ("Loḥamei Ḥerut Yisrael: People, Ideas, Deeds," 1975) and *Shenot be-Terem* ("The Years Before," 1990).

[Susan Hattis Rolef (2nd ed.)]

YEMEN, country in S.W. corner of the Arabian Peninsula; capital, Sanʿa.

The Land and the People

The southern part of the Arabian Peninsula is called al-Yaman (the south), after which the country is named in the West. In pre-Islamic times there were five separate political entities in this area, the history of which is known only in epigraphic sources from the tenth century B.C.E.: Ma'īn (with the capital Qarnāw), Ḥimyar (ʿAfar), Sabā (Mārib), Katabān (Tamnā), and Ḥaḍramawt (Shabwah). The country was politically united under the Ḥimyari kingdom from the fourth century C.E. The Ḥimyari king Abūkarib adopted the Jewish religion in 384, which was retained until 525/530, when *Dhū Nuwās, the last Ḥimyari king was defeated and killed by the invading Christian army from Abyssinia. In 570 the country was conquered by the Sassanid Persians and in 629 was taken over without a fight by the Muslim army. Since then Yemen has been a Muslim country, although its ruling dynasties have changed many times and almost never has Yemen constituted one political entity. After being a remote province of the *Umayyads and the *Abbassids it was actually ruled by different local families, until it fell under the rule of a Zaydī imām, Yaḥyā al-Hādī ilā al-Ḥaqq. His successors became the main political and religious power except for relatively long intervals: 1173–1229 (Egyptian Abbassids), 1229–1454 (Rasūlīs), 1454–1526 (Banū Ẓāhir), 1536–1636 (*Ottoman Turks), 1872–1918 (Ottoman Turks). But even during these intervals the Zaydīs kept their power in the northern part of the country. Since *San'a was the political and religious center, except during the Rasūlī period with the capital Ta'izz, the far southeastern region of Yemen, Ḥaḍramawt was never under the control of the central government but only under that of various local sultans. Part of the country with its important seaport of *Aden was actually under British control between the years 1839 and 1967. In 1962 the Zaydī imamate came to its end in consequence of the republican revolution and since then Yemen has been a Muslim republic. In 1990 Yemen and the State of South Yemen, established after the British had evacuated Aden, were united into one state for the first time in history to include all south Arabia, up the border of Oman in the east. Religiously the country is evenly divided between Zaydīs in the north and the central plateau and Shāfi'īs in the southern lowlands and Ḥaḍramawt.

As an orthodox Muslim state Yemen was always hostile to the Jewish settlement in the Holy Land since the first mass *aliyyot* from Yemen in 1882 and actually tried to prevent them. Later, after the establishment of the State of Israel in 1948, Yemen was one of the seven Arab states who sent their armies against the newborn Jewish state. Yemen never recognized Israel *de jure* or *de facto* and in the early 21st century was one of the radical Arab and Muslim states in terms of its political relation to Israel.

History

There are no documents or other reliable sources about the beginning of Jewish existence in Yemen. The traditions of the Jews of Yemen themselves relate that a large group of Jews left Jerusalem some years before the destruction of the First Temple following the prophecies of Jeremiah. They first came to some localities in Yemen, called Resh Galut, such as San'a, Tan'im, and Dhamār. According to their tradition, the Jews of Yemen rejected the call of Ezra to return to the Holy Land since they anticipated that the Second Temple would be destroyed as well. This tradition may be supported by their pronunciation of Hebrew, which fits that of Judea, like that of the medieval Jews of Babylonia, and differs from the Galilean (Tiberian) pronunciation maintained by all other Jewish communities; and the counting of the years from the ninth of Av since the destruction of the First Temple, a unique custom not existing in any other Jewish community. However, the first certain evidence of Jewish life in Yemen is the tombs of Ḥimyarī Jews in Beth She'arim, dated to the beginning of the third century C.E., which means that at least in the second half of the second century C.E. there already were Jewish settlements in Yemen.

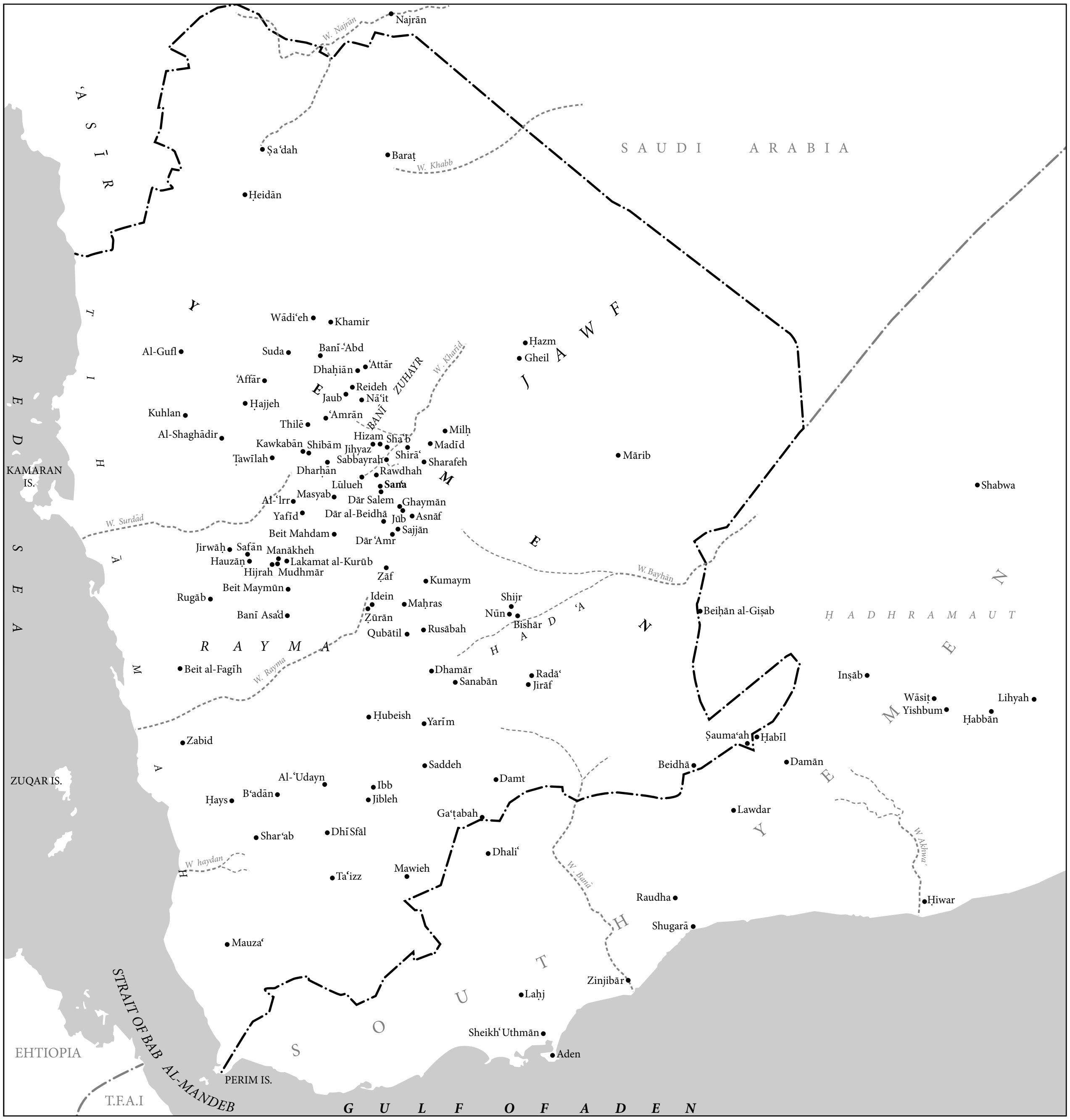
Najrān
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YEMEN
TIHĀMA
RED SEA
Wādiʿeh
Khamir
Al-Gufl
Suda
Banī-ʿAbd
Dhaḥiān
ʿAttār
BANĪ ZUHAYR
W. Kharid
JAWF
Ḥazm
Gheil
ʿAffār
Reideh
Jaub
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Ḥajjeh
Kuhlan
ʿAmrān
Thilē
Milḥ
Al-Shaghādir
Hizam
Shaʿb
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Shibām
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Ṭawīlah
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Mārib
KAMARAN IS.
Dharḥān
Rawdhah
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Masyab
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Jūb
Asnāf
Shabwa
W. Surdād
Beit Mahdam
Sajjān
Dār ʿAmr
Jirwāḥ
Safān
Manākheh
Hauzāṇ
Lakamat al-Kurūb
Hijrah
Mudhmār
Ẓāf
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W. Bayḥān
Beit Maymūn
Idein
Shijr
Rugāb
Maḥras
Nūn
Beiḥān al-Giṣab
Banī Asaʿd
Ẓūrān
Bishār
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Qubātil
Rusābah
HADAʿ
RAYMA
W. Rayma
Beit al-Fagīh
Dhamār
Sanabān
Radāʿ
Jirāf
Inṣāb
Wāsiṭ
Yishbum
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Zabid
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Jibleh
Gaʿṭabah
Lawdar
Sharʿab
Dhī Sfāl
Dhaliʿ
W. Akhwā
W. haydan
Mawieh
Taʿizz
W. Banā
Raudha
Ḥiwar
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Mauzaʿ
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STRAIT OF BAB AL-MANDEB
SOUTH
Sheikhʿ Uthmān
Aden
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T.F.A.I
GULF OF ADEN

Jewish communities in Yemen before the mass emigration to Israel, 1949–50.

One may conclude, then, that Jews left Judea southward after the destruction of the Second Temple (70 C.E.) and eventually arrived in Yemen to build their new life.

Judaism in pre-Islamic Yemen gained more and more power and influence. The crucial step was in early 380, when the Ḥimyarī king Abūkarib adopted Judaism as the formal religion of the kingdom. Polytheism was completely rejected and for 150 years all inscriptions, the almost ultimate source for pre-Islamic history, were monotheist or Jewish. During that time, a bitter struggle developed between Judaism and Christianity in Yemen, culminating with Yūsuf Dhū Nuwās (522–525/530). But when the foreign army of Aksūm, the Christian power in Ethiopia, intervened and invaded the country, as a response to the punitive expedition of Yūsuf against the rebellious Christians in Najrān, the Jewish regime of Ḥimyar came to its end and the Jews lost their strong standing in the country. From early Muslim sources, however, we learn that Judaism spread out among many Arab tribes, especially in Ḥaḍramawt. The next big step in the degradation of Judaism and Jews in Yemen took place in 629, when the country was taken by the victorious Muslim army of *Muhammad. Suddenly the Jews became **dhimmīs*, namely second-degree subjects protected by the government in return for paying a special tax (only for adult males) – the *jizyah*. It seems that only a few of the Jews of Yemen converted to Islam, although there is not the slightest information in terms of numbers. However, early Muslim sources are quite informative about Yemeni Jews – or about those Jewish scholars who converted to Islam and enriched it with endless Jewish traditions and stories, frequently lost in genuine Jewish sources. To name just a few we may mention *Ka'b al-Aḥbār, 'Abd Allah ibn Sallām, 'Abd Allah ibn Sabā', and Wahb ibn Munabbih.

We know almost nothing about the Jews in Yemen during the Umayyad and first Abbassid periods up to the end of the 9th century, when the Zaydi imamate was established in northern Yemen in 897 by Yaḥyā al-Hādī ilā al-Ḥaqq. From a rare document preserved in his *sīrah* (biography) we know that basically he did not adopt discriminatory and humiliating regulations against the Jews but forbade Jews to build synagogues and hold Muslim slaves. It is notable that he did not prevent Jews from owning lands and even confirmed their right to buy new lands from Muslims.

Again, for more than 250 years, Jewish and Arab sources are almost completely silent regarding Yemeni Jews, but from the scarce information we have it is clear that the Jews of Yemen maintained close relations with the *geonim* in the Babylonian Jewish centers. However, as a result of the growing importance of Yemen and especially of its southern seaport of Aden in international commerce from the Mediterranean basin to *India, the Jewish community of Yemen rises from oblivion, particularly in the documents of the Cairo **Genizah*. During the 11th, 12th, and 13th centuries, Yemen and its Jewish community were like a suburb of *Egypt and its large Jewish Egyptian community. Yemenite Jewry of that time was an integral part of the Jewish world in the vast Muslim area from the shores of the Atlantic to India. In the 12th and 13th centuries, in the course of which Yemen constituted an important part of the Ayyubid dynasty in Egypt, it had special communal and religious relations with *Maimonides and his son Abraham, both of them heads of the Jewish community in Egypt and close to the government. These special relations were first shaped when Maimonides acted on their behalf in the Ayyubid court in Cairo and sent them his famous *Epistle to Yemen* (1172) to lead them away from their belief in the false messiah who appeared at that time in Yemen and to comfort them. Generally the Ayyubid period (1172–1254) was quite happy for the Jews, except for a short time when Mu'izz al-Dīn Ismā'īl (1196–1201) forced them to convert to Islam, a tragic episode ending with his sudden death.

The transition of the government in Yemen from the Ayyubid to the Rasūlī dynasty (1254–1454) did not radically change the political and economic conditions of the Jews. Despite the sparse details in Muslim sources about some Jews who had converted to Islam, there is a good likelihood that in general the Jews lived calmly and securely. They could maintain their close relations with Egyptian Jewry under the rule of the *Mamluks and excel in their literary production, which was the richest and the most diverse in their history. Matters changed with the rise of Banū Ẓāhir in 1454, particularly as a result of another Jewish false messiah who attracted many Jews as well as Muslim followers. Not only was the rebellious messiah killed, but Jews were no longer allowed to dwell in the vast area of Ḥaḍramawt, claimed by the fanatic Muslims to be the land of the pre-Islamic prophet Hūd. This ban was only the first in an unceasing trend to limit the boundaries of Jewish settlement in Yemen. No wonder, then, that the Jews of Yemen looked with hope to Portuguese activities on the seacoast of southern Yemen during the first decade of the 15th century, and some of them even helped them as spies.

Shortly after that, the Zaydī imams, who for several centuries had been pushed to their strongholds in the north, gained power and took control of larger territories in the central plateau where large Jewish communities lived. It should be noted that the Zaydī attitude towards Jews had been greatly altered during the 15th century under the impact of the writings of Ḥanbalī scholars, becoming less tolerant, as attested in legal books of Zaydī scholars. But then came the Ottoman Turks who pushed the Zaydīs back to the north after gaining control of the central plateau, including San'a. In spite of the formal improvement of living conditions of the Jews under the Turks, as the new strict regulations against them were abrogated, they suffered severely from the unceasing war between the Ottoman armies and the Zaydī rebels. This situation came to a head in late 1620, when Faḍlī Pāsha, the Turkish governor in the southern lowlands, arrested the leaders of the Jews, trying to win the sympathies of local Muslims. Nevertheless, the Jews were accused by the Muslim Yemenis of being collaborators of the Turks. When eventually the Yemenis, led by the Qāsimīs, the new dynasty of imāms, succeeded in driving the Turks out of the country in 1636, the Jews were submitted to new anti-Jewish Zaydī regulations.

It was just a question of timing for the fanatically religious Imām al-Mutawakkil Ismā'īl (1644–1676) as to when to act to bring about the total annihilation of Jewish existence in Yemen, a question regularly discussed in Zaydī legal writings since the middle of the 16th century. This occured in 1667, in the wake of the messianic expectations of Shabbateanism throughout Yemen, as well as all over the Jewish world, when a group of San'anī Jews, led by Slaymān Jamāl, one of their scholars, asked the governor of San'a to hand the government over to him. The reaction of Imām Ismā'īl was quick and harsh. He legally abrogated the status of the Jews as a protected minority and applied to scholars of both the Zaydī and Shāfi'ī schools regarding the question of whether Yemen is like the Ḥijāz where non-Muslims are not allowed to dwell. After years of hesitation he adopted the ruling of these scholars, who believed that Yemen was a part of the Ḥijāz, and on his deathbed he instructed his heir, Imām al-Mahdī Aḥmad (1676–1681), to carry out this ruling. The immediate meaning was unequivocal: the Jews could no longer live as Jews in Yemen; they had to choose between Islam and death. The new imām chose a third alternative, to expel the Jews from Yemen. But eventually, for logistic reasons, they were expelled to *Mawzaʾ, a small town in the west of the country, not far from the seaport of Mochā, where living conditions were almost unbearable.

After about a year and a half, the Jews were allowed to return to their towns and villages, although not to same quarters and houses, all of which had been confiscated by the government. They had to build new houses in new neighborhoods, outside the wall in walled cities. For more than two generations the social, economic, and spiritual situation of the Jews was quite bad. It was only in late 1720, under the community leadership of Shalom Iraqi, who served three imāms as collector of taxes and was responsible for the mint house, that the Jews rehabilitated their life, particularly economically as the Jews took part in the new commerce with British India. But that was only for a short time, owing to the jealousy of the Muslims over the growing wealth of the Jews. In 1762 Iraqi was thrown into prison, when he was more than 80 years old, his wealth and property were confiscated, and all synagogues in Sanʾa were closed for 30 years. It was then that the spiritual leadership, headed by R. Yiḥye (d. 1805), held the reins of the Jewish community and rescued it from moral and communal decline. But this could not help the politically and economically deteriorating status of the Jews, a trend which continued and even worsened during the 19th century, up to 1872, when Yemen was conquered by the Turks.

For many years after the British had taken over Aden (1839) and the Turks had invaded Yemen (1849), the Jews of Yemen looked forward to the total occupation of the country by a Western power and tried hard to involve other Jewish communities, especially in England, on their behalf. This could be attained only after the Turks had entered Sanʾa in 1872. In principle, the new rulers canceled the traditional Muslim anti-Jewish regulations, in accordance with Ottoman policy in the entire Empire. Indeed, the situation of the Jews improved during the Turkish occupation and their ties with coreligionists in Europe were strengthened, especially with Jewish settlements in the Holy Land to which the Jews of Yemen started to immigrate in mass beginning in 1882.

These two trends opened a completely new period in the history of the Jews of Yemen during which immigration to the Holy Land was a main political and social factor with a decisive impact upon all aspects of life. Another major factor was the centralist and ultra-orthodox regime of Imām Yaḥyā (1904–48), who led the rebellion against the Turks after his father's death in 1904. He wrested significant authority from the Turks in 1911 regarding internal and religious issues (Jews included), and eventually obtained the entire governing authority in 1918 after the Turks had evacuated the country. Yaḥyā strictly implemented the traditional Zaydī policy regarding the Jews, including two harsh edicts: (a) the orphans' edict, according to which every Jewish orphan was to be taken by the government from his family and raised as a Muslim; (b) the latrine decree, according to which the Jews had to clean the streets and the public baths and lavatories (in order to humiliate them). As an expression of identification and sympathy with Arabs in their conflict with the Jews in the Holy Land, he published a regulation prohibiting Jews from leaving Yemen for that country. But on the other hand he followed a very firm policy of protecting the Jews and severely punished any Muslim, either a regular citizen or a government officer, who harmed them.

However, what had a greater effect on the worsening conditions of life of the Jews during Yaḥyā's reign was his general despotic conduct toward his subjects, Muslims as well as Jews. To gain maximum control over his subjects and to prevent any possibility of revolt against him, Yaḥyā imposed extremely high taxes on the Muslims, particularly the peasants, and set up many factories and companies to deprive Jews of their main source of income, the crafts, which were the primary occupation they were allowed to practice. The Jewish community grew poorer and poorer and instead of the financial help sent by the Jews of Yemen to the new Yemenite communities in the Holy Land during the Ottoman occupation, the Yemenite Jews in the Holy Land collected money and sent it to their brethren in Yemen. Understandably, many Jews tried hard to escape from Yemen and immigrate to the Holy Land, despite the prohibition of the imām. Thus, almost more than a third of the Yemenite Jews had settled in the Holy Land prior to the establishment of the State of Israel in 1948.

Thus, the Jewish community in Yemen experienced much turmoil during the years 1900–1951. In the beginning of the 20th century Yemen was severely afflicted by famine caused by three years of drought (1903–1905), and many Jews died or left in order to find food. The circumstances were particularly terrible in Sanʾa, which was besieged by the rebellious army of Yaḥyā, where more than half (according to one estimate almost 90%) lost their lives. This event, remembered by the Jews of Yemen as *ḥawzat al-nafar* (the siege during which a handful of wheat was sold for one real), triggered the internal immigration of Jews, a phenomenon strengthened in the time of Imām Yaḥyā because of the worsening economic conditions and the immigration to the Holy Land or to British Aden, where the Jews lived in improved conditions. In consequence of this turmoil the traditional social structure of Jewish communities in Yemen was weakened and the negative results could be felt in different aspects of life.

Another factor which shook the communal structure in Sanʾa and in its vicinity was the scandalous controversy over the *Kabbalah. Influenced by the enlightenment movement of Jewish Europe (Haskalah), either by scholars visiting Yemen, such as Joseph Halévy (1869/70) or Eduard *Glaser (1882–1894), or by publications that reached Yemen, some relatively young Sanʾani Jews, headed by R. Yiḥye, established a kind of reform group, completely negating the Kabbalah or any mystical element in Judaism. This controversy resulted in rich literary productions (see below), but on the social level it was highly destructive, as the community of San'a was splintered in 1910 into two hostile factions, avoiding intermarriage or eating the meat slaughtered by the other side. This controversy was the main social issue in the San'ani community up to its total immigration in 1949–1951. It was transferred to the Holy Land, where it still exists in the 21st century.

Social Position

The basic factor which determined the social status of the Yemenite Jews was the religious-political arrangement imposed on them by the Muslim regime since 629, the **dhimma*, namely, the protection they got from the government in return for the **jizyah*, the tax each male adult had to pay. This arrangement was more effective in the center than in the remote regions of the country, where Jews lived among the tribes and their relations were based on the tribal pre-Islamic social institute of *jār*. The protection bestowed by the sheikh and his men upon the Jew, as upon any other weak person within the tribal community, was based on the issue of honor and had nothing to do with Islam. The general trend in the social status of Jews among Muslims in Yemen was one of deterioration, since even the Zaydī regime eventually adopted all anti-Jewish restrictive and humiliating regulations established by the most extremist Sunnī religious scholars or rulers. Although on the declarative level Jews were not compelled to convert, the entire history of the Jews in Islamic Yemen was an unceasing struggle with the attempts of the government and Muslim society to turn them into Muslims. Indeed, conversion to Islam was a distinct phenomenon among the Jews of Yemen, even though it never stemmed from a real and deep conviction of the truth of Islam.

Basically, the Jew was considered by Yemeni Muslims as an inferior human being, devoid of any rights. Jews were not allowed to build more than two-story houses, carry arms, wear light-colored garments, ride mounts except donkeys (and even then only sidesaddle like a woman), or live among Muslims; also they were ordered to wear sidelocks so as to be recognized as Jews, speak humbly to Muslims, and walk only to the left of a Muslim. The Jew had to be very careful when speaking about Islam or Muslim institutions, as any sign of criticism or disparagement against them might end in capital punishment. In principle Muslim and Jewish communities did not interact; but in contrast to cities and towns, where Jews were completely secluded in neighborhoods, there was a more lenient approach in villages, where the style of life produced more diverse possibilities for social or other kind of encounters between Jews and Muslims. No wonder then that the cultural distance in all aspects, spiritual as well as material, between village Jews and Muslims was much less clear-cut and decisive than that between townfolk Jews and Muslims.

Economic Situation

By and large, Yemeni Jews were very poor. Only rarely do we hear about rich Jews in Yemen, when they could freely deal in international or nationwide trade, as in the 11th, 12th, and 18th centuries or during the second Ottoman occupation (1872–1918). The outcome of the ceaseless social and religious pressure on the Jews was their being the poorest component of the Yemeni population. It is true that almost all the citizens of Yemen were poor because of endless military struggles and the despotism of the rulers, as in the time of Imām Yaḥyā (1918–1948), but the Jews suffered also due to their social inferiority and their exclusion from the main source of livelihood – agriculture. Most Jews were artisans and could make quite a good living in days of peace and calm. However, this situation was rare and in the customary situation of political turmoil and disorder or during frequent years of natural afflictions like drought and locusts, there was no demand for the crafts of the Jews. The best proof of the poverty of the Jews of Yemen is the list of the *jizyah* payers, where most of them are recorded as *adnā* (lowest), and only a small number as *a'lā* (highest). There were only a few families who could boast of their wealth, made via international commerce through Aden or Ḥudaydah, such as the Ḥibshūsh family or Israel Ḥubayri, who made his fortune as the exclusive importer of arms from Germany and Belgium for Imām Yaḥyā's army. Famine was then the main reason for conversion to Islam, particularly because Jews were not helped by the government with food as were Muslims.

Messianic Expectations

The messianic activity of the Jews of Yemen was one of their most characteristic features even in pre-Islamic times, from the fall of Yūsuf Dhū Nuwās in 525/530 in the war against Ethiopian Christians to the rise of *Muhammad. The appearance of Muhammad stimulated messianic expectations among the Jews. Some scholars ascribed to ʿAbdallah ibn Sabā, the Jewish convert to Islam at the start of the new religion, and similarly to other proselytes, an important role in conveying messianic notions to Islam, particularly the Shīʿī branch. On the other hand, the Zaydi sect, which was the foremost religious-political force in Yemen from the end of the 9th century, and which belonged to the Shīʿa, elevated the Imām to a meta-human level and did not adopt the idea of the Hidden Imām, existing in abstentia (*ghaybah*), whose advent was awaited by all (*al-mahdī al-muntaẓar*). Yet Muslim Yemen was not free of messianic tension throughout the generations, especially among the Sunni (Shāfiʿi) section of the population, most of it in the south; and often Jewish and Muslim messianic activities nurtured each other. For example, some Muslims followed Jewish messiahs. Moreover, the strong Jewish belief that on a certain day, Messiah, the Son of David, would be revealed, would redeem the Jews of Yemen, and bring them to their land seeped into Muslims in Yemen, and indeed made them fearful lest they be punished for their unfavorable treatment of Jews. By contrast, the authorities, whether Zaydī or Sunnī, were highly suspicious of the Jews' messianic faith, regarding any activity stemming from it as rebellion against the government requiring a swift response. Such reactions to the display of messianism in Yemen since the 12th century contributed to the continuous decline in the political and social status of the Jews of Yemen and the shrinking of the areas of their settlement.

Immigration and Settlement in Ereẓ Israel

Throughout their history, the Jews of Yemen had ties with the Jewish settlement in Ereẓ Israel. From the *Genizah* documents and *Alḥarizi's *Taḥkemoni* we learn about the Yemenite community in Ereẓ Israel. Many years later, R. Obadiah of *Bertinoro reports on Jews of "the Land of Aden," namely Yemen, who immigrated to Ereẓ Israel, probably in the middle of the 15th century. Since then we have little evidence about individuals or solitary families from Yemen making *aliyah*. It was only in 1881 that the flow of Jews left Yemen for Ereẓ Israel, in consequence of three factors: (a) encouraging information about the living conditions there and the rumors about land distributed there to any Jew who came on *aliyah*; (b) improvement in sailing conditions from Yemen to Ereẓ Israel, then both provinces of the *Ottoman Empire; (c) the disappointment with the Turkish government in Yemen.

The first immigrants came to Jerusalem in August 1881 to establish a separate community there; in contrast to previous immigrants from Yemen they blended with the Sephardi community. Many others from Yemen joined this community, most of them from San'a and settled first in the Old City of Jerusalem and from 1885 in new neighborhoods built specially for them outside the walls, like Kefar ha-Shiloaḥ, Mishkenot, and Naḥalat Ẓevi. In 1908, Yemenite Jews in Jerusalem numbered more than 2,500, constituting an independent community after attaining a *firman* from the Ottoman government. Some of the immigrants settled in *Jaffa and there established a smaller community (350 in 1903). In 1908 village Jews of north Yemen started to immigrate and settle in young Hebrew moshavot like Reḥovot. Like them, thousands of immigrants who came from the south of Yemen (Shar'ab), following the mission of Shemu'el Yavne'eli, settled in most of the moshavot in Judea and the Galilee, numbering about half the total population and making their living from agriculture, either as hired laborers or independent farmers. At the end of World War I there were 4,500 Yemenite Jews in the country. The flow of emigrants from all over Yemen was renewed after World War I, this time more to the urban center of Jaffa-Tel Aviv and the new Hebrew towns, as small businessmen, laborers, and retailers. Between the two world wars more then 15,000 left Yemen illegally for Ereẓ Israel through Aden, where they obtained immigration certificates from the British Mandatory government. By the outbreak of World War II there were about 28,000 Yemenite Jews in Ereẓ Israel.

In early 1920 the Zionist movement in Ereẓ Israel started to act in Aden and later in Yemen, in order to encourage and help Jews to emigrate. But owing to the hostile attitude of Imām Yaḥyā to Zionism nothing could be done. It was only in the mid-1940s, that the imām eased his policy, responding to the grave economic situation of his Jewish subjects. Emissaries of the Zionist institutions in Ereẓ Israel acted in Yemen on the eve of the establishment of the State of Israel. Thousands wandered on the routes from all over Yemen to Aden, the only seaport in south Arabia from which Jews could emigrate. With the help of the British authorities in Aden, there was built, next to the city of Aden, Camp Ge'ullah in which the refugees from Yemen were received and well treated by Zionist emissaries and even got a modern Zionist education to facilitate their absorption in the Promised Land. This activity was the basis of the overall emigration of Yemenite Jewry following the establishment of the State of Israel in 1948 and the murder of Imām Yaḥyā, who was considered the ultimate protector of the Jews, in the same year. Aḥmad, the new imām, decided to let the Jews leave his country to Israel, on two conditions: they had to sell all their property to Muslims and to teach the Muslims their crafts. Both conditions were not properly fulfilled, but in any event more than 50,000 Jews left the country in 1949–51, through Aden, except for some several thousands who preferred to stay, clinging to their property or hoping to collect on loans owed by Muslims. A thin trickle of emigration continued until 1954 and even later in 1962, on the eve of the republican revolution. Since then, up to the early 1990s, an iron curtain had fallen on the Jews of Yemen. Some left, however, nominally to the U.S., but most to Israel. No more than 200 Jews still live in Yemen.

Since their first emigration to Jerusalem in 1881, Yemenite Jews dreamed of settling in their old-new homeland as farmers. That was the hope when they settled in Kefar ha-Shiloaḥ and that was what stimulated their leader R. Avraham Naddāf (1891–1920) to purchase land for agricultural settlement and to establish the Shivat Zion society designed for the same goal. Actually Yemenite Jews lived as farmers in Naḥalat Israel Rama not far from Jerusalem for about a year (1895/6). In addition to their agricultural settlements next to the Hebrew moshavot, they established prior to the founding of the State of Israel two independent moshavim – Elyashiv (1933) and Ge'ulim (1945). But the archives of the Hitaḥadut ha-Teimanim, the main Yemenite organization in Ereẓ Israel, inform us that the Zionist organizations did not respond positively to their initiatives to establish agricultural settlements. However, after the mass immigration of Yemenite Jews in 1949–51, the policy was to take them out of the transit camps (*ma'barot*) and settle them in abandoned Arab villages and later in new localities as farmers, in more than 50 places. Soon it became clear, however, that not all Yemenite Jews were fit or wanted to be farmers, and many of them left for the urban settlements, leaving only about 35 Yemenite moshavim. Since then, Yemenite immigrants and their descendants practice all kinds of professions marking their increased social and political acculturation in the State of Israel.

Literary and Scholarly Activities

It is impossible to present a complete picture of Jewish literature in Yemen, as a considerable part is still hidden in unpublished manuscripts. Available sources do not attest that there existed a Jewish literature in Yemen prior to the 10th century.

However, it is probable that the writings of the Sages in Ereẓ Israel and Babylonia, namely the Talmud (Babylonian, not Palestinian) and the Midrashim arrived in Yemen and were preserved there in carefully copied manuscripts. Jewish Yemenite literature constitutes an integral part of Jewish literature in the Muslim-Arabic realm from *Spain to *Persia. In its first steps Jewish literature in Yemen echoes Jewish literature produced in the major Jewish spiritual centers: *Italy, *Iraq, Ereẓ Israel, Spain, North Africa, and Egypt. Thus its first work is probably a Judeo-Arabic translation made by Zechariah ben Sa'īd al-Yamanī of Josippon's *History of the Jews during the Second Temple*, a Hebrew work composed in Italy in 933, or the anonymous *Maḥberet ha-Tijān*, a compendium of the reading rules of the Bible as known from the Eastern tradition and *Saadiah. The third work is a Judeo-Arabic commentary of *Alfasi's compendium to the Talmud tractate *Ḥullin*, by an anonymous author, seemingly of the 11th century. A fourth work of the same time is the enlarged adaptation of the Ereẓ Israeli scholar Rav Nathan ha-Yeshivah's *Commentary on the Mishnah*. The first original work is the ethical-philosophical *Bustān al-ʿUqūl,* written again in Judeo-Arabic by Nethanel berav Fayyūmī around 1150. It is not, then, an accident that all the aforementioned works are in Judeo-Arabic, as since the 10th–15th centuries Yemen Jewry was culturally well immersed in Arab-Muslim culture, just like other Jewish communities in Spain, North Africa, and the East. But there is a highly significant difference, because for all the other communities the proximity to Arab-Muslim culture had been curtailed around 1250.The period from 1150 to 1500 was the most productive for Jewish literature in Yemen in various fields: (a) Poetry – Hebrew poetry in Yemen started in the second half of the 12th century, first by Sa'īd ben Marḥab, who was still influenced by ancient Ereẓ-Israeli *piyyut*, then by his contemporary Daniel berav Fayyūmī, probably Nethanel's brother, who was already influenced by the Spanish school of Hebrew poetry. They both wrote liturgical poems. A later poet who lived before the beginning of the 13th century was Abraham ben Ḥalfon, from whom we have remnants of his *dīwān* of both liturgical and secular poems. The latest poet in that period was David ben Yesha' ha-Levi (around 1500). (b) Biblical Commentary – this is the richest field of literary activity in that period in Yemen, of which we mention here only four works. The earliest is *Nur al-ʿĀlam* by Nethanel ben Yesha (1329) on the Pentateuch, but two other more important commentaries on the Pentateuch are *Midrash ha-Ḥefeẓ* by Zechariah ha-Rofeh (first half of the 15th century) and *al-Wajīz al-Mughnī*, still in manuscript, by David ben Yesha ha-Levi. A commentary on the early Prophets was compiled by Abraham ben Solomon (14th century), only partly published. (c) Midrashic Compilations – the most comprehensive of which is *Midrash ha-Gadol* by David ha-Adani. (d) *Halakhah* – most of the works are commentaries on *Maimonides' *Mishneh Torah*, like that by Zechariah ha-Rofeh. (e) Philosophy – in this category, too, most of the works are commentaries on Maimonides' works, especially *Guide of the Perplexed*. But there were many other works, characterized by their allegoric tendency regarding the *aggadah* of the Sages and even biblical figures and stories. This tendency was influenced on one side by the Maimonidean school in Spain and on the other by Ismāʾīlī writings which flourished in Yemen. The most interesting work of this Yemeni school is *Kitāb al-Ḥaqā'iq,* compiled by the rabbis of Ẓa'dah, who were harshly criticized by the rabbis of San'a. Another kind of philosophical compositions, unique to Yemen, is *masā'il*, short discussions providing answers to philosophical questions, like that of Ḥoker bi-Shelomo (first half of the 15th century). (f) Lexicography – most of the compilations in this category were Hebrew-Arabic lexicons, aimed at enabling the understanding of the Mishnah and Maimonides' *Mishneh Torah*, such as *al-Jāmi'* by David ben Yesha ha-Levi. (g) Science – mainly astronomy, needed for establishing the Hebrew calendar, and lists of medicines, like *kitāb al-wajīz* by Zechariah ha-Rofeh. The most prolific writers who acted in almost each of the above-mentioned fields and more are Sa'adiah ben David ha-Adani, David ben Yesha ha-Levi, and Moses al-Balīdah (1475–1525). Most of the works in the period under discussion, except poetry and *Midrash ha-Gadol*, were in Judeo-Arabic.

The 16th century was a transitional period between two major schools of Jewish literature in Yemen: the medieval one focused on Midrash, *halakhah*, and philosophy, mostly in Judeo-Arabic, with a rationalistic orientation, while the other focused on poetry and Kabbalah, mostly in Hebrew and with strong mystical nuances. The most important character in that transitional time was Yiḥye (Zechariah) al-Ẓāhirī, mainly known for his *Sefer ha-Musar*, of the *maqāma* genre, strongly influenced by Al-Ḥarīzī's *Taḥkemoni* and Immanuel's *Maḥbarot*, but also for his poems and *Ẓedah la-Derekh*, the commentary on the Pentateuch, both with rich kabbalistic motifs borrowed from the new school of *Safed which he visited himself. The new school of Jewish Yemeni literature started with the poet *Joseph ben Israel (d. in the 1620s), the founder of classic Jewish poetry in Yemen, characterized by the growing importance of its Arabic element and its openness to the Yemeni Muslim poetry in terms of structure (*muwashshaḥ*) and literary motifs. However, the most prominent figure in Jewish Yemenite poetry, who overshadowed his predecessors as well as his successors, is Shalom Shabazī (1619– after 1680), a younger relative of Joseph ben Israel, both of the Sharabi *Mahsta* family in southern Yemen. Shabazī was a prolific and gifted poet from whom we have about 850 poems. But it should be stressed that Arabic completely disappeared from the new school, except in poetry and a very few folklore-type works or those aimed for less-educated people.

The closer relations between Yemenite Jewry and Jewish spiritual centers and the reinforced encounter with their different traditions and customs resulted first in a comprehensive attempt to adjust Yemenite traditions with these foreign but prestigious traditions. The major scholar who dedicated almost all of his writings to that end was Isaac Wannah (first half of the 17th century), a prolific writer, mainly known for the prayerbook he compiled (*Pa'amon Zahav*) and the commentary he attached to it (*ḥiddushin*), being a dedicated propagandist of the Kabbalah. However, the tendency of neglecting the genuine ancient Yemenite traditions provoked strong resistance among San'ani scholars in the 18th century, who tried to find the golden mean. This was worked out primarily by Yiḥye Ṣaliḥ (d. 1805), the president of the San'ani Jewish court, who was the unchallenged spiritual and communal leader of Yemenite Jewry for more than 40 years. To support his work he searched ancient manuscripts and documented oral and written traditions on all aspects of religious and communal life. He was accepted in Yemen as the ultimate religious authority and his numerous works are so considered until today.

The 19th century presents in general a very pale image of Jewish Yemenite literature, since most of the production by that time was chiefly additions to and commentaries on Ṣāliḥ's works. No wonder, then, that under the alleged impact of Jewish European scholars, some young San'ani scholars, headed by Yiḥye Qāfiḥ (*Kafaḥ) set out to improve the spiritual level of Yemenite Jewry by a complete rejection of kabbalistic literature and customs, including the Zohar, and a return to the medieval school, based on the Talmud and the Judeo-Arabic philosophical literature of Saadiah Gaon and Maimonides. The trend of this new school, very active in the first half of the 20th century and severely criticized by the "orthodox" majority of the Jewish community, yielded a rich literary production, the culmination of which was that of Rabbi Joseph *Kafaḥ, the grandson of Yiḥye Qāfiḥ, already in Israel (he left Yemen in 1943, d. 2000), who was awarded the Israel Prize (1969). In the framework of this production one field should be specifically noted, that of chronological works, which had already been started in the 18th century by Sā'īd Ṣa'dī and Yiḥye Ṣāliḥ. The tendency of searching Yemenite tradition and history continued in Ereẓ Israel, first by Yemen-born scholars like Abraham Naddāf and later by younger scholars, natives of the new land. Close to this kind of cultural activity one may mention the Yemenite poets and prose writers, whose prominent figure is Mordechai *Tabib, who were spokesmen of their communal brethren and described the difficulties of their cultural and economic acculturation.

Culture and Art

Yemenite Jewry had developed a very particular and rich tradition in all aspects of material culture: music, dance, architecture, clothing, embroidery, gold and silver crafts, and so forth. Although we may find not a few common characteristics with the neighboring material culture of the immediate close circle of the Muslims in Yemen or of farther circles like that of India or East Africa, it is convincingly clear that material Jewish culture was different from the Muslim one. This is much more unequivocal regarding what is connected to religious life, such as the music of the synagogue or the shaping of ceremonial objects like Ḥanukkah candles or Torah cases. All that unfamiliar culture, brought to the Holy Land when Yemenite Jews first came en masse in 1881, attracted scholars and artists, like A.Z. Idelsohn and Boris Shatz in Jerusalem. The former established there around 1910 the Shirat Israel (Poetry of Israel) institute, designed to train young Yemenites in their musical traditions, while the latter established in 1906 an association named Bezalel with the goal of promoting Yemenite gold and silver craft, embroidery, and other handicrafts. To that end he set up workshops in Jerusalem and in the moshavah of Ben-Shemen, where Yemenite artists worked and trained for industrial production. In general, Yemenite material culture was sympathetically welcomed in Ereẓ Israel, and the latter's newly shaped culture derived some of its representative elements in music, dance, and artistic works from Yemenite tradition.

The Yemenite community had scores of artists of all kinds, some of them expressing Yemenite tradition, others more rooted in general Israeli culture. The most active field is music. Since the first woman singer, Brachah *Zefirah, a native of Jerusalem, who had a magnificent career in Ereẓ Israel as in Europe, there were, and still are, scores of Yemenite singers, mostly women, who stand in the forefront of light music in Israel. The most famous name is that of Shoshana *Damari (d. 2006), who left Yemen in 1930 when she was a year old and received the Israel Prize in 1988. A much more diversified artist was Sarah *Levi-Tannai, born in Jerusalem in 1911, poetess, composer, and choreographer, and the founder of *Inbal, the most important Yemenite artistic institution in Israel (1949); for many years, this dance theater was the best artistic representative of the young State of Israel in the U.S. and Europe, performing scores of musicals about the folklore of Yemenite Jews. While Yemenite singers in Israel could derive their tradition from the folklore of their families in Yemen, Yemenite painters could not, as painting or any kind of plastic art had not existed in Yemen, excluding a limited engagement with manuscript illumination. This explains why this field of art came relatively later than others to Yemenites in Israel. Two names out of fewer than 20 may be mentioned here: Avshalom Ukkashi and Itamar Siyani, who hold an honored place among Israeli painters. Of all fields of art, only one is still vital and flourishing in its original form after two thousand years: singing. This widely requested cultural product is performed not only by Yemen-born singers like Aharon Amram, but by scores of Israeli-born singers, of the second and even the third generation of people who came from Yemen. Admittedly, this cultural element, along with the traditional Yemenite performance of the prayer in the communal synagogue (and Yemenite dishes as well), symbolizes the intense wish of many of the Yemenites not to be over-acculturated in Israel and completely lose their unique cultural emblems.

[Yosef Tobi (2nd ed.)]

Music Tradition

Today as in the past the Arabs say that the best and the most genuine music comes from Yemen. Unfortunately very few examples of Yemenite Arab music have been studied. The few melodies published in the Western World are not sufficient to draw any conclusions about Yemenite music, and about the possible similarities and dissimilarities between Arab and Jewish music in Yemen. Meanwhile Yemenite Jewish music (studied through the Yemenite Jews in Palestine and Israel, never in Yemen itself) can only be compared with Jewish music in other Middle Eastern countries. Although there are many basic similarities of intent, content, and application, the musical differences are so great that they place Yemenite Jewish music outside the sphere of the musical culture of the Middle East as known today. Some of the differences are the following:

(1) Biblical cantillation does not conform to the cantillation of other Middle Eastern Jews who follow primarily the so-called Babylonian (Baghdadi) tradition.

(2) Prayer song is almost entirely in strict rhythm, and rudimentary harmony and polyphony, in contradistinction to the free rhythm and heterophony found in other Oriental communities.

(3) Folk song is based on the unusually rigid segregation of men and women resulting in different language, content, melodies, form, and style, as if men and women were living in totally different worlds – a phenomenon not observed in any other Jewish community.

(4) There are no musical instruments and therefore no instrumental (art) music, so much beloved elsewhere in the Middle East.

(5) Dance is limited to ceremonial functions such as weddings, men and women being separated to such an extent that they developed different styles.

MASORETIC CANTILLATION. The cantillation is wordbound (logogenic) without any noticeable melisma. The Hebrew text follows the masoretic accents, while the Targum uses a melodic phrase which is shortened or lengthened according to the number of syllables in the sentence. The range of the accents is small, preferably within a third, but fourths and fifths also occur (*sof pasuk*). The movement is stepwise with an occasional third. No pentatonic is discernible. The Targum employs only three successive notes in a *parlando*-melody. The mode resembles the **maqām bayat* in outline (D-/E-F-G-A-/B-C-D), rhythm follows the word-rhythm, the form follows the structure of each individual sentence with clauses and half-clauses, and the voice practice is nasal, sometimes throaty and guttural. The melodic images are so distinctive that once heard they are never forgotten. Cantillation has exerted its powerful influence on the prayer tunes and semireligious songs of Yemenite men. Among the Jews of the world the Yemenites are the only ones to follow the mishnaic precept to read the Targum publicly in the synagogue, a custom long ago abandoned by the others, since Aramaic, once the vernacular of Israel, is no longer in use except by Kurdish Jews (but even they no longer recite the Targum publicly in the synagogue, although they do employ it at home for study).

PRAYER SONG. Communal singing is in fortissimo and in strict rhythmical unison – nobody rushes forward or stays behind. There is, however, no melodic unison but instead chanting in parallel fourths and fifths, often superimposed in *organum*. This type of singing is totally unknown to other Middle Eastern Jews. Whether rhythmical rudimentary harmony and polyphony are indigenous to Yemen, or a remnant of Temple service in Israel, or an African influence is open to investigation. Since there are other isolated regions in the Middle East showing similar features (Turkmen, Anatolian, Samaritan), it is not impossible that the music of the Yemenites represents an old stratum which was later overlaid by the all-pervasive Middle Eastern music in Islamic times. Extended solo singing within the service is not as frequent as in other communities. The Yemenites prefer to sing in rhythmic unison or divided into two choruses responding to each other. There are, however, special occasions when solo becomes important. One of these occasions is a prayer for rain in case of severe drought. A short motive is repeated over and over again, the tense emotion driving the pitch higher and higher with every repetition, until the difference between the initial and final pitch level amounts to a major third. All Yemenite prayer songs can be classified into 15 types of melody, expressing context, mood, and associations with holidays. All 15 melody types can be broken down into motivic materials and modes. Both are used in a totally Oriental way but do not seem identical with any known Arabic musical system. The motives may be used in the improvisational Arab manner, and the modes may be likened to certain Arabic *maqāmāt*, but the intervals are different.

SEMIRELIGIOUS SONG. Semireligious song is performed outside the synagogue and in the home on holidays and festivities. It is the exclusive property of the men. The texts are always religious and in Hebrew and Aramaic. There are a variety of forms with and without meter: *Hallelot, Zafāt, Hidduyot, Neshid, Shirot,* and *Shabbat Shirot*. Except for *Hallelot* all songs require alternating choruses of at least four men. The first verse is sung by the principal singer, who introduces the melody and is followed by two alternating choruses. After having repeated the melody through several verses of the song, the principal singer introduces another melody; the more changes of melody the more prestige to the singer who introduces the melody and is followed by two alternate choruses. Many of the songs are influenced by the synagogue and often do not employ meter. Others are metrical and are used for dancing. The meters can be complicated and alternating (7/8 or 2/4:3/4). The listeners do not join in the singing but accompany the performers with handclapping. Women are excluded from participation except for *Zafāt*, in which they may play a simple percussion instrument (drum or metal platter) and interpolate their high vocal trills or ululations. The men often dance while singing religious texts.

SECULAR SONG. Just as the semireligious song is the exclusive domain of the men, so is secular song the sole domain of the women. Women never attend synagogue and are totally unfamiliar with the men's spiritual world. They do not know Hebrew and all their songs are in Arabic. Barred from the men's spiritual world, the women create their own and express it through narratives, recitation of historical events, songs of love and courtship, marriage, birth, and death, the joys and sorrows of domestic life. They sing while working at home at a trade like embroidery or silversmithing, and while performing such daily chores as grinding flour or baking bread. Women's songs do not bear any melodic similarity to men's songs since even at such an important event as a wedding, celebrations take place in separate quarters. On the whole, women's songs are a great deal simpler than men's songs. The melodies consist of one, two, or three parts and are sung in unison or heterophony. The meter is simple (binary or ternary) and almost all songs can also be danced. The modes employed are *maqāmāt*-like but do not belong to any known system. Augmented seconds are absent and if present are indicative of a foreign intrusion.

MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS. No musical instruments were permitted in Yemen under the fanatical Shiʿa sect, except for the imam's military band. Musical instruments and phonographs were banned and the cinema and foreign broadcasts frowned upon. However, music was played in secret even though if discovered the perpetrators were severely punished. It is no wonder that Yemenite Jews, one of the lowest castes in Yemen, did not play musical instruments except for empty tin cans, copper trays (*ṣaḥn*), and on occasion drums. All instrumental accompaniment in contemporary Yemenite song was acquired in Israel as part of the general acculturation.

DANCE. Men and women never dance together and rarely see each other dance. The men often accompany their semireligious song by dancing, which is graceful, light, and includes leaps in the air and movements reminiscent of Indian dance. The women hardly move at all while dancing; their movements are slow, dignified, and restrained. The excitement, exuberance, and increasing speed of the movements observed in the male dancing style is totally lacking.

COMPATIBILITY WITH WESTERN MUSIC. It is worthy of note that many elements of Yemenite Jewish music were absorbed by Israel folk song and left its imprint on it. One explanation may lie in the greater compatibility of European and Yemenite music, which expresses itself in (rudimentary) harmony and polyphony, the preference for strict rhythm and meter, the almost total absence of melisma, and a somewhat diatonic tendency, in contradistinction to other Middle Eastern musical forms which are often heterophonic, free in rhythm and meter (or so complicated that they sound to the untutored as free meter), highly melismatic, and microtonal. While Middle Eastern song is totally incompatible with European musical structure, Yemenite song is not. This is why it should not be classified as "Middle Eastern" music, but must be considered apart. Whether it belongs to an ancient Middle Eastern stratum which was obliterated with the coming of Islam and only survived in certain isolated areas, or is a special development of Yemen or a remnant of Temple music preserved by the Yemenite Jews must still be determined.

[Johanna L. Spector]

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YEROḤAM (Heb. יְרֹחָם), urban settlement in southern Israel, in the northern section of the Negev Hills, 9 mi. (14 km.) S.W. of Dimonah. In 1951, it was founded on a site called in Arabic Tell Rakhma near a junction of roads, one of which was built under the British Mandate with a view to carrying out trial drillings for oil in the vicinity. New immigrants from Romania, Iraq, North Africa, etc., settled there. Initially, it was planned to base the settlement on agriculture (therefore the site was called at first Kefar – village – Yeroham), but when this failed it took on the character of a *ma'barah whose inhabitants worked in road building and other public works and in mining of glass, sand and ceramic clays in the nearby Makhtesh Gadol and Makhtesh Ramon. There was, however, no full employment, and for a long time the inhabitants had to live in transitory wooden huts. In the 1960s, the situation gradually improved with the development of the Oron phosphate field, inhabitants of Yeroḥam finding employment in the *Sedom-Dead Sea Works and the establishment of successful local factories (glass and glass bottles, soft beverages, etc.). Yeroḥam's importance as a road station on the Eilat-Beersheba highway diminished, however, with the construction of the Sedom-Eilat and Revivim-Sedeh Boker highways. The serious water problem was largely solved with the construction of a local storage dam of floodwaters in the gorge of Naḥal Revivim, near a dam of the Roman period. Yeroḥam attained municipal council status in 1959 and grew from 229 inhabitants in 1954 to 5,400 in 1970. With the arrival of new immigrants, the population increased to 6,810 in the mid-1990s and 8,610 in 2002. The municipal area is 13 sq. mi. (34 sq. km.). The main economic branches of Yeroham remained industry and public services, with unemployment high as a result of failing factories and income considerably below the national average.

[Shlomo Hasson / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

YERUSHALMI, RINA (1939–), Israeli theater and opera director, founder and artistic director of the Itim Theatre Ensemble and professor of acting and directing at the department of theater arts at Tel Aviv University. Born in Afula, Yerushalmi grew up in Haifa where she started her studies in dance. Her education combined dance, movement, and acting. In England she studied classical dance along with the Laban technique and the Alexander technique. She continued her studies of the Laban technique in Germany with Kurt Joss. In Israel she worked with Moshe Feldenkrais on the Feldenkrais technique. Yerushalmi also studied acting with Nola Chilton, Peter Brook, and Joe Chaikin. She studied Noh and Kyogen in Tokyo, Japan, at Carnegie Mellon University in Pittsburgh, PA, and in New York.

Yerushalmi directed in Israel and in the U.S. Her preferred materials were classical plays of Shakespeare, Pirandello, Lorca, Ibsen, and Beckett.

In 1989 she gathered young unknown actors and founded her own group, the Itim Theatre Ensemble. Their first production, Shakespeare's *Hamlet* (1990), performed in the rehearsal studio of the Cameri Theater of Tel Aviv, was a huge success. Yerushalmi's interpretation of *Hamlet* was based on the physical and spiritual presence of the actors on stage, their collective effort to create on stage a fictional world based on theatrical images and metaphors, and the interaction between their gestures and movements and the audience's imagination. Shakespeare's *Romeo and Juliet* (1991) and Buchner's *Woyzeck* (1992) followed. In each one of these productions Yerushalmi developed her special dramaturgy methods. She adapted the plays and inserted different materials, not always dramatic, thus enlarging their scope and opening them to various readings. The performance was fresh, young, and energetic and the theatrical space was filled with fantastic accessories and stage elements intended to broaden the theatrical framework of the performances.

In 1994 Yerushalmi set off to create her spectacular Bible Project. The project originated in her wish to research the cultural roots of Israeli society. She was intent on finding out whether the Bible was still approachable to Israeli-born, non-religious young people. This research took her and her actors to the desert, where they read the Pentateuch and were overwhelmed by the beauty of the text and the relevance to modern-day Israel. Yerushalmi adapted the Torah (the Pentateuch) without adding or changing the texts, thereby creating two performances: *Va-Yomer va-Yelekh* ("and he said and he went," 1996), and *Va-Yishtaḥu va-Yar* ("and they bowed and he saw," 1998). The result was a dynamic, theatrical performance of beautiful stage images and a unique experience of actors' group work. The Bible Project was performed for more than five years in Israel and in Hamburg, Berlin, London, and New York.

In 2001, Yerushalmi set out on another big project: this time she was led by the wish to analyze vengeance on the personal, the familial, and the national levels. It brought her back to Greek tragedy, to ancient and modern plays dealing with the Trojan War. The result was *Mythos*, a four-hour performance in which the events of the Trojan War were repeated in order to show their influence on the lives of the last generation, that of Electra and Orestes, the victims who become murderers because of the heritage of vengeance they carried along. The relevance to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict was evident, although Yerushalmi did not insert any contemporary indications in the text or in the stage design. The images on stage were constructed of different components – a stage design that deconstructed the stage as the myth unfolded, while huge projections and scientific explanations of the astral system accompanied the scenes. The actors working as a collective body, the chorus facing Electra and Orestes, incarnated the different characters of the plots, but most of all they danced, sang, and lamented, following the tradition of the ancient Greek chorus. *Mythos* was performed in Israel for two years. It was also invited to Zurich and to the Summer Festival of the Lincoln Center in New York.

Yerushalmi worked at the Israeli Opera. In 1997 she directed Humperdinck's *Haensel und Gretel*, and in 2000 she directed Richard Strauss' *Elektra* for a production of the Jerusalem Festival in Caesarea. Yerushalmi received many prizes and awards for her performances: in 1990 she received the Margalit prize for *Hamlet;* in 1992 the Moshe Halevi theater prize for *Woyzeck*, best directing and extraordinary contribution to Israeli theater; in 1998 an award of the Israeli Academy of the Theater for the Bible Project; and again in 1999 the Milo award for the Bible Project; the Rosenbaum award for the founding of the Itim Theatre Ensemble; in 2005 the Landau prize of Mif'al Ha-Payis for excellence in creating an original, powerful, and total theatrical language. In 2001 she received an honorary doctorate from the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. She was the recipient of the Unesco Fellowship for Theater Research and of the Corporation for Public Broadcasting (CPB) fellowship for television, U.S.

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[Nurit Yaari (2nd ed.)]

YERUSHALMI, YOSEF HAYIM (1932–), U.S. scholar of medieval and modern Jewish history. Yerushalmi was born in New York, graduated with a B.A. from Yeshiva University in 1953, took his doctorate at Columbia in 1966, and was ordained at the Jewish Theological Seminary of America in 1957. He was appointed assistant professor of Hebrew and Jewish history at Harvard University in 1966 and full professor in 1970; in 1972 he was elected a fellow of the American Academy of Jewish Research. In 1976–77 he was a fellow of the National Endowment for the Humanities; in 1978 he was appointed chairman of the Department of Near Eastern Languages and Civilization at Harvard; in 1978, Jacob Safra Professor of Jewish history and Sephardic civilization; and in 1980 director of the Center for Israel and Jewish Studies at Columbia University and Salo Wittmayer Baron Professor of Jewish history, culture, and society, focusing on medieval and modern Jewish history. A specialist in Sephardic and Marrano studies, he is editor of *Studia Sephardica*. Yerushalmi was chairman of the Publications Committee of the Jewish Publication Society of America, and from 1987 to 1991 served as president of the Leo Baeck Institute in New York.

Among his many works are *From Spanish Court to Italian Ghetto; Isaac Cardoso, a Study in 17th Century Marranism and Jewish Apologetics* (1971); "The Inquisition and the Jews of France in the Time of Bernard Gui," in: *Harvard Theological Review,* 63 (1970), 317–376; *Haggadah and History* (1973); *The Jewish People and Palestine* (with C. Berlin, 1973); *The Lisbon Massacre of 1506 and the Royal Image in the Shebet Yehudah* (1976); *Zakhor: Jewish History and Jewish Memory* (1982); *Freud's Moses* (1991); *Ein Feld in Anathoth* (1993), and *Sefardica* (1998). He has also prepared authoritative editions of M. Kayserlings' *Bibliotheca española-portugueza-judaica* (1971); and A. Herculano's *History of the Origin and Establishment of the Inquisition in Portugal.*

YESHAYAHU-SHAR'ABI, ISRAEL (1908–1979), Israeli politician, member of the First to Eighth Knessets. Yeshayahu was born in Sadan, *Yemen, where he received a traditional *ḥeder* education and attended the yeshivah of Rabbi Yihye Kafah. In Yemen he was active in the Dor De'ah Movement. In 1929 he immigrated to Palestine and worked as a farm laborer in the vineyards and on road construction. Soon, however, Yeshayahu entered political life as a member of Mapai, and was active in the Histadrut, serving from 1934 to 1948 as head of the department for immigrants from Yemen and other Muslim countries. In 1948 he was appointed by David Ben-Gurion as deputy government secretary in charge of contacts with the Knesset, and in 1949 was elected to the First Knesset on the Mapai list. From 1948 to 1952 he was active in organizing the immigration of the Jews from Yemen and was sent to Aden to organize Operation "Magic Carpet." He served as a deputy speaker in the Fourth, Fifth, and Sixth Knessets, and served on various Knesset committees. In 1967, he was appointed minister of postal services, holding the position until January 1970, when he was appointed secretary-general of the Israel Labor Party. In the Seventh Knesset he served as chairman of the Knesset House Committee, until, following the death of Re'uven Barkat, he was appointed speaker of the Knesset in 1972. He remained in the position until after the elections to the Ninth Knesset in 1977.

Among his writings are *Mi-Teiman le-Ẓiyyon* (prepared with Shimon Garidi, 1938) and *Ba'al ha-Taltalim ve-Od Sippurim* ("The Curly One and Other Stories," 1979). He was co-editor with Yosef Tobi of *Yahadut Teiman: Pirkei Mehkar ve-Iyyun* ("The Jewry of Yemen: Chapters of Research and Study," 1975).

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YESHEVAV THE SCRIBE (end of the first half of the second century C.E.), *tanna*. A pupil of Joshua b. *Hananiah, he was a reliable transmitter of his master's opinions. Even his great colleague, *Akiva, who had opposed him on a halakhic issue, changed his mind and accepted Yeshevav's view which, the latter claimed, had been handed down by his teacher (Ḥul. 2:4; Tosef., Ḥul. 2:9) – this is the only Mishnah which mentions his name. On other occasions Akiva usually opposed him. Once when Yeshevav had gone to the trouble of locating some human bodies in order to declare the area around them a graveyard site, Akiva bluntly told him, "All your trouble was in vain" (Tosef., Oho. 16:3; Naz. 65a). When Akiva declared the offspring of all prohibited unions to be *mamzerim* Yeshevav exclaimed, "Come, let us cry out against Akiva b. Joseph…" (Ket. 29b, et. al.). Yeshevav was extremely generous and he once gave away all his property to the poor. This step was opposed by Rabban Gamaliel *II (TJ, Pe'ah 1:1, 15b, cf. Ket. 50a). Yeshevav is counted among the Ten *Martyrs put to death by the Romans. He is mentioned as being in the company of four other rabbis at Sepphoris in Galilee (Tosef., Kel. BB 2:2), where they were apparently hiding during the Hadrianic persecution. According to a later Midrash (*Midrash Elleh Ezkerah*, in: A. Jellinek (ed.), *Beit ha-Midrash*, 2 (1938^2), 71) he was 90 years old when he was executed, and his parting message to his disciples was "Support one another, and love peace and justice; perhaps there is hope."

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[Moses Aberbach]

YESHIVA CHOVEVEI TORAH, rabbinical school in New York City. Situated near Columbia University on the upper West Side of Manhattan, Chovevei Torah was founded in 1999 by Rabbi Avi Weiss, senior rabbi of the Hebrew Institute of Riverdale and a former instructor at Yeshiva University (YU). It positioned itself as a Modern Orthodox alternative to the Rabbi Isaac Elchanan Theological Seminary, the YU rabbinical school. Weiss and his backers believed that the YU seminary had moved so far toward Orthodox sectarianism that the moderate elements of Orthodoxy – those that endorsed secular education as a positive good, favored ameliorating the status of women under Jewish law, sought cooperation with non-Orthodox forms of Judaism, and advocated religious Zionism – no longer had a yeshiva with which they could identify. Chovevei Torah focuses on producing practicing rabbis, Jewish educators, and Hillel directors who, over time, might change the face of American Orthodoxy, making it, in Weiss's words, "open" and "nonjudgmental" rather than combative and exclusionary. To that end, students in the four-year program are given full scholarships on condition that, after ordination, they serve as rabbis for at least three years. The curriculum gives less attention to Talmud study than other Orthodox seminaries and more to nuts-and-bolts skills required in the rabbinate, such as pastoral counseling and interpersonal relations. In the view of many observers, the fortunes of Chovevei Torah could well play a decisive role in the development of American Orthodox Judaism.

[Lawrence Grossman (2nd ed.)]

YESHIVA UNIVERSITY, institution of higher education in New York City. The Rabbi Isaac Elhanan Theological Seminary (RIETS, named for R. Isaac Elhanan Spektor), the nucleus around which Yeshiva University grew, was founded in 1897 by Rabbis Moses Matlin and Yehuda David Bernstein, and David Abramowitz, as a small institution for the advanced study of Talmud, attracting primarily immigrant youth. RIETS was the first advanced yeshivah in the United States. However, Yeshiva University dates its inception from 1886, when Yeshivat Eẓ Chaim, an elementary school which was merged with RIETS in 1915, was formed. Following student turmoil over the question of secular studies in 1906 and 1908 the school's administration was reorganized and some secular studies were permitted. Early presidents of the institution included Rabbi Moses Zebulun (Ramaz) *Margolies, Rabbi Bernard *Levinthal, and David Cohen. In 1915, Bernard *Revel became president and head of the faculty. In 1916 an accredited high school which combined talmudic and secular studies was opened. In 1922 the institution absorbed the Teachers Institute, which had been founded in 1917 by the Mizrachi Organization of America. In 1928 Yeshiva College accepted its first students. The high school, the college, RIETS, and the Teachers Institute were now all subdivisions of one institution, located in the Washington Heights section of New York City, which was to continue to expand its number of divisions as well as students. In 1970, RIETS was reincorporated as an "affiliate" of the university, a distinct legal entity with its own board.

Since its inception RIETS has devoted itself almost entirely to the teaching of Talmud and codes, the basis of the religious tradition, in a manner no different from any traditional yeshivah. The course of study culminates in a four-year program leading to *semikhah* ("rabbinical ordination"). For students of exceptional ability there are several *kollelim* (advanced study programs) that provide training in deciding complex issues of Jewish law. There were over 300 students in the rabbinical program in 2006, whose entrance requirements include a college degree in addition to extensive preparation in Talmud. Some courses in practical rabbinics were given for many years. From 1955 rabbinical students were also required to take courses in such subjects as Bible, Jewish history, philosophy, and Hebrew literature, and in recent years additional requirements have been instituted in the area of practical rabbinics. Yeshiva University has ordained about 2,600 rabbis since its inception. Over 70 percent of its active rabbinical graduates serve the Jewish community today in some formal capacity – as rabbis, teachers and educators, or communal workers – although the number entering the pulpit rabbinate has declined.

At the undergraduate college for men (Yeshiva College) and at the college for women (Stern College), which opened in 1954, students pursue a dual program of studies, taking courses in Jewish subjects as well as a normal load of secular subjects. Both colleges, with their combined enrollment in 2006 of 3,000 students, seek to impart mastery by the students of two intellectual worlds, the religious world and the secular one. There have been periods in the past, especially in the 1960s, when the emphasis was on integration within the curriculum of both worlds so that the content from one area of study may shed light or direction on the other. The talmudic faculty of Yeshiva University has always included some of the outstanding rabbinic scholars of the world. Preeminent among its faculty was Rabbi Joseph B. *Soloveitchik. An increasing number of the talmudic faculty are graduates of the institution. In 1943 Samuel *Belkin, a talmudic authority and Semitic scholar, succeeded to the presidency, left vacant by the death of Bernard Revel in 1940. Under Belkin's leadership the institution greatly expanded. In 1945 it was elevated to university status. It includes such specifically Jewish divisions and programs, in addition to those already mentioned, as the Bernard Revel Graduate School of Jewish Studies, the Azrieli Graduate School of Jewish Education, the Belz School of Jewish Music, and two high schools.

There are four alternative Jewish divisions in which all Yeshiva College students must also be enrolled: the Mechina Program (formerly called the James Striar School, for students with little background in Jewish studies); the Isaac Breuer College (which stresses Hebrew language and literature); and two that concentrate on Talmudic studies – the Irving Stone Beit Midrash Program and the Mazer School.

The secular, nonsectarian divisions of Yeshiva University have undergone the greatest expansion since 1945. These divisions now include the Ferkauf Graduate School of Psychology; the Wurzweiler School of Social Work; the Benjamin N. Cardozo School of Law; and probably best known of all, the Albert Einstein College of Medicine and its affiliated Albert Einstein College Hospital. While these divisions include a diverse student body and a distinguished non-Jewish as well as Jewish faculty, they do, in varying degrees, reflect Yeshiva University's orientation to Orthodox Judaism. All divisions observe the requirements of Jewish law and offer courses that explore the Jewish dimension of the field being studied. The Wurzweiler School requires all students to attend courses in Jewish sociology and in Jewish social work values. On the undergraduate level, the Sy Sims School of Business enables students both at Yeshiva College and Stern College to major in business-related areas.

In addition to its educational and other scholarly activity, the university plays a major role in the Jewish community through its Community Service Division. This division is responsible for rabbinic and teacher placement, conducts adult education and extension courses, provides educational services to many *Talmud Torahs* and youth groups, and sponsors seminars throughout the United States. The approximate enrollment in the various schools and divisions of Yeshiva University in 2006 was 6,000.

[Charles S. Liebman]

Developments since the 1970s

The economic situation of the country and the pressing needs of the state of Israel hurt Yeshiva University's ability to raise funds in the early 1970s. Following the retirement of Dr. Samuel Belkin in 1975, Dr. Norman *Lamm was elected to succeed him as president of the university in 1976. Lamm proved a potent fundraiser, rescuing the institution from the brink of bankruptcy. But another challenge appeared that threatened the university: the growing polarization of American Orthodox Judaism. While Yeshiva had traditionally serviced the educational needs of the so-called "modern Orthodox," for whom the combined religious-secular curriculum was essential, the Orthodox community was now turning rightward, and, partially as a result of the year or more that most Orthodox high-school graduates were spending at Israeli educational institutions, there was a demand for more rigorous religious classes and less emphasis on secular disciplines. In its undergraduate recruitment efforts, Yeshiva University sought to adapt to the new mood, competing for students with the sectarian yeshivot that were skeptical about college rather than with the nation's top universities. Its efforts, however, were complicated by the emergence of *Touro College, which promised a more rigorously Orthodox environment for those seeking higher secular education, and three new institutions that tried to fill the vacuum in the modern Orthodox sector that Yeshiva University had apparently abandoned: *Edah, an educational and consciousness-raising group; the *Jewish Orthodox Feminist Alliance (JOFA); and *Yeshivat Chovevei Torah, which trained rabbis to fill modern Orthodox pulpits. The secular graduate schools of Yeshiva, meanwhile, chafed at what they saw as a growing fundamentalist strain within the university.

Yeshiva University's internal contradictions came to a head with the announcement, in 2001, of Dr. Lamm's impending retirement and elevation to the post of chancellor. Since the classical Orthodox rabbi-scholar model typified by Revel, Belkin, and Lamm had not been cultivated within the institution for a quarter-century, there was no one in that mold to take over the presidency. It was not until 2003 that a new president was inaugurated, Richard Joel, previously the president of Hillel, the organization of Jewish college students. Neither a rabbi nor an academic – the job of Rosh Yeshiva at REITS remained with Lamm and Joel was president of the University – Joel, enjoying the advantage of the financial cushion provided by his predecessor's fund-raising, appeared committed to reorienting the university back toward its modern Orthodox roots, but in such a way as to retain the loyalties of the more tradition-bound rabbis. He energetically set out to increase enrollment, boost morale, upgrade student services, and strengthen the university's bonds with the American Jewish community through the creation of a Center for the Jewish Future.

[Lawrence Grossman (2nd ed.)]

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YESHIVOT. The name yeshivah was applied to institutes of talmudic learning of three distinct kinds:

(1) the academies in Ereẓ Israel and Babylonia in which the Mishnah was studied by the *amoraim* and which produced the Jerusalem and Babylonian Talmud (see *Talmud, Babylonian and *Talmud, Jerusalem);

(2) the academies of Sura and Pumbedita which in the geonic period were the central authoritative religious bodies for world Jewry;

(3) local institutions for the pursuit of talmudic studies which developed in the post-geonic period. This article deals with the third category only; for the others see *Academies.

The Yeshivot in Islamic Countries and in Western and Central Europe to the 15th Century

The first yeshivot outside Babylon and Ereẓ Israel were already established during the time of the *geonim*. *Pirkoi b. Baboi in the eighth century testifies to their existence in North Africa and in Spain, and in the tenth century yeshivot arose in the Maghreb – in Fez, in Gabès, in Sijilmassa, and in Tlemcen. The Kairouan yeshivah, where *Ḥushi'el b. Elhanan, regarded as its founder, and *Jacob b. Nissim were active, became especially famous. In Egypt there was a renowned yeshivah in Fostat headed by *Elhanan b. Shemariah, and he and other heads of yeshivot in Egypt were termed *reish bei-rabbanan* ("head of scholars") or *rosh ha-seder* ("head of the order"). In Egypt an effort was even made to revive the geonate and during the 12th century the head of yeshivot in Fostat bore the title **gaon*. *Maimonides, who gave public discourses in Fostat, may have headed a yeshivah. There were still important yeshivot in Egypt in the 16th century, headed by *David b. Solomon ibn Abi Zimra, Bezalel *Ashkenazi, and others.

The yeshivot of Ereẓ Israel moved to Damascus after the *Crusades and remained there until the end of the 12th century. There was also an important center of talmudic study in *Aleppo. The largest yeshivah in Oriental countries, headed by the last of the *geonim*, was in Gabhda, where there were also nine small yeshivot.

In Spain yeshivot are mentioned as existing in Lucena and in Barcelona in the middle of the eighth century, but definite evidence of them exists only from the tenth century onward. In the middle of that century *Moses b. Ḥanokh founded a large yeshivah in Córdoba, where he was succeeded by his son, Ḥanokh. The yeshivah of Granada was headed by *Samuel ha-Nagid and after him by his son Joseph. The yeshivah of Lucena attracted many students from outside Spain and continued to exist for some 250 years. Among its pupils were Jonah *Ibn Janāḥ and *Judah Halevi, among its later heads Isaac ibn Ghayyat, Isaac *Alfasi, and Joseph *Ibn Migash. The *Almohad invasion brought about the ruin of the yeshivot in southern Spain and they were replaced by the great yeshivot of Aragon and Castile.

The yeshivot of Barcelona and Toledo flourished in the time of Solomon b. Abraham *Adret, *Asher b. Jehiel, and *Nissim b. Reuben Gerondi, continued to exist until the persecutions of 1391, and exercised great influence upon the yeshivot of France and Germany. Subsequently, and until the expulsion, there were many yeshivot in Spain and by a resolution of the leaders of the communities of Castile in 1432 the duty was even imposed upon every rabbi to establish a yeshivah in his community. At that time the yeshivot of Isaac *Campanton and Isaac de *Leon in Toledo, Isaac *Aboab II, and of Samuel de Valensi became well known. Even Joseph *Jabez, who castigates the scholars of his generation for their secular outlook on life, admits that at the time of the Spanish expulsion the number of yeshivot in Castile was greater than it had ever been.

The first yeshivah in southern France was at *Narbonne, apparently founded in the tenth century. Among its heads (in the 12th century) was *Abraham b. Isaac, author of *Ha-Eshkol*. When *Benjamin of Tudela visited Lunel he found there an important yeshivah, whose pupils, although from other towns, were supported by the local community. The pupils of the yeshivah of Posquières were maintained at the personal expense of its head, *Abraham b. David. The yeshivot at *Béziers, Marseilles, and Montpellier also gained a great reputation. A vivid description of the method of learning in the yeshivot of Provence has been preserved in the work of *Jedaiah b. Abraham ha-Penini, who studied in the yeshivah of Béziers. In northern France the pupils and descendants of *Rashi headed the yeshivot – Jacob b. Meir *Tam at Ramerupt and *Isaac b. Samuel at Dampierre. Students were attracted to them from afar, even from the Slavonic countries. According to one tradition 60 scholars of the Dampierre yeshivah took part in the halakhic discussions which served as the basis for the **Tosafot*. There were also important yeshivot in Orleans, Falaise, Sens, Coucy, and Chinon. The yeshivah of *Jehiel of Paris had 300 students. *Moses b. Jacob of Coucy relates that the students of the French yeshivot were so assiduous in their studies that they even slept in their clothes. The expulsion of the Jews from France in 1306 put an end to the yeshivot there; on their return an effort at revival was made by Mattathias Treves, who founded a yeshivah in Paris after 1360, but it did not succeed.

In Germany the yeshivah of R. *Gershom b. Judah in Mainz, to which pupils came even from Spain, was especially renowned. His pupils continued his activity both in Mainz and in *Worms. In the 11th, and still more in the 12th-13th centuries, there flourished the yeshivot of Speyer, Regensburg, Bonn, and Paris. The students made their way on foot, a custom preserved also in the following generations, and they were welcomed by the Jews of each locality with great honor. After the destruction of the *Rhine communities in the persecutions accompanying the *Black Death (1348–49), Austria became the center for study of the Talmud, and pupils began to stream to the yeshivot of Vienna from the north and the west. As a result of the activity of Isaac Or Zaru'a it became a Torah center as early as the 13th century, as did Wiener-Neustadt, where Israel *Isserlein was active, and Krems. In Prague, Bohemia, there were already yeshivot in the 12th century, headed by pupils of Jacob Tam, but their main flowering was from the end of the 15th century.

In Italy teaching institutions for Talmud existed at a very early period, and some scholars ascribe to Italy a special historical function in the chain of handing down the teaching of Oral Law in Europe. However, both the problem of its relationship to the Torah of Ereẓ Israel as well as of its influence upon the yeshivot of Europe that arose after it have not been sufficiently clarified and are subjects of dispute. In any event there was already a yeshivah in Venosa in the ninth century. Yeshivot, important in their time, existed then and in the tenth century within the Byzantine possessions in the south – at Oria Otranto, and Bari – and also in central Italy at Lucca – from where the *Kalonymus family brought the study of the Talmud to Mainz – and subsequently at Siponto and at Rome. The Jewish centers in the south were destroyed in the later Middle Ages and the northern ones declined in standard. A new impetus to the study of Talmud in Italy was given in the 15th–16th centuries by the arrival of the exiles from Germany and France.

[Simha Assaf]

The Shifting of Yeshivah Centers in the 15th–18th Centuries

Although the political and economic position of the Jews in Germany, Austria, and Spain became increasingly precarious, the yeshivot continued their activities and even increased in number. Yeshivot such as those headed by R. Jacob *Moellin (Mainz), R. Jacob *Weil (Nuremberg, Augsburg), R. Isaac Canpanton (Castile, Spain), and R. Israel Isserlein (Krems, Austria) attracted large numbers of students. However, there was a continuous shifting of the Jewish population to southern and Eastern Europe and study centers moved to Italy, Bohemia, and Poland-Lithuania. R. Moses *Muenz (Minz) opened a yeshivah at Poznan (Poland), and R. Joseph *Colon at Pavia (Italy). R. Jacob *Pollak of Nuremberg moved first to Prague and then to Cracow, students flocking to him wherever he went.

The 16th and 17th centuries witnessed a large concentration of yeshivot and widespread Torah learning in Poland-Lithuania. Among outstanding yeshivah heads were R. *Shalom Shakhna (Lublin), R. Moses *Isserles (Cracow), R. Solomon *Luria (Ostrog, Lublin), R. Judah *Loew (Prague, Poznan, Nikolsburg), R. Mordecai *Jaffe (Prague, Grodno, Lublin), R. Joshua *Falk (Lvov), R. Samuel *Edels (Ostrog), R. Isaiah *Horowitz (Ostrog, Prague), R. Yom Tov Lipmann *Heller (Prague, Vladmir-Volynski (Ludmir), Cracow), and R. Menahem Mendel *Krochmal (Nikolsburg). In Lithuania, important yeshivot were at Brest-Litovsk, Pinsk, and Slutsk. This illustrious stage in the history of the Ashkenazi yeshivah was summed up, if somewhat exaggeratedly, by R. Nathan *Hannover in his *Yeven Meẓulah*: "There were yeshivot in each and every community." During the same period, yeshivah centers sprang up in Italy, Greece, Turkey, and Ereẓ Israel. Important institutions were headed by R. Judah *Minz (Padua; see Elijah *Capsali's vivid account, in: REJ, 79 (1924), 28–60), R. Joseph *Ottolenghi (Cremona), and later by R. Moses *Zacuto (Mantua). Renowned yeshivot were also maintained at Venice and later at Leghorn. The influx of refugees from Spain into the Levant caused a marked upsurge in the study of the Talmud there as is evident by such famous heads of yeshivot as R. Elijah *Mizraḥi (Constantinople), R. Joseph *Taitaẓak and R. Samuel di *Medina (Salonika), R. *Levi b. Ḥabib and later R. Jacob *Ḥagiz (Jerusalem), R. Jacob *Berab and R. Joseph *Caro (Safed), R. *David ibn Abi Zimra (Jerusalem, Cairo). Yeshivot of importance were also supported by the Smyrna community.

After the 1648–49 massacres (see *Chmielnicki) the Polish-Lithuanian yeshivot declined, though they were still attended by students from Western Europe. Scholars from Eastern Europe were increasingly to be found as rabbis and heads of yeshivot in German communities, such as Frankfurt on the Main, Fuerth, Hamburg-Altona, Halberstadt, and Metz. Famous heads of yeshivot in these communities in the 18th century included R. Jacob Joshua *Falk, R. Zevi *Ashkenazi, R. Jonathan *Eybeschutz, R. Raphael *Kohen, and R. Phinehas *Horowitz. The Prague yeshivah continued to flourish under R. Ezekiel *Landau, and yeshivot were established in Hungary (Eisenstadt, Pressburg). The Sephardi yeshivah Etz-Ḥayyim in Amsterdam made a special name for itself, while the yeshivot in the Ottoman Empire were declining steadily. In Italy R. Isaac *Lampronti attracted many students to his yeshivah in Ferrara. By the close of the 18th century the *Haskalah in the West and acute impoverishment in the East had caused many yeshivot to close, and the number of students at the surviving ones was lower than ever.

Organization and Inner Life

Prior to the 16th century, the Ashkenazi yeshivah had only been loosely affiliated with the local community, being mostly the semiprivate undertaking of the scholar who headed it. Almost every talmudic scholar who attained the position of a rabbi would open a yeshivah and he was responsible for meeting its financial requirements. The well-to-do students paid for their studies and upkeep, while the poor ones were supported by communal charity. Many communities paid special taxes to the city for the right to have students from other places at the local yeshivah.

Gradually the yeshivot became more closely connected with the communal administration. By the middle of the 16th century a new type of "community yeshivah" (*yeshivat ha-kahal*) had crystallized, while the former, semiprivate type continued to exist side by side with it, usually supported by wealthy rabbis or by laymen through charitable trusts. The communal yeshivot were subject to the rules (*takkanot*) laid down by the general councils of entire areas, defining their administrative and scholastic functions in the minutest details, such as the universal duty of the communities to maintain and support yeshivot; qualifications of yeshivah heads; admission of students; curriculum; supply of books; graduation of students; distribution of meals for students among members of the communities. In Spain rules regulating the organization of yeshivot had already been promulgated by the Council of Valladolid in 1432. In Italy and Germany numerous little synagogues were endowed by wealthy donors where masters were "enclosed" (hence their name: *Klaus* in German and *Hesger* in Hebrew) with a small number of students. There was also a tightening of social relations between the yeshivah and the community. While students usually conducted separate prayer services with the rabbi, local religious traditions were binding on the yeshivah congregation, and in matters of rabbinical jurisprudence arising in the community the rabbi consulted senior members of his yeshivah (*benei yeshivah*), and local legal cases were brought up for discussion in the plenum of the yeshivah.

Masters and students were in constant personal contact. Many students were "wandering scholars," moving from one yeshivah to another, urged on by necessity or thirst for knowledge. The youngest were aged 13, but the middle-aged, married *baḥur* was not exceptional. At some yeshivot the students organized some form of self-government. Many of them tried to supplement their material resources by teaching young children, copying manuscripts, acting as cantors in outlying communities, and even engaging in some moneylending. While yeshivah students were not known for committing excesses and outrages like university scholars, there were occasional outbursts of merry-making. Their life was devoted to high moral and intellectual ideas, yet it was not somber and other-worldly.

Curriculum

The subject matter of instruction at the Ashkenazi yeshivot was almost exclusively the Oral Law as expounded in the Talmud and its commentaries and supercommentaries of the French-German school. Few traces can be found of formal Bible lectures. This was not universally considered satisfactory, and it came under sharp attack from Sephardi scholars, at whose yeshivot much more time was devoted to Bible and aggadic literature. Nevertheless, the advocates of the Ashkenazi curriculum stressed its greater relevance to religious practice and effectiveness for developing the intellect. However, the private scholarly interests of students were more diversified. In the 15th century a favorite preoccupation was the typically humanistic study of **minhagim*, the local customs and traditions, and students also recorded in great detail the religious practices of their masters. Later this gave rise to a systematic study of codificatory literature (**posekim*), and in Italy, where the pope had banned the Talmud in 1559, this became the central part of the curriculum. At the Etz-Ḥayyim yeshivah in Amsterdam senior students were required to write responsa to set questions on topical matters of *halakhah*. Kabbalistic studies, though increasingly popular, never became part of the formal Ashkenazi studies, as they did in Italy and in the Levant. Secular studies were practically unknown at the Ashkenazi yeshivot, although in Renaissance Italy suggestions were made for combining Torah with the study of science. The academic year was divided into two semesters, with few vacations and holidays. Gradually the vacations were prolonged, especially in the autumn, as masters and their students visited the trade fairs (see *Markets and Fairs) where scholars used to convene to discuss matters of academic and public interest.

For methods of study see **Pilpul*.

Degrees and Graduation

The first grade attained by a young yeshivah student was that of *baḥur*, and upon reaching a certain degree of academic independence he was made a *meshuḥrar*. A student of many years' standing and high scholastic merit was given the title of *ḥaver*. Toward the end of the 14th century the academic and rabbinical title of *morenu* was introduced and the rules of graduation and ordination (**semikhah*) were stabilized. This had become necessary in order to safeguard the academic standard of the rabbinate against the perils of dispersal and migration. However, as soon as *semikhah* was formalized, a process of institutionalization set in, enabling mediocre scholars to attain rabbinical authority and privilege, a fact which was much lamented by leading rabbis. Here and there *semikhah* became a source of income for rabbis, and it was necessary for communities and general councils to issue *takkanot* defining the conditions under which a student could be known as *morenu*. By the end of the 16th century the titles of *morenu* and *ḥaver* lost their purely academic character and were increasingly used as symbols of social status.

Despite persecution, dispersion, and changing social and economic conditions, the ideals of Torah study persisted throughout the Middle Ages. Study was one of the supreme modes of worship, and the central position of scholars and scholarship in the communities made the yeshivah one of the main pillars of Jewish life.

[Mordechai Breuer]

Lithuania and Russia

Documentary evidence exists of yeshivot in Lithuania and Belorussia in the 16th century. By a resolution of its first assembly in 1622 the Council of Lithuanian Jewry obliged every community with a rabbi to maintain a yeshivah with a suitable number of pupils. The large communities were authorized to supervise the implementation of the resolution. An agreement between the rabbi and his community on a limitation of the number of pupils was of no validity. The pupils of the yeshivah were maintained by the members of the community, who made themselves responsible for providing for the material needs of the students not as became customary later on a daily basis ("*essen teg*," literally "eating days") but for a period of two to four weeks. Jews in the neighboring villages were also obliged to help maintain the yeshivah pupils. "Between terms" (from the 15th of Av to the first of Ḥeshvan, and from the 15th of Shevat to the first of Nisan), the pupils lived in the homes of the village Jews. As this caused them to slacken in their study of the Talmud, in 1639 the council limited the students' stay in the villages to the months of Nisan, Elul, and Tishri. Subsequently this practice was abolished completely. The communities also undertook the obligation of supplying the yeshivot with copies of the Talmud and other books. The Lithuanian yeshivot, which were mainly concentrated in the regions of Grodno (Brest-Litvosk), Vilna, and Minsk (Pinsk, Slutsk), never reached the level of the Polish yeshivot and in the 18th century continued to decline. According to the testimony of Joseph Krinki, a pupil of Ḥayyim of Volozhin, the yeshivah in Zamet, which in the past had been a center of Talmud study, ceased to exist.

A new era in the spiritual life of the Jews of Lithuania, however, was inaugurated by *Elijah b. Solomon, the Gaon of Vilna, whose pupils established a network of yeshivot in Lithuania and Belorussia. The most important of these was founded in 1802 in *Volozhin, near Vilna, by Ḥayyim of Volozhin (see Ḥayyim *Volozhiner), the Gaon of Vilna's most distinguished pupil. Only talented students with a good grounding were accepted. Ḥayyim continued the Gaon's method and like him was opposed to the method of *pilpul* prevailing in the yeshivot of Poland. His successor, his son Isaac, made great efforts to make the yeshivah acceptable to the government. From 1854 until its closure by the government in 1892, the yeshivah was headed by Isaac's son-in-law, Naphtali Ẓevi Judah *Berlin (the "Neẓiv"), during whose time its standard rose. The number of students from all parts of Russia and even beyond reached 400. To maintain the yeshivah and needy students, emissaries were dispatched to all the communities of Russia, and even to the United States. From the yeshivah of Volozhin came most of the rabbis and talmudic scholars of Russia in the 19th century. As a factor against the inroads of Haskalah it had a great influence on the spiritual life of the Jews of Russia, as a result of which the representatives of the Haskalah fought against it fiercely. The Russian government, which regarded the Haskalah movement with greater favor, treated the yeshivah with suspicion and several times ordered its closure. The yeshivah was indeed reopened several times after the death of Berlin in 1893, but it never regained its previous eminence. Alongside it there existed other large yeshivot in the towns of Mir (Minsk region), Vilna, Minsk, etc. In the 1870s and 1880s the yeshivot of *Slobodka and *Telz (Telsiai) were founded. The number of their pupils exceeded 300 and they were in some degree intended to make good the deficiency caused by the closure of the Volozhin yeshivah. The Telz yeshivah, headed by Eliezer *Gordon (d. 1910), was distinguished by its rational method of study and the strict arrangement of its studies. The students were obliged to complete five classes of *shi'urim*. In the yeshivah, Keneset Israel (not to be confused with the Keneset Yiẓḥak institute in the same town), founded in Slobodka by disciples of Israel (Salanter) *Lipkin, members of the *Musar movement, particular stress was laid upon the learning of *musar*, prayer with devotion, and the fulfillment of precepts. This approach aroused opposition for fear that the stress on the devotional and ethical teaching of the Talmud was likely to limit its intensive study. However, in the last decades before the Holocaust the system prevailed in most Lithuanian yeshivot. Mention must also be made of the yeshivot of Lomza, Radzyn, Novogrudok, Slutsk, Malch, and Bryansk. The adherents of the Chabad ḥasidic movement maintained a yeshivah in Lubavich with 400 pupils and had branches in other towns. The curriculum of the ḥasidic yeshivot naturally devoted considerable time to ḥasidic doctrine.

The new trends in the spiritual life of the Jews of Russia found an echo among the youth in the yeshivot. In many places the masters endeavored to keep the students from any contact with secular literature, and in Slobodka in particular there was strict supervision. The movement toward acquiring general culture did not touch the ḥasidic yeshivot at all, perhaps since most of them were in small towns far from the cities. Money for their maintenance was collected by emissaries who were at the same time wandering preachers. Apart from the large yeshivot there existed in several localities small yeshivot for the local youth supported by the community and the neighborhood. Since married students were not accepted in the yeshivot and the codes were not studied in them, those married students of the Talmud who wanted to become ordained for the rabbinate would unite in **kolelim*. Such *kolelim* existed in Volozhin (in a branch of the yeshivah), in Eishishok, Minsk, Vilna, and other places. An exceptionally high standard was attained by the Perushim *kolel* in Kovno headed by Isaac Elhanan Spektor (d. 1897), which in the 1890s had more than 200 students. Both the members of these *kolelim*, whose studies lasted from three to four years, and their families, were adequately supported.

In the last decades before the Holocaust the tendency developed to admit other Jewish studies (Bible, Hebrew, etc.) besides Talmud into the curriculum as well as secular studies. One such reformed yeshivah was founded in Lida, in 1905 by Isaac Jacob Reines, with the intention not only of providing general culture for rabbis and teachers but also of furnishing students who intended engaging in business with comprehensive Jewish knowledge. It had about 300 pupils. The yeshivah founded in 1905 by Ḥayyim *Tchernowitz (Rav Ẓa'ir) in Odessa was meant to be an advanced school for Jewish studies and an academy for rabbis, equipped with the apparatus of modern scholarship. The scientific method was practiced in all branches, even in Talmud. In its early period *Bialik and *Klausner were lecturers there, in addition to Tchernowitz. After the Bolshevik Revolution all the yeshivot in the Soviet Union were closed. Until the Holocaust yeshivot remained in Lithuania in Slobodka, Telz, and Ponevezh (Panevezyas); in Poland they remained in Mir, Kletsk, Baranovichi, Radzyn, Warsaw, and elsewhere. In Lublin a large yeshivah was opened under the leadership of Meir *Shapira.

[Simha Assaf]

Yeshivot in the 20th Century

From the beginning of the 20th century it became clear to Orthodox Jewry that only an orderly and organized religious education could serve as a protective barrier against the spread of general cultural trends and the new social movements of the time. As a result, at the very time that the influence of Torah in the life of the individual and the community was being undermined, yeshivah learning and education, which had previously been a matter for the religious intellectual elite only, became an accepted and widespread feature in the life of the young men of Orthodox Jewry as a whole. With the improvement of the economic status of the Jews in Europe and the United States and the improvement in methods of communication and in means of propaganda, the possibilities of establishing a material basis and organizational framework for the subsistence of rabbi and students were created. Consequently the number of yeshivot and their students continued to increase. The improvement in their economic situation and the general recognition of their importance freed them to a great extent from dependence upon the community and its institutions, and in consequence the importance and the personal influence of the heads of the yeshivot rose; through their many students who were dispersed throughout numerous communities, they became the leaders of the whole of Orthodox Jewry, and their influence was greater than that of the rabbis of the communities. In ḥasidic Poland, too, at the beginning of the 20th century there was a large increase in the number of yeshivot affiliated to the courts of the different **zaddikim* despite the special standpoint of *Ḥasidism on this question. During this era, particularly between the two world wars, the yeshivot of Lithuania attained a position of hegemony in Torah Judaism.

The quantitative growth and the rise in social status which are among the prominent external marks of yeshivot in the 20th century brought with them many changes in the structure and essence of yeshivot in the Jewish world, leading to a change in the very connotation of the whole concept. However, the increase in the number of yeshivot and the growth in the number of students brought in its wake a decline in the average standard of the pre-yeshivah preparation, and in consequence also in the standard of studies at the yeshivah itself. Spiritual movements in Orthodox Jewry, like the different trends of *musar* and Ḥasidism, on the one hand, and the increasing need for the acquisition of general spiritual values under the pressure of modern life on the other, all brought about a strengthening of the educational basis in the yeshivot, and this, to no small degree, at the expense of the instructional basis. Although the basic structure remained the same, the large yeshivot increasingly assumed the character of places of education in Judaism, while higher studies were mainly connected with *kolelim*. One of the conspicuous consequences of this process was the founding of the "minor yeshivot" designed to provide their pupils with a level suitable for regular study in the standard yeshivot. These yeshivot constituted a kind of intermediate stage between elementary and higher education, and the age levels of the students were roughly between 13 and 18. As in the large yeshivot, study was in principle self study but it took place under the continuous and intensive supervision and guidance of teachers and supervisors.

The Holocaust brought the yeshivot of Eastern and Central Europe to an end, but in a number of Western countries which had no yeshivot or where yeshivot had ceased to exist a number of large ones were established. From the mid-20th century the greatest number of yeshivot, and the most important of them, was centered in Israel and in the United States, but they were also found in many other Western countries (e.g., in *Gateshead, England). The *Chabad movement was especially active in this direction, establishing yeshivot in France, Australia, and North Africa.

Yeshivot in Ereẓ Israel

Israel became the greatest center of yeshivot, having the greatest number of yeshivot and students since the talmudic era. In Israel there were also to be found the greatest number of diversified types of yeshivot each of which had a character of its own.

(1) The yeshivot of the old *yishuv*, the oldest in the country, pertained to the very structure of this *yishuv* and were to a great degree connected with the *kolelim* and with the system of the *ḥalukkah*. They provided talmudic education for large numbers. Most of the students were of mature age, some continuing their study during their whole lifetime. Generally speaking about 20 to 30 men, mostly married, were concentrated in such a yeshivah and they received a minimal material support. In most of these yeshivot the system of study was undefined. The larger yeshivot of this type, with hundreds of students (like Eẓ Ḥayyim, or Ḥayyei Olam in Jerusalem), had a character similar to that of the ordinary large yeshivot, and tuition was given in Yiddish. With this type should be connected a number of yeshivot that studied Kabbalah.

(2) The Sephardi yeshivot, the largest and oldest of which was Porat Yosef in Jerusalem, still followed the old Sephardi pattern of study, strong stress being placed on the preparation of religious functions for Oriental communities all over the world.

(3) The central yeshivot, removed from Eastern Europe to Israel (like Slobodka-Hebron), or whose heads reestablished them with the same composition and names, the same applying to the large ḥasidic yeshivot transferred from their center in Poland.

(4) Yeshivot Hesder, yeshivot which combine Israel army service with intensive yeshivah studies. In 1991 there were 3,300 students in the program. In that year the program was awarded the Israel Prize in recognition of its students excelling in the study halls and in the IDF's elite combat units.

An important aspect of yeshivot in Israel were the *kolelim* which developed greatly and in which the young men continued their studies after marriage and at a higher level. These *kolelim* were dependent on the large yeshivot and were an important factor in raising the level of studies in the whole yeshivah. From these *kolelim*, unlike those of the old *yishuv*, the scholars passed after five to ten years to serve as rabbis, *dayyanim*, or teachers at yeshivot. Some of them worked at preparing manuscripts of rabbinic works for publication, in a scientific manner. A number (like Merkaz ha-Rav and Kol Torah in Jerusalem) gave all the tuition in Hebrew but in most the official *shi'ur* was still given in Yiddish, even though most of the learning was conducted in Hebrew.

Another very important change was the attempt to combine secular studies within the framework of the classical yeshivah and at a parallel standard. The idea first arose among German Orthodoxy (see A. *Hildesheimer; S.R. *Hirsch) as an expression of the aims of *Torah im Derekh Ereẓ* ("Jewish with secular learning"), but without any connection with the activity and programs of Orthodox proponents of the Wissenschaft des Judentums or the various types of rabbinical seminary. Chiefly in Ereẓ Israel – and later in the State of Israel – numerous new types of yeshivah were created which combined the classical learning within their compass with various and diversified forms of secular studies organized according to the pattern of the different general schools and subject to the general directions, inspection, and examinations of the state Department of Education. The essence of the attempt and the most successful were the *yeshivot tikhoniyyot* ("high school yeshivot") which finally emerged as the minor yeshivah in which the instruction during the first half of the day was devoted to Talmud with secondary school studies in the afternoon. The talmudic studies in these yeshivot were dominated by the Lithuanian system of study. The success of the attempt brought about its diversification into combinations of "vocational yeshivot" and "agricultural yeshivot," etc. Many minor yeshivot and *yeshivot tikhoniyyot* existed in Israel, and most of the pupils continued in the large yeshivot. The first yeshivah that began to move in this direction was the yeshivah of Ha-Yishuv he-Ḥadash (the "new settlement") in Tel Aviv, established by Rabbi M.A. *Amiel, in which only the evening hours were devoted to secular studies and a fifth year was added to make it possible for the students to take the state matriculation examination. A greater, more direct influence was achieved by the yeshivah of the *Bnei Akiva movement (see *National Religious Party) in Kefar ha-Ro'eh, which became the pattern for about 20 other yeshivot. These yeshivot competed with the religious grammar schools and even encroached upon them. From the teaching standpoint, the two parts, the sacred and the secular, remained uncombined but side by side, but educationally a successful combination was achieved. On the establishment of the State of Israel the heads of the yeshivot came to an agreement with the Ministry of Defense that their students would be exempt from military service, on grounds of recognition of the duty to help in the spiritual rebuilding of Judaism after the Holocaust. This agreement had no legal validity but was an ad hoc arrangement according to which the yeshivah students were regarded as receiving deferment for the duration of their studies. The arrangement was viewed with mixed feelings by the public, even including religious circles, and many yeshivah students interrupted their studies in order to do their military service. In a number of yeshivot there existed various arrangements that combined yeshivah studies with active service, particularly in the framework of *Naḥal.

Most yeshivot in Israel were administratively combined under a loose roof organization, called Va'ad ha-Yeshivot; about ten yeshivot with around 500 students were connected with the Iḥud ha-Yeshivot of the *Neturei Karta. Few yeshivot were definitely associated with a specific religious political party, but most of their heads and students were close to *Agudat Israel and supported it. Those yeshivot closer to the National Religious Party served as a factor inclining their party in a more conservative direction.

The arrangement whereby the State of Israel supported a limited number of yeshivah students (originally 400) designated "professional religious scholars," granting them draft exemptions as well, has mushroomed into a system where the great majority of ultra-Orthodox men (some 80,000 in 2006, half married) study full time. The economic and social consequences of maintaining such a "society of scholars," in the phrase of Menachem Friedman, are a subject of constant debate in Israel.

Yeshivot in the United States

There were large yeshivot of the kind traditional in Eastern Europe, some being actually the original yeshivot transferred there with their students during World War II. Also, many large yeshivot, whose main creation was in the United States, became an important factor in Jewish life there. *Yeshiva University was a valuable contribution of American Jewry to the development of the yeshivah. In this institute the yeshivah studies were no different in quality from the European version and at the same time it contained a large university. This yeshivah brought an important change in the situation of Orthodoxy in the United States, succeeding in raising a new generation of rabbis and spiritual guides who brought about a revival of Orthodox Jewry and had a great influence throughout the whole of the United States. Another great American yeshivah institute is the Beth Midrash Govoha in Lakewood, New Jersey, with 3,000 students in the early 2000s. Founded in 1943 by R. Aaron *Kotler on the rigid Lithuanian model that demanded full-time study, it now offers a Bachelor (and even Master) of Talmudic Law degree which allows students to go on to graduate school. Thus, unlike their Israeli counterparts, the American "Litvaks" are able to ultimately enter the job market in high-paying professions ranging from law and medicine to high-tech industry.

[Adin Steinsaltz]

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YESHURUN, AVOT (pseudonym of **Yehiel Perlmutter**; 1904–1992), Israeli poet. Born in Volhynia, he immigrated to Palestine in 1925, and his poems first appeared in *Turim*, in 1934. Among Yeshurun's published volumes of poetry are *Al Ḥokhmat Derakhim* ("The Wisdom of the Road," 1942, under his original name); *Re'em* (1961), and *Sheloshim Ammudim shel*

Avot Yeshurun ("Thirty Pages," 1965); *Ha-Shever ha-Suri-Afrikani* (1974; translated into English as *The Syrian-African Rift*, 1980); *Homograph* (1985); and *Ein Li Akhshav* ("I have no now," 1992). A collection of all his poems (*Kol Shirav*) was edited by his daughter, Helit Yeshurun, with a forward by B. Harshav (1995). He sets personal experience against the background of national problems. At first his poetry found its inspiration in the Bedouin world in a kind of ancient alliance between two peoples nurtured in the same region. Following the Israel War of Independence, he saw the Arab people's exile from Palestine and the Jewish tragedy in Europe as a "common Holocaust." The Eastern European Jew and the Palestinian Arab share a common destiny. This is reflected in his poetic idiom which is studded with Yiddish and Arab elements as well as Hebrew-Arabic puns. Yeshurun's unconventional style, his distortions of syntax and his idiosyncrasies of rhyme and diction reflect his attempt to forge a new idiom. His autobiography appeared in *Massa*, 1 (Jan. 1965). He was awarded the Israel Prize in 1992. For translations into various languages see the ITHL website at www.ithl.org.il.

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[Yonah David]

YESODOT (Heb. יְסוֹדוֹת; "Foundations"), moshav shittufi in central Israel, near Ḥuldah, affiliated with Po'alei Agudat Israel. Yesodot was founded in June 1948 in the short interval between the battles during the War of Independence for the opening of the Jerusalem corridor. The site was near a large army camp which British forces had turned over to the invading Iraqi units, but which was stormed and taken by Jewish units. The settlers were immigrants from Germany and Romania. Its farming mainly consisted of intensive field and garden crops (e.g., flowers), cattle, and poultry. In the mid-1990s, the population of Yesodot was about 300, growing to 362 in 2002.

[Efraim Orni]

YESUD HA-MA'ALAH (Heb. יְסֻד הַמַּעֲלָה), moshavah with municipal council status in northern Israel, in the Ḥuleh Valley. Yesud ha-Ma'alah was established in 1883, as one of the earliest settlements in the country, by settlers originating from the Polish town of Mezirech. The first settlers lived in reed huts near Lake Ḥuleh. They endured great hardship due to malaria, the scarcity of food, and lack of medicine. In the initial years, the settlers' agricultural inexperience resulted in negligible harvests. Although Baron Edmond de *Rothschild included Yesud ha-Ma'alah in the settlement network receiving his support, progress continued to be very slow. Attempts to develop specialized branches, e.g., plants for perfume and mulberry groves for silkworm cultivation, failed, and the village subsisted on unirrigated grain crops in spite of the nearness of the sweet water lake. The situation slowly improved in the 1940s, when the Palestine Jewish Colonization Association (PICA) transferred the land to the settlers and a group of youth from the moshavim, Benei Peled, joined the village population. Farming was intensified and the threat of malaria was finally overcome. After the *War of Independence (1948), a small number of immigrants was absorbed. With the draining of the lake in 1958, Yesud ha-Ma'alah received additional farm land. In 1970 the village had 432 inhabitants. By the mid-1990s the population had doubled to 865, increasing further to 1,160 in 2002. Its farming was based on citrus groves, deciduous fruit orchards, and flowers. Other sources of livelihood were tourism (guest rooms) and small enterprises. The 2,960-dunam (740-acre) Ḥuleh Nature Reserve, where a remnant of the former lake and swamps with their unique vegetation and wildlife is preserved, is located nearby. The name Yesud ha-Ma'alah is mentioned in Ezra 7:9.

WEBSITE: www.gal2000.org.il/yesod/ymain.htm.

[Efraim Orni / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

YE'USH (Heb. יֵאוּשׁ; lit. "despair"), despair of property. A person's ownership of property ceases when it is apparent that he has made up his mind that the property will be out of his possession forever (see *Ownership). This occurs

(a) where he has indicated that he conveys the property to another in which case it ceases to be his the moment the latter acquires it (see *Sale; *Acquisition, Modes of),

(b) where he abandons it, or

(c) where he despairs of it (*ye'ush*), thus ceasing to be the owner of it and no further act is required of him. *Ye'ush* means that under certain circumstances the owner indicates that he has lost all hope of recovering his property. *Ye'ush* is distinguished from acquisition and abandonment since it is only possible in respect of an object which is out of the "despairing" person's possession. Despair of an object still in the owner's possession is not considered *ye'ush*. Similarly, for property to be despaired of it must be against the owner's wish, for he despairs because the object has been lost or stolen; but if the owner gives up the object of his own free will, it is abandonment, and not *ye'ush*. *Ye'ush* may be apparent either from the owner's speech or behavior, or from the circumstances in which the right went out of his possession. In the first instance, if the owner has said: "What a misfortune that I have suffered a loss of money!" (BM 23a) he has indicated that he has despaired of recovering his money, and the same applies to any other expression having the same meaning. Similarly, if a river carries away logs and their owner does not pursue them, he has indicated his despair (BM 22a). In the second instance, if a lost object has no identification marks, it is presumed that the owner has despaired of it and that it has become ownerless (*hefker*), belonging to whoever finds it. This is also the case with an identifiable object which has been lost in a place frequented by the general public (BM 21b), or where a long time has passed since it was lost (Rashi, BM 23b). According to the Jerusalem Talmud (BM 2:1, 8b) and Maimonides (Yad, Gezelah 11:10), even property which is lost to its owner and to all persons, for instance if carried away by the river, may be kept by its finder, since the owner has given it up for lost. The circumstances in which the object is found create the presumption of *ye'ush* if most people would have despaired of the object in such circumstances; and it is immaterial that the owner protests that he had not given up hope, for it is presumed that surely in his heart he has, in fact, despaired. Even if he has not, the finder may disregard such an exceptional state of mind. If the circumstances are such, however, that most people would not usually despair, then *ye'ush* must be preceded by a specific act or speech by the owner (Maharik, no. 3:2).

Ye'ush does not require an act on the part of the despairer, only an indication of his state of mind, as is the case in all other cases whereby the ownership ceases by an indication of the owner's mind (abandonment and conveyance). Thus *ye'ush* cannot apply to the legally incompetent (BM 22b). The case where the owner cannot know that he has lost the object in circumstances that would usually result in *ye'ush*, is the subject of a dispute between Abbaye and Rava (BM 21b). According to Abbaye constructive *ye'ush* (i.e., if the owner does not know that he has a reason to despair) is not deemed to be *ye'ush* because, since the owner has not yet set his mind to the fact that the property is lost and irretrievable, the ownership thereof has not ceased. The finder will therefore gain ownership of the lost article only if he has found it after most people would have already known of its loss and despaired thereof. According to Rava constructive *ye'ush* is deemed to be *ye'ush* because, when the owner of the lost property learns of its loss, it is to be presumed that he will despair of it, and his reason for not yet despairing thereof is his ignorance of the true state of affairs. This dispute concerning *ye'ush* extends to acquisition as well, as in the case where a person confers property on another which does not belong to him without the knowledge of the owner, and the owner subsequently consents thereto; because acquisition, like *ye'ush*, is only the cessation of ownership by the owner's resolving that the property will never return permanently into his possession.

The concept of *ye'ush* is employed in the laws of lost property and in the laws of theft and robbery. In such cases the property goes out of the owner's possession and, accordingly, when it appears that the property will not be recovered by the owner, there is justification for *ye'ush*. Thereafter the finder or thief or robber acquired ownership of the property. According to Tosafot (BK 66a, s.v. *Hakhi*) a finder who has taken lost property before any *ye'ush*, acquires it after there has been *ye'ush*, but has to pay the owner its value, in accordance with the laws of robbers. According to Naḥmanides (*Milḥamot ha-Shem*, BM 26b) if the finder takes the lost property with the intention of returning it, but subsequently changes his mind, the lost property never becomes his since the owner's *ye'ush* is, in fact, not *ye'ush*; but if the finder takes the lost property in order to keep it, he acquired it after there has been *ye'ush*. As to the laws of theft and robbery, various disputes are recorded in the Talmud, dating back to the day of the *tannaim*, as to when it was usual for a person to despair of converted property. There are some who think that only in the case of theft is there *ye'ush*; others contend that there is *ye'ush* only in the case of robbery; still others maintain that there is *ye'ush* in both cases. It is also disputed whether *ye'ush* is itself indicative of genuine despair in the owner's heart or whether a change of possession is also required (i.e., that the object pass into the hands of a third party), or a change of name (i.e., that the object becomes so transformed that people call it by another name) for the *ye'ush* to be genuine (see *Theft and Robbery). In the law of the State of Israel *ye'ush* is of no consequence, and ownership does not cease as a result of despair.

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[Shalom Albeck]

YEVAMOT (Heb. יְבָמוֹת; "Levirate Marriages"), first tractate in the order *Nashim*, in the Mishnah, Tosefta, and Babylonian and Jerusalem Talmuds. In the Cambridge manuscript it is called *Nashim* ("Women"), a title which is partly justified by the great variety of laws it contains appertaining to women, far beyond those of levirate marriage with which it primarily deals. The Mishnah of *Yevamot* consists of 16 chapters.

Chapter 1 enumerates 15 categories of women who, since they are forbidden to marry the levir, thereby exempt their co-wives from levirate marriage or *ḥaliẓah*. It continues with the enumeration of six other relatives the prohibition of whose marriage with the levir is of more stringent character and the marriage of whose co-wives to the levir is permitted. Chapters 2–6 discuss in detail every other aspect of the obligations and exemptions regarding levirate marriage and *ḥaliẓah*. Mishnah 6:3, which deals inter alia with the prohibition of the marriage of a kohen to a woman who has been released by *ḥaliẓah*, serves as a transition point for the discussion of a large variety of laws applying to women and the forbidden degrees of propinquity. The discussion on the stated subject of the tractate is not resumed until chapter 12, although individual *mishnayot* do deal with this subject. Thus the rest of chapter 6 deals with the women who are permitted to marry priests or a high priest and with the laws of procreation. Chapter 7 deals with the circumstances in which a woman of priestly rank or her slave are deprived of the right to eat *terumah*, while chapter 8 deals with the opposite, priests who are forbidden to eat *terumah* though their wives and slaves may do so, leading to a discussion of all those categories of men or women who as a result of personal physical defects or national origin (e.g., Ammonites and Moabites) are forbidden to many Jews. Chapter 9 lists women who are permitted to their husbands but forbidden to their levirs and vice versa, and those permitted and forbidden to both; it concludes with the circumstances under which a woman may eat *terumah*. Chapter 10 deals with the case of a woman who remarried because of an erroneous report of the death of her husband abroad and with its legal consequences for married life (see Prohibited *Marriage). Chapter 11 deals with the prohibition against marriage with a woman who has been raped or seduced (or her relatives), and the laws appertaining to the marriage of a child of doubtful fatherhood. Chapter 12 lays down the number of judges necessary to constitute the special *bet din* for *ḥaliẓah* and the details of the ceremony and its requirements. Chapter 13 deals with *me'un* (see Child *Marriage) and generally with the laws connected with the marriage of minors. Chapter 14 deals with the laws of the marriage of deaf-mutes and imbeciles with one another and with a normal person. Chapters 15 and 16 deal with the acceptance of evidence of the death of a husband, son, or levir on the part of a woman who returns from abroad; it also deals with other aspects of the evidence needed for presumption of death.

The *halakhot* of Mishnah *Yevamot* belong to an early period and include a relatively large number of the disputes of Bet Shammai and Bet *Hillel, and some of them even precede the time of these two schools (see above 15:1 and 2). A substantial section dates from the period before the halakhic differences between the schools were decided. This is implicit in the tradition which praises the fact that "although Bet Shammai and Bet Hillel are in disagreement about rival wives (1:4), sisters (3:1), a doubtfully married woman, etc., yet Bet Shammai did not abstain from marrying women of the families of Bet Hillel, nor did Bet Hillel abstain from marrying women of the families of Bet Shammai. This teaches you that they showed love and friendship toward one another, putting into practice the text [Zech. 8:19]: 'Love ye truth and peace.' Although these forbade and those permitted, they did not refrain from acts requiring ritual purity in the presence of one another, thus fulfilling the text [Prov. 21:2]: 'Every way of a man is right in his eyes; but the Lord weigheth the hearts'" (Tosef. 1:10 and 11). The Mishnah in its present form stems from Judah ha-Nasi, but it contains many anonymous *mishnayot* belonging to the school of Akiva and his disciples. In particular the formulas of the general statements ("Some are permitted their husbands and forbidden their levirs, permitted their levirs and forbidden their husbands," etc.) in chapter 9 accord with the method and teaching of Akiva (see Epstein, Tannaim, 87).

The Tosefta has 14 chapters. The Mishnah to chapter 9, which, as stated, is from the school of Akiva, has no parallel in the Tosefta, but the contents of Tosefta *Yevamot* parallels and supplements the Mishnah to a great extent, even though the order differs. Of Mishnah 6:6, which discusses the precept to be fruitful and multiply, Ben Azzai says in Tosefta 8:4, "Anyone not engaged in procreation is considered by Scripture as diminishing the image (of the Creator) since it says [Gen. 9:6–7]: 'for in the image of God made He man. And you, be ye fruitful and multiply.' Eleazar said to him: 'Words are beautiful when they come from one who performs them. Some preach well and practice well, Ben Azzai [who was celibate] preaches well but does not practice well." Ben Azzai retorted: 'I cannot help it, my soul is in love with Torah; the world can be carried on by others'" (see also Yev. 63b). The Mishnah also lays down that if a man married and lived with his wife ten years but she has no children, he may not abstain from procreation (*ibid.*); the Tosefta (8:4) adds that the period of residence outside Ereẓ Israel is not counted. A *baraita*, reflecting the state of the *halakhah* before it was decided in accordance with Bet Hillel, is cited in Tosefta 1:13 to the effect that whoever wishes to follow the stricter practices of both Bet Shammai and Bet Hillel, of him the Bible says (Eccles. 2:14): "the fool walketh in darkness,' while he who follows the lenient practices of both Bet Shammai and Bet Hillel is wicked; but one must follow either both the leniencies and stringencies of Bet Shammai or of Bet Hillel."

The themes of tractate *Yevamot* are considered the most difficult of the Talmud. One of the *halakhot* that emerge from this tractate is that the sages were exceptionally lenient in problems of *agunah (88a). They permitted a wife whose husband had disappeared to remarry on the testimony of a single witness, of a woman, and the like; and even on the basis of a mere rumor of her husband's death, the woman is permitted to remarry (16:6 and 7). A great variety of cases are quoted to give examples of the application of these *halakhot* in practice (see Yev. 120ff.). The tractate discusses the problem of proselytization and the indispensability of circumcision and ritual bathing (46a–b) as part of its rite. According to one view "Proselytes are hurtful to Israel as a sore on the skin" (109b). Similarly opinions differ on whether proselytes for the sake of marriage or to "enjoy the royal bounty" should be accepted. The *halakhah* accepts them as proselytes (24b). Praise of family life is implicit in the statement: "A Jew who has no wife lives without joy, without blessing, and without goodness" (62b). On the other hand the lives of a number of sages who suffered severely from their wives are described, and to them is applied the verse (Eccles. 7:26): "And I find more bitter than death the woman" (63a–b). As evidence for these ideas, verses are cited from Ben Sira (26:3f.): "a good wife is a good gift… an evil wife is as leprosy to her husband" (see ed. Segal, p. 156ff.). Among the maxims quoted, the following are worthy of mention: "It is religious duty to obey the sages" (20a); "a judge should always imagine that a sword is lying between his thighs and Gehenna is open beneath him" (109b); and "scholars increase peace in the world" (122b). A parallel to IV Maccabees 2:10 – "For the law ranks above affection to parents" – is the statement: "Since one might have assumed that honoring father and mother should supersede the Sabbath, therefore it is stated (Lev. 19:3) 'Ye shall fear every man his mother and his father, and ye shall keep my Sabbaths,' all of you have the duty to honor Me" (5bff.).

There is not much *aggadah* in the Jerusalem Talmud to *Yevamot*. The statement that R. Ḥiyya b. Ashi was quick to mate his ass soon after it had given birth reveals the knowledge of natural processes on the part of the sages; that such mating is most desirable is also mentioned by Aristotle and Pliny (see S. Lieberman, *Hellenism in Jewish Palestine* (1950), 186f.). A statement of great importance (12:1, 12c) is: "Were the prophet Elijah to come and say [that] *ḥaliẓah can be performed with a shoe, he would be obeyed, that it cannot be performed with a sandal, he would not be obeyed, since the majority is accustomed to perform *ḥaliẓah* with a sandal, and custom takes precedence over the *halakhah*" (cf. TB, Yev. 102a). In a similar vein it states (TJ, 7:2, 8a): "Any *halakhah* about which the *bet din* vacillates and the law is unknown, go and see how people act and act accordingly", *Yevamot* was translated into English by I.W. Slotki in the Soncino edition of the Talmud (1936).

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[Yitzhak Dov Gilat]

YEVPATORIYA (**Eupatoria**; in Jewish sources the Tatar name of the city Göslöw [Koslov] is also found), city on the western shore of the Crimean peninsula, Ukraine. A large Jewish community existed there under Tatar rule from the 15th to 18th centuries. The Russian conquest at the end of the 18th century caused much suffering to the Yevpatoriya community, many of whom fled to Turkey. At the time of the Russian annexation of Crimea there remained approximately 100 Karaite families and a few Rabbanites (Tatar-speaking *Krimchaks). During the 19th century the Karaite community in Yevpatoriya became the largest in Russia and the spiritual center of the Karaites. The chief Karaite *ḥakham* of Russia had his seat in Yevpatoriya. His status as leader of the community was recognized by the Russian government in 1837. A Hebrew Karaite press (Göslöw press) was established there in the 1830s and functioned until the 1860s. Abraham *Firkovich published the works of the early Karaites there. A school for cantors, headed by the Karaite Hebrew author Elijah *Kazaz, was established in 1894. There was a magnificent Karaite synagogue in Yevpatoriya, and the community had a museum and library containing many rare manuscripts and books. In 1897 the community numbered 1,592 Rabbanites (mainly of Lithuanian or Ukrainian origin) and 1,525 Karaites (together forming 18% of the total population). There were pogroms in Yevpatoriya in 1905. After the 1917 Revolution, the last Karaite *ḥakham* moved to Constantinople. The Jewish population (both Rabbanite and Karaite) numbered 2,409 in 1926 (10.6% of the total). Toward the end of the 1920s several Jewish agricultural settlements were established northeast of Yevpatoriya. After Crimea was occupied by the Germans, at the end of 1941, the Rabbanite Jews in Yevpatoriya were murdered, but the Karaites escaped, not being regarded as Jews.

[Yehuda Slutsky]

YEVREYSKI KOMISSARIAT (Jewish Commissariat). The central commissariat for Jewish national affairs was a government organ of the Soviet regime for carrying out the nationality policies of the Communist Party among Jews. The Jewish Commissariat functioned from January 20, 1918, through April 1924 (alongside commissariats of other national minorities) within the framework of the People's Commissariat for Nationalities Affairs headed by *Stalin. Simon *Dimanstein was appointed commissar of the Jewish Commissariat with the left Socialist-Revolutionary I.G. Dobkovsky serving as his deputy. A number of returning emigrés and anarchists alienated from Russian Jewry who had joined the Bolsheviks worked in the Jewish Commissariat. Until mid-1918 the left *Po'alei Zion, headed by Tzevi Fridlander, also participated in the work of the Jewish Commissariat. Only a few Jewish writers (including Samuel *Niger and Daniel *Charney) cooperated with the Jewish Commissariat in publishing its organ – the first Soviet newspaper in Yiddish *Die Warheit* ("Truth") which appeared from March 8 to August 1, 1918. A group was established within the Jewish Commissariat to work with the impoverished segment of the Jewish population. A department of culture and education headed by N.O. *Buchbinder controlled Jewish schools; it had its own, *Evreyskaya tribuna* ("Jewish Tribune," 1918, nos. 1–4). During 1918, 13 local Jewish commissariats were established (in Vitebsk, Eltse, Mogilev, Perm, Tambov, and elsewhere). Under the influence of proponents of autonomy (mainly from Po'alei Zion), the central Jewish Commissariat, through its newspaper, called for the establishment of local Jewish councils (soviets) or Jewish sections attached to local soviets "to strengthen the Soviet authorities and combat the national bourgeosie" and also able to convene an all-Russian conference to determine the forms of organization of Jewish life in Soviet Russia and for electing a commissar for Jewish affairs. Following the July 1918 congress of Jewish communities which met in Moscow with the participation of representatives of various Jewish political parties, the Jewish Commissariat rejected the idea of democratic Jewish autonomy. The election by the congress of a central bureau to coordinate the work of Jewish institutions led to repression by the Soviet authorities. All non-Bolsheviks were removed from the Jewish Commissariat. There was established the *Yevsektsiya (Jewish Section) of the Communist Party which in close cooperation with the Jewish Commissariat submitted to Party control the resolution of all problems of Soviet Jewish life.

At the first conference of the Jewish Commissariat and the Yevsektsia (in October 1918 in Moscow) there were officially chosen a commissar of the Jewish Commissariat (Dimanstein) and a board of the Commissariat which was charged with liquidating all institutions of the Jewish community. The decree closing down the Center Bureau of Jewish Communities and transferring all communal resources and property to local Jewish commissariats was published in June 1918 but the closure of synagogues and the liquidation of communal institutions, *yeshivot*, *ḥadarim* (traditional primary schools), and schools with instruction in Hebrew began earlier (in Orel, Perm, and other cities).

As early as 1918 the Jewish Commissariat published the anti-Zionist brochure of Z. Grinberg *Die zionistn oif der Idisher Gas* ("The Zionist on the Jewish Street"). In the Jewish Commissariat circular of July 23, 1919, on the closing of communal institutions Dimanstein announced the impending liquidation of *Tarbut, *He-Halutz and other Zionist "bourgeois organizations." Nevertheless, the Jewish Commissariat hardly fought against Zionism, for which it was criticized in the Communist Party press. At the insistence of the Yevsektsiya the Jewish Commissariat declared Hebrew a "reactionary language" and on August 30, 1919, the People's Commissariat of Education banned the teaching of Hebrew in all educational institutions. Books in Hebrew then began to be removed from libraries.

As the Bolshevik doctrine of the transformation of the peoples of the Soviet state into a "single Soviet nation" became more dominant, the functions of the Jewish Commissariat as a government organ became correspondingly more narrow. In late 1918 the handling of issues of Jewish culture and education was transferred to the Yevburu (the Jewish Bureau), a body attached to the People's Commissariat of Education, and other areas of work with Jews were included in the sphere of activity of the appropriate commissariats. In January 1919 local Jewish commissariats were transformed into Jewish departments attached to provincial committees of the Communist Party and in early 1920 the Jewish Commissariat became a department of the People's Commissariat for Nationality Affairs. Both theoretical and practical guidance in regard to measures to "Sovietize" the labor and culture of the Jews of the Soviet Union were concentrated in the hands of the Yevsektsiya.

[*The Shorter Jewish Encyclopaedia in Russian*]

YEVSEKTSIYA (plural *Yevsektsii*), Jewish sections of the propaganda department of the Russian Communist Party from 1918 to 1930. *Lenin, the founder and leader of the Communist Party, denied that the Jews were a living nation and saw assimilation as the progressive solution to the Jewish problem in Russia. This view gained currency in party circles as a result of the debate between the Russian Social-Democrats and the *Bund at the beginning of the 20th century. When the Communist Party took power in November 1917, however, it was faced with the fact that millions of Jews, speaking their own language and maintaining their own social institutions, existed in Russia, and with the necessity of establishing some temporary agency to deal with them until such time as they had assimilated among their neighbors. In January 1918 a "Jewish Commissariat" headed by S. *Dimanstein was created, and Jewish sections (*Yevsektsii*) were organized in local party branches on the model of the national sections which were then being established to direct party work among other non-Russian peoples.

The first conference of the Jewish sections and representatives of the Jewish Commissariat in the provinces took place in Moscow in October 1918; their function was defined as the propagandizing of Yiddish-speaking workers and the establishment of the "dictatorship of the proletariat" among the Jews. It was strongly emphasized that the Jewish sections had no national goals and that Yiddish was to be simply regarded as a necessary means of communication with the Jewish masses, on no account valuable in itself. The conference decided on "systematic destruction of Zionist and bourgeois institutions," with the *kehillot*, *hadarim*, Hebrew schools, and Zionist parties heading the list. A central bureau headed by S. Dimanstein was elected. At the second conference, which was attended by representatives of communist parties and related organizations from the Ukraine and Belorussia, economic activity among the Jews was decided upon. The essential aim of this economic activity was the cooperative organization of "semi-proletarian elements" (i.e., craftsmen and artisans), and the mass settlement on the land of erstwhile Jewish merchants, deprived of their means of livelihood by the revolution.

During the same year a considerable proportion of the Jewish left-wing parties joined the Jewish sections as organized bodies or as individuals. At the third conference (July 1920), which represented 1,743 active members, 34 of the 84 delegates were erstwhile Bundists, 11 were previously United Socialists ("Fareynikte"), and 7 were previously members of *Po'alei Zion. The heads of the Jewish sections kept a close watch on the ex-members of these Jewish parties to see that no hint of their Jewish national allegiance was introduced into their new party work. Fear of being accused of "nationalistic and Zionist deviations" was so pervasive in the Jewish sections that they were wary of endorsing any comprehensive plan for Jewish rehabilitation in Russia, even when put forward by such outstanding Communist leaders as Kalinin, Smidovich, and *Larin. The third conference decided that the Jewish sections were no more than "technical [Communist] Party tools." At this time head offices were established in the Ukraine and Belorussia. Active in the Jewish sections besides Dimanstein were A. Merezhin, M. *Rafes, M. *Frumkin ("Esther"), M. Levitan, M. *Litvakov, A. *Tshemeriski, and M. Kipper.

With the help of government agencies, the police, and the internal security forces, the *Yevsektsiya* initiated and executed the liquidation of Jewish *kehillot*, the confiscation of synagogue buildings, the closing of yeshivot, *ḥadarim*, and Hebrew schools, the closing of libraries, and the banning of books. They fought the remnants of Jewish political and cultural organizations to the bitter end (*He-Ḥalutz, *Habimah, Left Po'alei Zion) or attempted to take them over (Kultur Lige, *ORT). The destruction of the existing Jewish framework was accompanied by attempts to create a Jewish Communist culture; a Jewish press in Yiddish, headed by the dailies *Der Emes* (Moscow), *Der Shtern* (Kharkov), and *Oktyabr* (Minsk), which had a circulation of 27,000 at the end of the 1920s, was founded; publishing houses which printed books in tens of thousands of copies were established; a network of primary and secondary schools was created; and a few departments of Jewish culture were even created in institutions of higher learning. In 1924 the Jewish sections were made responsible for integrating "classless elements" into the Soviet economic system by directing them to industrial and agricultural labor. A public company "OZET" ("Land Cultivation Company") was set up under the direction of the Jewish sections to assist in the Jewish settlement project. Cultural work was intensified, and Yiddish became the official language in trade unions and youth and women's organizations with a predominantly Jewish membership.

Attempts were made to adapt Soviet institutions in towns with large Jewish populations in order to serve the Jewish public in their mother tongue. The Jewish sections were also made responsible for bringing the problems involved in their activities among the Jewish population before the central and local Communist Party committees. Territorial programs for Jewish settlement on the land were put forward; this culminated in the proclamation of *Birobidzhan in the Far East as an area of Jewish settlement (1928). Contrary to their initial "technical" program, the Jewish sections began to serve also as consolidatory factors in Jewish life. At the council of Jewish sections in 1926 a struggle between different trends took place. The council expressed reservations both with regard to the assimilationists in the Communist party, who saw any separate work among the Jewish population as a nationalist deviation, and with regard to those who saw the work of the Jewish sections as "a way of preserving the Jewish people"; it redefined the sole function of the Jewish sections as the introduction of socialism among the Jewish masses.

While the revolution had created the conditions for the agricultural settlement of Jews and the consolidation of some of them as a separate national unit in a separate territory, the great majority of Jews were to find the solution to their social and economic problems in the transition to heavy industry, and were inevitably to assimilate among the masses of non-Jewish workers. When Soviet policy swung leftward at the end of the 1920s, the fate of the Jewish sections was sealed. In January 1930, within the context of the general liquidation of the national sections of Communist Party institutions in the Soviet Union, it was decided to liquidate the Jewish sections. Jewish section activists in practice continued to work among the Jewish population until 1934, but the scope of their work became more and more limited. The imprisonment and liquidation of Jewish section activists, which began in 1934, continued until the late 1930s and was accompanied by the gradual liquidation of educational and cultural institutions and other achievements of Jewish autonomy; their liquidation was completed by the end of the 1940s.

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[Yehuda Slutsky]

°YEVTUSHENKO, YEVGENI ALEXANDROVICH (1933–), Soviet Russian poet. A prolific author of topical verse, Yevtushenko became one of the standard-bearers of the liberal Soviet intelligentsia during the years following Stalin's death. After the appearance of his first poems in 1949, Yevtushenko chose subjects that were, for the most part, expressions of revolt against the traditions of the Stalin era. Though a non-Jew, Yevtushenko also wrote the most famous single poem of the Holocaust: *Babi Yar* (first published in *Literaturnaya Gazeta*, Sept. 19, 1961, see *Babi Yar). This short but moving description of the site of the Nazi massacre of Kiev's Jews and of the thoughts that the site evoked in the poet unleashed a furious controversy. Neo-Stalinists accused Yevtushenko of a variety of crimes, the most dangerous being the insinuation that antisemitism continued to exist in the U.S.S.R., and that the Jews were martyred by the Nazis not merely as Soviet citizens, but also as Jews – a fact carefully silenced by official Soviet historiography. Russian public opinion was sharply divided. To be for or against Yevtushenko was tantamount to being a foe or an advocate of antisemitism. As if to underline the fact that the choice of *Babi Yar's* theme was no accident, Yevtushenko returned briefly to the subject in his long narrative poem, *Bratskaya GES* (1967; *The Bratsk Station*, 1966), in which one of the protagonists is Izi Kramer, a Jewish survivor of a Nazi camp, now an engineer in Siberia, who continues to be haunted by his tragic past. In 1963, Yevtushenko published *A Precocious Autobiography*, which contains his account of the writing of *Babi Yar*, and the general antisemitic mood of the young Stalinists. In 1970 a new collection of his poems was printed in Russia which omitted *Babi Yar* and some of his most outspoken anti-Stalinist poems.

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[Maurice Friedberg]

YEZD, city in central Iran, probably built by Yazdegerd I (399–420). That Yezd was a center of Jewish scholars in the early Middle Ages is attested by a ninth-century Hebrew manuscript of the Later Prophets with masoretic notes which was found there; it is one of the oldest known biblical manuscripts composed by Persian Jews. The Yezd community's spiritual leader, Mulla Or Sharaga, (d. 1794), who is mentioned in a few Judeo-Persian letters of the early decades of the 19th century, maintained close contacts with the Jews of *Meshed. In 1928 an *Alliance Israélite Universelle school was established in the city. Jews from Yezd were among the earliest immigrants to Palestine and many families settled, mainly in *Safed and

*Jerusalem. In 1948 there were about 1,000 Jews in Yezd and in 1973 fewer than 400; it was reported that after the 1979 Islamic revolution only five families remained.

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[Walter Joseph Fischel / Amnon Netzer (2nd ed.)]

YEZIERSKA, ANZIA (1885?–1970), U.S. novelist. Anzia Yezierska was reared in an Orthodox home in Russia and was taken to New York at the age of 16. Her life was a mixture of poverty (which she emphasized through her novels) as well as education and literary attainment. Her experience of conditions on the Lower East Side of New York gave authenticity to her first collection of short stories, *Hungry Hearts* (1920), which established her reputation as a realist. Its success raised her for a short time from poverty in New York to riches in Hollywood, but unable to endure that life for long she returned to New York.

Her subsequent books, which also dealt with the adjustment of the Jewish immigrant to American life, were *Salome of the Tenements* (1923); *Children of Loneliness* (1923); *Bread Givers* (1925): *Arrogant Beggar* (1927); and *All I Could Never Be* (1932). In later life she reassessed the traditional values rejected in her youth and found that they gave a heightened meaning to life. Her autobiography, *Red Ribbon on a White Horse*, appeared in 1950.

Remarkably, she had a love affair with John Dewey, whom she met in 1917 at Columbia University. Their affair was brief, and he spurned her. Their relationship occupies Norma Rosen's novel *John and Anzia: An American Romance* (1989).

Fortunately, her works have been rediscovered, especially by feminists. Yezierska's portraits of strong, self-willed women helped a new generation of readers understand both the constraints placed upon Jewish women and the vitality needed to break the bonds of custom.

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[Sol Liptzin / Lewis Fried (2nd ed.)]

YEẒIRAH, SEFER (Heb. סֵפֶר יְצִירָה; the "Book of Creation"), the earliest extant Hebrew text of systematic, speculative thought. Its brevity – no more than 1,600 words altogether even in its longer version – allied to its obscure and at the same time laconic and enigmatic style, as well as its terminology, have no parallel in other works on related subjects. The result of all these factors was that for more than 1,000 years the book was expounded in a great many different ways, and not even the scientific investigations conducted during the 19th century succeeded in arriving at unambiguous and final results.

Sefer Yeẓirah is extant in two versions: a shorter one which appears in most editions as the book itself, and a longer version which is sometimes printed as an appendix (for the important differences between the two versions, see A. *Epstein, in: MGWJ, 37 (1893), 266). Both versions were already in existence in the tenth century and left their imprint on the different types of the numerous manuscripts, the earliest of which (from the 11th century?) was found in the Cairo *Genizah* and published by A.M. Habermann (1947). In both versions the book is divided into six chapters of *mishnayot* or *halakhot*, composed of brief statements which present the author's argument dogmatically, without any explanation or substantiation. The first chapter in particular employs a sonorous, solemn vocabulary, close to that of the *Merkabah literature. Few biblical verses are quoted. Even when their wording is identical, the different arrangement of the *mishnayot* in the two versions and their resultant altered relationship one with the other color the theoretical appreciation of the ideas.

Contents and Structure

The central subject of *Sefer Yeẓirah* is a compact discourse on cosmology and cosmogony (a kind of *ma'aseh bereshit*, "act of creation," in a speculative form), outstanding for its clearly mystical character. There is no foundation for the attempts by a number of scholars to present it as a kind of primer for schoolchildren (e.g., S. Karppe, *étude sur la nature et les origines du Zohar* (1901), 16ff.), or as the first Hebrew composition on Hebrew grammar and orthography (according to P. Mordell). The book's strong link with Jewish speculations concerning divine wisdom is evident from the beginning, with the declaration that God created the world by means of "32 secret paths of wisdom." These 32 paths, defined as "ten *Sefirot beli mah*" and the "22 elemental letters" of the Hebrew alphabet, are represented as the foundations of all creation. Chapter 1 deals with the *Sefirot* and the other five chapters with the function of the letters. Apparently the term *Sefirot* is used simply to mean "numbers," though in employing a new term (*sefirot* instead of *misparim*), the author seems to be alluding to metaphysical principles or to stages in the creation of the world.

The use of the term *Sefirot* in *Sefer Yeẓirah* was later explained – particularly in Kabbalah literature – as referring to a theory of emanation, although the book does not mention that the first *Sefirah* itself emanated from God and was not created by Him as an independent action. The author emphasizes, though ambiguously, the mystical character of the *Sefirot*, describing them in detail and discussing the order of their grading. At least the first four *Sefirot* emanate from each other. The first one is the "spirit (*ru'aḥ*) of the Living God" (the book continues to use the word *ru'aḥ* in its dual meaning of abstract spirit and air or ether). From the first *Sefirah* comes forth, by way of condensation, "one Spirit from another"; that is first the primal element of air, and from it, issuing one after the other as the third and fourth *Sefirot*, water and fire. From the primal air God created, or "engraved" upon it, the 22 letters; from the primal waters, the cosmic chaos; and from the primal fire, the Throne of Glory and the hosts of the angels. The nature of this secondary creation is not sufficiently clear because the precise terminological meaning of the verbs employed by the author – e.g., engraved, hewed, created – can be interpreted in various ways. The last six *Sefirot* are of a completely different nature, representing the six dimensions (in the language of the book the *keẓavot*, "extremities") of space, though it is not expressly said that they were created from the earlier elements. Even so it is emphasized that the ten *Sefirot* constitute a closed unit, for "their end is in their beginning and their beginning in their end" and they revolve in each other; i.e., these ten basic principles constitute a unity – although its nature is not sufficiently defined – which is not considered as identical with the divinity except insofar as the first stage of its creation expresses the ways of divine Wisdom.

The author, no doubt intentionally, employs expressions borrowed from the description of the *ḥayyot* ("living creatures") who carry the Throne of Glory in the chariot (*merkavah*; Ezek. 1), and seems to be establishing a certain correlation between the "living beings" and the *Sefirot*, describing the latter as the king's servants who obey his commands and prostrate themselves before his throne. At the same time they are also the dimensions (*amakim*) of all existence, of good and even of evil. The fact that the theory of the significance of the 22 letters as the foundation of all creation in chapter 2 partly conflicts with chapter 1 has caused many scholars to attribute to the author a conception of a double creation: the one ideal and pure brought about by means of the *Sefirot*, which are conceived in a wholly ideal and abstract manner; and the other one real, effected by the interconnection of the elements of speech, which are the letters. According to some views, the obscure word "*belimah*," which always accompanies the word *Sefirot*, is simply a composite, *beli mah* – without anything, without actuality, ideal. However, judging from the literal meaning, it would seem that it should be understood as signifying "closed," i.e., closed within itself. The text offers no more detailed explanation of the relationship between the *Sefirot* and the letters, and the *Sefirot* are not referred to again. Some scholars have believed that two separate cosmogonic doctrines basically differing from one another were fused in the book, and were united by a method resembling neo-Pythagorean theory current in the second and third century B.C.E.

All the real beings in the three strata of the cosmos: in the world, in time, and in man's body (in the language of the book: world, year, soul) came into existence through the interconnection of the 22 letters, and especially by way of the "231 gates"; i.e., the combinations of the letters into groups of two representing the possible roots of the Hebrew verb (it appears that the author held that the Hebrew verb is based on two consonants). The logical number of 231 combinations does not appear in the earliest manuscripts, which fixed 221 gates or combinations, and which are enumerated in a number of manuscripts. Every existing thing somehow contains these linguistic elements and exists by their power, whose foundation is one name; i.e., the *Tetragrammaton, or, perhaps, the alphabetical order which in its entirety is considered one mystical name. In chapters 3–5 the 22 basic letters are divided into three groups, according to the author's special phonetic system. The first contains the three matrices – *immot* or *ummot* (meaning elements, in the language of the Mishnah) – *alef, mem, shin* (אמש), which in turn represent the source of the three elements mentioned in a different context in chapter 1 – air, fire, water – and from these all the rest came into being. These three letters also have their parallel in the three seasons of the year (according to a system found among Greek and Hellenistic writers) and the three parts of the body: the head, torso, and the stomach. The second group consists of seven "double" letters, i.e., those consonants which have a hard and soft sound when written with or without a *dagesh* (*bet, gimmel, dalet,* and *kaf, pe, resh, tav*). The presence of the letter *resh* in this group gave rise to various theories (cf. S. Morag, in: *Sefer Tur-Sinai* (Torczyner; 1960), 207 – 42). Through the medium of the "double" letters were created the seven planets, the seven heavens, the seven days of the week, and the seven orifices of the body (eyes, ears, nostrils, mouth), and they also allude to the basic opposites (*temurot*) in man's life. The 12 remaining "simple" letters (*ha-peshutot*) correspond to what the author considers as man's chief activities; the 12 signs of the zodiac in the heavenly sphere, the 12 months, and the 12 chief limbs of the body (*ha-manhigim*). In addition he gives also a completely different phonetic division of the letters, in accordance with the five places in the mouth where they are articulated (gutturals, labials, velars, dentals, and sibilants). This is the first instance in which this division appears in the history of Hebrew linguistics and it may not have been included in the first version of the book. The combination of these "basic letters" contains the roots of all things and also the contrast between good and evil (עֹנֶג וְנֶגַע, *oneg ve-nega*).

There is an obvious connection between this linguistic-mystical cosmogony, which has close parallels in astrological speculation, and magic which is based on the creative, magical power of the letters and words. In fact it might well be said that *Sefer Yeẓirah* speaks of "the letters in which heaven and earth were created," as according to the Talmud, Bezalel, the architect of the tabernacle, possessed the knowledge of their combinations (Ber. 55a). From this point stem the ideas connected with the creation of the **golem* by an ordered recitation of all the possible creative letter-combinations. Whether *Sefer Yeẓirah* itself initially was aimed at magical ideas of this type is a subject on which opinions differ, but it is not impossible. According to a talmudic legend (Sanh. 65b) R. Ḥanina and R. Hoshaiah (fourth century) used to occupy themselves with *Sefer Yeẓirah*, or – as an ancient variant has it – with *Hilkhot Yeẓirah*; by means of it a "calf three years old" was created for them, which they ate. Whether these *Hilkhot Yeẓirah* are simply the book in question or its early version cannot be decided for the moment, but it must be stressed that accompanying the very earliest texts of *Sefer Yeẓirah* were introductory chapters emphasizing magical practices which are presented as some kind of festive ritual to be performed on the completion of the study of the book (Judah b. Barzillai's commentary, 103–268).

Time of Composition

*Zunz (GV 175), *Graetz in his later works, *Bacher, Bloch, and others were of the opinion that *Sefer Yeẓirah* was composed in the period of the *geonim*, around the eighth century. This dating was in line with the general tendency of those scholars to assign a late date to the composition of the mystical works on the mysteries of the creation and Merkabah, a trend which modern scholarship can no longer uphold. They also talked of hypothetical Arab influence (which was not actually proved). In his early work on Gnosticism and Judaism (1846), Graetz tended to correlate the time of its composition with that of the Mishnah or the beginning of the period of the Talmud, and this view was shared by Abraham Epstein, Louis Ginzberg, and others, who dated its composition between the third and sixth centuries. Leo *Baeck tried to prove that *Sefer Yeẓirah* was written under the Neoplatonic influence of Proclus, possibly in the sixth century. The Hebrew style, however, points to an earlier period. Epstein already proved its proximity to the language of the Mishnah, and additions can be made to his linguistic proofs. The book contains no linguistic form which may not be ascribed to second- or third-century Hebrew. In addition, a number of links with the doctrine of divine wisdom and with various Gnostic and syncretistic views indicate an earlier period; analogies between *Sefer Yeẓirah* and the views of Markos the Gnostic of the school of Valentinus had already been noticed by Graetz.

The doctrine of the *Sefirot* and the language system hint at neo-Pythagorean and Stoic influences. Stoic is the emphasis on the double pronunciation of "*bagad kafat*." Some of the terms employed in the book were apparently translated from Greek, in which the term στοιχεῖα indicates both elements and letters; this duality finds its expression in the Hebrew term *otiyyot yesod* ("elemental letters"), i.e., letters which are also elements. The material which F. Dornseiff (*Das Alphabet in Mystik und Magie*, 1925) collected from the linguistic mysticism of Greek syncretism contains many parallels with *Sefer Yeẓirah*. Illuminating, in this connection, is *Sefer Yeẓirah*'s view of the "sealing" of the six extremities of the world by the six different combinations of the name YHW (יהו) which (unlike in the Bible) occurs here as an independent, fundamental Name of God, playing the part of its corresponding name in Greek transcription ἰάω, which is extremely frequent in the documents of the Gnostics and in religious and magical syncretism. The idea that every act of creation was sealed with the name of God is one of the earliest tenets of Merkabah mysticism and is already found in *Heikhalot Rabbati* (ch. 9); in Gnostic systems and some which are close to Gnosis this name has its function in establishing the cosmos and in defining fixed boundaries for the world. Combinations of this name, which in Greek consists of vowels and not of consonants, appear frequently in Greek magical papyri. The author of *Sefer Yeẓirah* did not yet know the symbols for the Hebrew vowels and in place of the Greek vowels he employed the Hebrew consonants יהו, which are both vowel letters and components of the Tetragrammaton. There is common ground here between the speculations of *Sefer Yeẓirah* and the projections of Gnostic or semi-Gnostic speculations on the fringe of Judaism or outside it during the early centuries of the Common Era. It is difficult to decide whether the ten *Sefirot* or the rules of the 32 paths have to be explained or understood in the spirit of the Gnostic aeon doctrine or in that of the Pythagorean school, both views being possible. The function of the letters of the Hebrew alphabet in the construction of the world is mentioned in an ancient fragment from *Midrash Tanḥuma* dealing with the creation: "The Holy One, Blessed Be He, said: 'I request laborers.' The Torah told Him: 'I put at Your disposal 22 laborers, namely the 22 letters which are in the Torah, and give to each one his own'" (E. Urbach, in: *Koveẓ al Yad*, 6 (1966), 20). This legend is extremely close to the basic idea in *Sefer Yeẓirah*, chapter 2, and it is impossible to know which was the earlier.

To sum up, it may be postulated that the main part of *Sefer Yeẓirah*, though it contains post-talmudic additions, was written between the third and sixth centuries, apparently in Palestine by a devout Jew with leanings toward mysticism, whose aim was speculative and magical rather than ecstatic. The author, who endeavored to "Judaize" non-Jewish speculations which suited his spirit, presents a parallel path to Jewish ecstatic Gnosis of the *Heikhalot* type of literature, which has its roots in the same period. This "Judaizing" is also apparent at the end of the book, which presents Abraham, the first to believe in the oneness of God, as the one who first studied the ideas expressed in the book and actually practiced them – maybe an allusion to the use of magic mentioned above. From this derived the late view claiming Abraham as the author of the book, called in several manuscripts *Otiyyot de-Avraham Avinu*. The attribution of *Sefer Yeẓirah* to R. *Akiva only makes its appearance in the Kabbalah literature from the 13th century onward, no doubt in the wake of the late Midrash *Otiyyot de-Rabbi Akiva*.

Commentaries on *Sefer Yeẓirah*

The earliest reference to *Sefer Yeẓirah* appears in the *Baraita di-Shemu'el* and the poems by Eleazar ha-*Kallir (c. sixth century). Later on the book was of great importance both to the development of Jewish philosophy before *Maimonides and to the Kabbalah, and scores of commentaries were written on it. *Saadiah Gaon explained the book (at the beginning of the tenth century) as an early authoritative text. On the basis of the longer version which was at his disposal he introduced changes and new divisions. The Arabic text with a French translation by M. *Lambert was published in Paris in 1891. Saadiah's commentary was translated into Hebrew several times from the 11th century onward and had a considerable circulation (Mss. in Munich and Paris). In 955/6 the commentary on the short version by Abu Sahl *Dunash ibn Tamim was made in Kairouan. Parts of this Arabic original were discovered in the Cairo *Genizah*, and it was preserved in various editions originating from a later revision and an abbreviated form of the original version, mainly in different Hebrew translations. One of these was published by M. *Grossberg in 1902. The commentary was apparently based on the lectures of Isaac *Israeli, Abu Sahl's teacher. G. *Vajda made a detailed study of this commentary. A third commentary from the tenth century was written in southern Italy by Shabbetai *Donnolo and published by D. *Castelli in 1880, with a comprehensive introduction. The most important of all literal commentaries is the one composed at the beginning of the 12th century by Judah b. Barzillai of *Barcelona, published by S.Z.H. Halberstamm (Berlin, 1885). *Judah Halevi commented on many parts of the *Sefer Yeẓirah* in his *Kuzari* (4:25). Abraham *Ibn Ezra's commentary on the first chapter, which was known to Abraham *Abulafia, was lost, as were some other commentaries from the 11th and 12th centuries, including one by the rabbis of Narbonne. In the 11th century poems were even composed on the doctrines of *Sefer Yeẓirah*, e.g., by Ibn *Gabirol (ed. by Bialik and Rawnitzki pt. 2, no. 58) and by Ẓahallal b. Nethanel Gaon (Davidson, in: HUCA, 3 (1926), 225–55 and additions by E. Baneth, in: MGWJ, 71 (1927), 426–43).

A great many commentaries on *Sefer Yeẓirah* were written within the circles of the *Ḥasidei Ashkenaz, among them that of *Eleazar b. Judah of Worms which was published in its entirety in Przemysl in 1889, and one later attributed to Saadiah Gaon (from the beginning of the 13th century), of which only a part is printed in the usual editions; also noteworthy is the commentary by *Elhanan b. Yakar of London (c. 1240), edited by G. Vajda (in: *Kovez al Yad*, 6 (1966), 145–97). The number of commentaries written in the spirit of the Kabbalah and according to the kabbalists' conception of the doctrine of the *Sefirot* comes close to fifty. The earliest of these, by *Isaac the Blind, is also one of the most difficult and important documents from the beginnings of Kabbalah. It is published at the end of G. Scholem's lectures on *Ha-Kabbalah bi-Provence* (1963). The commentary of Isaac's pupil *Azriel b. Menahem of Gerona appears in the printed editions as the work of *Naḥmanides. The actual commentary by Naḥmanides (only on the first chapter) was published by G. Scholem (in: KS, 6 (1930), 385–410). Almost the entire commentary by Abraham *Abulafia (Munich Ms. 58) is contained in the *Sefer ha-Peli'ah* (Korets, 1784, fols. 50–56). This kabbalist, in one of his works, enumerates 12 commentaries which he studied in Spain (Jellinek, *Beit ha-Midrash*, 3 (1855), 42). From the 14th century come the comprehensive commentary by Joseph b. Shalom *Ashkenazi, written in Spain and erroneously attributed in printed editions to R. *Abraham b. David (G. Scholem, in: KS, 4 (1928), 286ff.); the commentary by Meir b. Solomon ibn *Sahula of 1331 (Rome, Angelica library, Ms. Or. 45); as well as the *Meshovev Netivot* (Ms. Oxford) by Samuel *Ibn Motot. Around 1405 Moses *Botarel wrote a commentary citing a considerable number of false quotations from his predecessors. A number of commentaries were composed in Safed, among them one by Moses b. Jacob *Cordovero (Ms. Jerusalem) and by Solomon Toriel (Ms. Jerusalem). From then on commentaries in the spirit of Isaac *Luria proliferated; for example, by Samuel b. Elisha Portaleone (Ms. Jews' College, London), by David *Ḥabillo (Ms. of the late Warsaw community); from among these the commentary by *Elijah b. Solomon, the Gaon of Vilna (1874), and the book *Otot u-Mo'adim* by Joshua Eisenbach of Prystik (Pol. Przystyk; 1903) were printed.

Printed Editions and Translations

Sefer Yeẓirah was first printed in Mantua in 1562 with the addition of several commentaries, and has since been reprinted a great many times, with and without commentaries. In the Warsaw 1884 edition – the most popular one – the text of some commentaries is given in a considerably distorted form. *Sefer Yeẓirah* was translated into Latin by the Christian mystic G. *Postel and printed even before the Hebrew edition (Paris, 1552). Another Latin edition with commentaries was published by S. Rittangel in 1652. Translations appeared, mostly with commentaries, in English, by I. Kalisch (1873), A. Edersheim (1883), W. Westcott (1911), K. Stenring (1923), Akiva ben Joseph (*The Book of Formation*, 1970); in German by J.F. von Meyer (1830), L. Goldschmidt (1894; which, quite unfoundedly, professes to give a critical Hebrew text), E. Bischoff (1913); in French by Papus (1888), Duchess C. de Cimara (1913); in Italian by S. Savini (1923); in Hungarian by B. Tennen (1931); and in Czech by O. Griese (1921).

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[Gershom Scholem]

YEẒIV PITGAM (Heb. יְצִּיב פִּתְגָּם; "true and strong is the proverb"), name of a *reshut* in Aramaic for the morning service of the second day of *Shavuot. It is found in the Ashkenazi ritual only, and is recited after the reading of the first verse of the *haftarah*. *Yeẓiv Pitgam* is similar in theme and style to the Aramaic hymn **Akdamut*, which is recited on the first day of Shavuot. It describes the majesty of the Divine revelation at Mount Sinai and concludes with a prayer for Divine grace and protection for the keepers of the Torah. *Yeẓiv Pitgam* consists of 15 verses, the initial letters forming acrostically the author's name: Jacob b. R. Meir Levi. Some authorities identify the author with Jacob b. Meir (of Orleans), the grandson of Rashi.

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YIDDISHER KULTUR FARBAND (**YKUF**), a U.S. association for preserving and developing Yiddish culture in Yiddish and in English. Yiddisher Kultur Farband was founded in 1937. Other branches of the international YKUF were established in various countries, among them the English branch, which was still active in 1971. The organizing meeting was an international congress of Yiddish culture, the first to be held; about 100 delegates attended, 11 from the United States. The first chairman of YKUF was the writer A. *Mukdoni; the secretary (to 1957) was Zishe *Weinper, a poet and an efficient fundraiser for YKUF. Financial support also came from the Jewish People's Fraternal Order.

YKUF established the monthly *Yiddishe Kultur* in 1938 and Nachman Meisel, who had edited a Yiddish literary magazine in Poland, became its editor (to 1964). In 1970 the journal appeared seven times a year and its editor was Itche Goldberg. Until 1971 YKUF published over 250 books, including Yiddish fiction and poetry, memoirs, history, and anthologies. With the passing of a generation of secular Yiddish speakers, the activities of the Kultur Farband slowed and the organizational activities atrophied. In 2006 Itche Goldberg, at over 100 years of age, led its limited activities.

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YIDDISH LANGUAGE, language used by Ashkenazi Jews for the past 1,000 years. Developed as an intricate fusion of several unpredictably modified stocks, the language was gradually molded to serve a wide range of communicative needs. As the society which used it achieved one of the highest levels of cultural autonomy in Jewish history, the Yiddish language too became an unusually vivid record of Jewish cultural specificities.

The Speech Community

From its beginnings in the tenth century and until the end of the 18th, Yiddish was the virtually uncontested medium of oral communication among Jews from Holland to Ukraine, from Livonia to Romania, as well as in the Ashkenazi communities in Italy, the Balkans, Palestine. Alongside Hebrew, it was also an important medium of literary and other written communication (see *Yiddish Literature). Then, in response to the Emancipation, there arose a strong interest in converting Ashkenazi society from the use of Yiddish to that of other, non-specifically Jewish vernaculars. This striving, successful in most of the German-language sphere and in Holland, had only marginal effects in Eastern Europe. There, on the contrary, the number of Yiddish speakers increased rapidly as the Jewish population burgeoned, and a new flowering of Yiddish literature, contemporary with the rebirth of Hebrew literature, took place. The great migratory movements of the late 19th and early 20th centuries caused the Yiddish community to expand among Ashkenazi immigrants around the world (South America, U.S., Canada, Australia, etc). The development of an active press, a theater, secular educational systems through the secondary-school level, teacher training institutes, and research institutions caused the language to be utilized in a great variety of new functions. Official prohibitions on the public use of Yiddish virtually disappeared in Europe after World War I; in some areas, notably in former U.S.S.R., the language was even granted official status.

NUMBER OF YIDDISH SPEAKERS. The actual number of Yiddish speakers at any time is difficult to calculate because of poor or non-comparable statistics; the best estimates on the eve of World War II reckon with 11 million speakers. This number was drastically reduced by the Holocaust and by a massive shift to other primary languages. In the Americas and in Israel, the shift seems to have been largely voluntary, although encouraged by official organs; in former U.S.S.R., it was coupled with severe, official repressive measures – the closing of schools and other institutions in the 1930s, the liquidation of literature, press, and theater in 1949, with only a limited revival in the post-Stalin period. However, among traditionally multilingual Ashkenazi Jews everywhere, knowledge of Yiddish, at least as a second language, continues to be widespread. In fact, while the use of the language as a primary vernacular has been declining, interest in it, both sentimental, seriously intellectual and in universities, has been rising. Yiddish language is still spoken in the ultra-Orthodox world and among secular Jews in the main communities in the world. This development must be related to the growing ability of Jews in many parts of the world to integrate their European past with the modern European, American, or Israel culture. Thus the measurement of the present knowledge of Yiddish, and its novel place in the Jewish cultural economy, requires tools far subtler than those of ordinary censuses.

MODERN STANDARD YIDDISH. Over the centuries, Yiddish in its vast territorial scattering became regionally differentiated, but for written communication fairly uniform standards were maintained. This was true of the old literary language, which held sway until the early decades of the 19th century, and is true again of Modern Standard Yiddish, which developed as a supraregional formation from the middle of that century. The worldwide relative homogeneity of standard Yiddish is all the more remarkable in view of the fact that it developed without the aid of coercive forces such as are usually provided by a national state (especially through a unified school system); what uniformity there is must be attributed to the sheer centripetal, nation-forming will of the speech community. As in other languages, written usage has been standardized more fully than spoken discourse. However, with the literary language as a basis, standards of orthoepy have also evolved. (In some countries the theater cultivated a pronunciation tradition separate from that which prevailed in public life and in the Yiddish schools.) The structural sketch in the following sections is based mainly on the standard language, with only passing references to regional variations.

Sound System

In the main, the Yiddish sound system has been determined by those German dialects which contributed the bulk of its basic lexical stock. The language thus has a distinctive expiratory stress, which, though its place in a word is not fully predictable, nevertheless functions in several characteristic distributions. Secondary stresses seem to be less prominent than in German – possibly as a result of Slavic influence. The vowel system is of the triangular type, with three degrees of opening and two positions of articulation:

i		u
e		o
	a	

The most frequent diphthongs are made up of *I* following *e, a*, or *o*. Glottal stops generally do not occur. Consonants form a highly symmetrical array:

m	n	n’			
b	d	d’		g	
p	t	t’		k	
v	z	z’	ž	r	
f	s	s’	š	x	h
	l	l’			

Unlike German, the subseries of stops and fricatives are distinguished not by tenseness, but by voicing – probably an influence of the Slavic languages, which also contributed the palatal order. Unlike German, too, is the occurrence of voiced consonants at the ends of words. The influx of vocabulary from Hebrew-Aramaic and Slavic sources has created numerous word-initial clusters unknown in standard or dialectal German (*bd-*, *px-*, for example).

Regional varieties of Yiddish display much richer vocalic distinctions ranging from an opposition between short, open *i* and long, close *i*, to patterns with full parallel sets of short and long vowels. Also to be found in the dialects are front rounded vowels (*ü*) and diphthongs ending in *-w*. In the matter of consonants, on the other hand, it is the standard language which seems to incorporate the richest distinctions. Some regional varieties lack the *h* phoneme, some distinguish fewer palatals, and some, in Western Yiddish, collapse the voice distinction. The articulation of *r* fluctuates regionally between apical and uvular.

An important though still little studied feature of the Yiddish sound system consists of its intonational resources. Numerous syntactic-semantic distinctions are capable of being systematically conveyed by the melodic modulation of sentences.

Writing System

The graphic basis of Yiddish writing is the Hebrew *alphabet, with some standardized diacritics: אַ, אָ, ב, וּ, יִ, ײַ, כּ, פּ, פ, שׂ, and תּ. Most words of Hebrew-Aramaic origin retain the traditional orthography; the rest of the vocabulary is rendered in a system with generally excellent one-to-one correspondence between sounds and letters or letter groups, but retaining, of course, the traditional Jewish conventions, such as those concerning final shapes of letters and initial silent א. (The letters ב, ח, כּ, שׂ, תּ, and ת occur only in words of Hebrew-Aramaic origin.) In the course of its evolution, Yiddish has witnessed the increasingly systematic use of א for *a* and latterly also for *o*, although the specialization of אַ and אָ is of mid-19th century origin. The use of ע as a vowel symbol – apparently an Ashkenazi invention, already attested in the 14th century – also became systematized in the course of time. The representation of diphthongs and unstressed vowels, and the conventions on word separation, have varied considerably through the centuries.

The present-day orthographic standards were promulgated in 1936. Although some publishing houses have not yet adhered to them in all details, the actual variations are relatively minor. In the first half of the 20th century, the historical-etymological spelling of words of Hebrew-Aramaic origin was abandoned in various countries, on grounds either of anti-traditionalistic ideology or of linguistic rationalism; here and there the tradition has been reinstituted. In former U.S.S.R. the use of special shapes of final letters was reintroduced in 1961.

Grammar

The basic grammatical plan of Yiddish follows the German model, but a number of important innovations have developed. In syntax, the word order of main and subordinate clauses has been made uniform; the distance between nouns and their determiners, as well as between the subparts of verb phrases, has been decreased. On the other hand, new word order devices for expressing continuity of discourse and for the de-emphasis of epithets have emerged. The nominal system continues to be characterized by four cases and three genders; the genitive, however, has blossomed into a possessive while losing most other functions; after prepositions, the accusative has been eliminated. The German distinction between a weak and strong adjective inflection has been virtually abandoned, while a new distinction between inflected predicate adjectives has evolved. Many nouns have been distributed among the (mostly inherited) patterns of pluralization. The formation of diminutives, among adjectives as well as nouns, has flourished, apparently with a push from the Slavic languages. In the verb, all tenses and moods except the present indicative have come to be formed analytically. A fairly systematic distinction between perfective and imperfective aspect, as well as numerous new aspect-like and voice-like categories, has been developed in a completely un-German direction. The present participle of verbs, too, has been assigned novel functions. The morphological details of the conjugation have in many instances been subject to innovation, and new classes of periphrastic conjugation, especially for verbs of Hebrew origin, have grown up.

Of the regional variations in the grammar of colloquial Yiddish the most significant are related to changes in the case and gender system. In Central as well as in Northeastern Yiddish (see below dialectical differences) the distinction between dative and accusative has collapsed. In the northeast, this has been accompanied by a radical restructuring of the gender system, leading to an abandonment of the historical neuter and the evolution of a new system of four quasi-genders with a high degree of semantic motivation. In general, it appears that the eastern dialects have been the most innovating; it is there that the novel use of inflected adjectives in the predicate and the "sensitivity" of verbs to aspect distinctions have progressed farthest.

VOCABULARY. Yiddish vocabulary is characterized by its multiple origins: German, Hebrew-Aramaic, Romance, Slavic, and "international."

USE AND FUSION OF SEVERAL STOCKS. The mechanical attribution of Yiddish words to ultimate etymological sources, however, yields a highly unrealistic view of the specificities of the language. Thus the word *mentsh* is formally related to German *Mensch*, but some of its important meanings ("employee"; "reliable, mature person") are specific Yiddish innovations which are obscured when the German original of the "outer form" of the word is recalled. Similar reservations apply to vocabulary of other sources. Thus, in *unterzogn* ("breathe into a person's ear"), the prefix and stem remind one of German *unter* and *sagen*, but German *untersagen* has no corresponding meaning; the sense of the Yiddish word can be explained much better as a "loan translation" of a Slavic prefixed verb (cf. Ukrainian *pid-skazaty*). In many common words, such as *oyszogn* ("to disclose") neither German nor Slavic languages provide an explanation of the Yiddish phenomenon. In short, the complex fusion of the several stocks and the rise of purely internal innovation is as important a principle in the formation of Yiddish vocabulary as the multiplicity of its origins.

It is also important to bear in mind that only a restricted portion of the stock languages has been utilized in Yiddish. For example, German has hundreds of stems which are completely unattested in Yiddish (e.g., *schweifen, Laster, fade*). Likewise, Yiddish has adopted from Hebrew *maskem* (*zayn*) and *muskem* (*vern*) "agree," "be agreed upon"; it has taken *madrekh* (*zayn*) "(to) guide," but not the expected *mudrekh* (*vern*) "(to be) guided." The actual vocabulary of Yiddish therefore stands out as a concrete historical formation against the background of its potential sources; the end product could not, as it were, be predicted from knowledge of the ingredients. Yiddish has also preserved elements from the stock languages which have died out in their original habitats; examples related to German are *shver* ("father-in-law"), *eydem* ("son-in-law").

Contrary to a widely held popular view, elements of Yiddish vocabulary have no functions which can be strictly correlated with their respective origins. Thus, material of Hebrew-Aramaic descent is found to have festive, neutral, or even vulgar connotations, depending on the individual word. To be sure, some topical domains have favored vocabulary from a particular source (e.g., rabbinical learning, from Hebrew-Aramaic; agriculture, from Slavic), but individual items have been redistributed in many cases.

The nature of the fusion process makes it difficult to calculate the proportions of vocabulary contributed by various stocks. This task is further complicated by the existence of "blends" such as *mefunitse* ("fastidious woman"), in which one word points in two historical directions simultaneously, *mefunak*, from Hebrew and-*itse*, from Slavic.

German, Romance, and Slavic Contributions. With reference to the German contribution to Yiddish vocabulary, it must be pointed out that no single form of German served as the source, but that Yiddish drew upon a *sui generis* combination of medieval city dialects. For the better part of a century, it was customary among linguists to derive the Germanic vocabulary of Yiddish from Middle High German. A more critical stance has recently led to the unearthing of significant dissimilarities between the German component of Yiddish and the language of German courtly poetry.

The Yiddish words of Romance origin, though nowadays few in number, are of considerable prominence in the language (e.g., *léyenen* "read," *bentshn* "bless"). They are venerable vestiges from the earliest stages of the language, when it was still forming on the lips of immigrants into Germany from the Romance lands (see below, Historical Development).

The Slavic languages have contributed not only thousands of lexical items but also numerous productive patterns for the formation of new words. Within the Slavic component, the most prominent part has been played by Polish, Ukrainian, and Belorussian; the oldest contacts with Czech, and the most recent ones, with Russian, have left far less numerous traces. The impact of non-Slavic languages in Central and Eastern Europe – Hungarian, Romanian, Lithuanian, and Latvian – has on the whole been of a strictly regional nature and has not penetrated the common literary language. In some cases, various Slavic languages contributed competing words (e.g., *pyeshtshen* "pamper," of Polish origin coexisting with *pesten*, of Ukrainian descent); in other cases, a single word has become diffused throughout Yiddish (e.g., *blondzhen* "stray," from Polish), or semantic specializations, a priori unpredictable, have emerged (e.g., *plónte(r)n* "confuse" < Pol., *pla tac*, *pluten* "act in light-minded manner" < Ukr., *plutaty*).

INTERNATIONAL COMPONENT. The "international" component of Yiddish, no less than the others, must be understood in its specificities. Thus, *fabrík* ("factory"), in a German-like form, has displaced older *fábrike*, of Polish-Russian origin; on the other hand, *relígie* ("religion"), which resembles the Slavic forms (cf. Pol., *religia*), has completely driven out the German-derived *religión*. The presence of *eyrope* ("Europe") side by side with *nevróz* ("neurosis"), in which the same Greek diphthong is represented alternately by *ei* and by *ev*>, illustrates different routes of importation, one via west European, the other Russian. As in so many other languages, "Neo-Latin" terminology has not only been adopted, but has also stimulated the development of parallel coinages out of native resources *shédredik* ("vertebralis"); *iberklangik* = *supersonish* ("supersonic").

Dialectical Differences

The bulk of Yiddish dialectological research, since its beginnings in the 1880s, has been concerned with phonological differences between the dialects. This concern is understandable not only in the light of the predominant interest in sound laws among several generations of linguists, but also in view of the diversity of vowel developments in Yiddish together with the regularity of this diversification.

While the main contours along which the European Yiddish language territory is divided have been known for some decades, no definitive hierarchy of dialect divisions could be obtained on the basis of phonological evidence alone. In recent years, the materials available to dialectology have been greatly enriched, especially in domains other than phonology, and a new impetus has developed toward the re-investigation of the geographic diversification of Yiddish, with increased attention to settlement history and mutual cross-influences among regions.

WESTERN AND EASTERN YIDDISH. The overriding dichotomy of the old Yiddish language territory in Europe is into a western and an eastern wing. The western half, roughly covering Holland, Alsace-Lorraine, Switzerland, and most of Germany, is also associated with peculiarities in synagogal ritual in the pronunciation of the Hebrew liturgy, and with folk customs unknown in the east. Among the lexical boundaries between east and west are *davnen/orn* ("pray") and *sider/tfile* ("prayer book"). Phonologically, Western Yiddish as a whole can be distinguished by the occurrence of /ā/ long in such words as / kāfn flās / *koyfn fleysh* ("buy meat"). Western Yiddish itself is, however, far from homogeneous. Some of its subregional differences can be explained as latter-day adjustments of a once more uniform language to local forms of German; it is apparent, however, that other forces, internal to the Jewish community, have also been at work in the formation of the Western Yiddish dialectal landscape.

Reconstucted Proto Yiddish Vowel[1]	Western Yiddish	Eastern Yiddish			
		South Yiddish		North-East Yiddish	Examples
		Central Yiddish	South-East Yiddish		
A_{11}	a	A	o	a	*gas* ("street") *shabes* ("Sabbath")
A_3	ō/ā	u/ū	u	o	*trogn* ("carry") *brokhe* ("blessing")
E_3	ē	Ai	ei	ei	*sheyn* ("beautiful") *meylekh* ("king")
E_4	ā	Ai	ei	ei	*fleysh* ("meat")
E_5	ē	ē	ei/I	e	*veg* ("road") *teve* ("nature")
I_4	ai/ei	ā	a	ai	*mayz* ("mice")
U_3	ō/au	oi	oi	ei/eu	*hoyzn* ("trousers") *toyre* ("Torah")
U_4	ā	oi	oi	ei/eu	*koyfn* ("buy")
U_1	o/y	I	I	u	*hunt* ("dog") *shutef* ("partner")
U_3	ȳ	Ī	i	u	*bruder* ("brother") *shure* ("line")
U_4	au	ō/ou	oi/u	oi/au	*hoyt* ("skin")

[1] The conventional labeling of the reconstructed vowels corresponds to the increasingly widespread usage in current linguistic literature (see bibliography). The pairs of forms separated by the diagonal solidus represent subdialectal variants.

Between west and east, the countries south of the Carpathian Mountains occupy a midway position. The western part – Bohemia, Moravia, west Slovakia, west Hungary – are characterized by a Yiddish dialect which was, on the whole, lexically east European but phonologically West European. The Yiddish of the eastern part – the Hungarian lowlands, Transylvania, and Carpathorussia – can be understood as a fusion of the west-Transcarpathian dialect with dialects brought by ḥasidic immigrants from Galicia.

DIVISIONS OF EASTERN YIDDISH. Within the eastern wing of Yiddish territory there is a salient three-way division, in which the southeast (roughly, Ukraine, Romania, and parts of eastern Galicia) occupies a pivotal position between the northeast (Belorussia, Lithuania, Latvia) and the center (Poland proper, western Galicia). Using the phrase *koyfn fleysh* once more as a criterion, we find it in the form / kejfn flejš / in the northeast, / kojfn flajš / in the center, and in the "compromise" version / kojfn flejš / in the southeast.

The split between the Northeast and the rest of East European Yiddish must have begun even before the middle of the 16th century along the dividing line between the Kingdom of Poland and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. The relatively self-contained nature of these two basins of Jewish colonization, as well as the possibly disparate origins of colonists entering each basin, are likely causes of the early differentiation. A separate issue is the "intermediate" quality of Southeastern Yiddish between that of the Northeast and the Center. It may be related to the mid-16th century re-orientation of the area from Lithuanian to Polish allegiance; on the other hand, we must also reckon with the possibility that the old common non-Lithuanian Yiddish has been more faithfully preserved in the southeast, whereas in Poland it has evolved further under the differential impact of fresh immigration and influence from the west. The separation of historical strata in the formation of such dialectal entities as Belorussian Yiddish and the sorting out of boundary phenomena everywhere into those which were imported and those which were formed in situ, are among the problems with which Yiddish dialectology is preoccupied.

Historical Development

The historical study of Yiddish is hampered by a shortage of texts from the earliest periods and by the highly conventionalized nature of the literary language in which so many of the surviving texts are written. In consequence, many supplementary methods must be used. Reports of contemporaries, both Jewish and non-Jewish, must be sifted; inferences from general historical facts must be coupled with deductions from such knowledge as we have of the history of the stock languages. Above all, reconstructions from attested forms of modern spoken Yiddish must be used as correctives to the interpretation of texts.

PERIODIZATION. It is safe to say that no event was more decisive in the development of Yiddish than its movement into a Slavic environment and its withdrawal from the reach of German norms. It was under Slavic influence, above all, that aspects of the grammatical system were restructured and that "normal" genetic relation of Yiddish to German was weakened. It is only fitting, therefore, that the periodization of the history of Yiddish reflect this realization. The most widely accepted scheme uses the approximate years 1250, 1500, and 1700 as the major turning points.

EARLIEST YIDDISH. The period of Earliest Yiddish, until 1250, is the time before Slavic contact was established. It is in this period that Jews from northern France and northern Italy, speaking a language they called Laaz, established their first bridgeheads in German-language territory in the kingdom of Loter (i.e., Lotharingia). There is reason to believe that they were simultaneously exposed to more than one variety of Christian German, and it is plausible that their speech remained, for many generations, rife with phonetic and lexical imports from the Laaz language, even though the number of surviving vestiges has constantly been reduced. It is in this period, too, that the old Diaspora pattern of reaching into the sacred language for additional vocabulary, along with the custom of writing the vernacular in the Jewish script, must have been transferred from the Laaz areas to Ashkenaz. Although we have no continuous texts from this period, it seems likely that at this early time the basic fusional formula for the subsequent utilization of multiple stocks was already established. Through the use of indirect evidence, it is even possible to discern the effects on Earliest Yiddish of specific historical developments, such as the increasing isolation and mobility of Jews during and after the Crusades, or the changes in the Hebrew tradition associated with the arrival of Babylonian teachers in Ashkenaz.

OLD YIDDISH. It is in the Old Yiddish period (1250–1500) that Yiddish speakers made contact with Slavs and Slavic-speaking Jews – first in southeastern Germany (*Bavaria*) and Bohemia, then in Poland and still further east. Large numbers of new communities were founded in the new environment and existing communities speaking Knaanic (a Slavic-based Jewish language) were converted to Yiddish. In this period, too, even before the development of printing, a relatively uniform literary language developed. Although many more documents have perished than survived, the language is now amply attested in various stylistic ramifications – in poetry, in *taytsh-khumesh* (Bible translation), and the official records of communal scribes.

MIDDLE YIDDISH. The next period, Middle Yiddish (1500–1700), is marked by the vigorous expansion of eastern Ashkenaz and consequently by the withdrawal of an increasing proportion of Yiddish speakers not only from continuous German territory, but also from the vicinity of German-speaking cities in the east. The linguistic monuments of this period, including numerous volumes of narrative and expository prose, make the evidence increasingly richer. Private letters, verbatim testimony of witnesses, and comical verse for the first time offer the modern scholar an insight into spoken usage, while the detailed comparison of variants in repeated editions of stock works enables us to reconstruct some of the diversities and changes of the language in that period. However, the continuing uniformity of the written language and the shortage of texts of East European provenance hides from view the crucial processes of dialectalization and Slavization which must have gone on at the time.

MODERN YIDDISH. The Modern Yiddish period, after 1700, witnessed a slow but almost fatal decline of Yiddish in the West. The old literary standard, increasingly remote from the living speech of the East European majority, finally collapsed, and a new standard, on an Eastern Yiddish base, began to form about 1820. For some decades, there was uncertainty about the dialectal base and the authoritativeness of literary German models; with the development of a press and a self-conscious literature in the 1860s, however, a supradialectal formation with only limited reliance on German patterns gained rapid ascendancy. The use of the language in organized social movements and in quickly accelerating literary activity reached a high point of self-consciousness in the *Czernowitz Yiddish Conference of 1908. The subsequent introduction of Yiddish as a medium of school instruction, of scholarly research, and of regional administration contributed to the lexical expansion and stabilization of the language. Modernistic poetry was particularly imaginative in exploring the Yiddish potential of enrichment from within.

YIDDISH AND HEBREW. The preceding discussion has sketched the important role played by the sacred language in the formation of Yiddish and in the determination of its graphic image. A few more detailed points may now be taken up separately.

The principal strata of the learned tradition from which Yiddish has drawn have been the Pentateuch, the daily prayers, and the technical discourse of the yeshivah. Because the boundary lines between biblical Hebrew, mishnaic Hebrew, and Aramaic were only vaguely observed in rabbinical use of the sacred language, it is more accurate to speak of the "Hebrew-Aramaic" than of the "Hebrew" stock in the formation of Yiddish. In most recent times, of course, Palestinian and Israel Hebrew have exerted an influence on Yiddish, both within the country and abroad; Yiddish now has such doublets as (traditional) *alíe* ("call to read a lesson from the Torah in the synagogue"), and (modern) *aliá* ("immigration to Palestine/Israel").

HISTORY OF HEBREW-ARAMAIC-YIDDISH CONTACT. Although more or less the same stock has at all times been available in its entirety to all Ashkenazim, the entry of a particular form from Hebrew-Aramaic into Yiddish must be regarded as a concrete historical event in place and time. Thus, there are words of Hebrew-Aramaic origin which have become current in some regions but are unknown in others (*rak*>, "continuously," in Northeast Yiddish, *ives*, "biting words," in Alsace). There are also marked regional differences in the forms or Hebrew-Aramaic words merged into Yiddish which are unrelated to the systematic dialectal differentiation of Yiddish (e.g., *nadn* "dowry" in Central and Southeast Yiddish, *nadán* in Northeast and Transcarpathian Yiddish, *nedunye* in most of Western Yiddish). A further argument for the concrete historicity of Hebrew-Aramaic-Yiddish contact is the fact that early Yiddish texts contain forms of Hebrew-Aramaic origin which have since become extinct in the language (e.g., *mekabets zayn*, "go begging").

WHOLE AND MERGED HEBREW. Hebrew-Aramaic elements which entered Yiddish have, of course, been subjected to the phonological and grammatical norms of the recipient language; this has differentiated many of them from their equivalents within Ashkenazi Hebrew proper. The result of this distinction is described by the pair of technical terms, Whole Hebrew and Merged Hebrew.

Some of the peculiarities of Merged as opposed to Whole Hebrew, such as the shift of the stress or the neutralization of unstressed vowels, are accounted for by the exigencies of Yiddish phonological and grammatical structure. But there are other peculiarities, not explainable in such a way, which are of particular value in elucidating the outlines of rabbinical Hebrew as a distinct historical branch of the sacred language. Quite a few forms suggest caution against oversimplified conceptions of Hebrew historical grammar. Significant, too, are discrepant treatments of individual Merged Hebrew words and the re-systematization of such discrepancies into new patterns.

The existence of synonym pairs, of which one member is of Hebrew-Aramaic origin and the other stems from elsewhere, has endowed some domains of Yiddish vocabulary with a double register characteristic of Jewish Diaspora languages. To be sure, the semantic or stylistic difference between the members of the pairs is not always the same: in *seyfer*, *shulkhn* (as against *bukh*, *tish*) the reference is to a book of traditional Jewish content and to the ritual synagogue table for unrolling the scroll of the Torah (sacred vs. profane); in *akhlen*, *eynaim* (as against *esn*, *oygn*), the Hebrew-origin term connotes crassness and vulgarity; in *mashtin zayn*, "urinate," *aver*, "bad odor," the Hebrew-origin terms function as euphemisms for their synonyms of other origins.

YIDDISH INFLUENCE ON HEBREW. For many centuries Yiddish has been exercising a reverse influence on Hebrew. Rabbinical writings of the 13th century already contain turns of phrase which would be unintelligible except as loan translations from Yiddish, and, as time went on, the recourse to Yiddish as a source both of direct borrowing and of calquing, increased. This pattern led to easily parodied excesses in ḥasidic literature, but was utilized moderately and creatively in the shaping of modern literary Hebrew by Sholem Yankev *Abramovitsh (Mendele Mokher Seforim) and his contemporaries. In the revived spoken language of Palestine and Israel, Yiddish has had a profound impact not only on the phonetic structure of the language, but also on the developing distinction between perfective and non-perfective verbal constructions, in the fashioning of new idioms, and in the vocabulary of slang. The patterned difference between what may be called Merged Yiddish and Whole Hebrew has made possible previously unavailable stylistic distinctions.

History of Yiddish Studies

Yiddish studies go back to the 16th century, when German humanists saw in the script and in certain aspects of the vocabulary and grammar of this language a convenient bridge to the learning of Hebrew. In the subsequent period Yiddish also attracted the attention of theologians concerned with missionizing among the Jews, and of police officials and others interested in cryptic Jewish speech and Yiddish as a source of German thieves' cant (see *Avé-lallemant). The science of Judaism in the 19th century paid only scant attention to Yiddish, and the developing Germanic philology was slow in coming to appreciate the historical significance of this language. The foundations of a modern scholarly approach to Yiddish were laid by scattered individuals – L. *Saineanu in Bucharest, who furnished the first dialect monograph, and A. *Landau in Vienna, who set an example in matters of text editing, scholarly commentary, etymology, and the study of the subtle but pervasive impact of Slavic. In the first two decades of the 20th century Yiddish studies remained the domain of private persons with varying levels of university preparation. A new beginning was made in the 1920s with the founding of institutions devoted, partly or completely, to the study of Yiddish: chief among them were the institutes affiliated with the Ukrainian and Belorussian academies (Kiev and Minsk) and the *YIVO (Yiddish Scientific Institute) in Vilna. These institutions became the centers of large-scale, systematic collecting of material and of the preparation of capital works such as dialect atlases and dictionaries. The serial publications established by these institutes provided a forum for the printing of text editions, collections of folk language, and analytic studies. Systematic training of aspirants in Yiddish studies became available for the first time. The several institutes also played the role of normative authorities, first with respect to orthography, and eventually also in some areas of terminology.

The suppression of Jewish scholarship by the Soviet regime and the Holocaust brought about the almost complete annihilation of scholarly personnel and collections. The American branch of YIVO, however, became the focus for its postwar reorganization and that of Yiddish studies. A new phenomenon, almost without precedent before World War II, was the introduction of Yiddish into the curricula of universities. The development of advanced Yiddish studies at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem created a fresh opportunity for coordinating Yiddish studies with training in other Judaica, while the activities centering around Columbia University in New York helped to integrate Yiddish linguistics with general linguistics on a broader scale than before. A renewed interest in Yiddish studies has also been in evidence in Western Europe, especially in western Germany, France, Netherlands, in Eastern Europe and in America.

See also *Yiddish Literature.

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YIDDISH LITERATURE.

This articles is arranged according to the following outline:

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INTRODUCTION

Yiddish is one of a number of languages that Jews have assimilated into their culture from their foreign environment during their long exile (see *Jewish Languages). These languages were "Judaized" and, at least initially, served primarily as a means of everyday communication. They were regarded as of lower status than the ancient and holy language, Hebrew, which enjoyed almost exclusive dominance in the realms of religious ritual and scholarship. Yiddish, developing and flourishing side by side with the Hebrew-Aramaic which continued to be the unifying medium of communication among Jews of all lands of the dispersion, is unique. While Judezmo (popularly known as *Ladino), *Judeo-Arabic, *Judeo-Persian, and other Jewish languages also developed a linguistic identity, a rich folklore, and a variety of literary genres, none can claim as copious and diversified a literature as that which flourished in Yiddish, nor did any of them reach the geographical spread of Yiddish, nor equal it in number of speakers. During the second half of the 19th century at the latest, all the literary genres found in modern European literature had also become vehicles of expression in Yiddish.

A parallel may be drawn between the relationship of Latin literature to the vernaculars of medieval Christendom in European literature and that of Hebrew to Yiddish in Jewish culture. The transition of Yiddish from a medium of daily communication and a popular literature to a comprehensive and highly developed literary and intellectual vehicle of creativity was complex. Hebrew, it was formerly thought, was the sole medium of reading and writing of the intellectual strata of Jewish society until the 19th century. Yiddish, it was said, catered only to the masses, answering mainly the spiritual needs of the less educated, especially women. Hebrew writings expressed the highest aesthetic, intellectual, social, and religious ideals of the society; Yiddish literature, it was assumed, answered the needs of the untutored and of women. Yiddish literature until the end of the 18th century, it was formerly thought, consisted either of educational material written by intellectuals or popular works by writers from the readers' own social class. This schema ignores the best of both early Yiddish (i.e., Old and Middle Yiddish) literature and the flowering of a sophisticated Yiddish literature in northern Italy in the late 15th and 16th centuries. As regards women, there is clear evidence that they made up a sizable portion of the reading audience of early Yiddish texts; some were also active participants in the printing industry, whether as typesetters, printers, or authors.

With the rise of the *haskole* [*Haskalah] movement at the end of the 18th century, modern Yiddish literature gradually developed into an independent medium in all modes of intellectual and artistic expression. By the end of the 18th century, the conventional and standardized Yiddish literary language which had attained its most definite form in the 16th, or at the latest in the early 17th century, had become stereotyped. Spoken and literary Yiddish differed widely, the latter having been maintained almost solely to answer the need for a uniform written medium understood by Yiddish speakers of Western and Eastern Europe. Literary Yiddish had become an artificial language. The end of the 18th and beginning of the 19th centuries saw the birth of a literary language based on the Yiddish dialects of Eastern Europe. At the same time, Yiddish almost ceased to be a creative medium in Western Europe, the Haskalah movement and emancipation having encouraged linguistic assimilation. West European Jewish writers adopted European languages as media of expression, a process that affected East European Jewry much later.

Extant pre-18th century manuscripts, printed books, and small pamphlets are sadly lacking in many spheres, a natural outcome of the persecutions, expulsions and wanderings forced upon European Jewry. This dearth is also due to an attitude to Yiddish, a legacy of previous generations that saw only Hebrew as holy and of value. Modern research into early Yiddish literature started shortly before World War I. The results published in the 1920s and 1930s need to be revised because of the ideological concepts and methodology then current, because of important texts discovered since, and because of more recent studies. This state of affairs is no less true regarding modern Yiddish literature, a field in which relatively little scholarly research has been done. The following survey could well be reshaped by future findings.

UNTIL THE END OF THE 18TH CENTURY

The Bible in Yiddish Literature

From its beginning Yiddish literature was largely based on the Bible and its interpretations, talmudic legends, and midrashim. For centuries, efforts were made to impart Bible knowledge in Yiddish, as evidenced by glosses in margins of Hebrew manuscripts (at least from the 12th century), manuscript glossaries for individual books of the Bible, and works such as *Mirkeves haMishne / Seyfer R' Anshl* [*Mirkevet ha-Mishna – Sefer R' Anshl*, Cracow, 1534], a dictionary and concordance for the entire Bible, which is the first known Yiddish printed book. In some manuscripts traces have been found of interlinear translations that simulated the syntax, grammar and semantics of the Hebrew original. Complete translations of the Pentateuch were published in Constance (1544), Augsburg (1544), and Cremona (1560). Translations were made of single books of the Bible, e.g. Psalms (Venice, 1545), and of the entire Bible (Amsterdam, 1676–9, 1679).

This literary creativity in Yiddish continued earlier oral efforts by the Jewish settlers of southern Germany who had adopted the local vernacular. The traditional oral study of the Scriptures in Yiddish among descendants of these German Jews in Israel and in the U.S. is a living assertion of the earlier creative process. In modern times, the threads of this literary expression were taken up by Sholem Yankev *Abramovitsh (Mendele Moykher-Sforim/Mokher Seforim], Y.L. Perets (*Peretz), Khayim Shoys (Ḥayyim Schauss], and others, in their translations of individual books of the Bible, and by *Yehoash [Yehoyesh / Solomon Bloomgarten) in his translation of the entire Scriptures. Yehoash's work is standard among secular Jews in the Yiddish-speaking world (latest revised edition 1941; online "YIVO" edition at *Di Velt fun Yidish* website). (To grasp the status accorded to this poet until recently in the Yiddish world, see the special Yehoash issue of *Di Goldene Keyt* 72 (1971)). The poetic translation of Yitskhok Katsenelson (Itzhak *Katzenelson) in the early 1940s in the Warsaw ghetto placed the Bible in the forefront again as a source for Yiddish literary inspiration.

Yiddish scriptural translations closely adhered to the text, usually rendering it literally. By drawing on the traditional Hebrew biblical commentaries, the Yiddish translations gained authority. The process of translation was to render into Yiddish each Hebrew word of the original by a parallel Germanic component, despite the fact that many of the Hebrew words in the text were understood by all Jews and in use in Yiddish. For a long time, translators of the Bible followed a definite structure and linguistic pattern in consequence of which idioms, stylistic and linguistic forms no longer used in the spoken language were preserved in the oral and written study of the Bible. The sanctity of the Hebrew original imputed to these early translations explains why these archaisms were preserved, becoming a main source for stylization in modern Yiddish literature.

EPIC. The 14th century marked the beginning of Yiddish rhymed biblical tales. (Christian rhymed versions of the Bible are almost all psalters). In the Cambridge University Library manuscript T.-S. 10K22, from the Cairo **Genizah*, the stories of Abraham, Joseph, and Moses (written *ca.* 1382) are in verse. The epic poem about the binding of Isaac (*Akeyde* [**Akedah*]) seems to have been very popular for centuries and has been preserved in various manuscripts and printed texts up to the 18th century. The Book of Esther and the midrashim based on it, also in great demand, are known to have been rendered into Yiddish in poetical form from the 15th century onward. This literary activity reached its zenith in the **Shmuel Bukh* ("Book of Samuel," Augsburg, 1544) and **Melokhim Bukh* ("Book of Kings," Augsburg, 1543), biblical epics believed by some to have been written in the 15th century. Later works structurally imitated these earlier compositions, e.g., *Joshua* (Mantua, 1562/64), *Judges* (Mantua, 1564), *Isaiah* (Cracow, 1586), and *Daniel* (Basel, 1557). The metrical structure common in popular German epic poetry (four lines of six stresses with a prominent caesura in each line and an *aabb* rhyme scheme) was adopted, sometimes with the acrostic and strophe of the Hebrew *piyyut* (e.g., the rhyme scheme *aaaa* in the poem on the sacrifice of Isaac). The style and structure of these poems reflect cotemporal German poetic conventions.

In these mainly anonymous poetic adaptations, the original Bible story was embellished with talmudic legends and midrashim to augment the narrative element of the tale. The poets, possessing as they did profound knowledge of the Hebrew sources, were faithful to the content and spirit of these additions. We can assume that this literary creativity was, *inter alia*, born of the need to produce an offset and possible substitute for the alien "fictitious" adventure stories which had spread to the Jewish public. Except for some isolated works and poetic adaptations, written as late as the 17th century, e.g., *Kehiles Yankev* [*Kehilas Ya'akov*, Fuerth, 1692], this type of literary activity ceased. From the end of the 16th century it made way for homiletic prose, whose subjects and themes were culled from the same sources.

HOMILETIC PROSE. The *Tsenerene* (**Ẓe'enah u-Re'enah*) by R. Jacob b. Isaac Ashkenazi of Janow was a very popular work in the genre of homiletic prose. A miscellany of tales, homilies, midrashim, and exegetical comments woven around a Yiddish rendering and paraphrasing of the Pentateuch, the *haftoyres* [*haftarot*] and the *megiles* [*megilot*], the work is written in a lively, simple, and flowing style. The commentaries and midrashim supplementing and expounding the selected biblical passages were well known. The work is assumed to have appeared first in the 1590s. (The first preserved unicum was apparently published at Hanau, 1622, but was preceded by at least three editions which have been lost.) Reprinted up to the present, it has gone through over 210 editions. Another work ascribed to Rabbi Jacob b. Isaac Ashkenazi, *Seyfer haMagid* [*Sefer haMagid*], popular for generations, is a translation of *Neviim* [Prophets] and *Ksuvim* [Hagiographa] printed alongside the Hebrew text with a paraphrase of Rashi's commentary. Published at the beginning of the 18th century under the title *Magishey Minkhe* [*Magishey Minkha*] with an edition of the *Khumesh* [Pentateuch] written in the same style, the book became increasingly popular. It may be assumed that the widely-read works of R. Jacob b. Isaac Ashkenazi helped perpetuate the archaic style dominating Yiddish literature until the end of the 18th century, a style which ignored the developments in the spoken tongue, especially the changes that occurred in Yiddish in Eastern Europe. The 1786 Lemberg re-edition of the *Tsenerene* systematically repatterned the language to conform to modern Eastern Yiddish [Kerler 1999, p. 100]. Though lacking exegetical and homiletical originality, this prose is faithful to the Hebrew-Aramaic sources that the contemporary Jewish community at large knew well. Its novelty lies mainly in the popular style and the new literary forms into which the ancient cultural treasures were cast.

DRAMA. Yiddish biblical drama, adapting Scripture stories more freely than any of the other genres, appeared on the Yiddish literary scene at the latest by the 17th century. This late date (in comparison to European literatures) may be due to the ban imposed by the rabbis on the theater, in force particularly in medieval Europe where the Christian Church controlled drama. The establishment of professional theatrical companies and troupes in Germany in the 17th century led to the secularization of the theater and to the relaxation of the ban, thus making way for the Yiddish drama. The latter confined itself, however, to biblical subjects: *Akheshveresh Shpil* ("Ahasuerus Play," earliest ms. 1697, printed text Frankfurt am Main, 1708); *Mekhires Yoysef* ("Selling of Joseph," Frankfurt am Main, before 1711); *Dovid un Golyes* ("David and Goliath," Hanau, 1717); and *Moyshe Rabeynu Bashraybung* ("Moses Our Teacher Description," mid-18th century).

Yiddish biblical drama shows clear influences of the non-Jewish theaters of the time, mainly in the setting and in the introduction of comic characters. Although non-Jewish plays on the same themes may have served as models and sources for Yiddish drama, all elements or motifs that were incompatible with the Jewish outlook were replaced by material culled from midrashim which added rich dialogue to the original biblical story. The midrash thus was a vital literary source whose wealth of subjects, themes, and actual language lent a note of originality to the development of the biblical themes in the dramas. Generally presented at Purim when prohibitions and bans were relaxed, these plays fit the festive mood of the holiday. The oral tradition of the *Purim shpiln* ("Purim plays"), also including dramatic works on other biblical themes, bears clear traces of these early 17th and 18th century Yiddish dramas. The tradition was alive in Eastern Europe up to World War II, and in the isolated instance of the Bobover ḥasidim is still alive today.

Liturgy

The canon of Jewish liturgy had become fixed before Yiddish literature developed, and this may be the reason there was little original prayer and religious lyrical writing in Yiddish. The earliest Yiddish verse (preserved in the Worms *makhzer* [*Makhzor*, high-holiday prayer book, 1272] reads: "gut tak im betag shevayr dis makhzor in bes hakneses trag" ("May the person who carries this holiday prayer book to the synagogue be blessed"). This benediction, found only in this source, was merely an embellishment and did not form part of the standard liturgy. Most of the liturgical activity was in translation. From the 15th century onward, Yiddish translations of individual prayers and of entire prayer books were well known and current in the Jewish community; the first printed Yiddish prayer book (Ichenhausen, 1544) contains prayers for the entire year. However, the main function of translations of prayers into Yiddish was to aid understanding of the Hebrew-Aramaic texts; according to tradition, they alone were acceptable for devotional service.

In Yiddish, however, there were spheres in which to express religious feelings and devotion. The *tkhine*, a non-standard prayer of individual and private supplication adapted for various purposes, is outside the body of the liturgical canon. Mainly considered prayers for women, *tkhines* are often attributed to women authors. Written mainly in prose, these supplications are characterized by simplicity and emotionality. They are found as early as the 16th century in printed Yiddish texts, sometimes in prayer books with Yiddish translations. They were widely published in small books and in special collections that are still printed today.

Yiddish religious poetry also found an outlet in those ceremonies which did not yet have a set of fixed rules and customs governing them, mostly ceremonies conducted specifically in the home (Sabbath and festival meals, the Passover *seder*, weddings and circumcisions). By the 15th century, not only were popular Hebrew *piyyutim* and hymns translated into Yiddish, but Yiddish poems were specifically composed for such celebrations and festivities. Bilingualism characterized this poetry: some of the poems were written both in Hebrew and in Yiddish so that the entire company might fully participate. Contrary to the Hebrew text, which in accordance with the tradition of the Hebrew *piyyut*, was studded with learned quotations, the Yiddish text was characterized by poetic simplicity and vivid descriptions directly reflecting the times and mores. Structurally, this Yiddish poetry is marked by a symbiosis of two strophic forms drawn from two separate literary sources: the strophe of the Hebrew *piyyut*, adapted to the linguistic peculiarities of Yiddish, and the German strophe, particularly that of the folk song. The Yiddish poems were often written and adapted to German folk melodies popular among Jews (e.g., a Hebrew and Yiddish song in honor of the Sabbath sung to the melody of the German *Herzog Ernst*, as early as the middle of the 15th century). This poetry was also a vehicle for various types of parodies that were especially popular at Purim.

Ethical Literature

This wealth of Yiddish literary activity developed directly and naturally out of an established and organized Jewish society whose way of life was in no small measure influenced by a didactic literature consisting of books of customs (*mineg* (*minhog*)), and ethical conduct (*muser* (*musor*)). The Yiddish literature on traditional conduct mainly instructed the Jewish community in how to behave during synagogal worship and at domestic festivities and religious ceremonies. Custom books in Yiddish are found in early manuscripts which, with the dissemination of the art of printing, were frequently reprinted, with only minor changes, up to the end of the 18th century. In his *Early Yiddish Texts* (*text no. 31*), J.C. Frakes edits an excerpt from a north Italian manuscript of a book of customs (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, ms. hébr. 586, fos. 117r–118r; dated 1503). The first printed Yiddish comprehensive guide to customs appeared at Mantua in 1590.

Ethical writings were one of the most important genres in early Yiddish insofar as numbers of exemplars actually read. In a simple and clear style easily understood by the average person, they taught ideal religious and social behavior for the individual and society as a whole. This literature denounced (often excessively) any conduct which deviated from the standards of the authors. The ethical writings, also based on accepted Hebrew sources, were to a large extent translations of Hebrew ethical literature, e.g., *Seyfer Mides* ("Book of Qualities" [Sefer Midot], Isny, 1542), the first comprehensive printed Yiddish ethical work translated and published before the Hebrew text *Orkhes Tsadikim* ("Way of the Just," Prague 1581). [See L. Prager & B.S. Hill, "Yiddish Mss. in the British Library," in: *The British Library Journal*, 21/1 (Spring 1995), 86–8 and footnote 39; see also EJ 12: 1458–60]. *Lev Tov* ("Good Heart," Prague, 1620) and *Simkhes HaNefesh* ("Joy of the Soul" [Simkhas HaNefesh], first part Frankfurt, 1707; second part, containing a collection of poems and hymns including the music, Fuerth, 1727) were two original Yiddish ethical works, well known in Jewish society and often reprinted.

The many parables and exemplary tales included in ethical writings established a close link between this literature and the *exemplum and *hagiography. Traces of the first written Yiddish exempla and hagiographies, the origin of which was undoubtedly in homily and oral literary traditions, e.g., folklore, are contained in a number of tales found in scattered manuscripts and small books (most of which are lost) appearing in Venice in the middle of the 16th century. The story titles point to the decisive influence that the Hebrew legend had on this literature. The **Mayse Bukh* ("Story Book" [*Ma'aseh Book*]), which was first published in Basel in 1602, is a comprehensive compilation of 257 stories based largely on talmudic and midrashic tales, though some are culled from other sources. Direct influences of the novella and the folktale, genres current in contemporaneous non-Jewish European literature, can be detected in many of the narratives; others are hagiographical accounts about *Khsidey Ashkenaz* [Khasidey Ashkenaz] with the obvious time gap between contemporaneous life and historical and legendary memories. These hagiographical tales are also comprised in the *Mayse Nisim* ("Miracle Tales" [*Ma'aseh Nissim*], Amsterdam, 1696) and are found in a number of small works in which local legends, whose protagonists are prominent historical figures, are developed. The principal purpose of exemplum and hagiographical literature was didactic and it formed the mainstream of Yiddish narrative prose up to the end of the 18th century.

The *Mayse Bukh* also testifies to Yiddish fable literature, although the first extant works in that genre are found in the much earlier Cambridge *Genizah* manuscript of 1382. The fables are free translations into Yiddish from fables of the time known originally in Hebrew, often with a modified moral. The **Ki Bukh* ("Book of Cows") is the first Yiddish collection of fables (the first edition apparently at Verona, 1595; a slightly revised reprint appeared at Frankfurt, 1697, under the name Moses Wallich). Eli Katz in his splendid critical edition indicates that "What distinguishes the tone" of the latter from its sources or possible influences "is its hominess": the stork in the first fable prepares *kreplekh*; the crow in the second fable blesses the new moon. A translation of the Hebrew *Mishlei Shu'alim* ("Fox Tales") appeared at Freiburg in 1583.

Although virtually all Yiddish authors prior to the second decade of the 20th century commanded both Hebrew and Yiddish to some degree, and though there are numerous Hebrew works printed with their translations in Yiddish, the intimate relationship between the two languages is best seen in the too little understood organically dual Hebrew and Yiddish poem such as the early 17th debate poem, a distinct kind of *muser* writing, *Seyfer Mase u-Merive* [Sefer Masso u-Merivo] ("Essays and Disputations," 1627) by R. Aleksander ben Isaac Pfaffenhofen. This rhymed bilingual poem contains an intricately developed disputation between poverty and richness in rhymed Hebrew and Yiddish parallel texts. Evidence points to the author's intention to publish, but it was not until 1985 that the rare Bodleian manuscript was "redeemed" in a scrupulously edited edition by Chava Turniansky. Bilingual Hebrew/Yiddish poems date from the 14th to the 18th centuries in genres such as wedding song, Sabbath hymn, debate poem, and ethics poem.

"Historical" Songs and Writings

Up to the end of the 18th century, current historical events and contemporary Jewish life found expression mainly in long narrative poems called *lider*, which were put to music. This type of poem resembles the popular German *historische Lieder* (long poetic narratives on current events). *Megiles Vints* ("Vinz Scroll," a bilingual poetic work in Hebrew and in Yiddish) by Elkhonen Heln is one of the earliest extant poems of this type. It describes the sufferings of the Jews of Frankfurt am Main during the Fettmilch riots (1612), how Fettmilch and his rabble forced them to leave the city, and their eventual return. The 40 or so extant historical *lider* (from the beginning of the 17th to the end of the 18th century) – some of them bilingual with parallel Hebrew texts – are remnants of a poetry very popular in its time. The variety of topical subjects that found expression in this verse published in small cheap pamphlets close to the time of the events they describe point to its functional merit both as public commentary and news. The poems describe expulsions, blood libels, massacres, and natural calamities in the life of Ashkenazi Jewry from Vilna in the north to Ofen in the south, from the Ukraine in the east to Holland in the west.

The authors often showed a highly developed historical sense. A vehicle of communication on current historical events, these *lider* were at the same time emotionally charged, a reaction to contemporary non-Jewish literature of the same kind which described the same events in the form of anti-Jewish accusations. Elements of the ancient *kina* ("lamentation") and the Hebrew *piyyut* ("liturgical hymn") can be clearly discerned, as well as stylistic and structural forms adopted from German poetry of the genre. The poetry also contains balladic elements and is occasionally interspersed with lyrical digressions. As far as can be ascertained from the extant poetry, the writers seem to come from the lower echelons of Jewish leadership, and the events related were thus seen and expressed in the light of norms found in popular ethical literature. Most of this poetry has little literary merit, but measured against the background of Yiddish literature of the 17th and 18th centuries, its value is to be found in its originality and its ability to depict vividly the historical present – at that time hardly expressed in any other literary genre. The art, though slightly modified, was alive in Eastern Europe up to World War II. Its final remnants, preserved by survivors of the Nazi concentration camps and the ghettos, were gleaned from the last transmitters of this oral tradition of the "historical" *lid*.

Also very popular in Yiddish were historical writings, a literature almost entirely translated from Hebrew. *She'eris Yisroel* (Amsterdam, 1743), an original work by Menakhem Man *Amelander, was one of the few exceptions. It was written as a sequel to the Yiddish translation of *Josippon (first printed in Yiddish in Zurich in 1546, and thereafter in numerous editions). Included in this literature somewhat arbitrarily since it fits neatly into no one genre is an untitled and quite extraordinary work that is conventionally (although inaccurately) referred to as the *Zikhroynes* ("Memoirs") of Glikl bas Leyb (since 1898 conventionally known as Glikl Hamil or *Glueckel of Hameln, 1645–1719). A widow with many children, Glikl by force of character and sagacity overcomes the many difficulties that she encounters in her long life. Hers is a timeless work of ethics and moral edification which – almost incidentally – also vividly describes the writer's life and illuminates the Jewish and general society in which she lived.

Transcriptions of German Works

Jewish authors and readers were familiar with certain types of German literature as evidenced by linguistic and stylistic conventions and structural patterns and forms found in poetical adaptations of biblical tales and other types of Yiddish poetry taken from German verse. Thus German popular literary works were well known and understood among Jews in German-speaking countries, despite the fact that their language was not exactly identical with that of their environment. Until the beginning of the Haskalah (middle of the 18th century) this literature was transmitted mainly orally or by transcription of the works into the Hebrew alphabet. While the majority of Jews were able to read and write Hebrew, they were not able to read the Roman alphabet (*galkhes*), especially those circles that were most attracted to secular German literature.

The art of transcription into the Hebrew alphabet thus became prominent in Yiddish literature. Traces of the many German works transcribed can be found in manuscripts from the 14th century onward (*Dukus Horant* / "Duke Horant" in the Cambridge *Genizah* manuscript of 1382) and in printed works until the 18th century. German works that reached the Jewish reader were generally restricted to those popular with the German lower classes. Among these there was a popular folk literature, especially the folk song, which is extant in modified form and preserved even in collections of East European Jewry (compiled and written down from the oral tradition from the end of the 19th century). The early transcribed literature includes fantastic adventure tales which in many cases may be seen as folk literature and, from the end of the 16th century, a popular genre known in German literature as the *Volksbuch* ("chapbook"). Some of the transcriptions come from a written source while others were drawn from oral tradition. Slanders against Jews were excised from most of these works, the Jewish transcriber usually trying to expunge anything that was liable to offend the Jewish reader. Occasionally, however, accusations against Jews and other derogatory remarks are left in the transcribed version.

Transcriptions into the Hebrew alphabet adhered to certain methods that can be roughly reduced to the following: (1) excision of Christian religious references; (2) use of opprobrious expressions common among Jews for Christian terms and objects (such as *tifle* [contemptuous term for "church"] instead of *kirche* ["church"] in *Dukas Horant*); (3) use of neutral expressions for religious terms (e.g., "glaykh bay den tor" instead of "in di kirkhn" in *Sheyne Magelone* ("Beautiful Magelone," Fuerth, 1714); (4) the Judaization of Christian terms (*shul* ["synagogue"] instead of *kirkhe* in *Zibn Vayzn Maynster Bikhl* ("Book of the Seven Wise Masters," Basel, 1602). One method was not necessarily used consistently in any one transcription, nor was one method prevalent at a given period. In most works, the transcriber applied all the possibilities mentioned, while in others, not even the Christian terms were deleted.

A number of these works transcribed from writings whose roots were in the German environment presented literary problems beyond that of transcription and the changes made to Christian references. Such a work is the Yiddish *Kinig Artis Houf* ("King Arthur's Court," earliest manuscript from the 15th–16th century), whose sources are not known and which was later (17th century) adapted in *ottava rima*, imitating Elye Bokher's [Elijah Baḥur *Levita's] poetic adaptations from Italian (see below).

"Secular" Yiddish Literature in Italy

The growth rate of an original "secular" literature in Yiddish may possibly have been slowed by the great ease with which Jews were conversant in German literature. Thus the end of the 15th century and the 16th century were a flourishing period in Yiddish literature among the Jews of northern Italy. These Ashkenazi immigrants cut off from the German environment retained Yiddish as a living tongue at least until the late 16th century. The outstanding creative mark of the period is the original "secular" Yiddish literature to which it gave birth. Many Yiddish works in manuscript were produced and a variety of Yiddish books was published in such cities as Venice, Cremona, Mantua, and Verona. Though rooted in non-Jewish sources, the Yiddish writings were not transcriptions but original works whose vitality survives to the present day.

One of the major Jewish writers of the time in Italy was Elye Bokher [Elijah Baḥur Levita] who, until the end of the 18th century, was the central figure in Yiddish literature. A Hebrew scholar in the fields of grammar, linguistics, and Bible, and a friend and teacher of Christian humanists, he was a man of comprehensive and deep knowledge in a number of intellectual and cultural spheres. He was a versatile poet, sensitive to poetic form with which he experimented freely. Undoubtedly, not all of his Yiddish works have survived. Among his extant writings is his translation of the Book of Psalms (first printed in Venice in 1545), two poetic pasquinades, and the romance *Bovo d'Antona* ("Bovo of Antona," written in 1507, first printed at Isny, 1541, and known as the **Bove Bukh* in later editions). Either Elye Bokher or a disciple of his composed *Pariz un Viene* ("Pariz and Viene," Sabbioneta, 1555/6; first extant ed. Verona, 1594). Only recently has a complete copy of the text been discovered (Verona, Biblioteca del Seminario Vescovile, Fonds Venturi, no. 192) which has clarified much concerning both the period and the genre (see the exemplary edition by Ch. Shmeruk in collaboration with E. Timm [1996]). Adaptations from popular Italian stories, these romances point to the authors' complete freedom in the treatment of their material, made possible by the rendition into a language alien to the sources and by adaptation of the content for the Jewish reader. This literary freedom was, however, limited for the transcriber of German writings and for the translator (including Elye Bokher) of the sacred or semi-sacred Hebrew sources.

Elye Bokher reduced the *Bovo d'Antona* narrative from the 1,400 stanzas of the Italian source to 650 stanzas in the Yiddish, eliminating some of the erotic elements and including his own original additions – sometimes in a lyrical, sometimes in a delicately humorous vein. He also Judaized his characters at times, as transcribers from Roman into Hebrew script had occasionally done before him. While in the works of the latter, the Judaized material – whether situation or character – was sporadic, random, and out of context, Elye Bokher exploited the technique to create comic effects that formed a natural and integral part of the whole. His readers did not find it strange that medieval knights and kings good-humoredly observed Jewish customs and manners.

While the two works, which imitate the style and form of the sources, were written in *ottava rima*, the author felt that Yiddish was not easily adaptable to the Italian models. In the process of adapting the *Bovo d'Antona*, he developed an original stanza whose rhyme scheme was that of the *ottava rima* (*abababcc*) and which had alternate masculine and feminine rhymes. In this stanza, by skillfully integrating the natural accentuation of the Yiddish language and the syllabic principle governing the Italian language, he invented an exact iambic meter (in which the *Pariz un Viene* was also later composed), anticipating similar developments in other European literatures. Elye Bokher's poetic language is vivid and rich, and his rhymes are varied, partly because he included rhyme schemes from German, Hebrew, and Italian. Yiddish rhyme, usually based on a single component of the language, thus broke with the traditional conventions.

Despite the popularity of the *Bove Bukh* (known in corrupted texts in Eastern Europe up to the 19th century), Elye Bokher's Yiddish literary efforts did not substantially influence the development of Yiddish literature. This has been attributed to the decline of Yiddish in Italy at the beginning of the 17th century and to the cultural environment of the other European Ashkenazi communities which, until the beginning of the 19th century, was not receptive to a poet of Elye Bokher's caliber.

MODERN LITERATURE

Until World War I

Two Haskalah comedies written in the 1790s by Isaac Euchel and Aaron Wolfsohn mark the end of Yiddish literature in Western Europe. While in the 19th and 20th centuries parodies of German literature were written in Western Yiddish (generally transcribed into the Roman alphabet), they are marginal phenomena among Jews who, as readers and writers, had become integrated into German culture. The groups of Yiddish writers in Berlin and Vienna after World War I are branches of the Yiddish literature that developed in Eastern Europe.

The desire to eliminate the popular Yiddish *Purim shpil*, stemming from an open disdain for the "corrupt" language, Yiddish, was one of the reasons that prompted the writing of the two aforementioned comedies. In the plays only the undesirable characters speak Yiddish, while the laudable characters speak, or at least try to speak, a "proper" language, i.e., "pure" German. It is doubtful whether the educational aims of Euchel or Wolfsohn achieved anything with regard to the language problem. These comedies were, in fact, a manifestation of the assimilative tendencies which were crystallizing at the time – irrespective of the desires of these authors – and which ultimately brought about the extinction of Yiddish literature in Western Europe. The society denied the very right of the language to exist and used it only for jokes – and even then only so long as there were Jews who could understand the puns and were still familiar with the environment from which they were becoming progressively estranged.

There was a symbolic and highly significant difference in principle between the comedies written in Germany and those of the East European Haskalah, written in Yiddish, even though the latter may have been written under the influence of the former, and both had similar aims. This type of comedy became one of the accepted genres in modern Yiddish literature in the 19th century. From the anonymous comedy *Die Genarte Velt* ("The Deluded World," 1816?), the comedies of Shloyme Etinger [S. *Ettinger] and Yisroel Aksnfeld [I. *Axenfeld], to the plays of Sholem Yankev *Abramovitsh [Mendele Moykher-Sforim/Mokher Seforim] and Avrom Goldfadn [A. *Goldfaden], this type of drama not only fulfilled the authors' aims of disseminating the ideas of the Haskalah and modernizing Jewish society in Eastern Europe, but also facilitated (though not always deliberately or consciously) the transition of Yiddish literature from a folk literature to a modern one.

HASKOLE (HASKALAH). Although the *maskilim* ("enlighteners") in Eastern Europe disapproved of Yiddish in principle and used it only as a medium for the dissemination of their ideas among the masses who understood no other language, their use of the language came to serve as the basis for the development of a modern literature. An important, perhaps decisive, factor was the realization that the character and expressive power of the language were compatible with the environment. Yiddish was an effective tool for Haskalah writers who were unable to express themselves with the same ease and effectiveness in Hebrew, although in principle that language remained the ideal.

This response, often unconscious, to the possibilities of Yiddish may clearly be seen in the writings of Mendl Lefin [Mendel *Levin (Lefin)], Yoysef *Perl (beginning of the 19th century), and in later authors (up to the beginning of the 20th century) who wrote in Hebrew and Yiddish. Until the second half of the 19th century, no Jewish writers used the non-Jewish languages current in Eastern Europe, and until World War I, only a fairly narrow stratum of the Jewish intelligentsia had a thorough command of these languages.

The literature written in East European Yiddish – from the period of the Haskalah comedies to that of the wide geographical expansion of Yiddish literature in the late-19th and the 20th centuries, both in the countries where it took shape and in those lands to which the emigrants brought it – has been an arena fraught with tensions and metamorphoses. The turbulence endemic to Yiddish literature stems from a variety of sources: consciousness of the social and national purpose of Yiddish literature in describing the fundamental internal changes in Jewish society since the beginning of the 19th century; resistance to hostile external forces; the attitude to the Yiddish language itself, and to Jewish culture as a whole, especially to Hebrew and Hebrew literature; and its relationship to modern trends in Western literatures. All these elements constituted the background and motivating force for the rapid development of Yiddish literature.

From its inception, Yiddish literature in Eastern Europe saw the clash between Ḥasidism and Haskalah, one that assumed various forms in the course of time and continues to this day. Ḥasidism represents a mystical, romantic approach to life, while the Haskalah in all its variations is fundamentally rationalist and in its literary expression "realistic."

ḤASIDISM.

Ḥasidism from the 18th century tried to renew Jewish religious and social life on a mystical and emotional basis and created a literature of its own in Yiddish. In comparison with Hebrew ḥasidic literature, Yiddish ḥasidic literature is limited in scope and in its forms of expression. However, it is of immense importance as a direct source for all genres of modern Yiddish literature. The latter was nourished by its spirit, its outlook, and its characteristic narrative themes.

Ḥasidism produced two basic types of stories: (1) Hagiographies that glorified the founders and leaders of Ḥasidism by describing their marvelous deeds. The first important collection of this type, *Shivkhey haBesht* ("The Praises of the Baal Shem Tov," 1815), is derived from oral traditions in Yiddish which were first collected and committed to writing in Hebrew. Immediately translated into Yiddish in three independent versions, the work started a chain of hagiographical oral and written literature which influenced Yiddish prose and poetry until the period of the Holocaust. (Yitskhok Katsenelson's poem on the rabbi of Radzyn, written in the Warsaw Ghetto in 1942/43, was based on authentic stories of this kind current at the time in the ghettos of Poland.) (2) Religious, mystic stories of which the tales of R. *Naḥman of Bratslav are among the most remarkable in all of Yiddish literature. Composed between 1806 and 1809, these tales appeared in a bilingual version (Yiddish with a Hebrew translation) in 1815. They are an original manifestation of religious mysticism in the garb of symbolist fiction and are the only works of their kind in Yiddish literature. Some of the themes are drawn from folk literature and anticipate important motifs of modernism which later appeared in Yiddish literature: the dichotomy in the soul of modern man between simple and unquestioning faith on the one hand, and rationalism and rationalization of life on the other. Within the ḥasidic movement itself, the narrative genre of the school of R. Naḥman had no successor. However, with the advent of modern symbolist trends in Yiddish literature in the late 1890s, his tales were a source for the works of Y.L. Perets, D. *Ignatoff, Der *Nister, and others.

STRUGGLE BETWEEN HASKALAH AND ḤASIDISM.

The struggle against Ḥasidism and its literature – and, in a large measure, against its Yiddish narrative literature – was one of the main objects of Yiddish Haskalah writings in Eastern Europe. The anti-ḥasidic motif is a characteristic feature of satirical Haskalah literature (Yisroel Aksnfeld, Y.Y. Linetski [I.J. *Linetzky], and others) which included both parodies and deliberately confusing versions founded on ḥasidic literature itself (Y. Perl). For a fairly long period, the aggressive bias and open didacticism of the mainstream of Haskalah Yiddish literature limited its artistic possibilities for satire on the one hand and artificial pathos on the other. These works included, it is true, the poetical and dramatic writings of Sh. Etinger, in which the tendentious aims of the Haskalah were not particularly virulent, as well as the numerous stories of Ayzik-Meyer Dik [Isaac Meyer *Dick], which are a connecting link between the traditional didactic and ethical tales and the trends of the Haskalah. The real turning point, however, in the one-sided outlook of the Haskalah came in the works of Sh.Y. Abramovitsh.

SHOLEM YANKEV ABRAMOVITSH (MENDELE MOYKER-SFORIM).

Abramovitsh's great talent and artistic power enabled him to rise above his original declared motives as an adherent of the Haskalah. Despite the pungent satirical elements which are especially apparent in his early works, he drew a complex and unbiased picture of a way of life and a gallery of characters of which he had previously disapproved. He was perhaps the first Yiddish Haskalah writer who ceased to attack Ḥasidism, and to describe the movement and its problems in his work. The Haskalah, in its beginnings and its later simplistic forms, concentrated on the internal struggle within Jewish society. The struggle was rooted in the naive expectation that the authorities in each country would support its aim of breaking down the barriers between the Jew and his environment in return for their readiness to give up specific Jewish characteristics. Abramovitsh marks a change in this attitude.

The allegorical *Di Klyatshe* ("The Nag," 1870) forms a turning point in Abramovitsh's writings. He was disappointed in his expectations of external support, as well as profoundly conscious of the uniqueness of the Jews, which he believed should be sustained. His view found expression in an active and comprehensive criticism of failings in Jewish society, which he already at that stage regarded as the outcome of conditions forced upon the Jews because of their status within a hostile Christian society. This attitude is one of the most characteristic elements of his later work and the reason why he rewrote earlier stories after the 1870s. He wanted to balance the grotesque, which was derived from the earlier satirical themes, with pathos and emotionalism. Despite the satire and the grotesque, his work is an unrivaled realistic reflection of a stable Jewish way of life which disintegrated with bewildering rapidity and whose very existence became problematic for his successors. His language and style were forged out of varied literary traditions and based on a combination of two basic dialects of the spoken language, northern and southern. They thus form a uniform literary language and are a turning point in Yiddish literature, one that led ultimately to modernization and integration with general literary trends. That change occurred in Abramovitsh's later years, and he neither participated in nor encouraged it.

The same factors that led to the change in his outlook and manner of writing also brought new trends of thought to the fore in East European Jewry, and, at the same time, new trends and elements in its literature. These can be seen in the poetry of Sh.*Frug, who moved from Russian to Yiddish. He introduced into Yiddish poetry both modern lyricism in nature poetry and an individual character. A poet of strong national feelings, he gave expression to modern national trends, Zionism, and the beginning of the labor movement. Toward the end of the 19th century, these became the main foci of activity among the intelligentsia within Jewish society and sparked its modern literature in Hebrew and Yiddish.

THE LABOR MOVEMENT. While modern Hebrew literature developed in the wake of Zionism, which was its principal spiritual mainstay, the ideological affinities of Yiddish literature were more complex. The founders and leaders of the Jewish labor movement, most of whom came from the intelligentsia, had adopted the co-territorial language. They soon realized the need to conduct their propaganda in Yiddish in order to disseminate their views more effectively. Before long, however, Yiddish became for the labor movement not merely an instrument but a cultural asset of national and intrinsic value, especially in its non-Zionist sections. Yiddish and its literature thus received from the labor movement an ideological background giving wide and dynamic public support which it had previously lacked, despite its development in Abramovitsh's time and sporadic declarations in its favor from the beginning of the 19th century (Y.Sh. Bik and Y.M. *Lifshits) which had been of scant practical value.

The adherence of the Jewish masses to the labor movement and its propaganda methods at the time, created a new trend in Yiddish literature which closely bound education with revolutionary propaganda. The writers of this trend expressed and emphasized the sufferings of the Jewish worker, both as worker and Jew, and summoned him to struggle against his exploiters within and without and to sacrifice himself for social, political, and national liberation. The Yiddish poetry of previous periods, which rarely succeeded in rising above the level of popular entertaining verse (e.g., Binyomin-Ze'ev Eyrenkrants [Benjamin (Wolf) *Ehrenkranz], M. *Gordon, Elyokum Tsunzer [E. *Tsunser] and to some extent, Avrom Goldfadn and Y. *Gordin) was now supplemented by a new poetry. Though still primitive in expression and limited in its imagery and symbolism – which were borrowed and adapted to the phraseology of the labor movement – it was inspired by a powerful faith and inner fervor. The most successful of this poetry was written in the U.S. as early as the 1890s by Moris Vintshevski [M. *Vinchevsky], Moris Roznfeld [M. *Rosenfeld], D. Edelshtat, and Y. *Bovshover; it also reached the labor movement in Eastern Europe and served it well.

While in the U.S. Yiddish poetry was largely dominated by social considerations and what remained of popular entertaining verse, the main feature of Yiddish prose was the straightforward description of the life of the immigrants, mingled with sentimental nostalgia for the lands of their origin (e.g., Z. *Libin). In theater, the struggle continued between the music hall and the beginnings of artistic drama (e.g., Y. *Gordin and L. *Kobrin). In Eastern Europe, on the other hand, the position was already more complex during the 1890s, which, up to World War I, was dominated by the ramified and highly influential work of Sholem-Aleykhem (*Sholem-Aleichem) and Y.L. Perets, who are rightly regarded, with Abramovitsh, as the classic authors of Yiddish literature.

Both Sholem-Aleykhem and Perets went through the growing pains of the Haskalah, but for both it was a passing phase at the beginning of their literary careers. Both of them – particularly Perets – sympathized with the rise of the Jewish labor movement while responding to the problems raised by other Jewish national movements. The distinctive feature of both authors, however, was their success in resisting the restraint of ideological trends that might have fettered their artistic freedom. Although both were involved with the sufferings and problems of their generation, each in his own way refused to surrender to the conventions, or to the demands and criticisms of politicians and critics who wanted to restrict the function of Yiddish literature to that of an instrument for education and the realization of social and political ends.

SHOLEM-ALEYKHEM. Although Sholem-Aleykhem (*Shalom Aleichem) was successful both in the novel and in drama, his great and unique talent was manifested mainly in the direct narratives of his various heroes: the monologues of Tevye der Milkhiker ("Tevye the Dairyman"), the letters of Menakhem-Mendl, the stories in the first person of Motl

Peysi dem Khazns ("Motl Peysi the Cantor's Son") and the short stories in which the narrator himself "disappears," and the flow of his heroes' voice is given free rein. His attitude toward the gallery of characters he created, personae that seem to have been taken directly from life, with all their sublime, crooked, and comic features, is one of tolerance, devoid of overt preaching or censure. Even in the tragic situations in which he often placed his characters, he did not lose the capacity to laugh and amuse, although he might have to do so in pain and sorrow. Sholem-Aleykhem's humor and the gripping situations depicted in his stories often obscure the more complex elements in his works, which led to criticism of him for flippancy and shallowness. The journalistic topicality, to which he sometimes gave way because of his newspaper work, became outdated. Sholem-Aleykhem himself realized this, and toward the end of his life he revised his works published over several decades, abridged them, and succeeded in raising his characters to the level of universal figures independent of their origins in time and place.

Menakhem-Mendl, as revised in 1910, is a condensed treatment of material, mainly topical, which had been written around this character since 1892. Sholem-Aleykhem's capacity for self-control, which is outstandingly displayed in this book, shows him as a great artist with a sober and highly developed critical sense. From the beginning of his literary career he did much to develop the literary taste of the Yiddish reading public in his struggle against vulgar popular books which were widespread at the time (though modern critics are far more appreciative of Shomer than Sholem-Aleykhem was in his vituperative *Shoymers Mishpet* ("Shomer's Trial," 1888), and in his editing and publication of the first literary collections in Yiddish (*Di Yidishe Folksbibliotek* / "The Jewish Popular Library, 1888/89). Sholem-Aleykhem's most important contribution, however, was his original literary work. It educated readers from all sectors of Jewish society and attracted them to Yiddish literature. He is still the most popular Jewish author, both in the original and in translation, though it is impossible fully to convey his rich, idiomatic, colorful, and variegated style in any language but Yiddish.

Y.L. PERETS. The work and significance of Sholem-Aleykhem's contemporary Y.L. Perets (I.L. *Peretz) are of a very different kind. Perets's literary heritage comprises poetry, drama, stories, and essays in both Hebrew and Yiddish. His most important contribution as an author consists of his short stories in both languages and his poetical plays in Yiddish. Drawing on folktales and ḥasidic stories, Perets created for himself and many of his successors new patterns in the Yiddish short story. He presented in a modern and artistic form the wealth of tales which had been current in the written and in the oral tradition in a primitive form without damaging their spirit and character. In his ḥasidic tales, Perets started the neo-ḥasidic trend in Yiddish and Hebrew literature, a trend which, in its various developments, has not yet ceased. None of his successors, however, has matched his capacity not only to present the plot element in the stories faithfully, but also to give them a form appropriate to their source. Much in his stories expresses his own ideas and they contain significant layers of ambiguity, ambivalence, and paradox.

Perets's main work in the last ten years of his life was in the field of drama. The final versions of his last two plays, *Di Goldene Keyt* ("The Golden Chain," 1911/12) and *Bay Nakht Oyfn Altn Mark* ("At Night in the Old Market Place," 1914/15), which are among his most important works, reveal despair and disappointment at the solutions presented to the modern Jew by the ideologies of his day. In this mainly pessimistic view of life, the only spark of hope Perets sees is in the return to the traditional ways of Judaism, but even this possibility is presented together with a clear and penetrating perception of the destructive forces working against it. Perets was the only Yiddish author before World War I who dared to undertake such a trenchant self-examination. Although they were based on a neo-Romantic style and symbolism, his plays, especially *Bay Nakht Oyfn Altn Mark*, came close to expressionism, which found its way into Yiddish poetry after his death.

Unlike Abramovitsh and Sholem-Aleykhem, Perets had an affinity for modern trends in general world literature, especially Polish neo-Romanticism. He always succeeded, however, in preserving the Jewish character in his work, and drew his themes from Jewish cultural and traditional sources. He was admired by many of his contemporaries, who began to write under his inspiration and his guidance and in the course of time continued, each in his own way, to expand and deepen the modern elements in Yiddish literature, while constantly wrestling with the problems of their own society (e.g., D. *Pinski, Sh. *Asch, Y.M. *Vaysnberg, A. Reyzn (*Reisen), H.-D. *Nomberg, M. Boreyshe, Y.Y. *Trunk, and many others). Despite differences of opinion in the evaluation of Perets as writer and teacher, he is still a point of departure and a model for Yiddish writers of various camps. Authors like Kh.N. Byalik [*Bialik], Y. Shteynberg [*Steinberg], and S.Y. *Agnon, whose main work was in Hebrew, also wrote in Yiddish, parallel with and in continuation of the tradition of Abramovitsh and Perets.

Several processes vital for the future development of Yiddish literature reached their peak in 1908. A conference in support of Yiddish took place in Czernowitz; a literary journal called *Literarishe Monatshriftn* ("Literary Monthly") appeared in Vilna; and *Di Yugend* ("Youth"), the first organ of a group called Di Yunge ("The Young Ones"), appeared in New York. The aim of the two periodicals was to renew Yiddish literature along the lines of European symbolism.

The *Czernowitz conference had the important effect of increasing confidence, self-respect, and a consciousness of the status of Yiddish literature as a modern literature among authors and readers. At the same time, however, following the attempt of several extremists to have Yiddish (as opposed to Hebrew) proclaimed as *the* national language of the Jews, the conference intensified the rift between the two literatures of the one people, which, until then, had been used together by most Ashkenazi authors. Furthermore, in certain situations – among Yiddish authors adherent to the non-Zionist labor movement and in the Soviet Union after the revolution – these extremist views led to a deliberate denial of Jewry's vital sources and subsequently to a simplified evaluation of the traditional cultural heritage. This linguistic strife has left its marks, though its extremism has abated since World War II.

A number of young writers centered around the two above-mentioned periodicals with the declared purpose of severing Yiddish literature from its commonly accepted mission of raising the cultural level of the masses and providing them with material for edification and entertainment. Under the influence of contemporary trends in world literature, as well as disappointment with social and national ideologies, they demanded the recognition of the rights of Yiddish literature as an independent artistic domain. Some of the younger writers in the U.S., who were themselves recent immigrants from Eastern Europe, also demanded the integration of Yiddish literature and authors in their new home, with all that this implied in adaptation to the new landscape and the speedier rhythms of life in prose and verse. Individualism, aestheticism, pessimism, eroticism, the development of new verse forms, and a new sensibility to life are among the distinguishing characteristics of the young writers associated with these periodicals and of the broad literary periphery that came under their influence without actually joining their groups.

Until the end of World War I, this trend produced many poets in various countries who reinvigorated Jewish poetry with new images and new meters, expanded the range of its subject matter, and wrote lyric poems on a standard not below that of other contemporary literatures. D. Aynhorn (*Einhorn), L. *Naidus, Sh.-Y. *Imber, *Mani-Leyb, I.J. *Shvarts, M.L. *Halpern, H. Leyvik (*Leivick), A. *Margolin, D. Hofshteyn (*Hofstein), Z. Landoy (*Landau), R. Ayzland (*Iceland) – each having an individual poetical style – are a few of the poets in the flood of modern Yiddish poetry which reached its full strength only after World War I. At the same time, Yiddish prose underwent a significant change. The impressionistic style of D. *Bergelson and L.*Shapiro, the symbolist tales (based on the Jewish narrative tradition) of Der *Nister and D. *Ignatoff, the deep-rooted vitality of J. *Opatoshu, the new American scene in the stories of A. *Raboy, all contribute to the modernization process. The plays of Sholem *Ash and Perets Hirshbeyn [*Hirschbein], which laid the foundations for an artistic repertoire in the Yiddish theater, also belonged to the new developments of this period.

Most of the authors who started on symbolist lines in deliberate opposition to the subordination of literature to social ideologies did not generally remain faithful to the literary doctrines which they adopted. In the course of time they found their way to themselves and their environment and helped develop the special character of modern Yiddish literature. They remained alive to the problems of the generation which was struggling under the burden of internal conflicts affecting them as Jews and as inhabitants of the modern world. Perets had expressed doubts in his first Yiddish work (Monish, 1888) as to whether the Yiddish language had the capacity to express sublimity and subtlety, the abstract and the spiritual, or whether it was limited to describing in concrete terms the Jewish way of life and the idiomatic pungency of popular speech. These apprehensions disappeared entirely at the time of World War I and were replaced among Yiddish authors by a confidence in the capacity of the language to prove itself in any field of artistic and literary expression.

After World War I

The three decades following the outbreak of World War I were highly dramatic for the history of modern Yiddish literature. These years saw World War I, the revolutions and pogroms in Russia, migrations and changes of regime, World War II, and, above all, the Nazi Holocaust, which brought East European Jewry, almost the only source for Yiddish authors, to the brink of extinction. These events were the background for transformations in the development of Yiddish literature, which itself directly expressed all facets of the tumultuous period. The continual spread of Yiddish literature and the increased importance of its centers overseas extended its horizons.

At the same time, especially after the Holocaust, emigrant authors were torn between their emotional attachment to the ruined lands of their origin and their aspiration to be integrated in their new homes and establish a new generation of authors there. Before World War I, Yiddish literature was basically bilingual; many authors wrote in both Yiddish and Hebrew and many readers understood both languages. After the death of Perets (1915), Sholem-Aleykhem (1916), and Abramovitsh (1917), this close bond was severed, and no successor arose with the influence and prestige able to bridge the gap. Despite the great tension throughout the period in all centers of Yiddish literature and the constant and drastic decline in the number of readers, the stock of authors and literary output increased. There were important artistic achievements, new depths were plumbed and new literary territory was conquered.

POETRY. While prose dominated Yiddish literature before World War I, in the postwar period it met with competition from poetry. Expressionistic and other verse tendencies showed themselves immediately after World War I along parallel lines in the three main centers of Yiddish literature: the Soviet Union, Poland, and the U.S. Despite differences in temperament and direct reference to the places where it was written, the poetry possessed a common linguistic medium and cultural background. The poets whose works filled *Eygns* (1918, 1920) in Kiev, *Shtrom* (1922–24) in Moscow, *Yung-Yidish* (1919) in Lodz, *Khalyastre* in Warsaw (1922) and Paris (1924), *Albatros* in Warsaw (1922) and Berlin (1923), *In Zikh* (1920–39) in New York, and similar periodicals elsewhere, sought new forms of poetical expression to convey new experiences. The younger generation of poets had endured the ravages of World War I and the revolutions and pogroms in Eastern Europe. Urbanization for them had become inevitable. Their basic attitudes and religious beliefs, which had previously begun to crumble, now seemed to be completely shattered. The strong feeling that these traumas could not be given adequate poetic expression with the means previously regarded as acceptable in Yiddish poetry gave rise to the new poetry, with its free rhythms, which broke the bonds of the conventional, constricting metrical forms and challenged all the conventions of society, Jewish tradition, and the entire self-destructive human race.

At the same time, this verse was saturated with contradictions. Despair and anger, oaths and imprecations, unbelief and deliberate obscurity, eroticism bordering on pornography and exhibitionism, and reverence for vitality and all-conquering technology, which are outstanding features in the work of most of these poets, patterned one side of the coin; the obverse revealed lyrical sensitivity, a readiness – even a yearning – for new solutions, and a nostalgia for the "antiquated" ways of life. This poetry gave voice to the fear of loneliness in the oppressive and overwhelming big city which crushes personality and offers no security. It differed from contemporary non-Jewish work, which is similar in its main tendencies, by close attention to specifically Jewish images and associations drawn from the resources of a Jewish tradition which was visibly breaking up.

One outstanding expression of this poetry of contradictions and inner conflicts was the work of Perets *Markish. In one and the same period, Markish wrote *Volin* ("Volyn," 1939), an idyllic poem of nostalgia for the region of his birth and its Jews, *Di Kupe* ("The Heap," 1921), a poem full of anger, profanity, and unbelief, written as a reaction to the pogroms in the Ukraine, as well as urbanistic poetry packed with new and bold imagery, with a new poetic rhythm, as in the Warsaw collection *Radio* (1922) and in his Paris poems (1922–23). Dating from the same period are his sonnet cycle *Fun der Heym* ("From Home," 1922–24) and *Zkeynes* ("Old Women," 1926), restrained works revealing great epic skill in the closed metrical structure of which this representative of Jewish expressionism was particularly fond.

Among those who belonged to these trends were the introspective poets who founded the *In Zikh* group: A. *Glants-Leyeles, Yankev Glatshteyn [Jacob *Glatstein], and N.-B. *Minkoff in New York; the expressionists U.-Tsvi *Grinberg, M. *Ravitsh, M. *Broderzon, and M. *Kulbak in Poland; and L. *Kvitko, D. *Hofshtein, A. *Kushnirov, and E. *Fininberg in the Soviet Union. They were joined by poets who identified themselves wholly or partially with the new poetic current. As the first impulse died down in the 1920s, the expressionistic tenor grew less extreme, but it left traces on the whole of Yiddish poetry.

THE SOVIET UNION. The desire for solutions, for identification, and for belonging led many of the poets of this generation to the belief that the Soviet Revolution could solve both the social and the national problems of humanity. Most of the Jewish writers in the Soviet Union – including those who left it after the Revolution and returned a few years later – as well as many in Poland, Romania, the U.S., and other centers of Jewish literature, attached great hopes to the Soviet regime. They believed in the continued development of a secular Jewish culture in Yiddish, which took the form in the U.S.S.R. of a school network with Yiddish as the language of instruction, research institutes, theaters, and ramified publishing activity, established with governmental and public finance during the 1920s. As early as the 1930s, however, these expectations were disappointed with the decline and contraction of this cultural activity which, it had been hoped, was to serve as a firm basis for the development of Yiddish literature. Even worse was the constant ideological pressure which was exerted on Yiddish literature, as on other national literatures in that country, because of the Communist Party's desire to transform literature into a propaganda medium and its demand for loyalty to the constantly changing political line, including the struggle against "deviations" which mostly were regarded as "nationalist" and "chauvinist." Yiddish writing and cultural institutions were also impoverished by their forced severance from Hebrew language and literature, from the Jewish past, and even from contemporary Yiddish culture and literature in other countries (unless their content was completely identified with the Soviet regime).

Ideological pressures and incarceration behind the frontiers of the Soviet Union not only limited the opportunities of Yiddish literature but, in practice, annulled some of its great achievements for the sake of a programmatic, declarative, unambiguous, shallow poetry and a prose obedient to the "principles" of socialist realism. Yiddish literature was also affected by the arrest and liquidation of some of its most important writers who had lived and worked in most of the geographical areas from which modern Yiddish literature had emerged. Among those who disappeared or were silenced even as early as the 1930s was the lyricist Izi *Kharik, although he was faithful to the revolution. Moyshe *Kulbak was distinguished not only for his poetry but also for his modernistic prose and drama while he still lived in Poland (until 1928). Kulbak completed and published in the Soviet Union his novel *Zelmenyaner* (1: 1931, 2: 1935) – one of the most original works in Soviet Yiddish prose and the only one with topical, satirical, and grotesque elements.

After a brief lull at the end of the 1930s and the comparative freedom of expression which reigned during World War II, in the course of which Yiddish authors were permitted to express their emotions at the catastrophe which was destroying millions of their people, all remnants of Yiddish cultural activity were suppressed in the Soviet Union by the end of 1948. Most of the Yiddish authors were imprisoned and accused of anti-Soviet and Jewish "nationalist" activity. On August 12, 1952, the most important Yiddish authors were executed. Among the victims during those years were: Perets Markish, whose extensive literary heritage included poems giving powerful expression to sincere and sublime social and national feelings, side by side with expressive lyrical verse, and who managed before his arrest to embody his lament for the Holocaust of World War II in wide-ranging epic verse in his book *Milkhome* ("War," 1948); D. Hofshteyn (*Hofstein), one of the most important lyric poets; L. *Kvitko, a poet who expressed himself in a most original manner in the 1920s and was later distinguished for his children's verse; I. *Fefer, one of the leading representatives of the ideological tendencies of Soviet Yiddish poetry; D. *Bergelson, the former impressionist, a talented novelist and short story writer. Another victim of the first rank was Pinkhes Kahanovitsh, known by his curious pseudonym Der *Nister ("Hidden One"), outstanding until 1929 for his original symbolist stories, who, after seeking new paths that would placate Soviet criticism, started writing his novel *Di Mishpokhe Mashber* ("The Mashber Family," vol. 1 (Moscow, 1939; New York. 1943); vol. 2 (New York, 1948)); he managed to publish two volumes of this extensive, quasi-realistic epic, in which he diagnosed the disintegration of late 19th-century East European Jewish society. Among the victims of the last liquidation was the lyric poet and talented dramatist, Shmuel *Halkin, who came out of prison a sick man and died a few years after his release.

POLAND. Poland, with its periphery in Romania in the south and Lithuania in the north, was the main center of Yiddish literature in this period. Independent and vital, it was the main source from which Yiddish literature overseas could draw after World War I. Most characteristic of the literary center in Poland is the natural growth of Yiddish literature in its Jewish community that, with its long history and tradition, still largely preserved its Jewish character. Even among those social circles in Polish Jewry which abandoned the tradition of their fathers in its religious manifestations, there were sincere efforts to find ways of ensuring the continued survival of the new Jew. For a considerable part of the community and its authors, the very existence of a modern Yiddish literature expressed an attachment to tradition which had assumed a new form in their time. In Poland, Yiddish folklore lived in all its forms. The popular literature of previous generations, both religious and secular, was alive, and new works of the same type were born. Under the aegis of this cultural continuity, the new literature in Yiddish became a vital community asset and was regarded as worthy of admiration and subject for lively discussion. Despite the natural antagonisms between generations, differences in taste and attitude, parents and children in Poland still sat together to read Yiddish literature.

Yiddish literature in Poland was characterized by a rich variety of ideological, political and literary trends, temperaments and forms of expression during the brief period that preceded the destruction of Polish Jewry. The novelists and short-story writers whose careers started before World War I – H.D. *Nomberg, Z. *Segalovitsh, I.J. Trunk, Y.M. Vaysnberg, and others – continued to write, and they were joined by a younger generation – M. Burshteyn, Y. Grin, Sh. *Horontchik, E. *Kaganowski, I.J. *Singer and his brother Y. *Bashevis-Singer, A. Katsizne [*Kacyzne], L. Olitsky, Y. *Perle, L. *Rashkin, Y. *Rabon, Y. *Warshavsky, M. Altman in Romania, Y. Kaplan in Lithuania, and others. Their prose was realistic, with strong tendencies to naturalism. Their trials and tribulations as Jews were almost their principal subject.

Yiddish poets appeared in all parts of Poland: Z. Bagish, Y. *Emiot (Goldwasser), B. *Heller, M. Knapheys, L. Kenigsberg (*Koenigsberg), Y. Kirman, K. Lis, K. *Molodowsky, L. Morgentay, B.L. and M. *Olitsky; Y. *Rubinshtein, S. *Shayevitsh, Kh. Semyatitski [*Siemiatycki], M. Shulsteyn, Y. *Shtern, M. Ulyanover [*Ulianover], S. Zaromb, A. Tseytlin [*Zeitlin], and others. Distinctive tones were added by poets from Galicia, Romania, and Bessarabia: Y. Ashndorf [*Ashendorf], L. Bartish, N. *Bomze, Ade [Ada] Cohen, M. Gebirtig, Y. Groper, B. Horovits [*Horowitz], R. Zhikhlinski [*Zychlinska], M. Karats, Y.Y. Lerner, D. Fogel, Y. Gotlib [J. *Gottlieb], R.*Korn, M. Saktsier, Y. Shudrick, Y. Shternberg [J. *Sternberg], M. Shiml, B. Shnaper [*Schnapper], and from Lithuania, N. Dimantshteyn. The *Yung Vilna* group, which was formed in the 1930s included H. Glik [*Glick], Ch. *Grade, S. *Kaczerginsky, A Sutskever [*Sutzkever], E. Vogler, L. Volf [*Wolf], and others. These (and other) poets represent a broad spectrum of poetical work on a high standard, from the simple, lively poem to intellectual poetry in search of meaning, trenchant in its images and personal symbols, and characterized by great skill in composition and linguistic innovation.

It is difficult to evaluate the achievements of this flood of creative activity, especially as many of the writers fell victim to the Holocaust in their youth before reaching the age at which they would likely have published their best work and before collecting in book form work scattered in periodicals. Others perished before they had developed their talents to the full. Nevertheless, mention should be made of several points specific to Yiddish literature in Poland and the neighboring countries between the two world wars, particularly of new departures created against the background of the cultural continuity from which they sprang.

The great Yiddish lyric poet Itsik *Manger came to Poland from Romania and during his Polish period wrote his major works, *Medresh Itsik: Khumesh-Lider* ("Itsik's Midrash: Pentateuch Poems," Warsaw, 1935) and *Megile-Lider* ("Scroll Songs," Warsaw, 1936), which constitute a continuation of the tradition of poetical adaptations from the Scriptures. The main novelty of these poems is the transference of the biblical characters, together with their actions, to the neighborhood, milieu, conceptions, and idiomatic – often regional – language of the East European Jews. Manger's *Medresh*, in a simple meter close to that of the folk song, is full of humor and rich in imagination, charming with its graceful and melancholy strains. M. Ulyanover, who perished in the Lodz ghetto, wrote modern poems in the tradition of the *Tkhine* and of traditional religious poetry: *Mayn Bobes Oytser* ("My Grandmother's Treasure," Warsaw, 1922).

E. Shtaynbarg [*Steinbarg] in Romania cultivated the fable in Yiddish and achieved a high level of virtuosity in this traditional literary genre that he based on the Jewish milieu and its deeply rooted cultural traditions. A. Tseytlin, who fought against the expressionists, though he too shared similar tendencies, found in Jewish mysticism sources of inspiration for his poetry and plays. The poetry of Y. Shtern [I.*Shtern], who was associated with the expressionists, is imbued with a pantheistic sensitivity and a longing for religious faith based on an emotional attachment to the teachings of R. *Naḥman of Bratslav. Kh. Grade, in his poem "Musernikes" ("Moralists," 1939), brought to Yiddish literature the world of the seminary students and the traditional scholarship of the *Misnagdim*, who until then had received only marginal attention in Yiddish. Y. Bashevis-Singer found in *Der Sotn fun Goray* ("Satan in Goray," 1932) new solutions in the consolidation and stylization of popular narrative literature. Tseytlin, Manger, and Sutskever also ventured at stylized adaptations of the language and forms of pre-18th century Yiddish poetry. This introversion and deliberate return to earlier literary traditions was a new trend in Yiddish literature, one not fully realized before the Holocaust, which destroyed the communities that gave birth to the Yiddish works in which the tendency was so clearly marked.

There was a wide range of writing in the ghettos of World War II where many authors were incarcerated. Only a small part of the work of the writers killed by the Nazis has survived, having been saved with great devotion and almost by miracle. Among those are the prose fragments by Y. Perle (Warsaw ghetto), stories by Y. *Shpigl (Lodz ghetto), the poems of S. Shayevitsh (Lodz ghetto), a few poems by M. Gebirtig (Cracow ghetto), Hershele Danilevits (Warsaw ghetto), and H. Glik (Vilna ghetto). Above all, the songs and poems, biblical plays, and diary of Yitskhok Katsenelson, who continued the tradition of writing in Hebrew and Yiddish both in the Warsaw ghetto at the brink of death and in the Vittel camp, are an authentic testimony from the valley of death, standing beyond any mere literary evaluation. Ghetto literature found its most agonizing expression in Katzenelson's great lament "Dos Lid fun Oysgehargetn Yidishn Folk" ("The Song of the Murdered Jewish People") which was completed in the concentration camp at the beginning of 1944, in full and appalling knowledge of the destruction of Polish Jewry.

A few writers, like A. Sutskever, R. Briks, and Y. Shpigl – who personally witnessed the destruction of their people, but survived – embody in their work from the ghetto period and the years following the liberation (which is also overshadowed by the Holocaust) the continuity and endurance of Yiddish literature in the face of the extinction which overcame its most vital center, Polish Jewry.

THE UNITED STATES. The most important branch of Yiddish literature outside Eastern Europe between the two world wars was in the United States, especially in New York, where the leading Yiddish writers outside Eastern Europe were concentrated. The literary traditions of the 1890s were represented by older dramatists and novelists like D. *Pinski, O. *Dimov, and A. *Reisen, the poet and short-story writer; the members of the *Di Yunge* group, most of whom had abandoned the symbolist outlook after World War I, continued to write; for many years the founders of the *In Zikh* group and their associates maintained their contacts and in 1929 the *Proletpen* organization, which for a short time united the authors of the communist camp, was established. From time to time other sporadic groupings of writers with similar literary, social, and political outlooks arose, but they did not persevere even in maintaining joint periodicals. These external manifestations, however, which are sometimes regarded as a sign of the vitality of Yiddish literature in the U.S., are of secondary importance in comparison with the great achievements of the writers themselves.

In American Yiddish poetry of this period we find the rich lyricism and longings for redemption in the poetic and visionary dramas of H. Leyvik [*Leivick]; the imaginative poetry of M.-L. *Halpern, A. *Glanz-Leyeles, and Y. Glatshteyn [*Glatstein], with its variety of conflicts; the profound enquiry into personal and national problems in the poetry of M. Boreyshe [*Boraisha], with its broad epic scope; the identification with the landscapes of the U.S. in the narrative and idyllic poetry of Y.Y. Shvarts [I.J.*Schwartz]. We must take into account the poetry of E. Oyerbakh [*Auerbach], B. Alkvit, B.Y. Byalostotski [B.J. *Bialostotzky], A. Berger, A.-M. Dilon [*Dillon], Ts. Drapkin [C. *Dropkin], R. Ayzland [*Iceland], L. Faynberg [*Feinberg], Al. Guria (G. Grafshteyn), H. Gold, E. Grinberg [*Greenberg], Y. Heshels, M. Yofe, A. *Katz, Y. Kisin, B. Kopshteyn, H. Kuperman, Z. Landoy [*Landau], B. *Lapin, R. Ludvig [*Ludwig], A. Lutski [*Lutzki], A. Lyesin [*Liessin], *Mani-Leib, A. *Margolin, L. Miler [*Miller], N.B. Minkof [*Minkoff], M. *Nadir, A. Nisenson [*Nissenson], G. Prayl [*Preil], H. Rosenblat [*Rosenblatt], Y.[J.] *Rolnik, S. *Shvarts, Y.Y. Segal, E. Shumyatsher [*Shumiatcher], A. Stoltsnberg, F. Shtock, A.B. Tabatshnik [*Tabachnik], A. Tverski, Y. Teler [I. *Teller], M.Z. Tkatsh [*Tkatch], R. Veprinski, Z. Vayner [Weiner], B. Vaynshteyn [*Weinstein], Y.A. Vaysman, Yehoyesh (*Yehoash), N. *Yud, and many others, the clear personal imprint of whose work distinguishes most of them and places Yiddish poetry in the U.S., especially its great lyrical works, above and beyond the limitations of any literary or ideological school with which they may have identified at any particular time. Yiddish writing in the U.S. also excelled in the novel and the short story: the historical novels and tales of Y.[J.] *Opatoshu; the wide-ranging fiction of the immensely popular and much translated Sh. Ash [*Asch]; the great descriptive powers of Z. Shneyer [Shneur] and Y.Y. Zinger [I.J. *Singer]; the stylized prose of L. *Shapiro; and the works of D. *Ignatoff, M.D. Aplboym [Appelbaum], F. Bimko, B. Glazman, B.*Demblin, N. Brusilov, S. Miler [*Miller] and Y. Roznfeld [J. *Rosenfeld]. Notable, too, is the prose of the distinguished poet Y. Glatshteyn [J. *Glatstein].

While the main external influences on Yiddish literature in other centers had been European – especially that of modern literature in the Slavic countries – in the U.S. these were supplemented by "Anglo-Saxon" influences. The U.S. scene, the great city as an intensive poetic experience, and, in prose, the Americanization of the immigrants – both mainly against the background of New York – are also distinctive features of this period in U.S. Yiddish literature. At the same time, all these local elements were strongly affected by traditional influences and by the problems and tendencies of Yiddish literature in Eastern Europe. The same applied to other centers of immigration nurtured by further waves of immigrant writers and readers. The writers who came from Eastern Europe, who established and still maintain Yiddish literature in its dispersions, did not have the satisfaction – with few isolated and insignificant exceptions – of witnessing the growth of a new generation of Yiddish authors and readers among the native-born children of the immigrants. As a result of the movement of the immigrants and the inability to establish a new generation of readers and writers, Yiddish literature in the U.S. and other overseas countries has continued to be dependent on the countries of its origins. A fervent desire to strike deeper roots in the new centers and important literary achievements which testify to the partial attainment of this aim have not altered this fact.

This problem has been even more obvious since World War II and the destruction of East European Jewry. The authors feel a growing bond with the vanished communities in which they were born – a need to grasp the full meaning of all that was involved in the old Jewry of Europe and erect a monument to its memory, or a desire to find a direct expression for the events themselves. Hence there has again been an increase in the proportion of prose, in the form of numerous books dealing with memories of the past, as well as novels and stories with an obvious autobiographical element. With all the differences in style and narrative skill in this memoiristic literature, there is a palpable effort to remain simple, eschewing novelty or surprise in structure or in narrative point of view beyond the unconcealed "I" of the author or the anonymous narrator whose identity is clear. Parallel with this tendency in prose is a similar tendency in poetry to forego experimentation or innovation and to return to closed metrical forms. This verse also deepens and fully exploits the linguistic and stylistic resources and the mainly traditional imagery which had been mastered by modernistic Yiddish poetry from the beginning of the 20th century.

The works of the authors who reached the U.S. from Poland immediately before, during, or after the war period and who followed these tendencies, mark the most important achievements of this literary center. Paramount among them are the autobiographical epic *Poyln* (7 vols., 1944–57) by Y.Y. [I.J.] Trunk, which sums up, with reverence and nostalgia, the life of the last generations in Polish Jewry. The narrative is also a stylized retelling of the folk literature in which the memory of the Holocaust is a dominant theme. The prose and narrative poetry of Kh.[Ch.] Grade perpetuates the memory of his home city, Vilna, with its many strata and internal conflicts, its spiritual greatness and material poverty. The novels and stories of Y. Bashevis (Isaac *Bashevis Singer) have revealed a new Polish Jewry, one in the grip of lusts and superstitions, together with its inner light and messianic yearnings.

Branches of Yiddish literature multiplied in all the countries to which Jews emigrated from Eastern Europe. Centers such as Berlin and Vienna in the 1920s, or Germany, Austria, and Italy after World War II were clearly transitory from the beginning and disappeared after a few years. Other branches in Europe, in Canada, Latin America (Argentina in particular), South Africa, and Australia, though much shrunken, still exist. The above-mentioned problems of Yiddish literature apply to countries of immigration as well, perhaps even more markedly than to the U.S.; their achievements, especially after World War II, are largely the work of refugee authors from Central or Eastern Europe.

PALESTINE / ISRAEL. Even though Hebrew was the sole recognized language in the resettlement of Palestine, a branch of Yiddish literature was established there quite early. Yiddish writing in the Ashkenazi community in Palestine dates back at least to the 16th century in the form of letters preserved in the Cairo *Geniza*. There were special works in Yiddish in the 17th and 18th centuries describing Erets-Yisroel (*Geliles Erets-Yisroel* [Galilot Erets-Yisrael], "Districts of the Land of Israel," 1635; *Yedey Moyshe* [Yedey Moshe], "The Hands of Moses," 1769), which were followed, at the beginning of the 20th century, by travelogues of Erets-Yisroel by Sh. Ash [Asch] and Yehoyesh [Yehoash] The first signs of writing in Yiddish for its inhabitants in modern times, however, may be seen in the appearance of the periodical *Di Roze* (1877). This and other periodicals that succeeded it, as well as the few books and brochures of various ideological leanings that were published in the country up to World War I do not form links in a continuing chain. It is only after World War I that there emerged in Palestine a group of authors who devoted themselves to Yiddish. They adhered generally to the labor movement and tried, despite the vigorous antagonism to Yiddish among the majority of the new Jewish community, to maintain a distinctive literary movement through a series of literary periodicals and the publication of books by local Yiddish authors. While this activity was long marginal in relation to the major centers of Yiddish literature in Eastern Europe and the U.S., Yiddish creative activity steadily grew after World War II and the establishment of the State of Israel and *changes in the status and importance of this new center became visibl*e.

It is natural that Yiddish literature in Israel should be more closely attached to the recent past in Eastern Europe than contemporary Hebrew writing, which has already produced several generations of authors who, born and bred in the country, have lost contact with their parents' milieu and traditions. At the same time, Yiddish literature in Israel has developed a new and immediate tie with the new homeland, nourished by and based on former traditions in Jewish culture. The landscape and rebuilding of the country served as the central element in the work of Y.[J.] *Papiernikov]. The most veteran of these poets, he had been writing in the country since the 1920s. The efforts of the *khalutsim* ("pioneers") and life in the *kibbutz* ("collective settlement") have found original expression in the poems of A. *Shamri and A *Lev. New dimensions in the attachment to the Land of Israel as the momentous realization of the resurrection of the generation which directly experienced the Holocaust appear in the post-1947 poems of A. Sutskever. This feeling is characteristic not only of Yiddish literature written within the State of Israel, but is also a prominent theme in the works of many Yiddish writers who, having visited the country, write about it from abroad.

From the 1940s, a varied group of authors lived in cities and kibbutzim in Israel. Among them were: R. *Basman, Y. Birshteyn, H. *Binyomin, S. Berlinski, T. Ayznman, M. Gorin, Y. *Hofer, B. Heler [*Heller], M. *Yungman, L. Olitski [*Olitzky], R. Potash, R. Fishman, A.-M. Fuks [*Fuchs], Ka-Tsetnik [*Ka-Zetnik] (Dinur), Y. Kaplan, A. *Karpinovitsh, M. Mali, M. Man [Mann], Y. Mastboym [J. *Mastbaum], L. Rokhman [*Rochman], Hadase [Hadassah] *Rubin, A. Ribes, Y. Stol, S. Shenhud, A. *Shpiglblat [Spiegelblatt], S. Vorzoger. In 1971 they were joined by poets who came from the U.S.S.R. – R. Boymvol, Y. *Kerler, and Z. Telesin. Though younger on the average than in other centers, at the turn of the century most of the above-named were no longer among the living and the youngest were well into their seventies.

The 1970s and After

For more than a decade after the "liquidations," no original Yiddish works were published in the Soviet Union, but between 1959 and 1970 a few dozen books were issued; from 1961, the literary periodical *Sovetish *Heymland* appeared in Moscow. Despite the obvious talent of some of the contributors to this periodical who survived the "liquidations," there does not seem to be a single writer among them of the stature of their masters and colleagues who met their death during Stalin's last years. *Sovetish Heymland* ceased to appear in 1991 but was soon followed by *Di Yidishe Gas*, also edited by Aaron *Vergelis (1993–97). Morally discredited by many in the Yiddish world, Vergelis continues to have his defenders who see him as an outstanding if difficult and complex personality who made extreme compromises to keep Yiddish writing alive in the Soviet Union.

A small group of writers held their ground in Poland after the Holocaust and continued to bring out a few publications. There too, however, with its small Jewish community, Yiddish literature was a rootless remnant of the pre-Holocaust period and was, to all intents and purposes, completely destroyed in the wave of antisemitism inspired by the Polish government after the Six-Day War. Dozens of authors from Poland and Romania succeeded in leaving these lands during the late 1960s. They reinforced the overseas branches as a continuation of the postwar stream of emigration. However, the Holocaust and the liquidation of Jewish culture in the Soviet Union at the end of 1948, following upon the closing of Russia's gates from the 1920s to the 1970s, blocked the potential human and cultural resources from Eastern Europe which have been almost solely responsible for maintaining the new branches. While in the beginning of the 19th century Yiddish literature was transferred from Western to Eastern Europe, its main centers today remain the U.S. and Israel, reinvigorated as in past decades by East European emigrants who had preserved their connections to Yiddish language and literature. Yiddish letters in the early 21st century are still being fed by the influx to Israel during the 1970s of Yiddish writers from Eastern Europe.

[Chone Smeruk / Leonard Prager (2nd ed.)]

While much of the world tended to forget about or simply ignore the Holocaust for many decades following World War II, the subject continued to be (or became) a primary focus for Yiddish writers everywhere, who have in the ensuing decades produced documentary evidence, memoirs, reports, diaries, fiction, poetry, and other writings directly or indirectly related to the Holocaust. As a result, no serious and comprehensive research on the Holocaust may avoid a profound engagement with this massive corpus of Yiddish-language material now available in published form or in archives.

The dedication of the Leyvik House in Tel Aviv in 1971 by the Israeli prime minister, Golda *Meir (a Yiddish-speaking immigrant from the U.S.), held out the hope of a united Yiddish international community transcending old ideological blinkers. But these blinkers were still in place when Israel's leading Yiddish poet Avrom Sutskever in greeting the World Conference for Yiddish in Jerusalem in 1976 expressed the hope on the opening page of *Di Goldene Keyt* (vol. 90 (1976)) "az tsuzamen mitn tkhies-hameysim funem folk un zayn tate-loshn, vet oykh oyfgeyn in fuler prakht, vi a regn-boygn nokh a regn fun trern-zayn mame-loshn" ("that together with the rebirth of our people and its father-tongue, will also rise in its full splendor, like a rainbow after a rain of tears – its mother-tongue"). Expressions such as these brought tears to the eyes of many, but momentous changes were not to follow.

Nonetheless, all three Yiddish publishers in Tel Aviv – Perets, Hamenora, Yidish Bukh – were active; Yiddish writers from the Diaspora continued to settle in Israel; and Yiddish found a warm home at the Hebrew University where Dov *Sadan and Chone *Shmeruk and their students were changing the face of Yiddish studies, in league with the Columbia University disciples of father-and-son, Max and Uriel *Weinreich and their students at leading universities the world over. This academization has continued and has prospered, but in August 2005 at the 14th World Congress of Jewish Studies in Jerusalem, Israeli Yiddish scholars were barely a quorum among the 1,200 participants. On the other hand, while aware of their small numbers, they knew, too, that they represented a recognized and valued discipline in the larger Judaica Studies universe.

With the influx of established Yiddish writers from Eastern Europe throughout the 1970s, Israel replaced the U.S. as the center of Yiddish literary creativity. The integration of these writers into the new environment is reflected in their increasing use of Israeli themes. The earlier writers preferred to settle in the Tel Aviv area, where the three major Yiddish publishing firms were situated, and where the most prestigious Yiddish literary organ, the quarterly *Di *Goldene Keyt* ("The Golden Chain"), was published (1949–95). But in the 1970s writers from Eastern Europe began settling in Jerusalem, making it an ever-growing focal point of Yiddish literary activity.

Yerushalaimer Almanakh ("Jerusalem Almanac"), founded in 1973 as the organ of the Jerusalem Yiddish Writers' Association by Yoysef *Kerler (ed.-in-chief, 1973–98), with co-editors David *Sfard (1974–82) and Efroyim Shidletski (1982–92), continued to expand from year to year. The founding editor's son, Yiddish poet and scholar Dov-Ber Kerler (co-editor, 1993–98, and current editor), edited vol. 27 (2003). Twenty-seven substantial volumes in 30 years under conditions of uncertain funding is no small achievement. The 27th volume was issued in partnership with Vilna University's Vilnius Yiddish Institute and the Yung-Yidish ("Young-Yiddish") Center in Jerusalem, both financially vulnerable institutions. However, perusal of the list of contributors to the last issue yields enough names of younger writers to assure that at least for another decade or two there will be no shortage of Yiddish-writing authors. The older readership, of course, continues to decline and the recruitment of a generation of young readers is slow and uncertain.

In 1977 the Yiddish Cultural Association in Jerusalem established the Hurvits Prize for the publication of Yiddish manuscripts by new immigrants. The first work chosen was Meyer Yelin's *Blut un Vofn* ("Blood and Weapons," 1978), sketches and short stories based on the author's experiences and observations in the Kovno ghetto, continuing in the spirit of his earlier volume of short stories, *Der Prays fun Yenem Broyt* ("The Price of That Bread," 1977). His was a fairly typical case of a Soviet writer who emigrated to Israel, became acclimated after the usual immigrant's absorption difficulties, and both published books in Yiddish and saw some of his work translated into Hebrew.

The 1970s could also boast of a thriving literary journal in Tel Aviv, the quarterly *Bay Zikh* ("At Home") that was founded in 1972 as the organ of new-immigrant writers, the work of 13 of whom filled the first issue; subsequent issues included contributions by long-time residents in Israel. The Prime Minister's Prize for Yiddish Literature, established by Golda Meir during her premiership, was awarded in 1976 to the much-honored Avrom Sutskever, and in the following year to the editor of *Bay Zikh*, Yitskhok Yanasovitsh, for his three volumes of essays, *Penimer un Nemen* ("Faces and Names," 1971–5). The journal expired in 1989; its publisher was the Komitet far yidishe kultur in Yisroel ("Committee for Yiddish Culture in Israel").

The Israel Yiddish Writers Association gave recognition and awards in 1976 to Hadase *Rubin, Yosl Lerner, and A. *Shpiglblat, and in 1977 to Ovadye Fels, Nakhmen Rap, Sh. Roytman, and Y. Kaplan. Rap's short stories and sketches, *In Veg tsum Altn Man* ("To the Old Man," 1976), and Roytman's sonnets and lyric poems on Israel, *Mayn Yisroeldik Shoyferl* ("My Israeli Shofar," 1976) deal with contemporary themes, whereas Kaplan's short stories, *Tsaytnshnit* ("Harvest of an Era," 1976), reflect nostalgia for a destroyed Jewish world that barely survives in Jerusalem's Mea She'arim quarter.

Among the most prestigious Israeli Prizes for Yiddish literary and other arts is that named after the great lyric poet Itsik Manger. Its recipients are among the finest Yiddish talents of the period: in 1976 poets Arye *Shamri and Leyzer Aykhenrand; in 1977 poets Hirsh Osherovitsh and Yankev-Tsvi Shargel and the Montreal novelist Yehude Elberg; in 1978 poets Uri Zevi *Greenberg (who wrote in Hebrew and Yiddish), Meyer Shtiker, U.S.-born Rokhl Fishman, novelist Eli *Shekhtman, essayist and editor Mortkhe Shtrigler (Mordecai *Strigler), and famed singer Nehamah *Lifshitz; in 1979 Shloyme Rotman, Shimshen Meltser, Shloyme Shenhod, Avrom Zak and novelist Khave Roznfarb [*Rosenfarb]. In 1980 Tsvi Ayznman, Yitskhok Yanasovitsh, Nakhmen Rap and Shimen-Yisroel Dunski won the prize.

Within a few years after arriving in Israel from the Soviet Union, Hirsh Osherovitsh published several volumes of verse, including *Gezang in Labirint* ("Songs in the Labyrinth," 1977) which consisted almost entirely of poems about Israel which he was unable to publish in the Soviet Union, even though he had served on the editorial staff of *Sovyetish Heymland*; in Paris in 1977 he garnered the Ganopolski Prize. Yehude Elberg, a survivor of the Warsaw ghetto and best known for his novel on the subject *Oyfn Shpits Fun a Mast* ("On the Tip of a Mast," 1974), published in 1976 a collection of his stories *Tsevorfene Zangen* ("Scattered Stalks") that were indeed scattered among periodicals. Eli *Shekhtman, recognized as the foremost novelist among the Soviet immigrants (recipient of the Zhitlovski Prize in 1976, the Eliezer Pines Prize in 1977 and the Itsik Manger Prize in 1978) published Erev ("On the Eve"), his prose epic of Russian-Jewish life from 1905 through the 1970s (first published in a censored version, Moscow 1965), then later in a complete version, Tel Aviv, vols. 1–4, 1974; vols. 5–6, 1979; vol. 7, 1983), followed by *Ringen oyf der Neshome* ("Links on the Soul," 4 vols. 1981–8), and *Tristia* ("Sadness," 1996).

Mordekhay Tsanin, founding editor of Israel's Yiddish newspaper (a weekly now) *Letste Nayes* ("Last News"), a heroic figure in the struggle for Yiddish in Israel, was also a novelist and essayist of distinction. From 1966 to 1985 he published his *Artopanus Kumt Tsurik Aheym* ("Artopanus Returns Home"), a series of six historical novels centering about Artopanus, the wandering Jew, and covering 2,000 years of Jewish experience. The fourth of these books, *Di Meride in Mezhibozh* ("The Revolt of Mezhibozh," 1976), deals with the rise of the Ḥasidic movement in the 18th century. (Tsanin also compiled useful Hebrew–Yiddish (1960) and Yiddish–Hebrew dictionaries (1982)).

The Mendele Moykher-Sforim Prizes for Yiddish Literature established in 1976 by the Tel Aviv Municipality were awarded to the poet Bunem Heler [*Heller] and the prose writer Avrom *Karpinovitsh. In the same year the Yankev Glatshteyn Prize of the World Jewish Culture Congress was awarded to the novelist of the Holocaust Yeshayohu *Shpigl and the poet and literary critic Yitskhok Goldkorn. Within a few years after arrival in Israel, Meyer Kharats published four volumes of verse, including *Shtern oyfn Himl* ("Stars in the Sky," 1977). In 1976 he had been encouraged by receipt of the Yankev Fikhman Prize for Literature; the essayist and authority on the folklore of the Hebrew alphabet Eliezer Lipiner won this prize in 1977. The Czernowitz poet and painter Khayim Zeltser published *Fun Heymishn Brunem* ("From My Fountain," 1976), his second volume of poetry since his arrival in Israel. These include satiric ballads, poems of his suffering under the Soviets and of his new life in Israel.

Moyshe Yungman's lyrics *In Land fun Eliyohu Hanovi* ("In Elijah's Land," 1977); Kalman Segal's narratives, *Aleynkeyt* ("Loneliness," 1977); Efroim Roytman's poems, *Di Erd Zingt* ("The Earth Sings," 1977); Motl Saktsier's lyrics, *Mit Farbotenem Blayer* ("Forbidden Writings," 1977); Rokhl Boymvol's songs of nostalgia and reborn hope, *Fun Lid tsu Lid* ("From Song to Song"); and Rokhl Oyerbakh's [*Auerbakh] reminiscences of the Warsaw Ghetto, *Baym Letstn Veg* ("The Last Road," 1977) are among the rich crop of Yiddish books issued in Israel in 1977, a fairly typical year in the 1970s and 1980s.

Prizes, both for their material and their morale value have always been important in Yiddish literary life, but no award aroused as much interest as did the 1978 Nobel Prize for literature. The entire Yiddish world was cheered when Yitskhok Bashevis (known in America as Isaac Bashevis Singer) won this prize, the first and only time a Yiddish author had been so honored. Yet among a coterie of sophisticates, it was murmured that the prize was not for the Yiddish Bashevis, but for the translated, reworked, Americanized Singer, a perspective argued in *The Hidden Isaac Bashevis Singer* (2002), edited by Seth Wolitz. This line of research had been initiated by Chone Shmeruk who, to cite a single instance, pointed to the censored Jesus reference in Saul *Bellow's generally outstanding translation of "Gimpl Tam," a classic tale misleadingly titled in English "Gimpel the Fool." However, no one who knows Yiddish well, literary gossip aside, can deny the rapid-fire, word-and tone-accurate storytelling genius of Bashevis aka Singer, who was by no means a simple creature.

Yiddish literature continued to age in the 1980s. Almost all its writers were born before the destruction of the Yiddish heartland in Eastern Europe; readers also became fewer. The Yiddish press diminished. The most prestigious daily, the New York **Forverts* (Jewish Daily Forward) was converted in 1982 to a weekly after 85 years of existence. The repertoire of ever fewer theatrical performances consisted of older plays and nostalgic musicals. Novelists, except in Israel, preferred as subject matter the longed-for, destroyed world of yesteryear. Aging survivors of ghettos, Nazi concentration camps, and Soviet gulags published memoirs and narratives of their experiences or participated in Yisker (Yizkor, Memorial) books about perished Jewish communities.

Heroic efforts were made to slow down the decline of Yiddish creativity. Grants, prizes, and awards for Yiddish books multiplied. The World Council for Yiddish and Jewish Culture looked back in 1986 on a decade of support for Yiddish writers, publishers, and journals. Its bilingual annual, *Gesher-Brikn* ("Bridges") featured since 1983 translations of Hebrew works into Yiddish and of Yiddish works into Hebrew. Its monthly organ, *Yidish Velt* ("Yiddish World"), coordinated worldwide Yiddish activities since 1985. In New York the *Biographical Lexicon of Modern Yiddish Literature*, initiated in 1954 by the Central Yiddish Culture Organization (CYCO) was completed in 1981. By then, none of the early editors and administrators (Shmuel *Niger, Yankev Shatski, Moyshe Shtarkman, Yankev Pat, and Khayim Bas) was alive. However, the editors of the final volume, Berl Kagan, Yisroel Noks, and Elye Shulman, succeeded in enlisting 32 writers from all continents for the project, whose eight volumes gave bio-bibliographic entries of more than 7,000 Yiddish writers of the 19th and 20th centuries. In Buenos Aires, Shmuel Rozhanski [Rozhansky] completed in 1984 the editing of the 100 volumes of Masterpieces of Yiddish Literature. The first volume, in 1957, dealt with the pioneer of Yiddish poetry and drama Sh. Etinger (Solomon *Ettinger). The 100th volume bore the symbolic title *Tsu Nayem Lebn* ("Toward A New Life") and consisted of poems, tales, and essays which could serve to counteract the prophets of doom as regards the future of Yiddish.

The 1980s and 1990s may have seen the continued shrinking of the secular Yiddishist community, but significant writing continued to be published, and not only in New York and Tel Aviv. Seven volumes of *Bukarester Shriftn* were completed between 1978 and 1984. Of this annual's editors, Y. Karo, Spanish civil-war veteran Khayim Goldnshteyn and, especially, Volf Tambur, attracted attention with their stories and novels. Leyzer Aykhnrand maintained a lonely Yiddish vigil in Switzerland, where his last poems appeared in 1984, shortly before his death. Yiddish creativity in France was impoverished by the death in 1981 of M. Shulsteyn and B. Shlevin, but the Paris newspaper *Unzer Vort* continued to appear until 1996. In 1980, M. *Waldman published his poems of four decades, *Fun Ale Vaytn* ("From All Distances") and was awarded the Manger Prize in 1983. M. Ram published her short stories *Shteyner* ("Stones") in 1981, was translated into Hebrew and won the Manger Prize in 1984. In 1983 the novelist Y. Finer (pen name of Yitskhok Burshteyn) completed his fictional trilogy *Tsvey Mishpokhes* ("Two Families"). A veteran of the French underground during World War II, much of Finer's fiction deals with the encounter between Polish Jew and native Frenchman. In England, the death in 1983 of Joseph Leftwich and A.N. *Stencl, and in 1984 of Jacob Meitlis removed three strong pillars of Yiddish literature and scholarship and led to the discontinuance of *Loshn un Lebn*, which Stencl had founded and edited since 1946.

In South Africa, the *Yidishe Tsaytung*, edited by Levi Shalit, ceased publication in 1985 but *Dorem Afrike*, edited by Zalmen Levi, continued as the literary organ of the Yiddish writers until 1991. Two of the leading South African Yiddish writers, David *Fram and David Volpe [*Wolpe] continued to publish: Fram's book of poems *A Shvalb Oyfn Dakh* ("A Swallow On the Roof") appeared in 1983 and Volpe published his collected essays in 1984. In Australia, *Melburner Bleter* served as the sole literary organ for its few Yiddish writers, but Yitskhok Kahn won wider recognition with his essays and Sheve Glas-Viner with her ghetto tales. In Canada, Kh.- L. Fuks [*Fox] edited in 1980 a literary lexicon encompassing 422 Canadian writers in Yiddish and Hebrew.

The closing down of *Di *Goldene Keyt* in 1995 created a vacuum not only in Israel where it was published, but in the entire sparse but far-flung Yiddish world. The brave continuance of such serious journals as *Tsukunft* and *Yidishe Kultur* in New York and *Yerusholaimer Almanakh* in Jerusalem only partially filled the void. In 2000 an Israeli government-subsidized *Natsyonal Instants far Yidisher Kultur* ("National Instance for Yiddish Culture") supported the Tel Aviv literary quarterly – which does not actually appear four times a year – *Toplpunkt* ("Colon"), where the last crop of Soviet-born authors to reach Israel met individual young Yiddish authors from around the world. Nos. 1–5 were edited by Hebrew poet and translator Ya'akov Beser and co-edited by Yisroel Rudnitski, the latter becoming editor with No. 6 (Winter 2003).

Aleksander *Shpiglblat wrote his fine account of his family's incarceration in Transnistria during World War II, *Durkhn Shpaktiv fun a Zeyger-Makher* ("Through the Eye Piece of a Watch Maker," 2000). Two years later this former member of Sutskever's *Di Goldene Keyt* editorial staff published *Bloe Vinklen–Itsik Manger, Lebn, Lid un Balade* ("Blue Corners–Itsik Manger, Life, Song and Ballad"), an informal critical biography of fellow Romanian Itsik Manger and one of the most readable Yiddish books of the year. Shpiglblat is now devoting himself to fiction, having published the three-story collection *Shotns Klapn in Shoyb* ("Shadows Knock on the Window," 2003) and *Krimeve; An Altfrenkishe Mayse* ("Krimeve; An Old-fashioned Story," 2005).

Not all Yiddishists are pessimistic as to the fate of Yiddish. It is increasingly recognized that in the urban enclaves of some ḥasidic sects in London, New York, Jerusalem, Bene-Berak, Antwerp – and rural Kiryas Yoyl [Kiryat Yoel] and New Square – and elsewhere, there is an actual increase in the population of native-speakers of Yiddish. The reading interests (beyond religious texts) of these communities are increasingly being served by a small but growing ḥasidic publication industry that now annually produces scores of novels (including historical novels, adventures tales, even spy thrillers), story collections, children's books, and textbooks, in addition to numerous orthodox newspapers and periodicals that include serial narratives (see "Ḥasidic Lierature" under *Ḥasidism). While the literary quality of these texts has indeed improved over the course of recent years, it is nonetheless currently quite impossible to imagine that anything like the development of post-Enlightenment secular Yiddish literature out of traditional Ashkenazi society might recur in this 21st century Orthodox environment. It is in any case still too early to know what kind of literature can develop in such parochial confines and whether it might be valued beyond the borders of those communities (i.e. among secular Jews, where there is, after all, an ever diminishing audience capable even of reading the texts).

Yiddish creative writing of high quality was not rare in the first decade of the 21st century – against a background of more or less habitual prognostications of the death of the language. In Israel the nonagenarian Avrom Sutskever continued to write. A collection of his poems in Hebrew translation *Kinus Dumiot* ("A Gathering of Silences," 2005) received national attention and reviews in the media. Leading Hebrew-language authors and critics participated in this warm reception, a sign of an altered attitude to Yiddish generally as well as reaffirmed recognition of a poet who had lived in Israel for over half a century and was by virtue of *oeuvre* as well as of residence a pillar of Israeli literary culture.

In mid-2005 the veteran Yiddish weekly *Forverts*, edited in New York by a small, relatively young, and highly motivated staff, is electronically reproduced in Israel and distributed so as to arrive, for instance, at a Haifa subscriber's mailbox on Friday morning, with enlarged font to accommodate the elderly, and containing – in addition to news about Yiddish culture the world over – a novel in parts that is well written and worth reading. A number of literary journals continue to appear. There is a strong interest in translating Yiddish books and many high-quality translations have appeared. While there are few Departments of Yiddish in the world, lone Yiddish scholars grace departments of Jewish Studies or of German in leading universities. Conferences of specialists meet to explore central themes such as the shtetl in Yiddish life and letters, Yiddish literature and the Left, or a single important figure like Bashevis or Bergelson. Such symposia and seminars define the Yiddish scene at the beginning of the 21st century.

One needs to consider not only journals in Yiddish, but those in other languages that are devoted in whole or in part to the study of Yiddish literature. Since 1981, *Prooftexts: A Journal of Jewish Literary History*, edited by Alan Mintz and David Roskies, has brought a hitherto rarely encountered sophistication and seriousness to the understanding of Yiddish and Yiddish-related texts. The journals *Polin, Shofar,* and *Jewish Social Studies* have published significant research on Yiddish literature. *Jiddistik Mitteilungen; Jiddistik in Deutschsprachigen Laendern* is an unfailingly informative German-language bulletin for the field of Yiddish studies. Since 1993, the University of Haifa, with the cooperation of Tel Aviv and Bar-Ilan Universities, has issued a Hebrew-language journal which attempts in many ways to be a revived Hebrew version of the old *Yivo-Bleter – Khulyot: Dapim le-Mekhkar be-Sifrut Yidish ve-Zikoteha le-Sifrut Ivrit* ("Links: Pages for the Study of Yiddish Literature and its Connections to Hebrew Literature") (also spelled *Chulyot*) issued its ninth volume in 2005. The journal has been well received in the Israeli academy, but it must be admitted that the pool of contributors is somewhat narrow and will probably remain so unless Israeli universities prove more welcoming to Yiddish studies than they have been up until now.

The opening years of the 21st century proved receptive to new and revisionist perspectives. Conferences, as mentioned above, have convened to air large themes. In this atmosphere, Yael Chaver could write, "The mainstream culture created a historiography that suppressed the Yiddish culture imported into Palestine with the pioneers who were nurtured in it. However, not only did this culture continue to survive but it also produced significant original work" (See "Outcasts Within: Zionist Yiddish Literature in Pre-State Palestine," *Jewish Social Studies*, 7/2 (2001) 39–66). Dan Miron pitted himself against widespread clichés regarding the greatest of Yiddish comic writers, Sholem-Aleykhem, urging us to look more deeply at the writings of a comic master (*Ha-Ẓad ha-Afel be-Ẓeḥoko shel Shalom-Aleykhem* ("The Dark Side of Shalom-Aleykhem's Laughter")). Almost four decades earlier Miron in his still central study, *A Traveler Disguised* (1968) had altered the way we see Abramovitsh. Among Yiddish linguists there is much debate still as to the origins of Yiddish; Hebrew linguists continue to assess the precise role and weight of Yiddish in the formation of modern Israeli Hebrew. We can expect a new generation of Yiddish scholars to ask new questions and formulate innovative replies.

Much of the life of Yiddish today is "lived" on the internet, where Yiddish has colonized very effectively. The "surfer" interested in Yiddish needs simply to type the word "Yiddish" to be ushered into a cybernetic universe where in addition to a few quality way stations there are also shoddy stops, established by presumably well-intentioned persons who believe they are serving a positive cause but merely misrepresent a language which has its rules and a culture which is immensely rich and not to be summed up in clichés or slogans. It is now possible to communicate in Standard Yiddish (Yiddish with all the correct vocalization) on the internet, to publish listservs and electronic journals, to access rare digitized books in the comfort of one's study. The single most important listserv in the field of Yiddish is Mendele, whose existence began in 1991, followed in 1997 by its literary supplement *The Mendele Review*, now in its ninth year. The website *Di Velt Fun Yidish* ("The World of Yiddish") provides both text and audio of classic Yiddish texts, as well as the entire *Tanakh* ("Hebrew Bible") in the outstanding translation of the famed Yiddish poet Yehoyesh (Yehoash, born Solomon Bloomgarten). This site will trace the development of Yiddish Bible translation from its beginnings in the Old Yiddish period until today. It also boasts a compendious index to all the works of the classic author Sholem-Aleykhem (Shalom Aleichem) and an index (in Hebrew) to Droyanov's classic 3-volume anthology of Jewish humor.

The riches of Yiddish literature are available to all. Will they be claimed?

[Sol Liptzin / Leonard Prager (2nd ed.)]

CONTEMPORARY ḤASIDIC YIDDISH LITERATURE

Ḥasidic Yiddish print culture remains rooted in tradition with religious books at its core, but as ḥasidim adapt to contemporary needs and technologies, the range of commercial publications in Yiddish has expanded to include in-house products that accommodate urban and suburban demands for information and entertainment and thus deter temptation from outside sources. Some ḥasidic sects, such as Satmar, Bobov, Belz, Ungvar, Tash, Skver, and others, have made a conscious decision to use Yiddish as a means of maintaining cultural continuity (in contrast to the Chabad (Lubavitch) and the non-ḥasidic Litvish community). The audience for Yiddish publications is thus a relatively small subset of the overall Orthodox population, most of whom use English and Hebrew as vernaculars. While spanning many countries, the niche market for Yiddish publications is highly localized in a few subculture enclaves, mainly in the New York area and in Israel. Writers and illustrators are from within the community, and publications both capitalize on a *heymish* ("homey") quality and are carefully controlled by rabbinic authorities.

Publishers and distribution systems are small in scale, located mainly in Williamsburg and Boro Park, Brooklyn, and in outlying suburbs of New York City (e.g. Monsey, Kiryas Joel, and New Square). Besides marketing to local readers, they also distribute to Israel, Europe (Antwerp and London), and even Australia and Argentina, either by direct shipment or through a network of local and chain bookshops that cater strictly to ḥasidim. Distribution is also becoming available via the Web, although Yiddish-speaking ḥasidim generally have less Web access than other Orthodox populations. While bookstores stock primarily Hebrew *sforim* for men, small sections for women include Yiddish publications, consisting especially of reprints of Yiddish classic women's texts that have been available for centuries: the *Tsene Urene, musar* (moral) works, and assorted prayer books, in addition to inspirational literature, guides to behavior, and more practical books, as women readers crave reading material of a lighter nature. Some Yiddish publications are translations from Hebrew, while others are Yiddish originals. Despite the fact that entertainment and fiction has traditionally been discouraged, scores of lively novels have appeared in recent decades. The ḥasidic taste for the dramatic has encouraged historical fiction, exotic travel literature, and indeed spy novels. Thus, in *Geknipt un Gebindn* ("Knotted and Bound," Brooklyn: Mekor Chaim Press, 1995), Hayim Rozenberg embellishes a true story of an adopted girl in secular Israel who, with the help of a Christian clerk in the U.S., finds her birth mother and her true religious identity. Soon after the destruction of the Twin Towers, a collection of tales of escape and divine intervention appeared: *Himl Signaln in Teror Geviter; Nitsulim un Martirer in der Shoyderlekher Tragedye in Amerike; der September 11*

("Signals from the Sky in Terror; Victories and Martyrs in the Terrifying Tragedy in America on September 11"). Of course the Holocaust is also an important subject: *Antlofn Di Letste Minit: 1944-1945* ("Escaped at the Last Minute: 1944-1945") by the very popular and prolific writer Yair Weinstock, who produces lengthy thrillers at a rapid pace.

The significance of periodicals in Yiddish literature has not been limited to the secular community, and thus serialized fiction has long thrived in ḥasidic weeklies such as *Der Yid* (Brooklyn; primarily Satmar readership), where the factual history of a kidnapped ḥasidic boy in embellished form appeared as a series, *Vu iz Yosele?* ("Where is Yosele?"). Such series function to promote sales as well as prevent temptation by outside sources of entertainment. Other ḥasidic periodicals published in Brooklyn include *Der Blatt* (for the Satmar faction in Kiryas Joel), the Lubavich-sponsored *Algemeyner Zhurnal*, the weekly *Di Tsaytung* (in English on the masthead: "News Report: The Yiddish Newspaper of Record. Brooklyn"), *Der Blick*, *Dos Yiddishe Vort* from Agudat Israel, and *Di Wokh*, all with local news, weather, and traffic for the New York area, but also including international politics and ḥasidic affairs. The magazines, *Der Yidisher Shtral* ("The Jewish Ray") and *Di Yidishe Likht* ("The Jewish Light") are long-established Israeli publications with items of interest to a range of readers. In the U.S., the most widely read magazine is *Mallos*, a professionally produced, wide-ranging cultural quarterly that features articles of religious history and doctrine, a children's section (*Shtayg Hekher* / "Climb Higher"), a section for housewives, and a column called *Mame Loshn* ("Mother Tongue"/"Yiddish"), on Yiddish etymology and usage, a new phenomenon in a community that does not produce Yiddish dictionaries or grammars (although one commonly finds D.M. Harduf's Yiddish-English dictionary (1993) and occasionally even Uriel Weinreich's dictionary (1968) in ḥasidic households). A new Hebrew translation of Yiddish sayings ("Yiddish the Holy Language") also indicates this shift in attitude to Yiddish among Hebrew-reading ḥasidim.

Yiddish literature for school-age children includes inspirational biographies, simplified religious books, and school books. The Satmar girl's school *Beys Rokhl* has published a series of readers in Yiddish, used in Israel as well as Brooklyn, e.g. *Der Inhalt fun Megiles Ester* ("The Content of the Esther Scroll," Beys Rokhl, Brooklyn, 1983). There is also a multi-volume *Entsiklopedye far Yugnt* ("Encyclopedia for Young People," Israel, 1999), as well as Yiddish math books for girls, and board games in Yiddish, like *Handl Erlikh* ("Deal Honestly"), a spinoff of "Monopoly" that emphasizes charity. The market for preschool children is vast, and includes colorful, glossy picture books and coloring books. Among the many popular items is the series *Mitsve Kinder* ("Good Deed Kids"), one volume of which elucidates *Greytn zikh Tsum Shabes* ("Preparations for the Sabbath"), with cassette tapes (Hamatic Press, Brooklyn). A series of colorful books for girls that reinforce their roles in domestic life (by an author who signs herself "Leyele's mother") is produced in Modi'in, Israel. A series for boys (produced in Israel and widely marketed) focuses on miracle-working holy men: *Dertseylungen fun Tzadikim* ("Tales of Saints"), such as *Der Prinz is Gevorn a Yid* ("The Prince Became a Jew," Sifrut Machanayim, Israel). *Nitz Dayn Moyekh* ("Use your Brain," Roebling Distributors, Brooklyn) is a series of Yiddish activity books. Both boys and girls learn their highly differentiated daily routines through stories and adventures, as in *Broynem Ber un Teg fun di Vokh* ("Brown Bear and the Days of the Week," Midos Publishers, Brooklyn). For younger children there is series of coloring books by Nachem Brandwein in Yiddish and English that teaches holidays, blessings, and events.

While some secular Yiddishists deny that contemporary Yiddish-language stories, songs, novels, and periodicals produced by the ḥasidim constitute *belles lettres*, one detects over the course of the last 15 years a growing, albeit unacknowledged, attention to "literary" concerns such as structure, form, and style in ḥasidic fiction. A century and a half ago, modern Yiddish literature developed gradually, haltingly, but directly out of the core of traditional Ashkenazi culture. Whether the similar traditional community of 21st-century ḥasidim will eventually produce literature that appeals to a readership beyond its own cultural borders (if such a readership even exists by that time) remains to be seen. If there is to be Yiddish literature in the future, however, it currently seems unlikely that it can come from any other source.

[Miriam Isaacs (2nd ed.)]

YIDDISH RESEARCH AFTER THE HOLOCAUST

Coming to Terms with the Loss

In the late 1950s, with the first indications in the United States that Yiddish would be given academic status, the poet H. Leivick gave a speech in which he warned of the fate of the language as follows: "I said to myself: look, Yiddish and its literature are soon to reach the upper echelons. But isn't there some fear stirring in your heart, since at the same time Yiddish is departing from the lower echelons of the people?" (H. Leivick, Eseyen un Redes (1963), 105). Leivick's words at the time were echoed widely since they gave precise expression to what seems even now to be the paradoxical fate of Yiddish: the language whose exponents were so proud of its being a language of the masses and of its wide usage, characteristics which made it a bridge between different Jewish communities, is fast disappearing from the marketplace and byways of life, and only small, specialized groups work towards maintaining it. As expected, Leivick concluded his speech with a plea not to accept this situation, and to try to preserve Yiddish as a spoken language for the Jewish people in the Diaspora. But this call, and many others like it, fell on deaf ears. The decline of Yiddish as an everyday language is an ongoing process that seems irreversible. Only among groups of the ultra-Orthodox does Yiddish preserve its status as a spoken language, as another component conferring a unique quality on this way of life that is impermeable to changing times. The Yiddish which until a generation ago was heard in the streets of New York and Buenos Aires, Kiev and Paris, Tel Aviv and Melbourne has retreated to much more limited pockets: it has become the possession of aging groups of speakers, and in the best of cases is the object of yearning of a few of their children or grandchildren, whose ears still catch a Yiddish song and enjoy it, even though in most instances they no longer speak the language fluently. How can one maintain the treasures of the spoken language and pass on its flavor, nuances, and subtleties to a generation that no longer speaks it? This almost Sisyphean aim was and remains one of the main goals of research on Yiddish, which has exercised more than two generations of scholars.

Those who took up this burden, propelled by a deep sense of urgency, were that very generation for whom Yiddish occupied a central place in its cultural world and served as its prime channel of cultural expression: those Jewish intellectuals who were educated in Eastern Europe, although a large part of their research work was carried out elsewhere. The first to sense that time was running out and to gear up for the task of collecting and preserving Yiddish intensively, even at the beginning of the 20th century, were the folklorists (see also below). In other disciplines one must note the linguists Solomon Birnbaum, Judah A. Joffe, Yudel Mark, Max and Uriel Weinreich, the historian Jacob Shatzky, and the literary critics Nahum Baruch Minkoff and Samuel Niger. Some of them did not have formal academic training, and their ongoing work was not carried out in the framework of any academic institution at all; there is no doubt that this deficiency has left its traces in their work, but they did nevertheless have one decisive advantage – intimate acquaintance with the deepest levels of the language and all of its complex byways as well as rootedness in the world from which the new cultural identity of Yiddish had developed and grown. Both the capabilities and limitations of this generation can be seen in an important post-Holocaust project intended to perpetuate Yiddish literary activity: in 1956 the first volume of the *Leksikon fun der Nayer Yidisher Literatur* ("Biographical Dictionary of Modern Yiddish Literature") was published in New York and only a full generation later, in 1981, was the undertaking completed. A supplementary volume was published in 1986 by Berl Kagan. These books are brimming with rich, varied material that makes them a primary resource for anyone dealing with this field. However, the bibliographical underpinning is often lacking, and many biographies were written without proper critical perspective. The deaths of the original editors, Niger and Shatzky, prior to the appearance of the first volume left a decided gap that could not be filled as the work progressed. Thus, the reader can easily see through the course of the volumes just how pressing the hour was with regard to comprehensive projects such as these in the field of Yiddish.

That same generation that grew up against a natural backdrop of Yiddish can claim to its credit after the Holocaust two first-rate lexicographical projects. In 1950 the YIVO Institute for Jewish Research in New York, the leading center for Yiddish scholarship, sponsored the publication of *Der Oytser fun der Yidisher Shprakh* ("The Thesaurus of the Yiddish Language") by Nahum (Nokhem) Stutchkoff (ed. Max Weinreich; reprinted 1991). This was the first collection of the lexical treasurehouse of the language, including words, idioms, and sayings, listed according to themes, as a thesaurus. Then, once the rich corpus of the Yiddish language had been gathered in a much more valuable manner than any previous dictionary of the language, the need was felt even more urgently for additional works. The material that Stutchkoff had collected did indeed serve as the cornerstone for a multifaceted lexicographical undertaking, *Groyser Verterbukh fun der Yidisher Shprakh* ("Great Dictionary of the Yiddish Language"), the first volume of which appeared in 1961 under the editorship of Judah A. Joffe and Yudel Mark. After the death of Joffe, Mark became the sole editor. Towards the end of his life he transferred the project from New York to Jerusalem, and after his death a fourth volume (1980) appeared, after which no more have as yet been published. The four current volumes have some 80,000 lexical entries, words, expressions, and sayings, completing the entries for the letter *alef.* On the surface one might think that this project is still near the beginning, but because the *alef* is employed for a number of the most common functional, grammatical particles in Yiddish, particularly as the prefix of many verb roots, it is reasonable to assume that the volumes now available contain about one-third of the entire vocabulary of Yiddish. These volumes are impressive testimony to the ability of a generation of researchers who grew up within the world of Yiddish to interpret and explain its finest nuances to the point of unlocking the hidden treasures of the spoken language. Even when it might at first glance seem that the editors have sometimes listed a meaning for a word that adds nothing to the previous definition, it turns out that they have discerned an additional shade of meaning that otherwise would have escaped the user and become irretrievable. If one compares the method of definition of entries in the *Groyser Verterbukh* to that employed in similar dictionaries in other languages, it is immediately noticeable that the editors did not limit the definitions, which generally turned out better than expected, for the overly lengthy definitions contain invaluable linguistic and cultural information and turn these volumes into a first-rate document of the widely variegated world of Yiddish speakers throughout its history and in its different centers.

Yet, in certain areas faults resulted from the lack of a research base broad enough for such a comprehensive project. Since Yudel Mark was Lithuanian, in many instances there is a noticeable lack of attention to other dialects of Yiddish, particularly the documentation of Polish Yiddish. There are also gaps in citations from literary material, which are, additionally, inconsistent. Moreover, the editors faced an almost insurmountable difficulty inherent in the language and the conditions under which it developed. Yiddish developed everywhere by contact with the surrounding languages, absorbing from them various influences and many words – some that took root in the language and others that soon fell into disuse. In the distribution of Yiddish outside Eastern Europe, the speakers borrowed from English, Spanish, French, and Modern Hebrew, from where some of the words also entered the written language, especially in newspapers not attentive to a literary standard. The editors of the dictionary faced a serious problem in deciding what standard to apply to such words – to include a great many or to exercise caution in listing words taken from the surrounding languages, whose place in normative, literary Yiddish is doubtful. In most instances the editors dealt with these words quite generously, frequently "hosting" them, although in many cases, such decisions are debatable. Following the death of Yudel Mark the dictionary project was continued jointly by a number of academic institutions: Columbia University, the City University of New York, and Hebrew University in Jerusalem, in association with YIVO. Such cooperation was intended to insure the completion of this enormous undertaking and offer future generations a rich lexical panorama of the language at its different historical periods and stylistic registers, thus rescuing them from extinction. Although no new volumes have appeared in a quarter-century, it is to be hoped that this essential reference tool will yet be completed, since this is a task whose importance and urgency are almost impossible to overstate.

Yet, even the completion of this huge project would not comprehensively account for spoken language usage. The variety of dialects in Yiddish is basic to the language at every level: phonologically, semantically (in different areas different words were used to name the same object), and grammatically. The documentation of this great linguistic richness was the primary goal of *The Language and Culture Atlas of Ashkenazic Jewry*. The aims, scope, and methodology of this project were determined by Uriel Weinreich in 1959, and work was continued after his untimely death in 1967 under the direction of Marvin I. Herzog at Columbia University. Dozens of informants were carefully chosen in order to give balanced representation to the geographical distribution of Yiddish. They were given a detailed questionnaire to complete, the answers to which document a broad range of the aspects of language use and the varied ways in which it expresses the lives of its speakers. It is obvious that the *Atlas* drew most of its material from Eastern European speakers, but it also documented the remnant of the spoken language from the Western Europe (Holland, Alsace and Switzerland), and the data gathered now indicate links, which have not as yet been sufficiently studied, between different centers of Yiddish over a broad territorial range. As time passes and surviving native speakers become both fewer and ever more distanced from the language as it was spoken in its natural setting, the value of the oral documentation increases. The first volumes of the *Atlas* began appearing in 1992, published jointly by YIVO in New York and Max Niemeyer Verlag in Tuebingen, Germany. Three volumes had appeared as of 2005.

By the end of the 20th century most assumed that it was no longer possible to document the Yiddish language from East European speakers *in situ*. Yet the U.S.-born linguist Dovid *Katz, who had been the central figure in Yiddish studies in Oxford, England, for over a decade, relocated to Vilnius (Lithuania; formerly Vilna) in 1999 and began conducting interviews with elderly Jews throughout Lite (the Yiddish designation for the Jewish conception of Lithuania, which includes the Baltics, Belarus, northeastern Poland, and a portion of the extreme northern Ukraine). The information thus gathered by Katz and his students will no doubt prove important to future researchers.

Another area of research that is nearing the zero hour for collection efforts is the study of every aspect of Yiddish folklore – folksongs, sayings, jokes, folktales, folkplays (the *Purim shpil* / "Purim play"). The situation certainly became more urgent after the Holocaust and its consequent linguistic assimilation; although early researchers in Yiddish studies already noted that urgency. Even prior to World War I Y.L. Cahan wrote, in the introduction to a large collection of Yiddish folksongs that he had gathered and published, of the slow decline of the genre, particularly in the large cities, to the point that "it seems to me that it will not be long before the original folksong will become a thing of the past" (Y.L. Cahan, *Shtudyes vegn Yidisher Folksshafung* (1952), 10). If this were true at a time when the sounds of Yiddish were heard everywhere in Jewish Eastern Europe, it is quite obvious how much more pressing the preservation of Yiddish folklore has become in recent decades. New methodologies and technologies now make possible more accurate documentation. Thanks to the efforts of Ruth Rubin, Eleanor Gordon Mlotek, Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, and others, we now have hundreds of recordings and texts of Yiddish folksongs which are housed in numerous collections in Canada, the U.S., and Israel. The Jewish Folksong Archives, founded by Meir Noy, which is located at Bar-Ilan University, contain cardfiles with detailed information on thousands of songs in Hebrew and Yiddish, on the lyricists, melodies, and place of publication. In the subfield of the study of folktales, the leading institute is the Israel Folktale Archives at Haifa University which sets down the stories of the various Jewish ethnic communities. Unfortunately a large part of the material from East European informants was documented not in the Yiddish original but in Hebrew translation. The publication of Beatrice Silverman Weinreich's *Yiddish Folktales* (1988) made available in English a selection of material collected by YIVO's Ethnographic Commission in the 1920s and 1930s.

The study of East European Jewish music was given an important boost in the 1980s with the founding of YIVO's Max and Frieda Weinstein Archive of Recorded Sound, which assiduously preserves all genres of East European Jewish music, re-recording them using modern technologies (*Klezmer Music 1910–1942*, compiled and annotated by Henry Sapoznik (Folkways Records FSS 34021)). Its work went beyond the area of pure collecting: as young musicians in the United States and eventually around the world rediscovered *klezmer* (East European Jewish instrumental folk) music, they turned to the archives with requests for texts and melodies in order to build their repertoire. By the late 1990s this surge of interest led to a wave of new scholarly work on Yiddish music, as well as the reissue of historic recordings collected as early as 1912–14 on the famous ethnographic expeditions led by Sh. Ansky (*Treasures of Jewish Culture in Ukraine* (Vernadsky National Library of Ukraine, 1997)). The "people of the book," which already for the most part cannot read what was written in the language it spoke until two or three generations ago, now maintains its link to Yiddish through the sounds of its music. As knowledge of the language continually declines among the children and grandchildren of its speakers, the Yiddish song at times becomes the only link to that memory.

One response to declining Yiddish literacy has been to produce works about Yiddish in more widely known languages. In 2002 the YIVO Institute began work on a multivolume encyclopedia of Jewish life in Eastern Europe. Once completed this work will likely stand as a definitive reference tool on the history and culture of Yiddish-speaking Jewry, while its English-language format reflects the shift away from Yiddish as a Jewish *lingua franca* predicted by Leivick nearly a half-century before. The YIVO Encyclopedia is the most ambitious of recent works built on the underlying assumption that the golden age of Jewish creativity in Yiddish is at an end and that the time has come to take stock of its achievements. Since the pioneers of the field saw Yiddish as the living tongue of the Jewish masses, they placed much emphasis on disciplines such as demography, pedagogy, and sociology that focus on contemporary issues, as well as on the study of the spoken language. By the end of the 20th century there was a shift towards Yiddish research in a retrospective mode, with more work done from a historical perspective and less in the social sciences. The study of Yiddish language use among the *ḥasidim*, the only group to continue to speak Yiddish in large numbers, remains an exception to this rule and a promising area for future research.

The Organizational Framework

NEW CENTERS OF YIDDISH STUDIES. In the period between the two World Wars, when Yiddish cultural activity in all of its manifestations reached its zenith, the Soviet Union was the only country in which Yiddish was granted a recognized status by research institutes and university-level academic institutions. This situation drew scholars from other countries, such as Max *Erik and Meier *Wiener, who hoped to pursue their research uninhibitedly in Russia. But reality upset their dreams and ideological pressure, persecution, and arrests limited the development of their talents, although much of their work in the fields of linguistics, literature, and folklore have even up to the present constituted a touchstone for generations of scholars. Conversely, in Poland and in the U.S., where millions spoke Yiddish, recognition of the language in an academic forum remained a distant, unrealistic dream.

Thus, intensive research on Yiddish outside the borders of Russia was concentrated between the two World Wars in an institution established at the initiative of Yiddishist circles. The YIVO Institute for Jewish Research originated with the memorandum "Vegn a Yidishn Akademishn Institut" ("On a Yiddish Academic Institute") circulated by the linguist Nahum (Nokhem) *Shtif in 1925 in Berlin, which was then the center for the Jewish intellectuals who had left Russia in the early years of the Revolution. But it eventually became clear that the institution could not exist in a western cosmopolitan city that lacked a significant pool of enthusiasts and willing hands to do the work, a pool that might be found – or so they hoped – among Yiddish speakers. The institution established its headquarters in Vilna, "Jerusalem of Lithuania," a city with a glorious historical tradition and only weak signs of linguistic or cultural assimilation. Branches of YIVO were active in other countries and cities, particularly in New York. After the outbreak of World War II and the destruction of the Vilna headquarters, the New York branch became the new headquarters of this institution, due in large part to the intensive work of Max *Weinreich, a central figure in YIVO from its establishment, who had managed to escape Europe at the beginning of the war and to reach the U.S. After the war both patience and faith were necessary even to hope for the continuation of research on Yiddish. Of the Jewish communities of Eastern Europe, particularly Poland, there remained but a few glowing embers. The institutes for Yiddish research in Russia had suffered greatly during the purges at the end of the 1930s and the Nazi occupation; what little remained after the Holocaust was destroyed along with the other familiar manifestations of Jewish culture by the end of 1948. Yet, a number of scholars who had managed to flee in time from the Holocaust and reach safety, such as Max Weinreich and Yudel Mark, dedicated their lives to serving as a real link between the two periods and the two totally differing cultural milieux, prewar Eastern Europe and postwar America. They strove to continue their research activities in places that seemed somehow inappropriate. At the end of the 1940s, the first significant attempts were made at blazing a trail for the study of Yiddish at universities in the U.S. A few years later saw the founding of two university frameworks for Yiddish instruction and research that were of signal importance, in Israel on the one hand, and in the U.S. on the other. In 1951 the Yiddish Department was established at Hebrew University in Jerusalem under Dov *Sadan, and in 1953 Uriel Weinreich, the son of Max *Weinreich, was appointed to the Atran Chair of Yiddish Language, Literature, and Culture at Columbia University in New York. Many of their students and their students' students today teach Yiddish in leading academic institutions in the U.S. and Israel.

After the deaths of Max and Uriel Weinreich two projects were undertaken that symbolize the desire for continuity and renewed growth in a research field that had suffered so much from the vicissitudes of Jewish history in the preceding decades. In 1968 the YIVO Institute for Jewish Research established the Max Weinreich Center for Advanced Jewish Studies, which provided a framework for graduate and post-doctoral training in the fields of Yiddish and East European Jewish studies. The same year Columbia University in cooperation with YIVO established the Uriel Weinreich Program in Yiddish Language, Literature and Culture, an intensive, comprehensive program that annually enables students of every level to make their first acquaintance with Yiddish and its literature and to continue on to more advanced studies. The success of this program prompted other institutions to follow in its footsteps. In the 1990s Oxford was the site of an intensive summer language course, which was essentially transplanted to Vilna with Dovid Katz's relocation there; another such program rotates triennially among Paris, Strasbourg, and Brussels.

In 2005 the Weinreich Program shifted its affiliation to New York University, mirroring YIVO's relocation in 1999 to the Center for Jewish History, a new facility housing several Jewish institutions near NYU's Greenwich Village campus. By this time the Weinreich Center had ceased to offer graduate classes, a gap partly filled since 1999 by the International Research Seminar in Yiddish Culture, led by Avrom Novershtern and David Roskies and held every other summer in New York and Israel alternately. This program conducted entirely in Yiddish provides students with an introduction to the various fields of Yiddish studies, yet as a two-week course it cannot replace the curriculum once offered by the Weinreich Center. The fate of the Weinreich Center reflects a general trend at YIVO, which by the 1990s largely abandoned its advocacy of Yiddish as a vehicle of academic discourse and its sponsorship of original research. Instead it came to function primarily as a facilitator and disseminator of scholarship, emphasizing its unparalleled library and archival collections as well as publications in English often based on material from those collections. The growth of Jewish Studies programs across the United States has partially addressed this lacuna, as the teaching of Yiddish language and culture – in English – became increasingly common on American campuses.

In the U.S. at the start of the 21st century, institutions with faculty positions dedicated to Yiddish include Columbia University, Harvard University, Indiana University, the Jewish Theological Seminary, New York University, and Ohio State University; at Columbia and Ohio State it is possible to receive a degree in Yiddish Studies. Moreover, with the growing acceptance of Yiddish as a subject of study, the language is also taught in Jewish Studies programs at the University of California at Berkeley, the University of Michigan, the University of Texas at Austin, and many others. The emphasis in the U.S. is on the research and teaching of modern Yiddish literature and of historical aspects of Yiddish culture, the latter often carried out within departments of history.

The study of Yiddish in all its aspects – earlier and modern literature, language, and folklore – developed at Hebrew University in Jerusalem under Dov *Sadan, his successor Chone *Shmeruk, and their students Chava Turniansky and Avrom Novershtern. With Shmeruk's death and Turniansky's retirement, the Yiddish Department continues to train graduate students but is much diminished in its scope. Programs for the teaching of Yiddish and its literature now exist at other Israeli universities, however, such as the Rena Costa Centre for Yiddish Studies at Bar-Ilan University. In Germany interest in the field, primarily the study of Old Yiddish literature, flourished with the establishment of chairs of Yiddish at the universities in Trier (1990) and Dusseldorf (1996). The Medem Library in Paris, led by Yitskhok Niborski, continues to function on a high level with an active program of classes and publications in both Yiddish and French.

In the late 1980s and 1990s Oxford, England, became a prominent center of Yiddish studies under the leadership of Dovid Katz and his students, training a generation of young scholars, producing a series of books and journals in Yiddish and English, and sponsoring an intensive summer language course and academic conference. By the end of the century this had all come to an end, with the Yiddish faculty dispersing to take up positions elsewhere, and the program was rebuilt on only a modest scale.

The collapse of the Soviet Union opened new possibilities for Yiddish studies, as formerly unknown materials came to light and as new contacts were made with the surviving Jewish communities of Eastern Europe. Project Judaica, founded in 1991 by the Jewish Theological Seminary, YIVO, and the Russian State University of the Humanities in Moscow, first introduced the study of Yiddish to post-Soviet Russia. After departing Oxford, Dovid Katz settled in Vilna, where he founded the Vilnius Yiddish Institute in 2001 and began a new course of research, teaching, and publishing. These programs have given students in the region the opportunity to study the language and its culture, although the most promising have pursued their training in Israel or the U.S.

THE NEW IDEOLOGICAL CONTEXT. Before the Holocaust, studies of Yiddish and its literature were marked by ideological clashes that were at times quite severe, particularly between those working in the Soviet Union on the one hand and YIVO affiliates in Poland and the United States on the other. In the wake of World War II and the establishment of the State of Israel, longstanding tensions between Yiddishists and Hebraists became increasingly irrelevant, while the rift between Communists and their opponents faded with the end of the Soviet Union. These developments paved the way for a fresh look at topics formerly considered ideologically suspect or at best unimportant, including the comparative study of Yiddish and Hebrew literature and Yiddish culture among Orthodox Jewish communities. The work of both Soviet Yiddish activists and their Communist sympathizers abroad has also been subject to new research, enhanced by material made available in former Soviet archives. These trends can be seen as the fulfillment of the inclusive vision of Jewish culture formulated by such pioneering scholars as Max Weinreich and Dov Sadan, whose work is discussed below.

This is not to imply that the field has been without conflict in recent years. Benjamin Harshav's *The Meaning of Yiddish* (1990) stirred controversy with its stance that Yiddish should be treated as a dead language, demonstrating that the question of its status as a spoken vernacular can still arouse strong emotions. Linguists such as Paul Wexler and Dovid Katz have put forth new controversial theories on the origins of the Yiddish language and its Ashkenazi Jewish speakers, and Katz rejected the unified Yiddish orthography developed by YIVO to devise his own. Some of Katz's ideas are incorporated in *Words on Fire: The Unfinished Story of Yiddish* (2004), which despite its idiosyncrasies is to be welcomed as the first overall history of Yiddish culture in English. Nevertheless, as ideological orthodoxies have broken down, Yiddish scholars now work in a variety of conceptual contexts, ensuring cross-fertilization and the introduction of new methodologies such as the perspective of gender studies which has proven a useful tool of analysis. But any advantages inherent in the situation are dependent upon the ability of those in the field to maintain a common framework of reference, while recognizing the achievements of the past and the value of innovation.

Yiddish Research in the Previous Generation: Concepts and Achievements

THE NEW CULTURAL CONTEXT. Throughout its history Yiddish was the language of a minority group that maintained within itself a very high degree of internal unity. It is therefore not surprising that the history of both the language and its literature serves as an illustrative example of the complex, tense relations between internal traditions and external influences; parallel phenomena can also be discerned in the development of Yiddish research. Until the beginning of the 20th century, few scholars of Yiddish spoke or published in Yiddish. This is true certainly for the non-Jews such as J. Johann Christoph Wagenseil and J. Schudt as well as for those who turned to Yiddish for pragmatic reasons (including missionaries). Even the outstanding scholars of the *Wissenschaft des Judentums*, Leopold Zunz and Moritz Steinschneider, fell into this category. Only at the beginning of the 20th century, with the growing awareness of the cultural value of Yiddish, did there begin to develop in Eastern Europe the study of Yiddish in Yiddish; this process reached its high point with the work carried out between the two World Wars, in Russia on the one hand, and at YIVO on the other. The scholars for whom Yiddish was both a native language and the language in which they published their academic studies considered themselves participants in a wide-ranging cultural creativity that included schools, newspapers and journals, publishing, and theater. It is difficult to name many individuals from this period whose sole occupation was scholarship: they were also active in Jewish political parties, journalism, literary criticism, and the teaching of Yiddish in secondary or higher education. They particularly liked to emphasize the fact that whereas their predecessors had approached Yiddish from the outside, simply as a "dry" object of research, they saw it as a living possession of the people which they nurtured within the framework of an entire range of cultural activity. It is no wonder then that parts of their work seem overly "forced" to contemporary readers, as writing that integrated research with journalism and attempted to promote a clearly defined ideological position. This is true mainly for work carried out in Russia, particularly in the 1930s, where writers were forced to add references to Lenin and Stalin, interpolations that were obligatory in almost any scholarly article. But even to the scholars whose goal was scholarly objectivity, it was clear that their work fit into a wider cultural context.

This cultural context was utterly destroyed by the Holocaust, by the annihilation of Jewish cultural institutions in Russia, and by linguistic assimilation in both East and West, particularly in the U.S. and in Israel. A Yiddish-speaking folk, functioning both as the potential addressees of, and the ideological frame of reference for, scholarly work on Yiddish and in Yiddish, no longer existed. Also gone was the network of schools that had needed terminology in Yiddish for every subject, from physics to psychology. With the teaching of the language gradually diminishing, the issues of normative standards, which in their time had led to great controversies, were no longer pressing: for example, the question whether or not it was necessary to strive for a universally accepted pronunciation. The abandonment of Yiddish as a spoken language necessarily led to a great decline in the field of study and interest on the part of researchers. But the new cultural situation, in which other forces were created for the maintenance of Yiddish in a bilingual or multilingual framework, led scholars to emphasize other aspects and to raise new questions. As in any field of research in the humanities, in this instance, too, the present was leaving its mark on the approaches used to study the past.

THE ACHIEVEMENT OF MAX WEINREICH. The career of Max Weinreich well illustrates this process. Upon his arrival in the U.S. in 1940 he immediately understood how different the new cultural context was in which he had to work; in his lectures and letters he repeatedly compared and contrasted Jewish New York and Vilna, the city that he had left before the war. But such a comparison could only reinforce his own ever-growing awareness that the few elements still shared by the two communities upon his arrival in New York were eroding right before his eyes. Thus Weinreich faced a difficult challenge: the drastic and painful change in cultural context from prewar Vilna to postwar New York necessitated a conceptual and even ideological reorganization. In this regard there is in Yiddish scholarship no more fascinating document than Weinreich's magnum opus, *Geshikhte fun der Yidisher Shprakh* (4 vols., 1973; partial Eng. tr., *History of the Yiddish Language*, 1980; a complete English translation forthcoming from YIVO and Yale University Press will finally make the full scope of this study accessible to a wider audience). This great synthetic work depicts the history of Yiddish in a wide cultural framework. The book itself is noteworthy first and foremost for its advances in research, but some of its more subtle dimensions are just as valuable: on the one hand, its ideological premises and the conclusions drawn from them, and on the other – a feature that seems superfluous – the style and method of approaching the material. On every page of the book the reader can palpably feel that in this case the method of exposition has its own latent significance; Weinreich's style attempted most earnestly to combine the rich vitality of the spoken language with characteristics of scholarly usage, which demands precision and nuance. In his search for a method to formulate his statements, Weinreich did not employ ready-made models from English or German, because he believed that such an academic work as this in Yiddish had to be read differently. Thus his work became a wonderful revelation of the combination of the folk and academy, of Yiddish scholarly and of the hidden richness of the spoken language. The backbone of the book is the discussion which provides abundant examples of the mutual relations between language and culture. Weinreich expresses and summarizes the ideas of scholars who preceded him, defining Yiddish as the language of "the Way of the Shas [Talmud]," i.e., of the traditional Ashkenazi way of life. In light of this definition, readers can only wonder (and become ever more convinced as they read further) whether Weinreich is implicitly questioning the possibility of maintaining Yiddish in the Diaspora among secular Jews outside of its natural cultural framework. But it is striking that Weinreich, the scholar who once subscribed to secular Yiddish ideologies, does not raise this problem explicitly. His detailed discussion of the link between Yiddish and Yidishkayt raises many problematic questions that cannot be avoided by the sensitive reader, but they remain outside of the scope of this comprehensive work. In the section preceding the discussion of more specific aspects of research, Weinreich for the first time set up a broad, conceptual framework of great significance for dealing with all of the languages of the Jews, thereby laying the foundations for a new area of research: the interlinguistics of Jewish languages, which in recent years has become of greater interest. Weinreich showed, with a great many examples, how Yiddish had become a fertile field for the melding of the languages of the surrounding environment – Romance languages, German, and Slavic languages – along with *loshn koydesh* ("the holy tongue"), which was given special status in traditional Jewish society. The nature of Yiddish as a fusion language of various linguistic elements is not, therefore, simply a linguistic fact, but a multidimensional intersection of language and culture. A large part of Weinreich's book is devoted to the description and analysis of the phenomenon of bilingualism and multilingualism among Ashkenazi Jewry, as well as members of other Jewish groups – between Hebrew and the spoken language of the Jews or between those languages and the co-territorial non-Jewish language. Thus Weinreich's work is outstanding in its decidedly interdisciplinary nature. His discussions and analysis of purely linguistic data touch on and illuminate other areas as well, such as the history of the Jews, folklore, literary history, and sociolinguistics.

BILINGUAL DICTIONARIES. An illustrative albeit paradoxical example of the possibilities and limitations simultaneously at hand in the new cultural situation in Yiddish scholarship is the work that by its very nature aimed at bridging cultures – bilingual dictionaries. Such dictionaries were always the high road for Yiddish lexicography, because they were intended initially to answer practical needs, namely to teach European languages to Yiddish-speakers. By contrast Uriel Weinreich's *Modern English–Yiddish Yiddish–English Dictionary* (1968), which is clearly one of the most important Yiddish lexicographical undertakings of its period, addressed first and foremost the needs of the user desiring to acquire Yiddish as an active language. Towards this end Weinreich gives a detailed and normative grammatical description of each Yiddish lexical item, a description that has no parallel in any earlier dictionary of the language. However, the bilingual format of the dictionary limited the scope of the entries. Thus students in need of a reference tool to help them understand Yiddish literary texts must turn to Alexander Harkavy's older *Yiddish–English–Hebrew Dictionary* (1928; reprinted with a new introduction in 1988). Weinreich intended his dictionary to be used both by active Yiddish speakers and by passive readers of the language, and each audience is equally well served by this excellent work, although the latter audience in fact outnumbers the former; additionally, its needs are not adequately met in a work of limited scope that tries to cater to two audiences. Weinreich's dictionary has been supplemented by several specialized lexicographical studies by Mordkhe Schaechter (*English–Yiddish Dictionary of Academic Terminology* (1988), *Pregnancy, Childbirth, and Early Childhood: An English–Yiddish Dictionary* (1991), and *Plant Names in Yiddish* (2005)) and two important reference works published by the Medem Library: Yitskhok Niborski's *Verterbukh fun Loshn-Koydesh-Shtamike Verter in Yidish* ("Dictionary of Words of Hebrew and Aramaic Origin in Yiddish," 1997; 1999^2) and the bilingual Yiddish–French Dictionary of Niborski and Bernard Vaisbrot (2002). All these include entries for terms lacking in Weinreich and Harkavy, and all are the products of meticulous research. At least for Francophone Yiddish readers, the Niborski/Vaisbrot dictionary has effectively replaced Weinreich for most purposes.

RESEARCH ON OLD AND MIDDLE YIDDISH LITERATURE. The study of early Yiddish literature – the corpus of works written up to the end of the 18th century – is one of the oldest branches of Yiddish scholarship, extending back to the period of the *Wissenschaft des Judentums*, and in some sense even back to the Humanist period. In this field contemporary scholars can draw on the achievements of the past, creating a certain continuity in the research tradition, yet the difference in cultural context has led to new emphases in research and to a different general perspective.

When the *Cambridge Codex of *ca*. 1382 (the earliest extensive codex in Yiddish) was published, it aroused controversy between the Germanist, J.W. Marchand, and Max Weinreich [J.W. Marchand, review of *The Oldest Known Literary Documents of Yiddish Literature*, L. Fuks (ed.), *Word*, 15 (1959), 383–94; M. Weinreich, "Old Yiddish Poetry in Linguistic-Literary Research," in: *Word*, 16 (1960), 100–118. This controversy has been analyzed extensively by Jerold C. Frakes in his *The Politics of Interpretation: Alterity and Ideology in Old Yiddish Studies* (1988)]. At issue was whether to identify the texts in the manuscript as German literature written in the Hebrew alphabet or as Yiddish literature, despite the fact that the language displays few features distinct from co-temporal German. The dispute was based less on the linguistic facts than on the interpretive context in which the researcher tried to explain them. In this regard their disagreement was the forerunner of two contemporary trends in the study of early Yiddish, for there are indeed discernible two different cultural contexts for this discipline: the Germanist scholars at the University of Trier (pioneered by Hans Peter Althaus, Walter Roll, Erika Timm, and now continued by Simon Neuberg) is particularly noteworthy for careful editing and philological analysis of texts (despite the severe limitations imposed by their publishing the texts in an overtly Germanizing Roman transcription); they naturally contribute to the understanding of phenomena of early Yiddish literature by virtue of their approach and training as Germanists. By contrast, among the scholars in Jerusalem (formerly led by Ch. Shmeruk and his student Ch. Turniansky, and now continued by S. Zfatman) a different methodological perspective has been developed, which mainly stresses the internal Jewish context of the works in Old Yiddish literature and the close relations with Hebrew works of the same period, a contact whose most noticeable manifestation is the bilingual text – a work written simultaneously in Hebrew and in Yiddish. Interestingly, the current chair of Yiddish studies in Dusseldorf, Marion Aptroot, trained in Oxford, combines the philological thoroughness of the Trier Germanists with the attention to the Jewish cultural context characteristic of the Jerusalem scholars of early Yiddish (cf. J. Michman and M. Aptroot (eds. and tr.), *Storm in the Community: Yiddish Political Pamphlets of Amsterdam Jewry, 1797–1798* (2002)).

In the first comprehensive works on the history of early Yiddish literature, written in the 1920s and 1930s by Max Erik, Max Weinreich, and Israel Zinberg, the ideological tendency of the writers was clearly discernible in their special appreciation of the "secular" aspects in Old Yiddish works [M. Erik, *Di Geshikhte fun der Yidisher Literatur: Fun di Eltste Tsaytn biz der Haskole-Tkufe* (1928; rpt. 1979); M. Weinreich, *Bilder fun der Yidisher Literaturgeshikhte* (1928); I. Zinberg, *Di Geshikhte fun der Literatur bay Yidn*, 6 (1935), (rpt. 1943; Engl. trans. 1975)]. Ch. Shmeruk thoroughly revised this approach in his book *Sifrut Yiddish: Perakim le-Toledoteha* ("Yiddish Literature: Chapters of its History," 1978; rev. Yid. tr. 1988), which is based on a much wider corpus, including texts discovered in the decades before its publication (the most significant being the Cambridge manuscript mentioned above). He analyzed Old Yiddish literature with regard to its status and role in traditional Ashkenazi society, where the sharp division made between the "secular" and the "religious" by his predecessors proves quite artificial. The new conceptual system stresses the centrality of the Bible as a source and inspiration for early Yiddish literature, and understanding its importance reveals the mutual link between genres previously considered distinct – direct translations of the Bible, paraphrases of the Bible, homiletical works (which gave early Yiddish literature its most popular book, the *Tsenerene* (**Ẓe'enah u-Re'enah*)), biblical epic poetry, and plays based on biblical themes which were presented as *Purim-shpiln*. In his studies of early Yiddish literature Shmeruk cited phenomena parallel to those that Weinreich noted in the history of the language itself: traditional Jewish society, from which Yiddish language and literature developed, did not absorb cultural artifacts from environments that were external to its autonomous way of life. Instead, such cultural elements first passed through a process of "Judaization," which neutralized of their Christian components. This multifaceted process is an outstanding example of the productive meeting of internal traditions and external influences that characterize every aspect of the Yiddish language and its literature. In addition to the discovery and publication of hitherto unknown texts and the enrichment of our bibliographical knowledge, this period of scholarship built up a new conceptual system that aims at properly describing the cultural complexity of Old Yiddish literature.

At the start of the 21st century, the linguistic focus of early Yiddish studies in Europe has broadened to include aspects of communal history, for example in the work of Marion Aptroot and Shlomo Berger on Amsterdam Yiddish publications of the early modern period. In Jerusalem, following Shmeruk's death and Turniansky's retirement, only Zfatman continued her teacher's legacy. Meanwhile, two important publications marked a major advance for the field: the first comprehensive survey of the period in seventy years appeared in Jean Baumgarten's *Introduction to Old Yiddish Literature* (orig. French ed. 1993; ed. and tr. Jerold C. Frakes, 2005). Perhaps more significant is the publication of Frakes' nearly 900-page anthology, *Early Yiddish Texts, 1100–1750* (2004), whose scope, comprehensive notes, and carefully edited texts in the original alphabet make this a landmark work in early Yiddish studies.

MODERN YIDDISH LITERATURE – REAPPRAISING CLASSICAL TEXTS. Dov Sadan, the founder of the Yiddish Department at Hebrew University in Jerusalem, presented an all-encompassing concept of Jewish literature in his comprehensive essay, "*Al Sifruteinu*" ("On Our Literature," 1950), which conceives Jewish literature as a single, broad, many-branched corpus, which includes texts in Hebrew and Yiddish, as well as the works of Jewish authors who wrote in other languages for Jewish readers. One discerns Sadan's striving for totality not only with regard to the languages of modern Jewish literature, but also the mutual relations between its various spiritual trends; while most of his predecessors considered modern literature in Hebrew and in Yiddish as the product of the Haskalah movement and a clear manifestation of the penetration of Jewish society by modernization, Sadan broadens the canvas and attempts to encompass all of modern Jewish intellectual creativity in all of its interwoven manifestations and roots, as they develop from the Haskalah, Ḥasidism, and the rabbinical works of the *misnagdim*. Thus Sadan's broad comprehensive conception deliberately raises doubts as to the legitimacy of privileging secular *belles lettres* above all the rest of the Ashkenazi cultural heritage.

This thesis of an underlying unity in Jewish literature was one of the bases of the comprehensive work by Israel Zinberg, *Geshikhte fun der Literatur bay Yidn* (8 vols. in 10, 1929–37; Eng. tr., *History of Jewish Literature*, 12 vols., 1973–78). Despite the difficult conditions under which Zinberg wrote his work in Leningrad, cut off from other scholars and from the literature of the West, he conceived of a most comprehensive plan for his endeavor, which was to describe Jewish literary creativity in the medieval and modern periods in all languages and genres. Due to his imprisonment and exile, however, he did not manage to complete this wide-ranging work, and its final volume (which was discovered and published in 1965) only reaches the period of the flourishing of the Haskalah in Russia (the 1860s). It was thus Dov Sadan and his students who took upon themselves the task of applying the integrative approach to modern Yiddish literature.

In this context it is natural that the main author to benefit from new exploration of his work would be the bilingual writer S.Y. *Abramovitsh, better known by the persona fabricated in his writings, Mendele Moykher Sforim. To be sure this "split" between the biographical writer and his literary persona was the focal point of the study by Dan Miron, *A Traveler Disguised: A Study in the Rise of Modern Yiddish Fiction in the Nineteenth Century* (1973; reissued 1996), which was based on research directed by Max and Uriel Weinreich. In the first part of his book Miron summarizes the ambivalent position demonstrated by the Haskalah towards Yiddish: despite the fact that most *maskilim* had a contemptuous attitude towards the language, some of them nonetheless laid the foundations of modern Yiddish literature. On this basis Miron articulates the literary and cultural circumstances and conditions in which the young *maskil* Abramovitsh turned to writing Yiddish, to which end he created his most central, vital character – Mendele, who appears in his works in a wide range of incarnations and roles – as the publisher of works given to him, as a Yiddish translator, as a good listener to stories told in his presence, and even as a protagonist in his own right. Miron's study deals with the point where the influence of ideological positions on the act of literary creation becomes discernible, and he proves how the problematic status of Yiddish and the difficulties with which its authors struggled led directly to refined, complex artistic solutions. In 2000 a volume of Miron's studies appeared under the title *The Image of the Shtetl and Other Studies of Modern Jewish Literary Imagination*, further acquainting the English reader with his wide-ranging achievement.

Ch. Shmeruk's *Peretses Yiesh-Vizye* ("Peretz's Vision of Despair," 1971), treats another aspect of the tension between literature and ideology as manifested in I.L. Peretz's symbolist drama, *Baynakht oyfn Altn Mark* ("At Night in the Old Market Place"), where many characters from both the world of the living and the dead express their existential thoughts and doubts while appearing one night against the background of a typical market square familiar from the Jewish milieu of Eastern Europe. Critical reviews in Yiddish perceived the play as a pivotal expression of Peretz's attitude toward a wide range of Jewish ideologies – from the Haskalah to the workers' movements. They felt that his position was exhausted in the final sentence of the play, "in shul arayn!" ("To the synagogue!"), which was taken as a call to return to a traditional Jewish way of life. Shmeruk concurs in essence that the play should be read in a contemporary ideological context, but his tracing of the sources of the various interwoven motifs and allusions reveal many shades of meaning that had gone unnoticed before.

PUBLISHING IN YIDDISH STUDIES. Scholars devoted serious and continuous efforts to publishing selected Yiddish literary texts. Among the most outstanding achievements of this kind, one must mention the anthology *A Shpigl oyf a Shteyn* ("A Mirror on a Stone," ed. Ch. Shmeruk, 1964; 19882), which includes poetry and prose by 12 Yiddish authors who perished in the Soviet Union. The Yiddish Department of Hebrew University in Jerusalem publishes a series of books, one of whose goals is to collect the Yiddish works of bilingual authors who are known today mainly through their works in Hebrew; in this framework have appeared writings of S.Y. *Agnon, M.Y. *Berdyczewski, Uri Zevi *Greenberg, and Jacob *Steinberg. Likewise, selected works by Isaac Bashevis *Singer, Abraham *Sutzkever, Itzik *Manger, and Israel *Rabon have been published.

For most of the post-Holocaust period, the premier journals for Yiddish studies were the *YIVO-Bleter* ("YIVO Pages"), founded in 1931, and *Di *Goldene Keyt* ("The Golden Chain"), founded in Israel in 1949 by the poet Avrom Sutzkever. Yiddish academic publishing enjoyed a modest upswing in the early 1990s with the revival of the sporadic *YIVO-Bleter* and the founding of several Yiddish journals in Oxford. However, *Di Goldene Keyt* ceased publication in 1995, followed three years later by the Oxford imprints. In addition, journals such as the *YIVO Annual*, which was revived from 1990 to 1996, and *Khulyot* ("Links," 1993–present) created a forum for Yiddish scholarship in English and Hebrew respectively.

In another sign of this linguistic shift, interest among a wide audience in modern Yiddish literature has given rise to an ongoing trend of translations, mainly into English and Hebrew, but also into French, German, Spanish, and other languages. The bibliography by Dina Abramowicz in 1968 listed 247 titles of books translated from Yiddish into English, beginning in 1945 (*Yiddish Literature in English Translation* (1968); idem, *Yiddish Literature in English Translation: List of Books in Print* (1976)), and today that list could be significantly expanded. The awarding of the Nobel Prize to Isaac Bashevis Singer in 1978 increased interest in his works in particular, and in Yiddish literature in general. The New Yiddish Library, sponsored by Yale University Press and edited by David Roskies, has published fresh translations of the modern Yiddish classics and promises to acquaint the English reader with previously inaccessible Yiddish works. In the realm of historical study, YIVO has published translations of important material from its collections, such as the autobiographies of Jewish youth collected in the 1930s and Herman Kruk's diary of the Vilna ghetto (cf. J. Shandler (ed.), *Awakening Lives: Autobiographies of Jewish Youth in Poland Before the Holocaust* (2002) and H. Kruk, *Last Days of the Jerusalem of Lithuania: Chronicles from the Vilna Ghetto and the Camps, 1939–1944*, ed. Benjamin Harshav and trans. Barbara Harshav (2002)).

One of the main demonstrations of this trend is the appearance of two bilingual anthologies which strove to offer the best of Yiddish poetry to a new generation of readers: *American Yiddish Poetry: A Bilingual Anthology*, edited by Benjamin and Barbara Harshav (1986), and *The Penguin Book of Yiddish Verse*, edited by Irving Howe, Ruth R. Wisse and Khone Shmeruk (1987). The bilingual format of the two anthologies makes them the first collections of this type, and it demonstrates that the editors aimed for a varied audience: both the student and the reader of Yiddish literature in the original, as well as the English reader who did not know Yiddish. A comparison of the two volumes is interesting because of the differing approaches of the editors: the Harshavs emphasize the literary achievements, multifaceted quality, and uneasy path of modernism in Yiddish poetry in its most important center, the U.S., and thus their anthology can serve as an excellent introduction for the reader interested in this important branch of modern Yiddish literature; the editors of the *Penguin Book of Yiddish Verse*, which offers a selection of Yiddish poetry of the last one hundred years from the entire Yiddish world, aimed at a wider audience, and their selections were guided more by thematic concerns. They assumed that contemporary interest in Yiddish poetry is based primarily on its Jewish content and its ability to express and describe a world that no longer exists. The selections offered by these two books, therefore, reflect two different, complementary approaches towards the question of how to understand and appreciate the great heritage of Yiddish literature today, while demonstrating the multiplicity of approaches and contexts in which research and teaching in this field are conducted.

Scholars and students of Yiddish studies, who are relatively few in number and widely dispersed across the globe, are perennially frustrated by the difficulties of gaining access to books long out of print, while the costs of printing new works can be prohibitive. The National Yiddish Book Center, which began by accepting donations of Yiddish books collected *en masse* worldwide and selling them to interested libraries and individuals, has revolutionized access to Yiddish materials with its Steven Spielberg Digital Yiddish Library, which produces on-demand reprints of available Yiddish texts. Modern technology has proven a boon in other ways as well. The *Index to Yiddish Periodicals*, a database developed at Hebrew University in Jerusalem, allows researchers to search the content of many important journals, while the on-line forum *Mendele* connects Yiddish specialists around the globe. Such innovative tools, as well as a pluralism of views and methodologies, promise new achievements as scholars continue to develop the various fields of Yiddish research in the 21st century.

[Abraham Novershtern / Cecile Esther Kuznitz (2nd ed.)]

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SURVEY

Interest in the study of Yiddish language and literature was first displayed by Christian scholars of the 16th–18th centuries (Buxtorf, Wagenseil, Schudt, and others) few of whom, however, had any functional knowledge of either the language or its literature. Their relevant texts concerning Yiddish are edited, translated into English, and analyzed by (1) J.C. Frakes, *Christian Humanists and the Study of Yiddish in Early Modern Europe* (2006). Modern research into Yiddish literature had its proper beginnings in the German *Wissenschaft des Judentums* school of the 19th century. It was primarily M. *Steinschneider who laid the foundations of Yiddish bibliography and, incidentally, also set the end of the 18th century as the limit for the study of Yiddish literature by future exponents of the *Wissenschaft des Judentums*, completely disregarding the new literature that was then being created in Eastern Europe. It was not until the beginning of the 20th century that scholars of East European extraction extended the scope of research to include modern Yiddish literary works.

The methods employed in research on, and criticism of, Yiddish literature do not differ in their essentials from any other modern criticism and literary research. To a certain degree, however, the study of Yiddish literature has until the 1990s lagged behind in adopting more advanced methods. Until World War II such study was characterized by its unwarranted dependence upon the traditional methods of German literary studies and concepts, especially with regard to early Yiddish literature. Furthermore, as a result of its close connections with certain ideologies and preconceived views, the study and criticism of Yiddish literature has retained some undeniable traces of tendentiousness. Those scholars who had inherited the mantle of the German *Wissenschaft des Judentums* tended to overemphasize the relationship between German and Yiddish literature in order to provide evidence of Jewish participation in German culture, or even of a German-Jewish symbiosis. This tendency was revived by modern German scholars. Their interest also centered upon early Yiddish literature, in view of the importance for German studies of pre-modern German texts preserved in the Hebrew alphabet. On the other hand, scholars and critics of Yiddish literature who belonged to the Yiddishist camp and as such had close connections with Jewish labor ideology tended to exaggerate the "secular" basis of early Yiddish literature. With regard to modern literature, Yiddishist scholars sometimes preferred ideological evaluation to aesthetic criticism and study of form. The establishment of a chair of Yiddish literature at Hebrew University in Jerusalem in 1951 paved the way for a renewal of

Yiddish literary studies consciously liberated from the limitations imposed upon them by the tendentiousness of the past and, to some degree, the present also. In recent decades, the study of Yiddish literature and culture is found in a variety of academic disciplines in the Humanities and Social Sciences.

Students of all periods and facets of Yiddish literature should have recourse to a few valuable reference works which, while not specifically devoted to literature, soon prove themselves indispensable. These include the pioneering pamphlet of (2) Uriel and Beatrice Weinreich, *Yiddish Language and Folklore* (1959) and its sequel (3) *Yiddish Linguistics; A Multilingual Bibliography* (1988), edited by Joan G. Bratkowsky. To this may be added (4) *Yiddish Linguistics; A Classified Bilingual Index to Yiddish Serials and Collections 1913–1958* by D.M. Bunis and A. Sunshine (1994). Yiddish studies have so proliferated in recent years that it is useful to have a general guide as well. (5) C.E. Kuznitz's "Yiddish Studies," in Martin Goodman (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Jewish Studies* (2002), 541–71 is remarkably comprehensive and insightful.

Up to the End of the 18th Century

The scholar and lay reader interested in Yiddish literature up to the end of the 18th century has to accept the fact that the material available (manuscripts, books, printed pamphlets) is marked by wide gaps in many fields. The erstwhile existence of many Yiddish works is known only from evidence found in secondary sources. See (6) Ch. Shmeruk, "Reyshuta shel ha-Proza ha-Sipurit be-Yidish u-Merkaza be-Italya," *Sefer Zikaron leArye Leona Carpi* (1967). Yiddish books and pamphlets dating back to the 16th, 17th, and 18th centuries are largely unica, existing in single copies only. The most comprehensive collection of manuscripts and books from this period is found in the David Oppenheimer collection, now a part of the Bodleian Library at Oxford University. The Bodleian Hebrew-alphabet (i.e., including but not restricted to Yiddish) manuscript collection is catalogued by (7) Adolf Neubauer, *Catalogue of the Hebrew Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library* (1886; 1994; supplement M. Beit-Arié and R.A. May, 1994), while the Hebrew-alphabet printed books are catalogued by (8) M. Steinschneider, *Catalogus librorum hebraeorum in bibliotheca bodleiana*, 2 vols. (1852–60; 1998), and (9) A.E. Cowley, *A Concise Catalogue of the Hebrew Printed Books in the Bodleian Library* (1929; 1971). Smaller collections, as well as important single manuscripts and books, are to be found in libraries throughout Europe, Israel, and the U.S. An older introduction to the more significant collections of specifically Yiddish books, as well as a bibliography of publications on Yiddish literature up to 1912, is included in (10) Ber Borokhov, "Di Bibliotek fun Yidishn Filolog," *Pinkes* (1913).

A useful bibliography of printed Yiddish works is still (11) M. Steinschneider, "Jüdisch-Deutsche Literatur," in: *Serapeum* (1848–49; 1961), although it is in many respects quite unreliable. Concerning Yiddish manuscripts, their publication and the references to them in various studies, (12) C. Habersaat, "Repertorium der jiddischen Handschriften," *Rivista degli studi orientali*, 29 (1954), 53–70; 30 (1955), 235–249; 31 (1956), 41–49, represents a useful, though difficult, source. Vast collections of early Yiddish texts have been made accessible in facsimile editions via several microfilm publications: (13) Ch. Shmeruk (ed.), "Research Collections on Microfiche: Jewish Studies, Yiddish Books" (1976 ff.); (14) H. Bobzin and H. Suess (eds.), *Sammlung Wagenseil* (1996); (15) H. Suess and H. Troeger (eds.), *Die Hebraica und Judaica der Sammlung Tychsen der Universitaetsbibliothek Rostock* (2002). Digitalized facsimiles of the extensive Hebrew-alphabet collection of the Universitaetsbibliothek, Frankfurt am Main, are available online: http://stub.semantics.de/jd/templates/template.xml?Sprache=eng&js=yes&Skript=Home

Recent decades have seen the discovery of numerous unknown or up to that point incomplete early Yiddish texts; further such discoveries may well still come to light. An outstanding example is the Yiddish rhymed couplet of 1272 found in the Worms *makhzor*, published and analyzed in (16) D. Sadan, "*Ketovet Rishona be-Yidish Kedumah be-Maḥzor Vermeyza*," in: *Kiryat Sefer* 38 (1963), 575–76; (17) M. Vaynraykh, "A Yidisher Zats fun far Zibn Hundert Yor," in: *Yidishe Shprakh* 23 (1963), 87–93 (correction in vol. 24 (1964)), 61–62. The most significant find was the Cambridge University Library manuscript from the Cairo *Genizah*, dated ca. 1382, known already before World War II, but not published until (18) L. Fuks, *The Oldest Known Literary Documents of Yiddish Literature* (c. 1382), 1–2 (1957); (19) *Dukus Horant*, ed. P.F. Ganz, F. Norman, W. Schwarz. (with excursus by S.A. Birnbaum) (1964); (20) H.J. Hakkarainen, *Studien zum Cambridger Codex T-S. 10. K. 22*, 3 vols. (1967–73). The definitive scholarly edition of the codex is (21) E. Katz (ed.), "Six Germano-Judaic Poems from the Cairo Genizah" (Diss. UCLA, 1963). The scholarly controversies surrounding the texts of the Cambridge manuscript (e.g. linguistic and cultural identity of the texts) are comprehensively treated by (22) J.C. Frakes, *The Politics of Interpretation: Alterity and Ideology in Old Yiddish Studies* (1989).

Other discoveries include: the recognition of several dozen glosses in the commentaries of Rashi (11th century) as examples of early Yiddish (see (23) E. Timm, "Zur Frage der Echtheit von Raschis jiddischen Glossen," in: *Beitraege zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur,* 107 (1985), 45–81); a complete text of the renaissance epic, *Pariz un Viene* (Verona, 1594), and the magnificent fable collection of the *Ki-bukh* (Verona, 1595). Such discoveries of early Yiddish texts have transformed the study of early Yiddish by extending the beginnings of Yiddish literature back to a much earlier date and by appreciably broadening its scope far beyond the narrow confines imagined by older scholarship. A radical change is thus called for in the hitherto available and accepted descriptions of early Yiddish works in the standard histories of early Yiddish literature: (24) Elazar Shulman, *Sefat Yehudit-Ashkenazit veSifruta* (1903; 1913); (25) M. Erik, *Vegn Altyidishn Roman un Novele* (1926); (26) M. Erik, *Di Geshikhte fun der Yidisher Literatur fun di Eltste Tsaytn biz der Haskole Tkufe* (1928); (27) M. Vaynraykh [Weinreich], *Bilder fun der Yidisher Literatur*

Geshikhte (1928); (28) Y. Tsinberg [Zinberg], *Di Geshikhe fun der Literatur bay Yidn*, 9 vols. (1929–37; Heb. tr. (1956–60); Eng. tr., 1972–78, esp. vol.. 6 of the Yid. ed.

These works have shortcomings which must be taken into account: the paucity of specific preliminary studies upon which they are based; the lack of a detailed and comprehensive investigation of the relationship between Yiddish and Hebrew literature on the one hand, and German literature on the other; failure to examine the role of Yiddish and Yiddish literature in the broad scope of Jewish culture of the period; and absence of detailed analysis of the nature of the literary genres. Considerable doubt must also be expressed about the "Spielmann" theory of the historical outlines of Yiddish literature, a theory borrowed by Erik and Weinreich from antiquated German literary research and grafted onto Yiddish literature without proper foundation; see: (29 Kh. Shmeruk, "Di Naye Editsye funem Altyidishn Mlokhim-Bukh," *Di Goldene Keyt* 59 (1967) and (30) Ch. Shmeruk, "Can the Cambridge Manuscript Support the Spielman Theory in Yiddish Literature?" in: *Studies in Yiddish and Folklore* (1986), 1–36. Detailed studies of specific works can teach us much, as in (31) M.I. Goldwasser, "Azhoras Noshim": a Linguistic Study of a Sixteenth-Century Yiddish Work (1982).

The lack of up-to-date scholarly surveys of the period has been satisfied by (32) Ch. Shmeruk, *Sifrut Yidish: Perakim leToldoteha* (1978; rev. Yid. tr.), (33) *Prokim fun der Yidisher Literatur-Geshikhte* (1988), and especially (34) J. Baumgarten, *Introduction à la littérature yiddish ancienne* (1993; rev. ed. and tr. by J.C. Frakes, (35) *Introduction to Old Yiddish Literature*, 2005). The recent anthology edited by (36) J.C. Frakes, *Early Yiddish Texts 1100–1750* (2004) provides critical editions of more than a hundred texts representing the broad scope of extant genres from this period (including many of the early texts discussed in the present entry), along with extensive bibliography of scholarly studies; it thus appreciably lessens the scholarly dependence on earlier, methodologically often problematic anthologies, such as: (37) J.C. Wagenseil, *Belehrung Der Jüdisch-Teutschen Red-und Schreibart* (1699); (38) J.J. Schudt, *Jüdische Merckwürdigkeiten*, III. *Theil* (1714); and (39) M. Grünbaum, *Jüdisch-deutsche Chrestomatie* (1882), as well as the first sections of: (40) *Antologye Finf Hundert Yohr Idishe Poezye*, ed. M. Basin, 1–2 (1917); (41) E. Korman *Yidishe Dikhterins, Antologye* (1928). The complex socio-linguistic development of the modern Yiddish literary language is comprehensively analyzed by (42) Dov-Ber Kerler, *The Origins of Modern Literary Yiddish* (1999).

Studies of Bible translations, Bible exegesis, and poems based on the Bible and midrashim, including texts, are included in: (43) W. Staerk and A. Leitzmann, *Die Jüdisch-Deutschen Bibelübersetzungen von den Anfängen bis zum Ausgang des 18. Jahrhunderts* (1923); (44) N. Leibowitz, *Die Übersetzungstechnik der Jüdisch-Deutschen Bibelübersetzungen des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts* (1931); (45) Sh. Noble, *Khumesh-Taytsh* (1943); (46) Sh. Birnboym, "Zeks Hundert Yor Tilim Oyf Yidish," in: *For Max Weinreich…* (1964); (47) M. Aptroot, "Bible Translation as Cultural Reform: The Amsterdam Yiddish Bibles 1678–1679" (Diss., Oxford, 1989); (48) L. Landau, "A Hebrew-German Paraphrase of the Book of Esther," *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, 18 (1919); (49) M. Stern (ed.), *Lieder des Venezianischen Lehrers Gumprecht von Szczebrzeszyn (um 1555)* (1922); (50) L. Landoy, "Der Yidisher Medrash Vayosha," *Filologishe Shriftn* 3 (1929); (51) F. Falk (ed.), *Das Schemuelbuch des Mosche Esrim Wearba*, I–II (1961); (52) L. Fuks, *Das Altjiddische Epos Melokhim-Bukh*, I–II (65); (53) P. Matenko and S. Sloan, "The Akeydes Yitskhok," in: *Two Studies in Yiddish Culture* (1968); see also the studies of the Cambridge Genizah manuscript (18–22). The identity of the genre of epic on biblical themes as specifically *midrashic* (and not *biblical* as such) was worked out by (54) D. Sadan, "The Midrashic Background of 'The Paradise' and its Implications for the Evaluation of the Cambridge Yiddish Codex (1382)," in: *The Field of Yiddish*, 2 (1965), 253–62, and (55) W.O. Dreessen, "Midraschepik und Bibelepik," *Zeitschrift fuer deutsche Philologie*, 100 (1981), 78–97.

Texts of the early Yiddish plays are included in the magisterial collective volume: (56) Ch. Shmeruk (ed.), *Maḥazot Mikra'iyyim be-Yiddish (1697–1750)* (1979), that also provides a broad survey of the history and function of drama in Ashkenaz; see also (57) E. Butzer, *Die Anfaenge der jiddischen purim shpiln in ihrem literarischen und kulturgeschichtlichen Kontext* (2003). Earlier discussions include: (58) Y. Shiper, *Geshikhte fun Yidisher Teater-Kunst un Drama*, 1–3 (1923–28); and in the first chapters of (59) B. Gorin, *Di Geshikhte fun Idishn Teater* (1929); on contemporary ḥasidic Purim plays, see (60) Ch. Shmeruk, "Ha-Shem ha-Mashma'uti Mordekhai-Markus: Gilgulo ha-Sifruti shel Idiyal Ḥevrati," in: *Tarbiz*, 29 (1959) and (61) Shifre Epshteyn (Shifra Epstein), *Donyel-Shpil beKhsides Bubov* (Eng. title: *The Daniel-shpil in the Bobover Hasidic Community*) (1998).

On Elye Bokher, see (62) G.E. Weil, Élie Lévita, humaniste et massorète (1963); (63) J. Joffe (ed.), *Elye Bokher: Poetishe Shafungen in Yidish, I* (1949); (33) Ch. Shmeruk, *Prokim* (1988), 97–120, 141–56; (35) J. Baumgarten, *Introduction* (2005), 163–206. (64) *Pariz un' Viene* is edited by Ch. Shmeruk (1996), and he is the subject of an innovative literary analysis by (65) A. Schulz, *Die Zeichen des Körpers und der Liebe: "Paris und Vienna" in der jiddischen Fassung des Elia Levita* (2000).

Texts of songs and hymns can be found in: (66) F. Rosenberg, "Über eine Sammlung Deutscher Volks-und Gesellschaftsliedern in Hebräischen Lettern," *Zeitschrift für die Geschichte der Juden in Deutschland*, 2 (1888), 3 (1889); (67) L. Löwenstein, "Jüdische und Jüdisch-Deutsche Lieder," in *Jubelschrift… I. Hildesheimer* (Berlin, 1890); (68) Y. Shatski (ed.), *Simkhes HaNefesh fun Elkhonen Kirkhon* (1926); (69) Ch. Shmeruk, "The Earliest Aramaic and Yiddish Version of the 'Song of the Kid' *(Khad Gadye)*," *The Field of Yiddish*, 1 (1954); (70) Kh. Shmeruk, "Velkher Yontef Iz Der Bester?," *Di Goldene Keyt* 47 (1963); (71) A. Yaari, "Gilgulo Shel Shir beYidish al Aseret haDibrot," *Kiryat Sefer* 41 (1966).

The *Ma'ase-bukh* has been translated into English by (72) M. Gaster, *Ma'aseh Book,* 1–2 (1934); into German by (73) Ulf Diedrich (2003), both based on the Amsterdam edition of 1732; and into French (with facing page facsimile of the *editio princeps* of 1602) by (74) Astrid Starck, *Un beau livre d'histoires / Eyn shön Mayse bukh*, 2 vols. (2003). See also (75) J. Meitlis, *Das Ma'assebuch, Seine Entstehung und Quellengeschichte* (1933) and (76) I.Z. Sand, "A Linguistic Comparison of Five Versions of the Mayse-Bukh," *The Field of Yiddish*, 2 (1965).

Fictional prose is discussed in (77) Y. Rivkind, "Di Historishe Alegorye fun R' Meyer Sh"ts," *Filologishe Shriftn* 3 (1929); (78) Kh. Shmeruk, "Ha-Sipurim al R' Adam Ba'al Shem ve-Gilguleihem be-Nuskho'ot Shivkhei ha-Besht," *Tsion* 28 (1963). The *Ki-bukh / Seyfer Mesholim* has been translated (with facsimile) by (79) A. Freimann, *Die Fabeln des Kuhbuches*, 2 vols. (1926) and (80) E. Katz, *Book of Fables; The Yiddish Fable Collection of Reb Moshe Wallich* (1994). See also (81) S. Tsfatman, *Bein Ashkenaz le-Sefarad – Le-Toledot ha-Sippur ha-Yehudi bi-Ymei ha-Beinayim* (1993) and (82) E. Timm, "'Beria und Simra': Eine jiddische Erzaehlung des 16. Jahrhunderts," in: *Literaturwissenschaftliches Jahrbuch*, n.s. 14 (1973), 1–94.

Most of the early Yiddish historical songs were listed in chronological order by (83) M. Steinschneider, *Die Geschichtsliteratur der Juden* (1905). The function of such songs is analyzed by (84) Kh. Turniansky, "Yiddish 'Historical' Songs as Sources for the History of the Jews in Pre-partition Poland," in: *Polin,* 4 (1989), 42–52. Editions of representative texts are (85) R. Ulmer (ed.), *Turmoil, Trauma and Triumph: the Fettmilch Uprising in Frankfurt-am-Main (1612–1616)* (2001) [= *Megiles Vints*]; (86) S. Neuberg (ed.), *Das Schwedesch lid* (2000). The relationship of Yiddish drama to German drama is analyzed in (56), of poetry in (66), of prose, in: (87) A. Paucker, "Yiddish Versions of Early German Prose Novels," in: *Journal of Jewish Studies*, 10 (1959).

The Arthurian legends in Yiddish are the subject of (88) L. Landau, *Arthurian Legends or the Hebrew-German Rhymed Version of the Legend of King Arthur* (1912) [with ed.], (89); R.G. Warnock, "The Arthurian Tradition in Hebrew and Yiddish," in: *King Arthur Through the Ages* (1990), 1:189–208 and (90) A. Jaeger, *Ein juedischer Artusritter* (2000). The problems posed by this type of adapted literature were also discussed in connection with the Cambridge manuscript.

The prosody of Yiddish poetry comes in for incidental treatment in general summaries and in connection with the publication of texts; it is dealt with specifically in (91) B. Korman, *Die Reimtechnik der Estherparaphrase Cod. Hamburg 144* (1930), and (92). Hrushovski, "The Creation of Accentual lambs in European Poetry and their First Employment in a Yiddish Romance in Italy (1508–09)," in: *For Max Weinreich…* (1964).

Modern Literature

Until recently modern Yiddish literature lacked proper treatment in works based on modern methods of research and criticism. Much of the published material is confined to bibliography, biography, impressionistic criticism influenced by current events, eulogies, personal memoirs, introductions to the collected works of individual authors, and anthologies. There is an urgent need for critical editions of the literary works of this period; even the works of such authors as S.Y. Abramovitsh, Y.L. Perets, and Sholem-Aleykhem have not been published in complete and authoritative editions.

(93) The biographical encyclopedia by Z. *Rejzen, *Leksikon fun der Yidisher Literatur, Prese un Filologye*, 1–4, Vilna, 1928–29, which contains basic bibliographical data, and (94) *Leksikon fun der Nayer Yidisher Literatur,* 1–8 (1956–81) are useful guides for initial information about modern Yiddish writers. These works are supplemented by (95) Berl Kagan's *Leksikon fun Yidish-Shraybers* (1986). For bibliography, recourse may be had to the chapters on Judeo-German, Yiddish biography, and bio-bibliography in: (96) Sh. Shunami, *Mafteakh haMaftekhot* (1965). The following work (97) Y. Gar and F. Fridman, *Bibliografye fun Yidishe Bikher Vegn Khurbm un Gvure* (1962) is an important source for the literature of the Holocaust and postwar period.

The principal summaries of modern Yiddish literature are: (98) L. Wiener, *The History of Yiddish Literature in the Nineteenth Century* (1899); (99) M. Erik, *Etyudn tsu der Geshikhte fun Der Haskole, 1789–1881* (1934); (100) M. Viner, *Tsu Der Geshikhte fun der Yidisher Literatur in 19tn Yorhundert*, 2 vols. (1940; 1945–6. These may be complemented by (101) A.A. Roback, *Contemporary Yiddish Literature* (1957), and (102) S. Liptzin, *The Flowering of Yiddish Literature* (1964), and (103) *The Maturing of Yiddish Literature* (1970), as well as the sections on Yiddish literature in volumes 7–8 of (28) and in the additional volume 9 of that work: (104) Y. Tsinberg, *Di Bli-Tkufe fun der Haskole*, vol. 10 (1966). (105) *A Bridge of Longing; the Lost Art of Yiddish Storytelling* (1995) by David G. Roskies is an acute study of Yiddish narration focused on the central figures Nakhmen *Bratslaver, Ayzik-Meyer *Dik, Perets, Sholem-Aleykhem, Der Nister, Itsik Manger and Yitskhok Bashevis [Singer]. (106) The same scholar's earlier *Against the Apocalypse: Responses to Catastrophe in Modern Jewish Culture* (1984) is a seminal work in Yiddish as well as Holocaust studies. (107) Dovid Katz's *Words on Fire: the Unfinished Story of Yiddish* (2004) is a highly individual, footnote-free popular though learned survey.

Among the collections of critical articles and studies, mention should be made of (108) Sh. Bikl, *Shrayber fun Mayn Dor*, 1–2 (1958; 1965); (109) Y. Glatshteyn, *In Tokh Genumen*, 1–5 (1947, 1956; 1960; 1963); (110) A. Tabatshnik, *Dikhter un Dikhtung* (1965); (111) N. Mayzil, *Noente un Vayte*, 1–2 (1929–30); (112) N. Mayzil, *Forgeyer un Mittsaytler* (1946); (113) N. Mayzil, *Noente un Eygene* (1957); (114) N.-B. Minkov, *Zeks Yidishe Kritiker* (1954); (115) Sh. Niger, *Geklibene* Shriftn, 1–3 (1928); (116) Sh. Niger, *Dertseylers un Romanistn*, 1 (1946); (117) Sh. Niger, *Bleter Geshikhte fun der Yidisher Literatur* (1959); (118) D. Sadan, *Avney Bedek* (1962); (119) D. Sadan, *Avney Miftan*, vol. 1 (1962); (120) Sh.- L. Tsitron, *Dray Literarishe Doyres*, 1–4 (1931; 1922); (121) B. Rivkin, *Undzere Prozaiker* (1951).

Comprehensive anthologies include (122) Z. Rejzen, *Fun Mendelson biz Mendele* (1923); (123) N. Shtif, *Di Eltere Yidishe Literatur, Literarishe Khrestomatye* (1929); (124) A. Goldberg, *Undzer Dramaturgye, Leyenbukh in der Yidisher Drame* (1961). The following are anthologies in Hebrew translation: (125) *Akhisefer, Maasef leDivrey Sifrut… veTargumim min haShira haIdit*, ed. Sh. Niger and M. Ribilov (1944); (126) *Al Naharot Tisha Makhzorey Shira miSifrut Yidish*, ed. and tr. Sh. Meltser (1956); (127) M. Basuk, *Mivkhar Shirat Yidish, leman Y.-L. Perets ad Yameinu* (1963). In English translation there are a number of anthologies of prose. (128) I. Howe and E. Greenberg (eds.), *A Treasury of Yiddish Stories* (1953; paperback, 1958) has achieved classic status and may be credited more than any other single volume with bringing Yiddish fiction to the admiring attention of several generations of non-Yiddish-speaking readers. (Noyekh Miller and Leonard Prager have collected and published the Yiddish originals of the entire anthology on the Mendele website under the rubric "Onkelos"). The formidable editorial team composed of the brilliant essayist and critic of literature Howe and the Yiddish intellectual and poet Greenberg compiled a parallel volume (129), *A Treasury of Yiddish Poetry* (1969); an important bilingual anthology of Yiddish poetry (130) is *The Penguin Book of Modern Yiddish Verse*, ed. I. Howe, R.R. Wisse, and Ch. Shmeruk (1987). The 39 poets included in this volume were by the editors' collective judgment admitted to membership in an as yet undeclared poetic canon. Yiddish literature in the U.S. is treated in the following works: (131) K. Marmor, *Der Onheyb fun der Yidisher Literatur in Amerike, 1870–1890* (1944); (132) N.-B. Minkov, *Pionern fun Yidisher Poezye in Amerike*, 1–3 (1956); (133) A. Shulman, *Geshikhte fun der Yidisher Literatur in Amerike, 1870–1900* (1943); (134) N. Shteynberg, *Yung Amerike* (1917; 19302); (135) B. Grobard, *A Fertl Yorhundert* (1935); (136) B. Rivkin, *Yidishe Dikhter in Amerike* (1947); (137) B. Rivkin, *Grunt-Tendentsn fun der Yidisher Literatur in Amerike* (1948); (138) A. Pomerants, *Proletpen* (1935). (139) The entire Yiddish *oeuvre* of Menke Katz translated by Benjamin and Barbara Harshav is presented in *Menke* (2005), introduced by Dovid Katz with a monographic survey of 20th-century Yiddish literary politics in New York.

Anthologies of American Yiddish literature are: (140) *Antologye, di Idishe Dikhtung in Amerike biz Yohr 1919*, ed. D. Landoy (1919); (141) *In Zikh, Antologye* (1920); (142) N. Shteynberg's miscellany *Idish America* (1929) gives a good sense of the literary scene at the time; (143) *Hemshekh-Antologye, fun Amerikaner Yidisher Dikhtung, 1918–1943*, ed. M. Shtarkman (1945); (144) *Amerikaner Yidishe Poezye*, ed. M. Basin (1940); (145) N. Mayzil, ed. *Amerike in Yidishn Vort – Antologye* (1955) is a thematic anthology of America in Yiddish literature in translation; and (146) H. Goodman (ed.), *The New Country, Stories from the Yiddish about Life in America* (1961). (147) Benjamin and Barbara Harshav's *American Yiddish Poetry / A Bilingual Anthology* (1986) is an outstandingly designed book and its translations with the participation of K. Hellerstein, B. McHale, and A. Norich set new standards in the demanding art of poetry translation. (148) The sumptuous two-volume folio *Yiddish Literature in America 1870–2000, Anthology*, ed. E.S. Goldsmith (1999), with its generous allotment of space for all its authors, is a retrospective exhibition.

A bibliography of Yiddish literature in the Soviet Union is included in (149) *Pirsumim Yehudiim beVrit haMoatsot 1917–1960, Reshimot Bibliografiyot*, compiled Y.Y. Kohen, ed. Ch. Shmeruk (1961); (150) A. Abtshuk, *Etyudn un Materyaln tsu der Geshikhte fun der Yidisher Literatur-Bavegung in FSSR 1917–1927* (1934) is of great documentary value for the first ten years of the Soviet regime. The Soviet approach to Yiddish literature in the U.S.S.R. is given in the following collations of criticism: (151) M. Litvikov, *In Umru* 1 (1919), 2 (1926); (152) Y. Bronshteyn, *Atake* (1931), while the non-Soviet approach is to be found in (153) Sh. Niger, *Yidishe Shrayber in Sovyet-Rusland* (1958) and (154) Ch. Shmeruk, "Twenty-Five Years of *Sovetish Heymland* – Impressions and Criticism," in: Y. Ro'i and I. Beker (eds.), *Jewish Culture and Identity in the Soviet Union* (1991), 191–207; a short summary in English is (155) Ch. Shmeruk, "Yiddish Literature in the U.S.S.R.," in: *The Jews in Soviet Russia since 1917*, ed. L. Kochan (Oxford, 1970). See also (156) S. Wolitz, "The Kiev-Group (1918–1920) Debate: The Function of Literature," in: *Yiddish*, 3 (1978), 97–106.

The main anthologies of this literature are (157) *Oyf Naye Vegn, Almanakh, Draysik Yor Sovetish-Yidish Shafn* (1949), and (158) *Dertseylungen fun Yidishe Sovetishe Shrayber* (1969), both edited in the Soviet Union; (159) *A Shpigl oyf a Shteyn, Antologye Poezye un Proze fun Tsvelf Farshnitene Yidishe Shraybers in Ratn-Farband*, ed. Ch. Shmeruk; selected by B. Hrushovski, A. Sutskever and Ch. Shmeruk (1964; rev.ed.1988); (160) *Lo Amut Ki Ekhye, 24 Sippurim mi-Sifrut Yidish be-Vrit ha-Mo'aẓot* (1957), an anthology of Hebrew translations. See also (161) I. Howe and E. Greenberg (eds.), *Ashes Out of Hope – Fiction by Soviet Yiddish Writers* (1977).

Yiddish literature in Poland after World War I is treated in (162) Y.Y. Trunk, *Di Yidishe Proze in Poyln in Der Tkufe tsvishn Beyde Velt-Milkhomes* (1949); (163) B. Mark, *Umgekumene Shrayber fun Getos un Lagern* (1954). Anthologies of this literature from Poland are: (164) *Antologye fun der Yidisher Proze in Poyln Tsvishn Beyde Velt-Milkhomes (1914–1939)*, ed. Y.Y. Trunk and A. Tseytlin (1946); (165) B. Heler, *Dos Lid Iz Geblibn, Antologye, Lider fun Yidishe Dikhter in Poyln, Umgekumene Beys der Hitleristisher Okupatsye* (1951).

Other East European centers of Yiddish literature are the subject of (166) M. Naygreshl, "Di Moderne Yidishe Literatur in Galitsye," *Fun Noentn Over* (1955); (167) Sh. Bikl, "Vegn dem Onhoyb fun der Moderner Yidisher Literatur in Rumenye," *Shmuel Niger-Bukh* (1958); (168) *Oyfshtayg, Zamlbukh: Hundert Yor Yidishe Literatur in Rumenye*, ed. Meyer Rispler.

Anthologies in Israel of Yiddish literature include: (169) *Vortslen, Antologye fun Yidish Shafn in Yisroel / Poezye un Proze* ed. A. Shamri (1966); and (170) M. Khalmish, *Mi-Kan u-mi-Karov, Antologyah shel Sipurei Yidish be-Erez-Yisrael mi-Reishit ha-Me'ah ve-ad Yameinu* (1966); (171) *Yidish-Literatur in Medines-Yisroel / Antologye*, 2 vols. (1991) [edited by H. Osherovitsh, Sh. Vorzoger, M. Yelin, E. Podriatshik, M. Tsanin] [single selections of 204 writers who lived in Israel with brief bio-bibliographical introductions and photographs].

The lack of adequate attention to Yiddish women authors has been belatedly and partially addressed in the anthology of short story translations: (172) *Found Treasures / Stories by Yiddish Women Writers*, ed. F. Forman, E. Raicus, S. Silberstein Swartz, and M. Wolfe (1994). (173) Kathryn Hellerstein has translated and commented upon a wide selection of Kadya Molodowsky's poems in her *Papirene Brikn* (1999), with Yiddish original facing English translation. Dafna Clifford has written perceptively about Esther Kreitman, the relatively little-known sister of the famous Singer brothers: (174) "From Diamond Cutters to Dog Races: Antwerp and London in the Work of Esther Kreitman," in: *Prooftexts*, 23 (2003), 320–37.

Specific problems in poetics and prosody are studied in the following works: (175) D. Hofshteyn and P. Shames, *Teorye fun Literatur, Poetik* (Kharkov 1930); (176) N. Stutshkov, *Yidisher Gramen-Leksikon* (1931); (177) A. Vaynraykh, "Vegn Filtrafikn Gram," *Yidishe Shprakh* 15 (1955); (178) U. Weinreich, "On Cultural History of Yiddish Rhyme," *Essays on Jewish Life and Thought* (1959); and (179) B. Hrushovski, "On Free Rhythms in Yiddish Poetry," *The Field of Yiddish*, 1 (1954).

The quality of translations of Yiddish literature into English has improved in the past decade and with it the quality of anthologies of Yiddish literature in English translation. (180) Hugh Denman lists 90 anthologies of Yiddish literature in English (in *The Mendele Review*, 8.08, July 29, 2004), including one of short fiction edited by the veteran anthologist of Yiddish Joachim Neugroschel. No earlier short story collection approaches the breadth of (181) *No Star Too Beautiful* (2002), which gives recognition to older Yiddish literature. Neugroschel includes extracts from the *Mayse-bukh* and *Tsenerene*, and stories by Anski, Asch, Bashevis, Bergelson, Bimko, Dik, Dinezon, Elye Bokher, Ettinger, Avrom Karpinovitsh, Glikl, Kipnis, Kobrin, Rokhl Korn, Kulbak, H. Leyvik, Linetski, Abramovitsh, Nakhmen of Bratslav, Perets, Der Nister, Nomberg, Yoysef Perl, Yeshue Perle, Pinski, Avrom Reyzn, Khave Roznfarb, Yoyne Roznfeld, Lamed Shapiro, Sholem-Aleykhem, Spektor, Y.-Y. Trunk, and others.

Translation continues to be a challenge to students of Yiddish, who inevitably encounter the half-truth that Yiddish is untranslatable. In a recent effort at rendering Abramovitsh (whose Yiddish, it is claimed, was already somewhat archaic a century ago) freshly and engagingly, the late Ted Gorelik in translating *Fishke the Lame* "conveys the intricacies of Abramovitsh's Yiddish diction by echoing the dialects found in English novels of the 18th and 19th centuries by such authors as Laurence Sterne and Charles Dickens, whose work influenced Abramovitsh." On the other hand, Hillel Halkin, a veteran translator of Hebrew in particular, "strikes a balance between archaic and modern elements of style." (182) S.Y. Abramovitsh, *Tales of Mendele the Book Seller*, ed. D. Miron and K. Frieden (1996), lxii.

For material on research in Yiddish literature see the following: L. Prager, in: J.A. Fishman (ed.), *Never Say Die! A Thousand Years of Yiddish in Jewish Life and Letters* (1981), 529–45; D. Roskies, in: *Prooftexts*, 1 (1981), 28–42; Ch. Shmeruk, in: *Di Goldene Keyt*, 91 (1976), 39–48.

[Chone Shmeruk / Leonard Prager (2nd ed.)]

ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY: M. Aptroot, in: G. Estraikh and M. Krutikov (eds.), *Yiddish in the Contemporary World* (1999), 43–55; A. Novershtern, in: *ibid.*, 1–19; M. Krutikov, in: *Shofar,* 20:3 (2002), 1–13; C. Kuznitz, in: M. Goodman (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Jewish Studies* (2002), 541–71; L. Prager, in: *La Rassegna Mensile di Israel*, 62:1–2 (1996), 451–64; J. Shandler, in: *Conservative Judaism,* 54:4 (Summer 2002), 69–77; M. Isaacs, in: L.J. Greenspoon (ed.), *Yiddish Language and Culture Then and Now* (1998), 165-88; idem, in: D.-B. Kerler (ed.), *Politics of Yiddish* (1998), 85-96; idem, in: J. Sherman (ed.), *Yiddish After the Holocaust* (2004), 131-48; idem, in: *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, 138 (1999), 9-30; idem, in: *La culture yiddish aujourd'hui* (2004), 14-21; A.F. Roller, *The Literary Imagination of Ultra-Orthodox Jewish Women* (1999); J. Shandler, in: *Pakntreger* (2002), 21-7.

YIDDISH THEATER, FOLKSBIENE. New York City's Folksbiene Yiddish Theater, which the *New York Post* called "one of the city's most remarkable cultural institutions," is America's sole surviving professional Yiddish theater and the longest continuously producing Yiddish theater company in the world. When Folksbiene was founded in 1915 on the Lower East Side, New York City boasted 14 other Yiddish theater companies. True to its name (the People's Stage) the Folksbiene Yiddish Theater is dedicated to producing shows and events that are socially relevant and that foster understanding and cohesion within the broader Jewish community.

From 1915 to 1998 the Folksbiene existed under the auspices of the *Workmen's Circle/Arbeter Ring as a semi-professional company, serving an immigrant community and presenting literary Yiddish plays as well as plays from the world repertoire in Yiddish translation. In 1998 Folksbiene's board of directors ushered in a new era by replacing the company's management and instituting a new mandate to modernize the company and expand the audience beyond its strictly Yiddish-speaking core constituency. Its mission is twofold: to be the custodian of a rich cultural legacy, while developing new works that will add to this legacy. Zalmen Mlotek, noted conductor and Yiddish music specialist, took over the leadership and brought in new and innovative programming.

The Folksbiene became independently incorporated, employed a fully professional staff and performers, and provided English and Russian translations for non-Yiddish speakers. By the fall of 2004, the Folksbiene had ushered in a dramatic expansion of its programming, producing a year-round schedule of mainstage productions and a wide array of other music, literary, and theatrical events. More and more theatergoers with no previous exposure to Yiddish culture flock to the theater to sample all the excitement. In an effort to continue this growth, the Folksbiene instituted an Outreach Program to bring Yiddish performance to communities outside of New York City. Looking forward, the Folksbiene is in the process of establishing itself as a national membership organization and has raised $1.9 million toward building a permanent home.

See also *Theater: Yiddish Theater.

[Zalman Mlotek (2nd ed.)]

YIDISHER KEMFER ("Jewish Fighter"), U.S. Yiddish Labor Zionist publication. Founded in Philadelphia in 1906 as an organ of Po'alei Zion in America, the *Kemfer* appeared as an irregular weekly in New York from 1907 to 1923, as a biweekly from 1924 to 1931 (during which period it was called *Yidisher Arbeter*), for many years thereafter a weekly, then in 1990 a biweekly and, since the mid-1990s, as a bimonthly magazine. Initially sponsored by the Labor Zionist Organization-Poale Zion, later under the auspices of the Jewish National Workers Alliance (renamed the Farband Labor Zionist Order in 1950), and since the mid-1960s by the Labor Zionist Alliance's "Labor Zionist Letters." During its long history, it was edited by such distinguished figures as Kalman *Marmor, David *Pinski, Ber *Borochov, Joel *Entin, Chaim *Greenberg, and Mordechai Strigler. It was for many years an international center for Labor Zionist thought and one of the most eminent Yiddish political and social journals in the United States and indeed in the world. From 1963 through 1995, under Strigler's tenure, the *Kemfer* published such renowned authors as Jacob Glatstein, Chaim Grade, H. Leivik, Abraham Reizen, and Isaac Bashevis Singer. From the summer of 1998, it was edited by Jacob Weitzner.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: D. Smith, "Mordechai Strigler, 76, Editor of Yiddish Forward," in: *The New York Times* (May 12, 1998).

[Hillel Halkin / Arieh Lebowitz (2nd ed.)]

YIDISHE SHTIME, a daily paper published in Kovno (Lithuania). Founded in 1919, it was published by the General Zionist Organization of Lithuania, but became the acknowledged organ of the whole of Lithuanian Jewry. At first the paper consisted only of two small sheets, but from the end of 1920 it ran to eight pages on weekdays and 12 or more at weekends and on holidays. The first editor was L. Garfunkel, who was succeeded in 1921 by A. Elyashiv. R. Rubinstein was chief editor from 1923 and was largely responsible for developing the newspaper and giving it high standing. From time to time *Yidishe Shtime* had regular supplements, such as *Hed Lita* ("Echo of Lithuania") which appeared weekly in Hebrew; *Die Welt*, an illustrated weekly printed in Berlin; and *Musu garsas* ("Our Voice") in Lithuanian. In June 1940, with the invasion of Lithuania by the Russians, the paper and its printing press were nationalized and turned into an organ of the local Jewish Communists. Rubinstein, the editor, was dismissed, imprisoned soon after for the "crime of Zionism," and sent to a concentration camp in northern Russia. The paper survived only a short time until the appearance of the official Communist Yiddish journal, *Kovner Emes* ("Kovno Truth").

[Leib Garfunkel]

YIDISHES TAGEBLAT, New York Yiddish daily newspaper. Founded by K.H. *Sarasohn in 1885, it was regarded as the first Yiddish daily in the world, although it did not publish daily (excluding Saturday) until 1894. The *Tageblat* continued publication until 1928, when it was amalgamated with the *Morning Journal* [*Morgen zshurnal*]. Its first editor was M. Jalomstein, who was succeeded in 1892 by Johann (John) Paley, under whom the newspaper became extremely influential, circulation figures ranging from 30,000 at the end of the century to 70,000 in 1913. The paper had an anti-socialist policy, later taking a more progressive trend but without departing from its position as spokesman for Orthodoxy and the maintenance of Jewish customs, literature, and language.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Anon, "A Yiddish Daily Paper," in: *Salvation – A New Evangelical Monthly*, vol. 1 (Jan. 1899); Y. Chaiken, *Yidishe bleter in Amerike* (1946); H. Hapgood, *The Spirit of the Ghetto* (1966); Z. Rejzen, *Leksikon fun der Yidisher Literatur, Prese un Filologye*, 4 (1929)

YIGDAL (Heb. יִגְדַּל; "May He be magnified"), opening word of a liturgical hymn based upon the Thirteen Articles of Faith enumerated by Maimonides. Its authorship is attributed to Daniel b. Judah, a *dayyan* in Rome in the first half of the 14th century. It is also ascribed to Immanuel (b. Solomon) of *Rome, the author of the *Maḥbarot* (see: *Maḥbarot Immanu'el ha-Romi*, ed. by D. Yarden, 1 (1957) 90–93; esp. 90 no. 422). *Yigdal* is metrically constructed and has a single rhyme throughout. Although other poetical renditions of these principles of faith were composed during this period, only *Yigdal* became incorporated into the daily liturgy. In the Ashkenazi ritual, it is usually printed at the start of the daily *Shaḥarit* service, but recited as in the Sephardi, Italian, and Yemenite rituals only at the conclusion of the Friday and festival evening services. Ḥasidim do not recite this hymn at all. The Ashkenazi hymn consists of 13 lines, one for each creed. The Sephardi version, on the other hand, contains 14 lines; the final line of this version is: "These are the 13 bases of the Jewish faith and the tenets of God's law."

English translations of *Yigdal*, retaining the rhyme, have been composed, such as that of Alice Lucas (1852–1935). Her rendition begins:

> The living God we praise, exalt, adore!
> He was, He is, He will be evermore!
> No unity like unto His can be:
> Eternal, inconceivable is He.

It concludes:

> He at the last will His anointed send,
> Those to redeem, who hope, and wait the end.
> God will the dead to life again restore.
> Praised be his glorious Name for evermore! (Hertz, Prayer, 7).

[Aaron Rothkoff]

Musical Rendition

The many melodies for *Yigdal* seem to have been composed, evolved, or adapted more or less independently in each local community. Where the Ashkenazi custom prevails, and also in Yemen, the melodies of *Yigdal* are generally based on the prayer mode and, in this sense, tend toward standardization and a lack of individuality. In the Sephardi Diaspora, however, *Yigdal* has a great number of distinct tunes; none of them seems to be particularly old and all of them draw strongly upon the reservoir of free paraliturgical and secular tunes available within the community and from the surrounding population (such as folk song and military marches). The only element common to most of these is the character of the melodies, which, together with the way in which they are sung by the congregation, combines the moods of pride and cheerfulness.

One *Yigdal* melody has achieved particular fame – the so-called "Leoni *Yigdal*". It is attributed to Meyer Leon, called Leoni, who was *ḥazzan* at the Duke's Place synagogue in London (Ashkenazi). Thomas Olivers, a Wesleyan minister, heard Leoni sing this *Yigdal* there; he decided to render the hymn into English and to introduce it into Christian worship together with its melody. (In another version of the story Olivers first translated the text and then went to Leoni to ask for "a synagogue melody to suit it.") Olivers' version, *The God of Abraham Praise*, first published in 1770, became popular immediately, and is sung to this day in the Anglican service as a processional or general-purpose hymn (*Hymns Ancient and Modern Revised*, no. 637, pp. 868–70). It has also been taken into the hymnals of several other English-speaking Protestant denominations. A.Z. *Idelsohn attempted to relate the Leoni *Yigdal* in a large comparative table to a number of Spanish, Basque and Polish folk songs, to a Sephardi melody for the *piyyut Lekh le-Shalom Geshem u-Vo le-Shalom Tal*, and also to the melodies of the Zionist hymns *Dort wo die Zeder* and *Ha-Tikvah*, together with the well-known motive from Smetana's *Moldau*. Not all of the comparisons in the scheme are musicologically valid. In any case, Idelsohn's main objective here, which was to prove the "Jewish roots" of *Ha-Tikvah*, has been invalidated by the discovery of its true antecedents (see *Ha-Tikvah).

[Bathja Bayer]

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YIḤUS (Heb. יִחוּס, biblical Heb. יִחוּשׂ; "genealogy"), common term for family records, derived from the root יחס ("relationship"). The term is first found in the later books of the Bible, where it means genealogical lists (e.g., I Chron. 9:1, "So all Israel were reckoned by genealogies"). After the return from the Babylonian exile, genealogies were evidently important because those who could not bring evidence of their ancestry, for example, were excluded from the priesthood (Ezra 2:62; Neh. 7:64). The word retained this meaning in the talmudic period where mention is made of a *Megillat Yuḥasin* ("Book of Genealogies"), a commentary on Chronicles whose loss was considered "to have impaired the strength of the sages, and to have dimmed the light of their eyes" (Pes. 62b), where it is related that Simeon b. Azzai said, "I found a book of genealogical records in Jerusalem" (Yev. 49b). The importance of *yiḥus* is revealed in the statement of R. Ḥama b. R. Ḥanina that "When the Holy One, blessed be He, causes His Divine Presence to rest, it is only upon families of pure birth (*mishpaḥot meyuḥasot*) in Israel" (Kid. 70b). There seems, however, to have been some attempt to counter the importance attached to *yiḥus*, as is revealed by such statements as "the learned *mamzer* takes precedence over the ignorant high priest" (Hor. 3:8). In later Jewish tradition considerable importance was attached to *yiḥus* in the matter of arranging marriages (see Sh. Ar., EH chaps. 2–6). Lists of genealogical records were even printed with the express purpose of tracing the *yiḥus* of particular families. Examples of these are to be found in Ḥ.N. and D. Magid's *Mishpaḥat Ginsburg* (1899); S.Z. Kahana's *Anaf Eẓ Avot* (Cracow, 1903); and A. Epstein's *Mishpaḥat Luria* (Vienna, 1901). It was considered particularly valuable to be able to trace one's lineage back to King David. In the introduction to *Migdanot Eli'ezer* (1895), Rabbi E. Ḥarlap of Poland published a family tree showing his descent from King David.

See *Genealogy, *Zekhut Avot, *Family.

YIḤYE, ISAAC HA-LEVI (1867–1932), selected as last chief rabbi of Yemenite Jewry, pupil and grandson of R. Shalom Manẓurah. Yiḥye was known for his Torah learning as well as for his understanding of worldly affairs. Appointed *av bet din* of *Sanʿa in 1901, he became chief rabbi of *Yemen in 1905, holding this position until his death. His rabbinical appointment corresponded with one of Yemenite Jewry's most difficult periods – following upon the war and the severe famine which struck the country in 1903–04. After this the community numbered only a third of its previous size. He reorganized the survivors and restored its religious and communal institutions, both internally and externally with regard to its relations with the central government.

Yiḥye's activities spread throughout Yemen, and by means of emissaries and rabbis he was vigilant in Torah and religious matters throughout the exile; in the fields of education, the rabbinate, matrimony and *takkanot* affecting society. Together with the heads of the Sanʿa community, he strove to found a modern school in the capital. For this purpose they entered into lengthy negotiations with the *Alliance Israélite Universelle, but for various reasons the plan did not materialize. As *av bet din*, his responsa were sent to all parts of Yemen. His numerous activities include the rescue of orphans from conversion and the smuggling of them into Palestine, and his purchase of the land of the Jewish district in Sanʿa from the hands of the Muslim waqf. Yiḥye also maintained contact with the Zionist organization in Palestine and assisted the immigration of Yemenite Jews. As official representative of the Jews, he was treated with honor and respect in the court of the imam and in government circles. He succeeded in using his influence for the benefit of his community.

[Yehuda Ratzaby]

Yiḥye's son, R. SHALOM ISAAC HA-LEVI (1891–?), was *av bet din* and chief rabbi of the Yemenite Jews in Israel (1925–1961) and took part in the educational activities of his community. He was also helpful in editing the responsa of R. Yiḥye *Sāliḥ (parts 1–2, 1946; part 3, 1965) to which he wrote the introduction. In 1955 he edited the Mishnah *Berakhot*, with the commentary of R. Obadiah of *Bertinoro, in Yemenite vocalization.

YINNON (Indelman), MOSHE (1895–1977), Hebrew and Yiddish journalist. Born in Poland, Yinnon was active in the Zionist movement, contributed to the Hebrew press, taught Hebrew, and served as a member of the editorial staff of the Yiddish paper *Haynt*. For a number of years he also edited the Hebrew weekly *Hadoar* in New York City. In 1940 he emigrated to Palestine where from 1943 to 1956 he was editor of the publishing house Mosad Bialik.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Kressel, Leksikon, 2 (1967), 86.

[Eisig Silberschlag]

YISHTABBAḤ (Heb. יִשְׁתַּבַּח; lit. "Praised"), first word and the name of the blessing which concludes the *Pesukei de-Zimra section of the morning service. *Yishtabbaḥ* is referred to in the Talmud as "the benediction of song," where it is designated as a conclusion of the *Hallel* recited during the Passover *seder* (Pes. 118a; Rashbam ad loc.). The blessing is one of praise for God, declaring that unto Him "song and praise are becoming, hymn and psalm, strength and dominion, victory, greatness and might, renown and glory, holiness and sovereignty, blessings and thanksgivings from henceforth even for ever" (Hertz, Prayer, 107).

Its author is unknown, although some attribute it to a certain Solomon, interpreting שִׁמְךָ לָעַד מַלְכֵּנוּ הָאֵל (*Shimkha la'ad Malkenu ha-El*) as an acronym of his name. Others explain this *notarikon* as being in honor of King Solomon (*Abudarham ha-Shalom* (ed.) Jerusalem (1959), 64). The Zohar places great stress on the proper recitation of this prayer since its 13 individual praises of God activate the 13 attributes of God (Zohar, Ex., 132a). *Yishtabbaḥ* should be recited while standing (Sh. Ar., OḤ 53:1 and *Taz* ad loc.), and it is forbidden to interrupt or converse during this portion of the service (*ibid.*, 51:4; cf. 54:3). Following *Yishtabbaḥ*, half-*Kaddish* is recited to separate the *Pesukei de-Zimra* from the *Shema* and its benedictions which follow.

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YIVO (acronym for **Yidisher Visnshaftlekher Institut**) **INSTITUTE FOR JEWISH RESEARCH**, the principal world organization conducting research in *Yiddish and about the history and culture of Yiddish-speaking Jewry. Until 1955, its English designation was the Yiddish Scientific Institute. YIVO sought from its inception to collect and preserve material mirroring Jewish life and to study various Jewish problems objectively and empirically. In this endeavor, YIVO was guided by three basic principles: (1) the peoplehood of Jews, especially as united by the Yiddish language; (2) the enrichment of the life of that people by means of Jewish scholarship; and (3) the application of the most modern methods of research in the quest for a better understanding of Jewish identity and Jewish group phenomena.

The original proposal for a Yiddish academic institute was initiated by Nahum (Nokhem) *Shtif and published in the pamphlet *Di Organizatsye fun der Yidisher Visnshaft* ("The Organization of Yiddish Scholarship," 1925). Shtif argued that Jews should participate in scholarly research in their own language, and that the results of world scholarship be made available to those Jews unfamiliar with languages other than Yiddish. Noting the achievements of various scholars during the preceding decade in new areas of Jewish research, he proposed an institution that would coordinate, conduct, and disseminate such research, as well as standardize the Yiddish language, collect relevant library and archival materials, and train young scholars. Shtif's plan was approved at a meeting organized by Max *Weinreich and Zalman *Rejzen in Vilna on March 24, 1925. The decision to begin work was made later that year at a conference in Berlin held August 7–12, 1925. Although the official seat of the institute was in that German city, Vilna was the most active center of YIVO's work and eventually the location of its headquarters. An American branch was founded in October 1925 and subsidiary branches or support groups were also active in locales around the world including Argentina, Austria, Brazil, Chile, England, Estonia, France, Latvia, Romania, and Palestine. After the outbreak of World War II the American branch, earlier known as the Amopteyl (Amerikaner Opteylung) took over the central direction of the institute (1940).

In the period before World War II YIVO's research was conducted through four sections: (1) History, directed by Elias *Tcherikower and including Simeon *Dubnow, Raphael Mahler, Emanuel *Ringelblum, Ignacy Schipper, and Jacob *Shatzky; (2) Philology, directed by Max *Weinreich and including Y.L. *Cahan, Zelig *Kalmanovitch, Samuel (Shmuel) *Niger, Noah *Prylucki, and Zalman *Rejzen; (3) Economics and Statistics, directed by Jacob *Lestschinsky and including *Ben-Adir, Boris Brutzkus, Julius Brutzkus, Liebman *Hersch, and Mark Wischnitzer; and (4) Psychology and Education, directed by Leibush *Lehrer and including Abraham *Golomb, H.S. Kasdan, Lyuba Konel, Herts Kovarski, and Roza Simkhovitsh. Publications were in Yiddish with summaries in English, German, or Polish. These included each section's series of *Shriftn fun Yidishn Visnshaftlekhn Institut* ("Writings of the Yiddish Scientific Institute," 1925–40), the journal *Yivo-Bleter* ("YIVO Pages," 1931–), and the newsletter *Yedies fun Yivo* ("YIVO News," 1925–). A Bibliographic Center, Library, and Archives collected historic and contemporary research material. Correspondents in Yiddish-speaking communities throughout the world, but most especially in Eastern Europe, were encouraged to study local folkways and to assemble material of historical and cultural significance to send to the institute. YIVO's Vilna period reached its peak with two international conferences organized in 1929 and 1935, which were attended by leading scholars from around the world. In the 1930s Max Weinreich, YIVO's dominant figure, increasingly emphasized the study of Jewish sociology and economic life. In 1934 the institute initiated the Division of Youth Research and the Aspirantur, a training program for young scholars. An Art Section was created the following year and YIVO's efforts to standardize Yiddish spelling finally reached fruition in 1936. By 1939 YIVO had amassed one of the world's largest Judaica collections, including books, press, theatrical memorabilia, photographs, manuscripts and letters of famous personalities, and sundry items connected with Yiddish culture.

After the German invasion of Vilna during the Holocaust, the Nazis established a sorting center for looted Jewish property in the YIVO building in March 1942. They forced YIVO staff members to select the most valuable items to be sent to Germany and attempted to destroy the rest, but many Jews smuggled or hid important items. At the war's end the YIVO headquarters in Vilna was completely destroyed and the New York branch was declared the institute's new center. The materials sent to Germany and some hidden in Vilna were recovered and sent to New York in 1947.

In 1955 YIVO moved to a building at 86th Street and Fifth Avenue and changed its English name to the YIVO Institute for Jewish Research. In this period YIVO pioneered the academic study of the Holocaust and gave increasing attention to the lands to which East European Jews had immigrated, especially to the problems of Jewish acculturation in the U.S. Yiddish writers, scholars, and Jewish communal bodies added to YIVO's collections, while the acquisition of records from the American Jewish Committee and the Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society (HIAS) made YIVO a major center for the study of American Jewish history. The institute also sponsored annual conferences, exhibits, classes, and seminars, which served as a forum for the exchange of ideas and enriched the Jewish cultural scene. Participants in YIVO's Research Planning Commission, organized by Max Weinreich in 1962, included Michael Astour, Gerson D. *Cohen, Alexander Ehrlich, Marvin I. Herzog, and Uriel *Weinreich, with Joshua A. *Fishman as chairman. Major research projects inaugurated by the Commission included: the Interplay of Social and Political Factors in the Struggle of a Minority for its Survival and Creative Development; the Jews of Poland, 1919–1939; and the History of the American Jewish Labor Movement. YIVO sponsored research conferences on the German-Imposed Jewish Councils during World War II; Multilingualism and Social Change: Perspectives on Yiddish; and Economic Aspects of Jewish Life in Poland between the two World Wars. In 1970 the Commission was expanded into a Commission of Research and Training under the chairmanship of Nathan Reich.

Despite the continued leadership of Max Weinreich until his death in 1969, there was a dwindling number of scholars fluent in Yiddish, and the compromise with English became increasingly more pronounced. In 1968 YIVO founded the Uriel Weinreich Program in Yiddish Language, Literature, and Culture, an intensive summer language course; and a graduate component, the Max Weinreich Center for Advanced Jewish Studies. These programs played a crucial role in transmitting knowledge of the Yiddish language and of East European Jewish culture to young American-born scholars, many of whom became leaders in Jewish Studies programs then developing on campuses across the U.S.

YIVO's post-war publications include such standard reference works as Uriel Weinreich's *College Yiddish* (1949) and *Modern English-Yiddish Yiddish-English Dictionary* (1968) and Max Weinreich's *Geshikhte fun der Yidisher Shprakh*, 4 vols. (1973; partial Eng. tr. *History of the Yiddish Language*, 1980). YIVO created the journal *Yidishe Shprakh* ("Yiddish Language," 1941–86), edited by Yudel *Mark and later Mordkhe Schaechter, to treat problems of standard Yiddish. *The YIVO Annual of Jewish Social Science* (later the *YIVO Annual*, 1946–96), whose founding editor was Shlomo Noble, originally included mainly translations from YIVO's Yiddish publications; later volumes contained an increasing proportion of original contributions, especially on Jewish life in America. Under YIVO's auspices, the Yiddish Dictionary Committee was established in 1953 to gather, define, and publish Yiddish lexicographical treasures. Four folio volumes of the *Groyser Verterbukh fun der Yidisher Shprakh* ("Great Dictionary of the Yiddish Language") appeared between 1961 and 1980 (comprising *only* the letter alef), although the project was no longer affiliated with YIVO by the latter date. Bibliographies listing books, journals, articles, and reviews published by YIVO appeared in 1943 and 1955.

In the 1980s YIVO created the Max and Frieda Weinstein Archive of Recorded Sound and the Yiddish Folk Arts Program (popularly known as KlezKamp, later run independently), which played a central role in the revival of *klezmer* (East European Jewish folk) music. With the advent of Perestroika YIVO learned that part of its pre-war collection had survived in Soviet Lithuania, and the archival materials were brought to New York and duplicated in 1995–96. Together with the Jewish Theological Seminary of America and the Russian State University of the Humanities in Moscow, YIVO created the first Jewish Studies program in the former Soviet Union, Project Judaica. In 1992 the first volumes of *The Language and Culture Atlas of Ashkenazic Jewry* appeared, a massive project begun by Uriel Weinreich in 1959 to record Yiddish dialects. YIVO's library and archives continued to expand, in particular with the acquisition of the Bund Archives of the Jewish Labor Movement (1992), while the publication of *The Yiddish Catalog and Authority File of the YIVO Library* (1990) and *The Guide to the YIVO Archives* (1998) greatly improved access to the collections. The 1994 bombing of the AMIA Jewish community center in Buenos Aires severely damaged YIVO's branch there, which had been run independently since World War II. Members of the institute's New York staff traveled to Argentina to assess the damage and offer assistance. In 1999 YIVO relocated to the Center for Jewish History, a facility at 15 West 16th Street in New York housing several Jewish research institutions. At the start of the 21st century YIVO's Library and Archives contained more than 350,000 volumes and 10,000 linear feet of archival material, the world's largest collections documenting Yiddish culture and the experience of East European Jews and their descendants.

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[Sol Liptizin / Cecile Esther Kuznitz (2nd ed.)]

YIẒḤAKI, ABRAHAM BEN DAVID (1661–1729), rabbi, halakhic authority, and kabbalist. Born in Jerusalem, Yiẓḥaki was the grandson of the kabbalist, Abraham b. Mordecai *Azulai, and son-in-law of Abraham Israel Zeevi, a scholar of Hebron. He studied Talmud under Moses b. Jonathan *Galante, and Kabbalah together with Joseph Bialer, grandfather of Ḥ.J.D. *Azulai. He was chief rabbi of Jerusalem, *Rishon le-Zion*, by 1708, and held the position until his death. He also headed a yeshivah. Among his disciples were Moses *Ḥagiz, Isaac ha-Kohen *Rapoport, and Isaac Zerahiah Azulai.

At the beginning of his rabbinate, the inhabitants of Jerusalem suffered from the heavy burden of taxation placed upon them by the government. To ameliorate the situation, Yiẓḥaki went to various European countries and to Turkey as an emissary of the community (1709–16). In 1708, as head of the Jerusalem rabbis, he signed a declaration against the Shabbatean Nehemiah *Ḥayon, and during his journey he vigorously opposed the propaganda conducted by Ḥayon and Miguel Abraham *Cardozo. On reaching Amsterdam in 1712, he encouraged Moses Ḥagiz and Ẓevi *Ashkenazi (Ḥakham Ẓevi) to oppose Ḥayon, who came to Amsterdam in 1713. His father, David Yiẓḥaki, on the other hand, was a foremost supporter of Shabbetai *Ẓevi. On returning to Jerusalem, Yiẓḥaki devoted himself to teaching and writing. Some time later, when the situation of Jerusalem deteriorated and his safety was endangered, he was compelled to flee to Hebron, but later returned to Jerusalem, where he died. He was the author of the responsa *Zera Avraham* (2 pts.; Smyrna and Constantinople, 1732–33).

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[Avraham Yaari]

YIẒḤAKI, DAVID (c. 1615–1694), rabbi and halakhic authority of Ereẓ Israel. Yiẓḥaki was born in Salonika, where he studied under Elijah Gevartil, and later immigrated to Ereẓ Israel. He married the daughter of the kabbalist Abraham b. Mordecai *Azulai of Hebron, but appears to have lived in Jerusalem from 1661 to 1665. During the stay of *Shabbetai Ẓevi in Jerusalem (1662–65), Yiẓḥaki was attracted to him and became one of his most devoted followers. He was in Egypt in 1665 and, though at first shaken by Shabbetai Ẓevi's acceptance of Islam in 1666, he remained loyal to him. He presumably returned to Ereẓ Israel but left again in 1666 or 1667 and stayed for some time in Adrianople, where he studied under Shabbetai Ẓevi. After the widespread adoption of Islam in Salonika by the followers of the false messiah in 1683, however, Yiẓḥaki appears to have forsaken the movement completely. He returned to Jerusalem and in 1672 was appointed a *dayyan* in the *bet din* of Moses *Galante (Ha-Magen), after whose death in 1689 he acted as the leading rabbi of Jerusalem, where he died. His sons were Abraham *Yiẓḥaki, one of the leading persecutors of the Shabbateans, and Isaac Yiẓḥaki, a Jerusalem scholar.

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[Abraham David]

YIZHAR, S. (originally **Yizhar Smilansky**; 1916–2006), Hebrew author who belongs to the first generation of native Israel writers. Born in Reḥovot into a family of writers (see *Smilansky), Yizhar taught at the Ben Shemen youth village and at a Reḥovot secondary school, fought in the 1948 War of Independence, and was a member of the Knesset (Mapai-Rafi) from its inauguration until 1967, when he gave up his seat because of an extended sojourn abroad. Holding a Ph.D. from the Hebrew University, he taught literature and education and was professor at Tel Aviv University.

Yizhar was the first prose writer born in Ereẓ Israel to render into aesthetic experience his profound awareness of the local landscape and scene, and his stories evolve entirely against a Palestinian background. These qualities can already be detected in his first story, *Efrayim Ḥozer la-Aspeset* (published in *Gilyonot* 6, 1938). His characters, imbued with his own deep attachment to the land, are steeped in their immediate surroundings.

His early writings were influenced by the internalized reflective prose rhythms of Uri Nissan *Gnessin and his later works by Joseph Ḥayyim *Brenner's quest for moral truth beyond the pretense of daily convention. Yizhar's distinctive prose style won him his place in Israel literature and is primarily responsible for his influence on the younger Hebrew writers. His lyrical sentences, characteristic of the internal monologue, dominate his early stories, while in later works, particularly in the novel *Yemei Ẓiklag* (1958), he displays a flexibility of language which blends the internal monologue with dialogue, and long descriptions of nature with short rapid passages of action. Yizhar's thorough command of literary Hebrew, his proclivity for linguistic precision, and his ability to draw on contemporary Hebrew without being ensnared by the slang of the moment won him general acclaim. He has, however, been criticized for sacrificing the narrative and plot development to a display of linguistic dexterity and versatility.

Yizhar's characters, mainly youths born in Ereẓ Israel, are involved in a dynamic situation in which they are torn between conflicting moral values. They are faced with the dilemma of whether to follow the dictates of their immediate society (the kibbutz, a group of fighters) or those of their conscience and at the same time strive to preserve their individuality. The tension between these two polar values is sharply delineated in *Sippur Ḥirbet Ḥizah* (1949) and *Ha-Shavui* (1949), two short stories written after the War of Independence, in which Yizhar describes the moral dilemma of the protagonist, a young Israel soldier, who does not dare to revolt against the military authority whose amoralism he rejects. Spurred on by his sensitivity to the suffering of others and his own strong sense of justice, he wants to protest but is paralyzed because he does not wish to lose the esteem of his companions. The inner revolt of the hero (or anti-hero) of *Sippur Ḥirbet Ḥizah* against the expulsion of Arab farmers from their home village is particularly poignant because he sees an injustice perpetrated by Jews, sons of a people that has long suffered from exile and persecution. In *Ha-Shavui*, the anti-hero realizes only too well that he and his friends are sinning against the simple village shepherd whom they hold prisoner for no particular military reason, but merely to relieve their boredom and the humdrum life in a dugout. The protagonists of both stories are unable to adduce enough counterarguments against the collective action, and neither dares to disobey an order or to depart from the accepted framework.

These stories aroused a storm of protest when they appeared. Yizhar was the first writer sharply to reveal the other face of the War of Independence which, though just in itself, inevitably led to moral corruption of victor and vanquished alike. The author, however, was not so much concerned with presenting the clash of two opposing moral systems as with the portrayal of the tragic dilemma reflected in the struggle within the soul of the hero, a character who recurs in all his stories. While fully aware of the moral problems he was posing, Yizhar seemed to be incapable of investing his protagonists with decisive and permanent force of action.

Yemei Ẓiklag, a panoramic war novel, presents a wider scope of the problems and moral contradictions with which the heroes contend. The narrative is a description of the combat experiences of a group of soldiers stationed in a dugout in the south, near the Negev, during a seven-day period of the War of Independence. The theme, the spontaneous reaction of the young fighters to war and its inherent fear of death, also nurtures a strong protest against the ideological and moral values bequeathed to them (the first generation of native-born sons) by the "pioneer generation." The heroes, and apparently the writer himself, see the secular socialist credo as empty of meaning and incapable of forming a moral bulwark on which to lean during their grave internal conflict, born out of war and the simple fear of death. This protest, however, even when expressed most sharply and daringly, is not a philosophy out of which they can formulate their true attitude to war or can understand why they continue to fight and do not flee. Yizhar explains their protest against war and the fear of death and their compulsion to continue fighting as the results of immediate reflexes, and not actions rooted in moral truth or ideal. The narrator fully realizes the weakness of his answer to the moral dilemma and hints at some possible solution lying beyond the scope of knowledge of the protagonists. In the final analysis, however, he admits that there is no answer and that the only way out lies in the renewal of man's rapport with the universe that surrounds him.

The rhythms of his rich prose infuse his minutely detailed recording of natural, technical, or psychological data with a rare lyricism. Yet his love of descriptive writing slows up his narrative flow and weakens the structure of his plot. B. Kurzweil has pointed out this inherent weakness in *Yemei Ẓiklag*, which essentially remains a short story extended into a novel by long and repetitious passages of lyrical prose. He has also suggested that Yizhar's catalog of characters is drawn from the rather narrow world of his contemporaries whose experience – at least as Yizhar has described it – is too limited to afford a background for a full-scale novel.

After 30 years of self-enforced silence, Yizhar published several prose works in the 1990s, many of them autobiographical stories of recollection, reflecting on pre-state Israel. *Mikdamot* (*Foretellings*, 2005), depicts a boy growing up in a Jewish farming community in Palestine and in the growing city of Tel Aviv. The boy's sensual experiences coalesce with the adult's conscious reflection on past experiences. *Ẓalhavim* (1993), a novel, describes an afternoon spent by three teenagers, the author being one of them, in a tangerine grove during the 1930s and focuses on adolescence, the erotic appeal of the earth and the complex relations between fathers and sons. Followed by a collection of stories, *Ẓedadi'im (Asides*, 1996), Yizhar published in 1996 the collection *Eẓel ha-Yam*, three novellas in which the sea becomes a metaphor for the ambigious relationship between man and the universe. The novel *Malkomiyyah Yefeifiyyah* ("Lovely Malcomiah," 1998) is yet another story of adolescence amidst the sights and smells of nature. A shy Ereẓ Israeli youth falls in love with the beautiful, much admired Shula. It is not the plot, but the precise, fine observation of nature, the sensual and lyrical description and the many-layered poetic idiom which typify Yizhar's later prose. Among his other works are *Be-Fa'atei Negev* (1945); *Ha-Ḥorshah Asher ba-Givah* (1947); *Shishah Sippurei Kayiẓ* (1950), two volumes of stories for youth; *Be-Raglayim Yeḥefot* (1959), and *Gilui Eli-*

yahu (1999). Yizhar also wrote articles and essays on political and public affairs. The Collected Works appeared in 1996. Yizhar was awarded the Brenner Prize, the Agnon Prize, as well as the prestigious Israel Prize for literature (1959). *Midnight Convoy and Other Stories* appeared in 1969. Stories were translated into various languages and are included in anthologies, as for example "Habakuk" in: G. Abramson (ed.), *The Oxford Book of Hebrew Short Stories* (1996). For information concerning translations, see the ITHL website at www.ithl.org.il.

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[Matti Megged / Anat Feinberg (2nd ed.)]

YIZKOR (Heb. יִזְכֹּר; "He shall remember"), opening word of the memorial prayer, said for departed close relatives on the last day of Passover, Shavuot (the second day in the Diaspora), Shemini Aẓeret, and the Day of Atonement. The word is popularly applied to the whole **Hazkarat Neshamot* service.

YIZRE'EL (Heb. יִזְרְעֶאל), kibbutz in northern Israel at the foot of Mt. Gilboa affiliated to Iḥud ha-Kevuẓot ve-ha-Kibbutzim. In the War of Independence the strategically situated Arab village of Zaʿrīn served as a vantage point from which Arab units harassed Jewish settlements in the Harod Valley and tried to block communications with nearby Afulah. A *Palmaḥ group took the village in an attack on May 30, 1948. A few weeks later a group of Israel-born youth established the kibbutz on the abandoned site. Immigrants from Australia and other English-speaking countries later joined the kibbutz. Farming was highly intensive, based on field crops, almonds orchards, fishery, poultry, and dairy cattle. The kibbutz owned Maytronics for the manufacture of advanced pool-cleaning equipment and Yizrael Tamuz for cables, wires, electronic enclosures, and packaging. In the mid-1990s the population was approximately 515, dropping to 464 in 2002.

WEBSITE: www.yizrael.org.il.

[Efraim Orni / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed,)]

YOD (Heb. י; יוֹד, יוּד), the tenth letter of the Hebrew alphabet; its numerical value is therefore 10. The Proto-Canaanite form of this letter was a stylized pictograph of a hand (= yad) with forearm . In the 11th and 10th centuries B.C.E., the yod developed into which basically did not change in the Hebrew ( ), Samaritan ( ), and Phoenician (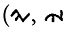) scripts. However, the Aramaic cursive reduced it as follows: 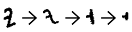 and in the fourth and third centuries B.C.E. two variants evolved. One resembles the numeral "2" and the other has an inverted-v form . While the Nabatean developed the 2-shaped yod (which turned into the Arabic ya ي), the Jewish script adopted the inverted-v shape and preserved the small size of the letter (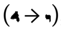), so it could be distinguished from the longer waw. From the old Phoenician yod, the Greek iota and the Latin "I" developed. See *Alphabet, Hebrew.

[Joseph Naveh]

YOFFE, ALTER (fl. early 20th century), Zionist Socialist living in Dvinsk. An early member of the Zionist Socialist movement before its division into political parties, he was co-founder of the *Vozrozhdeniye group. He published a pamphlet *Di Ikorim fun Tsionism far Yidishe Arbeter* ("The Principles of Zionism for Jewish Workers"), justifying the class struggle in the Jewish economy and recommending Jewish participation in the general struggle only to the extent that it benefited the Jewish proletariat. Yoffe decided to become a laborer and worked in a furniture factory. He established the first group of worker Zionists in Dvinsk. At the beginning of 1905, he was a co-founder of the territorialist *Zionist Socialist Workers' Party and a member of its first central committee. After the 1905 Revolution, he immigrated to the United States, where he became a lawyer and a member of the Socialist Party.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Royter Pinkas*, 1 (1921), 153–73; *Yedi'ot ha-Arkhiyyon ve-ha-Muze'on shel Tenu'at ha-Avodah*, 3–4 (1938), 52–55.

[Mendel Bobe]

YOFFE, MORDECAI (1899–1961), Yiddish poet, translator and literary critic. Born in Dusetos (Dusiat, near Kovno, Lithuania), the son of a village rabbi, Yoffe had both a traditional and a secular education. He began his literary career in Odessa before returning to Kovno; in 1927 he immigrated to Canada, and in 1937 to New York. Between 1953 and 1961 he moved to Israel and back to New York twice. He strove to be a literary intermediary between Hebrew and Yiddish.

His essays on Hebrew writers were collected in *Ringen in der Keyt* ("Links in the Chain," 1939). His translations of Hebrew poetry, to which he devoted most of his creative years, appeared in four volumes (1935, 1939, 1948, and 1958). While accurate in form, they suffer from uniformity. Yoffe's last publication was the anthology *Erets Yisroel in der Yidisher Literatur* ("Palestine in Yiddish Literature," 1961), which includes selections from 94 Yiddish poets.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Rejzen, Leksikon, 1 (1926), 1287–8.; LNYL, 4 (1961), 292–5; M. Ravitch, *Mayn Leksikon*, 3 (1958), 198–9; A. Lis, *Heym un Doyer* (1960), 159–63.

[Melech Ravitch / Jerold C. Frakes (2nd ed.)]

YOFFEY, family of rabbis and scholars in Russia, England, and Israel. JOSEPH BEN MOSES YOFFEY (Joffe, or Jaffe;

1845–1897), born in Ukmerge (Vilkomir), Lithuania, was rabbi of Pokroy (1874), Salant (1883), and Gorzhd (1886). An ardent supporter of Ḥibbat Zion, he opposed the use on Sukkot of citrons grown outside Ereẓ Israel. In 1881 Yoffey published *Yosef Be'ur,* a commentary on Song of Songs, and in 1890 he wrote *Ahavat Ẓiyyon vi-Yrushalayim*, a three-part work opposing Orthodox anti-Zionism (abridged edition, 1891; full version, 1946). He immigrated to England in 1893 and was appointed rabbi of the Central Synagogue in Manchester. He published *Alim li-Terufah*, a versified ethical work (1895); many responsa (e.g., *Divrei Yosef*) and sermons remain in manuscript form. His son-in-law, ISRAEL JACOB BEN ABRAHAM HA-KOHEN YOFFEY (1874–1934), also born in Ukmerge, succeeded him as rabbi of the Central Synagogue at the age of 23. He founded the Manchester yeshivah and revitalized the *talmud torah*. Together with Rabbi H. Hurwitz of Leeds he organized in 1911 the first conference in England of Eastern European rabbis, with the aim of uniting them. He also convened the first conference of religious Zionists in England (1918), becoming one of the leaders of the Mizrachi movement. He died in Alexandria, Egypt, on the way to Ereẓ Israel. His works are mainly in the field of homiletics, with some *halakhah*. They are *Keneset Yisrael* (1910), *Teḥiyyat Yisrael* (1927), and *Shofar Yisrael* (1931).

His son, JOSEPH MENDEL YOFFEY (1902–1994), born in Manchester, achieved distinction in medicine, and was active in Jewish communal life. Three-times Hunterian professor in the Royal College of Surgeons (London), he was professor of anatomy at Bristol University (1942–67) and dean of the medical faculty. His publications include *Quantitative Cellular Haematology* (1960), *Bone Marrow Reactions* (1966), *Lymphatics, Lymph, and the Lymphomyeloid* (1970; in collaboration). Yoffey settled in Israel in 1967 and became visiting professor of anatomy at the Hadassah Hospital in Jerusalem.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Ha-Tor*, 14 no. 20 (1934), 4; JC (May 11 and 18, 1934); *The Times* (May 9, 1934); Yerushalmi (Katzburg), in: *Ha-Miẓpeh* (1953), 491–6.

YOFFIE, ERIC H. (1947–), U.S. rabbi and leader of the Reform movement. From 1996 Yoffie served as president of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations (UAHC), the congregational arm of the Reform Jewish movement in North America. He was the first president of the organization who was completely a home-grown product of the movement. Raised in Worcester, Massachusetts, where his family was active at Temple Emanuel, Yoffie became a national vice president of the North American Federation of Temple Youth (NFTY). He graduated from Brandeis University – Phi Beta Kappa, magna cum laude – in 1969 and was ordained at the Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion in 1974. As a young rabbi he served congregations in Durham, North Carolina, and Lynbrook, New York. In 1980 Yoffie joined the UAHC staff as regional director of the Midwest Council, in 1983 he became executive director of the Association of Reform Zionists of America, and in 1992 he was named vice president and director of the Social Action Commission. He was elected UAHC president in 1996 after the retirement of Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler in a seamless transition. In 1999, the *Forward* newspaper ranked Yoffie first in the list of top Jewish leaders, referring to him as a "tribune to the next generation."

The signature to Yoffie's presidency was a fusion of the Reform movement's commitment to social justice and Israel and, at the same time, to such internal issues as promoting adult Jewish literacy and spirituality among Reform leaders and throughout the movement as a whole. Calling for "Torah at the center," Yoffie has used his "bully pulpit" at the union's biennial conventions to launch a series of initiatives to strengthen congregational life in areas of communal worship, adult and religious school education, and Jewish camping. Under his leadership, the union added three camps in the U.S. and Canada. Continuing Schindler's support for outreach programs to intermarried couples, Yoffie urged Reform Jews to invite the non-Jewish spouses in interfaith families to convert to Judaism.

During his presidency, the union moved its longtime New York City headquarters from Fifth Avenue and 65th Street (across the street from Congregation Emanu-El) to more modern and spacious offices at 633 Third Avenue. Proceeds from the sale of the former building were used to fund programs for strengthening the religious foundations of Reform Jewish identity. He also threw his leadership behind a controversial campaign to change the name of the 120-year -old organization from the Union of American Hebrew Congregations to the Union for Reform Judaism (URJ). This effort, which had failed repeatedly over the years, succeeded at the organization's 2003 Biennial in Minneapolis.

An outspoken champion of liberal values, Yoffie sharply criticized the administration of President George W. Bush and the U.S. Congress for awarding tax cuts to the rich at the expense of the poor, and for government efforts to break down the wall separating church and state. In opposition to the religious right, he has defended reproductive rights for women and equal justice for gays and lesbians. He was the only national religious leader to address the Million Mom March in May 2000, urging sensible gun control. In 2004 after the Presbyterian USA voted to divest from certain companies doing business with Israel, Yoffie strongly protested the move but organized high-level meetings with mainstream Protestant leaders and intensified the union's efforts in the area of interfaith relations on both the national and local level. An ardent Zionist who reads the Hebrew press daily, Yoffie has expanded the union's work to strengthen Progressive Judaism in Israel, and has been a strong advocate of Jewish religious pluralism in the Jewish state. Reflecting on the work of the URJ, Yoffie has stated: "We are a union of Jews committed to a particular vision of Jewish life: to spirituality, Torah, and social justice – the highest ideals of Reform Judaism."

[Aron Hirt Manheimer (2nd ed.)]

YOKE (Heb. עוֹל).

In the Bible

The yoke was usually made from a circular wooden halter which was placed on the animal's neck, and harnessed to a plow, cart, or other vehicle. Pegs, two on each side, with the neck of the animal between them, were tacked to the halter from underneath. A harness which encircled the neck of the animal from underneath was attached to these pegs. The remaining parts of the harness which were connected to the cart, plow, or other vehicle were connected to the halter of the yoke itself. The ordinary yoke was designed for two animals, but yokes for only one animal were also common.

The yoke was a symbol of servitude in the Bible. In order to emphasize the weight of oppression, the yoke is sometimes described as of iron (Deut. 28:48). It was also a symbol of the burden of slavery or taxes upon the people (1 Kings 12:11), while freedom from oppression was described in poetic and prophetic literature as the breaking of the yoke (Jer. 5:5).

Jeremiah was commanded to go about Jerusalem wearing a yoke on his neck, as well as to send yokes to the kings of the neighboring countries, to indicate that they, together with Judah, should submit themselves to Babylonian rule. At the dramatic public disputation in the Temple with *Hananiah, the son of Azzur, the prophet of Gibeon, the latter broke the yoke which Jeremiah was wearing as a sign that "I will break the yoke of the King of Babylon," while Jeremiah prophesied that in place of the yoke of wood there would come a yoke of iron (Jer. 28).

[Ze'ev Yeivin]

In Rabbinic Literature

In rabbinic theology the yoke is a metaphor of great importance. It is the symbol of service and servitude, and in accordance with the principle that the Jew should be free from servitude to man in order to devote himself to the service of God, the "yoke of the kingdom of man" is contrasted with "the yoke of the kingdom of heaven." The doctrine is fully enacted in the statement of *Neḥunya b. ha-Kanah: "Whoever takes upon himself the yoke of the Torah, they remove from him the yoke of government and the yoke of worldly concerns, and whoever breaks off the yoke of the Torah, they place on him the yoke of government and the yoke of worldly concerns" (*Avot* 3:5). The "yoke of the Torah" here presumably refers to the duty of devoting oneself to study but "yoke" is used in a more specific and restricted sense. The proclamation of the unity of God by reading the *Shema is called "accepting upon oneself the yoke of the kingdom of heaven," while the acceptance of the fulfillment of the Commandments as a whole, referred to in the second paragraph of the *Shema*. is called "accepting the yoke of the Commandments," and it is this which determines the order of the paragraphs. In *Avot* 6:6 the phrase "bearing the yoke with one's fellow" means "sharing his burdens."

[Louis Isaac Rabinowitz]

YOKOHAMA, city in Japan. Opened to foreign trade by Japan in 1859, Yokohama soon blossomed into the country's major port. Among the Westerners who settled here were Jewish merchants and professional people, some of whose graves may still be seen in the city's old cemetery, dated 1869 and 1870. The first organized community was established in 1917, mainly for the purpose of helping the approximately 5,000 Russian Jewish migrants, mainly women and children, who, on their way to join their menfolk in the U.S., were held up in Japan by a change in the American visa regulations. This community continued to exist until 1923, but after the earthquake in that year the majority of Yokohama Jews moved to Kobe. Although some returned, no community was reestablished. During the years of the American military occupation of Japan (1945–52), Yokohama became a center of Jewish life because of the presence of numerous American Jewish soldiers and sailors in the area. Since then the small number of American and European Jews have continued to reside as individuals in the city. Its Jewish cemetery is still used by the Tokyo Jewish community.

YOMA (Aram. יוֹמָא), fifth tractate in the order *Mo'ed*, in the Mishnah, Tosefta, and Jerusalem and Babylonian Talmuds. In the Jerusalem Talmud, in manuscripts of the Mishnah and the Tosefta, and in the geonic literature, the tractate is given its Hebrew name, *Yom ha-Kippurim* ("Day of Atonement"), or briefly, *Kippurim* ("Atonement"). In the Babylonian Talmud, however, it was called *Yoma* ("the Day"), or *Seder Yoma* ("the Order of the Day"; cf. Yoma 1:3), and it may be that its early name was *Seder Yom ha-Kippurim* ("Order of the Day of Atonement"). Of the eight chapters contained in the Mishnah, only the last one deals with the laws of the fast. The first seven describe in a dramatic yet simple style the service of the high priest in the Temple in the order of its performance. This part of the Mishnah does not contain many differences of opinion, and it is distinguished by its uniformity and the continuity in its exposition of the high priest's service, with only a few interruptions regarding incidental details.

There are considerable parallels in the contents of tractates *Yoma* and *Tamid – some even verbatim – although each tractate gives details not found in the other. The statement of Johanan, "Who taught *Yoma*? Simeon of *Mizpah" (Yoma 14b), is not to be regarded as tradition, since its purpose was merely to resolve a contradiction between the two tractates. All that Johanan wishes to convey is that those *halakhot* of the daily sacrifice which appear in *Yoma* and differ from those in *Tamid* were taught by Simeon of Mizpah, who lived in the generation before the destruction of the Temple. At any rate, it is evident that the Mishnah has preserved *halakhot* which belong to an early period, and it follows that the tractate was composed early. Apparently they had already begun to teach and arrange the *halakhot* of the service of the Day of Atonement close to the destruction, but the editor of the Mishnah had before him a source (apparently from the generation before his) in which the early material was intermingled with later additions. The second part of the Mishnah – chapter 8 – is a composite of various sources. The Mishnah concludes with the declaration of R. Akiva, "Happy are you, Israel! Who is it before whom you are cleansed, and who is it that cleanses you? Your Father who is in Heaven." The glowing terms in which this is expressed is possibly a polemic against the Christian belief in cleansing through Jesus.

The Tosefta of *Yoma* consists of four chapters (though one manuscript has five, the second chapter being divided into two), of which the Tosefta chapter 4 is parallel to chapter 8 of the Mishnah, and Tosefta chapters 1–3 correspond with 1–7 of the Mishnah. However, the nature of the first part of the Tosefta differs completely from that of the Mishnah. Not only does the Tosefta not contain a continuous description of the order of the service, but it is quite impossible to understand the Tosefta without the Mishnah. The editor of the Tosefta made use of various sources, many of which contained only short *beraitot* that revolve around and are dependent on the Mishnah, such as those opening with the interrogatives "why" (1:1, 4, 8), "how" (1:5), or "which" (1:9). This portion also contains *halakhot* that are parallel to, or add to, the Mishnah, but has only a few sources that contain material not found, in whole or in part, in the Mishnah (e.g., 1:17–19; 2:5–8). On the other hand it contains many *aggadot* and examples which preserve important historical traditions about personalities and events of the Temple period (1:4; 6, 12, 14, 21, 22, et al.). The end of Tosefta *Shekalim (3:25–27) is apparently the beginning of Tosefta *Yoma*, omitted from it by copyists in error and appended to *Shekalim*. In contrast to the dependence of the first part of the Tosefta upon the Mishnah, the independence of its last chapter is conspicuous. It contains many sources which are almost entirely independent of the Mishnah, and the order of its *halakhot* differs from that of the last chapter of the Mishnah.

Yoma includes a number of beautiful aggadic passages. In the first chapter there is the well-known one: "Why was the first Temple destroyed? Because of the prevalence of three evils: idolatry, immorality, and bloodshed… But why was the Second Temple destroyed, seeing that the people occupied themselves with the Torah and its precepts and practiced benevolence? Because of the prevalence of hatred without cause. Thus you may learn that groundless hatred is of equal gravity to the three sins of idolatry, immorality and bloodshed" (9b). In chapter 7, on the verse (Ex. 25:11) "Within and without shalt thou overlay" (the ark with gold), Rava scholar" (72b), R. Meir used to say, "Great is repentance, for on account of an individual who repents, the sins of all the world are forgiven" (86b).

It was translated into English by I. Epstein in the Soncino edition of the Talmud (1938).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: N. Krochmal, *Moreh Nevukhei ha-Zeman*, ed. by S. Dawidowicz (1961^2), 224f.; H. Albeck, *Shishah Sidrei Mishnah, Mo'ed* (1952), 215–21; idem, *Mavo la-Mishnah* (1959), 71f., 85f.; Epstein, Tanna'im, 36f.; D. Hoffmann, *Die erste Mischna und die Controversen der Tannaïm*, 18 (in: *Jahresbericht des Rabbiner-Seminars zu Berlin pro 5642* (1881–82).

[Moshe David Herr]

YOM HA-ZIKKARON (Heb. יוֹם הַזִּכָּרוֹן; "Remembrance Day"), memorial day observed for those who fell on active service in the Israel War of Independence and subsequently. It is observed on Iyyar 4th (the day before *Independence Day) in solemn civil, military, and religious ceremonies throughout Israel. It begins at sunset and concludes with a siren blast as the stars appear the next day to usher in Independence Day. Memorial candles are lit in army camps, schools, synagogues, and public places, and flags are flown at half-mast. Throughout the day ex-servicemen and soldiers serve as guards of honor at war memorials in all towns and villages, and the families of the fallen participate in memorial ceremonies at military cemeteries. By law, all places of entertainment are closed on the eve of *Yom ha-Zikarron*, and broadcasting and educational bodies are required to stress the solemnity of the day. During the morning a siren marks a two-minute silence, which brings all activity to a standstill. The Israel rabbinate has prescribed special prayers for the previous Sabbath and for *Yom ha-Zikkaron*. They include the recital of Psalms 9: "For the leader, on the death of the son," and 144: "Blessed be the Lord, My Rock, who traineth my hands for war and my fingers for battle."

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Laws of the State of Israel*, 17 (1962–63), 85; see also bibl. for Independence Day.

[Aryeh Newman]

YOM KIPPUR KATAN (Heb. יוֹם כִּפּוּר קָטָן; lit. "minor day of atonement"), the eve of the new month which became for the pious a day of fast and repentance. The custom of keeping Yom Kippur Katan is a late one, and is not mentioned in the Shulḥan Arukh. It began among the kabbalists of *Safed in the second half of the 16th century and is first spoken of by Moses *Cordovero. The waning of the moon was conceived by the kabbalists as a symbol of the exile of the *Shekhinah* ("Divine Presence") and the diminution of the power of holiness during the Exile, and its renewal as a symbol of the return to perfection in the age of Redemption. They based this conception on the talmudic legend according to which God had said to Israel: "Bring atonement upon me for making the moon smaller" (Ḥul. 60b). In addition to the reading of the Torah and other prayers and *seliḥot*, customary for a fast day, special *seliḥot* were written for the afternoon prayer (*Minḥah*) of Yom Kippur Katan. They are based on the themes of Exile and Redemption. The special service *Tikkun Yom Kippur Katan* was first printed in *Sha'arei Ẓiyyon* (Prague, 1662) by Nathan Nata *Hannover. Later it appeared in different versions and in special books which were very popular until the 19th century. The *tikkun* (special prayer) in **Ḥemdat Yamin* is particularly well known. The first halakhic reference to Yom Kippur Katan appears in *Bayit Ḥadash* by Joel *Sirkes. The celebration of Yom Kippur Katan became widespread because of the many commendations by Isaiah b. Abraham *Horowitz in *Shenei Luḥot ha-Berit*. Later the custom became popular among the pious who observed this day as though it were sanctioned by *halakhah* without any connection with *Kabbalah.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: G. Scholem, *On the Kabbalah and Its Symbolism* (1965), 151–3; idem, in: *Beḥinot be-Vikkoret ha-Sifrut*, 8 (1955), 93–94; A. Yaari, in: KS, 38 (1962/63), 99, 249–50; A. Abeles, *Der kleine Versoehnungstag* (1911).

[Gershom Scholem]

YOM KIPPUR WAR.

Introduction

In September 1973, indications were already noted by Israel Intelligence of a buildup both on the Egyptian and Syrian fronts. These were passed off as routine major exercises which had been taking place at frequent intervals along the borders, and particularly along the Suez Canal front. This appraisal tallied with the assessment of Israel Intelligence that the Arab armies were not yet ready for a major all-out war, and that their leadership was not capable of launching it. This estimate was aided by a highly effective deception plan which was mounted by the Egyptians and the Syrians parallel to the actual military preparations which were set afoot. Nevertheless, the indications on the front gave concern to the Israel High Command, with the result that during the ten days preceding Yom Kippur, the armored forces of Israel, both on the northern and on the southern fronts, were doubled as a precautionary measure.

The week preceding Yom Kippur was one of preoccupation with the decision of Chancellor *Kreisky to close the Schoenau Castle transit camp for emigrants from the U.S.S.R. en route to Israel (see under *Austria). Golda *Meir, prime minister of Israel, who was at a meeting of the Council of Europe in Strasbourg, proceeded to Vienna in an endeavor to persuade Chancellor Kreisky to change his policy, but to no avail. On the evening of her return to Israel on Wednesday, October 3, the Cabinet met, the sole subject of discussion being the crisis with Austria.

On Thursday, October 4, intelligence was received about the departure of Soviet families from Egypt and Syria. This, coupled with the very heavy concentrations of troops along the borders of Syria and Egypt, indicated that a very serious situation had developed. A Cabinet meeting was called for midday on Friday, October 5, in Tel Aviv, at which part of the Cabinet participated. Apart from minor unit mobilization and preparations in the standing army, particularly the Air Force, and cancellation of leave in the army generally, no major mobilization took place.

On Saturday, October 6, Yom Kippur Day, at 4.00 A.M., intelligence was received which confirmed finally that war was about to break out on Yom Kippur Day. Consultations thereupon took place between the Minister of Defense, the Prime Minister, the Chief of Staff, and other staff officers. At approximately 10.00 A.M. total mobilization of the armed forces of Israel was authorized.

The information received that morning from reliable intelligence sources had indicated that the Arab attack would take place at 6.00 in the evening. At 2.00 in the afternoon, however, the Syrian and Egyptian armies attacked simultaneously with their total forces. Thus began the Yom Kippur War.

Throughout the holy day of Yom Kippur, Israel mobilized her forces. One of the miscalculations made by the Arabs was to launch the war on this day when all the manpower of the country was available either at home or in synagogue, and Israel thus saved many valuable hours of mobilization which were to prove vital at a later stage.

On the Northern Front

On the northern front the battle began with air attacks and a heavy artillery bombardment by the Syrians of the Israel front line and Israel headquarters. Three Syrian infantry divisions moved across the line and hundreds of Syrian tanks deployed to attack the Israel positions. Behind these three Syrian divisions were deployed two armored divisions ready to follow up. The Israel line was held by a series of fortifications acting as outposts and observation points and supported in each case by a small force of tanks. This line held: apart from a position on Mount Hermon, not one fortification was captured, though three were evacuated under orders. Tales of incredible bravery were to emerge from the heroic stand of the forces in the fortifications along the Israel line. (See Map: Syrian Attack and Map: Israeli Counter Offensive).

Shortly after the opening of the battle, the GOC Northern Command, Major General Yiẓḥak Ḥofi, divided the Golan Heights front into two sectors, the northern sector from the town of Kuneitra (al-Qunaytira) northward, and the southern sector from Kuneitra southward. By Sunday morning, October 7, Major General Raful Eitan was in command of the division controlling the northern sector and Major General Dan Laner of the southern sector. On the eve of Yom Kippur the General Staff had moved the Seventh Armored Brigade up to the Golan Heights. Thus the battle opened with an Israel force of approximately 180 tanks holding the line against a major Syrian armored assault which was later to develop into an attack of some 1,400 tanks. Israel's Seventh Brigade was deployed in the northern sector with another in the southern sector. The major Syrian thrust came unexpectedly against the southern sector, where this Brigade with a small number of tanks withstood the assault of some 600 Syrian tanks. In the northern sector the first wave consisted of some 250 tanks, the Third Syrian Armored Division being held in reserve. With the opening of the assault, Syrian helicopters landed on Mount Hermon and infantry forces transported by them attacked the position. Within a matter of hours the position, which consisted of barely a section of fighting troops was overrun and taken.

Heavy fighting developed in the southern sector with platoons of the Israel army battling against entire Syrian battalions. Again and again the battle was decided by the sheer force of numbers, with hundreds of Syrian tanks pouring into the sector. Part of the Israel forces withdrew to the area of Naffāḥ. In the northern sector, the Seventh Brigade blocked the enemy advance throughout the fighting. By the night of 6th/7th October, there were Syrian forces on the routes leading to the Sea of Galilee, and their advance elements had reached

Syrian Attack, 6 October 1973

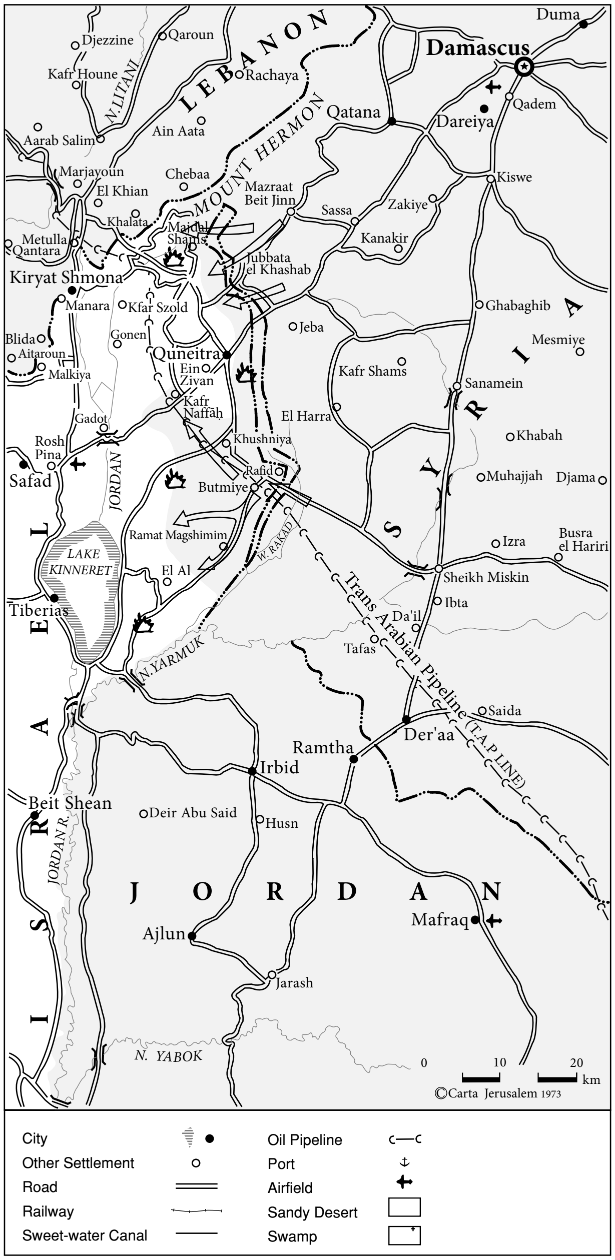
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Sassa
Zakiye
Kanakir
Majdal Shams
Jubbata el Khashab
Kiryat Shmona
Quneitra
Kafr Naffāḥ
Khushniya
Rafid
Butmiye
Ramat Magshimim
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Airfield
Sandy Desert
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Israeli Counter Offensive

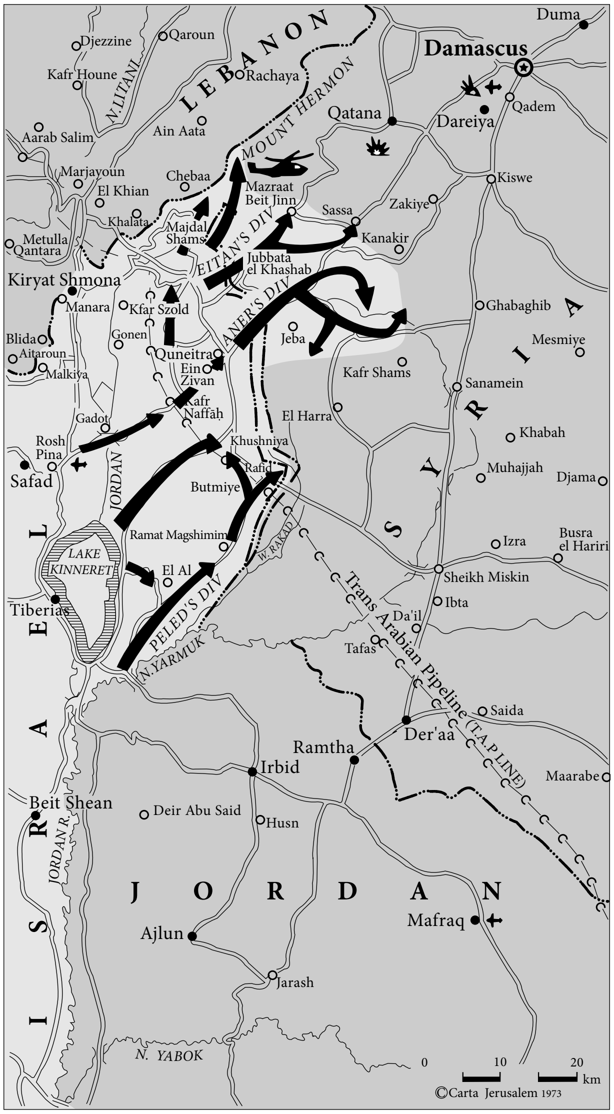
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to within 800 meters of the moshav of El Al overlooking the Sea of Galilee.

However, the main battle was joined in the area of Naffāḥ, where the Syrians developed a major thrust. On the Yahūdiyya road, they reached to within 10 kms. of the point where the Jordan enters the Sea of Galilee. On the central route the Syrian forces reached the area of the Naffāḥ camp. On Sunday, October 7, heavy fighting continued all along the line with serious losses being sustained by both sides. At this stage, Northern Command was reinforced by a division commanded by General Moshe ("Musa") Peled. It was resolved that with this new force, Northern Command would move over to a counterattack on Monday, October 8. Peled's division took over responsibility for all the forces on the El Al route and the route parallel to it, both leading to the Rafid crossroads.

By this time, the Brigade in the southern sector had ceased to exist. Both the brigade commander and his deputy were killed, and both battalion commanders had been wounded.

On Monday, October 8, General Peled's division launched the counterattack on the Al Al road against two Syrian tank brigades which had reached to within seven miles of the Sea of Galilee. A heavy battle raged along this route between El Al and Rafid on Monday, October 8, and Tuesday, October 9. By Wednesday, October 10, at 10.00 A.M., the Israel forces had driven the Syrians back to the cease-fire line, inflicting very heavy casualties on them.

On the Seventh Brigade front in General Eitan's divisional area, both sides had fought to a standstill and were wavering, when one of the Israel positions behind enemy lines, which had held out throughout the fighting and was surrounded by the Syrians, reported that the Syrian supply trains were withdrawing. The Syrian attack had been broken. In the area facing the Seventh Brigade, known as the Valley of Tears, north of Kuneitra, some 300 Syrian tanks and armored personnel carriers, abandoned and burnt out, were mute testimony to the incredible bravery which had given this victory to Israel arms.

General Laner's division maintained the pressure around the area of Naffāḥ and along the Tapline route by which the major Syrian effort had advanced. This division gradually cleared the area around Naffāḥ and the area between it and the village of Khushniya which had already been established as a major Syrian supply base and headquarters. General Laner's forces, pushing in a south-easterly direction, gradually drove the Syrian forces back from the area of Naffāḥ towards Khushniya. At this point – on Tuesday, October 9, and Wednesday, October 10 – a two-divisional effort, that of General Laner from the north and General Peled from the south, boxed in the Syrian forces in the general area of Khushniya and destroyed a considerable number of tanks in very heavy fighting. By Wednesday, October 10, General Laner's forces too had reached the "purple line" which was the 1967 cease-fire line on the Golan Heights, and the Syrian forces had either been destroyed or driven out of his divisional area.

On Monday, October 8, units of the Golani Brigade attempted to recapture the Mount Hermon position which had been lost on the 6th, but the attack failed, with considerable losses. Thus by Wednesday, October 10, the Syrian forces had been driven entirely from the Golan Heights, and Israel forces had closed in on the cease-fire line along its entire length.

On the following day, Thursday, October 11, the Israel counterattack into Syria was launched. The operation began at 11.00 A.M. when General Eitan's division, including the Seventh Brigade, broke into the Syrian position in the area of Jubāta, while General Laner's division attacked along the heavily fortified main route to Damascus. General Eitan's division broke through according to plan. General Laner's division also broke in along the main route as planned, but his first brigade ran into a very heavy antitank screen which had remained behind on the ground, undetected. When this brigade was held up the support brigade followed through and took the village of Khan Arnaba. The third brigade followed through along the main Damascus route.

On Friday, October 12, the forces of General Eitan operating in the northern sector reached the village of Mazraat Beit Jinn and established defense positions there. The Seventh Brigade was repulsed in its attempt to take the hill of Tel Shams. To the south, General Laner's division widened its area of penetration as it advanced toward Kanakir. As the division moved towards Kanakir the Iraqi forces which had entered Syria reached the area of battle, the first of its two armored divisions moving forward towards the flank of General Laner's advancing division. General Laner, standing on a hill and directing the battle, saw the Iraqis advancing in clouds of dust across the plain from the southeast. He withdrew his division from the attack and prepared to meet them. Receiving an additional brigade from General Peled's division just in time, he created an armored box into which the Iraqi forces moved unsuspectingly. The battle commenced at 3.00 in the morning. The attack was smashed and the Iraqi forces withdrew, leaving some 80 destroyed tanks on the field of battle. The Israel forces exploited their success and reached the area near Kafr Shams.

On Saturday, October 13, parachute forces captured the vital hill of Tel Shams suffering only four wounded in the battle.

The Syrians developed a counterattack in the area of Beit Jinn on the main route linking Sassa and Tel Shams. In the meantime, the 40th Jordanian armored brigade had entered Syria, and basing itself on Tel Harra, supported the Iraqi forces on their left flank in the counterattacks which were mounted.

General Laner's division counterattacked and captured two very important dominating hills, Tel Aleika and Tel Antar. Counterattacks were mounted in turn by the combined Arab forces – Syrians, Iraqis, and Jordanians – but the Israelis now held a very strong line which the Arab forces failed to penetrate. In the battle which raged in the Iraqi sector, approximately 100 Iraqi tanks were hit with some 80 destroyed, and approximately 40 Jordanian tanks were hit of which 30 were destroyed.

On October 21/22 the Israel forces again mounted an operation to recapture the Mount Hermon position.

Units of a parachute brigade were helicoptered to a point above the Syrian Hermon position while units of the Golani brigade moved up from below. The paratroopers took all their targets. Golani forces moved along three routes, but when they entered battle, the nature of the terrain and the comparatively large enemy force scattered over the hillside endangered their operation. The brigade commander and the battalion commander were wounded and the situation was critical. Additional forces were transported by helicopter to the Golani attackers and the paratroopers began to move down from the captured Syrian position. At the critical moment the operations officer of the brigade took command and organized the assault, and finally broke the enemy in a very costly counterattack.

On October 22, at 10.00 A.M., Mount Hermon was recaptured.

In the battle for the Golan Heights and the attack into Syria the Syrian army lost approximately 1,100 tanks. Some 867 tanks were identified in the Golan area inside the cease-fire line, including a large number of the latest model T62 Russian tanks. Approximately 3,500 Syrians had been killed, and some 370 prisoners taken.

The battle for the Golan Heights was replete with incidents of great bravery and human tenacity. The Israel forces, pitched against a Syrian army whose soldiers fought well, revealed a genius for improvisation. But for this, the Golan

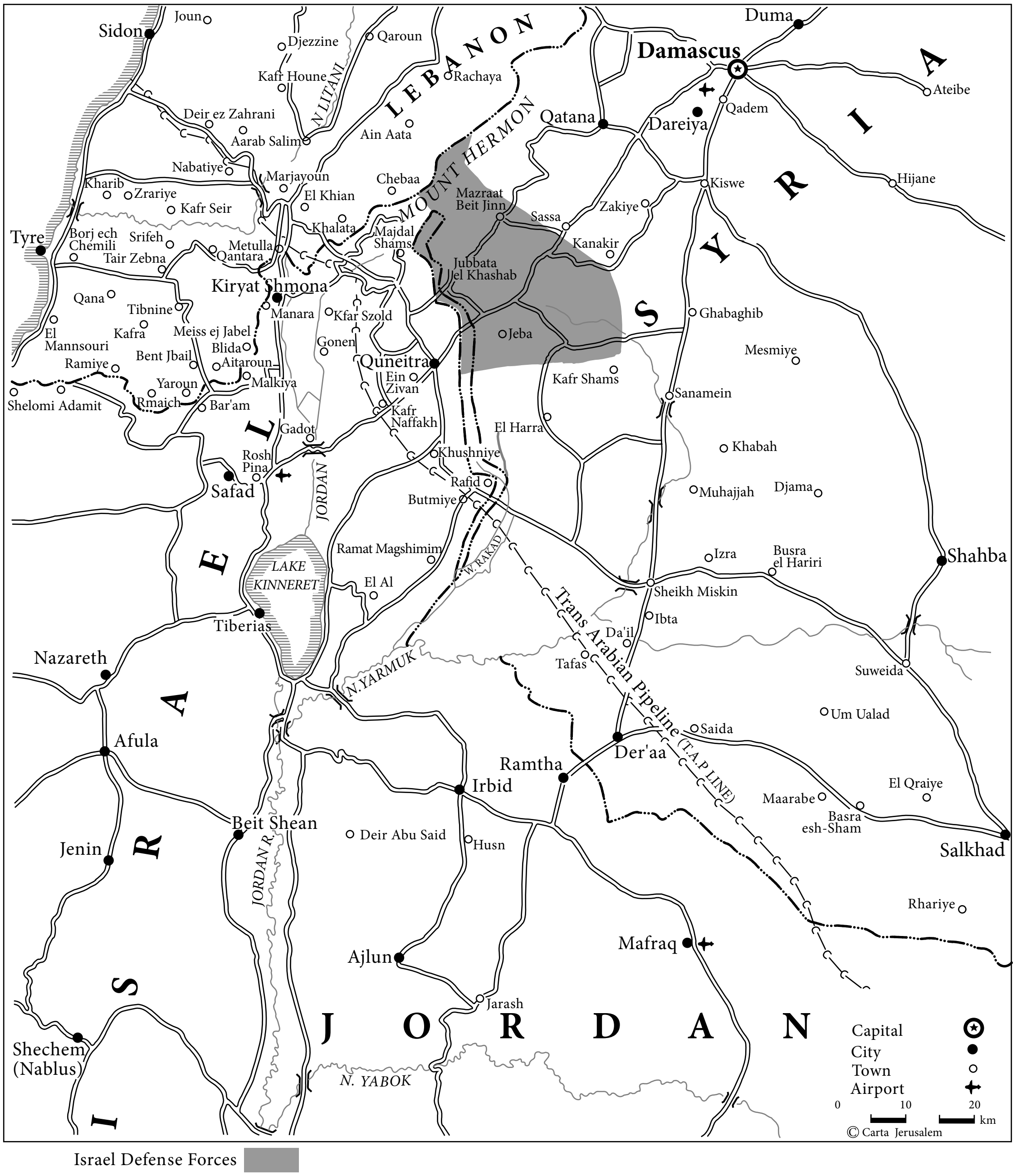
LEBANON
SYRIA
ISRAEL
JORDAN
MOUNT HERMON
Damascus
Duma
Sidon
Joun
Djezzine
Qaroun
Kafr Houne
Rachaya
N. LITANI
Deir ez Zahrani
Aarab Salim
Ain Aata
Qatana
Dareiya
Qadem
Ateibe
Nabatiye
Marjayoun
El Khian
Chebaa
Kharib
Zrariye
Kafr Seir
Mazraat Beit Jinn
Sassa
Zakiye
Kiswe
Hijane
Tyre
Borj ech Chemili
Srifeh
Tair Zebna
Metulla
Qantara
Khalata
Majdal Shams
Kanakir
Jubbata el Khashab
Kiryat Shmona
Qana
Tibnine
El Mannsouri
Kafra
Meiss ej Jabel
Blida
Manara
Kfar Szold
Ghabaghib
Jeba
Mesmiye
Ramiye
Bent Jbail
Aitaroun
Gonen
Quneitra
Ein Zivan
Kafr Shams
Shelomi Adamit
Yaroun
Rmaich
Malkiya
Bar'am
Kafr Naffakh
Sanamein
Gadot
El Harra
Khabah
Rosh Pina
Khushniye
Safad
JORDAN
Rafid
Butmiye
Muhajjah
Djama
Ramat Magshimim
W. RAKAD
Izra
Busra el Hariri
Shahba
LAKE KINNERET
El Al
Sheikh Miskin
Tiberias
Ibta
Trans Arabian Pipeline (T.A.P. LINE)
Da'il
Tafas
Suweida
Nazareth
N. YARMUK
Um Ualad
Saida
Afula
Der'aa
Ramtha
Irbid
El Qraiye
Maarabe
Basra esh-Sham
Beit Shean
Deir Abu Said
Husn
Jenin
Salkhad
JORDAN R.
Rhariye
Mafraq
Ajlun
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Shechem (Nablus)
N. YABOK
Capital
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Israel Defense Forces

Syrian Front. Situation at the time of cease-fire, October 1973

Heights would have been overrun. At all stages the Israel Air Force fought to support the ground forces and at a later stage began to engage strategic targets within Syria. By the end of the first week most of the Syrian Air Force had been destroyed and ceased to be an element on the field of battle. Furthermore, the Syrian missile system was to a great degree destroyed. Thus Israel's Air Force was free to deal with strategic targets deep in Syria, particularly in the ports on the Mediterranean and in Damascus and other cities.

The Israel forces concluded the battle holding the strategic heights of Mount Hermon which dominate the entire area between the battlefield and the capital, Damascus, and positions as far eastward as Tel Shams, in an area which placed the outskirts of Damascus within range of Israel artillery. This was the situation when the Syrian command finally agreed to a cease-fire as requested by the Security Council on October 22.

In the battle for the Golan Heights, the situation had been saved by the self sacrifice and bravery of the two brigades on the two sectors, coupled with the standing army units in the fortifications which held along the cease-fire line. Their heroic stand enabled Northern Command to mobilize the reserve forces and, despite the overwhelming odds and the initial success of the vast forces of the Syrian army, to mount a counterattack already on the third day of the battle and to drive out the Syrian forces from the Golan Heights two days later. The battle of the Golan Heights will become a classic both as a major armored battle and as a battle of improvization and tenacity leading to the success which placed Israel's forces well on the road to Damascus.

The Egyptian Front

The Egyptian assault on the Bar-Lev line in the area of the Suez Canal came as a complete surprise to the Israel forces, which comprised less than 500 troops manning a line some 100 miles long. At 2.00 P.M. on Yom Kippur, October 6, five Egyptian infantry divisions moved simultaneously across the Suez Canal – some 70,000 troops against less than 500. A clever plan of deception had been prepared which led the Israel command to believe that all the preparations which were readily visible were in fact part of a major exercise. The Israel line was subjected to intense shelling and at the same time Egyptian planes went into action. The forces under General Mandler rushed to occupy the positions which they were due to reach at 4.00 P.M., but by this time Egyptian infantry had crossed the Canal, bypassing the widely dispersed Israel fortifications in the Bar-Lev line, and had deployed in the positions prepared for the Israel tanks on the east bank of the Suez Canal. As the Israel armored forces approached their previously prepared positions in order to engage the enemy crossing the Suez Canal, they were met by a hail of anti-tank Sagger-type missiles fired by the Egyptian troops already in position on the east side of the Canal. These missiles caused heavy casualties to the Israel tanks making the initial assault.(See Map: Egyptian Attack and Map: Israel: Counter Offensive).

In the course of the night of October 6/7, the Egyptians ferried five divisions of infantry across the Canal together with their armor and by means of highly effective and very flexible Russian bridging equipment were able to establish adequate bridges across the Canal to keep their forces supplied. They set up three major bridgeheads across the Canal; one in the north basing itself on the area of Qantara, one in the center basing itself on the area of Ismailia, and the third in the south in the area of the Great Bitter Lake and Suez. The northern effort was under the command of the Egyptian Second Army, the southern under the command of the Egyptian Third Army.

The Israel forces continued to battle in order to contain the initial attack of the Egyptians, and the fortifications along the line continued to hold out on the morning of October 7. The main efforts of the Israel forces were directed towards holding a line along the second line of fortifications some 10 kms. from the Suez Canal, and preventing the Egyptians from enlarging their bridgeheads. An Egyptian effort was mounted on a number of occasions southwards along the Gulf of Suez in the direction of the oilfields of Abu Rudeis, but as in each case this effort required the Egyptian armor to leave the cover of their antiaircraft missile system, the Israel Air Force drove the Egyptian armored forces back, inflicting on them heavy casualties.

The entire Egyptian operation, against which the Israel Air Force mounted attack after attack in an endeavour to destroy the bridges and upset the crossings, was carried out under cover of a dense antiaircraft missile system which caused heavy casualties to the Israel Air Force, particularly because it forced the Israel planes to fly low to avoid the missiles and brought them within range of the conventional antiaircraft guns. The Israel forces that attempted to reach the units besieged in the fortifications of the Bar-Lev line in order to relieve them suffered very heavy casualties. Most of the line had either been captured or abandoned by the third day of battle. The most northerly position in the area of Baluza succeeded in holding out during the whole war and was never taken by the Egyptians. The most southerly position, at Port Tewfik, held out for most of the week, the defenders fighting a very brave battle and surrendering only when they had run out of ammunition, food and medical supplies.

On Monday, October 8, the area was divided by General Gonen, GOC Southern Command, into three divisional areas: the northern division commanded by Major General Adan, the central sector by Major General Sharon and the southern sector by Major General Mandler. On that day, Major General Adan's forces mounted an attack towards the area of the Firdan bridge opposite Ismailia. This attack was held by the Egyptians and General Adan's forces were unable to advance. Pitched battles continued, with the Egyptians throwing heavy infantry concentrations against the Israel armor with a view to inflicting casualties on them by use of antitank missiles. The Israel forces quickly adapted themselves to this new type of warfare, and tactics which they developed limited the losses sustained by this weapon.

Forces under General Sharon managed to reach the water's edge at the northern end of the Great Bitter Lake but the Israel General Command elected to remain in a holding position in preparation for the major armored assault which they expected would develop as soon as the two armored divisions held back in Egypt, the Fourth Division in the south and the Twenty-First Division in the north, moved across the Canal.

On Sunday, October 14, the Egyptian army mounted a major tank offensive and a heavy tank battle raged all day long, with the Egyptian army endeavoring to break out at four different points. The major battle was mounted against General Sharon's forces, in the central sector, where some 110 Egyptian tanks were destroyed in the course of the day. The northern division commanded by General Adan and the southern division commanded by General Mandler were likewise engaged in battle, with a determined attempt being made by the Egyptian Third Army to break out southward along the Gulf of Suez toward the oil fields. This attempt was foiled by the Israel Air Force which destroyed the greater part of an Egyptian brigade. In all, during October 14, the Egyptians lost over 200 tanks in the assault, which failed to achieve any advance.

Egyptian Attack, 6 October 1973

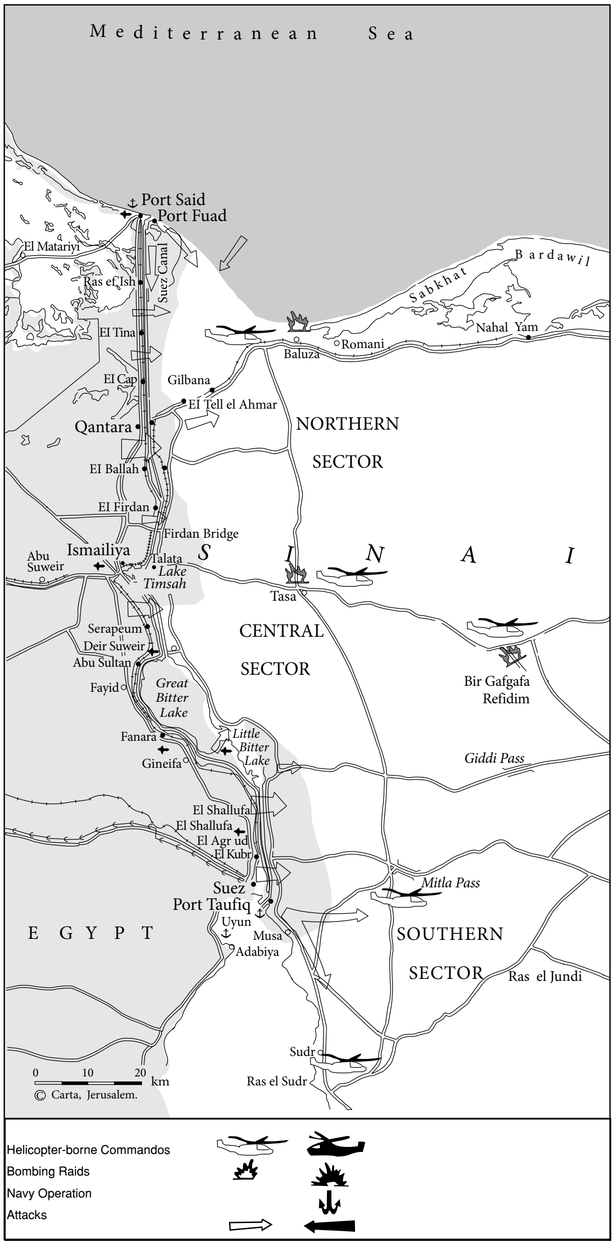
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Port Said
Port Fuad
El Matariyi
Ras el'Ish
Suez Canal
Sabkhat Bardawil
El Tina
Baluza
Romani
Nahal Yam
El Cap
Gilbana
El Tell el Ahmar
Qantara
NORTHERN SECTOR
El Ballah
El Firdan
Firdan Bridge
Abu Suweir
Ismailiya
Talata
Lake Timsah
SINAI
Tasa
Serapeum
Deir Suweir
Abu Sultan
CENTRAL SECTOR
Fayid
Great Bitter Lake
Bir Gafgafa
Refidim
Fanara
Little Bitter Lake
Gineifa
Giddi Pass
El Shallufa
El Shallufa
El Agr ud
El Kubr
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Port Taufiq
Mitla Pass
EGYPT
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Adabiya
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© Carta, Jerusalem.
Helicopter-borne Commandos
Bombing Raids
Navy Operation
Attacks

Israeli Counter Offensive

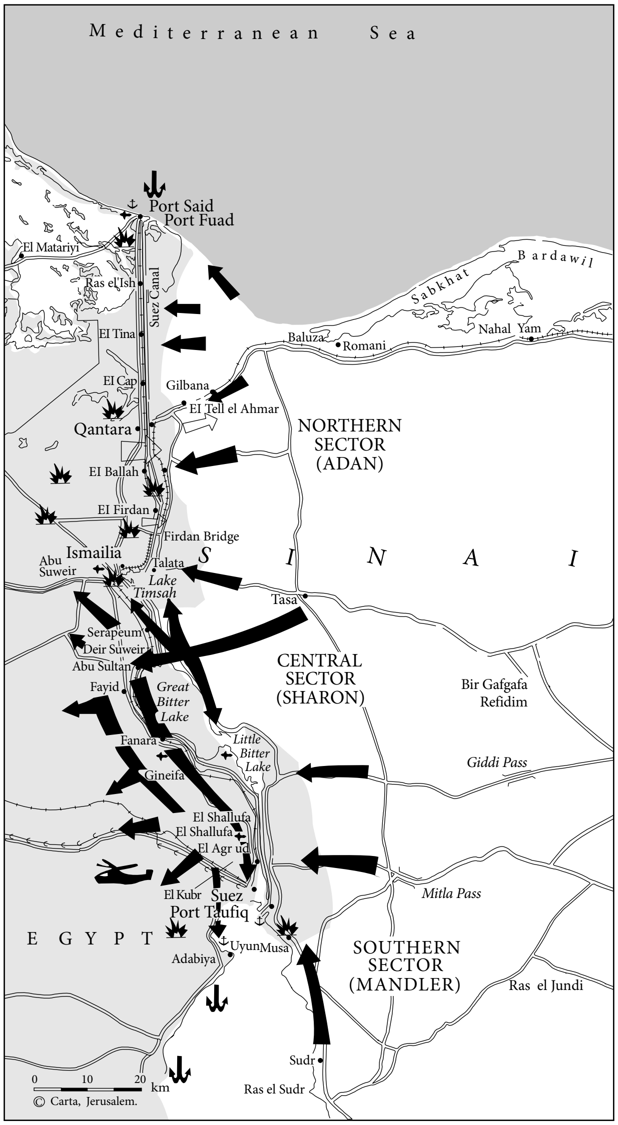
Mediterranean Sea
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El Tell el Ahmar
Qantara
NORTHERN SECTOR (ADAN)
El Ballah
El Firdan
Firdan Bridge
Abu Suweir
Ismailia
Talata
Lake Timsah
SINAI
Tasa
Serapeum
Deir Suweir
Abu Sultan
CENTRAL SECTOR (SHARON)
Fayid
Great Bitter Lake
Bir Gafgafa
Refidim
Fanara
Little Bitter Lake
Gineifa
Giddi Pass
El Shallufa
El Shallufa
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Suez
Port Taufiq
Mitla Pass
EGYPT
Uyun
Musa
Adabiya
SOUTHERN SECTOR (MANDLER)
Ras el Jundi
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Ras el Sudr
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© Carta, Jerusalem.

A debate had been in progress in the Israel Command as to the advisability of launching the planned attack across the Suez Canal in order to counter the Egyptian forces which were on the east bank. The chief deterrent factor had been the fact that the two main Egyptian armored divisions, the Fourth and the Twenty-First, were on the west bank. But as soon as they crossed to the east bank and were committed in the battle of October 14, it became apparent to the Israel Command that the time had come to mount the counterattack. Accordingly preparations were made to break through to the Canal at a point already planned in advance at the northern end of the Great Bitter Lake.

This task was assigned to General Sharon's division. On the night of October 15/16, parachute forces led his division across the Canal and established themselves in Egypt on the west bank. On the following day they were joined by elements of an armored brigade which began to widen the perimeter. Taken by surprise, the Egyptian forces on the west bank of the Canal did not offer much determined opposition. There were considerable delays, however, in clearing the area of the corridor to the Canal. Although in preparation for the crossing General Sharon's forces had reached the water's edge, the area through which they maneuvered had not been cleared of Egyptian forces and when the problem arose of resupply and moving down the bridges to the Canal it was found that the Egyptians were in a position to hinder any advance toward the Canal. General Adan's division, which had been designated to follow through after the bridges had been laid across the Canal, was therefore obliged to postpone its operation and engage the enemy in the area of the breakthrough to the Canal so as to create a corridor, widen it and mop up enemy units. At the same time an Egyptian armored brigade moved up from the area occupied by the Third Army along the Great Bitter Lake. General Adan's forces lay in wait and destroyed it. General Sharon's forces by this time were being reinforced on the west bank of the Canal, and with General Sharon in command of the forces both on the east bank and the west bank, they began to push northwards. One of the fiercest battles of the war was fought at the northern part of the corridor leading to the Canal, in a region known as the Chinese Farm.

In the meantime, despite very intense Egyptian bombardment, artillery barrages and air attacks, bridging equipment was brought up and two bridges were thrown across the Canal.

On October 16 and until midday on the 17th, General Adan's forces engaged in heavy battle and cleared the main routes to the bridging areas as well as the corridor leading to the bridges. His forces crossed the bridges which had been thrown across the Canal on the night of October 17/18, their first mission being to destroy as many antiaircraft missile sites as possible and to advance in the general direction of the Geneifa Hills. His forces broke out and began to fan out southward. On the same night Egyptian commando battalions counterattacked from Ismailia southward against the parachute brigade which had crossed the Canal initially, but they were driven back. Large-scale air battles developed in the meantime with the Israel Air Force achieving complete superiority.

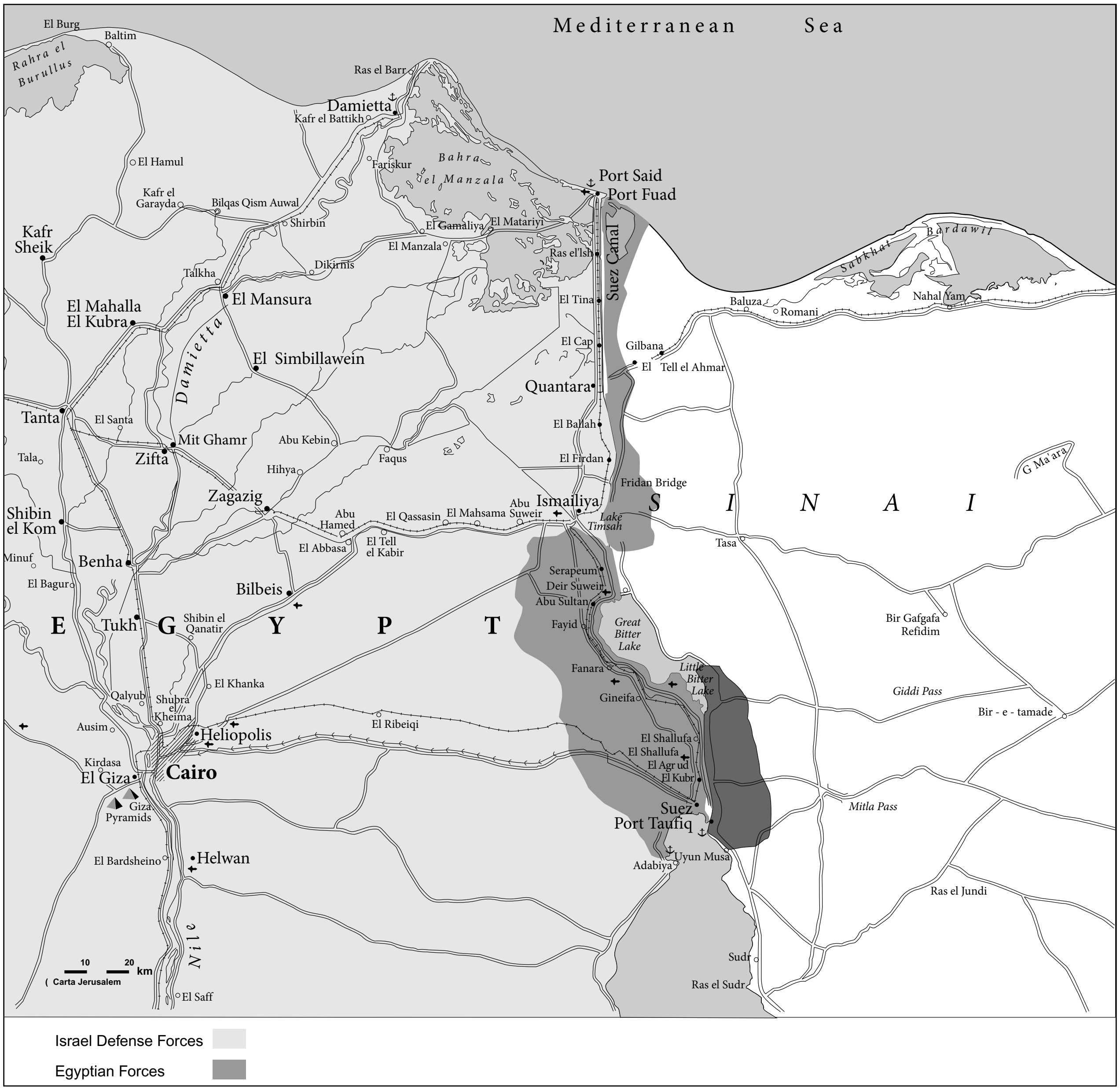
Mediterranean Sea
El Burg
Baltim
Bahra el Burullus
Ras el Barr
Damietta
Kafr el Battikh
El Hamul
Fariskur
Bahra el Manzala
Port Said
Port Fuad
Kafr el Garayda
Bilqas Qism Auwal
Shirbin
Kafr Sheik
El Gamaliya
El Matariyi
El Manzala
Ras el'Ish
Suez Canal
Sabkhat Bardawil
Dikirnis
Talkha
El Mansura
Baluza
Romani
Nahal Yam
El Mahalla El Kubra
El Tina
Damietta
El Simbillawein
El Cap
Gilbana
El
Tell el Ahmar
Quantara
Tanta
El Santa
Mit Ghamr
Abu Kebin
El Ballah
Zifta
Tala
Faqus
El Firdan
Hihya
Fridan Bridge
G Ma'ara
Zagazig
Ismailiya
S I N A I
Shibin el Kom
Abu Hamed
El Qassasin
El Mahsama
Abu Suweir
Lake Timsah
El Abbasa
El Tell el Kabir
Tasa
Minuf
Benha
El Bagur
Serapeum
Deir Suweir
Bilbeis
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Israel Defense Forces
Egyptian Forces

Egyptian Front. Situation at the Time of Cease Fire, October 1973

In the course of the fighting at the end of the first week, Major General Mandler was killed and his brigade was taken over by Major General Kalman Magen.

On October 19 in the evening, General Magen's division crossed the bridges.

Thus the attack on the Israel bridgehead developed, while for two days, until October 18, the Egyptians believed the Israel report that this was a task force designed solely for the purpose of attacking the Egyptian missile sites. There was lack of coordination between the Egyptian Third Army and Second Army, of which the Israel forces took advantage. By October 19 there were already three Israel divisions on the west bank of the Suez Canal. General Sharon's force was obliged to fight through the cultivated area created by the sweet-water canal in the general direction of Ismailia while at the same time endeavoring to remain parallel to the Israel forces on the east bank of the Canal which encountered very heavy opposition from the Egyptian Second Army units. General Adan's forces were ordered to advance in the direction of Geneifa-Suez, while clearing the area of the west bank of the Bitter Lake and the west bank of the Canal itself. General Magen's forces swept inward in a broad arc to the west of Jebel Geneifa directed towards the port of Adabiyah on the Gulf of Suez. General Sharon, who by this stage had advanced some six kilometers northwards from the bridges, began to widen his bridgehead and to push towards Ismailia. By October 22, he had pushed northward to the water purification plant of the town of Ismailia. His forces also attacked northward on the east bank of the Suez Canal in an endeavor to clear the area between the Great Bitter Lake and Lake Timsah. They managed to advance only part of the distance, however, and were not successful in clearing the remainder of that area.

General Adan continued southward along the Suez Canal between the Bitter Lakes and the town of Suez. His forces were in constant contact with the Egyptian forces along the Canal and also with the Egyptian forces operating from the east bank. General Magen reached the Cairo-Suez road and cut it early on October 22.

The Security Council, which had been hastily convened by the Soviet Union, met on October 21 and called for an immediate cease-fire, to come into effect at 5.58 P.M. on October 22. The cease-fire was accepted both by Egypt and Israel, but by the time it came into effect, the Egyptian Third Army found itself cut off and surrounded. Fighting continued after the beginning of the cease-fire primarily because units of the trapped Egyptian Third Army fought desperately to break their way out of the Israel vice, which was tightening. Israel forces counterattacked, and were engaged along the front by Egyptian artillery from all the sectors. General Magen's forces consolidated their gains, closing the ring by taking the Red Sea fishing port of Adabiyah in the Gulf of Suez. General Adan cleared the entire water edge and reached the outskirts of the town of Suez.

The fighting continued in the Suez area. Israel forces, assuming that the fighting was over, moved into the town of Suez, but came up against strong Egyptian points of defense which inflicted heavy casualties on them.

The fighting finally ended on October 24 with the Egyptian forces holding two major bridgeheads on the eastern bank of the Suez Canal to an average depth of about 10 kms., and with the Israel forces occupying some 1,600 sq. kms. of territory inside Egypt from the outskirts of Ismailia in the north to Mount Ataqa and the port of Adabiyah in the south and reaching, at the most westerly point, within some 70 kms. of Cairo. Moreover, Israel had cut off the Egyptian Third Army (comprising some 20,000 troops and approximately 300 tanks) on the east bank of the Canal opposite the town of Suez, and indeed, but for the Security Council resolution calling for a cease-fire, the Egyptian Third Army was doomed and could have been wiped out by the Israel forces within a matter of days.

Thus the war concluded on the Egyptian front, with the Egyptians celebrating the fact that they had achieved an initial success in crossing the Canal and in maintaining bridgeheads on the east bank of the Canal. On the other hand, the Israel forces had effected a counterattack which had given Israel a military situation constituting a good bargaining position with a view to future negotiations.

In the battle with Egypt over 1,000 Egyptian tanks were destroyed and vast quantities of equipment were taken in addition to 8,000 prisoners. Some 240 Israel prisoners were taken and these were exchanged for the 8,000 Egyptian prisoners following the cease-fire agreement signed with Egypt.

Naval Operations

At the outset of the war, the Egyptian navy had blockaded the Straits of Bab el-Mandeb, preventing commercial shipping from entering the Red Sea and reaching Israel's ports. The Israel presence at Sharm el-Sheikh enabled the Israel navy to effect a counter blockade in the Gulf of Suez which obstructed all Egyptian activity in the Gulf and which prevented the supply of oil to Egypt from her own oil wells in the Gulf of Suez.

A naval battle developed between the Egyptian and Syrian navies and a modern Israel navy equipped with missile ships, some of which had been built in Israel, and all equipped with Israel-built missiles. In a number of battles, the first missile battles in naval history, in which both the Syrian and Egyptian navies were engaged, the Israel navy destroyed most of the Syrian navy and part of the Egyptian navy and gained complete control of the seas, both in the Mediterranean and in the Red Sea. The Israeli naval operations were characterized by daring and initiative.

The Cease-Fire

On October 22 the United Nations Security Council passed Resolution 338 calling upon all parties to cease all firing and immediately thereafter to begin the implementation of Security Council Resolution 242 of 1967 in all its parts. It also decided that immediately and concurrently with the cease-fire, negotiations should start between the parties concerned under appropriate auspices, with the aim of establishing a just and durable peace in the Middle East.

On November 11 the cease-fire agreement was signed between Egypt and Israel at Kilometer 101 on the Suez-Cairo Road. This agreement made arrangements for the supply of food, water and medical equipment to the beleaguered town of Suez and for the provision of non-military supplies to the Third Army on the east bank of the Suez Canal. It also made initial provisions for the exchange of all prisoners of war. These arrangements were honored, as was an unwritten undertaking that the blockade of the Straits of Bab el-Mandeb would be lifted.

The Geneva Peace Conference opened on December 21 with the participation of Egypt, Jordan and Israel, under the auspices of the United States and the Soviet Union.

Strategic Considerations

The Yom Kippur War has changed many concepts about modern warfare. It was the first time in history in which a naval missile battle took place. The effect of the antitank missile in the field of battle was much discussed, but as the fighting developed, the Israelis found a solution to this problem. It would appear that the conclusions drawn on this subject were very greatly exaggerated.

On the other hand, the efficacy of the sophisticated anti-aircraft missiles, such as the SAM6 Russian missile supplied to the Egyptians and Syrians, proved to be very considerable, and had an important bearing on the course of the air war.

From a purely military point of view, the war which began under the worst possible circumstances that Israel could have envisaged and under the most promising circumstances that the Arab forces could have hoped for and for which they had prepared, resulted in a victory for Israel's forces. As the war developed, the degree of Russian connivance which was evidenced by the major Russian air and sea lifts mounted immediately after the commencement of hostilities in order to resupply the Egyptian and Syrian armies, became increasingly apparent.

To counter this massive Russian air lift and in order to preserve the balance of forces, the United States mounted an air lift to resupply the Israel forces, which had expended a considerable quantity of ammunition and had sustained comparatively heavy losses in the fighting.

The losses in lives in the Yom Kippur War on both sides were heavy: 2,522 Israelis and an estimated 15,000 Egyptians and 3,500 Syrians were killed.

For the political and other aspects of the war, see *Israel, State of: Historical Survey.

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[Chaim Herzog]

YOM TOV BEN ABRAHAM ISHBILI (**Asbili**; i.e., of Seville; known as Ritba – from the initial letters of his Hebrew name **R**abbi **Y**om **T**ov **B**en **A**braham; c. 1250–1330), Spanish talmudist. Famous already in his youth as a scholar, he studied in Barcelona under *Aaron ha-Levi of Barcelona and Solomon b. Abraham *Adret, and was mentioned in an official document of 1280 of the kingdom of Aragon as a *ḥakham* and *dayyan* of the community of Saragossa. Even during the lifetime of his teachers, questions were addressed to him for he was regarded as among the leading Spanish rabbis. When the king's bailiff in Saragossa asked his opinion about the protests of the local Jews against the excessive privileges of the wealthy families Alconstantini and Eleazar, he, despite his youth, condemned their domineering behavior and abuses, whereupon they attacked and seriously injured him.

After the death of his teachers, he was regarded by Spanish Jewry as its spiritual leader. When the community of Daroca introduced certain decrees, it was stated that this was done "in the name of R. Asher [b. Jehiel] and in that of R. Yom Tov b. al-Ishbili" (Resp. Ritba, no. 159). His *bet din* was referred to by contemporary rabbis as "the great and excellent *bet din*" (*ibid.*, no. 43). In his humility, he would apologize if he thought he had used somewhat harsh language in writing to anyone who disagreed with his views (*ibid.*, no. 208). He devoted himself also to the study of philosophy, in particular Maimonides' *Guide of the Perplexed*, acquiring a thorough knowledge of it and comparing its translation with the Arabic original. He also studied the works on logic of the Provencal scholars Samuel ibn Tibbon, Jacob Anatoli, and Gershom b. Solomon.

Yom Tov regarded Nahmanides as "a faithful shepherd" and declared it to be "the glory of the scholars of our land" that they received their Torah from him (*ibid.*, no. 208). Nevertheless he published a work (*Sefer ha-Zikkaron*) in defense of the *Guide of the Perplexed* against Naḥmanides' criticism of it in his commentary on the Pentateuch. In this work Yom Tov did not hesitate to declare that Naḥmanides "went much too far in saying of a great man brimful of the wisdom of the Torah and fully versed in all knowledge that his are empty words." He added that most of Naḥmanides' criticisms originated from his deficient knowledge of philosophical works, and that, not having adequately studied the *Guide*, he was unable to grasp its inner meaning and purpose (*Sefer ha-Zikkaron*). In this defense, Yom Tov did not attempt to blur the dividing line between "the path of truth" followed by Nahmanides and that "of logic" followed by Maimonides, but expressed the view that the latter's course "is very correct according to his outlook," while the former's "is more correct according to his." Generally Yom Tov reaffirms: "there are 70 ways in which the Torah can be interpreted, all of them the words of the living God." Even where he disagrees with Maimonides and accepts the view of Nahmanides, he declares that "all his [Maimonides'] statements are for the sake of Heaven and characterized by great wisdom" (*ibid.*).

Yom Tov's reputation rests upon his novellae to the Talmud, *Ḥiddushei ha-Ritba*. He apparently began writing them from the direct dictation of his teacher Aaron ha-Levi (*Ḥiddushim* to BB 63b, ed. by M.Y. Blau, vol. 1 (1952), 250). When, however, he realized that the work would be inordinately long, he decided to make an abbreviated version. There is even a possibility that he wrote a third "version" to some tractates. These facts give rise to a difficult and complicated literary problem, his novellae to the different tractates being of different "types," and therefore not always of the same quality. It is sometimes very hard to identify them with certainty. His novellae are, in general, very rich in early source material: tosafistic, Spanish, Provençal, and geonic, and display a considerable originality, though he is very much under the influence of his two great teachers.

His novellae have been published many times, and in different editions. Their first editions are: *Berakhot* (1968); *Shabbat* (1967); earlier works on this tractate which purported to be *Ḥiddushei Ritba* were ascribed to him erroneously; *Eruvin, Ta'anit, Mo'ed Katan, Ketubbot* (Amsterdam, 1729; *Pesaḥim* (1864) is not his); *Sukkah* (in *Sheva Shitot le-ha-Rashba*, Constantinople, 1720; wrongly ascribed to Solomon b. Adret); *Rosh Ha-Shanah* (1858); *Yoma* (Constantinople, 1754); *Megillah* (in David Hayyim Samuel Hassan, *Kodshei David*, Leghorn, 1792); *Yevamot* (Leghorn, 1787); *Gittin* (Salonika, 1758); *Kiddushin*, in the very rare edition of the tractate of Sabionetta, 1553, and afterward Berlin, 1715; *Bava Batra* (1952–54); *Bava Meẓia* (1962; the earlier editions are not his); *Makkot* (in *Ḥamishah Shitot*, Sulzbach, 1769); *Ḥullin* (Prague, 1735); *Niddah* (1868 – chapter *Tevul Yom*; in *Ha-Segullah*, 4, Jerusalem, 1937). His other works include: a commentary on *Hilkhot Nedarim* by Naḥmanides (in *Ishei ha-Shem*, Leghorn, 1795); *Hilkhot Berakhot* (at the end of Ḥayyim Isaac Musafia's responsa *Hayyim va-Hesed*, 1844); Responsa (ed. by Y. Kafaḥ, 1959); *Sefer ha-Zikkaron* (by S.H. Halberstamm, in *Ḥiddushei ha-Ritba al Niddah*, 1868; critical edition by K. Kahana, 1956); a commentary on the Passover *Haggadah* in *Peh Yesharim* (1838); *Perush al Hilkhot ha-Rif*, in manuscript: *Sefer ha-Derashot*, his homilies, now lost.

[Ephraim Kupfer]

A complete edition of Ishbili's responsa, edited by Y. Kafaḥ, was first published in 1959. The Institute for Research in Jewish Law of the Hebrew University has now published the first volume of a comprehensive historical index to those responsa (together with that of the responsa *Zikhron Yehudah* of *Judah ben Asher, the son of *Asher b. Jehiel) under the editorship of M. Elon. The volume is the second in the series of the indexes to the responsa literature. The first volume, that of the responsa of Asher b. Jehiel, consisted for the most part of indexes to the legal matters in these responsa and their sources in biblical, talmudic, and post-talmudic literature. The present volume consists of an exhaustive historical introduction, and the subject matter is arranged under different headings, such as the political, juridical, and social status of the Jews as revealed in the responsa, communal organization, family and social life, economic life, realia, etc.

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YOM TOV OF JOIGNY (d. 1190), talmudist, exegete, and synagogal poet. He was a disciple of Rabbenu *Tam of Troyes, the grandson of Rashi. Toward 1180 he settled in *York, probably under the aegis of *Josce, the leader of the community. His halakhic decisions are reported in the *Mordekhai* of *Mordecai b. Hillel (Ket., no. 198) and elsewhere; he was also known as a commentator on the Bible, and he engaged in anti-Christian polemics. Several of his religious poems are preserved, including a ballad-like strophic elegy on the Blois martyrs of 1171, *Yah Tishpokh Ḥamatkha,* written in Andalusian style; each of the four strophes has an allusion to some aspect of the death of the martyrs, asking God to intervene in favor of His people and avenge these deaths. He mentions in particular the names of two of the martyrs, Yehiel and Yekutiel, who had been, like himself, students of Rabbenu Tam. He is also the author of the hymn **Omnam Ken*, for the eve of the Day of Atonement, one manuscript version of which embodies the name Yom Tov in the last verse. He is said to have inspired the heroic mass-suicide of the Jews of York when they were beleaguered in the castle on the Sabbath before Passover in 1190. He and Josce were the last to die.

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[Cecil Roth / Angel Sáenz-Badillos (2nd ed.)]

YONATH, ADA (1939–), Israeli chemist. Born in Jerusalem, Yonath received her B.Sc. in chemistry in 1962 and M.Sc. in biochemistry in 1964 from the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. After completing her Ph.D. studies at the Weizmann Institute of Science, Reḥovot, Israel, in 1968 she conducted postdoctoral studies at the Pittsburgh Carnegie-Mellon University and at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

In 1970, Yonath joined the Chemistry Department of the Weizmann Institute and established what was for almost a decade the only protein-crystallography laboratory in Israel. In 1984 she was promoted to associate professor and in 1988 she became a full professor. She was the head of the Structural Chemistry Department (1989–90) and the Structural Biology Department (1992–94). From 1988 she was director of the Helen & Milton A. Kimmelman Center for Biomolecular Structure and Assembly and of the Joseph & Ceil Mazer Center for Structural Biology at the Weizmann Institute, where she became the Martin S. Kimmel Professor of Structural Biology. Between 1986 and 2004, in addition to being a faculty member of the Weizmann Institute, she headed the

Max Planck Research Units for Ribosomal Structure in Hamburg, Germany.

Prof. Yonath spent most of her scientific career working to unravel the structure of the ribosome, the cell's "protein factory" which synthesizes proteins according to genetic code instructions. Her 20-year research efforts included pioneering technical advances such as cryo-bio-crystallography, which revolutionized structural biology worldwide. Her studies culminated in 2000 when she determined the structures of the two ribosomal subunits, an accomplishment ranked by the prestigious *Science* magazine as among the most important scientific developments of the year. She then revealed the modes of action of over a dozen antibiotic families, thus paving the way for structure base drug design.

Yonath was a member of the Israeli Academy of Science and Humanities, the U.S. National Academy of Sciences, the European Academy for Science and Art, the EMBO, and of the International Academy of Astronautics. She was the winner of the 2002 Israel Prize in chemistry. She was also the recipient of the First European Crystallography Prize, the Kolthof Award for Outstanding Research in Chemistry, the Kilby International Award, and the Harvey Prize.

[Bracha Rager (2nd ed.)]

YONATHAN, NATHAN (1923–2004), Hebrew poet. Yonathan was born in Kiev, in the Ukraine, came to Israel as a child, and grew up in kibbutz Givat ha-Sheloshah and later in Petaḥ Tikvah. For nearly 40 years he lived in kibbutz Sarid and later in Tel Aviv. He studied Hebrew and general literature, taught in high schools and at university, and was for many years chief editor of Sifriat Po'alim Publishing House and a member of the board of directors of the Israel Broadcasting Authority. Yonathan began publishing poetry in 1940 and his first collection *Shevilei Afar* ("Paths of Dust") appeared in 1951. This was followed by some 20 collections, including *El ha-Nirim ha-Aforim* ("Unto the Furrows Grey," 1954), *Shirim be-Arov ha-Yam* ("Poems at Sea Dusk," 1972), *Ḥofim* ("Shores," 1983), and *Shirim be-Ahavah* ("Poems with Love," 1990). Yonathan was one of the most popular Hebrew poets, not least because so many of his poems were set to music (For instance, *Ḥofim*, *Yesh Peraḥim*, *Ne'esaf Tishrei*, *Shenei Alonim*). His lyrical verse, describing the nature and landscape of Ereẓ Israel, the sea, the rivers, the fauna and flora, is associated with the best of "Israeliness." The private self is nonetheless present in many of Yonathan's poems. Particularly moving are the poems of loss and bereavement he wrote after the death of his son Lior on the first day of the Yom Kippur War ("Poems to Lior," 1974). Yonathan also wrote prose and four books for children, including *Bein Aviv le-Anan* ("Between Spring and Cloud," 1959) and *Lilakh mi-Kevuẓat Ilanot* ("Lilach of the Ilanot Group," 1963). He received many prizes, including the Bialik Prize and the Brenner Prize. An English collection titled *Stones in the Darkness* appeared in 1975. Individual poems have been translated into diverse languages and information concerning translation is available at the ITHL website, www.ithl.org.il.

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[Anat Feinberg (2nd ed.)]

YORK, English cathedral city and the principal city in the north of England during the Middle Ages. Jewish capitalists settled there in the middle of the 12th century and attained considerable prosperity. The leaders of the community were Benedict, *Josce, noted for his patronage of scholars, and the tosafist *Yom Tov of Joigny. Benedict and Josce represented the York Jews in the deputation which waited on Richard I at his coronation in September 1189. In the ensuing riots Benedict was seriously wounded and died of his injuries on his homeward journey. In the following March anti-Jewish rioting broke out in York and the Jews, headed by Josce, were allowed by the sheriff to take refuge in the royal castle known as Clifford's Tower. Suspecting the latter's intentions, they later excluded him, were besieged by the mob, and committed mass-suicide rather than submit (*Shabbat ha-Gadol*, March 16/17, 1190). The victims included Josce, R. Yom Tov, and the tosafist Elijah of York. A poignant elegy on the massacre was composed by *Joseph b. Asher of Chartres. A community was reestablished early in the 13th century though it never regained its former importance. The most important Anglo-Jewish magnate of the reign of Henry III, *Aaron of York, archpresbyter of the Jews of England (1236–43), was the son of the Josce mentioned above. The community's cemetery, originally shared with those of *Lincoln and *Northampton, was at a place still known as Jewbury.

York was one of the cities in England which had an *archa and it remained a Jewish center until the expulsion of 1290, when the financial magnate Bonamie of York was given a safe-conduct and was permitted to settle in Paris. A few Eastern European Jews settled in York at the end of the 19th century, and a small congregation has existed since 1892. In 1968 it numbered 45 out of a total population of 106,010, while the 2001 British census found 191 declared Jews by religion. There is an Orthodox congregation. A plan in 2002 by the local council to build a shopping mall adjacent to Clifford's Tower was opposed by the *Board of Deputies of British Jews and the local community.

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[Cecil Roth]

YORK-STEINER, HEINRICH ELCHANAN (1859–1934), Zionist publicist and author. Born in Senica (Hungary; now Slovakia), York-Steiner entered business in Vienna in his early youth. Self-educated in literature and art, he went to the U.S., returned to Vienna in 1884, and became director of a publishing house and an editor. After the appearance of *Der Judenstaat*, he joined Theodor *Herzl and became an ardent Zionist. He participated in the March 1897 conference that decided to convoke the First Zionist Congress and was responsible for the technical preparation of the central Zionist organ, *Die *Welt*. At the First Zionist Congress (1897) he submitted, on behalf of the organization commission, the proposals for adapting the constitution of the World Zionist Movement to the legislative requirements of various countries. These proposals became the basis of the Statute of the Zionist Organization. At the Sixth Zionist Congress in Basle (August 1903) he was an outspoken opponent of the *Uganda Scheme. While in Rome, York-Steiner heard about the disappointing results of Herzl's visit there. He called on the papal secretary of state in February 1904 and was finally authorized to state that the Apostolic See would not object to Jewish settlement in Palestine on humanitarian grounds. He published a report on the interview in *Die Welt* (no. 14, 1904).

After Herzl's death York-Steiner fought for strict adherence to Herzl's political Zionism and strongly opposed the gradual expansion of Zionist activities to other spheres in the Diaspora according to the *Helsingfors Program (1906), as well as premature, unorganized settlement in Ereẓ Israel. When the practical Zionists attained the leadership of the movement, he left it (1911). During World War I he visited the U.S. on behalf of the Austrian Freemasons to seek the immediate cessation of hostilities. In the late 1920s he joined the *Revisionist movement, but was no longer active. He settled in Palestine in 1933, having visited the country repeatedly since 1898.

Among his publications are *Kuenstlerfahrten vom Atlantischen bis zum Stillen Ozean* (New York, 1883); *Anti; Croccolos Synagoge; Der barmherzige Bruder* (three stories, 1895); *Mutter Eva* (1897); *Der Talmudbauer* (1904); *Der hohe Kurs* (1908); *Bedeutet der Krieg einen Ausnahmszustand?* (1915); *Vom sterbenden Geld* (1921); *Die Kunst als Jude zu leben* (1928), containing many biographical notes and reminiscences; and "Aus Herzl's letzter Zeit" (in Tulo Nussenblatt, *Zeitgenossen ueber Herzl*, 1929, 213–17). He also published many articles in various Jewish and Zionist magazines.

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[Oskar K. Rabinowicz / Archiv Bibliographia Judaica (2nd ed.)]

YOSE (first half of the fourth century), Ereẓ Israel *amora*. Although always mentioned in the Jerusalem Talmud without patronymic, he is to be identified with R. Yose b. Zevida (Men. 70b: cf. TJ, Ḥal. 1:1, 57c). He transmitted the teachings of Ilai, Ze'ira, and Jeremiah. Yose became a close associate of R. *Jonah, and their joint teachings and discussions fill the pages of the Jerusalem Talmud just as those of Abbaye and Rava characterize the Babylonian Talmud. Yose and Jonah together attended weddings (TJ, Ber. 6:5, 10c), visited the sick (TJ, Shab. 6:9, 8c), and comforted mourners (TJ, Sanh. 6:12, 23d). They also were lifelong business partners in the production of wine (TJ, Ma'as. Sh. 4:9, 55b). When informed of the death of Yose's son, Jonah fasted the rest of the day (TJ, Ned. 8:1, 40d). Yose and Jonah permitted the baking of bread on the Sabbath when compelled to do so at the time of Ursicinus' campaign in Israel in 351 (TJ, Shev. 4:2, 35a). Later they were respectfully greeted by Ursicinus when they went to meet him in Antioch (TJ, Ber. 5:1, 9a). After R. *Ammi moved his academy to Caesarea, Yose and Jonah succeeded to the rectorate of the academy at Tiberias. They had many disciples, some of whom became the leaders of the next generation. Among Yose's prominent students were his own son, Eleazar, and Mani, the son of Jonah. Following Jonah's death (TJ, Ma'as. Sh. 4: 9, 55b) Yose was acknowledged as the leader of Palestinian Jewry, and he received inquiries from as far away as Alexandria, Egypt (TJ, Kid. 3:14, 64d). He sent a detailed calendar to Diaspora Jewry, cautioning them to continue to observe the second day of the festivals (TJ, Er. 3:9, 21c: cf. Beẓah 4b). He was so esteemed by his generation that upon his death his students who were kohanim defiled themselves by carrying his bier (TJ, Ber. 3:1, 6a).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Hyman, Toledot, 713–7; Ḥ. Albeck, *Mavo la-Talmudim* (1969), 334f.

YOSE BAR ḤANINA (second half of the third century), Palestinian *amora*. Yose was an important member of the academy of Tiberias and was called a "great man" by R. Assi (BK 42b). He was a pupil-colleague of Johanan with whom he sometimes disagreed both in *halakhah* and *aggadah*. His intimacy with Johanan is emphasized in the story told by Ze'ira that Yose b. Ḥanina appeared to him in a dream and told him that he was seated next to Johanan in the Garden of Eden (BM 85b). This intimacy is the cause of some confusion in the sources and in some sayings it is not clear which of them was the author. However, the view that Yose b. Ḥanina was ordained by Johanan on the recommendation of Simeon b. Eliakim is based on an error in the text of the Babylonian Talmud (Sanh. 30b). The correct text in the Jerusalem Talmud makes it clear that Yose b. Ḥanina recommended Simeon b. Eliakim for this purpose to Johanan. Yose b. Ḥanina was a *dayyan* and Rava said of him that "he penetrated to the inner spirit of the law" (BK 39a). As a *dayyan* he was renowned for his leanings toward compromise rather than the application of the strict letter of the law and his plea to the contending parties was that they should not stand upon their legal rights but go "beyond the line of justice" (TJ, BM 6:8, 11a). The Babylonian Talmud has a rule that wherever it says "they ridiculed it in the west" (Ereẓ Israel) the reference is to Yose b. Ḥanina (Sanh. 17b). He was also a great aggadist and apparently an outstanding preacher; he said "whosoever discourses on the Torah in public and his words are not as sweet as honey to his audience… it were better that he had not spoken" (Song R. 4, no. 1). There is probably a personal element in his statements, "Love unaccompanied by reproof is not love" and "reproof leads to love" (Gen. R. 54:3).

Very little is known of the events of his life. He was apparently wealthy (BB 90b), and his children died during his lifetime (Ta'an. 13b). The suggestion that he was the brother of Ḥama b. Ḥanina is a mere conjecture. Among his important pupils was Abbahu; however, his sayings are transmitted by many others. He taught *beraitot*, and as a result, although he was not a *tanna*, his name was attached to halakhic Midrashim, though a *tanna* called Yose b. Ḥanina is also mentioned (Epstein, Tanna'im, 630).

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YOSE (Issi) BEN AKAVYAH (second century C.E.), *tanna*. According to a tradition in the Babylonian Talmud (Pes. 113b), he is identical with Joseph of Huẓal (in Babylonia), Joseph the Babylonian, Issi b. Gur Aryeh, *Issi b. Judah, Issi b. Gamaliel, and Issi b. Mahalalel. The Jerusalem Talmud (BK 3:7, 3d) also identifies him with Yose Kittunta, of whom the Mishnah states that with his death the pious men (*ḥasidim*) came to an end (Sot. 9:15). Bacher disputes these identifications, and regards Issi b. Judah in particular as distinct from Yose b. Akavyah but identical with R. Yose b. Judah "of the Babylonian village" who deprecated study from young teachers, preferring instead "old, experienced masters" (Avot 4:20).

Yose's preference for older teachers is paralleled by the respect in which he held old people in general. In contrast to those rabbis who interpreted Leviticus 19:32, "You shall rise up before the hoary head" as referring to scholars, Yose explained it according to its literal sense (Kid. 32b). He also maintained that honoring one's father takes precedence over the performance of a precept which could be carried out by others (Kid. 32a). He stated that anyone superior in even a single accomplishment should be honored (Pes. 13b) and regarded the premature death of scholars as a divine punishment for lack of self-respect (ARN 29, p. 88). In line with R. Eliezer's opposition to the education of women (Sot. 3:4), Yose excluded daughters from the commandment that a man should teach the Torah to his children (Sif. Deut. 46). In accordance with the ancient practice, he interpreted Deuteronomy 23:26 as applying to anyone, while other rabbis, aware of economic realities, restricted the right of picking ears of grain to laborers employed by the owner of the field (BM 29a). Likewise he insisted on the literal meaning of Exodus 21:14 to include non-Israelites under the provisions of the law of murder (Mekh. Nezikin 4). Yose summed up in brief, pointed phrases, the accomplishments of the leading contemporary scholars (Git. 67a). He took extreme care to check his traditions, and was highly praised by R. Eleazar b. Shammua (Men. 18a). To aid his memory, Yose wrote important traditions in private "secret scrolls" (Shab. 6b) which were not meant for dissemination. He failed to attend *Yose b. Ḥalafta's college for three days because Yose had failed to explain the reasons for his statements (Ned. 81a). Yose was also an expert in biblical exegesis, and his statement that "there are five verses in the Torah, the syntactical construction of which is undecided" (it being uncertain whether a word be read with the first or second section of the verse; Mekh. Amalek 1, Yoma 52a–b, et al.) was incorporated in the masorah.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Bacher, Tann: Hyman, Toledot, 151ff.

[Moses Aberbach]

YOSE BEN AVIN (fourth century), Palestinian *amora*. Yose b. Avin is frequently mentioned in the Jerusalem Talmud and is one of the last scholars referred to there by name. He was a pupil of Yose of Yokrat and later of Assi (according to the reading of Dik. Sof., Ta'an. 23b). Although he frequently transmitted the words of his predecessors, no one, apart from the anonymous "rabbis of Caesarea" (TJ, Shab. 8:1, 11a; et al.), transmitted sayings in his name. According to one tradition (Yev. 45b) he was also in Babylonia, and statements of his are cited in the Babylonian Talmud, though his name is often interchanged with that of his contemporary, Yose b. Zevida. Similarly, in the Palestinian Talmud he is cited as transmitting Babylonian teachings (TJ, 1:2, 60b) and customs (TJ, Pes. 10:2, 37c). There is great confusion in the sources about his exact dates, and some scholars are of the opinion that there was more than one *amora* *Avin (or Ravin). His son Samuel is also mentioned (TJ, Dem. 4:3, 24a) as well as his son-in-law, Hillel (TJ, Ber. 2:5.5a).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Frankel, Mevo, 102a; Hyman, Toledot, s.v.; Z.W. Rabinowitz, *Sha'arei Torat Bavel* (1961), 444–47: H. Albeck, *Mavo la-Talmudim* (1969), 336–37.

YOSE BEN DORMASKOS (second–third century C.E.), *tanna*. "Dormaskos" refers to his birthplace, Damascus, as he himself stated (Sif. Deut. 1). The Aramaic form Darmesek occurs also in the Bible (I Chron. 18: 5–6; in Kid. 39a the reading is "ben Durmaskah"). Yose is mentioned once only in the Mishnah (Yad, 4: 3; cf. Tosef., Yad. 2:16), not as the author of a halakhic statement, but as transmitting information from the academy of Jabneh to Eliezer b. *Hyrcanus in Lydda. Yose b. Dormaskos tended to follow the plain meaning of the Bible and explicitly dissociated himself from farfetched interpretations. He used to say with regard to these interpretations "Why do you distort the verses?" (Sif. Deut. 1). Most of his sayings are in *aggadah* (Mekh. Shirah 2, et al.). One *baraita* (Ḥul. 67b) which states in his name that the leviathan is a clean fish is also based upon a biblical verse. Another *halakhah*, that "the law of *orlah does not apply outside Ereẓ Israel", he transmitted in the name of Yose *ha-Gelili (Tosef., Or. end).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Hyman, Toledot, s.v.

[Jacob Eliahu Ephrathi]

YOSE BEN ḤALAFTA (mid-second century C.E.), *tanna*; the R. Yose mentioned in the Talmud without patronymic. Yose was one of the leaders of the generation after the persecutions which followed the Bar Kokhba War. He was born in *Sepphoris, where his father was one of those who instituted *takkanot* there after the destruction of the Temple (Tosef., Ta'an. 1:14). Yose studied under his father and transmitted some of his teachings (Kelim 26:6; et al.). He also studied under *Johanan b. Nuri in Galilee (Tosef., Kelim, BK 6:4; et al.), and under *Tarfon in Judea (*ibid.*, Shev. 4:4). His main teacher, however, was *Akiva in whose name he frequently transmits *halakhot*, and it was said generally: "R. Akiva his teacher" (Pes. 18a). The Babylonian Talmud numbers him among his last pupils who "reestablished the Torah" (Yev. 62b) and according to one tradition he was ordained by *Judah b. Bava (Sanh. 14a). Other traditions report that he participated in all the conventions of scholars "at the close of the period of persecution," in the valley of Bet Rimmon, in Usha, and in Jabneh (TJ, Ḥag. 3:1; Ber. 63b). During the persecutions he endangered his life to fulfill the precept of circumcision and fled to Asia or to Laodicea (BM 84a: TJ, Av. Zar. 3:1). He followed in the footsteps of his father in Sepphoris in introducing *takkanot* (Sanh. 19a), in giving practical instruction (see Er. 86b), and in preaching in public (Sanh. 109a).

Yose's *bet din* in Sepphoris was reckoned among the most outstanding in Ereẓ Israel (Sanh. 32b). Yose and Judah are frequently found together with the *nasi*, Simeon b. Gamaliel both at Usha and during his various travels (Tosef., Ber. 5:2; *ibid.*, Suk. 2: 2; et al.), and Simeon b. Gamaliel quotes him (Meg. 6b). His influence was still felt in the council chamber during the time of Judah ha-Nasi, the son of Simeon, who withdrew his own view in favor of that of Yose (Shab. 51a), and spoke of him with exceptional respect (Git. 67a). The Talmud states that the *halakhah* was established in accordance with the view of Yose wherever his associates disagreed with him (Er. 46b). Yose is mentioned several times in all the tractates of the Talmud with the exception of *Bikkurim*, *Hagigah*, *Horayot*, and *Me'ilah*, and in the *beraitot* his *halakhot* are frequently given.

His sayings in the *aggadah* are not numerous. Some 16 conversations with gentiles have been ascribed to him, especially those with "a certain matron." Many aggadic sayings quoted in his name deal with theological and cosmological problems, and noteworthy in this connection is his explanation of the name *Makom* ("place") for God: "The Holy One is the place of the world, but the world is not His place" (Gen. R. 68:9). Among others are his sayings: "The Divine Presence never descended to earth, nor did Moses and Elijah ever ascend on high" (Suk. 5a); "On what does the world rest? On the pillars… the pillars upon the waters… the waters upon the mountains… the mountains on the wind… the wind upon the tempest… the tempest is suspended on the arm of the Holy One" (Ḥag. 12b). In opposition to the view of others, Yose held that "man is judged each day" (Tosef., RH 1:13). Yose transmitted many reminiscences and historical traditions of the generations close to him and of the time of the Temple. In his *aggadah* too an important place is given to determining the chronology of the events in Scripture and to the interpretation of the historical material of the scriptural books. The *baraita, *Seder Olam*, dealing with chronology, apparently had its origin in his school, as testified by Johanan (Yev. 82b). Many traditions record his unpretentious ways and his relations with his fellow men, as well as his piety (Shab. 118b; TJ, Ber. 3:4). Yose is the earliest scholar of whom it is related that he was worthy of having the prophet Elijah reveal himself to him regularly in order to teach him (Ber. 31; et al.). Of his private life, it is reported that he obtained his livelihood by tanning (Shab. 49a–b). He left five sons, all scholars, the best known of them being *Ishmael and *Eleazar.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Frankel, Mishnah (1923), 174ff.; M. Yoel, in: MGWJ, 6 (1857), 83ff.; B. Ratner, *Mavo le-Seder Olam Rabha* (1896); Bacher, Tann, 2; Epstein, Tanna'im, 126ff.

[Shmuel Safrai]

YOSE BEN JOEZER OF ZEREDAH (first half of the second century B.C.E.), together with his colleague, *Yose b. Johanan of Jerusalem, the first of the **zugot*. Both were disciples of *Antigonus of Sokho. Zeredah, his place of origin, is in the south of Samaria. He was the *nasi* of the Sanhedrin and his colleague was the *av bet din*. They are recorded as having "decreed uncleanness upon gentile countries and upon glassware" (Shab. 14b–15b, TJ, Shab. 1:7, 3c; Pes. 1:6, 27d; Ket. 8:11, 32c). Apparently the main reason for the first decree was to prevent or discourage emigration from Ereẓ Israel. The suggestion that the second decree was for economic reasons is very doubtful. It is probable that it was merely one of the stringencies introduced into the laws of ritual uncleanness and cleanness during the time of the Second Temple. They were the first to differ in the well-known dispute about **semikhah* (the laying on of hands upon sacrifices during the festival), Yose b. Joezer holding that it should not be performed and Yose b. Johanan permitting it (Ḥag. 2:2). Because of their profound erudition and piety both Yoses were called "the grape clusters," and it was said that when they died "the grape clusters ceased" (Sot. 9:9; cf. Tosef., BK 8:13; Tem. 15b).

It is related of Yose b. Joezer "that he was the most pious in the priesthood, yet his apron was [considered] *midras* (uncleanness) for [those eating] hallowed things" (Ḥag. 2:7). The Mishnah (Eduy. 8:4) relates of him: "Yose b. Joezer of Zeredah testified concerning the *ayil kamẓah* locust that it is clean … and that one who has definitely touched a corpse is unclean. And they called him Yose the permitter." It is noteworthy that this testimony – the first mentioned in the sources (see *Eduyyot*) – is in Aramaic, typical of authentic Second Temple traditions. His statement in *Avot* (1:4), however, is in Hebrew: "Let thy house be a meeting place for scholars; sit amid the dust of their feet; and drink in their words with thirst." The Midrash (Gen. R. 65:22) relates that Yose was sentenced to death by crucifixion. On the way to his execution his nephew, Yakum of Zerorot, who is usually identified with the wicked priest *Alcimus, encountered him and taunted him. Alcimus repented and committed suicide. This story, however, does not agree with the description of the death of Alcimus in I Maccabees 9:55–56. The Talmud (BB 133b) relates that Yose gave all his property to the sanctuary and bequeathed nothing to his son because of his unworthy conduct.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Hyman, Toledot, 729–31; N. Krochmal, *Moreh Nevukhei ha-Zeman (Kitvei Rabbi N. Krochmal*, ed. by S. Rawidowicz (1924), 69); Frankel, Mishnah, 31–4; Weiss, Dor, 1 (1904^{4}), 98–102; Halevy, Dorot, 1 pt. 3 (1923), 200–2, 348–50; S. Klein, *Ereẓ Yehudah* (1939), 45; E.E. Urbach, in: *Tarbiz*, 27 (1958), 170; Alon, Meḥkarim, 2 (1958), 185 f.; L. Ginzberg (Ginẓburg), *Al Halakhah ve-Haggadah* (1960), 141, 21–27.

[Moshe David Herr]

YOSE BEN JOHANAN HA-TANNA OF JERUSALEM, colleague of Yose b. Joezer of *Zeredah, and one of the *zugot. He is almost invariably mentioned together with his colleague. Yose b. Johanan's maxim in *Avot* (1:5) is: "Let thy house be wide open; let the poor be members of thy household; and engage not in much gossip with women."

[Moshe David Herr]

YOSE BEN JUDAH (second century C.E.), *tanna*. Yose was the elder colleague of Judah ha-Nasi (see Pes. 112b) with whom he held halakhic discussions (Shab. 18a) and whom he accompanied on his tours of the country (Ned. 62a; Gen. R. 76:8). Yose's statements are cited a number of times in four of the six orders of the Mishnah but not in *Zera'im* and *Tohorot*. Many of them are cited anonymously, whence his designation in the Babylonian Talmud, "*stimata*" (Er. 38 b; et al.). Yose is very frequently mentioned in all six orders of the Tosefta. Most of his statements belong to *halakhah* and only a few are in *aggadah*, the best known being that which tells about the two ministering angels who accompany a man when he returns home from the synagogue on the eve of the Sabbath (Shab. 119b). Well known too is his apothegm: "Let your 'yes' be righteous and your 'no' be righteous" (BM 49a). It is possible that Simeon b. Judah was his brother.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Epstein, Tanna'im, 172–4; Hyman, Toledot, s.v.

[Israel Moses Ta-Shma]

YOSE BEN KIPPAR (end of the second century C.E.), *tanna*. Yose's name does not occur in the Mishnah, but only in the Tosefta and in *beraitot*. He transmits many sayings in the name of Eleazar b. *Shammua (TJ, Shev. 2:4, 33d. Beẓah 4:2, 62c; et al.) and some scholars are of the opinion that whenever he transmits in the name of R. Eleazar without a patronymic the reference is to Eleazar b. Shammua. Yose is the first known emissary sent from Ereẓ Israel to Babylon in order to collect money and offerings for the benefit of the scholars of Ereẓ Israel. He was accompanied by his colleague Dostai b. Yannai, and on account of this mission became involved in a dispute with the local people (Nehardea, in the TB) who demanded the return of their money and even took it back from him by force and under torture (TJ, Git. 1:6, 43d; Git. 14b). According to a passage in the Talmud (Ber. 63a), Yose b. Kippar was sent with "the grandson of Zechariah b. Kebutal" to Babylon in order to dissuade Hananiah, the nephew of Joshua b. Hananiah, from intercalating the year outside Ereẓ Israel. This incident occurred shortly after the Bar Kokhba revolt in 135 C.E. and therefore the chronology makes it difficult to ascribe the incident to him. Consequently some scholars are of the opinion that the reading is a mistake for Yose b. ha-Kappar (see Dik. Sof. 1c.). The Jerusalem Talmud also (ed. 6:13, 40a) specifies the names of other emissaries regarding this incident, and his name does not occur there.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Hyman, Toledot, 732–3.

[Israel Moses Ta-Shma]

YOSE BEN KISMA (first half of the second century C.E.), *tanna*. Yose lived apparently in Tiberias (Tanḥ. B. Gen. 166; Yev. 96b). An autobiographical story is told of his preferring to live in a place of Torah rather than have all the silver, gold, and precious stones in the world (Avot 6:9). The Palestinian Talmud transmits a tradition in which Yose ben Kisma appears in the company of the fourth generation *tannaim* Eleazar and Yose (TJ Shek. 2:5, 47a). No halakhic statements are transmitted in his name. In the *aggadah* of the Babylonian Talmud, Yose is described as having held that one should submit to Roman rule, and according to this tradition he did not give up this view even during the time of the Hadrianic persecutions. It is related that when he was ill, *Ḥanina b. Teradyon went to visit him. Yose said to him: "Ḥanina, my brother, do you not know that it is Heaven that has ordained this nation to reign? For though she has laid waste His house, burnt His Temple, slain His pious ones, and caused His choice ones to perish, still is she firmly established! Yet, I have heard that you sit and occupy yourself with the Torah, address public assemblies, and keep a scroll of the law in your bosom." Ḥanina replied: "Heaven will have mercy." "I," remonstrated Yose, "am telling you plain facts and you say, 'Heaven will show mercy!' It will surprise me if they do not burn you together with the scroll of the Law." Nevertheless, Yose looked forward to the redemption and believed that Israel would fall into the hands of the Parthians (Sanh. 98a–b). It was said that within a few days Yose b. Kisma died, and all the great men of Rome went to his funeral and made great lamentation for him (Av. Zar. 18a).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Hyman, Toledot, 735 f.; Bacher; Tanna'im; J. Guttmann, in: *Sefer Assaf* (1953), 173 f.

[Moshe David Herr]

YOSE BEN MESHULLAM (end of the second century C.E.), *tanna*. Yose was the colleague of Abba Yose b. Dosai and Simeon b. *Eleazar. He transmitted *halakhot* in the name of his brother Nathan (Tosef., Dem. 3: 1). Yose, who belonged to the intimate circle of Judah ha-Nasi, is referred to by name only three times in the Mishnah (Ter. 4:7; Bek. 3:3 and 6:1). It can be proved, however, that several of the anonymous statements in the Mishnah are according to him. He and Simeon b. *Menasya headed the "holy *congregation" of Jerusalem (TJ, Ma'as. Sh. 2:10, 53d) who ate ordinary food in ritual purity and divided their day into three: one-third for study, one-third for prayer, and one-third for work (Eccles. R. 9:9).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Epstein, Tanna'im, 182–4; S. Safrai, in: *Zion*, 23 (1957), 189 ff.

[Israel Moses Ta-Shma]

YOSE BEN YOSE (fourth or fifth century C.E.?), the earliest liturgical poet known by name. *Saadiah mentions him as foremost among the famous poets of antiquity (Arabic introduction to the *Iggaron*, and Hebrew translation, ed. A. Harkavy, in *Zikkaron la-Rishonim ve-Gam la-Aḥaronim*, 5 (1891), 50 f.). Of the many theories about him, the only one that appears tenable is that his native country was Palestine, as it has been established beyond doubt that the oldest *piyyut* was developed in that country. Even in the early Middle Ages, nothing was known of the period and the circumstances of his life. He is sometimes called *ha-yatom* ("the orphan") apparently because he bore the name of his father. Others called him "high priest" from which it would seem that he was believed to have lived in the times of the Temple, while others identify him with the *amora* Yose b. Yose. He probably flourished as early as the fifth or even the fourth century. Since these dates cannot be definitely determined, it is not certain whether he is to be regarded as the originator of the artistic *piyyut* or as reliant upon older models no longer extant. Despite his dependence on the picturesque style of the Midrash and occasional neologisms, Yose's language is distinguished by its purity and its lofty poetic diction. He is the only non-Spaniard whose verses Ibn *Janaḥ quotes in his dictionary as ideal models (*Sefer ha-Shorashim* (Berlin, 1893), 305, 419).

Large parts of his compositions have been preserved in the *genizah*, and have been published by M. Zulay and E. Fleischer. A. Mirsky has edited and annotated all his preserved liturgical poems (1977^2). Among the unpublished texts of the *genizah* are some which were apparently composed by Yose.

The following poetical compositions are attributed to Yose:

(1) The so-called *Teki'ata* of the German ritual, consisting of three sections appended to the prayers **malkhuyyot, *zikhronot*, and **shofarot*.

(2) At least three versions of the **Avodah*, namely:

(a) *Azkir Gevurot*, for the *Shaḥarit* of the Day of Atonement (Rosenberg), M. Sachs, *Kovez Ma'asei Yedei Ge'onim Kadmonim* (Berlin, 1856), 1–9, 85–87; H. Brody-M. Wiener, *Mivḥar ha-Shirah ha-Ivrit* (1934), 26–36; A. Mirsky, *Piyyutei Yose ben Yose*, 127 ff.; with English translation: T. Carmi, *The Penguin Book of Hebrew Verse* (1981), 209 ff.; M.D. Swartz and J. Yahalom (eds.), *Avodah: An Anthology of Ancient Poetry for Yom Kippur*, 295 ff.

(b) *Attah Konanta 'Olam be-rov Ḥesed* used in the old French ritual in the Middle Ages, later preserved in the ritual of *Apam, the text of which was published in Rosenberg's *Kovez* II, 111–5 as well as in S.D. Luzzatto's Italian *maḥzor* (Leghorn, 1856); A. Mirsky, *Piyyutei Yose ben Yose,* 178 ff.; M.D. Swartz and J.Yahalom (eds.), *Avodah: An Anthology of Ancient Poetry for Yom Kippur*, 291 ff.

(c) *Asapper Gedulot*, for the *Minḥah* prayer, extant only in a small Cairo *Genizah* fragment (published in I. Elbogen, *Studien zur Geschichte des juedischen Gottesdienstes* (1907), n. 8); A. Mirsky, *Piyyutei Yose ben Yose,* 203 ff.

(3) *Omnam Ashamenu*, a confessional prayer included in the German ritual, translated into German by L. Zunz (Zunz, Poesie, 163); A. Mirsky, *Piyyutei Yose ben Yose*, 118 ff.

(4) *Yozer* (perhaps), of which only the first line *Or Olam Ozar Ḥayyim* remains; see A. Mirsky, *Piyyutei Yose ben Yose*, 217 ff.

(5) Two rhymed verses quoted by Ibn Janaḥ in Yose's name which belong, as M. Zulay has proved, to the rhymed *rehitim* for the Day of Atonement.

(6) Several compositions for the New Year: *Ahalelah Elohai,* ed. A. Mirsky, in: *Piyyutei Yose ben Yose*, 93 ff.

(7) *Efḥad be-Ma'asai*, ed. A. Mirsky, in: *Piyutei Yose ben Yose*, 101 ff.

(8) *Anusah le-Ezrah*, ed. A. Mirsky, in: *Piyutei Yose ben Yose*, 109 ff.

(9) *Etten Tehillah*, for Yom Kippur, ed. A. Mirsky, in: *Piyyutei Yose ben Yose*, 173 ff.

(10) The lamentation *En Lanu Kohen Gadol* traditionally attributed to him, ed. A. Mirsky, in: *Piyyutei Yose ben Yose*, 210 ff.

(11) The *piyyut* on the members of the body *Eftaḥ Sefatai*, ed. A. Mirsky, in: *Piyyutei Yose ben Yose*, 218 ff.

(12) *Az le-Rosh Tattanu*, ed. A. Mirsky, in: *Piyyutei Yose ben Yose*, 219 ff.

And a few more doubtful *piyyutim*.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Zunz, in: WZJT, 2 (1836), 305–7; Zunz, Poesie, 81, 96, 122, 124, 130, 137; Zunz, Lit Poesie, 26–28, 643–5; Landshuth, Ammudei, 85–88; A. Harkavy, *Zikkaron la-Rishonim ve-Gam la-Aḥaronim*, 1:5 (1891), 105 f.; I. Elbogen, *Studien zur Geschichte des juedischen Gottesdienstes* (1907), 74, 78–81, 118 f.; Elbogen, Gottesdienst, 306–8, 550, 560; Bacher, in: JQR, 14 (1902), 742 f.; W. Jawitz, in: *Festschrift zum siebzigsten Geburtstag David Hoffmanns* (1914), 74–82; Simchoni, in: *Ha-Tekufah*, 12 (1924), 179 f.; Davidson, Ozar, 4 (1933), 398; J. Kenaani, *Millon Konkordanzyoni li-Leshon ha-Piyyutim* (1931), includes a list of Yose b. Yose's *piyyutim* on p. xii; Zulay, in: YMḤSI, 6 (1945), 235 f.; Roth, in: JBL (1952), 171–8; Schirmann, in: JQR, 44 (1953/54), 142–4; A. Mirsky, *Yalkut ha-Piyyutim* (1958), 1–11; Ligier, in: *Nouvelle Revue Théologique*, 72 (1960), 40–45; A. Mirsky, *Reshit ha-Piyyut* (1965); E. Fleischer, in: *Kovez al Yad*, 7 (1968), 1–79. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** *Hebrew Liturgical Poetry in the Middle Ages* (1975), 93 ff., passim; idem, in: *Ha-Yozerot* (1984), 19 ff.; W. Horbury, in: *Suffering and Martyrdom in the New Testament* (1981), 143–82; A. Mirsky (ed.), *Piyyutei Yose ben Yose* (1991^2); J. Yahalom, *Poetry and Society in Jewish Galilee of Late Antiquity* (Heb., 1999); M.D. Swartz and J. Yahalom (eds.), *Avodah: An Anthology of Ancient Poetry for Yom Kippur* (2004).

[Jefim (Hayyim) Schirmann / Angel Sáenz-Badillos (2nd ed.)]

YOSE BEN ZIMRA (second century C.E.), Erez Israel scholar belonging to the last generation of *tannaim* and the first generation of *amoraim*. According to one tradition, Yose was a priest (Yoma 78a). His daughter married the son of R. Judah ha-Nasi (Ket. 62b). His halakhic sayings are few, most of his dicta belonging to the sphere of *aggadah*, and they occur in the Talmuds and the Midrashim (and once even in the *Mekhilta). His sayings are usually transmitted in his name by Johanan and, particularly, by Eleazar b. Pedat. His statement "If all the inhabitants of the world were to assemble, they could not create a single gnat and put life into it" (TJ. Sanh. 7:19, 25d), directed against sorcerers and magicians, was used against the alleged miracles of sectarians, apparently Christians, who were very common in Ereẓ Israel in his day. He particularly censured talebearers and scandalmongers, whom he compared to those who deny the very foundations of religion (Ar. 15b).

He interprets the word *va-yiven* in Genesis 2:22 to indicate that "woman is endowed with more understanding (*binah*) than man" (Gen. R. 18:1).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Hyman, Toledot, 722f.; Bacher, Pal Amor; Allon, Meḥkarim, 2 (1958), 36f.; Ḥ. Albeck, *Mavo la-Talmudim* (1969), 161.

[Moshe David Herr]

YOSEF, OVADIAH (1920–), Israeli rabbi. Yosef was born in Baghdad, but when he was four years old he was taken to Jerusalem. At the age of 20, he was ordained rabbi by Ben-Zion Meir *Ouziel. In 1945 he was appointed a *dayyan* in the *bet din* of the Sephardim in Jerusalem. In 1947 he was elected head of the *bet din* of Cairo and deputy chief rabbi of Egypt. During the period of his rabbinate in Egypt he displayed great courage and national pride; he refused to issue proclamations against the State of Israel, forbade contributions for military equipment for the Egyptian army, and also insisted on his right to preach in Hebrew. In 1950, he returned to the young state of Israel and was appointed a member of the rabbinical court of Petaḥ Tikvah and of Jerusalem (1958–65). In 1965 he was appointed a member of the Supreme Rabbinical Court of Appeals in Jerusalem, and in 1968, Sephardi chief rabbi of Tel Aviv-Jaffa. On October 16, 1972, Rabbi Yosef was elected Sephardi chief rabbi of Israel (*rishon le-Zion*), a position he held until 1983.

In 1984, with the encouragement of Lithuanian leader R. Eleazar Menahem *Shach, who had in effect become his mentor, Yosef founded *Shas as an ultra-Orthodox political party aiming to redress the wrong of Eastern underrepresentation in Israeli public life. Shas became a major force in Israeli politics, with a peak of 17 seats after the 1999 Knesset elections and its own school system, El ha-Ma'ayan. With the rise of Shas and as its spiritual leader, Yosef became one of the most prominent and influential figures in the country, given to scathing and often crude pronouncements about the secular world, and in particular Israel's Supreme Court. However, Yosef was also a pragmatist, and though he had fallen under the sway of R. Shach and made his followers part of the closed Lithuanian yeshivah world where secular studies and secular employment were anathema, his own background in the more open society of Eastern Jews, where assimilation was not feared and vocational training was the norm, had made him relatively liberal in his outlook. Thus, in 1979, Yosef consented to serve as president of a rabbinical seminary attached to Bar-Ilan University which would be combined with a B.A. program in the Humanities and Jewish Studies – a kind of Israeli Yeshiva University. However, the outcry in the ḥaredi world of R. Shach and a campaign of pressure and threats caused R. Yosef to back down and repudiate the project. The break with R. Shach came when R. Yosef supported the peace process and permitted Shas to join the Rabin government in 1992. Shas subsequently joined the Netanyahu government in 1996 and then the Barak government in 1999 after reaching its high-water mark of 17 Knesset seats. Since that time, Shas has slipped at the polls and more often than not found itself bypassed in government coalitions, which together with the general recession has had an effect on the funds channeled into its pet projects and led to the near bankruptcy of its school system. Politically it has moved to the right, opposing the 2005 disengagement from the Gaza Strip.

A prolific writer of halakhic works, Yosef published his first work, *Yabbi'a Omer*, at the age of 18 on themes in tractate *Horayot*, and he used the same title for many subsequent collections of responsa (which appeared in Jerusalem in 1954, 1956, 1960, 1964, and 1969). A second set of responsa was published under the title *Yeḥavei Da'at*, and his rulings were codified in *Yalkut Yosef*. In 1970 he was awarded the Israel Prize for Torah literature. He also wrote *Ḥazon Ovadyah* (1952), on the Passover **Haggadah*, in two sections: one halakhic and the other homiletical. The second part was published in an enlarged second edition (1967). Yosef's works are distinguished by their erudition. He is at home both with the Sephardi and Ashkenazi authorities to whom he gives equal weight. His rulings are clear and direct. In general he inclined to leniency in his rulings. Yosef also headed the yeshivah Torah ve-Hora'ah – the Tel Aviv branch of the yeshivah Porat Yosef – as well as the institute for *dayyanim* established by him in Tel Aviv. Among his best-known rulings were those collectively recognizing the *Beta Israel as Jews and affirming the permissibility of giving up land in Ereẓ Israel in exchange for peace.

ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY: N. Chen and A. Pfeffer, *Maran Ovadyah Yosef: Ha-Biografiyah* (2004); B. Lau, *Mi-Maran ad Maran – ha-Rav Ovadyah Yosef* (2005); J. Lupu, *A Shift in Haredi Society: Vocational Training and Academic Studies* (2004).

[Itzhak Alfassi / Fred Skolnik (2nd ed.)]

YOSE HA-GELILI (beginning of the second century C.E.), *tanna*, one of the scholars of *Jabneh. As his name indicates, Yose came from Galilee (Er. 53b). His teachers there are unknown, but at an early age he went to Jabneh, where he made a great impression in his discussions with Tarfon and Akiva – who also later were his chief disputants (Zev. 57a; et al.). His relations with Akiva were at first those of pupil and teacher, but in the course of time he became his colleague, even saying to him: "Akiva, even if you carry on all day I shall not heed you" (Sifra 6:23; Men. 89a). Akiva held him in high regard, and said: "Not for everyone [would I withdraw] but for you, who are Yose ha-Gelili." His name is not mentioned in the tractate *Eduyyot* because he was still young when the *halakhot* detailed there were established. His *halakhot* are scattered throughout the Talmud, but mainly in the order *Kodashim*. Generally he does not interpret the scriptural verses according to their literal meaning, and in the *aggadah* he inquires as to the intent of the verse. His permanent place of residence is not known. In Tiberias he studied together with Simeon b. Ḥanina (Sif. Zut. to Num. 19:4) and he was also in the south – when he accompanied Tarfon, Eleazar b. Azariah, and Akiva to comfort Ishmael – in Jabneh, and in Lydda, where Tarfon lived.

According to a talmudic tradition, his wife was a shrew and he was persuaded by his colleagues to divorce her, but after the divorce he acted generously toward her and supported her and her second husband, who became blind (TJ, Ket. 11:3). He had three sons: Eliezer, Ḥanina, and one who died during his lifetime. He was also regarded as a wonder-worker whose prayers for rain were effective. Because of the similarity of names some of his statements are confused with those of *Yose b. Ḥalafta and vice versa. Nothing is known of his disciples, and those who transmitted statements in his name are few: Judah b. Ilai, Eleazar b. Shammua, Nathan, Simeon b. Eleazar, anti *Yose b. Dormaskos. Yose ha-Gelili apparently died before the Bar Kokhba War (132–135 C.E.), and according to a medieval tradition his tomb was located near Safed in Galilee.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Frankel, Mishnah, 132–4; Hyman, Toledot, 738–40; Bacher, Tann index; Z. Vilna, *Mazzevot Kodesh be-Erez Yisrael* (1963^{2}), 360–1.

[Israel Moses Ta-Shma]

YOSE HA-KOHEN (end of the first century C.E.), *tanna*. Yose, a pupil of *Johanan b. Zakkai, was known for his piety and his teacher designated him a "*ḥasid*" (one of exceptional piety; Avot 2:8). It is related of him that he never sent a letter through a gentile lest he forward it on the Sabbath (Shab. 19a). His piety is also discernible in his apothegm: "Fit yourself to study Torah for it will not come to you as a heritage; and let all your actions be for the sake of heaven" (Avot 2:12). In answer to the question as to "the good way to which a man should cleave" Yose ha-Kohen answered that a man should maintain good neighborly relations (Avot. 2:9). Like most of the *ḥasidim* of the Talmud Yose was not conspicuous in his teaching and very little is known about it (Eduy. 8:2). Yose plays a significant role in the later amoraic versions of the stories concerning early tannaitic involvement in the study of *Merkabah mysticism, along with Simeon ben Nethanel (TJ, Ḥag. 2:1, 77a), or according to another tradition with *Joshua b. Hananiah (TB, Ḥag. 14b). These traditions, however, probably do not preserve authentic historical information about Yose himself or his historical period. Some identify Yose ha-Kohen with Yose Kittunta, of whom it is said that when he died, piety ceased (Sot. 9:15). On the other hand it is certain that he is not to be identified with the Joseph ha-Kohen mentioned in several places (Mik. 10:1; et al.) without the title "Rabbi."

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Hyman, Toledot, 740–1. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** S. Wald, "The Mystical Discourse of Eleazar ben Arakh," in: JSIJ (2006).

[Israel Moses Ta-Shma / Stephen G. Wald (2nd ed.)]

YOTVATAH (Heb. יָטְבָתָה), kibbutz in southern Israel, in the Arabah Valley 26 mi. (40 km.) N. of Eilat, affiliated with Iḥud ha-Kevuẓot ve-ha-Kibbutzim. Yotvatah was founded in 1951 as a *Naḥal outpost by Israel-born graduates of youth movements and later joined by pioneers from various countries. Nearby is the Yotvatah playa and one of the largest springs of the southern Arabah, from which the principal water supply was first drawn to Eilat. Situated at an isolated spot near the Jordanian frontier, Yotvatah suffered from frequent enemy attacks. In 2002 its population was 576. It developed methods for progressive oasis farming, producing mainly out-of-season vegetables and flowers, dates and other tropical fruit, etc. Yotvatah ran a dairy for pasteurized milk products, but also sold other products, such as fruit juices. In 1998 part of the dairy was sold to the Straus company, a large family-owned food enterprise. The kibbutz experimented with hydroponics and was active in regional nature research. It set up a small wildlife reserve. The name Yotvatah is biblical (Jotbath; Num. 33:33; Deut. 10:7).

See also: *Jotbath, Jothbatah.

[Efraim Orni]

YOUNG, ALEC DAVID (1913–2005), British aeronautical engineer. Young was born in London and educated at the Central Foundation School before graduating in mathematics from Cambridge University (1935). After postgraduate research in aeronautics he joined the scientific staff of the Royal Aircraft Establishment, Farnborough (1936–46) followed by the College of Aeronautics, Cranfield (1946–54) where he was professor and head of the department of aerodynamics. Between 1954 and 1978 he was professor, head of the department of aeronautical engineering and vice principal (1966–78) of Queen Mary College, University of London, dean of the university faculty of engineering (1962–66), and from 1978 emeritus professor. His research interests included aircraft design, boundary layer problems, and innovative work on the design of ejector seats, parachutes, and jet engines. He made major contributions to elucidating the cause of the Comet crash (1954) and the Munich air disaster involving the Manchester United football team (1958). His many honors include the Order of the British Empire (1964), the Royal Aeronautical Society Gold Medal (1972), election to the Royal Society of London (1973), and the Roy Medal from the International Council for the Aeronautical Sciences (1994). He served as consultant to the Haifa Technion, with which he had strong ties.

[Michael Denman (2nd ed.)]

YOUNG, DAVID IVOR, BARON YOUNG OF GRAFFHAM (1932–), British businessman and politician. Lord

Young of Graffham was born in London, the son of a flour merchant, and the brother of Stuart *Young, who became the chairman of the BBC. Lord Young was educated at a London public school, Christ's College, Finchley, and London University. He became a solicitor and then entered business life, serving as an executive at Great Universal Stores from 1956 to 1961 and as chairman of Eldonwall Ltd. Margaret *Thatcher appointed him to head the Manpower Services Commission from 1982 to 1984, which was concerned with reducing Britain's high unemployment rate. In 1984 she made Young minister without portfolio in her government, with a life peerage. Lord Young was then appointed to Thatcher's cabinet, serving as employment minister in 1985–87 and trade minister in 1987–89. Later he held a variety of senior business appointments and was chairman of Cable & Wireless Ltd. in 1990–95. He was also active in Jewish affairs, serving as president of Jewish Care from 1990. Young is the author of an account of his time in government, *The Enterprise Years: A Businessman in Politics* (1990).

[William D. Rubinstein (2nd ed.)]

YOUNG, JAMES E. (1951–), U.S. Holocaust scholar. Born in California, educated at the University of California, Santa Cruz (B.A. 1973, Ph.D. 1983) and the University of California, Berkeley (M.A. 1976), Young taught at Bryn Mawr College (1983–84), New York University (1984–88), and from 1988 at the University of Massachusetts, Amherst, where he was named professor of English and Judaic Studies and chair of the Department of Judaic and Near Eastern Studies. He was a visiting professor at the universities of Washington, Harvard, and Princeton, and a lecturer at other universities and public forums. He was a fellow of the YIVO Institute for Jewish Research and the Institute of Contemporary Jewry at the Hebrew University, and received fellowships or grants from the Guggenheim and Littauer foundations, the National Endowment for the Humanities, and other scholarly support organizations. Young served on the boards or advisory committees of the New England Holocaust Memorial Committee, the State Museum at Terezin, the International Auschwitz Council of the Polish Ministry of Culture, and the commission for the Holocaust memorial in Berlin, as well as consulting with other national and municipal memorial authorities. He was the curator of "The Art of Memory" exhibition at the Jewish Museum in New York in 1994 and is the editor-in-chief of the *Posen Library of Jewish Culture and Civilization*, a multivolume collection of primary sources, documents, texts, and images sponsored by the Posen Foundation.

Young's scholarly work focused on historical memory and memorialization, and in particular the aesthetics and politics of Holocaust memorials, on which he is a recognized authority. Young's insight that "the motives of memory are never pure" informs his examination of the ways in which contemporary political commitments and exigencies shape what is remembered and how it is memorialized, and how a memorial may become part of a reductive political mythology. He proposes that the "countermonument" – a work of art that interrogates and undermines intended, official meaning – is the best guarantor that viewers will experience a more genuine sense of historical memory not entirely mediated by a heroic or redemptive national narrative. Young examined the process of representing the Holocaust both in personal literary and artistic works and in official public memorials in Poland, Germany, Israel, and elsewhere. His principal publications are *Writing and Rewriting the Holocaust: Narrative and the Consequences of Interpretation* (1988), *The Texture of Memory: Holocaust Memorials and Meaning* (1993), *Holocaust Memorials in History: The Art of Memory* (edited, 1994), *At Memory's Edge: After-Images of the Holocaust in Contemporary Art and Architecture* (essays, 2000). He contributed essays to a number of collected volumes and published numerous articles and reviews in academic as well as less scholarly journals and newspapers.

[Drew Silver (2nd ed.)]

YOUNG, STUART (1934–1986), British public servant. The son of a North London flour merchant, Young entered accountancy at 17, and at 23 was senior partner of his own firm, specializing in corporate finance. He entered British public life as appeals chairman of European Architectural Heritage Year 1975, subsequently becoming a member of the Historic Buildings Council, a trustee of the National Gallery, and a leader of the Architectural Heritage Fund. In 1983 he became the youngest chairman of the governors of the British Broadcasting Corporation. Appointed with a view to the use of his accountancy skills for the internal reorganization of the BBC, he became a champion of its independence from government. An active Zionist from 1950, Young volunteered his services in the 1967 Six-Day War, took a leading part in the raising of funds for Israel, and became president of the Joint Israel Appeal in Britain. Among many other communal appointments, he planned the reorganization of Anglo-Jewish welfare services as chairman of the Central Council for Jewish Social Service. He died of lung cancer at the age of 52.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *The Times* (Aug. 30, 1986); *Jewish Chronicle* (Sept. 5, 1986). **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** ODNB online.

[Vivian David Lipman]

YOUNG ISRAEL, NATIONAL COUNCIL OF, an umbrella organization for 146 Orthodox congregations with approximately 25,000 member families in North America. Its sister organization, Yisrael Hatzair – the Young Israel Movement in Israel – has more than 50 synagogues under its aegis. It is headquartered in New York City with regional offices in Florida, California, New Jersey, and Jerusalem. At the beginning of 2006, Shlomo Z. Mostofsky was national president and Rabbi Pesach Lerner was executive vice president.

The National Council's stated mission is to "broaden the appeal of the traditional community synagogue as the central address for Jewish communal life by providing educational, religious, social, spiritual, and communal programming," and also offers synagogues interest-free loans to use for organization and expansion.

The National Council perceives itself as a grass roots association directed by input from lay leadership, including the national board, delegates from each branch synagogue, branch rabbis and presidents and professional staff. The organization holds an annual national banquet, rabbinic and lay leadership conferences, political missions to Washington, D.C., and various rallies and other events to keep members involved and inspired. Among the programs are synagogue support services; the Council of Rabbis; youth programs; rabbinic training and placement; *kashrut* education and services; the American Coalition for Missing Israeli Soldiers; the Eretz Yisrael Commission; the Samuel Zucker Synagogue Revolving Loan Fund; the Women's Division; Lay Leadership Development; Senior League; and various publications (*Viewpoint Magazine*, weekly *Divrei Torah Bulletins*).

The organization was founded about 20 years after the massive flood of Jewish immigrants arrived in New York in the late 19th century to provide a bridge between the old Jewish world and America by creating a positive Orthodox synagogue experience for the immigrants' growing group of Americanized children. Among its founders was Mordecai Kaplan, then an Orthodox rabbi, who saw in the Young Israel a vehicle for strengthening the Jewish identity of the American-born and/or English-speaking young Jews. Sermons were in English, not Yiddish, and there was no charge for honors in the synagogue. The immigrants began to establish their American lives, but it was difficult for observant Jews to get jobs if they refused to work on Shabbat. By then, these Jewish parents, who struggled to lift themselves from poverty, wanted desperately for their children to become economic successes accepted into American society while maintaining traditional practice. It was an almost impossible demand. Yiddish was the lingua franca in most Orthodox synagogues, and the atmosphere was very Eastern European, so that these English-speaking first-generation American Jews began to avoid going to traditional synagogues, because they simply could not connect, and became classic "High Holy Day Jews."

To combat this growing problem, in 1912 15 young men and women decided to form Young Israel on the Lower East Side of Manhattan. Their first activities offered a series of Friday night lectures, presented in English, on Jewish topics. By 1915, they had established a prototypical congregation that would attract young American Jews, did not demand payment for any synagogue honors, and structured itself as a Jewish community center to service a diverse group of Jews within the realm of traditional Jewish observance.

The organization today sets minimum halakhic requirements for *meḥiẓah*, a practice that put it at odds with the OU, which in the 1950s was less stringent regarding the separation of men and women, a practice that has changed as Orthodoxy moved rightward. Young Israel does not allow synagogue parking on the Sabbath and Jewish holidays and requires that all synagogue officers in member congregations be Orthodox Jewish Sabbath observers. The National Council of Young Israel's mission further states:

> The aims and purposes of the organization shall be to foster and maintain a program of spiritual, cultural, social and communal activity towards the advancement and perpetuation of traditional Torah-true Judaism; and to instill into American Jewish youth an understanding and appreciation of the high ethical and spiritual values of Judaism and demonstrate the compatibility of the ancient faith of Israel with good Americanism.
>
> The organization shall promote cooperation among the constituent branches now existing and which may hereafter be formed, establish a close bond of kinship to the end that their individual and common problems may more easily be solved, and act as the federated and central body for the Young Israel Movement so that its influence as a force in Jewry may be felt and recognized in America and the world over.

WEBSITE: www.youngisrael.org.

[Jeanette Friedman (2nd ed.)]

YOUNG JUDAEA, U.S. Zionist youth organization. Founded in 1909 Young Judaea drew its members from Jewish students. The original group was led by Emanuel *Neumann. It formulated as its goals the advancement of the cause of Zionism; furthering the mental, moral, and physical development of Jewish youth; and the promotion of Jewish cultural ideas in accordance with Jewish tradition. It was affiliated with the *Zionist Organization of America and published a journal, the *Young Judaean*, originally edited by Henrietta *Szold. In 1940 it came under the jurisdiction of the American Zionist Youth Commission, a joint effort of *Hadassah and the ZOA and in 1967 became the sole responsibility of Hadassah. The first settlers in Israel from the Young Judaea movement arrived during World War I, among them members of the *Jewish Legion. At its peak of membership (1948) Young Judaea had over 30,000 members, but along with other Zionist groups in the U.S. it suffered a decline in membership following the establishment of the State of Israel. Each year thousands of young people age 8–18 attend its clubs, conventions, activities, and six summer camps including Tel Yehudah, the movement's senior leadership camp in Barryville, New York. Its Year Course program, founded in 1956, brings more than 400 young people annually to Israel during a "gap year" between high school and college, for a 10-month program of study, community volunteering, and intense engagement with Israeli society. A variety of other programs involve visits to Israel for high school and college students. The Hamagshimim program is for college students up to age 30. In 1973 a group of its members founded kibbutz Keturah in the Aravah.

[Ramie Arian (2nd ed.)]

YOUNGMAN, HENNY (1906–1998), U.S. comedian. Youngman was born in England to Russian-Jewish parents Jacob Youngman (né Yonkel Jungman) and Olga Chetkin. His parents were naturalized American citizens when they met on New York's Lower East Side. They married in 1904 and went to England on their honeymoon, returning to the United

States when Youngman was six months old. The family lived in Brooklyn, and Youngman attended school at PS2, where he was a notoriously difficult student. His first taste of comedy came during high school, when he was hired to fill in for Jewish comedians who refused to work on Yom Kippur. However, Youngman was dragged off stage halfway through his routine at the request of his father, who wanted him back in synagogue. Later expelled from Manual Trades High School, Youngman finished his studies at Brooklyn Vocational Trade School. Youngman started out as a bandleader for the Swanee Syncopators and worked the Borscht Belt hotels; between sets he walked the hotels as a *tummler.* One night at the Nut Club in Pinedale, New Jersey, the club manager asked Youngman to fill in for a headliner who had not shown up. Youngman's comedy act was a hit and he was hired on as the club's comic for two weeks. He continued performing stand-up in New York at bar mitzvahs and nightclubs, and spent his after-hours hobnobbing with celebrities and journalists, including Walter *Winchell, who gave Youngman the moniker "King of the One-Liners." Youngman's delivery was rapid-fire as he often dished out a dozen one-liners in less than a minute. By the 1940s, he was performing six-minute routines on the radio for *The Kate Smith Show.* One evening Youngman was desperately trying to learn his lines shortly before a live broadcast when his wife and her friends came backstage. He took his wife by the elbow, led her to an usher and uttered for the first time his most famous line, "Take my wife … please." In 1973, Youngman published his first autobiography, *Take My Wife … Please! My Life and Laughs*, followed by *Take My Life, Please!* (1991). He also penned a variety of joke books, including *Henny Youngman's Greatest One-Liners* (1970), *Insults for Everyone* (1979), *Take My Jokes, Please!* (1983) and *Take my Wife, Please!: Henny Youngman's Giant Book of Jokes* (1998). Although he made numerous television appearances as a regular guest on such shows as Johnny Carson's *Tonight Show* and *Hollywood Squares*, he spent most of his career touring the world, even performing for Britain's Queen Elizabeth. Youngman was working a twice-nightly show in late 1997, when he contracted a flu which eventually developed into pneumonia, from which he succumbed several months later.

[Adam Wills (2nd ed.)]

YOUNGSTOWN, iron and steel producing center in N.E. Ohio; the general population in 2004 was 77,713; Jewish population estimated at 3,200, a significant reduction from the Jewish population of the 1970s, but one that is proportionate to the general decline of Youngstown's population. An early historical account indicates that some Jews settled in Youngstown in 1826, but the first name of a Jewish settler on record is that of Jacob Spiegel in 1837. The first Jewish immigrants came from Alsace, Bavaria, and central Germany; a second wave was from Hungary and Romania; while early in the 20th century there was yet another heavy influx from Poland and Russia. After World War II several hundred refugee families from Europe were absorbed by the local Jewish community.

The earliest Jewish settlers in Youngstown were mostly merchants, though some were also involved in the founding of the local steel industry. Over the course of the 20th century, however, Jews tended to move upward from small retail businesses – whereas there were once over 100 Jewish grocers in Youngstown, in 1970 there were only a few – into the professions and such fields as steel, aluminum, and plastics fabricating plants, wholesale distributorships, and insurance agencies. In 1970 most heads of families were owners of, or employees in, business and industry. In recent decades the percentage of Jewish professionals declined slightly, as young people graduating college tended to settle elsewhere, in larger urban areas.

The oldest existing congregation in Youngstown in 1970 was Rodef Sholom (Reform), founded in 1867. Three other congregations existed as well: Children of Israel (traditional Orthodox), founded in 1892; Temple Emanu-El (modern Orthodox), founded by Russian and Polish immigrants in 1906; and Temple Anshe Emeth (Conservative), founded in 1924. Several congregations organized early in the 20th century disappeared when their congregants moved from the neighborhoods in which they were established.

From the mid-1960s, most of the Jewish population of Youngstown has moved to the northern and southern suburbs of the city. The community was organized around the Jewish Federation, created in 1935, and the Jewish Community Center, built in 1953. Federation agencies included the Jewish Community Center, a Family and Children's Service, a Community Relations Council, and Heritage Manor, a home for the aged. The 1960s witnessed growing coordination between the congregations and the Jewish Community Center in cultural and youth activities. The community was served by a local paper, the *Youngstown Jewish Times.*

Jews held a wide variety of cultural, civic, and philanthropic positions in Youngstown life, yet for the most part they continued to be excluded from active participation in the local "power structure." No Jews held (1970) executive posts with any of the big national steel companies operating in Youngstown, few ran for public office, and fewer still were elected. From the 1970s the steel companies switched much of their operations overseas, and there are fewer barriers to Jewish participation in the life of the community.

There are four congregations in Youngstown: a Chabad congregation, Children of Israel; a Reform congregation, Rodef Sholom; a Conservative congregation, Ohev Tzedek Shaarei Torah; and a congregation that lists itself as Conservative and Reform, Temple El Emeth. Among the newer activities of the community is an annual Jewish film festival.

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[Harry Alter / Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

YOUTH ALIYAH (Heb. עֲלִיַּת יְלָדִים וָנֹעַר, Aliyyat Yeladim va-No'ar; "Children and Youth Aliyah"), a branch of the Zionist movement founded for the purpose of rescuing Jewish children and young people from hardship, persecution, or deprivation and giving them care and education in Ereẓ Israel. It is administered as a department of the *Jewish Agency and supported by voluntary contributions. Youth Aliyah started its activities in Germany on the eve of the Nazis' rise to power and saved many children who had to leave their families or were orphaned by the Holocaust. It extended its work to other countries when the need arose and, particularly after the establishment of the State of Israel, looked after many young people entrusted to its care by new immigrant parents already in the country. It developed its own methods for bringing up young people in youth communities in kibbutzim or in its own centers and children's villages. Between the start of the movement in 1933 and the end of 1970, Youth Aliyah cared for about 140,000 young people, of whom 125,000 received residential care: 44% from Europe and the Americas, 41% from Asia and North Africa, and 15% from families already in Israel.

In 1932 Recha *Freier, a rabbi's wife in Berlin, conceived the idea of taking Jewish young people doomed to idleness in Germany and bringing them up in Palestine. She contacted the *Histadrut, which proposed absorbing them in kibbutzim. The first group of 12 young people was sent out in October 1932 to the *Ben Shemen youth village, and on January 30, 1933, the day Hitler became chancellor, the Juedische Jugendhilfe organization was founded, with the cooperation of Jewish youth movements in Germany, to carry on the work.

In the same year the 18th Zionist Congress in Prague decided on the establishment of a department for the settlement of German Jews and the leadership of the department's Youth Aliyah office was entrusted to Henrietta *Szold, with the assistance, in matters of finance, of Georg *Landauer. In February 1934 the first large group of young people, numbering 60, arrived at the kibbutz En-Harod. A few months later the first religious group was sent to Kevuẓat Rodges, near Petaḥ Tikvah. By the middle of 1935, 600 had been accommodated in 11 kibbutzim, four agricultural schools, and two vocational training centers. In 1935 Hans *Beyth, a youth movement leader, became Henrietta Szold's chief assistant and at the end of the year Hadassah undertook the responsibility for financial support of Youth Aliyah. After the Nazi conquest of Austria and Czechoslovakia its work was extended to cover these countries. The need for the rescue of Jewish children from Europe became even more obvious and urgent after the burning of the synagogues and the drastic anti-Jewish measures in Germany in November 1938. By the outbreak of World War II more than 5,000 had been brought to Palestine – two-thirds from Germany, one-fifth from Austria, and the rest from other countries. For lack of immigration certificates, another 15,000 were sent to Western European countries, especially Britain.

In the early years of World War II (1940–42) it was almost impossible to bring children from Europe and in 1941 Youth Aliyah began to undertake the care of young people already in Palestine. In the same year the first children arrived from Oriental countries (mainly Syria), about 1,000 of them crossing the Palestine frontier illegally. In 1943, 800 children from Poland, who had reached Persia via the Soviet Union and were accommodated in a refugee camp in Teheran, were taken to Palestine. There was a heated controversy in the *yishuv* over the education of these children, most of whom were orphans, religious circles demanding that they be given a specifically religious upbringing. The Jewish Agency finally ruled that those over 14 should choose for themselves and younger children should be brought up according to the way of life of their parents.

After the war, soldiers of the *Jewish Brigade and emissaries from Ereẓ Israel sought out children in Europe and collected them in transit centers set up by Youth Aliyah, the American Jewish *Joint Distribution Committee, *OSE, and local organizations. Between 1945 and 1948, Youth Aliyah brought over to Palestine about 15,000 children from Europe, mostly survivors of the Holocaust. Many of them arrived illegally and were deported by the British authorities to camps in Cyprus, where a youth village, an imaginative institution that prepared thousands of young people for life in Israel, was established at the beginning of 1947.

With the establishment of the State (1948), Youth Aliyah opened wide its doors to child immigration and care. Its leadership passed to Moshe *Kol, who held the post until 1966, when he joined the Israel government and was succeeded by Yiẓḥak Artzi. In 1968 the post was entrusted to Yosef Klarman. Between 1948 and the end of 1970, 93,500 young people passed through its hands – about 52% of them coming from Asian and North African countries, 31% from Europe and the Americas, and 17% from Israel (mostly of African and Asian origin).

Religious youth are brought up in youth villages and institutions, including yeshivot, and in religious kibbutzim, belonging to all trends in religious Jewry. Forty percent of Youth Aliyah wards are accommodated in religious centers. In 1958 Youth Aliyah was awarded the Israel Prize for education for its humanitarian, social, and educational achievements.

Educational Methods

Successive waves of immigration brought in very varied types of children, differing widely in origin, previous education, and social, economic, and cultural background, many of whom had undergone traumatic experiences before their arrival. Youth Aliyah's aim, moreover, was not merely instruction and physical welfare, but education in the widest sense of the term in order to enable the child to find his place and play his part in a new and dynamic society. It was necessary, therefore, to develop new educational methods and forms of youth care, a task that demanded acute pedagogical insight and much initiative and innovation. To integrate the children into the social fabric of the new environment and at the same time give them individual attention, Youth Aliyah utilized two distinctive instruments: the *ḥevrat no'ar* (youth community) and the *madrikh* ("guide," counselor, or youth leader).

The *ḥevrat no'ar* became the characteristic educational unit of Youth Aliyah. It comprised about 40 young people who stayed together for two to four years until the age of 17–18 and constituted a self-contained social group with a large measure of internal autonomy. It might be attached to a kibbutz, which thus became an "educational settlement," or be part of a youth village or other educational institution directly managed by Youth Aliyah. The young people generally devoted four hours to work on the farm or in the workshop and four to study, in addition to communal and group activities.

Each *ḥevrat no'ar* had a *madrikh* and a *metappelet* (house mother) who helped the young people to tackle their personal, emotional, educational, and social problems as individuals and as a coherent and self-disciplined group. In the early years most of the *madrikhim* were temporary, coming from the kibbutzim for a spell of duty, but considerable efforts were made to enhance the status and standards of their vocation as a branch of the teaching profession. Seminaries for Youth Aliyah *madrikhim* and teachers were conducted in coordination with the Ministry of Education and Culture, especially its agricultural education division. Many graduates of Youth Aliyah have become *madrikhim*.

From 1949 onward, the proportion of children from African and Asian countries – mostly from underprivileged homes – rose until in 1953 they constituted 80% of the total. After a study of the problems involved in the care and education of these children, Youth Aliyah educators were able to confirm that there were no "ethnic" causes for their apparent backwardness, which was the result of generations of poverty and neglect. Specially graded curricula were devised for these children, textbooks and teaching materials were designed for the purpose, and teachers were given special guidance in this type of work.

At the beginning of the 1970s, Youth Aliyah was an educational, rather than a rescue organization, bringing up young newcomers from developed countries, as well as from areas of distress. Many were accommodated in youth villages, receiving education on the secondary level – vocational, agricultural, or academic – enabling some of them to prepare for matriculation and – if fit – go on to one of the universities. There was a scholarship fund for gifted children. Youth Aliyah's educational system was recognized by the Ministry of Education and Culture and controlled by its own inspectors. At the Ne'urim-Hadassah center, a joint venture of Youth Aliyah and Hadassah, a large variety of special vocational training courses were held. At Ramat Hadassah and Kiryat Ye'arim there were special courses for educationally backward and emotionally disturbed children. There were also medical and child guidance services.

For children in development areas living with their parents (mostly new immigrants), Youth Aliyah has established day centers in new towns and villages, which it runs jointly with the Jewish Agency and the ministries of Labor and Education. In 1970 there were 15 of these centers, giving a full day's vocational training and general education to more than 1,000 children aged 14–16 who had failed to gain admission to local post-primary schools or had dropped out before completing the course. There were also advanced one-year courses for graduates of the centers (some of them at Ne'urim). Youth Aliyah *ulpanim* were established for young immigrants aged 16–17½. A late innovation was the establishment of foreign-language courses at which young people from abroad can complete their secondary education in their native language up to matriculation standard and at the same time learn Hebrew and Jewish subjects.

Of the 125,000 children and young people taken in by Youth Aliyah up to the end of 1970 (in addition to some 15,000 in day centers), 9% came from Western Europe, 33% from Eastern Europe, 2% from the Americas, 21% from Africa, 20% from Asia, and 15% from Israel. During the year 1970, 1,351 new wards were received: 29% from Israel, 19% from African countries, 19% from Mediterranean countries, 11% from the Americas, 9% from Eastern Europe, 8% from Western Europe, and 5% from other Asian countries. On Jan. 1, 1971, Youth Aliyah had 7,551 wards under its care: about 70% in its 80 residential institutions, 19% in 150 kibbutz centers, 6% at special courses, and 5% at *ulpanim*. In addition, 1,631 young people attended day centers for youth, making a total of 9,182 under Youth Aliyah's care. Youth Aliyah graduates made up over 10% of Israel's Jewish population between the ages of 15 and 50 (50 being more or less the age of the earliest wards in 1971). They are about 20% of the membership of the kibbutzim and 30% in religious kibbutzim.

Youth Aliyah also found many non-Jewish supporters who were impressed by its work, including personalities like Eleanor Roosevelt, who was its World Patron. It is affiliated to various international organizations and is an active member of the International Federation of Children's Communities (FICE) and the International Union for Child Welfare.

Later Developments

From the early 1970s Youth Aliyah accepted large numbers of Israeli-born children. By 1978, nine out of every ten Youth Aliyah students were Israeli-born, from families in distress. During the 1970s Youth Aliyah absorbed many immigrants from the Soviet Union and from Iran. With Operation Moses in 1984, approximately 3,000 Ethiopian children entered Youth Aliyah institutions. During the 1990s Youth Aliyah absorbed many children from the Soviet Union, due to Operation Exodus and subsequent waves of immigration from the CIS, from Ethiopia, through Operation Solomon, and from war-torn Yugoslavia and Eastern Europe.

After 60 years of existence, Youth Aliyah had approximately 300,000 graduates. In 1993–94, out of a total number of 14,000 students, 7,000 were Israeli, 5,200 were Ethiopian immigrants, and 1,800 were immigrants from other countries; 73% of the students were in 70 residential and youth villages, 19% were part of 70 youth groups in kibbutzim, and 8% were in 15 youth day centers. In 2005 it operated five big youth villages for 1,000 native-born Israelis and new immigrants and provided short-term programs to another 12,000.

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[Chanoch Rinott]

YOUTIE, HERBERT CHAYYIM (1904–1980), U.S. papyrologist. Youtie, who was born in Atlantic City, joined the faculty of the University of Michigan in 1929 and was appointed research professor of Greek papyrology in 1946. He was generally considered to be the world's leading authority in nonliterary papyrological matters. From the late twenties he devoted himself to the editing of Greek papyri, primarily those that were found at the Michigan excavations in Karanis, Lower Egypt. In addition to publications of particular groups of papyri – *Papyri and Ostraca from Karanis* (1944), *Archive of Aurelius Isidorus* (1960) – Youtie concerned himself with elucidating the theoretical principles necessary to the modern editor of a papyrus text in order to ensure accuracy and reliability, in his *Textual Criticism of Documentary Papyri*, edited by E.G. Turner (1958). He also wrote *The Papyrologist: Artificer of Fact* (1962); *Scriptiunculae* (1973); and *Scriptiunculae Posteriores* (1981).

His wife, LOUISE CANBERG YOUTIE (1909–2004), was a well-respected decipherer of papyri at the University of Michigan and worked closely with Herbert.

YOVEL, YIRMIYAHU (1935–), Israeli philosophy scholar. Yovel was born in Haifa. He received his B.A. degree in 1959 and his M.A. in 1964 in philosophy from the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. In 1965 he studied philosophy at the Sorbonne and in 1966 moved to Princeton University. In 1968 he received his Ph.D. in philosophy with a dissertation on Kant's metaphysics. In 1966 he joined the department of philosophy at the Hebrew University. In 1972 he became the head of the department. In 1976–78 and 1982–92 he was director of the Bergman Center for Philosophical Studies and in 1992–98 he was chairman of the center. In 1984 he became a professor, and in 1998 he retired. During the 1970s Yovel was a visiting professor at Princeton and the Sorbonne and during the 1980s and 1990s he visited several other universities. In 1986 he founded the Spinoza Institute in Jerusalem, where he led several international symposiums on Spinoza's thought and additional conferences in various fields such as state and religion, identity and tolerance, and religion and secular culture. In the mid-1980s he was appointed chairman of the editorial board of *Iyyun*, the Hebrew journal of philosophy. Yovel was active as a journalist. In 1960–64 he edited the daily news broadcasts of Israeli Radio. During the 1967 Six-Day War he was a military correspondent on the Sinai front. In 1967 he was one of the founders of the Israel Broadcasting Authority and for two terms served on its council. In 1968 he edited the first political documentary for Israeli TV and during the 1973 Yom Kippur War he was a military correspondent on the Egyptian front. From 1975 to 1978 he hosted a TV show called *The Third Hour* on social issues. From 1967 he also wrote columns for *Haaretz* and *Yedioth Aharonoth*. Yovel was also a political activist. In 1977 he established the 77 Group inside the Labor Party, which he left in 1978. In 1982 he opposed the Lebanon War and spoke out on behalf of peace with the Palestinians. Yovel published many books, among them *Kant and the Renewal of Metaphysics, Kant and the Philosophy of History, Spinoza and Other Heretics,* and *Dark Riddle: Hegel, Nietzsche, and the Jews*. In 2000 he received the Israel Prize for philosophy.

[Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

YOẒEROT (Heb. pl. יוֹצְרוֹת, sing. יוֹצֵר, *yoẓer*), a series of *piyyutim* inserted in the benedictions which precede and follow the **Shema* of the morning prayers. *Yoẓer,* the designation of the first *piyyut* (also called *guf ha-yoẓer*), came to refer to the series as a whole. The name is taken from the opening line of the first benediction before the *Shema: Yoẓer or u-vore ḥoshekh* etc.… ("Who createst light and formest darkness"). The *yoẓer* is considered one of the earliest forms of *piyyut*, though it is later than the *kerovah*. The first *paytanim* who composed *yoẓerot* were Eleazar b. Eleazar *Kallir and Joseph b. Nissan of Shaver Kiriathaim. Fragments of *yoẓerot*, however, were found in the Cairo *Genizah* and their literary structure testifies to their having been composed during "the period of the anonymous *piyyut*." This form of *piyyut* was widely known in Middle Eastern countries from the 9th to the 11th centuries. During this period 15 *paytanim* composed full series of *yoẓerot* for each of the weekly Torah portions. In Europe the *yoẓer* was also considered to be the acceptable form of *piyyut*. The *yoẓerot* series was initially intended to replace the established versions of the *Shema* blessings. With time, however, passages of the *yoẓerot* were integrated into the *Shema*. The series thus came to adorn the benedictions and all the other essential passages of the prayer, specifically: *Ha-Kedushah de-Yoẓer* and two verses from *Shirat ha-Yam* ("The Song of the Sea," Ex. 15:11 and 18) which were to be recited before *Birkat ha-Ge'ullah*.

The classical series of the *yoẓerot* consists of seven component parts: (1) The *yoẓer* or *guf ha-yoẓer* which concludes with the reciting of the first verse of the **Kedushah*. (2) The *ofan*, the name being derived from the opening lines of the permanent prayer after which it was inserted. The *ofan* served as a bridge between the first and the second verse of the *Kedushah*. (3) *Ha-me'orah*, occasionally referred to in the *Genizah* as *me'orot*. It is named after the text of the concluding benediction, *yoẓer ha-me'orot*, and ends with the first benediction before the *Shema*. (4) The *ahavah*, taken from the second benediction before the *Shema* which immediately follows it (*ha-boher be-ammo Yisrael be-ahavah*) and with which it concludes. (5) The *zulat*, occasionally referred to as *zulatkha* in the *Genizah* (named after the conclusion of the standard verse of the prayer and inserted after it at a later period). In the *Genizah*, it also appears as *emet*, a title derived from the opening lines of the aforementioned text. It concludes with the first of the verses of *Shirat ha-Yam; Mi kamokha*. (6) *Mi* *kamokha* which concludes with the second of the verses of the *Shirat ha-Yam Adonai Yimlokh*. (7) *Adonai malkenu*, named after the permanent text which, according to the Eastern ritual, is recited at this point. It ends with the benediction that concludes the *Shema: Ga'al Yisrael*. The last section was divided into two by the Eastern *paytanim* (9th to 11th centuries): *Adonai malkenu and ve-ad matai*. In Europe, the section is named after the concluding benediction: *Ge'ullah*. In the Eastern series, the *yoẓerot* for the regular Sabbath, and occasionally also those for the festivals, incorporate the opening section of the weekly reading or holiday portion into the body of the *yoẓer*; in the *zulat*, the *haftarah*. Around the tenth century, the Oriental *paytanim* introduced their *yoẓerot* with short opening *piyyutim* called *maẓdar* (introduction). In the ancient Ereẓ Israel ritual the *yoẓerot* for the morning prayers in which the *Kedushah de-Yoẓer* is not recited (on weekdays, including special weekdays such as Ḥanukkah, Purim, Rosh Ḥodesh, and *ḥol ha-mo'ed*, and on fast days) consisted only of five parts (without *guf ha-yoẓer* and the *ofan*). Among the components of the Oriental *yoẓerot*, only *guf ha-yoẓer, ofan*, and *zulat* are of any structural length; the other parts of the *yoẓerot* are short. In the European *yoẓerot*, all the component parts developed into separate and comprehensive *piyyutim*. In Spain the *Mi kamokha* was developed monumentally. The Italian and Ashkenazi (German) *paytanim* often omitted the *me'orah*, the *ahavah*, and the passages that follow the *zulat* from their series of *yoẓerot*. Several European *paytanim* composed segments of the *yoẓerot* for various occasions, without carefully integrating them into complete series.

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[Ezra Fleischer]

°**YSANDER, TORSTEN** (1893–1960), Swedish theologian and scholar of *Ḥasidism. Ysander, a bishop in the Church of Sweden (1936–59), was appointed chaplain to the king in 1939. In 1922 he traveled to the Ukraine and Poland to meet sectarians and Ḥasidim; under the guidance of Jewish friends, he visited the ḥasidic communities in Warsaw and Cracow. The trip strengthened his theory on the dependence of early Ḥasidism on the Russian sectarians, especially the Khlysty, Skoptsy, Molokane, and Dukhabors. His views on the Ḥasidism of *Israel ben Eliezer Ba'al Shem Tov are summarized in his *Studien zum b'eštschen Ḥasidismus in seiner religionsgeschichtlichen Sonderart* (1933). According to Ysander, such Ḥasidism, its customs, dances, songs, mannerisms during prayer, and the institution of the *ẓaddik*, were very similar to Russian sectarian practices. As Ḥasidism became established, it ceased to be a revolutionary sect, and its similarity to the sectarians diminished but never disappeared. Contemporary Ḥasidism only slightly resembles its origins.

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[Yaffa Eliach]

YUD, NAHUM (pseudonym of **Nahum Yerusalimchik**; 1888–1966), Yiddish poet and fabulist. Born in Mogilev province (Belorussia), he received both a traditional and secular education. Although he wrote first in Russian, he subsequently turned to Yiddish while in Warsaw. His first Yiddish poems appeared in 1913 in the anthology *Nisn*, and he wrote for the periodical *Haynt*. When he immigrated to the U.S. in 1916, he was already known in many Yiddish journals, including *Tsukunft, Tog*, and *Kinder Tsaytung*, was a regular contributor to *Forverts*, and published in *Fraynd* and *Der Groyser Kundes*. Yud is especially known for his fables, anthologized in children's textbooks and other collections. His books include *Fablen* ("Fables," 1918), *Lider* ("Poems," 1924), and *In Likhtike Minutn* ("In Bright Moments," 1932).

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[Israel Ch. Biletzky / Lily O. Kahn (2nd ed.)]

YUDAN (fourth century C.E.) Palestinian *amora*. Yudan was a pupil of Abba (TJ, Ket. 2:4, 26c). He had halakhic discussions with Yose, head of the academy of Tiberias, and transmits many of the dicta of his predecessors, both *tannaim* and *amoraim*. Among those who turned to him with questions was also Mani, the son of Jonah, head of the Tiberias academy who figures prominently in the Jerusalem Talmud (TJ, Kid. 2:6, 62d). Mention is made of Yudan fleeing to Noy (Naveh, Nineveh) in Transjordan, which may have been in 351, during the Roman persecutions of Ursicinus, the commander of the army of Gallus (TJ, Ket. 11:1, 34b). He is not mentioned at all in the Babylonian Talmud but many of his statements, both in *halakhah* and *aggadah*, are found in the Jerusalem Talmud and the Midrashim.

In his homilies Yudan strove to encourage his contemporaries who were persecuted by the Christian kings of Rome, using parables with which he described God's profound participation in Israel's troubles and comforting them with a promise of the impending redemption (Mid. Ps. 20:1). His statement, "The redemption will not come to this nation at one time, but little by little… now they are in great distress and if the redemption were to come all together they would not be able to bear great salvation… therefore it will come little by little and grow gradually greater" (*ibid.* 18:36), may possibly be connected with the temporary respite during the reign of Julian the *Apostate. He comforted his contemporaries by assuring them that their distress in this world would assure their deliverance in the world to come, putting forward an *a fortiori* argument. "Scripture states (Ex. 21:27) 'And if he smite out his bondman's tooth or his bondwoman's tooth, he shall let him go free for his tooth's sake.' If a slave gains his freedom for the loss of his tooth, or a single limb, how much more will this be the case with one assailed by suffering in his whole body" (Gen. R. 92:1). Noteworthy is his statement: "Whosoever supplies the righteous with bread is as though he fulfilled the whole Torah" (*ibid.* 58:8).

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[Yitzhak Dov Gilat]

YUDELOVITZ, ABRAHAM AARON (1850–1930), rabbi. Born in Navardonik, Byelorussia, he studied with his uncle Rabbi Meir and then at the *Volozhin yeshivah. He was ordained by Rabbi Yom Tov Lippman of Bialystok. He published his first book, *Alim le-Mivḥan*, at the age of 21. He held a number of rabbinical positions in succession and served as rabbi of Salov, Kosnitza, Constantin, Turov, and Kapulia before becoming chief rabbi of Manchester, England, in 1898.

He published seven volumes of responsa, *Beit Av*, from 1896 onward and attended the Sixth World Zionist Congress where he opposed the Uganda proposal. After a half dozen years in Manchester, he immigrated to the United States, first for a congregation in Boston and shortly thereafter to teach at Rabbi Isaac Elchanan Theological Seminary and then in 1906 as rabbi of Bayonne, New Jersey. He then returned to New York to be rabbi of the Eldridge Street Beit Midrash Hagadol. He never affiliated with Agudath Harabonim but instead belonged to Agudath Ha-Rabbonim ha-Ma'atifim, of which he became president. He continued to publish, including five volumes of *Derash Av*. He also inaugurated a short-lived Torah journal, *Ha-Mizpeh*, of which six volumes appeared. His most controversial rabbinical decision in 1927 permitted a woman to appoint an agent on her behalf for *ḥalizah* to cancel the levirate marriage. He was roundly criticized by the authorities of his time and his reputation was severely damaged. He died three years later and many of the luminaries would not attend his funeral.

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[Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

YUDGHAN (**Yehuda**; 8th century), sectarian of *Hamadan (Iran). A pupil of *Abu ʿĪsā al-Isfahānī, Yudghan claimed to be a prophet of his followers, the Yudghanites, who believed that he was the Messiah. The* Karaite historian Jacob al-*Kirkisānī writes in his *Book of Gardens and Parks* (938) that the Yudghanites "prohibit meat and intoxicating drinks, observe many prayers and fasts, and assert that the Sabbath and holidays are at present no longer obligatory." The Muslim historian Al-Shahrastani relates in his *Book of Religions and Sects* (1128) that Yudghan believed the Torah to have an external and internal meaning, a literal and an allegorical interpretation, but different from that held by the *Rabbanite Jews. The Karaite exegete Japheth b. Ali (last third of the tenth century) states that the Yudghanites considered the holidays as mere symbols and asserted that after the destruction of the Temple many laws were no longer obligatory. It is a matter of controversy whether the Yudghanites are referred to by *Saadiah b. Joseph Gaon in his book *Beliefs and Opinions* in which he mentions "certain people who call themselves Jews and maintain that the promises and consolations of the prophets refer to the time of the Second Temple." It is also a matter of controversy whether the scholar *Judah ha-Parsi (Judah the Persian), against whom Abraham *Ibn Ezra (12th century) argues in his works, is identical with Yudghan. A small number of Yudghanites still lived in *Isfahan in the year 938. In addition to the Yudghanites, Japheth b. Ali mentions another sect, the Shadganites, about whom nothing is known. Al-Shahrastani mentions a pupil of Yudghan, Mushkha, who fell in battle against his adversaries. Some Mushkhanites believed that Muhammad was a prophet sent by God to the Arabs and others but not to the Jews because they already have their Holy Scriptures.

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[Judah M. Rosenthal]

YUDIKA (**Yudis** (**Judith**) **Tsik**; 1898–1988), poet. She was born in Gorzhd (Gargzdai), Lithuania. Poverty forced her family to send Tsik to live with an aunt in Eastern Prussia, then annexed to Germany. At the outbreak of World War I, at the age of 16, she was imprisoned in a German labor camp as an enemy alien. Released a year later, she took refuge in Sweden, then lived in various cities throughout Lithuania, Russia, and the Ukraine, supporting herself as a teacher in girls' schools and workers' dormitories. In 1917, while living in Yekaterinoslav (Dniepropetrovsk), Ukraine, she became acquainted with the poet Moishe *Teitsh, and under his influence began writing in Yiddish using the pen name Yudika. She attained considerable success, publishing in periodicals and anthologies; these early poems were collected in *Naye Yugnt* ("New Youth," 1923) and *Mentsh un Tsayt* ("Person and Time," 1926). She married and in 1926 had a son. In 1929 she immigrated to Toronto, Canada, with her son but without her husband, and there became an important member of the proletarian school of Yiddish writers, a purely Canadian movement of the 1930s and 1940s. While working in factories to support herself and her son, her poetry was published in journals in Canada and the U.S. Her books of this era are *Vandervegn* ("Migrant Roads," 1934), *Shpliters* ("Splinters," 1943), and *Tsar un Freyd* ("Trouble and Joy," 1949). Her political radicalism is evident in her poetry, much of which, however, is less polemic than might be expected. Her work includes lyric and narrative forms and is concerned with the upheavals facing Jewish life in the old world as well as the new.

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[Faith Jones (2nd ed.)]

YUDKIN, JOHN (1910–1995), British physician and nutritionist. The son of Russian Jewish parents who fled from pogroms to London, Yudkin was born in London and educated at Cambridge University. He was professor of physiology at Queen Elizabeth College, London, from 1945 to 1954 and then professor of nutrition – the first such appointment in Britain – at the same institution from 1954 to 1971. Yudkin became internationally known for his attacks on sugar as a leading cause of obesity and disease and for his pioneering emphasis on a proper diet and lifestyle as an antidote to disease. He is the author of such well-known works as *Pure, White and Deadly: The Problem of Sugar* (1972) and *This Nutrition Business* (1977). His works drew concerted attacks from the sugar lobby but were significant in the contemporary emphasis on a healthy lifestyle. Yudkin was a member of the board of governors of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem.

[William D. Rubinstein (2nd ed.)]

YUDKOVSKY, DOV (1923–), Israeli journalist. Born in Poland, Yudkovsky spent 33 months in Auschwitz from where he escaped twice, in each case being recaptured. He reached Palestine, where his cousin, Yehudah *Mozes, publisher of **Yedioth Aharonoth*, made him head of the newspaper's Jerusalem office. After the so-called putsch in which Dr. Azriel *Carlebach, the editor, and most of the newspaper's staff left to found the new newspaper **Maariv*, Mozes appointed Yudkovsky the paper's news editor, and in 1953 managing editor for news. Yudkovsky conceived the newspaper as "the people's newspaper," and notwithstanding its tabloid appearance, filled it with editorial content of interest also to readers from the professional classes. By the mid-1970s *Yedioth Aharonoth* had taken the lead in the circulation war with *Maariv*, credit for which went partly to Yudkovsky's news editorship. In 1984 Yudkovsky was appointed by publisher Noah Mozes one of the newspaper's two directors. But after Arnon ("Noni") Mozes became the publisher following the death of his father, Noah, and sought to centralize his control, Yudkovsky was dismissed in 1989. He then represented the Israeli interests of British media mogul Robert *Maxwell, who appointed him editor-in-chief of *Maariv.* Regarding *Maariv* as a somewhat dull, middle-class newspaper, Yudkovsky sought to liven it up by installing an ultra-modern color press. In 1992 he left the paper and became one of the founders of Koteret, a private college situated in Tel Aviv for journalism training. In 2000 he won the Sokolow prize for journalism and in 2003 the Israel Prize in media.

[Yoel Cohen (2nd ed.)]

YUGOSLAVIA ("Land of the Southern Slavs"), until 1991 a Socialist Federated Republic in S.E. Europe, in the Balkan Peninsula. The various elements of which Yugoslav Jewry was composed after 1918 (i.e., those of Serbia and the Austro-Hungarian countries) were distinct from one another in their language, culture, social structure, and character according to the six separate historical, political, and cultural regions of their origin. These regions were Serbia; Slovenia; Croatia, Slavonia, and Dalmatia; Bosnia-Herzegovina; Macedonia; and Vojvodina. Croatia, Slovenia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, and Macedonia declared their independence in 1991. Serbia and Montenegro became the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia in 1992.

Until 1918

SERBIA. There were some Jews in Pannonia in Roman times. Jews seem to have reached *Belgrade and there were also traces of a Jewish population along the banks of the Danube during the tenth century. Some Jews penetrated into Serbia from Macedonia. During the ninth and tenth centuries many of the Serbians converted to Christianity. The faith of the new Christians at that time was an amalgamation of Christianity, Judaism, and paganism. Benjamin of Tudela, the 12th-century traveler, also mentions the influence of the Jews on the inhabitants of the Balkans. At the time of the conquest of Serbia by Sultan Murad in 1389, the Jews engaged in the sale of salt. Under Turkish rule the Jews of Belgrade played an important part in the trade between northern and southern Turkish provinces which passed through Belgrade. During the period of the Austrian rule over northern Serbia from 1718 to 1739, the government's attitude toward the Jews was generally good. During the Serbian wars of independence (1804–30), some of the Jews fled from Belgrade and in 1807 founded a community, which numbered 280 persons in *Zemun. The Jews supplied arms to the revolutionary army. However, the independence movement, which fomented rebellions against the Turks from time to time, frequently attacked the Jews. In 1831 the Serbian government decreed certain limitations on the crafts in which the Jews were engaged. In 1845 they were excluded from tailoring and shoemaking. During the reign of Milosh Obrenovich, the prince of Serbia, there was a favorable change in the condition of the Jews. However, with the ascent of the Karageorgevich dynasty in 1842, which supported the interests of the Serbian merchants who envied their Jewish rivals, the condition of the Jews took a turn for the worse. A decree of 1856 forbade the Jews to reside in the provincial towns. There were then 2,000 Jews in Serbia. About 1,000 of them settled in Belgrade, while the rest were dispersed in other towns. When Prince Milosh returned to power in 1858, the condition of the Jews temporarily improved. However, during the reign of his son, Prince Michael (1860–68), who was also influenced by the Serbian merchants, the persecutions were renewed. An expulsion decree of 1861 against 60 Jewish families of Šabac was changed during the same year into another decree which authorized the Jews – and this only in their places of residence – to practice the same professions as they had engaged in before February 28, 1861. The Jewish merchants, also in their places of residence, were authorized to trade in raw materials and foodstuffs. These rights, however, could not be transferred to their successors. Concerning real estate, the new decree confirmed a former one which prohibited the purchase of property in the provincial towns.

After the assassination of Michael and the enthronement of Milan Obrenovich, the Serbian parliament voted the emancipation of all citizens, but at the same time confirmed the restrictive decrees of 1856 and 1861. In 1873 the Jews were expelled from the towns of Šabac, Smederevo, and Požarevac. The treaty of Berlin of 1878 accorded civil and political equality to the Jews of Serbia, but it was only in 1889 that the Serbian parliament proclaimed the complete equality of all Serbians without distinction of origin and religion and abolished the restrictive decrees of the previous years. In 1895 there were 5,102 Jews in Serbia, 5,729 in 1900, and 5,000 in 1912. The number of Jews who participated in the Balkan Wars (1912–13) was 500. During the Serbian-Bulgarian war of 1913 and World War I many Jews were decorated.

SLOVENIA. Jews lived in Slovenia from the 13th century until they were expelled in 1496 by Emperor Maximilian I of Austria. The biggest rabbinical center was at Maribor (Marburg) in the Styria district. Maribor had a "Jewish Street" as early as 1277 near the river Drava (Drau) and a synagogue inside the walled city. Rabbi Israel *Isserlein taught there. His official title was "Landesrabbiner fuer Steiermark, Krain, und Korushka." He was succeeded by his pupil R. Joseph b. Moses. Other Jewish communities existed at Ptuj (Poetovia), Celje, Radgona, and Ljubljana. Jews were engaged in viticulture, and traded in horses and cattle.

CROATIA, SLAVONIA, AND DALMATIA. The Croats, who penetrated into the N.W. Balkans in the seventh century and established a kingdom in the tenth, found there several Jewish communities. In the letter of Ḥisdai ibn Shaprut (5:10) to Joseph the king of the Khazars, there is a mention of the "king of the Gebalim" who sent a deputation, which included Mar Saul and Mar Joseph, to Caliph Abdurrahman III of Cordoba. The "king of the Gebalim, the Slavs," whose country bordered that of the Hungarians, was Krešimir, king of Croatia. The messengers informed Ḥisdai that Mar Amram of the court of the Khazar king had come to the land of the "Gebalim." There is little information on the Jews of Croatia from the 10th to 15th centuries. Some Jews lived in the Croatian capital *Zagreb in the 13th and 14th centuries, when they had a chief entitled "magistratus Judaeorum," and a synagogue. Others settled between the Sava and Drava (Drau) and Danube rivers during the 15th century. As long as the economy of the country required the presence of the Jews, they lived there without hindrance. As soon as they were superfluous, they were persecuted and driven out. The Jews were expelled from Croatia and Slavonia in 1456. Croatia together with Hungary passed to the Hapsburgs in 1526, and no Jews lived there for the next 200 years.

Toward the end of the 18th century, Jews from Hungary, Bohemia, Moravia, and especially Burgenland (east Austria) resettled there. In 1776 Jews came to *Osijek and in 1777 to Varaždin and a limited number to Zagreb. At that time there was also a Jewish community in Zemun. R. Judah b. Solomon Ḥai *Alkalai (1798–1878), who lived there from 1825 to 1874, also propagated the ideals of the movement for the settlement of Ereẓ Israel in Šabac and Belgrade. A census of the Jews in 1773, during the reign of Maria Theresa, revealed only 25 families. It was only after the publication of the **Toleranzpatent* in 1782 by Emperor Joseph II that the situation improved and more Jews arrived from the north and the south. The right of residence was granted in 1791. Further rights were granted in 1840, but the "tolerance tax" remained in force. The Jews of Croatia and Dalmatia only received their full emancipation in 1873. Until 1890 the community of Osijek was the most prominent, but from that year the community of Zagreb, founded in 1806, became the leading one. In 1841 an Orthodox congregation was founded in Zagreb. The Jews of Croatia were mostly merchants and some were artisans.

Jews arrived in Dalmatia with the Roman armies. In Solin (Salona), in the vicinity of *Split (Spalato), there are remains of a Jewish cemetery of the third century. There was a Jewish community in Solin until 641, when Solin was destroyed by the Avars. During the Middle Ages, the Jews of Split and Ragusa (*Dubrovnik) engaged in commerce and especially in the brokerage of the trade between Dalmatia and Italy and the Danubian countries. Under the autonomous republic which was established in Dubrovnik during the 15th century, the Jews lived in relative tranquility. The Christian clergy, however, attempted to oppress them and succeeded in spreading *blood libels in Dubrovnik in 1502, 1622, and 1662. During the 16th century, refugees from Spain and Portugal settled in Dalmatia. When Pope Paul IV expelled the Jews from Ancona in 1556, a considerable number of them requested asylum in Dubrovnik. These included the physician *Amatus Lusitanus and his friend the poet Didacus *Pyrrhus, both Marranos. In 1738 the condition of the Jews in Dalmatia deteriorated. The Jews of Split lived in a ghetto until the arrival of the French in 1806. In 1906 the Austro-Hungarian government passed a law which defined the status of the Jewish communities of Croatia, Slavonia, and Dalmatia. In 1870 there were already 10,000 Jews in Croatia, Slavonia, and Dalmatia; 13,488 in 1880; and 17,261 in 1890. After World War I there were 20,000 Jews in Croatia, Slavonia, and Dalmatia.

BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA. One of the republics in central Yugoslavia with the largest Muslim population (750,000). There is no evidence of the existence of a Jewish community in Bosnia before the expulsion of the Jews from Spain. Tombstone inscriptions prove the existence of Jews in *Sarajevo in 1551. A special quarter was allocated to them later in the 16th century and they lived there until the conquest of the town by the Austrians in 1878. During the rule of Daudji Pasha, who was appointed in 1635, the relations between Turkey and Venice became strained. This had an adverse effect on the commerce of the local Jews. During the siege of Ofen in 1686 many Jews fled to Sarajevo, including Ẓevi Hirsch *Ashkenazi (Ḥakham Ẓevi), who was appointed *ḥakham* there. A change for the worse in the situation of the Jews of Sarajevo occurred in 1833. It was only after payment of a heavy ransom that the Jews were saved from the danger of riots and blood libel. The laws of 1839, 1856, and 1876, which granted the Jews of Turkey equality of rights with the other citizens, also applied to the

Jews of Bosnia. From then onward, some Jews were elected to the Ottoman parliament in Constantinople and the municipal councils. In 1876 Yaver Effendi Barukh was sent to the parliament as the representative of Bosnia. Isaac Effendi Shalom was a member of the *Majlis Idareh* ("Advisory Council to the Vali"). Upon his death, his place was filled by his son Solomon Effendi Shalom, who was also a representative in the parliament. Two Jewish delegates were sent to the Landstag which was opened in 1910. Besides Sarajevo, there were also Jewish communities in the towns of *Travnik, *Banja Luka, Bijeljina, and others. The following data are available on the number of Jews in Bosnia from the end of the 18th century. There were 1,500 Jews in 1780; 8,213 in 1895; 10,000 (Sephardim) in 1923; 13,701 in 1926; 14,000 in 1941 (together with Herzegovina); and 1,298 in 1958. In addition to the Nazis and the Ustaše who were active in Bosnia in World War II, the former mufti of Jerusalem, Hājj Amīn al-*Husseini, succeeded in enlisting the support of local authorities in the expulsion of the Jews from the province and their extermination.

MACEDONIA. The earliest Jewish presence was really in Macedonia and Dalmatia. Philo mentions the Jews of Macedonia in *Embassy to Gaius* (*Legatio ad Gaium*), translated into English by F.H. Colson (1962), par. 281, while the apostle Paul delivered sermons in its communities (Acts 20:1–2). A Greek inscription on a pillar of the church – a former synagogue – in Stobi (in the vicinity of the town of Bitolj (*Monastir)) and now preserved in the national museum of Belgrade, serves as evidence of the Jewish settlement during the second and third centuries. In it, Claudius Tiberius Polycharmos relates his Jewish way of life. During the Middle Ages, Jews lived in Bitolj (Monastir), Skoplje, *Ochrida, and Struga. During the reign of the Serbian emperor Stefen Dushan there is a mention of Jewish farmers in Macedonia (conquered by Dushan in 1353). During the 14th century, the renowned grammarian Judah (Leon) Moskoni, whose version of Josephus was published in Constantinople in 1510, lived in Ochrida. During the 16th century there were Jewish communities in *Skoplje, Bitolj, *Niš, Smederevo, and Požarevac. At the time, Skoplje was a commercial center. The Jews traded in wool clothes, "kachkaval" cheese, and also engaged in commerce between Salonika and Constantinople on the one hand and Western Europe on the other. In 1680 *Nathan of Gaza died in Skoplje. His admirers made an annual pilgrimage to his tomb. When the armies of Leopold I approached Skoplje in 1689, the Jews hurriedly abandoned the city. Their synagogues were burnt down and the wall surrounding their quarter also was destroyed by the flames. The Jewish population of Štip was of Salonikan origin. During the 17th and 18th centuries, R. Abraham Motal ha-Paytan ("the hymnologist") and R. Reuben b. Abraham, who wrote the work *Derekh Yesharah* (Leghorn, 1788) and in Ladino *Tikkunei ha-Nefesh* (Salonika, 1765–75), lived in this town. At the time of the upheavals in Turkey which preceded the Balkan Wars, more Jews settled in Macedonia.

VOJVODINA. This was an Austrian frontier region and the residence of Jews was prohibited there. Jews first settled in Vojvodina during the 18th century, but they were exceptions. Most Jewish communities were founded in the 1840s. The Jews of Vojvodina engaged in commerce and in import-export trade. Before World War II there were 19,200 Jews in Vojvodina (Bačka, 14,800; Banat, 4,400). In 1952 there were Jewish communities in *Novi Sad, 275; *Subotica, 403; *Sombor, 46; Senta, 28; and Pančevo, 34, following immigration to Israel by most of the survivors of the Holocaust.

After 1918

With the establishment of the Yugoslav kingdom, about 100 Jewish communities (with 70,000 Jews) were included in the new state. The Jews generally belonged to the middle class, but there were also impoverished communities, such as that of Bitolj. The Jews were well represented in industry, commerce, and artisan activity. They also held an important place in the banking business. There were some professions, such as the army officers, cadres, the upper government services, and journalism, from which the Jews were almost totally absent. The Jews of Croatia and Slavonia were under the cultural influence of Germany and Hungary and surpassed their coreligionists of the other Yugoslav provinces in the economic and cultural spheres. The Jews of Macedonia maintained their Oriental character and their economic and cultural standards were somewhat backward in comparison to the remainder of Yugoslav Jewry. There was a marked Hungarian influence among the Jews of Vojvodina. The Jews did not hold a prominent place in political life, although there were some influential members in the parties. De Majo, an advocate of Belgrade, was elected in 1927 for one term to the parliament (Skupshtina).

Antisemitism as an organized movement was nonexistent. After World War I, some signs of it appeared, but the situation improved again. The Karageorgevich dynasty and the Orthodox Church evinced a favorable attitude toward the Jews. The antisemitic sentiments really originated in Croatia and Slavonia. In Vojvodina, there was some hostility toward the Jews who had been Austro-Hungarians before the war and thus were considered to be the representatives of the alien Hungarian culture.

THE ORGANIZATION OF THE JEWS. The unification of the variegated Yugoslav Jewish population was not easy. Yugoslav Jewry did not form a single unit. In the southern districts, from the Sava and Danube rivers and further, there were essentially Sephardim, while the other provinces were mainly inhabited by Ashkenazim. The Sephardim generally adhered to their Oriental manner of life and the Ladino language, while some others were influenced by the speech and culture of the southern Slavs. In 1939 there were about 43,000 Ashkenazim and 29,000 Sephardim in Yugoslavia. They lived in 121 communities. At a meeting of the communities which was convened in Osijek in 1919, the "Federation of Jewish (Religious)

Communities" was founded. It received government recognition and its activities extended to the fields of religion, culture, and education. In 1923 the chief rabbinate was founded and an association of rabbis was formed. The final status of the communities was confirmed in 1929. The separate union of Orthodox communities, which had refused to join the federation of the communities, also received legal recognition at that time. The Orthodox union consisted of 12 communities and numbered 3,426 in 1935. The spiritual head of the Jewish population was the chief rabbi, Dr. Isaac Alkalay (he held office from 1924 to 1941), who was appointed by the king and resided in Belgrade. The chief rabbi was equal in status to the Orthodox patriarch, the Catholic archbishop, and the Muslim *reis ul-Ulema*. He was also a member of the Yugoslav senate.

EDUCATION AND CULTURE. There were Jewish elementary schools, which had existed before the Yugoslav kingdom, in the towns of *Zrenjanin, Osijek, *Sarajevo, Senta, *Zagreb, and *Zemun. The government prohibited the opening of new elementary schools. In Vojvodina there were yeshivot in Senta, Subotica, Kanjiža, and Ilok. Jewish children attended the general schools, in which two hours weekly were allocated for Jewish religious studies. From 1928 to 1941 there was a seminary in Sarajevo for the training of *ḥakhamim* and teachers on a secondary school level. Among the scholars and authors mention should be made of Lavoslav Šik, a historian of Yugoslav Jewry, the poet Hinko *Gottlieb, and Siegfried Kapper. An important place in Yugoslav literature was held by Isak *Samokovlija, a Bosnian novelist who died in 1955. The headquarters of the Zionist Organization were in Zagreb, where newspapers and periodicals were published.

STATISTICS. In 1926 there was a Jewish population of 73,267 and in 1935, 70,000. According to the census of 1939, there were 71,000 Jews. The decrease in the number of Jews in Yugoslavia can be explained by the increase of *antisemitism in Europe.

[Simon Marcus]

Holocaust Period

In April 1941, Yugoslavia was occupied by German, Hungarian, Italian, and Bulgarian troops. It was divided into several parts: Serbia and the Banat came under direct German military administration; Hungary reoccupied some of the areas it had ceded to newly formed Yugoslavia after World War I; Bulgaria took over Macedonia; and Italy extended its rule over Dalmatia and Montenegro. Most of the remaining territory – Croatia, Bosnia, and Herzegovina – was formed into a new "Independent State of Croatia."

SERBIA AND THE BANAT. On the day after the occupation of Belgrade (April 13, 1941), German troops, assisted by "*Volksdeutsche*" (local Germans), ransacked the Jewish shops. Within a week, the Jews were ordered to register with the police, and eventually 9,145 Jews, out of a total prewar population of about 12,000, were registered. The Jews were removed from public service. The yellow *badge was introduced, and Jews were drafted into forced labor. About 3,500 to 4,000 males from the age of 14 to 60 were forced to clear the buildings that had been razed by the bombardment, while women aged 16 to 40 were given menial tasks in the German military installations. A special police detachment was formed to deal with the Jewish population. A "Jewish Organization" (Jevrejska Zajednica) was created to attend to the needs of the Jewish population. The Nazis forced the organization to collect contributions from the Jews and provide hostages to ensure Jewish compliance with their orders. After the German invasion of the U.S.S.R., the occupation regime became even harsher. In one incident alone, at the end of July, 120 Jewish hostages were shot to death (in the village of Jajinci, near Belgrade). In the Banat, which had a large German minority, after robbing the Jews of all their property and belongings the Nazis placed them in camps and a few weeks later (in September 1941) deported them to Belgrade, adding another 2,500 people to its destitute Jewish population. By the end of September, all Jewish men aged 16 and above were put into a concentration camp, situated in Topovske Šupe, a Belgrade suburb.

Felix Benzler, German consul in Belgrade, and Edmund Veesenmayer, from the German Foreign Office, demanded the concentration of "at least" 8,000 men on an island in the Danube delta and their liquidation there and asked for appropriate pressure on the German military authorities. Adolf *Eichmann was consulted on the matter and proposed the immediate execution of the Jews. He dispatched Franz Rademacher to Belgrade who discovered that of the 8,000 Jewish men, 2,000 had already been shot and there were only about 4,000–5,000 left. He arranged for their execution "by the end of the week" (October 1941). Between Aug. 25 and Oct. 18, 1941, all Jewish men in Nazi hands – those who had been put on forced labor (about 3,000), the deportees from the Banat, and any others that the Nazis had succeeded in apprehending – were concentrated in the Topovske Šupe camp and in the nearby Banjica camp. The massacre began in the early part of September. Day by day, groups of Jews, ranging from 100 to 300, were taken out of the two camps, ostensibly for work in the fields. In fact a total of 4,500 were shot to death, the scene of the crime being either Jajinci or some other site on the opposite bank of the Danube. A group of Jewish refugees from Germany, Austria, and Czechoslovakia who had been on their way to Palestine in September 1940 had been stranded on the Danube for lack of a seaworthy boat to continue their voyage. They had found temporary refuge in the Yugoslav town of Šabac, but when the Nazis occupied the country they were all interned (together with 63 local Jews). Originally their number was 1,300, but 200 refugees, mostly children, had received immigration certificates to Palestine and had departed. In October 1941, all the men were taken to the Danube village of Zasavica and shot; the women and children were deported to the Sajmište camp in Zemun near Belgrade. In February 1942 they were loaded into closed trucks and were gassed while en route to Jajinci. Not a single person escaped from this

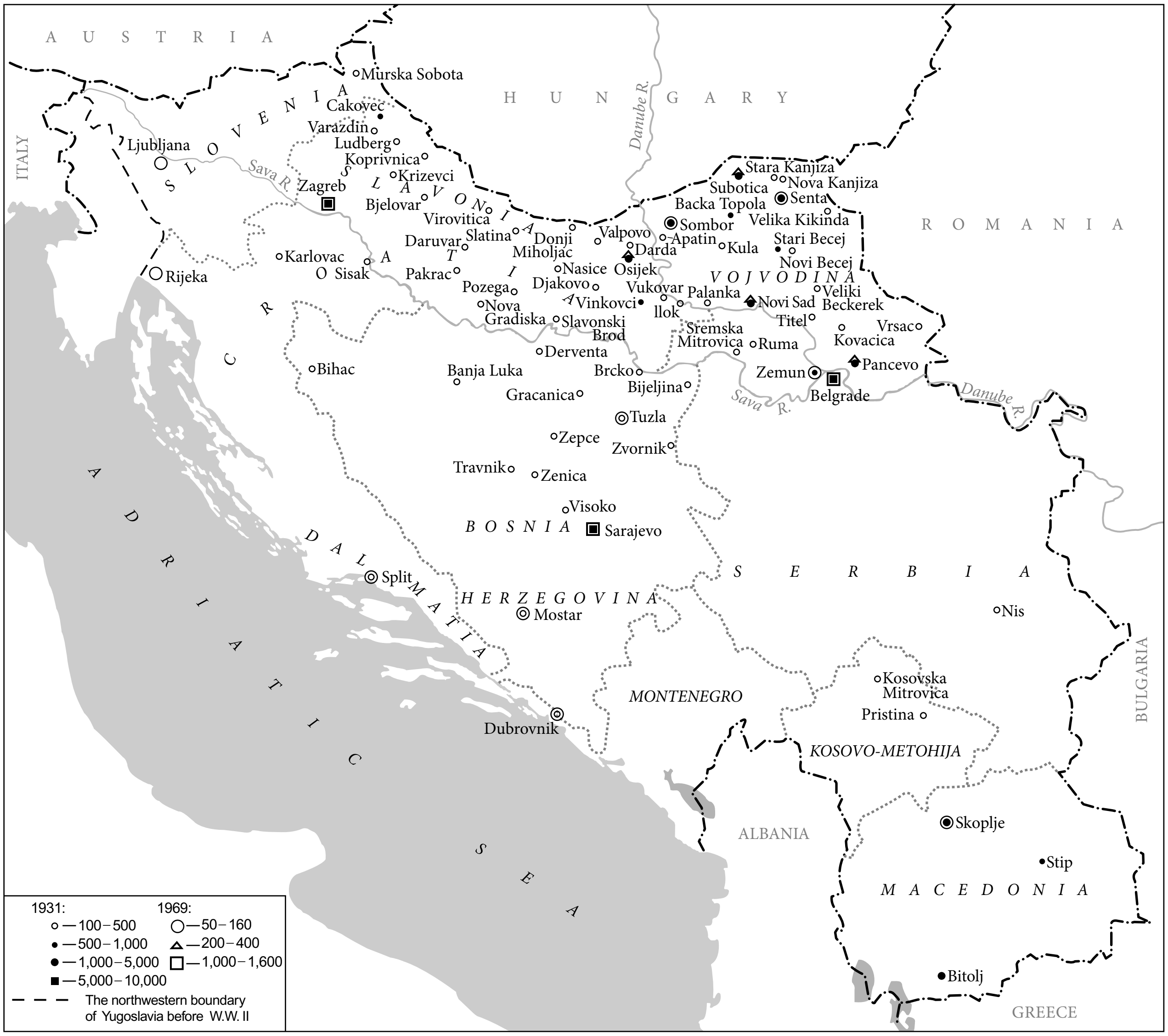
AUSTRIA
HUNGARY
ITALY
ROMANIA
BULGARIA
ALBANIA
GREECE
SLOVENIA
SLAVONIA
CROATIA
VOJVODINA
BOSNIA
HERZEGOVINA
DALMATIA
SERBIA
MONTENEGRO
KOSOVO-METOHIJA
MACEDONIA
ADRIATIC SEA
Danube R.
Sava R.
Murska Sobota
Cakovec
Varazdin
Ludberg
Koprivnica
Krizevci
Ljubljana
Zagreb
Bjelovar
Virovitica
Slatina
Donji Miholjac
Daruvar
Valpovo
Darda
Karlovac
Sisak
Pakrac
Pozega
Nasice
Osijek
Djakovo
Nova Gradiska
Vinkovci
Vukovar
Ilok
Slavonski Brod
Rijeka
Bihac
Banja Luka
Derventa
Brcko
Bijeljina
Gracanica
Tuzla
Zepce
Zvornik
Travnik
Zenica
Visoko
Sarajevo
Split
Mostar
Dubrovnik
Stara Kanjiza
Subotica
Nova Kanjiza
Senta
Backa Topola
Sombor
Velika Kikinda
Apatin
Kula
Stari Becej
Novi Becej
Palanka
Novi Sad
Veliki Beckerek
Titel
Sremska Mitrovica
Ruma
Vrsac
Kovacica
Pancevo
Zemun
Belgrade
Nis
Kosovska Mitrovica
Pristina
Skoplje
Stip
Bitolj
1931:
○—100–500
•—500–1,000
●—1,000–5,000
■—5,000–10,000
1969:
○—50–160
△—200–400
□—1,000–1,600
The northwestern boundary of Yugoslavia before W.W. II

Jewish communities in Yugoslavia in 1931 and 1969. Courtesy Federation of Jewish Communities in Yugoslavia, Belgrade.

camp, and the fate of its inmates was reported by a few Jewish women, wives of gentiles, whom the Nazis had released. In August 1942 a German report stated that the "problem of Jews and gypsies had been solved; Serbia is the only country where this problem no longer exists."

THE INDEPENDENT STATE OF CROATIA. The new Independent State of Croatia (NDH) was headed by Ante *Pavelić, leader of the Ustaše movement, who had been in exile in Italy and Germany and had developed relations with the Nazis. For the Jews, the four years of his rule in Croatia were marked by savage cruelty and terror. Within a few days of the occupation of Zagreb, the Germans, the local Nazis, and the Ustaše combined to deprive the Jews of their property and their status. Nuremberg-style laws were enacted as early as April 30, 1941, followed by the removal of Jews from all public posts and the introduction of the yellow badge. On August 27, a decree was issued expropriating all Jewish-owned real estate, and two months later the Jews were ordered to hand over all other valuables in their possession. In Osijek, a levy of 20,000,000 dinars was imposed upon the Jews within three days of the occupation of the city; in Zagreb, the Ustaše arrested the wealthy Jews in May and kept them hostage until a ransom equivalent to 100 kilograms of gold was provided for their release. Synagogues, cultural institutions, and even Jewish cemeteries were razed by the Ustaše as soon as it came to power.

Early in May 1941, the first concentration camp was established in the Danica factory, in the village of Drinja, near Koprivnica. Mass arrests of Jews were stepped up after the outbreak of the German-Soviet war (June 1941), and a number of additional concentration camps were established in Jasenovac, Stara Gradiška, Loborgrad, and Djakovo. A temporary camp, at Jadovno near Gospić, served as one of the early extermination camps. By July 1941 all the inmates of the Danica camp had been murdered, and by August the inmates at the Jadovno camp had suffered the same fate. The main, and most notorious, of the Croatian concentration camps was situated near Jasenovac, a town on the Zagreb-Belgrade railroad. This camp remained in existence throughout the period of Croatian "independence," and tens of thousands of people were murdered there, among them about 20,000 Jews. It was to these camps that the Jews of Croatia proper were deported. Exact figures are not available, but it is estimated that by the end of 1942, 5,000 Jews had been deported. Further deportations took place as late as 1944. The Jewish communities continued to exist, although they were now largely made up of persons with only one Jewish parent, who were protected by law; Jewish partners of mixed marriages were also saved from deportation due to the efforts of the Catholic Church, and especially the papal nuncio. (About 1,000 such persons survived in Croatia.)

Bosnia and Herzegovina, which were incorporated into "independent" Croatia, had a prewar Jewish population of about 14,000. When the Germans occupied Sarajevo (April 17, 1941), one of their first acts was to set fire to the Sephardi synagogue in the city, the finest structure of its kind in the Balkan countries. They were assisted in this act of vandalism by local Muslims, who, under the influence of their spiritual leaders, were generally hostile to the Jews and willingly collaborated with the Nazis. Hājj Amīn al-Husseini, the ex-mufti of Jerusalem, went especially from Berlin to Sarajevo in order to give his blessing to the Bosnian Muslim division named "Handjar" (Sword), which was among the Croatian puppet state's contributions to the German war machine. This division effectively fought on the eastern front against the Soviet Union, incorporated in the ranks of the Wehrmacht. In the wake of an act of sabotage that occurred at the end of July, nine of the leading Jews of Sarajevo and 12 prominent Serbs were arrested, and within a few days the police announced their execution by a firing squad. Mass deportations began on September 3, when 500 Jews were dispatched to a camp at Kruščica near Travnik; a second transport to the same location took place a few days later. On Oct. 19, 1941, in celebration of "Germany Day," 1,400 Jews were arrested in Sarajevo. Although the community commissars (a Serb and a Muslim) succeeded in getting a few of the Jews released, the community as a whole was panic-stricken and made strenuous efforts to escape. About 1,600 made their way to Italian-occupied Mostar. The largest roundup of Jews was organized by the Germans on Nov. 15–16, 1941, when 3,000 Jews were deported to Jasenovac. Women and children from Bosnia and Herzegovina were taken to the Loborgrad and Djakovo camps. By the end of August 1942, some 9,000 Jews had been deported, and only 120 were left. In the fall of 1941 the Kruiščica camp was liquidated, the men being sent to Jasenovac and the women to Loborgrad. A year later, the Loborgrad camp suffered a similar fate, and those who had survived the first year were now dispatched to the Auschwitz death camp.

The Jewish community of Osijek had been tricked by the Ustaše into building its own ghetto in a factory near the village of Tenje. When the job was completed, the Jews of Osijek and the surrounding area were crowded into the factory, where they lived for a period of two months. In August 1942, the surviving inmates were transported to Jasenovac and Auschwitz. By April 1945, only a little more than 1,000 Serbs and Jews were still alive in the Jasenovac camp. On April 22 they were all crowded into a single factory building to await their death. In a final desperate effort, some 600 of the prisoners broke the gates and attacked the Ustaše guard; for most of them, the effort was in vain, and only 80 saved their lives, among them 20 Jews. The Stara Gradiška camp, a "branch" of Jasenovac, "specialized" in women and children, and no less than 6,000–7,000 children, according to one report, were put to death there. The German consul in Zagreb, Siegfried Kasche, and police attaché Hans Helm reported to Berlin on April 18, 1944 that "Croatia is one of the countries in which the Jewish problem has been solved."

VOJVODINA (BAČKA AND BARANJA). In Vojvodina, occupied by Hungarian troops, the fate of the Jews (and, to a certain degree, the local Serbs) was no different. In Subotica, the main city in Bačka, 250 persons were killed in the first days of the occupation. In Novi Sad, the first slaughter took place on the third day of the occupation, when 500 people, both Jews and Serbs, were murdered. The Jewish community was threatened with deportation to Croatia unless it made an immediate payment of 50,000,000 dinars; after great efforts, 34,000,000 were raised. Altogether, about 3,500 people were killed in Vojvodina in the initial stage, among them 150–200 Jews. Concentration camps were established in various places (Subotica, Stari Bečej, Ada, Odžaci, Bažka Topola), and some 2,000 Jews passed through these camps in the first two months of the occupation. In January 1942, a clash between resistance fighters and a Hungarian troop detachment caused the death of four Hungarian soldiers, and in reprisal 1,000 men, women, and children were rounded up and shot to death. Among the victims of this slaughter were 100 Jews. A few weeks later, a similar action took place at Novi Sad, where 870 Jews – almost a fifth of the total Jewish population of the city – in addition to 430 Serbs were murdered. Thousands more were brought to the banks of the Danube to suffer the same fate when a dispatch from the Hungarian military authorities arrived to put an end to the mass killing.

In 1942 the Hungarians ordered the formation of forced labor battalions into which all Jews and Serbs between the ages of 21 and 48 were drafted. Some 4,000 Jews from Bačka and Baranja were conscripted into the battalions; 1,500 were sent to the Ukraine, near the front, where they succumbed to disease and starvation or were murdered. Only 20 of the entire group survived the ordeal. The others were sent to Hungary and Serbia, where they were put to work in copper mines and on the railroads, together with about 6,000 Hungarian Jews. In spite of the harsh conditions to which they were exposed, they managed to survive for a while. The end came in March 1944, when Hungary was taken over by German forces. On September 17, a transport of 3,600 Jews from the Bor mines (where the labor battalions were concentrated) was dispatched in the direction of Belgrade; about 1,300 prisoners were murdered or died en route and the rest were deported to Germany. A short while later a second transport of 2,500 Jews, which included a large contingent of Vojvodina Jews, was organized. Some of these managed to escape, and several hundred were liberated by Tito's partisans, finding refuge with the population in Serbia and the Banat. The rest of the Jews from Bačka and Baranja were deported on April 25–26, 1944. About 4,000 Jews from the area of Novi Sad were interned at Subotica, while the Jews from the eastern part of Bačka were dispatched to a camp in Baja (Hungary); in May 1944, the group from Subotica was also sent to Baja. Eventually all the inmates of the Baja camp (as well as those of the Bačka Topola camp) were deported to Auschwitz.

MACEDONIA. The majority of Macedonian Jews were concentrated in three cities: in Skoplje (3,795 Jews, including 300 refugees from Belgrade); Bitolj (Monastir; 3,350); and Štip (550). Direct control of the area was in Bulgarian hands, and for the first 18 months persecution of the Jews did not go beyond confiscation of property, forced contributions, and personal insults. In August 1942, a group of 50 refugees from Belgrade was handed over to the Gestapo, which deported them to the Banjica camp; on Dec. 3, 1942, they were put to death in Jajinci. At the beginning of January 1943, further restrictions were imposed on the Jews, and two months later all of the Jewish population of Macedonia was placed in a temporary concentration camp in the "Monopol" tobacco factory near Skoplje. On March 22 a transport of 2,338 Jews was dispatched to the death camps in Poland, followed a week later by two more transports, numbering 2,402 and 2,404 people. Only about 100 Jews returned to Macedonia from these transports. About 150–200 Sephardi Jews were recognized by the Spanish government as Spanish nationals and were not deported; about 120 Jews fled to Albania, and some joined the partisans.

ITALIAN-OCCUPIED AREAS. Compared to the other parts of occupied Yugoslavia, the area under Italian control was a haven for the Jews. In spite of constant pressure by German diplomats – including Kasche, the German consul at Zagreb – the Italians refused to accede to demands to deport Jews and, for a while at least, regarded any measure discriminating against the Jews as incompatible with the honor of the Italian army. Originally there were a small number of Jews in this area, but soon it became a refuge for Jews from Bosnia and Croatia. In August 1941, according to a German estimate, there were between 4,000 and 5,000 Jews in Dubrovnik and Mostar. By November 1941, the Italians went as far as establishing camps for the Jewish refugees, interning refugees from Bosnia and Herzegovina in Kupari (near Dubrovnik) and Jews from Croatia in Kraljevica. In Split there were 2,000 refugees, in addition to 415 local Jews; 500 were sent to the island of Korčula and 1,100 to Italy (mostly to the Ferramonti internees' camp). In June 1943, 2,650 Jewish inmates of camps in Dalmatia were deported to the island of Rab. In all the camps, the Italians extended humane treatment to the Jews.

In September 1943, after the Italian capitulation, Tito's partisan army evacuated 2,000 refugees from Rab; able-bodied men joined the partisans, while the old men, women, and children found refuge in northern Dalmatia. About 300 people – the old and sick, women and their small children – remained on the island, and when the Germans invaded it, in March 1944, they were deported to Auschwitz. A similar fate overtook the Jews in Split. On Sept. 28, 1943, all adult men were interned, and after a while they were deported to Sajmište, where they were all murdered. In March 1944, 300 women and children were deported from Split to Jasenovac where they died.

JEWISH PARTISANS. Yugoslav Jews took an active part in the fight against the Nazis and played a leading role among the organizers of Tito's revolt. Ten Jews were named as national heroes of the resistance. No exact figures are available for the number of Jews who fought with the partisans, because they did not enlist as Jews, and in the early stage no family names were recorded. With one exception, there were no Jewish units. After the war, however, the Federation of Yugoslav Jewish Communities was able to identify 2,000 Jewish names among the members of Tito's formations.

Shortly after the occupation of Belgrade, *Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir put itself at the disposal of the Communist Party and helped organize the resistance. The first secret radio in Zagreb was operated by two Jewish brothers and the first act of sabotage in Vojvodina was carried out by youngsters of the Jewish youth movement. Individual Jews committed acts of sabotage, and in August 1942 the first group joined the partisans. A Jewish partisan unit was formed in the fall of 1943 from among the Jews evacuated from the Italian camp on the island of Rab. Composed of 250 men, the unit suffered heavy losses in the fighting against the Germans: its ranks were decimated, and the survivors were incorporated into other units. The most prominent Jewish resistance fighter was Moša *Pijade, who became one of Tito's four vice presidents after the liberation.

Contemporary Period

From the end of 1944, when Yugoslavia was liberated, about 14,000 Jews returned to the cities from their places of hiding, the partisan areas, and prison camps. The Federation of Jewish Communities officially reestablished its activities on Oct. 22, 1944, a few days after the liberation of Belgrade, when its surviving chairman, Friedrich Pops, reopened its office. Fifty-six Jewish communities were reconstructed, and the federation, with the aid of the American Jewish *Joint Distribution Committee (JDC), engaged in a variety of welfare projects, including the reopening of the home for the aged in Zagreb, extending material aid to the needy who began to return to their daily lives, etc. It also reestablished its ties with the *World Jewish Congress and other Jewish organizations.

Upon the establishment of the State of Israel (1948), the Federation sought and received permission from the Yugoslav authorities to send material help and organize Jewish emigration to Israel. From the end of 1948 until 1952 about 8,000 Jews, who were allowed to take their property with them, left for Israel. After 1952 the number of Jews remained almost unchanged at 6,500–7,000, of whom 6,200–6,500 were registered in 38 communities. In 1968 there were 1,552 Jews in Belgrade, 1,359 in Zagreb, 1,095 in Sarajevo, 1,320 in six communities (each of which had more than 100 members), 911 in 28 local and district communities (some of which had less than ten members), and another 220 scattered throughout the country. The structure of Yugoslav Jewry is revealed by censuses taken in 1952 and 1957. The first census covered 6,250 Jews who were registered in communities. Of these, 43% were male and 57% female; about 50% were Sephardim (especially in Serbia and Bosnia) and the rest were Ashkenazim (mostly in Croatia and Slovenia). Of the children, 591 were under the age of seven, 818 were in elementary school, 325 were in high school, and 247 were in institutes of higher learning. Among the adults, there were 12 apprentices in various fields, 221 doctors (military and civilian), 41 pharmacists, 21 veterinarians, 82 engineers, 46 technicians, 54 teachers in schools of higher learning, 48 teachers and educators, 27 lawyers, 12 judges (and 33 others held law degrees), 31 journalists, 875 in different branches of administration, 247 economists and administrators in economic enterprises, 4 agronomists, 231 artisans, 33 writers and artists, 73 army officers (not counting medical personnel), 5 noncommissioned officers, 233 on pension, 136 with no profession, 277 in various other professions, 1,435 housewives, 314 elderly people without pensions, 106 chronically ill, 45 seriously crippled, and 257 did not supply details on their professional status. The census of 1957 covered 6,691 Jews including 137 women per every 100 men (contrasted with an average of 106 women per 100 men in the general population). The number of children (up to age 18) was 25.1% of the Jewish, and 38.7% of the total population.

The activities of the Federation of Jewish Communities were founded upon the 1953 law that regulated the activities of religions and churches in Socialist Yugoslavia. But religious life was only part, and not necessarily the outstanding part, of Jewish community life. In 1952 the Federation deleted the word "religious" from its title and the title of the communities associated with it. The communities thus viewed themselves as national Jewish entities, preserving their ties with worldwide Jewish organizations and various bodies in Israel. This attitude was made possible by the liberal Yugoslav policy on the question of nationalities and the support of widespread circles in Yugoslavia for Judaism and for Israel. The Federation devoted much of its efforts to Jewish education. Kindergartens were established in a number of cities (and still functioned in 1969, in Belgrade and Zagreb); youth centers and sections for women, whose activities were directed by appropriate national boards, were set up in some communities; the larger communities reestablished their libraries; and an historical museum was established in Belgrade, including an institute for research on the history of Yugoslav Jewry, in which non-Jewish scholars also participated. Jewish youths were sent to Jewish seminars and studies abroad, and every year summer camps involved between 350 and 400 youth on various levels. Choirs in Belgrade and in Zagreb cultivated Israel and Hebrew music, both religious and secular.

There is special concern regarding the preservation of cemeteries of historic significance and the orderly liquidation of cemeteries and other property of communities which could not be preserved or were displaced by urban-renewal projects. Some synagogues were handed over to local cultural institutions and serve as cultural houses and museums. About 30 monuments have been erected to the victims of World War II in cemeteries and public places.

The Federation of Jewish Communities publishes a monthly organ and an annual *Jevrejski Almanah*. The first almanac appeared in 1954, the seventh, for 1965–67, in 1968. The almanacs cover historical and current-affairs material as well as literary works about the Holocaust. The Jewish youth publish an organ titled *Kadimah*. For a number of years a calendar printed in Serbo-Croatian was put out (containing prayers printed in Latin characters) by the only rabbi (*ḥakham*) to have survived the Holocaust, Menahem b. Abraham Romano (1882–1968) of Sarajevo. In 1952 the Federation published a book titled *Crimes of the Fascist Conquerors and their Collaborators Against the Jews in Yugoslavia*, whose second edition includes a summary in English. The Federation also published a number of basic Jewish books including a translation of a short history of the Jewish people by S. *Dubnow with an epilogue that carries on his concept of the Jewish nation with a Marxist interpretation.

The position of religion in community life weakened. In the community organizations committees for religious affairs have tried to satisfy the needs of the community as much as possible. On holidays the communities often celebrated with communal prayers and meals. No one was left to replace Rabbi Romano upon his death. Religious life was supplemented by observance of days of remembrance, especially for the victims of the Holocaust. Representatives of Yugoslav Jewry participate in many Jewish world conferences. Their ties with Israel were demonstrated – with the agreement of Yugoslav authorities – by fund raising for the Martyrs Forest and the forest in memory of Albert *Vajs (Weiss; 1905–1964), successor to Pops as chairman of the Federation, and mutual visits by delegations of youth and others. After 1966 the Federation expanded its ties with Jewish communities in Eastern European countries. Mutual visits were frequent, not only on occasions of celebration, such as the 400th anniversary of the establishment of the community in Sarajevo (October 1966), but also for discussions on practical matters. Even the Israel-Arab *Six-Day War (1967), which brought about Yugoslavia's one-sided position and the severance of diplomatic relations with Israel, did not change this situation. The Federation's activities were not restricted from above, although it took upon itself specific restrictions in its relations with the State of Israel.

[Cvi Rotem]

In the early 1980s the Jewish population of Yugoslavia was estimated at approximately 5,500, the majority of whom resided in Belgrade, Zagreb, and Sarajevo. Although the regime in Yugoslavia was authoritarian, its internal structure was the most liberal of all Eastern European countries, and the Jewish community enjoyed freedom both with regard to the organization of communal life and the conduct of religious and cultural activities, and most notably with regard to the community's ties with international Jewish organizations. Thus delegates from Yugoslavia regularly participated in the conventions of the World Jewish Congress, the World Conference of Synagogues and Kehillot, etc. From all parts of Yugoslavia, 28 community heads participated in a seminar and study tour in Israel (Oct. 19, 1976–Nov. 2, 1976), organized by the Jewish Agency.

Though not a member of the Warsaw Pact, and with a foreign policy independent of Moscow, since 1967 Yugoslavia adopted an extreme anti-Israel policy with regard to the Middle East conflict. It was the foremost defender and militant champion of sanctions against Israel in all international forums, including the UN and its agencies.

[Eliezer Palmor]

The violent breakup of Yugoslavia which began in 1991 and the bloody civil war that accompanied it had far-reaching and traumatic effects on the 5,000 to 6,000 Jews who lived in the country. Until the division of the country, Yugoslav Jews had belonged to communities joined in autonomous republic-wide organizations which in turn were members of a nationwide Federation based in Belgrade.

Most Jews were concentrated in the capital cities of three of the republics: Zagreb, capital of Croatia, with about 1,200 Jews; Sarajevo, capital of Bosnia-Herzegovina, with about 1,000; and Belgrade, capital of Serbia and also the federal capital, with about 1,500 Jews. The remaining Jews lived in much smaller scattered communities, mostly in Croatia and Serbia's Vojvodina province. Fewer than 100 Jews lived in Slovenia, and only 100 in Macedonia.

There was little overt antisemitism, and the rate of intermarriage was high. Through the 1980s participation grew in wide-ranging programs and activities run by the Federation and the individual communities (with the help of international Jewish philanthropic organizations). These included a summer camp on the Adriatic Sea, annual Maccabi sports competitions, old-age care facilities, women's and youth groups, and educational programs including religion classes, Hebrew classes, and the first Jewish kindergarten in Yugoslavia in more than a decade, which opened in Zagreb, the most active community, in 1989. Yugoslavia had only one rabbi – Belgrade-based Cadik Danon – but by the late 1980s one young man was in Israel studying to become a rabbi, and several others were training as cantors or lay leaders for religious services.

Yugoslavia's Jews also maintained close ties with various international Jewish organizations, and by the late 1980s Yugoslav government officials also met with Jewish and Israeli representatives. At a meeting in New York in July 1987, Yugoslav leader Lazar Mojsov told World Jewish Congress president Edgar Bronfman that he would "work toward better relations with the Jewish world as a whole and with the State of Israel."

A landmark cultural event was a major exhibition on the Jews of Yugoslavia that opened in Zagreb in April 1988 and then was shown elsewhere in the country, attracting tens of thousands of visitors, before going on to the United States and Israel. Belgrade's first Holocaust memorial (aside from memorials in the Jewish cemetery) was dedicated in 1990; it was by the Jewish sculptor Nandor Glid.

The mounting separatism and ethnic tensions that came to the fore in the late 1980s had their effect on the Jewish communities. Some Jews felt that Serbian overtures to Israel including the formation in 1989 of a Serbian-Jewish friendship society and the twinning of various Serbian-Israeli cities were mainly aimed at courting world Jewry to give support to Serbia in its opposition to any decentralization of the state. A leader of the tiny Jewish community in Slovenia warned of possible antisemitism after a youth magazine published *Protocols of the Elders of Zion* in 1990. In Zagreb, Jewish leaders at the end of 1990 expressed concern that Croatian nationalism might prompt a resurgence of antisemitism, but later threw support behind the Croatian government when it seceded from Yugoslavia and became embroiled in civil war.

When the civil war broke out following Slovenian and Croatian secession in the summer of 1991, the status of Jewish communities again became a political issue. Serbs and Croats attempted to discredit each other with accusations of antisemitism. In early 1992 Klara Mandic, a founder of the Serbian-Jewish Friendship Society, visited the United States and in a series of lectures and articles charged the Croatian government of Franjo Tudjman with reviving fascism and antisemitism and planning "genocide" against Serbs in Croatia. Nenad Porges, president of the Zagreb Jewish community, countered by accusing Serbs of antisemitism and expressing support for the Tudjman government.

The civil war led to great suffering and destruction, particularly after fighting spread from Croatia to Bosnia-Herzegovina. Jews had to flee their homes along with hundreds of thousands of other citizens, and Jewish monuments and property were damaged or destroyed along with countless other buildings. Among them, the medieval synagogue in Dubrovnik was damaged by bombs; the Jewish community center in Osijek was hit by shelling; and Serbian fighters used the ancient Jewish cemetery overlooking Sarajevo as a position from which to fire onto the city. In Zagreb, terrorist bombs in August 1991 wrecked the Jewish community offices and prayer hall and also damaged the Jewish cemetery.

Starting in April 1992, the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee carried out daring air and overland evacuations of almost the entire Jewish population of Sarajevo.

Almost from the beginning of the civil strife, communications between Zagreb, Sarajevo, and Belgrade were difficult or cut altogether. Local Jewish communities became fully autonomous and ultimately independent as the former Yugoslav republics became independent. In Zagreb, gala celebrations in September 1992 marked the reopening of the Jewish community center and prayer hall after a full-scale restoration, partially funded by local authorities, following a terrorist bombing of the year before.

[Ruth E. Gruber]

In the years that followed the breakup of Yugoslavia the Federation of Jewish Communities in Belgrade, although diminished, continued to function, arranging cultural events and publishing Jewish material. In Zagreb, capital of Croatia, a Coordinating Committee headed by Dr. Ognjen Krauss was formed. The Kehillah is now called Zidovska opcina and is similarly active in all fields of Jewish life, especially in publishing cultural reviews and books on historical subjects. In Ljubljana, capital of Slovenia, there exists a Judovska skupina, a small congregation. In Sarajevo, the community, now called Jevrejska zajednica and headed by Jacob Finci, operates from the Ashkenazi synagogue. In Skopje, capital of Macedonia, Jews are organized under the name of Evreiska zajednica. Representatives of these organizations occasionally meet in European Jewish forums abroad and once a year in Dalmatian (Croatian) summer resorts.

Estimated population figure in the early 2000s were as follows: Bosnia-Herzegovina 500, Croatia 1,700, Macedonia 100, Serbia and Montenegro 1,500, Slovenia 100.

[Zvi Loker (2nd ed.)]

Relations with Israel

Between the end of World War II, which saw the creation of Yugoslavia as a Communist federal republic, and the establishment of the State of Israel in 1948, the Yugoslav attitude to Palestine Jewry was friendly and found expression in allowing passage to thousands of "illegal" immigrants to Palestine. From the Yugoslav point of view, this formed part of the anti-imperialist struggle. In 1947 Yugoslavia was elected a member of the 11-nation Special Commission on Palestine (UNSCOP). Its representatives declared their understanding for Jewish aspirations to independence, but eventually took a stand for a binational state, and in the UN Assembly, in November 1947, Yugoslavia did not vote for the partition resolution. However, following the proclamation of the establishment of the State of Israel, Yugoslavia recognized the new state on May 19, 1948; full diplomatic relations and the first trade agreement were quick to follow. The majority of Yugoslav Jews, survivors of the Holocaust, were permitted to go to Israel in 1948–49. In the years 1949 to 1954 relations were cordial. Political, social, and cultural ties were developed through exchange of delegations, as, e.g., between the Socialist Union and Mapai, the Yugoslav trade unions and the Histadrut, and through manifold activities of the respective legations at Belgrade and Tel Aviv.

Although Yugoslav diplomacy was not, even before 1956, generally favorable to Israel's stand in the Arab-Israel conflict, it did preserve a fairly balanced attitude until then. On Sept. 1, 1951, its representative voted, in the Security Council, for free navigation for all nations in the Suez Canal, a resolution hailed at the time as a victory for Israel. Marked deterioration on the Yugoslav side came after the Bandung Conference in 1955 and Yugoslav premier Tito's policy of assembling, and possibly leading, a group of "nonaligned" nations, together with Egypt's president Gamal Abdel Nasser, and Jawaharlal Nehru, prime minister of India. As Tito's collaboration with Nasser went ahead, relations with Israel became cooler. Another important factor in the changed Yugoslav attitude was the improvement of relations between Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union from May 1955. During the Sinai crisis (1956), Yugoslavia adopted an extremely hostile attitude to Israel. It thereafter slowed down and finally stopped most of the positive aspects of bilateral cooperation. Apart from trade, only personal contacts between Jews were permitted to continue. Yugoslavia supported the Arab stand against Israel in all spheres, save for economic boycott.

Yugoslav policy in the Middle East gradually evolved into a completely one-sided, pro-Arab position, culminating in its branding Israel as the "aggressor" in the Six-Day War (June 1967), severing diplomatic relations concurrently with other Communist countries (Romania excluded), and open advocacy of Egyptian-Arab extremist viewpoints. However, the sympathies of the Yugoslav people still seemed to incline toward Israel.

By 1971, the only aspect of Yugoslav-Israel relations which continued unaffected was in the sphere of trade, although Yugoslavia unilaterally suspended, in April 1970, the payments' agreement. Commercial ties started modestly in 1949, with a few hundred thousand dollars' worth of exchange both ways, and grew steadily; at the time of the signature of the third trade agreement in 1966 they had reached six million dollars. Trade was still growing in 1971, being fairly balanced. Yugoslav firms were represented in Israel, and there seemed to be a common understanding to continue with mutually useful trade exchanges.

The main items imported by Israel from Yugoslavia were meat, wood, furniture, boxes for packing citrus, metal products, and sugar. Its exports were cement, citrus fruits and concentrates, phosphates, tires, textile rayons, and plastic products.

[Zvi Loker]

A slightly more favorable tone toward Israel's rights was, however, expressed by the late President Tito during his visit to Romania (Dec. 3–4, 1977), when he said: "Israel exists for many years as a genuine fact, is recognized by the UN and is a member of it; any other view would be unrealistic. Thus, all the Arab states must recognize Israel as a state." Although Yugoslavia had not restored diplomatic relations with Israel broken after the Six-Day War in 1967, commercial and cultural ties as well as cooperation in the areas of sports and tourism burgeoned during the 1980s. Slovenia's Adria Airlines established direct flights to and from Israel in 1989.

During the 1990s Israel established diplomatic relations with the independent states of former Yugoslavia.

[Eliezer Palmor]

Musical Life

The many pictures of shofars discovered on ceramics at the archaeological site in Celarevo on the Danube river (seventh–ninth century C.E.; Khazars?) may indicate the presence of Jewish settlements and were the first pictures of the noted Jewish instrument in this part of Europe. This necropolis is unique for the Balkans and Panonia.

Ancient Jewish communities also existed on the shores of the Adriatic Sea (Split). There is no information about the music of these communities. There is also no information about the Jews of Dubrovnik who settled there from the 12th century C.E.

In the 16th century, a large community of Sephardim immigrated to the Balkans' parts of the Ottoman Empire up to Sarajevo. They learned synagogue music at a school founded by Rabbi David Jakov Pardo in the second half of the 18th century. Basic research on this musical tradition was done between the two world wars by Isak Hendel, Erik Elisha Samlaich, Zhiga Hirschler, and others. Unfortunately, most of the researchers lost their lives during the Holocaust, and the texts and musical transcriptions were lost as well.

From the studies of the contemporary musicologists Cvjetko Richtman (1902–1990), who was the founder of the Institute for the Study of Folklore in Sarajevo, his daughter Dunja Richtman (1970–), and particularly the basic studies of Ankica Petrovic (1978–) on the musical tradition of the Sephardim in Bosnia-Herzegovina, one can infer that there is a great difference between the sacred and the secular music of the Bosnian Sephardim. In this tradition, the melodies of their secular "romances" (*romantigas*) were influenced by medieval Spanish music, while their sacred music preserved more ancient roots from the pre-Ottoman and pre-Arab era. (see also *Greece and *Ladino (Romancero)). A great number of Jewish music documents are archived in the Jewish Museum of Belgrade.

At the time of the national resurgence, the pioneers of "classical music" were of a Jewish origin, both among the Croats (Vatroslav Lisinski, born Fux, 1819–1854) and the Serbs (Josif Schlezinger, 1794–1870). However, there are no Jewish elements in their music.

In the first half of the 20th century, the most prominent Jewish composers in Yugoslavia were Rikard Schwarz, Zhiga Hirscher, Pavao Markovac, Oskar Jozefovich, Robert Herzl, Erih Elisha Samlaich, and Lavoslav Grinski. All of them were killed during World War II.

Among the survivors who immigrated to the United States were the baritone and composer Aaron Marko *Rothmueler (1908–1993), who also wrote *The Music of The Jews* (1958), and the eminent musicologist Dragan Plamenac (1895–1983), known for his studies on music of the 14th and 16th centuries. Among the composers and performers who immigrated to Israel were Paul Raphael Sterk (1904–1979), who composed the symphony *City of David*; Uri Givon (1912–1974), who produced numerous arrangements of Jewish and Israeli songs and compositions; Reuven Yaron, who was brought to Palestine as a child in 1943, studied with M. *Seter, and was killed at the age of 23 in the Sinai Campaign of 1956. His compositions were highly esteemed.

Among the notable performers between the two world wars were pianist Ernest Krauth, conductor Milan Sachs, and violinist Mary Dragutinovic. In the field of light music Abraham Kupferberg and Raphael Blam distinguished themselves.

After World War II Bruno Bjelinski, Miroslav Spieler, Ruben Radica, Dubravko Detoni, and Enriko Josif were active as composers, and performers included singer Breda Kalef, conductor Oskar Danon, violinist David Kamhi, and pianist Andreja Preger.

[Dushan Mihalek (2nd ed.)]

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YUGOSLAV LITERATURE. The Serbs, Croats, Slovenes, Macedonians, Hungarians, and other ethnic groups that constitute the population of former Yugoslavia all have their own distinct cultural traditions, and it is therefore merely for the sake of convenience that they are associated under the heading Yugoslav Literature. The earliest literary activity in the "land of the southern Slavs" (dating back to the ninth century) was the result of the educational and missionary work of Cyril of Salonika and his brother Methodius, Cyril having devised the Slavic (Cyrillic) alphabet still used, within Yugoslavia, by the Serbs and Macedonians (see *Bulgarian Literature).

Biblical and Hebraic Influences

The Bible has been translated and referred to by the southern Slavs since the beginning of their cultural history. The first translation of the Old Testament, by Cyril and Methodius, was intended for the Slavs of Macedonia and according to tradition was based on the original Hebrew. The earliest complete translation, however, was that of Primož Trubar, a Slovenian Protestant, in the late 16th century. Two versions of the Reformation period were a Croatian Lutheran Bible (1562–63) and Juri Dalmatin's Protestant Bible and Psalter (1584), which marked the beginnings of Slovenian literature. Among the translations of the 19th century, a period of national and cultural revival, were those of Matija Petar Katanić in Croatia (1813) and Djura Daničžć in Serbia (1865), both Orthodox. Two 20th-century versions are the (Orthodox) Bible of 1932–33 and Petar Vlasić's Serbo-Croatian Bible (1923–25). In Serbia, biblical tales (such as the "Book of Adam") and religious plays were written during the Middle Ages and until the period of the Turkish invasion in the mid-15th century. Biblical themes were also current in 15th-century Croatian literature. The Hebraic and Greek biblical traditions persisted in Old Slavonic literature and flourished under Byzantine influence among the southern Slavs. Biblical subjects were later popular during the Serbian literary revival in the 19th century. At the beginning of the 18th century, Gavril Stefanović Venclović of Srem translated some 20,000 pages of this old literature into vernacular Serbian.

However, original works on Old Testament themes have been traced to the Renaissance era, when the Croatian poet and humanist Marko Marulić wrote the allegorical Neo-Latin epic *Davidiadis libri XIV* and the first Croatian epic on a religious subject, *Judita* (1501), which was intended to arouse national feelings against the Turkish overlord. Another writer of the 16th century, the Montenegrin poet Mavro-Nikolo Vetranović of Ragusa (Dubrovnik), wrote an outstanding verse play about Abraham, *Posvetilište Abraamovo*, and the apocryphal drama, *Suzana ćista*. After a lapse of almost three centuries, the epic tradition was revived by the Serbian writer Milovan Vidaković, who published his *Istorija o prekrasnom Josifje* (1805) and the apocryphal *Mladi Tovija* (1825). Vidaković, who also wrote the epic *Putešestvije u Jerusalim* (1834), was followed by several other writers: Laza Kostić, a Serbian poet; Petar Petrović Njegoš, vladika (prince-bishop) of Montenegro, the greatest Montenegrin poet; and Silvije Strahimir Kranjčerić, a Croatian poet of Sarajevo. Biblical elements are prominent in the works of all three, Njegoš having composed the epic *Luča mikrokozma* (1845; *The Rays of the Microcosm*, 1953), which betrays the influence of Dante, Milton, and Byron, and Kranjčerić having written *Mojsije*, a poem about the Lawgiver. This interest in biblical subjects was maintained in the 20th century. Miroslav Krleža, the outstanding contemporary writer in Croatia, published dramas on Adam and Eve and Salome, while his colleague and fellow radical, August Cesarec, wrote "Israel's Exodus and Other Legends" on the eve of World War II. Old Testament themes have also inspired two studies of Moses (1932, 1938) by Aron Alkalaj; "King David," a drama by the Belgrade writer, artist, and stage director Raša Plaović; and *Vreme čuda* ("Time of Wonders," 1965), by the Serbian Borislav Pekić which was inspired by biblical legends.

There have been no Yugoslav translations of talmudic and later Jewish religious literature and these have therefore exerted no influence on the local culture. In the 16th century, however, Croatian humanism produced an outstanding scholar in Matthias Flacius Illyricus (Vlachich), a Protestant theologian and philologist who became professor of Hebrew at the University of Wittenberg in 1544. A violent controversialist and fanatical anti-Catholic, he published many scholarly works including a linguistic dictionary of the Bible, *Clavis Scripturae Sacrae seu de sermone sacrarum literarum* (Antwerp, 1567; Basle, 1623). The *Wandering Jew theme also appeared in Yugoslavia with the epic *Ahasver* (1946) by the left-wing Croatian poet and politician Vladimir Nazor. As to classics of modern Jewish literature, works by writers such as Shalom Aleichem and Sholem Asch have been translated from the Yiddish, as have other works by Jewish writers in other languages, notably Isaac Babel, Saul Bellow, Heinrich Heine, and André Schwarz-Bart, all popular among Yugoslav readers and critics.

[Ana Shomlo-Ninic]

The Image of the Jew

In the areas constituting former Yugoslavia, Jews have not, in general, provided writers with a major literary theme. There were two basic reasons for this: the Jewish population was always limited, inconspicuous, and largely cut off from gentile society; and, in the ethnic, religious, and cultural mosaic formed by this Balkan region, a crossroads and battlefield of many nations, native writers in search of the exotic or colorful had no need to seek out the Jew. Until the Holocaust Jews were central characters only in works by Jewish authors. Subsequently they also became an accepted subject for non-Jews.

In the rich folk literature which survived well into the 19th century, the Jews who appear have no individuality and, under the influence of Christian polemical writings, they are often presented as "cursed" and cruel, objects of hatred and derision. Exceptionally, one folk song contains cautious praise for the young Jewess who wishes to marry the exalted hero, Kraljević Marko. During the Renaissance period, Dalmatian poets (e.g., Marulić) adapted biblical and apocryphal subjects and New Testament material, but did not associate the Hebrews of the past with the Jews of their time. Instead, they tended to regard the people of Israel as a symbol of their own nation in its fight against the Turks and as exemplifying the general struggle of humanity. Jewish figures appeared in very few comedies, one being the anonymous *Jerko Škripalo* presented in Dubrovnik during the 18th century, and then from a positive point of view. Serbian and Croatian authors of the 19th-century Romantic school scarcely mentioned contemporary Jews, but when they did, they used them to describe their own situation, as in August Šenoa's *Vječni Žid* ("The Eternal Jew"), or else to express general ideas (as in S. Kranjčević's *Mojsije*, and Vladimir Vidrić's *Dva levita*). Before the First Zionist Congress the Slovenian ex-priest Anton Aškerc published a mordant poem ("Natanova prikazen") about an old rabbi who bewails the homelessness of his people; in answer, the patriarch Abraham assures him that, since the whole world owes money to the Jews, the world is their homeland. In Slovenia, France Pršéren wrote a poem ("Judovsko dekle") about a young Jewess who falls in love with a Christian, but abandons him because of the religious barrier.

With the advent of the realistic novel at the end of the 19th century, the Jew began to figure in the role of the shopkeeper or publican who precipitates the collapse of rural society, as in Josip Kosor's *Rasap* ("Disintegration," 1906), or as a moneylender; always a secondary figure, bereft of individuality, the Jew was invariably presented in an unfavorable light, often with pronounced antisemitic overtones. The Croatian Miroslav Krleža, a militant leftist author and playwright, scattered antisemitic remarks throughout his works, although he placed such comments in the mouths of degenerate, negative types. Otherwise Krleža merely produced the image of a revolutionary, cosmopolitan Jew, oblivious to patriotism or any sense of national identity. Between the world wars the figure of the Jew was mainly the concern of Jewish writers, some of whom restricted themselves to a Jewish readership (e.g., Hinko *Gottlieb). The humorist Zak *Konfino introduced the little Sephardi communities of the Serbian countryside, and Isak *Samokovlija wrote about the ordinary Sephardi Jew of Bosnia. Both writers familiarized the general public with Jewish types whom they presented in an attractive literary style. During and after World War II, dozens of Jewish and non-Jewish authors became preoccupied with the fate of Yugoslav Jewry in verse, drama, and fiction. Since in most cases these works were inspired by actual events, the characters appearing in them acquired a seal of authenticity. The Jew now appeared not only as the innocent victim of Nazi-Fascist bestiality, but also as a courageous fighter who lays down his life to avenge his people or to free his country. This tide, which is still in full spate, carried with it many Jewish and non-Jewish authors of the older generation impelled to supply testimony about the Jewish tragedy, as well as innumerable younger writers for whom the subject served as a powerful literary incentive.

The image of the Jew acquires a classic dimension in the works of the Serbian Nobel Prize winner Ivo Andrić, especially in the two novels which he wrote in German-occupied Belgrade. Within the general racial and cultural panorama of *Travnička hronika* ("The Chronicle of Travnik," 1945) he described the *Athias family's way of life and tribulations, typical of the Sephardi refugees in Western Bosnia at the beginning of the 19th century. These exiles from the West are thrown into the Orient, which corrupts and degenerates them without destroying their self-respect. In *Na Drini ćuprija* ("The Bridge over the Drina," 1945) Andrić affectionately described a beautiful and energetic Ashkenazi Jewess of Tarnow who runs a tavern in an East Bosnian townlet at the close of the 19th century. There the clash of the old and the new provides an anvil for her own achievements and failures. In his short stories, *Pripovetke* (3 vols., 1924–36; *The Pasha's Concubine and Other Tales*, 1969), Andrić described other Jewish figures in a realistic but sympathetic manner. Always deeply involved in their surroundings, they nevertheless keep their distance, either of their own free will or from compulsion.

[Cvi Rotem]

The Jewish Contribution

Although there have been Jewish communities in Macedonia and Dalmatia for 2,000 years or more, the earliest record of Jewish literary activity in the territory of former Yugoslavia dates only from the mid-16th century. The Neo-Latin poet Didacus *Pyrrhus, a Portuguese refugee known also as Flavius Eborensis, Pyrrhus Lusitanus, and Diego Pires (originally Isaiah Cohen), settled in Dubrovnik (Ragusa), where he continued to write verse. After 1492 many Spanish exiles fled to Bosnia (then part of the Ottoman Empire) and settled in Sarajevo, where they were made welcome. However, their new cultural milieu, by contrast with Western Europe, was so low that they virtually ceased to foster scientific and scholarly pursuits. The first Bosnian Sephardi of literary note was the 17th–18th-century Sarajevo kabbalist Nehemiah Hiyya *Ḥayon. With the appointment of David Samuel b. Jacob *Pardo as rabbi of Sarajevo (1765), Jewish studies were revived, flourishing under his son, Isaac Pardo, and under Meir Danon, Eliezar Jichac Papo, and Eliezer Shem-Tov Papo (all 19th century), of whom the last two published works in Ladino as well as Hebrew.

In 1526 Jews were banned from Croatia for more than two centuries; their resettlement dates from the 18th century. Among the newcomers were many intellectuals, notably Siegfried (Vítezslav) *Kapper, an eminent Czech poet who at one time lived in Karlovac and promoted international interest in Croatian and Serbian poetry. From the beginning of the 20th century, Jewish newspapers and magazines such as *Židovska smotra, Gideon* (later titled *Ha-Noar*), *Ha-Aviv* (for youngsters), and *Ommanut* began regular publication. There were two important publishers: Lavoslav Hartman (1813–1881), who issued the first Croatian translations and editions of world classics, and Geca Kon (1873–1941) of Belgrade, who headed the largest Yugoslav publishing house in the period between the world wars. In Belgrade, as in Sarajevo, the first Jewish writers were rabbinic scholars, and secular literature, reflecting the prevalent Sephardi culture, was mainly written in Ladino until World War I. In the late 1830s, during the reign of Prince Miloš, who was sympathetic to the Jews, Hebrew printing began to develop in Serbia; Hajim Davićo was the pioneer Jewish writer in the Serbian language in the late 19th century. During the 1880s many new Jewish literary associations, newspapers, and periodicals in Ladino, Yiddish, German, Hungarian, and Serbo-Croatian were established, including *Jevrejski Glasnik, Zajednica, El amigo del pueblo*, *Pasatiempo* (Belgrade), and *Alborada* (Sarajevo). Jovan Mandil (1873–1915), a lawyer and journalist of Šabac, Serbia, was the correspondent of the Belgrade dailies *Pravda* and *Beogradske novine*, as well as the founder and chief editor of *Bitoljske novine*. The founder of Sarajevo's first Ladino newspaper, *La Alborada* (1900–01), a scientific and literary weekly, was Abraham Kapon (1853–1930), an author and editor whose works included two dramas, *El Augustiador* (1914) and *Shivat Sion* (1921), a volume of *Poesias* (1922), and translations. Many of his unpublished manuscripts were lost during World War II.

Later Trends

Early in the 20th century numerous Jewish writers and translators introduced Serbian, Croatian, and Bosnian readers to the classics of world literature. Prominent among them were Benko Davičo (brother of Hajim Davičo), who translated Heine; Lav Grin (Ilko Gorenčevi), the art critic; Paulina Loebl Albala; David Pijade, who published original fiction and a translation of Oscar Wilde's *Picture of Dorian Grey*; Bukić Pijade; and Haim Alkalaj.

An entire tradition of *Ladino romances, proverbs, and folklore had been transmitted orally from the late 15th century onward, and, during the 1930s, some Sephardi writers in Yugoslavia tried to revive this culture and to set it down in writing. In this regard the work of Laura Papo Bohoreta, a poet, playwright, and novelist, was especially significant. She published *Ojes mios, La pasiensia vale muche, Tiempos pasados*, and *Avia de ser*, and also wrote a study of the Sephardi woman which was translated into Spanish (1931). Bohoreta died in the Holocaust. Active in the same field was the Hispanicist Kalmi Baruh (1896–1945), born in Sarajevo, whose research in Spain during the late 1920s was later recalled by his friend and compatriot, Ivo Andrić (in: *Jevrejski almanah* (1959/60), 213–5). Baruh devoted much of his time and energy to the study of the Ladino language and the Ladino "romances" of Bosnia (*Jevrejsko-španski idiomi*); and his many essays and studies relating to Ladino culture and Spanish writers were partly republished in *Eseji i članci o španskoj književnosti* ("Essays and Articles on Spanish Literature," 1952). Baruh died shortly after his liberation from the Bergen-Belsen concentration camp.

Jewish Themes

In Serbo-Croatian literature proper, Jews achieved prominence only after World War I. So far as specifically Jewish themes and interests are concerned, the two most important Yugoslav authors were Isak Samokovlija, who wrote only of Sephardi life in Bosnia, and the Zionist poet and author Hinko Gottlieb, who wrote fiction on World War II themes and died in Israel. Other Jewish writers active in the period between the world wars included the poet and editor Samuel *Romano, who translated modern Hebrew verse and prose works, and Stanislav Vinaver. Among the promising young authors who died in the Holocaust were two cousins from Novi Sad: Vitomir Jovanović (pen name of Viktor Rozencvajg), who issued a verse collection, *Naš život* ("Our Life"); and Nenad Mirov (pen name of Alfred Rozencvajg), whose collected poems appeared in *Dve duše* ("Two Souls"), *Kroz jadilovce klance* ("Through the Gorges of Pain"), and *Tri prema jedan za poeziju* ("Three to One for Poetry").

Apart from the versatile author and humorist Žak Konfino, some of whose works deal with Sephardi life in Serbia, most contemporary Jewish writers in Yugoslavia (among whom several have achieved considerable importance) are remote from Jewish tradition and show little interest in either Sephardi or Ashkenazi themes. Outstanding among these was the Communist poet and novelist Oscar *Davičo, whose anti-Zionist and anti-Israel bias was shared by the eminent art historian and essayist Oto Bihalji *Merin. The latter's brother, Pavle Bihalji, a leading publisher, fell victim to the Nazis in 1941. Two authors whose literary career began well before World War II were the poet and playwright Miroslav Feldman and the novelist and literary scholar Ervin *Šinko. The older generation of modern writers was also represented by the Zagreb poet and translator Ina *Jun-Broda, who settled in Vienna and published Serbo-Croatian works in German translation; Julija Najman, who translated from the French and wrote fiction on Jewish themes; and Jožef *Debrecenji, a native of Budapest, who wrote in Hungarian as well as Serbo-Croatian. One of the most translated Yugoslav writers was Erih Koš (1913–), who published novels and short stories, and satires such as *čudnovata povest o kitu velikom takođe zvanom veliki Mak* (1960; *The Strange Story of the Great Whale, also known as Big Mac*, 1962). Other works by Koš include the novel *Il tifo* (1958), an allegory on the tragic aspects of war. Among the leftist social writers who were first active between the world wars were Šinko, Bihalji Merin, and the psychiatrist Hugo Klajn (1894–1981), who taught at the Belgrade Academy of Dramatic Arts and wrote *Šekspir i čovječanstvo* ("Shakespeare and Mankind," 1964).

In the course of the German occupation of Yugoslavia during World War II, the vast majority of the Jews perished and the traumatic effect of this disaster had profound literary repercussions. Personal experiences as a survivor of Auschwitz dominate the works of Djordje *Lebović, who dealt with the concentration camp theme in dramas such as *Nebeski odred* ("Commando Heaven," 1959), *Do viđenja druže Gale* ("Goodbye, Comrade Gal," 1961), and *Haleluja* (1965). Other authors who tackled the same subject included Frida

Filipović (1913–), who published fiction and translations from the French; the poet, novelist, and children's writer Ivan Ivanji; the novelist Danilo Nahmijas; Julija Najman; and Jožef Debrecenji, whose novel *Hideg krematórium: Auschwitz regénye* ("The Cold Crematorium," 1950) first appeared in Hungarian (in Yugoslavia) and was later translated into other languages. Two other works about the Holocaust period by postwar writers were the novels *Testament* by Stevan Kvazimodo, and *Pod žutom trakom* ("Under the Yellow Badge") by Andrija Deak. Two authors of the younger generation who displayed a nostalgic interest in the Jewish tradition were Filip David and Danilo Kiš (1935–1989), whose novels include *Psalm 44* and *Bašta, pepeo* ("Garden, Ashes," 1965).

After 1945 and throughout the 1950s and 1960s, Jewish writers continued to play an important part in Yugoslavia's cultural life as editors and contributors of leading newspapers and periodicals, theater managers, and writers for radio, television, and the motion picture industry. Many of them gained the highest literary awards. *Jevrejski almanah*, the annual publication of the Federation of Jewish Communities in Yugoslavia, promotes the work of aspiring young writers and also contains essays and other contributions by eminent Jewish and non-Jewish authors.

[Ana Shomlo-Ninic]

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YUḤASIN (Heb. יֻחֲסִין), laws dealing with the determination of an individual's personal status and its legal consequences insofar as such a status derives from a person's particular parentage. From the beginning of Jewish history, the ascertainment of an Israelite's **yiḥus*, i.e., genealogy or pedigree, was considered of utmost importance, as is evidenced in Scripture (Num. 1:2, 18 and *Rashi* ad loc.; Ezra 2:59–63; 8:1). According to the Talmud, a person's *yiḥus* was also of importance with regard to the amount of the "main" (or statutory) **ketubbah*, as for a certain period of time it was ruled that it should be increased beyond the regular minimum in the case of the daughters of priests and of other distinguished families (Ket. 12a–b and Tos. ad loc., s.v. *bet din shel kohanim*).

Determination of Paternity

A person's *yiḥus* obviously cannot be established unless the identity of his parents is known. Identifying the mother generally presents no difficulties but to identify the father it is necessary to distinguish between the offspring of a married and an unmarried woman.

The offspring of a married woman is presumed to have been fathered by her husband, according to the rule that the majority of cases is to be followed, since for the most part a woman cohabits with her husband (Ḥul. 11b; Sh. Ar., EH 4:15). Therefore if the husband denies paternity the onus is on him to rebut this presumption; he will succeed in his claim if he can prove that factually the child cannot be his, for example, if he was away from his wife and never saw her for an unbroken period of at least 12 months prior to the birth of the child (Sh. Ar., EH 14). When a child is born less than 12 but more than 10 months after the husband's separation from the child's mother, the matter will depend on the facts in each case (although the matter is not undisputed in the codes; see Sh. Ar., EH 14 and *Ḥelkat Meḥokek* to 10 and 11): if on the evidence of the mother's conduct there is reason to suspect that she has committed adultery, the court will not be bound by the usual presumption and may decide that the husband is not the father of the child (*Rema*, EH 14); if, however, there is no basis for any such suspicion, it may possibly be held – unless there is some evidence to the contrary – that the fetus tarried in its mother's womb beyond the normal pregnancy period (270 days) and the court may rule that the husband is the father of the child.

The presumption of paternity does not apply where the husband expressly denies it and there is no evidence that he has cohabited with his wife during the relevant period. It must be clear, however, that his denial is based on his own conviction and not on mere speculation, and is in no way contradicted by his own conduct, e.g., if hitherto he has admitted his paternity – expressly or by implication. This *halakhah*, known as *yakir* ("acknowledge"), is based on Deuteronomy 21:17, from which it is deduced that the husband may acknowledge and designate a particular son as his firstborn, in preference to other sons born to his wife after their marriage, even if such a son is younger than the others – the husband thus implicitly declaring that the other ones are not his, but are **mamzerim* born to his wife through *adultery (Kid. 74a; Sh. Ar., EH 4:29; PDR 3:97–108). The husband's declaration of a son's bastardy, however, is not believed if the son already has sons of his own, since because of the rule that the son of a *mamzer* is also a *mamzer* this would taint them with bastardy as well, and the Torah has not conferred so wide a power upon the husband (Sh. Ar., EH 4:29). On the other hand, as long as the husband himself does not deny paternity, the wife's declaration that he is not the father of her child will not be accepted as sufficient to exclude the husband's paternity, and this is so even if a third party admits to being the father of the child (Sot. 27a; Sh. Ar., EH 4:15; *Rema*, EH 26:29; see also PDR 7:281, 289). Various questions arise in the case of a child born as a result of *artificial insemination.

In the case of the offspring of an unmarried woman the onus is on the child to prove (through his mother) that the defendant is his father. This is so not only because here the presumption of paternity as in the case of a married woman is inapplicable, but also because the mere fact that the defendant and the child's mother had sexual relations does not necessarily warrant the inference that the defendant is its father (Yev. 69b; Resp. Ribash, nos. 40 and 41). Differing opinions are expressed in the codes on how paternity is to be proved. In the Shulḥan Arukh it is laid down as *halakhah* that the defendant's paternity may only be proved by his own admission (EH 4:26

and *Rema* thereto; Resp. Ribash, *ibid.*). Such an admission need not necessarily be expressed and it is sufficient if facts can be established concerning the defendant's conduct from which an admission of his being the father may be inferred: e.g., his taking the mother to a hospital for her confinement, or paying the hospital bill for the mother or the child, etc. (Resp. Rosh 82:1; *Oẓar ha-Posekim* EH 4, no. 108, 4).

Rules of *Yuḥasin*

The following four categories of offspring are to be distinguished: offspring of parents married to each other; offspring of parents not married to each other; offspring of parents of whom only one is Jewish; and offspring of unknown parents.

OFFSPRING OF PARENTS MARRIED TO EACH OTHER. A child born to a marriage which is valid and not originally prohibited between the parties (see *Marriage, Prohibited), is *kasher* (of unimpaired status), i.e., his (or her) marriage is permitted to any *kasher* Jewess (or Jew; Kid. 69a; Sh. Ar., EH 8:1). Such a child takes the father's status, not that of the mother, in accordance with Numbers 1:2, 18 (and *Rashi* ad loc.; Sh. Ar., EH 8:1). Thus, the son of a priest and an Israelite woman will be a priest and one born of an ordinary Israelite and the daughter of a priest will be an ordinary Israelite. If the marriage of the parents is valid but originally prohibited, the child's status follows that of the tainted parent (Kid. 66b; Sh. Ar., EH 8:4). Hence the offspring of a marriage of which one party is a *mamzer*(*et*), will also be a *mamzer* (Kid. 66b; Sh. Ar., EH 4:18); similarly, the son of a priest and a divorcée is called a *ḥalal* (חלל), i.e., profaned, and is unfit for the priesthood, while the daughter of such a marriage is called a *ḥalalah* (חללה) and can not marry a priest (Lev. 21:7; Kid. 77a; Sh. Ar., EH 7:12 and 8:4). Since the laws of the priesthood apply only to priests of unimpaired status (*kesherim*) there is no prohibition against a *ḥalal* marrying a divorcee (Sh. Ar., EH 7:20). Except in matters of priesthood, the *ḥalal* suffers no defect in status and he or she is allowed to marry an Israelite woman or man of unimpaired status (Sh. Ar., EH 8:2). A marriage between such parties not being prohibited, their offspring follows the father's status; i.e., the daughter of an Israelite and a *ḥalalah* is not profane and is permitted to be married to a priest, but the daughter of a *ḥalal* and an Israelite woman is also a *ḥalalah* and so must not marry a priest (Kid. 77a; Sh. Ar., EH 7:16).

OFFSPRING OF PARENTS NOT MARRIED TO EACH OTHER. The mere fact that a child is born out of wedlock does not taint his personal status, nor is he thereby rendered unfit for the priesthood (Yev. 59b–60a; Sh. Ar., EH 6:8). Even though it prohibits fornication, which is punishable with *flogging (Yad, Ishut 1:4), Jewish law, unlike other legal systems, does not render a child illegitimate, with its rights affected, merely because it is the issue of an extramarital union. The sole legal difference – in the present context – between such a child and one born of parents married to each other concerns the question of proving paternity (see above). Upon proof of paternity, the status of a child born out of wedlock is determined in the same manner as if it were born to parents married to each other. This applies only if (at the time of conception) there existed no legal impediment to a marriage between the parents of the child. However, if the parents were not in a position to contract a valid marriage with each other even if they had wished to do so, because their cohabitation would have amounted to incest (including adultery) according to the Torah (i.e., a union between parties prohibited to each other according to biblical law and for whom the punishment is **karet* or death), the child will be a *mamzer* and his status thus impaired (Kid. 66b; see *Marriage, Prohibited).

OFFSPRING OF PARENTS OF WHOM ONLY ONE IS JEWISH. Here the rule is that the child takes his mother's status (Kid. 66b; Sh. Ar., EH 4:19). Accordingly, the offspring of a non-Jew and a Jewess is a Jew and is legitimate, subject to the limitation that a priest should not marry such a daughter, or unless the mother is herself a *mamzeret*; in this case the child is a *mamzer*, and this is so even if the Jewess is a married woman whose adulterous relations with a Jew would have made the child a *mamzer* (Sh. Ar., EH 4:19 and 4:5 with commentaries). On the other hand, the offspring of a Jew and a non-Jewish mother is not a Jew, regardless of the will of the parents, since the matter is determined by the objective facts alone. The child therefore can become Jewish only by first being a *proselyte, in the same way as any other non-Jew. Here the status of the father is totally irrelevant and the child, after proselytizing according to Jewish law, will assume the status of a legitimate Israelite like all other proselytes; even if his father is a *mamzer* this will not affect the status of the proselyte child (Kid. 66b, *Rashi* ad loc.; Sh. Ar., EH 4:20). For the case of a child when either one or both of its parents is unknown see **Mamzer*.

The State of Israel

Questions of *yuḥasin* and paternity are apparently regarded as matters of personal status within the meaning of Act 51 of the Palestine Order in Council (1922), and therefore are governed by the personal law of the parties concerned – Jewish law in the case of Jews. The Supreme Court of Israel, however, has so far refrained from adopting a clear stand on the matter and has left it as a *quaere* (PD 5 (1951), 1341ff.; 17 (1963), 2751, 2755). On the question of under what circumstances the offspring of a Jew and a non-Jewish mother can be registered as a Jew for the purposes of the population registration law – registration which in itself does not serve as proof that the person registered is a Jew – the Supreme Court has held, by a majority of five judges to four, that the subjective declaration of the parents should suffice unless it is obviously incorrect (PD 23, pt. 2 (1969), 477–608). With regard to the modes of proof of paternity of a child born of an unmarried mother, the Supreme Court has decided that the general rules of evidence and not the rules of Jewish law shall apply (PD 5 (1951), 134ff.).

[Ben-Zion (Benno) Schereschewsky]

Those Not Allowed to "Enter the Lord's Congregation" According to Biblical Law and the Rabbinical Solutions

The Torah (Deut. 23:4–9) lists certain nations from which no individual may be accepted as an Israelite: Ammonites, Moabites, Egyptians, and Edomites. With regard to the first two, the biblical prohibition applies across the board, with no limitation in time or number of generations, and is justified by observing that "they did not receive you [the Israelites] with food and water along the way when you left Egypt […] and they hired Balaam son of Beor, from Pethor of Aram Naharaim, to curse you." Regarding the latter two nations, the prohibition is limited to just two generations, so that a third-generation descendant of an Egyptian or of an Edomite could be accepted as a Jew.

Moreover, the prohibition against the Ammonites and Moabites was restricted by tannaitic authorities to males alone (Mish., Yev. 8:3). According to the Talmud (Yev. 76b–77a), this law originated in the court of Samuel the Prophet, who announced this decree before he went to anoint David, a descendant of Ruth the Moabite, as king. Another *mishnah* (Yadayim 4:4) describes a dispute among the late first-century *tannaim* as to whether the ban was still in effect in their day. The controversy is settled with Rabbi Joshua's view prevailing: "Sennacherib came and mixed up [the identity of] all the nations"; hence, the Ammonites of their time were not those Ammonites whose acceptance into the Jewish community is prohibited by the Torah. The established *halakhah* holds, with respect to all four of the aforementioned nations, "Once they… have become commingled with the other permitted nations, they all became permitted" (Maim., Yad, Bi'ot Asurot 12:25), and therefore are "immediately permitted to enter into the Lord's congregation."

Efforts by the Rabbis to Avoid Determining *Mamzer* Status

To the above laws should be added the general principle that a person is presumed to be of fit and proper lineage, even if the factual truth is that he does suffer from some taint. The Mishnah cites a tradition stating that "Elijah will not come [in the future] to declare the pure, impure – nor to declare the impure, pure; nor to distance those who are near or to draw near those who were distanced, but only to distance those drawn near by force and to draw near those distanced by force" (Eduyot 8:7). R. Obadiah of Bertinoro interprets the citation as meaning that Elijah will only distance those who are publicly known to be tainted but were forcibly intermingled among the Jewish people, "but where there is a tainted individual in a particular family, but this is not publicly known, due to the family having intermingled [into the Jewish community], Elijah will let it remain so and let the family retain its presumption of legitimacy." On the basis of these statements, Rabbi Moses Isserles rules (Sh. Ar., EH 2:5) that, in a case in which it becomes clear to someone that one of the ancestors of a given family was a *mamzer*, he is not at liberty to reveal this: "but rather he should let the family continue to be assumed to be as fit and proper, since all families that have assimilated into the Jewish people will be fit and proper in the future." For an extensive discussion of this issue, see *Mamzer*.

Tissue Typing and the Establishment of Paternity in the State of Israel

The Talmud (BB 58a) records a case where a man learned that nine of his children were *mamzerim* and only one of them was his real child. Before his death, he bequeathed his property to his real child, but he did not know which one was the real child. When the case was brought before R. Bana'ah, he ordered a test to determine which son, according to his characteristics, was the legitimate heir. *Sefer Ḥasidim* (§232) describes a method, considered scientific by the standards of the time, for determining paternity. Rabbi Samuel Strashun (*Hagahot ha-Rashash*) comments on the above talmudic source that Rabbi Bana'ah nevertheless refrained from employing the "scientific" test mentioned in *Sefer Ḥasidim*, because by doing so he would have revealed that the other sons were *mamzerim*.

With the development of scientific means for identifying family relations by genetic testing of tissues, these principles have become more significant. Rabbinical courts have considered the validity of a scientific test that produces results that contradict juridical presumptions of Jewish law, such as the one mentioned above, that "most acts of intercourse are attributed to the husband." Rabbi Shlomo Dikhovsky (File 866/41 13 PDR, 51) rules that one must accept tissue typing intended to establish paternity for purposes of ruling on child support payments (see *Maintenance), but for establishing *mamzerut* one may disqualify reliance on tissue typing because it is not infallible (p. 60). In a number of cases, the Rabbinical Court of Appeals has ruled that, even for determining maintenance payments, tissue typing to establish paternity may not be used as an absolute criterion, but there is need for supporting evidence as well.

This question was brought before the Israeli Supreme Court (CA 548/78, *Sharon v. Levi*, 35 (1) PD 736 per Justice Menahem Elon), that ruled that in Israeli courts tissue typing for establishing paternity should be admitted as evidence. The court emphasized, however, that:

> Tissue-typing would not, in every case, establish paternity. Moreover, in certain instances the court may decide not to make use of this test, when the test is liable to label a minor as "tainted," e.g., when a married woman claims that while she was married she became pregnant by someone other than her husband, and that the person by whom she became pregnant is the father of her child. If true, this statement would result in the minor being stigmatized as a *mamzer.* In this or in similar cases involving the establishment of status, proof provided by tissue-typing is insufficient to establish paternity (p. 748 of decision).

Thus, in such cases, paternity is to be established based on the juridical presumption that "most acts of intercourse are ascribed to the husband." This ruling is based on Jewish law's sensitivity to a person being stigmatized and branded with *mamzer* status, coupled with the halakhic principles of making various legal presumptions in order to avoid such stigmatization. Further on its ruling, the court cites some of the above-cited Jewish law sources on which it based its ruling.

In another ruling (CA 1354/92, *Attorney General v. Anon.*, PD 48(1) 711, Justice Menahem Elon) based on these considerations, the court ruled that, even when both parents give their consent to tissue typing for establishing the parenthood of a minor, such a test should not be conducted if it may endanger the minor's best interests, inter alia raising doubts about his legitimacy, and that these interests supersede the interest in investigating the truth.

The court added (pp. 739–40) that, although the rabbinical courts have no reason to suspect that such testing would fix an individual's status as a *mamzer*, since only rabbinical courts have the authority to do so, there are two reasons for discouraging such testing: first, acceptance of such findings in a civil court might socially brand the minor – itself a sufficient reason for prohibiting the testing. Second, there is no certainty that the rabbinical court might not change its stance and decide to recognize such results as sufficient to supersede the juridical presumptions cited above:

> Since no one can assure us that if the test is in fact performed and it indicates that the mother's husband is not the father of the minor, a rabbinic court might not accept these results and rule accordingly. As we have seen, the *halakhah* relies on various presumptions and fictions to preclude the tainting of a child as a *mamzer* by reason of his married mother having been impregnated by someone other than her husband. But as we noted, according to the *halakhah* as well, when it is clear that the child cannot be the offspring of the mother's husband, as in a case in which it has been proved that for 12 months there were no relations between the husband and wife, even the *halakhah*, for lack of alternative, declares the offspring a *mamzer*. Thus, several rabbinical courts have ruled against relying on tissue typing for proving paternity (p. 740). (See **Mamzer*.)

Establishing Maternity

With the development in the 1970s and 1980s of techniques for in vitro fertilization, discussion began as to how to decide who is to be considered the mother of a person conceived though such artificial fertilization, in the case where the fertilized egg has been implanted in the uterus of a different woman. Because no direct response to this question can possibly be found in the classic sources of Jewish law, halakhic authorities sought guidance from indirect sources, and even from non-legal sources, as to whether maternity is to be considered a function of pregnancy and birth or of the genetic source of the egg.

There is no uniformity of halakhic opinion on this point. Some have ruled that the genetic mother is the mother, but a majority of the authorities who have addressed the question hold the opinion that the surrogate mother – the mother in whose uterus the fertilized egg was implanted and where it developed until the child's birth – is the mother with regard to all legal entailments (Rav Z.N. Goldberg, *Teḥumin* (1984), 248–59; Rav A.Y. Halevi Kilav, *ibid.*, 260–67; Rav Z.N. Goldberg, *ibid.*, 268–74; Rav. E. Waldenberg, Resp. *Ẓiẓ Eli'ezer,* vol. 20 no. 49). Evidence for this is adduced from the law cited in the Talmud (Yev. 97b) whereby twin males born to a woman who converted to Judaism during her pregnancy are ineligible to marry each other's wives (see *Incest), in accordance with law pertaining to Jewish brothers. This proves that the act of birth creates maternity, for were it not so then the twin children would have been considered their mother's sons from the moment of conception, prior to her conversion, the conversion would have nullified that relationship, and they would not have been considered brothers.

In the State of Israel, the Agreements Relating to the Carrying of Embryos (Approval of the Agreements and Status of Offspring) Law – 1996 establishes a presumption that the birth mother is the mother, and only after the child is delivered to the intended parents do they, by means of a court-issued parenthood decree, become the child's parents for all intents and purposes, even when the fertilized egg originated with the intended mother. Notwithstanding, the law in question (§12 (b)) states that the parenthood decree does not effect any change in the laws of what is permitted or forbidden regarding marriage and divorce.

[Menachem Elon (2nd ed.)]

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YULEE, DAVID LEVY (1810–1866), U.S. senator. Yulee, who was born David Levy in St. Thomas, West Indies, was taken to the U.S. by his father in 1818. After being educated at Norfolk, Virginia (1819–27), he managed one of his father's Florida plantations. He then moved to St. Augustine, Florida, where he studied law. After admission to the Florida bar (1832), Levy was appointed clerk to the territorial legislature. During the Seminole wars, he became known as a vigorous defender of white settler rights. He was subsequently elected to the legislative council (1836) and to the legislature (1837), and served as a delegate to the Florida constitutional convention (1838). From 1841 to 1845 Levy was the Florida territory's delegate to Congress, where he vigorously campaigned for Florida's admission to the Union. Upon its admission in 1845 he was elected its first senator, the first Jew in the U.S. Senate. In 1846 Levy legally assumed the name of Yulee soon after his marriage to the daughter of ex-governor Wickliffe of Kentucky, and his children were subsequently brought up as Christians. Yulee served as chairman of the Senate Naval Committee in 1846 where he advocated the acquisition of ironclad vessels and opposed the abolition of flogging as a naval punishment. He was defeated for election in 1851, was reelected in 1855, and served until 1861 when he resigned his seat. Although Yulee was a vigorous supporter of slavery and secession, his participation in the Civil War was limited to service in the Confederate Congress. In 1865 he was appointed by the governor of Florida to a commission charged with seeking Florida's readmission to the Union. Before the commission reached Washington, Yulee was arrested and interned in Ft. Pulaski. After his release a year later, he retired from politics and dedicated himself to the highly lucrative business of rebuilding Florida's ruined railway system.

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YULY (**Aben-Yuly**, **Yulee**, **Levy-Yuly**), Moroccan family whose first known member was R. SAMUEL LEVY ABEN-YULY (d. after 1740), scholar, financier, and statesman. He was one of the Jewish favorites of the sultan Moulay Ismāʿil (1672–1727) and the counselor and then all-powerful secretary of the sultan Moulay Abd-Allah (1729–1757), who appointed him **nagid* of Moroccan Jewry. He added the name Yuly, the initial letters of "they shall come and bow down before Thee," Ps. 86:9, to his original name Levy. He died in *Meknès. His son, JUDAH ABEN-YULY, was one of the founders of the Jewish community of *Mogador, where he was appointed "merchant of the sultan" about 1767. Samuel Aben-Yuly's brother, JUDAH LEVY-YULY (d. after 737), was a powerful international merchant in *Salé and *Rabat, where he also managed the financial interests of various sultans and as head of these communities was known as *sheikh*. His serious conflicts with the rival *Ben-Kiki family disturbed the communities of northern *Morocco for a long time.

His son, ELIJAH LEVY-YULY (d. c. 1799), also held the position of "merchant of the sultan" in Mogador and *Tangier; at the end of Muhammad b. Abd-Allah's reign (1757–1790) he became a vizier, in which function he wielded extensive political influence. Samuel *Romanelli, who was acquainted with him and refers to him simply as Elijah Levy, criticizes him at length in *Massa ba-Arav* and asserts that, in order to escape the death penalty which was decreed against him by the sultan Moulay Yazīd (1790–1792), he converted to *Islam, only to die a few months later. Elijah, in fact, took refuge in England, where he died a Jew. His son, MOSES LEVY-YULY (b. c. 1782), who was born in Mogador, left England for the island of St. Thomas in the Caribbean in 1800. He amassed a considerable fortune in the wood trade and in 1816 established himself in Havana (Cuba), where he became an army purveyor. In 1819 he settled in Florida, becoming an influential pioneer when he set up immense plantations. His son David *Yulee was the first U.S. senator from Florida and the first U.S. senator of Jewish origin.

R. SAMUEL BEN BARUCH LEVY ABEN-YULY (d. after 1840) was *dayyan* in Meknès, Tangier, and then Gibraltar. He wrote two works on various religious subjects, *Hadar Zekenim* ("Splendor of the Elders") and *Kol Kallah* ("Sound of the Rabbinical Assembly," 1835), and traveled to Leghorn, where he published R. Pethahiah *Berdugo's *Rosh Mashbir* (1840). R. SOLOMON LEVY ABEN-YULY and R. JOSEPH LEVY ABEN-YULY of Meknès were among the most influential religious leaders of Moroccan Jewry before 1850. SAMUEL LEVY-YULY (1798–1872), born in Mogador, was sent to London as ambassador of Morocco and held this position until 1825. He was a business partner of Judah Guedalla of London and died in Portsea, England. JUDAH LEVY-YULY (1805–1878), born in Portsea, was an influential and wealthy merchant and one of the defenders of the rights of the Jews in Morocco. When Mogador was bombarded by the French in 1844, he was one of the most active organizers of the committee which was formed in London under the presidency of Sir Moses *Montefiore and Baron Anthony Rothschild to bring relief to the town and reestablish its Jewish community. He died in Mogador.

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[David Corcos]

YUNGE, DI ("The Young Ones"), American-Yiddish literary movement. Di Yunge was formed (1907) of young immigrant writers who professed themselves literary orphans and sought to create a new path in Yiddish literature. Eschewing the efforts of *Sweatshop Poetry, which preceded them on the literary scene, Di Yunge advocated literature as the communication of impressions rather than concepts and called for the creation of art for its own sake, the highlighting of the voice of the individual, the maintenance of stillness and silence in literature, and a stress on *shtimung* ("mood"), while aiming to emancipate Yiddish literature from didactic moralizing, sentimentality, and propagandizing. Di Yunge published their works in the existing Yiddish press, but also founded many of their own literary journals, including *Yugnt* ("Youth," 1907–8), *Troymen un Virklekhkayt* ("Dreams and Reality," 1909), *Literatur* (1910), *Fun Mentsh tsu Mentsh* ("From Person to Person," 1915), *Ist Brodvey* ("East Broadway," 1916), and, their most successful and sustained periodical, *Shriftn* ("Writings," 1912–26). In addition to publishing original fiction, poetry, and literary and social criticism, Di Yunge sought to enrich the canon of Yiddish literature through translations of masterpieces of foreign literature. Their most ambitious project was their eight volume *Di Verk fun Haynrikh Hayne* ("The Works of Heinrich Heine," 1918). Poets associated with this movement included Moshe Leib *Halpern, *Mani-Leib, Zishe *Landau, Reuben *Iceland, Moses *Nadir, Berl *Lapin, J.J. *Schwartz, Joel Slonim, M. *Bassin, and A.M. *Dillon. Novelists and short story writers included David *Ignatoff, Isaac *Raboy, Joseph *Opatoshu, and M.J. *Haimowitz. Writers who contributed to later phases of the movement included Menahem *Boraisha, Ephraim *Auerbach, B.J. *Bialostosky, A. *Nissenson, Naphtali *Gross, and Z. *Weinper, and H. *Leivick. The dominance of Di Yunge was not effectively challenged until the rise of *Inzikhizm after World War I.

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[Sol Liptzin / Marc Miller (2nd ed.)]

YUNGMAN (Youngman, Jungman), MOSHE (1922–1982), Yiddish poet. Born in Khodorov, Galicia (Ukraine), Yungman worked in Soviet peat camps during World War II. Thereafter he led Zionist youth groups in Italy and immigrated with them to Palestine in 1947. Yungman's first poems appeared in post-liberation Yiddish refugee periodicals in Rome and Munich. Later he often contributed to literary journals in Israel, Paris, New York, and Buenos Aires and was among the founding editors of *Yung-Yisroel* (Haifa, 1954–7). His first book of poems, *In Hinerplet* ("In a Daze," 1947), includes the allegorical pageant "Rosh Ha-Shanah," which was performed in refugee camps. His poetry, celebrating both a world lost and a new world being built, was collected in several volumes, among them: *In Shotn fun Moyled* ("In the Shadow of the New Moon," 1954), *Vayse Toyern* ("White Gates," 1964), *Mayn Tatns Parnoses* ("My Father's Jobs," 1981). He translated some of his poems and several works of contemporary Yiddish writers into Hebrew, and a volume of poems of A. *Shlonsky, *Lider* (1971), from Hebrew into Yiddish.

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[Leonard Prager]

YUNG-VILNE ("Young Vilna"), Yiddish literary group, introduced in the daily *Vilner Tog* in 1929 with the headline: "Young Vilna Marches into Yiddish Literature." It aroused excitement through its miscellanies (*Yung-Vilne*, 1934–36), its contributions to local and international Yiddish journals, and individual books of verse and fiction. Principal members included poets Chaim *Grade, Shimshon Kahan, Peretz Miransky, Abraham *Sutzkever, Elkhanan Wogler, and Leyzer *Wolf, prose writers Shmerke *Kaczerginski and Moyshe Levin, and artists Bentsie Mikhtom and Rokhl Sutzkever. Dozens more were associated with the group, whose members were united by generation, place, a shared humanistic orientation, and the encouragement of local intellectuals like Zalman *Rejzen and Max *Weinreich. A Yung-Vilne evening in the Vilna ghetto, the participation of several members in the partisan underground, and the accomplishments of Grade and Sutzkever as leading postwar Yiddish writers assure that Yung-Vilne will be remembered as one of the great incubators of Jewish creativity in interwar Poland.

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[Sol Liptzin / Justin D. Cammy (2nd ed.)]

YUSHKEVICH, SEMYON SOLOMONOVICH (1868–1927), Russian playwright and novelist. An Odessa physician, Yushkevich published his earliest work in 1897 and was encouraged by Maxim *Gorki to write about Jewish life in Russia. In his plays and narrative works he often contrasted poor, but virtuous, Jews with their wealthy, but vulgar, coreligionists.

Yushkevich's plays include *Golod* ("Hunger," 1905), *Dina Glank* (1906), and *Komedia o svadbe* ("The Comedy of Marriage," 1911); and his other works include *Yevrei* ("Jews," 1903), stories; *Khaimka i Yoska* (19052); and *David Levin* (1918). A 14-volume edition of his works appeared in 1914–18. Yushkevich also wrote plays in Yiddish, some of which – such as the highly successful *Miserere* (1910) were also published in Russian (1923). After immigrating to the U.S. in 1920, Yushkevich contributed to the New York Yiddish press and published the novels *Epizody* (1923), which dealt with the Russian civil war, and *Leon Drey* (3 vols., 1928). He died in Paris, and a collection of his works appeared posthumously in 1927.

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YŪSUF AS'AR YATH'AR DHŪ NUWĀS (MASRŪQ), the last (13th) and most famous king of the Ḥimyarī kingdom of *Yemen (522–525/530 C.E.–637–640/645 Ḥimyarī Era), who adopted Judaism in 380 C.E. Nothing is known about this important historical figure from any Jewish source, and nothing has been preserved in the historical memory or in the oral and written tradition of the Jews of Yemen themselves. All that was known about him originated in contemporary biased – clearly anti-Jewish – Christian literature in various languages and religious trends. These traditions also found their way into Arabic historical literature by means of South Arabian sources. But the updated epigraphic research since the end of the 19th and the middle of the 20th century, enabled scholars to better understand the story of the Jewish king. The first trustworthy depiction was given by H.Z. Hirschberg (1946), and later by Christian Robin (2003, 2005, and 2006). In the Ḥimyarī inscriptions the Jewish king is mentioned as Yūsuf As'ar Yath'ar *malik kull al-shu'ūb* (king of all nations), but in the Arabic historical sources he is known as Dhū Nuwās. Scholars differ about the meaning of the nicknames *Dhū Nuwās* and

Masrūq. Regarding the first, the common explanation refers to his alleged braids or ponytail, while other say that he was first the *qayl* (king) prince of a small locality named *Nuwās*. As to the second nickname, *Masrūq*, some say that it has the same meaning (the common one) of *Dhū Nuwās*, used by the Najrānīs, while other claim it is a disgraceful nickname used by his opponents: the wicked, the abominable or the killer.

Yūsuf was a descendant of the *tuba'* (royal) family of a Ḥimyarī dynasty, but he was not the son of his predecessor Ma'dīkarib Yu'fūr (519–522). He took control of the kingdom about June 522, after the death of the king who was placed on the throne by the Christian kingdom of Aksūm in Abyssinia. Some sources state that he was the successor of Rabī'ah, a member of the same dynasty; but some scholars believe he was a usurper. Judaism had already been adopted in the Ḥimyarī kingdom by the reformer king Abūkarib at the end of the fourth century, as proved by the total disappearance from that time of polytheistic divinities from the Ḥimyarī inscriptions and the multiplicity of Ḥimyarī Jewish inscriptions along with a complete absence of Christian inscriptions until 530. But Yūsuf himself had converted to Judaism, already prior to his accession to the throne, although there is a tendency in modern Arabic research to deny his Jewish conviction and to allege that he was Nestorian, namely Unitarian Christian (al-Faraḥ, 750), against all unequivocal evidence of epigraphy. However, Yūsuf's policy was to unite all the princely factions in his territory into one Jewish kingdom. After seizing power, Yūsuf revolted against Abyssinia, seeking to throw the foreign Ethiopian invaders out of Yemen. According to Christian sources (Syriac and Greek), as well as early Arabic sources, he conducted a fanatical policy of forced conversion to Judaism; he captured the Ethiopian garrison in the capital of Ẓafār (125 km south of *San'a) and burned the church there as well as other Christian churches in the country, such as that of Makhāwān (modern Mochā). Then he annihilated the Christian population connected with Aksūm and Byzantium, particularly in the coastal areas and in Najrān. But later Yemeni-Muslim scholars of the 10th–12th centuries offer a different story. They write about two Dhū Nuwās, one who indeed destroyed the Christians, and the other, who lived 400 years earlier and was a great king.

Two Christian contemporary sources, the Syrian 'Book of the Himyarites' (*Ketava de-Ḥimyarayya*) and the epistle of Simon of Beit Arsham, relate that Yūsuf maintained political relations with the *ḥakhamim* of *Tiberias, two of whom negotiated with the Christians who were besieged in Ẓafār. Basing himself on this information, Hirschberg put forward the theory about a Jewish international coalition of Mar Zutra, a scion of King David and direct successor to the position of exilarch in Babylonia who had immigrated to Tiberias and was backed by the Persian kingdom, and the Jewish king of Ḥimyar against Christian Byzantium and its allies in the kingdom of Aksūm and in Yemen.

The greatest event of his reign is the capture of Najrān, the large Monophysite Christian stronghold in northern Yemen. Christian sources quote John of Ephesus that Dhū Nuwās decided to persecute the Christians living in his kingdom as a response to the persecution of his co-religionists in their kingdoms, especially in the Byzantine Empire, and that after taking control of the town he burned its Christian residents. The first quoted number of dead in those sources was relatively small – 200 – but in the course of time it was gradually inflated and under their influence (also in Arabic sources, which were separated from the events by hundreds of years), rose to 70,000. Some scholars believe that there is also an allusion to the burning of the Christians in Najran in the *Koran (Sura 85:4–5).

The fall of Najrān and the alleged massacre of its Christians caused an enormous shock in the Christian world, which issued a call for a war of vengeance. Patriarch Timothy of *Alexandria wrote a letter to the Ethiopian emperor Ella Aṣbaḥa III Caleb urging an aggressive action against the Jewish Ḥimyarī king, and the Byzantine emperor Justin I offered the use of 60 ships. The Ethiopian forces, led by Caleb himself, started a crusade and were eventually victorious in a great battle on the shore of Zabīd in 525. Yūsuf, who despite his endeavors could not secure any allies from among the enemies of the Byzantine Empire or from among the local chiefs, was defeated and fell on the battlefield. A South Arabian legend, later infiltrated into modern Jewish literature (Friedberg 1893/9), relates that Yūsuf sprang into the sea astride his horse and was drowned. But in 1931 the German archaeologists Rathjens and Wissmann unearthed his tomb in Ghaymān, southeast of *San'a. Yemen, however, remained a restless province, and Caleb soon granted it independence under the Christian prince Abraha (535–565). Ḥimyar remained under the control of Aksūm until the conquest of the country by the Persian Sassanids c. 570/5.

During the 1950s five inscriptions were discovered within the proximity of Najrān, referring to Yūsuf with clear Jewish elements, all of them from June–July 523 (Ry 508, Ja 1028, Ry 507, Ry 513, Ry 515). These inscriptions enriched the information about the Jewish king. Three of them were written by Sharaḥbīl Yaqbul, the commander of the royal army and a member of the Dhū Yazan family. The two other were written by other officers of the same army. From Ry 507 and Ja 1028 we know the Arabic names of Yūsuf: *As'ar* and *Yath'ar*. The inscriptions Ry 507 and Ja 1028 provide interesting details, like the submission of military units from Najrān. It is hinted that the king suspected the Monophysite Christian community in Najrān of treason. Indeed, the agitation against the king in Najrān was effective and an open revolt broke out. A number of Jews in the town were killed, and its inhabitants openly refused to obey the king's orders. On this occasion Yūsuf would not forgive the inhabitants of the town and he set out to conquer it. The Christian sources concede that the king proposed peace in exchange for the submission of the town and that it was only after he realized that his offer went unheeded that he started to fight.

The Jewish elements are: “*lhn* for *Elohim* (Ry 508, Ja 1028), *Yosef* the name of the king (Ry 508, Ja 1028, Ry 507), *Rb-hd* or *Rb-hwd* – the God of the Jews (Ja 1028, Ry 515), and *Amen* (Ry 513). According to Ch. Robin (2006), however, the depiction of the victories of Yūsuf on his Christian opponents and the destruction of the churches in Ẓafār and Makhāwān (Ry 507, Ry 508, Ja 1028) was the main goal of the inscriptions, intimidating the rebellious Christian Najrānīs. This interpretation of the inscriptions that the conflict between Yūsuf and the residents of Najrān was basically political contradicts the strong impression received from Christian and Arabic sources that it was religious. Robin conjectures that Yūsuf was much less radical than Abūkarib in his religious politics. He just wanted a Jewish government without requesting to establish the organization maintained by Abūkarib. For him his opponents were first of all those foreign powers – Byzantium and Aksūm – who wanted to dominate Yemen, using the Christian Ḥimyarīs, and not Christians as a whole. Yūsuf's ambitions were more political and military than religious.

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[Yosef Tobi (2nd ed.)]

YZRAELY, YOSSI (1938–), theater director and poet, professor in the theater department of Tel Aviv University. Yzraely was born in Jerusalem. After obtaining his diploma from the London Academy of Dramatic Art, Yzraely continued his B.A. studies at Bristol University, and completed his Ph.D. at Carnegie Mellon University in Pittsburgh. He wrote his doctoral thesis on Vakhtangov's staging of *The Dybbuk*. Yzraely taught and directed from 1969. Yzraely served twice as artistic director: at the Habimah National Theater, from 1975 to 1977, and at the Khan Theater in Jerusalem, from 1984 to 1987. In both cases his artistic direction was impressive, albeit controversial. He was a full professor in the Department of Theater Arts at Tel Aviv University, and between 1982 and 1989 he was visiting professor at Carnegie Mellon University in Pittsburgh. Between 2001 and 2005 he published five books of poetry.

Yzraely's first professional directing in Israel was Shlonski's *Uẓ-Li Guẓ-Li* at the Cameri Theater in 1965, which was a great success; the critics hailed the birth of a new theater director. This success was repeated in the productions that followed: Strindberg's *The Creditors* (Zavit Theater, 1966), Mrozek's *Striptease* (Zavit Theater, 1967), Beckett's *Waiting for Godot* (Habimah Theater, 1969), A.B. Yehoshua's *Night in May* (Bimot Theater, 1969), and Seneca's *Medea.* In all of these performances Yzraeli's directing method was based on a personal reading of the text and on the creation on stage of a powerful visual metaphor that brought to life his interpretation of the text with the aid of the actors' movements and gestures, the stage design, the music, and the lighting.

In 1972 Yzraely directed Dan Almagor's adaptation of ḥasidic tales *Ish Ḥasid Hayah* (*Only Fools Are Sad*, Bimot Theater, 1972). The performance enjoyed great success and led to a series of very personal interpretations of Jewish material on the stage. Thus, Yzraely adapted Agnon's novels for the theater while keeping the epic components of the narrative and using theatrical images to enhance the dramatic situations; *Hakhnasat Kallah* (*Bridal Canopy*, Habimah National Theater, 1972), *Sippur Pashut* (A *Simple Tale*, Habimah National Theater, 1979), *Temol Shilshom* (*Yesterdays*, Habimah National Theater, 1982), and *Tehillah* (Khan Theater, 1984) were very powerful performances in which Yzraely established an idiosyncratic theatrical language. He also adapted for the stage Rabbi Nachman of Bratzlav's tales *The Seven Beggars* (Khan Theater, 1979), and a theatrical collage, *Nothing Is More Whole than a Broken Heart*, based on Rabbi Nachman of Bratzlav's dreams, prayers, and tales (State Theater, Heidelberg, Germany, 1981, and Berlin Festival, 1982).

Yzraely is also internationally known for his *mise en scene* of classical drama: Sophocles' *Antigone* (Kresge Theater, Pittsburgh, 1990), *Oedipus* (Haifa Municipal Theater, 1992), Shakespeare's *King Lear* (Shakespeare in the Park Festival, Delaware Park, Buffalo, New York, 1983), *Measure for Measure* (Three Rivers Shakespeare Festival, Pittsburgh, 1985), *Anthony and Cleopatra* (Three Rivers Shakespeare Festival, Pittsburgh, 1989), *Romeo and Juliet* (Shakespeare in the Park Festival, Delaware Park, Buffalo, New York, 1993), and Corneille's *The Illusion* (an adaptation of *L'Illusion Comique*, Khan Theater, Jerusalem, 2002). Yzraely is a specialist in Ibsen's drama. His performances of *Peer Gynt* (Habimah National Theater, 1971), *The Enemy of the People* (Habimah National Theater, 1976), *Little Eyolf* (Khan Theater, Jerusalem, 1987), and *The Wild Duck* (Beer Sheva Municipal Theater, 1987) sought the points of connection between realism and symbolism. In 1987, Yzraely was given the Ibsen Medal by the mayor of Skien, Norway, for his distinguished presentations of Ibsen's plays.

Yzraely's international directing career started at the same time as his Israeli career. From 1966 he directed in Manchester, London, Heidelberg, Berlin, Pittsburgh, Buffalo, and New York. He received important awards and prizes for his performances: the award (twice) for best original production of the year from the Israel Ministry of Education and Culture (for *Utz-Li Gutz-Li* and *Ish Ḥasid Hayah*) and the David's Harp Award (for *Ish Ḥasid Hayah* and for *A Simple Tale*). In 1982 he was chosen by the Pittsburgh press as best director of the year for his staging of *Ghost Sonata*, and in 1986 he was chosen as best director of the year by the Pittsburgh *Post-Gazette* for his staging of *Measure for Measure*.

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[Nurit Yaari (2nd ed.)]

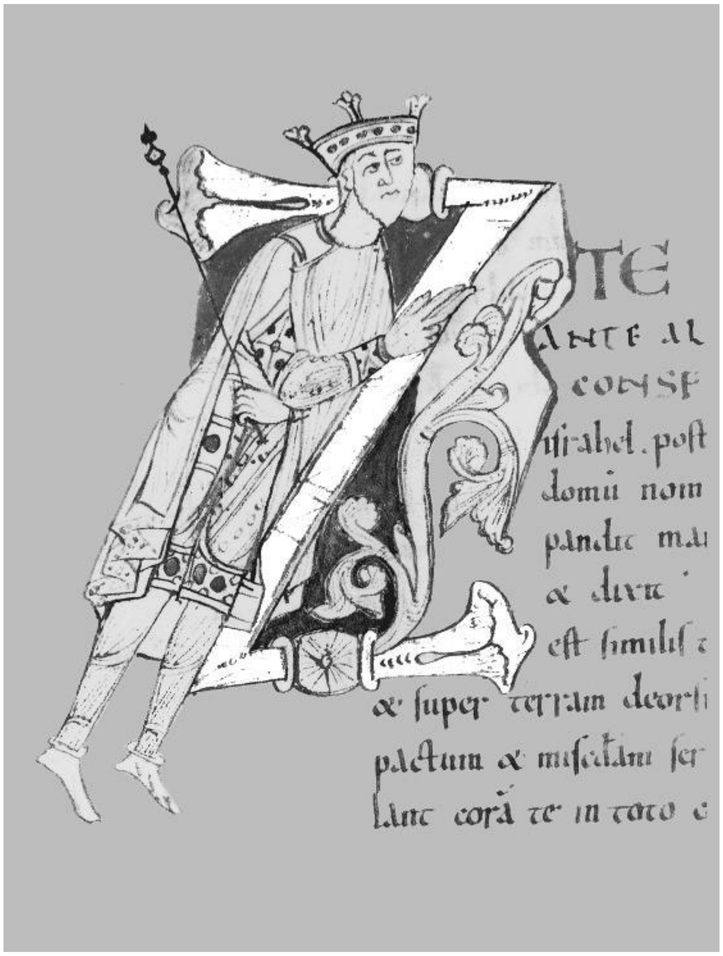

The letter "Z" used as an "S" at the beginning of the phrase Stetit Salomon ante altare. *The illumination shows King Solomon holding his scepter. Detail from a book of homilies, France, 1170. Cambrai, France, Bibliothèque Municipale, Ms. 528, fol. 249v.*

ZA-ZY

ZABARA, NATAN (1908–1975), Russian Yiddish novelist and playwright. Zabara was born in Rogachev, Belorussia. In the late 1920s he studied at the Institute of Jewish Culture associated with the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences. He began publishing in 1930 and wrote *Radioroman* ("Radio Novel," 1932) about the development of new military technology: novels about the happy life of Soviet Jews, such as *Nilovka* ("Nilovka," 1938), books of essays such as *Mensh un zeitn* ("Peoples and Times," 1938), a novel, *Hein vert geboyrn a velt* ("Today a World is Born," 1965: Russian trans. 1968), reflecting his front-line experience during World War II and his experience as a correspondent for the Soviet press in post-war Germany, and his novel-chronicle *A Poshete Mame* ("An Ordinary Mama," 1967) about G. Chudnovskiy, the first Soviet commander of the Winter Palace and red commissar of the city of Kiev.

Between 1950 and 1956, like the majority of the surviving Jewish cultural figures in the Soviet Union, Zabara was in jail and in prison camp (in Kolyma). He arranged Passover eve services (*sedarim*) for Jewish youth and introduced them to their national traditions and culture. On regaining his freedom, he became one of the first underground teachers of Hebrew in Kiev.

His uncompleted three-part historical novel *Galgal Ḥozer* ("All Repeats Itself," Moscow, 1979) aroused the interest of Jewish readers far beyond the borders of the Soviet Union. The work presents a broad panorama of Jewish life of the Middle Ages – depicting Jewish writers, poets, scholars, philosophers, and patrons of the 13th–14th centuries. Zabara often introduced into his novel sayings and legends taken from ancient sources, often citing them in Hebrew or Aramaic, then translating them into Yiddish. The publication of this was an exceptional event in official, i.e. published, Soviet Jewish literature, which generally avoids works reflecting Hebrew cultural creativity.

[*The Shorter Jewish Encyclopedia in Russian*]

ZABLUDOW (Pol. **Zabludów**), town S.E. of *Bialystok, in N.E. Poland. Jewish settlement in Zabludow began to develop toward the end of the 15th century. The wooden synagogue, built in 1646 and restored in 1765, is one of the best examples of the type in Poland. An important commercial center, Zabludow was the venue of the meetings of the Council of Lithuania (see *Councils of Lands) in 1664 and 1667. The Russian conquest in 1660 caused terrible suffering to the community. The minute book *(pinkas)* of the community, containing its records from 1650 to 1800, and of the burial society (1701–1819) are extant. The Jewish population increased from 831 in 1764 to 2,621 by 1897 (68.6% of the total population). During the 19th century weaving and tanning industries developed in Zabludow. Owing to deteriorating economic conditions, however, many Jews immigrated to the United States between 1905 and 1925. Zabludow reverted to Poland after World War I. In 1939 the community numbered about 2,000. During World War II, the Jews of Zabludow were mobilized by the Germans for work in the tanneries. On November 2, 1942, they were deported to the death camp at *Treblinka.

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[Yehuda Slutsky]

ZABOLOTOV (Pol. **Zablotów**), town in Ivano-Frankovsk (Stanislav) district, Ukraine. The Jewish settlement in Zabolotov developed in the 18th century, and by 1764 there were 986 Jews in the town. From 1772 till 1918 the region was part of the Austrian empire. In the early 19th century there was a strong ḥasidic trend in the community, due mainly to David Hager (d. 1848; see *Kosov), who founded a rabbinic dynasty centered in the town. The *Baron de Hirsch Foundation established a school and a bank. The Jewish population numbered 1,730 (49% of the total) in 1880; 2,009 (50%) in 1890; 2,092 (49%) in 1900; and 2,171 (46%) in 1910. Toward the end of World War I many Jews left Zabolotov because of antisemitic attacks. In 1921 there were only 1,454 Jews (41%) left. Between the world wars the town was under Polish administration.

[Shimshon Leib Kirshenboim]

Holocaust Period

Under Soviet rule (1939–41) the town's Jewish institutions were disbanded. Early in July 1941 Hungarian forces took Zabolotov. The Ukrainians organized pogroms against the Jewish inhabitants. The town passed to direct German rule in September 1941. The Germans imposed a *Judenrat, headed by Neta Feliks, but he was removed shortly after for refusing to fulfill German orders. On Dec. 22, 1941, the authorities carried out an *Aktion* against the Jews, killing and burying 900 Jews in trenches on the road to Trojce. About 100 Jews were shot in the town itself. This was followed by the deportation of 250 Jews on April 11, 1942, to an unknown destination. On April 24 orders were given for the general evacuation of the remaining Jews to the ghetto in *Kolomyya within a three-day time limit. The mass exodus of inhabitants was averted for a few days by the payment of a sum of money, but afterward everyone moved, except for 20 persons designated as "indispensable," who were allowed to stay. In the Kolomyya ghetto the refugees underwent starvation and suffered from disease. About 250 Jews working in the vicinity of Zabolotov were again allowed to live in the town, and were exempt for the meantime from deportation. On Sept. 7, 1942, the remainder of the Jewish community of Zabolotov, along with all the Jews in that district, were sent to Snyatyn. They were all deported to the *Belzec extermination camp. The Zabolotov Jews in Kolomyya were liquidated along with the other inmates of the Kolomyya ghetto in an *Aktion* in January 1943.

Societies of former residents of Zabolotov function in Israel and the U.S.

[Aharon Weiss]

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ZABRZE (from 1915 to 1945, **Hindenberg**), industrial city in Katowice province, Poland. The Jews who first settled in Zabrze at the beginning of the 19th century belonged to the congregation of neighboring *Beuthen. An independent community was established in 1872. A synagogue was erected in 1865 and a cemetery opened in 1871. In 1931 there were 1,200 Jews living in Zabrze out of a total population of 70,000. The community was annihilated by the Nazis. The new community formed after World War II consisted mainly of Jewish repatriates from Russia.

ZACH, NATHAN (1930–), Hebrew poet. Born in Berlin, Zach was taken to Palestine by his parents in 1935 and grew up in Haifa. He studied at the Hebrew University and began publishing poetry in the early 1950s in the new journal *Likrat* ("Towards"), which he edited together with Benjamin Hrushovski. A leading member of a group which sought to free Hebrew poetry from pathos, ideological encumbrance, and an over-symbolical texture, he was also active in founding the journal *Akhshav.* In the early 1960s he edited (together with Ori Bernstein) another new journal, *Yokhani*. From 1968 to 1979 he lived in England and completed his Ph.D. thesis on English Literature at the University of Essex. After his return to Israel, he lectured at Tel Aviv University and was appointed professor at Haifa University. His first collection, *Shirim Rishonim* (1955), was followed by *Shirim Shonim* (1961), *Bi-Mekom Ḥalom* (1966), *Kol he-Ḥalav ve-ha-Devash* (1966), and *Nathan Zach* (1962), a selection of his poetry together with critical notes by the editor, Dan Tsalka. Later collections include, among others, *Ẓefonit Mizraḥit* ("North by Northeast," 1979), *Anti-Meḥikon* ("Hard to Remember," 1984), *Keivan she-Ani ba-Sevivah* ("Because I Am Around," 1996) and *Ha-Zamir Kevar Lo Gar Po* ("The Nightingale No Longer Lives Here," 2004). No doubt one of the seminal voices in contemporary Hebrew poetry, a writer who had a decisive influence on other, also younger poets, Zach's nonsymbolic, nonallusive diction marks a conscious break from the literary tradition, particularly from the poetic expression of A. *Shlonsky and N. *Alterman. Zach's oeuvre displays a variety of themes and genres and an astounding virtuosity of language, avoiding sentimentality and highlighting simple imagery. Full of humor, irony, and sophistication, and characterized by dramatic immediacy, his poems contemplate the transience of relationships, the folly of humans, love and death. Repetitions, wordplay, and a distinct rhythmic quality typify many of his poems. Together with Rashed Ḥussein he translated Arabic folk songs, *Dekalim u-Temarim* (1967). Zach also published *Zeman ve-Ritmus eẓel Bergson ve-ha-Shirah ha-Modernit* (1966) and a collection of essays, *Kavei Avir* ("Airlines," 1983); he edited the selected works of Ya'akov *Steinberg (1963). His book *Mot Imi* ("The Death of My Mother," 1997) is an impressive, moving homage to his mother, combining prose and poetry, the descriptive and the meditative. Bodily decrepitude and mental frailty are central themes in the book, as well as the portrayal of the mother, of Italian origin, as a stranger in a country which was to be her home. Zach also published a number of books for children, including *Ha-Nesher ha-Gadol* (2001) and *Devorah, Devorah* ("Devorah, the Bee," 2001). Together with poet Moshe Dor, Zach edited the anthology *The Burning Bush: Poems from Modern Israel* (1977). He also translated several plays for the Hebrew stage, by Max Frisch and Bertolt Brecht. He was awarded the Bialik Prize (1982), the Israel Prize (1995), and the Acum Prize for his life work (2003). Several collections appeared in translation: *Against Parting* (1967), *The Static Element* (1982), *Lost Continent* (French: 1989), *Selected Poems* (Italian: 1996; 1998), *Collected Poems for Children* (Italian: 2003). In 2004, Zach received an honorary doctorate from the University of Geneva for "his contribution to the renovation of the poetry of the second half of the twentieth century." A list of his poems translated into English appears in Goell, Bibliography, 1790–93, and further information is available at the ITHL website at www.ithl.org.il.

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[Anat Feinberg (2nd ed.)]

ZACHARIAS, JERROLD REINACH (1905–1986), U.S. physicist and educator. Born in Jacksonville, Florida, Zacharias joined the staff of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology Radiation Laboratory in 1940. He spent 1945 at Los Alamos working on the atomic bomb project, and in 1946 was appointed professor of physics and director of the nuclear science laboratory at M.I.T., where he pursued research on the radio frequency spectra of atoms. This led to the development of an atomic clock, the first practical atomic frequency standard.

In 1956 Zacharias founded the now internationally known Physical Science Study Committee to devise more effective methods for the teaching of physics. He was named institute professor and director of the Education Research Center at MIT in 1968. He was coauthor of *Medical Education Reconsidered* (1966).

ZACHARIAS, JOHN (1917–), Swedish stage director. At the Boulevard Theater, Stockholm, 1947–50, Zacharias directed *Thieves' Carnival* by Jean Anouilh and *Crimes and Crimes* by August Strindberg. In 1950 he became head of the City Theater of Helsingborg, and in 1953 head of the City Theaters of Norrköping and Linköping, a position he retained for 25 years. Among his most successful presentations were *Drei Groschen Oper*, *The Diary of Anne Frank*, *The Oppenheimer Case*, and *Fiddler on the Roof.*

ZACUTO, ABRAHAM BEN SAMUEL (1452–c. 1515), astronomer and historian. His ancestors were French Jewish exiles who had come to Castile in 1306. In his biblical and talmudic studies he was instructed by his father and R. Isaac *Aboab II, and he attended the University of Salamanca, where he specialized in astronomy and astrology, subsequently becoming a teacher in these fields. At the behest of the bishop of Salamanca, Gonzalo de Vivero, who was his patron and admirer, Zacuto wrote his major astronomical work, *Ha-Ḥibbur ha-Gadol* (1473–78). At this court, Zacuto engaged in astronomical research and writing until the prelate's death in 1480. The bishop, in his will, requested that all of Zacuto's Spanish writings be compiled and bound in one volume and placed in the cathedral library. Zacuto continued his astronomical researches in the service of Don Juan de Zuñiga, grand master of the Order of Knights of Alcántara, and settled in Gata in the province of Cáceres. Under his aegis, he wrote his book on the influence of the stars, *Tratado breve en las influencias del cielo*, to which he appended a treatise on solar and lunar eclipses, *De las eclipses del sol y de la luna*. The work was apparently written in Hebrew, but is extant only in its Castilian translation (published by J. de Carválho in 1928; see bibl.). In 1492, when the Jews were expelled from Spain, Zacuto emigrated to Portugal, where he was appointed court astronomer by King John II. The king's successor, Manuel I, confirmed the appointment. Before sending Vasco da Gama on his sea voyage to India (1496), the king sought the advice of Zacuto, who then lived in the city of Beja, on a calculation of the position of the stars. He foretold the success of the expedition and that the Portuguese would conquer a large part of India. He also instructed the sailors in the use of his newly perfected *astrolabe, his tables, and maritime charts, with which Da Gama's ships were equipped. Da Gama himself also consulted Zacuto in Lisbon before he set sail. In 1497, when King Manuel forced all Jews in his country to convert, Zacuto left Portugal and went to North Africa. Twice he and his son Samuel were taken prisoner, but they finally reached Tunis. In 1504, during his sojourn in Tunis, he completed the *Sefer ha-Yuḥasin* (last edition 1963), a book of genealogies, on which he had worked for many years.

Zacuto's achievements in astronomy were many: his astrolabe of copper, the first of its kind (previously they had been made of wood), enabled sailors to determine the position of the sun with greater precision; his astronomical tables, based on the Alphonsine tables, were an improvement on the latter. They permitted sailors to ascertain latitudes without recourse to the meridian of the sun, and to calculate solar and lunar eclipses with greater accuracy. While frequently quoting his predecessors, Zacuto also draws attention to their deficiencies. Proudly he asserts: "I, Abraham Zacuto, the author, have corrected all the books (containing the Alphonsine tables) in accordance with the tables that I have prepared, and my tables circulate throughout all Christian and even Muslim lands" (*Yuḥasin*, 222a). Zacuto's astronomical findings played an important role in the Spanish and Portuguese discoveries. Columbus used his tables on his voyages, and on one occasion they were instrumental in saving him and his crew from certain death. Knowing from the Zacuto tables that a lunar eclipse was imminent, Columbus threatened the natives that he would deprive them of the light of the moon as well as of the sun. (A copy of the tables, with Columbus' notes, is preserved in Seville). Zacuto's astronomical work *HaḤibbur ha-Gadol* (the Hebrew original is extant in several manuscripts) enjoyed a wide reputation during his lifetime.

In 1481, it was translated into Spanish by Juan de Salaya, who had been professor of astrology and of logic at the University of Salamanca. (In 1931, F. Cantera Burgos published Salaya's translation together with his own, which is based on the original.) His pupil Joseph (Vizinus) Vicinho translated an abridged version of *Ha-Ḥibbur ha-Gadol* into Latin, under the title *Almanach perpetuum celestium motuum*, and then rendered the Latin into Spanish (both were published in Leiria in 1496). Vicinho's version is the only Spanish incunabulum published in Portugal. The two translations were republished by the Portuguese government in 1915 and 1922. In 1496, a revised Latin version of the *Almanach*, edited by Alfonso de Córdova, appeared in Venice. Vicinho's Spanish translation, transliterated into Hebrew characters and entitled *Be'ur Luḥot Kevod Rav Avraham Zakkut* by *Daniel b. Peraḥyah ha-Kohen, was published in the latter's *She'erit Yosef* (Salonika, 1568). The publication was mainly for the Spanish exiles. An Arabic translation of the *Almanach* is extant in Milan (Ms. Ambrosiana 338). *Ha-Ḥibbur ha-Gadol* or sections of it are referred to in Hebrew literature under various titles: *Ha-Ḥibbur ha-Gadol*, *Be'ur Luḥot*, *Luḥot Temidim*, *Tekufot u-Mazzalot*, *Tekhunot Zakkut*, *Almanak*, and *Almagest*.

Sefer ha-Yuḥasin, a work composed in the spirit of the writings of his predecessors (e.g., R. *Sherira b. Ḥanina Gaon, R. Abraham *ibn Daud, author of *Sefer ha-Kabbalah*, Maimonides and others who had written introductions to the Talmud), intended to outline the historical development of the Oral Law and to establish the chronology of the Jewish sages who had transmitted it. Meant for scholarly study by students of Jewish lore, and to stimulate debate, this work at times elucidates a particular law for the specific purpose of fostering greater faith. The originality of the research is mainly contained in the first two treatises of his book, which cover the period of the Second Temple, the Mishnah, and the Talmud. From the standpoint of completeness, these treatises are superior to anything written by Zacuto's predecessors and they laid the foundations for scholarly research by succeeding generations. In numerous passages, he takes issue with Maimonides and R. Abraham ibn Daud, to whose writings he refers as *Kabbalat he-Ḥasid*. Chapters three and four of *Sefer ha-Yuḥasin* discuss the succession of the **savoraim*, the **geonim*, and the rabbis. (In his treatment of the material Zacuto, by and large, follows the line of thought of Abraham ibn Daud.) Chapter five expounds the epoch from the beginning of the rabbinic period in Europe until the author's time (the period of the expulsions from Spain and Portugal). In the latter treatise, Zacuto bases himself on a Hebrew chronicle which was also the groundwork of similar writings by *Joseph b. Ẓaddik of Arévalo and *Abraham b. Solomon of Torrutiel (there is no reason to assume that the latter's work was known to Zacuto). A large part of the treatise, however, is original research and analysis, based on later rabbinic literature. Zacuto incorporated in the chapter the well-known story about the appearance of the *Zohar in Spain, by Isaac b. Samuel of Acre. The author disregarded the critical conclusions that might be drawn from the story and confirmed the belief that the disciples of *Simeon b. Yoḥai had compiled the Zohar. Consequently he relied on the Zohar in matters of *halakhah* and history. The sixth chapter is a chronological outline of the history of various nations and the scientific research and inventions carried out by their scholars. This treatise is based on Latin and Spanish works. While Zacuto's approach to astronomy is scientific in these analyses, his views are restricted by Jewish tradition and *aggadah*. He also seems careless and disparaging in his examination of gentile lore. The advantage in its study he saw mainly in that "it greatly assists the Jews dwelling among Christians to argue with them about their religion." *Sefer ha-Yuḥasin* was first published by Samuel Shalom (Constantinople, 1566) together with an introduction and notes by the editor, as well as a Hebrew translation of Josephus' *Contra Apionem*. It was next published in Cracow (1580–81) with the notes of Moses b. Israel *Isserles, and several times thereafter. In modern times, the work was published by Z.H. *Filipowski (1857) from an Oxford manuscript. It was reprinted (1925, 1963^2) by A.H. *Freimann, together with a biographical and critical introduction, and with corrections and notes that had appeared after Filipowski's publication. The complete sixth chapter, as previously published by A. *Neubauer, is also included.

Little is known of the last years of Zacuto's life. In 1513 he was in Jerusalem and stayed at the yeshivah of R. Isaac Sholal, where he compiled an almanac "in the holy tongue." Various passages in *Sefer ha-Yuḥasin* testify to his interest in the burial sites of the pious in Ereẓ Israel. In 1515 Zacuto was in Damascus. An eschatological passage prophesying the coming of the redemption in 1524 is found in a manuscript ascribed to Zacuto. There is, however, no substantiating evidence that Zacuto was still alive close to that date.

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[*Encyclopaedia Hebraica*]

ZACUTO, MOSES BEN MORDECAI (c. 1620–1697), kabbalist and poet. Zacuto, who was born into a Portuguese Marrano family in Amsterdam, studied Jewish subjects under Saul Levi *Morteira (an elegy on the latter's death by Zacuto was published by D. Kaufmann in REJ, 37 (1898), 115). He also studied secular subjects. According to tradition, he later fasted 40 days "in order to forget the Latin language." He was a student in the *bet midrash* of Amsterdam and in his youth traveled to Poland to study in the yeshivot there. Zacuto was attracted by Kabbalah and refers in his letters to his teacher Elhanan, perhaps "Elhanan the kabbalist," who died in Vienna in 1651. He moved to Italy, remaining for some time in Verona. From 1645 he lived in Venice and served for a time as a preacher under Azariah *Figo. Afterward, he became one of the rabbis of the city and a member of the Venetian yeshivah. Between 1649 and 1670 he was proofreader of many books printed in Venice, especially works on Kabbalah. He edited the *Zohar Ḥadash* in 1658, and also wrote many poems for celebrations and special occasions. Zacuto tried to acquire the manuscripts of the Safed kabbalists, especially those of Moses *Cordovero and the different versions of the works of Ḥayyim *Vital. He befriended the kabbalist Nathan Shapiro of Jerusalem and the old kabbalist Benjamin ha-Levi, who served as an emissary from Safed in Venice for two years (1658–59).

At the outset of the Shabbatean movement, Zacuto tended to give credence to the messianic tidings, but he was opposed to innovations such as the abolition of *tikkun ḥaẓot* ("midnight prayers") and other customs. In the spring of 1666, in a letter to Samson Bachi, he took a positive but cautious stand in favor of the movement, mainly supporting its advocacy of repentance. After the apostasy of *Shabbetai Ẓevi he turned his back on the movement and joined the other Venetian rabbis in their action against *Nathan of Gaza when he came to Venice in the spring of 1668. At the same time he openly opposed the Shabbateans in a letter to Meir Isserles in Vienna, and in subsequent years rejected Shabbatean propaganda, despite the fact that his favorite students *Benjamin b. Eliezer ha-Kohen of Reggio and Abraham *Rovigo were among the "believers" (*ma'aminim*). Relations between Zacuto and these two disciples became strained because of their differences, when, for example, the Shabbatean scholar Baer Perlhefter came to Modena and Rovigo supported him. The Shabbateans on several occasions criticized Zacuto, whose conservative temperament displeased them. In 1671 he was invited to serve as rabbi in Mantua, but he did not go until 1673, remaining there until his death. He enjoyed great authority as the chief of the contemporary Italian kabbalists and corresponded with kabbalists in many places. He never realized his desire to settle in Ereẓ Israel.

Zacuto's published exoteric works include his commentary on the Mishnah, *Kol ha-Re-Me-Z*; he was known throughout his life as Re-Me-Z, from his initials (Rabbi Moses Zacuto). Part of the work was published in Amsterdam in 1719. Ḥ.J.D. *Azulai, in his *Shem ha-Gedolim*, noted that the manuscript was twice as long as the printed edition. A collection of halakhic responsa was published in Venice in 1760. A commentary on the Palestinian Talmud is lost. His major activity, however, was in Kabbalah. Zacuto opposed the mingling of the kabbalistic system of Cordovero with that of Isaac *Luria which was then current in some circles (Tishby, in: *Zion*, 22 (1957), 30) and for this reason he criticized Solomon Rocca's *Sefer Kavvanat Shelomo* (Venice, 1670) even though he composed a poem honoring the author (see Zacuto's *Iggerot*, letters nos. 7, 8). He went over the entire corpus of Luria's and Vital's writings and added many annotations under the name *Kol ha-Re-Me-Z* or the abbreviation *Ma-Za-La-N* (*Moshe Zakkut Li Nireh* – "It seems to me, Moses Zacuto"). Many of them are collected in the books *Mekom Binah* and *Sha'arei Binah* of Isaac Ṣabba (Salonika, 1812–13) and they have partly also appeared in different editions of the works of Vital and Jacob *Ẓemaḥ. Zacuto wrote at least two commentaries on the *Zohar. In the first, he continued *Yode'ei Binah* begun by his contemporary Joseph *Ḥamiẓ (up to Zohar 1, 39). Here, Zacuto used many commentaries from the school of Cordovero, the commentary *Ketem Paz* by Simeon *Labi and the first commentary of Ḥayyim *Vital. The printed part contains the commentary up to Zohar 1, 147b (Venice, 1663). For unknown reasons it was never circulated. One copy is extant in the library of the *bet din* in London, but there exist complete manuscripts (e.g., British Museum, Ms. Add. 27.054–27.057). *Mikdash ha-Shem*, his second commentary on the Zohar, was written for the most part according to the Lurianic Kabbalah, and was published in abridged form in the *Mikdash Melekh* of Shalom *Buzaglo. The complete commentary is found in the

Oxford manuscripts Opp. 511, 512, 513, 515, 516, 517. *Mezakkeh ha-Rabbim* (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Opp. 120), though ascribed to him, was not written by him. A long kabbalistic responsum to the rabbis of Cracow on the copying of Torah scrolls, *tefillin*, and *mezuzot* was published several times, in *Mekom Binah*, in *Kiray Sefer* by Menahem Meiri (pt. 2, 1881, 100–8; separately, Berdichev, 1890). Zacuto arranged *tikkunim* ("special prayers") for several religious ceremonies according to Kabbalah. These were often reprinted and had great influence, especially on the religious life in Italy. They include *Sefer ha-Tikkunim* (a *tikkun* for the eve of Shavuot and Hoshana Rabba; Venice, 1659), *Mishmeret ha-Ḥodesh* (*ibid.*, 1660), *Tikkun Shovavim* (the initials of the first six sections of Exodus), i.e., a *tikkun* for fasts undertaken in expiation for nocturnal ejaculations (*ibid.*, 1673), and *Tikkun Ḥaẓot* (*ibid.*, 1704). All these were arranged under the influence of Benjamin ha-Levi and Nathan Shapiro.

A major part of Zacuto's poetry is devoted to kabbalistic subjects, such as his poems in the book *Ḥen Kol Ḥadash* (Amsterdam, 1712), and in *Tofteh Arukh* (a description of hell; Venice, 1715; see below). Besides this he arranged voluminous *collectanea* on kabbalistic subjects. The first was *Shibbolet shel Leket*, on all the books of the Bible (Scholem, *Kitvei Yad be-Kabbalah*, 1930, p. 153, para. 107). This was followed by *Remez ha-Romez* on numbers, **gematria*, and explanations of Holy Names according to numerology (Ms. British Museum, Margoliouth 853); *Erkhei Kinnuyim*, selections from the Lurianic Kabbalah in alphabetical order (complete in Ms. Jerusalem 110). Parts of this work were published at the end of *Golel Or* by Meir *Bikayam (1737) and at the end of Bikayam's *Me'ir Bat Ayin* (1755). Another anthology, in alphabetical order, was published as *Em la-Binah*, part of his *Sha'arei Binah* (1813). *Shorshei ha-Shemot*, also called *Mekor ha-Shemot*, is a collection of practical Kabbalah according to the order of the magical "names." This work was widely circulated in manuscript and went through several versions by North African kabbalists. A complete manuscript is in Jerusalem (8° 2454). Essays on kabbalistic subjects have remained in several manuscripts; also a number of important collections of Zacuto's letters are preserved, e.g., Budapest 459 (in his own handwriting); Jerusalem 8° 1466; British Museum Ms. Or. 9165 (in his handwriting); Jewish Theological Seminary, N.Y. Mss. 9906 and 11478; and in the Eẓ Ḥayyim Library in Amsterdam, C15. Only a few were published in *Iggerot ha-Re-Me-Z* (Leghorn, 1780).

[Gershom Scholem]

Yesod Olam

Zacuto was the author of the first biblical *drama in Hebrew literature, *Yesod Olam* (ed. D.J. Maroni, 1874; ed. A. Berliner, 1874). The play was not published during the author's lifetime, apparently because it comprised only part (estimated at one-third) of a projected lengthy work portraying Abraham in the major stages of his life as a righteous man on whom the entire world rests. Only the first part (and perhaps not all of it) was finished; this deals with the midrashic legend of the shattering of the household idols in Terah's home, the trial before King Nimrod, Abraham's deliverance from the fiery furnace, and the death of Haran. The play was written according to the classical rules of dramatic theory as they had developed in the 16th and early 17th centuries, but no particular model can be discerned. The author maintained the three unities – of plot, time, and place – even to extremes. No stage effects were introduced and therefore leading characters speak lengthy monologues. The plot is simple and concentrates on the best-known details of the legend while omitting all the minor ones. The hero, Abraham, is portrayed as an exalted and philosophic personality against whom the idol worshipers and the hedonists rebel. The philosophy of the play is rationalist-humanist and Abraham's views are remarkably similar to those of Maimonides; there is no trace of kabbalistic influence.

The style too is classical and the play is composed almost entirely in sonnets. Sentences are generally short and comprehensible, but the language is flowery. Though the vocabulary is largely drawn from the Bible, Zacuto does not hesitate to use talmudic idioms. No details exist from which the exact date of composition can be determined. However, it is clear that Zacuto wrote the play before he became a kabbalist of the Lurianic school. The play treats at length the theory of the immortality of the soul, which is rejected by Nimrod and his sages while Abraham defends it. This is clearly an echo of the dispute over the views of Uriel da *Costa, who angered Sephardi Jewry by his denial of the immortality of the soul. This fact supports the view that the play was written before 1640.

Tofteh Arukh

When he lived in Italy, Zacuto wrote his great dramatic poem, *Tofteh Arukh*. It appears that this work was inspired by Dante's *Divine Comedy*, as the subject matter is the afflictions of the soul in hell. In the opening verses, the dead man recounts his last illness and the arrangements for his burial. Afterward follows the episode of *ḥibbut ha-kever* ("tribulations in the grave"). The angel Duna commences the judgment and trial and with the aid of his angels drags the dead man through the seven sections of hell, showing the terrible punishments suffered by sinners. The conclusion is a description of the difference between the fate of sinners and that of the righteous, and toward the end the angel and the dead man praise God as the true judge. The poem consists of 185 rhymed stanzas of five verses each. The author employs many homonyms, assonances, and word plays, to an extent that becomes tedious. The work attained great popularity, especially among groups of kabbalists, such as *Ḥadashim la-Bekarim*. After its publication (Venice, 1715), a sequel titled *Eden Arukh* was written by Jacob Daniel Olmo. Since the second edition (1743) the two poems have been published together.

[Jozeph Michman (Melkman)]

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ZACUTUS LUSITANUS (**Abraham Zacuth**; 1575–1642), physician. Born in Lisbon into an illustrious Marrano family and a descendant of Abraham ben Samuel *Zacuto, Zacutus became an important figure among Jewish physicians and had a large practice. His non-Jewish name was Manuel Alvares de Tavara. In 1625 he moved to Amsterdam, where he openly returned to Judaism, was circumcised, adopted the name Abraham, and began to use the name Zacuth in his writings. He engaged in fruitful scientific activity, and published many medical books. His main strength is revealed in his accurate clinical descriptions of plague, diphtheria, exanthematous diseases, and malignant tumors; he was one of the first to describe blackwater fever.

His works were collected in two folio volumes, published posthumously in Lyons (1642). They include *De Medicorum Principum Historia* – a systematic description of all diseases, as investigated by physicians of preceding generations; *Introitus Medici ad Praxin* – 80 principles for the physician in his behavior at work; *Zacuti Pharmacopéa* – a compendium of pharmacy, listing also the new drugs imported from Latin America; *Praxis Historarium* – a survey of diseases in internal medicine; *Praxis Medica Admiranda* – a collection of selected rare cases. He anticipated discoveries that appeared in later medical literature, such as Jacksonian epilepsy as well as stomach disease accompanied by dark vomits (apparently peptic ulcer), which he treated with aluminum silicate. Although his writings were intended for a general readership, they included some autobiographical details which emphasized his Jewish origin.

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[Joshua O. Leibowitz]

ẒADDIK (Heb. צַדִּיק; lit. "righteous man"), the title applied to an individual who is considered righteous in his relations with God and man. Noah is described as "righteous and wholehearted" (Gen. 6:9), and the Bible is replete with praises of the *ẓaddik*. Acting justly is the *ẓaddik*'s greatest joy (Prov. 21:15), and the righteous man is considered an abomination to the wicked (Prov. 29:27). The righteous live by their faith (Hab. 2:4), and when their number increases the people rejoice (Prov. 29:2). There are whole generations that are righteous (Ps. 14:5), and in the future the entire Jewish people will be righteous and thereby merit inheriting the land forever (Isa. 60:21). The *ẓaddik* will be rewarded with material prosperity, and his merit will endure forever (Ps. 112:3; Prov. 11:31). Even if he stumbles seven times, he will still rise up again (Prov. 24:16), and God will not suffer the righteous to famish (Prov. 10:3) or be forsaken (Ps. 37:25).

Nevertheless, the Bible also recognizes that there are *ẓaddikim* who undergo tribulations. Abraham pleaded against the possibility that the righteous would perish along with the wicked (Gen. 18:23), and Habakkuk described the wicked swallowing up the righteous (Hab. 1:13). Ecclesiastes also probed this dilemma, remarking that "there is a righteous man that perisheth in his righteousness, and there is a wicked man that prolongeth his life in his evil-doing" (Eccles. 7:15).

The rabbis described the righteous as individuals whose behavior went beyond merely fulfilling the letter of the law (BM 83a and Rashi ad. loc.), and as being scrupulous in monetary matters (Sot. 12a). One passage, however, suggests that the *ẓaddik* is on a lower level than he "that serveth God" (Mal. 3:18, and see Ḥag. 9b). According to one interpretation, Noah is only considered a *ẓaddik* because his moral standards were higher than those of his depraved generation (Gen. 6:9; Sanh. 108a; i.e., it was a relative and not an absolute standard). The rabbis praised the righteousness of the *ẓaddikim* as being greater than that of the ministering angels (Sanh. 93a), and held that if the *ẓaddikim* desired, they were capable of creative acts similar to those of God (Sanh. 65b). It was believed that the *ẓaddik* could annul the decrees of God (MK 16b), and that he is constantly remembered for a blessing by virtue of his good deeds (Prov. 10:7; Yoma 38b). The rabbis attributed the barrenness of the matriarchs to God's desire to hear the prayers of the righteous before he would bless them with children (Yev. 64a). It is because of the merit of the *ẓaddikim* that the world exists (Yoma 38b), and God will never destroy the world as long as there are 50 righteous people alive (PdRE, 25; cf. Gen. 18:26). People are divided into three classes: the completely righteous, the completely wicked, and the intermediate class (RH 16b; cf. Ber. 61b); although the verse "For there is not a righteous man upon the earth, that doeth good, and sinneth not" (Eccles. 7:20) implies that the concept of the completely righteous is purely theoretical. The completely righteous are immediately inscribed in the Book of Life on Rosh Ha-Shanah and they are similarly forthwith inscribed for everlasting life on the Day of Judgment (RH 16b).

For the concept of the *ẓaddik* in Ḥasidism, see *Ḥasidism. For the concept of the thirty-six *ẓaddikim* who inhabit the world in every generation, see *Lamed Vav Ẓaddikim.

[Aaron Rothkoff]

ẒADDIK, JOSEPH BEN JACOB IBN (d. 1149), philosopher and poet. Little is known of his life. From 1138 ibn Ẓaddik held the position of *dayyan* in Cordoba. He exchanged verses with

*Judah Halevi and was in contact with Moses *Ibn Ezra, his contemporaries, and wrote liturgical poetry which won praise from Judah *Al-Ḥarizi. His treatise on logic has been lost. His main philosophical work is preserved in a rather clumsy Hebrew translation replete with arabisms, under the title *Sefer ha-Olam ha-Katan* ("Book of the Microcosm") whose translation M. Steinschneider attributes to Nahum ha-Ma'aravi. The Hebrew text has been edited by A. Jellinek (1854) and by S. Horovitz (1903). Maimonides speaks highly of the author, whom he remembers from his early days in Cordoba, and describes his book as one of great significance, although he acknowledges that he had not seen it. Other medieval writers who quote it include David *Kimḥi, *Jedaiah ha-Penini, and Meir *Aldabi.

The *Microcosm* is purported to have been written in answer to a disciple's question as to what constitutes the "everlasting good and the state of perfection" to be pursued by man according to the teachings of the philosophers. The author is motivated to reply to this question by his desire to offer guidance to his generation, which he sees sunk in "the deep sleep of lethargy" and "drunk with the passions of this world," and which "retains of Judaism but the name and of humanity but the corporeal form." Like the Islamic "*Sincere Brethren" and ibn *Gabirol, he declares the "knowing of God and the doing of His will" to be the twin roads leading to man's ultimate felicity. As for a knowledge of God, it is best obtained by way of self-knowledge, seeing that man is but a microcosmic replica of both the corporeal and spiritual worlds. Thus, by self-inspection "man may climb the ascending stages of knowledge until he reaches the divine knowledge… for by arriving at a knowledge of his intelligent soul, he will achieve the knowledge of its Creator." The title of the book thus indicates its central theme. In treating it, the author shows himself to be steeped in the neoplatonic tradition.

The work is divided into four "discourses." The first deals with epistemology, ontology, and the nature of the corporeal world as well as of the human body. The second elaborates the microcosm theme and describes the nature of the vegetative and animal souls, life and death, sleep and the waking state, the rational soul, the intellect, and the spiritual world. In these two discourses the neoplatonic outlook is predominant. The remaining two discourses follow the pattern of *Kalām theology in that the third deals with the principles of theology, especially the unity and attributes of God; the fourth deals with "serving and disobeying God" and "reward and punishment." The work as a whole thus reflects the two then prevailing trends, *neoplatonism and Kalām.

In his theory of knowledge ibn Ẓaddik says of the senses that they perceive only the accidental qualities (the "shells") of things, whereas the intellect knows the genera and species, i.e., true nature of things which lies in their "spiritual being." There are two kinds of knowledge: self-evident and demonstrative. Like *Saadiah Gaon, he admits that tradition is also a source of true knowledge. Following Plotinus, he speaks of the rational soul as a "stranger in this corporeal world… wherefore men can make themselves understood to one another only through the medium of speech," whereas the souls in the celestial spheres do not require such a medium. In his ontology he follows Isaac *Israeli and ibn Gabirol in assuming that (spiritual) matter and form are constituent elements of the spiritual world. Consequently, the duality of matter and form applies to both corporeal and spiritual beings. All beings, furthermore, are composed of substance and accidents. Matter is potential substance which becomes actual substance only when clothed with form. All natural bodies are composed of the elements, and are therefore subject to generation and corruption. The human body participates in the nature of minerals, plants, and animals. Hence in men are found the courage of the lion, the timidity of the hare, the meekness of the lamb, and the cunning of the fox. His description of man's superiority over the animals (the "balance" of the four elements, upright stature, etc.) closely resembles Israeli's treatment of the subject in his *Treatise on the Elements*. Man is a "celestial plant," hence his head, which is his "root," is directed heavenward.

While the analogy between the human body and the corporeal world is manifest to everybody, the analogy between the soul and the spiritual world can be discerned only when the "veil of (spiritual) blindness" is removed. The rational soul is not corporeal. Ibn Ẓaddik's four proofs in support of this argument are derived, for the most part, from Plotinus. The rational soul is a spiritual substance. The body is not its place, but it is the "place" of the body. God created it from nothing in order that "it may proclaim His works and indicate His existence." He interprets Aristotle's definition of the soul in a neoplatonic sense (as did Isaac Israeli before him): The soul is a substance (not an accident) giving perfection to a natural body which is an instrument (of the function of the soul) possessing life potentially; this substance is the cause of perfection in man by virtue of the fact that it is the cause of life in the hereafter. The rational soul, which is "like a king" and which is destined to lead man to his eternal bliss, receives its "light" from the Intellect, the "matter" of which is the "perfect light and clear splendor" which "emanates from the power of the Creator, without an intermediary." This is a literal quotation from Israeli's metaphysical doctrine, which is itself derived from a pseudo-Aristotelian neoplatonic treatise describing the coming-into-being of the Intellect. His dependence on Israeli is pronounced in this as well as in other matters.

In his Divine attributes he takes issue with the Kalām version, and following largely *Baḥya ibn Paquda's view of the unity of God and the exclusively negative sense of all qualities predicated of the Divine essence, he admits only "attributes of action," and holds that God's essence is "incomparable and unknowable." "The eternal will of God" created the world, and the notion of time is inapplicable to this act. Creation is to be attributed "to God's abundant goodness and mercy and to nothing else." Non-recognition of God's goodness is tantamount to the denial of God. Gratitude is the first duty which religion prescribes. From Saadiah, ibn Ẓaddik adopts the distinction between the commandments of reason and those of revelation. But even the latter contain some profound, secret, and subtle meaning, as e.g., the commandment of the Sabbath, which teaches "that the world came into being by an act of Creation"; moreover, the Sabbath symbolizes the future world: for example, just as man will have nothing to eat on the Sabbath unless he has prepared the Sabbath meal during the week days, so he will have no share in the future world unless he prepares himself in this world with good deeds.

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[Alexander Altmann]

ZADIKOW, ARNOLD (1884–1943), German sculptor and medalist, killed by the Nazis. He was born in Kolberg, Germany, and lived mainly in Munich and Rome, settling in Paris in 1932. His work as a sculptor was smooth, serene, and highly finished. One of Zadikow's sculptures, the figure of the young David, was exhibited in the middle of the entrance hall of the Jewish Museum in Berlin in 1933. He continued his artistic work even when imprisoned in Theresienstadt, where he died.

See also *Art: In the concentration camps and ghettoes.

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[Jihan Radjai-Ordoubadi (2nd ed.)]

ZADKINE, OSSIP (1890–1967), sculptor. Born in Smolensk, Russia, Zadkine studied in London. After serving as a stretcher-bearer in the French army in World War I, he resumed his career in Paris. When the Nazis invaded France in 1940, Zadkine took refuge in the United States and taught at the Art Students League in New York. During this time his work was symbolic of the war period, and included "The Prisoner," "The Phoenix," and "The Warrior." After the war he returned to Paris. In his early years, Zadkine was a cubist, but in the early 1920s he felt restricted by the cubist indifference to human beauty. He then developed a freer and more baroque style. His work is more closely linked to tradition than that of most other members of the cubist generation. Features derived from African primitive art blend with those inspired by classical sculpture. His themes are frequently based on Greek mythology or stimulated by figures from literature and from the Jewish and Christian religions ("Job and His Friends," "David," "The Good Samaritan," "Christ"). He achieved world fame with his sculpture, "The Destroyed City," unveiled at Rotterdam in 1953. This monument, which rises 20 feet, is in the form of a mutilated giant, arms upheld in agony, and symbolizes the ruthless bombardment of the Dutch port city by German planes in 1940. Zadkine, whose preferred media were wood and bronze, produced numerous drawings and lithographs, as well as designs for tapestries. His autobiography, *Le Maillet et le ciseau; souvenirs de ma vie*, was published in 1968.

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[Alfred Werner]

ZADOK (Heb. צָדוֹק, "righteous"), priest in the time of king *David. Zadok established a high priestly dynasty which continued until approximately 171 B.C.E., both in the First and Second Temple periods. He first appears, together with *Abiathar, as the priest in charge of the Ark at the time of Absalom's revolt (II Sam. 15:24–37). He and Abiathar joined David in his flight from Jerusalem, carrying the Ark with them, but the king ordered them to return to the capital to inform him of events in Absalom's court. There they had freedom of movement and were able to deliver messages to David about the rebels' intrigues (*ibid.* 17:15ff.). After Absalom's death, Zadok and Abiathar acted according to a message sent to them by David requesting them to suggest to the people that the king should be called back (*ibid.* 19:12–13). They are mentioned next to each other in both lists of David's chief officials (*ibid.* 8:17; 20:25), where Zadok is always mentioned before Abiathar. They are heard of again in the story of the dynastic struggle in David's last days (I Kings 1–2). When *Adonijah plotted to usurp the throne, Zadok remained faithful to David, while Abiathar joined the usurper (*ibid* 1:7,8). When David became aware of the plot, he instructed Zadok and *Nathan the prophet to anoint *Solomon king (*ibid.* 32ff.). For his loyal service in anointing Solomon, Zadok was made chief priest (*ibid.* 2:35), while Abiathar was deposed from the priesthood and banished to Anathoth (*ibid.* 2:26–27). Zadok must have died shortly afterwards, for he is never again mentioned and in the list of the main officials, which was compiled in the middle of the reign, it is his son Azariah who holds the title of priest (I Kings 4:2; the mention of Zadok and Abiathar in verse 4 is probably an interpolation).

Origin

The question of Zadok's origin is extremely obscure, for there is no clear and accurate picture of his background in the Bible. In the narrative he appears, as it were, from nowhere. In II Samuel 8:17 he is called the "son of Ahitub" and seems to be connected with the House of *Eli, but this verse is clearly the result of a textual corruption. Indeed, the prophecy of I Samuel 2:27–36 (cf. I Kings 2:27) makes it clear that the House of Zadok was considered to have supplanted the House of Eli. Nor are the genealogies in Chronicles and Ezra (I Chron. 5:27–34; 6:35–38; 24:3; Ezra 7:2), which treat Zadok as a descendant of the Aaronide house of Eleazar, any more reliable, for they repeat the error of II Samuel 8:17. Zadok thus remains without a genealogy in the ancient texts.

It seems likely, however, that the reason David made Zadok an equal to Abiathar, who had served him loyally from the time of his break with Saul, is connected with the position occupied by Zadok before he entered the service of David. Several hypotheses have been consequently advanced about his origin:

a) Zadok was the priest of *Gibeon, where the Tabernacle stood (cf. II Chron. 1:3), while Abiathar served before the Ark at Jerusalem (Auerbach; Grintz). This hypothesis is based on I Chronicles 16:37ff., where the two are mentioned as the principal sanctuaries in David's time. In support of this theory it is pointed out that after the exile of Abiathar not only was Zadok made the sole chief priest, but Solomon went to Gibeon to sacrifice (I Kings 3:4).

b) Zadok was appointed priest already by Saul, replacing Abijah (= *Ahimelech; cf. Jos., Ant., 5:350; Wellhausen).

c) The proper name Ahio in II Samuel 6:3–4 should be read as *ʿaḥiw*, "his [Uzzah's] brother," this nameless brother being Zadok (Sellin, Budde). According to this theory Zadok served the Ark at Kiriath-Jearim and afterwards remained at Jerusalem, as one of the two men who carried the Ark (*Uzzah would have been replaced by Abiathar; II Sam. 15:29).

d) Since Zadok does not appear until after the capture of Jerusalem and since his genealogy is not given, he may have been a priest of Jebusite Jerusalem before the conquest by David (Rowley). According to this theory, David permitted him to retain his priestly function in order to help reconcile the old inhabitants to their new master.

It is safer to admit that Zadok's origin is unknown; it can be assumed that he was indeed of levitical origin, though not from the same branch as the house of Eli.

The House of Zadok

I Chronicles 5:34–40 gives a list of the successors of Zadok as head of the priesthood in Jerusalem. It contains eleven names from *Ahimaaz (Zadok's son) to Jehozadak. This gives exactly 12 generations of priests from the building of the Temple under Solomon to its reconstruction after the Exile. The list of Zadok's ancestors given immediately before, in I Chronicles 5:29–34, also contains exactly 12 generations from the erection of the Sanctuary in the desert to the building of the Temple; and 12 generations of 40 years corresponds exactly to the 480 years in I Kings 6:1 as the period from the Exodus to the erection of the Temple. This symmetry is deliberate, and other parts underline the artificial nature of the list. Ahimaaz was undoubtedly Zadok's son (II Sam. 15:36), but Azariah was another son of Zadok, not his grandson (as I Chron. 5:35 states). Moreover, the list is incomplete; though it contains some names which are found elsewhere in the Bible (Azariah, II Kings 4:2; *Hilkiah, II Kings 22:4; *Seraiah, II Kings 25:18; Jehozadak, Hag. 1:1), it omits *Jehoiada (II Kings 12:8), Urijah (or *Uriah; II Kings 16:10; Isa. 8:2), and at least two others who are mentioned in the narrative part of Chronicles itself (II Chron. 26:20; 31:10). Another difficulty is that the series Amariah-Ahitub-Zadok recurs in identical form among the immediate ancestors of Zadok (I Chron. 5:33–34) and among his descendants (verses 37–38). The list, however, seems to express a real fact, namely the continuity of Zadok's line, but it cannot be used as the basis of a detailed history of his house.

J.M. Grintz attempted to reconstruct a list of the high priests by comparing those mentioned in Josephus (Ant., 10:152) with those retained in *Seder Olam Zuta* 5–6. He claims that the list he obtained by this process is authentic and that those names which appear in the list, but not in I Chronicles, represent a lineage other than that of the House of Zadok. This new, otherwise not attested, dynasty (probably of the House of Abiathar) began to serve, according to Grintz, in the Temple after Solomon's death, but was deposed during the reforms of King *Josiah, being, as it seems, suspected of idolatrous inclinations.

J.R. Bartlett, on the other hand, doubts that the high priests of Jerusalem were directly descended from Zadok. He claims that they were rather appointed in each case by the kings, on the basis of merit. According to this view, the term "House of Zadok" was fixed only in Josiah's time, in order to distinguish between the Jerusalemite priests and the priests of the high places.

The fortunes of the House of Zadok after the Exile are reflected in the position given to them in the books of Ezekiel and Chronicles. In Ezekiel 40–48, the exiled Zadokites expect as reward for their faithfulness that they alone shall perform the priestly functions in the new temple; the rest of the levites are to be reduced to the status of servants. The Book of Chronicles shows that after the return this program was not put into practice.

In the Second Temple period, the House of Zadok retained the high priesthood continuously until the Hasmonean revolt. In the Book of Nehemiah (12:10ff.) there is a list of high priests from *Jeshua to *Jaddua, i.e., down to the time of Darius II (cf. Neh. 12:22), or until about 400 B.C.E. This list may be incomplete, and it presumes that the succession always passed from father to son; yet it does collect the information given in Nehemiah, and the name before the last (*Johanan, 12:22) is found in the Elephantine papyri as the name of the high priest in 411 and again in 408 B.C.E. (Cowley, Aramaic, 30:18; 31:17).

There is no information about the following century and a half. After this, Josephus and the Book of Maccabees make it possible to trace the line from Onias *I in the middle of the third century B.C.E. to Simeon the *Just and to Onias *III, who held the office of high priest when Antiochus Epiphanes succeeded to the throne c. 175 B.C.E. His son, Onias *IV, was too young to succeed to his father's office, to which *Jason (II Macc. 4:7,20) and *Menelaus (II Macc. 4:23–26; though not a priest) were successively appointed by bribing the Seleucid ruler to appoint them. After the death of *Alcimus in 159 B.C.E., the office remained vacant for seven years (Jos., Ant., 12:413, I Macc. 9:54–57), until the Maccabean *Jonathan was nominated high priest by Alexander Balas. But only in the early years of *Simeon, Jonathan's successor, was the high priesthood irrevocably transferred from the Zadokites to the Hasmoneans. This seems to have given the appropriate occasion for the crystallization of the *Dead Sea Sect (see, e.g., Cross). The sect probably originated with a group of priests deeply disturbed by prevalent trends, especially in the high priesthood. The Hasmoneans were considered usurpers and the sect maintained the exclusive right of the Zadokites to fill the high priestly office.

Meanwhile, Onias IV had been conveyed by, or had gone with, a number of those who remained loyal to his father's memory to Egypt, where he obtained permission (c. 154 B.C.E.) from the Egyptian king to rebuild a disused temple at *Leontopolis (On) and to appoint "priests of his own race" to serve it (e.g., Jos., Ant., 12:388; 13:62, 79, 185). This last statement can refer only to priests of his own Zadokite family as distinct from the contemporary Hasmonean line in Jerusalem. This Zadokite priesthood presided over the temple at Leontopolis until it was closed by Vespasian in 73 C.E. (Jos., War, 7:433–646).

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[Yuval Kamrat]

ZADOK (late first century B.C.E. and early first century C.E.), Palestinian *tanna*. Zadok was of priestly descent, and is known to have officiated in the Temple. On one occasion, when two priests disputed the right of precedence in offering a sacrifice and one stabbed the other, Zadok quietened the excited congregation by delivering an address, taking as his text Deuteronomy 31:1 (Tosef. Yoma 1:12). In the later talmudic *aggadot* about the destruction of Jerusalem, Zadok is described as having foreseen the destruction of the Temple, and fasted for 40 years in an attempt to prevent it. According to these traditions, his exertions so weakened him that *Johanan b. Zakkai found it necessary to ask Vespasianus, the Roman commander, to supply a physician for him (Git. 56b; Lam. R. 1:5). After the fall of Jerusalem, Zadok joined with other scholars at *Jabneh, where he issued the few halakhic decisions which are recorded in his name (Eduy. 7:1–5). He seems to have been on terms of personal friendship with *Gamaliel, and held an honored place in his Sanhedrin, where he sat on the patriarch's right (TJ Sanh. 1:7, 19c). The Talmud relates that he once spent a Passover in Gamaliel's house (Pes. 76a) and, together with Eliezer b. Hyrcanus and Joshua b. Ḥananiah, was invited to a banquet which the patriarch gave in Jabneh. On that occasion, he expressed his disapproval of the elaborate manner in which their host was praised by his colleagues, who compared the manner in which he served his guests to that of Abraham as described in Genesis 18:8. Zadok exhorted them to praise God instead (Kid. 32a).

Talmudic tradition reports that although Zadok was a pupil of the school of Shammai, he always made halakhic decisions in accordance with the teachings of the school of Hillel (Yev. 15b). He also taught *aggadah*, and the *Pirkei de-Rabbi Eliyahu* ascribes to him sayings concerning the fallen giants, the sacrifices of Cain and Abel, and the Flood. In private life, Zadok was renowned for his piety. Johanan b. Zakkai states that had there been but one other like him the Temple would not have been destroyed (Lam. R. 1:5). His most famous maxim was, "Do not make learning a crown with which to make yourself great, nor a spade with which to dig" (Avot 4:5).

Zadok II

Zadok II was the son of Eliezer and grandson of the above. According to one account, he was taken captive to Rome, where he was sold to an aristocratic household. He was granted his freedom when he refused to marry one of his mistress' beautiful slaves, pleading that he was a member of both a priestly and an influential Jewish family (Kid. 40a).

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ẒADOK (Wilkenfeld), ḤAIM JOSEPH (1913–2002), Israeli attorney and politician, member of the Third to Ninth Knessets. Ẓadok was born in Rava-Roska in Poland. He attended a Polish gymnasium in Rava-Roska, and later studied philosophy and Jewish Studies at Warsaw University. He was a member of the Gordonia Movement in Poland, and of the Hitaḥadut-Po'alei Zion party. Ẓadok immigrated to Palestine in 1935 and received a law degree from the Government Law School in Jerusalem. He served with the *Haganah and Jewish supernumerary police until 1945, and as an officer in the Israel Defense Forces during the War of Independence. In the first Israeli government formed in 1949 he was appointed deputy attorney general, and in 1952 opened a private law practice, in which he remained until 1974, with an intermission in 1965–6.

Ẓadok was first elected to the Third Knesset in 1955 on the Mapai list. In the Fourth and Fifth Knessets he served as chairman of the Knesset House Committee, and in the Seventh and Eighth Knessets as chairman of the Knesset Foreign Affairs and Security Committee. He served as minister of commerce and industry in the course of the Sixth Knesset, from 1965 to 1966, resigning in November due to differences of opinion with Minister of Finance Pinhas *Sapir. He was appointed minister of justice in the government formed by Yitzhak Rabin in June 1974, serving for a period also as minister for religious affairs. Ẓadok was elected to the Ninth Knesset in 1977, but resigned in January 1978, returning to his private law practice but continuing to be active in the Israel Labor Party and in various public activities.

From 1964 to 1974 Ẓadok served as chairman of the Executive Committee of the Hebrew University, and from 1978 to 1980 he lectured there.

In 1971 he wrote, with Avraham Ben-Naftali, *Sidrei Shilton u-Mishpat* ("Government and Justice Procedures," 1971), and in 1978 he published *Sugyot ba-Mimshal be-Yisrael* ("Government Issues in Israel").

[Susan Hattis Rolef (2nd ed.)]

ZADOK (Isaac) BAR MAR YISHI (Ashi) (also known as **Mar Zadok**), *gaon* of Sura 816–818. Only a few of Zadok's responsa have been preserved, but most of his decisions, halakhic judgments, and ordinances, for example, the imposition of an oath upon a defendant who denies a claim on land (*takkanot shevu'ah al kefirat karka'ot*), were handed down by his successors in the gaonate. The *geonim* speak of Zadok with much reverence, *Amram, for instance, calling him "our master, who enlightens us." *Naḥshon Gaon was his son.

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[Meir Havazelet]

ZADOK HA-KOHEN RABINOWITZ OF LUBLIN (1823–1900), ḥasidic *ẓaddik*, talmudic scholar, halakist, philosopher, kabbalist, and prolific author. He was born in Kreuzburg (Krustpils), Courland. His father, R. Jacob ha-Kohen, a Lithuanian rabbi, had a positive attitude toward Ḥasidism. R. Zadok was orphaned as a young child and raised by his uncle, R. Joseph ben Asher, a student of R Ḥayyim ben Isaac *Volozhiner. He was recognized as a prodigy from a young age, and known as the "*illui* of Krinik." After traveling throughout Poland and meeting various rabbis (seeking their endorsement on the *me'ah rabbanim* permit) he became a ḥasid and disciple of R. Mordecai Joseph Leiner of *Izbica Lubelska. After R. Leiner's death (1854) R. Zadok approved his close friend, R. Judah Leib *Eger, as the new *rebbe,* while he studied and wrote in piety and seclusion for more than 30 years. Following Eger's death (1888) R. Zadok was persuaded by the ḥasidim to become a *rebbe*. Although he refused to have his writings published during his life, he indicated before his death that he wanted them published posthumously. Most of those that were not in print before the Holocaust were destroyed in the Lublin ghetto. Extant from his writings are such early works as *Sikhat Malakhei ha-Sharet* (1929); halakhic responsa, including responsa to famous rabbis, collected in *Tiferet Ẓevi* (1909) and elsewhere; other halakhic writings; and books of ḥasidic teachings, from his first and best-known ḥasidic book, *Ẓidkat ha-Ẓaddik* (1902), through *Resisei Layla* (1913), *Maḥashavot Ḥaruẓ* (1912) and more, to later works such as *Dover Ẓedek* (1911), *Likkutei Ma'amarim* (1913), *Takkanat ha-Shavin* (1926), *Yisrael Kedoshim* (1928), and *Pokad Akarim* (1922). His late ḥasidic sermons were collected in the five volumes of *Peri Ẓaddik* (1901–24). His writings are deep and flowing, combining sharp intellectual analysis with ḥasidic psychological and mystical sensitivities, and a scholarly interweaving of a wide range of talmudic, halakhic, mystical, kabbalistic, ḥasidic, and philosophical sources. Among his main topics are the unity of God, psycho-spiritual growth, determinism, and sin (expanding on the teachings of R. Leiner), the Oral Law, the significance of the Jewish calendar and holidays, and topics in historiosophy, psychology, hermeneutics, and linguistics. His writings influenced many thinkers, including R. Elijah Dessler, author of *Mikhtav me-Eliyahu*; R. Isaac Hutner, author of *Paḥad Yiẓḥak*; and R. Gedalya Shorr, author of *Or Gedalyahu.*

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[Amira Liwer (2nd ed.)]

ZADOKITES (Heb. *benei Zadok*; "sons of Zadok"), the *Qumran community's description of its members, especially its priestly members. The community conceived part of its duty to be the continuation of the functions assigned in the Torah to the Zadokite priesthood. The passage in Ezekiel 44:15ff., where the privilege of approaching God is reserved for "the priests, the levites, the sons of Zadok" because they remained faithful when the other priests went astray, is interpreted in the Zadokite Admonition as a reference not to one class but to three, indicated by the repetition of the conjunction "and"; "the priests and the levites and the sons of Zadok" (CD 3:21ff.). "The priests are those who turned from impiety in Israel and went out of the land of Judah; the [levites are those who] joined (*nilvim*) with them; the sons of Zadok are the elect of Israel, called by name, who arise in the latter days" (CD 4:2–4). Within the community the framework of priests and levites was maintained, (a) to teach Torah (Mal. 2:7); (b) to undertake what service was possible while the pollution of the Temple by the illegitimate, non-Zadokite, high-priesthood (from 171 B.C.E. onward) prevented them from ministering in it; (c) to make preparation for the day when they would resume the full service of God in a purified temple. In the *Manual of Discipline initiates into the community place themselves "under the authority of the sons of Zadok, the priests, who keep the covenant" and follow the interpretation of the law of Moses revealed to "the sons of Zadok, the priests" (1QS 5:2, 9); here the designation is more expressly confined to the priesthood within the community. "The sons of Zadok, the priests" have a similar authoritative role in the Rule of the Congregation (1QSa 1: 2, 24; 2: 3). The idea that the *Teacher of Righteousness himself was called Zadok (so H.J. Schoeps) is speculative, as is a suggested connection with *Zadok the Pharisee who was Judah the Galilean's comrade-in-arms in 6 C.E. (Jos., Ant., 18:4,9–10).

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[Frederick Fyvie Bruce]

ZADOK THE PHARISEE (early first century C.E.), founder, together with *Judah the Galilean, of the "fourth philosophy" among the Jews of the late Second Temple period (see *Sicarii). This "philosophy" was, in effect, the theoretical basis and justification of the Jewish rebellion against the Romans, and according to Josephus was first introduced by Zadok and Judah during the assessment of Jewish property by the Syrian governor Quirinius (6 C.E.). This assessment, claimed the two rebels, amounted to no less than the enslavement of the Jewish people, and inasmuch as "God alone is their leader and master," there was no alternative but to make a bid for independence. Josephus stresses the zeal which Judah and Zadok inspired in the young, and attributes to them the subsequent strife leading up to the rebellion.

[Isaiah Gafni]

ZAFRANI, HAIM (1922–2004), Jewish scholar, writer, educator, and historian. Haim Zafrani was born in Mogador, *Morocco, where from 1939 to 1962 he taught school and became general supervisor of Arabic in the schools of Morocco. He was also the representative of the *Alliance Israélite Universelle in the country. In 1962 he moved to France where he held the chair in Hebrew at the Ecole Nationale des Langues Orientales Vivantes in Paris from 1962 to 1966 and worked at the Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique (CNRS), also in Paris, from 1966 to 1969. From 1975 he held the chair in Hebrew at the University of Paris VIII, where he was chairman of the department of Hebrew language and Jewish civilization from its establishment in October 1969. Zafrani's studies include the preparation of a critical edition and French translation of the Bible. This is part of a group project involving researchers from Paris, Jerusalem, Tel Aviv, Morocco, and *Egypt. Zafrani also studied and conducted research into the kabbalistic texts and mystical traditions of the Jews of the Maghreb. He published numerous books and many articles on Hebrew, Judeo-Arabic, and Judeo-Berber linguistics, and on Jewish thought in the Muslim West and in Islamic countries. Among his works are *Mille ans de vie juive au Maroc* (1982; Hebrew 1986) and *Kabbale. Vie mystique et magie* (1986), *Poésie juive en Terre d'Islam* (1977; translated into Hebrew), *Littératures dialectales et populaire juives en Occident Musulman* (1980); *Juifs d'Andalousie et du Maghreb* (1996; Spanish 1994); *Two Thousand Years of Jewish Life in Morocco* (2005; French 1998; Spanish 2001)*; Ethique et mystique, Judaïsme en terre d'Islam. Le commentaire kabbalistique du "Traité des Pères" de J. Bu-Ifergan* (1991–2002); *Le monde de la légende: littérature de prédication juive en Occident musulman* (2003).

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[Gideon Kouts / Sylvie Anne Goldberg (2nd ed.)]

ZAGARE (or **Zhagare**; Pol. **Zagory**; Yid. **Zager**), town in N. Lithuania on the border between Lithuania and Latvia. It had two separate Jewish communities: Old Zager and New Zager. New Zager was founded at the beginning of the 18th century by Jews who settled on the lands of the nobleman Umjastowski, after oppression by the townspeople. According to the census of 1766, there were 840 Jews in Old Zager and 313 in New Zager. As a result of its proximity to *Courland, Zagare became one of the first centers of the Haskalah movement in Russia and gained renown as "a town full of scholars and scribes." The *maskilim* circle of Zagare, which at the beginning of the 19th century was concentrated around the person of Ḥayyim Zak, became known as "the scholar of Zagare." On the other hand, Zagare was influenced by the centers of traditional Jewish learning of Lithuania; the majority of the Jews remained faithful to tradition and two yeshivot existed in the two parts of the town. Noted personalities born in Zagare include R. Israel *Salanter, Senior *Sachs, Raphael Nathan *Rabbinovicz, the *Mandelstamm family, K.Z. *Wissotzky, J. *Dineson, and the bibliographer A.S. *Freidus. The Jewish quarter in Zagare was among those damaged in 1881 in the outbreak of conflagrations which swept the Lithuanian communities as an accompaniment to the pogroms in southern Russia. After World War I, during the existence of independent Lithuania, this community declined. The Jewish population of the two communities numbered 5,443 in 1897 (c. 68% of the total) and 1,928 in 1923 (41%). After the German occupation of Lithuania in 1941, a ghetto was set up in the town, in which Jews from the neighboring localities were also interned. At the beginning of October 1941, the inhabitants of the Zagare ghetto were murdered.

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[Yehuda Slutsky]

ZAGREB (Ger. **Agram**), capital of the Croatian Republic, formerly Yugoslavia. The first Jews known to have lived in Croatia, and probably in Zagreb, were Mar Saul and Mar Joseph, King Krešimir's emissaries to ʿAbd al-Raḥman III, the caliph of Cordoba in the tenth century. *Ḥisdai ibn Shaprut asked them to convey a message to Joseph, king of the Khazars, on the shores of the Caspian Sea. During the 13th century Jews went to Zagreb from France, Malta, and Albania. Some Jews lived there by the end of the 14th century. The city chronicles of Zagreb for 1444 mention a *domus judaeorum* (community house or synagogue). Little, however, is known about Jewish life and activities, except that they were merchants and moneylenders and that they came from Hungary, Burgenland, or Moravia. In 1526 an expulsion order by Ferdinand I, which was linked to the conversion of most of Croatia into a "military zone," put an end to medieval Jewry's existence in Zagreb, and for more than two centuries no Jews lived there or frequented the city.

New Jewish settlers arrived in Croatia in the mid-18th century from Bohemia, Moravia, and Hungary and about 50 families lived in Zagreb in the 1840s. The community was officially founded only in 1806. In 1841 a smaller Orthodox community came into being. The *ḥevra kaddisha* was established in 1859. The first rabbi of the Zagreb community was Aaron Palota (1809–1849). In 1867 the new synagogue was inaugurated (it was completely demolished in 1941 by the pro-Nazi Ustashe). The building was constructed by Franjo (Francis) Klein, one of the important builders of Zagreb. The spiritual leadership of the community was in the hands of Rabbi Hosea Jacoby for 50 years, and under his guidance a school and a *talmud torah* were opened and religious life was organized. A new cemetery was built in 1878. The philanthropist Ljudevit Schwarz was the prime mover in establishing a Jewish home for the aged; it still functioned in 1970 as the Central Jewish Home for the Aged in Yugoslavia, and was assisted financially by the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee. Jacques Epstein founded the first public assistance body in Croatia, the Association for Humanism. In 1898 a union of Jewish high school students was created, and became a training ground for future communal and Zionist leaders.

Antisemitism and Croat Nationalism

Croatian representatives were opposed to the official recognition of Jewish civil rights, which were not established until 1873. In 1858 there was a blood libel in Zagreb, and merchant and artisan guilds at times incited the population against the Jews, creating dangerous situations. Jews had to apply to Ofen (Buda), the Hungarian capital, or to the imperial chancery at Vienna, to seek safeguards and protection; later, they also had to apply to the Croat nationalist leader (of the so-called Illyric movement), Ljudevit Gaj.

It is noteworthy that individual Jews already sympathized with the Croatian revival in its early stages (Eduard Breier, Dr. Siegfried Kapper), while others were among the ideological or political leaders of modern Croat nationalism (Isaiah (Joszua) Frank, an apostate, and the lawyer Dr. Hinko Hinković). Frank's name was adopted by the separatist party, whose members were known as "frankovci" (followers of Frank); the same party later became violently fascist and antisemitic under Pavelić and his Ustashe.

Communal Life

The main body of Zagreb Jewry remained aloof from local politics, dedicating themselves to the internal affairs of the community, which became the largest in Yugoslavia. Between the two world wars Zionism drew a strong following in Croatia, and Zagreb was chosen as the headquarters of the Zionist Federation, which was led by Alexander *Licht. The Zagreb community also maintained a number of associations: a Maccabi sports club, a choir, women's and youth organizations, and a union of Jewish employees. The leading Jewish periodicals in Yugoslavia, such as the Zionist weekly *Židov* ("Jew"), were published in the city. Jewish contribution to the development of Zagreb was manifold. Jews were among the pioneers in export (wine and lumber) and local industry (furniture, beer, streetcars, etc.). Lavoslav (Leopold) Hartmann, the first librarian in Croatia, organized lending libraries, and also founded a printing press.

Jews also made a major contribution to science: the first chairman of the community, Dr. Mavro (Maurice) Sachs, was among the founders of forensic medicine in Croatia, and David *Schwarz, who lived most of his life in Zagreb, invented there the first rigid airship. Jews who were prominent in the arts included the painter Oscar Hermann; the sculptor Slavko Bril; the pianist Julius Epstein; and the bandmaster Anton Schwarz. A Jewish art monthly, *Ommanut*, was published there for five years (to 1941), ceasing with the Nazi invasion. Zagreb occupied a central position in the Yugoslav Jewish community. About 12,000 Jews lived there in 1941 after an influx of refugees from Germany, Austria, Czechoslovakia, and later Hungary. Following the German occupation of Zagreb in April 1941, Jews were persecuted, seized for forced labor, and murdered, with survivors sent to Jasenovac and Auschwitz at the end of 1942 and the beginning of 1943. The remnant reestablished the community after the war.

Rabbis Gavro Schwarz and Miroslav (Shalom) Freiberger, both victims of the Holocaust, were initiators of Jewish historical studies. In 1970 the Jewish population of the city was 1,200. After the secession of Croatia from the Yugoslav federation in 1991, a "Coordinating Committee" was formed consisting of a dozen congegations, with an Orthodox rabbi, Kotel Dadon, heading the Zagreb branch. The community, now calling itself Zidovka Opcina published a journal and literary magazine. A Documentation Center headed by Dr. Melita Svob deals with the claims of Holocaust survivors and the collection and publication of statistical and historical evidence. Around 1,000 Jews remained in the early 2000s.

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[Zvi Loker]

ẒAHALON, Sephardi family, which after the expulsion from Spain settled in Italy and in Near Eastern countries. Many of them were scholars, rabbis, and physicians. ABRAHAM BEN ISAAC ẒAHALON (16th century) was a talmudic scholar and kabbalist. He wrote *Yad Ḥaruẓim* (Venice, 1595), a work on the calendar, and *Yesha Elohim* (*ibid.*, 1595), a commentary on the Book of Esther. In the introduction to his *Marpe la-Nefesh* (*ibid.*, 1595), a moralistic work based on kabbalistic principles, he complained that he had to travel much, wandering from place to place to find his livelihood. He completed this work in Baghdad in 1593.

JACOB BEN ISAAC ZAHALON (1630–1693) was born in Rome, where he also received a medical education and the degree of *artium ac medicinae doctor* at the university. In 1682 he became rabbi of Ferrara. His best-known work is *Oẓar ha-*

Ḥayyim (Venice, 1683), a manual of medicine, which was the third part of a greater work, *Oẓar ha-Ḥokhmot*. It was divided into 13 parts, the last part, on mental diseases, remaining unpublished because of lack of funds. With the medical information, he also stresses the ethical side of medical practice, gives practical advice to physicians, and urges them to recite weekly the physician's prayer he had composed. In addition he wrote *Margaliyyot Tovot* (*ibid.*, 1665), an abridgment of the *Hovot ha-Levavot* of Baḥya ibn Paquda in 30 parts so that one may read a part a day and complete it monthly. Each part ends with a prayer. In the introduction he mentions eight of his works that were in manuscript. He also wrote a number of responsa which are found in *Teshuvot ha-Remez* of Moses *Zacuto, in the *Paḥad Yiẓhak* of Isaac *Lampronti, and in *Afar Ya'akov* of Nathaniel Segre. He also translated into Hebrew a work of Thomas Aquinas. Jacob was the first in Italy to stress the value of preaching in the synagogue. On November 18, 1656, during the plague in Rome, when the synagogue was closed, he preached from a window to an assemblage on the street. Many of his sermons are extant in manuscript. The *Margaliyyot Tovot* contains a prayer for preachers.

MORDECAI BEN JACOB ZAHALON (d. 1748), his son, succeeded him as rabbi in Ferrara. He was also a physician. He wrote responsa, which were published under the title *Meẓiẓ u-Meliẓ* (Venice, 1715); some of them also appear in the *Paḥad Yiẓḥak* and the *Shemesh Ẓedakah* of Samson Morpurgo. He composed a number of *piyyutim*, some of which were included in the service of the Ferrara synagogues. He also wrote *Megillat Naharot* (n.p. 1707), the story of the deliverance of the Jews during a great flood in Ferrara.

YOM TOV BEN MOSES ZAHALON (1559–1619/20) was one of the distinguished rabbis of Safed. He was ordained by R. Jacob Berab II (the grandson of Jacob *Berab I). He served as an emissary of that town between 1590 and 1600, visiting Italy and Holland. After returning to Safed, he was sent to Egypt and Constantinople, where he wrote some 600 responsa, many of which were published by his grandson Yom Tov b. Akiva, a rabbi in Constantinople in the second half of the 17th century, who appended to the volume his own novellae to chapters five and six of *Bava Meẓia* (Venice, 1694). Of interest are Yom Tov b. Moses' responsa to some of the communities of the Orient who sought his advice. Though himself a Sephardi, in a controversy between Sephardim and Ashkenazim he took the part of the Ashkenazim. Though a student of Joseph Caro, when the Shulḥan Arukh appeared, he disapproved of it, attacking it as a work for children and laymen.

Of his books the following should be especially noted: 1. *Magen Avot*: Commentary on *Avot de–Rabbi Natan* (in the Oxford Bodleian Ms.). 2. *Lekaḥ Tov*: Commentary on the Scroll of Esther (Safed, 1577). This was the first book published in Safed; it was published for a second time in a photocopied edition (Jerusalem, 1976). This work contains a long commentary on the sages' sermons on the Scroll of Esther, constituting both a literal and homiletic interpretation. 3. Novellae on tractate *Bava Kamma.* Chapters 5–6 were printed at the end of his responsa (Venice, 1964). 4. A total of 296 of his responsa were printed by Rabbi Yom Tov ben Akiva Ẓahalon in the Venice edition; another 240 responsa can be found in the Oxford Ms. and were published by the Jerusalem Institute (Jerusalem, 1980–81) in two volumes. The responsa deal mostly with subjects pertaining to *Hilkhot Even ha–Ezer and Ḥoshen Mishpat* in the Shulḥan Arukh. Yom Tov Ẓahalon's responsa were accepted as law. They contain historical information and details of customs and reforms in Safed and the Ashkenazi and Sephardi communities in Jerusalem, particularly the inferior position of the latter in comparison with the Ashkenzi community when it came to the distribution of charitable donations.

Ẓahalon reveals himself as forceful, uncompromising and sometimes sharp-tongued, though he tends to accept the opinions of earlier sages. He often disagrees with the rulings of Joseph Caro in the Shulḥan Arukh but also explains at times the language and reasoning of the Shulḥan Arukh.

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[Isaac Klein / Yehoshua Horowitz (2nd ed.)]

ZAIẒOV, RINA (1932–2005), Israeli pediatrician who specialized in blood disorders and malignancy in childhood. She received her M.D. from the Hadassah Medical School of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem (1959) and trained in pediatrics in the U.S., where she developed her lifelong interests. She returned to the Beilinson Medical Center in Petaḥ Tikvah (1966) and became director of the national center for pediatric hematology and oncology (1973–97), professor of pediatrics in the Sackler faculty of medicine of Tel Aviv University (1988), and Josefina Maus and Gabriela Cesarman-Maus professor of pediatric hematology and oncology (1992). She established the department that became Israel's national center for treatment and research in blood disorders and malignant diseases in childhood. The center provided the most advanced methods of diagnosis and treatment, and support for patients and their families. She made major internationally recognized contributions to many clinical and laboratory and epidemiological research programs concerning genetic disorders of blood production, leukemia, lymphomas, bone tumors, tumors of the nervous system, and the genetic disorder Gaucher's disease. Her enthusiasm and humanity were also reflected in the comprehensive program for treatment and support that she established in the community. She had formidable teaching and organizational skills, recognized in her contributions to many national and international committees concerned with organizing clinical care, research, and education. From 1998 she was chairman of Kuppat Ḥolim's program for services in pediatric hematology and oncology. Her many honors included the Geifman Prize for developing pediatric oncology in Israel (1978), the First Prize for Research of the Childhood Leukemia and Lymphoma Conference (2000), the Kadezky Award for oncology research of Tel Aviv University (2001), and the Israel Prize for medical research (2005).

[Michael Denman (2nd ed.)]

ZAK, ABRAM (d. 1893), Russian financier. Zak was born in Bobruisk. An autodidact, he achieved great proficiency in mathematics and foreign languages. He occupied high posts in various financial institutions, and as chairman of the board of the Discount and Loan Bank of Petersburg, he made it the most powerful financial institution of the Russian capital. Zak was often consulted by the State Council and other official bodies on questions of finance, economics and railroad exploitation. He was offered the post of assistant minister of finance with the promise of promotion if he would convert to Christianity, but he refused. He was a member of the Jewish delegation to Czar Alexander III after the pogroms of 1881. He was active in the Jewish community and a member of the *Society for the Promotion of Culture among Jews, distinguishing himself by the great support he gave to Jewish students. Like many of the wealthy Jews of Russia he was opposed to Jewish emigration from Russia and to the establishment of a Jewish National Home.

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ZAK, EUGEN (1884–1926), French painter. Born in Poland, he went to Paris in 1901. He was not influenced by the various new trends in painting, but rather harked back to Poussin and the Florentine masters. He endowed his subjects with an unobtrusive stylization and a subtle idealization.

ZAKEN MAMRE (Heb. זָקֵן מַמְרֵא; lit., "rebellious elder"), a scholar who disobeys a decision of the supreme *bet din* in Jerusalem. Its basis is to be found in the Bible: "If a case is too baffling for you to decide… you shall promptly repair to the place which the Lord… will have chosen and appear before the levitical priests, or the magistrate… and present your problem. When they have announced to you the verdict… you shall act in accordance with the instructions given you… And should a man act presumptuously and disregard [them]… that man shall die" (Deut. 17:8–12). There were three courts in Jerusalem; one used to sit at the entrance of the Temple Mount, another at the door of the Temple court, and the third in the Chamber of Hewn Stone (in the *Temple). Each of the first two courts consisted of 32 members, and the third was the supreme *bet din* – the Great *Sanhedrin of 71. If a scholar gave a decision and his colleagues in his town disagreed with him, he and his colleagues were obliged to go to Jerusalem for direction. At first they went to the court at the entrance to the Temple Mount, and each one expressed his opinion. If possible, they reached a decision, but if not, they turned to the second court. If this could not give a decision either, they and the members of the court which had not reached a decision appeared before the Great Sanhedrin in the Chamber of Hewn Stone. If the scholar then returned to his town and ruled or acted in opposition to the view of the supreme *bet din*, he was considered a *zaken mamre* and liable to the death penalty; however, if he merely taught as heretofore but without giving a practical decision, he was exempt (based on the text, "And should a man act presumptuously" (Deut. 17:12; Sanh. 11:2)).

A *zaken mamre* was not liable to the death penalty unless he was an ordained scholar, who was fit to pass judgment and whose decision had validity. His defiance of the supreme *bet din* had to be in a matter which if done willfully carried with it the penalty of **karet*, and if done inadvertently a sin-offering, or in a matter that if done deliberately would lead to a transgression carrying with it the same penalties, for instance, a disagreement on the intercalation of the year that would lead to leaven being eaten during Passover (Sanh. 87a; Maim., Yad, Mamrim, 3:5, 4:2). A *zaken mamre* is liable to the death penalty when he disagrees about a matter whose basis is in the written Torah and whose explanation is from the **soferim* ("scribes"), or about a *halakhah* given to Moses at Sinai, or about something derived from the 13 hermeneutical principles (see *Hermeneutics) whereby the Torah is interpreted, but not when he disagrees on a law of rabbinic provenance which has no basis in the Torah (Maim., *ibid.*, 1:2).

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[Abraham Arzi]

ZAKHO (**Zakhu**), town in the province of *Mosul in Iraqi *Kurdistan; location of an ancient Jewish community. During the 18th century Zakho was led by the *nasi* Sheikh Eliah the goldsmith. In 1827 there were 600 Jewish families, some of whom were wealthy. They earned their livelihood from raising cattle, as weavers and goldsmiths, and in other crafts as well. They had an old synagogue, followed ancient customs, and spoke Jabal (mountain) Aramaic. In 1848 *Benjamin II found 200 Jewish families in Zakho, some of whom were engaged in commerce and others in weaving. Most of them were wealthy. In 1880 there were 400–500 houses, half of which were owned by Jews. During the same year the town was ravaged by famine and a large section of the population, including many Jews, died. In 1881, 300 Jewish families lived in a special quarter; their political situation and security were in a very precarious state. In 1884 there were 510 Jews, among them merchants, spice dealers, and sheep breeders. In 1888 there were 1,500 Jews. In 1891 the Muslims attacked the Jewish community, looting the houses of the Jews, and set fire to one of the synagogues which was burned down together with its Scrolls of the Law. In 1892 the persecutions intensified. Jews were murdered; heavy taxes were imposed on members of the community; they were required to pay ransom, and many were arrested and tortured. The Tigris overflowed its banks and destroyed 150 Jewish houses; many Jews drowned and synagogues were destroyed.

In spite of all this, there were 300 Jewish families in the town in 1893 and 2,400 Jews in 1906. After World War I their situation improved. They had two large old synagogues; on one of them was an inscription dating from 1780. According to the official census of 1930, there were 26,835 inhabitants, including 1,471 Aramaic-speaking Jews. The decline of the economic standing of northern Iraq following the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869, which shifted the commercial pathway from the overland route (from Europe to India via Aleppo in Syria and northern Iraq) seems to have caused emigration to Baghdad and Palestine. The Jews of Zakho started to emigrate to the Holy Land in the middle of the 19th century, with *aliyah* intensifying after World War I. In the census of 1947 their number had decreased to 1394. They lived in a special quarter and most of them engaged in commerce. When the Iraqis opposed Zionism their situation deteriorated. Jews from Zakho were the first to emigrate to Palestine after 1920. Many settled in *Jerusalem, where they engaged in manual labor as porters, donkey drivers, stonecutters, builders, stone hewers, etc. Six thousand settled there before the establishment of the State of Israel. They built special quarters for themselves, such as Zikhron Yosef, Zikhron Ya'akov, Sha'arei Raḥamim, and others. With the establishment of the state, all the remaining Jewish inhabitants of Zakho emigrated to Israel.

The poetry of the Zakho Jews was published by J.J. Rivlin in *Shirat Yehudei ha-Targum* (1959).

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[Abraham Ben-Yaacob / Nissim Kazzaz (2nd ed.)]

ZAKHOR (Heb. "Remember"), black Judaizing movement in Mali comprising around 1,000 people. It was founded in Timbuktu in 1993 by the Malian historian Ismael Daidé Haïdara, whose followers claim to be the offspring of Saharan Jews. In a manifesto published in 1996, the members of Zakhor recognize themselves as Jews and declare themselves to be descendants of the Jews of Touat. The Touat, the region at the limit of the Sahara in western Algeria, was, up to 1492, inhabited by Jews involved in trans-Saharan trade. At that time, Sheikh Abd el Krim el Meghili, a scholar and a mystic, exterminated them and ordered the destruction of their synagogues at Siljimassa and Tamentit.

According to Zakhor, some of the Jewish survivors from Touat, following the routes of caravans, took refuge with other Jews settled along the Niger, but their safety was only temporary. Soon afterwards, in 1493, under the influence of the same el Meghili, Askyia Muhammad the Great, the ruler of this region, introduced an edict for the eviction of the Jews of the Songhai. They apparently found themselves in the position of choosing either to renounce their faith or to die. Haïdara, the leader of Zakhor, noted that "the Jews could not go further, in front of the great Nile of the Arabs [that is, the river Niger]. They stopped facing the Koran and the sword. They converted." This was how, he concluded, the black Jews became Muslims. Today, the members of Zakhor portray themselves as a small, early Jewish population which is said to have been superseded by the subsequent Islamic community, with only tiny remnants of Judaism surviving. The heads of the families who founded Zakhor relate that the three families constituting their community from the 16th century, the Levite Kehaths, now named Kati, the Cohens and the Abanas, were not in fact the first Jewish inhabitants of these regions.

In the 11th century, el Bakri and el Idrissi, the great Arab historians and geographers, referred to the presence of populations "who read the Tawrat" in what would become Mali. Abraham *Cresques, the famous Majorcan Jewish geographer, upon establishing the Catalan Atlas, in 1375, presumably located Mali and its emperor, on the basis of information from his Malian co-religionists. Leo Africanus who visited this region in the first part of the 15th century, the Tarikh el-Sudan of the 15th century, and the Tarikh el-Fetash of the 17th century, the essential corpus of sources of information about medieval western Africa, mentioned the presence of Jews in the region of Gao and Tendirma.

Under the aegis of UNESCO, the gradual discovery at Timbuktu of old manuscripts, some of which date back to the 13th century, constitutes an unpublished scientific treasure trove likely to bring much information about the possible settlement of Jews in this area.

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[Tudor Parfitt (2nd ed.)]

ZALCSTEIN, GECL (1773–1841), dealer in books and ancient Polish manuscripts. A follower of the ḥasidic leader *Jacob Isaac ha-Ḥozeh of Lublin, Zalcstein opened a book and antique shop in Warsaw around 1800. On his many visits to the Polish aristocracy he obtained ancient manuscripts and books, thus acquiring an extensive knowledge of Polish works. He aided the historian J. *Lelewel and the bibliographer K. Świdziński in their research, and through his devoted assistance the libraries of the University of Warsaw and other academic institutions were enlarged. His shop became a meeting place for Polish intellectuals. In 1831 Zalcstein founded a mirror factory and transferred the management of his bookshop to his son, LEIB, a Kotsk ḥasid. After a few years of meager success Zalcstein closed the factory and returned to managing his bookshop. In the 1830s, because of his connections with Polish intellectuals, he was suspected of subversive activities by the Russian authorities. His wife took over the shop after his death, and his son Leib engaged independently in book-selling and publishing from 1820 until his death in 1860. His annual *Kalendarz Astronomiczny i Gospodarski* ("Astronomic and Economic Calendar") appeared for 40 years and was a pioneering work of agronomical information in Poland. Zalcstein's younger son, JONAH BAER, also opened a bookshop, and descendants of the Zalcsteins were prominent booksellers, publishers, and antique dealers in Warsaw in the 1920s.

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[Arthur Cygielman]

ZALESHCHIKI (Pol. **Zaleszczyki**), town in Tarnopol district, Ukraine. In 1765 there were 344 Jews who paid the poll tax. The local Jews engaged in small trade and crafts, and later they participated in the resort business. The Jewish population numbered 4,424 (71% of the total) in 1880, and 3,382 (62%) in 1910. There was a strong ḥasidic influence in the community.

[Shimshon Leib Kirsheboim]

Holocaust Period

During the period of Soviet rule (1939–41) all communal activity was prohibited. In the first days after the outbreak of war between Germany and the U.S.S.R. (June 22, 1941), Jews were attacked by the local German population. On Nov. 14, 1941, the first *Aktion* took place and about 800 Jews were killed. Jewish youth were sent to a forced-labor camp in Kamionka. On Sept. 20, 1942, the order was given for all the Jews to move to the Tluste (Tolstoye) ghetto within 24 hours. From there part of the Jews were sent to the *Belzec death camp; others were sent to work camps in the area, while a few tried to find refuge in the surrounding forests. The community was not reconstituted in Zaleshchiki after the war.

[Aharon Weiss]

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ZALUDKOWSKI, ELIJAH (1888–1943), **ḥazzan* and writer. He was a son of the well-known *ḥazzan* of Kalisz, Noah Zaludkowski (1859–1931), known as "Reb Noaḥ Lieder." Elijah studied with his father and other *ḥazzanim*, and also at conservatories in Milan and Berlin. He held posts as *ḥazzan* in Warsaw, Vilna, and Liverpool, England, and in 1926 went to the U.S. where he officiated in New York and Detroit. Zaludkowski wrote *Di Kultur-Treger fun der Yidisher Liturgie* (1930), containing useful biographies of famous *ḥazzanim*, and published his father's and his own liturgical compositions in *Tefillat No'aḥ va-Avodat Eliyahu*.

ZAM, ZVI HERZ (1835–1915), Russian soldier; the only Jewish officer in the czarist army in the 19th century. Born in Gorengrod, Zam was taken from his home when he was 12 and trained at the *Cantonist military institute at Tomsk. He was posted to an infantry regiment, and, following the introduction of national conscription in 1874, was permitted to enter the cadets' school. He rose to become vice captain (*shtabskapitan*) but was placed in command of the worst company in his regiment at the orders of the war minister, who expressed surprise that a Jew who had remained faithful to his religion should serve as an officer. Within a year Zam had made his company the best in the regiment, but not until 1893, just before his retirement after 41 years in the czarist army, was he promoted to full captain. Zam took an active part in Jewish affairs and was instrumental in providing synagogue facilities for Jewish soldiers.

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[Mordechai Kaplan]

ZAMARIS (**Zimri**; late first century B.C.E.–early first century C.E.), Babylonian Jew. Zamaris fled from Parthian Babylonia with a retinue of 500 horsemen and mounted archers, as well as his family. He had taken refuge in Syria, when *Herod heard of his presence. Desirous of strengthening Jewish settlement in *Trachonitis and of creating a buffer zone, Herod offered land to Zamaris, who was not to be taxed. The Babylonians settled and built a village, *Bathyra, which served as a shield both for the Jewish settlements and for the pilgrims from Babylonia traveling to Jerusalem for the pilgrim festivals. Zamaris' son Jacimus organized a bodyguard for the Herodian family. His son Philip remained a close associate of Agrippa. Some are of the opinion that the *Benei Bathyra, who held high office in the administration of the Temple, came from these Babylonian settlers of Bathyra. In any event, it is clear that the Babylonian Zamaris had mastered Parthian military tactics and that his followers (who included mounted archers) were excellent soldiers. Zamaris must have held a substantial place in the Parthian feudal structure. His flight has nothing to do with Parthian "antisemitism," for in this same period other Jewish grandees held considerable power in the empire. Zamaris may have fallen victim to the complex intrigues surrounding the disputed Arsacid throne.

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[Jacob Neusner]

ZAMBIA (formerly **Northern Rhodesia**), Central African republic. The two earliest Jewish settlements in Northern Rhodesia were in Livingstone and Broken Hill. When the railway reached Victoria Falls in 1905, there were enough Jews in Livingstone to start a congregation. By 1910, when the first Jewish wedding in Northern Rhodesia was celebrated, the congregation had 38 members. Jewish pioneers did much to open up the country, developing the cattle trade and ranching. Maurice

Rabb, Harry Wulfsohn, Len Pinshow, Hanan Elkaim, and the Susman brothers, Elie and Harry, were just some of these Jewish immigrants whose enterprise and initiative laid the foundations of the modern-day Zambian economy. The Susman Brothers, who arrived in 1900, were the first to develop large-scale wagon and river transport to Barotseland. Just before 1914, they pegged the Nkana copper mine but could not float a company to open it because the mine was in tsetse fly country. They sold their claim for £250 to what is now the largest copper mine in Zambia. Sir Edmund *Davis, Solly *Joel, and Sir Ernest *Oppenheimer were prominent in developing copper mining. Abe Galaun (1914–2003) arrived in Zambia just before the outbreak of World War II and became a dominant force in the country's meat and dairy business to the extent that Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda dubbed him "the man who feeds the nation." Galaun was involved in a wide range of charitable enterprises and his extensive contribution to Jewish communal life included founding the Council for Zambia Jewry. In 1921, out of a total Jewish population of 110, 48 lived in Livingstone, 11 in Broken Hill, and 25 in Lusaka. In succeeding years the Jewish population grew slowly, increased mainly by refugees from Nazi Germany in the late 1930s. As happened in neighboring Southern Rhodesia and the Belgian Congo, there was a substantial influx of Sephardi immigrants, largely from the Greek island of Rhodes. With the development of the copper mines in the north and the general growth in population and commerce, the Jewish population reached a peak of about 1,200 in the middle 1950s; most lived in Lusaka and the copperbelt centers of Kitwe, Ndola, Mufulira, Chingola, and Luanshya, in each of which there was a small but organized Jewish congregation. After 1960 numbers declined. In 1968, the estimated figure was 500, excluding some 200 on short-term contracts with Solel Boneh (the construction company of the Israel labor federation) and other overseas enterprises. Younger people tended to leave, and most of the older school-age groups were sent to Rhodesia or South Africa for their education. In communal and Zionist affairs Zambian Jewry remained linked until the late 1960s with the Central African Jewish Board of Deputies and Zionist Organization. Thereafter, the Council for Zambia Jewry, after 1993 through its affiliation to the *African Jewish Congress, oversaw the community's affairs. Before Zambia's independence in 1964 Jews played an active role in local government. Jewish mayors served in Livingstone, Broken Hill, Kitwe, and Luanshya. In the political field Sir Roy *Welensky was the leading figure in Northern Rhodesian politics from the 1930s until the Federation was set up in 1953, when he moved to *Salisbury (today Harare) as deputy prime minister; M.G. Rabb was a member of the legislative assembly from 1959 to 1962, and S.W. *Magnus was a member of parliament from 1962 to 1968, when he resigned to become a judge of the high court. As happened in South Africa, some Zambian Jews were active in resistance politics on behalf of the disempowered black majority in the pre-independence era. Most noteworthy of these was Lithuanian-born Simon Zukas, who played an important part in Zambia's independence struggle in the postwar era and in 1952 was in fact exiled on this account by the colonial government. Zukas returned to Lusaka after 1962 and later served as agriculture minister in President Frederick Chiluba's first cabinet (1991). A number of South African Jews who were prominently involved in the struggle against apartheid in their home country, amongst them Joe *Slovo, Ronnie *Kasrils, and Ray Alexander, were based in Lusaka for the greater part of their years in exile before returning to South Africa after 1990. The Zambian Jewish community steadily dwindled in the post-independence era. About 50 Jews remained in 2004, most of them living in Lusaka. Zambian Jewry in the early 2000s comprised a small core of long-term "settlers" and more transient residents engaged in trade, commerce, agriculture, and the professions. The community comes together for religious services on the High Holidays and Passover, as well as for Israel's Independence Day and other Israel-related events. There are eight Jewish cemeteries scattered around the country, and they are maintained by the remaining members of the community, in consultation with the African Jewish Congress.

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[Maurice Wagner / David Saks (2nd ed.)]

ZAMBROW (Rus. **Zambrov**), town in Bialystok province, N.E. Poland. The few Jews who lived in Zambrow in the early 18th century were not organized into a community being under the jurisdiction of that of *Tykocin (Tiktin). A *ḥevra kaddisha* was established in Zambrow in 1741, but the Jews buried their dead in the cemetery of the neighboring community of Yablonka. In 1765, 12 Jews living in Zambrow and another 462 in the surrounding villages paid the poll tax. In 1808 the Jews of Zambrow numbered 80 (13% of the total population), and in 1837, 320 (31%). A Jewish cemetery was consecrated in the town in 1828, and in 1830 an organized community with a synagogue, *mikveh*, and permanent religious officials were established. At first the members of the Jewish community engaged in the timber and grain trade, and kept inns. From the middle of the 19th century Jewish occupations included raising horses, cultivation of orchards, crafts, and petty trade. In 1857 the community numbered 1,022 (63% of the population). In 1890 the local cemetery was enlarged. A *kasher* kitchen was opened for the hundreds of Jewish soldiers attached to the battalions stationed there. About 400 Jewish houses were destroyed in a great fire in 1895. In 1905–06 Jewish youths and workers, organized within the *Bund, the *Zionist Socialist Workers' Party ("SS") and the *Po'alei Zion, staged a number of strikes in the textile factory and the sawmills. R. Lipa Ḥayyim held rabbinical office in the town from the 1850s until his death in 1882. He was succeeded by his son-in-law, R. Dov Menahem Regensberg, who held the position for several decades.

In 1921 there were 3,216 Jews (52%) living in Zambrow. Between the two world wars, branches of all the Jewish parties were active in the town. An elementary Yiddish school named after Ber Borochov was established in 1919. It was followed by a Hebrew school and a Zionist kindergarten in 1921. R. Shlomo *Goren, Israeli rabbi, was born in this town.

[Arthur Cygielman]

Holocaust Period

Under Soviet administration (1939–41) great changes were introduced affecting Jewish life. All activities of a political or Zionist nature were suppressed, and private enterprise was terminated. Jewish refugees arrived from Ostrow Mazowieck and were offered assistance by the Jewish community. A great number of these refugees were exiled to the Soviet interior. In the spring of 1941 the young Jews were drafted into the Soviet army. After the war between Germany and the U.S.S.R. broke out (June 22, 1941), the town fell to the Germans. A Judenrat was set up on German orders, headed by Gerszom Srebrowicz. It tried to alleviate the suffering of the community, but when it did not comply with all the German demands it was disbanded and a new Judenrat was set up, headed by a man who did not belong to the local community. The first *Aktion* was carried out on Aug. 19, 1941, in which about 1,500 persons were murdered in the region of Szumowo. During a second *Aktion* on Sept. 4, 1941, 1,000 persons were put to death in the locality of Rutki-Kosaki. At the end of December 1941 about 2,000 Jews were forced into a ghetto and subjected to starvation. Typhus epidemics broke out, and the hospital set up to aid the population worked ceaselessly. People began fleeing to the forests in an attempt to join the partisans. The severe conditions of the forest, as well as the antisemitic attitude of the partisans, forced many Jews to return to the ghetto. Nevertheless, some Jews were able to join partisan units which operated in the area of the Pniewa forest. Many of them were killed by members of the Polish underground Armia Krajowa. In November 1942 about 20,000 Jews from Zambrow and the vicinity were rounded up and interned in a former army camp. On Jan. 12, 1943, their transport to Auschwitz began in batches of 2,000 a night. Two hundred elderly and sick were poisoned and disposed of locally. After the war, only a few survivors from Zambrow and the vicinity remained. Others returned from the Soviet Union. Most of the survivors left again for Bialystok and Lodz, and later left Poland. Societies of emigrants from Zambrow were established in the U.S., Argentina, and Israel. A memorial book, *Sefer Zambrov*, in Hebrew and Yiddish with English summary, was published in 1963.

[Aharon Weiss]

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ZAMBROWSKI, ROMAN (1909–1977), Polish Communist politician. Zambrowski joined the Communist youth movement as a young man, becoming its first secretary and its representative on the central committee of the Polish Communist Party. He also represented the Polish Communists on the executive committee of the Youth International in Moscow. He was arrested several times by the Polish authorities and imprisoned, among other places, in the notorious Bereza Kartuska concentration camp. During World War II Zambrowski lived in the Soviet Union and became one of the chief organizers of the Union of Polish Patriots sponsored by the Soviet authorities. He took an active part in the formation of Polish army units which fought alongside the Soviet army. His special responsibility was the appointment of political staff attached to these units, and he was a member of the Communist central bureau at Polish army headquarters. After World War II Zambrowski became head of the Polish United Workers' Party. He was a member of the Political Bureau of the Polish government and between 1956 and 1963 was secretary of the party's central committee. For a short time he occupied the post of minister for state control. In 1964, after a quarrel with the group in power led by Wladyslaw Gomulka, he was removed from leading positions in the party and government. During the antisemitic campaign launched by the Polish authorities after the *Six-Day War (1967) he was publicly accused of revisionism and sympathy for Zionism and retired from public life.

[Abraham Wein]

ZAMENHOF, LUDWIK LAZAR (1859–1917), Polish philologist and creator of Esperanto. Born in Bialystok, Zamenhof studied medicine and specialized in ophthalmology. He acquired his interest in philology from his father, who was a language teacher. For several years Zamenhof engaged in research work in the Yiddish language and began to write a Yiddish grammar, which was not completed. From his youth he had contemplated the idea of creating a simple international language which would facilitate and advance relations and mutual understanding between nations. In 1878, he completed the writing of the first pamphlet which contained the fundamentals of the new language. It contained only 900 root words and a grammar with 16 rules. It was published in 1887 under the title *Lingvo Internacia* ("International Language"). Zamenhof signed it with the pseudonym "Doktoro Esperanto" ("Dr. Hopeful"), hence the name of the language. At first Zamenhof encountered opposition and mockery, but he succeeded in gaining numerous enthusiastic supporters in every country, including renowned thinkers and scientists. Zamenhof published translations from German, English, and Russian literature, as well as from the Bible, in order to prove that Esperanto, in spite of its simplicity, could become a literary language. In 1905, in France, he convened the first international congress of Esperantists. In 1910, when the sixth congress was held in Washington, Zamenhof visited the United States and delivered a series of lectures in Esperanto. Two statues were erected in Zamenhof's honor in Poland – one in Warsaw (1928) and the other in Bialystok (1934), his native town. Zamenhof remained close to Jewish problems. He was one of the first members of Ḥovevei Zion, and in 1901 published a pamphlet, *Der Hilelismus*, where he presented Judaism as the philosophy of humanism. He published an Esperanto textbook in Hebrew.

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[Max Wurmbrand]

ZAMENHOF, STEPHEN (1911–1998), U.S. biochemist. Born in Warsaw, the nephew of Ludwik *Zamenhof, he went to the U.S. in 1939. He worked at Columbia until 1964, when he became professor of microbial genetics and biological chemistry at the School of Medicine of the University of California at Los Angeles. His 250 scientific papers were concerned with nucleic acids, enzymes, growth hormones, immunology, and genetics. He wrote *The Chemistry of Heredity* (1959).

ZAMIR, ITZHAK (1931–), Israeli jurist. Born in Warsaw, Poland, Zamir came to Palestine in 1934. He studied law at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem (M.Jur.) and the London School of Economics (Ph.D.). He was a law professor and director of the Institute for Legal Research and later dean of the Law Faculty at the Hebrew University. From 1978 to 1986 he was attorney general of the State of Israel, and from 1994 to 2001 a justice of the Supreme Court of Israel. He was also founding dean of Haifa University School of Law, president of the Israel Press Council, chairperson of the Israel Council on Tribunals, president of the Israel Association of Public Law, and chairperson of various other public committees.

Zamir wrote several books and many articles in Hebrew and English on various legal subjects as well as articles in the daily press. Among his books are *The Declaratory Judgment* (1962, with Lord Woolf) and *Administrative Power* (Heb., 1996). In 1997 he received the Israel Prize for legal scholarship. Throughout his career Zamir has been a staunch advocate of pluralism, tolerance, and egalitarianism.

[Leon Fine (2nd ed.)]

ZAMORA, city in León, N.W. Spain. Its ancient Jewish community was founded in the same period as those of *Nájera and *Salamanca. The date when the Jewish quarter was erected is not known. It was situated outside the city walls on the site known as Vega, where there was a separate group of houses, as well as the synagogue of the quarter and the Jewish cemetery. Throughout the period of the community's existence, there were three synagogues, one of which was registered in the office of Sancho IV, in 1283.

In 1313 a *Church Council held in Zamora adopted a series of decisions relating to the Jews: Jews were excluded from state functions; the edicts enforcing the wearing of a distinctive *badge were to be maintained, as also those concerning payment of the tithe to the church, the interest rate, and the transfer of newly built synagogues to the possession of the state, among other measures. These decisions of the council influenced the decisions of the Cortes which was convened in that year.

There is no information available on how the persecutions of the Jews in Spain of 1391 affected those in Zamora, but they undoubtedly resulted in conversions and apostasy. The amount of tax which the community paid declined.

During the 1470s and 1480s R. Isaac b. Moses *Arama preached in Zamora. In 1485 an order issued by John II was confirmed; it exempted the Jews of Zamora from providing accommodation for public personalities, with the exception of the king, the queen, and the members of the royal council. In that year Saul Saba – a brother of Abraham *Saba, and a renowned kabbalist and preacher – was condemned to death in Zamora, but details of the accusation and the trial are not known. In 1490 a unique lawsuit concerning a Jewess of Zamora was brought before the crown; she accused Jacob ibn Meir, the son of Isaac of Valladolid, an inhabitant of Zamora, of having ravished her and promising to marry her, and of not keeping his promise. In 1490 the community of Zamora, with that of Seville, contributed toward the redemption of the Jewish captives who had been taken in *Málaga. In 1491 the community paid a sum of 100,650 maravedis toward the war with Granada, in conjunction with a number of communities in the area.

In 1492, following the edict of expulsion from Spain, the Jews of Zamora went to Portugal, and the property of the community and the exiles was handed over to the prosecutor of Saragossa.

At the end of 1492 Zamora became a transit center for Jews who returned from Portugal to Spain in order to convert to Christianity. Several exiles from Zamora achieved fame during the 16th century for their activities in Jewish centers in the Ottoman Empire, of whom the most renowned were Jacob ibn *Ḥabib and Levi b. *Ḥabib.

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[Haim Beinart]

ZAMOSC (Pol. **Zamość**), city in Lublin province, E. Poland. The first Jews to settle in Zamosc were Sephardim who had been encouraged by the founder of the city, Jan Zamojski, to make it their home in 1588. The synagogue they built was notable for its richly ornamented interior. However, after a single generation the community ceased to exist. Ashkenazi Jews began to settle in Zamosc at the beginning of the 17th century, and during the *Chmielnicki massacres of 1648–49, Zamosc became a refuge for thousands of Jews in the vicinity; many died of hunger and disease while the city was under siege. In 1765, 1,905 Jews were recorded in Zamosc and in the communities within its jurisdiction. During the period that the city was under Austrian rule (1794–1809), the Enlightenment movement (see *Haskalah) found adherents in Zamosc. At the beginning of the 19th century, Joseph Zederbaum (father of Alexander *Zederbaum, editor of the Hebrew newspaper

Ha-Meliẓ), and the scholar and educator Jacob *Eichenbaum were leaders in the city's Haskalah circles. The poet and physician Solomon *Ettinger lived in Zamosc, and the author I.L. *Peretz was born and raised there. A center of rabbinical learning as well as of Haskalah, Zamosc was noted for its many public and private libraries. *Ḥasidism spread to the city during a later period.

Under Russian rule the number of Jewish inhabitants in Zamosc grew from 2,490 in 1856 to 7,034 in 1897 (50% of total), and to 9,000 in 1909 (about 63% of the total population). At the beginning of World War I many inhabitants left the city, since it was located on the Austro-Russian front line. After the war the community was reorganized. It numbered 9,383 in 1921, 10,265 in 1931, and 12,000 in 1939. Between the two world wars a Hebrew school existed in Zamosc as well as a Jewish-Polish secondary school. A local Jewish newspaper *Zamoscer Shtime* was published in the city.

[Yehuda Slutsky]

Holocaust Period

After a few days of heavy bombardment, which especially damaged the Jewish quarter, the German army entered Zamosc on Sept. 14, 1939. Immediately after capturing the city, the Germans organized a series of pogroms, motivated in part by the desire to loot Jewish property. On Sept. 26, 1939, the Germans left Zamosc and the Soviet army entered, but handed the city back to the Germans two weeks later, in accordance with the new Soviet-German demarcation line. About 5,000 Jews left the city at the time that the Soviet army withdrew. The remaining Jewish population suffered Nazi brutality and persecutions, like the rest of the Jews throughout Lublin province.

In October 1939 the Germans selected a *Judenrat and forced it to pay a "contribution" of 100,000 zlotys ($20,000) and the daily delivery of 250 Jews for hard labor. In December 1939 several hundred Jews expelled from *Lodz, Kalo, and *Wloclawek in western Poland were settled in Zamosc. Early in the spring of 1941 an open ghetto was established around Hrubieszowska Street, and the first deportation from Zamosc took place on April 11, 1942 (on the eve of Passover). The entire Jewish population was ordered to gather in the city's market, whereupon gunfire was directed at the crowd killing hundreds on the spot. About 3,000 Jews were forced to board waiting trains which took them to *Belzec death camp. From May 1 to 3, 1942, about 2,100 Jews from *Dortmund, Germany, and from Czechoslovakia were taken to Zamosc. Almost all of them were deported to Belzec on May 27 and murdered. The third mass deportation started on Oct. 16, 1942. All Jews were again ordered to gather in the city's market, and afterward were driven to *Izbica, some 15½ mi. (25 km.) from Zamosc. Many were shot on the way, and the rest, after a short stay in Izbica, were deported to Belzec and murdered. In this deportation the Jews offered passive resistance and hundreds went into hiding in prepared shelters. The Germans brought in Polish firemen to open the shelters by destroying the walls and removing other obstacles. Several hundred Jews were discovered in hiding and imprisoned for eight days in the city's cinema hall without food or water; then all those who were still alive were brought to the Jewish cemetery and executed.

A few hundred Jews fled to the forests. Most of them crossed the Bug River, made contact with Soviet guerrillas in the Polesie forest, and joined various local partisan groups. After the war some 300 Jews settled in Zamosc (270 from the Soviet Union, and 30 survivors of the Holocaust in Zamosc), but after a short stay they all left Poland.

In 1950 a memorial to the Jewish martyrs of the Holocaust from Zamosc was erected in the Jewish cemetery of the city.

[Stefan Krakowski]

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ZAMOSC, DAVID (1789–1864), Hebrew writer and teacher. Educated in his native Kampen, Poznan, until the age of 13, he then moved to Breslau, where he studied under his uncle, acquired a secular education, and taught for ten years. In 1820, having won a large sum in a lottery, he went into business, but returned to literary and teaching activities after he lost his capital. His poems, stories, plays, translations, and compilations were written mainly for children and schools. His play, *He-Haruz ve-he-Azel, O Yad Haruzim Ta'ashir* ("The Diligent Man and the Lazy Man, or the Hand of the Diligent Will Enrich," Breslau, 1817), is the first modern Hebrew play written for children. Through its allegorical characters – the diligent man, the rich man, the lazy man, and Satan – Zamosc tried to instill moral values into the young.

His other works include: *Pillegesh ha-Givah* (Breslau, 1818), a historical play; *Tokhahat Musar* (Breslau, 1819, 1946^{2}), a translation of J.H. Campe's moral catechism, *Theophoron*, written in a didactic narrative style, with the Hebrew appearing opposite the original German; *Resisei Meliẓah* (Dyhernfurth, 1820–22; 2 vols.: one consisting of poems and letters, both original texts and German and Hebrew translations; the other of poems by other writers); *To'ar ha-Zeman* (Dyhernfurth, 1821), a play on problems of his time; *Mafte'ah Beit David* (Breslau, 1823), 100 epistles with a German glossary; *Meẓi'at Amerikah* (Breslau, 1824) and *Rabinsonder Yingere* (Breslau, 1825), adaptations of works by J.H. Campe; *Aguddat Shoshannim* (1827), poems and various aphorisms; *Halikhot Olam* (1829), a play; *Esh Dat* (1834), a textbook divided into three parts:

(1) reading exercises in German and Hebrew and a translation of the play *Eldad ve-Tirẓah*;

(2) entitled Ohel David, dealing with Hebrew grammar based on the works of Ben-Ze'ev, Gesenius, and others; and

(3) entitled Shirei David, consisting of miscellaneous poems; *Nahur me-Eden* (1837), a Jewish history for children "with questions and moral thoughts, including a short poem at the end of each chaplet"; a translation of *Ro'ot Midyan O Yaldut*

Moshe by S.F. de Genlis (1843); and various poems dedicated to friends, princes, and kings. He also contributed to *Bikkurei ha-Ittim*, the Hebrew annual (Vienna, 1821–31).

[Getzel Kressel]

ZAMOSC, ISRAEL BEN MOSES HA-LEVI (also **Segal**; c. 1700–1772), talmudist, mathematician, and one of the early Haskalah writers. Zamosc was born in Bóbrka (near Lvov) to an undistinguished family and studied in Zamosc, where he also taught at a yeshivah. His first published work is *Neẓaḥ Yisra'el* ("The Eternity of Israel"; written c. 1737): while essentially devoted to traditional *sugyot*, it is innovative in that it interprets numerous Talmudic passages from a mathematical and astronomical viewpoint. Zamosc proclaims his fidelity to Maimonides and gives reason priority in interpreting tradition. He thus argued that the rabbis of the Talmud held true scientific views, so that, if interpreted correctly, even seemingly "odd" statements in the Talmud turn out to be consistent with science; by contrast, he boldly took to task venerated Talmud commentators who held, for example, that the earth was flat. Conservatives rightly identified this work as subversive and dubbed it *Reẓaḥ Yisra'el* ("The Assassination of Israel"). The scientific knowledge displayed in *Neẓaḥ Yisra'el* is astonishingly broad but outdated (his authorities are Aristotle and Ptolemy): it is drawn exclusively from Hebrew books, almost all medieval. (The only exception is Joseph Delmedigo's *Sefer Elim* (1629), on which Zamosc wrote a commentary, now lost.) The exceptional availability of books in Zamosc, many in manuscript, is perhaps a consequence of the earlier presence there of Sephardi Jews, brought in by its founder, Jan Zamoyski (1541–1605). Israel Zamosc had followers and allies, among them Joel b. Uri Ba'al Shem (the younger). The town of Zamosc became a center of early Haskalah a generation later. In Zamosc, Israel composed a number of further works, of which the (geocentric) astronomical treatise, *Arubbot ha-Shamayim* ("The Windows of the Heaven"), is the only one to survive (in manuscript). His predilection for science notwithstanding, Israel Zamosc was conventional in his respect for the Kabbalah.

In 1741 Zamosc went to Frankfurt an der Oder, where he had *Neẓaḥ Yisra'el* published. He then settled in Berlin, where he taught Hebrew, science, and Jewish philosophy to Aharon Zalman Gumpertz (1723–1769) and Moses Mendelssohn (1729–1786), thus exerting a formative influence on two important figures of the early Berlin Haskalah. He studied (with Mendelssohn's help) German elementary books of science.

In 1744 Zamosc published in Jessnitz his (commissioned) commentary on *Ruaḥ Ḥen* ("A Spirit of Grace"), a 13th-century anonymous popular introduction to philosophy and science. In addition to simple textual interpretations, Zamosc "comments" on the Aristotelian principles in the medieval text by exposing totally incompatible findings of recent – namely, Wolffian – science. The "small animals" observable through a microscope in a droplet of semen elicit his exclamation, "How awe-inspiring is this statement, which our forefathers did not fathom." The new knowledge grounded in experience opened new unexpected horizons, refuting at the same time entrenched (Aristotelian) beliefs and thus undermining traditional authority, including that of Maimonides. Zamosc's is a subversive commentary: a venerated, authoritative text was used to legitimate the introduction of new ideas into a conservative community. This new literary genre was to be employed by later *maskilim*. Yet Zamosc's reception of the new science was limited to its descriptive aspects, and he failed to grasp mathematical physics or to accommodate contemporary philosophy.

The breakdown of all received verities weakened Zamosc's commitment to Maimonides' philosophy and hence to reason and science. Zamosc's views became more conservative and fideist: the commentary on *Ruaḥ Ḥen* paradoxically both exposes recent science and signals its author's turn toward the authority of traditional, including kabbalistic, texts. During the third, conservative, period of his life, spent between Berlin and Brody, Zamosc wrote two further (posthumously published) commentaries on medieval classics, which now accompany the traditional editions of these two works: *Oẓar Neḥmad* ("A Lovely Treasure"), on the *Kuzari*, and *Tuv ha-Levanon* ("Lebanon's Best"), on *Ḥovot ha-Levavot* ("The Duties of the Heart"). Although in these commentaries Zamosc replaced certain outdated medieval scientific ideas with facts from modern science, he held that belief and revelation are superior to reason and science. In 1764 Zamosc contacted Jacob Emden (1697–1776) on matters of *halakhah*.

In an unknown period, Israel Zamosc also wrote *Nezed ha-Dema'* ("A Pottage of Tears"; published posthumously: Dyhernfurth, 1773), a bitter, pessimistic social criticism written in rhymed prose. Its obscure style and intertextual allusions have led to a dispute over the target of its critique. Some scholars have interpreted it as a fierce attack on the ḥasidic movement, which was then becoming prominent: it contains most of the claims against the Ḥasidim used by later opponents – e.g., the allegations that Ḥasidim fostered ignorance, were prone to drunkenness, made unjustified innovations in religious practice, and misled simple people. Other scholars see in *Nezed ha-Dema'* a critique of contemporary Jewish society generally. Perhaps the truth is in between: the work may have been written over a long period of time, so that some passages have a particular target, whereas others are unspecific social criticism, of the kind Zamosc had expressed already in his youth.

Zamosc, who often oscillated between a tone of melancholic discouragement and elation, saw himself as a reformer of the spiritual cum social state of contemporary Jews: he was not only enlightened, but also sought to enlighten his audience. In his last years, he was venerated as an erudite *maskil* in Brody, where he died on April 20, 1772. Later *maskilim* and secular historians rightly gave him a place of pride in the history of the Haskalah. At the same time, Orthodox circles have hailed him as the author of two classic commentaries on standard works of Jewish thought.

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[Gad Freudenthal (2nd ed.)]

ZAMZUMMIM (Heb. זַמְזֻמִּים), the name given by the Ammonites to the inhabitants of the Transjordanian territory whom they dispossessed (Deut. 2:20). They were part of the nation of giants known as *Rephaim, who formed the ancient population of Transjordan (Deut. 2:10–12, 20–23). The Zamzummim are often identified with the people called Zuzim, mentioned as one of the nations defeated by Chedorlaomer and his allies in Transjordan (Gen. 14:5; Rashi, Gen. 14:5), since the same peoples listed in Deuteronomy 2 are listed in Genesis, with Zuzim substituted for Zamzummim. Some modern scholars explain the name Zamzummim as "to talk gibberish" (cf. Ar. *zamzama*). In the midrashic literature, Zamzummim (interpreted as meaning "great masters in war") is one of the seven names given to the offspring of the alliances between the Canaanite women and the angels (Gen. R. 26: 7; see Gen. 6:1–4).

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[Gershon Bacon]

ZAND, MICHAEL (1927–), philologist of Persian. Zand was born in Kamenets-Podolski, but was taken to Moscow in 1930. In 1937 his father was killed during the Stalin purges. Zand studied at the University of Moscow and then, when he could not find employment because of his "background," he moved to Stalinabad (now Dushanbe), where he did research at the Tajik Academy of Sciences from 1951 to 1957. In that year, following the posthumous "rehabilitation" of his father, he returned to Moscow, where he became head of the philological department and member of the editorial board of *Narody Azii i Afriki*, the leading Soviet journal of Oriental studies. In 1962 he became a research worker at the Institute of Oriental Studies, U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences, and in 1964 consulting editor of the *Soviet Literary Encyclopedia*. Having made more than one attempt to leave for Israel, he became involved in the late 1960s in the dissent movement of Soviet intellectuals and in those circles which, despite official disapproval, spread knowledge of Judaism and Israel among Jewish youth.

In 1971 Zand was detained for having led a public demonstration in Moscow of Jews desiring to leave for Israel. His detention became the object of a protest movement addressed by scholars and learned institutions in many countries to the Soviet authorities. He was allowed to leave for Israel that year and was appointed professor of Persian and Tajik literature at the Hebrew University and in 1975 was appointed head of its department of Iranian and Armenian Studies at the Institute of Oriental and African Studies.

Among Zand's publications are *Six Centuries of Glory* (Moscow, 1967) on the history of Persian literature (Persian translation, 1972) in English and in Hebrew; *Jewish Culture in the Soviet Union* (with Ch. Schmeruk, 1973); and *Bukharan and Mountain Jews* (with M. Altshuler and Y. Pinkash, 1973). He was editor (with A. Tartakower and M. Zahave) of *Hagut Ivrit bi-Brit ha-Moaẓot,* studies on Jewish themes and contributions to Hebrew literature by contemporary Russian Jewish scholars (1976). Some of his Hebrew poems, under the pseudonym Menaḥem de-Razin, were sent clandestinely from the U.S.S.R. to Israel and published there.

[Shaul Shaked]

ZANGWILL, ISRAEL (1864–1926), English author. Born in London of a poor Russian immigrant family, Zangwill was first raised in Bristol and then educated at the Jews' Free School in the East End of London and at London University, where he graduated with honors in 1884, and became a teacher. He began his literary career with humorous short stories, but his early life had given him material for work of a far more serious kind. Sensing that he would one day wish to record the world of East London Jewry in novel form, he carefully noted down his early observations and any chance incidents or anecdotes that came his way. These notebooks formed the basis of his "ghetto" novels. Underlying Zangwill's work was also a serious intellectual and spiritual concern with Jewish existence in the Diaspora. This was reflected in the essay on Anglo-Jewry which he contributed to the first volume of the *Jewish Quarterly Review* in 1889. In this article he laid powerful emphasis on the permanent significance of Judaism as a revealed religion; but he also confessed that, in the light of modern skepticism and as a result of the emancipation of the Jews and the breakdown of the ghetto system, Judaism was no longer a viable faith. The Jew, he wrote, was "like a mother who clasps her dead child to her breast and will not let it go." There is a paradox here which indeed runs through Zangwill's life and work. He was passionately devoted to the values of the Jewish past as enshrined in the ghetto, but at the same time he sought to escape from what he felt to be the ghetto's restrictiveness. Like all his major characters, Zangwill was a child of two worlds. The *Jewish Quarterly Review* article attracted the attention of Judge Mayer *Sulzberger of Philadelphia and, as a result, Zangwill was invited to write a novel for the Jewish Publication Society of America. This was the genesis of his internationally successful *Children of the Ghetto* (1892), which records the history of the Ansell family – clearly a reflection of the history of his own family, with Zangwill himself projected as Esther Ansell, the heroine. *Children of the Ghetto* is a mixture of comedy, pathos, trivial episodes, and serious questioning of the nature of Judaism. From a formal and tonal point of view, it is an incompletely unified novel, but it has an epic range and depth and clearly penetrates to the tragedy – as well as the comedy – of Jewish life. All the characters, including the heroine, seek to escape from the ghetto and its religious and social forms, but they nearly all wander back in the end, returning to its spiritual comforts. Among the comic characters is the ghetto poet Melchizedek Pinchas – actually an unflattering pen portrait of Naphtali Herz *Imber, author of *Ha-Tikvah*. *Dreamers of the Ghetto* (1898) consists of a series of sketches based on the lives of historical figures, including the author's father, Moses Zangwill (who ended his days in Jerusalem), Benjamin *Disraeli, Heinrich *Heine, Ferdinand *Lassalle, *Shabbetai Zevi, and Baruch *Spinoza. Most of these men were also affected by the tragic duality of Jewish existence and sought to find some way of mediating between the living inheritance of Judaism and the powerful attractions of the world outside; but, in contrast to the main figures in *Children of the Ghetto*, they nearly all chose the road of apostasy. Other ghetto studies are *The King of Schnorrers* (1894), a hilarious, if imaginary, account of London Jewry in the 18th century; *Ghetto Tragedies* (1893); and *Ghetto Comedies* (1907). Many of these shorter pieces are of only ephemeral significance, but some generate the full power of Zangwill's major work, as for instance "The Diary of a Meshumad" in *Ghetto Tragedies*. This tells the story of the inner conflicts of a Russian Jew, married to a non-Jewess and living his Judaism secretly within himself. Zangwill also wrote many novels without any Jewish content at all. They include *The Master* (1895), the story of an immigrant child from Canada who finally succeeds in becoming a famous artist; *The Mantle of Elijah* (1900), about the events of the Boer War; and *Jinny, the Carrier* (1919), a novel set in mid-19th-century rural England. These now have only historical interest. He also wrote several plays, including *The War God* (1911); *The Cockpit* (1921); and *The Forcing House* (1922). *The Melting Pot* (1909), a drama about Jewish settlement in America, had a long run on Broadway, but its theme ("America is God's crucible, the great melting-pot where all the races of Europe are melting and reforming") was, perhaps, exaggerated. In this work he coined the phrase "the melting pot" to describe America and its immigrants, a phrase which has become proverbial. Zangwill abandoned the idea within a few years. Except for this latter attempt, his plays were not greatly successful on the stage, and his last years were embittered by frustrating struggles with unsympathetic producers. Zangwill also wrote one of the great classics of the "locked room" detective story, *The Big Bow Mystery* (1891).

Zangwill's interests were by no means confined to literature. He took an active part in public questions, including women's suffrage and, during World War I, pacifism. It was to him that *Herzl came in 1895, introducing himself with the words: "I am Theodor Herzl. Help me to rebuild the Jewish state." A year later Zangwill enabled Herzl to address his first London audience, and to that rally of the Maccabeans in 1896 the beginnings of British Zionism may be traced. Zangwill immediately saw the significance of Zionism and became a follower of Herzl and also became a friend of Max *Nordau, whose *Degeneration*, when the English version appeared in 1895, had made a deep impression on him. He joined the Maccabeans' pilgrimage to Ereẓ Israel in 1897 and attended the First Zionist Congress as a visitor. More interested in Jewish nationhood than in the Jewish land, he abandoned official Zionism when the Seventh Zionist Congress (1905) rejected the *Uganda offer. He then founded the Jewish Territorial Organization (see *Territorialism), dedicated to the creation of a Jewish territory in some country that need not necessarily be Palestine. He threw himself into this project with characteristic zeal and energy, recruiting for it the support of the first Lord *Rothschild and of the U.S. philanthropist Jacob *Schiff. The movement's only substantial achievement was the settlement of several thousand Jews in *Galveston, Texas, in the years before World War I. With the issue of the *Balfour Declaration in 1917, Zangwill temporarily returned to his Zionist faith. He became disillusioned, however, as a result of the difficulties encountered by the settlers in Palestine and the opposition of the Arabs and, in his final years, returned to his belief in a territorial solution for the Jewish problem outside Palestine. It is possible to discern a connection between Zangwill's Jewish novels and his political efforts for I.T.O. (see Territorialism). In both, the reality of a Jewish organic existence in the Diaspora is central. A self-governing Jewish territory would be a kind of super-ghetto, perpetuating what was presumably best in the ghetto system without the necessity for a radical spiritual readjustment such as a Jewish renaissance in the Holy Land seemed to demand. Yiddish was, for Zangwill, the true repository of Jewish culture. It is interesting that "ITO land" was not Zangwill's only solution for the Jewish problem. Along with it he paradoxically entertained another idea almost its antithesis: the melting away of Jewish separatism and the absorption of Judaism into a new religion of the future, which would embody the best of Hebraism, Hellenism, and Christianity. Such ideas are set out in his plays *The Melting Pot* and *The Next Religion* and in a number of occasional essays printed at different times.

Zangwill was a brilliant and witty speaker and could always draw a capacity audience of London's Jews. Some of his best-known aphorisms were: "A chosen people is really a choosing people," "Every dogma has its day, but ideas are eternal," and "The history of the ghetto is from more than one aspect the story of the longest and bravest experiment that has ever been made in practical Christianity." His major essays on the Jewish question are collected in *The Voice of Jerusalem* (1920), which contained such biting remarks as: "If there were no Jews, they would have to be invented, for the use of politicians – they are indispensable, the antithesis of a panacea; guaranteed to cause all evils." A further collection of *Speeches, Articles and Letters* was issued in 1937. Zangwill also contributed several verse translations of portions of the liturgy, which ingeniously preserved the original's acrostic and rhyming schemes, to an edition of the *Festival Prayer Book* (1904, and several editions); and he translated a selection of the poems of Ibn *Gabirol in 1903. But his genius did not lie in poetry: his true bent was for comedy and for eloquent narrative and expository prose. His major works were translated into about 20 languages. In 1903 Zangwill married Edith Ayrton (1875–1945), the daughter of a distinguished physicist and the stepdaughter of a Jewish woman, Phoebe Marks Ayrton, herself a distinguished physicist. Edith Zangwill was a noted novelist in her own right.

His younger brother, LOUIS ZANGWILL (1869–1938), wrote under the pseudonym "Z.Z." and achieved some success with his first novel, *A Drama in Dutch* (1894). His other works include *The Beautiful Miss Brooke* (1897), *Cleo the Magnificent* (1898), and a study of the dramatist Richard *Cumberland (1911). Louis Zangwill was, in his earlier years, a chess champion and a gifted mathematician. Israel Zangwill's son, OLIVER LOUIS ZANGWILL (1913–1987), was professor of experimental psychology at the University of Cambridge from 1952 until 1991. He wrote several books on psychology, amnesia, and animal behavior.

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[Harold Harel Fisch]

ZANOAH (Heb. זָנוֹחַ), name of two biblical cities in Judah.

(1) A town "in the Lowland" near Zorah, Jarmuth, and Adullam (Josh. 15:34). It is mentioned in the list of Judean cities with Adullam and Lachish (Neh. 11:30). The inhabitants of Zanoah and their leader Hanun were among those who rebuilt the walls of Jerusalem in Nehemiah's time (Neh. 3:13), and it may be conjectured, therefore, that Zanoah was a center of secondary rank in its district, probably that of Keilah. In the time of Eusebius (Onom. 92:13), Zanoah was a village within the boundaries of Eleutheropolis (Bet Guvrin) on the way to Ailia (Jerusalem). The site is identified with Khirbat Zanūʿ between Beth-Shemesh and the valley of Elah, where pottery of the Late Bronze and Iron II ages, as well as remains from later periods, was found. According to the Mishnah, the quality of the fine flour of Zanua was unsurpassed (Men. 8:1; corrected Mss.).

(2) A Judean city in the mountain region, in the same district as Maon, Carmel, Ziph, and Juttah (Josh. 15:56). Therefore, it was probably to the S.E. of Hebron, but the exact site is unknown.

An agricultural moshav with the name Zanoah, originally of Yemenite Jews, mostly new immigrants, was established south of Beth-Shemesh in 1950. Later the Yemenites were replaced by North African Jews, mostly from Morocco. Its population in 1969 was 318. In the mid-1990s the population was approximately 340

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[Michael Avi-Yonah]

ZANTE (Gr. **Zakynthos** or **Zakinthos**), city on the island of Zante, the main southernmost island of the Ionian Islands of Greece. Moses *Basola, who passed through Zante in 1522, found about 30 Jewish families and a synagogue. *Elijah of Pesaro mentions in 1563, 20 heads of families of Sicilian and Portuguese origin, mostly wealthy merchants engaged in maritime trade between Venice and Constantinople. The Jews lived in a ghetto which was closed at night. From 1518 they had to wear the Jewish *badge.

The first known rabbi of the community was Joseph Formon, born at Serrai (Seres), in Macedonia, who headed a rabbinical school before being appointed to Zante. During the 17th century R. Jacob b. Israel ha-Levi was the rabbi of Zante. In 1686 the Jewish community numbered about 1,000 people. There was a *blood libel in Zante in 1712. There were two synagogues in the town, one named the Zante Synagogue and the other Candia. The latter was built in 1699 by natives of Candia at a slight distance from the ghetto, destroyed in 1712, and rebuilt in 1716. The Jews engaged in crafts and commerce. As a result of the blood libels and the decline in commerce, they abandoned the town. After some time Jews from Corfu, Crete, Constantinople, Izmir, and other places settled in Zante. They lived under the English from 1815–64. It was forbidden for them to belong to artisan guilds and trade associations and to take part in the political life of the island. In 1891 the Jewish population numbered between 200 and 300. During the Corfu blood libel and ensuing riots of that year, violence erupted in Zante. Although the troops defended the Jews, the mob attacked four Jewish families outside of the Jewish ghetto. Four people were killed, and 11 were injured. One soldier was killed defending the Jews and three Christians were killed when the troops shot at the crowd to defend the Jews.

At the outbreak of World War II the Jewish population numbered 270. With the German occupation many of them sought refuge in the mountains, some 70 to 80 remaining in the town. When on September 9, 1943, the Germans demanded that the Jews of Zakynthos be drafted for forced road work, they were quickly represented by the Righteous Gentiles Metropolit Chrystostemos and mayor Lukas Karrer (the Jewish community president being incapable of doing so), and relieved of the arduous task. The German commander Lut demanded Jewish communal lists, but the two dignitaries claimed that they were the only Jews on the island. The

Jews dispersed throughout the island and until the liberation, some 30 of them died of starvation. A deportation boat arrived from Corfu, but there was no room to add local Jews; the Jews were still dispersed, however, in the countryside villages. The Jews were never deported and though there are numerous theories, none have ever been proven or documented. They include Lut's having a Greek girlfriend who influenced him not to harm the Jews, EDES leader Katevatis threatening Lut continuously with revenge if the Jews were deported, and Metropolit, claiming to have known Hitler from their student days in Munich, reportedly sending a telegram to Hitler requesting him not to deport the Jews. Even at the end of the German occupation in August 1944, Jews were still being pursued in the most remote corners, and not arresting and deporting the Jews of Zakynthos is a highly unusual phenomenon in Nazi-occupied Greece and Europe.

The convoy of Jews that was sent from Corfu to death camps in Poland in June 1944 was too large to permit a halt in Zante and so the Jews there were saved. Those who had fled subsequently returned in September of that year, but shortly afterward a large number of them immigrated to Ereẓ Israel on the illegal immigration boat *Henrietta Szold* in August 1946. They were stopped by the British in the Bay of Haifa and deported to Cyprus, but allowed to come to Ereẓ Israel in December 1946. In 1948 there were 70 Jews in the town, but after the 1953 earthquake most of the Jews left for Athens or Israel. In the 1980s the last Jew died, and the Greek Board of Jewish Communities in Athens oversaw the synagogues and cemetery.

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[Simon Marcus / Yitzchak Kerem (2nd ed.)]

ZAPHON (Heb. צָפוֹן), city of the tribe of Gad, listed with Succoth and, as the enumeration of cities in Joshua 13:27 goes from south to north, apparently situated to the north of the latter. The name also appears as that of a family in the genealogy of Gad (Gen. 46:16, as Ziphion; Num. 26:15, as Zephon). The city may have been occupied earlier than the Israelite period, as is indicated by its name, which recalls the Canaanite deity Baal-Zephon; it is possibly mentioned in one of the el-Amarna letters (no. 274) as well. Some scholars assume that Jephthah resided there, for the Ephraimites, in their quarrel with him, gathered at Zaphon. Where the Hebrew text relates that Jephthah was buried "in one of the cities of Gilead" (Judg. 12:7), the Septuagint reads "in his city, Zaphon." In the Jerusalem Talmud (Shev. 9:2, 38d), it is identified with Amtan (Amathus), present-day Tell ʿAmmātā in the Wadi Rājib, but possibly this is due to confusion between a distinguishing epithet and the city name: this particular Zaphon was known as "Zaphon near Amathus." Josephus calls it Asophon; it was there that Alexander Yannai suffered defeat at the hands of Ptolemy, king of Cyprus (Ant., 13:338). Basing his position on the talmudic equation, Glueck identifies it with Tell al-Qaws, a prominent and strategically strong position, about three mi. (5 km.) north of Tell Deir (Dayr) ʿAllā, the assumed site of *Succoth. Pottery on the surface of the tell ranges from late Chalcolithic through Early Bronze Age I–II, Middle Bronze I, Late Bronze II, and Iron Age I–II. The later Zaphon may have been located at Khirbat Buwayb, about 1.4 mi. (2.25 km.) west-northwest of Tell al-Qaws. Albright, however, identifies the ancient site with Tell al-Saʿīdiyya, farther to the northwest on the Wadi Kafranjī, near the Jordan (on the excavations of this mound, see *Zarethan).

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[Michael Avi-Yonah]

ZAPOROZHE (before 1921 Alexandrovsk), city in Zaporozhe district, Ukraine. The Jewish community increased with the rapid development of the town in the late 19th century and in 1897 numbered 5,290 (28 percent of the total population). In 1881 there was an outbreak of *pogroms in the town, whence they spread to the surrounding towns and villages. In 1905 there were again severe pogroms. The Jewish population in 1926 numbered 11,319 (20.3 percent of the total). The growth of the city attracted many thousands of Jews from the impoverished townlets of western Ukraine and Belorussia. In 1932 there were 20,000 Jews in Zaporozhe, of whom about half were industrial workers. It is estimated that this number at least doubled in the period before World War II, which was a time of rapid development for the city of Zaporozhe (whose total population rose from 56,000 in 1926 to 289,000 in 1939). During the German occupation in World War II the Jews who did not succeed in escaping were murdered. In 1959 the Jews numbered 17,400 (4 percent of the total population). There was no synagogue, but *kasher* poultry was available. There was a Jewish section in the general cemetery, and on the outskirts of the city a Jewish mass grave dating from the German massacres.

District of Zaporozhe

Between 1846 and 1855 ten Jewish settlements were founded in the district of Zaporozhe. In 1908 they cultivated 309,000 acres. These settlements were incorporated in 1928 within the Jewish autonomous region named Nei-Zlatopol after the largest settlement. The Jewish population of the district numbered 7,500 (50 percent). The Jewish settlements were destroyed during the German occupation.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Die Judenpogrome in Russland*, 2 (1909), 196–203.

[Yehuda Slutsky]

ZARASAI (under the czarist regime **Novoaleksandrovsk**), city in N.E. Lithuania. In independent Lithuania the city was first called Ežerenai and was a district center. In 1838 there were 146 Jews there, among them five merchants; by 1847 the number of Jews had risen to 453. The town's geographic position, near Dvinsk (*Daugavpils), on the main Petersburg (Leningrad)–Warsaw–Berlin highway, had a favorable influence both on its general development and on the growth of its Jewish population; by 1897 there were 3,348 Jews in the town (53% of the total population). During World War I most of the Jews there fled to other parts of Russia, and not all returned to the town after the war. When Lithuania became independent, Zarasai was cut off from its hinterland, with disastrous consequences both for its economy and size of its population; by 1923, the Jewish population had decreased to 1,329 (35% of the total population). The community was composed largely of shopkeepers and artisans, but there were also some professionals. A number of Jewish secular and religious institutions of learning were supported by the community. In World War II, shortly after the Germans attacked the U.S.S.R., Zarasai was occupied by the German army. On Aug. 26, 1941, 8,000 Jews from Zarasai and surrounding communities were taken to a forest near Dusetai and murdered there.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Lite*, 1 (1951); *Yahadut Lita*, 3 (1967); *Yisker-Bukh fun Rakishok un Umgegnt* (1952).

[Joseph Gar]

ZARCHI, ASHER (1864–1932), Orthodox rabbi. Born in Kovno, Lithuania, Zarchi later attended the well-known yeshivah of Volozhin. He married in 1883, continued his Talmud studies, and received rabbinic ordination from Rabbi Isaac Elhanan Spektor, the communal rabbi of Kovno, along with Rabbi Isaac Meir of Slobodka and Rabbi Chaim Segal of Yanova.

Zarchi immigrated to the United States in 1891 and served as pulpit rabbi in the Brownsville section of Brooklyn for a year, after which he moved to Des Moines, Iowa, where he was the only Orthodox rabbi. Zarchi played a central role in establishing America's first Orthodox rabbinic union, the Agudat ha-Rabbonim. He helped prepare its initial mission statement. Zarchi stayed in Des Moines until 1903, when he was invited to move to Louisville, Kentucky, by that city's *Vaad Ha-Ir*, to become its community rabbi. Zarchi did not serve any particular pulpit in Louisville but rather served the needs of the entire community.

In Louisville, Zarchi was responsible for *kashrut* supervision and communal charities. He was also the main Hebrew teacher in a small school at the Beth Hamidrash Hagadol. Zarchi was instrumental in forming the Louisville Hebrew School and as chief rabbi of the city, he often traveled to inspect Midwestern mills that prepared flour for *matzah* baking as well as manufacturing plants in Cincinnati, where he gave kosher supervision for Crisco.

Zarchi's life work included articles of Talmud commentary and Jewish law that appeared in such journals as *Ha-Ivri, Ha-Pisgah,* and *Ha-Measef.* He also contributed essays to the encyclopedic work, *Ozar Yisroel*, which was edited by Rabbi Judah David Eisenstein. Zarchi died on June 24, 1932. He had no children. In 1946, the Jewish National Fund of Louisville helped establish an Israeli settlement in his memory and named it Naḥalat Zarchi.

[Lynne Schreiber (2nd ed.)]

ZARCHI, ISRAEL (1909–1947), Hebrew novelist and editor. Born in Jedrzejow, Poland, Zarchi immigrated to Ereẓ Israel in 1929, worked as a laborer, and studied at the Hebrew University (1932–37). He wrote mainly about life in Ereẓ Israel. The pain and anguish that accompanied the efforts of the *ḥalutzim* to acclimatize themselves and take root in Ereẓ Israel are major themes in his works.

His novels include *Olamim* (1933); *Yamim Yeḥefim* (1935); *Ha-Neft Zorem la-Yam ha-Tikhon* (1937); *Har ha-Ẓofim* (1940); *Beit Savta she-Ḥarav* (1941); *Ereẓ Lo Zeru'ah* (1946); *Kefar ha-Shillo'aḥ* (1948); a short story collection, *Ha-Ḥof ha-Nikhsaf,* was published posthumously (1950). He translated works by S. Maugham, J. Conrad, and H. von Kleist, and was one of the editors of *Yalkut Yerushalmi le-Divrei Sifrut* (1942). A. Barshai edited a collection of Zarchi's stories, *Yalkut Sippurim* (with an introduction and a bibliography, 1983). For a list of English translations of his stories, see Goell, Bibliography, 82.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Toren, in: *Itturim* (1949), 129–36. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** G. Shaked, *Ha-Sipporet ha-Ivrit*, 2 (1983), 308–13.

[Getzel Kressel]

ZARCHIN, ALEXANDER (1897–1988), Israeli engineer and inventor. Zarchin was born in Zolotonosha in the Ukraine. After graduating from the Leningrad Technical Institute, he was a member of its staff until 1934. He was imprisoned for a time in a labor camp. He took out patents for evaporative drying, distillation, separation of oxygen from air, and, more importantly, for a freezing process for desalination of water. Zarchin went to Palestine in 1947. His desalination process was developed in Israel and used experimentally to supply water to the town of Eilat.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Desalination Plants Ltd., *Desalination Plants Ltd: Developers of Zarchin Process* (1962); Tidhar, 14 (1965), 4518–20.

[Samuel Aaron Miller]

ZARCO, JUDAH (16th century), rhetorician and poet. Born on the island of Rhodes, Zarco subsequently lived for some time in Salonika. There he became a member of the Ḥakhmei ha-Shir ("Masters of Poetry"), who held competitions in the art of poetry and who also composed epigrams, poems, and works of rhetoric for various occasions. While still in Rhodes, Zarco had already written love poems and rhetorical works; and when he came to Salonika, he was received with great respect and was extolled by the local poets for his inventiveness.

Zarco composed a *maqāma* entitled *Leḥem Yehudah* (Constantinople, 1560), which he dedicated to the "Maecenas"

Abraham ibn Ḥen. It was published only once and is today a rarity. Its contents run as follows: A certain king had an exceedingly beautiful daughter. He shut her up and took great care that no lover should have access to her. Five princes came and attempted with the help of a certain wise man to enter the locked palace. They disguised themselves and entered, each one in a different manner, and one of them was successful in his stratagem. Zarco took great pains to compose a complicated acrostic that runs the entire length of the *maqāma*, and which has no parallel; but his work was not of the same quality as that of the famous writers of *maqāma*.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: A.M. Habermann, *Toledot ha-Piyyut ve-ha-Shirah* (1970), 232f.; idem, in: J. Zarco, *Leḥem Yehudah* (1970), introduction; Davidson, Oẓar, 4 (1933), 392f.

[Abraham Meir Habermann]

ZAREPHATH (Heb. צָרְפַת), Phoenician city situated between Tyre and Sidon and dependent on the latter. According to the papyrus Anastasi I, which dates to the time of Ramses II (13th century B.C.E.), it was located between Sidon, Ush (Palaetyrus), and Tyre. The prophet Elijah was commanded to go to Zarephath during the great drought in the reign of Ahab (I Kings 17:9–24). There he was met by a widow whom he nourished, miraculously, throughout the barren period; he later revived her dying son. This miracle made a great impression on later generations: it was mentioned in Jesus' discourse at Nazareth (Luke 4:26) and was represented in the wall paintings in the synagogue at *Dura-Europos. Zarephath is mentioned as the farthest limit of Canaan in Obadiah 1:20. In 701 B.C.E. Sennacherib took the city in his campaign against the rebellious cities of Phoenicia and the land of Israel. Josephus locates it between Sidon and Tyre (Ant., 8:320; as Sarept). According to Pliny, purple dye was produced there (5:70). Eusebius refers to it as a "most famous village" (Onom. 162:1). In Byzantine times it was called "large village," and the Aramaic name for it was "the long village" (*Qrita arikta*), probably because it extended for some distance along the seashore. It is so named on a detached fragment of the Madaba Map, in an account of the miracles of the saints Cyrus and John (*Patrologia graeca* 87:3636), and in the *Life of Petrus Iberus* (ed. Raabe, 111, 114). In crusader times, it was a walled village, a fief of Sayette (Sidon) and the seat of a bishop, known as Sarepta. It is now called Ṣarafand, a village on the shore, about 9 mi. (15 km.) south of Sidon, with a tomb of al-Khaḍr (Elijah), which probably replaced the church dedicated to the prophet which was mentioned by Theodosius (*Itinera Hierosolymitana* …, ed. Geyer, 147) and Antonius (*ibid.*, 160). The name is also used in Hebrew for France (which in medieval times excluded Provence).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: R. Dussaud, *Topographie historique de la Syrie*… (1927), 42; Abel, Geog, 2 (1938), 449; M. Avi-Yonah, *Madaba Mosaic Map* (1954), 77.

[Michael Avi-Yonah]

ZARETHAN (Heb. צָרְתָן), site near Adam, mentioned in the account of the damming of the Jordan (Josh. 3:16) and in that of the flight of the Midianites (Judg. 7:22; as Zererah). Beth-Shean, in Solomon's fifth district, is described as being "beside Zarethan, beneath Jezreel" (I Kings 4:12), but most scholars emend this passage by transposing Zarethan to the end of the verse, thus placing it at the farthest limit of the district near Jokneam (Tell al-Mazār?). Solomon had the vessels of the Temple cast between Succoth and Zarethan (I Kings 7:46; II Chron. 4:17, as Zeredah). The identification of the place is in dispute, some scholars placing it west of the Jordan, others placing it to the east of the river. Of the latter, Mazar identifies it with Tell Umm Ḥamād, a large settlement between Adam and Succoth, while Glueck has suggested Tell al-Saʿīdiyya farther to the north, which, however, Albright identifies with *Zaphon. Excavations directed by Pritchard at Tell al-Saʿīdiyya revealed the remains of a Canaanite occupation, as well as an Israelite city (tenth-eighth centuries B.C.E.) with a casemate wall 17 ft. thick, remains of houses with pillared courts, a weaving room with 72 loom weights, and an Iron Age I staircase, roofed over and arranged in two passageways led by 84 steps from the city to the spring. Other finds include early Bronze Age, late Bronze Age and early Iron Age tombs, one of a woman with jewelry, including 575 beads.

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[Michael Avi-Yonah]

ZARETZKI, ISAAC (1891–1956), Yiddish linguist and author. Born in Pinsk, he studied mathematics at Derpt University (now Tartu, Estonia) in 1913–17 and published studies on geometric terminology in Yiddish (1923) as well as Yiddish translations of mathematics (1921) and algebra (1924) textbooks. Zaretzki's major contribution, however, was in the field of Yiddish linguistics. After the 1917 Revolution he joined the Jewish Labor *Bund and then the Communist Party (1918), which he left in 1921. He was briefly head of the Jewish Department of the People's Commissariat for Education in Moscow (1920). As the central figure in the movement for a reformed Yiddish orthography, Zaretzki wrote a number of books and articles on the subject, which later received government sanction, becoming the official Yiddish orthography of the Soviet Union, one of whose striking characteristics is the abandonment of the traditional spelling of Yiddish words of Hebrew-Aramaic origin. In the early 1930s he advocated introducing the Latin alphabet for Yiddish, but did not find many supporters among his fellow language-planners.

A leading methodologist in Yiddish language teaching, Zaretzki wrote a number of books in this field while pursuing extensive and intensive research into Yiddish grammar, especially syntax, and was noted for his penetrating observations and generalizations. Foremost among his numerous publications in this field is *Praktishe Yidishe Gramatik* ("Practical Yiddish Grammar," 1926, 1927^2, rev. ed. 1929 under the title *Yidishe Gramatik* ("Yiddish Grammar")). From 1928 he taught Yiddish linguistics at the Second Moscow State University, later transformed into the Moscow Teachers' Training Institute. When the Yiddish department was closed (1938), he became a university lecturer of general and Russian linguistics. He died in Kursk, Russia.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Reyzen, Leksikon, 1 (1926), 1057–61; LNYL, 3 (1960), 476–8. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** G. Estraikh, *Soviet Yiddish: Language Planning and Linguistic Development* (1999).

[Mordkhe Schaechter / Gennady Estraikh (2nd ed.)]

ZARISKI, OSCAR (1899–1986), U.S. mathematician. Zariski was born in Kobrin, Russia, His father was a talmudic scholar who died when Zariski was two, leaving his mother Hannah to support seven children. She did this by running a store, and in fact the family became one of the richest in Kobrin. In 1927 Zariski won a scholarship to Johns Hopkins University in the U.S., where he was professor of mathematics from 1937 to 1945. He was then professor at the University of Illinois and finally at Harvard. Zariski's contribution to mathematics was mainly in the fields of algebraic geometry, modern algebra, and topology, and he is known particularly for his work on algebraic surfaces. Zariski received a Guggenheim fellowship in 1939–40. He was president of the American Mathematical Society in 1969–70 and was editor of the *American Journal of Mathematics*. Among his books are *Commutative Algebra* (2 vols., 1958–60) with P. Samuel; and *Algebraic Surfaces* (1935); he edited the work of R. Dedekind, *Essenza e significato dei numeri* (1926).

[Maurice Goldsmith]

ZARITSKY, MAX (1885–1959), U.S. labor leader. Zaritsky was born in Petrikov, Russia, and was taken to the U.S. in 1905. He became active in the cap and millinery workers' union, rising to president by 1919. Thereafter, he fought to establish union standards throughout the chaotic trades, succeeding with the aid of the New Deal. He was responsible for stabilization and union-management cooperation in his industry. Active in pressuring labor support for national unemployment insurance and for AFL-CIO unity, his socialist heritage was tempered as head of the United Hat, Cap, and Millinery Workers. While ousting Communist influence from his union, he never abandoned the hope for independent labor political action. In 1936 he helped establish the American Labor Party and was a presidential elector for Franklin D. Roosevelt. After 1944 he joined the Liberal Party. A labor Zionist, Zaritsky believed in a Jewish state. As chairman of the American Jewish Trade Union Committee for Palestine, Zaritsky worked, after World War II, on behalf of unrestricted immigration to Palestine and for an independent Jewish Commonwealth. His papers are in Tamiment Library, New York University.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: D.B. Robinson, *Spotlight on a Union* (1948); *New York Times* (May 11, 1959), 27 (obituary).

[Kenneth Waltzer]

ZARITSKY, YOSSEF (1891–1985), Israeli painter. He was born in Borispol, near Kiev, and studied until 1914 at the Academy of Art in Kiev. He then lived in Moscow. In 1923, he went to Palestine, settling in Jerusalem, where he was one of the initiators of the first exhibition of Palestinian artists. In 1927, Zaritsky moved to Tel Aviv, where in 1947–48 he was one of the founders of the "New Horizons" group. Zaritsky was the first Israel artist to hold a one-man show in an important art center, the Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam, in 1955 – the year he was awarded the Israel Prize. His temperament and his feeling for color led him to concentrate on landscapes. Between 1923 and 1945 he painted mostly in watercolor. Zaritsky's work underwent "periods," each of which has its special characteristic. There are the watercolors of Haifa, Jerusalem, and Safed (1923–26), which contain carefully blended color harmonies as well as sketches in which patches of violent color are applied to the drawing; the "Views over Ramat Gan" (1936–38) show great feeling for composition. His series of "Zikhron Ya'akov" (1939–40) and still lifes (1945) are stages in an evolution toward abstraction. Lastly, his large oils in the "Yehiam" and "Amsterdam" series (1954–55) synthesize all the elements of the evolution, in both brushwork and balance of color. Zaritsky's indirect influence through his pupils Avigdor Stematsky and Yehezkel Streichman contributed to the birth of an abstract-lyricist movement after 1948. This dominated young Israel painters for many years.

[Yona Fischer]

ZARKO (Zarka), JOSEPH BEN JUDAH (14th–15th centuries), Hebrew grammarian and poet in *Spain and *Italy. Zarko was one of the pupils of Profiat *Duran. Apparently in consequence of the 1391 persecutions in Spain he wandered to various towns of Italy, and in 1413 he lived in Pisa and subsequently in the towns of Modena, Ferrara, Cento, Ancona, and Mantua. He apparently died in Mantua. In Italy he engaged in writing and was supported by wealthy patrons, such as Jehiel b. Mattathias of *Pisa and the brothers Isaac and Mordecai *Finzi of Mantua. In practice he was one of the disseminators among the Jews of Italy of the Hebrew poetry and grammatical studies that had developed in Spain.

He was the author of *Rav Pe'alim*, written in 1429, a grammar of the Hebrew language which was frequently copied; and *Ba'al ha-Lashon*, a Hebrew dictionary after the manner of the *Sefer ha-Shorashim* of David *Kimḥi. Poems and letters of his are also extant. Some scholars have erroneously identified him with Joseph b. Isaac Zarko, the teacher of Abraham Portaleone.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Davidson, Oẓar, 4 (1933), 404; D. Kaufmann, in: REJ, 37 (1898), 306f.; idem, in: MGWJ, 43 (1899), 136–44; S. Poznański, *ibid.*, 50 (1906), 624; S. Simonsohn, *Toledot ha-Yehudim be-Dukkasut Mantovah*, 2 (1964), 516.

[Abraham David]

ZARZA, SAMUEL IBN SENEH (14th century), Spanish philosopher. Although there is little information on Zarza's life, it is known that he lived in Palencia, in Castille, in the second half of the 14th century. Samuel Shalom, the first printer of *Sefer ha-Yuḥasin* (1566), maintains in his notes to that work that Zarza was burned at the stake by the tribunal of Valencia, having been accused by Isaac *Campanton of denying creation. However, historians have proved that this is only a legend.

Zarza wrote a philosophical commentary on the Pentateuch titled *Mekor Ḥayyim* ("Fountain of Life," Mantua, 1559), containing an epilogue in which he described the sufferings of the Jews of Castile during the period of the civil wars between King Pedro and his brother Henry (see Baer, Urkunden, 2, pt. 1 (1936), no. 209). In 1369 he wrote a philosophical commentary on various *aggadot* called *Mikhlal Yofi* ("The Perfection of Beauty," Bodleian Library, Seld. Arch. A. 65). In an introduction to this latter work Zarza wrote that in Toledo alone 10,000 Jews were killed during the period of these civil wars. In *Mekor Ḥayyim*, Zarza mentioned four other works that he wrote that are no longer extant: *Tohorat ha-Kodesh, Eẓe ha-Dat, Ẓeror ha-Mor*, and *Magen Avraham*. Poems in Zarza's honor were written by Solomon Reubeni of Barcelona and Isaac ibn *Al-Ḥadib.

Zarza's philosophical thought is typical, in many respects, of a group of thinkers in his immediate and more distant areas, including Solomon Al-Constantini, Solomon Franco, Shem Tov ibn Shaprut, and Shem Tov ibn Major. Like some of the Torah commentaries of this circle of colleagues, Zarza's *Mekkor Ḥayyim* is both a commentary on the Torah and a supercommentary on Abraham Ibn Ezra. The commentary, interesting in its own right, is also important on account of the variety of sources cited, including fragments of the lost Bible and *aggadah* commentaries of Shem Tov ibn *Falaquera. Zarza's philosophy combines the views of Ibn Ezra and Maimonides. For example, he adopted the Maimonidean negative divine attributes and Aristotelian conception of God as thought itself, while at the same time he adopted Ibn Ezra's Neoplatonic cosmology, combining such terms as "universal soul" and Active Intellect. Zarza also displayed a broad view of astral magic, according to which the Torah's commandments are vessels for attracting astral "spiritual influence" (*ruḥaniyut*). This combination of diverse elements from Maimonidean Aristotelianism, Neoplatonism, and astral magic was characteristic of the 14th-century Neoplatonic school in his area of which Zarza was a major figure.

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[Dov Schwartz (2nd ed.)]

ZARZAL (ZARZAB), ABRAHAM IBN (14th century), Spanish physician and astrologer. Zarzal was favored by Sultan Muhammad IV of Granada. The previous court physician Pharez b. Abraham ibn Zarzal was possibly his father. When the sultan's minister, Reduan, was assassinated, Zarzal, fearing he might be implicated, fled to Castile. Here his reputation as a physician and astrologer, together with the recommendation of the sultan, with whom King Pedro of Castile was on friendly terms, led to Zarzal's appointment to the court of Castile as physician and astrologer. There he worked from 1350 to after 1369.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: H. Friedenwald, *Jews and Medicine*, 2 (1967²), 644–6.

[Nathan Koren]

ZASLAVSKY, DAVID (1880–1965), Russian journalist and publicist. An early opponent of the Bolsheviks, he became one of their most zealous defenders and propagandists. He studied law at the University of Kiev, and in 1903 joined the *Bund, writing manifestos which led to his imprisonment for short periods by the czarist police. He took up journalism in 1904 and was a correspondent for liberal dailies in Yiddish and Russian. In 1917 he was a Bund delegate to the Workers' Councils and opposed the Bolsheviks. When the Bolsheviks seized power in October, he left for Kiev, but acknowledged his error when the Bolsheviks occupied Kiev. In 1920 he published an open letter in which he "confessed" his anti-Bolshevism. In 1925 he published another letter in which he tried to "atone" and asked to be accepted into the Communist Party, but he was allowed membership only in 1934. From 1926 he was a political writer for *Izvestiya*, and from 1928 until the end of his career, for *Pravda*. During the period of the Ribbentrop-Molotov pact he included attacks on the Jews in his articles on international affairs. During World War II he was a member of the Jewish *Anti-Fascist Committee; he was not arrested in 1948/49 with most of the other members of the committee. Zaslavsky was unsparing in his attacks on "deviationists," among them Boris *Pasternak for his novel *Dr. Zhivago.* After the establishment of the State of Israel he was one of its most violent critics in his editorial and feuilleton writing. He studied the treatment of Jews in Russian literature and concluded that it was antisemitic.

Zaslavsky wrote biographies of Plekhanov and Lassalle (1925) and an account of the U.S. Civil War (1926). A collection of his articles was published in 1960 under the title *Day by Day.* Zaslavsky admitted that the Communists had only partially solved the Jewish problem in the U.S.S.R.

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[Yitzhak Maor]

ZASLOFSKY, MAX (**"Slats"**; 1925–1985), U.S. basketball player and coach, member of the NBA's Silver Anniversary Top 25 Team. A native of Brooklyn, New York, Zaslofsky was an all-scholastic player at Thomas Jefferson High School. He graduated during World War II, and served for two years in the U.S. Navy. After his discharge, Zaslofsky attended St. John's University for a year, where he helped the Redmen to the NIT with his effective two-hand set shot and solid overall court presence. Already 21 years old and married, Zaslofsky chose to turn professional in 1946, playing for the Chicago Stags of the newly formed BAA, which three years later became the NBA. Chicago, led by Zaslofsky's offense, topped the Western Division, and in the playoffs upset Coach Red *Auerbach's heavily favored Washington Capitols before bowing out to the Philadelphia Warriors in the championship. At the end of his rookie season, Zaslofsky was named First Team All-NBA, the youngest player ever to receive that honor (21 years 4 months). In the 1947–48 campaign, Zaslofsky was first in the league in total points (1,007), second in points per game (21.0), and led Chicago to a quarterfinal victory over Boston in the playoffs before losing to Baltimore in the semifinals. In his third season with Chicago, Zaslofsky was again among the top five in most offensive categories. In his last year with Chicago, Zaslofsky led the NBA in free-throw percentage, shooting 84.3 percent. Zaslofsky was named First Team All-NBA each of his four years with Chicago. When the Stags folded in 1950, the now coveted Zaslofsky was won in a mini-lottery by the New York Knicks, whom he immediately helped to two consecutive NBA finals in 1951 and 1952, and was named a starter on the 1952 NBA All-Star East team. Zaslofsky was traded in 1953 to the Fort Wayne Pistons, and the following year he went to the Baltimore Bullets and Milwaukee Hawks before returning to Fort Wayne. During that 1954 season, Zaslofsky became the first of only five NBA players to score 20 or more points in a game for three different teams in the same season. Zaslofsky led the 1954–55 Pistons team to the NBA finals, and contributed to their repeat trip to the finals the following year. When he retired in 1956, Zaslofsky was the third highest scorer in the NBA, with nearly 8,000 points. He came out of retirement in 1967 to coach the New Jersey Americans of the American Basketball Association. The team narrowly missed the playoffs after having to forfeit a tiebreaker game. Zaslofsky retired from coaching the following season. In 2002, the staff of ESPN voted Zaslofsky one of the top ten players in NBA history not to be included in the Hall of Fame.

[Robert B. Klein (2nd ed.)]

ZASTAVNA, town in Chernovtsy district, Ukraine, in N. *Bukovina; until World War I in Austria and between the two world wars in Romania. Jews probably settled in Zastavna toward the end of Moldavian rule in the area; at the beginning of the Austrian conquest there were already Jews in the town. According to the Austrian census, they numbered 17 in 1774 and 33 in 1776. An organized community was established in the early 19th century, though tombstones in the cemetery attest to a regular community life before that period. A Jewish elementary school was established in 1919, and a synagogue built in 1926. In Zastavna, as in other communities of Bukovina. *Ḥasidism had a considerable influence. A Zionist organization was established in Zastavna in 1905. Jews took part in the municipal elections and for some time a Jew was mayor. The Jews in Zastavna were mainly engaged in commerce and crafts, but toward the end of Austrian rule also included wealthy landowners and industrialists (in sugar and alcohol manufacture). The community of Zastavna had jurisdiction over 29 nearby villages, where Jewish landowners were also living. At the beginning of World War I, in 1914, many of the Jews living in Zastavna escaped to Vienna, and most did not return.

Holocaust and Contemporary Periods

In World War II, during the Holocaust period (1941–44) the 635 Jews in Zastavna, like other Jews in Bukovina, were deported to *Transnistria. After the war about 120 survivors returned, but their number gradually diminished through emigration to Israel and elsewhere. By 1971 no Jews remained in Zastavna.

[Yehouda Marton]

ZATEC (Czech **Žatec**; Ger. **Saaz**), town in N.W. Bohemia, Czech Republic. Jews settled in Zatec before 1350. The burghers of Zatec sought to expel them in the early 16th century, but the king did not consent. However, after the publication of the Bohemian expulsion decree of 1541, the burghers attacked the Jews and drove them out of town. Jews did not return until the second half of the 19th century; two Jewish families lived in Zatec in 1852. A cemetery was opened in 1869 and a synagogue built in 1872. The Jews were mainly engaged in the trade and export of hops, an economic activity of national importance. In 1921 the Jewish population numbered 1,082, but by 1930 their number had declined to 760 (4.2% of the total population). The community was destroyed during the Holocaust. In the 1960s the cemetery was still in existence.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Ger Jud, 2 (1968), 728; E. Maendl and H. Schwenger, in: H. Gold (ed.), *Juden und Judengemeinden Boehmens* (1934), 579–84.

[Jan Herman]

ẒAVA'AT RIBASH, ḥasidic work; full title, *Ẓava'at Ribash ve-Hanhagot Yesharot* ("The Testimony of Ribash [Rabbi Israel Ba'al Shem] and Upright Rules of Conduct"), published in Zolkiew in 1793. (Another Zolkiew edition, which may be earlier, is undated.) The title page ambiguously states that the manuscript was in the possession of the editor, Isaiah of Yanov. Although, on the basis of the title, it was widely believed that the work is the ethical will of Israel Ba'al Shem Tov, Shneur Zalman of Lyady writes: "The truth is that this is not his ethical will and that he made no such will before he departed this life. It is rather a collection of his sayings compiled by others. Although these were insufficiently skilled in translation, the authentic meaning is conveyed" (*Tanya, Iggeret ha-Kodesh*, No. 25). The title of the work is derived from the opening sentences: "It is a command (*ẓava'ah*) of the Ba'al Shem that one must be wholehearted in the service of God." The editor remarks that he has included in the anthology some teachings of Dov *Baer, the Maggid of Mezhirech. In fact, the majority of the teachings recorded are from the school of the Maggid. The work bears a strong resemblance to other collections of ḥasidic material, such as *Likkutei Yekarim* and *Maggid Devarav le-Yaakov*, the same sayings appearing in all these works, though not in the same order or with exactly the same wording.

The work contains the basic ideas of Hasidism, stressing in particular the idea of *devekut*, attachment to God in the mind at all times. Man should cultivate an attitude of equanimity, being indifferent to both the praise and blame of others, and be so devoid of any desire for physical pleasure that it makes no difference to him whether he eats delicacies or coarse, unpalatable food (Nos. 2 and 10). God wishes to be served in many different ways. Even when a man converses with others, his mind can be on God and perform "unifications" (*yiḥudim*) (No. 3). Weeping is an evil. God must always be served in joy. To weep is only advantageous when it is the result of joy in man's attachment to God (No. 45). The fear of God without the love of God is tantamount to melancholy. It is wrong to be overscrupulous in considering how best to serve God. One should be so full of joy at the very opportunity of serving Him that one has neither time nor inclination to ponder over the "how" and "what" of worship (No. 110).

The accusation by the *Mitnaggedim* that *Ẓava'at Ribash* discourages the study of the Talmud is unfounded. However, it is true that *devekut* is the book's ultimate ideal, to which even Torah study is subordinate. The work not only demands of the student of the Torah that he pause frequently during his studies to engage in *devekut*, but states explicitly that the study of the Torah is not an aim in itself but is for the purpose of attaining *devekut* (No. 29). Moreover, prayer is held to be superior to Torah study, a reversal of the traditional scale of values: "The soul declared to the Rabbi [the Ba'al Shem Tov] that the reason the things on high were revealed to him was not because he had studied much Talmud and the Codes, but because of his prayers, which he recited with powerful concentration. That is why he attained such a high rank" (No. 41).

As one of the earliest printed ḥasidic works, *Ẓava'at Ribash* especially aroused the ire of the *Mitnaggedim*. The book was publicly burnt in Vilna at the instigation of Elijah ben Solomon *Zalman, the Vilna Gaon and, according to a ḥasidic tradition, in Prague, by order of Ezekiel *Landau. A ban on the book was declared in Cracow, together with other ḥasidic *bikhlekh* ("booklets"). The work is one of the most popular of ḥasidic writings. The anthology *Sefer Ba'al Shem Tov* (Lodz, 1938), which quotes ḥasidic teachings in the form of a running commentary to the Pentateuch, manages in the course of the book to quote the whole of *Ẓava'at Ribash*. Schochet lists 34 separate editions prior to his own.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: J.I. Schochet (ed.), *Ẓava'at ha-Ribash* (1975), with an Introduction (numbers in the text refer to this edition); S. Dubnow, *Toledot ha-Ḥasidut* (1967), 53–58; 116; 387–88, 455–56; A.M. Habermann, in: *Sefer ha-Besht* (1960); M. Wilensky, *Ḥasidim u-Mitnaggedim* (1970), I, 42–43; II, 92–93.

[Louis Jacobs]

ZAVIM (Heb. זָבִים; "Sufferers from Flux"), ninth tractate in the order *Tohorot* in the Mishnah; there is no *Gemara* either in the Babylonian or in the Jerusalem Talmud. The scriptural basis of this tractate is Leviticus 15:1–15, which speaks of the ritual impurity of the *zav*, i.e., a man who has a running issue (probably gonorrhea), and describes in great detail how anybody and anything coming into contact in any manner (directly or indirectly) with the *zav* contracts impurity. Mishnah *Zavim* consists of five chapters.

Chapter 1 discusses the significance of the frequency, intensity, and continuity of the discharge in determining whether the person concerned is considered definitely a *zav* in terms of Leviticus 15:1–15, or whether he is afflicted with a lesser degree of impurity (e.g., a *ba'al keri*, one who suffered an accidental discharge of semen, in terms of Lev. 15:16). Chapter 2 first lists the categories of men to whom the law of running issue applies (including, for example, slaves, minors, and even eunuchs) and then discusses the seven ways of examining a suspected person to ascertain whether or not he is really a *zav*. The last paragraph touches on the difficult problem of *midras* (lit. "treading"), denoting the very high degree of impurity ("father of uncleanness") imparted by a *zav* to a thing on which he stands, sits, lies, etc. (without touching it) and which this thing in turn imparts to a person (including his garments) who stands, sits, lies, etc., on it. The "thing" in question here is called *mishkav* ("couch"), but the law of *midras* would apply to anything used for standing, lying, or sitting on, or for any other relevant activity (e.g., leaning, riding, etc.).

Chapters 3–4 discuss various cases of *midras* in contrast to cases of *hesseṭ* (lit. "shaking"), i.e., the lesser degree of impurity imparted by the *zav*'s moving a person or object without touching him or it, or by the *zav*'s being moved in the same manner. For example, if a *zav* rides with another person on a beast, even if their garments did not touch, an uncleanness of the *midras* category is imparted to the other person. Instances of *hesseṭ* mentioned are, for example, the sitting of the clean and unclean on a beam not firmly fixed, or if they pull a rope in opposite directions. Chapter 5 at first continues the subject of *hesseṭ*, but then discusses different aspects of the impurity of a *zav*, partly in comparison with other kinds of impurity. The last paragraph deals with rabbinical stringencies regarding the imparting of uncleanness to *terumah*. A point to which particular attention may be drawn is that holy books which touch *terumah* make the latter unclean. The apparently strange practice of the priests of storing their holy food next to scrolls of Holy Scripture should be set against the background of this remarkable regulation. It was out of concern not for the holy food, but for the Holy Scriptures, lest they become damaged by proximity to food, that the regulation was made, thus preventing the placing of holy food near books (Shab. 14a).

Mishnah *Zavim* is mainly of ancient origin (Epstein, Tannaim, 96). *Mishnah* 3:1 is its only *Mishnah* discussed in the Babylonian Talmud (BM 105b). Several sources can be detected in *Zavim*. Epstein (Tannaim, 64) attributed chapter 5 (except for *mishnayot* 4–5) to R. Joshua b. Hananiah, and *Mishnah* 1:1 to Akiva's earlier view, which he later changed (cf. Tosefta 1:4–6). *Mishnah* 1:2 is according to the view of R. Meir, while the corresponding passage in the Tosefta 1:8 stems from R. Judah, who refers to Meir in his work as "a certain disciple." The Tosefta contains several topics not mentioned in the Mishnah, such as the discussion on the *zav, zava*, and the leper in chapter 3, on the defiling caused by idol worship in 5:6–8, and the topic of *yayin nesekh* ("wine used in idol worship"). One passage of this Tosefta (1:5) discloses the origin of the *mishnayot* of Akiva: "As R. Akiva stood before his disciples classifying the *halakhot*, he said: Let anyone who knows a reason or law [pertaining to the topic at hand], arise and speak… R. Simeon then spoke in his presence… whereupon [Akiva] said: Not everyone who jumps up [to state a *halakhah*] is to be praised, unless he gives the reason thereof." An English translation is in Danby's *Mishnah* (1933).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Epstein, Mishnah, index; Ḥ. Albeck, *Shishah Sidrei Mishnah*, Tohorot (1959), 437f.

[Arnost Zvi Ehrman]

ZAWIERCIE (Rus. **Zavertse**), city in Katowice province, S. Poland. Jews settled in Zawiercie in the latter half of the 19th century when the city underwent rapid industrial development. Zawiercie was then in Congress Poland. Jews came to the city from the communities of *Radom, *Belchatow, *Wielun, and Wloszczowa, and became mechanics, smiths, tailors, weavers, clerks, bookkeepers, and tradesmen. In the last third of the century wealthy Jews established a glassworks, an iron foundry, machine, and textile factories. The Gincberg brothers invested 3.5 million rubles in a cloth factory which employed over 200 Jewish workers. There were 1,134 Jews in Zawiercie in 1887 (27% of the total population), and 3,158 (18.5%) in 1897.

At first there was no organized community life in the city and the Jews relied on the services of the neighboring community of Kromolow. The first local synagogue was built in the 1880s. The ḥasidic movement exerted a strong influence on the community. In 1915 Zawiercie was declared a municipality and there followed a period of intense communal development. The Zawiercie community numbered 6,095 (21%) in 1921, and 5,677 in 1931. Between the world wars there were two Jewish schools.

[Shimshon Leib Kirshenboim]

Holocaust Period

On the outbreak of World War II there were about 7,000 Jews in Zawiercie. On Sept. 2, 1939, about 2,000 Jews fled the city just before the entry of the German army. After entering the city, the Germans ordered all Jewish males from ages 17 to 50 to assemble in the city's market. They were all arrested and tortured for 9 days. On May 10, 1940, about 600 Jews from the Zaolzie region of Czechoslovakia were forced to settle in Zawiercie. A ghetto was established there in the summer of 1940. In November 1940 about 500 young Jews were deported to forced labor camps in Germany, where almost all of them perished. In May 1942 about 2,000 Jews were deported to Auschwitz and murdered there. On Aug. 26, 1943, the ghetto was liquidated, and almost all remaining Jews were deported to Auschwitz and murdered. During this deportation over 100 Jews were shot on the spot for offering passive resistance. About 500 Jews were left in the newly established local forced-labor camp, which was in turn liquidated on Oct. 17, 1943. The Jewish community was not reconstituted in Zawiercie after the war.

[Stefan Krakowski]

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ZAY, JEAN (1904–1944), French socialist politician. Born in Orleans, Zay joined the Radical Socialist Party in his youth and was elected a deputy in 1932. He became undersecretary of state in 1936 and was appointed minister of national education in Léon *Blum's Popular Front government in the same year. He held this position in successive governments until 1940, despite bitter criticism of his support for the republican cause in Spain. Following the fall of France, Zay was arrested and held in prison, and was summarily executed on June 20, 1944.

ZAYIN (Heb. ז; זַיִן), the seventh letter of the Hebrew alphabet: its numeral value is therefore 7. The earliest form of the *zayin,* in the c. 1500 B.C.E. Proto-Sinaitic inscriptions, consisted of two parallel strokes =, which were later joined by a third stroke ⌶, H. In the tenth century B.C.E. the letter was relatively high I (thus also in the Archaic Greek script), but later became squat. In the Hebrew script it was written ⌶ → ⌶, which developed into Samaritan ࠆ, while in the Phoenician script it turned into z (cf. Greek and Latin "Z") and Ƶ. In the Aramaic script it was written as a wavy line ~ which later dropped its extremities \ and then it turned into a vertical stroke |. The vertical *zayin* was preserved in both the Nabatean and Jewish scripts. In Arabic – in order to distinguish it from the *ra* – a diacritic point was added to the *za* ز; in the Jewish script, as the vertical stroke was interchangeable with the *waw,* a rightward hook was added to the letter top. From this form the ז developed. See *Alphabet, Hebrew.

[Joseph Naveh]

ẒAYYAḤ (**Ẓiyyaḥ**), **JOSEPH BEN ABRAHAM IBN** (16th century), rabbi and kabbalist. Ẓayyaḥ was apparently born in *Jerusalem. There he completed his *Even ha-Shoham* in 1538. From Jerusalem he went to *Damascus to serve as rabbi of the Mostarabian (the native Jewish) community but paid frequent visits to Jerusalem. He was regarded in his time as an important *posek*. A number of his responsa have been published in some of his contemporaries' collected responsa, such as those of Joseph *Caro, Moses di *Trani, *Levi b. Ḥabib, and others who were on friendly terms with him. A number of his works have remained in manuscript, including a large collection of responsa, two of which were published by S. *Assaf (see bibliography). From one of them it can be inferred that he took an active part in the dispute in *Safed on whether scholars should be exempted from taxation, and he was among those who upheld the exemption.

Three of his kabbalistic works are known: *Even ha-Shoham* (Jerusalem National Library, Ms. 416), in which the author with great profundity combines the kabbalistic doctrine of combination of letters of the alphabet (*ḥokhmat ha-ẓeruf*) with that of emanation (*aẓilut*), a work which was popular among Yemenite Jews; *Ẓeror ha-Ḥayyim* (London, Jews College, Ms. 318), a curious commentary to the *Oẓar ha-Kavod* of Todros *Abulafia. He dedicated both these works to Abraham de *Castro, who was leader of the Jews in Egypt. The third work, *She'erit Yosef* (Vienna, Ms. 260), was compiled in Jerusalem in 1549 and is a kind of supplement to and commentary on his *Even ha-Shoham*. This work is apparently mentioned in the *Torat ha-Kena'ot* of Jacob *Emden (Lemberg, 1870, p. 69), where he states that Nehemiah *Hayon took a number of ideas from the *She'erit Yosef* and made wrong use of them.

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[Abraham David]

ZBARAZH (Pol. **Zbaraż**), town in W. Ukraine (formerly in E. Galicia). Jews were living there at the end of the 15th century. The cemetery dates from 1510. According to a document of 1593 the city and its entire revenues were leased to Jews and Christians jointly. The Jewish community expanded in the 17th century and a synagogue was erected. The siege on Zbarazh by *Chmielnicki in 1649, its capture by the Turks in 1676, and the *Haidamak raids of 1708 caused terrible suffering to the community. There were 910 Jewish inhabitants in 1765. The number increased under Austrian rule after 1772, reaching 2,896 (35% of the total population) in 1900. The 1931 census records 3,000 Jewish residents. Two followers of Judah *he-Ḥasid originating from here were Isaiah of Zbarazh and his son. Zbarazh was also the birthplace of the folk poet B.Z. *Ehrenkranz.

[Max Wurmbrand]

Holocaust Period

During World War II the Jewish population reached 5,000 with the arrival of refugees from western Poland. After the German occupation, the Jewish survivors from Skalat, Grzymalow, and Podwoloczyska were brought into Zbarazh. On July 4, 1941, a pogrom was carried out and the first Jews were killed. On Sept. 6, 1941, the Jewish intellectuals were ordered to present themselves before the Nazis; 70 persons were murdered in the Lubieniecki forest. In the spring of 1942 some 600 sick and aged persons were marched off toward Tarnopol and murdered on the way. Other Jews were deported to the labor camps of *Kamenka-Bugskaya and Zborow. On Aug. 31–Sept. 1, 1942, an *Aktion* took place and hundreds of persons were deported to the *Belzec extermination camp. Hermann Mueller, head of the Gestapo at Tarnopol, directed the murder of the Jews of Zbarazh. On Oct. 20–22, 1942, 1,000 Jews were deported to Belzec and Lvov Janowska camp. On Nov. 8–9, 1942, a group of more than 1,000 Jews was deported to Belzec. On April 7, 1943, hundreds of Jews were put to death near the city. The ghetto established in the autumn of 1942 was demolished on June 8, 1943. Some Jews hid in the Polish village of Kretowce. Some 60 Jews from the city survived the Holocaust.

[Aharon Weiss]

ZBITKOWER, (Joseph) SAMUEL (1730s–1801), Warsaw merchant, banker, and army purveyor. He settled in Warsaw in 1757 and displayed great ability and initiative in the development of varied types of trade and industry, including timber haulage, working the salt mines, preparation of leather, operating a slaughterhouse, exercise of the monopoly on *kasher* meat, and the operation of brick kilns and a brewery. Because of his great wealth, evidenced by his ownership of houses in Warsaw and estates in the surroundings, as well as through banking operations, he established good connections with ruling circles – Poles, Russians, and Prussians. In 1773 he received through the minister Poniński the title "Elder of the Jews," which gave him the authority to farm taxes and was exploited by him to extort money from the rich men of the community.

In 1788 Zbitkower was appointed *parnas* of the Warsaw suburb of Praga, and in 1796 submitted a petition for the suburb to be granted the status of a separate community. He also received the right to establish a cemetery in Praga, which still has the tombstone describing his achievements. The quarter in which he lived was called Szmulowizna after him. Zbitkower's ability to adapt himself to political change enabled him to obtain the position of official contractor to the Russian army of occupation, and also helped him in supplying the Polish fighters during the *Kosciuszko revolt, Tales were related about his generous actions and his readiness to save Jews from the danger of war and capture. His third wife, JUDITH LEVY of Frankfurt, was well known for her learning and proficiency in German and French, and this enabled her to aid her husband in his connections with members of the government. Despite his poor education, *Zbitkower managed to serve as *shtadlan* for the Jewish community, thanks to his official connections. After his death his widow and his son BEREK amassed great riches. He was the ancestor of the Berkson (or Bergson) family; his great-grandson was the philosopher Henri *Bergson.

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[Moshe Landau]

ZBOROV (Pol. **Zborów**), city in Tarnopol district, Ukraine. The Jewish community had considerable influence in Zborov in the 17th century. The peace treaty signed in Zborov in

1649 between John II Casimir and the Cossack rebel *Chmielnicki forbade Jews to live or work at *arenda (leaseholding) in the same towns in which Cossack troops were encamped. In 1689 King John III Sobieski gave the Jews rights equal to those of other citizens of the town, with the provision that all legal cases between Jews and gentiles be tried in government courts. Four market days were arranged each year to stimulate economic growth, and Jews were allowed to operate taverns if gentiles did not claim this privilege for themselves. There were 655 Jews in Zborov in 1765; 2,109 (54% of the total population) in 1880; 1,873 (46%) in 1890; 2,080 (40%) in 1910; and 1,184 (32%) in 1921. In the early 19th century Ẓevi Hirsh of Zborov (d. 1841) influenced the community toward Ḥasidism. In 1930 the Jewish quarter was damaged extensively by fire.

[Shimshon Leib Kirshenboim]

Holocaust Period

On the outbreak of World War II, there were about 1,800 Jews in Zborov. In July 1941 an *Aktion* took place and 850 Jews were killed. In September or October 1942 some of the Jews were deported to the *Belzec death camp. The ghetto was liquidated in April–June 1943. A number of Jews were imprisoned in a forced-labor camp in Zborov established at the end of 1941. This camp was liquidated in July 1943 when all its inmates were killed. After the war the Jewish community of Zborov was not reconstituted.

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ZDUNSKA WOLA (Pol. **Zduńska Wola**), district capital in the province of Lodz, Poland. In 1788 the owners of the town erected at their own expens e a wooden structure to serve as a synagogue to encourage Jewish settlement. Of the 32 families who lived there in 1778, 11 were Jewish, eight of whom earned their livelihood as craftsmen and three in commerce. In addition to the taxes owed to the crown, every Jewish family had to pay 16 to 50 zlotys annually to the owners of the estate. The Jewish community body also had to pay an annual rent of 130 zlotys for the synagogue. In 1825 the settlement was granted municipal status and at the same time the residence rights of the Jews were limited to two streets. In 1827 there were 468 Jews (17% of the total population) in the town. In the 1830s, when Jewish financiers took the initiative of opening a wool-cloth industry (with manufacture on a contractual basis), some of them were authorized to erect stone houses beyond the Jewish streets. During the second half of the 19th century Jewish merchants became pioneers in the manufacture of cotton cloth. The rapid industrialization of Zdunska Wola attracted Jews from the surrounding towns as well as from Lithuania. In 1857 the number of Jews had risen to 1,676 (26% of the population), and in 1897 to 7,252 (46% of the total). The majority were engaged as craftsmen, particularly as weavers. At the beginning of the 20th century a class of Jewish industrial workers had already developed.

Until 1828 the community of Zdunska Wola was subject to the jurisdiction of the *Lask community. In 1825 a cemetery was established which was enlarged in 1850. During the 1840s a *bet midrash* was founded, and in 1852 the old wooden synagogue was replaced by a large one with funds contributed by Feibush Opatowski. The community's first rabbi, Levi Cybis, was appointed in 1825. During the tenure of office of Levi Isaac Fleischer (from 1873), Gur and *Aleksandrow Ḥasidism gained ground, while among the Jews of Lithuanian origin *Haskalah was the prevailing influence. Eliezer *Kaplan taught in the secular Jewish schools founded at the beginning of the 20th century.

In 1921 there were 7,885 Jews (42% of the total population) living in the town. Between the two world wars, the community maintained a Hebrew *Tarbut school, an elementary school of the CYSHO (see *Education), a *Beth Jacob school for girls, and a *talmud torah*. The Jewish population numbered 8,819 in 1931. From 1931 antisemitism began to spread in the town, particularly among the German population. In 1936 there was even an attempt to stage a blood libel.

[Arthur Cygielman]

Holocaust Period

There were close to 10,000 Jews, comprising nearly 50% of the total population, in Zdunska Wola at the outbreak of World War II. The German armies entered on Sept. 6, 1939, and immediately destroyed the synagogue and burned all the liturgical objects. In October, in retaliation for the alleged killing of a German policeman, over 3,000 Jews were arrested and kept in prisons in Sieradz for several days. During this *Aktion* many Jews were maltreated and some killed. The extortion of large sums of money and the eviction of Jewish families from predominantly non-Jewish districts followed. In the spring of 1940 a ghetto was formed on the outskirts of the city and over 8,000 Jews were crowded inside. In the meantime the number of Jews in Zdunska Wola increased as a result of the transfer of various groups from other towns and villages in western Poland annexed by Germany. A series of workshops was organized in the ghetto for furriers, tailors, shoemakers, and knitters. Their products were bought by the German army at a low price. On the outskirts of the ghetto Zionist youths received agricultural training on a farm. They helped supply the ghetto with vegetables and milk. In the summer of 1941 the Germans raided the ghetto to collect able-bodied men for labor camps in the Poznan district. Over 1,000 men were seized, with the cooperation of the Jewish police. In 1942 two public executions took place in which ten Jews accused of smuggling were hanged. The Germans picked the festivals of Purim and Shavuot for that purpose. The ghetto was finally liquidated on Aug. 23–24, 1942. The first *Selektion* was carried out in the ghetto and the second in the Jewish cemetery. Over 1,000 able-bodied Jews were sent to *Lodz ghetto, 550 Jews were murdered on the spot, and between 6,000 and 8,000 were transported to the death camp at *Chelmno. Throughout the existence of the Judenrat, its chairman Jakub Lemberg was held in great esteem for his courageous and selfless leadership in which he often risked his life. He also was murdered during the liquidation of the ghetto.

[Danuta Dombrowska]

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ZEALOTS AND SICARII.

Introduction

This article deals not only with the group of fighters for the freedom of Israel known from *Josephus as the "Zealots," but includes in its survey other groups with similar aims, particularly the Sicarii.

Judea differed from the other provinces in the east of the Roman Empire in that it never resigned itself to Roman rule and did not willingly become integrated into the Imperial system. From the beginning of the Roman conquest its history was one of bitter struggle accompanied by revolts against the Imperial power. Although there were revolts in the Western parts of the Empire too (in Britain and Gaul and by the Batavi), these were not as frequent and they generally occurred in the early stages of Roman occupation and on the frontiers of the Empire. In Judea, however, a province that lay in the heart of a vital area, between Syria and Egypt, relations with the Roman authorities were in a state of almost continuous tension from the period of *Pompey and *Gabinius until after the *Bar Kokhba War.

The causes of this tension are to be found first and foremost in the religious-ideological conflict between the belief of the Jews in the doctrine that they were the Chosen People and therefore unique and the bitter fact that they were forcibly subjected to the rule of an idolatrous empire which accorded divine honors to its emperors. This empire was the complete antithesis of the spiritual conception and way of life of the Jews, and the tension found its resolution in the strengthening of a messianic-eschatological faith at the center of which stood the hope of the revival of the glory of Israel and the downfall of "the kingdom of arrogance." The intensity of this feeling and these yearnings increased with the passage of time and was nurtured by the deterioration in relations between the Roman administration of the province, which gave its support to non-Jewish elements and based itself on them, and the Jews, as well as by the spiritual and social developments within the Jewish community itself. In the year 66 C.E. the great majority of the people supported the revolt against the procurator Florus, some enthusiastically and some with reservations; only a minority, such as *Agrippa II, were prepared to employ force to suppress the uprising while it was still in its initial stages. The ferment, however, was provided by certain groups among the Jews which developed a specific and definite ideology of objection in principle to Roman suzerainty. Other elements attached themselves to these groups, and their activism was no less positive despite the fact that the principles upon which they based themselves were less clearly defined.

The essential lines of the ideological currents, activities, and main divisions of the Jewish freedom fighters at the close of the Second Temple period can only be drawn in a general way. Fate has willed it that the main source of knowledge of this remarkable phenomenon – the ideology of Jewish liberty in this period – was their inveterate and uncompromising opponent, Josephus. Josephus not only wrote his most important work on this subject, *The Jewish War*, as the official historian of the Flavian dynasty and with personal reasons for denigrating the image of the rebels against Rome; he also developed a theory according to which the extremist elements among them, who constituted only a minority of the people, dragged in their wake the whole Jewish population in the direction of an insane rebellion. Josephus almost completely ignored the messianic-eschatological aspects of the struggle. Nevertheless, even from his prejudiced and one-sided account, something of the ideals which animated the Jewish warriors in their struggle against Rome emerges.

The "Fourth Philosophy" and the Sicarii

In Book 7 of *The Jewish War* (253–74) Josephus distinguishes in a general way between the various parties which took part in the resolute stand against Rome. In respective order, he mentions the Sicarii, the followers of *John of Giscala, the soldiers of *Simeon bar Giora, and finally the Zealots. The main distinctions are exemplified also in incidents which he describes in his detailed description of these sects in the earlier books of *The Jewish War*. Both references help towards an understanding of events. As stated, the Sicarii are mentioned first in the general summary in Book 7. Elsewhere Josephus describes the emergence of this extreme freedom group against the background of the establishment of the Province of Judea, which was connected with the census instituted by *Quirinius, the legate of Syria, in the year 6 C.E. (Ant. 18:4–10). The census was a profound shock to the Jewish people as a whole and it was only after considerable effort that the high priest at the time, Joezer ben Boethus, succeeded in quietening the emotions aroused among the majority of the people. Nevertheless, *Judah the Galilean of Gamala in Gaulanitis joined forces with *Zadok the Pharisee to issue a call for armed revolt, since in their eyes the census represented outright slavery. In their speeches they went so far as to declare that God would come to the aid of those who did not spare themselves in the struggle. According to Josephus, Judah and Zadok were the founders of the "Fourth Philosophy," the other three being the *Pharisees, the *Sadducees, and the *Essenes. After they acquired a great number of followers they involved the Jewish body politic in uprisings and sowed the seeds of the future catastrophes which were to overwhelm the Jewish people. Later on, after he gives a description of the "three philosophies," Josephus returns to Judah, whom he refers to simply as "the Galilean," and gives a succinct account of his "philosophy." According to him the adherents of this philosophy agree in general with the Pharisees, and are distinguished from them only by their unbounded love for freedom and by the fact that they accept God as their only master and leader. They are freely and readily prepared to submit to even the most horrible of deaths and to see their relations and friends tortured rather than accept human domination. Josephus even emphasizes that this resolute determination of theirs is widely known and therefore there is no fear that the truth of what he says will be challenged; on the contrary, he is afraid that he may not have sufficiently emphasized their indifference to torture (Ant. 18:23–5).

In *The Jewish War* (2:117–8) only a precis is given of this. The census of Quirinius is not even mentioned in this connection – only that *Coponius was sent as governor to Judea. During his years of rule a Galilean called Judah incited the people to revolt against the Romans and accused them of cowardice for consenting to pay taxes to the Romans and tolerating the rule of man when their only ruler was God. This man Judah was a "sage" (σοφιστής) and the founded a sect which was entirely different from all the other sects. Zadok the Pharisee is not mentioned at all in the *War*; nor does Josephus mention in this work that, apart from their principle of freedom, the philosophy of the Zealots was identical with that of the Pharisees. Nowhere does he mention the end of Judah the Gaulanite, or Galilean; only in the New Testament (Acts 5:37) is it stated that he was put to death by the Romans.

It seems reasonable to accept the theory of those scholars who identify Judah the Gaulanite with Judah ben Hezekiah, who headed the revolt in Galilee against Varus after the death of *Herod in 4 B.C.E. (Ant. 17:271–2; War 2:56). Thus Judah assembled a large number of followers and attacked the royal palace in *Sepphoris, the capital of *Galilee. According to Josephus he had aspirations to the throne of Judea. And whereas he gives the details of the fate which befell the other leaders of rebellion at that time, such as Simeon of Transjordan and *Athronges and his brothers, and the manner in which the rebellions were suppressed, he is completely silent about the fate of Judah. It would appear that he escaped and reemerged ten years later, by which time his ideology had already been worked out and disseminated among the whole people. The father of this Judah was that *Hezekiah who rose to fame as a fighter and leader in the forties of the first pre-Christian century, during the rule of Julius Caesar, and was executed by Herod at the beginning of his political career when he was appointed governor of Galilee. His execution produced a wave of bitterness in Judea and even resulted in Herod's being summoned before the Sanhedrin in Jerusalem.

Of Hezekiah we are told that he was active in the area bordering on Syria and that his execution by Herod was greeted enthusiastically by the Syrians (War 1:204–5; Ant. 14:159–60). This is easily explained on the assumption that Hezekiah was a native of Gamala in the Gaulanitis, as is mentioned explicitly with regard to Judah, the father of the Fourth Philosophy.

Hezekiah and his son were the founders of a dynasty of leaders of an extremist freedom movement, a dynasty which it is possible to trace until the fall of *Masada and the final crushing of Jewish opposition to Rome. They, the proponents of the Fourth Philosophy, were the first to raise the standard of revolt against the Roman Empire and were the last of those who waged the battle in Ereẓ Israel itself and preached rebellion throughout the length and breadth of the Diaspora. Among the descendants of Judah was *Eleazar b. Jair, the commander of Masada. Eleazar and his men are usually called Sicarii (Σικαριοι) by Josephus, and the same historian also explicitly identifies the Sicarii with the fomenters of unrest after the census of Quirinius (War 7:252–5): "This fortress was called Masada; and the Sicarii who had occupied it had at their head a man of influence named Eleazar. He was a descendant of the Judas who, as we previously stated, induced multitudes of Jews to refuse to enroll themselves when Quirinius was sent as censor to Judea. For in those days the Sicarii banded together against those who consented to submit to Rome and in every way treated them as enemies, plundering their property, rounding up their cattle, and setting fire to their habitations, protesting that such persons were nothing but aliens who so ignobly sacrificed the hard-won liberty of the Jews and admitted their preference for the Roman yoke."

In consequence of this, it should in general be assumed that when Josephus refers to the Sicarii, the reference is to the successors of Judah the Gaulanite, the upholders of the extremist ideology. Apart from the quotation given above in which he identifies the fomenters of unrest in the time of Quirinius with the Sicarii, the first time he feels the need to employ the term Sicarii is against the background of the events during the procuratorships of *Felix (52–60 C.E.) and *Festus (60–62). The word itself is a Latin one, and Josephus points out that it was given to them because of the dagger (*sica*) which they carried concealed in their garments and with which they were accustomed to dispose of their enemies (War 2:255, Ant. 20:186). It is clear that such a pejorative name was first given to them by their Roman opponents.

The name Sicarii appears for the period of the procuratorship of Felix only in *The Jewish War* (2:254–7). They are mentioned there as a new phenomenon and in this context Josephus does not give the connection between them and the Fourth Philosophy. It would appear that the novelty consisted in the technique which they employed to dispose of political opponents. According to Josephus they used to choose particularly the festivals: they would mingle with the crowds and put their opponents to death without any possibility of being identified. Their first victim was *Jonathan (b. Anan), who had previously been high priest. His murder is also described in the parallel passage of the *Antiquities* (20:162–66), where it is stated that it was carried out under the influence of the procurator Felix, who was interested in getting rid of Jonathan by means of the "bandits" (λησταί). Hence no one was punished for the murder of Jonathan. "The 'bandits' adopted the custom of coming to Jerusalem during the festivals and concealing their weapons in the same way and carrying out their crimes." Thus, in the *Antiquities* Josephus describes the same system and methods as he does in the *War* against the background of the procuratorship of Felix, but without mentioning the same Sicarii. In both works Josephus refrains from presenting any ideological explanation of the stimulus behind these acts. The first time Josephus explicitly mentions the Sicarii in the *Antiquities* is during the procuratorship of Festus (Ant. 20:186–7), and he goes on to describe their activities against the background of the procuratorship of *Albinus (62–64 C.E.). During that procuratorship the Sicarii adopted a new tactic of seizing hostages in order to obtain the release of their comrades who had fallen into the hands of the Romans. It was thus that they seized the secretary of *Eleazar, the son of the previous high priest, *Ananias, who served as "captain of the Temple" (στρατηγός τοῦ ἱεροῦ) and sent a message to Ananias that he would be released only in exchange for ten of their men who were being held by Albinus. When they succeeded in this, others were captured and held as hostages and similarly released in exchange for other Sicarii (Ant. 20:208–10).

The New Testament also mentions the Sicarii during the procuratorship of Felix (Acts 21:38). According to this reference the Roman officer Claudius Lysias was of the opinion that *Paul was identical with an Egyptian visionary who had led 4,000 Sicarii into the wilderness. It is, however, highly doubtful if there is any justification for assuming any connection between the Egyptian prophet and the adherents of the Fourth Philosophy.

The few references to the Sicarii in the Talmud already belong to the period of the war itself. First there is the Mishnah (Makhshirim 1:6): "It once happened that the men of Jerusalem hid their fig-cakes in the water because of the Sicarii, and the sages declared them not susceptible [to ritual uncleanness]." Similarly in *Avot de-Rabbi Nathan* (7 p. 20, version (B), ed. Schechter, 1945^2): "When Vespasian came and surrounded Jerusalem… the Sicarii took the initiative and set fire to all the granaries." In Eccles. R. to 7:12 there is mention of Ben Batiaḥ, "the head of the Sicarii in Jerusalem," and to the same category of information belongs the story of *Abba Sikra, the leader of the *biryonim*, the son of the sister of Rabban *Johanan b. Zakkai (Git. 56a).

As is evident from the interchange of Sicarii and Zealots (*Kanna'im*) in the text of *Avot de-Rabbi Nathan*, and as one can also infer from the use of the name Sicarii in Acts, it is by no means certain that in the talmudic passages the word necessarily refers to the Fourth Philosophy and to the adherents of the Galilean dynasty. It is possible that the word is sometimes used more flexibly than in Josephus.

The suggestion has also been put forward that the "Galileans" mentioned by Epictetus (Arrian, Discourses 4:7, 6) are in fact the disciples of Judah the Galilean, but the accepted view which identifies them with the Christians seems more reasonable.

In the period between the census and the outbreak of the Great Revolt the descendants of Judah are mentioned only once. Two of his sons are referred to – Jacob and Simeon, who were crucified by the procurator Tiberius Julius *Alexander between 46 and 48 C.E. (Ant. 20:102). There is no information as to the activities for which they received this punishment, or whether their area of operation was Galilee or Judea. It is clear, however, even in the absence of such information, that they stood at the center of the rebel activities, and when the opportunity presented itself with the outbreak of the Revolt, *Menahem, one of the descendants of Judah, took a leading part in the events.

After the offering of the daily sacrifice for the welfare of the Emperor was discontinued on the initiative of Eleazar the son of Ananias, and fighting was raging in the streets of Jerusalem between the rebels and those who strove for peace with the Romans, the peace party being aided by the soldiers sent by Agrippa II, there was created a situation whereby the royal troops held control of the Upper City while the rebels were in control of the Temple and the Lower City. The outcome was decided when many of the Sicarii joined forces with the rebels. The army of Agrippa was routed and his opponents broke through into the Upper City and set not only the royal palace on fire, but "eager to destroy the moneylenders' bonds, and to prevent the recovery of debts, in order to win over a host of grateful debtors and to cause a rising of the poor against the rich, sure of impunity," they also burned the archives. This passage seems to point to the extremist social ideology of the Sicarii under the leadership of Menahem.

The fortress of *Antonia also fell to the rebels and a siege was laid to the palace of Herod. At this stage, however, a schism took place. Menahem, who had already gained control of Masada, acquired a rich booty of weapons with which he armed his adherents. He then began to act as the sole leader of the revolt. "He returned like a veritable king to Jerusalem, became the leader of the revolution, and directed the siege of the palace."

Menahem captured the palace of Herod with the exception of the three towers (Hippicus, Phasael, and Mariamne) in which the Roman soldiers took refuge. It was at this time that the former high priest Ananias and his brother were captured and put to death by Menahem's men. His ambition, which apparently had a messianic-eschatological character, aroused the opposition of the other rebels commanded by Eleazar the son of Ananias. They attacked him when he was dressed in royal robes and accompanied by his admirers. In the fight Menahem was placed at a disadvantage. He himself escaped to the Ophel, but was captured and put to death. A similar fate overtook his associates, of whom the most prominent was *Absalom. Many of the Sicarii were killed and a siege was laid to those who hid themselves. Some of them, under the leadership of Eleazar b. Jair, a member of the family of Judah the Galilean, found refuge in Masada, which, as stated, had earlier been captured by Menahem (War 2:422–48).

From this time on the Sicarii ceased to be the guiding factor in the events in Jerusalem. Nevertheless, they continued to exist and it was they who were destined to be the last to hold aloft the standard of rebellion. Although they were no longer in control of Jerusalem and it is not possible to ascribe predominance to them in any part of Jewish Ereẓ Israel apart from Masada, it can be stated with near certainty that many of them continued their activities in other parts of the country and were a factor in the incitement of the people. It is possible to see evidence of this in the explicit and detailed information given of the activities of the Sicarii when, after the destruction of the Temple, they fled to Egypt and Cyrenaica. It is certain that these refugees did not come from Masada nor belong to the soldiers of Eleazar b. Jair, since those all met their end at Masada. These men were completely consistent in their outlook, following the principles of Judah the Galilean, just as before their flight to Egypt and Cyrenaica they had clung to them in Jerusalem and elsewhere in Ereẓ Israel. In addition, the considerable number of the warriors who fought under Simeon bar Giora at the time of the siege is easily explained on the assumption that many Sicarii were included in his army, since they felt themselves more in sympathy with him than with the other leaders in besieged Jerusalem. Their extreme social views bridged the gap between them and Simeon. It might be added that the impression that the Sicarii were an influential factor in besieged Jerusalem is gained to some extent from the above-mentioned talmudic sources. The group of Sicarii who formed a unit under the leadership of Eleazar b. Jair – that group to which Josephus consistently gives the name Sicarii – entrenched itself in Masada and the sphere of its operations was confined to the adjacent area, and there is mention of their attack on En-Gedi (War 4:398–405). When Simeon bar Giora was forced to leave the vicinity of Jerusalem owing to the pressure of Anan ben Anan, he found a temporary refuge with the Sicarii in the wilderness of Judea. They refused, however, to join him in major exploits which would take them far away from their secure base in Masada (War 4:503–7) and there is no further mention of them by Josephus until after the destruction of the Temple. The recent excavations at Masada revealed many potsherds on which the names of the Masada fighters appear. From these sherds one learns of their conscientious observance of the commandments of the Torah, finding expression in such things as their meticulous adherence to the laws of the tithe. Masada is also the only place apart from *Qumran where fragments have been found of the *Dead Sea sect (a scroll of the Sabbath Sacrifice). It seems that its source was the people of Qumran who joined the warriors of Judea at some stage of the war, although one is not entitled to identify the members of the sect, on this account, with the Sicarii or the Zealots. It is a fact that the Essenes participated in the Great Revolt. It was the second senatorial governor of the province of Judea, *Silva, who decided finally to stamp out the last vestiges of Jewish resistance and to capture the last stronghold of the Jews. After all hopes of maintaining this position had failed, and the Romans were poised to storm it, the defenders took the decision to immolate themselves rather than fall into the hands of the Romans. This decision to commit mass suicide was in keeping with the tradition of the Fourth Philosophy. For many of them the choice was in fact between death through torture by the Romans or taking their own lives. Others without doubt had to choose between the difficult alternative of accepting Roman domination, which in their eyes amounted to "Desecration of the Divine Name" (see *Kiddush ha-Shem*) and death. But even those who might have been prepared to accept Roman rule and make a public declaration to that effect could only look forward to cruel slavery, while a life of shame faced the women. It is true that Jewish soldiers had been placed in a similar situation in other localities in Ereẓ Israel, and yet only in isolated instances does one hear of suicide in preference to captivity. Thus there is reference to the suicide of the last defenders of *Jotapata, as well as of many of the defenders of Gamala (War 4:79), the city of origin of Judah, the spiritual father of the movement. Josephus also tells of the two priests Meir the son of Bilga and Joseph the son of Dalaeus who threw themselves into the flames of the Temple, and that the survivors of the Zealots sought their death in the field of battle after the capture of the city. Dio Cassius also reports the suicide of many of the defenders of the Temple.

In this mass suicide the essential principle of the Fourth Philosophy undoubtedly played an important role. They faced the danger of transgressing their religious faith, since in their eyes recognition of Roman rule was tantamount to idolatry. The choice before them therefore was not different in essence from that which faced the Jewish communities of the Rhineland in the First Crusade of 1096 or the martyrs of York in 1190.

The two speeches of Eleazar b. Jair in which he urged his followers to put an end to their lives bear the genuine stamp of the Greek rhetoric of the period of the Roman Empire, and it is not difficult to detect in it characteristic ideas taken from Greek philosophy and literature; at least the Stoic tradition recognized the legitimacy of suicide. But in addition to this it contains also the specific ideas of the Fourth Philosophy as indeed Eleazar b. Jair could give expression to it at that fateful moment. There is also in it something of the historical philosophy of Josephus himself as it finds expression in the *War* generally. Already at the beginning of his speech Eleazar emphasizes the essential idea which inspired him and his men not to become subservient to the Romans or to any man but only to God himself (War 7:323–5): "Long ago, my brave men, we determined neither to serve the Romans nor any other save God, for He alone is man's true and righteous Lord; and now the time is come which bids us put that resolution to the test by our actions. In this crisis let us not disgrace ourselves. We who in the past refused to submit even to a slavery involving no peril, let us not now, along with slavery, deliberately accept the irreparable penalties awaiting us if we are to fall alive into Roman hands. For as we were the first to revolt, so are we the last in arms against them. Moreover, I believe that it is God who has granted us this favor, that we have it in our power to die nobly and in freedom – a privilege denied to others who have met with unexpected defeat" (War 7:407–19).

The influence of the Sicarii refugees was not confined to Egypt. It also embraced the city of *Cyrene and other cities of the Libyan Pentapolis. A certain Jonathan, a weaver by trade, was active in these cities, influencing many of the Jews belonging to the lower classes in Cyrene to follow him to the wilderness where he promised to show signs and wonders, and here also the local Jewish authorities intervened and brought about his arrest by the Roman governor Catullus (War 7:437–40).

As to the extent to which these Sicarii refugees and those who were influenced by their views were a long-range factor in the developments which took place in the lands of the Hellenistic Diaspora, particularly in Egypt and Cyrenaica in the years prior to the revolt during the reign of Trajan and which was its cause, it is difficult to give an answer in the complete absence of sources.

To sum up: it was the outlook of Judah of Gaulanitis and his successors which constituted the most extreme expression of opposition to Roman rule and of Jewish independence. The yearning for the redemption of Israel was the heritage of virtually all sections and classes of the people, but among the adherents of the Fourth Philosophy it led them to immediate action and an activism which knew no compromise, as well as to the recognition that divine aid would come to the energetic and the bold. Acknowledgment of Roman rule was tantamount in their eyes to an affront to divine rule and constituted *Ḥillul ha-Shem*. Consequently they maintained adamantly that it was essential to come out openly in war against Roman rule and also to compel those who disagreed with them to join the struggle. The Hasmoneans in their time had taken up arms when the situation became impossible and the danger of extermination threatened the Jewish faith, but only when the opportune moment came did they act to realize the ancient aspirations of the people for political freedom. The freedom fighters of the school of Judah of Gaulanitis, on the other hand, raised the banner of freedom and opposition to mortal rule without taking account of the realities of the situation. Their ideas fell on fertile ground as a result of the developments which had taken place in the province of Judea and in Jewish society during the last years of the Second Temple period. The eschatological tension which was characteristic of that generation fitted in exactly with the Fourth Philosophy. Nevertheless, only a small number of the fighters for the freedom of Judea during the Great Revolt accepted the specific ideology of the Sicarii of the school of Judah or of the Zealot priests of Jerusalem, between whom and the Sicarii one can posit only a hypothetical connection, as will be seen below. It can also be assumed that, among other groups, the question of leadership and the realization of the eschatological hopes of Menahem constituted from the outset an obstacle to complete identification with the ideology of the Sicarii.

The Zealots of Jerusalem

Among many scholars and in general works one frequently finds that the extreme wing of the freedom fighters which crystallized in the period immediately prior to the destruction of the Temple is identified with the Zealots (Ζηλωταί, *Kanna'im*). Judah of Gaulanitis is regarded as the founder of the Zealots, who are identified as the proponents of the Fourth Philosophy. In the original sources, however, no such identification is anywhere clearly made, and the question is hardly raised of the relationship between the Sicarii, the upholders of the Fourth Philosophy, and the Zealots. Josephus himself in his general survey of the various groups of freedom fighters (War 7:268–70) enumerates the Sicarii first, whereas he mentions the Zealots last. "In this lawlessness the so-called Zealots excelled, a class which justified their name by their actions; for they copied every evil deed, nor was there any villainy recorded in history that they failed to emulate zealously. And yet they took their name from their professed zeal for virtue, either in mockery of those they wronged, so brutal was their nature, or reckoning the greatest of evils good." In presenting the events themselves Josephus first mentions the Zealots in connection with the composition of the temporary government in Jerusalem under the leadership of Joseph ben Gorion after the victory over *Cestius Gallus in the year 66 C.E. Josephus explains why *Eleazar b. Simeon, who distinguished himself in the fighting against the Romans, undoubtedly playing a decisive role, and took possession of most of the booty and the treasury of Cestius Gallus, was not appointed to the government. He explains that he was passed over "because they observed his despotic nature and that the Zealots under him conducted themselves like his bodyguard" (War 2:564). One gains the impression that Josephus is referring here to the Zealots who placed themselves under Eleazar's command as a phenomenon which had existed for some time and does not therefore realize that the reader has not heard of their appearance before.

Despite the fact that Eleazar b. Simeon was temporarily overlooked and not included either in the government of Jerusalem or in the list of the area commanders of the country who were appointed after the victory over the governor of Syria, he nevertheless maintained his decisive influence. In the words of Josephus, "Gradually, however, financial needs and the intrigues of Eleazar had such influence with the people that they ended by yielding the supreme command to him" (War 2:565). Josephus returns to the Zealots in his description of the subsequent events at the end of Book 2 (651) against the background of the preparation for the war against the Romans in 66–67 and underlines the antagonism which existed between Anan b. Anan and those called the Zealots. This latter name becomes more frequent in the context of the fratricidal war which broke out in Jerusalem after the war in Galilee. The war approached Jerusalem towards the end of 67 C.E.; the Roman army was already in control of *Jabneh and *Ashdod and large numbers of refugees and fighters streamed from the different places to the capital and joined the extreme elements there (War 4:138). These reinforced units began to take action against the moderate elements who until then had been in control of the city, particularly against individuals who were suspected of wishing to come to terms with the Romans. The first victim was a certain Antipas, who belonged to the house of Herod and tried to stop the rebels at the outbreak of the revolt. Together with two other members of the royal family he was imprisoned, and shortly afterwards they were put to death. The extremists took a revolutionary step in abolishing the system which had been established since the time of Herod and reserved the *high priesthood to a number of families which in effect constituted the priestly oligarchy. This privilege had not been abolished even in the time of *Agrippa I. The high priesthood had continued to alternate between these oligarchic houses; from time to time the transfer was accompanied by reprehensible dealings, such as the bribery of the appointing authorities. In the years immediately preceding the Revolt the right of appointment was entrusted to Agrippa II, and the last high priest appointed by him was *Mattathias, the son of Theophilus II. It was now decided to introduce a complete democracy in the high priesthood and to choose by *lot. The lot fell upon Pinḥas (*Phinehas) b. Samuel of Kefar Havta. With the aim of portraying this change in the blackest of colors Josephus states that Pinḥas was "a man who not only was not descended from high priests, but was such a clown that he scarcely knew what the high priesthood meant. At any rate they dragged their reluctant victim out of the country, and dressing him up for his assumed part, as on a stage, put the sacred vestments upon him and instructed him as to how to act in keeping with the occasion. To them this monstrous impiety was a subject for jesting and sport, but the other priests, beholding from a distance this mockery of their law, could not restrain their tears and bemoaned the degradation of the sacred honors" (War 4:139–57). This Pinḥas is also mentioned in the talmudic sources, according to which he was a stonemason by trade, but they add that he had married into the House of Hillel. The view expressed by some scholars that this appointment constituted the restoration of the ancient glory of the high priesthood, since he belonged to the House of Zadok, in whose hands the high priesthood had been until the appointment of the Hasmoneans, is highly doubtful and there is nothing to support such a suggestion in the extant sources.

In his actual description of these events, the arrest and execution of the three members of the Herodian house and the revolutionary change in the selection of the high priest, Josephus does not mention the Zealots as such. The subsequent account, however, establishes it as a certainty that it was they who acted as the instigators. At the assembly called at the insistence of the most important of the previous high priests, under the influence of these events, *Joshua b. Gamla and Anan b. Anan castigated those present for their indifference and explicitly incited them against the Zealots. In other words, they attributed to them those actions which they were denouncing. It is in this context that Josephus for the first time explains the name Zealot, which henceforth he uses frequently, "for so they called themselves, as though they were zealous in the cause of virtue and not for vice in its basest and most extravagant form" (War 4:161).

The existing leadership in Jerusalem decided to embark upon an open struggle against the attempts of the Zealots to seize the reins of power. Numbered among these chief opponents, in addition to Joshua b. Gamla and Anan, were Goryon b. Joseph and *Simeon b. Gamaliel (War 4:159). In a rousing address Anan incited the citizens of Jerusalem against the Zealots who had fortified themselves in the Temple, and the Temple Mount was besieged. The struggle was decided in favor of the Zealots only with the entry of thousands of Idumeans into Jerusalem who ranged themselves on the side of the Zealots (War 4:162–304).

The Zealots were now in control of Jerusalem (winter of 67–8 C.E.) and their chief opponents were put to death, among them Anan b. Anan, Joshua b. Gamla, Goryon b. Joseph, and the commander *Niger from Transjordan. Meanwhile, however, a split took place between the Zealots and the Idumeans (War 4:305–65).

At this stage of events John of Giscala was in alliance with the Zealots, although Josephus does not mention his activities either with regard to the fight which took place in Jerusalem or the execution of the leading opponents of the Zealots. It is possible that John contented himself with giving aid to them without involving himself personally in the fight against those with whom he had previously cooperated. The Zealots and John of Giscala were now the two main powers in Jerusalem, but this situation changed fundamentally when Simeon bar Giora wrested control of the Upper City and portions of the Lower City. As a result the capital was divided into three parts. Eleazar b. Simeon continued as the commander of the Zealots, fortifying himself and his men particularly in the Temple. They maintained their hold there as a result of a topographical advantage which made up for their numerical inferiority compared with the men of John (War 5:5–10). After the appearance of *Titus before the walls of Jerusalem in the spring of 70, however, John took the bold step of adding the Zealots to his command; using the excuse of the Festival of Passover, according to Josephus, he infiltrated his armed men into the Temple area and thus established his domination over them (War 5:98–105). From this time onwards the Zealots were under the overall command of John in the same way as the Idumeans accepted the command of Simeon bar Giora. Both of these groups, however, continued to maintain their separate identity (War 5:250) and in the battles which raged between the Romans and the Jews during the siege the Zealots, distinguishing themselves by their courage, achieved a prominence comparable to those who belonged to the other camps (War 6:92, 148).

The sources are silent as to the fate of Eleazar b. Simeon and *Zechariah b. Avkilus, the principal leaders of the Zealots. It would appear that they were killed, or died, before the final fall of the Temple. Of at least one of the outstanding Zealot fighters during the siege, Judah b. Ari, it is known that he escaped from Jerusalem and that many of the fighters rallied around him. In the forest of Jardes they were encircled by a unit of Roman cavalry, while the infantry were cutting down the trees to blaze a trail through the forest. All the Jewish fighters, among whom there must have been many of the Zealots from Jerusalem, fell in the battle, including their Zealot commander Judah (War 7:210–15). Their end was more similar to that of the Sicarii – despite the fact that it was not actually a case of mass suicide but the fall of heroes in the field of battle – than to the fate of Simeon bar Giora or John of Giscala, who fell alive into the hands of the Romans.

There seems little reason to doubt that the priests of Jerusalem were the fomenting element among the Zealots. Their essential base was always the Temple Mount and at least two of their principal leaders, Eleazar b. Simeon and Zechariah b. Avkilus, were priests (War 4:225). To them one may add, as will become clear below, *Eleazar b. Hananiah. Josephus also testifies that three more of their leaders were notables in Jewish society, "Judas the son of Chelcias, and Simon son of Esron, persons of might, along with a man of some distinction, Ezechias of Chobari" (War 5:6).

It would even appear that the very name *Kanna'im* has a priestly connection, in that they consciously regarded themselves as the spiritual descendants of the "Kanna'i" par excellence of Jewish tradition, Pinḥas (*Phinehas) the son of Eleazar (Num. 25:11).

As has been seen, at least immediately after the Roman victory in *Beth-Horon, the *Kanna'im* emerge as a recognized and definite factor, but it is possible to go further back and see as an act of the Zealots the decisive step which from the formal point of view marked the outbreak of the Revolt – the cessation of the daily sacrifice in honor of the Roman Emperor at the instigation of Eleazar b. Hananiah (War 2:409). It appears that despite the fact that he belonged to high priestly circles, his sympathies were all with the *Kanna'im*. It is not out of place to note that according to the talmudic tradition (Git. 56a) this symbolic and decisive act is connected with an individual who is known from Josephus as the second most prominent leader of the Zealots after Eleazar b. Simeon, namely Zechariah b. Avkilus: "Through the scrupulousness of R. Zechariah b. Avkilus our sanctuary was destroyed, our Temple burnt, and we ourselves were exiled from our land." The suggestion that the Zealots received considerable support from Bet Shammai has been put forward in the past and there is undoubtedly some basis for it.31 A consideration of the activity of Bet Shammai at the beginning of the Revolt as described in the halakhic sources fits in perfectly with what has been assumed as the ideology of the *Kanna'im*. Is it, however, possible to see the activities of the *Kanna'im* as the expression of a defined current and a consolidated group in the period prior to the Revolt?

It is certain that Josephus, the primary and most important source, and the only one to describe the ideologies of the Jews at the close of the Second Temple, does not employ the word Zealots at all in respect to the previous events. One cannot, however, infer far-reaching conclusions from this silence, since even at the beginning of the Revolt he does not mention the formation of the sect, and it is only casually that he notes the connection between Eleazar b. Simeon and the *Kanna'im*, referring to them consistently only from Book IV of the *War* onwards. However, even the other sources shed little light on the subject. The reference of *Avot de-Rabbi Nathan* to them (ARN[1], ed. Shechter, 6, p. 32) is already to the days of the war and the siege of Jerusalem, while the statement of the Mishnah (Sanh. 9:6), "If a man stole a sacred vessel or cursed by *kosem*, or made an Aramean woman his paramour, the Zealots may fall upon him," is directed more to a way of life than to a group with a definite ideology. On the other hand, more weight can be given to the name Zealot given to Simeon, one of the disciples of Jesus, in Luke and Acts (Luke 6:15, Acts 1:13).

Nevertheless, without coming to any definite conclusion with regard to the first appearance of this name, the question can be raised of the initial emergence of an ideology firmly maintained by a specific group and active in the life of the Jews during the Second Temple period.

The historians of the 19th century took it as a fact that the Zealots were identical with the adherents of the Fourth Philosophy, and therefore constituted a division of the same movement to which the Sicarii belonged. This opinion was widely accepted by various scholars. On the other hand, in the 20th century certain scholars flatly denied any connection between the adherents of the Fourth Philosophy and the Zealot ideology, and even the emergence of a specific Zealot faction in the period preceding the Revolt. It must, in fact, be conceded that there is no clear evidence in the sources of any connection between the Fourth Philosophy and the Zealots during the Revolt, especially as the interpretation given to the sole reference to the followers of Menahem as "Zealots" (War 2:444) is open to doubt.

Despite this, however, there appears to be a certain connection between the two and the assumption, though far from decisive, is a reasonable one. As mentioned above, Josephus (Ant. 18:4; cf. 18:9) mentions as the two founders of the Fourth Philosophy Judah of Gamala in Gaulanitis and Zadok the Pharisee. Both the name Zadok and his appellation as a Pharisee suggest, on the one hand, that he belonged to the priestly circles and, on the other, that he was a well-known sage. In a hypothetical manner one can posit this Zadok as the formulator of that ideology which later characterized the Zealots of Jerusalem during the Revolt, whose leaders were the priests of the Temple and who were close to the Bet Shammai.

This assumption of a certain connection between the Zealots and the Fourth Philosophy also serves better to explain the decisive importance which Josephus ascribes to the Fourth Philosophy, on which he places the chief blame for the chain of disasters which befell the Jewish people, culminating in the destruction of the Temple. The limitation of the members of the Fourth Philosophy to the Sicarii, whose activity was impressive, in fact, only at the beginning of the Revolt, and even then it was not they who were responsible for the cessation of the daily sacrifice for the welfare of the Emperor, raises the question as to why Josephus found it necessary to underscore with so much emphasis the fateful guilt of the men of the Fourth Philosophy, to make it appear that they were responsible for all the disasters. It is perhaps possible here to add the two different versions of *Avot de-Rabbi Nathan*, in which Zealots are mentioned in one and the Sicarii in the other, and their mention in juxtaposition in the statement of the Church Father Hippolytus, although the passage is far from clear. And lastly, it should be mentioned that neither Zealots nor the Sicarii were prepared to be captured alive by the Romans.

In the light of these considerations it appears that one can posit, albeit with some caution, the hypothesis that there was indeed a certain connection and cooperation between the founders of the Zealots and of the Sicarii during the census of Quirinius, and that from the outset the difference between these two movements was a tangible one. This difference found its expression in the decisive schism which took place during the Revolt after a brief period of cooperation at its beginning.

What then was it that differentiated the Zealots from the Sicarii and the other groups who fought against the Romans for the freedom of Judea? The differences can be enumerated as follows:

1. Whereas the Sicarii obtained their initial inspiration from Gaulanitis and Galilee in the north, the Zealots were directed by a group of priests in Jerusalem, and it was the Temple which was their main stronghold.

2. The Sicarii continued to be loyal to the dynasty of Judah the Galilean, their last leaders being Menahem and Eleazar b. Jair, who were scions of that house; in contrast the Zealots showed no particular loyalty to any house or dynasty.

3. The Zealots were not of the opinion that the eschatological hopes of the Jews found their expression in the person of any of their leaders. Although Eleazar b. Simeon emerges as their outstanding leader, other leaders worked together with him, and the impression gained is that of collective leadership. Side by side with him stood personalities like Zechariah b. Avkilus and the brothers Simeon and Judah, the sons of Ari.

Simeon bar Giora

The program of the Zealots included the reform of the institution of the high priesthood. As soon as they were able to do so they went to the extreme in the direction of democratizing this office by completely abolishing the high priestly oligarchy which had stamped its impression on Jewish society from the time of Herod and, as mentioned above, chose the incumbent by lot. In the siege of Jerusalem during the spring and summer of 70 C.E., however, the leaders of the Sicarii are conspicuously missing, and the leaders of the Zealots were relatively unimportant; although prominent in the affairs of the capital, they did not hold the most important posts. The two commanders in besieged Jerusalem until its fall at the hands of Titus were *Simeon bar Giora of Gerasa and *John of Giscala. It is possible to a certain extent to trace the connections of Simeon with the Sicarii in Masada, as well as to detect the bond that was established during a certain period between John and the Zealots of Jerusalem. Nevertheless it is completely out of the question to maintain that Simeon definitely belonged to the Sicarii or that John became a member of the Zealots. All that it is possible to establish is that there was a certain identification between Simeon bar Giora and the Sicarii as regards their social outlook and that at a certain stage during the struggle John came to recognize clearly that the Zealots were his true allies in a consistent and effective stand against the Romans. Both Simeon and John are mentioned side by side with Eleazar b. Simeon as the commanders in Jerusalem, not only by Josephus but by the Roman historian Tacitus, who enumerates Simeon first and Eleazar last. Titus also regarded Simeon bar Giora as the leading commander and it was he who was chosen by the Romans to exemplify an enemy commander and lead the triumphal procession in Rome. The elevation of Simeon to the position of commander-in-chief was surprising when one takes into consideration his lowly origin and the existence of other individuals more firmly rooted in the tradition of an anti-Roman ideology. Internal developments in Jewish Ereẓ Israel and the abolition of the influential institutions which existed at the beginning of the Revolt, coupled with the charismatic personality of Simeon, go a long way towards explaining his advancement. It would also appear that from the outset Simeon exemplified the strength of certain rebel elements in Jewish Transjordan, an area which had already shown its love for freedom after the death of Herod, when uprisings which broke out in Ereẓ Israel were crushed out by Varus, governor of Syria. From Jewish Transjordan also came one of the important commanders at the outbreak of the Great Revolt, Niger (War 2:520, 566), a man with an outlook and social connections completely different from those of Simeon. The source of Simeon's strength, however, was by no means confined to Transjordan and gradually he became the spokesman of great masses throughout Jewish Ereẓ Israel. Despite the fact that there is no proof that Galileans joined his forces to any extent, it appears that his influence was decisive in the villages of Judea and Idumea. The suggestion has already been put forward that many of the Sicarii joined him – namely, those who did not fortify themselves in Masada. With the murder of Menahem and the departure of Eleazar b. Jair to this isolated stronghold they had lost their traditional leadership. It is a fact that no less than 10,000 out of the 23,400 fighters who defended besieged Jerusalem were directly under the command of Simeon, and to them are to be added 5,000 Idumean soldiers who were associated with them, as against only 6,000 men under the direct command of John of Giscala and 2,400 Zealots who accepted the leadership of Eleazar b. Simeon (War 5:248–50). It thus emerges that under Simeon there were about two-thirds of the total of the defenders of Jerusalem, and the Romans were naturally justified in regarding him as the commander of the enemy forces. As his name indicates, he was descended from proselytes, and he came from *Gerasa, an important Hellenistic city in Transjordan. The ruins of Gerasa and the inscriptions discovered there distinguish it from all the cities in the country and reveal the quality of its life as a Hellenistic city influenced by its Oriental background. Simeon was a young man when the Revolt broke out and was distinguished by his physical strength and courage (ʼαλκῇ δὲ σώματος καὶ τόλμῃ διαφέρων War 4:504). Simeon first acquired fame by his actions against the Roman army which had advanced against Jerusalem under the command of Cestius Gallus. He attacked them from the rear as they were making their way to the ascent of Beth Horon and carried away many of their pack animals as spoil to Jerusalem (War 2:521). When local commanders were appointed to the various districts of Ereẓ Israel by the temporary government, neither Simeon nor the chief hero of the fray, Eleazar b. Simeon, was among them. Already then Simeon had gathered around him many of the rebels in the most northerly toparchy of Judea, that of Acrabatene. In his activities in that area the extreme social policy of Simeon and his followers already became evident. According to Josephus he did not content himself with attacking people of wealth; he even subjected them to physical torture. When Anan b. Anan, who was at that time the central figure in the temporary government in Jerusalem, sent an army against him Simeon apparently could not maintain his position against the authorities in Jerusalem and escaped south to Masada, and henceforth Idumea became his field of action (War 2:652–54), whereas in Jerusalem itself and in the northern part of Judea access was barred to him as long as the temporary government, which had been set up immediately after the victory over Cestius Gallus, was in control.

At first Simeon was regarded with suspicion by the Sicarii in Masada, a fact which proves that under no circumstances can he be regarded as having been one of them. According to Josephus he was permitted access only to the lower part of the fortress. They nevertheless cooperated with him in the raids which he made in the vicinity, since they saw in him "a man of congenial disposition, and apparently to be trusted." New opportunities opened for him, however, when Anan b. Anan fell into the hands of the Zealots. In addition, he increased the number of his followers by proclaiming the emancipation of all slaves (War 4:503–6). His influence spread over all parts of Judea, in the north as well as Idumea, and the masses flocked to his banner, with the result that "his was no longer an army of mere serfs or brigands, but one including numerous citizen recruits, subservient to his command as to a king" (War 4:510). Simeon's growing influence throughout Judea and Idumea brought him into conflict with the Zealots in Jerusalem and with John of Giscala, to whom it became evident that he was depriving them of any hold in Judea beyond the capital. The opponents of the Zealots who escaped from Jerusalem, whatever their ideological outlook might be, found refuge with Simeon (War 4:353). An attempt of the Zealots to restrain Simeon was unsuccessful, but Simeon did not consider his army sufficiently strong to wrest control of Jerusalem, and instead he first tried to bring Idumea under his influence. His attempt to gain control of Herodion ended in failure, but he did succeed in conquering Hebron (War 4:510–37).

Meanwhile the tension between Simeon and the Zealots increased. The latter took Simeon's wife captive in the hope of exerting pressure against him, but, confounded by Simeon's furious reaction, they released her (War 4:538–44) and the conflict in Jerusalem paved the way for Simeon. It would appear that the impetus to invite him to Jerusalem as a counterweight against John and the Zealots came from the Idumeans, and in Nisan (Xanthicus) of 69 C.E. Simeon arrived at the gates of Jerusalem and gained control of a large section of the capital, though his attempt to force the Zealots out of their stronghold in the Temple Mount ended in failure (War 4:566–584). He continued, however, to hold sway over the whole of the Upper City and part of the Lower City, establishing his headquarters in the Tower of Phasael (War 5:169). During the period of the siege Simeon took the initiative in arranging a truce with John of Giscala with the aim of cooperation against their common enemy (War 5:278) and henceforth fought shoulder to shoulder with him. On the other hand he dealt harshly with the upper classes, whom he suspected of collaboration with the Romans. Among those put to death by him were Mattathias b. Boethus and three of his sons (War 5:527–33, 6:114), and he took part together with John in the defense of the Temple before it was destroyed by fire (6:72).

Simeon bar Giora, in contrast to the Sicarii in Masada and the Zealot leaders in Jerusalem, who either committed suicide or fell in the field of battle, did not die during the war. He was taken alive by the Romans and Titus even issued an order to save him for the triumph which he was going to organize in Rome (War 7:25–36). He was sent to his death in that triumph amidst the applause of the Romans, in accordance with Roman custom.

Simeon was beyond doubt the most charismatic figure among the leaders of the Revolt. According to Josephus, his soldiers were prepared to go through fire and water for him (War 5:309) "and his was no longer an army of mere serfs or brigands, but one including numerous citizen recruits, subservient to his command as to a king" (War 4:510). Simeon was first and foremost the leader of the lower classes in Transjordan, Judea, and Idumea. It would be difficult to accord Simeon the epithet of "sage" as Judah and Menahem, the leaders of the Sicarii, are referred to (σοφισταί), nor did his influence and prestige obtain any support from the tradition of a family which for generations had been held in esteem by the people.

The sources are almost completely silent with regard to individual figures who belonged to the camp of Simeon. There is mention of his nephew Eleazar, who distinguished himself in battle (War 6:227), and one of his outstanding aides was Hanan of Emmaus. Nothing, however, is known of the origin or social affiliations of the others, such as Ardala (6:360), Castor (5:322), Judah b. Judah (5:534), Judah b. Mareotes (6:148), Simeon b. Hosaiah (6:148), or Malachi (6:92). One can point to a number of the prominent lines of Simeon's social policy: his vigorous activity against the propertied classes already in the first stage of the war and his emancipation of the slaves. Side by side with these one must underscore the special relationship which he had with his followers.

In accordance with his policy in *The Jewish War*, Josephus tends to ignore the messianic-eschatological element in the Great Revolt. Nevertheless, messianic hopes were associated with Simeon and, as has been stated, in one place (War 4:510) Josephus points out that he was obeyed like a king. There is also a basis for the suggestion that there is a connection between the coins bearing the inscription "*Li-Ge'ullat Ẓiyyon*" ('To the redemption of Zion') and the eschatological hopes which were reposed in the personality of Simeon bar Giora. If, therefore, with regard to social outlook Simeon was close to the general spirit of the Sicarii, there was nevertheless room for disagreement between them in the question of the leadership, since many of the Sicarii found it difficult to recognize the leadership of someone who did not belong to the family of Judah the Galilean. Nevertheless the differences were straightened out to some extent as a result of the absence of a recognized Sicarii leader in Jerusalem after the death of Menahem. Nor should one overlook the fact that whereas the Sicarii leaders, Judah and Menahem, were "sages," the impression gained of Simeon is that of a man who could under no circumstances be regarded as such according to the ideas prevailing in the Second Temple period. The personality of Simeon bar Giora fits in well with the picture one has of many of the popular leaders in the preceding period, during the disturbances which took place after the death of Herod. As is known, at that time there appeared, in addition to Judah b. Hezekiah, who was active in Galilee and conquered Sepphoris, a number of other leaders whose field of action was Jewish Transjordan and Judea itself. One of them was Simeon, the slave of Herod, who was distinguished by his handsomeness, his physical stature and bodily prowess. He assumed the crown and gathered around him a number of followers who proclaimed him king. He also set on fire and looted the royal palace in Jericho. Simeon himself met his death in battle together with his supporters, most of them from Perea (Ant. 17:273–77, War 2:57–59).

Similar to Simeon's conduct and activities were those of another rebel against Herod's son, Athronges, a shepherd by calling and of lowly origin, who also distinguished himself in stature and courage. He also aspired to the throne and, aided by his four brothers, crowned himself. According to Josephus he took a determined line against the Romans as well as against the members of the Herodian house. He made Jews as well as non-Jews suffer if it was to his advantage. Of his activities his attack upon a Roman troop in *Emmaus is mentioned and thus his field of action was in the west of Judea. His activities came to an end as a result of the efforts of Archelaus after he had consolidated his position as ethnarch of Judea (And. 17:278–84; War 2:60–64).

There is a parallel between such figures as Simeon the slave of Herod, Athronges, and Simeon bar Giora. All of them were of lowly origin and all three aspired to the throne, and it is almost certain that this aspiration was connected with the messianic expectations which had become widespread among the people at the time and in the case of all of them these expectations had a social character.

John of Giscala

To an entirely different social milieu belonged *John of Giscala (Gush Ḥalav in Galilee). Josephus, who is practically the sole source for him, displays a special animosity towards the personality of John. Whereas with regard to the individuals and the principles which animated the other freedom fighters he reveals an ideological opposition and blames them for the catastrophes which followed, and, as the near-official historian of the Flavian house he was obliged to denounce them with every kind of denunciation, with regard to John his criticism reveals a profound personal animosity. The roots of this animosity, which runs like a scarlet thread throughout the *War*, and even more so in his autobiography, the *Life*, are to be found mainly in his experiences while serving as commander of Galilee, where John was the most determined and unwavering of his opponents and did everything to have him deposed. This is undoubtedly the source of that hostility and the difference between his description of John and that of the other rebel leaders. The characteristics of John as presented by Josephus (War 2:585–88) reveal such unmistakable signs of contemporary rhetoric as to remind Thackeray, one of the most brilliant students of Josephus, of the description of Catilina by the Roman historian Sallust. "Poor at the beginning of his career, his penury had for a long time thwarted his malicious designs; a ready liar and clever in obtaining credit for his lies, he made a merit of deceit and practiced it upon his most intimate friends; while affecting humanity, the prospect of lucre made him the most sanguinary of men; always full of high ambitions, his hopes were fed on the basest of knaveries. For he was a brigand, who at the outset practiced his trade alone, but afterwards found for his daring deeds accomplices, whose numbers, small at first, grew with his success. He was, moreover, careful never to take into partnership anyone likely to fall an easy prey to an assailant, but selected good, strapping fellows, with stout hearts and military experience." Nevertheless, even Josephus does not attempt to implicate John as one of the inciters of the rebellion against Rome, as a person whose destructive ideology, on the lines of the Fourth Philosophy, was a factor in bringing about the conflagration. John is not mentioned at all as one of those who raised the standard of revolt against the Romans at its outset. On the contrary, when he saw that some of the inhabitants of Gush Ḥalav (*Giscala) were influenced by the ferment, he essayed to restrain them and demanded that they remain loyal to Roman rule (Life, 43). The developments which took place in Galilee, however, as in other regions, in the relations between the Jews and their non-Jewish neighbors caused him to change his attitude. Gush Ḥalav itself was attacked by those non-Jews, who wrought havoc in it. John, who was already then a central figure in the town, armed his followers and made a counterattack against those who had caused the destruction in his town. He gained ascendancy over them and erected a wall around Gush Ḥalav to protect it against similar assaults in the future (Life 44–45). It is also stated that John amassed a fortune through his successful business dealings, which were connected with the sale of the abundant olive oil from Galilee to the Jews of adjacent Syria who refused to use non-Jewish oil.

Josephus testifies that John maintained close contacts with influential circles in the important cities of Galilee such as Gabara, where one of his friends, Simeon, was active (Life 124) and *Tiberias. An important accretion of strength came to him from Jewish refugees from *Tyre (Life 372). Among his friends in Jerusalem was numbered Simeon b. Gamaliel (Life 192). In two parallel narratives in the *War* and in his *Life* Josephus gives the details of John's activity in Galilee prior to the appearance of the Roman army there under Vespasian in 67 C.E. Naturally his description revolves around the personal relations between himself and John. The latter even attempted to influence the leaders of the revolt in Jerusalem to depose Josephus from his post as commander of Galilee. The *Life* in particular gives details of this; of special importance in this episode is the revelation of the close relations and complete mutual understanding which existed between John and Rabban Simeon b. Gamaliel. According to Josephus, Simeon on his part exercised his influence on the former high priests Anan b. Anan and Joshua b. Gamla to come out against Josephus and four emissaries were sent to Galilee for the purpose of deposing him. Their mission ended in complete failure, however, and Josephus continued to serve as commander of Galilee (Life 189–335).

A close examination of Josephus' accounts in his two works gives rise to serious doubts about their credibility, both with regard to the events in Galilee in general and his relationship with John in particular. Two things, however, are clear. One is that John played a leading role in the opposition to Josephus in Galilee and the other is that he cannot under any circumstances be regarded as the mouthpiece of the radical elements. It is known that he maintained excellent relations with Simeon b. Gamaliel, and his opposition to Josephus received the approval of Anan b. Anan.

It fell to John's lot to be the last of the fighters of Galilee. Whereas Josephus surrendered in Jotapata and the last Jewish strongholds in Galilee were captured by the army of *Vespasian and their defenders put to the sword or taken prisoner en masse, John succeeded in escaping from Gush Ḥalav at the head of his men and making his way to Jerusalem (War 4:84–111).

In Jerusalem John at first enjoyed prestige as the outstanding fighter against the Romans and the open opponent of Josephus, who had failed in the defense of Jotapata and whose surrender to the Romans cast suspicion on all his previous conduct of the war. As against this, the success of John in extricating himself with all his men, and bringing them to aid in the defense of Jerusalem, stood out prominently. The fact that he was at the head of an armed force wholeheartedly devoted to him, and subject to his personal command, gave him an advantage over all the other leaders in Jerusalem. The possibility that other refugees from Galilee joined him, since it is a fact that many Jews from Galilee fought in the defense of Jerusalem, including no less than 2,000 from Tiberias alone (Life 354), should be taken into consideration. After his arrival in Jerusalem, John maintained his old ties with the existing Jewish leadership. On the other hand, however, he benefited from the influence of Zealot circles who opposed that leadership, since they saw in him a man of energy and an uncompromising fighter against the Romans. According to Josephus he infused a spirit of courage and hope in the inhabitants of Jerusalem, "extolling their own power, and ridiculing the ignorance of the inexperienced; even had they wings, he remarked, the Romans would never surmount the walls of Jerusalem, after having had such difficulty with the villages of Galilee and having worn out their engines against the walls" (War 4:126–7). When the conflict broke out in Jerusalem between the Zealots and the traditional leadership under Anan b. Anan, John still belonged to the party of Anan but, in consequence of the prestige he enjoyed also among the Zealots, he was chosen by Anan as the intermediary between him and them. According to Josephus he betrayed Anan and it was he who encouraged the Zealots to call upon the Idumeans for aid against the existing leadership (War 4:208–23). Reference has already been made above to the development of the relations between John and the Zealots of Jerusalem which brought about close military cooperation between his men and the less numerous Zealots. In point of fact it was only the appearance of Simeon bar Giora which prevented the concentration of the high command in besieged Jerusalem in the hands of John. After his entry into the capital Simeon remained his sole rival and both served as commanders in the city.

Josephus consistently attempts to place the blame for the desecration of the Temple squarely on the shoulders of John. According to him John requisitioned the wood which had been stored for Temple purposes in order to erect towers for military purposes (War 5:36). When he and his men seized control of the Temple from Eleazar and the Zealots, not only did they exploit the Passover for their own purposes, but the majority of his men were not even ritually clean when they penetrated the Temple precincts (War 5:100), and he concludes, "For he had unlawful food served at the table and abandoned the established rules of purity of our forefathers" (War 7:264). The main purpose of these accusations was to put John in as bad a light as possible. John fulfilled a task of primary importance in the defense of the fortress of Antonia. After its fall he sought refuge in the tunnels, but finally met a fate similar to that of Simeon bar Giora and fell into the hands of the Romans, unlike the Sicarii and the Zealots. But whereas Simeon was put to death by the Romans, John was sentenced to life imprisonment (War 6:434).

John of Giscala represents an outstanding example of the spread of the ideal of liberty into the widest sections of the people. A moderate and peace-loving man from Galilee, an intimate of Rabban Simeon b. Gamaliel and not unacceptable to the ruling oligarchy of the high priesthood (Anan b. Anan), he joined the revolt out of the necessity of the situation at the same time as even the recognized leaders of Jewish society (the heads of Bet Hillel and the high priestly circles) were swept into it by the general enthusiasm. In the course of events, when he came to Jerusalem after the collapse in Galilee, he felt a spiritual affinity to the Zealots there and joined them in their war against the existing leadership, but there is no need to assume that there was any decided ideological identification on his part with the Zealots.

Despite all of Josephus' attempts to besmirch him more than all the other individuals who were active at that period in Jerusalem, he hardly ascribes to him any special acts of cruelty, as he does to Simeon bar Giora. Nor is there any evidence of a socialistic revolutionary outlook or messianic-eschatological ideology in his personality. Nevertheless he was filled with the conviction that God would defend His city (War 6:98–99).

Although it cannot be denied that the picture given here of the various currents in the Jewish freedom movement is to a considerable extent hypothetical, one thing is nevertheless indisputably clear, namely, that the unifying factors among them outnumbered the divisive ones. From this point of view there is perhaps some justification for the view of those historians who are accustomed to speak generally of a Zealot movement which fearlessly raised the standard of revolt against the Roman Empire when it was at the height of its power.

[Menahem Stern]

Later Scholarship

The above classic article by Menahem Stern is reprinted unchanged because it remains the best ordering and interpretation of evidence in Josephus and in Christian, rabbinic, and pagan sources on the rise and spread of the Jewish revolutionary movements from the first century B.C.E. to the aftermath of the destruction of Jerusalem in the 70s C.E. This brief supplement is intended only to clarify, expand, and update certain aspects.

The only point in Stern's article which has to be corrected in light of subsequent scholarship is the final, concluding statement that "the unifying factors among [the Jewish revolutionary groups] outnumbered the divisive ones." Scholars today tend rather to see myriad partisan rivalries and societal fissures in Judea as contributing factors to the outbreak of the rebellion and the massive extent of the destruction it brought. Josephus has succeeded in obscuring the number and variety of revolutionary movements and leaders, and the ancient authors of the other sources had no interest in providing better information. But it seems clear now that the incidental mention of different rebels in Josephus and the New Testament, and the proliferation of small militia-type groups during Josephus' term as general in the Galilee, provide a glimpse into a much wider phenomenon. Moreover, these groups tended to compete with each other more often than they combined to oppose Roman rule in Judea. The chief victims of the Sicarii were all Jews, the recorded activity of other militants seems to have claimed mostly Jewish victims, and the in-fighting in the Galilee and Jerusalem not only resulted in high numbers of casualties but seriously hobbled the Jewish defensive strategy against the Roman attack. Josephus records in disgust and horror that the Sicarii primarily terrorized Jewish opponents, "saying that they were no different from non-Jews" (*allophyloi*): this redefinition of one's kinsmen as foreign is a psychological and rhetorical tactic typical of intense internal conflict.

Connected with this theme, recent work has also favored the picture of wide and enthusiastic participation by the Jewish upper classes in the rebellion. The Jewish ruling class was a heterogeneous group, whose members were in constant tension with each other and with the less privileged groups in Jewish society; this has been especially emphasized in recent studies of patronage in the countryside of Judaea and Galilee. Aristocrats formed their own factions or joined existing ones in order to gain control of the revolt and maintain their status and position overall. Their failure to unify as a class contributed to the widening fractures in Jewish society, and encouraged Rome to view the revolt as a grave threat. Just before the war, "a kind of enmity and factionalism broke out among the high priests and leaders of the Jerusalem populace" who joined hands with "the boldest revolutionaries" to carry out their high-level power feuds (Ant. 20:180, cf. Pes. 57a). Many aristocrats were to be found in the ranks of Simeon bar Giora's organization, and some of John of Gischala's closest associates, before he betrayed them, were also of the ruling class. Eleazar, son of the high priest Hananiah and *sagan* of the Temple, was apparently a member of or very close to the priestly party of the Zealots. And significantly, the first revolutionary government formed in Jerusalem in 66 C.E. and lasting about six months was composed of high priests, noble priests, and lay nobility: the roster of noble rebels is long. These rebellious aristocrats joined the struggle for a variety of motives, including desire to protect their local power and influence, a feeling of genuine outrage at abuses by the Roman procurators, and infection by the messianic fervor and eschatological hopes pervading Judea before the war (which was not, despite conventional belief, limited to the less educated masses).

At the same time, recent work has tried to illuminate, from very uncooperative sources uninterested in the topic, the social and economic hardships and struggles which contributed to the formation and continuing activity of revolutionary groups and the outbreak of rebellion. The aristocrats' inability and the Romans' conspicuous unwillingness to help control what was apparently a festering economic crisis, punctuated by periodic famine and agricultural failure (only dimly perceived in the literary and archaeological evidence), obviously drove some to join anti-establishment movements large and small. But this factor can be overstated, for economic destitution did not always lead to political rebellion; there is no reason to think that the economic situation in Judea was worse than in other peaceable areas of the empire, and the echoes of the slogans and platforms espoused by the Jewish rebel groups have nothing to do with economic injustice. Despite the fact that economic grievance indisputably contributed to the appeal of revolution, especially to the destitute and dispossessed, there is no sound basis for the model of the Jewish rebellion as two rebellions in one, an economic uprising by the peasant against the propertied classes and a national uprising against a foreign empire. Motives were complex, varied, combinatory, changing, and often indistinguishably tangled.

When social hierarchies weaken and the state power proves inefficient, banditry often arises (especially when socio-political instability is exacerbated by economic hardship). Brigandage and piracy were a problem which accompanied the Roman Empire throughout its entire history, particularly in peripheral, less fully Romanized, and less stable areas. The rebels in first-century Judea are routinely labeled *leistai*, "brigands," by Josephus, and there is little doubt that this quasi-legal label, applied indiscriminately to both prominent named and smaller unnamed bands, reflects the official Roman perspective, which viewed political upstarts as no more than criminals and troublemakers to be exterminated, and treated them accordingly. Josephus, when he became a historian, found that this attitude conveniently reflected his personal animus against the militant groups, especially when they attacked wealthy local magnates (but he also absurdly calls his personal enemy John of Gischala a *leistes*, even though John was well-to-do and well-connected, War 2:587). But the term may conceal a much more complex reality than can be teased out of the sources, and much recent work has been devoted to distinguishing between common criminals and "social bandits" on Hobsbawm's model. The problem is one of perception. Josephus' *leistai* did not of course present themselves as common robbers, nor were they perceived as such in the popular imagination, even less so by the other individuals whom they recruited to their ranks. Moreover, whatever "social bandits" existed in Judea seemed to have been infected by, and in turn to have exploited, the growing popular outrage against the Roman Empire and concomitant spreading messianic ideology. Social banditry is (according to the model) a rural phenomenon, yet some of the main revolutionaries – especially the Zealots – seem to have been active in an urban setting. Careful distinctions have to made, and the concept of social banditry as a political act will be found to apply only to the partially visible groups who make brief and enigmatic appearances in the sources. The concept contributes very little to understanding the Zealots and Sicarii, who were selective groups founded and led by literate ideologues who engaged in overtly political terror; the Zealots, as Stern has made clear, were a highly specialized group of mostly priests.

No writings by the Zealots or Sicarii have survived to round out and deepen the picture, no genuine voice of a revolutionary ideologue can be heard directly; belief and actual rhetoric must be filtered out of the considerable distortions and omissions of the existing sources. It remains true that "… there is no direct expression outside Josephus of the ideology of revolt" (Rajak 2002, 177). Yet much recent scholarship has attempted to appreciate the full force of the messianic character and apocalyptic beliefs and professions of many of the revolutionaries, and their impact on the prewar Jewish population at large. The scant indications in Josephus of the messianic nature and eschatological message of many of the rebels – the Sicarii if not the Zealots, and the many "prophets" and unnamed militants mentioned by Stern – combined with the relatively substantial but enigmatic corpus of apocalyptic and messianic texts from the period (e.g., *Psalms of Solomon*, *Assumption of Moses*, *Sibylline Oracles* III and IV, et al.), have been marshaled to create a picture of pervasive messianism throughout Palestinian Jewish society in the first century. But, except for the messianic texts from Qumran (of which the sectarians played no known role in the war), it is not possible to associate any known apocalyptic text with a revolutionary group. Nor should one expect to do so. There is no reason to believe that known groups such as the Zealots or even the Sicarii with their "fourth philosophy," or unnamed groups, wrote their own manifestos or inspirational texts. Messianists who repeated the widely known prophecy of the next world ruler arising from Judea (recorded by Josephus, War 6:312) needed to cite no more than Numbers 24:17, or the eschatological visions in the book of Daniel. It can be said from the available evidence that messianic hopes affected all societal sectors, definitely motivated many of the revolutionary groups agitating for war with Rome, and drove the diehards in Jerusalem to expect salvation until the very end. On the other hand, Josephus tried to demonstrate in his life and writings that it was possible to be a strongly believing Jew and accept accommodation with the Roman Empire, postponing eschatological hopes for an undetermined, distant future.

[Jonathan Price (2nd ed.)]

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ZEBAH AND ZALMUNNA (Heb. זֶבַח, צַלְמֻנָּע), two Midianite kings. The Israelites under the leadership of Gideon won a decisive victory over the Midianites. Oreb and *Zeeb, two princes of Midian, were captured and slain (Judg. 7:15–25). With the complete destruction of the Midianite forces, the Israelites were free of the terrors of yearly raids and crop stealing by the peoples from the east (Judg. 6:2–6). Gideon, however, was not satisfied. He was determined to find and kill Zebah and Zalmunna, two other Midianite kings who had managed to survive the great defeat and had fled eastward into the desert. This was a personal quest by Gideon, however, in order to exact revenge for the murder of his brothers, and he did not have the support of the tribes in this expedition. With his 300 men, he managed to rout the surviving Midianite forces and capture Zebah and Zalmunna. Gideon offered the privilege of executing blood revenge to his young son Jether, but the scared youth could not bring himself to draw his sword (Rashi, Judg. 8:20). Zebah and Zalmunna asked Gideon to execute them, so that they would die at the hands of a kingly person like themselves (Judg. 8:4–21; Ps. 83:12).

Y. Kaufmann maintains that Gideon thought his brothers were still alive, otherwise the question "Where are the men…?" (Judg. 8:18) would make no sense. In the same verse he emends הרגתם ("you killed") to נהגתם ("you captured"; cf. Gen. 31:26; Deut. 28:37), as better fitting the meaning of the text. Gideon had heard only of his brothers' capture by the Midianites, and it was from the answer of Zebah and Zalmunna that he learned of their deaths.

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[Gershon Bacon]

ZEBIDAH, family of *paytanim* that appears in several places in the **Genizah* (Judah, Yose his brother, Abraham b. Judah, Isaac and Jacob b. Isaac). The head of the family and its most important *paytan* seems to have been Judah, author of a *kerovah* for the Intermediate Sabbath of Passover, published by I. Davidson (JQR, 21 (1930/31), 255, 266–75). A second signature to this *kerovah*, "*Yehudah mi-Berutah me-Ḥaleb Asah*," would indicate that the family came originally from Syria, some living in Beirut and some in Aleppo. The founder of the family must have lived, at the latest, in the 11th century.

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[Menaḥem Zulay]

ZEBULUN (Heb. זְבוּלוּן, זְבוּלֻן, זְבֻלוּן), tenth son of Jacob and the sixth born to him by Leah (Gen. 30:19f.). The tribe of Zebulun is named after him. It was divided into three clans: Seredites, Elonites, and Jahleelites (Num. 26:27) after the three sons of Zebulun (Gen. 46:14). At the census taken in the Plains of Moab the number of men in the tribe over 20 years of age and fit for military service was 60,500 (Num. 26:27). Zebulun held a major position among the tribes of Galilee; it was settled more securely than the others. Unlike the case of the tribes of Asher

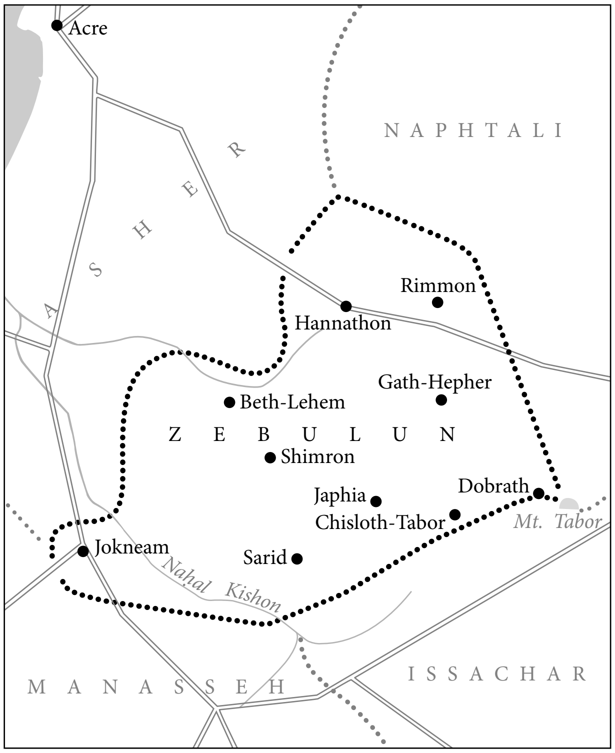

Territory of the tribe of Zebulun. After Y. Aharoni, Lexicon Biblicum*, Tel Aviv, 1965.*

and Naphtali who continued to "dwell among the Canaanites" (Judg. 1:32f.), among Zebulun the Canaanites constituted a minority: "the Canaanites continued to dwell among them" (Judg. 1:30). The tribe was very active in the campaigns of the period of the Judges. The victorious army in the battle by the wadi Kishon was formed of men of Zebulun and Naphtali (Judg. 4:6, 10). Deborah praised them as "a people that put its life in jeopardy to the point of death…" (Judg. 5:18). The men of Zebulun also took part in the Midianite war (Judg. 6:35). The judge Elon was a Zebulunite (Judg. 12:11), as was probably Ibzan of Beth-Lehem (in Galilee in the territory of Zebulun, Josh. 19:15), whom the text juxtaposes with Elon (Judg. 12:8–10).

The importance and strength of the tribe of Zebulun in the period of the united kingdom is also indicated by the mention of Zebulun's army as the largest of the western tribal armies that fought under King David (I Chron. 12:34 [33]). Isaiah mentions the land of Zebulun after the collapse of the kingdom of Israel (8:23 [9:1]). Apparently, it suffered less than other regions during the destruction of the kingdom of Israel. The Zebulunites were not uprooted and were probably the core of the remnant that survived the Assyrian campaigns in Galilee (II Chron. 30:6). Consequently, the last Davidic kings were careful to maintain their ties with the people of Zebulun who were among those who made the pilgrimage to celebrate Hezekiah's Passover in Jerusalem (II Chron. 30:10–11). Manasseh, king of Judah, married Meshullemeth of Jotbah (II Kings 21:19), which, according to S. Klein, was Yotbat-Yodpat (referred to by Josephus as Jotapata), in the land of Zebulun, and her son Amon succeeded Manasseh as king in Jerusalem. Amon's son, King Josiah, also married into the tribe of Zebulun; his wife Zebudah, the mother of King Jehoiakim, was a native of Rumah in the Valley of Beth-Netophah (II Kings 23:36). This is the regnant view, though S. *Mowinckel, in the Norwegian Bible translation, and H.L. Ginsberg, *Marx Jubilee Volume* (1950), 350f. n. 12 prefer to restore the Judean town names Juttah (יוּטָּה, יֻטָּה; Josh. 15:55; 21:16) and Dumah (דּוּמָה, var. רוּמָה; Josh. 15:52) respectively.

It has been shown that the populous Jewish community in Galilee in the period of the Second Temple centered around Sepphoris, Jotapata, and the Valley of Beth-Netophah. In all likelihood it was the remnant of Zebulun together with what was left of other tribes, Babylonian returnees, and some Judeans who, together, formed the nucleus of Jewish Galilee which lasted over 1,000 years. The sages were particularly sympathetic toward the tribe of Zebulun, mainly because many of the centers of learning after the destruction of the Temple, such as Bet She'arim and Sepphoris, were in the land of that tribe. The generosity of the wealthy Galileans in supporting the colleges and sages is reflected in rabbinic legends about Issachar and Zebulun (see *Issachar, in the *Aggadah*).

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[Yehuda Elitzur]

ZEC, PHILIP (1909–1983), British illustrator and cartoonist. Zec was born in London, the son of an immigrant rabbi and tailor from Russia. He was educated at the St. Martin's School of Art, London. In the 1930s he became one of the most famous poster artists in England, producing the famous poster for the *Flying Scotsman* train and other well-known advertising designs. From 1937 until 1961 he was the chief political cartoonist for the pro-Labour *Daily Herald*, depicting Hitler and the Nazis as strutting buffoons. Zec's most controversial cartoon appeared in 1942. It depicted a torpedoed sailor on a raft and stated below, "The price of petrol has been increased by one penny – Official." The implication, that war profiteering was the official policy of the British government, infuriated many in Parliament. Zec's original caption had been entirely different; the offending words were added by the newspaper. Zec is regarded as among the handful of great British political cartoonists of his time. He served as a director of the *Jewish Chronicle*.

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[William D. Rubinstein (2nd ed.)]

ZECHARIAH (Heb. זְכַרְיָה; "YHWH has remembered"; end of ninth century B.C.E.), the priest, son of Jehoiada. According to II Chronicles 24:20–22, Zechariah admonished the people in the courtyard of the Temple. They plotted against him and stoned him at the command of *Joash, king of Judah. The latter had forgotten that Jehoiada, Zechariah's father, had once saved his life and made him king (II Chron. 22:11ff.). As Zechariah died he said: "May the Lord see it, and avenge it." (The historicity of the incident is questioned by H.L. Ginsberg.) The tombstone over the alleged grave of Zechariah son of Jehoiada stands in the Valley of Kidron opposite the Temple Mount in Jerusalem.

[Yehoshua M. Grintz]

In the Aggadah

The *aggadah* about the murder of Zechariah in the Temple concerns Zechariah the son of Jehoiada (II Chron. 24:20ff.); but in some of the sources he is confused with Zechariah the prophet (Zech. 1:1; Ezra 5:1) and also with the Zechariah mentioned in Isaiah 8:1. The *aggadah* magnifies the crime which was committed by the king and the people: "Seven transgressions were committed by Israel on that day" (Lam. R., Proem 23), among them that he was slain on the Day of Atonement which happened to fall on the Sabbath. Not content with the punishment which King Joash suffered according to the biblical story (II Chron. 24:23ff.), the *aggadah* tells that after the slaughter in Jerusalem and its environs, Nebuzaradan found the "blood of Zechariah bubbling up." When he inquired as to the nature of this blood, he was first told that it was the blood of sacrifices; but when he investigated and found it not to be so, they admitted whose blood it was. Nebuzaradan said "I will appease him" and he stood and killed in cold blood the members of the Sanhedrin, the priestly class, and the rest of the people – a total of 94,000; but the blood still seethed until Nebuzaradan angrily rebuked Zechariah saying "Do you want me to destroy them all?" Then the blood stopped seething (Git. 57b; Sanh. 96b; Lam. R. *ibid.*; also on Lam. R. 4:13, TJ, Ta'an. 69a–b; Sanh. 96b; cf. also Matt. 23:35f.). According to some of the versions, Nebuzaradan was so impressed by this example of divine justice that he repented his own misdeeds and was converted to Judaism. Thus the murder of Zechariah was the direct cause of the destruction of the Temple and all the suffering connected with it. Although the story refers explicitly to the First Temple, it seems meant to explain the destruction of the second one, for which no obvious reason was apparent. Hence it is quite plausible that the *aggadah* has in mind similar incidents which happened prior to the destruction of the Second Temple, such as the murder by John Hyrcanus of his brother during the sacrificial service (Jos., Ant., 11:300) or the slaying by Zealots of an innocent citizen, called Zechariah(!), in the Temple (Jos., Wars, 4:335).

[Joseph Heinemann]

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Ginsberg, in: JBL, 80 (1961), 347; de Vaux, Anc Isr., 346, 377, 385. IN THE AGGADAH: S. Baeck, in: MGWJ, 76 (1932), 313–9; H.S. Blank, in: HUCA, 12–13 (1937–38), 327–46; Ginzberg, Legends, 4 (1947^5), 304; (1946^3), 396–7.

ZECHARIAH, king of Israel, son of Jeroboam II. Zechariah succeeded to the throne after his father's death in 743 B.C.E. He was assassinated six months later by *Shallum of Jabesh, who seized the throne for about one month (II Kings 15:8–13). It is not possible to determine the reason for his assassination, but presumably it was prompted by external political circumstances.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Bright, Hist, 253.

[Yehoshua M. Grintz]

ZECHARIAH, son of Jeberechiah, one of the two "faithful witnesses" to *Isaiah's prophecy when he wrote on a sheet "to *maher-shalal-ḥash-baz*" and named his newborn son Maher-Shalal-Hash-Baz ("Plunder hastens, booty speeds"), as a sign that "before the boy knows how to call 'Father' and 'Mother' the wealth of Damascus and the spoils of Samaria shall be carried off before the king of Assyria" (Isa. 8:2–4). There is no other unequivocal reference to Zechariah but, since the father of the prophet *Zechariah had the same name (Berechiah) as the father of this Zechariah, and since several scholars attribute the last six chapters of the Book of Zechariah to an earlier, First Temple prophet, there is a theory that the Isaiah witness is that mysterious prophet. It has also been suggested (by Z. Jawitz) that this is the same Zechariah who instructed Uzziah king of Judah "in the fear of God" (II Chron. 26:5). It is more likely that he is to be identified with Zechariah the father-in-law of King Ahaz (II Kings 18:2; II Chron. 29:1).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Z. Jawitz, *Toledot Yisrael*, 2 (1897), 28.

[Yehoshua M. Grintz]

ZECHARIAH, the eleventh book of the Twelve Minor Prophets. While the book is attributed to one prophet, in style and content it is clearly separated into two parts:

(1) Chapters 1–8 are written with the return from Babylonian Exile as background, and the name of the prophet and the dates of his prophecy are clear;

(2) Chapters 9–14 are of an eschatological nature and are written in an obscure style with allusions to unclear backgrounds. Contemporary commentaries tend to treat *Haggai-Zechariah 1–8 together, and separately from Zechariah 9–14.

Zechariah 1–8

The introduction to the book attributes the work to Zechariah son of Berechiah son of Iddo the prophet (Zech. 1:1, and 1:7). The prophet's name is mentioned elsewhere in the Book (7:1, 8). He is mentioned as well, along with *Haggai, in Ezra 5:1; 6:14, where he is referred to as the son of Iddo, rather than grandson. In Nehemiah 12:4 and 16, mention is made of a priest named Zechariah of the family of Iddo, who may be Zechariah the prophet. Three of Zechariah's prophecies are dated between the second and fourth years of Darius' reign (520–18 B.C.E.; 1:1, 7; 7:1). This makes Zechariah a contemporary of Haggai. The Talmud (TJ, RH 1:1, 66b) considers the beginning of Zechariah's prophecy to predate Haggai, although in at least one of his prophecies (8:9–13), he appears to refer to concerns of Haggai as matters which preceded him (Haggai

1:2–11; 2:15–19). In all probability, therefore, he was a younger contemporary of Haggai (cf. Zech. 2:8, where he is called *naʿar,* "lad"). The chronological headings of Haggai-Zechariah 1–8 are more detailed than earlier books of the Bible, so much so that we can see that they cover a period of less than two and a half years in the reign of Darius I the Great (522–486). Haggai and chapters 1–8 of Zechariah seem to be part of the same redactional effort. Zechariah sees himself in the line of the pre-exilic prophets (*ha-nevi'im ha-rishonim*; Zech. 1:4; 7:4, 12), whose words of warning were fulfilled over the doubts of the people to whom they were addressed. From the fact that Yahweh's words of doom and destruction of Judah and Jerusalem conveyed by the prophets were fulfilled, Zechariah concludes that Yahweh's promises to do good for Judah and Jerusalem will likewise be fulfilled (Zech. 8:14–15). Indeed, in response to the question of whether the fasts commemorating the disasters of the earlier sixth century should continue to be observed (Zech. 7:3), the prophet responds that these days will be turned into festivals (Zech. 8: 18–19). In contrast to some of the pre-exilic prophets, he is an enthusiastic supporter of the temple (Zech. 2:16), to which he refers as "Yahweh's palace" (*hekal YHWH*; contrast Jer. 7:4 in which that characterization is termed *sheker*, "a lie"), to Mount Zion as the holy mountain and Jerusalem as the city of truth in which YHWH dwells; a holy land (Zech. 2:16; 7:3). Like the pre-exilic prophets he calls for social justice, honesty, and equity and regard for the poor and defenseless (Zech. 7:8–10; 8:16–17). Zechariah makes much use of symbolic visions, seeing in them a connection between the visionary and real objects, by blurring the time and location. Unlike the visions of the pre-exilic prophets, the visions of Zechariah are accompanied by direct or indirect explanations made by the angel who speaks to him, and who serves as an intermediary between the prophet and God. The angel also serves to transmit prophecies from God to the prophet (see below).

Chapters 1–6 contain eight visions (among which some other fragments are inserted; see below). In the first of these (1:8–17), Zechariah one night sees a man astride a red horse standing among myrtle trees "in the depths," or, perhaps, "in the shadow." Behind him are red, sorrel, and white horses. Replying to the prophet's question, the angel explains that the horses symbolize messengers sent throughout the world by God to see what is transpiring (cf. Job 1:7). The image is probably based on the Persian surveillance system. They return with the information that all is tranquil. The angel, apparently disappointed, perhaps because the disturbances following the death of the Persian emperor Cambyses (530–522) had raised hopes of independence among the subject peoples of the empire, prays for the rebuilding of Jerusalem and the cities of Judah which have aroused God's anger for "these seventy years"; the Lord replies that He is jealous for Jerusalem and Zion, and will return to them. In the second vision (2:1–4), which continues along the lines of the first, the prophet sees four horns (like those of a siege ram butting against a wall), which represent the nations that destroyed Jerusalem. Zechariah then observes four craftsmen who go to cut the horns down, i.e., who restore the city. In the third vision (2:5–9), a man sent to measure Jerusalem with a measuring rod is sent away by an angel who states that Jerusalem does not need a man-made wall: it will be inhabited without walls, God being the wall about "the multitude of men and cattle therein." The fourth vision (Zech. 3), the only vision in the Hebrew Bible in which a historical character appears, takes place in heaven, where a court is in session. The accused is the high priest Joshua and the prosecutor is the Satan (Heb. *ha-satan* as in Job 1; a title, not yet a proper name). God rebukes the Satan: "Joshua is a brand saved out of fire" and is not to be harmed. An angel orders that Joshua's filthy garments, symbolic of his human impurity, be replaced with robes and a clean turban. He promises Joshua that if he will walk in the ways of God, keeping His charge, he will have "free access among these that stand by," i.e., among the angels (cf. the symbolic purging by which *Isaiah is qualified to participate in the deliberation of the heavenly council; Isa. 6:1–8). In vague language, the angel prophesies that God will bring "My servant the Branch" (see Zech. 6:12; Cf. Jer. 23:5–6; 33:15–16), a reference to Zerubabel, grandson of the Davidic King Jeconiah deposed in 597. He shows Joshua a stone with seven eyes. The vision is interrupted by an inserted oracle to Zerubabel, promising that it is he who will complete the temple and triumph in his mission through the agency of the divine spirit rather than through military force as might have been hoped during the period of the empire's unrest (cf. Hag. 2:20–23). Following the insertion, the eyes in the stone are symbolically explained (Zech. 4:10b) as the seven eyes of YHWH, which range through all the earth. The prophet then observes a golden lampstand with a bowl above it and seven lamps upon it, and "each of the seven with seven spouts, for the lamps which are on top of it" (see illustrations in IDB 3:66; Meyers and Meyers, pl. 12–14). Two olive trees, one on each side, have branches, which serve as conduits to empty the golden olive oil through two golden *ṣantərot* (?). The two olive trees represent "the two sons of oil who stand by the Lord (*adon*) of the whole earth," i.e., Joshua and Zerubbabel, who will rule jointly and by their close association with Yahweh represent fertility and prosperity (Meyers and Meyers 1988, 276). The prophet sees two more visions (Zech. 5), which are also related to each other. A large scroll, perhaps inscribed with a curse, perhaps the Torah, flies through the air, symbolizing the curse which will fall upon a thief or one who swears falsely. He then sees a tub/container (?) (Heb. *efah*) containing a seated woman, who is being carried "between earth and heaven" to the land of Shinar, i.e., Babylon, by two winged women. A lead disc is thrown over the mouth of the tub and seals it. The angel explains that the woman symbolizes wickedness, which is being expelled to a distant place. The final vision (6:1–8) resembles the first one: four chariots, harnessed to horses of various colors appear between "mountains of brass." They represent the four winds of heaven, which leave after presenting themselves to the Lord, in order to fulfill their task on earth.

The visions are accompanied by a fragment relating a dramatic act of Zechariah (6:9–15). The prophet is ordered to take silver and gold from Heldai, Tobijah, and Jedaiah, who recently returned from the Exile, and to bring it to Josiah son of Zephaniah (the craftsman?) who will make crowns from it. One crown is to be placed on Joshua's head and the other, apparently, is to be reserved for "the Branch" (Zerubbabel), who he prophesies, will build the Temple and "shall bear glory, and shall sit and rule upon his throne." The high priest will stand by his side "and the counsel of peace shall be between both." The crowns are said to have been placed in the Temple as a memorial and to have remained there throughout the period of the Second Temple (Mid. 3:8). The prophet closes with words regarding proselytes who will be brought to the Lord in the end of days.

In chapters 7 and 8, Zechariah turns from matters directly concerning the returning exiles to eternal prophetic concerns. The returning exiles had asked the priests and prophets in Jerusalem if they were still obligated to observe the four fast days connected with the destruction of Jerusalem. Zechariah raises the question of the fundamental purpose of divine worship (cf. Isa. 58). The basic point is not fasting, but ethical conduct – "honest justice… judgment… mercy, and compassion" (7:9), "the honest and equitable justice" (see 8: 16; see *Peace). Transgressing these precepts had brought "wrath," while keeping them would lead to redemption and to the conversion of fasts into occasions of joy and gladness. The point then is to "love honesty and equity" (8:19). Again, he ends with a vision of "many peoples and mighty nations" recognizing the Lord, and turning to Israel to accompany her in the "search for the Lord of hosts in Jerusalem" (cf. Isa. 2).

Zechariah's central themes in chapters 1–8 do not differ significantly from those of the prophets who preceded him. In a sense, their words, to which he regularly alludes, are already Scripture for him. He esteems the Temple service, and at the same time considers the observance of the precepts of righteousness, truth, and peace most important. Jerusalem is God's chosen city and He is jealous for its honor. The future of the non-Jewish nations is also concerned with the city, for they will eventually seek Yahweh and pray to him. They will acknowledge that God (*elohim*) is with the Jews (Zech. 8:20–23). One innovative aspect of Zechariah's prophecy is the special importance he accords to the high priest. This is a result of the changed circumstances of the Persian period, in which it appeared that the Davidic monarchy would not be restored. The prophetic compromise was a dyarchy, in which Zerubabel and Joshua would each sit on a throne (Zech. 6:13) and that "'a counsel of peace' would exist between them," an outcome which failed to materialize. Zechariah, like later *apocalyptic, makes use of an angel, who instructs the prophet, explaining the strange and wondrous visions which the latter does not comprehend. Much in the fashion of the apocalyptists, Zechariah sees angels standing in God's presence, though he does not see God Himself, as previous prophets had dared (1 Kings 22:19; Isa. 6:1–2). Zechariah's language in describing the visions is prosaic and dry, and occasionally even confused; however, some prophetic passages, such as 2:10–17, do rise to lyricism.

Zechariah 9–14

The entire second section of the book (chapters 9–14) lacks any mention of the prophet's name and period. Chapter 9 begins with the word *massa*ʾ ("an oracle"), as does chapter 12. The first half of the chapter (vs. 1–8) contains prophecies of divine punishment of Israel's neighbors: Hadrach, Damascus, and Hamath, all in Syria; Tyre and Sidon; and the Philistine cities of Ashkelon, Ekron, and Ashdod. All are to be destroyed or annexed to Israel. The second half (vs. 9–17) is a prophecy of redemption for Israel: a savior-king will come to Zion to save all "the poor as well as the one who rides an ass, yea a colt, foal of a donkey" (Tur-Sinai; Held). He will put an end to war in Ephraim and Jerusalem, "and he shall speak peace unto the nations, and his dominion shall be from sea to sea." He speaks of the return from captivity, the war of the sons of Zion against the sons of Javan, and God's appearance in battle to save His people.

In chapter 10 the prophet belittles teraphim and diviners as sources of aid. Only the Lord can produce "showers of rain." He mentions God's wrath at "the shepherds," and goes on to describe the victorious battle of the houses of Judah and Joseph against their enemies. He describes the ingathering of exiles from Egypt and Assyria "into the land of Gilead and Lebanon," and the humbling of Egypt and Assyria. In chapter 11 he returns to his prophecy of divine punishment of the evil "shepherds" (cf. Ezek. 34). He himself is called upon to feed some flocks, using two staves, which he names "Pleasant" and "Binders." He (or God?) cuts off three shepherds in one month. It can be understood from what follows that the nation loathes him, paying him 30 pieces of silver, an ancient idiom for a trifling amount, going back to Sumerian (Reiner). He takes this silver and at God's command throws it into the temple for use by the potter. (These verses inspired Matt. 26:15; 27:3–5.) He then announces the breaking of "the brotherhood between Judah and Israel." He prophesies the rise of a "foolish shepherd" who will neglect the flock, and he curses him strongly.

Chapter 12, like chapter 9, opens with the word *massa*ʾ ("an oracle"). Jerusalem will be besieged by many nations, but Yahweh having made Jerusalem into a cup of reeling, these attackers together with their horses will be struck with confusion and madness. In another image, Yahweh makes Jerusalem into a burdensome stone, which cuts anyone who carries it off. In yet a third image of Judah harming all who attack her, Yahweh will make the clans of Judah into a wood-burning brazier or a torch set to a sheaf and they will consume their attackers "on the right and on the left." The next several verses are highly problematic. They seem to indicate some tension between Jerusalem and the Davidides on the one hand and the "tents of Judah" on the other (12:7–8). Verses 10–12 refer to widespread mourning over one who was stabbed, comparable to the loss of a firstborn son or to the mourning over/at

Haddad Rimmon in the Valley of Megiddo. Chapter 13 tells of a fountain of purification, which will be opened for the house of David and the inhabitants of Jerusalem. The names of the idols will be cut off from the land, and the "unclean" spirit will be swept out of the land. Reflecting the new phenomenon that the divine word should be sought in a limited corpus of Scripture, the writer predicts that Yahweh will also remove prophecy from the land. A prophet will be stabbed by his parents for prophesying. Prophets will deny their vocation by attributing to horsing around any wounds that might be taken as a sign of ecstatic behavior. Once again a flock and a shepherd who will be punished are mentioned. Two parts of the nation "shall be cut off and die," and the remaining third will be purified like silver and gold: "They will call my name and I will answer them; I will say 'That is my people,' and they will say, 'Yahweh is my God,'" an exchange drawn directly from Hos. 2:25.

Chapter 14 begins with a siege of Jerusalem. First, Yahweh brings the gentiles to Jerusalem to make war against it. The city is conquered and plundered, half of the people going into exile. The gentile victory though is short-lived because Yahweh himself will go forth to battle the nations; He will first set his feet on the Mount of Olives and it will be split across from east to west. Then one part will shift north and the other south, creating a huge gorge. The Valley in the Hills (Wadi Kidron?) will be stopped up the way it was in the earthquake of the eighth century in King Uzziah's reign. On a day known only to Yahweh, there will be one continuous day, neither day nor night. On that day fresh water will flow from Jerusalem, part of it to the Dead Sea and part of it to the Mediterranean all year round. Yahweh will be King over all the land (*kol ha-areẓ*) of Israel; others "all the earth"), there will be one Yahweh with one name (i.e., no more Yahweh of Samaria, Teiman, etc.) Then all the land (*kol ha-areẓ*) will become (depressed) like the Arabah, so that Jerusalem (in fulfillment of Isa. 2:2) will be raised, after which it will be secure (Zech. 14:11). Having rearranged the topography, Yahweh is now ready to smite all the peoples who attacked Jerusalem at his invitation, as well as their mounts, with a plague that rots their skin, eyes, and tongues (vss. 12, 15). A panic from Yahweh will fall upon all. Judah will join in the fighting and the wealth of all the nations will be gathered to Jerusalem (vs. 14). Finally, every survivor among the nations struck by Yahweh will make an annual pilgrimage to Jerusalem to bow down to Yahweh and to celebrate the Feast of Booths; if not, they shall have no rain. Egypt, which depends on the Nile rather than rainfall, will be punished in some other way if they fail to make the pilgrimage. All of Jerusalem will be pure. "Holy unto Yahweh" will be inscribed on everything from bells on horses to metal pots.

Chapters 9–14 are unclear, and the historical allusions they contain remain contested. There is no apparent temporal connection between them and the contents of the earlier chapters of the book. The two sections differ both in form and style. Much of earlier scholarship concentrated on analyzing the text into sources without attempting to account for why the sources were combined. Contemporary scholarship attempts both. First, 9–14 is now generally subdivided into 9–11 and 12–14, each headed "Oracle, word of Yahweh." But whereas the first heading indicates that the word is directed against various foreign nations, the second is directed against Israel. Though the material is diverse there are several themes in common: military conflict, criticism of leadership, and Jerusalem's future prosperity (see Petersen). There are various reasons why chapters 9–14 were combined with 1–8. For one, both sections contain strange visions. More important, both sections promise the future glory of Jerusalem. Chapter 8:20–23 speaks of all the peoples coming to Jerusalem to seek Yahweh, while chapter 14 concludes with all the nations coming annually to Jerusalem to bow down to Yahweh and to celebrate the Feast of Booths. Jerusalem. As is true of the other late biblical books, both sections of Zechariah constantly quote earlier Scripture, reinterpret it, or allude to it, a process commonly but inaccurately called "intertextuality." (For Zech. 1–8 see Boda; for Zech. 9–14, see charts in Meyers and Meyers 1993, 40–43).

Zechariah in Later Sources

In the Aramaic section of the Book of Ezra (5:1), Zechariah is cited together with Haggai as one of those supporting the building of the Second Temple in the early days of Darius. One passage in Zechariah (1:3) appears to have been quoted in Malachi (3:7). At a later period, some translations of the Bible credited Zechariah with the authorship of several psalms at the end of the Book of Psalms. The Greek translation credits him with Psalms 137 and 138, and in collaboration with Haggai, with 145 through 148; the early Latin version with 112; the Vulgate with 112 and 146, done jointly with Haggai; and the Syriac version in the Polyglot Bible with 126, and 145 to 148. The "addendum" to the Syriac also dates these psalms and describes their use in the Temple. Christianity made much use of Zechariah 9–14, which is the most quoted of the Hebrew prophets in the Gospels, and is second only to Ezekiel in its influence on the Christian apocalypse Revelation. The author of Matt. 23:25 confused our prophet with Zechariah b. Jehoiada of II Chr. 24:20–22, while Matt. 27:9 quotes Zech. 11:12–13, but mistakenly attributes it to Jeremiah.

[Yehoshua M. Grintz / S. David Sperling (2nd ed.)]

In the Aggadah

Zechariah was one of the three prophets to accompany the Exiles who returned from Babylon to Jerusalem; his contribution to the subsequent rebuilding of the Temple consisted of his testimony regarding the site of the altar (Zev. 62a, and Rashi, loc. cit). He prophesied together with Haggai and Malachi, in the second year of the reign of King Darius (Meg. 15a). He could interpret difficult scriptural texts (Er. 21a–b), and he helped Jonathan b. Uzziel to compose the Targum to the prophets (Meg. 3a). Like Haggai and Malachi, he received his learning direct from the early prophets (ARN 1:1). He is identified with Zechariah Meshullam (Neh. 8:4), and was so called because his conduct was blameless (*mushlam*; Meg. 23a). It was only after the death of these three prophets that the Holy Spirit departed from Israel (Yoma 9b).

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ZECHARIAH AL-ḌĀHIRI (1519?–1589?), author in *Yemen. A well-known scholar and *dayyan*, Zechariah was well versed in Hebrew and Arabic literature and in philosophy. He traveled widely, journeying to Ereẓ Israel in 1567 and becoming acquainted with scholars there. During the Turco-Yemenite war (1568–73), he was imprisoned, together with the rest of the Jewish community, in *Sanʿa. In prison he wrote his best-known work, *Sefer ha-Musar,* consisting of 45 sections (*maḥbarot*), influenced in subject matter by the *maqāmāt* of Al-Ḥariri and the *maḥbarot* of *Al-Ḥarizi and *Immanuel of Rome. The book includes amusing folklore, animal fables, and riddles, as well as moral and admonitory tales, and contains poems praising particular books and their authors. However, the most important part of the work is the author's description of his travels in Ereẓ Israel, Egypt, Syria, Iraq, Turkey, Persia, and India, and of contemporary events in Yemen. Zechariah described the scholars and systems of learning of the yeshivot of Ereẓ Israel, including that of *Tiberias, which was supported by Gracia *Nasi, and that of Joseph *Caro in *Safed. Among the notables of Safed whom he mentions are Moses of *Trani and Moses *Cordovero. In Ereẓ Israel Zechariah widened his knowledge of *Kabbalah, and later was instrumental in diffusing the Zohar and other kabbalistic works in Yemen. *Sefer ha-Musar* is an important source of information on the Jewish communities of the period, throwing special light on the political, spiritual, and cultural situation of Yemenite Jewry. Zechariah also wrote *Ẓeidah la-Derekh*, a commentary to the Pentateuch (published with the text, 1964), and several works on *halakhah* and *aggadah*.

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[Yehuda Ratzaby]

ZECHARIAH BEN AVKILUS (first century C.E.), scholar in the generation of the destruction of the Second Temple. Zechariah was known for his piety and humility, and his conduct was even relied upon to determine the *halakhah* (Tosef., Shab. 16:7). The famous statement ascribed to R. Johanan in TB Git. 56a (cf. Lam. R. 4:23), "The humility of R. Zekharia b. Avkulas destroyed our Temple, burned our Holy of Holies, and exiled us from our land," is in fact a slightly expanded version of the statement of the *tanna* R. Jose found in Tosefta Shab. 16:7 (see: *Five Sugyot*, 106–11), and provided the starting point for the later talmudic tradition which described in great detail the way in which Zechariah's behavior served as an immediate cause of the outbreak of the Roman War. When the rabbis were inclined to overlook the blemish in the animal offered as a sacrifice by the Roman government, in order not to offend Rome, Zechariah objected; and when they proposed that *Bar Kamẓa be put to death to prevent his informing against them to the government, he again objected. The Romans regarded the refusal to offer up the sacrifice as a sign of rebellion on the part of the Jews against the empire and the Roman War broke out, which resulted in the destruction of the Temple.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Hyman, Toledot, 402; Y. Furstenberg, in: S. Friedman (ed.), *Five Sugyot from the Babylonian Talmud.* (Heb., 2002).

[Zvi Kaplan]

ZECHARIAH BEN BARACHEL (12th century), head of the *Baghdad academy. R. Zechariah was born in *Aleppo, where his father was the leader of the community. While still in Syria, R. Zechariah was renowned for his erudition and "he taught them most of the Talmud by heart." When he went to Baghdad, the head of the academy R. *Samuel b. Eli gave him his learned daughter in marriage, appointed him *av bet din* of the yeshivah, and empowered him to "designate scribes, *ḥazzanim*, community emissaries, and heads of communities." During the same year (1190), R. Zechariah traveled to the communities of Babylonia and Syria in order to raise funds for the academy. After the death of his father-in-law in 1193, he succeeded him. During his visit to Baghdad, R. Judah *al-Ḥarizi described him as "powerful in Talmud, respected, God-fearing, and pious" (*Taḥkemoni*, ed. by A. Kaminka (1899), 190).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Mann, Texts, index; idem, in: HḤY, 6 (1922), 109f.; Assaf, in: *Tarbiz*, 1:1 (1930), 106–10; D.Z. Baneth (ed.), *Iggerot ha-Rambam* (1946), 31:2.

[Zvi Meir Rabinowitz]

ZECHARIAH BEN SOLOMON-ROFE (**RaZaH**; known in Arabic as **Yahya ibn Suleiman al-Tabib**, first half of 15th century), Yemenite scholar and physician. Zechariah lived in *Sanʿa, *Yemen. His midrashic anthology of the Torah and *haftarot, Midrash ha-Ḥefeẓ*, compiled in 1428, is considered one of the most important Yemenite Midrashim. The **Midrash ha-Gadol* is the main source of his work. He was also influenced by *Maimonides' philosophical opinions. All the sources are in Hebrew and Aramaic; he enlarges upon the ideas and comments on them in Arabic.

Zechariah also wrote a commentary, *al-Durrah al-Muntakhabah* ("The Choicest Pearl"), on the *Midrash ha-Gadol*. His admiration for Maimonides is also expressed in several works which he wrote on Maimonides' books: (1) *Sharḥ al-Ḥigbur*, comments in Arabic on the unknown sources of *Yad ha-Ḥazakah* and *Sefer ha-Mitzvot*; (2) an explanation for Maimonides' commentary on the Mishnah, set out in the form of questions and answers; (3) a commentary in Arabic on *Moreh Nevukhim*. His own medical work, *al-Wājiz* ("the Compendium"), consists of three parts and includes the anatomy of the human body, a detailed list of various diseases, and a description of their cures by the use of herbs and other remedies. Two of his works, which were written at the request of his pupils, indicate that he taught in public. Of his works, only the commentary on the *haftarot* (1950) and the Midrash on Song of Songs (1962) have been published.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Steinschneider, Arab Lit, 249–50, no. 198; idem, in: JQR, 9 (1896/97), 626.

[Yehuda Ratzaby]

ZECHARIAH MENDEL BEN ARYEH LEIB (d. after 1707), rabbi and author. He was born in Cracow, where his father was rabbi of the community. On his father's death in 1671 Samuel *Koidonover was appointed to succeed him, while Zechariah Mendel was appointed rabbi of the main synagogue. Some time after 1674 he was appointed rabbi of Tvrobin and from 1691 to 1700, he was rabbi of Belz. Zechariah was an active member of the *Council of Four Lands; his signature appears on *takkanot* of the council issued during the years 1688–1700.

He was the author of *Ba'er Heitev* on the Shulḥan Arukh, *Yoreh De'ah* (in Sh. Ar., Amsterdam, 1754) and *Ḥoshen Mishpat* (in Sh. Ar., *ibid.*, 1762), a digest of the halakhic comments on the Shulhan Arukh, similar to the commentaries of the same name by Judah b. Simeon *Ashkenazi or Tiktin on *Oraḥ Ḥayyim, Yoreh De'ah*, and *Even ha-Ezer*, by Isaiah b. Abraham on *Oraḥ Ḥayyim*, and by Moses b. Simeon *Frankfurter on *Ḥoshen Mishpat*. Later editions of the Shulḥan Arukh generally contain Zechariah Mendel's *Ba'er Heitev to Yoreh De'ah* and *Ḥoshen Mishpat* and that of Ashkenazi to *Oraḥ Ḥayyim* and *Even ha-Ezer*. Zechariah's son JOSEPH was *av bet din in* Bychawa, Jaslo, and Lublin.

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[Abraham David]

ẒEDAKAH (Heb. צְדָקָה; "righteous act," or "charity"), word derived from the root צדק ("to be correct"). In the Bible, it is variantly used: as righteousness, in the sense of "piety" (Gen. 15:6); as justice (Amos 5:7; 6:12); as right in one's claims (II Sam. 19:29); and, in the plural, as righteous acts (Judg. 5:11; I Sam. 12:7; Jer. 51:10). In later Hebrew literature, it more generally came to mean "charity," implying "acts of justice" but was distinguished from **gemilut ḥasadim* ("acts of kindness"). In the liturgy of Rosh Ha-Shanah and the Day of Atonement, *ẓedakah*, along with "repentance" and "prayer," is said to "avert the evil decree."

ZEDEKIAH (Heb. צִדְקִיָּהוּ, צִדְקִיָּה; "YHWH is my righteousness"), the third son of Josiah (I Chron. 3:15) and the last king of Judah (597/6–587/6 B.C.E.). Zedekiah was 21 years old when he ascended the throne. His mother was Hamutal the daughter of Jeremiah of Libnah (II Kings 24:18; Jer. 52:1). His original name, Mattaniah, was changed to Zedekiah by *Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylonia when the latter appointed him king in place of his brother's son (II Kings 24:17). The change of name is a symbolic expression of Zedekiah's political status as a vassal of the king of Babylonia. Echoes of the vassal pact made between Babylonia and Judah are found in Ezekiel 17:12–14.

From *Jehoiachin, Zedekiah inherited "a humble kingdom" (Ezek. 17:14), a country that was small and weak, subject to a foreign yoke, and divided within. Nebuchadnezzar's campaign against Jehoiakim and Jehoiachin his son brought in its wake the destruction of many cities in Judah, which Zedekiah was prevented from refortifying properly. With Jehoiachin there went into exile some of the honored ones of the country, an important part of the veteran leadership, and many of the craftsmen and experts. Israel's neighbors, especially the Edomites, taking advantage of the difficult position of the kingdom of Judah, made attempts to invade its territory. Ostraca from Arad reveal echoes of the danger that threatened the settlements in the south of Judah from the Edomites. Furthermore, after the exile of Jehoiachin, the kingdom of Judah was under the leadership of inexperienced soldiers and civilians, some of whom were disposed to adventures. Zedekiah himself was not the right leader at the right time. He did not possess those qualities with which he could have prevented the situation from deteriorating to its bitter end – the destruction of the state, of Jerusalem, and of the Temple. The Bible describes him as lacking self-confidence, irresolute, vacillating, Zedekiah was a weak ruler, unsuited for the difficult conditions of the time. Disposed to listen to the advice of *Jeremiah the prophet and not rebel against Babylonia, nevertheless, fearing the princes, he followed their wishes and renounced his allegiance (Jer. 38:5). Zedekiah's position was not an easy one. He ruled only by grace of the king of Babylonia, and Jehoiachin, the preceding king, lived in exile and continued to bear the title of king of Judah even while in Babylonia. There were circles in Judah who hoped for Jehoiachin's return to Jerusalem and for his reappointment as king of Judah (Jer. 28).

During his first years, Zedekiah bore the yoke of Babylonia loyally. It was only in the fourth year of his reign (594/3 B.C.E.) that he showed a tendency to throw off that yoke. In Jeremiah 27 (in verse 1, the reading should be Zedekiah instead of Jehoiakim; cf. 28:1) it is reported that representatives of Edom, Moab, the Ammonites, Tyre, and Sidon assembled in Jerusalem to confer and revolt against Babylonia. The arrival in Jerusalem of the emissaries of the different countries may indicate that Zedekiah took a notable part in initiating the revolt. To the kings subject to Babylonia, that year may have seemed a suitable one for an attempt to throw off the Babylonian yoke; either because of the internal unrest prevailing in Babylonia in 595/4 B.C.E., which is evident from the Babylonian Chronicle, or because of the accession of Psammetichus II to the throne of Egypt (595–589). For reasons that are not clear, the rebellion did not take place. Nebuchadnezzar apparently became acquainted in time with the plot that was being hatched against him and nipped the revolt in the bud by undertaking a campaign to Syria (in 594 B.C.E., according to the Babylonian Chronicle). To this, apparently, belongs the information about the delegation sent by Zedekiah to Nebuchadnezzar to express loyalty (Jer. 29:3), and it is not impossible that he himself journeyed to the king of Babylonia to humble himself before him and express loyalty to him (Jer. 51:59).

The final rebellion of Judah against Babylonia broke out in 589/8 (II Kings 24:20). What prompted Zedekiah to rebel in that year is not clearly known. It is, however, reasonable to assume that he acted not only from a desire to satisfy the wishes of his army commanders, who favored the throwing off of the yoke of Babylonia, but also in coordination with and support of Hophra (589–570), king of Egypt (cf. Jer. 44:30). Echoes of the conspiracy of Judah with Egypt occur in Ezekiel 17 and in Ezekiel's prophecy against Egypt (Ezek. 29). The *Lachish Letters also clearly show that Judah had close ties with Egypt, for important princes of Judah went to Egypt. Letter no. 4 (Rainey, 266–67; COS III, 80) states: "The commander of the host, C[on]iah son of Elnathan, has come down in order to go into Egypt." This army commander undertook a mission to the pharaoh of Egypt on behalf of Zedekiah. Tyre may also have been involved in the revolt, if the statement quoted by Josephus (Apion 1:15 ff.) on the siege of Tyre by Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylonia which lasted 13 years can be assigned to this period. It is not impossible that Ammon may also have been a party to the revolt, in view of what is said in Ezekiel 21:24–25 and the subsequent murder of *Gedaliah the son of Ahikam by *Baalis the king of Ammon. At the height of the rebellion, Zedekiah made a covenant with the people "that everyone should set free his Hebrew slaves, male and female, so that no one should enslave a Judite his brother" (Jer. 34:9–11). This act may attest the enthusiasm that came upon various circles among the people during the rebellion. It was, however, not long before all those who had previously been freed were once more enslaved (Jer. 34:11).

The failure of the rebellion was foreseen. Nebuchadnezzar was at the pinnacle of his power, and a treaty of two or three states was unable to oust Babylonia from Syria and Palestine. The internal position in Judah was very grave. The nation was divided about its relations with Babylonia. There were circles that were disposed to rely on Egypt and throw off the yoke of Babylonia. Those who incited the people to rebellion and instilled confidence in them, a confidence that was false, were the army commanders and the prophets, referred to by Jeremiah as prophesying lies. These prophets promised the people that neither sword nor famine would come to Jerusalem and that God would help them in their distress (Jer. 14:13; 21:2). Jeremiah refuted the words of the prophets, prophesied sufferings for the people, and uttered a grievous prophecy on Jerusalem and its Temple (7:14–15; 34:21–22). According to Jeremiah, the fate of the nation had already been determined for destruction, in consequence of its moral and religious sin (6:13; 7:17–19, et al.). Because of his warnings and rebukes, Jeremiah, as well as all those who had similar ideas, were persecuted by the princes and the false prophets (Jer. 26).

The Babylonian answer was not long in coming. Nebuchadnezzar went to Syria and established his camp at Riblah in the land of Hamath (II Kings 25:6, 20; Jer. 39:5), while troops of Chaldeans made their way southward, and laid siege to Jerusalem. The siege lasted for about two and a half years, from Zedekiah's ninth year, in the tenth month, on the tenth of the month, until the city was breached in his 11th year (587 to 586 B.C.E.), in the fourth month, on the ninth of the month (II Kings 25:1–4; Jer. 39:1–2; 52:4–7).

There is no explicit information on the help extended to Judah by the neighboring countries except Egypt. Hophra, king of Egypt, sent a force to help Judah. The Chaldeans besieging Jerusalem withdrew before the Egyptian auxiliary force and lifted their siege of the city (Jer. 37:5; Ezek. 17;29–32; cf. Lam. 4:17). When the Egyptian force returned to Egypt, the Babylonian forces renewed the siege of Jerusalem. At the same time, the Chaldeans, attacking the hill country and the Shefelah, captured the fortified cities of Judah one by one (Jer. 44:2). In Jeremiah 34:7 it is stated that "the army of the king of Babylon fought against Jerusalem and against all the cities of Judah that were left, Lachish and Azekah; for these were the only fortified cities of Judah that remained" (see also Jer. 44:2). In Lachish Letter no. 4 the commander of one of the strongholds writes to the commander of Lachish: "And let [my lord] know that we are watching for the signals of Lachish, according to all the indications which my lord hath given, for we cannot see Azekah." It has been argued that this letter reflects the moment when Azekah, too, fell and the signals from it ceased, but this is unlikely (Begin). Archaeological excavations of the tells to the south of Jerusalem show that many cities, such as Lachish, Beth-Zur, Ramat Raḥel, and Tell Bet Mirsim, were destroyed at this period. The Lachish ostraca reflect the tension and straits of Judah during the last days. Letter no. 6 (Ahituv, 48) indicates that some of the people "were weakening hands," i.e., spreading discouragement about the rebellion. This tallies to a great extent with Jeremiah 38:4, according to which the princes blamed Jeremiah for "weakening the hands" of the soldiers. Jeremiah himself was suspected of treachery when he tried to go over to the land of Benjamin (Jer. 37). He urged the people to give up the fight and surrender to the Babylonians (21:8–10); and indeed some of the people deserted to the Chaldeans (38:19). Zedekiah was not only unable to inspire and encourage the people at this fateful hour, but was afraid of them and in the power of the princes. He himself was not wholeheartedly in favor of the rebellion against Babylonia. If Zedekiah did not abandon Jerusalem during the siege itself, it was because he feared the Judites who were already in the camp of the Babylonians (Jer. 38:19). At the same time, many refugees from the provincial cities had come to Jerusalem, where the situation became intolerable because of the severe famine (Jer. 37:21; 52:6; II Kings 25:3).

When the city was breached on Tammuz 9 (587 or 586 B.C.E.), Zedekiah fled, together with the aristocrats of Jerusalem, toward eastern Transjordan, but was captured in the neighborhood of Jericho and brought to Riblah. There his sons were killed before his eyes, after which he was blinded and sent in chains to Babylonia, where he died (II Kings 25:4–7; Jer. 39:4–7; cf. Ezek. 12:1–14). In the month of Av, on the seventh of the month, Nebuzaradan (Akkadian: Nabû-zēr-iddina), "the captain of the guard" (the Hebrew, a translation of the Akkadian title, literally means "chief cook") came to Jerusalem, demolished the city, burnt the Temple, and took many of the people captive (II Kings 25:11; cf. Jer. 52:29–30). The nobility of Jerusalem were brought to Riblah, where they were executed (II Kings 25:8–21).

[Bustanay Oded]

In the Aggadah

Despite the fact that Nebuchadnezzar demanded that Zedekiah swear fealty to him on a Torah scroll, he did not keep faith and soon rebelled against him (PR 26:129). Nor was this his only treachery toward his overlord. Once he surprised Nebuchadnezzar in the act of eating flesh cut from a living hare. The king adjured him not to relate what he had seen, but Zedekiah reported it to the neighboring kings (Ned. 65a; Tanh. B., Ex. 33). Zedekiah was duly punished for his unfaithfulness. When Jerusalem fell, he tried to escape through a cave extending from his house to Jericho, which tradition identifies with the "Cave of Zedekiah" in Jerusalem. God sent a deer into the Babylonian camp, and in pursuit of the animal the soldiers reached the opening of the cave at the very moment when Zedekiah was leaving it (Rashi, II Kings 25:4). Nebuchadnezzar justified the cruel punishment he meted out to Zedekiah and his sons (II Kings 25:7) because the Jewish king had sinned both according to the laws of God and the laws of the state (PR 26:131a). Nevertheless, Zedekiah did possess virtues. He is particularly praised for having Jeremiah rescued from the mire (MK 28b). God wanted to reduce the world to chaos because of the misdeeds of his generation, but when he considered Zedekiah his anger subsided (Ar. 17a). Jeremiah's prophecy that Zedekiah would "die in peace" (34:5) was fulfilled in that he outlived Nebuchadnezzar, although he died shortly after (MK 28b). He was mourned as the king who represented "the residue of all the previous generations" (Seder Olam R 28). Royalty in Israel is compared to the moon. The bright light of Solomon's reign, which was like the moon at its zenith, gradually waned until it was extinguished with the blinding of Zedekiah (Ex. R. 15:26).

[Aaron Rothkoff]

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ZEDEKIAH, the name of several biblical figures.

(1) The son of Chenaanah, one of the prophets of Samaria in the time of *Ahab king of Israel and *Jehoshaphat king of Judah (I Kings 22; II Chron. 18). Zedekiah appears to have been one of the court prophets dependent upon the king and in consequence strove to win Ahab's approval by prophesying what he wished to hear – that he would be successful in the battle of Ramoth-Gilead. For this purpose he even made horns of iron and said: "Thus says the Lord, 'With these you shall push the Arameans until they are destroyed'" (I Kings 22:11). According to the Bible, his words were contrary to those of *Micaiah son of Imlah, a prophet of the Lord, who prophesied defeat for the armies of Israel and Judah. Thereupon Zedekiah obsequiously smote Micaiah on the cheek and presented him as a false prophet, saying: "How did the Spirit of the Lord go from me, to speak to you" (I Kings 22:24; cf. II Chron. 18:23). In reply, Micaiah prophesied to Zedekiah: "Behold, you shall see on that day when you go into an inner chamber to hide yourself" (I Kings 22:25; cf. II Chron. 18:24).

(2) The son of Maaseiah, mentioned together with Ahab son of Kolaiah in Jeremiah (29:21–23). Both were accused by Jeremiah of performing folly in Israel, committing adultery with their neighbors' wives, and speaking in the name of God lying words which He did not command them. Jeremiah prophesied that Zedekiah and Ahab would be punished at the hands of the king of Babylon, and that their fate would serve as a symbol among the exiles of Judah who would say: "The Lord make you like Zedekiah and Ahab, whom the king of Babylon roasted in the fire" (29:22). The background of Jeremiah's prophecy appears to be the support given by Zedekiah and Ahab to opposition to Babylon, in contrast to Jeremiah's view on this matter.

(3) *Zedekiah, king of Judah.

[Hanoch Reviv]

ZEDERBAUM, ALEXANDER (pseudonym **Erez**, "cedar" = Zederbaum; 1816–1893), a pioneer of Jewish journalism in Russia. Born in Zamosc, Poland, he moved to Odessa in 1840, taking an active part in Jewish affairs there and becoming a favorite of the local authorities. He received a permit to publish **Ha-Meliẓ*, the first Hebrew weekly in Russia, and began publication in 1860. Two years later he published *Kol Mev-*

asser, a Yiddish supplement to *Ha-Meliẓ*. Leading Hebrew writers of the day contributed to the papers, which supported the Haskalah movement, opposed Ḥasidism, and kept their readers informed of current events in the Jewish and non-Jewish world. In 1871 Zederbaum transferred *Ha-Meliẓ* to St. Petersburg and began publication of a Russian-language weekly entitled *Vestnik Russkikh Yevreyev* ("Russian Jewish Herald"). Financial difficulties led to the closing of both papers in 1873. Zederbaum renewed publication of *Ha-Meliẓ* in July 1878, during the Russo-Turkish War. He transferred his permit for a Russian-language newspaper to a group of Russian-Jewish intellectuals, who then produced **Razsvet*. In 1881 he began to publish the Yiddish newspaper, *Yidishes Folksblat*. He was an enthusiastic supporter of the Ḥibbat Zion movement from its inception, and its members were among his contributors. The actual editing of *Ha-Meliẓ* in this late period was done by Hebrew writers such as J.L. *Gordon (1880–83 and 1885–88), and A.S. *Friedberg (1883–86). From 1886 *Ha-Meliẓ* appeared as a daily. Zederbaum edited and wrote the leading articles for his newspaper. Though his articles were pompous and verbose, their content greatly appealed to his readers. He was a liberal editor, permitting contributors to express views he opposed, but adding his dissent in a footnote.

Zederbaum published several books in Hebrew and Yiddish, including *Bein ha-Meẓarim* (Odessa, 1864); *Keter Kehunnah* (Odessa, 1868), essays consisting mainly of anti-ḥasidic polemics; and *Di Geheymenise fun Berditshov* (Odessa, 1870). His many detractors accused Zederbaum of dilettantism and a negative attitude toward his collaborators, but in perspective Zederbaum may be viewed as a pioneer of Hebrew journalism who, despite the prevailing political and cultural conditions of Jews in 19th-century Russia, succeeded in creating Hebrew and Yiddish literary platforms where most of the contemporary writers in these languages were able to express themselves.

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[Yehuda Slutsky]

ZEDNER, JOSEPH (1804–1871), German bibliographer. Zedner, born in Glogau, taught at a Jewish school in Strelitz, Mecklenburg, and was a tutor in the home of the book dealer and publisher Adolph Asher (1800–1853) of Berlin before becoming a bookseller himself. In 1846 he was appointed translator and later assistant librarian in the Hebrew division of the British Museum, London, a post he held until 1869 when he retired to Berlin. He supplied Leopold *Zunz and Moritz *Steinschneider with a great deal of bibliographical information. His main work was the *Catalogue of the Hebrew Books in the Library of the British Museum* (1867). He also edited Abraham Ibn Ezra's commentary on the Book of Esther (1850).

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[Alexander Tobias / Gregor Pelger (2nd ed.)]

ZE'EIRA (in TB Zeira; c. 300 C.E.), *amora*. Ze'eira was a Babylonian *amora* but later immigrated to Ereẓ Israel. His name is one of the most frequently mentioned in both the Babylonian and Jerusalem Talmuds. Hundreds of dicta in his name are transmitted by many different scholars. He studied in the academy of Sura under Huna and in Pumbedita under Judah b. Ezekiel (Ber. 39a). He transmitted many of the teachings of these rabbis, as well as those of their teachers Rav and Samuel and other great Babylonian *amoraim*. While still in Babylon he evinced a special interest in the teaching of the Palestinian *amoraim* and would request persons going on a visit there to clarify *Johanan's views on certain halakhic matters (Er. 80a; BM 43b). When he was preparing to go to Ereẓ Israel he avoided his teacher, R. Judah, who was opposed to this step (Shab. 41a; Ket. 110a–111a), and left without informing him. It is stated that in his great love for Ereẓ Israel and eagerness to be there, he crossed the Jordan fully clothed (TJ, Shev. 4:9, 35c); another version is that he crossed on a narrow bridge holding onto a rope stretched across the river, maintaining: "How can I be sure that I am worthy to enter a place that Moses and Aaron were not vouchsafed to enter?" (Ket. 112a). In Ereẓ Israel he attended the school of Johanan in Tiberias (Kid. 52a; Nid. 25b). It is related that he underwent 100 (some say 40) fasts in order to forget the Babylonian method of study so that it should not interfere with his absorbing the system prevalent in Ereẓ Israel (BM 85a). He studied under the greatest *amoraim* of Ereẓ Israel in that generation, including Eleazar, Ammi, and Assi. He praised Ereẓ Israel and its teaching, saying: "The very atmosphere of the Land of Israel makes one wise" (BB 158b); "Even the ordinary conversation of the people of the Land of Israel requires study" (Lev. R. 34:7). In Ereẓ Israel Ze'eira obtained *semikhah* and received the title "rabbi." He was meticulous in the care he took both to receive and transmit halakhic traditions (Ber. 28a; Er. 46a; et al.). His chief pupil was *Jeremiah b. Abba.

Ze'eira was reckoned among "the pious ones of Babylon" (Ḥul. 122a) and there are several stories told testifying to his piety when in Ereẓ Israel. Thus it is related that he showed friendship to lawless men who lived in his neighborhood in order to lead them to repentance (Sanh. 37a). To the question of his pupils: "By what virtue have you reached a good old age?", he replied: "Never in my life have I been harsh with my household; nor have I stepped in front of one greater than myself; nor have I meditated on the Torah in filthy alleys; nor have I walked four cubits without *tefillin*; nor have I ever slept, or even dozed in the *bet ha-midrash*; nor have I ever rejoiced at the downfall of my fellow or called him by his derogatory nickname" (Meg. 28a). Another of his dicta was: "A man should not promise something to a child and not keep the promise because he will thereby teach him to lie" (Suk. 46b). Apparently Ze'eira returned to Babylon for some time (Shab. 14a–b), but returned to Ereẓ Israel where he died. The Talmud gives one of the eulogies delivered at his funeral: "The Land of Shinar [Babylon] was his home of birth; the Land of Glory [Israel] reared her darling to fame; woe is me, says Rakkat [Tiberias] for she has lost her choice ornament" (MK 25b). The Babylonian Talmud sometimes mentions in addition to R. Ze'eira an *amora* Rav Zeira. Some assert that he was another *amora* (living at the beginning of the fourth century C.E.). Others maintain that both refer to the same *amora*, who, like all Babylonian *amoraim*, had the title "Rav" before he went to Ereẓ Israel, whereas after he immigrated to Ereẓ Israel and was ordained there, he was referred to as Rabbi Ze'ira (Ket. 43b; Men. 40b; see Rashi Tos. *ibid.*).

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[Zvi Kaplan]

ẒE'ENAH U-RE'ENAH (Heb. צְאֶנָה וּרְאֶנָה; lit. "Come and See"; Yid. pronunciation *Tsenerene*; title taken from the Song of Songs, 3:11), an exegetical rendering in Yiddish of the Pentateuch, the *haftarot*, and the Five Scrolls. Composed at the end of the 16th century by Jacob b. Isaac *Ashkenazi, it gained universal acceptance among Ashkenazi Jewry. Used primarily by women as reading matter on the Sabbath, it has retained its great popularity up to the present day. The work consists of discourses on selected topics or passages from the weekly portion of the Pentateuch, the *haftarot*, and the Scrolls, the method used being a combination of *peshat* ("literal exegesis") and *derash* ("free interpretation"), interwoven with legends from the Midrash and other sources, stories, and topical comments on moral behavior. The author used numerous sources of which some are cited by name, including *Rashi, Baḥya b. *Asher, and *Naḥmanides. It seems, however, that the major source was the commentary on the Torah by Baḥya; a considerable part of the interpretative material was taken directly from that commentary, rather than from the original sources, and the construction of the interpretative passages in *Ẓe'enah u-Re'enah* also bears a striking resemblance to that employed by Baḥya. No definitive study has yet been made of the sources employed by the author and the manner in which he made use of them; it is clear, however, that he edited and adapted them at will. Generally he avoids the kabbalistic or philosophical passages that are found in his sources; he uses Yiddish throughout (rather than quoting the Hebrew original) and his aim is to provide an easily comprehensible interpretation, interspersed with story elements.

Ẓe'enah u-Re'enah became a book for women, but this, notwithstanding the feminine form of its name, was not the original intention: the frontispiece on the oldest extant edition states that "this work is designed to enable men and women… to understand the word of God in simple language." Like *Meliẓ Yosher*, the other homiletic work by the author, it aimed at both men and women. The date and place of publication of the first edition of *Ẓe'enah u-Re'enah* are not known; the oldest existing edition – of 1622 – is from Basle (although it was actually printed in Hanau); the frontispiece of this edition reveals that it was preceded by at least three other editions, one printed in Lublin and the other two in Cracow, and that by 1622 these earlier editions were already out of print. Over 210 editions have since appeared, first in Central Europe, then in Eastern Europe, and finally also in the U.S. and Israel.

The various early editions show few linguistic differences, but in the 18th-century editions these became so numerous that *Ẓe'enah u-Re'enah* became a kind of laboratory for the Yiddish language. The 19th-century editions also contain textual variations, which sometimes bear the imprint of a particular ideological trend in Judaism (mainly of Haskalah and Ḥasidism). Various parts of *Ẓe'enah u-Re'enah* were translated into other languages. The first was a translation into Latin of the weekly portion, *Bereshit*, by Johannes Saubertus (Helmstadt, 1660, cited in Wolf, Bibl. Hebr. III, 474). The Book of Genesis was translated into English by Paul Isaac Hershon (London, 1855), as was the Book of Exodus, by Norman C. Gore (N.Y., 1965). There are two German translations of Genesis, one by Sol Goldsmidt, published in *Mitteilungen zur Juedischen Volkskunde* (Vienna, 1911–14) and the other by Bertha Pappenheim (Frankfurt, 1930); the chapter "Destruction of the Temple" (which in *Ẓe'enah u-Re'enah* follows the Scroll of Lamentations) was also translated into German by Alexander Eliasberg (Berlin, 1921). There are also many adaptations of *Ẓe'enah u-Re'enah*, varying in the degree of their faithfulness to the original, such as *Tsenerena in Nayer Bearbaytung*, by Judah ha-Kohen Kraus (Pecs (?), 1891); *Tsenerena, Kommet und Shaut!*, by David Schweitzer (Fuerth, 1861); and *Ẓe'enah u-Re'enah* by Herz Homburg, which did not see print and parts of which were recently discovered in manuscript. The title "*Ẓe'enah u-Re'enah*" was also used for various works, one of these a sort of anthology on subjects from the Pentateuch, by Emmanuel Hecht (St. Wendell, 1862?); another is a collection of sermons by Liebman Adler (Chicago, 1887). These two works were written in German; there is also a French-language "*Ẓe'enah u-Re'enah*," a textbook on the weekly portion and the *haftarot*, by Alexander Créhange (Paris, 1846).

Sefer ha-Maggid, a Yiddish work on the Prophets and Hagiographa similar in nature to the *Ẓe'enah u-Re'enah,* was also attributed to Ashkenazi; however it has now been conclusively proven that he was not the author (see Lieberman, bibl.).

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[Chava Turniansky]

ZE'EV WOLF OF ZHITOMIR (d. 1800), ḥasidic preacher, disciple of *Dov Baer, the Maggid of Mezhirech. His book, *Or ha-Me'ir* (Korets, 1787), is important for its wealth of material on the history of Ḥasidism and teachings of its founders. R. Ze'ev criticized the behavior of the *ẓaddikim* of his day who had abandoned simple living for luxury. An opponent of noisy prayer, he contended that one should pray with *kavvanah*, with the object of elevating one's thoughts and realizing one's insignificance: "One ought to pray with fear and reverence and stand upright and not be heard, and only move the lips" (*Or ha-Me'ir, Terumah*).

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[Zvi Meir Rabinowitz.]

ZE'EVI, ISRAEL BEN AZARIAH (17th century), rabbi and emissary. Born in Salonika, Ze'evi settled in *Jerusalem, where he suffered under the harsh regime of the Turkish governor Ibn Faruk. In a halakhic correspondence with Joseph b. Moses *Trani (later of *Safed and then Constantinople), he described the sufferings of the Jerusalem community, in particular their financial plight (*Responsa Maharit* 2, *Ḥoshen Mishpat*, no. 60). Ze'evi was one of the signatories of a 1646 *takkanah* (regulation) exempting scholars from taxes. He also wrote a number of approbations (**haskamot*) and twice undertook missions on behalf of the Jerusalem community, visiting *Turkey and the Balkan countries. His great-grandson, ISRAEL B. BENJAMIN ZE'EVI (d. 1731), was rabbi of *Hebron for about 30 years and head of a yeshivah founded by the wealthy Abraham Pereira of Amsterdam, and visited Constantinople in 1685 as an emissary of *Hebron. He was the author of *Orim Gedolim* (Smyrna, 1758), consisting of talmudic novellae, sermons, and responsa.

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[Abraham David]

ZE'EVI, REḤAVAM (**"Gandhi"**; 1926–2001), Israeli military commander and politician, member of the Twelfth to Fifteenth Knessets. Born in Jerusalem, Ze'evi went to the regional school at Givat ha-Sheloshah. From 1936 to 1944 he was active in the Ha-Maḥanot ha-Olim youth movement, and in 1944 joined the *Palmaḥ, where he got the nickname "Gandhi," for his emaciated appearance. In the War of Independence he was the intelligence officer of the Yiftaḥ brigade. In later years he served as operations officer on the Northern Front, intelligence officer in the Southern Command, and commander of the Golani regiment. In the early 1960s he attended the Command and Staff College of the U.S. Army. In 1964 Ze'evi received the rank of major general, and served as commander of the Central Command, and in 1968 was appointed head of the Operations Branch. A week before the Yom Kippur War he retired from the IDF, but returned to active service during the war in the Operations Branch. During his military career he gained a reputation for his flamboyancy and directness.

In 1974 Ze'evi was appointed adviser to Prime Minister Yitzhak *Rabin and in 1975–77 as the prime minister's advisor on intelligence matters. In 1981 he was appointed director of the Land of Israel Museum in Tel Aviv, serving in this capacity for 10 years, during which he developed the museum but was also criticized for his management of it.

In 1985 Ze'evi started to speak publicly of the need to encourage a voluntary transfer of the Palestinian population from the West Bank and Gaza Strip. Prior to the elections to the Twelfth Knesset in 1988 he established a political party called Moledet. Moledet gained two seats in the Twelfth Knesset, three in the Thirteenth, two in the Fourteenth. In the elections to the Fifteenth Knesset Moledet ran as part of the National Union list.

After the breakup of the National Unity Government in 1990, Ze'evi joined the government as minister without portfolio and member of the Security Cabinet in February 1991, causing an uproar within the Likud, since some of its leading members felt that his views were too extreme. However, less than a year later he left the government, against the background of Prime Minister Yitzhak *Shamir's decision to participate in the Madrid Conference on Peace in the Middle East.

In the course of the Thirteenth Knesset he was one of the strongest opponents of the Oslo Accords in the Knesset, but he strongly condemned Rabin's assassination. He was also one of the mourners of former Major General and MK Mattityahu Peled, despite Peled's left-wing views and his membership in a mixed Jewish-Arab party. In general Ze'evi remained attached to all his former colleagues – including Rabin and Peled – with whom he had served in the Palmaḥ. However, in the Thirteenth Knesset he hit the headlines primarily due to his quarrels with the other two members of his party, one of whom he called "a clown," and the other a "UFO," and bitter verbal exchanges with some of the Arab Knesset Members. Ze'evi did not join the government formed by Binyamin *Netanyahu in 1996, supporting the government from the outside. As a member of the National Union he joined the government formed by Ariel *Sharon in March 2001 and was given the Tourism portfolio. In the periods when he was not a member of the government, he served on the Knesset Foreign Affairs and Defense Committee and on the House Committee. He was murdered by Palestinian terrorists in the Hyatt Hotel in Jerusalem on October 17, 2001. Though Ze'evi's political positions were condemned by many, he was held even by his opponents in high esteem for his integrity and decency. After his murder, his son Palmaḥ contended for the leadership of Moledet, but Rabbi Binyamin (Benny) *Elon was elected.

Ze'evi edited and brought to print a translated series of historical travel books published between 1982 and 1995 by the Ministry of Defense. He also edited, by himself and with others, numerous books relating to geographical locations in Ereẓ Israel, and military issues.

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[Susan Hattis Rolef (2nd ed.)]

ZEFIRA, BRACHAH (c. 1911–1990), Israeli singer. Born in Jerusalem of Yemenite parentage, but orphaned early, Brachah Zefira spent her childhood in various foster families and became familiar with the different musical heritages of the Jewish and Arab communities. Educated at the *Me'ir Shefeyah Youth Aliyah Village, she went to Europe at the beginning of the 1930s to study singing and acting. In Berlin she met Nahum *Nardi (to whom she was married for a time) who helped shape her style, and was in turn influenced by her. Returning to Palestine, she met the new immigrant composers such as Paul *Ben-Haim, Oedoen *Partos, Alexander Uriyah *Boscovitch, Marc *Lavry, and Menahem *Avidom, to whom she introduced the musical style of the Orient on which they sought to base their work. They arranged many of her songs, composed songs especially for her, and even used some of her songs in their own compositions. She also influenced some of the younger composers. Through her personal appearances and broadcasts, Brachah Zefira, an alto, became the first national folk singer of the *yishuv.* The personal style which she created was compounded of Yemenite, Palestinian-Sephardi, and Arabic elements. In the 1950s, Brachah Zefirah took up abstract expressionist painting.

[Avner Bahat]

ZEHAVI, DAVID (1910–1977), Israeli composer born in Jaffa to parents who had arrived from Romania in 1899. At age 14 Zehavi joined a group of Ha-No'ar ha-Oved, which set up a new agricultural community, kibbutz Na'an (1930). There, in addition to farming, he conducted sing-along sessions. He was the first composer born in Ereẓ Israel, and as such he ranks among the founding fathers of the Israeli folk song together with *Admon, *Ze'ira, *Nardi, and others. In 1927 he composed his first published song, "*Orḥah ba-Midbar*" ("Caravan in the Desert"), whose opening line "*Yamin u-Semol*" ("From right to left …") is often quoted as the title. He composed some 400 songs altogether; 250 of them appeared in print. Many of his songs are considered to be among the best in Hebrew song, such as "*Halikhah le-Kesaria*" (or "*Eli Eli Shelo Yiggamer le-Olam*" ("On the Road to Caesarea," or "My God, My God, Let It Never End"), "*He-Ḥalil*" ("The Flute"), the Palmaḥ song *"Hen Efshar*" ("How Can It Be Possible"), "*Yesusum Midbar*" ("Let the Desert Rejoice"), "*Niggunum*," "*Male'u Asamenu Bar*" ("Our Silos Are Filled with Grain"), and dozens more. In fact, songs make up most of his musical output. He wrote most of them for sing-along performances. Kibbutz members often wrote the lyrics for these songs.

His songs have been published in hundreds of booklets, usually for sing-along evenings, with or without the musical score. They have been recorded by hundreds of singers and ensembles. The publishing house of the cultural wing of the Histadrut has published four collections of his songs: *Song Collection* (1954), *Second Song Collection* (1962), *A Song for David* (1978), and *David Zehavi – Let It Never End* (1981).

David Zehavi also wrote five cantatas for chorale, for soloists, and for a small ensemble. These cantatas, born of scenes of kibbutz life, were composed and performed on the kibbutz.

[Nathan Shahar (2nd ed.)]

ZEICHNER, OSCAR (1916–), U.S. historian. Born in New York City, Zeichner taught at City College, New York, where he became professor of history in 1960, and dean of graduate studies in 1968. After he retired from teaching, he was named professor emeritus of history. His principal interest was the colonial period of American history, and his best-known work is *Connecticut's Years of Controversy, 1750–1776* (1949). He served as president of the Association for the Study of Connecticut History (1975–76); was a member of the American Historical Association for more than 50 years; and was a member of the executive committee of American Professors for Peace in the Middle East.

[Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

ZEID, ALEXANDER (1886–1938), pioneer of the Second Aliyah and one of the founders of the *Ha-Shomer defense organization. Born in Balagansk, Siberia, at the age of 13 Zeid settled in Vilna, where he joined the Zionist labor movement. In 1904 he was one of the first pioneers of the Second Aliyah to reach Ereẓ Israel, where he worked as an agricultural laborer and wagoner in Rishon le-Zion and Petaḥ Tikvah. In Zikhron Ya'akov he was wounded by Arab marauders, and he then worked for some 18 months as a stonemason in Jerusalem. In 1907 he was one of the seven founders of the secret defense organization *Bar Giora, which served as the nucleus of the Ha-Shomer organization, established at Mesḥa (Kefar Tavor) in 1909. Zeid devoted himself to the organization until his death. In 1916 he joined a group of Ha-Shomer veterans who settled in Upper Galilee on the Ḥamara lands near Metullah (now Kefar Giladi). Ten years later he left Kefar Giladi and moved to Tel Ḥai and thence to Sheikh Abrek in the Jezreel Valley to take charge of the guard duty of all the neighboring settlements on behalf of the *Jewish National Fund. Time and again, Zeid was involved in dangerous situations but never abandoned his post, even when wounded by Arab rioters in 1932. He was one of the first to discover the caves near Sheikh Abrek and one of the organizers of the archaeological excavations that revealed the *Bet She'arim necropolis of the mishnaic period. He was killed by Arabs while on guard in 1938. At the site of his death a statue of Zeid on horseback was erected, and the nearby settlement of Givat Zeid, founded in 1943, was named after him. His diaries were edited by E. Smoli under the title *Ḥayyei Rishonim* (1942).

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[Gedalyah Elkoshi]

ZEIRA, MORDECHAI (1905–1968), composer. Zeira was born in Kiev, Ukraine, and went to Ereẓ Israel after having been arrested in 1924 as a member of a Zionist youth organization. He joined the *Ha-Shomer Ha-Ẓa'ir pioneers' group in Jabneel and worked in road building, fishing, and construction work. Drawn to the theater and impressed by the songs of J. *Engel, he went to Tel Aviv in 1927 and joined the studio of the Ohel Theater. About 1928 Zeira went to Jerusalem for regular music studies with S. *Rosowsky, making his living as a laborer at the Dead Sea Works. In 1933 he settled permanently in Tel Aviv, where he was an employee of the Palestine Electric Corporation, steadily refusing to have his livelihood depend on his compositions. With the outbreak of World War II, Zeira joined an army troupe which entertained Jewish soldiers in the allied forces.

Zeira wrote several hundred songs, of which more than 50 achieved a permanent and beloved place in the cultural heritage of modern Israel. The main influences evident in his work are those of the East European cantorial and Ḥasidic idioms as well as the Russian Romances and revolutionary songs, with the Near Eastern environment as a more covert but nevertheless subtly integrated element. Most important was his own extraordinary gift for melody, lyricism, and emotional intensity, and he may be called the greatest among the creators of the Israel song.

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[Bathja Bayer]

ẒE'IREI ZION (Heb. צְעִירֵי צִיּוֹן, "Young Men of Zion"), Zionist and moderate socialist labor movement, active mainly in Russia. The movement dates from approximately 1903, although its ideological roots go back to previous theories, as e.g., those of Nachman *Syrkin and even Moses *Hess. The year 1903 was one of traumatic experiences and reevaluations in Jewish and Zionist history. The hopes of achieving charter rights to settle Ereẓ Israel were dashed; the *Uganda Scheme controversy led to the secession of the *Territorialists from the Zionist movement and the consolidation of the opposition to *Herzl (the Ẓiyyonei Zion); the outbreak of the *Kishinev pogrom (1903) had a shock effect on the Jewish people and brought many to realize the urgency of the Zionist solution.

Against this background and the existence of an expanding revolutionary movement, Ẓe'irei Zion groups began to emerge almost simultaneously throughout Russia. In the beginning they had neither a formal program nor a socialist "scientific basis," but an unwritten platform was common to all these groups: practical, constructive Zionism based on personal fulfillment through *aliyah*, pioneering, the use of Hebrew, support for the interests of the working masses, participation in the struggle to liberate Russia from czarist autocracy, participation in the struggle for equal rights and national autonomy for the Jews of Russia, the organization of self-defense, and socialist aspirations. The movement's approach to socialism and Zionism is best explained by the statements of Yosef *Sprinzak and Syrkin. The former stated: "We are socialists for the future. With the creation of an independent… new reality in Ereẓ Israel, it will be possible for us to be socialists." In the words of Syrkin: "The ways and means of realizing Zionism are different from those of any other movement of national liberation, which depends on the political power of the oppressed classes, for the Zionist movement must first create the economic power which will then be transformed into political power."

Ẓe'irei Zion devoted itself from the start to practical activities – from collecting funds in *Jewish National Fund boxes to personal fulfillment through *aliyah*. Members of the movement filled the ranks of the Second Aliyah, bringing with them the values of self-labor, collective and cooperative settlement, equality, mutual aid, defense, etc. The settlement in Ereẓ Israel of a Ẓe'irei Zion group from Homel in 1904 is generally regarded as the beginning of the Second Aliyah. Their arrival coincided with the first signs indicating that the Uganda Scheme crisis – emigration from Ereẓ Israel and suspension of settlement work – was wearing off, and they played a vital role in improving the mood in the *yishuv*. Together with workers who arrived before them, they organized the Histadrut ha-Po'alim ha-Ẓe'irim be-Ereẓ Israel, which became the *Ha-Po'el ha-Ẓa'ir Party in October 1905.

Ẓe'irei Zion continued its activities in the Diaspora, mainly in Russia (including Poland and Lithuania). *He-Ḥalutz was founded in Odessa in 1905, and in 1906 a conference of the Bilu'im Ḥadashim (an organization founded by Ẓe'irei Zion in response to Josef *Vitkin's historic call for *aliyah*) was held. The program of the Bilu'im Ḥadashim was very similar to that of the U.S. He-Ḥalutz founded during World War I by David *Ben-Gurion and Izhak *Ben-Zvi and that of the all-Russian He-Ḥalutz established on Joseph *Trumpeldor's initiative after World War I. The alliance between Ẓe'irei Zion and He-Ḥalutz reached its high point during the time of the Third Aliyah.

The Ẓe'irei Zion movement continued to grow without a formal program, but a center was established in 1905 in Kishinev, where a large and powerful local society existed. In the same year, a countrywide conference was held with the aim of consolidating the movement organizationally and ideologically. The latter goal was not realized, however, until the second conference in Kishinev (1906) adopted the Kishinev Program in the following terms: Zionism strives for the renaissance of the Jewish people in Ereẓ Israel; Zionism is borne by working masses; the main motivating forces in Zionism are economic, cultural, and national-political; the concentration of the masses of the Jewish people in their homeland until they constitute a majority there and normal conditions for their free and independent development are created is the solution to the Jewish problem.

In 1910 a Russian-Polish conference of Ẓe'irei Zion took place in Lodz. Like all its predecessors, this meeting was illegal, but unlike them it was discovered by the czarist police and most of the delegates were arrested. Despite the arrests, or perhaps because of them, the conference strengthened the movement by ideological clarification (in the spirit of Ha-Po'el ha-Ẓa'ir) and organizational consolidation. In 1912 an all-Russian conference was held in Minsk. On its agenda were organizational questions, *aliyah*, He-Ḥalutz, and *hakhsharah*, and the convening of a world conference, which was to be held in Vienna in August 1913 to coincide with the 11th Zionist Congress. This meeting of 56 participants in the Zionist Congress (30 from Ẓe'irei Zion organizations in the Diaspora and 26 of Ha-Po'el ha-Ẓa'ir from Ereẓ Israel) laid the foundations for a world federation of Ẓe'irei Zion with permanent connections with Ha-Po'el ha-Ẓa'ir. A prolonged discussion and resolutions on the movement's attitude toward socialism led to disappointment and secessions on both the left and right. The delegates elected a central board to be located in Bialystok and decided to adopt the fortnightly Hebrew paper *Shaḥarit* in Odessa as the movement's organ and to transfer it to Warsaw.

In April 1914 an all-Russian council was held in Vilna, the last before the outbreak of World War I. The main subjects for discussion at this meeting were the condition of the labor movement in Ereẓ Israel, pioneering *aliyah*, and cultural activities. The liberation from the czarist regime by the February Revolution of 1917 caused great ferment among Russian Jews, who then prepared themselves to build their national autonomy in democratic Russia and at the same time to expand their Zionist activities. Ẓe'irei Zion became a mass movement as tens of thousands from all parts of the country swelled its ranks.

The second all-Russian conference of Ẓe'irei Zion, which took place in Petrograd on May 18–24, 1917, was a great event in Jewish life. Three main trends struggled to dominate the conference: socialist, moderate labor, and popular democratic. The presentation of the socialist case was very impressive, but the movement was not prepared to adopt a full-fledged socialist program and declared itself to be the Ẓe'irei Zion Popular Faction in the Zionist Organization in Russia. After the conference Ẓe'irei Zion acted as an independent party and grew rapidly. The party's center in Petrograd was later transferred to Kharkov after the October Revolution and from there to Kiev, which was not yet under Soviet rule. From then on the movement's activities were mainly concentrated in the Ukraine during a period filled with hope of Jewish national autonomy, but mainly dominated by the threatening storm of pogroms. Ẓe'irei Zion then played an important role as organizer of the Jewish *self-defense units and of extensive cooperative enterprises. Its main activities, however, were concentrated on the pioneering *aliyah* movement, promoted through the He-Ḥalutz conference in Kharkov (1918).

At the third conference of Ze'irei Zion, which took place in Kharkov in May 1920, the Popular Faction decided to become the *Zionist Socialist Party – ZS, whereas the "right-wing" faction seceded and joined Ha-Po'el ha-Ẓa'ir, establishing with it the *Hitaḥadut in Prague (1920).

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[Israel Ritov]

ZE'IRI (third century), Babylonian *amora*, also known as Ze'iri b. Hinena (Hinna) in the Jerusalem Talmud. He was born in Babylon but went to Ereẓ Israel in his youth, where he studied under *Hanina b. Ḥama. He later taught in Ḥanina's name that the Messiah would not appear until all the "arrogant ones" had disappeared (Sanh. 98a). His main teacher, however, was *Johanan, whose teachings he later transmitted (e.g., Av. Zar. 53a). Johanan even offered Ze'iri his daughter's hand in marriage. When he declined on the ground that he preferred to marry a woman of Babylonian birth rather than of Palestinian, Johanan retorted, "Our learning is suitable, but our daughters are not?" (Kid. 71b). While in Palestine, Ze'iri was captured by highwaymen and R. Ammi and R. Samuel attempted to attain his release. While they were negotiating with the leader of the brigands, news arrived of neighboring bloody gang warfare, and in the confusion Ze'iri escaped (TJ, Ter. 8:10, 46b; *Penei Moshe* (ad. loc.)). Ze'iri was highly regarded as an expounder of the *beraitot*, and Rava remarked that "every *baraita* not explained by Ze'iri was not truly explained" (Zev. 43b). He eventually returned to Babylon where he taught the Palestinian traditions in the academy of Nehardea (Ḥul. 56a; Ber. 22a). His closest pupil was Ḥiyya b. Ashi (Shab. 109a; Yoma 77b). Others who transmitted his teachings were R. Ḥisda (Ber. 43a), Rabbah (Ned. 46a), R. Joseph (Ned. 46b), Rav Judah (Av. Zar. 61b), R. Naḥman (Av. Zar. 61b), and R. Giddal (Men. 21a).

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ZEIT, DIE ("The Times"), Yiddish daily newspaper published in London. It was founded in 1913 by Morris *Myer, an immigrant from Romania who had been a prominent Jewish socialist, journalist, and orator. In the first few years the paper served mainly the working class Jewish movements, but Myer changed his views and actively supported the Zionist movement and especially Po'alei Zion. Between the wars the paper gradually took on a more general character and began to publish religious articles. In the early 1920s, there was another rival newspaper (*Di Express*) which however only lasted a few years; thus the *Zeit* was the only Yiddish daily in the whole of Great Britain, although it later became a weekly. With the death of Myer in 1944 the paper was carried on by his son, Harry Myer (1903–1974), but the decline in the number of Yiddish-speaking readers made it difficult for the paper to continue, and it finally closed in 1950. It was the last Yiddish daily in Great Britain.

[Moshe Rosetti]

ZEITLIN, AARON (1898–1973), Hebrew and Yiddish writer. The son of Hillel *Zeitlin, he grew up in Gomel, Vilna, and Warsaw. His early poetic works were lyrical; later, philosophic concepts appeared in his verses, and then followed an attempt to express mystical religious insights within formal rhythmic structures. A philosophic aesthete deeply rooted in Jewish tradition and mysticism, Zeitlin's lyrics are often contemplative liturgic hymns. Well versed in world literature, Zeitlin wrote with equal facility in Hebrew and Yiddish. His early Hebrew poems and essays appeared in the periodicals *Ha-Tekufah* and *Ha-Shilo'aḥ*. His first volume of Yiddish lyrics *Shotns Oyfn Shney* and his longer poems *Metatron* were published in 1922. Four years later he became literary editor of the Warsaw Yiddish daily *Unzer Ekspres*. Zeitlin's poems are filled with visions of true and false messiahs. His drama *Yakob Frank* (1929), written in Yiddish, dealt with two conflicting approaches to God, the one espoused by the God-seeker Jacob *Frank, a disciple of the false messiah *Shabbetai Ẓevi, and the other by the God-finder *Israel Ba'al Shem Tov, founder of Ḥasidism. Another drama was *Brenner* (1929), whose protagonist was J.H. *Brenner, the Hebrew poet who in his younger years had come under the influence of Hillel Zeitlin and was later murdered in the Jaffa pogrom of 1921. Zeitlin's play, *In Keynems Land* ("In No Man's Land"), appeared in Warsaw in 1938. He prophetically described the sadism of the German militarists and warned of the horrors to follow. When the catastrophe came, he was saved; in the spring of 1939, Maurice *Schwartz invited him to New York for the Yiddish Art Theater's premiere of his play. The war prevented Zeitlin's return to his family, all of whom were killed by the Nazis. As contributor to the New York Yiddish daily *Jewish Morning Journal* and professor of Hebrew literature at the Jewish Theological Seminary of America, Zeitlin profoundly influenced the American Jewish scene after World War II. His Hebrew essays, poems, and lectures during his frequent visits to Israel similarly influenced Hebrew literature. A novel set in Palestine, *Brenendige Erd* ("Burning Earth," 1937), dealt with *Nili, the World War I Jewish espionage group. His dramatic poem *Bein ha-Esh ve-ha-Yesha* ("Between Fire and Deliverance," 1957) focused on the destruction of European Jewry. Zeitlin's collected poems, *Gezamelte Lider* (vols. 1 and 2, 1947, vol. 3, 1957), contained the revised versions of the verse he wished to see preserved.

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ZEITLIN, HILLEL (1871–1942), author, thinker, and journalist. Born in Korma, Belorussia, Zeitlin received the education of a *Ḥabad Ḥasid; self-taught in secular studies, he became troubled by matters of religion and faith. His first work, *Ha-Tov ve-ha-Ra* (in *Ha-Shilo'aḥ*, 5, 1899), was pessimistic in tone and was followed by monographs on Spinoza (1900) and Nietzsche (in *Ha-Zeman*, 1905). Zeitlin was disappointed by secular culture and longed for celestial beauty, a longing expressed in *Maḥashavah ve-Shirah* (2 vols., 1911–12). Shocked by the pogroms in *Kishinev in 1903, he reveals his unceasing anxiety for the survival of the Jew in *Al ha-Zevaḥ* (*Ha-Zeman*, 1905). Out of profound reflection on the fate of the Jew, he returned to religion and came close to Orthodox Judaism, to whose literature he gave a new character. From 1906 he worked for *Haynt* and *Der Moment*, writing for 36 years on both minor topics and serious ones. From 1914 he immersed himself in mysticism and published "visions" in *Ha-Tekufah*. In "*Al Gevul Shenei Olamot*" (*Ha-Tekufah*, 4 (1919), 501–45) he discusses "the origins of mysticism in Israel" on the hypothesis that Judaism is mystical and not rational, concluding, against most scholarly opinions, that Moses de Leon was merely the final editor of the *Zohar, who set forth the teaching of the Zohar in its four subjects – the human body, the soul, the spheres, the Divine – and not the original author. Zeitlin translated the Zohar into Hebrew and wrote a commentary on it, of which only the introduction was published. He became active in the cause of propagating Judaism, publishing *Der Alef-Beys funem Yudentum* ("The Alphabet of Judaism," 1922), in which he establishes a Jewish outlook on the world against a scientific background, as well as books on Ḥasidism, on R. *Naḥman of Bratslav, and on Ḥabad. During his last years, when he foresaw the Holocaust, he called for repentance with enormous fervor – in pamphlets, in speeches, and in organizing special groups of *mekhuvvanim* ("purposeful ones"). Once more despairing, he gave expression to his loneliness in the book containing his last confession, *Demamah ve-Kol* (1936). Zeitlin died a martyr's death, garbed in *tallit* and *tefillin*, on the way to Treblinka on the eve of Rosh Ha-Shanah.

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[Symcha Bunim Urbach]

ZEITLIN (Zeitlis), JOSHUA (1742–1822), scholar and **shtadlan*. Born in Shklov, Russia, Zeitlin was the disciple of R. Aryeh Leib *Gunzberg, author of *Sha'agat Aryeh*. When the region of Belorussia was annexed by Russia (1772), he became one of the wealthiest merchants in the area and his affairs extended beyond its borders. Under the patronage of Prince Potemkin he was a purveyor and contractor for the government in the regions of "New Russia" which were then transferred from Turkish rule. After the death of Potemkin (1791) Zeitlin retired from business affairs and acquired estates with over 900 serfs. He built himself a palace on the estate of Ustye, to the east of Shklov, where he housed a vast library. Many scholars and researchers, including Menahem Mendel *Levin and Baruch *Schick, frequented his estate. He supported *Elijah b. Solomon the Gaon of Vilna in his dispute against the Ḥasidim and he wrote *Haggahot Ḥadashot* ("New Notes"), on the *Sefer*

Mitzvot Katan, published in the Kopys (Kapust) edition of this work (1820).

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[Yehuda Slutsky]

ZEITLIN, SOLOMON (1892–1976), U.S. scholar of post-biblical literature. Zeitlin, born in Russia, studied in Dvinsk and was influenced by the Ragoshover Illui (R. Joseph Rozin) and R. Meir Simḥah Ha-Kohen. In 1908 he attended the Institute of Baron David *Guenzberg in St. Petersburg, where his roommate was Zalman (Rubashov) *Shazar. Enrolling at the Ecole Rabbinique, Paris, in 1912, Zeitlin received ordination and a doctorate in theology there. His article on "Les 'dix-huit mesures'" was published in REJ, 68 (1914), 22–36. Immigrating to the U.S. during World War I, Zeitlin received a Ph.D. at Dropsie College, Philadelphia, in 1917; his dissertation was on *Megillat Ta'anit as a Source for Jewish Chronology and History in the Hellenistic and Roman Periods* (1922). Zeitlin taught first at Yeshiva College, New York, then became professor of rabbinics at Dropsie College in 1921. As an outstanding authority on the Second Commonwealth period, he wrote over 400 articles and books in the fields of rabbinics, Josephus, the Apocrypha, and Christianity.

Zeitlin's assertions that the so-called Christ passage in Josephus was not authentic but only an interpolation by Eusebius, contrary to the opinion of most scholars, gained him early scholarly fame (JQR 18 (1927/28), 231–55).

His main concern was the analysis of tannaitic sources and the recognition of a clear distinction in historic eras before and after the Temple destruction; differentiating institutions, laws, and concepts.

Zeitlin was the main protagonist against dating the Dead Sea Scrolls in the intertestamental period. His understanding of the continuity of history is reflected in studies on the sources and nature of the teachings of Saadiah Gaon, Maimonides, Rashi, and other sages to ascertain the halakhic process in Judaism. He was the author of many basic writings on Josephus, on Jewish historiography and law, on the crucifixion of Jesus (*Who Crucified Jesus?…*, 1964^4) and on halakhic traditions. He was editor of the **Jewish Quarterly Review* and editor in chief of the Jewish Apocryphal Literature Series. He was also instrumental in organizing the American Academy of Jewish Research in the U.S. Zeitlin's two volumes on the *Rise and Fall of the Judean State* (1968^2) present a definitive view of the Second Temple era, and include comprehensive rabbinic, non-rabbinic, and classical sources. An original and fearless scholar, he stressed that the scholar must not allow theological bias, which often influences writings on the Second Temple era and the Dead Sea Scrolls.

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[Sidney B. Hoenig]

ZEITLIN, WILLIAM (**Ze'ev**; c. 1850–1921), bibliographer. Born in Gomel, a member of the Zeitlin family of Shklov, he began at an early age to write poems and to translate from Russian. In the early 1870s he went to Germany to study. After several efforts at creative writing, he turned to bibliography, becoming an outstanding expert, especially in those fields which he pioneered, such as contemporary Jewish literature, the Haskalah, and Zionism. His major work, *Bibliotheca Hebraica Post-Mendelssohniana* (1891–95), in which he lists the Hebrew Haskalah literature from its beginnings to the end of the 1880s, still remains an invaluable aid for the study of that literature. In this book, published in German, only the titles of the works are listed in Hebrew. He also published lists of pseudonyms, the death dates of scholars and writers, and similar material. In *Ha-Maggid* (1873), 5–6, he published, in Hebrew, the first bibliographical article on the Hebrew press.

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[Getzel Kressel]

ZEKHUT AVOT (Heb. "Merit of the Fathers"), the doctrine that progeny benefit from the righteousness of their forebears. The exact nature of this concept is a question of great complexity. Some of the references to it would indicate that it is a form of reward granted to the ancestors or an expression of divine love for them; others seem to regard it as a benefit emanating from the superabundance of the ancestors' merit, with little regard for the deserts of the offspring; and yet other sources tend to view it as a spiritual gift to the progeny, who, in turn, must be spiritually qualified to receive it.

The Patriarchs

The idea of merit of the fathers is often mentioned in the Bible and rabbinic literature in relation to the Patriarchs Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and in some sources, to the Matriarchs and other biblical heroes as well. There are many instances in the Bible of Israel's being favored, not because of its own merits, but because of those of the Patriarchs, e.g., "And because He loved your fathers, He chose their offspring after them; He Himself… led you out of Egypt" (Deut. 4:37). Similarly, the memory or deeds of the righteous forefathers are often invoked in prayers for the forgiveness or welfare of their descendants, for instance, Moses' supplication after the sin of the golden calf, "Remember your servants, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob…" (Ex. 32:13), and Solomon's plea, "Remember the good deeds of David Thy servant" (II Chron. 6:42). This practice has been a part of Jewish prayer throughout the ages. The daily and holiday prayer books contain numerous appeals based on the righteousness of the Patriarchs. Prominent among them is the evocation of the heroic sacrifice of Isaac, especially in the liturgy of Rosh Ha-Shanah.

Rabbinic literature contains many statements to the effect that the merit of ancestors affects the welfare of their descendants. Thus it is held that because Judah saved Tamar from burning, his descendants Hananiah, Mishael, and Azariah were saved from the fiery furnace (Sot. 10b). Similarly, Aaron had descendants who deserved to die, but were spared because of his merit (Yoma 87a). Even within the period of the Patriarchs, it is maintained, the principle of merit of the fathers was operative. The prayer of Isaac to be blessed with children was considered more efficacious than that of his wife Rebekah, because he was not only a righteous man himself but also the son of a righteous man, while his wife Rebekah, although saintly herself, was the daughter of a wicked man (Yev. 64a).

Other Righteous Ancestors

In the rabbinic view, the doctrine of the merit of the fathers relates not only to the Patriarchs and other biblical heroes but also to each man's righteous ancestors. Thus, in the view of R. Akiva, "The father transfers to his son beauty, strength, wealth, wisdom, and length of years" (Eduy. 2:9). Others limit R. Akiva's view, holding that these bounties accrue to the son only as long as he is a minor; thereafter, he attains them only as a result of his own goodness (Tosef. Eduy. 1:14). In another application of the principle the rabbis interpret I Chronicles 7:40, "all these were the children of Asher, heads of the fathers' houses, choice and mighty men of valour, chief of the princes…," as indicating that only those who were descendants of an unblemished ancestry were permitted to serve in David's army, so that "their merit and the merit of their ancestors would sustain them" (Kid. 76b). Still another example is the declaration of R. Gamaliel, "Let all men who labor [as leaders] with a community, labor for the sake of Heaven, for the merit of their fathers sustains them" (Avot 2:2). It is related that R. Eleazar b. Azariah was selected as head of the academy over other candidates of equal qualifications, because as a descendant of Ezra, he enjoyed the merit of the fathers.

Qualifications of Efficacy

Despite these and other examples which emphasize the power of ancestral merit, according to many rabbinical sources, merit of the fathers is not effective in all instances. Thus, the wicked king Manasseh is excluded from the world to come, even though his father was the pious Hezekiah, for "a son imputes merit to a father, whereas a father does not impute merit to a son, as it is written 'None can deliver from my hand' [Deut. 32:39]" (Sanh. 104a). Similarly, "R. Kahana taught, let not a man say for the sake of my righteous brother or father I shall be saved, for Abraham could not save his son Ishmael, nor Jacob save his brother Esau… as it is written, 'no man can by any means redeem his brother'[Ps. 49:8]" (Yal. Ps. 46). Thus ancestral merit alone, unaccompanied by the good deeds of the descendants, cannot be relied on, at least not for salvation of the soul, this being primarily a matter of personal attainment (cf. commentary of *Torah Temimah* to Deut. 32:39). This accords with the well-known statement of Hillel, "If I am not for myself, who is for me" (Avot 1:14), which in another source goes on to read, "If I have not gained merit for myself in my own lifetime, who will gain it for me?" (ARN[1] 1:27). Elsewhere (Sot. 10b) the Talmud relates that David interceded on behalf of Absalom and that through this prayer Absalom was raised from Gehenna to Paradise. Some medieval commentators explained this story as implying that it is not the good deeds of the father that save the son but the prayer that accompanies them (Sot. *ibid.*); in the case of David it was not so much his merit as his prayer that succeeded.

Termination of Patriarchal Merit

There is a statement in the Talmud (Shab. 55a; Lev. R. 36:6) to the effect that the merit of the Patriarchs has come to an end, though the exact date of its cessation is a matter of dispute. This being so, the rabbis conclude, Israel can rely exclusively on God's unending mercies (*ibid.*). Some commentators of this talmudic passage pointed out the difference between the covenant and the merits of the patriarchs: even though the merit of the fathers may have come to an end, the covenant with the fathers has not, for it is eternally binding; and the liturgical evocations of the fathers refer essentially to the everlasting covenant with them.

Guilt of Ancestors

Related to the notion of imputed merit is the concept of inherited guilt. The source for this is the verse in the Ten Commandments… "Visiting the guilt of the fathers upon the children upon the third and fourth generation of those who reject Me; and showing mercy to the thousandth generation of those who love Me and keep My commandments" (Ex. 20:5, 6). Elsewhere in the Bible the opposite doctrine is expressed: that guilt is individual and does not pass from one generation to another. "Parents shall not be put to death for children, nor children be put to death for parents; a person shall be put to death for his own crime" (Deut. 24:16). The contradiction between these two verses is resolved by the talmudic sages who suggest (Ber. 7a; Sanh. 27b) that descendants suffer for the sins of their forebears only when they themselves perpetuate the same evil deeds (see Targum Onkelos and commentary of Rashi, Ex. 20:5). This view is even more sharply stated by other rabbis who reject the view of inherited guilt, declaring (Mak. 24a) that Moses' decree "visiting the guilt of the father upon the children" was abrogated by Ezekiel's statement "the soul that sinneth, it shall die" (Ezek. 18:4); according to one 18th-century commentator (Maharsha, Mak. *ibid.*), this implies that even when the sons perpetuate the parental sins, they suffer only their own guilt, not that of their parents.

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[Joshua H. Shmidman]

ZELDA (MISHKOVSKY) (née **Schneurson**; 1914–1984), Israeli poet. Born in Chernigov, Ukraine, where her father was a rabbi, Zelda was brought to Ereẓ Israel in 1925 and settled in Jerusalem, where she received a religious education. In 1950 she married Ḥayyim Mishkovsky, who died in 1970.

Zelda Mishkovsky published poems in various periodicals over the years, but her first collection in book form appeared in 1967 (*Pena'i*). Her second volume (*Ha-Karmel ha-i-Nir'eh*, 1971) consists of poems written in a relatively short period and are mostly connected with her husband's death. Her *Al Tirḥak* (1974) contains 25 poems, followed by *She-Nivdelu mi-Kol Merḥak (*1984). The collected poems (*Shirei Zelda*) were published in 1985.

Zelda's poems aroused considerable interest and surprise on account of her integration of religious verse rooted in the traditional Jewish world with a completely modern sensitivity. Many of the poems describe her relationship with God and details of religious life. In her poems, which are in no way dogmatic, themes dealing with details of religious observance, appear side by side with more universal themes, such as death, immortality, and man's place in the universe. Some of them reveal occasional clashes between the traditional Jewish world and the secular environment, manifested in the juxtaposition of religious symbols and modern objects. In their tone the poems combine naiveté and sophistication.

Some of the characteristics of her poetry establish an interesting connection between her and the Hebrew poetry of the 1960s and 1970s. Thus, like the modern Hebrew poets, she emphasizes the importance of sense perception in the structuring of her inner world: colors, smells, and tastes are factors determining her emotions and moods. These colors and tastes generally pertain to the natural world (smell of flowers, taste of fruit), and in this, too, she is part of the modern school, with its inclination toward nature and the primal in the midst of busy modern life. This is related to a longing for a magic, visionary world which is sometimes identified with the world of childhood. Another common characteristic is the unusual tendency toward the wild and the asocial.

Her books have been hailed by critics and have achieved great popularity. She was the recipient of a number of literary prizes, including the Bialik Prize for literature in 1978. Individual poems have been translated into diverse languages. For information see the ITHL website at www.ithl.org.il.

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[Abraham Balaban]

ZELDIN, ISAIAH (1920–), founding rabbi of Stephen S. Wise Temple in Los Angeles, creator of the largest Jewish day school within an American Reform congregation, founding dean of the Los Angeles campus of the Hebrew Union College–Jewish Institute of Religion. A visionary, he is the example par excellence of the rabbi as institution builder and leader.

Born in Brooklyn to Russian immigrant parents, his earliest influences rooted him deeply in the life of the Jewish people. His father was a Zionist, a Yiddishist, and a Hebraist, who wrote for both the Yiddish and Hebrew press. Zeldin's parents decided that they would raise their children speaking only Hebrew in the home. In high school he lobbied for the addition of Modern Hebrew to the curriculum. Later, he convinced Brooklyn College, where he earned his bachelor's degree, to accept Modern Hebrew as a legitimate, officially recognized foreign language.

In 1933, at the age of 13, his father took him to a rally protesting the rise of Hitler. It was when he heard Rabbi Stephen S. *Wise address the rally that he decided to devote his life to the well-being and defense of the Jewish people. He was ordained rabbi (1946) by the Hebrew Union College in Cincinnati.

After serving as an assistant rabbi in Newark for two years, he was named assistant dean of HUC-JIR in New York, supervising the faculties of the Schools of Education and Sacred Music.

In 1953, he moved to Los Angeles to become the dean of the College of Jewish Studies, assembling an exceptional faculty, creating a School of Sacred Music and a large School of Education. Within one year, under his leadership, the college became the West Coast campus of HUC-JIR. Within five years he had created a Rabbinical School. Concurrently, he was regional director of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, overseeing the creation of many new Reform congregations in the area. From 1958 to 1963 he served as rabbi of Temple Emanuel in Beverly Hills.

His greatest contributions to Jewish life were yet to unfold. In 1964 he founded Stephen S. Wise Temple, named for his teacher and mentor. Inspired by Wise's passionate Zionism, as well as his commitment to a rabbi's freedom to speak even the most unpopular of truths from the pulpit, Zeldin built his congregation from a small group of 35 members who met in a living room to a community of 3,500 member families. Respected and admired for his depth and breadth of knowledge, for the lively intellect he brought to the pulpit, as well as for his genuine warmth and engaging manner, his leadership was always marked by an innovative spirit and an uncanny understanding of the zeitgeist and the needs of his community. He set forth a bold vision that his congregants made their own.

When the temple acquired land, the first buildings he erected were classrooms. Jewish education was at the center of his vision. He created the largest synagogue pre-school in Los Angeles and went on to establish an elementary day school of nearly 700 students – all during years that the Reform Movement had not yet committed to the idea of day school education.

At age 70 – with all of his rabbinic colleagues long retired – he took on a challenge which would become the pinnacle of his achievements: the creation of a Jewish high school in which nearly 900 students study every day, the only such school to be operated by a Reform synagogue in North America. The synagogue and its education network – from Parenting Center to pre-school, elementary and high school, as well as its adult learning Center for Jewish Life – are now located on three separate campuses spanning 30 acres.

Over the course of a rabbinic career spanning more than 60 years, his passion for Jewish life, the Jewish people, and Israel never waned. He never stopped building his congregation and its schools which serve as a model nation-wide. He continued to teach and write as he led and inspired.

[Eli Herscher (2nd ed.)]

ZELDOVICH, YAKOV BORISOVICH (1914–1987), Soviet astrophysicist; originally a specialist in nuclear physics. Zeldovich was born in Minsk and studied in Leningrad. From 1931 he worked at the Institute of Chemical Physics of the Academy of Science of the U.S.S.R. During World War II he contributed research to the war effort. He later worked at the Institute of Cosmic Research at the Space Research Institute of the Soviet Academy of Sciences in Moscow (ASUSSR), and from 1964 at the Academy's Institute of Applied Mathematics. In 1958 he was made a member of the Academy of Sciences. Professor at the University of Moscow from 1966, he was one of the founders of contemporary theories of combustion, detonation, and shock waves and the author of a number of works on the theory of the last stages of the evolution of stars and galaxies which involved the theory of general relativity and the theory of gravitational collapse. He has also proposed a number of experiments and methods for verifying cosmological theories. Zeldovich was awarded a Lenin Prize, four Stalin Prizes, and three times hailed as a Hero of Socialist Labor.

[*The Shorter Jewish Encyclopaedia in Russian*]

ZELECHOW (Pol. **Zelechów**), town in Warsaw province, Poland. Jewish settlement in the town dates from the 17th century. Zelechow was celebrated for the high-quality footwear produced there. The ḥasidic rabbi, *Levi Isaac of Berdichev, officiated there from 1772 to 1784. The character of the little town is graphically conveyed in the works of two Yiddish authors who were born there, I.M. *Weissenberg and the poet Y. *Lerer (see bibliography). After the establishment of the Polish republic in 1918, the economic position of Zelechow deteriorated with the loss of the Russian markets. The Jewish inhabitants of Zelechow and district numbered 1,464 in 1765, 2,317 in 1856, 4,930 in 1897 (70% of the total population), and 5,500 on the eve of World War II.

[Yehuda Slutsky]

Holocaust Period

The German army entered Zelechow on Sept. 14, 1939, and on the next day the Nazis burned the synagogue. During 1940–41 over 2,000 Jews, mostly from the surrounding smaller places, were forced to settle in Zelechow. In the fall of 1940 an open ghetto was established there. On Sept. 30, 1942 (during Sukkot), the ghetto was liquidated and all its inmates were transferred to the *Treblinka death camp and exterminated there. Only a few hundred Jews managed to flee. Many of them organized small Jewish partisan units or joined mixed Polish-Jewish-Russian units that were active in the vicinity until the liberation in July 1944. No Jewish community was reconstituted in Zelechow after the war. Organizations of former Jewish residents are active in Israel, the United States, Brazil, and Argentina.

[Stefan Krakowski]

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ZELENKA, FRANTIŠEK (1904–1944), Czech architect and stage designer. Zelenka was responsible for the design and decor of a great number of original productions in the Czechoslovak National Theater and the Municipal Theater of Prague. His wit found highly successful expression in modern versions of comedies by Molière and Shakespeare and brought him ultimately to the most popular satirical theater of Czechoslavakia, the Osvobozené Divadlo (Liberated Theater). Here he became permanent stage designer for the famous comedies of Voskovec and Werich. After the German occupation of Prague, Zelenka was deported to Theresienstadt, from where he was sent to Poland in 1944 but died on the way. While in Theresienstadt, he showed great resourcefulness in designing theatrical performances for the camp inmates, among them a Czech baroque folklore play about Queen Esther. Zelenka also helped to organize the Jewish Museum in Prague.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: N. Frýd, *Culture in the Anteroom to Hell* (1965).

[Avigdor Dagan]

ZELIZER, NATHAN (1907–2001) U.S. Conservative rabbi. Zelizer was born in Poland and immigrated to the United States in 1921. He earned a B.S. from New York University in 1929 and an M.A. from Columbia University in 1930; in 1931, he was ordained at the *Jewish Theological Seminary. He became rabbi of Congregation Tifereth Israel in Columbus, Ohio, where he was to spend his entire career (1932–73, emeritus until his death) – or so it seemed at the time of his retirement. Arriving at a synagogue whose membership had been decimated by the Depression, he breathed new life into the congregation: under his leadership, it eventually grew from under 50 to 1,100 families. He took a sabbatical from his congregation in order to volunteer as a military chaplain, serving in the Pacific with the U.S. Navy.

Returning to Tifereth Israel after the war, Zelizer developed Jewish educational programs and became involved in civic affairs. Starting in 1947, Zelizer served as a chaplain for the Jewish mental and penal wards of the state of Ohio as well as for the Veterans Administration Hospital in Chillicothe, Ohio. He developed a close relationship with Governor Frank Lauche, asking him to reduce prison sentences for those he believed could be rehabilitated; inmates freed with his help continued to write him over the next 40 years in appreciation for what he had done. During the 1950s, Zelizer served on the Columbus Rent Advisory Board and founded the first Senior

Citizens Center in Ohio, where the elderly were able to spend time engaged in constructive activities. He also hosted a local radio and television show where he interacted with leaders of different religious groups about common challenges and projects; he was invited to speak at African-American and Catholic churches, earning the respect of non-Jewish clergy.

Perhaps Zelizer's greatest contribution to American Jewry came in the 1960s, when he persuaded one of the most prominent Jewish citizens in Ohio, Samuel M. *Melton, a director of Bethlehem Steel, to fund the Melton Research Center (later, Melton School of Education) at the Jewish Theological Seminary in New York City. A pilot program of the innovative new school was established at Tifereth Israel, which became a model educational center for Conservative synagogues. Some 35 individuals credited Zelizer with their career decisions to enter the rabbinate – including his own son, Gerald, who rose to become president of the *Rabbinical Assembly. As a result of his accomplishments, the city of Columbus selected Zelizer as one of its 10 leading citizens, and the Ohio Chamber of Commerce paid him to travel across the state and engage audiences in discussions of important civic issues.

Upon his retirement from Tifereth Israel, Zelizer moved to Boca Raton, Florida, where he was asked to serve as the part-time rabbi of Congregation B'nai Torah. Once again, he built up a sizable institution from practically nothing. When the congregation became too large for a part-time rabbi, he moved on to help found Temple Beth Zion in Royal Palm, Florida. When he left this congregation, he would spend weekends driving to Melbourne, Florida, where he served as the rabbi for Jewish participants in the NASA Space Shuttle project. Because of these activities, one rabbi called Zelizer the "Johnny Appleseed" of the American Jewish community.

In 1985, Zelizer joined forces with another small congregation that formed in Boca Raton to start a Conservative synagogue called Beth Ami. He played an instrumental role in building the Jewish community of Boca Raton, starting a community day school and founding the South County Rabbinical Association. In 1992, he finally decided to retire a "second time," at 87 years of age. On that occasion, the mayor proclaimed Nathan Zelizer Day in the city of Boca Raton.

[Bezalel Gordon (2nd ed.)]

ZELK, ZOLTAN (1906–1981), Hungarian poet. Zelk was one of the *Nyugat* literary generation, but only achieved a position of prominence in the 1950s. His collections of verse, of which several were published, include *Mint égő lelkiismeret* ("Burning Conscience," 1954) and *Zúzmara a rozsafán* ("Hoarfrost on the Rosebush," 1964). He also wrote some outstanding poetry for children. Though an orthodox Marxist, Zelk joined the 1956 revolution and subsequently served two years in prison.

ZELLERBACH, U.S. merchant family. Its founder, ANTHONY ZELLERBACH (1832–1911), was born in Bavaria and went to the United States, settling in Philadelphia, in 1846. In 1856 he traveled to California and went to work for his elder brother MARKS (d. 1891), who was operating a bank at Moore's Flat in Nevada County. In 1868 he settled in San Francisco, and in 1870 established a small paper supply business, primarily dealing with printers. In 1882, with his son JACOB C. (b. 1864), he founded the firm of A. Zellerbach & Son. Another son, ISADORE (1867–1942), known as I.Z., came into the firm in 1887, and the youngest, HENRY (1868–1944), joined somewhat later. In 1907 the company was renamed Zellerbach Paper Company; I.Z. was president. After World War I the company expanded into paper towel milling and newsprint production, and the holding company Zellerbach Corporation was formed in 1928 for financing and administration, becoming through merger Crown Zellerbach Corporation. In 1937–38 the corporation became an operating company. With its international operations and the expansion of manufacturing and marketing into containers, flexible packaging, and other innovations, it became one of the largest paper manufacturers in the world, with sales in the billion-dollar range. The family remains active in its operations.

Members of the family have been active in civic, cultural, commercial, and community activities in the San Francisco area. They have been directors of Congregation Emanu-El of San Francisco, Mount Zion Hospital, the Concordia-Argonaut Club, the San Francisco Art Commission, and the San Francisco Symphony Orchestra. I.Z.'s son HAROLD LIONEL ZELLERBACH (1894–1978), a sales executive and executive committee member of the corporation, and board chairman 1956–1963, served as president of Congregation Emanu-El and was active in many other phases of Jewish community life in San Francisco. JAMES DAVID ZELLERBACH (1892–1963), I.Z.'s eldest son, president of the corporation from 1934 and chief executive officer from 1950, was appointed U.S. ambassador to Italy in 1956 after serving in 1945–48 on the International Labor Organization and in 1948–50 as chief of the Marshall Plan special mission to Italy. Harold's son WILLIAM J. served as president of Zellerbach Paper Company.

[Norton B. Stern]

ZELLICK, GRAHAM (1948–), British academic and university head. Educated at Cambridge and Stanford Universities, Zellick became a barrister and then a professor of law at London University (1982–98). From 1997 to 2003 he was vice chancellor (president) of the University of London. From 2003 he was chairman of the Criminal Cases Review Commission, which investigates alleged miscarriages of justice. For many years he was editor of *Public Law.* Zellick has been associated with a variety of Jewish and pro-Israel organizations.

[William D. Rubinstein 2nd ed.]

ZELOPHEHAD (Heb. צְלָפְחָד), son of Hepher, descendant of Manasseh. He died in the wilderness without male issue (Num. 26:33; 27:1). His five daughters, Mahlah, Noah, Hoglah, Milcha, and Tirzah, requested of Moses that they be recognized as female heirs and granted their father's inheritance of land. They pleaded that although their father had suffered the punishment of dying in the course of the desert wanderings, he had committed no exceptional sin, such as participation in the revolt of Koraḥ, that might merit the destruction of his "name." The case was decided by divine decree in favor of the daughters, and it led to the promulgation of legislation providing for the disposal of the property of a man who died without a male heir (*ibid.* 27:1–11). This ruling occasioned an inter-tribal problem in that, should Zelophehad's daughters marry outside their tribe, the estate would consequently pass into the possession of their husbands and the latter's tribes. By divine decision Zelophehad's daughters were required to marry within the tribe of Manasseh and, in fact, they were given to their cousins. To protect the total tribal inheritances, it was laid down that all heiresses must marry within their own tribe (*ibid.* 36:1–12).

It is of interest that although Zelophehad was descended from Gilead, his daughters received their patrimony from Joshua west of the Jordan (Josh. 17:3–6). In the Samaria Ostraca two of their names, Noah and Hoglah, appear as the names of districts within the territory of Manasseh.

In the *Aggadah*

Both Zelophehad and his father, Hepher, were among those whom Moses had led out of Egypt. Zelophehad himself was therefore entitled to three portions in Ereẓ Israel (two as the firstborn of his father, and one in his own right), and his daughters claimed all three portions when their father died (BB 122b). Moses had to refer this claim to God because, although aware of the general right of a daughter to inherit, he was unsure of their right to claim in addition the dual portion of their father's birthright (*ibid.*, 119a). Another opinion, however, is that Moses did not know whether God had forgiven Zelophehad for the sin on account of which he had died in the desert (Num. 27:3). It was only when God mentioned Zelophehad by name (*ibid.*, 27:7), that Moses knew that he had been forgiven (Zohar 3:157a). Zelophehad was neither one of those who murmured against God (Num. 11:1), nor one who joined the ten spies in their condemnation of Ereẓ Israel (*ibid.*, 14:1), since the participants in both these movements were automatically denied all rights of inheritance in Ereẓ Israel. This was also the punishment of the followers of Koraḥ (which is why Zelophehad's daughters specifically stated that their father did not participate in this sin; Num 27:3; Sif. Num. 133; BB 18b). Judah ben Bathyra maintained that Zelophehad was one of those who "presumed to go up to the top of the mountain" (Num. 14:44); while R. Akiva was of the opinion that it was he who gathered wood on the Sabbath (Num. 15:32; Shab. 96b), the two incidents being juxtaposed (BB 119a).

The daughters of Zelophehad are highly praised for their sagacity in presenting their problem at an appropriate moment, when Moses was expounding the laws of levirate marriage. They showed outstanding exegetic ability in arguing their own case. They are also praised for their virtue, and for the care with which they chose their husbands (BB 119b). Although permitted to marry men from any tribe, they were so careful in their choice that even the youngest waited until she was 40 years old before finding a worthy husband (*ibid.*, 120a).

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ZELOW, town in Lodz province, near *Lask, central Poland. Jews settled there in the second half of the 19th century and earned their livelihood mainly in the local textile factories. They numbered 922 (30% of the total) in 1897 and 1,816 (34%) in 1921. In 1939 there were approximately 3,500 Jews in Zelow comprising about 60% of the total population. The Germans entered Zelow on Sept. 6, 1939, and forced the Jewish community into a restricted zone in town. The number of Jews swelled to 6,000 with the influx of refugees from nearby towns. No formal ghetto was established, and the Jews could maintain a certain amount of illegal trade across the border of the General Government. Although the Judenrat supplied able-bodied workers to the German authorities, raids were carried out against people in the streets for forced labor. Prior to the final liquidation of the Jewish community of Zelow the Germans publicly executed ten Jewish prisoners and deported 245 able-bodied men to the *Lodz ghetto. In September 1942 the ghetto was liquidated. Some of the Jews were killed on the spot, others were transported to the extermination camp at *Chelmno, and a few hundred young people were sent to forced labor camps.

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[Danuta Dombrowska]

ZELVA (Pol. **Zelwa**), town in Grodno oblast, Belarus. Jews were accustomed to visit the Zelva fairs from the end of the 15th century. A Jewish community, under the jurisdiction of the Grodno *kahal*, was established in the late 16th century. During the 18th century Jews traded at the local fairs, dealing in horses and in furs imported from Moscow. The lay and rabbinical leaders of Lithuania met at these fairs, and after 1766, when the Council of the Four Lands (see *Councils of the Lands) was disbanded, Zelva became the customary meeting place for rabbis of the region. Excommunications against the Ḥasidim were publicized here in 1781 and 1796, and a plan of action was drawn up to suppress the movement. In 1766 there were 522 Jews who paid the poll tax. In 1793 Zelva was annexed by Russia. There were 864 Jews in 1847, and 1,844 (66% of the total population) in 1897. Between the world wars Zelva was part of independent Poland and possessed *Tarbut and Yavneh schools. In 1921 the Jewish community numbered 1,319 (64%). The community was annihilated in World War II when Jews were executed by the Germans or sent to death camps, but dozens of young people managed to escape into the forest.

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[Shimshon Leib Kirshenboim / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

ZEMACH, BENJAMIN (1903–1987), dancer, actor, choreographer, stage director and drama teacher. Born in Russia as the young brother of Nachum Zemach, the founder and leader of the Habimah theater in Moscow with whom he went to the U.S. in 1926. Zemach was active during the 1930s as dancer and choreographer in many progressive left-wing productions organized by such companies as the New Dance Group and other trade-unions-based artistic initiatives in New York during the Great Depression. He opened an independent modern dance school in Los Angeles. His choreographic work was based on Jewish as well as socially conscious themes. He choreographed several large-scale productions at the Hollywood Bowl and created the choreography for Max Reinhardt's film *The Eternal Road* (1936).

In 1971 he came to live in Israel, teaching and producing at the Kibbutz Seminar in Tel Aviv, choreographing for Inbal Dance Theater, finally settling in Jerusalem, where he died in 1987.

[Giora Manor (2nd ed.)]

ZEMACH, NAHUM (1887–1939), theatrical director, founder of *Habimah. Born in Volkovysk, he grew up in Poland and was a successful businessman in Moscow before devoting himself to literature and the theater. In 1912 in Bialystok (with Menahem *Gnessin), he assembled a group of Hebrew-speaking actors who performed *Dymov's *The Eternal Wanderer*, and in the following year he presented the play in Vienna to the members of the 11th Zionist Congress. The company was short-lived; but it was the forerunner of the company called "Habimah" which Zemach founded in Moscow in 1917 and which drew some of its actors from the Bialystok group. Zemach stayed with Habimah until 1926 when he took the company to the U.S. and decided to remain there. His pioneering work with Hebrew theater drew attention to Hebrew as a living language, and when Habimah performed *The Dybbuk* it also demonstrated the vitality of the modern Jewish literary movement. Zemach went to Palestine after Habimah had become established there and for a time directed the Beth-Am Theater. But he returned to the U.S. and in 1937 became manager of the Jewish Theater unit of the Federal Theater Project.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: M. Kohansky, *Hebrew Theater* (1969), index.

ZEMACH, SHLOMO (1886–1974), Hebrew writer. Born in Plonsk (Russian Poland), Zemach spent his youth on his father's estate in the village of Volka. In his youth he was attracted to Zionism, and together with some friends founded the Zionist society Ezra. At the age of 18 he immigrated to Ereẓ Israel, where he became an agricultural worker. He was one of the founders of *Ha-Po'el ha-Ẓa'ir in 1905. In 1909 he went to France. After studying literature and philosophy at the Sorbonne for three years, he attended the Higher Institute of Agriculture in Nancy and graduated as an agricultural engineer in 1914. On the outbreak of World War I he went to Poland and was obliged to remain there, within German-occupied territory, until 1918. He then left for Odessa, where he edited the periodical *Ereẓ*, and engaged in other literary activities. In 1921 he returned to Ereẓ Israel and taught agriculture at the Mikveh Israel school. From 1924 to 1933 he directed the training department of the agricultural experimental station run by the Zionist executive. In 1933 he founded the *Kadoorie Agricultural school and was its principal until 1937. It was only after his retirement that he began to devote himself exclusively to literary work.

Short Stories

Zemach began his literary career as a writer of short stories – one of the first to write about Ereẓ Israel. He described the life of the villager. Averse by nature to idealizations and illusions, Zemach never wrote in a symbolic or allegorical fashion, nor did he make any attempt to depict abstract characters. There is a strong biographical element in his stories and his characters and events are presented within a limited, well defined range of time and place.

Zemach's uniqueness as a writer lies not so much in his narrative gifts as in an outlook which sublimates existence. A sober and discerning observer, lacking in illusions, he treats his heroes' foibles with gentle amusement. The Ereẓ Israel stories that Zemach wrote at the beginning of the century are very different from the idyllic, folkloristic, superficial, and tendentious Zionist stories of other writers. He was able to rise above the eroding stream of life and to free himself in considerable measure from the "bonds of custom," a phrase which became the title of his article on the subject.

Novel

Zemach wrote one novel, *Eliyah Margalit* (1921), which describes the life of young Jewish intellectuals living in Paris during the pre-World War I period. The young men establish a national Hebrew circle, and they discuss the future of their people and the image of the Jew as he will be when he is privileged to live a normal life in Ereẓ Israel. The hero, Eliyah Margalit, a painter, has not yet succeeded in freeing himself of the "burden of inheritance," the oppressiveness of his rigorous education, and the stifling influence of his hometown. He is thus impelled to preach extreme and self-contradictory revolutionary ideas, to rebel against traditional Judaism and demand that epicurean joy in life rule as the supreme value. He believes in the theory that the entire history of the Jewish people after the destruction of the Temple must be blotted out of memory; a new way of life must be created for the contemporary Jew, so that his heart and soul may be rejuvenated and he can live a normal healthy life. He wishes to pass over the hundreds of years spent in the Diaspora, so as to return to the ancient epoch and to the primary source of Judaism.

From the structural point of view, *Eliyah Margalit* is one of those romantic novels which end in inevitable disaster. The spirit of the age and the French background of the novel find expression in the temporary corruption of the hero who emerges from his experience utterly purged and purified. In this respect also Zemach was a pioneer, inasmuch as he was the first Hebrew writer to study the problem of decadence and its effect upon life.

Drama

Zemach's play *Tanḥum mi-Kefar Yano'aḥ* is on the face of it a historical drama. The events take place in the plain of Jericho and in the village of Janoah at the time of the establishment of the Essene sect. The ideas, however, apply to the present. Tanḥum is a young farmer who decides to join the Essene sect, and is followed by Miriam, a girl from his village. But he soon discovers that the strict laws of purification are neither in accord with his temperament nor with his opinions. He is a rebel by nature and dislikes those who are excessively righteous; he much prefers ordinary people, with all their weaknesses. He transgresses the custom of the sect when he shakes hands with a Jewish peddler, thus becoming "defiled by touch." He is unable to forgo reality for the sake of shutting himself away in an ideal world of abstinence and devotion to God. The Essenes accuse him of corrupting the brotherhood and causing defilement among them, and finally they expel him from the sect. Tanḥum and Miriam return to their village, where they are married. He proves himself when the time comes to defend his country and he fights the enemy at the head of the village youth. Zemach thus attempted to refute the view that morality and patriotism necessarily call for abstinence and asceticism, and he championed the individual who loves life but at the same time is ready to sacrifice it in the defense of his country.

Memoirs

Shanah Rishonah ("First Year"; 1952), a volume of memoirs about Zemach's first stay in Ereẓ Israel in 1904, lies on the borderline between fiction and documentary literature. Written in the 1950s, considerably removed in time from the actual events, the author with a critical and discerning eye selected the essential events and utterances that seemed to him the most characteristic, arranging them in such a way as to create a planned, well-designed, and meaningful picture. All the problems and crucial events of the Second Aliyah period are described and illuminated here with critical discernment. A. Zemach wrote down Shlomo Zemach's life story (*Sippur Ḥayai*, 1983).

Literary Criticism

Throughout his literary career Zemach wrote not only belletristic works but also literary criticism. From 1910 onward he systematically and seriously engaged in criticism, publishing scores of essays, articles, and reviews in different periodicals. These have been collected in part in *Be-Arẓot Nod* (1922), *Adam im Aḥerim* (1953), *Massah u-Vikkoret* (1954), *Sheti va-Erev* (1959), *Eruvin* (1964), *Shettei ha-Mezuzot* (1965), and *Massot u-Reshimot* (1968). Ten essays on Bialik (*Al Bialik*) were published in 1978. Zemach regards criticism as "free evaluation, based on a literary truth (not the truth, just a truth), free from all mixture of secondary interests and having two points of departure whose influence is reciprocal, evolved and kept alive through the relationship between the author as agent who creates the work of art and the work of art as agent in that it reveals the author." True criticism derives from the critic's devotion to literature, his principal tools being the power of analysis and of expression. Zemach is totally opposed to the view that criticism is an inferior or parasitic genre of literature; he regards it as a form of literary creativity even though it does not come entirely from the world of feelings but applies logic as well as emotions.

A basic principle of Zemach's critical doctrine is the demand that contemporary Hebrew literature cultivate an attachment to the nation's traditions. He opposes literary phenomena that manifest imitation or detachment. It is the duty of contemporary Hebrew literature to return to its sources, to abandon imitation and foreign patterns and to seek genuine independence.

Throughout his career in criticism Zemach was a fighter. Already in his youth he attacked the "Mendele style" in Hebrew literature; he warned against the danger of "petty realism" involved in this school, demanding that prose should liberate itself from its ties with cultural patterns and soar to the heights of human thought and feeling. In "*Ha-Sifrut va-Ḥalifoteha*" (1926) Zemach maintained that the literature of Ereẓ Israel should broaden its themes, abandon Diaspora motifs, and have the courage to come to grips with the new reality in Ereẓ Israel. He regarded writing on the subject of Ereẓ Israel as a temporary measure. At the same time he rejected modernistic trends in Hebrew literature and remained faithful to traditionalism.

Zemach is perhaps the only contemporary Hebrew critic who attempted to formulate a theoretical basis for his work. He defined his view on the essence of the beautiful in art in the final chapter of *Al ha-Yafeh*. "I do not regard aesthetics as contemplation nor as an escape from the concrete world and an evasion of life; aesthetics is for me a continuation of human activity that transports the actual in nature to the actual in visions; and in the process of shifting, the actual is divorced from its dependence on nature and its laws. Certainly feeling pain, love – is as real as feeling stone, water, dust. Thus an abstract description does not exist. It is not figural, but consists of color splashes and geometric forms and these are real. We are not discussing the 'abstract' and the 'real' but the distinguishing force which gives them significance." *Ha-Seḥok* (1947) also deals with the theory of aesthetics.

For many years Zemach contributed to newspapers and periodicals. His main work as editor was in the periodical *Beḥinot* (1953–57), a platform both for the theory of criticism and for its practice. For a listing of Zemach's works in English translation see Goell, Bibliography, index.

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[Abraham B. Yoffe]

ẒEMAḤ, JACOB BEN ḤAYYIM (d. after 1665), kabbalist and physician. A member of a Converso family in northern Portugal, he first served as a physician. He decided to go to Ereẓ Israel and passed through Salonika where he studied Torah. Some time between 1610 and 1620, he settled in Safed and learned Talmud and Kabbalah. In approximately 1628 he left for Damascus, and studied the Lurianic Kabbalah under Samuel b. Ḥayyim *Vital. Around 1640 he settled in Jerusalem where he became one of the leading kabbalists. He was among the Jerusalem opponents of *Shabbetai Ẓevi who excommunicated him when he first claimed to be the messiah in 1665.

His many works, which are anthologic in character, lack originality and rely on *Ḥayyim Vital's Kabbalah. Nevertheless, his contribution to the literary consolidation of Lurianic Kabbalah is important, as are his citations of contemporary kabbalists, e.g., *Joseph ibn Tabul. In his introduction to *Kol ba-Ramah*, he complains that Lurianic Kabbalah is not much studied. Ẓemaḥ left many works, partly in manuscript. In the aforesaid introduction he gives details of his literary activities.

His works include: (1) introductions to and glosses on various works; (2) *Zohar ha-Raki'a* (Korzec, 1785), a commentary on sayings of *Sifra di-Ẓeni'uta*, and the *Idra* of the Zohar; (3) *Zer Zahav*, an explanation of every item in the *Oraḥ Ḥayyim* section of the Shulḥan Arukh according to the *Zohar and the Lurianic Kabbalah; (4) *Leḥem min ha-Shamayim* (Munkacs, 1905), a compilation of Lurianic customs of which the printed version differs from the manuscripts; (5) *Nagid u-Meẓavveh* (Amsterdam, 1712), an important anthology of Lurianic customs which served as the basis for *Shulḥan Arukh shel ha-Ari*. Due to frequent republication, many customs of Luria became widely familiar (the manuscript version is much longer than the printed); (6) *Ẓemaḥ Ẓaddik* (Korzec, 1785), kabbalistic homilies; (7) *Kol ba-Ramah (ibid.*, 1785), a commentary on the *Idras*; here too the manuscript is longer than the printed version and is preceded by a very important introduction.

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[Moshe Hallamish]

ẒEMAḤ BEN ḤAYYIM, *gaon* of Sura (c. 889 to c. 895). Apart from the fact that he was the stepbrother and successor of Nahshon b. Zadok, there is virtually no biographical information concerning him. He is remembered principally for his reply to the question of the perturbed scholars of Kairouan, following the appearance of *Eldad ha-Dani in North Africa. In his responsum, he reassures them that although the customs reported by Eldad often appear at variance with accepted laws, they are not neccessarily heretical, some of the divergences being attributed to variations in local traditions or simply to the forgetfulness produced by a long and perilous journey.

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[Meir Havazelet]

ẒEMAḤ BEN PALTOI, *gaon* of Pumbedita (872–890), great-grandfather of *Sherira Gaon. Comparatively few of Ẓemaḥ's responsa are signed with his full name. Many more responsa were only signed Rav Ẓemaḥ, but several of these belong to him. Tradition has it that he was the first to compile a systematic dictionary of the Talmud. Not a single fragment of this work has been preserved, and even possible quotations from it are so equivocal that some modern scholars have denied its existence. The lexicon was evidently compiled in order to facilitate the study of the Talmud in lands distant from Babylonia. The lexicon was popular until the end of the Middle Ages.

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[Meir Havazelet]

ẒEMAḤ ẒEDEK BEN ISAAC (second half of tenth century), *gaon* of the Sura Academy in Baghdad from about 988 to about 997; descendant of R. *Ẓemaḥ b. Paltoi Gaon. R. Ẓemaḥ Ẓedek reopened the Sura Academy after it had been closed for some 45 years (after the death of R. Saadiah Gaon). In a letter of 953, attributed to Ẓemaḥ Ẓedek, which was probably sent to *Ḥisdai ibn Shaprut in Spain, the writer asked for contributions to the academies of Babylonia and appended a list of halakhic questions which had been addressed to Babylonian *geonim*. R. Ẓemaḥ Ẓedek maintained friendly relations with R. *Elhanan b. Shemariah of Egypt, with whom he had become acquainted when the latter had studied at Pumbedita under R. *Sherira Gaon and his son R. Hai Gaon. R. Ẓemaḥ Ẓedek gave his advice to R. Elhanan in questions concerning the nature and the unity of God.

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[Abraham David]

ZEMARAIM (Heb. צְמָרַיִם), city belonging to the tribe of Benjamin and listed among the northern group of its cities next to Beth-El (Josh. 18:22). It probably gave its name to the Mount Zemaraim of II Chronicles 13:4, which was mentioned in connection with a battle between Abijah of Judah and Jeroboam I on the border between Judah and Israel; the text presumes that the place was south of Beth-El. In Shishak's list of conquered towns, it comes after Gibeon and was probably the first Israelite city conquered after his assault on Judah. Zemaraim, therefore, was apparently a city and a mountain in the vicinity of Ramallah. Clermont-Ganneau has suggested that Ra's al-Zemara between al-Ṭayyiba and Rammūn is Mt. Zemaraim; for the city itself, Ra's al-Tāḥūna in al-Bīra has been suggested. The tell occupies one of the highest points in the area and has remains of fortifications and Iron Age pottery.

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[Michael Avi-Yonah]

ZEMBA, MENAHEM (1883–1943), Polish rabbinical scholar. Zemba came from a poor ḥasidic family. While still a young man, he distinguished himself by his erudition in his approach to the study of the *mishnayot* and a freedom from *pilpul* for its own sake, which was prevalent in his time in Poland. He studied for 20 years, during which time he was supported by his wealthy father-in-law. On the death of his father-in-law (about 1917) Zemba was forced to take over the running of his business, but he was not successful and after years of hardship he agreed in 1935 to become a member of the Warsaw rabbinical council. Until then he had been active in the *Agudat Israel movement, was secretary of the Mo'eẓet Gedolei ha-Torah, and a member of the council of the Warsaw Jewish community. Zemba was one of the last Warsaw rabbis to remain in the ghetto after the first wave of extermination. At a meeting of its surviving leaders on January 14, 1943, he gave rabbinic approval for the uprising. In an inspiring address, he stated: "Of necessity, we must resist the enemy on all fronts.… We shall no longer heed his instructions.… Sanctification of the Divine Name manifests itself in varied ways. During the First Crusade, at the end of the 11th century, the Halakhah … determined one way of reacting to the distress of the Franco-German Jews, whereas in the middle of the 20th century, during the liquidation of the Jews in Poland, it prompts us to react in an entirely different manner. In the past, during religious persecution, we were required by the law 'to give up our lives even for the least essential practice.' In the present, however, when we are faced by an arch foe, whose unparalleled ruthlessness and program of total annihilation know no bounds, the Halakhah demands that we fight and resist to the very end with unequaled determination and valor for the sake of Sanctification of the Divine Name." On the eve of the revolt, Catholic circles offered their assistance to save the three remaining rabbis of Warsaw, but Zemba gave a ruling against it and died a martyr's death in the ghetto.

Zemba's works acquired great renown among students since they were an unusual amalgam of the dialectical approach common in Poland and the logical and penetrating method of the Lithuanian yeshivot. He published *Zera Avraham* (1920), responsa dialogue with R. Abraham Luftbehr (son-in-law of R. *Meir Simḥah ha-Kohen of Dvinsk); *Toẓe'ot Ḥayyim* (1921) on the Law of carrying on the Sabbath; *Oẓar ha-Sifri* (1929), *Oẓar ha-Sifra* (1960), and a number of articles which appear in various collections. The manuscripts of many other important works were lost in the Holocaust. Among these were *Menaḥem Yerushalayim*, on the Jerusalem Talmud; *Maḥazeh la-Melekh*, on Maimonides; four volumes of responsa; and a volume of sermons and dialectics which he had prepared for press. Zemba's remains were reinterred in Jerusalem in 1958.

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[Aryeh-Leib Kalish]

ZEMER, HANNAH (1925–2003), Israeli journalist. Born in Bratislava, Slovakia, Zemer was imprisoned in the Ravensbrueck and Malchow concentration camps. She began her journalistic career in Europe, and after immigrating to Israel in 1950 she joined the *Omer* newspaper and subsequently *Davar*, the Histadrut trade union federation newspaper, serving as its Knesset correspondent, political correspondent, news editor, foreign correspondent in the U.S., chief editorial writer, and deputy editor. In 1970 she was appointed the newspaper's editor, thereby becoming the first woman to hold such a position in Israel. Post-Holocaust European Jewry and social welfare in Israel respectively were frequent subjects of her reporting and editing. Although not a feminist, she ensured that women journalists rose in the newspaper's ranks. Reporters enjoyed relatively wide freedom in their writing. Despite the paper's institutional ties to both the Histadrut and the Labor Party, and her own membership in the Labor Party executive, she withstood external pressures on the paper and its editorial staff, producing at times tensions between the Histadrut and the newspaper. Yet despite her stature as an editor, the 20 years she was at the helm was a period of decline for *Davar,* as for the party press as a whole. Circulation declined from 40,000 in 1970 to an estimated 16,000 in 1990, with much of its readership limited to Histadrut members from the secular Ashkenazi sector of the population. There was inadequate financial management, including a decline in advertising, and massive debts which reached NIS 20 million by 1990.

A popular lecturer, Zemer won a number of awards, including Woman of the Year (1978) for her work in communications, the Sokolow prize for journalism, the Herzl Prize, the Nordau Prize, and the Ted Lurie Prize. She sat on the boards of a number of national and Tel Aviv cultural and artistic institutions. She wrote *God Does Not Live There* (Heb.), a personal travelogue paying tribute to lost Jewish communities in Europe.

[Yoel Cohen (2nd ed.)]

ZEMIROT (Heb. זְמִירוֹת "songs").

(1) Term applied by Sephardi, Italian, and eastern communities to the biblical verses, psalms, and doxologies recited before the main part (**yoẓer, *Shema*, and **Amidah*) of the morning service. The terms *zemirot* and **Pesukei de-Zimra* ("Passages of Song"), its Ashkenazi equivalent, are used interchangeably by the authorities as early as *Abudarham (14th century; cf. Sh. Ar., OḤ, 51:1, 8).

(2) In Ashkenazi usage, the table hymns sung during or directly after Sabbath meals. Their recitation was considered meritorious (מצוה) by the early authorities (cf. *Sefer ha-Ḥasidim*, ed. Wistinetzki, 722; *Or Zaru'a*, 2:95). Three groupings achieved prominence and were printed in most prayer books:

(a) eight *zemirot* for the Friday evening meal (*Kol Mekaddesh Shevi'i, Menuḥah ve-Simḥah, Mah Yedidut, Mah Yafit, Yom Shabbat Kodesh, *Yah Ribbon Olam, Ẓur mi-Shello Akhalnu, Yom Zeh le-Yisrael*); the first five apparently date from the early Middle Ages, the last two from the 16th century;

(b) eight for the Sabbath noon meal (*Barukh Adonai Yom Yom, Barukh El Elyon, Yom Zeh Mekhubbad, Yom Shabbaton, Ki Eshmerah Shabbat, Shimru Shabbetotai, Deror Yikra, Shabbat ha-Yom la-Adonai*); 10th to 15th centuries;

(c) nine for the end of Sabbath (**Ha-Mavdil, Eliyahu ha-Navi, *Be-Moẓa'ei* (*Yom*) *Menuḥah, Ḥaddesh Sesoni, Agil ve-Esmaḥ, Elohim Yisadenu, Eli Ḥish Go'ali, Addir Ayom ve-Nora, Ish Ḥasid Hayah*); early to late Middle Ages. A number of these are to be found in **Maḥzor Vitry* (11th century) and some were also accepted by Sephardi communities who had their own traditional table hymns. The kabbalists, especially Isaac Luria, added new *zemirot*. Among Sephardi and Oriental Jewry the writing of this type of hymn has continued.

Designated for either home or synagogue, the *zemirot* are not a special literary category. Rather, they belong to the group of songs and liturgical poems called *zemer* or *pizmon* or *shevaḥot* by Sephardi communities; these are not recognized as obligatory prayer. Examples of these *zemirot* are the *bakkashot* ("requests") said each morning before prayer by Sephardi Jews (some of which are recited at meals by other communities) and the many songs dedicated to special occasions such as the Sabbath, festivals, marriage, circumcision, redemption of the firstborn son, *Zeved ha-Bat* (a Sabbath celebration for a newborn daughter), Simḥat Torah, the 15th of Shevat, Ḥanukkah, Purim, etc. Many have been printed in standard and holiday prayer books, while others have been published in collections such as *Shirim u-Zemirot* (Istanbul, 1539). Among collections with *zemirot* not found elsewhere are *Sefer Shir u-Shevaḥah* (1921, ed. by Rafael Ḥayyim Ha-Cohen, 561 songs), *Sefer Pizmonim* (1929, ed. by Mordekhai Ḥayyim Eliyahu Levi, 408 songs), *Sefer Shirim, Tehillat Yesharim ha-Shalem* (1954, ed. by Ẓalah Manẓur, 373 songs).

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[Ernst Daniel Goldschmidt]

ZEMLYACHKA (**Zalkind**), **ROZALIYA SAMOYLOVNA** (other Party pseudonyms – **Samoylova**, **Demon, and Osipov**; 1876–1947), Soviet government and Party official. Born in Kiev, daughter of a merchant, she became a member of the Social-Democratic Party in 1896. In 1901 she was a representative of the newspaper *Iskra* in Odessa and Yekaterinoslav. After the Party split of 1903, Zemlyachka became a member of the Bolshevik Central Committee and in 1905 secretary of the Moscow committee of the Russian Social Democratic Workers Party, working in the Party's military organization.

She was arrested on a number of occasions. In 1909 she was secretary of the Baku Party organization and then spent some time abroad. In 1915–16 Zemlyachka was a member of the Moscow bureau of the Central Committee of the Bolshevik Party. During the February Revolution of 1917 she was secretary of the Moscow Committee of the Bolsheviks and participated in the armed seizure of power. From 1918 to 1920 she headed the political departments of the 8th and 13th armies and was the first woman in Soviet Russia to be awarded a medal (that of the Combat Red Banner). From 1920 to 1926 she occupied various Party posts, including, from Nov. 1920, that of secretary of the provincial Party committee in the Crimea where, together with B. *Kun, she carried out a policy of mass terror. From 1926 she was a member, deputy chairman, and then chairman of state and Party control organs. She was notorious for her merciless attitude in regard to Party purges and sanctioned repressions. From 1939 to 1943, in addition to serving in other capacities, she was deputy chairman of the Council of Peoples' Commissars of the U.S.S.R.

[Mark Kipnis and
The Shorter Jewish Encylopaedia in Russian (2nd ed.)]

ZEMUN (Ger. **Semlin**), town on the Sava river, opposite Belgrade; part of Yugoslavia from 1918. Under Austrian rule Zemun was part of the so-called military area and subject to special regulations. It was therefore difficult for Jews to gain a foothold there, but once they succeeded in settling, they enjoyed relative safety in this "protected doorway to the Balkans."

After the Austrian conquest of *Belgrade in 1717, some Jews from Austria and Germany settled there, but when Belgrade fell to the Ottoman Turks again in 1739, a group of 20 Jewish families fled to Zemun. A small but lively community was thus created inside Croatia, which was exclusively administered by Austrians in view of frequent wars and bargaining with the Turks. In 1746 the *Judengemeinde* was officially recognized, but Maria Theresa granted the first known written privilege to a Jew (Raphael Salomon) to live permanently in Zemun only in 1753. A few years later there was a *Judengasse* (Jewish street, quarter), synagogue, and Jewish school. Jews paid a contribution of 150 florins to the authorities and were goldsmiths, barrel makers, glassworkers, ironmongers, etc. They also traded with Austria; as merchants, they were in an unfavorable position compared with the Austro-Germans, Serbs, and Wallachians (they were forbidden to sell hides or spirits, and the Serbian merchants' guild submitted a petition to the authorities to limit Jewish trade to scrap iron only). In view of their protected situation and due to the commercial importance of Zemun – despite restrictions – the community enjoyed a rare opportunity in being within "military areas," which were generally inaccessible to Jews. In 1772 a decree was issued permitting unlimited Jewish settlement –a striking proof of their usefulness. By 1773, however, the decree was revoked and residence was restricted for a long time to the descendants of the original Jewish settlers. Although checked in its growth, this first Croatian-based community – with its semiautonomous status – played an important role among Yugoslav Jewry.

After the Austrian occupation of Belgrade (1789), some Jews fled first to Zemun, where they found temporary asylum, and later went to Hungary. During an earlier siege of nearby Belgrade, many Jews were robbed and left homeless. On this occasion an aid committee was organized in Zemun and help was received from Hungary (Szeged, Budapest, Sombor, Baja), Croatia (Osijek, Varaždin), Transylvania (Temesvar), Austria (Vienna), and Germany (Leipzig). At the end of the 18th century there were 157 Jews in Zemun. In 1804 Jews manufactured ammunition for Serbian rebels ("first uprising" under Karageorge), and in 1806 Jewish craftsmen also did the same for the Turks, though under duress and surveillance. Almoslino, a Jew, was the Austrian diplomatic agent to the victorious *knyaz* (prince) Karageorge. During the first half of the 19th century 30 new families were granted rights to settle in Zemun, but others migrated to Bosnia. In 1862 the Zemun magistrate asked the military authorities to permit more Jews to settle within the city walls in order to promote trade and replace the war-torn city of Belgrade as a main trading center. Jews were still subjected to a special tax until the abolition of "military zone status" in 1871; in 1881 the "free city of Zemun" abolished all restrictions on Jewish settlers and was attached to the kingdom of Croatia-Slavonia. In 1918 Zemun became part of Yugoslavia

From 1825 to 1843 Judah Ḥai *Alkalai, the famous rabbi and precursor of Zionism, was community leader (*ḥakham*) of Zemun. Among the first group of "privileged Jews" were the ancestors of Theodor *Herzl; his grandfather, Simon Loew Herzl, was a follower of Rabbi Alkalai. He was imprisoned in 1849 for alleged Hungarian sympathies, but (according to the Belgrade City Archives, document no. 552) was released at the community's request in order to celebrate the Jewish holidays. Herzl's grandfather and grandmother (Rebecca, née Billitz) were buried at the Zemun cemetery, while his father Jacob, who was also born in Zemun, moved to Budapest.

In 1941 the community's 500 Jews and its institutions were quickly annihilated. Most of them perished in the barracks of the *saymishte* (fairground), which were prepared for an international exhibition. This was also used as a detention camp for Croatian Jews and others (see *Yugoslavia). Among those who were murdered was the writer and composer Erich (Elisha) Samlaić.

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[Zvi Loker]

ZEMURRAY, SAMUEL (1878–1961), U.S. business executive. Zemurray, who was born in Kishinev, Russia, went to the U.S. at the age of 14. After working at several jobs, he became a banana peddler in Alabama at the age of 20 and quickly rose to wealth. He became co-owner of two tramp steamers, bought 5,000 acres of Honduras land, and formed the Cuyamel Fruit Company. In 1930 Zemurray sold Cuyamel to the competing United Fruit Company for 300,000 shares of the latter's stock, making him its largest stockholder. He retired from business in Louisiana, where he became a vigorous opponent of Huey Long. By 1932 the drastically depreciated value of United Fruit stock caused him to bid for company control. He subsequently became chief of operations, reorganized the company, and was elected president in 1938. In 1951 Zemurray, by then known as the "Banana King," retired to become executive committee chairman. During the early New Deal period, Zemurray was active in the formulation of Agricultural Adjustment Act (AAA) industry codes. He served as an adviser to the Board of Economic Welfare during World War II. During his career, Zemurray was probably the most enlightened of the big U.S. businessmen operating in Latin America. He endowed clinics, housing projects, recreation facilities, and schools for the workers on his Central American plantations at a time when such a course of action was considered visionary, if not lunatic. Zemurray, who was a friend of Chaim Weizmann, was a director of the Palestine Economic Corporation, a generous contributor to Zionist causes, and a supporter of the Weizmann Institute of Science.

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ZENICA, town in central Bosnia on the Bosna River in a mining belt – where coal was extracted and iron and steel were produced – with corresponding industrial and commercial undertakings. Jews arrived during the 18th century. The oldest tombstone, dated 1747, attests to the Jewish presence at that time. A community was established in 1880 and a handsome synagogue in Moorish style was erected in 1903. In 1910 about 300 Jews lived there. Judah Montiiljo headed the community. Cantors were Moritz Altarac and Moritz Salom. The Zionist group was headed by Otto Loewy and Albert Ozmo.

During the Holocaust all the Jews perished. A memorial was consecrated in 1967. The synagogue was desecrated and plundered but survived; the building serves as a museum.

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[Zvi Loker (2nd ed.)]

ZENKEVICH, LEV ALEKSANDROVICH (1889–1970); Soviet researcher in the fields of hydrobiology and invertebrate zoology. Zenkevich was born in what became known as Leninsk, Velograd Province. From 1927 he worked at the Institute of Oceanography of the Academy of Sciences of the U.S.S.R.; from 1930 he was a professor at Moscow University and a member of the Academy of Sciences. He studied the northern and eastern seas of the U.S.S.R., the Caspian Sea, and the Pacific Ocean from 1949 to 1952, heading scientific expeditions. From 1956 he was a member of the UNESCO committee on oceanic sciences and vice president of the special committee on oceanographic research of the International Council of Learned Societies. From 1961 to 1970 Zenkevich headed the oceanographic committee of the Academy of Sciences. He elaborated quantitative methods for studying ocean fauna and devised a theory of the biological structure of the ocean and the evolution of ocean fauna.

[*The Shorter Jewish Encyclopedia in Russian,* Jerusalem]

ZENO, PAPYRI OF, archives of Zeno. Zeno (third century B.C.E.), the son of Agreophontos, was a Greek from Caunus in southern Asia Minor, who settled in Egypt in the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus (285–246 B.C.E.). There he entered the service of the finance minister, Apollonius, and as his right-hand man fulfilled various functions. He went on an economic mission to Ereẓ Israel and in 259 accompanied his master on his journeys in Egypt itself. From 256 he managed Apollonius' estate in Faiyum and assisted in the development of Philadelphia in that nome. After the death of Ptolemy Philadelphus and the consequent decline of Apollonius' influence, he continued to live in Faiyum and to engage in economic enterprises there.

In 1915 Zeno's archives were discovered at the site of Hellenistic Philadelphia, east of Faiyum. Many hundreds of documents and private letters, as well as accounts, receipts, and contracts were brought to light and have found their way to museums and various universities (Cairo, Michigan, Columbia, the British Museum); the bulk of them have been published. Written for the most part in a better Greek and a more legible hand than in most papyri, these documents shed direct light on the life and activities of Zeno and his associates, and also give a general picture of the economy, administration, law, and mode of life in Ptolemaic Egypt in the middle of the third century B.C.E. They are especially clear on events in the nome of Faiyum, where at that time the land was being reclaimed for cultivation and was the scene of vigorous economic and administrative enterprises. The study of the Zeno documents has enriched the knowledge of the status of the Greek settlers who flocked from various places in the Greek world to seek a future for themselves amid the economic prosperity of Ptolemy Philadelphus' Egypt.

Among these documents are some that throw light on the life of the Jews in Faiyum in the third century B.C.E. In one account reference is made to the Jew Antigonus, in another to the Jewess Johanna, who was apparently in Apollonius' domestic service. An account dealing with bricks mentions the Sabbath, when, it seems, the foreman did not come to work. Among the papyri a memorandum addressed to Zeno by two Jewish tenant farmers (Alexander and Ishmael) mentions a Jewish guard, and has many other references to Jews.

Knowledge of Ereẓ Israel under Ptolemaic rule has been greatly augmented from the account of Zeno's visit, when he traveled through much of the country, while his master Apollonius maintained many and varied contacts with Ereẓ Israel, either in the discharge of his official duties or in the pursuit of his business interests. The Zeno papyri also reveal the existence in the country of Ammon of a military colony comprising men of different origin and headed by *Tobias the father of Joseph who is known from Josephus' *Antiquities*, Book 12. Tobias' influence is evident from his correspondence with Ptolemy and Apollonius found in the archives (257 B.C.E.). The papyri also give new information on the administration and economy of Ereẓ Israel, the slave trade conducted there in which Zeno himself participated, the export of oil to Egypt, Apollonius' extensive estate in Bet Anat in Galilee, and Gaza as the harbor for the export of spices. One of the most interesting facts revealed by the papyri is the independent attitude adopted by village leaders in Ereẓ Israel toward the royal administration; one of them, Yadus (Jaddua?) actually expelled from his village (in Judea or in Edom) the representative of the administration.

Most of the Zeno papyri have appeared in the following publications: C.C. Edgar, *Catalogue Général des Antiquités Egyptiennes du Musée du Caire: Zenon Papyri*, 5 vols. (1925–40); idem (ed.), *Zenon Papyri in the University of Michigan Collection* (1931); W.L. Westermann (ed.), *Zenon Papyri*, 2 vols. (1939–40) (Columbia papyri); "Società italiana per la Ricerca dei Papiri greci e latini," in *Egitto: Papiri greci e latini*, 4–6 (1917–20); The Papyri about Jews have been published in: Tcherikover, Corpus, 1 (1957).

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[Menahem Stern]

ZENODORUS (first century B.C.E.), tetrarch of *Trachonitis. Zenodorus leased the domain of Lysanias, who ruled over the land of the Itureans northeast of Galilee and who was put to death by Mark Antony. According to the inscription on his coins, Zenodorus was both tetrarch and priest. The area of his rule included Trachonitis, Auranitis, Bashan, Chalcis, and Paneas. As a punishment for his association with the robbers of Trachonitis, this territory, together with Auranitis and Bashan, was taken from him and transferred to Herod, who was charged with restoring security and order there. This aroused Zenodorus' hatred of Herod and he unsuccessfully attempted to damage Herod's relations with Rome. After the death of Zenodorus his other estates also passed to Herod.

See Jos., Ant., 15:344ff.; Wars, 1:398–400.

[Uriel Rappaport]

ZENTRALE STELLE DER LANDESJUSTIZVERWALTUNGEN, organization dealing with Nazi crimes. The Zentrale Stelle der Landesjustizverwaltungen (Central Office of the Ministries of Justice of the Laender) at Ludwigsburg (Baden-Wuerttemberg) was established in 1958 by an agreement between the ministers of justice of the German Laender. It resulted from the realization that numerous Nazi crimes still remained unsolved and that the work of the various public prosecutors required coordination. Initially, the Zentrale Stelle was competent to deal only with Nazi crimes committed outside the borders of the German Federal Republic against the civilian population, especially the crimes of the *Einsatzkommandos* (special unit commandos) and crimes in concentration and death camps. Subsequently the Zentrale Stelle's sphere of activities was extended to include crimes against prisoners of war and crimes committed inside the territory of what is now the German Federal Republic, particularly by the leading organs of the Reich and Nazi Party. It was not authorized to deal with war crimes – crimes committed in the conduct of war that were unrelated to Nazi ideology. The Zentrale Stelle was not organized as an additional public prosecutor's office. Its task was to make the initial inquiries and submit its findings on particular crimes to the appropriate prosecutor's office, in accordance with existing German legal procedure. It was the duty of the specific public prosecutor to continue the investigation and to decide whether prosecution was warranted. Thus, the Zentrale Stelle was in the nature of a police bureau. It developed into an agency collecting Nazi documents with a bearing on possible criminal prosecution, and also supplied the names of the accused and the witnesses. Some 50 criminal lawyers and 15 crime experts were eventually seconded to the Zentrale Stelle by the Laender. In Israel a bureau for the investigation of Nazi crimes was set up at police headquarters in cooperation with the Zentrale Stelle. By 1985 the Zentrale Stelle had initiated more than 12,000 cases.

ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY: F. Hellendall, "Nazi Crimes Before German Courts: The Immediate Post-War Era," in: *Wiener Library Bulletin*, 24:2 (Summer 1970); A. Ruckerl, *An Investigation of Nazi War Crime 1945–1978: A Documentation* (1980); idem, "Ludwigsburger Zenstrallstelle," in: Y. Gutman (ed.), *Macmillan Encyclopedia of the Holocaust* (1990).

[Fritz Bauer / Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

ZENTRALRAT DER JUDEN IN DEUTSCHLAND (Central Council of Jews in Germany), political umbrella organization of Jewish communities in Germany founded in July 1950 in Frankfurt-am-Main. It includes the Jewish state federations (*Landesverbaende*) and communities of the major cities, and was generally accepted as the representative of Jews in West Germany and, since 1990, in reunified Germany. The name signifies a break with the pre-Nazi self-designation of "German citizens of the Jewish faith." Reflecting both the experience of exclusion and the fact that most Jews in postwar Germany were not of German origin, it has remained unchanged throughout its existence. During its early decades its main tasks were the reconstruction of Jewish life and negotiations with German authorities concerning restitution. Since the 1990s, it has been occupied to a large extent with the integration of immigrants from the former Soviet Union.

Its seats have been Frankfurt, Duesseldorf, Bonn, and since 1999, Berlin. The governing body consists of the president, two vice presidents, and six additional members of the executive. Presidents of the Zentralrat were Heinz *Galinski (1954–63, 1988–92), Herbert Lewin (1963–69), Werner *Nachmann (1969–1988), Ignatz *Bubis (1992–1999), and Paul *Spiegel (2000–). In 2005, 87 Jewish communities belonged to the Zentralrat, consisting of about 110,000 members. For the first time, three Liberal Jewish state federations joined the Zentralrat in 2005. The Zentralrat oversees the Jewish Studies College in Heidelberg, the Central Archives for the Research of German Jewry in Heidelberg, and the Zentralwohlfahrtsstelle, responsible for social work. It also serves as the publisher for Germany's only weekly Jewish newspaper, the *Allgemeine Juedische Wochenzeitung.* In addition, it also initiated the annual Leo Baeck Award, whose recipients have shown special merits with regard to Jewish issues in Germany.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Y.M. Bodemann, *Gedaechtnistheater* (1996); M. Brenner, *After the Holocaust* (1997); J. Geller, *Jews in Post-Holocaust Germany* (2005).

[Michael Brenner (2nd ed.)]

ZENTRALSTELLE DER FUERSORGE FUER KRIEGSFLUECHTLINGE (Central Agency for the Care of War Refugees), set up in Vienna in World War I by the Austrian government to assist Jewish refugees fleeing before the Russian invasion of Galicia and Bukovina. Some of them had fled out of fear of Russian atrocities, and others had been evacuated by the army, often having been forced to relinquish their possessions. About half of the refugees had been left without means. In 1915 there were 137,000 refugees in Vienna, of whom 77,000 were Jews; the rest were Poles, Ukrainians, and some Italians. Large numbers were located also in Bohemia, Moravia, and Hungary, some in camps. The Zentralstelle was financed by the Austrian government, administered by the city of Vienna and directed by the Jewish member of the Vienna council, Rudolf Schwarz-Hiller, and supported by a staff of voluntary Jewish helpers. It provided the refugees with weekly allowances (according to the size of their families), shelter, clothing, nurseries, schools, medical and legal services, and a library and reading rooms. Its work was supplemented by various Jewish organizations. Initially conceived as a temporary measure, the Zentralstelle functioned until the end of World War I, when the situation deteriorated due to the food and housing shortage and to antagonism on the part of some of the local population.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: J. Kreppel, *Juden und Judentum von heute* (1925), 61–70; R. Till, *Geschichte der Stadtverwaltung Wien* (1957), 112.

[Hugo Knoepfmacher]

ZENTRALWOHLFAHRTSTELLE DER DEUTSCHEN JUDEN (Central Welfare Organization of German Jews), founded in 1917 and composed of representatives of welfare bodies, communities, the larger German-Jewish organizations, and professional social workers. It gradually attained a leading position in Jewish welfare work and was recognized and supported by the German government, the *American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee, and the major German welfare bodies. In its first years the Zentralwohlfahrtstelle dealt with the havoc wrought by World War I and the ensuing inflation. It gradually extended its activities to new fields: tubercular cases, nervous and mental diseases, and juvenile delinquency. It initiated, advised, and helped organize regional and territorial organizations. In 1932, 212 institutions (including homes for the aged, asylums, hospitals, and schools) were under its supervision. One of its main duties was the care of Jews from Eastern Europe. It published a number of high-caliber periodicals on social, welfare, and communal work. The Nazi seizure of power in 1933 created a new situation in which the organization's activities consisted of emigration and retraining for occupations open to Jews, the awakening of Jewish consciousness, education, and Zionism. These challenges were met by the establishment of the Reichsvertretung, within which the Zentralwohlfahrtstelle continued to play an important role in the distribution of welfare funds, medical care, and aid. In 1951 the Zentralwohlfahrtstelle was reorganized with its seat in Frankfurt, and after 1990 became increasingly involved with Russian immigrants.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: G. Lotan, in: YLBI, 4 (1959), 185–207. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** B. Scheller, *Die Zentralwohlfahrtstellen* (1987); G. Heuberger, *Zedaka* (1992).

ZEPHANIAH (Heb. צְפַנְיָה), Judean prophet whose activity is dated to the reign of King Josiah (639–609). In addition to the usual mention of his father's name (Cushi), his ancestry is traced back four generations to *Hezekiah, possibly the king of that name. If so, Zephaniah was a distant relative of King *Josiah (cf. Zeph. 1:4). He lived in Jerusalem and prophesied there. It has been suggested plausibly that "Cushi" refers to the prophet's ultimate African origin in the area conventionally rendered "Ethiopia," but actually corresponding to contemporary Sudan (Rice). Note also the positive reference to *Cush in Zephaniah 3:10 (cf. Ps. 68:32).

Book of Zephaniah

DATE AND HISTORICAL BACKGROUND. The Book of Zephaniah is the ninth book of the Latter Prophets. The Qumran sectaries wrote a *pesher* (a commentary making use of fulfillment exegesis) on the book, relating it to their own times. The name צְפַנְיָה means "YHWH has hidden," or "YHWH has treasured." The genealogy given in Zephaniah 1:1 traces Zephaniah's ancestry back four generations to a certain Hezekiah, who some have identified with Hezekiah, king of Judah (715–687 B.C.E.), although this identification is sometimes doubted because Hezekiah is not referred to as king (Zephaniah's genealogy was already debated by medieval Jewish commentators). According to the superscription, Zephaniah prophesied during the reign of King Josiah (640–609 B.C.E.). Some scholars would date the work during the reign of Jehoiakim (609–598 B.C.E.); others prefer postexilic dates or at least significant postexilic additions. Ben Zvi opts for an exilic or postexilic dating but despairs of recovering an original seventh-century Zephaniah, or his sayings. The present author is of the opinion that the basic material in Zephaniah corresponds well enough to the period of Josiah's rule, so that with the exception of some later interpolations, the traditional dating offers the best solution

An apparent 50 years' silence of prophetic inactivity is shattered by the forceful and articulate voice of Zephaniah. The long reign of Manasseh (687–642 B.C.E.) witnessed the promotion of cults of other divinities alongside Yahweh, a situation which the Hebrew prophets, with their zeal for the worship of Yahweh alone, opposed. The abuses attacked by Zephaniah in chapter 1, such as astral worship (1:4–5) and aping foreign customs (1:8–9), are largely those decried in Kings (II Kings 21:2–9; 23:4–7), which Josiah's reform (621 B.C.E.) sought to eliminate. The external situation was even more ominous. The breakup of the mighty Assyrian empire with the attendant cataclysmic upheaval was already causing a premonition of doom to pervade the international atmosphere. Such a time was propitious for a sensitive person, steeped in the cultic and literary traditions of his people, to arrive at a deepened meaning of the swiftly approaching Day of YHWH.

COMPOSITION AND STYLE. Despite recent attempts to fragment and/or rewrite the Book of Zephaniah, the overall structure of large units of the book as well as its rhetorical features argue strongly for the basic integrity of the work. The assumption that all passages of hope and eschatological statements must be postexilic is no longer tenable. In fact, there is little in the book that does not fit the historical period in question, nor is there serious internal inconsistency. The style exhibits the magnificent artistry of the author, who utilizes many poetic devices (see Avishur) and reaches sublime heights in the famous hymn concerning the "Day of YHWH" (1:15ff.), "a day of wrath is that day." The Vulgate's translation of *yom evrah ha-yom ha-hu'* by "*dies irae dies illa*" inspired the medieval hymn "Dies Irae," which remains part of the Catholic Requiem Mass. The book also contains the beautiful "Zion Hymn" (3:14–17).

CONTENTS AND MESSAGE. Chapter 1 begins with a prophecy of total destruction (*asof, asef,* cf. Jer. 8:13) of all life and of the inhabitants of Judah and Jerusalem in particular. There is not one word of hope. No one is to be spared. The sin of the people, especially that of the leaders, is pictured in stark and graphic detail: they worship Baal and the host of heaven, they swear by their king (*malkam*; though a god rather than a human king may be referred to here), and turn away from following YHWH. This judgment speech is set within the framework of an ominous portrayal of "The Day of YHWH" in which Zephaniah carries further the concepts of Amos (5:18–20) and

Isaiah (2:6–22). This day, portrayed as the day of YHWH's sacrifice, will be a day of utter darkness and gloom, whose sound of howling and wailing stands in sharp contrast to the silence with which the people are called into YHWH's presence: "Hush before the Lord YHWH" (1:7).

Chapter 2 begins as an oracle of woe against Jerusalem and Judah (2:1–3), which continues the motif of a judgment by fire and calls upon the faithful to actively strive for justice, righteousness, and humility. Perhaps a remnant might be saved (cf. Amos 5:14–15). The warning and promise are supported by an oracle against the Philistines and other coastal people (2:4–7), whose destruction would mean salvation and pasturing for the remnant of Judah. This oracle begins and ends with a double use of roots (הִתְקוֹשְׁשׁוּ וָקוֹשׁוּ – whose meaning is unclear – verse 1, and וְשָׁב שְׁבוּתָם, verse 7; cf. 1:2; 3:20). It may be closely related to the material in chapter 1, providing at least a ray of hope for the faithful remnant. The oracle against Moab and Ammon (2:8–11) is generally regarded as reflecting a later period. However, Moab had long been known for its pride (cf. Mesha Stele and Jer. 48:26–30), an evil which was of special concern to Zephaniah (cf. 2:3; 3:11–12). The chapter concludes with a short statement against Cushites, perhaps referring to the Cushites in Egyptian military service, and a detailed and vivid description of judgment against Assyria and Nineveh, an oracle which appears to have been uttered around the time of the destruction of Nineveh in 612 B.C.E.

Chapter 3 begins as an oracle of woe against Jerusalem and its leaders. This prophecy might very well have been written after the Deuteronomic reformation (621 B.C.E.) and before Josiah's death (609 B.C.E.), reflecting doubts concerning the depth of the reform, a view also expressed by Jeremiah. Following the accusation (3:1–7), the announcement (3:8–13) repeats the threat of total destruction (cf. 1:18), but is transformed by the rhetorical use of כִּי־אָז ("but instead") in verses 9, 11 into a salvation oracle. Zephaniah 3:9 makes use of the ancient Near Eastern motif that distant peoples spoke "twisted tongues" (CAD L, 213), and prophesies that all peoples will have clear speech so that all will call upon the name of YHWH and worship together at His holy mountain. The prophet then breaks into a joyous and exultant Zion hymn (3:14–17), rejoicing that YHWH, the King, in their midst, has taken away their sentence and given victory. His use of the Zion tradition emphasizes his belief that the future is in the hands of YHWH, who alone can change the nature of the people so that they can be humble and righteous (cf. Hos. 2:21–22). The chapter and the book conclude (3:18–20) with an ingathering of exiles, presumably a late addition, so that the people of YHWH might be restored and given fame and praise.

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[Ivan Jay Ball, Jr. / S. David Sperling (2nd ed.)]

ZEPHANIAH BEN MORDECAI (16th century.), one of the first Karaite scholars from Lithuania. Zephaniah was a spiritual leader and served as a *ḥazzan* of the Troki community in the middle of the 16th century. He was a great-grandson of the scholar Samuel Politi from Adrianople (Turkey). Zephaniah was an authority on *halakhah* and established new regulations about calendation, which were accepted by part of the Karaites in Polish-Lithuanian communities. He was also a teacher of Torah and had many disciples, one of whom was the young Isaac ben Abraham *Troki. Zephaniah was the author of the following works: *She'elot u-Teshuvot be-Hilkhot Sheḥitah* (IOS B 563 (JNUL, mic. 53737)) about ritual slaughter; *Kiddush ha-Ḥodesh ve-Seder ha-Ibbur be-Kiẓẓur,* about calendation. He also composed several liturgical poems. According to A. *Firkovich, in 1528 Zephaniah asked King Sigismund I "to return him his fields and his lands, which had been granted to him by previous kings. The king satisfied his request, confirming his charter, and ordered his servants to return to Zephaniah all the fields which had belonged to him in the past (*Avnei Zikkaron*, (1872), 254), but we have no evidence from other sources confirming this information.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: G. Akhiezer and I. Dvorkin, in: *Pe'amim*, 98–99 (2004), 238–99; G. Akhiezer and D. Shapira, in: *Pe'amim*, 89 (2001), 38–39; B. Gottlober, *Bikkoret le-Toledot ha-Kara'im* (1865), 209; A. Neubauer, *Aus der Petersburger Bibliothek* (1866), 75.

[Golda Akhiezer (2nd ed.)]

ZERAH (Heb. זֶרַח), name of five biblical figures. The etymology of the name is uncertain. It may mean "rising sun" or "brightness" or, possibly, "crimson" (see below).

1) One of the twins of *Tamar (Gen. 38:30; 46:12; I Chron. 2:4). The narrative relates that when the twins were being delivered, Zerah put out his hand and the midwife tied a crimson thread to it to signify his priority of birth. However, he withdrew his hand and his brother unexpectedly emerged. Because of this his brother was named *Perez (Gen. 38:27–30). The Bible seems to ascribe the name to the crimson thread attached to his hand. It has been suggested that Zerah is derived from *zeḥorita*, the Aramaic for *shani* ("scarlet thread").

This story closely resembles that of the twin birth of Jacob and Esau (Gen. 25:24–26), and probably is a variation of the same theme. Zerah became the eponymous ancestor of a Judahite clan, and the narrative of his birth may reflect the prior ascendancy of this clan over that of Perez, and its subsequent decline and supersession by Perez.

2) An Edomite chief descended from both Esau and Ishmael. His father Reuel was born of the marriage of Esau to Basemath, daughter of Ishmael. Zerah was the father of Jobab, an early Edomite king (Gen. 36:13, 17, 33; I Chron. 1:37, 44).

3) Son of Simeon and eponymous ancestor of a Simeonite tribe called the Zerahites (Num. 26:13; I Chron. 4:24). He is referred to as Zohar (Heb. צֹחַר) in Genesis 46:10 and Exodus 6:15.

4) A levite, grandson of Levi, of the family of Gershom (I Chron. 6:6, 26).

5) Zerah the *Cushite (II Chron. 14: 8ff.).

ZERAH BEN NATHAN OF TROKI (1578–1657/8), Karaite scholar. Zerah was born in Birzhe, Lithuania. At the age of five his parents sent him to study in Troki. His first teacher was his relative, Isaac ben Abraham *Troki, in whose house Zerah stayed. After his teacher's demise he studied with Troki's disciple – Joseph ben Mordecai *Malinovski. In 1618 he visited Constantinople for the purpose of study. He was interested in Kabbalah, practical mysticism, astronomy, astrology, mathematics, etc. He is mainly known through his correspondence (from 1620) with the famous Jewish scholar and kabbalist, Joseph Solomon *Delmedigo from Candia, who spent five years in Lithuania as a physician of Prince Krzysztof Radziwiłł. In his letters, Zerah complained that "he had neither friend nor teacher among the Jews," adding that he had important books from many countries in his library. His first letter to Delmedigo included questions on Kabbalah. Later he put to Delmedigo 12 major and 70 minor problems mainly relating to mathematics, astronomy, physics, and medicine. He also discussed "demons, amulets, divination, dreams, and secret remedies and the antithetical temperamental balance called in Greek 'sympathy' and 'antipathy'…" as well as theological problems such as the existence of God, Providence, Heaven and Hell, and Resurrection. These questions were published by Delmedigo in *Sefer Elim* (Amsterdam, 1629). His answer, entitled *Iggeret Aḥuz*, was published by Abraham Geiger in *Melo Chofnajim* with a German translation and notes (Berlin, 1840). Delmedigo's reply expressed his views on Kabbalah, drew Zerah's attention to a series of works on mathematics, philosophy, exegesis, and other subjects, and provided him with a list of his works. Zerah evinced an interest in Philo's writings and asked Delmedigo to translate for him a table of contents and some extracts from Philo from Latin into Hebrew.

Zerah corresponded with Karaite scholars and community leaders from different lands, such as the scholar Joseph ben Moses Maruli of Istanbul and David b. Joshua, a head of the Jerusalem Karaite community. He wrote a letter to *Manasseh Ben Israel after his acquaintance with a Latin work by Manasseh, from which a clergyman from Vilna translated some sections for him into Polish. Zerah offered Manasseh for publication at the latter's printing house in Amsterdam the book *Ḥizzuk Emunah* by Isaac ben Abraham Troki and the liturgical poem by Joseph ben Mordecai Malinovski *Ha-Elef Lekha*. Manasseh did not print the former, presumably because of the fear of censorship, and published the second in 1643.

Zerah wrote a kabbalistic commentary on Song of Songs (W. Nathansohn, Devir, second edition, Warsaw 1883, I, 222); a commentary on *Moreh Nevukhim* by Maimonides (IOS SPB B 383); a number of elegies and a large number of liturgical poems in Hebrew and the Karaite language, of which some were included in the Karaite prayer books.

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[Yehuda Komlosh / Golda Akhiezer (2nd ed.)]

ZERAH THE CUSHITE (Heb. זֶרַח הַכּוּשִׁי), military commander who invaded Judah in the time of *Asa. According to a story, preserved only in II Chronicles 14:8–14, Zerah commanded a large army and 300 chariots against Judah and reached the environs of *Mareshah. The Judean army defeated and pursued him to Gerar, conquering the cities in the area and looting many sheep and camels. It has generally been contended by scholars that Zerah was Osorkon I, king of Egypt (c. 914–874 B.C.E.); but Osorkon, like his father *Shishak, was not a Cushite (Nubian) but a Libyan. Furthermore, there is no etymological connection between Zerah and Osorkon, and the characters of their armies were different. According to Albright, Zerah was the governor of a Cushite colony, which was established by Shishak after his campaign in Ereẓ Israel. The settlement of Hamite elements near *Gerar in Philistia during the monarchy is also treated in I Chronicles 4:39–41 (according to the Septuagint; not Gedor as in Masoretic text). Nonetheless, it is more probable that Zerah was a Cushite chieftain from the vicinity of Gerar, who raided and plundered the surrounding areas. Thus, Habakkuk (3:7) mentions Cushite tribes with *Midian (cf. also Num. 12:1).

[Yehoshua M. Grintz]

In the *Aggadah*

Zerah was, for a short period, the owner of all the wealth in the world, which he acquired by capturing from Shishak (king of Egypt), those treasures which the king had taken from Rehoboam (I Kings 14:25ff.). These were the treasures which the Children of Israel had taken from the Egyptians at the time of the Exodus (Ex. 12:36). Ultimately, however, these treasures reverted to Asa, when he defeated Zerah the Cushite in battle (Pes. 119a).

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ZERAHIAH BEN ISAAC BEN SHEALTIEL (**Gracian** (**Ḥen**)), philosopher, Bible commentator, and translator. Zerahiah was born in Barcelona to a prominent Jewish family, which for several generations produced rabbis and sages. In the last quarter of the 13th century he was active in Rome. The dates of his birth and death are not known; however, in 1290 he regarded himself as an old man, whose time had come to return to his birthplace and to be buried with his ancestors. Nothing is known about him after 1291.

Zerahiah arrived in Rome in the 1270s, where all his writings known to historians were composed in a 15-year period ending in 1291. In Rome he became a recognized authority in philosophy and in philosophical Bible exegesis, and for some years taught Jewish youth courses in Maimonides' *Guide of the Perplexed*. In contrast with the rabbinic leadership of the Barcelona community, which at that time was decisively influenced by the teachings of *Naḥmanides, the Jewish communal leadership in Rome was supportive of Zerahiah's rationalist-naturalist approach. His authority was recognized by such prominent communal leaders as Rabbi Shabbetai ben Solomon and Isaac ben Mordecai, the pope's physician; they also supported Zerahiah in his bitter controversy with Hillel ben Samuel of Verona over Hillel's conservative interpretation of Maimonides' philosophy. He seems to have been supported by Immanuel of Rome, who wrote a rhymed letter on his behalf to Hillel. Zerahiah thus found the cultural atmosphere of Roman Jewry congenial, but mocked the Ashkenazi Jews ("who never saw light in the sky").

Zerahiah's thought is largely based on the Jewish and Islamic philosophy he studied in Spain, and his writings only slightly echo scholastic concepts. The only Jewish thinker besides Maimonides whose thought Zerahiah knowingly uses was Samuel ibn *Tibbon. Zerahiah believed in the full harmony of Torah and science, or more precisely, between the esoteric meaning of the Torah and the exoteric doctrines of philosophy, a belief at the foundation of his exegetical approach to the Bible. His philosophical outlook was essentially Aristotelian, frequently in accordance with Ibn Rushd's commentaries. Nevertheless, on central ontological questions he took an independent stance. He strongly emphasized the transcendence of God, negating any relation between God and his creatures, but at the same time believed in the pre-existence of supreme "wisdom," a sort of logos originating in God, by means of which, and in cooperation with, the world was created. This "wisdom" is what established the cosmic order, the eternity of the species, and the fixed revolutions of the heavenly spheres. In this context, Zerahiah needed to employ the overtly Neoplatonic imagery of infinite emanation, by which "wisdom" overflowed and filled the whole cosmos. He also adopted a Neoplatonic stance regarding the concept of time, understanding it as a hypostasis independent of bodies (apparently reflecting the influence of the *Liber de Causis* which he translated from Arabic into Hebrew). Zerahiah's concept of prophecy was influenced by the lost Arabic version of Aristotle's *Parva Naturalia*, a version which enabled him to adapt the belief in prophetic revelation in dreams to a philosophic conceptual framework.

Zerahiah sharply criticized the "popular religion" and the cultural world of the early kabbalists, and attacked the belief in magic, **gematria*, reincarnation, and the real existence of Satan. His commentary to Job includes a naturalistic critique of Naḥmanides' thought, but he also frequently differed with more rationalist commentators like Abraham *Ibn Ezra and David *Kimḥi.

Zerahiah was the author of the following:

Original Works

1) Commentary on Proverbs (1288–89), published by I. Schwartz in *Ha-Shaḥar*, under the title *Imrei Da'at* (also known as *Imrei Shefer*) and republished as a separate edition in Vienna, 1871.
2) Commentary on Job (1290–91), published by Schwartz in *Tikvat Enosh* (1862; reprinted, Jerusalem, 1969).
3) Commentary on the Pentateuch, or on certain portions of it, which, however, is no longer extant.
4) Commentary (extant only in manuscript) on parts of Maimonides' *Guide of the Perplexed* (1:1–71 and other passages, especially the 25 propositions appearing at the beginning of Book 2).
5) Letters of Hillel ben Samuel of Verona and to Judah ben Solomon, printed in *Oẓar Neḥmad* (1857).

Translations of Philosophical Works from Arabic into Hebrew

1) Aristotle's *De Anima* (ed. G. Bos, Leiden, 1994).
2) Themistius' paraphrase of Aristotle's *De Caelo* (ed. S. Landauer, Berlin, 1903).
3) Averroes' Middle Commentary on Aristotle's *Physics*, *De Generatione et Corruptione*, and *Metaphysics* (all extant only in manuscript).
4) Al-Farabi's treatise on the nature of the soul (ed. Z.H. Edelman, *Ḥemdah Genuzah*, Koenigsburg, 1856, and by S. Rosenthal, Warsaw, 1857).
5) Pseudo-Aristotle, *Liber de Causis*.

Translations of Medical Works from Arabic to Hebrew

1) Galen's *De Causis et Symptonatibus* (extant only in manuscript).
2) Galen's *Katagene*, ch. 1–3 (extant only in manuscript).
3) Avicenna's *Canon* (unfinished; extant only in manuscript).
4) Maimonides' *Aphorisms* (extant only in manuscript).
5) Maimonides' *Treatise on Poisonous Drugs* (extant only in manuscript).

6) Maimonides' *Shorter Treatise on Sexual Intercourse* (ed. H. Kroner, Bopfingen, 1906).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Steinschneider, in: *Oẓar Neḥmad*, 2 (1857), 229–45; Steinschneider, Uebersetzungen, 111–24, 125, 146, 160, 262, 295, 652, 681, 764, 765; Steinschneider, Arab Lit, 213–19; Dukes, in: HB, 3 (1860), 99–100; Kirchheim, *ibid.*, 4 (1861), 125–6; Carmoly, in: *Oẓar Neḥmad*, 3 (1860), 109–10; G. Boss, Aristotle's *De Anima*, translated into Hebrew by Zerahiah ben Isaac ben Shealtiel Hen (1994), 1–4; J. Friedman, "R. Zerahiah ben Shealtiel Hen's Commentary on the *Guide of the Perplexed*," in: *Jacob Friedman Memorial Volume* (1974), 3–14 (Heb.); A. Ravitzky, "The Thought of R. Zerahiah ben Shealtiel Hen and the Maimonidean-Tobbonite Philosophy in the 13th Century" (Heb., Ph.D. diss., Jerusalem, 1977); idem, *Al Da'at ha-Makom* (1991), 133–35, 236–43; idem, "Possible and Contingent Existence in Exegesis of Maimonides in the 13th Century," in: *Daat*, 2–3 (1978–79), 89–97 (Heb.).

[Aviezer Ravitzky (2nd ed.)]

ZERAHIAH BEN ISAAC HA-LEVI (known as **Ferrarius Saladi**; late 14th–early 15th century), rabbi of Saragossa and of all the communities of Aragon. A disciple of Ḥasdai *Crescas, he distinguished himself as a talmudist, preacher, physician, and translator, and was one of the leading Jewish participants in the disputation of *Tortosa. During his teacher's lifetime Zerahiah had already begun in his sermons to attack the rationalists who disagreed with R. Ḥasdai. While in Tortosa, he preached to the Jewish disputants in the synagogue. There is an account of this by Solomon ibn Verga: "The opening of his sermon was: 'the similar into the similar is healthy as is the opposite into the opposite' [a saying of Aristotelian origin], on which he delivered an excellent commentary [probably strongly anti-Christian] which can only be understood if heard directly. He completed his sermon with a prayer and supplication" (*Shevet Yehudah*, ed. by A. Shoḥat (1947), 97). During the disputation Zerahiah proved one of the most systematic, incisive, and trenchant of the debators. His comprehensive disquisitions there have been preserved in the Latin protocol of the disputation. This records that on March 16, 1414, Zerahiah presented the conclusions of the Jews on the dogmatic validity of the *aggadot* in which he concluded that the principles of the religion (*articuli legis*) come to the believer by way of faith and tradition alone and do not require any proof, whereas Scripture, as well as the teachings of the Talmud, have to be explained according to these principles; the Christians had also adopted this method. For the Jew, anticipation of the Messiah remains one of the fundamentals of his faith so long as the Jews continue in exile and without a king, and so long as many other conditions have not been fulfilled. Through this methodical and dogmatic approach, structured according to the system of Thomas Aquinas on the subject of the principles of faith, Zerahiah tried to remove the christological interpretation of talmudic *aggadot* from the Christian armory and to exclude the messianic principle of faith from the discussion.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Baer, Spain, index; A. Pacios Lopez, *La disputa de Tortosa*, 2 (1957), index; *He-Ḥalutz*, 7 (1865), 96–101, 118–9.

[Haim Hillel Ben-Sasson]

ZERA'IM (Heb. זְרָעִים), the first of the six orders of the Mishnah, according to the traditional order as stated by R. Simeon b. *Lakish (Shab. 31a), who states that the order is called "Faith"; although from the words of R. Tanḥuma (Num. R. 13:15–16), it is possible to infer that according to another tradition, *Zera'im* is the second order. With the exception of the first tractate, *Berakhot*, all the tractates in *Zera'im* deal with the agricultural laws which obtain in the Land of Israel, and various suggestions have been put forward for the inclusion of *Berakhot*.

Zera'im contains 11 tractates in the following order: *Berakhot*, 9 chapters; **Pe'ah*, which treats of the gifts to the poor from the produce of the land, namely, gleanings, forgotten produce, and the corner of the field, 8; **Demai*, doubtfully tithed produce, 7; **Kilayim*, mixed species, 9; **Shevi'it*, the Sabbatical Year and the remission of debts, 10; **Terumot*, 11; **Ma'aserot*, 5; **Ma'aser Sheni*, 5; **Ḥallah*, 4; **Orlah*, 3; and **Bikkurim*, 3, making 74 chapters in all. This order departs from the accepted rule that the tractates are given in descending order of the number of chapters and, in fact, according to an early tradition *Shevi'it* and *Kilayim* come between *Terumot* and *Ma'aserot*. There is also evidence that *Demai* was placed between *Kilayim* and *Ma'aserot*. In the Tosefta to *Zera'im, Berakhot* has 6 (or 7) chapters; *Pe'ah* has 4; *Demai*, 8; *Terumot*, 10; *Shevi'it*, 8; *Kilayim*, 5; *Ma'aserot*, 3; *Ma'aser Sheni*, 5; *Hallah*, 2; *Orlah*, 1; and *Bikkurim*, 2. There is Jerusalem Talmud for the whole of the order *Zera'im*, but Babylonian Talmud only for *Berakhot*.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Epstein, Mishnah, 980ff., esp. 987f.; Ḥ. Albeck (ed.), *Shishah Sidrei Mishnah,…Seder Zera'im* (1957), 1–3.

[Zvi Kaplan]

ZERBST, city in Saxony-Anhalt, Germany. A *Judenwinkel* (Jewish lane), which contained houses owned by both Jews and Christians, was mentioned in 1324. Shortly afterward, the Jews seemed to have been forced to move to the east side of the street, where they rented their homes from Christian landlords. A street once named Keverstrasse (*kever* = Heb. "grave"), situated outside the original city walls, may have received its name from a Jewish cemetery. After the establishment of the duchy of Zerbst-Anhalt in 1603, the dukes granted letters of protection to Jewish merchants. The modern community, founded in the mid-19th century, numbered 81 in 1880; 120 in 1932; 95 in 1933; but only 36 on September 1, 1939. It maintained a synagogue, cemetery, and school. During World War II, two forced labor camps were erected in the vicinity. In 1942, 34 of the 36 remaining Jews were deported to the east.

A plaque commemorates the destroyed synagogue and the former Jewish community. Another plaque, in the Jewish cemetery, honors the victims of *Kristallnacht*.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: FJW, 419; *Germania Judaica*, 2 (1968), 939–40; 3 (1987), 1718–19; PK Germanyah. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** B. Bugaiski, I. Leubauer, and G. Waesche, *Geschichte der juedischen*

Gemeinden in Sachsen-Anhalt. Versuch einer Erinnerung (1997), 286–91; W. Binger (ed.), *Gedenkorte fuer die Opfer des Nationalsozialismus in Sachsen-Anhalt* (1998), 62.

ZERED, brook or valley of (Heb. נַחַל זֶרֶד, Naḥal Zered), a river valley described as a camping place of the Israelites before the flanking movement which brought them to Jahaz (Num. 21:12). The crossing of the deep rift in the mountains made a deep impression on the Israelites, and this event served as a terminal point for the account of the wanderings in the desert after Kadesh-Barnea (Deut. 2:13, 14). In later Jewish literature, the Zered appears as the border of the area held by the returning exiles from Babylonia (Sif. Deut. 51, et al.). Eusebius mentions it but does not localize it (Onom. 92:10); the Madaba map, however, shows it clearly south of Kerak (Charachmoba). Most scholars identify it with the Wadi al-Ḥasā, which flows in a deep rift for approximately 28 mi. (45 km.) from east to west up to the Dead Sea. The shallow stream has a width of 8.7 yards (8 m.) and a capacity of 300–400 cu. m. per minute.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Abel, Geog, 1 (1933), 279, 310, 489; 2 (1938), 216; EM, 3 (1952), 630.

[Michael Avi-Yonah]

ZEREDAH (Heb. צְרֵדָה), home town of the Ephraimite Jeroboam the son of Nebat (I Kings 11:26). The reference to Zeredah in II Chronicles 4:17 is a corruption of Zarethan, according to the parallel verse in I Kings 7:46. In talmudic sources it is mentioned as the home town of Yose b. Joezer, an early *tanna* (c. 150 B.C.E.), who, with his colleague Yose b. Johanan, formed one of the **zugot* ("pairs") of Jerusalem (Avot 1:4; Eduy. 8:4; Sot. 9:9; Pes. 17b; Ned. 7:1, 40a; Tosef., BK 8:13). The accepted identification of Zeredah is with Deir Ghassāna in the district of Thamna, 16 mi. (c. 25½ km.) northeast of Lydda. The ancient name is preserved by the village spring, ʿAyn Ṣarīda, This area was originally part of Ephraim but was transferred to Judea, together with the rest of the district, in the time of Jonathan the Hasmonean. As such, it could well be the home town of the *tanna* Yose.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Press, Ereẓ, s.v.; Albright, in: BASOR, 49 (1933), 26–28; Yeivin, in: BJPES, 14 (1949), 88; Abel, Geog, 2 (1938), 457.

[Michael Avi-Yonah]

ZERUBAVEL (Vitkin), JACOB (1886–1967), leader of *Po'alei Zion; author and journalist. Born in Poltava, Ukraine, Zerubavel at an early age joined Po'alei Zion, which was established at that time by high school students. Together with Izhak *Ben-Zvi, he participated in organizing the self-defense that succeeded in preventing a pogrom in Poltava. In 1906, at the founding convention of Po'alei Zion, he was elected to the central board. He helped Ber *Borochov publish an illegal newspaper and afterward moved to Vilna, with the other members of the central boards. There he was imprisoned for a year and a half, and after he was released Zerubavel left Russia and moved to Austrian Galicia. In Lemberg he was active on the editorial board of the newspaper *Der Yidisher Arbeter* and also helped Borochov, who was in Vilna, to edit *Dos Fraye Vort*, which was printed in Galicia, smuggled into Russia, and distributed clandestinely. In 1910 Zerubavel settled in Ereẓ Israel and was a member of the editorial board of *Ha-Aḥdut*, the Hebrew newspaper of Po'alei Zion (together with Ben-Zvi, David *Ben-Gurion, and Raḥel Yannait *Ben-Zvi). He served as secretary of the central board of Po'alei Zion. Upon the outbreak of World War I, he took on Ottoman citizenship, but because of his sharp criticism in *Ha-Aḥdut* of the persecution of the *yishuv* by the Turkish authorities, he was sentenced to prison; he succeeded in escaping, however, and was sentenced in absentia to 15 years of hard labor.

Zerubavel managed to arrive in the United States in 1915 and served on the editorial board of the organ of Po'alei Zion there, *Der Yidisher Kemfer*. On the outbreak of the Russian Revolution (1917), he returned to Russia and was active in the National Jewish Council of the Ukraine. From 1918 to 1935 he was among the leaders of Po'alei Zion in Poland (from the time of the split in the movement in 1920, he was the head of the central office of Left Po'alei Zion).

He also edited the newspaper *Arbeter Tsaytung*, and was a member of the Warsaw community council. Zerubavel visited Palestine, but the British authorities would not allow him to remain there permanently. Only in 1935 did he receive an official immigration visa.

In Palestine Zerubavel was active in publishing Yiddish books and journals (such as the newspaper *Nayvelt*). He served on the Executive of the *Histadrut. During World War II he was a member of the Rescue Board (Va'ad ha-Hazzalah). In 1948 Zerubavel was chosen a member of the Zionist Executive and headed the Department of Mediterranean Jewry. He played a role in the unification of Left Po'alei Zion with *Aḥdut ha-Avodah and their integration with *Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir to form *Mapam. He was also among the founders of the Israel-U.S.S.R. Friendship League and edited its literary organ (in Russian). Zerubavel was active in the Yiddish Writers' Union in Israel and demanded an official status for Yiddish in the State of Israel. In 1951 he returned to work in the Histadrut as director of the Labor Archive.

Zerubavel's activities as a publicist and literary critic in Hebrew and Yiddish continued for 60 years. He published a book on Borochov (in Yiddish, 1926). During his final years he published two volumes of memoirs, *Alei Ḥayyim* ("Leaves of Life," 1960) and *Bi-Ymei ha-Milḥamah* ("During the War," 1966), impressions of his travels in Poland after the Holocaust, and impressions of his travels in the Soviet Union. In 1961 *Sefer Zerubavel* was published in honor of his 75th birthday, including appreciations of the author and a bibliography (covering more than 1,600 items).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: LNYL, 3 (1960), 673–6; Tidhar, 5 (1952), 2298–301.

[Getzel Kressel]

ZERUBBABEL (Heb. זְרֻבָּבֶל; Akk. Zēr Bābili, "scion of Babylon"). Usually recorded as the son of Shealtiel (Ezra 3:2, 8; 5:2;

Neh. 12:1; Haggai 1:1, 12, 14; 2:2, 23), he is mentioned once in a genealogical list as the first son of Pedaiah and the nephew of Shealtiel, the son of exiled King Jehoiachin (1 Chron. 3:17–19). This may be the result of a lacuna in the text. Like some of the other Jewish leaders of the period – Sheshbazzar (Ezra 1:8), Mordecai, and Bilshan (Ezra 2:2 = Neh. 7:7) – he bore a Babylonian name, perhaps because of his contact with the Babylonian court (cf. 1 Esd. 3–5; Dan. 1:3ff.). He worked in close collaboration with Joshua (Jeshua) son of Jehozadak the high priest as leader of the original caravan of repatriates (Ezra 2:2 = Neh. 7:7; Neh. 12:1) and as builder of the Temple, which frequently bears his name (see *Temple). Just as there is confusion about his genealogy, so is there uncertainty about the chronology of events and personalities involved in the reconstruction of the Temple. When in 520 B.C.E., Tattenai, governor of the Trans-Euphrates, inquired concerning who was responsible for building the Temple, the Jews responded that Cyrus had appointed Sheshbazzar as governor to carry out the task (Ezra 5:14–16). According to another account, however, the work was carried out by Zerubbabel, also entitled "governor" (Haggai 1:1, 14; 2:2, 21), and Joshua. The year date of the arrival of the caravan is not given, but it is said to have been in the seventh month (Tishri). The two leaders, in the face of opposition from the neighboring peoples, set up the altar, reinstituted the sacrificial cult, and offered the special sacrifices for Tabernacles. In the second month (Iyyar) of the second year of their arrival, they began the construction of the Temple proper and dedicated the laying of the foundation stone (Ezra 3). The offer on the part of the neighbors to participate in the task was rejected by the two leaders. The former thereupon put forth every effort to bring a halt to the building of the Temple, and work, in fact, did not resume in earnest until 520 (Ezra 4:1–5).

The divine encouragement necessary to bring about resumption of the work was provided by the prophet *Haggai, and a new foundation ceremony was held on Kislev 24 (December 17). On that day the prophet told Zerubbabel that the Lord was about to shake heaven and earth, overturn kingdoms, and make him like a "signet ring" (Haggai 2:18ff.), thereby reversing the prophecy of Jeremiah against Jehoiachin (Jer. 22:24ff.).

Following the lead of Haggai, Zechariah also encouraged the people to rebuild the Temple (Zech. 1:16). He too addressed both leaders, albeit individually, and there is some uncertainty as to the full import of his message. Zerubbabel is mentioned explicitly in only one passage (Zech. 4:6–10), but alluded to in two others (Zech. 3:8; 6:12). In the last two passages mentioned, Joshua is addressed. He is told that the Lord "will raise up for David a righteous Branch," again fulfilling a prophecy of Jeremiah (Jer. 23:5f.; 33:14ff.), who shall build the Temple, bear royal honor, and rule upon this throne. The (high) priest shall likewise rule and a peaceful relationship shall exist between the two. The first passage (Zech. 4:6–10) elaborates: Zerubbabel shall finish the work on the Temple and topple mountains, "not by might nor by power, but by My spirit, says the Lord of Hosts."

These messianic hopes came to naught. Neither Zerubbabel nor Joshua are mentioned by name at the dedication ceremonies of the Temple (Ezra 6:14ff.), nor does Zerubbabel appear further in any official capacity. However, the name of Zerubbabel did not fade from the people's memory. It was early embellished in the apocryphal tale which placed the beginning of his activity in the reign of Darius as one of the king's bodyguards who outdid his companions in a battle of wits and thereby won the right to rebuild the Temple (1 Esd. 3:1–5:6; Jos., Ant. 11:31–74). Although even Ezra is absent from Ben-Sira's list of worthies, Zerubbabel is fully praised along with Joshua and Nehemiah (Ecclus. 49:11ff). In the medieval Ḥanukkah hymn *Ma'oz Ẓur* celebrating Israel's past redeemers, the "end of Babel (Babylon)," is associated with Zerubbabel.

[Bezalel Porten]

In the *Aggadah*

Zerubbabel was the grandson of Jehoiachin (PdRK 163). He is identified with *Nehemiah, the name Zerubbabel indicating his Babylonian birth (זרוע בבל; Sanh. 38a). He was born circumcised (ARN^1, 12) and was designated as one of the select servants of God (ARN^2, 43, 121). He later served as one of the members of the Great Synagogue (Introd. to Maim. Yad, 2a). He succeeded Daniel in the service of King Darius and occupied a higher position than all the other servants and officials. He was captain of the three who constituted the royal bodyguard. Once when the monarch slumbered, his guards resolved to write down what each considered the mightiest thing in the world. The first wrote down "wine," the second, "the king," while Zerubbabel wrote, "women are the mightiest in the world, but truth prevails over all." After he awakened, the king, preferring the answer of Zerubbabel, offered to grant any request he would make. Zerubbabel asked for nothing for himself, but asked permission of the king to restore Jerusalem, rebuild the sanctuary, and return the holy vessels. Not only did Darius grant these request, but also gave him letters of safe-conduct and conferred numerous privileges upon the Jews who accompanied him to Palestine (Josippon, Hominer ed. 3:16–20).

Like Daniel, Zerubbabel was also vouchsafed a knowledge of the secrets of the future. The archangel Metatron was especially friendly to him. Besides revealing the time at which the Messiah would appear, he also brought about an interview between the Messiah and Zerubbabel (Zerubbabel, ed. Jellinek, *Beit ha-Midrash*, 2 (1938), 54–57). Together with Elijah, Zerubbabel will also explain obscure Torah passages and reveal its mysteries in the time to come (Midrash in *Halakhot Gedolot*, ed. Hildesheimer, p. 223).

[Aaron Rothkoff]

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Ginzberg, Legends, 4 (1947^5), 287, 351–2; 6 (1946^3), 381, 437–9.

ZERUBBABEL, BOOK OF, a work describing the vision of Zerubbabel, last ruler of the House of David. In accordance with the dates given in the text for various stages of the redemption, this work was probably written at the beginning of the seventh century, at the time of the last victories of the Byzantine Empire over Persia (629). To one living in Ereẓ Israel at that time, it might have seemed that the last stage of victory over the Roman Empire and the Christian Church had arrived, and that the coming of the Messiah was imminent. Since no mention is made of the Arabs and Islam, whose invasion shortly thereafter (637) eclipsed these victories, it can be assumed that this is a pre-Islamic work.

Written in biblical style, especially as found in the visions of Ezekiel and Daniel, the book describes the revelation to Zerubbabel of the events of the End of Days by the angel Michael, or Metatron. Besides the figures of the Messiah son of Joseph and the Messiah son of David, which are standard in such apocalyptic writings, two new figures are introduced: Ḥephzi-Bah, the mother of Messiah son of David, who plays a prominent role in the messianic wars; and Armilus (probably Romulus), the enemy, who is depicted as a monster, son of Satan and of a stone monument of a woman. Both a Caesar and a pope, Armilus unites the powers of Augustus and Jesus, thus symbolizing material and religious evil combined. The victory of the Messiah and his mother over Armilus represents that of Judaism over the Roman Empire and the Christian Church. Since the story – a dramatic one of many wars and apocalyptic disasters – has no theological overtones, it was acceptable to every ideological movement of Judaism (except the followers of Maimonides).

Found in countless medieval manuscripts and printed in many different collections, the *Book of Zerubbabel* became the standard source for descriptions of the End of Days and of the coming of the Messiah. In addition, many Jewish thinkers were influenced by it, from Saadiah Gaon, who based a chapter of his *Emunot ve-De'ot* on it, to Nathan of Gaza, Shabbetai Ẓevi's prophet, who used it to prove that Shabbetai was the Messiah. The lasting hatred that Jews felt toward the Roman and Christians throughout the Middle Ages made this work popular for more than a thousand years after its composition.

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[Joseph Dan]

ZEVAḤIM (Heb. זְבָחִים; "Animal Sacrifices"), first tractate in the order *Kodashim*, in the Mishnah, Tosefta, and Babylonian Talmud (there is no Jerusalem Talmud to *Kodashim*). Just as tractate **Ḥullin* is also called *Sheḥitat Ḥullin* ("The Slaughter of Profane Animals", i.e., for human consumption), so *Zevaḥim* has the alternate name *Sheḥitat Kodashim* ("The Slaughter of Sacrificial Animals") in the Talmud (BM 109b, etc.) and deals almost exclusively with the regulations for the slaughter of animals and birds for the Temple worship. The tractate consists of 14 chapters in the Mishnah and 13 in the Tosefta.

Chapter 1 deals with the validity of sacrifices offered up under incorrect designations. Chapters 2–4 deal with irregularities due either to unfitness on the part of those carrying out the rites, in the deed itself, or in the intention with which it was performed. Chapters 5 and 6 detail locations where the various sacrifices of the animals, birds, and meal offerings took place; the sprinkling of the blood of the animals and birds; and the manner of their consumption. Chapter 5 constitutes the basis of the whole tractate, giving a complete enumeration of all sacrifices, and for this reason it was included, from as early as the Seder of Amram *Gaon, in the introductory portion of the daily prayers. Chapter 7 deals with irregularities in the sacrifice of birds. Chapter 8 discusses the mixing up of sacrificial animals and of their blood and limbs after slaughter. Chapter 9 discusses the sanctity which articles incur by being placed on the altar or in the sacrificial vessels. Chapter 10 gives the order of precedence of the sacrifices. Chapter 11 deals with the washing of garments stained by the blood of sacrifices and the laws concerning meat boiled in the sanctified vessels. Chapter 12 is concerned with the rights of the priests to share in the sacrifices. The subject of the last two chapters is sacrifices offered elsewhere than in the Temple, including the Temple of *Onias and the *bamot* ("high places").

Most of the *tannaim* mentioned in the Mishnah belong to the post-Temple period, when the sacrificial system no longer obtained. They nevertheless studied it and even established the *halakhah*. Thus R. Simeon b. Azzai states "I have heard a tradition… that any animal offerings which must be consumed remain valid though slaughtered under a different name…" but the sages did not agree with him (1:3). Nevertheless, the Mishnah contains passages which belong to the Temple period. Although Mishnah 10:8 is given in the name of R. Simeon and the whole of chapter 10 is derived from his Mishnah, Epstein (Tannain 157) maintains that it belongs to the Second Temple period and was only reported by him. Similarly, 3:6 is given in the name of Judah b. Ilai, but it is actually from his teacher Eliezer b. Hyrcanus, who lived during Temple times, as can be seen by a comparison with Tosefta 3:6 (*ibid.*, 189ff.). Mishnah 9:1 cites a law anonymously, and Joshua b. Hananiah and Rabban Gamaliel disagree as to its interpretation. *Tosafot* maintains that the law must therefore have been in existence prior to the recorded dispute, while Rashi is of the opinion that the law was no older than the dispute itself (cf. Halevy, Dorot 1. 5 p. 256 and Albeck, Mishnah (Ger.) p. 105).

The Tosefta includes several passages of aggadic material. Chapter 13 tells the history and laws of the *bamot* and sanctuaries which preceded Solomon's Temple. In 11:16 it tells about the *gedolei kehunnah* ("the leading priests"), who took the hides of the sacrifices for themselves. Despite measures taken to prevent this expropriation, the priests continued this practice until the people adopted the custom of specifically devoting the hides "to heaven." Tosefta 2:17 has an interesting description of the persistent questioning of Eleazar b. Shamua by one of his disciples until a law which had been overlooked was traced to its origin. Realizing that through this persistence on the part of the student his teaching had been restored to the college, Eleazar exclaimed: "Happy are you, the righteous who love the Torah, as it is written, Oh how I love thy Torah! I meditate on it all day."

The *Gemara* contains comparatively little aggadic material. Worthy of mention is the statement "sacrificing without repentance is an abomination" (7b). Another saying speaks of the atoning powers attaching to the high priests' garments (88b). One passage lists the centers of worship before the building of Solomon's Temple (118b). The rabbis stated that the returning exiles built their bronze altar on the very site of the original altar destroyed by the Babylonians. They located it on seeing the angel Michael at worship near an altar which was still standing. According to Isaac Nappaḥa, however, they were assured of the spot when they saw the ashes of Isaac upon the ground as they walked (62a). *Zevaḥim* was translated into English by H. Freedman in the Soncino edition of the Talmud (1948).

[*Encyclopedia Hebraica*]

ZEVI, BRUNO (1918–2000), Italian architect, writer on architecture. He was born in Rome, studied at Harvard University, and on his return to Italy after World War II became a champion of Frank Lloyd Wright. He advocated Wright's organic approach to architecture rather than the rational approach then favored in Italy. Zevi was an active member of the Jewish community and president of the Rome Jewish maternity home from 1950. He was consultant on building problems in Israel. He wrote studies on Frank Lloyd Wright (1945), Erik Gunnar Asplund (1948), and Richard Neutra (1954). He edited and published *L'Architectura*, a monthly magazine. Zevi was appointed professor of modern architecture at Rome University in 1948.

ẒEVI HIRSCH FRIEDMAN OF LESKO (Pol. **Lisko**; d. 1874), Ḥasid, active in Lesko, S.E. Poland; son of Aaron of Ujhely (Satoraljaujhely; d. 1816). He made many journeys to visit the *ẓaddikim* of his time, studying mainly under Ḥayyim *Halberstamm of Zanz, who wrote an approbation to Ẓevi Hirsch's work *Akh Peri Tevu'ah* (Pt. I, 1875; Pt. II, 1876), consisting of homilies on the Pentateuch in which he quotes sayings of the Talmud, numerous teachings of the Tanya and of *Shneur Zalman of Lyady, and the Ḥasidim who preceded him, as well as works written on the Lurianic Kabbalah – the system of Isaac *Luria. Like other Ḥasidim, he considers Creation to be the result of *ẓimẓum* (contraction of the Divine Emanation; see *Kabbalah). The resultant paradox is that this contraction must tolerate the dialectic duality of Good and Evil because though the world was created with justice (*din*) the actual creation shows mercy (*ḥesed*) to its creatures. Similarly, the evil inclination was created for the benefit of man "because the principal purpose of man's creation in the world is to have free choice and overcome his inclination" (ibid.). His work, *Sefer ha-Yashar ve-ha-Tov* (1880), contains homilies for the Sabbath and the festivals. Of his two sons-in-law, ḤAYYIM FRIEDLANDER OF LESKO (d. 1904) wrote *Tal Ḥayyim Berakhah* (1898), novella on talmudic subjects, and *Tal Ḥayyim* (1909), homilies on the Pentateuch, and YOZEFA GOLDBERGER (d. 1908) was a *ẓaddik* and merchant.

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[Esther (Zweig) Liebes]

ẒEVI HIRSCH OF NADWORNA (second half of the 18th century), ethical writer. Ẓevi Hirsch, who was *av bet din* of the community of Nadworna (Nadvornaya), Galicia, wrote a short ethical treatise, *Otiyyot Maḥkimot* ("Instructive Letters"), which consists of ethical advice arranged according to the letters of the alphabet.

The work was first published in Breznitz in 1796, but in an incomplete form; a second edition appeared in Nowy Dwor in 1799. In his preface to the corrected edition Ẓevi Hirsch's son explained that the first edition did not represent an accurate version of the original work, and that he was therefore republishing it from the actual manuscript of his father; he also added an appendix, *Millei de-Avot*, an ethical commentary on *Avot*.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Benjacob, Oẓar, 32.

[Joseph Dan]

ZEVIN, SOLOMON JOSEPH (1885–1978), rabbi and scholar. Born in Kazimirov near Bobruisk, Belorussia, Zevin studied at the Mir yeshivah under R. Elijah Baruch Kamai, and later at Bobruisk under R. Shemariah Noah Schneerson. At the age of 18, he began to correspond on halakhic subjects with some of the greatest contemporary scholars, such as Joseph *Rozin and Jehiel Michael *Epstein. Zevin was rabbi of several Russian communities, including Kazimirov, where he succeeded his father. On the eve of the establishment of the Soviet regime in Russia (1917–18), he participated in conferences and conventions in Vilna, Moscow, and Kiev, and was elected as a Jewish representative to the Ukraine National Assembly. The Soviet regime granted him, together with R. Yeḥezkel *Abramsky, special permission to edit and publish a monthly journal *Yagdil Torah*, devoted to religious and halakhic subjects. This appeared in Slutsk in 1928, but was discontinued by government order. In 1934 he succeeded in obtaining permission to immigrate to Palestine. Creator of a new halakhic Hebrew style, he was an original critic of contemporary halakhic literature. From 1936 to 1945 he published a weekly review of this literature and an appraisal of religious personalities, and also wrote on current halakhic problems and on halakhic aspects of the festivals. His published works (frequently reprinted) were *Ha-Mo'adim ba-Halakhah* (1944); *Le-Or ha-Halakhah* (1946); *Ishim ve-Shitot* (1952); *Soferim u-Sefarim* (3 vol., 1959), containing reviews of 200 books that appeared from 1938 to 1945; *Sippurei Ḥasidim* (2 vols., 1955–57); *La-Torah ve-la-Moadim* (1961). Zevin was editor of the *Enẓiklopedyah Talmudit* (Talmudic Encyclopedia), founded in 1942. The importance of his work lies in his effective and lucid mastery of the entire complex of talmudic literature. By its concise and informed treatment of the vast material, the *Enẓiklopedyah* has influenced the curriculum in yeshivot and given the public an insight into the theory of the *halakhah*. Zevin received many literary prizes, including the Israel Prize for Religious Literature in 1959. He also served as president of Yad ha-Rav Herzog (Rabbi Herzog World Academy for Torah Research) in Jerusalem (1960–1978), and as a member of the supreme rabbinical council of Israel (1965–1978).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: S. Assaf, in: KS, 24 (1947/48), 10–12.

[Jehoshua Hutner]

ZEYER, JULIUS (1841–1901), Czech poet and author. Zeyer was born in Prague. Although his Jewish mother became an ardent Catholic, Zeyer always remained conscious of his Jewish origin, dreamed of visiting Palestine, and even learned Hebrew. Abandoning the traditional nationalist school of Czech 19th-century literature for a cosmopolitan outlook, in the epic verse, which was his major contribution to Czech literature, he characteristically used subjects from many countries. Jewish themes appear in much of his writing, beginning with the novel *Duhový pták* ("Rainbow Bird," 1874). His short story *Smrt Evy* ("Eve's Death") is based on the biblical account of Cain, and the collection of which it forms part, *Báje Šošany* ("Shoshanna's Tales," 1880), is set in the Frankfurt ghetto. He chose biblical subjects for two dramas: *Sulamit* (1883) and *Z dob růžového jitra* ("From the Times of the Rosy Dawn," 1888), the latter about Isaac's stay in Gerar (Gen. 26:1–12). Other short stories with Jewish themes are *El Cristo de la Luz* (1892), which deals with medieval Toledo, and *Asenat* (1895), a tale of Joseph in Egypt. Zeyer also wrote a number of poems on Jewish subjects.

Outstanding among his works of epic poetry are *Ossianův návrat* ("Ossian's Return," 1885); *Z letopisů lásky* ("From the Annals of Love," 4 volumes, 1889–92); and *Karolinská epopej* ("Carolingian Epic," 1896). His two most important prose works are the novels *Román o věrném přátelství Amise a Amila* ("The True Friendship of Amis and Amil," 1880) and *Jan Maria Plojhar* (1888).

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[Avigdor Dagan / Milos Pojar (2nd ed.)]

ZGIERZ (Rus. **Zgerzh**), city in Lodz province, central Poland. Jews first settled there in the mid-18th century. There were nine Jews living in the city according to a census of 1765, and 12 in 1793. Their main sources of livelihood were the leasing of inns and the sale of alcoholic liquor. Their number had grown to 27 (5% of the total population) in 1808. The situation of the small Jewish settlement deteriorated following the restrictions imposed on the industrial cities by the government of Congress Poland. In 1824, by order of the Warsaw authorities, the Jews of Zgierz, with few exceptions, were compelled to move to a separate small quarter. There they numbered at first 30 families, increasing in the following 25 years to 400 families, although only 24 one-story houses were built in the quarter during that time. In 1851–55 a few streets were added to the Jewish quarter, and in 1862 the restrictions on residence were abolished completely. Jews were also discriminated against in an agreement signed on March 30, 1821, between the Polish administration and German immigrants, in which (paras. 38 and 39) Jews were prohibited from acquiring real estate in the new quarters and from manufacturing or selling alcoholic beverages in the whole city. This became the prototype for similar agreements with other towns.

Despite these restrictions the Jewish population grew, numbering 356 in 1827 (8% of the total) and 1,637 (20%) in 1857. According to data of 1848, 92 Jews engaged in crafts (46 tailors, 10 hatmakers, 11 in the foodstuff branch), and 43 in trading, while 46 were hired workers. In this period cotton and wool mills were founded by Jewish industrialists. An organized community functioned from 1824. A wooden synagogue was built in the 1840s, a *mikveh* and poorhouse were erected in the 1850s, and a large stone synagogue in 1860, followed by a large *bet midrash* in the 1880s. The first rabbi of the community, Shalom Ẓevi ha-Kohen (officiated 1827–77), founded a yeshivah. His son, Solomon Judah, author of *Neveh Shalom*, was rabbi from 1898 to 1940.

The first Jewish school with Russian as the language of instruction was founded in Zgierz in 1885. Toward the end of the 19th century several modern *ḥadarim* of the *Haskalah movement were organized, one by Jacob Benjamin Katzenelson, father of the poet Itzhak *Katzenelson. The Hebrew poet David *Frischmann was born in Zgierz. In 1912 the Yagdil Torah organization was founded, which supported many religious educational institutions. There were cultural associations for literature, art, drama and sport, and in 1911 a branch of *Ẓe'irei Zion was founded, which was active in the cultural sphere, stimulating interest particularly in the Hebrew language and press.

During World War I the Zgierz community instituted a special tax to provide for Jews in Zgierz suffering from hunger or disease. Conditions for Jewish workers in Zgierz were particularly poor, and the community administration sent an appeal (Sept. 28, 1920) to local Jewish industrialists to employ Jewish workers. Polish workers used antisemitic arguments to oppose Jewish industrialists who favored the employment of Jewish workers. The Jewish population numbered 3,543 in 1897, 3,828 in 1921, and 4,547 in 1931.

[Arthur Cygielman]

Holocaust Period

In 1939 there were 4,800 Jews in Zgierz (about 20% of the total population). Immediately after the German occupation persecution of the Jewish population began. On Dec. 27, 1939, about half the total Jewish population – some 2,500 persons – were expelled to the town of Glowno. The rest either managed to escape or were deported across the border to central Poland. A few Jewish tailors and shoemakers, who worked for the Germans, were allowed to remain in the city. In January 1942 they were sent to *Lodz ghetto.

[Danuta Dombrowska]

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ZGURITSA (Rom. **Zgurita**), Jewish agricultural village in N. Moldova, in the region of Bessarabia. Zguritsa was founded in 1853 on an area of over 1,000 acres rented by settlers from Bessarabia. In 1878 the new owner, a Jew, canceled the lease of the estate and Zguritsa lost its status as a Jewish agricultural colony. Its residents were then registered as burghers. From 1890 to 1903 further Jewish settlement in Zguritsa was prohibited by virtue of the *May Laws issued on May 3, 1882. In 1897 Zguritsa's Jewish population was 1,802 (85% of the total population). In 1899, 36 families rented 370 acres in the area, mainly for growing vegetables. Agrarian reform in Romania in 1922 granted plots of land to 150 Jews of Zguritsa. In 1925 the 193 members of the local loan fund included 40 farmers, 25 artisans, and 113 tradesmen. In 1930 there were 2,541 Jews in Zguritsa (83.9% of the total population), supporting a kindergarten and an elementary school both of the *Tarbut organization.

[Eliyahu Feldman]

Holocaust Period

On July 3, 1941 after the outbreak of war, the village was shelled and houses were set on fire. Jews fled to the fields, where they were rounded up after two days by Romanian troops and kept under guard in the open. They suffered general maltreatment (especially the women), and in addition the soldiers practiced shooting, using Jews as their targets. A few days later the Jews were dispatched to *Transnistria and then sent back to Bessarabia, the sick, elderly, and the children dying on the way. Near Cosăuți all the young men were separated from the group, ordered to dig graves, and shot. Jews died every day from disease, hunger, and thirst. In the fall of 1941 they were sent back to Transnistria, and before crossing the Dniester 200 men were removed, ostensibly for work, and shot. The remaining Jews were taken to Tiraspol and Balta. Only a few survived the war.

[Jean Ancel]

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ZHDANOV (until 1948 **Mariupol**), city in S. Stalino district, Ukraine. The Jewish community of Zhdanov was founded at the beginning of the 19th century and numbered 111 in 1847. Owing to continuous Jewish emigration from the Lithuanian and Belorussian provinces to southern Russia, the Zhdanov community had increased by 1897 to 5,013 (16.1% of the total population). Seven Jewish settlements were founded in the surroundings of Zhdanov toward the end of the reign of Nicholas I, and by the end of the 19th century their population was estimated at over 3,000. Riots, which lasted three days, broke out in the city in October 1905. In 1926, 7,332 Jews lived in Zhdanov (18% of the city's total population). Jewish life was suppressed at that time. Immediately after the city's occupation by the Germans in October 1941, all the Jews were imprisoned in an ancient military camp outside the city and were shot on Oct. 18, 1941. In 1959 there were about 2,800 Jews (1% of the total population) in Zhdanov. A small synagogue was still functioning there in 1962. Most Jews left in the 1990s.

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[Yehuda Slutsky]

ZHERNENSKY, MOSHE ELIYAHU (pseudonym **M.E. Jacques**; 1887–1948), Hebrew writer. Born in Kamenets, Lithuania, he served (from 1929–32) on the editorial board of the Hebrew encyclopedia *Eshkol* in Berlin. He went to Palestine in 1933. His articles on language, problems of translation, modes of poetic expression, and other topics appeared in various journals.

He wrote penetratingly on the Hebrew poetry of the Middle Ages, the poetry of *Bialik, and the writings of *Agnon. Three volumes of his works appeared: *Mi-Saviv* (1929), *Bein ha-Shelabbim* (1940), and *Arugot* (1949). His translations from Russian, French, and German include: *The Brothers Karamazov*, 3 vols. (1921–29), stories by Balzac (1943), and *Gottesdienstliche Vortraege der Juden* by L. Zunz (1947).

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[Gedalyah Elkoshi]

ZHIDACHOV (Pol. **Żydaczów**) city in Drogobych district, Ukraine (formerly in eastern Galicia). Jewish settlement in Zhidachov began in a comparatively early period, as the existence of an ancient cemetery and wooden synagogue indicates, although no definite date is known. Records show 199 Jews living in Zhidachov in 1765, some 900 in 1910 (about a quarter of the total population), and 823 in 1931. Zhidachov was known for its dynasty of ḥasidic rabbis (*admorim*), descendants of Ẓevi Hirsch Eichenstein of Zhidachov.

Holocaust Period

At the outbreak of World War II there were about 1,000 Jews in Zhidachov, On Sept. 5, 1942, some of the Jews were deported to the *Belzec death camp. On Sept. 30, 1942, a number of them were expelled to *Stry and shared the fate of that community. The remaining Jews were imprisoned in a forced-labor camp in Zhidachov until its liquidation in August 1943. After the war, the Jewish community of Zhidachov was not reconstituted.

ZHIDACHOV, ḥasidic dynasty. The dynasty's founder and most outstanding personality, ẒEVI HIRSCH EICHENSTEIN (1785–1831), was born in the village of Safrin, Hungary. In his youth he was known as a brilliant Torah scholar, and while still a young man, he devoted himself mainly to the study of the *Kabbalah. Under the influence of his brother, Moses of Sambor (d. 1840), he became a Ḥasid and the outstanding disciple of *Jacob Isaac ha-Ḥozeh ("the Seer") of Lublin. In addition, Ẓevi Hirsch studied with *Moses Leib of Sasov, whom he also considered to be his mentor, and with *Baruch of Medzhibezh, among others. Only after the death of Jacob Isaac of Lublin did he become the leader of a large ḥasidic community.

His unique approach to Ḥasidism, which aroused the opposition of other ḥasidic leaders, consisted in strengthening the kabbalistic-philosophical foundation of the movement. He wrote a number of important works on mysticism, and his disciples and followers were distinguished from other streams of Ḥasidism by their open and dedicated study of the system of Isaac *Luria, whose thought they considered to be a direct forerunner of Ḥasidism. Ẓevi Hirsch saw Ḥasidism as the means by which the ideals of the important later kabbalists could be put into practice, and, in addition, he maintained that no understanding of Ḥasidism was possible without a deep knowledge of Kabbalah.

Among his numerous disciples were his brother, Judah Ẓevi of Rozdol, and his nephew, Isaac Eizik of Komarno. The well-known *Malbim (Meir Leib b. Jehiel of Michael) studied Kabbalah under Ẓevi Hirsch. The 11th of Tammuz, the date of Ẓevi Hirsch's death, became a day of celebration, when his disciples, admirers, and the adherents of closely related ḥasidic sects made a pilgrimage to his grave. He was followed as leader of the Zhidachov dynasty by his brothers ISSACHAR LEIB (d. 1832) and MOSES OF SAMBOR, and then by his nephew, ISAAC EIZIK (1804–1872). Isaac Eizik, although a follower of a number of the great ḥasidic leaders of his generation, was primarily a devoted disciple of his uncle Ẓevi Hirsch. In addition, Isaac Eizik wrote ḥasidic works which are firmly based on a kabbalistic foundation and serve as a kind of bridge between Ḥasidism and Kabbalah. Isaac Eizik's sons and grandsons, who were rabbis and communal leaders in several places, continued the tradition of the dynasty, and were **admorim* in several centers.

Among the works of Ẓevi Hirsch are *Sur me-Ra va-Aseh Tov* (1835), preface to *Peri Eẓ Ḥayyim; Peri Kodesh Hillulim* (1836), on *Peri Eẓ Ḥayyim; Ateret Ẓevi* (1836), on the Zohar; *Beit Yisrael* (1834), on the Pentateuch. A book about his life and work is M. Braver's *Ẓevi la-Ẓaddik* (1931).

The works of Isaac Eizik include: *Likkutei Maharia* (1890), on *Yalkut Shimoni; Likkutei Torah ve-ha-Shas* (1886). M. Braver's *Pe'er Yiẓḥak* (1928) treats of his life and work. The entire Zhidachov dynasty is covered in I. Craker's *Eser Kedushot* (1906), and R. Mahler's *Ha-Ḥasidut ve-ha-Haskalah* (1961), which contains an index.

[Adin Steinsaltz]

ZHIRMUNSKY, VIKTOR MAKSIMOVICH (1891–1970), Russian philologist. Zhirmunsky was born in St. Petersburg, the son of a Jewish physician. He finished Tenishev School (1908) and St. Petersburg University (1912), where he studied German and Romance philology. After graduate study in Munich, Berlin, and Leipzig, he was appointed *privat-docent* at St. Petersburg (1915) and professor at Saratov University (1917). In 1919 he was appointed to the Chair of Germanic Philology in St. Petersburg (later Leningrad) University. Zhirmunsky's earliest scholarly publications were devoted to German Romanticism and modern mysticism (*Nemetskiy romantizm i sovremennaya mistika*, 1914). His dissertation, *Religioznoye otrecheniye v istorii romantizma* ("Religious Renunciation in the History of Romanticism"), was published in 1919. A regular contributor to *Russkaya mysl, Severnye zapiski, Vestnik literatury*, and other periodicals, he published several penetrating and erudite essays on contemporary Russian and European literature. In 1919–21, Zhirmunsky was closely associated with the Society for the Study of Poetic Language (O POYAZ). His later dispute with some of its members (notably B. Eichenbaum) became an important landmark in the history of the Russian Formal School.

A remarkably versatile literary scholar and linguist, Zhirmunsky worked in such diverse fields as theoretical poetics, Russian and comparative literature, Germanic philology, dialectology, Turkic and Slavic folklore, etc. During the 1920s, he published monographs on the composition of lyrical poetry (*Kompozitsiya liricheskikh stikhotvoreniy*, 1921; reprinted 1970), history and theory of rythme (*Rifma*, 1923; reprinted 1970), metrics (*Vvedenie v metriku*, 1925, reprinted 1971), the Romantic tradition in Russia (*Bryron i Pushkin*, 1929, reprinted 1970), and Russian Symbolism (*Poeziya Aleksandra Bloka*, 1922; *V. Bryusov i naslediye Pushkina*, 1922). His collected essays appeared in 1928 as *Voprosy teorii literatury* ("Problems of the Theory of Literature," reprinted 1962). In spite of the political persecution to which Zhirmunsky was subjected for his book *Natsionalny yazyk i sotsialnye dialekty* ("National Language and Social Dialects," 1936), his definitive study of Goethe's influence on Russian literature and a historical grammar of the German language were brought out in 1937–38. During World War II, Zhirmunsky lived in Central Asia. His post-war publications include *Uzbekskiy narodny geroicheskiy epos* ("Uzbek Heroic Epos," 1947), *Kirgizskiy geroicheskiy epos Manas* ("Manas, the Kirghiz Heroic Epos," 1948, 1961), *Nemetskaya dialektologiya* ("German Dialectology," 1956); *Epicheskoye tvorchestvo slavyanskikh narodov i problemy sravnitelnogo izucheniya eposa* ("The Epic Art of Slavic Peoples and the Problems of Comparative Epic Studies," 1958), *Drama A.. Bloka "Roza i Krest"* (1964), etc. Zhirmunky's study of Anna Akhmatova's poetry was published posthumously in 1972.

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[Omri Ronen]

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ZHITLOWSKY, CHAIM (1865–1943), Yiddish philosopher and writer. Zhitlowsky was the chief theoretician of *galut* ("Diaspora") nationalism and Yiddishism. Born in a small town near Vitebsk, Russia, he gave up his studies at 15 when he became a Socialist, and moved to Tula in Central Russia, where he joined the Narodniki, the anti-czarist populist movement. Engaged in propaganda among non-Jews, he was completely estranged from Jewish interests, but the pogroms of the 1880s brought him back to Vitebsk and to his Jewish roots. The Ḥibbat Zion movement, and particularly M.L. *Lilienblum, influenced him profoundly without converting him to Zionism. He believed that a full Jewish national life could be lived in the Diaspora. In 1886 he began research in Jewish history at St. Petersburg and in 1887 published his study in Russian on Judaism's historic destiny. A basic idea of this study was that the Jewish people in its difficult struggle for survival had become estranged from the historic ideals which had justified its existence. This study was violently attacked by S. *Dubnow in the Russian press, while the Hebrew press dubbed Zhitlowsky a Jewish antisemite and heretic. In 1888 Zhitlowsky left for Berlin and then moved to Zurich. He tried to convince the Russian Social Democratic leaders in exile of the desirability of issuing propaganda literature in Yiddish for the Jewish masses. He failed because these leaders, including the Jews among them, felt that publications in Yiddish might impede the complete assimilation of Jews to Russian ways. In his Zurich period, he also expressed his doubts as to the necessary connection between socialism and economic materialism. In 1892 he called upon Jewish intellectuals to return to their people, stating that not only equal civil rights but also equal national rights were needed for a Jewish resurgence, because Jews formed a distinct national group and must therefore strive for national emancipation. In 1893 he helped to found the Russian party of Socialist-Revolutionaries in exile and coedited its journal *Russky Rabochy.* He also founded a Jewish Socialist Union, which published socialist literature in Yiddish. He participated as a correspondent in the First Zionist Congress at Basle, 1897, but rejected Zionism as a reactionary movement dangerous for Eastern European Jewry. Only under socialism would Jews be redeemed as Jews and as workers. Jews need not emigrate to Zion. They could engage in productive labor and develop Jewish schools, universities, national and cultural institutions in their present countries. An article entitled "*Farvos Davke Yidish?*" ("Why Yiddish?"), written in 1897 and published in 1900, initiated his intensive activity as the theoretician of Yiddishism. He joined the *Bund in 1898, a year after its foundation, and published in its ideological organ *Der Yidisher Arbeter* his essay, "*Tsionizmus oder Sotsyalizmus*" (1899), in which he argued that socialism was not necessarily linked with faceless cosmopolitanism and nondescript humanity but afforded each nation an opportunity to develop its national uniqueness in multi-national states. The Kishinev pogroms in 1903 brought about a change of ideas and inclined him toward *Territorialism.

In 1904 Zhitlowsky arrived in the United States for a lecture tour on behalf of his Socialist-Revolutionary Party and stirred Jewish immigrant masses with his oratory. His lectures on "Jew and Man" and on "The Future of Peoples in America" opposed the melting-pot philosophy and advanced a United States of harmoniously functioning nationalities. These lectures converted many Yiddish-speaking cosmopolitan socialists into Jewish socialists. While in the United States, he became coeditor of the weekly *Dos Folk*, a territorialist socialist publication, in which he advocated a fusion of socialism and Jewish nationalism, of autonomy in the Diaspora and a Jewish territorial center. Returning to Europe, he was elected to the Second Russian Duma, and participated as chairman in the *Czernowitz Yiddish Conference of 1908. After 1908 he made his permanent home in New York, where he edited the monthly *Dos Naye Lebn* (1908–13), which was revived in 1922 with S. *Niger as coeditor. His two-volume work, *Di Filosofye, Vos Zi Iz un Vi Zi Hot Zikh Antvikelt* ("The Development of Philosophy," 1910), an outgrowth of lectures to American and Canadian audiences, was the first serious history of philosophy written in Yiddish. His *Gezamlte Shriftn* appeared in three editions (10 vols., 1912–19, 1929–32, and 1945–51). A Hebrew edition, *Ketavim*, with an introduction by R. Mahler, appeared in 1961. In 1914 Zhitlowsky visited Ereẓ Israel, became interested in Labor Zionism, and wrote pamphlets in the spirit of *Po'alei Zion. Returning to New York, he joined the staff of the Yiddish daily *The Day* and helped to found the *American Jewish Congress. He was an enthusiastic supporter of the establishment of the *Jewish Legion. Zhitlowsky translated Nietzsche's *Thus Spake Zarathustra* (1919) into Yiddish and wrote scholarly essays on Kant, Einstein, Job, and Faust.

In 1936 Zhitlowsky, who had been a lifelong, bitter foe of dogmatic Marxism and Bolshevism, was shocked into a more friendly attitude toward Soviet Russia by the ever increasing danger of Hitlerism. He endorsed Birobidzhan as the realization of his idea of a Jewish territory for productive Jewish masses. He justified Soviet actions, including the Moscow Trials of 1936. He considered the German persecution of the Jews as a punishment for the negative socioeconomic role played by the Jewish middle classes. As a result he became estranged from all except a pro-Soviet sector of his Jewish admirers during the last years of his life.

As the outstanding ideologist of Diaspora nationalism and Yiddishism, Zhitlowsky influenced the programs of all Jewish national parties, but only in his struggle against assimilationism was his influence profound and enduring, both in the former Russian Pale and among the American Jewish immigrants. More important than his theoretical justification for the existence of Yiddish was his practical application of Yiddish in his journalistic and scholarly style which delineated ideas and philosophical systems.

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[Jerucham Tolkes]

ZHITNITSKI, MARK (1903–?), Russian artist. Zhitnitski was born in Mogilev, Belorussia, and studied at the Moscow Art Institute from 1925 to 1932. From then until 1936 he worked as a book illustrator in Minsk, but in that year he was sentenced to ten years' hard labor in Siberia. Upon his release he resumed his artistic activity in Minsk for another three years, but was again exiled to Siberia. In 1956 he was "rehabilitated" and accepted as a member of the U.S.S.R. Artists Union. Many of his works have been acquired by Russian museums. Zhitnitski immigrated to Israel in 1971, and there completed a series of paintings entitled *Ha-Kotel ha-Ma'aravi* ("The Western Wall").

ZHITOMIR, city in Zhitomir district, Ukraine. Under Polish rule (until 1792) Jews were not authorized to live in Zhitomir, but some had settled there under the protection of government officials. In 1753 a *blood libel case was brought to court there; two Jews from the surrounding villages were executed and others were compelled to convert. In 1789 the Jewish community numbered 882, about a third of the total population. They comprised innkeepers, merchants, and craftsmen. When the city was annexed by Russia (1792), there were 1,300 Jews, and by 1847 their number had risen to 9,500. During this period, Ḥasidism spread to Zhitomir and *Ze'ev Wolf of Zhitomir was one of the disciples of the *Maggid of Mezhirech. With the establishment of the government-authorized rabbinical seminary there (1847), teachers and pupils of *maskilim* circles gathered in the city; they included H.S. *Slonimski, A.B. *Gottlober, and E. *Zweifel. In 1873 the rabbinical seminary was converted into a seminary for training teachers for the Jewish government schools. This seminary was closed in 1885. The first Jewish vocational school in Zhitomir was established in 1862 and enjoyed a good reputation, but it was closed in 1884 because the authorities believed that its instruction gave the Jews economic superiority over the Christians. *Mendele Mokher Seforim, A. *Paperna, and A. *Goldfaden also lived and studied in Zhitomir, and H.N. *Bialik (who was born in the village of Radi, near Zhitomir) spent his childhood there.

From the 1870s, the community shared in the general decline of the city following dispossession of the region's Polish landowners and the construction of the railroads, which initially bypassed Zhitomir. In 1897 there were 30,748 Jews who formed 46.6% of Zhitomir's total population; their number rose in 1910 to 38,427. Ninety per cent of those engaged in commerce were Jews, as were 60% of the city's craftsmen. In April 1905 pogroms broke out in the city at the government's instigation. The Jewish youth, Zionists and socialists, organized a *self-defense unit and fought with the rioters. About 15 Jews were killed, including the Russian student N. Blinov, who joined the Jewish self-defense action. Ten Jewish youths from the townlet of *Chudnov who were called in to assist the Jews of Zhitomir were murdered on their way there. In January 1919 pogroms were perpetrated by the Ukrainian army and a mob from the neighboring villages; 80 Jews lost their lives and much property was looted. In March 1919, after the soldiers of *Petlyura had captured Zhitomir from the Red Army, riots broke out and 317 Jews were murdered. At the time of the Polish conquest (1920), the Jews suffered from the brutality of the Polish soldiers. As soon as the Soviets gained control of the city, the organized community was liquidated and Jewish life disintegrated. In 1926 there were 30,000 Jews in the city (38% of the total population).

Many Jews fled from the city during the German occupation (1941). Those who remained, as well as many Jews from the neighboring townlets, were imprisoned in a ghetto and executed on Sept. 19, 1941. After the liberation of the city, thousands of Jews, former inhabitants as well as others, returned. According to the census in 1959, there were about 14,800 Jews (c. 14% of the total population) in Zhitomir, but the real number was probably closer to 25,000. There was a well-kept cemetery and a synagogue with a rabbi. During High Holidays thousands congregated in and around the synagogue. Yiddish was often heard in the streets. The synagogue building was ordered to be destroyed in 1962 to make way for a large apartment house, and the Jewish community rented a new apartment for its needs.

Until 1990, the city had approximately 12,000 Jews. After the Iron Curtain was lifted, thousands immigrated to Israel, the U.S., and Germany. Those that remained established congregations throughout the northern and western Ukraine. Zhitomir serves as the headquarters for 167 official congregations, 29 of which have their own synagogue and 28 that have their own daily Torah study groups. The Jewish community in Zhitomir itself has a synagogue, a community center, a *mikveh*, yeshivas, kindergartens, a day school, a university for men, a library, a soup kitchen, a women's club, a boarding house for boys and for girls, and a cemetery.

[Yehuda Slutsky / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

Hebrew Printing

The first Hebrew printing press in Zhitomir was established in 1804 by the wandering printer Ẓevi Hirsch b. Simeon ha-Kohen, who came from *Zolkiew (Zholkva), where he had worked as a typesetter. He had worked in the printing press in the town of *Nowy Dwor, and had subsequently possessed his own press in 1796 in Kopel, and in 1803–04 in Brezitz (Beresty). Ẓevi Hirsch had his printing press in Zhitomir until 1806, and during the three years of its existence at least nine books were published, five of which were ḥasidic and kabbalistic works. In 1847 a second printing press was established there by the three brothers Ḥanina Lipa, Aryeh Leib, and Joshua Heschel Shapira, sons of Samuel Abraham Abba

Shapira, the printer in *Slavuta. Until 1862 this was one of the only two Hebrew presses the Russian government permitted to operate in the whole of Russia, the other being in Vilna. This press had 18 hand presses and four additional large presses. In 1851 Aryeh Leib broke away and established his own printing press in Zhitomir. In these two establishments only sacred books of every kind were printed. During the years 1858–64 the press of the two brothers printed a beautiful edition of the Babylonian Talmud together with the *Halakhot* of Isaac *Alfasi, while between 1860 and 1867 Aryeh Leib printed an edition of the Jerusalem Talmud.

In 1865 a Hebrew printing press was established by Abraham Shalom Shadov, and in 1870 another one by Isaac Moses Bakst. In 1888 the Hebrew press of Brodovitz was founded, and in 1891 this passed into the possession of his successors. In c. 1890 a printing press was founded by Joseph Kesselman and in c. 1902 it passed into the possession of his widow Rachel, who entered into partnership with Elijah Feinberg. In these three presses all kinds of Hebrew and Yiddish books were printed.

[Avraham Yaari]

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ZHITOMIRSKI, ALEXANDER MATVEYEVICH (1881–1937), composer. Born in Kherson, Crimea, Zhitomirski studied violin with Mlynarsky in Odessa (1892–97) and with Prill in Vienna (1898–1900), where he also studied composition and piano. He graduated from the St. Petersburg Conservatory in 1910, and from 1915 to 1937 he taught there the theory of composition (from 1919 as professor). Among his students were such outstanding musicians as Andrey Balanchivadze, Mikhail Chulaki, Alexander Gauk, Khristofor Kushnarev, Alexander Melik-Pashaev, and Mikhail Yudin. His works include *Symphonic Poem* (1915); *Heroic Poem* for orchestra (1933); a violin concerto (1937); a string quartet (1927); *Elegy* for cello and piano; and songs to Russian, Yiddish, and French words. He was a member of the Society for Jewish Folk Music and collaborated with S. Kiselgov and P. Lvov in the publication of the Society's *Lider Zamlbukh* (1911, 1914^2).

[M. Rizarev (2nd ed.)]

ZHMERINKA, city in Vinnitsa district, Ukraine. Before the 1917 Revolution it was a rural settlement in the province of Podolia. As it was an important railway junction (Kiev-Mogilev and Odessa-Lvov routes), a Jewish community developed there at the end of the 19th century. In 1897 there were 2,396 Jews (16.6% of the total population) in Zhmerinka. In 1903 it was excluded from the list of rural settlements where Jews were forbidden to reside. There were 5,186 Jews in the city (one-third of the total population) in 1926. During World War II Zhmerinka was incorporated into the Romanian occupation zone (*Transnistria). The Jews who had remained there and refugees from the surrounding district organized themselves into a community, and were joined by several hundreds of Jews who had been expelled from Romania. In June 1942 the Jews were concentrated within a ghetto, where they numbered 3,274. In March 1943 they were employed in forced labor at the railway station and in its vicinity. The Jews participated in the local partisan movement and in the battles for the liberation of the city in March 1944. In 1959 there were about 1,000 Jews (4% of the population) in Zhmerinka. Under the Soviet regime, the Jews gained notoriety for writing a letter to the newspaper *Pravda* in which they requested that the Russian authorities grant them permission to immigrate to Israel.

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[Yehuda Slutsky]

ZHOLKVA (Pol. **Żółkiew**), city in Ukraine (formerly Galicia), renamed Nesterov in 1951. Jewish settlement in Zholkva began in the 16th century and the community became important; entries in its minute book *(pinkas)* commence from 1613. Thousands of Jewish fugitives took refuge in Zholkva during the *Chmielnicki massacres of 1648–49 and helped to defend it from the Cossacks, who agreed to lift their siege on the city on payment of 20,000 gulden. In the second half of the 17th century the community benefited from the general prosperity which Zholkva enjoyed as the patrimony of King John III Sobieski. A number of wealthy Jews with influence at court made their home in Zholkva. The magnificent fortified synagogue built in 1687 with the king's assistance, known as the "Sobieski Shul," was preserved until 1941. The favorable economic and cultural conditions which had made Zholkva one of the leading communities in the province of "Russia" (see *Councils of the Lands) came to an end in the second half of the 18th century; 2,100 Jewish inhabitants are recorded at this period, but in 1770 the city was devastated by a plague in which some 800 Jews died.

Leading members of the Zholkva community included John Sobieski's physician, Simḥah Menahem of Jona; the royal tax farmer Bezalel b. Nathan; the *parnas* Israel Isser b. Mordecai; and the *av bet din* Alexander *Schor. Between 1680 and 1730 Zholkva served as a center of the late Shabbatean movement in Poland (see *Shabbetai Ẓevi). Among the sectarians in Zholkva were Ḥayyim *Malakh, Fischel Zlochover, Isaac Keidaner, and Moses Meir Kaminski. At the end of the 18th century Zholkva became an important center of the Haskalah movement, particularly as Nachman *Krochmal lived there. Among scholars and writers of Zholkva in this period were Baruch Ẓevi Noy, principal of the Jewish-German school; Eliezer Favir, the Yiddish folklorist and author of the *Sippurei ha-Pela'ot* (1800); and Samson ha-Levi *Bloch, author of the popular geographical work *Shevilei Olam*. Ẓevi Hirsch *Chajes acted as *av bet din* between 1828 and 1852. Many of the Zholkva community were occupied in the fur industry, which began to develop in the 19th century and employed hundreds of workers. Emigré furriers from Zholkva, who acquired an international reputation, found their way to the great workshops of Paris, London, and Brussels. Educational and welfare institutions in Zholkva before World War II included a *talmud torah*, schools established by the *Tarbut and *Beth Jacob organizations, and orphanages which also provided vocational training. The annual budget of the community totaled 42,000 zlotys in 1937. The Jews in Zholkva numbered 4,100 (about half the total population) at the end of the 19th century; in 1931 there were 4,500.

[Aryeh-Leib Kalish]

Hebrew Printing

The first Hebrew press in the city was set up by the Amsterdam printer *Uri b. Aaron Phoebus ha-Levi in 1692 under license to John Sobieski. The first production appears to have been novellae by Samuel *Edels. For eight decades Uri Phoebus, his sons, grandsons, and other members of the family (Madpis, Grossmann, Rosanes) printed a great variety of books, covering all branches of Hebrew literature. Productions were generally of a high quality, with handsomely decorated title pages. The Letteris family, who were related to the Uri Phoebus clan, printed in the city from 1794 to 1828, moving their presses from *Lvov. In 1793 A.J.L. Mayerhofer obtained a printing license from the Austrian government, and he and his sons were active till 1830. Originally he was in partnership with M. Rubinstein, but they separated in 1797 and Rubinstein and his son continued on their own until well into the 19th century. Other Hebrew printers of importance in the 19th century were S.P. Stiller, who began work in 1859 and produced a Zohar (1862–64), and J.Z. Balaban, who established a press in 1862.

Holocaust Period

The Jewish population numbered over 5,000 in June 1941. After the outbreak of war between Germany and the U.S.S.R., the quick collapse of the Soviet front prevented Jews fleeing eastward from reaching safety. The Germans entered the city on June 28, 1941, and within a few days burned down its synagogues. Shortly thereafter, a *Judenrat was imposed by the Germans, headed by Febus Rubinfeld. The Germans imposed a "contribution" (fine) of 250,000 rubles, 5 kg. of gold, and 100 kg. of silver to be paid within three days. In early 1942 the Jewish population underwent registration which classified them into three categories: A – able-bodied for hard labor; B – capable of lighter work; C – "non-productive."

In an *Aktion* on March 15, 1942, the Germans rounded up 700 persons in the "C" category and dispatched them to the *Belzec death camp. The Judenrat meanwhile organized varied welfare activities to alleviate the suffering of the community. The Jews who escaped from the death train transports to Belzec were helped in particular. The train station in Zholkva served as a transit point for the death trains from the East. Although education of their children was prohibited, the Jews managed to set up a clandestine education program for groups of six to eight pupils under 30 teachers. In a second *Aktion* on Nov. 22–23, 1942, 2,500 persons were shipped to Belzec. Numerous victims attempted escape from the trains; the rails were strewn with their corpses. Very few made their way back to the city. That month a ghetto was set up for the Jews of Zholkva and the vicinity – mostly from Mosty Wielkie, Dobroszyce, Kulikow, Glinsk, and Wola Wysoka. An epidemic broke out, with a mortality rate rising to 20 a day. On March 15, 1943, over 600 men were taken to the Janowska Street labor camp in Lvov. The Germans and their Ukrainian helpers broke into the ghetto on March 25, 1943, and the inmates were rounded up in Dominikanski Square and taken to Borek forest, about 2 mi. from the city, near the road to Kamenka Bugskaya; there they were murdered and buried in mass graves. One hundred men and 70 women were spared and sent off to the Janowska Street camp. Only 70 others, skilled craftsmen, were still left in Zholkva, interned in a building on Sobieski Street. Some of them were killed later. Zholkva was taken by Soviet forces on July 23, 1944. About 70 Jews survived the Holocaust.

[Aharon Weiss]

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ZHURAVNO (Pol. **Zurawno**), town in E. Drogobych district, Ukraine. In the early 18th century a Jewish community was organized in Zhuravno under the jurisdiction of the Lvov community. The Jews traded in wood and grain, and manufactured spirits. In 1765, 566 Jews paid the poll tax. The Jewish population numbered 2,197 (69% of the total) in 1880; 1,665 (61%) in 1890; 1,546 (53%) in 1900; and 1,338 (48%) in 1910. The hasidic movement of the nearby city of *Zhidachov greatly influenced the community. Between the world wars the town was included in Poland. In that period the Jewish population decreased, numbering only 867 (45%) in 1921.

[Shimshon Leib Kirshenboim]

Holocaust Period

On the outbreak of World War II there were about 1,300 Jews in Zhuravno. On Sept. 5, 1942, 500 Jews were deported to *Belzec death camp. On Sept. 29, 1942, the Jews were expelled to *Stry and shared the fate of that community. The remaining Jews were killed in Zhuravno in June 1943. After the war the Jewish community was not reconstituted.

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ZIBA (Heb. צִיבָא), servant of the house of *Saul, probably the official keeper of the household. Ziba informed *David about the whereabouts of *Mephibosheth, the lame son of *Jonathan, when David sought to locate the surviving members of the house of Saul in order to show them kindness or to put them under surveillance (II Sam. 9:1–4). Ziba was appointed the land administrator of Saul's private property which David restored to Mephibosheth. Consequently Ziba's household of 15 sons and 20 servants became servants of Mephibosheth (II Sam. 9:9ff.).

When David was forced to flee Jerusalem during *Absalom's rebellion, he was greeted by Ziba with essential food supplies (II Sam. 16:1ff.). Ziba made David believe that his master Mephibosheth willingly remained in the city in the hope that the throne would be restored to him (II Sam. 16:3). Consequently David transferred all of Mephibosheth's possessions to Ziba on the spot, as it was customary for kings to do with a rebel's property. After Absalom's rebellion was suppressed, Ziba recrossed the Jordan ahead of the king, and may have been of help in persuading the Benjamites to come to welcome David at the Jordan (II Sam. 19:18–19). Mephibosheth was also among those who came to greet the king, and he exposed his servant's duplicity to David, by explaining that he had intended to join David in his flight and that Ziba, taking advantage of his lameness, had made off with the already saddled asses. David, prompted by a feeling of gratitude to Ziba on one hand and a belief in the integrity of Mephibosheth's account on the other, ruled that Saul's property should be divided equally between the two (II Sam. 19:25ff.).

ẒIDDUK HA-DIN (Heb. צִדּוּק הַדִּין; lit. "acknowledgment of [Divine] justice"), the term for the Jewish burial service. The service commences with the recitation of Deuteronomy 32:4, "The Rock! – His deeds are perfect, yea, all His ways are just…" and includes a reading of Jeremiah 32:19; Psalms 92:16; Job 1:21; and other verses. It concludes with Psalms 78:38; Isaiah 25:8; the benediction "Who formed you in judgment…" and the *Kaddish le-Ḥadata*. On the days when **Taḥanun* is not said, Psalm 16 replaces the opening verses in some rites. Various parts of the prayer are mentioned in the Talmud. Ḥanina b. Teradyon quoted the first half of Deuteronomy 32:4 before being executed by the Romans, his wife completed the verse, and his daughter recited Jeremiah 32:19 (Av. Zar. 18a). The special *Kaddish*, which includes references to Erez Israel and expresses a hope that the Temple may be rebuilt, is mentioned in *Soferim* 19:12. The benediction is cited in the Tosefta (Ber. 7:6 in a different version; cf. the *baraita* in Ber. 58b). The present form dates from the geonic period (Zunz, Lit Poesie, 21).

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ŽÍDEK, PAVEL (1413–1471), Czech scholar and the first individual of Jewish origin to contribute to Czech culture. Žídek was baptized in his youth and raised as a Hussite but, while studying at Vienna, embraced Catholicism and became a priest. An outstanding scholar, he received doctorates at three universities, earning renown as well as enmity through his learned disputations at Prague, Breslau, and Cracow. Žídek's quarrelsome disposition drove him from place to place until he found refuge at the court of the progressive Czech king George of Podebrad. Žídek's one surviving work is his *Správovna* ("Administration," 1908), a book of suggestions to the king, which prescribes everything from the monarch's attire to the principles of good state administration. Žídek piously concludes that the king should join the Catholic Church, thus uniting all the Christians of his kingdom.

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[Avigdor Dagan]

ŽIDOVSKÁ STRANA (Czech "Jewish Party"), national Jewish party in Czechoslovakia. It was founded at the first conference of nationalist Jewry held in the Czechoslovak Republic, convened in Prague on the initiative of the Jewish National Council at the beginning of January 1919. The party aimed to secure representation of the Jewish national minority in the institutions of the new state and the local authorities. The party was joined by Zionists of every trend, with the exception of *Po'alei Zion, which advocated independent political activity of Labor, and of Jews of nationalist outlook not within the Zionist Organization. The principal objective, to assure parliamentary representation for the Jewish minority, was not achieved from the beginning, although the Jewish Party gained about 80,000 votes in the first elections (1920) and almost 100,000 votes in the second (1925). This was because the election law stipulated that only a list that obtained 20,000 votes in at least one electoral district, or a sufficient number of votes for the election of a deputy in a district on the first ballot, could be represented. Since the Jews were dispersed throughout the state, they could, even theoretically, obtain this number only in one electoral district – and they failed to do so.

In the third elections (1929), the Jewish Party joined forces with the Polish minority party and thus succeeded in sending its first two deputies to parliament. These were Ludvik *Singer (after his death in 1931 replaced by Angelo *Goldstein) and Julius Reisz. At the fourth elections (1935), it was no longer possible to form a political Polish-Jewish alliance because the Poles had begun to adopt a hostile policy toward the Czechoslovak Republic. The Jewish Party concluded an elections agreement with the Czech Social Democratic Party, which included two representatives of the Jewish Party within its list. Although this decision won the acclaim of Po'alei Zion, it was criticized by conservative circles of the Jewish Party. In these elections Angelo Goldstein and Ḥayyim *Kugel were elected. The Jewish Party was also represented in the provincial diets of Moravia-Silesia and Slovakia, and in many municipal councils. Its outstanding leaders included, in addition to the parliamentary deputies, František Friedmann, Emil *Margulies, and Arnošt Frischer.

Although the party is regularly discussed as a single body, it actually represented three different sectors of Jewry, which in the political sphere also expressed local attitudes and interests. In the Czech-speaking lands (Bohemia, Moravia, and Czech Silesia), the Jews had experienced a long uphill struggle, but by now it had reached a mature stage. In the Czechoslovak Republic, the Jewish Party embodied the desire of the middle class and the secular elements, who expected it to take care of the general needs of the Jewish population, as any Western European party does.

In Slovakia, the party upheld the local interests of the population regarding its religious and social needs. On a national level, it promoted ethnic-Jewish demands and fostered Zionist policies. In this endeavor it clashed with the leaders of the Czech countries; while devout Zionists, they misunderstood the desires of Slovak Jewry. The strength of Slovak Orthodoxy, hostile to Zionism and cherishing its own material and political interests, inhibited the abilities of the party in Slovakia. In Carpatho-Rus the party expressed the desire for modernization within a part of the Jewish masses. Zionism, especially among the youth, also expressed the desire to escape the squalid conditions of Carpatho-Rus. Here the party encountered stubborn opposition on the part of the Orthodox, headed by the ḥasidic rabbi of Mukachevo, Chaim Eleazar Shapira. In elections the Jewish Party, especially in the eastern parts of the Republic, was exposed to machinations and intrigue on the part of the Agrarian Party in cooperation with the Orthodox. There was also competition from Czech, German, and Magyar assimilationists. Another problem expressed itself in the conflict between the need for domestic policies ("Landespolitik") of the electorate and the Zionist desires of the ideological political elites of the party.

During World War II, Frischer represented the Jewish minority in the Czechoslovak National Council in Exile in London. When Czechoslovak independence was renewed after the Holocaust, there was no longer room for political activity by national minorities, and the Jewish Party was not reorganized.

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[Chaim Yahil / Yeshayahu Jelinek (2nd ed.)]

ZIEGFELD, FLORENZ (1869–1932), U.S. showman. Ziegfeld, born in Chicago, started his career at the Chicago World Fair, 1893, and staged his first production in 1896 in New York. His star was Anna Held, whom he had brought from Europe and later married, and he publicized the show with front-page advertising, a device which subsequently became his hallmark. In 1907, after a visit to Paris, he launched the *Ziegfeld Follies* and presented new editions periodically until 1931. These extravaganzas included lavish arrays of beautiful showgirls and set the standard for Broadway musical revues. Ziegfeld became known as "the glorifier of the American girl" and "the apostle of the beauty show." His many other productions included *Showboat* (1927 and 1932) and *Rio Rita* (1927), which opened at the Ziegfeld Theater built for him by William Randolph Hearst. Ziegfeld's productions brought fame to many stars, including Eddie *Cantor and Will Rogers. The film *The Great Ziegfeld* told the story of his career.

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[Lee Healey]

ZIEGLER, ARCHIBALD (1903–1971), painter and sculptor. Ziegler was born in London and belonged to the group of "second-generation" Anglo-Jewish artists. Following his first one-man exhibition at the Whitechapel Art Gallery in 1932, he was commissioned to execute a series of large murals at Toynbee Hall, the famous East London community and educational center. His only Jewish commission was for stained-glass windows at the Walthamstow and Leyton Synagogue, London. From 1938 he was a visiting lecturer at the St. Martin's School of Art. Ziegler was closely connected with the Ben Uri Art Gallery and Society, a unique center in London for Jewish art activities. He was principally a painter of landscape, a favorite subject being Hampstead Heath in London, where he lived. In his later years he took up sculpture and had considerable success as a portraitist; his bust of Norman Bentwich was presented to the Hebrew University, Jerusalem.

[Charles Samuel Spencer]

ZIEGLER, IGNAZ (1861–1948), scholar. Ziegler, who was born in Dolny Kubin, Slovakia, studied at the rabbinical seminary and the University of Budapest. During the period of his studies, he was influenced by the Reform movement and from 1888 served as liberal rabbi of Carlsbad, where he accomplished a great deal for the Jewish community. Ziegler sympathized with Zionism.

His research dealt with the Bible, Talmud and Midrash, Jewish religious philosophy, and Jewish history. In his most important work, *Die Koenigsgleichnisse des Midrasch* (1903), he dealt with the "parables of kings in the Midrash" in the light of the historical and factual reality of the Roman Empire. His other important works are: *Religioese Disputationen im Mittelalter* (1894); *Die Geschichte des Judenthums* (1900); *Die Geistesreligion und das juedische Religionsgesetz* (1912); *Dokumente zur Geschichte der Juden in Karlsbad (1791–1869)* (1913); *Das magische Judentum* (1923); and the two-volume *Die sittliche Welt des Judentums*, 2 vols. (1924–28).

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[Moshe David Herr]

ZIFF, MORRIS (1913–2005), U.S. rheumatologist. Ziff was born in Brooklyn, New York, and earned his B.S. (1934) and Ph.D. (1937) in chemistry from New York University (NYU) where he was a postdoctoral research chemist with Erwin Chargaff (1939–41). The difficulties of pursuing a career in basic science persuaded him to obtain his M.D. (1948) from NYU Medical College where he worked as a clinical and research rheumatologist (1950–58) and was head of clinical research from 1952. In 1958 he moved to the University of Texas Southwestern Medical School in Dallas as professor of medicine and founding director of the Rheumatic Diseases Division. He became an Ashbel Smith Professor (1981), the highest professorial rank in the university, and he remained chief of rheumatology until 1984. He was founding director of the Harold C. Simmons Arthritis Research Center (1983–84), and he continued his research and clinical activities as professor emeritus until 1999. Ziff pursued a career-long interest in the immunological and inflammatory mechanisms that affect joints in rheumatoid arthritis and are widespread in the body in other rheumatic diseases. He used his laboratory discoveries to develop tests of clinical value for diagnosis and assessing disease activity. His ideas inspired similar research in most major rheumatology centers in the world. His program of integrated laboratory and clinical studies also became an accepted model for organizing research in this field. His identification of cytokines as the factors that stimulate joint inflammation was an important contribution to the current development of monoclonal antibodies for controlling rheumatic diseases. In addition to his research skills, Ziff was an outstanding clinician and teacher. His extraordinary blend of scientific rigor, intellectual curiosity, and human sympathy inspired the 131 research fellows he trained to pursue similar, often outstanding careers throughout the world. His many honors included the Heberden Medal of the British Society for Rheumatology (1964), the Carol Nachman Prize (1974), the Bunim Medal of the Pan-American Congress of Rheumatology (1982), and the first Gold Medal of the American College of Rheumatology (1988).

[Michael Denman (2nd ed.)]

ZIFRONI, ISRAEL BEN DANIEL (16th century), Hebrew printer. Zifroni was a native of Guastalla, near Padua, Italy, and lived in Gazzuolo. In 1567 he worked as corrector in *Sabbioneta for Vicenzo Conti, who produced three works, among them Menahem b. Zeraḥ's halakhic compendium *Ẓeidah la-Derekh*. The period of his finest achievements was 1578–83, when among other works he printed a fine edition of the Talmud (1578–80) for Ambrosius Froben in *Basle, and a Pentateuch with *haftarot*, the Five Scrolls, etc. (1583) for Th. Guarin. Because of difficulties with the Basle city fathers, Froben and Zifroni printed some of their works in *Freiburg-im-Breisgau, such as Aaron of Pesaro's *Toledot Aharon*, Benjamin of Tudela's *Masot*, and a Judeo-German paraphrase of Berechiah ha-Nakdan's *Mishlei Shu'alim* (1584). Zifroni eventually returned to Italy, where he worked for Di Gara of Venice as corrector (from 1588). Zifroni's son MOSES ELISHAMA also became a Hebrew printer and was active in *Mantua for T. Ruffinelli and the brothers I. and S. Norzi (1593–97), after which he joined his father in Venice.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: D.W. Amram, *Makers of Hebrew Books in Italy* (1909), index; M. Steinschneider, *Juedische Typographie* (1938^2), 2ff.; J. Prijs, *Baseler hebraeische Drucke* (1964), index.

ZIKHRONOT (Heb. **זִכְרוֹנוֹת**; "remembrance" verses), name of one of the benedictions in the *Musaf* prayer of *Rosh Ha-Shanah. This section begins with *Attah zokher* ("Thou rememberest") and contains ten biblical verses (four from the Pentateuch, three from Psalms, and three from the Prophets) praising God who remembered, among other things, *Noah during the flood, the Israelites in Egyptian slavery, and His covenant with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. The prayer closes with a plea that God remember the binding of Isaac (see **Akedah*), and, through Abraham's merit, bestow mercy upon his descendants. These *Zikhronot* verses express the most characteristic significance of Rosh Ha-Shanah, the Jewish New Year, as a "Day of Remembrance" (*Yom ha-Zikkaron*). At the end of their recital (as with the **Malkhuyyot* and **Shofarot* verses) the *shofar* is sounded. The reciting of the *Zikhronot* on Rosh Ha-Shanah is mentioned already in the Mishnah (RH 4:5–6) and is believed to have been part of the Rosh Ha-Shanah liturgy in the Temple.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Elbogen, Gottesdienst, 141–4; E. Munk, *The World of Prayer*, 2 (1963), 202–4; Abrahams, Companion, cxcviii f.; Eisenstein, Dinim, 232f.

ZIKHRON YA'AKOV (Heb. **זִכְרוֹן יַעֲקֹב**), village with municipal council status in N. Israel, on the southern spur of Mount Carmel. Founded in 1882 by Jews from Romania, it was one of the earliest settlements of the Ḥovevei Zion movement. Zikhron Ya'akov was initially called by the Arabic name of the site, Zammrin, which was erroneously supposed to be derived from "Shomron." The following year, Baron Edmond de *Rothschild took a personal and financial interest in the village and named it Zikhron Ya'akov ("Memory of Jacob") after his father, James de Rothschild. On his initiative wine grapes were introduced as a principal agricultural branch, and one of the two large wine cellars established in the country (the other is at *Rishon le-Zion) was built. After a short time, however, the vineyards were seriously hit by the *Phylloxera* pest, and the vines had to be replaced by strains introduced from America. In 1903 a convention of the Jewish settlers of Ereẓ Israel was held at Zikhron Ya'akov to create a kind of Jewish umbrella organization. M.M. *Ussishkin addressed the meeting, at which the *Teachers Association (*Histadrut ha-Morim*) was founded. The physician Hillel *Joffe, known for his fight against malaria, lived in Zikhron Ya'akov, as did the botanist and agronomist Aaron *Aaronsohn and his sister *Sarah, who founded the secret *Nili intelligence group in World War I; their home was later turned into a museum. Zikhron Ya'akov started becoming a holiday resort in the late 1930s and 1940s. One of the first and important centers was the artists' rest home, Bet Dani'el (on the Bentwich-Lange-Friedlaender estate), which was named after the young pianist Daniel Friedlaender. In the first years of Israel's statehood the village expanded considerably when it absorbed many new immigrants. In 1950 Zikhron Ya'akov received council municipal status. In the 1960s, however, its population remained static, with 4,470 inhabitants in 1968. Farming, in which vineyards and other fruit orchards continue to be prominent, was important along with industry (the wine cellar, a hosiery plant producing for export, and smaller enterprises), tourism, and recreation. In

1963 a group of Christians from Germany established a closed community in the northern part of the town, run like a kibbutz and operating factories for air purification systems, blankets, and processed foods. In the mid-1990s the population of Zikhron Ya'akov expanded to approximately 8,090, rising further to 14,300 in 2002 with new neighborhoods coming into existence. The municipality developed the original first street of the moshavah into a tourist attraction.

In 1954 Baron de Rothschild's remains were transferred to a mausoleum, surrounded by beautiful gardens, at Zikhron Ya'akov. Also buried in the village is the labor leader David *Remez, who spent many years there as a pioneer and labor organizer, and in whose honor a large rest house of Kuppat Ḥolim, Bet Remez, is named.

[Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

ZIKLAG (Heb. צִקְלַג), town apportioned to the tribe of Simeon along with Hormah and Beth-Marcaboth (Josh. 19:5). It was later included in Judah where it was part of the first district, again with Hormah (Josh. 15:31). According to I Samuel 27:6, it was given to David, then a refugee from the persecution of Saul, by Achish, the Philistine ruler of Gath; therefore, at that time, it must have been within the orbit of Philistine power. It was David's base till the time of the battle of Gilboa; after he was sent away from Aphek by the Philistines, he found the city burned by the Amalekites, whom he pursued and destroyed (I Sam. 30). From Ziklag David sent the spoils from this battle to various cities in Judah and there he heard, on the third day after his return, the grievous news of the fall of Saul and Jonathan; after slaying the messenger, he made his famous lament there (II Sam. 1:17ff.). David was joined in Ziklag by his "mighty men" (I Chron. 12:1ff.) and from the city he went to claim the kingship of Judah. It was one of the places inhabited by Jews after the return from the Babylonian exile (Neh. 11:28). Eusebius locates the place in the Daromas (Onom. 156: 11). Most scholars, following A. Alt, have identified Ziklag with Tell al-Ḥuwaylifa, a prominent tell 20 mi. (32 km.) southwest of Hebron, in a pass on the fringe of the Judean mountains; as this site does not seem to fall within the area of Philistine domination, however, *Press and *Aharoni have suggested Tell al-Shariʿa further to the west, which others have identified with Gerar.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Alt, in: JPOS, 15 (1935), 317ff.; Press, Ereẓ, 4 (1955), 806f.; Aharoni, Land, index.

[Michael Avi-Yonah]

ZILBER, LEV ALEKSANDROVICH (1894–1966). Russian microbiologist, virologist, and immunologist. He was the brother of B.A. *Kaverin. Zilber graduated from St. Petersburg University in 1915 and Moscow University in 1919. He began to work at the Institute of Microbiology of the People's Kommisariat of Health in 1921.

Due to the fact that he was an honest and principled researcher, Zilber more than once suffered repression: between 1937 and 1939 and from 1940 to 1944, he was incarcerated in Soviet "corrective labor" camps. From 1939 to 1940 he headed the department of virology, and in 1945 the department of immunology and malignant growths at the Institute of Epidemiology and Microbiology of the Academy of Medical Sciences of the U.S.S.R. From 1945 he was a member of this academy. His scientific fields of interest encompassed the variability of microorganisms and immunology. In 1937 he described a previously unknown viral disease: Far Eastern tick elephantiasis. In 1945 he began elaborating a viral theory of the origin of cancer. He was awarded a Stalin Prize in 1946 and a joint State Prize posthumously in 1967, for the discovery of the pathogenesis of the Raus chicken sarcoma in other kinds of animals.

[*The Shorter Jewish Encyclopedia in Russian,* Jerusalem]

ZILBERTS, ZAVEL (1881–1949), composer, conductor, and *ḥazzan*. Born in Karlin, near Pinsk, Russia, Zilberts became his father's successor as *ḥazzan* upon the latter's death in 1895, and by the age of 18 he was singing his own compositions. After studying music at the conservatory in Warsaw, he became conductor of the famous Hazomir choral society in Lodz. Between 1907 and 1914 he was choir master in the Central Synagogue, Moscow. He returned to Lodz for another six years before emigrating to the U.S. in 1920. Striving for the establishment of a pure, unaccompanied choral style, he founded the Zilberts Choral Society in 1930 and became musical director of the Jewish Ministers-Cantors Association of America, composing a large number of liturgical pieces and choral arrangements for concert appearances organized by the Association.

His liturgical compositions were often based on motifs from biblical cantillations. His setting of **Havdalah* is widely known and has been sung and recorded by many *ḥazzanim*. Zilberts wrote the biblical cantatas *Jacob's Dream* and *Am Yisrael Ḥai*, and published *Neginot Yisrael* (1932) and *Music for the Synagogue* (1943).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: A. Fishman, in: *Jewish Review* (Feb. 10, 1949); H. Lefkowitch, in: *Proceedings of the Ninth Annual Conference-Convention of the Cantors Assembly of America* (1956), 25–30; I. Rabinovitch, *Of Jewish Music* (1952), 230–2, 240–1.

[David M.L. Olivestone]

ZILBOORG, GREGORY (1890–1959), psychiatrist. Zilboorg was born in Kiev, Russia. He served as a physician in the Russian army, participated in the first revolution in Petrograd in 1917, and was secretary to the Ministry of Labor in the cabinets of Prince Lvov and Kerensky. He edited a daily paper in Kiev until the German occupation. Zilboorg was forced to leave Russia in 1919, when he settled in the U.S. He graduated from the Columbia College of Physicians and Surgeons, New York City, in 1926, and was at the Berlin Psychoanalytic Institute from 1929 to 1930. After 1931 he entered private practice in psychiatry and psychoanalysis. He was a member of the Committee for the Study of Suicide, assistant clinical professor of psychiatry in the New York Medical College, and on the Consulting Delegation on Criminology to the United Nations.

Zilboorg's research and writings extend over several particular fields. His two major works were *The Medical Man and the Witch During the Renaissance* (1935) and *A History of Medical Psychology* (in collaboration with George W. Henry; 1941). His historical work was followed by *Mind, Medicine and Man* (1943), *Sigmund Freud* (1951), *The Psychology of the Criminal Act and Punishment* (1954), and *Freud and Religion* (1958). Among Zilboorg's shorter works three deal with suicide: *Suicide among Civilized and Primitive* (1936), *Differential Diagnostic Types of Suicide* (1936), and *Considerations on Suicide…* (1937). His paper "On Social Responsibility" in *Searchlights on Delinquency* (ed. K.R. *Eissler, 1948) provides an insight into Zilboorg's view of the role of psychoanalysis vis-à-vis the problems of society.

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[Louis Miller]

ZILINA (Slovak. **Žlina**; Hung. **Zsolna**; Ger. **Sillein**), town in N.W. Slovakia. After the repulsion of the Tatar invasion in the 13th century, King Béla IV of Hungary elevated Zilina to the status of a royal city and invited Jews and Germans to the abandoned and depopulated town, granting them certain important privileges. The town later suffered severely from various vicissitudes and was repeatedly burned down; the town archives therefore retain no documents concerning Jewish life there in this period.

Many of the inhabitants were German settlers, and the authorities prevented Jews from settling in Zilina. Even the *Toleranzpatent* of Josef II did not alter the situation. In 1840 the Hungarian parliament permitted Jews to settle in most places, but Zilina authorities still tried to prohibit Jewish settlement. Jews settled in nearby villages, such as Rajec and Varin. After the prohibition was lifted in 1840, Jews moved to Zilina. A commercial crossroads, it attracted Jewish businessmen. In 1834 there were 13 Jews in Zilina; in 1840, there were 22; in 1880 there were 619; in 1910 there were 1,467; and in 1940 there were 2,919. Most were deported in 1942 to extermination camps in Poland. In 1947, there were 497 Jews living in Zilina. Some 700 local Jews survived the Holocaust.

In 1852 Jewish communal life began in the town. There was a small synagogue, a *ḥeder*, a *ḥevra kaddisha*, and a cemetery. In 1861 the synagogue was enlarged, and there was a school, a *mikveh*, and a kosher slaughterhouse. After Zilina became an important railway center, more Jews moved in. They established saw mills and textile factories. Through Jewish initiative, Zilina became the center of the Slovakian timber trade.

After the Jewish Congress of 1868, the congregation chose the Reform path until 1921, when several hundred formed an Orthodox congregation. In 1938 a small group of Ḥasidim established a place of prayer following *nusaḥ sefarad*.

The Jewish community became a center of political and cultural activity. With the foundation of the Czechoslovak state, a group of Jews asked to be recognized as Slovaks of the Mosaic creed. They were followed by intensive Zionist activity. The city became a leading center of the Jewish Party, and its candidate served a long stint as deputy mayor. The Zionist movement had a major branch in Zilina, which included several youth movements. The Maccabi sports organization was well established and boasted several national champions.

After the Munich treaty of September 1938, Slovak nationalists, mainly in the Hlinka Slovak People's Party, proclaimed autonomy for Slovakia within the Czechoslovak Republic. The proclamation took place in Zilina. On March 14, 1939, Slovakia proclaimed independence under the aegis of Berlin. The new state immediately embarked on persecuting Jews. All Jewish children were expelled from non-Jewish schools and autonomous Jewish institutions were outlawed. In 1940 many Jews were expelled from Bratislava, and some settled in Zilina. Thus the Jewish population rose to 3,500.

In March 1942 the deportation of Jews from Slovakia to extermination centers in Poland began. Being close to the Polish border and a central transportation hub, Zilina was the final preparation point for Poland-bound transports. The living conditions were so squalid and the Hlinka Guard so brutal that the state had to intervene. While waiting for their transport, the inmates were forced to work on building a soccer stadium, which is still in use.

In 1943–44 the remaining Jewish community helped Jewish refugees from Poland, who had crossed the Slovak border illegally, to cross the Hungarian border to safety. In August 1944 the Slovak Uprising began, and Zilina became a hiding place. Jews caught by the Germans were sent to Poland.

Zilina was liberated in spring 1945, and the small community attempted to rebuild its Jewish life. A synagogue was renovated, and the cemetery was cleaned up. A public kitchen distributed food to the homeless returnees and the Displaced Persons on their way home. Zilina also became a center of *"illegal" immigration (Aliyah B) on the way to Palestine.

The Zionist youth movements flourished, preparing their members for Palestine. In the cemetery a memorial to victims of the Holocaust was erected. In the 1950s the Jews suffered badly under the Communist regime. In 1967 there were 254 Jews in Zilina.

During the Prague Spring of 1968 whoever could leave the country did so; mainly the elderly remained. After the Velvet Revolution (1989), the community organized public life again. The Reform synagogue was sold and became a concert hall. June 17 is the memorial day of the Zilina congregation; in 2004 a memorial to the Jews who perished at the transportation center was erected, made of twisted railway tracks.

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[Elieser Beck / Yeshayahu Jelinek (2nd ed.)]

ZILKHA, family of bankers originating in *Baghdad. KHEDOURY ZILKHA (1884–1956), a descendant of textile traders, founded the family banking house in Baghdad in 1899 with a capital of $250. Baghdad's rising importance as a communications and trading center contributed to his success as a banker. Under the threat of extortionists he left Baghdad in 1926 and as a result, interest rates rose considerably in the Baghdad bazaar. In 1927 Zilkha opened a bank in *Beirut, followed by branches in *Damascus (1935) and *Cairo (1937). In 1941 Zilkha settled in the United States where he and his four sons, MAURICE (1917–1964), ABDULLA (1913–), Ezra (1925–), and SELIM (1927–), began to operate a successful worldwide network of financing and foreign exchange operations. In 1950, however, the original Baghdad house was seized by the Iraqi government, and in 1956 the Cairo firm was expropriated by the Egyptian government.

[Joachim O.Ronall]

ZILKHA, NAʿIM (1879–1929), Iraqi lawyer. Zilkha started to practice law in his native *Baghdad in 1904. In 1908 he became a member of the Beirut Court of Appeals, retaining his post for over ten years and rising to deputy president of the court. Returning to *Iraq in 1921, he became deputy president of the *Basra civil courts, and in 1922 president of the Diyala Province civil courts. He was elected to the Iraqi House of Representatives in 1925 and remained a member until his death. He was one of the few young Jews in the Iraqi House of Representatives who had the courage to express opposition to the government. In 1925 he was also appointed lecturer at the Baghdad law school, and became active in the Jewish community council; he was elected chairman of the "Jeshmi Committee," in charge of the secular affairs of the Jewish community, and held this position until his death. He made attempts to introduce reforms in the life of the Jewish community and to restrict the influence of religious dignitaries and the rich; he succeeded in forcing Rabbi *Dangoor to resign from his post as head of the community. Zilkha's sudden death put an end to the reforms that he had initiated.

[Hayyim J.Cohen]

ZILPAH (Heb. זִלְפָּה), handmaid of *Leah and concubine of *Jacob. *Laban gave Zilpah to his daughter Leah as a handmaid on the occasion of Leah's marriage to Jacob (Gen. 29:24; 46:18). A parallel custom is attested in the *Nuzi Documents. When Leah ceased bearing children she presented Zilpah to her husband as a concubine (30:9; 37:2), just as her sister *Rachel had previously done with her own maid *Bilhah (30:3). Two sons, *Gad and *Asher, were born of the union between Jacob and Zilpah (30:10–13; 35:26). Sixteen descendants of Zilpah are listed in the Genesis genealogies (46:18). There is no further mention of Zilpah in the Bible.

ZIM, Israel Navigation Company Ltd., founded in June 1945 by the Jewish Agency, the Histadrut, and the Palestine Maritime League in order to build a merchant fleet that would make the prospective Jewish state independent of foreign shipping, as well as to exploit the sea as a source of income. The word *ẓim* means ships and appears in the Bible (Num. 24:24). The Jewish Agency held 45% of the shares, the Histadrut 45%, and the Palestine Maritime League 10%. Supreme control by the future state was ensured in the articles of the company by a governor's share that gave its owners public-political control. In 1959 the government became a one-third partner in the company; in 1965 its share rose to 80%. Zim's first ship, purchased in January 1947 in partnership with a British company, was the 3,500-ton *Kedmah*, which opened a passenger and cargo service between Haifa and Marseilles. After the establishment of the State of Israel, it became vital to transport immediately the mass of refugees from Europe. Zim then merged with Oniyyot u-Sefinot, a branch of the Mosad, the organization for "illegal" immigration, which at the time owned many boats that had been confiscated by the British authorities. Some of the vessels were found suitable for the transport of immigrants; others were used to form the Israel navy.

In 1951 Zim, for the first time, ordered two new cargo boats. After the reparations agreement was signed between Israel and West Germany, Zim received purchase credits and, between 1953 and 1955, ordered 18 new ships from German shipyards, including two passenger ships for its European lines, two passenger-cargo ships for the transatlantic line, and one tanker. Subsequently Zim had ships built in shipyards in Japan, France, Italy, Yugoslavia, Sweden, and Israel, and by the beginning of 1970 the company owned or operated 60 ships with a deadweight of 1,012,605 tons. In 1964 the 25,000-ton passenger ship SS *Shalom* began service on the Haifa-New York line. The management's decision to provide two kitchens on board – one for kosher and the other for non-kosher food – aroused a violent controversy, and eventually Zim had to operate the ship with only a kosher kitchen. The ship did not make a sufficient profit and was sold in 1967. The passenger service reached its peak in 1960 when four passenger ships were serving Zim. In 1967 Zim employed 3,400 sailors and shore employees. The expansion of maritime training facilities accompanied the development of the fleet. However, passenger service declined in the 1960s as elsewhere in the world and by 1970 Zim owned no passenger ships.

Zim then expanded its cargo lines and began operating specialized ships such as bulk carriers, refrigerated ships, and tankers. Another important field of activity was the operation of tankers carrying oil from Iran to Israel, and petroleum products from Israel to Europe. In the early 1970s Zim established ZCS – ZIM Container Service. The company ordered and built six ships, the first generation of large specialized container ships, as well as shore equipment and containers. During the early 1980s Zim faced another financial crisis, but eventually achieved a turnaround. The year 1985 marked the start of a new era for a leaner, more flexible, and more profitable Zim. In the early 2000s the company constituted an integrated international transportation system, combining a variety of transport-related activities and providing a wide range of services. Zim operates over 80 vessels of all types. Of these, 27 vessels are fully or partly owned and the rest chartered. In 2004 the Israeli government sold its shares (49%) in Zim to Israel Corporation, owned by the Ofer family, transforming Zim into a private company. Zim's ships maintain regular communications with most European countries, the U.S. and Canada, South America, West and East Africa, and countries in Asia, including Hong Kong, Japan, and Australia. The company's rapid and successful development attracted the attention of new countries in Africa and Asia, which invited the company to organize and run their shipping. The national shipping of Ghana and Burma were organized by Zim.

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[Zvi Herman / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

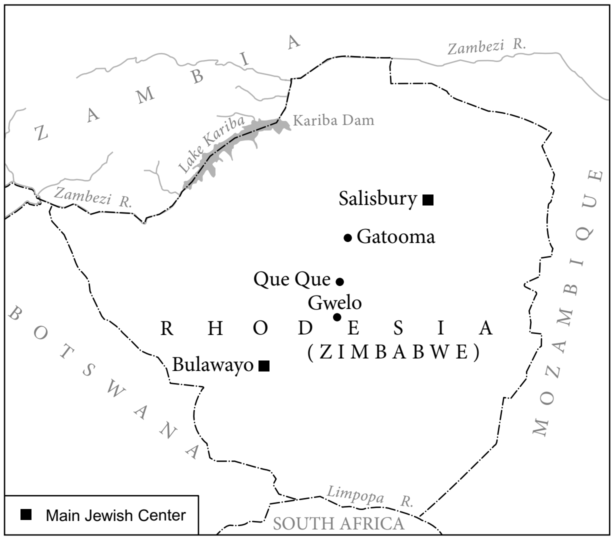

Jewish communities in Zimbabwe (then Rhodesia), 1971.

ZIMBABWE, formerly the British colony of Southern Rhodesia and, briefly, the Republic of Rhodesia. Organized Jewish life in Zimbabwe goes back to 1894 when about 20 Jews were among the purchasers of land in Bulawayo. They established a congregation there in that year, followed by another in *Salisbury (later renamed Harare) in 1895. A third congregation, which remained small, was established in Gwelo in 1901. Individual Jewish traders had penetrated north of the Limpopo 35 years earlier, and a number of Jews were in the occupation column that Cecil Rhodes sent to Salisbury in 1890 as well as in the fighting columns of 1893 and 1896. An important role in the development of Rhodesia was played by Alfred *Beit. The majority of the Jewish settlers were of Russian and Lithuanian origin, although later on an appreciable number of Sephardim came from the Aegean island of Rhodes. The earliest settlers came up from the south, some by way of the east coast through Portuguese Beira. Joe van Praag, who later became mayor of Salisbury, is known to have walked from Beira. There was a small influx of German refugees in the late 1930s, and during the period of prosperity after World War II a considerable number of South African and English Jews settled in Rhodesia. The Jewish settlers founded newspapers and were largely responsible for pioneering efforts in transportation systems, mining, the tobacco industry, cattle and produce marketing, furniture and clothing industries, and the hotel business. As the population began to grow and disperse, a number of synagogues were established. According to census figures, there were 400 Jews in 1900, 1,289 in 1921, 2,219 in 1936, 4,760 in 1951, and 7,060 in 1961. The two main Jewish centers were Bulawayo and Salisbury, with smaller congregations in Gatooma, Gwelo, and Que Que. After 1965, when the ruling white supremacist Rhodesian Front unilaterally declared Rhodesian independence in a bid to perpetuate white minority rule, the Jewish population declined precipitously. UDI resulted in Rhodesia's being increasingly isolated by the international community, and it inevitably led in due course to a long, ruinous civil war between the white minority regime and the various black liberation movements (1976–79). The Jewish population was approximately 5,500 in 1968 and barely a quarter that number 12 years later, when political power finally passed to the black majority. Rhodesia was renamed Zimbabwe and the country's inaugural elections were won by Robert Mugabe's ZANU-PF party. Emigrating Jews largely settled in neighboring South Africa, although a fairly substantial number went to Israel or the U.K. The Jewish population, together with that of the white minority, continued to shrink under Mugabe's increasingly authoritarian rule. In December 1987, only 1,200 Jews remained in Zimbabwe, two-thirds of whom were over the age of 65. Nearly all were living in Harare and Bulawayo, the former midlands communities of Gweru, Kwe Kwe, and Kadoma having by then ceased to function. During the mid-1990s, Zimbabwe entered a sustained period of economic and political turmoil, as Mugabe's ruling ZANU-PF party resorted to ever more totalitarian methods to remain in power amidst crumbling social services, food and other shortages, and hyper-inflation. In 2004, fewer than 400 Jews remained in the country. Despite the attrition, the Jewish communal infrastructure remained intact, with organizations like the Zimbabwe Jewish Board of Deputies, Central African Zionist Organization, women's Zionist groups, and the Union of Jewish Women still functioning. There were three synagogues, all Orthodox, of which two were in Harare and the other in Bulawayo. Sharon School in Harare, whose student body is now 90% non-Jewish, nevertheless provides some Jewish-related instruction for the community's few remaining Jewish children. Savyon Lodge, the Jewish Aged Home in Bulawayo, had

31 Jewish residents in 2004. With an average age of over 70 and no sign of any reversal in the near future of the country's ongoing implosion, Zimbabwe Jewry is today a community coming to terms with its own imminent demise.

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[Maurice Wagner / David Saks (2nd ed.)]

ZIMBALIST, EFREM (1889–1985), violinist and composer. Zimbalist was born at Rostov on Don, Russia, and received his earliest musical training from his father, a conductor, before studying at the St. Petersburg Conservatory with Leopold *Auer. He made his European debut with the Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra in 1907. In 1911 he went to the U.S., making his American debut with the Boston Symphony Orchestra, and became one of the most prominent violinists on the U.S. concert scene. In 1914 he married the singer, Alma *Gluck, who died in 1938. In the same year he married Mary Louise Curtis, the founder of the Curtis Institute of Music, Philadelphia, of which he became director in 1941. Zimbalist specialized in the history of early violin music. He composed the opera *Landara* (1956), orchestral and chamber works, songs, and *One Hour's Daily Exercises for Violin* (1918). He left the Jewish faith.

EFREM ZIMBALIST JR. (1923–), U.S. actor, musician, and producer, was the son of Efrem Zimbalist by Alma Gluck but was not of the Jewish faith. He was born in New York where, in 1947 and 1950, he produced three operas by Gian-Carlo Menotti. The last, *The Consul*, won a Pulitzer Prize and the New York Drama Critics' Award. Early minor roles with the American Repertory Theater led to his Broadway debut in *Hedda Gabler* (1948). After the death of his wife in 1950, Zimbalist went into semi-retirement, working with his father. In 1954 he returned to acting, and as the lead in the television series "77 Sunset Strip," won popular acclaim.

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ZIMMELS, HIRSCH JACOB (1900–1975), rabbi and scholar. Zimmels, born in Yavorov, Poland, lectured from 1929 to 1933 at the Juedisch-Theologisches Seminar, Breslau, and from 1934 to 1939 was rabbi of the Israelitische Kultusgemeinde, Vienna. Zimmels left Austria for England after the Nazi *Anschluss* in 1938, and in 1944 was appointed lecturer in Bible, Talmud, and Jewish history at Jews' College London. He became director of studies in 1961 and was principal in 1964–69.

Zimmels' published works, based mainly on his important research into responsa literature, include: *Beitraege zur Geschichte der Juden in Deutschland* (1926); *R. David ibn Abi Simra's (R.D.b.S) Leben und Lebenswerk* (1932); *Die Marranen in der rabbinischen Literatur* (1932); *Magicians, Theologians and Doctors* (1952); and *Ashkenazim and Sephardim* (1958).

[Alexander Tobias]

°**ZIMMERLI, WALTHER** (1907–1983), Swiss Bible scholar. Born in Schiers (Graubuenden), Zimmerli was professor in Zurich (from 1938) and Goettingen (from 1951). The subject of his research is expressed in the title of the collection of his articles *Das Alte Testament als Anrede* ("The Old Testament as a Harangue," 1956) and *Gottes Offenbarung* (1963). In his commentary on Ezekiel (2 vols., 1955–69), he explains in detail the message of the prophet in its historical-traditional context; the present Book of Ezekiel is the result of a later development of the prophetic word within an "Ezekielian school." In his commentary, Zimmerli applies the form-critical method, especially to the theologically significant formulas (e.g., "formula of self-introduction," "statements of realization," "word of proof").

One of his main interests is the marginal position of the Wisdom writings in relation to the theology of the Old Testament (*Zur Struktur der alttestamentlichen Weisheit*, in ZAW, 51 (1933), 177–204); his commentary on Ecclesiastes belongs in this context (*Das Buch des Prediger Salomo*, 1962). In various works Zimmerli deals with aspects of the theology of the Old Testament (*Das Gesetz und die Propheten*, 1963; *Der Mensch und seine Hoffnung im Alten Testament*, 1968; *Die Weltlichkeit des Alten Testaments*, 1971).

[Rudolf Smend]

ZIMMERMAN, CHARLES SASCHA (1897–1983), U.S. labor leader. Zimmerman, who was born in the Ukraine, came to the United States in 1913 and went to work in a New York City knee-pants shop. In 1916 he joined the International Ladies Garment Workers Union (ILGWU) and thereafter the Socialist Party. With the emergence of the American Communist movement after World War I he became a member of the Communist Party, whose faction in the ILGWU he led throughout the early 1920s. In 1926, a year after becoming union manager of the Communist-controlled New York Joint Board, Local 22, ILGWU, Zimmerman organized a general strike. Though he considered the management's eventual settlement offer to represent a substantial victory for the workers, the Communist Party forced a continuation of the walkout, which ended in defeat. The experience had a sobering effect. Zimmerman, although he remained in the Party for a few more years as leader of its Needle Trades Industrial Union, resigned in 1929 and in 1931 he led Local 22 back into the ILGWU. After his return to the ILGWU Zimmerman played an active role in the struggle against Communist influence in the labor movement. He was made vice president of the ILGWU in 1943, a post he long held. He was also active in the American Labor Party in New York State, until his resignation in 1946, after it veered to the left. After World War II, through his activities in the Jewish Labor Committee, Zimmerman was active in the cause of civil rights. In 1949 he became a leader of Amum-Israeli Housing Corporation, an enterprise in low-cost housing in Israel undertaken by the ILGWU and several other American unions.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: M. Epstein, *Jewish Labor in U.S.A.*, 2 vols. (1950–53), index; idem, *The Jew and Communism, 1919–1941* (1959), index.

ZIMMERMAN, HARRY M. (1901–1995), U.S. neuropathologist. From 1930 to 1943 he was professor of pathology at Yale. After World War II he became chief of laboratories of New York's Montefiore Hospital and clinical professor of pathology at Columbia's College of Physicians and Surgeons. From 1963 he was professor of pathology at Yeshiva University's Albert Einstein College of Medicine.

For many years Zimmerman was consultant in pathology and neuropathology to hospitals and institutes, including the Armed Forces Institute of Pathology in Washington, D.C. He was associate editor of the *American Journal of Pathology* (1943–53). He wrote many scientific papers, and coauthored the three-volume work *Neuroradiology Workshop* (1961–68).

[Fred Rosner]

ZIMMERMAN, SHELDON (1942–), U.S. Reform rabbi, administrator. Zimmerman was born in Toronto, Canada, and received his B.A. (1964) and M.A. (1965) from the University of Toronto. In 1970, he was ordained at *Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion, which awarded him an honorary D.D. in 1995. Following ordination, he was appointed assistant rabbi of New York City's Central Synagogue, where he was elevated to the position of senior rabbi in 1972 (1972–85). He was also a member of the faculties of Hunter College (1966–69), Fordham University (1971–74) and the New York campus of HUC-JIR, where he taught liturgy and rabbinics (1980–85). Reaching out to those in need, he organized an interfaith coalition of churches with his synagogue and founded the first feeding program for the homeless in the mid-Manhattan area; he also welcomed the first Alcoholics Anonymous group ever to meet in a synagogue. In addition, he served on the national rabbinic cabinets of the United Jewish Appeal, the Jewish National Fund, and State of Israel Bonds, as well as on the boards of the World Center for Jewish Unity and the Synagogue Council of America. He was religious news commentator for the radio station WOR and moderator of the Message of Israel radio broadcasts started by Rabbi Jonah *Wise.

In 1985, Zimmerman became senior rabbi of Temple Emanu-El in Dallas, Texas (1985–96), where was also adjunct professor at Southern Methodist University and Perkins Theological Seminary (1986–89). His civic involvement included serving as chairman of the Interfaith Commission of the Jewish Community Relations Council and on the Committee on Institutional Ethics at Baylor University Medical Center as well as on the boards of Children's Medical Foundation, Jewish Federation of Dallas, and the Chaplains Advisory Board of SMU. He also served as alumnus in residence at HUC-JIR's Los Angeles (1985) and Cincinnati campus (1989).

In the Reform movement, Zimmerman served as president of two of the three cornerstones of Reform Judaism: the *Central Conference of American Rabbis and HUC-JIR. After serving as a member of the executive committee and board of trustees of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, president of HUC-JIR's Rabbinical Alumni Association and co-chairman of the UAHC-CCAR Joint National Commission on Outreach, he was elected vice president (1991–93) and then president (1993–95) of the CCAR. During his term of office, he was selected by President Clinton to be part of a delegation accompanying Vice President Gore to Warsaw to commemorate the 50th anniversary of the Warsaw Ghetto uprising and was invited to Jerusalem by President Ezer Weizman to participate in a conference of leaders of world Jewry.

In 1996, Zimmerman was named the seventh president of Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion. He was credited with restoring prominence to HUC-JIR's faculty; also during his tenure, the Los Angeles school began ordaining rabbis – prior to that students could begin their studies on the West Coast – and would have to complete them in New York and Cincinnati. He resigned in 2000 after an investigation into his conduct as a rabbi several years earlier led to his suspension by the Central Conference of American Rabbis, which never made public the accusation but merely the verdict. Soon thereafter, he was appointed executive vice president of *Birthright Israel in 2001. In 2003, he became vice president of *United Jewish Communities' Jewish Renaissance and Renewal. He returned to the world of academia in 2006, teaching rabbinics at HUC-JIR.

Zimmerman is the author of three family prayer books for Sabbath and the festivals and co-editor of *The Threat of a Mixed Marriage – A Response*. He has contributed to a number of books, including *Alcoholism and the Jewish Community, Twelve Jewish Steps for Recovery* and *Healing of Soul, Healing of Body* – which were informed by his pioneering efforts as a founder of the Federation Task Force on Jewish Alcoholism and the support group JACS – and for which he received the first Marshall Hochhauser Memorial Award. He was also a member of the advisory board of Jewish Lights Publishing and of the publication committee of the Jewish Publication Society of America.

[Bezalel Gordon (2nd ed.)]

ZIMMERN, SIR ALFRED (1879–1957), English political scientist and an authority on international relations. Born in London, the son of a Jewish merchant (his mother was of Huguenot descent), Zimmern was educated at Winchester and Oxford, where he was fellow and tutor from 1904 to 1909. From 1919 to 1921 he held the chair of international relations at the University of Wales-Aberystwyth. In 1930 he returned to Oxford as professor of international relations. Zimmern held several important posts in the British government and was an adviser to the Ministry of Education and the Foreign Office. He was also deputy director of the League of Nations Institute of Intellectual Cooperation from 1926 to 1930 and was special adviser to UNESCO.

Zimmern's writings include *The Greek Commonwealth* (1931^5); *The Third British Empire* (1934^3); *The League of Nations and the Rule of Law, 1918–1935* (1939^2); and *Spiritual Values and World Affairs* (1939). They reflected his understanding of the historic factor in the development of international relations and, as a result, his advice on foreign affairs was sought by various governments. Though Zimmern was not connected with the Jewish community, *Weizmann consulted him on political questions. Zimmern was a lifelong advocate of the outlawing of war, enforced by international agreement, and was, in 1917, one of the first to suggest that war be outlawed by international treaty. He also believed in the inevitable progress of the human race, a proposition for which there was tragically little evidence during his lifetime. After 1947 he lived and taught in New England, dying in Connecticut.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *New York Times* (Nov. 25, 1957), 31; *Illustrated London News* (Nov. 30, 1957), 941. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** ODNB online.

ZIMRI (Heb. זִמְרִי; "my strength or protection [is the Deity]"), son of Salu, chieftain of a Simeonite ancestral house (Num. 25:14). The Israelites profaned themselves at Shittim by whoring with the Moabite women and by joining them in sacrifices to their god Baal-peor (Num. 25:1–2). Incensed, the Lord let loose a plague upon Israel (see Rashi, Num. 25:3) and ordered Moses to execute the ringleaders publicly (Num. 25:4). The earlier offense was further aggravated by Zimri, who brought a Midianite woman into his household (cf. Ibn Ezra, Num. 25:6) in full view of Moses and the assembled community who were bemoaning the plague. In an act of zeal for the Lord which became legendary (see I Macc. 2:26; IV Macc. 18:12), Phinehas son of Eleazar son of Aaron the priest killed both Zimri and the Midianite woman, Cozbi daughter of Zur, of a noble Midianite family. It was his action that turned away the wrath of God from the children of Israel. The plague ceased, but its victims numbered 24,000.

In the Aggadah

In midrashic literature the biblical events are further dramatized in that Zimri openly challenged Moses' leadership and the validity of the Torah. Zimri shamed Moses into silence by reminding him of the non-Israelite origin of his own wife Zipporah (although this was not really a sin since he had married her before the acceptance of the Torah at Sinai). It was Phinehas who prevented complete disaster. He remembered a law which Moses had forgotten in his confusion – that at that time an Israelite caught in the act of openly consorting with a foreign woman was liable to immediate execution by zealots. Advised by Moses to carry out this law, Phinehas executed Zimri and Cozbi, and the threat was ended (Sanh. 82a). In Josephus' amplified version of the story, Moses feared an open confrontation with the rebels and merely exhorted the people to remain faithful to God. Encouraged by his weak reaction, Zimri denounced the law as a tyrannical limitation of man's ability to act according to his own will. The quick action of Phinehas put an end to the rebellion (Jos., Ant., 4:141–56). Phinehas became a symbol for zealous action for the Lord, while Zimri became a symbol for the worst rebellion against God and his Torah: "Fear neither the Pharisees nor those who are not Pharisees, but those hypocrites who resemble Pharisees whose deeds are like the deeds of Zimri, yet they demand the reward of Phinehas" (Sot. 22b).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: G. B. Gray, *Numbers* (ICC, 1912), 386–7; EM, 2 (1954), 931; Ginzberg, Legends, index; I. Ḥasida, *Ishei ha-Tanakh* (1964), 144.

[Gershon Bacon]

ZIMRI (d. 885/4 B.C.E.), king of Israel. When Baasha's son *Elah had reigned only a few months, he was slain by Zimri, commander of half of the chariots. Upon taking power, Zimri executed all the males among the relatives and admirers of Baasha (I Kings 16:11), thus fulfilling the words of the prophet Jehu (I Kings 16:11–14). However, Zimri reigned only seven days, for *Omri, who was in command of the force that was laying siege to the Philistine town of Gibbethon, was proclaimed king by his men. He marched with them to *Tirzah, the royal residence of those days, which he captured without much difficulty. Before Omri reached the citadel in which the royal palace was situated, Zimri set fire to the palace over himself (I Kings 16:8–18). Though his reign was short, Zimri became a symbol of the slave who turns against his master. A generation later, when *Jehu assassinated *Jehoram, the last king of the House of Omri, the dowager queen *Jezebel mockingly addressed him as "Zimri, slayer of his master" (II Kings 9:30–31).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: EM, 2 (1954), 932–3, incl. bibl.

[Gershon Bacon]

ZINBERG, ISRAEL (**Sergei**; 1873–1939), historian of Hebrew and Yiddish literature. Born near Kremenets, Volhynia, into a maskilic family, Zinberg, a chemical engineer by profession and scholar by avocation, published his first work in the field of literary history in 1900 – a monograph, in Russian, on Isaac Baer *Levinsohn. Editor of, and chief contributor to, the Hebrew and Yiddish literature divisions of the Russian-Jewish encyclopedia (*Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia*, 16 vols., 1906–13), Zinberg served on its editorial board. Among the many Russo-Jewish periodicals and Yiddish publications to which he contributed were *Voskhod*, *Der Fraynd,* and *Di Yidishe Velt*, which he also helped to establish in St. Petersburg in 1912 (with S.*Dubnow and S. *Ginsburg). His monograph on old Yiddish literature appeared in *Istoriia evreiskogo naroda* (1914). In 1917, together with S. *Niger, Zinberg edited a Sholem Aleichem memorial volume. During these years he was active in the cultural life of St. Petersburg, wrote for newspapers, and gave lectures which prepared for his monumental *Geshikhte fun der Literatur bay Yidn* ("History of Jewish Literature," 9 vols. in 11, 1929–66), which chronicles Jewish literary creativity from the Spanish period to the end of the Russian Haskalah. In this monumental work, Zinberg displayed much scholarship, erudition, and originality both as critic and historian. Basing the study on primary sources, he combined the study of historical documents, social context, the primary centers of Jewish literature, and the languages used by the writers, and thus succeeded in giving a sense of the unity and diversity of Jewish cultural creativity and writing a readable history, which has become a standard work in its field (Hebrew transl., 1955–60; English transl., 1972–78).

Arrested in 1938 and deported to Vladivostok, where he died the following year, Zinberg was "rehabilitated" by the Soviet government in 1956. At the time of his arrest his papers were confiscated. Discovered later among these papers at the Academy of Sciences in Leningrad was the manuscript of the first part of the final volume of his history. Entitled "The Flowering of Haskalah Literature in Russia," the manuscript, dealing with the early works of S.J *Abramovitsh (Mendele Moykher Seforim), Abraham Uri *Kovner, M.L. *Lilienblum, Isaac Meir *Dik, and I.J. *Linetzki, was published by YIVO and Brandeis University in 1966.

Among Zinberg's other works are *Proiskhozhdenie Sheiloka* ("The Origin of Shylock," 1902), *Zhargonnaia literatura i yego chitateli* ("Yiddish Literature and Its Readers," 1903), *Dva techeniia v evreiskoi zhizni* ("Two Trends in Jewish Life," 1905), and *Istoriia evreiskoi pechati v Rossii* ("History of the Jewish Press in Russia," 1915), a study covering the Hebrew, Yiddish, and Russian Jewish press. A selection of Zinberg's essays, *Kultur-Historishe Shtudien* ("Studies in Cultural History," 1949, ed. by Jacob Shatzky), which appeared in New York, contains original Yiddish essays as well as translations from Russian.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Waxman, Literature, 4 (1960^2), 825ff.; LNYL, 7 (1968), 585–96; Kressel, Leksikon, 2 (1967), 718–9; D. Sadan, *Avnei Miftan* (1962), 251–5.

[Elias Schulman / Jean Baumgarten (2nd ed.)]

ZINNEMANN, FRED (1907–1997), U.S. film director and producer. Born in Vienna, Zinnemann went to Hollywood in 1929, worked as a script clerk, and in 1934 directed a full-length documentary, *The Wave*. Later he applied documentary techniques to feature films, and worked for M.G.M. until 1950, when he started on his own.

Among his most important films are *The Seventh Cross* (1944); *Act of Violence* (1949); *The Search* (Oscar nomination for Best Director, 1949); *The Men* (1950); *Benjy* (produced; Oscar for Best Short Documentary, 1951); *The Member of the Wedding* (1952); *High Noon* (Oscar nomination for Best Director, 1952); *From Here to Eternity* (Oscar for Best Director, 1953); *Oklahoma!* (1955); *A Hatful of Rain* (1957); *The Nun's Story* (Oscar nomination for Best Director, 1959); *The Sundowners* (produced; Oscar nomination for Best Picture and Best Director, 1960); *Behold a Pale Horse* (produced, 1964); *A Man for All Seasons* (produced; Oscar for Best Picture and Best Director, 1966);*The Day of the Jackal* (1973), *Julia* (Oscar nomination for Best Director, 1977); and *Five Days One Summer* (produced, 1982).

Among his many awards, Zinnemann received a Lifetime Achievement Award from the Directors Guild of America in 1970. His autobiography, *Fred Zinnemann: A Life in the Movies*, was published in 1992.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: A. Nolletti (ed.), *The Films of Fred Zinnemann: Critical Perspectives* (1999); N. Sinyard, *Fred Zinnemann: Films of Character and Conscience* (2003).

[Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

ZINOVIEV, GRIGORI YEVSEYEVICH (1883–1936), principal architect of the Communist International and its first chairman. He was Bolshevism's leading advocate of world revolution. He was born Grigori Yevseyevich Radomyslski in Yelizavetgrad (now Kirovograd), Ukraine. His bourgeois parents were Jewish, but Zinoviev, early in his youth, became completely assimilated to Russian life, particularly to the radical Marxist socialism then sweeping broad segments of the intelligentsia. He joined the Russian Social Democratic Workers Party in 1901, and its Bolshevik wing in 1903.

Having played an active role in the 1905 Revolution in St. Petersburg, he was chosen as a delegate to the Stockholm (Unity) Congress of the Social Democratic Party in 1906, where his powerful and inspiring oratory attracted immediate attention and assured him a prominent position in the Bolshevik hierarchy.

During the post-revolutionary period, Zinoviev shared *Lenin's exile and came to be the latter's closest collaborator, writing "everything that Lenin thought was required," whether it be "newspaper articles, circulars to party friends, resolutions, or brochures." He served as an editor of *Proletariy* and *Sotsial-Demokrat*, Bolshevik newspapers, and of *Kommunist*, a Bolshevik journal. In 1912 at the Prague Conference of the Bolsheviks, he was elected to their Central Committee

In the course of World War I, Zinoviev's close relationship with Lenin deepened. Jointly they published a landmark work, *Against the Tide*, attacking both the war and Social Democratic leaders who had supported the war; jointly, they organized the Zimmerwald (1915) and Kienthal (1916) Conferences of dissident Socialist groups; jointly, they rode the "sealed train" that took them back to Russia in April 1917, following the collapse of the czarist regime; and jointly, they went into hiding after the July uprising against the Provisional Government.

Zinoviev, panicking at a moment of crisis, split with Lenin in October on the question of the seizure of power. He feared that a Bolshevik coup at the time would lead to foreign intervention and a counterrevolutionary peasant uprising. Yet Zinoviev remained in the Central Committee of the party and continued to be one of its key figures until the middle of 1926. Early in 1922 he became a member of the all-powerful Politburo. In Petrograd he was the unchallenged "boss" both of the soviet and the party.

If Zinoviev had his hands on the levers of power within Russia, it was in Comintern activity that his influence was most strongly felt. Indeed, he was relieved of national administrative posts so that he might devote the maximum attention to the international revolutionary movement. Until November 1926 he was the chairman of the Comintern's executive committee and the driving force of its presidium. His ideological pronouncements constituted the major premises for the strategy and tactics of Communists everywhere. During 1919–20 his role was especially prominent, with the Comintern character and structure molded largely by him.

However, the retreat of the international revolutionary wave, beginning in 1921, dimmed his luster. The collapse of the "March Action" in Germany (1921), for which he was largely responsible, and the defeat of the revolution in Germany in October 1923, contributed to the decline of his international image. Yet his power within Soviet Russia was unquestioned. Following Lenin's death in January 1924, he joined with *Stalin and Lev *Kamenev to constitute the "Troika" of preeminent party leaders. Together, they drove Leon *Trotsky into political isolation.

The "Troika" foundered on Stalin's doctrine of "socialism in one country" and his aspiration for sole party leadership. Considering Stalin's doctrine a threat to world revolution, a capitulation to the peasants, and the beginning of "Thermidor," Zinoviev joined Trotsky in the "Joint Opposition" formed in July 1926. An intense struggle for power culminated in his complete defeat and ouster from the party in December 1927 at the 15th Party Congress. Zinoviev was a master of the art of intrigue, but found himself completely outmaneuvered by the general secretary of the party.

Seven years later, following the assassination of Sergey Kirov, Zinoviev was arrested. Stalin was now preparing to deliver the final blow to his political opponents and, in August 1936, the first of the "Great Purge" trials was held. Zinoviev, along with 15 colleagues, was formally arraigned on charges of having organized the "terrorist centers" that allegedly had plotted Kirov's murder. Public admissions of guilt by the accused were followed by death sentences, immediately carried out. Zinoviev's name disappeared down the "memory hole" to be resurrected only on occasion as a symbol of treachery.

Even after N. Krushchev's disclosures at the 20th Party Congress in 1956 which hinted that the Kirov murder may have been a frame-up, Zinoviev was not rehabilitated. Current official histories of the party mention his name but rarely, and then only to castigate him, although the 1936 charge of treason is no longer mentioned.

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[William Korey]

ZION (Mount Zion; also *Sion, Mountain of Zion*; (Heb. צִיּוֹן, הַר צִיּוֹן), hill and fortress in Jerusalem. The origin of the name is uncertain. Suggestions have included a rock, stronghold (צָיוֹן), a dry place (צִיּוֹן), or running water (Hurrian: *ṣeya*). The name Zion was first used for the Jebusite fortress ("the stronghold of Zion"), on the southeast of Jerusalem, below the Ophel and the Temple Mount. On its capture by David it was renamed "City of David" (II Sam. 5:7; I Kings 8:1), and the name later included also the Ophel (Micah 4:8; Isa. 32:14). In poetry Zion was used by way of synecdoche for the whole of Jerusalem (Isa. 2:3; 33:14; Joel 3:5), and "daughter (or virgin) of Zion" referred to the city and its inhabitants (Isa. 1:8; 30:16; Songs 1:5). Zion often referred by way of metonymy to Judea (Isa. 10:24; 51:11) or the people of Judea (*ibid.* 51:16; 59:20). Sometimes Zion referred simply to the Temple Mount (Joel 4:17, 21; Ps. 20:3) and it was this use that became the regular one by the Maccabean period, when the Temple Mount was called "Mountain of Zion" (ὄρος Σιων; I Macc. 7:32–33), as opposed to the lower city, the upper city, and Acra (on the southwestern hill of ancient Jerusalem). By Josephus' time "the stronghold" (of Zion; τὸ φρούριον) was identified with the upper city and the upper agora (Wars, 5:137; cf. Ant., 7:62), which included the sites identified at present with Mt. Zion, as well as David's Tower. By the first century C.E. the whole of that elevation, called Mt. Zion, was surrounded by a wall, part of which (in the southwest section) lay under the present city wall and part (its northern line) ran along the present King David Street, while the eastern wall ran through the present Jewish quarter. The fact that the Acra was situated at the northeast corner, and the royal palaces were there, probably encouraged the belief that Zion was to be identified with this area.

In the first century C.E. a small church was built on the southern end of the hill, and it was identified with the Coenaculum ("Room of the Last Supper"). In 1342 the Franciscans rebuilt it and this is substantially the building surviving to this day. The Franciscans were expelled by the Muslims in 1551 and were permitted to return and build a monastery near there only in 1936. This is the Church of the Dormition of Mary.

The Traveler from Bordeaux (333) cites that a single synagogue, one of the seven synagogues of ancient times, was left on Mr. Zion. This is confirmed by archaeological excavations performed at the northern wall of David's Tomb, where evidence for the existence of a late Roman synagogue was found, which seems to have been repaired during the reign of Julian the Apostate (361–3). The synagogue was associated with David as early as the fourth century, and by the tenth century his grave was located there, probably because of the biblical dictum that he was buried "in the city of David" (I Kings 2:10). It is believed by some that Saladin fortified the Coenaculum and David's Tomb by a wall in the 12th century, but the present city wall runs behind them. In 1524 the site was turned into a mosque of "the Prophet David." After 1948, when Mount Zion was the only section of east Jerusalem to remain in Jewish hands, David's Tomb was once again turned into a synagogue and became the most important pilgrimage center for Jews in Israel (see *Pilgrimage; *Holy Places). The archaeological remains of the Hellenistic Fullers' Quarter just south of the grave have been uncovered. Next to the tomb is "the Holocaust Chamber" dedicated to those who died under the Nazis. The name Zion also lent itself in modern times to organizations connected with Judaism or Jews, e.g., Zionism, Zion Mule Corps, etc.

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ZIONISM.

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THE WORD AND ITS MEANING

The root of the term "Zionism" is the word "Zion," which very early in Jewish history became a synonym for Jerusalem. It had a special meaning as far back as after the destruction of the First Temple in expressing the yearning of the Jewish people for its homeland. Thus "Zion" is found in the Psalms, "By the rivers of Babylon,/There we sat down, yea, we wept,/When we remembered Zion" (Ps. 137:1); in the prayer, "And let our eyes behold Thy return in mercy to Zion"; in the poem, "Zion! Wilt thou not ask if peace be with thy captives/That seek thy peace – that are the remnant of thy flocks" (Judah Halevi); and frequently elsewhere in religious and secular literature.

The modern term Zionism first appeared at the end of the 19th century, denoting the movement whose goal was the return of the Jewish people to Ereẓ Israel. It was coined by Nathan *Birnbaum in his journal *Selbstemanzipation* (April 1, 1890). Birnbaum himself explained the term (in a letter of Nov. 6, 1891) as the "establishment of an organization of the national-political Zionist party in juxtaposition to the practically oriented party that existed until now." The term was thus intended to express a political orientation toward Ereẓ Israel in place of the prevailing philanthropic approach. The extent to which the new word filled a need in the young movement can be gauged from the plethora of subtitles of *Selbstemanzipation* from its first appearance until the May 18, 1893 issue, when the definition "Organ der Zionisten" ("Organ of the Zionists") was adopted. However, despite the precise meaning which Birnbaum intended to convey by it, the terms "Zionism" and "Ḥibbat Zion" (see below) were still used interchangeably, and it was only gradually that the meaning of political Zionism, as distinguished from its "practical," almost wholly philanthropic aspect, gained acceptance. This happened finally and unequivocally with the appearance of *Herzl.

Herzl, who knew nothing of the semantic developments of the word Zionism, first used it to denote philanthropic-supported small-scale settlement. It was only when preparations for the First Zionist Congress had commenced and when, at the last moment, two of the speakers at the Congress – R. Hirsch *Hildesheimer and Willy *Bambus, leading members of the *Esra Society – withdrew their participation, due to Herzl's explicit political orientation, that Herzl began to stress the importance of the "Zionist" Congress, to be distinguished from the Ḥibbat Zion movement. The Basle program adopted at the First Zionist Congress explicitly endorsed Herzl's political conception of Zionism. From then on, Zionist history was viewed as being divided into two epochs; Ḥibbat Zion up to the First Congress, and from then on "Zionism," i.e., political Zionism. This did not, however, put an end to the prolonged struggle between the two concepts inside the Zionist movement, between the "political" and the "practical" Zionists, each of whom regarded their approach to the realization of the Zionist aim as the genuine meaning of the term "Zionism." It was at the Eighth Zionist Congress (1907) that Chaim *Weizmann coined a new term, "synthetic" Zionism, which stipulated that the two approaches supplement each other and are in reality two sides of the same coin: political activity is meaningless unless it is based upon practical settlement in Ereẓ Israel, and settlement alone could not develop into desirable proportions without the support of political efforts.

[Gideon Kouts]

FORERUNNERS

On the threshold of modern times, as far as ethnic and historical consciousness is concerned, the Jews were better prepared for a national movement than any other ethnic group in Europe. Before this consciousness could become an ingredient of modern nationalism, it first had to undergo certain transformations. By the same token, however, all peoples had to undergo important changes in their attitudes before they could be caught up by a national movement; they had to elevate the attributes of their ethnic group to ultimate values. Jewish society achieved its nationalist transformation with the appearance of a modern idea, later called Zionism, which purged, so to speak, Jewish messianic belief of its miraculous eschatological elements and retained only its political, social, and some of its spiritual objectives. Even in this phase of development, however, Zionism leaned heavily on the old messianism and derived from it much of its ideological and even more of its emotional appeal (see *Messianic Movements). Yet all this was accomplished only at the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century. Thus, in spite of the fact that the Jews preceded other nations in possessing the potentialities of nationalism, the development of the Jewish national movement in its Zionist form lagged behind that of most of the European nations.

The shattering of the traditional existence of European Jewry, as separate religious-ethnic entities somehow connected with the surrounding estate-structured, prenationalistic society, was followed by a transitional period that partly preceded and partly coincided with that of the forerunners of Zionism. This period was basically rationalistic, aiming principally at the integration of the Jews in the new, rapidly changing European society, but it simultaneously evolved certain features (particularly pronounced in the *Haskalah period), which were later absorbed into the stream of Zionist ideology. One of them was the revitalization and modernization of the Hebrew language, which eventually culminated in the historical achievement of Eliezer *Ben-Yehuda; another, the striving for economic "productivization." An additional trait of this period was the emergence of the politically minded Jewish leader who appraised the world around him realistically, in the light of a defined political activity.

One cannot, however, properly speak of "forerunners" of Zionism such as Rabbi Judah *Alkalai, Rabbi Ẓevi Hirsch *Kalischer, Chaim *Lorje, Rabbi Elijah *Guttmacher, Moses *Hess, and others, before the end of the 1850s or the beginning of the 1860s. Only then could they succeed in uniting the widely scattered adherents of their idea through mutual contact. The factor common to all, their faith that the future existence of the Jewish nation is conditioned by its return to the historical homeland, became a basis of social unity. The difference between the earlier period and the 1860s is not difficult to explain. The 1860s saw the completion of emancipation in most West European countries, and where it was not yet wholly accomplished, it was thought to be just round the corner. As long as the struggle for political equality of the Jews was going on, the idea of Jewish nationalism could not be tolerated, for the argument that the Jews are a separate national entity was one of the main weapons of the gentile enemies of emancipation. From the 1860s on, when the emancipation seemed all but completed, the idea of Jewish nationalism could be propagated as the next phase. Kalischer even suggested that Jewish nationalism was the natural continuation of the emancipation itself.

The old messianic idea, however, did not disappear completely under the impact of rationalism; it remained alive in the Jewish masses. As late as 1840, there was a widespread rumor in the Balkans and in Eastern Europe that the messianic year, which was destined to bring about the great turning point in Jewish history, had arrived. Many held this belief genuinely and were waiting in a state of mental agitation. For one of these believers, Rabbi Judah Alkalai (1798–1878), his messianic expectation became a point of departure for the transition from the traditional, miraculous messianism to a realistic one. This change of conception was caused by the coincidence of the messianic expectation with the rescue of the Jewish community in Damascus, which had been charged with ritual murder, by the two leading figures of French and English Jewry, Adolphe *Crémieux and Sir Moses *Montefiore. As the miraculous events of the redemption failed to appear, Alkalai inferred that the rescue of this one community was a model for the messianic procedure. The future stages of redemption were to be achieved through similar activities of outstanding Jews. Alkalai was an undistinguished preacher of a little Sephardi community in Semlin, near Belgrade. Until the year of his newly found conviction, he was hardly known outside his limited circle, nor did he wish to be known. However, after he became convinced that the era of the Messiah had arrived and that the redemption would have to be achieved by human action, he felt compelled to convey this message to his fellow Jews. In the remaining 37 years of his life, not only did Alkalai publish numerous pamphlets and articles to spread his ideas, but he traveled on two occasions to Western Europe and later settled in Ereẓ Israel in order to convince Jews and non-Jews of the truth of his mission. He tried to induce people to join an organized resettlement of Jewry, or some part thereof, in their homeland and to equip themselves with the attributes of a modern nation. Although Alkalai began as a preacher imbued with the traditional, and especially kabbalistic, sources, he gradually acquired the elements of a modern national conception. He propagated the idea of Jewish national unity through an overall organization of world Jewry, with modernized Hebrew as its common language. Religion would also play its part in the new national life, but as the controversy between Orthodoxy and Reform grew, Alkalai sought a remedy to this in the idea of national unity.

Ẓevi Hirsch Kalischer (1795–1874) developed his ideas on similar lines. A German rabbinic scholar of Polish origin, he refused to accept any position in communal life. The great experience of his youth was the emancipation of the Jews in France and in the German countries at the time of Napoleon. He explained these events in terms derived from Jewish tradition. The emancipation, and even more the ascendance of Jewish individuals (e.g., the *Rothschilds) to unheard-of economic and political influence, appeared to him to be the fulfillment of the old prophecy of liberation which, according to Jewish tradition, was to terminate the exile. It is true that the prophecy was not yet realized, for it entailed the ingathering of the Jews to their homeland. Therefore, as early as 1836, Kalischer appealed to Meyer Anschel Rothschild to buy from Muhammad Ali the whole of Ereẓ Israel, or at least Jerusalem or the Temple area, so as to initiate the miraculous redemption "from below," and later he addressed the same request to Moses Montefiore. By interpreting the events of emancipation in terms of messianism, Kalischer simultaneously transformed these very terms. From the first stage of deliverance, which was brought about by human activity, he inferred the nature of the next stages, which were also to be achieved by human agency. Thus his interpretation of the emancipation led to the demand for the ingathering of at least some part of Jewry in Ereẓ Israel.

In order to place these theories in the correct perspective, one must bear in mind the underlying motives of their promoters. These theories of redemption were derived from a reinterpretation of the messianic tradition in the light of recent historic experiences. In view of later developments, it is important to note that modern antisemitism was not among these experiences. The activities of Alkalai and Kalischer took place during the flourishing period of Middle European liberalism, e.g., between 1840 and 1875, when optimism about the possible integration of Jews into the life of European nations was almost universal. Certain obstacles to achieving full civil rights, as well as some signs of reservation in social rapprochement, were interpreted as residues of waning prejudices. Alkalai and Kalischer were among the optimists. Until the 1870s they never advanced the argument that Jews needed a country to secure their physical existence, which was later to become one of the main planks of Zionism.

The same can be stated about the motives of the socialist Moses Hess. Hess was not an Orthodox Jew but a social revolutionary and philosopher with a Hegelian tinge. His conversion to Jewish nationalism in the 1860s can be understood as the result of the unmaterialized social revolution. Hess based his Zionist ideas on the concept of a national spirit which permeated the life of the Jewish people. Since the dispersion, the "spirit" was embodied in the Jewish religious institutions, but as these institutions were rapidly disintegrating, the gradual disappearance of the Jewish spirit was the most probable – and the most lamentable – prospect. In order to rescue this spirit, the only solution was the reconstruction of national life in the ancient homeland. Hess's argument is phrased in terms of social philosophy, while the emotional climate was provided by resentment against the non-Jewish society which had frustrated the Jews' expectation of being treated as equals. In any event, any diagnosis excluding emancipation as a possible solution to the "Jewish problem" is absent from the theory of Hess, as it is absent from those of Alkalai and Kalischer. More obvious than in the theories of Alkalai and Kalischer is Hess's dependence on the general trend of nationalism in Europe. The use of such terms as "nationality," "national renaissance," and "creative genius of the nation" indicate the source of influence, i.e., romanticism, which provided all the national movements with their respective ideological tools. Hess's *Rome and Jerusalem*, as its title indicates, was written under the impact of events which had led to the unification of Italy in 1859. Hess expressly refers to this fact, calling the Jewish cause "the last national problem," after Italy had solved its own. However, impulses from non-Jewish sources can also be traced in the cases of Alkalai and Kalischer, as both use one characteristic argument in their appeal: Jews, who are the descendants of a holy and ancient nation, should not lag behind the newly created nations of the Balkans.

The real difference between Alkalai and Kalischer on the one hand and Hess on the other, is the spiritual background from which their respective drives stemmed. While the first two were originally steeped in the sources of Jewish tradition, including the Bible, Talmud, and Kabbalah, the last had only a faint idea of these sources from his childhood. He was influenced in his knowledge of Jewish history and its evaluation by the contemporary historian Heinrich *Graetz. However, the fabric of Hess's outlook was woven out of strands which were of modern European, primarily Hegelian, origin. He was far from being a religious Jew, in any traditional sense, and, judging by his earlier activities and writings, he must be counted as one of those Jews who were absorbed by European movements and systems of thought.

Hess was the first figure in Zionist history who did not grow out of Jewish tradition. His Jewishness returned to him after a period of estrangement. Thus, Hess and his two contemporaries, Alkalai and Kalischer, prefigure the two main types of Zionism: one had to overcome the miraculous elements of traditional messianism; and the other, after having forsaken the tradition altogether, had to recover its cultural and political implications.

Attributing the emergence of the Zionist idea to the revitalization and modernization of the messianic utopia does not mean that the mere suggestion of regathering the Jews in their homeland was sufficient for initiating the movement. The historical connection between the Jews and their ancient homeland was indeed a conspicuous feature in Jewish, as well as Christian, tradition. The idea of the restoration of the Jews gained currency, especially in England, where the awakened interest in the Old Testament in the wake of the Puritan revolution strongly stimulated interest in the history of the Jewish nation (see Christian Zionism, below). Imaginative Jewish writers and social projectors also readvanced the idea of establishing a Jewish commonwealth, either in Palestine or elsewhere, with a view to solving the "Jewish problem." A case in point was the efforts of Mordecai M. *Noah, one-time consul of the United States in Tunis, who in 1825 issued an appeal to European Jewry to establish a Jewish state named "Ararat" on the Grand Island of the Niagara River. Noah later fostered the idea of the restoration of Palestine.

At first the general Jewish public either took almost no cognizance of these ideas and their promoters or reacted to them with mockery and derision. Alkalai, who had begun his activities 20 years earlier, succeeded in finding any substantial and lasting support only in the 1860s. From this time on, a connection can be perceived in the activities of the various early Zionists. The three great figures described here not only knew of each other, but also supported each other. They succeeded in founding a more-or-less interconnected society among themselves, together with other, less conspicuous personalities who were influenced by them or who had reached the same conclusions independently. Moreover, from the 1860s onward there is an uninterrupted development, and one may speak of historical causation as the ideas and activities of these early Zionists led the way to the full-fledged Ḥibbat Zion movement, founded in the 1880s under the impact of the Russian pogroms and the rise of modern antisemitism in Germany.

By and large, it cannot be said that the forerunners had succeeded in realizing something of their aim, i.e., the ingathering of Jews in their homeland. Until the 1870s, when anti-Jewish troubles began in Romania, there had been no Jewish exodus from any country in Europe. Instead of producing an idea in order to satisfy a need, the early Zionists were searching for a need which would correspond to their ideas. Kalischer seized any rumor of Jews wishing to emigrate as a God-sent opportunity to prove that people who were ready to go to Ereẓ Israel could be found. Thus he tried to refute the argument that his theory had no hold on reality, but he never tried to prove the social necessity or inevitability of his idea. The first real objectives of Zionism were realized only in the 1880s, when persecutions and defamation in Romania and bloody pogroms and civil disqualifications in Russia set many European Jews into motion.

[Jacob Katz]

ḤIBBAT ZION

*Ḥibbat Zion (Heb. "Love of Zion") was the ideology and movement whose aim was the national renascence of the Jews and their return to Ereẓ Israel. The movement in the 19th century flourished mainly in the large Jewish communities of Eastern Europe (Russia-Poland, Romania). The Ḥibbat Zion societies merged with the Zionist Organization upon its establishment by Theodor Herzl, although some of them continued their formal existence until World War I.

ROOTS OF ḤIBBAT ZION. The Ḥibbat Zion movement derived most of its ideas from the basic values of Jewish tradition: the sense of exile, the longing for redemption, and the religious and spiritual attachment to Ereẓ Israel. Most of the Jews of Eastern Europe, however, were distant from organized political and social activity, and their religious leaders – with a few exceptions – were even opposed to it on the grounds that the coming of the Messiah should not be urged by human endeavor (*dehikat ha-keẓ*) and that it constituted human interference in the ways of providence. The problems of the Jewish national renascence and the settlement of Ereẓ Israel were mainly discussed by individuals who were motivated to action by messianic visions or by the influence of the national awakening of European peoples. Ẓevi Kalischer and Judah Alkalai (see above) had propagated the idea of settling Ereẓ Israel as early as the 1840s and 1850s, and the former had initiated a consultation of several rabbis and representatives of the communities of Germany in 1860 in order to found a company for this purpose. Shortly after this conference Chaim Lorje of Frankfurt on the Oder founded the Jewish Company for the Settlement of the Holy Land. Neither propaganda nor these activities had any substantial effect on the public, however, just as scant attention was paid to Moses Hess's *Rome and Jerusalem* and David *Gordon's articles in *Ha-Maggid*, which supported the settlement of Ereẓ Israel. When the Ḥibbat Zion movement was founded, however, its religious sector was influenced by the ideas and the example of these first rabbis.

The public debate on the question of Jewish nationalism began at the end of the 1860s with the renewed strength of the movement for religious reform in Germany and Hungary. This movement called for the national and cultural assimilation of the Jews and for a break with the national tradition by removing references to Zion and Jerusalem from the prayer book and basing the Jewish religion on its "eternal truths" alone. Peretz *Smolenskin was among those bitterly opposed to these trends, denouncing them in the monthly *Ha-Shaḥar* which he began publishing in 1868. He placed the Jews firmly among the peoples aspiring to national liberation. Eliezer *Ben-Yehuda's important articles "*She'elah Nikhbadah*" ("An Important Question") and "*Od Musar lo Lakaḥnu*" ("We Have Not Learned Our Lesson") in *Ha-Shaḥar* (1879), relating the national renascence in Ereẓ Israel to the revival of the Hebrew language as a spoken tongue, were an essential contribution to the crystallization of Ḥibbat Zion as an ideological trend.

BACKGROUND TO THE EMERGENCE OF THE MOVEMENT. The Ḥibbat Zion movement arose at a time when developments in Eastern European states were pressing large numbers of Jews to emigrate or engage in intensified social and political activity. At the same time leading advocates of the Enlightenment (*Haskalah) became disillusioned with their faith in the possibility of Jewish assimilation among the nations and were disappointed in their hopes to attain equal rights for Jews. A decisive force in this direction was the series of pogroms in *Russia after the assassination of Czar Alexander II (1881). The fact that the sincere aspiration of the *maskilim* and the Jewish youth to grow closer to the Russian people had been met with a wave of hatred and that the government had been quick to declare the pogroms as the "reaction of the people" to "Jewish exploitation" and had begun to impose severe restrictions on the sources of income, government posts, and admission to institutes of learning available to the Jews caused a severe ideological crisis among the *maskilim*. Many of those who had grown distant from their people began to return to it (visiting the synagogue, participating in fasts, etc.). Others who had previously pinned their hopes on the struggle to change the social system began to realize that this would not automatically answer the "Jewish question." Among those who advocated a national renascence, the realization became apparent that a spiritual and linguistic revival was not sufficient, and that they must set their sights on a real homeland, in which the Jews would not be regarded as aliens. The example of Germany, where a widespread antisemitic movement arose at the end of the 1870s, served as a warning and proof that neither Enlightenment nor emancipation was sufficient to guarantee the status of Jews in their countries of residence. Jewish writers and *maskilim* embarked on a penetrating discussion of antisemitism and its causes. The times, however, were unsuited to ideological discussions alone. The panic-stricken flight of thousands across the borders and the suffering of the refugees in the places where they were concentrated emphasized the need for a speedy and urgent "national solution."

THE BEGINNINGS OF THE MOVEMENT. The majority of the active Jewish public felt that the only solution was to leave Russia; only a small minority, mainly the wealthy and their relatives, opposed emigration. Many societies, especially among the youth, were formed for this purpose, and there were many arguments between those who supported Ereẓ Israel as a "place of refuge" and those who favored the United States. Foremost among the Ḥovevei Zion – those in favor of going to "the land of our fathers," "to which we have historical rights" – was Moses Leib *Lilienblum, who was soon joined by Smolenskin, Leo *Levanda, and others. The journals *Ha-Shaḥar, Ha-Maggid, Ha-Meliẓ*, and *Razsvet* (in Russian) became the disseminators of the ideas of Ḥibbat Zion. Most of the Ḥovevei Zion societies, especially those of the young *maskilim*, advocated radical national programs. The students' society Aḥavat Zion, founded in 1881 in St. Petersburg, declared that "every son of Israel who admits that there is no salvation for Israel unless they establish a government of their own in the Land of Israel can be considered a member of the society." The charter of the *Bilu society stated: "The goal of the society is the politico-economic and national-spiritual revival of the Jewish people in Syria and Ereẓ Israel." Some of the societies regarded their aim as imminent *aliyah* to Ereẓ Israel, while others emphasized preparation and the propagation of the concept of the settlement of Ereẓ Israel among the people. All of them, however, agreed upon the means toward settlement as the acquisition of land (either granted by the Turkish government or purchased) and the creation of a class of Jewish farmers and artisans in the country.

Romanian Jewry was aroused by the idea of settling Ereẓ Israel. The Romanian government's devious disavowal of its explicit obligation – according to the decisions of the Congress of Berlin, 1878 – to grant equal rights to all its citizens and the dispossession of growing numbers of Jews from their sources of income had made the true value of those legal guarantees clear to many Romanian Jews and brought them face to face with emigration as the sole solution. At the end of 1881 there were over 30 societies for the settlement of Ereẓ Israel in Romania, and on Jan. 11–12, 1882, a conference of Ḥovevei Zion took place in Focsani and elected a central committee, with its headquarters in Galati. (See also below, Zionist Organization in Romania.)

PINSKER'S "AUTOEMANCIPATION." The new movement was provided with a systematic ideological basis by Leon *Pinsker in his *Autoemancipation*, which appeared in September 1882. Although initially he did not contemplate Ereẓ Israel as the most suitable territory for the Jewish state, he eventually joined the Ḥibbat Zion movement. He came into contact with societies in different localities, and after consultation with Lilienblum, Hermann *Schapira, Max *Mandelstamm, and others (in September 1883) a memorandum was sent out calling for the establishment of a central executive committee to be elected by a congress of delegates from all the Societies for the Settlement of Ereẓ Israel. Shortly afterward the Zerubavel society (with Pinsker as chairman and Lilienblum as secretary) was founded in Odessa and immediately became the central society of the movement; it was followed by the Warsaw society, which was headed by Saul Pinḥas *Rabbinowitz and Isidor *Jasinowski.

SETTLEMENT ACTIVITIES. Many of the Ḥovevei Zion pinned their hopes on the support of the *Alliance Israélite Universelle and on other Jewish organizations. However, when these organizations searched for a haven for the refugees from Russia who were concentrated in Brody, they did not direct their migration to Ereẓ Israel at all: some were sent to the United States and some were returned to Russia. At the conference of delegates from various Jewish groups that met in Berlin in April 1882 to discuss the question of emigration, only Azriel *Hildesheimer came out in favor of settling the refugees in Ereẓ Israel, and his proposal was not met with sympathy. Representatives of the societies nonetheless went ahead, and in the spring of 1882 a considerable number of settlers began to reach Ereẓ Israel, prompting the Turkish authorities immediately to publish orders to forbid further entry. The Ḥovevei Zion turned for aid to their British sympathizer Laurence *Oliphant, and asked him to intervene with the Turkish government, but he had no influence in Constantinople. Among those who succeeded in reaching Ereẓ Israel in July 1882 were 14 members of the Bilu Society who had gone, without any property, to work as agricultural laborers.

Despite the Turkish ban on immigration, the foundations of Jewish agricultural settlement in Ereẓ Israel were laid in that year. In July 1882 Zalman *Levontin and his companions established Rishon le-Zion, and shortly afterward members of the Moinesti society from Romania settled in Rosh Pinnah (which had previously been settled and then abandoned by Jews from Safed). At the same time, the settlement in Petaḥ Tikvah, which had been founded by Jerusalem Jews in 1878 but had later been abandoned, was revived. At the end of 1882, a group of Romanian Jews settled in Zammārīn (later Zikhron Ya'akov). However, the meager resources of the new settlers, their lack of preparation, and the difficulty of local conditions worked against them, and soon after the establishment of the new settlements they were in need of help. It soon became apparent that the various societies in Russia and Romania were in no position to provide the required assistance, and Baron Edmond de *Rothschild was persuaded by Samuel *Mohilever and Joseph Feinberg (of Rishon le-Zion) to assist a group of Jewish farmers from Russia to settle in Ereẓ Israel (they later founded Ekron) and to take the settlement of Rishon le-Zion under his protection. In the course of time most of the settlements became sponsored by Baron de Rothschild; the exception was Gederah, which was founded by the Bilu'im in 1884. The regime of strict supervision of the settlers through the agency of Rothschild's officials was a constant source of friction and rebelliousness. Meanwhile, settlements continued to be founded until the end of the 1880s.

THE ORGANIZATION. Although it was clear to all the active members of Ḥibbat Zion that the movement had to be unified and organized, opinions differed on the form of organization. Younger and more radical elements demanded emphasis on the ultimate national aspirations and open opposition to the philanthropic organizations, while more bourgeois elements advocated moderation and supportive activities. The 100th birthday of Moses Montefiore provided the movement with a suitable occasion for convening all its active members, and the first conference of Ḥibbat Zion took place on Nov. 6, 1884, at Kattowitz (see *Kattowitz Conference). Thirty-five delegates participated in the conference; most of them were from Russian societies, and the rest were from Romania, Germany, England, and France. An account of the movement's achievements proved rather unimpressive. The great tide of Jewish emigration had been stemmed, and even the large Jewish organizations had abandoned hope of guiding and directing it; the Turkish government had closed the gates of Ereẓ Israel, and those few who had succeeded in reaching the country were considered infiltrators. It is therefore not surprising that the main value of the conference was its demonstration of the unity of Ḥibbat Zion and of the Jewish people as a whole. Pinsker hoped to attract Jewish personalities and organizations from the West into the movement. It was decided to call the organization Mazkeret Moshe be-Ereẓ ha-Kodesh and to establish a central committee with headquarters in Berlin, since conditions in Russia made legal activities on behalf of the movement impossible there; until the establishment of this committee, it was decided to set up a temporary committee in Odessa and a subcommittee in Warsaw. The resolutions accepted at the conference concerned mainly practical matters – organizational methods and ways of supporting the settlements. There was no mention, either in the debates or in the resolutions, of the major questions of national revival or the great national goal.

These concessions, however, were in vain. In Germany, not a single Jewish personality of any stature was found to head the proposed committee, and the resolution to establish a Berlin center was cancelled. Neither did other societies of Ḥibbat Zion that were founded in German and English towns succeed in achieving importance. Even the society in Kattowitz, which in 1883 had published the German-language movement organ, *Der Kolonist*, lost its importance. Only the student organization *Kadimah in Vienna, which published *Selbstemanzipation* from 1885 on, survived. The movement in Romania stagnated until the beginning of the 1890s, and the Russian societies were involved with minor affairs. The organization consolidated itself, however; there were almost 100 societies with a membership of approximately 14,000, which collected about 30,000 rubles a year from donations and another 20,000 rubles from various enterprises. Propaganda among the masses was emphasized; preachers (e.g., Ẓevi Hirsch *Masliansky and Judah Leib Yevzerow) and entertainers (e.g., Eliakum *Zunser) did much to spread the ideas of Ḥibbat Zion. Nonetheless, there was friction between the different societies, and opposition to the existing leadership emerged.

In June 1887 the Second Conference, this time of Ḥovevei Zion in Russia, met in Druskininki and resolved to call the movement Ḥovevei Zion. Mohilever attempted to impose an

Orthodox authority over the movement, but was foiled by younger representatives, such as Menaḥem *Ussishkin from Moscow, Ze'ev Berman from St. Petersburg, and Meir *Dizengoff from Kishinev. Pinsker was finally reelected to lead the movement, with six advisers, three of whom were famous rabbis: Mohilever, Naphtali Ẓevi Yehudah *Berlin, and Mordecai *Eliasberg. It was also decided to renew efforts to gain permission from the Russian government to organize the movement. In 1890 Alexander *Zederbaum, editor of *Ha-Meliẓ*, succeeded in obtaining government sanction for the Society for the Support of Jewish Farmers and Artisans in Syria and Palestine, which became known as the *Odessa Committee. The founding conference, which took place legally – for the first time – that year in Odessa, was attended by numerous delegates from all over Russia. Increased contributions enabled the establishment of the settlements of Reḥovot and Haderah (1890–91), the consolidation of Mishmar ha-Yarden, and provided support for the veteran settlements. An executive committee was set up in Jaffa under Vladimir *Tiomkin to supervise the distribution of support and the acquisition of land. The Esra Society in Berlin and other societies in Frankfurt, Paris, and London intensified their activities. The second "Russian Exodus," which took place after the expulsion of Jews from Moscow in 1891, led to increased *aliyah* and to speculation in land, and the Turkish authorities renewed their ban on immigration and settlement.

THE SPIRITUAL CENTER. The "practical" activities of Ḥibbat Zion gave rise to harsh criticism, especially on the part of *Aḥad Ha-Am. This criticism was partially inspired by Aḥad Ha-Am's view that Ereẓ Israel could not provide a solution for the masses of emigrants, but should rather serve as a "spiritual center" to unite all parts of the disintegrating nation. It was in this spirit that the *Benei Moshe society was founded. The crisis in settlement activities after the short-lived increase in *aliyah* at the beginning of the 1890s sowed fresh disillusionment in the ranks of Ḥibbat Zion and strengthened the influence of Aḥad Ha-Am, who had several supporters among the members of the Odessa Committee. Emphasis on the need for spiritual preparation brought about an intensification of the ideological and cultural activities of Ḥibbat Zion, especially after the founding of the Aḥi'asaf publishing house. Despite the importance of Aḥad Ha-Am's criticism, however, his approach could not serve as a basis for the activities of the movement. It is not surprising, therefore, that upon the appearance of Herzl and political Zionism, the vast majority of the Ḥovevei Zion societies joined the new Zionist Organization.

[Shmuel Ettinger]

IDEOLOGICAL EVOLUTION

THE SHOCK OF THE 1880S; POLITICAL ZIONISM. Modern Zionism began with need and in disillusion. The new thinking was a reaction to dramatic and tragic events in Russia. Czar Alexander II was assassinated early in 1881 by revolutionaries, among whom there was one young Jewess in a minor role. Immediately thereafter a wave of pogroms spread all over the country. The physical results of the murder and pillage were dire, but the moral impact of these outrages was even more devastating. It was commonly believed that the perpetrators of these attacks were encouraged and even organized by governmental circles; it was certainly beyond doubt that the authorities did little to defend the Jews against the pillagers and murderers. What was perhaps even more upsetting, at least to elements of the advanced Jewish intelligentsia, was that many liberal and revolutionary circles did not defend the Jews but preferred to see in these outbreaks the first stirrings of social change, in which the Jews were being attacked for their supposed exploitation of the Russian peasants and laborers. The whole system of anti-Jewish restrictions had locked the Jews of Russia into a few miserable middleman occupations, in which they could not help but be "unproductive"; the Jews were as much victims as those whom they were supposedly victimizing. Yet all this was ignored by so advanced a group as the leaders of the populist (Narodnik) movement, even though there were some Jews among them, as they hailed the pogroms as the first necessary revolutionary convulsion.

The conclusion drawn on all sides from this shock was that there was no future for Jews in Russia in the existing regime. A segment of the Jewish intelligentsia turned to revolution and lost all hope in the possibilities of reform in the land. Great masses followed in the path of the substantial trickle of emigration that had begun in the 1870s, and, despairing of any economic future in Russia, they moved westward, chiefly to the United States. In the years between 1881 and 1914 some 2,600,000 Jews from Russia and its immediate neighbors immigrated to the "new land." Some contemporary figures, chiefly Leon Pinsker and Moshe Leib Lilienblum, drew other conclusions. They did not believe that hatred of Jews was limited to Russia alone, or that the problem was ultimately to be solved by emigration to friendlier countries or even by the achievement of emancipation in legal theory. The young Lilienblum was in Odessa in 1881 as an "enlightener," a *maskil*, completing his own secular education, in the certainty that the road to freedom for Jews required their westernization, which would then make them acceptable to "benevolent Russia." He was then also mildly socialist in his political outlook. But cowering before the pogrom mob, it became clear to him, as he was soon to write, that the revolution might take place and yet not bring freedom to the Jews; that they might still be excluded and hated even in a new order; and that the future of Jews lay in the restoration of Jewish nationhood. The more important, and more famous, immediate reaction to the pogroms and to the failure of hope which attended them, was that of an even more committed "enlightener," Leon Pinsker. He left Russia for Central Europe in those months to search for allies for his new views, which he published in German in a pamphlet called *Autoemancipation*. The simple assertion of this essay was that antisemitism, which he called Judophobia, was a permanent psychopathological phenomenon, not only a social one, so long as the Jews were a "ghost nation" – everywhere a minority and nowhere a normal national majority, everywhere "guests" and nowhere "hosts." Antisemitism was "xenophobia," the hatred of the stranger, but it differed from all the usual varieties of such tensions, if not in kind then in degree, as it was the longest lasting and most pervasive form of this malaise. In the light of pogroms Pinsker finally rejected the notion that any amount of change by Jews to make themselves over into the image of their gentile neighbors could finally gain them acceptance in the majority society. He thus agreed with the antisemites that by their ill-will they had proved their case, that the Jews were irretrievably and forever alien, and that the dream of assimilation was not possible, not because the Jews could not assimilate but because the majority would not let them. It followed rationally from these premises that the way to solve the Jewish problem was to remove the Jews from the places of their dwelling, from the situation of abnormality surrounded by hatred, to a territory of their own where they would become a normal nation. Such a place was not necessarily the land of the ancestors in Ereẓ Israel, though Pinsker was aware that there were historic and emotional ties to the land, but rather the most readily available land that was suitable for settlement, preferably on the American continent, where Jews could develop their own autonomy. For all of his disbelief in the promise of the era of the emancipation that Jews would be personally accepted as equals in Europe, Pinsker's outlook was still emancipatory, still rooted in the desire to engineer the acceptance of the Jews as equals in the modern world. What was new was that Pinsker saw this world as consisting of nations which disliked foreigners, so Jews had to cease being foreign by becoming a proper nation. He was in the first stage of awareness that such national equality was not granted as a gift from on high, because the peoples were not generous, but rather as a result of the national effort of those who desired their national dignity.

Those to whom Pinsker turned in Western Europe showed sympathy for him, but thought that he had been totally unnerved by the sight of the pogroms in his country. In Russia itself the few who organized the Ḥibbat Zion movement in 1882 were motivated also by other impulses than the national theorizing of Pinsker. Their concerns were, like those of Alkalai and Kalischer of the previous generation, a blend of the older, religious longing for the messianic restoration of Zion and the new language of modern nationalism, allied to the notion that gradual settlement in Ereẓ Israel was at least a step in the direction of the ultimate consummation. Pinsker reluctantly found in these groups the only possible adherents and he consented to become their leader. Aḥad Ha-Am, his younger contemporary who was to become the major ideologist of this strand of Zionism, insisted after Pinsker's death, and in contrast with Theodor Herzl, that Pinsker's major concerns had been "the revival of the spirit," i.e., the renaissance of the Hebraic culture in a modern key, and that he had never wavered from his commitment to Zion as the only possible land for the endeavor of a Jewish renaissance – and, for that matter, that Pinsker had never dreamt of more than an elite, representative Jewish community in the Land. All this was fairly adequate as a statement of Aḥad Ha'am's own premises, but Theodor Herzl was thoroughly right in his assertion that, had he known of the existence of Pinsker's *Autoemancipation*, he would not have written *Der Judenstaat*. Herzl's views were indeed almost exactly those of his Russian predecessor.

It is now no longer believed that Herzl wrote *Der Judenstaat* in immediate reaction to the beginnings of the Dreyfus Affair, which he witnessed and on which he reported as the correspondent in Paris of the leading daily paper of Vienna. Herzl's shift from a fashionable journalist who believed in the assimilation of Jews into the majority culture had begun earlier, in reaction to renewed antisemitic agitation of the German-speaking world in the 1880s culminating in Karl *Lueger's appointment as mayor of Vienna on an antisemitic platform. Kaiser Franz Joseph had vetoed his election three times, but that such a party could prevail in cosmopolitan Vienna was a major shock. The beginnings of anti-Jewish agitation in the very home of the emancipation, Paris, where the French Revolution had first given equality to some European Jews in 1791, could only confirm that the trouble was real, and pervasive. Herzl was, if anything, even less involved in Jewish cultural concerns than Pinsker, who had been a leader of the "enlighteners" before his conversion to Jewish nationalism and had even so labored among his people in that period. What gave particular bite to Herzl's views was that he made no distinction, explicit or implicit, between "Eastern" and "Western" Jews. This (and not some intellectual belief in the indivisibility of the Jewish spirit) was the meaning, in the context of his thinking and writing in 1896, of his oft-quoted sentence, "We are a people – one people." What he saw was one Jewish situation all over the world, that of a national group which was an anomaly. His first thought had been that of total assimilation and at first he even fantasized about the possibility of leading all Jews to the great cathedral of St. Stephan in Vienna, where their baptism would make an end of antisemitism. He turned away from this "solution" (in which he had been preceded by such figures as David Friedlaender and Napoleon a century earlier, at the dawn of the era of emancipation) because he knew that it would not work, that antisemites hated Jews even after they were totally assimilated. Herzl therefore proceeded to argue in *Der Judenstaat*, exactly like Pinsker, that the essence of the Jewish problem was not individual but national and that the Jews could gain acceptance in the world only if they ceased being a national anomaly. He too spoke of the creation of a commission which would survey the possible territories on which the Jewish State would be founded, and he left open the question as to whether it would be better to opt for Palestine with its historic associations or for some vacant land in Argentina. Intellectually, what was original in Herzl's analysis was his dialectic use of the conception of antisemitism as a "reasonable" form of hatred of the unlike. Herzl argued, on the basis of his bold assertion that he alone understood this phenomenon correctly, that even antisemites

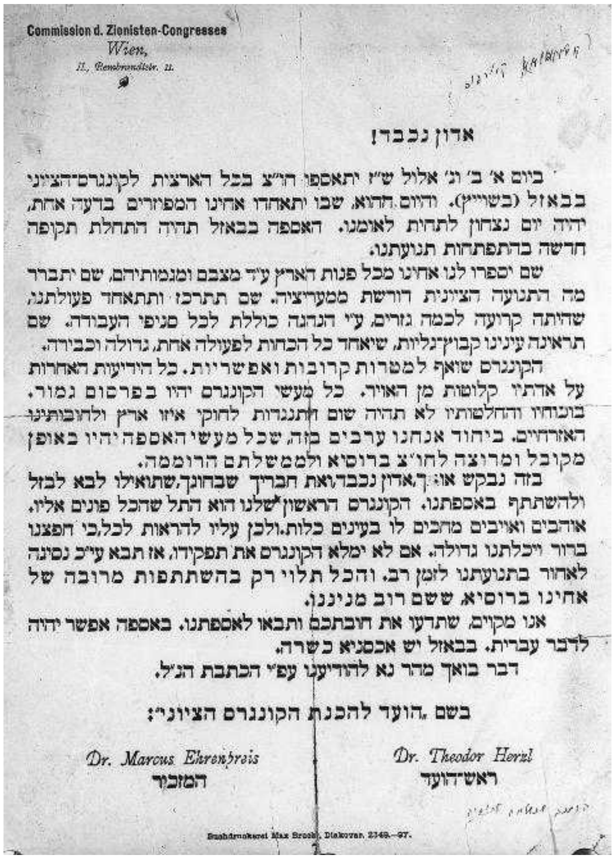

Commission d. Zionisten-Congresses
Wien,
II., Rembrandtstr. 11.

אדון נכבד!

ביום א׳ ב׳ וג׳ אלול ש״ז יתאספו הו״צ בכל הארצות לקונגרס־הציוני
בבאזל (בשוייץ). והיום ההוא, שבו יתאחדו אחינו המפוזרים בדעה אחת,
יהיה יום נצחון לתחית לאומנו. האספה בבאזל תהיה התחלת תקופה
חדשה בהתפתחות תנועתנו.
שם יספרו לנו אחינו מכל פנות הארץ ע״ד מצבם ומגמותיהם, שם יתברר
מה התנועה הציונית דורשת ממעריציה. שם תתרכז ותתאחד פעולתנו,
שהיתה קרועה לכמה גזרים, ע״י הנהגה כוללת לכל סניפי העבודה. שם
תראינה עינינו קבוץ־גליות, שיאחד כל הכחות לפעולה אחת, גדולה וכבירה.
הקונגרס שואף למטרות קרובות ואפשריות. כל הידיעות האחרות
על אדותיו קלוטות מן האויר. כל מעשי הקונגרס יהיו בפרסום גמור.
בועדיו והחלטותיו לא תהיה שום התנגדות לחוקי איזו ארץ ולחובותינו
האזרחיים. ביחוד אנחנו ערבים בזה, שכל מעשי האספה יהיו באופן
מקובל ומרוצה לחו״צ ברוסיא ולממשלתם הרוממה.
בזה נבקש אותך, אדון נכבד, ואת חבריך שבחוגך, שתואילו לבא לבזל
ולהשתתף באספתנו. הקונגרס הראשון שלנו הוא התל שהכל פונים אליו.
אוהבים ואויבים מחכים לו בעינים כלות. ולכן עליו להראות לכל, כי חפצנו
ברור ויכלתנו גדולה. אם לא ימלא הקונגרס את תפקידו, אז תבא ע״כ נסיגה
לאחור בתנועתנו לזמן רב. והכל תלוי רק בהשתתפות מרובה של
אחינו ברוסיא, ששם רוב מנייננו.
אנו מקוים, שתדעו את חובתכם ותבאו לאספתנו. באספה אפשר יהיה
לדבר עברית. בבאזל יש אכסניא כשרה.
דבר בואך מהר נא להודיענו עפ״י הכתבת הנ״ל.

בשם „הועד להכנת הקונגרס הציוני״:

Dr. Theodor Herzl
ראש־הועד

Dr. Marcus Ehrenpreis
המזכיר

Buchdruckerei Max Brock, Diakovar. 2349.–97.

Invitation to the First Zionist Congress at Basle, 1897. It is signed by Herzl as head of the preparatory committee and Marcus Ehrenpreis as secretary. Jerusalem, Central Zionist Archives.

could and would be enlisted in laboring for a Jewish State, for it would help them solve problems that they had with Jews, who were "unnecessary" in the host societies and whose very existence disturbed social peace. Since he accepted without question that men were reasonable and not demonic (Herzl went so far as to say that the emancipation was basically irreversible), he could only presume that history would inevitably move forward and produce the only possible solution to the tension between the Jews and the majority society, a Jewish State.

The very nobility of his person, the appearance of a man who suggested the ancient prophet and seemed the equal of great statesmen of his own day, lent resonance to Herzl's words, and he was particularly moving to masses of Jews in Eastern Europe precisely because he was a "Westerner" come back to his people. His tactics were perhaps even more important as an original contribution to the formation of the Zionist movement. Into the teeth of the antisemites who had made the word "Jew" into an insult, and of the assimilationists who used such circumlocution as "Hebrew" and "Israelite," he spoke boldly of the *Judenstaat*, which means not "The Jewish State" but, literally, "The Jew State." He saw the Jewish question as an international political question to be attacked in the forum of international politics. He therefore organized the Zionist movement at the First Zionist Congress in 1897 in such fashion that the gathering had about it the aura of a Jewish parliament in session, and he made of his presidency of the movement something reminiscent of the role of a head of state or a prime minister. All of the new instruments that were created – the Zionist Congress as a political forum, the buying of the shekel as an act of allegiance to the national movement, a bank (The *Jewish Colonial Trust) to be financed by the buying of shares, and an official press in several languages to inform the adherents of the political activities of the central body and its principal leader – these did indeed constitute the adumbration of Herzl's bold assertion in his diary at the First Zionist Congress in 1897, "Here I have created the Jewish State."

In the few years that were given him at the head of Zionism, he held consistently, until near the very end of his days, to the line that only the attainment of a charter, of a political document granting Jews near-sovereign rights in the territory that they were to settle, was the first objective of Zionism. He therefore fought against turning the Zionist movement into an instrument of piecemeal settlement, and the aid that was given the early settlements in his lifetime, little though it was, was a concession that he made to his opponents in the movement, the "practical" Zionists.

Herzl bitterly opposed the turning of Zionism toward cultural endeavors either by linking it with the secular Hebrew revival or by coupling Zionism with the national religious orthodoxy of the Mizrachi faction which was arising near the end of his days. For that matter, even though he was himself a certain kind of aristocratic social reformer (he dreamt of a seven-hour day in the Jewish State and even wanted its flag to contain seven stars to mark this social advance), Herzl opposed the setting up of the Socialist faction within Zionism. For him the movement that he had created existed for one purpose: the translation of "a people without a land" to some "land without a people." He did indeed turn his first and major ongoing efforts toward negotiating with the sultan of Turkey for a charter for Jews in Palestine or in its immediate vicinity, but those who opposed him in 1903, when he wanted to accept the proposal of the British Government for a Jewish settlement in East Africa (see *Uganda Scheme), were not entirely wrong in remembering that Herzl's commitment to Zion was unlike theirs, and that on theoretical grounds he had always remained a Zionist created by the "plight of the Jews" (*Judennot*), and not by cultural commitment.

Nonetheless, the bulk of Herzl's followers, even though all assented to his political vision of a national movement treated as an equal among the powers of the world, came to his Zionism with less clear-cut, more complicated motivations. It was not only that individual parties and factions arose, each of which wanted the future Jewish State to take a certain shape and to be constructed consciously in such a direction. More fundamentally, the needs that Zionism served among the mass of its East European believers were not always identical with those which had moved Pinsker and Herzl.

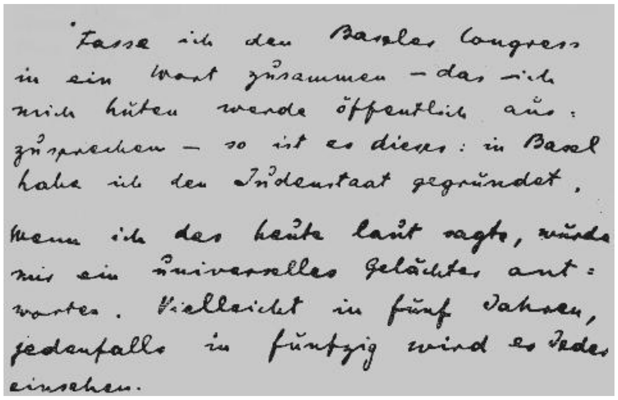

Fasse ich den Basler Congress in ein Wort zusammen – das ich mich hüten werde öffentlich auszusprechen – so ist es dieses: in Basel habe ich den Judenstaat gegründet. Wenn ich das heute laut sagte, würde mir ein universelles Gelächter antworten. Vielleicht in fünf Jahren, jedenfalls in fünfzig wird es Jeder einsehen.

Extract from Herzl's diary for Sept. 3, 1897, after the First Zionist Congress: "In Basle I founded the Jewish State. ... Maybe in five years, certainly in fifty, everyone will realize it." Jerusalem, Central Zionist Archives.

CULTURAL AND "SYNTHETIC" ZIONISM. The basic distinction in contemporary polemics was made around the turn of the century by Aḥad Ha-Am: he refused to believe that it was humanly possible, even under the most favorable conditions, in the light of the Jewish birthrate, for the majority or even any substantial fraction of the Jews of the world to emigrate to their national homeland and thus significantly reduce the population in the Jewish Diaspora. He thus saw the "Jewish plight" as intrinsically insoluble by purely Zionist means, and the Jews could only do what they had already done in the Exile in bad times: either emigrate to more favorable countries, such as America, or temporize with the conditions in Russia. Aḥad Ha-Am himself did a bit of both, eventually emigrating to London, where he practically stopped writing but served in an important way as spiritual guide to the young Chaim Weizmann and a coterie of others. The fundamental problem of the modern age, and the one to which Zionism could indeed address itself, was the crisis not of the Jews but of Judaism, i.e., the rapid and radical disintegration of Jewish faith and identity that was going on everywhere. A secularist and positivist himself, Aḥad Ha-Am did not believe that the process of loss of religious faith was reversible. The function that revealed religion had performed in talmudic and medieval Judaism, that of guaranteeing the survival of the Jews as a separate entity because of their belief in the divinely ordained importance of the Jewish religion and people, it was no longer performing and could not be expected to perform. The crucial task facing Jews in the modern era was to devise new structures to contain the separate individuality of the Jews and to keep them loyal to their own tradition. This analysis of the situation implied, in its very first assertions, a view of Jewish history which Aḥad Ha-Am produced as undoubted and which has since become the common coin of secular Zionist and Israeli historiography: that the Jews in all ages were essentially a nation, and that all other factors profoundly important to the life of this people, even religion, were mainly instrumental values.

A thousand years earlier Saadiah Gaon (d. 942 C.E.) gave expression to the *raison d'être* of the Jew in the pre-modern era when he pronounced that "the Jewish people is a people only for the sake of its Torah," i.e., that Jews exist as the instrument of Judaism. To accept this definition in the modern age of disbelief would mean that contemporary Jews have broken radically with their past, that continuity no longer existed in Jewish history, and that whatever solution could be found for the present situation would address itself to masses of individuals who still bore the name "Jew," in varieties of suffering or quiet desperation and on various levels of pride or self-hatred, to help them make the best of their situation. Such an understanding of Jewish modernity could lead to an assimilationist conclusion, as it had throughout the 19th century. It could also support the basic thesis of Herzl that the Jews existed as a community in his day only because they shared a negative situation, antisemitism, and that this was the one problem which they could, in the here and now, solve together. Those who chose to deal with that problem only by national and political means would then be free to evolve whatever culture might suit them. This view of modern Jewish culture was maintained by Hebrew writers and ideologists, such as M.J. Berdyczewski, J.Ḥ. Brenner, and Jacob Klatzkin. They could accept neither Aḥad Ha-Am's notion of ongoing continuity in Jewish history nor, more fundamentally, his description of the "national spirit" as an authoritative guide and standard to which he attributed a majesty comparable to that which the religious had once ascribed to the God of revelation. Brenner regarded the national past and most of the Jewish heritage as weak, desiccated, cringing, and unworthy. There was thus created at the beginning of the 20th century, in part under the influence of Friedrich Nietzsche, a school of thought which wanted to create a Jewish state not only because there had already been a radical break with the Jewish past but in order to realize such a change. These writers wanted to establish a bold and earthy people, whose hands would not be tied by the rules of the rabbis or even by the self-doubts of the prophets. (This trend toward a total break was never attractive to more than a small minority among the Zionists, but it eventually evolved into a heresy to be represented by those few Israel writers and intellectuals who opposed the very notion and term of Jewish peoplehood and Zionism – and were called *"Canaanites."

Of all the schools of thought that were arising within the Zionist movement in its very first few years, Socialist Zionism was, at least in practice, the most important. In the work of its founding father, Nachman Syrkin, and a few years later, of the younger, Marxist, Ber Borochov, a socialist explanation of the "plight of the Jews" was constructed. In this view, the Jews were everywhere rejected aliens because their economic pursuits were "unproductive" or peripheral. For their masses were locked in the Pale of Settlement without any outlet into the modern development of the general society and its economy. They were middlemen, small craftsmen or *luftmenschen* who were not integrally bound to the roots and basic aspects of production and especially not to farming, modern industry, and other forms of primary economic activity. Socialist Zionists did not, of course, blame the Jews for this unhealthy economic situation, for they knew that it was not only a result of many centuries of persecution and discrimination but also of the "judophobia" of the gentile peasants and workers who regarded the Jews as alien "exploiters" and unwanted competitors; the antisemitism which attacked Jews because of their marginal economic role was the source of the very phenomenon that it attacked. This vicious circle produced the "inverted pyramid" of the Jewish economy in the Diaspora, the phenomenon that Jews were fewest in production and became more numerous the further away one went from farms and factories. That was the cause of an inevitable process of mass flight from Russia, Romania, and other countries, which would, in the view of Borochov, eventually propel Jews toward the land within which a proper kind of national economy, a "normal" pyramid, would be created. However, the non-Marxist Labor Zionists, particularly those in Ereẓ Israel, such as A.D. Gordon, who was influenced by Tolstoy, affirmed neither such a historical inevitability of a mass emigration to Ereẓ Israel nor its socialist future, nor did they theorize about the need to create a Jewish national community as a necessary precondition for "healthy class straggle," which could not take place in the Diaspora where both Jewish workers and their employers were trapped by unhealthy circumstances. For Gordon and his pioneering disciples Zionism was an act of will, an affirmation about the dignity of physical labor and the rootedness of man in his own soil, of the desperate necessity to create a new Jewish man in the Land of Israel to replace the disfigured human being who had been shaped by his misery and alienation from nature in the Diaspora. The men of the Second Aliyah, the young pioneers who went to Ereẓ Israel in the first decade of the 20th century, adhered in their majority to some version of the socialist Zionist faith and especially to the notion that the "new man" whom they were creating and exemplifying through themselves was the essential positive feature of Jewish history in the modern era. This group was eventually to become the dominant element among the founders of the State of Israel. It had no doubt from the beginning of its career that it was the creative center of the Jewish world and that, most immediately, the Zionist movement was important insofar as it made their image of the Jewish settlement in Ereẓ Israel possible.

The major thrust of Zionism in the era immediately after Herzl was neither toward his purely political activity for the achievement of the "charter," nor toward small-scale settlement combined with cultural evolution; it was toward "synthetic Zionism." This term was coined by Chaim Weizmann, who had been a young opponent of Herzl in his lifetime and who succeeded to the acknowledged leadership of the movement by 1917, when the Balfour Declaration was obtained from the British Government as the result of prolonged negotiations during which he had been the central figure. Weizmann was, however, not alone in this shifting of the Zionist outlook and policy. Even Herzl's immediate heir in the presidency of the movement, David Wolffsohn, and most of those with whom he surrounded himself, especially Nahum Sokolow, were committed or at least inclined to the cultural, Hebraic renaissance and to the gradual upbuilding of Jewish settlement efforts in Palestine as the ongoing immediate tasks of the movement, while continuing diplomatic efforts and hoping that the time would come when major political arrangements would be possible. Moreover, the very struggle for these achievements, the labor of securing, step after step, "one cow, one dunam" in the Land of Israel, or the laying of the foundations for an educational system in Hebrew culminating in the creation of the Hebrew University in Jerusalem, were the routine ongoing life of Zionism, while those who engaged in these daily endeavors continued to dream of the eventual Jewish commonwealth, to be achieved at some political turning point in history. The handful who were taking the lead in the early years of the century by going to Palestine were moved by visionary considerations, and they regarded themselves, and were regarded within the Zionist hinterland, as a kind of secular priesthood preparing the way for those who would follow. Even in the United States, where the Zionist movement consisted almost entirely of recent immigrants of the same origins as the pioneers in Palestine (so that these American Zionists were then not themselves candidates for joining the pioneer vanguard), the labor for Zion became a quasi-religious experience. Even those "Western" Jews in America who had become Zionists, because they said they wanted to extend philanthropic help to Jewish refugees who chose to go to Palestine, belonged to a generation in American life which was dominated, among both Jews and gentiles, by the "social gospel," the teaching that the meaning of religion is not in metaphysical faith or theology but in the work of social reform in this world. "Synthetic" Zionism thus provided those who adhered to it, everywhere, with such daily commandments as the collecting of money to help the Jewish National Fund purchase dunams for new settlers; with tales of courage and suffering by the pioneers in Palestine; with spiritual uplift at the sight of a cultural renaissance; and with the ultimate hope, sustained even in the decade between 1904 and 1914, that some great political event would come to pass.

The cultural and "synthetic" Zionists emphasized more than the purely "political" Zionists the activity called in Zionist debates *Gegenwartsarbeit*, i.e., "work in the present," in the Diaspora. They included in it not only the task to "conquer" the Jewish community councils, proclaimed by Herzl himself, but also the need for modernized Hebrew education, in new-type *ḥadarim* (called "*ḥeder metukkan*") and in secular-type schools; the establishment of Jewish athletic and sports clubs for the young (Bar Kokhba, later Maccabi, etc.); and, most important of all, the active participation, on separate Jewish tickets, in parliamentary and local elections, particularly in the Austrian Empire, in order to emphasize the existence of specific Jewish national interests in multinational states, crystallize the Jewish public around them and thus erect a barrier against political assimilationism.

Zionism was transformed into a mass movement and into a major political force by World War I. At the outbreak of hostilities the seat of the Zionist executive was in the capital of one of the major warring powers – Berlin; and even though an office was soon established in neutral Copenhagen, there was no possibility of effective central direction in a situation in which major Jewish communities were on both sides of the line. The situation was all the more complicated by two facts: that Palestine was under the control of Turkey, which joined the Central Powers in 1915; and that the largest Jewish community in the world, and the one most disaffected from its own oppressive government, was in Czarist Russia, which was allied to the Western powers. The situation created complex interplays of political forces which resulted in such events as the partial expulsion and total harassment by the Turks in 1917 of the Jewish population of Palestine; the protection of Jews in Palestine by German influence in Turkey in order not to lose support of Jewish opinion in the world as a whole and especially in then neutral America; and, above all, the long deliberations which resulted in the publication by the British government on November 2, 1917, of the Balfour Declaration, in which it declared itself to be in favor of the establishment in Palestine of a Jewish national home, provided that the civil and religious rights of the non-Jews were not impaired. This act resulted from the desire of the British to appeal to U.S. Jewish opinion, whose support for the Allies was questionable until the U.S. entered the war at a very late stage in the British deliberations on Zionist aspirations, and to keep Russia in the war despite its revolutionary upheavals in 1917. Beyond these immediate purposes there was, however, a new atmosphere compounded out of markedly increased Jewish fervor for Zionism. This was a corollary to the rising nationalism among all peoples in Europe, including the Austro-Hungarian Empire, which the Allies were exploiting by promising such subject nations as the Czechs and the Poles their national freedom after the war. The self-determination of subject peoples was made into a central war aim by President Wilson when he announced his Fourteen Points.

LEGION AND SELF-DEFENSE. It was clear early in the war that this convulsion involving all the major European powers would inevitably lead to new political arrangements and thus give room for Jewish aspirations. Some of the Zionists, especially Joseph Trumpeldor, the Russian Zionist leader Vladimir Jabotinsky, and later also such young labor pioneers from Ereẓ Israel as David Ben-Gurion and Izhak Ben-Zvi, believed that one way of making sure that Jews would be taken seriously at the peace table was to organize Jewish military units to fight on the side of the Allies. As a practical matter this was the way to enlist Russian Jews in the West, particularly in England, for while they would not return to their native land to fight for Russia, even if that had been possible, many were eager to enlist as Jews in the Allied cause. The British government was at first not overly enthusiastic or cooperative, but these efforts did result in the establishment of the Jewish Legion – the Zion Mule Corps, which fought at Gallipoli in 1915 and in the Jewish battalions which took the field in 1917. As military formations they were of some importance, but their main significance was in the creation of the modern Jewish military tradition as a conscious national act. In the preparation of the claim for normal Jewish nationhood at the end of the war, something more than a symbolic army had fought beside the ultimate victors. Even earlier, with the very beginnings of Zionist settlement, Jewish armed guards (see *Ha-Shomer) had increasingly protected settlements against thieves and armed robbers. Both of these military traditions coalesced after World War I, when difficulties soon developed in Palestine between Jews and Arabs, into the creation of a semisecret Jewish self-defense organization, the Haganah. There was never sufficiently prolonged quiet in Palestine between the two world wars for Jews ever to be able to imagine that they would be safe without their own self-defense. By the late 1930s there was continuing open warfare between the Jewish and Arab communities, in which the British played an ambiguous role, at best, and in which the Jews could largely depend for their safety only on themselves. By this time *"illegal" immigration in the teeth of British restrictions had become a life-and-death matter for those Jews who could escape Europe. The Zionist movement as a whole, in all its factions, and not only the Revisionists, who had left the Zionist Organization because of its lack of militancy, was in a military struggle with both the Arabs and the British. There had thus evolved a new element which had been im-

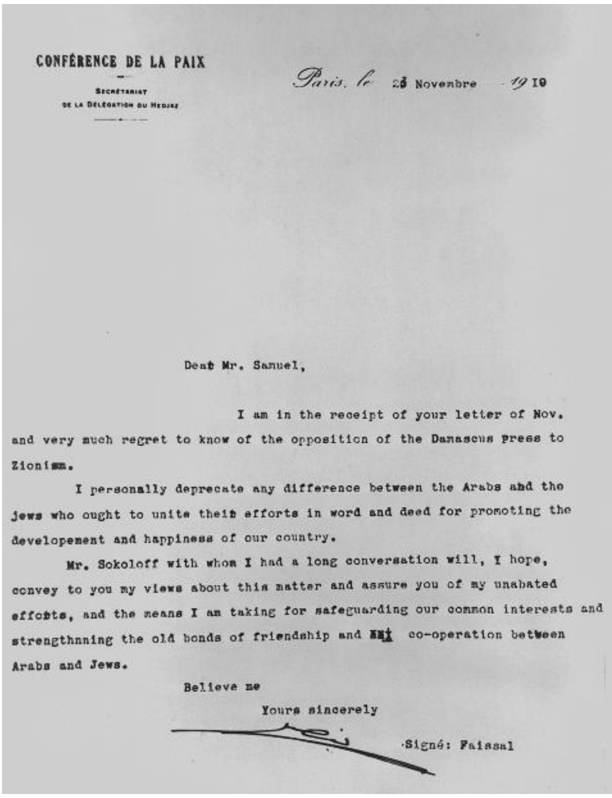

CONFÉRENCE DE LA PAIX

SECRÉTARIAT
DE LA DÉLÉGATION DU HEDJAZ

Paris, le 23 Novembre 1919

Dear Mr. Samuel,

I am in the receipt of your letter of Nov. and very much regret to know of the opposition of the Damascus press to Zionism.

I personally deprecate any difference between the Arabs and the Jews who ought to unite their efforts in word and deed for promoting the developement and happiness of our country.

Mr. Sokoloff with whom I had a long conversation will, I hope, convey to you my views about this matter and assure you of my unabated efforts, and the means I am taking for safeguarding our common interests and strengthnning the old bonds of friendship and co-operation between Arabs and Jews.

Believe me

Yours sincerely

Signé: Faissal

Letter from Emir Feisal, head of the Arab delegation at the Paris Peace Conference, to Herbert Samuel, Nov. 23, 1919, expressing his positive attitude toward Zionism. Jerusalem, Central Zionist Archives.

plicit in the Zionist ideological vision of a normal nation: an increasingly independent military force, which, however small by international standards, was almost from its beginning a substantial power in the immediate region. The existence of armed strength added further "sovereign" dimensions of Jewish self-liberation to the vision of Zionism.

POST-WAR CONSENSUS AND DIFFERENTIATION. As World War I ended, the major arena of Zionist activity was, however, not in Ereẓ Israel but in Paris, where the victors were meeting in 1919 to define the terms of peace. A variety of Jewish groups were officially in the lobbies of this conference. The most assimilated elements from France, England, and the United States would, for the most part, have preferred that the Jewish position at the Peace Conference be simply the demand for full individual liberty in all the states that were then being created in Central and Eastern Europe. The "Western" Jews were projecting the image of what they hoped was and would remain their own status, that of Frenchmen, Englishmen, or Americans who differed from others only in their private adherence to a differing religious faith. The Zionists, headed by Weizmann and Sokolow, came to Versailles to make sure that the intent of the Balfour Declaration (as they hopefully understood it to mean: an act pointing to the creation in measurable time of Jewish political independence in Palestine) would be incorporated in the peace arrangements. The delegates from Eastern Europe were mostly interested in insisting that such new states as Poland and Lithuania, and all the rest, be made to pledge the most solemn guarantees for the rights of national minorities within their borders. For Jews this meant self-definition as a national minority, parallel, for example, to the Ukrainians in Poland, with the right to conduct educational institutions with public money in their own national language, be it Yiddish or Hebrew; the right to self-governing community councils with status before the law; and, most sensitively, the right to appeal to the international community, which was seen to be represented by the League of Nations, over the head of the national government, if minority rights were violated.

There was internal struggle among these various parties in Paris. Out of their interaction there, and largely through the leadership of Louis Marshall, a kind of consensus was achieved which became the actual premise for all Jewish political life in the next decades, the interwar years. It was agreed that all would stand together for the minority rights of Jews in those countries in which the local Jewish population desired such a formulation of its identity. In practice this meant that the Jews of Eastern and Central Europe were publicly defined in new international arrangements as a separate people; for the Zionists this definition meant the possibility of struggling effectively within these Jewish national institutions to orient educational endeavors toward the new Hebraic culture and to prepare the hearts of the people to realize that only in complete national concentration in Ereẓ Israel could there be a Jewish future. Throughout the 1920s and 1930s various other factions were in combat with the Zionists within these new structures of the Jewish community. There was ongoing friction with assimilationist opinion, but this trend never achieved importance in the inner life of the East European Jewish communities outside the Soviet Union. The more serious battles were with the religiously orthodox, who were by then organized to a great degree around *Agudat Israel; this party found Zionism to be too secular. As a counterforce to these views the Orthodox wing of the Zionist movement itself, the Mizrachi, achieved particular importance during these years; it represented the possibility of a synthesis between the new national ideal of self-realization in Ereẓ Israel, through cooperation even with nonbelievers who were laboring in the Zionist cause, and preserving and even refreshing traditional Judaism. The enemies of Zionism on the left were even more serious, because both the Jewish Socialist Bund and the Jewish elements within the mostly illegal Communist Party, in Poland and in several other adjacent countries, had substantial followings. The Zionists countered these visions of a new, revolutionary era by insisting, especially through their own socialist wing, that the new socialist society would have to be formed by the remaking of individual national societies and that, at least in the case of the Jews, rampant antisemitism, which had culminated in the mass slaughter of the Ukrainian pogroms in the post-revolutionary period and became a bitter reality in independent Poland, required that, whatever be the nature of the internal life of a Jewish independent society, the solution to the Jewish problem had to take a Zionist form. Several varieties of Zionist Socialism had been defined in the 1920s, ranging from moderate social democracy to the ultimately Marxist pro-communism of Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir.

Almost every one of these versions of Zionism, except for the most radical communist option, had existed as a school of thought and even as an organization, in some form, before World War I. However, these parties came to serious maturity in their encounter with the postwar realities: the internal struggles of East European Jewry and, of growing and soon of predominant importance, the battle for the definition of the life and character of the *yishuv*, the Zionist settlement in Palestine, as it increased tenfold, from roughly 60,000 in 1919 to 600,000, in the 1940s. In the interwar period a fully developed form of Jewish communal autonomy and self-government existed there, legally, in the *Keneset Yisrael with its executive body, the Va'ad Le'ummi, which was confirmed by the British Mandate Government and, extra-legally, in the internal discipline and cohesiveness of the Jews in the country. An even more important political process involved these very forces, both in the *yishuv* and among the Jewish masses of Eastern Europe, in their interaction in the World Zionist Organization. The League of Nations' Mandate for Palestine stipulated that an appropriate "*Jewish Agency" cooperate by right with the British authorities in the upbuilding of the Jewish national home, and the Zionist Organization, though obliged to seek the cooperation of non-Zionist Jews as well, was recognized as such an "agency." The most poignant problem during most of those years was the question of Jewish immigration, which was always strictly limited by the British in reaction to Arab opposition and violent outbursts. The World Zionist Organization exercised effective control over the distribution of "certificates," that is, entry permits for new immigrants, up to the number permitted in any one year by the British. How these permits were divided in the Diaspora became a cause for impassioned struggle, both among the various Zionist factions which accepted the discipline of the world body and especially with the Revisionists, who regarded themselves as discriminated against. (This militant group eventually broke away, mainly for political reasons, and declared its Zionist independence in 1935.) The basic solution was an agreement to operate by the "party key," which meant that "certificates" were distributed on the basis of the respective strengths of the various parties in the world Zionist movement and especially in the nascent *yishuv*. The result was that the political composition of the Jewish community in Palestine remained remarkably stable despite the growth of its proportions. This party influence on immigration was part of a picture in which many of those who came, especially after 1933 in flight from Hitler – even though they were admitted as individuals and not as the holders of certificates – had also to find their way within a community which was dominated by parties. Kibbutzim, banks, educational facilities from university down to elementary school, jobs in the administration, and many other things besides were controlled or influenced by parties, which tended to be complete Jewish societies living side by side, each one involving most of the elements of human life, almost from the cradle to the grave. There were parties even before 1914, but in the 1920s the internal life of the Jewish community in Ereẓ Israel had crystallized into the political parties, which largely exist to the present day. The forces which were contending over the nature of the new society were divided into three broad groups. The most powerful were the several kinds of Socialist Zionists, with their roots in the Second Aliyah, in the kibbutz movement, and in the labor unions, which had together formed the overarching organization of all the Jewish workers in Israel (later including Arabs also), known as the Histadrut. These forces strove for a socialist, economically egalitarian, secularist Jewish society. The central sector of the developing Jewish community consisted of middle-class elements. In part, and especially in the case of the first refugees to come from Germany after 1933, these forces consisted of people who arrived with some property. Not all those who came from Eastern Europe wanted to be pioneers in kibbutzim. Some had been accustomed to a middle-class, urban way of life and they wanted to live that way in the new environment. This middle-class group contained many General Zionists allied to the anti-Socialist Revisionists. On doctrinaire grounds they insisted with vehemence that the very future of the Jewish settlement depended on the releasing of the energies of free enterprise. There was one wing of General Zionists who refused to identify, both in Ereẓ Israel and outside it, with any specific middle-class program in the country and who followed the lead of Chaim Weizmann, in particular, in accepting economic and cultural support for the labor sector as well as for private enterprise. But another wing of the General Zionists clung to a more partisan view, so that a continuing battle was fought between Socialist Zionism and the middle-class groups. The tension was often sufficiently great for bitter accusations to be hurled. Such leaders as David Ben-Gurion, in his role as secretary general of the Histadrut, spoke for the Socialists in accusing the Revisionists of being "Fascists"; the partisans of Jabotinsky replied by charging that the Socialist Zionists were using their power not for the good of all but to increase their own political and organizational dominance.

Parallel with this quarrel there was continuing tension over the issue of religion. There had been Orthodox Jews of the old *yishuv* in some numbers in Ereẓ Israel before the new Zionist immigration began, but the earliest arrivals after 1900 were in their overwhelming majority Socialist and secularist, and many of them were anti-religious in a doctrinaire way. The religious Zionist movement, Mizrachi, had indeed been founded in the early years of the century and it had existed as a trend even before, but its direct presence and influence on the life of the new Jewish community in Ereẓ Israel began to be felt only after World War I. By then a labor wing of the religious party, the Ha-Po'el ha-Mizrachi, had arisen, and it proceeded to create its own kibbutz movement. Many of the middle-class immigrants who were arriving in the 1920s and 1930s were personally Orthodox, and they could not imagine a Jewish presence in the land which did not exemplify the values and practices of the religious tradition. Religious Jewry was led by the Ashkenazi Chief Rabbi, Abraham Isaac *Kook, until his death in 1935, who, though he was himself beyond party, was regarded as the spiritual voice and teacher of all religious Jews who accepted a Zionist vision. For Kook the new settlement in the Land of Israel was the "beginning of the redemption." Both his temperament and outlook were broad enough to embrace even the most partisan secularist as an instrument of the divine purpose. Those who followed him could accept such a notion in theory. In practice they were dedicated to the building of an institutional power base for religious Jews, so that they could compete as equals with the other groups and provide equal opportunity in the new country for those who shared the Orthodox religious faith. This body of opinion was deeply concerned that the total temper of the Jewish community should not be secularized. They did not want to become a religious ghetto in a non-religious Jewish society, and they believed that it was their duty to bring religion even to those who opposed it. Orthodox Jews in Palestine joined the battle, immediately after the beginning of the British Mandate government, for the ever wider influence of traditional Jewish practice on the life and the law of the *yishuv*. The struggle between the Socialist and the middle-class elements in Israel's society has been muted in the generation of statehood, for a mixed economy now prevails. The conflict over religion and its relationship to public life has, if anything, become sharper within the sovereign parliamentary life of the Jewish state.

BETWEEN POGROMS AND HOLOCAUST. Ideological stamps were thus deeply impressed on the Jewish community in Palestine. Great numbers of those who came in the 1920s and even in the 1930s chose their paths because they believed in some version of the Zionist vision and found in it their path toward national and personal realization. Nonetheless, the dominant element in creating many more candidates for immigration to Palestine than were ever permitted to arrive was not Zionist ideology, at least not in its cultural, "synthetic" form, but the growing horror of antisemitism, at a time when other doors to safety were closing or were entirely closed to Jews. The sense of disaster was already deeply embedded in the consciousness of European Jews by the events which followed right after the end of World War I. The far greater horrors of the Nazi Holocaust have by now half obscured the murder of about one hundred thousand Jews, including women and children, in the Russian-Polish borderland, where Ukrainian and counter-revolutionary Russian army units systematically engaged in killing Jews in the years 1919–21. These pogroms had a profound effect on the Jewish delegation in Paris, which agreed to plead unanimously for national minority rights because the hatred of Jews as Jews was so rabid in Eastern Europe. Moreover, major figures among Western Jewry increasingly became less doctrinaire. Men such as Louis Marshall could not accept the Zionist notion that all Jews everywhere belonged to a national entity other than that of the majority of the people in the political state into which they were born, and they could not therefore agree that Jews ought to be working for their ingathering in Zion. Nonetheless, such figures responded to the dire need of East European Jews both by trying to alleviate the immediate situation and by accepting that, on purely humanitarian grounds, those who wished to go to Palestine should be helped to do so. Even after the pogroms ended and a certain amount of surface stability was created in Eastern Europe, the largest community outside the United States, that of Poland, was increasingly harassed by a regime of economic exclusion and of *numerus clausus* at the universities and in the professions. Year by year the life of these Jews was becoming more unbearable, and there were occasional pogroms in Poland in the 1930s to underline their misery. The situation was only relatively better in some of the other countries in the area. The "non-Zionists," who were persuaded by Chaim Weizmann in 1929 to join with the Zionists on the basis of parity in creating the "enlarged" Jewish Agency, were moved by a sense of the direst Jewish needs and a growing undercurrent of fear of worse things to come. This, rather than Zionist ideology of any variety, was the dominant note in the development of Zionism itself even before Hitler appeared on the scene, and certainly after 1933.

The sense of need and foreboding had come to formal expression in Zionist thought immediately after World War I. Louis Brandeis, by then a justice on the Supreme Court of the United States, who had served as the leader of American Zionism during the war years, believed that, with the achievement of the Balfour Declaration, the political struggle of Zionism was over and that, henceforth, the Jewish settlement in Palestine should be fostered through the orderly processes of investment, on the highest principles of business accountability. This soon led to a shattering struggle with Weizmann, who continued to believe in the need for a movement of Zionist national consciousness. He wanted the Zionist movement to work toward a *yishuv* which would be a left-wing liberal, in part moderately Socialist, Hebrew-speaking society and he saw its embodiment mainly in the collective and cooperative enterprise of the labor pioneers who needed non-profitable funds, such as the *Keren Hayesod, to create their network of settlements and institutions. In short, Weizmann intended to realize the "synthetic" Zionism which he had defined in the days of his youthful opposition to Herzl. Both Brandeis and Weizmann, despite their differences, wanted to create the Jewish community in Palestine step by step, according to plan, with the presumption that there was time aplenty to do it. Right after World War I Max Nordau, the still-living colleague of Herzl, and later also Vladimir Jabotinsky, arose against such views. Nordau and Jabotinsky did not believe that the Jews of Eastern Europe would find safety in any years of seeming quiet that might follow after the Russian-Polish upheavals, and they were equally convinced that the British government, the holder of the Mandate, would find reasons of its own for making the large-scale immigration of Jews into Palestine an ever more difficult enterprise. Nordau proposed, melodramatically, that without any meticulous planning or preparation, or even arrangement for solid housing, Jews, mainly from the pogrom-afflicted areas, should be led in their hundreds of thousands simply to appear in Palestine. He agreed that many might suffer extreme hardship, but that it was better for that to happen than to wait for the slower horrors in Europe and the hardening of the anti-Zionist policy of the British. At least, this mass movement would immediately achieve majority status for Jews in Palestine and would assure possibilities for the future. This then wild idea of "catastrophic" Zionism was rejected but it remained dormant, and even in the quieter years of the 1920s it was the countertheme to the then dominant notion of "building step by step," according to plan. By the 1930s Jabotinsky and the Revisionists called for the implementation of the "Nordau plan" and for an orderly mass "evacuation" of East European Jewry. Though this call evoked bitter internal controversies among Zionists, Jewish need, and the growing foreboding of worse horrors to come, were ever more the driving force attracting support to Zionism as a solution all over the Jewish world, and beyond its confines.

RELATION TO THE ARABS. Until the immediate aftermath of the Balfour Declaration the Zionist movement had given little serious thought to the question of the Arabs residents in Palestine. Moses Hess in 1861, a generation before Herzl, had imagined that a highly Westernized element such as the Jews would be welcomed by the Arabs because of the leadership that Jews would provide in creating in the entire region an advanced economy and an advancing society. Chaim Weizmann took a comparable tack in 1919 in his encounters with the Arab leader of the time, the Emir Feisal, with whom he signed an agreement in this spirit. The theme was that Jews and Arabs proposed to be good neighbors. However, such figures as Feisal, who was from the *Hejaz, were alien to the immediate Palestinian Arab scene. The politically active elements in the local population were much more hostile and resentful. Despite large Jewish efforts toward conciliation, and the positive effect that such attempts did have on certain Arab circles, the dominant motif in Arab policy was to declare the Balfour Declaration to be an infringement on Arab rights and to insist that, at best, a limited Jewish minority could in the future live on Arab sufferance in the land. At every point in the interwar years at which Jewish immigration became of some consequence, there were Arab riots which invariably caused the British to issue further restrictions against the Jews. This became particularly marked in the decade after 1929, when there were major riots by Arabs. Zionism had thus, perforce, to define itself in much more complicated terms than those of a "people without a land on the way to a land without a people." The very example of its own energies and national purpose was helping to evoke some comparable national emotion among the Arabs in Palestine. In theory, throughout this period the bulk of the Zionist movement never surrendered the ultimate vision of a Jewish state, but the only wing of the movement which made of this the essence of its public position was the Revisionists. All the others concentrated on two immediate objectives: immigration, while trying not to displace Arabs in the process and to compensate generously the few displaced ones, feasible by constantly increasing the "absorptive capacity" of the land through new endeavors; and the devising of formulas for ongoing life together with the Arabs in which no absolute minority ceiling would be placed on the Jews. Among one group on the extreme left, the Marxist Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir, a bi-national state of absolute parity between Jews and Arabs was defined as its version of the political purpose of Zionism as a whole. A handful of Jewish pacifists of high station, led by such figures as Judah L. Magnes and Martin Buber, formed the *Berit Shalom program in the 1930s; they were willing to go even further than Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir in placating Arab fears for the sake of peace, but even they, like all the other Jewish groups or leaders (including Ben-Gurion), could find no Arab representatives of rank and power with whom to come to terms. Jewish misery was growing constantly in Europe and the need for mass immigration was ever greater. No Zionist group (and, for that matter, after the appearance of Hitler, no responsible non-Zionist body) could accept the halting of the growth of the *yishuv* even if it meant open hostility with the Arabs, and that is what it indeed meant by the mid-1930s and for the rest of the decade. Jews required freedom of immigration; Arabs demanded its absolute end. The British floundered in the middle, issuing "white papers" and setting draconian quotas on future Jewish arrivals. The situation could not last for all the positions were irreconcilable.

Throughout the years of the British Mandate of Palestine the government in London appointed a whole series of commissions, whenever conflict between Jews and Arabs broke out into open violence, in the vain quest of finding some acceptable compromise. Such efforts became more frequent in the 1930s, when the basic Jewish demand was, as it had to be, mass immigration which could not ever be restricted by Arab veto.

The logic of events, compounded out of the first years of Hitler and the increasing clashes in Palestine between Jews and Arabs, evoked the single most serious study of the Palestine question which was ever undertaken, that by the Royal Commission of 1936, chaired by Lord Peel. In its many hearings, some of them in no less impressive a place than the House of Lords in London, and others in Palestine itself, the major spokesmen of all varieties of Arab and Jewish opinion were heard. There was little essential difference among the views of the Zionist representatives, for even such old antagonists as Weizmann and Jabotinsky spoke in the same terms. Both emphasized the spiritual and cultural elements in Zionism, the vision of the movement of a "new Jew" who would be born in freedom to achieve his own proper dignity. However, the main theme, in the testimony of both, was the misery of Jewish life at that moment. Before the Peel Commission and later, at the Zionist Congress of 1937, when Weizmann proposed that the movement accept, in principle, the Commission's proposal to partition Palestine, he looked especially closely at the life of the Jews in Poland. He said openly that this community was doomed. A third of it, the old people, would no doubt die in Poland; for another third he had no hope; but it was the responsibility of all who could help to make it possible for the last third, the young people, to come to Palestine and start a new and decent life.

In this atmosphere the Peel Commission proposed the division of Palestine into three geographical entities: an Arab state, a Jewish one, and a large enclave, including Jerusalem, to be governed by the British. The proposed map was very nearly impossible, though, for it presumed the kind of goodwill between Jews and Arabs which, had it existed, would have made partition unnecessary. What the proposal did achieve, from the perspective of the Zionist movement, was the first formal suggestion by the ruling power that a Jewish state in at least part of Palestine was a realistic necessity; secondly, the proposal was based on the premise that Jews had a right, because of their need, to large new immigration into the land and that they could achieve this only if they were in political control of their own national destiny. The Zionist movement, after heated debate, which reflected the objections that the proposed state was unviable and that to accept it meant to give up the claim on the whole of the land, reluctantly accepted the partition proposal as a basis for discussion. The negotiations soon died, however, because the Arabs rejected the idea and the British, in the era of appeasement of Hitler, had no stomach for forcing any radical solution. On the eve of World War II, Zionism had, however, defined itself as charged with the responsibility of creating or exercising, whether legally or illegally, as much independence as was necessary to do everything that was possible for the saving of Jews. This had become the dominant motif, and it had a directness and moral urgency which ever wider circles of Jewish and world opinion could not help but accept. The contrast between Jewish farmers in Palestine and their native-born sons, farming their fields and shooting back if necessary at Arab raiders, and the Jews being spat upon in Warsaw or sent to concentration camps, or worse, in Germany was, even before 1939, clear and unmistakable.

AFTER THE HOLOCAUST: "CATASTROPHIC" ZIONISM REVIVED. On the very eve of World War II the British government issued a White Paper in which, in effect, Jewish immigration was limited to a final 75,000. This meant that the Jews of Europe were being left to their destiny; the clear intent was to condemn the Jews in Palestine to be a permanent minority. The whole of the Jewish world was well nigh unanimous in its opposition, in declaring this act to be not only wrong but utterly devoid of moral or legal validity. Soon the war broke out and the Zionist movement, indeed the entire Jewish community everywhere, was inevitably on the side of the Allies. The Jews in Palestine soon tried to organize a volunteer force to fight with the British in the critical Middle Eastern arena, but, on the grounds of "parity," because no such volunteers were forthcoming from the Arabs, the offers were initially rebuffed. The Jewish Brigade eventually came into being. It played a military role especially in the campaign in Italy, but its most important achievement was that here, directly, much of the immediate foundation of the future army of Israel was laid. "Illegal" immigration had been going on straight through the war, for the Zionist movement as a whole had accepted the slogan of David Ben-Gurion: "To fight Hitler as if there were no White Paper and to fight the White Paper as if there were no Hitler." Some of the brutalities that the Nazis had perpetrated were to be seen in Italy, as the Jewish Brigade advanced within the Allied army; and as the war was ending, the men of the Brigade began the work of finding friendly out-of-the-way ports and cooperative officials elsewhere to make it possible to transport to Palestine those Jews who had survived. The armies on the eastern and the western fronts, and especially the Jews among them, were concurrently discovering the unspeakable crimes of Buchenwald and Auschwitz. Perhaps a million Jewish refugees were alive in camps in Europe in May 1945. All those who saw them were overwhelmed by one conviction – that they must be given the kind of new life where they could never again be the object of the horrors that had been done to them. The survivors themselves were most vocal everywhere that they had to be allowed to go to Ereẓ Israel, to take their place in an independent Jewish state.

During the war years the Zionist movement itself had almost completely stripped away all tentativeness or vagueness from its ultimate aims and it had abandoned, at least for the moment, any public concern with the nature of the new Jewish society. That did not mean that within Palestine itself, and within the world Zionist movement, the various parties did not continue to jockey for control of whatever they could regarding resources and position, but from the mid-1930s onward these issues became ever more internal to the immediate scene in the *yishuv.* As a world movement Zionism spoke of "a home for the homeless," and the more bitter and obvious the homelessness was, the greater was the support for all the actions that this slogan required. By 1942 a Zionist conference, the most representative possible under the circumstances, met in New York at the Biltmore Hotel. It announced in the "Biltmore Program" that the "establishment of Palestine as a Jewish Commonwealth" was the war aim of the Jewish people. This program was tacitly adopted by non-Zionists as well. The many years when such words were not spoken even by most Zionists, for fear of complicating the immediate situation among Jews, Arabs and the British, had thus been ended. Within the next year or so, after a bitter battle within the ranks of American Zionism between those who were willing to wait for the end of the war and trust President Roosevelt, and those who believed that American public opinion needed to be enlisted on the widest possible basis, Abba Hillel *Silver emerged the victor over Stephen S. *Wise and, in 1943, Zionism in America entered a militant phase which continued until the State of Israel was achieved. Here, too, it was the growing knowledge and then the absolute certainty of what Hitler had been doing to Jews that made the Zionist demand for freedom, dignity, and independence a great force in American public life.

At the end of the war the Jews were indeed, as the anti-Zionist British foreign minister Ernest *Bevin said, "pushing to the head of the queue." No doors, not even those of the United States, were wide open to the refugees of the greatest single disaster that had ever befallen a people, and it was therefore inevitable that Palestine would have to provide the major part of the immediate solution. The British, weakened greatly by the war, were even less affected and less resolute than they had been in the 1930s; the Arabs were at least as intransigent; the Jews, both in Palestine and elsewhere, were at the highest point of outrage and self-assertion in their entire history. Many intricate maneuvers in Europe, Palestine, and the diplomatic centers of the world resulted finally in the great debate before the United Nations in November 1947 on the future of Palestine. The Jewish Agency, even though it was not a government, was admitted to the debate as the representative of the Jewish people; it stood solidly for the legal and moral right of those to whom promises had been made in the Balfour Declaration and who had suffered so greatly in the recent past to a state of their own in the land which had belonged to their ancestors and in which they had already created much in the 20th century. The end result was a decision reminiscent of the proposals of the Peel Commission a decade before – partition of the land in an unworkable map. This time, however, nothing prevented the formal declaration by the Jews of their own state on the appointed day, May

14, 1948 – neither the ambiguous attitude of the United States in the decisive stage nor the war against this new state which was begun by the Arabs both in Palestine and on its borders even before the formal declaration.

ZIONISM AND THE STATE OF ISRAEL. After the costly battles ended and the state was secure, and even as the war was still going on, refugees by the tens of thousands were brought into Israel. There was little surface difficulty in the immediate years after the achievement of statehood in defining the purpose of Zionism. The state was young, weak, and threatened; the refugees were many and in direst need. The purpose of Zionism, and of the Jewish world which it was by then leading, was to help root the state in secure ground, defend and explain it before world opinion, and either raise funds directly or provide inspiration for such endeavors. Almost immediately, however, the question of Zionist purpose and definition began to be a critical issue, first in isolated instances and then in prolonged debate which raged through the 1950s and into the 1960s. As early as 1949 there was a public break between David Ben-Gurion, the first prime minister of Israel, and Abba Hillel Silver, then the major Zionist figure in the Diaspora. The essence of the quarrel was the unwillingness of the government of the new state to accept any presumption of tutelage from the Zionist movement. Now that a state existed, Zionism could clearly no longer engage in the kind of international politics to which it had been accustomed. The fund-raising had increasingly been engaging Jews of all shades of opinion, and many of the richest and most generous were not Zionists, at least in the formal sense. The bodies which raised funds for Israel were not everywhere, and especially not in the United States, really under Zionist leadership. There were a number of attempts made by post-state Zionism in the Diaspora to define the ongoing purpose of the movement as the cultivation of Jewish national consciousness, the fostering of Hebraic education and the creation of a Jewish life which had as its emotional and spiritual center the life in Israel. Against this there stood, implacably, the figure of David Ben-Gurion, and the majority opinion in Israel which he led. He held that fund-raising and other forms of aid extended by Jews to Israel were an endeavor which was, and quite properly, common to the entire Jewish people. This entitled those involved to be considered "friends of Israel." A Zionist, in the proper sense of the term, could be only one who was preparing himself and his family, no matter how comfortable the society in which he was living, to come in measurable time as an immigrant to the new Jewish state. This outlook finally prevailed in international Zionist councils in the 1960s, and the seal was set on it with a proclamation in 1968 of the Jerusalem Program by the Zionist Congress (see below). In this document the acceptance of *aliyah*, of personal migration as the ultimate ideal, became a sine qua non of belonging to any recognized Zionist group.

It took two decades, however, for Zionists in the Western countries to be willing to reach such a conclusion. In the early years after the establishment of the State of Israel American Zionists in particular had argued that "America is different," that there is a distinction between a Diaspora where Jews were persecuted and the Diaspora of the free countries, where antisemitism was not a major factor and was not likely to increase, because of the rooted democratic tradition of a country such as America, which had no medieval past of hatred of Jews. The unwillingness to accept *aliyah* even as an ideal was ended in part by ongoing pressure from Israel opinion and in part by changing loyalties within American society as a whole, which was becoming less nationalist in the 1960s. The most important cause was, however, internal. During most of this era the president of the World Zionist Organization was Nahum Goldmann, and he became aware, soon after the heady days of the creation of the State of Israel, that intermarriage and spiritual and cultural evaporation were becoming a major threat to the survival of Jewish life in the free world. He argued that the task of the time was to prevent in the very age of Zionist achievement the rapid assimilation of world Jewry. Ever wider circles in the Jewish communities in the Western countries began looking to Israel, to various educational and work programs in the country, especially for young people from all communities of the Jewish world, to provide the occasion and the source for Jewish commitment. In such an atmosphere of growing concern for the Jewish continuity of hundreds of thousands of Jewish families all over the world, the notion that those who chose to live in Israel would certainly remain Jewish in a creative way conquered many previous reservations about *aliyah* as the ultimate personal ideal of a Zionist.

In the 1970s the world Zionist movement retained substantial functions in the upbuilding of Israel's society, both in the bringing of new immigrants, especially from lands where Jews are being persecuted, and in all other areas in which public funds from the Diaspora are properly spent. It continued to conduct and even to expand its endeavors in the strengthening of ties between Jews all over the world and those in Israel. Its governing body, still called the Jewish Agency, formally expanded again, in 1971, under the leadership of its chairman Louis Pincus, after the pattern of an earlier, practically abortive expansion in 1929, to include on the basis of parity representatives of the major Jewish pro-Israel fund-raising organizations everywhere in the world. In these new arrangements the World Zionist Organization and its Executive divested themselves, in favor of the new body, of direct responsibility for the financing and directing of *aliyah* from places of need and of the tasks which flow from this responsibility. Regardless of the formal changes, and even the increase in activities, the question of Zionist definition remains, however.

A major turning point was the Six-Day War in 1967. The days that led up to that event were filled with fear that a small state surrounded by enemies might become the object of a new holocaust. The swift and total victory evoked joy that Jews were now masters of their own destiny and recognized as such throughout the world. The Jewish Diaspora in all countries did not know how deeply it identified both with the fears and the triumphs of Israel until it was in the midst of the actual events. There then came an outpouring of money, political support of the most public kind, and volunteers, the equal of which had not been seen except briefly during the months of Israel's War of Independence. The years between 1948 and 1967, of continued integration of Jews into U.S. society, and into several West European countries, had not affected the strong emotions of self-identification and of identification with Israel which had clearly existed two decades before. Nowhere, during those days, did Jews hesitate to exert pressure on the governments of their countries of residence to support Israel. In France, where de Gaulle had reversed his previous policy and stood against Israel when war came, Jewish demonstrations in Paris evoked from him a remark about the Jews as an "elite people, sure of itself, and domineering." After the initial outrage over the negative rhetoric in which de Gaulle's opinion was couched, the Jews of the world were by 1967 willing to accept the proposition that Jews were indeed a community with opinions, ties, and characteristics which were distinct, and that the major contemporary affirmation of this Jewish distinctiveness was the whole set of relationships which involved all Jews in Israel. Zionism had thus finally succeeded in having the Jewish world accept the idea – and, what is more, feel deeply – that in the 20th century the Jews were a people and not only an international religious community, and that this people found its central expression in the renascent life in Israel.

TENSIONS IN THE U.S. AND THE U.S.S.R. In the last years of the 1960s two other events deeply affected the contemporary understanding of Zionism. In the United States this was the era of major social tension and Jews were not far from the center of all the problems. Race relations deteriorated by the latter years of the decade to physical confrontation and even armed clashes between blacks and whites. In all of the largest cities of the United States Jews had, for historical reasons (they were usually the last occupants of the neighborhoods into which blacks then moved), a substantial stake in the economy of the black ghetto, as storekeepers and landlords. They were often the most visible white men in the life of blacks in the north. In another dimension, younger, politically radical Jewish elements had been among the founders of the most activist movements of black protest, but, as black consciousness became ever more exclusivist, Jews and all other whites were systematically excluded from these movements. Certain administrations, such as that of the public school teachers in New York City, were dominated by Jews, and blacks began to fight hard to occupy their places. On a variety of levels the dream of peaceful integration was thus replaced by confrontation in the name of group identity and group interests. Within such an atmosphere many Jews were pushed toward identification with the specific interests of the Jewish community and its own peculiar destiny. The alternative for some of the young who had cut their teeth politically in the black movement, was to come to Israel.

There was no such direct correlation between the rising tempers over the war in Vietnam and Jewish consciousness. Young Jews were very prominent among the makers of the political protests which rocked the American campus in the late 1960s; but only a very few of those who chose not to fight in the war in Vietnam came to Israel. What was more fundamental was the growing disillusionment in all circles, not only Jewish ones, with the "American dream." For a person to emigrate from America to some less problematic, more satisfying place was now thinkable, and indeed some were even doing so. At such a moment the problem of "dual loyalty" which had troubled the past generation of Jews in America, their need to prove that it was not anti-American to care about Israel, or even to want to go and live there, was no longer of consequence. Fear for their future as Jews was not major, but some element of reaction to antisemitism was widespread. *Aliyah* from America, which neared 10,000 for the first time in the year 1970, was mostly, however, propelled not by the "push" of disappointment in American life, but by the "pull" of the attraction of Israel to Jews who wanted to live its kind of life, as the realization of their own Jewish identity.

In the late 1960s the Jews of the Soviet Union, who had remained inert on the surface under Stalinist persecution, began to assert their Jewishness and their identification with Israel in the most overt ways. The underlying factors here were the classic ones of bitter resentment that Russian Jews felt at the antisemitism which still existed in Soviet society and its administration after half a century of Bolshevik rule, coupled with a surprising amount of deep Jewish feelings, and especially of proud identification with Israel, which still persisted despite the absence for at least a generation of any Jewish schools or communal organizations – for even the communist schools and press in Yiddish had been destroyed under Stalin. In the Soviet Union, too, the Six-Day War had been a turning point. The government was on the Arab side and remained the chief protector and supplier of Egypt and of the most anti-Israel of the other Arab states. Official propaganda was violently anti-Israel, anti-Zionist with strong antisemitic overtones. The Jews of the U.S.S.R., through their most vocal elements, had, however, lost their fear of repression and proceeded to demand the right to leave and to go to Israel. A trickle of such immigration had been permitted by the Soviet authorities earlier and, spasmodically, it was renewed in 1968, even during the years of the most bitter vituperation of Israel by Soviet diplomacy and propaganda. The numbers of those who were permitted to leave reached relatively considerable proportions and the requests that were submitted by Jews were in the tens of thousands. Hebrew was being studied in semi-underground conditions and in many ways connection was maintained, amidst difficulty and some danger, with the Jews beyond the "iron curtain." The right of Soviet Jews to emigrate had become by the end of the decade an international issue of considerable magnitude. The activity on their behalf was widespread throughout the Jewish world, and it acted to recall many Jews who were themselves otherwise alienated, to a sense of their own Jewish identity. In the Soviet Union itself this reassertion of Jewishness was clearly the harbinger of a new era of rebellious national consciousness after the two generations when cultural and linguistic de-Judaization was forced upon the Jews while the doors of gentile society to complete equality and assimilation were not opened to them. For Zionism the Jews coming out of the U.S.S.R. represented an element that had been aggrieved and had so strongly asserted itself as to be a classic fundamental assertion of Zionist theory: the assertion that in any social system the Jew would ultimately find himself in a situation different from that of the majority and discriminated against and that he would have to make his life in terms of that reality.

IDEOLOGICAL PROBLEMS IN ISRAEL. In Israel itself, the first generation of statehood produced essentially two sets of internal cultural problems. Both were not new; both were deeply embedded in tensions inherent in Zionism almost from the beginning. Religious and secular forces fought each other over the role that Jewish religion was to play in the life of the total community. For the religious such questions as whom one married, or whether public transport and all public services were to function on the Sabbath, were not matters of private conscience. They went to the very roots of the issue of why a Jewish state had to be created in Zion in the first place. It was to be something more than a refugee camp, or a large-scale attempt to create a "Jewish Albania." The purpose of this effort was to make it possible for a characteristic Jewish life in line with tradition to be lived in contemporary settings of one's own. Amid the secular forces the imposition by the State of the Orthodox religious rules on personal status, so that, for example, one was not free to marry out of the faith if one chose, or the legal definition of "who is a Jew" only by the norms of rabbinic law (so that children of gentile mothers born and raised in Israel as Jews were not so registered by secular law until 1970), raised great anger. In the view of the secular thinkers a modern state and society required an absolute separation between religion and public order. Another continuing battle was that between those who preferred to regard themselves as Israelis, with little concern or identification either with the Jewish past in the Exile or with the present-day Jewish majority in the Diaspora, and those who kept insisting that Jews in the new state were still primarily Jews and not Israelis. The events of 1967 and the rise of Jewish passion in Soviet Jewry effectively made an end to this latter debate. It became clear to almost everyone that Israel and the Jews of the world stood together in crisis; that even the Jews of the U.S., the richest of Diasporas, did not feel themselves as living on a different plane from the Jews in Israel; and that everywhere the rescue of the Soviet Jews was regarded as a prime purpose. The seal was thus set on a development which had begun with the very foundation of the State in one of its earliest constitutional acts, "the Law of Return," under which any Jew anywhere has the right to claim Israel citizenship upon arrival in the country and his right to immigrate into Israel is inalienable. The government of Israel had made it its duty to intervene diplomatically on behalf of Jewish communities in trouble, from the very beginning of its existence. Israel had never allowed any doubts to persist that the defense of Jewish interests all over the world was an integral element of its foreign policy. It had certainly presumed that world Jewry would stand with Israel and that its policies on all matters of major concern would parallel those of the State. In June 1967 these presumptions of world-wide Jewish support for Israel were fully realized. Soon thereafter there was another demonstration of the principle that defense of Jews all over the world was central to Israel's policy. It took the leading role in the battle which soon broke into the open for the rights of Soviet Jews.

Perhaps the most difficult, in the long run, of the problems of Jewish self-definition in Israel was its relationship to the Arabs. On the one hand there was lasting tension; on the other there was increased contact after 1967 and an ever greater straining to recognize and encounter Arabs as equal human beings. Here, too, the new generation was heir to a moral concern as old as the very beginnings of Zionism. At the beginning of the 20th century Aḥad Ha-Am had expressed the fear that the new Jewish settlement in Ereẓ Israel might be so constructed as to harm the Arabs and he had pleaded for sensitivity to this possibility. In actual day-to-day life throughout the years of Zionist immigration there were not only riots and battles but also friendships and accommodations between the two communities. Eventually every Zionist theory had had to face the question of the Arabs. The newest note after the Six-Day War was sounded by those intellectuals and politicians in Israel who saw the main road to peace in active consent and even cooperation by Israel in the establishment of Palestinian Arab independence in a part of the previous area of Palestine (including Transjordan).

Looking toward the last third of the 20th century, Zionism as an organized movement was weaker than it had been a generation before, but the result of its labors, the State of Israel, was strongly established. As an organization the world Zionist movement inevitably no longer occupied the central place in the Jewish world, for it had been replaced by the government of Israel, but Zionist sentiment now pervaded the whole of Jewish organized endeavor. The possibilities of substantial new immigration were again in view and the Zionist movement continued to assert that the encouragement of such processes was its most characteristic task. But the basic question that Zionism had posed when it first appeared, even before Theodor Herzl, still remained open – and embattled: What would be the nature of the new Jews and of the new Jewish society? To what degree would it be conventionally modern and Western and to what degree would it be connected with the classic Jewish past – or, for that matter, to what degree would the Jews in Israel "de-Westernize" in order, hopefully, to come to terms with the Middle Eastern world within which they were living? If, at the very least, there would be major Jewish communities in the Diaspora for a long time to come, and perhaps permanently, what was to be the continuing relationship between the

Jewish national community in Israel and that Diaspora? How, for that matter, was the continuity of Jewish loyalty in the far-off communities to be fostered and preserved? What, in short, was the new Jew, the Zionist and Israel successor to his ghetto ancestors, to be? In 1971 there were as yet no answers – but it was equally clear that these questions would continue to be wrestled with and lived through for many years to come.

NON-ZIONIST AND ANTI-ZIONIST TRENDS

Zionism, though initially a minority movement, became so central in Jewish thought that eventually the other Jewish ideological trends had to define themselves largely in terms of their attitude to the Zionist idea or to certain essential elements of it, as, e.g., the revival of Hebrew language and culture, the "fixation" on Ereẓ Israel as the only territory for ingathering the Jewish mass migration, the national unity of Orthodox and secular Jews, etc.

AUTONOMISTS AND YIDDISHISTS. Before World War I the bulk of the Jews of the world were living in two multi-national empires, Russia and Austria-Hungary. In both of these regimes minority peoples were conducting struggles for their respective national autonomies. The situation of the Jews was different from that of all other minorities, for they were nowhere a majority in any particular piece of territory that was historically associated with their national identity. Nonetheless, Jews in these regions continued to speak a language of their own, Yiddish, and they were bound together by ties of history and culture and by a network of communal institutions. Zionism was not the only possible national movement among Jews. A variety of other ideologies and movements arose, which refused to accept the idea that Jews were in any sense alien to the places of their dwelling in Europe, or to believe that antisemitism could be ended only by mass emigration. These movements argued that Jews were one of the historic tribes of Eastern Europe, with as much right in the region as the Poles or the Ukrainians. The discrimination against Jews could, and should, be ended by a more vigorous battle for a just social order and by the achievement of national equality for all the national communities in the region. "To do battle at one's positions" was the slogan directed against the Zionists by such schools of thought. Most such non-Zionist nationalists regarded the Hebrew revival as a piece of romanticism and as disguised clericalism. In their view the spoken language of the people, Yiddish, was its natural contemporary speech. A healthy national life could be built only by strengthening that language and its literature and raising it in public esteem from the level of a dialect to that of a respected language.

The most important theoretician of Diaspora nationalism was the historian S. *Dubnow. He himself did not deny the importance of Hebrew, or of Russian, for he wrote all his life in both these languages as well as, of course, in Yiddish; nor did Dubnow deny that there was significance in the developing Jewish community in Palestine. In his historiography Jewish life had always found its leadership in some new emerging center of energies as an older community was declining. In his own day he saw Eastern Europe as the lead community, then erecting tributary centers in Palestine and the United States. He envisaged that Jews everywhere would labor to achieve nationally cultural autonomous institutions, including especially an educational system of their own in their own language. His spiritual disciples organized a party which labored for a system of "Sejms," Jewish "parliaments" or "diets," which should direct the affairs of the various Jewish communities and of the Jewish people as a whole. This principle of "autonomism" was adopted also by the Russian Zionists at their conference in Helsingfors (1906), when czarist Russia seemed to be on the threshold of genuine parliamentary democracy. They, however, regarded it not as an end in itself, but as an element of Zionist *Gegenwartsarbeit*: an instrument for Jewish social and educational activity with the clearly defined aim of ultimate migration and settlement in Ereẓ Israel. Dubnow faced squarely the question that the national situation of the Jews in the Diaspora, in the minority everywhere, was an anomaly, but he did not arrive at the conclusion that this situation should be rectified by the creation of a Jewish commonwealth in Ereẓ Israel. At the core of his outlook was the vision of a future for all humanity in which all of the historic nations would rise to a higher stage of existence in which they would be freed of their dependence on any particular land and would exist as communities on the basis of historic and cultural ties. The paradigm for such communities was what the Jews had become in the Diaspora after the beginning of the Exile; they had persisted in this new and higher form; and so Dubnow saw his vision of Diaspora Jewish national autonomism, or a formulation of the modalities of human association, to be the newest and most profound teaching by Jews for mankind.

There were other, more mundane versions of Diaspora nationalism. Several schools of thought, chiefly under the influence of Chaim *Zhitlowsky, were in favor of the centrality of Yiddish in the national Jewish experience and labored toward the recognition of that language, and of those who lived out their lives in it, as one of the several cultural linguistic communities of Eastern Europe, and of the Western world as a whole. This ideology was crystallized formally at a conference of Yiddishists in 1908 in *Czernowitz. Right after World War I this ideology was expressed by the foundation in Vilna, with branches in other parts of the Jewish world, of the Yidisher Visenshaftlekher Institut (*YIVO-Institute for Jewish Research), which survived World War II and now continues its scholarly and educational endeavors in New York.

The most important single movement to arise in Eastern Europe in the 1890s, in the very months when Herzl was appearing on the Jewish scene, was the Jewish Socialist Bund. This organization was created not primarily in reaction to Zionist stirrings but through tensions within the Russian revolutionary movement. Most of the young Jewish revolutionaries of the day were joining and taking prominent part in the various underground factions, but some began to feel that the Jewish workers could not be approached and made active in the Jewish revolutionary cause except through Yiddish. The announced purpose of the founders of the Bund was thus not a Jewish national one, for initially they proposed only the temporary use of Yiddish as a means to the end of bringing the Jewish workers into the mainstream of the Russian revolution. Yet the gibe by no less a figure than Plekhanov, the father of Russian Marxism, that Bundists are "Zionists who are afraid of seasickness," soon acquired a measure of truth. A Yiddish-speaking party representing the revolutionary will of Jewish workers could not help but become aware that these workers had problems not only with their employers but also with gentile workers. Under the pressure of Zionists, and especially of socialist Zionists, the Bund moved in the direction of accepting the separate culture of Jews as a lasting value worth preserving through "personal cultural autonomy," i.e., the right of every individual to enjoy national, educational, and linguistic life in the framework of a legal minority organization. It clashed on this issue with its fellow social democrats, Jewish and non-Jewish, Menshevik and Bolshevik.

RELIGIOUS AND SECULAR ANTI-NATIONALISM. There were also anti-nationalist reactions to Zionism, and these were much more clearly occasioned by the fact that an organized Zionist movement had arisen. The First Zionist Congress had been intended for Munich and it did not take place there because most of the rabbinate of Germany made a public declaration against the movement, for it would, in their view, call into question the absolute loyalty and integration of Jews as a purely religious community in the European nations. Some 20 years later, in the debates within the British war cabinet which preceded the announcements of the Balfour Declaration, the only Jewish member of the cabinet, Edwin Montagu, argued along the same line, that the recognition of the Jews as a nationality with its homeland in Palestine would call into question his political identity as a British subject who was a Jew only by religion. In 1929 when a group of distinguished non-Zionists joined a reorganized and "enlarged" Jewish Agency for Palestine, on a plane of parity with the representatives of the World Zionist Organization, the non-Zionists maintained that their interest in the Jewish settlement in Palestine was philanthropic and not political, and they indeed remained opposed to any talks of an eventual Jewish state. In the 1940s in the United States anti-Zionist sentiment was represented at its most extreme by the *American Council for Judaism, which maintained not only that its members were Jews by religion alone but that their religion made it incumbent upon them to take only a universalist position, which meant in practice a pro-Arab and anti-Jewish nationalist view of their responsibilities. "Dual loyalty" worried wide circles of Jews, especially in the Western countries, in varying degrees into the 1950s. By then it had become generally accepted, as Nahum Goldmann maintained, that all men have many "loyalties" which live in some tension with each other. The purpose of at least the most extreme of these anti-Zionists was the rapid assimilation of Jews into the total population, and they opposed Zionism because they saw it as a stumbling block to this end.

Zionism was attacked from another side by schools of thought which found it too secular, too modern, and thus too destructive, in their view, of the traditional Jewish values. The religious forces which joined Ḥibbat Zion in the 1880s and which later formed the religious Zionist organization, the Mizrachi, during the first few years of the modern Zionist movement, were a small minority among the Orthodox. The overwhelming majority, especially in ḥasidic circles, saw in such human efforts for the restoration of Jewish nationhood an affront to the command to wait patiently for the Messiah. More seriously, they understood that the definition of Jewry as a modern nation, which meant in immediate Zionist practice that religious believers were to accept equality within Jewry with nonbelievers, portended the eventual end of the supremacy of the Orthodox faith within Jewry. On this point older believers in Eastern Europe found allies in some circles of Westernized Jewry, especially in Germany. Together these groups formed in 1912 the *Agudat Israel, which maintained a consistent involvement in the Jewish community in Ereẓ Israel but was opposed to Zionism as too secular. Its main emphasis was on the defense of the Orthodox Jewish faith everywhere in the world.

TERRITORIALISM AND AGRICULTURAL SETTLEMENT. The movement that was closest to Zionism, *Territorialism, arose out of a split within the Zionist movement itself. In 1903 Herzl brought before the Zionist Congress the proposal of the British that the Jews be given land in East Africa for the development of their own autonomous community. The occasion for this proposal was the dire need of Russian Jewry, in the light of renewed pogroms, and the despair of quickly achieving from the Turks rights for settling Palestine. Thus it seemed that Herzl himself had "moved away from Zion" toward immediate, practical mass settlement to alleviate Jewish need. The proposal to examine the feasibility of the British offer won a bare majority at the last Zionist Congress presided over by Herzl, but it was overwhelmingly defeated after his death. Israel Zangwill, the writer who had been one of Herzl's first followers in England, left the Zionist Organization and founded the Jewish Territorialist Organization (ITO) in 1905. This and similar territorialist bodies continued into the 1930s and 1940s to search for a territory in some part of the world sufficiently empty and available to give the Jews room for the creation of their own national polity. These efforts never succeeded, but something very like what they intended was indeed realized by a non-ideological body, the *Jewish Colonization Association (ICA) which was founded in 1891 by Baron de Hirsch, one of the Jewish magnates to whom Herzl had turned and who had refused to join the Zionist endeavor. Agricultural colonies were created by this trust in several places in the United States and, especially, in Argentina. Though on the local level a kind of autonomous "all-Jewish" life did develop in some places on the American continent for one generation, they never coalesced into full-fledged "territorial" communities. Nowhere did these settlements survive the attraction for their young of higher education in the dominant language and the economic and professional opportunities of the cities.

SOVIET JEWISH CULTURE. In the first two decades after 1917, a kind of Jewish Communist nationalism arose and flourished in the Soviet Union and it was attractive to many Jews outside the borders of the U.S.S.R. But it was short-lived and took a tragic end. In reaction to the Jewish Socialist Bund and to the Zionists the young Stalin had declared in 1913 that there was no such thing as a united Jewish nation, for it lacked a land of its own. Only separate ethnic Jewish groups did exist and were doomed to disappear by assimilation. Nonetheless, during his early years in power he continued the policy of Lenin, to permit the Jews to organize a system of cultural life in Yiddish, provided the Jewish nationality, like all the others in the Soviet Union, made Communism the central political purpose of its cultural activity. Schools on all levels and even college courses in Yiddish were created in the 1920s. Hundreds of books were published and a press and theaters were encouraged. Additionally, with the help of such Western Jews as the Chicago millionaire, Lessing Rosenwald, who was opposed to Zionism, there was some settlement of Jews on the land in southern Russia and the Crimea. An even more grandiose attempt was made to create an autonomous Jewish region on a stretch of land in Siberia, *Birobidzhan. In the later 1930s and particularly after 1948 all of this, including Jewish cultural life in Birobidzhan, was brutally ended. But into the 1930s the reality of Jewish autonomy and the vision of state-sponsored Yiddish creativity in the Soviet Union, allied with its official outlawing of antisemitism, seemed to some Jews in the west, not only of the extreme political Left, an option to be preferred to Zionism. There is no longer any such ideology because repression in the Soviet Union has ended every genuine expression of Jewish life in that country. What existed there in the early 1970s was conducted as an act of semi-clandestine resistance to an unfriendly repressive regime.

[Arthur Hertzberg]

ZIONIST POLICY

Throughout the 19th century, and with increasing potency during the 20th century, nationalism emerged as probably the most powerful political force in Europe, the Americas, and later in Asia and Africa as well. It led to the dismemberment of established empires and to the unification of nations (Italy and Germany); it released creative forces hitherto often suppressed by foreign rule; but it also had other consequences: the identification of state and nation left little room for free and equal development of "minorities." Unlike the Greeks or Romanians, who lived on their own land, the Jews could not attain national self-determination by merely throwing off a foreign yoke. That these developments could not but affect Jewish thought was only natural.

Nineteenth-century Jewry carried very little political weight. Its strivings and efforts could only be of a religious, spiritual, or philanthropic nature. There was no lack of literary expression: countless pamphlets, memoranda, petitions, and sermons were bequeathed by men of renown and by anonymous writers in that century, as well as in earlier times. The general upheaval kindled new hopes. Not only Jewish names, such as Montefiore the magnate, Hess the socialist, and *Disraeli the statesman, are connected with that period, but also many gentile names, such as Lord Palmerston, Lord Shaftesbury, Ernest Laharanne, J.H. Dunant (father of the International Red Cross), and George Eliot. Gentile support for the idea of the Return to Zion reflected the realization that emancipation of the Jews was not enough, and that in addition to recognition of their civil rights, Jews were also entitled to the recognition of their rights as a nation. The sympathy of the few, however, was far outweighed by the hostility of the many. The old antisemitism had been reinforced by "scientific" racial teachings. The last two decades of the century saw the outburst of violent persecutions and pogroms in Eastern Europe, particularly in Russia. These were followed by a mass flight westward, especially to the U.S. The little that Ḥibbat Zion could do in the circumstances was totally inadequate. While hundreds of thousands surged through the gates of the New World, only hundreds succeeded in infiltrating through the more than half-closed doors of the ancient homeland. That these few would in time lay the cornerstone of the Jewish state could only be foreseen by dreamers and visionaries.

THE HERZL PERIOD. If Ḥovevei Zion had sought to reach their goal by quiet and modest labor, Herzl's aim was to achieve a dramatic *coup*, to secure vast funds in order to obtain a guaranteed political basis ("Charter") for a large-scale settlement of Jews. Securing the cooperation of Baron Hirsch or Baron de Rothschild and the consent of the sultan and the German kaiser looked like a shortcut to the goal. He believed that with "millions" it would be possible to obtain a charter or, with a charter, to obtain the millions. Hirsch and Rothschild had already been involved in assistance to Jews in the East in cooperation with the Alliance Israélite Universelle, which had established, inter alia, the first Jewish agricultural school near Jaffa in 1870. Rothschild extended a helping hand to the early settlements in Ereẓ Israel, and Hirsch had set up the Jewish Colonization Association (ICA) with an endowment hitherto unheard of in Jewish affairs. Herzl was received by Hirsch in June 1895 and the result was nil. It was after that interview that Herzl wrote *Der Judenstaat*.

The publication of this clarion call had several consequences. The Jewish national idea, hitherto discussed in small and uninfluential groups, became the subject of heated debate in wider circles. The excited support that came from various quarters – as well as criticism and derision – confirmed Herzl's instinctive feeling that the idea was viable. The territorial aspect also became clearer in his mind: it was to be the ancient homeland and not Argentina or some other place. The keys to Palestine were to be found in Berlin and Constantinople. A man of action, Herzl took his first political steps. He began by seeking a way to approach William II, and the initial results were not discouraging. Anxious to make rapid progress, however, he went to Constantinople (June 1896) in an attempt to see Abdul Hamid II. This proved to be impossible, but Herzl spoke to a number of high officials and a minor order was conferred upon him in the sultan's name.

After further visits to London and Paris in search of political and financial backing, Herzl saw no alternative to organizing a mass movement. Support of a growing number of Zionist groups, especially of students and youth, and encouragement from some Jewish notables enabled him to brush aside the opposition of the assimilated and of rabbinical circles (even Ḥibbat Zion remained cool, fearing Baron de Rothschild's displeasure). The First Zionist Congress met in Basle, Switzerland, in August 1897 and, amid scenes of great enthusiasm, adopted the following formulation of its aim: "Zionism seeks to establish a home for the Jewish people in Palestine secured under public law." The Congress also created the instrument for the implementation of its plan: the World Zionist Organization. Herzl wrote in his diary the prophetic words: "In Basle I founded the Jewish State." And he added a forecast as to the date when the state will become a reality: "…maybe in another five years, at the utmost fifty years." It was 50 years later – almost to the day – that the highest international body, the United Nations, gave its stamp of approval.

One of Herzl's immediate aims – turning the Jewish problems into a "world political problem" – had been achieved in part by the discussions that took place at the Congress itself, in the press, and in the public. Herzl could not have known, for instance, that the German embassy in Berne sent to Berlin a not unsympathetic account of the proceedings, or that this account reached the kaiser's desk and evoked William's remarking that he is all for the Jews moving to Palestine, "the sooner the better." On the other hand, the German consul in Jerusalem made light of the Congress and characterized Zionist aims as utopian. There was to be a change in the kaiser's approach, however. Urged by the grand duke of Baden, one of the more liberal and influential princes in Germany, he reconsidered his previous attitude. On the eve of his visit to Constantinople and Jerusalem in 1898, the kaiser wrote to the grand duke that "the basic idea has interested me, indeed, moved me," and he had come to the conclusion that they were dealing with a "problem of far-reaching significance." Great importance was attached to Jews turning to Germany with gratitude, and he was ready to receive Herzl during his visit to Turkey.

Anxious to have the kaiser put in a good word for Zionism in his talks with Abdul Hamid, Herzl obtained a preliminary audience with William in Constantinople (Oct. 18, 1898) and it seemed that the kaiser had received in a positive spirit both his views and his plea. Von Buelow, the German foreign minister, showed little enthusiasm. It was decided that a Zionist delegation would be officially received by the monarch later, during his visit to Jerusalem. The second audience took place as planned (Nov. 2, 1898), but the spirit was almost totally different. It seemed that the kaiser mentioned the matter in his talks with the sultan, and the latter did not react. The final outcome of Herzl's tremendous effort had been deeply disappointing even though, on the credit side, the whole chapter added somewhat to Zionism's political weight in the eyes of the world, Jewish and non-Jewish.

In search of new approaches, Herzl sought contacts with England and even with Russia; nor was Constantinople written off as yet. Indeed, a new mediator – the Orientalist Armin *Vambery – succeeded in obtaining the decisive audience with Abdul Hamid himself (May 17, 1901); but it proved fruitless. Coupled with the disheartening difficulties on the way to establishing the financial instruments of the movement, which were intended to help in obtaining the charter (the Jewish Colonial Trust), it brought Herzl to the realization that the old road led nowhere and the search would have to turn to other areas, closer to Ereẓ Israel or further away.

England was the first to be approached, and the territory in question was around *El Arish, on the southern border of Ereẓ Israel. London was interested, as it sought to secure the eastern approaches to the Suez Canal. A commission of experts went out to explore the area, which, not unexpectedly, proved to be poor in agricultural land and water resources and could at best absorb a limited number of settlers. Herzl himself visited Cairo (in the spring of 1903) to negotiate with the British representative there, Lord Cromer, and with the Egyptian authorities, but he could not secure the main precondition for any attempt in El Arish – supplies of water from the Nile.

This episode did not sever the first links with London. The second, and more serious suggestion, to come from there related to Uganda. The name Uganda stood then for a number of tribal areas in East Africa where British penetration – first missionary, then commercial and military – went on through the 1870s and 1880s and originally did not prosper. In 1892 the British government decided to abandon the territory, but reversed itself under pressure of missionary and trade interests. Sleeping sickness killed about 250,000 people among the local tribes between 1901 and 1909. Herzl did not know those details when British Colonial Secretary Joseph Chamberlain first spoke to him about the place. Before the matter came up officially, he made another attempt to tackle the Palestine issue by trying to obtain Russian support. In August 1903, several months after the *Kishinev pogrom, he traveled to St. Petersburg and interviewed the notorious minister of interior Plehve (who was assassinated within less than a year) and the minister of finance Count Witte. Once again, the Russian government would not or could not help. On his return journey, he received official news of the new British proposal.

Uganda was not Zion, Herzl knew that and said so at the Sixth Zionist Congress, which met immediately after his visit to Russia. As long as Ereẓ Israel was not obtainable, however, the persecuted people needed a temporary asylum.

Opposition from the old, "pre-Herzlian" Zionists was to be expected, but it was sharper and more widespread than foreseen. In fact, it revealed an accumulation of old dissatisfactions in considerable sections of the movement, especially among the young. The affairs of Zionism were conducted in a way that was far from democratic. Had it produced results, the rank and file would have acquiesced; but all those comings and goings in spheres of "high diplomacy" led away from the main goal, which was Zion. The basic difference between the approach of the leadership and that of the critics became increasingly apparent. The "political Zionists" believed that immigration and settlement could only follow the grant of a "Charter," which would secure the rights of the Jewish people to the land; anything else would be "infiltration" doomed to fail. The "practical Zionists" believed that Jewish rights to Ereẓ Israel were self-evident; immigration and settlement there could not be called "infiltration" and had to proceed under all circumstances. Both sides, however, were conscious of the political significance of the British proposal: at last a mighty world power had recognized the national aspirations of the Jews and was willing to extend a helping hand.

The Uganda Scheme became the Uganda crisis. The Sixth Zionist Congress did not reject the idea outright; with 295 delegates voting for, 178 against, and 132 abstentions, the movement formally accepted the leadership's proposal that a commission be elected to act in an advisory capacity when the Executive sent a mission to the area proposed by England. But the storm that broke loose came as a shock, and it was realized that it would be virtually impossible to proceed with the plan. There were also reports of strong opposition on the part of the British settlers in East Africa and criticism in England itself. Thus, the first debate on Zionism took place in the House of Commons in June 1904, with the participation of the prime minister, A.J. *Balfour and one of the opposition leaders, David Lloyd *George.

In the closing stages of the Zionist Congress, Herzl sought to conciliate the opposition and stressed his continued devotion to what he called "the only country where our people can find rest." But he felt that the breach could hardly be healed. After eight years of superhuman effort and tremendous personal sacrifices, he saw the end approaching. In a final spurt of energy he turned to Rome, where he was received at the beginning of 1904 by King Victor Emmanuel III and by Pope Pius X. The king displayed a warm interest, but there was not much that Italy could do. The pope was ice cold: "If you come to Palestine and settle your people there, we shall prepare churches and priests to convert them." Within a few months after these interviews, Herzl died.

THE TRANSITION PERIOD. That the political activities of the movement could, after the leader's death, no longer be conducted in the same centralized, personal way had been clear to all concerned. After the "natural" successor, Max Nordau, refused to take over, the task fell to another close friend, David Wolffsohn. But he was hardly a political leader, and if the inevitable change came but gradually, it was because the desire to remain faithful to "Herzlian Zionism" dominated the heirs to the leadership and because the main problem inherited by them, Uganda, called for immediate decisions. By then, neither side, the Zionists nor the British, were interested in proceeding with the project. A group of experts went to East Africa in December 1904 and reported in April 1905: the proposed area was not suitable for mass settlement. Meanwhile, practical work in Ereẓ Israel gained priority even before any official change took place in the policy of the movement. One of the first visits paid by Wolffsohn was to Edmond de Rothschild, who promised to aid in practical undertakings in the country. Wolffsohn also visited Vambery, who was not optimistic. In his view, the best way for Zionists was to settle Palestine through quiet work within the existing laws. It was in this direction that the Zionist movement gradually veered after Herzl's death, though it never gave up the political element of its philosophy. The turning point came at the Seventh Zionist Congress (1905) which witnessed the first split in the movement when supporters of Uganda refused to concede defeat. They saw themselves as "territorialists," and with the gates of Ereẓ Israel virtually closed, the "Ugandists" refused to reject a proposal made by a great power at a time when the need to find a refuge for the victims of persecution was at its highest.

The departure of the Ugandists, who established the Jewish Territorial Organization under the leadership of Israel Zangwill, was bound to weaken the movement. But it strengthened the "practical" wing in Zionism (led by M.M. *Ussishkin), which, for the first time, obtained representation on the Zionist Executive. The latter was now composed of three "political" Zionists, three "practical," and Wolffsohn as the balancing force. The controversy did not end at that, and difficulties arose when the territorialists sought to negotiate with governments. Tensions relaxed somewhat when the two organizations found themselves cooperating at a conference called by the Zionists (Brussels, January 1906) in order to discuss assistance to Russian Jews. This also produced meager results.

Wolffsohn and his advisers looked for new political initiatives, though this time – in accordance with an explicit ruling of the Seventh Zionist Congress – not beyond Erez Israel and "adjacent areas." El Arish and Sinai drew renewed attention; Syria and Mesopotamia were considered. Sinai was then causing difficulties between Constantinople and London, which wanted the Turkish-Egyptian border to be fixed as far away from the Suez Canal as possible. A suggestion that the establishment of a Jewish settlement in Sinai may serve as a "compromise" found no support. France displayed no interest at all; when Nordau sought its help on behalf of persecuted Jews in Russia, he was told that France cannot add to the many difficulties of an allied government.

There were other attempts, among them discussions with the foreign minister of the Netherlands about raising the problem of Jewish migration during the second Peace Conference at The Hague. Another proposal spoke of calling a special international conference to deal with the subject. The Dutch thought that it would be appropriate for the initiative to come from England; London felt that a Dutch initiative would be better. A German official promised to take it up with his foreign minister, but no more was heard of it. In the meantime, a fleeting hope arose that it might be possible to renew some of the contacts with Turkey. The sultan's financial troubles were greater than ever, and his officials were looking for help. Twice during the year 1907 Wolffsohn visited Constantinople, and there were moments when he felt that "substantial" progress had been achieved. He no longer spoke of a "Charter" and concentrated on immigration and land acquisition. But the Turks needed vast sums of money, which were, as before, far above the financial ability of the Zionists. The results were therefore the same as during Herzl's desperate journeys. On the credit side, a start had been made for the opening of a bank in Constantinople (The Anglo-Levantine Banking Co.) in which the controlling interest was to be in the hands of the Jewish Colonial Trust (enabling it to appoint the bank's deputy director, who would represent Zionist interests, both financial and political).

THE YOUNG TURKS. When Wolffsohn next visited Constantinople, it was after the situation there had undergone a dramatic change. The revolution of the Young Turks (July 1908) brought to the fore new rulers and widespread hopes. It also restored a relatively liberal constitution; abolished the rule of corrupt palace cliques, of spying, and censorship; and established a parliament. Abdul Harold survived for another eight months and – after a briefly successful counter coup – was replaced by Muhammed v. The years that followed were turbulent and saw almost constant warfare, beginning with the Italian campaign in Tripolitania (1911–12) and through two Balkan wars (1912–13) to World War i and beyond. It was hardly a time for gaining sympathy for Zionism. Whatever progressive ideas the Young Turks may have had initially, chauvinistic tendencies soon prevailed among them. They rejected suggestions for a less centralized regime and for a degree of freedom for the minorities. As far as Palestine was concerned, they proved as inflexible as the rulers they displaced. Nevertheless, conditions of political work in Constantinople itself underwent a slight change.

The Zionist leadership sought to avail itself of the few opportunities that were now to be found on the Bosphorus, mostly for the purpose of explaining the aims and purposes of Jewish settlement in Ereẓ Israel. With the opening of the Anglo-Levantine Banking Co., the post of deputy director was entrusted to Victor *Jacobson, a Russian Zionist with some experience in the Near East. Since the main task had been the proliferation of authoritative information, he was joined by another Russian Zionist, the journalist Vladimir Jabotinsky. A small Turkish publication in French was turned into a well-edited daily, *Le Jeune Turc*. Apart from propaganda, however, there was little that could be done in the political sphere. A visit by Nordau, who had friendly ties with some of the Turkish leaders, produced no change. He was told that the Jews would be allowed to take part in the development of Turkey but would not be allowed to concentrate in any particular area, such as Palestine. Wolffsohn revisited Constantinople (June 1909) to review the situation. This was to be his last visit there. In 1911 he retired from the Executive and was replaced by Otto *Warburg, a "practical" Zionist, as chairman. This time Wolffsohn paid special attention to the attitude of Turkish Jews, of whom only a few showed interest in Zionism; others were indifferent or unfriendly. The community saw much infighting: between Sephardi and Ashkenazi leaders, between those influenced by the French-oriented Alliance Israélite Universelle and the adherents of the German-Jewish *Hilfsverein der Deutschen Juden. Prominent among the opponents were Chief Rabbi Haim *Nahoum (later chief rabbi of Egypt) and a Jewish member of parliament from Baghdad.

THE ARAB PROBLEM. The Arabs themselves had become a significant political factor. As one of the subject peoples, they had little direct say in the past. In Palestine difficulties arose, from time to time, between Jewish settlers and the local population in connection with land purchases, commercial competition, labor disputes, or robberies. Labor troubles multiplied after the Second Aliyah brought young pioneers who sought to "conquer" labor opportunities in all Jewish settlements. But there, as elsewhere in the empire, Arabs were dominated and roughly treated by Turkish officials. The Arab national movement was in its infancy. One of the few who thought of it was Ahad Ha-Am, who wrote as far back as 1891, in a famous article "Truth from Ereẓ Israel":

"We abroad are accustomed to believe that Ereẓ Israel is almost totally desolate at present… but in reality it is not so… Arabs, especially those in towns, see and understand our activities and aims in the country but keep quiet and pretend as if they did not know, and that because they don't see any danger to their future in our activities at present, and they try to exploit us, too, and profit from the new guests while laughing at us in their hearts. But if the time comes and our people make such progress as to displace the people of the country… they will not lightly surrender the place."

The situation began to change after the revolution of the Young Turks. There were some 60 Arabs and a couple of Jews in the parliament, which counted less than 300 members. The Arabs influenced policy (mostly through personal contacts), introduced interpellations, and, in 1911, initiated two full-fledged debates on the dangers involved in Jewish immigration and land acquisition. In one of these debates, the only speaker to refute their accusations was a Bulgarian Socialist member. Government spokesmen more than once made hostile statements stressing Zionist separatist aims. Zionist representatives sought to counteract the assaults by denying separatist intentions. Jacobson also sought to establish contact with Arab members of parliament. The latter feared that government leaders belonging to the Committee of Union and Progress might be unduly influenced by Jews who were among the earliest supporters of the Committee. The Turkish authorities, on their part, chose to make promises to all and fulfilled very few of them.

Not many realized at the time that the struggles in which Turkey had been involved, in the Balkans and elsewhere, were but the opening skirmishes in an approaching world war. Though talk of "partition" of the Ottoman Empire was heard long before and early Zionism itself had been influenced by it, the Zionist movement had to base its day-to-day work on repeated assurances that it did not seek to harm the unity of that empire. When Turkey found itself at war with Italy in *Tripoli, Nordau supported a proposal that a unit of Jewish volunteers be organized to fight side by side with the Ottoman forces. Another Zionist suggestion later spoke of organizing a medical unit to help the Turks in the Balkans. When the veteran Zionist leader Jacobus *Kann of The Hague published a book about a visit to Ereẓ Israel in which he openly stated that the ultimate aim of Zionism is the establishment of a Jewish state there, Jabotinsky, then in charge of Zionist press activities in Constantinople, vigorously protested to Wolffsohn and demanded the suppression of Kann's book.

This attitude did not seem too convincing to the Young Turks, while it made Zionism further suspect in the eyes of Arab nationalists. On the other hand, Zionist tactics were almost inevitably the outcome of the contradiction between the movement's immediate needs and its long-range goals. The immediate necessity was to preserve the existing *yishuv* and to increase, however slowly, the number of new immigrants and settlements. The hopes engendered by the changes in Turkey were soon reflected in growing Jewish activity: the number of settlements established in the years 1908–14 reached almost a dozen and a half. The same period also saw the opening in Jaffa of the Palestine Office of the Zionist Organization under Arthur *Ruppin, the foundation of Tel Aviv, and the formation of organized public bodies of the new *yishuv*. All these naturally strengthened Arab opposition and coincided with the formation of local Arab nationalist groups and the appearance of their first newspapers in the country. Though the stirrings among the Arabs found little reflection in the Jewish press, some Zionist leaders soon realized their importance, and as far back as 1908 Wolffsohn used an expression which was later to be repeated by others: Governments change, but the people remain.

During the last year before the outbreak of World War I the first Arab-Jewish contacts that could be seen as politically significant, were introduced. When the Young Turks started taking stringent measures for the "Ottomanization" of their empire, some of the active Arab nationalists were in search of allies. A few turned to the Jews, who, they hoped, could help them with the press and public opinion in Europe. A director of *Le Jeune Turc*, S. Hochberg, received an invitation to visit Beirut and Cairo in order to meet Arab nationalists. He went there, with Jacobson's consent and with the knowledge of the Young Turks, and, according to reports to his superiors, established a measure of accord. The support of *Le Jeune Turc* had been promised for Arab aspirations, without prejudice to the unity of the empire, as well as help in the European press, while the Arabs undertook to drop their opposition to Jewish immigration and to support Arab-Jewish understanding. Some of this spirit was also reportedly felt at a conference called by the same Arab activists in Paris in July 1913. This time, Jacobson joined Hochberg in the talks but these were inconclusive, though only muted opposition to Jewish immigration was voiced at the conference.

Another attempt at Arab-Jewish understanding was made in 1914. Arab politicians were again in need of propaganda assistance and, in conversations with Zionists in Constantinople, concentrated on Jewish financial aid for the expansion of Arab education, large-scale public works in Arab regions, and preventing the dispossession of Arab *fellahin*. The latter point was met by suggestions that agriculture be intensified, thus making room for new settlers as well as for the existing farmers. Parallel with these conversations, other talks were conducted by Nahum Sokolow, member of the Zionist Executive, who visited Beirut and Damascus in May 1914. Arab participants in these talks suggested a joint conference to be convened later in the summer and attended by members of the Zionist Executive like Sokolow himself, and not by representatives unauthorized to take decisions. Some of the Arabs called for the assimilation of the Jewish settlers among the local majority through the establishment of mixed villages and mixed schools. In the meantime, heavy clouds covered the international horizon. The joint conference which was to meet at the beginning of July was postponed for a few weeks. But on July 28 the first shots of World War I rang out in the Balkans, and on November 5 Turkey became involved in the war on the side of Germany and Austria.

THE STRUGGLE FOR THE FUTURE. That the vast conflict was bound tragically to affect a people whose masses lived on both sides of the frontiers in regions which turned into battlefields soon became all too obvious. The Zionist movement, national in spirit but international in structure, was also bound to find itself in a precarious position. Its headquarters were in Berlin, but the majority of its followers lived in countries at war with Germany or neutral. There were suggestions that the central office should move to Scandinavia. British and U.S. Zionists wanted it transferred to the United States and placed under the leadership of Louis D. Brandeis. Russian Zionists feared that such a step would cause affront to Germany and further antagonize Turkey; they wanted a coordinating bureau in neutral Copenhagen. Thus the old central office remained in Berlin and its representatives stayed in Constantinople, their task more vital than ever: to see to it that the young *yishuv* weathers the storm. Two members of the Executive (Sokolow and *Tschlenow) were sent to London to take charge of political activities there, while another member, Shemaryahu *Levin, went to the United States. Nonetheless, one of the results of the fact that the Zionist headquarters never left Central Europe was the widespread and persistent impression that the movement was under German influence.

Whether Germany itself took it for granted was far less certain. Berlin never took Zionism seriously. Its international character had always been suspect. The recent struggle of the *yishuv* (1913) against German as the language of instruction in the German-Jewish Hilfsverein schools, including the newly founded Haifa Technological Institute, caused considerable irritation. Having achieved the huge political success of involving Turkey in the war as an ally, Berlin would do nothing to place any strain on the friendship. Repeated Zionist initiatives directed at obtaining Turkish – or at least German – expressions of sympathy for Jewish aims in Ereẓ Israel were repeatedly rebuffed. Even where the proposals concerned the rights of Jews in Russian Poland, which was occupied by German troops (Count Bernstorff, German ambassador in Washington, urged his government to promise them equality of rights in the future), Berlin responded negatively, ostensibly because such a step could make it more difficult to achieve a separate peace with Russia at some later date.

Nonetheless, in the military and political vacillations that were to follow, the Germans sought to preserve the precarious status quo in and around Palestine, but even that proved difficult. Soon after the outbreak of hostilities, one of the most ruthless members of the Turkish ruling group, Jamal Pasha, assumed command in Syria and Palestine and began a series of expulsions, some of them explained as military measures, others as the result of the fact that many of the Jews in the country were foreign (mostly Russian), citizens. The grave danger to the very existence of the *yishuv* (which numbered about 85,000) alarmed not only the Zionists but Jewry as a whole. The largest Jewish community (Russia) could do little; its political influence was nil and it had been overwhelmed by its own huge refugee problem, created by the mass expulsion of Jews from the war zones by the Russian army command. There remained only one large section of the Jewish people not directly involved in the war. U.S. Jewry immediately offered a helping hand both to the Jewish victims of the fighting in Eastern Europe and to the *yishuv.* Furthermore, U.S. Jewry had political weight, and the United States was at the time represented in Constantinople by Henry *Morgenthau, who was willing to help. Coming on top of the Turkish atrocities, of which the Armenians were the main victims, reports of harassment in Ereẓ Israel created an atmosphere that was harmful not only to Turkey but to its allies as well. One of the main aims of the Central Powers had been to keep the U.S. neutral. The unpopularity of czarist Russia in wide circles of the United States public played into their hands. There were also great economic interests involved in the struggle for U.S. sympathies. This helped to make the rulers of Turkey realize that turning Jewish Palestine into another Armenia by large-scale massacres may be too costly, and, although Jamal Pasha often acted on his own, the worst fears that were felt in the first months of the war only partly materialized. Before the end of 1915 the German ambassador in Constantinople, Count Metternich, sent a confidential circular letter to his consulates in Turkey explaining their government's "friendly attitude" toward Jewry's aspirations concerning the raising of the spiritual and economic standards of the Jews living in the Ottoman Empire and furthering Jewish immigration and settlement there (Palestine was not mentioned); all this, of course, provided no harm was done to Turkish or German interests.

In the meantime, a Zionist political campaign was slowly gaining ground in Britain. It centered around a younger leader who had become prominent as one of the critics of Herzl's policies – Chaim Weizmann. One of his closest advisers was a much better known critic of Herzl – Aḥad Ha-Am. The political climate in England was unlike that of Germany. For a long time Britain guarded the integrity of the Ottoman Empire until the latter's misgovernment; the steady penetration of German interests into Turkey and the expansion of Britain' own interests in the Near East made that policy no longer tenable. The future partition of the vast Ottoman domains raised great problems and offered great opportunities, including some for the non-Turkish elements in the empire and for the Jews in Palestine. Weizmann was one of those who soon grasped the suddenly unfolding prospects. The history of his efforts is the history of the Balfour Declaration. It was a dramatic struggle in which the chief participants were outstanding leaders of the British government, foremost among them Balfour and Lloyd George, leaders of the Jewish community, split in their attitude to the very idea of a Jewish center in Palestine, and numerous other personalities. An early advocate of the idea was a member of the government, Herbert *Samuel. The search for an acceptable policy formulation proved to be a most complicated task, mainly because other Entente partners, above all France, were also involved.

When the first tentative approaches were made, the Zionists knew nothing of the secret negotiations between Britain and France, which resulted in the *Sykes-Picot Agreement of February 1916, that had already settled the future of Palestine. With the exception of a small enclave including Haifa, in which Britain had a long-standing interest, the country was to be placed under an international administration. Later, Russia was also promised large areas of Turkish territory. These undertakings tied Britain's hands when the discussions on Zionist proposals began making headway. But they also spurred interest. The creators of British policy in the Near East had always viewed France as an undesirable neighbor in the vicinity of Suez. An opportunity to reopen the question, especially as far as Palestine was concerned, increased that interest. The potential propaganda value in America and even in Russia, with their millions of Jews, was not overlooked. The Jews, on their part, were becoming more active in giving expression to their wishes and expectations. The British government consulted the government of the U.S., and obtained the support of Wilson and his administration for the pro-Zionist attitude of the British government. L. Brandeis and S. Wise played an important role in securing the U.S. support. As early as the first days of the war, before Turkey joined the Central Powers, proposals were made that Jewish battalions be raised to fight for the liberation of Ereẓ Israel. In August 1914 London was visited by a well-known figure in the Russian revolutionary movement, Pinḥas *Rutenberg, who sought to obtain the support of Weizmann and others for this idea. In the meantime, young Jews expelled from Ereẓ Israel to Egypt began volunteering for service with the British forces, and the Zion Mule Corps was established in 1915 under British command with a former officer of the Russian army, Joseph Trumpeldor, playing a central role when the unit went to Gallipoli later in the year. This was but the beginning of the prolonged campaigning for the establishment of the Jewish Legion that was stubbornly pursued by Jabotinsky in London and took another two years to obtain its goal. Rutenberg, who went to the United States in 1915 for the same purpose, had been persuaded to postpone it because of the threat of Turkish retaliations in Palestine, and those who influenced him most were two labor leaders from Ereẓ Israel, David Ben-Gurion and Izhak Ben-Zvi, who later, however, in 1917, themselves promoted the idea of the Jewish Legion and joined its "American" battalion. Much of this activity, including Weizmann's political initiative, had not been authorized by the official supreme organs of the Zionist movement; a meeting of its General Council held in Copenhagen in 1916 resolved that the Executive may not negotiate with any country at war with Turkey.

The turning point on almost all the fronts came in 1917. The beginning of March brought the Russian Revolution which overthrew the czar and led, eight months later, to the overthrow of the revolutionary government itself and the establishment of the Soviet regime. April brought the American declaration of war on the Central Powers (but not against Turkey). Soon afterward permission was granted in London for enlistment in Jewish battalions. At the beginning of the same year, the British government, now led by Lloyd George, started "unofficial discussions" with the Zionists. One of the first obstacles that had to be removed was the previous commitment under the Anglo-French Sykes-Picot Agreement. Indeed, it was Sir Mark Sykes himself who conducted the discussions with representative Jews, and with his assistance important moves were made in Paris and Rome. On behalf of the Zionists, Sokolow conducted the negotiations there. This time, even the Vatican was less unbending. Benedict XV told Sokolow: "We shall be good neighbors." A short time later, Sokolow received from the French government assurances of "sympathy for your cause, the triumph of which is bound up with that of the Allies." It may have been a reluctant concession, but it opened the way for a decision by the British cabinet. Significantly, the most persistent opposition there came from Edwin Montagu, the Jewish secretary of state for India, but it could not overcome the equally great persistence of the prime minister and of the secretary of state for foreign affairs. Montagu succeeded, however, in delaying the approval of his government's pronouncement and in watering it down. On Nov. 2, 1917, the Balfour Declaration was issued.

WORDS AND DEEDS. The impact of the Balfour Declaration on Jewish public opinion was immediate, and enthusiasm spontaneous. In many lands there were huge demonstrations and processions displaying the Union Jack side by side with the Zionist flag. But the Jews in Germany and Austria could only celebrate between four walls, and in Russia there were by then large areas under Bolshevik rule or in a state of flux where open identification with an "imperialist power" became imprudent. If one of the purposes of the declaration had been to influence developments in Russia, it came too late, even assuming that Jewish opinion could have had any significant influence amid the political storms that were raging there. On the other side of the trenches, in Germany and Turkey, the semi-official reactions were unexpectedly mild. The German Foreign Ministry was unmoved; Zionist efforts in Berlin to obtain a similar declaration were rebuffed. But in December 1917, Talaat Pasha, one of the Turkish ruling triumvirate, told a Zionist correspondent of a prominent German newspaper that Turkey was favorably disposed to Jewish settlement in Palestine, that existing restrictions would be removed, and immigration would be free within the "limits of the country's absorptive capacity," and that Jews will have the right to free economic and cultural development and to local self-government in the framework of Turkish laws. After the publication of the interview, Jewish and Zionist representatives were called to the Foreign Office in Berlin and an undersecretary told them that his government welcomed Talaat's statement.

The general military situation at the time had not yet been viewed by the Central Powers as hopeless. Even Turkey was far from giving up the struggle, in spite of the British advance in Palestine, which caused, inter alia, the removal of Jamal Pasha (September 1917), but not before he hanged a number of Arab nationalists in Damascus. Turkey was pinning its hopes on a Russian withdrawal from the war, chances of a separate peace, or, at least, a relatively lenient treatment at a future peace conference. But 1918 brought the series of events that left no more illusions. Bulgaria collapsed at the end of September. A few days later came the disintegration of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Turkey capitulated on October 20, and Germany herself, her power broken on the western front and her people rebelling, deposed the kaiser and signed an armistice on November 11.

Months before this denouement, the new Zionist leadership headed by Weizmann took the first steps toward the implementation of the Balfour Declaration. A *Zionist Commission for Palestine had been formed, including representatives from Britain, America, France, and Italy, and started out for Ereẓ Israel. Two representatives from Russia were elected, but their departure had been postponed. Before leaving, Weizmann was received by King George V. There were high hopes but few illusions. It had been difficult to obtain the international promise; turning it into a reality was bound to be much more difficult. The Turks were out; the Arabs felt immeasurably stronger; the British military administration was totally indifferent and often openly hostile. The Jewish people as a whole had been greatly weakened by the war. Russian Jews were among the chief victims of the internal chaos that followed the October Revolution and of the civil war that was beginning to engulf most of Russia. Polish Jewry was in dire need of help. American Jews saw their most urgent task in rushing aid to Eastern Europe.

The arrival of the Zionist Commission in Ereẓ Israel in April 1918 opened three decades of incessant struggle. The commission's immediate task was to help in restoring the impoverished *yishuv* and preparing the conditions for future immigration. The almost totally negative attitude of the military authorities was a major obstacle, and it also impeded understanding with the Arabs. Contacts were established with Emir Feisal, about to become king of Syria. Weizmann's talks with him, first in Akaba and later in London and Paris, led to the signing of an agreement in January 1919 with Colonel T.E. *Lawrence acting as intermediary. But Feisal's hopes to remain in Syria had been frustrated. The French forced him to flee Damascus in 1920, and though he was compensated by the British, who secured his election as king of Iraq, his understanding with the Zionists remained a dead letter. The stormy events in the Arab world were bound to involve Palestine, to where they were soon directed – partly made to be directed – against the Jews. For the first time attacks were organized on a large scale. In the spring of 1920, Trumpeldor and seven others fell while defending Tel Ḥai in Upper Galilee. Within a few weeks Arab rioting in Jerusalem claimed further victims. Some of the organizers were sentenced to years of hard labor. For the sake of evenhandedness, Jabotinsky and members of the Jewish self-defense received similar treatment. Moreover, official explanations published by the British authorities made the Balfour Declaration look like a scrap of paper. The political pattern then established was to last until the end of British rule in the country.

Elsewhere on the political front things looked somewhat less dismal. Zionist leaders had been given an opportunity personally to present their case at the Paris Peace Conference. They also had a say in the lengthy process of drafting the League of Nations' Mandate for Palestine, even if many of their proposals had not been accepted. The Mandate itself had been entrusted to Britain at San Remo in 1920, although some British leaders wanted it to be taken on by a more than reluctant America. On June 30, 1920, Sir Herbert Samuel arrived in Palestine as its first high commissioner, with every goodwill to serve the people of Palestine as a whole, the Jewish National Home, and British interests. While he was taking the initial steps in establishing a civilian administration, Zionist leaders met in London for their first postwar conference, and the internal difficulties which dogged the movement from its early days again came to the surface. Instead of "political" and "practical" Zionists, it was "east" and "west" this time, symbolized to a great extent by two names: Weizmann and Brandeis. The former wanted a comprehensive program of action embracing political, economic, and cultural matters. His opponents viewed the political chapter as closed with the attainment of international recognition and approval of the Mandate; henceforth efforts were to be concentrated on economics, and particularly on fostering private enterprise. Those in Weizmann's camp proposed the establishment of a large foundation fund – Keren Hayesod – for the upbuilding of the National Home and for the encouragement of private initiative. The "Brandeisists" opposed it. There was a widespread feeling that unless Jewry put to good use the opportunities created by the wartime achievements, they might be irretrievably lost. But the general situation did not work in Zionism's favor, regardless of trend. The strongest appeals addressed to world Jewry evoked only a faint echo. The funds raised were miserably inadequate. Even the limited number of immigrants could not find immediate employment, and crisis chased crisis.

These difficulties opened new opportunities before the opposing side. Samuel's efforts to placate the Arabs were rebuffed. Winston *Churchill's efforts as head of the Colonial Office to do the same by making Feisal king of Iraq and Abdullah emir of eastern Palestine (called Transjordan) where the "Jewish clauses" of the Mandate were not to be applied, fared no better. Less than a year after Samuel's arrival, the country was shaken by the worst outbreak of Arab rioting yet seen there. Its political repercussions led to the publication (in June 1922) of the first of the series of *White Papers which undermined the foundations of what was intended to be the Jewish National Home. No concession, however, satisfied the Arab political leadership, which sought to stop all Jewish immigration and take over the government of the country through institutions with an Arab majority or by other means. This general erosion gave rise to great discontent within the Zionist movement. Weizmann was accused of not being strong enough in his dealings with the Mandatory government since he constantly insisted on Jewish-British relations based on mutual trust. Others accused him of extending too much support to the Zionist labor movement and to unsound economic policies. One of the opposition groups was led by Jabotinsky, who had been brought into the Executive in 1921 but resigned in 1923. Moreover, Brandeis laid down his post as honorary president of the Zionist Organization (June 1921), thus bringing U.S. Zionists into disarray for a number of years. For different reasons, Ussishkin was also soon to leave the chairmanship of the Zionist Executive in Jerusalem (which replaced the Zionist Commission). Even before that, there were changes in its Political Department whose first chief, Commander *Levi-Bianchini (Italian Jewry's representative on the commission) had been killed by Bedouin in an attack on a train near the Syrian border. His successor, M.D. *Eder (a former territorialist) returned to London in 1922, and Weizmann sent to Jerusalem a career officer with diplomatic experience, Lt. Col. F.H. *Kisch, who was to remain at his post for nine difficult years.

Seeking to break the vicious circle of economic predicaments and political setbacks, Weizmann and his colleagues decided to open a new page by bringing into the national effort important non-Zionist elements in Jewry. The idea encountered strong opposition, mainly among those already opposed to Weizmann. However, after lengthy preparatory work, the first conference of the "enlarged" Jewish Agency met in Zurich in 1929 in the presence of a number of outstanding Jews of the generation, among them Albert Einstein, Leon Blum, Ḥ.N. Bialik, Shalom Asch, Louis Marshall, and others. The impression produced by this remarkable gathering had been powerful, and the hopes it reawakened were great. But the reaction in Palestine came almost immediately. After months of Arab incitement motivated by the most potent of weapons – Muslim religious hatred aimed at depriving the Jews of their traditional rights at the Western Wall – there came a wave of murderous attacks. The outbreak was followed by two inquiries. An international commission studied and reported on rights of access to the Western Wall, and a British commission reviewed the political aspects of the situation. The resultant White Paper (1930) issued by the colonial secretary, Lord Passfield (the Labour leader Sidney Webb), led to Weizmann's resignation as president of the Jewish Agency as a protest and a sign that the government can no longer expect his cooperation. A storm followed in the press and in the British Parliament. Official explanations were published by Prime Minister Ramsay MacDonald, but they could but slightly reduce the damage done. Weizmann's own position became untenable, and at the 1931 Zionist Congress Sokolow was elected president in his place. No essential change in the policy of the movement, however, followed. Indeed, Chaim *Arlosoroff, who took over the Jewish Agency's Political Department in Jerusalem from Kisch (who resigned before the Congress), had been Weizmann's devoted disciple. It was also the first time that a representative of Zionist Labour had been entrusted with the political portfolio, which was to remain in Labour hands. Furthermore, with Weizmann away from his old office in London, the center of Zionist policy-making gradually moved to Jerusalem, and this shift was virtually completed after Ben-Gurion joined the Executive in 1933.

Kisch was the model civil servant; Arlosoroff was the statesman-philosopher. Realizing that no change in the situation could be expected unless there was some progress toward a modus vivendi with the Arabs, Arlosoroff was determined to concentrate much of his work in this field. Consequently, he appointed Moshe Shertok (*Sharett) as secretary of the department for his knowledge of Arabic and his strong ties with the country. Arlosoroff's brief term, less than two years (he was murdered on the Tel Aviv seashore in June 1933), coincided with the first years of service of the British high commissioner, Sir Arthur Wauchope. The two established a sincere mutual understanding, and this played a part in government actions when, at the beginning of the Hitler regime, it became imperative that Palestine be opened to a large number of immigrants from Germany. Nonetheless, Arlosoroff also came to the conclusion that although there was no immediate alternative to the former political course of the movement, future alternatives had to be explored. He considered Revisionist demands for a complete change of the system of government in Palestine as unrealistic. But the road hitherto followed, without greater political assistance from Britain and vast sums from the Jewish people, would clearly not bring Zionism nearer to its goal. The world situation also militated against it. In 1932 Arlosoroff foresaw a new international conflagration "in five to ten years." It was imperative to elaborate alternative, even "revolutionary," plans, while continuing to "muddle through." The ideas discussed in those days included plans for the division of the country into "cantons" on Swiss lines. This was an old suggestion made by Jacobson, then head of the Zionist Office at the seat of the League of Nations in Geneva. More radical proposals spoke of establishing a Jewish state in a part of the country where Jews formed a large section of the population (by then the *yishuv* counted about 180,000).

In spite of their vital importance, long-range issues had to give way to urgent current problems, and even these could not be adequately handled when the budget of the Political Department in Jerusalem amounted to $20,000 a year. The latest White Paper (1931) brought in its wake additional inquiries into the problems of land and absorptive capacity – or lack of it, according to British experts. The Jewish Agency tried to reopen the question of settlement in Transjordan; a group of influential sheikhs entered into negotiations with the Jewish Agency on the subject, presumably not without Emir Abdullah's knowledge. The British were adamant: Transjordan was to remain closed to Jewish settlement. Such policies could only weaken the position of the few Arab leaders who were inclined to some sort of understanding with the Jews. Desultory attempts to open discussions with them were made during those years by prominent *yishuv* personalities (J.L. Magnes, Rutenberg, Moshe *Smilansky) and, less important, by a small group called Berit Shalom, which was seeking a binational solution. They found, however, no one in the Arab camp able to enter into binding agreements. The mufti of Jerusalem, Hājj Amin al-*Husseini, intended to turn the Palestine problem into a general Muslim problem by calling a Muslim Conference in Jerusalem. Tension and agitation were also fostered by inciting broadcasts from Fascist Italy. In Egypt the beginning of the 1930s witnessed violent disturbances and a general strike in 1933. In the year 1937 independent Egypt was admitted to the League of Nations. The year 1936 saw a general strike in Syria, too, but French consent to grant Syria independence was later repudiated by Paris. Iraq, which joined the League of Nations in 1932, experienced a military coup in 1936. The examples proved infectious. In order to force the British to stop Jewish immigration and place Palestine under an Arab government, and also in order to subdue the moderates within the Arab camp itself, al-Husseini and his followers proclaimed an Arab national strike in 1936. It did not take long for what was supposed to be passive resistance to turn into open rebellion. An Arab Higher Committee was formed to conduct the struggle.

The inquiry instituted by the British this time was the most authoritative ever. A Royal Commission headed by Lord

Peel had been appointed, and before it left for its destination, unusually stringent measures were taken in Ereẓ Israel to restore a semblance of order, with the aid of almost 20,000 British troops. Formally, the Arab leaders only stopped the strike when called upon to do so by the rulers of Iraq, Saudi Arabia, Yemen and Transjordan (Egypt was not among them), but later decided to boycott the commission because the government approved new immigration permits. The commission stayed in the country from November 1936 until the end of January 1937, and toward the conclusion of its hearings Arab representatives testified before it in compliance with another call from the same rulers. The Jewish Agency appeared before the commission in full force, headed by Weizmann who was again its president (reelected in 1935). Sittings were held abroad as well, and statements were heard from Jabotinsky and Samuel, among others. Politically, the results were more dramatic than after any previous inquiry. The commission concluded that the Mandate proved to be unworkable because it was impossible to secure even the minimum of mutual understanding between the two sections of the population necessary for its implementation. After analyzing the various proposals for finding a way out of the impasse, the commission chose partition: dividing the country into a Jewish state, an Arab state, and a mandated zone which was to include Jerusalem. The establishment of a Jewish state had thus become for the first time a proposal from a formal British body. What could not have been foreseen was that at least three other commissions would have to go into the matter and a second world war and the holocaust of European Jewry would be witnessed before the plan – largely modified – would be implemented.

The approaching war was casting ominous shadows. Britain could not face increased complications in a vital strategic region. Parliamentary reactions to the partition plan were unfavorable. Emir Abdullah stood to gain a great deal, for he could do in 1938 what he did in 1948 – take over the area allocated to the proposed Arab state. Abdullah's supporters were secretly with him, but for public consumption their attitude was negative. The Husseini camp was totally uncompromising and ready to renew the fight. Soon the government was compelled to take drastic steps, including the suppression of the Arab Higher Committee and the deportation of extremist leaders; some of them, including al-Husseini, had fled the country earlier. The riots continued, however, and to a large degree became an internecine Arab struggle, claiming numerous victims, mostly among the moderates. The fact that the Jews were also split in their attitude to the partition plan made Britain's retreat from the plan much easier. In spite of Weizmann and Ben-Gurion's pleading in its favor, only a vague compromise resolution could be forced through the Zionist Congress in 1937. By 299 votes to 160 it was agreed that the Executive should "ascertain" in discussions with the British "the precise terms for the proposed establishment of a Jewish State." The non-Zionist partners in the Jewish Agency were far more negative. They did not want a Jewish state; their decisions, including a request to the government to convene a conference of Jews and Arabs, made progress even more difficult.

In 1938 another commission visited Palestine. Though it was called the Partition Commission, there had been a widespread feeling even before it reached Jerusalem that its real purpose was to bury the plan. In the autumn it presented its report, which was negative. It was welcomed not only by Arabs, but also by anti-partition Zionists. But even before that happened, Hitler made his first decisive steps toward war: the annexation of Austria in April and the beginning of the destruction of Czechoslovakia in November. The same month also brought the **Kristallnacht* in Germany. By then the propaganda offensive of the Axis in the Near East had heightened. Anxiety among Jews abroad mounted and led, inter alia, to the presentation of a memorandum on the subject to President Roosevelt by 245 members of both Houses of Congress and 30 governors. In Poland a Jewish Emigration Committee was established under government pressure to seek new "territories"; a study mission went to Madagascar and returned with empty hands. Other territories were mentioned with little hope. By then, an air of inevitability began enveloping Europe and the world. No conditions could be less propitious for an attempt to achieve in 1939 what proved to be elusive before: a fair settlement.

Britain nonetheless considered that the urgent needs of the hour precluded further postponement. Taking up the suggestion that an Arab-Jewish conference be called, the British broadened the scope and invited, in addition to the parties to the conflict, representatives of Egypt, Iraq, Saudi Arabia, Transjordan, and Yemen. Inevitably, the inclusion of the Arab states almost led to a boycott of the conference by the Jews, but the situation was far too grave for that. The Jewish delegation was large and weighty; it included Zionists, non-Zionists, and Agudat Israel. With regard to the leadership of the Palestine Arab delegation, London began by declaring Amin al-Husseini persona non grata and ended by accepting his representative and kinsman, Jamāl al-Husseini, over the opposition of moderate Palestine Arabs. The augury was plain: no agreed proposal could come from such a gathering. The Arabs insisted on their full program: abolishment of the Jewish National Home, an end to Jewish immigration, and Arab self-government. There was no room for give and take. The government of Neville Chamberlain saw itself facing one overriding task: to prepare for the coming war with Hitler. The Arabs could be a menace; the Jews had no choice. Thus, a new White Paper was issued in May 1939. A Palestine state was to be established and the population was to be prepared for self-government over a ten-year period. The future constitution was to include safeguards for the holy places, for the special position of the Jewish National Home, and for British interests. Full independence was made conditional on the creation of good relations between Arabs and Jews. As to immigration, 75,000 Jews were to be admitted in the next five years, after which the continuation of immigration would depend on Arab consent. The regulation of land sales, or their banning in certain areas, was left in the hands of the government.

The White Paper was rejected outright by Jews and Arabs alike. There was sharp criticism in the British Parliament, and only the grave international situation gave the government the needed majority; Labour and some 20 Conservatives (including Churchill) voted against it. The strongest words came from the Mandates Commission of the League of Nations, which stated unanimously that the policy "was not in accordance with the interpretation which… the Commission had placed upon the Palestine Mandate." The matter was to come up before the Council of the League of Nations, due to meet in September, since a change in the terms of the Mandate called for the council's consent. The war started before it met, and the British government considered itself free to act. In the meantime, the extremist Arabs found themselves leaderless as al-Husseini and some of his associates were not allowed to return. This was used by the Arab moderates who saw a chance to gain both the leadership and a compromise that would give the Arabs most of what they wanted. The Jewish leaders in Palestine and abroad refused to cooperate with the British administration, and some extremist elements, mainly the underground *Irgun Ẓeva'i Le'ummi (IẒL), soon turned to the use of force. The Zionist Congress which met in Geneva on the very eve of World War II avoided taking dramatic decisions. With armies massing all over Europe and with the signature of the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact, it was realized that both valor and wisdom would be needed in the coming struggle.

WAR AND HOLOCAUST. Even before the initial Axis successes brought a direct military threat to Palestine in 1940, tragedy befell European Jewry (see *Holocaust). Its unbelievable dimensions did not become known until later, but there were already large numbers of Jews fleeing from death and trying to reach Palestine. The immediate task was to help in their escape. Next to it was the need to mobilize the *yishuv* for the war. As had been the case a quarter of a century earlier, the British were reluctant to accept Jewish volunteers. Only the early defeats in North Africa weakened this reluctance, and by 1940 many thousands of Palestinian Jews enlisted. The *yishuv*'s economic potential also gradually became a factor of considerable value. The British did not forget their White Paper, however, and in February 1940 introduced crippling regulations concerning land transactions, which caused another bitter outburst on the part of the Jews. The immigration problem had taken on a different character. The British aim was to spread out the use of the 75,000 "certificates" over five years and – if possible – until the end of the war (although nobody could know when that would be). In any case, regular immigration was unlikely to continue under war conditions. Indeed, less than 20,000 immigrants – authorized and unauthorized – entered during the years 1940–42. Furthermore, the fact that the Chamberlain government fell in May 1940 and another administration took over, headed by Churchill and including a number of other friendly ministers, was bound to influence the general political climate.

As to the Arabs, the initial military successes of the Axis made them stake their future on its victory, and many were ready merely to wait for it. Hence the failure of Al-Husseini's call for an open rebellion. The fall of France in 1940 turned Syria and Lebanon into bases of subversion and February 1941 brought about a pro-German putsch in Iraq. Allied countermeasures prevented further deterioration. Al-Husseini turned up in Rome and Berlin in the autumn of 1941, and some Egyptian sympathizers of the Axis (including the future president of the UAR, Anwar Sadat) plotted with Axis men in North Africa. A slight change took place after Rommel's defeat in 1942. British efforts were largely directed at exploiting the improved situation, and in due course a policy of unifying the Arabs evolved, which led to the organization of the Arab League in 1945. Palestine Arabs were granted a voice in the league itself when it was organized, their cause having been included in its charter.

Among the Jews there was a feeling that somewhat friendlier winds were imperceptibly blowing in London. The immediate peril to the *yishuv* had receded, but the dimensions of the tragedy that befell European Jewry were gradually emerging. The need for immigration, and immigration itself, were again coming to the fore. Internal pressures were building up; the wartime "truce" between the British authorities and extremist elements was coming to an end; and violence erupted again in Palestine, this time initiated by the IẒL. The Zionist leadership found it necessary to clarify its own position and seek clarification of the position likely to be taken up by the Churchill government. Much of the thinking harked back to the Royal Commission's proposals, but the formulation adopted at a conference called by American Zionists at the Biltmore Hotel in New York in May 1942 claimed "that Palestine be established as a Jewish Commonwealth." This was later approved by the appropriate Zionist bodies in Jerusalem over the opposition of some of the former anti-partitionists. Outbursts of terror from Jewish extreme underground organizations, including the murder in Cairo of the British minister for the Near East, Lord Moyne, by members of *Loḥamei Ḥerut Israel (Leḥi), again increased the feeling of impending crisis.

YEARS OF DECISION. The end of the war in Europe in May 1945 was followed by the fall of Churchill. Labour, which replaced him, had in the past displayed great sympathy for Zionism, and its party conference had just confirmed its promise to help the development of the National Home by making room for it through "extending the present Palestinian boundaries, by agreement with Egypt, Syria, or Transjordan." The urgent need for action soon became clear with the disclosure that it was necessary to aid in the rehabilitation of hundreds of thousands of survivors of Nazi camps. This could only be done through Anglo-American cooperation. The United States had already become a factor in Middle Eastern affairs, militarily and economically. Now, because of its friendly ties with both Jews and Arabs, it was beginning to become involved politically as well.

In the days immediately following World War II, the voice of the American Jewish community on its own government carried much weight in Washington. This was the culminating point of a generation of sporadic political endeavor by the Zionist movement in America, which had resulted in 1924 in the U.S. government's formally approving the League of Nations Mandate for Palestine and its guarantee of Jewish national rights. Every president of the United States after Woodrow Wilson had made declarations favorable to Zionist aspirations, and the majority of Congress was moved several times to declare its pro-Zionist views, both officially in joint resolutions and informally. With the rise of Nazism, Zionist membership in the United States grew rapidly and the Zionist organizations became a prevailing influence in the community while also widening the circle of friends and supporters in the general community. During World War II there was lively and even bitter disagreement between those Zionists who followed Stephen S. Wise in being ready to rely on the goodwill of President Roosevelt and were therefore willing to remain relatively quiescent, and those led by Abba Hillel Silver, whose orientation was toward the opposition Republican Party and who believed public opinion had to be organized against the government in order to both save Jewish lives in Europe and realize Zionist aims after the war. These forces paved the road to the adoption of the Biltmore platform in 1942, which postulated Jewish independence as the Zionist war aim. Distrust in the goodwill of others and the desire for independence deepened while the news of the Holocaust continued to seep out of Europe. By the winter of 1943 Abba Hillel Silver replaced Stephen Wise as the head of Zionist political affairs and public relations in the United States. With the help of Emanuel *Neumann and a number of others, the American Zionist Emergency Committee, which Silver led, mounted a political offensive throughout the United States and prepared the ground both in the public mind and in political circles for U.S. support of Zionism against the continuing White Paper policy of the British government and for the establishment of a Jewish state. The Zionist forces had a substantial impact on the White House and on Congress, which were responsive to public protest and pressure mounted within the democratic process, and they thus managed (1947–48) to influence the policy of the U.S. government, despite the continuing opposition of the State Department.

The United States also had to shoulder most of the burden of aid to the vast numbers of *Displaced Persons in Europe. The Jewish Agency asked for an immediate grant of 100,000 immigration permits, but Britain, embroiled in a fierce election campaign, was incapable of acting. Two months earlier, a change of leadership had also taken place in the U.S. Roosevelt's successor, President Truman, was anxious to help, and one of his first steps was the dispatch of an envoy to DP camps. The latter recommended resettlement of 100,000 stateless Jews found in the western zone of occupied Germany, and pointed out that "Palestine is definitely… the first choice." This recommendation, with Truman's backing, was sent to London, but the new prime minister, Attlee, could not see his way to accepting it, proposing instead a joint Anglo-American investigation of the entire problem. This was agreed upon in October 1945.

Uncertainty and conflicting pressures had their most damaging effect in the Middle East itself. The Arabs saw new danger to their hopes, raised high by the 1939 White Paper. A reorganized Arab Higher Committee was soon established. The Arab states' position as founding members of the new United Nations gave them a feeling of being able to sway political developments. Now they were incensed by America, even more than by Britain. There were violent demonstrations and attacks on Jews and foreigners. On the other hand, the *yishuv* also found new strength in its very despair. Some 20,000 Jewish troops were beginning to return, well trained, many with war experience, having seen with their own eyes what happened to their brethren in Europe. They, and others in the *yishuv*, vowed "never again!" Acts of violence were becoming widespread. The Haganah, which in the past had concentrated on defense and on preparations for the day of decision, undertook action of its own. Soon the government, with all the forces at its disposal, found itself at war with the *yishuv*. The only respite came during the work of the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry, whose prospects, however, were prejudiced in advance by the new British foreign secretary Ernest Bevin, who from the outset left little doubt of his hostility. The Labour government inherited a crushing burden of problems of which the Middle East was only one. Britain became unable to continue its imperial role. It was necessary to cut losses and safeguard only the most vital interests. Soon India was to be independent, after being split into two states, and other parts of the empire were to follow. So was Palestine, but at the end of 1945 and beginning of 1946 a way was still being sought to keep Britain in control. Under pressure of immigration needs, a provisional monthly "schedule" of 1,500 permits had been decided upon for the duration of the discussions and it was stated, for the first time, that any proposed settlement would be brought before the United Nations.

The work of the Anglo-American Committee, which started in Washington in January 1946, continued in London and in other places in Europe, then in Jerusalem, Cairo, and a number of other Arab capitals, and ended in Lausanne in March. It was conducted in a highly charged atmosphere. Large numbers of Jewish survivors of the Holocaust were being intercepted on the high seas by the British navy as "illegal" immigrants. Acts of violence in Palestine became a daily occurrence. So did Arab threats, especially after Husseini escaped from Germany on the eve of its surrender and appeared in Cairo. The Palestine Arabs mainly relied on the influence of the Arab states, whose willingness to assist them was proclaimed daily. It was inevitable that the inquiry should seek a compromise, and the final report turned not to partition but to its alternative: a bi-national Palestine state based on parity and under a United Nations trusteeship. To help in meeting pressing needs, 100,000 immigration permits were to be issued, if possible in 1946, and future immigration was to be based on compromise.

With the exception of Washington, no interested party approved the recommendations. Britain's equivocations found expression in official statements and, even more, in Bevin's speeches. The Arabs saw their hopes for Arab rule in Palestine dashed. The Jews, though pleased by the opportunity of rapidly bringing in a large number of Displaced Persons, feared the prospect of unending strife with the Arabs and with the "Trustee," which they expected would be Britain. The breaking point was reached in June 1946, when, in a retaliatory action *Palmaḥ units destroyed a number of rail and road bridges in sensitive points, and the British government hit back by imposing a virtual siege on the *yishuv*: mass searches for arms and incriminating documents were carried out in hundreds of buildings, including the offices of the Jewish Agency; over 2,000 people, among them the members of the Jewish Agency and Va'ad Le'ummi executives, were arrested. The life of the *yishuv* had been dislocated. In time, some of the detainees were freed, but over 700, including Agency and Va'ad Le'ummi leaders, were interned. A short time later, IẒL blew up a wing of the King David Hotel in Jerusalem, housing offices of the government secretariat. The casualties, belonging to all communities, were heavy. The *yishuv* was shocked, and the Jewish Agency condemned the deed. Meanwhile attempts were made in Washington and London to proceed with discussions about the results of their joint inquiry. Another committee, headed by Henry F. Grady (U.S.) and Herbert Morrison (Britain) found it more advisable to go back to the principles of territorial division. It suggested the establishment of a Jewish sector, an Arab sector, and a British sector, including Jerusalem and the Negev, as an intermediary stage that could eventually lead either to a unitary state, to a bi-national one, or outright partition. Administration of common interests such as defense, foreign relations, communications, etc., was to remain in the hands of a British high commissioner. During the initial five years, he was also to appoint presidents of the legislatures of the Jewish and Arab sectors, and his approval would be needed for new legislation. Immigration would also remain under his control after the agreed 100,000 were brought in with American help. The implementation of the scheme as a whole was made conditional on American participation and Arab-Jewish consent.

There was little to recommend this latest compromise, which contained most of the drawbacks of earlier suggestions. Washington withdrew from it almost immediately, and there was much criticism in London. The Arabs insisted on all their original demands, and the Jews refused to accept the plan. Again, London proposed a conference. The Jewish Agency was ready for it but not on the basis of the Morrison-Grady plan. The Arab Executive refused because its conditions (including the participation of Amin al-Husseini) were rejected. Thus, when the conference convened in September 1946, the main parties to the dispute were absent and only the British and Arab governments were represented. No progress could be made, and Britain suggested that the discussions be temporarily suspended for a further attempt to bring in the parties concerned. This was to take place at the beginning of 1947 in order to enable the Jewish Agency to bring the matter before the forthcoming Zionist Congress. To make things easier, the interned Zionist and *yishuv* leaders and a number of other internees were released. By then the Jewish Agency had again disassociated itself from the acts of violence, which were continued, however, by IẒL and Leḥi. Simultaneously, a number of Husseini's men were allowed to return to the country.

When the Zionist Congress met in December 1946 in Basle, it revealed a significant change in the internal situation. The Labour wing of the movement lost some ground, and within its ranks the activist elements had the upper hand. The American Zionists were led by Abba Hillel Silver, a supporter of a more determined policy. Furthermore, the Revisionists rejoined the Zionist Organization. As a result, the Congress refused to participate in the London talks, albeit leaving the door slightly ajar for later reconsideration. The idea of partition had enough support, but no initiative was to come from the Jewish Agency. Finally, the post of president had been left vacant, thus demonstrating the rejection of the Weizmann line. It was the absence of the Zionists that helped the Arab League persuade the Palestine Arab leaders to take their seats at the second round of the London talks in January 1947. An amended version of the Morrison-Grady scheme was put forward by Bevin, designed to meet some of the earlier criticism: cantonal self-government, for instance, in place of provincial authority; a shortened period of trusteeship; 100,000 immigrants in two years instead of one; and no partition. The Arab reply, however, was nevertheless a resounding no. This left things in a worse state than ever because it became obvious that the 1939 White Paper was also dead, a victim of the Holocaust, determined Jewish opposition, Arab conduct during the war and, finally, United States intervention. Left without an official policy, London turned to the United Nations on April 2, 1947. The purpose of this step was made clear in a statement before the House of Commons: "We are not going to the United Nations to surrender the Mandate. We are going to the United Nations setting out the problem and asking their advice as to how the Mandate can be administered. If the Mandate cannot be administered in its present form, we are asking how it can be amended."

THE UNITED NATIONS INVESTIGATES. Though this was the first time that the United Nations was to deal with the Palestine problem, the latter was not unknown to it. Preliminary skirmishes on the subject took place at the San Francisco Conference in 1945 and at the first session of the General Assembly in 1946, when Arab representatives attempted in vain to obtain decisions prejudicial to the Jewish position. The first special session of the General Assembly met between April 28 and May 15, 1947, with the purpose of "constituting and instructing a Special Committee to prepare for the consideration of the Question of Palestine at the second Regular Session" (scheduled to open September 16). The five Arab delegations tried to alter the very purpose of the deliberations on the eve of the session by requesting to amend the subject of discussions by adding to the agenda an item entitled: "Termination of the Mandate over Palestine and declaration of its independence." As before, the Assembly rejected their request; it also refused to exclude from its discussions the problems of displaced Jews in Europe.

For the first time, representatives of the Jews and of Palestine Arabs were heard by the United Nations. When the question arose whether their spokesmen should be heard at a plenary meeting or at a meeting of the Assembly's political committee, Czechoslovakia and Poland, backed by the U.S.S.R., urged for a hearing in the plenary, while Britain and America viewed the committee as the appropriate place for statements by delegations that did not represent member states. The latter view prevailed. The Jewish Agency spokesmen were Ben-Gurion, Silver, and Shertok (Sharett). The Arab Higher Committee was represented by E. Ghouri and H. Kattan.

The burden of the Jewish case was summarized by Ben-Gurion, who told the committee: "… in Palestine you are faced not merely with a large and growing number of Jews, but with a distinct Jewish nation. There are Jews and Jewish communities in many countries, but in Palestine there is a new and unique phenomenon – a Jewish nation, with all the attributes and aspirations of nationhood." The Arab case was presented not only by the spokesmen of the Higher Committee but also by the five Arab member-states, and it was summarized by Ghouri: "We only request the application to us of the principles of the democracies. We are only asking for our national rights. It is… the determined and unequivocal will of the Arabs to refuse to consider any solution which entails or even implies the loss of the sovereignty to the whole or to any part of the country, or the diminution of such sovereignty in any form whatever."

Much of the discussion was procedural, and the great majority of the delegates avoided anything that could be seen as clear commitment to one side or the other. The representative of India (a Muslim) was one of those who did not conceal his leaning to the Arab side, nor did the representative of Turkey. The delegate of China spoke with feeling of "the tragedy of the Jewish people" which contributed so much to the world and which "deserves a national home of some sort, deserves a place it can call its own, in which it can live in happiness, free from social and political discrimination and free from the eternal fear of persecution." Sympathy for Jewish aspirations were expressed by Czechoslovakia and Poland, but the chief surprise came when the Soviet delegate explained the stand of his government. The Soviet regime had long been known for its extreme hostility to Zionism, but the opportunity to hasten the removal of Britain from an area of special interest to the U.S.S.R. was far too important to let that stand in the way. While supporting the Jewish Agency's request for a hearing, Andrei Gromyko spoke of the sufferings of the Jewish people in Europe and said that it was "beyond description." "The fact that not a single Western European state" came to the help of the Jews "explains the aspirations of the Jews for the creation of a state of their own… It is impossible to justify a denial of this right of the Jewish people." The Mandate failed, and both Jews and Arabs call for its liquidation. The best solution would be "the establishment of an independent, dual, democratic, homogeneous Arab-Jewish state," but if that proved impossible "in view of the deterioration in the relations between the Jews and the Arabs," it would be necessary to consider "the partition of Palestine into two independent autonomous states, one Jewish and one Arab."

The divergent views led to dissensions concerning the composition of the proposed UN mission and its terms of reference. Talk of "neutrality" and "impartiality" was found to be of little help, But it was agreed that the UN Special Committee on Palestine (UNSCOP) was to have "the widest powers to ascertain and record facts, and to investigate all questions and issues relevant to the problem of Palestine" and it was to conduct "investigations in Palestine and wherever it may deem useful." It was asked to "give most careful considerations to the religious interests in Palestine of Islam, Judaism, and Christianity" and present its report by Sept. 1, 1947. The only votes against the decision were those of the Muslim states. As to the composition of UNSCOP, it was agreed to make it fully representative of all regions of the world, and to exclude the permanent members of the Security Council and the Arab countries. Two Muslims (from India and Iran) were included, as well as delegates from Australia, Canada, Czechoslovakia, Guatemala, the Netherlands, Peru, Sweden, Uruguay, and Yugoslavia.

Arab dissatisfaction with these decisions found its immediate expression in a boycott by the Arab Higher Committee. The Arab League left the question of its cooperation open in the hope of persuading the mission not to visit refugee camps in Europe. The investigators did, indeed, postpone their decision on the subject until after the hearings in the Middle East. The latter started in the middle of June in an unusually tense atmosphere caused by numerous acts of violence, hangings, and retaliations. It also coincided with the dramatic developments concerning the fate of the refugee ship *Exodus 1947* with over 4,500 men, women, and children who sailed in it to Palestine only to be returned to Germany after a bloody encounter with British forces in Haifa harbor. Nevertheless UNSCOP (presided over by Swedish Chief Justice Emile Sandström) heard Jewish and British representatives, official and unofficial, and visited Arab areas of the country, as well as Jewish ones, spending over five weeks in Palestine. The Arabs who met the UN envoys privately repeated the demands already heard in New York. The Jewish Agency efforts were now clearly directed at achieving partition on fair terms. On its way back, UNSCOP members visited Lebanon, Syria, and Transjordan and heard representatives of the Arab states, who warned against any solution but the one proposed by them. Upon arriving in Geneva, UNSCOP decided to have a subcommittee visit Jewish refugee camps in Germany and Austria, and by the end of August it completed its work.

The UNSCOP report contained 12 general recommendations (11 of them adopted unanimously), a majority plan, and a minority plan. The majority plan, presented by Canada, Czechoslovakia, Guatemala, the Netherlands, Peru, Sweden and Uruguay, called for the partition of Palestine into an Arab state, a Jewish state, and an internationalized Jerusalem, the three to be linked in an economic union. The Jewish state was to include eastern Galilee, the Coastal Plain from a point south of Acre to north of Ashdod, and the Negev. The Arab state was to include western Galilee, central Palestine, and the Coastal Plain from Ashdod to the Egyptian border. The Jerusalem-Bethlehem area was to be administered by the United Nations under a permanent trusteeship. The Mandate was to come to an end, and from Sept. 1, 1947, Palestine was to be administered by Britain for another two years, alone or with the participation of one or more UN members, under UN auspices. The political regimes in the new states were to be "basically democratic." The holy places and access to them were to be safeguarded according to existing rights. Furthermore, the UN was to make speedy arrangements to solve the problem of a quarter of a million Jewish refugees in Europe. With two dissenting votes, UNSCOP also expressed its view that "any solution for Palestine cannot be considered as a solution of the Jewish problem as a whole." The argument of the minority report, concurred in by India, Iran, and Yugoslavia, with Australia abstaining in the vote on both plans, was based on the assumption that "the well-being of the country and its peoples as a whole" outweighed "the aspirations of the Jews." It suggested a federal regime comprising an Arab state and a Jewish state with Jerusalem as capital of a central government in charge of defense, foreign relations, and immigration. There was to be a bicameral legislature based on parity in one house and on proportional representation in the other, and all legislation would require majority support of both. Jewish immigration into the Jewish state was to be allowed for three years within its absorptive capacity. Arbitration was to help in overcoming any deadlock between the states. These proposals were made by less than one-third of UNSCOP and the division of views between the majority and the minority reflected the division within the UN itself, as was to be confirmed three months later.

THE UN DECISION. The UNSCOP report occupied the center of the stage when the regular General Assembly met in New York on Sept. 16, 1947, although there were other important items on the agenda as well. The preliminary discussion on the report took place at an Ad Hoc Committee representing all member states, whose number had increased in the meantime: Yemen and Pakistan had been admitted to the United Nations, thus strengthening the Arab and Muslim front. Apart from that, no new alignments of forces were to be seen during the opening stages of the debate that lasted for over three weeks and was characterized by confusion. The main shift that soon became noticeable was in the tactics of the British delegation, which openly and actively canvassed for the rejection of partition. Arab delegations also increased their pressure. They were outspoken in their threats to Western, and particularly American, interests in their lands, and there were powerful economic and military factors in the United States, Britain, and France which could be – and were – activated in order to defeat the UNSCOP proposals. Indeed, initial American remarks on the subject were reserved and hesitant. On the other hand, threats voiced by the Arab Higher Committee to the effect that what will happen to the Jews in Palestine if the UNSCOP proposals were adopted would "exceed the horrors of Genghis Khan" had the opposite effect. It became clear to a growing number of UN members, and to great sectors of the general public opinion, that decisions must be taken which would prevent these threats being carried out. The Jewish Agency announced acceptance of the majority plan early in the debate. Weizmann's speech before the committee left a profound impression. His role in realizing the ultimate decision of the United Nations in favor of partition and the creation of a Jewish state was of prime importance. Though out of office, for the Zionist Congress in 1946 did not reelect him as president, thus symbolizing its commitment to a more activist policy, Weizmann continued to work both in London and in New York for the creation of a Jewish state. He was particularly successful in moving and impressing President Harry Truman, from whom he secured the binding promise to support the partition proposal, including an outlet on the Red Sea for the proposed Jewish state.

As the discussions progressed, attitudes began to crystallize. The United States and the Soviet Union came out openly for partition. After that, the prospects of the majority plan gaining the necessary two-thirds of the votes grew. More attempts were made to find a compromise, in subcommittees and in the corridors, but the persistent Arab demands for the establishment of what could only be an Arab state with a Jewish minority at the mercy of its adversaries led to the failure of all such efforts. An ominous warning also came from Britain: while accepting UNSCOP's unanimous opinion that the Mandate be terminated, it would take no implementation of a decision that was not acceptable to the parties. This meant noncooperation. The question of implementation became of utmost importance, especially after the British refused to extend their stay in Palestine even for a few weeks beyond May 15, 1948, or to help in the transfer of power to the authorities that were to be established in the Jewish and Arab states. The readiness of the Mandatory power to act in a way that was tantamount to sabotaging an international design for relieving it of a responsibility that had become too great to bear also had an opposite effect. It stiffened resistance to those who refused to accept the majority view. A vote in the Ad Hoc Committee on November 24 rejected an Arab proposal for a unitary state by 29 to 12. On November 25 a vote was taken on the partition plan, somewhat amended by a subcommittee, and it was approved by 25 to 13. This was not yet the two-thirds majority needed in the plenary. Both sides were by now making exerted efforts to gain their objectives. After one or two postponements, which further increased the tension, the decisive vote came on November 29, and it was 33 for, 13 against, and 10 abstentions.

The wave of emotion which followed gave abundant evidence that not only the Jewish people saw the UN verdict as truly historic, but many other nations found in it an expression of the wish to right some of the wrongs of which Jews were victims, particularly the Nazi Holocaust. There were also grave warning signs. Arabs of Palestine reacted by widespread attacks on Jews; large numbers of armed men were coming in from across the borders to participate in those attacks; and Arab governments made no secret of their preparations for large-scale military action on the day of Britain's withdrawal. The UN appointed a small Palestine Commission to help in an organized transfer of power to provisional councils of government in the two proposed states, but the British refused to cooperate with it or even allow it to enter Palestine before the month of May. The commission also reported that while Arab and Jewish police supernumeraries were being organized in towns and villages, only the Arabs were getting arms from the British. Furthermore, while the British continued to supply arms to Arab governments, the United States imposed an embargo on all such supplies to the area, thus forcing the Jews to seek other sources, mainly in Eastern Europe.

A sense of frustration and helplessness was gradually enveloping the UN, which saw the danger that its first major decision might end in failure. While the UN machinery was going through the motions (the Trusteeship Council, for instance, prepared a draft statute for an international administration of Jerusalem), reports from Palestine spoke of mounting disorder, of fighting and casualties, and of British preparations to leave in an atmosphere of what was then called "planned chaos." The implementation commission made partial progress in one sector only: in cooperation with the Jewish Agency for the establishment of the necessary authorities in the future Jewish State. The situation was repeatedly discussed in the Security Council, which had been told by the commission (February 1948) that it would not be able to fulfill its task without armed assistance. A debate started within the Council concerning its own authority: while it was agreed that it may use force for the preservation of peace, there was less agreement about the same right in respect to the enforcement of UN decisions. U.S. views were negative, and they were strongly criticized by the Soviet Union. On March 19 the United States proposed that the work of the Palestine Commission be suspended and a temporary UN trusteeship over the country be established. The proposal had been made by the State Department in Washington without the knowledge of President Truman, as he later explained. The State Department had also been strongly urging Zionist leaders to postpone action on the establishment of the Jewish state for at least a few months, a suggestion that was turned down by the majority of the Jewish Agency members. Furthermore, the U.S. proposed to call another special session of the Assembly to discuss the trusteeship idea.

The new session met on April 16, 1948, and was immediately bogged down in a procedural debate. The United States presented a working paper outlining details of a temporary trusteeship, providing for a government and essential public services in Palestine pending further negotiations. At the same time, the Trusteeship Council was asked by the General Assembly to study measures for the protection of Jerusalem, where fighting was then going on almost without interruption. On April 28 the Council came to an understanding with the parties concerned about a truce in the city, but reports from Jerusalem spoke of continued firing. On May 5 the Council recommended that before the Mandate expired on May 15, a special municipal commissioner for Jerusalem should be appointed by the Mandatory power with Jewish and Arab consent. The candidate for the post never went to Jerusalem, as the Arabs refused to cooperate with him and there was no truce. On May 14, the last day of the Mandate, a Franco-American proposal to establish a temporary international regime in Jerusalem failed to get the necessary support. It had also become clear that the idea of a trusteeship over the whole of Palestine stood no chance. The only outcome of the discussions on that day had been the disbanding of the Palestine Commission and the decision to appoint a mediator, for which task Count Folke Bernadotte of Sweden was later chosen. With the hands of the clock moving toward 6 P.M. in New York (midnight in Palestine and the end of the Mandate), the struggle was still on. But even before the hour came, the United Nations was informed that the establishment of the State of Israel had already been proclaimed in Tel Aviv. A few minutes after 6 P.M. it was announced by the White House that President Truman recognized its provisional government as the de facto government of the new state. Soviet de jure recognition followed a few days later. On May 15, regular forces of Egypt, Syria, Lebanon, and Iraq, including Saudi Arabian contingents, and the Arab Legion of Transjordan with its British officers, invaded Israel, and its newborn defense forces took the field against them.

[Moshe Medzini]

ZIONIST ORGANIZATION

HISTORY. The Zionist Organization was founded at the First Zionist Congress (convened by Theodor Herzl in Basle, 1897) as the structural framework of the organized Zionist movement, "comprising all Jews who accept the Zionist program and pay the shekel." The biblical name *shekel was given to the membership fee of the Zionist Organization.

Though a rudimentary framework of a popular movement had been established by the Ḥibbat Zion, it was only through the foundation of the Zionist Organization that Zionism became a modern, democratic, mass movement, based on a worldwide interterritorial organization and equipped with instruments for political, settlement, and educational activities on a large scale. The most important of these instruments were created during Herzl's presidency (1897–1904): the Jewish

Colonial Trust, to serve as the Zionist bank (1899); the Jewish National Fund (1901), for the acquisition of land as the inalienable property of the Jewish people; and *Die Welt* (1897), as the official organ of the organization.

Herzl died in 1904 before attaining his primary political aim, the Charter, i.e., the grant by the Ottoman authorities of political autonomy in, and the right of settlement of, Ereẓ Israel. The conflict over the Uganda Scheme at the Sixth Zionist Congress (1903) led to a split in the Zionist Organization. When the Seventh Congress (1905) rejected any settlement activities outside the Land of Israel, the Territorialists seceded from the Zionist Organization and founded the Jewish Territorial Organization, which, however, failed to play a significant part in Jewish life and, after the Balfour Declaration, disappeared from the public scene.

The growth of the Zionist Organization is best illustrated by the increase in the total number of shekels distributed: in the two-year period ending with the Eighth Zionist Congress (1907; for the former period, only the sums of the shekel revenues are available) there were 164,333; at the 11th Congress (1913) the number of shekels was 217,231; it steeply rose to 855,590 at the next Congress in 1921, the first to be held after World War I and the Balfour Declaration (although at that time most of Russian Jewry, the mainstay of Zionism, had already been cut off from the main body of the movement); at the 21st Congress, on the eve of World War II (1939), the number of shekel holders exceeded 1,000,000; and at the first postwar and last pre-state gathering, the 22nd Congress in 1946, the shekel figures indicated that 2,159,840 Jews were organized in the Zionist Organization. After Herzl's death, the seat of the organization was transferred from Vienna to Cologne, the residence of Herzl's successor, David Wolffsohn (1905–11). When Otto Warburg headed the organization (1911–20), Berlin became the Zionist capital, but World War I isolated it from the Zionists in the Allied countries, whose activities were centered in London. The purpose of the Zionist Liaison Office set up in 1915 in neutral Copenhagen was to facilitate the contact across the war fronts between the two sections of the organization. London was the capital of the Zionist world during the presidencies of Chaim Weizmann (1920–31 and 1935–46) and of Nahum Sokolow (1931–35), but in 1936 the center was transferred to Jerusalem, although London remained the seat of its president and of some members of the Executive.

When the 18th Congress (1933) had resolved that "in all Zionist matters the duty of discipline in regard of the Zionist Organization must take precedence over the discipline to any other body," the majority of the Zionist Revisionists, led by Vladimir Jabotinsky, seceded from the Zionist Organization and set up the New Zionist Organization, while a minority of Revisionists, under Meir *Grossman, remained in the ranks as the *Jewish State Party. The split lasted until 1946, when the Revisionists returned to the parent body and renewed their participation in the Zionist Congresses.

The First Congress laid down only a rough outline of a few organizational rules. It was the Third Congress (1899) that adopted the first complete constitution (Organisations-Statut) which, substituted by a more elaborated text adopted by the Fifth (1907) and the Tenth Congresses (1911), remained in force until 1921, when a thorough revision of the text and its adaptation to the changed conditions was effected by the 12th Congress. Minor amendments were adopted by each of the subsequent Congresses. In 1960 an entirely new Constitution came into force and thoroughly changed its structure (see below). The 25th and 26th Congresses (1960, 1964) made efforts to broaden the basis of the Zionist Organization by the admission of associate members, i.e., Jewish bodies which endorse the Zionist program without obliging their members to be organized Zionists. These efforts were initiated and supported by the fifth president of the Zionist Organization, Nahum Goldmann (1956–68), who assumed the presidency after the office had been vacant for ten years.

The 27th Congress (1968) adopted the greater part of the recommendations submitted by the Commission on Reorganization, which had been set up by the preceding Congress, and resolved to amend the Constitution accordingly. These amendments, however, affected details like Congress elections or the participation of youth in Zionist territorial organizations, rather than the general pattern and basic provisions of the Constitution.

STRUCTURE. Before the Zionist Organization was divided into parties, it had been organized on a purely territorial basis. According to its early Constitution, the members were organized in local societies that were grouped into regional units, which were in turn subordinated to territorial committees in charge of Zionist affairs in the country concerned. With the emergence of ideological trends and groupings, a type of dualism became characteristic of the structure of the Zionist Organization. According to the Constitution of 1921, the Zionist Organization was structured both horizontally and vertically: on the one hand, there were countrywide organizations comprising all Zionists without regard to their views on special issues – Zionist territorial unions with local branches; on the other, Zionists subscribing to a certain ideology, or, as the Constitution put it, "representing a special point of view," were, under certain conditions, given the privilege of forming a separate union (Sonderverband) which set up territorial branches. The first separate union was the Mizrachi (1902); the *Po'alei Zion followed in 1907; Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir and the Jewish State Party were founded as separate unions after World War I. The *Ancient Order of Maccabeans, established in Britain at an early stage of the movement, soon became defunct.

During the first decades of activity, the separate unions represented only a small minority of the membership. At the 12th Congress (1921) the delegates affiliated with the territorial unions numbered 376, while those of all separate unions totaled only 136. The membership and strength of the separate unions steadily grew, however, and at the last Congress before World War II (1939) the proportion was reversed: the delegates of the territorial unions numbered 171 and those of the separate unions 386. Furthermore, at the beginning the members of the Zionist territorial unions were called *General Zionists, simply denoting all those who did not belong to any separate union; but a tendency rose and finally prevailed within the General Zionists to adopt an ideology of their own and to transform themselves into a party like the others. Furthermore, this group often split into two wings, at first called Groups A and B, and since the 24th Congress (1956) known as the Union and the Confederation of General Zionists, respectively. On the other hand, the difference between the separate unions and parties not registered as such became blurred and, apart from a few purely formal privileges of the former, ceased to exist for all practical purposes. Because of this differentiation between territorial and separate unions, the Zionist movement in some countries almost disintegrated into several independent parties without common framework, apart from joint committees established for special purposes like the shekel and election boards. As a reaction to this "atomization," several Congresses declared that a United Zionist Federation, based on individual membership and comprising all parties and groups, be compulsory in every country. These and later resolutions, which again made the establishment of a joint territorial framework obligatory, but were content with the collective membership of parties in so-called Zionist Federations, largely remained unimplemented.

The structure of the Zionist Organization underwent a profound change with the promulgation of a new Constitution in 1960. It introduced a new official name, the World Zionist Organization (although the traditional one, Zionist Organization, is still more frequently used); the shekel remained in existence as a token of Zionist allegiance and voting card, but members of the Zionist Organization were no longer individual shekel-payers but collective bodies only, namely Zionist territorial organizations and Zionist territorial and interterritorial associations. The former are either Zionist unions based on the membership of individual Zionists (like that of the Netherlands), or Zionist federations based on the collective membership of Zionist bodies (like that of Belgium), or mixed Zionist federations based on the membership both of bodies and individuals (like that of France). Examples of Zionist territorial and interterritorial associations are *Hadassah and *WIZO (incidentally, the two largest Zionist bodies in the world).

The Constitution of 1960 introduced a far-reaching reform of decentralization. According to the legal construction underlying the Constitution, the Zionist Organization is the "body authorized by its members to act for and on behalf of the movement and all the members for the implementation of the Zionist program." Emphasis is placed on the autonomy of the members: "Every member shall determine the conduct of his affairs, the form of his organization and procedure." Bodies that were affiliated with the Zionist Organization when the new Constitution came into force were considered members under its provisions. New members may be admitted by the Congress or General Council, provided they comply with a number of conditions laid down in the Constitution. One of these provisions is that the body "has regard to the protection of the requirements of all its members and to the fundamental principles of justice." (On the membership of national and international Jewish bodies, see above.)

GOVERNING BODIES. The pattern of internal organization very much resembles that of a sovereign state: the shekel payers are comparable to citizens, the Congress elected by them – and to a certain degree also the General Council – is similar to a parliament, the Executive resembles the government or administration of a country, and the Congress Tribunal and the attorney of the Zionist Organization are its "judicial branch." On the other hand, the Zionist Organization differs from a state in two important respects: it is an interterritorial body and not limited by national frontiers; and it is built on a purely voluntary basis, with no means of enforcing its decisions. The ultimate and gravest sanction it may impose is expulsion from its ranks.

THE ZIONIST CONGRESS. The Congress is the supreme organ of the Zionist Organization. It legislates, receives and considers reports from other organs, determines the financial policy, and elects the president, Executive, General Council, Congress Tribunal, attorney, and comptroller. Until the 26th Congress (1964) the shekel payers chose the Congress either by direct elections or by "unopposed elections," by means of a "united slate" arrived at through interparty agreements. The 27th Congress (1968) was not based on elections but, in accordance with special regulations enacted after the Six-Day War (1967), had the same composition as its predecessor. It decided that future Congresses should not be elected according to a uniform election system, but that each country should itself determine the method of elections of its Congress delegates, provided it does not conflict with generally accepted democratic principles. Until the 24th Congress (1956) the number of delegates allotted to an election area (country) was in direct proportion to the number of shekels sold there. Under the Constitution of 1960, however, the size of the representation is fixed by a special commission "having regard to the size of the Jewish population and the totality of the conditions and activities of the Zionist movement in the country concerned."

In Herzl's time the Congress met every year (apart from 1902); until 1939 it convened once every two years (with the exception of World War I). The Constitution of 1960 legalized the practice of a four-year inter-Congress period.

THE GENERAL COUNCIL. The longer the intervals between Congresses, the greater the importance attaching to the Zionist General Council, also known by its original name of Herzl's times as the Actions Committee. During the inter-Congress period, it has not only legislative functions, but "shall consider and decide upon all matters relating to the Zionist Organization and its institutions." The number of Council members with voting rights in 1968 was 129, compared with 25 in 1921.

The Council meets at least once a year no later than March, since the budgetary year of the Zionist Organization terminates on March 31 and one of the Council's prerogatives is to decide on the budget in years when no Congress is held. It discharges this function either itself or through its Permanent Budget and Finance Committee. It has become general practice that the Congress or the Council fixes the framework of the budget, while the details are determined by the committee acting upon the proposals of the Executive. Over the course of years the importance of the Council has grown because "delegated legislation" has become increasingly frequent, i.e., the Congress has authorized the Council to make decisions or take steps within the jurisdiction of the Congress. Thus, even the Constitution of 1960 was adopted by the Council and not by the Congress. The Council's membership exactly reflects the composition of the Congress, each grouping being represented by a number of members equal to one-fifth of its Congress delegation. Apart from these members with full rights, the Constitution provides for members in an advisory capacity who are entitled to speak but not to vote in the Council's sessions, such as the members of the Executive or Zionist personalities who have been granted seats as "virilists" (i.e., veteran Zionists who are given a seat for their personal merits).

During World War II and up to the 22nd Congress (1946), an Inner General Council in Jerusalem composed of 31 members exercised all functions of the full Council, which could not meet. The presidium of the General Council, consisting of its chairman and 18 members, conducts the meetings of the Council, represents it in external and internal matters, and discharges various duties "imposed by law or referred to by Congress or Council."

THE EXECUTIVE. According to the Constitution of 1960, the Executive, elected by the Congress, is "its executive organ charged with the implementation of the decisions of Congress and Council and responsible to these bodies." Its seat and head office is in Jerusalem, but the Executive may "establish one or more divisions abroad." The branch in London was abolished shortly after the proclamation of the State of Israel (1948), but there is a New York section whose members join their Jerusalem colleagues several times a year for plenary sessions at which general policy is formulated. Day-to-day matters are handled in the almost weekly meetings of the Jerusalem Executive. The Executive acts through its departments, generally headed by one or more of its members. In 1970 the following main departments were in existence: Immigration and Absorption, Youth Aliyah, Youth and He-Ḥalutz, Settlement, Organization, Information, External Relations, Education and Culture – and Torah Education and Culture – in the Diaspora, Treasury, and Administration. Over the years no other governing body of the Zionist Organization has grown in size as much as the Executive, which, originally called the Small Actions Committee, initially numbered five and after Herzl's death seven members. The Executive elected at the first post-World War I Congress (1921) had only 15 members, but that appointed by the 23rd Congress (1951) numbered 19 members and two deputies, while that elected in 1966 included 26 regular members (one without voting rights – WIZO) and one deputy. The 27th Congress (1968) reversed this trend, reducing the number of the Executive members to 14 (among them one representative each of the WIZO and the Sephardim) and empowering the General Council to co-opt up to 5 nonparty Zionist personalities.

THE PRESIDENT. The president elected by the Congress is "the head and chief representative" of the Zionist Organization. He has the full rights of an Executive member. The actual standing of the president is determined less by his constitutional status than by his personality and activities. No president was elected at the 22nd Congress (1946), and until 1956 Nahum Goldmann and Berl *Locker co-chaired the Executive. In 1956 Goldmann was elected president of the Zionist Organization until 1968, when, at the 27th Congress, no president was elected, but Louis Aryeh *Pincus was chairman of the Executive from 1965.

THE JUDICIAL ORGANS. The judicial organs of the Zionist Organization are the Congress Tribunal and the attorney. According to the Constitution of 1960, the Congress Tribunal combines the functions of the former Congress Court and Court of Honor. It consists of a maximum of 25 members including the chairman and up to five deputy chairmen. The Congress Tribunal had jurisdiction to interpret the Constitution; to examine the legality of decisions of central Zionist bodies; to determine disputes between one central Zionist body and another or an individual – except in financial matters; to deal with objections to a postponement of the Congress or a Council session; to verify Congress elections; to deal with appeals from territorial judicial bodies and against decisions of the committees determining the number of Congress delegates and the system of Congress elections; to deal with complaints that the Constitution was infringed or that the interest and prestige of the Zionist Organization damaged. The attorney of the Zionist Organization (formerly Congress Attorney) is charged with representing the interests of the organization before the Congress Tribunal and advising central Zionist bodies in legal matters.

THE COMPTROLLER. The comptroller and his office are a counterpart to the state comptroller of Israel or the comptroller and auditor general of Great Britain. The comptroller's task is to "inspect the financial and economic activities of the Zionist Organization and its institutions and officers of every kind."

ZIONIST ORGANIZATION AND THE JEWISH AGENCY. The term Jewish Agency for Palestine was coined by the Mandate for Palestine promulgated by the League of Nations in 1922, whose article 4 made provision for "the recognition of an appropriate Jewish Agency as a public body for the purpose of advising and cooperating with the Administration of Palestine in such economic, social, and other matters as may affect the establishment of the Jewish National Home and the interests of the Jewish population of Palestine." The Mandate designated the Zionist Organization as the Jewish Agency it envisioned, and until 1929 it functioned in that capacity, i.e., the Zionist Organization and the Jewish Agency were one and the same body. The position changed when at Weizmann's initiative the enlarged Jewish Agency was established at the 26th Zionist Congress (1929) "for discharging the functions of the Jewish Agency as set forth in the Mandate," on the principle of parity between Zionists and "non-Zionists," i.e., Jewish persons and bodies supporting the building of the National Home, without identifying themselves with the political aspirations of Zionism. Thereafter the Zionist Organization and the Jewish Agency were two different bodies, though headed by the same president. When the last "non-Zionist" member of the Jewish Agency Executive, Werner *Senator, resigned in 1947, the complete identity between the Executives of the two institutions was reestablished. This identity existed until 1971. It was confirmed and stressed in the Israel Law on the Status (see below). In that period the difference between the two bodies was one of terminology rather than substance. In practice the name Zionist Organization indicated the activities and functions in respect to the Diaspora, while the designation Jewish Agency was mostly used in connection with work in and for Israel.

After the Six-Day War, when formerly uncommitted sections of the Jewish people identified themselves with the State of Israel to an unprecedented extent, the proposition to enlarge the Jewish Agency and reinstate its separation from the Zionist Organization was again put forward. The 27th Zionist Congress in 1968 authorized the Executive to initiate negotiations with "fund-raising instruments for Israel" with a view to "establishing a direct relationship between the Jewish Agency and such bodies." A year later the General Council approved the principles of the enlargement; in August 1970 the "agreement on the reconstitution of the Jewish Agency" was initialed, and on June 21, 1971, it was signed. Since then the World Zionist Organization and the Jewish Agency have again been two independent and separate bodies, although – similar to the pattern of 1929 – 50% of the members of the governing bodies of the Jewish Agency are designated by the World Zionist Organization. The chairman of the Zionist Executive is chairman of the Assembly and of the Executive of the Jewish Agency, and they have in common a treasurer and comptroller. The agreement included a division of functions between the Jewish Agency and the Zionist Organization, according to which the latter will "continue as the organ of the Zionist movement for the fulfillment of Zionist programs and ideals." Its main field of activity is the Diaspora, and it deals with Zionist organization, information, youth and He-Ḥalutz (pioneering movements), education and culture, external relations, and the activities of the Jewish National Fund, and also encourages and promotes aliyah from free countries.

ZIONIST ORGANIZATION AND THE STATE OF ISRAEL. In April 1948, one month before the proclamation of the State of Israel, the Zionist General Council resolved that after the establishment of the Provisional Government of Israel, "the jurisdiction of the Zionist Executive should comprise settlement, immigration, and all related matters including Youth Aliyah, Zionist information, organization, propaganda and culture, education in the Diaspora, youth and He-Ḥalutz, the development of Jerusalem and the National Funds." This principle of separation of functions was confirmed in a somewhat modified form by the resolution of the subsequent session of the General Council in August/September 1948 and of the 23rd Congress in 1951. Accordingly, while some functions previously exercised by the Zionist Organization have naturally devolved on the government, other functions remained the sole responsibility of the Zionist Organization-Jewish Agency. In Israeli law the mutual relations between the State of Israel and the Zionist Organization-Jewish Agency were put on a firm legal basis by the Law on the Status of the World Zionist Organization – The Jewish Agency – 5713 (1952), article 4 of which declares: "The State of Israel recognizes the World Zionist Organization as the authorized agency which will continue to operate in the State of Israel for the development and settlement of the country, the absorption of immigrants from the Diaspora and the coordination of activities in Israel of Jewish institutions and organizations active in those fields." The details of this status and the forms of collaboration between the Zionist Organization-Jewish Agency Executive and the government of Israel were, as foreseen in article 7 of the law, determined by a "covenant" entered into by them in 1954. A special committee consisting of an equal number of government ministers and Zionist Executive members was set up to coordinate activities, but in practice the delineation of the functions of the Zionist Organization-Jewish Agency has remained in a state of flux. After the Six-Day War proposals were made to increase the government's responsibility for the integration of the immigrants and were widely discussed in Israel and the Diaspora. In June 1968 the government decided to create a special Ministry for Absorption, with the understanding that even after its establishment, certain aspects of absorption of immigrants would remain in the domain of the Executive of the Zionist Organization-Jewish Agency.

[Aharon Zwergbaum]

LOCAL DEVELOPMENT THROUGH THE SIX-DAY WAR

In Australia and New Zealand

Zionism developed more slowly in Australia than in other British dominions. An attempt by Leon Jona to establish a Zionist society in Adelaide after the First Zionist Congress (1897) failed. The first Zionist bodies in the Commonwealth of Australia were the Victorian Zionist League in Melbourne (founded 1907) and the Sydney Zionist Society (1908); from 1913 a West Australian Zionist Society (Perth) was also in existence. In Australia's sister dominion, New Zealand, there were Zionist associations at the time in Auckland and Wellington; the former had developed from a Ḥovevei Zion society founded as early as 1903. Nonetheless, as the Sydney

Zionist Society, the most active of these bodies, wrote in a report to Zionist headquarters at Cologne in 1911, "there were comparatively few enthusiastic Zionists in Australia" and the attitude of the great majority of the Jewish community toward the movement was "apathy, though not hostility." In 1911 the first delegate from Australia, Salomon Pechter of Sydney, made his appearance at the Tenth Zionist Congress in Basle. During the so-called language conflict in Ereẓ Israel in 1914, the Zionist societies in Australia came out strongly in favor of Hebrew and against German as the language of instruction at the newly founded Technion of Haifa.

Efforts to bring all Zionist bodies in the various cities into the common framework of an Australian Federation had begun in 1908. Some bodies, like the Victorian Zionist Association, were directly affiliated with the Zionist Federation of Great Britain. It was only after World War I and the Balfour Declaration that the first all-Australian Zionist Conference took place in Melbourne (1927) and that the Zionist Federation of Australia and New Zealand was established, on the initiative of Alexander *Goldstein. Although its name continued to include New Zealand, the Zionist Council of New Zealand has virtually become an independent organization (close cooperation with the Australian Federation notwithstanding) and has been represented by its own delegates at the Zionist Congresses.

Sir John *Monash, who had been commander in chief of the Australian army in World War I, was elected honorary president of the Zionist Federation. However, the other most distinguished personality of Australian Jewry, Sir Isaac *Isaacs, who had been chief justice and governor general of the Commonwealth, was an anti-Zionist, and during World War II he conducted a press campaign against the Zionists, charging them with disloyalty to Britain and denying the existence of a Jewish people. Rabbi Israel *Brodie, later chief rabbi of the British Empire, served as president of the federation from its foundation until he left Australia in 1937.

During the economic depression at the beginning of the 1930s, the federation declined and its very existence was called in question, but it recovered again toward the end of that decade. During World War II its importance and prestige considerably rose as a result of its political and public relations work. The atmosphere for such activities was favorable because general public opinion in Australia was rather friendly to Zionism. Some strongly pro-Zionist Christian sects, like the Christadelphians, were active there. They even raised funds for Zionist causes. The pro-Zionist sentiment in the Commonwealth was also partly due to the excellent relations between the *yishuv* in Palestine and the Australian troops stationed there during both world wars. Australian statesmen Robert Menzies, Ben Chifley, and John Curtin (prime minister during World War II) were supporters of the Zionist cause. Particularly important was the role of Herbert Evatt, a personal friend of some Zionist leaders and an advocate of the idea of a Jewish state, who as foreign minister was elected chairman of the UN Palestine Ad Hoc Committee (1947). In this capacity he thwarted delaying maneuvers, and firmly directed the proceedings of the committee which culminated in the positive vote for the partition of Palestine in the General Assembly on Nov. 29, 1947.

Characteristic of Zionist life in Australia has been a certain competition, even to the point of rivalry, between the main Jewish centers: Sydney in New South Wales and Melbourne in Victoria. It has become traditional for the federation to transfer its seat periodically from one city to the other. Thus the 24th Australian Zionist Conference held in Melbourne in 1970 decided that the headquarters of the federation should be in Sydney for the next four years. Like the Commonwealth of Australia, the Australian Zionist Federation is organized on federative lines in state Zionist councils (New South Wales, Victoria, Queensland, West Australia, and South Australia) to which all Zionist societies, bodies, and groups of the state are affiliated. There was a total of 60 such bodies in 1970. A distinctive feature of the Australian Zionist Federation is that it embraces all organizations and institutions which are in any way connected with the work for, and support of, Israel. The Jewish National Fund had remained very strong and popular, and Zionist influence is predominant in the Australian Jewish communal institutions.

While the beginnings of Zionism in Australia were slow and precarious, from the late 1960s this community was one of the most Zionist-oriented in the Diaspora. During the Six-Day War between Israel and the Arab states (1967), several hundred young Australian Jews registered as volunteers for Israel, but only a few managed to arrive there in time to aid the war effort. The Zionist Membership Drive 1970/71 resulted in about 13,000 members, i.e., almost 20% of the total Jewish population in the Commonwealth of Australia.

[Aharon Zwergbaum]

In Austria

Austria, as referred to in this article, is understood as the territory of the Austrian Federal Republic as it existed from 1918 to 1938 and again from 1945. The history of Austrian Zionism, in this territorial sense, is almost identical with that of Vienna, where more than 90% of Austrian Jews were concentrated.

Vienna, then the capital of the Hapsburg monarchy with a Jewish population of about two million, had been one of the centers of the nascent Jewish national movement even before Herzl's appearance on the stage of history. Several Jewish national student associations existed, the most notable being Kadimah (founded in 1883). Even the name Zionism was coined in Vienna by Nathan Birnbaum, the most prominent ideologist of these early Zionists. When Herzl published *Der Judenstaat*, he found enthusiastic followers among these forerunners of political Zionism and many other young Jews, particularly students, but met stiff opposition in the Jewish liberal bourgeoisie and the Jewish community establishment. Since Herzl was a resident of Vienna, that city was during his lifetime the capital of Zionism, i.e., the seat of the Zionist Executive (the Inner Actions Committee), the central Zionist organ *Die Welt*, and the Jewish National Fund. Viennese Zionists like Johann *Kremenetzky, M. Schnirer, Alexander *Marmorek, and Oser Kokesch occupied key positions in the Inner Actions Committee. It was also in Vienna that the first Zionist-Socialist movement, Aḥva, emerged in 1898, upon the initiative of Saul Raphael *Landau.

After Herzl's death, Vienna lost its central position in the Zionist world movement, the central institutions having been transferred to Cologne, but Zionism remained a vibrant movement in Austria, albeit with a change of emphasis and leadership. The trend was now on practical Zionism, both in respect to settlement work in Ereẓ Israel and in Jewish national politics in the Diaspora ("Work in the present"), greatly invigorated after the introduction of universal suffrage in 1907. The leaders of the movement in the period prior to World War I were Adolf *Boehm, Robert *Stricker, and Jacob Ehrlich. In 1909, 25 Zionist societies existed in Austria, mostly in Vienna, organized in the Zionistischer Landesverband. The 11th Zionist Congress (1913) was held in Vienna. The great influx of refugees from Galicia during World War I and the obvious victory of the principle of national self-determination at the end of the war further strengthened the Zionist movement.

After the dismemberment of the multi-national Hapsburg monarchy and the establishment of the Austrian Republic, a Jewish National Council was established on Zionist initiative. In the first elections Robert Stricker was elected on a Zionist ticket to parliament and three Zionists to the city council of Vienna. But after some time there was a sharp decline in the Zionist following, mainly due to the attraction of the Social-Democratic Party, which had many Jewish leaders, almost all of them assimilationists and opponents of Zionism. Even in that period of decline there was, however, a bustling and very diversified Zionist activity going on. There were scores of Zionist associations, parties, youth movements, cultural clubs, sports associations, etc. Vienna was the most important transit place for immigrants to Palestine and, therefore, an important meeting place. Upon the initiative of Rabbi Ẓevi Pereẓ *Chajes, who had been appointed chief rabbi of Vienna in 1918, a Hebrew teachers' seminary was established, as well as a secondary school, bearing (after Chajes' death) his name.

From 1918 until 1927 a Zionist daily, the *Wiener Morgenzeitung*, appeared, as well as several weeklies. In 1925 the 14th Zionist Congress assembled in Vienna. In 1932 the Zionists succeeded in realizing Herzl's slogan of the "conquest of the communities," gaining 20 out of 36 seats in the Jewish community council. Desider *Friedmann was elected president of the community. Zionists stood, therefore, at the helm of Austrian Jewry when the catastrophe befell them in 1938. From the Nazi conquest in March 1938 until the outbreak of World War II in September 1939, about one-half of Austrian Jewry succeeded in leaving the country, many of them for Palestine, mostly by "illegal" routes. Almost all of the remaining Jews fell victim of the Holocaust; among them were prominent leaders of Austrian Zionists, like Desider Friedmann, Robert Stricker, and many others.

After World War II Austria was the scene of great Zionist activity, being located on the main route of the *Beriḥah and harboring in its confines many camps of Jewish DPs. In the small reconstituted Jewish community of Vienna a diversified Zionist activity started, all Zionist parties reemerged, but for most of the postwar period the Zionists constituted a minority of the community, while the majority supported the non-Zionist, albeit not anti-Israel, Social-Democratic *Bund werktaetiger Juden*.

[Aharon Zwergbaum / Chaim Yahil]

In Bulgaria

A large part of the predominantly Sephardi and Ladino-speaking Jewish community of Bulgaria was always strongly attached to Zionism, although enjoying full civic rights since the establishment of independent Bulgaria (1878). They were not under pressure to emigrate and suffered little from antisemitism. Even before Herzl's appearance, there were Zionist societies like Ezrat Aḥim in Sofia, Carmel in Plovdiv (Philippopolis), and Dorshei Zion in Khaskovo. Bulgarian Jews founded the settlement Hartuv in Ereẓ Israel as early as 1896, the same year in which Herzl was surprised and moved by the enthusiastic welcome accorded to him by masses of Jews when his train stopped at the Sofia railway station en route to Constantinople.

Bulgaria was represented at the First Zionist Congress (1897) by Ẓevi Belkovsky, Yehoshua Caleb, and Carl Herbst. Marcus *Ehrenpreis, who became chief rabbi of Bulgaria, had taken a very active part in preparing the Congress and also attended it. The first Bulgarian Zionist Conference took place in 1898 in Plovdiv, which was the Zionist center before Sofia. The leader of political Zionism in Bulgaria during its first stage was, until his tragic death (1899), Josef Marcou *Baruch.

The rapid spread of Zionist societies encountered some opposition on the part of the assimilationists influenced by the French education in the Alliance Israélite Universelle schools, but they were less strong than in other countries. However, the Zionists quickly "conquered the communities," in accordance with Herzl's demand. In 1900 they initiated the convocation of the First National Congress of Bulgarian Jewry, which adopted statutes transforming synagogue groups into veritable communities. The second Congress in 1920 already had a Zionist majority and proclaimed the religious and national solidarity of all Jewish inhabitants of the country, regardless of origin, language, or citizenship. Another Congress took place in 1932. The publication of the central Zionist organ *Ha-Shofar* was started in 1901. Due to Zionist influence, in the 1920s Hebrew became the language of instruction (apart from subjects like Bulgarian history and literature) at all schools maintained by the Consistory, the central Jewish community organization, which were attended by the great majority of Jewish children.

Between the two world wars Alberto Romano, for many years chairman of the Zionist Federation of Bulgaria, and

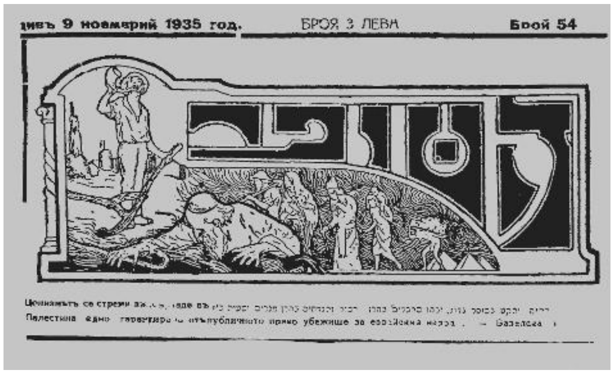
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Masthead of Ha-Shofar, *the Zionist weekly in Hebrew and Bulgarian, published in Plovdiv, November 1935. Jerusalem, Yad Vashem Archives.*

Ḥayyim Aaron Farḥi, chairman of the Consistory and member of the Bulgarian parliament, were among the most important figures in Zionist life. The movement became diversified, and parties and youth movements were set up. The Bulgarian WIZO was founded in 1923; in 1930 Maccabi had more than 3,300 members in 24 clubs; the number of shekel holders reached 8,000, a much higher percentage of the population than in most countries; He-Ḥalutz was training its members for *aliyah* in training farms, such as that near Pazardzhik. After the Revisionist secession from the World Zionist Organization (1935), the New Zionist Organizations set up branches of the Betar movement. They issued their own weekly *Razsvet*. One of their leaders, Benjamin Arditti, was afterward a member of the Israel Knesset from the Ḥerut list.

Hundreds of Bulgarian Jews settled in Palestine during the Mandate period. Some of them established their own settlements, like the moshavim Kefar Ḥittin near Tiberias and Bet Ḥanan south of Tel Aviv. Members of Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir who settled in Palestine before 1935 founded five kibbutzim.

The Zionists of Bulgaria were active in organizing "illegal" immigration to Palestine before and immediately after World War II. They also assisted Jews from other countries, who fled the Nazis or pro-Nazi regimes, to embark on "illegal" transports from Bulgarian ports to Palestine. All Zionist activities had to cease under the Fascist regime during World War II, but immediately after the country's liberation a Zionist Conference was convened (1944) and a Zionist organ *Zionisticheska Tribuna* was published. In 1946 a United Zionist Organization was set up. In the same year more than 14,000 shekels were distributed and almost 9,000 voters took part in the elections to the 22nd Zionist Congress, at which Bulgaria was represented by four delegates.

The Communist regime, under Georgi Dimitrov, at first displayed sympathy for the newborn State of Israel and permitted all Bulgarian Jews who wished to go to Israel to do so without placing any obstacles in their way. Thus, in the years 1944–49, a real exodus of Bulgarian Jews took place, when 40,000 of them settled in Israel. However, in accordance with the policy of the Soviet bloc, this attitude changed, and in 1949 all Zionist bodies had to disband "voluntarily" and all Zionist activities ceased.

[Aharon Zwergbaum]

In Canada

In 1898, one year after the First Zionist Congress, a Zionist society, Agudat Zion, was formed in Montreal. One year later, five more societies came into existence in Quebec and Ontario and formed the Federation of Zionist Societies, electing Clarence I. De Sola as its first president. The number of Zionist societies increased gradually and conventions were held annually. With the outbreak of World War I, all Zionist work practically came to a standstill, as contact with the *yishuv* was severed; however, the Balfour Declaration revitalized the Zionist activities.

The year 1919 was a turning point in the affairs of the Zionist Federation; De Sola stepped down from the presidency and was succeeded by A.J. *Freiman of Ottawa, and Lilian *Freiman organized the Canadian Hadassah Organization. One year later, Keren Hayesod began its activities. Within the next four years the Labor Zionist Organization was formed. It sponsored a program for Palestine based on a synthesis of socialism and Jewish nationalism. During the same period the Mizrachi Organization was organized by religious Zionists. All these groups participated actively in the Keren Hayesod-United Palestine (Israel) Appeal and the Jewish National Fund (JNF). In 1924 the Labor Zionists added their own annual campaign, which was called the Geverkshaften (later Histadrut) Campaign; M. Dickstein played an important role in this activity. Each of the organizations also organized national women's branches – Hadassah (affiliated with WIZO), Mizrachi Women, Pioneer Women – each conducting active programs and substantial campaigns for institutions in Palestine and later also for Youth Aliyah. The parent bodies also organized youth movements: Young Judea was begun in 1916 by Bernard Joseph (who later, as Dov *Joseph, was military governor of Jerusalem during the siege of 1948 and occupied important cabinet positions in subsequent Israel governments); the *Habonim Labor Zionist organization and Junior Hadassah were formed later.

Organization. In 1966 the Federated Zionist Organization of Canada (FZOC) was established to unify all the existing Zionist organizations into a single framework. It includes the following bodies:

(1) The Zionist Organization of Canada, the oldest and largest of the Zionist organizations, which has branches in most of the sizable communities, as well as fraternal orders in the larger cities. It holds regional conferences regularly, and together with the women's organization, Hadassah (WIZO), and the other Zionist movements, influences the Canadian Jewish community in a large measure.

(2) The Labor Zionist Movement, a federative structure of autonomous Labor Zionist bodies which embraces the United Labor Zionist Party (Po'alei Zion), now united with Aḥdut ha-Avodah; the Farband Labor Zionist Order; and the

Pioneer Women of Canada; as well as Habonim Labor Zionist Youth; and the Israel Histadrut Campaign.

(3) The Mizrachi-Ha-Po'el ha-Mizrachi Organization of Canada, which has three offices (in Montreal, Toronto, and Winnipeg) and a Mishmeret Ẓe'irah of young couples in these centers, as well as its youth movement and a women's division.

(4) The Zionist Revisionist Movement of Canada, with its youth movement, Betar, and women's organization.

(5) The Friends of Pioneering Israel, which is closely affiliated with Mapam in Israel.

The Federated Zionist Organization publishes a monthly entitled *The Canadian Zionist*. The United Labor Zionist Party (Labor Zionist Party and Aḥdut ha-Avodah-Po'alei Zion, affiliated in 1970) publishes *Dos Vort* in Yiddish and English, and a quarterly, *Viewpoints*. Hadassah publishes *Orah, Campaigns and Projects*. The United Israel Campaigns, which have been carried on annually, averaged $3,000,000–3,500,000 (Canadian) a year between 1960 and 1967. In the latter year a special Emergency Campaign brought in an additional $30,000,000. In addition, since 1953 there has been an annual sale of State of Israel bonds, initiated under the leadership of Samuel *Bronfman and E.E. *Gelber. In the first year there were over 10,000 subscribers, with a net sale of $4,500,000. Subsequently there was an annual sale of $3,000,000–3,500,000 up to 1967, and between 1967 and 1970 $4,000,000–5,000,000 annually. The Jewish National Fund has been functioning since the beginning of Zionist activities in Canada. It has concentrated on "Traditional Funds," which link the fund with special occasions in Jewish family life, such as barmitzvahs and weddings. In addition, it has initiated and sponsored special projects, such as the "Negev Dinners," for acquiring funds to plant forests and develop new land projects in Israel. These projects have brought in considerable sums of money over the years.

In 1927 Canadian Zionists bought a tract of 30,000 dunams on the shores of the Mediterranean for $1,000,000, and it was developed as Emek Hefer. In 1952 a convention of Canadian Zionists undertook to redeem an area of 50,000 dunams in the western Negev. In 1955 the JNF of Canada began a project to plant 500,000 trees at Ein Kerem in the Judean Hills, to be known as the Canadian Forest. Canadian Hadassah has sponsored such projects as the Agricultural School for Girls at Nahalal, the Hadassim Children's Village; a hydrotherapy pool for crippled children at Sarafand; a child guidance clinic in Jerusalem; baby crèches; and "Canada Hall" at Hebrew University. Over the years the Histadrut Campaign has sponsored a number of special Canadian projects in Israel, particularly the Amal vocational schools. The Pioneer Women have established Omna, a children's home in Haifa, and a community center at Migdal ha-Emek and have helped maintain the many institutions of the Mo'eẓet ha-Po'alot (Working Women's Council in Israel). In 1955, the Mizrachi Organization began to raise funds for the new Bar Ilan University, and the Mizrachi Women have sponsored a number of their own projects. The Zionist Revisionist group and their women's organization, Jordania, also have special projects. In addition, the Friends of the Hebrew University was organized in 1944 under the national chairmanship of Allan Bronfman. There is also a Canadian Technion Society, under the leadership of D. Lou Harris, as well as a group interested in the Weizmann Institute at Rehovot, in which Samuel J. Zacks, a past president of the Zionist Organization of Canada, was very active during his lifetime.

The various Zionist organizations have summer camps for young people. In 1970 the Zionist Organization of Canada operated eight youth camps between Halifax and Vancouver, with an enrollment of 1,700 youngsters. The Mizrachi-Ha-Po'el ha-Mizrachi ran a Hebrew camp for over 500 youngsters. The Labor Zionist Movement operated a youth camp near Montreal and Camp Miriam at Vancouver. The Keren ha-Tarbut, Hebrew department of the Zionist Organization of Canada, is active in the larger cities (Montreal, Toronto, Winnipeg, and Vancouver). It carries on special programs, such as Hebrew courses, "Hebrew-on-the-air," and *ulpanim*, particularly for those planning to settle in Israel. The Labor Zionist Movement was influential in helping to establish the Canadian Jewish Congress and has been active in that organization throughout the years. The Zionist organizations also assist indirectly in Jewish education. The Labor Zionist Movement is directly affiliated with the Folk Shule and Peretz schools in Montreal and the Bialik Hebrew Day School in Toronto. The public relations department of the Zionist Organization of Canada operates an ongoing program, supplies speakers for the Jewish and non-Jewish service clubs, and assists in the work of the Canadian Israel Association, a non-Jewish organization which has been in existence and active since 1947. Together with the Canadian Jewish Congress and B'nai B'rith, the Zionist Organization of Canada operates a Canadian-Israel Public Affairs Committee.

Aliyah and Settlement in Israel. The first Canadian *ḥalutz*, Ya'akov Pruzhansky, who later changed his name to Aḥvah, arrived and settled in Ereẓ Israel in 1913. During World War I more than 200 Canadians volunteered as members of the Jewish Legion and fought under General Allenby; a fairly large number remained in Palestine. In 1948, during Israel's War of Independence, about 250 young men volunteered their services in *Maḥal, and a certain number remained after the state came into being. The Six-Day War of 1967 evoked an unparalleled response of identification with Israel. Financial contributions were made freely and spontaneously; demonstrations for Israel took place throughout the country; delegations of prominent Canadian Jews visited the prime minister and urged that the Canadian government take a positive stand in favor of Israel's position; blood and plasma were volunteered for shipment to Israel. Over 10,000 volunteers offered themselves and, in spite of traveling difficulties at the time, about 400 left Canada and by devious means reached Israel. Of these, 228 went with the direct aid of the Zionist Organization of Canada and many of them remained and settled permanently.

Even before 1967, but particularly from then on, there has been a steady flow of tourists, students, temporary settlers and many who have made their permanent home in Israel, among them prominent Zionist leaders. It was estimated that in 1971 there were about 3,500 former Canadians residing in Israel.

[Samuel B. Hurwich]

In Czechoslovakia

BEFORE THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE CZECHOSLOVAK REPUBLIC (1918). The growing tension between Czechs and Germans in Bohemia and Moravia aroused the sensitivity of the Jews to the nationality problem and a positive disposition toward the Zionist idea. Several Jewish nationalist societies were established even before the appearance of Theodor Herzl, especially in Czech provincial cities. The first Zionist society was established in 1893 in the town of Horaždovice in Bohemia. The appearance of Herzl aroused a strong response, especially in the communities of Moravia, due partly to the fact that many of the youth of these communities had come into contact with Herzl and Zionism while studying in Vienna. In 1900 the first Zionist weekly, the *Juedische Volksstimme*, was founded in Brno (Bruenn). Berthold Feiwel and Robert Stricker, among the first Zionist students from Moravia, rose later to leading positions in the world movement. Zionist societies were also established in Prague and the cities of the Sudeten. In the final decade before World War I, the Zionist student association *Bar Kochba, led by Shemuel Hugo Bergman, was outstanding for its high intellectual level. This group adopted not only the political program of Zionism but aimed also at a return to the sources of Jewish spiritual creativity and found contacts with the Jewish cultural and social way of life in Eastern Europe. Their goals blended into the great educational task designed to "renew the image of Jewish man." On the whole this group supported the outlook of the Democratic Faction within the Zionist Organization and cultural Zionism; later on it leaned toward the ideas of A.D. *Gordon. Its initiative led to the publication of the Zionist weekly **Selbstwehr* (1907) and the anthology *Vom Judentum* (1913). From Bar Kochba emerged many Zionist leaders in Czechoslovakia and beyond, S.H. Bergman, Hugo Hermann, and Robert Weltsch. With the expansion of the movement among Czech-speaking students, another, parallel group was founded under the name Theodor Herzl (1909). The student Zionist society Barissia, founded in 1903, supported militant political Zionism. In the last two years before the outbreak of World War I, the first youth movement, *Blau-Weiss, was established. Maccabi and other sports organizations were also established in many communities, as were women's organizations.

In Slovakia, then part of Hungary, Zionism penetrated only into communities in the western areas, which maintained closer contact with Jewry in Vienna and Moravia. The founding world convention of Mizrachi was held in Pressburg (Bratislava) in 1904. Although World War I interrupted the organizational work of the Zionist Organization, it also widened and deepened the national feelings by bringing Jewish soldiers from the West to centers of Jewish life in Eastern Europe, on the one hand, and many thousands of Jewish refugees from Galicia to communities in Moravia and Bohemia, on the other.

In the Republic of Czechoslovakia (1918–39). The establishment of the Czechoslovak Republic signified a victory for the principle of national self-determination, which was also supported by the Zionist movement. The establishment of the new, democratic republic also appeared to be the great hour of the Zionist movement, as the leader of the new state, the philosopher and humanist T.G. Masaryk, had fought against anti-Jewish blood libels, was a great admirer of Aḥad Ha-Am, and was supported in his struggle for national independence by Zionist leaders in the United States and Great Britain. The Jewish National Council was founded on the initiative of Zionists and was headed by the leader of the Prague Zionists, L. Singer, aided by Max Brod, Emil Margulies, chief rabbi Chaim Brody, and others. The council's program aimed toward achieving national, political, and cultural autonomy, built upon the communities as autonomous cells. The movement achieved recognition for the Jewish nationality in the constitution of the republic and protection for the rights of a national minority and also succeeded in building a network of Hebrew and Jewish schools – especially in the eastern areas of the republic, but it never achieved the full realization of Jewish cultural autonomy.

The stress on Diaspora work met with opposition in the Zionist movement, and at the second national conference, held in Brno in 1921, a new leadership was chosen for the Zionist movement. It was headed by Joseph *Rufeisen, who advanced practical activities toward the upbuilding of Ereẓ Israel as the central platform of the Zionist program. The center of the Zionist movement was set up in Ostrava and remained there until 1938. The Zionist Organization in Czechoslovakia, headed by Rufeisen, was outstanding in its efforts for settlement work in Ereẓ Israel, Hebrew and Jewish education, and training of *ḥalutzim*, while the Jewish National Council and the Jewish Party (*Židovská Strana) handled local political matters. On Zionist policy, the majority supported Weizmann's line and based itself on the close cooperation between the General Zionists, headed by Rufeisen, and the Labor Zionists; the Revisionists and Mizrachi also developed substantially.

The Zionists had decisive influence in the communities in Slovakia and Sub-Carpathian Ruthenia. Their opponents were the Czech assimilationist movement, and most fiercely the Communists on one end of the spectrum and the ultra-Orthodox on the other. A pioneering He-Ḥalutz movement had existed since the establishment of the republic and succeeded in founding a number of collective settlements and moshavim in Palestine. Various youth movements were active in the spirit of pioneering and *aliyah*. Zionist influence was also decisive in the sphere of education and in the 1930s in the area of social welfare, especially for the Jews of Sub-Carpathian Ruthenia and the refugees of Nazi persecution. Three Zionist Congresses were held on Czechoslovak territory: the 12th Zionist Congress (1921) and 13th Zionist Congress (1923) in Carlsbad and the 18th Zionist Congress (1933) in Prague.

The Holocaust and After. The destruction of the Czechoslovak Republic, after the annexation of Austria, came in several quick stages: the annexation of the Sudetenland to Germany (October 1938), giving over certain areas to Hungary and Poland (November 1938), the establishment of "independent" Slovakia (March 14, 1939), the conquest of Bohemia and Moravia by the German army turning them into the "Protectorate" (March 15, 1939), and the annexation of the remainder of Sub-Carpathian Ruthenia by Hungary (March 16, 1939). These were also the stages of the destruction of Czechoslovak Jewry, while the Zionists played central roles in attempts to save it. They increased their efforts toward facilitating *aliyah* and emigration. About 15,000 Jews from Czechoslovakia succeeded in reaching Palestine between the autumn of 1938 and the end of 1939, the overwhelming majority by means of "illegal" immigration. Zionists remained in most positions of community leadership both in the "Protectorate" and Slovakia. Under the leadership of the Zionists Jacob Edelstein, Franz Kahn, Otto Zucker and Hannah Steiner, together with the leaders of the pioneering movement, the Zionists preserved their sense of cooperation, national loyalty, and Jewish values in the Theresienstadt concentration camp and even in Auschwitz. They organized means of escape from Slovakia, where the head of WIZO, Gisi *Fleischmann, initiated the *Europa Plan to save European Jewry, and many Zionist youths took part in the partisan uprising in Slovakia in the summer of 1944.

The few who survived the Holocaust tried to reestablish the Zionist movement after the war and save the survivors through *aliyah* and settlement in Ereẓ Israel. Zionist activity was renewed in all parts of the republic. Czechoslovakia was a major transit country for the flow of the *Beriḥah* from Poland. During the Israeli War of Independence (1948), Czechoslovakia was a major source of arms' supply to the new state. Emigration to Israel was permitted, and more than 20,000 Jews, about 40% of the Jewish community, settled there. After a short while, however, the sympathy of the new Communist government in Czechoslovakia for Israel evaporated. Zionist activity was forbidden, and after a time emigration was also halted. In 1952 the Communist government staged a show trial against "Zionism" (see *Slánsky Trial). During the short period of the "Prague Spring" in 1968, under the leadership of Alexander Dubček, expression of sympathy for the State of Israel was again permitted and even *aliyah* was renewed, but organized Zionist activity did not resume and the invasion of the Warsaw Pact armies in August 1968 ended this period of relative improvement.

[Chaim Yahil]

In France

Early History. The Jewish community of France occupies an important place in the early history of Jewish settlement in Ereẓ Israel, due to the initiative of the Alliance Israelite Universelle and of Baron Edmond de Rothschild. The Alliance set up a network of elementary and vocational schools there, the first of which was the Mikveh Israel agricultural school, founded in 1870. Although these activities were similar to Alliance projects in other parts of the Ottoman Empire, this interest in Ereẓ Israel was undoubtedly influenced by the discussions of Joseph *Natonek and Moses Hess with Alliance directors in Paris in 1866. Rabbi Samuel Mohilewer, accompanied by young settlers from Rishon le-Zion, paid a visit to Edmond de Rothschild that served to move him to increase financial, technical, and administrative assistance to new Jewish agricultural enterprises in Ereẓ Israel. Rothschild's intervention was crucial in saving the struggling villages from ruin and in facilitating the development of budding Jewish agriculture. Despite the philanthropic character of Rothschild's undertakings, his paternal attitude, and outbursts of indignation against political Zionism, his contribution was substantial and at a certain stage decisive for the continuation of settlement work.

Paris can also be considered the cradle of political Zionism. It was while in Paris as a correspondent for the *Neue Freie Presse* that Theodor Herzl conceived his Zionist idea and wrote *Der Judenstaat*, and it was in Paris that Max Nordau lived from 1880 to the outbreak of World War I. Among the early Zionists in France were Alexander Marmorek and his brothers Oscar and Isidore, the writer Bernard *Lazare, Miriam Schach, and the sculptor S.F. *Beer. Zadoc *Kahn, France's chief rabbi, supported Zionism and Herzl, but abstained from publicly expressing his support. The Fédération Sioniste de France was established in 1901 and its president until his death in 1923 was Alexander Marmorek. In 1899 he founded the journal *L'Echo Sioniste* which appeared from 1899 to 1905 and again from 1912 to 1914. In 1916 it reappeared under the title *Le Peuple Juif* and remained in existence to 1921. In 1914 the federation had five groups in Paris, one in Nice, and two in Tunis. The great majority of native-born Jews and the official communal bodies, however, were indifferent, if not hostile, to the Zionist program, fearing that their status acquired in the great Emancipation would be placed in jeopardy. This hostility to Zionism did not subside with the Balfour Declaration, although the French minister for foreign affairs, Stephen Pichon, afforded French assent to the declaration. During the Peace Conference at Versailles (1919), two French representatives, the poet André *Spire and Professor Sylvain *Lévi, were members of the committee established by Chaim Weizmann together with N. Sokolow and M. Ussishkin, to present the Zionist views to the conference delegations. Lévi however, who was president of the Alliance, clashed with the committee, since, in his view, the Zionist objectives conflicted with French interests in the Middle East.

Zionism in France appealed mainly to Jewish immigrants from Central and Eastern Europe who arrived there beginning in the 1880s. Thus, the successive leaders of French Zionism were Israel *Yefroykin, Marc *Jarblum, and Joseph Fischer

(Ariel). Fischer founded a bimonthly journal, originally as the organ of the Jewish National Fund, *La Terre Retrouvée* (published from 1928). Jarblum, a leader of Labor Zionism, was its spokesman in the Socialist movement of France and Belgium. He had influence with such men as Léon Blum, Emil Vandervelde, and Camille Huysmans. However, a small number of leading French-born Jews also supported Zionism, among them the poets Edmond Fleg and André Spire. The latter's Zionist writings caused him to split with Charles Péguy and his circle of *Cahiers de la Quinzaine*. In 1915 a group of Jewish and non-Jewish intellectuals established the Ligue Franco-Sioniste, and in 1917 André Spire published *Les Juifs et la guerre*, which dealt with the problem how to present the idea of the Jewish state to the future peace conference. In the same year he established the Ligue des Amis du Sionisme, of which he was the secretary general, and its organ *La Palestine Nouvelle*.

1917–1939. In 1917 a Zionist youth movement was established in Strasbourg, from which the bulk of French immigrants went to Palestine prior to World War II. In 1920 a Zionist students' club was founded in Paris, and in 1921 a Mizrachi group was established with its center in Strasbourg. In 1925 the Union Régionale des Sionistes de L'Est de la France was founded by Léon Metzger and Robert Lévy-Dreyfus. This union was the strongest Zionist organization in France before World War II, and up to the conquest of France by the Nazis in 1941 it retained a separate identity. In 1923 a women's group was founded by Mrs. Richard Gottheil; it later merged with the Women's International Zionist Organization (WIZO). In 1929 French Jews accepted Weizmann's invitation to join the "enlarged" Jewish Agency, and Léon Blum, Leo Zadoc-Kahn, and Henri Lévi represented French non-Zionists in the founding meeting in Zurich in August 1929. In the 1930s the following Zionist organizations existed: Po'alei Zion (Left), founded in 1922; the Union of Zionist Revisionists, founded in Paris in 1925 and becoming the center of its world movement; Po'alei Zion-Hitaḥadut, which included a League for Labor Palestine and the Jewish People's League; Organisation Sioniste de France, founded in 1933, an organization of General Zionists; and the Jewish State Party, founded in 1936. Mizrachi also had a certain following in France, including a group called Yavne and a Yiddish-language journal. In the same period branches of many Zionist youth movements were formed: Bleu-Blanc (General Zionists), Betar (Revisionists), Berit ha-Kannaim (Jewish State Party), Deror (Po'alei Zion-Hitaḥadut), Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir, Ẓe'irei ha-Mizrachi, Ha-Po'el ha-Mizrachi, and Ha-No'ar ha-Ẓiyyoni. In 1937 the Fédération de la Jeunesse Sioniste et Pro-Palestinienne was founded as a result of the merger between the Jewish scouting movement and a few Zionist youth groups, with a total membership of 5,000.

World War II. From the German occupation in 1940, Zionist activities were centered in the southern area known as Vichy France. In 1941, at a secret conference in Lyons, initiated by J. Fischer (Ariel), a new Zionist leadership embracing all groups was established under the chairmanship of Leonce Bernheim, former chairman of the Zionist coordination committee. At another meeting in Vichy in the same year, the Mouvement de la Jeunesse Sioniste, embracing all youth organizations, was created under the direction of Simon Lévitte and Jules Jefroykin. Both frameworks engaged in educational work, such as the teaching of Hebrew, Jewish history, etc., but devoted their energies mainly to smuggling Jewish refugees into Switzerland and Spain. Young Zionists also played a leading part in organizing Jewish armed resistance to the Nazis (see *France, Holocaust Period).

After World War II. Immediately after World War II, leading French Jews, such as André Blumel, were active in aiding the "illegal" immigration and the *Beriḥah* movement to Palestine though French ports. With the establishment of the State of Israel, Jewish community officials in France adopted an attitude of sympathy, putting an end to their previous hostility. In 1947 the Union Sioniste Française was founded, uniting all Zionists in France and North Africa, led for some time by André Blumel. The transformation of French Jewry by the influx of North African, particularly Algerian Jews, also influenced the Zionist movement there. Migration to Israel increased steadily. French Jewry demonstrated its solidarity with Israel before and after the Six-Day War (1967), and Chief Rabbi Jacob *Kaplan voiced Jewish disapproval of De Gaulle's anti-Israel policies. All traditional Jewish bodies began openly to support Israel, and a Comité de Coordination des Organisations Juives en France, headed by Guy de *Rothschild, was specially created in 1967 for financial aid and information services for Israel. Groups for *aliyah* to Israel were formed, among them Oded, comprising young intellectuals from North Africa. All Zionist parties and most world organizations collecting funds and selling bonds for Israel have branches in France, many of them publishing their own journals, such as the French *Amitiés France-Israel* (since 1953) and the Yiddish daily *Unzer Vort* (since 1945) and *Tsionistishe Shtime*.

[Lucien Lazare]

In Germany

The First Zionist Congress (1897) was attended by more than 40 delegates from Germany, not all of them natives of that country. (The delegation included four representatives from Ereẓ Israel, one of whom, Heinrich *Loewe, was a founder of a Zionist group in Germany even before the appearance of Theodor Herzl.) There were, however, a few bodies in Germany that could be regarded as forerunners of modern Zionism; the Esra society in Berlin (founded 1883) tended to the Ḥibbat Zion; the Russian Jewish Scientific Society in Berlin (1889) which was composed almost exclusively of "Eastern Jews"; the Association for the Promotion of Agriculture and Crafts in Palestine, founded in Cologne in 1892 by Max *Bodenheimer and David Wolffsohn, was in 1897 transformed into the Nationaljuedische Vereinigung and demanded, before the Basle Program, nothing less than a Jewish state. As early as October 1897 the Zionistische Vereinigung in Deutschland (ZVD), a roof organization of all Zionist societies, was set up. The Zionist movement in Germany was distinguished by quality – especially excellent organization and harmonious internal relations – rather than by quantity, since, to quote Richard *Lichtheim: "nowhere was the opposition of Jews to the new movement so widespread, principled, and fierce as in Germany." Herzl's original plan to convoke the First Congress in Munich failed because of the hostility of the German rabbis; the board of the Union of German Rabbis issued a proclamation against the Congress and Zionism (hence *Protestrabbiner).

The slow but steady growth of the ZVD is reflected by the following figures: in 1912 it had 8,400 members and in 1927 some 20,000, 2,000 of whom were members (or "old boys") of the Zionist students' associations organized in the Kartell juedischer Verbindungen; in the same years the number of local branches doubled from 100 to 200. The year 1902 saw the establishment of two Zionist institutions whose influence reached far beyond the borders of Germany: the Zionist weekly **Juedische Rundschau* and the publishing house *Juedischer Verlag. Special importance is attached to the Zionist territorial conference of 1912 because it adopted a resolution obliging every Zionist "to include *aliyah* in the program of his life" or at least to connect his personal fate with that of the national home by means of economic interests.

The influence of the Zionist Federation of Germany was particularly strong during the 15 years in which the headquarters of the World Zionist Organization were in Germany: in Cologne during the presidency of David Wolffsohn (1905–11) and in Berlin during that of Otto Warburg (1911–20), all the more so as one of the chairmen of the ZVD, Arthur *Hantke, was a leading member of the Zionist Executive. It was largely due to the fact that the Zionist headquarters remained in Berlin during World War I, although some Executive members went abroad, and that German Zionists continued to hold key positions in the world movement, that German representatives in Turkey exerted their influence in favor of the *yishuv* and helped to mitigate its persecution. Leaders of German Zionism like Felix Rosenblueth (later Pinhas *Rosen, Israel's first minister of justice), Richard Lichtheim, and Kurt *Blumenfeld held highest office in the world movement even after its seat had been transferred to London.

During the Weimar Republic (1918–1933) the Zionists in Germany continued to be an elite rather than a mass movement. Shekel figures moved round 20,000, and it was only after the Nazis had seized power that the Zionistische Vereinigung in Deutschland reached its maximum membership of 35,000. It always embraced all Zionist parties – with the exception of the Revisionists, who seceded in 1932. When the ascent of the Nazis had conclusively proved the bankruptcy of assimilation, Zionism became the dominant force in German Jewry. The courageous and dignified article of the *Juedische Rundschau*, "Wear the Yellow Badge with Pride," by its editor Robert Weltsch, which was the Zionist reply to the anti-Jewish boycott of April 1, 1933, made Jewish history. The main efforts of the ZVD were now directed at the preparation and promotion of *aliyah* and *hakhsharah* (youth training). Through the *Haavarah, the transfer of Jewish assets to Palestine, some £6,000,000 were saved and infused into the economy of Ereẓ Israel to its great benefit. After the Nuremberg Laws in 1935 the ZVD was subjected to increasing restrictions and in 1938 was dissolved by the authorities.

Immediately after World War II a United Zionist Federation was established by the Displaced Persons. It was very active, but after most of the DPs had left, mainly for Israel, it was dissolved. In 1954 the Zionist Organization in Germany was established, against considerable opposition in the world movement, but when two delegates from Germany were admitted to the 24th Congress (1956), this federation, with its seat in Frankfurt, gained official recognition. Due to the small number of Jews in Germany and to other factors, the scope and quality of its activities fall necessarily short of those of the former ZVD, but it is doing useful work in particular in the fields of fundraising and public relations.

[Aharon Zwergbaum]

In Great Britain

There were many Jewish and non-Jewish forerunners of the Zionist idea and supporters of Jewish settlement in Palestine, as well as an active group of Ḥovevei Zion (see *Ḥibbat Zion), in Great Britain. Thus, political Zionism appeared on the British scene very early. It was in London that Theodor Herzl made his first Zionist speech (at the Maccabean Club in November 1895) and outlined his program in an article in the *Jewish Chronicle*, in January 1896, before the publication of *Der Judenstaat*. He was received with great reservations not only by the Jewish establishment, but even by some of the Ḥovevei Zion. On his next visit, in July 1896, he addressed a mass meeting in the East End and received an enthusiastic response. Among his first supporters and followers were the Sephardi Haham Moses *Gaster, the Hebrew teacher Ephraim Ish-Kishor, the already famous writer Israel Zangwill, and Jacob de *Haas, followed soon after by Joseph *Cowen, Leopold *Greenberg, and Leopold *Kessler. In March 1898 Ḥovevei Zion in Britain joined the Zionist movement mainly under the influence of Herbert *Bentwich and Albert *Goldsmid. As a consequence, the Second Zionist Congress (1898) was attended by 15 delegates from Britain, compared to eight at the First Congress. In January 1899 the English Zionist Federation was founded, with Sir Francis Abraham Montefiore, a grand-nephew of Sir Moses Montefiore, elected the first president of the Federation. Herzl, who from the beginning believed in British support for Zionism, registered the Jewish Colonial Trust as a British corporation (1899), and in 1900 convoked the Fourth Zionist Congress in London, the only Congress during his lifetime not held in Basle. "From here the Zionist idea will soon soar higher and higher," Herzl declared in his opening speech. Most British Zionists supported Herzl in the controversy over the Uganda Scheme, while Jacob K.

*Goldbloom, one of Herzl's first followers, led the opposition. The Zionist movement in Britain suffered a severe blow when Zangwill seceded, in 1905, and founded the Jewish Territorial Organization.

In 1904 Chaim Weizmann settled in England, having received a position at the University of Manchester, and soon gathered around him a group of devoted Zionists who later distinguished themselves in the British and world movement, notably Simon *Marks, Israel *Sieff, Harry *Sacher, and Leon *Simon. In 1914 Weizmann became vice president of the Zionist Federation (under Joseph Cowen as president). World War I opened new political perspectives. An advisory committee on Zionist political activity was formed, composed of Nahum Sokolow and Yeḥiel Tschlenow (members of the world Executive who had moved to London), Cowen, Weizmann, Gaster, and Bentwich. The Zionist Federation became an important factor in these activities. In 1915 it organized a petition demanding "the establishment of a publicly recognized and legally secured Home for the Jewish people in Palestine, as formulated by the Zionist Congress in Basle in 1897." The petition was signed by 77,000 adults out of a total Jewish population of about 300,000. In January 1917 Cowen resigned from the presidency of the Zionist Federation to make way for Weizmann.

In their struggle for British support for the Zionist goals, the leaders of the movement were enthusiastically supported by the federation and advised and supported by Zionists from abroad who spent the war years in London, like Aḥad Ha-Am and Vladimir Jabotinsky, as well as by some British Jews of high social standing, most notably Herbert Samuel and Lord Rothschild. Chief Rabbi Joseph Herman *Hertz came out as a supporter of Zionism, in remarkable contrast to his predecessor Herman Adler, who had denounced Zionism as a fantasy. Still, anti-Zionist sentiments were so strong in the Jewish establishment that the presidents of the Board of Deputies and of the Anglo-Jewish Association, D.L. Alexander and Claude Montefiore, respectively, publicly repudiated Zionist aims in the name of their organizations. The sharp protest by the followers and sympathizers of Zionism forced Alexander to resign. Lord Rothschild accepted the honorary presidency of the Zionist Federation and so became the addressee of the Balfour Declaration. At the first Zionist World Conference after the war, held in London in 1920, Weizmann was elected president of the World Zionist Organization and the seat of the Executive and of the main instruments of the movement were formally established in London, which thus became the capital of world Zionism.

During the 30 years of British administration in Palestine, the activities of the Zionist movement in Great Britain were of utmost importance for the work and struggle of the Zionist Executive, by providing mass support in the political, financial, and cultural fields. Zionist influence within British Jewry increased. In 1929 the Board of Deputies joined the enlarged Jewish Agency for Palestine as a constituent body. In 1939 Selig *Brodetsky, a member of the Zionist Federation, was elected president of the Board of Deputies, and since then only Zionists or staunch supporters of Israel have served in that capacity. Zionist youth movements developed, and there was a significant *aliyah* from Britain. At the 21st Congress (in 1939) Great Britain was represented by 15 delegates, eight representing the Federation (General Zionists), three Po'alei Zion, three Mizrachi, and one the Jewish State Party. The Revisionists, who at that time had already seceded from the World Zionist Organization, also moved their headquarters to London, which was the seat of the Zionist-led European Executive of the World Jewish Congress, as well. In 1944 the Board of Deputies embraced the Biltmore Program by adopting a resolution calling for the establishment of a Jewish state in undivided Palestine, hopefully within the framework of the British Commonwealth. During the years of the struggle and resistance of the *yishuv* after World War II, preceding the independence of Israel, British Zionists took a courageous stand against their government.

After the establishment of the State of Israel, Great Britain naturally lost its central position in the Zionist world, but British Zionists – under the direction of Lavy Bakstansky – continued to distinguish themselves by their generous support of Israel and their increasing influence within the Jewish community of Great Britain. The achievement of raising £11,000,000 in the Emergency Campaign of 1967 (as compared with £2,600,000 raised the year before), as well as the fact that within a few days about 10,000 volunteers for Israel enlisted, about 2,000 of whom actually arrived in Israel, is worthy of note. The most impressive achievement within the framework of the community is the establishment of a network of Zionist day schools since 1953. In 1969 ten schools were operating with an enrollment of over 5,000 pupils.

[Aharon Zwergbaum]

In Holland

The Zionist Federation was established in Holland in 1899 under the name of Nederlandse Zionistenbond. Among its founders was the young banker Jacobus H. Kann, who was a close collaborator of Theodor Herzl. The members of the organization were mainly middle-class intellectuals, and for about 30 years the Zionist movement of Holland was unsuccessful in attracting a wider following among the Jewish proletariat. The movement also encountered violent opposition from Orthodox circles. The chief rabbi of Amsterdam, J.Z. *Duenner, supported the Zionist movement from the start, and some of his close friends founded the Mizrachi movement, led by S. Ph. de Vries. But his colleagues and almost all of his disciples rejected Zionism, and in 1904 the Council of Chief Rabbis (which Duenner refused to join) forbade the Jews to join the Zionist movement. The Eighth Zionist Congress, which was held in The Hague, led to an awakening of the movement. An attempt to establish a Zionist youth movement during that period ended in failure, but the official Zionist organ. *De Joodse Wachter*, founded in 1905, which in time became a weekly, stood its ground.

In 1912 Nehemiah de *Lieme was elected president of the Nederlandse Zionistenbond, and S.A. van Vriesland (who was later to become treasurer of the World Zionist Organization) was elected its secretary. De Lieme consolidated the organization's special character by establishing several principles: the negation of any Zionist work for Diaspora Jewry (*"Gegenwartsarbeit"*); sound economic management in the upbuilding of Ereẓ Israel; the exemplary organization of the Zionist movement in the Diaspora. In Holland, the organization made the following demands: prohibition of the sale of the shekel for obtaining the right to vote at elections to the Zionist Congresses (therefore Holland's representation at all the Congresses fell below the organization's actual strength); membership to be registered personally (not through Zionist parties); insistence on Zionist principles in propaganda as well as fundraising for Ereẓ Israel. De Lieme exerted tremendous influence on his friends and followers, among them S. *Hoofien, later director of the Anglo-Palestine Bank in Palestine, Abel Herzberg, author and politician, and others. In 1914 the world headquarters of the Jewish National Fund were transferred to The Hague, and de Lieme headed the fund for seven years and formulated its principles. In 1920 he was elected to the Executive of the World Zionist Organization, but resigned when his principles were not accepted. After de Lieme's resignation, he returned to the leadership of the Nederlandse Zionistenbond and developed a stance of opposition to the Executive of the World Zionist Organization. Pereẓ (Fritz) *Bernstein also extended this opposition to the political line of Chaim Weizmann, and in his capacity of editor of *De Joodse Wachter* and later as president of the organization, he left his imprint on the movement. Only a small group of Dutch Zionists countered the de Lieme-Bernstein line, among them David Cohen and the Po'alei Zion, founded in 1933 by S. de Wolff. There was also a small Revisionist group, which would not gain much influence because of the anti-Weizmann stance of the whole Zionist Federation.

During World War I the arrival of refugees from Belgium (all of whom were Jews of East European origin) added an important element to the movement. The study of modern Hebrew developed and several newspapers included a Hebrew supplement. In 1917 an organization of Zionist youth groups, Joodse Jeugdfederatie, was established with the moral support of the Zionist leadership and under its aegis. The Jeugdfederatie encompassed many groups throughout the country and held independent activities (publications, lectures, conventions). After about ten years, it was headed by young people, mostly students, who had emerged from its own ranks.

The rise of antisemitism in Germany was a cause for much agitation in Holland, and the 30,000 German Jewish refugees who arrived in the country highlighted the problem. The influence of the Zionist movement increased, and although it had no more than 4,000 registered members, many beyond its ranks accepted the Zionist ideology. Anti-Jewish trends then began to grow in Holland and the local Zionist leadership was inclined to conceal the Jewish national character of Zionism. In opposition to this tendency, a trend calling itself "Radical Zionism," greatly influenced by Lion Nordheim, developed within the youth movements and among the students. It clashed sharply with the Zionist leadership, especially over the following points: the Joodse Jeugdfederatie demanded of its members complete identification with the Jewish people and public detachment from the Dutch nation; it stood for the safeguarding of Jewish national values and traditions and for Jewish education, thus opposing the prohibition of *"Gegenwartsarbeit"*; it propagated the ideal of *halutziyyut* (pioneering) among its members. The rift between the youth movement (which also encompassed religious and labor groups and commanded a membership of 2,000 in 40 branches) reached its climax in 1940. With the German invasion, however, it was decided to establish a joint leadership of all the Zionist organizations in Holland, and this body administered the affairs of the Nederlandse Zionistenbond until its dissolution.

Immediately after World War I, many *ḥalutzim* from Eastern Europe had arrived in Holland to complete their agricultural training with Dutch farmers. During the 1930s *ḥalutzim* also emerged from the ranks of the Joodse Jeugdfederatie. They established three organizations: Ḥevrat Olim (the adherents of Bernstein), Berit Ḥalutzim Datiyyim (religious) and He-Ḥalutz (composed mainly of *ḥalutzim* from other countries, including German refugees). As Holland was not considered to be a danger zone, not even by the World Zionist Organization, over 800 *ḥalutzim* were trapped there for many years. Many of them perished during the war, but 444 were saved, mainly due to the activity of the *Westerweel group. After World War II the Dutch Zionist movement was dominated mainly by the radical trend. Its slogan, which called for massive *aliyah*, led to considerable success. Out of the 25,000 Jews who survived in Holland, some 4,000 settled in Israel between 1948 and 1969, a higher percentage than from any other Western country. During this period most of the Zionist leadership itself migrated to Israel, and the Nederlandse Zionistenbond lost its central position within the remnant of Dutch Jewry. Zionist periodicals in Holland included, apart from *De Joodse Wachter, Tikvath Jisrael* (from 1917), monthly of the youth movement; *Mizrachie* (from 1932), monthly of the Mizrachi movement; and *Jaarboek van de Nederlandse Zionistische Studentenorganisatie* (since 1909).

[Jozeph Michman (Melkman)]

In Hungary

Two strong and opposing forces were influential among Hungarian Jewry from the 1840s: on the one hand a desire to assimilate linguistically and culturally into the Magyar nation, and on the other extreme religious conservatism. In addition, Ḥasidism exerted a substantial influence, particularly in the northern part of the country. These three phenomena were an obstacle to the proliferation of the Zionist idea at the end of the 19th century. Nonetheless, the difficult and extended struggle of the Zionists succeeded in spreading the Zionist idea among relatively small groups throughout the country.

During the period of the Ḥovevei Zion a number of enthusiastic supporters of this movement in Hungary maintained ties with other Ḥovevei Zion beyond the borders. However, even the fact that Theodor Herzl was a native of Budapest and was bound to Hungarian Jewry through familial ties did not facilitate the development of the Zionist movement in Hungary. On a number of occasions Herzl himself declared that Zionism would reach Hungary, but only later on.

In spite of strong opposition to Zionism in religious circles, some Orthodox Jews from Hungary participated in the founding of the world religious Zionist movement. Some Hungarian Jews also settled in Ereẓ Israel during the 19th century and became an important element in the old *yishuv*, but as a rule they bore no ties to Zionism. Representatives from Hungary participated in the First Zionist Congress (1897). One of them, János *Rónai, delivered a speech at the Congress and pointed to the normal condition of life of Hungarian Jewry, but he expressed the fear that this situation would deteriorate and predicted that Hungarian Jewry would then join the Zionist movement. Immediately after the Congress, Rónai, an attorney from Transylvania, began to engage in varied organizational activities, establishing branches of the Zionist movement, heading the national efforts at organizations, and being elected first chairman of the Hungarian Zionist Organization. In preparation for his appearance at the Congress, he wrote an ideological pamphlet in German entitled *Zionismus in Ungarn* (1897), in which he engaged the arguments of both the assimilationist and religious opposition. Another central figure was Samu Bettelheim, who was active in Bratislava. Bettelheim was a religious Zionist, and upon his initiative the first world conference of Mizrachi was convened in his city in 1904. The number of local Zionist groups began to increase, and at the Second Zionist Congress (1898) 32 branches of the Hungarian Zionist Federation were in existence.

In 1908 the Hungarian authorities became aware of the movement and prohibited collecting money for the Zionist funds. Local Zionists alerted the president of the World Zionist Organization, David Wolffsohn. He visited Budapest and was received by the minister of interior, Count Gyula Andrássy, who displayed understanding and even friendship toward the Zionist movement but explained to Wolffsohn that the problem of minorities was very disturbing in Hungary and he could not afford to allow the creation of yet another national minority, the Jewish nation. This approach continued to characterize the position of the Hungarian authorities vis-à-vis Zionism.

At the beginning of the 20th century, some of the students at the University of Budapest became Zionists. In 1903 they founded a society called Makkabea, which played a central role in the propagation of the Zionist idea in the capital and the provinces until World War II. The Zionist press was also established by the initiative of this society. The first Zionist organ was *Zsidó Néplap*, which was published from 1905 to 1907. In 1911 another organ, *Zsidó Szemle*, began to appear under the editorship of József Schőnfeld. These papers, however, did not succeed in penetrating into wider Jewish circles. A Jewish quarterly called *Múlt és Jövő* began appearing in 1911 under the editorship of Joseph *Patai. Although this literary and artistic periodical was not an official organ of Zionism, it clearly identified with the Jewish nationalist and Zionist trend and achieved great popularity (publication ceased during the Holocaust). Zionists were also active in the establishment of Jewish sports organizations that maintained ties with similar groups in Austria.

Feeble attempts were made at the beginning of the century to establish Po'alei Zion in Hungary, but the Jews among Hungarian Social Democrats opposed this idea. The Jewish Territorial Organization (ITO) also set up a branch in Hungary in 1912. Local Zionists became involved in a difficult struggle with the ITO, which was also supported by the non-Zionist Jewish press. In spite of all these difficulties, however, on the eve of World War I there were branches of the Hungarian Zionist Organization in many cities throughout Hungary, and 20 delegates from Hungary participated in the 11th Zionist Congress (1913).

During World War I many active Zionists were mobilized into the army, and some who were captured came into contact with Russian Jews and Zionists. These contacts proved to be very fruitful. During the last months of World War I and the period of the Russian Revolution, Zionists, and especially demobilized officers, organized into self-defense units and in a number of places overcame mob attacks on the Jews. The first short-lived Communist regime in Hungary (1919) displayed open hostility to Zionism, prohibited organizational activities, and forced the Zionist organ to close down for a period.

In the peace treaty that ended World War I, Hungary was divided up, and the Zionist activity in areas annexed to Romania, Czechoslovakia, Austria, and Yugoslavia began to develop independently of the Hungarian Zionist Organization, whose headquarters were in Budapest. Zionist activities continued in the limited area of Hungary, where one of the central problems was the extended struggle to acquire government authorization for the Zionist Organization. The leaders of the Neolog Jewish community also opposed the granting of such authorization, since they regarded Zionism as a breach of Hungarian patriotism. Legalization was finally achieved in 1927, with the Hungarian Zionists receiving strong political support from the Zionist Executive in London. The Pro-Palestine Association exerted influence among those Jews who did not formally join the Zionist Organization.

By the 16th Zionist Congress (1929) many youth movements had already been formed in Hungary, including He-Ḥalutz. A great step forward was the enlargement of the Jewish Agency and the seating of the Hungarian Zionist Joseph Patai, and the chief rabbi of Szeged, Immanuel Löw, who was considered a non-Zionist, on its General Council. In 1937, 17 local branches of the Zionist Organization and 3,600 members existed in Hungary. The number of youth movement members was also substantial. The year 1937 was the last before the cancellation of equal rights for Hungarian Jews (the Hungarian parliament had already begun deliberating the law to reduce their rights, which was passed in 1938). The first anti-Jewish law, the restrictions on Jewish economic activities, and the proximity of German Nazism – after Germany had annexed Austria – increased the interest of Hungarian Jewry in the Zionist movement. Zionist cultural activities expanded, especially those of the youth movements. The number of Jews who wished to go to Palestine, as well as the number of those who realized their desire, was on the rise.

Jewish refugees from Austria, Poland, and other places began arriving in Hungary, and aid was extended to them principally through the framework of the Zionist movement. Efforts to move refugees to Palestine through "illegal" channels were made under Zionist auspices, particularly through the youth movements. With the annexation of northern Transylvania to Hungary in 1940, a group of Transylvanian Zionist leaders experienced in public and political life arrived in Budapest. Among them were Rezsnő Rudolf *Kasztner and the newspaper editor Ernő *Marton. The Zionist Socialist movement was further strengthened during this period, and Béla Dános, its leader, also took upon himself varied activities. Youth leaders arrived from Slovakia and other parts of former Czechoslovakia, bringing with them strong Zionist views. The movement in Hungary was then headed by Ottó *Komoly. Those who came from the annexed provinces, as well as active Zionists who had fled from other countries, were aided by, and extended aid to, the rescue activities of the Zionist movement and to some degree the Aid and Rescue Committee set up for that purpose. The Aid and Rescue Committee established contact with Adolf *Eichmann to discuss rescue plans and sent Joel *Brand, one of the active Zionist Socialists, on his tragic mission. During World War II Hungarian Zionists were active mainly in rescue activities.

After World War II, in 1945, the Zionist Organization in Hungary was reconstituted. Zionist youth movements directed many young people to Ereẓ Israel. The new government displayed hostility toward the Zionist activities from the very start and tried gradually to liquidate the movement. In 1949 the Zionist Organization and all Zionist activities were formally prohibited. A number of trials, directed specifically against Zionists, were later held by the government, and in other trials, including that of László Rajk, some of the defendants were accused of "conspiring with Zionists." The 50-year history of the Zionist movement in Hungary thus came to an end.

In Italy

Because of the small number of Jews in Italy and the fact that they were largely assimilated, Zionism could penetrate only slowly and with difficulty and for years retained an exclusive character. Among the Jewish periodicals, the first to express Zionist ideas at the end of the 19th century was *Il Corriere Israelitico*, which was published in Italian but appeared in Trieste (then under Austrian rule). No Italian delegates were present at the First Zionist Congress in 1897. The Second Congress (1898) was attended by the rabbi of Naples, Joseph Sonnino, who was chosen as delegate without formal elections. He represented the first Zionist groups that had been formed in Italy in Ancona, Rome, Leghorn, Florence, and Naples. Also present at the Second Congress was Felice Ravenna, who was to become the head of Italian Zionism and was to remain its leader for many years, representing it at the Third Congress in 1899, together with two other delegates. It was only in 1901 that the Italian Zionist Federation was formed. Its conventions originally took place every two years in various towns. In 1901 the first Zionist periodical, *L'Idea Sionista*, was founded and survived for ten years; in 1908 the more penetrating *L'Eco Sionista d'Italia* appeared.

At that time Italian Zionism had no important political scope and was troubled by various controversies; its nature was mainly philanthropic. Due to the intervention of some of its exponents, however, Theodor Herzl was received in January 1904 by King Victor Emmanuel III and by Pope Pius X. On that occasion, Herzl had an interview with the Italian minister for foreign affairs and later sent him a written statement. From the beginning, the most active and penetrating Zionist writer and journalist was Dante *Lattes. After Herzl's death the movement experienced a period of decline, and the center of its activities was transferred to Florence, under the leadership of Alfonso *Pacifici. In 1916 the weekly *Israel* was founded there and remained the center of Zionist activity, although it carried no Zionist label.

Immediately after World War I an Italian Jew, naval captain Angelo Levi-Bianchini, was sent by the government as Italian military attaché to General Allenby's General Staff. Under the influence of Chaim Weizmann, he became an ardent Zionist. He was killed in a Bedouin ambush in Syria in 1920. In 1922 Weizmann went to Italy and made his first close contact with Italian Jewry, defining it in his autobiography as follows: "The Italian Jewish community seemed to be a community of *sujets d'élite*. And the *élite* of that community were turning their eyes to Palestine." During the early years of Fascist rule, the relations between the Italian government and the Zionist Organization were so good that in 1928 the Comitato Italia-Palestina was formed to facilitate the contact between Italy and Palestine. Personalities of high standing in politics and literature were among the members of this committee. There had even been talk in 1931 of holding the 19th Zionist Congress at Abbazia (now Opatija, Croatia). The Zionist Revisionist movement was also in touch with the Italian government. Its leader, Leone *Carpi in Milan, published the periodical *L'Idea Sionistica*. The Revisionists founded a naval school at Civitavecchia for the world Betar movement that was several times visited by Vladimir Jabotinsky.

Although the attitude of Mussolini's government became increasingly pro-Arab, Zionism remained active for some years. It maintained agricultural training centers (*hakhsharot*); encouraged contributions to the Zionist funds, which showed increases; replied firmly to controversies in newspapers; and regularly sent delegates to the Zionist Congresses. Following the introduction of the racial laws in 1938, the position of Italian Jewry rapidly deteriorated. The existing Jewish periodicals were ordered to stop publication, the Zionist organizations were dissolved, and Jewish life, with the exception of religious and charitable functions, had to be carried on in secret. This period marked the beginning of a considerable *aliyah* from Italy, whose first pioneers and standard-bearers had been Enzo and Ada *Sereni.

After the interval of World War II, marked by deportations and ruin, particularly during the German occupation, Jewish and Zionist life slowly revived in Italy. Immediately after World War II Italy became a center of widespread and feverish underground activities in the organization of "illegal" immigration of Jewish survivors from Central and Eastern Europe to Palestine (directed by Ada Sereni) and also of secret arms transports for the Haganah. Italian Zionist and communal leaders, among them Raffaele *Cantoni, played a major role in these operations. These facts, as well as the presence of the soldiers of the Jewish Brigade Group from Palestine, created a climate of deep identification of Italian Jewry with the struggle for Jewish independence in Palestine.

Numerous Zionist conventions took place in Italy from 1947 onward and *aliyah* increased considerably. Jewish education, e.g., the great Jewish school in Milan, became Hebrew and Israel-oriented. Italian Zionism, which is numerically still very small because of the limited size of the Jewish community, is now more politically conscious and has more cultural and personal ties with Israel than ever before.

[Giorgio Romano]

In Latin America

The Zionist movement in Latin America grew with the development of the continent's Jewish communities. In most countries Jewish communal and Zionist institutions collaborated from the start, and from the time of the struggle for independence and the establishment of the State of Israel the activities of the Zionist movement have expanded to continental proportions. The movement has sponsored such major continental gatherings as the first Zionist congress in Montevideo (1945); the second Zionist congress in Buenos Aires (1950); the first Jewish Latin American youth convention (Montevideo 1961); a conference convened after the Six-Day War that brought together 527 delegates from Argentina, Uruguay, Chile, Paraguay, and Peru (Nov. 1967); and a South American encounter for the new Zionist generations (Buenos Aires, April 1970).

Argentina. Zionist groups arose in Buenos Aires and in the interior simultaneously with the organization of the First Zionist Congress in Basle. The oldest group (established 1897) was Sion. The Dr. Theodor Herzl League was also influential for several years. As the movement grew, its activities were coordinated by a Federación (established 1904), a central institution which was an extension of the Herzl League. In 1908 it was replaced by Tifereth Zion. The movement's leadership developed within the framework of the Federación Sionista Argentina (established 1913), whose first leaders were Jacobo Joselevich, Nathan Gezang, and Solomon Liebeshutz.

During the early stages of its development, the movement did not tend toward internal political polarization. There were, however, lesser organizations which espoused particular ideological trends: Ḥerut, Socialist Territorialists (established 1905); SS, Socialist Zionists (established 1906); and a Borochovist group, Po'alei Zion (est. 1909), and Ẓe'irei Zion (1918). The two last groups united in 1932 to form Po'alei Zion Ẓe'irei Zion and its periodical *Di Naye Tzait*, established 1918, still exists. The other major local party is the General Zionists, whose official publication is *El Estado Judío*. Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir, particularly active after World War II, publishes the *Nueva Sion* (established 1947). The Revisionist party (established 1930), which increased its organizational cadres during the struggle of the *yishuv* against the British administration in Palestine, puts out *La idea Sionista*. Mizrachi was established in 1940 on the foundations of previously organized smaller groups.

These parties have sponsored the creation of youth movements which have made significant contributions in the areas of Jewish education and *aliyah*. Women's organizations of each party, as well as WIZO, are also active. The Consejo Central Sionista (established 1948), in which all local Zionist institutions are represented, arose from the reorganization of the Zionist parties and the creation of a Comisión Coordinadora (established 1940). As of 1951 it has undertaken functions previously carried out by the Jewish Agency (established 1937, for Argentina and Latin America). Delegates from Argentina have attended Zionist Congresses since 1925; their presence in previous years had been sporadic. The Zionist Organization of Argentina became one of the central organizations of Argentine Jewry.

Brazil. The first Zionist organizations, Tifereth Zion and Ahavath Zion (1916–17) sprang up in São Paolo and Rio de Janeiro. Smaller centers were also established in the northern provinces. With the founding of the Zionist Organization (1921), a degree of coordination was attained, including collaboration between Ashkenazim and Sephardim. During World War II, when Brazil imposed legislation restricting the internal development of national minorities, the Zionist movement was officially closed down (1938), but it nevertheless continued its activities on a limited scale until 1945, when its legal status was renewed. The reorganized Zionist political parties coordinated into the United Zionist Organization (established 1945). The most influential of these parties were Mapai (organized in the 1920s), General Zionists (since 1947), and the Revisionists. The Keren Hayesod was reorganized in 1946.

The movement encountered difficulties which derived from the complex internal organization of the Jewish community; local autonomous trends and a division according to countries of origin interfered with its collaboration with a centralized communal organization. Nevertheless, communal institutions in the state of São Paolo consolidated their activities with the Zionist Organization in support of the Jewish state and to aid European Jewry. The assimilation of Jewish sectors into Brazilian society, a growing manifestation during and subsequent to World War II, was a contributing factor to the limited influence of the movement during those years. There has been an upswing in the local Zionist movement since the 1950s, particularly after the Six-Day War (1967).

Colombia. The communal life of this small Jewish community, composed of Sephardim who emigrated from Palestine during the crisis years of the 1920s, German-speaking Ashkenazi immigrants arriving since World War I, and refugees from Nazi persecution, was organized with difficulty. The Zionist movement also had a slow beginning due to the restrictive measures adopted by the authorities to prevent the formation of "ethnic islands." The Federación Sionista, together with the Comité Central (established 1936), adopted measures against antisemitism and racial discrimination.

Ecuador and Paraguay. The respective organizations of Ecuador and Paraguay enjoy a limited membership, and they work together with communal institutions. Paraguay, whose minute Jewish population is preponderantly pro-Zionist, has seen an increase in activities in the wake of the Six-Day War.

Chile. Chile's flourishing Jewish community has attained a strong internal organization in which the Zionist movement wields authority and influence. The earliest Zionist initiatives were sporadic. The first stable group was formed in 1911 by members maintaining contact with the Argentinean Zionist movement. An influential figure during this early period was Mauricio Baltiansky. From the first Zionist convention in 1919, the movement became more firmly established. The major blocs were Po'alei Zion (established 1916) and the General Zionist Party (1947). Since the 1930s all Zionist parties and factions have increasingly polarized within the local movement. These include the Pro-Palestine Labor League (1931), the Revisionists (1932), and Mizrachi. Smaller groups such as the Folksfarband and the Grupo Hebraista formed the opposition. Active pioneer organizations are Ivriah (1930), Betar (1933), Bnei Akiva (1940), Kadimah (1944) – from which Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir grew – Deror-He-Ḥalutz, and Iḥud ha-No'ar ha-Ḥalutzi (1950) of the Po'alei Zion Hitaḥadut. Zionist women's organizations are WIZO (1926) and Pioneer Women (1949).

The firmly organized Zionist Federation of Chile (established 1919) incorporates all political and Zionist organizations, the United Jewish Appeal, and every institution which, if not specifically Zionist, nonetheless identifies with the movement's objectives. Together with the Jewish representative body, the Comité Representativo, it engages in nationwide Jewish education, is involved with cultural activities, and participates in the Central Committee for Jewish Education (established 1946). It sponsors the Instituto Chileno-Israelita de Cultura (established 1950), which is associated with the Comisión de Cooperación Intelectual of the University of Chile. It has also carried out an intensive campaign of political explanation within non-Jewish circles, particularly since World War II and the creation of the State of Israel.

Peru. The Zionist movement in Peru, established at the end of World War I, encountered initial resistance on the part of the Bund and other left-wing groups in the communal institutions and in the Jewish press. After its establishment (1925), the Zionist Federation collaborated closely with the Unión Israelita del Peru, an Ashkenazi community functioning since 1924, and with the Sociedad de Sociedades (1942), representative of the community. Together with the latter, the Zionist Federation sponsors the León Pinelo school (inaugurated 1946). Jewish public opinion in Peru today is preponderantly pro-Zionist. Jewish university students are organized in the Centro Universitario Peruano-Israelita (established 1960–61), which was reorganized in 1969 as the Movimiento Universitario Peruano Israelita. An independent youth group, Kinneret (est. 1962), sponsors immigration to Israel and local communal activities. The Zionist Federation has collaborated with the Comité Pro-Palestina (1945) and works with the Instituto Cultural Peru-Israel.

Mexico. Despite the divergences between Zionists and sectors identified with the non-Zionist left, the Zionist movement exerted increasing influence from the 1920s onward. Both blocs collaborated in certain communal activities, particularly those pertaining to education. Prior to institutional Zionist organization, activities were sporadic (i.e., on behalf of the Balfour Declaration (1917), a Keren Hayesod campaign (1923), etc.). The first organized group was the Po'alei Zion (1923), which published the first Yiddish publication, *Unzer Vort*. Groups with divergent leanings and bereft of specific partisan character collaborated in the Federación Sionista (1925), which later became affiliated with General Zionism. Fragmentation into specific parties and Zionist institutions – according to countries of origin or youth and women's sectors – began during the years immediately preceding World War II: Liga Pro-Palestina Obrera (1934), Pioneras (1935), Revisionists (end of the decade), Organización Sionista Sefardí (1936, functioning jointly with the Sephardi community), WIZO (1938), Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir – the first pioneer organization (1940) – Mizrachi (1942), Betar (1946), Bnei Akiva (1946), Ha-No'ar ha-Ẓioni (1948), Habonim (1948), Mapam (1948). The youth organizations centralized their activities in the Federación Juvenil Sionista (1943). Each of the trends had its own publication: *Dos Wort* (1947, Po'alei Zion), *Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir* (1942), *La Voz Sionista* (1948, General Zionists), *Unidad Juvenil* (Po'alei Zion youth), *Avangard* (1948, Mapam), *Unzer Tribune* and *El Heraldo* (Revisionists), *Mizrachi Leben* (religious). The overall organized movement formed the Federación Sionista de Méjico (established 1950), which has since undertaken central leadership tasks, including those of a local communal nature. An index of the movement's scope are the following figures: approximately 400 organized institutions cooperated in the Emergency Palestine Committee of

1946; in 1954 90% of the Jewish population considered itself Zionist, 8% non-Zionist, and 2% anti-Zionist. The Federación collaborates with the Comité Central Israelita, a representative communal institution, and with the Instituto de Relaciones Culturales Méjico-Israel.

Uruguay. This community of strong Zionist leanings had evolved from groups which have collaborated since the earliest stages of their development. In the first group, Agudath Zion, Israel Tschlenow (1914) brought together Zionists of no particular political leanings. The Sephardim founded the "Dr. Herzl" group in 1918; Po'alei Zion was established in 1917. Various trends took shape during the 1930s, and the movement expanded. All the Zionist parties and their pioneer movements and women's institutions are locally represented. The Organización Sionista Territorial, which encompasses the Federación Juvenil Sionista, cooperates closely with the Comité Central Israelita, a representative communal institution. It also collaborated with the Comité Uruguayo Pro-Palestina (1940) and later with the Comité Cultural Uruguay-Israel.

Venezuela. The Zionist Organization has been the most active and influential institution of this small community since its reorganization in 1949. It works together with the Ashkenazi and Sephardi sectors, as well as with B'nai B'rith and the Jewish National Fund. Despite their limited number, the following youth movements also operate: Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir, Bnei Akiva, Unión de Jovenes Hebreos (est. 1955), which form the Federación Universitaria Sionista Sudamericana. WIZO maintains branches in the capital and in the interior of the country. Affiliation with the Federación can also be individual. It collaborates with the Instituto Cultural Venezuela-Israel.

Central America. Despite their small size, the Jewish communities of Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua, Costa Rica, El Salvador, and Panama have organized Zionist institutions. In El Salvador they have functioned since 1946 and enjoy the cooperation of non-Jewish intellectuals and government figures. In Panama and Costa Rica, Zionist activities have found support among the political non-Jewish personalities who have also sponsored relations with the State of Israel. The Zionist movement in the region has increased its activities since 1965 in the wake of the formation of the Federación de Comunidades de America Central, in which the Zionist Organization is also represented.

[Rosa Perla Raicher]

In North African and Asian Countries

The attachment of Oriental Jewry to Ereẓ Israel was a messianic-religious one, expressed in prayers and aspirations and at times in going to Ereẓ Israel to die and be buried there. Until the 1880s migration to Ereẓ Israel was an individual matter and was not undertaken by organized groups.

Organizations. In the late 19th century the European Zionist movement attracted followers and sympathizers in all the Oriental countries, with the exception of remote *Yemen. The first African and Asian countries in which Zionist movements were founded were *Algeria, *Tunisia, and *Egypt. As early as 1898 communities from these three countries sent two delegates to the Second Zionist Congress, convened at Basle. Later on, Zionist organizations were established in *Iraq, China (Shanghai), Turkey, and *Morocco and afterward in *Libya, *Syria, *India, and Singapore. At first groups were set up to read Zionist journals and literature from Europe. Later on, organizations were founded, sometimes several in the same city. Most of these groups were not registered officially, either because registration was not required by law or because Zionist organizations were not permitted, such as in the Ottoman Empire. From the late 19th century to the 1930s these organizations had a limited membership. The few active members devoted most of their time to Zionist fundraising, and not enough attention was given to strengthening Hebrew and Zionist education.

After World War I, though in some places only after the 1930s, an important change took place in the development of Zionist organizations in Oriental countries. Zionist youth movements were established and directed by *sheliḥim* (emissaries) from Ereẓ Israel, for the most part independent of the adult Zionist organizations. The youth movements were generally more successful than the adult organizations for several reasons; they were organized and run by young people who were sent especially for this task and devoted all their time to it; the emissaries were not interested in collecting funds, but engaged in Hebrew and Zionist education; and they even dared to establish underground organizations when Zionist activities were prohibited. When necessary (in Iraq, Egypt, and Libya), the emissaries also established paramilitary underground self-defense organizations in which hundreds of young Jews were trained in the use of weapons in case of anti-Jewish outbursts.

In 1970 when most of the African and Asian Jewish communities had ceased to exist, Zionist organizations survived only in *Iran and in Turkey, where young people are active in Hebrew and Zionist education.

Financial Contributions. Large sums were contributed to the Jewish National Fund by Iraqi and Shanghai Jewry only in the early 1920s. However, most of the money contributed to the JNF between 1920 and 1923 (£36,500 out of a total of £38,470) was given by a Jew who wished to commemorate his brother, and his contribution enabled the establishment of the moshav Kefar Yeḥezkel in the Jezreel Valley. The rest of Iraqi Jewry contributed only £1,970 during that time. Shanghai Jewry contributed over £21,000 from 1911 to 1926, a rather large sum for a Jewish community in that area.

The contributions to the Keren Hayesod were not large, and the number of shekels (i.e., the dues paid for membership in the World Zionist Organization) acquired by the members of these communities was small. During the 1940s a relatively large number of shekels were acquired in the North African

Table 1: Shekels in Muslim and Asiatic Countries, 1922–50

	1922–33	1946	1949–50
Tunisia	7,857	13,296	32,202
Morocco	5,602	11,982	58,339
Algeria		8,100	26,652
Syria, Turkey, Iran	4,302	4,536	20,613
Iraq	4,557		
Egypt	6,724	7,541	–
Libya	?	1,963	7,000
Other Asiatic countries	?	4,325	2,574
Total	30,000	51,743	147,380

and non-Arabic countries in Asia, as shown in Table 1: Shekels in Muslim and Asiatic Countries, 1922–50.

From 1951 fewer shekels were acquired by Jews in the Eastern countries in the wake of the mass *aliyah*. The weakness of Zionist activity in these countries may be explained by the lack of strong communal organizations. The wealthy and the notables in the community were not attracted to Zionism. As the authorities in several Arab countries prohibited Zionist activity, there was no choice but to establish underground organizations. Indeed, it was impossible to conduct either oral or written Zionist education and propaganda. Therefore, the fundraising campaigns also suffered.

Aliyah. Jewish migration to Israel was always large. There are no data, however, as to the number of immigrants prior to World War I. They may be estimated according to those who remained in Palestine and were counted in the census conducted in the State of Israel in November 1948. In that census 462,567 Jews were registered as born abroad. They are divided according to periods of immigration in Table 2: Jews in Israel Born Abroad.

The number of immigrants is actually larger, as Table: Jews in Israel Born Abroad does not include those who died or left prior to 1948. One may assume that the First and Second Aliyah from Asia and North Africa numbered about 6,000; from 1919 to 1938, about 38,000; from 1939 to May 1948, about 25,000. About 33% of Yemenite Jewry, 27% of Turkish Jewry, and 6–8% of Egyptian, Iraqi, and Persian Jewry migrated to Palestine in 1919–48.

By 1971 only several thousand Jews remained in North Africa, out of a community of 500,000. The immigration to Israel from Libya was minimal until the anti-Jewish riots in Tripoli between 1945 and 1948. Immediately after the State of Israel was established, most of Libyan Jewry migrated there, anticipating more disturbances and fearing life in independent Libya. The rich and the educated, who at first remained in Libya, left the country gradually, so that by June 1967 there were virtually no Jews left in Libya.

In 1971 there were only several thousand Jews in Syria. After 1950, however, only half of the Turkish Jews who emigrated went to Israel, the rest settling in other countries. Some of the Jews in Iran, mostly the poor, left for Israel. Persian Jews enjoyed full political and religious freedom until early 1979. In March 1950 the Iraqi authorities permitted Jews who wished to leave to do so, and 124,000 Jews migrated to Israel within two years. In late 1951 there remained only about 6,000 Jews, some of whom migrated later on.

After the establishment of the State of Israel, there was a relatively large emigration of Egyptian Jews (it seems that a substantial part of these Jews were born in Ereẓ Israel and were expelled by the Turks to Egypt during World War I). In 1956–57 the Egyptian authorities expelled thousands of Jews. Some came to Israel, but the majority, particularly the wealthy, emigrated to Europe and America.

Aliyah from Yemen was proportionately larger than that

Table 2: Jews in Israel Born Abroad According to Native Countries and Periods of Immigration

Countries	Until 1918	1918–38	1939–47	1948 and unknown date	Total no. of Immigrants
Yemen and Aden	1,800	8,510	5,676	316	16,302
Syria and Lebanon	459	4,243	5,850	237	10,789
Turkey	399	4,897	4,042	1,214	10,552
Iraq	470	5,272	2,983	277	9,002
Iran	563	2,833	423	97	3,916
The rest of Asia	38	1,451	645	717	2,851
Egypt	152	2,061	2,165	251	4,629
Morocco, Tunisia, and Algeria	468	506	534	3,823	5,331
Libya	7	297	439	507	1,250
Asia and North Africa	4,356	30,070	22,757	7,439	64,622
Rest of Africa excluding South Africa	10	170	164	67	411
Soviet Asia	428	3,025	378	261	4,092
Europe, America, South Africa, and Oceania	7,478	211,424	96,334	76,347	391,583
Unknown	56	576	362	665	1,659
Total	12,328	245,265	119,995	84,779	462,367

of other Oriental communities. In the 70 years from 1881 to 1951, Yemenite Jewry exploited every opportunity to settle in Ereẓ Israel.

[Haim J. Cohen]

In Poland

1897–1918. Prior to the restoration of Polish statehood, Poland's territory remained divided into three sections: one under the administration of Germany, the second of czarist Russia, and the third of the Austrian monarchy. In the German part of former Poland, the very limited Jewish population (no more than around 50,000 at the beginning of the century) was thoroughly assimilated into German culture and displayed little interest in Jewish affairs in general and in Zionism in particular. However, two prominent forerunners of Zionism, Ẓevi Hirsch Kalischer and Elijah Gutmacher, both lived in that part of Poland and published their pamphlets calling for redemption of Zion, but their appeal had no influence upon the community; neither did the first conference of the Ḥovevei Zion movement, which took place in 1884 in the German part of Poland.

The development of Zionism was also slow among the great masses of the Jewish population in the Polish territories of czarist Russia, around 2,000,000 people at that time. A distinction should be drawn between the province of Congress Poland and other parts of the territory. In Congress Poland, which was one of the richest and economically most developed parts of the Russian Empire, the local Jewish population was somewhat influenced by the Polish assimilationist ideology and, on the other hand, the anti-Zionist Orthodoxy. It therefore had to be won over to Zionism with considerable effort. The standard-bearers of Zionism in that part of the country were the so-called "Litvaks," i.e., immigrants who came from Lithuania and the neighboring provinces, who were strongly imbued with Jewish nationalism and ideology and influenced other groups of the Jewish population. Quite different was the situation in other provinces, whose Jewish population was deeply rooted in Judaism, which was much nearer to the idea of Jewish nationalism and adopted the Zionist program with enthusiasm.

These initial differences disappeared in the course of time, however, as the movement conquered growing parts of the Jewish population. It was not particularly disturbed by the authorities, who were inclined to see in Zionism a means of reducing the danger of revolutionary propaganda among the Jews, or by the Polish population, which initially favored the idea of a movement likely to enlarge the scope of Jewish emigration. This situation changed considerably, however, when the Zionist movement proclaimed as a part of its immediate aims the struggle for civic and national rights for the Jewish population, as formulated in the *Helsingfors Program of 1906. The reaction of the authorities was a marked reduction in tolerance toward Zionist activities and antisemitism spread among the Polish population, leading even to an economic boycott of the Jews, which continued until the outbreak of World War I.

The number of adherents of the Zionist movement and the scope of its influence nevertheless grew from year to year. At the beginning the membership was limited mainly to people from the middle class, but the movement subsequently won many adherents among the workers. Although a few groups broke away and joined the territorialist *Zionist Socialist Workers' Party (SS) or the party supporting Jewish autonomism (the "Sejmists," see *Jewish Socialist Workers' Party), the others remained concentrated around the Po'alei Zion Party and tried to combine their socialist ideology with the Zionist program. On the other hand, many groups of Orthodox Jewry had already supported the Ḥovevei Zion, joined the Zionist movement, and decided to establish a special faction of religious Zionists, the Mizrachi. The various groups cooperated closely, although the Po'alei Zion, influenced by the Russian branch with its strong proletarian class character, soon tended to proclaim its organizational independence, stressing the special interests of the Jewish workers.

The situation differed in many respects in Galicia, the Polish part of the Austrian monarchy. The roots of Jewish nationalism and Zionism were much deeper there than in Congress Poland. Not only did the movement of Enlightenment, which considered Jewish nationalism self-evident and whose most prominent representatives lived in Galicia, leave its deep impression on the area, but the organized Zionist movement appeared there years before the First Zionist Congress (1897). The Zionist movement drew its supporters mainly from among the university students and the large groups of the Jewish intelligentsia. It is not surprising, therefore, that Herzl's call was responded to by the masses of the Jewish population, despite the opposition of rather small, if vociferous, groups of assimilationists, the extreme adherents of Ḥasidism, and the unfriendly attitude of the authorities, who were opposed to Jewish nationalism. This opposition grew much stronger when the Galician Zionists conducted a vigorous and relatively successful struggle for civic and national rights for the Jews, whose platform was formulated at the Cracow Conference (1906). In the first election to the Austrian parliament, after universal suffrage had been granted (1907), the Zionists acquired three seats in Galicia. One after another, various groups of the population joined the movement: members of the middle class, considerable groups of wage earners (especially the commercial employees), university and high school students, etc. It was an authentic popular movement, trying simultaneously to satisfy both the cultural needs of the population, through a network of Hebrew schools, and the economic needs, especially by establishment of credit unions in the poor and neglected province of the Hapsburg monarchy. Adolf *Stand and Osias *Thon were the prominent leaders of Galician Zionism in that period.

In Independent Poland. The Zionist movement suffered strongly during World War I, especially in the province of Galicia, which was occupied for almost a year by the Russian army. After the war it was faced with a new situation and new tasks in the reconstituted Polish republic. It emerged as the strongest force in Jewish public life, challenged only by the anti-Zionist Orthodoxy, the Socialist Bund, and for a certain period also the movement of "Folkists" (see *Folksspartei). At the same time, it was faced with the task of merging into one the movement throughout the various parts of the country now united within the borders of the reconstituted Polish state. This task, however, could be accomplished only to a very limited degree. The religious and socialist factions within the Zionist movement developed into full-fledged parties, independent of the parent body, which thus became one party among several others. The religious Mizrachi party consolidated quickly and established its countrywide organization irrespective of the former territorial division. The labor movement, on the other hand, suffered for years from extreme differentiation and many splits, until at the beginning of the 1930s the main groups united in the Po'alei Zion Hitaḥadut. The Left Po'alei Zion remained aloof and outside the World Zionist Organization, which it joined only shortly before World War II. At the other extreme, the Revisionist Party developed, from the second half of the 1920s, to considerable strength. When the Revisionists broke away from the World Zionist Organization in 1935, a minority group split away from them, constituting the Jewish State Party, which remained within the ranks of the World Zionist Organization. Some of these parties were organized on a national basis, comprising the whole of Poland, whereas others, although ideologically united, stuck to the previous territorial division. Only the center party of General Zionists was divided both on territorial and ideological grounds. In Congress Poland they split into the progressive, pro-labor Al ha-Mishmar faction, left by Yiẓḥak *Gruenbaum, and the outspokenly middle-class Et Livnot faction, led by Leon Levite; in Galicia they were divided in the West Galician Federation, under the leadership of Osias Thon and later of Ignacy *Schwarzbart, and the East Galician Federation led by Leon *Reich, Fischel *Rotenstreich, and Emil Schmorak.

The process of internal disintegration and dissent frequently weakened the influence of the Zionist movement. This was especially felt in the field of national and local politics, the main bone of contention between the rival factions. Activities in this field were very pronounced, frequently taking first place in the program of various parties. The Zionist representation in the Polish Sejm grew considerably, especially in the first three parliaments, reaching its climax in the second Sejm with 32 Zionist deputies out of a total of 47 Jewish deputies. It fell considerably, however, in the following parliaments, with the progressing degeneration of democracy in the life of the country, but it still continued to lead the struggle against the ever-growing wave of antisemitism. In the municipalities and the administration of the Jewish communities, however, Zionist influence was overshadowed by that of other political groups, especially the Bund and various Orthodox groups on the right.

In spite of external difficulties and internal frictions, Zionist activities continued with increasing intensity throughout the entire period, securing for Polish Zionism the first place within the world movement, especially in the field of *aliyah* to Ereẓ Israel, and strongly influenced all facets of Jewish life in the country. Polish Jewry was strongly represented in the waves of migration to Palestine between the two world wars, both by worker pioneers and the middle class. The membership of the various pioneering youth movements exceeded 100,000 in the 1930s, with 20,000 in active training (*hakhsharah*) for future life in Ereẓ Israel. Not all of them succeeded in emigrating, as the number of immigration certificates was severely limited by the Mandatory government of Palestine. As a consequence, Polish Jewish youth was also strongly represented in the "illegal" immigration, especially in the later 1930s. Jewish life in Poland during that period can hardly be imagined without *aliyah* as its focal point.

No less felt was the influence of Zionism on cultural life in all its forms. Jewish literature, press, and artistic life all remained under the strongest influence of Zionist ideology. One of the most outstanding fields of activity was education. Of the 250,000 students in Jewish educational institutions in Poland in the 1930s, those in institutions under predominant Zionist influence took first place. This was especially true for the network of the *Tarbut schools (around 40,000 students), with Hebrew as language of instruction, but other networks, such as those under the influence of the Mizrachi and of the Po'alei Zion, as well as the officially nonpartisan organization of Jewish secondary schools in Poland, also actually remained under the overwhelming influence of Zionism, despite assimilationist pressures from the Polish authorities. Zionist influence was also dominant in the press. In the period before World War I special importance may be attributed to the Hebrew daily **Ha-Ẓefirah*, the Yiddish periodicals *Dos Yidishe Vort* and *Tagblat*, and the Polish periodical *Wschód*. In the period between the two world wars virtually all Jewish dailies and periodicals, with the exception of those published by Bund or by Agudat Israel, were either openly Zionist or influenced by Zionist ideology, including the leading Yiddish dailies *Haynt* and *Moment*, the dailies in Polish *Nasz Przegląd, Nowy Dziennik*, and *Chwila*, and many weeklies and other periodicals, issued by various Zionist parties and youth movements.

There was hardly any other Jewish community in the world before World War II, with the possible exception of the relatively small communities of the Baltic countries and Bessarabia, in which the influence of Zionism was so strongly felt. All this broke down with the destruction of Jewish life in Poland during World War II. Various Zionist groups, especially groups of Zionist youth, tried for a period to continue their activities underground. They took the lead in the clandestine struggle against the Nazi occupation and in the ghetto uprisings. Zionists who succeeded in escaping from Poland established centers for rescue beyond the border, the most important of them in Vilna until its annexation to the Soviet

Union and later the German invasion of the U.S.S.R. in 1941. Zionist refugees participated actively in the political and rescue activities of various Jewish bodies, notably the World Jewish Congress. Ignacy Schwarzbart in his capacity as member of the Polish parliament in exile represented the Jewish minority before the Polish government in London. The second representative was a non-Zionist, member of the Socialist "Bund" party. Emil Sommerstein in his capacity as chairman of the Jewish Central Committee represented the Jews before the Polish authorities established in the Soviet Union. But all these efforts could not arrest the course of events: the extermination of the great Jewish community of Poland. After the war, surviving Zionists, and especially Zionist youth movements, established escape routes to and from Poland (see *Beriḥah*), assembled children who had been hidden in monasteries and in gentiles' homes, and reorganized Jewish education. But after a short period of transition all Zionist activity within Poland was finally liquidated by the Communist regime.

[Aryeh Tartakower]

In Romania

The Jews from the principalities of Moldavia and Walachia had rooted religious ties with Ereẓ Israel. In Jerusalem, Tiberias, Safed, and Hebron there were groups of Jews who had emigrated from these two Romanian principalities, whence they received aid. In the middle of the 19th century the first modern pre-Zionist ideas arose in Romania. Israel Benjamin, known as Benjamin the Second, a native of Fălticeni (Moldavia), advocated Jewish agricultural settlement in Ereẓ Israel in his travel memoirs, which were published in 1856.

The first pre-Zionist groups were established starting in 1873, with the trend for the participants to emigrate to Ereẓ Israel and dedicate themselves to agriculture. The initiative began that year from Nicoresti with a group of 100 families, joined by other families from Tecuci, Ivesti, Galati, Piatra Neamt, Bacau, and Jassy. In 1875 a group from Moinesti sent a delegate, David Schub, to Ereẓ Israel to study the possibilities of settlement. The war between Russia and Turkey in 1877 hindered the continuation of that movement.

The Yishuv Erez Israel Movement. In 1880 Eleazar Rokeaḥ arrived in Romania from Ereẓ Israel to collect funds for an agricultural settlement, Gei Oni, near Safed. He also unexpectedly found candidates for *aliyah* partly because of the difficult living conditions of the Jewish population after the Congress of Berlin (1878). One year after Rokeaḥ's mission, groups that called themselves Ḥevrat Yishuv Ereẓ Israel al yedei Avodat Adamah (Society to Settle Ereẓ Israel by Working the Land) existed in 30 Romanian towns. The members of these groups decided to emigrate with their families. The publisher and editor in chief of *Ha-Maggid*, David Gordon, suggested the creation of a central committee, and on Jan. 11–12, 1882, the first meeting of 32 branches from throughout the country took place in Focsani. The president of the meeting was Samuel *Pineles. It was decided that the first group of 100 families was to leave for Ereẓ Israel before Passover, and resolutions were adopted in order to subsidize the settlement. Among the leaders of the movement were R. Avner Kasvan, Karpel Lippe, the Hebrew writer Israel Teller, and others. The central committee was in Galati, and Pineles was secretary.

In February 1882 the Romanian parliament discussed the "creation of the Palestinian Kingdom," and Prime Minister I.C. Bratianu declared that the Romanian government would give its wholehearted support to this plan. In May 1882 the second meeting with delegates from 28 localities took place in Jassy, with the visit of Laurence Oliphant. The English gentile spoke at the meeting and promised financial aid from non-Jews. Meanwhile Pineles negotiated with the Turkish consul in Galati and, with the approval of the Turkish ambassador in Bucharest, obtained the assurance that Romanian Jews would be able to settle in Ereẓ Israel, except for the Jerusalem region, in groups of 50 to 100 families. At the same time a delegation sent from Bucharest to Constantinople was received by the sultan, the vizier, and the minister of the interior. As a result of these audiences, a decision favorable to the settlement of Romanian Jews was adopted at the meeting of the Turkish cabinet. The sultan, however, refrained from giving his own approval because of the events in Egypt.

The Beginnings of Settlement. While negotiations were taking place, from the spring of 1882, delegates left Romania for Ereẓ Israel in order to buy land there, and, from towns such as Moineşti, Bărlad, Bacău, Bucharest, Tulcea, dozens of families had already emigrated. The group from Moineşti had sent their own delegate, David Schub, who in the summer of that year had bought the lands at Gei Oni, where a previous settlement of Jews from Safed had failed. In August 1882 the first organized 39 families (228 persons), emigrated; the nucleus of this group was formed by those from Moineşti who founded the village of Rosh Pinnah. The central committee also purchased another 6,000 dunams, and Zikhron Ya'akov was founded with 386 settlers. The creation of these two colonies gave an impetus to the *aliyah*, and until the end of 1882 a total of 1,322 settlers had left Romania. In the summer of the same year a movement for agricultural training was started on estates leased by Jews. At the same time, a number of youth organizations held a joint meeting at Galaţi in December 1882 with delegates from 12 towns and founded Aẓilei Benei Israel. In April 1883 a second meeting of the youth organizations took place at which the integration with the Yishuv Ereẓ Israel movement was decided upon. On Sept. 17, 1883, the third meeting of the Yishuv Ereẓ Israel movement took place in Galaţi, and it was decided that the administration of Zikhron Ya'akov would be handed over to Baron Edmond de Rothschild, since the central committee in Romania could not provide sufficiently for the economic needs of the village. In November 1883 Rosh Pinnah, which was in the same situation, also passed to Rothschild's administration. The 60 branches of the movement were dissolved one by one. The central committee ceased its activity in 1884. The pre-Zionist movement was resurrected again in Romania under the influence of the movement in Russia. Between 1890 and 1892, branches of Ḥovevei Zion were formed in some towns. By 1895 such branches existed in 31 towns and two conferences had been held. A central committee was elected under the management of Pineles, and once again groups of potential settlers organized. A plot of 11,000 dunams was acquired in Brustras and a group of 80 families from Jassy, together with another 16 families from Bulgaria, acquired another 18,000 dunams on the east side of the Jordan. Herzl's *Der Judenstaat* was published in 1896, and by the end of that year the first Romanian translation appeared in Botoșani. Pineles started to collect the signatures of those who wished to settle in Ereẓ Israel. Some 50,000 Romanian Jews signed the petition. Shortly before the First Zionist Congress in Basle (1897), the third meeting of Ḥovevei Zion took place in Galați, expressing support for Herzl's political Zionism. The First Zionist Congress was opened by a speech of the oldest delegate Karpel Lippe. Pineles was elected vice president of the Congress. During the fourth conference of Ḥovevei Zion in 1898, the Basle Program was unanimously accepted. The number of Zionist groups increased from 26 in 1897 to 136 in 1899.

The deadlock in which the World Zionist Movement found itself caused the number of active Romanian Zionist groups to decrease from 136 in 1899 to 56 in 1911. An additional reason for the decline was the creation of the Union of Native Jews (UEP) in 1910. The Union, which dedicated itself to the fight for local Jewish emancipation, attracted the active participation of many Zionist leaders. But the younger generation of Zionists wanted a Jewish national emphasis within the movement for political emancipation. A group of young scholars, directed by Jacob Nacht, fought against the trend toward assimilation in the UEP by encouraging Jewish cultural activities, e.g., Romanian translations of Hebrew and Yiddish literature and the introduction of Hebrew as a living language in schools. In this spirit the weekly paper *Ha-Tikvah*, edited by Leon Gold, was published in Galați in 1914. It had a great influence on Jewish life in Romania and included among its contributors A.L. *Zissu, Mattathias Friedman, and J. Nacht, as well as almost all the more important Jewish writers of Romania.

Between the Two World Wars. In March 1919 the Zionist leadership of Galati published a program of Jewish demands to be presented at the Versailles peace negotiations. It demanded complete political, cultural, and religious autonomy for Jews as a national minority. Under the influence of the young Zionist leaders, the UEP rejected the attempts of the Romanian government to evade again the problem of Jewish citizenship by involved juridical proceedings, as was the case after the Congress of Berlin in 1878. The Jewish population followed the instructions of the UEP leaders and boycotted the government's equivocal laws on Jewish citizenship. Romanian Zionists, together with delegates from the UEP, were included in the Comité des Délégations Juives at the Versailles Peace Conference. After the Jews finally obtained collective naturalization in 1920 as a result of the Versailles peace treaty, there remained the problem of Jewish participation in elections and in the political life of the country. The UEP supported the idea of Jewish candidates. Therefore, in the next year, the UEP joined the Zionists in presenting a separate Jewish list. Because of fraudulent election procedures, not one Jewish deputy was elected. It was only in 1926 that the first Jewish national deputies entered parliament, but they were representatives of territories annexed by Romania after the war: Bessarabia, Bukovina, and Transylvania.

The Zionist Organization in the rest of Romania went on with its policy of neutrality in internal politics. In 1919, at a Zionist conference in Bucharest, it was decided to transfer the central headquarters from Galați to Bucharest and to draw the leadership more and more from the younger generation. In the new era after the Balfour Declaration, Zionism became a mass movement whose principal activity was the collection of funds. In 1924 the Zionist group Renașterea Noastră ("Our Revival") was created, many of whose members had belonged to the student association Hasmonaea. Later, Renașterea became affiliated with the radical Zionist faction. In 1930, as a result of Renașterea's initiative, the Jewish Party was created in Muntenia and Moldavia; it included Zionists, especially from the intellectual younger generation. Along with the Jewish-national deputies elected from the annexed territories, such as Michael Landau from Bessarabia, S. Singer and Mișu Weissman were elected to parliament from Muntenia and Moldavia in 1931 and 1932, respectively. At the same time such Zionist groups as Ẓe'irei Zion, Po'alei Zion, Mizrachi, and the Revisionists were formed. Zionist leadership had been drawn from the ranks of the General Zionists until 1930, when the first coalition of radicals and Ẓe'irei Zion was elected to the leadership. The Zionist youth movements remained organized along the traditional lines existing in the World Zionist Organization.

In 1920 Romania's Zionist Organization tried to create a school for teachers of Hebrew at Jassy, but it only functioned one year because the Romanian authorities refused to authorize it. In 1925 a *hakhsharah* farm to train *ḥalutzim* (pioneers for Palestine) was created in Jassy. Between the two world wars Zionist organizations functioned in 71 Romanian towns, and a central Zionist Council was established in Bucharest. WIZO, which had 5,000 members in its branches in 33 towns, set up 17 kindergartens in which the language of instruction was Hebrew. It also established the agricultural and housekeeping school Ayanot at Nes Ẓiyyonah in Palestine. On Mt. Carmel between 1922 and 1925, 3,500 dunams (875 acres) of land were acquired by a Romanian group and given the name Aḥuzah (actually Aḥuzat Herbert Samuel), on which some of its 1,000 members settled. Another Romanian society bought land in the Haifa Bay area.

The Zionist Press. During the interwar period, many Zionist magazines were issued in Romanian. Among the more important publications were: *Ştiri din lumea Evreiască* ("News from the Jewish World"), the official organ of the Zionist Organization; *Renaşterea Noastrã* ("Our Revival"), the organ of the radical group, which also expressed the point of view of the Jewish Party; *Drumuri Noi* ("New Roads"), first the Revisionist organ, then the organ of the Jewish State party; and *Tribuna Evreiască* ("The Jewish Platform"; Jassy). In addition, the monthly magazine *Hasmonaea*, organ of the Zionist students, was published regularly.

World War II Period. After the invasion of Poland in 1939, Romania became a transit route for *aliyah* from Eastern Europe. Britain, however, pressured the Romanian government to stop the flow of *aliyah* from and through the country. At the beginning of 1940 the collection of Zionist funds was forbidden, but it was authorized again on Feb. 26, 1940, under the condition that the Zionist leadership would not encourage emigration. In September 1940, however, the government of Ion *Antonescu, which approved of Jewish emigration, came to power and negotiations were held between Zionists and the government on emigration plans. The Zionist Organization continued to work even after December 1941, when all other Jewish organizations were dissolved. The Zionist Organization was dissolved only in August 1942, by the order of Gustav Richter, Eichmann's agent in Romania. However, the Zionist leadership and youth movements clandestinely continued their activities, while the semi-official organ of the German legation, *Bukarester Tageblatt*, carried on a defamatory campaign against the Zionists. The Romanian government continued to negotiate with the Zionists about emigration, and at the same time a Jewish underground, in which Zionist leaders also participated, was formed. From the beginning of 1939 until the very capitulation of Romania in August 1944, 31 ships with more than 13,000 emigrants, some of whom were refugees from Poland, Hungary, and Czechoslovakia, left from Romanian harbors. The Palestine Office of the Zionist Organization in Bucharest succeeded in continuing its activity in the guise of a travel agency. Detecting these underground activities, the Germans initiated the imprisonment of the leaders of the Zionist Organization and the youth movements in January and February of 1944. Diplomatic intervention, especially by the International Red Cross, obtained their release, however. Imminent German defeat and the approach of the Allies allowed A.L. Zissu, a Zionist leader, to obtain from Romanian ministers in June 1944 the authorization to create an emigration office which was to serve as a cover for the underground Zionist Executive. In order to report on the situation of Jews in Romania, the Zionist leaders maintained contact secretly with the Jewish Agency in Jerusalem during the whole period of underground activity.

Post-World War II Period. Soon after the cessation of hostilities in Romania in August 1944, the Zionist Organization resumed its legal activity and attracted many members because of the desire of most Jews to emigrate. The Zionist parties and youth organizations were reestablished, and Zionist weekly magazines began to appear. From 1944 to 1948 a Zionist publishing house, Bicurim, published about 80 volumes of translations from Hebrew literature and works of Zionist history and ideology. Although Britain continued to restrict Jewish migration to Palestine according to the White Paper of 1939, 30,000 Romanian Jews entered Palestine "illegally" before 1948. After World War II the Jewish Communists founded the Jewish Democratic Committee, in which at first the Zionist Socialists also participated. But the latter were eliminated after the creation of the State of Israel as the Jewish Democratic Committee started an anti-Zionist campaign. As a result of the pressure exerted by the Jewish Democratic Committee, the Zionist Organization and its constituent parties were forced to dissolve at the end of 1948. During the summer of 1950 the leaders of the Zionists and the Zionist youth movements were arrested, tried, and condemned to prison. Some were accused of spying and others of inciting against the Communist regime. Finally, in 1955, under a general political amnesty, the leaders were liberated. (Three of them died in prison and some others soon after their arrival in Israel.) From the end of 1949 until the end of 1952 112,652 Romanian Jews left for Israel. Then, for a period of ten years, emigration was effectively stopped, only to start again at various times since 1962. The Jewish Democratic Committee was dissolved in 1953. All in all, about three-quarters of the Romanian Jews who survived the Nazi terror went to Israel.

[Theodor Lavi]

In Russia

Theodor Herzl's activities engendered a revival among the Ḥovevei Zion movement in Russia, and large new groups joined the movement, which soon encompassed masses of people. The number of Zionist societies in Russia increased from 23 to 373 in 1897, the year of the First Zionist Congress. There were 877 societies by May 1899; 1,034 in 1900; and 1,572 in 1903–04. At the First Zionist Congress the Russian delegation accounted for one-third of all the delegates (66 out of 197), among them L. Motzkin, H. Schapira, M. Mandelstamm, V. Tiomkin, and M.M. Ussishkin, and four delegates from Russia were elected there to the Zionist General Council, each of them with a specific function. Y. *Bernstein-Cohen of Kishinev headed the Zionist center of correspondence in Russia (the so-called "Post Bureau"), Mandelstamm was responsible for financial matters. Rabbi S. Mohilever of Bialystok headed the center for cultural activities, and I. Jasinowski of Warsaw headed the center for Zionist literature. For all practical purposes the "Post Bureau" became the organizational center of the Zionist movement in Russia until before the Fifth Zionist Congress (Basle, 1901), when it was replaced by the office of information headed by V. Jacobson. The delegates divided the country into districts and held district conferences. In 1898, prior to the Second Zionist Congress (Basle, 1898), the majority of the first Russian Zionists convened in Warsaw consisting of 160 delegates from 93 cities and towns, among them 14 Orthodox rabbis, supported the demand that the practical settlement activity in Ereẓ Israel continue, as against the position of the "political" Zionists, who supported Herzl's concept that small-scale "infiltration" into the country might harm the prospects of achieving the Charter. Eventually a compromise decision was formulated. The demand of the rabbis at the Zionist Congress to create a rabbinic committee to supervise Zionist cultural work was rejected. Rabbi E.A. Rabinowich of Poltava and other rabbis left the movement, became its opponents, and later organized in Kovno, together with other ultra-Orthodox rabbis, Ha-Lishkah ha-Sheḥorah ("The Black Bureau"), which published books and pamphlets against the Zionist movement.

Among the Russian delegates at the Second Zionist Congress were Chaim Weizmann, Nahum Sokolow, and Shemaryahu Levin, who played increasingly dominant roles in the Zionist movement. At the Fourth Zionist Congress (London, 1900) Russian Zionists were represented by more than 200 delegates, and at the Fifth Congress (Basle, 1901) the *Democratic Faction, headed by Weizmann, M. Buber, Motzkin, and B. Feiwel, was established. It demanded a much greater emphasis on Jewish education and culture on the part of the Zionist Organization. They were opposed by J.J. *Reines and the Orthodox wing forming the Mizrachi movement, which opposed the anticipated secular character of Zionist cultural activity.

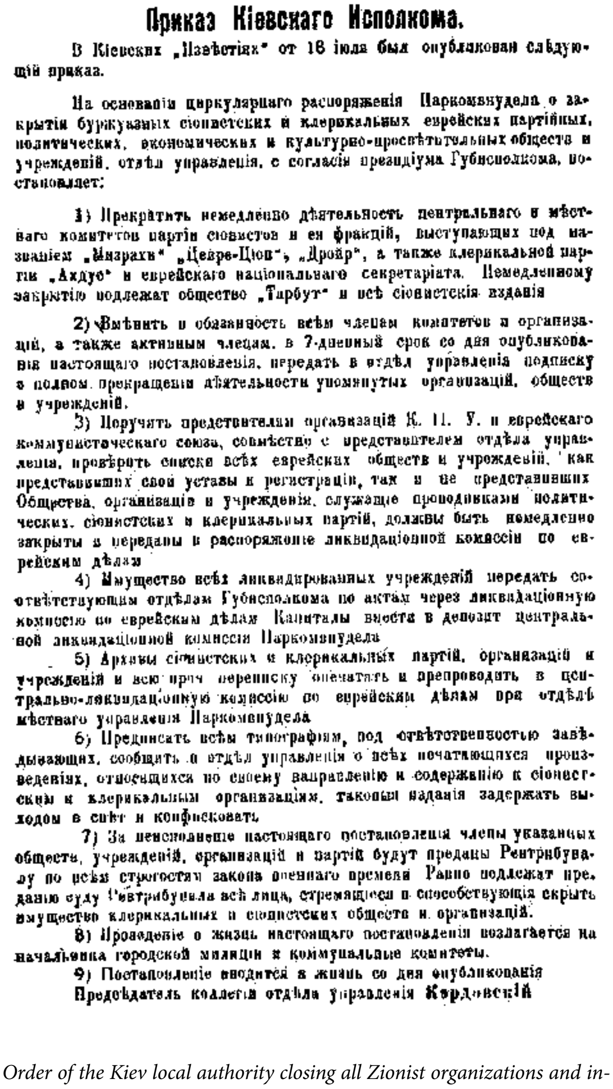

Приказ Кіевскаго Исполкома.

В Кіевских „Извѣстіях" от 18 іюля был опубликован слѣдующій приказ.

На основаніи циркулярнаго распоряженія Наркомвнудела о закрытіи буржуазных сіонистских и клерикальных еврейских партійных, политических, экономических и культурно-просвѣтительных обществ и учрежденій, отдѣл управленія, с согласія президіума Губисполкома, постановляет:

1) Прекратить немедленно дѣятельность центральнаго и мѣстнаго комитетов партіи сіонистов и ея фракцій, выступающих под названіем „Мизрахи" „Цеире-Цион", „Дрор", а также клерикальной партіи „Ахдус" и еврейскаго національнаго секретаріата. Немедленному закрытію подлежат общество „Тарбут" и всѣ сіонистскія изданія

2) Вмѣнить в обязанность всѣм членам комитетов и организацій, а также активным членам, в 7-дневный срок со дня опубликованія настоящаго постановленія, передать в отдѣл управленія подписку о полном прекращеніи дѣятельности упомянутых организацій, обществ и учрежденій.

3) Поручить представителям организацій К. П. У. и еврейскаго коммунистическаго союза, совмѣстно с представителем отдѣла управленія, провѣрить списки всѣх еврейских обществ и учрежденій, как представивших свои уставы к регистраціи, так и не представивших. Общества, организаціи и учрежденія, служащіе проводниками политических, сіонистских и клерикальных партій, должны быть немедленно закрыты и переданы в распоряженіе ликвидаціонной комиссіи по еврейским дѣлам

4) Имущество всѣх ликвидированных учрежденій передать соотвѣтствующим отдѣлам Губисполкома по актам через ликвидаціонную комиссію по еврейским дѣлам. Капиталы внести в депозит центральной ликвидаціонной комиссіи Наркомвнудела

5) Архивы сіонистских и клерикальных партій, организацій и учрежденій и всю прочую переписку опечатать и препроводить в центрально-ликвидаціонную комиссію по еврейским дѣлам при отдѣлѣ мѣстнаго управленія Наркомвнудела

6) Предписать всѣм типографіям, под отвѣтственностью завѣдывающих, сообщить в отдѣл управленія о всѣх печатающихся произведеніях, относящихся по своему направленію и содержанію к сіонистским и клерикальным организаціям. Таковыя изданія задержать выходом в свѣт и конфисковать

7) За неисполненіе настоящаго постановленія члены указанных обществ, учрежденій, организацій и партій будут преданы Ревтрибуналу по всѣм строгостям закона военнаго времени. Равно подлежат преданію суду Ревтрибунала всѣ лица, стремящіеся и способствующія скрыть имущество клерикальных и сіонистских обществ и организацій.

8) Проведеніе в жизнь настоящаго постановленія возлагается на начальника городской милиціи и коммунальные комитеты.

9) Постановленіе вводится в жизнь со дня опубликованія

Предсѣдатель коллегіи отдѣла управленія Кордовскій

Order of the Kiev local authority closing all Zionist organizations and institutions, July 18, 1919. Courtesy A. Rafaeli-Zenziper, Archive for Russian Zionism, Tel Aviv.

The second All-Russian Zionist Conference was held in 1902 in Minsk (see *Minsk Conference) with the participation of 500 delegates, representing some 75,000 shekel holders. It was the only legal Zionist conference in czarist Russia and aroused much public interest. About 160 delegates represented Mizrachi and about 60 represented the Democratic Faction. After a long and stormy debate on education, a compromise was reached recognizing both educational trends, the secular and the religious.

In 1903 the Russian delegation to the Sixth Zionist Congress (Basle) were the prime movers of the opposition to the Uganda Scheme, which was finally rejected (after Herzl's death) at the Seventh Congress (Basle, 1905), where a minority group seceded and created the Jewish Territorial Organization (see *Territorialism). While territorialism did not gain much ground among most Zionists in Russia, its influence grew in the budding Zionist labor movement. The Zionist Socialists (called SS according to their Russian name Sionisty Sotsialisty) repudiated the solution of the Jewish problem in Ereẓ Israel, devoting their main attention to Jewish migration, which they believed would eventually lead to settlement on a specific territory and thus solve the Jewish problem. Another group in Russian Jewry, known as the "Sejmists," rejected both Zionist and territorialist solutions and advocated instead the struggle for officially recognized Jewish national autonomy in the Diaspora countries. The Zionist Socialist movement Po'alei Zion, under the leadership of B. *Borochov, emerged in 1905–06. Another movement of Socialist-oriented moderate Zionists was Ẓe'irei Zion, which eventually became linked to Ha-Po'el ha-Ẓa'ir in Ereẓ Israel. These movements, which represented Labor Zionism in Russia, soon became popular among the younger generation and the intelligentsia. The main force opposing Zionism in Russian Jewry was also a social democratic party, the Bund, which regarded Yiddish as the sole national language of the Jews and fought against the Zionists and against the cultivation of modern Hebrew.

Prior to the 1905 Revolution, the Zionist movement in Russia abstained from any participation in Russian politics. This abstention was based on the original Zionist concept of "negation of the Diaspora" and rejection of the possibility of Jewish national existence in Russia. The 1905 Revolution brought a radical change in this position. An All-Russian Zionist Conference, known as the Helsingfors Conference (1906) formulated a new Zionist program, that of "synthetic Zionism," which combined the basic negation of Jewish future in exile with the struggle not only for equal rights in the existing Diaspora, but also for the right of self-determination as a national minority group (see *Helsingfors Program). Consequently the Zionists nominated their own candidates in the election to the First Duma, and five out of 12 elected Jewish deputies were Zionists. In the Second Duma one of six Jewish delegates elected was a Zionist. When the czarist government renewed its political repression in 1907, the Zionist movement, like other political trends in Russia, became practically paralyzed.

The Legal Status. Russian Zionists did not request official permission to organize because they did not expect to receive such legitimation for a movement whose world center was located abroad. At first, although the authorities knew of the Zionist activities, on the whole they did not interfere. Later a change for the worse took place in the official attitude toward the Zionist movement and to Jews in general, which culminated in the spring of 1903 in the Kishinev pogrom. In June 1903 the czarist minister of the interior, Plehve, issued a directive prohibiting any Zionist activity in Russia. Herzl then traveled to Russia in order to influence the Russian government in favor of Zionism and to abolish the anti-Zionist decree. Plehve promised Herzl that the government would not interfere, provided that the Zionists did not engage in the organization of Russian Jewry on a national scale, but rather encouraged emigration.

The attitude of the authorities, however, did not improve substantially. The holding of public meetings was prohibited. The Zionists were able, however, to continue their educational and cultural activities, the collection of shekels, and the sale of shares of the Jewish Colonial Trust. Though in November 1904 a Zionist delegation learned from the liberal minister of the interior, Sviatopolsk-Mirsky, that the movement would not be persecuted, a turn for the worse took place again. The resolutions of the Helsingfors Conference increased the government's suspicions. The Zionist Organization was declared illegal. Licenses for local groups named "Palestine" were revoked, and activities on behalf of the Jewish National Fund (JNF) were prohibited (1907). Then David Wolffsohn, president of the World Zionist Organization, went to St. Petersburg (1908) and was promised that activity for the JNF and the Jewish Colonial Trust would be facilitated but the Zionist Organization would not be legalized. In 1910 the persecutions increased, and when the Zionist central committee of Russia met in Moscow with the Russian members of the Zionist General Council, some of them, including the editor of *Haolam*, A. *Druyanow, were brought to trial. The central committee was then transferred to St. Petersburg and the editorial board of *Haolam* to Odessa (1912). The police did not harm the editorial board of the Zionist weekly *Razsvet* and Zionist leaders in St. Petersburg.

The Second and Third Aliyah. The pogroms in Kishinev and Gomel and other forms of oppression, together with the deep disappointment caused by the failure of the 1905 Revolution, stimulated a renewed movement of migration and settlement in Ereẓ Israel. Israel *Belkind went from Ereẓ Israel to Russia seeking support to establish an agricultural school there for the orphans of the Kishinev pogrom. M. Ussishkin, in his pamphlet *Our Program*, and Josef *Vitkin's call from Ereẓ Israel to Jewish youth in the Diaspora for *aliyah* and settlement, contributed to a new wave of pioneering migration. Thus the Second Aliyah started, and it included members of different trends, such as Ẓe'irei Zion, Po'alei Zion, Bilu he-Ḥadash, etc. Among the pioneers were men like Berl *Katznelson, David Ben-Gurion, Izhak Ben-Zvi, Joseph *Sprinzak, and others who later became leaders of the *yishuv* and the Zionist movement during the Mandatory period and during Israel's independence. Middle-class settlers from Russia participated in founding a residential neighborhood near Jaffa, Aḥuzat Bayit, which became Tel Aviv. Settlement societies were founded in various cities in Russia. After World War I the Third Aliyah started as a movement of survivors of the pogroms in the Ukraine and of pioneers who followed Joseph *Trumpeldor.

The Russian Revolution of February 1917 removed all the official obstacles from the Zionist movement, which immediately grew tremendously. An All-Russian Zionist Conference met in Petrograd on May 24, 1917, and its 552 delegates represented 140,000 shekel holders (in 1913 there were only 26,000 shekel holders). The conference reaffirmed the Helsingfors Program and succeeded in drafting a unified program of all Zionist groups for the forthcoming elections to the Russian Constituent Assembly. The newly elected central committee was instructed to take the initiative in convening an All-Russian Jewish Congress. This conference, the first after 1902, was attended by Trumpeldor, who spread his idea about creating a Jewish army to march through the Caucasus to Ereẓ Israel. About 20 delegates supported Jabotinsky's pro-British activity in establishing the Jewish Legion, but the overwhelming majority adhered to the official Zionist neutralism in the World War. The Balfour Declaration of Nov. 2, 1917, which put an end to this neutralist position, made Zionism the dominant trend in Russian Jewry, and in the elections to the All-Russian Jewish Congress the Zionists received the majority of votes. Wartime conditions made the meeting of the Congress impossible, but a Jewish National Council was established in which the various Jewish parties were represented in proportion to the number of seats they had won in the elections to the congress. The Zionists also maintained the Tarbut organization with a network of more than 250 Hebrew-language schools and other educational institutions.

The October (Bolshevik) Revolution of 1917 did not, at first, affect Zionist activities. A Palestine Week, proclaimed in spring 1918, was successfully conducted in hundreds of Jewish communities. Palestine Offices were established in various cities, among them Petrograd and Minsk. Efforts were made to mobilize private capital for investment in Palestine, and various companies were established for the construction of residential and business premises, an oil refinery in Haifa, etc. Trumpeldor founded the *He-Ḥalutz movement. A conference of 149 delegates from 40 Jewish communities in central Russia, which took place in Moscow in July 1918, had a Zionist majority. In the Ukraine, where the Soviet regime was finally established in February 1919, the Zionist movement was in 1918 the dominant force in Ukrainian Jewry. In the elections to Jewish community councils (*kehillot*) there, the Zionists received 54.5% of the vote, and in the elections to the provisional Jewish National Council of the Ukraine in November 1918, about 54% voted for Zionist candidates.

Liquidation and Resurrection in the U.S.S.R. Under Soviet rule Zionism soon became the object of repression and persecution. Zionist parties and organizations were outlawed, their clandestine meetings and regional conferences dispersed by force, and their participants and delegates arrested. The Hebrew language itself was gradually proscribed. Some underground Zionist activity continued, however, in the first decade of the Soviet regime, including the emergence of the pioneering youth movement Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir as an important factor among young Zionists striving to reach Palestine. In the forefront of the anti-Zionist campaign stood the "Jewish section" (*Yevsektsiya) of the ruling Bolshevik party, whose task it was to eradicate "clericalism" and "bourgeois nationalism" from Jewish life. Various attempts made in the 1920s to achieve a permissive, or at least tolerant, attitude to some aspects of Zionist activity, mainly in the cultural field and emigration to Palestine (such as the semi-official negotiations of the member of the Zionist Executive, M.D. Eder, during his visit to Moscow in 1921 or the exchanges of a Moscow Zionist, Isaac Rabinovich, with high-ranking Soviet personalities in 1926) proved futile. However, until the late 1920s a number of Jews convicted for Zionist activities were allowed to leave for Palestine.

From 1949, and particularly in 1952–53, "Zionism" became an odious catchword in Stalin's anti-Jewish campaigns (see *Slánsky Trials, *Doctors' Plot). After Stalin's death this trend was dormant for several years, until it emerged again under Khrushchev in the 1960s and with particular virulence after the Six-Day War of 1967, when the almost daily attacks against "World Zionism" in the Soviet mass media and "political-education" system achieved an intensity similar to the antisemitic propaganda of czarist times. Meanwhile, from 1948 Soviet Jews showed more and more signs of interest in, and attachment to, the State of Israel, demonstrating their sympathy for it and often their desire to migrate and settle there. These demonstrations took various forms, from many thousands of Jews attending synagogues when members of the Israeli diplomatic mission came to pray or many young Jews who came to greet Israeli delegations to international youth festivals, Israeli sports teams, or folk singers visiting the U.S.S.R., to the famous mass gatherings of Jewish youth singing Hebrew songs and openly declaring their attachment to the Jewish nation and to Israel on Simḥat Torah in and around synagogues of Moscow, Leningrad, and other cities.

This movement became more and more pronounced and daring from 1969, when an increasing number of Jews from various Soviet regions addressed fully signed petitions and protests to the Soviet authorities, the government of Israel, the United Nations, and even to Communist parties in the West, demanding their right – under the Universal Declaration of Human Rights signed by the U.S.S.R., and a convention including a clause that every person has the right to leave any country, including his own, recently ratified by the Supreme Soviet – to leave the Soviet Union for "repatriation to the Jewish ancestral homeland in Israel." There is evidence that this spontaneous movement – which can be defined as "neo-Zionist" – also encompassed private groups of young Jews studying Hebrew, Jewish history, about the State of Israel, etc. The Soviet authorities, particularly the security services, attempted to deter them by arrests, show trials, and other measures of intimidation, but the Jews maintained their campaign for the right to settle in Israel. For further details see *Russia.

[Israel Klausner]

In South Africa

The Zionist Organization found enthusiastic support in South Africa among the new immigrants, mostly from Lithuania, rather than among the Anglicized minority of the "old-timers." The first Zionist associations were established in Cape Town (1897) and Johannesburg (1898). By the end of 1898, a dozen Zionist societies with some 5,000 members were already in existence. A year later the first women's Zionist association was set up in Pretoria. As early as December 1898, 12 years before the Union of South Africa came into being as a political entity, the South African Zionist Federation, including Zionist bodies on the whole South African subcontinent, was established. It was represented at the Third Zionist Congress in Basle (1899) by two delegates. After the Boer War, which impeded the growth of the movement, the Zionist Federation was recognized by the authorities as representative of South African Jewry and entrusted with official tasks, such as the repatriation of Jewish war refugees. Later, this official recognition was transferred to the general communal organization, the South African Jewish Board of Deputies, which, in the course of years, sometimes experienced competition and friction with the federation, but mostly worked in friendly cooperation with it.

In 1908 the *Zionist Record* was founded in Johannesburg as the official organ of the federation; it became the most important South African Jewish newspaper. The sympathies of the leaders of the Afrikaans community, like the generals Louis Botha and J.B.M. Hertzog, were conducive to the progress of Zionism and to its high standing in the country. Field Marshall Jan Christiaan *Smuts was an avowed friend of Zionism and one of the architects of the Balfour Declaration. In later years the Zionist Federation secured his powerful support whenever a major crisis threatened the Zionist cause.

The financial contributions of South African Jewry to the Zionist funds have been outstanding. From 1926 South

Africa occupied the second place in the world (after the U.S.) in fundraising for the Keren Hayesod; its per capita contribution – £1.16 in the 1920s – was by far the largest. The federation's growth is also reflected by the following figures: in 1921 there were 177 bodies affiliated with it, in 1930 about 200, and in 1949 no fewer than 350. Also the Rhodesias, Kenya, and even Belgian Congo then belonged to its jurisdiction. In 1932 the South African Women's Zionist Council was established to coordinate women's work for all Zionist purposes. It became affiliated with WIZO and in 1967 numbered some 16,000 members. The South African Zionist Federation also has a notably strong following among youth. A census taken shortly before the 30th South African Zionist Conference in 1967 showed that four youth movements affiliated with the federation numbered 6,800 active members, divided into 297 units throughout the country, and led by 556 youth group workers.

South African Zionists distinguished themselves as a highly efficient movement that succeeded in assuming and retaining leadership of the Jewish community at large. They have attained outstanding achievements in the fields of organization, financial support of Israel, the building up of an impressive network of schools, and in *aliyah*. About 6,000 Jews from South Africa settled in Israel, including members of collective settlements, men of private initiative, scientists, and public servants.

The South African Zionist Federation has been headed by able leaders, from S. Goldreich (first chairman) to H. Morris and N. Kirschner to B. Gering and I.A. Maisels. Under the successive direction of Jack Alexander, Zvi Infeld, and Sidney Berg, it gained a reputation for its organizational structure and efficiency. Divided geographically into provincial councils and functionally into some 20 departments, it covers a variety of Zionist activities, including fundraising, and embraces all the Zionists of the country, both party members and independents. Up to the early 1930s parties played no significant role in the federation; later the Zionist Revisionists and the Zionist Socialists became especially prominent. It was not until 1946 that the Executive of the federation was elected on a party basis, but it continued to include nonparty members. The number of shekel holders was exceptionally high; it sometimes approached and even exceeded 50% of the adult Jewish population (43,605 shekels in 1946 and 42,949 in 1960).

During World War II the federation also aided refugees passing through South Africa and accorded valuable material and moral support to the "illegal immigrants" who had been deported from Palestine and detained in Mauritius. In 1943 the federation arranged a "plebiscite," and its three points – to open the gates of Palestine to Jewish immigration, to set up a Jewish army, and to establish Palestine as a Jewish Commonwealth – were endorsed by 37,000 Jews. No fewer than 3,000 volunteers offered their services in the War of Independence (1948), and 700 were accepted and fought in Israel. During the period of the Six-Day War, 782 volunteers arrived in Israel from South Africa, but several times this number had registered.

[Aharon Zwergbaum]

In the United States

Jewish immigrants who came to the United States from Eastern Europe in the early 1880s brought the ideas of the Ḥibbat Zion movement with them, and by 1890. Ḥovevei Zion organizations existed in the large Jewish communities of New York, Chicago, Baltimore, Milwaukee, Boston, Philadelphia, and Cleveland. At the same time, newspapers propagating Ḥibbat Zion ideas appeared, two of which were *Shulamit*, edited by J.I. *Bluestone in Yiddish, and *Ha-Pisgah* ("The Summit," 1888–89), a Hebrew paper edited by W. Schur. Following a mass meeting in New York on May 4, 1898, supporters of Zionism established an organization which *Die Welt* called the Zentralverein der amerikanischen Zionisten. Other Zionist organizations appeared in the months before the First Zionist Congress at Basle (1897). Opposition was expressed by upper-class Jews and Reform rabbis. The *Central Conference of American Rabbis passed a resolution in July 1897 denouncing Zionism in sharp terms:

> Resolved that we totally disapprove of any attempt for the establishment of a Jewish state. Such attempts show a misunderstanding of Israel's mission which, from the narrow political and national field, has been expanded to the promotion among the whole human race of the broad and universalistic religion first proclaimed by the Jewish prophets.

By 1898 two major Zionist organizations developed in New York City: the Federation of Zionist Societies of Greater New York, under the leadership of Richard *Gottheil, and the League of Zionist Societies of the United States of North America, under Rabbi Philip *Klein and Michael Singer. They united in February 1898 into the Federation of Zionists of Greater New York and Vicinity. Consolidation at the national level in July 1898 resulted in the establishment of the Federation of American Zionists (FAZ), under the presidency of Gottheil, with Stephen S. Wise as first secretary.

Despite initial progress, the FAZ encountered great organizational difficulties. Many Zionist organizations did not recognize its authority. The most recalcitrant were the scores of independent Zionist organizations in New York based on *landsmannschaften and in Chicago on the Knights of Zion, who organized in October 1898 under the leadership of Leon Zolotkoff. Only in 1913 did the Knights accept the authority of the FAZ. Another obstacle to the growth of the FAZ was the opposition to Zionism from the left, i.e., from East European immigrants who adhered to Socialist organizations and regarded socialism and trade unionism as the solution to Jewish problems as well. Difficulties were increased by the reluctance of the membership, which was primarily from Eastern Europe, to accept the leadership of "Germans," who differed from them in their way of life as well as social class.

In 1902 Jacob de *Haas moved to the U.S. as editor of the FAZ's official paper, *The Maccabean*, and secretary of the organization. He tried to cope with the various organizational and administrative difficulties and to include more organizations under Richard Gottheil's leadership. De Haas instituted the "Shekel Day" and developed elaborate Zionist propaganda. Nevertheless, the FAZ was plagued by financial difficulties. In 1904 Gottheil resigned and Harry *Friedenwald became president. In early 1905 de Haas also resigned and was replaced by Judah Magnes as secretary. With the two new leaders, the Zionist orientation of the FAZ changed. Gottheil and de Haas were "political Zionists" who supported Herzl on the Uganda issue, whereas Friedenwald and Magnes were "cultural Zionists" who tried to adapt Zionism to the American scene. Other important cultural Zionists were Solomon Schechter, president of the Jewish Theological Seminary, and Israel *Friedlaender, also of the Seminary, a Bible scholar and communal leader. These "cultural Zionists" saw Zionism as a renaissance of traditional Jewish values and check on assimilation. Although Ereẓ Israel was for them a cultural center, they did not negate the Diaspora, which they viewed as equal in importance.

The first Labor Zionist (Po'alei Zion) organization was founded in New York City in March 1903. Its ancillary Jewish National Workers Alliance (Farband) was established as a benevolent organization in 1910, in part to attract members who might join the Socialist, anti-Zionist Workmen's Circle. In its initial stages, Po'alei Zion was rejected by the Socialists and regarded with suspicion by the Zionists. Labor Zionism combined Jewish national aspirations with a social philosophy dedicated to the establishment of a new political and economic order both in Ereẓ Israel and the Diaspora. During its first decade, the platform included as priorities: the furthering of Jewish settlement in Palestine, the struggle against assimilation, aid to Jewish workers, and the building of Yiddish folk schools. Its organs, *Der Yidisher Kemfer* (1905, with interruptions) and *The Jewish Frontier* (1934), exerted wide influence, especially in liberal and progressive circles outside Zionist ranks (the latter under the editorship of Ḥayyim *Greenberg).

In 1911 a new FAZ administration whose members were mostly East European was elected. Friedenwald remained honorary president, but the affairs of the organization were handed to the chairman of the executive, Louis *Lipsky. He shared the burden with his associates Abraham Goldberg, Bernard *Rosenblatt, and Senior Abel, who founded the Yiddish organ of the movement, *Dos Yidishe Folk* (1909). Until World War I attempts were made to improve administration, notably by Henrietta *Szold, who functioned as secretary between 1910 and 1911. Newly founded organizations gradually established ties with the FAZ: Po'alei Zion, Hadassah Women's Organization, founded by Henrietta Szold (1912), and the Mizrachi Organization of America (1914). The latter was established in 1911 by Meir Berlin (*Bar-Ilan). In time it became the backbone of the World Mizrachi Organization by virtue of its numbers and resources.

World War I and After. Early in 1914 the Federation of American Zionists, and American Zionism, was small and weak; its membership was static and it was suffering from financial stress. It did enjoy the support of the *Day* and *Morning Journal*, two leading Yiddish dailies. The *Forward*, however, was sharply anti-Zionist out of socialist conviction until it became more sympathetic during the 1920s. With the outbreak of World War I, international Zionist activity became largely centered in the U.S., where the Provisional Committee for General Zionist Affairs (PZC) was established. Louis D. Brandeis, who had his first contact with Zionism through Jacob de Haas, Nahum Sokolow, and Bernard *Richards, accepted its chairmanship. He took up his role with great energy and drew to the Zionist movement Felix *Frankfurter, Louis Kirstein, and Bernard *Flexner, all of whom were also attracted by its democratic and progressive ideas. Under Brandeis' able leadership, the financial situation of the FAZ improved, and membership and political influence increased. Brandeis and his associates were influenced through Horace *Kallen and others by the idea of cultural pluralism, the essence of which is that America is a nation of nations in which different cultures are blended. This theory served to reconcile "Americanism" with Zionism.

After Brandeis' elevation to the Supreme Court in June 1916, he resigned as active chairman but continued to lead the FAZ through his associates, notably de Haas. In 1916 the Po'alei Zion and Mizrachi organizations withdrew from the Provisional Zionist Committee, and in 1917 the federation reorganized all its branches into the *Zionist Organization of America (ZOA), which was based on territorial districts. Brandeis became honorary president, Judge Julian W. *Mack president, Stephen S. Wise and Harry Friedenwald vice presidents.

After the war Brandeis visited Palestine and formed plans to build its future on the basis of large-scale investment and centrally controlled public corporations. He wanted the ZOA to collect funds for specific economic projects. At the London Conference of 1920 his views clashed with those of Weizmann, who wanted to found the Keren Hayesod as a general fund to improve the economy and settlement methods of Palestine, as well as to establish educational institutions. The Brandeis group refused to accept the decisions of the World Zionist Organization, represented by Weizmann. At the Cleveland convention of the ZOA in 1921, in which the issues were debated, a majority rejected Brandeis' views, and as a result he and his close associates seceded from the mainstream of Zionist activity in the U.S. and concentrated their efforts on fostering the economic development of Palestine, as, e.g., through the Palestine Economic Corporation. Louis Lipsky, who led the opposition to Brandeis, became president, with Abraham Goldberg, Emanuel Neumann, Morris *Rothenberg, and others as his collaborators. The Lipsky administration remained in office until 1930. During this period the ZOA concentrated on fundraising but was not very successful. It established the Keren Hayesod in the United States.

Article 4 of the League of Nations Mandate had made specific provision for the recognition of a "Jewish agency" to advise and cooperate with the administration of Palestine as representative of the Jewish people U.S. Jewry, by reason of its tremendous numbers and resources, was a decisive factor in "enlarging" the Jewish Agency. Louis Marshall, the leading American "non-Zionist," convened two nonpartisan conferences to consider Palestine problems in 1924 and 1925. These meetings resulted in proposals to include non-Zionist representation in an enlarged Jewish Agency. The proposal to enlarge the Agency by the co-option of non-Zionists was also approved in principle by the Zionist Congress in 1927, and in that year, following publication of a preliminary agreement between Weizmann and Marshall, a Joint Palestine Survey Commission was appointed. It made recommendations for practical work in Palestine upon which both Zionists and non-Zionists could agree. In August 1929 the constitution of the enlarged Agency was approved and the Americans received the largest number of the 112 seats allotted to non-Zionists (44). However, due to the death of Marshall, the onset of the economic depression, the subsequent political events, and the disorganization of the American section of the Jewish Agency, the Zionists continued to control all activities and policies of the Agency.

The riots in Palestine in 1929, coupled with the U.S. economic crisis, further lowered the morale of the ZOA, whose membership declined to 8,000. There was a general clamor for Brandeis' return. At the convention in 1930, an executive committee of 18, composed mainly of Brandeis' circle, was elected with Robert *Szold its chairman from 1930 to 1932. From 1932 to 1936 Morris Rothenberg functioned as president; Stephen S. Wise succeeded him from 1936 to 1938, followed by Solomon *Goldman in 1938, Edmund Kaufmann in 1940 and Judge Louis E. *Levinthal in 1941.

World War II. With the outbreak of World War II, the ZOA formed the American Emergency Committee for Zionist Affairs, which later became the American Zionist Emergency Council, presided over by Stephen Wise and Abba Hillel Silver. On May 9–11, 1942, at New York's Biltmore Hotel, a Zionist Convention consisting of delegates of the ZOA, Hadassah, Mizrachi, and Po'alei Zion enacted the Biltmore Program which defined the postwar Zionist aim as the establishment of Palestine as a Jewish Commonwealth. From 1945 the Zionist Emergency Council directed the energies and propaganda of the movement to influence the entire Jewish community, the U.S. government, and public opinion to support its demands in Palestine. Through these efforts American Zionists contributed decisively to the political prerequisites for the establishment of the State of Israel on May 14, 1948.

During and after the war, a dissident group, called at first Committee for a Jewish Army and later the Hebrew Committee for National Liberation, agitated in the U.S., mainly through newspaper advertisements, by expounding and supporting the ideas and acts of the Irgun Ẓeva'i Le'ummi (IẒL) in Palestine. The group was headed by an IẒL leader, Hillel Kook (who appeared in America under the name of Peter Bergson), and enlisted the support of several prominent Jews and non-Jews. The style and tactics of the "Bergson group" were the subject of sharp controversies in Zionist circles, particularly among Revisionists and their sympathizers.

In addition to their efforts in the political field, American Zionists were among the most active participants in practical aid to the *yishuv* in its struggle after 1945; they helped with "illegal" immigration, the *Beriḥah*, secret shipment of arms to the Haganah, and great sums of money. The greatest number of volunteers to the *yishuv*'s fighting forces, which were called *Mitnaddevei Ḥuẓ la-Areẓ* (*Maḥal), came from the United States. However, only after World War II, under the impact of the Nazi Holocaust in Europe and, later, the establishment of the State of Israel, did Zionism become accepted by the bulk of the Jewish community in America.

Opposition to Zionism. From the beginning Zionism had encountered great opposition, especially from Reform Judaism. Among the staunchest, most influential opponents were rabbis Emil G. *Hirsch and Kaufmann *Kohler. Other prominent Reform rabbis, however, such as Gustav *Gottheil, Jacob *Raisin, Bernard *Felsenthal, and Maximilian *Heller supported the movement. In 1907 professors Max *Margolis, Henry *Malter, and Max Schloessinger, all strong sympathizers with Zionism, resigned from the *Hebrew Union College faculty, while the Zionists charged that they were forced to resign by the College's anti-Zionist president Kohler. Among the younger generation, Stephen S. Wise, Judah L. Magnes, and Abba Hillel Silver were notable exceptions to the anti-Zionism of the Reform rabbinate. The main body of the Central Conference of American Rabbis was anti-Zionist and delivered pronouncements against Zionism until 1920. After the Balfour Declaration (1917) and the San Remo decision on Palestine (1920), the Reform movement adopted, although unofficially, a position of non-Zionism which allowed cooperation with Zionists in philanthropic enterprises. In 1935 they revised their collective negative stand on Zionism in favor of individual choice, and further conciliation occurred after the "Columbus Platform" of 1937. A small minority group, however, continued with its opposition to Zionism.

In November 1942 the *American Council for Judaism was formed, composed of Reform rabbis and influential lay leaders, such as Lessing *Rosenwald, with Rabbi Elmer Berger as its head. The Central Conference of American Rabbis tried to halt this split within its ranks, but to no avail. Whereas the Reform movement as a whole tended to pro-Zionism, the Council continued its anti-Zionist activities and upon the establishment of the State of Israel it stated:

> The State of Israel is not the state or homeland of the Jewish people: to Americans of Jewish faith it is a foreign state. Our single exclusive national identity is to the United States.

Jewish Orthodox circles were divided nearly from the beginning on the Zionist issue. While the Zionist Mizrachi and the Ha-Po'el ha-Mizrachi found many adherents among the East European Jews, Agudat Israel, a smaller but articulate group, was anti-Zionist out of conviction that Zionism was secularist and incompatible with Orthodox Judaism.

Only during World War II did these groups abate their anti-Zionism, and in 1945, with some internal opposition, Agudat Israel declared its willingness to cooperate with the Zionists. On the fringe of Orthodoxy, extremist opposition to Zionism was continued by the Satmar Rebbe Joel *Teitelbaum, who condemned the Zionists for trying to hasten the redemption by establishing a "heretical" state.

Within the lay leadership of American Jewry, Zionism at first found its strongest opponent in the *American Jewish Committee, whose leadership included at various times, among others, Mayer *Sulzberger, Cyrus *Adler, Irving *Lehman, Louis Marshall, Jacob *Schiff, Felix *Warburg, Oscar *Straus, Cyrus *Sulzberger, and Julius *Rosenwald, all wealthy, of German background, and non- or anti-Zionists. After the Balfour Declaration, however, the Committee tacitly recognized the ZOA as the representative of those Jews directly concerned with the welfare of Palestine, although within the American context the AJC, which was an unelected elite, opposed the "Congress Movement" during World War I, which was advanced by Zionists and based on mass support. During the 1920s the leaders of the AJC were approached by Weizmann in order to establish the enlarged Jewish Agency. Zionist "Diaspora nationalism," however, which the AJC saw as a threat to their position and patriotism, remained an issue of contention between them. Thus, opposition to the Zionists continued in various forms until January 1948, when Judge *Proskauer, under the pressure of the pro-Zionist Jewish consensus in the U.S., declared the committee's acceptance of the Jewish state recommended by the United Nations Special Committee on Palestine (UNSCOP). However, the AJC remained apprehensive about the status of American Jews in the light of a Jewish state. It was willing to support Israel while remaining independent of direct Israel interference in its affairs. In 1950 David Ben-Gurion, as prime minister, exchanged letters on the subject with Jacob *Blaustein, president of the AJC. Ben-Gurion stated that Israel represented only its own citizens and had no claim to speak in the name of the Jews in the Diaspora. The Jews of the United States, as a community and as individuals, owed political loyalty only to the United States, and the Jews in Israel had no intention of interfering in the affairs of Jewish communities abroad. The effect of these letters was the cooperation of the AJC with Israel within defined areas of agreement.

Mass Support and Fundraising. Dedicated supporters of the Zionist movement came from the ranks of Conservative Judaism. Solomon Schechter and his faculty at the Jewish Theological Seminary supported Zionism despite the objection of the Reform-oriented board of directors of the Seminary. The meetings of the Rabbinical Assembly of America were consistently characterized by expressions of sympathy for Zionism. The Reconstructionist movement, under the leadership of Rabbi Mordecai M. *Kaplan, also was always pro-Zionist. It viewed its endeavor in Palestine as a means to achieve a renaissance in Jewish life in America as well. Guided by Rabbi Kaplan's concept of "Jewish Peoplehood," Reconstructionist rabbis worked within the Zionist movement in order to achieve their twofold aim.

From the 1930s on, the ZOA devoted more and more attention to fundraising, mainly in the United Palestine Appeal. There was considerable rivalry with non-Zionist overseas agencies, especially the *American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (JDC), for the allocation of funds raised in local communities. In 1939–40 the UPA and JDC combined into the *United Jewish Appeal (UJA). The frequent consequence of such cooperation was a lack of emphasis on Zionist ideology in Zionist circles. The situation changed from the 1940s when fund raising and political ideology became indistinguishable. Zionist fundraising became the almost universal expression of Jewish identification and communal participation. In April 1960, following criticism from a U.S. Senate committee and other sources of the practice of returning a small proportion of funds raised for Israel for educational activities in the U.S., an agreement was reached between the Jewish Agency and the leadership of the UJA to establish an entirely American body, the Jewish Agency for Israel, Inc., to budget and allocate funds raised in the United States for immigrant needs in Israel. This body was charged with authorizing the expenditure in Israel of funds contributed in America, thus giving American Jewry a direct say and responsibility in administering its funds in Israel. Aid to Israel by Jews in the U.S. was channeled through the UJA and other overseas agencies, and through the Israel Bond Organization. From 1948 through 1968, the UJA provided over $1,100,000,000. In times of crisis for Israel, the sums collected reached unprecedented proportions, as evidenced at the time of the Six-Day War: in 1966 the sale of Israel Bonds totaled $11,000,000; in 1967, $175,000,000. In 1970–71, in the face of threats to Israel's security, the goal was the largest ever, $1,000,000,000. In addition to fundraising, private investment was fostered by bodies such as the Palestine Economic Corporation (PEC). American contributors and investors were not only declared Zionists, but Jews who felt a sense of identification with the Jewish people. As a consequence, American Jewish philanthropy shifted its main priority from support of American Jewish causes to the support of Israel, and the distinction between philanthropic humanitarianism and political Zionism lost its practical significance.

Aliyah and Youth Movements. Aside from the increase in funds, there was also evidence of greater American immigration to Israel, the ultimate expression of commitment to Zionism. In the first three and a half years of the state's existence (May 1948–December 1951), out of a total of 684,201 immigrants to Israel, only 1,909 were Americans. Until 1961 immigration from the United States was less than 1.1% of the total number of immigrants. Between 1960 and 1967 immigration to Israel from the U.S. was 2,000 per year; immediately after the Six-Day War this figure rose to 5,000 per year. After 1967 a "grass roots" immigration movement started independent of the Jewish Agency, which in 1968 formed the Association of Americans and Canadians for Aliyah. The resolutions of the 27th Zionist Congress (Jerusalem, 1968) stated that all necessary help be extended to this and all other organizations seriously contemplating immigration. Immigration in 1970 and 1971 was approximately 7,000 annually. The Zionist movement in America financially assisted established educational institutions and youth movements (Iḥud Habonim, Young Judea, Bnei Akiva, etc.), summer camps, and also organized tours to Israel. In the 1950s and 1960s membership in these movements declined mostly as a result of the growing Jewish affiliation to the various religious movements and their youth groups.

Organizational and Cultural Impact. After World War II, as a continuation of the framework created by the American Zionist Emergency Council, an American section of the Jewish Agency Executive was established in New York, consisting of leading members of the ZOA, Hadassah, the Labor Zionists, and Mizrachi. They participated regularly in plenary sessions of the Executive, whose main center remained in Jerusalem.

In 1957 Mizrachi and Ha-Po'el ha-Mizrachi (founded in 1925) united into the Religious Zionists of America. The women's organizations of both groups, as well as their respective youth groups, Mizrachi ha-Ẓa'ir and Bnei Akiva, remained separate organizations. In 1923 Labor Zionism formed the Histadrut Campaign, which raised funds for the various institutions of the Histadrut in Israel. *Pioneer Women, founded in 1926, made its main function raising funds for the women's division of the Histadrut (Mo'eẓet ha-Po'alot). The youth affiliated to Labor Zionism, Habonim, administer summer camps and year-round social and cultural programs in North America.

In the late 1960s Zionists became concerned with increasing their propaganda activities through new tactics and approaches, especially on the American campuses where the New Left and black nationalists developed an explicit anti-Zionist ideology which denied Israel's right to exist and supported Arab aims to destroy Israel – an ideology which even attracted a number of Jewish students. Independent radical campus groups (e.g., the Radical Zionist Alliance; see below) emerged throughout the U.S. to counter this ideology from a Jewish point of view.

Partly under the impact of this Zionist revival in the new generation, an important reform took place in the structure of American Zionism. Instead of the relatively weak coordinating body called the American Zionist Council, in which the main parties and organizations were represented, the Zionist Federation of America was established in 1970. Zionist affiliation of individuals became henceforth possible without the intermediary of a particular party or organization.

The voluminous literature and extensive ideological debates on the relationship between American Jewry and Israel indicated the impact made on the Diaspora by the State of Israel. American Jews showed themselves more willing and ready to be identified as Jews, to affiliate with Jewish organizations and institutions, and to send their children to Jewish schools as a result of their ties to Israel. Israel occupies an important place in synagogue activities, sermons, and various religious celebrations, and Israel's Independence Day assumes an important place in the American Jewish calendar. The Israel flag is frequently displayed in synagogues and community centers. In many synagogues prayers for the welfare of the State of Israel and world Jewry are recited on Sabbaths and holidays following that for the welfare of the United States. Both the Conservative and Reform branches attempt to establish themselves in Israel through rabbinical schools and various educational programs.

Another impact of Israel has been the use of the Hebrew language in contrast to the decline of Yiddish. Hebrew songs and Israeli folk dances have become American Jewish popular culture: at weddings, bar mitzvot, and on many college campuses. Jewish art, which traditionally concentrated on East European themes, expanded to include Israeli symbols; Israeli crafts find a wide market among American Jews. Fiction on Israeli life increases rapidly and an extensive periodical literature is directed from Israeli institutions toward American Jewry.

Israel had a profound impact on the ideologies of American Jews. The anti-Zionist American Council for Judaism was the only American Jewish organization which claimed that any suggestions of an ethnic bond among Jews, especially the ideas of Zionism and the creation of the State of Israel, harmed the position of the Jews in America because it placed in question their loyalty to the United States. With the progress of the State of Israel and particularly after the Six-Day War, many of its members and supporters shifted to a more pro-Israel stance, and the Council's influence dwindled considerably. Agudat Israel, on the other hand, which before the establishment of the state held that any state not governed by *halakhah* would be illegitimate, accepted the State of Israel, as did almost all other Orthodox Jewish groups in America.

Jewish religious and welfare institutions in America, such as the National Council of Jewish Women, B'nai B'rith, and the Jewish War Veterans, as well as civic organizations such as the Anti-Defamation League and the National Communal Relations Advisory Council, all adopted an official stand of "non-Zionism." In practice, however, they supported the State of Israel and demands for an American policy of friendship toward Israel. As a consequence, they rejected the suggestion that Jewish ethnic traditions about Zionism and the existence of the State of Israel created conflicts of dual loyalty.

Religious and Ideological Issues. There were, however, issues of concern to some of these organizations. Orthodox Jewry in America felt itself intimately involved in the course of religious affairs in Israel and pressed the state to pursue official religious policies in accord with its own religious beliefs. Similarly, Israeli rabbis commanded influence and respect among similar circles in the United States. The Conservative and Reform movements, on the other hand, were concerned that the legal establishment of religious Orthodoxy in Israel involved discrimination against non-Orthodox Jews there. Some demanded the separation of state and religion or the adoption of forms of religious practice closer to their own points of view. The concern of the American religious groups implies that the religious forms practiced in Israel are of direct relevance to American Jews.

After the establishment of the State of Israel, controversies also arose between Israelis and American Zionists over their relationships in the future. The Americans demanded a separation of the activities of the state from those of the Jewish Agency and the World Zionist Organization, whereas the Israelis wanted Jerusalem to be the center of all the Zionist activities. In addition, there was a great controversy about the meaning of the Diaspora and the obligation to immigrate to Israel. The Americans claimed that America was not *galut* because Jews were secure and not oppressed there (Rose *Halprin) and that the Zionist Organization should not submit to the authority of Israel (Abba Hillel Silver). American Zionists wanted to be recognized as the liaison for all activities between American Jews and Israel. They demanded that, through legislation, Israel recognize their leading position in fundraising and practical work, a demand practically achieved in 1952 through the passage of the Zionist Organization and Jewish Agency Law in the Knesset and the covenant signed subsequently between the Israel government and the Jewish Agency.

American Zionists maintained that the most important issue for the Jews was their survival as a people. Since Jews will continue to live in the Diaspora, only a Zionism that recognized the essential ethnic elements of the Jewish people could keep them from cultural disintegration. For this reason a strong emphasis on cultural continuity, Hebrew, and a strong bond with Israel are the tasks of American Zionism (Ben *Halpern), although since 1967 the furtherance of *aliyah* from the U.S. also became a legitimate part of Zionist activity in America. In essence this is a neo-Aḥad Ha-Am position which sees Israel as the cultural center of the Jewish people but simultaneously dependent on the moral, political, and financial assistance of the Diaspora.

[Jehuda Reinharz]

JEWISH RADICAL ZIONISTS IN THE U.S. *The First Generation of the American Jewish Student Movement, 1968–72.*

> We see ourselves as your children, the children of Jews who with great dedication concern themselves with the needs of the community, the children of Jews who bring comfort to the afflicted, give aid to the poor, who have built mammoth philanthropic organizations, who have aided the remnants of the Holocaust, who have given unfalteringly to the building of Israel, who give more per capita to charity than any other group in America. We are your children and affirm this, but, to paraphrase the Rabbinic aphorism, we want to be not only children – *banim* – but also builders – *bonim*. We want to participate with you in the building of a vision of a great Jewish community. It is when we think of this that we become dismayed with the reality of American Jewish life which we cannot reconcile with what you have taught us to cherish.
>
> It took us several years to realize our confusion of form and essence and to recognize that there was more to Judaism than its poor expressions in the American Jewish community. For some it was a trip to Israel, for others it was the reading of Buber's *I and Thou*, for others an encounter with Ḥasidim, for others it was a traditional Jewish education redirected to confront existential problems, for others the exploration of self could not overlook the Jewish component. The Six Day War forced us to reassess our attachment in deciding to risk our lives if necessary on Israel's behalf. The black awakening reminded us that the melting pot dream was a fool's fantasy and that differences were legitimate. We woke up from the American dream and tried to discover who we really were. For many of us this now means turning our concerns inward into the Jewish community because we are disenchanted with the crass materialism of the larger society. Yet where can we find inspiration in the multi-million-dollar Jewish presences of suburbia? (from a speech by Hillel Levine, Nov. 1969)

Greening and Ethnicity. The Jewish Student Movement, born in the late 1960s, developed out of the American radical tradition and a groping for an authentic Jewish ethnicity that would permit both a highly visible Jewish commitment and an active concern for the social-political milieu.

The tolerant, permissive environment in which the American post-World War II babies were brought up, in a world which knew both the threat of atom bombs and the ease of wealthy America, made for what has been called the "greening of America." "Greening" is the turning inward in search of roots, of community, and toward a celebration of self; it is a rejection of much of what super-industrialized, technologized America, with its overwhelming belief in progress, had brought, without shunning the blessings of that culture, the cheap transportation and mass communication that make possible the ferreting out of like minds.

By the mid-1960s, emerging black self-confidence, which was to become a paradigm of ethnicity and the engulfing anti-Vietnam war spirit were voiced by young voices – at a time when more and more students were shedding the powerless, lethargic modes of the 1950s for an aggressive, assertive mode of demanding. They demanded the right of self-expression, rather than the duties of an apprenticeship to adulthood. In the early 1960s a high proportion of the activists were Jewish, but what can be termed "low-profile Jewish." Their "high profile" applied to their activism. Some, however, influenced by spreading ethnicity ("work within your own community"), sought to identify themselves more consciously as Jews, i.e., to raise their Jewish profile – in greatly varying measures, of course, but clearly to raise it.

American youth, by then a subculture, asserted the right to play the socio-political games of life according to rules of their own. These rules, no doubt, had an ancestry in the collective memories to which these youths were the heirs; but they wished to choose, order, and stack the rules themselves. A tolerant America seemed to allow for this; the "greening of

America" appeared to allow for the "greening of Judaism." It is in this "greening of Judaism," a radicalism precipitated in an ethnic mode, in which Jewish students after 1967, searching for their spiritual and/or primeval, and/or national, and/or cultural roots, began to make bids for power – the power necessary for the assertion of their will. To gain some perspective on their bids, we turn to some seasoned high-profile activists.

Low-Profile Jews, High-Profile Activists. Of the high-profile activists, low-profile Jews who exerted a shaping influence on the Left of the 1960s, Saul Alinsky and Paul Jacobs (both of them influential in the 1930s), Noam Chomsky and Herbert Marcuse (both of them leaving their mark on the 1960s) are of note.

Saul Alinsky, already in the 1930s, stressed the similarities between "democrat" and "radical." He saw his attitude as rooted in the Jeffersonian tradition, and urged would-be radicals to know the "rules of the game" so as to be able to manipulate them to their own ends.

In his essay "Repressive Tolerance," Herbert Marcuse, of similar profile as regards Activism/Judaism, diagnosed the very acquiescence to the primary rules governing a game (situation) as serving to maintain the system, and as not permitting a really radical change. Marcuse's influence on the emerging "New Left" was particularly widespread, especially as regards his notion of repressive tolerance and his objections to the "one-dimensional" man. His notion of tolerance further discredited an already declining regard for the liberal tradition (a decline that Alinsky had presaged in his writings).

The breakdown of the liberal tradition was also a time of emerging influence of the "beyond-the-nation-state" proponents, of whom Noam Chomsky is of particular note. By 1968, speaking from what he termed an Aḥad Ha-Am perspective, he put forth a theory of the desirability of "kibbutzinization" of the Middle East. He proposed that Israel be in the vanguard of those states which would abandon the apparatus of statehood. The ensuing dialectic, in which he had an important role, picked up momentum and lasted for several years thereafter. It was vital to the articulation of the radical Zionist position on the one hand, and the renewed advocacy of the bi-nationalist state, on the other.

Marcuse and Chomsky had a profound influence on the theoretical superstructure of the planning of radical social action in the 1960s.

Paul Jacobs, active as early as Alinsky, and like Alinsky involved at least as much in doing as in theorizing, represents the low-profile Jew, high-profile activist which the new ethnically conscious Jews of the late 1960s rejected. Writing of himself in *Is Curly Jewish?*, Jacobs portrays his "back-drop" Jewishness as it was worked out in the 1930s. By the 1930s assimilation (passing) and denominational Judaism had been added to the paths opened to Jews in the late 19th century: Torah (religious Judaism, self-consciously ideological, given its exposed, defensive posture); Zionism; Socialism (both in its Diaspora-centered and its internationalist varieties). Jacobs chose "socialism" and worked from within a class-consciousness perspective.

He explains his pull to radicalism as a push from Judaism:

> I have a hunch, too, that for me one of the unconscious pressures toward radicalism was that the movement provided an atmosphere in which I could reject being Jewish without any feeling of guilt. One of the first rituals in the radical movement was the adoption of a party name by which one was to be known in the organization…. Even granting the legitimate need we felt to change our names in order to escape possible consequences, why was it that so many of the Jewish radicals took as their cover names ones that were conspicuously non-Jewish? No Comrade Cohen ever adopted Ginsburg as a party name; instead he became Green or Smith or Martin, or something equally bland.

Speaking of encounters between members of the Young People's Socialist League (YPSL) and the Zionist Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓair, Jacobs observes:

> … the YPSLers (and Hashomer) were very close… politically. They hated the Communists almost as much as we did, primarily because the Soviet Union had set up the remote province of Birobidzhan as its own Jewish state, touting its virtues over Palestine…. They (Hashomer) were convinced that the only salvation for the Jews was in their own land, and because they were socialists, they were committed to making Palestine into a socialist country…. I sat with them for hours… arguing heatedly that Zionism was only another form of petty bourgeois nationalism. But those arguments had none of the rancor and bitterness that were so characteristic of the fight all of us had with the Stalinists.

In 1947 Jacobs joined the staff of the American Jewish Committee:

> … the emphasis… was not heavily Jewish in those of its operations which related to the non-Jewish world…. My own department, for example, was officially named the "National Labor Service of the American Jewish Committee," but only the name "National Labor Service" appeared on its publications, on the theory that an organization without an open Jewish identification could operate more effectively with non-Jewish groups than one, say, like our rival, the Jewish Labor Committee.

He clearly states that, for himself and many other members of the AJC staff, this arrangement was ideal: "it provided us with a base from which we could fight prejudice and discrimination without any need to be Jewish."

Moving Toward High-Profile Jewishness. The Jewish revolutionary who strives for the liberation of mankind and views Jewish nationalism as merely tribalistic and a retreat from internationalist ideals is of course not a new phenomenon. It was just this perspective of the "steady patriot of the world alone, the friend of every country but his own" that was unanimously rejected by the high-profile Jewish activists of the Jewish Student Movement (JSM). They wished to combine a high-profile activism with a self-consciously assertive high-profile Judaism.

The base of JSM is ethnic, and if concerned with "passing" (being assimilated into, accommodated by) the American culture, it is a minimal passing – that of not being rejected by the host society because of displayed ethnic characteristics.

For JSM, as it grew in the black-is-beautiful hothouse of the American 1960s, the do-it-yourself metaphor, so much a part of American culture, involved a return to classic Jewish texts, a return to *lehrhaus*. Its approach was of the de-schooling sort, which emphasized the student and his personal and intellectual growth, rather than some formal school curriculum. This reflected the general anti-establishment attitude of the times. In this regard, the cultural heroes included men such as Herbert Marcuse and Noam Chomsky, who goaded American youth to that radical perspective known as "New Left."

By 1968 the New Left had moved from a tacit to an explicit anti-Israel stance, and consequently Jews who were moving to a higher ethnic profile were experiencing greater difficulties staying within the fold. At a 1969 meeting, for instance, Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), participating in a teach-in in Washington, D.C., were arguing vehemently against the validity of a separate Jewish group operating in radical politics. Others argued back and by dawn one of the SDS members started quoting verbatim from Mao's little red book. His opponents responded by chanting the morning prayers, the *Shaḥarit*, in Hebrew. This polarization between the mainstream SDS and the more Jewishly conscious activists illustrates the tightrope along which Jews drawn towards the evolving Jewish Student Movement chose to walk.

The earlier American ethic of rugged individualism was being replaced by that of group activity; instead of "pull yourself up by your own bootstraps," there was "work in your community" and "we shall overcome." A dominant mode of behavior had been radicalized in its idiom, and a young Jew faced with existential quandaries and problems of group identities could easily come to think of his search for roots as radical.

Toward Crystallized Stands. Alinsky and Jacobs suggest the tone of the (Jewish) American radical tradition, and Chomsky and Marcuse its intellectual goadings to radical social action. The Students for a Democratic Society served as the paradigm of a radical group and symbol of the New Left of the 1960s.

The aims of the SDS were described by Straughton Lynd in "The New Radicals and Participatory Democracy" (*Dissent*, Summer 1965): "… that the individual share in those social decisions determining the quality and direction of his life; that society be organized to encourage independence in man and provide the media for their common participation."

This was to become characteristic of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee and the "greening of America." The participatory democracy of SDS, with its parallelistic approach – working within the community, i.e., grass-roots as the locus of power; community schools; local papers; a diversity of mini-institutions; free universities – served structurally as the model for much of the behavior of the Jewish Student Movement. By the early 1970s there would be Jewish "free universities" and Jewish studies departments. Even Jewish Community Centers would have "Jewish culture personnel."

M.J. Rosenberg's "To Uncle Tom and Other Such Jews" (*Village Voice*, February 13, 1969) has become a document of its age. It spread among Jews across American campuses like wildfire. It gave voice to the feelings of many young Jews who would "work within your community"; "stand up and be counted as a Jew"; "work on the grass roots level" and who would reconcile, perhaps even subordinate, their politics to their ethnic affiliation. M.J. Rosenberg suggests the spirit of the Jewish Student Movement – both in what allowed it to pass into the American scene and in its insistence on the right to assertion of Jewish power. These are, of course, at least incompatible, and the JSM was ill put to contain both trends for long.

Rosenberg speaks for those of his generation of post-Holocaust, Third Jewish Commonwealth Jews who had begun to opt for grappling with their Jewish heritage and the incorporation of the realities of Jewish existence (perhaps, especially the death trauma of Auschwitz and the birth trauma of Israel) into their daily living.

> The self-hating Jew should have died with the creation of Israel. If the drama enacted in Cyprus, Europe, and Palestine between 1945 and 1948 did not convince him of the blood and guts of his own people then I am not sure anything would.
>
> The Young American Jew… craves assimilation; the very idea of "Jewishness" embarrasses him. If you tell him that he doesn't "look Jewish," he will invariably take it as a compliment. The concept of Jewish nationalism, Israel notwithstanding, he finds laughable. The leftist Jewish student… is today's "Uncle Tom." He scrapes along ashamed of his identity and yet is obsessed with it. He goes so far as to join black nationalist organizations, not as a Jew, but as a white…. His destiny is that of the Jews but he denies what is apparent to the rest of us; he wants to be an "American," a leftist American talking liberation and an aspiring WASP.
>
> The miracle of 1948 was that the Jew did it alone, with the guns he could smuggle and the iron will that is the legacy of Auschwitz…. This makes it so imperative that we ensure that which was won by Jewish heroes on the fields of Palestine will not be lost with the aid and connivance of Jewish moral cowards…. "
>
> The issue is one of Jewish pride. The Jewish professor who makes a point of teaching on Yom Kippur with subtle mockery of those students who stay home,… the Jewish radicals who are prepared to fight for the Czechs, the Greeks, and the Biafrans and yet reject Israel; these are our Uncle Toms and our shame. The Jew must accept his identity … the burden of proof is on you. You who mockingly reject every lesson of your people's history…. In the aftermath of the crematoriums, you are flippant. In the wake of Auschwitz, you are embarrassed. Thirty years after the Holocaust you have learned nothing and forgotten everything. Ghetto Jew, you'd better do some fast thinking.

Rosenberg criticized what he called the "bagels-and-lox society" Hillel Houses. He rejected both their insularity and their programs. The first "generation" of the movement (1968–72) shared this evaluation and engaged the Hillel people in a dialectic which led to a move away from a somewhat hollow home-away-from-home in which one could be quietly, safely Jewish on campus, and toward a Hillel which promoted active Jewish involvement and study.

There was a shift in the reality tests of Judaism – from the edifice temple to the community prayer room, from the classroom to the open *lehrhaus*, from the bagels-and-lox brunch to the communal *sukkah*. The call was to a more public Jewish witnessing and the slogan was: Israel is real; Diaspora is real. A de facto Judaism as labeled by others would not suffice, nor would old patterns of expression be adequate. The goal became to rejuvenate and reauthenticate a living Judaism.

This call and others were heeded by Jews who formed the various groups which make up the JSM. From the Jewish Defense League on the right, to the Radical Zionist Alliance on the left (which so significantly shifted its emphasis from "Jewish radicals" to "Radical Jews") and the communitarian *ḥavurot* located at some apolitical point in between, young Jews stood up to be counted. They demanded some of the access, the means, the space of the American Jewish community. In the ethnic mode of the late 1960s, the relatively Protestant frame of the Reform movement with its over-arching "grand issue" concerns could not satisfy the young Jew seeking expression of his Jewishness; nor did he feel comfortable in other of the traditional denominational Jewish sub-groups. He wanted a nondenominational Jewishness, an ethnically binding frame. He wanted to be part of a group, of a movement. Indeed, by being ethnically bound, by achieving a subculture particularism, he would be able to pass in the new America, to demand power for his group. The new "greened" Jew could be at home as a Jew in the new "greened" America, or so it seemed in 1968–69.

Aliveness of Israel and Diaspora. The greened Jews' move was away from the "Jewishness of survival" which they perceived as the over-mortgaged heritage of their parents. Israel as a safety deposit box for their Jewish identity would not suffice. They wanted a growing, developing Diaspora Jewishness, and adopted the more *au courant* ecological metaphor of "greening," of "return to roots."

A major confrontation developed between the emerging demands of Jewish students and their fathers, i.e., within the Jewish community. Hillel Levine, on behalf of a loosely knit ad hoc group, Concerned Jewish Students (CJS) of Boston, presented a set of demands to the Council of Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds in November, 1969. This confrontation was the first of numerous head-on encounters between "radical" (root-searching) young Jews and the established Jewish communities on a local, regional, and national level. It marked the insistence that they, the young Jews, have a say in determining what was happening in the Jewish community. It was a bid for power. The CJS asserted:

> In affirmation of our Jewishness and our concern for Jewish Survival we feel we can no longer be silent. Distortions in the budget priorities of Jewish Federations have long been decried.… We demand that, while maintaining the generous level of support for Israel, all local federations undertake a drastic and immediate reordering of domestic priorities in their local communities, in order to improve the quality of Jewish cultural life on campus and in the community.

Bill Novak, then of *Response*, a magazine founded by Jewish undergraduates at Columbia, which has operated as "the unofficial intellectual and artistic voice of the new Jewish counter-culture" sounded the call:

> You have a culture, so dig it
> You have a people, work with it
> You have a history and a body of literature,
> Study it!

Meanwhile, Jewish students elsewhere were also responding to the times. 1968 was a year of student demands and new ethnicities. The World Union of Jewish Students (WUJS) is an international federation of Jewish student unions from over 30 countries. In the late 1960s the importance of strengthening WUJS on the North American continent, given the higher-profile Jewish activism, the new ethnicity and the sense of the growing importance of North American Student Jewry, became apparent to both WUJS and its Jewish Agency sponsors.

Certain of the leaders of the Youth and He-Ḥalutz Department of the Jewish Agency, alert to the need for new forms of pat Zionist yea-saying, given changes in fashions and the times, were, in the mid and late 1960s, eager to encourage the formation of Jewish groups, journals, etc., which could serve as vehicles for propagating a concerned Jewish involvement. They accurately sensed the potential usefulness of the campus as medium.

In 1969, at Brewster, N.Y., the assembled representatives of the older national student organizations and the new independent "Jewish Student Movement" decided to create "Network" in order to keep one another informed and to ferment activities.

"Network" stated that its aspirations were grounded in "belief in the unity of the Jewish people. Like most Jews we agree on very little else. Even in our common commitment to the Soviet Jewish struggle and to the flourishing of Israel we differ in our visions and tactics.… We want to share with each other in the rejuvenation of the Jewish people, each of us in his own way.…"

Network's aim to "provide Jewish youth organizations with the opportunity to relate to each other without the intervention of the establishment organizations" was a Jewish counter-culture move, toward the grass-roots expression of needs and away from mediating, remote "representation."

WUJS. Particularly dramatic is the history of WUJS's relationship to the World Zionist Organization, to which it was accepted in 1968 (26th Zionist Congress) and within which it was so bitterly attacked over its Arad Program, 1972 (27th Zionist Congress).

In Arad (XV WUJS Triennial Congress) the new "ethnic" Jews who, although committed to Israel and its survival, were critical of the policies of the State of Israel and of Zionist ideology, found that their analyses were not well received by the very authorities who had recently sent them out to struggle with the New Left.

The Zionist establishment had been disturbed at the snowballing anti-Zionism of the "New Left" and correctly realized that a left Zionist force could be an effective response. Thus, at the Brewster conference, where the WUJS appeared on the American scene, and at others which would follow, the Youth and He-Ḥalutz Department under the leadership of Mordekhai Bar-On, lent its weight, experience, and financial backing.

The financial backing did not bring a line-towing to any of the standard acceptable versions of secular Zionism. It is interesting that, given the asserted Jewishness of these new young Zionists, the Department itself underwent a renewed concern with non-secular Zionism. The very polarity, so unfortunately entrenched in Israel life, between the secular and the religious, was challenged. Unlike the Zionist left of an earlier generation, the "Radical Jews" are not programmatically secularist. The "Judaizing" they brought about was part of the dialectic between the Jews of the "movement" and the controllers of the Jewish community. This dialectic took place with the Agency, and within local Jewish communities, and among the supporters of the Jerusalem program of the WZO and the Arad program of WUJS, *et al.*

It did not always entail a neat adherence to the "rules of the game." WUJS barely survived the 1972 WZO backlash response to its Arad program. The Jerusalem Program/Arad Program entanglement is a high point in Jewish Student Movement/Establishment Jewry relations.

Arad Program.

> 1. Zionism is the national and also, by virtue of its territorialistic aspect, the social liberation and emancipation movement of the Jewish people; it is to be realized in Israel. The universalistic task of the Jewish people, as expressed in its prophetic tradition, must arise out of the necessary concentration of the Jewish people in Israel, so that out of this framework, it can devote its energies to the social emancipation of Mankind.
>
> 2. A condition for this realization is: The recognition of the national rights of the Palestinian Arabs, not only as a political step, but as a consequence of Zionist ideology.
>
> 3. The aims of Zionism are (a) the preservation of the existence of the Jewish people, united by their common identity, through the fostering of the Jewish values and strengthening the identity that will bring to a fulfillment in Israel. (b) the abolition of the abnormal situation of the Jewish people living in the Diaspora, by its territorial concentration in the State of Israel. (c) the realization in the State of Israel of a democratic society, just, equalitarian, and peace loving that recognizes the right of self-determination of all peoples. (d) the encouragement of the Jews to become conscious of, and identify with, the liberation struggle of other peoples. (e) the protection of the rights of Jews everywhere.

Contrast this with the resolution of the 27th Zionist Congress, a resolution known as the 1968 Jerusalem Program:

> The aims of Zionism are: The unity of the Jewish People and the centrality of Israel in Jewish life; The ingathering of the Jewish People in its historical homeland, Eretz Israel, through Aliya from all countries; The strengthening of the State of Israel which is based on the prophetic vision of justice and peace; The preservation of the identity of the Jewish People through the fostering of Jewish and Hebrew education and of Jewish spiritual and cultural values; The protection of Jewish rights everywhere.

The contrast between the Arad and the Jerusalem Programs is obvious. In light of the backstage treatment dealt with the WUJS people in overreaction to their program, it is difficult to concede that the disillusionment that followed the ugly rejection could call forth anything but angry tantrums, "children" to "parents." The would-be "*bonim*" received naughty "*banim*" treatment.

Radical Zionist Alliance. In 1969, in Palmer, Mass., the North American Radical Zionist Alliance (RZA) came to life. Child of radical enthusiasms, dreams of Zion, and calculated analyses of power-options, it was to serve as an umbrella organization for Jews working in small groups, united by their concerted search for their Jewish selves, a shared concern for effecting social change, and their differing concerns for the Jewish polity.

"Radical Zionist Alliance" was a name, a category, fashioned to drape around a coalition of voices expressing consonant concerns at a time when to group in America was to group ad hoc – For Women; For Peace; Veterans against Vietnam; American Committee for Peace and Justice; *et al.* Such was the social metaphor.

The RZA groups were largely campus-based. They had begun to establish newspapers, push for Jewish studies on campus (not unlike their co-students who were demanding Black Studies), and to challenge the American Jewish establishment on its priorities in funding and on the quality of their Jewish education.

The newspaper established by RZA, *Nitzotz*, was short-lived. RZA, like its member group, the Jewish Liberation Project in New York, had a complicated relationship to *Mapam*, marked by ambivalence and problems of controlling the "young people." Involvement with Israeli political parties is a characteristic shared with the Jewish Defense League.

The formalizing of RZA seems to have been more a watershed in the institutionalizing of the new radical mode than a commitment to joint programs of action. The numerous conventions (Brewster, Madison, Philadelphia, etc.) and retreats and scrambled get-togethers among different participants in, and adherents to, the idea of the Jewish Student Movement from 1968 to 1972 suggest a pattern of ritualistic confirmation of the invisible community they formed and an occasion for recharging the commitments of the members.

In the general mood of political impotence that followed the May 1970 invasion of Cambodia, many activist Jews began to lose interest in politics or to transform their activism into a super-particularistic Jewish nationalist identity – Jewish Defense League or Soviet Jewry work or a turning to Jewish nondenominational religious movements. The Student Struggle for Soviet Jewry, founded in 1964 by people who later became leaders of various of the other groups, was a rallying point of Jewish involvement for activist Jews of all political persuasions. Those who stressed their RZA commitments toyed with the idea of city-kibbutzim (Urbutz); while on campus they did pro-Israel information work, protested awards to reactionary politicians by Zionist organizations, and confronted the Jewish Defense League.

The demise of RZA by 1972 reflects their disposability to the Jewish establishments (especially to the Zionist establishment for whom they had worked on the campuses); a conformity to the general shift on campuses from political and outer-oriented to spiritual and inner-oriented concerns; and their members' inability to cope with the realities of contemporary Israel life.

In late 1972, the Washington Jewish Student Organization (Seattle) could advertise in "Network" its sponsorship of a conference "of all those interested in detailed discussion of the *theoretical* and *strategic* questions now facing the broadly defined socialist-Zionist movement in North America…. This conference will be *political* and will *not* include seminars on Jewish identity, creative *Shabbatot*, Jewish media, innovative *Halakhah*, Krishna-Mishna or Neo-Hassidism…."

The "spiritual" interests struck from the RZA agenda became the critical interests of the Jewish Student Movement. The "spiritual revolution" which had taken root in the American campuses at the turn of the decade now flourished among the second generation of the Jewish Student Movement.

[Chava Alkon Katz]

In Yugoslavia

Zionism in the countries that united on Dec. 1, 1918, to form the kingdom of the Serbs, Croatians, and Slovenes sprang from three main sources: the traditional national-religious aspirations of Sephardi Jewry, which was permeated with messianic yearnings; the youth of these countries who had studied in Vienna; and the influence of the Ḥovevei Zion movement, which penetrated into these regions from Galicia, especially after the conquest of Bosnia by the Austrian army in 1878. Among the forerunners of Zionism were two rabbis in Croatia, although their activities had no reverberations in their immediate surroundings. Jekuthiel Hirschenstein, the rabbi of Varaždin, gave advice to Moshe Zaks, a Jerusalemite, who tried to engage in a kind of Zionist diplomacy in Vienna and Germany, as shown through their correspondence during the years 1835–38. Judah Hai *Alkalai actively engaged in the revival of Jewish nationhood, both philosophically and in practice, and tried in vain to bring the Jews of the Serbian city of Šabac to Ereẓ Israel after the pogroms of 1865. Viennese Zionism influenced the southern Slavic countries even before the advent of Herzl. David M. Alkalai, a relative of Judah Alkalai, was a member of the Viennese Zionist student group Kadimah, founded by Nathan Birnbaum. He and his wife, Rachel, Alkalai's granddaughter, were among the few representatives from the southern Slavic countries at the First Zionist Congress (1897). The others were Marcus (Mordecai) *Ehrenpreis from Djakovo and Armand *Kaminka from Osijek. Immediately after the Congress, Alkalai founded an association named Zion in Belgrade and, in 1937, he became the second chairman of the Zionist Organization of Yugoslavia. At the turn of the century, Sephardi students from the southern Slavic countries, including Bulgaria, established the Zionist Esperanza Society in Vienna. A student Zionist association, Bar Giora, uniting Ashkenazi and Sephardi Jewish students from the southern Slavic countries, was organized. In 1904 the two societies held meetings together and thus laid the foundation for cooperation between the southern Slavic Zionists. Judeja, a Zionist student organization from Zagreb, joined them in 1908.

Through the initiative of the Osijek Zionists (pioneers of Herzl's political Zionism in Croatia), led by Hugo Spitzer, the Yugoslav Zionist Federation was founded in 1909 within the borders of the Hapsburg monarchy. It united the Zionist groups that had been established in the cities and towns. The first Zionist local group of this kind was founded in 1897 by Nathan Landau, a teacher in the town of Brčko in Bosnia. Other active Zionists of the early period were Gustav Seidemann, Yoḥanan Thau, Raphael Poljokan, and A.D. Levi. Under the influence of the youth who had studied in Vienna, in 1898 a group of high school students in Zagreb formed an organization that produced a generation of leaders. Led by Alexander Licht, they transformed Zagreb from a center of assimilationism into the center of Yugoslav Zionism and the seat of most of its institutions. Licht's brother Herman organized the Jewish working youth. In Belgrade, David Albala, a member of Bar Giora, founded the youth organization Gideon, which also raised a group of active Zionists. Between the Balkan War and World War I there was a discernible emigration of Jews from Bitolj (Monastir), Macedonia, some of whom reached Jerusalem. Active, organized Zionism actually began in Macedonia between the two world wars in close contact with the center in Zagreb. Leon Kamhi was the leader in Bitolj and Josef Behar in Skoplje. In Vojvodina, which belonged to Hungary, assimilationist trends prevailed until the end of World War I.

World War I brought a temporary halt to all Zionist activities in the region, due to the government's prohibition, as well as the drafting of active Zionists into the army. Before the end of the war, however, the movement came to life in Croatia, Bosnia, and also in Vojvodina, partly because of the presence of a few Russian Jewish prisoners of war and Galician Jewish soldiers in the Austrian army garrisoned there. The leader of the Zagreb Zionists then was Lav Stern. The first conference of the Yugoslav Zionist Organization assembled in Zagreb in January 1919, immediately after the establishment of the independent kingdom of Yugoslavia, with representatives from every part of the new monarchy. It served to renew the tradition of undefined unity and cooperation in the

Zionist movement that had been prevalent before World War I and carried on in this role during the years between the two world wars. In 1919 a union of Jewish youth associations was established, uniting most of the students and working youth who had ties with various world Zionist youth movements. The union organized youth assemblies and summer camps. In 1920 the first *hakhshara* and Palestine Office were founded under the chairmanship of Abraham Werber (Avishur), as a result of the influence of pioneers of the Third Aliyah who passed through Zagreb in 1919–20 and the conference of Ha-Po'el ha-Ẓa'ir in Prague (1920). *Hakhsharot* existed until the Nazi occupation, training *ḥalutzim* from Central Europe. The first pioneers from Yugoslavia went to Palestine in 1921, and their *aliyah* continued until the Holocaust, with the numbers depending upon the Mandatory entry permits ("certificates") allocated to Yugoslavia.

Under the leadership of Julius Dohany, in 1929 the Revisionists broke away from the Yugoslav Zionist Organization and set up Betar; the Zionist Organization, however, preserved its encompassing influence under the leadership of Licht, covering the General Zionists and adherents of Labor Zionism, and youth movements from the left Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir and Tekhelet-Lavan (Neẓaḥ) to General Zionists. The number of religious Zionists was small and their influence minimal.

Although there was full cooperation between the Ashkenazi and Sephardi elements of the community from the end of the 19th century onward, part of the Sephardi community tended to oppose the Zionist Organization because of complaints voiced by the World Sephardi Organization about discrimination against Sephardim in Palestine. Already with the founding of independent Yugoslavia, the frictions between the majority in the movement and the Sephardi separatists deepened because of Yugoslav political issues. The Zionist movement produced women's WIZO groups, the Maccabi movement, and Jewish choirs, orchestras, and amateur theaters. It reinvigorated the existing elementary schools, founded Hebrew kindergartens (the first in Zagreb under the direction of Miriam Weiller), and invited teachers from Palestine. Jewish poets, writers, and researchers consciously devoted their efforts to Jewish topics and thus developed a rich Jewish literature in the Serbo-Croatian language. A monthly Zionist publication *Židovska Smotra* ("Jewish Review") appeared from 1906 to 1914. In September 1917, before the publication of the Balfour Declaration, copies of the Zionist central weekly *Židov* ("The Jew") began to appear, and it was printed up to the Nazi invasion. *Židovska Svijest* ("Jewish Consciousness") and *Jevrejski Život* ("Jewish Life"), a separatist Sephardi publication, were initiated in Sarajevo in 1918 and united in 1928 as *Jevrejski Glas* ("Jewish Voice"). *Gideon* and other youth publications appeared from 1919. A monthly children's publication, *Ha-Aviv*, was published from 1922 until 1941. The monthly publication *Ommanut*, under the editorship of H. Gottlieb, appeared from 1937 until March 1941. In Novi Sad, Vojvodina, various Zionist publications appeared in German, among them *Juedisches Volksblatt*. Books and pamphlets were also published by the periodicals *Židov* and *Jevrejski Narodni Kalendar*.

The Zionists of Yugoslavia worked to win control over the Jewish community councils. Almost all the Jewish communities (with the exception of the small, separate Orthodox communities) came into the hands of a stable Zionist majority until the mid-1930s. This majority was instrumental in the founding of the Federation of Jewish Communities in 1919, led by Spitzer and afterward by Fridrich Pops. The Federation of Jewish Communities was an active force behind national Jewish education, the results of which were evident even after the Holocaust: most of the survivors settled in Israel during 1944–52, and those who remained in Socialist Yugoslavia tried to retain their Judaism by keeping in close contact with the Jewish people and the State of Israel.

[Yakir Eventov / Cvi Rotem]

For later developments, see entries on the individual countries.

RETROSPECT AND PROSPECT

The Twenty-Seventh Zionist Congress which met in Jerusalem on June 19, 1968, outlined the aims of the Zionist Movement thus:

1) To promote the unity of the Jewish people and the centrality of the State of Israel in Jewish Life.

2) To assist the ingathering of the Jewish people in the historical homeland, which is based on the vision of justice and peace of the Hebrew prophets.

3) To preserve the identity of the Jewish people through fostering Jewish, Hebrew, and Zionist education with emphasis on spiritual and cultural values.

The document is known as the Jerusalem Program 1968. It reiterated the resolution which had been adopted by the Twenty-Third Zionist Congress (Jerusalem, August 30, 1951). It proposed that the Zionist organization undertake the following tasks:

1) To encourage immigration and assist in the absorption and integration of the immigrants in Israel.

2) To assist in agricultural settlement in the land and in economic development; to stimulate the pioneering spirit (*ḥalutziyyut*) among the settlers; and to acquire new tracts of land as the property of the Jewish people.

3) To raise funds and encourage investment of private capital.

4) To foster Jewish consciousness by propagating the Zionist idea by means of education and enlightenment.

5) To engage in a political campaign in defense of Israel and of Jewish rights.

IMMIGRATION (ALIYAH). Since the inception of the movement, *aliyah* had been a sacred precept of Zionist ideology and constituted the highest expression of Zionist fulfillment. As Ben-Gurion affirmed, the one and only hope for creative Jewish survival lay in immigration to the Jewish state. It contributes to the national strength and serves as an antidote to the demographic problem. It fortifies the physical bond between Israel and the Diaspora.

Jews have been immigrating to Ereẓ Israel for generations. They were motivated by sentimental and religious reasons. It was only from 1882 that the driving force was nationalism and the aspiration to lay the foundations of a national home, and eventually a state. Each wave of immigration was called *aliyah,* meaning ascent. Between 1882 and 1948 some 550,000 Jews made *aliyah*.

Jews immigrated in spite of the restrictions instituted first by the Ottoman government and subsequently by the British authorities imposed. In the eyes of the Turks and the British this kind of immigration was illegal, but the Zionist Organization considered the prohibition itself as illegal. It is estimated that the total number of *"illegal" immigrants (*aliyah bet*) was 120,000, which constituted about 15 to 20 percent of the Jewish population in Palestine in May 1948 (around 640,000). The figure of 120,000 does not include the Cyprus internees. Even during the hazardous years of World War II (1939–45) immigration did not stop and reached the total figure of both legal and "illegal" immigrants of 62,530. During the period between the end of World War II and May 15, 1948, the total number of immigrants, both legal and "illegal," amounted to 56,480, the infamous 1939 restrictions notwithstanding.

With the establishment of the State of Israel the gates of immigration opened wide. However, as the centers of Jewish communities in Eastern and Central Europe were tragically decimated, the State of Israel and the Jewish Agency turned to other centers. Between May 1948 and the late 1950s entire Jewish communities were transplanted to Israel. Among these communities were, in round numbers: Yemen (42,000), Iraq (125,000), Iran (30,000), Bulgaria (40,000), Yugoslavia (68,000), Czechoslovakia (20,000), Poland (120,000), Romania (125,000), Morocco, Tunisia, Algeria (60,000), Libya (32,000), China (2,250), and Aden (3,500). In addition to the sea route, the Jewish Agency organized accelerated immigration from Yemen, Iraq, and elsewhere (Operation Ezra and Nehemia, Operation Magic Carpet). Immigrants arrived in Israel from 70 countries speaking different languages and reared in different cultures and traditions. The newborn State and the Jewish Agency were confronted with the Herculean task of absorbing them and molding them into one nation.

During the first three years of Israel's existence its population more than doubled. During the 1950s and 1960s, Middle Eastern countries constituted a major source of immigration, while the 1970s saw a renewed wave from the West and the U.S.S.R. In the early 1990s there was a new wave of immigration from the former Soviet Union, as well as from other countries, notably Ethiopia and Argentina. In sum, from 1882 to 2005 more than 3,000,000 Jews immigrated to Israel, an unprecedented figure by world standards. By the end of the 20th century there were almost 100 times as many Jews in Ereẓ Israel as at the beginning of the century (50,000).

A word must be said about the two extraordinary Aliyot from the former Soviet Union as well as from Ethiopia. Isolated from the rest of world Jewry and living under a despotic government, Soviet Jewry was almost written off. However, the ecstatic reception accorded to Golda Meir at Moscow's Great Synagogue demonstrated that Soviet Jewry remained far from moribund in their ethnic loyalties. The emergence of a vibrant human rights movement among Soviet intellectuals was a powerful catalyst that contributed to the emergence of newfound nationalism and self-assertion. The remarkable military victory of the Israel Defense Forces in the Six-Day War was an inspiring source of pride. In consequence, the desire to immigrate to Israel became more powerful. The Soviet government was intransigent and hostile but the Jews did not give in. Their struggle could justly be termed heroic. Some were prepared to face imprisonment, to sacrifice their livelihoods and even life itself. The phenomenon of the "refusnik" fired the imagination of many far beyond the borders of Russia. Demonstrations were held in most of the Western capitals under the banner of "Let My People Go." Jews and gentiles took part in the campaign. It was a remarkable demonstration of solidarity in a cause.

American pressure too made its mark. On January 3, 1975, following resolutions overwhelmingly adopted by the House of Representatives and the Senate, President Gerald Ford signed the Trade Reform Act which incorporated the Jackson-Vanik-Hills Amendment. It made trade with the Soviet Union conditional on relaxation of emigration quotas for Jews wishing to go to Israel. It brought a reluctant Soviet Union to terms. For the Jewish lobby it was a remarkable victory.

During the 1970s, 160,000 Soviet Jews made *aliyah* to Israel, constituting approximately half the number of *olim* who arrived in the country. In February 1985 the best-known Prisoner of Zion, Nathan (Antoly) *Sharansky, was freed from a Soviet prison after a long international campaign for his release. On his arrival in Israel he was accorded a national welcome.

After Mikhail Gorbachev came to power a liberal and open policy was initiated, so that during the first part of 1990 *aliyah* reached a high point – 100,000 *olim* were registered – a number that would have been considered completely improbable a few years earlier.

The Israelis observed all this with amazement and admiration. It was nothing short of miraculous. It presented the government of Israel as well as the Jewish Agency with an unprecedented challenge. The absorption of hundreds of thousands of new immigrants within a short period of time in terms of housing, employment, and integration into Israeli society was a task that seemed beyond the ability of the young state. There were indeed a great many problems. But then a second miracle occurred. Not only did the Russian immigrants adjust to the new conditions with relative ease but within a short period they began to contribute to Israeli life, in economics, culture, science, and medical services. For this was an *aliyah* rich in talent, enterprising and determined. No previous *aliyah* had included so many academics, engineers, technicians, musicians, and scientists. Coming from a country which had been anything but democratic, they showed acute political awareness and their representation in the Knesset (eight seats) in a party called Yisrael be-Aliyah was a testimony to their civic maturity. In short, this was one of the greatest gifts that Israel and the Zionist enterprise had received since its foundation.

The Israelis were spellbound also by immigration of Jews from Ethiopia. They were of an entirely different background. Black-skinned, they lived in the highlands of Gondar province. Considered by their neighbors as falashas (strangers), they identified themselves as *Beta Israel. Their origin was uncertain but it seems that they were Africans who in the early Middle Ages had been converted to Judaism. Although cut off from world Jewry they had preserved Jewish customs and traditions with remarkable tenacity in the face of merciless persecutions at the hands of Christian governments. Nor did their yearning to return to Zion abate at any time. By the 19th century their numbers had dwindled to less than 30,000. In 1948, when the news of the foundation of the Jewish State reached them, they became possessed of a feverish desire to depart to the Land of Promise.

In March 1979, with President Carter's assistance, the government of Israel discreetly transferred funds to Sudan's President Ja'afar Numeiri, who for his part agreed to grant Ethiopian Jews temporary asylum in Sudan. Yet their initial migration of over 9,000 people was a trying ordeal. They went on foot, encountering incredible difficulties – disease, starvation, robbery, rape – until they reached a prearranged base, from which 2,000 were transported to the Red Sea coast and then taken to Israel by the Israeli navy. Five years later, in 1984, Operation Moses was carried out, during which another 7,000 Ethiopian Jews were taken out of Sudan. This time they were flown to Europe and from there to Israel. The Israeli government, jointly with the Jewish Agency, the World Zionist Organization, and other bodies, had done a magnificent job. Operation Moses was followed by Operation Solomon, during which, in May 1991, 15,000 Ethiopian Jews were air-lifted to Israel in 36 planes. About 4,000 remained behind in the Gondar highlands; these too, in due course, were quietly, though less dramatically, transported in small groups to Israel.

The absorption of the Ethiopian Jews and their integration into the Israeli society has proven to be far more difficult than that of *olim* from the former Soviet Union. But at least their physical existence is assured. Their *aliyah* could be truly termed as a heroic implementation of the Zionist ideal without prior education in Zionism.

SETTLEMENT ON THE LAND. Like *aliyah*, settlement on the land constitutes a principal tenet of Zionism. The back to the land movement symbolized the transformation of the Jew's image from that of a "luftmentsh" in the Diaspora to that of a healthy and productive individual rooted in the land. This was palpable evidence of normalization. It showed the world that the Zionist experiment was not a passing phenomenon but a durable entity.

In addition to the social, economic, and political importance of settlement on the land, it had also a strategic value. It defined the borders of the Yishuv and subsequently of the State. Thus Kefar Giladi, Metulla and Tel Ḥai ensured that the Galilee panhandle would become part of the Jewish National Home. The pioneers of the 11 settlements that were established in the Negev on the eve of the proclamation of the State ensured that the Negev would not be cut off from the rest of the country.

Since the beginning in 1882, 1,221 rural settlements have been founded in all parts of the country (944 since statehood), changing its superstructure and landscape beyond recognition. It was the World Zionist Organization that played the major role in implementing this huge enterprise. The Jewish National Fund (the Keren Kayemet le-Israel) was also engaged in agricultural development, acquisition of land, building new roads, and afforestation. The land purchased by the KKL became the property of the Jewish people. It could not be sold and was therefore formally leased by the settlers.

EDUCATION. Education has traditionally been the Jewish forte. It is the asset that Jews throughout the generations have valued the most. A learned man was esteemed as a model to be emulated. Education fortified the Jewish ability to survive in hostile environments. Although emancipation brought its obvious blessings, it was sometimes at the expense of Jewish identity and culture. Acculturation and the consequent assimilation, not to mention intermarriage, have become the greatest threats to Jewish survival. In the United States the number of mixed marriages has already passed the 50% mark. In France, in England, and in Western Europe in general the situation is not much better. This is the price the Jewish people are paying for the enjoyment of life in open societies.

The World Zionist Organization could not remain indifferent to this dangerous trend. The answer lies in education. It should be borne in mind that in the Diaspora 50 percent of Jewish youth do not receive any Jewish education at all, and that only 25 per cent attend Jewish schools. First it should be emphasized that education begins at home. The home and family life play an important part in designing the educational process. It is the parents who provide the initial framework and lifestyle that will prepare the child for Jewish life in a gentile environment. But if the parents themselves are subject to the identity crisis so characteristic of life in the Diaspora, the future of their offspring as Jews does not seem bright.

The school system is meant to ameliorate the situation, and it is here that the Zionist Organization plays its part by inspiring and assisting the local Jewish communities to cultivate Jewish education. In concrete terms teacher-*sheliḥim* from Israel are sent to reinforce the existing staffs of local schools and give them particular direction. They focus on teaching Hebrew, Jewish history, and Zionism and on inculcating greater familiarity with the State of Israel. Their overriding purpose is to strengthen Jewish identity, to induce pride in the Jewish heritage, and to equip the students with the tools to counter anti-Zionist and antisemitic propaganda.

There are two kinds of schools: Jewish day schools and complementary systems of education. Most day schools are on the elementary level. After completion, studies are continued in general schools. The complementary educational system is meant for those parents who for a variety of reasons do not have the option of a full day school. In most cases it is housed on the synagogue premises or in the community cultural center. It has classes on Sundays and thus the system became known as "Sunday School." The program of study at complementary schools focuses on fundamental Jewish concepts, Hebrew, the teaching of prayer, preparation for Jewish festivals, and reinforcing the bond with the State of Israel. The educational effect of this system is limited but still the seeds are being sown. In the United States about 24 percent of young Jews participate in this framework.

In addition to the formal educational system, youth and children enjoy an informal educational experience. In most Jewish communities in the Diaspora there are frameworks which facilitate encounters aimed at the consolidation of Jewish national identity and ideas. These are provided by the Zionist youth movements, which operate practically on parallel lines with the youth movements in Israel. In North America about seven percent of children and youth participate in informal youth movement activities, in the former Soviet Union about 20 percent, and in Latin America 30 percent. Most of the youth organizations maintain strong connections with Israel and Zionism though with different ideological orientations. Moreover, an integral part of their programs are visits to Israel.

Visits to Israel have proved highly effective in the educational process. They have existed since the 1950s and expanded significantly after the Six-Day War. They last for several weeks during the summer vacation and include tours of historical sites of national significance and an introduction to contemporary Israeli society and culture. Since the 1990s these trips have been called named the "Israel Experience." Jewish leaders throughout the world recognized the importance of this particular experiment in stemming assimilation by forging Jewish identity and in educating future leaders. In 2000 a new venture was launched: "The Birthright Israel Project." It is sponsored by Jewish philanthropists, the government of Israel, the Jewish Agency, and Jewish communities throughout the world. The project also enables university students to take courses at institutions of higher learning in Israel free of charge through scholarships. Nearly 40,000 young Jews have visited Israel so far within the framework of the Birthright Israel Project.

Also of importance are summer camps for children and youth financed by communities In the Diaspora. They are popular particularly in North America, where there are over 200 such camps. In some cases camps are active all year round. The participants range from age 8 to 16. The Zionist Organization plays a major role in all the above-mentioned activities. Early in 1981 the World Zionist Organization launched the Jerusalem Fellows program, which aims to recruit young men and women and train them in Israel for leadership positions in the field of education and organization.

In the area of adult education in 2000 the Jewish Agency initiated a program of "People to People" which aims to stimulate intercourse between professional groups and individuals in Israel and the Diaspora. Partnerships between cities in Israel and Jewish communities in the Diaspora in various parts of the world ("Partnership 2000") is yet another example of cooperation and the demonstration of mutual responsibility. Thus, the city of Netanyah is linked to the Jewish community in Cincinnati; Ramleh and the Gezer regional council to Kansas City; Ashkelon to Mexico; Nahariyyah to Belgium, etc. Public lectures, conferences, and seminars add another dimension to adult education. A powerful factor in galvanizing Jewry and enhancing solidarity with Israel are extraordinary events like the Yom Kippur War and the struggle for the rights of Soviet Jews ("Let My People Go") and against all manifestations of antisemitism and the vilification of Israel.

ORGANIZATION. At the outset of the 21st century the supreme body of the World Zionist Organization remained the Zionist Congress – an elected parliament of sorts. It constitutes the organizational arm of the Zionist movement. Its main roles are: to stimulate *aliyah*; to strengthen the State of Israel; to promote Jewish and Hebrew education and cultivate Jewish values; to counter the trends of assimilation and defend Jewish rights. The Congress meets every four or five years and the seats (more than 500) are allocated geographically in the following proportions; 38% for Israel, 29% for the United States; and 33% for all other countries. In Israel delegates are allocated to the Zionist political parties proportionately to their representation in the Knesset.

The Congress elects the Zionist executive, on which major ideological movements and international bodies are represented, as well as the Zionist General Council. The latter body meets once a year between congresses. The chairman of the Zionist executive serves also as chairman of the Jewish Agency and the Executive. Similarly, the treasurer of the World Zionist Organization serves as the treasurer of the Jewish Agency. In 1952 an agreement was reached between the government of Israel on the one hand, and the World Zionist Organization and the Jewish Agency on the other, on a functional distribution. Accordingly, the Zionist institutions took upon themselves all matters relating to *aliyah*, absorption of immigrants, and settlement on the land, while security, finances, trade, employment, etc. are the prerogatives of the government. The agreement was confirmed in a covenant two years later. In 1980 a coordinating commission of these two constituent bodies approved the establishment of a national authority for *aliyah* and absorption.

Between the years 1973 and 2000 the following leaders served as chairmen of the Zionist Executive: Aryeh Dulzin, Pinḥas Sapir, Joseph Almogi, Simcha Dinitz, Yehiel Leket, Avraham Burg, and Salai Meridor. Since the Twenty-Seventh Zionist Congress, no president had been elected.

There is a body of opinion that maintains that with the establishment of the State of Israel the Zionist Movement had fulfilled its historical task and outlived its usefulness. This is a misconception. The state, as Herzl proclaimed, is not an end in itself but only a means to implement high ideals such as the ingathering of exiles; redemption of land; building of a model society, and serving as a beacon to Jewry and the world at large. So long as these objectives have not been fulfilled, Zionism still has a role to play in Jewish history. Zionism is the embodiment of Jewish nationalism and as long as the Jewish people exist, Zionism will endure as well.

[Isaiah Friedman (2nd ed.)]

ZIONIST UTOPIAS

In the initial stages of the Zionist movement, the borderline between programmatic and utopian writing was blurred. Moreover, Zionist authors and publicists often consciously made use of the utopian form in order to visualize the end product and thereby prove the feasibility of Zionism. Herzl's *Der Judenstaat* is a classic example of a book in which Zionist ideology and utopian visions are present. In a letter to Moritz *Guedemann (August 22, 1895), Herzl writes of the book: "I can now say why it is no Utopia… There have been plenty of Utopias before and after Thomas More, but no rational person ever thought of putting them into practice. They are entertaining, but not stirring" (Complete Diaries 1, 235–6). Herzl's novel *Altneuland*, which was the most famous Zionist utopia, had a great deal in common with the program presented in *Der Judenstaat. Altneuland* sought to indicate the way in which Herzl visualized the realization of Zionism – a Jewish state in which technology would be developed to the highest degree and in which the Jewish intelligentsia would find unlimited opportunities. The new culture, however, would be essentially a European culture, based on a medley of languages and devoid of distinctive Jewish character. It is thus not surprising that Aḥad Ha-Am, to whom the continuity of Jewish culture was the essence of Zionism, was outraged by the book. Herzl envisaged that the Jewish state would become a reality by 1923, 20 years after the publication of *Altneuland*.

Another Zionist utopia, *Massa le-Ereẓ Yisrael bi-Shenat Tat* ("A Journey to Ereẓ Israel in the Year 5800 (2040)," 1893), by the Hebrew writer Elhanan Leib *Lewinsky, which preceded *Altneuland* by ten years, reflects the Zionist dream of East European Jewry, rooted as it was in Hebrew culture. The Hebrew language and the fostering of Hebrew culture occupy a central place in the book, and Aḥad Ha-Am's vision of Ereẓ Israel becoming the spiritual center of the Jewish people reaches fulfillment. In *Ein Zukunftsblick* by Edmund *Eisler (written in 1882 and published anonymously in 1885) both the political and cultural visions of the Jewish state are found. The novel describes the Jewish exodus from Europe and the creation of the state of "Judah" in Ereẓ Israel, which has Hebrew as its official language; the fledgling state is attacked by its neighbors, but vanquishes them all. Eisler even had a nightmare vision of Germany. He exchanged correspondence with Herzl on the subject of his book. In the main, the book reflected the background of European antisemitism and the pogroms in Russia.

Edward Bellamy's book *Looking Backward, 1887–2000* had a profound influence on Zionist utopias. One example was a utopia of political Zionism by Max Austerberg-Verakoff, *Das Reich Judaea im Jahre 6000* (2241), published in 1893. The author, a non-Jew (although possibly of Jewish origin), envisaged a mass exodus of Jews from Europe, their settlement in Ereẓ Israel, and the founding there of a Jewish state with Hebrew as its official language. He discusses the attitude of the Jewish state toward the European power that had been guilty of persecuting the Jews (Russia) and the relations between the citizens of the Jewish state and the Jews who stayed behind in the Diaspora. Austerberg-Verakoff also established contact with Herzl. Another Zionist utopia inspired by Bellamy was *Looking Ahead* (1899) by Henry Pereira *Mendes. A native of England, Mendes settled in the United States and for several decades played an important role in the cultural life of American Jewry. He was one of the first American Jews to respond to Herzl's call, and his book expresses the essence of the Zionist vision: the Jewish state and Jerusalem, its capital, would be the center of world peace, and by the creation of the state, the nations of the world would redress the wrongs they had perpetrated against the Jews throughout the ages. There is also a description of the mass exodus of Jews to Ereẓ Israel; those who stay behind are enjoined to be loyal citizens of their countries, without losing awareness of the temporary nature of their residence outside of Ereẓ Israel.

At the height of the *Dreyfus trial (1898), a utopian extravaganza, "Anti-Goyism in Zion," was published in *Siècle*, a Parisian journal, in March 1898; it later appeared in *Die Welt* in German translation (April 1898) and was also published in Hebrew (1954). Its author was Jacques Bahar, who represented Algerian Jewry at the First Zionist Congress. His work, written under the impact of manifestations of French antisemitism (which also had its repercussions in Algeria), describes a "Dreyfus trial" taking place in the Jewish state, with "Anti-Goyism" playing the role of European antisemitism. He makes the point that in the Jewish state tolerance would prevail and a phenomenon such as the antisemitism that dominated the Paris scene of 1898 would be unthinkable.

Two utopias describe a Jewish state bearing the name "Israel." One, written by the Hebrew author Isaac *Fernhof, describes the ascent of the poor and downtrodden Jews to Ereẓ Israel, where they create an independent state to which they give the name the State of Israel. The book is called *Shenei Dimyonot* ("Two Ideas") – one being the reality as experienced by the author, the other his vision of the Jewish state. The second utopia that refers to the Jewish state as the State of Israel was the work of the Hebrew-Yiddish writer Hillel *Zeitlin. Written in 1919 under the name *In der Medinas Yisrael in Yor 2000* ("In the State of Israel in the year 2000"), it reflects the tremendous impact of the Balfour Declaration upon the Jewish masses. The author foresees the establishment of the state and its growth and development. The work appeared in serial form in *Der Moment*, the Warsaw Yiddish daily, but was never completed. The Balfour Declaration also inspired *Komemiyyut* ("Upright"), a comprehensive work written in Russia in 1920–21 by the Hebrew author Shalom Ben-Avram and published shortly thereafter in the quarterly *Ha-Tekufah*. This utopia contains an astounding accurate vision of mass *aliyah*, the founding of the Jewish state, and the Jew at last straightening his back in the young and vibrant state.

During the British Mandatory period (1918–48), a number of utopias were published in Hebrew (as *Yerushalayim ha-Benuyah* by Boris *Schatz, 1924). They often reflect the contemporary situation – the struggle for Jewish labor and the opposition to the Mandatory regime. When the Jewish state is founded, the problems are foreseen as solved and all unjust decrees abolished.

[Getzel Kressel]

CHRISTIAN ZIONISM

As Zionism is understood to mean a modern Jewish movement aiming at resettlement in the Land of Israel and the revival of an independent Jewish nation, "Christian Zionism," i.e., the active support of Christians for such a movement, could not have preceded the Jewish forerunners of Zionism in the second half of the 19th century. However, Christian Zionism had a long prehistory, deeply rooted in theological thought and messianic expectations. Only gradually, with the emergence of Jewish political and settlement activities in Palestine, did Christian Zionism become more and more secular, pragmatic, and political, though it often still bore the imprint of its religious tradition and motivations. Thus, even in the historic breakthrough of the Balfour Declaration, issued by the British government in 1917, when political expediency was apparently the main factor, religious motives were certainly not absent from the thoughts of men like Lloyd George and Balfour. The importance of the Christian and biblical traditions also became apparent in the attitude toward the State of Israel in the 1950s and 1960s. The Afro-Asian world (including Muslim countries), insofar as it had no biblical traditions – particularly in Central and Eastern Asia – could only gradually "discover" and evaluate the ancient roots of the Jewish renaissance in the Land of Israel, and this realization developed mostly after these states had developed formal relations with Israel on a purely utilitarian basis. The attitude of the Christian world, however, remained clearly influenced by an undercurrent of intimacy derived from the biblical tradition.

The Theological Background. From the time of the Reformation, the belief that Jews should return to the Holy Land, in accordance with the biblical prophecies, became popular mainly among pietistic Protestants and certain groups of English Puritans. It was based on the millenarian concept which held, on the basis of a literal interpretation of apocalyptic prophecies, that the second coming of Jesus was at hand and that he would rule from Jerusalem for 1,000 years (the millennium). The millenarians anticipated not only the return of the Jews to their land but also their conversion to Christianity as important conditions and "signs of the time" prior to the second coming (Advent).

The Restoration movement spread from 16th-century England to other European countries and became particularly strong in the United States from the 18th century. It flooded the Protestant world with publications. Sometimes the Restorationists requested heads of state to take political measures in order to obtain rights for the Jews to settle in the Holy Land. Their activity remained without any practical results, however, until the 19th century, when essential changes took place in the character of the movement and in the motivations of Christians who supported the return of the Jews to the Land of Israel.

Some of the new sects which arose placed this belief at the center of their theology as the fulfillment of the eschatological prophecies which would bring on the end of days and the millennium. In 1830 the Plymouth Brethren were founded in England by John N. Darby (1800–82), whose doctrine of dispensationalist premillennialism asserted that all the biblical prophecies relate to the return of the Jewish people to its homeland prior to the Advent. Before the second coming, however, the Jews and all the other nations will be judged during a period of tribulation, after which Jesus and the Jewish remnant will rule over all the nations from Jerusalem. Many Protestant Fundamentalist churches adopted this outlook and continue to promote it to this day.

In 1844 the Christadelphians were established in England by John Thomas, author of *Elpis Israel*. From the outset, this sect supported the return of Jews to the Land of Israel. Later it offered practical assistance to Jews, such as the support of the Ḥibbat Zion movement, and even the attempt to rescue Jews during the Nazi Holocaust. The Mormons, founded by Joseph Smith in the United States in 1830, held that Jews would return to their land as "a sign of the time" of the second coming. In 1841 the Mormon missionary Orson Hyde was sent to Jerusalem, where he recited a "Zionist" prayer and dedicated the land to the Jews from the top of the Mount of Olives in Jerusalem. The Adventist movement, which emerged in the United States in 1830, split into many sects. A few of these sects view the return of the Jews to the Land of Israel as a fulfillment of their eschatological beliefs, and some of them have moved their center to Israel.

In the 19th century millenarian sects, mostly American, engaged in experiments in settlement in the Holy Land in order to await the approaching Advent of Jesus. All these attempts failed, including the 1851 agricultural settlement at Monthope, near Jaffa, of the American Clorinda S. Minor and the settlement near Jaffa of Reverend G. Adams and a group of Americans from the Church of the Messiah in 1866.

The Emergence of Political Motives. During the 19th century, Christian politicians in various countries attempted to act on behalf of the return of the Jews to the Land of Israel, adding to their religious beliefs the political interests of their countries in the Near East. An outstanding example was Lord Anthony Ashley Cooper, Earl of Shaftesbury (1801–85), who drew up detailed projects for the settlement of Jews in Palestine under British auspices, which he presented to the government and circulated among Protestant heads of state in Europe and in the United States. The beginning of practical Jewish settlement on the land in Ereẓ Israel, and especially the establishment of the Ḥibbat Zion movement and later Theodor Herzl's political Zionism, contributed to an increase in millenarian assistance to the realization of Zionist aspirations. The Canadian theologian Henry Wentworth Monk visited Palestine and assisted in the foundation of the first Jewish settlements. The English mystic Laurence Oliphant, who eventually settled in Palestine, lent aid to the first Jewish pioneers from Russia, tried to intercede on their behalf in Constantinople, and founded an influential Christian group in London to assist the Ḥibbat Zion movement. The Zionist activities of Herzl's friend William H. *Hechler also derived from a deeply religious outlook.

The most famous of the Zionist millenarians in the United States was William Blackstone (1841–1933) of Chicago, the author of *Jesus is Coming*, in which he expounded his belief in the future of the Jews in the Land of Israel according to the dispensationalist conception. He attempted a political realization of his ideas through memoranda to the president of the United States, in 1891 and in 1916, which demanded American intervention for the return of the Jews to the Land of Israel as a solution to the czarist anti-Jewish persecutions. Hundreds of eminent Americans signed these petitions, which stimulated various reactions in the general and the Jewish press. Blackstone participated in several Zionist conventions in the United States and remained a supporter of the Zionist movement until his death.

Archaeologists, Scholars, and Politicians. In the second half of the 19th century some Christians supported the return of the Jews to their homeland out of exclusively humanitarian or political motivations, distinct from theological views. In 1852 Colonel George Gawler (1796–1869) established the Association for Promoting Jewish Settlement in Palestine, which assisted the British consul in Jerusalem in the training of local Jews for agricultural work. He also published practical suggestions for Jewish settlement in Ereẓ Israel as a guarantee for establishing British influence in Syria. The Palestine Exploration Fund, established in England in 1865, was a center for energetic supporters of Jewish settlement in the Land of Israel. Among its members were the archaeologist Charles Warren, who conducted excavations in Jerusalem and foretold Jewish rule in the country, and Claude Reignier Conder (1849–1910), a cartographer and scholar of Palestinian studies who preached and wrote on the realization of the Zionist idea. The Italian philosopher and politician Benedetto Musolino (1809–85) preached Jewish settlement in the Land of Israel as a means of bringing European culture into the Middle East in *La Gerusalemme e il Popolo Ebreo* (1851). Jean Henri Dunant (1820–1910), founder of the International Red Cross, displayed a great interest in a humane solution to the Jewish problem. From 1863 to 1876 he attempted (in vain) to rouse the Jewish organizations in Western Europe to act on behalf of Jewish settlement of Palestine, and he founded the Palestine Colonization Society in London in 1875.

In 1887 the question of Jewish settlement in Ereẓ Israel reached the British parliament. Edward *Cazalet, a well-known industrialist and economist, demanded the return of the Jews to Palestine under British auspices both in his book and in his campaign speeches for parliament. He was the first Christian who regarded Ereẓ Israel as the spiritual and scientific center for Jewry, and he foresaw the idea of a Hebrew university in Jerusalem.

After the Balfour Declaration. In the 20th century, mainly after the Balfour Declaration (1917), another change occurred in Christian activity on behalf of Zionism and the establishment of a Jewish state. The British Palestine Society was established and was active from 1916 to 1924 and from 1930 to 1946 in advancing common interests of British policy and Zionism. Similar Christian organizations were founded in other countries. However, the most vigorous assistance and open support of Zionist aspirations were given by several Christian groups in the United States. In 1930 the Rev. Edward Russell founded the Pro-Palestine Federation, which was joined mostly by clergy. In 1932 the American Palestine Committee was founded. Its members included prominent public figures, statesmen, and officials. The Christian Council of Palestine was founded in 1942 and had a membership of 3,000 clergymen in 1946, mostly from liberal churches. The latter two organizations merged in 1946 as the American Christian Palestine Committee, which had a very influential membership of 15,000. This organization published books and pamphlets on the justice of Zionist aspirations and later to strengthen sympathy toward the State of Israel. After the establishment of the state, gentile friends of Israel founded organizational frameworks for their activities in the form of friendship leagues.

[Yona Malachy]

INTRODUCTION TO ZIONIST BIBLIOGRAPHY

Zionist literature developed in many languages: German (*Rome and Jerusalem* by Moses Hess), Hebrew (*Derishat Ẓiyyon* by Ẓevi Hirsch Kalischer and the articles of D. *Gordon), and gradually in many other languages, not only in countries with large Jewish populations. It also appeared in many forms, from thick volumes to leaflets and periodicals issued at various intervals (dailies, weeklies, monthlies, yearbooks, collections commemorating special occasions, etc.). The variety of form is reflected in the variety of genre: feature writing, essays, chronicles, belles lettres in all its forms (fiction, plays, poetry, etc.), historical research and documentation, and so forth. Zionist literature covers the period from the 1860s to the present and, including all the books, leaflets, articles, and so on, encompasses millions of items.

A difficulty in cataloging this wealth of material is that in the early days of Ḥibbat Zion, the border between "Zionist" material and works on Ereẓ Israel in general was very vague, and this lack of a clear distinction between the two categories was not overcome in later years. Even after the establishment of the State of Israel it was difficult to draw a distinct line between literature on the state and writings on the Zionist movement. Throughout the existence of Zionist literature, therefore, the terms, "Ḥibbat Zion," "Zionist movement," "Ereẓ Israel," and the "State of Israel," have been viewed as loosely synonymous, although the special scope of each concept was clear. Thus it is difficult to differentiate bibliographically between the history of the *yishuv* from the beginning of the 1880s and the history of the movement and political Zionism.

This overlapping in concepts is inevitably reflected in the majority of the works cited below. Characteristic is the subtitle of a recent platform for research, which is entitled *Ha-Ẓiyyonut: Me'assef le-Toledot ha-Tenu'ah ha-Ẓiyyonit ve-ha-Yishuv ha-Yehudi be-Ereẓ Yisrael* ("Zionism: Journal of the History of the Zionist Movement and the *Yishuv* in Ereẓ Israel," vol. 1, 1970). The same problem of exact definition exists in the bibliography *Esrim Shenot Medinat Yisrael* ("Twenty Years of the State of Israel," 1970) by A. Neuberg, in which much Zionist material is found, and the index volumes titled *Palestine and Zionism* (all these items are discussed below).

Bibliographies. As a rule, the bibliographies dealing with Zionism are listed in Shunami's *Bibliography of Jewish Bibliographies* (1965^2), but not all the material on this subject is found under the headings "Zionism" or "Zionist" in the index (p. 990), and a considerable amount of relevant material is found in other divisions. Bibliographical attention was first paid to the subject of Zionism at the end of the 19th century, even before the advent of Theodor Herzl. Practical efforts intensified with the advent of political Zionism, especially when newspapers throughout the world began to display an interest in Zionism. At a meeting of Russian members of the "Actions Committee" in Minsk, following the Minsk Conference (1902), it was decided to charge G. Belkowsky with the task of publishing a comprehensive bibliography on Zionism. The book came out in Russia under the title *Ukazatel literatury o sionizme* (St. Petersberg, 1903). It did not cite the names of the editors of the bibliography, which Belkowsky revealed after many years in a detailed article on this project (*Haolam*, Sept. 10, 1942, p. 425). The work listed over 4,000 entries in a variety of languages, in three categories: (1) Jewish nationalism; (2) Zionism: Theory and Practice; and (3) Ereẓ Israel.

The second of the three parts, which was to appear later and include literature in Hebrew and Yiddish, was not published because of the conditions in czarist Russia at the time. Hebrew works on Zionism were recorded afterward by William *Zeitlin in his bibliography *Bibliotheca Sionistica* (Frankfurt, 1909; reprint from ZHB, vols. 12–13, 1908–09; includes works from 1852 to 1905).

At the same time a bibliographical project of vast dimensions on Palestine, entitled *Die Palaestina Literatur*, began to be carried out under the editorship of Peter Thomsen. Up to 1971, six volumes had been published, covering the literature from 1895 to 1939 (although the title page of the sixth volume states that it goes down to 1944). This series was published in Germany from 1908 to 1956 (the beginning of the sixth volume includes a biography of Thomsen). Material on Zionism is found only in the first four volumes and in the section on contemporary Palestine; a vast amount of material is listed in several languages (inter alia, bibliographies other than those recorded by S. Shunami).

Since 1944 many bibliographies have appeared, some of a general nature and some devoted to various bodies and institutions of the Zionist movement and Zionist Organization. Among the latest general and detailed bibliographies that include Zionist literature in various languages is *Bibliografiah Ẓiyyonit* (1943), by Abraham Levinson (with the cooperation of N.M. Gelber), which lists 2,400 entries in 17 languages. Bibliographical notations have been added to each section of Yiẓḥak Gruenbaum's work *Ha-Tenu'ah ha-Ẓiyyonit* (vols. 1–4, 1942–54) by G. Kressel (1–2) and Israel Klausner (3–4). With the establishment of the State of Israel, Sophie A. Udin published an important bibliographical listing in English entitled "A List of References Leading to the Establishment of the State of Israel" (in *The Journal of Educational Sociology*, 22:3 (Nov. 1948), 239–47). Finally, *The State of Israel* (1948–68), by Assia Neuberg, contains much material on Zionism in a variety of languages (1970).

Any bibliography, no matter how complete, is by its nature unable to be entirely up-to-date in recording the continuous publication of works each year. Therefore annual bibliographical listings are included in various yearbooks: the *American Jewish Yearbook*, the *Palestine Yearbook*, the *Zionist Yearbook*, the *Jewish Book Annual*, etc. The most complete and correct ongoing bibliographical listing, however, is that published in each edition of the bibliographical quarterly of the Jewish National and University Library in Jerusalem, *Kirjath Sepher*, in the section on "Zionism, Ereẓ Israel, the State of Israel," which covers material published in Israel and abroad. The Zionist Archives in Jerusalem have published a bibliographical bulletin in various forms and at irregular intervals since 1936 (mimeographed). A vast amount of material on Zionism can also be found in the many bibliographies on personalities active in the field; these are listed in the section "Personal Bibliographies" in Shunami. The same is true of bibliographies on institutions and organizations within the Zionist movement, e.g., *Madrikh Bibliografi le-Sifrut Ẓiyyonit-Datit* ("A Bibliographical Guide to Literature on Religious Zionism," 1960^2), by Yiẓḥak Raphael, which goes beyond the field defined in its title and also includes articles in periodicals and the press, and *Ha-Po'el ha-Mizrachi be-Ereẓ Yisrael* (1968), by Yosef Salmon, which also includes articles.

Press and Periodicals. The press and periodicals, Jewish and non-Jewish, in all languages, contain much important material on the history of the Ḥibbat Zion movement, political Zionism, and everything pertaining to Ereẓ Israel over the past generations, from first-hand documentation (statements, press releases) to news items, commentary, reaction, essays, and research. Periodicals of all sorts, issued at varying intervals, whether published by official institutions of the Zionist Organization or its sympathizers or by those opposed or openly hostile to Zionism, reach into the thousands; and recent research has led to the conclusion that periodical literature attacking Zionism – whether published by Jews or non-Jews – is no less important for the study of Zionism than the publications of official Zionist organs or Zionist sympathizers.

In the beginning the scope of the Zionist press was limited, in direct relation to the size of the movement itself. In the 1860s and 1870s, the Jewish press, in all languages, was generally hostile, or at least apathetic, to the Jewish nationalist movement, with the exception of the *Jewish Chronicle* in England, *Der Israelit* and *Die Juedische Presse* in Germany, *The Occident* in the United States, and the Hebrew *Ha-Maggid* (Prussia). A pioneer of Zionist journalism in Germany was *Selbstemanzipation*, edited by N. Birnbaum, and its successor *Zion*, edited by H. Loewe and Willy Bambus (until Bambus came into conflict with Herzl before the First Zionist Congress). Then Herzl began to publish the weekly *Die Welt* (in German), which later became the first official organ of the Zionist Organization. Afterward organs of the Zionist organizations in various countries began to appear in a number of languages. Over the years Zionist newspapers have been established wherever a Zionist organization functioned, and some non-Zionist newspapers became pro-Zionist or tempered their opposition. At the same time, however (and until World War I), the Jewish press that was not particularly sympathetic toward Zionism – from the Orthodox and Reform movements to the leftist parties in Eastern Europe – was also a substantial force. The change in their attitude came about gradually, as the achievements of the Zionist movement and the *yishuv* became more noticeable and, by the outbreak of World War II, the future of the Jews in Europe grew darker and darker. Finally, a radical change in attitude came about during and after the Holocaust, which practically reversed the situation that had existed during the 1860s and 1870s: a very small minority of the press remained opposed to the Zionist movement and the State of Israel and the majority were devoted to them to one degree or another. Because of this change in attitude, it was practically unnecessary for the Zionist movement to maintain its own organs, although such a press does continue to exist in many countries.

The Hebrew press holds a unique position. Even when it was employed to preach the doctrines of the Haskalah and indifference toward Jewish nationalism and Zionism, the Hebrew language was, by its very nature, a kind of living bridge to Ereẓ Israel. After the illusions of the Haskalah in Eastern Europe had been destroyed, therefore, the Hebrew press was the most loyal instrument of the Ḥibbat Zion movement and afterward of political Zionism, each paper expressing a difference in orientation. Sharp opposition to Jewish nationalism and Zionism in the Hebrew press was inconsequential compared to the overwhelming majority of pro-Zionist publications. The opposition began with *Ha-Emet*, a socialist-oriented paper edited by A.S. Liebermann, and after a number of years it was also expressed in extreme Orthodox circles, thus appearing at opposite poles of the spectrum. Over the years this opposition has taken various forms (today as the pro-Arab Israel Communists, Rakaḥ, and the *Neturei Karta, respectively). An impressive symbol of the developments discussed above was the development of the Zionist leadership and its expression in the press and Hebrew literature through such personalities as Lilienblum, Aḥad-Ha-Am, Sokolow, and many others.

Lists of Newspapers and Indexes to their Contents. These two instruments of aid never kept up with the developments in the field of Jewish and Zionist journalism. For decades lists of Jewish newspapers have appeared, both in various lexicons and separately. Comprehensive listings are the *Tentative List of Jewish Periodicals in Axis-Occupied Countries* (1947), covering the period between the two world wars, and Joseph Fraenkel's *The Jewish Press of the World* (1967^{6}), which reflects the situation after World War II. In this period, the distinction between Zionist and non-Zionist publications has become blurred, and any comprehensive list of Jewish publications reflects principally Zionist or pro-Zionist publications (see also Hebrew *Press; for other lists of publications, including those prepared by Fraenkel, see Shunami, Bibliography, second edition, index).

More problematic is the task of getting to the vast amount of material in the press. Indexes of the press, long accepted as standard in the world at large, are still rather innovations in the realm of the Jewish and Hebrew press. Only lately have really useful indexes come into being, but this venture is still in its infancy. One thing must be stressed in regard to material on Zionism: it is not to be found under subject headings such as "Zionism" and the like. Over the last generation Zionism encompassed the entire Jewish world and is thus to be found under thousands of other subject headings. Among the indexes included by Shunami and others that have been issued recently, the following deserve special attention:

(1) S.A. Udin and S. Landress (eds.), *Palestine and Zionism* (vols. 1–11, 1949–58) is organized according to a dictionary catalog (as are the two following works), so that "Zionism" is scattered among an abundance of sources; at the end of each volume of this important index to periodicals is a separate index to books and pamphlets, and it also covers material published in languages other than English from 1946 to 1956.

(2) *Index to Jewish Periodicals*, edited by Miriam Leikind, has been published in Cleveland, Ohio, since 1964 (seven volumes through 1970) and covers material from 1963 onward.

(3) Index to *Ha-Po'el ha-Ẓa'ir*, edited by Isa and G. Kressel (1968). The index to this weekly during the 50 years of its existence is essentially an index to all the events in the Zionist

movement, the *yishuv*, and the labor movement during this period and is the largest index of this kind (in its dimensions and number of entries – more than 100,000) that has yet been published in Hebrew. It is also worth noting that an event located in the index to one newspaper can easily be found, according to the dates, in the rest of the press.

(4) The quarterly of the Jewish National and University Library, *Kirjath Sepher*, lists (beginning with no. 21) with exactness the contents of periodicals on Jewish studies and important articles in the daily press. Anyone wishing to keep up with what is going on in all fields of Jewish studies or any one or set of fields therein must go over each and every issue; for the sake of expediency, however, Issachar Yoel has compiled the *Index of Articles on Jewish Studies* (for 1966 ff.), which reviews the yearly output according to special categories, including Ereẓ Israel, Zionism, and State of Israel. It includes an index to the largest number of newspapers and periodicals in this ramified field.

Encyclopedias and Lexicons of Zionism. Every Jewish lexicon obviously contains much material on Zionism, whether on personalities or Zionist affairs. Nonetheless, throughout the decades the need was felt for a special lexicon of Zionism, which would cover all aspects of this subject. The first attempt at this task, which still holds a position of major importance, was the lexicon published by the Zionist Federation in Germany in 1909, *Zionistisches A-B-C Buch*. The entries therein on personalities and Zionist affairs are written with exactitude and provide a comprehensive picture of the Zionist Organization, through the end of the first decade of its existence. The participants in putting the volume together were the heads of the Zionist movement in Germany and Austria. The second venture into this field was the *Leksikon Ẓiyyoni* (1924) of the Hebrew writer S.L. Zitron; however, it is restricted to personalities only. A Zionist lexicon (in Yiddish) of greater dimensions, whose intention was to cover personalities, Zionist affairs, the names of settlements in Ereẓ Israel, etc., began to come out in Warsaw under the title *Tsiyionistisher Leksikon*, under the editorship of B. Zweibaum; however, only one volume was published (1935; up to the middle of the letter "*bet*"). Another Yiddish lexicon published in Warsaw, *Yidisher Gezelshaftlekher Leksikon*, edited by Reuven Ben-Shem (Feldschuh), met a similar fate. Its first volume, which also included personalities, institutions, affairs, etc., came out close to the outbreak of World War II and is preserved in only a few copies throughout the world. It goes up to the middle of the letter "*vav*" and covers primarily Polish Jewry, but it is considered a Zionist lexicon because of the wealth of Zionist material covered therein.

In Palestine, Moshe Kleinman aspired to publish the *Enẓiklopedyah le-Ẓiyyonut* (1947), but was prevented from issuing more than one volume (which goes up to the end of the letter "*gimmel*") by the conditions in the country and finally by his death. Since 1957 *Enẓiklopedyah shel ha-Ẓiyyonut ha-Datit*, edited by Y. Raphael (assistant editor G. Bat-Yehudah), has been published in Jerusalem; it covers personalities only. A large encyclopedic venture covering personalities is David Tidhar's *Enẓiklopedyah le-Ḥalutzei ha-Yishuv u-Vonav*, published from 1947 (19 volumes) which list biographies of personalities in Ereẓ alphabetically, but the indexes to each volume and to the work as a whole facilitate locating an entry. This work contains a wealth of Zionist material, especially in the latter volumes, which contain biographies of personalities in Ereẓ Israel mostly from Eastern Europe, the United States, England, etc. The *Leksikon la-Sifrut ha-Ivrit ba-Dorot ha-Aḥaronim*, by G. Kressel, also contains entries on many Zionist personalities. A two-volume work in English, *Encyclopedia of Zionism*, covering both personalities and Zionist events and affairs, was published in New York under the editorship of Raphael Patai (1971). Note should also be made of the various Jewish *Who's Who* volumes in English, Hebrew, and other languages that have come out in Israel and abroad.

Journals, Research Institutes, and Archives. Material on research into the history of Zionism is found in abundance in Jewish periodicals throughout the world. Especially rich in material are the official organs of the Zionist movement (*Selbstemanzipation, Die Welt, Juedische Rundschau, Haolam*, etc.). Since the beginning of the Zionist movement, however, the need for a special forum for Zionist research has made itself felt. In 1905 a forum of this type appeared for the first time in Germany, known as *Die Stimme der Wahrheit* and subtitled *Jahrbuch fuer wissenschlaftlichen Zionismus* (edited by L. Schoen). The notation "the volume of the first year" expressed the intention to perpetuate this publication, which was not realized. Since then collections honoring the memory of Herzl, for example, have turned into platforms for Zionist research: *Theodor Herzl, A Memorial*, edited by Meyer Weisgal (New York, 1929), and the *Herzl-Jahrbuch*, an annual for research on Herzl and Zionism, only one issue of which (by T. Nussenblatt) was published (1933). In Israel three collections were put out (one of which was in two volumes; 1950–56) under the title *Shivat Ẓiyyon*; they were intended to become an annual (edited by a staff of editors), but publication ceased. In the United States, Raphael Patai published the *Herzl Year Book* (6 vols. 1958–65). In 1970 the first collection on the history of the Zionist movement and the *yishuv* in Ereẓ Israel, *Ha-Ẓiyyonut*, was published under the editorship of Daniel Carpi. All these collections contain mostly research papers and documentary material.

Research institutes have been established at Tel Aviv University (named in honor of Chaim Weizmann) and the Hebrew University, Jerusalem (named in honor of Israel Goldstein). The former has already put out a number of books that investigate various aspects of the history of the *yishuv* and Zionism. The largest and most important archive for the history of Zionism throughout the world is the Central Zionist Archive in Jerusalem, but other archives are found in New York, in Bet ha-Tefuẓot of the University of Tel Aviv, etc. See *Archives.

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ZIONIST COMMISSION (Heb. **Va'ad ha-Ẓirim**), a commission headed by Chaim *Weizmann and consisting of Jewish representatives from Great Britain (Leon *Simon, Montagu David *Eder, Joseph *Cowen, and I.M. *Sieff as secretary), France (Sylvain Lévy) and Italy (Angelo *Levi-Bianchini), which proceeded in 1918 after the issue of the Balfour Declaration, with the approval and authorization of the Allied governments, to British-occupied Palestine. The commission arrived in Palestine on April 4, when the northern districts of the country were still in Turkish hands. It was accompanied by Major W. Ormsby-Gore (later Lord Harlech, colonial secretary in 1936–38) as political officer on behalf of the British government, assisted by Major James de Rothschild and Edwin Samuel to serve as liaison with the British military authorities. The commission was to act as "an advisory body to the British authorities in Palestine in all matters relating to Jews, or which may affect the establishment of a National Home for the Jewish people." It was concerned specifically with coordinating relief work, assisting the repatriation of Jews exiled by the Turks, helping to organize the Jewish population and establishing friendly relations with the Arabs, as well as investigating the possibility of the early establishment of a Jewish university. Thus Weizmann then made his first contacts with Emir Feisal and laid the cornerstone of the *Hebrew University on Mount Scopus in Jerusalem. On the other hand, the commission encountered an uncooperative and even hostile attitude from the British military authorities, which studiously refrained from officially publishing the policy embodied in the Balfour Declaration (until May 1, 1920) and practically prevented any Jewish settlement work. The commission had to send strong representations to London against this attitude but achieved little in changing it until the military' administration was replaced in 1920 by the civilian regime under the first high commissioner, Sir Herbert *Samuel.

The idea of dispatching such a commission to Palestine was broached by Weizmann as early as November 1917 in his correspondence with the leading Zionist in the United States, L.D. *Brandeis. At first, no American Jew was attached to the commission, because of American neutrality in the war with Turkey, and no Russian Jew could take part in it because of the revolutionary upheaval in Russia. However, two Palestinian Jews, Aaron *Aaronsohn and Zalman David *Levontin, worked with it. In the autumn of 1919 Menahem *Ussishkin became the head of the commission (following a brief tenure by M.D. Eder), which was the sole representative of the Zionist Organization in Palestine until September 1921, when it was replaced by the Zionist Executive established in Jerusalem after the 12th Zionist Congress. Thus the Zionist Commission was the predecessor of the *Jewish Agency.

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[Daniel Efron]

ZIONIST CONGRESSES, the highest authority in the Zionist Organization; created by Theodor *Herzl. None of the previous attempts to convene general assemblies of the Jewish national movement, some of which were successful and some abortive, succeeded in creating an instrument similar in scope or nature to the Zionist Congresses. Herzl's aim in convening the Congress was "to close the Zionist ranks, bring about an understanding between all Zionists and to unify their endeavors… the Congress will show what Zionism is and wants." His other aim – to establish "the national assembly of the Jewish people" – was realized by many of the Congresses that took place both before and after his death. The problem of the location of the Congress was not confined to the First Zionist Congress alone. Several of the Congresses encountered problems in this sphere until the 23rd Congress, which met in Jerusalem (all subsequent Congresses have been held in Jerusalem). Previous venues were Basle, London, The Hague, Hamburg, Vienna, Carlsbad, Zurich, Prague, Lucerne, and Geneva. During the periods of the Ottoman regime and the British Mandate over Palestine, it proved impossible to hold the Congress in Ereẓ Israel.

The First Congress

The location of the First Zionist Congress was to have been Munich, Germany, but due to the opposition of the community and the *Protestrabbiner, it was transferred to Basle and held on Aug. 29–31, 1897. The historical importance of the Congress lies in the formulation of the *Basle Program and the foundation of the Zionist Organization, which united West and East European Zionists in both an organizational and programmatic sense. Up until that time the East European Ḥovevei Zion (see *Ḥibbat Zion) engaged in settlement activities in Ereẓ Israel, and they now accepted political Zionism as well. The approach termed political Zionism, an essential problem debated at the Congress, was raised and defined by Herzl himself. The settlements founded to date had indeed proved the ability of the Jews to farm the land. The Jewish problem, however, could only be solved by large-scale migration and settlement of the country, which could be effected only with international assistance and recognition. By the Third Congress this was expressed in the term "charter." The means and goals of political Zionism were formulated in a key sentence, possessing four subclauses, the Basle Program.

The First Congress also devised a schedule that was followed by all subsequent Congresses: reports on the situation of Jewish communities in the Diaspora (at the first Congresses, the famous speeches of Max *Nordau), lectures on Ereẓ Israel and settlement activities, and debates on cultural questions, which were extremely stormy at the first few Congresses. Herzl acted as the chairman of the Congress (as he did at all Congresses until his death) and was also elected president of the Zionist Organization.

The Congress made a tremendous impression on both Jews and non-Jews throughout the world. Herzl himself summarized the importance of the First Congress thus: "I no longer need to write the history of yesterday [the day on which the Congress opened]; it is already written by others…. Were I to sum up the Basle Congress in a word – which I shall guard against pronouncing publicly – it would be this: At Basle I founded the Jewish State" (Herzl's diary, Aug. 30, Sept. 3, 1897, *Complete Diaries*, ed. by R. Patai, 2, 580–1). Ḥayyim Naḥman *Bialik even published a poem titled "*Mikra'ei Ẓiyyon*" in honor of the First Congress (for English translations see Goell, Bibliography, 489–90, no. 237). A full list of the participants in the First Congress with biographical and bibliographical details was compiled by H. Orlan in *Herzl Year Book*, 6 (1964–65), 133–52. There is a vast literature on the First Congress including *Warum gingen wir zum ersten Zionistenkongress?* (1922), in which 32 participants recount the motives which prompted their participation in the First Congress, and *Sefer ha-Congress* (1923, 1950^2), an anthology edited by Leib Yaffe. The official language of the first Congresses was German (the minutes were published in this language until the beginning of the 1930s and after that in English). The language spoken from the rostrum was, for many years, also mostly German, but since many delegates spoke a kind of Yiddishized German it was nicknamed "Kongressdeutsch."

The Second Congress

The second meeting of the Zionist Congress was held in Basle on Aug. 28–31, 1898. In his opening address, Herzl called on the Zionists to "conquer the communities," a slogan which later led to the program of "work in the present," i.e., in the Diaspora, in order to deprive various assimilationists of their self-appointed role as spokesmen of the Jewish people. At this Congress the foundations were laid for the *Jewish Colonial Trust and David *Wolffsohn was placed in charge of implementing the project. Leo *Motzkin, who had just returned from Ereẓ Israel, presented a detailed report on the situation of both the new and the old *yishuv*. A group of Zionist Socialists demanding representation for the Jewish proletariat in the leadership of the Zionist Organization made their first appearance at this Congress. Herzl was opposed to splitting the precariously united Zionist camp. The struggle between the "political" and "practical" Zionists had been set aside at the First Congress, and the resolution to establish the Jewish Colonial Trust further narrowed the gap between the two camps.

The Third Congress

Held in Basle on Aug. 15–18, 1899, the Third Congress opened with a report by Herzl of his meetings with Kaiser William II in Constantinople (Oct. 18, 1898) and Jerusalem (Nov. 2), in addition to a casual meeting at Mikveh Israel. While these meetings produced no practical results, their demonstrative value, in the presentation of the Zionist case before the head of a great power, was immense. There was a great deal of debate about the exact meaning of the "charter," first mentioned by Herzl, and the significance of the term "public law" in the Basle Program, i.e., whether the intent was a license from all the powers or only from Turkey. Herzl was persuaded to accept the latter interpretation. It was also resolved that the Jewish Colonial Trust would confine its settlement activities to Ereẓ Israel and Syria. The "practical" Zionists failed in their attempts to gain the Congress' approval for initiating settlement activities before obtaining the "charter," and the theoretical debates on cultural matters, which occupied several Congresses from the Second on, continued. Herzl was preoccupied with political activities, and everything outside this sphere was thrust aside.

The Fourth Congress

On Aug. 13–16, 1900, the Fourth Congress was held in London. The reason for choosing London as the location of this Congress was given by Herzl in his opening speech as follows: "England, great England, free England, England looking over all the seas, will understand our aspirations. From here the Zionist idea will take its flight further and higher, of that we are sure." The Congress bore the imprint of the severe crisis in Romanian Jewry, with many thousands forced to leave the country and those remaining behind subject to pressure and harassment. Herzl viewed the persecution of Romanian Jewry as further proof of the urgent necessity for a Zionist solution. Since the "charter" was still a distant prospect, matters demanding immediate attention came to the fore. The position of the Jewish workers in Ereẓ Israel was also brought up at this Congress.

The Fifth Congress

Herzl presented this Congress, held in Basle on Dec. 26–30, 1901, with the greatest of his achievements – an interview with the sultan. He also presented a report on the initial activities of the Jewish Colonial Trust. These achievements, however, did not satisfy many of the delegates, especially a group of young men who organized the *Democratic Fraction. They advanced the concept of Zionism as an internal Jewish renaissance and demanded serious attention to the problems of Jewish culture, instead of concentrating solely on political activities, which they regarded as sterile. The main achievement of this Congress was the establishment of the *Jewish National Fund (JNF) on the lines proposed by Hermann *Schapira at the First Congress.

The Sixth Congress

In accordance with a resolution taken at the Fifth Congress, the Sixth took place two years after its predecessor (on Aug. 23–28, 1903, in Basle) instead of one, as had been the practice. This was the last Congress in which Herzl participated and was also the stormiest and most tragic. While the "charter" was as far as ever from Herzl's grasp, the pressure for a solution to the Jewish problem was mounting, particularly after the shock of the Kishinev pogrom in the spring of the same year. This situation gave rise to "temporary solutions," such as the *El-Arish project, to which Herzl devoted much of his energies and with whose results he was bitterly disillusioned. In spite of the Kishinev pogrom, Herzl had visited Russia, where he met Minister of Interior Plehve. He also received an official offer from the British government, which was willing to allocate a territory for Jewish settlement in Uganda, East Africa. At the Congress, Herzl advanced this proposal for serious examination, while simultaneously emphasizing that "our views on Ereẓ Israel cannot and will not be subject to change. Uganda is not Zion and will never be Zion. This proposal is nothing more than a relief measure, a temporary means of allaying distress." The vote on the *Uganda Scheme was as follows: 295 in favor, 178 against, and 98 abstentions. At first those opposed to the scheme left the hall, headed by Jehiel *Tschlenow, but were persuaded to return by Herzl personally, who appealed to them not to destroy the Zionist Organization. The Uganda Scheme overshadowed all other matters at the Congress, such as Franz *Oppenheimer's lecture on cooperative settlement, a program that was implemented some years later in the settlement Merḥavyah. Approximately one year after this Congress, Herzl died.

The Seventh Congress

The Congress, held on July 27–Aug. 2, 1905, in Basle, was opened by its new president, Nordau, who delivered a eulogy on Herzl. Immediately afterward, a stormy debate on the Uganda proposal broke out. Opposition to the scheme had grown with the return of the commission of inquiry and its negative report on conditions in Uganda, which it found unsuitable for Jewish mass settlement. Despite the opposition of the Territorialists, who were supported by *Po'alei Zion, the Congress resolved to reject finally the Uganda Scheme and the notion of settlement anywhere except in Ereẓ Israel and its immediate vicinity. The Territorialists, headed by Israel *Zangwill, withdrew from the Congress and the Zionist Organization and founded the Jewish Territorial Association (see *Territorialism). A resolution to the effect that practical settlement activities would not be delayed until public rights had been obtained, but would begin at once, was then passed. Otto *Warburg, who was to become the moving spirit of practical Zionism, made his first impressive appearance at this Congress. He emphasized the political value of limited settlement and the need for introducing it in a systematic way. In place of Nordau, who refused to accept the position, Wolffsohn was elected chairman of the Executive which was equivalent to the head of the Zionist Organization. The center of the Zionist movement moved from Vienna to Cologne, where Wolffsohn lived.

The Eighth Congress

In accordance with Herzl's tradition of keeping the Zionist movement in the public eye, this Congress met at The Hague on Aug. 14–21, 1907, while the Second International Peace Conference was taking place there. The struggle between political and practical Zionists was resolved by the decision that settlement activity in Ereẓ Israel should not be delayed until after the receipt of the "charter." On the contrary, planned small-scale settlement, not exceeding the limits of the Basle Program, was to precede the charter, which would thus be obtained on the strength of these "small" achievements. Wolffsohn was the mediator between the two camps. As Herzl's close friend and loyal disciple, on the one hand, and a sober man of affairs, on the other, he was eminently suited to this function. Weizmann's famous speech on "synthetic Zionism" merged political and practical Zionism into an organic whole and laid a common foundation for both camps. He stated: "We must aspire to a charter, but our aspiration will be realized only as a result of our practical work in Ereẓ Israel." As a result of this approach, the *Palestine Office was founded in Jaffa in 1908 to direct the work of agricultural settlement on behalf of the World Zionist Organization. The office was headed by Arthur *Ruppin.

The Ninth Congress

Held in Hamburg on Dec. 26–30, 1909, this was the first Congress to meet in Germany. The hope that the attitude of the Turkish government toward Zionism would change after the revolution of the Young Turks, which had taken place in the previous year, was expressed by both Wolffsohn and Nordau. A very strong opposition to Wolffsohn's leadership emerged at this Congress and was led by Menahem *Ussishkin, Weizmann, and Nahum *Sokolow and joined by representatives of the workers in Ereẓ Israel, appearing for the first time at a Zionist Congress. They were united in their opposition to the "commercial" approach to the settlement activities, which evaluated every project by its economic efficiency. The decision to begin cooperative settlement according to the Oppenheimer plan was a great concession to the "practical" Zionists, representatives of Po'alei Zion, and the workers of Ereẓ Israel. Wolffsohn was finally reelected president of the Zionist Organization and chairman of the Executive, which also included Warburg and Jacobus *Kann. Friction over Woffsohn's methods, which were also criticized by the political Zionists as not close enough to those of Herzl, did not come to an end with the closing session of this Congress.

The Tenth Congress

This Congress, held in Basle on Aug. 9–15, 1911, earned the name of "The Peace Congress" for ending the quarrels and friction of the "Cologne period" and bringing total victory to the realistic "synthetic" trend in Zionism. In his opening address, which contained the announcement of his resignation, Wolffsohn gave his blessings to the period of Zionist history about to commence after the "Vienna period" and his own "Cologne period." Detailed discussion of practical activity in Ereẓ Israel and Hebrew culture took place. For the first time in the history of the Congresses, a whole session, led by Ussishkin, was conducted entirely in Hebrew. The relations with the Arabs were also discussed in a speech by Shelomo *Kaplansky. The Zionist headquarters were transferred from Cologne to Berlin, and the new leadership consisted of the president Otto Warburg and Arthur *Hantke, Shemaryahu *Levin, Victor *Jacobson, and Sokolow.

The Eleventh Congress

The demonstrative absence of Nordau at this Congress, held in Vienna on Sept. 2–9, 1913, was a silent protest against the abandonment of Herzl's line. Arguments about the body in charge of the Jewish Colonial Trust took place with the Executive and with Wolffsohn and his associates. Ruppin presented a detailed report on the first settlement activities on behalf of the Palestine Office. This report, together with Levin's survey of 30 years of settlement in Ereẓ Israel, were an indirect tribute to "small-scale" deeds. On the suggestion of Weizmann and Ussishkin, it was resolved to establish a Hebrew University in Jerusalem. Bialik made an impressive appearance at the closing session. Wolffsohn, who was the president of the Eleventh Congress, died a year afterward.

The Twelfth Congress

No previous Congress had met in a period so sharply distinguished from the preceding one. This was the first Congress after World War I. It was held in Carlsbad on Sept. 1–14, 1921, after the following crucial events had taken place: the *Balfour Declaration, the British conquest of Palestine, the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia, mass pogroms against Ukrainian Jews, and the London Zionist Conference (1920), at which the *Keren Hayesod was founded. During this period the Zionist movement in America had begun to come to the fore, and the *Brandeis group had clashed with Weizmann's leadership at the London Conference. The Zionist leadership had also been transformed. The "Berlin period" had come to an end with the defeat of Germany in World War I, and the group that had obtained the Balfour Declaration, led by Weizmann and Sokolow, had transferred the Zionist world center to England. At the London Conference, Weizmann was elected president of the Zionist Organization and Sokolow president of the Executive. In addition, the first years after the Balfour Declaration had been marked by anti-Jewish riots in Jerusalem (1920) and Jaffa (1921). Weizmann delivered a report on the political activities of the Zionist Organization during the war and called on the Jewish people to assist in building Ereẓ Israel. Ruppin brought the acquisition of large tracts of land in the Jezreel Valley before the Congress for approval and was opposed by the directorate of the JNF, led by Nehemiah *de Lieme. Bialik, among others, came out in defense of the Jewish workers in Palestine who were the subject of attacks by the "efficiency"-minded group, opposing Weizmann's leadership. For the first time in the history of Zionism, a representative of the workers in Ereẓ Israel, Josef *Sprinzak, was elected to the Executive, which thereafter was situated in London and Jerusalem.

The Thirteenth Congress

On Aug. 6–18, 1923, the 13th Congress was held in Carlsbad. Before it took place, the British Mandate over Palestine had been endorsed by the *League of Nations and the Zionist Organization became officially the *Jewish Agency for Palestine, mentioned in Article 4 of the Mandate and charged with taking steps "to secure the cooperation of all Jews who are willing to assist in the establishment of the Jewish National Home." At this Congress, the proposal to include non-Zionists in the Jewish Agency was debated and aroused bitter opposition from those who considered this a threat to the broad democratic basis of the Zionist Organization. Weizmann defended the proposal against its opponents until it was finally implemented six years later (1929). The possibilities of obtaining financial resources for building up Palestine were debated at length, and Chaim *Arlosoroff delivered a lecture containing a proposal for a planned economic program. The Congress also resolved to open the Hebrew University in Jerusalem.

The Fourteenth Congress

This Congress, held in Vienna on Aug. 18–31, 1925, was much affected by the "prosperity" in Palestine caused by the Fourth Aliyah (mostly from Poland) and the feverish construction of houses and land speculation. It encouraged the view that private enterprise would solve the problems of building Palestine, and criticism of labor settlement methods reached its height. David *Ben-Gurion participated in the debate, delivering a speech on the workers in Palestine and their activities. Ruppin resigned as head of the Jewish Agency Settlement Department, which he had directed for approximately 18 years, and Colonel F.H. *Kisch was appointed to direct the Agency's Political Department in Jerusalem.

The Fifteenth Congress

The prosperity in Palestine was followed by a severe economic crisis and unemployment, which affected nearly 8,000 workers. Hunger and poverty drove many from the country and *aliyah* dwindled. Preoccupation with "breaking the crisis" at the 15th Congress, held in Basle on Aug. 30–Sept. 11, 1927, spoiled the celebrations in honor of the 30th anniversary of the First Congress. Weizmann outlined a proposal for overcoming the crisis, and Ruppin delivered one of his brilliant Congress speeches on pioneering and its meaning for Zionism. The Executive elected did not include a labor representative and its most forceful personality was Harry *Sacher. Eulogies on Aḥad Ha-Am were delivered by Martin *Buber and Nahum Sokolow.

The Sixteenth Congress

Held in Zurich on July 28–Aug. 10, 1929, this Congress, like its predecessor, met in an anniversary year and was opened with a speech by Sokolow on Herzl upon the 25th anniversary of his death. Unlike its predecessor, however, this Congress met during a period of economic recovery in Palestine, improved employment conditions, and the revival of *aliyah*. Weizmann again reported on the enlargement of the Jewish Agency by non-Zionists, which was to be established after the Congress was over. Despite strong opposition to the project (mainly from the *Revisionists), the debate that had lasted for seven years ended with the official establishment of the enlarged body in an impressive meeting with the participation of Weizmann, Sokolow, Herbert *Samuel, Louis *Marshall, A. *Einstein, Lord *Melchett, Leon *Blum, Sholem *Asch, F. *Warburg, and others. The Executive (the "Sacher regime") was severely criticized for its attitude toward Labor Zionism. The Congress ended with the election of a new Zionist Executive, joined by two *Mizrachi representatives (Rabbi M. Berlin and A. Barth), two labor representatives (S. Kaplansky and Y. Sprinzak), and Ruppin.

The Seventeenth Congress

A few days after the establishment of the enlarged Jewish Agency in Zurich, bloody riots broke out in Palestine (August 1929) and were followed in quick succession by the report of the British commission of inquiry into the 1929 disturbances; the *White Paper by the colonial secretary, Lord Passfield; restriction on Jewish immigration; the negative report on the possibility of Jewish settlement by Sir John Hope-Simpson; etc. The commission report and Sir John Hope-Simpson's conclusions were openly hostile to the Zionist movement, the JNF, Jewish labor, and practically all other Jewish activities in Palestine. Weizmann immediately resigned as president of the Zionist Organization in protest to the new British policy. His move, in turn, resulted in the "MacDonald Letter," which retracted much of the negative elements in the new trend.

At the 17th Congress, held in Basle on June 30–July 15, 1931, a number of delegates voiced their protest to Weizmann's policy, which was based upon the fundamental need for maximum cooperation with the British government. The opposition, consisting not only of the Revisionists, but also of many other delegates, claimed that this policy was not justified. The Revisionists demanded that the creation of a Jewish majority and a Jewish state be defined officially as the final aim of Zionism, and when this demand was rejected by the majority, Vladimir *Jabotinsky tore up his delegate's card with the cry: "This is no Zionist Congress," leading ultimately (in 1935) to the secession of the Revisionists from the Zionist Organization. In view of the situation, Weizmann, despite support from the labor wing, refused to withdraw his resignation, and Sokolow was chosen president of the Zionist Organization. In spite of Weizmann's official resignation, however, the Executive of the Zionist Organization, in which the strength of the labor parties had grown with the election of Chaim Arlosoroff as head of the Political Department, actually continued to act along the lines of Weizmann's policy.

The Eighteenth Congress

This Congress, held in Prague on Aug. 21–Sept. 4, 1933, bore the imprint of three events: the advent of the Nazis to power in Germany and growing persecution of German Jewry, economic inflation in Palestine, and the assassination of Arlosoroff. The conflict between the Revisionists and labor reached its height, since the labor representatives believed that the constant incitement by the Revisionists had created the setting for Arlosoroff's assassination. It was finally decided to establish a committee of inquiry into the tragedy. A special session was devoted to the celebration of Ussishkin's 70th birthday. Sokolow was reelected president of the Zionist Organization. The representation of labor on the Executive increased and included Ben-Gurion and Moshe Shertok (*Sharett), who succeeded Arlosoroff as head of the Political Department.

The Nineteenth Congress

Held in Lucerne on Aug. 20–Sept. 4, 1935, this Congress was distinguished by the comprehensive and practical lectures delivered on Diaspora Jewry (Sokolow), the building of Palestine (Ben-Gurion), the JNF (Ussishkin), rescuing Jewish children from Germany – Youth Aliyah (Henrietta *Szold), and the problems of Hebrew culture (Berl *Katznelson). The labor faction, the largest at the Congress, worked out a program for a broad coalition and made it possible for Weizmann to resume the presidency, and Sokolow was chosen as honorary president of the Organization and the enlarged Jewish Agency. Ben-Gurion, who was reelected to the Executive, became more and more its central figure. Sokolow died within a year.

The Twentieth Congress

This Congress was held in Zurich on Aug. 3–16, 1937, and was faced with the responsibility of resolving one of the most difficult problems that had faced the Zionist movement since the controversy over the Uganda Scheme. The report of the Royal Commission on Palestine (Peel Commission) appointed in the wake of the 1936 Arab riots proposed the establishment of a Jewish state in part of the country. There were divisions of opinion between and within the Zionist parties on the issue (with Ben-Gurion of *Mapai, for example, in favor of the proposal and Katznelson against it). In the end it was decided to take note of the finding of the Royal Commission "that the field in which the Jewish National Home was to be established was understood, at the time of the Balfour Declaration, to be the whole of Palestine, including Transjordan," but at the same time, the decision of the Congress empowered the Executive to negotiate with the British government the possibility of securing a more favorable partition of western Palestine than that proposed by the Peel Commission's plan and bring the results to the Congress before a final decision was made. In addition a special session took place in Basle to mark the 40th anniversary of the First Congress. During the session, presided over by Ussishkin, delegates to the First Congress recalled the great event in their lives and in Zionist history.

The Twenty-first Congress

Held in Geneva on Aug. 16–26, 1939, the 21st Congress met on the eve of World War II. The British government had withdrawn its partition plan, conferred with representatives of Jews and Arabs (including Arab governments) at the St. James Conference in London, and published its anti-Zionist White Paper imposing tremendous restrictions on Jewish immigration and purchase of land. The delegates unanimously expressed their strong opposition to the White Paper and declared the readiness of the *yishuv* to fight against the restrictions. Katznelson extolled the "illegal" *immigration program and called for all the energies of the Zionist movement to be channeled into extending its scope, in view of the threatening political situation in Europe. In the atmosphere of impending war the Executive was reelected for another term. Weizmann closed the Congress with the emotion-filled statement: "I have no prayer but this; that we will all meet again alive." Ussishkin, the president of the Congress, expressed his grave concern for the fate of Polish Jewry.

The Twenty-second Congress

The Congress met in Basle on Dec. 9–24, 1946, after World War II and the Nazi Holocaust, which had exterminated most of European Jewry. The *yishuv* had participated in the British war effort and had waged an armed struggle against White Paper restrictions. The Revisionists had returned to the Zionist Organization and were represented at the Congress. The *Biltmore Program (1942) on the establishment of Palestine as a Jewish commonwealth had been approved as the program of the Zionist movement at the first international Zionist conference after the war (New York, 1945). The Anglo-American commission of inquiry (1946) had recommended, inter alia, the abolition of a number of existing restrictions and the settlement of 100,000 Jews in Palestine. The British government had refused to accept these recommendations, and the armed resistance of the *yishuv* had increased. Leaders of the *yishuv* and the Jewish Agency had been arrested (1946). The Morrison-Grady plan for the cantonization of Palestine and its division into four districts (Jewish, Arab, Jerusalem, and Negev) had been announced. The British had proposed a Jewish-Arab conference in London to reach an agreed solution, and the release of the imprisoned Jewish leaders as a preliminary to this conference. The Congress was therefore faced with the necessity of taking a stand on both the Morrison-Grady proposal and the London Conference. Weizmann stressed the importance of the decision on the establishment of a Jewish state in Palestine and the sympathy with which Zionism and the aspirations of the *yishuv* were regarded by President Truman and American opinion. The Congress approved the political program of the Zionist Organization "to establish a Jewish commonwealth integrated into the world democratic structure," turned down the plan for the cantonization of Palestine, and also resolved that "in existing circumstances, the Zionist movement is unable to participate in the London Conference." Weizmann, who was opposed to this last resolution and favored participation in the London Conference, resigned from the presidency, and for the first time in the history of the Zionist Organization the Congress failed to elect a new president.

The Twenty-third Congress

The Congress met in Jerusalem on Aug. 14–30, 1951. Weizmann, now president of the State of Israel, was unable to attend, but in a message to the delegates defined the new situation: "There is a deep symbolism in the fact that the Zionist Congress has not met in our ancient land until it has become ours again… It is only now, since we have attained independence and statehood, that we can fully appraise the paramount place held by Zionist Congresses in the evolution of our movement." The opening ceremony of the Congress took place, symbolically, by Herzl's grave in Jerusalem. The chairman of the Executive, Berl *Locker, summed up the history of the Zionist movement and described the road it had taken from Basle to Jerusalem. The central issue debated at the Congress was the status of the Zionist movement after the establishment of a Jewish state. The Basle Program no longer met the requirements of the new reality and was replaced by the "Jerusalem Program" (see *Basle Program), whose essential clause was: "The task of Zionism is the consolidation of the State of Israel, the ingathering of the exiles in Ereẓ Israel and the fostering of the unity of the Jewish people." The coalition formed after the Congress included all the factions except for the Zionist Revisionists – *Ḥerut. Two chairmen were elected to the Executive: Naḥum *Goldmann in New York and Berl Locker in Jerusalem. One of the resolutions, demanding official recognition of the status of the Zionist Organization by the state, was implemented after the Congress in the World Zionist Organization-Jewish Agency for Palestine Status Law passed by the Knesset on Nov. 24, 1952.

The Twenty-fourth Congress

The Congress, held on April 24–May 7, 1956, was overshadowed by the security situation of the State of Israel, which was threatened by the arms streaming especially into Egypt from the Soviet bloc. Internal affairs in the spheres of *aliyah*, settlement, and organization of fund raising were also discussed.

It was decided to concentrate all funds in the hands of the *Keren Hayesod and United Israel Appeal. Naḥum Goldmann was elected president of the Zionist Organization, an office which had been unfilled since 1946.

The Twenty-fifth Congress

The central issues debated at this Congress, held on Dec. 27, 1960–Jan. 11, 1961, were the relationship of the government of Israel to the Zionist Organization and its official status, in light of the sharp criticism leveled against the Organization by Ben-Gurion; *aliyah*; absorption; Jewish culture and education in the Diaspora. Goldmann was reelected president and chairman of the Executive. After the Congress, Moshe Sharett was elected chairman of the Jerusalem Executive in place of B. Locker, who resigned.

The Twenty-sixth Congress

The slogan "Facing the Diaspora," coined in Goldmann's opening address, was the center of debate at this Congress, held on Dec. 30, 1964–Jan. 10, 1965. After the establishment of the state, Goldmann felt it was necessary to regard the aims of Zionism as the survival of the Jewish nation in the Diaspora and the assistance of the state to the Jewish people. The debate, as usual at Congresses held after the establishment of the state, spread to the sphere of relations between the state and the Zionist Organization, *aliyah* obligations, etc. The Congress resolved on the following as the first of the tasks and functions of the Zionist movement: "The deepening of Zionist awareness and its dissemination as a way of life, based on the recognition of the uniqueness of the Jewish people and the continuity of its history, the unity of the nation despite its dispersion, the mutual commitment of all its parts and their common responsibility for its historic fate, and the recognition of the decisive mission of the State of Israel in assuring its future." Goldmann was reelected president of the Zionist Organization. Sharett, chairman of the Jerusalem Executive, sent his greetings in writing due to the illness from which he died a few months later.

The Twenty-seventh Congress

The Congress was held on June 9–19, 1968, the first in reunited Jerusalem after the Six-Day War. An innovation at this Congress was the participation of youth delegations, students, and members of the *aliyah* movement. The question of *aliyah* was the focal point of the debates, and the decision of the Israel government to establish a Ministry of Immigrant Absorption was approved. Additional paragraphs on the goals of Zionism were added to the Jerusalem Program: "The unity of the Jewish people and the centrality of Israel in its life; the ingathering of the Jewish people in its historic homeland Ereẓ Israel through *aliyah* from all lands; the strengthening of the State of Israel founded on the prophetic ideals of justice and peace; the preservation of the identity of the Jewish people through the fostering of Jewish education, Hebrew, and of Jewish spiritual and cultural values; the protection of Jewish rights everywhere." Goldmann resigned as president of the Zionist Organization and no one was chosen to take his place. Louis *Pincus, who had been elected chairman of the Executive after the death of Sharett, was reelected to this post.

[Getzel Kressel]

The Twenty-eighth Congress

The Congress was held in Jerusalem on January 18–28, 1972, with 559 delegates voting. For the first time in many years, instead of the interparty agreements whereby the number of delegates for each party was determined, elections were held in most countries. The membership drive which preceded the elections revealed a membership of the World Zionist Organization approaching 900,000. In Israel, however, most of the delegates were nominated by the political parties, in proportion to their relative strength in the Knesset. The Sephardi and Oriental communities were represented by some 90 delegates and observers. Another notable feature was the large representation of youth, through the World Union of Jewish Students and the Zionist youth movements. Louis *Pincus was re-elected chairman of the Zionist Executive. The Congress concentrated on the specific tasks of the Zionist Movement in the Diaspora, such as Jewish education, youth work, and the promotion of *aliyah* from the free countries. Considerable attention was devoted to social problems such as the cultural and economic gaps between sections of the population in Israel and the acute housing shortage. A prominent theme of the Congress was the struggle of Soviet Jewry for the right to *aliyah*. A resolution to the effect that Zionist leaders who failed to settle in Israel after two terms of office should forfeit their right to reelection was declared unconstitutional.

The Twenty-ninth Congress

The Congress was held in Jerusalem from February 20 to March 1, 1978. It had been postponed from January 1977, when the Congress Court ruled as unconstitutional a proposal to allow 90% of the election committee in any country to agree on a slate of delegates without elections. Over a million Diaspora Jews registered in preparation for the Congress.

The composition of the Congress faithfully reflected the political change that had taken place in Israel in 1977. The Zionist Labor Movement lost ground to the Likud and the Confederation of United Zionists in the Diaspora, and to the Likud and Democratic Movement for Change in the Israeli delegation. The Likud, with 174 out of the 550 seats with full voting rights, was the largest party, followed by the Confederation, with 113; Labor with 93; Mizrachi, 77; Mapam, 27; DMC, 26; others, 40. There were also 75 representatives of international Jewish organizations.

The Congress resolved that all WZO departments and programs in Israel should be administered in accordance with the principle of equal treatment for all trends in Judaism, Orthodox, Conservative, and Reform.

Arye Leon *Dulzin (Likud) was unanimously elected chairman of the Executive; Likud representatives took over the *aliyah*, youth and He-Ḥalutz, and education departments, and the chairmanship of the Zionist General Council from

Labor, and the settlement department was shared between Labor and the Likud. A Labor representative, however, succeeded Dulzin as treasurer.

[Misha Louvish]

The Thirtieth to Thirty-second Congresses

The 30th–32nd World Zionist Congresses, all convened within the decade 1982–92, exhibit several noteworthy trends. The meetings became progressively less ideological, of shorter duration, attended by more delegates who represented more world Jewish organizations – and were increasingly democratic. Yet the World Zionist Organization has less status in the Jewish world than in previous periods and has lost substantial power to its offspring, the Jewish Agency.

In 1982, the 30th Congress had 656 accredited representatives; two Congresses later, 721 delegates were accredited to the Congress. The 32nd Congress was also the first at which an incumbent chairman of the World Zionist Executive, running for a second term, was challenged by another candidate.

The 30th Zionist Congress met December 7–17, 1982. Even before it opened there were numerous appeals to the Zionist High Court protesting alleged infringements of democratic practices during elections. The High Court felt it had no recourse but to disqualify all representatives of Zionist parties and groupings in the U.S. Meeting in extraordinary session three days before the Congress opened, the Zionist General Council decided to make an unprecedented exception and passed a resolution which empowered the High Court itself to apportion mandates on a one-time basis. The court reluctantly complied. In a judgment against a previous attempt by the Zionist General Council to bypass holding elections for the Congress, Dr. Moshe Landau wrote, "This is not petty legalistic quibbling… when Zionism is attacked and slandered on all sides by the enemies of the Jewish people, it is doubly important that Zionism zealously guard its image as a movement which maintains its own democratic principles."

Worldwide, five election districts held direct elections, indirect elections were conducted in four, but 16 districts opted for a system of mutually agreed lists instead of elections.

The 31st Congress, December 6–11, 1987, was on the whole a democratically elected Congress, boasting a considerable number of first-time delegates. The American Zionist Federation conducted a nationwide election by mail, supervised by the independent American Arbitration Association, in which 183,000 valid votes were cast. However in electoral districts outside the U.S., only 40,000 people actually voted in elections.

The major groups represented at the Congress, by size of representation, were Likud, Labor Zionist Movement, Confederation of United Zionists, Mizrachi, Artzenu (Reform), Mapam, Mercaz (Conservative), Tzomet, and Teḥiyyah. The results showed major gains for the relatively new Zionist organizations of the Reform and Conservative movements, which ate into the traditional base of support held by Hadassah and the Zionist Organization of America. For the first time since 1948, the balance of power in negotiations to form a coalition was held by a bloc representing the Diaspora, composed of the Confederation, Artzenu, and Mercaz. These groups joined with Labor and Mapam to form a majority.

Simcha Dinitz, of Labor, was elected chairman of the World Zionist Organization Executive; Meir Shitreet, of Ḥerut, was elected treasurer.

The issue of religious pluralism in Israel was a major focus of concern at the 31st Congress due to the increased presence of the Reform and Conservative movements. The Congress passed a resolution that called for the "complete equality of rights to all streams of the Jewish religion and [for] granting their rabbis the legal right to perform all life cycle events and other rabbinic functions." This decision was the cause of much agitation in the ranks of the Mizrachi delegation as well as among Orthodox delegates in other groups.

The 32nd Zionist Congress, July 26–30, 1992, was the tenth to be held in Jerusalem since the establishment of the State. There were ten plenary sessions, four of which were of a cultural and festive nature. Consequently the work of the Congress, traditionally marked by earnest debate, was mainly conducted in the committees which submitted their resolutions for ratification at the closing plenary.

The resolutions fell into two categories, declarative and practical. Since the Resolutions Committee that processes the decisions of the various committees before they can be put to a vote at the plenary does not permit any operational resolution which has a budgetary component attached to it, most of the resolutions tend to be declarative.

Simcha Dinitz was re-elected Chairman by a majority of almost 80 percent. A precedent of sorts was established when the losing candidate's faction (Artzenu) was excluded from the Executive that customarily is a wall-to-wall coalition rather than a majority cabinet.

On the whole changes that have occurred in the WZO since the 31st Congress both reflect and are caused by a younger, Israeli-born leadership that tends to be less ideological and more pragmatic.

Simcha Dinitz and Meir Shitreet overlooked the legacy to revitalize contemporary Zionist ideology by reformulating some of its tenets mandated to them by Arye Dulzin in his last years in office. Dinitz chose to operate primarily in the Jewish Agency field abandoning the ideological thrust of the Herẓliyyah Process of 1983. At a meeting held at the home of the president of Israel in 1990, called to discuss "The WZO: Changes in Ideology and Status," Dinitz said, "In essence the crisis confronting the Zionist movement is not ideological but functional. Whereas the WZO is somewhat shabby, dusty, oversensitive, and not terribly efficient, the Jewish Agency is business-like, healthful, robust, and efficient. It is also more ruthless."

Four matters of vital Zionist importance failed to be substantively addressed by the 32nd Congress. These were the diminished standing of Zionist Federations throughout the world; the options regarding partnership with the fundraisers in the Jewish Agency: unification or dissolution; the change in the thrust of the Settlement Department – once the flag bearer of Zionist pioneering – to a Jewish Agency department of urban and rural welfare; and finally, the transfer of increasingly large segments of *aliyah* and absorption work to government care.

Looming in the background of the 32nd Congress was the notion that, in reality, the World Zionist Organization had outlived its mandate. There were some who felt that since the WZO had failed to come to terms with essential aspects central to itself, a courageous discussion was called for and that the 33rd Zionist Congress, which was to be also be the centenary conclave since the first World Zionist Congress was convened in Basle, could be an appropriate occasion.

[Amnon Hadary]

The Thirty-third and Thirty-fourth Congresses

The 33rd Zionist Congress convened in Jerusalem in 1997. With Diaspora Jewish organizations within the Zionist movement now exercising 50% of the vote in the Jewish Agency and similarly in the WZO (through the Joint Authority for Jewish Zionist Education), Israel found itself less central to the overall agenda. The Zionist leadership and intellectuals attempted to define the nature and role of Zionism at the change of the millennium. The principle of religious pluralism figured high on the agenda of the religious streams; however, it took a concerted effort and much adroit negotiation by Chairman Avraham *Burg, to arrive at an acceptable resolution. At this congress a resolution was passed requiring at least 25% of Zionist Congress delegates to be between the ages of 18–30.

The 34th Zionist Congress convened in Jerusalem in 2003. As resolved in the previous Congress, 25% of the delegation was under the age of 30. Under the banner of "Solidarity and Mutual Responsibility: The Jewish People and the State of Israel" it brought together Zionist groups from across the Zionist spectrum to discuss the issue of Israel as a Jewish and democratic state and to look toward a new vision of Zionism.

The Zionist Congress concluded with a series of resolutions reaffirming the centrality of Israel, the importance of immigration, promotion of Jewish Zionist education, increased funding for youth movements, coordinating the fight against antisemitism and anti-Zionism, and settling the Negev and the Galilee. It also issued the following proclamation:

> We, who are assembled at the XXXIV Zionist Congress, held in Jerusalem during the fifty-fourth year since the establishment of the State of Israel and one hundred and five years since the convening of the First Zionist Congress where the right of the Jewish People to national revival in Eretz Israel was declared, hereby do call upon the legislators of the Knesset of Israel to secure in Basic Law the fundamental values of the State of Israel that determine it to be the State of the Jewish People and a Jewish and democratic state;
>
> Whereas the State of Israel was established by the Zionist Movement to be the National Home of the Jewish People and to achieve our two thousand year long aspiration to bring about the Ingathering of the Exiles, national independence, spiritual renaissance and the creation of a society in accordance with the vision of the Prophets of Israel;
>
> Whereas there are those who refute the right of the Jewish People to self-determination in Eretz Israel;
>
> And whereas the character of the State of Israel is determined and expressed, among others, through the Basic Laws that serve as the foundation for the future Constitution of Israel;
>
> Therefore,
>
> We who have assembled at the XXXIV Zionist Congress, convened in Jerusalem in the month of Tamuz in the year 5762, do proclaim that the time has come to provide for the legal status of the Jewish, Zionist and democratic values of the State of Israel in keeping with Israel's Declaration of Independence and the ethos of the State since its inception, and to declare the following principles as the basis for determining the uniqueness, character and raison d'être of the existence of the State of Israel as a Jewish and democratic state.
>
> 1. **The State of Israel is the State of the Jewish People and its capital is Jerusalem.** It is the fulfillment of the aspirations of the Zionist Movement and the aspirations of generations for the independence and sovereignty of the Jewish People in the spirit of the principles of the Declaration of Independence.
>
> 2. **The State of Israel will be open to the aliyah of Jews and will aspire to bring the Jewish People home.**
>
> 3. **The State of Israel is a democracy** that respects basic human rights and the heritage of the minorities living in its boundaries, through the safeguarding of equal rights for all of its citizens, regardless of religion, race, sex or nationality. The values of freedom, freedom of religion and conscience, justice and peace are the Jewish heritage of Israel.
>
> 4. **The State of Israel safeguards** the sites that are holy to all religions from any desecration or other offense that would interfere with freedom of access to members of all religions to their holy places or their sentiments to those sites.
>
> 5. "**Hatikvah**" is the national anthem of the State. The State flag and the State emblem are those determined by the Law of the Flag and Emblem.
>
> 6. **The State of Israel is a state whose history is intertwined with the history of the Jewish people.** The Shabbat is the day of rest of the State, the national festivals are its holidays and Hebrew is its language.
>
> 7. **The State of Israel perceives the encouragement of Jewish settlement in Israel** to a basic value of Zionism and a responsibility of the State and its authorities.
>
> 8. **The State of Israel, through the fulfillment of its mission, seeks the involvement of the Jewish People** in the building of the Land and in the Ingathering of the Exiles in accordance with the statutes of the State.
>
> 9. **The State of Israel, as the State of the Jewish People, will act to guarantee** the future existence of the Jewish People; will promote ties between Israel and the Diaspora; and will come to the aid of Jews throughout the world in time of need.
>
> 10. **The partnership between the State of Israel and the Jewish People** shall find expression through the National Institutions as determined by Law.
>
> On this momentous occasion, here in Jerusalem, we the representatives of the Zionist Movement, call upon the Knesset to adopt these principles among the Basic Laws of the State of Israel as the keystone for ensuring the future of the State of Israel as the Jewish and democratic State of the Jewish People.

Congress Minutes

Minutes of the 1st to the 27th Congresses were published in special volumes from 1898 until 1969. The minutes of the 1st to the 19th Congresses came out in German. Minutes of the First Congress came out in a second edition (Prague, 1911), with introductions by Nordau and Wolffsohn, and were also translated into Hebrew with supplements by H. Orlan (1947) and with the addition of forewords by surviving participants in the First Congress. From the 16th Congress (1929) minutes also include discussions of the Jewish Agency Council, which took place immediately after the closing session of the Congress. Hebrew became the language of Congress minutes with the 19th Congress, whose minutes are also in German; from the 20th Congress, the official records are only in Hebrew. Hugo *Schachtel published the following reference works for the minutes of the first Congresses: an index of the first six Congresses (1905), an index of the Seventh Congress (1906), and the resolutions of the first seven Congresses (all in German, 1906). An index of the minutes of the first four Congresses was compiled at Tel Aviv University (1966–69).

A vast and multilingual literature on the Congresses is to be found in newspapers, journals, and special books, especially during the periods in which Congresses were held. Various catalogues of journals and newspapers are extremely rich in this material, especially the index of *Ḥamishim Shenot Ha-Po'el ha-Ẓa'ir*, and *Zionism and Palestine* (11 vols., 1946–56).

On the role of the Congress within the general structure of the Zionist Organization, See *Zionism, Zionist Organization, Organizational Structure.

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ZIONIST ORGANIZATION OF AMERICA (ZOA), U.S. organization of General Zionists. In 1898 Richard *Gottheil, who attended the Zionist Congress in Europe, called a New York conference which formed the Federation of American Zionists. To attract support, the Federation began to publish a monthly, *The Maccabean*, in 1901, and *Dos Yidishe Folk* in 1909. The newly formed *Young Judaea (1907) and *Hadassah (1912) joined the Federation, and at a convention in 1918 the various Zionist branches merged into the ZOA. Louis D. *Brandeis was elected honorary president and Julian W. *Mack president. The Mack administration (1918–21) participated in the work of the *Zionist Commission in Palestine. At the Cleveland convention of 1921, Brandeis and his adherents, who differed from Chaim *Weizmann and the world leadership in favoring a policy of private economic investment in Palestine, withdrew from the ZOA. Louis *Lipsky, who supported the *Keren Hayesod, became president, and the ZOA grew numerically, politically, and financially. In 1924 a merger of the annual Zionist major fund-raising efforts created the United Palestine Appeal. After the outbreak of World War II in September 1939, the American Emergency Committee (Council after 1943) for Zionist Affairs (ECZA) began to function. ZOA representatives on the ECZA occupied the front rank in the political struggles and achievements of that period. During 1946–48, U.S. support for the Jewish state was achieved by the exertions of the mobilized Zionist forces, including the ZOA leaders, especially Abba Hillel *Silver and Emanuel *Neumann.

With the founding of the State of Israel on May 14, 1948, the ZOA's role diminished and shifted to fund raising and public relations on behalf of Israel. In 1957 a group of prominent Zionists seceded from the ZOA and organized the American Jewish League for Israel. The ZOA struggled to maintain its position by fostering projects in Israel such as Kefar Silver and the ZOA house in Tel Aviv, and stressing Zionist education and Hebrew culture in the U.S. ZOA supported the Young Judaea youth movement and several Zionist-oriented summer camps. It published a periodical *The New Palestine* which later was called *The American Zionist*. ZOA membership was 147,551 in 1918; 44,280 in 1939; and 165,000 in 1950. Since 1950 there has been a decline in membership.

[Herbert Parzen]

ZOA's influence continued to diminish in the 1980s and early 1990s as the focus of pro-Israel activism shifted to major lobby groups like the American Israel Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC) and as Jewish defense agencies increasingly took on pro-Israel functions.

But the group became more prominent after the 1993 election of Philadelphia activist Morton Klein as ZOA president in a controversy-ridden contest.

While most pro-Israel groups supported the 1993 Oslo agreement, under Klein the ZOA expressed strong reservations, citing ongoing terrorism and continuing statements by Palestine Liberation Organization leader Yasser Arafat rejecting Israel's right to exist. Klein also used his position as a member of the Conference of Presidents of Major Jewish Organization to attack fellow presidents and to criticize individuals including *New York Times* columnist Thomas Friedman, and to lead a campaign against John K. Roth for director of the Research Institute of the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum. He tried to prevent the Presidents Conference from endorsing the Peace Process even when this was the policy of the elected government of Israel.

As ZOA became more critical of Israel's participation in the peace process, the group was wracked by internal dissension over the question of whether it was appropriate for American Jews to criticize the policies of an elected government in Jerusalem. That led to several local chapters, led by a prominent group in Baltimore, to disaffiliate from ZOA.

But the shift to the right helped ZOA reestablish a strong fundraising base. The group, and Klein in particular, also became close allies of Christian Zionist groups that became increasingly critical of the Oslo process and U.S. involvement in ongoing negotiations.

ZOA was most effective in raising the issue of American victims of Palestinian terrorism. In the 1990s, it established a Washington lobbying operation that frequently clashed with AIPAC, the leading pro-Israel lobby group, and began working closely and virtually exclusively with right-of-center lawmakers. In 2005 ZOA became a leading U.S. voice against Israel's unilateral withdrawal from Gaza, conducting a vigorous but ultimately unsuccessful advertising campaign in Israel against the withdrawal.

[James Besser (2nd ed.)]

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ZIONIST SOCIALIST WORKERS' PARTY (or **SS**, the initials of "Zionists-Socialists" in Russian), territorialist group in Russia founded at a conference held (interrupted as a result of the arrests of its participants) in Odessa, in January–February 1905. The party was the outcome of the rift between two conflicting tendencies in *Po'alei Zion in 1903–04, and though efforts were made to unite the separate groups into a united Zionist Socialist party, the ideological differentiation led to three distinct trends: territorialist, autonomist, and Ereẓ-Israel-centered. There were also differences on the participation of Jewish socialists in the revolutionary struggle in Russia. Among the leaders and activists of the party were: N. *Syrkin, J.W. *Latzky-Bertholdi, the brothers Jacob and Joseph *Lestschinsky, G. *Abramowitz (Avrahami), J. Chernikhov (Danieli), M. Rashkes, M. *Litvakov, A. *Yoffe, M. Shatz-Anin, S. *Niger, the brothers David and Moses Gepstein, J. *Pat, D. *Lvovich, B. Zelikovich (M. Gutman), Samuel *Weizmann, and A. Sokolovski. B. *Dinur (Dinaburg), B. *Katznelson, A. *Harzfeld, M.D. *Remez (Drabkin), as well as S. *Mikhoels, A. Leyeles *Glanz, and Elisha *Rodin, who belonged to it during various periods. In its foundation statement the party adhered to *territorialism, arguing that the essence of Zionism was its "social economic content," and not "the revival of the Jewish land, Jewish culture, and Jewish tradition." Therefore, "there is no organic link between Zionism and Palestine." Because the SS had rejected the purely autonomist principle of "Sejmism," the supporters of the *Vozrozhdeniye group rapidly seceded from it. The party participated in the Seventh Zionist Congress (summer 1905), after which it left the Zionist Organization, supporting the Jewish territorialist organization founded by I. *Zangwill. The first proper convention of the party was held in Leipzig (March 1906) and decided to change its name, but it postponed it until the establishment of a Jewish world socialist organization. A minority within the party did not support its extreme anti-Ereẓ Israel stance.

The SS viewed the future of the Jews in the Diaspora with extreme pessimism and saw an urgent need for a radical solution for fear of catastrophe. The party did not believe in "national cultural autonomy" of the Bundist type, nor in the national-political autonomism of the Sejmists. The absence of a "national economy" and "acute, social-economic and national-political pressures" were leading to the constant impoverishment of the Jewish masses and their "cultural sterility." The formula "non-proletarization" evolving into "non-industrialization," explained the abnormal conditions of the Jewish proletariat and its restriction to small industry and craftsmanship. Thus it could not be "the real bearer of the socialist ideal." The "historical necessity" for realizing the concept of territorialism was linked to the actual flow of Jewish mass emigration, which occupied a central place in the party's ideology. The Jewish emigration, flowing to developed countries and towns, would reach a saturation point. It would be compelled to chance its direction toward agriculture, toward a compact settlement, which would foster "the concentration of the Jewish masses in a free territory." Once political rights would be won this evolution would lead to the formation of a "Jewish national economic organism." This concept lacked, however, any indication as to the role to be played by the party in the realization of Jewish territorialism. The party regarded itself as a social-democratic Marxist party, supported active participation in the revolutionary struggle of Russia, but did not see any organic link between it and the aims of territorialism. In the revolution of 1905–06 its influence reached a peak and it became a factor second in importance only to the *Bund, which regarded it as a serious rival. The party also struck roots in Poland, especially in *Czestochowa (J. Kruk and A. *Syngalowski). It claimed to have 27,000 members and played an active role in Jewish *self-defense and in the trade-union movement. In 1907 it was joined by the Jewish territorialist workers' party, the successor of the "Minsk trend" of Po'alei Zion.

There was also a "SS League Abroad." The party maintained relations with sister organizations in the United States (the "Zionist territorialists," led by N. Syrkin, B. *Zuckerman, and A. Goldberg), England, and Argentina. The SS participated in the Congress of the Second Socialist International at Stuttgart (1907) on a consultative basis, but it was not accepted as a member of the International. In the reaction years, after the abortive revolution of 1905–06, the SS declined greatly in importance and was abandoned by a number of its leaders. Its slogan became "regulation of emigration" (Vilna Convention, 1908), hence its initiative for the calling of a World Emigration Congress, the project of an emigration bank, and its participation in the congresses of the Jewish Territorial Organization. The SS stood for Yiddishism. At its fourth conference (1911) it decided to participate in the life of the Jewish communities, while at the fifth conference (March 31–April 1, 1915), it adopted, for the first time, a positive position on autonomism. The SS participated in the activities of the *ORT, the *Society for the Promotion of Culture among the Jews of Russia, and the *OZE. During World War I the SS adopted an anti-war attitude (fifth conference, 1915) and was opposed to participation in the patriotic war-industrial committees in Russia. After the February 1917 Revolution it substituted in its name the word "territorialist" instead of "Zionist," and adopted – at its sixth conference (April 1917) – the program of national autonomy. Thus the road was open for a union with the Sejmists and the establishment of the *United Jewish Socialist Workers' Party (Fareynigte; June 1917). Several former members of the SS were prominent for their role in Jewish settlement in the Soviet Union (e.g., I. Golde and Y. Liberberg). The organs of the SS included: *Khronik fun der Tsionistish-Sotsialistisher Arbeter Partey* (1905), *Forverts* (Warsaw, 1905–06); *Der Nayer Veg, Unzer Veg* (Vilna, 1906–07), *Der Shtral*, 2 vols. (1907–08), and *Tsukunft* (1913).

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[Moshe Mishkinsky]

ZIPH (Heb. זִיף; Wilderness of Ziph, מִדְבַּר זִיף), city of Judah mentioned in the seventh district of the hill country of Judah together with Maon, Carmel, and Juttah (Josh. 15:55); it was also associated with the Calebites (I Chron. 2:42; 4:16). The Ziphites were noted for their loyalty to Saul, to whom they twice revealed the site of David's hiding places in the desert which extended east of the city (I Sam. 23:19ff.; 26:1ff.; cf. Ps. 54:2). Ziph was fortified by Rehoboam and it apparently served as the terminus of his line of defense guarding the southern part of Judah (II Chron. 11:8). The wilderness of Ziph, the desert east of the city, was almost impassable for an enemy army. The importance of Ziph during the Judean kingdom is attested by its appearance (along with Hebron, Socoh, and *mmšt*) on royal seal impressions from Judah. The settlement in Ziph continued to exist in the fourth century C.E.: a village with this name is mentioned by Eusebius in Daromas in the territory belonging to Eleutheropolis (Bet Guvrin; Onom. 92:15ff.). It is last mentioned in connection with the life of St. Euthemios (fifth century). Ziph is identified with Tell Zif, 4½ mi. (7 km.) southeast of Hebron.

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[Michael Avi-Yonah]

ZIPPER, GERSHON (1868–1921), leader of the Zionist Movement in Galicia. Born in Monasterzyska, East Galicia, Zipper became one of the outstanding lawyers in Galicia. His special concern was the oppressed and the poor. From his early youth he was an active Zionist. He was a member of the group that published the first Polish-language Zionist periodical, *Przysloszcz* ("Future") in 1892, and, together with A. Korkis, was the author of a Zionist booklet in Polish, "The Task of Jewish Youth." Zipper was one of the founders of a Galician Zionist organization that preceded by several years the appearance of Theodor *Herzl's *Der Judenstaat*, and became one of the leading protagonists of political Zionism in Galicia. He also became active on the local political scene and played a leading role in the 1911 elections to the Austrian parliament on behalf of a Zionist list. The list, however, suffered a severe defeat as a result of the intimidation practiced by the Austrian administration, in cooperation with the Jewish assimilationists. The following year he visited Ereẓ Israel, where he met Solomon *Schiller, his former associate in Zionist work in Poland, who had become director of the Hebrew high school in Jerusalem. On his return, Zipper organized a campaign for the creation of a building fund for the high school and succeeded in raising the money for the erection of the school building. He was also active on behalf of the *Jewish National Fund. During World War I he served in the Austrian army. On his return to Lvov after the war, he resumed his activities in the Zionist Organization of Galicia and when the Zionist leaders of Lvov were arrested, after the pogrom, Zipper alone was left to lead the struggle with the Polish authorities for Jewish rights. At the beginning of 1919 he founded *Chwila* ("The Moment"), a Polish-language Zionist newspaper.

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[Getzel Kressel]

ZIPPER, YA'AKOV (1900–1983), Canadian educator and Yiddish author. Zipper was born in Tyszowce, Poland, the son of Rabbi Abraham David *Shtern. After receiving an intensive ḥasidic education from his father and at the traditional *ḥeder*, Zipper became deeply interested in Yiddish culture and education and trained as a teacher in the secularist schools of Poland. Despite his strongly secular views and associations, Zipper always maintained a positive interest in the traditional and religious values of Jewish culture and a love for Hebrew as well as for Yiddish, Jewish folklore, the established Jewish community, and the Land of Israel.

While in Poland, Zipper helped to organize secular schools in Vladimir Volynski and Ustilug. In 1925, he emigrated to Canada, where he became the leader of the Labor Zionist-oriented Yiddish-Hebrew Peretz schools of Winnipeg and, from 1934 until his retirement in 1971, in Montreal. He was an important figure in Canadian Jewish literary circles, being active in the Jewish Public Library, the Poalei Zion, the Jewish Nation Workers' Alliance, the Jewish Writers' Association, and in the educational work of the Canadian Jewish Congress. Under his direction and the leadership of Leiser Zuker (1886–1965), the Peretz School paid special attention to the education of the children of the poor, despite the institution's constantly straitened finances.

Zipper also played a leading part in extending the activities of the Jewish schools of the community to the realm of adult education, so that the Peretz schools became a vital spiritual center for the secular and Zionist community – as did the Jewish People's schools with which they merged in 1971. In this context Zipper's oratorical and literary talents supported his pedagogical training.

A major thrust of Zipper's thinking and teaching was the centrality of East-European folk Jewry in the recent centuries of Jewish history, which is reflected in his considerable literary output, both in Hebrew and in Yiddish. Together with Y.Y. *Segal, Rachel *Korn, Melech *Ravitch, Mordecai Chossid, N.J. Gotlib, and Peretz Miransky, he helped to establish the Canadian – and especially the Montreal – community as one of the important secondary centers of Jewish literature in the mid-20th century. His short stories, book reviews, poems, travel reports, and other writings appeared in scores of periodicals in the United States, Europe, Israel, and South America. His Hebrew style was as original a contribution to Jewish literature as were his Yiddish works. Much of his writing reinterprets biblical and historic themes. His first major work, based upon the biography of the Ba'al Shem Tov, appeared in serial form in *Haolam* (1937–38) and later in book form, both in Hebrew (*Ish Hayah ba-Areẓ*, 1955) and in Yiddish (*Geven iz a Mentsh*, Montreal, 1940). His semi-autobiographical novel, *Oyf Yener Zeyt Bug* (Montreal, 1946), set in Poland after World War I, appeared in a Hebrew version, *Me-Ever Li-Nehar Bug*, in 1957. His *Tsvishen Teykhen un Vassern* (Montreal, 1960), a major fictional work on Jewish life and moods in Polish villages, also appeared in Hebrew, *Bein Naharot u-Neḥalim*, in 1967. He wrote a long elegy on the ruins of the Holocaust, "*Ikh bin Vider in Khurever Heym Gekumen*" (Montreal, 1965). Zipper also edited the *Leizer Zuker Gedenkbukh* in memory of the prominent Poalei Zion educational worker and Canadian Jewish Congress leader.

[David Rome]

ZIPPORAH (Heb. צִפּוֹרָה), wife of Moses. The name of Zipporah's father is variously given as Reuel (Ex. 2:18, 21) and *Jethro (18:2; cf. 3:1), priest of Midian. She was one of seven daughters (2:16). Zipporah bore Moses two sons, Gershom and Eliezer (2:22; 18:3–4). She appears to have accompanied her husband on his return to Egypt when, at a night encampment on the way, she averted his imminent death by circumcising her son with a flint (4:24–26). Zipporah seems to have returned with her children to her father's home in Midian, rejoining Moses at Mt. Sinai after the Exodus from Egypt (18:1–6). Nothing further is recorded of her.

[Nahum M. Sarna]

In the *Aggadah*

Zipporah is praised in the Midrash both for her piety and virtue (MK 16b; Ex. R. 1:32) and for her beauty (Mid. Ps. 7:18). Various explanations are given of her name ("bird"): When questioned by her father about Moses, she ran after him like a bird and returned with him (Ex. R. 1:32); she cleansed her father's house from every vestige of idolatry as a bird collects the smallest crumbs from the ground (*ibid.*); she is compared to the bird used in the purification rites of the leper (Tanḥ. B., Ex. 6). As soon as Jethro realized that Moses was the Hebrew who had fled from Egypt he had him thrown into a pit. During the ten years he spent in the pit, however, Zipporah provided him with food until he was set free (Targ. Jon., Ex. 2:21). The "sending away" of Zipporah after the Exodus is interpreted as meaning that Moses gave her a bill of divorce (Mekh., Amalek, 3). Identifying the "Cushite woman" (Ethiopian) in Numbers 12:1 with Zipporah whom he remarried, the rabbis explain that as a Cushite woman is distinguished by her skin, so was she distinguished by her virtuous deeds (MK 16b).

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ZIPSER, MAJER (1815–1869), rabbi and leader of the *Neologist movement in Hungary. Born in Balassagyarmat, Hungary, Zipser studied at the renowned yeshivot of *Eisenstadt and *Mikulov, under R. Meir *Eisenstadt and N. *Trebitsch, respectively. The latter granted him his rabbinical diploma (*semikhah*), as did Moses *Sofer though he was not one of his disciples (1837). While still engaged in his talmudic studies, he acquired a broad general education, and graduated from the University of Pest in 1851. In 1844 Zipser was appointed rabbi of *Szekesfehervar. As soon as he assumed his position, he called for reforms in the order of prayer: the exclusion of the *piyyutim* from the obligatory prayers and their recital in silence. Controversies immediately broke out within the community which increased after he consented to give a *get* (divorce bill) in the community, something which had never been done before. Zipser published *Mei ha-Shillo'aḥ* ("Waters of Siloaḥ," 1853) in defense of his attitude. In 1850 he went to England, where he published his apologetic work *The Talmud and the Gospels* (1851). It was republished by the community of London in 1852 as "*The Sermon on the Mount Reviewed…*, in reply to statements made by two members of parliament, Inglis and Newgate." As a result of the disputes in his community, he thought of emigrating, but accepted a call from the community of Rechnitz (Rohonc), where he remained until his death. His other works include *Zur Biographie R. Meir Eisenstadt* (1846–47); *Die juedischen Zustaende unter der 150 jaehrigen Tuerkenherrschaft* (1846–47); *Raphael Meldola* (1846–47); and *Kritische Untersuchung ueber die Originalitaet der im Talmud und Midraschim vorkommenden Parabeln und Sentenzen* (1848). His German translation of Josephus' *Contra Apionem*, entitled *Ueber das hohe Alter des juedischen Volkes gegen Apion*, was edited by A. *Jellinek and published posthumously in 1870.

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[Baruch Yaron]

ZIRELSON, JUDAH LEIB (1860–1941), chief rabbi of Bessarabia, communal leader, and author. Born in Kozelets, Ukraine, at the age of 18 he became rabbi of Priluki and in 1908 of Kishinev. When he received a call to Radom, his community opposed his leaving; the leaders of the Radom community submitted the issue to a *bet din* but lost the case. Widely learned and proficient in many languages, Zirelson became a leading Zionist and a regular contributor to Hebrew periodicals in Russia, such as *Ha-Meliẓ, Ha-Ẓefirah, Ha-Zeman, Ha-Peles*, and *Ha-Modi'a*. He dissociated himself from Zionism, however, as a result of a dispute in 1898 about the election of the Va'ad Rabbanim ("Committee of Rabbis"). In 1908 he presided over the Conference of Russian Rabbis which met in St. Petersburg to discuss the Jewish position in Russia. In 1911 he issued an appeal for signatories to the protest against the *blood libel raised during the Beilis case at Kiev. In 1912 he was one of the founders of Agudat Israel and was chairman of the two congresses held by that organization in Vienna (1923 and 1929). A communal leader of the loftiest stature, he was one of the personalities most active on behalf of Russian Jewry. When Bessarabia was incorporated in Romania (1920), he learned Romanian, became the leader of the extreme Orthodox Jewry of that country, and was elected a deputy to the Romanian parliament in 1922 and a senator in 1926. Besides being the chief rabbi, he was for certain periods also the head of the community and even mayor of Kishinev, in recognition of which many honors were conferred on him. In Kishinev he founded numerous institutions, among these its first Orthodox high school. He was shot and killed by the Germans in Kishinev (during World War II).

He was the author of several important works: *Aẓei Levanon* (1922), responsa; *Gevul Yehudah* (1906, 1912²), responsa; *Hegyon Lev* (1929), homilies and eulogies; *Ma'arekhei Lev* (1932), responsa and homilies; *Derekh Selulah* (1902), essays and poems; and *Lev Yehudah*, 1 (1935), 2 (1961), responsa and addresses. In his works he included many quotations in various languages, being in this respect almost unique in responsa literature.

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[Itzhak Alfassi]

ZIRIDS (Ar. **Banu Ziri**), *Berber dynasty which ruled Ifriqiya (Northeastern Africa, mainly *Tunisia of today) from the late tenth century until approximately 1167. A branch of this family extended Berber rule into *Spain in the 11th century and established its capital at Granada. Under Zirid domination in Northeastern Africa there emerged a vital center of Jewish intellectual life. This became feasible owing to the dynasty's tolerant disposition toward the Jews who generally populated the city of *Kairouan and the commercial ports of Mahdiya and Gabès (today part of southern Tunisia). Kairouan was the residence of the central Jewish leadership and its president, the **nagid*. Perhaps the most illustrious *nagid* in the Zirid era was Ibrahim b. 'Ata, who was court physician to the governors Badis and Mu'izz. He had the title of *negid ha-Golah* bestowed upon him in recognition of his outstanding services both to his local community and to the *Pumbedita Academy.

After the Zirids extended their authority to Spain, the Jews of Granada were able to promote cultural and political activity with no particular curbs on communal freedom exercised by the Zirids. This was especially true once the latter appointed *Samuel ha-Nagid and his son, Joseph, as governmental ministers (viziers). One of the reasons the Jews were properly treated may be attributed to their contribution to the dynasty's financial stability. Following the murder of Joseph ha-Nagid in 1066, Jewish influence declined. The *Almoravids replaced the Zirids as a dominant ruling Berber dynasty in North Africa. Though the Almoravids proved tolerant vis-à-vis their Jewish subjects, this attitude hardly measured up to the golden age enjoyed by the Jews until the mid-12th century.

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[Michael M. Laskier (2nd ed.)]

ZISLING, AHARON (1901–1964), labor leader in Ereẓ Israel. Born in the Minsk district, Belorussia, Zisling received both a religious and a secular education. In 1914 he was taken to Tel Aviv by his family. In 1917, when the Turkish authorities ordered the evacuation of Tel Aviv, Zisling studied with a group of deported teachers in Ḥaderah and, under the influence of Joseph Ḥayyim *Brenner, he grew closer to the labor movement. He worked as a laborer in kevuẓat Tirah near Haifa and on the Afulah-Nazareth road and participated in the founding of the workers' collective Ḥavurat ha-Emek, which merged with kibbutz En-Harod. Zisling, who was a delegate to the founding conference of the *Histadrut (1920) and served as secretary of the Jerusalem workers' council (1925–26), was a member of kibbutz En-Harod from its start and a leader of the *Ha-Kibbutz ha-Me'uḥad movement. Among the founders of *Youth Aliyah, he served on its executive board. As a member of the *Haganah command, he participated in the founding of the *Palmaḥ. During World War II, Zisling was a founder of the Friendship League with the U.S.S.R. A leader of the original *Aḥdut ha-Avodah which merged with Ha-Po'el ha-Ẓa'ir to form *Mapai (1930), he led the Si'ah Bet ("faction B") when Mapai split and became a founder of the new Aḥdut ha-Avodah Party (1944) and of *Mapam (1948). He was a delegate to the Asefat ha-Nivḥarim, beginning with the second one, a member of the Va'ad Le'ummi executive, co-founder of Kofer ha-Yishuv (the *yishuv* defense fund), and an active member of central institutions of the Histadrut. In 1947 he was a member of the Jewish Agency delegation to the United Nations. He served in Minhelet ha-Am (People's Administration, see *Israel, State of, Central Governance) and in the provisional Israel government of 1948–49 as minister of agriculture. He was a member of the First Knesset. From 1961 to 1963 Zisling was a member of the Zionist Executive and headed its absorption department.

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[Abraham Aharoni]

ZISSU, ABRAHAM LEIB (1888–1956), Romanian Zionist leader and author. Born in Piatra-Neamț, Zissu was descended from prominent Ḥabad Ḥasidim and was raised in a religious environment. Although he became an important manufacturer, Zissu devoted most of his time to literary and political work of a Jewish or Zionist nature. He joined Leon *Algazi and the philo-Semitic Romanian writer Gala Galaction (1879–1961) in publishing the periodical *Spicul*; was coeditor (from 1908) with M.M. *Braunstein (Mi-Bashan) of the Hebrew monthly *Ha-Mekiẓ;* and in 1919 founded the Romanian Zionist daily *Mântuirea*.

As an active Zionist, Zissu often came into conflict with Jewish assimilationists who headed many Jewish institutions, and in his writing developed a violently polemical style. He wrote several novels and other works on Jewish themes, including *Spovedania unui Candelabru* ("Confession of a Candelabrum", 1926); *Ereticul dela Mănastirea Neamțului* ("The Heretic of the Neamț Monastery", 1930); *Calea Calvarului* ("The Road of Calvary", 1935); and *Samson și Noul Dagon* ("Samson and the New Dagon", 1939). The publication of his study *Logos, Israel, Biserica* ("The Logos, Israel, and the Church", 1937) brought him threats of violence from outraged antisemitic students. From 1944 he headed the Zionist Federation and the World Jewish Congress (Romanian section), and organized the mass emigration to Ereẓ Israel of Romanian Jews. Zissu nevertheless continued his efforts under the Communist regime until he was arrested, tried, and sentenced to life imprisonment in 1954 for Zionist activities. Following his release, he arrived in Israel in 1956, but died a few weeks later.

Abraham Zissu's son. THEODORE ZISSU (1916–1942), who had an English university education, was a practical Zionist. He foresaw the immense importance of the then barren Negev region of Palestine and, after the 1937 Peel Commission, formed the Negev Group to fight for the area's inclusion in any future Jewish state. Zissu conducted a vigorous publicity campaign to this end. During World War II he rose from the ranks to become a British tank officer and was fatally wounded at the battle of El Alamein. His book, *The Negev, Southern District of Palestine*, was published in 1946.

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[Abraham Feller]

ZITNITSKY, PINCAS (Pedro) LÁZARO (1894–1967), Argentine journalist, editor, and author. Born in Kiev, Zitnitsky studied law at Kiev, Koenigsberg, and Bonn. He emigrated to Argentina in 1928 and was active in the non-Zionist and Yiddishist left-wing sector of the Jewish community in Buenos Aires and presided over the Tzentral Veltlech Yiddishe Shul Organizatzie (TZVISHO; Central Organization of Jewish Secular Schools) upon its foundation in 1934. He was also one of the directors and a member of the editorial board of the leftist Yiddish daily newspaper *Di Presse* of Buenos Aires. He became a professor of Slavic civilization at the Universidad Internacional de Latino-America, Buenos Aires, in 1959, and vice rector the following year. Zitnitsky was a prolific journalist and essayist. His books include *Forerunners of Scientific Socialism* (1928), *The Meaning of History* (1930), *Peretz: Philosophy and Socialism* (1951), and *A Half-Century of Yiddish Literature* (1952).

ZITRON, SAMUEL LEIB (1860–1930), Hebrew and Yiddish writer and journalist. The son of a distinguished merchant family in Minsk, Zitron was educated at Lithuanian yeshivot. While studying at the Volozhin yeshivah, he became attracted to the Haskalah and in 1876 moved to Vienna, where he became friendly with P. *Smolenskin. After studying for several years in Germany, he began his journalistic career, and for more than 50 years contributed to the Yiddish press and to nearly all the Hebrew periodicals in the Diaspora. In the 1880s to 1890s, he wrote short stories, one of which, "*Yonah Potah*" (1887), aroused popular attention. He joined the Ḥibbat Zion movement in its early days and translated L. *Pinsker's *Autoemanzipation* into Hebrew (it appeared in a censored version, under the title *Im Ein Ani Li Mi Li*). From 1904 Zitron lived in Vilna and edited various newspapers and anthologies. Of special interest are a series of articles on the Hebrew press published in *Haolam*, 4 (1911–14, 1927–30). Based mainly on Zitron's personal experiences and recollections, the articles contain material of historic value, particularly on *Ha-Maggid, Ha-Meliẓ, Ha-Ẓefirah, Ha-Karmel, Ha-Levanon, Ha-Emet*, and *Ha-Kol*. He also wrote about the history of the Yiddish press in the 19th century (*Geshikhte fun der Yidisher Prese*, 1923). With the decline of the Hebrew press in Eastern Europe, Zitron wrote extensively for the Yiddish press, and published many monographs written in a popular style, some of which were later published in book form. Zitron also translated many books into Hebrew (including the works of *An-Ski and the stories of L. *Levanda).

His works include: on the Zionist movement and its precursors, *Toledot Ḥibbat Ẓiyyon* (1913); *Herzl* (1921; Heb.); *Leksikon Ẓiyyoni* (1924); on Hebrew literature and its writers, *Yoẓerei ha-Sifrut ha-Ivrit ha-Ḥadashah* (1922); *Anashim ve-Soferim* (1921); articles in Yiddish, *Meshumodim* (4 vols., 1923–23), *Literarishe Doyres* (4 vols., 1921–23), *Shtadlanim* (1926), *Barimte Yidishe Froyen* (1944).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Waxman, Literature, index; J. Fichmann, in: *Moznayim*, 29 (1930); Schoenhaus, in: *Haolam* (1930), 28, 490; M. Shalit, in *Davar Musaf* (Nov. 21, 1930); Rejzen, Leksikon, 3 (1929), 286–97; N. Goren, in: *Gilyonot*, 26 (1952), 398–400. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** G. Shaked. *Ha-Sipporet ha-Ivrit*, 1 (1977), 223–25.

[Yehuda Slutsky]

ZIV, JACOB (1931–), electrical engineer. Born in Tiberias, Israel, Ziv received his B.Sc., Dip. Eng. (1954), and M.Sc. (1957), both in electrical engineering, from the Technion, Israel Institute of Technology, Haifa. From 1955 to 1959, he was a senior research engineer in the Scientific Department of the Israeli Ministry of Defense and was assigned to the research and development of communications systems. He was sent by the Israeli Ministry of Defense to Massachusetts Institute of Technology and received his D.Sc. degree in 1962. From 1961 to 1962, while studying for his doctorate at MIT, he joined the Applied Science Division of Melpar, Inc., Watertown, Mass., where he was a senior research engineer working in communications theory. In 1962 he returned to the Scientific Department of the Israeli Ministry of Defense as head of the Communications Division and was also an adjunct of the Faculty of Electrical Engineering at the Technion. From 1968 to 1970 he was a member of the technical staff of Bell Laboratories, Inc., Murray Hill, N.J., where he also spent several sabbaticals in later years. He joined the Technion in 1970 and was appointed professor of electrical engineering. From 1974 to 1976, he was dean of the Faculty of Electrical Engineering and vice president for academic affairs from 1978 to 1982. Upon his return full time to the Technion in 1970, he worked on a variety of problems in information theory, including the characterization of the complexity of an information source and the related problem of universal data compression. With Abraham Lempel he wrote a series of papers on the Lempel-Ziv algorithm. His research interests include data-compression, information theory, and statistical communication. In 1982 he was elected a member of the Israel Academy of Sciences and appointed a Technion distinguished professor. In 1993 he was awarded the Israel Prize in exact sciences (engineering and technology). Among his many awards, he has twice been the recipient of the IEEE-Information Theory Best Paper Award (for 1977 and 1979). He is the recipient of the 1995 International Marconi Award, the 1995 IEEE Richard W. Hamming Medal, in 1997 the Shanon Award from the Information Theory Society, and in 2002 the Rothschild Prize for technological sciences. He was chairman of the Israel Universities Planning and Grants Committee from 1985 to 1991 and served as the president of the Israel National Academy of Sciences and the Humanities.

[Bracha Rager (2nd ed.)]

ẒIVION (pseudonym of **Benzion Hoffman**; 1874–1954), Yiddish journalist and essayist. Born in a Latvian village, he joined the *Bund soon after its founding in 1897 and remained a faithful interpreter of its ideology. From 1895 he wrote Hebrew articles and in 1909, the year after his emigration to New York, he edited the U.S. Hebrew journal *Ha-Yom*. However, his main literary medium was Yiddish, in which he is said to have written about 6,000 articles, mostly in the New York Yiddish paper *Jewish Daily Forward*, and in the monthly, *Zukunft*. Although he received a doctorate in science and engineering, he preferred to write about rather than practice in these fields. A correspondent to many national and international conferences, he proved to be a skillful interpreter of complex political problems. His readers valued his independent judgment, his simple style, and his mild humor. He popularized scientific subjects in several books and participated in the English-Yiddish Encyclopedic Dictionary (1915). On the semicentennial of his literary activities, a volume of his, *Far Fuftsik Yor* ("Selected Works," 1948) appeared under the editorship of H.S. Kazdan.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Rejzen, Leksikon, 3 (1929), 246–51; H.S. Kazdan, Introduction to Ẓivion, *Far Fuftsik Yor* (1948).

[Melech Ravitch]

ZIYANIDS (**Banu Ziyan**), Berber dynasty which ruled intermittently in western *Algeria from 1235 to 1557. This dynasty had its capital in *Tlemcen. It welcomed numerous Jewish refugees victimized by pogroms in Christian *Spain in the 1390s – one hundred years before the mass expulsion of Spanish Jewry. Some Jews enjoyed influence in the Ziyanid court as officials, interpreters, and financial advisers. When Spain and *Portugal conquered parts of Algeria in the 16th century, they sowed panic among the Jews, who fled to *Morocco and other parts of the Maghreb. Some came back after the withdrawal of the occupiers. To maintain their hold over Algeria, the Ziyanids enlisted the aid of the Ottoman Turks. The latter gradually consolidated their hold over the country in the 1550s and remained in relative control until the French conquest of 1830.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: H.Z. Hirschberg, *A History of the Jews in North Africa*, 1 (1974); C.-A. Julien, *History of North Africa: From the Early Arab Conquest to 1830*, ed. and rev. by R. Le Tourneau (1970).

[Michael M. Laskier (2nd ed.)]

ẒIẒIT (Heb. ציצּית pl. ציצּיוֹת, *ẓiẓiyyot*; "fringes"), name of the tassels attached to the four corners of special (four-cornered) garments worn by men in fulfillment of the biblical commandment in Numbers 15:37–41 and Deuteronomy 22:12. It has been suggested that the *ẓiẓit* served as a talisman (*amulet) or that it was instituted in order to distinguish between male and female garments which were very similar in biblical times. In the latter case it served as a protection against immoral conduct (an interpretation derived from Numbers 15:39). Talmudic literature invests the commandment of *ẓiẓit* with exalted symbolism. The rabbis regarded the *ẓiẓit* as a reminder to the Jew to observe the religious duties, giving it a function similar to that of the **mezuzah* on the doorposts and to the **tefillin* on the head and arm. The Talmud brings the parable how a person was saved from sensual sin because he wore fringes (Men. 44a).

The biblical commandment prescribing the entwining of a blue cord in the fringes is regarded as essential because blue, the color of the sky, was also supposed to be the color of the "throne of glory" (Men. 43b). Difficulties in obtaining the dyeing material for this purpose caused rabbinic authorities in the second century C.E. to waive this requirement.

In modern times, each *ẓiẓit* consists of one long and three short white threads which are passed through the holes in the four corners of the garment and folded so as to make eight threads. They are then fastened with a double knot. The long thread (called *shammash*) is wound around the other threads seven, eight, 11, and 13 times and the four joints are separated from one another by a double knot. The *ẓiẓit* thus consists of five double knots and eight threads (a total of 13). This number, together with the Hebrew numerical value of *ẓiẓit* (600), amounts to 613, the number of the biblical commandments of which the *ẓiẓit* are to remind the wearer (Num. 15:39). *Ẓiẓiyyot* of wool or linen are ritually fit for a **tallit* of whatever material. A silk or cotton *tallit*, however, should have *ẓiẓiyyot* of only the same fabric. The minimum length of the *ẓiẓit* threads should be four thumb lengths. If one of the *ẓiẓit* threads is torn, it is customary to replace the whole fringe. A person not wearing a four-cornered garment is exempt from the *mitzvah* of *ẓiẓit* since the religious duty of wearing *ẓiẓit* is not a personal one (*ḥovat gavra*). In order to fulfill this biblical commandment, however, pious Jews always wear a (*tallit katan*) "small four-cornered garment."

Women are exempt from the duty of *ẓiẓit* as the fulfillment of this commandment relates to a specific time and women are exempt from such obligations: *ẓiẓiyyot* have to be worn only during the day, based on the Bible verse "ye may look upon it" (Num. 15:39) which excludes the night.

It is customary to kiss the *ẓiẓiyyot* while reciting the last section of the **Shema* (Num. 15:37–41) in the morning service. The *ẓiẓyyot* of the *tallit* in which males are buried are torn to make them ritually unfit.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Maim. Yad, Ẓiẓit, 1, 2, 3; Sh. Ar., OḤ 8:24; Eisenstein, Dinim, 349–50; S.R. Hirsch, *Ḥorev*, tr. by I. Grunfeld, 1 (1962), 180–6; IDB, 2 (1962), 325–6.

ZLATOPOL, town in N.W. Kirovograd district, Ukraine. In 1847 the Jewish community of Zlatopol numbered 2,668 and increased in 1897 to 6,373. Zlatopol was the first residence of the *Brodski family who founded there an almshouse, a hospital, and a high school. In May 1919 Ukrainian revolutionaries conducted pogroms in Zlatopol. Approximately 70 Jews were killed and most homes and stores in the town were robbed and burned. In 1926 the Jewish community amounted to 3,863 (61.7% of the population). The community perished under the Nazi occupation. In all, some 1,200 Jewish residents of the city were killed in 1941–42.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Reshummot*, 3 (1923), 385–91; Benari, in: *Gazit*, 6 (1944), 10–13.

[Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

ZLATOPOLSKY, HILLEL (1868–1932), Zionist leader, industrialist, and philanthropist. Zlatopolsky was born in Yekaterinoslav. As secretary to Max *Mandelstamm, the Zionist Organization representative for the Kiev district (1897–1905), Zlatopolsky was in charge of the Zionist activities there, as well as of the financial center of Russian Zionists. He played a leading role in organizing the opposition to the *Uganda Scheme. He was one of the founders of the Ḥovevei Sefat Ever Society (Friends of the Hebrew Language, 1907) and was also active in the Histradrut le-Safah u-le-Tarbut Ivrit (Association of Hebrew Language and Culture). He made substantial financial contributions to facilitate the establishment of a network of Hebrew schools, ranging from kindergarten to teachers' seminaries. He also subsidized the Hebrew daily *Ha-Am*, and the *Habimah theater in Moscow and was one of the founders of Omanut, a publishing house for Hebrew textbooks and readers (the latter in cooperation with his daughter Shoshannah and son-in-law Joseph *Persitz). During World War I, he lived in Moscow, but he left Russia in 1919. Together with Isaac *Naiditsch, he was one of the founders of the *Keren Hayesod, and as a member of its first board of directors he conceived the idea of a national tithe. Zlatopolsky wrote articles on Zionism and Hebrew culture, as well as feuilletons, the latter containing a wealth of general Jewish and ḥasidic folklore. Some of his writings were published in two collections, *Bi-Tekufat ha-Teḥiyyah* (1917) and *Sefer ha-Feuilletonim* (1944). He died in Paris, the victim of a murder.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: M. Glickson, *Ishim*, 1 (1940), 231–7; D. Smilansky, *Im Benei Dori* (1942), 175–8.

[Yehuda Slutsky]

ZLOCISTI, THEODOR (1874–1943), physician and one of the first German Zionists. Born in Borchestowa, East Prussia, Zlocisti studied medicine at the University of Berlin and graduated in 1900. He practiced his profession throughout his life, first in Berlin and from 1921 in Ereẓ Israel – initially in Tel Aviv and later in Haifa. During World War I he was the chief medical officer of the Red Cross Mission in Constantinople and director of the Red Cross hospital in that city. In Tel Aviv he served as a member of the city council and its executive committee. Zlocisti played a leading role in the Zionist movement in Germany. In 1893 he was the secretary of the Young Israel Society in Berlin and had an exchange of correspondence with *Herzl. In 1895 he became one of the founders of the first Zionist students' society in Germany; together with his wife he attended the First Zionist Congress and kept up his Zionist activities in Germany until settling in Ereẓ Israel. He took a profound interest in East European Jewry and in Yiddish literature, and in *Aus einer stillen Welt, Erzaehlungen aus der modernen juedischen Literatur* (1910), he published German translations of works by leading Yiddish authors. He also published two collections of verse, *Vom Heimweg* (1903) and *Am Tor des Abends* (1912). He was the author of professional articles and treatises and of a comprehensive work on the climate of Ereẓ Israel, *Klimatologie und Pathologie Palaestinas* (1937).

Zlocisti also revived the writings of Moses *Hess and devoted efforts throughout his life to uncovering documentary material on Hess. He began with the publication of Hess's Jewish writings (*Juedische Schriften*, 1905), to which he added a comprehensive introduction. This introduction was later expanded into a special book (Heb. trans. Y.A. Heller, 2 vols., 1945–46). He also published a selection of his socialist writings, *Moses Hess, der Vorkaempfer des Sozialismus und Zionismus* (1921), a complete edition of *Rome and Jerusalem* (1935), and a shortened edition (1939), including an introduction and comments. He left a collection of Moses Hess's correspondence that was published in Hebrew translation after his death with an introduction by the translator, G. Kressel (1947).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: A. Biram in: *Haaretz* (Dec. 10, 1953); G. Kressel and N. Rotenstreich, in: *Davar* (Jan. 25, 1944).

[Getzel Kressel]

ZLOTOWITZ, BERNARD M. (1925–), U.S. Reform rabbi. Raised in an Orthodox immigrant family on the Lower East Side of Manhattan, Zlotowitz served as a leading voice of the Reform movement of the United States, holding several positions in the Union of American Hebrew Congregations (later the Union for Reform Judaism). His father, Rabbi Aron Zlotowitz, was spiritual leader of a congregation in Brooklyn for 60 years. Accepted into medical school while studying at Brooklyn College (B.A., History, 1948), Bernard Zlotowitz decided on a career in the Reform rabbinate. "I decided I didn't want to be a doctor. My real interest was in trying to serve God and the Jewish people," he says. In college, he re-examined his faith. "Reform answered my religious needs. Reform challenges the origins of the Bible … the nature of God."

After ordination in 1955 from the Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion, where he earned a B.H.L, M.H.L. and subsequently a D.H.L. degree, Rabbi Zlotowitz served as a pulpit rabbi at temples in Elmont, N.Y., Nyack, N.Y., Freeport, N.Y., and Charlotte, N.C. He returned to New York City in 1975 to serve as the UAHC's New Jersey regional director. "I wanted to serve more Jews than I was serving in Charlotte," he said. In 1980 he was promoted to director of the New York Federation of Reform Synagogues; he also lectured on Bible at HUC and wrote a "Jewish Q & A" column for *Reform Judaism* magazine.

Zlotowitz worked at the federation until retirement in 1990. From his retirement, he taught at the interdenominational Academy for Jewish Religion in the Bronx, and continued to teach and lecture as the URJ's senior scholar, serving as a resource for the Reform movement's rabbis and lay members on a variety of religious and historical topics, such as the construction of a *mikveh,* and the source of the tradition of sitting *shivah* for an intermarried child.

"My major interest is Bible," he said, "because it's a living book. It's a guide for life."

As a leader of summer trips to Israel sponsored by the National Federation of Temple Youth in 1968–72, he took part in archaeological digs in the Old City of Jerusalem. "I chose to do it. It gave me a tremendous insight into archaeology. It gave me an insight into the history of Jerusalem."

Rabbi Zlotowitz was a life member of NFTY and a board member of the New York Board of Rabbis. He received an Honorary Doctor of Divinity degree from HUC in 1980.

With his wife Shirley he traveled around the world, including most of Europe, as well as parts of Africa, Asia, South America and Africa. During a visit to Germany in 1994, Rabbi Zlotowitz became fascinated by the story of Martin Riesenburger, a preacher and cantor who openly officiated at funerals and led worship services in the chapel of Berlin's major Jewish cemetery during the Nazi era and came to be known as "the last rabbi of Berlin."

Rabbi Zlotowitz researched Riesenburger's life and wrote his biography, still unpublished. "He was a hero. He gave the people hope," Rabbi Zlotowitz said. "He always told them the war would end."

Among his writings are *Abraham's Great Discovery* (1991) and *How Tzipi the Bird Got Her Wings* (1995), both as co-author with Dina Maiben; *Folkways and Minhagim, Art in Judaism*; *The Septuagint Translation of Hebrew Terms in Relation to God in the Book of Jeremiah* (1981), *The Book of Psalms: A New Translation and Commentary* (co-author with Mark Rozenberg, 1999); he was editor of *One People* (1982).

[Steven Lipman (2nd ed.)]

ZLOTOWITZ, MEIR (1938–), U.S. publisher. Born in New York, son of Rabbi Aron Zlotowitz, a European-born rabbinic scholar, vice president of the Agudat Harabonim in the 1940s and one of the leaders of the Rabbis March on Washington, on the eve of Yom Kippur 5703 – 1943.

Zlotowitz attended Yeshiva Rabbi Jacob Joseph on the Lower East Side of Manhattan, then spent eight years at Mesivtah Tifereth Jerusalem studying under Rabbi Moses Feinstein, from whom he received his ordination.

As a graphic artist, he established *ArtScroll Studios, specializing in illuminated scrolls, brochures, journals, and invitations. In 1976, he produced a translation of and commentary on *Megillat Esther* as a tribute to a recently deceased friend. The book so impressed those who saw it, that he was encouraged to leave his job and to found Mesorah Publications, publishers of the ArtScroll Series, which has over 1,000 titles in print. He founded the organization with Rabbi Nosson *Scherman and Sheah Brander.

When he first began, in quick succession he similarly translated four other *Megillot* and wrote an exhaustive six-volume translation and phrase-by-phrase commentary on the Book of Genesis. During the first decade of the ArtScroll Series, he authored numerous other books, but then reluctantly withdrew from his personal writing and devoted himself to shepherding Mesorah Publications into its period of explosive growth.

Zlotowitz is also president of the Mesorah Heritage Foundation, a not-for-profit organization which funds more than 80 scholars in Israel, America, and Europe who write and edit such scholarly works as the Schottenstein Talmud. Asked what accomplishments mean the most to him, Zlotowitz speaks of the strangers who approach him to say that ArtScroll has transformed their lives.

The success of the ArtScroll/Mesorah series is undeniable. ArtScroll is a fascinating combination of fervently Orthodox Judaism and an American aesthetic that wraps traditional Judaism in a visual idiom acceptable to the American sensibility. Zlotowitz's sense of the visual impact of a book is an indispensable ingredient in its success. Despite what outsiders may think, even the rejectionist Orthodox community that does not embrace modern culture has, perhaps inadvertently, acculturated itself to the offerings and packaging of the American marketplace.

ArtScroll publishes in English and in Hebrew and has brought its own unique styling to the Israeli and American marketplace. In the United States, it represents an important transition between Yiddish and English as the spoken language and the language of Jewish learning for fervently Orthodox Jews in America.

Modern Orthodox scholars have not been uncritical of ArtScroll's success. Its historical studies are wrapped, not in western scholarship, but in hagiography; it seems as if every fervently Orthodox leader or rabbi is without blemish. Others on the right criticize it for enabling and empowering English rather than Yiddish or Hebrew to be the language of contemporary learning.

The Schottenstein Talmud has allowed many who would have otherwise lacked the skill and talmudic virtuosity to participate in *daf yomi* (learning a page of Talmud a day) programs. It has offered those learning in yeshivah the "English" experience of the *bet midrash* and has far outpaced the more sophisticated and erudite commentary of Adin *Steinsaltz in popularity and use.

[Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

ZMIGROD NOWY, village near Jaslo in Rzeszow province, S. Poland, passed to Austria in 1772, and reverted to Poland after World War I. Jews first settled there in the early 16th century. By the middle of the century they had established an organized community under the jurisdiction of the *Szydlowiec *kahal* in *Sandomierz-Krakow province. In 1692 Menahem Mendel b. Ẓevi Hirsh of Poznan became *av bet din* in Zmigrod Nowy. He was succeeded by Benjamin Wolf who later became rabbi of Dessau and *Metz. In 1765 there were 683 Jews who paid the poll tax living in Zmigrod Nowy, and 1,025 living in 143 surrounding villages; there were 68 Jewish houses in Zmigrod Nowy; a synagogue had been built in the early 17th century. Until Zmigrod Nowy passed to Austria in 1772, Jews there mainly engaged in the import of wines and horses from Hungary, tailoring, and hat making. In the 19th century Jews in Zmigrod Nowy were mainly occupied in trade in timber and grain, the leasing of flour mills and engraving. The Jewish population numbered 1,330 in 1880 (53% of the total), 1,240 (54%) in 1900, and 940 (48%) in 1921.

[Shimshon Leib Kirshenboim]

Holocaust Period

During 1940–41 the Jews suffered from administrative and economic restrictions and forced labor. The Jews of the entire area were concentrated in the city, and in the summer of 1942 hundreds of Jews were killed. Later about 500 people were sent to the Plaszow labor camp, where many of them met their death. The remnants of the community were sent to the *Belzec death camp in the autumn of 1942.

[Aharon Weiss]

BIBLIOGRAPHY: R. Mahler, *Yidn in Amolikn Poyln in Likht fun Tsifern* (1958), index; B. Wasiutyński, *Ludność żydowska w Polsce w wiekach XIX i XX* (1930), 133; M. Balaban, *Historja Żydów w Krakowie i na Kazimierzu*, 2 vols. (1931–36), index; I. Schiper, *Dzieje handlu żydowskiego na ziemiach polskich* (1937), index.

ZMORA, YISRAEL (1899–1983), Hebrew literary critic. Born in the Belz district of Bessarabia, he immigrated to Palestine in 1925. He was one of a group of modernistic Hebrew writers who, from 1927 to 1939, contributed to Tel Aviv's avant-garde literary periodicals *Ketuvim* and *Turim*, and he regularly published critical notices of new Hebrew books and writers in the Palestinian Hebrew press. Zmora founded and edited (1940–54) the literary magazine *Maḥbarot le-Sifrut*. In 1940 he also founded the publishing house with the same name, which published the works of young Hebrew poets, new editions of Hebrew works from the Middle Ages and the Haskalah period, and translations. He was also active as a translator, particularly from French and Russian.

His books include *Anshei Shem Mitloẓeẓim*, under the pen name of Y. Zeh (1933); *Rainer Maria Rilke*, a monograph (1933); *Avraham Shlonsky*, a monograph (1937); *Shenei Mesapperim*, essays on Ḥ. *Hazaz and Jacob *Horovitz (1940); *Sifrut al Parashat Dorot*, essays on literature and writers (3 vols., 1949–50); *Ha-Mesapper Kav le-Kav*, literary analysis of the works of U.N. *Gnessin (1951); and *Nevi'im Aḥaronim*, essays (1953); a collection of poems (1965), *Shloshim Sonetot* (1971) and essays entitled *Ḥamesh Megilot* (1973).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: A. Ben-Or, *Toledot ha-Sifrut ha-Ivrit be-Dorenu*, 2 (1955), 282–4; Tidhar, 3 (1949), 1362f.

[Gedalyah Elkoshi]

ZNAIMER, MOSES (1942–), Canadian television and theater producer, media executive. Canadian broadcasting was revolutionized in 1972 when Moses Znaimer created *Citytv*, an independent Toronto station that redefined community-based television as culturally diverse, spontaneous, and attuned to the growing wired environment. Znaimer's dynamic and complex personal history grew out of the struggle for survival that defined his early years. His parents had fled the German invasion of Poland and were in Kulab, Tajikistan, when Znaimer was born. The family made their way to Shanghai, then settled in Montreal in 1948. A scrappy dynamo, Znaimer later boasted of the police record he accumulated as a youth in Montreal. But he also immersed himself in Bible and Talmud study, identifying with the Jewish prophets as ideologues who fought alone against the Establishment. He graduated in philosophy and politics from McGill University before earning an M.A. in government at Harvard at the age of 20. Drawn by the world of media communications, he went to work for the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, where he proved a youthful force, working as producer, presenter, and director of historical and current affairs programming.

He eventually left the CBC to pursue his creative dreams. With the help of financial backers, he built *Citytv* into a major Canadian media conglomerate with stations serving niche markets across Canada. In 1984 he created *MuchMusic*, a 24-hour music-video channel that opened the walls between its multicultural presenters and its young viewers. It relied on hand-held cameras and brought the "backstage" of studio television into the foreground. During the 1980s and 1990s Znaimer presided over the expansion of a media empire that came to include 24-hour local news, creative arts, and educational channels. By 2002 he had built 17 specialty channels and eight local outlets spread across Canada, and licensed similar stations from Argentina to Finland. Znaimer also appeared as an actor in motion pictures and produced the ground-breaking play, *Tamara*, a thriller where the audience pursues the assorted plot lines unfolding in different rooms of a single house. He opened a TV museum in Toronto, tracing the history and impact of television around the world. In 2000 Znaimer began *IdeaCity*, a yearly "meeting of minds" which provides a "forum for the high ground of ideas and idealism."

By the time of his retirement from full-time production in 2003, Znaimer had defined a uniquely Canadian media voice. He has been recognized with a number of honorary doctoral degrees and awards for his work in media innovation and his efforts on behalf of race relations in Canada, including the Canadian Council of Christians and Jews Human Relations Award.

[Paula Draper (2nd ed.)]

ZNOJMO (Ger. **Znaim**), town in S. Moravia, Czech Republic. Although Jews are mentioned in a document dated 1052, the document itself is considered a 13th-century forgery. A Jewish tombstone in Znojmo, dated 1256, is the oldest to be found in Moravia; another tombstone there is inscribed 1306. A Jewish quarter was established when the town obtained independent status and is described in a document dated 1330. A synagogue is mentioned in 1341. The community were victims of the massacres following the Desecration of the Host libel of *Pulkau and during the Black *Death (1348). An assessment of an impost on Moravian communities in 1421 indicates that the Znojmo community was then the largest in Moravia. The Jews were expelled from Znojmo in 1454 and subsequently were permitted to enter the town only on payment of a body tax (**Leibzoll*); there was a special inn for visiting Jews.

There was a "Jewish street" in Znojmo, now called "Vesela street" ("the cheerful street"). The first Jews to receive permission to reside in Znojmo settled there in 1851. A congregation (*Kultusverein*) was founded in 1865 and became autonomous in 1876. In 1888 a synagogue was constructed in the Moorish style. In 1848 there were 19 Jews living in the town. In 1857 there were 36; 357 in 1869; 749 in 1921; 786 in 1928; and 675 in 1930.

The Jews contributed significantly to the town's economic development. They pioneered the canning industry, in particular pickles, for which Znojmo became famous.

Znojmo's population, as well as the vicinity, was known for the Judeophobia entrenched there. During the Sudeten crisis (1938), most Jews left Znojmo. The synagogue was set afire during *Kristallnacht* and was later torn down. Some 665 members of the community perished in concentration camps. A congregation was reestablished after World War II. It no longer exists.

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[Meir Lamed / Yeshayahu Jelinek (2nd ed.)]

ZOAN (Heb. צֹעַן), ancient city in Lower Egypt; the ancient Egyptian Djanet, Greek Tanis, and modern Ṣan el-Ḥagar in the eastern Delta of Egypt. Zoan is mentioned several times in the Bible. Attempts have been made to identify it with the Hyksos capital of Avaris. According to Numbers 13:22 the city was founded seven years after Hebron. An Egyptian text of around 1330 B.C.E. commemorates the 400th year of the god Set in Avaris; since Set was the Egyptian form of the Asiatic storm god whom the Hyksos worshipped, his establishment in Avaris 400 years earlier would follow closely on the appearance of the Hyksos in the Delta. The Egyptian New Kingdom, particularly the period of Ramses II, is well represented at Tanis, but it was not until after the New Kingdom, in the Twenty-First Dynasty, that Tanis rose to preeminence as the chief city of Egypt. It was a Tanite king who campaigned against Gezer, conquered it, and gave the city as dowry to his daughter, Solomon's wife. The mention of Tanis and its rulers by the prophets (Isa. 19:11, 13; 30:4; and Ezek. 30:14) refers, however, to a different dynasty, the Twenty-Second (Libyan) Dynasty, some of whose rulers continued to reside in Tanis and were buried there. The "field of Zoan" (Ps. 78:12, 43), which is attested on several late statues and stelae (Sekhet Djanet) may have been an alternative name for the city, but more probably it was the name of the surrounding region.

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[Alan Richard Schulman]

ZODIAC, in astrology, an imaginary zone in the heavens within which lie the paths of the *sun, the *moon, and the planets. The zodiac is divided into 12 signs which are mostly symbolically represented by animals (Gr. Ζώδιον, "a little animal"). The twelve-fold division of the zodiac was first developed by the Chaldean astronomers and was almost certainly suggested by the occurrence of the 12 full moons in successive parts of the heaven in the course of one year. It spread to the West about the beginning of the Christian Era. There is no mention of the zodiac in the Talmud, probably as a result of R. Johanan's statement, based on the verse "Thus saith the Lord, learn not the way of the nations and be not dismayed at the signs of heaven, for the [gentile] nations are dismayed at them" (Jer. 10:2), to the effect that "Israel is immune from planetary influence" (Shab. 156a). It is first mentioned in the *Sefer *Yeẓirah*; and the names given to the 12 signs are direct translations of the Latin names. Thus Aries is called *Taleh*; Taurus, *Shor*; Gemini, *Te'omim*; Cancer, *Sartan*; Leo, *Aryeh*; Virgo, *Betulah*; Libra, *Moznayim*; Scorpio, *Akrav*; Sagittarius, *Keshet*; Capricorn, *Gedi*; Aquarius, *Deli* ("a bucket"), and Pisces, *Dagim*.

According to the *Yalkut Shimoni* (Lev. 418), however, the standards of the 12 tribes correspond to the signs of the zodiac. Thus in the east were stationed Judah, Issachar, and Zebulun, corresponding to Aries, Taurus, and Gemini; Reuben, Simeon, and Gad in the south correspond to Cancer, Leo, and Virgo; Ephraim, Manasseh, and Benjamin in the west with Libra, Scorpio, and Sagittarius; and Dan, Asher, and Naphtali in the north with Capricorn, Aquarius, and Pisces. A long *piyyut* based on the 12 signs of the zodiac, *Yittaḥ Ereẓ le-Yesha*, is included in old *maḥzorim* accompanying the prayer for rain on Shemini Aẓeret, and the signs of the zodiac usually accompany the printed text. This *piyyut* has, however, been excluded from all modern *maḥzorim*, and the only place where the signs appear today are in some calendars. In the *Pesikta Rabbati* (27–28 ed. Freedman p. 133b) a passage occurs which explains the names of the signs homiletically in accordance with Jewish history. The Temple could not be destroyed in Nisan, since the ram which it represents in the zodiac is a reminder of the **Akedah*; Taurus is connected with the calf which Abraham slaughtered for his angelic guests (Gen. 18:7); the Gemini represent Jacob and Esau; while the Temple was destroyed in the month of Av, since its zodiacal sign *Aryeh*, the lion, corresponds to Ariel, a name given to the Temple (Isa. 29:1).

The signs of the zodiac figured prominently in early Jewish art, for example on the mosaic floors of ancient Palestinian synagogues (e.g., *Bet Alfa, *Hammath) as well as in prayer books, on *ketubbot*, etc.

ẒOFIM (Heb. צוֹפִים), place in the vicinity of Jerusalem, which indicated the limits of the city (Pes. 3:8). From this spot, pilgrims approaching Jerusalem first saw the Temple. According to later sources, Jews arriving at Ẓofim and seeing the Temple in ruins were apt to tear their clothes in mourning (TJ, MK 3:7, 83b; Lam. R. 5:18, no. 1). Josephus describes Saphein (the Greek transcription of Ẓofim) as the place where the high priest Jaddua met Alexander the Great (Ant., 11:329). During his march on Jerusalem, Cestius Gallus camped at a spot called Scopus (the Greek translation of Ẓofim = "place of beholding"), 7 furlongs (c. 1 mi.; c. 1½ km.) from the city (Jos., Wars, 2:528; 542). It was also the last camp of Titus in his march on Jerusalem in 70 C.E. (Jos., Wars, 5:67, 106). Ẓofim is usually identified with Ras el-Mesharref to the north of Jerusalem, on the road along the watershed which enters the city from the north and served as the main road on the west. By extension, the name Ẓofim has been applied in modern times to the campus occupied by the Hebrew University until 1948, when it became a demilitarized Israel enclave in Jordanian territory, until reunited with the city during the Six-Day War in 1967.

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[Michael Avi-Yonah]

ẒOFIT (Heb. צוֹפִית; "Lookout Point"), moshav in central Israel, in the southern Sharon N. of Kefar Sava, affiliated with Tenu'at ha-Moshavim. Ẓofit was founded in 1933 by farm laborers from Eastern Europe within the framework of the Thousand Families Project (see *Israel, State of: Settlement). Before 1948 the settlers earned their livelihood mainly by working as hired laborers on farms in the vicinity, but gradually developed their auxiliary farms into full-fledged holdings based mainly on citrus groves, dairy cattle, and poultry. Newcomers from Poland enlarged the moshav after 1948. In 1970, Ẓofit had 330 inhabitants. By the mid-1990s the population had grown to 405 approximately, rising further to 720 in 2002. In 1998 the moshav initiated an expansion program aimed at children of moshav members and newcomers. Barely 15% of Zofit residents earned their livings in farming: field crops, beehives, poultry, and plantations. The rest were employed in various occupations.

WEBSITE: www.tsofit.org.il.

[Efraim Orni / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

ZOHAR (Heb. זֹהַר; "[The Book of] Splendor"), the central work in the literature of the *Kabbalah.

Introduction

In some parts of the book the name "Zohar" is mentioned as the title of the work. It is also cited by the Spanish kabbalists under other names, such as the *Mekhilta de-R. Simeon b. Yoḥai*, in imitation of the title of one of the halakhic Midrashim, in *Sefer ha-Gevul* of David b. Judah he-Ḥasid; the *Midrash de-R. Simeon b. Yoḥai*, in several books dating from the period of the pupils of Solomon b. Abraham *Adret, in the *Livnat ha-Sappir* of Joseph Angelino, the homilies of Joshua *Ibn Shu'ayb, and the books of Meir ibn *Gabbai; *Midrash ha-Zohar*, according to Isaac b. Joseph ibn Munir (see *He-Ḥalutz*, 4 (1859), 85); *Midrash Yehi Or* in the *Menorat ha-Ma'or* of Israel *al-Nakawa, apparently because he had a manuscript of the Zohar which began with a commentary on the verse "Let there be light" (Gen. 1:3). Several statements from the Zohar were quoted in the first generation after its appearance, under the general title of *Yerushalmi*, in the writings of, for example, Isaac b. *Sahula, *Moses de Leon, and David b. Judah he-Ḥasid, and in the (fictitious) responsa of Rav Hai in the collection *Sha'arei Teshuvah*.

This article is arranged according to the following outline:

- **The Literary Form of the Zohar**
- **The Unity of the Work**
  - STYLE
  - SOURCES
  - LANGUAGE
  - ORDER OF COMPOSITION
  - DATE OF COMPOSITION
- **The Author**
- **Manuscripts and Editions**
- **Commentaries**
- **Translations**
- **Scholarship**
- **Later Research**

The Literary Form of the Zohar

In its literary form the Zohar is a collection of several books or sections which include short midrashic statements, longer homilies, and discussions on many topics. The greater part of them purport to be the utterances of the *tanna* *Simeon b. Yoḥai and his close companions (*ḥavrayya*), but there are also long anonymous sections. It is not one book in the accepted sense of the term, but a complete body of literature which has been united under an inclusive title. In the printed editions the Zohar is composed of five volumes. According to the division in most editions, three of them appear under the name *Sefer ha-Zohar al ha-Torah*; one volume bears the title *Tikkunei ha-Zohar*; the fifth, titled *Zohar Ḥadash*, is a collection of sayings and texts found in the manuscripts of the Safed kabbalists after the printing of the Zohar and assembled by *Abraham b. Eliezer ha-Levi Berukhim. Page references in the most common editions of the Zohar and the editions of the *Tikkunim* are generally uniform.

References here to the *Zohar Ḥadash* (ZḤ) are to the Jerusalem edition of 1953. Some of the sections of the book exist separately in manuscript. The sections which make up the Zohar in its wider sense are essentially the following:

(1) The main part of the Zohar, arranged according to the weekly portions of the Torah, up to and including the portion *Pinḥas*. From Deuteronomy there are only *Va-Etḥannan*, a little on *Va-Yelekh*, and *Ha'azinu*. Basically it is a kabbalistic Midrash on the Torah, mixed with short statements, long expositions, and narratives concerning Simeon b. Yoḥai and his companions. Some of it consists also of common legends. The number of verses interpreted in each portion is relatively small. Often the exposition digresses to other subjects quite divorced from the actual text of the portion, and some of the interpretations are quite skillfully constructed. The expositions are preceded by *petiḥot* ("introductions") which are usually based on verses from the Prophets and the Hagiographa, especially Psalms, and which end with a transition to the subject matter of the portion. Many stories act as a framework for the homilies of the companions, e.g., conversations while they are on a journey or when they rest for the night. The language is Aramaic, as it is for most of the other sections of the work (unless otherwise stated). Before the portion *Bereshit* there is a *hakdamah* ("preface"), which would appear to be a typical collection of writings and not a preface as such, unless perhaps it was intended to introduce the reader to the spiritual climate of the book. Many expositions are found in various manuscripts in different places and sometimes there is some doubt as to which particular portion they really belong. There are also discourses which recur in different contexts in two or three places. *Aaron Zelig b. Moses in *Ammudei Sheva* (Cracow, 1635) listed about 40 such passages which are found in parallel editions of the Zohar. A few expositions in the printed editions break off in the middle, and their continuation is printed solely in the *Zohar Ḥadash*. In the later editions, beginning with that of Amsterdam, 1715, these completions are printed as *hashmatot* ("omissions") at the end of each volume.

(2) Zohar to the Song of Songs (printed in ZḤ, fols. 1d–75b); it extends only to the greater part of the first chapter and, like (1), consists of kabbalistic expositions.

(3) *Sifra di-Ẓeni'uta* ("Book of Concealment"), a kind of fragmented commentary on the portion *Bereshit*, in short obscure sentences, like an anonymous Mishnah, in five chapters, printed at the end of portion *Terumah* (2:176b–179a). In several manuscripts and in the Cremona edition (1558–60) it is found in the portion *Bereshit*.

(4) *Idra Rabba* ("The Greater Assembly"), a description of the gathering of Simeon b. Yoḥai and his companions, in which the most profound mysteries are expounded concerning the revelation of the Divine in the form of **Adam Kadmon* ("Primordial Man"). It is of a superior literary construction and the most systematic discourse found in the Zohar. Each of the companions says his piece and Simeon b. Yoḥai completes their pronouncements. At the end of this solemn assembly three of the ten participants meet with an ecstatic death. Among the early kabbalists it was called *Idra de-Naso* and it is printed in the portion *Naso* (3:127b–145a). It is, in a way, a kind of Talmud to the Mishnah of the *Sifra di-Ẓeni'uta*.

(5) *Idra Zuta* ("The Lesser Assembly"), a description of the death of Simeon b. Yoḥai and his closing words to his followers before his death, a kind of kabbalistic parallel to the death of Moses. It contains a companion discourse to that in the *Idra Rabba*, with many additions. Among the early kabbalists it was called *Idra de-Ha'azinu*. This portion concludes the Zohar (3:287b–96b).

(6) *Idra de-Vei Mashkena*, a study session conducted by Simeon b. Yoḥai with some of his students concerning the exposition of certain verses in the section dealing with the tabernacle. Most of it deals with the mysteries of the prayers. It is found at the beginning of *Terumah* (2:127a–146b). The note in later editions that the section 2:122b–3b is the *Idra de-Vei Mashkena* is a mistake. This part is mentioned at the beginning of the *Idra Rabba*.

(7) *Heikhalot*, two descriptions of the seven palaces in the celestial garden of Eden in which the souls take their delight when prayer ascends and also after their departure from the world. One version is short and is inserted in the portion *Bereshit* (1:38a–48b). The other version is extremely long, because it expands on the mysteries of prayer and angelology. It is found at the end of the portion *Pekudei* (2:244b–62b). At the end of the longer version there is an additional section on the "seven palaces of uncleanness," which is a description of the abodes of hell (2:262b–8b). In kabbalistic literature it is called the *Heikhalot de-R. Simeon b. Yoḥai*.

(8) *Raza de-Razin* ("The Secret of Secrets"), an anonymous piece on physiognomy and chiromancy, based on Exodus 18:21, in the portion *Yitro* (2:70a–75a). Its continuation is to be found in the *hashmatot* and in *Zohar Ḥadash* (56c–60a). A second section on the same subject, cast in a different form, was inserted in a parallel column in the back of the Zohar (2:70a–78a).

(9) *Sava de-Mishpatim* ("Discourse of the Old Man"), an account of the companions' encounter with R. Yeiva, an old man and a great kabbalist, who disguises himself in the beggarly appearance of a donkey driver, and who delivers himself of an extensive and beautifully constructed discourse on the theory of the soul, based on a mystical interpretation of the laws of slavery in the Torah. It is inserted as part of the body of the Zohar on the portion *Mishpatim* (2:94b–114a).

(10) *Yanuka* ("The Child"), the story of a wonder child, the son of the old man, Rav Hamnuna, who teaches the companions profound interpretations of the Grace after Meals and other matters, when they happen to be lodging in his mother's house. Stories concerning other children like this are found in other parts of the Zohar. In some manuscripts this story constitutes the section of the Zohar on the portion *Devarim*. In the printed edition it is found in the portion *Balak* (3:186a–92a).

(11) *Rav Metivta* ("Head of the Academy"), an account of a visionary journey undertaken by Simeon b. Yoḥai and his pupils to the garden of Eden, and a long exposition by one of the heads of the celestial academy on the world to come and the mysteries of the soul. It is printed as part of the portion *Shelaḥ Lekha* (3:161b–174a). The beginning is missing, as are certain parts from the middle and the end.

(12) *Kav ha-Middah* ("The Standard of Measure"), an explanation of the details of the mysteries of emanation in an interpretation of the *Shema*, in the form of a discourse by Simeon b. Yoḥai to his son, printed in *Zohar Ḥadash* (56d–58d).

(13) *Sitrei Otiyyot* ("Secrets of the Letters"), a discourse by Simeon b. Yoḥai on the letters of the Divine Names and the mysteries of emanation, printed in *Zohar Ḥadash* (1b–10d).

(14) An interpretation of the vision of the chariot in Ezekiel, chapter 1, printed without a title in *Zohar Ḥadash* (37c–41b).

(15) *Matnitin* and *Tosefta*, numerous short pieces, written in a high-flown and obscure style, serving as a kind of Mishnah to the Talmud of the Zohar itself. The connection between these pieces and the expositions in the portions of the Zohar is clear at times trod and at others tenuous. Most of the pieces appear as utterances of a heavenly voice which is heard by the companions, and which urges them to open their hearts to an understanding of the mysteries. Many of them contain a summary of the idea of emanation and other major principles of Zohar teaching, couched in an enigmatic style. These pieces are scattered all over the Zohar. According to Abraham *Galante in his *Zohorei Ḥammah* (Venice, 1650), 33b, "when the editor of the Zohar saw an exposition which belonged to an argument in a particular exposition from the *mishnayot* and *tosafot* he put it between those pieces in order to give the exposition added force from the Tosefta and the Mishnah."

(16) *Sitrei Torah* ("Secrets of the Torah"), certain pieces on verses from the Book of Genesis, which were printed in separate columns, parallel to the main text of the Zohar, in the portions *No'aḥ, Lekh Lekha, Va-Yera*, and *Va-Yeẓe*, and in *Zohar Ḥadash* in the portions *Toledot* and *Va-Yeshev*. There are several pieces titled *Sitrei Torah* in the printed editions – e.g., *Sitrei Torah* to the portion *Aḥarei Mot* in *Zohar Ḥadash* – but it is doubtful whether they really do belong to the *Sitrei Torah*. Similarly, there are manuscripts which designate the systematic interpretation of creation in 1:15a–22a as the *Sitrei Torah* to this section. However, its character is different from the other examples of *Sitrei Torah*, which contain mainly allegorical explanations of verses on the mysteries of the soul, whereas this piece explains the theory of emanation (in an anonymous discourse) in the style of the main part of the Zohar and the *Matnitin*.

(17) *Midrash ha-Ne'lam* ("Concealed Midrash") on the Torah. This exists for the sections *Bereshit, No'aḥ*, *Lekh Lekha* in *Zohar Ḥadash*; for *Va-Yera, Ḥayyei Sarah*, and *Toledot* in the main body of the Zohar, in parallel columns; and for *Va-Yeẓe* in *Zohar Ḥadash*. The beginning of the section *Va-Yeḥi* in the printed editions, 1:211–6, is marked in some sources as the *Midrash ha-Ne'lam* to this portion, but there is some reason to believe, with several kabbalists, that these pages are a later addition. From their literary character and the evidence of several manuscripts, the pages 2:4a–5b, and particularly 14a–22a, belong to the *Midrash ha-Ne'lam* to the portion *Shemot*, and 2:35b–40b to the *Midrash ha-Ne'lam* to the portion *Bo*. From this point onward only a few separate short pieces occur in *Zohar Ḥadash*, on the portions *Be-Shallah* and *Ki Teẓe*. Several pieces, very close in spirit to the *Midrash ha-Ne'lam*, are found here and there in the main part of the Zohar, e.g., in the exposition of Rav Huna before the rabbis, in the portion *Terumah*, 2:174b–175a. It is also possible that the pages in the portion *Bo* are of this kind. The language of this part is a mixture of Hebrew and Aramaic. Many rabbis are mentioned in it, and in contrast to the long expositions of the earlier parts we find here mostly short pieces similar to the original aggadic Midrashim. Here and there we can recognize the transition to a more lengthy expository method, but there are no artistically constructed and extensive expositions. As to content, the material is centered mainly around discussions on creation, the soul, and the world to come, with a few discussions on the nature of God and emanation. Most of the sections, after the portion *Bereshit*, expound biblical narratives, notably the deeds of the patriarchs, as allegories of the fate of the soul.

(18) *Midrash ha-Ne'lam* to the Book of Ruth, similar in style and content to the preceding. It is printed in *Zohar Ḥadash*, and was originally printed as a separate work called *Tappuḥei Zahav* or *Yesod Shirim* in Thiengen in 1559. It exists in many manuscripts as an independent book.

(19) The beginning of the *Midrash ha-Ne'lam* to the Song of Songs. It is printed in *Zohar Ḥadash* and is merely a prefatory exposition to the book, without any continuation.

(20) *Ta Ḥazei* ("Come and See"), another interpretation of the portion *Bereshit* in short anonymous comments, most of them beginning with the words *ta ḥazel*, and written in an obviously kabbalistic vein. The first part is found in *Zohar Ḥadash*, 7a, after the *Sitrei Otiyyot*, and the rest was

first printed in the Cremona edition, 55–75, continuing in the *hashmatot* of the Zohar, at the end of volume 1. In some manuscripts (like Vatican 206, fols. 274–86), the two sections are found together, but in most they are missing altogether.

(21) *Ra'aya Meheimna* ("The Faithful Shepherd") – the reference is to Moses – a separate book on the kabbalistic significance of the commandments. It is found in some manuscripts as an independent work, and in the printed editions it is scattered piecemeal among the sections in which the particular commandments are mentioned and printed in separate columns. The greater part occurs in portions from Numbers and Deuteronomy, and particularly in *Pinḥas, Ekev*, and *Ki Teẓe*. The setting of the book is different from that of the main part of the Zohar. In it Simeon b. Yoḥai and his companions, apparently through a visionary revelation, meet Moses, "the faithful shepherd," along with *tannaim* and *amoraim* and other figures from the celestial world, who appear to them and talk with them about the mysteries of the commandments, as if the academy on high had descended to the earth below. This work is quite clearly dependent on the Zohar itself, since it is quoted several times under the name of "the former [or first] book," particularly in the portion *Pinḥas*. The enumeration of the commandments, which is extant in several places and which points to an original order, has become confused (see also below, The Unity of the Work, Order of Composition).

(22) *Tikkunei Zohar*, also an independent book whose setting is similar to that of the *Ra'aya Meheimna*. It comprises a commentary to the portion *Bereshit*, each section (*tikkun*) beginning with a new interpretation of the word *bereshit* ("in the beginning"). The book was designed to contain 70 *tikkunim*, confirming to "the 70 aspects of the Torah," but in actual fact there are more, and some of them are printed as additions at the end of the book. Two completely different arrangements are found in the manuscripts, and these are reflected in the different editions of Mantua (1558), and of Orta Koj (1719). The later editions follow Orta Koj. The expositions in the book digress widely from the subject matter of the portion and deal with quite different topics which are not discussed in the main body of the Zohar, like the mysteries of the vowel points and accents, mysteries concerning halakhic matters, prayer, and so on. The pages in the Zohar, 1:22a–29a, belong to this book and occur in manuscripts as *tikkun* no. 70. Here and there, there is a change in the narrative framework, when it imitates that of the main body of the Zohar and, sometimes apparently continuing the discussion, appears as if it were being held in the celestial academy. The book also has a preface (*hakdamah*) on the model of the preface in the Zohar. Long additional expositions, parallel with the book's opening sections and mixed with other interpretations on the same pattern, are printed at the end of *Zohar Ḥadash* (93–123), and they are usually introduced as *tikkunim* of *Zohar Ḥadash*.

(23) An untitled work on the portion *Yitro*, a redaction, in the spirit of the *tikkunim*, of the physiognomy found in the *Raza de-Razin*, printed in *Zohar Ḥadash* (31a–35b).

(24) A few works printed in *Zohar Ḥadash*, like the "Zohar to the portion *Tissa*" (43d–46b), and the anonymous piece printed as the portion *Ḥukkat* in *Zohar Ḥadash* (50a–53b). These pieces must be regarded as imitations of the Zohar, but they were written without doubt very soon after the appearance of the book, and the first is already quoted in the *Livnat ha-Sappir*, which was written in 1328 (Jerusalem, 1914, 86d).

In addition to these sections there were others known to various kabbalists which were not included in the printed editions, and some of them are completely lost. A continuation of the *Sefer ha-Tikkunim* on other portions known to the author of *Livnat ha-Sappir* (95b–100a) was a long piece on the calculation of the time of redemption. The pieces, which were printed in the *Tikkunei Zohar Ḥadash* (117b–121b), and interpret various verses concerning Abraham and Jacob, seem to belong to this continuation. The "sayings of *Ze'ira*" ("the little one"), which are mentioned in *Shem ha-Gedolim* as being "quasi-midrashic homilies," are extant in Paris Ms. 782 and were included by Ḥayyim *Vital in an anthology which he compiled of pieces from the early kabbalah, and which still exists. The Zohar to the portion *Ve-Zot ha-Berakhah* is preserved in the same Paris manuscript (fols. 239–42), and is a mixture of fragments from the Midrash on Ruth in unknown pieces. It would appear that Moses *Cordovero saw a *Midrash Megillat Esther* from the Zohar, according to *Or Ne'erav* (Venice, 1587, 21b). His pupil Abraham Galante, in his commentary to *Sava de-Mishpatim*, quotes a text called *Pesikta*, from a manuscript Zohar, but its content is not known. There is no direct connection between the literature of the Zohar and the later literary imitations of it that are not included in the manuscripts, such as the Zohar on Ruth, which was printed under the title *Har Adonai* (Amsterdam, 1712).

The opinion of the kabbalists themselves concerning the composition and editing of the Zohar was formed after the circulation of the book. At first the view was widely held that this was the book written by Simeon b. Yoḥai while he was in hiding in the cave, or at least during his lifetime, or at the latest in the generation that followed. Among the kabbalists of Safed, who generally believed in the antiquity of the whole of the Zohar, Abraham Galante, in his commentary to the portion *Va-Yishlaḥ* in the Zohar, thought that the whole work was put together in geonic times from the writings of R. Abba, who was Simeon b. Yoḥai's scribe, and that the book did not receive its present form until that time. This view, which tries to explain a number of obvious difficulties in the chronology of the rabbis who are mentioned in the Zohar, also occurs in *Netiv Mitzvotekha* by Isaac Eisik Safrin of *Komarno. In the 16th century the legend grew up that the present Zohar, which contains about 2,000 closely printed pages, was only a tiny remnant of the original work, which was some 40 camel loads in weight (in *Ketem Paz*, 102a). These ideas are not substantiated by a critical examination of the Zohar.

The Unity of the Work

The literature contained in the Zohar can be divided basically into three strata, which must be distinguished from one another:

(a) the main body of the Zohar, comprising items (1)–(15) in the list above;

(b) the stratum of the *Midrash ha-Ne'lam and Sitrei Torah*, i.e., items (16)–(19); and

(c) the stratum of the *Ra'aya Meheimna* and the *Tikkunim*, i.e., (21)–(23).

Items (20) and (24) are doubtful as regards their literary relationship, and perhaps they belong to material that was added after the appearance of the Zohar. There are, to be sure, definite links between the different strata which establish a chronological order, but a detailed investigation shows quite clearly that each stratum has a definite unity of its own. The question of the unity of the main body of the Zohar is particularly important. The apparent differences are merely external and literary, e.g., the choice of a laconic and enigmatic style at times, and at others, the use of a more expansive and occasionally verbose style.

STYLE. This unity is evident in three areas; those of literary style, language, and ideas. Ever since the historical critique of the Zohar first began, there have been views that regard the Zohar as a combination of ancient and later texts, which were put together only at the time of the Zohar's appearance. At the very least it contains a homiletic prototype, a creation by many generations which cannot be attributed essentially to one single author. This view has been held, for example, by Eliakim Milsahagi (see *Mehlsack), Hillel *Zeitlin, Ernst *Mueller, and Paul Vulliaud, but they have contented themselves with a general conclusion, or with a claim that the *Sifra di-Ẓeni'uta*, the *Matnitin*, or the *Idrot*, are ancient sources of this type. The only scholar who attempted to investigate the early strata in the expositions of the other parts of the Zohar was I. Stern. A detailed examination of his arguments, and also of the general arguments, shows that they are extremely weak. In particular there is no evidence that the *Sifra di-Ẓeni'uta* differs from the other parts of the body of the Zohar except in the allusive style in which it was intentionally written. In actual fact, the literary connections between the different parts of the Zohar are extremely close. Many of the sections are constructed with great literary skill and the different parts are related to one another. There is no real distinction, either in language or thought, between the short pieces in the true midrashic style and the longer expositions which follow the methods of the medieval preachers, who used to weave together different ideas into a single fabric, which begins with a particular verse, ranges far and wide, and then finally returns to its starting point. Practically all the sections are built on an identical method of composition, stemming from variations of different literary forms. From the point of view of construction there is no difference also between the various narrative frameworks, such as the transmission of expositions which originated during the companions' journeys between one city and another in Palestine, especially in Galilee, or the type of dramatic composition that is to be found in the *Idrot*, the *Sava*, and the *Yanuka*. The breaking-up of the material into a conversation among the companions, or into an expository monologue, does not basically alter the subject matter of the exposition itself. Even in the monologues several opinions concerning a particular verse are mentioned side by side while in other parts the different opinions are divided up and assigned to different speakers. Quotations of, or references to, expositions in other parts of the Zohar occur throughout the main body of the book. Some matters, which are discussed extremely briefly in one place, are treated more fully in another exposition. The Zohar, unlike the Midrash, loves to allude either to a previous discussion or to a subject which is to be dealt with later, and this is typical of medieval homilists. An examination of these cross-references, whether of exact verbal citations or of subject matter without precise quotation, shows that the main part of the Zohar is a literary construction all of one piece, despite superficial variations. Statements or ideas which are not reflected in more than one place do exist but they are very few and far between. Even those sections which have a particularly characteristic subject matter, like that dealing with physiognomy in the portion *Yitro*, are connected in many ways with other sections of the Zohar, which deal more fully with topics only briefly mentioned in the former. On the relationship of the *Midrash ha-Ne'lam* to the main body of the Zohar, see below.

One element in the constructional unity of the Zohar is that of the scene and the dramatis personae. The Zohar presupposes the existence of an organized group of "companions" (*ḥavrayya*), who, without doubt, were originally meant to be ten in number, but most of them are no more than shadowy figures. These companions are Simeon b. Yoḥai, his son Eleazar, Abba, Judah, Yose, Isaac, Hezekiah, Ḥiyya, Yeiva, and Aḥa. Several of them are *amoraim* who have been transferred by the author to the age of the *tannaim*, like Abba, Hezekiah, Ḥiyya, and Aḥa. What is narrated of them here and there shows that the author utilized stories in talmudic sources which concerned *amoraim* with these names, and these are not therefore unknown historical figures. These basic characters are joined by certain other rabbis, who usually appear indirectly, or as figures from the generation that preceded Simeon b. Yoḥai. In this connection, one particular error of the Zohar is very important. In several stories it consistently turns Phinehas b. Jair, Simeon b. Yoḥai's son-in-law (according to Shab. 33b), into his father-in-law. Similarly, the father-in-law of Eleazar, Simeon's son, is called Yose b. Simeon b. Lekonya, instead of Simeon b. Yose b. Lekonya. In addition to the regular companions there occasionally appear other characters whom the designation *sava* ("old man") places in the preceding generation, e.g., Nehorai Sava, Yeiva Sava, Hamnuna Sava, and Judah Sava. There is a recognizable tendency to create a fictional framework in which the problems of anachronism and chronological confusion do not arise. On the other hand, neither Akiva nor Ishmael b. Elisha is mentioned as a master of mystical tradition, whereas both appear in the *heikhalot* and the *Merkabah literature. Akiva is introduced only in stories and quotations which come from the Talmud.

The Palestinian setting of the book is also fictional, and, in the main, has no basis in fact. The Zohar relies on geographical and topographical ideas about Palestine taken from older literature. Sometimes the author did not understand his sources, and created places which never existed, e.g., Kapotkeya, as the name of a village near Sepphoris, on the basis of a statement in the Jerusalem Talmud (Shev. 9:5), which he combined with another statement in the Tosefta, *Yevamot* 4. He produces a village in Galilee by the name of Kefar Tarshi, which he identifies with Mata Meḥasya, and tells in this connection of the rite of circumcision which is based on material quoted in geonic literature with regard to Mata Meḥasya in Babylonia. Occasionally a place-name is based on a corrupt text in a medieval manuscript of the Talmud, e.g., Migdal Ẓor at the beginning of *Sava de-Mishpatim*. In the matter of scene and characters there are very close links between the main body of the Zohar and the stratum of the *Midrash ha-Ne'lam*, which follows the same path of mentioning places which do not actually exist. In this section Simeon b. Yoḥai and his companions already constitute a most important community of mystics, but other groups are mentioned as well, and particularly later *amoraim* or scholars with fictitious names who do not reappear in the Zohar. In recent times, several attempts have been made to explain the geographical difficulties, and to give a non-literal interpretation of statements in the Talmud and the Midrashim in order to make them fit the Zohar, but they have not been convincing. Several times the Zohar uses the expression *selik le-hatam* ("he went up thither"), a Babylonian idiom for those who went up from Babylonia to Palestine, thereby changing the scene from Palestine to the Diaspora – "thither" is an impossible expression if the book was actually written in Palestine.

SOURCES. As to the question of the sources of the Zohar, we must distinguish between those that are mentioned explicitly and the true sources that are alluded to in only a general way ("they have established it," "the companions have discussed it"), or are not mentioned at all. The sources of the first type are fictitious works which are mentioned throughout the Zohar and the *Midrash ha-Ne'lam*, e.g., the *Sifra de-Adam*, the *Sifra de-Ḥanokh*, the *Sifra di-Shelomo Malka*, the *Sifra de-Rav Hamnuna Sava*, the *Sifra de-Rav Yeiva Sava*, and in a more enigmatic form, *Sifrei Kadma'ei* ("ancient books"), the *Sifra de-Aggadeta*, the *Raza de-Razin, Matnita di-Lan* (i.e., the mystical Mishnah in contradistinction to the usual Mishnah). With regard to the mystery of the letters of the alphabet, the *Atvan Gelifin* ("Engraved Letters") is quoted, or the "Engraved Letters of R. Eleazar." Works of magic are also quoted, e.g., the *Sifra de-Ashmedi*, the *Zeinei Ḥarshin de-Kasdi'el Kadma'ah* ("Various Kinds of Sorcery of the Ancient Kasdiel"), the *Sifra de-Ḥokhmeta di-Venei Kedem* ("Book of Wisdom of the Sons of Kedem"). Some names are based on earlier sources, like the *Sifra de-Adam*, and the *Sifra de-Ḥanokh*, but matters are referred to by these names which really belong entirely to the Zohar and to its world of ideas. In contrast to this fictitious library, which is clearly emphasized, the real literary sources of the Zohar are concealed. These sources comprise a great many books, from the Talmud and Midrashim to the kabbalistic works which were composed in the 13th century. A single approach in the use of these sources can be detected, both in the sections of the Zohar itself and in the *Midrash ha-Ne'lam*. The writer had expert knowledge of the early material and he often used it as a foundation for his expositions, putting into it variations of his own. His main sources were the Babylonian Talmud, the complete **Midrash Rabbah*, the *Midrash* **Tanḥuma*, and the two *Pesiktot* (**Pesikta De-Rav Kahana* or **Pesikta Rabbati*), the Midrash on Psalms, the **Pirkei de-Rabbi Eliezer*, and the Targum *Onkelos. Generally speaking they are not quoted exactly, but translated into the peculiar style of the Zohar and summarized. If a particular subject exists in a number of parallel versions in the earlier literature, it is not often possible to establish the precise source. But, on the other hand, there are many statements which are quoted in a form which exists in only one of the different sources. Less use is made of the halakhic Midrashim, the Jerusalem Talmud, and the other Targums, nor of the Midrashim like the *Aggadat Shir ha-Shirim*, the Midrash on Proverbs, and the *Alfabet de-R. Akiva*. It is not clear whether the author used the *Yalkut Shimoni*, or whether he knew the sources of its *aggadah* separately. Of the smaller Midrashim he used the *Heikhalot Rabbati*, the *Alfabet de-Ben Sira*, the *Sefer Zerubabel*, the *Baraita de-Ma'aseh Bereshit*, the chapter *Shirah* in the *Aggadot Gan Eden*, and the tractate *Ḥibbut ha-Kever*, and also, occasionally, the *Sefer ha-Yashar*. Sometimes the author makes use of *aggadot* which no longer remain, or which are extant only in the *Midrash ha-Gadol*; this is not to be wondered at because aggadic Midrashim like this were known to many medieval writers, e.g., in the homilies of Joshua ibn Shu'ayb, who wrote in the generation following the appearance of the Zohar. The Zohar continues the thought patterns of the *aggadah* and transfers them to the world of the Kabbalah. The references to parallels in rabbinic literature which Reuben Margulies quotes in his *Niẓoẓei Zohar* in the Jerusalem edition of the Zohar (1940–48) often reveal the sources of the expositions.

From medieval literature the author makes use, as W. *Bacher has shown, of Bible commentators like *Rashi, Abraham *Ibn Ezra, David *Kimḥi, and the *Lekaḥ Tov* of Tobiah b. Eliezer. Apparently he also knew the commentaries of the tosafists. He was noticeably influenced by the allegorical commentators of the *Maimonides' school, particularly in the *Midrash ha-Ne'lam*, but also in some of the expositions in the main body of the Zohar. The last commentator whom he used as a source was *Naḥmanides in his commentaries both to the Torah and to Job. Certain verbal usages in the Zohar can be explained only by reference to the definitions in the *Sefer he-Arukh*, and in the *Sefer ha-Shorashim* of David Kimḥi. An important exposition in the section *Balak* is based on a combination of three pieces from the *Kuzari* of *Judah Halevi. In connection with certain customs he bases himself on the *Sefer ha-Manhig* of *Abraham b. Nathan ha-Yarḥi. Rashi's commentary to the Talmud serves as the foundation of several statements in the Zohar, and not only in connection with the Talmud. Of the works of Maimonides, he makes slight use of the commentary to the Mishnah and the *Guide of the Perplexed*, and uses the *Mishneh Torah* more extensively. Several attempts to prove that Maimonides knew the Zohar and made use of it in several of his *halakhot* (more recently that of R. Margulies, *Ha-Rambam ve-ha-Zohar*, 1954) only serve to show the dependence of the Zohar on Maimonides.

The sources of the Zohar among the kabbalistic works which preceded it are also unclear. The *Sefer *Yeẓirah* is clearly mentioned only in the later stratum. The *Sefer *ha-Bahir, Ma'yan ha-Ḥokhmah* attributed to Moses, the writings of the Ḥasidei *Ashkenaz and particularly of *Eleazar of Worms, R. *Ezra's commentary to the Song of Songs, and the commentary to the liturgy by *Azriel of Gerona, were all known to the author of the Zohar, and he develops tendencies which appeared first in the writings of the circle of the Gnostics in Castile in the middle of the 13th century (see *Kabbalah). Similarly, the kabbalistic terminology of the Zohar reflects the development of the Kabbalah from the *Sefer ha-Bahir* up to Joseph *Gikatilla, and the term *nekuddah ḥada* ("one point") in the sense of "center" is taken from Gikatilla's *Ginnat Egoz*, which was written in 1274. Terms scattered in several places, like **Ein-Sof, avir kadmon, ayin* (in the mystical sense), *mekora de-ḥayyei, re'uta de-maḥshavah, alma de-peiruda*, have their source in the development of the Kabbalah after 1200. The term *ḥaluk* or *ḥaluka de-rabbanan*, for the soul's garment in Eden, and ideas relating to the formation of this garment, are taken from the *Ḥibbur Yafeh min ha-Yeshu'ah* of Jacob b. Nissim (1050). Often the author of the Zohar draws on the Midrashim indirectly by means of the commentaries on them written by the kabbalists who preceded him.

The medieval environment can be recognized in many details of the Zohar apart from those already mentioned. Historical references to the Crusades and to Arab rule in Palestine after the wars are put together with material based on the laws and customs found in the Spanish environment of the author. In the same way his ethical diatribe directed against certain particular immoralities in the life of the community belongs to a specific period of time, as Yiẓḥak *Baer has shown. The common customs are characteristic of Christian lands in medieval times. The author's ideas on medicine fit this particular period, which was dominated by the views of Galen. The Zohar does not have any clear ideas concerning the nature of idolatry, and it is dependent on the views of Maimonides which, for their part, were based on the fictitious "literature" of the sect of the Sabeans in Haran. The cultural and religious background to which most of the book, including its polemical parts, is related, is Christian and monogamous. But occasionally we come across allusions to Islam and to contacts with Muslims, and this fits the identification of Castile as the place where the book was written.

Where the ideas of the Zohar concerning *Satan and the ranks of the powers of uncleanness, devils, and evil spirits, and also necromancy and sorcerers, are not taken from talmudic sources, they bear the clear impress of the Middle Ages, e.g., the compact between the sorcerer and Satan, and the worship of Satan by the sorcerers. References to these matters are scattered throughout the Zohar, but they are of one and the same type. The liturgy, which is expounded at length in the sections *Terumah* and *Va-Yakhel*, is not the original liturgy of Palestine, but the Spanish and French version in use in the Middle Ages. The literary form of words supposed to have been used in the tannaitic period is only superficial. The author of the third stratum, in the *Ra'aya Meheimna* and the *Tikkunim*, reveals his environment through some additional material, and it is almost as if he did not wish to conceal it at all. This is particularly noticeable in his lengthy treatment of the social and religious situation of the Jewish communities of his time, a favorite subject which receives a different treatment from that of the main body of the Zohar. The social conditions described here are in no way those of the earlier communities of Babylonia and Palestine but fit, in every detail, what we know of the conditions in Spain in the 13th century. His writing has a distinctly harsh polemical note directed against various groups in Jewish society, a note which is absent from other parts of the Zohar. Typical of this part is the use of the phrase *erev rav* ("mixed multitude") to designate that social stratum in the Jewish communities in which were combined all the blemishes which he noted in his own contemporaries. The author was also aware of the lively controversy between the kabbalists, described in these parts only as *marei kabbalah* ("masters of kabbalah"), and their opponents, who denied both their claim that mysteries existed in the Torah and their knowledge of them.

LANGUAGE. If all hopes of discovering primitive layers in the Zohar through an historical and literary analysis of its various parts are vain, they will be equally frustrated when we turn to a linguistic critique. The language of the Zohar may be divided into three types:

(1) the Hebrew of the *Midrash ha-Ne'lam*;

(2) the Aramaic there and in the main body of the Zohar;

(3) the imitation of (2) in the *Ra'aya Meheimna* and the *Tikkunim*.

The Hebrew is, in fact, an imitation of the aggadic style, but whenever it diverges from its literary sources it is seen to be a medieval Hebrew belonging to a time when philosophical terminology was widely used. The writer uses later philosophical terms quite openly, particularly in the earlier sections and in the Midrash on Ruth. At the same time the transition from this Hebrew to the Aramaic of the *Midrash ha-Ne'lam* itself and of the main part of the Zohar, which linguistically speaking are one and the same, can be clearly distinguished. The natural Hebrew of the author is here translated into an artificial Aramaic. While his Hebrew has counterparts in medieval literature, the Aramaic of the Zohar has no linguistic parallel, since it is compounded of all the Aramaic idioms that the author knew and which he used as the foundation for his artificial construction. The very use of the word *targum* (1, 89a) for the Aramaic language, instead of *leshon Arami*, which was used in the Talmud and Midrash, was a medieval practice. The Aramaic idioms are in the main the language of the Babylonian Talmud and the Targum Onkelos, together with the Galilean Aramaic of the other Targums, but they include only very little from the Jerusalem Talmud. Types of different idioms are used side by side indiscriminately, even in the same passage. Similar differences may be seen in the pronouns, both subjective and possessive, demonstrative and interrogative, and also in the conjugation of the verb. The Zohar uses these interchangeably, quite freely. Sometimes the Zohar adopts the Babylonian usage of a particular form, e.g., those forms of the perfect tense preceded by *ka* (*ka amar*) or the form of conjugation of the third person imperfect (*leima*). At other times the corresponding targumic forms are preferred. With the noun there is no longer any distinction between those forms which have the definitive *alef* suffix, and those which do not have it, and there is complete confusion. Even a form like *tikla ḥada* ("a wheel") is possible here. The constructive case is almost nonexistent and is mostly replaced by the use of *di*. In addition to the usual vocabulary new words are coined by analogy with formations that already exist in other words. So words like *nehiru, neẓiẓu, ketatu* come into being (for new words in the vocabulary, see below). As for adverbs, it uses indiscriminately words from both biblical and Babylonian Aramaic, and translations of medieval terms, like *lefum sha'ata* or *kedein*, in imitation of the use of *az* to join different parts of a sentence as in medieval Hebrew. With all the confusion of these forms there is, nevertheless, some sort of system and consistency. A kind of unified language is created which is common throughout all the parts mentioned above. In addition to the basic forms drawn from the Aramaic idiom there are many characteristics which are peculiar to the language of the Zohar. The Zohar mixes up the conjunctions of the verb, using the *pe'al* instead of the *pa'el* and the *af'el* (*lemizkei* for *lezakka'ah, lemei'al* for *le'a'ala'ah, lemeḥdei* for *leḥadda'ah*) and also the *af'el* instead of the *pe'al*, e.g., *olifana* for *yalfinan* (among the most common words in the Zohar). It uses incorrect forms of the *itpa'al* or *etpe'el* (the two forms of the verb are indistinguishable), e.g., *itsaddar* or *itsedar, itẓayyar* or *itẓeyar, itzakkei* or *itzekei, itẓerif*, etc. In several instances, although only with certain verbs, it uses the *itpa'al* (or the *etpe'el*) as a transitive verb, e.g., *it'arna milei, le-istammara* or *le-istemara orḥoi, le-itdabbaka* or *le-itdebaka* in the sense of "to attain." It gives new meanings to words, following their medieval usage: e.g., *istallak* with regard to the death of the righteous; *itar*, through the influence of *hitorer*, which in the Middle Ages was used in the sense of "to discuss a certain matter"; *adbakuta* in the sense of "intellectual perception"; *ashgaḥuta* in the sense of "providence"; *shorsha* in the sense of "basic principle." The conjunctive phrase *im kol da* used throughout in the sense of "nevertheless" (*be-khol zot*) is influenced by the translators from Arabic, as is the use of the word *remez* as a term for allegory.

A large number of errors and of borrowed translations constantly recur in the Zohar. The word *pelatarin* is considered a plural form, and *galgallei yamma* a plural form from *gallei ha-yam* ("waves of the sea"). The author writes *bar-anan* instead of *bar-minan* and gives the artificial translation "limb" for *shaifa* through a mistaken guess in the interpretation of a passage in *Makkot* 11b. From the verb *gamar*, meaning "to learn," he coins the same meaning for the verb *ḥatam* (*le-meḥtam oraita*), and there are many examples of this kind. There are several words, whose meaning in the original sources the author of the Zohar did not know, and they are given new and incorrect meanings: e.g., the verb *ta'an* is given the meaning of "to guide a donkey from behind" (an Arabism taken from the *Sefer ha-Shorashim* of David Kimḥi) or *taya'a*, "the Jew who guides the donkey." *Tukfa* in the sense of "lap" is based on a misunderstanding of a passage in Targum Onkelos (Num. 11:12); *boẓina de-kardinuta* as "a very powerful light" is based on a misunderstanding of a passage in *Pesaḥim* 7a. There are a number of words, especially nouns, which have no known source and whose meaning is often unclear. It is possible that they derive from corrupt readings in manuscripts of rabbinic literature, or the author's new coinage in imitation of foreign words which occur in that literature. Most of them begin with the letter *kof* (ק), and the letters *zayin* (ז), *samekh* (ס), *pe* (פ), and *resh* (ר) are predominant: e.g., *sosfita, kaftira, kosfita, kirta, kozpira*. Arabic influence appears in only a very few words, but Spanish influence is noticeable in the vocabulary, idioms, and use of particular prepositions. The word *gardinim* in the sense of "guardians," derived from the Spanish *guardianes*, occurs in every part of the Zohar; the verb *besam* in the sense of "to soften" is a literal translation of the Spanish verb *endulzar*; hence also the common expression *hamtakat ha-din*, which comes from the Zohar. The borrowed translations of *ḥakal* in the sense of "battlefield," and of *kos* in the sense of the "cup of a flower," show the influence of Romance usage. Idioms like *likeḥin derekh aḥeret, kayyama bi-she'elta, istekem al yedoi* (instead of *askem*) *osim simḥah, yateva be-reikanya* (in the sense of "being empty") are all translations borrowed from Spanish. In the *Tikkunei Zohar* there is, in addition, the use of *esh nogah* for "synagogue" (Sp. *Esnoga* = *sinagoga*). The phrase *egoz ha-keshet* as a military term has its source in the medieval Romance languages (*nuez de ballesta*). There are many examples of the use of the preposition *min* ("from") instead of *shel* ("of"); *be* ("in") for *im* ("with"); *legabbei* ("in reference to") for *el* ("to") – all resulting from the influence of Spanish constructions.

The linguistic unity of the Zohar is apparent also in particular stylistic peculiarities which are not found at all in rabbinic literature, or which have a completely different meaning there. They occur in all parts of the Zohar, particularly in the *Midrash ha-Ne'lam*, and in the main body of the Zohar. Examples of this are the use of forms on the pattern of "active and not active" – not in the rabbinic sense of "half-active," but with the significance of spiritual activity whose profundity cannot be fathomed; the combination of words with the termination *de-kholla*, e.g., *amika de-kholla, nishmeta de-kholla, mafteḥa de-kholla*; hyperbolic forms of the type *raza de-razin, temira de-temirin, ḥedvah de-khol ḥedvan, tushbaḥta de-khol tushbeḥin*; the description of an action, whose details are not to be revealed, through the use of the form "he did what he did"; the division of a particular matter into certain categories by the use of it… *ve-it*, e.g., *it yayin ve-it yayin, it kayiẓ ve-it kayiẓ*; the use of hendiadys (two terms for the same object), e.g., *ḥotama de-gushpanka* ("seal of a seal"), *boẓina di-sheraga* ("light of a light"). As for syntax, we notice the use of the infinitive at the beginning of a clause, even when the subject of the clause is different from that of the main sentence, e.g., *ẓaddikim re'uyyim le-hityashev ha-olam mehem, ihu heikhala di-reḥimu le-iddebaka dakhora be-nukba*. This is particularly so in the case of relative and final clauses. Another syntactical characteristic is the use of *az* or *kedein* at the beginning of subclauses. All these characteristics are typical of medieval usage, and particularly of the Hebrew of Spanish Jewry, under the influence of the philosophical style, and the author of the Zohar uses them without any concern about their being a late development. The dialectical language in the arguments of the rabbis is taken almost exclusively from the Babylonian Talmud, with the addition of a few terms from the medieval homiletical style, e.g., *it le-istakkala, it le-hitara*. Within the context of this linguistic unity, the Zohar uses different stylistic media with great freedom. Sometimes it deals with an exposition or follows an argument at great length; and at others it is laconic and enigmatic, or adopts a solemn, almost rhythmical, style.

In contrast to the language used in other parts of the Zohar, the language of the *Ra'aya Meheimna* and the *Tikkunim* is poor from the point of view of both vocabulary and syntax. The writer is already imitating the Zohar itself, but he does not have the literary skill of its author. The number of Hebrew words transmuted into Aramaic is much greater here than in the Zohar. The literary goal of the author of the main part of the Zohar is quite different from that of this author, who writes an almost undisguised medieval Hebrew: it is quite clear that he never intended his work to be thought of as a tannaitic creation. The terms Kabbalah and *Sefirot*, which are not used at all in the main body of the Zohar or in the *Midrash ha-Ne'lam*, and which indeed are circumvented by the use of all kinds of paraphrastic idioms, are here mentioned unrestrainedly.

ORDER OF COMPOSITION. An examination of the Zohar following the criteria above shows the order of composition of the main strata. The oldest parts, relatively speaking, are sections of the *Midrash ha-Ne'lam*, from *Bereshit* to *Lekh Lekha*, and the *Midrash ha-Ne'lam* to Ruth. They had already been written according to a different literary pattern, which did not yet assign everything to the circle of Simeon b. Yoḥai alone but which established *Eliezer b. Hyrcanus also, following the *heikhalot* and the *Pirkei de-Rabbi Eliezer*, as one of the main heroes of mystical thought. This section contains the basis of many passages in the main body of the Zohar, which quotes statements to be found only there, and develops its themes, stories, and ideas more expansively. The reverse cannot be maintained. In these early sections, there are no matters whose comprehension depends on a reference to the Zohar itself, whereas every part of the body of the Zohar, including the *Idra Rabba* and the *Idra Zuta*, is full of quotations from, and allusions to, matters found only in the *Midrash ha-Ne'lam*. The contradictions that occur here and there between the two strata on certain points, particularly on matters concerning the soul, may be explained, in the light of the unity that exists between them, as indications of a development in the ideas of the author whose written work emerged from a deep spiritual stirring. Some gleanings into the creative imagination of the author and its development are made possible by the discovery of a new section on the verse "Let there be lights in the firmament of heaven," which parallels the one in the printed editions and in most of the manuscripts, but which differs from it in the extraordinary imaginative conception of the author, and appears to be the first draft of the printed version. This new section is extant only in the oldest manuscript of the Zohar so far known (see G. Scholem, in: *Jubilee Volume… L. Ginsberg* (1946), 425–46), but it provides the first quotation from Zoharic writings to be found in Hebrew literature. In the last two sections of the *Midrash ha-Ne'lam* there are two references to matters which are to be found only in the main body of the Zohar, the writing of which seems therefore to have been started at that time. In the composition of the main body of the Zohar changes occur in literary technique, and in the transition to the exclusive use of Aramaic, and particularly in the decision to treat more expansively the writer's kabbalistic ideas, and those of his circle. The order of composition of the various sections which make up the second basic stratum cannot be precisely determined. There are so many cross-references, and we do not know whether these references were inserted in the final redaction or whether they were there from the very beginning, either referring to something already written or to what the author intended to write later on. In any event, most of the material was written as the result of a profound creative enthusiasm and over a relatively short period of time, so that the question of the order of composition of this section is not vitally important. Even after the author had stopped working on the *Midrash ha-Ne'lam*, which was never completed, he occasionally continued to write passages in the same vein and fitted them into the structure of the main part of the Zohar. This interlocking of one layer with another, despite the obvious differences between them, occurs also between the main body of the Zohar and the later stratum, whose composition begins with the *Ra'aya Meheimna*. The differences here are so great that it is impossible to suppose that the same author wrote both the two earlier strata and the later one. But there is a link between them. The author of the main part of the Zohar began, apparently, to compose a literary work which was anonymous and not associated with any particular literary or narrative framework and which was meant to be a personal interpretation of the reasons for the commandments. He did not finish this work, and the remnants of it are not extant in any one particular manuscript copy. However, the author of the *Ra'aya Meheimna*, who was probably a pupil of the former writer, knew it and used it as the starting point of his comments on several of the commandments, adding his own individual insights, and the new scenery. The differences in outlook and style between these fragments – which, when they do occur, are always at the beginning of the discussion on the commandments – and the main parts of the *Ra'aya Meheimna* are very great. It is almost always possible to determine precisely the point of transition between the fragments of the original text, which may be assigned to the Zohar itself, and the *Ra'aya Meheimna*, which was added to it.

The kabbalists themselves seem to have recognized this distinction. For example, the printers of the Cremona edition of the Zohar made a division on the title page between two sections, called *Pekuda* and *Ra'aya Meheimna*. The pages of the *Pekuda* belong from every point of view to the main body of the Zohar. The author of the later stratum had very different ideas from those of the author of the first. He does not express his ideas at length like the homilists, but links things together by association, without explaining his basic principle. He progresses by means of associations, especially in the *Sefer ha-Tikkunim*.

The author of the *Midrash ha-Ne'lam* and the main body of the Zohar intended from the very beginning to create a varied literature in the guise of early rabbinic material. He did not content himself with putting together the various sections which now form part of the Zohar, but he extended his canvas. He edited a version of a collection of geonic responsa, particularly those of Hai Gaon, and he added kabbalistic material in the style of the Zohar, using particular idioms of zoharic Aramaic, and also in the style of the *Midrash ha-Ne'lam*, all of which he titled *Yerushalmi* or the "*Yerushalmi* version." This edited version appeared at about the same time as the Zohar itself, in order to serve as a kind of indication that the new work was in fact known to the earlier rabbis. It was subsequently printed with the title of the *Sha'arei Teshuvah* responsa, and it misled not only kabbalists of the 15th and 16th centuries, but also scholars of the 19th century, who used it as a proof of the antiquity of the Zohar. One of the first of these was David *Luria in his *Ma'amar Kadmut Sefer ha-Zohar*.

Similarly, the author of the *Midrash ha-Ne'lam* wrote a small book titled *Orḥot Ḥayyim* or *Ẓavva'at R. Eliezer ha-Gadol*, which is connected throughout very closely to the Zohar. It is written in Hebrew but it has all the linguistic ingredients and stylistic peculiarities of the Zohar. In this work Eliezer b. Hyrcanus before his death, which is described at length following the late Midrash *Pirkei de-R. Eliezer*, reveals the paths of virtue and good conduct in an epigrammatic style, and in the second part, adds a description of the delights of the soul in the garden of Eden after death. These descriptions are very close indeed to particular parts of the Midrash on Ruth, and of the portions *Va-Yakhel, Shelaḥ Lekha, Balak*, and other parts of the Zohar. The book was known at first only in kabbalistic circles. It was printed in Constantinople in 1521, and usually each of the two parts was printed separately – the description of the death and the ethical prescriptions in one part, and the description of the garden of Eden in the other. The second part is included in A. *Jellinek's *Beit ha-Midrash* (3 (1938), 131–40). The first part was interpreted at length in the editions of *Orḥot Ḥayyim* by two Polish rabbis, Abraham Mordecai Vernikovsky (*Perush Dammesek Eliezer*, Warsaw, 1888), and Gershon Enoch Leiner (see *Izbica-Radzyn; Lublin, 1903), who tried to prove the antiquity of the book because it was based entirely on the Zohar, and in fact they did prove that the two works were composed by the same author. There are also some grounds for thinking that the author of the Zohar intended to write a *Sefer Ḥanokh* on the garden of Eden and other kabbalistic topics, and a long description from it is quoted in the *Mishkan ha-Edut* of Moses de Leon.

DATE OF COMPOSITION. Calculations of the time of *redemption, which are to be found in several sections of the Zohar, confirm the conclusions concerning the time of its composition. These calculations give an assurance, in various forms, and by means of different interpretations and conjectures, that the redemption will commence in the year 1300, and they expound the different stages of redemption leading to the resurrection. There are variations in the details of the precise dates, depending on the type of theme expounded. According to the Zohar 1,200 years had passed since the destruction of the Temple – a century for each of the tribes of Israel. Israel now stood at the period of transition which preceded the beginning of redemption. According to these dates (1:116–9, 139b; 2:9b; see A.H. Silver, *A History of Messianic Speculation in Israel* (1927), 90–92) it must be assumed that the main part of the Zohar and the *Midrash ha-Ne'lam* were written between 1270 and 1300. Similar calculations are to be found in the *Ra'aya Meheimna* and the *Tikkunim*. The basic date is always 1268. After this the "pangs of the Messiah" will begin, and Moses will appear and will reveal the Zohar as the end of time approaches. This period of transition will come to a halt in the year 1312, and then the various stages of the redemption itself will begin. Moses, in his final appearance, is not the Messiah but the harbinger of the Messiahs – the son of Joseph, and the son of David. He will be a poor man, but rich in kabbalistic Torah. The period of transition is a period of trouble and torment for the sacred group of the people of Israel, represented by the kabbalists, who will join in fierce conflict with their opponents and their detractors. The Zohar itself is a symbol of Noah's ark, through which they were saved from the destruction of the flood. God revealed Himself to the original Moses through the fire of prophecy; but to the later Moses of the final generation He will be revealed in the flames of the Torah, that is to say, through the revelation of the mysteries of Kabbalah. Something of Moses shines upon every sage or righteous man who occupies himself in whatever generation with the Torah, but at the end of time he will appear in concrete form as the revealer of the Zohar. Allusions of this type exist in every section of the latest stratum.

The Author

According to the clear testimony of *Isaac b. Samuel of Acre, who assembled the contradictory information concerning the appearance and nature of the Zohar in the early years of the 14th century, the book was published, part by part, not all at once, by the Spanish kabbalist *Moses b. Shem Tov de Leon, who died in 1305, after he had met Isaac of Acre. This kabbalist wrote many books in Hebrew bearing his name, from 1286 till after 1293. He was connected with several kabbalists of his time, including Todros *Abulafia and his son Joseph in Toledo, one of the leaders of Castilian Jewry, who supported Moses de Leon. From all that has already been said, the Zohar with its various strata was without doubt composed in the years that immediately preceded its publication, since it is impossible to uncover any section that was written before 1270. In actual fact, Moses de Leon was considered by some of Isaac of Acre's colleagues to have been the actual author of the Zohar. When he made some investigations in Avila, the last city in which Moses de Leon lived, Isaac was told that a wealthy man had proposed to marry his son to the daughter of Moses' widow provided that she would give him the original ancient manuscript from which, according to him, her deceased husband had copied the texts which he had published. However, both mother and daughter maintained that there was no such ancient manuscript, and that Moses de Leon had written the whole work on his own initiative. Opinions have been divided ever since as to the worth of this important evidence, and even the attitude of Isaac of Acre himself, whose story, preserved in Abraham *Zacuto's *Sefer ha-Yuḥasin*, which is interrupted in the midst of it, is not altogether clear, for he quotes from the Zohar in a few places in his books without relying on it at length or in main points. An analysis of the Zohar gives no support to the view that Moses de Leon edited texts and fragments of ancient works that came to him from the East. The question, therefore, is whether Moses de Leon himself was editor, author, and publisher, or whether a Spanish kabbalist, associated with him, wrote the book and gave it to him to edit. A decision can be made only on the basis of a comparison of the parts of the Zohar with the Hebrew writings of Moses de Leon, and on the basis of such information as the earliest extant quotations from the Zohar. Research into these questions leads to definite conclusions. In the extant works of Moses de Leon, and also in the earliest citations from the Zohar by Spanish kabbalists between 1280 and 1310, there are no quotations from the *Ra'aya Meheimna* and the *Tikkunim*. It may be supposed therefore that these latter were neither composed nor published by Moses de Leon. Of particular weight in this connection is the fact that Moses de Leon wrote a long work on the reasons for the commandments, but there is no similarity whatsoever between his *Sefer ha-Rimmon* and the *Ra'aya Meheimna*. In complete contrast to this, all his writings are extraordinarily replete with expositions, ideas, linguistic usages, and other matters to be found in the Zohar, from the stratum of the *Midrash ha-Ne'lam* and the main body of the Zohar, including those particular fragments designated above, which constitute the *Pekuda* at the beginning of the sections of the *Ra'aya Meheimna*. Often long sections like these, written here in Hebrew, contain no mention of the fact that they are derived from one source, and the author often prides himself on being the originator of things, which all exist nevertheless in the Zohar. Short pieces in the middle of a longer section are introduced in various ways which show that his real reference is to the Zohar: "it is expounded in the inner Midrashim"; "they say in the secrets of the Torah"; "the pillars of the world have discussed the secrets of their words"; "I have seen a profound matter in the writings of the ancients"; "I saw in the *Yerushalmi*"; "I have seen in the secrets of the depth of wisdom"; and so on. Quotations like these abound in his writings, and some of them are already present in the Aramaic version of the Zohar. There are also a few passages which do not occur in the existing Zohar, either because these particular texts did not survive or because they were not finally published. I. Tishby's opinion is that several of them were introduced only as pointers to what the author intended to write, but he did not in fact manage to write out these matters at length. But it is more likely that the greater part of the Zohar was available to him when he wrote his Hebrew books.

Moses de Leon's Hebrew style reveals in many particulars those idiosyncrasies of the Aramaic of the Zohar indicated above, and we find especially those mistakes and errors of usage which are characteristic of the Zohar and are not found in the works of any other writer. He writes in this style even when his writing does not reflect the actual expositions of the Zohar, but expresses his own personal ideas or adds a new dimension to ideas in the Zohar. He has a completely unfettered control of the material in the Zohar and uses it like a man using his own property. He ties together expositions from different parts of the Zohar, adding to them combinations of themes and new expositions, which are in perfect accord with the zoharic spirit and show that his thinking is identical with that of the Zohar. In many cases his writings constitute an interpretation of difficult passages of the Zohar which later kabbalists did not interpret literally. Whenever in his writings he diverges freely from the subjects treated in the Zohar, his variations do not constitute any proof that he did not understand his "source." Sometimes he openly mentions the true literary sources which are concealed in the Zohar. The long passage from the Book of Enoch which is quoted in his *Mishkan ha-Edut* is written entirely in his own particular Hebrew style. Features which are peculiar to the Zohar, and which distinguish it from other contemporary kabbalistic works, recur in the works of Moses de Leon. These are in particular the exaggerated use of mythical imagery, the sexual symbolism developed with regard to the relationships between the *Sefirot*, and the striking interest shown in demonology and sorcery. Consequently, there is no reason to assume that an unknown author wrote the Zohar in the lifetime of Moses de Leon, and then passed it on to him. The authorship of Moses de Leon solves the problems raised by an analysis of the Zohar together with his Hebrew works. These books were largely written in order to prepare the ground for the publication of the texts of the Zohar which went hand in hand with this work. In particular, the *Mishkan ha-Edut* (1293) is full of recommendations and praise for the secret sources upon which it is based.

The solution of the fundamental question of the identity of the Zohar's author leaves questions which are still open on several counts; e.g., the order of composition of the sections of the main stratum of the Zohar; and the final editing of the Zohar before its texts were publicly disseminated, if indeed there was an editing at all, for there is evidence here for both possibilities. The main question still needing clarification is the relationship between Moses de Leon and Joseph Gikatilla, which apparently was very close and reciprocal. Similarly we still have to solve the problem of the author of the *Ra'aya Meheimna*, who, unlike Moses de Leon, left no other books which can identify him. Whether other kabbalists knew of Moses de Leon's plan and helped him in some way to achieve his aim is not clear. What is clear is that many kabbalists, after the appearance of the book, considered themselves free to write works in the style of the Zohar and to imitate it – a liberty which they would not have taken with Midrashim whose genuineness and antiquity were beyond question. This fact shows that they did not take seriously the claim of the Zohar to be accepted as an ancient source, even though they saw in it a fine expression of their own spiritual world. For books of this type see *Kabbalah.

Manuscripts and Editions

The circumstances surrounding the appearance of the Zohar are not known in detail. The first texts which circulated among a few kabbalists were of the *Midrash ha-Ne'lam*, and the earliest quotations are to be found in two books by Isaac b. Solomon Abi Sahula, the *Meshal ha-Kadmoni* (Venice, c. 1546–50) and his commentary to Song of Songs, which were written in 1281 and 1283 in Guadalajara, where Moses de Leon lived at that time. He is the only author who knew and quoted the *Midrash ha-Ne'lam* before Moses de Leon himself began to write his Hebrew works. Todros Abulafia also possessed such texts and quoted from them in his books. Parts of the main body of the Zohar circulated from the late 1280s. An examination of the quotations from the Zohar found in contemporary writing shows that

(1) they possessed only isolated parts, depending on what each of them could obtain;

(2) they knew a few expositions or parts which do not appear in the Zohar we have;

(3) they made use of it without regarding it as a supreme authority in Kabbalah.

In about 1290 some portions of the Zohar on the Torah were known to *Baḥya b. Asher, who translated several passages word for word in his commentary to the Torah without mentioning his source, and generally used the Zohar widely. Twice, however, he refers to very short passages in the name of the *Midrash R. Simeon b. Yoḥai*. Other sections, including the *Idrot*, were in the possession of Gikatilla when he wrote *Sha'arei Orah*, before 1293. From the anonymous *Ta'amei ha-Mitzvot*, which was probably written in the 1290s, it appears that some passages were known to the author. From 1300 onward there is an increase in the number of quotations actually cited under the specific name Zohar or *Midrash ha-Ne'lam*, which sometimes served as the title for the whole Zohar. Solomon b. Abraham Adret's pupils, who wrote many kabbalistic works, quoted the Zohar only rarely, and they clearly exercised some restraint in the use of it. Menahem *Recanati of Italy also possessed some isolated parts in this time, and he used them widely, mentioning his source in his commentary to the Torah and in his *Ta'amei ha-Mitzvot*. In the latter book he makes a distinction between the *Zohar Gadol*, which consisted mainly of the *Idra Rabba*, and the *Zohar Mufla*. The origin of this distinction is not clear. Recanati possessed only about one-tenth of the Zohar now extant, but he had access to an exposition of the mystery of sacrifices which no longer remains. Among the authors at this time (1310–30) who used the Zohar extensively were Joseph Angelino, the author of *Livnat ha-Sappir*, and David b. Judah he-Ḥasid, who wrote *Marot ha-Ẓove'ot*, *Sefer ha-Gevul*, and *Or Zaru'a*.

The position with regard to the earliest quotations is matched by our knowledge of the earliest Zohar manuscripts. Complete, well-ordered manuscripts did not circulate, and it is doubtful whether they ever existed. Mystics who took an interest in the Zohar made up anthologies for themselves from the texts they were able to procure; hence the great differences in the contents of the early manuscripts. An example of an anthology like this is the Cambridge Ms. Add. 1023, the oldest anthology yet known. It contains material which serves to complete another anthology which is now lost, and includes those parts of the Zohar which the compiler was able to obtain. This manuscript is from the last third of the 14th century, and contains a complete portion, otherwise unknown, of the *Midrash ha-Ne'lam*, which Isaac ibn Sahulah also knew. The Vatican Ms. 202, which is a little earlier, contains only isolated fragments from the Zohar. In the 15th century, manuscripts containing most of the portions of the Zohar were already compiled, but sometimes they still omit whole sections, e.g., the *Idrot*, the *Sava*, etc. (On these manuscripts see I. Tishby, *Mishnat ha-Zohar*, 1 (1957^2), 110–2.)

The differences between manuscripts of the Zohar and the printed editions are mainly in the field of spelling (words are mostly written *plene* in the manuscripts and in early quotations), and in the relatively large number of romanisms, which were later confused; in the wider use of the preposition *bedil* for *begin*; and in the alteration of the grammatical forms of the Targum and the Babylonian Talmud. There are many differences in the basic text but they are relatively unimportant, and usually different readings of this kind are given in brackets in the later printed editions. There are manuscripts from the 15th century of the *Sefer Tikkunim* as well, such as Paris Ms. 778. The *Ra'aya Meheimna* also exists in separate manuscripts. From 1400 onward the sanctity of the Zohar became more widely acknowledged in kabbalistic circles, and the criticisms of it which were heard here and there in the 14th century (e.g., in Joseph *Ibn Waqar who wrote: "the Zohar contains many errors of which one must be wary, to avoid being misled by them") died down. At this time the spread and influence of the Zohar were confined mainly to Spain and Italy, and it was very slow to reach the Ashkenazi lands and the East. The great elevation of the Zohar to a position of sanctity and supreme authority came during and after the period of the expulsion from Spain, and it reached its peak in the 16th and 17th centuries.

The Zohar was printed amid a fierce controversy between those who opposed its publication, among whom were some important kabbalists, and its supporters (see S. Assaf, *Mekorot u-Meḥkarim be-Toledot Yisrael* (1946), 246–328). The first two editions of the Zohar were published by competing printers in the neighboring cities of Mantua (1558–60) and Cremona (1559–60). The *Tikkunei ha-Zohar* was also published separately in Mantua (1558). The editors of these two editions used different manuscripts – hence the differences in the order and in detailed readings. Immanuel of Benevento who established the Mantua text used ten manuscripts, from which he arranged his edition, and chose the text which he considered to be the best. Among the correctors at Cremona was the apostate grandson of the grammarian Elijah *Levita (Baḥur), Vittorio Eliano. They used six manuscripts. The Mantua Zohar was printed in three volumes in Rashi script, while the Cremona Zohar was in one large volume in square script. Both of them contain a large number of printing errors. Both include the *Ra'aya Meheimna*, but they differ as to the placing of the different *mitzvot*. According to size, the kabbalists called these two editions *Zohar Gadol* ("Large Zohar") and *Zohar Katan* ("Small Zohar"). The *Zohar Gadol* was printed on two more occasions in this form, in Lublin in 1623, and in Sulzbach in 1684. The Polish and German kabbalists up to about 1715 generally used the *Zohar Gadol*. All other editions follow the Mantua format. Altogether the Zohar has been printed more than 65 times and the *Tikkunei Zohar* nearly 80 times. Most of the editions come from Poland and Russia, but there are also printings from Constantinople, Salonika, Smyrna, Leghorn, Jerusalem, and Djerba. In later editions they added the variant readings of the Cremona text and corrected many printing errors. They also added variants and readings from the manuscript of the Safed kabbalists, indications of biblical sources, and introductions. The Zohar was printed twice in Leghorn with an (incorrectly) vocalized text. Those sections in the Safed manuscripts which were not found in the Mantua edition were, except from the *Midrash ha-Ne'lam* to Ruth, printed together in a separate volume in Salonika in 1597, which was called *Zohar Ḥadash* in the later editions. The best of these are Venice, 1658, and Munkacs, 1911. All the sections of the Zohar were included in the complete edition of Yehudah *Ashlag, Jerusalem, 1945–58, in 22 volumes, with a Hebrew translation and textual variants from the earlier editions. The *Tikkunei ha-Zohar* began to appear in 1960, and by 1970 was not completed. A critical edition based on early manuscripts does not yet exist.

Commentaries

The crucial importance of the Zohar in the development of Kabbalah and in the life of the Jewish community can be seen in the vast exegetical literature and the large number of manuals that were composed for it. Most of these commentaries have not been printed, notably the commentary of Moses Cordovero *Or ha-Yakar*, of which five volumes have appeared (Jerusalem, 1962–70) – a complete version of this exists in the library at Modena in 19 large volumes; and the commentary of Elijah *Loans of Worms, *Adderet Eliyahu*, and *Ẓafenat Pa'ne'aḥ*, which exists at Oxford in four large volumes in the author's own hand. The early commentaries to the Zohar have not survived. Although Menahem Recanati mentions his own commentary in his *Ta'amei ha-Mitzvot*, most commentaries are based on Lurianic Kabbalah and do not add much to our understanding of the Zohar itself, e.g., *Zohar Ḥai* of Isaac Eizik Safrin of *Komarno, which was printed in 1875–81 in five volumes, and *Dammesek Eliezer* by his son Jacob Moses Safrin, which was printed in seven volumes in 1902–28. The most important commentary for a literal understanding of the Zohar is *Ketem Paz* by Simeon *Labi of Tripoli (written about 1570), of which only the Genesis section has been printed (Leghorn, 1795), but this also diverges quite often from the literal meaning and offers fanciful interpretations. Second in importance is the *Or ha-Ḥammah*, a compilation by Abraham b. Mordecai Azulai, which includes an abridgment of Cordovero's commentary, the commentary of Ḥayyim Vital which was written in the main before he studied with Luria, and the *Yare'aḥ Yakar*, a commentary by Abraham Galante, one of Cordovero's pupils. Azulai arranged these commentaries together corresponding to each page of the text of the original Zohar. The whole work was printed with the title *Or ha-Ḥammah* in four volumes in Przemysl in 1896–98. It reflects the Cordovero school of Zohar exposition. A very widely known commentary, half literal and half Lurianic, is the *Mikdash Melekh* of Shalom *Buzaglo, a Moroccan rabbi of the 18th century, which was printed in Amsterdam in five volumes in 1750, and several times subsequently. It was printed together with the Zohar itself in Leghorn in 1858. The commentary, *Ha-Sullam*, in Yehudah Ashlag's edition of the Zohar, is part translation and part exposition. These commentaries do not consider the comparison of the Zohar with earlier material in rabbinic literature or in other kabbalistic works. The commentaries of the Gaon *Elijah of Vilna are important, namely *Yahel Or*, and his commentary to the *Sifra di-Ẓeni'uta*, which is characterized by his comparative approach. Both of them were printed together in Vilna in 1882. Among the many commentaries to the *Tikkunei Zohar*, the *Kisse Melekh* of Shalom

Buzaglo must be singled out, and also the *Be'er la-Ḥai Ro'i* of Ẓevi Shapira (printed in Munkacs, 1903–21), three of whose volumes cover only about half the book.

Of the aids to the study of the Zohar the most useful are *Yesh Sakhar*, a collection of the laws in the Zohar, by Issachar Baer of Kremnitz (Prague, 1609); *Sha'arei Zohar*, a clarification of zoharic statements through their relationship to Talmud and Midrash, set out in the order of tractates and Midrashim, by Reuben Margulies (Jerusalem, 1956); a collection of zoharic statements on the Psalms by Moses Gelernter (Warsaw, 1926); and *Midreshei ha-Zohar Leket Shemu'el* by S. Kipnis, three volumes (Jerusalem, 1957–60), a collection of zoharic statements on the Bible with explanation. Keys to the subject matter of the Zohar are to be found in *Mafteḥot ha-Zohar*, arranged by Israel Berekhiah Fontanella (Venice, 1744), and in *Yalkut ha-Zohar* by Isaiah Menahem Mendel (Piotrikov, 1912).

Translations

The question of translating the Zohar into Hebrew had already arisen among the kabbalists of the 14th century. David b. Judah he-Ḥasid translated into Hebrew most of the quotations from the Zohar which he cited in his books. According to Abraham Azulai, Isaac *Luria had "a book of the Zohar translated into the holy tongue by Israel *al-Nakawa," the author of *Menorat ha-Ma'or* in which all the quotations from the Zohar, under the name of *Midrash Yehi Or*, are in Hebrew. In the Vatican manuscripts of the Zohar (nos. 62 and 186), several sections have been translated into Hebrew in the 14th or 15th century. According to Joseph *Sambari, Judah Mas'ud translated the Zohar into Hebrew in the 16th century. A translation of the Zohar from the Cremona edition, dating from the year 1602, is extant in Oxford Ms. 1561, but the more esoteric passages are omitted; the translator was Barkiel Cafman Ashkenazi. The Genesis part of this work was printed by Obadiah Hadaya (Jerusalem, 1946). In the 17th century Samuel Romner of Lublin translated a large part of the Zohar under the title *Devarim Attikim* (Dembitzer, *Kelilat Yofi*, 2 (1960), 25a); this is extant in Oxford Ms. 1563, with rabbinic authorizations dated 1747, showing that they had intended to have it printed. According to Eliakim Milsahagi of Brody, about 1830, in his *Zohorei Ravyah* (Jerusalem Ms.), he translated the whole of the Zohar into Hebrew, and to judge from his excellent style this must have been the finest translation made, but it is now lost together with most of his separate studies on the Zohar. In the 20th century large sections were translated by Judah Rosenberg in *Zohar Torah* in five volumes; and similarly, commentaries on the Zohar to Psalms and the *Megillot* in two volumes (New York, 1924–25; Bilgoraj, 1929–30). This translation is devoid of any literary qualities. The Hebrew writer Hillel Zeitlin began to translate the Zohar, but he did not continue. The preface to the Zohar in his translation was printed in *Metsudah* (London, 1 (1943), 36–82). A complete and extremely literal translation (but not without many textual misunderstandings) is contained in the edition of the Zohar by Yehudah Ashlag. Many selected pieces were translated in a meticulous and fine style by F. Lachower and I. Tishby, *Mishnat ha-Zohar* (2 vols., 1957–61^2).

Even before the Zohar was printed, the French mystic G. *Postel had prepared a Latin translation of Genesis and of the Midrash on Ruth, which is extant in manuscript in the British Museum and in Munich. The preface to it was published by F. Secret. The Christian mystic Chr. *Knorr von Rosenroth also made a Latin translation of important parts, particularly the *Idrot* and the *Sifra de-Ẓeniuta*, in his large work *Kabbala Denudate* (Sulzbach, 1677; Frankfurt, 1684), and most of the quotations from the Zohar or translations of those pieces which appeared in other European languages were taken from here, together with all the mistakes of the original translator, e.g., the works of S.L. Mathers, *The Kabbalah Unveiled* (1887); Paul Vulliaud, *Traduction intégrale du Siphra de-Tzeniutha* (1930). A French translation of the three volumes of the standard editions of the Zohar was prepared by Jean de Pauly (the later name of a baptized Jew from Galicia) but it is full of distortions and adulterations and accompanied by a great many false textual references, often to books which do not contain them at all or to books which have never existed. The translation was corrected by a Jewish scholar who knew Talmud and Midrash but did not correct the mistakes in the field of Kabbalah, which he did not understand. This translation, *Sepher ha-Zohar (Le Livre de la Splendeur) Doctrine ésotérique des Israélites traduit… par Jean de Pauly*, was magnificently printed in six volumes in Paris (1906–11). An English translation of the main part of the Zohar, with the omission of those sections which seemed to the translators to be separate works or additions, was *The Zohar* by Harry Sperling and Maurice Simon, published in five volumes in London (1931–34). The translation is in good style but suffers from incomplete or erroneous understanding of many parts of the kabbalistic exposition. A German anthology of many characteristic quotations from the Zohar was made by Ernst Mueller, who was obviously influenced by the teaching of Rudolf Steiner (*Der Sohar, das heilige Buch der Kabbala*, 1932).

Scholarship

Scholarly research into the Zohar did not begin with the kabbalists, however deeply interested they were in its teaching: they accepted uncritically the literary romantic background of the book as historical fact. The Jewish opponents of the Kabbalah expressed doubts about the veracity of this background from the end of the 15th century onward, but they did not delve deeply into a scholarly investigation of the Zohar. Christian interest in the Zohar was not at first scholarly but theological. Many thought they would find support for Christian ideas and developed a "Christian Kabbalah," and most of the writings up to the middle of the 18th century reflect this spirit. No scholarly value can be attached to these efforts. The first critical work was the *Ari Nohem* of Leone *Modena (1639) who questioned the authenticity and antiquity of the Zohar, from the point of view of language and other matters, but he did not undertake a detailed study. The book was printed as late as 1840 (Leipzig), but its circulation in manuscript aroused the wrath of the kabbalists who saw every attempt at critique as an assault upon the sacred, and they replied to it, and to later books which were written in the same vein, with a considerable number of works defending the Zohar, but these are of little historical worth. Leone Modena's critique was also stimulated by a polemic against certain claims of Christian Kabbalah, while that of Jacob *Emden was connected with the struggle against the Shabbateans, who went to extreme lengths of heresy in their interpretations of the Zohar. In *Mitpaḥat Sefarim* (Altona, 1768), Emden concluded on the basis of a large number of specific errors in the Zohar that many sections, and particularly the *Midrash ha-Ne'lam*, were late, although he still assumed that there was an ancient foundation for the main body of the book. The *maskilim* followed him, especially Samuel David *Luzzatto in his *Vikku'aḥ al Ḥokhmat ha-Kabbalah ve-al Kadmut Sefer ha-Zohar* ("An Argument Concerning the Wisdom of the Kabbalah and the Antiquity of the Zohar" (1827), printed in Gorizia, 1852). These two books, Emden's and Luzzatto's, elicited several replies seeking to answer the questions they raised, particularly *Ben Yoḥai* by Moses Kunitz (Vienna, 1815), and *Ta'am le-Shad* by Elia Benamozegh (Leghorn, 1863). The profound inquiries by Eliakim Milsahagi in several books devoted to the Zohar would have much furthered historical inquiry had they been printed and not simply remained in manuscript. He towered head and shoulders above many of the writers who succeeded him. There remain only a few pages of his in the *Sefer Ravyah* (Ofen, 1837) and his introduction *Zohorei Ravyah* (Ms. in National Library, Jerusalem). The great 19th-century scholars of Judaism, *Zunz, *Steinschneider, and *Graetz, went further than Jacob Emden and saw the Zohar as a product of the 13th century. M.H. *Landauer tried to prove that the Zohar was produced by Abraham *Abulafia, and A. Jellinek directed attention once more to Moses de Leon. A. *Frank and D.H. *Joel argued as to whether the teaching of the Zohar was of Jewish or foreign origin, and an echo of this kind of controversy reverberated throughout most of the literature of the *maskilim*, whose very general conclusions were not based on a close attention to detail and are marred by many weak arguments. Because of the lack of precise critical inquiry, scholars chose to solve the problem of the Zohar in accordance with their own subjective views, and the very widespread belief was that the Zohar was the creation of many generations and was only edited in the 13th century. There were also those who admitted that Moses de Leon had a greater or lesser share in the editing. The results of the many studies by G. Scholem and I. Tishby, which were based on detailed research, do not support these theories and lead to the view summarized above. There is no doubt that scholarly research into the Zohar has only just begun and will develop in detail in connection with research into the history of 13th-century Kabbalah in general. In the bibliography works are listed which reflect various points of view.

[Gershom Scholem]

Later Research

Gershom Scholem, the founder of the modern academic study of Jewish mysticism, was particularly interested in the authorship, historical context, and the mythical doctrines of the Zohar. He devoted two chapters in *Major Trends in Jewish Mysticism* to the author of the Zohar and the worldview expressed in its theosophic orientation. Scholem understood the Zohar as a pseudoepigraphic composition – a work deliberately attributed by its authors to someone else – namely a medieval work attributed to Rabbi Shimon bar Yoḥai. He argued that its composition should be dated to the period between the mid-1270s and late 1280s, and concluded that the Zohar was the fruit of a single spiritual-literary genius, Rabbi Moses de León. Scholem suggested that the different literary units within the Book of the Zohar ought to be understood as compositions arising from different periods of the intellectual development of Moses de León. Scholem saw in the Zohar a mythical, innovative composition, created in the heart of medieval rabbinic Judaism, and emphasized its originality and daring more than its relationship to earlier literary traditions. Since Scholem's work, the Zohar has become an integral part of Kabbalah research and found its place in the canon of literary and spiritual works of the Middle Ages.

Isaiah Tishby's research into the Zohar relied on the key assumptions of Scholem's research. His monumental work, *The Wisdom of the Zohar*, now available in English, is the product of academic research which further seeks to bring the treasures of the Zohar to the modern reader who may not be well versed in the text or its language. Tishby's great contribution lies in his classification of the central topics discussed in the Zohar and in his scholarly, detailed, and systematic introductions to these topics. Alongside these studies he translated into Hebrew (together with Fischel Lachower) many select texts from the Zohar.

Yehuda Liebes contributed many ground breaking studies to Zohar scholarship. In his seminal article, "The Messiah of the Zohar," Liebes explored the messianic character of the hero of the Zohar, Rabbi Shimon bar Yoḥai, and the messianism of the entire composition. In this article, he explored many other aspects of the Zohar including zoharic myth and composition, the place of eros and sexuality in the Zohar's unique language, the world of the companions, analysis of the *Idra Rabba* and *Idra Zuta*, different conceptions of *tikkun* (rectification), and the influence of the Zohar on later Jewish mystics. Liebes argues that the zoharic narratives and homilies are necessarily intertwined and must therefore be analyzed with the zoharic story as an essential component of the text, constituting a key to the text's uniqueness and not merely as the insignificant frame for the homilies expounded therein.

In his article, "How the Zohar was Written," Liebes reopened the question of the authorship and composition of the Zohar. He points to a range of content, conceptual, and stylistic factors, which challenged Scholem's view of a single author creating the Zohar. Liebes refocused attention from the question of *who wrote the Zohar* to *how the Zohar was* *written*. This study concludes that the Zohar is the product of a circle of mystics and not the work of a single author. In his article *Zohar and Eros*, Liebes focused on the place of eros and sexuality as the vital force in the Zohar and that which bestows upon the composition its unique place in the annals of Jewish literature.

Elliot Wolfson has written many important studies on the Zohar and emphasizes the centrality of mystical and ecstatic experience in kabbalistic and zoharic creativity while presenting a critical analysis of earlier approaches to the relationship between theosophy and experiential mysticism in the Zohar. His major claim is that an understanding of the world of the Zohar necessitates an appreciation of the fact that the Zohar is not merely a speculative or theoretical work, but rather presents practical means for attaining ecstatic states of union with or participation in the divine. Wolfson has written extensively on issues of gender and sexuality in the Kabbalah as a whole and especially in the Zohar. He argued for the centrality of male sexuality in both mystical experience and exegetical process in the Zohar as opposed to the secondary and dependant status of the feminine.

In *Kabbalah: New Perspectives*, Moshe Idel explored the spiritual and intellectual characteristics of the kabbalistic climate in which the Zohar was produced. He claimed that the circle of mystics responsible for the Zohar came into being out of the creative processes of a secondary elite of spiritual leadership. Idel distinguishes between a primary elite, comprising those scholars and rabbis who assumed central leadership roles in the community, and a secondary elite, the members of which constituted a second order of leadership characterized by the freedom to choose a creative and innovative path without seeking the approval of the legal and spiritual authorities of the time. In his book *Absorbing Perfections* he focused and extended his detailed and extensive research in the field of kabbalistic hermeneutics in which he explored the nature of the kabbalistic and zoharic symbol and the uniqueness of the symbolic-dynamic interpretation of the Zohar.

In the early 21st century Daniel Matt was working on the monumental enterprise of producing an annotated English translation of the Zohar, based on a critical Aramaic text that he is reconstructing from numerous Zohar manuscripts. As of 2006, three volumes had appeared, covering the Zohar's commentary on Genesis. The complete translation, titled *The Zohar: Pritzker Edition*, is projected to comprise 11–12 volumes.

In his research he has also highlighted the tension between innovation and traditionalism in the zoharic consciousness and has explored the way in which the Zohar as a whole understands itself as representing an alternative Jewish culture to that of classical rabbinic culture.

Arthur Green recently published a popular introductory volume for the Pritzker edition of the Zohar, translated by Daniel Matt.

Charles Mopsik translated into French select parts of the zoharic corpus as well as the writings of Rabbi Moses de León, introduced with detailed commentary which explored the ideological and literary context of this corpus. Mopsik further took issue with Liebes' claim about the circle of the Zohar, arguing again for the solitary literary production of the work by R. Moses de León.

Ronit Meroz heads a project which seeks to publish a critical edition of the Zohar. Her research of the Zohar suggests that through the use of philological-historical tools accompanied with literary ones it is possible to identify different chronological layers in the zoharic text. Meroz seeks to delineate discrete literary units in the composition and to test the hypothesis that different units were composed by different authors who were part of a literary movement. Meroz seeks to locate the beginning of what would later become the Zohar in texts composed as early as the 11th century somewhere in the Middle East. The earliest zoharic literary strata that she has defined is written in Hebrew, while the most refined, rich, and complex one, which Meroz calls the "Epic unit," was composed at the end of the 13th century and has at its center the spiritual biography of R. Simeon b. Yoḥai.

Israel Ta-Shma researched the halakhic world of the Zohar. He showed that the composition of the Zohar portrays Spanish *halakhah* even as it shows its dependence and intimate knowledge of French Jewish customs and liturgical rites.

Melila Hellner-Eshed's book "A River Issues from Eden" provides a detailed phenomenological analysis of mystical experience in the Zohar. The book provides the reader with a lexicon for zoharic mystical experience, reviews the paths and practices through which the Companions of the Zohar attain their mystical experiences as well as the special language and modes of expression which are used in order to describe the mystical experience itself, and its unique characteristics. Hellner-Eshed sees the zoharic literature as having the performative aim of awakening the mystical consciousness of its readers. In her book there is also an exploration of dimensions of self consciousness and reflexivity in the Zohar.

Boaz Huss has explored the question of the appearance, acceptance, canonization, and sanctification of the Zohar. Huss has explored the zoharic comparison between the figures of Moses and R. Simeon Bar Yoḥai, the hero of the Zohar, and the Zohar's preference for Bar Yoḥai over Moses. He claimed that the zoharic portrayal of Rabbi Simeon Bar Yoḥai reflects the self understanding of the Zohar's authors, while the figure of Moses points to the authoritative and kabbalistically conservative character of Naḥmanides. The zoharic portrayal of Rabbi Simeon as superior to Moses, Huss argues, expresses the attempt of the Zohar's authors to circumvent the authority of Naḥmanides and his school and to create a sanctified and canonized kabbalistic literature.

Daniel Abrams in various studies has stressed the necessity of distinguishing between the literary production of zoharic texts and the later historical reception of the disparate texts as a book. His central claim is that kabbalists and scholars alike have projected their expectations and assumptions of the "Book of the Zohar" back on to the earlier history of its composition in late 13th-century Spain. He claimed that there is no evidence as yet to show that the Zohar was written as a book, but rather the book was invented many centuries later as a separate editing effort. Abrams claims as well that the Zohar does not have an "author," as understood in modern conceptions of literature and of the individual.

In her book, *Vision and Speech: Models of Revelatory Experience in Jewish Mysticism*, Haviva Pedaya has written extensively on the religious experience of the Zohar and on strategies for identifying those parts of the Zoharic corpus written in revelatory states.

Oded Israeli wrote a book on the zoharic literary unit known as "*Saba de-Mishpatim*." In his research, he explored the key issues associated with this unit: the date of its composition, its place in the zoharic corpus, and its conceptual and literary characteristics.

The late strata of the Zohar, *Ra'aya Meheimna* and *Tikkunei ha-Zohar*, composed by an anonymous kabbalist in the beginning of the 14th century, have also enjoyed new investigation and scholarly studies. Pinchas Giller dedicated his book, *The Enlightened Will Shine,* to a study of these two later compositions. His later book, *Reading the Zohar,* detailed the various interpretative strategies among later commentators of the Zohar.

Amos Goldreich wrote on the self-image of the author of *Ra'aya Meheimna* and *Tikkunei ha-Zohar*. His edition of an unknown commentary to Ezekiel by this author is due shortly.

From this cursory overview of Zohar research, the great wealth of complex and complicated questions and issues explored by the Zohar's many researchers and interpreters begins to emerge.

[Melila Hellner-Eshed (2nd ed.)]

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ZOHAR, MIRIAM, Israeli actress. Born in Czernowitz, Romania, Miriam Zohar was in a concentration camp in the Ukraine during World War II. In 1948 she was among the "illegal" immigrants sent to Palestine on the *Pan York*, all of whose passengers were sent to Cyprus. There she began to perform in amateur theater. After arriving in Israel she worked in a Yiddish theater. From 1951, she appeared in *Habimah. In 1986 she co-starred with Lea *Konig in an acclaimed production of Jacob *Gordin's *Mirele Efros*. In 1987 she received the Israel Prize for theater, cinema, and television arts. In 2004 she starred in the film *The Schwartz Dynasty.*

ZOHAR, URI (1935–), Israeli actor, director, singer, comedian; one of the most colorful characters in the history of the Israeli entertainment industry. Until 1977, when he became an observant Jew, he was considered one of the doyens of Israel's entertainment family. Just one year earlier he had been the recipient of the country's most prestigious award, the Israel Prize, in recognition of his cinematic work. However, Zohar's career, which began in the mid-1950s, spanned broad artistic terrain.

Like many of his generation he started out as a member of an army entertainment troupe, teaming up with Chaim *Topol (later to become famous as Tevye in *Fiddler on the Roof*) in the Naḥal band. After completing their national service the two helped found the Baẓal Yarok ("Green Onion") musical-comedy team, which achieved considerable success in the late 1950s, releasing a string of hit songs such as *Adoni ha-Shofet* ("Your Honor") and *Venezuela*.

After Baẓal Yarok disbanded in 1960, Zohar's comedy career blossomed as he worked with top artists such as actor-comedian Shaike *Ofir and writer Ḥayyim *Hefer. He also began to break into radio, cinema, and later television. While at this stage Zohar was chiefly known as a comedian he also contributed to some serious ventures, such as Nathan Axelrod's 1962 film *Tree or Palestine*, which depicted life in pre-state Palestine from the 1930s up to the establishment of the State of Israel in 1948.

When Israeli television started in the late 1960s the charismatic Zohar was a natural choice as frontman for the *What's My Line* TV show, and he was a popular perennial presenter of the Miss Israel beauty contest. Today, Zohar is probably best known for his film directing, which began in 1965 with *Ḥor ba-Levanah* ("Hole in the Moon"), and took a big leap with a string of satirical-farcical efforts such as *Peeping Tom* (1972), *Big Eyes* (1974), and *Save the Lifesaver* (1977). In the early 1970s Zohar was a leading member of the group that put together the highly successful comic-musical *Lul* television series which has now achieved classic status. Iconic singer Arik *Einstein was among his co-stars in the series.

In 1977 Zohar quit the entertainment industry and moved to an ultra-Orthodox neighborhood in Jerusalem. At the time the Israeli public was shocked, considering the *enfant terrible* persona Zohar had cultivated over the years. His ties to Einstein, however, continued as his two eldest sons married two of Einstein's daughters.

[Barry Davis (2nd ed.)]

ZOHARY, MICHAEL (1898–1983), Israeli botanist. Zohary was born in Bobrka, E. Galicia, and went to Ereẓ Israel in 1920. He joined a team of research workers at the Hebrew University under Alexander *Eig. Zohary wrote *Olam ha-Ẓemaḥim* (1954), *Géobotanikah* (1955), and *Flora Palaestina* (2 vols., 1966). Together with Naomi Feinbrun, Zohary published the *Flora of the Land of Israel* (Heb. and Eng., 3 folios, 1945–55). His research covered a wide section of the Middle East and led to his publishing more than 100 papers and books on the flora of the area. In 1952 he was appointed professor of botany at the Hebrew University and in 1954 he was awarded the Israel Prize in Science.

°ZOLA, ÉMILE (1840–1902), French novelist and champion of Alfred *Dreyfus. In Zola's 20-volume *Rougon-Macquart* novel cycle (1871–93), a naturalistic portrayal of French social decay under the Second Empire of Napoleon III, there are Jewish characters who often appear in an unfavorable light. However, as with Gundermann in *L'argent* (1891), the Jewish financier invariably has equally unattractive gentile counterparts. Zola's humanitarian socialism, allied to a deep suspicion of clerical politics, determined his stand in the Dreyfus Affair. One of the earliest opponents of Édouard *Drumont, Zola wrote a series of essays defending the Jews, which were published in the daily *Le Figaro* (1896–97) and which stung antisemites to insinuate that his pen had been hired. "The Jews such as they are today are our work," Zola wrote, "the work of our 1,800 years of idiotic persecution" (*Nouvelle campagne*, 1897). He also contrasted the advanced Hebrew concept of the unity of mankind with the racist's primitive insistence on interracial conflict and hatred. Zola's involvement in the Dreyfus Affair reached a climax when he published an open letter to President Félix Faure on the front page of George Clemenceau's radical daily *L'Aurore*, headlined "*J'accuse…!*" (Jan. 13, 1898). He charged the French government and army with conspiring to suppress the true facts and with committing "high treason against humanity" by diverting popular anger from their own reactionary intrigues to the fabricated crime of a hapless, insignificant Jew. Zola's widely publicized accusation gave new heart to the supporters of Dreyfus and led to a prison sentence which the writer avoided by taking refuge in England. It also led many more to suspect that there had been a miscarriage of justice, and resulted in Dreyfus' retrial and eventual vindication.

Zola returned to the case in *L'affaire Dreyfus* (*Lettre à la jeunesse*, 1897; *La vérité en marche*, 1901), where he reiterated his belief in a conspiracy of army officers and clericalists aimed at overthrowing the Republic, and declared: "Truth is on the march; nothing can stop it now." His somewhat oversimplified approach to the problem of antisemitism – which would, he believed, vanish forever with the overthrow of ignorance and superstition – reappears in *Vérité*, the third part of his unfinished novel cycle, *Les Quatre Evangiles* (1899–1903). Here the anti-Dreyfusard thesis propounded by Maurice *Barrès is mercilessly lampooned. Anticipating the final outcome of the affair, which he was not destined to witness, Zola brings his fictionalized account of the case to a successful and morally satisfying conclusion with the vindication of his Jewish hero, Simon, a victim of the *blood libel, and the downfall of the reactionary intriguers.

Zola apparently intended to visit Palestine to gather material for a novel about Zionism, but his plan was never realized. His sudden death, resulting from carbon monoxide poisoning due to a blocked chimney, was allegedly contrived by a reactionary fanatic who gained access to the writer's apartment in the guise of a workman.

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ZOLA, GARY PHILLIP (1952–) U.S. Reform rabbi, historian, archivist. Zola was born in Chicago, Illinois, and received his B.A. from the University of Michigan (1973) and his M.A. from Northwestern University (1976). In 1982, he was ordained at *Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion, where he earned his Ph.D. in 1991. Following ordination, he was appointed National Dean of Admissions, Student Affairs and Alumni Relations for HUC-JIR. In 1996, he was named executive director of The Jacob Rader *Marcus Center of the American Jewish Archives (AJA), the world's largest archival resource documenting the history of North American Jewry. He was also associate professor of the American Jewish Experience at HUC-JIR in Cincinnati and editor of *The American Jewish Archives Journal*. Under Zola's leadership, the physical home of the AJA tripled in size, making it the world's largest free-standing research institution dedicated solely to the study of the American Jewish experience. Dedicated in 2005, the AJA's Malloy Education Building, which houses electronic classrooms, distance learning centers, and public exhibition galleries, introduced new digital technologies to the field of historical research and archival science.

Zola is credited with initiating the 2004 national commemoration marking the 350th anniversary of the establishment of New Amsterdam's first Jewish community in 1654: he was the organizer of the congressionally recognized Commission for Commemorating 350 Years of American Jewish History, a consortium of research institutions representing a historic collaboration of the Library of Congress, the National Archives and Records Administration, the American Jewish Historical Society and the AJA. As commission chairman, Zola served as guest chaplain at the U.S. House of Representatives and the U.S. Senate. In September 2004, he participated in opening ceremonies for the Commission's historical exhibitions held at the Library of Congress and delivered the invocation at the commission's gala dinner in Washington, DC, where President George W. Bush delivered the keynote address.

Active in both national and local Jewish communal affairs, Zola served as president of the Greater Cincinnati Board of Rabbis (1993–94) and rabbinic consultant to the Ethics Committee of Cincinnati's Jewish Hospital (1993–), as well as on the boards of the Jewish Federation of Cincinnati and the Hillel Jewish Student Center. He was selected twice (1988, 1992) by the American Center for International Leadership to be one of two rabbinic delegates on the Religion Commission of the U.S.A./U.S.S.R. Emerging Leaders Summit. He was president of the Martin Luther King Coalition, and a member of the Boards of Trustees of the Cincinnati chapters of the American Jewish Committee and the Jewish Community Relations Council. He was the winner of the Cincinnati Jewish Federation's Rabbinic Leadership Award (2004) and the Rabbi Roland B. Gittelsohn Prize for most effective congregational project in social action.

A contributor to numerous academic journals, and a former member of the editorial board of the *Journal of Reform Judaism* (1985–1990), Zola wrote *Women Rabbis: Exploration and Celebration* (2004) and *Isaac Harby of Charleston* (1994). He also edited *The Dynamics of American Jewish History: Jacob Rader Marcus's Essays on American Jewry* (1996) and co-edited *A Place of Our Own: The Rise of Reform Jewish Camping in America* (2006).

[Bezalel Gordon (2nd ed.)]

ZÖLD, MÁRTON (1865–?), Austro-Hungarian general. Born in Hungary, Zöld passed out of the military academy in Budapest and was seconded to the infantry. In 1914 he commanded a battalion against Serbia and Montenegro, and was awarded a Hungarian knighthood for valor on the Russian front. In the same year he commanded a regiment on the Italian front. After the establishment of an independent Hungarian state, Zöld was made a full general. He was active in Jewish affairs.

ZOLF, Canadian family. FALEK ZOLF (1898–1961), teacher, author, and essayist, was born in Poland. From 1909 to the outbreak of war in 1914, he attended yeshivah in Poland. In 1916, to avoid compulsory military service, he became an "essential worker" at a Jewish-owned leather factory in Yaroslavl, Russia. With the Kerensky revolution he volunteered for the Russian Army, was sent to the Galician front, was captured by the Germans, and, in 1918, became a prisoner of war in East Prussia. Returning home after his release, he found his mother dead and his village of Zastavia caught up in the civil war that followed the Bolshevik Revolution. A dedicated Labor Zionist, in 1920 Zolf worked in the Jewish reconstruction in postwar Poland, assisted by the American Joint Distribution Committee, and became a teacher at a rebuilt school.

As life became more and more difficult under the antisemitic Polish regime, in 1926 Zolf decided to emigrate. He arrived in Canada in 1926 as a "farm worker" but soon became an itinerant *melammed* (teacher). After more than a year in Canada, he brought his family to Winnipeg, where he became a teacher and later principal of Winnipeg's I.L. Peretz Folk School. His part-fictional autobiography *Af Fremder Erd* (*On Foreign Soil*, 1945) was republished in English translation in 2003 with some Yiddish transliteration by Martin Green. Zolf also published *Undzer Kultur Hemshekh* (*Our Eternal Culture*, 1956), and contributed essays to the Yiddish press.

Falek Zolf's fourth child, LARRY (1934–), a reporter and producer, was born and brought up in Winnipeg's immigrant North End. Larry Zolf earned a B.A. at the University of Winnipeg, won scholarships, and completed an M.A. in history at the University of Toronto. He was with the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation's News and Current Affairs Department in Toronto from 1962. From 1964 to 1966 he worked on the innovative Canadian public affairs program, *This Hour Has Seven Days,* and teamed with Pierre Elliot Trudeau (before Trudeau entered parliament) to interview René Lévèsque, Quebec "Separatist" leader and founder of the Parti Québécois who led his party to power in Quebec in 1976. Zolf later wrote speeches for Prime Minister Trudeau. Zolf also produced an award-winning documentary on computers and published several books including *Dance of the Dialectic* (1973); *Just Watch Me: Remembering Pierre Trudeau* (1984); and *Scorpions for Sale* (1989), a fictional biography. He continued to write an on-line column for the CBC that mixed political commentary with personal reminiscences, often including references to his Jewish roots in the Winnipeg Jewish community, personalities in the community, community politics, and encounters with the non-Jewish world.

Larry Zolf's daughter, RACHEL ZOLF, is a poet whose works include *Her Absence, This Wanderer* (1999) and *Masque* (2004).

[Abraham Arnold (2nd ed.)]

ZOLLER (Zolli), ISRAEL (1881–1956), rabbi and apostate. Born in Brody, Galicia, Zoller spent a great part of his life in Italy. He was chief rabbi of Trieste after World War I, professor of Hebrew at the University of Padua from 1927 to 1938, and, from 1939, chief rabbi of Rome. At the beginning of September 1943, when the Germans entered Rome, he abandoned the community and took refuge in the Vatican. At the end of the hostilities he reappeared to assume his position as rabbi, but was rejected by the community because of his unworthy behavior at the time of the greatest danger. On Feb. 14, 1945, he converted to Catholicism, taking the name of Eugenio Maria (in homage to Pope Pius XII), and returned to the Vatican. In 1949 he was professor of Semitic epigraphy and Hebrew at the University of Rome. He was the author of a large number of works, especially of biblical interpretation, Jewish history, liturgy, and talmudic literature. Among his works are *Israele* ("Israel," 1935), *L'ebraismo* ("Judaism," 1953), and autobiographical reflections entitled *Before the Dawn* (1954). His translation of the tractate *Berakhot* was published by a Catholic publishing house (1968).

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[Sergio DellaPergola]

ZOLLSCHAN, IGNAZ (1877–1948), Austrian anthropologist and physician. Zollschan, who was born in Erlach, Lower Austria, graduated as a doctor and while working in private practice in Carlsbad turned his interests to anthropology. To combat the antisemitic racist theories of Houston S. *Chamberlain, he published his *Das Rassenproblem unter besonderer Beruecksichtigung der theoretischen Grundlagen der juedischen Rassenfrage* (1910, 1925^5). As a Zionist he opposed Jewish Diaspora nationalism. In *Revision des juedischen Nationalismus* (1919) he attacked the Jewish demand for minority rights, and a revised edition of this work with a supplement, "*Der Weg zum Maximalismus*," appeared in the following year. In 1921 he analyzed the condition of Zionism in his *Krise und Sezessionsgefahr im Zionismus und deren Ursachen*. His interpretation of the Zionist problem stimulated the formulation of a current within German Zionism called Binyan ha-Areẓ.

Zollschan recognized the danger to world peace of Nazi racist theories as a tool of rabid nationalism and undertook a struggle to combat them. In 1933 he presented a plan to Thomas *Masaryk for the examination of the theoretical foundations of racialism which was taken up by the Prague Academy of Sciences. The academy submitted a proposal for an international conference on the subject to the leading international and national scientific bodies of the world, including those of the Vatican and the Ecumenical Council of the Protestant Churches. Dr. Beneš, then foreign minister of Czechoslovakia, submitted the plan to the Institute for Intellectual Cooperation of the League of Nations, but the appeasement policy of Great Britain obstructed the involvement of the institute. Zollschan continued his efforts, set up a Society for the Scientific Investigations of the Racial Question in 1937, and in the following year traveled widely throughout Europe to obtain support for his work. One instance of success was the preparation in May 1938 of a papal syllabus calling on all academies to pursue joint scientific research into racial ideologies. The collapse of the Czechoslovak Republic nullified the entire enterprise. Zollschan settled in London, where he published his *Racialism against Civilization* (1942).

[Ephraim Fischoff]

ZOLOCHEV (Pol. **Złow**), town in Lvov district, Ukraine; formerly in Galicia, Poland; between 1772 and 1919 under Austrian rule; ceded to Soviet Russia in 1945. At the end of the 16th century the key leasing enterprises there were in the hands of a Jewish contractor, Israel b. Joseph Eideles (see *Poland; *Arenda). A Jewish community was formed during the 17th century, and in 1716 was required to pay a poll tax of 350 zlotys, while the tax levied on the *Lvov community for the same year was raised to only 140 zlotys. The *Council of the Four Lands would sometimes convene there. The old synagogue of Zolochev was built in the second half of the 17th century. The *Maggid* Jehiel Michael of *Zloczow, an early leader of the Ḥasidim, preached there from 1770. Under Austrian rule the Jews of Zolochev engaged in considerable political activity; between 1891 and 1907. Zolochev, together with *Brody, returned Jewish deputies to the Austrian parliament: E. *Byk, and after his death Joseph Gold, a physician who officiated also as vice mayor of Zolochev. Both acted in conjunction with the other Polish deputies. From 1892 to 1907 there existed a Jewish school supported by the funds of Baron Maurice de *Hirsch. In 1907, 128 Jewish students attended the local secondary school (out of 500).

The Zolochev community numbered 1,150 in 1765; 5,401 (51.9% of the total population) in 1900; 5,744 in 1921; and 5,700 in 1931.

[*Encyclopaedia Hebraica*]

Holocaust Period

When World War II broke out, on Sept. 1, 1939, Jewish refugees from western Poland arrived, and the Jewish population of the town increased to 14,000. Under Soviet rule (1939–41) the Jewish communal bodies were disbanded and the activities of the Jewish political parties were forbidden. A number of the Jewish refugees were exiled to the Soviet interior in the summer of 1940. When the war broke out between Germany and the U.S.S.R. on June 22, 1941, groups of Jews attempted to cross over to the Soviet interior, but were turned back by Soviet patrols. German forces reached Zolochev on July 1. Two days later, in a pogrom perpetrated by Ukrainians, with the sanction of the German authorities, 3,500 Jews were killed in the city's fortress. A Judenrat was set up, headed by Dr. Maiblum, a former deputy mayor of Zolochev. In November 1941, 200 Jews were taken to the forced labor camp in Lackie Wielkie. In early 1942 Jews were sent to labor camps in Kozaki, Jaktorow, Plew, Zawarnice, and Sasov. Many inmates died in these camps from disease or injuries. After a *Selektion*, on Aug. 28, 1942, at the railroad station, 2,700 victims were sent to *Belzec extermination camp. On Nov. 2–3, 1942, in a second *Aktion*, 2,500 Jews were sent to Belzec; among the victims were Samuel Jacob *Imber, the poet. On December 1 a ghetto was set up to include Jews from towns in the vicinity of Zolochev – Olesk, Sasov, and Bialy Kamien. Hunger and disease decimated the inhabitants. Jewish doctors, notably Shelomo Jolek, battled against epidemics. On April 2, 1943, the ghetto was liquidated; the inmates were shot in Jelechowice. A small group of craftsmen, who were spared, organized two resistance units under Hillel Safran and F. Nachimowicz. The latter's group escaped to the forest but were betrayed by a Ukrainian peasant and wiped out after offering resistance. The leaders of the other unit were arrested in the ghetto and the members disbanded. Safran was shot when he attacked his German guard while being led to execution. On Aug. 23, 1943, the labor camps in the vicinity were liquidated. The inmates in Lackie Wielkie offered armed resistance. Soviet forces reentered Zolochev on July 13, 1944. The community was not reconstituted after the war.

[Aharon Weiss]

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ZOLOTONOSHA, city in S.W. Poltava district, Ukraine. Jews began to settle in Zolotonosha at the beginning of the 19th century. In 1847 there were 1,001 Jews, and in 1897 there were 2,769 (about 32% of the population). In October 1905 pogroms broke out in the city, characterized by general looting and the destruction of all Jewish property. In 1926 there were 5,180 Jews in the city (32.5% of the total population). In 1939 they numbered 2,087. When the Germans invaded in September of 1941, they murdered 300 Jews from the surrounding area. Those who were unsuccessful in escaping the city were exterminated: Some 3,500 Jews from the city were executed in November.

[Yehuda Slutsky / Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

ZOLTY, YAACOV BEZALEL (1920–1982), chief rabbi (Ashkenazi) of Jerusalem. Zolty was born in Stavitsk, district Lomza, Poland, and at the age of seven immigrated with his family to Ereẓ Israel where he studied at the Eẓ Ḥayyim and the Hebron yeshivot. In 1951 he was appointed a member of the District *bet din* of Tel Aviv, and the following year to the Jerusalem *bet din*. In 1956 he was appointed a member of the Supreme *bet din* of Israel.

An outstanding rabbinical scholar, Zolty served as head of the Bet ha-Talmud of Yad ha-Rav Maimon from 1966 to 1974 and later as the head of the Yad Aharon Yeshivah, and gave courses in the important yeshivot in Israel. His first published work, *Ginzei ha-Sifrei on* the *Sifrei, was published in 1948 and his responsa, *Mishneh Ya'avitz* on *Ḥoshen Mishpat* (1963) which gained him the Rabbi Kook Prize of the Municipality of Tel Aviv, was followed by a volume of the same name on the Laws appertaining to the Festivals in the *Oraḥ Ḥayyim* (1976).

In 1977 he was appointed chief rabbi (Ashkenazi) of Jerusalem, serving until his death.

ZOMBER, DOV BAER (**Bernhard**; 1821–1884), rabbinic scholar. Zomber was born in Lask, Poland, and studied under the rabbis Joske Spiro of Inowroclaw and Jacob Ettlinger, as well as at the university in Wuerzburg. After settling in Berlin, he taught Talmud there and maintained a boarding house for pupils. In 1871 he was appointed lecturer in Talmud at the *bet ha-midrash* in Berlin, where he served until his death.

He edited the *Shitah Mekubbeẓet* on tractate *Nedarim* (1860), and *Hilkhot Pesaḥim* of Isaac *Ibn Ghayyat with

Zomber's own commentary (1864). He wrote *Ma'amar al Perush Rashi le-ha-Massekhtot Nedarim u-Mo'ed Katan* (1867), a study on Rashi's commentaries on the treatises of *Nedarim* and *Mo'ed Katan*, and *Moreh Derekh* (1870), on Rabbenu Gershom's and Rashi's commentaries on tractate *Mo'ed Katan*. Against the latter Raphael Nathan Nata *Rabbinovicz wrote his *Kunteres Moreh ha-Moreh* (1871). Contributions of his were published in *Ha-Maggid* and in the *Magazin fuer die Wissenschaft des Judenthums*. His study on Judah ben Yakar, an early commentator on the Jerusalem Talmud, which appeared first in the *Monatsschrift fuer Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judenthums* (1860), was subsequently printed in a Hebrew version with additions by the author in *Ha-Karmel* (1863).

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[Tovia Preschel]

ZONANA, wealthy and influential Jewish family in 18th-century *Istanbul. The family held the position of Ocak Bazergânı, the commercial and financial agent of the Janissary corps. It was involved in the administration of the Jewish community of Istanbul, and took part in the committees of deputies entrusted with the affairs of the Jewish communities of Ereẓ Israel. As prominent businessmen and financiers they supported a variety of religious and charitable causes, maintaining yeshivah studies in Istanbul and Ereẓ Israel and financing the printing of rabbinic treatises. The first member of the family to hold the position of Bazergân was DAVID ZONANA, who in 1722 was already portrayed as a prominent figure of Jewish Istanbul (in *Megilat Yuḥasin* by Meyuhas Behor Shemuel of Jerusalem, a guest in David's spacious seashore residence). By the time of the war of 1736–39 David was well established in his position, with considerable influence over promotions and the corps' diverse financial affairs. Later incidents suggest an even greater sphere of influence. When Seyyid Hasan Paşa, agha of the Janissaries since 1738, was appointed grand vizier in 1743, David continued to serve as his personal agent, thus attaining one of the highest ranks possible for Jews in the Ottoman state. When his patron was replaced in August 1746 by a member of a rival faction who also held a personal grudge against him, David was arrested and summarily executed. David's eldest son JACOB (d. 1764) succeeded to his position in the Janissary corps, and continued his activities in the Jewish sphere as a deputy for the Jewish community of Jerusalem. He used his influence in official Ottoman circles to protect, as well as control, the Jerusalem community, involving himself in its internal conflicts. Jacob secured the building (1754–5) of a hostel for Jewish pilgrims and travelers in *Jaffa, the main port of entry en route to Jerusalem, and used his business network to guarantee the transfer of funds designated for the Jerusalem community. SAMUEL HALEVI, son of David's sister, founded a yeshivah in *Hebron and hosted rabbi H.Y.D. *Azulai, the emissary of the Hebron community, during his stay in Istanbul (1757–58). He may have been the unidentified "Levi" who held the position of Bazergân together with Jakob. After 1768 (and until the demise of the Janissary corps in 1826) the position of Ocak Bazergânı was held by several generations of the *Adjiman family, which appears to have been closely related to the Zonanas.

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[Shuki (Yehoshua) Ecker (2nd ed.)]

ZONDEK, family of physicians. MAX ZONDEK (1868–1933), physician born in Wronke in the province of Posen who specialized in surgery and the study of renal diseases. In 1913 he was appointed titular professor of surgery in Berlin. He was the author of numerous publications on surgical subjects, among them *Die Topographie der Niere und ihre Bedeutung fuer die Nieren-Chirurgie* (1903); *Zur Chirurgie der Ureteren* (1905); and *Die chirurgischen Erkrankungen der Nieren und Harnleiter* (1924). His nephew, HERMANN ZONDEK (1887–1979), endocrinologist, was also born in Wronke. He served as assistant at the Charité Hospital in Berlin and later became associate professor at the Friedrich Wilhelm University of Berlin and director of the municipal hospital. He left Germany in 1933, spent a year in England, and then settled in Jerusalem, where he took charge of the internal medical division of Bikkur Ḥolim hospital and subsequently became professor of endocrinology at the Hebrew University.

Hermann was a pioneer in the study of the thyroid gland and disturbances arising from its dysfunction. He was the first to record the cardiac symptoms occurring as the result of thyroid insufficiency. He showed that administration of iodine normalizes the raised metabolism in hyperthyroidism and demonstrated that both thyroid hyper – and hypofunction may be of primary pituitary origin. He made studies on hormonal activity in general and evolved the theory that an endocrine disease may be a result of an abnormal reactivity of the peripheral tissues as well as of a primary endocrine malfunction (peripheral theory). He was the first to point out the inverse relationship between urinary nitrogen and sodium chloride excretion in certain renal disturbances. Zondek made several studies of the pituitary diencephalic system and its relation to certain ocular disturbances. He wrote books and articles on various aspects of endocrinology. His memoirs, *Auf festern Fusse*, appeared in 1982.

His brother, BERNHARD ZONDEK (1891–1966), endocrinologist and gynecologist, was also born in Wronke. He was an assistant in the Charité Hospital in the department of obstetrics and gynecology. He became associate professor at Berlin University and later head of the obstetrical and gynecological department of the municipal hospital in Berlin. When

Hitler rose to power, he left Germany for Palestine where he became professor of gynecology and obstetrics and head of the hormone research laboratory at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. Bernhard is best known for the pregnancy test which he developed together with Selmar Aschheim in 1927. They demonstrated that the excretion of gonadotropin in the urine is a constant early symptom of pregnancy. His later investigations dealt with methods of preparing estrogenic and gonadotropic hormones, the effect of estrogen in castrates, the induction of uterine bleeding with progesterone, estrogenic substances in the Dead Sea, and hormonal treatments of various diseases. Zondek's contributions significantly advanced the knowledge of hormonal therapy. He was the author of many scientific publications and recipient of many honors. He was awarded the Israel Prize in 1958.

A third brother, SAMUEL GEORG ZONDEK (1894–1970), physician, was best known for his studies on electrolytes and therapy of heart diseases. He developed a theory concerning the relationship between the autonomous nervous system and the electrolytes. He called attention to the importance of potassium for the growth of cells and studied the causes of extra-renal uremia. Samuel Georg was born in Wronke, and in 1926 became associate professor at Berlin University. He left Germany with the rise of Hitler and became chief of the division of internal medicine at Hadassah Hospital, Tel Aviv. He was the author of numerous medical publications.

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[Suessmann Muntner]

°**ZOPYRION**, an author, otherwise unknown, appearing in a list of Greeks who wrote specifically about the Jews and attested to their antiquity. Josephus (Apion, 1:216) criticizes him for inaccuracy.

ZORACH, WILLIAM (1887–1966), U.S. sculptor and painter. Lithuanian-born William Zorach immigrated with his parents to the United States in 1891, settling in Ohio. Zorach only completed school up to the eighth grade, forced into working because of the family's impoverishment. He studied lithography in the evenings at the Cleveland School of Art in 1903 and soon thereafter he began earning a wage as a commercial lithographer. After he had saved some money, Zorach moved to New York City in 1907 where he received two years of additional training at the National Academy of Design. Again funded by money earned from his work as a lithographer, Zorach went to Paris to study art at La Palette in 1910. In Paris, Zorach met Marguerite Thompson, an American also studying at La Palette. Marguerite's influence, as well as the avant-garde atmosphere in France, effected Zorach's painting style, which became Fauvist in conception. His colorful paintings were first exhibited publicly at the Salon-d'Automne (1911). Financial circumstances forced Zorach back to Cleveland in late 1911, but by December 1912, he had earned enough money as a lithographer to return to New York, where he and Marguerite married. Zorach's paintings remained Fauvist-inspired until around 1916, at which time he adopted a Cubist idiom.

Zorach carved his first sculpture in 1917. He gave up painting entirely to focus on sculpture in 1922. Early sculptures were stylized and angular in conception, akin to the Cubist style of his canvases. Soon Zorach adopted the more rounded, simplified, classicized forms for which he is best known in directly carved works such as the 36-inch-tall mahogany *Mother and Child* (1922, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York). His first solo exhibition of sculpture was held at the Kraushaar Galleries in New York (1924). Many of Zorach's sculptures, mostly carved out of wood and stone, focus on themes of family.

He executed several public commissions, including a monumental marble figure of Benjamin Franklin (1936–37) for the Benjamin Franklin Post Office in Washington, D.C., and a 16-foot-tall group sculpture, *Builders of the Future*, for the 1939 World's Fair. Upon request, Zorach submitted a design for a proposed memorial for the Jews who perished in the Holocaust. Although the memorial never materialized, a plaster model titled *Monument to Six Million Jews* (1949, Zorach family collection) survives. Designed to be viewed in the round, on one side of the tombstone shaped pedestal topped by a *menorah* stands a woman protecting her child and on the other side a man looking upward to heaven beseechingly.

In addition to his artistic production, Zorach wrote articles on art and two books: a primer on sculpture and his autobiography. He also taught at several institutions, including the Art Students League for 30 years beginning in 1929 and Columbia University (1932–35).

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[Samantha Baskind (2nd ed.)]

ẒORAH (Heb. צָרְעָה), Canaanite city mentioned in Tell-el-Amarna letter no. 273; later a Danite city mentioned with Eshtaol and Ir (Beth)-Shemesh in one of the city lists (Josh. 19:41). According to the later enumeration of the districts of Judah, Zorah passed to that region, where it was located in the northern district of the Shephelah (Josh. 15:33). The fame of Zorah derives from the story of *Samson. The Danite camp in which his father Manoah lived is defined as situated between Zorah and Eshtaol (Judg. 13:25); Manoah himself is described as a Zorite (Judg. 13:2). Samson was buried between Zorah and Eshtaol (Judg. 16:31). The 600 Danite warriors went forth from the same camp to search for living space for their tribe, hard pressed by the Amorites (Judg. 8:11). According to I Chronicles 2:53, 54, and 4:2, it was settled by families of Judah. It is listed with Aijalon among the fortifications of Rehoboam (II Chron. 11:20). It appears with Jarmuth in the list of places resettled by Jews returning from Babylonian exile (Neh. 11:29). In the Byzantine period, it belonged to Eleutheropolis (Onom. 156:15ff.). It is identified with the former Arab village of Ṣarʿa, situated on a dominating hill north of Beth-

Shemesh near the Jerusalem–Tel Aviv highway, about 15 mi. (25 km.) from Jerusalem.

[Michael Avi-Yonah]

Kibbutz Ẓorah in the Jerusalem Corridor west of Beth-Shemesh is affiliated with Iḥud ha-Kevuẓot ve-ha-Kibbutzim. It was founded in December 1948 by Israeli youth, who were later joined by settlers from South Africa. In 1970 Ẓorah had 431 inhabitants, more than doubling to 945 in the mid-1990s but then dropping to 701 in 2002. In addition to farming (field crops, plantations, turkey, and dairy cattle), the kibbutz manufactured mobility and rehabilitation aids for the handicapped and operated a furniture factory, winery, silk-screen printing studio, and guest house and youth hostel.

[Efraim Orni / Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

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ẒORAN (Heb. צוֹרָן), urban settlement in the Sharon region of central Israel. It received municipal council status in 1997. In 2002 its population was 5,660. In 2003 the municipality of Ẓoran was united with that of *Kadimah. Their combined population was 15,709 in 2004.

ZOREF, ABRAHAM SOLOMON ZALMAN (1785–1851), leading figure in the Ashkenazi community of Jerusalem. Born in Kaidan, Lithuania, Zoref set out for Ereẓ Israel with his wife and three sons in 1811. Traveling by way of Odessa and Constantinople, they arrived in Acre after a journey lasting more than five months. They settled in Safed where Zoref worked as a gold- and silversmith (whence his surname, which is Hebrew for silversmith). The outbreak of the plague in 1813 drove him to Jerusalem. There he became associated with *Menahem Mendel of Shklov in the leadership of the small Lithuanian community (*Kolel ha-Perushim*). From 1819 to 1823 and from 1829 to 1833 Zoref traveled in Europe as emissary for this *kolel*; on his second journey he acted on behalf of the Sephardim as well. When Ereẓ Israel came under Egyptian domination in 1831, he went to Cairo to obtain permission with the help of the Austrian and Russian consuls, to rebuild the Judah he-Ḥasid dwellings. The success of his mission, which contributed to the development of the Ashkenazi settlement in Jerusalem, earned Zoref the enmity of the Arabs, who made two attempts on his life, from the second of which he did not recover.

His sons MORDECAI, MOSES, and ISAAC, who adopted the surname Salomon, and his grandson Joel Moses ben Mordecai *Salomon, continued to work for the growth and consolidation of Jewish Jerusalem and Ereẓ Israel.

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[Avraham Yaari]

ZOREF, JOSHUA HESHEL BEN JOSEPH (1633–1700), Shabbatean prophet; the most important figure of the Shabbatean movement in Lithuania. Born in Vilna, he was a silversmith with a modest Jewish education who early inclined to an ascetic way of life. During the persecutions in the wake of the Polish-Swedish War he took refuge, around 1656, in Amsterdam, but returned later to Vilna where he started the study of moral and mystical writings, but remained without talmudic learning. During the messianic upheaval of 1666 he had visions which many compared with those of Ezekiel. He became the outstanding spokesman of the believers in *Shabbetai Ẓevi and persisted in his belief throughout his life. He continued his strictly ascetic behavior, and during several years was said to have never left his home except for the synagogue or the ritual bath. Shortly after 1666 he started to put down the revelations he received in five books, intended to correspond to the books of the Pentateuch. He assembled around him a circle of fervent followers who considered him an oracle, and played in this group a role very similar to that of the later ḥasidic *ẓaddikim*. Stories told about him already have a noticeably "ḥasidic" flavor. He used to make pronouncements not only about the messianic developments and the related mysteries but also concerning political events of his time, such as are recorded by Ẓevi Hirsch *Koidonover in *Kav ha-Yashar* (ch. 12: 1705). People flocked to Ẓoref from all over Poland to ask his advice or to strengthen their Shabbatean faith, He considered himself the Messiah ben Joseph, and Shabbetai Ẓevi the true Messiah, and saw his own role as revealer of the secrets of redemption between the first and the second coming of the Messiah. His written revelations center around the esoteric meanings of the *Shema Yisrael* and by the time of his death were said to have covered about 5,000 pages. Those parts which have survived show clearly that the book was completely built upon elaborate numerological speculations following the *Megalleh Amukkot* of Nathan Nata b. Solomon Spiro (*Spira). These speculations are essentially founded on the *gematriot* of Shabbetai Ẓevi and his own name Joshua (Yehoshua) Heshel (814 and 906), frequently alluding to the year 1666 (in *gematria* 426) as the beginning of redemption. Although the Shabbatean character of Ẓoref's revelations is clear, he did not divulge his faith except to the members of his intimate circle who had to take a formal vow to show discretion and dissimulation before unbelievers. He maintained, directly or through his confidants, a lively correspondence with Shabbateans in Italy and Turkey. A letter written by the Shabbatean leader Ḥayyim *Malakh in 1696, after some visits to Heshel Ẓoref, acknowledges his extreme ingenuity with numbers but expresses great reservations as to his kabbalistic initiation and his psychic powers. During the last years of his life, Ẓoref transferred to Cracow where he married (a second marriage?) the daughter of Jacob Eleazar Fischhof, one of the protectors of the ḥasidic group of *Judah Ḥasid and Ḥayyim Malakh. When this group prepared to journey to Jerusalem, Ẓoref participated in a meeting of its Shabbatean leaders in Nikolsburg toward the end of 1699. Ẓoref died in Cracow. His manuscripts were scattered. Some parts of the collection of his revelations, *Sefer ha-Ẓoref*, came into the hands of the kabbalist Nathan b. Levi, a member of the *Klaus* of *Brody who hid them; however, another part, including his writings from his last years, found its way to *Israel b. Eliezer Ba'al Shem Tov, the founder of Ḥasidism, who held these writings in high veneration without seemingly having been aware of their Shabbatean character. He frequently spoke in their praise, and the tradition of his pupils identified them with those of the mythical rabbi *Adam Ba'al Shem which his son was said to have given to the Ba'al Shem. Adam Ba'al Shem, a legendary figure of the 16th century, and Heshel Ẓoref in the generation preceding that of the Ba'al Shem, coalesced into one figure. Toward the end of his life the Ba'al Shem ordered a copy of the *Sefer ha-Ẓoref* to be made, but this order was executed only more than 20 years after his death. Copies of these copies have been preserved among the descendants of the ḥasidic rabbis Nahum of *Chernobyl and *Levi Isaac of Berdichev. An attempt by the latter to have the book printed in Zholkva was foiled by Ephraim Zalman Margulies of Brody who recognized its Shabbatean character.

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[Gershom Scholem]

ZORN, JOHN (1953–), U.S. saxophonist, bandleader, composer, festival organizer, record label founder and owner. If any single figure can be credited with the revival and reinvention of Jewish-American musical culture in the last decades of the 20th century and first decade of the 21st, it would be the mercurial John Zorn. It may not have been Zorn who coined the term "Radical Jewish Culture" to describe the scintillating musical and theatrical hybrids that emerged in that period, but it was Zorn who shaped the constituent elements that became that reality. Zorn, who was born and raised in New York City, began as an avant-garde composer and alto sax player, influenced by such disparate figures as Karlheinz Stockhausen, Ornette Coleman, Ennio Morricone, and Warner Brothers cartoon composer Carl Stallings. His early work is a frequently abstract, almost antiseptic exploration of blocks of sound, focusing on the seams and unlikely swerves and turns between them. He was also fascinated with game theory and frequently applied it to group improvisation with uneven but fascinating results. He worked with a film-noir-influenced band, Naked City; wrote numerous soundtracks for independent films; issued numerous solo albums; and founded the Tzadik record label.

At some point in the late 1980s, Zorn became interested in exploring his Jewish identity, as his label name suggests. Starting with his 1990 album *Kristallnacht*, he began developing a new band, Masada, whose focus was on a specific set of the prolific composer's original compositions, most of them a flavorful blend of Blue Note hard-bop and Middle Eastern themes. The band's book became the basis not only for countless Masada recordings featuring Zorn's powerful alto but also for numerous spin-offs including a string quartet, an electric band, and a rock-inflected group. What Zorn had been attempting was nothing less than the creation of an entire body of new Jewish music for the new millennium.

To that end, he also encouraged many unlikely musicians from the worlds of avant-garde jazz, post-rock, and performance art to explore their own Jewishness on his record label, involving such luminaries as Steve Lacy, Borah Bergman, and Marty Ehrlich, and his own core of superb musical collaborators, including drummer Joey Baron, cellist Erik Friedlander, and pianists Anthony Coleman and Uri Caine among others. Zorn also promoted this new Jewish culture with a series of festivals, concerts and clubs (Tonic and his own The Stone chiefly) that moved the "downtown" scene gradually into the mainstream. Despite much acclaim and the growing success of his vision of Jewish music, Zorn remained a prickly figure, unwilling to speak to the press and intensely private.

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[George Robinson (2nd ed.)]

ZRENJANIN (Hung. **Nagybecskerek**), city in the Banat, Vojvodina province, Serbia; formerly called Veliki Bečkerek and Petrovgrad. Zrenjanin was a regional agricultural and trading center. In the first part of the 18th century it was within the Austrian "military area" and thus inaccessible to Jews. The first mention of a Jewish presence there dates to 1760. A *ḥevra kaddisha* was created in 1764, and the community was officially founded in 1790. A Jewish school was built in 1816 and the following year a Jews' judge (*Judenrichter*), Adam Guttmann, was nominated. The first prayerhouse was erected in 1809, and another was built in 1895. The first rabbi was Rabbi Fein, who was followed by David Oppenheim and Maurice Klein. The last held office from 1880 to 1915 and became well known in all Hungarian-speaking communities for his translation of Maimonides' *Guide of the Perplexed* into Hungarian as *A tévelygök utmutatója* (4 vols., 1879–90). Jews traded mainly in hides, cattle, wine, and cereals.

During the Hungarian Revolution of 1848 about 25 Jews participated in the uprising, and the victorious Austrians imposed a collective fine on the community for alleged disloyalty: they had to provide 25,000 boots for the army. In the second half of the 19th century the community played an important role in the Danube basin, smaller communities gathering around it. Zrenjanin Jews gave aid to Belgrade Jews, who had suffered through shelling from the Turkish citadel in 1862 – 100 florins, which was half the sum donated by Budapest. By the turn of the century the community was well established and fairly prosperous. A new Hungarian-style synagogue was inaugurated in 1901 (it was completely demolished in 1941). The Zrenjanin Jewish community suffered during

World War I, but subsequently recovered, and by 1929 it numbered 400 families. Until the Holocaust it was active under rabbis Maurice Niedermann and David Finci, and President Leopold Fleischberger. There was a small Orthodox group. In November 1936 a German antisemitic paper, *Erwache* (a sort of imitation of *Der Stuermer*), was published. Its editor was brought to trial, but the court acquitted him. The community, numbering about 1,300, was almost annihilated by the Hungarians in 1941; the few survivors were deported to Auschwitz. The community was reestablished after the war and in the early 21st century hosted small-scale *Maccabiah Games for Vojvodina's Jews.

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[Zvi Loker]

ZS (**Zionist Socialists**), Zionist-socialist party, mainly in Russia and Eastern Europe. At its third conference (Kharkov, May 15–20, 1920), the *Ẓe'irei Zion movement in Russia decided to become the Zionist Socialist Party – ZS (The letter "Z" in the shortened name of the party, which stands for the Hebrew or Yiddish word "Zionist," was particularly emphasized in order to distinguish it from the SS, a party called Sionistsko-Sotsialisticheskaya Rabochaya Partiya ("*Zionist-Socialist Workers' Party"), founded in 1904 as a Zionist party but transformed, without changing its name, to a *Territorialist, anti-Zionist party during the conflict over the *Uganda Scheme.) The rising wave of socialist ideas in Russia, as well as the creation of the socialist *Aḥdut ha-Avodah (A) party, in Ereẓ Israel in 1919, induced a decisive majority of this Ẓe'irei Zion conference to adopt the socialist creed and the new name; a "right-wing" minority split off and announced (August 1920) the continuation of the original Ẓe'irei Zion Popular Faction, which later formed the world union Hitaḥadut together with *Ha-Po'el ha-Ẓa'ir.

The ZS joined forces with Aḥdut ha-Avodah in Ereẓ Israel. Soon after the *Kharkov conference a convention of Ẓe'irei Zion in independent Poland decided to adopt a socialist program, and in 1921 Ẓe'irei Zion in independent Lithuania also accepted a socialist program and became ZS parties. The ZS Party in Russia emerged and lived under unique circumstances of revolutionary upheavals, repressions, and persecutions by the anti-Zionist Soviet regime, which was also extremely hostile to any non-Communist socialism. During the decline and disintegration of Jewish public life, especially of the Jewish socialist movements (which were gradually swallowed up in the ruling Communist Party), the burden of the fight for socialist Zionism, and to a great degree also for Zionism as such, was shouldered by the members of the young ZS Party.

ZS had to face not only the Bolshevik regime, the Communist Party, and the ruthless political police ("Cheka"), but also the most implacable of all enemies of Zionism and Jewish socialism, the *Yevsektsia (Jewish section of the Communist Party). In a life-and-death struggle, the ZS operated feverishly on many fronts: in the organization of the party itself, in Zionist activity, in *He-Ḥalutz, in the organization of self-defense against pogroms of counterrevolutionaries, in the youth movement Berit ha-No'ar ha-Ẓiyyoni ha-Soẓyalisti, in the trade unions, in producers', consumers', and credit cooperatives, in rendering productive Jews lacking occupational training and especially in agricultural training and in cultural activities directed toward *aliyah* to Ereẓ Israel. All this was undertaken in a spirit of devotion in the full knowledge that the fight was a losing battle. Arrests and deportations increased, but the ranks closed and activities expanded. ZS members leaped onto every available platform loudly declaring their party's demands – for the democratization of Soviet rule, for cultural-national autonomy, for the rehabilitation of Jewish economic life ruined in the civil war, for the right of *aliyah* to Ereẓ Israel – knowing that they would be arrested on the spot.

The Fourth Congress held in Leningrad in February 1924 decided to intensify activity and publish an illegal Russian-language newspaper (*Hagut ZS*). A climax was reached in August of the same year (on the eve of the Congress of National Minorities in the Ukraine), when the ZS distributed tens of thousands of leaflets denouncing the dictatorial and centralist regime, presenting the economic and cultural demands of the masses of the Jewish people in Russia, and calling for a Zionist-socialist solution to the Jewish problem in general. Both the contents of the leaflet and the manner in which it was distributed under the Cheka terror regime made a tremendous impression on Jews and non-Jews alike, but the party paid a heavy price for it; within a few days 3,000 ZS members and ZS youth had been arrested and sent to join the hundreds of their comrades who had already been jailed and deported to the far north of Russia. Lost leaders were replaced again and again in this emergency situation, but their activities were soon curtailed in turn. The rebellious party was increasingly besieged, and determined efforts were made to break and destroy it completely. Intervention from various quarters, especially from the wife of Maxim *Gorki, Yekaterina Peshkova, brought about the liberation of a certain number of prisoners and their *aliyah* to Ereẓ Israel. With the final establishment of a totalitarian dictatorship under *Stalin, ZS suffocated and disappeared. Only a few of its members survived the years of terror. Thousands died in the deportation camps, after enduring mental and physical torture. In other countries, notably Poland, the Baltic countries (Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia), and Romania, ZS developed into a legitimate Zionist-socialist movement closely linked with the labor movement in Ereẓ Israel and with He-Ḥalutz, sponsoring pioneering *aliyah* and often taking part in local politics as a link between Zionists and the socialist parties of the respective countries.

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[Israel Ritov]

ZSIGMOND, EDE (1916–1944), Hungarian poet. He came from a Jewish proletarian family. In his poems he expressed his socialist outlook and mourned his deported parents. He perished in labor service at the battle front. A collection of his poems was published posthumously under the title *Elszàntan es szeliden* ("With Decision and with Softness," 1961).

ZSOLDOS (formerly **Stern**), **JENÖ** (1896–1972), Hungarian literary scholar and philologist. Born in Budapest, Zsoldos fought as an officer in the Austro-Hungarian army during World War I. In 1919 he became a teacher and, from 1940 until his retirement in 1965, was headmaster of the Jewish community's girls' high school in Budapest. For a time, he edited the Jewish newspaper *Zsidó Szemle* and, between 1936 and 1943, was editor of the eminent Jewish literary periodical *Libanon*. In his research into Hungarian literature and cultural history Zsoldos devoted himself to a painstaking analysis of the relationship between Hungarian and Jewish literature, laying particular stress on its social significance. In an original and varied style, Zsoldos discussed the relationship between Jews and Hungarians and the manner in which these are reflected in literature. His contribution to philology was also important, and for 30 years he contributed to the periodical *Magyar Nyelvőr*, also publishing Hungarian grammars.

Zsoldos' writings include *A felvilágosodás német zsidó irói és a magyar irodalom* ("German-Jewish Authors of the Haskalah Period and Hungarian Literature," 1934), *Magyar irodalom és zsidóság* ("Hungarian Literature and Judaism," 1943), *A héber mese jelentkezése a magyar irodalomban* ("The Appearance of the Jewish Folktale in Hungarian Literature," 1946), and *1848–49 a magyar zsidóság életében* ("1848–49, in the Life of Hungarian Jewry," 1948).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Magyar Zsidó Lexikon* (1929), 1024; *Magyar Irodalmi Lexikon*, 3 (1965), 611.

[Baruch Yaron]

ZSOLT, BÉLA (1895–1949), Hungarian novelist, poet, and journalist. Zsolt, who was born at Komárom, joined the editorial board of the radical Budapest newspaper *Világ* in 1921 and later worked for *Magyar Hírlap* and, from 1933, for *Újság*. In addition, he was editor in chief of the radical weekly *A Toll*. In his editorials, Zsolt subjected his press rivals to merciless attack, especially for their ignorance and corruption, their hatred of European culture and, above all, their virulent antisemitism. During the Nazi era he was sent to a labor camp in the Ukraine and when the Hungarian army chief ordered his release, the command was not obeyed. Finally, as a member of the *Kasztner Group, he was dispatched to Switzerland from Bergen-Belsen. After the war, Zsolt returned to Hungary, where he founded the radical weekly called *Haladás*. In the free elections of 1947, he was elected to parliament on the radical party list.

Zsolt made his name as a novelist and poet. His prose writing, though carelessly constructed, shows great talent for artistic and accurate description, and his bourgeois and petit bourgeois Jews are characters out of real life. Zsolt's attitude toward the Jewish bourgeoisie in his fiction contrasts with his defense of the Jews as a journalist. In his stories, he exposed their corruption and degeneration no less devotedly than he fought for their political and economic rights. Zsolt's verse includes the collection *Zsolt Béla verseskönyve* ("The Book of Poems by Béla Zsolt," 1915). Outstanding among his novels were *Házassággal végződik* (1926; *It Ends in Marriage*, 1931); *Gerson és neje* ("Gerson and his Wife," 1930), on the theme of mixed marriage; *Bellegarde* (1932); *Villámcsapás* ("Thunderbolt" 1937); and *Kakasviadal* ("Cockfight," 1939). He also wrote plays, including *Oktogon* (1932). *Kilenc Koffer* ("Nine Cases." 1947) was a book of memoirs and *Kőért kenyér* ("Bred for Stones," 1939), a collection of articles. Zsolt was continually preoccupied with the problem of the relationship between Jews and non-Jews. This reached a head in the novel *Kínos ügy* ("Distressing Affair," 1935), which showed his descriptive powers at their best. His ambivalence would seem to stem from his own unstable attitude to Judaism: he converted to Christianity, but later reverted to Judaism. Zsolt was the last chronicler of the Hungarian-Jewish assimilated bourgeoisie, and his precise descriptions perpetuated their memory.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Magyar Irodalmi Lexikon*, 3 (1965), 611–3.

[Baruch Yaron]

ZUCKER, DAVID (1947–), U.S. film producer. Born in Milwaukee, Wisc., Zucker studied film making at the University of Wisconsin. With a few borrowed video tape decks and an old film camera, Zucker and his brother, Jerry, and a friend, Jim Abrahams, formed Kentucky Fried Theater, a theatrical sketch group, in the back of a bookstore in Madison, Wisc. Moving to Los Angeles in 1972, they presented a satirical blend of videotaped, filmed and live sketches that in five years became the most successful small theater group there. In 1977 the team collaborated on their first feature film, *Kentucky Fried Movie*, essentially an extension of their sketches, and it became a financial success. Their next project created a new film genre. Conceived by David Zucker as a comedy without comedians, the film *Airplane!* featured dramatic actors performing zany dialogue with straight-laced sincerity. The spoof became a surprise hit of 1980, positioning the trio as kingpins of Hollywood comedy. They broke into television in 1982 with the series *Police Squad!*, which did for the detective drama what *Airplane!* did for its genre. Their streak of successful movies continued with the secret agent spoof *Top Secret!* (1984) and the biting farce *Ruthless People* (1986), which became one of the top-grossing films of the year. In 1988 David, on his own, directed *The Naked Gun*, based on *Police Squad!*, and it was a runaway hit. The 1991 follow-up, *Naked Gun 2½: The Smell of Fear*, surpassed the original at the box office. The final installment, *Naked Gun 33⅓*, which David produced, was also another box-office hit. David also co-produced several serious films, including *Phone Booth* (2001).

[Stewart Kampel (2nd ed.)]

ZUCKER, HENRY L. (1910–1998), U.S. community leader in welfare services. Born in Cleveland, Ohio, Zucker graduated from Western Reserve University. He began his career in social services as supervisor of public relations for the Cuyahoga County [Ohio] Relief Administration. He was a consultant for the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee, helping to restore Jewish communal life in Europe after World War II. From 1936 to 1946, he served the Welfare Federation of Cleveland in several capacities. He was associate director of the Jewish Community Federation of Cleveland (1946–48) and later became its executive vice president, serving in that capacity until 1976. Zucker served as chairman of the advisory committee of the Hebrew Union College's School of Jewish Communal Services in Los Angeles, and was on the Board of Trustees of the United Appeal of Greater Cleveland and on several committees of the Welfare Federation of Cleveland. He held key positions in numerous Jewish and civic institutions. Under Zucker's professional leadership the Jewish Community Federation became one of the most comprehensively organized in the U.S., with the highest per capita donations to its Jewish Welfare Fund. He also established the Cleveland Welfare Endowment Fund, considered one of the largest of such funds in existence.

In 1991 Zucker received the Rosichan Retiree of the Year Award from the Association of Jewish Community Organization Professionals. The award is bestowed on a retired Jewish community organization professional who has had a distinguished career, has served as a role model and who, during retirement, continues to make a contribution to the field.

ZUCKER, JACQUES (né **Jakub Cuker**; 1900–1981), U.S. painter, illustrator, writer. Born in Radom, Poland, Zucker studied art in New York, but received most of his education at the Bezalel School of Art, Jerusalem, and the Académie de la Grande Chaumière and the Académie Colarossi in Paris. During WWI, Zucker fought for Palestine's liberation by enlisting in that country's Royal Fusillier's Jewish Brigade. By the 1920s Zucker had attained a reputation as an artist of landscapes, portraits, and figures. Some of his imagery possessed Jewish themes, such as *Synagogue of the Cabala*. The artist immigrated to the U.S. in 1922 to rejoin his family. Zucker traveled extensively: many of his images depict scenes or objects in Spain, Portugal, Egypt, Israel, and Poland. He divided his time between France and the U.S., and exhibited in both countries. In the U.S., Zucker's work was shown at the Art Institute of Chicago, the Brooklyn Museum of Art, the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, the Museum of Modern Art, New York, and the Whitney Museum. Zucker's style demonstrates myriad influences: the German and Austrian Expressionists, such as Oskar Kokoschka and Ludwig Kirchner; the landscapes of Chaim Soutine; and French painters such as Vuillard and Bonnard. Zucker's work is owned by many major museums, including the Jewish Museum, New York and the Israel Museum, Jerusalem. In 1969, the French art critic Claude Roger-Marx wrote a book titled *Jacques Zucker* devoted to the work of the eponymous artist.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: B.P. Solomon, "Portrait of a Lost Master: Film Brings Jacques Zucker to America," in: *The Forward* (Jan. 14, 1994).

[Nancy Buchwald (2nd ed.)]

ZUCKER, JEFF (1965–), U.S. television executive. Zucker, who was born in Miami, Fla., received a bachelor's degree from Harvard University in 1986 after serving as president of the school newspaper, the *Harvard Crimson*. At the *Crimson*, Zucker encouraged a decades-old rivalry with the *Harvard Lampoon*, led by Conan O'Brien, a future colleague. When Zucker failed to gain admission to Harvard Law, he was hired by the National Broadcasting Company to research material for its coverage of the 1988 Olympics in Seoul, South Korea. The following year Zucker became a producer for the highly rated *Today Show* and in 1992 became its executive producer. He introduced rock concerts on the shows and incorporated a mass live audience through a window on Rockefeller Plaza, from which the NBC Studios broadcast. In 2000, at the age of 35, he was named NBC's entertainment president and in 2003 was put in charge of the network's news and cable operations as well. Following a merger with Vivendi Universal, Zucker was promoted to president of its television group in 2004. The following year, Zucker was again promoted by NBC, to chief executive behind the chairman, Robert C. Wright.

[Stewart Kampel (2nd ed.)]

ZUCKER, MOSHE (1904–1987), rabbinic and Arabic scholar. Born in Kopeczowka (near Lutsk), Volhynia, Zucker studied at the Jewish Theological Seminary of *Vienna and the University of Vienna. In 1925 he was ordained as a rabbi, serving as a spiritual leader of a congregation in Vienna and also as a lecturer in the *Beit ha-Midrash* of Jellinek, as well as at the Rambam School. In 1938, with the *Anschluss*, Zucker immigrated to the United States. He served congregations in Brooklyn, New York and Bangor, Maine. In 1947 he began teaching at the Jewish Theological Seminary's Teachers Institute and in 1959 was appointed to the faculty of the rabbinical school of the seminary, where he became professor of Bible commentaries.

Zucker's main works include *Hassagot Rav Mevasser* (1955), an edition of a text by a contemporary of *Saadiah Gaon, based on a unique manuscript in the Firkovich collection in Leningrad, and *Al Targum Rav Sa'adyah la-Torah* (1959). In the latter work Zucker examines Saadiah's Arabic translation and studies on other matters, which are important for the geonic period. He discusses the problem of the *Baraita of the Thirty-two Rules*, ascribed to R. Eliezer b. Yose ha-Gelili, and showed that it is actually part of *Samuel b. Hophni's introduction to his Pentateuch commentary. Zucker also proved that the *Mishnat Rabbi Eliezer* (ed. by H. Enelow) is a late work, probably by a pupil of Saadiah Gaon. Another of his works is "*Keta'im Ḥadashim mi-Sefer ha-Mitzvot shel Ḥefeẓ b. Yaẓli'aḥ*" (PAAJR, 29 (1961), Heb. pt., 1–68). Zucker blended knowledge of the entire **genizah* material and of rabbinic literature. Familiar with the Arabic literature of the geonic period, he reproduced the details emerging from *genizah* studies and also interpreted them in the light of the Jewish and Arabic backgrounds of the period. He proved how deeply the *geonim* were rooted in the general trends of their time.

[David Weiss Halivni]

ZUCKERKANDL, EMIL (1849–1910), Austrian anatomist and physical anthropologist. Born in Raab (Györ), Hungary, Zuckerkandl was appointed assistant demonstrator at the Viennese anatomical institute of Karl von Langer in 1874. Langer charged him with the study of skulls brought back by the expedition around the world of the frigate *Novara* in 1857–59. The results, published in 1875, were a precise anatomical description and an assessment of the influence of various abnormalities in the form of the particular skulls, and their influence upon the racial character. His monograph *Zur Morphologie des Gesichtsschaedels* (1877) contained studies of the ratio between cranial and facial form, prognathism and opistognathism, and provided a summary of these problems among diverse races and comparable primates. After fulfilling appointments at the universities of Vienna and Utrecht, he became professor of anatomy at Graz in 1882. In that year he published "Ueber asymmetrische Kranien, welche ohne Nahtobliteration enstehen," demonstrating the frequency of this phenomenon and explaining its causes by the disproportion between the cranium of the foetus and the diameter of the mother's uterus. This paper was followed by several others, all appearing in *Mitteilungen der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien* (vols. 4 and 5). His epoch-making book *Normale und Pathologische Anatomie der Nasenhoehle und ihrer pneumatischen Anhaenge* (2 vols., 1882–92) entitles him to be regarded as the founder of modern rhinology.

In 1883 Zuckerkandl participated in the study of the ancient charnel houses in the Austrian Alps at Styria, Carinthia, and Carmola. The results, published in the journal of the Austrian Anthropological Society (1883–88), contributed much valuable information regarding cephalic forms in the area. In 1888 Zuckerkandl returned to Vienna to succeed Langer as professor of descriptive and topographic anatomy and occupied this post until his death. Known as an excellent teacher, he at various periods served as dean of the medical faculty at Vienna. Several anatomical entities discovered and described by him bear his name. His bust, placed in the assembly hall of the University of Vienna, was removed by the Nazis.

His younger brother, OTTO ZUCKERKANDL (1861–1921), was an eminent urologist and surgeon.

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[Ellen Friedman]

ZUCKERMAN, BARUCH (1887–1970), Labor Zionist leader. Zuckerman was born in Kurenetz, Russia. Steeped in Jewish tradition, he was early drawn to Zionism. Upon his arrival in the United States in 1903 he quickly involved himself in the development of the Labor Zionist movement in that country, becoming one of the founders of the U.S. Po'alei Zion party. When the movement split into territorialist and Palestine-centered factions after the Uganda offer, he went over to the Socialist-Territorialists in 1905, rejoining the Po'alei Zion in 1910. Zuckerman's role in the Labor Zionist movement in the United States was both that of major exponent and of formulator of policy. By virtue of his varied activities as editor, journalist, speaker, and holder of high office in the movement, he became one of the chief spokesmen of the U.S. Po'alei Zion throughout the world. He was a trusted representative of the people in the large Yiddish-speaking sector of the Jewish community. Zuckerman's influence was not confined to his party activities. He played a significant part in the foundation of the People's Relief Committee, serving as its executive director from 1915 to 1924. He was also among the founders and promoters of Farband, the Labor Zionist fraternal order; the Jewish Legion of World War I; the American Jewish Congress; and the Histadrut Campaign.

Zuckerman served as one of the chief representatives of the Labor Zionist movement in the World Organization. A member of the Actions Committee, he was elected to the executive of the Jewish Agency, and was head of its Latin American and Organization Departments from 1948 to 1956. He settled in Israel in 1956 and continued his activities, mainly literary, until his death. In addition to a prolific output of articles and pamphlets, he wrote several volumes of personal memoirs which provide a rich source of historic material for the development of Jewish life and Zionism during the period they cover, among them *Oyfen Veg* (1956) and *Zikhroynes* (1962). Many of his shorter pieces were collected in *Essayen un Profilen* (1967).

[Marie Syrkin]

ZUCKERMAN, BEN (1890–1979), U.S. apparel manufacturer. Zuckerman, who became known as "the dean of the American ready-to-wear coat and suit industry," was a master tailor who never learned how to sew. "You can teach a bear how to dance," he once said. "I can teach a tailor how to work." Zuckerman was born in Romania, one of 13 children. He was a child when his parents brought the family to the U.S. and settled in New Jersey. His formal education ended when he was 15. His first job was sweeping floors in a dress factory for $3 a week. Subsequently, he learned to be an apparel cutter and in 1911 went into business with Joseph Hoffman. Zuckerman & Hoffman made expensive coats and suits. In the late 1920s, the business was dissolved and Zuckerman launched another firm with Morris Kraus. That company liquidated in 1949 and Zuckerman spent the next year traveling through Europe and the U.S. He returned to New York and in 1950, opened Ben Zuckerman, Inc., and presented his first collection. It was designed by Harry Schacter, who would remain with Zuckerman for decades and who eventually added dresses and ensembles to the line. In 1951, Zuckerman won a Neiman Marcus Award for Distinguished Service in the Field of Fashion. In 1952 and 1956 he was presented with Coty American Fashion Critics Awards and in 1961 was inducted into the Coty Hall of Fame. He retired in 1968, but remained connected to the industry, becoming a charter member of the Council of Fashion Designers of America in 1973.

A prominent figure in New York City's garment business for almost 60 years, Zuckerman was known for making clothes in the U.S. that were said to have the look, the feel, and the fit of Paris originals. His coats and suits became popular with numerous prominent women, including Jacqueline Kennedy when she was still First Lady, and his skills at cutting and draping fabric became legendary.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *New York Times* (June 10, 1961), 11.

[Mort Sheinman (2nd ed.)]

ZUCKERMAN (Cukierman), ITZHAK (Antek; 1915–1981), Warsaw ghetto fighter. Born in Vilna to a traditional Jewish family, he became one of the four commanders of the Jewish Fighting Organization (ZOB) that organized armed resistance to the Nazis in the Warsaw Ghetto. He was educated at Hebrew High School in Vilna and joined *He-Ḥalutz and moved to Warsaw as part of the youth movement. When He-Ḥalutz combined with Dror he became one of two general secretaries organizing the movement throughout Poland. When the war began he escaped eastward to Soviet-occupied Poland and organized underground branches of Dror. In 1940 he returned to German-occupied Poland and became a leader in Warsaw and from there traveled clandestinely to other ghettos, organizing the movement for agricultural training and Zionist education. He met and fell in love with Ẓivia *Lubetkin, a fellow Zionist underground leader. They later married. After word of the Einsatzgurppen activities reached Warsaw, he foresaw that all educational and cultural activities would have to be linked to armed resistance. During the great deportation that commenced on July 23, 1942, and sent 265,000 Jews to the Treblinka death camp in less than 60 days, Zuckerman pressed for active resistance, but his position was rejected at that time. When the ZOB was formed on July 28, 1942, he became part of staff headquarters. He was sent on a secret mission to Cracow to discuss resistance activities and was wounded there in December 1942. Returning to Warsaw with great difficulty, he participated in the preparations for armed resistance and was part of the group that fought the Germans during the January 18, 1943, deportations. He then became commander of one of the three fighting sectors. Because he looked like a Pole and spoke the language without an accent, he was sent out of the ghetto to obtain arms for the ghetto underground from Polish army organizations; he met with rebuttals. When the Uprising broke out on April 19, 1943, Zuckerman was on the Aryan side of the wall. He wanted to return but he received a formal note from ZOB commander Mordecai *Anielewicz and a "very aggressive one" from his wife: "You haven't done a thing so far. Nothing." They were desperate for arms. He returned anyway and helped assist fighters escaping the burning ghetto move through the sewers of Warsaw, which he knew well from his smuggling activities. After the Ghetto Uprising, he also helped organize a Jewish underground among Jews in hiding on the "Aryan" side, the Jewish National Council (Żydowski Komitet Narodowy). The committee distributed information and pamphlets dealing with the situation of the Jewish-led struggle against the Nazis, e.g., known as *Kol mi-Ma'amakim*, which appeared on Aug. 22, 1944. He wrote reports on the activities of the ZOB that were transmitted to the Polish government-in-exile. During the Warsaw Polish Uprising, the fighting of non-Jews in August 1944, Zuckerman commanded a group of fighters, the remnants of the ZOB. Liberated by the Russians in January 1945, he devoted himself to the restoration of the He-Ḥalutz movement and *Beriḥah, the mass movement of East European Jews into Western and Southern Europe on their way to Palestine. He arrived in Palestine in 1947 and was one of the founders of kibbutz Loḥamei ha-Getta'ot. In 1961 served as a prosecution witness at the *Eichmann trial in Jerusalem, where he read from the final correspondence he received from Mordecai Anielewicz. Zuckerman was also one of the founding directorate of the *Ghetto Fighters' House and was editor of its publications. During the 1950s and 1960s as the status of the Warsaw Ghetto Resistance fighters provided the first generation of Israelis with a proud history of the Shoah, Zuckerman's moral voice was often heard. He was interviewed by Claude *Lanzmann in the film *Shoah*, in which he described the aftermath in rather non-heroic terms. "I began drinking after the war. It was very difficult… If you could lick my heart it would poison you." His autobiography, published first in Hebrew and expertly translated into English, ranks together with Czerniakow's Diary and the Ringelblum documents as an indispensable means for understanding the situation of Warsaw's Jews. Aptly titled *A Surplus of Memory*, it is indeed a full, unexpurgated recitation of his memories from that period.

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[B. Mordechai Ansbacher / Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

ZUCKERMAN, MORTIMER (1937–), U.S. developer, publisher. Born in Quebec, Canada, Mortimer Benjamin Zuckerman earned law degrees from McGill University in Montreal and Harvard University and a master of business administration degree from the Wharton School of Business at the University of Pennsylvania. He worked at the Department of Housing and Urban Development before joining the old-line Boston firm of Cabot, Cabot & Forbes, where he revamped the firm's ailing California properties and assembled prime downtown Boston real estate, rising to a senior financial position at the firm. But Zuckerman found the atmosphere too stuffy and left, along with an associate, Edward H. Linde. The California properties became part of their severance package, and they gave Boston Properties, their new venture in 1970, the starting cash flow. Zuckerman also received $4 million from Cabot after a court suit. Boston Properties became active in real estate and developed more than 50 buildings. Zuckerman became a United States citizen in 1977. Three years later he bought *The Atlantic Monthly* magazine, called the spine of Boston's literary community, paying a reported $3.2 million for a faltering magazine with a splendid piece of real estate near the Public Garden. In 1981 Boston Properties shifted its focus to Washington, DC, and built more than 15 buildings, including the Democracy Project, an office complex in nearby Montgomery County, Md., in which Zuckerman's friend, Martin Peretz, publisher of *The New Republic*, and members of the Bronfman family had an interest. Boston Properties also constructed new headquarters for the magazine *U.S. News and World Report*, and in 1984 acquired the nationally distributed newsweekly, the third largest in the country, and half of its real estate. Although he had an editor, Zuckerman, as publisher, decided to write a weekly column for the magazine, showing a strong pro-Israel stance. In 1992, Zuckerman bought *The New York Daily News,* once the newspaper with the largest circulation in the country but a periodical that had seen a fall in advertising and circulation as the city's economy and demographics changed. Zuckerman cut costs at the newspaper, laying off staff members and frequently changing editors. At the same time Boston Properties won the sweepstakes to build one of the most coveted pieces of real estate in Manhattan, the Coliseum site at Columbus Circle, which eventually became headquarters for Time Warner. Zuckerman used his position as publisher of *The Atlantic Monthly, U.S. News*, and *The Daily News* to promote his views on the Middle East. After buying *The Atlantic*, he issued a ban on articles, that, in his estimation, "challenged Israel's right to exist." In *U.S. News*, he chastised the press for bias against Israel in the 2000 Al Aqsa/Temple Mount incident that triggered the second intifada, although his version of the events were later found to be incorrect. Zuckerman was friendly with many governmental officials and key journalists, including A.M. *Rosenthal, who published a profile of Zuckerman when he was executive editor of *The New York Times* but then printed an Editor's Note apologizing for aspersions made in the article about Zuckerman's character and ambitions. Later, after Rosenthal left *The Times*, he wrote his frequently pro-Israel column for *The Daily News*. Zuckerman was active in many Jewish organizations and served as honorary president of the American-Israel Friendship League. He was honored by the American Jewish Committee and the Jewish National Fund, among other organizations. In 2001 Zuckerman became chairman of the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations, an amalgam of 54 groups, becoming one of the foremost spokesmen for Jewish causes.

[Stewart Kampel (2nd ed.)]

ZUCKERMAN, PAUL (1912–1986), U.S. communal worker. Zuckerman was born in Istanbul, Turkey, and was brought to the United States at the age of two. He lived in Detroit where he was chairman and president of a corporation which manufactured and imported food products. President Johnson named him head of the U.S. Food for Peace Committee in Michigan. He gave outstanding service to the Jewish community, both in Detroit and nationally, serving as a director of Sinai Hospital, National American ORT, and the Jewish Community Center in Detroit. He gave the Paul and Helen Zuckerman Auditorium and Conference Center to Detroit's Sinai Hospital and provided the West Bloomfield Township Library with its site.

He was president of the United Jewish Appeal of the United States from 1974 to 1977 and was a member of the Executive of the Jewish Agency and of the Board of Governors of Ben-Gurion University from 1976.

[Frederick R. Lachman (2nd ed.)]

ZUCKERMAN, SOLLY, LORD (1904–1993), British anatomist. Born in Cape Town, South Africa, Zuckerman settled in England, where he first taught at London University (1928–32). As research anatomist to the Zoological Society of London, he studied the behavior of primates, this interest having been stimulated by earlier observations on wild baboons in South Africa. He described his researches in *The Social Life of Monkeys and Apes* (1932). As a research associate at Yale University (1933–34), he extended his primate studies and in *Functional Affinities of Man, Monkeys, and Apes* (1933) dealt with the behavior, comparative physiology, and reproductive patterns of the primates. Zuckerman taught anatomy at Oxford (1934–45) and became Hunterian professor at the Royal College of Surgeons in 1937, also lecturing on anatomy at the University of Birmingham from 1939. During World War II he was scientific adviser to the British armed forces. After the war Zuckerman became increasingly involved in problems of British government policy related to science. He was chairman of the Defense Research Policy Committee (1960–64) and chairman of the Committee on Scientific Manpower (1950–64). From 1966 to 1971 he was chief scientific adviser to the British government. His book *Scientists and War* (1966) dealt with the relation of science to military affairs and social policy. He also wrote *A New System of Anatomy* (1961) and *The Image of Technology* (1968). He was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society in 1943. Zuckerman was knighted in 1956, was awarded the Order of Merit (in 1968), the French Legion of Honor, and the U.S. Medal of Freedom, and received a life peerage in 1971. He married the daughter of the second marquess of *Reading and was a governor of the Weizmann Institute, Rehovot.

[Mordecai L. Gabriel]

ZUCKERMANDEL, MOSES SAMUEL (1836–1917), rabbi and researcher in tannaitic literature. Born in Ungarisch-Brod (Uhersky Brod), Moravia, Zuckermandel studied under Samson Raphael *Hirsch at Nikolsburg (Mikulov) and later at the rabbinical seminary (see *Juedisch-Theologisches Seminar) and the University of Breslau. From 1864 to 1897 he was a rabbi of various congregations, and from 1898 he served as rabbi at the Mora-Leipziger Foundation in Breslau. His life work was the scientific edition of the *Tosefta (according to the Mss. of Erfurt and Vienna (third part), and printed texts, 881–82, second ed. with supplement by S. Lieberman (1937), reprinted with additions (1970)) which, despite its deficiencies, represented a great advance in its time. Zuckermandel was of the opinion that the Tosefta was in fact only a remnant of a great Palestinian *Mishnah (to which the Palestinian *amoraim* resorted) that had remained after the Babylonian **amoraim* had removed part of it, adapted it, and called it the Mishnah. This was rightly rejected by A. *Schwarz and others.

His writings include *Die Erfurter Handschrift de-Tossefta* (1876); *Spruchbuch* (vols. 1–2, 1889–90); *Tosefta, Mischna, und Boraitha* (vols. 1–2, and supplement, 1908–10); *Gesammelte Aufsaetze* (vols. 1–2, 1911–13); and *Festpredigten* (vols. 1–2, 1915). In 1915 his autobiography *Mein Lebenslauf* appeared.

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[Moshe David Herr]

ZUCKERMANN, BENEDICT (1818–1891), mathematician, librarian, and historian. Born in Breslau, Zuckermann received an education that embraced mathematics and related subjects. After being awarded a doctoral degree at the University of Kiel, Zuckermann returned to Breslau, where he was appointed to the faculty of the newly established Jewish Theological Seminary, headed by Zacharias Frankel, as instructor in mathematics and the natural sciences. In 1857 he was also entrusted with the administration of the Seminary library. Throughout his life he was strictly observant in his religious practice. An authority on the science of the calendar, about which he taught and wrote, Zuckermann was interested in the mathematics of the Talmud and clarified difficult passages.

His article on the complicated law in *Kilayim* 5:5, which appeared with accompanying diagrams in MGWJ (4 (1855), 146–56), shows his erudition in this field. He also specialized in the history of weights and measures of the Talmud; an article on this theme appeared in MGWJ (13 (1864), 295–306, 334–49, 373–84). Several of his papers were printed in the reports published yearly by the Seminary. Among his works are *Ueber talmudische Muenzen und Gewichte* (1862), *Das Mathematische im Talmud* (1878), and *Ueber Sabbathjahrcyclus und Jubelperiode* (1857; Eng. tr. by A. Loewy, 1866).

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[Alexander Tobias / Andreas Brämer (2nd ed.)]

ZUCKERMANN, ELIEZER (1852–1887), pioneer Jewish socialist in Russia. Zuckermann came from a wealthy family of good lineage in Mogilev. When still a youth, he voluntarily taught needy children at the local *talmud torah* and began to contribute to the Hebrew periodicals, **Ha-Meliẓ* and **Ha-Maggid*. Influenced by Pavel *Axelrod, he became a socialist. In 1874 Zuckermann reached Vienna where he worked for a time in the printing press of **Ha-Shaḥar*, which published his stories; he later stayed in a Russian-Jewish youth commune in Berlin. In 1877 he assisted A.S. *Liebermann in publishing **Ha-Emet*. Zuckermann probably drafted the Russian manifesto issued by the Group of Jewish Socialists (Geneva, June 1880), calling upon Jewish Socialists to draw closer the Jewish masses and to propagate socialism in Yiddish. In the fall of 1879 he worked in St. Petersburg for the underground organ of the revolutionary organization *Narodnaya Volya*, but was arrested the following January and imprisoned in the fortress of Petropavlovsk. He was eventually sentenced to eight years' imprisonment and exile. After five years in a Siberian prison, Zuckermann was exiled to a remote village in the Yakutsk region, where he drowned himself.

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[Yehuda Slutsky]

ZUCKERMANN, HUGO (1881–1914), Austrian translator and poet. Zuckermann was born into an assimilated Jewish family in Eger (Cheb), Bohemia. Austrian antisemitism and the emergence of the Zionist movement led him to rediscover his Jewish heritage. Turning to Jewish literature, Zuckermann translated the Song of Songs and works by leading Yiddish writers, notably *Peretz's dramas. After the death of Theodor Herzl, he founded a Jewish student society in his honor and became an active Zionist. Zuckermann also worked to establish a Jewish theater in Vienna. A lieutenant in World War I, Zuckermann regarded his part in the war as revenge for the *Kishinev Pogrom. He was one of the first Austrian casualties on the Eastern front. His *Gedichte*, a slender volume of lyrics, appeared in 1915 (ed. by C. Abeles with a biographical sketch on pp. 7–12). It included the most popular of his war poems, "Das Reiterlied," written in the form of a folksong and expressing readiness to die for the national cause. It has often been reprinted in German anthologies.

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ZUCKMAYER, CARL (1896–1977), German playwright. Though born of a Jewish mother, Zuckmayer was raised as a Catholic in the Rhineland town of Nackenheim. During World War I he served as an officer on the Western Front and from 1919 worked in the theater and as a freelance writer. In 1924 he joined Bertolt Brecht at Berlin's Deutsches Theater, working for a short time under Max *Reinhardt. Zuckmayer's first success was the prizewinning comedy *Der froehliche Weinberg* (1925), which established the new "matter-of-fact" trend. His reputation was enhanced by the many dramas that followed, notably *Schinderhannes* (1927); *Katharina Knie* (1929); *Der Hauptmann von Koepenick* (1930; *The Captain of Koepenick*, 1932), a powerful satirical attack on Prussian militarism and bureaucracy; and *Der Schelm von Bergen* (1934). Zuckmayer also wrote the screenplay for *Der blaue Engel* ("The Blue Angel", 1930), which was based on Heinrich Mann's novel *Professor Unrat* (1905). Like many other leading anti-Nazi writers, Zuckmayer found his life and career endangered after Hitler came to power and he fled to Switzerland in 1938, emigrating to the U.S. in the following year. From Hollywood he moved to New York, and then spent the war years farming and writing in Vermont. In 1947 he became a cultural adviser to the U.S. Army in Germany and Austria, finally settling in Switzerland in 1958. After World War II he produced an international success with *Des Teufels General* (1946; *The Devil's General*, 1950), the tragic story of an anti-Nazi air force chief. Zuckmayer was much preoccupied with the fate of German Jewry, Jewish characters appearing in several of his dramas, including *Der Hauptmann von Koepenick, Des Teufels General, Der Gesang im Feuerofen* (1950), and *Das kalte Licht* (1955).

His verse collections include *Der Baum* (1926) and *Gedichte* (1960); his novels *Salwàre oder Die Magdalena von Bozen* (1936; *The Moons Ride Over*, 1937) and *Herr ueber Leben und Tod* (1938). Zuckmayer also wrote novellas and short stories, such as *Ein Sommer in Oesterreich* (1937); and two volumes of autobiography, *Second Wind* (1940) and *Als waer's ein Stueck von mir* (1966; *A Part of Myself*, 1970). Four volumes of his collected works appeared in 1960.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Fuelle der Zeit. Carl Zuckmayer und sein Werk* (1956), incl. bibl.; I. Engelsing-Malek, *"Amor Fati" in Zuckmayers Dramen* (University of California, Publications in Modern Philology, 61 (1960), incl. bibl.); L.E. Reindl, *Zuckmayer. Eine Bildbiographie* (1962).

[Godfrey Edmond Silverman]

ZUCROW, MAURICE JOSEPH (1899–1975), U.S. aeronautical engineer. Zucrow was born in Kiev and taken to the U.S. in 1914. He became professor of gas turbines and jet propulsion at Purdue University in 1946. Zucrow was a member of several advisory committees on rocket engines and propulsion systems of the National Advisory Committee on Aeronautics, and of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration. He wrote *Principles of Jet Propulsion and Gas Turbines* (1948) and *Aircraft and Missile Propulsion* (2 vols., 1958).

[Samuel Aaron Miller]

ZUELZ (Pol. **Biala**), city in Opole province, S.W. Poland (formerly in Silesia). Although the city appears on the list of places where Jews were martyred during the *Black Death persecutions of 1349, the identification is uncertain. The community itself had a tradition that its beginning was at the end of the 14th century, but the documentary sources date only from the 16th century, when the number of Jewish settlers was very small. In 1564 nine Jewish families lived in a Jewish Quarter (*Judengasse*) in their homes. All Jews were exiled from *Silesia in 1582 with the exception of Zuelz and Gross-Glogau, where many found refuge. In 1591 the local artistocracy sought to persuade the emperor to expel the Jews from Zuelz as well. They found a protector, however, in Hans Christolph von Proskowski, who labored successfully with strenuous Jewish support to secure their position; in 1601 the Jews received verification of their status. Proskowski himself acquired Zuelz in 1606, maintaining a highly liberal attitude toward the Jews in his domain. They succeeded in developing their trading and commercial interests not only within the city but in many surrounding areas as well. In the 17th century Zuelz became a place of refuge for Jews from Poland, Moravia, and Bohemia. By 1647 there were 17 Jewish houses out of 155 in the town. Jews were involved in the silk industry as well as in the production of wool and wax. The community built a small wooden synagogue and school in 1717 that was destroyed by fire in 1769. A new synagogue was built in 1774.

The community had an important talmudic academy that established the reputation of Zuelz as a "learned city" in the 18th and 19th centuries and was the focus of the community's life. Many scholarly rabbis ministered to the community's needs over the years; among them were Joshua Feivel Teomim; Isaac Zelig Caro; Eliezer b. Samuel (d. 1747); Moses Eliezer Lippmann (d. 1810); Meshullam Solomon ha-Kohen (d. 1823); and Aaron b. Baruch (d. 1836). The oldest tombstone found dates from 1640, but the cemetery itself must be somewhat older. In the 18th century there was a growth of the Jewish population; there were 600 in 1724; 1,061 (over half the total population) in 1782; and 1,096 in 1812; thereafter, the Jewish population began to decline: 539 in 1849; 411 in 1858; and 337 in 1866. The community developed a number of philanthropic organizations that were active in the 19th century, the oldest being the *ḥevra kaddisha*. It also possessed a community school founded in 1844, but disbanded in 1870. The community declined further in the 20th century and was officially dissolved in 1914. The sacred objects in its synagogue as well as an invaluable collection of silver ornaments were transferred to Neustadt, which absorbed the small community. By 1929 only nine Jews were left in the city.

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[Alexander Shapiro]

ZUENZ (**Zuelz**), **ARYEH LEIB BEN MOSES** (1773–1883), Polish rabbi and author. Zuenz was a descendant of Leib Zuenz (17th century) who served as rabbi of Holleschau and Pinczow, where Aryeh Leib was born. His great perspicacity was recognized when he was young, and he became known as Leib Ḥarif ("sharp-witted"). He lived in Prague and in Bratislava, and was appointed rabbi of Plotsk. He later went to Praga, a suburb of Warsaw, where he served as rabbi for two years. However, he relinquished this position when he was appointed the head of a yeshivah in the town. A prolific writer, 21 of his books were published and frequently reprinted. After he directed that the inscription on his tombstone should state that he would intercede in Heaven on behalf of anyone who published his books, many Jews came forward to publish them. His works were highly valued in Poland because of their extreme subtlety and pilpulistic method.

Most of his books are on the Talmud and on the Shulḥan Arukh; most important are *Ayyelet Ahavim* (2 pts., 1888–1891) on *Ketubbot*; *Get Mekushar* (Warsaw, 1812) which discusses the ordering of *get* and *ḥaliẓah* and has a commentary, *Tiv Gittin; Simḥat Yom Tov* (1841) on *Beẓah; Gur Aryeh* (1943) on *Ḥullin*; and *Geresh Yeraḥim* (1870) on *Gittin*. He also wrote original interpretations of the Pentateuch, responsa, and sermons.

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[Itzhak Alfassi]

ZUGOT (Heb. זוגות; "pairs"; sing. זוג; *zug*), name given to the pairs of sages responsible for maintaining the chain of the Oral Law from Antigonus of *Sokho, the pupil of Simeon the Just, to Johanan b. *Zakkai. In the sources they are represented as a link between the prophets and the *tannaim* (Pe'ah 2:6; Tosef., Yad. 2:16). Mishnah *Avot* (1:4–12) mentions five *zugot*. The first *zug* was that of *Yose b. Joezer and *Yose b. Johanan of Jerusalem, who flourished at the time of the religious persecutions under Antiochus Epiphanes (174–164 B.C.E.); the second, *Joshua b. Peraḥyah and *Nittai (or, according to some versions, Mattai) the Arbelite; the third, *Judah b. Tabbai and *Simeon b. Shetaḥ, in the days of Alexander *Yannai and *Salome Alexandra; the fourth, *Shemaiah and *Avtalyon, who flourished in the time of Herod; the fifth, *Hillel and *Menahem, after which "Menahem went forth and Shammai entered" (Ḥag. 2:2). According to a mishnaic tradition (*ibid.*), the first in each *zug* was the **nasi* ("elected head of the Sanhedrin"), the second the *av bet din ("elected second to the *nasi*"). R. *Meir upheld this tradition in all cases; but the other rabbis made an exception, holding that "Simeon b. Shetaḥ was *nasi* and Judah b. Tabbai *av bet din*" (Tosef., Ḥag. 2:8). None of the extant sources helps to clarify the exact significance of these titles or of the functions associated with them. Nevertheless, the tradition is not to be rejected, or to be regarded merely as a projection of the organization of the *bet din* at Jabneh and Usha. An allusion to dual appointment in the selection of heads of public institutions at the beginning of the Hasmonean period is to be found in the statement that Johanan the high priest appointed *zugot* to supervise the collection of the tithes (TJ, Ma'as. Sh. 5:9, 56d). These *zugot*, however, according to Geiger (*Urschrift und Uebersetzungen der Bibel* (1857), 116 ff., 142, 492), are not to be identified with those under consideration here. Similarly, before the destruction of the Second Temple, there were "two judges of robbery suits" in Jerusalem (Ket. 13:1), and reference is made to 80 *zugot* of pupils of Hillel the Elder (TJ, Ned. 5:7, 39a).

The Mishnah (Sot. 9:9) states that "when Yose b. Joezer of Zeredah and Yose b. Johanan of Jerusalem died, the grape-clusters ceased." The meaning of this expression is not clear, but of all the possible explanations, that of a tradition in the Jerusalem Talmud (TJ, Sot. 9:10, 24a; and see Sot. 47b) is the most plausible, namely, that the difference between this *zug* and the successors was that "the former served in an administrative capacity, while the latter did not serve in an administrative capacity." This apparently means that whereas the leadership of the first *zug*, which flourished before the rule of the Hasmoneans, embraced all spheres, that of the subsequent *zugot* was more restricted, being shared by the Hasmonean kings. In addition to the decrees ascribed to the *zugot* (TJ, Pes. 1:6, 27d and see Shab. 14b), and the ethical maxims and the aphorisms quoted in their names in *Avot* 1, the Mishnah (Ḥag. 2:2) mentions a subject on which all the *zugot* differed between themselves: "Yose b. Joezer says that the laying of hands [on the head of a sacrifice; see **Semikhah*] is not to be performed [on a festival] [for the explanation, see Tosef., Ḥag. 2:10; TJ, Ḥag. 2:3, 78a; Ḥag. 16b], Yose b. Johanan says that it is; Joshua b. Peraḥyah says that it is not to be performed, Nittai the Arbelite says that it is; Judah b. Tabbai says that it is not to be performed, Simeon b. Shetaḥ says that it is; Shemaiah says it is to be performed, Avtalyon says it is not; Shammai says it is not to be done, Hillel says it is."

The question as to why a dispute should have persisted for generations, in particular on the subject of the laying of hands on a sacrifice, with no final decision ever reached on the matter, is one that has puzzled scholars. The various interpretations that have been suggested lack any solid foundation. Nor is there any substance in the different theories that seek to explain this supposed "fundamental controversy" among the *zugot* in terms of trends and schools.

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ZUKERMAN, JACOB T. (1907–1973), U.S. judge and labor leader. Born in Brooklyn, to immigrant parents from Minsk, Russia, Zukerman accompanied his parents as a child to Arbeiter Ring meetings, Socialist Party affairs, and Jewish gatherings. As early as 1926, he organized the Young Circle League of the Arbeiter Ring, which influenced many future leaders of the parent organization and of related groups. In 1954, he was elected the first American-born president of the Ring. In 1929, Zukerman graduated from New York University's School of Law. From 1932 to 1946 he was administrative assistant to the commissioner of welfare of New York City, and he was for many years director of the National Desertion Bureau (later the Family Location Service) of the Federation of Jewish Charities (1946–65). In 1965, Mayor Robert R. Wagner appointed him a judge of the Family Court for a ten-year term.

Zukerman had a deep and pervasive influence on English-speaking Jews whom he attracted to the Arbeiter Ring.

He was deeply devoted to all aspects of Jewish life and culture, and was known for his humane spirit and his eagerness to serve and advance Jewish causes and the interests of the State of Israel. He was for many years president of the Jewish Labor Committee, a position he held at the time of his death. He was also president of the Forward Association which publishes the Yiddish newspaper the *Jewish Daily Forward*, a member of the Board of the United HIAS Service, a leader in various ORT agencies, and one of the founding directors of the Cooperative Seward Park Housing Corporation.

[Milton Ridvas Konvitz (2nd ed.)]

ZUKERMAN (Zuckerman), PINCHAS (1948–), violinist and conductor; born in Israel. He studied with his father and Ilona Fehér. With the encouragement of Stern, Casals, and the America-Israel and Helena Rubinstein foundations, he continued his studies at New York's Juilliard School with Galamian (1961–67). After he won the coveted Leventritt Award (1967) he achieved world fame as violinist, violist, chamber musician, conductor, and teacher. Zukerman is especially known for his clear articulation, full tone, spontaneity of expressive phrasing, and masterful technique. In chamber music he has appeared with *Barenboim, Jacqueline *du Prè, *Ashkenazy, *Perlman, and the Kalichstein-Laredo-Robinson Trio among others. From 1971 Zukerman turned to conducting orchestras, playing and conducting at the same time. He was appointed artistic director of London's South Bank Summer Music Series (1978–80), and music director of St. Paul Chamber Orchestra, Minnesota (1980–87) and the Baltimore Symphony Orchestra Music Summer Music-Fest (1997–99). He was invited to perform and/or conduct the world's finest orchestras, including the Berlin Philharmonic, Boston Symphony, Chicago Symphony, and the New York Philharmonic. He often played in Israel with the Israel Philharmonic Orchestra and the Israel Chamber Ensemble and in the Israel Festival. A noted exponent of contemporary music, he presented premières of works by Boulez, Lutoslawski, Neikrug, and Takemitsu. His extensive discography includes Classical to Modern violin concertos, as well as the complete Mozart and Beethoven violin sonatas. As a devoted pedagogue, he taught at the Manhattan School of Music, New York (1993), and following his successful appointment as music director of Canada's National Arts Center Orchestra in 1998, he initiated several projects for young musicians. Among his distinctions are an honorary doctorate from Brown University, an Achievement Award from the International Center in New York, and the King Solomon Award by the America-Israel Cultural Foundation. President Reagan awarded him a Medal of Arts and he became the first recipient of the Isaac Stern Award for Artistic Excellence. Zukerman was involved in television specials and documentaries.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Grove Music Online; *Baker's Biographical Dictionary of Musicians* (1997).

[Uri (Erich) Toeplitz and Yohanan Boehm / Naama Ramot (2nd ed.)]

ZUKERTORT, JOHANNES (1842–1888), chess grandmaster, chiefly in Britain. Zukertort was born in Lublin in 1842. He shrouded his early life in obscurity, but he was probably the son of a Jew who had been converted to Protestantism and acted as a conversionist missionary to the Jews. Zukertort spent some time at a German university, but almost certainly did not take a degree. By the late 1860s he was one of the strongest players in Germany and, in 1872, came to Britain, where he spent the rest of his life, making a living as a chess player and writer. In 1878 he won a big tournament in Paris, and his other performances marked him out as one of the world's leading players. His greatest triumph came in the very big London tournament of 1883 in which the unofficial World Champion Wilhelm *Steinitz and most of the world's best players participated. Zukertort won his first 22 games, one of the greatest feats in chess history. His win against J.H. Blackburne is among the most famous games in chess history. At this point Zukertort suffered a mysterious breakdown, possibly a stroke, and lost three games in a row, although he still easily won first prize. Thereafter his results were mediocre and, in 1886, he lost a match against Steinitz, regarded as the first official match for the World Championship. He died of a stroke at the age of 45. Zukertort was renowned for his phenomenal memory and also for the Munchausen-like accounts he gave of his early life. He stated that he was the son of Baroness Krzyzanovska (sic), that he received a medical degree from Berlin University, that he fought in the Austro-Prussian war of 1866 and was left for dead on the battlefield, and that he was a noted tiger hunter in India. No evidence has been found for any of these claims.

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[William D. Rubinstein (2nd ed.)]

ZUKOFSKY, LOUIS (1904–1978), U.S. poet and critic. Zukofsky was born on the Lower East Side of Manhattan to poor immigrants parents, who struggled to provide for his education at Columbia University. He taught English at Brooklyn Polytechnic Institute from 1947 to 1962. His early poems attracted the attention of William Carlos Williams who befriended him. He published various critical articles on Pound's *Cantos* and continued an active but obscure literary life until *All the Collected Short Poems, 1923–1958,* appeared in 1965. A second volume with the same title (poems written in 1956–64) followed in 1966. In 1968 an entire issue of *Poetry* magazine was devoted to him. In 1970 he published a novel *Little* and his poem *A-24* in 1972. His *A*, a poem in 24 sections, was published posthumously by the University of California Press. Zukofsky's other works include *A Test of Poetry* (1948), *Bottom: On Shakespeare* (1963), and *Prepositions* (1967), collected criticism. His *Collected Fiction* was published in 1990, and his *Complete Short Poetry*, in 1991.

The critic Guy Davenport had described him as "one of the three most distinguished living American poets", ranking him with Marianne Moore and Ezra Pound.

In 1976 he received an award from the National Institute of Arts and Letters, and in 1977 he was awarded an honorary doctorate by Bard College.

ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY: B. Comens, *Apocalypse and After: Modern Strategy and Postmodern Tactics in Pound, Williams, and Zukofsky* (1995); M. Scroggins, *Louis Zukofsky and the Poetry of Knowledge* (1998); idem (ed.), *Upper Limit Music: The Writing of Louis Zukofsky* (1997); S. Stanle, *Louis Zukofsky and the Transformation of a Modern American Poetics* (1994).

ZUKOFSKY, PAUL (1943–), U.S. violinist, conductor, and teacher. Zukofsky was born in Brooklyn. His father was the poet and writer Louis *Zukofsky. He began playing at the age of four. At seven he studied with Galamian, at ten he appeared with the New Haven SO, making his Carnegie Hall debut at 13. Entering the Juilliard School of Music at 16, he earned his B.M. and M.S. in 1964. A virtuoso of great technical skill, he was especially noted for his championship of contemporary works. His repertoire includes works by Ives, Cage, *Glass, and first performances of concertos by Sessions, Wuorinen, Iain Hamilton as well as works by *Babbitt, Carter and *Crumb. Zukofsky's extensive list of recordings includes more than 60 first releases, among them the Bach solo sonatas and partitas and Penderecki's *Capriccio* and an anthology of American violin music written between 1940 and 1970. Zukofsky has edited works for violin by Cage and Steuermann, and written several articles on Cage (1982, 1988, 1993), Brahms (1997), Beethoven (2000), *Schoenberg (1992, 2001), and others as well as a book on 20th-century violin techniques: *All-Interval Scale Book* (1977). Zukosky taught at the Buffalo Center, the New England Conservatory in Boston, and the Berkshire Music Center at Tanglewood. In 1969 he joined the faculty of SUNY, Stony Brook. He held a Guggenheim fellowship (1983–4) and was appointed conductor of the Contemporary Chamber Ensemble at the Juilliard School, where he also taught violin. Zukofsky was director of the Arnold Schoenberg Institute (1989–1995) in Los Angeles and editor of the Institute's journal. He serves as program coordinator of the American Composers Series at the Kennedy Center.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Grove Music Online; *Baker's Biographical Dictionary of Musicians* (1997).

[Max Loppert / Naama Ramot (2nd ed.)]

ZUKOR, ADOLPH (1873–1976), U.S. motion picture executive. Born in Ricse, Hungary, Zukor went to the U.S. in 1888. He worked in New York and Chicago in the fur business. At first Zukor was interested in motion pictures from the business point of view and opened movie houses. However, he soon foresaw the need for lengthy movies of good quality and turned to production. This idea proved successful when he imported *Queen Elizabeth*, starring Sarah Bernhardt. In 1912 he founded the Famous Players Company, which produced several classics such as *The Prisoner of Zenda* and *The Count of Monte Cristo* (1913). In 1917 he combined with other fledgling production companies to found Paramount Pictures, which became one of the largest movie companies in the world. Zukor was president and chairman of the board. He was also active in Jewish causes.

In 1949 he won an honorary Academy Award whose citation read: "Adolph Zukor, a man who has been called the father of the feature film in America, for his services to the industry over a period of forty years." For Zukor's 100th birthday, Paramount Pictures sold the candles on his birthday cake for $1,000 each, and then donated the proceeds to charity. Zukor lived to be 103. His autobiography, *The Public Is Never Wrong*, was published in 1954.

In 1994 Paramount Pictures Corporation merged with Viacom International, Inc. The merged companies own such corporations as the United Paramount Network (UPN); the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) and all its subsidiaries; the Comedy Central network; Blockbuster, Inc; the Spelling Entertainment Corporation and its subsidiaries; Showtime Networks, Inc; the Video Hits 1 (VH1) network; Music Television (MTV) Networks; and the Nickelodeon network.

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[Ruth Beloff (2nd ed.)]

ZUKUNFT, DIE ("The Future"), German weekly for "politics, public life, arts and literature," which appeared in Berlin for three decades, every Saturday, from 1892 to 1922 under the editorship of Maximilian *Harden (born Felix Ernst Witkowski, 1861–1927), one of the most controversial figures of the German press. The title seems to have been suggested by Franz Mehring to distinguish the new paper from the journal *Gegenwart* ("The Present"). Harden's political essays, written under the pen name "Keut," and his theater reviews made the periodical an influential platform for intellectual discussion and the mouthpiece of liberal opposition in the German *Kaiserreich*. Due to its topicality, the vigor and erudition of its editor, and the fame of its contributors (among them Stefan *Zweig, Heinrich and Thomas *Mann, Rainer Maria Rilke, Hugo von *Hofmannsthal, Paul *Heyse, and Henrik Ibsen), *Die Zukunft* soon gained numerous readers. Its circulation quickly rose from 6,000 copies per week (40–50 pages each) to 10,000 around 1900, and some 22,000 by 1914. Between 1915 and 1922, however, circulation dropped to less than 1,000 copies per week.

As a result of Harden's deep veneration of Prussian conservatism expressed in the columns of his paper, the aging Otto von Bismarck (1815–1898) made him one of his closest confidants. Yet Harden attacked William II and his entourage with irony and courage. In 1906–07, while Harden was supported by Friedrich von Holstein (1837–1909), a series of articles led to the downfall of Prince Philipp zu Eulenburg (1847–1921), the Kaiser's most influential adviser. In 1897, Harden became a friend of Walther *Rathenau, and published his controversial article "*Hoere Israel!*" in *Die Zukunft*. Georg *Bernhard, however, who had contributed to the paper as "Plutus" from 1901–1903, withdrew upon the advice of August Bebel, after Harden had criticized the Social Democratic Party.

At the outbreak of World War I in August 1914, Harden's *Zukunft* was ardently nationalist and even annexationist, but from November 1915, after the first German military defeat, it became pacifist and supported President Wilson's Fourteen Points of January 1918. Due to Harden's political turn and military censorship, *Die Zukunft* dramatically declined in importance, its readers turning towards papers like Siegfried *Jacobsohn's *Weltbuehne* after 1918. Harden could never come to terms with the new Weimar system, though he advocated a policy of international cooperation and reconciliation. Accordingly, he was blacklisted by the German right wing as "a destructive Jewish intellectual." On July 3, 1922, nine days after the assassination of his friend Walther Rathenau, an attempt was made on Harden's life, from which he never really recovered. On September 30, 1922, the last issue of *Die Zukunft* appeared under the title "After 30 years," and Harden, who realized he could not escape his Jewish origin, emigrated to the Netherlands. Later attempts to revive the paper failed. In 1927, Harden died from pneumonia while taking a cure in Switzerland.

Harden, who had converted to Protestantism in 1881, at times revealed an almost hysterical antisemitism, strongly attacked by Karl *Kraus in his satirical magazine *Die Fackel* (1899–1936). Theodor *Lessing, in his book *Der juedische Selbsthass* (1930), described Harden as a prototype of Jewish self-hatred, which had been particularly stirred up by the *Dreyfus trial. However, it may also be noted that Harden invited Theodor *Herzl in 1897 to state the Zionist case in *Die Zukunft* (an offer which Herzl declined because of Harden's hostile attitude towards William II). From 1917, he maintained friendly relations with the German Zionist Richard *Lichtheim, and the same year stressed the political wisdom of the *Balfour Declaration in his paper.

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[Erich Gottgetreu / Johannes Valentin Schwarz (2nd ed.)]

ZULAY, MENAHEM (1901–1954), Israel researcher of early Ereẓ Israel *piyyut*. Zulay, who was born in Oshcianci, Galicia, settled in Palestine in 1920. In 1925 he was invited to Germany to act as Hebrew tutor to the children of S.Z. Schocken. At the University of Bonn he was awarded a Ph.D. for his study *Zur Liturgie der babylonischen Juden* (1933). He worked at the Schocken Institute for the Study of Hebrew poetry, from its foundation until his death. At the Institute, he studied thousands of photographs of the early Ereẓ Israel *piyyut*, especially those of Yannai, that had been collected from all the libraries of the world in order to identify and classify them.

He published a critical edition of Yannai, *Piyyutei Yannai Melukkatim mi-Tokh Kitvei ha-Genizah u-Mekorot Aherim* (1938); "*Mehkerei Yannai*" in YMHSI, 2 (1936), 213–391; "*Iyyunei Lashon be-Fiyyutei Yannai,*" *ibid.*, 6 (1946), 161–248). He was a member of the Academy of the Hebrew Language. Toward the end of his life he published a series of articles on "The *Piyyut* School of Rav Saadiah Gaon" (*Orlogin*, 6 (1952); 8 (1953); 10 (1954)). His complete work, *Ha-Askolah ha-Paytanit shel Rav Sa'adyah Ga'on* (1969), was published posthumously. The many studies he published constitute only a small part of the abundant material he prepared.

[Yehuda Ratzaby]

ZUNDELEVITCH, AARON (1852–1923), pioneer of the Russian revolutionary movement. Zundelevitch was born in Vilna, studied in various yeshivot and in the Vilna Rabbinical Seminary, and for a time came under the influence of Hebrew secular literature. In 1872 he organized a revolutionary circle among the students of the Vilna Rabbinical Seminary; among its members were Aaron *Liebermann and a number of others who played an important part in the history of the socialist movement. Later on he became a prominent figure in the Russian revolutionary group Narodnaya Volya ("People's Will"). He was a brilliant organizer and was responsible for the dissemination of illegal literature. He played a heroic part in the revolutionary struggle against Czarism and endured many years of misery and torture as a convict in the mines of Siberia.

Zundelevitch advocated the use of terror as a political weapon, but he differed from his colleagues on a number of issues. He did not share their enthusiasm for the Russian peasantry, urged closer cooperation with the German Social-Democrats, who were unpopular among the Russian revolutionaries of the 1870s, and showed great interest in the socialist movement of Western Europe.

Zundelevitch believed that the Jewish religion was a reactionary force, and was equally opposed to Jewish national ideas. He was against a Jewish revolutionary undertaking the assassination of the Czar because "the tendency of the Christian world is to ascribe the sins of one Jew to the entire Jewish people." Zundelevitch benefitted from the amnesty declared after the abortive Russian Revolution of 1905. In 1907 he immigrated to London, where he spent the rest of his life. He opposed the Communist regime in Russia "for their trampling underfoot the ideals of freedom, equality and brotherhood for which generations of revolutionaries made the highest sacrifices."

[Schneiur Zalman Levenberg]

ZUNSER, ELIAKUM (1836–1913), popular Yiddish bard and dramatist, known as **Eliakum Badkhn**. Born in Vilna, Zunser was conscripted in 1856 but was soon released, when Czar Alexander II revoked the oppressive military decrees of his predecessor Nicholas I. In 1856 in the barracks, he composed the song "*Di Poymanes*" ("Child Recruits") lamenting the bitter lot of the child soldiers (see *Cantonists), and after his discharge he wrote "*Di Yeshue*" ("Salvation") celebrating the child draftees' miraculous salvation. In 1857, working in Kovno as a braider of gold lace on uniforms, he came under the influence of the *Musar movement of R. Israel *Salanter, and his songs ("*Der Zeiger*" ("The Watch)" and "*Di Blum*" ("The Flower")) became laden with lyricism and moral sentiment. Singing his songs at festivals and weddings, he soon acquired a reputation as an original bard and decided to make a career as a **badḥan*. He rapidly attained fame as Russia's outstanding wedding bard. Beginning with *Shirim ḥadashim* ("New Songs," 1872), booklet after booklet of his songs was printed and avidly read.

In 1871 Zunser lost seven children during a cholera epidemic and, a year later, his wife. His tragic outlook after these losses was mirrored in poems such as "*Der Potshtover Glekel*" ('The Little Postal Bell') and "*Der Sandek*" ("The Man Holding a Child at Circumcision," 1872), and in his only published drama *Makhaze Mekhires Yoysef* ("The Sale of Joseph," 1874). After his second marriage Zunser lived chiefly in Minsk, serving as the local correspondent for *Kol la-Am*, a Yiddish periodical edited at Koenigsberg by M.L. *Rodkinson. When the pogroms of the early 1880s led to the founding of the pioneering Zionist group *Bilu, Zunser lent his support to the young idealists who were heading for a new life in Palestine. In 1882 he composed the songs "*Shivas Tsien*" ("Return to Zion") and "*Di Sokhe*" ("The Hook Plough") for them, the latter becoming his most popular song both in the Yiddish and Hebrew versions. Its theme was the joy of returning to plow the Jewish earth in the Holy Land. Zunser himself hoped to settle in the Bilu village of Gederah, but in 1889 was compelled to emigrate to New York, where his East Side home and printing shop became a center for Yiddish poets and young Zionists. There he also published poems of the New World (in *Dos Yidishe Tageblat*) about Columbus, Washington, and sweatshops and wrote his autobiography, *Zunsers Biografye Geshribn fun im Aleyn* (ed. by A.H. Fromenson, 1905). A definitive scholarly edition of his complete extant works, *Verk* (including lyrics and melodies) was edited for *YIVO by Mordkhe Schaechter (2 vols., 1964; incl. bibl.).

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[Sol Liptzin]

ZUNTZ, ALEXANDER (1742–1819), U.S. pioneer merchant. Born in Westphalia, Germany, Zuntz came to America as civilian commissary and adjutant to the Hessian forces employed by England during the American Revolution. Soon after arriving in New York (1779), he became active in Congregation Shearith Israel, and was a leader of the Jewish community during and after the British occupation of the city. In 1784, he was one of the founders of the New York Bank. Though failing in a subsequent business venture, by 1797 he had become prosperous as a broker.

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[Neil Ovadia (2nd ed.)]

ZUNZ, LEOPOLD (**Yom Tov Lippman(n)**; 1794–1886), philologist, among the founders of the "Science of Judaism" (*Wissenschaft des Judentums). Born in Detmold, Germany, the child of talmud scholar Immanuel Menachem Zunz (1759–1802) and Hendel Behrens (1773–1809), daughter of Dov Beer. In 1795 the family moved to Hamburg where his father and various teachers introduced him to *Hebrew Grammar, the *Talmud, and the *Pentateuch. After the death of his father, Zunz was educated at the **bet-midrash* Samsonsche Freischule at *Wolfenbuettel as of 1803. Samuel Meyer Ehrenberg, an advanced Jewish educator who was appointed director of the school in 1807, recognized Zunz's great talents and helped him in his development; teacher and pupil remained friends until Ehrenberg's death in 1853. Ehrenberg's reforms at the school included the insertion of subjects such as religion, history, geography, French, and German, which Zunz described as a sudden transition from the "middle ages into modern times," and from "Jewish helotism into civic freedom." From 1809 to 1811, Zunz studied at the local high school (Gymnasium), and from 1810 to 1815 was an assistant teacher at the Samsonsche Freischule. In 1811 he read *Ẓemaḥ David* by David *Gans and *Bibliotheca Hebraea* by Johann Christoph *Wolf, which awoke his interest in Jewish history and literature. From 1815 to 1819 he studied at the University of Berlin and acquired a scientific academic grounding; he was particularly influenced by the great classical scholars Friedrich August Wolf (1759–1824) and August Boeckh (1785–1867).

Zunz's scholarly work began in 1817, when he wrote *Etwas ueber die rabbinische Literatur* (1818) and researched *Sefer ha-Ma'alot* by Shem Tov b. Joseph *Falaquera; in 1821 he received his doctorate at the University of Halle for this research. Due to his desire to give Judaism a new definition in keeping with the spirit of the times, he cofounded the *Verein fuer Cultur und Wissenschaft der Juden in 1819, which considered the scientific and historical approach to the "Science of Judaism" as being the best way to achieve society's goals. Zunz edited the *Zeitschrift fuer die Wissenschaft des Judentums* issued by the society (1822) and published three articles in it, including a biography of *Rashi.

Zunz, who then favored the spirit of *religious reform, was invited to deliver sermons in the new synagogue in Berlin starting in May 1820, and in August 1821 he was appointed preacher there, resigning a year later in disappointment with his congregation. A collection of his sermons (*Predigten*) appeared in 1823. He made his living as a member of the editorial board of the Berlin daily newspaper, *Haude und Spenersche*

Zeitung (1824–31) and as director of the primary school of the Jewish community, the Juedische Gemeindeschule (1826–29). His chief interest, however, was his research in Hebrew literature. Zunz used the vast material he had accumulated and the notes he had collected from manuscripts and printed works on his visits to libraries (at Hamburg, the *Oppenheim collection in 1828, and that of H.J. *Michael in 1829) in writing his great work on liturgic addresses which appeared in 1832, *Die gottesdienstlichen Vortraege der Juden historisch entwickelt* (see below).

In 1834–35, Zunz gave 34 public lectures on the Psalms. From September 1835 to July 1836, Zunz served as a preacher to a private religious association in Prague. From 1840 to 1850, he directed a Jewish teachers' seminary (Israelitisches Schullehrerseminar) in Berlin.

His hope that one of the universities would recognize Jewish studies as an academic subject and appoint him as its representative was not fulfilled. In 1848, he sent a letter on this subject to the Prussian minister of culture, but his proposal was turned down. Zunz for his part did not agree to the establishment of separate *rabbinical seminaries for fear of severing the "Science of Judaism" from general intellectual life. He also had little use for the *synods of German progressive rabbis which had begun to convene in 1844, as he could not see any benefit in their reforms; he preferred to carry on his scholarly work alone.

Zunz went on to publish *Toledot R. Azaryah min ha-Adumim* (in Heb. in: *Keren Ḥemed*, 5 (1841); 7 (1843)), 13 articles on Jewish subjects (in the Ersch and Gruber encyclopaedia, 1842), and *Zur Geschichte und Literatur* (1845). In 1850, the community granted him a modest pension. He devoted most of his time to research on the **piyyut*, the **seliḥot*, and various *liturgies, publishing over time *Die synagogale Poesie des Mittelalters* (1855), *Der Ritus des synagogalen Gottesdienstes* (1859), *Literaturgeschichte der synagogalen Poesie* (1865), and additions to the latter (1867). This work required visits to various libraries, including the British Museum, the Bodleian Library, and the library in Paris (1855; where he visited Heinrich *Heine, his friend from the days of the Verein fuer Cultur and Wissenschaft der Juden), and the de *Rossi library at *Parma (1863). Zunz remained barred from the important Vatican library, however, as he was Jewish.

His other literary contributions in the period after 1850 included: the publication of *Moreh Nevukhei ha-Zeman* of Nachman *Krochmal in accordance with the terms of the author's will (1851); articles on Judaism in the *Brockhaus* lexicon (1853); and a biography of his teacher Samuel Meyer Ehrenberg (1854). In honor of his 70th birthday (1864) the Zunz Foundation (Zunzstiftung) was set up in order to support his scholarship and various other undertakings in the "Science of Judaism." In 1874, the death of his wife Adelheid (Bermann (1802–1874)) caused him deep depression. He ceased to work, and only prepared a collection of his articles (*Gesammelte Schriften*), which appeared in three volumes in 1875–76, for publication. The Zunz Foundation issued a jubilee volume in honor of his 90th birthday (1884) entitled *Tiferet Seivah* (Hebrew and German). After an industrious and a passionate life, Zunz died at the age of 91 and was buried at the cemetery of Schoenhauser Allee in Berlin.

Main Research

In *Etwas ueber die rabbinische Literatur* (which appeared in 1818 and was the first attempt to reflect Hebrew literature in all its branches), Zunz outlined the program and aims of the "Science of Judaism" and his own plan of work. According to Zunz, Jewish literature should not be shut within the narrow confines of religious and halakhic tradition, as this literature also embraces the other humanities, as well as natural sciences. A knowledge of Hebrew literature in its broader sense would make possible the recognition of Jewish history as an inseparable part of the history of human culture in general – research into Hebrew literature is part of the humanities in general. He believed that the time was ripe for this research because the rabbinical epoch had come to an end and Hebrew literature had to be evaluated before it and its knowledge would disappear. Further, a scientific report on the Jew's very active past would testify to his talent and readiness to make contributions in the present, which would serve to facilitate obtaining civil rights. After an overview of all subjects to which Jewish culture had contributed in the Disaspora, Zunz returned to his main aim. By treating the rabbinical literature as an integral part of a universal humanistic culture (i. e., philosophy), he hoped to ban all prejudices against Jews and their literature.

Though in his outline for the investigation of Jewish literature, which he later called a "piece of immature work of youth," Zunz had used "only half speech," as he confessed to Ehrenberg, his *Die gottesdienstlichen Vortraege der Juden* was regarded as "no book, but an event; not a literary work but a school" (D. *Kaufmann). After his plan to write a four-volume introduction to the Wissenschaft des Judentums was not realized, he used his collected materials to demonstrate the historical-philological aims of the new "Jewish science." The main text focuses on the *Synagogue and especially its midrashic literature as the pillar of the Jewish nation in the Diaspora. Hundreds of works and thousands of references were combined into a single organic literary structure in which Zunz describes the prophets' teaching, out of which developed the reading of the Torah and of the *Prophets, the *Targum, and the sermons. He focuses on the development of *Oral Law; the activities of the **amoraim* and the **geonim* and their writings; all aspects of **aggadah*; on preaching, its place in intellectual life; and the places of Jewish settlement in which preaching had been customary from ancient times up to the period of the **maskilim* and the religious reformers.

Zunz seldom filled in the historical background of literary works, merely referring to it only to bring out the connection between the periods and the continuity in the tradition of preaching in its various forms. Only details of his research needed correcting. *Sefer Ravyah*, criticisms of Zunz's book by Eliakim Samiler (or *Mehlsack) of Brody, appeared in 1837.

Zunz made use of the latter's corrections and suggestions in preparing a second edition of the *Vortraege*, which appeared in 1892 with N. *Bruell as editor. Despite the scientific and objective character of the book, one can discern in it signs of political controversy and a defense of religious reforms. In the foreword, Zunz links the neglect of Jewish literature with the inferior civil status of the Jewish community; only a knowledge of the spiritual heritage of Jewry would encourage enlightened statesmen to grant the Jew the same rights and civil liberties. The Jew who is familiar with his people's past will know how to reform his religious customs and thereby prepare himself for his new status in society. According to his sympathy for the Reform movement during that time, in the last chapter Zunz approves the various reforms in the synagogues because in this "internal emancipation" he sees a parallel to external political liberation. This scientific book therefore concludes with the hope that the contemporary Jew will yet be a partner in the development of a unified culture for all mankind. (A Hebrew translation by M.A. Zak appeared in Jerusalem in 1947, edited by Ḥanokh Albeck.)

The central idea of *Etwas ueber die rabbinische Literatur* appears again in *Zur Geschichte und Literatur*. In this book he claims it is not right to restrict the scope of Jewish literature and separate it from general culture; the literary productions of the Jews merely supplement general literature, and both exert a mutual influence upon each other. It is true that there were periods of tension and hatred which did not recognize the commands of scholarship, but in the end, the scientific spirit will triumph and Hebrew literature will go forth from its isolation. The chapters deal with the sages of France and Germany in the Middle Ages, collections of manuscripts and printed works, printers and typography, Jewish poets in the south of France, and the history of the Jews of Sicily. The book includes important information from primary sources and accurate records of great historical and literary value. Thoughts on the philosophy of history, announced earlier by the Hegelian thinker and his friend Eduard *Gans, can be found again in the metaphor that Jewish literature is a particular stream that runs into the universal ocean of human culture. While Zunz himself intended to list and arrange his collected materials in order to enlighten the preceived relationship between Jews and the Diaspora societies, the book has been described as impossible to analyze (S. *Schechter) because of its many-sided cultural-historical aspects.

In *Die synagogale Poesie des Mittelalters*, Zunz concentrated on the most characteristic creation of Jewish religious life. At first he decided to limit his research to the *seliḥah* literature that expresses the sorrow of Israel, the suffering of the Exile, faith in the divine covenant, the idea of repentance and beseeching pardon, and the anticipation of the redeemer's coming. Only in the course of the work did he decide to add a discussion on *piyyut* literature, i.e., on the liturgical poetry that later supplemented the prayers. Zunz did not succeed in writing a book that reflected sacred poetry in its entirety, but his work was the first research undertaking of its kind. In the first chapter (The Psalms), a kind of preface to the book, he repeats the idea of the continuity and organic development of Jewish literature. The prophet who announced the word of the Lord to the people and the poet who poured out his soul before God bequeathed their roles to the sages (the authors of the *aggadah* and teachers of the nation) and the *paytanim*. The form of expression underwent change, but the People of Israel both in the biblical era and after the destruction of the Temple was one people. The state fell, but the nation preserved its inner freedom and its creativity. The synagogue became both a political and religious center, a meeting place for the thinker and the poet. In the liturgy are expressed the "history and martyrology of the people, its past and future; the attitude of man's spirit to its origin, the attitude of the individual to mankind and the attitude of man to nature." Historic conditions change, but the covenant between God and Israel stands fast and the synagogue is the witness of this phenomenon.

While in the prefaces to his earlier books Zunz had stressed the organic structure of the history of the human spirit and the universally human framework of Jewish literature, he later abandoned this idea – even if not entirely – and concentrated on the inner life of the Jews. Perhaps the reason for this was his disappointment at the failure of the 1848 Revolution; from then on it was impossible for him to believe in a democratic union of mankind and the revival of its creative powers. Also, he no longer pinned his hopes on religious reforms in modern Judaism. For him, the "Science of Judaism" filled the vacuum which had been created.

Der Ritus des synagogalen Gottesdienstes is a continuation of this work. Zunz traced the change in liturgical customs, according to the places of Jewish dispersion, and described the influence on these customs of various historical phenomena, such as the *Kabbalah, the *Inquisition, the invention of printing, and the contact with Western culture beginning with Moses *Mendelssohn.

With *Literaturgeschichte der synagogalen Poesie*, his pioneering efforts in the field of synagogue poetry came to an end. This work, which is based on research of 500 manuscripts, describes more than 6,000 liturgical pieces and records the history of the *paytanim* and their works up to 1540. Although his intention had been to write an internal history of this literature, he never realized this plan; his talent for producing bibliographies and for performing research proved stronger than his ability to shape historical concepts.

Attitude to Political Life

From his youth, Zunz remained a confirmed democrat and liberal. In his opinion, the state was to be founded on ideals of justice, law, and morality, and must grant basic human freedom and equal rights to all citizens. As a supporter of Enlightenment, he criticized organized religion (the Church) as being opposed to a free state and also demanded total separation of church and state. He regarded the French Revolution and its democratic ideals as the historical point of reference of both the 1830 and 1848 revolutions, and as the basis of a political development which should end with the creation of a European state based upon law and justice (*Rechtsstaat*). Zunz also believed in an amalgamation of Wissenschaft and politics. He claimed that the lack of full civic rights for Jews caused a neglect of their science and vice versa; thus, only through Wissenschaft could full equality be reached. Consequently, he committed himself to participating in numerous public concerns. For example, he was commissioned by the Jewish community of Berlin to write a treatise on Jewish names as a response to a royal decree banning the use of Christian names by Jews (*Namen der Juden* (1837)). In this work, Zunz showed that Jews had always adopted the names found in the Diaspora societies and that the so-called "Christian" names had long been used by Jews. In 1840, he expressed his opinion in a historical-political essay in the *Leipziger Allgemeine Zeitung* against the anti-Jewish imputations of the *Damascus Affair ("Damaskus, ein Wort zur Abwehr"). With his *Kurze Antworten auf Kultusfragen* (1844), he attempted to clarify Jewish religion and culture for the Prussian officials, and he also participated in a revision of the restricted emancipation law of 1812 for the united diet of Prussia in 1847. From 1848 to 1850 he took part in political propaganda, gave background talks to democratic citizens' associations, and was chosen to the electors' council (Wahlmaenner) of the Prussian diet and the German national assembly (Nationalversammlung) in Frankfurt on Main. These activities ceased in the years of reaction (1850–58) and were resumed in 1859 after the death of Frederick William IV. At the beginning of the Bismarckian Era, however, Zunz soon recognized that there was no hope of his democratic and liberal principles being implemented and subsequently withdrew from such activities. A compilation of his political speeches can be found in the collection of his articles (*Gesammelte Schriften*, Volume I).

Contribution to the "Science of Judaism"

Zunz devoted his life to the outline and development of the Wissenschaft des Judentums. According to the modern historical-philological school of F.A. Wolf and A. Boeckh, he intended an exploration of all post-biblical rabbinical or, as he called it, Jewish literature. But instead of modern classical studies (Wissenschaft des Altertums), which treated ancient cultures as completely past, he pursued a substantial interest in the nature of Judaism. In addition to parallels to the modern classics, Zunz participated in the contemporary philosophical discourse about the progress of world history and mankind – most influentially expressed by Johann Gottfried *Herder and Georg Wilhelm Friedrich *Hegel. For him, the historical, cultural and religious achievements of the "Hebrew/Jewish nation" in the Diaspora was revealed in all its written sources. In so doing, Zunz denied several basic values of traditional Judaism, but in their place offered the modern Jew an interest in history. One can discern a definitely negative attitude to the area of the Talmud and the Kabbalah; he considered their spirit as opposed to that of the "Science of Judaism." It is worth noting that among the many subjects in Jewish literature, Zunz chose the most "Jewish": the Midrashim and liturgical poetry. As a researcher he was precise and assiduous, demanding scientific perfection. He did not have disciples, but most of the researchers who followed him learned from him even if they did not accept his ideological premises, and his research served as the foundation and the basis for the "Science of Judaism."

The Zunz Archives

After Zunz's death, his literary estate was presented as a gift to the Zunz Foundation and placed in the *Hochschule fuer die Wissenschaft des Judentums in Berlin. In 1939, the archives were taken to Jerusalem and given to the National and University Library. They include the minute book of the *Verein fuer die Cultur und Wissenschaft der Juden*, documents relating to Zunz's life, among them *Das Buch Zunz* (his diary), drafts of speeches, part of his printed books and articles with comments and additions in his handwriting, and the originals or copies of letters from him and letters received by him or his wife. Microfilm copies of a selection of this material are in the archives of the Leo Baeck Institute in New York. His library, which contained many valuable manuscripts, was bought by the Judith Lady Montefiore College in Ramsgate (1869–1896) and later integrated in the collection of *Jews' College, London.

Legacy

Already during his lifetime Zunz became an, if not *the*, icon of the Wissenschaft des Judentums for scholars like L. *Geiger, G. *Karpeles, M. *Brann and I. *Elbogen, who put much effort into the investigation of his life, work and correspondence (after the Holocaust N.N. *Glatzer was one of those who proceeded with this task). However, at the turn of the 20th century, critical voices increased. Franz *Rosenzweig reported from a conversation with Hermann *Cohen the philosopher's harsh verdict of Zunz: "He could have been a great historian, and was nothing but an antiquarian" (H. Cohen, *Juedische Schriften* (1927)). Shneur Zalman *Shazar blamed Zunz for erecting a wall between Jews and non-Jews out of "the martyrlogium of Jewish history" instead of rejecting such a division, as he had promised (I.S. Rubaschoff, Erstlinge, in: *Der Juedische Wille* (1918)). Finally, Gershom *Scholem accused the Wissenschaft des Judentums and Zunz as its prominent representative (as well as his younger colleague and friend Moritz *Steinschneider) of pursuing a dialectic between constructive and destructive tendencies (G. Sholem, "*Mi-Tokh Hirhurim al Ḥokhmat Yisrael*," in: *Lu'aḥ ha-Areẓ* (1944)). Despite all this criticism, however, fascination for the life and work of Zunz has continued, since he is still to be regarded as one of the most important personalities in the development of the Wissenschaft des Judentums and, arguably, of Jewish studies in general.

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[Nahum N. Glatzer / Gregor Pelger (2nd ed.)]

ZUR, MENACHEM (1942–), Israeli composer. Born in Tel Aviv, Zur attended the Jerusalem Academy of Music and received a D.M.A in 1976 from Columbia University in New York. He wrote over 100 compositions in all musical genres: orchestral, chamber, vocal, electronic, and one full-scale opera, *Neighbors*. His works are frequently performed in Israel, the U.S., Central America, Europe, and the Far East. Zur served as the chairperson of the Israeli Composer's League in 2001 and was awarded the ACUM (Israeli ASCAP) prize for lifetime achievement and the Prime Minister's prize for composition.

He was constantly engaged, both theoretically and artistically, with the problems of pitch organization in post-tonal music. In his compositions, he uses concepts from set theory and cyclical arrays to create prolongation of motives modeled after *Schenkerian theory of tonal music. He was especially interested in contrapuntal relations among various contrasting bodies of sound, as in the series *Discussions* and in the Concerto for Tuba, Concerto for Piano, Concerto for Violin, Bassoon and Horn.

Although Zur's style is always modern, some works on liturgical texts reveal influences of traditional Jewish music, like *Lamentations* (Alto with Orchestra, 1984), *Combinations* (Children's Chorus with Tape), *The Golem* (Baritone with Orchestra, 1988), *Kedusha Prayer* (Ḥazzan Baritone with Children's Chorus). Some choral works in Hebrew involve a distinct Israeli idiom: *A Tale of Two Sandals* (Children's Chorus, 1985); *Alleluia* (Mixed Chorus); *The Sacrifice of Isaac* (Female Chorus and Piano, 1993). Among his other works are *Keyboard Harmony* (co-author, 1985); Concerto for Orchestra; three symphonies (including no. 2 – *Letters to Schoenberg, Stravinsky and Berg*, 1988–1994); *Centers* (Piano, 1982); *Circles of Time* (Piano, 1993).

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[Yossi Goldenberg (2nd ed.)]

ẒUR, ẒEVI (1923–), Israeli military commander, the sixth chief of staff of the IDF. Born in Zaslavl, Ukraine, Ẓur went to Palestine in 1925. He joined the *Haganah in 1939, and was battalion commander in the Givati Brigade during the Israeli *War of Independence. After the war he was brigade commander and later chief of staff of the southern command. In 1951 he began to study public administration at Syracuse University, New York, but was recalled to take up an appointment as chief of manpower division at GHQ. In 1956 he became CO of the central command, in 1958, deputy chief of general staff, and then from 1958 to 1961 studied in Paris. In 1961 he was appointed chief of the general staff of the Israeli Defense Forces (1961–63). During his tenure as chief of staff, Israel did not face serious security problems and he devoted himself to upgrading the army's equipment and developing its military doctrine. After he retired from the army, he was director of *Mekorot, the Israeli water company (1964–67). In 1965 he was elected to the *Knesset from the *Rafi party but resigned his seat. In June 1967 he became assistant to the defense minister, Moshe Dayan, a position he held for seven years. From 1974 he served in high managerial positions in the Clal firm. In 2004 he signed a petition supporting Prime Minister Ariel *Sharon's Disengagement Plan.

[Jehuda Wallach]

ZURI (**Zuri-Szezak**), **JACOB SAMUEL** (1884–1943), lawyer, authority on Hebrew law, and author. Zuri, who was born in Poland, studied in France and Germany. After immigrating to Palestine after World War I, he lectured for a time at the Jerusalem Law School. In 1927 he moved to Paris and in 1931 to London. Zuri's single scholarly purpose was to introduce into the European study of Greek, Roman, and Islamic law the data of the Jewish legal tradition. He published most of his 31 works in Hebrew, because, as a Zionist, he hoped to lay the foundation for a system of legislation for the coming Jewish state. In his biographical studies and in his analysis of Jewish jurisprudence, Zuri distinguishes between two main currents in rabbinical methodology, the southern, characteristic of Judean scholars, and the northern, of Galilean scholars. These recur in Babylonian Sura and Nehardea-Pumbedita, respectively. Southern methodology seeks for the underlying unity of surface differences. In mishnaic study, a southerner will relate the view of an anonymous Mishnah to the total view held by a tannaitic authority or to an abstract legal principle. Northern methodology concentrates on concrete characteristics of cases and looks for fine individual differences. In mishnaic controversy, the northerner looks for an explanation of difference in the differing circumstances of specific cases. Zuri worked out these principles in, among others, the following works: *Rab, sein Leben und seine Anschauungen* (1918); *Rabbi Akiva* (Heb., 1924); *Rav Ashi* (Heb. 1924); *Tarbut ha-Deromim* (1924); *Toledot Darkhei ha-Limmud* (1914); *Toledot ha-Mishpat ha-Ẓibburi ha-Ivri* (3 vols. 1931–34); and *Tarbut ha-Deromim* (1924). Zuri made a substantial contribution to the study of talmudic history and law. However, his prolixity and occasional inaccuracies, combined with a single-minded adherence to his primary interpretive principle, have limited his impact.

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[Jacob Neusner]

ZURICH, capital of the canton of the same name, N. Switzerland. Jews first arrived in Zurich in 1273, settling in a street known as the Judengasse (now the Froschaugasse). They also had a cemetery. Their taxes were paid to Emperor Rudolf I of Hapsburg, but in other respects they were dependent on the town, which undertook to protect them in exchange for a fee of ten marks and authorized them to engage in moneylending. They were also allowed to acquire real property. However they were compelled to remain indoors during Holy Week. Their principal occupation was moneylending, which they practiced on a large scale, dealing with the municipality, the leading aristocratic families, and even lending considerable sums abroad in such towns as Wuerzburg, Venice, and Frankfurt. The reception hall of a Jewish moneylender has been found at Brunngasse 8. The coats of arms of his noble clients bear Hebrew inscriptions.

The rumor that the Jews had caused the plague by poisoning the wells, which spread throughout Switzerland, reached Zurich at the end of 1348. At first the municipal council attempted to protect the Jews, but it was finally forced to cede to the populace. Numbers of Jews were then burnt at the stake on Feb. 22, 1349, and their belongings confiscated by the municipal council. The emperor promptly protested, claiming compensation; once he had received this, he absolved the council from the charge of murder.

The talmudist, Moses of Zurich, author of glosses on the Se-Ma-K (*Sefer Mitzvot Katan*) which are known as *Semak Zurich*, lived in the town during the early 14th century.

In spite of the massacre of 1349, Jews reappeared in the town as early as 1352. Several expulsion orders were issued (1425, 1435, 1436), but the very number of expulsions indicates that the orders were not strictly observed. However when, in 1634, the Jew Eiron (Aaron) of Lengnau, originally of Frankfurt, was executed in Zurich for blasphemy, the Jews were finally and totally expelled.

After the *French Revolution a few Jews attempted to reestablish themselves in Zurich, but it was only after the emancipation of the Jews of Zurich (1862) that a new community, largely formed by migrants from *Endingen and Lengnau and other nearby south German and Alsatian rural communities, was established. The first synagogue was inaugurated in 1883. It was built by disciples of Gottfried Semper. The community grew rapidly until it became the leading one of Switzerland. The secretariat of the Schweizerische Israelitischer Gemeindebund (est. 1904) has its headquarters in the town. In 1895/98 some separatist Orthodox families split away and later East European Jews formed their own community (between 1912 and 1924). The West European Orthodox community erected in 1926 an art-déco synagogue on Freigutstrasse, which was recently renovated. Only in 1961 did the different East European *minyanim* unite in the synagogue on Erikastrasse.

Jews played a prominent role in textile trade and department stores (Julius Brann), not so much in banking, since Protestant families dominated this branch. The private "Bank Julius Bär" (est. 1897) was the biggest Jewish-owned firm. The children of the East European immigrants entered white-collar jobs. The Social Democratic lawyer David Farbstein was their leader between 1898 and 1939. In 1939 the first Jewish community center in Switzerland was opened in Zurich.

In 2005, Zurich had four Jewish congregations – the moderately Orthodox Israelitische Cultusgemeinde (ICZ; 2,596 members), the Orthodox Israelitische Religionsgesellschaft (IRG, 332 families and singles), Agudas Achim (275 families and singles) which follows the East European tradition – and the egalitarian Liberal Jewish congregation Or Chadasch (est. in 1978, 500 members) each possessing its own religious institutions (e.g., four different Jewish cemeteries) and officials. Besides them, there is a sizeable moderate Orthodox *minyan* in the quarter of Wollishofen. Inner-Jewish polarization led to the founding of often rival Orthodox *minyanim* of Chabad, the Belzer Ḥasidim, etc. In the two Jewish old age homes, there exist additional *minyanim*. The only German-language Swiss-Jewish weekly paper, *Tachles,* is edited in Zurich. It succeeded the *Israelitisches Wochenblatt fuer die Schweiz*, which had appeared since 1901. In 2005 *Tachles* bought the American-Jewish *Aufbau* and tried to establish it as a monthly. A full-time Orthodox Jewish school was founded in 1956, which in 1970 had more than 145 pupils from Orthodox families only. A private moderate Orthodox day school was organized by members of the Cultusgemeinde in 1979, which had also about 170 pupils of every type of observance. Religious lessons are provided even after sixth grade, when the day school program ends ("Achinoam"). The youth movements Aguda-youth, Ha-Goshrim, Bnei Akiva, and Ha-Shomer ha-Ẓa'ir (est. in 1933) play an important role in educating the Jewish youth of Zurich.

In 2005 a new constitution of the canton was accepted, including a paragraph on the possible recognition of two democratically organized Jewish communities, the Cultusgemeinde and the Liberal one.

Many Jews moved to the suburbs of Zurich. In the canton of Zurich there were 6,461 Jews (2000), about two-thirds members of the congregations; some Anglo-Saxon families living in central Switzerland (Zug, Lucerne) also belong to them. Since about 1910 Zurich has been the center of Jewish life in Switzerland.

Hebrew Printing

During the 16th and 17th centuries a number of Christian printers in Zurich produced books containing Hebrew type; chief of these was the house of Froschauer (from 1528), which used the type of *Fagius. In 1558 Eliezer b. Naphtali Herz *Treves printed Psalms with a rhymed Yiddish translation by Elijah Baḥur Levita. The same year Hebrew type was used in J. Reuchlin's *Clarorum Verorum Epistolae*. In the 17th and 18th centuries the presses of J.J. Bodmer and of J.H. Heidegger used Hebrew type, the former from 1635 to 1727, the latter from 1673 to 1766. A few Hebrew works were also produced in Zurich in the 19th century.

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[Simon R. Schwarzfuchs / Uri Kaufmann (2nd ed.)]

ẒUR MI-SHELLO (Heb. צוּר מִשֶּׁלוֹ; lit. "Rock from whose store [we have eaten]"), an anonymous hymn which is generally chanted at the conclusion of the Sabbath meals. This poem functions as an introduction to the *Grace after the Meal, and its four stanzas summarize the contents of that prayer. The first stanza is based on the first paragraph of the Grace which praises God for providing food for all His creatures. The second stanza, relating to the second paragraph of the Grace, expresses Israel's gratitude for the "good land" God has given it. Corresponding to the third paragraph of the Grace, the third stanza asks God to have mercy on Israel and to restore the Temple and the Kingdom of David. The fourth stanza continues the theme of the rebuilding of the Temple and also makes references to the fact that grace is recited over a cup of wine. The refrain of this hymn reads as follows:

> Rock from whose store we have eaten –
> Bless him, my faithful companions.
> Eaten have we and left over –
> This was the word of the Lord (transl. Nina Salaman; see Hertz in bibl.).

Although it makes no references to the Sabbath, *Ẓur mi-Shello* is not recited on weekdays. Nevertheless, Jacob *Emden was of the opinion that one reciting it during the week will be especially blessed (*Siddur Beit Ya'akov*, 156).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Hertz, Prayer, 413; Idelsohn, Liturgy, 153.

[Aaron Rothkoff]

ẒUR MOSHE (Heb. צוּר מֹשֶׁה), moshav in central Israel, S. of Kefar Yonah, affiliated with Tenu'at ha-Moshavim. Ẓur Moshe was founded in 1937 by settlers from Greece who were joined by others from Turkey and Bulgaria. In the early years they earned their livelihood mainly by working as hired laborers in surrounding villages. Orange groves became the main farming branch, supplemented by poultry and field crops. With the arrival of newcomers from Bulgaria after 1948, the moshav was enlarged, and in 1970 it had 412 inhabitants. In the mid-1990s the population was 543; subsequent large-scale expansion brought it up to 1,410 in 2002. Ẓur Moshe was named after the Greek Zionist leader Moshe Kophinas.

ZUROFF, EFRAIM (1948–), spiritual heir of Simon Wiesenthal, the last of the Nazi hunters; director, *Simon Wiesenthal Center's Israel Office and coordinator of Nazi War Crimes Research for the Simon Wiesenthal Center.

Born in New York City, educated at Brooklyn Talmudical Academy where his father was principal, he completed an undergraduate degree in history (with honors) at Yeshiva University, where his grandfather was dean, and went on *aliyah* in 1970. He obtained a M.A. degree in Holocaust Studies at the Institute of Contemporary Jewry of the Hebrew University, where he also completed his Ph.D., which chronicles the response of Orthodox Jewry in the United States to the Holocaust and focuses on the rescue attempts launched by the Va'ad ha-Hatzalah rescue committee.

In 1978 he was the first director of the Simon Wiesenthal Center in Los Angeles, where he played a leading role in establishing the Center's library and archives and was historical advisor for the Academy award-winning documentary *Genocide*. In 1980 he returned to Israel, where he served as a researcher for the U.S. Justice Department's *Office of Special Investigations. His efforts assisted in the preparation of cases against numerous Nazi war criminals living in the United States.

His work has less of the drama usually associated with the capture of war criminals. Rather it involves a painstaking review of documents with the goal of not only understanding how the deed was done, but by whom, identifying the perpetrator and then engaging foreign leaders and governments with sufficient pressure to have them try Nazi war criminals.

In 1986 his research uncovered the postwar escape of hundreds of Nazi war criminals to Australia, Canada, Great Britain, and other countries, and he rejoined the Wiesenthal Center to coordinate its international efforts to bring Holocaust perpetrators to justice. These efforts have influenced the passage of special laws in Canada (1987), Australia (1989), and Great Britain (1991) which enable the prosecution in those countries of Nazi war criminals.

Since the dismemberment of the Soviet Union and the fall of Communism, Zuroff has played a major role in the efforts to convince Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia and other post-Communist societies to confront the widespread complicity of their nationals in the crimes of the Holocaust and to prosecute local Nazi collaborators. His public advocacy on these issues has been instrumental in the submission by Lithuania and Latvia of indictments (Lileikis, Gimzauskas) and/or extradition requests (Kalejs, Gecas) against local Holocaust perpetrators. In 1991 he exposed the rehabilitation of Nazi war criminals in Lithuania and led the campaign to stop this process. Zuroff was appointed by the then Israeli Foreign Minister Shimon Peres to serve on the joint Israeli-Lithuanian commission of inquiry established to deal with this issue, which led to the cancelation to date of over 150 rehabilitations granted to individuals who had participated in the murder of Jews during the Holocaust. In 2000 he exposed the rehabilitations granted by the Latvian government to Nazi war criminals; he led the efforts to cancel these pardons, two of which have been rescinded.

In the summer of 2002, together with Aryeh Rubin, founder of the Targum Shlishi Foundation, he launched "Operation: Last Chance," which offers financial rewards for information which will facilitate the conviction and punishment of Nazi war criminals. So far, the project has been initiated in nine countries (Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Poland, Romania, Austria, Croatia, Hungary, and Germany) and has yielded the names of over 400 suspects, 85 of which have been submitted to local prosecutors.

At the turn of the 21st century Zuroff directed a research project to identify Nazi war criminals who are receiving special disability pensions from the German government, which passed special legislation to enable their cancelation in 1998. To date, the pensions of 105 individuals who "violated the norms of humanity" have been canceled, several hundred additional cases are currently under active investigation and thousands of other cases are awaiting review by the German Ministry of Social Services.

Zuroff played an important role in the exposure, arrest, extradition, and prosecution of Dinko Sakic, the former commandant of the Croatian concentration camp Jasenovac (nicknamed the "Auschwitz of the Balkans"). In early October 1999, Sakic, who lived for more than 50 years in Argentina, was sentenced in Zagreb to 20 years' imprisonment for his crimes in the first-ever trial of a Nazi war criminal in a post-Communist country.

He has written two books, *Occupation: Nazi-Hunter; The Continuing Search for the Perpetrators of the Holocaust* (1994), which chronicles the belated efforts to prosecute Nazi war criminals in western democracies and explains the rationale for such efforts several decades after the crimes. Also, in 2000 he published a study of the history of the Va'ad ha-Hatzalah, which was awarded an Egit Grant for Holocaust and Jewish Resistance Literature by the Israeli General Federation of Labor (Histadrut) and also received the 1999–2000 Samuel Belkin Literary Award for the best book published by a Yeshiva University alumnus in the field of Jewish studies.

His activities as a Nazi-hunter were the subject of three television documentaries. The first, entitled "The Nazi-Hunter," was produced by ZDF (German Channel 2) in 1999; the second, entitled "The Last Nazi-Hunter," was produced by SWR (German Channel 1 – regional station) in 2004 and the third "The Final Hunt for the Nazis" by France Trois (Channel 3) was broadcast in December 2005.

Zuroff would rather be right than popular. His history of the Va'ad is less a work of the hagiography popular in Orthodox circles today than a serious work of history, which examines not uncritically the work of the Orthodox and demonstrates their unique efforts as well as their dependence on the larger Jewish community for funding and effectiveness. He examines the tendency of Orthodox Judaism to go it alone. He has also been critical of the Israeli government for its lack of interest in pursuing Nazi war criminals.

In 1995 and 1996, Zuroff was invited to Rwanda to assist the local authorities in their efforts to bring to justice the perpetrators of the genocide which took place in that country in spring 1994, and he has served as an official advisor to the Rwandan government. He began his speech in the native language. An activist by temperament as well as by conviction, when he confronts evil, he seeks to undo it rather than understand it.

Since 2001, the Simon Wiesenthal Center's "Annual Status Report on the Worldwide Investigation and Prosecution of Nazi War Criminals," which he writes, is considered the authoritative source on the subject.

[Michael Berenbaum (2nd ed.)]

ẒUR YIGAL (Heb. צור יגאל), community settlement located 5 mi. (8 km.) east of Kefar Sava. The settlement is one of the "star" plan settlements, aimed to expand the Jewish population near the border of the occupied territories. It was founded in 1991 and the first settlers arrived in 1994. In 2002 the population was 6,800. The name Ẓur Yigal comemmorates Yigal Cohen, a member of Knesset who contributed to Israeli settlement.

WEBSITE: www.zur-yigal.muni.il.

[Shaked Gilboa (2nd ed.)]

ZUSYA (Meshulam Zusya) OF HANIPOLI (Annopol; d. 1800), early ḥasidic leader; he was an outstanding disciple of *Dov Baer, the Maggid of Mezhirech, brother of *Elimelech of Lyzhansk, and one of the best known heroes of ḥasidic folktales. Zusya was probably born near Tarnow, Galicia, and at a relatively early age joined the disciples of the Maggid of Mezhirech and interested his brother Elimelech in Ḥasidism. During their youth the two brothers wandered from place to place in the manner of ascetic kabbalists. Many folk legends tell of their wandering and show Zusya as a simple, modest, and benevolent man who despite his meager knowledge of Torah, attained merit because of his innocence and personal righteousness. Zusya's own statements, however, of which few survive in writing, show that he was a scholar. In addition to the close attachment to his brother Elimelech, he formed a friendship with *Shneur Zalman of Lyady. Apparently after the death of the Maggid of Mezhirech, Zusya settled in Hanipoli and Ḥasidim gathered around him. This circle enlarged after Elimelech's death, when some of the latter's Ḥasidim accepted Zusya as their rabbi. His oldest son, MENAHEM ẒEVI HIRSH, succeeded him in Hanipoli. His youngest son, ISRAEL ABRAHAM (1772–1814), served as ḥasidic rabbi and *admor* in Chernyostrov. After Israel Abraham's death, his wife led the Ḥasidim for several years. The few surviving statements of Zusya and his sons were collected in *Menorat Zahav* (ed. by Nathan Neta ha-Kohen, 1902).

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[Adin Steinsaltz]

ZUTA (also known as **Yaḥya** and **Abu-Zikri**; 12th century), **nagid* in Egypt. He was also the head of a yeshivah and gave himself the title *Sar Shalom* ("Prince of Peace"), but in reality he acted with great ruthlessness toward the members of his community after he had been appointed *nagid* of Egyptian Jewry in succession to *Samuel b. Hananiah. He secured his position by bribing the caliph al-Fā'iz (1154–1160). As a result of the complaints brought against him by the Jewish community concerning his criminal conduct, he was removed from his position which he had held for 66 days and Samuel was reinstated. After the death of Samuel (shortly after 1159), Zuta made a new effort to secure the position of the *nagid* but failed. During the reign of Saladin (1138–1193), he succeeded in regaining the position in exchange for a yearly payment of 200 dinars, and he held it for about four years from the beginning of the 1160s. As a result of the efforts of Maimonides and R. Isaac b. Sasson, a member of Maimonides' *bet din*, Zuta was excommunicated and ousted from his position, but he succeeded a third time to become the political leader of Egyptian Jewry. However, he served as a *nagid* for 24 years, from 1172 to 1196. Zuta was known to the members of his faction as messiah and *Gaon*. His adherents were accused of being no better than idolaters. To commemorate the ousting of Zuta, in 1196 the poet *Abraham b. Hillel wrote the *Megillat Zuta*, which was published by A. Neubauer, A.E. Harkavy, and D. Kahana. It contains a description of Zuta's activities and his removal.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Neubauer, in: JQR, 8 (1895/96), 541–51; 9 (1896/97), 721; A.E. Harkavy, *Ḥadashim Gam Yeshanim* (1970), 15–17; Kahana, in: *Ha-Shilo'aḥ*, 15 (1905), 175–84; Mann, Egypt, 1 (1920), 234–7; Mann, Texts, 1 (1931), 416–8; Ashtor, Toledot, 1 (1944), 41–42; idem, in: HUCA, 27 (1956), 313–15; Goitein, in: *Tarbiz*, 32 (1962/63), 192. **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** M. Ben-Sasson, "Maimonides in Egypt: The First Stage," in: *Maimonidean Studies*, 2 (1991), 3–30; M.A. Friedman, "Ha-Rambam, Zuta ve-ha-Muqaddamim – Sippuram shel Sheloshah Haramot," in: *Zion*, 70 (2005), 473–527.

[Abraham David (2nd ed.)]

ZUTA, ḤAYYIM ARYEH (1868–1939), pioneer of Hebrew education in Ereẓ Israel. Born in Kovno, Lithuania, he was one of the first Hebrew teachers in Russia to employ the *Ivrit be-Ivrit* ("Hebrew in Hebrew") system. In 1903 he went to Ereẓ Israel, where he taught in various educational institutions (mainly in Jerusalem) and was a founder of the modern Hebrew school system in the country.

He published articles on Hebrew education and schools and wrote a number of textbooks and stories. His book *Darkhei ha-Limmud shel ha-Tanakh* ("Teaching the Bible," 2 vols., 1935–37) is a major work of Hebrew didactics. *Be-Reshit Darki* ("The Beginning of My Way," 1934) are memoirs of his career as a teacher. His short stories were collected in *Kitvei Ḥayyim Aryeh Zuta*, 3 vols. (1931).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: I. Epstein, in: KS, 12 (1935/36), 290–2; Tidhar, 3 (1949), 1279–80; Rabbi Binyamin, *Keneset Ḥakhamim* (1960), 194–5.

[Gedalyah Elkoshi]

ZUTRA, MAR, the names of three *exilarchs during the fifth and sixth centuries. MAR ZUTRA I (d. c. 414), exilarch from 401 to 409, the successor of Mar Kahana and a contemporary of R. Ashi. It may be that he was the son of Huna b. Nathan, although his father's name does not appear in the sources. Mar Zutra was a student of R. Papa and R. Pappai and he transmitted the teachings of the earlier generations. He associated to a great extent with R. Ashi and Ameimar, and their differing opinions regarding various laws concerning meals are recorded in the Talmud (e.g., Ber. 44b, 50b; Shab. 50b). His piety and character were exemplary, and the title "the pious" was appended to his name (BK 81b; BM 24a). Whenever he had to pronounce a ban on a scholar, he first banned himself and then pronounced it on the culprit. Later, Mar Zutra absolved himself and then absolved the other (MK 17a). He prayed and fasted for the welfare of others but never on his own behalf (TJ, Ma'as. Sh. 5:8, 156d). When Mar Zutra was carried in honor on the shoulders of his audience on the Sabbath before the Pilgrim festivals at a time when he preached on the festival laws, he would repeat the verse (Prov. 27:24): "For riches are not for ever; and doth the crown endure unto all generations?" (Yoma 87a).

MAR ZUTRA II (c. 496–520), exilarch from 512 to 520. He was the son of *Huna, who had previously served as exilarch and was killed during the persecutions instituted by the Persian monarch, Firuz. His mother was the daughter of the head of the academy, Mar Ḥanina. According to tradition, Mar Zutra was born after the entire house of the exilarch had died out, and he was the sole survivor of the House of David, from whom the exilarchs were traditionally descended. During his minority, the exilarchate was administered by his brother-in-law, Mar Paḥra or Paḥda, who bribed the king to retain him in office. When Mar Zutra reached the age of 15, his grandfather induced the king to install him as the legitimate exilarch. The new exilarch took up arms against the Persians, perhaps because of Persian oppression of the Jewish religion. Marching at the head of 400 Jewish warriors, Mar Zutra succeeded in defeating the Persians and setting up an independent Jewish state, with Maḥoza as his residence. The new state survived for seven years, but immorality spread among his followers and they were finally defeated in battle by the Persians. Both Mar Zutra and his grandfather, Ḥanina, were taken prisoner and beheaded, and their bodies were later suspended from crosses on the bridge at Maḥoza.

MAR ZUTRA III (sixth century), the son of Mar Zutra II. According to tradition he was born on the day that his father was executed and was therefore named after him. He later succeeded him as exilarch. He left Babylon to settle in Ereẓ Israel, where he was appointed to an academic position in a college. It is thought that he disseminated knowledge of the Babylonian Talmud in Ereẓ Israel.

In addition to a *tanna* called Zutra who is mentioned in a *baraita* (Ber. 13b), there were also some other *amoraim* of this name: ZUTRA BEN TOBI (third century), a student of Rav and R. Judah who transmitted their teachings (Ber. 7a; Yev. 44a); MAR ZUTRA BEN R. NAḤMAN (b. Jacob; fourth century), who transmitted his father's teachings and who, in his youth, adjudicated a monetary case without previously obtaining the permission of the exilarch and erred in his decision (Sanh. 5a); and MAR ZUTRA BEN MARI (b. Issur; fourth century), the brother of R. Adda the elder (Kid. 65b).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Hyman, Toledot; Ḥ. Albeck, *Mavo la-Talmudim* (1969), 283–4.

ZVENIGORODKA, city in S. Kiev district, Ukraine. In 1787 the Jewish community of Zvenigorodka numbered 387. In 1897 there were 6,389 Jews (32% of the total population) and in 1926 the number of Jews in Zvenigorodka amounted to 6,584 (36.5% of the total population). Most of the Jews were murdered when the Germans occupied Zvenigorodka in World War II. A 1959 census showed approximately 700 Jews in the town. There was no organized Jewish life. In 1965 private religious services were dispersed by the militia. Most Jews left in the mass exodus of the 1990s,

BIBLIOGRAPHY: I. Erenburg, *Merder fun Felker* (1945), 138–40.

ZVIA (1935–1974), artist. Zvia was born at kibbutz Mishmar ha-Sharon, Ereẓ Israel, and studied art in Tel Aviv before attending the Central School of Art and Crafts, London; she finally settled in England in 1957. Her gifts in traditional techniques were considerable, as draughtsman, painter and portrait-sculptor. But her real talent and interest lay in research, notably into the light properties of acrylics and the use of electric light in sculpture. For these reasons she was employed by both ICI and Osram-GEC, to explore the properties and possibilities of these materials; the elaborate sculptural complexes she produced for these companies were exhibited. As part of her research, she produced a series of charming plastic jewelry. Among her public commissions is a large outdoor sculpture for the University of Sussex, England. She possessed an unusual combination of artistic and scientific accomplishments.

[Charles Samuel Spencer]

ZWEIFEL, ELIEZER (1815–1888), Hebrew author and essayist, one of the first Haskalah writers to view Ḥasidism sympathetically. Zweifel was born in Mogilev. His father belonged to the *Chabad movement, and his traditional education included rabbinic and ḥasidic literature, medieval studies, and Kabbalah. Later, he studied the works of the Haskalah and the Wissenschaft des *Judentums writers in Hebrew and German. After many years of wandering in various Russian towns, earning his living by preaching and teaching, he was appointed lecturer in Mishnah and Talmud in the government rabbinical seminary at Zhitomir in 1853, remaining there until the seminary was closed in 1873. Zweifel was liked by his students, who included A.J. *Paperna and M. *Margolis, and inspired them with a love of Jewish tradition and the Talmud. By nature, he was a moderate; he tried "as far as possible to emphasize the favorable aspect of everything and every person" (preface to his *Shalom al Yisrael*, 3 (1870), 11).

His first book, *Minim ve-Ugav*, appeared in Vilna in 1858. It was a small but variegated collection of scriptural commentaries, homilies, and poems, deprecating the extreme attitudes of the Haskalah toward the devotees of the old religious tradition. The book aroused lively literary controversy, and was criticized with particular severity by *Mendele Mokher Seforim, then a young student, in his pamphlet *Mishpat Shalom* ("Peaceful Judgment," 1860). In *Minim ve-Ugav*, Zweifel employed a unique mixture of biblical, mishnaic, and talmudic language. David *Frischmann exaggerates in calling him "the father of the modern style", but he was undoubtedly one of those who led the change in Hebrew prose from the ornate biblical language to the modern literary style.

Zweifel's most important work was *Shalom al Yisrael* ("Peace to Israel"), which appeared in four parts in Zhitomir and Vilna between 1868 and 1873. The book defended Ḥasidism in terms of modern values and marked a sharp contrast to the general hostility which virtually all *maskilim* had hitherto manifested toward that movement. Ḥasidism, he argued, had a system of ideas of its own, which in many respects resembled the ideas of Philo and Spinoza. His defence of Ḥasidism relates specifically to the early stages of its development, whereas he takes issue with negative aspects which emerged in its later period, especially the cult of the *ẓaddik*. The book includes numerous selections from the writings of Ḥasidim, and of modern Jewish writers who wrote favorably about the movement as well as those who attacked it. Although it contains a wealth of material, the contents are poorly edited and make reading difficult. The book aroused indignation and severe criticism among the *maskilim*, and Jewish censors sympathetic to the Haskalah tried to prevent its publication.

The book sparked a reevaluation of Ḥasidism by scholars and writers, and led to the historical appraisal of the movement by S. *Dubnow and a more romantic one by M.J. *Berdyczewski, S.A. *Horodezky, M. *Buber, and others.

After the closing of the rabbinical seminary in 1873, Zweifel lived in various towns in Russia and Poland, until he finally settled in the house of his daughter at Glukhov. His book *Sanegor* ("Defense Counsel," 1885) is a rebuttal to the accusations leveled against the Talmud by Jewish and gentile critics. Zweifel also wrote hundreds of articles in the Hebrew press, issued several works on ethics in Yiddish, including *Musar Haskel* ("Moral Lesson," 1862) and *Tokhaḥat Ḥayyim* ("Life's Reproof," 1865), and published books by other authors, old and new, whose ideas were akin to his. Zweifel's writings are distinguished by profuse quotations from rabbinic sources and his wide erudition. They lack, however, systematic structure, and today his works are primarily of historical interest.

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[Yehuda Slutsky]

ZWEIG, ARNOLD (1887–1968), German novelist and playwright. Zweig was born in Gross-Glogau, Silesia. In 1915, while a university student, he volunteered for the German army and spent over a year in the trenches. After the war he became a freelance writer, living first in Bavaria and from 1923 in Berlin. There he was for a time editor of the Zionist **Juedische Rundschau*, having, unlike the vast majority of German-Jewish writers, turned to Jewish nationalism. With Lion Feuchtwanger he wrote *Die Aufgabe des Judentums* (1933). When the Nazis came to power, Zweig left Germany for Ereẓ Israel by way of Czechoslovakia, Switzerland, and France. He lived in Haifa where he coedited the short-lived weekly *Orient* (1942–43). In 1948 he settled in East Berlin, remaining there until his death.

Zweig first attracted attention with his *Novellen um Claudia* (1912, *Claudia*, Eng. 1930). The biblical drama *Abigail und Nabal* (1913) and the novella *Aufzeichnungen ueber eine Familie Klopfer* (1911) were followed by a more important drama of Jewish life, the prizewinning *Ritualmord in Ungarn* (1914, revised as *Die Sendung Semaels*, 1918). It was, however, his bestselling novel, *Der Streit um den Sergeanten Grischa* (1927; *The Case of Sergeant Grischa*, 1928), which (translated into nearly 20 languages) spread Zweig's reputation far beyond the German-speaking world. Perhaps the outstanding war novel of the Weimar Republic, this scathing exposure of Prussian justice dealt with the trial and execution of an innocent and inarticulate Russian prisoner of war. Over the years Zweig wrote a series of prose epics on Germany before, during, and after World War I (parts of an eight-volume cycle entitled *Der grosse Krieg der weissen Maenner); Erziehung vor Verdun* (1935; *Education Before Verdun*, 1936); *Einsetzung eines Koenigs* (1937; *Crowning of a King*, 1938); *Junge Frau von 1914* (1931; *Young Woman of 1914*, 1932); and *Die Feuerpause* (1954). The Nazi terror was described in another fine novel, *Das Beil von Wandsbek* (1947; *The Axe of Wandsbeck*, 1947), filmed in 1951; it was published first in Hebrew in 1943.

Zweig's thinking on Jewish problems found expression in the essays *Das ostjuedische Antlitz* (1920); *Caliban* (1927), a study of antisemitism; *Juden auf der deutschen Buehne* (1928); and *Bilanz der deutschen Judenheit 1933* (1934; *Insulted and Exiled*, 1937); his drama *Die Umkehr* (1925), and the novel *De Vriendt kehrt Heim* (1932; *De Vriendt Goes Home*, 1933), based on the tragic career of Jacob Israël de *Haan. During his early Zionist period in Germany, Zweig held that Palestine could change the character of Jewish life everywhere by becoming once again the spiritual center of the Jews and by developing new forms of cooperative living. He nevertheless increasingly held internationalism to be the highest ideal. Zweig never felt at home in Palestine, being unable to adapt himself to a Hebrew-speaking milieu: local publishers were not inclined to translate his books, nor was *Habimah enthusiastic about staging his plays. He favored a binational, Jewish-Arab state and became increasingly critical of Zionist aims. Failing eyesight also increased his aggravations; after the declaration of Israel's independence, Zweig, now more sympathetic to Communism, made a much-publicized return to East Germany, where he succeeded Heinrich Mann as president of the Academy of Arts in 1950. He received many awards, including the International Lenin Peace Prize (1958). His correspondence with *Freud was published in 1968. Toward the end of his life, Zweig evidently reassessed his views on Zionism and courageously refused to sign an East German intellectuals' statement condemning Israel's "aggression" against the Arab states after the Six-Day War of 1967.

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[Sol Liptzin]

ZWEIG, STEFAN (1881–1942), Austrian playwright, essayist, and biographer. The son of a wealthy Viennese industrialist, Zweig had an early and auspicious start in literature, publishing at the age of 20 his first verse collection, *Silberne Saiten* (1901). When Theodor *Herzl, literary editor of the influential *Neue Freie Presse*, agreed to publish one of his essays, young Zweig was greatly encouraged and he soon became an outstanding member of the "Young Vienna" group. In 1903 he wrote a foreword to a collection of paintings and illustrations by Ephraim Moses *Lilien. Zweig also devoted years of self-effacing work to making the Belgian poet Emile Verhaeren known in German-speaking countries by translating Verhaeren's poetry and other works.

World War I marked a turning point in Zweig's outlook. His fourth play was a powerful pacifist drama, *Jeremias* (1918;

Jeremiah, 1922), first staged in Zurich in 1917 when Zweig was attached to the war archives in Vienna. From 1919 Stefan Zweig lived in Salzburg, where his house became an international literary and cultural center. His friends included the French humanitarian Romain Rolland, whose biography Zweig published (1921) and whose novel *Clérambault* he translated a year later. Zweig's collected verse appeared in 1924.

He became best known for biographies, in which he often grouped three people of similar interests in one volume and attempted to find a common spiritual denominator. *Drei Meister* (1920; *Three Masters*, 1930) contained biographical studies of Balzac, Dickens, and Dostoevski; *Der Kampf mit dem Daemon* (1925) analyzed Hoelderlin, Kleist, and Nietzsche, who fell prey to mental illness or committed suicide; while *Drei Dichter ihres Lebens* (1928; *Adepts at Self-Portraiture*, 1928), discussed Casanova, Stendhal, and Tolstoy. These nine biographies were later incorporated in *Baumeister der Welt* (1935; *Master Builders*, 1939). Other biographies were devoted to Joseph Fouché (1929; Eng., 1930), Napoleon's terrifying minister of police; Marie Antoinette (1932; Eng., 1933); Mary Queen of Scots (1935; Eng., 1935); Magellan (1938; *Conqueror of the Seas*, 1938); and Amerigo Vespucci (1944; *Amerigo: A Comedy of Errors in History*, 1942).

Zweig's only novel, *Ungeduld des Herzens* (1938; *Beware of Pity*, 1939), was a penetrating study of the love of a crippled girl. Like *Marie Antoinette*, and several other works by Zweig, this was later made into a motion picture. *Sternstunden der Menschheit* (1927; *The Tide of Fortune*, 1940) dramatized 12 significant events in the history of the human spirit; *Die Heilung durch den Geist* (1931; *Mental Healers*, 1933), included studies of Mesmer, Mary Baker Eddy, and *Freud, in whose psychoanalysis he was greatly interested; while *Triumph und Tragik des Erasmus von Rotterdam* (1934; *Erasmus of Rotterdam*, 1934) described the man whom Zweig considered his spiritual ancestor and mentor. A gentle, nonpolitical modern humanist, Zweig was deeply concerned about the position of the man of spirit in an increasingly brutalized world. In 1934 he wrote the libretto for Richard Strauss' opera *Die schweigsame Frau*. Its suppression by the Nazis became a cause célèbre. Zweig's correspondence with Strauss (ed. by W. Schuh) was published in 1957. Zweig's brilliant and highly charged style and his psychological penetration are evident from his first collection of stories, *Die Liebe der Erika Ewald* (1904), to his last completed work, *Schachnovelle* (1941; *The Royal Game*, 1944), which foreshadows the triumph of a mechanized civilization over the spirit of man. Three other collections were *Erstes Erlebnis* (1911), sensitive studies of childhood and adolescence; *Amok* (1922; Eng., 1931); and *Verwirrung der Gefuehle* (1927; *Conflicts*, 1927), on adult passions and problems.

Although Zweig took no part in Jewish communal life, some of his short stories deal with Jewish themes. The biblical "*Legende der dritten Taube*"; "*Rahel rechtet mit Gott*"; and "*Buchmendel*," the poignant tale of a Jewish bookseller, are three of those collected in *Kaleidoscope* (1934; Ger., *Kaleidoskop*, 1936). His most ambitious work of this type was *Der begrabene Leuchter* (1937; *The Buried Candelabrum*, 1937). Essays about his fellow writers were included in *Begegnungen mit Menschen, Buechern, Staedten* (1937). In his autobiography, written during World War II, *Die Welt von Gestern* (1942; *The World of Yesterday*, 1943), Zweig sadly observed that "nine-tenths of what the world celebrated as Viennese culture in the 19th century was promoted, nourished, and created by Viennese Jewry."

A prey to increasing pessimism, Stefan Zweig, an inveterate world traveler and a tireless lecturer, settled in England in 1935. He lived first in London and later in Bath, then visited North and South America. Depressed by the fate of Europe, Zweig (together with his second wife, Elisabeth) committed suicide in Petropolis, near Rio de Janeiro. One of the most widely read writers between the world wars, Stefan Zweig is esteemed as a great storyteller, biographer, and humanitarian spirit. The International Stefan Zweig Society was founded in Vienna in 1957.

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[Harry Zohn]

ZWICKAU, city in *Saxony, Germany. Documentary evidence points to the presence of Jews in the first half of the 14th century. In 1308 Margrave Frederick promised to maintain the privileges of both burghers and Jews. Documents dating from 1330 mention a Jewish street and synagogue. The Jews were expelled from the city in 1430 during the *Hussite wars, although some returned soon after. In 1444 the mint, operated by Jews, was attacked by the burghers, and in 1458 the Jewish quarter was burned down. Jewish settlement dwindled and then disappeared. The modern Jewish community in Zwickau grew from 59 persons in 1875 (only 9 in 1834) to 159 in 1910; 362 in 1925; and 473 in 1932, when 12 charitable and social organizations were functioning. By 1939 only 64 Jews remained in the city; none lived there in 1971. The publisher Salman *Schocken grew up in Zwickau.

There are several memorials dedicated to the destroyed synagogue, the deportations, and the Zwickau Jews who perished during the Nazi era.

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ZWOLEN (Pol. **Zwoleń**; Rus. **Zvolen**), town in Kielce province, E. central Poland. In 1578 King Stephen Bathory permitted the Jews to settle and trade in the town. In 1591 King Sigismund III prohibited the Jews of Zwolen from acquiring more than ten houses; they nevertheless owned more houses. In 1815 Zwolen was included in Congress Poland, and henceforth its Jewish population gradually increased, numbering 629 (33% of the total) in 1827; 1,350 (49%) in 1856; 3,242 (56%) in 1897; and 3,787 (51%) in 1921. Apart from petty trade, the Jews of Zwolen engaged in the manufacture of clothes and shoes, in tanning, and foodstuff production.

[Shimshon Leib Kirshenboim]

Holocaust Period

With the beginning of the German occupation in September 1939 the Jews were subjected to economic restrictions, confiscation of property, and forced payments of money. In 1941 people were seized and sent to the Pustkow labor camp. In the summer of 1942 transports of men and women capable of working were sent to the *Skarzysko-Kamienna labor camp. At the end of October 1942 deportations to the extermination camps began. In the process of assembling people about 100 were killed, especially the elderly and sick who could not carry out the Nazi orders. The deportees were sent to *Treblinka. Over 100 Jews who were engaged in putting deportees' property in order for the Germans remained in the city and were later transferred to labor camps.

[Aharon Weiss]

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ZYCHLIN (Pol. **Ẓychlin**), town in Lodz province, near *Kutno, central Poland. A Jewish community existed in Zychlin from the 18th century and in 1765 there were 311 Jews paying the poll tax. In 1780 a synagogue was erected, following a special permit from the archbishop of Gniezno. In 1880 it was replaced by a stone building. There were no restrictions on Jewish settlement in Zychlin. The community numbered 457 (57% of the total population) in 1808; 782 (61%) in 1827; 1,062 (66%) in 1857; 2,268 (47%) in 1897; and 2,701 (40%) in 1921.

[Shimshon Leib Kirshenboim]

Holocaust Period

About 3,500 Jews lived in Zychlin in 1939, forming approximately 50% of the total population. The town fell to the German forces on Sept. 17, 1939, and on the following day all the Jewish men were driven to a village 15 miles away, but after detention in a church for three days were released. In April 1940 the Polish and Jewish intellectuals, especially teachers, were arrested and deported to German concentration camps. The number of Jews was reduced to 2,800 by April 1940. A ghetto was established in July 1940 on a swampy area on the outskirts of the town. The ghetto population increased to 3,500, when a group of Jews deported from a nearby town arrived in Zychlin. The ghetto was not fenced in, so that there was some contact with the outside world. The German police could easily be bribed to facilitate some trade. Members of the *Judenrat and certain other Jews were allowed to leave the ghetto during the day. Labor detachments had to be supplied by the Judenrat almost daily. The American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee supplied relief to the poor and the refugees, but no public kitchen could be organized, and as a result of malnutrition a typhoid epidemic broke out in the ghetto. The regime in the ghetto became more severe in 1942 and those who tried to leave the confines of the ghetto were killed. In February 1942 the German police surrounded and broke into the ghetto, killing hundreds of Jews in the streets, among them most of the Judenrat members and their families. The Jewish police were also liquidated in this *Aktion*. On Purim (March 3) 1942, the Jewish population was assembled in the market place and 3,200 persons were loaded on carts; anyone too weak to climb up on the carts was shot on the spot. The entire Jewish population of Zychlin was thus dispatched to the *Chelmno death camp and murdered.

[Danuta Dombrowska]

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ZYCHLINSKA, RAJZEL (1910–2001). Yiddish poet. Born in Gabin (Gombin), Poland, in the years 1936–38 she lived in Warsaw, before escaping to Russia. After returning to Poland in 1947, she lived in Paris (1948–51), and then settled in New York. Her first poems were published in Warsaw in 1928. The fine economy of her short free lyrics has been much praised; she received the Manger Prize in 1975. Her poems have appeared in major Yiddish anthologies and journals, and have been translated into Hebrew, English, French, and German. In book form she published *Lider* ("Poems," 1936), *Der Regn Zingt* ("The Rain Sings," 1939), *Tsu Loytere Bregn* ("To Clear Shores," 1948), *Shvaygndike Tirn* ("Silent Doors," 1962), *Harbstike Skvern* ("Autumn Squares," 1969), *Di November Zun* ("The November Sun," 1977), and *Naye Lider* ("New Poems," 1993). An English volume of her poetry appeared in 1997: *God Hid His Face: Selected Poems*.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: LNYL, 3 (1960), 712–3.

[Leonard Prager / Carrie Friedman-Cohen (2nd ed.)]

ZYGELBOJM, SAMUEL MORDECAI (pseudonym: **Comrade Arthur**; 1895–1943), Polish Bundist leader. Born in the village Borovica in the province of Lublin, Zygelbojm participated in the convention of the Polish *Bund organizations in December 1917 as the delegate from Chelm. From 1920 to 1936 he lived in Warsaw. In 1924 he became a member of the central committee of the Bund. He was elected member and later secretary of the national council of the Jewish trade unions of Poland and chairman of the leather workers' union (Jewish and non-Jewish). He was also a member of the central commission which headed the country's Socialist trade unions. In the early 1930s he spent a year in the United States to promote Yiddish books. In 1926 he became a member of the municipal council of Warsaw and in 1936 a member of the Lodz municipal council.

When the German forces entered Warsaw (September 1939), the mayor was compelled to hand over 12 public figures as hostages to the Nazis. Zygelbojm volunteered to be one of these hostages. He was put on the Warsaw *Judenrat as the Bund representative. There he opposed the Germans' demand that the Judenrat itself establish the Warsaw ghetto. On the request of his party, he managed to leave the German-occupied territory early in January 1940. At the end of January he attended the meeting of the executive council of the Socialist international in Brussels, where he reported on conditions in German-occupied Poland. In September he reached the U.S. From the spring of 1942 Zygelbojm lived in London, where he was the Bund representative at the national council of the Polish government-in-exile during the peak period of the "Final Solution" (see *Holocaust, General Survey). Zygelbojm received information on the Holocaust and made every attempt to alert Polish, British, and other authorities to take rescue and retaliatory action. He was deeply depressed by the ineffectiveness of official action as exemplified by the Anglo-American Conference on Refugees, held in Bermuda (April 19–30, 1943), and by the brutal repression of the revolt in the Warsaw ghetto. As a protest against the atmosphere of indifference to the tragedy of the Jewish people, Zygelbojm committed suicide on May 12, 1943. This act and the letter he left in explanation stirred public opinion.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Stop Them Now* (1942); J. Karski, *Story of a Secret State* (1944); *Ghetto Speaks*, no. 8 (Feb. 1, 1948); LNYL, 3 (1960), 590–4; A.D. Morse, *While Six Million Died* (1968), index; *Zygelbojm-Bukh* (1947); A.S. Stein, *Ḥaver Artur* (Heb. 1953). **ADD. BIBLIOGRAPHY:** G. Pickhan, *Gegen den Strom* (2001).

[Moshe Mishkinsky]

ZYLBERCWEIG, ZALMAN (1894–1972), historian of Yiddish theater. Born in Ozorkow, near Lodz, Poland, to a family descended from the biblical exegete *Malbim, his involvement in the Yiddish theater in Lodz began in 1912, primarily as ensemble manager and translator/adaptor of European repertoire. He also served as a correspondent for the Yiddish press. After living in Palestine and traveling extensively, he settled in New York in 1937, marrying the actress Celia Zuckerberg in 1947. The couple moved to Los Angeles in 1948, where they hosted a Yiddish radio show for 25 years. Zylbercweig wrote, translated, and edited some 30 books. His life's work and signature contribution to Jewish culture was his edition of the six-volume *Leksikon fun Yidishn Teater* ("Encyclopedia of the Yiddish Theater," 1931–69; the first three co-edited with *Jacob Mestel; volume seven, which he also in large part wrote [in press at his death], never appeared). The *New York Times* called it "the most authoritative collection of statistics and biographies of Yiddish stage personalities," and it remains the most important work in the field.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Z. Zylbercweig Yoyvel Bukh* (1941), incl. bibl.; Rejzen, Leksikon, 1 (1926), 1078–80; LNYL, 3 (1960), 621–3; M. Ravitch, *Mayn Leksikon*, 2 (1946), 227–9; *New York Times* (Nov. 22, 1964), 121; *New York Times* (July 27, 1972), 34.

[Faith Jones (2nd ed.)]

ZYRARDOW (Pol. **Żyrardów**), city in Warszawa province, E. central Poland. Jews began to settle there in the 1840s. There were 2,310 Jews (23% of the total population) living in Zyrardow in 1897, most of whom were employed as workers and clerks in the local textile factories, while others engaged in small trade, crafts, tailoring, building, carpentry, transport, and mechanics. The Jewish population numbered 2,547 (12% of the total) in 1921, and 2,726 in 1931.

Holocaust Period

At the outbreak of World War II there were about 3,000 Jews in the city. The German army entered the town on Sept. 8, 1939, and immediately began to terrorize the Jewish population, including public executions. During 1940 about 1,000 Jews from other places in Poland were forced to settle there. In February 1941 the entire Jewish population of Zyrardow was made to leave the city. Most of them went to Warsaw and shared the plight of Warsaw Jewry.

The community was not reconstituted after the war.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: B. Wasiutyński, *Ludność żydowska w Polsce w wiekach XIX i XX* (1930), 20; S. Bronsztejn, *Ludność żydowska w Polsce w okresie miedzywojennym* (1963), 278; S. Kalabiński (ed.), *Carat i klasy posiadające w walce z rewolucją 1905–1907 w Królestwie Polskim* (1956), index; T. Brustin-Bernstein, in: *Bleter far Geshikhte*, 4:2 (1951), table 6.

[Stefan Krakowski]

In the spring of 1909 members of the Ahuzat Bayit association met on a sandy area northeast of Jaffa for a drawing of the lottery that would distribute plots of land to build a Jewish neighborhood. *Photo by A. Soskin, Courtesy Eretz Israel Museum, Tel Aviv.*

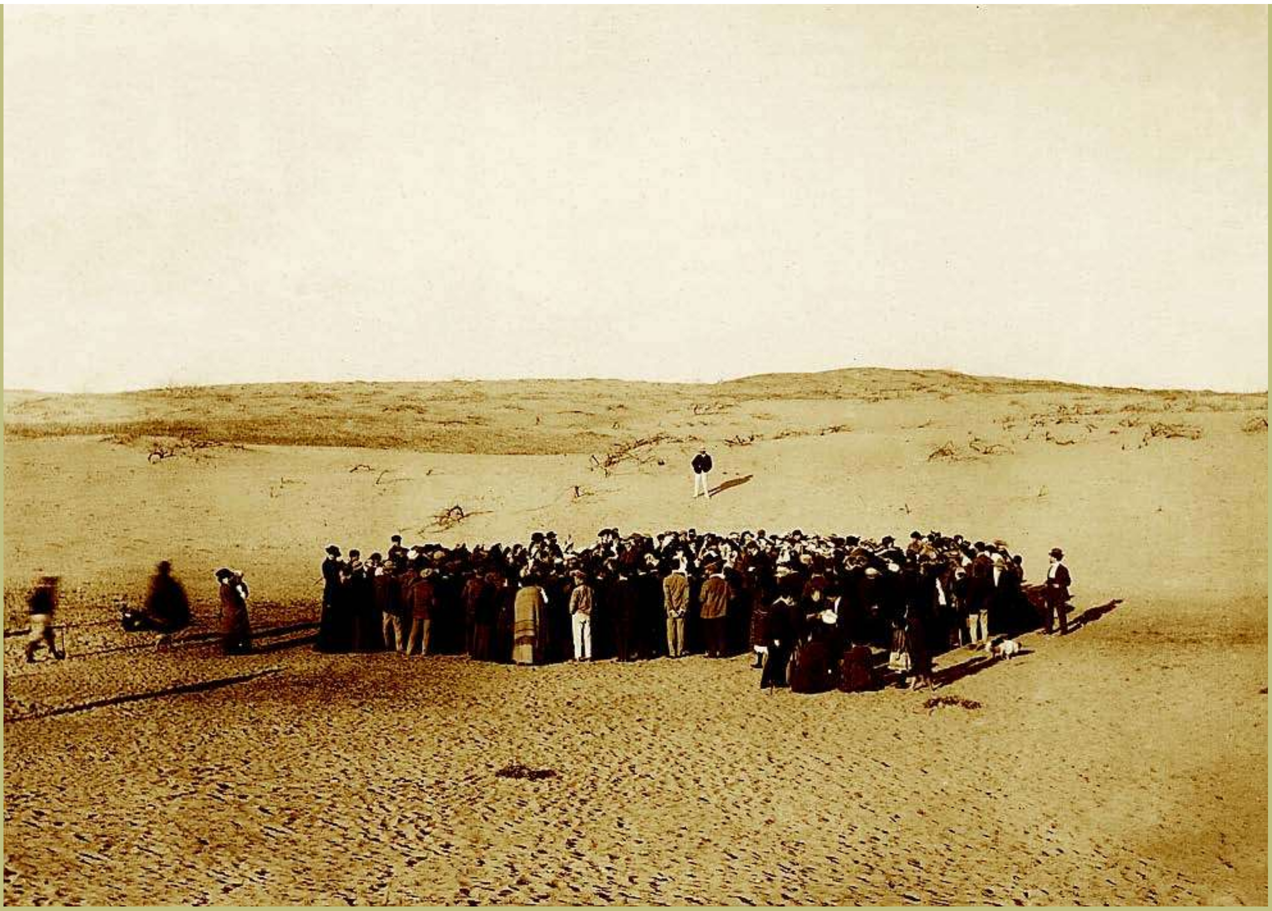

The term Zionism first appeared at the end of the 19th century to denote the movement to reestablish the Jewish homeland in Ereẓ Israel. Over the past century, the nation of Israel has experienced one of the most miraculous transformations in human history. Nowhere is this more clearly revealed than in the vast developments in Israel's architecture and urban landscape. Offered here are some stunning before-and-after views of the growth of Israel as well as some of the faces of Israel's citizens, who hail from more than one hundred countries.

ZIONISM

Nine decades after the lottery of 1909, the large city of Tel Aviv-Jaffa stands on former sandy areas along the Mediterranean coast. The site of the historic lottery gathering is located at the intersection of Rothschild Boulevard and Nahalat Binyamin Street. *Photo: Albatross Aerial Photography.*

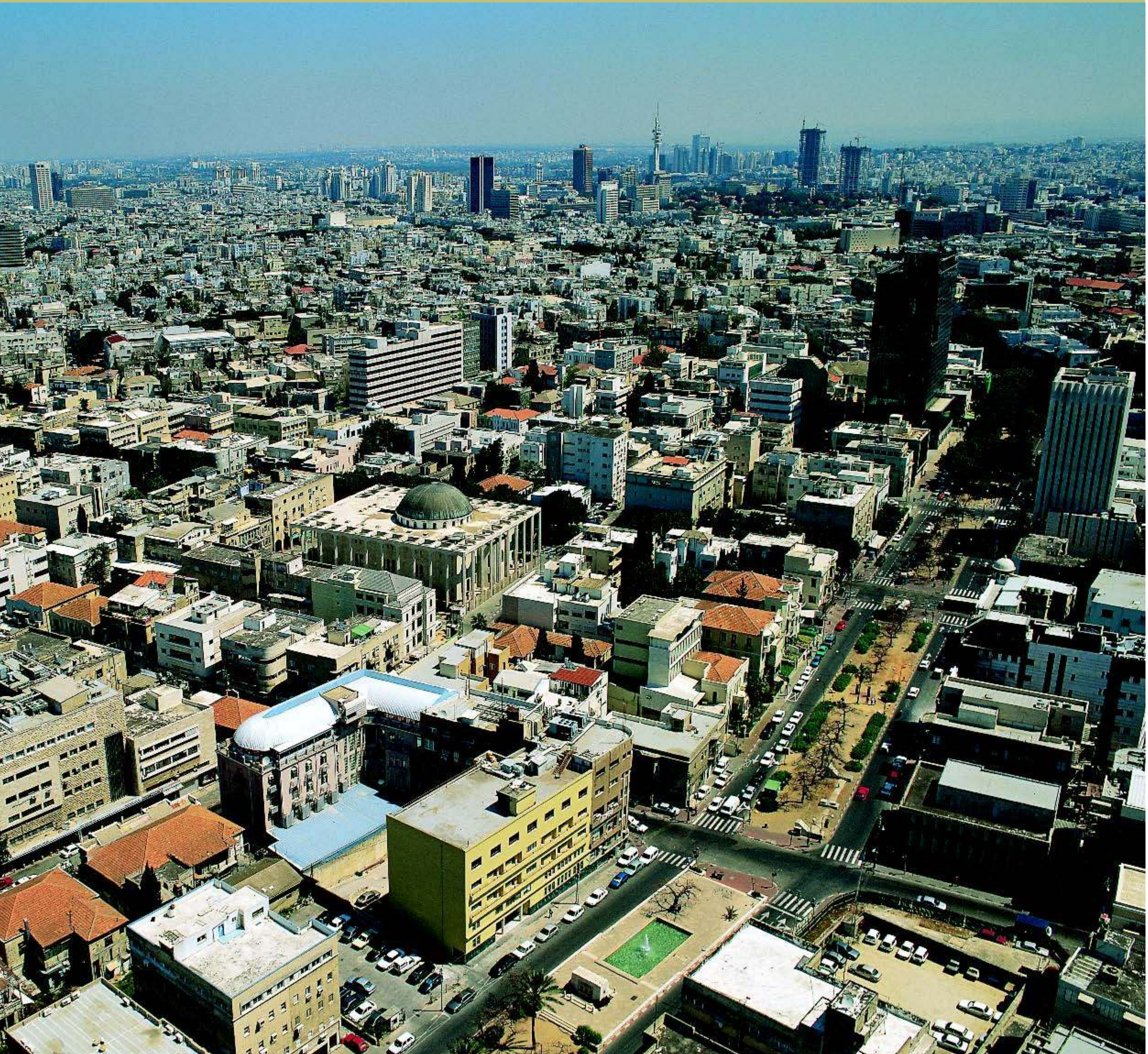

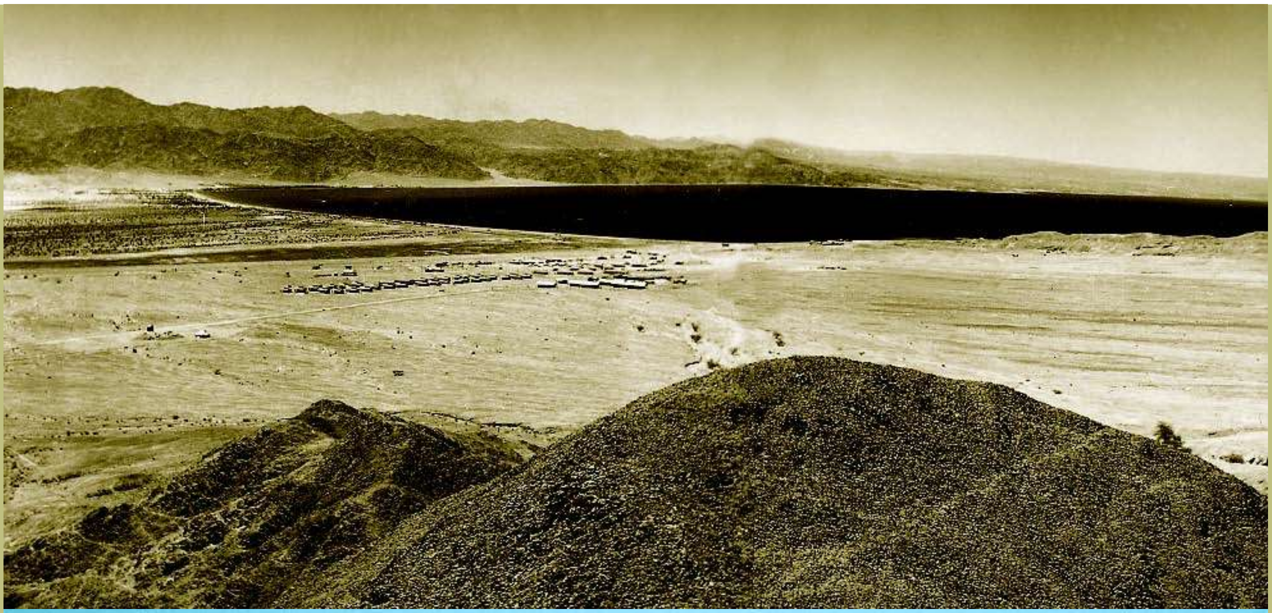

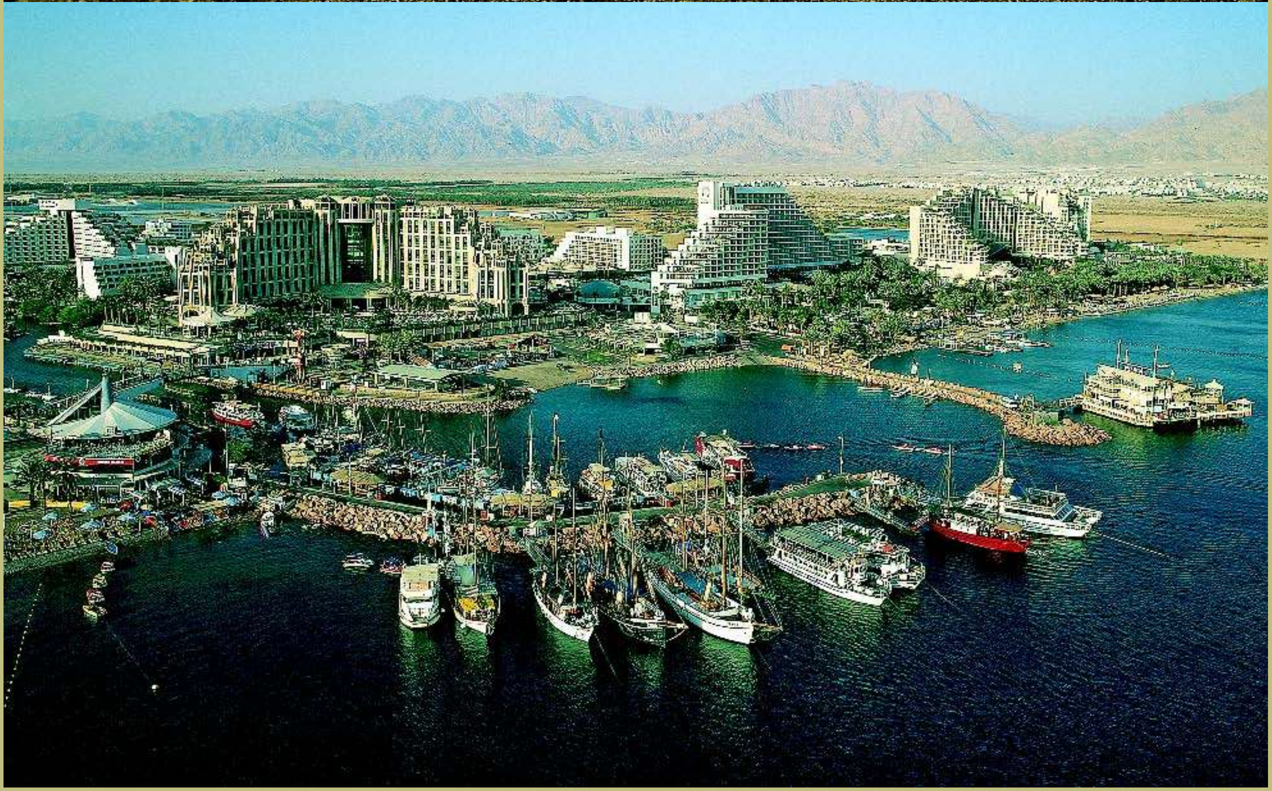

TOP: **A view of the town of Eilat in its early years (early 1950s). The photograph was taken from the mountains west of the town. The Gulf of Eilat is to the right; in the far background are the Jordanian town of Aqaba and the mountains above it. To the left (north) is the Aravah valley extending all the way to the Dead Sea.**

BOTTOM: **Eilat in the early 21st century is mostly a tourist-economy town. It boasts a vast hotel area surrounding a man-made lagoon at the head of the Gulf of Eilat. Large numbers of tourists come to the resort town to enjoy its warm sea. Eilat has developed tremendously from the frontier town it was in the early 1950s.** *Photo: Albatross Aerial Photography.*

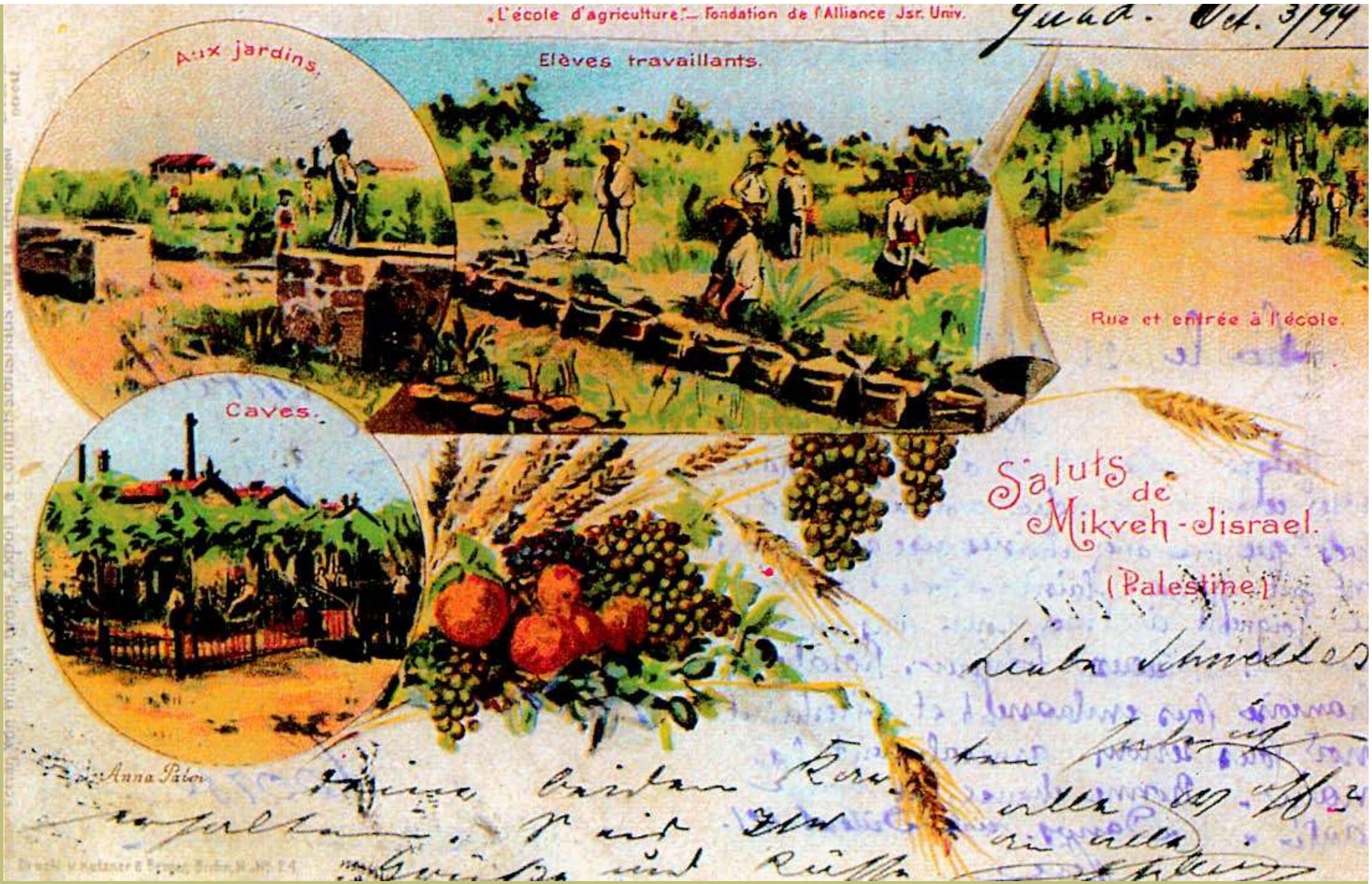
„L'école d'agriculture!" Fondation de l'Alliance Jsr. Univ.
Aux jardins.
Elèves travaillants.
Rue et entrée à l'école.
Caves.
Saluts de Mikveh-Jisrael.
(Palestine.)
Anna Palor

Israelis originally from Kurdistan celebrating the Mimouna festival in Jerusalem.
Photo: David Harris.

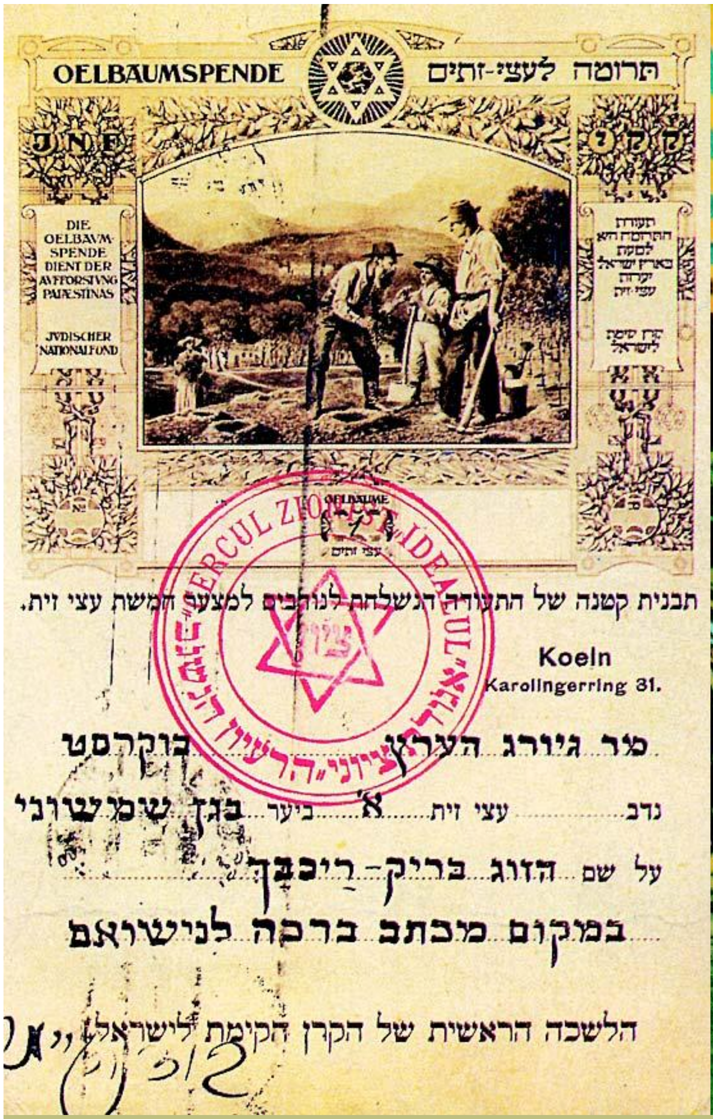

OELBAUMSPENDE תרומה לעצי-זתים

JNF קקל

DIE OELBAVM-SPENDE DIENT DER AVFFORSTVNG PALÆSTINAS

JVDISCHER NATIONALFOND

OELBAUME

1

עצי זתים

CERCUL ZIONIST „IDEAL"

ציון

תבנית קטנה של התעודה הנשלחת לנודבים למצער חמשת עצי זית.

Koeln
Karolingerring 31.

מר גיורג הערץ בוקרסט

נדב א׳ עצי זית ביער בגן שמשוני

על שם הזוג בריק-ריכבך

במקום מכתב ברכה לנישואם

הלשכה הראשית של הקרן הקימת לישראל

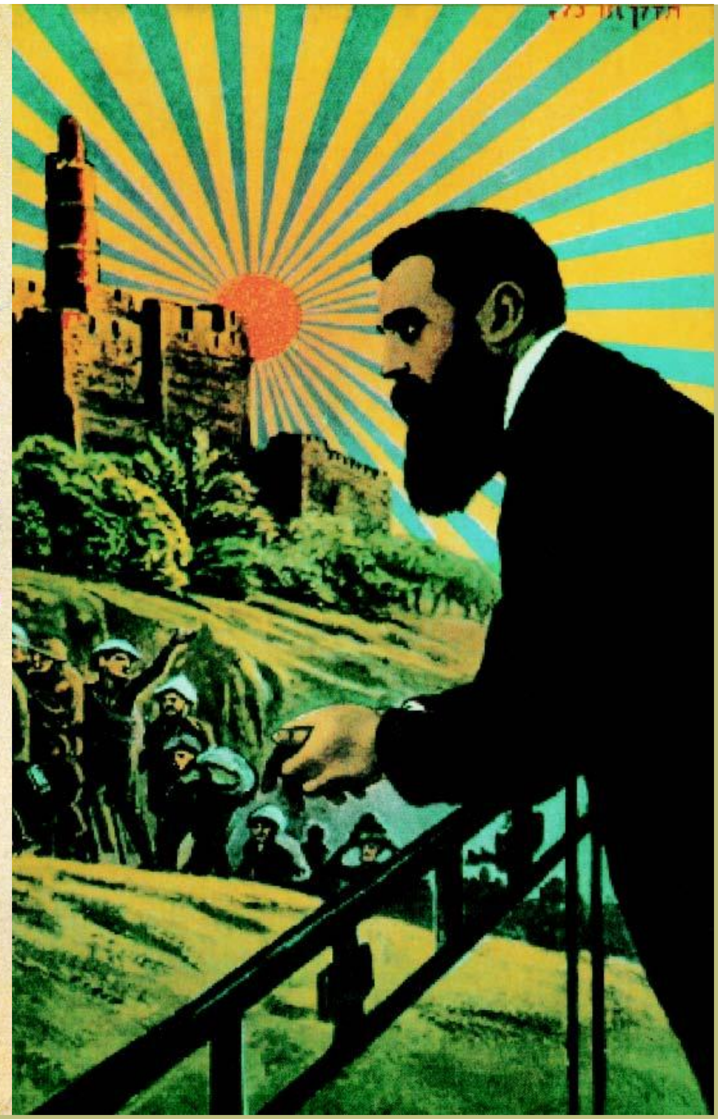

(opposite page) TOP: **Mikveh Israel postcard from the Third Zionist Congress celebrating the creation of an innovative agriculture school where different species of fruits and trees were grown.** *Photo: The Central Zionist Archive, Jerusalem.*

(this page) LEFT: **A very early Jewish National Fund (J.N.F.) certificate given to a donor at the Fifth Zionist Congress in Basel, 1901, for planting olive trees in Ereẓ Israel.** *Photo: The Central Zionist Archive, Jerusalem.*

(this page) RIGHT: **Herzl's vision at the First Zionist congress at Basel, 1897: declaring "If you wish it, it is no legend."** *Photo: The Central Zionist Archive, Jerusalem.*

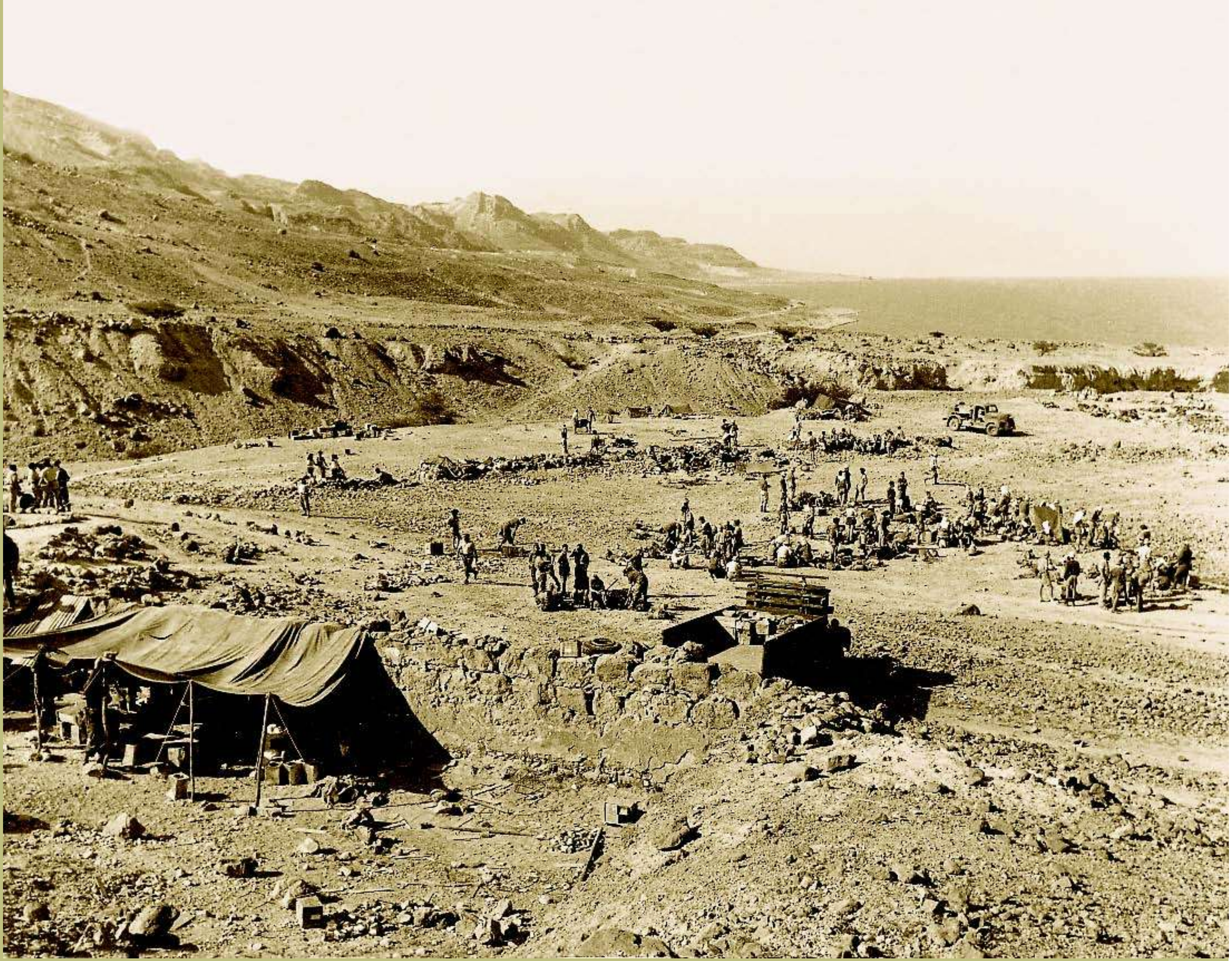

Breaking the ground for the new site of the Dead Sea Works at the southern end of the Dead Sea in 1949. In 1948 the plant at the northern end of the sea was evacuated due to Israel's War of Independence. The Dead Sea is to the right, Mount Sodom to the left.
Photo: The Central Zionist Archive, Jerusalem.

The Dead Sea tourist area with its very special landscape. *Photo: Albatross Aerial Photography.*

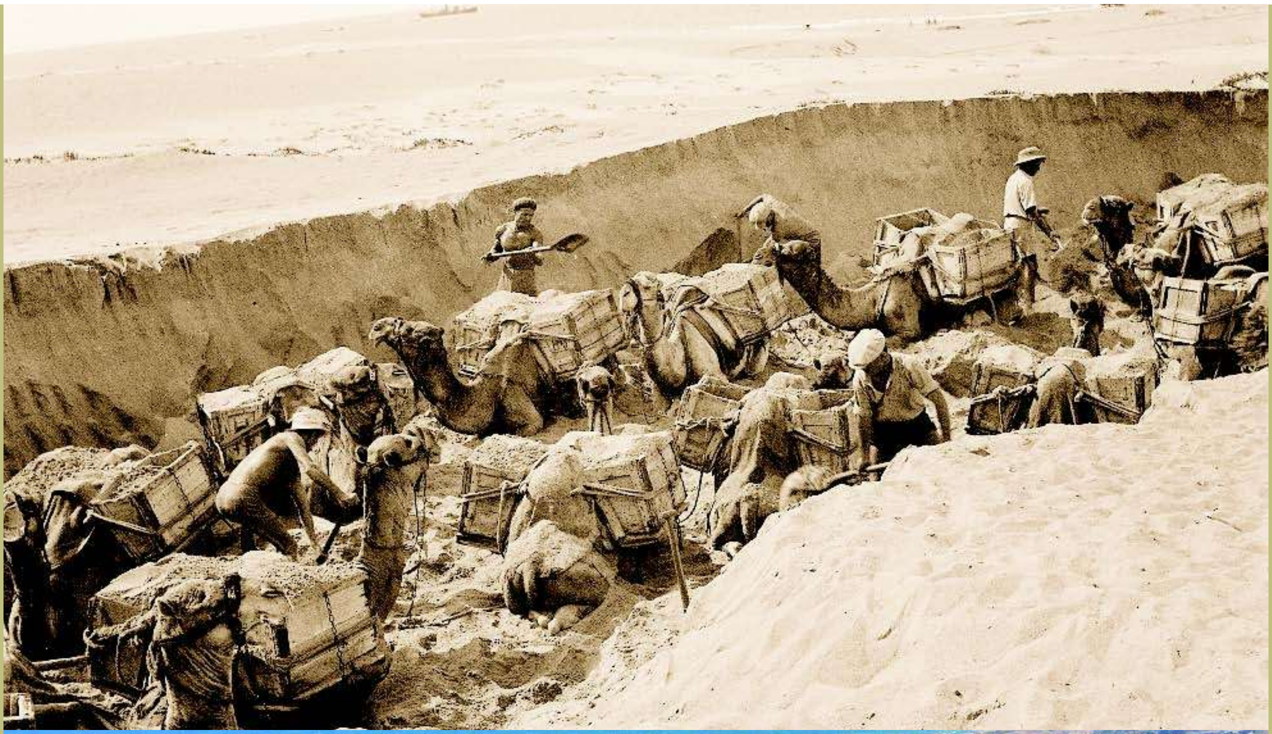

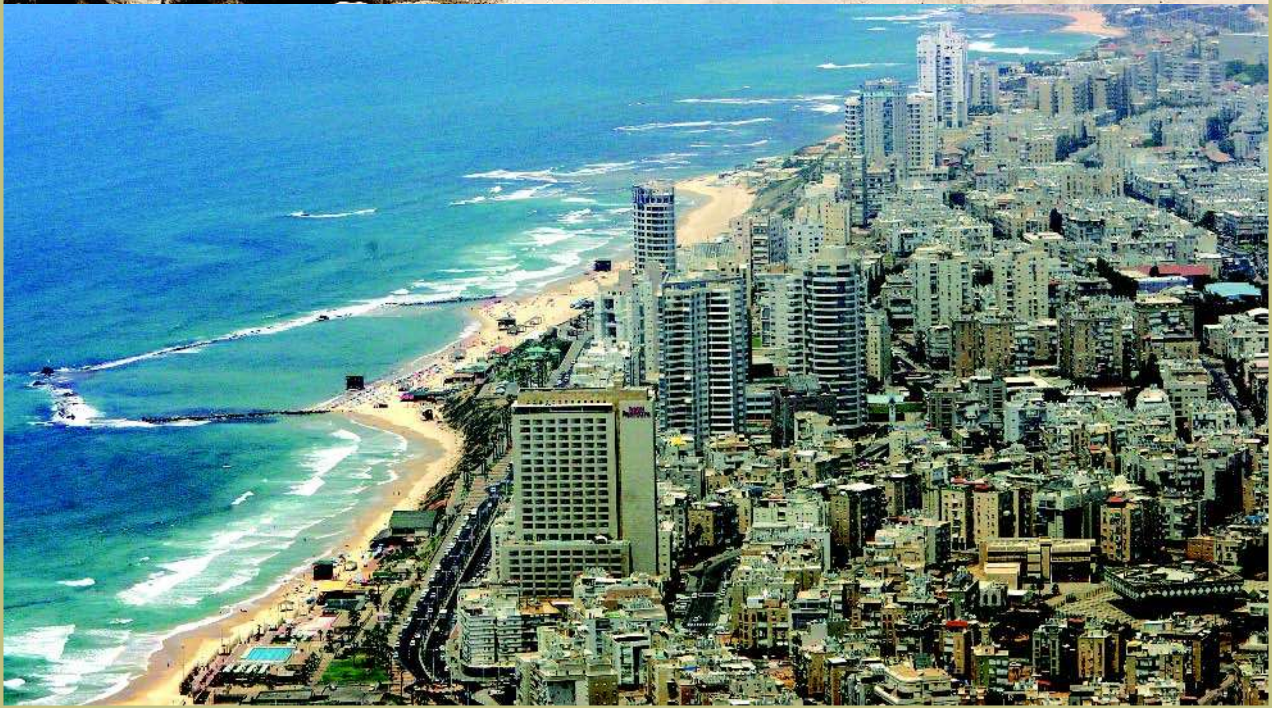

TOP: **On August 1, 1939, Jewish laborers in Bat Yam load gravel onto pack camels for use in building sites.** *Photo by Zoltan Kluger/GPO via Getty Images.*

BOTTOM: **Bat Yam on May 29, 2006. With its high rise hotels and apartment buildings built on the beaches of the Mediterranean Sea, Bat Yam has become a popular tourist destination. It is also a thriving suburban city with a population of more than 130,000 residents.** *Photo by Joe Raedle/Getty Images.*

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INTRODUCTION TO THE THEMATIC OUTLINE

The outline presented here is intended to provide a general view of the conceptual scheme of the *Encyclopaedia*. It is divided into five parts: I. *History*; II. *Religion*; III. *Jewish Languages & Literature*; IV. *Jews in World Culture*; V. *Women*. To show the conceptual components of the *Encyclopaedia*'s coverage, each of these general parts is subdivided into a variety of sections and sub-sections. The categories used in this outline are intended to be heuristic and thereby serviceable in guiding users through the *Encyclopaedia*. Because the rubrics used as section headings are not necessarily mutually exclusive, certain entries in the *Encyclopaedia* are listed in more than one section.

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THEMATIC OUTLINE

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A. ANCIENT PERIOD

1. BIBLE

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BIBLE
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ARIEL
ARK OF MOSES
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ARK OF THE COVENANT
AZAZEL
BAAL WORSHIP
BAHUR
BALANCE
BANNER
BARRENNESS AND FERTILITY
BDELLIUM
BELIAL
BIBLE CODES
BITUMEN
BREAD
BURNING BUSH
CANAAN, CURSE OF
CENSUS
CHEESE
CHERUB
CHIEFTAIN
CITY
CITY OF REFUGE
CONCUBINE
CONGREGATION
COOKING AND BAKING
COPPER SERPENT, THE
CORVÉE
COSMETICS
COVENANT
CRAFTS
CROWNS, DECORATIVE HEADDRESSES AND WREATHS
CULT
CULT PLACES, ISRAELITE
CUPBEARER
DAY OF THE LORD
DEATH, KISS OF
DECALOGUE
DEEP, THE
DEMONS, DEMONOLOGY
DIVINATION
DOLMENS
DOOR AND DOORPOST
DREAMS
DRUNKENNESS
EARTH
EARTHQUAKE
ECSTASY
ELDER
EMBALMING
EPHOD
ETHICS
EUNUCH
EUPHEMISM AND DYSPHEMISM
EXILE, ASSYRIAN
EXILE, BABYLONIAN
FAMINE AND DROUGHT
FIRE
FISH AND FISHING
FLAG
FLESH
FLOOD, THE
FODDER
FOOD
GENEALOGY
GEZER CALENDAR
GOD, NAMES OF
GOG AND MAGOG
GOLDEN CALF
GROVES, SACRED
HAPAX LEGOMENA
HAZAK
HEBREW BOOK TITLES
HIGH PRIEST
HISTORIOGRAPHY
HOLINESS CODE
HOST OF HEAVEN
HUNTING

I. HISTORY

A. ANCIENT PERIOD

1. Bible

General Entries (*continued*)

IDOLATRY
IMPALEMENT
INCENSE AND PERFUMES
IR HA-NIDDAHAT
ISRAEL
ISRAEL, KINGDOM OF
JACHIN AND BOAZ
JACOB, BLESSING OF
JEALOUSY
JESHURUN
KEDUSHAH
KING, KINGSHIP
KIPPER
LABOR
LACHISH OSTRACA
LANDMARKS
LEPROSY
LETTERS AND LETTER-WRITERS
LEVITICAL CITIES
LOTS
LOVE
MAGIC
MANNA
MATRIARCHS
MENE, MENE, TEKEL, U-FARSIN
MENORAH
MESHA STELE
MILK
MILLSTONE
MISHMAROT AND MAAMADOT
MOLOCH, CULT OF
MOON
MOSES, BLESSING OF
MYTH, MYTHOLOGY
NAMES
NASI
NATIONS, THE SEVENTY
NEHUSHTAN
NETHERWORLD
NOACHIDE LAWS
NOMADISM
NUMBERS, TYPICAL AND IMPORTANT
OILS
ORDEAL
ORDEAL OF JEALOUSY
OSSUARIES AND SARCOPHAGI
OSTRACA
PARABLE
PARADISE
PHOENIX
PILLAR
PILLAR OF CLOUD AND PILLAR OF FIRE
PLAGUES OF EGYPT
POETRY
POISON
POOR, PROVISION FOR THE
POTTERY
POVERTY
PRECIOUS STONES AND JEWELRY
PRIESTLY VESTMENTS
PRIESTS AND PRIESTHOOD
PROPHETS AND PROPHECY
PROSTITUTION
PROVERB
PURITY AND IMPURITY, RITUAL
RAIN
RED HEIFER
RIGHT AND LEFT
ROD OF AARON
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SALT
SCEPTER
SCRIBE
SEA, SONG OF THE
SEMITES
SEPTUAGINT
SERVANT OF THE LORD
SHEKEL
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SHIPS AND SAILING
SIGNS AND SYMBOLS
SILOAM (OR SHILOAH) INSCRIPTION
SIN
SOAP
STRANGERS AND GENTILES
SUN
SUNDIAL
TABERNACLE
TABLETS OF THE LAW
TANAKH
TARGUM
TARTAN
TEKHELET
TEMPLE
THRONE
THUNDER AND LIGHTNING
TIKKUN SOFERIM
TITHE
TOMBS AND TOMBSTONES
TREASURE, TREASURY
TRIBES, THE TWELVE
UGARITIC
URIM AND THUMMIM
VULGATE
WAR AND WARFARE
WATCHERS
WEIGHTS AND MEASURES
WELLS
WIDOW
WISDOM; WISDOM LITERATURE
WOOD
WORSHIP
WRITING

YAVNEH-YAM, LEGAL DOCUMENT FROM
YEAR
YOKE
ZADDIK

BIBLICAL LITERATURE

Books of the Bible

AMOS
CHRONICLES, BOOK OF
DANIEL, BOOK OF
DEUTERONOMY
ECCLESIASTES
EXODUS, BOOK OF
EZEKIEL
EZRA AND NEHEMIAH, BOOK OF
GENESIS, BOOK OF
HABAKKUK
HAGGAI
HOSEA, BOOK OF
ISAIAH
JEREMIAH
JOB, BOOK OF
JOEL
JONAH, BOOK OF
JOSHUA, BOOK OF
JUDGES, BOOK OF
KINGS, BOOK OF
LAMENTATIONS, BOOK OF
LEVITICUS, BOOK OF
MALACHI, BOOK OF
MICAH
MINOR PROPHETS
NAHUM
NUMBERS, BOOK OF
OBADIAH, BOOK OF
PENTATEUCH
PENTATEUCH, SAMARITAN
PROVERBS, BOOK OF
PSALMS, BOOK OF
RUTH, BOOK OF
SAMUEL, BOOK OF
SCROLL OF ESTHER
SONG OF SONGS
ZECHARIAH
ZEPHANIAH

Other Literature

BOOK OF JASHAR
BOOK OF LIFE
BOOK OF THE COVENANT
BOOK OF THE WARS OF THE LORD
BOOKS OF THE CHRONICLES OF THE KINGS OF JUDAH AND ISRAEL
HUMMASH
SHAPIRA FRAGMENTS

BIBLICAL FIGURES

AARON
ABDON
ABEL
ABIATHAR
ABIEZER
ABIGAIL
ABIHU
ABIJAH
ABIMELECH
ABIMELECH
ABINADAB
ABISHAG THE SHUNAMMITE
ABISHAI
ABNER
ABRAHAM
ABSALOM
ACHAN
ACHBOR
ACHISH
ACHSAH
ADAH
ADAM
ADONI-BEZEK
ADONIJAH
ADONIRAM
ADONI-ZEDEK
ADRAMMELECH
ADRIEL
AGAG
AGUR SON OF JAKEH
AHAB
AHAB
AHASUERUS
AHASUERUS-XERXES
AHAZ
AHAZIAH
AHIJAH
AHIJAH THE SHILONITE
AHIKAM
AHIMAAZ
AHIMAN, SHESHAI, TALMAI
AHIMELECH
AHITHOPHEL THE GILONITE
AHITUB
AKHENATON
AMASA
AMAZIAH
AMENOPHIS III
AMNON
AMON
AMOS
AMRAM
AMRAPHEL
ANAK, ANAKIM
ANAMMELECH
ANATH
ANER, ESHKOL, AND MAMRE
ARAUNAH
ARIOCH
ASA
ASAHEL
ASAPH
ASENAPPER

I. HISTORY

A. ANCIENT PERIOD

1. Bible

Biblical Figures (*continued*)

ASENATH
ASHER
ASHERAH
ASHIMA
ASHTORETH
ATHALIAH
BAAL-BERITH
BAALIS
BAASHA
BALAAM
BALAK
BARAK
BARUCH
BARZILLAI
BATH-SHEBA
BELSHAZZAR
BELTESHAZZAR
BENAIAH
BEN-HADAD
BENJAMIN
BETHUEL
BEZALEL
BILHAH
BITHIAH
BIZTHA
BOAZ
CAIN
CALEB, CALEBITES
CAMBYSES
CANAAN
CHEDORLAOMER
CHEMOSH
COZBI
CUSH
CUSHAN-RISHATHAIM
CYRUS
DAGON
DAN
DANIEL
DARIUS I
DARIUS THE MEDE
DATHAN AND ABIRAM
DAVID
DAVID, DYNASTY OF
DEBORAH
DELILAH
DINAH
DOEG
EBER
EGLON
EHUD
ELAH
ELASAH
ELDAD AND MEDAD
ELEAZAR
ELHANAN
ELI
ELIASHIB
ELIEZER
ELIHU
ELIJAH
ELIMELECH
ELIPHAZ
ELISHA
ELISHAH
ELISHEBA
ELKANAH
ELNATHAN BEN ACHBOR
EN-DOR, WITCH OF
ENOCH
ENOSH
EPHRAIM
EPHRON
ER
ESARHADDON
ESAU
ESTHER
ETHAN
ETHBAAL
EVE
EVIL MERODACH
EZRA
GAAL
GAD
GAD
GAD
GEDALIAH
GEHAZI
GEMARIAH
GERSHOM
GERSHON, GERSHONITES
GESHEM, GASHMU
GIDEON
GOIIM
GOLIATH
GOMER
HABAKKUK
HADAD
HAGAR
HAGGAI
HAM
HAMAN
HAMMURAPI
HAMOR
HANANIAH SON OF AZZUR
HANNAH
HAVILAH
HAZAEL
HEBER
HEMAN
HEZEKIAH
HEZIR
HIEL
HILKIAH
HIRAM

HOPHNI AND PHINEHAS
HOPHRA
HOSHEA
HULDAH
HUR
HUSHAI THE ARCHITE
ICHABOD
IMMANUEL
ISAAC
ISAIAH
ISH-BOSHETH
ISHMAEL
ISHMAEL
ISSACHAR
ITHAMAR
ITTAI
JAAZANIAH
JABAL
JABIN
JACOB
JAEL
JAIR
JANNES AND JAMBRES
JAPHETH
JAVAN
JEDAIAH
JEDUTHUN
JEHOAHAZ
JEHOAHAZ
JEHOASH
JEHOIACHIN
JEHOIADA
JEHOIAKIM
JEHOIARIB
JEHORAM
JEHORAM
JEHOSHAPHAT
JEHU
JEHU
JEPHTHAH
JEREMIAH
JEROBOAM
JEROBOAM II
JESHUA
JESSE
JETHRO
JEZEBEL
JOAB
JOASH
JOCHEBED
JOHANAN
JOKTAN
JONATHAN
JONATHAN
JOSEPH
JOSHUA
JOSIAH
JOTHAM
JOTHAM
JUBAL
JUDAH
KETURAH
KISH
KOHATH AND KOHATHITES
KORAH
LABAN
LAMECH
LEAH
LEMUEL
LEVI
LOT
MAACAH
MACHIR
MAHER SHALAL HASH BAZ
MAHLON AND CHILION
MANASSEH
MANASSEH
MARDUK
MELCHIZEDEK
MENAHEM
MEPHIBOSHETH
MERAB
MERNEPTAH
MERODACH
MERODACH-BALADAN
MESHA
METHUSELAH
MICA
MICAH
MICAIAH
MICAIAH
MICHAEL AND GABRIEL
MICHAL
MIRIAM
MITHREDATH
MORDECAI
MOSES
NAAMAH
NAAMAN
NABAL
NABONIDUS
NABOTH
NADAB
NAHASH
NAHOR
NAHSHON
NAHUM
NAOMI
NAPHTALI
NATHAN
NAZIRITE
NEBUCHADNEZZAR
NEBUZARADAN
NECO
NEHEMIAH
NEPHILIM
NERGAL-SHAREZER
NIMROD
NOAH
OBED

I. HISTORY

A. ANCIENT PERIOD

1. Bible

Biblical Figures (*continued*)

OBED-EDOM
OG
OHOLIAB
OMRI
ONAN
ONKELOS AND AQUILA
OREB AND ZEEB
ORPAH
OTHNIEL
PALTI
PASHHUR
PATRIARCHS, THE
PEKAH
PEKAHIAH
PENINNAH
PEREZ
PHARAOH
PHINEHAS
POTIPHAR
POTI-PHERA
PUT
PUTIEL
QUEEN OF SHEBA
RAB-SARIS AND RAB-MAG
RAB-SHAKEH
RACHEL
RAHAB
RAMSES
RAPHAEL
REBEKAH
RECHAB AND BAANAH
REGEM-MELECH
REHOBOAM
REHUM
REPHAIM
RESHEPH
REUBEN
REZIN
RIMMON
RIZPAH
SAMSON
SAMUEL
SANDALFON
SARAH
SARGON II
SAUL
SENNACHERIB
SERAIAH
SERAPH
SETH
SETI I
SHADRACH, MESHACH, ABED-NEGO
SHALLUM
SHALMANESER III
SHALMANESER V
SHAMGAR
SHAMMAH
SHAPHAN
SHAREZER
SHEALTIEL
SHEBA BEN BICHRI
SHEBNAH
SHEM
SHEMAIAH
SHESHBAZZAR
SHIMEI
SHIPHRAH AND PUAH
SHISHAK
SHULAMMITE
SIHON
SIKKUTH AND CHIUN
SIMEON
SISERA
SO
SOLOMON
SOLOMON, SERVANTS OF
SUCCOTH-BENOTH
TABEEL, THE SON OF
TAMAR
TAMMUZ
TEMA
TEMAN
TERAH
TERAPHIM
TIBNI
TIGLATH-PILESER III
TIRHAKAH
TUBAL-CAIN
URIAH
URIEL
UZZAH
UZZIAH
VASHTI
ZADOK
ZEBAH AND ZALMUNNA
ZEBULUN
ZECHARIAH
ZECHARIAH
ZECHARIAH
ZECHARIAH
ZEDEKIAH
ZEDEKIAH
ZELOPHEHAD
ZEPHANIAH
ZERAH
ZERAH THE CUSHITE
ZERUBBABEL
ZIBA
ZILPAH
ZIMRI
ZIMRI
ZIPPORAH

Places and Peoples

ABEL SHITTIM

ABEL, AVEL
ABEL-BETH-MAACAH
ABEL-MAUL
ABEL-MEHOLAH
ACHOR, VALLEY OF
ACHSHAPH
ACHZIB
ACRE
ADAM
ADORAIM
ADULLAM
AHLAB
AI
AKKAD
ALALAKH
ALMON
ALMON-DIBLATHAIM
AMALEKITES
AMMON, AMMONITES
AMORITES
ANAB
ANAHARATH
ANATHOTH
ARAM, ARAMEANS
ARAM-DAMASCUS
ARARAT
ARGOB
ARNON
AROER
ASHDOD
ASHKELON
ASHKENAZ
ASHTAROTH, ASHTEROTH-KARNAIM, KARNAIM
ATAROTH
AVVIM
AZEKAH
AZNOTH-TABOR
AZOR
BAALAH
BAAL-GAD
BAAL-HAZOR
BAAL-MEON
BAAL-PERAZIM
BAAL-ZEPHON
BABEL, TOWER OF
BABYLON
BABYLONIA
BAHURIM
BASHAN
BEER
BEEROTH
BEERSHEBA
BENE-BERAK
BESOR, BROOK OF
BET AGLAYIM
BET(H)-ANATH
BET(H)-CHEREM
BET(H)-DAGON
BET(H)-EDEN
BET(H)-EL
BET(H)-HARAM
BET HARODON
BET(H)-HORON
BETHLEHEM
BET(H) LEHEM (Ha-Gelilit)
BET(H)-NIMRAH
BET(H)-REHOB
BET(H)-SHEAN
BET(H)-SHEMESH
BET(H)-SHITTAH
BET YERAH
BET(H)-ZUR
BEZEK
CABUL
CALNEH
CANAAN, LAND OF
CAPHTOR
CARMEL
CARMEL, MOUNT
CHALDEA, CHALDEANS
CHEBAR
CHERITH
CHINNERETH
COZEBA
CUSH
CUTH, CUTHAH
DAMASCUS
DAN
DEBIR
DOBRATH
DOR
DOTHAN
EBEN-EZER
EBLA
EDOM
EDREI
EGLON
EGYPT
EGYPT, BROOK OF
EKRON
ELAM
EL-AMARNA
ELATH
ELEALEH
ELTEKEH
EMAR
EN-DOR
EN-GANNIM
EN-HAROD
EN-RIMMON
EN-ROGEL
EPHRATH
EPHRON
ERECH
ESHTAOL
ESHTEMOA
ETAM
EUPHRATES
EZION-GEBER
GALILEE

I. HISTORY

A. ANCIENT PERIOD

1. Bible

Places and Peoples (*continued*)

GARDEN OF EDEN
GATH
GATH-HEPHER
GATH-RIMMON
GAZA
GEBA
GEDERAH, GEDEROTH
GEDOR
GEHINNOM
GERAR
GERIZIM, MOUNT
GEZER
GIBBETHON
GIBEAH, GEBA
GIBEON
GIBEONITES AND NETHINIM
GILBOA
GILEAD
GILGAL
GINNOSAR, PLAIN OF
GIRGASHITES
GITTAIM
GOLAN
GOSHEN
GOZAN
HABIRU
HABOR
HADID
HADRACH
HALHUL
HAM
HAMMATH
HANNATHON
HAPHARAIM
HARAN
HAROSHETH-GOIIM
HAURAN
HAVILAH
HAVVOTH-JAIR
HAZER, HAZERIM
HAZEROTH
HAZOR
HEBRON
HELIOPOLIS
HEPHER
HERMON, MOUNT
HESHBON
HITTITES
HIVITES, THE
HOLON
HOR
HORMAH
HORONAIM
HOUSE OF THE FOREST OF LEBANON
HUKOK
HULEH
HURRIANS
HYKSOS
IBLEAM
IJON
IR-NAHASH
IRON
ISHMAELITES
JABBOK
JABESH-GILEAD
JABNEEL
JABNEH
JAFFA
JAHAZ, JAHAZA
JANOAH, JANAH
JAPHIA
JARMUTH
JATTIR, JETHIRA
JAZER
JEBUS, JEBUSITE
JEHOSHAPHAT, VALLEY OF
JERICHO
JERUSALEM
JEZREEL
JEZREEL, VALLEY OF
JOKNEAM
JORDAN
JOTAPATA
JOTBATH, JOTHBATAH
KADESH
KANAH
KARKAR
KARNAIM
KEDAR
KEDEMITES
KEDEMOTH
KEILAH
KENATH
KENITE
KERAK OR CHARAX
KIDRON
KINNERET, LAKE
KIR HARESETH
KIRIATH-JEARIM
KISHON
KITTIM
LACHISH
LEBANON
LEBO-HAMATH
LIBNAH
LO-DEBAR
LUZ
LYDDA
LYDIA, LYDIANS
MAALEH AKRABBIM
MACHPELAH, CAVE OF
MADABA, MEDEBA
MADON
MAHANAIM
MAKKEDAH

MAMRE
MA'ON
MARESHAH
MARI
MEDES AND MEDIA
MEGIDDO
MEMPHIS
MERON
MEROZ
MESHECH
MESOPOTAMIA
MEUNITES
MICHMASH
MIDIAN, MIDIANITES
MIGDOL
MINNITH
MISREPHOTH-MAIM
MIZPEH; MIZPAH
MOAB
MOLADAH
MORESHETH-GATH
MORIAH
MOUNT OF OLIVES
MOZA, (HA-) MOZAH
NAHALAL
NAVEH
NEBAIOTH
NEBO
NEGEV
NETOPHAH
NILE
NINEVEH
NOB
NUZI
ONO
OPHEL
OPHIR
OPHRAH
PADDAN-ARAM
PARAH, PERATH
PARAN
PARVAIM
PATHROS
PEKOD
PELLA
PENUEL
PERGAMUM
PERIZZITES
PHILISTINES
PHOENICIA, PHOENICIANS
PI-HAHIROTH
PISGAH
PITHOM
PUNON
QUE
RABBAH
RABBATH-AMMON
RAFA
RAMAH
RAMAT RAHEL
RAMOTH
RAMOTH-GILEAD
RAMSES
RECHABITES
RED SEA
REHOB
REHOBOTH
REHOV, TEL
REPHAIM
REPHIDIM
RESEN
RIBLAH
RIMMON-PEREZ
RODANIM
RUMAH OR ARUMAH
SABEA
SALCHAH
SAMARIA
SEIR, MOUNT
SENAAH
SEPHARAD
SEPHARVAIM
SHAALBIM
SHA'AR HA-GOLAN
SHARUHEN
SHECHEM
SHEPHELAH
SHIHIN
SHIHOR, SHIHOR-LIBNATH
SHILOAH, SILOAM
SHILOH
SHIMRON
SHINAR
SHUNEM
SHUSHAN
SIDON
SIN, WILDERNESS OF
SINAI
SINAI, MOUNT
SOCOH OR SOCO
SODOM AND GOMORRAH
SOREK, VALLEY OF
SUCCOTH
SUMER, SUMERIANS
TAANACH
TABOR, MOUNT
TADMOR
TAMAR
TAPPUAH
TARSHISH
TEKOA
TEMA
THEBES
THEBEZ
TIGRIS
TIMNA
TIMNAH
TIMNATH-HERES
TIRZAH
TOB

I. HISTORY

A. ANCIENT PERIOD

1. Bible

Places and Peoples (*continued*)

TRANSJORDAN
TYRE
UGARIT
UR
UZ
UZAL
WADI AL-NATTUF
WILDERNESS
ZAMZUMMIM
ZANOAH
ZAPHON
ZAREPHATH
ZARETHAN
ZEMARAIM
ZERED
ZEREDAH
ZIKLAG
ZION
ZIPH
ZOAN
ZORAH

Flora and Fauna

ALGUM
ALMOND
ANIMALS OF THE BIBLE AND TALMUD
APPLE
BALSAM
BARLEY
BAY TREE
BEAR
BEE
BEHEMOTH
CALAMUS, SWEET
CAMEL
CAPER
CAROB
CASTOR-OIL PLANT
CAT
CATTLE
CEDAR
CENTIPEDE
CHAMELEON
CHICKEN
CINNAMON
CORAL
CORIANDER
COTTON
CRANE
CRIMSON WORM
CROCODILE
CUCUMBER
CYPRESS
DEER
DOG
DOVE
DYE PLANTS
EAGLE
EBONY
ELEPHANT
FENNEL
FIG
FLAX
FLEA
FLOWERS
FLY
FOX
FRANKINCENSE
FROG
GALBANUM
GARLIC
GAZELLE
GECKO
GNAT
GOAT
GOOSE
GRASSHOPPER
GULL
HARE
HAWK
HEMLOCK
HENNA
HONEY
HOOPOE
HORNET
HORSE
HYRAX
HYSSOP
IBEX
IVORY
JACKAL
JUNIPER
KITE
LAUDANUM
LEECH
LEEK
LENTIL
LEOPARD
LEVIATHAN
LION
LIZARD
LOCUST
MANDRAKE
MELON
MILLET
MOLE
MOTH
MOUSE
MULBERRY
MUSHROOMS
MYRRH
MYRTLE
NIGHTINGALE
NUT
OAK

OLEANDER
OLIVE
ONAGER
ONION
ORACH
OSTRICH
OWL
PALM
PAPYRUS
PARTRIDGE
PIG
PINE
PISTACHIO
PLANE TREE
PLANTS
PLUM
POMEGRANATE
POPLAR
QUAIL
RAT
RAVEN
REED
ROCKET
ROSE
SAFFRON
SCORPION
SHEEP
SILK
SKINK
SNAKE
SORGHUM
SPARROW
SPICES
SPIDER
SPIKENARD
STORAX
STORK
SWIFT
SYCAMORE
TAHASH
TAMARISK
TEREBINTH
THISTLES AND THORNS
TORTOISE
TRAGACANTH
TURTLE DOVE
VEGETABLES
VINE
VULTURES
WEEDS
WHEAT
WILD BULL
WILLOW
WOLF
WORM
WORMWOOD

Biblical Scholars

AHARONI, YOHANAN
AINSWORTH, HENRY
ALBRIGHT, WILLIAM FOXWELL
ALT, ALBRECHT
ANDREWES, LANCELOT
ASTRUC, JEAN
BADE, WILLIAM FREDERIC
BAETHGEN, FRIEDRICH WILHELM ADOLPH
BAUDISSIN, WOLF WILHELM, GRAF VON
BAUER, HANS
BAUMGARTEL, ELISE J.
BAUMGARTNER, WALTER
BECK(IUS), MATTHIAS FRIEDRICH
BEEK, MARTINUS ADRIANUS
BEN-ASHER, AARON BEN MOSES
BEN-ASHER, MOSES
BEN-NAPHTALI, MOSES BEN DAVID
BENTZEN, AAGE
BENZINGER, IMMANUEL
BERGSTRAESSER, GOTTHELF
BERTHOLET, ALFRED
BLEEK, FRIEDRICH
BONFRERE, JAQUES
BUDDE, KARL FERDINAND REINHARD
BUHL, FRANZ PEDER WILLIAM MEYER
BUTTENWIESER, MOSES
CASSUTO, UMBERTO
CHEYNE, THOMAS KELLY
COCCEIUS, JOHANNES
COLENSO, JOHN WILLIAM
COOK, STANLEY ARTHUR
COOKE, GEORGE ALBERT
CORNILL, CARL HEINRICH
CROWFOOT, JOHN WINTER
DAVIDSON, SAMUEL
DEL MEDICO, HENRI E.
DELITZSCH, FRIEDRICH
DEUTSCH, EMANUEL OSKAR
DIEZ MACHO, ALEJANDRO
DILLMANN, AUGUST
DOTHAN, TRUDE
DRIVER, SAMUEL ROLLES
DUBNO, SOLOMON BEN JOEL
DUHM, BERNHARD
DUPONT-SOMMER, ANDRE
EERDMANS, BERNARDUS DIRKS
EHRLICH, ARNOLD BOGUMIL
EICHHORN, JOHANN GOTTFRIED
EISSFELDT, OTTO
ERMAN, JOHANN PETER ADOLF
EWALD, HEINRICH GEORG AUGUST
FEIGIN, SAMUEL ISAAC
FINKELSTEIN, JACOB JOEL
FISHBANE, MICHAEL
FRANKFORT, HENRI
FRYMER-KENSKY, TIKVA
GALLING, KURT
GARSTANG, JOHN
GEDDES, ALEXANDER
GELB, IGNACE JAY
GESENIUS, HEINRICH FRIEDRICH WILHELM
GEVIRTZ, STANLEY

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A. ANCIENT PERIOD

1. Bible

Biblical Scholars (*continued*)

GINSBERG, HAROLD LOUIS
GINSBURG, CHRISTIAN DAVID
GORDIS, ROBERT
GORDON, CYRUS HERZL
GRAF, KARL HEINRICH
GREENBERG, MOSHE
GREENFIELD, JONAS CARL
GRESSMANN, HUGO
GRUENBERG, SAMUEL
GUNKEL, HERMANN
GUTHE, HERMANN
HALLO, WILLIAM
HARAN, MENAHEM
HELD, MOSHE
HENGSTENBERG, ERNST WILHELM
HITZIG, FERDINAND
HOELSCHER, GUSTAV
HOSCHANDER, JACOB
HOTTINGER, JOHANN HEINRICH
HRABANUS MAURUS
HUPFELD, HERMANN CHRISTIAN KARL
ILGEN, KARL DAVID
JACOB BEN HAYYIM BEN ISAAC IBN ADONIJAH
JACOB, BENNO
JAMPEL, SIGMUND
JEREMIAS, ALFRED
JIRKU, ANTON
KALISCH, MARKUS MORITZ
KAUFMANN, YEHEZKEL
KAUTZSCH, EMIL FRIEDRICH
KEIL, KARL FRIEDRICH
KENYON, KATHLEEN MARY
KIRKPATRICK, ALEXANDER FRANCIS
KITTEL, RUDOLF
KUENEN, ABRAHAM
KUGEL, JAMES
LA PEYRERE, ISAAC
LANDSBERGER, BENNO
LEIBOWITZ, NEHAMA
LEUSDEN, JOHANN
LEVENSON, JON
LEVINE, BARUCH
LEWY, JULIUS
LIGHTFOOT, JOHN
LODS, ADOLPHE
LOEWE, JOEL (BRILL)
LOEWISOHN, SOLOMON
LOISY, ALFRED FIRMIN
LOWTH, ROBERT
MACALISTER, ROBERT ALEXANDER STEWART
MAHLER, EDUARD
MALAMAT, ABRAHAM
MARGOLIS, MAX LEOPOLD
MARTI, KARL
MAZAR, BENJAMIN
MEINHOLD, JOHANNES FRIEDRICH
MEYER, EDUARD
MICHAELIS, JOHANN DAVID
MILGROM, JACOB
MOWINCKEL, SIGMUND OLAF PLYTT
NATHAN, MORDECAI
NICHOLAS DE LYRE
NOTH, MARTIN
NOWACK, WILHELM GUSTAV HERMANN
ORLINSKY, HARRY MEYER
PARROT, ANDRE
PEDERSEN, JOHANNES
PELLICANUS (Rubeaquensis), CONRAD
PETRIE, SIR WILLIAM MATTHEW FLINDERS
PFEIFFER, ROBERT HENRY
POPPER, WILLIAM
RAD, GERHARD VON
REUSS, EDUARD
ROSENMUELLER, ERNST FRIEDRICH KARL
ROWLEY, HAROLD HENRY
RYSSEL, VICTOR
SANDMEL, SAMUEL
SARNA, NAHUM
SCHAEFFER, CLAUDE F. A.
SEELIGMANN, ISAC LEO
SEGAL, MOSES HIRSCH (ZEVI)
SELLIN, ERNST
SHAPIRO, DAVID S.
SMEND, RUDOLPH
SMITH, SIR GEORGE ADAM
SMITH, JOHN MERLIN POWIS
SMITH, WILLIAM ROBERTSON
SPEISER, EPHRAIM AVIGDOR
STEUERNAGEL, CARL
TADMOR, HAYIM
TALMON, SHEMARYAHU
TAVUS, JACOB BEN JOSEPH
THEODORE OF MOPSUESTIA
TIGAY, JEFFREY
TORREY, CHARLES CUTLER
TUR-SINAI (Torczyner), NAPHTALI HERZ (Harry)
TYNDALE, WILLIAM
VATKE, WILHELM
VAUX, ROLAND DE
VOLZ, PAUL
VRIEZEN, THEODORUS CHRISTIAAN
WALTON, BRYAN
WEILL, RAYMOND
WEINGREEN, JACOB
WEISS, MEIR
WELLHAUSEN, JULIUS
WETTE, DE, WILHELM MARTIN LEBERECHT
WIENER, HAROLD MARCUS
WINCKLER, HUGO
WOOLLEY, SIR CHARLES LEONARD
YEIVIN, SHEMUEL
ZIMMERLI, WALTHER

2. TALMUD

MAIN SURVEYS

MISHNAH
TALMUD, BABYLONIAN
TALMUD, JERUSALEM

GENERAL ENTRIES

ACADEMIES IN BABYLONIA AND EREZ ISRAEL
AGGADAH
AHERIM
ALEF
ALLEGORY
ALLUF
ALPHABET, HEBREW, IN MIDRASH, TALMUD, AND KABBALAH
AM HA-AREZ
AMORA
AMORAIM
ANDROGYNOS
ANGELS AND ANGELOLOGY
ANOINTING
ARK OF THE COVENANT
BAHUR
BARRENNESS AND FERTILITY
BAT KOL
BEI AVIDAN
BEI-RAV
BET HILLEL AND BET SHAMMAI
BREAD
CAPTIVES, RANSOMING OF
CHEESE
CHURCH FATHERS
COSMETICS
CROWNS, DECORATIVE HEADDRESSES AND WREATHS
DEMONS, DEMONOLOGY
DESKARTA
DIVINATION
DREAMS
DRUNKENNESS
EARTH
EGGS
ELDER
EUPHEMISM AND DYSPHEMISM
EVEN SHETIYYAH
FIRE
FISH AND FISHING
FLESH
FLOOD, THE
GEMARA
GENEALOGY
GOD, NAMES OF
GREEK AND LATIN LANGUAGES, RABBINICAL KNOWLEDGE OF
HAVER, HAVERIM
HAVER IR
HEBREW BOOK TITLES
HERMENEUTICS
IDOLATRY
INCENSE AND PERFUMES
JEALOUSY
KABBALAH
KALLAH, MONTHS OF
KEZAZAH
LABOR
LEKET, SHIKHHAH, AND PEAH
LEPROSY
LUZ OF THE SPINE
MAGIC
MAHOZA
MAR
MATA MEHASYA
MISHMAROT AND MA'AMADOT
MNEMONICS
MOON
NAMES
NARESH
NEHUTEI
OILS
PARABLE
PESHAT
PILPUL
PITTUM HA-KETORET
POVERTY
PRECIOUS STONES AND JEWELRY
PROFANITY
PROSBUL
PROSTITUTION
PROVERBS, TALMUDIC
PUMBEDITA
RAIN
RESH KALLAH
RIGHT AND LEFT
SALT
SEA, SONG OF THE
SHAS
SHEKANZIB
SOAP
SUN
SURA
SYNAGOGUE
TALMID HAKHAM
TALMUD
TALMUD, BURNING OF
TALMUD, MUSICAL RENDITION
TALMUD AND MIDDLE PERSIAN CULTURE
TANNA, TANNAIM
TEN MARTYRS, THE
THUNDER AND LIGHTNING
TIGRIS
TITLES
USHA, SYNOD OF
WEIGHTS AND MEASURES
WINE
WRITING
ZAKEN MAMRE
ZUGOT

I. HISTORY

A. ANCIENT PERIOD

2. **Talmud** (*continued*)

TALMUDIC LITERATURE

Orders and Tractates

ARAKHIN
AVODAH ZARAH
AVOT
BAVA BATRA
BAVA KAMMA
BAVA MEZIA
BEKHOROT
BERAKHOT
BEZAH
BIKKURIM
DEMAI
DEREKH EREZ
EDUYYOT
ERUVIN
GITTIN
HAGIGAH
HALLAH
HORAYOT
HULLIN
KALLAH
KELIM
KERITOT
KETUBBOT
KIDDUSHIN
KILAYIM
KINNIM
KODASHIM
MA'ASEROT
MA'ASER SHENI
MAKHSHIRIN
MAKKOT
MASSEKHET
MEGILLAH
ME'ILAH
MENAHOT
MIDDOT
MIKVAOT
MINOR TRACTATES
MOED
MOED KATAN
NASHIM
NAZIR
NEDARIM
NEGAIM
NEZIKIN
NIDDAH
OHOLOT
ORLAH
PARAH
PEAH
PESAHIM
ROSH HA-SHANAH
SANHEDRIN
SEMAHOT
SHABBAT
SHEKALIM
SHEVI'IT
SHEVU'OT
SOFERIM
SOTAH
SUKKAH
TA'ANIT
TAMID
TEMURAH
TERUMOT
TEVUL YOM
TOHOROT
TOHOROT
UKZIN
YADAYIM
YEVAMOT
YOMA
ZAVIM
ZERA'IM
ZEVAHIM

Other Literature

AGGADAT BERESHIT
AVOT DE-RABBI NATHAN
AVOT NEZIKIN
BARAITA, BERAITOT
BARAITA DE-MELEKHET HA-MISHKAN
BARAITA DE-NIDDAH
BARAITA OF 32 RULES
BOOK OF LIFE
DEUTERONOMY RABBAH
ESTHER RABBAH
EXODUS RABBAH
GENESIS RABBAH
LAMENTATIONS RABBAH
LEVITICUS RABBAH
MEGILLAT SETARIM
MEGILLAT TA'ANIT
MEGILLAT YUHASIN
MEKHILTA DEUTERONOMY
MEKHILTA OF R. ISHMAEL
MEKHILTA OF R. SIMEON BEN YOHAI
MIDRESHEI AGGADAH
MIDRESHEI HALAKHAH
PESIKTA DE-RAV KAHANA
POLEMICS AND POLEMICAL LITERATURE
RUTH RABBAH
SEDER OLAM
SIFRA
SIFREI DEUTERONOMY
SIFREI HA-MINIM
SIFREI NUMBERS
SIFREI ZUTA DEUTERONOMY
SIFREI ZUTA NUMBERS
SONG OF SONGS RABBAH
TANHUMA YELEMMEDENU
TOSEFTA

Amoraim and Tannaim

ABBA
ABBA BAR AHA
ABBA BAR AVINA
ABBA BAR KAHANA
ABBA BAR MARTA
ABBA BAR MEMEL
ABBA BAR ZAVDA
ABBA BAR ZEMINA
ABBA BEN ABBA HA-KOHEN
ABBA BENJAMIN
ABBA GURYON OF SIDON
ABBA HILKIAH
ABBAHU
ABBA KOHEN BARDELA
ABBA OF AKKO
ABBA OSHAYA (Hoshaya) OF TIRIAH
ABBA SAUL
ABBA SAUL BEN BATNIT
ABBAYE
ABBAYE KASHISHA
ABBA YOSE BEN DOSTAI
ABBA YOSE BEN HANIN (Johanan)
ADDA BAR AHAVAH
AHA
AHA BAR HANINA
AHA BAR RAV
AHA BEN JACOB
AHAI
AHAI BEN JOSIAH
AIBU
AKAVYAH BEN MAHALALEL
AKIVA
ALEXANDRI
AMEIMAR
AMMI BAR NATHAN
AMRAM
AMRAM HASIDA ("The Pious")
ANAN
ASHI
ASSI
ASSI, RAV
AVDAN
AVDIMI BAR HAMA
AVDIMI OF HAIFA
AVIA
AVIMI
AVIMI BEN ABBAHU
AVIN
AVINA
AVIRA
AVTALYON
AZARIAH
AZARIAH
BAR HEDYA
BAR KAPPARA
BEBAI
BEBAI BAR ABBAYE
BENAAH
BEN AZZAI, SIMEON
BEN BAG BAG
BEN HE HE
BENJAMIN BEN JAPHET
BEN KALBA SAVUA
BEN PETURA (Ben Peturi, Ben Peturin)
BEN STADA
BEN ZOMA, SIMEON
BERECHIAH
DANIEL HAYYATA
DIMI
DIMI OF NEHARDEA
DOSA BEN HARKINAS
DOSTAI BEN JUDAH
DOSTAI BEN YANNAI
ELEAZAR BEN ARAKH
ELEAZAR BEN AZARIAH
ELEAZAR BEN DAMMA
ELEAZAR BEN HANANIAH BEN HEZEKIAH
ELEAZAR BEN JUDAH OF BARTOTA
ELEAZAR BEN MATYA
ELEAZAR BEN PARTA
ELEAZAR BEN PEDAT
ELEAZAR BEN SHAMMUA
ELEAZAR BEN SIMEON
ELEAZAR BEN YOSE I
ELEAZAR BEN YOSE II
ELEAZAR BEN ZADOK
ELEAZAR HA-KAPPAR
ELEAZAR HISMA
ELEAZAR OF MODI'IN
ELIEZER BEN HYRCANUS
ELIEZER BEN JACOB
ELIEZER BEN YOSE HA-GELILI
ELISHA BEN AVUYAH
GAMALIEL (HA-ZAKEN), RABBAN
GEBIHA OF BE-KATIL
GIDDAL
HAGGAI
HAGGAI OF SEPPHORIS
HALAFTA
HALAFTA BEN SAUL
HAMA (of Nehardea)
HAMA BAR BISA
HAMA BAR HANINA
HAMNUNA
HANA BAR HANILAI
HANA BEN BIZNA
HANAN THE EGYPTIAN
HANANIAH (Hanina)
HANANIAH (Hanina) BEN HAKHINAI
HANANIAH (Hanina) BEN TERADYON
HANANIAH (Hanina) OF SEPPHORIS
HANINA (Hananiah)
HANINA BAR HAMA
HANINA (Hinena) BAR-PAPA (Pappi)
HANINA BEN ABBAHU
HANINA BEN ANTIGONUS
HANINA BEN DOSA

I. HISTORY

A. ANCIENT PERIOD

2. Talmud

Amoraim and Tannaim (*continued*)

HANINA BEN GAMALIEL
HANINA SEGAN HA-KOHANIM
HELBO
HEZEKIAH
HIDKA
HILLEL
HILLEL
HILLEL (II)
HISDA
HIYYA
HIYYA BAR ABBA
HIYYA BAR AVIN
HOSHAIAH, RAV
HUNA
HUNA BEN AVIN HA-KOHEN
HUNA BEN JOSHUA
HUNA BEN NATHAN
HUNA OF SEPPHORIS
HUNYA OF BETH-HORON
HUZPIT HA-METURGEMAN
IDI
IDI BAR AVIN
ILAI
ILAI
ILFA
ISAAC
ISAAC BAR JOSEPH
ISAAC BAR RAV JUDAH
ISAAC BEN AVDIMI
ISAAC BEN ELEAZAR
ISAAC NAPPAHA
ISHMAEL BEN ELISHA
ISHMAEL BEN JOHANAN BEN BEROKA
ISHMAEL BEN YOSE BEN HALAFTA
JACOB
JACOB BEN AHA
JACOB BEN IDI
JACOB BEN KORSHAI (Kodshai)
JEREMIAH BEN ABBA
JOHANAN BEN BEROKA
JOHANAN BEN GUDGADA
JOHANAN BEN HA-HORANIT
JOHANAN BEN NAPPAHA
JOHANAN BEN NURI
JOHANAN BEN TORTA
JOHANAN BEN ZAKKAI
JOHANAN HA-SANDELAR
JONAH
JONATHAN
JONATHAN BEN AMRAM
JONATHAN BEN ELEAZAR
JOSEPH BEN HIYYA
JOSHUA
JOSHUA BEN HANANIAH
JOSHUA BEN HYRCANUS
JOSHUA BEN KORHA
JOSHUA BEN LEVI
JOSHUA BEN PERAHYAH
JOSHUA HA-GARSI
JOSIAH
JOSIAH
JUDAH
JUDAH III
JUDAH IV
JUDAH BAR EZEKIEL
JUDAH BAR ILAI
JUDAH BAR SHALOM (ha-Levi)
JUDAH BAR SIMEON
JUDAH BEN BATHYRA I
JUDAH BEN BAVA
JUDAH BEN DOSOTHEOS
JUDAH BEN GERIM
JUDAH BEN HIYYA
JUDAH BEN NAHAMANI (Nahman)
JUDAH BEN PEDAYA (Padah)
JUDAH BEN SHAMMUA
JUDAH BEN TABBAI
JUDAH BEN TEMA
JUDAH HA-NASI
KAHANA
LEVI
LEVI BEN SISI
MANI
MAR BAR RAV ASHI
MAR BAR RAVINA
MARI BEN ISSUR
MATTIAH BEN HERESH
MATTNAH
MEIR
MEREMAR
NAHMAN BAR RAV HUNA
NAHMAN BEN ISAAC
NAHMAN BEN JACOB
NAHUM OF GIMZO
NAHUM THE MEDE
NAKDIMON BEN GURYON
NATHAN HA-BAVLI
NEHEMIAH
NEHORAI
NEHUNYA BEN HA-KANAH
NITTAI OF ARBELA
OSHAIAH RABBAH
PAPA
PAPI
PAPPUS BEN JUDAH
PHINEHAS BEN HAMA HA-KOHEN
PHINEHAS BEN JAIR
RABBA BEN MATNAH
RABBAH BAR BAR HANA
RABBAH BAR HANA
RABBAH BAR HUNA
RABBAH BAR NAHAMANI
RABBAH BEN AVUHA
RABBAH BEN SHILAH
RABBAH TOSFAAH

RAV
RAVA
RAVINA
REHUMEI
REUBEN BEN STROBILUS
SAFRA
SAMUEL
SAMUEL BEN NAHMAN
SAMUEL BEN SHILAT
SAMUEL HA-KATAN
SHAMMAI (Ha-Zaken)
SHELA
SHEMAIAH
SHESHET
SHILA OF KEFAR TAMARTA
SIMEON BAR YOHAI
SIMEON BEN ABBA
SIMEON BEN ELEAZAR
SIMEON BEN GAMALIEL I
SIMEON BEN GAMALIEL II (of Jabneh)
SIMEON BEN HALAFTA
SIMEON BEN JEHOZADAK
SIMEON BEN JUDAH HA-NASI
SIMEON BEN LAKISH
SIMEON BEN MENASYA
SIMEON BEN NANAS
SIMEON BEN NETHANEL
SIMEON BEN PAZZI
SIMEON BEN SHETAH
SIMEON HA-PAKULI
SIMEON HA-TIMNI
SIMEON OF MIZPAH
SIMLAI
SYMMACHUS BEN JOSEPH
TANHUM BEN HANILAI
TANHUM BEN HIYYA
TANHUMA BAR ABBA
TARFON
UKBA, MAR
ULLA I
YANNAI
YESHEVAV THE SCRIBE
YOSE
YOSE BAR HANINA
YOSE BEN AKAVYAH
YOSE BEN AVIN
YOSE BEN DORMASKOS
YOSE BEN HALAFTA
YOSE BEN JOEZER OF ZEREDAH
YOSE BEN JOHANAN HA-TANNA OF JERUSALEM
YOSE BEN JUDAH
YOSE BEN KIPPAR
YOSE BEN KISMA
YOSE BEN MESHULLAM
YOSE BEN ZIMRA
YOSE HA-GELILI
YOSE HA-KOHEN
YUDAN
ZADOK
ZECHARIAH BEN AVKILUS
ZE'EIRA
ZE'IRI (ben Hinna)

Biblical Figures and Subjects

AARON
ABIATHAR
ABIGAIL
ABIMELECH
ABISHAG THE SHUNAMMITE
ABISHAI
ABNER
ABRAHAM
ABSALOM
ACHAN
ADAM
ADONIJAH
AGAG
AHAB
AHIMELECH
AHITHOPHEL THE GILONITE
ALTAR
AMALEKITES
AMASA
AMAZIAH
AMMON, AMMONITES
AMNON
AMON
AMORITES
AMRAM
ASA
ASAHEL
ASAPH
ASHER
BABEL, TOWER OF
BALAAM
BARUCH
BATH-SHEBA
BELSHAZZAR
BENJAMIN
BETHUEL
BEZALEL
BILHAH
BOAZ
CAIN
CALEB, CALEBITES
CHERUB
COPPER SERPENT, THE
DAN
DANIEL
DATHAN AND ABIRAM
DAVID
DEBORAH
DELILAH
DINAH
DOEG
EDOM
ELDAD AND MEDAD
ELI
ELIEZER
ELIHU

I. HISTORY

A. ANCIENT PERIOD

2. Talmud

Biblical Figures and Subjects (*continued*)

ELIJAH
ELIPHAZ
ELISHA
ELKANAH
EN-DOR, WITCH OF
ENOCH
ENOSH
EPHRAIM
ESAU
ESTHER
EVE
EZEKIEL
EZRA
GAD
GARDEN OF EDEN
GEHAZI
GIBEONITES AND NETHINIM
GIDEON
GOLDEN CALF
GOLIATH
HAGAR
HAM
HAMAN
HANANIAH SON OF AZZUR
HANNAH
HEZEKIAH
HOSEA, BOOK OF
HULDAH
HUR
HUSHAI THE ARCHITE
ISAAC
ISAIAH
ISHMAEL
ISRAEL, KINGDOM OF
ISSACHAR
ITHAMAR
JABNEH
JACOB
JACOB, BLESSING OF
JAEL
JAIR
JAPHETH
JEHOIACHIN
JEHOIADA
JEHOIAKIM
JEHORAM
JEPHTHAH
JEREMIAH
JEROBOAM
JERUSALEM
JESSE
JESUS
JETHRO
JEZEBEL
JOAB
JOB, BOOK OF
JOCHEBED
JONAH, BOOK OF
JONATHAN
JOSEPH
JOSHUA
JOSIAH
JOTHAM
JUDAH
KETURAH
KOHATH AND KOHATHITES
KORAH
LABAN
LAMECH
LEAH
LEVI
LOT
MALACHI, BOOK OF
MANASSEH
MANASSEH
MANNA
MEPHIBOSHETH
MERODACH-BALADAN
MICAH
MICHAEL AND GABRIEL
MICHAL
MIDIAN, MIDIANITES
MIRIAM
MORDECAI
MOSES
NAAMAN
NABAL
NABOTH
NADAB
NAHSHON
NAOMI
NATIONS, THE SEVENTY
NAZIRITE
NEBUCHADNEZZAR
NEBUZARADAN
NEHEMIAH
NEPHILIM
NETHERWORLD
NIMROD
NINEVEH
NOAH
OG
ORPAH
OTHNIEL
PATRIARCHS, THE
PENINNAH
PEREZ
PHARAOH
PHILISTINES
PLAGUES OF EGYPT
POTIPHAR
PROPHETS AND PROPHECY
PSALMS, BOOK OF
QUEEN OF SHEBA
RACHEL

RAHAB
REBEKAH
RED HEIFER
RED SEA
REHOBOAM
REUBEN
ROD OF AARON
ROD OF MOSES
RUTH, BOOK OF
SAMSON
SAMUEL
SANDALFON
SARAH
SAUL
SENNACHERIB
SETH
SHEBA BEN BICHRI
SHEM
SHIMEI
SHISHAK
SIMEON
SINAI, MOUNT
SODOM AND GOMORRAH
SOLOMON
TABERNACLE
TABLETS OF THE LAW
TAMAR
TERAH
TRIBES, THE TWELVE
TUBAL-CAIN
URIAH
URIM AND THUMMIM
VASHTI
WELLS
WILDERNESS
ZECHARIAH
ZECHARIAH
ZEDEKIAH
ZELOPHEHAD
ZERAH THE CUSHITE
ZERUBBABEL
ZIMRI
ZIPPORAH

Other Figures

ABBA GULISH
ABBA KOLON
ABBA UMANA
ADMON BEN GADDAI
AGRAT BAT MAHALATH
AHASUERUS
ALEXANDER THE GREAT
ANTONINUS PIUS
APOSTOMOS
AVIN THE CARPENTER
BAITOS BEN ZONIN
BAVA BEN BUTA
BEN TEMALYON
BERURYAH
CYRUS
DAMA, SON OF NETINA
EGLON
ELISHA BAAL KENAFAYIM
HABBAR, HABBAREI
HADRIAN, PUBLIUS AELIUS
HOMA
HONI HA-ME'AGGEL
HOVAH
IMMA SHALOM
ISSUR GIYYORA
JUDITH
KAMZA AND BAR KAMZA
MAHLON AND CHILION
MARTHA
MERCURY
MICAIAH (Micah)
NATHAN DE-ZUZITA RESH GALUTA
PAPPUS AND JULIANUS
PHINEHAS
RACHEL
RAPHAEL
TABI
TITUS, FLAVIUS VESPASIANUS
YALTA

Flora and Fauna

ALGUM
ANIMALS OF THE BIBLE AND TALMUD
ANT
APE
APPLE
ASS
BALSAM
BAT
BAY TREE
BEAR
BEE
BEET
BEHEMOTH
BOX
BROOM
CABBAGE
CALAMUS, SWEET
CAMEL
CAPER
CAROB
CASTOR-OIL PLANT
CAT
CEDAR
CHICKEN
CINNAMON
CORIANDER
COTTON
CUMIN
DEER
DOG
DOVE
EAGLE
ELEPHANT
FENNEL

I. HISTORY

A. ANCIENT PERIOD

2. Talmud

Flora and Fauna (*continued*)

FIG
FLAX
FLEA
FRANKINCENSE
GALBANUM
GARLIC
GAZELLE
GOURD
GRASSHOPPER
HEMP
HENNA
HERBS, MEDICINAL
HOOPOE
HORNET
HORSE
HYSSOP
IVY
JACKAL
JUJUBE
KITE
KOI
LEECH
LEEK
LEGUMES
LENTIL
LEOPARD
LETTUCE
LEVIATHAN
LIZARD
LOCUST
LOUSE
MALLOW
MASTIC
MELON
MILLET
MOUSE
MULBERRY
MULE
MUSHROOMS
MUSTARD
MYRRH
MYRTLE
NUT
OLEANDER
OLIVE
ONAGER
ONION
ORACH
OSTRICH
PALM
PAPYRUS
PARTRIDGE
PEACH
PEACOCK
PEAR
PELICAN
PEPPER
PHEASANT
PIG
PINE
PISTACHIO
PLANTS
PLUM
POMEGRANATE
POPLAR
QUAIL
QUINCE
RADISH
RAT
RAVEN
REED
RICE
ROCKET
ROSE
SAFFRON
SHEEP
SILK
SNAKE
SORGHUM
SPARROW
SPICES
SQUILL
SUMAC
SYCAMORE
TEREBINTH
TORTOISE
TURTLE DOVE
VEGETABLES
VINE
VULTURES
WHEAT
WILD BULL
WILLOW
WOLF
WORM

3. SECOND TEMPLE AND LATE ROMAN PERIODS

Main Surveys
HISTORY

General Entries
ABOMINATION OF DESOLATION
ABSALOM, MONUMENT OF
AGORANOMOS
AGRICULTURAL LAND-MANAGEMENT METHODS AND IMPLEMENTS IN ANCIENT EREZ ISRAEL
AGRICULTURE
ALABARCH
ANGARIA
ANGLO-ISRAEL ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY
ANTICHRESIS
APOCALYPSE
APOCRYPHA AND PSEUDEPIGRAPHA
ARCHAEOLOGISTS
ARCHAEOLOGY

ARCHISYNAGOGOS
ARCHITECTURE AND ARCHITECTS
ARCHON
ARNONA
ASS WORSHIP
AURUM CORONARIUM
BOETHUSIANS
BOULE
CART AND CHARIOT
CIRCUSES AND THEATERS
CISTERN
COINS AND CURRENCY
CRAFTS
CRUCIFIXION
CYNICS AND CYNICISM
DAVID, DYNASTY OF
DEAD SEA SECT
DEMONS, DEMONOLOGY
DIASPORA
DIONYSUS, CULT OF
EMPEROR WORSHIP
EPICUREANISM
ESSENES
ETHNARCH
FISCUS JUDAICUS
GERUSIA
GLADIATOR
GREEK AND LATIN LANGUAGES, RABBINICAL KNOWLEDGE OF
GREEK LITERATURE, ANCIENT
GYMNASIUM
HASMONEAN BET DIN
HASMONEANS
HASSIDEANS
HELLENISM
HELLENISTIC JEWISH LITERATURE
HERODIANS
HEVER HA-YEHUDIM
HIGH PRIEST
HISTORIOGRAPHY
HOLY CONGREGATION IN JERUSALEM
JEW
JUDEAN DESERT CAVES
LETTERS AND LETTER-WRITERS
LOGOS
LOTS
MACCABEE
MAGIC
MAIUMAS
MENORAH
MIKVEH
MIN
MONEY CHANGERS
MOSES
NAG HAMMADI CODICES
NASH PAPYRUS
NASI
NICANORS GATE
OIL OF LIFE
ONYCHA
OSSUARIES AND SARCOPHAGI
PALESTINE
PAPYRI
PESHER
PHARISEES
PILGRIMAGE
PILLAR
POTTERY
PRIESTS AND PRIESTHOOD
PROCURATOR
QUMRAN
SADDUCEES
SAMARITANS
SANHEDRIN
SECTS, MINOR
SEEKERS AFTER SMOOTH THINGS
SELEUCID ERA
SEREKH
SHEKEL
SHIPS AND SAILING
SICARII
SOFERIM
SONS OF LIGHT
SYNAGOGUE
SYNAGOGUE, THE GREAT
TAX GATHERERS
TEACHER OF RIGHTEOUSNESS
TEMPLE
TEMPLE MOUNT
THERAPEUTAE
TITHE
TITUS, ARCH OF
TOMBS AND TOMBSTONES
TOPARCHY
USHA, SYNOD OF
WAR AND WARFARE
WORSHIP
XENOPHON OF LAMPSACUS
YAHAD
ZADOKITES
ZEALOTS AND SICARII
ZENO, PAPYRI OF

Literature

ABRAHAM, APOCALYPSE OF
ABRAHAM, OTHER BOOKS OF
ABRAHAM, TESTAMENT OF
ACRO, PSEUDO-
ADAM, OTHER BOOKS OF
ADAM AND EVE, BOOK OF THE LIFE OF
AELIAN (Claudius, Aelianus)
AHIKAR, BOOK OF
ALEXANDRIAN MARTYRS, ACTS OF
ARISTEAS, LETTER OF
BARUCH, APOCALYPSE OF
BARUCH, BOOK OF
BARUCH, GREEK APOCALYPSE OF
BARUCH, REST OF THE WORDS OF
BEL AND THE DRAGON
BEN SIRA, WISDOM OF

I. HISTORY

A. ANCIENT PERIOD

3. Second Temple and Late Roman Periods

Literature (*continued*)

COPPER SCROLL
DAMASCUS, BOOK OF COVENANT OF
DANIEL, BOOKS OF
DEAD SEA SCROLLS
DISCIPLINE, MANUAL OF
ENOCH
ENOCH, ETHIOPIC BOOK OF
ENOCH, SLAVONIC BOOK OF
ESTHER, ADDITIONS TO THE BOOK OF
EZEKIEL, APOCRYPHAL BOOKS OF
EZRA, APOCALYPSE OF
EZRA, GREEK BOOK OF
HABAKKUK, PROPHECY OF
HISTORIA AUGUSTA
ISAAC, TESTAMENT OF
JACOB, TESTAMENT OF
JEREMIAH, EPISTLE OF
JOB, TESTAMENT OF
JOSEPH AND ASENATH
JOSIPPON
JUBILEES, BOOK OF
JUDITH, BOOK OF
LAMECH, BOOK OF
LEVI, TESTAMENT OF
MACCABEES, FIRST BOOK OF
MACCABEES, SECOND BOOK OF
MACCABEES, THIRD BOOK OF
MACCABEES, FOURTH BOOK OF
MANASSEH, PRAYER OF
MOSES, ASSUMPTION OF
MURABBAAT SCROLLS
NAPHTALI, TESTAMENT OF
NOAH, BOOKS OF
PATRIARCHS, TESTAMENTS OF THE TWELVE
PHILO
PROPHETS, LIVES OF THE
PSALMS, APOCRYPHAL
ROMAN LITERATURE
SCROLL OF ANTIOCHUS
SEVENTY SHEPHERDS, VISION OF
SIBYL AND SIBYLLINE ORACLES
SOLOMON, PSALMS OF
SOLOMON, TESTAMENT OF
SOLOMON, WISDOM OF
SONG OF THE THREE CHILDREN AND THE PRAYER OF AZARIAH
SUSANNA AND THE ELDERS
TEMPLE SCROLL
THANKSGIVING PSALMS
TOBIT, BOOK OF
WAR SCROLL

Places and Peoples

ABILENE
ACRA
ACRABA
ACRE
ADASA
ADIABENE
ADORAIM (Adora)
AELIA CAPITOLINA
AGRIPPINA
AIJALON
AKHBAREI
ALAMAH
ALEXANDRIA
AMANA
AMMATHA
ANTHEDON
ANTIOCH
ANTIPATRIS
ANTONIA
APAMEA
APHEK
APOLLONIA
ARABA
ARAD
ARADUS
ARBATTA
ARCHELAIS
ARETHUSA
ARPAD
ASARAMEL
ASHKELON
ASSUR
ATHRIBIS
AVEDAT
AZMON
BABYLONIA
BANIAS
BASHAN
BATHYRA
BE-HOZAI
BENE-BERAK
BERENIKE
BET(H)-ANATH
BET(H)-CHEREM
BET GUVRIN
BETHANY
BETHAR
BET(H)-HARAM (Haran)
BETHBASI
BETHLEHEM
BETHLEPTEPHA
BET(H)-HORON
BETHPHAGE
BETHSAIDA
BETHULIA
BET(H)-MAON
BET NETOFAH
BET(H)-SHEAN
BET SHEARIM
BET YERAH
BET ZEKHARYAH
BET(H)-ZUR

BIRIYYAH
BITHYNIA
BORSIPPA
BOSPHORUS, KINGDOM OF
BOZRAH
BUTNAH
CABUL
CAESAREA
CAESAREA IN CAPPADOCIA
CAPERNAUM
CAPITOLIAS
CAPPADOCIA
CARCHEMISH
CARIA
CARMEL, MOUNT
CARTHAGE
CHALCIS
CHORAZIN
CILICIA
COELE-SYRIA
COMMAGENE
CTESIPHON
CYRENE
DAMASCUS
DECAPOLIS
DELOS
DIBON
DIUM
DOBRATH
DOK
DOR
DURA-EUROPOS
EDESSA
EDOM
EGYPT
EIN FASHKHAH
EIN KEREM
ELASA
ELEPHANTINE
ELUSA
EMESA
EMMAUS
EN-GEDI
EPHESUS
EVEN HA-TOIM
GADARA (Gadar, Gader)
GALATIA
GALILEE
GAMALA
GAZA
GEBA
GERASA
GERIZIM, MOUNT
GEZER
GINNOSAR, PLAIN OF
GISCALA
GOFNAH
HAGRONIA
HALHUL
HAMMAT-GADER (Geder)
HAMMATH
HAPHARAIM
HAR HA-MELEKH
HEBRON
HERODIUM (Herodion)
HESHBON
HIERAPOLIS
HORONAIM
HULEH
HUZAL
HYRCANIA
JABNEH
JAFFA
JAPHIA
JAZER
JERICHO
JERUSALEM
JEZREEL, VALLEY OF
JORDAN
JOTAPATA
JUDEA
KABRITHA
KEFAR AKKO
KEFAR GAMALA
KEFAR HANANYAH
KEFAR HATTIN
KEFAR NEBURAYA
KEFAR OTNAY
KEFAR SHIHLAYIM
KEILAH
KENATH
KERAK OR CHARAX
KIDRON
KINNERET, LAKE
KITTIM
LAODICEA
LEGIO
LEONTOPOLIS
LYDDA (Lod)
LYDIA, LYDIANS
MACEDONIA
MACHAERUS
MACHPELAH, CAVE OF
MADABA, MEDEBA
MAGDALA
MAMPSIS
MA'ON
MARESHAH
MASADA
MERON
MESENE
MICHMASH (Michmas)
MILETUS
MODI'IN (Modi'im)
MOUNT OF OLIVES
MOZA, (HA-) MOZAH
NAARAH (Naaran)
NABATEANS
NABLUS
NAIN

I. HISTORY

A. ANCIENT PERIOD

3. Second Temple and Late Roman Periods

PLACES AND PEOPLES (*continued*)

NARBATA
NAVEH
NEGEV
NEHAR PEKOD
NEHARDEA
NISIBIS
NIZZANAH
ONIAS, TEMPLE OF
ONO
OSROENE
PAMPHYLIA
PARAH, PERATH
PEKI'IN
PELLA
PERSIA
PETRA
PHAROS
PHASAELIS
PHOTIS
PHRYGIA
RABBATH-AMMON
RAFA
RAMAT HA-GOLAN
RAMAT RAHEL
RECHABITES
REHOBOTH
SABEA
SAFED
SAMARIA
SARDIS
SARTABA
SELEUCIA
SENNABRIS
SEPPHORIS
SHALEM
SHECHEM
SHEPHELAH
SHILOAH, SILOAM
SHILOH
SHION
SHIVTAH
SHUNEM
SHUSHAN
SICHAR
SIDON
SIKHNIN
SINAI
SPARTA
SUSITA
SYRIA
TABGHA
TABOR, MOUNT
TADMOR
TAMAR
TEKOA
TIBERIAS
TIMNATH-HERES
TIRAT ZEVI
TRACHONITIS
TRANSJORDAN
TUNIS, TUNISIA
TYRE
TYRE, LADDER OF
TYRE OF THE TOBIADS
USHA
WADI DALIYA
WESTERN WALL
ZAPHON
ZAREPHATH
ZEREDAH
ZION
ZIPH
ZOFIM

BIOGRAPHIES

ABBA SIKRA
ABSALOM
AGATHARCHIDES OF CNIDUS
AGRIPPA I
AGRIPPA II
AGRIPPA, CAIUS JULIUS
AGRIPPA, MARCUS VIPSANIUS
ALARIC II
ALBINUS, LUCCEIUS
ALCIMUS
ALEXANDER
ALEXANDER BALAS
ALEXANDER THE FALSE
ALEXANDER THE GREAT
ALEXANDER LYSIMACHUS
ALEXANDER OF APHRODISIAS
ALEXANDER POLYHISTOR
ALEXANDER SON OF ARISTOBULUS II
ALEXANDER THE ZEALOT
ALEXANDRA
ALEXANDRA
ALEXAS
ALITURUS (Alityros)
AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS
ANAN, SON OF ANAN
ANAN BEN SETH
ANANIAS AND HELKIAS
ANANIAS BEN NEDEBEUS
ANANIAS OF ADIABENE
ANANIAS SON OF ZADOK
ANDRONICUS SON OF MESHULLAM
ANILAEUS AND ASINAEUS
ANTIGONUS
ANTIGONUS II
ANTIGONUS OF CARYSTUS
ANTIGONUS OF SOKHO
ANTIOCHUS
ANTIPAS, HEROD
ANTIPATER II
ANTIPATER

ANTONINUS PIUS
ANTONIUS DIOGENES
ANTONIUS JULIANUS
APION
APOLLONIUS
APOLLONIUS MOLON
APPIAN OF ALEXANDRIA
APULEIUS, LUCIUS
ARCHELAUS
ARDAVAN
AREIOS I
ARES
ARETAS
ARISTEAS
ARISTOBULUS I
ARISTOBULUS II
ARISTOBULUS III
ARISTOBULUS
ARISTOBULUS
ARISTOBULUS OF PANEAS
ARISTON OF PELLA
ARMILUS
ARRIAN
ARTAPANUS
ARTAXERXES
ARTEMION
ASINIUS POLLIO, GAIUS
ASMODEUS
ATHRONGES
AUGUSTUS
AVTINAS
AZIZ
BACCHIDES
BAGOHI
BANUS
BAR GIORA, SIMEON
BAR KOKHBA
BASSUS, LUCILIUS
BATHYRA, SONS OF
BEN LAANAH
BEN SIRA, SIMEON BEN JESUS
BEN ZIZIT HA-KASSAT
BERENICE
BEROSUS
BET GARMU
BET ZERIFA
CAECILIUS OF CALACTE
CAESAR, SEXTUS JULIUS
CAIAPHAS, JOSEPH
CALIGULA, CAIUS CAESAR AUGUSTUS
CALLISTHENES
CAPITO, MARCUS HERENNIUS
CARACALLA, MARCUS AURELIUS ANTONINUS
CASSIUS LONGINUS
CELSUS
CELSUS, AULUS CORNELIUS
CENSORINUS
CESTIUS GALLUS
CHAEREMON
CHARAX OF PERGAMUM
CHARES
CHOERILOS OF SAMOS
CICERO, MARCUS TULLIUS
CLAUDIAN (Claudius Claudianus)
CLAUDIUS
CLAUDIUS IOLAUS (Julius)
CLEARCHUS OF SOLI
CLEODEMUS MALCHUS
CLEOMEDES
CLEOPATRA
CLEOPATRA OF JERUSALEM
CONON I
CONON II
COPONIUS
COSTOBAR
CRASSUS, MARCUS LICINIUS
CRINAGORAS OF CARYSTUS
CUMANUS VENTIDIUS
CYPROS
CYPROS
DAMASCIUS
DAMOCRITUS
DEMETRIUS
DEMETRIUS
DEMETRIUS I SOTER
DEMETRIUS II
DEMETRIUS III
DIO CASSIUS
DIO CHRYSOSTOM
DIOCLETIAN, CAIUS VALERIANUS
DIODORUS OF SICILY
DIODOTUS-TRYPHON
DIOGENES LAERTIUS
DIOS
DIOSCORIDES PEDANIUS
DOMITIAN
DORIS
DOROTHEUS
DRUSILLA
ELEAZAR
ELEAZAR BEN ANANIAS
ELEAZAR BEN DINAI
ELEAZAR BEN HARSOM
ELEAZAR BEN JAIR
ELEAZAR BEN MATTATHIAS
ELEAZAR BEN SIMEON
ELIONAEUS, SON OF CANTHERAS
EMPEDOCLES
EPICTETUS
ERATOSTHENES OF CYRENE
EUHEMERUS
EUPOLEMUS
EUTROPIUS
EZEKIEL THE POET
FADUS, CUSPIUS
FELIX, ANTONIUS
FESTUS, PORCIUS
FLACCUS, AVILLIUS AULUS
FLACCUS, VALERIUS

I. HISTORY

A. ANCIENT PERIOD

3. Second Temple and Late Roman Periods

BIOGRAPHIES (*continued*)

FLAVIUS, CLEMENS
FRONTO, MARCUS CORNELIUS
FULVIA
GABINIUS, AULUS
GALEN (Galenus), CLAUDIUS
GEBINI
GESSIUS FLORUS
GLAPHYRA
GORGIAS
HADRIAN, PUBLIUS AELIUS
HANAMEL (Hananel)
HANNAH AND HER SEVEN SONS
HAURAN
HECATAEUS OF ABDERA
HELENA
HELIODORUS
HELLADIUS OF ANTINOUPOLIS
HERACLES
HERACLITUS
HERMIPPUS OF SMYRNA
HERMOGENES
HEROD
HEROD I
HEROD II
HERODIAS
HERODOTUS
HEROD PHILIP I
HEZEKIAH
HEZEKIAH, THE HIGH PRIEST
HOLOFERNES
HOMER
HONORIUS FLAVIUS
HORACE, QUINTUS HORATIUS FLACCUS
HYPSICRATES OF AMISUS
HYRCANUS II
HYRCANUS, JOHN (Johanan)
ISHMAEL BEN PHIABI (PHABI) II
IZATES II
JACOB BEN SOSAS (Susa)
JADDUA (Jaddus)
JANNES AND JAMBRES
JANUARIUS
JASON
JASON OF CYRENE
JOEZER, SON OF BOETHUS
JOHANAN BEN JEHOIADA
JOHANAN THE HASMONEAN
JOHN THE ESSENE
JOHN OF GISCALA
JONATHAN BEN ANAN
JONATHAN BEN UZZIEL
JONATHAN THE HASMONEAN
JONATHAN SON OF ABSALOM
JOSEPH
JOSEPH AND AZARIAH BEN ZECHARIAH
JOSEPH BEN ELEM
JOSEPH OF GAMALA
JOSEPHUS FLAVIUS
JOSHUA, SON OF SAPPHAS
JOSHUA, SON OF SETH
JOSHUA BEN DAMNAI
JOSHUA BEN GAMLA
JOSHUA BEN PHABI
JUDAH, SON OF ZIPPORAI
JUDAH THE GALILEAN
JUDAH MACCABEE
JULIAN THE APOSTATE
JULIUS ARCHELAUS
JULIUS CAESAR
JULIUS FLORUS
JULIUS SEVERUS
JUSTIN
JUSTUS OF TIBERIAS
JUVENAL
KETIA BAR SHALOM
KIMHIT
LAETUS
LAMECH
LAMPON AND ISIDOROS
LIES, MAN OF
LIES, PROPHET OF
LION OF WRATH
LIVY
LUCAN (Marcus Annaeus Lucanus)
LUCIAN OF SAMOSATA
LUCUAS
LYSANIAS
LYSIAS
LYSIMACHUS OF ALEXANDRIA
MACROBIUS, AMBROSIUS
MANETHO
MARCUS AURELIUS ANTONINUS
MARIAMNE
MARKAH
MARSUS, C. VIBIUS
MARTIAL
MASTEMA
MATTATHIAS
MATTATHIAS BEN SIMEON
MATTHIAS BEN THEOPHILUS
MAXIMUS, MAGNUS CLEMENS
MEGASTHENES
MELEAGER OF GADARA
MENAHEM THE ESSENE
MENAHEM SON OF JUDAH
MENANDER OF EPHESUS
MENANDER OF LAODICEA
MENELAUS
MNASEAS OF PATARA
MONOBAZ
MUCIANUS, CAIUS LICINIUS
MURASHUS SONS
NERO
NERVA
NICANOR

NICARCHUS
NICHOLAS OF DAMASCUS
NIGER OF PEREA
NUMENIUS
NUMENIUS OF APAMEA
OBEDAS
ODENATHUS AND ZENOBIA
OENOMAUS OF GADARA
ONIAS
OVID
PAUSANIAS
PERSIUS
PETRONIUS, PUBLIUS
PETRONIUS ARBITER, GAIUS
PHASAEL
PHERORAS
PHILIP OF BATHYRA
PHILO (The Elder)
PHILO OF BYBLOS
PHILODEMUS
PHILOSTRATUS
PHINEHAS
PHINEHAS BEN SAMUEL
PLINY THE ELDER
PLUTARCH
POLEMON II
POLEMON OF ILIUM
POLYBIUS OF MEGALOPOLIS
POMI(S), DE
POMPEIUS TROGUS
POMPEY (Gnaeus Pompeius Magnus)
POMPONIUS MELA
PONTIUS PILATE
POPPAEA, SABINA
PORPHYRY
POSIDONIUS
PSEUDO-LONGINUS
PSEUDO-PHOCYLIDES
PSEUDO-SCYLAX
PTOLEMY
PTOLEMY
PTOLEMY
PTOLEMY THE BIOGRAPHER
PTOLEMY THE GEOGRAPHER
PTOLEMY MACRON
PTOLEMY OF CHENNOS
PTOLEMY OF MENDE
PYTHAGORAS
QUADRATUS, UMMIDIUS CAIUS
QUIETUS, LUSIUS
QUINTILIAN (Marcus Fabius Quintilianus)
QUINTILIUS VARUS
QUIRINIUS, P. SULPICIUS
ROMAN EMPERORS
RUFUS OF SAMARIA
RUTILIUS NAMATIANUS
SABINUS
SALOME
SALOME ALEXANDRA
SANBALLAT
SELEUCUS IV PHILOPATOR
SENECA THE ELDER
SENECA THE YOUNGER
SEVERUS, ALEXANDER
SEVERUS, SEPTIMIUS
SEXTUS EMPIRICUS
SHAPUR
SILAS
SILIUS ITALICUS, TIBERIUS CATIUS ASCONIUS
SILVA, FLAVIUS
SIMEON BEN BOETHUS
SIMEON THE HASMONEAN
SIMEON THE JUST
SIMEON SON OF ONIAS I
SOLINUS, CAIUS JULIUS
SOSIUS, GAIUS
STATIUS, PUBLIUS PAPINIUS
STRABO
SUETONIUS
TACITUS
TATTENAI
TETRARCH
TEUCER OF CYZICUS
THALLUS
THEMISTIUS
THEODOSIUS
THEODOSIUS I
THEODOSIUS II
THEODOSIUS OF ROME
THEODOTUS
THEOPHILUS
THEOPHILUS
THEOPHRASTUS OF ERESOS
THEUDAS
THRASYLLUS OF MENDES
TIBERIUS JULIUS ALEXANDER
TIBULLUS, ALBIUS
TIMAGENES OF ALEXANDRIA
TIMOCHARES
TINNEIUS RUFUS
TITANS
TITUS FLAVIUS VESPASIANUS
TOBIADS
TRAJAN, MARCUS ULPIUS
ULPIAN
VALERIUS GRATUS
VALERIUS MAXIMUS
VARRO, MARCUS TERENTIUS
VENTIDIUS, PUBLIUS (Bassus)
VESPASIAN, TITUS FLAVIUS
VIRGIL
VITRUVIUS, POLLO
WICKED PRIEST
YANNAI, ALEXANDER
ZADOK
ZADOK THE PHARISEE
ZAMARIS
ZENODORUS
ZOPYRION

I. HISTORY (*continued*)

B. MEDIEVAL & MODERN PERIOD

1. GENERAL HISTORY

Main Entries

ANTISEMITISM
COMMUNITY
ECONOMIC HISTORY
EDUCATION, JEWISH
HISTORY
WOMAN

General Entries

ADVERTISING
AGE AND THE AGED
AGRICULTURE
AGUDAT ISRAEL
ALLIANCE ISRAELITE UNIVERSELLE
AMENITIES, COMMUNAL
ANTHROPOLOGY
ANUSIM
APOSTASY
ARCHAEOLOGISTS
ARCHITECTURE AND ARCHITECTS
ARCHIVES
ASSIMILATION
AUTOGRAPHS
AUTONOMISM
AUTONOMY
AUTONOMY, JUDICIAL
AVELEI ZION
BADGE, JEWISH
BADHAN
BANKING AND BANKERS
BARBARIANS
BARON DE HIRSCH FUND
BATLANIM
BEGGING AND BEGGARS
BERLIN, CONGRESS OF
BETH JACOB SCHOOLS
BLACK DEATH
BLINDNESS
BOOKS
BOOK TRADE
BROKERS
BUND
CANDLE TAX
CAPTIVES, RANSOMING OF
CARDS AND CARDPLAYING
CENSORSHIP
CHARITY
CHESS
CHOLENT
CHRONOLOGY
CLASSICAL SCHOLARSHIP, JEWS IN
COINS AND CURRENCY
COMMUNISM
COMMUNITY TOKENS
CONFERENCES
CONSTRUCTION
CONTRACTORS
COOKBOOKS
COOPERATIVES
COURT JEWS
CRAFTS
CRIME
CRIMINOLOGY
CRYPTO-JEWS
DEMOGRAPHY
DIAMOND TRADE AND INDUSTRY
DISPUTATIONS AND POLEMICS
DIVORCE
DRESS
DRUNKENNESS
DYEING
EDUCATION
ELDER
EMANCIPATION
EPISCOPUS JUDAEORIUM
EPITAPHS
EUROPE
EUROPEAN COMMUNITY, THE
EXILARCH
EXPULSIONS
FAMILY
FEDERATIONS OF COMMUNITIES, TERRITORIAL
FINANCES, AUTONOMOUS JEWISH
FLAG
FOOD
FORGERIES
FOUNDATIONS
FRANK, JACOB, AND THE FRANKISTS
FRATERNAL SOCIETIES
FREEMASONS
FUR TRADE AND INDUSTRY
GABBAI
GALUT
GAMES
GENEALOGY
GENIZAH
GEOGRAPHY
GHETTO
GUILDS
HAPSBURG MONARCHY
HAREDIM
HASKALAH
HE-HALUTZ
HEP! HEP!
HERALDRY
HEVRA (Havura) KADDISHA
HEVRAH, HAVURAH
HISTORIANS
HISTORIOGRAPHY
HOSPITALS
HUMOR
INFORMERS
INQUISITION

INSURANCE
INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE OF JEWISH COMMUNAL SERVICE
JEWISH AGENCY
JEWISH-CHRISTIAN RELATIONS
JEWISH IDENTITY
JEWISH QUARTER
JEWISH TELEGRAPHIC AGENCY
JOURNALISM
JUDAISM
JUDAIZERS
LABOR
LANDSMANNSCHAFTEN
LAWYERS
LEAGUE OF NATIONS
LEATHER INDUSTRY AND TRADE
LIBERALISM
LIBRARIES
LIVESTOCK, TRADE IN
MACCABI WORLD UNION
MAGEN DAVID
MANUSCRIPTS, HEBREW
MAP MAKERS
MEDINAH
MEMORBUCH
MENTAL ILLNESS
MESSIANIC MOVEMENTS
METALS AND MINING
MIGRATIONS
MILITARY SERVICE
MINORITY RIGHTS
MINTMASTERS AND MONEYERS
MIXED MARRIAGE, INTERMARRIAGE
MOTION PICTURES
MUSEUMS
NAMES
NASI
NEO-FASCISM
NEO-NAZISM
NEW LEFT
NEWSPAPERS, HEBREW
NUMERUS CLAUSUS
NUMISMATICS
OATH MORE JUDAICO
OLYMPIC GAMES
ORPHAN, ORPHANAGE
ORT
OZE (OSE)
PARNAS
PETROLEUM AND OIL PRODUCTS
PHILANTHROPY
PHILOSOPHY
PINKAS
PLETTEN
POLITICS
POPULATION
PRESS
PRINTING, HEBREW
PROSTITUTION
PSYCHOLOGY
PUBLIC RELATIONS
PUBLISHING
RADANIYA
SALONS
SAMBATYON
SAN REMO CONFERENCE
SCOUTING
SEAL, SEALS
SELF-DEFENSE
SELF-HATRED, JEWISH
SEPHARDIM
SERVI CAMERAE REGIS
SETTLEMENT HOUSES
SHABBETAI ZEVI
SHADKHAN
SHELUHEI EREZ ISRAEL
SHIPS AND SAILING
SHTADLAN
SHTETL
SICK CARE, COMMUNAL
SLAVE TRADE
SOCIALISM
SOCIALISM, JEWISH
SOCIETIES, LEARNED
SOCIOLOGY
SPORTS
STAMPS
STUDENTS' MOVEMENTS, JEWISH
SUMPTUARY LAWS
SYNAGOGUE
TALMUD, BURNING OF
TANZHAUS
TAXATION
TELEVISION AND RADIO
TEN LOST TRIBES
THEATER
TITLES
TITLES OF NOBILITY
TRAVELERS AND EXPLORERS
UNITED NATIONS
UNIVERSITIES
VIENNA, CONGRESS OF
VITAL STATISTICS
WANDERING JEW
WORLD CONFERENCE OF JEWISH ORGANIZATIONS
WORLD JEWISH ASSOCIATIONS
WORLD JEWISH CONGRESS
WORLD SEPHARDI FEDERATION
WRITING
YIHUS

a. Antisemitism

MAIN SURVEYS
ANTISEMITISM

GENERAL ENTRIES
BLOOD LIBEL
BOYCOTT, ANTI-JEWISH

I. HISTORY

B. MEDIEVAL & MODERN PERIOD

1. General History

a. Antisemitism

General Entries (*continued*)

DISCRIMINATION
ELDERS OF ZION, PROTOCOLS OF THE LEARNED
HOST, DESECRATION OF
NARA
NEO-NAZISM
NUMERUS CLAUSUS
OZON
RACE, THEORY OF
ROZWOJ
STUERMER, DER

Biographies

ABRAHAM A SANCTA CLARA
CARBEN, VICTOR VON
CHIARINI, LUIGI
CHRISTIANI, PABLO
CODREANU, CORNELIU ZELEA
COSTA DE MATTOS, VICENTE DA
CUZA, ALEXANDER C.
DARQUIER DE PELLEPOIX, LOUIS
DAUDET, LEON
DECKERT, JOSEPH
DLUGOSZ, JAN
DRUMONT, EDOUARD-ADOLPHE
EISENMENGER, JOHANN ANDREAS
ENDLICH, QUIRIN
ENDRE, LASZLO
ESTE, JOÃO BAPTISTA DE
FARINACCI, ROBERTO
FETTMILCH, VINCENT
FOLIGNO, HANANEL (DA)
FRIES, JAKOB FRIEDRICH
FRITSCH, THEODOR
GHILLANY, FRIEDRICH WILHELM
GOUGENOT DES MOUSSEAUX, HENRI
GRAES, ORTWIN VAN DE
GRATTENAUER, KARL WILHELM FRIEDRICH
HUNDT-RADOWSKY, HARTWIG VON
IGNATYEV, COUNT NIKOLAI PAVLOVICH
ISTOCZY, GYOZO
JELENSKI, JAN
LAGARDE, PAUL ANTON DE
LUEGER, KARL
LUTOSTANSKI, HYPPOLITE
MARR, WILHELM
MAURRAS, CHARLES
MICZYNSKI, SEBASTIAN
MOJECKI, PRZECLAW
ONODY, GEZA
PREZIOSI, GIOVANNI
PROUDHON, PIERRE JOSEPH
ROHLING, AUGUST
SCHOENERER, GEORG VON
SESSA, KARL BORROMAEUS ALEXANDER
SKARGA, PIOTR
STOECKER, ADOLF
SZALASI, FERENC
VALLAT, XAVIER
VOGELSANG, KARL VON

b. Demography

Main Surveys
DEMOGRAPHY
MIGRATIONS
MIXED MARRIAGE, INTERMARRIAGE
POPULATION
STATISTICS
VITAL STATISTICS

c. Economic History

Main Surveys
ECONOMIC HISTORY

General Entries
ADVERTISING
BANKING AND BANKERS
BEGGING AND BEGGARS
BOOK TRADE
BROKERS
CANDLE TAX
CHEMICAL CRAFTS AND INDUSTRIES
CONSTRUCTION
CONTRACTORS
COOPERATIVES
COURT JEWS
CRAFTS
DEPARTMENT STORES
DIAMOND TRADE AND INDUSTRY
DYEING
FINANCES, AUTONOMOUS JEWISH
FOUNDATIONS
FUR TRADE AND INDUSTRY
GLASS
GUILDS
INSURANCE
LABOR
LEATHER INDUSTRY AND TRADE
LIVESTOCK, TRADE IN
MARKET DAYS AND FAIRS
METALS AND MINING
MONEYLENDING
PEDDLING
PETROLEUM AND OIL PRODUCTS
PUBLIC RELATIONS
PUBLISHING
RAILROADS
SALT TRADE AND INDUSTRY
SECONDHAND GOODS AND OLD CLOTHES, TRADE IN
SPICE TRADE
STOCK EXCHANGES
SUGAR INDUSTRY AND TRADE
TAILORING
TAXATION

TEXTILES
TOBACCO TRADE AND INDUSTRIES
TRADE AND COMMERCE
WINE AND LIQUOR TRADE

d. Zionism

MAIN SURVEYS

ZIONISM

GENERAL ENTRIES

BALFOUR DECLARATION
BASLE PROGRAM
BENEI MOSHE
BERIHAH
BETAR
BILTMORE PROGRAM
BILU
BLAU-WEISS
BNEI AKIVA
DEMOCRATIC FRACTION,
EMUNAH
FARBAND
GENERAL ZIONISTS
GORDONIA
HA-NOAR HA-IVRI-AKIBA
HAOLAM
HA-POEL HA-MIZRACHI
HA-SHAHAR
HA-SHOMER HA-ZAIR
HA-TIKVAH
HE-HALUTZ
HE-HAVER
HELSINGFORS PROGRAM
HIBBAT ZION
IHUD HABONIM
JEWISH AGENCY
JEWISH COLONIAL TRUST
JEWISH COLONIZATION ASSOCIATION
JEWISH NATIONAL FUND
JEWISH STATE PARTY
JUEDISCHER VERLAG
KATTOWITZ CONFERENCE
KEREN HAYESOD
KHARKOV CONFERENCE
LANGUAGE WAR (SPRACHENKAMPF)
MAURITIUS
MINSK CONFERENCE
MIZRACHI
ODESSA COMMITTEE
PETROGRAD CONFERENCE
POALEI ZION
REVISIONISTS, ZIONIST
SAN REMO CONFERENCE
SELBSTEMANZIPATION
SYKES-PICOT TREATY
TERRITORIALISM
TORAH VA-AVODAH
UGANDA SCHEME
VATICAN
WELT, DIE
WIZO
YOUTH ALIYAH
Z.S. (Zionist Socialists)
ZEIREI ZION
ZIONIST COMMISSION
ZIONIST CONGRESSES
ZIONIST ORGANIZATION OF AMERICA (Z.O.A.)
ZIONIST SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY (S.S.)

BIOGRAPHIES

ABELES, OTTO
AHAD HA-AM
ALKALAI, JUDAH BEN SOLOMON HAI
ALLOUCHE, FELIX NISSIM SAIDOU
BARUCH, JOSEPH MARCOU
BATO, LUDWIG YOMTOV
BEIN, ALEXANDER
BEN-YEHUDA, ELIEZER
BERLIAND, SHLOMO MEIR
BERNSTEIN-KOGAN (Cohen), JACOB
BIERER, RUBIN
BIRNBAUM, NATHAN
BLUMEL, ANDRE
BLUMENFELD, KURT YEHUDAH
BODENHEIMER, MAX ISIDOR
BOEHM, ADOLF
BOROCHOV, BER (Dov)
BRANDT, BORIS (Baruch)
BRODETSKY, SELIG
BRUCK, GRIGORI
BUCHMIL, JOSHUA HESHEL
BUXBAUM, NATHAN
CARPI, LEONE
CHASANOWICH, JOSEPH
CHASANOWICH, LEON
COHEN, ISAAC KADMI
COHEN, ISRAEL
COWEN, JOSEPH
DE LIEME, NEHEMIA
DEEDES, SIR WYNDHAM
DON-YAHIA, YEHUDAH LEIB
DUGDALE, BLANCHE ELIZABETH CAMPBELL
EDELSTEIN, JACOB
EDER, MONTAGUE DAVID
EHRLICH, JACOB
EISLER, EDMUND MENAHEM
ELIASBERG, MORDECAI
FARBSTEIN, DAVID ZEVI
FASTLICHT, ADOLFO
FEIWEL, BERTHOLD
FINKELSTEIN, CHAIM
FINKELSTEIN, NOAH
FISCHER, JEAN
FITCH, LOUIS
FRIEDEMANN, ADOLF
FRIEDMANN, DESIDER
FRISCH, DANIEL
GASTER, MOSES
GELBER, NATHAN MICHAEL
GELLMAN, LEON

I. HISTORY

B. MEDIEVAL & MODERN PERIOD

1. General History

d. Zionism

Biographies (*continued*)

GESANG, NATHAN-NACHMAN
GOLDBERG, BORIS
GOLD BERG, ISAAC LEIB
GOLDBLOOM, JACOB KOPPEL
GOLDHAMMER-SAHAWI, LEO
GOLDMAN, PAUL L.
GOLDMANN, NAHUM
GOLDSTEIN, ALEXANDER
GOLDSTEIN, ANGELO
GOODMAN, PAUL
GORDON, AHARON DAVID
GOTTHEIL, GUSTAV
GOTTLIEB, YEHOSHUA
GREENBERG, HAYYIM
GREENBERG, LEOPOLD JACOB
GROSS, NATHAN
GROSSMAN, MEIR
GRUENBAUM, YIZHAK
GRUNBERG, ABRAHAM
HALPRIN, ROSE LURIA
HANTKE, ARTHUR (Menahem)
HARKAVI, YIZHAK
HARTGLAS, MAXIMILIAN MEIR APOLINARY
HECHLER, WILLIAM HENRY
HELLMAN, JACOB
HERBST, KARL
HERLITZ, GEORG
HERMANN, LEO
HERRMANN, HUGO
HERZL, THEODOR
HESS, MOSES
HICKL, MAX
HODESS, JACOB
HOFFMANN, JACOB
HORODISCHTSCH, LEON
IDELSON, ABRAHAM
ISH-KISHOR, EPHRAIM
JABOTINSKY, VLADIMIR (Ze'ev)
JACOBSON, VICTOR
JAFFE, BEZALEL
JAFFE, LEIB
JARBLUM, MARC
JASINOWSKI, ISRAEL ISIDORE
KAHN, FRANZ
KALEF, YEHOSHUA
KALISCHER, ZEVI HIRSCH
KATZENELSON, NISSAN
KATZNELSON, BERL (Beeri)
KESSLER, LEOPOLD
KIRSHBLUM, MORDECAI
KISCH, FREDERICK HERMANN
KITRON (KOSTRINSKY), MOSHE
KLARMAN, YOSEF
KLEE, ALFRED
KLUMEL, MEIR
KOKESCH, OZER
KOMOLY, OTTO
KORKIS, ABRAHAM ADOLF
LANDAU, SAUL RAPHAEL
LANDAU, SHEMUEL HAYYIM
LANDAUER, GEORG
LEVIN, SHMARYA
LEWINSKY, ELHANAN LEIB
LEWITE, LEON
LICHT, ALEXANDER
LICHTHEIM, RICHARD
LINDHEIM, IRMA LEVY
LIPSKY, LOUIS
LOEWE, HEINRICH (Eliakim)
MACCOBY, HAYYIM ZUNDEL
MANDELSTAMM, MAX EMMANUEL
MARMOREK, ALEXANDER
MOTZKIN, LEO (Aryeh Leib)
NATONEK, JOSEPH
NEUMANN, EMANUEL
NEWLINSKI, PHILIPP MICHAEL
NISSENBAUM, ISAAC
NORDAU, MAX
NUROCK, MORDECHAI
PASMANIK, DANIEL
PINSKER, LEON (Judah Leib)
REICH, LEON
REVUSKY, ABRAHAM
RINGEL, MICHAEL
ROMANO, MARCO
RONAI, JANOS
ROTENSTREICH, FISCHEL
RUFEISEN, JOSEPH
RUPPIN, ARTHUR
SACHER, HARRY
SALZ, ABRAHAM ADOLPH
SCHACH, FABIUS
SCHACHTEL, HUGO-HILLEL
SCHALIT, ISIDOR
SCHAPIRA, HERMANN (Zevi-Hirsch)
SCHECHTMAN, JOSEPH B.
SCHENK, FAYE L.
SCHLESINGER, AKIVA JOSEPH
SCHLOESSINGER, MAX
SCHOENFELD, JOSEPH
SCHOOLMAN, BERTHA S.
SCHWARZBART, ISAAC IGNACY
SHRAGAI, SHLOMO ZALMAN
SHREIER, FEIWEL
SILVER, ABBA HILLEL
SIMON, JULIUS
SIMON, SIR LEON
SOKOLOW, NAHUM
SOMMERSTEIN, EMIL
STAND, ADOLF
STEINER, HANNAH
STRICKER, ROBERT
SYKES, SIR MARK
SYRKIN, NACHMAN

TAUBES, LOEBEL
THON, OSIAS (Jehoshua)
TIOMKIN, VLADIMIR (Ze'ev)
TORCZYNER, JACQUES
TRIETSCH, DAVIS
TSCHLENOW, JEHIEL (Yefim Vladimirovich)
USSISHKIN, ABRAHAM MENAHEM MENDEL
VAN VRIESLAND, SIEGFRIED ADOLF (Zadok)
WARBURG, OTTO
WEISGAL, MEYER WOLF
WEIZMANN, CHAIM
WELTSCH, ROBERT
WERNER, SIEGMUND
WILENSKY, YEHUDAH LEIB NISAN
WOLFFSOHN, DAVID
WORLD LABOR ZIONIST MOVEMENT
WORTSMAN, YECHESKIEL CHARLES
YOFFE, ALTER
ZIPPER, GERSHON
ZISSU, ABRAHAM LEIB
ZLATOPOLSKY, HILLEL
ZLOCISTI, THEODOR
ZUCKERMAN, BARUCH

2. REGIONAL HISTORY

a. Israel, Land and State of

MAIN SURVEYS

ISRAEL, LAND OF
ISRAEL, LAND OF – CLIMATE
ISRAEL, LAND OF – FLORA AND FAUNA
ISRAEL, LAND OF – GEOGRAPHICAL SURVEY
ISRAEL, LAND OF – GEOLOGY
ISRAEL, LAND OF – HISTORY
ISRAEL, LAND OF – PHYSIOGRAPHY
ISRAEL, STATE OF – ALIYAH, ABSORPTION AND SETTLEMENT
ISRAEL, STATE OF – ARAB POPULATION
ISRAEL, STATE OF – CULTURAL LIFE
ISRAEL, STATE OF – DEFENSE FORCES
ISRAEL, STATE OF – ECONOMIC AFFAIRS
ISRAEL, STATE OF – EDUCATION
ISRAEL, STATE OF – GOVERNANCE
ISRAEL, STATE OF – HEALTH
ISRAEL, STATE OF – HISTORICAL SURVEY
ISRAEL, STATE OF – HUMAN GEOGRAPHY
ISRAEL, STATE OF – LABOR
ISRAEL, STATE OF – LEGAL AND JUDICIAL SYSTEM
ISRAEL, STATE OF – POLITICAL LIFE AND PARTIES
ISRAEL, STATE OF – POPULATION
ISRAEL, STATE OF – RELIGIOUS LIFE AND COMMUNITIES
ISRAEL, STATE OF – WELFARE AND SOCIAL SECURITY

GENERAL ENTRIES

AGRICULTURE
AISH HATORAH
ALIYAH
ARCHAEOLOGISTS
ARCHAEOLOGY
ARCHIPHERECITES
ARCHITECTURE AND ARCHITECTS
ARMISTICE AGREEMENTS, ISRAEL-ARAB
ART
BI-NATIONALISM
COINS AND CURRENCY
COMMUNITY TOKENS
COOPERATIVES
CRIME
CRUSADES
DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE, ISRAEL
DEW
EARTHQUAKE
ENTEBBE RAID
EREZ ISRAEL
FLAG
GULF WAR
HALUKKAH
HAMAS
HA-TIKVAH
HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR PALESTINE
HIZBOLLAH
HOLY PLACES
HOREV COMMISSION
ILLEGAL IMMIGRATION
INDEPENDENCE DAY, ISRAEL
INTIFADA
ISRAEL PRIZE
ITINERARIES OF EREZ ISRAEL
ITINERARIUM ANTONINI
ITINERARIUM HIEROSOLYMITANUM OR ITINERARIUM BURDIGALENSE
KAHAN COMMISSION
KIBBUTZ FESTIVALS
KNESSET
LAVON AFFAIR
LEBANON WAR
MABARAH
MACCABIAH
MANDATE FOR PALESTINE
MAPS OF EREZ ISRAEL
MOSHAV
MOSHAV SHITTUFI
NATIONAL PARKS IN ISRAEL
NATURE RESERVES IN ISRAEL
NEW LEFT
OLEI HA-GARDOM
PALESTINE
PALESTINE, INQUIRY COMMISSIONS
PALESTINE, PARTITION AND PARTITION PLANS
PALESTINE LIBERATION ORGANIZATION
PALESTINIAN AUTHORITY
PATRIA
PILGRIMAGE
PRESIDENT OF ISRAEL
PROJECT RENEWAL
RISHON LE-ZION
SAINT JAMES CONFERENCE

I. HISTORY

B. MEDIEVAL & MODERN PERIOD

2. Regional History

a. Israel, Land and State of

General Entries (*continued*)

SALT
SHEKEL
SHELUHEI EREZ ISRAEL
SINAI CAMPAIGN
SIX-DAY WAR
STOCKADE AND WATCHTOWER
SYKES-PICOT TREATY
TEMPLERS
TRAVELERS AND TRAVELS TO EREZ ISRAEL
UNSCOP
VANUNU AFFAIR
WAR OF INDEPENDENCE
WHITE PAPERS
YOM HA-ZIKKARON
YOM KIPPUR WAR

Flora and Fauna

ACACIA
ALGUM
ALMOND
ANIMALS OF THE BIBLE AND TALMUD
ANT
ANTELOPE
APPLE
ASS
BALSAM
BARLEY
BAT
BEANS
BEAR
BEE
BEET
BITTERN (Heron)
BOX
BROOM
BUFFALO
BUZZARD
CABBAGE
CALAMUS, SWEET
CAMEL
CAPER
CAROB
CASTOR-OIL PLANT
CAT
CATTLE
CEDAR
CENTIPEDE
CHAMELEON
CINNAMON
CITRUS
CORAL
CORIANDER
COTTON
CRANE
CRIMSON WORM
CROCODILE
CUCUMBER
CUMIN
CYPRESS
DEER
DOG
DOVE
DYE PLANTS
EAGLE
EBONY
ELEPHANT
FENNEL
FIG
FLAX
FLEA
FLOWERS
FLY
FOX
FRANKINCENSE
FROG
GALBANUM
GARLIC
GAZELLE
GECKO
GNAT
GOAT
GOOSE
GOURD
GULL
HARE
HAWK
HEMLOCK
HEMP
HERBS, MEDICINAL
HONEY
HOOPOE
HORNET
HORSE
HYENA
HYRAX
HYSSOP
IBEX
IVORY
IVY
JACKAL
JUJUBE
JUNIPER
KITE
LAUDANUM
LEECH
LEEK
LEGUMES
LENTIL
LEOPARD
LETTUCE
LEVIATHAN
LION
LIZARD
LOCUST

LOUSE
MALLOW
MANDRAKE
MASTIC
MELON
MILKWEED
MILLET
MOLE
MONITOR
MOTH
MOUSE
MULBERRY
MULE
MUSHROOMS
MUSTARD
MYRRH
MYRTLE
NIGHTINGALE
NUT
OAK
OLEANDER
OLIVE
ONAGER
ONION
ORACH
OSTRICH
OWL
PALM
PAPYRUS
PARTRIDGE
PEACH
PEACOCK
PEAR
PELICAN
PEPPER
PHEASANT
PIG
PINE
PISTACHIO
PLANE TREE
PLANTS
PLUM
POMEGRANATE
POPLAR
QUAIL
QUINCE
RADISH
RAT
RAVEN
REED
RICE
ROCKET
ROSE
SAFFRON
SCORPION
SHEEP
SILK
SKINK
SNAKE
SORGHUM
SPARROW
SPICES
SPIDER
SPIKENARD
SQUILL
STORAX
STORK
SUMAC
SWIFT
SYCAMORE
TAHASH
TAMARISK
TARES
TEREBINTH
THISTLES AND THORNS
TORTOISE
TRAGACANTH
TURTLE DOVE
VEGETABLES
VINE
VULTURES
WEEDS
WHEAT
WILD BULL
WILLOW
WOLF
WORM
WORMWOOD

PLACES

ABU AWEIGILA
ABU GHOSH
ADULLAM REGION
AIJALON
ARABAH
ARBEL
AVELIM OR OVELIM
BANIAS
BASHAN
BET NETOFAH
BETHAR
CARMEL, MOUNT
DEAD SEA
EN-DOR
GERIZIM, MOUNT
GESHER BENOT YAAKOV
GILBOA
GINNOSAR, PLAIN OF
HAMMAT-GADER (Geder)
HAMMATH (Tiberias)
HECHAL SHLOMO
HEFER PLAIN
HERMON, MOUNT
HULEH VALLEY
JABBOK
JEZREEL, VALLEY OF
JORDAN
JOTABAH
KINNAROT, VALLEY OF
KINNERET, LAKE

I. HISTORY

B. MEDIEVAL & MODERN PERIOD

2. Regional History

a. Israel, Land and State of

Places (*continued*)

KISHON
LATRUN
MAALEH AKRABBIM
MACHPELAH, CAVE OF
MEIR BAAL HA-NES, TOMB OF
MIKVEH ISRAEL
MOUNT OF OLIVES
NEGEV
ONO
RAIN
RAMAT HA-GOLAN
RED SEA
SHEPHELAH
SINAI
SODOM AND GOMORRAH
SOREK, VALLEY OF
TABOR, MOUNT
TIMNA
WESTERN WALL
YARKON
YARMUK
ZION

Communities

ABU GHOSH
ACRE
ADAMIT
AFIKIM
AFULAH
ALFEI MENASHE
ALLONEI ABBA
ALLONEI YIZHAK
ALLONIM
ALMAGOR
ALMAH
ALUMMOT
AMAZYAH
AMIR
AMIRIM
AMMIAD
AMMINADAV
ANATHOTH
APHEK
APOLLONIA
ARA
ARABA
ARAD
ARARA
ARIEL
ARRABA
ARTAS
ASHDOD
ASHDOT YAAKOV
ASHKELON
ATAROT
ATHLIT
AVIGDOR
AVIHAYIL
AYANOT
AYYELET HA-SHAHAR
AZOR
BALFOURIYYAH
BAQA AL-GHARBIYYA; BAQA AL-SHARQIYYA
BARKAI
BAT HEFER
BAT SHELOMO
BAT YAM
BEERI
BEER ORAH
BEEROT YIZHAK
BEERSHEBA
BEER TOVIYYAH
BEER YAAKOV
BEIT JANN
BEIT JIMAL
BEN SHEMEN
BENE-BERAK
BENEI AISH
BENEI DAROM
BENEI DEROR
BENEI ZION
BEROR HAYIL
BET ALFA
BET(H)-ARABAH
BET(H)-DAGON
BET(H)-EL
BET ESHEL
BET GUVRIN
BET HA-EMEK
BET HALEVI
BET HANAN
BETHANY
BET HERUT
BET HILLEL
BETHLEHEM
BET (Bayt) IKSA
BET KESHET
BET(H) LEHEM (Ha-Gelilit)
BET MEIR
BET NEHEMYAH
BET OREN
BET OVED
BET(H)-SHEAN
BET SHEARIM
BET(H)-SHEMESH
BET(H)-SHITTAH
BET YANNAI
BET YEHOSHUA
BET YERAH
BET YIZHAK
BET YOSEF
BET ZAYIT
BET ZERA
BINYAMINAH

BIRANIT
BIRIYYAH
BITAN AHARON
BIZZARON
BOZRAH
CAESAREA
DABBURIYYA
DAFNAH
DALIYAT AL-KARMIL
DALIYYAH
DALTON
DAN
DEGANYAH
DEIR AL-BALAH
DIMONAH
DOBRATH
DOR
DOROT
EFRAT
EILAT
EILON
EILOT
EIN FASHKHAH
EIN GEV
EIN HA-EMEK
EIN HA-HORESH
EIN HA-MIFRAZ
EIN HA-NAZIV
EIN HA-SHELOSHAH
EIN HA-SHOFET
EIN HOD
EIN IRON
EIN KEREM
EIN SHEMER
EIN VERED
EIN YAHAV
EIN ZEITIM
EIN ZURIM
ELAD
ELATH
ELYASHIV
EMMAUS
EN-GEDI
EN-HAROD
ESHTAOL
ESHTEMOA
EVEN YEHUDAH
EVEN YIZHAK
EVRON
EYAL
FASSUTA
FURAYDIS, AL-
GA'ATON
GALILEE
GALON
GAN HAYYIM
GANNEI TIKVAH
GANNEI YEHUDAH
GAN SHELOMO
GAN SHEMUEL
GAN SHOMRON
GAN YAVNEH
GAT
GAZIT
GEDERAH
GELIL YAM
GESHER
GESHER HA-ZIV
GEULEI TEIMAN
GEULIM
GEVA
GEVARAM
GEVAT
GEVIM
GEVULOT
GEZER
GIBBETHON
GINNEGAR
GINNOSAR
GISCALA
GIVAT ADA
GIVATAYIM
GIVAT BRENNER
GIVAT HA-SHELOSHAH
GIVAT HAYYIM
GIVAT HEN
GIVAT SHMUEL
GIVAT ZE'EV
GOFNAH
GUSH ETZYON
GUSH KATIF
HA-BONIM
HADERAH
HADID
HAFEZ HAYYIM
HA-GOSHERIM
HAIFA
HALHUL
HAMADYAH
HA-MAPIL
HANITAH
HA-OGEN
HA-ON
HAREL
HA-SOLELIM
HAZER, HAZERIM
HAZEVAH
HAZOR (ha-Gelilit)
HAZOR ASHDOD
HA-ZORE'A
HA-ZORE'IM
HEBRON
HEFZI BAH
HELEZ
HEREV LE-ET
HERUT
HERZLIYYAH
HIBBAT ZION
HOD HA-SHARON
HOGLAH

I. HISTORY

B. MEDIEVAL & MODERN PERIOD

2. Regional History

a. Israel, Land and State of

Communities (*continued*)

HOLON
HUKOK
HULATAH
HULDAH
HULEH
HURFAYSH
ILANIYYAH
JABNEEL
JAFFA
JENIN
JERICHO
JERUSALEM
JERUSALEM, LEGAL ASPECTS
JOKNEAM
JOTAPATA
KABRI
KADIMAH
KAFR KAMA
KAFR QASIM
KARMIEL
KARMIYYAH
KARNEI SHOMRON
KAZIR HARISH
KAZRIN
KEFAR AZAR
KEFAR BARAM
KEFAR BARUKH
KEFAR BIALIK
KEFAR BILU
KEFAR BLUM
KEFAR DAROM
KEFAR EZYON
KEFAR GAMALA
KEFAR GIDEON
KEFAR GILADI
KEFAR GLICKSON
KEFAR HABAD
KEFAR HA-HORESH
KEFAR HA-MACCABI
KEFAR HANANYAH
KEFAR HA-NASI
KEFAR HA-ROʾEH
KEFAR HASIDIM
KEFAR HATTIN
KEFAR HAYYIM
KEFAR HESS
KEFAR HITTIM
KEFAR JAWITZ
KEFAR KANNA
KEFAR KISCH
KEFAR MALAL
KEFAR MANDI
KEFAR MASARYK
KEFAR MENAHEM
KEFAR MONASH
KEFAR MORDEKHAI
KEFAR NETTER
KEFAR PINES
KEFAR ROSH HA-NIKRAH
KEFAR RUPPIN
KEFAR SAVA
KEFAR SHEMARYAHU
KEFAR SYRKIN
KEFAR SZOLD
KEFAR TAVOR
KEFAR TRUMAN
KEFAR URIYYAH
KEFAR VITKIN
KEFAR VRADIM
KEFAR WARBURG
KEFAR YASIF
KEFAR YEHEZKEL
KEFAR YEHOSHUA
KEFAR YONAH
KHAN YUNIS
KINNERET
KINNERET
KIR HARESETH
KIRYAT ANAVIM
KIRYAT ATA
KIRYAT BIALIK
KIRYAT EKRON
KIRYAT GAT
KIRYAT-HAROSHET
KIRYAT MALAKHI
KIRYAT MOTZKIN
KIRYAT ONO
KIRYAT SHEMONAH
KIRYAT TIVON
KIRYAT YAM
KISSUFIM
KOKHAV YAIR
LACHISH REGION
LAHAVOT HA-BASHAN
LAVI
LEHAVIM
LOHAMEI HA-GETTAOT
LYDDA
MAʾAGAN MIKHAEL
MAʾALE ADUMIM
MAʾALEH HA-HAMISHAH
MAʾALOT TARSHIHA
MAʾANIT
MAʾAS
MAʾBAROT
MAGHAR, AL-
MAHANAYIM
MAJDAL AL-SHAMS
MAJD AL-KURUM
MAKKABIM-REʾUT
MANARAH
MAʾOZ HAYYIM
MASSADAH
MASSUOT YIZHAK

MA'YAN BARUKH
MA'YAN ZEVI
MAZKERET BATYAH
MAZLI'AH
MEI AMMI
ME'IR SHEFEYAH
MEITAR
MENAHEMIYYA
MERHAVYAH
MERON
MESILLAT ZION
MESILLOT
METULLAH
MEVASSERET ZION
MIGDAL
MIGDAL HA-EMEK
MI'ILYA
MIKHMORET
MISGAV AM
MISHMAR HA-EMEK
MISHMAR HA-NEGEV
MISHMAR HA-SHARON
MISHMAR HA-YARDEN
MISHMAROT
MIZPAH
MIZPEH RAMON
MIZRA
MODI'IN
MOLEDET
MOZA, (HA-) MOZAH
NA'AN
NABLUS
NAHALAL
NAHALAT YEHUDAH
NAHAL OZ
NAHARIYYAH
NAVEH
NAZARETH
NEGBAH
NEHALIM
NEHORAH
NE'OT MORDEKHAI
NESHER
NES ZIYYONAH
NETA'IM
NETANYAH
NETIV HA-LAMED-HE
NETIVOT
NEVATIM
NEVEH EITAN
NEVEH YAM
NEZER SERENI
NIR AM
NIR DAVID
NIR EZYON
NIRIM
NIZZANAH
NIZZANIM
OFAKIM
OMER
OR AKIVA
ORANIT
OR HA-NER
OROT
OR YEHUDAH
PARDES HANNAH-KARKUR
PARDESIYYAH
PEKI'IN
PETAH TIKVAH
PORIYYAH
QUNAYTIRA, AL-
RA'ANANNAH
RAFA
RAMA, AL-
RAMALLAH
RAMAT DAVID
RAMAT GAN
RAMAT HA-KOVESH
RAMAT HA-SHARON
RAMAT HA-SHOFET
RAMAT RAHEL
RAMAT RAZIEL
RAMAT YISHAI
RAMAT YOHANAN
RAMAT ZEVI
RAMLEH
RAMOT HA-SHAVIM
RAMOT MENASHEH
RAMOT NAFTALI
REGAVIM
REGBAH
REHOVOT
REKHASIM
REVADIM
REVIVIM
RIHANIYYA, AL-
RISHON LE-ZION
RISHPON
ROSH HA-AYIN
ROSH PINNAH
RUHAMAH
SA'AD
SAFED
SALCHAH
SARID
SASA
SAVYON
SEDEH BOKER
SEDEH ELIYAHU
SEDEH NAHUM
SEDEH NEHEMYAH
SEDEH WARBURG
SEDEH YAAKOV
SEDEROT
SEDOT YAM
SHAALBIM
SHA'AREI TIKVAH
SHAAR HA-AMAKIM
SHA'AR HA-GOLAN
SHADMOT DEVORAH

I. HISTORY

B. MEDIEVAL & MODERN PERIOD

2. Regional History

a. Israel, Land and State of

Communities (*continued*)

SHAMIR
SHARONAH
SHAVEI ZION
SHE'AR YASHUV
SHEFARAM
SHEFAYIM
SHELOMI
SHELUHOT
SHIVTAH
SHOHAM
SHOMRAT
SHORESH
SHOVAL
SHUNEM
SIKHNIN
SUSITA
TAANACH
TAL SHAHAR
TAYYIBA, AL-
TEKOA
TEKUMAH
TEL ADASHIM
TEL AVIV-JAFFA
TEL HAI
TEL KAZIR
TEL MOND
TEL YIZHAK
TEL YOSEF
THEBEZ
TIBERIAS
TIRA, AL-
TIRAT HA-CARMEL
TIRAT ZEVI
TIVON
TUL KARM
UDIM
URIM
USHA
USIFIYYA
YAD HANNAH
YAD MORDEKHAI
YAGUR
YAKUM
YAMMIT REGION
YARDENAH
YARKONAH
YAVNEH
YAVNEH
YEDIDYAH
YEHI'AM
YEHUD
YEROHAM
YESODOT
YESUD HA-MA'ALAH
YIZREEL
YOTVATAH
ZAREPHATH
ZIKHRON YAAKOV
ZOFIT
ZORAH
ZORAN
ZUR MOSHE
ZUR YIGAL

Organizations

AHDUT HA-AVODAH
AHDUT HA-AVODAH-POALEI ZION
AMIDAR
A.S.A.
BAR-ILAN UNIVERSITY
BENEI BINYAMIN
BEN-GURION UNIVERSITY OF THE NEGEV
BEN-ZVI INSTITUTE
BERIT HA-BIRYONIM
BERIT SHALOM
BETH HATEFUTSOTH
BEZALEL
BILU
BNEI AKIVA
CAMERI
CANAANITES
DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENT FOR CHANGE
EGGED
EL AL
ELITZUR
EL-YAM
EMUNAH
EZ HAYYIM
FARMERS FEDERATION OF ISRAEL
FRIENDSHIP LEAGUES WITH ISRAEL
GADNA
GAHAL
GEDUD HA-AVODAH
GHETTO FIGHTER'S HOUSE
GUSH EMUNIM
HABIMAH
HAGANAH
HAIFA, UNIVERSITY OF
HAIFA MUNICIPAL THEATER
HA-KIBBUTZ HA-ARZI HA-SHOMER HA-ZAIR
HA-KIBBUTZ HA-DATI
HA-KIBBUTZ HA-MEUHAD
HAMASHBIR HAMERKAZI
HA-NO'AR HA-OVED VE-HA-LOMED
HA-OVED HA-ZIYYONI
HAPOEL
HA-POEL HA-MIZRACHI
HA-POEL HA-ZAIR
HA-SHOMER
HA-TENU'AH LE-MA'AN EREZ ISRAEL HA-SHELEMAH
HEBREW UNIVERSITY OF JERUSALEM
HERUT MOVEMENT
HEVRAT HA-OVEDIM

HIEROSOLYMITANISCHE STIFTUNG
HISTADRUT
HISTADRUT HA-OVEDIM HA-LE'UMMIT
HITAHDUT
IHUD HA-KEVUZOT VE-HA-KIBBUTZIM
INDEPENDENT LIBERAL PARTY
IRGUN ZEVAI LEUMMI
ISRAEL ACADEMY OF SCIENCES AND HUMANITIES
ISRAEL CHAMBER ORCHESTRA
ISRAEL EXPLORATION SOCIETY
ISRAEL LABOR PARTY
ISRAEL MUSEUM
ISRAEL PHILHARMONIC ORCHESTRA
JERUSALEM INSTITUTE FOR ISRAEL STUDIES
JERUSALEM PUBLISHING HOUSE, THE
JEWISH AGENCY
JEWISH BRIGADE GROUP
JEWISH LEGION
KACH
KADOORIE
KETER PUBLISHING HOUSE
KIBBUTZ MOVEMENT
LEO BAECK INSTITUTE
LIBRARY, JEWISH NATIONAL AND UNIVERSITY
LIKUD
LOHAMEI HERUT ISRAEL (Lehi)
MACCABI
MAGEN DAVID ADOM
MAHAL
MALBEN
MAPAI
MAPAM
MEKOROT WATER COMPANY
MERETZ
MO'EZET HA-PO'ALOT
NAHAL
NATIONAL RELIGIOUS PARTY
NETUREI KARTA
NILI
OHEL
PALESTINE ECONOMIC CORPORATION
PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND
PALESTINE OFFICE
PALMAH
PEACE MOVEMENTS, RELIGIOUS
PEACE NOW
PEEL COMMISSION
PICA
PO'ALEI AGUDAT ISRAEL
RAFI
ROCKEFELLER MUSEUM
SCHECHTER INSTITUTE OF JEWISH STUDIES, THE
SCHOCKEN INSTITUTE
SHAS
SHINUI
SOLEL BONEH
TAHAL
TARBUT
TEACHERS ASSOCIATION IN ISRAEL
TECHNION, ISRAEL INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY
TEL AVIV UNIVERSITY
TNUVA
TSOMET
ULPAN
VA'AD HA-PEKIDIM VE-HA-AMARKALIM
VA'AD LE'UMMI
VA'AD PEKIDEI EREZ ISRAEL BE-KUSHTA
WEIZMANN INSTITUTE OF SCIENCE
WRITERS ASSOCIATION IN ISRAEL
YAD VASHEM
ZIM

Publications

AHDUT HA-AVODAH
AL HA-MISHMAR
BUSTENAI
DAVAR
DO'AR HA-YOM
DVIR
GILYONOT
GLOBES
GOLDENE KEYT, DI
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HA-BOKER
HA-LEVANON
HA-MODI'A
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HAVAZZELET
HA-ZOFEH
JERUSALEM POST
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MAARIV
TARBIZ
UJ KELET
YATED NEEMAN
YEDIOTH AHARONOTH

Biographies

Academic Life

ADAR, ZVI
AHARONI, YOHANAN
ALCALAY, REUVEN
ALLON, GEDALYA
AMIR, MENACHEM
AMIRAN, DAVID
AMITSUR, SAMSON ABRAHAM
ANKORI, ZEVI
ARIELI, YEHOSHUA
ARNON, ABRAHAM
ARUSI, ABRAHAM BEN MOSES HA-LEVI
ASHTOR, ELIYAHU
AUERBACH, ELIAS
AUMMANN, ROBERT J.
AVIGAD, NAHMAN
AVINERI, SHLOMO
AVINERI, YITZHAK
AVIRAM, JOSEPH
AVITZUR, SHMUEL
AVI-YONAH, MICHAEL
AVRUNIN, ABRAHAM

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AYALON, DAVID
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BAER, YITZHAK
BANETH
BAR-DAROMA, HAYYIM ZE'EV
BAR-HILLEL, YEHOSHUA
BAR-YOSEF, OFER
BAUER, YEHUDA
BEIN, ALEXANDER
BEINART, HAIM
BEIT-HALLAHMI, BENJAMIN
BEN-ARIEH, YEHOSHUA
BENAYAHU, MEIR
BEN-DAVID, JOSEPH
BEN-DOR, IMMANUEL
BEN HAYYIM, ZE'EV
BEN-SASSON, HAIM HILLEL
BEN-SHAKHAR, GERSHON
BENTWICH
BENVENISTI, DAVID
BEN-YEHUDA, ELIEZER
BEN-YEHUDAH, BARUKH
BERGER-BARZILAI, JOSEPH
BERGMAN, SAMUEL HUGO
BERGMANN, JUDAH
BIALOBLOCKI, SAMUEL SHERAGA
BILLIG, LEVI
BIRAN, AVRAHAM
BLAU, JOSHUA
BLEJER, MARIO ISRAEL
BONDY, RUTH
BONFIL, ROBERT
BONNE, ALFRED ABRAHAM
BRASLAVI (Braslavski), JOSEPH
BRAVERMAN, AVISHAY
BRAWER, ABRAHAM JACOB
BRAWER, MOSHE
BRINKER, MENACHEM
CHOURAQUI, ANDRE
CHURGIN, PINKHOS
CONFINO, MICHAEL
CORCOS, DAVID
DALESKI, HILLEL
DAN, JOSEPH
DAVID D'BETH HILLEL
DE VRIES, BENJAMIN
DIAMANT, PAUL JOSEPH
DINUR, BENZION
DORON, ABRAHAM
DOTAN, ARON
DOTHAN, MOSHE
DOTHAN, TRUDE
DRAPKIN, ABRAHAM
DRAPKIN, ISRAEL
DVORZETSKY, MARK MEIR
EISENSTADT, SAMUEL NOAH
ELON, AMOS
ELON, MENACHEM
EPSTEIN, CLAIRE
EPSTEIN, JACOB NAHUM
ESTORI (ISAAC BEN MOSES) HA-PARHI
ETTINGER, SHMUEL
ETZIONI, AMITAI WERNER
EVEN SHEMUEL, JUDAH
EVEN-SHOSHAN, AVRAHAM
FAITLOVITCH, JACQUES
FEINBERG, NATHAN
FEUERSTEIN, REUVEN
FINKELSTEIN, ISRAEL
FISH, HAREL (HAROLD)
FRANKEL, YA'AKOV
FRANKENSTEIN, CARL
FREIMANN, ABRAHAM HAYYIM (Alfred)
FRIEDLAENDER, SAUL
FRIEDMAN, SHAMMA
FRIEDMANN, DANIEL
FUKS, ALEXANDER
FUNKENSTEIN, AMOS
GAON, MOSES DAVID
GARTNER, LLOYD P.
GAVISON, RUTH
GOITEIN, SHLOMO DOV (Fritz)
GOLDMAN, ELIEZER
GOLDSCHMIDT, ERNST DANIEL
GOPHNA, RAM
GOSHEN-GOTTSTEIN, MOSHE
GOTTLIEB, EPHRAIM
GRAJEWSKY, PINCHAS
GRANOTT, ABRAHAM (Granovsky)
GROSSMAN, AVRAHAM
GULAK, ASHER
GUTMAN, ISRAEL
GUTMANN, JOSHUA
HABERMANN, ABRAHAM MEIR
HADDAD, EZRA
HAKHAM, SIMON
HALPERN, ISRAEL
HARAN, MENAHEM
HAREL, MENASHEH
HEINEMANN, YIZHAK
HELD, MOSHE
HELFMAN, ELHANAN
HERLITZ, GEORG
HEYD, URIEL
HIRSCHBERG, HAIM ZEW
HOROWITZ, ISRAEL ZEEV
IDEL, MOSHE
KADDARI, MENAHEM ZEVI
KAHANA, ABRAHAM
KAHANE, ISAAK (Yizhak Ze'ev)
KAHNEMAN, DANIEL
KATZ, ELIHU

KATZ, ISRAEL
KATZ, JACOB
KAUFMANN, YEHEZKEL
KAZNELSON, SIEGMUND
KEMPINSKY, AHARON
KIEL, YEHUDA
KISTER, MEIR J.
KLAR, BENJAMIN MENAHEM
KLAUSNER, ISRAEL
KLAUSNER, JOSEPH GEDALIAH
KLEIN, SAMUEL
KLEINMANN, MOSHE
KOOK, SAUL HONE BEN SOLOMON ZALMAN
KORIAT, ASHER
KRAUS, PAUL ELIEZER
KUTSCHER, EDWARD YECHEZKEL
LANDAU, JACOB M.
LAPIDOT, RUTH
LEIBOWITZ, NEHAMA
LEIBOWITZ, YESHAYAHU
LEWY, YOHANAN
LIEBERMAN, SAUL
LIEBMAN, CHARLES (YESHAYAHU)
LIPSCHUETZ, ELIEZER MEIR
LISSAK, MOSHE
LOEWINGER, DAVID SAMUEL
LUNCZ, ABRAHAM MOSES
MAHLER, RAPHAEL
MAISELS, MOSES HAYYIM (Misha)
MALAMAT, ABRAHAM
MANHEIM, BILHAH
MANI, EZRA
MARGALIOT, MORDECAI
MAYER, LEO ARY
MAZAR, AMIHAI
MAZAR, BENJAMIN
MELAMED, EZRA ZION
MOREH, SHMUEL
MUNTNER, ALEXANDER SUESSMAN
NAVON, DAVID
NEUMANN, ERICH
NOY, DOV
OLSVANGER, IMMANUEL
ORMIAN, HAYYIM
PATINKIN, DON
PERI, HIRAM (Heinz)
PIAMENTA, MOSHE
PINES, NOAH
PINES, SHLOMO (Solomon)
PLESSNER, MARTIN (Meir)
POSNER, AKIVA BARUKH (Arthur)
POZNANSKI, EDWARD
PRAWER, JOSHUA
PRESS, YESHAYAHU
PROBST, MENAHEM MENDEL
RABAN, AVNER
RABIN
RAND, YAAKOV
RAVITZKY, AVIEZER
RIEGER, ELIEZER
RIVLIN, ELIEZER
RIVLIN, JOSEPH JOEL
ROSÉN, HAIIM B.
ROTENSTREICH, NATHAN
ROTH, LEON
SAFRAI, SHMUEL
SALOMON, GAVRIEL
SARFATTI, GAD
SCHAECHTER, JOSEPH
SCHALIT, ABRAHAM CHAIM
SCHAPIRO, ISRAEL
SCHIRMANN, JEFIM (Hayyim)
SCHMELZ, USIEL OSCAR
SCHOLEM, GERSHOM GERHARD
SCHWABE, MOSHE (Max)
SCHWADRON (SHARON), ABRAHAM
SCHWARZ, YEHOSEPH
SEGAL, MOSES HIRSCH (ZEVI)
SERMONETA, JOSEPH BARUCH
SHACHAR, ARIE
SHAHAR, SHULAMIT
SHILOH, YIGAL
SHMUELI, EPHRAIM
SHOHAM, SHLOMO-GIORA
SHOHETMAN, BARUCH
SHUVAL, JUDITH
SILBERNER, EDMUND
SIMON, AKIBA ERNST
SIMONSOHN, SHLOMO
SOMEKH, SASSON
SPERBER, DANIEL
SPIEGEL, NATHAN
STEKELIS, MOSHE
STERN, EPHRAIM
STERN, MENAHEM
SUKENIK, ELIEZER LIPA
TADMOR, HAYIM
TALMON, JACOB LEIB
TALMON, SHEMARYAHU
TARTAKOWER, ARIEH
TA-SHMA, ISRAEL MOSES
TCHERIKOVER, VICTOR (Avigdor)
TELLER, ISRAEL
TISHBY, ISAIAH
TUR-SINAI (Torczyner), NAPHTALI HERZ (Harry)
URBACH, EPHRAIM ELIMELECH
URMAN, DAN
USSISHKIN, DAVID
VILNAY, ZEV
WALLENSTEIN, MEIR
WARBURG, GAVRIEL REUBEN
WEIL, GOTTHOLD
WEISS, ABRAHAM
WEISS, MEIR
WERBLOWSKY, RAPHAEL JUDA ZWI
WERTHEIMER, SOLOMON AARON
WIGODER, GEOFFREY
WINNINGER, SOLOMON
WIRSZUBSKI, CHAIM
WISE, GEORGE SCHNEIWEIS

I. HISTORY
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WISTRICH, ROBERT
WIZEN, MOSHE AHARON
WORMANN, CURT
YAARI, ABRAHAM
YAARI, MENAHEM
YADIN, YIGAEL
YAHUDA, ABRAHAM SHALOM
YARON, REUVEN
YAVETS, ZVI
YEFET, SARAH
YEIVIN, ISRAEL
YOVEL, YIRMIYAHU
ZAND, MICHAEL
ZULAY, MENAHEM

Art

ABSALON
AGAM, YAACOV
AMISHAI-MAISELS, ZIVA
APPELBAUM, MOSHE
ARDON, MORDECAI
ARIKHA, AVIGDOR
AROCH, ARIE
ASCHHEIM, ISIDOR
ATAR, HAIM
AVNI, AHARON
BACON, YEHUDA
BAERWALD, ALEX
BAR-AM, MICHA
BARASCH, MOSHE
BEERI, TUVIA
BEN-ZVI, ZEEV
BERGNER, YOSSL (Yosef L.)
BERNSTEIN, MOSHE
BEZEM, NAPHTALI
BLUM, LUDWIG
BOGEN, ALEXANDER
BROWN, AIKA
CASTEL, MOSHE ELAZAR
COHEN, ELISHEVA
COHEN GAN, PINHAS
DANZIGER, ITZHAK
DAVID, JEAN
ELHANANI, ABA
ELHANANI, ARYEH
ENGELSBERG, LEON
FEIGIN, DOV
FIMA
FRENKEL (FRENEL), ITZHAK
GAD, DEVORAH
GAMZU, HAYYIM
GARBUZ, YAIR
GARDOSH, KARIEL (Charles; "Dosh")
GERSHUNI, MOSHE
GIDAL, TIM
GROSS, MICHAEL
GRUNDMAN, ZWI
GUTMAN, NAHUM
HABER, SHAMAI
HALEVY, YOSEF
IDELSON, BENJAMIN
JANCO, MARCEL
KADISHMAN, MENASHE
KAHANA, AHARON
KARAVAN, DANI
KARMI, DOV
KAUFMANN, RICHARD
KLARWEIN, JOSEPH
KRAKAUER, LEOPOLD
KUPFERMAN, MOSHE
LAVIE, RAFFI
LEVANON, MORDECAI
LIFSCHITZ, URI
LISHANSKY, BATYA
LITVINOVSKY, PINHAS
MAIROVICH, ZVI
MANDL, SAADIA
MANSFELD, ALFRED
MELNIKOFF, AVRAHAM
MERZER, ARIEH
MOKADY, MOSHE
MOREH, MORDECAI
MOSKOVITZ, SHALOM
NARKISS, BEZALEL
NARKISS, MORDECHAI
NEIMAN, YEHUDAH
NIKEL, LEA
OFEK, AVRAHAM
OFIR, ARIE
PALDI, ISRAEL
PALOMBO, DAVID
PANN, ABEL
PINS, JACOB
RAPAPORT, NATHAN
RATNER, YOHANAN
RAU, HEINZ
RECHTER
REZNIK, DAVID
RUBIN, REUVEN
RUBINGER, DAVID
SAFDIE, MOSHE
SCHATZ, BORIS
SCHUMACHER, GOTTLIEB
SEBBA, SHALOM
SHARON, ARYEH
SHEMI, MENAHEM
SHEMI, YEHIEL
SIMA, MIRON
STEINHARDT, JAKOB
STEMATSKY, AVIGDOR
STERNSCHUSS, MOSHE
STREICHMAN, YEHEZKIEL
TAGGER, SIONA

TALPIR, GABRIEL JOSEPH
TEVET, NAHUM
TICHO, ANNA
TUMARKIN, IGAEL
ULLMAN, MICHA
WEILL, SHRAGA
WOLPERT, LUDWIG YEHUDA
YASKI, AVRAHAM
ZARITSKY, YOSSEF
ZVIA

Literature

ADELMAN, URI
AGMON, NATHAN
AGNON, SHMUEL YOSEF
ALFES, BENZION
ALMOG, RUTH
ALONI, NISSIM
ALTERMAN, NATHAN
AMICHAI, YEHUDA
AMIR, AHARON
AMIR, ANDA
AMIR, ELI
APPELFELD, AHARON
ARICHA, YOSEF
ASHMAN, AHARON
AVIDAN, DAVID
AVIGUR-ROTEM, GABRIELA
AVINOAM, REUVEN
AVI-SHAUL, MORDEKHAI
BALLAS, SHIMON
BARASH, ASHER
BARON, DEVORAH
BARTOV, HANOCH
BAR-YOSEF, YEHOSHUA
BAT-MIRIAM, YOKHEVED
BEER, HAIM
BEILINSON, MOSHE
BEJERANO, MAYA
BEN-AMITAI, LEVI
BEN-AMOTZ, DAHN
BEN-GAVRIEL, MOSHE YA'AKOV
BEN-NER, YITZHAK
BEN-YEHUDA, HEMDAH
BEN YEHUDA, NETIVA
BEN YIZHAK, AVRAHAM
BEN-ZION, S.
BERNSTEIN, ORI
BIALIK, HAYYIM NAHMAN
BRENNER, JOSEPH HAYYIM
BROD, MAX
BROIDES, ABRAHAM
BROIDO, EPHRAIM
BURLA, YEHUDA
CARMI, T.
CASTEL-BLOOM, ORLY
CHOMSKY, DOV
DAYAN, YAEL
DOR, MOSHE
ELMALEH, ABRAHAM
EVER HADANI
EYTAN, RACHEL
FEYGENBERG, RAKHEL
FINBERT, ELIAN-J.
FRANKEL, NAOMI
FRIEDMANN, DAVID ARYEH
GALAI, BINYAMIN
GELDMAN, MORDECHAI
GILBOA, AMIR
GILEAD, ZERUBAVEL
GINZBURG, SIMON
GOLDBERG, LEA
GORDON, SAMUEL LEIB
GOURI, HAIM
GREENBERG, URI ZEVI
GROSSMAN, DAVID
GUR, BATYA
GURFEIN, RIVKA
HABIBI, EMIL
HACOHEN, MORDECAI BEN HILLEL
HAEZRAHI, YEHUDA
HALKIN, SIMON
HAMEIRI, AVIGDOR
HAREVEN, SHULAMIT
HAZAZ, HAYYIM
HENDEL, YEHUDIT
HOFFMANN, YOEL
HOROWITZ, YAAKOV
HOURVITZ, YA'IR
JAFFE, ABRAHAM B.
KABAK, AARON ABRAHAM
KADARI, SHRAGA
KAHANA-CARMON, AMALIA
KAMSON, YAAKOV (Jacob) DAVID
KANIUK, YORAM
KARNI, YEHUDA
KARU, BARUCH
KATZIR, JEHUDIT
KENAN, AMOS
KENAZ, YEHOSHUA
KERET, ETGAR
KIPNIS, LEVIN
KISHON, EPHRAIM
KLAUSNER, JOSEPH GEDALIAH
KOVNER, ABBA
KRAFT, WERNER
KRAUS, OTA
KURZWEIL, BARUCH
K. ZETNIK
LACHOWER, YERUHAM FISHEL
LAMDAN, YIZHAK
LAOR, YITZHAK
LAPID, SHULAMIT
LEVIN, HANOCH
LIEBRECHT, SAVYON
MATALON, RONIT
MEGGED, AHARON
MEITUS, ELIAHU
MICHAEL, SAMI
MIRON, DAN

I. HISTORY

B. MEDIEVAL & MODERN PERIOD

2. Regional History

a. Israel, Land and State of

BIOGRAPHIES

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MIRSKY, AARON
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OFEK, URIEL
OREN, RAM
OREN, YIZHAK
ORLAND, YAAKOV
ORLEV, URI
ORPAZ AVERBUCH, YIZHAK
OVSAY, JOSHUA
OZ, AMOS
PAGIS, DAN
PENN, ALEXANDER
PINCAS, ISRAEL
RAAB, ESTHER
RAGEN, NAOMI
RAHEL
RATOSH, YONATHAN
RAVIKOVITCH, DALIA
REICH, ASHER
RIMON, JACOB
RUEBNER, TUVIA
SADAN, DOV
SADEH, PINHAS
SERI, DAN BENAYA
SHABTAI, AHARON
SHABTAI, YAAKOV
SHAHAM, NATHAN
SHAHAR, DAVID
SHAKED, GERSHON
SHALEV, MEIR
SHALEV, YITZHAK
SHALEV, ZERUYA
SHALOM, SHIN
SHAMI, YITZHAK
SHAMIR, MOSHE
SHENHAR, YITZHAK
SHIMONI (Shimonovitz), DAVID
SHIMONI, YOUVAL
SHLONSKY, ABRAHAM
SHOFMAN, GERSHON
SILMAN, KADISH YEHUDA LEIB
SIVAN, ARYE
SMILANSKY, MEIR
SMILANSKY, MOSHE
SMOLI, ELIEZER (Smoler)
SOBOL, YEHOSHUA
SOMECK, RONNY
STEINBERG, JACOB
STERN, NOAH
STRAUSS, ARYEH LUDWIG
STREIT, SHALOM
STURMANN, MANFRED
SUSSMAN, EZRA
SVERDLIK, ODED
TABIB, MORDEKHAI
TALPIR, GABRIEL JOSEPH
TAMMUZ, BENJAMIN
TCHERNOWITZ-AVIDAR, YEMIMAH
TEMKIN
TEVET, SHABBETAI
TIDHAR, DAVID
TOCHNER, MESHULLAM
TSALKA, DAN
TWERSKY, YOHANAN
UKHMANI, AZRIEL
UNGERFELD, MOSHE
WALLACH, YONA
WEINBERG, ZEVI ZEBULUN
WERSES, SAMUEL
WIESELTHIER, MEIR
WOYSLAWSKI, ZEVI
YAARI, YEHUDAH
YALAN-STEKELIS, MIRIAM
YEHOSHUA, AVRAHAM B.
YEIVIN, YEHOSHUA HESCHEL
YERUSHALMI, RINA
YESHURUN, AVOT
YIZHAR, S.
YONATHAN, NATHAN
YZRAELY, YOSSI
ZACH, NATHAN
ZARCHI, ISRAEL
ZELDA (MISHKOVSKY)
ZEMACH, SHLOMO
ZMORA, YISRAEL

Music

ABILEAH, ARIE
ADLER, ISRAEL
ADMON, YEDIDYAH
AGADATI, BARUCH
AHARON, EZRA
ALDEMA, GIL
ALEXANDER, HAIM
AMIRAN, EMANUEL
ARBATOVA, MIA
ARGOV, ALEXANDER (SASCHA)
AROM, SIMHA
ARONOVICH, YURI MIKHAYLOVICH
ATZMON, MOSHE
AVENARY, HANOCH
AVIDOM, MENAHEM
AVNI, TZEVI
BARDANASHVILI, YOSEF
BARENBOIM, DANIEL
BAYER, BATHIA
BEER, RAMI
BEN-HAIM, PAUL
BEN-HAIM, YIGAL
BEN-SHABETAI, ARI
BERGEL, BERND
BERTINI, GARY

BERTONOFF, DEBORAH
BOEHM, YOHANAN
BOSCOVITCH, ALEXANDER URIYAH
BRAUN (BROWN), ARIE
BRAUN, YEHEZKIEL
BRONFMAN, YEFIM
CHURGIN, BATHIA
COHEN MELAMED, NISSAN
COHEN, YARDENA
DA-OZ, RAM
DAUS, AVRAHAM
DE PHILIPPE, EDIS
DORFMAN, JOSEPH
EDEN-TAMIR
EHRLICH, ABEL
ENGEL, JOEL (Yuli Dimitriyevich)
EVEN-OR, MARY
FEIDMAN, GIYORA
FISHER, DUDU
FLEISCHER, TSIPPI
FRIED (-BISS), MIRIAM
GELBRUN, ARTUR
GERSON-KIWI, EDITH (Esther)
GESHURI, MEIR SHIMON
GILBOA, JACOB
GOLDSTEIN, RAYMOND
GOLINKIN, MORDECAI
GRADENWITZ, PETER EMANUEL
GRAZIANI, YIZHAK
HAJDU, ANDRE
HARRAN, DON
HERSTIK, NAPHTALI
HIRSH, NURIT
HIRSHBERG, JEHOASH
HOLDHEIM, THEODOR
INBAL, ELIAHU
JACOBI, HANOCH (Heinrich)
JAFFE, ELI
KADMAN, GURIT
KALICHSTEIN, JOSEPH
KARACZEWSKI, HANINA
KATZ, RUTH
KOPYTMAN, MARK RUVIMOVICH
LAKNER, YEHOSHUA
LEEF, YINAM
LERER, JOSHUA
LERER, SHMUEL
LEVI, LEO
LEVI, YOEL
LEVI-AGRON, HASIA
LEVI-TANNAI, SARA
LIFSHITZ, NEHAMAH
MAAYANI, AMI
MANOR, EHUD
MEDINA, AVIHU
MEHTA, ZUBIN
MINTZ, SHLOMO
MIRON, ISSACHAR
NAHARIN, OHAD
NARDI, NAHUM
NATRA, SERGIU
NAVON, ISAAC ELIYAHU
NIKOVA, RINA
NOY, MEIR
OLIVERO, BETTY
ORDMAN, JEANETTE
ORGAD, BEN ZION
OVED, MARGALIT
PANOV, VALERY
PARTOS, OEDOEN
PELLEG, FRANK
PERLMAN, ITZCHAK
RAN, SHULAMIT
RODAN, MENDI
RONLY-RIKLIS, SHALOM
SALMON, KAREL (Karl Salomon)
SALZMAN, PNINA
SCHIDLOWSKY, LEON
SEGAL, URI
SETER, MORDECHAI
SHAHAM, GIL
SHALLON, DAVID
SHELEM, MATTITYAHU
SHEMER, NAOMI
SHERIFF, NOAM
SHILOAH, AMNON
SHLONSKY, VARDINA
SHMUELI, HERZL
SMOIRA-COHN, MICHAL
SOBOL, MORDECHAI
STERN, MOSHE
STERNBERG, ERICH WALTER
TAL, JOSEF
TALMON, ZVI
TAUBE, MICHAEL
WILENSKY, MOSHE
YAMPOLSKY, BERTA
YELLIN-BENTWICH, TELMA
ZEFIRA, BRACHAH
ZEHAVI, DAVID
ZEIRA, MORDECHAI
ZUKERMAN, PINCHAS
ZUR, MENAHEM

Popular Culture

ALBERSTEIN, HAVA
ALMAGOR, GILA
ARAD, YAEL
ARGOV, ZOHAR
ARNOLD, PAULA
ARTZI, SHLOMO
BAKRI, MUHAMMAD
BANAI FAMILY
BAR, SHLOMO
BARUCH, ADAM
BEN, ZEHAVA
BEN-AVI, ITHAMAR
BERKOWITZ, MICKEY
BERNSTEIN-COHEN, MIRIAM
BRODY, TAL

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BIOGRAPHIES

Popular Culture (continued)

BURSTEIN
CASPI, MATI
CEDAR, JOSEPH
CZERNIAK, MOSHE
DAMARI, SHOSHANA
DAYAN, ASSAF
DESHEH, AVRAHAM (Pashanel)
DZIGAN, SHIMON
EINSTEIN, ARIK
FINKEL, SHIMON
FOX, EYTAN
FRIDMAN, GAL
FROMAN, IAN
GAON, YEHORAM
GEFFEN, AVIV
GERSHON, PINCHAS
GILADI, ALEX
GITAI, AMOS
GLOBUS, YORAM
GNESSIN, MENAHEM
GODIK, GIORA
GOLAN, MENACHEM
GOLDMAN, YAAKOV BEN ASHER
HADDAD, SARIT
HAGAI, BARUCH
HA-GASHASH HA-HIVER
HALEVY, MOSHE
HANOKH, SHALOM
HAZA, OFRA
HEFER, HAYIM
HENDEL, NEHAMA
HITMAN, UZI
IVGY, MOSHE
KHOURI, MAKRAM
KLEIN, RALPH
KONIG, LEA
LEIBOWITZ, KEREN
MARGALIT, MEIR
MERON, HANNA
MESKIN, AHARON
MILLO, JOSEF
MIZRACHI, SHIMON
NINI, AHINOAM (NOA)
OFIR, SHAIKE
POLIKER, YEHUDA
PORAT, ORNA
RODENSKY, SHEMUEL
ROSEN, YEHOSHUA
ROTH-SHACHAMOROV, ESTHER
ROVINA, HANNA
SCHACH, LEONARD LAZARUS
TOPOL, CHAIM
YARKONI, YAFFA
ZEMACH, NAHUM
ZOHAR, MIRIAM
ZOHAR, URI

Public & Economic Life

AARONSOHN
ABRAHAM HA-LEVI
ADLER-RUDEL, SALOMON
AGRANAT, SHIMON
AGRON (Agronsky), GERSHON
AHARONOVITCH, YOSEF
AHIMEIR, ABBA
AKIROV, ALFRED
AKZIN, BENJAMIN
ALEXANDER, KOBI
ALIAV, RUTH
ALKAHI, MORDEKHAI
ALMOG, YEHUDA
ALMOGI, YOSEF AHARON
ALONI, SHULAMIT
ALOUF, YEHOSHUA
ALTMAN, ARYEH
ALLON, YIGAL
AMIT, MEIR
AMZALAK, HAYYIM
ANTEBI, ALBERT (Avraham)
ARAD, RON
ARAN, ZALMAN
ARAZI, YEHUDAH
ARBELL, MORDECHAI
ARENS, MOSHE
ARIDOR, YORAM
ARIEL, DOV
ARIEL, JOSEPH
ARISON, TED
ARLOSOROFF, CHAIM
ARTZI, YITZHAK
ASSAF, MICHAEL
AUSTER, DANIEL
AVIAD, YESHAYAHU
AVIDA, YEHUDA LEIB
AVIGUR, SHAUL
AVI-YITZHAK, DAN
AVNERY, URI
AVRIEL, EHUD
AYALON, AMI
BAK
BAKSHI-DORON, ELIAHU
BARAK, AHARON
BARAK, EHUD
BARAM, MOSHE
BARAM, UZI
BARATZ, JOSEPH
BARAZANI, MOSHE
BAR-ILAN, DAVID
BARKATT, REUVEN
BAR-LEV, HAIM
BARNEA, NAHUM
BARNETT, ZERAH
BARTH, JACOB

BAR-YEHUDAH, ISRAEL
BAUM, MENAHEM MENDEL BEN AARON OF KAMENETZ
BECKER, AHARON
BEER, ISRAEL
BEGIN, MENAHEM
BEGIN, ZEʾEV BINYAMIN
BEHAR, NISSIM
BEILIN, YOSSI
BEINISCH, DORIT
BEJERANO
BELKIND
BEN-AHARON, YIZHAK
BEN-AMI, OVED
BEN DOV, YAAKOV
BEN-ELIEZER, BINYAMIN
BEN ELIEZER, MOSHE
BEN-GURION, DAVID
BEN-HORIN, ELIAHU
BEN-ISRAEL, RUTH
BENJAMIN OF TIBERIAS
BEN-NATAN, ASHER
BEN-PORAT, MIRIAM
BEN PORAT, MORDECAI
BENTOV, MORDEKHAI
BENTWICH
BEN-YOSEF, SHELOMO
BEN-ZVI, IZHAK
BEN-ZVI, RAHEL YANAIT
BEN-ZVI, SHLOMO
BERAB, JACOB BEN HAYYIM
BERENSON, ZVI
BERLIGNE, ELIYAHU MEIR
BERMAN, ADOLF ABRAHAM
BERMAN, SIMEON
BERNSTEIN, PEREZ
BET-ZURI, ELIAHU
BEYTH, HANS
BIRAM, ARTHUR (Yizhak)
BLAU, AMRAM
BLAU, MOSHE
BOGALE, YONA
BOGER, HAYYIM
BRILL, JEHIEL
BURG, AVRAHAM
BURG, YOSEF
BUSEL, JOSEPH
CARLEBACH, EZRIEL
CARMEL, MOSHE
CAROL, ARYEH
COHEN, ELI
COHEN, GEʾULAH
COHEN, SHLOMO
COHN, HAIM
COHN-REISS, EPHRAIM
COMAY, MICHAEL SAUL
CHELOUCHE
CHIZHIK
DAGAN, AVIGDOR
DANIN, YEHEZKEL
DANKNER, AMNON
DAYAN
DAYAN, MOSHE
DAYAN, YAEL
DERI, ARYEH
DICKENSTEIN, ABRAHAM
DINITZ, SIMCHA
DISKIN, MORDEKHAI
DISKIN, MOSES JOSHUA JUDAH LEIB
DISSENTCHIK, ARIE
DIWAN, JUDAH BEN AMRAM
DIZENGOFF, MEIR
DOBKIN, ELIYAHU
DOLGIN, SIMON ARTHUR
DORI, YAʾAKOV
DREZNER, YEHIEL DOV
DULZIN, ARYE LEIB
DUSHKIN, ALEXANDER MORDECHAI
EBAN, ABBA (Aubrey)
EHRLICH, SIMHA
EISENBERG, AHARON ELIYAHU
EISENBERG, SHOUL
EITAN, RAPHAEL (“Raful”)
ELATH, ELIAHU
ELAZAR, DAVID
ELAZARI-VOLCANI, YIZHAK
ELDAD, ISRAEL
ELIACHAR, MENACHE
ELIAV, ARIE LOVA
ELIAV, BINYAMIN
ELIYAHU, MORDECHAI
ELON, BINYAMIN
ELON, MENACHEM
ELYASHAR, JACOB SAUL BEN ELIEZER JEROHAM
ENGLARD, YITZHAK
EPSTEIN, IZHAC
ESHKOL, LEVI
ETTINGER, AKIVA JACOB
EVENTOV, YAKIR
EVRON, EPHRAIM
EYTAN, WALTER
FARBSTEIN, JOSHUA HESCHEL
FEINBERG
FEINSTEIN, HAYYIM JACOB HA-KOHEN
FEINSTEIN, MEIR
FELMAN, AHARON LEIB
FELLER, SHNEYUR ZALMAN
FISCHER, STANLEY
FOERDER, YESHAYAHU (Herbert)
FRANCO, AVRAHAM
FREIER, RECHA
FRUMKIN, ARYEH LEIB
FRUMKIN, ISRAEL DOV
GALIL, UZIA
GALILI, ISRAEL
GEDALIAH OF SIEMIATYCZE
GERI, JACOB
GILADI, ISRAEL
GINOSSAR, ROSA
GISSIN, AVSHALOM

I. HISTORY

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BIOGRAPHIES

Public & Economic Life (*continued*)

GLIKIN, MOSHE
GLUECKSOHN, MOSHE
GLUSKA, ZEKHARYAH
GLUSKIN, ZEEV
GOLDBERG, ISAAC LEIB
GOLOMB, ELIYAHU
GORDON, AHARON DAVID
GRAJEWSKI, ELIEZER ZALMAN
GRANOTT, ABRAHAM (Granovsky)
GROSSMAN, YIZHAK DAVID
GRUENBAUM, YIZHAK
GRUNER, DOV
GUBER, RIVKA
GUR, MORDECAI (Motta)
GUTMANN, DAVID MEIR
GVATI, CHAIM
HABIBI, EMIL
HACOHEN, DAVID
HAKIM, ELIAHU
HALPERIN, YEHIEL
HALPERN, GEORG GAD
HAMMER, ZEVULUN
HANKIN, YEHOSHUA
HARARI (Blumberg), HAYYIM
HAREL, YISRAEL
HARMAN (Herman), AVRAHAM
HARZFELD, AVRAHAM
HATOKAI, ALDIN
HAUSDORF, AZRIEL ZELIG
HAUSNER, GIDEON
HAVIV, AVSHALOM
HAVIV-LUBMAN, AVRAHAM DOV
HAZAN, YA'AKOV
HAZANI, MIKHA'EL YA'AKOV
HECHT, REUBEN
HELPERN, MICHAEL
HERMANN, LEO
HERZOG, CHAIM
HESHIN, SHNEUR ZALMAN
HILLEL, SHELOMO
HISIN, HAYYIM
HOLZBERG, SIMCHAH
HOOFIEN, ELIEZER SIEGFRIED
HOREV, AMOS
HOROWITZ, DAVID
HOS, DOV
HURVITZ, ELI
HURWITZ, YIGAL
IDELOVITCH, DAVID
IDELSON, BEBA
IRAQI, SHALOM JOSEPH
ISRAEL
ISRAELI, BENZION
ITZIK, DALIA
JAFFE, BEZALEL
JAFFE, MAURICE ABRAHAM
JAGLOM, RAYA
JOFFE, ELIEZER LIPA
JOFFE, HILLEL
JOSEPH, DOV
JOSEPHTHAL, GIORA
KAHANA, KALMAN
KAHANE, MEIR
KALIR, AVRAHAM
KAPLAN, ELIEZER
KAPLANSKY, SHELOMO
KASHANI, ELIEZER
KASZTNER, REZSO RUDOLF
KATZ, SHMUEL
KATZAV, MOSHE
KATZENELSON, YOSEF
KATZIR, EPHRAIM
KATZNELSON, BERL (Beeri)
KATZNELSON, RAHEL
KATZNELSON, REUBEN
KATZNELSON, SHULAMIT
KESSAR, ISRAEL
KHOUSHI, ABBA
KIRSCHENBAUM, MORDECAI
KITRON (KOSTRINSKY), MOSHE
KLARMAN, YOSEF
KOHN, LEO
KOL, MOSHE
KOLLEK, THEODORE (Teddy)
KORMAN, EDWARD R.
KRAUSE, ELIYAHU
KRINITZI, AVRAHAM
KUBOVY (Kubowitzki), ARYEH LEON
LAHAT, SHLOMO ("Chich")
LANDAU, ANNIE
LANDAU, DAVID
LANDAU, MOSHE
LANDAUER, GEORG
LAPID, TOMI
LAPIN, ISRAEL MOSES FISCHEL
LASKOV, HAYYIM
LAUFBAHN, YITSHAK
LAUTMAN, DOV
LAVI, SHELOMO
LAVON, PINHAS
LEHMANN, SIEGRIED
LEVI, MOSHE
LEVI, SAID BEN SHALOM
LEVI, SHABBETAI
LEVIEV, LEV
LEVIN, YIZAK MEIR
LEVITT, ESTHER
LEVONTIN, ZALMAN DAVID
LEVY, DAVID
LEWIN-EPSTEIN, ELIAHU ZEEV
LEWINSKY, YOM TOV
LIBAI, DAVID
LIPKIN-SHAHAK, AMNON

LISHANSKY, YOSEF
LIVNAT, LIMOR
LIVNI, TZIPI
LOCKER, BERL
LOEWENSON, JEAN (Hans)
LOPOLIANSKY, URI
LOTAN, GIORA
LOURIE, ARTHUR
LUDVIPOL, ABRAHAM
LURIE, JOSEPH
LURIE, TED
LURIE, ZVI
LUZ, KADISH
MAGIDOR, MENACHEM
MAIMON, ADA
MAIMON, YAACOV
MAISEL-SHOHAT, HANNAH
MAKLEFF
MAOR, GALIA
MARGALIT, DAN
MARGOLIN, ELIEZER
MARGOLIN, JULIJ
MARGOLIS-KALVARYSKI, HAIM
MARMORI, HANOCH
MAZUR, ELIYAHU
MAZUZ, MENI
MAZZUVAH
MEEROVITCH, MENACHE
MEIR, GOLDA
MEIR BEN HIYYA ROFE
MELCHIOR, MICHAEL
MERIDOR, DAN
MESHEL, YERUHAM
METMAN-COHEN, YEHUDAH LEIB
MEYUHAS, YOSEF BARAN
MILEYKOWSKY, NATHAN (Netanyahu)
MILO, RONI
MINZ, BENJAMIN
MIZRAHI, HANINAH
MODAI, YIZHAK
MOFAZ, SHAUL
MOLLER, HANS AND ERICH
MOSES, SIEGFRIED
MOSSINSON, BENZION
MOZES
MUYAL, AVRAHAM
NADAV, ZEVI
NADDAF, ABRAHAM HAYYIM
NAFTALI, PEREZ (Fritz)
NAKAR, MEIR
NAMIR, MORDEKHAI
NAMIR, ORA
NAVON, JOSEPH
NAVON, YITZHAK
NEBENZAHL, ITZHAK ERNST
NEEMAN, YUVAL
NEIPRIS, JOSEPH
NETANYAHU, BINYAMIN
NETTER, CHARLES
NIEGO, JOSEPH
NIMRODI
NIR-RAFALKES, NAHUM
NISSAN, AVRAHAM
NISSIM, MOSHE
NOVOMEYSKY, MOSHE
NUROCK, MORDECHAI
OFER, AVRAHAM
OFNER, FRANCIS-AMIR
OLMERT, EHUD
OLSHAN, ISAAC
OSSOWETZKY, O. YEHOSHUA
PA'IL, MEIR
PATT, GIDEON
PEARLMAN, MOSHE
PERES, SHIMON
PERETZ, AMIR
PERI, YA'AKOV
PERLMAN, SAMUEL
PERSITZ, SHOSHANAH
PEVZNER, SAMUEL JOSEPH
PINCUS, LOUIS ARIEH (Louis Abraham)
PINKAS, DAVID ZVI
POLLACK, ISRAEL
PORUSH, MENAHEM & MEIR
PROPPER, DAN
PUKHACHEWSKY, MICHAEL ZALMAN
RAAB, JUDAH
RABBI BINYAMIN
RABIN, YIZHAK
RABINOVICH, ITAMAR
RABINOWITZ, LOUIS ISAAC
RABINOWITZ, YEHOSHUA
RAGER (IJO), ITZHACK
RAKOWSKI, PUAH
RAMON, HAIM
RAMON, ILAN
RAPHAEL, GIDEON
RAPHAEL, YIZHAK
RAZIEL, DAVID
RECANATI, ABRAHAM SAMUEL
REIK, HAVIVAH (Emma)
REMEZ, MOSHE DAVID
RIVLIN
RIVLIN, YOSEF YIZHAK
ROKACH, ELEAZAR
ROKACH, SHIMON
ROSEN, JOSEPH A.
ROSEN, PINHAS
ROSEN, SHELOMO
ROSENBAUM, SEMYON (Shimshon)
ROSENBLUM, HERZL
ROSENFELD, SHALOM
ROTEM, CVI (Zvi)
RUBINSTEIN, AMNON
RUPPIN, ARTHUR
RUTENBERG, PINHAS (Piotr)
SADEH, YIZHAK
SALOMON, JOEL MOSES
SAMUEL BEN SAMSON
SANBAR (Sandberg), MOSHE

I. HISTORY

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BIOGRAPHIES

Public & Economic Life (*continued*)

SAPIR, ELIYAHU
SAPIR, JOSEPH
SAPIR, PINHAS
SARID, YOSSI
SARUM, ABRAHAM
SASSON, ELIYAHU
SCHILLER, SOLOMON
SCHNITZER, SHMUEL
SCHOCKEN
SCHUB, MOSHE DAVID
SENATOR, DAVID WERNER
SHAHAL, MOSHE
SHALEM, SAMUEL
SHALEV, AVNER
SHALOM, SILVAN
SHALTIEL, DAVID
SHAMGAR, MEIR
SHAMIR, YITZHAK
SHAPIRA, ABRAHAM
SHAPIRA, HAYYIM MOSHE
SHAPIRA, YESHAYAHU
SHAPIRO, YA'AKOV SHIMSHON
SHARANSKY, NATAN (Anatoly)
SHARETT, MOSHE
SHARON, ARIEL ("Arik")
SHAZAR, SHNEUR ZALMAN
SHEETRIT, MEIR
SHEINKIN, MENAHEM
SHEMTOV, VICTOR
SHENKAR, ARIE
SHERF, ZEEV
SHILOAH, REUBEN
SHITRIT, BEHOR SHALOM
SHOCHAT, ISRAEL
SHOCHAT, MANIA WILBUSHEWITCH
SHOHAT, AVRAHAM BEIGA
SHOHAT, ELIEZER
SHOMRON, DAN
SHOSTAK, ELIEZER
SHURER, HAIM
SHWED, GIL
SILBERG, MOSHE
SIMHONI, ASSAF
SIMON, ARYEH
SMOIRA, MOSHE
SNEERSOHN, HAYYIM ZEVI
SNEH, MOSHE
SOLIELI, MORDECAI (Max)
SPITZER, MOSHE
SPRINZAK, JOSEPH
STAMPFER, JEHOSHUA
STERN, AVRAHAM (Yair)
STURMAN, HAYYIM
SUPRASKY, YEHOSHUA
SUSSMAN, YOEL
SWET, GERSHON
SZENES, HANNAH
SZOLD, HENRIETTA
TABENKIN, YIZHAK
TABIB, AVRAHAM
TAMIR, SHMUEL
TARIF, AMIN
TCHERNOWITZ, SAMUEL
TEHOMI, ABRAHAM
TEKOAH, YOSEF
THON, YAAKOV YOHANAN
TOLKOWSKY, SHEMUEL
TOUROFF, NISSAN
TRUMPELDOR, JOSEPH
TSABAN, YAIR
TSUR, JACOB
TURNER, YAAKOV
UZAN, AHARON
UZIEL, BARUCH
VALERO
VAN LEER, LIA
VAN VRIESLAND, SIEGFRIED ADOLF (Zadok)
VARDI, MOSHE
VITKIN, JOSEPH
VON WEISL, ZE'EV (Wolfgang)
WALKOMITZ, SIMHAH HAYYIM
WARHAFTIG, ZERAH
WEINSHALL
WEISGAL, MEYER WOLF
WEISS, YAACOV
WEITZ, NAPHTALI
WEIZMAN, EZER
WEIZMANN, CHAIM
WERTHEIMER, STEF
WILBUSCHEWITZ
WITKON, ALFRED
YA'ACOBI, GAD
YA'ALON, MOSHE
YAARI, MEIR
YADIN, YIGAEL
YADLIN, AHARON
YAHIL, CHAIM
YARIV, AHARON
YARON, ZEVI
YASSKY, HAIM N.
YAVIN, HAYYIM
YAVNEELI, SHEMUEL
YELLIN
YELLIN-MOR, NATHAN
YESHAYAHU, ISRAEL
YINNON, MOSHE
YUDKOVSKY, DOV
ZADOK, HAIM JOSEPH
ZAMIR, YITZHAK
ZE'EVI, REHAVAM
ZEID, ALEXANDER
ZEMER, HANNAH
ZERUBAVEL, JACOB

ZISLING, AHARON
ZOREF, ABRAHAM SOLOMON ZALMAN
ZUR, ZEVI
ZURI (Zuri-Szezak), JACOB SAMUEL
ZUTA, HAYYIM ARYEH

Religion

BEKACHE, SHALOM
EPSTEIN HA-LEVI, MOSES JEHIEL
FAITUSI, JACOB BEN ABRAHAM
FINKEL, ELIEZER JUDAH
FRANCO, MOSES
FRANK, ZEVI PESAH
FRENKEL, IZHAK YEDIDIAH
GALANTE, MOSES BEN JONATHAN (II)
GOLINKIN, DAVID
GOREN, SHLOMO
GRUENHUT, ELEAZAR (Lazar)
HACOHEN, RAPHAEL HAYYIM
HADAYAH, OVADIAH
HADUTA BEN ABRAHAM
HA-LEVI, EZEKIEL EZRA BEN JOSHUA
HALEVI, HAYYIM DAVID
HALEVI, JOSEPH ZEVI BEN ABRAHAM
HAMEIRI, MOSHE
HAMMER, REUVEN
HARLAP, JACOB MOSES BEN ZEBULUN
HERZOG, ISAAC
HIRSCHENSOHN
HOROWITZ, SAUL HAYYIM BEN ABRAHAM HA-LEVI
IBN JAMIL, ISAAC NISSIM
ISRAELI, SHAUL
KASOVSKY, CHAYIM YEHOSHUA
KOOK, ABRAHAM ISAAC
KOOK, ZEVI JUDAH BEN ABRAHAM ISAAC HA-KOHEN
LAU, ISRAEL MEIR
LEVI BEN HABIB (Ralbah)
LEVIN, ARYEH
LEVY, JUDAH BEN MENAHEM
MAIMON, JUDAH LEIB
MALIK AL-RAMLI
MALKHI, MOSES
MALKHI, MOSES BEN RAPHAEL MORDECAI
MASHASH, SHLOMO
MEIR, JACOB
MENAHEM BEN MOSES HA-BAVLI
MENAHEM MENDEL OF SHKLOV
MEYUHAS, MOSES JOSEPH MORDECAI BEN RAPHAEL MEYUHAS
MEYUHAS, RAPHAEL MEYUHAS BEN SAMUEL
MODAI, HAYYIM
NATHAN BEN ABRAHAM I
NATHAN BEN ABRAHAM II
NATHAN OF GAZA
NAVON, JONAH BEN HANUN
NAVON, JONAH MOSES BEN BENJAMIN
NAZIR, MOSES HA-LEVI
NERIAH, MOSHE ZEVI
NISSIM, ISAAC
OUZIEL, BEN-ZION MEIR HAI
PANIGEL, RAPHAEL MEIR BEN JUDAH
PARDES, ELIYAHU
PARDO, MOSES BEN RAPHAEL
PORATH, ISRAEL
RABINOWITZ-TEOMIM, ELIJAH DAVID BEN BENJAMIN
RAPAPORT, DAVID HA-KOHEN
RICHIETTI, JOSEPH SHALLIT BEN ELIEZER
RISKIN, SHLOMO
RUBIO, MORDECAI
SALANT, SAMUEL
SARNA, EZEKIEL
SCHWARZ, YEHOSEPH
SHAPIRA, ABRAHAN ELKANA KAHANA
SONNENFELD, JOSEPH HAYYIM BEN ABRAHAM SOLOMON
STEINSALTZ, ADIN
SUZIN, SOLOMON MOSES
TOLEDANO, JACOB MOSES
TOLEDO, MOSES DE
UNTERMAN, ISSER YEHUDA
URI BEN SIMEON OF BIALA
VITAL, HAYYIM BEN JOSEPH
WALDENBERG, ELIEZER JUDAH
YIZHAKI, DAVID
YOSEF, OVADIAH
ZE'EVI, ISRAEL BEN AZARIAH
ZEVIN, SOLOMON JOSEPH
ZOLTY, YAACOV BEZALEL

Science

AARONSOHN
ABIR (Abramovitz), DAVID
ADLER, SAUL AARON
AGMON, SHMUEL
AHARONI, ISRAEL
AHARONOV, YAKIR
AMIRA, BINYAMIN
AMITSUR, SAMSON ABRAHAM
APELOIG, YIZHAK
ARNON, ISAAC
ARNON, RUTH
ASCHNER, MANFRED
ASHBEL, DOV
AVIDOV, ZVI
AVIV, HAIM
BEN-ABRAHAM, ZVI
BENTOR, JACOB
BERENBLUM, ISAAC
BERGMANN, ERNST DAVID
BERGMANN, FELIX ELIEZER
BERNSTEIN, JOSEPH
BIRK, YEHUDITH
BOBTELSKY, MORDEKHAI (Max)
BODENHEIMER, FREDERICK SIMON
BONDI, ARON
CEDAR, CHAIM
CHET, ILAN
COHEN, YIGAL RAHAMIM

I. HISTORY
B. MEDIEVAL & MODERN PERIOD
2. Regional History
a. Israel, Land and State of
BIOGRAPHIES
Science (continued)

DEMALACH, YOEL
DE VRIES, ANDRE
DORON, HAIM
DOSTROVSKY, ARYEH
DOSTROVSKY, ISRAEL
DUVDEVANI, SHMUEL
DVORETSKY, ARYEH
EFRAT, YAACOV
ELDAR, REUVEN
ELIAKIM, MARCEL
ERLIK, DAVID
EVENARI, MICHAEL
FARKAS, LADISLAUS (Wilhelm)
FEIGENBAUM, ARYEH
FEINBRUN-DOTHAN, NAOMI
FEINGOLD, DAVID SIDNEY
FEKETE, MICHAEL
FODOR, ANDOR
FRAENKEL, ABRAHAM ADOLF
FROHMAN, DOV
FURSTENBERG, HILLEL (Harry)
GINSBURG, DAVID
GOLDBERG, ALEXANDER
GOLDBERG, EMANUEL
GOLDBLUM, NATAN
HAAS, GEORG
HALBERSTAEDTER, LUDWIG
HALEVY, ABRAHAM
HALPERIN, HAIM
HALPERN, LIPMAN
HANANI, HAIM
HARARI, HAYYIM
HARARI, OVADIAH
HAREL, DAVID
HA-REUBENI, EPHRAIM
HERSHKO, AVRAM
HESTRIN, SHLOMO
HESTRIN-LERNER, SARAH
HIRSHBERG, YEHUDAH
JAMMER, MAX
JAMMER, MOSHE
JORTNER, JOSHUA
KAGAN, HELENA
KARPLUS, HEINRICH
KATZIR, AHARON
KATZIR, EPHRAIM
KEDEM, ORA
KLIGLER, ISRAEL JACOB
KOGAN, ABRAHAM
KORINE, EZRA
KURREIN, MAX
LEEUW, AVRAHAM DE
LEIBOWITZ, JOSHUA O.
LEVINE, RAPHAEL
LEVITZKI, ALEXANDER
LIBAI, AVINOAM
LIFSON, SHNEIOR
LOW (Lev), WILLIAM ZE'EV
MECHOULAM, RAPHAEL
MENDELSSOHN, HEINRICH
MER, GIDEON
MICHAELSON, ISAAC CHESAR
MILLER, LOUIS
MIROWSKI, MICHEL
NE'EMAN, YUVAL
NEUFELD, HENRY
OLITZKI, ARYEH LEO
OLLENDORFF, FRANZ
OPPENHEIMER, HILLEL (Heinz) REINHARD
PADEH, BARUCH
PEKERIS, CHAIM LEIB
PICARD, LEO
PNEULI, AMIR
PRYWES, MOSHE
RABIN, MICHAEL OSER
RACAH, GIULIO (Yoel)
RACHMILEWITZ, MOSHE
RAGER, BRACHA
RAHAMIMOFF, RAMI
RAM, MOSHE
RAMOT, BRACHA
RAYSS, TSCHARNA
REICHERT, ISRAEL
REIFENBERG, ADOLF
REINER, MARKUS
REVEL, MICHEL
ROM, YOSEF
ROSEN, MOSHE
SACHS, LEO
SALITERNIK, ZVI
SAMBURSKY, SAMUEL
SELA, MICHAEL
SHALON, RAHEL
SHEBA, CHAIM
SHECHTMAN, DAN
SHELAH, SAHARON
SHIFTAN, ZEEV
SIMON, ERNST
SINGER, JOSEF
SONDHEIMER, FRANZ
SOSKIN, SELIG EUGEN
STEIN, RICHARD
STEIN, YEHEZKIEL
STEINBERG, AVRAHAM
STOLLER, SAMUEL
SUSSMAN, ABRAHAM
TABOR, HARRY ZVI
TALMI, IGAL
VAN DER HOEDEN, JACOB
VOET, ANDRIES
VROMAN, AKIVA
WAHL, ISAAK
WALLACH, MOSHE (Moritz)

WERTHEIMER, CHAIM ERNST
WILCHEK, MEIR
WILLNER, ITAMAR
WINIK, MEIR
WINNIK, HENRY ZVI
WOOLF, MOSHE
YONATH, ADA
ZAIZOV, RINA
ZARCHIN, ALEXANDER
ZIV, JACOB
ZOHARY, MICHAEL

b. Byzantium

MAIN SURVEYS

BYZANTINE EMPIRE

GENERAL ENTRIES

CIRCUS PARTIES
CONSTANTINOPLE
KOILA

BIOGRAPHIES

BASIL I
CONSTANTINE VII PORPHYROGENITUS
HERACLIUS
JUSTINIAN I
LEO III (the Isaurian)
LEO VI, THE WISE
MANUEL I COMNENUS
MICHAEL II
MICHAEL VIII (Palaeologus)

c. Muslim Lands (incl. Islam)

MAIN SURVEYS

ARAB WORLD
EGYPT
IRAN
IRAQ
ISLAM
LEBANON
LIBYA
MOROCCO
OTTOMAN EMPIRE
SYRIA
TUNIS, TUNISIA
TURKEY
YEMEN

GENERAL ENTRIES

ABBASIDS
AGGADAH
AGHLABIDS
AHL AL-KITĀB
ALAWIDS
ALMOHADS
ALMORAVIDES
ARAB LEAGUE
ARABIC LANGUAGE
ĀSHŪRĀ
AYYUBIDS
BAHUZIM
BERBERS
BOYCOTT, ARAB
BRETHREN OF SINCERITY, EPISTLES OF
CAIRO TRIAL
CALIPH
CAPITULATIONS
DAMASCUS AFFAIR
DHIMMA, DHIMMI
DOENMEH
ESCHATOLOGY
EXILARCH
FATIMIDS
FIQH
GENIZAH, CAIRO
GHETTO
HADITH
HAFSIDS
HAMAS
HANĪF
HIMYAR
HIZBOLLAH
HUD
IBĀDĪS
ISRAELITE
JADĪD AL-ISLĀM
JEWISH AND ISLAMIC LAW
JIHĀD
KAKHYA
KALĀM
KARIYAH, AL-
KHARĀJ AND JIZYA
KIERA
KORAN
MAMLUKS
MERINIDS
MILLET
MULUK AL-TAWAʾIF
MUQADDIM
MUSTAʿRAB, MUSTAʿRABS
NAGID
OMAR, COVENANT OF
ORIENTAL LITERATURE
ORIENTALISTS
OZAR HATORAH
PALESTINE LIBERATION ORGANIZATION
PALESTINIAN AUTHORITY
QAYNUQĀ, BANŪ
QURAYZA, BANŪ
SAʾDIS
SARRĀF
SATRAP
SELJUKS
SIJILL
SUFISM
UMAYYADS
WATTASIDS
YAHŪD
ZIRIDS
ZIYANIDS

I. HISTORY

B. MEDIEVAL & MODERN PERIOD

2. Regional History

c. Muslim Lands (incl. Islam) (*continued*)

BIBLE IN ISLAM

AARON
ABRAHAM
ADAM
BALAAM
BENJAMIN
CAIN
CANAAN
DANIEL
DAVID
ELIJAH
ELISHA
ENOCH
EVE
EZEKIEL
EZRA
GOLIATH
HAMAN
ISAAC
ISAIAH
ISHMAEL
JACOB
JEREMIAH
JERUSALEM
JETHRO
JOB, BOOK OF
JONAH, BOOK OF
JOSEPH
JOSHUA
KORAH
LOT
MIRIAM
MOSES
NEBUCHADNEZZAR
NIMROD
NOAH
PHARAOH
POTIPHAR
QUEEN OF SHEBA
SAMUEL
SAUL
SETH
SOLOMON
TERAH

COMMUNITIES

ABADAN
ADEN
AFGHANISTAN
AGADIR
AHWAZ
AKABA
AKRA
ALEPPO
ALEXANDRIA
ALGERIA
ALGIERS
AMADIYA
AMASIYA
AMRAN
ANKARA
ANTIOCH
ARABIA
ARCILA
ATLAS
AYDIN
AZEMMOUR
BĀB AL-ABWĀB
BAGHDAD
BAHREIN
BALKH
BAʾQŪBA
BASRA
BAYHAN
BAYRAMIC
BEIRUT
BENGHAZI
BILBEIS
BONE
BOUGIE
BURSA
BUSHIRE
CAIRO
CANAKKALE
CASABLANCA
CONSTANTINE
DAMANHŪR
DAMASCUS
DAMAVAND
DAMIETTA
DAMĪRA
DEBDOU
DEHOK
DEMNAT
DHAMĀR
DIYALA
DJERBA
DRA
DUMUH
EDESSA
EDIRNE
EL-ARISH
EMESA
EZINE
FAIYUM
FEZ
GABÈS
GALLIPOLI
GAZA
GAZA STRIP
GILAN
HABBĀN
HABIL
HADRAMAUT
HAMADAN

HAYDAN
HEJAZ
HERAT
HILLA
HĪRA
HIT
HONEIN
HORMUZ
IRBIL
ISFAHAN
ISKENDERUN
ISTANBUL
IZMIR
IZMIT
JAZIRAT IBN ʾUMAR
JORDAN, HASHEMITE KINGDOM OF
JUBAR
JUBAYL
KAIROUAN
KASHAN
KAWKABĀN
KAZVIN
KERMAN
KERMANSHAH
KHANAQIN
KHAYBAR
KHURASAN
KIRKUK
KOILA
KURDISTAN
LAPSEKI
LAR
MAHALLA AL-KUBRA
MANAKHA
MANISSA
MANSURA
MARDIN
MARRAKESH
MAWZA
MĀZANDARĀN
MEDINA
MEKNÈS
MERSIN
MESHED
MINYAT ZIFTA
MOCHA
MOGADOR
MOSUL
MZAB
NAHRAWĀN
NAJRĀN
NEHARDEA
NEHAVEND
NISHAPUR
NISIBIS
OFRAN
ORAN
PAKISTAN
PERSIA
PORT SAID
QALʾAT HAMMĀD
QASR IBN HUBAYRAH
RAHBAH, AL-
RAQQA AL-
RIZAIEH
ROSETTA
RUWANDIZ
SADAH
SAFI
SALÉ-RABAT
SANʾA
SANANDAJ
SARUJ
SAUDI ARABIA
SHARAB
SHARM-EL-SHEIKH, TIRAN ISLAND, AND TIRAN STRAITS
SHIBĀM
SHIRAZ
SHUSHAN
SHUSHTAR
SIDON
SIJILMASSA
SOUS
SULEIMANIYA (AL-)
SUNBAT
TABRIZ
TADEF
TANGIER(S)
TANTA
TAYMA
TEHERAN
TLEMCEN
TOKAT
TRANSJORDAN
TRIPOLI
TRIPOLI
TUAT
TYRE
ʾUKBARĀ
WASIT
YARĪM
YEZD

Biographies
AARON BEN AMRAM
AARON BEN BATASH
AARON OF BAGHDAD
ABBAS I
ABBAS II
ʾABD AL-HAQQ AL-ISLĀMĪ
ABD AL-MĀLIK IBN MĀRWAN
ABDALLAH IBN SABĀʾ
ABDALLAH IBN SALĀM
ABDALLAH, YUSEF
ABDUL MAJID
ABDULLAH IBN HUSSEIN
ABRAHAM BEN ISAAC HA-KOHEN BEN AL-FURAT
ABRAHAM BEN NATHAN
ABU AL-MUNAJJA SOLOMON BEN SHAYA

I. HISTORY

B. MEDIEVAL & MODERN PERIOD

2. Regional History

c. Muslim Lands (incl. Islam)

BIOGRAPHIES (*continued*)

ABU ʿISĀ, ISAAC BEN JACOB AL-ISFAHĪN-Ī
ABU SAʿD AL-TUSTARĪ
ADANI, MAHALAL
ADANI, SAMUEL BEN JOSEPH (Yeshua)
ADJIMAN
AKBAR THE GREAT (Moghul)
ALASHKAR, SOLOMON
ALATON, ISHAK
ALCEH, MATILDE
AL-GHARĪD AL-YAHŪDĪ
ALI IBN SAHL IBN RABBĀN AL-TABARĪ
ALNAKAR, ABRAHAM BEN JOSEPH
ALROY, DAVID (Menahem)
ALLOUCHE, FELIX NISSIM SAIDOU
AMINA
AMRAM
ANGEL, SHEMAYAHU
ARAFAT, YASSER
ASAD, HAFIZ AL-
ASHKENAZI, BEHOR
ASHKENAZI, JONAH BEN JACOB
ASHKENAZI, SOLOMON
ASHRIKI, MORDECAI
ASSEO, DAVID BEN ISAAC
AVEMPACE
AVERROES
AVICENNA
AZANCOT
BABAI BEN FARHAD
BABAI IBN LUTF
BACRI
BALI, RIFAT
BARAZANI, ASENATH
BARUCH BEN SAMUEL
BASRI, MEER
BATALYAWSĪ, ABU MUHAMMAD ABDALLAH IBN MUHAMMAD IBN AL-SĪD AL-
BATTAT, REUBEN
BAYAZID II
BELISHA
BENAROYA, AVRAM
BENAYAH
BENCHIMOL
BENGALIL
BENIDER
BEN-KIKI
BENOLIEL
BENSUSAN
BENVENISTE, MOSES
BENWAISH, ABRAHAM
BENZAMERO
BEN ZAQEN
BERGEL
BESSIS, ALBERT
BESSIS, JESHUA
BONASTRUC, ISAAC
BOUCHARA
BOUZAGLO, DAVID
BRUDO, ABRAHAM BEN ELIJAH
BUSNACH
BUSTANAI BEN HANINAI
BUZAGLO
CABESSA (Cabeca, Cabecao)
CAMONDO (De)
CANSINO
CAPSALI, MOSES BEN ELIJAH
CARASSO, EMMANUEL
CARMONA, BEKHOR ISAAC DAVID
CASTRO, ABRAHAM
CATTAN
CATTAUI
COHEN, JUDAH
COHEN, LEVI-ABRAHAM
CORCOS
CORCOS, DAVID
CORCOS, STELLA
CHALOM, MARCEL
CHOURAQUI
CHRIQUI
DANIEL BEN HASDAI
DANIEL, MENAHEM SALIH
DANON, ABRAHAM
DARMON
DARWISH, SHALOM
DAYYAN
DELMAR
DELOUYA
EDREHI, MOSES BEN ISAAC
ELDAD HA-DANI
ELEAZAR BEN JACOB HA-BAVLI
ELIAS, JOSEPH
EMANUEL
EMRANI
EPHRAIM BEN SHEMARIAH
ESCAPA, JOSEPH BEN SAUL
EZEKIEL BEN REUBEN MANASSEH
FĀRĀBĪ, ABU NASR MUHAMMAD, AL-
FARHI
FARHI, MORIS
FRANCO, GAD
FREHA BAT AVRAHAM OF MOROCCO
FRESCO, DAVID
GABBAI
GALANTE, ABRAHAM
GALIPAPA, ELIJAH MEVORAKH
GARIH, ÜZEYIR
GEREZ, JOSEF HABIB
GHAZĀLĪ, ABU HAMID MUHAMMAD IBN MUHAMMAD AL-TUSĪ AL-
GHERON, YAKKIR MORDECAI BEN ELIAKIM
GHEZ
GOZLAN, ELIE
HABIB, MOSES BEN SOLOMON IBN
HABSHUSH, SHALOM BEN YAHYA

HAGIZ
HAJJAJ, DANIEL
HAKAM, AL-
HĀKIM BI-AMR ALLAH, AL-
HALEVA, ISHAK
HA-LEVI, EZEKIEL EZRA BEN JOSHUA
HA-LEVI, SASSON BEN ELIJAH BEN MOSES
HALFON, ABRAHAM
HALFON BEN NETHANEL HA-LEVI ABU SAID (Dimyati)
HAMON
HANDALI, ESTHER
HARARI, SIR VICTOR RAPHAEL
HASAN, ABU ALI JEPHETH IBN BUNDĀR
HASDAI
HASSAN
HATCHWELL, SOL (Suleika)
HIBAT ALLAH, ABU AL-BARAKĀT (NATHANEL) BEN ALI (ELI) AL-BAGHDĀDĪ
HIBAT ALLAH, IBN JUMAYʾ IBN ZAYN
HIBSHUSH, HAYYIM
HOZIN, ZEDAKAH BEN SAADIAH
HUBES, ROZET
HUSSEIN
HUSSEINI, HĀJJ (Muhammad) AMIN
IBN ABĪ AL SALT
IBN AL-BARQŪLĪ
IBN KILLIS, ABU AL-FARAJ YAʿQŪB IBN YŪSUF
IBN SAHL, ABU ISHĀQ IBRĀHĪM
IBRAHIM IBN SAHL AL-ANDALŪSI AL-ISRAʾILI (Abu Ishak)
IBRĀHĪM PASHA
IRAQI, SHALOM HA-KOHEN (al-Usta)
ISCANDARI
JACOB BEN HAYYM TALMID
JACOB BEN ZEMAH BEN NISSIM
JAVETZ, BARZILLAI BEN BARUCH
JAVID BEY, MEHMED
JIZFĀN, JUDAH BEN JOSEPH
JOSEPH BEN AHMAD IBN HASDAI
JOSEPH BEN PHINEHAS
JOSEPH HAYYIM BEN ELIJAH AL-HAKAM
JOSEPH ROSH HA-SEDER
JOSHUA BEN ABRAHAM MAIMUNI
JOSIAH BEN JESSE
JUDAH HA-PARSI
KAʿB AL-AHBĀR
KAʿB AL-ASHRAF
KAʿB BEN ASAD
KABIR, ABRAHAM SALIH AL-
KADOORIE
KADOORIE, SASSON
KAFAH, YIHYE BEN SOLOMON
KAFAH, YOSEF
KĀHINA
KALAI, SAMUEL BEN MOSES
KAMHI, JAK V.
KANETI, SELIM
KARASU, ALBERT
KAREH, SOLOMON
KASABI, JOSEPH BEN NISSIM
KAZIN, JUDAH BEN YOM TOV
KAZIN, RAPHAEL BEN ELIJAH
KEMAL MUSTAFA (ATATURK)
KHOMEINI
KIMHI, SOLOMON BEN NISSIM JOSEPH DAVID
KINDĪ, ABU YŪSUF YAʿQŪB IBN ISHAQ AL-
KOHEN, ALBERT
KOHEN, SAMI
KORAH, AMRAM IBN YAHYA
KORAH, SHALOM BEN YIHYE
KRISPIN, JOSHUA ABRAHAM
KUFA
KUHAYL, SHUKR SĀLIM
KUWAITI, SALEH
LANIADO, ABRAHAM BEN ISAAC
LANIADO, RAPHAEL SOLOMON BEN SAMUEL
LANIADO, SAMUEL BEN ABRAHAM
LANIADO, SOLOMON BEN ABRAHAM
LAPAPA, AARON BEN ISAAC
LAWĀNI, DAUD
LEV (Lab; Leb), JOSEPH BEN DAVID IBN (Maharival)
LEVI, MARIO
LEVY-BACRAT, ABRAHAM BEN SOLOMON
LEYON, AVRAM
LONGO, SAADIAH
LUMBROSO
MACNIN
MADMŪN BEN JAPHETH BEN BUNDĀR
MAGHREBI-MAARAVI
MALCHI, ESPERANZA
MANSŪR (al-)
MANSURAH, SAADIAH BEN JUDAH
MANSURAH, SHALOM BEN JUDAH
MARHAB AL-YAHŪDĪ IBN AL-HĀRITH
MĀSHĀʾALLAH B. ATHAN
MASHAIRI, AL-
MASHASH, SHLOMO
MASLIʾAH ŞALIH
MASNUT, SAMUEL BEN NISSIM
MAʾTUK, SULAYMAN BEN DAVID
MAYMERAN
MELAMED, RAHAMIM REUVEN
MELAMED, SIMAN TOV
MENASCE, DE
MENDA, ELIEZER
MENDES
MESHWI AL-ʿUKBARĪ
MEVORAKH BEN SAADIAH
MĪKHĀʾĪL, MURAD
MIRIAM BAT BENAYAH OF YEMEN
MIZRAHI, ASHER
MIZRAHI, DAVID BEN SHALOM
MIZRAHI, ELIJAH
MOLCHO, DAVID EFFENDI ISAAC PASHA
MONZON, ABRAHAM
MORDECAI BEN JUDAH HA-LEVI
MOSES BEN LEVI
MOSES BEN MEVORAKH
MOSSERI
MOYAL, ESTHER

I. HISTORY

B. MEDIEVAL & MODERN PERIOD

2. Regional History

c. Muslim Lands (incl. Islam)

Biographies (*continued*)

MUBĀRAK, MUHAMMAD HUSNI SAʾID
MUBASHSHIR BEN NISSI HA-LEVI
MUBASHSHIR BEN RAV KIMOI HA-KOHEN
MUHAMMAD
MUHAMMAD ALI
NĀDER SHAH
NAEH, BARUKH BEN MENAHEM
NAHON
NAHOUM, HAIM
NAHRAI BEN NISSIM
NAHUM, AARON SASSON BEN ELIJAH
NAHUM, ELIEZER BEN JACOB
NAJAR
NAJĪB AL-DAWLA
NARBONI
NASSER, GAMAL ABDUL
NATHAN BEN ISAAC HA-KOHEN HA-BAVLI
NATRONAI BEN HAVIVAI (Zavinai)
NAWI
NETHANEL BEN AL-FAYYUMI
NETHANEL BEN ISAIAH
NETIRA
NEUMARK, EPHRAIM
NISSIM, ABRAHAM HAYYIM
NOM, IBRAHIM
OBADYA, ABRAHAM
OMAR IBN AL-KHAṬṬĀB
PAHLAVI, MOHAMMAD REZA SHAH
PAHLAVI, REZA SHAH
PALACHE
PALACHE, HAYYIM
PALTIEL
PARIENTE
PARIUM
PASSI, DAVID
QAZZĀZ, MANASSEH BEN ABRAHAM IBN (AL-)
RABĪ IBN ABI AL-HUQAYQ
RACCAH, MASʾŪD BEN AARON
RASHID AL-DAWLA (al-Din)
RENASSIA, YOSSEF
ROSANES
ROSANES, JUDAH BEN SAMUEL
ROTE
RYVEL
SAʿADI, JUDAH BEN SOLOMON
SAADIAH
SAADIAH BEN JOSEPH HA-LEVI
SAʿD AL-DAWLA AL-SAFĪ IBN HIBBATALLAH
SADAT, MUHAMMED ANWAR AL-
SAHLAN BEN ABRAHAM
SAʿĪD IBN HASAN
SALADIN
SĀLIH, ABRAHAM
SALIH IBN YAHYA IBN JOSEPH
SALIH, YAHYA BEN JOSEPH (MAHARIS)
SAMAMA (Shemama), NESSIM
SAMAUʾAL BEN JUDAH IBN ʿABBAS (ibn Yahya al-Magribi)
SAMBARI, JOSEPH BEN ISAAC
SAMRA, DAVID
SAMUEL BEN ALI
SAMUEL BEN AZARIAH
SAMUEL BEN DANIEL ABU RABĪʿA HA-KOHEN
SAMUEL BEN HANANIA
SAMUEL BEN HOPHNI
SAMUEL IBN ADIYA (al-Samawal ben Gharid ben Adiya)
SANU, YAQUB (James)
SAPHIR, JACOB
SARFATY
SARMAD, MUHAMMAD SAʿID
SASSON, AARON BEN JOSEPH
SASSOON, SIR EZEKIEL
SCIALOM, DAVID DARIO
SEBAG
SEFIRAH, SAADIAH BEN JOSEPH
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SERERO
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SEROR
SERUSI
SERUYA
SEVERUS
SHAHIN
SHAKI, ISAAC
SHAMOSH, YIZHAK
SHASHU, SALIM
SHAUL, ANWAR
SHEIKH, ABRAHAM BEN SHALOM HA-LEVI AL-
SHEMARIAH BEN ELHANAN
SHIMON, JOSEPH BEN JUDAH IBN
SHINAH, SELMAN
SHINDOOKH, MOSES BEN MORDECHAI
SHOLAL, ISAAC HA-KOHEN
SHOLAL, NATHAN (Jonathan) HA-KOHEN
SIBONI
SID, SAMUEL IBN
SITBON
SOLAL
SOLOMON BEN ELIJAH HA-KOHEN
SOLOMON BEN HASDAI
SOMEKH, ABDALLAH BEN ABRAHAM
SONCINO
SONCINO, JOSHUA
STORA
SUAREZ
SULEIMAN I (the Magnificent)
SUMBAL, SAMUEL
SUSAN, ISSACHAR BEN MORDECAI
TABRIZI, MAHOMET ABU-BEKR-AT-BEN MAHOMET
TAM IBN YAHYA, JACOB BEN DAVID
TANUJI
TANUJI, ISHMAEL HA-KOHEN

TANUJI, JOSEPH BEN SHALOM HA-KOHEN
TARAGAN, BEN-ZION
TETUAN
UKBA, MAR
UMAYYA IBN ABI AL-SALT
UZAN
VALENSI
VENTURA, MICHON (Moses)
WAHB IBN MUNABBIH
WANNEH, ISAAC BEN ABRAHAM
WAQQĀSA
WUHSHA AL-DALLALA
YIHYE, ISAAC HA-LEVI
YUDGHAN (Yehudah)
YULY
YŪSUF AS'AR YATH'AR DHŪ NUWĀS (MASRUQ)
ZAKHO
ZECHARIAH AL-DĀHIRI
ZECHARIAH BEN BARACHEL
ZECHARIAH BEN SOLOMON-ROFE
ZILKHA
ZILKHA, NAIM
ZONANA
ZUTA
ZUTRA, MAR

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AYALON, DAVID
BAER, GABRIEL
BILLIG, LEVI
BRUNSCHVIG, ROBERT
BURCKHARDT, JOHANN LUDWIG
CAZES, DAVID
GOITEIN, SHLOMO DOV (Fritz)
GOLDENTHAL, JACOB
GOLDZIHER, IGNAZ (Isaac Judah)
HEYD, URIEL
HIRSCHFELD, HARTWIG
HOROVITZ, JOSEF
KISTER, MEIR J.
LANDAU, JACOB M.
LEVI DELLA VIDA, GIORGIO
LEWIS, BERNARD
MANN, JACOB
MAYER, LEO ARY
MOREH, SHMUEL
MUELLER, DAVID HEINRICH
PIAMENTA, MOSHE
ROMAN, JACOB BEN ISAAC
ROSENTHAL, FRANZ
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IRAQI, ELEAZAR BEN AARON HA-KOHEN
JACOB, JACK FREDERICK RAPHAEL
JOSEPH, SAUL ABDALLAH
KADOORIE
KADOORIE, LAWRENCE BARON
KEHIMKAR, HAYIM SAMUEL
KOBAYASHI, MASAYUKI
KODER, SAMUEL SHABDAI
KODER, SHABDAI SAMUEL
KOTSUJI, SETSUZO (Abraham)
MARSHALL, DAVID SAUL
MOTA, NEHEMIA
RAHABI, EZEKIEL
RAHABI, NAPHTALI ELIAHU
RAHBAR, SAMUEL
RAJPURKAR, JOSEPH EZEKIEL
ROTENBURG
SAMSON, BENJAMIN ABRAHAM
SASSOON
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CARDIFF
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DUNEDIN
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EXETER
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LIMERICK
LINCOLN
LIVERPOOL
LONDON
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MAURITIUS
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NORWICH
NOTTINGHAM
OUDTSHOORN
OXFORD
PENZANCE
PERTH
PLYMOUTH
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PORTSMOUTH
PRETORIA
ROCHESTER
SALISBURY
SCOTLAND
SHEFFIELD
SOUTH WEST AFRICA
SOUTHAMPTON
STAMFORD
SUNDERLAND
SWANSEA
SYDNEY
TASMANIA
WALES
WARWICK
WINCHESTER
WORCESTER
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ZAMBIA
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ANGLO-JEWISH ASSOCIATION
BOARD OF DEPUTIES OF BRITISH JEWS
BRITISH ISRAELITES
CENTRAL BRITISH FUND
INSTITUTE OF JEWISH AFFAIRS
JEWISH HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF ENGLAND
JEWS COLLEGE
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PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND
UNITED SYNAGOGUE
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Publications

HA-MEORER
JEWISH CHRONICLE
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ABRAHAMS, ABRAHAM
ABRAHAMS, ISRAEL
ADLER, ELKAN NATHAN
AINSWORTH, HENRY
ALDERMAN, GEOFFREY
ALEXANDER, SAMUEL
BACON, ROGER
BALOGH, THOMAS, BARON
BARNETT, LIONEL DAVID
BAUMAN, ZYGMUNT
BAUMGARTEL, ELISE J.
BELOFF, MAX
BERLIN, SIR ISAIAH
BERNARD, EDWARD
BEVAN, EDWYN ROBERT
BLISS, FREDERICK JONES
BOGDANOR, VERNON
BOSHAM, HERBERT DE
BRONOWSKI, JACOB
BUECHLER, ADOLF
CASTELL, EDMUND
CESARANI, DAVID
CHEYNE, THOMAS KELLY
CHOTZNER, JOSEPH
COHEN, CHAPMAN
COHEN, RUTH LOUISA
COHN, NORMAN
COHN-SHERBOK, DAN
COLENSO, JOHN WILLIAM
COOK, STANLEY ARTHUR
COOKE, GEORGE ALBERT
COSTA ATHIAS, SOLOMON DA
COWEN, ZELMAN
COWLEY, SIR ARTHUR ERNEST
CROOL, JOSEPH
CROWFOOT, JOHN WINTER
CUDWORTH, RALPH
DAICHES, DAVID
DANBY, HERBERT
DAUBE, DAVID
DAVIDSON, SAMUEL
DEUTSCHER, ISAAC
DEVONS, ELY
DRIVER, SAMUEL ROLLES
DUSCHINSKY, CHARLES (Jacob Koppel)
EINZIG, PAUL
ELIAS, NORBERT
ELKIN, ADOLPHUS PETER
ELTON, GEOFFREY RUDOLPH
ETHERIDGE, JOHN WESLEY
FERDINAND, PHILIP
FILIPOWSKI, ZEVI HIRSCH
FINCH, SIR HENRY
FINLEY, SIR MOSES
FISHMAN, WILLIAM
FORTES, MEYER
FOX, CHARLES
FRANKEL, SALLY HERBERT

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GARSTANG, JOHN
GEDDES, ALEXANDER
GILBERT, MARTIN
GINSBERG, MORRIS
GINSBURG, CHRISTIAN DAVID
GLUCKMAN, MAX
GOLLANCZ, SIR ISRAEL
GOODMAN, MARTIN DAVID
GOODMAN, TOBIAS
GREGORY, SIR THEODORE
GRUENHUT, MAX
GUEDALLA, PHILIP
GUY, PHILIP LANGSTAFFE ORD
HALPER, BENZION
HART, HERBERT LIONEL ADOLPHUS
HARTOG, SIR PHILIP JOSEPH
HELLER, JOSEPH ELIJAH
HERFORD, ROBERT TRAVERS
HIMMELWEIT, HILDEGARD
HIRSCHFELD, HARTWIG
HOBSBAWM, ERIC JOHN ERNEST
HYDE, THOMAS (Hydius)
ISRAEL, JONATHAN
JACKSON, BERNARD
JACOBS, JOSEPH
JAHODA, MARIE
JENKINSON, SIR HILARY
JESSEY, HENRY
JOLOWICZ, HERBERT
KALDOR, NICHOLAS
KALISCH, MARKUS MORITZ
KATZ, DAVID S.
KENYON, KATHLEEN MARY
KIRKPATRICK, ALEXANDER FRANCIS
KLEIN, HYMAN
KOCHAN, LIONEL
KOSMIN, BARRY
KUSHNER, TONY
LAKATOS, IMRE
LAQUEUR, WALTER ZEEV
LAWRENCE, THOMAS EDWARD
LEVEEN, JACOB
LEVI, DAVID
LEVI, LEONE
LEVY, REUBEN
LEWIS, BERNARD
LEWIS, I.M.
LIGHTFOOT, JOHN
LIPMAN, VIVIAN DAVID
LIPSON, EPHRAIM
LOEWE, HERBERT MARTIN JAMES
LOEWE, LOUIS
LOWTH, ROBERT
LYONS, ISRAEL
MACALISTER, ROBERT ALEXANDER STEWART
MACAULAY, THOMAS BABINGTON
MACCOBY, HYAM
MANNHEIM, KARL
MARGOLIOUTH, DAVID SAMUEL
MELVILLE, LEWIS
MILIBAND, RALPH
MOMIGLIANO, ARNALDO DANTE
MONTAGU, MONTAGUE FRANCIS ASHLEY
MYERS, CHARLES SAMUEL
NADEL, SIEGFRED FREDERICK
NAMIER, SIR LEWIS
NEUBAUER, ADOLF (Abraham)
NOVE, ALEC
OESTERLEY, WILLIAM OSCAR EMIL
PALMER, EDWARD HENRY
PARKER, JOHN
PARKES, JAMES WILLIAM
PATTERSON, DAVID
PETRIE, SIR WILLIAM MATTHEW FLINDERS
PEVSNER, SIR NIKOLAUS
POCOCKE, EDWARD
POCOCKE, RICHARD
POLLARD, SIDNEY
POPPER, SIR KARL RAIMUND
POSTAN, MICHAEL MOISSEY
PRAWER, SIEGBERT
PRINGLE, MIA
RADZINOWICZ, SIR LEON
RAJAK, TESSA
RAPHAEL, CHAIM
REITLINGER, GERALD
RICARDO, DAVID
ROSENTHAL, ERWIN
ROTH, CECIL
ROWLEY, HAROLD HENRY
RUBENS, ALFRED
RUBINSTEIN, WILLIAM D.
RUTLAND, SUZANNE
SAMUEL, RAPHAEL
SCHAMA, SIMON
SCHAPERA, ISAAC
SCHAPIRO, LEONARD
SCHONFIELD, HUGH JOSEPH
SELIGMAN, CHARLES GABRIEL
SHONFIELD, SIR ANDREW
SINGER, PETER
SLOTKI, ISRAEL WOLF
SMITH, SIR GEORGE ADAM
SMITH, WILLIAM ROBERTSON
SPENCER, JOHN
SRAFFA, PIERO
STARKEY, JOHN LLEWELYN
STEIN, SIR AUREL
STEINBERG, AARON
TOVEY, DBLOISSIERS
TRISTRAM, HENRY BAKER

TRIVETH, NICHOLAS (Trivetus)
TYNDALE, WILLIAM
ULLENDORF, EDWARD
VAN PRAAGH, WILLIAM
VERMES, GEZA
WAKEFIELD, ROBERT (Wakfeldus)
WALSTON, SIR CHARLES
WALTON, BRYAN
WASSERSTEIN, BERNARD
WEINGREEN, JACOB
WEISS, JOSEPH G.
WIENER, HAROLD MARCUS
WINTER, PAUL
WISTRICH, ROBERT
WITTGENSTEIN, LUDWIG
WOLF, ABRAHAM
WOLF, LUCIEN
WOOLLEY, SIR CHARLES LEONARD
ZELLICK, GRAHAM
ZIMMERN, SIR ALFRED

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ABRAHAMS, IVOR
AMSHEWITZ, JOHN HENRY
AUERBACH, FRANK
BARLIN, FREDERICK WILLIAM
BENNETT, SALOMON YOM TOV
BLACK, SIR MISHA
BOMBERG, DAVID
BRYER, MONTE
CARO, SIR ANTHONY
CASSAB, JUDY
COHEN, BERNARD
COHEN, HAROLD
COOPER, ALEXANDER
COSTA, CATHERINE DA
DANIELS, ALFRED
DAVIS, HENRY DAVID
DUVEEN
DUVEEN, JOSEPH, LORD
ELKAN, BENNO
EPSTEIN, SIR JACOB
EZEKIEL, ABRAHAM EZEKIEL
FEIBUSCH, HANS
FOX, EMANUEL PHILIPS
FREEDMAN, BARNETT
FREUD, LUCIAN
GAMES, ABRAM
GERTLER, MARK
GLUCK, HANNAH
GOMBRICH, SIR ERNST
HANSON, NORMAN LEONARD
HART, SOLOMON ALEXANDER
HERMER, MANFRED
HILLMAN, DAVID
INLANDER, HENRY
KAHAN, LOUIS
KANTOROWICH, ROY
KEMPF, FRANZ MOSHE
KESTLEMAN, MORRIS
KIBEL, WOLF
KOENIG, GHISHA
KORMIS, FRED
KOSSOFF, LEON
KOTTLER, MOSES
KRAMER, JACOB
LANGDON, DAVID
LASDUN, DENYS
LE ROITH, HAROLD HIRSCH
LIPSHITZ, ISRAEL LIPPY
MENINSKY, BERNARD
MEYEROWITZ, HERBERT VLADIMIR
NEMON, OSCAR
OPPE, ADOLPH
RABIN, SAM
RIE, DAME LUCIE
ROGERS, CLAUDE MAURICE
ROSENBERG, EUGENE
ROTHENSTEIN (WILLIAM), MICHAEL
ROTHENSTEIN, SIR WILLIAM
SALAMAN
SCHOTTLANDER, BERNARD
SCHOTZ, BENNO
SOLOMON, SIMEON
SOLOMON, SOLOMON JOSEPH
SONNABEND, YOLANDA
STERN, IRMA
SUTTON, PHILIP
SZIGETI, IMRE
TOPOLSKI, FELIKS
TOWNE, CHARLES
UHLMAN, FRED
ULLMANN, ERNEST
VINCZE, PAUL
VOGEL, KAREL
WALD, HERMAN
WEISZ, VICTOR ("Vicky")
WERTHEIMER, ASHER
WILSON, "SCOTTIE"
WOLMARK, ALFRED
ZEC, PHILIP
ZIEGLER, ARCHIBALD
ZVIA

Literature

AARONSON, LAZARUS LEONARD
ABSE, DANNIE
AGUILAR, GRACE
ALVAREZ, ALFRED
BARON, JOSEPH ALEXANDER
BERGNER, HERZ
BLAKE, WILLIAM
BOAS, FREDERICK SAMUEL
BROOKNER, ANITA
BROWNING, ROBERT
BYRON, GEORGE GORDON, LORD
CECIL, HENRY
CHARLES, GERDA
CHAUCER, GEOFFREY
COHEN, JOHN MICHAEL

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ELIOT, GEORGE
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FALK, BERNARD
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FARJEON, BENJAMIN LEOPOLD
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FRAM, DAVID
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GEORGE, WALTER LIONEL
GERSHON, KAREN
GLANVILLE, BRIAN LESTER
GOLDHAR, PINCHAS
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GROSS, JOHN JACOB
HALL, OWEN
HAMBURGER, MICHAEL
HENRY, EMMA
HUDSON, STEPHEN
JACOB, NAOMI ELLINGTON
JACOBSON, DAN
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JHABVALA, RUTH PRAWER
JOSIPOVICI, GABRIEL
KATZ, MENKE
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KOPS, BERNARD
KROOK, DOROTHEA
LANDAU, JUDAH LOEB (Leo)
LEAVIS, QUEENIE DOROTHY
LEE, SIR SIDNEY
LEFTWICH, JOSEPH
LEVERSON, ADA
LEVERTOV, DENISE
LEVINSON, OLGA
LEVY, AMY
LEVY, BENN WOLFE
LEWIS, LEOPOLD DAVIS
LIBERMAN, SERGE
LITVINOFF, EMANUEL
LYONS, ALBERT MICHAEL NEIL
MANKOWITZ, WOLF
MARCUS, FRANK
MARLOWE, CHRISTOPHER
MARTIN, DAVID
MERRICK, LEONARD
MEYERSTEIN, EDWARD HARRY WILLIAM
MIKES, GEORGE
MILLIN, SARAH GERTRUDE
MILTON, JOHN
MULLER, ROBERT
NASSAUER, RUDOLF
PINTER, HAROLD
PINTO, VIVIAN DE SOLA
PYE, JAEL HENRIETTA
RAPHAEL, FREDERIC
RAPHAEL, JOHN N.
RODKER, JOHN
ROSENBERG, ISAAC
RUBENS, BERNICE
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RUBINSTEIN, HAROLD FREDERICK
SASSOON, SIEGFRIED LORRAINE
SCOTT, SIR WALTER
SHAFFER, SIR PETER
SHAKESPEARE, WILLIAM
SHULMAN, MILTON
SILKIN, JON
SINCLAIR, CLIVE
SPIELVOGEL, NATHAN
STEINER, GEORGE
STERN, BERTHA GLADYS
STRAUS, RALPH
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SUTRO, ALFRED
SYMONS, JULIAN
TARN, NATHANIEL
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WATEN, JUDAH
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CRANKO, JOHN
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ESPINOSA, EDOUARD
FRANKEL, BENJAMIN
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Popular Culture

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BALCON, SIR MICHAEL
BARNA, VICTOR
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BERGNER, ELIZABETH
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BROOK, PETER STEPHEN PAUL
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CASTRO, JACOB DE
COLLINS, LOTTIE
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EPSTEIN, BRIAN
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FLANAGAN, BUD
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GOLOMBEK, HARRY
GRADE, LEW, BARON
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HANBURY, LILY
HANRAY, LAWRENCE
HARVEY, LAURENCE
HOWARD, LESLIE
ISAACS, SIR JEREMY
JACKSON, HARRY
JAMES, DAVID
JAMES, SIDNEY
JAY, ALLAN
KAY, BARRY
KNOPFLER, MARK
KORDA, SIR ALEXANDER
KOSSOFF, DAVID
LAWRENCE, GERALD
LION, LEON M.
LIPZIN, KENI
LOM, HERBERT
MANNHEIM, LUCIE
MENDOZA, DANIEL
MIESES, JACQUES (Jacob)
MILLER, MARTIN RUDOLF
MILTON, ERNEST
MITCHELL, YVONNE
MOSHINSKY, ELIJAH
NEILSON, JULIA
NEWTON-JOHN, OLIVIA
NORSA, HANNAH
PROOPS, MARJORIE
REEVE, ADA
REISZ, KAREL
RENE, ROY
SACHS, ANDREW
SACHS, LEONARD
SAVILLE, VICTOR
SCHACH, LEONARD LAZARUS
SCHLESINGER, JOHN
SELLERS, PETER
SLOMAN, HENRY (Solomon)
SOFAER, ABRAHAM
SOLOMONS, JACK
STEINITZ, WILHELM
SUZMAN, JANET
SYLVIA, SARAH
TEITELBAUM, ABRAHAM
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ZUKERTORT, JOHANNES

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AARON OF YORK
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ABRAHAMS, GERALD
ABRAHAMS, SIR LIONEL
ADOLPHUS
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ALEXANDER, BERNARD
ALEXANDER, MORRIS
ALLENBY, EDMUND HENRY HYNMAN, VISCOUNT
AMERY, LEOPOLD STENNETT
ASHENHEIM
ATTLEE, CLEMENT RICHARD, EARL
AVIDA, YEHUDA LEIB
BAGRIT, SIR LEON
BALFOUR, ARTHUR JAMES, EARL OF
BARD, BASIL JOSEPH ASHER
BARNATO, BARNEY
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BEARSTED, MARCUS SAMUEL, FIRST VISCOUNT
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BENISCH, ABRAHAM
BENJAMIN, ERNEST FRANK
BERGTHEIL, JONAS
BERNSTEIN, SIDNEY LEWIS, BARON
BEVIN, ERNEST
BISCHOFFSHEIM
BLAUBAUM, ELIAS
BLOCH, HYMAN MORRIS
BLOCH, SIR MAURICE
BOAS, ABRAHAM TOBIAS
BODLEY, SIR THOMAS
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BRAUDE, JACOB
BRISCOE, ROBERT
BRITTAN, LEON, LORD
BRODETSKY, SELIG
BROUGHTON, HUGH
BUNZL
BURTON, SIR MONTAGUE
CACERES, SIMON (Jacob) DE
CARDOZO, AARON NUÑEZ
CARVAJAL, ABRAHAM ISRAEL (Antonio Fernandez)
CASS, FRANK
CASS, MOSES HENRY
CASSEL, SIR ERNEST JOSEPH
CAZALET, EDWARD
CECIL, HENRY
CHAMBERLAIN, HOUSTON STEWART
CHAMBERLAIN, JOSEPH
CHASKELSON, ARTHUR
CHURCHILL, SIR WINSTON LEONARD SPENCER
CLORE, SIR CHARLES
COHEN
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COHEN, ABRAHAM
COHEN, SIR ANDREW
COHEN, ARTHUR
COHEN, BARRY
COHEN, ISRAEL
COHEN, SIR JOHN EDWARD
COHEN, LIONEL LEONARD, BARON
COHEN, SIR ROBERT WALEY
COHEN, SAMUEL HERBERT
COHEN, SIMON
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COTTON, JACK
COWEN, JOSEPH
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DAVIS, EDWARD
DAVIS, SIR ERNEST HYAM
DE LIMA, JOSEPH SUASSO
DE PASS
DE VRIES, M.
DEEDES, SIR WYNDHAM
DELL, EDMUND
DEUTSCH, ANDRE
DIAMOND, JOHN, BARON
DISRAELI, BENJAMIN
DORMIDO, DAVID ABRABANEL (Manuel Martinez)
DUGDALE, BLANCHE ELIZABETH CAMPBELL
EDELMAN, MAURICE
EDEN, SIR ANTHONY, EARL OF AVON
EDER, MONTAGUE DAVID
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ELIAS LE EVESKE
ELIAS, NEY
ELYAN, SIR ISADORE VICTOR
EZRA, DEREK, BARON
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FINESTEIN, ISRAEL
FINK, THEODORE
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FOX, BERNARD JOSHUA
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GIDEON, SAMSON
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GOLDBLOOM, JACOB KOPPEL
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GOLDSTONE, RICHARD JOSEPH

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JANNER, LORD BARNETT
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JOEL, SIR ASHER
JOEL, SOLOMON BARNATO ("Solly")
JOSCE OF YORK
JOSEPH
JURNET OF NORWICH
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KAHN, RICHARD FERDINAND, LORD
KALLENBACH, HERMANN
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LEVEY, BARNETT
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NATHAN, JOSEPH EDWARD
NATHAN, MANFRED
NATHAN, MULLA IBRAHIM
NAVARRO, ABRAHAM
NICHOLAS, EDWARD
NORDEN
OCHBERG, ISAAC
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OPPENHEIM, LASSA FRANCIS LAWRENCE
OPPENHEIM, SALLY BARONESS
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PATTERSON, JOHN HENRY
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RIFKIND, SIR MALCOLM
ROBSON, WILLIAM ALEXANDER
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ROSENBLUM, SIGMUND GEORGIEVICH
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SAATCHI, CHARLES
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SAMUEL, EDWIN, SECOND VISCOUNT
SAMUEL, HAROLD, BARON SAMUEL OF WYCH CROSS
SAMUEL, HERBERT LOUIS, FIRST VISCOUNT
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SAMUEL, SYDNEY MONTAGU
SAMUEL, WILFRED SAMPSON
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SCOTT, CHARLES PRESTWICH
SEGAL, SAMUEL, BARON
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SELIGMAN, HERBERT SPENCER
SHERMAN, ARCHIE
SHILL, LOUIS
SHINWELL, EMANUEL, BARON
SHORT, RENEE
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SONNTAG, JACOB
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STRAUSS, GEORGE RUSSEL, BARON
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SYKES, SIR MARK
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TRASKE, JOHN
TUCK, RAPHAEL
VAN OVEN
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ELIJAH MENAHEM BEN MOSES
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andrade, edward neville da costa
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bernal, john desmond
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cohen, henry baron
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copisarow, maurice
costa, emanuel mendes da
finlay-freundlich, erwin
finniston, sir harold montague (Monty)
fox, sir john jacob
franklin, rosalind elsie
freud, anna
friedlander, kate
frisch, otto robert
frohlich, herbert
gabor, dennis
gaunse, joachim
goldstein, richard frank
goldstein, sidney
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hart, ernest abraham
heilbron, sir ian morris
josephson, brian david
kalnitsky, george
katz, sir bernard
klein, melanie reizes
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kroto, sir harold w.
lachmann, sir peter julius
levinstein, herbert
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lewis, sir aubrey julian
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lockspeiser, ben, sir
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margules, max
meldola, raphael
mendelssohn, kurt alfred georg
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orenstein, alexander jeremiah
peierls, sir rudolf ernst
penn, jack
pepper, joseph
perutz, max ferdinand
polanyi, michael
quastel, judah hirsch
raphael, ralph alexander
rosenhead, louis
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rosenheim, otto
rotblat, sir joseph
roth, klaus friedrich
roth, sir martin
rothschild, nathaniel mayer victor, lord
salaman, redcliffe nathan
schrire, velva
schuster, sir arthur
semon, sir felix
simon, sir francis eugene
singer, charles joseph
stengel, erwin
sylvester, james joseph
tabor, david
tabor, harry zvi
tobias, phillip vallentine
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vane, sir john r.
vogel, arthur israel
weiss, joseph joshua
winston, robert, baron
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young, alec david
yudkin, john
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Publications

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Biographies

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ABEL, LOUIS FELIX
ABELARD, PETER
ADLER, ALEXANDRE
AFTALION, ALBERT
ALKAN, ALPHONSE
AMADO LEVY-VALENSI, ELIANE
ANCHEL, ROBERT
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BADINTER, ELIZABETH
BASCH, VICTOR GUILLAUME
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DEPPING, GEORGES-BERNARD
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DRAI, RAPHAEL
DUPONT-SOMMER, ANDRE
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ERLANGER, PHILIPPE
FINKIELKRAUT, ALAIN
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FREY, JEAN BAPTISTE
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GINSBURGER, ERNEST
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GOTTSCHALK, MAX
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KASPI, ANDRE
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KRIEGEL, ANNIE
LA BOETIE, ETIENNE DE
LA PEYRERE, ISAAC
LAMBERT, MAYER
LE FÈVRE DE LA BODERIE, GUY
LEON, XAVIER
LÉVI, SYLVAIN
LÉVI ALVARÈS, DAVID
LEVI BEN ABRAHAM BEN HAYYIM
LEVINAS, EMMANUEL
LÉVI-PROVENÇAL, EVARISTE
LEVI-STRAUSS, CLAUDE
LÉVY, ARTHUR
LÉVY, BENNY
LÉVY-BRUHL, LUCIEN
LÉVY, ISIDORE
LÉVY, PAUL
LODS, ADOLPHE
LOISY, ALFRED FIRMIN
MAES, ANDREAS
MAUSS, MARCEL
MERCIER, JEAN
MONTESQUIEU, CHARLES LOUIS DE SECONDAT, BARON DE LA BREDE ET DE
MOPSIK, CHARLES
MORIN, EDGAR
MUNK, SOLOMON
NATHAN, MORDECAI
NEHER, ANDRÉ
OPPERT, JULES JULIUS
OUAKNIN, MARC-ALAIN
PALLIÈRE, AIMÉ
PARAF, PIERRE
PARROT, ANDRÉ
PASCAL, BLAISE
PEREIRE, EMILE (Jacob) and ISAAC
PERELMAN, CHAIM
PERROT, JEAN
PLANTAVIT DE LA PAUSE, JEAN
POLIAKOV, LÉON
POSENER, GEORGES HENRI
POSTEL, GUILLAUME
RABBINOWICZ, ISRAEL MICHEL
RAOUL GLABER
RAUH, FREDERIC
REINACH
RENAN, ERNEST
REVAH, ISRAEL SALVATOR
ROUSSEAU, JEAN JACQUES
RUEFF, JACQUES
SACY, ANTOINE ISAAC SILVESTRE DE
SALVADOR, JOSEPH
SAULCY, LOUIS FELICIEN DE JOSEPH CAIGNART
SCALIGER, JOSEPH JUSTUS
SCHEID, ELIE
SCHUHL, PIERRE-MAXIME
SCHWAB, MOISE
SCHWARTZENBERG, ROGER-GERARD
SCHWOB, MARCEL
SEPHIHA, HAIM VIDAL
SLOUSCHZ, NAHUM
SPERBER, DAN
STEIN, HENRI
STRAUSS-KAHN, DOMINIQUE
TRIGANO, SHMOUEL
URI, PIERRE EMMANUEL
VAJDA, GEORGES
VAUX, ROLAND DE
VEIL, LEWIS (Daniel) COMPIÉGNE DE
VIDAL-NAQUET, PIERRE
VINCENT, LOUIS HUGUES
VOGÜÉ, CHARLES EUGENE MELCHOIR, COMTE DE

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VOLTAIRE
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WEIL, SIMONE
WEILL, RAYMOND
WIEVIORKA, ANNETTE
WILLIAM OF AUVERGNE
WORMS, RENE
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ALDROPHE, ALFRED-PHILIBERT
ALECHINSKY, PIERRE
ASTRUC, ZACHARIE
ATLAN, JEAN
BACHI, RAPHAEL
BERNSTEIN-SINAIEFF, LEOPOLD
BLOC, ANDRE
BRENNER, FREDERIC
CALLE, SOPHIE
CARO-DELVAILLE, HENRI
DELAUNAY-TERK, SONIA
FRIEDLAENDER, JOHNNY
GRUMBACH, ANTOINE
IZIS
KAGAN, ELIE
KIKOINE, MICHEL
KISLING, MOISE
KOLNIK, ARTHUR
LE BÉ, GUILLAUME
LÉVY-DHURMER, LUCIEN
LOEVENSTEIN, FEDOR
MANÉ-KATZ
MARCOUSSIS (Marcous), LOUIS
MEYER-LEVY, CLAUDE
MILICH, ADOLPHE
MONDZAIN, SIMON
MUTER (Mutermilch), MELA
ORLOFF, CHANA
PAILES, ISAAC (Jacques)
PERSITZ, ALEXANDRE
PICART, BERNARD
PISSARRO, CAMILLE
PONTREMOLI, EMMANUEL
PRESSMANE, JOSEPH
RAY, MAN
SIMON, JEAN HENRI
SOLDI (-Colbert), EMILE-ARTHUR
SOUTINE, CHAIM
TIM
WIENER
WILDENSTEIN
ZAK, EUGENE

Literature

ABECASSIS, ELIETTE
ARÉGA, LÉON
ARGENS, JEAN BAPTISTE DE BOYER
BENICHOU, PAUL
BERL, EMMANUEL
BERNARD, TRISTAN
BERNSTEIN, HENRI-LEON
BERRI, CLAUDE
BLANCHOT, MAURICE
BLOCH, JEAN-RICHARD
BLOCH-MICHEL, JEAN
BLOY, LEON
BOBER, ROBERT
CHATEAUBRIAND, FRANÇOIS RENÉ, VICOMTE DE
CIXOUS, HELENE
CLAUDEL, PAUL
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CROISSET, FRANCIS DE
DUVERNOIS, HENRI
EYDOUX, EMMANUEL
FLEG, EDMOND (Flegenheimer)
FOA, ESTHER EUGÉNIE REBECCA
FRANCK, HENRI
GARY, ROMAIN
GOLL, YVAN
GRUMBERG, JEAN-CLAUDE
HALEVY
HALEVY, ELIE HALFON
HARRY, MYRIAM
HERTZ, HENRI
IKOR, ROGER
JABÈS, EDMOND
JACOB, MAX
KAHN, GUSTAVE
KESSEL, JOSEPH
LACRETELLE, JACQUES DE
LAHARANNE, ERNEST
LANGFUS, ANNA
LAZARE, BERNARD
LEVY, BERNARD-HENRI
LUNEL, ARMAND
LUNEL, JACOB DE
MANDEL, ARNOLD
MAUROIS, ANDRE
MEMMI, ALBERT
MENDES, CATULLE
MIKHAEL, EPHRAIM
MILBAUER, JOSEPH
MILOSZ, OSCAR
MODIANO, PATRICK
MONTAIGNE, MICHEL DE
MORHANGE, PIERRE
NEMIROWSKY, IRENE
NEYRAC, PIERRE
PÉGUY, CHARLES-PIERRE

PEREC, GEORGES
PORTO-RICHE, GEORGES DE
PROUST, MARCEL
RACINE, JEAN
SACHS, MAURICE
SARRAUTE, NATHALIE
SCHEINERT, DAVID
SCHULSINGER, JOSEPH
SCHWARZ-BART, ANDRÉ
SEE, EDMOND
SPERBER, MANES
SPIRE, ANDRE
SUARES, ANDRE
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WEILL, ALEXANDRE ABRAHAM
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ALKAN (Morhange), CHARLES HENRI-VALENTIN
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BLOCH, ANDRE
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CHAGRIN, FRANCIS
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DAVID, ERNEST
DUKAS, PAUL
ERLANGER, CAMILLE
GEDALGE, ANDRE
HALÉVY, JACQUES (François) FROMENTAL ÉLIE
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LEVY
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MILHAUD, DARIUS
OFFENBACH, JACQUES
ROLAND-MANUEL
ROSENTHAL, MANUEL (Emmanuel)
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WIENER, JEAN
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WORMSER, ANDRÉ (Alphonse-Toussaint)

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BAUR, HARRY
BERNHARDT, SARAH
BERNSTEIN, OSIP SAMOILOVICH
BLOWITZ, HENRI GEORGES STEPHANE ADOLPHE OPPER DE
BOBER, ROBERT
DARMON, PIERRE
ELKABBACH, JEAN-PIERRE
EPSTEIN, JEAN
HELD, ANNA
HIRSCH, ROBERT PAUL
JANOWSKI, DAVID MARKELOVICH
KORENE, VERA
LANZMANN, CLAUDE
LELOUCH, CLAUDE
LINDER, MAX
MACIAS, ENRICO
MARCEAU, MARCEL
MNOUCHKINE, ALEXANDRE
MOATI, SERGE
OURY, GERARD
RACHEL
SIGNORET, SIMONE
TARTAKOVER, SAVIELLY GRIGORYEVICH

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AGOBARD
ALCAN, ALKAN
ALPHONSE OF POITIERS
ALTARAS, JACQUES ISAAC
ANSPACH, PHILIPPE
ANTOINE, NICOLAS
ASHKENAZI, LEON
ATTALI, BERNARD
BADINTER, ROBERT
BAIL, CHARLES-JOSEPH
BAMBERGER, EDOUARD-ADRIEN
BARRÉS, AUGUSTE MAURICE
BÉDARRIDE, ISRAÉL (Isaiah)
BEER-BING, ISAIAH
BERNHEIM, LOUIS
BERR, JACOB
BERR (de Turique), MICHEL
BERR ISAAC BERR DE TURIQUE
BEUGNOT, AUGUSTE ARTHUR
BIGART, JACQUES
BISCHOFFSHEIM
BLEUSTEIN-BLANCHET, MARCEL
BLOCH, PIERRE
BLUM, LEON
BLUMEL, ANDRE
BOKANOWSKI, MAURICE
BOURGEOIS, JEAN
BROGLIE, VICTOR-CLAUDE, PRINCE DE
CALMER, MOSES ELIEZER LIEFMANN
CASSIN, RENÉ SAMUEL
CERFBERR, HERZ
CERFBERR, MAXIMILIEN-CHARLES ALPHONSE
CHARLEMAGNE
CHARLES IV
CHARLES V
CHARLES VI
CHILDEBERT I
CITROËN, ANDRÉ GUSTAVE
CLERMONT-TONNERRE, COUNT STANISLAS DE

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CLOOTS, JEAN BAPTISTE DU VAL-DE-GRACE, BARON DE
CLOTHAIRE II
COHEN, ISAAC KADMI
COHEN, JOSEPH
COLBERT, JEAN BAPTISTE
COPE, JEAN-FRANCOIS
CREHANGE, ALEXANDRE
CREMIEUX, ISAAC ADOLPHE
CUKIERMAN, ROGER
DANIEL, JEAN
DARMON, AMRAM
DARQUIER DE PELLEPOIX, LOUIS
DASSAULT, DARIUS PAUL
DASSAULT, MARCEL
DAUDET, LEON
DAVIN DE CADEROUSSE
DEUTSCH DE LA MEURTHE, HENRI
DEUTZ, SIMON
DRACH, PAUL-LOUIS-BERNARD (David)
DRAY, JULIEN
DREYFUS, ALFRED
DRUMONT, EDOUARD-ADOLPHE
DU BARTAS, GUILLAUME DE SALLUSTE
EICHTHAL, GUSTAVE D'
ELKANN, JEAN-PAUL
ENNERY, JONAS D'
ERLANGER, MICHEL
ERRERA, PAUL JOSEPH
FABIUS, LAURENT
FISCHER, JEAN
FITERMAN, CHARLES
FOULD
FURTADO, ABRAHAM
GAMZON, ROBERT
GINIEWSKI, PAUL
GIROUD, FRANCOISE
GOBINEAU, JOSEPH ARTHUR, COMTE DE
GOUDCHAUX, MICHEL
GOUGENOT DES MOUSSEAUX, HENRI
GRADIS
GRANDVAL (Hirsch-Ollendorf), GILBERT YVES EDMOND
GRÉGOIRE, HENRI BAPTISTE
GRESH, ALAIN
GRUMBACH, SALOMON
GUNZBURG, NIKO
GUTT, CAMILLE
HAMON, LEO
HYMANS, PAUL
JAURÈS, JEAN LEON
JAVAL
JOHN II ("The Good")
JUSTER, JEAN
KAHN, ALBERT
KAHN, JEAN
KAHN, LOUIS
KARPEL, HERMAN
KLEIN, THEODORE (Theo)
KLOTZ, LOUIS-LUCIEN
KOENIGSWARTER
KOUCHNER, BERNARD
KRASUCKI, HENRI
KRIEGEL-VALRIMONT, MAURICE
LAMBERT, AIMÉ
LAMBERT, RAYMOND RAOUL
LANG, JACK
LANGALLERIE, PHILIPPE GENTIL DE
LAVAL, PIERRE
LAZARD
LAZAREFF, PIERRE
LAZURICK, ROBERT
LECACHE, BERNARD
LEHMANN, LEONCE
LEVAILLANT, ISAIE
LEVEN, NARCISSE
LEVY
LEVY, ABRAHAM EUGENE
LÉVY, RAPHAEL
LEVY, SAM SAADI
LOUIS
LUSTIGER, JEAN-MARIE ARON
LYON-CAEN, CHARLES LÉON
MACHAUT, DENIS DE
MALESHERBES, CHRETIEN GUILLAUME DE LA-MOIGNON DE
MANDEL, GEORGES
MANESSIER DE VESOUL
MARITAIN, JACQUES
MAURRAS, CHARLES
MAYER, DANIEL
MAYER, RENÉ
MENDES-FRANCE, PIERRE
MEYER,LEON
MIRABEAU, HONORE GABRIEL RIQUETI, COMTE DE
MIRES, JULES ISAAC
MOCH, JULES
MOCH, JULES SALVADOR
NAPOLEON BONAPARTE
NAQUET, ALFRED JOSEPH
NATHAN, VENGUESSONE
NETTER, CHARLES
NEVEJEAN, YVONNE
NOSTRADAMUS (Michel de Nostre-Dame)
OSIRIS, DANIEL ILLFA
OULIF, CHARLES NARCISSE
PEREIRE, JACOB RODRIGUES
PHILIP
PICARD, EDMOND
PLANTIN, CHRISTOPHE
PRISCUS

PROUDHON, PIERRE JOSEPH
PULCELINA OF BLOIS
RAPPOPORT, CHARLES
RAYNAL, DAVID
REINACH
ROEDERER, COUNT PIERRE LOUIS
ROTHSCHILD
ROTHSCHILD, BARON EDMOND JAMES DE
ROTTEMBOURG, HENRI
ROULEAU, ERIC (Elie Rafoul)
SCHILLER, ARMAND
SCHRAMECK, ABRAHAM
SCHUMANN, MAURICE
SEE
SEE, LEOPOLD
STERN, JACQUES
TORRES, HENRY
TOUSSENEL, ALPHONSE
VALABRÈGUE, MARDOCHÉE GEORGES
VALLAT, XAVIER
VEIL, SIMONE
VENEZIANI, EMMANUEL FELIX
VIBERT OF NOGENT
VIGENERE, BLAISE DE
WAHL, JACQUES HENRI
WIENER, ERNEST EDOUARD
WORMSER, OLIVIER BORIS
ZAY, JEAN

Religion
ABBA MARI BEN ELIGDOR
BEBE, PAULINE
BODO
ELIEZER OF TOUL
FARHI, DANIEL
FARHI, GABRIEL
HAYYIM BEN HANANEL HA-KOHEN
HIRSCHLER, RENE
ISIDOR, LAZARE
JACOB BEN MOSES OF BAGNOLS
JACOB OF MARVEGE
JACOB OF ORLEANS
JACOB OF PONT-SAINTE-MAXENCE
JONATHAN BEN DAVID HA-KOHEN OF LUNEL
JOSEPH BEN ASHER OF CHARTRES
JOSEPH BEN BARUCH OF CLISSON
JOSEPH BEN MOSES OF TROYES
JOSEPH HAZZAN BEN JUDAH OF TROYES
JUDAH BEN ISAAC (Sir Leon of Paris)
JUDAH BEN MOSES HA-DARSHAN
JUDAH BEN NATHAN
KAHN, ZADOC
KAPLAN, JACOB
KARA, JOSEPH
KARMI (Cremieux)
KIMHI, DAVID
KIMHI, JOSEPH
KLEIN, SALOMON WOLF
KOKHAVI, DAVID BEN SAMUEL
KRYGIER, RIVON
LATTES, ISAAC BEN JACOB
LATTES, JUDAH
LEHMANN, JOSEPH
LEVI BEN GERSHOM (Ralbag)
LÉVI, ISRAEL
LÉVY, ALFRED
LÉVY, ISAAC
LÉVY, SAMUEL
LIBER, MAURICE
LOEB, ISIDORE
LUBETZKY, JUDAH
MANOAH OF NARBONNE
MEIR BEN ISAAC OF TRINQUETAILLE
MEIR BEN SAMUEL OF RAMERUPT
MEIR BEN SIMEON HA-ME'ILI
MEIRI, MENAHEM BEN SOLOMON
MENAHEM BEN HELBO
MESHULLAM BEN JACOB OF LUNEL
MESHULLAM BEN MOSES
MESHULLAM BEN NATHAN OF MELUN
MOSES BEN ABRAHAM OF PONTOISE
MOSES BEN JACOB OF COUCY
MOSES BEN JOSHUA OF NARBONNE
MOSES OF EVREUX
NETHANEL OF CHINON
NISSIM BEN MOSES OF MARSEILLES
OVADIA, NISSIM
PEREZ BEN ELIJAH OF CORBEIL
PROVENÇAL, JACOB BEN DAVID
RASHI (Solomon ben Isaac)
REUBEN BEN HAYYIM
SAMSON BEN ABRAHAM OF SENS
SAMSON BEN ISAAC OF CHINON
SAMSON BEN JOSEPH OF FALAISE
SAMSON BEN SAMSON OF COUCY
SAMUEL BEN DAVID
SAMUEL BEN MEIR (Rashbam)
SAMUEL BEN SOLOMON OF FALAISE
SAMUEL OF EVREUX
SCHLETTSTADT, SAMUEL BEN AARON
SHEMAIAH OF TROYES
SIMEON BEN SAMUEL OF JOINVILLE
SINZHEIM, JOSEPH DAVID BEN ISAAC
SIRAT, RENE SAMUEL
SITRUK, JOSEPH
SOLOMON BEN ABRAHAM OF MONTPELLIER
SOLOMON BEN JUDAH "OF DREUX"
SOLOMON BEN JUDAH OF LUNEL
SOLOMON BEN MEIR
TAM, JACOB BEN MEIR
TIBBON, IBN (Tibbonids)
TOUATI, CHARLES
TREVES, JOHANAN BEN MATTATHIAS
ULLMANN, SALOMON
VAEZ, ABRAHAM
WARSCHAWSKI, MAX
WEILL, MICHEL AARON
WORMS, AARON
YOM TOV OF JOIGNY

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BARUK, HENRI
BERNHEIM, HIPPOLYTE
BESREDKA, ALEXANDER
BONFILS, IMMANUEL BEN JACOB
CHARPAK, GEORGES
COHEN TANNOUDJI, CLAUDE
EPHRUSSI, BORIS
ERRERA, LEO
GERHARDT, CHARLES FREDERIC
GOLDSCHMIDT, HERMANN
HADAMARD, JACQUES SALOMON
HAVA OF MANOSQUE
ISAAC BEN TODROS
JACOB, FRANÇOIS
LEVY, LUCIEN
LIPPMANN, GABRIEL
LIPSKI, ABRAHAM
LWOFF, ANDRE MICHEL
MEYERSON, EMILE
MICHEL-LÉVY, AUGUSTE
MINKOWSKI, EUGENE
MOISSAN, HENRI
SCHWARTZ, LAURENT
SIMON, PIERRE
STEG, ADOLPHE
STERN, ERICH
WEIL, R. ADRIENNE
WIDAL, FERNAND

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HAMBURG
HAMELN
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HANOVER
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INNSBRUCK
JEBENHAUSEN
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LANDSHUT
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LIPPE (-Detmold)
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LUENEBURG
MAGDEBURG
MAINZ
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OLDENBURG
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SAARBRUECKEN
SALZBURG
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WEINHEIM
WESTPHALIA
WETZLAR
WIENER NEUSTADT
WIESBADEN
WOLFENBUETTEL
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XANTEN
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BLAU-WEISS
CENTRAL-VEREIN DEUTSCHER STAATSBUERGER JUEDISCHEN GLAUBENS
CHRISTIAN SOCIAL PARTY
CHRISTIAN-SOCIAL PARTY. GERMAN
CONSERVATIVE PARTY, GERMAN
DEUTSCHER PALAESTINA-VEREIN
DEUTSCH-ISRAELITISCHER GEMEINDEBUND
ESRA
GESELLSCHAFT DER FREUNDE
GESELLSCHAFT ZUR FOERDERUNG DER WISSENSCHAFT DES JUDENTUMS
HE-HALUTZ
HEIMWEHR
HILFSVEREIN DER DEUTSCHEN JUDEN
HOCHSCHULE FUER DIE WISSENSCHAFT DES JUDENTUMS
INSTITUTUM JUDAICUM DELITZSCHIANUM
ISRAELITISCH-THEOLOGISCHE LEHRANSTALT
JUEDISCHE FREISCHULE
JUEDISCHER FRAUENBUND
JUEDISCHER KULTURBUND
JUEDISCHER VERLAG
JUEDISCH-LITERARISCHE GESELLSCHAFT
JUEDISCHE VOLKSPARTEI
JUEDISCH-THEOLOGISCHES SEMINAR, BRESLAU
KADIMAH
KARTELL-CONVENT DER VERBINDUNGEN DEUTSCHER STUDENTEN JUEDISCHEN GLAUBENS
KARTELL JUEDISCHER VERBINDUNGEN
LANDJUDENSCHAFT
NATIONALRAT
OESTERREICHISCHE NATIONALBIBLIOTHEK
PARLAMENTSKLUB, JUEDISCHER
REICHSBUND JUEDISCHER FRONTSOLDATEN
SCHUTZBUND, REPUBLIKANISCHER
SONCINO GESELLSCHAFT DER FREUNDE DES JUEDISCHEN BUCHES
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VERBAND DER VEREINE FUER JUEDISCHE GESCHICHTE UND LITERATUR
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VEREIN FUER KULTUR UND WISSENSCHAFT DES JUDENTUMS
VEREIN ZUR ABWEHR DES ANTISEMITISMUS
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ZENTRAL-WOHLFAHRTSTELLE DER DEUTSCHEN JUDEN

PUBLICATIONS
ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG DES JUDENTHUMS
ASEFAT HAKHAMIM
C.V.-ZEITUNG
HA-EMET
HA-MAGGID
HA-ME'ASSEF
HA-SHAHAR
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ISRAELIT, DER
ISRAELITISCHES FAMILIENBLATT
JESCHURUN
JUDE, DER
JUEDISCHE PRESSE
JUEDISCHE RUNDSCHAU
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KOHELETH MUSSAR
MENORAH

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PHILO VERLAG
SULAMITH
ZUKUNFT

BIOGRAPHIES

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ABICHT, JOHANN GEORG
ADLER, GEORG
ADORNO, THEODOR W.
ALBERTUS MAGNUS
ALT, ALBRECHT
ALTMANN, ALEXANDER
ARENDT, HANNAH
ARNHEIM, HEYMANN
ARONIUS, JULIUS
ASCHAFFENBURG, GUSTAV
ASCHER, SAUL
ASHER, DAVID
AVE-LALLEMANT, FRIEDRICH CHRISTIAN BENEDICT
BAER, SELIGMAN ISAAC
BAER, YITZHAK
BAETHGEN, FRIEDRICH WILHELM ADOLPH
BAUMGARDT, DAVID
BAUMGARTEN, EMANUEL MENDEL
BECHER, SIEGFRIED
BECK, MICHAEL
BEER, MAX
BEER, PETER (Perez)
BENDAVID, LAZARUS (Eleazar)
BENFEY, THEODOR
BENJACOB, ISAAC
BEN ZE'EV, JUDAH LEIB
BENZINGER, IMMANUEL
BERGSTRAESSER, GOTTHELF
BERLINER, ABRAHAM
BERNFELD, SIEGFRIED
BIALOBLOTZKY, CHRISTIAN HEINRICH FRIEDRICH
BIRNBAUM, NATHAN
BISCHOFF, ERICH
BLEEK, FRIEDRICH
BLOCH, ERNST
BLOCH, JOSEPH
BLOGG, SOLOMON BEN EPHRAIM
BLUMENFELD, WALTER
BODENSCHATZ, JOHANN CHRISTOPH GEORG
BOESCHENSTEIN, JOHANN
BOHL (Bohlius), SAMUEL
BONDY, CURT
BONN, MORITZ JULIUS
BORCHARDT, LUDWIG
BRANN, MARCUS
BRAUNTHAL, JULIUS
BREITHAUPT, JOHANN FRIEDRICH
BRESSLAU, HARRY
BRILL, ABRAHAM ARDEN
BRILLING, BERNHARD
BRUNNER, CONSTANTIN
BRUNSWIG, ALFRED
BUDDE, KARL FERDINAND REINHARD
BUEDINGER, MAX
BUHLER, CHARLOTTE
CALLENBERG, JOHANN HEINRICH
CAPITO, WOLFGANG FABRICIUS
CARO, GEORG MARTIN
CASSEL, DAVID
CASSEL, PAULUS STEPHANUS (Selig)
CASSIRER, ERNST
COHEN, ARTHUR
COHEN, HERMANN
COHN, GUSTAV
COHN, JONAS
COHN, LEOPOLD
CORNILL, CARL HEINRICH
DALMAN, GUSTAF HERMANN
DANZ, JOHANN ANDREAS
DAVID, MARTIN
DAVIDSOHN, ROBERT
DELITZSCH, FRANZ (Julius)
DELITZSCH, FRIEDRICH
DESSAU, HERMANN
DESSOIR, MAX
DEUTSCH, EMANUEL OSKAR
DILLMANN, AUGUST
DUBISLAV, WALTER ERNST OTTO
DUEHRING, KARL EUGEN
DUHM, BERNHARD
ECKHART, MEISTER
EHRENBERG, VICTOR LEOPOLD
EICHHORN, JOHANN GOTTFRIED
EISLER, RUDOLF
EISSFELDT, OTTO
ELBOGEN, ISMAR
ENGELMANN, SUSANNE CHARLOTTE
ERMAN, JOHANN PETER ADOLF
ESCHELBACHER, JOSEPH
EUCHEL, ISAAC ABRAHAM
EWALD, HEINRICH GEORG AUGUST
FAGIUS, PAULUS
FICHTE, JOHANN GOTTLIEB
FORSTER, JOHANN (Forsthemius)
FRANKFURTER, SOLOMON FRIEDRICH
FRANKL, PINKUS FRITZ (Pinhas)
FRAUENSTAEDT, JULIUS
FREIMANN, ARON
FREIMANN, JACOB
FRENSDORFF, FERDINAND
FRENSDORFF, SOLOMON
FREUDENTHAL, JACOB
FRIEDJUNG, HEINRICH
FRIEDLAENDER, MORITZ
FRIEDLAENDER, OSKAR EWALD
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GEIGER, MORITZ
GELBER, NATHAN MICHAEL
GESENIUS, HEINRICH FRIEDRICH WILHELM
GHILLANY, FRIEDRICH WILHELM
GOLDENTHAL, JACOB
GOLDSCHEID, RUDOLF
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GOLDSCHMIDT, RICHARD HELLMUTH
GOLDSTEIN, JULIUS
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GRAETZ, HEINRICH
GRAF, KARL HEINRICH
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GRUNWALD, MAX
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GUTHE, HERMANN
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GUTTMANN, JULIUS
HALLO, WILLIAM
HANAU, SOLOMON ZALMAN BEN JUDAH LOEB HA-KOHEN
HEGEL, GEORG WILHELM FRIEDRICH
HEICHELHEIM, FRITZ MORITZ
HEIDENHEIM, WOLF (Benjamin Ze'ev)
HEINEMANN, FRITZ
HEINEMANN, JEREMIAH
HELLER, HERMANN
HELLER, JOSEPH ELIJAH
HELLER, THEODOR
HENGSTENBERG, ERNST WILHELM
HEPPNER, ARON
HERDER, JOHANN GOTTFRIED
HERZ, MARCUS
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HERZOG, DAVID
HEYMANN, FRITZ
HILDESHEIMER, HIRSCH
HIRSCH, JULIUS
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HOELSCHER, GUSTAV
HOENIGSWALD, RICHARD
HORKHEIMER, MAX
HOROVITZ, JOSEF
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HRABANUS MAURUS
HUPFELD, HERMANN CHRISTIAN KARL
HUSSERL, EDMUND GUSTAV ALBRECHT
ILGEN, KARL DAVID
ISAACSOHN, SIEGFRIED
ITELSON, GREGOR
JEREMIAS, ALFRED
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JOEL, KARL
JOST, ISAAC MARCUS
KAHLE, PAUL ERNST
KANT, IMMANUEL
KANTOROWICZ, ERNST HARTWIG
KASTEIN, JOSEF
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KAUTZSCH, EMIL FRIEDRICH
KAYSERLING, MEYER (Moritz)
KEIL, KARL FRIEDRICH
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KLEMPERER, VICTOR
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KRAUSS, FRIEDRICH SALAMO
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LAGARDE, PAUL ANTON DE
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NELSON, LEONHARD
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NOWACK, WILHELM GUSTAV HERMANN
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WELTSCH, FELIX (Baruch)
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WINTERNITZ, MORITZ
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WORMS, ASHER ANSHEL
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BENDIX, BENEDICT HEINRICH
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ELKAN, BENNO
FLECHTHEIM, ALFRED
FRANK, JOSEF
FREUND, GISELE
FREUNDLICH, OTTO
GODAL, ERIC
GRUNDIG, LEA AND HANS
HALLO, RUDOLF
HEARTFIELD, JOHN
HEINE, THOMAS THEODOR
HENSCHEL BROTHERS
HERLINGEN, AARON WOLF
HIRSCHFELD-MACK, LUDWIG
KAHNWEILER, DANIEL-HENRY
KATZ, HANNS LUDWIG
KAUFMANN, OSKAR
KIRSCHSTEIN, SALLI
KIRSZENBAUM, JESEKIEL DAVID
KRESTIN, LAZAR
LEVY, RUDOLF
LIEBERMANN, MAX
LILIEN, EPHRAIM MOSES
LISMANN, HERMANN
MAGNUS, EDUARD
MEIDNER, LUDWIG
MENDELSOHN, ERIC
MESSEL, ALFRED
NUSSBAUM, FELIX
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OPPENHEIM, MORITZ DANIEL
OPPENHEIMER, JOSEPH
ORLIK, EMIL
OSBORN, MAX
RINGL & PIT (STERN, GRETE; ROSENBERG AUERBACH, ELLEN)
SALOMON, CHARLOTTE
SALOMON, ERICH
SEGAL, ARTHUR
STRNAD, OSKAR
STRUCK, HERMANN
TRIER, WALTER
URY, LESSER
WOLF, GUSTAV
WOLLHEIM, GERT
WOLPERT, LUDWIG YEHUDA
ZADIKOW, ARNOLD

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ADLER, HERMANN
ADLER, PAUL
AICHINGER, ILSE
ALTENBERG, PETER
AMERY, JEAN
ANDERS, GUNTER
AUERBACH, ERICH
AUERNHEIMER, RAOUL
AUSLAENDER, ROSE
AVIGDOR BEN SIMHAH HA-LEVI OF GLOGAU
BAB, JULIUS
BECKER, JUREK
BEER, MICHAEL
BEER-HOFMANN, RICHARD
BEN-CHORIN, SHALOM
BENJAMIN, WALTER

BERENDSOHN, WALTER A.
BERG, LEO
BERMANN, RICHARD ARNOLD
BETTAUER, HUGO
BIEBER, HUGO
BLUMENTHAL, OSKAR
BORCHARDT, RUDOLF
BRAUN, FELIX
BROCH, HERMANN
BRUCKNER, FERDINAND
CALE, WALTER
CELAN, PAUL
DOEBLIN, ALFRED
DOMIN, HILDE
DONATH, ADOLPH
EHRENSTEIN, ALBERT
EINSTEIN, CARL
ELOESSER, ARTHUR
FEUCHTWANGER, LION
FRANK, BRUNO
FRANKL, LUDWIG AUGUST
FRANZOS, KARL EMIL
FRIED, ERICH
FRIEDELL, EGON
FRISCH, EFRAIM
FULDA, LUDWIG
GEIGER, LUDWIG
GOETHE, JOHANN WOLFGANG VON
GOLDSTEIN, MORITZ
GOLL, CLAIRE
GRONEMANN, SAMUEL (Sami, Sammy)
GUMPERT, MARTIN
GUNDOLF, FRIEDRICH
GUTZKOW, KARL FERDINAND
HAAS, WILLY
HABE, HANS
HASENCLEVER, WALTER
HEILBORN, ERNST
HEIMANN, MORITZ
HEINE, HEINRICH
HERMANN, GEORG
HERMLIN, STEPHAN
HESSEL, FRANZ
HEYM, STEFAN
HEYMANN, WALTHER
HEYSE, PAUL
HILDESHEIMER, WOLFGANG
HILSENRATH, EDGAR
HIRSCHFELD, GEORG
HITZIG, JULIUS EDUARD
HOCHHUTH, ROLF
HOCHWAELDER, FRITZ
HOFMANNSTHAL, HUGO VON
HOLITSCHER, ARTHUR
HOLLAENDER
HONIGMANN, BARBARA
JACOB, HEINRICH EDUARD
JACOBOWSKI, LUDWIG
JELINEK, ELFRIEDE
KAHANE, ARTHUR
KALEKO, MASHA
KALISCH, DAVID
KAUFMANN, FRITZ MORDECAI
KAYSER, RUDOLF
KERR, ALFRED
KESTEN, HERMANN
KLEIN, JULIUS LEOPOLD
KOESTLER, ARTHUR
KOLMAR, GERTRUD
KOMPERT, LEOPOLD
KOREFF, DAVID FERDINAND
KORNFELD, PAUL
KRAMER, THEODOR
KRAUS, KARL
KROJANKER, GUSTAV
KUH, EPHRAIM MOSES
LANDSBERGER, ARTHUR
LASKER-SCHUELER, ELSE
LAZARUS, NAHIDA RUTH
LEONHARD, RUDOLF
LESSING, GOTTHOLD EPHRAIM
LEWALD, FANNY
LIPINER, SIEGFRIED
LISSAUER, ERNST
LORM, HIERONYMUS
LOTHAR, ERNST
LOTHAR, RUDOLF
LUBLINSKI, SAMUEL
LUDWIG, EMIL
MANN, THOMAS
MARCUSE, LUDWIG
MARGUL-SPERBER, ALFRED
MAUTHNER, FRITZ
MEHRING, WALTER
MEYER, RICHARD MORITZ
MOMBERT, ALFRED
MOSENTHAL, SALOMON HERMANN
MUEHSAM, ERICH
NADEL, ARNO
NEUMANN, ALFRED
NEUMANN, ROBERT
PAULI, JOHANNES
PERUTZ, LEO
PICARD, JACOB
POLGAR, ALFRED
REHFISCH, HANS JOSE
REICH-RANICKI, MARCEL
ROBERT, LUDWIG
RODA RODA, ALEXANDER
RODENBERG, JULIUS
ROESSLER, CARL
ROTH, JOSEPH
RUBINER, LUDWIG
SACHS, NELLY
SALTEN, FELIX
SAPHIR, MORITZ (Moses) GOTTLIEB
SCHERLAG, MARK
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URY, ELSE
VAN HODDIS, JAKOB
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WALDEN, HERWARTH
WALDINGER, ERNST
WASSERMANN, JAKOB
WEISS, ERNST
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WIHL, LUDWIG
WINDER, LUDWIG
WOLF, FRIEDRICH
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WOLFSKEHL, KARL
WOLFSOHN-HALLE, AHARON
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ZUCKMAYER, CARL
ZWEIG, ARNOLD
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ADLER, GUIDO
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BEER, AARON
BEKKER, PAUL
BIE, OSCAR
BIRNBAUM, EDUARD
BLECH, LEO
BRUELL, IGNAZ
DAVID, FERDINAND
DESSAU, PAUL
DEUTSCH, OTTO ERICH
EISLER, HANNS
FISCHOFF, JOSEPH
GEIRINGER, KARL
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GOLDSCHMIDT, HUGO
HELLER, STEPHEN
HENLE, MORITZ
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HILLER, FERDINAND
HINRICHSEN
HOLLAENDER
JACOBSTHAL, GUSTAV
JADASSOHN, SALOMON
JAPHET, ISRAEL MEYER
KINSKY, GEORG LUDWIG
KOHN, MAIER
KOLISCH, RUDOLF
LEICHTENTRITT, HUGO
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LIPSCHITZ, SOLOMON BEN MOSES
LUCCA, PAULINE
MARX, ADOLF BERNHARD
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MENDELSSOHN, ARNOLD
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MENDELSSOHN HENSEL, FANNY CAECILIE
MEYER, ERNST HERMAN
MEYERBEER, GIACOMO
MOTTL, FELIX JOSEF
NADEL, ARNO
OCHS, SIEGFRIED
SACHS, CURT
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MIESES, JACQUES (Jacob)
OPHUELS, MAX
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POMMER, ERICH
RAINER, LUISE
REICHER, EMANUEL
RICHTER, HANS
SCHILDKRAUT, RUDOLPH
SONNENTHAL, ADOLF, RITTER VON
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ARNHEIM, FISCHEL
ARNSTEIN
ASHER, ABRAHAM
AUERBACH, BERTHOLD
AUERBACH, ISRAEL
AUERBACH, PHILIPP
AUSPITZ
BACHARACH
BACHER, EDUARD
BADT, HERMANN
BADT-STRAUSS, BERTHA
BAECK, LEO
BAERWALD, MORITZ
BAIERSDORF, SAMSON SOLOMON
BALLIN, ALBERT
BAMBERGER, LUDWIG
BAMBUS, WILLY
BAUER, OTTO
BAUM, HERBERT
BECKER, JULIUS
BEER, BERNHARD
BEHREND, JACOB FRIEDRICH
BEHRENDS (Behrens), LEFFMANN
BENEDIKT, MORITZ
BENISCH, ABRAHAM
BERNAYS
BERNHARD, GEORG
BERNSTEIN, ARNOLD
BERNSTEIN, ARON DAVID
BERNSTEIN, EDUARD
BIEDERMANN, MICHAEL LAZAR
BIENENFELD, FRANZ RUDOLF
BIENENSTOCK, MAX
BING
BISCHOFFSHEIM
BISMARCK, PRINCE OTTO VON
BLAU, BRUNO
BLEICHROEDER
BLUM, JULIUS
BLUMENFELD, KURT YEHUDAH
BOERNE, LUDWIG (Loeb Baruch)
BORCHARDT, LUCY
BRANDT, WILLY
BRAUN, ADOLF
BREIDENBACH, WOLF
BREITNER, HUGO
BUBIS, IGNATZ
BUCHHOLZ, CARL AUGUST
BURCHARDT, HERMANN
BURG, MENO
CALWER, RICHARD
CASPARY, EUGEN
CASTIGLIONI, CAMILLO
CHARLES IV
CHARLES VI
COHN, EMIL MOSES
COHN, OSCAR
COHN-BENDIT, DANIEL
COUDENHOVE-KALERGI, HEINRICH VON
CUSA, NICHOLAS OF
DECKERT, JOSEPH
DENIS, ALBERTUS
DERNBURG
DEUTSCH, SIMON
DOHM, CHRISTIAN WILHELM VON
DOLLFUSS, ENGELBERT
DREYFUS
DULCEA OF WORMS
EHRENSTAMM
EHRLICH, JACOB
EICHTHAL-SELIGMANN
EISENMENGER, JOHANN ANDREAS
EISLER, GERHART
EISNER, KURT
EISS, ALEXANDER VON
ELIEZER BEN SAMUEL HA-LEVI
ELLENBOGEN, WILHELM
ELLSTAETTER, MORITZ
EMIN PASHA
ENDLICH, QUIRIN
ENGELBERG, HAYYIM OF
ENSHEIM, MOSES
EPHRAIM
EPHRAIM, VEITEL HEINE (Hayyim)
EPPSTEIN, PAUL
ERLANGER
ESKELES
FEDER, ERNST
FEIWEL, BERTHOLD
FERDINAND
FETTMILCH, VINCENT
FISCHER, BERNARD
FISCHER, RUTH

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Public & Economic Life (*continued*)

FISCHER, SAMUEL
FISCHHOFF, ADOLF
FLESCH
FRAENKEL
FRAENKEL, ELKAN
FRAENKEL, ISAAC SECKEL
FRAENKEL, LEVI BEN SAUL
FRANCIS I
FRANCIS JOSEPH I OF HAPSBURG
FRANKENBURGER, WOLF
FREDERICK I
FREDERICK II (the Great)
FREDERICK II OF BABENBERG
FREDERICK III OF HAPSBURG
FREDERICK II OF HOHENSTAUFEN
FREDERICK WILLIAM
FREIER, RECHA
FRIED, ALFRED HERMANN
FRIEDEMANN, ADOLF
FRIEDLAENDER, DAVID
FRIEDMANN, DESIDER
FRIEDMANN, PAUL
FRITSCH, THEODOR
FUERSTENBERG, CARL
FUERTH, HENRIETTE
GALINSKI, HEINZ
GEIGER, SOLOMON ZALMAN (ben Abraham)
GELDERN, SIMON VON
GELDERN, VAN
GERSTEIN, KURT
GLASER, JULIUS ANTON (Joshua)
GLUECKEL OF HAMELN
GOLD, HUGO
GOLDHAMMER-SAHAWI, LEO
GOLDSCHMIDT, HENRIETTE
GOLDSCHMIDT, JAKOB
GOLDSCHMIDT, JOHANNA SCHWABE
GOLUCHOWSKI, AGENOR, COUNT
GOMPERZ
GOSLAR, HANS
GRATTENAUER, KARL WILHELM FRIEDRICH
GROSS, ADOLF
GROSSMANN, KURT RICHARD
GRUEBER, HEINRICH
GRYNSZPAN, HERSCHEL
GUTMANN, EUGEN
GUTMANN, WILHELM, RITTER VON
HAAS, LUDWIG
HAASE, HUGO
HABER
HAHN, ALBERT L.
HAHN, KURT
HAINDORF, ALEXANDER
HARDEN, MAXIMILIAN
HARDENBERG, KARL AUGUST VON
HARTMANN, MORITZ
HEINE, SOLOMON
HENLE, ELKAN
HENRY IV
HERMANUS QUONDAM JUDAEUS (Herman of Scheda)
HERZ, HENRIETTE
HERZ, LEOPOLD EDLER VON (Lippold)
HERZBERG, WILHELM (Ze'ev)
HERZL, THEODOR
HESS, MICHAEL
HESS, MOSES
HILFERDING, RUDOLF
HILLER, KURT
HILLESUM, ETTY
HIRSCH, ARON SIEGMUND
HIRSCH, BARON MAURICE DE
HIRSCH, OTTO
HIRSCHFELD, EPHRAIM JOSEPH
HIRSHEL, MEYER
HOENIGSBERG
HOFER, ANDREAS
HOFMANN, ISAAC LOEW
HOLLAENDER, LUDWIG
HOMBERG, NAPHTALI HERZ
HUMBOLDT, WILHELM VON
HUNDT-RADOWSKY, HARTWIG VON
ISAAC
ISRAEL, WILFRID
ITZIG, DANIEL
JACOB, BERTHOLD
JACOBSOHN, SIEGFRIED
JACOBSON, ISRAEL
JACOBY, JOHANN
JAECKLIN, JUD
JAFFE, MEIR OF ULM
JOSEPH II
JOSEPH BEN GERSHON OF ROSHEIM
KAHN, BERNARD
KANDLEIN OF REGENSBURG
KANTOR, JUDAH LEIB
KANTOROWICZ, HERMANN
KARMINSKI, HANNAH
KARSEN, FRITZ
KASKEL
KATZ, ALBERT
KAUFFMANN, ISAAC
KAULLA
KELSEN, HANS
KLANG, HEINRICH
KLEE, ALFRED
KOENIGSWARTER
KOKESCH, OZER
KREISKY, BRUNO
KREMENETZKY, JOHANN
KUH, ANTON
KURANDA, IGNAZ

LABAND, PAUL
LADENBURG
LAEMEL, SIMON VON
LANDAU, EUGEN
LANDAU, JACOB
LANDSBERG, OTTO
LASKER, EDUARD
LASSALLE (LASSAL), FERDINAND
LEHMANN, BEHREND
LEHMANN, EMIL
LEICHTER, KAETE PICK
LEIDESDORFER
LEMLEIN, ASHER
LEOPOLD I
LEVI, BEHREND
LEVI, PAUL
LICHTHEIM, RICHARD
LIPPOLD
LOEWE, HEINRICH (Eliakim)
LOEWE, LUDWIG AND ISIDOR
LOEWENSTEIN, KURT
LORJE, CHAIM
LUEGER, KARL
LUSTIG, MOSES
LUTHER, MARTIN
LUXEMBURG, ROSA
MAGNUS, MARCUS
MARIA THERESA
MARR, WILHELM
MARX, KARL
MAXIMILIAN
MELANCHTHON, PHILIPP
MELCHIOR, CARL
MENDELSSOHN
MENDELSSOHN-VEIT-SCHLEGEL, DOROTHEA
MERTON
MERZBACHER
MERZBACHER, GOTTFRIED
MESSEL
METTERNICH, PRINCE KLEMENS WENZEL VON
MEYER, PAULUS (Pawly)
MICHAEL, HEIMANN JOSEPH HAYYIM
MICHEL, JUD
MODEL, MARX
MOND
MORAWITZ, KARL RITTER VON
MORGENSTERN, LINA
MOSER, MOSES
MOSES, SIEGFRIED
MOSSE
MOSSNER, WALTHER VON
MUELLER-COHEN, ANITA
MUHR, ABRAHAM
NACHMANN, WERNER
NACHOD, JACOB
NATHAN, PAUL
NEUMEYER, ALFRED
NEUMEYER, KARL
NIEBUHR, KARSTEN
OESTERREICHER, TOBIAS VON
OFNER, JULIUS
OLLENDORFF, FRIEDRICH
OPPENHEIM
OPPENHEIM
OPPENHEIM, LASSA FRANCIS LAWRENCE
OPPENHEIMER, JOSEPH BEN ISSACHAR SUESSKIND
OPPENHEIMER, KARL
OPPENHEIMER, SAMUEL
OSIANDER, ANDREAS
PAPPENHEIM, BERTHA
PERNERSTORFER, ENGELBERT
PHILIPPSON
PICK, ALOIS
PICK, HAYYIM HERMANN
POPPER, SIEGFRIED
PREUSS, HUGO
RABINOWICH, SARAH
RATHENAU, EMIL
RATHENAU, WALTHER
REDLICH, JOSEPH
REUTER, PAUL JULIUS, BARON VON
RIEGNER, GERHART
RIESSER, GABRIEL
RIESSER, JACOB
RINDFLEISCH
ROCKER, RUDOLF
RODE, WALTHER
ROSENBERG, ARTHUR
ROSENBERG, LUDWIG
ROSENTHAL, PHILIPP
ROTHSCHILD
RUDOLF I (of Hapsburg)
RUMPLER, EDUARD
SCHACH, FABIUS
SCHACHTEL, HUGO-HILLEL
SCHAEFFER, HANS
SCHALIT, ISIDOR
SCHAPIRA, HERMANN (Zevi-Hirsch)
SCHLEIERMACHER, FRIEDRICH
SCHLESINGER
SCHLESINGER, KARL
SCHMID, ANTON VON
SCHOCKEN
SCHOCKEN, SALMAN
SCHOENERER, GEORG VON
SCHOLEM, WERNER
SCHOTTLAENDER, BENDET (Benedict)
SEETZEN, ULRICH JASPER
SEIPEL, IGNAZ
SERING, MAX
SESSA, KARL BORROMAEUS ALEXANDER
SHLOM THE MINTMASTER
SICHROVSKY, HEINRICH VON
SIMON, HEINRICH
SIMON, JAMES
SIMSON, MARTIN EDUARD VON
SINGER, PAUL
SMOL (Samuel)
SOMARY, FELIX

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BIOGRAPHIES

Public & Economic Life (*continued*)

SOMMER, EMIL VON
SONNEMANN, LEOPOLD
SONNENFELS, ALOYS VON
SPEYER
SPIEGEL, PAUL
SPITZER, KARL HEINRICH
SPRINGER, AXEL
STAHL, FRIEDRICH JULIUS
STAHL, HEINRICH
STAUB, HERMANN
STEIN, BARON KARL VOM ZUM
STEINBACH, EMIL
STEUSS, DAVID
STOECKER, ADOLF
STRECKFUSS, ADOLF FRIEDRICH KARL
STRICKER, ROBERT
STRISOWER, LEO
STROUSBERG, BETHEL HENRY
SYNGALOWSKI, ARON
TEKA
THEBEN (MANDL), JACOB KOPPEL
TIETZ
TODESCO, HERMANN
TREITSCHKE, HEINRICH VON
TRIETSCH, DAVIS
TRITHEMIUS, JOHANNES (Tritheim)
ULLSTEIN
UNGER, JOSEF
VAN DAM, HENDRIK GEORGE
VARNHAGEN, RAHEL
VEIT
VEIT, MORITZ
VEITH, JOHANN EMANUEL
VOGELSANG, KARL VON
WARBURG
WARBURG, MAX
WASSERMANN, OSKAR
WEICHMANN, HERBERT
WENCESLAUS IV
WERTHEIM
WERTHEIMER, SAMSON
WETZLAR VON PLANKENSTERN
WIDMANSTETTER, JOHANN ALBRECHT (Widmanstadius, Lucrecius)
WINKLER, LEO (Judah)
WOLF, FRUMET
WOLFF, BERNHARD
WOLFF, JEANETTE
WOLFF, THEODOR
WRONSKY, SIDDY
WUNDERLICH, FRIEDA
YORK-STEINER, HEINRICH ELCHANAN
ZLOCISTI, THEODOR

Religion

ADLER
ADLER, LAZARUS LEVI
ADLER, SAMUEL
BLOCH, PHILIPP
BRUNA, ISRAEL BEN HAYYIM
DEUTSCH, IGNAZ
DEUTSCH, ISRAEL
DIENEMANN, MAX
DUEREN, ISAAC BEN MEIR
EGER, AKIVA BEN MOSES GUENS
EGER, AKIVA BEN SIMHAH BUNIM
EGER, SAMUEL (Perez Sanwel) BEN JUDAH LOEB
EHRENTREU, HEINRICH
EINHORN, DAVID
ELIEZER BEN NATHAN OF MAINZ
EPPENSTEIN, SIMON
EPSTEIN, JEHIEL MICHAL BEN ABRAHAM HA-LEVI
ETTLINGER, JACOB
FORMSTECHER, SOLOMON
FRAENKEL, DAVID BEN NAPHTALI HIRSCH
FREUDENTHAL, MAX
GLOGAU, JEHIEL MICHAEL BEN ASHER LEMMEL HA-LEVI
GUEDEMANN, MORITZ
HAGOZER, JACOB AND GERSHOM
HAHN, JOSEPH BEN MOSES
HAHN, JOSEPH YUSPA BEN PHINEHAS SELIGMANN
HALBERSTADT, ABRAHAM BEN MENAHEM MENKE
HALBERSTADT, MORDECAI
HAMBURG, ABRAHAM BENJAMIN (Wolf)
HAMBURGER, JACOB
HAYYIM (Eliezer) BEN ISAAC "OR ZARUA"
HAYYIM BEN JEHIEL HEFEZ ZAHAV
HAYYIM JUDAH BEN HAYYIM
HAYYIM PALTIEL BEN JACOB ("Tola'at")
HEILBUT, ELEAZAR LAZI BEN JOSEPH BEN LAZI
HEILPRIN, SAMUEL HELMANN BEN ISRAEL
HERXHEIMER, SALOMON
HERZFELD, LEVI
HESS, MENDEL
HILDESHEIMER, AZRIEL (Israel)
HILDESHEIMER, MEIR
HIRSCH, SAMUEL
HOESCHEL (Joshua) BEN SAUL
HOFFMAN, JACOB
HOFFMANN, DAVID ZEVI
HOLDHEIM, SAMUEL
HOROVITZ, JACOB
HOROVITZ, MARCUS
HOROWITZ, ISAAC HA-LEVI BEN JACOB JOKEL
HOROWITZ, LAZAR BEN DAVID JOSHUA HOESCHEL

HOROWITZ, ZEVI HIRSCH BEN PHINEHAS HA-LEVI
ISSERLEIN, ISRAEL BEN PETHAHIAH
JACOB BEN YAKAR
JACOB OF VIENNA
JAMPEL, SIGMUND
JOEL BEN ISAAC HA-LEVI
JONAS, REGINA
JOSEPH BEN JOSHUA MOSES OF FRANKFURT
JUDAH BEN KALONYMUS BEN MEIR
JUDAH BEN KALONYMUS BEN MOSES OF MAINZ
JUDAH LEIB BEN ENOCH ZUNDEL
KALONYMUS
KAMINKA, ARMAND (Aaron)
KANN, MOSES
KARGAU, MENAHEM MENDEL BEN NAPHTALI HIRSCH
KIRSCHSTEIN, MORITZ
KISCH, ALEXANDER
KLAUSNER, ABRAHAM
KLEY, EDUARD (Israel)
KOHN, ABRAHAM
KRONER, THEODOR
LAZA OF FRANKFURT
LEHMANN, MARCUS
LEWIN, ADOLF
LIPSCHUTZ, ISRAEL BEN GEDALIAH
LOEWENSTEIN, LEOPOLD
MANNHEIMER, ISAAC NOAH
MAYBAUM, IGNAZ
MEKLENBURG, JACOB ZEVI
MENAHEM BEN JACOB
MENAHEM OF MERSEBURG
MESHULLAM ZALMAN HA-KOHEN
MEYER, SELIGMANN
MINTZ, MOSES BEN ISAAC
MOELLIN, JACOB BEN MOSES (Maharil)
MORDECAI BEN HILLEL HA-KOHEN
MUNK
NOBEL, NEHEMIAH ANTON
OPPENHEIM, BEER BEN ISAAC
OPPENHEIM, JOACHIM
POPPERS, JACOB BEN BENJAMIN HA-KOHEN
PRIJS, JOSEPH
PROTESTRABBINER
RABBINER-SEMINAR FUER DAS ORTHODOXE JUDENTUM
RIEGER, PAUL
RITTER, IMMANUEL HEINRICH
ROSENHEIM, JACOB
ROSENTHAL, LUDWIG A.
SACHS, MICHAEL
SALOMON, GOTTHOLD
SAMSON BEN ELIEZER
SAMSON HA-NAKDAN
SAMUEL BEN KALONYMUS HE-HASID OF SPEYER
SAMUEL BEN NATRONAI
SCHMIEDL, ADOLF ABRAHAM
SELIGMANN, CAESAR
SIMEON BAR ISAAC
SIMHAH BEN SAMUEL OF SPEYER
SOLOMON BEN SAMSON
SONDERLING, JACOB
SPITZER, SOLOMON
STADTHAGEN, JOSEPH
STEINHARDT, JOSEPH BEN MENAHEM
STEINHARDT, MENAHEM MENDEL BEN SIMEON
STERN, SIGISMUND
SUTRO, ABRAHAM
TAGLICHT, DAVID ISRAEL
THEODOR, JULIUS
TYRNAU, ISAAC
VOGELSTEIN
WEIL, JACOB BEN JUDAH
WEIL, NETHANEL BEN NAPHTALI ZEYI
WESEL, BARUCH BENDET BEN REUBEN
WEYL, MEIR BEN SIMHAH
WINTER, JACOB

Science
ABEL, EMIL
ABRAHAM, KARL
ABRAHAM, MAX
ADLER, ALFRED
ALBU, ISIDOR
ARCO, GEORG WILHELM ALEXANDER HANS, GRAF VON
ARONS, LEO
ASCHERSON, PAUL FRIEDRICH AUGUST
ASKENASY, EUGEN
ASKENASY, PAUL
AUERBACH, LEOPOLD
BAEYER, ADOLF VON
BAGINSKY, ADOLF ARON
BAMBERGER, EUGEN
BAMBERGER, HEINRICH VON
BARANY, ROBERT
BECHHOLD, JACOB HEINRICH
BEER, WILHELM
BENEDIKT, MORITZ
BERENDT, GOTTLIEB MICHAEL
BERL, ERNST
BERNSTEIN, JULIUS
BERSON, ARTHUR JOSEPH STANISLAV
BESSELS, EMIL
BILLROTH, THEODOR
BLANCKENHORN, MAX
BLAU, FRITZ
BLOCH, IWAN
BORN, MAX
BREDIG, GEORGE
BRESSLAU, ERNST
BREUER, JOSEPH
BUCKY, GUSTAV
CANNSTADT, KARL FRIEDRICH
CANTOR, MORITZ BENEDICT
CARO, HEINRICH
CARO, NIKODEM
COHN, BERTHOLD

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Biographies

Science (*continued*)

COHN, FERDINAND JULIUS
COHN, FRITZ
COHN, LASSAR
COHNHEIM, JULIUS
CONRAD, VICTOR
COURANT, RICHARD
CREIZENACH, MICHAEL
DEMBER, HARRY L.
DESSAUER, FRIEDRICH
DEUTSCH, FELIX
DONATH, EDUARD
EDINGER, LUDWIG
EDINGER, TILLY
EHRENFEST, PAUL
EHRLICH, PAUL
EINSTEIN, ALBERT
EISENSTEIN, FERDINAND GOTTHOLD
EISSLER, KURT R.
EITINGON, MAX
EMBDEN, GUSTAV
FEDERN, PAUL
FENICHEL, OTTO
FINKELSTEIN, HEINRICH
FRANCK, JAMES
FRANK, ALBERT RUDOLPH
FRANKEL, HEINRICH WALTER
FRANKENTHAL, KATE
FRANKL, VIKTOR E.
FREUD, ANNA
FREUD, SIGMUND
FREUND, MARTIN
FRIEDEMANN, ULRICH
FRISCH, OTTO ROBERT
FROEHLICH, ALFRED
GOLDSCHMIDT, GUIDO
GOLDSCHMIDT, HANS
GOLDSCHMIDT, RICHARD BENEDICT
GOLDSCHMIDT, VICTOR
GOLDSTEIN, EUGEN
GOLDSTEIN, KURT
GOTTLIEB, BERNHARD
GRUEN, ADOLF
GRUENSTEIN, NATHAN
GUMPERT, MARTIN
HAAS, FRITZ
HABER, FRITZ
HALBERSTAEDTER, LUDWIG
HANNOVER, RAPHAEL LEVI
HARTMANN, HEINZ
HAUSDORFF, FELIX (Paul Mongre)
HEIDENHAIN, RUDOLF
HENLE, JACOB
HENSEL, KURT
HERTZ, GUSTAV
HERZOG, REGINALD OLIVER
HIRSCH, AUGUST
HIRSCH, RACHEL
HIRSCHBERG, JULIUS
HIRSCHFELD, MAGNUS
HITSCHMANN, EDWARD
HOFF, HANS
HOFFER, WILLI
HURWITZ, ADOLF
JACOBI, KARL GUSTAV JACOB
JACOBI, MORITZ (Moses) HERMANN
JACOBSON, PAUL HEINRICH
JADASSOHN, JOSEF
JELLINEK, KARL
KOREFF, DAVID FERDINAND
KRISTELLER, SAMUEL
KRONECKER, LEOPOLD
LADENBURG, ALBERT
LANDAU, EDMUND
LANDSTEINER, KARL
LASSAR, OSCAR
LESS, EMIL
LIEBEN, ADOLPH
LIEBEN, ROBERT VON
LIEBERMANN, CARL THEODOR
LILIENTHAL, OTTO
LIPPMANN, EDMUND OSKAR VON
LIPPMANN, EDUARD
LIPSCHITZ, RUDOLF OTTO SIGISMUND
LOEW, MORITZ
LOEWE, FRITZ PHILIPP
LOEWI, OTTO
LONDON, FRITZ
LUNGE, GEORG
MAGNUS, HEINRICH GUSTAV
MAGNUS, PAUL WILHELM
MAGNUS, RUDOLPH
MA'OR KATAN
MARCKWALD, WILLY
MARCUS, SIEGFRIED
MEITNER, LISE
METCHNIKOFF, ELIE
MEYER, HANS JOHANNES LEOPOLD
MEYER, RICHARD JOSEPH
MEYER, VICTOR
MEYERHOF, MAX
MEYERHOF, OTTO
MICHAELIS, LEONOR
MINKOWSKI, HERMANN
MUNK, HERMANN
NEUBERG, GUSTAV EMBDEN CARL
NEUBURGER, MAX
NEUGEBAUER, OTTO
NOETHER
OPPENHEIM, HERMANN
OPPENHEIM, PAUL LEO
OPPENHEIMER, CARL
PAGEL, JULIUS LEOPOLD

PANETH, FRIEDRICH ADOLF
PICK, ALOIS
PICK, ERNST PETER
PINNER, ADOLF
PLAUT, HUGO CARL
PRAGER, RICHARD
PREUSS, JULIUS
PRINGSHEIM, HANS
RANK, OTTO
REIK, THEODOR
REMAK
ROMBERG, MORITZ HEINRICH
ROSENBUSCH, KARL HARRY FERDINAND
ROSENHEIM, ARTHUR
ROTHSCHILD, FRIEDRICH SALOMON
RUEDENBERG, REINHOLD
SACHS, JULIUS
SACKUR, OTTO
SAKEL, MANFRED JOSHUA
SALOMON-CALVI, WILHELM
SCHILDER, PAUL FERDINAND
SCHLESINGER, GEORG
SCHOENBERG, ALEXANDER JULIUS WILHELM
SCHOENHEIMER, RUDOLPH
SCHWARZSCHILD, KARL
SEMON, RICHARD WOLFGANG
SENATOR, HERMANN
SIMON, SIR FRANCIS EUGENE
SORAUER, PAUL KARL MORITZ
SPIEGEL-ADOLF, MONA
SPIRO, KARL
STEINACH, EUGEN
STEKEL, WILHELM
STERN, OTTO
STILLING, BENEDICT
STRASBURGER, EDUARD
STRAUS, RAHEL
STRAUSS, BENNO
STRAUSS, EDUARD
SUESS, EDUARD
TANDLER, JULIUS
TAUSK, VIKTOR
TOEPLITZ, OTTO
TRAUBE, ISIDOR
TRAUBE, LUDWIG
TRAUBE, MORITZ
TRAUBE, WILHELM
UNNA, PAUL GERSON
VALENTIN, GABRIEL GUSTAV
WALLACH, OTTO
WALLICH
WARBURG, OTTO
WARBURG, OTTO HEINRICH
WASSERMANN, AUGUST VON
WEIDNER, PAULUS
WEIGERT, CARL
WEIGERT, FRITZ
WIGNER, EUGENE P.
WILLSTAETTER, RICHARD
WOLFF, CHARLOTTE
WORMS, ASHER ANSHEL
ZUCKERKANDL, EMIL

4) Italy

Main Surveys

ITALIAN LITERATURE
ITALY

General Entries

COLLEGIO RABBINICO ITALIANO
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GORNI
MONTI DI PIETÀ
MORTARA CASE
RIVISTA ISRAELITICA
VESSILLO ISRAELITICO, IL

Communities

ACQUI
AGRIGENTO
ALESSANDRIA
ALGHERO
AMALFI
ANCONA
APULIA
AQUILA
AQUILEIA
AREZZO
ASCOLI PICENO
ASTI
BARI
BASSANO
BENEVENTO
BERGAMO
BOLOGNA
BOLZANO
BOZZOLO
BRESCIA
BRINDISI
CAGLIARI
CALABRIA
CAPUA
CASALE MONFERRATO
CATANIA
CATANZARO
CENTO
CESENA
CHIERI
CIVIDALE
COMO
CONEGLIANO
CORSICA
COSENZA
CREMONA
CUNEO
FAENZA
FANO
FERRARA
FINALE EMILIA

I. HISTORY
B. MEDIEVAL & MODERN PERIOD
2. Regional History
e. Western Europe
4) Italy

Communities (*continued*)

FLORENCE
FORLI
FOSSANO
FRIULI-VENEZIA GIULIA
GAETA
GENOA
GORIZIA
IMOLA
ISTRIA
LECCE
LEGHORN
LODI
LOMBARDY
LUCCA
LUGO
MALTA
MANTUA
MARSALA
MERANO
MESSINA
MILAN
MODENA
MONCALVO
NAPLES
ORIA
ORVIETO
OSTIA
OTRANTO
PADUA
PALERMO
PARMA
PAVIA
PERUGIA
PIACENZA
PIEDMONT
PIOVE DI SACCO
PISA
POMPEI
RAVENNA
RECANATI
REGGIO DI CALABRIA
REGGIO EMILIA
RIMINI
RIVA (di Trento)
ROME
ROVIGO
SABBIONETA
SALERNO
SALUZZO
SAN DANIELE DE FRIULI
SAN MARINO
SAN NICANDRO
SARDINIA
SENIGALLIA
SICILY
SIENA
SIPONTO
SPOLETO
SYRACUSE
TARANTO
TRANI
TRAPANI
TRENT
TREVISO
TRIESTE
TURIN
TUSCANY
URBINO
VENICE
VENOSA
VERCELLI
VERONA
VICENZA
VITERBO
VITTORIO VENETO

Biographies
AARON OF PESARO
ABRABANEL
ABRABANEL, BENVENIDA
ABRAHAM BEN HAYYIM, THE DYER
ABRAHAM BEN ISAAC BEN GARTON
ADELKIND, ISRAEL CORNELIUS
ALATINO
ALATRI, SAMUEL
ALATRINI (Alatrino)
ALDO MANUZIO
ALMAGIA, ROBERTO
ALMANSI
ALMANZI, JOSEPH
AMBRON, SHABBETAI ISAAC
ANCONA
ANCONA, CESARE D'
ANCONA, MARIO
ANCONA, VITO D'
ARBIB
ARPA, ABRAMO DALL'
ARTOM
ARTOM, CESARE
ASCARELLI, DEBORAH
ASCARELLI, TULLIO
ASCOLI
ASCOLI, ETTORE
ASCOLI, GRAZIADIO ISAIA
ASSEMANI
AZEGLIO, MASSIMO TAPARELLI, MARCHESE D
AZULAI
BACHI, ARMANDO
BACHI, RICARDO
BAK
BALMES, ABRAHAM BEN MEIR DE
BARTOLOCCI, GIULIO
BARUCH, JACOB BEN MOSES HAYYIM

BARZILAI
BASEVI
BASSANI, GIORGIO
BASSANO
BEDARIDA, GUIDO
BELFORTE, SOLOMON
BEMPORAD, AZEGLIO
BEMPORAD, ENRICO
BENEVENTO, IMMANUEL BEN JEKUTHIEL
BENJAMIN NEHEMIAH BEN ELNATHAN
BERNHEIMER, CARLO
BLAYER, PIETRO
BOCCACCIO, GIOVANNI
BOLAFFI, MICHELE
BOLAFFIO, LEONE
BOMBERG, DANIEL
BONAVENTURA, ENZO JOSEPH
BORGHI, LAMBERTO
BOZECCO (Bozecchi), BENJAMIN BEN JUDAH
BRAGADINI
BRUNETTI, ANGELO
CAGLI, CORRADO
CALIMANI, SIMHA BEN ABRAHAM
CAMERINI, EUGENIO SALOMONE
CAMMEO, FEDERICO
CANTARINI
CANTONI, ALBERTO
CANTONI, LELIO (Hillel)
CANTONI, RAFFAELE
CAPON, AUGUSTO
CAPSALI, ELIJAH
CARPI, LEONE
CASSUTO, UMBERTO (Moses David)
CASTELLAZZO, MOSES DA
CASTELLI, DAVID
CASTELNUOVO, ENRICO
CASTELNUOVO-TEDESCO, MARIO
CASTIGLIONI, HAYYIM (Vittorio)
CATTANEO, CARLO
CIVITA, DAVIT (David)
COEN, ACHILLE
COEN, GRAZIADIO VITA ANANIA
COHEN
COLOGNA (DE), ABRAHAM VITA
COLOMBO, SAMUEL
COLOMBO, YOSEPH
COLON, JOSEPH BEN SOLOMON (Maharik)
COLORNI, VITTORE
COLUMBUS, CHRISTOPHER
CONAT, ABRAHAM BEN SOLOMON
CONCIO, JOSEPH BEN GERSON
CONEGLIANO
CONSIGLI(O), AVTALYON (Ottavio) BEN SOLOMON
CORCOS, VITTORIO
DA VERONA, GUIDO
DANTE ALIGHIERI
DATO, MORDECAI BEN JUDAH
DE BENEDETTI, ALDO
DE ROSSI, GIOVANNI BERNARDO
DEBENEDETTI, GIACOMO
DEL BANCO, ANSELMO (Asher Levi Meshullam)
DELLA SETA, ALESSANDRO
DELLA TORRE, LELIO (Hillel)
DEL MONTE, CRESCENZO
DEL VECCHIO
DEL VECCHIO, SHABBETAI ELHANAN BEN ELISHA
DESSAU, BERNARDO
DI GARA, GIOVANNI
DIENNA, AZRIEL BEN SOLOMON
DIRINGER, DAVID
DISEGNI, DARIO
DONATI, ENRICO
DONATI, LAZZARO
DONNOLO, SHABBETAI
EGIDIO DA VITERBO
ELIJAH BEN SHABBETAI BEER
ELIJAH OF LA MASSA
ELIJAH OF PESARO
ENRIQUES, PAOLO
ERRERA, CARLO
FALCO, MARIO
FANO
FANO, GUIDO ALBERTO
FARINACCI, ROBERTO
FIGO, AZARIAH
FINZI
FINZI, GIUSEPPE
FIORENTINO, SALOMONE
FOA
FOA, RAIMONDO
FOLIGNO, HANANEL (DA)
FORMIGGINI, ANGELO FORTUNATO
FORTI, BARUCH UZZIEL BEN BARUCH
FORTI, JACOB RAPHAEL HEZEKIAH BEN ABRAHAM ISRAEL
FRANCES, JACOB BEN DAVID
FRANCHETTI, RAIMONDO
FRIZZI, BENEDETTO
FUBINI, GUIDO
FUBINI, MARIO
GABBAI
GALLICO
GENTILI
GERSHON, ISAAC
GHIRONDI, MORDECAI SAMUEL BEN BENZION ARYEH
GINZBURG, NATALIA
GIOVANNI MARIA
GIUSTINIANI, AGOSTINO (Pantaleone)
GIUSTINIANI, MARCO ANTONIO
GRAZIANO, ABRAHAM JOSEPH SOLOMON BEN MORDECAI
GUASTALLA, ENRICO
GUGLIELMO DA PESARO
GUIDACERIO, AGACIO
GUNZENHAUSER, JOSEPH BEN JACOB
HALFANUS
IBN YAHYA, GEDALIAH BEN JOSEPH
IMBONATI, CARLO GIUSEPPE (Imbonatus)
IMMANUEL (ben Solomon) OF ROME

I. HISTORY

B. MEDIEVAL & MODERN PERIOD

2. Regional History

e. Western Europe

4) Italy

Biographies (*continued*)

ISAAC BEN JACOB MIN HA-LEVIYYIM
ISHMAEL BEN ABRAHAM ISAAC HA-KOHEN
JAGEL, ABRAHAM BEN HANANIAH DEI GALICCHI
JARE
JEDIDIAH (AMADIO) BEN MOSES OF RECANATI
JERAHMEEL BEN SOLOMON
JESI, SAMUEL
JOEL, OTTO J.
JOHN OF CAPUA
JOSEPH HA-KOHEN
JOSHUA BOAZ BEN SIMON BARUCH
LATTES
LATTES, ABRAHAM BEN ISAAC
LATTES, DANTE
LATTES, ISAAC JOSHUA
LERMA, JUDAH BEN SAMUEL
LEVI, BENEDETTO
LEVI, CARLO
LEVI (GRAZIADIO), DAVID
LEVI, DORO
LEVI, EUGENIO
LEVI, GIORGIO RENATO
LEVI, GIULIO AUGUSTO
LEVI, GIUSEPPE
LEVI, MARIO GIACOMO
LEVI, PAOLO
LEVI, PRIMO
LEVI-BIANCHINI, ANGELO
LEVI-CIVITA, TULLIO
LEVI DELLA VIDA, GIORGIO
LEVI-MONTALCINI, RITA
LEVI-PEROTTI, GIUSTINA
LIUZZI
LOLLI, EUDE
LOMBROSO, CESARE
LOPEZ, SABATINO
LORIA, ACHILLE
LUZZATTI, LUIGI
LUZZATTO
LUZZATTO, EPRRAIM
LUZZATTO, GINO
LUZZATTO, ISAAC
MAGINO, MEIR
MALACHI BEN JACOB HA-KOHEN
MALVANO, GIACOMO
MANETTI, GIANNOZZO
MANIN, DANIELE
MANTINO, JACOB BEN SAMUEL
MARGULIES, SAMUEL HIRSCH
MARINI, SHABBETHAI HAYYIM (Vita)
MARLI, SAMUEL (RAPHAEL) BEN MAZLIAH
MASSARANI, TULLO
MASSARANO, JACCHINO OR ISACCHINO
MAYER, SALLY
MEIR BEN EPHRAIM OF PADUA
MICHELSTAEDTER, CARLO
MILANO, ATTILIO
MINZ, ABRAHAM BEN JUDAH HA-LEVI
MINZ, JUDAH BEN ELIEZER HA-LEVI
MITHRIDATES, FLAVIUS
MODENA, ANGELO
MODENA, AVTALYON (da)
MODENA, FIORETTA DI
MODENA, LEONE (Judah Aryeh)
MODIGLIANI, AMEDEO
MODIGLIANI, VITTORIO EMANUELE
MOMIGLIANO, ARNALDO DANTE
MOMIGLIANO, ATTILIO
MOMIGLIANO, FELICE
MONDOLFO, RODOLFO
MORAVIA, ALBERTO
MORPURGO
MORPURGO, GIUSEPPE
MORPURGO, RACHEL
MORPURGO, SALOMONE
MORPURGO, SAMSON BEN JOSHUA MOSES
MORTARA, LODOVICO
MORTARA, MARCO
MOSCATI, SABATINO
MOSES OF PALERMO
MUSOLINO, BENEDETTO
MUSSAFIA, ADOLFO
MUSSOLINI, BENITO
NATHAN, ERNESTO
NATHAN BEN JEHIEL OF ROME
NEPPI, HANANEL (Grazziadio)
NORZI
NORZI, JEDIDIAH SOLOMON RAPHAEL BEN ABRAHAM
NUNES VAIS
OLIVETTI
OLMO, JACOB DANIEL BEN ABRAHAM
ORVIETO, ANGIOLO
OTTOLENGHI
OTTOLENGHI, GIUSEPPE
OTTOLENGHI, JOSEPH BEN NATHAN
OTTOLENGHI, MOSES JACOB
PACIFICI, ALFONSO
PACIFICI, RICCARDO
PAGNINI, SANTES (Xanthus Pagninus)
PAPERNA, ABRAHAM BARUCH
PAPO, SAMUEL SHEMAIAH
PARDO, JOSEPH
PARENZO
PASTA, GUIDITTA
PERGOLA, RAPHAEL DE LA
PERREAU, PIETRO
PESARO, ABRAMO
PICO DELLA MIRANDOLA, GIOVANNI
PIPERNO BEER, SERGIO
PISA, DA
PITIGRILLI
POLACCO, VITTORIO

PONTECORVO, BRUNO
PORTALEONE
PORTALEONE, ABRAHAM BEN DAVID II
PORTO
PORTO, ABRAHAM MENAHEM BEN JACOB HA-KOHEN
PORTO-RAFA, MOSES BEN JEHIEL HA-KOHEN
PREZIOSI, GIOVANNI
PROVENÇAL, ABRAHAM BEN DAVID
PROVENÇAL, DAVID BEN ABRAHAM
PROVENÇAL, MOSES BEN ABRAHAM
PUGLIESE, EMANUELE
PUGLIESE, UMBERTO
RABBA, MENAHEM
RAPHAEL, MARK (Marco)
RASSEGNA MENSILE DI ISRAEL, LA
RAVA, MAURIZIO
RECANATI
REGGIO, ISACCO SAMUEL
REUVENI, DAVID
REVERE, GIUSEPPE PROSPERO
RIETI
RIETI, MOSES BEN ISAAC DA
ROGERS, ERNESTO
ROMANELLI, SAMUEL AARON
ROMANIN JACUR, LEONE
ROMANIN, SAMUELE
ROMANO, JUDAH BEN MOSES BEN DANIEL
ROSSELLI
ROSSI, MADAMA EUROPA DE
ROSSI, SALAMONE DE
SABA, UMBERTO
SACERDOTE, DAVID
SACERDOTI, ANGELO-RAPHAEL CHAIM
SAMEGAH, JOSEPH BEN BENJAMIN
SANGUINETTI, AZARIAH HAYYIM
SARAVAL
SARAVAL, JACOB RAPHAEL BEN SIMHAH JUDAH
SARAVAL, JUDAH LEIB
SARFATI
SCHANZER, CARLO
SCHIFF, HUGO
SEGRE
SEGRE, ARTURO
SEGRE, BENIAMINO
SEGRE, CORRADO
SEGRE, EMILIO GINO
SEGRE, GINO
SEGRE, JOSHUA BENZION
SEGRE, ROBERTO
SEGRE, SALVATORE
SERENI, ANGELO PIERO
SERENI, ENZO HAYYIM
SERVI, FLAMINIO (Ephraim)
SESSO, SALAMONE DA
SFORNO, OBADIAH BEN JACOB
SIERRA, SERGIO JOSEPH
SILANO
SINIGAGLIA
SINIGAGLIA, LEONE
SIXTUS OF SIENA
SOAVE, MOISE
SONCINO
SONNINO, SIDNEY
SULLAM, SARA COPPIO
SVEVO, ITALO
TEDESCHI
TEDESCHI (Tedesco), MOSES ISAAC BEN SAMUEL
TERNI, DANIEL BEN MOSES DAVID
TERRACINI, BENVENUTO ARON
TERRACINI, UMBERTO ELIA
TIVOLI, SERAFINO DA
TOAFF
TRABOT
TREMELLIUS, JOHN IMMANUEL
TREVES, EMILIO
TREVES, JOHANAN BEN JOSEPH
VALABREGA, CESARE
VENTURA, RUBINO
VITERBO, CARLO ALBERTO
VITTA, CINO
VIVANTE, CESARE
VIVANTI, DAVID ABRAHAM
VIVANTI CHARTRES, ANNIE
VOLLI, GEMMA
VOLTERRA
VOLTERRA, EDOARDO
VOLTERRA, MESHULLAM BEN MENAHEM DA
VOLTERRA, VITO
WOLLEMBORG, LEONE
YAISH, BARUCH BEN ISAAC IBN
ZEVI, BRUNO
ZIFRONI, ISRAEL BEN DANIEL
ZOLLER, ISRAEL

5) Netherlands
MAIN SURVEYS
DUTCH LITERATURE
NETHERLANDS, THE

GENERAL ENTRIES
FELIX LIBERTATE

COMMUNITIES
AMSTERDAM
HAGUE, THE

BIOGRAPHIES
ABENDANA, ISAAC SARDO
ABENDANA, JACOB BEN JOSEPH
ABRAHAM, SAMUEL
ABRAHAM BAR JACOB
ALTING, JACOBUS
AMELANDER, MENAHEM MANN BEN SOLOMON HA-LEVI
ANDRADE, VELOSINO JACOB DE
ASSCHER, ABRAHAM
ASSER
ATHIAS, JOSEPH AND IMMANUEL
BEEK, MARTINUS ADRIANUS

I. HISTORY

B. MEDIEVAL & MODERN PERIOD

2. Regional History

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5) Netherlands

BIOGRAPHIES (*continued*)

BELINFANTE
BELINFANTE, ISAAC BEN ELIAH COHEN
BENVENISTE, IMMANUEL
BERGH, VAN DEN
BERLIJN, ANTON (Aron Wolf)
BLANKENSTEIN, MARCUS VAN
BOAS
BOAS, HENRIETTE
BOUWMEESTER, LOUIS FREDERIK JOHANNES
BRANDON, OHEB ISAAC
BREGSTEIN, MARCEL HENRI
BRUGGEN, CARRY VAN
CACERES, ABRAHAM
CAMPEN (Campensis), JOHANNES VAN
CAMPEN, MICHEL HERMAN VAN
CASTRO TARTAS, DAVID DE
CITROEN, ROELOF PAUL
COCCEIUS, JOHANNES
COHEN, BENJAMIN
COHEN, DAVID
COHEN, ERNST JULIUS
CORREA, ISABEL REBECCA DE
COSTA, ISAAC DA
COSTA, URIEL DA
CUNAEUS (Van der Cun), PETRUS
DA COSTA, JOSEPH MENDES
DAVIDS, AARON ISSACHAR (Bernard) BEN NAHMAN
DE CHAVES, AARON
DE KLERK, MICHEL
DE LIEME, NEHEMIA
DICKER-BRANDEIS, FREDERIKE
DOZY, REINHART PIETER ANNE
DRUSIUS, JOHANN CLEMENS
DUQUE, SIMON DAVID
EERDMANS, BERNARDUS DIRKS
ELKERBOUT, BEN
ELTE, HARRY
EMPEREUR, CONSTANTIN L'
ERASMUS OF ROTTERDAM
ERPENIUS, THOMAS
FRANK, ANNE
FRANKFORT, HENRI
FRANKFURTER, MOSES
FRIEDE, SHALOM
GANS, MOZES ("Max")
GASKELL, SONJA
GODEFROI, MICHAEL HENRI
GOUDEKET, MAURITS
GOUDSMIT, JOEL EMANUEL
GROTIUS, HUGO
HAAN, JACOB ISRAEL DE
HAAN, MEIJER DE
HARTOG, LEVIE DE
HEIJERMANS, HERMAN
HERTZVELD-HIJMANS, ESTELLA
HERZBERG, ABEL JACOB
HEYMANS, GERARDUS F.
HILLESUM, JEREMIAS
HIRSCHEL, LEVIE (Louis)
HOND, MEIJER DE
HORODISCH, ABRAHAM
ISRAELS, JOZEF
JACOBS, ALETTA
JITTA, DANIEL JOSEPHUS
JONG, LOUIS DE
KANN, JACOBUS HENRICUS
KLEEREKOPER, ASSER BENJAMIN
KOENIGSWARTER
KUENEN, ABRAHAM
LARA, ISAAC COHEN DE
LEEUW, JACOB BEN HAYYIM (Heymann) DE
LEHREN
LEMANS, MOSES
LEUSDEN, JOHANN
LIMBURG, JOSEPH
LIPSCHUTZ, SOLOMON BEN MORDECAI
LOEWENSTAMM
LOGGEM, MANUEL VAN
MAARSEN, ISAAC
MANASSEH BEN ISRAEL
MEIJER, JACOB
MEIJERS, EDUARD MAURITS
MENDELS, MAURITS
MEYER, JONAS DANIEL
MINCO, MARGA
MIRANDA, SALOMON RODRIGUES DE
MONTEZINOS, DAVID
MORTEIRA, SAUL LEVI
MULDER, SAMUEL ISRAEL
MULISCH, HARRY
MUSSERT, ANTON ADRIAAN
NIEROP, VAN
ONDERWIJZER, ABRAHAM BEN SAMSON HA-KOHEN
OPPENHEIM, JACQUES
ORNSTEIN, LEONARD SALOMON
PALACHE, JUDAH LION
PEREIRA DE PAIVA, MOSES
PINTO, DE
PINTO, ISAAC DE
POLAK, GABRIEL ISAAC
POLAK, HENRI
POLAK, LEONARD
PRAAG, SIEGFRIED EMANUEL VAN
PRESSER, JACOB
PRINS, LIEPMAN PHILIP
PROOPS
QUERIDO, ISRAEL
RELAND, ADRIAN (Hadrian)
REMBRANDT VAN RIJN
REVESZ, GEZA
ROEST, MEIJER MARCUS
ROSENBERG, LAZAR

SANDBERG, WILLEM JACOB
SARPHATI, SAMUEL
SCHULTENS, ALBRECHT
SCHUSTER, AARON
SEELIGMANN, ISAC LEO
SEELIGMANN, SIGMUND
SOLA, DE
SPATH, JOHANN PETER
SPINOZA, BARUCH DE
SUASSO
SURENHUIS, WILHELM (Guilielmus)
SURGUN, ISAAC
TEMPLO, JACOB JUDAH (ARYEH) LEON
TIRADO, JACOB
URI BEN AARON HA-LEVI
VAN DER HOEDEN, JACOB
VAN RAALTE, EDUARD ELLIS
VAN VRIESLAND, VICTOR EMANUEL
VISSER, LODEWIJK ERNST
VOS, ISIDOR H. J.
VRIEZEN, THEODORUS CHRISTIAAN
VROMAN, LEO
WAGENAAR, LION
WAGNER, SIEGFRIED
WEINREB, FRIEDRICH
WERTHEIM, ABRAHAM CAREL
WIJNKOOP, DAVID

6) Scandinavia

MAIN SURVEYS
DENMARK
FINLAND
NORWAY
SCANDINAVIAN LITERATURE
SWEDEN

COMMUNITIES
COPENHAGEN
MALMO
OSLO
STOCKHOLM

BIOGRAPHIES
ABRAHAMS, NICOLAI CHRISTIAN LEVIN
ADLER, DAVID BARUCH
ASLAKSSEN, CORT (Aslacus, Conrad)
BALLIN, JOEL
BALLIN, MOEGENS
BALLIN, SAMUEL JACOB
BENDIX, VICTOR EMANUEL
BENKOW, JO (Josef Elias)
BENTZEN, AAGE
BERNADOTTE, FOLKE
BESEKOW, SAMUEL
BOHR, NIELS HENRIK DAVID
BORCHSENIUS, POUL
BORGE, VICTOR
BRANDES, CARL EDVARD
BRANDES, GEORG
BRANDES, LUDWIG ISRAEL
BRICK, DANIEL
BUHL, FRANZ PEDER WILLIAM MEYER
COHEN, EMIL WILHELM
COHN, CILLA CYPORA
COHN, GEORG ARYE
EDELMANN, RAPHAEL
EIBESCHUETZ, SIMON AARON
EITINGER, LEO S.
ELKAN, SOPHIE
EMSHEIMER, ERNST
FEIGENBERG, MEIR
FISCHER, JOSEF
FOIGHEL, ISI
FRAENKEL, LOUIS
FRIEDMANN, JANE
GLUECKSTADT, ISAAC HARTVIG
GOLDSCHMIDT, HEINRICH JACOB
GOLDSCHMIDT, MEIR ARON
GOLDSCHMIDT, VICTOR MORITZ
GONDOR, FERENC
GOTEBORG (Gothenburg)
GRANDITSKY, PALLE
GRUENBAUM, HENRY
HAMBRO, JOSEPH
HANNOVER, ADOLPH
HECKSCHER, ELI FILIP
HEDEGARD, OSKAR DAVID LEONARD
HERTZ, HENRIK (Heyman)
HURWITZ, STEPHAN
ISAAC, AARON
ISENSTEIN, KURT HARALD
JACOBSEN, ARNE EMIL
JACOBSON, LUDVIG LEVIN
JAKOBSON, MAX
JAKUBOWSKI, JACKIE
JOSEPHSON
KAUFMANN, HANNE
KLEIN, GEORGE
LAMM, MARTIN
LEVERTIN, OSCAR IVAR
LEVIN, POUL THEODOR
LEVY, LOUIS
MANNHEIMER, THEODOR
MELCHIOR
MELCHIOR, MARCUS
MELCHIOR, MICHAEL
MEYER, LUDWIG BEATUS
MEYER, TORBEN LOUIS
MOTTELSON, BENJAMIN R.
MOWINCKEL, SIGMUND OLAF PLYTT
MUNK, KAJ
NARROWE, MORTON
NATHANSEN, HENRI
NATHANSON, MENDEL LEVIN
OPPENHEJM, RALPH GERSON
PEDERSEN, JOHANNES
QUISLING, VIDKUN ABRAHAM LAURITZ
RUBENSON, ROBERT
RUBIN, EDGAR
SALOMON, GESKEL

I. HISTORY

B. MEDIEVAL & MODERN PERIOD

2. Regional History

e. Western Europe

6) Scandinavia

BIOGRAPHIES (*continued*)

SALOMON, JULIUS
SALOMONSEN, CARL JULIUS
SCHUCK, JOHAN HENRIK EMIL
SIESBY, GOTTLIEB ISASCHAR
SIMONSEN, DAVID JACOB
TAU, MAX
TYCHSEN, OLAUS GERHARD (Oluf)
VALENTIN, HUGO MAURICE
WARBURG, KARL JOHAN
WARRENS, ROSA
WERGELAND, HENRIK ARNOLD
WOLFF, ABRAHAM ALEXANDER
YSANDER, TORSTEN
ZACHARIAS, JOHN

7) Spain & Portugal

MAIN SURVEYS

PORTUGAL
SPAIN
SPANISH AND PORTUGUESE LITERATURE

GENERAL ENTRIES

ADELANTADOS
ALBORAYCOS
ANUSIM
ARRABY MOOR
AUTO DA FÉ
BARCELONA, DISPUTATION OF
BERUREI AVERAH
CALATRAVA
CONVERSOS
CRYPTO-JEWS
INQUISITION
LIMPIEZA DE SANGRE
RAB DE LA CORTE
TORTOSA, DISPUTATION OF

COMMUNITIES

AGRAMUNT
AGUILAR DE CAMPÓO
ALAGÓN
ALBA DE TORMES
ALBARRACÍN
ALCALÁ DE HENARES
ALCAÑIZ
ALCOLEA
ALJAMA
ALMAGRO
ALMERIA
ASTORGA
AVILA
AZORES
BADAJOZ
BALAGUER
BARBASTRO
BARCELONA
BAZA
BEJA
BELMONTE
BESALU
BIEL
BRAGANZA
BRIVIESCA
BUITRAGO
BURGOS
BURRIANA
CADIZ
CALAHORRA
CALATAYUD
CANARY ISLANDS
CARMONA
CARRION DE LOS CONDES
CARTAGENA (Cartageni)
CASTELO BRANCO
CASTELLÓN DE LA PLANA
CASTROJERIZ
CEA
CERVERA
CEUTA
CIUDAD REAL
CIUDAD RODRIGO
COCA
COIMBRA
CORDOBA
CORUNNA
COVILHA
CUENCA
CHAVES
CHILLON
DAROCA
DENIA
DUEÑAS
ECIJA
ELCHE
ELVIRA
ESCALONA
ESTELLA
EVORA
FARO
FRAGA
FUNES
GERONA
GRANADA
GUADALAJARA
GUADALUPE
HARO
HERRERA DE PISUEGRA
HÍJAR
HUESCA
HUETE
IBIZA AND FORMENTERA
ILLESCAS
JACA

JAEN
JÁTIVA
JEREZ DE LA FRONTERA
LAGOS
LEIRIA
LEON
LERIDA
LISBON
LUCENA
LLERENA
MADRID
MAJORCA
MÁLAGA
MAQUEDA
MEDINA DE POMAR
MEDINA DEL CAMPO
MEDINACELI
MÉRIDA
MINORCA
MIRANDA DE EBRO
MONCORVO
MONTCLUS
MONTIEL
MONZÓN
MURCIA
MURVIEDRO
NÁJERA
OCANA
OLMEDO
OPORTO
ORENSE
ORIHUELA
PALENCIA
PALMA, LA
PAMPLONA
PECHINA
PLASENCIA
SAHAGÚN
SALAMANCA
SANTA COLOMA DE QUERALT
SANTARÉM
SARAGOSSA
SEGORBE
SEGOVIA
SEPÚLVEDA
SETUBAL
SEVILLE
SICILY
SIGÜENZA
SORIA
TALAVERA DE LA REINA
TARAZONA
TARRAGONA
TARREGA
TAUSTE
TERUEL
TOLEDO
TOMAR
TORTOSA
TRUJILLO
TUDELA
VALENCIA
VALMASEDA
VALLADOLID
VICH
VILA REAL
VILLADIEGO
VILLAFRANCA DEL PANADÉS
VITORIA
ZAMORA

Biographies
ABENMENASSE
ABENSUR
ABENVIVES
ABNER OF BURGOS
ABOAB
ABRABANEL, ABRAVANEL
ABRAHAM EL-BARCHILON
ABRAHAM OF BEJA
ABRAHAM OF SARAGOSSA
ABRAHAO, COJE
ABU AL-FADL HASDAY
ABUDARHAM
ABULAFIA
ABULAFIA, SAMUEL BEN MEIR HA-LEVI
ABULAFIA, SAMUEL HA-LEVI
AFFONSO
ALCONSTANTINI
ALFONSO
ALFONSO DE ESPINA
ALFONSO DE OROPESA
ALFONSO OF ZAMORA
ALFONSUS BONIHOMINIS (Buenhombre)
AL-MANSUR AL-YAHUDI
ALMOSNINO
ALTARAS
ALVAREZ GATO, JUAN
AMADOR DE LOS RIOS, JOSE
AMZALAK, MOSES BENSABAT
ANTONIO
ARAGÃO, FERNÃO XIMENES DE
ARDUT
ARIAS MONTANO, BENITO
ARRAGEL, MOSES
AT(H)IAS
AUB, MAX
AVENDAUTH
AVILA, DE
AVILA, PROPHET OF
BAENA, JUAN ALFONSO DE
BARRIOS, DANIEL LEVI (Miguel) DE
BENARUS, ADOLFO
BENJAMIN (BEN JONAH) OF TUDELA
BENOLIEL, JOSEPH (Jose)
BENREMOKH
BENSAUDE
BENVENISTE
BENVENISTE, ABRAHAM
BENVENISTE, ISAAC BEN JOSEPH

I. HISTORY

B. MEDIEVAL & MODERN PERIOD

2. Regional History

e. Western Europe

7) Spain & Portugal

Biographies (*continued*)

BENVENISTE, SAMUEL
BENVENISTE, SHESHET BEN ISAAC BEN JOSEPH
BENVENISTE DE PORTA
BENZAMERO
BIBAGO, ISAAC
BONJORN, BONET DAVI(D)
BONSENYOR, JUDAH (Jafuda)
BOTAREL, MOSES BEN ISAAC
BRANDÃO, AMBRÓSIO FERNANDES
CANTERA BURGOS, FRANCISCO
CARRASCON, JUAN
CASTRO QUESADA, AMERICO
CAVALLERIA, DE LA
CERVANTES SAAVEDRA, MIGUEL DE
CHARLES V
CHAVES
CORDOBA, ALONSO FERNANDEZ DE
COSTA DE MATTOS, VICENTE DA
COTA DE MAGUAQUE, RODRIGO DE
CRESCAS
CRESQUES ABRAHAM
CRESQUES DE VIVERS
DESMAESTRE, JONAH
DIEZ, MACHO ALEJANDRO
ECIJA, JOSEPH (Yucaf) DE
ELEAZAR
ENRIQUEZ GOMEZ, ANTONIO
ENRIQUEZ, ISABEL
ESCUDERO, LORENZO
FALAQUERA
FALAQUERA, NATHAN BEN JOEL
FERDINAND AND ISABELLA
FERNANDES VILLAREAL, MANOEL
FERRIZUEL, JOSEPH HA-NASI
FLORETA CA NOGA OF ARAGON
FOREIRO, FRANCISCO
GALIPAPA, HAYYIM BEN ABRAHAM
GALIPAPA, MAIMON
GAMA, GASPAR DA
GAVISON (Gavishon)
GEDALIAH, JUDAH
GERONDI, ISAAC BEN JUDAH
GERONDI, JACOB BEN SHESHET
GERONDI, MOSES BEN SOLOMON DESCOLA
GERONDI, SAMUEL BEN MESHULLAM
GERONDI, SOLOMON BEN ISAAC
GIKATILLA, ISAAC IBN
GIKATILLA, JOSEPH BEN ABRAHAM
GIKATILLA, MOSES BEN SAMUEL HA-KOHEN
GODINEZ, FELIPE
GOLLUF, ELEAZAR
GRACIAN, SHEALTIEL BEN SOLOMON
HABIBA, JOSEPH
HAMON
HANOKH BEN MOSES
HASSAN
HASSAN IBN (Mar) HASSAN
HAYYIM BEN SAMUEL BEN DAVID OF TUDELA
HAYYUN, ABRAHAM BEN NISSIM
HAYYUN, JOSEPH BEN ABRAHAM
HISDAI IBN SHAPRUT
HUARTE DE SAN JUAN, JUAN
IBN ABBAS, JUDAH BEN SAMUEL II
IBN ALFAKHAR
IBN BIKLARISH, JUNAS (Jonah) BEN ISAAC
IBN DAUD, ABRAHAM BEN DAVID HALEVI
IBN HASAN, JEKUTHIEL BEN ISAAC
IBN JANAH, JONAH
IBN JAU, JACOB
IBN MIGASH, JOSEPH BEN MEIR HA-LEVI
IBN MUHAJIR, ABRAHAM BEN MEIR
IBN SAID, ISAAC
IBN SHOSHAN
IBN VERGA, SOLOMON
IBN WAQAR
IBN ZADOK, SOLOMON
IBRAHIM IBN YAQUB OF TORTOSA
ISRAELI, ISAAC BEN JOSEPH
ISRAELI, ISRAEL
JACOBSON, KURT
JEHOSEPH HA-NAGID
JEWESS OF TOLEDO
JOHN
JONAH BEN ABRAHAM GERONDI
JOSEPH BEN JUSTU OF JAEN
JUAN DE CIUDAD
JUDAH BEN BARZILLAI AL-BARGELONI
KAMNIEL, ABU AL-HASAN MEIR IBN
LABI, SOLOMON (IBN)
LA GUARDIA, HOLY CHILD OF
LEON, LUIS DE
LEVY
LORKI, JOSHUA
MAIMI, SIMON
MANUEL I
MARTÍNEZ DE OVIEDO, GONZALO
MARTÍNEZ, FERRANT
MARTINI, RAYMOND
MELAMED, MEIR
MENAHEM BEN JACOB IBN SARUQ
MILLAS VALLICROSA, JOSE MARIA
MONTORO, ANTON DE
MOSES BEN HANOKH
MOSES HA-KOHEN OF TORDESILLAS
NAHMIAS, IBN
NAHMIAS, JOSEPH BEN JOSEPH
NAVARRO
NIFOCI, ISAAC
NISSIM BEN REUBEN GERONDI
OHEV BEN MEIR HA-NASI
ORABUENA
OROBIO DE CASTRO, ISAAC (Balthazar)
PABLO DE SANTA MARIA (el Burguense)

PARHON, SALOMON BEN ABRAHAM IBN
PEREZ BAYER, FRANCISCO
PETRUS ALFONSI
PICHO (Pichon), JOSEPH
PORTELLA, DE
RAVAYA (Ravaylla)
RECCARED
REMOS, MOSES BEN ISAAC
RIBEIRO DOS SANTOS, ANTONIO
RIBEIRO SANCHEZ, ANTONIO
RIMOCH, ASTRUC
ROSALES, JACOB
ROSALES, JACOB HEBRAEUS (Immanuel Bocarro Frances)
ROSANES
SAMUEL HA-NAGID (Ismail Ibn Nagrela)
SANCHES, FRANCISCO
SANCHEZ, GABRIEL
SANTANGEL, LUIS DE
SARDI, SAMUEL BEN ISAAC
SARMIENTO, PEDRO
SCHWARZ, SAMUEL
SENEOR, ABRAHAM
SHALOM, ABRAHAM BEN ISAAC BEN JUDAH BEN SAMUEL
SILVA, ANTONIO JOSE DA
SISEBUT
TAMAKH, ABRAHAM BEN ISAAC HA-LEVI
TARONJI Y CORTES, JOSE
TORQUEMADA, TOMAS DE
TORRES, LUIS DE
VECINHO, JOSEPH
VERA Y ALARCON, LOPE DE
VIDAL, CRESCAS
VIDAL YOM TOV OF TOLOSA
VIEIRA, ANTONIO
VILLAREAL
VIVES, JUAN LUIS
XIMENES DE CISNEROS, FRANCISCO
YOM TOV BEN ABRAHAM ISHBILI (Ritba)
ZACUTO, ABRAHAM BEN SAMUEL
ZARZA, SAMUEL IBN SENEH
ZARZAL (Zarzab), ABRAHAM IBN
ZERAHIAH BEN ISAAC HA-LEVI

8) Switzerland

MAIN SURVEYS
SWITZERLAND

COMMUNITIES
AARGAU
BASLE
BERNE
BIEL
ENDINGEN AND LENGNAU
FRIBOURG
GENEVA
GROCK
LA CHAUX-DE-FONDS
LAUSANNE
LUCERNE
NEUCHÂTEL
SAINT GALL
SCHAFFHAUSEN
ZURICH

BIOGRAPHIES
BAUMGARTNER, WALTER
BERTHOLET, ALFRED
BIBLIANDER, THEODOR
BLOCH, ROLF
BRUNSCHVIG, GEORGES
BURCKHARDT, JOHANN LUDWIG
BUXTORF, JOHANNES (The Elder)
BUXTORF, JOHANNES (The Younger)
COHN
DEUEL, HANS ERWIN
DREIFUSS, RUTH
DREYFUS
DUNANT, JEAN HENRI
FARBSTEIN, DAVID ZEVI
FEIGEL, SIGI
FRAENKEL, JONAS
GAON, NESSIM DAVID
GIVET, JACQUES
GOETSCHEL, JULES
GUGGENHEIM, CAMILLE
GUGGENHEIM, PAUL
GUGGENHEIM-GRUENBERG, FLORENCE
HEILPERIN, MICHAEL ANGELO
HERSCH, JEANNE
HOTTINGER, JOHANN HEINRICH
JEHOUDA, JOSUE
KRONECKER, HUGO
MARTI, KARL
MAYER, SALY
PAULI, WOLFGANG
REICHSTEIN, TADEUS
SAGALOWITZ, BENJAMIN
SCHACHNOWITZ, SELIG
SCHNITZER, ADOLF
STAROBINSKI, JEAN
TEITLER, SAMUEL
ULRICH, JOHANN CASPAR
VARLIN (Guggenheim, Willy)
WINTERSTEIN, ALFRED
ZIMMERLI, WALTHER

f. Eastern Europe

1) Bulgaria, Albania & Armenia

MAIN SURVEYS
ALBANIA
ARMENIA
BULGARIA
BULGARIAN LITERATURE

COMMUNITIES
ARDASHIR
DURAZZO
KOLAROVGRAD

I. HISTORY

B. MEDIEVAL & MODERN PERIOD

2. Regional History

f. Eastern Europe

1) Bulgaria, Albania & Armenia

Communities (*continued*)

KYUSTENDIL
NIKOPOL (Nikopolis)
PLEVEN (Plevna)
PLOVDIV
RUSE
SAMOKOV
SOFIA
STARA ZAGORA
VALONA
VARNA
VIDIN

Biographies
BELEV, ALEXANDER
CANETTI, ELIAS
HERBST, KARL
KALEF, YEHOSHUA
PETROV, VALERY
ROMANO, MARCO
ROSANES, SOLOMON ABRAHAM
SARAH OF TURNAVO
WAGENSTEIN, ANGEL

2) Czechoslovakia

Main Surveys
CZECHOSLOVAKIA
CZECHOSLOVAK LITERATURE

General Entries
ABRAHAMITES
AFIKE JEHUDA
BAR KOCHBA ASSOCIATION
ČECHU-ŽIDU, SVAZ
CZECH MEMORIAL SCROLLS, THE
FAMILIANTS LAWS (Familiantengesetze)
GESELLSCHAFT DER JUNGEN HEBRAEER
HILSNER CASE
KULTUSVEREIN
LANDESJUDENSCHAFT, BOEHMISCHE
POLITISCHE GEMEINDE
SELBSTWEHR
SLANSKY TRIAL
ŽIDOVSKÁ STRANA

Communities
ALISTAL
AUSTERLITZ
BANSKA BYSTRICA
BARDEJOV
BECHYNE (Bechin)
BENEŠOV (Beneschau)
BOHEMIA
BOSKOVICE (Boskowitz)
BRANDYS NAD LABEM
BRATISLAVA
BRECLAV
BREZNICE
BRNO
BUCOVICE
BUDYNE NAD OHRI
BZENEC
CARLSBAD
ČESKA LÍPA
ČESKÉ BUDÉJOVICE
CHEB
CHODOVA PLANA
CHOMUTOV
DOLNI KOUNICE
DOLNI KUBIN
DUNAJSKA STREDA
GALANTA
GOLCUV JENIKOV
HERMANUV MESTEC
HLOHOVEC
HODONIN
HOLESOV
HRANICE
HROZNETIN
HUMENNE
HUNCOVCE
IVANCICE
JABLONEC NAD NISOU
JEMNICE
JEVICKO
JIHLAVA
JINDRICHUV HRADEC
KADAN
KASEJOVICE
KLATOVY (Klattau)
KOJETIN (Kojetein)
KOLIN
KOLODEJE NAD LUZICI
KOMARNO
KOSICE
KOSOVA HORA
KROMERIZ
KYJOV
LAZNE KYNZVART
LIBEREC
LIPNIK NAD BECVOU
LIPTOVSKY MIKULAS
LITOMERICE
LOSTICE
LOUNY
LUCENEC
LUKA
MARIENBAD
MICHALOVCE
MIKULOV
MIROSLAV
MLADA BOLESLAV
MORAVIA (Morava)
MORAVSKE BUDEJOVICE

MORAVSKY KRUMLOV
MOST
NACHOD
NITRA
NOVE MESTO NAD VAHOM
NOVE ZAMKY
NOVY BOHUMIN
NOVY BYDZOV
NOVY JICIN
OLOMOUC (Olmuetz)
OPAVA
OSOBLAHA
PEZINOK
PIESTANY
PILSEN
POBEZOVICE NA SUMAVE
POHORELICE (Pohrlitz)
POLNA
PRAGUE
PRESOV
PROSTEJOV
ROUDNICE NAD LABEM
SLOVAKIA
SOBEDRUHY
TABOR
TACHOV (Tachau)
TEPLICE (Teplice-Sanov)
TOPOLCANY
TREBIC (Trebitsch)
TRENCIN (Trencsin)
TREST
TRNAVA
TURNOV
UDLICE
UHERSKE HRADISTE
UHERSKY BROD
USOV
USTEK
USTI NAD LABEM
VOTICE
YEDINTSY
ZATEC

Biographies

ABELES, SIMON (Simele)
ASKENAZY, LUDVIK
BAK
BASS, SHABBETAI BEN JOSEPH
BASSEVI OF TREUENBERG (Treuenburg), JACOB
BAUM, OSCAR
BEER, SAMUEL FRIEDRICH
BERGEL, JOSEPH
BONDY, BOHUMIL (Gottlieb)
BONDY, FILIP
BONN, HANUS
BOR, JOSEF
BRECHER, GIDEON
BRETHOLZ, BERTHOLD
BROD, MAX
CZECH, LUDWIG
DAGAN, AVIGDOR
D'ELVERT, CHRISTIAN RITTER VON
DEMETZ, PETER
DEUTSCH, ALADAR
DOBRUSCHKA, MOSES
DOBRUSCHKA-SCHOENFELD
DOSTAL, ZENO
EDELSTEIN, JACOB
EHRENFELD, NATHAN
EIDLITZ, LEOPOLD
EISLER, EDMUND MENAHEM
EISLER, MORITZ
EISNER, PAVEL (Paul)
ELIEZER BEN ISAAC
ELIJAH OF PRAGUE
FEDER, RICHARD
FEIGL, BEDRICH (Friedrich)
FEUERSTEIN, BEDRICH
FIRT, JULIUS
FISCHER
FISCHER, CAROLUS (Karl)
FISCHER, OTOKAR
FLEISCHMANN, GISI
FORMAN, MILOS
FRANKL-GRUEN, ADOLF ABRAHAM
FRIEDER, ARMIN
FRITTA
FRÝD, NORBERT (Nora)
FUCHS, ALFRED
GAL, FEDOR
GALSKY, DESIDER
GELLNER, FRANTIŠEK
GLASER, EDUARD
GOLDFLAM, ARNOST
GOLDSTEIN, ANGELO
GOLDSTUECKER, EDUARD
GOTTLIEB, FRANTIŠEK
GROSMAN, LADISLAV
GRUENWALD, MORITZ
GUTFREUND, OTTO
GUTTMANN, ROBERT
HAAS, HUGO
HAAS, LEO
HAAS, SOLOMON BEN JEKUTHIEL KAUFMANN
HELLER, YOM TOV LIPMANN BEN NATHAN HA-LEVI
HOCK, SIMON (Sinai)
HOFFMANN, CAMILL
HOSTOVSKY, EGON
ILLOWY (Illovy)
JACOB BEN ABRAHAM SOLOMON
JACOBUS APELLA VICEDOMINUS
JAKOBOVITS, TOBIAS
JAKOBSON, ROMAN
JEITELES
JELLINEK, HERMANN
JOEL, RAPHAEL
JOSEPH BEN ISAAC HA-LEVI
JUSTITZ, ALFRED
KAFKA, BRUNO ALEXANDER

I. HISTORY

B. MEDIEVAL & MODERN PERIOD

2. Regional History

f. Eastern Europe

2) Czechoslovakia

Biographies (*continued*)

KAFKA, FRANTIŠEK
KAFKA, FRANZ
KAHN, FRANZ
KAPPER, SIEGFRIED (Vitezslav)
KARA, MENAHEM BEN JACOB
KAREL, RUDOLF
KARPELES, GUSTAV (Gershon)
KAUDER, SAMUEL JUDAH BEN DAVID
KISCH
KISCH, EGON ERWIN
KISCH, GUIDO
KLEMPERER, GUTMANN (Gumper)
KLIMA, IVAN
KNIEZA, EMIL
KOHEN
KOHN, JINDRICH
KOHN, SALOMON
KOHN, THEODOR
KOLMAN, ARNOST (Ernest)
KORNFELD, AARON BEN MORDECAI BAER
KRAUS, FRANTIŠEK R.
KRAUS, IVAN
KRAUS, OSKAR
KRAUS, OTA
KUGEL, HAYYIM
KUH, DAVID
KULKA, ERICH
LANDAU, MOSES
LANDSOFER, JONAH BEN ELIJAH
LANGER, FRANTIŠEK
LANGER, JIŘÍ MORDECHAI
LAUB, GABRIEL
LEDA, EDUARD
LEDERER, ABRAHAM
LEDERER, FRANCIS
LICHTENSTADT, ABRAHAM AARON
LICHTENSTADT, BENJAMIN WOLF BEN JUDAH
LIEBEN, KOPPELMANN
LIEBEN, SALOMON
LIEBEN, SALOMON HUGO
LISTOPAD, FRANTIŠEK
LOEBL, EUGEN
LOEW-BEER
LOEWENSTEIN, NATHAN
LOEWISOHN, SOLOMON
LONDON, ARTUR
LUSTIG, ARNOST
MAHLER, ARTHUR
MARGULIES, EMIL
MASARYK, JAN GARRIGUE
MASARYK, THOMAS GARRIGUE
MEISEL, MORDECAI (MARCUS, MARX) BEN SAMUEL
MILLER, MARTIN RUDOLF
MUELHAUSEN, YOM TOV LIPMANN
MUSIL, ALOIS
OLBRACHT, IVAN
ORNEST, OTA
ORTEN, JIŘÍ
OSTRAVA
PASCHELES, WOLF
PAVEL, OTA
PETHAHIAH OF REGENSBURG
PETSCHEK
PICK, JIRI ROBERT
PLACZEK, ABRAHAM
POLAČEK, KAREL
POLAK, JACOB EDUARD
POPPER
PREMYSL OTTOKAR II
PROSTITZ, ISAAC BEN AARON
QUETSCH, SOLOMON
RAKOUS, VOJTECH
RETI, RICHARD
ROTTOVA, INNA
RUDOLF II
RUFEISEN, JOSEPH
SALUS, HUGO
SCHMOLKA, MARIE
SCHORSCH, GUSTAV
SHAHOR
SICHER, GUSTAV
SIDON, KAROL EFRAIM
SIMONE, ANDRE
SINGER, LUDVIK
SPIEGEL, LUDWIG
SPITZER, JURAJ
STEIN, AUGUST
STEINER, HANNAH
STEINER-PRAG, HUGO
STEINHERZ, SAMUEL
STRANSKY, JAROSLAV
SZOBEL, GEZA
TELLER, ISSACHAR BAER
TEWELES, JUDAH
THIEBERGER, FRIEDRICH
TIGRID, PAVEL
TREBITSCH, ABRAHAM
UHDE, MILAN
UTITZ, EMIL
VOGEL, KAREL
VOHRYZEK, JOSEF
VOSKOVEC, GEORGE
VRCHLICKY, JAROSLAV
WEBER, KOLOMAN
WEIL, JIŘÍ
WEINBERGER, JAROMIR
WEINER, RICHARD
WEINMANN, JACOB
WEISS, JIŘÍ
WESSELY, WOLFGANG
WINTER, GUSTAV
ZELENKA, FRANTIŠEK
ZEYER, JULIUS

ZIDEK, PAVEL

3) Greece

Main Surveys

GREECE
GREEK LITERATURE, MODERN

General Entries

ROMANIOTS

Communities

ARTA
ATHENS
CANEA
CHALCIS
CHIOS
CORFU
CORINTH
CRETE
CUOMOTINI
CYPRUS
DIDYMOTEIKHON (Didymotica)
DRAMA
EPIRUS
IOANNINA
KASTORIA
KAVALLA
KORONE
KOS
LARISSA
MODON
NAUPAKTOS
PATRAS
PHLORINA
RETHYMNON
RHODES
SALONIKA
SERRAI
SPARTA
THEBES
TRIKKALA (Trikala)
VEROIA
VOLOS
XANTHI
ZANTE

Biographies

AFIA, AARON
ALHANATI, DAVID
ALMOSNINO, MOSES BEN BARUCH
ARDITI, ALBERT JUDAH
BALBO, MICHAEL BEN SHABBETAI COHEN
BELLELI, LAZARUS MENAHEM
BEN-AROYA, AVRAHAM
BENSANCHI, MENTESH (Mordecai)
CAIMIS, JULIUS
CAIMIS, MOISIS
DALVEN, RACHEL
ELAZAR, YAAKOV
ELIYIA, JOSEPH
ESTROSA, DANIEL
FRANCO, MOSES
HAYYIM (Ben) SHABBETAI (Maharhash)
IBN ARDUT, HAYYIM JOSEPH BEN AZRIEL HA-KOHEN
IBN YAHYA, GEDALIAH BEN TAM
ISTRUMSA (Istrusa), HAYYIM ABRAHAM
JABEZ
JOSEPH DAVID (Salonika)
KALA'I, MORDECAI BEN SOLOMON
KAPUZATO, MOSES HA-YEVANI
KORETZ, ZVI
LEVI, ABRAHAM BEN JOSEPH
LEVI (Bet ha-Levi), ISAAC BEN SOLOMON
LEVI, JACOB BEN ISRAEL
LEVI (Bet ha-Levi), SOLOMON BEN ISAAC
LEVI, SOLOMON BEN ISAAC (II)
MAESTRO, YAAKOV
MALKHI, EZRA BEN RAPHAEL MORDECAI
MATSAS, JOSEPH
MATSAS, NESTORAS
MOISSIS, ASHER
MOLHO, ISAAC RAPHAEL
MOTAL, ABRAHAM BEN JACOB
NEHAMA, JOSEPH
NOVITCH, MIRIAM
PERAHYAH, AARON BEN HAYYIM ABRAHAM HA-KOHEN
PERAHYAH, HASDAI BEN SAMUEL HA-KOHEN
QUERIDO, JACOB
RAZON, JACKO
RECANATI, ABRAHAM SAMUEL
RECANATI, LEON
ROMANUS I LECAPENUS
SALEM, EMMANUEL RAPHAEL
SCHIBY, BARUCH
SCIAKI, JOSEPH
TEKINALP, MUNIS (Kohen, Moiz)
ZARCO, JUDAH

4) Hungary

Main Surveys

HUNGARIAN LITERATURE
HUNGARY

General Entries

ARROW CROSS PARTY
BEN CHANANJA
EGYENLOSEG
IZRAELITA MAGYAR IRODALMI TÁRSULAT (IMIT)
LANDESRABBINERSCHULE
MAGYAR ZSIDO SZEMLE
MULT ÉS JÖVÖ
PRAEFECTUS JUDAEORUM
STATUS QUO ANTE
UJ KELET

Communities

ABONY

I. HISTORY

B. MEDIEVAL & MODERN PERIOD

2. Regional History

f. Eastern Europe

4) Hungary

Communities (*continued*)

ALBERTI-IRSA
ASZOD
BAJA
BALASSAGYARMAT
BÉKÉSCSABA
BELED
BERETTYÓUJFALU
BODROGKERESZTUR
BONYHAD
BUDAPEST
DEBRECEN
EGER
ESZTERGOM
GYONGYOS
GYOR
HODMEZOVASARHELY
KAPOSVAR
KECSKEMET
KISVARDA
KOSZEG
MAKO
MISKOLC
NAGYKANIZSA
NYIREGYHAZA
PAKS
PAPA
PECS
PESTSZENTERZSEBET
SATORALJA UJHELY
SOPRON
SZEGED
SZEKESFEHERVAR
SZOLNOK
SZOMBATHELY
TISZAESZLAR
VAC
VESZPREM

Biographies

ACSÁDY, IGNÁC
ACZÉL, TAMÁS
ADAM, LAJOS (Louis)
ADLER, MORITZ
ÁGAI, ADOLF
AKIVA BEN MENAHEM HA-KOHEN OF OFEN
ALCONIÈRE, THEODORE
AMIGO
AUER, LEOPOLD
BACHER, WILHELM
BAKY, LASZLO
BALÁZS, BÉLA
BALLAGI, MOR
BÁNÓCZI
BARACS, KÁROLY
BARNA, VICTOR
BATO, LUDWIG YOMTOV
BAUMGARTEN, SANDOR
BAUMHORN, LIPOT
BECK, KARL ISIDOR
BECK, WILLY
BENJÁMIN, LÁSZLO
BEREGI, ARMIN BENJAMIN
BEREGI, OSZKAR
BÉRENY, RÓBERT
BERNSTEIN, BELA
BETTELHEIM
BETTELHEIM, SAMUEL
BIHARI, ALEXANDER
BIRÓ, LAJOS
BLAU, LUDWIG LAJOS
BLUM, AMRAM BEN ISAAC JACOB
BOHM, HENRIK
BOKROS-BIRMAN, DEZSÖ (Desiderius)
BRAND, JOEL JENÖ
BREYER, JULIUS (Gyula)
BROD, DOVIDL
BRÓDY, HEINRICH (Hayyim)
BRÓDY, LÁSZLÓ
BRÓDY, LILI
BRÓDY, SÁNDOR
BRÓDY, ZSIGMOND
BRUCK, LAJOS
BRUCK, MIKSA
BUECHLER, ALEXANDER
CHAROUSEK, RUDOLPH
CHORIN, AARON
CSERGÓ, HUGO
CSERMELY, GYULA
CZOBEL, BELA
DEAK, FERENCZ
DENES, BELA
DÉRY, TIBOR
DEUTSCH, DAVID BEN MENAHEM MENDEL
DEUTSCH, ELIEZER HAYYIM BEN ABRAHAM
DEUTSCH, JUDAH JOEL
DÓCZY, LAJOS
DUKES, LEOPOLD (Judah Loeb)
DUSCHINSKY, JOSEPH ZEVI BEN ISRAEL
EGER, SIMHAH BUNIM BEN MOSES
EHRENFELD
EHRENFELD, SAMUEL BEN DAVID ZEVI
EHRENREICH, HAYYIM JUDAH BEN KALONYMUS
EINHORN, IGNAZ
EISLER, MATYAS
ELEK, ARTUR
EMÓD, TAMAS
ENDRE, LASZLO
ENGEL, JOZSEF
ENGELMANN, GABRIEL
EÖTVÖS, BARON JÓZSEF
EPPLER, SANDOR
FALK, MIKSA
FALUDY, GYÖRGY

FEJÉR, LEOPOLD
FEJTÖ, FRANÇOIS
FELEKY, GÉZA
FENICHEL, SAMUEL
FÉNYES, ADOLF
FENYŐ, LÁSZLÓ
FENYŐ, MIKSA
FERENCZI, SÁNDOR
FISCHER, ANNIE
FISCHER, GYULA
FISCHER, MORITZ VON
FLEISCHER, JUDAH LOEB
FÖLDES, JOLÁN
FRANKEL, LEO
FRANKL, ADOLF
FRENK, BEER (Issachar Dov)
FREUND, VILMOS
FRIED, AARON
FRIEDMAN, DÉNES
FRIEDMANN, ABRAHAM
FRIEDMANN, MORITZ
FUCHS, MOSES ZEVI
FUST, MILAN
GÁBOR, ANDOR
GÁBOR, IGNÁC
GELLÉRI, ANDOR ENDRE
GELLÉRT, OSZKÁR
GERÖ, ERNÖ
GISZKALAY, JÁNOS
GLASNER, MOSES SAMUEL
GLUECK, ABRAHAM ISAAC
GOITEIN, BARUCH BENEDICT
GOLDBERGER, IZIDOR
GOLDZIHER, IGNAZ (Isaac Judah)
GRISHABER, ISAAC
GROSS, HEINRICH (Henri)
GRUENFELD, JUDAH
GRUENHUT, ELEAZAR (Lazar)
GRUNVALD, PHILIP (Fulop)
GRUNWALD, AMRAM
GRUNWALD, JUDAH
GUENZLER, ABRAHAM
GUTTMANN, MICHAEL (Mihály)
HAJDU, MIKLOS
HAJNAL, ANNA
HAJÓS, ALFRÉD
HATVANY-DEUTSCH
HAVAS, GÉZA
HÁY, GYULA (Julius)
HAZAI, SAMU
HEGEDÜS, ARMIN
HELLER, BERNAT
HELLER, JUDAH
HELTAI, JENŐ
HERTZKA, THEODOR
HEVESI, LAJOS (Ludwig)
HEVESI, SÁNDOR
HEVESI, SIMON
HIRSCHLER, IGNAC
HIRSCHLER, PÁL
HOROVITZ, LEOPOLD
HOROWITZ, SHRAGA FEIVEL HA-LEVI
HUGÓ, KÁROLY
IGNOTUS, HUGÓ
ILLÉS, BÉLA
ISTOCZY, GYÖZÖ
IVANYI-GRUNWALD, BÉLA
JAKAB, DEZSŐ
JAMBOR, FERENC-IOSEF
JÁSZI, OSZKÁR
JEREMIAH BEN ISAAC
JOAB BEN JEREMIAH
JONATHAN BEN JACOB
JOSEPH SOLOMON ZALMAN BEN MEIR
JUNGREIS, ASHER ANSHEL
KACZÉR, ILLÉS
KÁDAR, JÁN
KAHANA, JEHIEL ZEVI BEN JOSEPH MORDECAI
KAHANA, NAHMAN
KARÁCSONY, BENÖ
KARDOS, ALBERT
KARDOS, LÁSZLÓ
KARINTHY, FERENC
KÁRMÁN, MÓR
KATZ, MENAHEM
KAUFMANN, ISIDOR
KECSKEMÉTI, ÁRMIN
KECSKEMÉTI, GYORGY
KECSKEMÉTI, LIPOT
KELEN, IMRE
KELETI, ÁGNES
KEMÉNY, SIMON
KERTÉSZ, ANDRE
KERTÉSZ, IMRE
KERTÉSZ, ISTVAN
KESZI, IMRE
KISS, JÓZSEF
KITTSEE, HAYYIM BEN ISAAC
KITTSEE, JEHIEL MICHAEL BEN SAMUEL
KLEIN, MORITZ
KLEIN, SAMUEL SHMELKA
KLEIN, WILHELM
KÓBOR, TAMÁS
KOHLBACH, BERTALAN
KOHN, SAMUEL
KOHUT
KOMÁROMI CSIPKÉS, GYÖRGY
KOMLÓS, ALADÁR
KOMOLY, OTTÓ
KOMOR, ANDRAS
KONRÁD, GYÖRGY
KÖRMENDI, FERENC
KORNFELD, ZSIGMOND
KOSSUTH, LAJOS
KRAUSS, JUDAH HA-KOHEN
KRAUSZ, ZSIGMOND
KUN, BÉLA
KUNFI, ZSIGMOND
KUNSTADT, ISAAC (Ignaz) BEN ELIEZER LIPMAN
LAJTA, BÉLA

I. HISTORY

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4) Hungary

BIOGRAPHIES (*continued*)

LAKATOS, LÁSZLÓ
LÁNCZY, GYULA
LÁNCZY, LEÓ
LANDAU, NATHAN
LASZLO, PHILIP ALEXIUS DE LOMBOS
LEIMDOERFER, DAVID
LENGYEL, JÓZSEF
LENGYEL, MENYHÉRT (Melchior)
LENKEI, HENRIK
LÉVAI, JENÖ
LICHTENSTEIN, HILLEL BEN BARUCH
LOEW, IMMANUEL
LOEW, LEOPOLD (Lipot)
LOEWENTHAL, JOHANN JAKOB
LOEWINGER, DAVID SAMUEL
LOEWY, ISAAC
LUKÁCS, GEORG (Gyorgy)
MAHLER, EDUARD
MAJOR, ERVIN
MAKAI, EMIL
MALNAI, BELA
MARCZALI, HENRIK
MARKOVITS, RODION (Jakab)
MARTON, ERNÖ JECHEZKEL
MENDEL
MÉRAY, TIBOR
MEZEI, MÓR
MEZEY, FERENC
MEZŐFI, VILMOS
MODERN, JUDAH
MOHÁCSI, JENÖ
MOHOLY-NAGY, LÁSZLÓ
MOLNÁR, ÁKOS
MOLNÁR, FERENC
MUENZ, MOSES BEN ISAAC HA-LEVI
MUNKÁCSI, BERNÁT
MUNKÁCSI, ERNÖ
NAGY, ENDRE
NAGYBACZONI-NAGY, VILMOS
NAMÉNYI, ERNEST (Ernö)
NATONEK, JOSEPH
NÉMETH, ANDOR
ÓNODY, GÉZA
ORMÓDY, BERTALAN
OSVÁT, ERNÖ
PALÁGYI, LAJOS
PALÁGYI, MENYHERT (Melchior)
PAP, KÁROLY
PATAI, JÓZSEF
PÉCHI, SIMON
PERLES, ISAAC MOSES
PERLMUTTER, IZSAK
PLAUT, HEZEKIAH FEIVEL
POLLAK, MIKSA
POLLAK, MOSES HA-LEVI
QITTNER, ZSIGMUND
RADNÓTI, MIKLOS
RADÓ, ANTAL
RÁKOSI, MÁTYÁS
RAPOPORT, BENJAMIN ZEEV WOLF HA-KOHEN BEN ISAAC
REICH, IGNAC
REICH, KOPPEL (Jacob)
REICHARD, PIROSKA
RÉVÉSZ, BÉLA
REVICZKY, IMRE
RICHTMANN, MOZES
RÓNAI, JÁNOS
ROSENBAUM, MOSES HAYYIM LITS
ROSENTHAL, NAPHTALI
RÓZSAVÖLGYI, MÁRK
SALAMON, ERNO
SÁNDOR, PÁL
SCHEIBER, ALEXANDER
SCHICK, MOSES BEN JOSEPH
SCHILLER-SZINESSY, SOLOMON MAYER
SCHIPER, IGNACY (Yizhak)
SCHLESINGER, AKIVA JOSEPH
SCHOENFELD, JOSEPH
SCHREINER, MARTIN (Mordechai)
SCHWAB, LÖW
SCHWARTZ, ABRAHAM JUDAH HA-KOHEN
SCHWARTZ, JOSEPH HA-KOHEN
SCHWARTZ, PHINEHAS (Pinhas) SELIG HA-KOHEN (Sigmund)
SCHWEITZER, EDUARD VON
SCHWERIN-GOETZ, ELIAKIM HA-KOHEN
SEIBER, MÁTYÁS GYÖRGY
SHAG, ABRAHAM
SIDON, SIMEON
SILBERSTEIN, DAVID JUDAH LEIB
SILBERSTEIN-ÖTVÖS, ADOLF
SIMON, JOSEPH
SIMON, TAMÁS
SINGER, ABRAHAM
SINGER, JOSEPH
SINGER, PESAH
SOMLYÓ, ZOLTÁN
SOMOGYI, BELÁ
SONNENFELD, SIGISMUND
SPIRO, GYÖRGY
STEIN, ELIEZER LIPMAN
STERN, JOSEPH
STERN, MENAHEM
STERN, SAMUEL MIKLOS
SZABÓ, IMRE
SZABOLCSI, BENCE
SZABOLCSI, LAJOS
SZABOLCSI, MIKSA
SZALASI, FERENC
SZÁNTÓ, GYÖRGY
SZÁNTÓ, SIMON
SZEKELY, EVA

SZENDE, PÁL
SZENDE, STEFAN
SZENES, BÉLA
SZENES, ERZSI
SZENES, HANNAH
SZÉP, ERNŐ
SZERB, ANTAL
SZERENCSÉS, IMRE (Fortunatus)
SZILÁGYI, GÉZA
SZILARD, LEO
SZOMORY, DEZSŐ
SZTÓJAY, DÖME
TABAK, SOLOMON LEIB
TABOR (Tabori), PAUL
TABORI, GEORGE
TENNENBAUM, JACOB
TURÓCZI-TROSTLER, JÓZSEF
UJVÁRI, PETER
ULLMANN, ADOLPH
ULMAN, ABRAHAM
UNGAR, JOEL OF RECHNITZ
VADÁSZ, LIPÓT
VÁGÓ, JÓZSEF
VÁGÓ, LÁSZLÓ
VALYI, PETER
VAMBERY, ARMINIUS (Vamberger, Hermann)
VÁNDOR, LAJOS
VÁRNAI, ZSENI
VAS, ISTVÁN
VÁZSONYI, VILMOS
VEIGELSBERG, LEO
VENETIANER, LAJOS (Ludwig)
VÉSZI, ENDRE
VÉSZI, JOZSEF
VIHAR, BÉLA
VOGEL, SIMON
WAHRMANN, ISRAEL
WAHRMANN, MORITZ
WEINER, LEO
WEISS, JOSEPH MEIR
WEISS, MANFRED
WEISZ, MAX
WELLESZ, JULIUS
WERTHEIMER, EDUARD VON
ZELK, ZOLTAN
ZIEGLER, IGNAZ
ZIPSER, MAJER
ZÖLD, MÁRTON
ZSIGMOND, EDE
ZSOLDOS, JENÖ
ZSOLT, BÉLA

5) Poland

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SAMUEL COMMISSION
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COMMUNITIES
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AUGUSTOW
BEDZIN
BELCHATOW
BELZYCE
BIALA
BIALA PODLASKA
BIALYSTOK
BIELSKO
BIELSK PODLASKI
BILGORAJ
BOCHNIA
BOJANOWO
BRESLAU
BRODY
BRZEG
BRZESC KUJAWSKI
BRZEZINY
BUCHACH
BUSK
BYDGOSZCZ
BYTOM
CHECINY
CHELM
CHMIELNIK
CHORZOW
CHRYZANOW
CIECHANOW
CRACOW
CZESTOCHOWA
DABROWA GORNICZA
DROGOBYCH (Drohobycz)
DZIALOSZYCE (Dzialoshitz)
ELBLAG (Elbing)
GABIN
GALICIA
GDANSK (Danzig)
GLIWICE
GLOGAU
GNIEZNO
GORA KALWARIA
GORLICE
GORZOW WIELKOPOLSKI
GOSTYNIN
GRAJEWO
GREAT POLAND
GRODZISK MAZOWIECKI
GRODZISK WIELKOPOLSKI
GROJEC

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5) Poland

Communities (*continued*)

- HALICZ
- HRUBIESZOW
- INOWROCLAW
- IZBICA LUBELSKA
- JANOW LUBELSKI
- JAROSLAW
- JASLO
- JEDRZEJOW
- JONAVA
- JURBARKAS (Jurburg)
- KALISZ
- KALUSZYN
- KALVARIJA
- KATOWICE
- KAUNAS
- KEDAINIAI
- KELME
- KIELCE
- KLODAWA
- KOCK (Kotsk)
- KOLBERG
- KOLO
- KONIN
- KONITZ
- KONSKIE (Konsk)
- KONSKOWOLA
- KORNIK
- KOZIENICE (Kozenitsy)
- KOZLE
- KRASNIK
- KRASNYSTAW
- KRETINGA
- KROSNO
- KROTOSZYN
- KRYNKI
- KRZEPICE
- KUPISKIS (Kupiskiai; Kupishki)
- KUTNO
- KYBARTAI
- LANCUT
- LASK
- LEBORK
- LECZNA
- LECZYCA
- LEGNICA
- LELOW
- LESKO
- LESSER POLAND
- LESZNO
- LEZAJSK
- LIPNO
- LODZ
- LOMZA (Lomzha; Lomzhe)
- LOSICE (Lositsy)
- LOWICZ
- LUBACZOW
- LUBARTOW
- LUBLIN
- LUBRANIEC
- LUKOW
- LUTOMIERSK
- LYCK
- MAKOW MAZOWIECKI
- MARIJAMPOLE
- MEMEL
- MIEDZYRZEC PODLASKI
- MIELEC
- MINSK MAZOWIECKI
- MLAWA (Mlwa; Mlava)
- NAROL
- NASIELSK
- NOWY DWOR MAZOWIECKI
- NOWY SACZ
- OLESNICA
- OLKUSZ
- OPATOW
- OPOCZNO
- OPOLE LUBELSKIE
- OSTROLEKA (Ostrolenka)
- OSTROW MAZOWIECKA
- OSTROWIEC (Ostrowiec Swietokrzyski)
- OSWIECIM (Auschwitz)
- OTWOCK
- OZORKOW
- PABIANICE
- PANEVEZYS (Panevezhis)
- PARCZEW
- PEREMYSHLYANY
- PIASECZNO
- PINCZOW
- PIOTRKOW (Piotrkow-Trybunalski)
- PLOCK
- PLONSK
- PLUNGE
- POZNAN
- PRZEDBORZ
- PRZEMYSL
- PRZEWORSK
- PRZYSUCHA
- PRZYTYK
- PULAWY
- PULTUSK
- RADOM
- RADOMSKO
- RADYMNO
- RADZYMIN
- RADZYN (Radzyn-Podlaski)
- RASEINIAI
- RAWICZ (Rawitsch)
- ROKISKIS
- ROPCZYCE (Ropshits)

ROZWADOW
RYMANOW
RYPIN
RZESZOW
SAKIAI (Shakyai, Shakay)
SAMBOR
SAMOGITIA
SANDOMIERZ
SANOK
SEDUVA
SIAULIAI
SIEDLCE
SIEMIATYCZE
SIERADZ
SIERPC
SKARZYSKO-KAMIENNA
SKIERNIEWICE
SKUODAS
SOCHACZEW
SOKOLKA
SOKOLOW PODLASKI
SOSNOWIEC (Sosnovets)
SREM
STASZOW
STETTIN
STOPNICA
STRYKOW
SUWALKI
SWIDNICA
SZCZEBRZESZYN
SZCZERCOW
SZYDLOWIEC
TARNOBRZEG
TARNOGROD (Tarnograd)
TARNOW
TAURAGE
TELSIAI (Telshi; Telschen)
TOMASZOW LUBELSKI
TOMASZOW MAZOWIECKI
TORUN
TROKI
TRZCIANKA
TYKOCIN
TYSZOWCE
UKMERGE
UTENA
VILKAVISKIS
VILNA
VIRBALIS
WARSAW
WEGROW
WIELICZKA
WIELUN
WISLICA
WLOCLAWEK
WLODAWA
WODZISLAW
WOLBROM
WOLOMIN
WRONKI
WYSZKOW
WYSZOGROD
ZABLUDOW
ZABRZE
ZAGARE
ZAMBROW (Zambrov)
ZAMOSC
ZARASAI
ZAWIERCIE
ZDUNSKA-WOLA
ZELECHOW
ZELOW
ZGIERZ (Zgerzh)
ZHMERINKA
ZMIGROD NOWY
ZUELZ
ZWOLEN
ZYCHLIN
ZYRARDOW

Organizations
CENTOS
COUNCIL OF FOUR LANDS
COUNCILS OF THE LANDS
ENDECJA (Endeks)
FOLKSPARTEI (POLAND)
GORDONIA
HA-NOAR HA-IVRI-AKIBA
HE-HALUTZ
JEWISH HISTORICAL INSTITUTE, WARSAW
JEWISH SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY
MAHZIKE HADAS
MINORITY BLOC
NARA
OZON
PPS
ROZWOJ
SEJM
SHOMER ISRAEL
TOZ
VILNA TROUPE

Publications
BEOBACHTER AN DER WEICHSEL
CHWILA
HA-ASIF
HA-BOKER
HA-KARMEL
HALICZ
HA-MIZPEH
HAYNT
HA-ZEFIRAH
HA-ZOFEH
IZRAELITA
JAFFE
JEKELES
MOMENT, DER
NASZ PRZEGLAD

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PUBLICATIONS (*continued*)

NOWY DZIENNIK

BIOGRAPHIES

Academic Life

ASKENAZY, SIMON
ATLAS, ELEAZAR
BALABAN, MEIR (Majer)
BISLICHES, MORDECAI LEIB
BODEK, JACOB
BORNSTEIN, HAYYIM JEHIEL
BUBER, SOLOMON
BUCHNER, ABRAHAM
CHAJES, SAUL
CHARNA, SHALOM YONAH
CHATZKELS, HELENE
CHWISTEK, LEON
DEMBITZER, HAYYIM NATHAN
DICKSTEIN, SZYMON
EDELMANN, SIMHAH REUBEN
FEINSTEIN, ARYEH LOEB
FRENK, EZRIEL (Azriel) NATHAN
FRIEDBERG, BERNARD
FRIEDMAN, PHILIP
GLUSK, ABRAHAM ABBA
GOLDBERG, BAER (DOV) BEN ALEXANDER
GOLDBERG, BORIS
GOLDBLUM, ISRAEL ISSER (Isidore)
GOLDENBERG, BAERISH
GORDON, JACOB
HALBERSTAM, SOLOMON (Zalman) HAYYIM
HALEVY, ISAAC
HANDELSMAN, MARCELI
HERSCHBERG, ABRAHAM SAMUEL
HURWITZ, JUDAH BEN MORDECAI HA-LEVI
HURWITZ, PHINEHAS ELIJAH
ILNAE, ELIEZER ISAAC
JAWITZ, ZEEV
KALECKI, MICHAL
KAMENETZKY, ABRAHAM SHALOM
KATZ, BENZION
KATZENELLENBOGEN, ZEVI HIRSH (Naphtali)
KIRSCHBAUM, ELIEZER SINAI
KOTARBINSKA, JANINA
KRESSEL, GETZEL
KROCHMAL, ABRAHAM
KROCHMAL, NACHMAN
LAUTERBACH, ASHER ZELIG
LIPSCHITZ, JACOB HA-LEVI
MAGGID-STEINSCHNEIDER, HILLEL NOAH
MANASSEH BEN JOSEPH OF ILYA
MARK, BERNARD (Berl)
MARK, YUDEL
MICZYNSKI, SEBASTIAN
MIESES, FABIUS
MIESES, MATTHIAS
MOHR, ABRAHAM MENAHEM MENDEL
NUSSBAUM, HILARY (Hillel)
OBERMANN, JULIAN JOEL
PELTIN, SAMUEL HIRSH
PINELES, HIRSCH MENDEL BEN SOLOMON (Shalosh)
PLUNGIAN (Plungiansky), MORDECAI
POSNANSKI
RABBINOWITZ, SAUL PHINEHAS
REICHERSON, MOSES
REIFMANN, JACOB
RUBIN, SOLOMON
SACHS, SENIOR
SCHAFF, ADAM
SCHOENHACK, JOSEPH
SCHORR, JOSHUA HESCHEL
SCHULMAN, KALMAN
SHATZKES, MOSES AARON
SIMCHONI (Simchowitz), JACOB NAFTALI HERTZ
STEIN, EDMUND MENAHEM
TCHERIKOWER, ELIAS
TRUNK, ISAIAH
TUGENDHOLD, JACOB
TYKOCINSKI, HAYYIM
WETTSTEIN, FEIVEL HIRSCH
ZAMENHOF, LUDWIK LAZAR
ZHITLOWSKY, CHAIM

Art

CENTERSZSWER, STANISLAWA
FEUERRING, MAXIMILIAN
GOTTLIEB, MAURYCY
HIRSHENBERG, SAMUEL
PILICHOWSKI, LEOPOLD

Literature

ADALBERG, SAMUEL
BEHR, ISSACHAR FALKENSOHN
BIEGELEISEN, HENRYK
BRANDSTAETTER, ROMAN
BRANDYS, KAZIMIERZ
BRAUN, MIECZYSLAW
BRZECHWA, JAN
DRZEWIECKI, HENRYK
FELD, ISAAC
FELDMAN, WILHELM
GORSKA, HALINA
GRAY, MARTIN
GRYDZEWSKI, MIECZYSLAW
GRYNBERG, HENRYK
HEMAR, MARIAN
HERTZ, BENEDYKT
JASIENSKI, BRUNO
JASTRUN, MIECZYSLAW
JUNOSZA, KLEMENS
KLACZKO, JULIAN (Judah)
LEC, STANISLAW JERZY

LESMIAN, BOLESLAW
MICKIEWICZ, ADAM
MORGENSTERN, SOMA
NOWACZYNSKI, ADOLF
ORZESKOWA (Orzesko), ELIZA
PEIPER, TADEUSZ
ROZEWICZ, TADEUSZ
RUDNICKI, ADOLF
SCHULZ, BRUNO
SLONIMSKI, ANTONI
STANDE, STANISLAW RYSZARD
STERN, ANATOL
STRYJKOWSKI, JULJAN
SZENWALD, LUCJAN
TUWIM, JULIAN
WAT, ALEXANDER
WAZYK, ADAM
WINAWER, BRUNO
WITTLIN, JOZEF
WOROSZYLSKI, WIKTOR
WYGODZKI, STANISLAW

Music
ALTSCHUL, JOSEPH
BERGSON, MICHAEL
SZERMAN, PINCHAS
WEINTRAUB, SOLOMON
WIENIAWSKI, HENRI

Popular Culture
FORD, ALEXANDER
KAMINSKI
KIRSZENSTEIN-SZEWINSKA, IRENA
MOREWSKI, ABRAHAM
POLANSKI, ROMAN
ROTBAUM, JACOB
RUBINSTEIN, AKIVA
SAMBERG, ISAAC (Aizik)
SATZ, LUDWIG
TURKOW

Public & Economic Life
DLUGOSZ, JAN
FEDERBUSCH, SIMON
FORTIS, ABRAHAM ISAAC
GOLDMAN, BERNARD
GORDON, ABRAHAM
GORDON, DAVID
GOTTLIEB, HEINRICH
GOTTLIEB, HIRSCH LEIB
GOTTLIEB, YEHOSHUA
GRABSKI, STANISLAW
GRAEBER, SCHEALTIEL EISIK
GROSS, NATHAN
GROSSER, BRONISLAW
GRUENBAUM, YIZHAK
HARTGLAS, MAXIMILIAN MEIR APOLINARY
HAUSNER, BERNARD
HERSCH, PESACH LIEBMAN
HERZBERG-FRAENKEL, LEO
HIRSCHHORN, SAMUEL
HIRSZOWICZ, ABRAHAM
HOROWITZ, SAMUEL BEN ISAIAH ARYEH LEIB HA-LEVI
JELENSKI, JAN
JOGICHES, LEON
JOSELEWICZ, BEREK
JOSKO
JOZEFOWICZ
KAHNSHTAM, AHARON
KALLIR, MEIER
KATZ-SUCHY, JULIUSZ
KIRSCHBRAUN, ELIJAH
KLUMEL, MEIR
KOLISCHER, HEINRICH
KON, FELIKS
KOPELSON, ZEMAH
KORCZAK, JANUSZ
KORKIS, ABRAHAM ADOLF
KOSCIUSZKO, TADEUSZ
KOVNER, ABBA
KRONENBERG
LACHS, MANFRED
LANDAU, LEIB
LANDAU, SHEMUEL HAYYIM
LEKERT, HIRSCH
LELEWEL, JOACHIM (Ignacy)
LEVIN, YIZAK MEIR
LEWIN, GERSHON
LEWITE, LEON
LEWKO, JORDANIS
LIBER, MARC
LIEBERMAN, HERMAN
LIEBERMANN, AARON SAMUEL
LILIENBLUM, MOSES LEIB
LITAUER, JAN JAKUB
LITWAK, A.
LONDON, SOLOMON ZALMAN BEN MOSES RAPHAEL
LUTOSTANSKI, HYPPOLITE
MAYZEL, MAURYCY
MEISELS, DOV BERUSH
MENAHEM MENDEL BEN ISAAC
MIESIS, JUDAH LEIB
MIKHALEVICH, BEINISH
MILL, JOSEPH SOLOMON (John)
MOJECKI, PRZECLAW
MOND, BERNHARD STANISLAW
MOTKE HABAD
MUSZKAT, MARION (Max)
MUTNIK, ABRAHAM
NACHMANOVICH (Nachmanowicz)
NATANSON, LUDWIK
NEUFELD, DANIEL
ORGELBRAND, SAMUEL
OSTROPOLER, HERSHELE
PAWLIKOWSKI, JOZEF
PESAHSON, ISAAC MORDECAI
PIATTOLI, SCIPIONE
PILSUDSKI, JOZEF

I. HISTORY

B. MEDIEVAL & MODERN PERIOD

2. Regional History

f. Eastern Europe

5) Poland

BIOGRAPHIES

Public & Economic Life (*continued*)

PINES, MEYER ISSER
PLOTNICKA, FRUMKA
POPPER-BOZIAN, WOLF
PORTNOY, JEKUTHIEL (Noah; Yuzef)
POTOCKI, VALENTINE
PROHOVNIK, ABRAHAM
PRYLUCKI, NOAH
PRYLUCKI, ZEVI HIRSCH
PRYSTOR, JANINA
RAKOWSKI, PUAH
RAWNITZKI, YEHOSHUA HANA
REICH, LEON
REINMANN, SALOMON
RINGEL, MICHAEL
ROMM
ROSEN, MATHIAS
ROSENTHAL, PAVEL (Pinhas)
ROSMARYN, HENRYK
ROTENSTREICH, FISCHEL
RUMKOWSKI, CHAIM MORDECHAI
SALZ, ABRAHAM ADOLPH
SAWICKI, JERZY
SCHENIRER (Schnirer), SARAH
SCHRENZEL, MOSES
SCHUSSHEIM, AARON LEIB
SCHWARZBART, ISAAC IGNACY
SHABAD, ZEMAH
SHULMAN, VICTOR
SLAWOJ-SKLADKOWSKI, FELICJAN
SLUCKI, ABRAHAM JACOB
SLUTZKI, DAVID
SMOLAR, HERSH
STAND, ADOLF
STYBEL, ABRAHAM JOSEPH
SUROWIECKI, WAWRZYNIEC
SZER, SEWERYN
SZERESZEWSKI, MOSES DAVID
SZYR, EUGENIUSZ
TAMARES, AARON SAMUEL
TAUBES, LOEBEL
THON, ALBERT
THON, OSIAS (Jehoshua)
TREPPER, LEOPOLD
WEICHERT, MICHAEL
WILENSKY, YEHUDAH LEIB NISAN

Religion

DREYZL, LEAH
EISENSTADT, MEIR (Maharam Esh)
EISENSTADT, MENAHEM ZEVI
ENGEL, JOSEPH BEN JUDAH
ETTINGER, MORDECAI ZE'EV BEN ISAAC AARON SEGAL
EZEKIEL FEIVEL BEN ZE'EV WOLF
FALK, JOSHUA BEN ALEXANDER HA-KOHEN
FEIGENBAUM, ISAAC HA-KOHEN
GESUNDHEIT, JACOB BEN ISAAC
GOMBINER, ABRAHAM ABELE BEN HAYYIM HA-LEVI
HANOKH ZUNDEL BEN JOSEPH
HARIF HA-LEVI
HOROWITZ, ABRAHAM BEN ISAIAH
HOROWITZ, ISAIAH BEN JACOB HA-LEVI
HOROWITZ, PHINEHAS BEN ISRAEL HA-LEVI
HOROWITZ, SARAH REBECCA RACHEL LEAH
ISAAC BEN BEZALEL OF VLADIMIR
ISAAC BEN SAMUEL HA-LEVI
JOEL BEN MOSES GAD
JOSEPH BEN MORDECAI GERSHON HA-KOHEN OF CRACOW
JOSEPH BEN MOSES OF KREMENETS
JOSEPH BEN MOSES PHINEHAS
JOSEPH SAMUEL BEN ZEVI OF CRACOW
JOSHUA HOESCHEL BEN JOSEPH OF CRACOW
JUDAH BEN NISSAN
KAHANA, SOLOMON DAVID
KLEPFISH, SAMUEL ZANVIL
KOWALSKY, JUDAH LEIB
KRENGEL, MENAHEM MENDEL
KRISTIANPOLLER
LEWYSOHN, ABRAHAM
LICHTSTEIN, ABRAHAM BEN ELIEZER LIPMAN
LICHTSTEIN, ABRAHAM JEKUTHIEL ZALMAN BEN MOSES JOSEPH
LIPSCHITZ, SOLOMON ZALMAN
LUBLIN, MEIR BEN GEDALIAH
MAISEL, ELIJAH HAYYIM
MALAKH, HAYYIM BEN SOLOMON
MARGOLIES, ISAAC BEN ELIJAH
MEHLSACK, ELIAKIM BEN JUDAH HA-MILZAHGI
MEISELS, DAVID DOV
MEISELS, DOV BERUSH
MESHULLAM PHOEBUS BEN ISRAEL SAMUEL
MICHAELSON, EZEKIEL ZEVI BEN ABRAHAM HAYYIM
MORDECAI BEN NAPHTALI HIRSCH OF KREMSIER
MOSES BEN ISAIAH KATZ
PERLMUTTER, ABRAHAM ZEVI
PLOTZKI, MEIR DAN OF OSTROVA
POLLACK, JACOB BEN JOSEPH
RAPOPORT, ABRAHAM BEN ISRAEL JEHIEL HA-KOHEN
RAPOPORT, SOLOMON JUDAH LEIB
REIZES (Reizeles)
ROSANES, ZEVI HIRSCH BEN ISSACHAR BERISH

ROZIN (Rosen), JOSEPH
RUBINSTEIN, ISAAC
SAMUEL BEN URI SHRAGA PHOEBUS
SCHMELKES, GEDALIAH BEN MORDECAI
SCHOR, EPHRAIM SOLOMON (THE ELDER) BEN NAPHTALI HIRSCH
SCHORR, MOSES (Mojzesz)
SHALOM SHAKHNA BEN JOSEPH
SHAPIRA, MEIR
SHIFRAH OF BRODY
SHRAGAI, SHLOMO ZALMAN
SIRKES, JOEL
SLONIK, BENJAMIN AARON BEN ABRAHAM
SOCHACZEW, ABRAHAM BEN ZE'EV NAHUM BORNSTEIN OF
TRUNK, ISRAEL JOSHUA
WEINGARTEN, JOAB JOSHUA
ZEMBA, MENAHEM
ZUENZ, ARYEH LEIB BEN MOSES

Science
CALAHORA
DICKSTEIN, SAMUEL
HIRSZFELD, LUDWIK
INFELD, LEOPOLD
MARMOREK, ALEXANDER
PARNAS, YAKUB KAROL
STEINHAUS, HUGO DYONIZY
STERN, ABRAHAM JACOB

6) Romania
MAIN SURVEYS
ROMANIA
ROMANIAN LITERATURE

GENERAL ENTRIES
ADAM
AGRICULTURE
C.D.E. (Comitetul Democratic Evreiesc)
EGALITATEA
HASEFER
IRON GUARD
LUMINA
REVISTA CULTULUI MOZAIC

COMMUNITIES
ALBA IULIA
ARAD
BACAU
BAIA-MARE
BANAT
BARLAD
BENDERY
BEZIDUL NOU
BISTRITA (Bistritz)
BORSA
BOTOSANI
BRAILA
BRASOV
BUCHAREST
BUHUSI
BUKOVINA
BURDUJENI
BUZAU
CAMPULUNG MOLDOVENESC
CAREI
CLUJ
CONSTANTA
CRAIOVA
DARABANI
DEJ
DOROHOI
FAGARAS
FALTICENI
FOCSANI
GALATI (Galatz)
GERTSA
GURA-HUMORULUI
HARLAU
HUSI
IZMAIL
JASSY
KALARASH
KAUSHANY
LUGOJ (Lugos)
MARGHITA (Margit(t)a)
MIHAILENI
MOINESTI
MOLDOVENESC
NASAUD
NASNA
ORADEA (Oradea Mare)
ORSOVA
PASCANI
PIATRA-NEAMT (Piatra)
PLOESTI
RADAUTI (Radautz)
REBREANU
REGHIN (Reghinul Săsesc)
REZINA (Rezinz)
ROMAN
RYSHKANY
SALONTA
SATU-MARE
SEINI
SIBIU
SIGHET
SIMLEUL-SILVANIEI
SIRET
SOROKI (Soroca)
STEFANESTI
SUCEAVA
SULITA
TALMACIU
TARGU-MURES
TELENESHTY (Telenesti)
TIMISOARA
TIRASPOL

I. HISTORY
B. MEDIEVAL & MODERN PERIOD
2. Regional History
f. Eastern Europe
6) Romania
COMMUNITIES (*continued*)

TIRGU NEAMT
TIRGU-FRUMOS
TRANSYLVANIA
TURDA
VAD RASHKOV
VASLUI
VATRA DORNEI
VISEUL DE SUS
ZGURITSA (Zgurita)

BIOGRAPHIES
ADELSTEIN-ROZEANU, ANGELICA
ADERCA, FELIX
ANTONESCU, ION
ANTONESCU, MIHAI
AXELRAD, AVRAM
BALTAZAR, CAMIL
BALLY, DAVICION
BALLY, ISAAC DAVID
BANUŞ, MARIA
BARANGA, AUREL
BARASCH, JULIUS (Judah)
BENADOR, URY
BENJAMIN II (Israel Joseph)
BERLIAND, SHLOMO MEIR
BLANK, MAURICE
BLECHER, MARCEL
BOGDAN, CORNELIU
BONCIU, H.
BRAHAM, RANDOLPH L.
BRAUNER, HARRY
BRESLASU, MARCEL
BROCINER, JOSEPH
CAJAL, NICOLAE
CALIN, VERA
CĂLUGĂRU, ION
CARMILLY-WEINBERGER, MOSHE
CARP, HORIA (Jehoshua)
CARP, PAULA
CASSIAN, NINA
CELAN, PAUL
CILIBI, MOISE
CODREANU, CORNELIU ZELEA
CORNEA, PAUL
COSAŞU, RADU
CROHMALNICEANU OVID S.
CUZA, ALEXANDER C.
DAN, SERGIU
DOBROGEANU-GHEREA, CONSTANTIN
DOMINIC, ALEXANDRU
DORIAN, DOREL
DORIAN, EMIL
DUDA, VIRGIL
EBNER, MEIR (Mayer)
FELLER, SHNEYUR ZALMAN
FERARU, LEON
FILDERMAN, WILHELM
FONDANE, BENJAMIN
FURTUNĂ, ENRIC
GALACTION, GALA
GASTON-MARIN, GHEORGHE
GHELERTER, LUDWIG LITMAN
GRAUR, ALEXANDRU
GRAUR, CONSTANTIN
GRUENBERG, KARL
GURIAN, SORANA
HAIMOVICI, MENDEL
HALEVY, MEYER ABRAHAM
HASKIL, CLARA
HEFTER, ALFRED (Hidalgo)
IACOBESCU, D.
IONESCO, EUGENE
IOSIFESCU, SILVIAN
ISER, JOSIF
ISOU, ISIDORE
JANCO, MARCEL
JUSTER, GEORGE
LAVI, THEODOR
LAZAR, SAMSON
LĂZĂREANU, BARBU
LECCA, RADU
LIPPE, KARPEL
LUCA, B.
LUDO, ISAC IACOVITZ
MAIORESCU, GEORGE TOMA
MAXY, MAX HERMAN
MILIAN, MAXIMIN
MIRODAN, ALEXANDRU
MONDA, VIRGILIU
MUGUR, FLORIN
NEMTEANU, BARBU
NIEMIROWER, JACOB ISAAC
PANĂ, SAŞA
PAUKER, ANA
PELTZ, ISAC
PINELES, SAMUEL
POPPER, JULIUS
PORUMBACU, VERONICA
PROBST-KRAID, RIZA
PSANTIR, JACOB
RELGIS, EUGEN
ROMAN-RONETTI, MOISE
ROSEN, MOSES
RUDICH, MAYER
SAFRAN, ALEXANDER
SAFRAN, BEZALEL ZE᾽EV
SAFRAN, JOSEPH
SAINEANU, LAZAR
SANIELEVICI, HENRIC
SCHWARZFELD
SEBASTIAN, MIHAIL
SEMILIAN, SAVIN SOLOMON
SERBU, IERONIM

SERGHI, CELLA
SEVER, ALEXANDRU
SILVIU, GEORGE
SIMA, HORIA
SOARE, IULIA
SPINA, GERI
STERN, ADOLPHE
STEUERMAN, ADOLF RODION
SULITEANU, GISELA
TELLER, ZEVI LAZAR
TERTULIAN, NICOLAE
TOMA, A.
TRIVALE, ION
TZARA, TRISTAN
VEREA, ADRIAN
VICOL, ADRIAN
VORONCA, ILARIE
WALD, HENRI
WECHSLER, MAX
WEISS, AURELIU
ZISSU, ABRAHAM LEIB

7) Russia & Former Soviet Union

MAIN SURVEYS

RUSSIA
RUSSIAN LITERATURE

GENERAL ENTRIES

AGRICULTURE
ASSIMILATION
CANTONISTS
COSMOPOLITANS
CRIMEAN AFFAIR
DOCTORS' PLOT
DUMA
GERY
HAIDAMACKS
JEWISH STUDIES
KAZYONNY RAVVIN
KHAZARS
KRIMCHAK LANGUAGE
KRIMCHAKS
MAY LAWS
MOUNTAIN JEWS
PALE OF SETTLEMENT
PETROGRAD CONFERENCE
POGROMS
REFUSENIKS
SARKIL

COMMUNITIES

ABKHAZIYA (AUTONOMOUS SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLIC)
ALEKSANDRIYA
ALEKSANDRIYA
ANANYEV
ANAPA
ARCHANGEL
ARMENIA
ARTEMOVSK
ASHKHABAD
ASTRAKHAN
ATAKI
ATIL
AZERBAIJAN
BAKHCHISARAI
BAKU
BALANJAR
BALTA
BAR
BARANOVICHI
BATUMI
BAUSKA
BELARUS
BELAYA TSERKOV
BELGOROD-DNESTROVSKI
BELORUSSIA
BELTSY
BELZ
BERDICHEV
BERDYANSK
BEREGOVO
BERESTECHKO
BEREZA
BEREZHANY
BEREZINO
BEREZOVKA
BERSHAD
BESSARABIA
BIROBIDZHAN
BIRZAI
BIRZULA
BOBROVY KUT
BOBRUISK
BOGUSLAV
BOJAN
BOLEKHOV (Bolechow)
BORISLAV
BORISOV
BRAILOV
BRASLAV
BRATSLAV
BREST-LITOVSK
BRICEVA
BRICHANY
BRYANSK
BUKHARA
BYKHOV
CAUCASUS
CHERKASSY
CHERNIGOV
CHERNOBYL
CHERNOVTSY
CHORTKOV
CHUDNOV
CHUFUT-KALE
COURLAND
CRIMEA
DAUGAVPILS
DAVID-GORODOK

I. HISTORY
B. MEDIEVAL & MODERN PERIOD
2. Regional History
f. Eastern Europe
7) Russia & Former Soviet Union

COMMUNITIES (*continued*)

DERAZHNYA
DERBENT
DISNA
DIVIN
DNEPROPETROVSK
DOKSHITSY (Dokszyce)
DOLGINOVO
DOLINA
DOMBROVENI
DONETSK
DRUYA
DUBNO
DUBOSSARY
DUBROVNO
DUNAYEVTSY
DYATLOVO
ESTONIA
FALESHTY
FEODOSIYA
GADYACH
GAISIN
GEORGIA
GLINYANY
GLUBOKOYE
GLUSSK
GOLOVANEVSK
GOMEL
GORKI
GORODENKA
GORODOK
GORODOK (Grodek Wilenski)
GRODNO
GROZNY
ILINTSY
ILYA
IRKUTSK
IVANOVO
IVYE
IZMAIL
IZYASLAV
JAUNIJELGAVA
JEKABPILS
JELGAVA
KALININDORF
KALINKOVICHI
KALUSH
KAMENETS-PODOLSKI
KAMENKA-BUGSKAYA (Strumilovskaya)
KANEV
KARASUBAZAR
KAZAKHSTAN
KAZAN
KAZATIN
KERCH
KHARKOV
KHERSON
KHMELNIK
KHOREZM
KHOROL
KHOTIN
KHUST
KIEV
KILIYA
KIROVOGRAD (Kirovo)
KISHINEV
KLETSK
KLINTSY
KOBRIN
KOIDANOVO
KOKAND
KOLOMYYA (Kolomea; Kolomyja)
KOMARNO
KONOTOP
KORETS
KOROSTEN
KORSUN-SHEVCHENKOVSKI
KOSOV
KOTOVSKOYE
KOTOVSKOYE
KOVEL
KRASLAVA
KRASNODAR
KRASNOYE
KREMENCHUG
KREMENETS
KRICHEV
KRIVOI ROG
KRIVOYE OZERO
KRUSTPILS
KUBA
KUIBYSHEV
KURSK
KUTY
KYRGYZSTAN
LACHVA (Lachwa)
LATVIA
LEOVO (Leova)
LEPEL
LESHNEV
LETICHEV
LIDA
LIEPAJA
LIOZNO
LIPKANY
LIPOVETS
LITIN
LUBAVICH
LUBNY
LUDZA
LUGANSK
LUTSK
LVOV (Lemberg)
LYADY

LYAKHOVICHI
LYUBOML
MAKAROV
MARCULESTI
MEDZIBEZH (Medzibozh)
MELITOPOL
MERV
MEZHIRECH (Mezhirichi)
MINSK
MIR
MOGILEV
MOGILEV-PODOLSKI
MOLDOVA (Moldavia)
MOLODECHNO
MONASTYRISKA
MOSCOW
MOSTISKA
MOZYR
MSTISLAVL
MUKACHEVO
NADVORNAYA (Nadworna)
NEMIROV
NESVIZH
NEZHIN
NIKOLAYEV
NOVAYA USHITSA
NOVGOROD-SEVERSK
NOVOGRUDOK
NOVOSELITSA
NOVOZYBKOV
NOVY DVOR
NOVY OLEKSINIEC
ODESSA
OLESKO
OLGOPOL
OLYKA
OMSK
ORDZHONIKIDZE
OREL
ORGEYEV (Orhei)
ORSHA
OSHMYANY
OSTROG (Ostraha)
OSTRYNA
OVRUCH
OZERY
PALANGA
PAVLOGRAD
PAVOLOCH
PEREYASLAV-KHMELNITSKI
PERVOMAISK
PINSK
PIRYATIN
POCHEP
PODGAITSY
PODKAMEN
PODOLIA
PODVOLOCHISK (Podwloczyska)
POGREBISHCHENSKI (Pogrebishche)
POLONNOYE
POLOTSK
POLTAVA
PRILUKI
PROSKUROV
PRUZHANY
RADOMYSHL
RADOSHKOVICHI (Radoszkowice)
RADUN
RADZIWILLOW
RECHITSA
REZEKNE (Rezhitsa)
RIGA
ROGACHEV
ROGATIN
ROMNY
ROSTOV
ROVNO
ROZDOL
RUZHANY
SADAGORA
SAMANDAR (Khazar)
SAMARKAND
SARATOV
SARNY
SASOV
SATANOV
SEKIRYANY
SEVASTOPOL
SHARGOROD
SHCHEDRIN
SHEPETOVKA
SHKLOV
SHPOLA
SIBERIA
SIMFEROPOL
SKALAT
SKIDEL
SKOLE
SKVIRA
SLAVUTA
SLONIM
SLUTSK
SMELA
SMOLENSK
SMORGON (Smorgonie)
SNYATYN
SOKAL
STANISLAV
STARODUB
STARO-KONSTANTINOV
STOLBTSY
STOLIN
STOROZHINETS
ST. PETERSBURG
STRY (Stryj)
SUBCARPATHIAN RUTHENIA
SVISLOCH
TADZHIKISTAN
TAGANROG
TALLINN

I. HISTORY

B. MEDIEVAL & MODERN PERIOD

2. Regional History

f. Eastern Europe

7) Russia & Former Soviet Union

COMMUNITIES (*continued*)

TALNOYE
TARNOPOL
TARTU
TARUTINO
TASHKENT
TIFLIS
TLUMACH (Tlumacz)
TOLSTOYE
TOMASHPOL
TOMSK
TORCHIN (Torczyn)
TUCHIN
TUKUMS
TULCHIN
TURKA
TYSMENITSA (Tysmienica)
UFA
UKRAINE
UMAN
UZBEKISTAN
UZHGOROD
VAD RASHKOV
VALEA-LUI-VLAD
VASILKOV
VELIZH
VENTSPILS
VERKHNEUDINSK
VINNITSA
VISHNEVETS
VITEBSK
VIZHNITSA
VLADIMIR VOLYNSKI
VLADIVOSTOK
VOLHYNIA
VOLKOVYSK
VOLOZHIN
VOLPA
VORONEZH
VOZNESSENK
VYSOKOYE
YALTA
YAVOROV
YEFINGAR
YEVPATORIYA
ZABOLOTOV
ZALESHCHIKI
ZAPOROZHE
ZASTAVNA
ZBARAZH
ZBOROV
ZELVA (Zelwa)
ZHDANOV
ZHIDACHOV
ZHITOMIR
ZHMERINKA
ZHOLKVA
ZHURAVNO
ZLATOPOL
ZOLOCHEV
ZOLOTONOSHA
ZVENIGORODKA

ORGANIZATIONS
AM OLAM
ANTI-FASCIST COMMITTEE, JEWISH
BENEI MOSHE
DECEMBRISTS
DEPUTIES OF THE JEWISH PEOPLE
FOLKSPARTEI
HE-HALUTZ
INDEPENDENT JEWISH WORKERS PARTY
JEWISH SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY
JEWISH SOCIETY FOR HISTORY AND ETHNOGRAPHY
KOMZET
NES ZIYYONAH
NEW ISRAEL
OCTOBRISTS
ODESSA COMMITTEE
SOCIETY FOR THE ATTAINMENT OF FULL CIVIL RIGHTS FOR THE JEWISH PEOPLE IN RUSSIA
SOCIETY FOR THE PROMOTION OF CULTURE AMONG THE JEWS OF RUSSIA
UNION OF THE RUSSIAN PEOPLE
UNITED JEWISH SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY
VOZROZHDENIYE
YEKOPO
YEVREYSKI KOMISSARIAT
YEVSEKTSIYA
ZIONIST SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY

PUBLICATIONS
EYNIKEYT
HA-MELIZ
HA-SHILOAH
HA-YOM
MORIAH
RAZSVET
SOVETISH HEYMLAND
VOSKHOD

BIOGRAPHIES

Academic Life
ABRAMOWICZ, DINA
ADMONI, VLADIMIR GRIGORYEVICH
AGURSKY, MIKHAIL
AMUSIN, JOSEPH
ANISIMOV, ILYA SHERBATOVICH
BERLIN, ISRAEL
BERLIN, MOSES
BERSHADSKI, SERGEY ALEXANDROVICH
BOGORAZ, VLADIMIR GERMANOVICH
BORISOV, ANDREY YAKOVLEVICH

BOROVOY, SAUL YAKOVLEVICH
BRAUDO, ALEXANDER ISAYEVICH
BUCHBINDER, NAHUM
CHORNY, JOSEPH JUDAH
CHWOLSON, DANIEL
DEBORIN, ABRAM MOISEYEVICH
DUBNOW, SIMON
EDELMANN, ZEVI HIRSCH
ELKIND, ARKADI DANILOVICH
FRANK, SEMYON LYUDVIGOVICH
GALANT, ELIAHU (IIya) VLADIMIROVICH
GAPONOV, BORIS (Dov)
GINSBURG, SAUL
GOLDSTEIN, SALWIAN
GORDIN, JACOB
GRANDE, BENZION MOISEEVICH
GURLAND, HAYYIM JONAH
HARKAVY, ALBERT (Abraham Elijah)
HERZENSTEIN, MIKHAIL YAKOVLEVICH
HESSEN, JULIUS ISIDOROVICH
HORODEZKY, SAMUEL ABBA
HOROWITZ, HAYYIM DOV
ISRAELSOHN, JACOB IZRAILEVICH
JOCHELSON, VLADIMIR (Waldemar)
KAHANA, DAVID
KATZENELSON, JUDAH LEIB BENJAMIN
KIRZHNITZ, ABRAHAM
KLATZKIN, JACOB
KOIGEN, DAVID
KOKOVTSOV, PAUL KONSTANTINOVICH
LEKHNO, DAVID
LEONTOVICH, FEDOR
LESTSCHINSKY, JACOB
LEVIN (Lefin), MENAHEM MENDEL
LEVIN, MAKSIM GRIGORYEVICH
LEVINSOHN, ISAAC BAER
LIBERMAN, YEVSEY GRIGORYEVICH
LOTMAN, YURI MIKHAILOVICH
LOZINSKI, SAMUEL
LURIA, ALEXANDER ROMANOVICH
LURIA, DAVID BEN JACOB AARON
MAGGID, DAVID
MANDELSTAMM, BENJAMIN
MANDELSTAMM, LEON
MAREK, PESACH (Piotr)
MARGOLIN, MOSES
MARKEL-MOSESSOHN, MIRIAM
MARKON, ISAAC DOV BER
MARSHAK, SAMUEL YAKOVLEVICH
MINOR, SOLOMON ZALMAN (Zalkind)
MITIN, MARK BORISOVICH
NEKLYUDOV, NICOLAI ADRIANOVICH
NEVAKHOVICH, JUDAH LEIB
NIKITIN, VICTOR
ORSHANSKI, ILYA (Elijah) GRIGORYEVICH
OSTROGORSKI, MOSES
PEREFERKOVICH, NEHEMIAH
PINSKER, SIMHAH
POSENER, SOLOMON
RABINOVICH, YEHUDAH LEIB (Leon)
RABINOWITZ, ZEVI HA-COHEN
RAFFALOVICH, ARTHUR GERMANOVICH
RUBINSTEIN, SERGEY LEONIDOVICH
SHESTOV, LEV
SLATKINE, MENAHEM MENDEL
SOLOVIEV, VLADIMIR
SOSIS, ISRAEL
STANISLAVSKY, SIMON JUDAH
STERNBERG, LEV YAKOVLEVICH
SUBBOTIN, ANDREY PAVLOVICH
VARGA, YEVGENI SAMOILOVICH
VINNIKOV, ISAAC N.
VOLYNSKI, AKIM LEVOVICH
VYGOTSKI, LEV SEMYONOVICH
WARSHAWSKY, ISAAC
WEISSENBERG, SAMUEL ABRAMOVICH
WIENER, SAMUEL
WILENSKY, MICHAEL
WUNDERBAR, REUBEN JOSEPH
ZAND, MICHAEL
ZEITLIN (Zeitlis), JOSHUA
ZEITLIN, WILLIAM (Zeev)
ZHIRMUNSKY, VIKTOR MAKSIMOVICH

Art

AIZENBERG, NINA
ALTMAN, NATHAN
ANTOKOLSKI, MARK (Mordecai)
ASKNAZI, ISAAC LVOVICH
AXELROD, MEYER
BAKST, LEON
CHAPIRO, JACQUES
GRILICHES, AVENIR
GUENZBURG, ILYA YAKOVLEVICH
JUDIN, SAMUEL
KAPLAN, ANATOLI LVOVICH
KUZKOVSKI, JOSEPH
LEVITAN, ISAAC ILITCH
LISSITZKY, EL (Lazar)
NEIZVESTNY, ERNST
PAOVLOTZKY, RAUL
PASTERNAK, LEONID OSIPOVICH
PEVSNER, ANTON AND NAUM NEHEMIA (Gabo)
RABIN, OSCAR
RYBACK, ISSACHAR
SEROV, VALENTIN
SOUTINE, CHAIM
TATLIN, VLADIMIR E.
ZHITNITSKI, MARK

Literature

AGURSKY, SAMUEL
AIKHENVALD, YULI ISAYEVICH
AIZMAN, DAVID YAKOVLEVICH
ALDANOV, MARK
ALIGER, MARGARITA YOSIFOVNA
ALTAUZEN, YAKOV MOYSEYEVICH
ANTOKOLSKI, PAVEL GRIGOREVICH
AVERBAKH, LEOPOLD LEONIDOVICH

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BAAZOV, HERZL
BABEL, ISAAC EMMANUILOVICH
BAGRITSKI, EDUARD GEORGIYEVICH
BELINKOV, ARKADII VIKTOROVICH
BELOV, A.
BEN-ADIR
BEN-AMMI, MORDECAI
BILL-BELOTSERKOVSKI, VLADIMIR NAUMOVICH
BOGROV, GRIGORI ISAAKOVICH
BRIK, OSIP MAKSIMOVICH
BRODSKI, YOSIF
BYADULYA-YASAKAR, ZMITROK
CHAKOVSKI, ALEXANDER BORISOVICH
CHERNY, SASHA
DANIEL, M.
DANIEL, YULI MARKOVICH
DOLMATOVSKI, YEVGENI ARONOVICH
DOMALSKY, I.
DUBNOW-ERLICH, SOPHIA
EHRENBURG, ILYA GRIGORYEVICH
EICHENBAUM, BORIS MIKHAILOVICH
FEYGENBERG, RAKHEL
FRIEDLAENDER, SOLOMON JUDAH
FRUG, SHIMON SHMUEL
GALICH, ALEXANDR ARKADYEVICH
GEKHT, SEMEN GRIGOREVICH
GERSHENZON, MIKHAIL OSIPOVICH
GILELS, EMIL GRIGORYEVICH
GINSBURG, EVGENIA SEMIONOVNA
GODINER, SAMUEL NISSAN
GOLODNY, MIKHAIL
GORDON, SHMUEL
GORKI, MAXIM
GORSHMAN, SHIRA
GRANIN, DANIEL ALEKSANDROVICH
GROSSMAN, LEONID PETROVICH
GROSSMAN, VASILI SEMYONOVICH
GUKOVSKY, GRIGORY ALEKSANDROVICH
ILF, ILYA
ILIN, M.
INBER, VERA MIKHAILOVNA
ISBAKH, ALEXANDER ABRAMOVICH
KANNEGISER, LEONID AKIMOVICH
KANOVICH, GRIGORY
KASSIL, LEV ABRAMOVICH
KAVERIN, BENJAMIN ALEKSANDROVICH
KAZAKEVICH, EMMANUIL GENRIKHOVICH
KHODASEVICH, VLADISLAV FELITSIANOVICH
KIPEN, ALEKSANDR ABRAMOVICH
KIRSANOV, SEMYON ISAAKOVICH
KIRSHON, VLADIMIR MIKHAILOVICH
KNUT, DOVID
KOROLENKO, VLADIMIR GALAKTIONOVICH
KOZAKOV, MIKHAIL EMMANUILOVICH
KRYMOV, YURI
KUSHNER, ALEKSANDER SEMENOVICH
LERNER, JOSEPH JUDAH
LESKOV, NIKOLAY SEMYONOVICH
LEVANDA, LEV (Leo; Yehudah Leib) OSIPOVICH
LIBEDINSKI, YURI NIKOLAYEVICH
LIVSHITS, BENEDIKT KONSTANTINOVICH
LUNTS, LEV NATANOVICH
MAMISTABOLOB, ABRAHAM
MANDELSHTAM, NADEZHDA YAKOVLEVNA
MANDELSHTAM, OSIP EMILYEVICH
MINSKI, NIKOLAI MAXIMOVICH
NADSON, SEMYON YAKOVLEVICH
NOTOVICH, OSIP KONSTANTINOVICH
NUSINOV, ISAAC
OSIPOVICH, NAHUM
PARNAKH, VALENTIN YAKOVLEVICH
PASTERNAK, BORIS LEONIDOVICH
RABINOVICH, OSIP ARONOVICH
SELVINSKI, ILYA LVOVICH
SHKLOVSKI, ISAAC VLADIMIROVICH
SLONIM, MARC
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SLUTSKI, BORIS ABRAMOVICH
SOBOL, ANDREY MIKHAILOVICH
SVETLOV, MIKHAIL
SVIRSKI, ALEXEY IVANOVICH
TUR BROTHERS
TYNYANOV, YURI NIKOLAYEVICH
UTKIN, JOSEPH PAVLOVICH
WENGEROFF, PAULINE
WENGEROFF, SEMYON AFANASYEVICH
YAHUDI, YUSUF
YEVTUSHENKO, YEVGENI ALEXANDROVICH
YUSHKEVICH, SEMYON SOLOMONOVICH

Music

ABELIOVICH, LEV MOYSSEYEVICH
ABRASS, OSIAS (Joshua)
ALSHVANG, ARNOLD ALEKSANDROVICH
ARONOVICH, YURI MIKHAYLOVICH
BABIN, VICTOR
BACHMANN, JACOB
BARSHAI, RUDOLPH
BELY, VICTOR ARKADYEVICH (Aronovich)
BEREGOVSKI, MOSHE
BLUMENTHAL, NISSAN,
BRODSKY, ADOLF
BRUSSILOVSKY, YEVGENI GRIGORYEVICH
CHAGY, BERELE
CHERNIAVSKY
DAVYDOV, KARL YULYEVICH
DUNAYEVSKI, ISAAC OSIPOVICH
EIFMAN, BORIS
ENGEL, JOEL (Yuli Dimitriyevich)
GEROVICH, ELIEZER MORDECAI BEN ISAAC
GLIÈRE, REINHOLD MORITZEVICH

GNESIN, MIKHAIL FABIANOVICH
KOGAN, LEONID BORISSOVICH
KROSHNER, MIKHAIL YEFIMOVICH
LAMM, PAVEL ALEKSANDROVICH
LIFSHITZ, NEHAMAH
LITINSKI, GENRIKH ILYICH
MESSERER, ASAF MIKHAILOVICH
MINKOWSKI, PINCHAS
NOWAKOWSKI, DAVID
OISTRAKH, DAVID FEDOROVICH
PANOV, VALERY
PLISETSKAYA, MAYA
RUBINSTEIN, IDA
SLONIMSKY, SERGEI MIKHAILOVICH
SPIVAKOVSKY, TOSSY
STEINBERG, MAXIMILIAN OSSEJEVICH
TSFASSMAN, ALEXANDER NAUMOVICH
VEINBERG, MOISSEY SAMUILOVICH
VEPRIK, ALEXANDER MOISEYEVITCH
WEINBERG, JACOB
ZHITOMIRSKI, ALEXANDER MATVEYEVITCH

Popular Culture
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DONSKOY, MARK SEMENOVICH
EISENSTEIN, SERGEI MIKHAILOVICH
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GOROKHOVSKAYA, MARIA
GRANOVSKY, ALEXANDER
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KALIK, MIKHAIL
KASPAROV, GARY
KORCHNOY, VIKTOR LVOVICH
KRISS, GRIGORY
LEONIDOV, LEONID MIRONOVICH
LOYTER, EFRAIM BARUKHOVICH
MIKHOELS, SOLOMON
MOSCOVITCH, MAURICE
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RAYKIN, ARKADI ISAAKOVICH
RUNITSCH, OSSIP
SLUTSKAYA, IRINA
TAL, MIKHAIL
VERTOV, DZIGA

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ABRAMOVICH, ROMAN ARKADYEVICH
ABRAMOWITZ, GRIGORI
ABRAMOWITZ, RAPHAEL
ACOSTA, JOAN D
ALEXANDER
AMSTERDAM, ABRAHAM MEIR
ARONSON, GRIGORI
ASHANSKI, ABEL-AARON ITSKOVICH
AXELROD, LUBOV
AXELROD, PAVEL BORISOVICH
AZARKH, RAISA MOYSEYEVNA
AZEFF, ZEVNO FISHELEVICH
BAKST, NICOLAI (Noah) IGNATYEVICH
BAKUNIN, MIKHAIL ALEKSANDROYICH
BARATZ, HERMANN (Hirsch)
BARBASH, SAMUEL
BARZILAI, YEHOSHUA
BEILIS, MENAHEM MENDEL
BELKOWSKY, ZEVI HIRSCH (Grigori)
BEREZOVSKY, BORIS ABROMOVICH
BERMANN, VASILI (Ze'ev Wolf)
BERNSTEIN, NATHAN OSIPOVICH
BERNSTEIN-KOGAN (Cohen), JACOB
BIENSTOK, JUDAH LEIB
BIKERMAN, JOSEPH
BLIOKH, IVAN STANISLAVOVICH
BLUMENFELD, EMANUEL
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BOGROV, DMITRI
BONNER, ELENA GEORGIEVNA
BOROCHOV, BER (Dov)
BORODIN, MICHAEL MARKOVITSCH
BRAFMAN, JACOB
BRAMSON, LEON (Leonty)
BRANDT, BORIS (Baruch)
BRAUN, ABRAHAM
BRODSKI
BRUCK, GRIGORI
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BRUTZKUS, JULIUS
BUCHMIL, JOSHUA HESHEL
BULAN
BUNIN, HAYYIM ISAAC
CATHERINE II
CHMIELNICKI, BOGDAN
DAN, FYODOR ILYICH
DASHEWSKI, PINHAS
DENIKIN, ANTON IVANOVICH
DERZHAVIN, GABRIEL ROMANOVICH
DEUTSCH, LEO (Lev Grigoryevich)
DIMANSTEIN, SIMON
DISKIN, CHAIM
DOBIN, SHIMON (Shimoni)
DRAGUNSKI, DAVID ABRAMOVICH
DUBIN, MORDECAI
DUBNOW, ZE'EV
DYMSHYTS, VENIAMIN E.
EFRON, ILYA
EHRLICH, EUGEN
EICHENBAUM (Gelber), JACOB
EISENSTADT, ISAIAH (Isay)
EISMANN, MOSES
ELIASBERG, MORDECAI
ESTHER
FEINBERG, DAVID
FOMIN, YEFIM MOISEYEVICH
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FUENN, SAMUEL JOSEPH
GAMARNIK, YAN BORISOVICH
GELFOND (Gelfand), ALEXANDER LAZAREVICH (Israel)
GERSHUNI, GRIGORI ANDREYEVICH
GOLDBERG, ISAAC LEIB
GOLDBERG, J. B.
GOLDENBERG-GETROITMAN, LAZAR
GOLDENWEISER, ALEXANDER SOLOMONOVICH
GOLDSTEIN, ALEXANDER
GOLITSYN, COUNT NIKOLAI NIKOLAYEVICH
GOTS
GOZHANSKY, SAMUEL
GRULEV, MIKHAIL VLADIMIROVICH
GRUNBERG, ABRAHAM
GRUSENBERG, OSCAR OSIPOVICH
GUENZBURG
GUENZBURG
GUREVICH, MOSHE
GUSEV, SERGEI IVANOVICH
GUSINSKY, VLADIMIR ALEXANDROVICH
HELFMAN, HESSIA MEYEROVNA
HESSEN, JOSEPH VLADIMIROVICH
HORODISCHTSCH, LEON
HOROWITZ, AARON JUDAH LOEB (Leon)
IGNATYEV, COUNT NIKOLAI PAVLOVICH
JASINOWSKI, ISRAEL ISIDORE
JOFFE, ADOLPH ABRAMOVICH
JOSEPH
KAGANOVICH, LAZAR MOISEYEVICH
KAHAN, BARUCH MORDECAI
KAMENEV, LEV BORISOVICH
KATKOV, MIKHAIL NIKIFOROVICH
KATZENELSON, NISSAN
KAUFMAN, AVRAHAM YOSIFOVICH
KHODORKOVSKY, MIKHAIL BORISOVICH
KOL'TSOV, MIKHAIL
KOSSOVSKI, VLADIMIR
KOSTOMAROV, NIKOLAI IVANOVICH
KREININ, MEIR
KREISER, JACOB GRIGORYEVICH
KREMER, ARKADI (Aaron, Alexander)
KRUSHEVAN, PAVOLAKI
KULISHER
KUPERNIK; ABRAHAM
KURSKY, FRANZ
LANDAU, ADOLPH
LANDAU, GREGORY ADOLFOVICH
LARIN, YURI
LASERSON, MAX
LATZKY-BERTHOLDI, JACOB ZE'EV WOLF (Wilhelm)
LENIN, VLADIMIR ILYICH
LESTSCHINSKY, JOSEPH
LEVIN, EMANUEL
LEVIN, SHMARYA
LEVINE, EUGENE
LEVIN-SHATZKES, YIZHAK
LIPMAN, LEVI
LITVINOV, MAXIM MAXIMOVICH
LOZOVSKI, SOLOMON ABRAMOVICH (Dridzo)
LUBARSKY, ABRAHAM ELIJAH
LVOVICH, DAVID
MANDELBERG, AVIGDOR (Victor)
MANDELSTAMM, MAX EMMANUEL
MANEVICH, LEV YEFIMOVICH
MARGOLIN, ARNOLD
MARTOV, JULIUS
MAZEH, JACOB
MEDEM, VLADIMIR
MEISEL, NOAH
MEKHLIS, LEV ZAKHAROVICH
MINOR, OSIP S. (Joseph)
MINTZ, PAUL
MORDOVTSEV, DANIIL LUKICH
MORDVINOV, NICOLAI SEMIONOVICH
MORGULIS, MANASSEH (Mikhail)
MYSH, MICHAEL
NAIDITSCH, ISAAC ASHER
NATANSON, MARK
NEVZLIN, LEONID
NICHOLAS
NISSELOVICH, LEOPOLD (Eliezer)
NOTKIN, NATA
NOVOMEYSKY, MOSHE
NOVOSILTSEV, NICOLAI NIKOLAYEVICH
NUDEL, IDA
NUROCK, MORDECHAI
OBADIAH
OLGIN, MOSHE J.
PASSOVER, ALEXANDER
PAUL I
PERETZ, ABRAHAM
PERGAMENT, OSIP YAKOVLEVICH
PETLYURA, SIMON
PINSKER, LEON (Judah Leib)
PLEHVE, VYACHESLAV KONSTANTINOVICH VON
POBEDONOSTSEV, KONSTANTIN PETROVICH
POLYAKOV
PORTUGALOV, BENJAMIN OSIPOVICH
RADEK, KARL
RAFES, MOSES
RATNER, MARC BORISOVICH
REVUSKY, ABRAHAM
ROSENTHAL, LEON (Judah Leib)
SCHATZ-ANIN, MAX
SCHWARZ, SOLOMON
SHARANSKY, NATAN (Anatoly)

SHEFTEL, MIKHAIL
SHMUSHKEVICH, YAACOV
SILBERFARB, MOSES
SLIOZBERG, HENRY
SLONIMSKI, LEONID ZINOVYEVICH
SPEYER, BENJAMIN
STALIN, JOSEPH VISSARIONOVICH
STEINBERG, ISAAC NAHMAN
STERN, BEZALEL
STERN, GRIGORI
STIEGLITZ
SVERDLOV, YAKOV MIKHAILOVICH
SYRKIN, JOSHUA (Grigory)
SYRKIN, MOSES NAHUM SOLOMONOVICH
TARNOPOL, JOACHIM HAYYIM
TEITEL, JACOB
TEMKIN, ASHER
TIOMKIN, VLADIMIR (Ze'ev)
TROTSKY, LEV DAVIDOVICH
TSHEMERISKI, ALEXANDER (Solomon)
UVAROV, SERGEY SEMYONOVICH
VARSHAVSKI, ABRAHAM
VINAWER, MAXIM
VOZNITSYN, ALEXANDER ARTEMYEVICH
WALDMANN, ISRAEL
WEINRUB, MATVEY
WEINSTEIN, AARON
WEIZMANN
WITTE, SERGEY YULYEVICH, COUNT
YAKIR, YONAH
YAROSLAVSKY, YEMELYAN
ZAK, ABRAM
ZAM, ZVI HERZ
ZASLAVSKY, DAVID
ZEDERBAUM, ALEXANDER
ZEITLIN, HILLEL
ZEMLYACHKA (Zalkind), ROZALIYA SAMOYLOVNA
ZINOVIEV, GRIGORI YEVSEYEVICH
ZLATOPOLSKY, HILLEL
ZUCKERMANN, ELIEZER
ZUNDELEVITCH, AARON

Religion

ABU ʿIMRĀN AL-TIFLĪSĪ
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JEWNIN, ABRAHAM JONAH
LILIENTHAL, MAX (Menahem)
MASKILEISON, ABRAHAM BEN JUDAH LEIB
MOSES OF KIEV
OLSCHWANGER, ISAAC WOLF
RABINOWICH (Rabinowitsch), ELIYAHU AKIVA
ROSEN, JOSEPH BEN ISAAC
SCHLIEFER, SOLOMON
SERL BAS JACOB BEN WOLF KRANZ
SILBERSTEIN, SOLOMON JOSEPH
VOLOZHINER, HAYYIM BEN ISAAC
VOLOZHINER, ISAAC BEN HAYYIM
WIERNIKORSKI, JUDAH
YOFFEY
ZIRELSON, JUDAH LEIB

Science

ABELMANN, ILYA SOLOMOVITCH
ABRAMOWITZ, EMIL
ALFEROV, ZHOREZ I.
BAKST, NICOLAI (Noah) IGNATYEVICH
CYON, ELIE DE
FRANK, ILJA MIKHAILOVICH
FREIDLINA, RAKHIL KHATSKELEVNA
FRENKEL, JACOB ILICH
FROLKIS, VLADIMIR VENIAMIOVICH
FRUMKIN, ALEKSANDR NAUMOVICH
GELFAND, IZRAIL MOISEVICH
GELFOND, ALEKSANDR OSIPOVICH
GINZBURG, VITALY LAZAREVICH
GRINBERG, ALEKSANDER ABRAMOVICH
GUREVICH, MIKHAIL IOSIFOVICH
GURWITSCH, ALEXANDER GAVRILOVICH
JOFFE, ABRAHAM FEODOROVICH
KABACHNIK, MARTIN IZRAILOVICH
KANTOROVICH, LEONID
KAZARNOVSKI, ISAAC ABRAMOVICH
LANDAU, LEV DAVIDOVICH
LIPKIN, YOM TOV LIPMAN
LOEWINSON-LESSING, FRANZ YULYEVICH
MANDELSHTAM, LEONID ISAAKOVICH
PIROGOV, NIKOLAI
RABINOVICH, ISAAK MOSEYEVICH
ROGINSKI, SIMON ZALMANOVICH
SAMOILOVICH, RUDOLPH LAZAREVICH
STERN, LINA SOLOMONOVNA
TALMUD, DAVID L.
TAMM, IGOR YEVGENYEVICH
VEKSLER, VLADIMIR
ZELDOVICH, YAKOV BORISOVICH
ZENKEVICH, LEV ALEKSANDROVICH
ZILBER, LEV ALEKSANDROVICH

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BIOGRAPHIES
ALBAHARI, DAVID
ALBALA, DAVID
ALCALAY, ISAAC
ALKALAI, DAVID
ALKALAJ, ARON
BARUH, BORA
BIHALJI MERIN, OTO
DAVIČO, HAJIM S.
DAVIČO, LUJO
DAVIČO, OSCAR
DAVID, FILIP
DEBRECENJI, JOZEF
DOHANJ, JULIJE
ERLICH, VERA STEIN
EVENTOV, YAKIR
FELDMAN, MIROSLAV
FINCI, ELI
FREIBERGER, MIROSLAV SALOM
GLID, NANDOR
GOTTLIEB, HINKO
HABILLO, ELISHA
HAJIM, JISRAEL
HERMAN, OSKAR
IVANJI, IVAN
JUN-BRODA, INA
KADELBURG, LAVOSLAV
KAMHI, LEON
KIŠ, DANILO (Daniel)
KONFINO, ZAK
LEBOVIČ, DJORDJE
LEVI, MORITZ
LICHT, ALEXANDER
LIVNI, HILLEL
LOEWENTHAL, ZDENKO
MANDL, SAADIA
NAHMIJAS, DANILO
NAJMAN, JULIJA
OFNER, FRANCIS-AMIR
PAPO, IZIDOR JOSEF
PIJADE, MOSA
ROMANO, SAMUEL
ROTEM, CVI (ZVI)
SAMOKOVLIJA, ISAK
ŠINKO, ERVIN
TIŠMA, ALEKSANDAR
VAJS, ALBERT

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NEWSPAPERS, HEBREW
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POLLARD AFFAIR
RABBINICAL TRAINING, AMERICAN
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COMMUNITIES
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ALASKA
ALBANY
ALBUQUERQUE
ANN ARBOR
ARIZONA
ARKANSAS
ATLANTA
ATLANTIC CITY
AUSTIN
BALTIMORE
BERGEN COUNTY
BIRMINGHAM
BOSTON
BRIDGEPORT
BROWARD COUNTY
BUFFALO
CALIFORNIA
CAMDEN
CHARLESTON
CHARLOTTE

CHICAGO
CINCINNATI
CLEVELAND
COLORADO
COLUMBUS
CONNECTICUT
DALLAS
DAYTON
DELAWARE
DENVER
DETROIT
DURHAM
EL PASO
ESSEX COUNTY
FALL RIVER
FLORIDA
GARY
GEORGIA
HARRISBURG
HARTFORD
HAWAII
HOUSTON
HUDSON COUNTY
IDAHO
ILLINOIS
INDIANA
INDIANAPOLIS
IOWA
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KANSAS CITY
KENTUCKY
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LAS VEGAS
LEE AND CHARLOTTE COUNTIES
LEHIGH VALLEY
LONG BEACH
LOS ANGELES
LOUISIANA
LOUISVILLE
MADISON
MAINE
MARYLAND
MASSACHUSETTS
MEMPHIS
MIAMI-DADE COUNTY
MICHIGAN
MIDDLESEX COUNTY
MILWAUKEE
MINNEAPOLIS-SAINT PAUL
MINNESOTA
MISSISSIPPI
MISSOURI
MONMOUTH COUNTY
MONTANA
MORRIS AND SUSSEX COUNTIES
NAPLES AND COLLIER COUNTIES
NASHVILLE
NEBRASKA
NEVADA
NEW BEDFORD
NEW BRUNSWICK
NEW HAMPSHIRE
NEW HAVEN
NEW JERSEY
NEW LONDON
NEW MEXICO
NEW ORLEANS
NEW SQUARE
NEW YORK CITY
NEW YORK STATE
NEWPORT
NORFOLK
NORTH CAROLINA
NORWALK AND WESTPORT
OAKLAND
OHIO
OKLAHOMA
OMAHA
ORANGE COUNTY
OREGON
ORLANDO
PALM BEACH COUNTY
PALM SPRINGS
PASSAIC-CLIFTON
PATERSON
PENNSYLVANIA
PHILADELPHIA
PHOENIX
PITTSBURGH
PORTLAND
RHODE ISLAND
RICHMOND
ROCHESTER
ROCKLAND COUNTY
SACRAMENTO
SAN ANTONIO
SAN DIEGO
SAN FRANCISCO BAY AREA
SAN GABRIEL AND POMONA VALLEY
SAN JOSE
SANTA CRUZ
SARASOTA
SAVANNAH
SCHENECTADY
SCRANTON
SEATTLE
SOUTH CAROLINA
SOUTH DAKOTA
SPRINGFIELD
ST. LOUIS
ST. PETERSBURG
STAMFORD
SYRACUSE
TALLAHASSEE
TAMPA
TENNESSEE
TEXAS

I. HISTORY

B. MEDIEVAL & MODERN PERIOD

2. Regional History

g. United States

Communities (*continued*)

TOLEDO
TRENTON
TUCSON
UNION COUNTY
UTAH
UTICA
VERMONT
VINELAND
VIRGINIA
VIRGIN ISLANDS
WASHINGTON
WASHINGTON, D.C.
WEST VIRGINIA
WESTCHESTER COUNTY
WILKES-BARRE AND KINGSTON
WILMINGTON
WISCONSIN
WORCESTER
WYOMING
YOUNGSTOWN

Organizations

AMERICA-ISRAEL CULTURAL FOUNDATION
AMERICAN ACADEMY FOR JEWISH RESEARCH
AMERICAN ASSOCIATION FOR JEWISH EDUCATION
AMERICAN COUNCIL FOR JUDAISM
AMERICAN GATHERING OF JEWISH HOLOCAUST SURVIVORS
AMERICAN ISRAEL PUBLIC AFFAIRS COMMITTEE (AIPAC)
AMERICAN JEWISH ARCHIVES
AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE
AMERICAN JEWISH CONFERENCE
AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS
AMERICAN JEWISH HISTORICAL SOCIETY
AMERICAN SEPHARDI FEDERATION
AMERICAN SOCIETY FOR JEWISH MUSIC
AMERICAN ZIONIST MOVEMENT (AZM)
AMIT: MIZRACHI WOMEN'S ORGANIZATION OF AMERICA
ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE
ASSOCIATION FOR JEWISH STUDIES
BALTIMORE HEBREW UNIVERSITY
B'NAI B'RITH
BOARD OF DELEGATES OF AMERICAN ISRAELITES
BONDS, STATE OF ISRAEL
BRANDEIS UNIVERSITY
BRANDEIS-BARDIN INSTITUT
BRITH ABRAHAM
CENTER FOR JEWISH HISTORY
CENTRAL CONFERENCE OF AMERICAN RABBIS
CITY OF HOPE NATIONAL MEDICAL CENTER
CLAL
COALITION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF JEWISH EDUCATION
CONFERENCE OF PRESIDENTS OF MAJOR AMERICAN JEWISH ORGANIZATIONS
CONFERENCE ON JEWISH SOCIAL STUDIES
CONGRESS FOR JEWISH CULTURE
COUNCIL OF JEWISH FEDERATIONS AND WELFARE FUNDS
DROPSIE UNIVERSITY
EDAH
EMMA LAZARUS FEDERATION OF JEWISH WOMEN'S CLUBS
ETHICAL CULTURE
FARBAND
FREE SONS OF ISRAEL
GRATZ COLLEGE
HADASSAH, THE WOMENS ZIONIST ORGANIZATION OF AMERICA
HAVURAH
HEBREW COLLEGE
HEBREW IMMIGRANT AID SOCIETY
HEBREW THEOLOGICAL COLLEGE
HEBREW UNION COLLEGE-JEWISH INSTITUTE OF RELIGION
HE-HALUTZ
HERZLIAH HEBREW TEACHERS' INSTITUTE
HILLEL
HISTADRUT IVRIT OF AMERICA
INDUSTRIAL REMOVAL
INSTITUTE OF SOUTHERN JEWISH LIFE
INSTITUTE OF TRADITIONAL JUDAISM, THE
INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF JEWISH GENEOLOGICAL SOCIETIES
INTERNATIONAL LADIES GARMENT WORKERS UNION
ISRAEL POLICY FORUM
JEWISH AGRICULTURAL SOCIETY
JEWISH BOOK COUNCIL
JEWISH CAMPING
JEWISH COMMUNAL SERVICE ASSOCIATION OF NORTH AMERICA
JEWISH COUNCIL ON PUBLIC AFFAIRS
JEWISH CULTURAL RECONSTRUCTION
JEWISH EDUCATION SERVICE OF NORTH AMERICA
JEWISH LABOR COMMITTEE
JEWISH MUSEUM
JEWISH PUBLICATION SOCIETY OF AMERICA
JEWISH SOCIALIST VERBAND
JEWISH TEACHERS' SEMINARY AND PEOPLE'S UNIVERSITY
JEWISH THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY OF AMERICA, THE
JEWISH WAR VETERANS OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
LABOR ZIONIST ALLIANCE (AMEINU)
LAURA AND ALVIN SIEGAL COLLEGE OF JUDAIC STUDIES
LEAGUE FOR ISRAEL, THE AMERICAN JEWISH MAGNES MEMORIAL MUSEUM
MENORAH ASSOCIATION AND MENORAH JOURNAL

NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON SOVIET JEWRY
NATIONAL COUNCIL OF JEWISH WOMEN
NATIONAL FEDERATION OF TEMPLE SISTERHOODS
NATIONAL FOUNDATION FOR JEWISH CULTURE
NATIONAL HAVURAH COMMITTEE
NATIONAL JEWISH CENTER FOR IMMUNOLOGY
NATIONAL JEWISH DEMOCRATIC COUNCIL
NATIONAL MUSEUM OF AMERICAN JEWISH HISTORY
NATIONAL YIDDISH BOOK CENTER
NEW ISRAEL FUND
PIONEER WOMEN
POALEI AGUDAT ISRAEL
PROGRESSIVE JEWISH ALLIANCE
RABBINICAL ALLIANCE OF AMERICA
RABBINICAL ASSEMBLY
RABBINICAL COUNCIL OF AMERICA
RECONSTRUCTIONIST RABBINICAL COLLEGE
REPUBLICAN JEWISH COALITION
SIMON WIESENTHAL CENTER
SKIRBALL CULTURAL CENTER
SPERTUS INSTITUTE OF JEWISH STUDIES
STUDENT STRUGGLE FOR SOVIET JEWRY
SYNAGOGUE COUNCIL OF AMERICA, THE
TIKKUN
TORAH UMESORAH
TOURO COLLEGE
UNION OF COUNCILS FOR JEWS IN FORMER SOVIET UNION
UNION OF ORTHODOX JEWISH CONGREGATIONS OF AMERICA
UNION OF ORTHODOX RABBIS OF THE UNITED STATES AND CANADA
UNION OF REFORM JUDAISM
UNION OF SEPHARDIC CONGREGATIONS
UNITED JEWISH COMMUNITIES
UNITED STATES HOLOCAUST MEMORIAL MUSEUM
UNITED SYNAGOGUE OF AMERICA
UNIVERSITY OF JUDAISM
VAAD HA-HATZALAH
WOMEN'S LEAGUE FOR CONSERVATIVE JUDAISM
WORKMEN'S CIRCLE
YESHIVA UNIVERSITY
YESHIVAS CHOVEVEI TORAH
YIDDISHER KULTUR FARBAND
YOUNG ISRAEL, THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF
YOUNG JUDAEA
ZIONIST ORGANIZATION OF AMERICA (Z.O.A.)

Publications

AMERICAN HEBREW, THE
AMERICAN ISRAELITE
AMERICAN JEWESS
ARBEITER-ZEITUNG
ARTSCROLL
COMMENTARY
DIE DEBORAH
JEWISH DAILY FORWARD
JEWISH DAY
JEWISH MESSENGER, THE
JEWISH MORNING JOURNAL
JEWISH QUARTERLY REVIEW
JEWISH WOMAN, THE
LILITH
MENORAH ASSOCIATION AND MENORAH JOURNAL
MIDSTREAM
MORNING FREIHEIT
TIKKUN
TSUKUNFT

Biographies

Academic Life

ABELSON, HAROLD HERBERT
ABRAHAMSEN, DAVID
ABRAM, MORRIS BERTHOLD
ABRAMOVITZ, MOSES
ABRAMOWICZ, DINA
ACKERMAN, NATHAN WARD
ADELSON, HOWARD LAURENCE
ADLER, CYRUS
ADLER, FELIX
ADLER, MORTIMER JEROME
ADLER, SELIG
ADLERBLUM, NIMA
AGUS, IRVING ABRAHAM
AIKEN, HENRY DAVID
AKERLOF, GEORGE
ALEXANDER, FRANZ
ALMOND, GABRIEL ABRAHAM
ALTMAN, OSCAR LOUIS
APTER, DAVID ERNEST
ARENDT, HANNAH
ARNSTEIN, WALTER LEONARD
ARROW, KENNETH JOSEPH
ASKOWITH, DORA
AUERBACH, CARL, A.
AUSUBEL, DAVID PAUL
AUSUBEL, NATHAN
BAILYN, BERNARD
BAKAN, DAVID
BAMBERGER, FRITZ
BAND, ARNOLD
BARDIN, SHLOMO
BARON, SALO (Shalom) WITTMAYER
BASKIN, JUDITH
BAUMGARDT, DAVID
BECKER, GARY STANLEY
BEER, GEORGE LOUIS
BELL, DANIEL
BENARDETE, MAIR JOSE
BENDIX, REINHARD
BENEDEK, THERESE F.
BEN-HORIN, MEIR
BERENBAUM, MICHAEL
BERGER, DAVID
BERGSON, ABRAM
BERKOVITS, ELIEZER
BERKSON, ISAAC BAER
BERNARD, JESSIE
BERNSTEIN, HARRY

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Biographies

Academic Life (*continued*)

BERNSTEIN, SIMON
BESSO, HENRY
BETTELHEIM, BRUNO
BIALE, DAVID
BICKERMAN, ELIAS JOSEPH
BIDNEY, DAVID
BIEBER, MARGARETE
BILDERSEE, ADELE
BIRNBAUM, PHILIP
BLACK, MAX
BLAU, JOSEPH LEON
BLAU, PETER MICHAEL
BLOCH, HERBERT
BLONDHEIM, DAVID SIMON
BLOOM, SOLOMON FRANK
BLOOMFIELD, LEONARD
BLOOMFIELD, MAURICE
BLUM, JEROME
BOAS, FRANZ
BOAS, GEORGE
BOKSER, BARUCH
BOORSTIN, DANIEL J.
BORAH, WOODROW WILSON
BOSKOFF, ALVIN
BOYARIN, DANIEL
BRODSKY, STANLEY L.
BRONFENBRENNER, MARTIN
BROUDY, HARRY SAMUEL
BROWNING, CHRISTOPHER
BRUNER, JEROME
BUHLER, CHARLOTTE
BUNZEL, RUTH LEAH
BUTLER, JUDITH
BUTTENWIESER, MOSES
CAHNMAN, WERNER J.
CALABRESI, GUIDO
CANTOR, NORMAN FRANK
CAPLAN, HARRY
CARLEBACH, ELISHEVA
CARMILLY-WEINBERGER, MOSHE
CHAZAN, ROBERT
CHEIN, ISIDOR
CHERNISS, HAROLD
CHESLER, PHYLLIS
CHOMSKY, NOAM AVRAM
CHOMSKY, WILLIAM
CHOPER, JESSE
COHEN, BOAZ
COHEN, GERSON D.
COHEN, I. BERNARD
COHEN, MORRIS RAPHAEL
COHEN, NAOMI W.
COHEN, NATHAN EDWARD
COHEN, SAUL BERNARD
COHEN, SHAYE J.D.
COHEN, WILBUR JOSEPH
COLEMAN, EDWARD DAVIDSON
COLM, GERHARD
COSER, LEWIS A.
COSER, ROSE LAUB
CREMIN, LAWRENCE ARTHUR
DAVIDSON, ISRAEL
DAVIS, DAVID BRION
DAVIS, MOSHE
DAVIS, NATALIE ZEMON
DAWIDOWICZ, LUCY
DEINARD, EPHRAIM
DELOUGAZ, PIERRE PINCHAS
DENMARK, FLORENCE LEVIN
DEUTSCH, GOTTHARD
DIAMOND, SIGMUND
DIESENDRUCK, ZEVI
DIMITROVSKY, CHAIM ZALMAN
DINER, HASIA
DINITZ, SIMON
DONIGER, WENDY
DORFF, ELLIOT N.
DORFMAN, JOSEPH
DRACHSLER, JULIUS
DUBERMAN, MARTIN
DUKER, ABRAHAM GORDON
DWORKIN, RONALD
EATON, JOSEPH W.
ECKARDT, ROY A.
EDMAN, IRWIN
EDWARDS, PAUL
EFROS, ISRAEL ISAAC
EHRLICH, ARNOLD BOGUMIL
EISEN, ARNOLD
EISENSTADT, ABRAHAM SELDIN
EISENSTEIN, JUDAH DAVID
ELAZAR, DANIEL J.
EMBER, AARON
EMERY, RICHARD WILDER
ENDELMAN, TODD
EPSTEIN, ABRAHAM
EULAU, HEINZ
EZEKIEL, MORDECAI JOSEPH BRILL
FABRICANT, SOLOMON
FARBER, MARVIN
FEIGIN, SAMUEL ISAAC
FEIGL, HERBERT
FEILER, ARTHUR
FEIS, HERBERT
FELDMAN, LOUIS
FELLNER, WILLIAM JOHN
FERNBERGER, SAMUEL
FEUER, LEWIS SAMUEL
FILLER, LOUIS
FINE, REUBEN
FINE, SIDNEY
FINER, HERMAN
FINKEL, JOSHUA

FINKELSTEIN, JACOB JOEL
FISCHEL, WALTER JOSEPH
FISCHER, LOUIS
FISCHER, STANLEY
FISHBANE, MICHAEL
FISHMAN, JOSHUA AARON
FLEXNER
FLEXNER, ABRAHAM
FLUSSER, DAVID
FOX, MARVIN
FREEDMAN, JAMES
FREIDUS, ABRAHAM SOLOMON
FRIED, MORTON HERBERT
FRIEDLAENDER, ISRAEL
FRIEDMAN, LEE MAX
FRIEDMAN, MILTON
FRIEDMAN, SHAMMA
FRYMER-KENSKY, TIKVA
GANDZ, SOLOMON
GARTNER, LLOYD P.
GAY (Froehlich), PETER JACK (Joachim)
GELB, IGNACE JAY
GERSHOY, LEO
GEVIRTZ, STANLEY
GILBERT, FELIX
GILBERT, MILTON
GILLIGAN, CAROL
GILLMAN, NEAL
GINOTT, HAIM G.
GINSBERG, HAROLD LOUIS
GINSBURG, NORTON SIDNEY
GINZBERG, ELI
GINZBERG, LOUIS
GITIN, SEYMOUR
GLATZER, NAHUM NORBERT
GLAZER, NATHAN
GLOCK, CHARLES
GLUECK, NELSON
GLUECK, SHELDON
GOFFMAN, ERVING
GOITEIN, SHLOMO DOV (Fritz)
GOLB, NORMAN
GOLDBERG, HARVEY
GOLDENWEISER, ALEXANDER ALEXANDROVICH
GOLDENWEISER, EMANUEL ALEXANDROVICH
GOLDIN, JUDAH
GOLDMAN, ERIC FREDERICK
GOLDMAN, HETTY
GOLDMAN, MARTIN
GOLDSMITH, RAYMOND WILLIAM
GOODENOUGH, ERWIN RAMSDELL
GOODMAN, NELSON
GOODMAN, PAUL
GOOR, YEHUDAH
GORDIS, ROBERT
GORDON, CYRUS HERZL
GORDON, MILTON M.
GORNICK, VIVIAN
GOTTHEIL, RICHARD JAMES HORATIO
GOTTSCHALK, LOUIS REICHENTAL
GOTTSCHALL, MORTON
GOULD, SAMUEL BROOKNER
GRAYZEL, SOLOMON
GREEN, ARTHUR
GREENBERG, JOSEPH
GREENBERG, MOSHE
GREENFIELD, JONAS CARL
GREENSTONE, JULIUS HILLEL
GROSS, CHARLES
GURALNIK, DAVID
GURWITSCH, AARON
GUTMANN, AMY
GUTTMACHER, MANFRED
GUTTMAN, LOUIS
HABER, SAMUEL L.
HABER, WILLIAM
HADAS, MOSES
HALKIN, ABRAHAM SOLOMON
HALLE, MORRIS
HALPERN, BENJAMIN
HAMEROW, THEODORE STEPHEN
HANDLIN, OSCAR
HANFMANN, GEORGE MAXIM ANOSSOV
HARRIS, MARVIN
HARRIS, ZELLIG SABBETAI
HARRISSE, HENRY
HARTMAN, GEOFFREY
HAUPT, PAUL
HAUSER, PHILIP MORRIS
HEILBRUN, CAROLYN G.
HEILPRIN
HELLER, HAYYIM
HELLMAN, CLARISSE DORIS
HENRY, JULES
HERBERG, WILL
HERSKOVITS, MELVILLE JEAN
HEXTER, JACK H.
HILBERG, RAUL
HIMMELFARB, GERTRUDE
HIRSCHMAN, ALBERT OTTO
HOFSTADTER, RICHARD
HOOK, SIDNEY
HOSCHANDER, JACOB
HOSELITZ, BERTHOLD FRANK
HURWITZ, SAMUEL JUSTIN
HUSIK, ISAAC
HYMAN, HAROLD MELVIN
HYMAN, PAULA E.
INKELES, ALEX
INSDORF, ANNETTE
JACOBSON, ANNA
JANOWITZ, MORRIS
JANOWSKY, OSCAR ISAIAH
JASNY, NAUM
JASTROW
JONAS, HANS
JOSEPH, SAMUEL
JOSEPHSON, MATTHEW
JUSTMAN, JOSEPH
KABAKOFF, JACOB

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Biographies

Academic Life (*continued*)

KAGAN, SOLOMON ROBERT
KAHLER, ERICH
KAHN, ALFRED JOSEPH
KAHNEMAN, DANIEL
KALLEN, HORACE MEYER
KANDEL, ISAAC LEON
KANTOR, JACOB ROBERT
KANTOROWICZ, ERNST HARTWIG
KAPLAN, ABRAHAM
KARPF, MAURICE JOSEPH
KATSH, ABRAHAM ISAAC
KATZ, DANIEL
KATZ, SOLOMON
KATZ, STEVEN T.
KAUFMANN, FELIX
KAUFMANN, WALTER
KELLER, MORTON
KEMPNER, ROBERT MAX WASILII
KEYSERLING, LEON H.
KIRCHHEIMER, OTTO
KLEIN, LAWRENCE ROBERT
KOBRIN, SOLOMON
KOFFKA, KURT
KOHN, HANS
KOHS, SAMUEL CALMIN
KOMAROVSKY, MIRRA
KONVITZ, MILTON RIDVAS
KRAMER, SAMUEL NOAH
KRAUS, MICHAEL
KRIEGER, LEONARD
KRIPKE, SAUL
KRIS, ERNST
KRISTELLER, PAUL OSKAR
KRISTOL, IRVING
KUBLIN, HYMAN
KUGEL, JAMES
KUHN, THOMAS S.
KUZNETS, SIMON
LAMM, NORMAN
LANDES, DAVID SAUL
LANDES, RUTH
LANGER, LAWRENCE
LAZARSFELD, PAUL F.
LAZEROWITZ, MORRIS
LEA, HENRY CHARLES
LEAF, HAYIM
LEHMANN, KARL
LEHRMAN, DANIEL
LEISERSON, WILLIAM MORRIS
LENGYEL, EMIL
LEON, HARRY JOSHUA
LERNER, ABBA PETACHJA
LERNER, GERDA
LERNER, MAX
LERNER, RALPH
LESLAU, WOLF
LEVENSON, JON
LEVENSON, JOSEPH RICHMOND
LEVIAS, CASPAR
LEVIN, A. LEO
LEVIN, NORA
LEVINE, BARUCH
LEVY, HARRY LOUIS
LEVY, LEONARD WILLIAMS
LEVY, MARION JOSEPH, JR.
LEWIN, KURT ZADEK
LEWIS, OSCAR
LIBOWITZ, SAMUEL NEHEMIAH
LICHTENSTEIN, WALTER
LIEBERMAN, MYRON
LIEBERMAN, SAUL
LIPSET, SEYMOUR MARTIN
LIPTZIN, SOL
LOEWENSTEIN, KARL
LOPEZ, ROBERT SABATINO
LORGE, IRVING
LOWE, ADOLPH
LOWE, ELIAS AVERY
LOWIE, ROBERT HARRY
LUBIN, ISADOR
LUBIN, SIMON JULIUS
MACHLUP, FRITZ
MAIER, JOSEPH
MAISELS, MOSES HAYYIM (Misha)
MALACHI, ELIEZER RAPHAEL
MALKIEL, YAKOV
MALLER, JULIUS BERNARD
MALTER, HENRY
MANDELBAUM, DAVID GOODMAN
MANN, JACOB
MANUEL, FRANK EDWARD
MARCUS, JACOB RADER
MARCUS, JOSEPH
MARCUS, RALPH
MARCUS, RUTH BARCAN
MARCUSE, HERBERT
MARGET, ARTHUR W.
MARGOLIS, MAX LEOPOLD
MARKOWITZ, HARRY M.
MARSCHAK, JACOB
MARWICK, LAWRENCE
MARX, ALEXANDER
MASLOW, ABRAHAM H.
MAXIMON (Maximowski), SHALOM DOV BER
MAYER, ARNO JOSEPH
MEDNICK, MARTHA TAMARA SCHUCH
MENES, ABRAM
MERTON, ROBERT C.
MERTON, ROBERT KING
MEYER, MICHAEL
MEYERHOFF, HANS
MILGRAM, STANLEY
MILGROM, JACOB

MISES, LUDWIG EDLER VON
MODIGLIANI, FRANCO
MONIS, JUDAH
MOORE, GEORGE FOOT
MORENO, JACOB
MORGENSTERN, OSKAR
MORGENTHAU, HANS JOACHIM
MORRIS, RICHARD BRANDON
MORTON, LOUIS C.
MOSSE, GEORGE L.
MYERHOFF, BARBARA
NADLER, MARCUS
NAGEL, ERNEST
NASATIR, ABRAHAM PHINEAS
NATHAN, ROBERT ROY
NAUMBURG, MARGARET
NEISSER, HANS PHILIPP
NELSON, BENJAMIN
NEMOY, LEON
NETANYAHU, BENZION
NEUGARTEN, BERNICE L.
NEUSNER, JACOB
NEWMAN, AUBREY
NUSSBAUM, ARTHUR
OKO, ADOLPH S.
OPLER, MARVIN KAUFMANN
OPLER, MORRIS EDWARD
ORLINSKY, HARRY MEYER
OSCHINSKY, LAWRENCE
OSTROLENK, BERNHARD
PAP, ARTHUR
PASSOW, AARON HARRY
PATAI, RAPHAEL
PEIXOTTO, JESSICA BLANCHE
PERLBERG, ABRAHAM NATHAN
PERLMAN, JACOB
PERLMANN, MOSHE
PETEGORSKY, DAVID
PFEFFER, LEO
PFEIFFER, ROBERT HENRY
PINSON, KOPPEL S.
PIPES, RICHARD EDGAR
POLANYI, KARL
POMERANTZ, SIDNEY IRVING
POPPER, WILLIAM
POWDERMAKER, HORTENSE
PRIBRAM, KARL
PUTNAM, HILARY
RADIN, PAUL
RAISZ, ERWIN J.
RAPPAPORT, ARMIN H.
RAPPAPORT, ROY
RATNER, SIDNEY
RAZRAN, GREGORY
REDL, FRITZ
REICH, ROBERT BERNARD
REICH, WILHELM
REINHARZ, JEHUDA
REVEL, BERNARD
RIESMAN, DAVID
RISCHIN, MOSES
RIVKIN, ELLIS
RIVKIND, ISAAC
RIVLIN, HARRY N.
ROBACK, ABRAHAM AARON
ROBINSON, EDWARD
ROBISON, SOPHIA
RODELL, FRED M.
RODIN, JUDITH
ROHEIM, GEZA
ROSE, ARNOLD MARSHALL
ROSENBACH, ABRAHAM SIMON WOLF
ROSENBAUM, JONATHAN
ROSENTHAL, ERICH
ROSENTHAL, FRANZ
ROSENTHAL, JUDAH
ROSENTHAL, WILLIAM
ROSKIES, DAVID
ROSTOW, EUGENE VICTOR
ROSTOW, WALT WHITMAN
ROWE, LEO STANTON
RUBINOW, ISAAC MAX
RUDAVSKY, DAVID
SACHAR, ABRAM LEON
SACHS, HANNS
SACHS, JULIUS
SAHLINS, MARSHALL
SALOMON, ALBERT
SAMUELSON, PAUL ANTHONY
SANDMEL, SAMUEL
SAPIR, EDWARD
SARNA, JONATHAN
SARNA, NAHUM
SAXON, DAVID STEPHEN
SCHAECHTER, MORDKHE
SCHAFER, STEPHEN
SCHAPIRO, JACOB SALWYN
SCHAPPES, MORRIS U.
SCHARFSTEIN, ZEVI
SCHEFFLER, ISRAEL
SCHEINDLIN, RAYMOND
SCHIFFMAN, LAWRENCE
SCHOLES, MYRON
SCHRECKER, PAUL
SCHWARTZ, ANNA JACOBSON
SELIGMAN, EDWIN ROBERT ANDERSON
SEMMEL, BERNARD
SHANKS, HERSHEL
SHAPIRO, DAVID S.
SHAPIRO, HAROLD
SHAPIRO, HARRY LIONEL
SHARFMAN, ISAIAH LEO
SHATZKY, JACOB
SHEFFER, HENRY M.
SHILS, EDWARD
SHUB, DAVID
SHULIM, JOSEPH ISIDORE
SHULVASS, MOSES AVIGDOR
SIMON, HERBERT ALEXANDER
SINGER, MILTON B.

I. HISTORY

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Biographies

Academic Life (continued)

SKLARE, MARSHALL
SKOSS, SOLOMON LEON (Zalman Leib)
SLAVSON, SAMUEL RICHARD
SLONIMSKY, HENRY
SMELSER, NEIL JOSEPH
SMITH, JOHN MERLIN POWIS
SMITH, JONATHAN
SMITH, MORTON
SNYDER, LOUIS LEO
SOLOW, ROBERT MERTON
SONNE, ISAIAH
SORKIN, MICHAEL
SOVERN, MICHAEL IRA
SPEISER, EPHRAIM AVIGDOR
SPIEGEL, SHALOM
SPIEGELBERG, HERBERT
SPIER, LESLIE
SPIRO, MELFORD ELLIOT
SPITZER, LEO
SPOEHR, ALEXANDER
STARR, JOSHUA
STEIN, HERBERT
STERN, BERNHARD JOSEPH
STERN, FRITZ
STIGLITZ, JOSEPH
STILES, EZRA
STILLMAN, NORMAN
STRAUSS, LEO
SULZBACH, WALTER
SWADESH, MORRIS
SZAJKOWSKI, ZOSA
TANNENBAUM, FRANK
TAUBENSCHLAG, RAPHAEL
TAUSSIG, FRANK WILLIAM
TAX, SOL
TCHERNOWITZ, CHAIM
TEC, NECHAMA
TIGAY, JEFFREY
TITIEV, MISCHA
TOBACH, ETHEL
TOBY, JACKSON
TORREY, CHARLES CUTLER
TREFOUSSE, HANS LOUIS
TRIBE, LAWRENCE H.
TRUNK. ISAIAH
TUCHMAN, BARBARA WERTHEIM
TUMIN, MELVIN MARVIN
TWERSKY, ISADORE
UNGER, IRWIN
VINER, JACOB
WALZER, MICHAEL
WAXMAN, MEYER
WECHSLER, DAVID
WECHSLER, HERBERT
WEINBERG, GLADYS DAVIDSON
WEINBERG, SAUL S.
WEINREICH, URIEL
WEINRYB, BERNARD DOV SUCHER
WEISBERGER, BERNARD ALLEN
WEISS, ALBERT PAUL
WEISS, PAUL
WEISS-ROSMARIN, TRUDE
WERNER, HEINZ
WHITE, HARRY D.
WHITE, MORTON GABRIEL
WIENER, PHILIP PAUL
WIERUSZOWSKI, HELENE
WIRTH, LOUIS
WISCHNITZER, MARK
WISSE, RUTH
WOLF, ERIC ROBERT
WOLFE, ALAN
WOLFE, BERTRAM DAVID
WOLFF, WERNER
WOLFSON, ELLIOT
WOLFSON, HARRY AUSTRYN
WOLFSON, THERESA
WUNDERLICH, FRIEDA
YERUSHALMI, YOSEF HAYIM
YOUNG, JAMES
YOUTIE, HERBERT CHAYYIM
ZEICHNER, OSCAR
ZEITLIN, SOLOMON

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ABRAMOVITZ, MAX
ADLER, DANKMAR
ADLER, SAMUEL M.
AGREST, DIANA
ALSCHULER, ALFRED
ARBUS, DIANE NEMEROV
ARNOLD, EVE
ARONSON, DAVID
AVEDON, RICHARD
BAIZERMAN, SAUL
BARNET, WILL
BASKIN, LEONARD
BENN, BEN
BEN-ZION (Weinman)
BERENSON, BERNARD
BERNSTEIN, THERESA
BING, ILSE
BLOOM, HYMAN
BLUME, PETER
BOLOTOWSKY, ILYA
BOROFSKY, JONATHAN
BOURKE-WHITE, MARGARET
BRENNER, VICTOR
BREUER, MARCEL (Lajos)
BRUNNER, ARNOLD
BUNSHAFT, GORDON
CAPA, CORNELL
CAPA, ROBERT

CARVALHO, SOLOMON NUNES
CHAST, ROZ
CHICAGO, JUDY
CRUMB, ROBERT
CSUPO, GABOR (and Irene Klasky)
DAVIDSON, JO
DINE, JIM
EIDLITZ (Abraham Moses), ZERAH BEN MEIR
EILSHEMIUS, LOUIS
EISENMAN, PETER D.
EISENSTAEDT, ALFRED
EISNER, WILL
EIZENBERG, JULIE
ELDER, WILL
ELISOFON, ELIOT
ERWITT, ELLIOTT
ETTINGHAUSEN, RICHARD
ETTLINGER, MARION
EZEKIEL, MOSES JACOB
FEIFFER, JULES
FERBER, HERBERT
FLEISCHER, MAX
FRANK, ROBERT
FRANKENTHALER, HELEN
FREED, JAMES INGO
FRELENG, I. J.
FRIEDLANDER, LEE
FURST, MORITZ
GANDELSONAS, MARIO
GEHRY, FRANK O.
GIKOW, RUTH
GOLDBERG, BERTRAND
GOLDBERG, RUBE
GOLDIN, NAN
GOLDWATER, JOHN
GOLUB, LEON
GOODMAN, PERCIVAL
GORLIN, ALEXANDER
GOTTLIEB, ADOLPH
GREENBERG, CLEMENT
GROPPER, WILLIAM
GROSS, CHAIM
GUTMANN, JOSEPH
HALSMAN, PHILIPPE
HAMMER, ARMAND
HARKAVY, MINNA
HIRSCH, JOSEPH
HIRSCHFELD, AL
HIRSHFIELD, MORRIS
JACOBI, LOTTE
KAHN, ALBERT
KAHN, ELY JACQUES
KAHN, LOUIS I.
KALMAN, TIBOR
KANE, BOB
KANE, GIL
KANOVITZ, HOWARD
KATZ, ALEX
KERTESZ, ANDRE
KIESLER, FREDERICK JOHN
KIRBY, JACK (Kurtzberg)
KITAJ, R. B.
KLINE FRANZ
KOLB, LEON
KRASNER, LEE
KRUGER, BARBARA
KURTZMAN, HARVEY
LAPIDUS, MORRIS
LASANSKY, MAURICIO
LASSAW, IBRAM
LAZARUS, MEL
LEE, STAN
LEIBOVITZ, ANNIE
LEVINE, JACK
LEVITT, HELENE
LEWITT, SOL
LIBESKIND, DANIEL
LICHTENSTEIN, ROY
LIPCHITZ, JACQUES (Chaim Jacob)
LIPTON, SEYMOUR
LOUIS, MORRIS
LOZOWICK, LOUIS
MANSO, LEO
MARGO, BORIS
MARGOULIES, BERTHA
MARIL, HERMAN
MARK, MARY ELLEN
MARYAN
MEIER, RICHARD
MENDELSOHN, ERIC
MENKES, ZYGMUNT
MEYEROWITZ, JOEL
MOÏSE, THEODORE SYDNEY
MOSLER, HENRY
MYERS, MYER
NADELMAN, ELIE
NEUTRA, RICHARD JOSEPH
NEVELSON, LOUISE
NEWMAN, ARNOLD
NEWMAN, BARNETT
NEWTON, HELMUT
OLITSKI, JULES
OPPER, FREDERICK BURR
PANOFSKY, ERWIN
PEARLSTEIN, PHILIP
PENN, IRVING
PLACHY, SYLVIA
POLSHEK, JAMES
RATTNER, ABRAHAM
RAY, MAN
REDER, BERNARD
REISS, LIONEL
RIVERS, LARRY
ROSE, HERMAN
ROSENBERG, HAROLD
ROSENTHAL, MAX
ROTHKO, MARK
ROTHSTEIN, IRMA
RUBIN, GAIL
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SCHOR, ILYA
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SEGAL, GEORGE
SELIGMANN, KURT
SERRA, RICHARD
SEYMOUR, DAVID
SHAHN, BEN
SHUSTER, JOE
SIEGEL, JERRY
SIMON, SIDNEY
SISKIND, AARON
SOYER, MOSES
SOYER, RAPHAEL
SPERO, NANCY
SPIEGELMAN, ART
SPIRO, EUGEN
STEIG, WILLIAM, SHREK
STEINBERG, SAUL
STERN, ROBERT A.M.
STERNE, HEDDA
STERNE, MAURICE
STIEGLITZ, ALFRED
STRAND, PAUL
TEWI, THEA
TIGERMAN, STANLEY
TWORKOV, JACK
WALKOWITZ, ABRAHAM
WEBER, MAX
WEEGEE
WILSON, SOL
WINOGRAND, GARRY
ZORACH, WILLIAM
ZUCKER, JACQUES

Literature

ABRAMS, MEYER
ADAMS, HANNAH
ADLER, RENATA, ESSAYIST
ALTER, ROBERT B.
ANGOFF, CHARLES
ANTIN, MARY
APPLE, MAX
ASIMOV, ISAAC
AUSLANDER, JOSEPH
AUSTER, PAUL
BAUM, VICKI
BEHRMAN, SAMUEL NATHANIEL
BELLOW, SAUL
BERCOVICI, KONRAD
BERCOVITCH, SACVAN
BLANKFORT, MICHAEL S.
BLOOM, HAROLD
BODENHEIM, MAXWELL
BRINIG, MYRON
BRODY, ALTER
BRONER, ESTHER M.
BRUSTEIN, ROBERT SANFORD
BUKIET, MELVIN JULES
BUSCH, CHARLES
CAHAN, ABRAHAM
CAHAN, JUDAH LOEB (Lewis)
CALISHER, HORTENSE
CHABON, MICHAEL
CHAYEFSKY, PADDY
CHODOROV, EDWARD
CHODOROV, JEROME
COHEN, ARTHUR A.
COHEN, ROSE GOLLUP
COURNOS, JOHN
DAHLBERG, EDWARD
DAVENPORT, MARCIA
DE CASSERES, BENJAMIN
DEUTSCH, BABBETTE
DOCTOROW, EDGAR LAWRENCE
ELKIN, STANLEY
EPHRON, NORA
EPSTEIN, LESLIE
EPSTEIN, MORRIS
EPSTEIN, SEYMOUR
FADIMAN, CLIFTON
FALK, MARCIA
FAST, HOWARD MELVIN
FEARING, KENNETH
FELDMAN, IRVING
FERBER, EDNA
FIEDLER, LESLIE AARON
FINEMAN, IRVING
FISH, STANLEY
FRANK, WALDO DAVID
FRANKEN, ROSE
FRANKS, BILHAH ABIGAIL LEVY
FREEMAN, JOSEPH
FRIEDLAND, ABRAHAM HYMAN (Hayyim)
FRIEDMAN, BRUCE JAY
FUCHS, DANIEL
GABRIEL, GILBERT W.
GAMORAN, MAMIE
GASSNER, JOHN
GELBER, JACK
GINSBERG, ALLEN
GLANZ-LEYELES, AARON
GLASS, MONTAGUE MARSDEN
GLUCK, LOUISE
GOLD, HERBERT
GOLD, MICHAEL
GOLDBERG, ISAAC
GOLDEN, HARRY LEWIS
GOLDMAN, WILLIAM

GOLDSTEIN, REBECCA
GOODMAN, ALLEGRA
GREEN, GERALD
GREENBERG, JOANNE
GREENBERG, SAMUEL BERNARD
GROSSMAN, ALLEN
HALPER, ALBERT
HARRIS, MARK
HART, MOSS
HECHT, BEN
HELLER, JOSEPH
HELLINGER, MARK
HELLMAN, LILLIAN FLORENCE
HINDUS, MAURICE GERSCHON
HIRSCH, ERIC DONALD
HOBSON, LAURA Z.
HOLLANDER, JOHN
HOROVITZ, ISRAEL
HOWE, IRVING
HURST, FANNIE
IGNATOW, DAVID
ISAACS, JACOB
ISAACS, SUSAN
JAFFE, RONA
JONG, ERICA
JUDAH, SAMUEL BENJAMIN HELBERT
KALMAN, MAIRA
KANIN, GARSON
KAPLAN, JOHANNA
KAUFMAN, BEL
KAUFMAN, GEORGE SIMON
KAZIN, ALFRED
KELLERMAN, FAYE
KELLERMAN, JONATHAN
KEMELMAN, HARRY
KINGSLEY, SIDNEY
KLEPFISZ, IRENA
KOBER, ARTHUR
KOCH, KENNETH
KOMROFF, MANUEL
KOPIT, ARTHUR
KOSINSKI, JERZY
KRAMER, LARRY
KRAMM, JOSEPH
KRANTZ, JUDITH
KREYMBORG, ALFRED
KRONENBERGER, LOUIS
KUNITZ, STANLEY JASSPON
KUSHNER, TONY
LAURENTS, ARTHUR
LAWSON, JOHN HOWARD
LAZARUS, EMMA
LEVERTOV, DENISE
LEVIANT, CURT
LEVIN, HARRY
LEVIN, IRA
LEVIN, MEYER
LEWISOHN, LUDWIG
LIEBERMAN, ELIAS
LISITZKY, EPHRAIM E.
LOWENTHAL, MARVIN
MAILER, NORMAN
MALAMUD, BERNARD
MALTZ, ALBERT
MAMET, DAVID
MILLER, ARTHUR
MOISE, PENINA
NATHAN, GEORGE JEAN
NEMEROV, HOWARD
NEUGEBOREN, JAY
NISSENSON, HUGH
ODETS, CLIFFORD
OLSEN, TILLIE
OPPEN, GEORGE
OPPENHEIM, JAMES
ORNITZ, SAMUEL BADISCH
OSTRIKER, ALICIA SUSKIN
OZICK, CYNTHIA
PALEY, GRACE
PARKER, DOROTHY
PERELMAN, SIDNEY JOSEPH
PHILLIPS, WILLIAM
PINSKY, ROBERT
PLAIN, BELVA
PODHORETZ, NORMAN
POTOK, CHAIM
POUND, EZRA LOOMIS
PROSE, FRANCINE
RAGEN, NAOMI
RAHV, PHILIP
RAND, AYN
RAPHAELSON, SAMSON
REZNIKOFF, CHARLES
RICE, ELMER LEOPOLD
RICH, ADRIENNE
ROBBINS, HAROLD
ROSEN, NORMA
ROSENFELD, ISAAC
ROSENFELD, PAUL
ROSS, LILLIAN
ROSTEN, LEO CALVIN
ROTH, HENRY
ROTH, PHILIP MILTON
RUKEYSER, MURIEL
SALINGER, JEROME DAVID
SAMPTER, JESSIE ETHEL
SAMUEL, MAURICE
SCHISGAL, MURRAY
SCHULBERG, BUDD WILSON
SCHWARTZ, DELMORE
SCHWARZ, LEO WALDER
SEGAL, ERICH
SEID, RUTH
SERLING, ROD
SHAPIRO, KARL JAY
SHAW, IRWIN
SHELDON, SIDNEY
SHEVELOVE, BURT
SHULMAN, MAX
SIMON, KATE

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SONTAG, SUSAN
SPEWACK, BELLA
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STEELE, DANIELLE
STEIN, GERTRUDE
STEIN, JOSEPH
STERN, STEVE
STINE, R. L.
STONE, IRVING
SUSANN, JACQUELINE
TAYLOR, SIDNEY
TOBENKIN, ELIAS
TRILLIN, CALVIN, ESSAYIST
TRILLING, DIANA
TRILLING, LIONEL
TUROW, SCOTT
UNTERMEYER, LOUIS
URIS, LEON
WALLACE, IRVING
WALLANT, EDWARD LEWIS
WASSERMAN, DALE
WASSERSTEIN, WENDY
WEIDMAN, JEROME
WELLER, MICHAEL
WEST, NATHANAEL
WOLFERT, IRA
WOUK, HERMAN
YARMOLINSKY, AVRAHM (Abraham)
YEZIERSKA, ANZIA
ZUKOFSKY, LOUIS

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ABRAVANEL, MAURICE (DE)
ADLER, LARRY (Lawrence)
ADLER, RICHARD
AMRAM, DAVID
ARLEN, HAROLD
AVSHALOMOV, JACOB
AX, EMMANUEL
BABBITT, MILTON
BABIN, VICTOR
BACHARACH, BURT
BAUER, MARION EUGENIE
BELL, JOSHUA
BENDIX, OTTO
BERGER, ARTHUR VICTOR
BERK, FRED
BERLINSKI, HERMAN
BERNSTEIN, LEONARD
BINDER, ABRAHAM WOLF
BLITZSTEIN, MARC
BLOOMFIELD-ZEISLER, FANNY
BOLM, ADOLPH RUDOLPHOVICH
BORIS, RUTHANNA
BRAILOWSKY, ALEXANDER
BRONFMAN, YEFIM
BROOK, BARRY SHELLEY
BROWNING, JOHN
CHASINS, ABRAHAM
CHUJOY, ANATOLE
CHURGIN, BATHIA
COHEN, JACOB RAPHAEL
COHEN, SELMA JEANNE
CONRIED, HEINRICH
COPLAND, AARON
DIAMOND, DAVID
DIAMOND, LOUIS KLEIN
DICHTER, MISHA
EISENSTEIN, JUDITH KAPLAN
ELLSTEIN, ABRAHAM (Abe)
FARBER, VIOLA
FELDMAN, MORTON
FIEDLER, ARTHUR
FLEISHER, LEON
FOGELBERG, DAN
FOSS, LUKAS
FREED, ISADORE
FRIEDMAN, DEBORAH LYNN
FUCHS, LILLIAN
GANCHOFF, MOSES
GEIRINGER, KARL
GERBER, MAYNARD
GIDEON, MIRIAM
GLASS, PHILIP
GLUCK, ALMA
GOLDMAN, EDWIN FRANKO
GOODMAN, BENNY
GOTTSCHALK, LOUIS MOREAU
GOULD, MORTON
GRAF, HERBERT
GRAFFMAN, GARY
GREENBERG, NOAH
GRUENBERG, LOUIS
HALPRIN, ANN
HAMMERSTEIN
HAYDEN, MELISSA
HERRMANN, BERNARD
HESKES, IRENE
HOROWITZ, VLADIMIR
HUROK, SOLOMON
ISTOMIN, EUGINE
JACOBI, FREDERICK
KALIB, SHALOM
KATZ, ISRAEL
KAYE, NORA
KENT, ALLEGRA
KERN, JEROME DAVID
KIDD, MICHAEL

KIRCHNER, LEON
KIRSTEIN, LINCOLN
KLEMPERER, OTTO
KOLISCH, RUDOLF
KOSTELANETZ, ANDRE
LANG, PEARL
LAPSON, DVORA
LEAR, EVELYN
LEFKOWITZ, DAVID
LEVINE, JAMES
LEVY, MARVIN DAVID
LEWENTHAL, RAYMOND
LEWITZKY, BELLA
LIEBERSON, GODDARD
LIEBLING, ESTELLE
LIST, GEORGE
LOESSER, FRANK
LOEWE, FREDERICK
LOWINSKY, EDWARD
LUBIN, ABRAHAM
LUBOSHUTZ
MANNES
MANNES, LEOPOLD
MASLOW, SOPHIE
MENDELSON, JACOB BEN-ZION
MENKEN, ALAN
MERRILL, ROBERT
MILLER, MITCH
MILSTEIN, NATHAN
MLOTEK, CHANA
NEWMAN, ALFRED
NULMAN, MACY
ORENSTEIN, ARBIE
OVED, MARGALIT
PEERCE, JAN
PERAHIA, MURRAY
PERLMAN, ITZCHAK
PETERS, ROBERTA
PLAMENAC, DRAGAN
PREVIN, ANDRE (George)
PUTTERMAN, DAVID
QUELER, EVE
RASKIN, JUDITH
REICH, STEVE
REISENBERG, NADIA
RESNIK, REGINA
RINGER, ALEXANDER
ROBBINS, JEROME
ROCHBERG, GEORGE
RODGERS, MARY
RODGERS, RICHARD
ROGERS, BERNARD
ROMBERG, SIGMUND
ROSE, LEONARD
ROSENBAUM, SAMUEL
ROSS, HERBERT
RUDEL, JULIUS
RUDOLF, MAX
SCHACHTER, CARL
SCHIFRIN, LALO
SCHLAMME, MARTHA
SCHUMAN, WILLIAM HOWARD
SCHWARTZ, STEPHEN
SECUNDA, SHOLOM
SERKIN, PETER
SHAPERO, HAROLD
SHARLIN, WILLIAM
SHAW, ARTIE
SIEGMEISTER, ELIE
SILLS, BEVERLY (Belle Silverman)
SLATKIN, LEONARD
SLONIMSKY, NICOLAS
SOKOLOW, ANNA
SONDHEIM, STEPHEN
SPECTOR, JOHANNA
SPIVACKE, HAROLD
SPIVAKOVSKY, TOSSY
STARER, ROBERT
STARK, EDWARD
STENN (STEEN), REBECCA
STERN, ISAAC
STYNE, JULE
SZIGETI, JOSEPH
TAMIRIS, HELEN
TARUSKIN, RICHARD
TAUBE, MOSHE
TEMIANKA, HENRI
THOMAS, MICHAEL TILSON
TISCHLER, HANS
TOCH, ERNST
TOUREL, JENNIE
TUCKER, RICHARD
TURECK, ROSALYN
VOLPE, ARNOLD
WALDMAN, LEIBELE
WALLENSTEIN, ALFRED
WEILL, KURT
WEINBERG, JACOB
WEINBERGER, JAROMIR
WEINER, LAZAR
WEINSTOCK, HERBERT
WEISGAL, ABBA JOSEPH
WEISGALL, HUGO
WEISSER, ALBERT
WEISSER, JOSHUA
WERNER, ERIC
WINTERNITZ, EMANUEL
WOHLBERG, MOSHE
YASSER, JOSEPH
ZEMACH, BENJAMIN
ZILBERTS, ZAVEL
ZIMBALIST, EFREM
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ABBOTT, BUD
ABEL, ELIE
ABRAMOWITZ, BINA
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ADLER, HARRY CLAY
ADLER, POLLY
ADLER, STELLA
ALBERT, MARV
ALBERT, MILDRED
ALCOTT, AMY
ALDRICH, ROBERT
ALEXANDER, JASON
ALLEN, MEL
ALLEN, WOODY,
ALPERT, HERB
ANTHONY, JOSEPH
ARATON, HARVEY
ARCEL, RAY
ARCHERD, ARMY
ARKIN, ALAN W.
ARONSON, BORIS
ARUM, ROBERT
ASNER, EDWARD
ATTELL, ABRAHAM WASHINGTON
AUERBACH, RED (Arnold Jacob)
AVNET, JON
AXELROD, ALBERT
AXELROD, GEORGE
AZENBERG, EMANUEL
BACALL, LAUREN
BAER, MAX (Maximilian Adelbert)
BAKSHI, RALPH
BALABAN, BARNEY
BALIN, MARTY
BARA, THEDA
BARR, ROSEANNE
BARRIS, CHUCK
BELASCO, DAVID
BEN-AMI, JACOB
BENJAMIN, RICHARD
BENNETT, MICHAEL
BENNY, JACK
BENSON, ROBBY
BERENSON, SENDA
BERG, GERTRUDE
BERG, JACKIE "KID"
BERG, MOE
BERGEN, POLLY
BERGER, ISAAC
BERGMAN, ALAN & MARILYN
BERGMAN, ANDREW
BERGNER, ELIZABETH
BERKOW, IRA
BERLE, MILTON
BERLIN, IRVING
BERMAN, PANDRO S.
BERMAN, SHELLEY
BERNARDI, HERSCHEL
BERNHARD, SANDRA
BERNSTEIN, ALINE
BERNSTEIN, ELMER
BERNSTEIN, HERMAN
BERNSTEIN, SID
BERNSTEIN, THEODORE
BETTMAN, GARY
BIKEL, THEODORE MEIR
BIMSTEIN, WHITEY
BISHOP, JOEY
BLANC, MEL
BLANK, LEON
BLAU, HERBERT
BLOCK, HERBERT LAWRENCE ("Herblock")
BLOOMGARDEN, KERMIT
BLUM, WALTER
BOCK, JERRY
BOGDANOVICH, PETER
BOONE, RICHARD
BORGE, VICTOR
BOUDREAU, LOU
BOZYK, MAX
BRECKER BROTHERS
BRENNER, TEDDY
BRICE, FANNY
BRODER, DAVID SALZER
BRODERICK, MATTHEW
BRODY, JANE
BROOKS, ALBERT
BROOKS, MEL
BROOKS, RICHARD
BROOKS, JAMES L.
BROTHERS, JOYCE
BROWN, LAWRENCE H.
BRUCE, LENNY
BRUCKHEIMER, JERRY
BUCHWALD, ART
BULOFF, JOSEPH
BURNS, GEORGE
BURROWS, ABE
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BUTTONS, RED
CAAN, JAMES
CAESAR, SID
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CANTOR, EDDIE
CAPP, AL
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CARTER, NELL
CHESS, LEONARD AND PHIL
CHETWYND, LIONEL
CHOPRA, JOYCE
CLAYBURGH, JILL

CLURMAN, HAROLD
COBB, LEE J.
COEN, JOEL & ETHAN
COHEN, ALEXANDER H.
COHEN, ELLIOT ETTELSON
COHEN, NATALIE
COHEN, SASHA
COHN, HARRY
COHN, LINDA
COLEMAN, CY
COMDEN, BETTY
COOPER, JACKIE
COPELAND, LILLIAN
COPPERFIELD, DAVID
CORWIN, NORMAN LEWIS
COSELL, HOWARD
CRYSTAL, BILLY
CUBAN, MARK
CUKOR, GEORGE
CURTIS, JAMIE LEE
CURTIS, TONY
CURTIZ, MICHAEL
DA SILVA, HOWARD
DANGERFIELD, RODNEY
DANIEL, DAN
DARVAS, LILI
DASSIN, JULES
DAVID, LARRY
DAVIS, AL
DAVIS, AL "BUMMY"
DAVIS, SAMMY JR.
DEMILLE, CECIL
DEREN, MAYA
DIAMOND, I.A.L.
DIAMOND, NEIL
DILLER, BARRY
DONATH, LUDWIG
DONEN, STANLEY
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DREYFUSS, BARNEY
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ELFMAN, DANNY
ELLIOT, "MAMA" CASS
ELMAN, ZIGGY
EPSTEIN, ALVIN
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EPSTEIN, JULIUS J. AND PHILIP G.
EVANS, ROBERT
FAIN, SAMMY
FALK, PETER
FEATHER, LEONARD
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FELDSHUH, TOVAH
FIELDS, DOROTHY
FIELDS, JACKIE
FINE, REUBEN
FISCHLER, STAN
FISHER, CARRIE
FISHER, EDDIE (Edwin)
FLAM, HERB
FLECK, BELA
FLEISCHER, NATHANIEL STANLEY
FLEISHER, LARRY
FORD, HARRISON
FOREMAN, CARL
FORMAN, MILOS
FOX, WILLIAM
FRANKENHEIMER, JOHN MICHAEL
FRANKLIN, SIDNEY
FREED, ALAN
FREED, ARTHUR
FRIEDKIN, WILLIAM
FRIEDMAN, BENJAMIN (Benny)
FRIEDMAN, KINKY
FRIEDMAN, THOMAS
FRIENDLY, FRED W.
FROHMAN
FULLER, SAMUEL MICHAEL
FUNT, ALLEN
GABEL, MAX
GABLER, MILTON
GABOR, JOLIE, MAGDA, ZSA ZSA, EVA
GAINES, WILLIAM M.
GARFIELD, JOHN (Jules)
GARFUNKEL, ART
GAYLORD, MITCHELL
GEFFEN, DAVID
GERSHWIN, GEORGE
GERSTEN, BERTA
GETZ, STAN
GIBBS, TERRY
GILBERT, BRAD
GILBERT, MELISSA
GILLMAN, SID
GLICKMAN, MARTIN IRVING
GLOBUS, YORAM
GODDARD, PAULETTE
GOLAN, MENACHEM
GOLDBERG, MARSHALL "BIGGIE"
GOLDBLUM, JEFF
GOLDEN, JOHN
GOLDENBERG, CHARLES "BUCKET"
GOLDSTEIN, JENNIE
GOLDSTEIN, RUBY
GOLDWYN, SAMUEL
GOODRICH, FRANCES AND HACKETT, ALBERT
GORCEY, LEO
GORDON, MAX
GORDON, MICHAEL
GORDON, SID
GOREN, CHARLES HENRY
GOTTLIEB, EDWARD
GOULD, ELLIOT
GRAHAM, BILL
GRANZ, NORMAN
GRAZER, BRIAN
GREEN, ABEL

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Popular Culture (*continued*)

GREEN, ADOLPH
GREEN, SHAWN
GREENBERG, HENRY BENJAMIN
GREENE, LORNE
GREENE, SHECKY
GREENSPAN, BUD
GREY, JOEL
GROSSFELD, ABRAHAM ISRAEL
GRUNFELD, ERNIE
GRUNWALD, HENRY ANATOLE
GUBER, PETER
GUGGENHEIM, CHARLES
GUTHRIE, ARLO
HACKETT, BUDDY
HALBERSTAM, DAVID
HALL, MONTY
HALMI, ROBERT
HAMLISCH, MARVIN
HAMMERSTEIN
HARBURG, E.Y. (Edgar "Yip")
HARMATZ, WILLIAM
HARNICK, SHELDON
HARRIS, BARBARA
HARRIS, JED
HARRIS, SAM HENRY
HARRISON, LESTER
HART, KITTY CARLISLE
HART, LORENZ
HAWN, GOLDIE
HEAD, EDITH
HECKERLING, AMY
HEINE-HEIMOWITZ, MORRIS
HENRY, BUCK
HENTOFF, NAT
HERMAN, JERRY
HERSH, SEYMOUR
HERSHEY, BARBARA
HERSHKOWITZ, VICTOR
HERSKOVITZ, MARSHALL AND ZWICK, EDWARD
HEWITT (Horowitz), DON
HILLER, ARTHUR
HIRSCH, JUDD
HOFFMAN, DUSTIN
HOLLANDERSKY, ABRAHAM ("Abe the Newsboy")
HOLLIDAY, JUDY
HOLMAN, NATHAN
HOLTZMAN, KENNETH DALE
HOLZMAN, WILLIAM (RED)
HOROWITZ, ISRAEL ALBERT
HOUDINI, HARRY
HOUSEMAN, JOHN
HOWARD, MOE, SHEMP AND CURLY (Three Stooges)
HUGHES, SARAH
IAN, JANIS
IRVING, AMY
IRVING, JULES
ISAACS, EDITH JULIET
IZENBERG, JERRY
JACOBS, HIRSCH
JACOBS, BERNARD B.
JACOBS, JAMES LESLIE
JACOBS, JOE
JACOBS, MICHAEL STRAUSS
JACOBY, OSWALD
JAFFE, SAM
JAFFEE, IRVING
JAGLOM, HENRY
JAMES, HARRY
JESSEL, GEORGE ALBERT
JOEL, BILLY
JOLSON, AL
KAEL, PAULINE
KAHN, MADELINE
KAHN, ROGER
KALICH, BERTHA
KANE, CAROL
KANIN, FAY
KARAN, DONNA
KARFF, MONA MAY
KARP, MAX AND SOPHIE
KASDAN, LAWRENCE
KASHDAN, ISAAC
KATZ, MICKEY
KATZENBERG, JEFFREY
KATZMAN, SAM
KAUFMAN, ANDY
KAUFMAN, BORIS
KAUFMAN, PHILIP
KAVNER, JULIE
KAYE, DANNY
KAZAN, LAINIE
KEITEL, HARVEY
KEMPNER, AVIVA
KESSEL, BARNEY
KESSLER, DAVID
KING, ALAN
KING, CAROLE
KING, LARRY
KLEIN, ANNE
KLEIN, CALVIN
KLEIN, MANNIE
KLUGMAN, JACK
KOLTANOWSKI, GEORGE
KONITZ, LEE
KOPPETT, LEONARD
KOPPLE, BARBARA
KORNHEISER, TONY
KOUFAX, SANFORD (Sandy)
KRAMER, STANLEY E.
KRASNA, NORMAN
KRAYZELBURG, LENNY
KRESSYN, MIRIAM
KUBRICK, STANLEY

KUDROW, LISA
LACY, STEVE
LAEMMLE, CARL
LAHR, BERT (Irving Lahrheim)
LAMARR, HEDY
LANDAU, MARTIN
LANDESMAN, ROCCO
LANDIS, JOHN
LANDON, MICHAEL
LANG, FRITZ
LANSING, SHERRY
LASKER, EMANUEL
LASKY, JESSE L.
LASSER, LOUISE
LAUREN, RALPH
LAVIN, LINDA
LAWRENCE, STEVE AND GORME, EYDIE
LE ROY, MERVYN
LEACHMAN, CLORIS
LEAR, NORMAN
LEBEDEFF, AARON
LEBOW, FRED
LEDERER, ESTHER PAULINE
LEHMAN, ERNEST
LEIBER, JERRY AND STOLLER, MIKE
LEONARD, BENNY
LEONTOVICH, EUGENIE
LERNER, ALAN JAY
LESTER, RICHARD
LEVANT, OSCAR
LEVENE, SAM
LEVENSON, SAM
LEVIEN, SONYA
LEVIN, BERNARD
LEVINE, JOSEPH E.
LEVINSKY, BATTLING (Barney Lebrowitz)
LEVINSON, BARRY
LEVY, MARV
LEWIS, JERRY
LEWIS, SHARI
LEWIS, TED (Kid)
LIEBERMAN, NANCY
LIEBLING, A.J.
LIPSYTE, ROBERT MICHAEL
LITVAK, ANATOLE (Michael)
LITWACK, HARRY
LOEW, MARCUS
LORRE, PETER
LORTEL, LUCILE
LOUIS-DREYFUS, JULIA
LUBITSCH, ERNST
LUKAS, PAUL
LUMET, SIDNEY
LYONS, LEONARD
MALTIN, LEONARD
MANILOW, BARRY
MANKIEWICZ, HERMAN
MANKIEWICZ, JOSEPH LEO
MANN, ABBY
MANN, DANIEL
MANN, DELBERT
MANN, HERBIE
MANNE, SHELLY
MARTIN, TONY
MARX BROTHERS
MASON, JACKIE
MATLIN, MARLEE
MATTHAU, WALTER
MAY, ELAINE
MAYER, LOUIS BURT
MAYSLES, ALBERT AND DAVID PAUL
MAZURSKY, PAUL
MEDVED, MICHAEL
MENDES, SAM
MENKEN, ADAH ISAACS
MERCHANT, LARRY
MERRICK, DAVID
MESSING, SHEP
MEYERS, NANCY JANE
MEZZROW, MILTON (Mezz)
MICHAELS, ALAN RICHARD
MICHAELS, LORNE
MIDLER, BETTE
MILLER, MARVIN
MIRISCH BROTHERS
MIX, RONALD
MODELL, ARTHUR B.
MOGULESKO, SIGMUND (Zelig)
MONROE, MARILYN
MOONVES, LES
MORRIS, ERROL
MORRIS, WILLIAM
MOSBACHER, EMIL JR.
MOSTEL, ZERO
MUNI, PAUL
MURRAY, ARTHUR
MYERS, LAWRENCE E. (Lon)
NAZIMOVA, ALLA
NEUWIRTH, BEBE
NEVINS, SHEILA
NEWMAN, PAUL
NEWMAN, RANDALL STUART
NICHOLS, MIKE
NIMOY, LEONARD
NORELL, NORMAN
OCHS, PHILIP DAVID
OVITZ, MICHAEL
PAKULA, ALAN
PALMER, LILLI
PALTROW, GWYNNETH
PAPP, JOSEPH
PARKER, SARAH JESSICA
PASTERNAK, JOSEPH
PATINKIN, MANDY
PATKIN, MAX
PAUL, GABRIEL HOWARD
PENN, ARTHUR
PENN, SEAN
PERRY, FRANK
PERSOFF, NEHEMIAH

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PICON, MOLLY
PIKE, LIPMAN E. (Lip)
PODOLOFF, MAURICE
POLLACK, SYDNEY
POLLIN, ABE
POMUS, DOC
POVICH, SHIRLEY
PREMINGER, OTTO LUDWIG
PRINCE, HAROLD
RADNER, GILDA
RAFELSON, ROBERT
RAMONE, JOEY
RANDALL, TONY
REDSTONE , SUMNER
REED, LOU
REESE, JIMMIE
REINER, CARL
REINER, ROB
REINHARDT, MAX
REINSDORF , JERRY
REISER, PAUL
RESHEVSKY, SAMUEL HERMAN
RICH, BUDDY
RICHARDS, MARTIN
RICKLES, DON
RITT, MARTIN
RITZ BROTHERS
RIVERS, JOAN
ROBERTS, TONY
ROBINSON, EDWARD G.
RODNEY, RED
ROSE, BILLY
ROSE, MAURICE
ROSEN, ALBERT LEONARD
ROSENBLOOM, CARROLL
ROSENBLOOM, MAX (“Slapsie”)
ROSS, BARNEY
ROSSEN, ROBERT
ROTH, DAVID LEE
ROTH, MARK
RUDIN, SCOTT
RUDNER, RITA
RUDOLPH, MARVIN (“Mendy”)
RYDER, WINONA
SAHL, MORT
SAKS, GENE
SALITA, DMITRI
SALTZMAN, HARRY
SAMPRAS, PETE
SANDLER, ADAM
SAPERSTEIN, ABRAHAM M. (“Abe”)
SARACHEK, BERNARD (Red)
SAVITT, RICHARD
SCHAAP, RICHARD
SCHACHT, ALEXANDER
SCHARY, DORE
SCHAYES, ADOLPH (Dolph)
SCHECKTER, JODY
SCHENKER, JOEL W.
SCHNEIDER, ALAN (Abram Leopoldovich)
SCHNEIDER, MATHIEU
SCHWARTZ, MAURICE
SCHWIMMER, DAVID
SEDAKA, NEIL
SEDRAN (Sedransky), BARNEY
SEGAL, GEORGE
SEINFELD, JERRY
SELDES, MARIAN
SELIG, ALLAN H. (“Bud”)
SELZNICK
SEYMOUR, JANE
SHAMSKY, ARTHUR LOUIS
SHANDLING, GARY
SHAPIRO, ESTHER
SHATNER, WILLIAM
SHAWN, DICK
SHEAN, AL
SHEARER, NORMA
SHER, SIR ANTHONY
SHERMAN, ALEXANDER (“Allie”)
SHERMAN, ALLAN
SHERRY, LAWRENCE AND NORMAN BURT
SHORE, DINAH (Francis Rose)
SHUBERT
SHUSTER, JOE
SIDNEY, SYLVIA
SIEGEL, JERRY
SILVER, JOAN MICKLIN
SILVER, RON
SILVERMAN, SIME
SILVERS, PHIL
SIMMONS, GENE
SIMON, CARLY
SIMON, PAUL FREDERIC
SINGER, BRYAN
SKULNIK, MENASHA
SOBEL, BERNARD
SODERBERGH, STEVEN
SOLOMON, HAROLD
SONNENFELD, BARRY
SORKIN, AARON
SPECTOR, PHIL
SPELLING, AARON
SPELLMAN, FRANK
SPIEGEL, SAMUEL P.
SPIELBERG, STEVEN
SPITZ, MARK
STAR, DARREN
STARK, ALBERT (“Dolly”)
STEIN, JULES
STERN, BILL
STERN, DAVID
STERN, HOWARD

STERNBERG, JOSEF VON
STILLER, BEN
STILLMAN, LOUIS
STONE, OLIVER
STONE, PETER
STONE, STEVE
STRASBERG, LEE
STREISAND, BARBRA
STRICK, JOSEPH
STROHEIM, ERICH VON
STRUG, KERRI
SUSSKIND, DAVID
TANENBAUM, SIDNEY HAROLD
TAYLOR, ELIZABETH
TAYMOR, JULIE
THALBERG, IRVING GRANT
THOMASHEFSKY, BESSIE
THOMASHEFSKY, BORIS
TOBACK, JAMES
TODD, MIKE
TORME, MEL
TUCKER, SOPHIE
ULLMAN, TRACEY
WALD, JERRY
WALETZKY, JOSH
WALLACH, ELI
WANAMAKER, SAM
WARFIELD, DAVID
WARNER
WASSERMAN, LEW
WEBB, JACK
WEIN, GEORGE
WEINSTEIN, HARVEY AND BOB
WEISSLER, BARRY AND FRAN
WEST, MAE
WESTHEIMER, RUTH
WILDER, BILLY
WILDER, GENE
WILPON, FRED
WINGER, DEBRA
WINKLER, HENRY
WINKLER, IRWIN
WINSTON, STAN
WINTERS, SHELLEY
WISE, ROBERT EARL
WISEMAN, FREDERICK
WOLPER, DAVID LLOYD
WOOLF, BOB
WYLER, WILLIAM
WYNN, ED
WYNN, KEENAN
YARROW, PETER
YOUNGMAN, HENNY
ZASLOVSKY, MAX
ZIEGFELD, FLORENZ
ZIMBALIST, EFREM
ZINNEMANN, FRED
ZORN, JOHN
ZUCKER, DAVID
ZUCKER, JEFF
ZUKOR, ADOLPH

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ABBELL, MAXWELL
ABELSON, PAUL
ABRAHAM
ABRAHAMS, ISAAC
ABRAMS, CHARLES
ABRAMS, ELLIOTT
ABRAMS, FLOYD
ABRAMS, ROBERT
ABRAMSON, JERRY EDWIN
ABZUG, BELLA
ACKERMAN, GARY
ADAMS, ARLIN MARVIN
ADAMS, JOHN
ADLER, ELMER
ADLER, EMANUEL PHILIP
ADLER, JULIUS OCHS
ADLER, MAX
ALEXANDER, ABRAHAM
ALEXANDER, BEATRICE
ALEXANDER, MOSES
ALLEN, ISAAC
ALLEN, PAUL
ALSCHULER, SAMUEL
ALTER, ELEANOR (Breitel)
ALTHEIMER, BENJAMIN
ALTMAN, BENJAMIN
ALTSCHUL, FRANK
ALTSCHUL, LOUIS
AMATEAU, ALBERT JEAN
AMERICAN, SADIE
AMRAM, DAVID WERNER
AMSTERDAM, BIRDIE
AMTER, ISRAEL
ANNENBERG, WALTER H.
ANSORGE, MARTIN
APPELMAN, HARLENE
ARONSON, ARNOLD
ARVEY, JACOB M.
ATRAN, FRANK Z.
AUERBACH, BEATRICE FOX
BAAR, EMIL
BACHARACH
BACHARACH, ISAAC
BACHE
BACKER, GEORGE
BAERWALD, PAUL
BAKER, EDWARD MAX
BALLMER, STEVEN
BAMBERGER, LOUIS
BAMBERGER, SIMON
BARNERT, NATHAN
BARONDESS, JOSEPH
BARRON, JENNIE LOITMAN
BARSHEFSKY, CHARLENE
BARSIMSON, JACOB
BARUCH
BAUM, MORTON

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BAZELON, DAVID L.
BEAME, ABRAHAM DAVID
BECKELMAN, MOSES W.
BECKER
BECKER, EDWARD ROY
BEDACHT, MAX
BEHAR, NISSIM
BEHRMAN, MARTIN
BEILENSON, ANTHONY
BELMONT, AUGUST
BENDERLY, SAMSON
BENESCH, ALFRED ABRAHAM
BENJAMIN, JUDAH PHILIP
BEN-VENISTE, RICHARD
BERG, PHILIP
BERGER, MEYER
BERGER, SAMUEL R.
BERGER, VICTOR
BERKLEY, ROCHELLE
BERKLEY, WILLIAM R.
BERMAN, HOWARD
BERMAN, JULIUS
BERNAYS, EDWARD
BERNBACH, WILLIAM
BERNHEIM, ISAAC WOLFE
BERNHEIMER, CHARLES SELIGMAN
BERNSTEIN, CARL
BERNSTEIN, LUDWIG BEHR
BERNSTEIN, ZALMAN CHAIM
BERNSTEIN, ZVI HIRSCH
BETTMANN, BERNHARD
BIALKIN, KENNETH
BICKEL, ALEXANDER M.
BIEN, JULIUS
BIJUR, NATHAN
BILLIKOPF, JACOB
BINSWANGER, ISIDORE
BISGYER, MAURICE
BITTELMAN, ALEXANDER
BLACK, ALGERNON
BLACKSTONE, WILLIAM E.
BLANK, ARTHUR
BLAUSTEIN
BLAUSTEIN, DAVID
BLITZER, WOLF
BLOCH
BLOCH, CLAUDE
BLOCK, H&R
BLOCK, PAUL
BLOOM, BENJAMIN SAMUEL
BLOOM, SOL
BLOOMBERG, MICHAEL
BLOOMINGDALE
BLUESTONE, JOSEPH ISAAC
BLUHDORN, CHARLES
BLUMENBERG, LEOPOLD
BLUMENFIELD, SAMUEL
BLUMENTHAL, GEORGE
BLUMENTHAL, JOSEPH
BLUMENTHAL, JOSEPH
BLUMENTHAL, WERNER MICHAEL
BOESKY, IVAN
BOGEN, BORIS DAVID
BOLTEN, JOSHUA B.
BONDI, AUGUST
BONDI, JONAS
BONDY, MAX
BOOKBINDER, HYMAN H.
BORINSTEIN, LOUIS J.
BOSCHWITZ, RUDOLPH ELI
BOTEIN, BERNARD
BOXER, BARBARA
BOYAR, LOUIS H.
BRANDEIS, LOUIS DEMBITZ
BREITEL, CHARLES
BRENNER, ROSE
BRENTANO
BRESLAW, JOSEPH
BRESSLER, DAVID MAURICE
BREYER, STEPHEN GERALD
BRIN, SERGEY
BROAD, ELI
BROIDO, LOUIS
BRONFMAN, EDGAR MILES
BROWN, BENJAMIN
BROWN, DAVID ABRAHAM
BROWN, HAROLD
BRUCKMAN, HENRIETTA
BUCHALTER, LOUIS ("Lepke")
BUERGENTHAL, THOMAS
BURNS, ARTHUR FRANK
BUSH, GEORGE HERBERT WALKER
BUSH, GEORGE WALKER
BUSH, ISIDOR
BUSH, SOLOMON
BUTTENWIESER
BUTZEL
CAHN, EDMOND NATHANIEL
CALOF, RACHEL
CANTOR, ERIC
CANTOR, JACOB AARON
CARDIN, BENJAMIN L.
CARDIN, SHOSHANA
CARDOZO
CARDOZO, BENJANIN NATHAN
CARNEGIE, HATTIE
CARTER, JAMES EARL (Jimmy)
CARTER, VICTOR M.
CELLER, EMANUEL
CERF, BENNETT ALFRED
CHAIKIN, SOL
CHERTOFF , MICHAEL
CHIPKIN, ISRAEL

CHUDOFF, EARL
CLINTON, WILLIAM JEFFERSON
COHEN
COHEN, ALFRED MORTON
COHEN, BENJAMIN VICTOR
COHEN, FANNIA M.
COHEN, H. RODGIN
COHEN, JOHN SANFORD
COHEN, MARY MATILDA
COHEN, PHILIP MELVIN
COHEN, WILLIAM S.
COHEN, WILLIAM WOLFE
COHN, MORRIS MANDEL
COHON, GEORGE
COLE, KENNETH
CONE
COPPERSMITH, SAMUEL
COWEN, PHILIP
CROWN, HENRY
CUBAN, MARK
CULLMAN
CUTLER, BRUCE
CUTLER, HARRY
DA COSTA, ISAAC
D'AMATO, ALPHONSE
DARMSTADT, JOSEPH
DAROFF, SAMUEL H.
DASH, SAMUEL
DAVIDSON, WILLIAM
DAVIS, ABEL
DAVIS, MARVIN H.
DAVIS, SUSAN
DE CORDOVA, JACOB
DE HAAS, JACOB
DE LA MOTTA, JACOB
DE LEON
DE LEON, DANIEL
DE LUCENA
DELL, MICHAEL
DEMBITZ, LEWIS NAPHTALI
DERSHOWITZ, ALAN M.
DEUTCH, JOHN M.
DEUTSCH, BERNARD SEYMOUR
DICKSTEIN, SAMUEL
DININ, SAMUEL
DITTENHOEFER, ABRAM JESSE
DORPH, SHELDON
DREBEN, SAM
DREXLER, MILLARD (Mickey)
DROPSIE, MOSES AARON
DUBINSKY, DAVID
DUSHKIN, ALEXANDER MORDECHAI
DYCHE, JOHN ALEXANDER
EINSTEIN, LEWIS
EISENHOWER, DWIGHT DAVID
EISENMAN, CHARLES
EISNER, MARK
EISNER, MICHAEL DAMMANN
EIZENSTAT, STUART
ELCAN, MARCUS
ELIAS, ELI
ELKUS, ABRAM ISAAC
ELLENSTEIN, MEYER C.
ELLINGER, MORITZ
ELLISON, LAWRENCE J.
ELLSBERG, DANIEL
ELLSBERG, EDWARD
ENGEL, ELIOT L.
EPSTEIN, JUDITH
ETTENBERG, SYLVIA
ETTING
EVANS, ELI
EVANS, JANE
EZEKIEL, JACOB
FACTOR, MAX
FAIRSTEIN, LINDA
FALK
FARKAS, RUTH
FEINBERG, ABRAHAM
FEINBERG, KENNETH
FEINBERG, ROBERT
FEINGOLD, RUSSELL
FEINSTEIN, DIANNE
FEINSTONE, MORRIS
FEITH, DOUGLAS J.
FELDHEIM, PHILIPP
FELDMAN, HERMAN
FELDMAN, SANDRA
FELLER, ABRAHAM HOWARD
FELS
FERKAUF, EUGENE
FILENE
FINEMAN, HAYYIM
FINKELSTEIN, ARTHUR
FISCHEL, ARNOLD
FISCHEL, HARRY
FISHER, DONALD
FISHER, MAX M.
FISHMAN, JACOB
FLEISCHMANN, JULIUS
FLEISHER
FLEXNER
FOREMAN, MILTON J.
FORMAN, PHILLIP
FORTAS, ABE
FOXMAN, ABRAHAM
FRAENKEL, OSMOND K.
FRANK, BARNEY
FRANK, ELI
FRANK, JEROME
FRANK, LEO MAX
FRANK, RAY
FRANKEL, HIRAM D.
FRANKEL, LEE KAUFER
FRANKEL, MARVIN E.
FRANKEL, MAX
FRANKEL, SAMUEL BENJAMIN
FRANKENTHALER, GEORGE
FRANKFURTER, FELIX
FRANKS, DAVID

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FRANKS, DAVID SALISBURY
FRANKS, JACOB
FRANKS, JACOB
FREIBERG LIST
FREUND, ERNST
FREUND, PAUL ABRAHAM
FREUND-ROSENTHAL, MIRIAM KOTTLER
FRIEDAN, BETTY
FRIEDENBERG, ALBERT MARX
FRIEDENBERG, SAMUEL
FRIEDENWALD
FRIEDLANDER, ISAAC
FRIEDLANDER, WALTER
FRIEDMAN, HERBERT A.
FRIEDSAM, MICHAEL
FRIEND, HUGO MORRIS
FRIENDLY, HENRY JACOB
FRISCH, DANIEL
FROST, MARTIN
FUCHSBERG, JACOB D.
FULD, STANLEY HOWELLS
GADOL, MOISES
GAER, FELICE
GAMORAN, EMANUEL
GANS, BIRD STEIN
GARMENT, LEONARD
GELB, ARTHUR
GELLMAN, LEON
GEORGE, MANFRED
GERSHOVITZ, SAMUEL
GERSONI, HENRY
GERSTLE, LEWIS
GERTZ, ELMER
GIMBEL
GINGOLD, PINCHAS M.
GINSBERG, EDWARD
GINSBERG, MITCHELL I.
GINSBURG, RUTH JOAN BADER
GITLOW, BENJAMIN
GLICKMAN, DANIEL
GLUCKSMAN, HARRY L.
GOLD, BENJAMIN
GOLDBERG, ARTHUR JOSEPH
GOLDBERG, JEANNETTE MIRIAM
GOLDIN, DANIEL SAUL
GOLDMAN
GOLDMAN, EMMA
GOLDMAN, MAYER CLARENCE
GOLDMAN, MOSES HA-KOHEN
GOLDMAN, PAUL L.
GOLDMANN, SIDNEY
GOLDMARK
GOLDSCHMIDT, NEIL EDWARD
GOLDSMITH, HORACE WARD
GOLDSMITH, SAMUEL ABRAHAM
GOLDSTEIN, ABRAHAM SAMUEL
GOLDSTEIN, FANNY
GOLDSTEIN, JUDAH JAMISON
GOLDWASSER, ISRAEL EDWIN
GOLDWATER
GOLDWATER, SIGMUND SCHULZ
GOMEZ
GOMPERS, SAMUEL
GOODHART, ARTHUR LEHMAN
GOODMAN, ANDREW
GOODMAN, ARNOLD ABRAHAM, LORD
GOTSFELD, BESSIE GOLDSTEIN
GOTTESMAN
GOULD, MILTON S.
GRANT, LEE
GRANT, ULYSSES SIMPSON
GRATZ
GRATZ, REBECCA
GREENBAUM, EDWARD SAMUEL
GREENBERG, HAYYIM
GREENBERG, MAURICE
GREENBLATT, ALIZA
GREENE, HAROLD
GREENEBAUM
GREENFIELD, ALBERT MONROE
GREENSPAN, ALAN
GREENSTEIN, HARRY
GROSSINGER, JENNIE
GROSSMAN, STEVEN
GROVE, ANDREW S.
GRUBER, RUTH
GRUENBERG, SIDONIE MATSNER
GRUENING, ERNEST HENRY
GUGGENHEIM
GUINZBURG, HAROLD KLEINERT
GUZIK, JACOB
HACKENBURG, WILLIAM BOWER
HAHN, MICHAEL
HALLGARTEN
HALPRIN, ROSE LURIA
HAMMER, ARMAND
HANDLER, MILTON
HANDLER, RUTH MOSKO
HARBY, ISAAC
HARBY, LEVI MYERS
HARDMAN, JACOB BENJAMIN
HARMAN, JANE
HARRIS, LOUIS
HART, ABRAHAM
HART, BERNARD
HART, EMANUEL BERNARD
HART, EPHRAIM
HART, ISAAC
HART, MYER
HARTOGENSIS, BENJAMIN HENRY
HASSENFELD, SYLVIA
HAUSER, RITA
HAY, JOHN MILTON

HAYES, ISAAC ISRAEL
HAYS
HAYS, ARTHUR GARFIELD
HAYS, DANIEL PEIXOTTO
HELD, ADOLPH
HELLERSTEIN, ALVIN K.
HELLMAN, ISAIAS WOLF
HELMSLEY, LEONA
HENDRICKS
HENRY, JACOB
HENSHEL, HARRY D.
HERLANDS, WILLIAM BERNARD
HERSTEIN, LILLIAN
HERTZ, EMANUEL
HEYDENFELDT, SOLOMON
HILLMAN, BESSIE ABRAMOWITZ
HILLMAN, SIDNEY
HILLQUIT, MORRIS
HIMMELSTEIN, LENA
HIRSCH, SOLOMON
HIRSCHMANN, IRA ARTHUR
HIRSHHORN, JOSEPH HERMAN
HOCHMAN, JULIUS
HOENLEIN, MALCOLM
HOFFMAN, CHARLES ISAIAH
HOFFMAN, JEFFREY
HOFFMAN, JULIUS JENNINGS
HOFFMAN, PHILIP E.
HOLBROOKE, RICHARD CHARLES
HOLLZER, HARRY AARON
HOLTZMAN, ELIZABETH
HONOR, LEO L.
HORNER, HENRY
HOROWITZ, LOUIS J.
HUMPHREY, HUBERT H.
HURWICH, LOUIS
HURWITZ, HENRY
HYMAN, JOSEPH C.
ICAHN, CARL
INDYK, MARTIN
ISAACS
ISAACS, ISAIAH
ISAACS, JOSEPH
ISAACS, NATHAN
ISRAEL, STEVE
JACKSON, SOLOMON HENRY
JACOBS, FRANCES WISEBART
JACOBS, IRWIN
JACOBS, ROSE GELL
JACOBS, SOLOMON
JACOBSON, EDWARD (Eddie)
JAFFA
JAVITS, JACOB KOPPEL
JEFFERSON, THOMAS
JESSELSON, LUDWIG
JOACHIMSEN, PHILIP J.
JOEL, RICHARD
JOHNSON, LYNDON BAINES
JONAS, JOSEPH
JONAS, NATHAN S.
JORDAN, CHARLES HAROLD
JOSEPHSON, MANUEL
JOSEPHTAL, LOUIS MAURICE
JUDAH
KAHANE, MEIR
KAHN, ALEXANDER
KAHN, BERNARD
KAHN, DOROTHY C.
KAHN, FLORENCE PRAG
KAHN, JULIUS
KAHN, OTTO HERMANN
KALB, BERNARD
KALB, MARVIN
KALIKOW, PETER
KAMPELMAN, MAX M.
KANE, IRVING
KANEV, ISAAC
KANN, PETER R.
KANTOR, MICKEY
KAPLAN, LOUIS LIONEL
KAR-BEN/LERNER
KARMAZIN, MEL
KARSEN, FRITZ
KATZ, LABEL A.
KAUFMAN, IRVING R.
KAYE, JUDITH
KEMPNER, HARRIS
KENNEDY, JOHN FITZGERALD
KIMMEL, SIDNEY
KIRSTEIN, LOUIS EDWARD
KISSINGER, HENRY ALFRED
KLAPPER, PAUL
KLEIN, JULIUS
KLEIN, MORTON
KLEIN, PHILIP
KLUTZNICK, PHILIP MORRIS
KNEFLER, FREDERICK
KNOPF, ALFRED A.
KNOPF, BLANCHE WOLFE
KOBLER, FRANZ
KOCH, EDWARD IRVING
KOENIGSBERG, MOSES
KOHL, HERBERT
KOHLER, MAX JAMES
KOPELMAN, ARIE
KOPPEL, TED
KOPPLEMANN, HERMAN PAUL
KORNFELD, JOSEPH SAUL
KOSNER, EDWARD
KOZINSKI, ALEX
KRAFT, LOUIS
KRAUS, ADOLF
KRAVIS, HENRY
KRAVITCH, PHYLLIS A.
KRISTOL, WILLIAM
KROCK, ARTHUR
KROSS, ANNA
KRULEWITCH, MELVIN LEVIN
KUHN-LOEB
KUNIN, MADELEINE MAY

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KUNSTLER, WILLIAM
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KURSHEEDT, ISRAEL BAER
KURTZER, DANIEL CHARLES
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LADEJINSKY, WOLF ISAAC
LANSKY, MEYER
LANTOS, TOM
LASKER
LAUDER, ESTÉE
LAUDER, RONALD
LAURENCE, WILLIAM L.
LAUTENBERG, FRANK
LAUTERBACH, EDWARD H.
LAWRENCE, DAVID
LAWTON, SAMUEL T.
LAZARD
LAZARUS
LEAVITT, MOSES A.
LEFKOWITZ, LOUIS
LEFRAK, SAMUEL J.
LEHMAN
LEHMAN, HERBERT HENRY
LEHMAN, IRVING
LEHMAN, WILLIAM
LEIBER, JUDITH
LEIBOWITZ, SAMUEL SIMON
LEIDESDORF, SAMUEL DAVID
LEIPZIGER, HENRY M.
LELYVELD, JOSEPH
LEMKIN, RAPHAEL
LERNER, MICHAEL
LESLIE, ROBERT L.
LEVI, EDWARD H.
LEVIN, CARL
LEVIN, LEWIS CHARLES
LEVIN, RICHARD
LEVIN, SANDER
LEVIN, THEODORE
LEVIN-SHATZKES, YIZHAK
LEVINSON, SALMON OLIVER
LEVITAN, SOLOMON
LEVITT
LEVITT, ARTHUR SENIOR AND JR.
LEVY, AARON
LEVY, AARON
LEVY, ALBERT J.
LEVY, ASSER
LEVY, CHAPMAN
LEVY, HAYMAN
LEVY, JEFFERSON MONROE
LEVY, JONAS PHILLIPS
LEVY, MOSES
LEVY, MOSES
LEVY, MOSES ELIAS
LEVY, NATHAN
LEVY, URIAH PHILLIPS
LEW, JACOB
LEWIN, NATHAN
LEWIS, ANTHONY
LEWIS, PETER B.
LEWIS, SAMUEL ALEXANDER
LEWISOHN
LICHT, FRANK
LIEBERMAN, JOSEPH
LIEBMANN, ESTHER SCHULHOFF ARON AND JOST
LILIENTHAL, DAVID ELI
LIMAN, ARTHUR
LINCOLN, ABRAHAM
LINDHEIM, IRMA LEVY
LINGLE, LINDA
LINOWITZ, SOL MYRON
LIPPMANN, WALTER
LIPSKY, LOUIS
LIT
LITTAUER, LUCIUS NATHAN
LIVERIGHT, HORACE BRISBIN
LOEB, JAMES
LONDON, MEYER
LOPEZ, AARON
LOURIE, NORMAN VICTOR
LOVESTONE, JAY
LOW, MINNIE
LOWENSTEIN, ALLARD KENNETH
LOWENSTEIN, SOLOMON
LOWEY, NITA
LOWN, PHILIP W.
LURIE, HARRY LAWRENCE
LYONS, EUGENE
MACK, JULIAN WILLIAM
MACKLOWE, HARRY
MADISON, JAMES
MAGNES, JUDAH LEON
MAGNIN, MARY ANN COHEN
MALKIEL, THERESA SERBER
MALSIN, LANE BRYANT
MANDEL, MARVIN
MANN, FREDERIC RAND
MANN, THEODORE R.
MARCOSSON, ISAAC
MARCUS, BERNARD
MARCUS, DAVID DANIEL
MARCUS, STANLEY
MARGARETEN, REGINA
MARGOLIN, ARNOLD
MARGOSHES, SAMUEL
MARIX, ADOLPH
MARKEL, LESTER
MARKS, HAYMAN
MARKS, MARCUS M.
MARSHALL, LOUIS
MASSELL, SAM JR.
MATZ, ISRAEL

MAYER, LEOPOLD
MAYER, LEVY
MAZER
MAZUR, JAY
MCDONALD, JAMES GROVER
MEARS, OTTO
MEDALIE, GEORGE ZERDIN
MEED, BENJAMIN
MEED, VLADKA
MEIER, JULIUS
MELTON, FLORENCE ZACKS
MELTON, SAMUEL MENDEL
MENKEN
MESSINGER, RUTH
MEYER, ANNIE NATHAN
MEYER, BARON DE HIRSCH
MEYER, EUGENE
MEYERHOFF, HARVEY
MEYERHOFF, JOSEPH
MICHAEL, JAKOB
MICHAEL, MOSES
MICHELSON, CHARLES
MIKVA, ABNER J.
MILKEN, MICHAEL
MILL, JOSEPH SOLOMON (John)
MILLER, LOUIS E.
MILSTEIN
MINIS
MINOW, NEWTON NORMAN
MINSKY, LOUIS
MOÏSE, ABRAHAM
MONSKY, HENRY
MONTOR, HENRY
MORDECAI, ALFRED
MORDECAI, JACOB
MOREEL, BEN
MORGENTHAU
MORRIS, NELSON
MORSE, DAVID ABNER
MORSE, LEOPOLD
MORWITZ, EDWARD
MOSES, MYER
MOSES, RAPHAEL J.
MOSES, ROBERT
MOSKOWITZ, HENRY
MOSS, JOHN
MYERS, GUSTAVUS
MYERS, MORDECAI
MYERS, MOSES
MYERS, SAMUEL
MYERSON, BESS
NAAR, DAVID
NADLER, JERROLD
NAGLER, ISADORE
NATHAN
NATHAN, MAUD
NAUMBURG
NELSON, LOUIS
NEUBERGER, RICHARD LEWIS
NEUMANN, EMANUEL
NEUMANN, HENRY
NEWHOUSE, SAMUEL IRVING
NEWMAN, ISIDORE
NEWMAN, JON O.
NEWMAN, PAULINE
NEWMARK
NEWMYER, ARTHUR GROVER
NILES, DAVID K.
NIXON, RICHARD MILHAUS
NIZER, LOUIS
NOAH, MORDECAI MANUEL
NONES, BENJAMIN
NORMAN, EDWARD ALBERT
NOVAK, ROBERT
NOVY, JIM
OCHS
OHRBACH
OPPENHEIMER, FRITZ E.
ORTENBERG, ARTHUR
OTTINGER, ALBERT
PACHECO, RODRIGO BENJAMIN MENDES
PACHT, ISAAC
PACKMAN, JAMES JOSEPH
PADWAY, JOSEPH ARTHUR
PALEY, WILLIAM SAMUEL
PAM, HUGO
PANKEN. JACOB
PARNIS, MOLLIE
PAT, JACOB
PATRICOF, ALAN
PEARL, DANIEL
PEARLSTINE, NORMAN
PEIXOTTO
PEIXOTTO, JUDITH
PEKARSKY, MAURICE
PEKELIS, ALEXANDER HAIM
PEMBER, PHOEBE YATES
PERELMAN, RONALD O.
PERLE, RICHARD N.
PERLMAN, ALFRED EDWARD
PERLMAN, HELEN HARRIS
PERLMAN, SELIG
PERSKY, DANIEL
PESOTTA, ROSE
PFORZHEIMER, CARL HOWARD
PHILADELPHIA, JACOB
PHILLIPS
PHILLIPS, PHILIP
PHILLIPS, REBECCA MACHADO
PHILLIPSON, IRVING JOSEPH
PILCH, JUDAH
PINANSKI, ABRAHAM
PINNER, MORITZ
PINTO, ISAAC
PISCO, SERAPHINE
POGREBIN, LETTY COTTIN
POLACHEK, VICTOR HENRY
POLIER, SHAD
POLLACK, MILTON
POLLAK, WALTER HEILPRIN

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POLYKOFF, SHIRLEY
POMERANTZ, FRED
POSNER, RICHARD A.
POTOFSKY, JACOB SAMUEL
PRAGER, DENNIS
PRESSMAN, LEE
PRITZKER
PROSKAUER, JOSEPH MEYER
PULITZER, JOSEPH
RABB, MAXWELL MILTON
RABINOFF, GEORGE W.
RABINOWICZ, OSKAR K.
RABINOWITZ, LOUIS MAYER
RADIN, MAX
RATNER, BRUCE
RATNER, LEONARD
RATSHESKY, ABRAHAM CAPTAIN
RAUH, JOSEPH L.
RAYNER, ISIDOR
RAYNOR, BRUCE
RAZOVSKY, CECILIA
REAGAN, RONALD WILSON
REDLICH, NORMAN
REE, HARTVIG PHILIP
REESE, MICHAEL
REHINE, ZALMA
REINHARDT, STEPHEN R.
REMNICK, DAVID
RENDELL, EDWARD
RESNIK, JUDITH
REVSON, CHARLES HASKELL
RIBICOFF, ABRAHAM A.
RICE, ISAAC LEOPOLD
RICE, JAMES P.
RICE, JOSEPH MAYER
RICH
RICH, MARC
RICHARDS, BERNARD GERSON
RICHMAN, JULIA
RICKOVER, HYMAN GEORGE
RIEGELMAN, HAROLD
RIFKIND, SIMON HIRSCH
RIKLIS, MESHULAM
RIVERA, JACOB RODRIGUEZ
RIVLIN, ALICE MITCHELL
ROBINSON, JACOB
ROBINSON, NEHEMIAH
ROCKER
RODKINSON, MICHAEL LEVI
ROHATYN, FELIX G.
ROOSEVELT, FRANKLIN DELANO
ROOSEVELT, THEODORE
ROSE, ALEX
ROSE, ERNESTINE POTOVSKY
ROSE, MAURICE
ROSEN, CARL
ROSENBERG, ABRAHAM
ROSENBERG, ABRAHAM HAYYIM
ROSENBERG, ANNA MARIE LEDERER
ROSENBERG, JAMES NAUMBURG
ROSENBLATT, BERNARD ABRAHAM
ROSENBLATT, SOL ARIEH
ROSENBLOOM, SOLOMON
ROSENBLUM, FRANK
ROSENDALE, SIMON WOLFE
ROSENFELD, SAMUEL
ROSENMAN, SAMUEL IRVING
ROSENSAFT, JOSEF
ROSENSOHN, ETTA LASKER
ROSENTHAL, ABRAHAM MICHAEL
ROSENTHAL, BENJAMIN
ROSENTHAL, HERMAN
ROSENTHAL, IDA COHEN
ROSENWALD
ROSEWATER, EDWARD
ROSS, DENNIS B.
ROSS, STEPHEN
ROSTOW, EUGENE VICTOR
ROSTOW, WALT WHITMAN
ROTHBERG, SAMUEL
ROTHENBERG, MORRIS
ROTHSCHILD, WALTER N.
ROTHSTEIN, ARNOLD
RUBIN, ROBERT
RUBIN, SAMUEL
RUBINSTEIN, HELENA
RUBY, JACK
RUDIN
RUDMAN, WARREN BRUCE
RUEF, ABRAHAM
RUKEYSER, MERRYLE STANLEY
SABAN, HAIM
SABATH, ADOLF JOACHIM
SABSOVICH, H. L.
SACHS
SAFIRE, WILLIAM
SAKOWITZ, BERNARD
SALIT, NORMAN
SALOMON, HAYM
SALTZMAN, MAURICE
SALVADOR
SALZMAN, WILLIAM
SAMUEL, RALPH E.
SAND, LEONARD
SANDERS, BERNARD
SAPIRO, AARON
SAPIRSTEIN-STONE-WEISS
SARASOHN, KASRIEL HERSCH
SARNOFF, DAVID
SATINSKY, SOL
SCAASI, ARNOLD
SCHAKOWSKY, JANICE
SCHANBERG, SYDNEY

SCHECHTMAN, JOSEPH B.
SCHECK, BARRY
SCHENK, FAYE L.
SCHEUER, JAMES
SCHIFF, ADAM
SCHIFF, DOROTHY
SCHIFF, JACOB HENRY
SCHLESINGER, BENJAMIN
SCHLOSSBERG, JOSEPH
SCHMIDT, SAMUEL MYER
SCHNEIDER, IRVING
SCHOOLMAN, BERTHA S.
SCHORR, DANIEL L.
SCHOTTLAND, CHARLES IRWIN
SCHRADER, ABE
SCHULTZ, DUTCH
SCHULTZ, HOWARD
SCHUSTER, MAX LINCOLN
SCHUSTERMAN, CHARLES AND LYNN
SCHWAB, JOSEPH J.
SCHWARTZ, DAVID
SCHWARTZ, FELICE NIERENBERG
SCHWARTZ, JOSEPH J.
SCHWARZBERG, SAMUEL BENJAMIN
SCHWIMMER, ROSIKA
SEASONGOOD
SEGAL, BERNARD GERARD
SEGAL, LOUIS
SEIXAS
SELDES, GEORGE
SELEKMAN, BENJAMIN M.
SELIGMAN
SELIGSBERG, ALICE LILLIE
SELTZER, LOUIS BENSON
SEMAN, PHILIP LOUIS
SENIOR, MAX
SHALOM, ISAAC I.
SHANKER, ALBERT
SHAPERO, NATE S.
SHAPIRO, EZRA Z.
SHAPIRO, IRVING SAUL
SHAPIRO, ROBERT
SHAPIRO, SAMUEL HARVEY
SHAPP, MILTON J.
SHAVELSON, CLARA LEMLICH
SHAW, BENJAMN
SHEFTALL
SHEINDLIN, JUDITH
SHEINKMAN, JACOB
SHER, NEAL
SHETZER, SIMON
SHIPLACOFF, ABRAHAM ISAAC
SHRODER, WILLIAM J.
SHULMAN, HARRY
SIEBERT, MURIEL
SIEGEL, BENJAMIN ("Bugsy")
SIEGEL, MARK
SIGMAN, MORRIS
SILBERBERG, MENDEL
SILVER, EDWARD S.
SILVER, HAROLD M.
SILVERSTEIN, LARRY
SIMON
SIMON, JOSEPH
SIMON, NORTON
SIMONS, JAMES
SIMSON
SINGER, ISIDORE
SINGER, ISRAEL
SLAWSON, JOHN
SLOMOVITZ, PHILIP
SLOSS, MARCUS CAUFFMAN
SOBELOFF, ISIDOR
SOBELOFF, SIMON ERNEST
SOFAER, ABRAHAM
SOKOLOF, PHIL
SOLARZ, STEPHEN JOSHUA
SOLIS-COHEN
SOLOMON, EZEKIEL
SOLOMON, HANNAH GREENEBAUM
SOLOMONS, ADOLPHUS SIMEON
SONNEBORN, RUDOLF GOLDSCHMIDT
SONNENFELDT, HELMUT
SONNENSCHEIN, ROSA
SOROS, GEORGE
SPANEL, ABRAM NETHANIEL
SPECTER, ARLEN
SPEYER
SPIEGEL, DORA
SPIELVOGEL, CARL, AD, AMBASSADOR
SPITZER, ELIOT
SPORKIN, STANLEY
SQUADRON, HOWARD MAURICE
STACHEL, JACOB
STARK, LOUIS
STEIMER, MOLLY
STEIN, HERMAN D.
STEINEM, GLORIA
STEINGUT
STEINHARDT, LAURENCE ADOLF
STEINHARDT, MICHAEL
STERN, ELIZABETH
STERN, HORACE
STERN, JULIUS DAVID
STERN, LEONARD
STERN, LOUIS
STERN, MAX
STERNE, SIMON
STOKES, ROSE PASTOR (Wieslander)
STONE, DEWEY
STONE, I.F. (Isidore Feinstein)
STONE, JULIUS
STONE, RICHARD BERNARD
STRASSFELD, SHARON
STRAUS
STRAUS, ROGER JR.
STRAUSS, LEVI
STRAUSS, LEWIS LICHTENSTEIN
STRAUSS, ROBERT SCHWARTZ
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SULZBERGER, ARTHUR HAYS
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SUMMERS, LAWRENCE
SUTRO, ADOLPH HEINRICH JOSEPH
SWIG, BENJAMIN HARRISON
SWOPE, GERARD
SWOPE, HERBERT BAYARD
SYRKIN, MARIE
SZOLD, HENRIETTA
SZOLD, ROBERT
TAUBMAN, ALFRED A.
TAUSSIG
TEICHOLZ, BRUCE B.
TERKEL, STUDS (Louis)
TISCH
TISHMAN
TOBIAS, ABRAHAM
TOBIAS, JOSEPH
TORCZYNER, JACQUES
TOURO, JUDAH
TOUROFF, NISSAN
TRAUB, MARVIN
TRIGERE, PAULINE
TRUMAN, HARRY S.
UDIN, SOPHIE
ULMAN, JOSEPH N.
UNTERMYER, SAMUEL
URIS
UVILLER, HARRY
VANCE, ZEBULON BAIRD
VLADECK, BARUCH CHARNEY
VOGELSTEIN, LUDWIG
VOLCKER, PAUL
VON FURSTENBERG, DIANE
VORENBERG, JAMES
VORSPAN, ALBERT
WACHNER, LINDA
WACHTLER, SOL
WAGG, ABRAHAM
WALD, LILLIAN
WALDMAN, MORRIS DAVID
WALINSKY
WALLACE, MIKE (Myron Leon)
WALTERS, BARBARA
WARBURG
WASHINGTON, GEORGE
WASSER, DENNIS
WASSERMAN-SCHULTZ, DEBBIE
WASSERSTEIN, BRUCE
WECHSLER, JAMES A.
WEIL, A. LEO
WEIL, FRANK LEOPOLD
WEILER, JACK D.
WEILL, SANFORD
WEINBAUM, MARK EFIMOVICH
WEINBERG, HARRY
WEINBERG, SIDNEY J.
WEINER, ANTHONY D.
WEINFELD, EDWARD
WEINSTEIN, JACK B.
WEINSTEIN, LEWIS H.
WEINSTOCK, HARRIS
WEISGAL, MEYER WOLF
WEISS, MELVYN
WEISS, SAMUEL ARTHUR
WELLSTONE, PAUL DAVID
WELSH, ARTHUR L. (Al)
WERTHEIM, MAURICE
WEXLER, ROBERT
WEXLER, WILLIAM ABE
WEXNER, LESLIE H.
WHITE, THEODORE H. (“Teddy”)
WIENER, ALFRED
WIERNIK, PETER
WILENTZ, ROBERT N.
WILLEN, JOSEPH
WILSON, WOODROW
WINCHELL, WALTER
WOLF
WOLF, SIMON
WOLFENSOHN, JAMES D.
WOLPE, HOWARD ELLIOT
WOOLF, LEONARD
WURZWEILER, GUSTAV
WYDEN, RONALD STEPHEN
WYNN, STEVE
WYZANSKI, CHARLES EDWARD JR.
YANKOWICH, LEON RENE
YATES, SIDNEY R.
YULEE, DAVID LEVY
ZARITSKY, MAX
ZELLERBACH
ZEMURRAY, SAMUEL
ZIMMERMAN, CHARLES SASCHA
ZIVION
ZLOTOWITZ, MEIR
ZUCKER, HENRY L.
ZUCKERMAN, BARUCH
ZUCKERMAN, BEN
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ZUKERMAN, JACOB T.
ZUNTZ, ALEXANDER

Religion

AARON, ISRAEL
AARONSOHN, MICHAEL
AARONSOHN, MOSES
ABRAHAMS, ABRAHAM ISAAC
ABRAMOWITZ, DOV BAER

ACKERMAN, PAULA
ADAMS, THEODORE
ADLER, JOSEPH
ADLER, LIEBMANN
ADLER, MORRIS
ADLER, SAMUEL
AGUS, JACOB BERNARD
ALBUM, ZVI SHIMON
ALPER, MICHAEL
ALPERSTEIN, AVRAHAM
ANGEL, MARC
ARONOWITZ, BENJAMIN
ARONSON, DAVID
ARZT, MAX
ASH, AVRAHAM J.
ASHER, JOSEPH
ASHINSKY, AARON MORDECAI HALEVI
AVRUTICK, ABRAHAM
AZUBY, ABRAHAM
BAAR, HERMAN
BACKMAN, JULES
BAMBERGER, BERNARD JACOB
BARISHANSKY, RAPHAEL
BARNSTON, HENRY
BARON, JOSEPH LOUIS
BAUM, SHEPARD
BAUMOL, JOSHUA
BEERMAN, LEONARD
BELKIN, SAMUEL
BENJAMIN, RAPHAEL
BERGER, ELMER
BERKOWITZ, HENRY
BERMAN, MORTON MAYER
BERMAN, MYRON
BERNSTEIN, LOUIS
BERNSTEIN, PHILIP SIDNEY
BESDIN, MORRIS J.
BESSER, CHASKEL O.
BETTAN, ISRAEL
BETTELHEIM, ALBERT (Aaron) SIEGFRIED
BLANK, SHELDON HAAS
BLEICH, J. DAVID
BLOCH, CHAIM
BLOCH, ELIJAH MEYER
BLOCH, JOSHUA
BLUMENTHAL, AARON
BOHNEN, ELI AARON
BOKSER, BEN ZION
BOROWITZ, EUGENE
BOSNIAK, JACOB
BOTEACH, SHMUEL
BRAUDE, MAX A.
BRAUDE, WILLIAM GORDON
BRESLAU, ISADORE
BRICKNER, BALFOUR
BRILL, ISAAC
BRONSTEIN, HERBERT
BROWN, SAUL PARDO
BROWNE, EDWARD B.M.
BROWNE, LEWIS
BUNIM, IRVING
BURSTEIN, ABRAHAM
CALISCH, EDWARD NATHAN
CANTOR, BERNARD
CARLEBACH, SHLOMO
COFFEE, RUDOLPH I.
COHEN, ARMOND
COHEN, HENRY
COHEN, JACK
COHEN, JACOB XENAB
COHEN, JOSEPH ISAAC
COHEN, MORTIMER JOSEPH
COHEN, SEYMOUR J.
COHN, ELKAN
COHON, SAMUEL SOLOMON
COOK, SAMUEL
CRESSON, WARDER
CRONBACH, ABRAHAM
CURRICK, MAX COHEN
CHANOVER, HYMAN
CHARLOP, YECHIEL
CHAVEL, CHARLES (Dov) BER
CHAZAN, ELIAHU
CHIEL, ARTHUR
CHIEL, SAMUEL
DAVIDSON, DAVID
DAVIDSON, MAX DAVID
DOLGIN, SIMON ARTHUR
DONIN, HAYIM HALEVY
DRACHMAN, BERNARD
DRESNER, SAMUEL
DREYFUS, STANLEY
DROB, MAX
DWORKIN, ZALMAN (Lubavitch)
ECKMAN, JULIUS
EHRENREICH, BERNARD
EICHHORN, DAVID M.
EICHLER, MENAHEM
EILBERG, AMY
EINHORN, DAVID
EISENDRATH, MAURICE NATHAN
EISENSTADT, BENZION
EISENSTEIN, IRA
ELFENBEIN, ISRAEL
ELIASSOFF, HERMAN
ELZAS, BARNETT ABRAHAM
ELLENSON, DAVID HARRY
ENELOW, HYMAN (Hillel Gershom)
EPSTEIN, CHAIM FISCHEL
EPSTEIN, GILBERT
EPSTEIN, HARRY
EPSTEIN, LOUIS M.
ETTELESON, HARRY
FALK, JOSHUA
FEDERBUSCH, SIMON
FEIBELMAN, JULIAN BECK
FEINBERG, LOUIS
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FELDMAN, ABRAHAM JEHIEL
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FINESHRIBER, WILLIAM HOWARD
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FINKELSTEIN, LOUIS
FINKELSTEIN, SHIMON
FLEISCHER, CHARLES
FRANKLIN, LEO MORRIS
FREEHOF, SOLOMON BENNETT
FRIEDERMAN, ZALMAN JACOB
FRIEDMAN, THEODORE
FRISCH, EPHRAIM
GEFFEN, JOEL
GEFFEN, TOBIAS
GELB, MAX
GIFTER, MORDECAI
GINZBERG, LOUIS
GITTELSOHN, ROLAND BERTRAM
GLASER, JOSEPH
GLAZER, SIMON
GOLD, HENRY RAPHAEL
GOLD, WOLF (Zeev)
GOLDENSON, SAMUEL HARRY
GOLDFARB, ISRAEL
GOLDFEDER, FISHEL
GOLDIN, HYMAN ELIAS
GOLDMAN, ISRAEL
GOLDMAN, SOLOMON
GOLDSTEIN, HERBERT S.
GOLDSTEIN, ISRAEL
GOLDSTEIN, SIDNEY EMANUEL
GOLINKIN, DAVID
GOLINKIN, MORDECHAI YAAKOV
GOLINKIN, NOAH
GOODBLATT, MORRIS
GORDON, ALBERT I.
GORDON, HAROLD
GOTTHEIL, GUSTAV
GOTTSCHALK, ALFRED
GREENBERG, IRVING
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GREENBERG, SIDNEY
GREENBERG, SIMON
GREENWALD, JEKUTHIEL JUDAH (Leopold)
GRODZINSKI, ZVI HIRSCH
GRUENEWALD, MAX
GRYN, HUGO
GUTHEIM, JAMES KOPPEL
GUTTMANN, ALEXANDER
HABERMAN, JOSHUA
HAILPERIN, HERMAN
HALIVNI, DAVID WEISS
HALPERN, HARRY
HAMMER, REUVEN
HARLOW, JULIUS
HARRIS, MAURICE
HARRISON, LEON
HAUPTMAN, JUDITH
HEILPRIN, PHINEHAS MENAHEM
HELLER
HELLER, BERNARD
HERSCHER, URI
HERSHMAN, ABRAHAM M.
HERTZBERG, ARTHUR
HIER, MARVIN
HIGGER, MICHAEL
HIRSCH, EMIL GUSTAVE
HIRSCH, RICHARD
HIRSHENSON, HAYIM
HOCHEIMER, HENRY
HOFFMAN, LAWRENCE I.
HOROWITZ, PINCHAS
HURWITZ, SHMARYA LEIB
HYAMSON, MOSES
ISRAEL, EDWARD LEOPOLD
ISSERMAN, FERDINAND MYRON
JACOB, WALTER
JACOBS, GEORGE
JOSEPH, JACOB
JOSPE, ALFRED
JUNG, LEO
KADUSHIN, MAX
KAHN, ROBERT
KAMENETSKY, YAAKOV
KAMINETSKY, JOSEPH
KAPLAN, ARYEH
KAPLAN, MORDECAI MENAHEM
KARP, ABRAHAM J.
KAUVAR, CHARLES ELIEZER HILLEL
KELMAN, WOLFE
KIEVAL, HERMAN
KIRSHBLUM, MORDECAI
KLAUSNER, ABRAHAM
KLAVAN, ISRAEL
KLEIN, EDWARD E.
KLEIN, ISAAC
KLEIN, PHILIP
KLENICKI, LEON
KOBER, ADOLF
KOGEN, DAVID
KOHLER, KAUFMANN
KOHN, EUGENE
KOHN, JACOB
KOLATCH, ALFRED
KONVITZ, JOSEPH
KORN, BERTRAM WALLACE
KOTLER, AARON
KRAUSKOPF, JOSEPH
KREITMAN, BENJAMIN
KRONISH, LEON
KURTZ, VERNON

KUSHNER, HAROLD
KUSHNER, LAWRENCE
LANDESMAN, ALTER
LANDMAN, ISAAC
LAUTERBACH, JACOB ZALLEL
LAZARON, MORRIS SAMUEL
LEESER, ISAAC
LEHRMAN, IRVING
LEIPZIGER, EMIL WILLIAM
LELYVELD, ARTHUR JOSEPH
LEVI, SAMAUEL GERSON
LEVIN, JUDAH L
LEVINGER, LEE JOSEPH
LEVINTHAL
LEVITSKY, LOUIS MOSES
LEVY, CLIFTON HARBY
LEVY, FELIX ALEXANDER
LEVY, JOSEPH LEONARD
LICHTENSTEIN, TEHILLA
LIEBER, DAVID
LIEBMAN, JOSHUA LOTH
LIFSHITZ, DAVID
LILIENTHAL, MAX (Menahem)
LIPMAN, EUGENE JAY
LOEWENSTEIN, BERNHARD
LOOKSTEIN, HASKELL
LOOKSTEIN, JOSEPH HYMAN
LYONS, JACQUES JUDAH
MAGNES, JUDAH LEON
MAGNIN, EDGAR FOGEL
MALEV, WILLIAM S.
MALINO, JEROME
MALTER, HENRY
MANDELBAUM, BERNARD
MANISCHEWITZ, HIRSCH
MARCUS, JACOB RADER
MARGOLIES, MOSES SEBULUN
MARGOLIS, GAVRIEL ZEV
MARK, JULIUS
MARTIN, BERNARD
MASLIANSKY, ZVI HIRSCH
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MATT, C. DAVID
MATTUCK, ISRAEL ISIDOR
MENDES
MENDLOWITZ, SHRAGA FEIVEL
MERZBACHER, LEO
MEYER, MARTIN ABRAHAM
MIELZINER, MOSES
MIHALY, EUGENE
MILLER, IRVING
MILLER, ISRAEL
MILLGRAM, ABRAHAM
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MINKIN, JACOB SAMUEL
MIRSKY, SAMUEL KALMAN
MORAIS, SABATO
MORGENSTERN, JULIAN
MOSES, ADOLPH
MOSES, ISAAC S.
MOWSHOWITZ, ISRAEL
NADICH, JUDAH
NAROT, JOSEPH
NEULANDER, ARTHUR
NEUMAN, ABRAHAM AARON
NEUMARK, DAVID
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NUSSBAUM, PERRY
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OSTFELD, BARBARA
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PARIS, HAILU
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PETUCHOWSKI, JAKOB JOSEF
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PLAUT, W. GUNTHER
POLISH, DAVID
POOL, DAVID DE SOLA
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ROTHSCHILD, JACOB M.
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SCHECHTER, SOLOMON (Shneur Zalman)
SCHEINFELD, SOLOMON ISAAC
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SCHINDLER, SOLOMON
SCHNEEBERGER, HENRY WILLIAM
SCHORSCH, ISMAR
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SCHWAB, SHIMON
SCHWARTZMAN, SYLVAN D.
SCHWARZSCHILD, STEVEN SAMUEL
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SHAPIRO, ALEXANDER
SHAPIRO, RAMI
SHUBOW, JOSEPH
SHULMAN, CHARLES E.
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SIEGEL, SEYMOUR
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SILBERSTEIN, SOLOMON JOSEPH
SILVER, ABBA HILLEL
SILVER, DANIEL J
SILVER, ELIEZER
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SILVERSTEIN, ALAN
SILVERSTONE, GEDALYAH
SIMON, ABRAM
SIMON, CARRIE OBENDORFER
SIMON, RALPH
SIVITZ, MOSHE
SOBEL, RONALD
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SOLOVEICHIK, AARON
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SOLOVEITCHIK, JOSEPH DOV
SONDERLING, JACOB
SPERO, SHUBERT
STAMPFER, JOSHUA
STEINBACH, ALEXANDER ALAN
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STERN, MALCOLM HENRY
STERNSTEIN, JOSEPH PHILIP
STOLZ, JOSEPH
STRASSFELD, MICHAEL
SZOLD, BENJAMIN
TEITELBAUM, AARON
TEITZ, PINCHAS (Mordecai)
TELUSHKIN, NISSAN
TENDLER, MOSES D.
TEPLITZ, SAUL
TEUTSCH, DAVID
TRACHTENBERG, JOSHUA
TUSKA, SIMON
VOORSANGER, JACOB
VORSPAN, MAX
WAGNER, STANLEY M.
WASHOFSKY, MARK
WASKOW, ARTHUR
WAXMAN, MORDECAI
WECHSLER, JUDAH
WEINBERGER, MOSHE
WEINSTEIN, JACOB
WEISS, AVI
WEISS, SAMSON
WIENER, MAX
WINE, SHERWIN
WISE, ISAAC MAYER
WISE, JONAH BONDI
WISE, STEPHEN SAMUEL
WOLF, ALFRED
WOLF, ARNOLD J.
WOLPE, DAVID J.
WOLSEY, LOUIS
YOFFIE, ERIC
YUDELOVITZ, ABRAHAM A.
ZARCHI, ASHER LIPPMAN
ZELDIN, ISAIAH
ZELIZER, NATHAN
ZIMMERMAN, SHELDON
ZLOTOWITZ, MEIR
ZLOTOWITZ, BERNARD
ZOLA, GARY P.

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ABRAHAMS, ISAAC
ABT, ISAAC ARTHUR
ADLER, CHARLES
ALTSCHUL, AARON MEYER
ANFINSEN, CHRISTIAN B.
ANGRIST, ALFRED ALVIN
ARNON, DANIEL ISRAEL
ATLAS, DAVID
AXEL, RICHARD
AXELROD, JULIUS
BACHER, ROBERT FOX

BALINT, MICHAEL
BALTIMORE, DAVID
BAUER, SIMON HARVEY
BENACERRAF, BARUJ
BENDER, MORRIS BORIS
BENIOFF, HUGO
BENZER, SEYMOUR
BERG, PAUL
BERL, ERNST
BERLINER, EMILE
BETHE, HANS ALBRECHT
BIKERMAN, JACOB JOSEPH
BLOCH, FELIX
BLOCH, HERMAN SAMUEL
BLOCH, KONRAD
BLUMBERG, BARUCH SAMUEL
BODANSKY, OSCAR
BODIAN, DAVID
BOGORAD, LAWRENCE
BOHM, DAVID
BOROWITZ, SIDNEY
BORSOOK, HENRY
BROWN, HAROLD
BROWN, HERBERT C.
BROWN, MICHAEL STUART
BUCKY, GUSTAV
BUERGER, LEO
CALVIN, MELVIN
CHARGAFF, ERWIN
COHEN, ELIZABETH D. A.
COHEN, HARRY
COHEN, PAUL JOSEPH
COHEN, PHILIP PACY
COHEN, SEYMOUR STANLEY
COHEN, STANLEY
COHEN, STANLEY N.
COHN, EDWIN JOSEPH
COOPER, LEON N.
CORI, GERTY THERESA
CROHN, BURRILL BERNARD
DAMESHEK, WILLIAM
DAVIDOFF, LEO MAX
DAVIDSOHN, ISRAEL
DE LEE, JOSEPH B.
DEUTSCH, FELIX
DEUTSCH, HELENE
DISCHE, ZACHARIAS
DJERASSI, CARL
DORFMAN, RALPH ISADORE
DRESSLER, WILLIAM
DROSDOFF, MATTHEW
DRUCKER, DANIEL CHARLES
DUSHMAN, SAUL
EDELMAN, GERALD MAURICE
EDINGER, TILLY
EINHORN, MAX
EINHORN, MOSES
EINSTEIN, ALBERT
ELION, GERTRUDE BELL
EPSTEIN, PAUL SOPHUS
ERIKSON, ERIK HOMBERGER
ERLANGER, JOSEPH
ESTERMANN, IMMANUEL
FAJANS, KASIMIR
FALK, KAUFMAN GEORGE
FELD, JACOB
FEUER, HENRY
FEYNMAN, RICHARD PHILLIPS
FISCHER, EDMOND
FISHBEIN, MORRIS
FISHBERG, MAURICE
FISHMAN, WILLLAM HAROLD
FLEISCHER, MICHAEL
FOLKMAN, JUDAH
FONDILLER, WILLIAM
FRANCK, JAMES
FRANK, PHILIPP
FRANZBLAU, ABRAHAM NORMAN
FREUDENTHAL, ALFRED MARTIN
FRIEDENWALD
FRIEDMAN, JEROME ISAAC
FRIEND, CHARLOTTE
FROEHLICH, ALFRED
FROMM, ERICH
FROMM-REICHMANN, FRIEDA
FUNK, CASIMIR
FURCHGOTT, ROBERT F.
GARLOCK, JOHN HENRY
GASSER, HERBERT SPENCER
GELL-MANN, MURRAY
GILBERT, WALTER
GILMAN, ALFRED G.
GINSBURG, JEKUTHIEL
GLASER, DONALD ARTHUR
GLAUBER, ROY J.
GLICK, DAVID
GOLD, HENRY RAPHAEL
GOLDBERGER, JOSEPH
GOLDMARK, PETER CARL
GOLDSTEIN, JOSEPH LEONARD
GOLDSTEIN, KURT
GOMBERG, MOSES
GOULD, STEPHEN JAY
GREEN, DAVID EZRA
GREENACRE, PHYLLIS
GREENBERG, DAVID MORRIS
GREENGARD, PAUL
GREENSTEIN, JESSE PHILIP
GRINKER, ROY RICHARD SR.
GROSS, DAVID J.
GROSSMAN, MORTON IRVING
GRUNBAUM, ADOLF
GUTENBERG, BENO
GUTMAN, ALEXANDER B.
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HECHT, SELIG
HEEGER, ALAN J.
HEIDELBERGER, MICHAEL
HELPERN, MILTON
HEYMAN, MOSES DAVID
HIRSCHFELD, ISADOR
HOFFMANN, ROALD
HOFSTADTER, ROBERT
HOLLANDER, FRANKLIN
HORWITZ, H. ROBERT
HORWITZ, PHINEAS JONATHAN
HYDE, IDA HENRIETTA
HYMAN, LIBBIE HENRIETTA
ISAACS, JACOB
ISRAEL, EDWARD
JACOBI, ABRAHAM
JAFFE, LEONARD
JANOWITZ, HENRY D.
JUDA, WALTER
KANDEL, ERIC R.
KANNER, LEO
KANTROWITZ, ADRIAN
KANTROWITZ, ARTHUR
KAPLAN, JOSEPH
KARDINER, ABRAM
KARLE, JEROME
KATZ, ISRAEL
KAUFMAN, JOYCE JACOBSON
KITSEE, ISADOR
KLEMPERER, PAUL
KLINE, NATHAN S.
KOHN, WALTER
KOLLER, CARL
KOPLIK, HENRY
KORNBERG, ARTHUR
KRIM, MATHILDE
KUBIE, LAWRENCE
LAND, EDWIN H.
LANDSTEINER, KARL
LANGER, ROBERT
LEDEEN, HYMAN
LEDERBERG, JOSHUA
LEDERER, JEROME F.
LEDERMAN, LEON MAX
LEE, DAVID M.
LEES, LESTER
LEFSCHETZ, SOLOMON
LEVENE, PHOEBUS AARON THEODOR
LEVINE, PHILIP
LEVINSON, ABRAHAM
LEVY, LOUIS EDWARD
LEWI, MAURICE J.
LIPMAN, JACOB GOODALE
LIPMANN, FRITZ ALBERT
LITMAN, SAMUEL
LOEB, JACQUES
LOEB, LEO
LOEB, MORRIS
LOEWENSTEIN, RUDOLPH MAURICE
LOEWI, OTTO
LOWDERMILK, WALTER CLAY
LURIA, SALVADOR EDWARD
MACHT, DAVID
MACHTA, LESTER
MAHLER, MARGARET
MALZBERG, BENJAMIN
MANDELBROT, BENOIT
MARCUS, RUDOLPH ARTHUR
MASSERMAN, JULES HYMAN
MASTER, ARTHUR M.
MENDEL, LAFAYETTE BENEDICT
MESELSON, MATTHEW
MICHELSON, ALBERT ABRAHAM
MILLMAN, JACOB
MOTTELSON, BENJAMIN R.
MULLER, HERMAN JOSEPH
MUSHER, SIDNEY
NAGIN, HARRY S.
NAMIAS, JEROME
NATHANS, DANIEL
NEUGEBAUER, OTTO
NEUMANN, JOHANN (Johnny) LUDWIG VON
NIRENBERG, MARSHALL WARREN
NUNBERG, HERMAN
OLAH, GEORGE
OPPENHEIMER, J. ROBERT
OSHEROFF, DOUGLAS DEAN
PEKERIS, CHAIM LEIB
PENZIAS, ARNO ALLAN
PERL, MARTIN
PERLSTEIN, MEYER A.
PERLZWEIG, WILLIAM ALEXANDRE
PINCUS, GREGORY GOODWIN
PINKEL, BENJAMIN
POLITZER, H. DAVID
PRESS, FRANK
PRESSMAN, DAVID
PRUSINER, STANLEY B.
PTASHNE, MARK
RABI, ISIDOR ISAAC
RABINOWITCH, EUGENE
RACKER, EFRAIM
RADO, SANDOR
RAPAPORT, DAVID
RAPPAPORT, HENRY
REDLICH, FREDERICK C.
REIK, THEODOR
RESNIK, JUDITH
RICHTER, BURTON
RIGLER, LEO GEORGE

RITTENBERG, DAVID
RODBELL, MARTIN
ROSE, IRWIN
ROSEN, FRED
ROSEN, SAMUEL
RUBIN, MORTON JOSEPH
SABIN, ALBERT BRUCE
SACHS, BERNARD
SAGAN, CARL EDWARD
SALK, JONAS EDWARD
SANDGROUND, JACK HENRY
SCHALLY, ANDREW V.
SCHAWLOW, ARTHUR L.
SCHICK, BELA
SCHILDER, PAUL FERDINAND
SCHLESINGER, FRANK
SCHMERLING, LOUIS
SCHWARTZ, MELVIN
SCHWINGER, JULIAN SEYMOUR
SELDIN, HARRY M.
SEQUEYRA, JOHN DE
SERBIN, HYMAN
SHAPIRO, ASCHER HERMAN
SHEAR, MURRAY JACOB
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SILVERMAN, LESLIE
SILVERSTEIN, ABE
SLEPIAN, JOSEPH
SOBOTKA, HARRY HERMAN
SPIEGEL-ADOLF, MONA
SPIEGELMAN, SOL
SPITZ, RENE A.
SPORN, PHILIP
STEIN, WILLIAM HOWARD
STEINBERG, MARTIN R.
STEINBERGER, JACK
STENT, GUNTHER SIEGMUND
STERN, ARTHUR C.
STERN, KURT GUNTER
STERN, OTTO
STIEGLITZ, JULIUS OSCAR
STROMINGER, JACK
SURE, BARNETT
SZASZ, THOMAS STEPHEN
SZILARD, LEO
SZWARC, MICHAEL
TARSKI, ALFRED
TELLER, EDWARD
TEMIN, HOWARD MARTIN
TENENBAUM, JOSEPH L.
TISCHLER, MAX
TOCH, MAXIMILIAN
ULAM, STANISLAW MARCIN
VARMUS, HAROLD ELIOT
WAKSMAN, SELMAN ABRAHAM
WALD, GEORGE
WATTERS, LEON LAIZER
WECHSLER, ISRAEL
WEIL, JOSEPH
WEINBERG, STEVEN
WEINHOUSE, SIDNEY
WEISENBURG, THEODORE H.
WESTHEIMER, FRANK HENRY
WEXLER, HARRY
WHITE, ROBERT MAYER
WIENER, ALEXANDER S.
WIENER, NORBERT
WIESNER, JEROME BERT
WIESNER, JULIUS VON
WIGNER, EUGENE P.
WINSTEIN, SAUL
WINTROBE, MAXWELL MYER
WISE, LOUIS ELSBERG
WOLBERG, LEWIS ROBERT
WOLF, ABNER
WOLMAN, ABEL
YALOW, ROSALYN SUSSMAN
ZACHARIAS, JERROLD REINACH
ZAMENHOF, STEPHEN
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AVIDA, YEHUDA LEIB
AZRIELI, DAVID
BARRETT, DAVID
BAYEFSKY, ABA
BECKER, LAVY M.
BELKIN, SIMON
BELZBERG, SAMUEL
BENNETT, ARCHIE (Aaron Baehr)
BENNETT, AVIE
BERCOVITCH, PETER
BERNSTEIN, HAROLD JOSEPH
BLANKSTEIN, CECIL N.
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CARR, JUDY FELD
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COHEN, MATT
COHEN, MAXWELL
COHEN, MORRIS ABRAHAM
COHEN, NATHAN
COTLER, IRWIN
CROLL, DAVID ARNOLD
CRONENBERG, DAVID
CHERNEY, BRIAN
CHERNIACK, SAUL
DAN, LESLIE
DAVID
DAVIS, MORTIMER
DE SOLA
DENBURG, CHAIM
DIAMOND, JACK
DIAMOND, JACK
DONALDA, PAULINE
DUNKELMAN, BENJAMIN
DUNKELMAN, ROSE
ELBERG, YEHUDA
EZRIN, HERSCHEL
FEDERMAN, MAX
FEINBERG, ABRAHAM L.
FELDER, GEDALIAH
FINESTONE, SHEILA
FITCH, LOUIS
FRANKLIN, SELIM
FREEDMAN, HARRY
FREEDMAN, SAMUEL
FREIMAN
FRENKEL, VERA
FRUM
FURIE, SYDNEY J.
GELBER
GERSHMAN, JOSHUA
GILBERT, INA
GIVENS, PHILIPS.
GLICK, IRVING SRUL
GOFFMAN, ERVING
GOLD, PHILIP
GOLDBLOOM FAMILY
GOLDSTEIN, ELYSE
GORDON, JACOB
GORDON, NATHAN
GOTLIEB, ALLAN
GRAFSTEIN, JERAHMIEL S.
GRAUBART, Y. L.
GRAY, HERBERT ESER
GRAY, MORRIS ABRAHAM
GREENE, LORNE
GROSSMAN, ALLAN AND LARRY
HALPERN, JACK
HALL, MONTY
HARRIS, SYDNEY
HART, AARON
HART, BENJAMIN
HART, CECIL M.
HART, EZEKIEL
HART, SAMUEL
HAYES, SAUL
HEAPS, ABRAHAM ALBERT
HEICHELHEIM, FRITZ MORITZ
HERSCHORN, JOSHUA (She'ea) HALEVY
HERZOG, SHIRA
HILLER, ARTHUR
HIRSCH, JOHN STEPHEN
HIRSCHPRUNG, PINHAS
HOROWITZ
ISKOWITZ, GERSHON
JACOBS, SAMUEL WILLIAM
JACOBS, SOLOMON
JOSEPH
JOSEPH, NORMA BAUMEL
JUDAH
KAGE, JOSEPH
KAHANOVITCH, ISRAEL ISAAC
KANEE, SOL
KAPLAN, ROBERT P.
KAPLANSKY, KALMEN
KATTAN, NAIM
KAYFETZ, BEN
KLEIN, ABRAHAM MOSES
KOFFLER, MURRAY

KREISEL, HENRY
KUPER, JACK
LAMBERT, PHYLLIS
LANDSBERG, MICHELLE
LANTOS, ROBERT
LASKIN, BORA
LASTMAN, MEL
LAYTON, IRVING
LENKINSKY, LOUIS
LEVI, SAMAUEL GERSON
LEVINE, LES
LEVINE, NORMAN
LEWIS, DAVID
LEWIS, STEPHEN
LITTMAN, SOL
LUFTSPRING, SAMMY
MANDEL, ELI
MARMUR, DOW
MARRUS, MICHAEL
MATAS, DAVID
MAYNARD, FREDELLE BRUSER
MAZE, IDA
MICHAELS, ANNE
MICHAELS, LORNE
MIRANSKY, PERETZ
MIRVISH, ED/DAVID
MORAWETZ, OSCAR
MORGENTALER, HENRY
MUHLSTOCK, LOUIS
NATHAN, HENRY
NEMETZ, NATHAN
NEWMAN, PETER C.
NICHOLS, JACK
ORLIKOW, DAVID
OSHRY, EPHRAIM
PACHTER, CHARLES
PETEGORSKY, DAVID
PHILLIPS, LAZARUS
PHILLIPS, NATHAN
PLAUT, W. GUNTHER
POLANYI, JOHN
PRICE, ABRAHAM
RANKIN, HARRY
RAPHAEL, WILLIAM
RASKY, HARRY
RASMINSKY, LOUIS
REICHMANN
REISMAN, HEATHER
RHINEWINE, ABRAHAM
RICHLER, MORDECAI
ROBACK, LEAH
ROBIN, REGINE
ROME, DAVID
ROSE, FRED
ROSENBERG, LOUIS
ROSENBERG, STUART E.
ROSENBERG, YEHUDAH YUDEL
ROSENFELD, FANNY
ROTENBERG, MATTIE
ROTHSCHILD, KURT
ROTHSCHILD, ROBERT PHINIAS
RUBENSTEIN, LOUIS
SACK, BENJAMIN G.
SAFDIE, MOSHE
SAFDIE, SYLVIA
SALSBERG, JOSEPH B.
SAMUEL, SIGMUND
SCHEUER, EDMUND
SCHILD, EDWIN
SCHLESINGER, JOE
SCHULTZ, SAMUEL
SCHWARTZ, GERALD
SEGAL, ESTHER
SEGAL, HUGH
SEGAL, JACOB ISAAC
SHAPIRO, BERNARD J.
SHARP, ISADORE NATANIEL
SHATNER, WILLIAM
SHERMAN, JASON
SHTERN
SHUCHAT, WILFRED
SIEGEL, IDA LEWIS
SINGER, YVONNE
SLONIM, REUBEN
SOLA, ABRAHAM DE
SPECTOR, NORMAN
SPRACHMAN
STEIN, JANICE
STEINBERG
STEINFELD, JJ
STERN, HARRY JOSHUA
TANENBAUM
TORGOV, MORLEY
TREPMAN, PAUL
UNGERMAN, IRV
VAN PAASSEN, PIERRE
VEINER, HARRY
WADDINGTON, MIRIAM (Dworkin)
WASSERMAN, DORA AND BRYNA
WAXMAN, AL
WAYNE AND SHUSTER
WEIDER, BEN
WEIDMAN, HIRAM
WEINZWEIG, HELEN
WEINZWEIG, JOHN
WILDER, HERTZ
WISEMAN, ADELE
WISEMAN, SHLOIME
WOLFE
WOLOFSKY, HIRSH
WOSK
YUDIKA
ZIPPER, YA'AKOV
ZNAIMER, MOSES
ZOLF

i. Latin America

MAIN SURVEYS

AMERICA
ARGENTINA

I. HISTORY

B. MEDIEVAL & MODERN PERIOD

2. Regional History

i. Latin America

Main Surveys (*continued*)

BRAZIL
CUBA
LATIN AMERICA
MEXICO
SPANISH AND PORTUGUESE LITERATURE

General Entries
AGRICULTURE
A.M.I.A.
DAIA
FESELA
GENEALOGY
LAJSA (LATIN AMERICAN JEWISH STUDIES ASSOCIATION)

Communities
BAHIA
BARBADOS
BOLIVIA
BUENOS AIRES
CARACAS
CARIBBEANS, SPANISH-PORTUGUESE NATION OF THE: LA NACION
CAYENNE
COLOMBIA
CORDOBA
CORO
COSTA RICA
CURACAO
CHILE
DOMINICAN REPUBLIC
ECUADOR
EL SALVADOR
ENTRE RÍOS
GUATEMALA
GUIANA
HAITI
HAVANA
HONDURAS
IQUITOS
JAMAICA
LIMA
MENDOZA
MONTEVIDEO
NICARAGUA
PANAMA
PARAGUAY
PERU
PORTO ALEGRE
PUERTO RICO
RECIFE
RIO DE JANEIRO
ROSARIO
SANTA FE
SÃO PAULO
SURINAME
TUCACAS
URUGUAY
VENEZUELA

Biographies
AGUINIS, MARCOS
ALPERSOHN, MARCOS
ANGEL, AARON
ARBELL, MORDECHAI
AVNI, HAIM
BAITLER, ZOMA
BARYLKO, JAIME
BEHAR, LEON
BEIDERMAN, BERNARDO
BELKIN, ARNOLD
BENZAQUEN, SAADIA
BERAJA, RUBEN
BERDICHEVSKY, SCHER
BERGER, MEIR
BERLINER, ISAAC
BERMAN BERMAN, NATALIO
BLAZKO, MARTIN
BLEJER, DAVID
BLIS, DAVID
BRENER, PYNCHAS
BRIE, LUIS HARTWIG
BURLE-MARX, ROBERTO
CARVAJAL
COHEN GELLERSTEIN, BENJAMIN
COHEN, JOSEPH ISAAC
CONSTANTINER, JAIME
CONSTANTINI, HUMBERTO
CZENSTOCHOWSKI, WALTER
CHAMUDES REITICH, MARCOS
CHEHEBAR, ITZHAK
CHOCRON, ISAAC
DE SOLA, JUAN BARTOLOMÉ
DELVALLE, MAX SHALOM
DELVALLE LEVI MADURO, ERIC ARTURO
DINES, ALBERTO
DOUDTCHITZKY, DINORA
DUJOVNE, LEON
EICHELBAUM, SAMUEL
ELNECAVE, DAVID
ESPINOZA, ENRIQUE
FAIVOVICH HITZCOVICH, ANGEL
FASTLICHT, ADOLFO
FEIERSTEIN, RICARDO
FEIGL, FRITZ
FELDMAN, SHIMSHON SIMON
FINGERMAN, GREGORIO
FINKELSTEIN, CHAIM
FLORENTIN, MEVORAH
FREIFELD, ABRAHAM
FUTORANSKY, LUISA
GAMUS GALLEGOS, PAULINA
GELMAN, JUAN

GERCHUNOFF, ALBERTO
GESANG, NATHAN-NACHMAN
GLANTZ, JACOBO
GLANTZ, MARGO
GOERITZ, MATHIAS
GOLDEMBERG, ISAAC
GOLDMAN, AHARON
GOLDMAN, MOISES
GOLOBOFF, GERARDO MARIO
GRINSPUN, BERNARDO
GROBART, FAVIO
GRUNBERG, CARLOS M.
HANNEMANN, PABLO
HARF, HANNS
HARF, SUSE HALLENSTEIN
HARKAVI, YIZHAK
HERDAN, KURT LUCIAN
HOCHSCHILD, MAURICIO
ISAACS, JORGE
ISAACSON, JOSE
JOSEPH, HENRY
KAMENSZAIN, TOBIAS
KAPLAN, ISAAC
KAPLAN, SENDER
KITRON (Kostrinsky), MOSHE
KLABIN
KLEIN, ALBERTO
KLENICKI, LEON
KOCH, ADELHEID LUCY
KOSICE, GYULA
KOVADLOFF, SANTIAGO
KOZER, JOSE
LAFER, HORACIO
LASANSKY, MAURICIO
LERNER, JAIME
LEVI, RINO
LEVY, ROBERT
LEVY, SION
LIACHO, LAZARO
LIBEDINSKY, TSCHORNE MARCOS
LISPECTOR, CLARICE
LIWERANT, DANIEL
MADURO, RICARDO
MALDONADO DA SILVA, FRANCISCO
MENDELSON, JOSE
MEYER, MARSHALL
MILEVSKY, AHARON
MILSTEIN, CESAR
MINDLIN, HENRIQUE
MIRELMAN
MUÑIZ-HUBERMAN, ANGELINA
NAJDORF, MIGUEL
NAJNUDEL, LEON
NASSY, DAVID DE ISAAC COHEN
NIERMAN, LEONARDO
NORONHA, FERNAO DE
NUDELMAN, SANTIAGO I.
OSTROWER, FEYGA
OTTA, FRANCISCO
PECAR, SAMUEL
PEKERMAN, JOSÉ
PIZARNIK, ALEJANDRA
PORZEKANSKI, TERESA
RABINOVICH, JOSE
RAFALIN, DAVID SHLOMO
RAFFALOVICH, ISAIAH
RAUCH, EDUARDO
RAWET, SAMUEL
RESNICK, SALOMON
ROSENBERG, MOISHE
ROSENCOF, MAURICIO
ROSENMANN-TAUB, DAVID
ROVINSKY, SAMUEL
ROZENMACHER, GERMAN
SAFRA
SAJAROFF, MIGUEL
SASLAVSKY, LUIS
SATANOWSKI, MARCOS
SATZ, MARIO
SCLIAR, MOACYR
SCHAPIRA, DAVID
SCHAULSON BRODSKY, JORGE
SCHAULSON NUMHAUSER, JACOBO
SCHIFRIN, LALO
SCHLESINGER, GUILLERMO
SEGALL, LAZAR
SELIGSON, ESTHER
SEROUSSI, ELIAS
SHUA, ANA MARIA
SINGERMAN, BERTA
SITTEON DABBAH, SHAUL DAVID
SNEH, SIMJA
SOURASKY
STEIMBERG, ALICIA
STEINBRUCH, AARÃO
STERN, HANS
SVERDLIK, ODED
SWARSENSKY, HARDI (Bernhard)
SZERYNG, HENRYK
TARNOPOLSKY, SAMUEL
TEITELBOIM VOLOSKY, VOLODIA
TEUBAL, EZRA
TIEMPO, CÉSAR
TIMERMAN, JACOBO
TOKER, ELIAHU
TOPOLEVSKY, GREGORIO
TURKOW, MARK
VERBITZKY, BERNARDO
WALD, ARNOLD
WECHSLER, ELINA
WEISER-VARON, BENNO
WOLF, RICHARD RIEGEL (Subirana y Lobo)
YAGUPSKI, MAXIMO
YARCHO, NOE (Noah)
ZITNITSKY, PINCAS LAZARO

3. HOLOCAUST HISTORY

Main Surveys

HOLOCAUST

I. HISTORY

B. MEDIEVAL & MODERN PERIOD

3. **Holocaust History** (*continued*)

General Entries

ART
AUSCHWITZ
AUSCHWITZ BOMBING CONTROVERSY
AUSCHWITZ CONVENT
AUSCHWITZ TRIALS
BABI YAR
BADGE, JEWISH
BELZEC
BERGEN-BELSEN
BERMUDA CONFERENCE
BERNHEIM PETITION
BITBURG CONTROVERSY
BOYCOTT, ANTI-NAZI
BUCHENWALD
CAMPS
CHELMNO
CHILDREN'S LITERATURE
DACHAU
DEATH MARCHES
DENAZIFICATION
DISPLACED PERSONS
DRANCY
EUROPA PLAN
EUTHANASIA – T-4 PROGRAM
EVIAN CONFERENCE
FACING HISTORY AND OURSELVES
FINAL SOLUTION
FORCED LABOR
FOSSOLI
GASSING
GENOCIDE CONVENTION
GESTAPO
GHETTO
GURS
HAAVARA
HOLOCAUST, RESCUE FROM
HOLOCAUST, THE
HOLOCAUST DENIAL
HOLOCAUST REMEMBRANCE DAY
HOLOCAUST RESCUERS, JEWISH
IRVING V. LIPSTADT
JUDENRAT
JUDENREIN
KAPO
KIDDUSH HA-HAYIM
KINDERTRANSPORT
KISTARCSA
KOLDYCHEVO (Koldyczewo) CAMP
KRIMCHAKS
KRISTALLNACHT
MADAGASCAR PLAN
MAJDANEK
MALINES
MAUTHAUSEN
MUSELMANN
NATIONAL SOCIALISM
NATZWEILER-STRUTHOF
NAZI-DEUTSCH
NAZI MEDICAL EXPERIMENTS
NINTH FORT
NUREMBERG LAWS
PARTISANS
PLASZOW
PONARY (Paneriai)
RAVENSBRUECK
REFUGEES
REPARATIONS, GERMAN
RESTITUTION AND INDEMNIFICATION
RIGHTEOUS AMONG THE NATIONS
RSHA
SACHSENHAUSEN ORANIENBURG
SCHACHT PLAN
SOBIBOR
SONDERKOMMANDO, JEWISH
SS AND SD
ST. LOUIS, VOYAGE OF
STUERMER, DER
STUTTHOF
THERESIENSTADT
TRANSNISTRIA
TREBLINKA
U.S. ARMY AND THE HOLOCAUST
VUGHT
WALDHEIM AFFAIR
WANNSEE CONFERENCE
WAR CRIMES TRIALS
WESTERBORK

Communities

AACHEN
ABONY
ADA
AHLEM
AHRWEILER
AIX-EN-PROVENCE
ALBA IULIA
ALBANIA
ALBERTI-IRSA
ALEKSANDRIYA
ALEKSANDRIYA
ALEKSANDROW LODZKI
ALESSANDRIA
ALGERIA
ALISTAL
ALSACE
ALTENSTADT
ALZEY
AMBERG
AMSTERDAM
ANANYEV
ANAPA
ANDERNACH
ANHALT
ANSBACH
ANTWERP

ARAD
ARNSTADT
ARTEMOVSK
ASCHAFFENBURG
ASZOD
ATHENS
AUGSBURG
AUGUSTOW
AURICH
AUSTERLITZ
AUSTRIA
BACAU
BADEN
BADEN BEI WIEN
BAIA-MARE
BAJA
BAKHCHISARAI
BALASSAGYARMAT
BALTA
BAMBERG
BANJA LUKA
BANSKA BYSTRICA
BAR
BARANOVICHI
BARDEJOV
BARLAD
BAR-LE-DUC
BAUSKA
BAVARIA
BAYONNE
BAYREUTH
BECHYNE (Bechin)
BEDZIN
BEKESCSABA
BELAYA TSERKOV
BELCHATOW
BELED
BELFORT
BELGIUM
BELGOROD-DNESTROVSKI
BELGRADE
BELTSY
BELZ
BELZYCE
BENDERY
BENEŠOV (Beneschau)
BENFELD
BERDICHEV
BERDYANSK
BEREGOVO
BERESTECHKO
BERETTYOUJFALU
BEREZA
BEREZHANY
BEREZINO
BEREZOVKA
BERLIN
BERSHAD
BESANÇON
BEZIDUL NOU
BIALA PODLASKA
BIALYSTOK
BIELEFELD
BIELSKO
BIELSK PODLASKI
BILGORAJ
BINGEN
BIRZAI (Birzhi)
BIRZULA
BISTRITA (Bistritz)
BOBROVY KUT
BOBRUISK
BOCHNIA
BOCHUM
BODROGKERESZTUR
BOGUSLAV
BOJAN
BOLEKHOV (Bolechow)
BOLOGNA
BOLZANO
BONYHAD
BOPPARD
BORDEAUX
BORISLAV
BORISOV
BORSA
BOSKOVICE (Boskowitz)
BOTOSANI
BOULAY
BOURG-EN-BRESSE
BRAILA
BRAILOV
BRANDYS NAD LABEM
BRASLAV
BRASOV
BRATISLAVA
BRATSLAV
BRECLAV
BREISACH
BREMEN
BRESLAU
BREST-LITOVSK
BREZNICE
BRICEVA
BRICHANY
BRNO
BRODY
BRUCHSAL
BRUNSWICK
BRUSSELS
BRYANSK
BRZEG
BRZESC KUJAWSKI
BRZEZINY
BUCHACH
BUCHAREST
BUCOVICE
BUDAPEST
BUDYNE NAD OHRI
BUHUSI

I. HISTORY

B. MEDIEVAL & MODERN PERIOD

3. Holocaust History

COMMUNITIES (*continued*)

BUKOVINA
BULGARIA
BURDUJENI
BURGENLAND
BUSK
BUZAU
BYDGOSZCZ
BYKHOV
BYTOM
BZENEC
CAMPULUNG MOLDOVENESC
CARLSBAD
CESKA LIPA
CESKE BUDEJOVICE
CHAMBON-SUR-LIGNON
CHEB
CHECINY
CHELM
CHEMNITZ (Karl-Marx-Stadt)
CHERKASSY
CHERNIGOV
CHERNOBYL
CHERNOVTSY
CHMIELNIK
CHORTKOV
CHORZOW
CHRYZANOW
CHUDNOV
CIECHANOW
CLEVES
CLUJ
COBURG
COCHEM
COLMAR
COLOGNE
CONSTANCE
CONSTANTA
COTTBUS
CRACOW
CRAIOVA
CZECHOSLOVAKIA
CZESTOCHOWA
DABROWA GORNICZA
DARABANI
DARMSTADT
DAUGAVPILS
DAVID-GORODOK
DEBRECEN
DEGGENDORF
DEJ
DENMARK
DERAZHNYA
DEUTSCHKREUTZ
DEUTZ
DIJON
DISNA
DIVIN
DNEPROPETROVSK
DOKSHITSY (Dokszyce)
DOLGINOVO (Dolhinow)
DOLINA
DOLNI KOUNICE
DOLNI KUBIN
DOMBROVENI
DONETSK
DOROHOI
DORTMUND
DRAMA
DRESDEN
DROGOBYCH (Drohobycz)
DRUYA
DUBNO
DUBOSSARY
DUBROVNIK
DUBROVNO
DUEREN
DUESSELDORF
DUISBURG
DUNAJSKA STREDA
DUNAYEVTSY
DYATLOVO
DZIALOSZYCE (Dzialoshitz)
EGER
EINBECK
EISENSTADT
EMDEN
EPERNAY
ERFURT
ESSEN
ESSLINGEN
ESTONIA
ESZTERGOM
ETTLINGEN
FAGARAS
FALESHTY
FALTICENI
FERRARA
FLORENCE
FOCSANI
FONTAINEBLEAU
FRANCE
FRANKFURT ON THE MAIN
FRANKFURT ON THE ODER
FREIBURG IM BREISGAU
FRIEDBERG
FUERTH
FULDA
GABIN
GADYACH
GAISIN
GALANTA
GALATI (Galatz)
GDANSK (Danzig)
GELSENKIRCHEN
GENOA

GERMANY
GERTSA
GIESSEN
GLINYANY
GLIWICE
GLOGAU
GLUBOKOYE
GLUSSK
GNIEZNO
GOERLITZ
GOETTINGEN
GOLCUV JENIKOV
GOLOVANEVSK
GOMEL
GORA KALWARIA
GORIZIA
GORKI
GORLICE
GORODENKA
GORODOK
GORODOK (Grodek Wilenski)
GORZOW WIELKOPOLSKI
GOSLAR
GOSTYNIN
GOTHA
GRAJEWO
GRAZ
GREECE
GRENOBLE
GRODNO
GRODZISK MAZOWIECKI
GRODZISK WIELKOPOLSKI
GROJEC
GURA-HUMORULUI
GYONGYOS
GYÖR
HAGEN
HAGUE, THE
HALBERSTADT
HALICZ
HALLE
HAMBURG
HAMELN
HANAU
HANOVER
HARLAU
HEIDELBERG
HEIDINGSFELD
HEILBRONN
HERMANUV MESTEC
HESSE
HILDESHEIM
HLOHOVEC
HODMEZOVASARHELY
HODONIN
HOHENAU
HOHENEMS
HOHENZOLLERN
HOLESOV
HOMBURG
HRANICE
HRUBIESZOW
HUMENNE
HUNCOVCE
HUNGARY
HUSI
ILINTSY
ILYA
INGWILLER
INNSBRUCK
INOWROCLAW
IOANNINA
ITALY
IVANCICE
IVANOVO
IVYE
IZBICA LUBELSKA
IZMAIL
IZYASLAV
JABLONEC NAD NISOU
JANOW LUBELSKI
JAROSLAW
JASLO
JASSY
JAUNIJELGAVA
JEBENHAUSEN
JEDRZEJOW
JEKABPILS
JELGAVA
JEMNICE
JEVICKO
JIHLAVA
JINDRICHUV HRADEC
JONAVA
JUDENBURG
JUELICH)
JURBARKAS (Jurburg)
KADAN
KAISERSLAUTERN
KALARASH
KALININDORF
KALINKOVICHI
KALISZ
KALUSH
KALUSZYN
KALVARIJA
KAMENETS-PODOLSKI
KAMENKA-BUGSKAYA (Strumilovskaya)
KANEV
KAPOSVAR
KARASUBAZAR
KARLSRUHE
KASEJOVICE
KASSEL
KASTORIA
KATOWICE
KAUNAS
KAUSHANY
KAVALLA
KAZATIN

I. HISTORY

B. MEDIEVAL & MODERN PERIOD

3. Holocaust History

Communities (*continued*)

KECSKEMET
KEDAINIAI
KELME
KEMPEN
KERCH
KHARKOV
KHERSON
KHMELNIK
KHOROL
KHOTIN
KHUST
KIEL
KIELCE
KIEV
KILIYA
KIROVOGRAD (Kirovo)
KISHINEV
KISSINGEN
KISVARDA
KITZINGEN
KLAGENFURT
KLATOVY (Klattau)
KLETSK
KLINTSY
KLODAWA
KOBLENZ
KOBRIN
KOCK (Kotsk)
KOENIGSBERG
KOIDANOVO
KOJETIN (Kojetein)
KOLIN
KOLO
KOLOMYYA (Kolomea; Kolomyja)
KOMARNO
KOMARNO
KONIN
KONOTOP
KONSKIE (Konsk)
KONSKOWOLA
KORETS
KOROSTEN
KORSUN-SHEVCHENKOVSKI
KOS
KOSICE
KOSOV
KOSOVA HORA
KOSZEG
KOTOVSKOYE
KOVEL
KOZIENICE (Kozenitsy)
KOZLE
KRASLAVA
KRASNIK
KRASNODAR
KRASNOYE
KRASNYSTAW
KREFELD
KREMENCHUG
KREMENETS
KREMS
KRETINGA
KREUZNACH
KRICHEV
KRIVOI ROG
KRIVOYE OZERO
KROMERIZ
KROSNO
KROTOSZYN
KRUSTPILS
KRYNKI
KRZEPICE
KUPISKIS (Kupiskiai; Kupishki)
KURSK
KUTNO
KUTY
KYBARTAI
KYJOV
LACHVA (Lachwa)
LANCUT
LANDAU
LANDSHUT
LARISSA
LASK
LATVIA
LAZNE KYNZVART
LECZNA
LECZYCA
LEGHORN
LEGNICA
LEIPZIG
LELOW
LEOVO (Leova)
LEPEL
LESHNEV
LESKO
LESZNO
LETICHEV
LEZAJSK
LIBEREC
LIDA
LIEGE
LIEPAJA
LILLE
LINZ
LIOZNO
LIPKANY
LIPNIK NAD BECVOU
LIPNO
LIPOVETS
LIPPE (-Detmold)
LIPTOVSKY MIKULAS
LITHUANIA
LITIN
LITOMERICE

LODZ
LOMZA (Lomzha; Lomzhe)
LOSICE (Lositsy)
LOSTICE
LOUNY
LOWICZ
LUBACZOW
LUBARTOW
LUBAVICH
LUBLIN
LUBNY
LUBRANIEC
LUCENEC
LUDZA
LUEBECK
LUENEBURG
LUGANSK
LUGO
LUGOJ (Lugos)
LUKOW
LUNEVILLE
LUTOMIERSK
LUTSK
LUXEMBOURG
LVOV (Lemberg)
LYADY
LYAKHOVICHI
LYCK
LYONS
LYUBOML
MAGDEBURG
MAINZ
MAKAROV
MAKO
MAKOW MAZOWIECKI
MANNHEIM
MANS, LE
MANTUA (Mantova)
MARCULESTI
MARGHITA (Margit(t)a)
MARIBOR
MARIENBAD
MARIJAMPOLE
MARSEILLES
MATTERSDORF (Mattersburg)
MEDZIBEZH (Medzibozh)
MEININGEN
MELITOPOL
MEMEL
MEMMINGEN
MERGENTHEIM
MERSEBURG
METZ
MEZHIRECH (Mezhirichi)
MICHALOVCE
MIEDZYRZEC PODLASKI
MIELEC
MIHAILENI
MIKULOV
MILAN
MINDEN
MINSK
MINSK MAZOWIECKI
MIR
MIROSLAV
MISKOLC
MLADA BOLESLAV
MLAWA (Mlwa; Mlava)
MODENA
MOGILEV
MOGILEV-PODOLSKI
MOINESTI
MOLODECHNO
MONASTIR
MONASTYRISKA
MONTPELLIER
MORAVIA (Morava)
MORAVSKE BUDEJOVICE
MORAVSKY KRUMLOV
MOSBACH
MOSTISKA
MOZYR
MSTISLAVL
MUEHLHAUSEN
MUENSTER
MUKACHEVO
MULHOUSE
MUNICH
NACHOD
NADVORNAYA (Nadworna)
NAGYKANIZSA
NANCY
NANTES
NAROL
NASAUD
NASIELSK
NASNA
NAUHEIM
NEMIROV
NESVIZH
NEZHIN
NICE
NIEDERSTETTEN
NIKOLAYEV
NIS
NITRA
NOERDLINGEN
NORDHAUSEN
NORWAY
NOVAYA USHITSA
NOVE MESTO NAD VAHOM
NOVE ZAMKY
NOVGOROD-SEVERSK
NOVI SAD
NOVOGRUDOK
NOVOSELITSA
NOVOZYBKOV
NOVY BOHUMIN
NOVY BYDZOV
NOVY DVOR

I. HISTORY

B. MEDIEVAL & MODERN PERIOD

3. Holocaust History

Communities (*continued*)

NOWY DWOR MAZOWIECKI
NOWY SACZ
NUREMBERG
NYIREGYHAZA
ODESSA
OETTINGEN
OFFENBACH
OFFENBURG
OLDENBURG
OLESKO
OLESNICA
OLGOPOL
OLKUSZ
OLOMOUC (Olmuetz)
OLYKA
OPATOW
OPAVA
OPOCZNO
OPOLE LUBELSKIE
OPPENHEIM
ORADEA (Oradea Mare)
ORDZHONIKIDZE
OREL
ORGEYEV (Orhei)
ORSHA
ORSOVA
OSHMYANY
OSIJEK (Eszek)
OSLO
OSNABRUECK
OSTRAVA
OSTROG (Ostraha)
OSTROLEKA (Ostrolenka)
OSTROWIEC (Ostrowiec Swietokrzyski)
OSTROW MAZOWIECKA
OSTRYNA
OSWIECIM (Auschwitz)
OTWOCK
OVRUCH
OZERY
OZORKOW
PABIANICE
PADERBORN
PADUA
PAKS
PALANGA
PALATINATE
PANEVEZYS (Panevezhis)
PAPA,
PARCZEW
PARIS
PARMA
PASCANI
PAVLOGRAD
PAVOLOCH
PECS
PEREMYSHLYANY
PEREYASLAV-KHMELNITSKI
PERVOMAISK
PESTSZENTERZSEBET
PEZINOK
PFORZHEIM
PHLORINA
PIASECZNO
PIATRA-NEAMT (Piatra)
PIESTANY
PILSEN
PINCZOW
PINSK
PIOTRKOW (Piotrkow-Trybunalski)
PIRYATIN
PISA
PLOCK
PLOESTI
PLONSK
PLUNGE
POBEZOVICE NA SUMAVE
POCHEP
PODGAITSY
PODKAMEN
PODOLIA
PODVOLOCHISK (Podwloczyska)
POGREBISHCHENSKI (Pogrebishche)
POHORELICE (Pohrlitz)
POLAND
POLNA
POLONNOYE
POLOTSK
POLTAVA
POMERANIA
PORTUGAL
POZNAN
PRAGUE
PRESOV
PRILUKI
PROSKUROV
PROSTEJOV
PRUZHANY
PRZEDBORZ
PRZEMYSL
PRZEWORSK
PRZYSUCHA
PRZYTYK
PULAWY
PULTUSK
RADAUTI (Radautz)
RADOM
RADOMSKO
RADOMYSHL
RADOSHKOVICHI (Radoszkowice)
RADUN
RADYMNO
RADZIWILLOW
RADZYMIN
RADZYN (Radzyn-Podlaski)

RASEINIAI
RAVENSBURG
RAWICZ (Rawitsch)
REBREANU
RECHITSA
RECKLINGHAUSEN
REGENSBURG
REGHIN (Reghinul Săesc)
REUTLINGEN
REXINGEN
REZEKNE (Rezhitsa)
REZINA (Rezinz)
RIGA
RIJEKA
ROGACHEV
ROGATIN
ROKISKIS
ROMAN
ROMANIA
ROME
ROMNY
ROPCZYCE (Ropshits)
ROSHEIM
ROSTOV
ROUDNICE NAD LABEM
ROUEN
ROVNO
ROZDOL
ROZWADOW
RUSE
RUSSIA
RUZHANY
RYMANOW
RYPIN
RYSHKANY
RZESZOW
SAARBRUECKEN
SADAGORA
SAINT-DENIS
SAKIAI (Shakyai, Shakay)
SALONIKA
SALONTA
SALZBURG
SAMBOR
SAMOGITIA
SANDOMIERZ
SANOK
SARAJEVO
SARNY
SARREGUEMINES
SASOV
SATANOV
SATORALJA UJHELY
SATU-MARE
SAVERNE
SAXONY
SCHNAITTACH
SCHWEINFURT
SEDUVA
SEESEN
SEINI
SEKIRYANY
SELESTAT
SERRAI
SEVASTOPOL
SHARGOROD
SHCHEDRIN
SHEPETOVKA
SHKLOV
SHPOLA
SIAULIAI
SIBIU
SIEDLCE
SIEMIATYCZE
SIENA
SIERADZ
SIERPC
SIGHET
SILESIA
SIMFEROPOL
SIMLEUL-SILVANIEI
SIRET
SKALAT
SKARZYSKO-KAMIENNA
SKIDEL
SKIERNIEWICE
SKOLE
SKOPLJE (Skopje)
SKUODAS
SKVIRA
SLAVUTA
SLONIM
SLUTSK
SMELA
SMOLENSK
SMORGON (Smorgonie)
SNYATYN
SOCHACZEW
SOEST
SOKAL
SOKOLKA
SOKOLOW PODLASKI
SOMBOR
SOPRON
SOROKI (Soroca)
SOSNOWIEC (Sosnovets)
SPAIN
SPANDAU
SPEYER
SPLIT
SREM
STANISLAV
STARODUB
STARO-KONSTANTINOV
STASZOW
STEFANESTI
STENDAL
STETTIN
STOLBTSY
STOLIN

I. HISTORY

B. MEDIEVAL & MODERN PERIOD

3. Holocaust History

COMMUNITIES (*continued*)

STOPNICA
STOROZHINETS
STRASBOURG
STRAUBING
STRY (Stryj)
STRYKOW
STUTTGART
STYRIA
SUBCARPATHIAN RUTHENIA
SUCEAVA
SULITA
SULZBACH
SUWALKI
SVISLOCH
SWEDEN
SWIDNICA
SWITZERLAND
SZCZEBRZESZYN
SZCZERCOW
SZEGED
SZEKESFEHERVAR
SZOLNOK
SZOMBATHELY
SZYDLOWIEC
TABOR
TACHOV (Tachau)
TAGANROG
TALHEIM
TALLINN
TALNOYE
TARGU-MURES
TARNOBRZEG
TARNOGROD (Tarnograd)
TARNOPOL
TARNOW
TARTU
TARUTINO
TAUBERBISCHOFSHEIM
TAURAGE
TELENESHTY (Teleneşti)
TELSIAI (Telshi; Telschen)
TESCHEN
THIONVILLE
THURINGIA
TIMISOARA
TIRASPOL
TIRGU-FRUMOS
TIRGU NEAMT
TLUMACH (Tlumacz)
TOLSTOYE
TOMASHPOL
TOMASZOW LUBELSKI
TOMASZOW MAZOWIECKI
TOPOLCANY
TORCHIN (Torczyn)
TORUN
TOULOUSE
TOURS
TRANSYLVANIA
TRAVNIK
TREBIC (Trebitsch)
TRENCIN (Trenčín)
TREST
TRIER
TRIESTE
TRIKKALA (Trikala)
TRIPOLI
TRNAVA
TROKI
TROYES
TRZCIANKA
TUCHIN
TUEBINGEN
TUKUMS
TULCHIN
TUNIS, TUNISIA
TURDA
TURIN
TURKA
TURNOV
TYKOCIN
TYROL
TYSMENITSA (Tyśmienica)
TYSZOWCE
UDLICE
UHERSKE HRADISTE
UHERSKY BROD
UKMERGE
ULM
UMAN
USOV
USTI NAD LABEM
UTENA
UZHGOROD
VAC
VAD RASHKOV
VALEA-LUI-VLAD
VASILKOV
VASLUI
VATRA DORNEI
VELIZH
VENICE
VENTSPILS
VERCELLI
VEROIA
VERONA
VESZPREM
VIENNA
VILKAVISKIS
VILLINGEN
VILNA
VINNITSA
VIRBALIS
VISEUL DE SUS
VISHNEVETS

VITEBSK
VIZHNITSA
VLADIMIR VOLYNSKI
VOLHYNIA
VOLKOVYSK
VOLOS
VOLPA
VORONEZH
VOTICE
VOZNESSENK
VYSOKOYE
WARENDORF
WARSAW
WEGROW
WEINHEIM
WESTPHALIA
WIELICZKA
WIELUN
WIENER NEUSTADT
WIESBADEN
WISLICA
WLOCLAWEK
WLODAWA
WODZISLAW
WOLBROM
WOLFENBUETTEL
WOLOMIN
WORMS
WRONKI
WUERTTEMBERG
WUERZBURG
WUPPERTAL
WYSZKOW
WYSZOGROD
XANTEN
YALTA
YAVOROV
YEDINTSY
YEFINGAR
YEVPATORIYA
YUGOSLAVIA
ZABLUDOW
ZABOLOTOV
ZABRZE
ZAGARE
ZAGREB
ZALESHCHIKI
ZAMBROW (Zambrov)
ZAMOSC
ZAPOROZHE
ZARASAI
ZASTAVNA
ZATEC
ZAWIERCIE
ZBARAZH
ZBOROV
ZDUNSKA-WOLA
ZELECHOW
ZELOW
ZELVA (Zelwa)
ZEMUN
ZERBST
ZGIERZ (Zgerzh)
ZGURITSA (Zgurita)
ZHDANOV
ZHIDACHOV
ZHITOMIR
ZHMERINKA
ZHOLKVA
ZHURAVNO
ZILINA
ZLATOPOL
ZMIGROD NOWY
ZNOJMO (Znaim)
ZOLOCHEV
ZOLOTONOSHA
ZRENJANIN
ZVENIGORODKA
ZWICKAU
ZWOLEN
ZYCHLIN
ZYRARDOW

ORGANIZATIONS

ASSOCIATION OF HOLOCAUST ORGANIZATIONS
CENTRE DE DOCUMENTATION JUIVE CONTEMPORAINE
CONFERENCE ON JEWISH MATERIAL CLAIMS AGAINST GERMANY
COUNCIL OF JEWS FROM GERMANY
FORTUNOFF VIDEO ARCHIVES OF HOLOCAUST TESTIMONY
INTERNATIONAL TRACING SERVICE
JEWISH SUCCESSOR ORGANIZATIONS
JUEDISCHER KULTURBUND
MEMORIAL FOUNDATION FOR JEWISH CULTURE
MORESHET
MUSEUM OF JEWISH HERITAGE
OFFICE OF SPECIAL INVESTIGATIONS (OSI)
REICHSVEREINIGUNG
REICHSZENTRALE FUER JUEDISCHE AUSWANDERUNG
SURVIVORS OF THE SHOAH VISUAL HISTORY FOUNDATION
UNION GENERALE DES ISRAELITES DE FRANCE (U.G.I.F.)
UNITED RESTITUTION ORGANIZATION
UNITED STATES HOLOCAUST MEMORIAL MUSEUM
UNRRA
WAR REFUGEE BOARD
YAD VASHEM
ZENTRALE STELLE DER LANDESJUSTIZVERWALTUNGEN

BIOGRAPHIES

ANIELEWICZ, MORDECAI
ARAD, YITZHAK
ATLAS, JECHEZKIEL
BAK, SAMUEL
BARASH, EPHRAIM
BECCARI, ARRIGO
BENOIT, PIERRE-MARIE
BIELSKI, TUVIA, ASAEL, AND ZUS
BRAND, JOEL JENO

I. HISTORY

B. MEDIEVAL & MODERN PERIOD

3. Holocaust History

Biographies (*continued*)

CALMEYER, HANS
CZERNIAKOW, ADAM
DICKER-BRANDEIS, FREDERIKE
DONATI, ANGELO
DOUWES, ARNOLD
EDELSTEIN, JACOB
ELKES, ELHANAN
FLEISCHMANN, GISI
FOLEY, FRANCIS
FRANK, ANNE
FRANKFURTER, DAVID
FRY, VARIAN
GERSTEIN, KURT
GRAEBE, HERMANN FRIEDRICH
HAUTVAL, ADELAIDE
HO FENG-SHAN
KAPLAN, CHAIM ARON
KARMEL, ILONA
KARSKI, JAN
KASZTNER, REZSO RUDOLF
KENT, ROMAN
KLARSFELD, BEATE AUGUSTE
KLARSFELD, SERGE
KLEIN, GERDA WEISSMAN
KOOK, HILLEL
KORCZAK, JANUSZ
KORCZAK-MARLA, ROZKA
KORETZ, ZVI
KOVNER, ABBA
K. ZETNICK
LANTOS, TOM
LERMAN, MILES
LEVI, PRIMO
LICHTENBERG, BERNHARD
LUBETKIN, ZIVIA
LUTZ, CARL (Charles)
MAESTRO, YAAKOV
MAYER, SALY
MEED, BENJAMIN
MEED, VLADKA
MENDES, ARISTIDES DE SOUZA
NEVEJEAN, YVONNE
PAVELIC, ANTE
PECHERSKY, ALEXANDER
PLOTNICKA, FRUMKA
RINGELBLUM, EMANUEL (Menahem)
SANDBERG, WILLEM JACOB
SCHINDLER, OSKAR
SENDLER, IRENA
SHAPIRA, KALONYMOUS KALMAN
SPIEGELMAN, ART
STAHL, HEINRICH
STEFAN, METROPOLITAN
STROCHLITZ, SIGMUND
SUGIHARA CHIUNE-SEMPO
TENENBAUM, MORDECAI
WALLENBERG, RAOUL
WDOWINSKI, DAVID
WEICHERT, MICHAEL
WEISSMANDEL, MICHAEL DOV
WESTERWEEL, JOHAN
WIESEL, ELIE
WIESENTHAL, SIMON
WITTENBERG, YIZHAK
ZUCKERMAN, ITZHAK (Antek)
ZUROFF, EFRAIM

Nazis

BARBIE, NIKOLAUS ("KLAUS"), TRIAL OF
BORMANN, MARTIN
BRUNNER, ALOIS
BUEHLER, JOSEF
DEMJANJUK, JOHN
EICHMANN, ADOLF OTTO
FRANK, HANS MICHAEL
FRANK, KARL HERMANN
GLOBOCNIK, ODILO
GLUECKS, RICHARD
GOEBBELS, PAUL JOSEF
GOERING, HERMANN WILHELM
HEYDRICH, REINHARD TRISTAN
HIMMLER, HEINRICH
HITLER, ADOLF
HOESS, RUDOLF FRANZ FERDINAND
KALTENBRUNNER, ERNST
KATZMANN, FRIEDRICH (Fritz)
LECCA, RADU
MENGELE, JOSEF
MUELLER, HEINRICH
POHL, OSWALD
RADEMACHER, FRANZ
RAUTER, HANNS ALBIN
RIBBENTROP, JOACHIM VON
ROSENBERG, ALFRED
SAUCKEL, FRITZ (Ernst Friedrich Christoph)
SCHELLENBERG, WALTER
SEYSS-INQUART, ARTHUR
STREICHER, JULIUS
STROOP, JUERGEN (Josef)
TISO, JOSEF
TUKA, VOJTECH
VASEK, ANTON
WIRTH, CHRISTIAN
WISLICENY, DIETER

Scholars

BAUER, YEHUDA
BERENBAUM, MICHAEL
BRAHAM, RANDOLPH L.
BROWNING, CHRISTOPHER
DAWIDOWICZ, LUCY
DVORZETSKY, MARK MEIR
FRIEDLAENDER, SAUL
GUTMAN, ISRAEL
HILBERG, RAUL

LANGER, LAWRENCE
LANZMANN, CLAUDE
NOVITCH, MIRIAM
YOUNG, JAMES

II. RELIGION

A. JEWISH

1. JEWISH LAW

Main Surveys

HALAKHAH
MISHPAT IVRI

General Entries

ABDUCTION
ABORTION
ACQUISITION
ADMISSION
ADOPTION
ADULTERY
AGENCY
AGUNAH
APOSTASY
APOTROPOS
APPEAL
ARBITRATION
ARTIFICIAL INSEMINATION
ASMAKHTA
ASSAULT
ASSIGNMENT (OF DEBT)
ATTORNEY
AUTHORITY, RABBINICAL
AUTOPSIES AND DISSECTION
AV BET DIN
BANISHMENT
BET DIN AND JUDGES
BETROTHAL
BIGAMY AND POLYGAMY
BLINDNESS
BLOOD-AVENGER
BLOODGUILT
BRIBERY
BUSINESS ETHICS
CAPITAL PUNISHMENT
CAPTIVES, RANSOMING OF
CASTRATION
CHASTITY
CHILD MARRIAGE
CHILDREN
CITY OF REFUGE
CIVIL MARRIAGE
CLEVES GET
CODIFICATION OF LAW
COLLATIO LEGUM MOSAICARUM ET ROMANORUM
COMPOUNDING OFFENSES
COMPROMISE
CONCUBINE
CONDITIONS
CONFESSION
CONFISCATION, EXPROPRIATION, FORFEITURE
CONFLICT OF LAWS
CONFLICT OF OPINION
CONSERVATION
CONSUMER PROTECTION
CONTEMPT OF COURT
CONTRACT
DAMAGES
DAYYAN
DEAF-MUTE
DETENTION
DINA DE-MALKHUTA DINA
DISINTERMENT
DIVINE PUNISHMENT
DIVORCE
DOMICILE
DOWRY
ECOLOGY
EMBRYO
EVIDENCE
EXECUTION (CIVIL)
EXTRADITION
EXTRAORDINARY REMEDIES
FINES
FIRSTBORN
FLOGGING
FORGERY
FRAUD
GAMBLING
GENTILE
GERAMA AND GARME
GEZERTA
GIFT
HA'ANAKAH
HAFKA'AT SHE'ARIM
HAMEZ, SALE OF
HASKAMAH
HASSAGAT GEVUL
HAZAKAH
HEFKER
HEKDESH
HEREM
HEREM BET DIN
HEREM HA-IKKUL
HEREM HA-YISHUV
HEREM SETAM
HOMICIDE
HUMAN DIGNITY AND FREEDOM
IMPRISONMENT
IMPRISONMENT FOR DEBT
INCEST
INFORMERS
INSULT
INTERPRETATION
JERUSALEM
JEW
JEWISH AND ISLAMIC LAW, A COMPARATIVE REVIEW
KARET
KETUBBAH

II. RELIGION

A. JEWISH

1. Jewish Law

General Entries (*continued*)

LABOR LAW
LAW AND MORALITY
LAW OF RETURN
LEASE AND HIRE
LEGAL MAXIMS
LEGAL PERSON
LEVIRATE MARRIAGE AND HALIZAH
LIABILITY
LIEN
LIMITATION OF ACTIONS
LOAN
LOST PROPERTY
MA'ARUFYA
MA'ASEH
MAINTENANCE
MAJORITY RULE
MAMRAM
MAMZER
MARITIME LAW
MARRIAGE
MARRIAGE, PROHIBITED
MATRIMONIAL PROPERTY
MAZRANUT
MEDIATION
MEDICINE AND THE LAW
MEHILAH
MILITARY LAW
MINHAG
MISTAKE
MIXED MARRIAGE, INTERMARRIAGE
MONEYLENDING
NOACHIDE LAWS
NUISANCE
OATH
OBLIGATIONS, LAW OF
ONA'AH
ONES
OPPRESSION
ORAL LAW
ORPHAN, ORPHANAGE
OWNERSHIP
PARAPET
PARENT AND CHILD
PARTNERSHIP
PENAL LAW
PERJURY
PIKKU'AH NEFESH
PLANNING AND CONSTRUCTION
PLEAS
PLEDGE
POLICE OFFENSES
PRACTICE AND PROCEDURE
PROPERTY
PROSELYTES
PUBLIC AUTHORITY
PUNISHMENT
RANSOM
RAPE
REBELLIOUS SON
RIGHTS, HUMAN
SALE
SEPARATION OF POWERS
SERVITUDES
SEVARAH
SEXUAL OFFENSES
SHALISH
SHETAR
SHI'BUDA DE-RABBI NATHAN
SHOMERIM
SIKARIKON
SLANDER
SLAVERY
SORCERY
STRANGERS AND GENTILES
SUCCESSION
SUICIDE
SURETYSHIP
TAKKANOT
TAKKANOT HA-KAHAL
TALION
TAXATION
TECHNOLOGY AND HALAKHAH
TEMPLE MOUNT
THEFT AND ROBBERY
TORTS
TRADITION
TRANSPLANTS
UNJUST ENRICHMENT
VALUES OF A JEWISH AND DEMOCRATIC STATE
VIRGIN, VIRGINITY
VOWS AND VOWING
WEIGHTS AND MEASURES
WIDOW
WILLS
WITNESS
WOMAN
YEUSH
YUHASIN

2. JEWISH RITUAL & OBSERVANCE

Main Surveys
HALAKHAH

General Entries
ABLUTION
ABOMINATION
ADAR
ADAR, THE SEVENTH OF
ADASS JESHURUN, ADASS JISROEL
ADDIR BI-MELUKHAH
ADDIR HU
ADLOYADA
ADON OLAM
ADONAI, ADONAI, EL RAHUM VE-HANNUN
AFIKOMAN

AHAVAH RABBAH; AHAVAT OLAM
AHOT KETANNAH
AKDAMUT MILLIN
AL HA-NISSIM
AL HET
AL TIKREI
ALEINU LE-SHABBEʾAH
AMARKAL
AMEN
AMIDAH
AMULET
ANIM ZEMIROT
ANINUT
ANNA BE-KHOʾAH
ANNA BE-KORENU
APAM
ARBA AMMOT
ARBA KOSOT
ARK
ART
ARVIT
ASHAMNU
ASHKAVAH
ASHREI
ATTAH EHAD
ATTAH HORETA LADAʾAT
ATTAH ZOKHER
AUFRUFEN
AUTHORITY, RABBINICAL
AV
AV HA-RAHAMIM
AV, THE FIFTEENTH OF
AV, THE NINTH OF
AVERAH
AVI AVI
AVINU MALKENU
AVINU SHE-BA-SHAMAYIM
AVODAH
AZAZEL
AZERET
AZHAROT, AZHARAH
BAKI
BAKKASHAH
BA-MEH MADLIKIN
BAR MITZVAH, BAT MITZVAH
BAREKHI NAFSHI
BAREKHU
BARNACLE GOOSE MYTHS
BARRENNESS AND FERTILITY
BARUKH
BARUKH SHE-AMAR
BARUKH SHEM KEVOD MALKHUTO LE-OLAM VA-ED
BARUKH SHE-PETARANI
BATH, BATHING
BEARD AND SHAVING
BEDIKAT HAMEZ
BE-MOZAʾEI MENUHAH
BENEDICTIONS
BENSHEN
BERAH DODI
BIMAH
BIRKAT HA-MINIM
BIRKAT HA-TORAH
BIRTH
BIRTH CONTROL
BIRTHDAY
BITTUL HA-TAMID
BLASPHEMY
BLEMISH
BLESSING AND CURSING
BLESSING OF CHILDREN
BLOOD
BREASTPLATE
BRIDEGROOMS OF THE LAW
BURIAL
CALENDAR
CALENDAR REFORM
CANDLES
CASTRATION
CATACOMBS
CELIBACY
CEMETERY
CHILDREN'S SERVICES
CHOIRS
CIRCUMCISION
COFFIN
COMMANDMENTS, THE 613
CONFESSION OF SINS
CREMATION
DAVID
DAY AND NIGHT
DAY OF ATONEMENT
DAYYEINU
DEATH
DESECRATION
DEW, PRAYER FOR
DIETARY LAWS
DISINTERMENT
DUKHAN
EGGS
EGLAH ARUFAH
EHAD MI YODEʾA
EIN KE-ELOHENU
EL MALE RAHAMIM
EL MELEKH NEʾEMAN
EL MELEKH YOSHEV
EL NORA ALILAH
ELI ZIYYON VE-AREHA
ELIJAH, CHAIR OF
ELIJAH, CUP OF
ELUL
ERUV
ESHET HAYIL
ESTHER, FAST OF
ETROG
EVER MIN HA-HAI
FASTING AND FAST DAYS
FESTIVALS
FIRST FRUITS
FIRZOGERIN

II. RELIGION

A. JEWISH

2. Jewish Ritual & Observance

General Entries (*continued*)

FIVE SPECIES
FLOWERS
FOOD
FOUR SPECIES
GE'ULLAH
GOMEL, BLESSING OF
GOVERNMENT, PRAYER FOR THE
GRACE AFTER MEALS
GRACE BEFORE MEALS
HA LAHMA ANYA
HAD GADYA
HADRAN
HAFTARAH
HAGBAHAH, GELILAH
HAGGADAH, PASSOVER
HAKHEL
HAKHNASAT KALLAH
HAKKAFOT
HALAKHAH LE-MOSHE MI-SINAI
HALAKHIC PERIODICALS
HALAKHOT GEDOLOT
HALAKHOT KEZUVOT (*Ketu'ot*)
HALAKHOT PESUKOT
HALLAH
HALLEL
HALLELUJAH
HA-MAVDIL
HAMEZ
HAMEZ, SALE OF
HANUKKAH
HAROSET
HASHKIVENU
HAVDALAH
HAZKARAT NESHAMOT
HEAD, COVERING OF THE
HEKHSHER
HESPED
HILLULA
HILLULA DE-RABBI SHIMON BAR YOHAI
HINENI HE-ANI MI-MAAS
HONEY
HOSHANA RABBA
HOSHANOT
HUKKAT HA-GOI
HUMRA
HUSBAND AND WIFE
HYGIENE
ISRU HAG
ISSUR VE-HETTER
IYYAR
JERUSALEM
JUDAISM
KABBALAT SHABBAT
KADDISH
KAPPAROT
KASHER
KAVVANAH
KEDUSHAH
KERI'AH
KEROVAH
KEVER AVOT
KIDDUSH
KINAH
KISLEV
KITEL
KOL NIDREI
LAG BA-OMER
LEAP YEAR
LEKET, SHIKHHAH, AND PE'AH
LEKHAH DODI
LEVITES IN THE HALAKHAH
LIKKUT AZAMOT
LITURGY
LOTS
LULAV
MA'ARAVOT
MAFTIR
MAH NISHTANNAH
MAH TOVU
MAHZOR
MAHZOR VITRY
MAIMUNA
MALKHUYYOT
MA'OZ ZUR
MARHESHVAN
MAROR
MARRIAGE
MASHGI'AH
MASHIV HA-RU'AH
MATZAH
MAYIM AHARONIM
MEAT
MEGILLAH
MEHIZAH
MELAVVEH MALKAH
MEMORBUCH
MEMORIAL LIGHT
MENORAH
ME'OT HITTIM
MEZUZAH
MIKVEH
MILK
MINHAH
MINYAN
MI SHE-BERAKH
MI-SINAI NIGGUNIM
MITZVAH
MIXED SPECIES
MIZMOR LE-DAVID
MIZMOR SHIR LE-YOM HA-SHABBAT
MIZRAH
MODEH ANI
MONDAY AND THURSDAY
MONOGAMY
MOON, BLESSING OF THE

MORNING BENEDICTIONS
MOURNING
MUKZEH
MUSAF
NAME, CHANGE OF
NE’ILAH
NER TAMID
NETILAT YADAYIM
NEVELAH
NEW MOON
NEW MOON, ANNOUNCEMENT OF
NEW YEAR
NIDDAH
NIGHT PRAYER
NINE DAYS
NISAN
NISHMAT KOL HAI
OMER
OMNAM KEN
ORAL LAW
ORGAN
PAROKHET AND KAPPORET
PARVEH
PASSSOVER
PASSOVER, SECOND
PE’OT
PESUKEI DE-ZIMRA
PETIHAH
PILGRIM FESTIVALS
PIYYUT
PIZMON
PRAYER
PRAYER BOOKS
PRIESTLY BLESSING
PRIESTS AND PRIESTHOOD
PSALMS, BOOK OF
PUBERTY
PURIM
PURIM KATAN
PURIM MESHULASH
PURIMS, SPECIAL
PURITY AND IMPURITY, RITUAL
RAIN, PRAYER FOR
REBUKE AND REPROOF
RESHUT
ROSH HA-SHANAH
SABBATH
SABBATHS, SPECIAL
SABBATICAL YEAR AND JUBILEE
SACRIFICE
SACRILEGE
SANDAK
SCROLLS, THE FIVE
SEDER
SEFER TORAH
SELIHOT
SE’UDAH
SE’UDAH SHELISHIT
SHA’ATNEZ
SHABBAT BERESHIT
SHABBAT HA-GADOL
SHAHARIT
SHALOM ALEIKHEM
SHAMMASH
SHAVUOT
SHEHITAH
SHELI’AH ZIBBUR
SHELOSHET YEMEI HAGBALAH
SHELOSHIM
SHEMA, READING OF
SHEMONEH ESREH
SHEVAT
SHIR HA-MAALOT
SHIR HA-YIHUD
SHIVVITI
SHOFAR
SHOFAROT
SHOLEM ZOKHOR
SHOVAVIM TAT
SHULHAN ARUKH
SHULKLAPPER
SICK, PRAYER FOR
SIDRAH
SIMHAT TORAH
SIVAN
SONG OF SONGS
SUKKAH
SUKKOT
SUN, BLESSING OF THE
SYNAGOGUE
TAHANUN
TAHARAT HA-MISHPAHAH
TALLIT
TALLIT KATAN
TAMMUZ
TAMMUZ, FAST OF
TASHLIKH
TATTOO
TECHNOLOGY AND HALAKHAH
TEFILLIN
TEHINNAH
TEKI’ATA (*Teki’ot*)
TEN DAYS OF PENITENCE
TEREFAH
TERUMOT AND MA’ASEROT
TEVET
THREE WEEKS
TIKKUN HAZOT
TISHRI
TITHE
TKHINES
TOHORAH
TOKHEHAH
TORAH
TORAH, READING OF
TRAVEL, PRAYER FOR
TRIENNIAL CYCLE
TU BI-SHEVAT
TWILIGHT
U-NETANNEH TOKEF

II. RELIGION

A. JEWISH

2. Jewish Ritual & Observance

General Entries (*continued*)

USURY
VEIL
WINE
YA'ALEH VE-YAVO
YAD
YAH RIBBON OLAM
YAHRZEIT
YAKNEHAZ
YAMIM NORA'IM
YEKUM PURKAN
YEZIV PITGAM
YIGDAL
YISHTABBAH
YIZKOR
YOM KIPPUR KATAN
YOZEROT
ZEMIROT
ZIDDUK HA-DIN
ZIKHRONOT
ZIZIT
ZUR MI-SHELO

3. JEWISH THOUGHT & PHILOSOPHY

Main Surveys

PHILOSOPHY, JEWISH

General Entries

ABRAHAM
ADAM
AFTERLIFE
AKEDAH
ANGEL OF DEATH
ANGELS AND ANGELOLOGY
ANI MA'AMIN
ANIMALS, CRUELTY TO
ANTHROPOMORPHISM
ANTINOMIANISM
APIKOROS
APOLOGETICS
ARTICLES OF FAITH
ASCETICISM
ASTROLOGY
ATOMISM
ATONEMENT
BEATITUDE
BELIEF
BODY AND SOUL
BUSINESS ETHICS
CATEGORIES
CAUSE AND EFFECT
CHARITY
CHASTITY
CHILDREN
CHIROMANCY
CHOSEN PEOPLE
COMMANDMENTS, REASONS FOR
COMPASSION
CONSERVATION
CONSERVATIVE JUDAISM
COSMOLOGY
COVETOUSNESS
CREATION AND COSMOGONY
DEATH
DECALOGUE
DEREKH EREZ
DOMESTIC PEACE
DREAMS
DUALISM
DUTY
EMANATION
EMOTIONS
ESCHATOLOGY
ETHICAL CULTURE
ETHICAL LITERATURE
ETHICS
ETIQUETTE
EUTHANASIA
EVIL EYE
EVOLUTION
EXISTENTIALISM
FEAR OF GOD
FORGIVENESS
FORM AND MATTER
FREEDOM
FREE WILL
FRIENDSHIP
GALUT
GEMILUT HASADIM
GILGUL
GOD
GOD, NAMES OF
GOOD AND EVIL
HASIDEI ASHKENAZ
HASIDIM, SEFER
HATRED
HEART
HEMDAT YAMIM
HERESY
HERMETIC WRITINGS
HOMOSEXUALITY
HONOR
HOSPITALITY
HUMILITY
HUNTING
HYGIENE
IMITATION OF GOD
INCLINATION, GOOD AND EVIL
INGATHERING OF THE EXILES
INTELLECT
JOY
JUDAISM
JUSTICE
KALAM
KEDUSHAH
KELAL YISRAEL

KENESET YISRAEL
KIDDUSH HA-SHEM AND HILLUL HA-SHEM
KING, KINGSHIP
KISS AND KISSING
LAMED VAV ZADDIKIM
LASHON HA-RA
LESBIANISM
LIFE AND DEATH
LOGIC
LOGOS
LOVE
MAIMONIDEAN CONTROVERSY
MAN, THE NATURE OF
MARRIAGE
MERCY
MESSIAH
METAPHYSICS
METATRON
MICROCOSM
MIRACLE
MONOTHEISM
MOSES
MUSAR MOVEMENT
NATURE
NEOLOGY (Neologism)
NEO-ORTHODOXY
NEOPLATONISM
NESHAMAH YETERAH
OLAM HA-BA
ONANISM
ORTHODOXY
PARADISE
PARENTS, HONOR OF
PEACE
PIETY AND THE PIOUS
PLATO AND PLATONISM
PRAYER
PRESENCE, DIVINE
PROPHETS AND PROPHECY
PROSELYTES
PROVIDENCE
RAINBOW
REDEMPTION
REMNANT OF ISRAEL
REPENTANCE
RESURRECTION
REVELATION
REWARD AND PUNISHMENT
RIGHTEOUSNESS
RU'AH HA-KODESH
SABBATH
SATAN
SEX
SHEKHINAH
SICK, VISITING THE
SIN
SKEPTICS AND SKEPTICISM
SON OF MAN
SOUL
SOUL, IMMORTALITY OF
SPACE AND PLACE
STOICISM
SUBSTANCE AND ACCIDENT
SUFFERING
THEOCRACY
THEOLOGY
THRONE OF GOD
TIME AND ETERNITY
TORAH
TRUTH
VENGEANCE
VISIONS
WISSENSCHAFT DES JUDENTUMS
WORD
ZEDAKAH
ZEKHUT AVOT
ZODIAC

Biographies

ABBA MARI ASTRUC BEN MOSES BEN JOSEPH OF LUNEL
ABBAS, JUDAH BEN SAMUEL IBN
ABRABANEL, ISAAC BEN JUDAH
ABRABANEL, JUDAH
ABRAHAM BAR HIYYA
ABRAHAM BEN JUDAH LEON
ABRAHAM BEN MOSES BEN MAIMON
ABULRABI, AARON
AKNIN, JOSEPH BEN JUDAH BEN JACOB IBN
ALAMI, SOLOMON
ALBALAG, ISAAC
ALBO, JOSEPH
ALCONSTANTINI, ENOCH BEN SOLOMON
ALCORSONO, JUDAH BEN JOSEPH
ARAMA, ISAAC BEN MOSES
ARISTOTLE
ARUNDI, ISAAC (Ibn)
ASCHER, SAUL
ASHKENAZI, SAUL BEN MOSES HA-KOHEN
ATLAS, SAMUEL
BAECK, LEO
BAHYA (Pseudo)
BAHYA BEN JOSEPH IBN PAQUDA
BERKOVITS, ELIEZER
BIBAGO, ABRAHAM BEN SHEM TOV
BONAFOS, MENAHEM BEN ABRAHAM
BOROWITZ, EUGENE
BREUER, ISAAC
BUBER, MARTIN
CRESCAS, HASDAI
DELMEDIGO, ELIJAH BEN MOSES ABBA
DELMEDIGO, JOSEPH SOLOMON
DONNOLO, SHABBETAI
DURAN, PROFIAT (Profayt)
DURAN, SIMEON BEN ZEMAH (Rashbaz)
FACKENHEIM, EMIL LUDWIG
FALAQUERA, SHEM TOV BEN JOSEPH
FORMSTECHER, SOLOMON
GABIROL, SOLOMON BEN JUDAH, IBN
GEIGER, ABRAHAM

II. RELIGION

A. JEWISH

3. Jewish Thought & Philosophy

Biographies (*continued*)

GHĀZALĪ, ABU HAMID MUHAMMAD IBN MUHAMMAD AL-TŪSĪ AL-
GOLDBERG, OSCAR
GOLDMAN, ELIEZER
GUTTMANN, JULIUS
HABILLO, ELIJAH BEN JOSEPH
HARTMAN, DAVID
HESCHEL, ABRAHAM JOSHUA
HILLEL BEN SAMUEL (of Verona)
HIRSCH, SAMSON (Ben) RAPHAEL
HIRSCH, SAMUEL
HIWI AL-BALKHI
HOLDHEIM, SAMUEL
IBN DAUD, ABRAHAM BEN DAVID HALEVI
IBN EZRA, ABRAHAM
IBN EZRA, MOSES BEN JACOB
IBN KAMMŪNA, SAʿD IBN MANSŪR
IBN SHEM TOV, ISAAC BEN SHEM TOV
IBN SHEM TOV, JOSEPH BEN SHEM TOV
IBN SHEM TOV, SHEM TOV BEN JOSEPH BEN SHEM TOV
IMAGINATION
ISRAELI, ISAAC BEN SOLOMON
JABES, EDMOND
JAGEL, ABRAHAM
JEDAIAH BEN ABRAHAM BEDERSI (ha-Penini)
JUDAH BEN ELEAZAR
JUDAH HALEVI
JUDAH LOEW BEN BEZALEL (Maharal)
KAPLAN, MORDECAI MENAHEM
KASPI, JOSEPH BEN ABBA MARI IBN
KATZ, JOSEPH BEN ELIJAH
KELLERMANN, BENZION
KOOK, ABRAHAM ISAAC
LEIBOWITZ, YESHAYAHU
LEON, MESSER DAVID BEN JUDAH
LEVI BEN ABRAHAM BEN HAYYIM
LEVI BEN GERSHOM (Ralbag)
LEVINAS, EMMANUEL
LUZZATTO, SAMUEL DAVID
LYOTARD, JEAN FRANCOIS
MAIMONIDES, MOSES
MALKAH, JUDAH BEN NISSIM IBN
MANN, ABRAHAM AARON OF POSNAN
MATKAH, JUDAH BEN SOLOMON HA-KOHEN
MENDELSSOHN, MOSES
MOSES BEN JOSEPH HA-LEVI
MOSES BEN JOSHUA OF NARBONNE
MOSES BEN JUDAH NOGA
MUKAMMIS, DAVID IBN MARWAN AL-RAQI AL-SHIRAZI AL-
NAGARI, MOSES BEN JUDAH
NISSIM BEN MOSES OF MARSEILLES
PHILO JUDAEUS
POLLEGAR, ISAAC BEN JOSEPH IBN
RAWIDOWICZ, SIMON
ROSENSTOCK-HUESSY, EUGEN
ROSENZWEIG, FRANZ
ROSSI, AZARIAH (Bonaiuto) BEN MOSES DEI
ROTENSTREICH, NATHAN
SAADIAH (Ben Joseph) GAON
SCHECHTER, SOLOMON (Shneur Zalman)
SCHWARZSCHILD, STEVEN SAMUEL
SCHWEID, ELIEZER
SHALOM, ABRAHAM BEN ISAAC BEN JUDAH BEN SAMUEL
SHEMARIAH BEN ELIJAH BEN JACOB
SIMON, AKIBA ERNST
SOLOMON BEN JUDAH OF LUNEL
SPINOZA, BARUCH DE
STEINHEIM, SALOMON LUDWIG
WOLFSON, HARRY AUSTRYN
ZADDIK, JOSEPH BEN JACOB IBN
ZAMOSC, ISRAEL BEN MOSES HALEVI
ZARZA, SAMUEL IBN SENEH
ZERAHIAH BEN ISAAC BEN SHEALTIEL (GRACIAN)

4. RABBINICS

General Entries

ACADEMY ON HIGH
AHARONIM
BA’ALEI TESHUVAH
BET (Ha-) MIDRASH
CHIEF RABBI, CHIEF RABBINATE
CLEVES GET
CODIFICATION OF LAW
DARSHAN
DERASH
DIVINATION
EZ HAYYIM
GAON
GEMATRIA
HAGGAHOT
HAKHAM
HAKHAM BASHI
HALAKHAH
HALAKHIC PERIODICALS
HASIDEI UMMOT HA-OLAM
HASIDIM
HAVER, HAVERIM
HEDER
HERMENEUTICS
KOLEL
LANDESRABBINERSCHULE
LANDRABBINER
MA’AMAD (Mahamad)
MAGGID
MITNAGGEDIM
NEOLOGY (Neologism)
NEO-ORTHODOXY
NETUREI KARTA
ORAL LAW
PARDES
PILPUL
POSEKIM

PREACHING
RABBANITES
RABBI, RABBINATE
RABBINER-SEMINAR FUER DAS ORTHODOXE JUDENTUM
RABBINICAL ALLIANCE OF AMERICA
RABBINICAL ASSEMBLY
RABBINICAL CONFERENCES
RABBINICAL COUNCIL OF AMERICA
RABBINICAL SEMINARIES
RABBINICAL TRAINING, AMERICAN
REBBETZIN
RISHON LE-ZION
RISHONIM
SAVORA, SAVORAIM
SCRIBE
SEMIKHAH
SIYYUM
SLOBODKA YESHIVAH
SOFERIM
STUDY
SYNODS
TALMID HAKHAM
YESHIVOT
YOKE
ZADDIK

Rabbinic Literature

CHAPBOOKS
ECCLESIASTES RABBAH
ETHICAL LITERATURE
GENESIS RABBATI
GEONIC LITERATURE
HAGGAHOT MAIMUNIYYOT
HA-HINNUKH
HAKDAMAH
HALAKHOT GEDOLOT
HALAKHOT KEZUVOT (*Ketu'ot*)
HALAKHOT PESUKOT
HA-PARNAS, SEFER
HASSAGOT
HEBREW BOOK TITLES
HEMDAT YAMIM
HIDDUSHIM
HOMILETIC LITERATURE
KOL BO
KUNTERES
LA'AZ
ME-AM LO'EZ
MIDRASH ASERET HA-DIBBEROT
MIDRASH HA-GADOL
MIDRASH LEKAH TOV
MIDRASH PROVERBS
MIDRASH SAMUEL (Shemuel)
MIDRASH TEHILLIM
MIDRASH VA-YISSAU
MIDRASHIM, SMALLER
MIDRESHEI AGGADAH
MINHAGIM BOOKS
MISHNAT HA-MIDDOT
MIVHAR HA-PENINIM
NUMBERS RABBAH
ORHOT HAYYIM
ORHOT ZADDIKIM
PERI-EZ-HAYYIM
PESIKTA RABBATI
PIRKEI DE-RABBI ELIEZER
POLEMICS AND POLEMICAL LITERATURE
RABBINICAL LITERATURE
RESPONSA
SEFER HA-MA'ASIM LI-VENEI EREZ YISRAEL
SEFER HA-NEYAR
SEFER HA-YASHAR
SHA'AREI SHEVUOT
SUPERCOMMENTARIES ON THE PENTATEUCH
TANNA DE-VEI ELIYAHU
TARGUM SHENI
TOHOROT HA-KODESH
TOLEDOT YESHU
TOSAFOT
YALKUT (ha-) MAKHIRI
YALKUT SHIMONI
ZERUBBABEL, BOOK OF

Biographies

Geonim

AARON BEN JOSEPH HA-KOHEN SARGADO
ABBA
ABIATHAR BEN ELIJAH HA-KOHEN
ABRAHAM BEN N... HA-BAGHDADI
ABRAHAM BEN NATHAN
ABRAHAM GAON
AHA OF SHABHA
ALBARADANI, JOSEPH
AL-BAZAK, MAZLIAH BEN ELIJAH IBN
ALI BEN ZECHARIAH
AMRAM BEN SHESHNA (Amram Gaon)
AZARIAH BEN SOLOMON
BEN ALAN, JOSHUA
DANIEL BEN AZARIAH
DANIEL BEN ELEAZAR BEN NETHANEL HIBAT ALLAH
DAVID BEN DANIEL
DAVID BEN JUDAH
DAVID BEN ZAKKAI
DOSA BEN SAADIAH
DUNASH IBN TAMIM
ELHANAN BEN HUSHIEL
ELHANAN BEN SHEMARIAH
ELIJAH BEN SOLOMON HA-KOHEN
EPHRAIM BEN SHEMARIAH
HAI BAR RAV DAVID GAON
HAI BEN NAHSHON
HAI BEN SHERIRA
HANANEL BEN HUSHIEL
HANINA (Ahonai) KAHANA BEN HUNA
HEFEZ BEN YAZLIAH
HEZEKIAH BEN DAVID
HUSHIEL BEN ELHANAN (of Kairouan)
IBN ABITUR, JOSEPH BEN ISAAC

II. RELIGION

A. JEWISH

4. Rabbinics

BIOGRAPHIES

Geonim (continued)

ISAAC
ISRAEL BEN SAMUEL HA-KOHEN
JACOB BEN DUNASH BEN AKIVA
JACOB HA-KOHEN BAR MORDECAI
JOSEPH BAR ABBA
JOSEPH BAR HIYYA
JOSEPH BEN JACOB BAR SATIA
JOSIAH BEN AARON HE-HAVER
JUDAH BEN JOSEPH OF KAIROUAN
KOHEN-ZEDEK BAR IVOMAI (bar Ikhumai)
KOHEN ZEDEK OF PUMBEDITA (bar Joseph)
MOSES KAHANA BEN JACOB
MUBASHSHIR BEN NISSI HA-LEVI
MUBASHSHIR BEN RAV KIMOI HA-KOHEN
NAHSHON BAR ZADOK
NATHAN BEN ABRAHAM I
NATHAN BEN ABRAHAM II
NATRONAI BAR NEHEMIAH
NEHEMIAH BAR KOHEN ZEDEK
NETHANEL BEN MOSES HA-LEVI
NISSI BEN BERECHIAH AL-NAHRAWANI
NISSIM BEN JACOB BEN NISSIM IBN SHAHIN
PALTOI BAR ABBAYE
PIRKOI BEN BABOI
RABBAH
SAADIAH (Ben Joseph) GAON
SAMUEL BEN ALI
SAMUEL BEN DANIEL ABU RABIʿA HA-KOHEN
SAMUEL BEN HOPHNI
SAR SHALOM BEN BOAZ
SAR SHALOM BEN MOSES HALEVI
SHEMARIAH BEN ELHANAN
SHERIRA BEN HANINA GAON
SIMEON BAR ISAAC
SIMONA
SOLOMON BEN JUDAH
YEHUDAI BEN NAHMAN (Yehudai Gaon)
ZADOK (ISAAC) BAR MAR YISHI (ASHI)
ZEMAH BEN HAYYIM
ZEMAH BEN PALTOI
ZEMAH ZEDEK BEN ISAAC

Rishonim

AARON BEN JACOB HA-KOHEN OF LUNEL
AARON BEN JOSEPH HA-LEVI
AARON BEN MESHULLAM OF LUNEL
AARON OF NEUSTADT
ABBA MARI BEN ELIGDOR
ABBAS, MOSES BEN SAMUEL
ABENAFIA, JOSEPH
ABOAB, ISAAC I
ABOAB, ISAAC II
ABRAHAM BEN AZRIEL
ABRAHAM BEN DAVID MAIMUNI
ABRAHAM BEN DAVID OF POSQUIÈRES (Rabad)
ABRAHAM BEN ISAAC OF MONTPELLIER
ABRAHAM BEN ISAAC OF NARBONNE
ABRAHAM BEN MAZHIR
ABRAHAM BEN NATHAN HA-YARHI ("of Lunel")
ABRAHAM BEN SAMUEL HE-HASID (of Speyer)
ABRAHAM BEN SAMUEL OF DREUX
ABRAHAM BEN SOLOMON
ABUDARHAM
ABUDARHAM, DAVID BEN JOSEPH
ABULAFIA, MEIR
ABZARDIEL, MOSES
ADANI, DAVID BEN AMRAM
ADANI, DAVID BEN YESHA HA-LEVI
ADANI, SAADIAH BEN DAVID (Sa'id ibn Daud)
ADONIM BEN NISAN HA-LEVI
ADRET, SOLOMON BEN ABRAHAM (Rashba)
AGHMATI, ZECHARIAH BEN JUDAH
AHITUB BEN ISAAC
ALAMANI, AARON HE-HAVER BEN YESHU'AH
ALBALIA, BARUCH BEN ISAAC
ALBALIA, ISAAC BEN BARUCH
AL-BARGELONI, ISAAC BEN REUBEN
ALDUBI, ABRAHAM BEN MOSES BEN ISMAIL
ALEXANDER SUSLIN HA-KOHEN OF FRANKFURT
ALFASI, ISAAC BEN JACOB (Rif)
ALGUADES (Alguadez), MEIR
ALI BEN AMRAM
AL-MADARI, JUDAH HA-KOHEN BEN ELEAZAR HE-HASID
AL-NAKAWA, ISRAEL BEN JOSEPH
AMRAM OF MAINZ
ANAN BEN MARINUS HA-KOHEN
ANATOLI, JACOB BEN ABBA MARI BEN SAMSON
ANATOLI BEN JOSEPH
ANAU
ANAV, BENJAMIN BEN ABRAHAM
ANAV, JEHIEL BEN JEKUTHIEL BEN BENJAMIN HA-ROFE
ANAV, JUDAH BEN BENJAMIN HA-ROFE
ANAV, ZEDEKIAH BEN ABRAHAM
ASHER BEN JEHIEL (Rosh)
ASHER BEN MESHULAM HA-KOHEN OF LUNEL
ASHER BEN SAUL
ASHKENAZI, DAN
ASTRUC HA-LEVI
AVIGDOR BEN ELIJAH HA-KOHEN
BAHYA BEN ASHER BEN HLAVA
BAMBERG, SAMUEL BEN BARUCH
BARUCH BEN ISAAC OF ALEPPO
BARUCH BEN ISAAC OF REGENSBURG
BARUCH BEN ISAAC OF WORMS
BARUCH BEN SAMUEL OF ALEPPO
BARUCH BEN SAMUEL OF MAINZ
BEKHOR SHOR, JOSEPH BEN ISAAC
BEN MEIR, AARON
BENJAMIN BEN SAMUEL HA-LEVI
BONAFED, DAVID BEN REUBEN
BONAVOGLIA, MOSES DE MEDICI
BONDAVIN, BONJUDAS (Bonjusas)

BONFILS, JOSEPH BEN SAMUEL
BRUNA, ISRAEL BEN HAYYIM
CANPANTON, ISAAC BEN JACOB
CANPANTON, JUDAH BEN SOLOMON
CRESCAS, ASHER (Bonan) BEN ABRAHAM
DANIEL BEN JEHIEL OF ROME
DANIEL BEN SAADIAH HA-BAVLI
DANIEL BEN SAMUEL IBN ABI RABI HA-KOHEN
DAVID BEN ABRAHAM MAIMUNI
DAVID BEN DANIEL
DAVID BEN HEZEKIAH
DAVID BEN JOSHUA MAIMUNI
DAVID BEN LEVI OF NARBONNE
DAVID BEN SAADIAH
DAVID BEN SAMUEL
DAVID BEN SAUL
DAVID BEN ZAKKAI II
DAVID IBN HAJJAR
DHAMARI, MANSUR SULEIMAN
DHAMARI, SAID BEN DAVID
DUEREN, ISAAC BEN MEIR
DURAN, SIMEON BEN ZEMAH (Rashbaz)
DURAN, SOLOMON BEN SIMEON
DURAN, ZEMAH BEN SOLOMON
ELEAZAR BEN JUDAH OF WORMS
ELEAZAR BEN MOSES HA-DARSHAN OF WUERZBURG
ELHANAN BEN ISAAC OF DAMPIERRE
ELHANAN BEN YAKAR
ELIEZER BEN ISAAC OF WORMS
ELIEZER BEN JOEL HA-LEVI OF BONN
ELIEZER BEN NATHAN OF MAINZ
ELIEZER BEN SAMUEL OF METZ
ELIEZER BEN SAMUEL OF VERONA
ELIEZER OF BEAUGENCY
ELIEZER OF TOUL
ELIEZER OF TOUQUES
ELIJAH BEN JUDAH OF PARIS
ELIJAH MENAHEM BEN MOSES
ELIJAH OF LA MASSA
EPHRAIM BEN ISAAC (of Regensburg)
EPHRAIM BEN JACOB OF BONN
EPHRAIM IBN AVI ALRAGAN
EZRA BEN ABRAHAM BEN MAZHIR
EZRA OF MONTCONTOUR
GABBAI, MOSES BEN SHEM-TOV
GAGIN, HAYYIM
GALIPAPA, HAYYIM BEN ABRAHAM
GATIGNO
GERONDI, MOSES BEN SOLOMON DESCOLA
GERONDI, SAMUEL BEN MESHULLAM
GERONDI, ZERAHIAH BEN ISAAC HA-LEVI
GERSHOM BEN JUDAH MEOR HA-GOLAH
GERSHOM BEN SOLOMON
GERSHON BEN SOLOMON OF ARLES
GRACIAN, SHEALTIEL BEN SOLOMON
HABIBA, JOSEPH
HANANEL BEN SAMUEL
HANOKH BEN MOSES
HAYYIM BEN HANANEL HA-KOHEN
HAYYIM (Eliezer) BEN ISAAC "OR ZARUA"
HAYYIM BEN JEHIEL HEFEZ ZAHAV
HAYYIM BEN SAMUEL BEN DAVID OF TUDELA
HAYYIM PALTIEL BEN JACOB ("Tola'at")
HEZEKIAH BEN JACOB
HEZEKIAH BEN MANOAH
HILLEL BEN ELIAKIM
HILLEL OF ERFURT
IBN BALAM, JUDAH BEN SAMUEL
IBN EZRA, ABRAHAM
IBN GAON, SHEM TOV BEN ABRAHAM
IBN GHAYYAT
IBN MIGASH, JOSEPH BEN MEIR HA-LEVI
IBN PLAT, JOSEPH
IBN SHUAIB, JOSHUA
ISAAC BAR DORBELO
ISAAC BAR ISRAEL IBN AL-SHUWAYK
ISAAC BEN ABBA MARI OF MARSEILLES
ISAAC BEN ABRAHAM
ISAAC BEN ABRAHAM OF NARBONNE
ISAAC BEN ASHER HA-LEVI
ISAAC BEN ELIEZER
ISAAC BEN JACOB HA-LAVAN OF PRAGUE
ISAAC BEN JOSEPH OF CORBEIL (Semak)
ISAAC BEN JUDAH OF MAINZ
ISAAC BEN MEIR (Ribam)
ISAAC BEN MELCHIZEDEK OF SIPONTO
ISAAC BEN MENAHEM THE GREAT
ISAAC BEN MERWAN HA-LEVI
ISAAC BEN MORDECAI (Ribam)
ISAAC BEN MOSES OF VIENNA
ISAAC BEN SAMUEL OF DAMPIERRE
ISAAC BEN SHESHET PERFET (Ribash)
ISAAC BEN TODROS OF BARCELONA
ISAAC FROM OURVILLE
ISAAC OF CHERNIGOV
ISAAC OF EVREUX
ISAIAH BEN ELIJAH DI TRANI
ISAIAH BEN MALI DI TRANI
ISRAEL BEN JOEL (Susslin)
ISRAELI, ISRAEL
ISRAEL OF BAMBERG
ISRAEL OF KREMS
ISSERLEIN, ISRAEL BEN PETHAHIAH
JACOB BEN ASHER
JACOB BEN MOSES OF BAGNOLS
JACOB BEN NETHANEL BEN (AL-) FAYYUMI
JACOB BEN SAMSON
JACOB BEN YAKAR
JACOB OF CORBEIL
JACOB OF MARVEGE
JACOB OF ORLEANS
JACOB OF PONT-SAINTE-MAXENCE
JACOB OF VIENNA
JAMA, SAMUEL
JEHIEL BEN JOSEPH OF PARIS
JEROHAM BEN MESHULLAM
JESSE BEN HEZEKIAH
JOEL BEN ISAAC HA-LEVI
JONAH BEN ABRAHAM GERONDI
JONATHAN BEN DAVID HA-KOHEN OF LUNEL

II. RELIGION

A. JEWISH

4. Rabbinics

Biographies

Rishonim (*continued*)

JOSEPH BEN BARUCH OF CLISSON
JOSEPH BEN JUSTU OF JAEN
JOSEPH BEN MOSES OF TROYES
JOSEPH HAZZAN BEN JUDAH OF TROYES
JOSEPH ROSH HA-SEDER
JOSHUA BEN ABRAHAM MAIMUNI
JUDAH BEN ASHER
JUDAH BEN BARZILLAI AL-BARGELONI
JUDAH BEN ISAAC (Sir Leon of Paris)
JUDAH BEN KALONYMUS BEN MEIR
JUDAH BEN KALONYMUS BEN MOSES OF MAINZ
JUDAH BEN MOSES HA-DARSHAN
JUDAH BEN NATHAN
JUDAH BEN SAMUEL HE-HASID
KALONYMUS
KIMHI, DAVID
KIMHI, JOSEPH
KIMHI, MORDECAI
KIMHI, MOSES
KIRIMI, ABRAHAM
KOKHAVI, DAVID BEN SAMUEL
LATTES, ISAAC BEN JACOB
LATTES, JUDAH
LEVI BEN GERSHOM (Ralbag)
MACHIR BEN JUDAH
MAIMON BEN JOSEPH
MAIMONIDES, MOSES
MANOAH OF NARBONNE
MATTATHIAS HA-YIZHARI
MAZLI'AH BEN SOLOMON HA-KOHEN
MEIR BEN BARUCH HA-LEVI
MEIR BEN BARUCH OF ROTHENBURG (Maharam)
MEIR BEN ISAAC OF TRINQUETAILLE
MEIR BEN ISAAC SHELIAH ZIBBUR
MEIR BEN SAMUEL OF RAMERUPT
MEIR BEN SIMEON HA-MEILI
MEIRI, MENAHEM BEN SOLOMON
MENAHEM BEN AARON IBN ZERAH
MENAHEM BEN HELBO
MENAHEM BEN JACOB
MENAHEM BEN SOLOMON
MENAHEM OF MERSEBURG
MESHULLAM BEN JACOB OF LUNEL
MESHULLAM BEN KALONYMUS
MESHULLAM BEN MOSES
MESHULLAM BEN NATHAN OF MELUN
MORDECAI BEN HILLEL HA-KOHEN
MOSES BEN ABRAHAM OF PONTOISE
MOSES BEN JACOB OF COUCY
MOSES BEN JOSEPH BEN MERWAN LEVI
MOSES BEN YOM-TOV
MOSES HA-DARSHAN
MOSES HA-KOHEN OF TORDESILLAS
MOSES OF EVREUX
MOSES OF KIEV
MOSES OF PAVIA
MOSKONI, JUDAH LEON BEN MOSES
MUELHAUSEN, YOM TOV LIPMANN
NAHMANIDES
NAHMIAS, JOSEPH BEN JOSEPH
NAJAR
NATHAN BEN JEHIEL OF ROME
NATRONAI BAR HILAI
NETHANEL BEN AL-FAYYUMI
NETHANEL BEN ISAIAH
NETHANEL OF CHINON
NISSIM BEN REUBEN GERONDI
OFFICIAL, NATHAN BEN JOSEPH AND JOSEPH
PERAHYAH BEN NISSIM
PEREZ BEN ELIJAH OF CORBEIL
PETTER BEN JOSEPH
RASHI (Solomon ben Isaac)
REUBEN BEN HAYYIM
SAMSON BEN ABRAHAM OF SENS
SAMSON BEN ELIEZER
SAMSON BEN ISAAC OF CHINON
SAMSON BEN JOSEPH OF FALAISE
SAMSON BEN SAMSON OF COUCY
SAMUEL BEN DAVID
SAMUEL BEN KALONYMUS HE-HASID OF SPEYER
SAMUEL BEN MEIR (Rashbam)
SAMUEL BEN NATRONAI
SAMUEL BEN SOLOMON OF FALAISE
SAMUEL OF EVREUX
SARDI, SAMUEL BEN ISAAC
SCHLETTSTADT, SAMUEL BEN AARON
SHALOM BEN YIZHAK OF NEUSTADT
SHEMAIAH OF TROYES
SHIMON, JOSEPH BEN JUDAH IBN
SIKILI, JACOB BEN HANANEL
SIMEON BEN SAMUEL OF JOINVILLE
SOLOMON BEN ABRAHAM OF MONTPELLIER
SOLOMON BEN ELIJAH HA-KOHEN
SOLOMON BEN JUDAH "OF DREUX"
SOLOMON BEN MEIR
SOLOMON BEN SAMSON
SOLOMON BEN SAMUEL
TAKU, MOSES BEN HISDAI
TAM, JACOB BEN MEIR
TAMAKH, ABRAHAM BEN ISAAC HA-LEVI
TANHUM BEN JOSEPH HA-YERUSHALMI
TREVES, JOHANAN BEN MATTATHIAS
TYRNAU, ISAAC (Tyrna)
VIDAL, CRESCAS
VIDAL YOM TOV OF TOLOSA
WEIL, JACOB BEN JUDAH
YOM TOV BEN ABRAHAM ISHBILI (Ritba)
ZECHARIAH BEN BARACHEL
ZECHARIAH BEN SOLOMON-ROFE
ZERAHIAH BEN ISAAC HA-LEVI

Aharonim

AARON BEN DAVID COHEN OF RAGUSA
AARON BEN ISAAC BENJAMIN WOLF

AARON BEN MEIR BRISKER
AARON BEN SAMUEL
AARON SAMUEL BEN MOSES SHALOM OF KREMENETS
AARON SAMUEL BEN NAPHTALI HERZ HA-KOHEN
AARONSOHN, MOSES
ABBAS, MOSES JUDAH BEN MEIR
ABENDANAN
ABENSUR, JACOB
ABIOB, AARON
ABITBOL
ABOAB, JACOB BEN SAMUEL
ABOAB, SAMUEL BEN ABRAHAM
ABOAB DA FONSECA, ISAAC
ABRAHAM ABELE BEN ABRAHAM SOLOMON
ABRAHAM ABUSCH (Lissa) BEN ZEVI HIRSCH
ABRAHAM BEN AVIGDOR
ABRAHAM BEN BENJAMIN ZEEV BRISKER
ABRAHAM BEN DANIEL
ABRAHAM BEN ELIJAH OF VILNA
ABRAHAM BEN ISAAC HA-KOHEN OF ZAMOSC
ABRAHAM BEN MORDECAI HA-LEVI
ABRAHAM BEN MOSES HA-KOHEN HA-SEPHARDI
ABRAHAM HAYYIM BEN GEDALIAH
ABRAHAMS
ABRAHAMS, ISRAEL
ABRAHAM ZEVI BEN ELEAZAR
ABRAMOWITZ, DOV BAER
ABRAMSKY, YEHEZKEL
ABRAMSON, SHRAGA
ABSABAN, SOLOMON
ABTERODE, DAVID BEN MOSES ELIAKIM
ABUKARA, ABRAHAM BEN MOSES
ABULAFIA, HAYYIM BEN DAVID
ABULAFIA, HAYYIM BEN JACOB (I)
ABULAFIA, HAYYIM BEN JACOB (II)
ABULAFIA, HAYYIM NISSIM BEN ISAAC
ABULAFIA, ISAAC
ABULAFIA, ISAAC BEN MOSES
ABULAFIA, JACOB BEN SOLOMON
ABULKER
ABYAD, YIHYA BEN SHALOM
ACOSTA, ISAAC (Yshak)
ADAMS, THEODORE
ADARBI, ISAAC BEN SAMUEL
ADENI, SOLOMON BAR JOSHUA
ADLER, HERMANN
ADLER, JOSEPH
ADLER, NATHAN BEN SIMEON HA-KOHEN
ADLER, NATHAN MARCUS
ADLER, SHALOM BEN MENAHEM
ADRET, MOSES IBN
AGUILAR, MOSES RAPHAEL D
AKLAR, MORDECAI BEN RAPHAEL
AKRISH, ISAAC BEN ABRAHAM
ALASHKAR, JOSEPH BEN MOSES
ALASHKAR, MOSES BEN ISAAC
ALBA, JACOB DI
ALBECK
ALBELDA, MOSES BEN JACOB
ALBUM, ZVI SHIMON
ALCALAY, ISAAC
ALEGRE, ABRAHAM BEN SOLOMON
ALFALAS, MOSES
ALFANDARI (Alfanderi)
ALFANDARI, AARON BEN MOSES
ALFANDARI, JACOB
ALFANDARI, SOLOMON ELIEZER BEN JACOB
ALFASI
ALGAZI
ALGAZI (Nissim), SOLOMON BEN ABRAHAM
ALGAZI, SOLOMON BEN ABRAHAM
ALHAYK, UZZIEL BEN MORDECAI
ALKALAI, ABRAHAM BEN SAMUEL
ALKALAI, JUDAH BEN SOLOMON HAI
ALMOSNINO, MOSES BEN BARUCH
ALPERSTEIN, AVRAHAM
ALSHEIKH, RAPHAEL BEN SHALOM
ALSHEIKH, SHALOM BEN JOSEPH
ALSHEKH, MOSES
ALTMANN, ADOLF
ALTSCHUL (-ER; Perles)
ALTSCHULER, DAVID
AMARILLO, HAYYIM MOSES BEN SOLOMON
AMARILLO, SOLOMON BEN JOSEPH
AMIEL, MOSHE AVIGDOR
AMIGO, ABRAHAM
AMRAM, NATHAN BEN HAYYIM
ANASCHEHON
ANAU
ANAU, PHINEHAS HAI BEN MENAHEM
ANGEL, MARC
ANGEL, MEIR BEN ABRAHAM
ANKAWA, RAPHAEL BEN MORDECAI
ANSELM HA-LEVI
ANTIBI
ANTIBI, ABRAHAM BEN ISAAC
APTOWITZER, VICTOR
ARAMA, MEIR BEN ISAAC
ARDIT
ARDIT, EPHRAIM BEN ABRAHAM
ARIELI, YIZHAK
ARIPUL, SAMUEL BEN ISAAC
AROLLIA, ISAAC BEN MOSES
ARONOWITZ, BENJAMIN
ARONSON, SOLOMON
ARTOM, ELIA SAMUELE
ARYEH JUDAH LEIB BEN EPHRAIM HA-KOHEN
ARYEH LEIB BEN ELIJAH
ARYEH LEIB BEN SAMUEL ZEVI HIRSCH
ASAEL, HAYYIM BEN BENJAMIN
ASH
ASH, AVRAHAM J.
ASHER, ABRAHAM BEN GEDALIAH IBN (Aba)
ASHER, JOSEPH MICHAEL
ASHER ANSCHEL BEN ISAAC OF PRZEMYSL
ASHINSKY, AARON MORDECAI HALEVI
ASHKENAZI, ABRAHAM BEN JACOB
ASHKENAZI, BEZALEL BEN ABRAHAM
ASHKENAZI, ELIEZER BEN ELIJAH THE PHYSICIAN
ASHKENAZI, GERSHON

II. RELIGION

A. JEWISH

4. Rabbinics

Biographies

Aharonim (*continued*)

ASHKENAZI, JOSEPH
ASHKENAZI, JUDAH BEN JOSEPH
ASHKENAZI, JUDAH BEN SIMEON
ASHKENAZI, JUDAH SAMUEL
ASHKENAZI, MEIR BEN BENJAMIN WOLF
ASHKENAZI, MORDECAI BEN ISAAC KOHEN
ASHKENAZI, MOSES DAVID
ASHKENAZI, NAPHTALI BEN JOSEPH
ASHKENAZI, NISSIM ABRAHAM BEN RAPHAEL
ASHKENAZI, SAMUEL JAFFE BEN ISAAC
ASHKENAZI, ZEVI HIRSCH BEN JACOB (Hakham Zevi)
ASSAF, SIMHA
ASSEO, DAVID BEN ISAAC
ASTRUC, ELIE-ARISTIDE
ASZOD, JUDAH BEN ISRAEL
ATAR
ATTAR, JUDAH BEN JACOB IBN
ATTIA, ISAAC BEN ISAIAH
AUERBACH
AUERBACH, ABRAHAM BEN SELIG AVIEZRI
AUERBACH, MEIR BEN ISAAC
AVIGDOR BEN JOSEPH HAYYIM
AVILA, ELIEZER BEN SAMUEL BEN MOSES DE
AVILA, SAMUEL BEN MOSES
AVRUTICK, ABRAHAM
AYASH
AYDAN, DAVID
AZEVEDO, MOSES COHEN D'
AZUBIB
AZUBY, ABRAHAM
BABAD
BABAD, JOSEPH BEN MOSES
BACHARACH, JAIR HAYYIM BEN MOSES SAMSON
BACHARACH, MOSES SAMSON BEN ABRAHAM SAMUEL
BACHRACH, JACOB BEN MOSES
BACHRACH, JUDAH BEN JOSHUA EZEKIEL
BACHRACH, MOSES BEN ISAIAH MENAHEM
BACK, SAMUEL
BADHAV, ISAAC BEN MICHAEL
BADIHI, YAHYA BEN JUDAH
BAECK, SAMUEL
BAHLUL
BAKSHI-DORON, ELIAHU
BALIDEH, MOSES
BAMBERGER, SELIGMANN BAER
BANET
BANET, MORDECAI BEN ABRAHAM
BANET, NAPHTALI BEN MORDECAI
BANETH, EZEKIEL BEN JACOB
BARBY, MEIR BEN SAUL
BARDAKI, ISAIAH BEN ISSACHAR BER
BAR-ILAN, MEIR
BARISHANSKY, RAPHAEL
BARIT, JACOB
BASCHKO, ZEVI HIRSCH BEN BENJAMIN
BASOLA, MOSES BEN MORDECAI
BASSANI, MORDECAI (Marco)
BAUMOL, JOSHUA
BECK, MORITZ
BEJA, ISAAC BEN MOSES
BEJERANO, BEKHOR HAYYIM BEN MOSES
BEKACHE, SHALOM
BEKEMOHARAR
BELAIS(H), ABRAHAM BEN SHALOM
BELGRADO, DAVID FERNANDO
BELKIN, SAMUEL
BENAIM
BENGIS, SELIG REUBEN
BENJAMIN, BARUCH BEN ISRAEL
BENJAMIN BEN AARON OF ZALOZCE
BENJAMIN OF BRODY
BENJAMIN OF CAMBRIDGE
BENJAMIN ZEEV BEN MATTATHIAS OF ARTA
BEN SIMEON, RAPHAEL AARON
BENVENISTE, ABRAHAM
BENVENISTE, HAYYIM BEN ISRAEL
BENVENISTE, JOSEPH BEN MOSES DE SEGOVIA
BENVENISTE, JOSHUA RAPHAEL BEN ISRAEL
BERAB, JACOB
BERAKHAH, ISAAC
BERDUGO
BERECHIAH BERAKH BEN ELIAKIM GETZEL
BERECHIAH BERAKH BEN ISAAC EISIK
BERLIN, ARYEH LOEB BEN ABRAHAM MEIR
BERLIN, DAVID BEN (Judah) LOEB
BERLIN, HAYYIM
BERLIN, ISAIAH BEN JUDAH LOEB
BERLIN, NAPHTALI ZEVI JUDAH (Ha-Naziv)
BERLIN, NOAH HAYYIM ZEVI HIRSCH
BERMAN, JACOB
BERNFELD, SIMON
BERNHEIM, GILLES
BERNSTEIN, ARYEH LEIB
BERNSTEIN, ISSACHAR BERUSH BEN ARYEH LOEB
BERNSTEIN, LOUIS
BERTINORO, OBADIAH BEN ABRAHAM YARE
BESDIN, MORRIS J.
BESSER, CHASKEL O.
BEZALEL BEN MOSES HA-KOHEN
BEZALEL BEN SOLOMON OF KOBRYN
BIALEH, ZEVI HIRSCH BEN NAPHTALI HERZ
BIBAS
BING, ISAAC BEN SAMUEL
BLASER, ISAAC
BLAU, AMRAM
BLEICH, J. DAVID
BLOCH, CHAIM
BLOCH, ELIJAH MEYER
BLOCH, HERMANN
BLOCH, ISSACHAR BAER BEN SAMSON
BLOCH, JOSEPH LEIB
BLOCH, JOSEPH SAMUEL
BLOCH, MATTATHIAS BEN BENJAMIN ZEEV ASHKENAZI

BLOCH, MOSES
BLOCH, SAMSON BEN MOSES
BLUM, AMRAM BEN ISAAC JACOB
BONAFOUX, DANIEL BEN ISRAEL
BONAN
BONDI
BONDY, FILIP
BONFILS, JOSEPH BEN ELIEZER
BORDJEL
BORGIL, ABRAHAM BEN AZIZ
BOSHAL, MOSES BEN SOLOMON
BOSKOWITZ, BENJAMIN ZEEV (Wolf) HALEVI
BOSKOWITZ, HAYYIM BEN JACOB
BOTEACH, SHMUEL
BOTON, ABRAHAM BEN JUDAH DE
BOTON, ABRAHAM BEN MOSES DE
BOTON, HIYYA ABRAHAM BEN AARON DI
BOTON, JACOB BEN ABRAHAM DI
BOTON, MEIR BEN ABRAHAM DI
BRACH, SAUL
BRAUDE, MARKUS (Mordekhai Ze'ev)
BRESLAU, ARYEH LOEB BEN HAYYIM
BRESLAU, JOSEPH MOSES BEN DAVID
BREUER, JOSEPH
BREUER, MORDECHAI
BREUER, RAPHAEL
BREUER, SOLOMON
BRICKNER, BARNETT ROBERT
BRIEL, JUDAH BEN ELIEZER
BRILL, AZRIEL
BRILL, ISAAC
BRISZK
BRODA
BRODA, ABRAHAM BEN SAUL
BRODY, SOLOMON ZALMAN BEN ISRAEL
BROIDA, SIMHAH ZISSEL BEN ISRAEL
BRUDO, ABRAHAM BEN ELIJAH
BRUELL
BRUELL, JACOB
BUENO, ISAAC ABRAHAM
BUKARAT, ABRAHAM BEN SOLOMON HA-LEVI
BULA, RAPHAEL MOSES
BULAT, JUDAH BEN JOSEPH
BURLA
CALAHORA, JOSEPH BEN SOLOMON
CALAHORRA, ISRAEL SAMUEL BEN SOLOMON
CANTARINI, ISAAC VITA HA-KOHEN
CAPSALI, ELIJAH
CAPSALI, MOSES BEN ELIJAH
CAPUSI, HAYYIM
CARIGAL, RAPHAEL HAYYIM ISAAC
CARLEBACH, JOSEPH
CARLEBACH, SHLOMO
CARMI, JOSEPH JEDIDIAH
CARMILLY-WEINBERGER, MOSHE
CARMOLY, ELIAKIM
CARMOLY, ISSACHAR BAER BEN JUDAH LIMA
CARO, ISAAC BEN JOSEPH
CARO, JOSEPH BEN EPHRAIM
CARO, JOSEPH HAYYIM BEN ISAAC
CARVALHO, MORDECAI BARUCH
CASE, JOSEPH BEN ABRAHAM
CASES
CASES, BENJAMIN BEN DAVID
CASTELLO, ABRAHAM ISAAC
CASTELNUOVO, MENAHEM AZARIAH MEIR (Menahem Hayyim) BEN ELIJAH
CASTIGLIONI, HAYYIM (Vittorio)
CASTRO, JACOB BEN ABRAHAM
CHAJES, GERSHON BEN ABRAHAM
CHAJES, HIRSCH (Zevi) PEREZ
CHAJES, ISAAC BEN ABRAHAM
CHAJES, ZEVI HIRSCH
CHARLOP, YECHIEL
CHAVEL, CHARLES (Dov) BER
CHAZAN, ELIAHU
CHEHEBAR, ITZHAK
CHELM, SOLOMON BEN MOSES
CIECHANOW, ABRAHAM BEN RAPHAEL LANDAU OF
COEN, GRAZIADIO VITA ANANIA
COHEN, DAVID (Ha-Nazir)
COHEN, HIRSH
COHEN, JOSEPH ISAAC
COHN, MESHULLAM ZALMAN BEN SOLOMON
COLOGNA (DE), ABRAHAM VITA
COLOMBO, SAMUEL
COLON, JOSEPH BEN SOLOMON (Maharik)
COMA, HERZ
COMTINO, MORDECAI BEN ELIEZER
CONFORTE, DAVID
CORCOS, HEZEKIAH MANOAH HAYYIM THE YOUNGER
CORIAT
CORONEL, NAHMAN NATHAN
COVO
CULI, JACOB
CURIEL, ISRAEL BEN MEIR DI
DAHAN
DAICHES
DAINOW, ZEVI HIRSCH BEN ZEEV WOLF
DANGOOR, EZRA SASSON BEN REUBEN
DANIEL BEN PERAHYAH HA-KOHEN
DANZIG (Danziger), ABRAHAM BEN JEHIEL MICHAL
DAVID BEN ARYEH LEIB OF LIDA
DAVID BEN HAYYIM OF CORFU
DAVID BEN MANASSEH DARSHAN
DAVID (Tevele) BEN NATHAN OF LISSA
DAVID BEN SAMUEL HA-LEVI (Taz)
DAVID BEN SHIMEON
DAVID BEN SOLOMON IBN ABI ZIMRA (Radbaz)
DAVID OF MAKOW
DAVIDS, AARON ISSACHAR (Bernard) BEN NAHMAN
DEL BENE, ELIEZER DAVID BEN ISAAC
DEL BENE, JUDAH ASAHEL BEN DAVID ELIEZER
DEL VECCHIO
DEL VECCHIO, SHABBETAI ELHANAN BEN ELISHA
DELLA TORRE, LELIO (Hillel)
DESSLER, ELIJAH ELIEZER
DEUTSCH, ALADAR

II. RELIGION

A. JEWISH

4. Rabbinics

Biographies

Aharonim (*continued*)

DEUTSCH, DAVID BEN MENAHEM MENDEL
DEUTSCH, ELIEZER HAYYIM BEN ABRAHAM
DEUTSCH, IGNAZ
DEUTSCH, ISRAEL
DEUTSCH, JUDAH JOEL
DIENNA, AZRIEL BEN SOLOMON
DISEGNI, DARIO
DISKIN, MOSES JOSHUA JUDAH LEIB
DIWAN, JUDAH BEN AMRAM
DOLGIN, SIMON ARTHUR
DONIN, HAYIM HALEVY
DON-YAHIA, YEHUDAH LEIB
DRABKIN, ABRAHAM
DRACHMAN, BERNARD
DUCKESZ, EDUARD (Yecheskel)
DUENNER, JOSEPH ZEVI HIRSCH
DURAN
DURAN, SIMEON BEN SOLOMON (ben Simeon)
DUSCHAK, MORDECAI (Moritz)
DUSCHINSKY, JOSEPH ZEVI BEN ISRAEL
DUWAYK
EDELS, SAMUEL ELIEZER BEN JUDAH HA-LEVI (Maharsha)
EGER, AKIVA ("The Younger") BEN MOSES GUENS
EGER, AKIVA BEN SIMHAH BUNIM ("The Elder")
EGER, SAMUEL (Perez Sanwel) BEN JUDAH LOEB
EGER, SIMHAH BUNIM BEN MOSES
EGER, SOLOMON BEN AKIVA
EGOZI
EHRENFELD
EHRENFELD, NATHAN
EHRENFELD, SAMUEL BEN DAVID ZEVI
EHRENPREIS, MARCUS (Mordecai)
EHRENREICH, HAYYIM JUDAH BEN KALONYMUS
EHRENTREU, HEINRICH
EIDLITZ, LEOPOLD
EISENSTADT, ABRAHAM ZEVI HIRSCH BEN JACOB
EISENSTADT, BENZION
EISENSTADT, MEIR (Maharam Esh)
EISENSTADT, MENAHEM ZEVI
EISENSTADT, MOSES ELEAZAR
EISENSTADTER, MEIR BEN JUDAH LEIB
EISLER, MATYAS
ELBAZ
ELIAKIM GOETZ BEN MEIR
ELIASBERG, MORDECAI
ELIEZER BEN MANASSEH BEN BARUCH
ELIEZER BEN MEIR HA-LEVI OF PINSK
ELIEZER BEN SAMSON
ELIJAH BEN BENJAMIN HA-LEVI
ELIJAH BEN HAYYIM
ELIJAH BEN KALONYMUS OF LUBLIN
ELIJAH BEN LOEB OF FULDA
ELIJAH BEN SOLOMON ABRAHAM HA-KOHEN OF SMYRNA
ELIJAH BEN SOLOMON ZALMAN ("Vilna Gaon")
ELIJAH OF PRAGUE
ELISHA BEN ABRAHAM
ELISHA HAYYIM BEN JACOB ASHKENAZI
ELIYAHU, MORDECHAI
ELMALEH
ELYASHAR, JACOB BEN HAYYIM JOSEPH
ELYASHAR, JACOB SAUL BEN ELIEZER JEROHAM
EMDEN, JACOB
EMMANUEL, ISAAC SAMUEL
ENGEL, JOSEPH BEN JUDAH
ENGELMANN, GABRIEL
ENOCH BEN ABRAHAM
EPHRAIM BEN JACOB HA-KOHEN
EPHRAIM SOLOMON BEN AARON OF LUNTSHITS (Leczyca)
EPHRATI, DAVID TEVELE BEN ABRAHAM
EPSTEIN, ABRAHAM
EPSTEIN, ABRAHAM MEIR BEN ARYEH LEIB
EPSTEIN, BARUCH HA-LEVI
EPSTEIN, CHAIM FISCHEL
EPSTEIN, ISIDORE
EPSTEIN, JEHIEL MICHAL BEN AARON ISAAC HALEVI
EPSTEIN, JEHIEL MICHAL BEN ABRAHAM HA-LEVI
EPSTEIN, MOSES MORDECAI
EPSTEIN HA-LEVI, MOSES JEHIEL
ESCAPA, JOSEPH BEN SAUL
ESTROSA, DANIEL
ETTINGER, MORDECAI ZEEV BEN ISAAC AARON SEGAL
ETTLINGER, JACOB
EULENBURG, ISAAC BEN ABRAHAM MOSES ISRAEL
EYBESCHUETZ, JONATHAN
EYLENBURG, ISSACHAR BAER BEN ISRAEL LEISER PARNAS
EZEKIEL FEIVEL BEN ZEEV WOLF
EZRA BEN EZEKIEL HA-BAVLI
FAITUSI, JACOB BEN ABRAHAM
FALK, JACOB JOSHUA BEN ZEVI HIRSCH
FALK, JOSHUA
FALK, JOSHUA BEN ALEXANDER HA-KOHEN
FARISSOL, ABRAHAM BEN MORDECAI
FEDER, RICHARD
FEDERBUSCH, SIMON
FEIGENBAUM, ISAAC HA-KOHEN
FEINSTEIN, MOSES
FELDER, GEDALIAH
FERBER, ZEVI HIRSCH
FEUCHTWANG, DAVID
FEUERSTEIN
FIGO, AZARIAH
FINKEL, ELIEZER JUDAH
FINKEL, NATHAN ZEVI BEN MOSES
FINKELSTEIN, SHIMON
FISCHELS, MEIR BEN EPHRAIM
FISCHER, JOSEF
FLECKELES, ELEAZAR BEN DAVID

FORTI, BARUCH UZZIEL BEN BARUCH
FRAENKEL, DAVID BEN NAPHTALI HIRSCH
FRAENKEL-TEOMIM, BARUCH BEN JOSHUA EZEKIEL FEIWEL
FRANCES, ISAAC
FRANCO, MOSES
FRANK, MENAHEM MENDEL
FRANK, ZEVI PESAH
FRANKEL, ZACHARIAS
FRANKFURTER, MOSES
FRANKL, ADOLF
FRANKL-GRUEN, ADOLF ABRAHAM
FREIBERGER, MIROSLAV SALOM
FREIMANN
FREIMANN, JACOB
FRENKEL, IZHAK YEDIDIAH
FREUDEMANN, SIMHAH
FREUND, SAMUEL BEN ISSACHAR BAER
FRIED, AARON
FRIEDERMAN, ZALMAN JACOB
FRIEDLAND, NATAN
FRIEDMANN, ABRAHAM
FRIEDMANN, DAVID BEN SAMUEL
FRIEDMANN, MEIR
FRUMKIN, ARYEH LEIB
FUCHS, MOSES ZEVI
FULD, AARON BEN MOSES
FUNK, SOLOMON
GABBAI IZIDRO (Ysidro), ABRAHAM
GAGIN, HAYYIM ABRAHAM BEN MOSES
GAGIN, SHALOM MOSES BEN HAYYIM ABRAHAM
GALANTE
GALANTE, JEDIDIAH BEN MOSES
GALANTE, MOSES BEN JONATHAN (II)
GALIPAPA, ELIJAH MEVORAKH
GANSO, JOSEPH
GANZFRIED, SOLOMON BEN JOSEPH
GAON, SOLOMON
GARMISON, SAMUEL
GASTER, MOSES
GATIGNO
GEDALIAH, JUDAH BEN MOSES
GEDALIAH OF SIEMIATYCZE
GEDILIAH, ABRAHAM BEN SAMUEL
GEFFEN, TOBIAS
GELBHAUS, SIGMUND (Joshua Samuel)
GENNAZANO, ELIJAH HAYYIM BEN BENJAMIN OF
GENTILI
GERSHON, ISAAC
GESUNDHEIT, JACOB BEN ISAAC
GHERON, YAKKIR MORDECAI BEN ELIAKIM
GHEZ
GHIRON
GIFTER, MORDECAI
GINSBURGER, ERNEST
GLASNER, MOSES SAMUEL
GLAZER, SIMON
GLOGAU, JEHIEL MICHAEL BEN ASHER LEMMEL HA-LEVI
GLUECK, ABRAHAM ISAAC
GOITEIN, BARUCH BENEDICT
GOLD, WOLF (Ze’ev)
GOLDBERGER, IZIDOR
GOLDIN, HYMAN ELIAS
GOLDMAN, AHARON
GOLDSTEIN, HERBERT S.
GOLINKIN, MORDECHAI YAAKOV
GOMBINER, ABRAHAM ABELE BEN HAYYIM HA-LEVI
GORDON, ELIEZER
GORDON, JACOB
GOREN, SHLOMO
GOSLAR, NAPHTALI HIRSCH BEN JACOB
GOTA, MOSES ZERAHIAH BEN SHNEUR
GOTTLIEB, JEDIDIAH BEN ISRAEL
GRAJEWSKI, ARYEH LEIB
GRAJEWSKI, ELIEZER ZALMAN
GRAUBART, Y. L.
GRAZIANO, ABRAHAM JOSEPH SOLOMON BEN MORDECAI
GREENWALD, JEKUTHIEL JUDAH (Leopold)
GRISHABER, ISAAC
GRODZINSKI, HAYYIM OZER
GRODZINSKI, ZVI HIRSCH
GROSS, HEINRICH (Henri)
GROSSBERG, MENASSEH
GROSSMAN, YIZHAK DAVID
GRUENFELD, JUDAH
GRUENHUT, ELEAZAR (Lazar)
GRUENWALD, MORITZ
GRUNFELD, ISIDOR
GRUNWALD, AMRAM
GRUNWALD, JUDAH
GRUNWALD, MAX
GUEDEMANN, MORITZ
GUENZIG, EZRIEL (Azriel)
GUENZLER, ABRAHAM
GUNZBERG, ARYEH LEIB BEN ASHER
GURLAND, HAYYIM JONAH
GUTTMACHER, ELIJAH
GUTTMANN, ALEXANDER
GUTTMANN, MICHAEL (Mihčdly)
HAAS, SOLOMON BEN JEKUTHIEL KAUFMANN
HABIB, HAYYIM BEN MOSES BEN SHEM TOV
HABIB, MOSES BEN SOLOMON IBN
HABILLO, ELISHA
HABSHUSH, SHALOM BEN YAHYA
HACOHEN, MORDECAI
HACOHEN, RAPHAEL HAYYIM
HADAYAH, OVADIAH
HAGIZ, JACOB (Israel)
HAHN, JOSEPH BEN MOSES
HAHN, JOSEPH YUSPA BEN PHINEHAS SELIGMANN
HAKIM, SAMUEL BEN MOSES HA-LEVI IBN
HALBERSTADT, ABRAHAM BEN MENAHEM MENKE
HALBERSTADT, MORDECAI
HALBERSTAM, ISAAC BEN HAYYIM
HALEVA, ISHAK

II. RELIGION

A. JEWISH

4. Rabbinics

BIOGRAPHIES

Aharonim (*continued*)

HALEVI, EZEKIEL EZRA BEN JOSHUA
HALEVI, HAYYIM DAVID
HALEVI, JOSEPH ZEVI BEN ABRAHAM
HA-LEVI, SASSON BEN ELIJAH BEN MOSES
HALEVY, MEYER ABRAHAM
HALFON, ABRAHAM
HAMBURG, ABRAHAM BENJAMIN (Wolf)
HAMBURGER, JACOB
HAMEIRI, MOSHE
HANDALI, JOSHUA BEN JOSEPH
HANNELES, JUDAH LEIB BEN MEIR
HANOKH ZUNDEL BEN JOSEPH
HARARI
HARIF
HARIF HA-LEVI
HARLAP, JACOB MOSES BEN ZEBULUN
HAVER
HAYYIM (Ben) SHABBETAI (Maharhash)
HAYYIM BEN BEZALEL
HAYYIM JUDAH BEN HAYYIM
HAYYOT, MENAHEM MANISH BEN ISAAC
HAYYUN, ABRAHAM BEN NISSIM
HAYYUN, JOSEPH BEN ABRAHAM
HAZZAN
HAZZAN, ISRAEL MOSES BEN ELIEZER
HEILBRONN, JACOB BEN ELHANAN
HEILBRONN, JOSEPH BEN DAVID OF ESCHWEGE
HEILBUT, ELEAZAR LAZI BEN JOSEPH BEN LAZI
HEILPERN (Raphael), YOM TOV LIPMAN BEN ISRAEL
HEILPRIN, JEHIEL BEN SOLOMON
HEILPRIN, PHINEHAS MENAHEM
HEILPRIN, SAMUEL HELMANN BEN ISRAEL
HEILPRUN, ELIEZER LEIZER BEN MORDECAI
HELLER, ARYEH LEIB BEN JOSEPH HA-KOHEN OF STRY
HELLER, JEHIEL BEN AARON
HELLER, JOSHUA BEN AARON
HELLER, JUDAH
HELLER, YOM TOV LIPMANN BEN NATHAN HA-LEVI
HELLER, ZEVI HIRSCH
HENKIN, JOSEPH ELIJAH
HEPPNER, ARON
HERSCHORN, JOSHUA (She'ea) HALEVY
HERZFELD, LEVI
HERZOG, DAVID
HERZOG, ISAAC
HESCHEL, ABRAHAM JOSHUA BEN JACOB
HEZEKIAH BEN DAVID DA SILVA
HIER, MARVIN
HILDESHEIMER, AZRIEL (Israel)
HILDESHEIMER, MEIR
HILEWITZ, ALTER
HILLEL BEN NAPHTALI ZEVI (Herz)
HILLMAN, SAMUEL ISAAC
HIRSCH, MARKUS
HIRSCH, SAMSON (Ben) RAPHAEL
HIRSCHENSOHN
HIRSCHLER, PAL
HIRSCHLER, RENE
HIRSCHPRUNG, PINHAS
HIRSHENSON, HAYIM
HIYYA ROFE
HOECHHEIMER, MOSES BEN HAYYIM COHEN
HOESCHEL (Joshua) BEN SAUL
HOFFMAN, JACOB
HOFFMANN, DAVID ZEVI
HOLLANDER, ISAIAH BEN AARON
HOROVITZ, JACOB
HOROVITZ, MARCUS
HOROWITZ
HOROWITZ, ABRAHAM BEN ISAIAH
HOROWITZ, ABRAHAM BEN SHABBETAI SHEFTEL
HOROWITZ, ARYEH LEIB BEN ELEAZAR HA-LEVI
HOROWITZ, ARYEH LEIB BEN ISAAC
HOROWITZ, DAVID JOSHUA HOESCHEL BEN ZEVI HIRSCH HA-LEVI
HOROWITZ, ISAAC HA-LEVI BEN JACOB JOKEL
HOROWITZ, ISAIAH BEN ABRAHAM HA-LEVI
HOROWITZ, ISAIAH BEN JACOB HA-LEVI
HOROWITZ, ISAIAH BEN SHABBETAI SHEFTEL
HOROWITZ, JACOB BEN ABRAHAM
HOROWITZ, JACOB JOKEL BEN MEIR HA-LEVI
HOROWITZ, LAZAR BEN DAVID JOSHUA HOESCHEL
HOROWITZ, MESHULLAM ISSACHAR BEN ARYEH LEIB HA-LEVI
HOROWITZ, MOSES BEN JUDAH
HOROWITZ, PHINEHAS BEN ISRAEL HA-LEVI
HOROWITZ, PHINEHAS BEN ZEVI HIRSCH HA-LEVI
HOROWITZ, SAMUEL SHMELKE OF NIKOLSBURG
HOROWITZ, SAUL HAYYIM BEN ABRAHAM HA-LEVI
HOROWITZ, SHRAGA FEIVEL HA-LEVI
HOROWITZ, ZEVI HIRSCH BEN HAYYIM ARYEH LEIBUSH HA-LEVI
HOROWITZ, ZEVI HIRSCH BEN JOSHUA MOSES AARON HA-LEVI
HOROWITZ, ZEVI HIRSCH BEN PHINEHAS HA-LEVI
HOROWITZ, ZEVI JOSHUA BEN SAMUEL SHMELKE
HOZIN, ZEDAKAH BEN SAADIAH
HUEBSCH, ADOLPH
HURVITZ, JOSEPH YOZEL
HURWITZ, SHMARYA LEIB
HUTNER, ISAAC
HYAMSON, MOSES
HYAMSON, NATHAN
HYMAN, AARON
IBN ARDUT, HAYYIM JOSEPH BEN AZRIEL HA-KOHEN
IBN DANAN, SAADIAH BEN MAIMUN
IBN EZRA, JOSEPH BEN ISAAC
IBN EZRA, SOLOMON BEN MOSES
IBN HABIB, JACOB BEN SOLOMON
IBN HAYYIM, AARON (ben Abraham)
IBN HAYYIM, AARON
IBN JAMIL, ISAAC NISSIM

IBN MUSA, HAYYIM BEN JUDAH
IBN SHOSHAN, DAVID
IBN SHUAIB, JOEL
IBN VERGA, JOSEPH
IBN YAHYA, DAVID BEN JOSEPH
IBN YAHYA, DAVID BEN SOLOMON
IBN YAHYA, GEDALIAH BEN DAVID
IBN YAHYA, GEDALIAH BEN JOSEPH
IBN YAHYA, JOSEPH BEN DAVID
IBN ZUR, JACOB BEN REUBEN
IGRA, MESHULLAM (Moses) BEN SAMSON
ILLOWY, BERNARD
ISAAC BEN ABRAHAM DI MOLINA
ISAAC BEN ABRAHAM OF POSEN
ISAAC BEN BEZALEL OF VLADIMIR
ISAAC BEN JACOB MIN HA-LEVIYYIM
ISAAC BENJAMIN WOLF BEN ELIEZER LIPMAN
ISAAC BEN NOAH KOHEN SHAPIRA
ISAAC BEN SAMSON HA-KOHEN
ISAAC BEN SAMUEL HA-LEVI
ISAIAH HASID FROM ZBARAZH
ISAIAH MENAHEM BEN ISAAC
ISCANDARI
ISHMAEL BEN ABRAHAM ISAAC HA-KOHEN
ISIDOR LAZARE
ISRAEL
ISRAEL, YOM TOV BEN ELIJAH
ISRAEL BEN BENJAMIN OF BELZEC
ISRAEL BEN SAMUEL OF SHKLOV
ISRAELI, SHAUL
ISRAEL ISSERL BEN ISAAC SEGAL
ISRAEL MEIR HA-KOHEN (Hafez Hayyim)
ISRAEL MOSES BEN ARYEH LOEB
ISSACHAR BAER BEN SOLOMON ZALMAN (Klazki)
ISSACHAR BAER BEN TANHUM
ISSACHAR BERMAN BEN NAPHTALI HA-KOHEN
ISSAR JUDAH BEN NEHEMIAH OF BRISK
ISSERLES, MOSES BEN ISRAEL (Rema)
ISTRUMSA (Istrusa), HAYYIM ABRAHAM
ITALIENER, BRUNO
JABEZ, JOSEPH BEN HAYYIM
JACOB, BENNO
JACOB BEN AARON OF KARLIN
JACOB BEN ABRAHAM SOLOMON
JACOB BEN BENJAMIN ZEEV
JACOB BEN EPHRAIM NAPHTALI HIRSCH OF LUBLIN
JACOB BEN JUDAH OF LONDON
JACOB BEN MORDECAI OF SCHWERIN
JACOB BEN NISSIM IBN SHAHIN
JACOB ISAAC BEN SHALOM
JACOB JOSEPH OF OSTROG
JACOB (Jakob) OF BELZYCE
JACOB SAMSON OF SHEPETOVKA
JAFFE, MORDECAI-GIMPEL
JAFFE, SAMUEL BEN ISAAC ASHKENAZI
JAFFE-MARGOLIOT, ISRAEL DAVID
JAKOBOVITS, IMMANUEL
JAVETZ, BARZILLAI BEN BARUCH
JEHIEL MICHAEL (Michel) BEN ABRAHAM MEIR OF CIFER
JEHIEL MICHAEL (Michel) BEN JUDAH LEIB HE-HASID
JELLIN, ARYEH LOEB BEN SHALOM SHAKHNA
JELLINEK, ADOLF
JENER, ABRAHAM NAPHTALI HIRSCH BEN MORDECAI
JEREMIAH BEN ISAAC
JERUSALIMSKI, MOSES NAHUM BEN BENJAMIN
JESHUA BEN JOSEPH HA-LEVI
JESURUN, ISAAC BEN ABRAHAM HAYYIM
JEWNIN, ABRAHAM JONAH
JIZFAN, JUDAH BEN JOSEPH
JOAB BEN JEREMIAH
JOEL, DAVID HEYMANN
JOEL, MANUEL
JOEL BEN MOSES GAD
JOFFEN, ABRAHAM
JOLLES, ZECHARIAH ISAIAH
JONATHAN BEN ABRAHAM ISAAC
JONATHAN BEN JACOB
JONATHAN BEN JOSEPH OF RUZHANY
JOSEPH, JACOB
JOSEPH BEN ELIJAH OF ZASLAW
JOSEPH BEN ISSACHAR BAER OF PRAGUE
JOSEPH BEN JOSHUA MOSES OF FRANKFURT
JOSEPH BEN MORDECAI GERSHON HA-KOHEN OF CRACOW
JOSEPH BEN MORDECAI HA-KOHEN
JOSEPH BEN MOSES
JOSEPH BEN MOSES (Ashkenazi), DARSHAN OF PRZEMYSLANY
JOSEPH BEN MOSES OF KREMENETS
JOSEPH BEN MOSES PHINEHAS
JOSEPH BEN ZADDIK
JOSEPH BEN ZE'EV WOLF HA-LEVI
JOSEPH DAVID (Salonika)
JOSEPH HAYYIM BEN ELIJAH AL-HAKAM
JOSEPH MAMAN AL-MAGHRIBI
JOSEPH SAMUEL BEN ZEVI OF CRACOW
JOSEPH SOLOMON ZALMAN BEN MEIR
JOSHUA BEN MORDECAI FALK HA-KOHEN
JOSHUA HOESCHEL BEN JACOB
JOSHUA HOESCHEL BEN JOSEPH OF CRACOW
JOSPE, ALFRED
JUDAH ARYEH LEIB BEN DAVID
JUDAH BEN ELIEZER
JUDAH BEN JACOB HA-KOHEN
JUDAH BEN MOSES OF LUBLIN
JUDAH BEN NISSAN
JUDAH HASID (Segal) HA-LEVI
JUDAH LEIB BEN ENOCH ZUNDEL
JUDAH LEIB BEN HILLEL OF SCHWERSENZ
JUDAH LOEW BEN BEZALEL (Maharal)
JUNG, LEO
JUNGREIS, ASHER ANSHEL
KAATZ, SAUL
KADOORIE, SASSON
KAEMPF, SAUL ISAAC
KAFAH, YIHYE BEN SOLOMON
KAFAH, YOSEF

II. RELIGION

A. JEWISH

4. Rabbinics

Biographies

Aharonim (*continued*)

KAHANA, ABRAHAM ARYEH LEIB BEN SHALOM SHAKHNA
KAHANA, JACOB BEN ABRAHAM
KAHANA, JEHIEL ZEVI BEN JOSEPH MORDECAI
KAHANA, KALMAN
KAHANA, NAHMAN
KAHANA, SOLOMON DAVID
KAHANEMAN, JOSEPH ("Ponevezer Rav")
KAHANOV, MOSES NEHEMIAH
KAHANOVITCH, ISRAEL ISAAC
KAHN, ZADOC
KALA'I, MORDECAI BEN SOLOMON
KALAI, SAMUEL BEN MOSES
KALISCHER, JUDAH LEIB BEN MOSES
KALISCHER, ZEVI HIRSCH
KALLIR, ELEAZAR BEN ELEAZAR
KALMANOWITZ, ABRAHAM
KAMELHAR, JEKUTIEL ARYEH BEN GERSHON
KAMENETSKY, YAAKOV
KANIEVSKY, JACOB ISRAEL
KANN, MOSES
KAPLAN, ALEXANDER SENDER BEN ZERAH HA-KOHEN
KAPLAN, JACOB
KAPUZATO, MOSES HA-YEVANI
KARA, JOSEPH
KARA, MENAHEM BEN JACOB
KAREH, SOLOMON
KARELITZ, AVRAHAM YESHAYAHU (Hazon Ish)
KARFUNKEL, AARON BEN JUDAH LEIB HA-KOHEN
KARGAU, MENAHEM MENDEL BEN NAPHTALI HIRSCH
KARMI (Cremieux)
KASABI, JOSEPH BEN NISSIM
KASHER, MENAHEM
KASOVSKY, CHAYIM YEHOSHUA
KASPI, NETHANEL BEN NEHEMIAH
KATTINA, JACOB
KATZ, MENAHEM
KATZ, REUVEN
KATZBURG, DAVID ZEVI
KATZENELLENBOGEN
KATZENELLENBOGEN, DAVID TEVEL
KATZENELLENBOGEN, MEIR BEN ISAAC
KAUDER, SAMUEL JUDAH BEN DAVID
KAZIN, JUDAH BEN YOM TOV
KAZIN, RAPHAEL BEN ELIJAH
KECSKEMETI, ARMIN
KECSKEMETI, LIPOT
KIMHI, JACOB BEN SAMUEL
KIMHI, RAPHAEL ISRAEL BEN JOSEPH
KIMHI, SOLOMON BEN NISSIM JOSEPH DAVID
KIRSHBLUM, MORDECAI
KITTSEE, HAYYIM BEN ISAAC
KITTSEE, JEHIEL MICHAEL BEN SAMUEL
KLATZKIN, ELIJAH BEN NAPHTALI HERZ
KLATZKO, MORDECAI BEN ASHER
KLAUSNER, ABRAHAM
KLAUSNER, ZEVI HIRSCH
KLAVAN, ISRAEL
KLEIN, MORITZ
KLEIN, PHILIP
KLEIN, SALOMON WOLF
KLEIN, SAMUEL SHMELKA
KLEMPERER, GUTMANN (Gumper)
KLEPFISH, SAMUEL ZANVIL
KLUGER, SOLOMON BEN JUDAH AARON
KOENIGSBERGER, BERNHARD (Barukh)
KOERNER, MOSES BEN ELIEZER PHOEBUS
KOHEN, ELEAZAR BEN ZEEV WOLF
KOHEN, RAPHAEL BEN JEKUTHIEL SUESSKIND
KOHN, PINCHAS
KOHN, SAMUEL
KOIDONOVER, AARON SAMUEL BEN ISRAEL
KOIDONOVER, ZEVI HIRSCH
KOLIN, SAMUEL BEN NATHAN HA-LEVI
KONVITZ, JOSEPH
KOOK, ZEVI JUDAH BEN ABRAHAM ISAAC HA-KOHEN
KOPPELMAN, JACOB BEN SAMUEL BUNIM
KORNFELD, AARON BEN MORDECAI BAER
KORNIK, MEIR BEN MOSES
KOTLER, AARON
KOWALSKY, JUDAH LEIB
KRAMER, MOSES BEN DAVID, OF VILNA
KRANZ, JACOB BEN WOLF (Maggid of Dubno)
KRAUSS, JUDAH HA-KOHEN
KREMNITZER, JOHANAN BEN MEIR
KRENGEL, MENAHEM MENDEL
KRISPIN, JOSHUA ABRAHAM
KRISTIANPOLLER
KROCH, JACOB LEIB BEN SHEMAIAH
KROCHMAL, MENAHEM MENDEL BEN ABRAHAM
KRONIK, MOSES BEN AKIVA
KRYGIER, RIVON
LAMPRONTI, ISAAC HEZEKIAH BEN SAMUEL
LANDAU, ELEAZAR BEN ISRAEL
LANDAU, EZEKIEL BEN JUDAH
LANDAU, ISAAC ELIJAH BEN SAMUEL
LANDAU, ISRAEL JONAH BEN JOSEPH HA-LEVI
LANDAU, JACOB
LANDAU, LEIBUSH MENDEL
LANDAU, NATHAN
LANDSOFER, JONAH BEN ELIJAH
LANIADO, ABRAHAM BEN ISAAC
LANIADO, RAPHAEL SOLOMON BEN SAMUEL
LANIADO, SAMUEL BEN ABRAHAM
LANIADO, SOLOMON BEN ABRAHAM
LAPAPA, AARON BEN ISAAC
LAPIDOT, ALEXANDER MOSES
LATTES, ABRAHAM BEN ISAAC
LATTES, BONET
LATTES, ISAAC JOSHUA
LAU, ISRAEL MEIR
LAWANI, DAUD
LEESER, ISAAC

LEEUW, JACOB BEN HAYYIM (Heymann) DE
LEHMANN, JOSEPH
LEHMANN, MARCUS
LEIBOWITZ, BARUCH BER
LEMBERGER, MOSES BEN AARON
LEON
LEON, MESSER JUDAH BEN JEHIEL
LEONE, LEON (Judah) DI
LERNER, MAYER BEN MORDECAI OF ALTONA
LEV (Lab; Leb), JOSEPH BEN DAVID IBN (Maharival)
LEVI
LEVI, ABRAHAM BEN JOSEPH
LEVI, BENEDETTO
LEVI (Bet ha-Levi), ISAAC BEN SOLOMON
LEVI, ISRAEL
LEVI, JACOB BEN ISRAEL
LEVI, MORITZ
LEVI, SOLOMON BEN ISAAC
LEVI (Bet ha-Levi), SOLOMON BEN ISAAC
LEVI BEN HABIB (Ralbah)
LEVIN, JUDAH LEIB
LEVIN, ZEVI HIRSCH (-el) BEN ARYEH LOEB
LEVY, ALFRED
LEVY, ISAAC
LEVY, JACOB
LEVY, JUDAH BEN MENAHEM
LEVY, SAMUEL
LEVY, SION
LEWIN, AARON BEN NATHAN OF RZESZOW
LEWIN, BENJAMIN MANASSEH
LEWIN, JOSHUA HESHEL BEN ELIJAH ZEEV HA-LEVI
LEWIN, JUDAH LEIB
LEWIN, LOUIS
LEWINSTEIN, JOSEPH BEN ABRAHAM ABUSH
LEWY, ISRAEL
LEWYSOHN, ABRAHAM
LEWYSOHN, YEHUDI LEIB LOUIS
LIBER, MAURICE
LIBSCHITZ, BARUCH MORDECAI BEN JACOB
LICHTENSTADT, BENJAMIN WOLF BEN JUDAH
LICHTENSTEIN, HILLEL BEN BARUCH
LICHTSTEIN, ABRAHAM BEN ELIEZER LIPMAN
LICHTSTEIN, ABRAHAM JEKUTHIEL ZALMAN BEN MOSES JOSEPH
LIFSHITZ, DAVID
LIMA, MOSES BEN ISAAC JUDAH
LIPKIN (Salanter), ISRAEL BEN ZEEV WOLF
LIPSCHITZ, SOLOMON ZALMAN
LIPSCHUETZ
LIPSCHUETZ, BARUCH ISAAC BEN ISRAEL
LIPSCHUETZ, GEDALIAH BEN SOLOMON ZALMAN
LIPSCHUETZ, HILLEL ARYEH LEIB BEN ZEEV DOV
LIPSCHUETZ, ISRAEL BEN ELIEZER
LIPSCHUTZ, ELIEZER BEN SOLOMON
LIPSCHUTZ, ISRAEL BEN GEDALIAH
LIPSCHUTZ, SOLOMON BEN MORDECAI
LISSER, JOSHUA FALK
LOEB, ISIDORE
LOEBEL, ISRAEL
LOEW, ELEAZAR
LOEWENSTAMM
LOEWENSTEIN, LEOPOLD
LOEWY, JACOB EZEKIEL BEN JOSEPH
LOLLI, EUDE
LONDON, JACOB BEN MOSES JUDAH
LOOKSTEIN, JOSEPH HYMAN
LOPIAN, ELIJAH
LORBEERBAUM, JACOB BEN JACOB MOSES OF LISSA
LUBETZKY, JUDAH
LUBLIN, MEIR BEN GEDALIAH
LURIA
LURIA, DAVID BEN JUDAH
LURIA, SOLOMON BEN JEHIEL (Maharshal)
LUZZATTO, JACOB BEN ISAAC
LUZZATTO, SAMUEL DAVID
LUZZATTO, SIMONE BEN ISAAC SIMHAH
LYONS, JACQUES JUDAH
MAARSEN, ISAAC
MAIMI, SIMON
MAIMON, JUDAH LEIB
MAISEL, ELIJAH HAYYIM
MALACHI BEN JACOB HA-KOHEN
MALBIM, MEIR LOEB BEN JEHIEL MICHAEL
MALCA
MALKHI, EZRA BEN RAPHAEL MORDECAI
MALKHI, MOSES
MALKHI, MOSES BEN RAPHAEL MORDECAI
MANI
MANISCHEWITZ, HIRSCH
MANSURAH, SAADIAH BEN JUDAH
MANSURAH, SHALOM BEN JUDAH
MARGALIOT, REUBEN
MARGOLIES, ISAAC BEN ELIJAH
MARGOLIES, MOSES SEBULUN
MARGOLIOT, MOSES BEN SIMEON
MARGOLIOTH
MARGOLIOTH, EPHRAIM ZALMAN BEN MENAHEM MANNES
MARGOLIOTH, JACOB
MARGOLIOTH, JUDAH LOEB
MARGOLIS, GAVRIEL ZEV
MARGULIES, SAMUEL HIRSCH
MARINI, SHABBETHAI HAYYIM (Vita)
MARLI, SAMUEL (RAPHAEL) BEN MAZLIAH
MARMORSTEIN, ARTHUR
MASHASH, SHLOMO
MASKILEISON, ABRAHAM BEN JUDAH LEIB
MASLI'AH SALIH
MASNUT, SAMUEL BEN NISSIM
MAT, MOSES
MATLIN, MOSHE
MATTERSDORF, JEREMIAH BEN ISAAC
MAYBAUM, SIGMUND
MEDINA, SAMUEL BEN MOSES DE
MEDINI, HAYYIM HEZEKIAH BEN RAPHAEL ELIJAH
MEHLSACK, ELIAKIM BEN JUDAH HA-MILZAHGI
MEIR, JACOB
MEIR BEN ELIJAH
MEIR SIMHAH HA-KOHEN OF DVINSK

II. RELIGION

A. JEWISH

4. Rabbinics

BIOGRAPHIES

Aharonim (*continued*)

MEISEL, MOSES BEN MORDECAI
MEISELS, DAVID DOV
MEISELS, DOV BERUSH
MEKLENBURG, JACOB ZEVI
MELAMED, RAHAMIM REUVEN
MELAMED, SIMAN TOV
MELCHIOR, MARCUS
MELCHIOR, MICHAEL
MELDOLA
MELDOLA, RAPHAEL
MELTZER, ISSER ZALMAN
MENAHEM BEN MOSES HA-BAVLI
MENAHEM MENDEL OF SHKLOV
MENDES
MENDES
MENDLOWITZ, SHRAGA FEIVEL
MESHULLAM PHOEBUS BEN ISRAEL SAMUEL
MESHULLAM ZALMAN HA-KOHEN
MEYER, SELIGMANN
MEYUHAS, MOSES JOSEPH MORDECAI BEN RAPHAEL MEYUHAS
MEYUHAS, RAPHAEL MEYUHAS BEN SAMUEL
MICHAELSON, EZEKIEL ZEVI BEN ABRAHAM HAYYIM
MILEVSKY, AHARON
MILLER, ISRAEL
MINTZ, MOSES BEN ISAAC
MINZ, ABRAHAM BEN JUDAH HA-LEVI
MINZ, JUDAH BEN ELIEZER HA-LEVI
MIRSKY, SAMUEL KALMAN
MIZRAHI, DAVID BEN SHALOM
MIZRAHI, ELIJAH
MODAI, HAYYIM
MODENA, LEONE (Judah Aryeh)
MODERN, JUDAH
MOELLIN, JACOB BEN MOSES (Maharil)
MOHILEWER, SAMUEL
MONZON, ABRAHAM
MORDECAI (Mokhiah) BEN HAYYIM OF EISENSTADT
MORDECAI BEN JUDAH HA-LEVI
MORDECAI BEN NAPHTALI HIRSCH OF KREMSIER
MORPURGO, SAMSON BEN JOSHUA MOSES
MORTARA, MARCO
MORTEIRA, SAUL LEVI
MOSCATO, JUDAH BEN JOSEPH
MOSES BEN DANIEL OF ROHATYN
MOSES BEN HANOKH
MOSES BEN ISAIAH KATZ
MOSES BEN JACOB OF KIEV
MOSES ESRIM VE-ARBA
MOSES ISAAC
MOSES ZEEV BEN ELIEZER OF GRODNO
MOTAL, ABRAHAM BEN JACOB
MOWSHOWITZ, ISRAEL
MUELLER, JOEL
MUENZ, ELEAZAR BEN ARYEH LEIB
MUENZ, MOSES BEN ISAAC HA-LEVI
MUNK
MURMELSTEIN, BENJAMIN
MUSSAFIA, BENJAMIN BEN IMMANUEL
MUSSAFIA, HAYYIM ISAAC
NAHON
NAHOUM, HAIM
NAHUM, ELIEZER BEN JACOB
NAJARA
NATHAN OF GAZA
NATHANSON, JOSEPH SAUL
NATONEK, JOSEPH
NAVON, EPHRAIM BEN AARON
NAVON, JONAH BEN HANUN
NAVON, JONAH MOSES BEN BENJAMIN
NAWI
NAZIR, MOSES HA-LEVI
NEPPI, HANANEL (Grazziadio)
NERIAH, MOSHE ZEVI
NEUDA, ABRAHAM
NIEMIROWER, JACOB ISAAC
NIETO, DAVID
NIETO, ISAAC
NISSENBAUM, ISAAC
NISSIM, ISAAC
NOBEL, NEHEMIAH ANTON
NORZI
NORZI, JEDIDIAH SOLOMON RAPHAEL BEN ABRAHAM
NUNES VAIS
OBERNIK, JUDAH
OLIVEYRA, SOLOMON BEN DAVID DE
OLMO, JACOB DANIEL BEN ABRAHAM
OLSCHWANGER, ISAAC WOLF
ONDERWIJZER, ABRAHAM BEN SAMSON HA-KOHEN
OPPENHEIM, BEER BEN ISAAC
OPPENHEIM, DAVID
OPPENHEIM, DAVID BEN ABRAHAM
OPPENHEIM, HAYYIM
OPPENHEIM, JOACHIM
ORNSTEIN, JACOB MESHULLAM BEN MORDECAI ZEEV
OSHRY, EPHRAIM
OTTOLENGHI, JOSEPH BEN NATHAN
OUZIEL, BEN-ZION MEIR HAI
OVADIA, NISSIM
OVCHINSKI, LEVI
PACIFICI, RICCARDO
PALACHE, HAYYIM
PANET, EZEKIEL BEN JOSEPH
PANIGEL, ELIYAHU MOSHE
PANIGEL, RAPHAEL MEIR BEN JUDAH
PAPO, SAMUEL SHEMAIAH
PARDES, ELIYAHU
PARDES, SHMUEL
PARDO
PARDO, DAVID SAMUEL BEN JACOB
PARDO, JOSEPH
PARDO, MOSES BEN RAPHAEL

PARIS, HAILU
PARNAS, HAYYIM NAHMAN
PERAHYAH, AARON BEN HAYYIM ABRAHAM HA-KOHEN
PERAHYAH, HASDAI BEN SAMUEL HA-KOHEN
PERELMANN, JEROHMAN JUDAH LEIB BEN SOLOMON ZALMAN
PEREZ, JUDAH BEN JOSEPH
PEREZ BEN MOSES OF BRODY
PERGOLA, RAPHAEL DE LA
PERLA, JEROHAM FISCHEL BEN ARYEH ZEVI
PERLES, ISAAC MOSES
PERLES, MOSES MEIR BEN ELEAZAR
PERLHEFTER, ISSACHAR BEHR BEN JUDAH MOSES
PERLMUTTER, ABRAHAM ZEVI
PESANTE, MOSES BEN HAYYIM BEN SHEM TOV
PINES, YEHIEL MICHAEL (Michal)
PINHEIRO, MOSES
PINNER, EPHRAIM MOSES BEN ALEXANDER SUSSKIND
PINTO
PLACZEK, ABRAHAM
PLAUT, HEZEKIAH FEIVEL
PLOTZKI, MEIR DAN OF OSTROVA
POLACHEK, SOLOMON
POLLACK, JACOB BEN JOSEPH
POLLAK, MIKSA
POLLAK, MOSES HA-LEVI
POPPERS, JACOB BEN BENJAMIN HA-KOHEN
PORATH, ISRAEL
PORGES, MOSES BEN ISRAEL NAPHTALI
PORGES, NATHAN
PORTO, ABRAHAM MENAHEM BEN JACOB HA-KOHEN
PORTO-RAFA, MOSES BEN JEHIEL HA-KOHEN
PORUSH, ISRAEL
POSNER, DAVID BEN NAPHTALI
POSNER, SOLOMON ZALMAN BEN JOSEPH
POUPKO, BERNARD
PRATO, DAVID
PREIL, ELAZAR MEYER
PRIJS, JOSEPH
PRIMO, SAMUEL (Judah)
PROSSNITZ, JUDAH LEIB BEN JACOB HOLLESCHAU
PROSSTITZ, DANIEL
PROVENÇAL, DAVID BEN ABRAHAM
PROVENÇAL, MOSES BEN ABRAHAM
PUKHOVITSER, JUDAH LEIB
QUERIDO, JACOB
QUETSCH, SOLOMON
RABBA, MENAHEM
RABBINOVICZ, RAPHAEL NATHAN NATA
RABINOVICH, ISAAC JACOB
RABINOWICH (Rabinowitsch), ELIYAHU AKIVA
RABINOWITZ, SAMUEL JACOB
RABINOWITZ-TEOMIM, ELIJAH DAVID BEN BENJAMIN
RACCAH, MASUD BEN AARON
RACKMAN, EMANUEL
RAGOLER, ABRAHAM BEN SOLOMON
RAGOLER, ELIJAH BEN JACOB
RANSCHBURG, BEZALEL BEN JOEL
RAPAPORT, DAVID HA-KOHEN
RAPHALL, MORRIS JACOB
RAPOPORT
RAPOPORT, ABRAHAM BEN ISRAEL JEHIEL HA-KOHEN
RAPOPORT, BENJAMIN ZEEV WOLF HA-KOHEN BEN ISAAC
RAPOPORT, SAMUEL
RAPPAPORT, ISAAC BEN JUDAH HA-KOHEN
RATH, MESHULLAM
RATNER, DOV BAER
REGGIO, ISACCO SAMUEL
REICH, KOPPEL (Jacob)
REINES, ISAAC JACOB
REISCHER, JACOB BEN JOSEPH
REIZES (Reizeles)
RENASSIA, YOSSEF
RESNICK, ZVI (HIRSH) YOSEF HAKOHEN
RICE, ABRAHAM JOSEPH
RICHIETTI, JOSEPH SHALLIT BEN ELIEZER
RISIKOFF, MENAHEM (MENDEL) HACOHEN
RISKIN, SHLOMO
RIVKES, MOSES BEN NAPHTALI HIRSCH
ROKEAH, ELAZAR BEN SHMELKE
ROSANES, JUDAH BEN SAMUEL
ROSANES, ZEVI HIRSCH BEN ISSACHAR BERISH
ROSEN, JOSEPH BEN ISAAC
ROSEN, MOSES
ROSENAK, LEOPOLD
ROSENBAUM, MOSES HAYYIM LITS
ROSENBERG, ISRAEL
ROSENBLATT, MORDECAI BEN MENAHEM
ROSENBLATT, SAMUEL
ROSENTHAL, NAPHTALI
ROZIN (Rosen), JOSEPH
ROZOVSKI, PINHAS
RUBINSTEIN, ISAAC
RUBIO, MORDECAI
RUDERMAN, JACOB ISAAC
RUELF, ISAAC
SAADIAH BEN JOSEPH HA-LEVI
SACERDOTI, ANGELO-RAPHAEL CHAIM
SAFRAN, ALEXANDER
SAFRAN, BEZALEL ZEEV
SAFRAN, JOSEPH
SAGIS
SALANT, JOSEPH SUNDEL BEN BENJAMIN BENISH
SALANT, SAMUEL
SALIH, ABRAHAM
SALIH, YAHYA BEN JOSEPH (MAHARIS)
SALIH IBN YAHYA IBN JOSEPH
SALVENDI, ADOLF
SAMEGAH, JOSEPH BEN BENJAMIN
SAMUEL BEN AVIGDOR
SAMUEL BEN DAVID MOSES HA-LEVI
SAMUEL BEN JACOB OF KELMY
SAMUEL BEN URI SHRAGA PHOEBUS
SANGUINETTI, AZARIAH HAYYIM
SAPORTA, HANOKH
SAR, SAMUEL
SARAVAL

II. RELIGION

A. JEWISH

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BIOGRAPHIES

Aharonim (*continued*)

SARAVAL, JACOB RAPHAEL BEN SIMHAH JUDAH
SARAVAL, JUDAH LEIB
SARFATY
SARNA, EZEKIEL
SASPORTAS, JACOB
SASSON, AARON BEN JOSEPH
SCHACHTER, HERSCHEL
SCHACHTER, JACOB J.
SCHACTER-SHALOMI, ZALMAN
SCHEIBER, ALEXANDER
SCHEINFELD, SOLOMON ISAAC
SCHERMAN, NOSSON
SCHICK, ABRAHAM BEN ARYEH LOEB
SCHICK, BARUCH BEN JACOB
SCHICK, MOSES BEN JOSEPH
SCHIFF, DAVID TEVELE
SCHIFF, MEIR BEN JACOB HA-KOHEN
SCHILLER-SZINESSY, SOLOMON MAYER
SCHLESINGER, AKIVA JOSEPH
SCHLIEFER, SOLOMON
SCHMELKES, GEDALIAH BEN MORDECAI
SCHMELKES, ISAAC JUDAH
SCHONFELD, VICTOR
SCHOR, ALEXANDER SENDER BEN EPHRAIM ZALMAN
SCHOR, EPHRAIM SOLOMON (THE ELDER) BEN NAPHTALI HIRSCH
SCHORR, ABRAHAM HAYYIM BEN NAPHTALI ZEVI HIRSCH
SCHORR, MOSES (Mojzesz)
SCHUECK, JENO
SCHULHOF, ISAAC
SCHUSTER, AARON
SCHWAB, LOW
SCHWAB, SHIMON
SCHWABACHER, SIMEON ARYEH
SCHWARTZ, ABRAHAM JUDAH HA-KOHEN
SCHWARTZ, JOSEPH HA-KOHEN
SCHWARTZ, PHINEHAS (PINHAS) SELIG HA-KOHEN (SIGMUND)
SCHWARZ, ADOLF (Aryeh)
SCHWARZ, YEHOSEPH
SCHWERIN-GOETZ, ELIAKIM HA-KOHEN
SEFER HUKKEI HA-TORAH
SEFIRAH, SAADIAH BEN JOSEPH
SEGAL, GEDALIAH BEN ELIEZER
SEGRE
SEGRE, JOSHUA BENZION
SEGRE, SALVATORE
SEIGEL, JOSHUA
SERERO
SERERO, SAUL
SEROR
SERVI, FLAMINIO (Ephraim)
SFORNO, OBADIAH BEN JACOB
SHABBETAI BEN MEIR HA-KOHEN (Shakh)
SHAG, ABRAHAM
SHAKI, ISAAC
SHALOM, ABRAHAM (Salonika)
SHALOM SHAKHNA BEN JOSEPH
SHAPIRA, ABRAHAN ELKANA KAHANA
SHAPIRA, ELIJAH BEN BENJAMIN WOLF
SHAPIRA, JOSHUA ISAAC BEN JEHIEL
SHAPIRA, MEIR
SHAPIRO, ARYEH LEIB BEN ISAAC
SHAPIRO, SAUL BEN DOV
SHATZKES, MOSES
SHKOP, SIMEON JUDAH
SHREIER, FEIWEL
SHVADRON, SHALOM MORDECAI BEN MOSES
SIBONI
SICHER, GUSTAV
SID, SAMUEL IBN
SIDON, SIMEON
SIERRA, SERGIO JOSEPH
SILBER, SAUL
SILBERSTEIN, DAVID JUDAH LEIB
SILBERSTEIN, SOLOMON JOSEPH
SILVA, JOSHUA DA
SILVER, ELIEZER
SILVERSTONE, GEDALYAH
SIMHAH BEN SAMUEL OF SPEYER
SINGER, ABRAHAM
SINGER, PESAH
SINGER, SIMEON
SINIGAGLIA
SINZHEIM, JOSEPH DAVID BEN ISAAC
SIRAT, RENE SAMUEL
SIRILLO, SOLOMON BEN JOSEPH
SIRKES, JOEL
SITRUK, JOSEPH
SITTEON DABBAH, SHAUL DAVID
SIVITZ, MOSHE
SLONIK, BENJAMIN AARON BEN ABRAHAM
SOCHACZEW, ABRAHAM BEN ZE'EV NAHUM BORNSTEIN OF
SOFER
SOFER, HAYYIM BEN MORDECAI EPHRAIM FISCHEL
SOFER, MOSES
SOLA, ABRAHAM DE
SOLOVEICHIK
SOLOVEICHIK, AARON
SOLOVEICHIK, HAYYIM
SOLOVEICHIK, ISAAC ZEEV HA-LEVI
SOLOVEICHIK, JOSEPH BAER OF VOLOZHIN
SOLOVEICHIK, MOSHE
SOLOVEITCHIK, JOSEPH DOV
SOMEKH, ABDALLAH BEN ABRAHAM
SONCINO, JOSHUA
SONNENFELD, JOSEPH HAYYIM BEN ABRAHAM SOLOMON
SOROTZKIN, ZALMAN BEN BEN-ZION
SPEKTOR, ISAAC ELHANAN
SPERO, SHUBERT
SPITZER, SAMUEL

SPITZER, SOLOMON
STADTHAGEN, JOSEPH
STEIN, ELIEZER LIPMAN
STEIN, ISAAC
STEINHARDT, JOSEPH BEN MENAHEM
STEINHARDT, MENAHEM MENDEL BEN SIMEON
STEINSALTZ, ADIN
STERN, GERSHON
STERN, JOSEPH
STERN, JOSEPH ZECHARIAH
STERN, MENAHEM
STRASHUN, MATHIAS (Mattityahu)
STRASHUN, SAMUEL BEN JOSEPH
SUSAN, ISSACHAR BEN MORDECAI
SUZIN, SOLOMON MOSES
TABAK, SOLOMON LEIB
TAENZER, ARNOLD (Aaron)
TAGLICHT, DAVID ISRAEL
TAM IBN YAHYA, JACOB BEN DAVID
TANHUM BEN ELIEZER
TANUJI, ISHMAEL HA-KOHEN
TANUJI, JOSEPH BEN SHALOM HA-KOHEN
TAUBES, AARON MOSES BEN JACOB
TAUBES, HAYYIM ZEVI
TEDESCHI
TEITELBAUM, AARON
TEITZ, PINCHAS (MORDECAI)
TELUSHKIN, NISSAN
TEMPLO, JACOB JUDAH (ARYEH) LEON
TENNENBAUM, JACOB
TEOMIM, AARON BEN MOSES
TEOMIM, ARYEH LEIB
TEOMIM, JOSEPH BEN MEIR
TERNI, DANIEL BEN MOSES DAVID
TEWELES, JUDAH
THEODOR, JULIUS
TIKTIN
TIKTINSKI
TOAFF
TOLEDANO
TOLEDANO, JACOB MOSES
TOLEDO, MOSES DE
TOUATI, CHARLES
TRABOT
TRANI, JOSEPH BEN MOSES
TRANI, MOSES BEN JOSEPH
TREBITSCH, NEHEMIAH (Menahem Nahum)
TREVES
TREVES, JOHANAN BEN JOSEPH
TRUNK, ISRAEL JOSHUA
TYKOCINSKI, JEHIEL MICHEL
UCKO, SIEGFRIED (Sinai)
ULLMANN, SALOMON
ULMAN, ABRAHAM
UNGAR, JOEL OF RECHNITZ
UNTERMAN, ISSER YEHUDA
URI BEN SIMEON OF BIALA
UZIEL
UZIEL, ISAAC BEN ABRAHAM
VAEZ, ABRAHAM
VENETIANER, LAJOS (Ludwig)
VENTURA, MOISE
VITAL, DAVID BEN SOLOMON
VITERBO, JEHIEL HAYYIM
VIVANTI, DAVID ABRAHAM
VOLOZHINER, HAYYIM BEN ISAAC
VOLOZHINER, ISAAC BEN HAYYIM
VORST, LOUIS J.
WAGENAAR, LION
WAGNER, STANLEY M.
WAHRMANN, ISRAEL
WALDENBERG, ELIEZER JUDAH
WALKIN, AARON
WARSCHAWSKI, MAX
WASSERMAN, ELHANAN BUNIM
WEBER, KOLOMAN
WEIL, NETHANEL BEN NAPHTALI ZEYI
WEILL, MICHEL AARON
WEINBERG, JEHIEL JACOB
WEINER, ANTHONY D.
WEINGARTEN, JOAB JOSHUA
WEISS, AVI
WEISS, ISAAC HIRSCH
WEISS, ISAAC JACOB
WEISS, JOSEPH MEIR
WEISS, SAMSON
WEISSMANDEL, MICHAEL DOV
WEISZ, MAX
WELLESZ, JULIUS
WESEL, BARUCH BENDET BEN REUBEN
WEYL, MEIR BEN SIMHAH
WIEDENFELD, DOV
WIERNIKORSKI, JUDAH
WILDMANN, ISAAC EISIK
WILLOWSKI, JACOB DAVID BEN ZEEV
WILNA, JACOB BEN BENJAMIN WOLF
WOGUE, LAZARE ELIEZER
WOHLGEMUTH, JOSEPH
WOLFF, ABRAHAM ALEXANDER
WORMS, AARON
WURZBURGER, WALTER S.
XIMENES, SOLOMON MORDECAI
YIHYE, ISAAC HA-LEVI
YIZHAKI, DAVID
YOFFEY
YOSEF, OVADIAH
YUDELOVITZ, ABRAHAM A.
ZACUTO, ABRAHAM BEN SAMUEL
ZAHALON
ZARCHI, ASHER LIPPMAN
ZECHARIAH AL-DAHIRI
ZECHARIAH MENDEL BEN ARYEH LEIB
ZE'EVI, ISRAEL BEN AZARIAH
ZEMBA, MENAHEM
ZEVI HIRSCH OF NADWORNA
ZEVIN, SOLOMON JOSEPH
ZIMMELS, HIRSCH JACOB
ZIPSER, MAJER
ZIRELSON, JUDAH LEIB
ZOLTY, YAACOV BEZALEL

II. RELIGION

A. JEWISH

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Biographies

Aharonim (*continued*)

ZOMBER, DOV BAER
ZOREF, JOSHUA HESHEL BEN JOSEPH
ZUCKER, MOSHE
ZUCKERMANDEL, MOSES SAMUEL
ZUENZ, ARYEH LEIB BEN MOSES

Conservative Rabbis
ABRAMOWITZ, HERMAN
ADLER, MORRIS
AGUS, JACOB BERNARD
ARONSON, DAVID
ARZT, MAX
BERMAN, MYRON
BETTELHEIM, ALBERT (Aaron) SIEGFRIED
BLUMENTHAL, AARON
BOHNEN, ELI AARON
BOKSER, BEN ZION
BOSNIAK, JACOB
BURSTEIN, ABRAHAM
CANTOR, BERNARD
CASS, SAMUEL
CHANOVER, HYMAN
CHIEL, ARTHUR
CHIEL, SAMUEL
COHEN, ARMOND
COHEN, MORTIMER JOSEPH
COHEN, SEYMOUR J.
DAVIDSON, MAX DAVID
DRESNER, SAMUEL
DROB, MAX
EICHLER, MENAHEM
EILBERG, AMY
EPSTEIN, GILBERT
EPSTEIN, HARRY
EPSTEIN, LOUIS M.
FEINBERG, LOUIS
FINKELSTEIN, LOUIS
FRIEDMAN, THEODORE
GEFFEN, JOEL
GELB, MAX
GINZBERG, LOUIS
GOLDFEDER, FISHEL
GOLDMAN, ISRAEL
GOLDMAN, SOLOMON
GOLDSTEIN, ISRAEL
GOLINKIN, DAVID
GOODBLATT, MORRIS
GORDON, ALBERT I.
GREENBERG, LOUIS
GREENBERG, SIDNEY
GREENBERG, SIMON
HAILPERIN, HERMAN
HALPERN, HARRY
HAMMER, REUVEN
HARF, HANNS
HARLOW, JULIUS
HAUPTMAN, JUDITH
HERSHMAN, ABRAHAM M.
HERTZBERG, ARTHUR
HIGGER, MICHAEL
KARP, ABRAHAM J.
KAUVAR, CHARLES ELIEZER HILLEL
KELMAN, WOLFE
KIEVAL, HERMAN
KLEIN, ISAAC
KOGEN, DAVID
KOHN, JACOB
KREITMAN, BENJAMIN
KURTZ, VERNON
KUSHNER, HAROLD
LEHRMAN, IRVING
LEVI, SAMAUEL GERSON
LEVITSKY, LOUIS MOSES
LIEBER, DAVID
MALEV, WILLIAM S.
MANDELBAUM, BERNARD
MATT, C. DAVID
MEYER, MARSHALL
MINKIN, JACOB SAMUEL
MORAIS, SABATO
NADICH, JUDAH
NEULANDER, ARTHUR
NOVECK, SIMON
PARZEN, HERBERT
PRESSMAN, JACOB
RABINOWITZ, STANLEY
ROTH, JOEL
ROUTTENBERG, MAX JONAH
RUBENOVITZ, HERMAN H.
SANDROW, EDWARD T.
SARACHEK, JOSEPH
SCHECHTER, SOLOMON (Shneur Zalman)
SCHILD, EDWIN
SEGAL, BERNARD
SHAPIRO, ALEXANDER
SHUBOW, JOSEPH
SHUCHAT, WILFRED
SIEGEL, SEYMOUR
SILVERMAN, MORRIS
SILVERSTEIN, ALAN
SIMON, RALPH
SLONIM, REUBEN
SOLOMON, ELIAS L.
STAMPFER, JOSHUA
STEINBERG, MILTON
STERNSTEIN, JOSEPH PHILIP
TEPLITZ, SAUL
WAXMAN, MORDECAI
WOLPE, HOWARD ELLIOT
ZELIZER, NATHAN

Reform Rabbis
AARON, ISRAEL
AARONSOHN, MICHAEL

ADLER, LAZARUS LEVI
ADLER, LIEBMANN
ASHER, JOSEPH
AUB, JOSEPH
AUERBACH, ISAAC LEVIN
BACKMAN, JULES
BAMBERGER, BERNARD JACOB
BARNSTON, HENRY
BARON, JOSEPH LOUIS
BEBE, PAULINE
BEERMAN, LEONARD
BENJAMIN, RAPHAEL
BERGER, ELMER
BERKOWITZ, HENRY
BERLIN, SAUL BEN ZEVI HIRSCH LEVIN (Saul Hirschel)
BERMAN, MORTON MAYER
BERNSTEIN, PHILIP SIDNEY
BETTAN, ISRAEL
BLANK, SHELDON HAAS
BLOCH, JOSHUA
BLOCH, PHILIPP
BRASCH, RUDOLPH
BRAUDE, WILLIAM GORDON
BRICKNER, BALFOUR
BRICKNER, BARNETT ROBERT
BRONSTEIN, HERBERT
BROWNE, EDWARD B.M.
BROWNE, LEWIS
CALISCH, EDWARD NATHAN
CHORIN, AARON
COFFEE, RUDOLPH I.
COHEN, HENRY
COHEN, JACOB XENAB
COHN, ELKAN
COHON, SAMUEL SOLOMON
CRONBACH, ABRAHAM
CURRICK, MAX COHEN
DAVIDSON, DAVID
DIENEMANN, MAX
DREYFUS, STANLEY
EHRENREICH, BERNARD
EICHHORN, DAVID M.
EINHORN, DAVID
EINHORN, IGNAZ
EISENDRATH, MAURICE NATHAN
ELIASSOFF, HERMAN
ELLENSON, DAVID HARRY
ELZAS, BARNETT ABRAHAM
ENELOW, HYMAN (Hillel Gershom)
EPPENSTEIN, SIMON
ETTELESON, HARRY
FARHI, DANIEL
FARHI, GABRIEL
FEIBELMAN, JULIAN BECK
FEINBERG, ABRAHAM L.
FELDMAN, ABRAHAM JEHIEL
FELSENTHAL, BERNHARD
FEUER, LEON ISRAEL
FEUERLICHT, MORRIS M.
FINEBERG, SOLOMON ANDHIL
FINESHRIBER, WILLIAM HOWARD
FINK, JOSEPH L.
FISCHER, GYULA
FRANKL, PINKUS FRITZ (Pinhas)
FRANKLIN, LEO MORRIS
FREEHOF, SOLOMON BENNETT
FREUDENTHAL, MAX
FRIEDER, ARMIN
FRISCH, EPHRAIM
GEIGER, ABRAHAM
GLASER, JOSEPH
GOLDENSON, SAMUEL HARRY
GOLDSTEIN, ELYSE
GOLDSTEIN, SIDNEY EMANUEL
GORDON, NATHAN
GOTTHEIL, GUSTAV
GOTTSCHALK, ALFRED
GOUDEKET, MAURITS
GRYN, HUGO
GUTHEIM, JAMES KOPPEL
HABERMAN, JOSHUA
HARRIS, MAURICE
HARRISON, LEON
HELLER
HERXHEIMER, SALOMON
HESS, MENDEL
HIRSCH, EMIL GUSTAVE
HIRSCH, RICHARD
HIRSCH, SAMUEL
HOCHEIMER, HENRY
HOFFMAN, LAWRENCE I.
HOLDHEIM, SAMUEL
ISRAEL, EDWARD LEOPOLD
ISSERMAN, FERDINAND MYRON
JACOB, WALTER
JOSEPH, MORRIS
KAHN, ROBERT
KLEIN, EDWARD E.
KLEIN, GOTTLIEB
KLENICKI, LEON
KLEY, EDUARD (Israel)
KOBER, ADOLF
KOHLBACH, BERTALAN
KOHLER, KAUFMANN
KOHN, ABRAHAM
KORN, BERTRAM WALLACE
KRAUSKOPF, JOSEPH
KRONISH, LEON
KUSHNER, LAWRENCE
LANDMAN, ISAAC
LAUTERBACH, JACOB ZALLEL
LAZARON, MORRIS SAMUEL
LEIMDOERFER, DAVID
LEIPZIGER, EMIL WILLIAM
LELYVELD, ARTHUR JOSEPH
LEVINGER, LEE JOSEPH
LEVY, CLIFTON HARBY
LEVY, FELIX ALEXANDER
LEVY, JOSEPH LEONARD

II. RELIGION

A. JEWISH

4. Rabbinics

Biographies

Reform Rabbis (*continued*)

LIEBMAN, JOSHUA LOTH
LILIENTHAL, MAX (Menahem)
LIPMAN, EUGENE JAY
LOEW, IMMANUEL
LOEW, LEOPOLD (Lipot)
LOEWENSTEIN, BERNHARD
LOOKSTEIN, HASKELL
MAGNIN, EDGAR FOGEL
MALINO, JEROME
MANNHEIMER, ISAAC NOAH
MARCUS, JACOB RADER
MARK, JULIUS
MARTIN, BERNARD
MAYBAUM, IGNAZ
MERZBACHER, LEO
MEYER, MARTIN ABRAHAM
MIELZINER, MOSES
MIHALY, EUGENE
MINDA, ALBERT
MORGENSTERN, JULIAN
MOSES, ADOLPH
MOSES, ISAAC S.
NAROT, JOSEPH
NEUMARK, DAVID
NEWFIELD, MORRIS
NEWMAN, LOUIS ISRAEL
NUSSBAUM, MAX
NUSSBAUM, PERRY
OFFNER, STACY
OLAN, LEVI
OLITZKY, KERRY
PERLZWEIG, MAURICE L.
PETUCHOWSKI, JAKOB JOSEF
PHILIPSON, DAVID
PILCHIK, ELY EMANUEL
PLAUT, W. GUNTHER
POLISH, DAVID
POZNANSKI, GUSTAVUS
PRIESAND, SALLY
RAISIN, JACOB ZALMAN
RAISIN, MAX
REGNER, SIDNEY
RIEGER, PAUL
RITTER, IMMANUEL HEINRICH
ROSENAU, WILLIAM
ROSENTHAL, FERDINAND
ROTHSCHILD, JACOB M.
RUDERMAN, DAVID
RUDIN, JACOB PHILIP
SAMFIELD, MAX
SAPERSTEIN, DAVID
SAPERSTEIN, HAROLD
SCHAALMAN, HERMAN
SCHANFARBER, TOBIAS
SCHINDLER, ALEXANDER M.
SCHINDLER, SOLOMON
SCHULMAN, SAMUEL
SCHWARTZMAN, SYLVAN D.
SHANKMAN, JACOB K.
SHULMAN, CHARLES E.
SILVER, ABBA HILLEL
SILVER, DANIEL J
SILVERMAN, JOSEPH
SIMON, ABRAM
SOBEL, RONALD
SONDERLING, JACOB
STEINBACH, ALEXANDER ALAN
STEINBERG, PAUL
STERN, CHAIM
STERN, JACK
STERN, MALCOLM HENRY
STOLZ, JOSEPH
TRACHTENBERG, JOSHUA
VOORSANGER, JACOB
WASHOFSKY, MARK
WECHSLER, JUDAH
WEINSTEIN, JACOB
WIENER, MAX
WILHELM, KURT
WISE, ISAAC MAYER
WISE, JONAH BONDI
WOLF, ALFRED
WOLF, ARNOLD J.
WOLSEY, LOUIS
YOFFIE, ERIC
ZELDIN, ISAIAH
ZIMMERMAN, SHELDON
ZIPSER, MAJER
ZLOTOWITZ, BERNARD
ZOLA, GARY P.

Reconstructionist and Other Rabbis
BECKER, LAVY M.
COHEN, JACK
EISENSTEIN, IRA
KOHN, EUGENE
SASSO, SANDY
SHAPIRO, RAMI
STRASSFELD, MICHAEL
TEUTSCH, DAVID
VORSPAN, MAX

5. KABBALAH & JEWISH MYSTICISM

Main Surveys
KABBALAH

General Entries
ACADEMY ON HIGH
ADAM KADMON
ALCHEMY
ALLEGORY
ALPHABET, HEBREW, IN MIDRASH, TALMUD, AND KABBALAH

ANTHROPOMORPHISM
ANTINOMIANISM
BAAL SHEM
CHIROMANCY
COMMANDMENTS, REASONS FOR
DAVID
DEMONS, DEMONOLOGY
DEVEKUT
DIBBUK
EIN-SOF
ELIJAH
EMANATION
ESCHATOLOGY
ETHICAL LITERATURE
GEMATRIA
GILGUL
GOD
GOD, NAMES OF
GOLEM
HIBBUT HA-KEVER
JERUSALEM
MAGGID
MEDITATION
MENORAH
MERKABAH MYSTICISM
MICHAEL AND GABRIEL
PROVIDENCE
RAPHAEL
RAZIEL
REDEMPTION
SABBATH
SACRIFICE
SAMAEL
SANDALFON
SEFIROT
SHIUR KOMAH
SONG, ANGELIC
SOUL, IMMORTALITY OF
USHPIZIN
WORLDS, THE FOUR

Kabbalistic Literature

AZILUT
BAHIR, SEFER HA-
IGGERET HA-KODESH
KANAH AND PELIYAH, BOOKS OF
MA'AREKHET HA-ELOHUT
RAZA RABBA, SEFER
RAZIEL, BOOK OF
RAZIM, SEFER HA-
TEMUNAH, THE BOOK OF
TOLEDOT HA-ARI
ZOHAR

Biographies

AARON BERECHIAH BEN MOSES OF MODENA
AARON SELIG BEN MOSES OF ZOLKIEW
ABI-HASIRA
ABRAHAM BEN ALEXANDER OF COLOGNE
ABRAHAM BEN ELIEZER HA-LEVI (ha-Zaken)
ABRAHAM BEN ELIEZER HA-LEVI BERUKHIM
ABRAHAM BEN ISAAC (Gerondi)
ABRAHAM BEN ISAAC OF GRANADA
ABRAHAM BEN ISRAEL OF BRODY
ABRAHAM BEN JEHIEL MICHAL HA-KOHEN
ABRAHAM BEN SIMEON OF WORMS
ABULAFIA, ABRAHAM BEN SAMUEL
ABULAFIA, TODROS BEN JOSEPH HA-LEVI
ADADI, ABRAHAM HAYYIM BEN MASOUD HAI
ADANI, MIZRAHI SHALOM
AKIVA BAER BEN JOSEPH
ALBAZ, MOSES BEN MAIMON
ALBOTINI, JUDAH BEN MOSES
ALCASTIEL, JOSEPH
ALDABI, MEIR BEN ISAAC
ALEMANNO, JOHANAN BEN ISAAC
ALEXANDER SUSSKIND BEN MOSES OF GRODNO
ALFANDARI, HAYYIM BEN ISAAC RAPHAEL
ALGAZI, ISRAEL JACOB BEN YOM TOV
ALGAZI, YOM TOV BEN ISRAEL JACOB
ALKABEZ, SOLOMON BEN MOSES HA-LEVI
ALMOSNINO, JOSEPH BEN ISAAC
AMARILLO, AARON BEN SOLOMON
ANGEL, BARUCH
ANKAWA, ABRAHAM BEN MORDECAI
ARHA, ELIEZER BEN ISAAC
ARZIN, JOSEPH BEN JACOB
ASHER BEN DAVID
ASHKENAZI, MALKIEL
ASHLAG, YEHUDAH
ATTAR, HAYYIM BEN MOSES (IBN)
ATTIA, SHEM-TOV
AYLLON, SOLOMON BEN JACOB
AZIKRI, ELEAZAR BEN MOSES
AZRIEL OF GERONA
AZULAI
AZULAI, ABRAHAM BEN ISRAEL
AZULAI, ABRAHAM BEN MORDECAI
AZULAI, HAYYIM JOSEPH DAVID
AZULAI, MASUD
BACHARACH, NAPHTALI BEN JACOB ELHANAN
BARAZANI, SAMUEL BEN NETHANEL HA-LEVI
BARUCH
BARUCH (ben Abraham) OF KOSOV
BASHIRI, YAHYA
BASILEA, SOLOMON AVIAD SAR-SHALOM
BAVLI, MENAHEM BEN MOSES
BENAMOZEGH, ELIJAH BEN ABRAHAM
BENJAMIN, ISRAEL
BENJAMIN, MOSES
BENJAMIN BEN ELIEZER HA-KOHEN VITALE OF REGGIO
BIKAYAM, MEIR BEN HALIFA
BRANDWEIN, YEHUDAH ZEVI
BUSAL, HAYYIM BEN JACOB OBADIAH DE
BUZAGLO, SHALOM BEN MOSES
CARO, JOSEPH BEN EPHRAIM
CASTELLAZZO
CHOTSH, ZEVI HIRSCH BEN JERAHMEEL
CORDOVERO, GEDALIAH BEN MOSES
CORDOVERO, MOSES BEN JACOB

II. RELIGION

A. JEWISH

5. Kabbalah & Jewish Mysticism

Biographies (*continued*)

CUENQUE (Cuenca), ABRAHAM BEN LEVI
DATO, MORDECAI BEN JUDAH
DAVID BEN ABRAHAM HA-LAVAN
DAVID BEN JUDAH HE-HASID
DELACRUT, MATTATHIAS BEN SOLOMON
ELIASHOV, SOLOMON BEN HAYYIM
ELIEZER FISCHEL BEN ISAAC OF STRZYZOW
ELIJAH BEN RAPHAEL SOLOMON HA-LEVI
ELIJAH PHINEHAS BEN MEIR
EPSTEIN, ARYEH LEIB BEN MORDECAI
ERGAS, JOSEPH BEN EMANUEL
EYBESCHUETZ, JONATHAN
EZRA BEN SOLOMON
FALK, SAMUEL JACOB HAYYIM
FANO, MENAHEM AZARIAH DA
FORTI, JACOB RAPHAEL HEZEKIAH BEN ABRAHAM ISRAEL
FRANK, JACOB, AND THE FRANKISTS
GABBAI, MEIR BEN EZEKIEL IBN
GALANTE, ABRAHAN BEN MORDECAI
GALANTE, MOSES BEN MORDECAI
GALATINUS, PIETRO (Petrus) COLUMNA
GALLICO, ELISHA BEN GABRIEL
GEDALIAH HA-LEVI
GERONDI, JACOB BEN SHESHET
GIKATILLA, JOSEPH BEN ABRAHAM
GIORGIO, FRANCESCO
GORDON, JEKUTHIEL BEN LEIB
GRUENHUT, DAVID BEN NATHAN
HABILLO, DAVID
HAGIZ, MOSES
HALFAN, ELIJAH MENAHEM
HAMIZ, JOSEPH BEN JUDAH
HANNOVER, NATHAN NATA
HARIRI
HART, JACOB
HAYON, NEHEMIAH HIYYA BEN MOSES
HAYYAT, JUDAH BEN JACOB
HAYYIM ABRAHAM RAPHAEL BEN ASHER
HAYYIM BEN ABRAHAM HA-KOHEN
HAZKUNI, ABRAHAM
HERRERA, ABRAHAM KOHEN DE
HOROWITZ, ISAIAH BEN ABRAHAM HA-LEVI
HOROWITZ, JACOB BEN ABRAHAM
HOROWITZ, SAMUEL SHMELKE OF NIKOLSBURG
HOROWITZ, SHABBETAI SHEFTEL BEN AKIVA
HOROWITZ, ZEVI HIRSCH BEN JOSHUA MOSES AARON HA-LEVI
IBN GAON, SHEM TOV BEN ABRAHAM
IBN MOTOT. SAMUEL BEN SAADIAH
IBN SHEM TOV, SHEM TOV
IBN WAQAR, JOSEPH BEN ABRAHAM
IDEL, MOSHE
ISAAC BEN JACOB HA-KOHEN
ISAAC BEN SAMUEL OF ACRE
ISAAC THE BLIND
ISAIAH BEN ABRAHAM
ISRAEL BEN JONATHAN FROM LECZYCA
ISRAEL HARIF OF SATANOV
JACOB BEN JACOB HA-KOHEN
JACOB DAVID BEN ISRAEL ISSAR
JACOB KOPPEL BEN MOSES OF MEZHIRECH
JACOB NAZIR
JAFFE, ISRAEL BEN AARON
JAFFE, MORDECAI BEN ABRAHAM
JAMAL, SULAYMAN
JEHIEL MICHAEL (Michel) BEN ELIEZER
JOLLES, JACOB ZEVI BEN NAPHTALI
JONAH, MOSES
JOSEPH BEN SHALOM ASHKENAZI
JOSEPH DELLA REINA
JOSEPH IBN SHRAGA
JOSEPH IBN TABUL
JOSEPH ISSACHAR BAER BEN ELHANAN
JOSEPH JOSKE BEN JUDAH JUDEL OF LUBLIN
JOSEPH MOSES BEN JEKUTHIEL ZALMAN
JOSHUA IBN NUN
JUDAH BEN YAKAR
JUDAH LEIB BEN BARUCH
KARA, AVIGDOR BEN ISAAC
KATZ, NAPHTALI BEN ISAAC (ha-Kohen)
KHALAZ, JUDAH BEN ABRAHAM
KNORR VON ROSENROTH, CHRISTIAN
KORAH, HAYYIM BEN JOSEPH
KORAH, YIHYE BEN SHALOM
LABI, SIMEON
LANDAUER, MEYER HEINRICH HIRSCH
LARA, HIYYA KOHEN DE
LATIF, ISAAC BEN ABRAHAM IBN
LEON, ISAAC DE
LIPSCHUTZ, SHABBETAI BEN JACOB ISAAC
LOANZ, ELIJAH BEN MOSES
LONZANO, ABRAHAM BEN RAPHAEL DE
LONZANO, MENAHEM BEN JUDAH DE
LURIA, ISAAC BEN SOLOMON (Ha-Ari)
LURIA, JEHIEL BEN ISRAEL ASHKENAZI
LUZZATTO, MOSES HAYYIM (Ramhal)
MAHALALEL BEN SHABBETAI HALLELYAH
MARCUS, AARON
MENAHEM ZIYYONI
MEYUHAS, ABRAHAM BEN SAMUEL
MOLCHO, SOLOMON
MOLITOR, FRANZ JOSEPH
MOSES BEN MENAHEM GRAF
MOSES BEN SHEM TOV DE LEON
MOSES BEN SOLOMON BEN SIMEON OF BURGOS
MUELLER, ERNST
NAHMANIDES
NAHMAN OF KOSOV
NAVON, BENJAMIN MORDECAI BEN EPHRAIM
NEHEMIAH HA-KOHEN
NETHANEL BEN MESHULLAM HA-LEVI
ORNSTEIN, MORDECAI ZEEV BEN MOSES
OSTROPOLER, SAMSON BEN PESAH
OTTOLENGO, SAMUEL DAVID BEN JEHIEL
PINTO, JOSIAH BEN JOSEPH

POPPERS, MEIR BEN JUDAH LOEB HA-KOHEN
RECANATI, MENAHEM BEN BENJAMIN
REGGIO, ABRAHAM BEN EZRIEL
REUBEN HOESHKE BEN HOESHKE KATZ
REUCHLIN, JOHANNES
RICCHI, RAPHAEL IMMANUEL BEN ABRAHAM HAI
RICIUS, PAULUS (Rici)
ROVIGO, ABRAHAM BEN MICHAEL
RUNKEL, SOLOMON ZALMAN
SABA, ABRAHAM BEN JACOB
SAHULA, MEIR BEN SOLOMON ABI
SAMUEL BEN ELIEZER OF KALVARIJA
SANDZER, HAYYIM BEN MENAHEM
SARUG (Saruk), ISRAEL
SCHOLEM, GERSHOM GERHARD
SHABBETAI ZEVI
SHARABI, SHALOM
SHEPHATIAH BEN AMITTAI
SPIRA, NATHAN NATA BEN SOLOMON
TAITAZAK, JOSEPH
TAYYIB, ISAAC BEN BENJAMIN
TEMERLS, JACOB BEN ELIEZER
TISHBY, ISAIAH
UCEDA, SAMUEL BEN ISAAC
VALLE, MOSES DAVID BEN SAMUEL
VIDAS, ELIJAH BEN MOSES DE
VIGENERE, BLAISE DE
VITAL
VITAL, HAYYIM BEN JOSEPH
VITAL, SAMUEL BEN HAYYIM
WANNEH, ISAAC BEN ABRAHAM
WORMSER, SECKEL (Isaac Loeb)
YAKHINI, ABRAHAM BEN ELIJAH
YIZHAKI, ABRAHAM BEN DAVID
ZACUTO, MOSES BEN MORDECAI
ZAYYAH, JOSEPH BEN ABRAHAM IBN
ZEMAH, JACOB BEN HAYYIM

6. HASIDISM

Main Surveys

HASIDISM

General Entries

ADMOR
BA'AL SHEM
CHABAD
DAVID-GORODOK
ETHICAL LITERATURE
SEFER HA-HAYYIM
ZAVA'AT RIBASH

Biographies

AARON BEN MOSES HA-LEVI OF STAROSIELCE
AARON OF ZHITOMIR
ABRAHAM BEN ALEXANDER KATZ OF KALISK
ABRAHAM BEN DOV OF MEZHIRECH (ha-Malakh)
ABRAHAM DOV BAER OF OVRUCH
ABRAHAM GERSHON OF KUTOW
ABRAHAM JOSHUA HESCHEL OF APTA (Opatow)
ADAM BA'AL SHEM
ADEL (Ba'al Shem Tov)
ALEKSANDROW
APTA, MEIR
ARYEH JUDAH LEIB (the "Mokhiah") OF POLONNOYE
ARYEH LEIB OF OZAROW
ARYEH LEIB OF SHPOLA
ARYEH LEIB SARAHS
BARUCH BEN JEHIEL OF MEDZIBEZH
BELZ
BERNARD, HAYYIM DAVID
BOBOV
DAVID OF TALNA
DOV BAER OF MEZHIRECH
DWORKIN, ZALMAN (Lubavitch)
DYNOW, ZEVI ELIMELECH
EGER, JUDAH LEIB OF LUBLIN
ELIEZER BEN JACOB HA-LEVI OF TARNOGROD
ELIMELECH OF LYZHANSK
EPSTEIN, ISAAC BEN MORDECAI
EPSTEIN, KALONYMUS KALMAN OF CRACOW
GORA KALWARIA
GRONER, DOVID YITZCHOK
HALBERSTAM
HANOKH OF ALEKSANDROW
HAYYIM BEN SOLOMON TYRER OF CZERNOWITZ
HAYYIM HAIKL BEN SAMUEL OF AMDUR
HOROWITZ, PINCHAS
HOROWITZ, SAMUEL SHMELKE OF NIKOLSBURG
ISRAEL BEN ELIEZER BA'AL SHEM TOV
ISRAEL BEN PEREZ OF POLOTSK
ISSACHAR DOV BAER BEN ARYEH LEIB OF ZLOCZOW
IZBICA-RADZYN
JACOB ISAAC HA-HOZEH MI-LUBLIN
JACOB JOSEPH BEN ZEVI HA-KOHEN KATZ OF POLONNOYE
JEHIEL MEIR (LIFSCHITS) OF GOSTYNIN
JEHIEL MICHAEL (Michel) OF ZLOCZOW
JOSEPH MOSES OF SALOSITZ
KALLO, YIZHAK ISAAC (of Taub)
KAMENKA, ZEVI HIRSCH OF
KARLIN
KAZIMIERZ
KOBRIN, MOSES BEN ISRAEL POLIER OF
KOIDANOV
KORETS, PHINEHAS BEN ABRAHAM ABBA SHAPIRO OF
KOTSK, MENAHEM MENDEL OF
KOZIENICE, ISRAEL BEN SHABBETAI HAPSTEIN
LACHOWICZE, MORDECAI BEN NOAH OF
LAWAT, ABRAHAM DAVID BEN JUDAH LEIB
LEINER, GERSHON HANOKH BEN JACOV
LELOV (Lelow)
LEVI ISAAC BEN MEIR OF BERDICHEV
LIPSCHUTZ, ARYEH LEIB
LUDOMIR, MAID OF
LUNIETZ, GEDALIAH BEN ISAAC OF
LYUBESHOV
MARCUS, AARON
MARGOLIOUTH, MEIR OF OSTRAHA (Ostrog)

II. RELIGION

A. JEWISH

6. Hasidism

Biographies (*continued*)

MEIR JEHIEL HA-LEVI OF OSTROWIEC
MEISELS, UZZIEL BEN ZEVI HIRSCH
MENAHEM MENDEL OF PEREMYSHLANY
MENAHEM MENDEL OF VITEBSK
MESHULLAM FEIVUSH HELLER OF ZBARAZH
MODZHITZ
MORDECAI OF NESKHIZ
MOSES HAYYIM EPHRAIM OF SUDYLKOW
MOSES LEIB OF SASOV
MOSES SHOHAM BEN DAN OF DOLINA
NAHMAN OF BRATSLAV
NAHMAN OF HORODENKA
PEREMYSHLYANY, MEIR BEN AARON LEIB OF
PRZEDBORZ
PRZYSUCHA, JACOB ISAAC BEN ASHER
RADOMSKO, SOLOMON HA-KOHEN RABINOWICH OF
RADOSHITSER, ISSACHAR BAER
RADZYMIN
RAPHAEL OF BERSHAD
ROPSHITSER, NAPHTALI ZEVI
ROTH, AARON
RUZHIN, ISRAEL
RYMANOWER, MENAHEM MENDEL
RYMANOWER, ZEVI HIRSH
SAFRIN, ISAAC JUDAH JEHIEL
SAVRAN (Bendery)
SCHNEERSOHN
SCHNEERSOHN, ISAAC
SCHNEERSOHN, MENACHEM MENDEL
SHABBETAI BEN ZEVI HIRSCH OF RASZKOW
SHAPIRA
SHAPIRA, KALONYMOUS KALMAN
SHAPIRA, YESHAYAHU
SHNEUR ZALMAN OF LYADY
SIMHAH BEN JOSHUA OF ZALOZHTSY
SIMHAH BUNEM OF PRZYSUCHA
SLONIM
SPINKA, JOSEPH MEIR WEISS OF
STERNBERG, SARAH FRANKEL
STERNHARZ, NATHAN
STRELISK, URI BEN PHINEHAS OF
STRETYN, JUDAH ZEVI HIRSCH (Brandwein) OF
TEITELBAUM
TWERSKI, JACOB ISRAEL
TWERSKY
VIZHNITZ
WAHRMANN, ABRAHAM DAVID BEN ASHER ANSCHEL
WALDEN, AARON BEN ISAIAH NATHAN
WARKA
ZADOK HA-KOHEN RABINOWITZ OF LUBLIN
ZE'EV WOLF OF ZHITOMIR
ZEVI HIRSCH FRIEDMAN OF LESKO
ZHIDACHOV
ZUSYA OF HANIPOLI
ZWEIFEL, ELIEZER

B. OTHER

1. CHRISTIANITY

Main Surveys

CHRISTIANITY
CHURCH, CATHOLIC
PROTESTANTS

General Entries

ABRAHAM'S BOSOM
ALBIGENSES
ANTICHRIST
APOSTLE
ARMAGEDDON
ARTHURIAN LEGENDS
BAPTISM, FORCED
BIBLE SOCIETIES
BULLS, PAPAL
CARNIVAL
CATECHUMENS, HOUSE OF
CHRISTIAN SCIENCE CHURCH
CHURCH COUNCILS
CIVILTA CATTOLICA, LA
CRUSADES
DEMONS, DEMONOLOGY
DOMUS CONVERSORUM
ECCLESIA ET SYNAGOGA
EXCERPTA VALESIANA
FRANCISCANS
GNOSTICISM
HUSSITES
INQUISITION
INSTITUTUM JUDAICUM DELITZSCHIANUM
ISAIAH, ASCENSION OF
ISAIAH, MARTYRDOM OF
JESUITS
JEWISH-CHRISTIAN RELATIONS
LATERAN COUNCILS III, IV
MANICHAEISM
NAZARETH
NEW CHRISTIANS
NEW TESTAMENT
PASSSOVER
PILGRIMAGE
REFORMATION
SERMONS TO JEWS
SOLOMON, ODES OF
SOMREI SABAT
TITHES, CHURCH
VATICAN
WANDERING JEW

Bible

AARON
ABRAHAM
ADAM
CAIN
DAVID
EVE
GOLDEN CALF

ISAAC
JERUSALEM
JEZEBEL
JONAH, BOOK OF
JOSHUA
MELCHIZEDEK
MOSES
NOAH

Biographies

ALCUIN
ALEXANDER
ALEXANDER, MICHAEL SOLOMON
ALEXANDER OF HALES
ALEXEYEV, ALEXANDER
AMBROSE
AMULO
ANACLETUS II, PETER PIERLEONE
ANDREW OF SAINT-VICTOR
ANSELM OF CANTERBURY
AQUINAS, THOMAS
ARBUES, PEDRO DE
ARNALDO OF VILLANOVA
AUGUSTINE
AVITUS
BAR HEBRAEUS, JOHANAN
BARRUEL, AUGUSTIN
BARTH, KARL
BASHUYSEN, HEINRICH JACOB VAN
BASNAGE, JACQUES CHRISTIAN (Basnage de Beauval)
BATE, JULIUS
BAUER, BRUNO
BEA, AUGUSTIN
BENEDICT
BERNARD OF CLAIRVAUX
BERNARDINO DA FELTRE
BERNARDINO DA SIENA
BERTHOLD OF FREIBURG
BERTHOLD OF REGENSBURG (Ratisbon)
BONIFACE
BORROMEO, CARLO
BOSSUET, JACQUES BENIGNE
BOUDIN, JEAN-FRANCOIS
BRUNNER, SEBASTIAN
BUCER, MARTIN
BUDNY, SZYMON
BUGENHAGEN, JOHANN
BURCHARD OF WORMS
BURCHARDUS DE MONTE SION
CALIXTUS
CALVIN, JOHN
CAPISTRANO, JOHN (Giovanni) OF
CARBEN, VICTOR VON
CHIARINI, LUIGI
CHRISTIANI, PABLO
CHURCH FATHERS
CLEMENT
CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA
CRISPIN, GILBERT (Gislebertus)
CUSA, NICHOLAS OF
DAMIAN, PETER (Petrus Damiani)
DIONYSIUS VAN RYCKEL
DOMENICO GEROSOLIMITANO
DOMINICANS
DONIN, NICHOLAS
DUNS SCOTUS, JOHN
ECKHART, MEISTER
EGIDIO DA VITERBO
ELHANAN
ELIANO, GIOVANNI BATTISTA
ERASMUS OF ROTTERDAM
EUGENIUS
EUSEBIUS
FABRI, FELIX
FERRER, VICENTE
FIOGHI (Fiocchi), FABIANO
FLORUS OF LYONS
FULBERT OF CHARTRES
GELASIUS I
GRATIAN (Franciscus Gratianus)
GREGORY
HADRIAN I
HEBRAISTS, CHRISTIAN
HELENA AUGUSTA
HILDEBERT OF LAVARDIN
HILDUIN
HIRSCHENSOHN-LICHTENSTEIN, JEHIEL ZEVI HERMANN
HONORIUS
HOOGSTRAATEN, JACOB
INNOCENT
ISIDORE OF SEVILLE
IVO (Ives) OF CHARTRES
JACOB OF KEFAR SAKHNAYYA (Sama)
JEROME
JESUS
JOHN THE BAPTIST
JOHN CHRYSOSTOM
JOHN PAUL II
JOHN XXII
JOHN XXIII
JONA, GIOVANNI BATTISTA
JUDAS
JULIUS III
JUSTIN MARTYR
KOBIELSKI, FRANCISZEK ANTONI
KOLLONITSCH, LEOPOLD
LEÃO, GASPAR DE
LEO
LEVERTOFF, PAUL PHILIP
LUSTIGER, JEAN-MARIE ARON
LUTHER, MARTIN
MARGARITA, ANTON
MARTIN
MELITO OF SARDIS
MOROSINI, GIULIO
NEANDER, AUGUST
NICHOLAS
NIEBUHR, REINHOLD
NIGRI, PETRUS

II. RELIGION

B. OTHER

1. Christianity

BIOGRAPHIES (*continued*)

NOLA, ELIJAH BEN MENAHEM DA
OBADIAH, THE NORMAN PROSELYTE
ODO OF CAMBRAI
ODO OF CHATEAUROUX
ODO OF SULLY
OLESNICKI, ZBIGNIEW
ORIGEN
OROSIUS, PAULUS
PABLO DE SANTA MARIA (el Burguense)
PAUL IV
PAUL VI
PAUL OF TARSUS
PETER OF BLOIS
PETER OF CLUNY
PFEFFERKORN, JOHANNES (Joseph)
PIERLEONI
PIUS X
PIUS XI
PIUS XII
POPES
PORCHETUS SALVAGUS
QUARESMIUS, FRANCISCUS
RABINOVICH, JOSEPH
RAMON LULL
RATISBONNE BROTHERS
RAYMOND DE PENAFORTE
RUDOLPH
RUEDIGER (Hutzmann)
SIMON, RICHARD
SIXTUS IV
SULPICIUS SEVERUS
TILLICH, PAUL
WOLFF, JOSEPH

2. ISLAM (SEE MUSLIM LANDS)

3. KARAITES

MAIN SURVEYS
KARAITES

BIOGRAPHIES
AARON BEN ELIJAH
AARON BEN JOSEPH HA-ROFE
AARON BEN JUDAH KUSDINI
ABRAHAM BEN JOSIAH TROKI
ABRAHAM BEN JOSIAH YERUSHALMI
ABRAHAM BEN JUDAH BEN ABRAHAM
ABU AL-FARAJ HARUN IBN AL-FARAJ
AFENDOPOLO, CALEB BEN ELIJAH
AGA
ALFASI, DAVID BEN ABRAHAM
ALI IBN SULEIMAN
AL-TARAS, SIDI IBN
ANAN BEN DAVID
AZARIAH BEN ELIYAH
BABOVICH, SIMHAH BEN SOLOMON
BALI ABRAHAM BEN JACOB
BALI, MOSES BEN ABRAHAM
BASHYAZI (Bashyatchi)
BASĪR, JOSEPH BEN ABRAHAM HA-KOHEN HA-RO'EH AL-BEGHI
BEIM, SOLOMON BEN ABRAHAM
BEN ZUTA ABU AL-SURRĪ
BENJAMIN BEN ELIJAH
BENJAMIN BEN ELIJAH DUWAN
DANIEL BEN MOSES AL-QŪMISĪ
DARI, MOSES BEN ABRAHAM
DAVID BEN BOAZ
DAVID BEN HUSSEIN, ABU SULEIMAN
DAVID BEN JOSHUA
DAVID BEN SOLOMON
ELIJAH BEN AARON BEN MOSES
ELIJAH BEN ABRAHAM
ELIJAH BEN BARUCH THE ELDER
EZRA BEN NISAN
FARAJ, MURAD
FIRKOVICH, ABRAHAM (Even Reshef)
FIRUZ
GIBBOR, JUDAH BEN ELIJAH
HADASSI, JUDAH (ha-Avel) BEN ELIJAH
HASAN (Hussein) BEN MASHI'AH
IBN AL-HĪTĪ, DAVID BEN SE'ADEL
IBN FADANJ (Fadanq)
IBN SÁQAWAYH (Sakuyah; Saquyah)
ISAAC BEN SOLOMON
ISAIAH BEN UZZIAH HA-KOHEN
ISHMAEL OF ʿUKBARA
ISRAEL (ben Samuel?) HA-DAYYAN HA-MA'ARAVI
JACOB BEN REUBEN
JACOB BEN SIMEON
JAPHETH AL-BARQAMANI
JAPHETH BEN DAVID IBN SAGHIR
JAPHETH BEN ELI HA-LEVI
JESHUA BEN JUDAH
JOSEPH BEN NOAH
JOSEPH BEN SAMUEL BEN ISAAC RODI
JOSIAH BEN SAUL BEN ANAN
JUDAH BEN ELI (Elan)
KALAI, SAMUEL BEN JOSEPH
KALFA, ISAAC BEN JOSEPH
KAZAZ, ELIJAH
KIRKISANI, JACOB AL-
KUKIZOW
LABANOS
LEONOVICH
LEVI BEN JAPHETH
LUZKI, ABRAHAM BEN JOSEPH SOLOMON
LUZKI, JOSEPH SOLOMON BEN MOSES
LUZKI, SIMHAH ISAAC BEN MOSES
MALINOVSKI, JOSEPH BEN MORDECAI
MARZOUK, MOSHE
MENAHEM BEN MICHAEL BEN JOSEPH
MORDECAI BEN NISAN

MOSES BEN ELIJAH HA-LEVI
MOSES BEN ELIJAH PASHA
MOSES BEN SAMUEL OF DAMASCUS
NAHAWENDI, BENJAMIN BEN MOSES AL-
NISSI (Nissim) BEN NOAH
PIGIT, SAMUEL BEN SHEMARIA
POKI, JUDAH BEN ELIEZER CHELEBI
SAHL BEN MAZLI'AH HA-KOHEN ABU AL-SURRI
SAHL IBN FADL
SALMON BEN JEROHAM
SAMUEL BEN DAVID
SAMUEL BEN MOSES AL-MAGHRIBI
SAUL BEN ANAN
SHAPSHAL (Szapszal) SERAYAH
SOLOMON BEN AARON (of Troki)
SULTANSKY, MORDECAI BEN JOSEPH
TAWRIZI, JUDAH MEIR BEN ABRAHAM
TOBIAS BEN MOSES HA-AVEL (Or ha-Matik)
TROKI, ISAAC BEN ABRAHAM
ZEPHANIAH BEN MORDECAI
ZERAH BEN NATHAN OF TROKI

4. MARRANOS

General Entries
CHUETAS
MARRANO
MARRANO DIASPORA
NEW CHRISTIANS

Biographies
ABENAES, SOLOMON
ABENATAR MELO, DAVID
ABENDANA
ABENDANA, ISAAC
ABOAB, IMMANUEL
ABOAB, ISAAC DE MATTATHIAS
ACOSTA, CHRISTOBAL
AGUILAR, DIEGO D'
ALEMAN, MATEO
ALVARES
AMES
ANTUNES
ARIAS, JOSEPH SEMAH
ASSUMPÇÃO, DIOGO DA
AZEVEDO
BARGAS, ABRAHAM DE
BARRASSA, JACOB
BARROS BASTO, ARTURO CARLOS DE
BELMONTE
BERNAL
BRUDO, MANUEL
BUENO
CACERES, FRANCISCO DE
CARDOSO
CARDOZO, ABRAHAM MIGUEL
CARDOZO, ISAAC
CASTRO
CASTRO, DE
CASTRO, PEDRO DE
CASTRO SARMENTO, JACOB (Henrique) DE
CASTRO TARTAS, ISAAC DE
CORONEL CHACON, SIR AUGUSTIN
COUTINHO
CURIEL
CHIRINO
DIAS, LUIS
ENRIQUEZ BASURTO, DIEGO
FARIA, FRANCISCO DE
FONSECA, DANIEL DE
GOMEZ DE SOSSA, ISAAC
GRANADA, GABRIEL DE
HOMEM, ANTONIO
JESURUN
JESURUN, REUEL
JUAN DE ESPANA
JUAN DE VALLADOLID
LAGUNA, DANIEL ISRAEL LOPEZ
LAMEGO
LOBATO
LOPEZ, RODERIGO
LOPEZ ROSA
MACHADO
MALDONADO DE SILVA, FRANCISCO
MENDES, DIOGO
MESQUITA
MONTEZINOS, ANTONIO DE
NASI, GRACIA
NASI, JOSEPH
NUÑEZ
NUÑEZ, HECTOR
OLIVER Y FULLANA, NICOLAS DE
ORTA, GARCIA DE
PAZ, DUARTE DE
PENSO DE LA VEGA, JOSEPH
PINA, JACOB (Manuel) DE
PINEDA, JUAN DE
PINTO DELGADO, JOAO (Mosseh)
PRADO, JUAN (Daniel) DE
PYRRHUS, DIDACUS
ROBLES, ANTONIO RODRIGUES
ROCAMORA, ISAAC DE
RODRIGUES, DIONISIUS (Diniz)
ROJAS, FERNANDO DE
SANCHEZ, ANTONIO NUNEZ RIBEIRO
SENIOR, SOLOMON
SILVA, RODRIGO MENDEZ DA
SILVA, SAMUEL DA
SILVEYRA, MIGUEL DE
SOLIS
TEIXEIRA, PEDRO
TEIXEIRA DE SAMPAIO, ABRAHAM SENIOR (Diego)
TEIXEIRA PINTO, BENTO
TORRE, ALFONSO DE LA
TREVINO DE SOBREMONTE, TOMAS
USQUE, ABRAHAM
USQUE, SAMUEL
USQUE, SOLOMON
VITORIA, FRANCISCO DE
ZACUTUS LUSITANUS

II. RELIGION

B. OTHER (*continued*)

5. SAMARITANS

Main Surveys

SAMARITANS

General Entries

AL-ASĀṬĪR
DUSTAN
GERIZIM, MOUNT

Biographies

ABU AL-FAT
ABU AL-HASAN OF TYRE
AMRAM DARAH
BABA RABBAH

III. JEWISH LANGUAGES & LITERATURE

A. JEWISH LANGUAGES

Main Surveys

ALPHABET, HEBREW
HEBREW GRAMMAR
HEBREW LANGUAGE
LINGUISTIC LITERATURE, HEBREW
MASORAH
PRONUNCIATIONS OF HEBREW
PROSODY, HEBREW
SEMITIC LANGUAGES
YIDDISH LANGUAGE

General Entries

ABBA
ABBREVIATIONS
ABRACADABRA
ABRECH
ABU
ACADEMY OF THE HEBREW LANGUAGE
ACROSTICS
AKKADIAN LANGUAGE
AKKUM
ALEF
ARAMAIC
ASH
AYIN
BAAL HA-BAYIT
BET
BRIT IVRIT OLAMIT
DALET
FRANCOS (Franji)
GIMMEL
GREETINGS AND CONGRATULATIONS
HAKETIA
HAPAX LEGOMENA
HE
HET
JEWISH LANGUAGES
JUDEO-ARABIC
JUDEO-ARABIC LITERATURE
JUDEO-FRENCH
JUDEO-GREEK
JUDEO-ITALIAN
JUDEO-PERSIAN
JUDEO-PROVENCAL
JUDEO-TAT
KAF
KOF
LADINO
LAMED
MASORETIC ACCENTS
MEDINAH
MEM
MIZRAYIM
NAMES
NEO-ARAMAIC
NOTARIKON
NUN
OKHLAH VE-OKHLAH
PE
RESH
SADE
SAMEKH
SHALOM ALEIKHEM
SHIN
TAV
TET
UGARITIC
VAV
YOD
ZAYIN

Scholars

ABRAHAM HA-BAVLI
ALCALAY, REUVEN
ALMOLI, SOLOMON BEN JACOB
AUERBACH, ISAAC EISIG BEN ISAIAH
AVE-LALLEMANT, FRIEDRICH CHRISTIAN BENEDICT
AVINERI, YITZHAK
AVRUNIN, ABRAHAM
BAER, SELIGMAN ISAAC
BARANOWICZ, DAVID ELIEZER
BAR-ASHER, MOSHE
BARDACH, ISRAEL (Isaac hen ftayyim Moses)
BARTH, JACOB
BEN HAYYIM, ZEEV
BEN ZEEV, JUDAH LEIB
BEN-ASHER, AARON BEN MOSES
BEN-ASHER, MOSES
BEN-NAPHTALI, MOSES BEN DAVID
BEN-YEHUDA, ELIEZER
BLAU, JOSHUA
BUCHNER, ZE’EV WOLF BEN DAVID HA-KOHEN
BURSTEIN, ISRAEL
CAMPEN (Campensis), Johannes Van
CASTELL, EDMUND
DOTAN, ARON
EVEN-SHOSHAN, AVRAHAM
GOSHEN-GOTTSTEIN, MOSHE

HARKAVY, ALEXANDER
HAYYUJ, JUDAH (Jahah) BEN DAVID
IBN BARUN, ABU IBRAHIM ISAAC BEN JOSEPH IBN BENVENISTE
IBN JANAH, JONAH
IBN QURAYSH, JUDAH
IBN YASHUSH, ISAAC ABU IBRAHIM
JACOB BEN HAYYIM BEN ISAAC IBN ADONIJAH
JACOB KOPPEL BEN AARON SASSLOWER
JEKUTHIEL BEN JUDAH HA-KOHEN
JOSEPH BEN DAVID HA-YEVANI
KADDARI, MENAHEM ZEVI
KUTSCHER, EDWARD YECHEZKEL
LARA, DAVID BEN ISAAC COHEN DE
LERNER, HAYYIM ZEVI BEN TODROS
LEVITA, ELIJAH (Babur)
LIFSHITS, SHIYE-MORDKHE
MANI, EZRA
MENAHEM BEN JACOB IBN SARUQ
MORAG, SHLOMO
MORDELL, PHINEHAS
MOSES BEN HA-NESIAH
PLANTAVIT DE LA PAUSE, JEAN
POLOTSKY, HANS JACOB
SAMSON HA-NAKDAN
SARFATTI, GAD
SCHAECHTER, MORDKHE
SCHNEIDER, MORDECAI BEZALEL
SCHULMANN, ELIEZER
STEINBERG, JOSHUA
WARSHAWSKY, ISAAC
WEINREICH, URIEL
WIZEN, MOSHE AHARON
YALON, HANOCH
YEIVIN, ISRAEL
ZAMENHOF, LUDWIK LAZAR
ZAND, MICHAEL

B. JEWISH LITERATURE

Main Surveys
LITERATURE, JEWISH

General Entries
ANIMAL TALES
BIBLIOGRAPHY
BIBLIOPHILES
BIBLIOTHEQUE NATIONALE
BIOGRAPHIES AND AUTOBIOGRAPHIES
BOOKS
CHILDREN'S LITERATURE
DIBBUK
ENCYCLOPEDIAS
ETHICAL LITERATURE
FABLE
FESTSCHRIFTEN
FOLKLORE
GOLEM
KALILA AND DIMNA
MANUSCRIPTS, HEBREW
PARABLE
PRINTING, HEBREW
SCIENCE FICTION AND FANTASY, JEWISH
WANDERING JEW

Bible in Jewish Literature
ABRAHAM
ABSALOM
ADAM
AKEDAH
ATHALIAH
BABEL, TOWER OF
BALAAM
BELSHAZZAR
BIBLE – IN THE ARTS
CAIN
CHERUB
DANIEL
DAVID
DEBORAH
ELIJAH
ESTHER
EZEKIEL
GIDEON
HEZEKIAH
ISAAC
ISAIAH
JACOB
JEPHTHAH
JEREMIAH
JERUSALEM
JOB, BOOK OF
JONAH, BOOK OF
JOSEPH
JOSHUA
LAMENTATIONS, BOOK OF
MOSES
NEBUCHADNEZZAR (Nebuchadrezzer)
NOAH
PSALMS, BOOK OF
RACHEL
RUTH, BOOK OF
SAMSON
SAMUEL
SAUL
SODOM AND GOMORRAH
SOLOMON
SONG OF SONGS
TEMPLE

C. HEBREW LITERATURE

1. MEDIEVAL

Main Surveys
POETRY

General Entries
ABRAHAM
ALEXANDER THE GREAT

III. JEWISH LANGUAGES & LITERATURE

C. HEBREW LITERATURE

1. Medieval

General Entries (*continued*)

ALLEGORY
APOCRYPHA AND PSEUDEPIGRAPHA
AZ ROV NISSIM
BEN HA-MELEKH VE-HA-NAZIR
BEN SIRA, ALPHABET OF
BIOGRAPHIES AND AUTOBIOGRAPHIES
BODLEIAN LIBRARY
COLOPHON
DANIEL, VISION OF
DERASHOT HA-RAN
ELIJAH
ELIJAH, APOCALYPSE OF
EXEMPLA OF THE RABBIS
EXEMPLUM
FICTION, HEBREW
FOUR CAPTIVES, THE
HAGIOGRAPHY
INCUNABULA
INSTITUTE FOR THE RESEARCH OF MEDIEVAL HEBREW POETRY
LETTERS AND LETTER-WRITERS
MAGIC
MAQAMA
MEKIZE NIRDAMIM
MOSES, CHRONICLES OF
MUSAR HASKEL
NAJARA, ISRAEL BEN MOSES
NEVU'AT HA-YELED
PARABLE
PARODY, HEBREW
PEREK SHIRAH
PIYYUT
PURIM-SHPIL
TRANSLATION AND TRANSLATORS
UZZA AND AZA'EL
WILLS, ETHICAL

Biographies
AARON HAKIMAN
ABBASI, JACOB BEN MOSES IBN
ABI ZIMRA, ISAAC MANDIL BEN ABRAHAM
ABRAHAM BEN HALFON
ABRAHAM BEN HILLEL (Ben Nissim) OF FOSTAT
ABRAHAM BEN SHABBETAI HA-KOHEN (Zante)
ABRAHAM BEN SOLOMON OF TORRUTIEL
ABRAHAM OF SARTEANO
ABULAFIA, EZEKIEL DAVID BEN MORDECAI
ABULAFIA, TODROS BEN JUDAH HA-LEVI
ABUN (Abuna, Bun)
ACAN, MOSES DE TARREGA
AHIMAAZ BEN PALTIEL
AL-AVANI, ISAAC
ALHADIB, ISAAC BEN SOLOMON BEN ZADDIK
AL-HARIZI, JUDAH BEN SOLOMON
ALI (ben David)
ALTARAS, JOSEPH
ALVAN BEN ABRAHAM
ALVAREZ GATO, JUAN
AMITTAI
AMITTAI BEN SHEPHATIAH
ARCHIVOLTI, SAMUEL
ARYEH JUDAH HARRARI (ha-Yarbi)
AVIGDOR, ABRAHAM
BEDERSI, ABRAHAM BEN ISAAC
BENJAMIN BEN AZRIEL
BENJAMIN BEN HIYYA (Jehiel)
BENJAMIN BEN ZERAH
BERECHIAH BEN NATRONAI HA-NAKDAN
BONAFED, SOLOMON BEN REUBEN
CASPI, SAUL
DAVID BEN AARON IBN HASSIN (Hussein)
DAVID BEN MESHULLAM OF SPEYER
DE PIERA, MESHULLAM BEN SOLOMON
DE PIERA, SOLOMON BEN MESHULLAM
DUNASH BEN LABRAT
ELEAZAR BEN HALFON HA-KOHEN
ELEAZAR BEN JACOB HA-BAVLI
ELIJAH BEN ELIEZER PHILOSOPH HA-YERUSHALMI
ELIJAH BEN SHEMAIAH
ELIJAH CHELEBI HA-KOHEN OF ANATOLIA
EZOBI, JEHOSEPH BEN HANAN BEN NATHAN
FARISSOL, JACOB BEN HAYYIM (Comprat; Vidal)
FRANCES, IMMANUEL BEN DAVID
FRANCES, JACOB BEN DAVID
GABIROL, SOLOMON BEN JUDAH, IBN
GALIPAPA, MAIMON
GALLEGO, JOSEPH SHALOM
GERONDI, ISAAC BEN JUDAH
GERONDI, SOLOMON BEN ISAAC
GIKATILLA, ISAAC IBN
GIKATILLA, MOSES BEN SAMUEL HA-KOHEN
HARIZI, ABU ISAAC ABRAHAM
HISDAI IBN HISDAI, ABU AL-FADL
IBN AL-RABIB, ABRAHAM
IBN ALTABBAN, LEVI BEN JACOB
IBN AL-TAQANA, MOSES
IBN BARZEL, JOSEPH
IBN BILIA, DAVID BEN YOM-TOV
IBN EZRA, ISAAC
IBN EZRA, MOSES BEN JACOB
IBN GHAYYAT
IBN HABIB, MOSES BEN SHEM TOV
IBN HASDAI, ABRAHAM BEN SAMUEL HA-LEVI
IBN KAPRON, ISAAC
IBN KHALFUN, ISAAC
IBN MAR SAUL, ISAAC BEN LEVI
IBN PAQUDA, DAVID BEN ELEAZAR
IBN SAHL, JOSEPH BEN JACOB
IBN SASSON, SAMUEL BEN JOSEPH
IBN SHUWAYK, ISAAC BEN ISRAEL
IBN ZABARA, JOSEPH BEN MEIR
IBN ZABARRA, JUDAH
IBN ZAKBEL, SOLOMON
IMMANUEL (ben Solomon) OF ROME

ISAAC
ISAAC BEN ABRAHAM HA-GORNI
ISAAC BEN HAYYIM BEN ABRAHAM
ISAAC BEN JUDAH
ISAAC BEN JUDAH HA-SENIRI
ISSACHAR, SIMHAH
JACOB BEN ELEAZAR
JACOB BEN JUDAH
JACOB BEN NAPHTALI
JACOB HA-KATAN
JOAB THE GREEK (Ha-Yevani)
JOHANAN BEN JOSHUA HA-KOHEN
JOSEPH BAR NISSAN
JOSEPH BEN ASHER OF CHARTRES
JOSEPH BEN ISRAEL
JOSEPH BEN JACOB
JOSEPH BEN KALONYMUS HA-NAKDAN I
JOSEPH BEN SHESHET IBN LATIMI
JOSEPH BEN SOLOMON OF CARCASSONNE
JOSEPH BEN TANHUM YERUSHALMI
JOSEPH BEN UZZIEL
JOSHUA
JOSHUA BEN ELIJAH HA-LEVI
JOSIPHIAH THE PROSELYTE
JUDAH BEN ISAAC IBN SHABBETAI
JUDAH BEN MENAHEM OF ROME
JUDAH HALEVI
JUDAH HA-LEVI BEI-RABBI HILLEL
KALAI, JOSEPH BEN JACOB
KALLIR, ELEAZAR
KALONYMUS BEN KALONYMUS
LEONTE (Judah) BEN MOSES
MATTATHIAS
MEIR BEN ELIJAH OF NORWICH
MEIR BEN SAMUEL OF SHCHEBRESHIN
MERECINA OF GERONA
MEVORAKH HA-BAVLI
MOSES BEN JOAB
MOSES NATHAN
OHEV BEN MEIR HA-NASI
PHINEHAS BEN JACOB HA-KOHEN (Kafra)
PHINEHAS BEN JOSEPH HA -LEVI
ROSSENA, DANIEL BEN SAMUEL OF
SAADIAH
SAHULA, ISAAC BEN SOLOMON ABI
SAMUEL HA-SHELISHI BEN HOSHANA
SANTOB DE CARRION
SHABAZI, SHALEM
SHE'ERIT HA-HAZZAN
SILANO
SIMEON BEN MEGAS HA-KOHEN
SOLOMON BEN JUDAH HA-BAVLI
SOLOMON SULIMAN BEN AMAR
SOMMO, JUDAH LEONE BEN ISAAC
YANNAI
YEHUDI BEN SHESHET
YOM TOV OF JOIGNY
YOSE BEN YOSE
ZARKO (Zarka), JOSEPH BEN JUDAH
ZEBIDAH

2. MODERN

Main Surveys

HEBREW LITERATURE, MODERN

General Entries

ALLEGORY
BIKKUREI HA-ITTIM
DAVID
HA-ASIF
HA-TEKUFAH
JERUSALEM
KIRJATH SEPHER
LETTERS AND LETTER-WRITERS
MOZNAYIM
PARODY, HEBREW

Biographies

ADELMAN, URI
AESCOLY, AARON ZEEV
AGMON, NATHAN
AGNON, SHMUEL YOSEF
AHAD HA-AM
AKAVYA, AVRAHAM ARYEH LEIB
ALFES, BENZION
ALMANZI, JOSEPH
ALMOG, RUTH
ALONI, NISSIM
ALTERMAN, NATHAN
AMICHAI, YEHUDA
AMIR, AHARON
AMIR, ANDA
AMIR, ELI
ANOKHI, ZALMAN YIZHAK
APPELFELD, AHARON
ARICHA, YOSEF
ASHER, ISAIAH BEN MOSES HA-LEVI
ASHMAN, AHARON
AVIDAN, DAVID
AVIGUR-ROTEM, GABRIELA
AVINOAM, REUVEN
AVI-SHAUL, MORDEKHAI
BACHER, SIMON
BADER, GERSHOM (Gustav)
BALLAS, SHIMON
BARASH, ASHER
BARON, DEVORAH
BARTOV, HANOCH
BAR-YOSEF, YEHOSHUA
BASSAN, ABRAHAM HEZEKIAH BEN JACOB
BAT-MIRIAM, YOKHEVED
BAVLI, HILLEL
BE'ER, HAIM
BEHAK, JUDAH
BEILIN, ASHER
BEILINSON, MOSES ELIEZER
BEILINSON, MOSHE
BEJERANO, MAYA
BEN YEHUDA, NETIVA
BEN YIZHAK, AVRAHAM
BEN-AMITAI, LEVI

III. JEWISH LANGUAGES & LITERATURE

C. HEBREW LITERATURE

2. Modern

Biographies (*continued*)

BEN-AMOTZ, DAHN
BENJACOB, ISAAC
BEN-NER, YITZHAK
BEN-YEHEZKIEL, MORDEKHAI
BEN-YEHUDA, HEMDAH
BEN-ZION, S.
BERDYCZEWSKI, MICHA JOSEF
BERGSTEIN, FANIA
BERKOWITZ, YITZHAK DOV
BERNSTEIN, ORI
BERSHADSKY, ISAIAH
BERTINI, K. AHARON
BIALIK, HAYYIM NAHMAN
BICK, JACOB SAMUEL
BIRKENTHAL, DOV BER
BIRSTEIN, YOSSEL
BLANK, SAMUEL LEIB
BLOCH, SAMSON HA-LEVI (Simson)
BOSAK, MEIR
BRAININ, REUBEN
BRANDSTAEDTER, MORDECAI DAVID
BRAUDES, REUBEN ASHER
BRAUNSTEIN, MENAHEM MENDEL
BRENNER, JOSEPH HAYYIM
BRESSELAU, MEYER ISRAEL
BRILL, JOSEPH
BROIDES, ABRAHAM
BROIDO, EPHRAIM
BURLA, YEHUDA
CAHAN, YAAKOV
CARMI, ISAIAH HAI BEN JOSEPH
CARMI, T.
CASTEL-BLOOM, ORLY
CHOMSKY, DOV
CHURGIN, YAAKOV YEHOSHUA
COHEN, ISRAEL
COHEN, SHALOM BEN JACOB
DAGON, BARUKH (Asher David)
DAYAN, YAEL
DOLITZKI, MENAHEM MENDEL
DOR, MOSHE
DRUYANOW, ALTER (Asher, Avraham Abba)
DYKMAN, SHLOMO
EHRENKRANZ, BENJAMIN (Wolf) ZEEB
EICHENBAUM (Gelber), JACOB
ELISHEVA
ELMALEH, ABRAHAM
EPSTEIN, ABRAHAM
EPSTEIN, ZALMAN
ERTER, ISAAC
EVER HADANI
EYTAN, RACHEL
FAHN, REUBEN
FEDER, TOBIAS
FEIERBERG, MORDECAI ZE'EV
FEINSTEIN, MOSES
FEITELSON, MENAHEM MENDEL
FERNHOF, ISAAC
FEYGENBERG, RAKHEL
FICHMAN, JACOB
FISCHMANN, NAHMAN ISAAC
FRAENKEL, FAIWEL
FRANCO-MENDES, DAVID
FRANKEL, NAOMI
FREHA BAT AVRAHAM OF MOROCCO
FRIEDBERG, ABRAHAM SHALOM
FRIEDLAND, ABRAHAM HYMAN (Hayyim)
FRIEDMANN, DAVID ARYEH
FRISCHMANN, DAVID
GALAI, BINYAMIN
GELDMAN, MORDECHAI
GILBOA, AMIR
GILEAD, ZERUBAVEL
GINZBURG, SIMON
GNESSIN, URI NISSAN
GOLDBERG, LEA
GOLDENBERG, SAMUEL LEIB
GOLDIN, EZRA
GORDON, JUDAH LEIB
GORDON, SAMUEL LEIB
GOREN, NATAN
GOTTLIEB, JACOB
GOTTLOBER, ABRAHAM BAER
GOURI, HAIM
GREENBERG, URI ZEVI
GROSSMAN, DAVID
GUENZBURG, MORDECAI AARON
GUR, BATYA
GURFEIN, RIVKA
HABAS, BRACHA
HACOHEN, MORDECAI BEN HILLEL
HA-EFRATI, JOSEPH
HAEZRAHI, YEHUDA
HALKIN, SIMON
HAMEIRI, AVIGDOR
HAMENAHEM, EZRA
HAMON, AARON BEN ISAAC
HAREVEN, SHULAMIT
HAZAZ, HAYYIM
HENDEL, YEHUDIT
HILLELS, SHELOMO
HOFFMANN, YOEL
HOGA, STANISLAV
HOROWITZ, YAAKOV
HOURVITZ, YA'IR
HURWITZ, SAUL ISRAEL
IMBER, NAPHTALI HERZ
JAFFE, ABRAHAM B.
KABAK, AARON ABRAHAM
KADARI, SHRAGA
KAHANA-CARMON, AMALIA
KAMINER, ISAAC
KAMSON, YAAKOV (Jacob) DAVID
KANIUK, YORAM
KAPLAN, PESAH

KARIV, AVRAHAM YIZHAK
KARNI, YEHUDA
KARU, BARUCH
KATZ (Benshalom), BENZION
KATZENELSON, BARUCH
KATZENELSON, ITZHAK
KATZIR, JEHUDIT
KENAANI, DAVID
KENAN, AMOS
KENAZ, YEHOSHUA
KERET, ETGAR
KESHET, YESHURUN
KIMHI, DOV
KINDERFREUND, ARYEH LEIB
KIPNIS, LEVIN
KISHON, EPHRAIM
KLAUSNER, JOSEPH GEDALIAH
KOHEN-ZEDEK, JOSEPH
KOVNER, ABBA
KOVNER, ABRAHAM URI
KURZWEIL, BARUCH
K. ZETNIK
LACHOWER, YERUHAM FISHEL
LAMDAN, YIZHAK
LANDAU, JUDAH LOEB (Leo)
LAOR, YITZHAK
LAPID, SHULAMIT
LEBENSOHN, ABRAHAM DOV
LEBENSOHN, MICAH JOSEPH
LEIBL, DANIEL
LENSKI, HAYYIM
LETTERIS, MEIR (Max)
LEVI, JOSHUA JOSEPH BEN DAVID
LEVIN, ALTER ISAAC
LEVIN, HANOCH
LEVIN, JUDAH LEIB
LEVNER, ISRAEL BENJAMIN
LEVONTIN, JEHIEL JOSEPH
LEWINSKY, ELHANAN LEIB
LICHTENBAUM, JOSEPH
LIEBRECHT, SAVYON
LIPSON, MORDEKHAI
LISITZKY, EPHRAIM E.
LUBOSHITZKI, AARON
LUIDOR, JOSEPH
MANDELKERN, SOLOMON
MANNE, MORDECAI ZEVI
MAPU, ABRAHAM
MARKSON, AARON DAVID
MATALON, RONIT
MEGGED, AHARON
MEITUS, ELIAHU
MELTZER, SHIMSHON
MENDELSOHN, FRANKFURT MOSES
MEZAH (SEGAL) JOSHUA HA-LEVI
MICHAEL, SAMI
MICHALI, BINYAMIN YIZHAK
MIRON, DAN
MIRSKY, AARON
MISHOL, AGI
MOHR, MEIR
MORPURGO, RACHEL
MOSSINSOHN, YIGAL
NATHANSON, BERNHARD (Dov Baer)
OFEK, URIEL
OMER, HILLEL
OREN, RAM
OREN, YIZHAK
ORLAND, YAAKOV
ORLEV, URI
ORPAZ AVERBUCH, YIZHAK
OVSAY, JOSHUA
OZ, AMOS
PAGIS, DAN
PAPERNA, ABRAHAM JACOB
PAPPENHEIM, SOLOMON
PATAI, JOZSEF
PENN, ALEXANDER
PENUELI, SHEMUEL YESHAYAHU
PERL, JOSEPH
PERSKI, JOEL DOV BAER
PINCAS, ISRAEL
POMERANTZ, BERL
POZNANSKY, MENAHEM
PREIL, GABRIEL JOSHUA
RAAB, ESTHER
RABINOVITZ, ALEXANDER SISKIND
RABINOWITZ, ELIAHU WOLF
RABINOWITZ, YAAKOV
RABINOWITZ, ZINA
RAHEL
RALL, YISRAEL
RATOSH, YONATHAN
RAVIKOVITCH, DALIA
REGELSON, ABRAHAM
REICH, ASHER
REUVENI, AHARON
RIBALOW, MENACHEM
RIMON, JACOB
RIMON, JOSEPH ZEVI
RODIN, ELISHA
ROKEAH, DAVID
ROMANELLI, SAMUEL AARON
ROSEN, ABRAHAM
ROSENFELD, AHARON
ROSENZWEIG, GERSON
RUEBNER, TUVIA
SACKLER, HARRY
SADAN, DOV
SADEH, PINHAS
SALKINSON, ISAAC EDWARD (Eliezer)
SCHAPIRA, NOAH
SCHATZ, ZEVI
SCHORR, NAPHTALI MENDEL
SCHUR, ZEV WOLF (William)
SCHWARTZ, ABRAHAM SAMUEL
SENED, ALEXANDER
SERI, DAN BENAYA
SHAANAN, AVRAHAM
SHABTAI, AHARON

III. JEWISH LANGUAGES & LITERATURE

C. HEBREW LITERATURE

2. Modern

BIOGRAPHIES (*continued*)

SHABTAI, YAAKOV
SHAHAM, NATHAN
SHAHAR, DAVID
SHAKED, GERSHON
SHAKESPEARE, WILLIAM
SHALEV, MEIR
SHALEV, YITZHAK
SHALEV, ZERUYA
SHALKOVICH, ABRAHAM LEIB
SHALOM, SHIN
SHAMI, YITZHAK
SHAMIR, MOSHE
SHAPIRA, HAYYIM NACHMAN
SHAPIRO, ABBA CONSTANTIN
SHENHAR, YITZHAK
SHIMONI (Shimonovitz), DAVID
SHIMONI, YOUVAL
SHLONSKY, ABRAHAM
SHNEOUR (Shneur), ZALMAN
SHOFMAN, GERSHON
SHOHAM, MATTITYAHU MOSHE
SILBERBUSCH, DAVID ISAIAH
SILBERSCHLAG, EISIG
SILKINER, BENJAMIN NAHUM
SILMAN, KADISH YEHUDA LEIB
SIVAN, ARYE
SMILANSKY, MEIR
SMILANSKY, MOSHE
SMOLENSKIN, PEREZ
SMOLI, ELIEZER (Smoler)
SOBEL, JACOB ZEVI
SOBOL, YEHOSHUA
SOKOLOW, NAHUM
SOLODAR, ABRAHAM
SOMECK, RONNY
STAVI (Stawsky), MOSES
STEINBERG, JACOB
STEINBERG, JUDAH
STEINMAN, ELIEZER
STERN, MAX EMANUEL (Mendel)
STERN, NOAH
STRAUSS, ARYEH LUDWIG
STREIT, SHALOM
STRELISKER, MARCUS
SUSSMAN, EZRA
SUWALSKI, ISAAK
SVERDLIK, ODED
TABIB, MORDEKHAI
TALPIR, GABRIEL JOSEPH
TAMMUZ, BENJAMIN
TAWIOW, ISRAEL HAYYIM
TCHERNICHOWSKY, SAUL
TCHERNOWITZ-AVIDAR, YEMIMAH
TEMKIN
TENE, BENJAMIN
TEVET, SHABBETAI
TIDHAR, DAVID
TOCHNER, MESHULLAM
TRIWOSCH, JOSEPH ELIJAH
TSALKA, DAN
TWERSKY, YOHANAN
UKHMANI, AZRIEL
UNGERFELD, MOSHE
VOGEL, DAVID
WALLACH, YONA
WALLENROD, REUBEN
WEINBERG, ZEVI ZEBULUN
WEISSBERG, ISAAC JACOB
WEISSBERG, MEIR (Max)
WEISSMAN, BARUCH MORDECAI
WEITZ, JOSEPH
WERBEL, ELIAHU MORDECAI
WERSES, SAMUEL
WESSELY, NAPHTALI HERZ
WIESELTHIER, MEIR
WOLFOWSKI, MENAHEM ZALMAN
WOYSLAWSKI, ZEVI
YAARI, YEHUDAH
YALAN-STEKELIS, MIRIAM
YEHOSHUA, AVRAHAM B.
YEIVIN, YEHOSHUA HESCHEL
YERUSHALMI, RINA
YESHURUN, AVOT
YIZHAR, S.
YONATHAN, NATHAN
YZRAELY, YOSSI
ZACH, NATHAN
ZAMOSC, DAVID
ZARCHI, ISRAEL
ZEITLIN, AARON
ZELDA (MISHKOVSKY)
ZEMACH, SHLOMO
ZHERNENSKY, MOSHE ELIYAHU
ZITRON, SAMUEL LEIB
ZMORA, YISRAEL

D. YIDDISH LITERATURE

MAIN SURVEYS
YIDDISH LITERATURE

GENERAL ENTRIES
BIOGRAPHIES AND AUTOBIOGRAPHIES
BOBE-MAYSE
BOVE-BUKH
BRIYO VE ZIMRO
CAMBRIDGE CODEX
CANADIAN LITERATURE (YIDDISH)
CHILDREN'S LITERATURE
CZERNOWITZ YIDDISH LANGUAGE CONFERENCE
GOLDENE KEYT, DI
IN-ZIKH
KHALYASTRE
KI-BUKH
KOL MEVASSER

KULTUR-LIGE
MAYSE-BUKH
MELOKHIM BUKH
PARIZ UN VIENE
SHMUEL BUKH
SOVETISH HEYMLAND
SWEATSHOP POETRY
THEATER
TOPLPUNKT
TSUKUNFT
VIDVILT
YIDDISH THEATER, FOLKSBIENE
YIDISHE SHTIME
YIDISHER KEMFER
YIDISHES TAGEBLAT
YIVO INSTITUTE FOR JEWISH RESEARCH
YUNGE, DI
YUNGMAN, MOSHE
YUNG VILNE
ZE'ENAH U-RE'ENAH

Biographies
AARON BEN SAMUEL
ABRAMOVITSH, SHOLEM YANKEV (Mendele Mokher Seforim)
ABTSHUK, AVRAHAM
ADLER, JACOB
ALPERSOHN, MARCOS
ALTMAN, MOISHE
ALTSCHUL, MOSES BEN HANOKH
ANSHEL OF CRACOW
AN-SKI, S.
ASCH, SHOLEM
ASHENDORF, ISRAEL
AUERBACH, EPHRAIM
AUERBAKH, ROKHL
AUSLAENDER, NAHUM
AXELROD, SELIK
AXENFELD, ISRAEL
AYALTI, HANAN J.
BAAL-MAKHSHOVES
BASMAN BEN-HAYIM, RIVKE
BASS, HYMAN B.
BASSIN, MOSES
BEIDER, CHAIM
BERGELSON, DAVID
BERGER, LILY
BERGNER, HERZ
BERINSKI, LEV
BERKOWITZ, YITZHAK DOV
BERLINER, ISAAC
BERNSTEIN, IGNATZ
BIALOSTOTZKY, BENJAMIN JACOB
BICKEL, SOLOMON
BICKELS-SPITZER, ZVI
BILETZKI, ISRAEL HAYYIM
BIMKO, FISHEL
BIRNBAUM, SOLOMON ASHER
BIRSTEIN, YOSSEL
BLUM, ELIEZER
BOMZE, NAHUM
BORAISHA, MENAHEM
BOTOSHANSKY, JACOB
BOVSHOVER, JOSEPH
BRAININ, REUBEN
BRESCH (Bres), JUDAH LOEB (Leo) BEN MOSES NAPHTALI
BRODER, BERL
BRODERZON, MOYSHE
BRYKS, RACHMIL
BUBLICK, GEDALIAH
BUCHWALD, NATHANIEL
BURSZTYN, MICHAL
CAHAN, JUDAH LOEB (Lewis)
CALOF, RACHEL
CHAGALL, BELLA ROSENFELD
CHARNEY, DANIEL
CHMELNITZKI, MELECH
CORALNIK, ABRAHAM
DANIEL, M.
DEMBLIN, BENJAMIN
DER NISTER
DIK, ISAAC MEIR
DILLON, ABRAHAM MOSES
DINESON, JACOB
DLUZHNOWSKY, MOSHE
DOBRUSHIN, YEKHEZKEL
DOLITZKI, MENAHEM MENDEL
DROPKIN, CELIA
DYMOV, OSSIP
EDELSTADT, DAVID
EHRENKRANZ, BENJAMIN (Wolf) ZEEB
EINHORN, DAVID
ELBERG, YEHUDA
EMIOT, ISRAEL
ENTIN, JOEL
EPSTEIN, MELECH
ERIK, MAX
ESSELIN, ALTER
ESTRAIKH, GENNADY
ETTINGER, SOLOMON
FALKOWITSCH, JOEL BAERISCH
FEFER, ITZIK
FEIGENBAUM, BENJAMIN
FEINBERG, LEON
FELZENBAUM, MICHAEL
FEYGENBERG, RAKHEL
FININBERG, EZRA
FOX, CHAIM-LEIB
FRAM, DAVID
FRIEDMAN, JACOB
FUCHS, ABRAHAM MOSHE
FUKS, LAJB
FURMAN, YISROEL
GEBIRTIG, MORDECAI
GILBERT, SHLOMO
GINZBURG, ISER
GISER, MOSHE DAVID
GLANTZ, JACOBO
GLANZ-LEYELES, AARON

III. JEWISH LANGUAGES & LITERATURE

D. YIDDISH LITERATURE

Biographies (*continued*)

GLASMAN, BARUCH
GLATSTEIN, JACOB
GLICK, HIRSH
GLUECKEL OF HAMELN
GODINER, SAMUEL NISSAN
GOLDBERG, ABRAHAM
GOLDBERG, BEN ZION
GOLDFADEN, ABRAHAM
GOLDHAR, PINCHAS
GOLDIN, EZRA
GOLOMB, ABRAHAM
GORDIN, ABBA
GORDIN, JACOB
GORDON, MIKHL
GORDON, SHMUEL
GORELIK, SHEMARYA
GORIN, BERNARD
GORSHMAN, SHIRA
GOTTESFELD, CHONE
GOTTLIEB, JACOB
GOTTLOBER, ABRAHAM BAER
GRADE, CHAIM
GREENBERG, ELIEZER
GREENBLATT, ALIZA
GROPER, JACOB
GROSS, NAPHTALI
GROSS-ZIMMERMANN, MOSHE
GRYNBERG, BERL
GURSHTEIN, AARON
GUTMAN, CHAIM
HAIMOWITZ, MORRIS JONAH
HALKIN, SHMUEL
HALPERN, MOYSHE-LEYB
HARENDORF, SAMUEL JACOB
HARKAVY, ALEXANDER
HARSHAV, BENJAMIN
HEILPERIN, FALK
HELLER, BUNIM
HERMAN, DAVID
HERSHELE
HIRSCHBEIN, PERETZ
HIRSCHKAHN, ZEVI
HOFFER, YEHIEL
HOFSTEIN, DAVID
HORONTCHIK, SIMON
HOROWITZ, BER
HURWITZ, CHAIM (Haykl)
ICELAND, REUBEN
IGNATOFF, DAVID
IMBER, SAMUEL JACOB
ISAAC BEN ELIAKIM OF POSEN
IZBAN, SHMUEL
JANOVSKY, SAUL JOSEPH
JOFFE, JUDAH ACHILLES
JUSTMAN, MOSHE BUNEM
KACYZNE, ALTER
KACZERGINSKY, SZMERKE
KAGANOWSKI, EFRAIM
KAHAN, SALOMON
KALMANOVITCH, ZELIG
KAPLAN, PESAH
KARPINOVITSH, AVROM
KASSEL, DAVID
KATZ, ALEPH
KATZ, DOVID
KATZ, MENKE
KATZ, MOSES
KATZENELENBOGEN, URIAH
KATZENELSON, BARUCH
KATZENELSON, ITZHAK
KAZDAN, HAYYIM SOLOMON
KERLER, DOV-BER
KERLER, YOYSEF
KHARIK, IZI (Itzhak)
KIPNIS, ITZIK
KOBRIN, LEON
KOENIG, LEO
KOENIGSBERG, DAVID
KORN, RACHEL HARING
KOTIK, YEKHESKL
KRANTZ, PHILIP
KULBAK, MOYSHE
KURTZ, AARON
KUSHNIROV, AARON
KVITKO, LEIB
LANDAU, ALFRED
LANDAU, ZISHE
LAPIN, BERL
LATTEINER, JOSEPH
LEE, MALKE
LEHRER, LEIBUSH
LEIBL, DANIEL
LEIVICK, H.
LERER, YEHIEL
LEV, ABRAHAM
LIBIN, Z.
LICHT, MICHAEL
LIEBERMAN, CHAIM
LIESSIN, ABRAHAM
LINETZKY, ISAAC JOEL
LITVAKOV, MOSES
LITVIN, A.
LITVINE, M.
LOCKER, MALKE
LUDWIG, REUBEN
LURIA, NOAH
LUTZKY, A.
MAGIDOV, JACOB
MALACH, LEIB
MANGER, ITZIK
MANI-LEIB (Brahinsky)
MANN, MENDEL
MARGOLIN, ANNA
MARINOFF, JACOB
MARKISH, PERETZ
MARMOR, KALMAN

MASTBAUM, JOEL
MAYZEL, NACHMAN
MAZE, IDA
MEDRES, ISRAEL
MENDELSOHN, SHELOMO
MENDELSON, JOSE
MESTEL, JACOB
MILLER, SHAYE
MINKOFF, NAHUM BARUCH
MIRANSKY, PERETZ
MOLODOWSKY, KADIA
MUKDONI, A.
MYER, MORRIS
NADIR, MOYSHE
NAIDUS, LEIB
NEUGROESCHEL, MENDEL
NEUMANN, YEHESKEL MOSHE
NIGER, SHMUEL
NISSENSON, AARON
NOMBERG, HERSH DAVID
OLEVSKI, BUZI
OLITZKY
OPATOSHU, JOSEPH (Joseph Meyer Opatovsky)
ORLAND, HERSHL
ORNSTEIN, LEO
OSHEROWITCH, MENDL
OYVED, MOYSHE
PAPIERNIKOV, JOSEPH
PERETZ, ISAAC LEIB
PERLE, JOSHUA
PERLOV, YITSKHOK
PERSOV, SHMUEL
PINSKI, DAVID
PREGER, JACOB
RABINOVICH, JOSE
RABON, ISRAEL
RABOY, ISAAC
RASHKIN, LEYB
RAVITCH, MELECH
RAZUMNI, MARK
REBECCA BAT MEIR TIKTINER
REISEN, ABRAHAM
REJZEN, ZALMAN
RESSLER, BENJAMIN
REZNIK, LIPE
RIVKIN, BORUCH
ROCHMAN, LEIB
ROGOFF, HARRY (Hillel)
ROLNICK, JOSEPH
ROSENBLATT, H.
ROSENFARB, CHAVA
ROSENFELD, JONAH
ROSENFELD, MORRIS
ROSSIN, SAMUEL
RUBIN, HADASSAH
RUBINSTEIN, JOSEPH
SALKIND, JACOB MEIR
SANDLER, BORIS
SAPHIRE, SAUL
SCHAECHTER-GOTTESMAN, BEYLE
SCHNAPPER, BER
SCHWARTZ, ISRAEL JACOB
SCHWARZBARD, SHOLEM (Samuel)
SCHWARZMAN, ASHER
SEGAL, ESTHER
SEGAL, JACOB ISAAC
SEGALOWITCH, ZUSMAN
SELIKOVITCH, GEORGE (Getzel)
SFARD, DAVID
SHAKESPEARE, WILLIAM
SHALOM ALEICHEM
SHAMRI, ARIE
SHAPIRO, LAMED
SHAYEVITSH, SIMKHA-BUNEM
SHEKHTMAN, ELYE
SHMERUK, CHONE
SHOMER
SHPIGLBLAT, ALEKSANDER
SHRAYBMAN, YEKHIEL
SHTERN, ISRAEL
SHTIF, NOKHEM
SHULNER, DORA
SHUMIATCHER-HIRSCHBEIN, ESTHER
SIEMIATYCKI, CHAIM
SIMON, SHLOME
SINGER, ISAAC BASHEVIS
SINGER, ISRAEL JOSHUA
SPECTOR, MORDECAI
SPIEGEL, ISAIAH
SPIVAK, ELYE
STEIMAN, BEYNUSH
STEINBARG, ELIEZER
STENCL, ABRAHAM NAHUM
STERNBERG, JACOB
STRIGLER, MORDECAI
SUTZKEVER, ABRAHAM
TABACHNIK, ABRAHAM BER
TASHRAK
TEIF, MOSHE
TEITSH, MOYSHE
TENENBAUM, JOSHUA
TEPPER, KOLYA
TKATCH, MEIR ZIML
TOLUSH
TRUNK, YEHIEL YESHAIA
TSANIN (YESHAYE), MORDKHE
TUNKEL, JOSEPH
TUSSMAN, MALKA
ULIANOVER, MIRIAM
VEINGER, MORDECAI
VERGELIS, AARON
VINCHEVSKY, MORRIS
WALDMAN, MOSHE
WARSHAVSKY, YAKIR
WARSHAWSKI, MARK
WARSZAWSKI, OSER
WEINPER (Weinperlech), ZISHE
WEINREICH, MAX
WEINSTEIN, BERISH
WEISSENBERG, ISAAC MEIR

III. JEWISH LANGUAGES & LITERATURE

D. YIDDISH LITERATURE

Biographies (*continued*)

WEITER, A.
WELNER, PINCHES
WENDROFF, ZALMAN
WIENER, LEO
WIENER, MEIR
WISEMAN, SHLOIME
WISSE, RUTH
WOLF, LEIZER
WOLPE, DAVID E.
WOOG, MAYER
YAKNEHAZ
YEHOASH
YOFFE, MORDECAI
YUD, NAHUM
YUDIKA
ZABARA, NATAN
ZARETZKI, ISAAC
ZINBERG, ISRAEL (Sergei)
ZUNSER, ELIAKUM
ZYCHLINSKA, RAJZEL
ZYLBERCWEIG, ZALMAN

IV. JEWS IN WORLD CULTURE

A. ART

Main Surveys

ARCHITECTURE AND ARCHITECTS
ART
CARTOONISTS
PHOTOGRAPHY
SCULPTURE

General Entries

AGGADAH
AN-SKI COLLECTIONS
ANTHROPOMORPHISM
ART COLLECTORS AND ART DEALERS
ART HISTORIANS AND ART CRITICS
BEZALEL
BOOKPLATES
BOOKS
CALLIGRAPHY, MODERN HEBREW
CALLIGRAPHY AND WRITING MASTERS
CARICATURES
GLASS
GOLDSMITHS AND SILVERSMITHS
LION
MEDALISTS
MEDALS
PARIS SCHOOL OF ART
PORTRAITS OF JEWS
PRINTERS MARKS
STAMPS
TYPOGRAPHERS
TYPOGRAPHY

Bible and Second Temple in Art

ABRAHAM
ABSALOM
ADAM
AKEDAH
ATHALIAH
BABEL, TOWER OF
BALAAM
BELSHAZZAR
BIBLE
CAIN
CHERUB
COSTA, URIEL DA
DANIEL
DAVID
DEBORAH
ELIJAH
ESTHER
EZEKIEL
GIDEON
HABAKKUK
HASMONEANS
HEROD I
HEZEKIAH
ISAAC
ISAIAH
JACOB
JEPHTHAH
JEREMIAH
JERUSALEM
JOB, BOOK OF
JOEL
JONAH, BOOK OF
JOSEPH
JOSEPHUS FLAVIUS
JOSHUA
JUDAH MACCABEE
JUDITH, BOOK OF
MOSES
NEBUCHADNEZZAR
NOAH
PSALMS, BOOK OF
RACHEL
RUTH, BOOK OF
SALOME
SAMSON
SAMUEL
SAUL
SCROLL OF ESTHER
SOLOMON
SONG OF SONGS
SUSANNA AND THE ELDERS
TEMPLE
TITUS FLAVIUS VESPASIANUS
TOBIT, BOOK OF

Ritual Art

AMULET
AMULETS, SAMARITAN
ARK

BASILICA
CEREMONIAL OBJECTS
HANUKKAH LAMP
ICONOGRAPHY
ILLUMINATED MANUSCRIPTS, HEBREW
MENORAH
NEW YEAR'S CARDS
PAPER-CUTS
PAROKHET AND KAPPORET
PASSSOVER
PEWTER PLATES
PORTAL
SABBATH
SYNAGOGUE
TAGIN
TOMBS AND TOMBSTONES
TORAH ORNAMENTS

1. ARCHITECTURE

Biographies

ABRAMOVITZ, MAX
ADLER, DANKMAR
AGREST, DIANA
ALDROPHE, ALFRED-PHILIBERT
ALSCHULER, ALFRED
BAERWALD, ALEX
BAUMGARTEN, SANDOR
BAUMHORN, LIPOT
BLACK, SIR MISHA
BLANKSTEIN, CECIL N.
BOHM, HENRIK
BREUER, MARCEL (Lajos)
BRUNNER, ARNOLD
BRYER, MONTE
BUNSHAFT, GORDON
DAVIS, HENRY DAVID
DE KLERK, MICHEL
DIAMOND, JACK
EIDLITZ (Abraham Moses), ZERAH BEN MEIR
EISENMAN, PETER D.
EIZENBERG, JULIE
ELHANANI, ABA
ELHANANI, ARYEH
ELTE, HARRY
FEUERSTEIN, BEDRICH
FRANK, JOSEF
FREED, JAMES INGO
FREUND, VILMOS
GAD, DEVORAH
GANDELSONAS, MARIO
GEHRY, FRANK O.
GOERITZ, MATHIAS
GOLDBERG, BERTRAND
GOODMAN, PERCIVAL
GORLIN, ALEXANDER
GRUMBACH, ANTOINE
HAJOS, ALFRED
HANSON, NORMAN LEONARD
HEGEDUS, ARMIN
HERMER, MANFRED
IDELSON, BENJAMIN
JACOBSEN, ARNE EMIL
JAKAB, DEZSO
KAHN, ALBERT
KAHN, ELY JACQUES
KAHN, LOUIS I.
KANTOROWICH, ROY
KARMI, DOV
KAUFMANN, OSKAR
KAUFMANN, RICHARD
KIESLER, FREDERICK JOHN
KLARWEIN, JOSEPH
KRAKAUER, LEOPOLD
LAJTA, BELA
LAMBERT, PHYLLIS
LAPIDUS, MORRIS
LASDUN, DENYS
LE ROITH, HAROLD HIRSCH
LERNER, JAIME
LEVI, RINO
LIBESKIND, DANIEL
MALNAI, BELA
MANDL, SAADIA
MANSFELD, ALFRED
MEIER, RICHARD
MENDELSOHN, ERIC
MESSEL, ALFRED
MEYER-LEVY, CLAUDE
MINDLIN, HENRIQUE
NEUTRA, RICHARD JOSEPH
PERSITZ, ALEXANDRE
POLSHEK, JAMES
PONTREMOLI, EMMANUEL
QITNER, ZSIGMUND
RATNER, YOHANAN
RAU, HEINZ
RECHTER
REZNIK, DAVID
ROGERS, ERNESTO
ROSENBERG, EUGENE
SAFDIE, MOSHE
SAITOWITZ, STANLEY
SCHINDLER, RUDOLPH M.
SCHUMACHER, GOTTLIEB
SCHWARTZ, FREDERIC
SHARON, ARYEH
STERN, ROBERT A.M.
STRNAD, OSKAR
TIGERMAN, STANLEY
VAGO, JOZSEF
VAGO, LASZLO
YASKI, AVRAHAM
ZELENKA, FRANTISEK
ZEVI, BRUNO

2. CARTOONING

Biographies

BLOCK, HERBERT LAWRENCE ("Herblock")
CAPP, AL
CHAST, ROZ

IV. JEWS IN THE WORLD

A. ART

2. Cartooning

Biographies (*continued*)

CRUMB, ROBERT
CSUPO, GABOR (and Irene Klasky)
EISNER, WILL
ELDER, WILL
ELISOFON, ELIOT
FEIFFER, JULES
FLEISCHER, MAX
FRELENG, I. J.
GARDOSH, KARIEL (Charles; "Dosh")
GODAL, ERIC
GOLDBERG, RUBE
GOLDWATER, JOHN
GROPPER, WILLIAM
HIRSCHFELD, AL
KANE, BOB
KANE, GIL
KELEN, IMRE
KIRBY, JACK (Kurtzberg)
KURTZMAN, HARVEY
LANGDON, DAVID
LAZARUS, MEL
LEE, STAN
OPPER, FREDERICK BURR
SHUSTER, JOE
SIEGEL, JERRY
SPIEGELMAN, ART
STEIG, WILLIAM, SHREK
STEINBERG, SAUL
TIM
TRIER, WALTER
WEISZ, VICTOR ("Vicky")
ZEC, PHILIP

3. PAINTING

Biographies

ABERDAM, ALFRED
ABRAHAMS, IVOR
ABSALON
ADLER, JANKEL (Jacob)
ADLER, JULES
ADLER, MORITZ
ADLER, SAMUEL M.
ADLIVANKIN, SAMUIL
AGAM, YAACOV
AIZENBERG, NINA
ALCONIERE, THEODORE
ALECHINSKY, PIERRE
ALTMAN, NATHAN
ALVA, SIEGFRIED
AMSHEWITZ, JOHN HENRY
ANCONA, VITO D'
ANISFELD, BORIS
APPELBAUM, MOSHE
ARDON, MORDECAI
ARIKHA, AVIGDOR
AROCH, ARIE
ARONSON, DAVID
ASCHHEIM, ISIDOR
ASKNAZI, ISAAC LVOVICH
ATAR, HAIM
ATLAN, JEAN
AUERBACH, FRANK
AVNI, AHARON
AXELROD, MEYER
BACHI, RAPHAEL
BACON, YEHUDA
BAITLER, ZOMA
BAK, SAMUEL
BAKST, LEON
BALLIN, JOEL
BALLIN, MOEGENS
BARCINSKY, HENRYK
BARLIN, FREDERICK WILLIAM
BARNET, WILL
BARUH, BORA
BAYEFSKY, ABA
BECK, WILLY
BEERI, TUVIA
BELKIN, ARNOLD
BENDEMANN, EDUARD JULIUS FRIEDRICH
BENN
BENN, BEN
BEN-ZION (Weinman)
BERENY, ROBERT
BERGNER, YOSSL (Yosef L.)
BERLEWI, HENRYK
BERNSTEIN, MOSHE
BERNSTEIN, THERESA
BEZEM, NAPHTALI
BIHARI, ALEXANDER
BIRNBAUM, MENACHEM
BIRNBAUM, URIEL
BLAU, TINA
BLOCH, MARTIN
BLOOM, HYMAN
BLUM, LUDWIG
BLUME, PETER
BOGEN, ALEXANDER
BOLOTOWSKY, ILYA
BOMBERG, DAVID
BORENSTEIN, SAM
BORNFRIEND, JACOB
BORNSTEIN, ELI
BRAUNER, ISAAC
BRAUNER, VICTOR
BRAZ, OSIP
BRAZER, ABRAM
BRODSKII, ISAAK
BROWN, AIKA
BRUCK, LAJOS
BRUCK, MIKSA
BUDKO, JOSEPH
CAGLI, CORRADO
CAHN, MARCELLE
CAISERMAN-ROTH, GHITTA

CARO-DELVAILLE, HENRI
CARVALHO, SOLOMON NUNES
CASSAB, JUDY
CASTEL, MOSHE ELAZAR
CASTELLAZZO, MOSES DA
CENTERSZSWER, STANISLAWA
CHAGALL, MARC
CHAPIRO, JACQUES
CHICAGO, JUDY
CITROEN, ROELOF PAUL
COEN, GIUSEPPE
COHEN, BERNARD
COHEN, HAROLD
COHEN GAN, PINHAS
COOPER, ALEXANDER
CORCOS, VITTORIO
COSTA, CATHERINE DA
CZOBEL, BELA
DANIELS, ALFRED
DAVID, JEAN
DE CHAVES, AARON
DELAUNAY-TERK, SONIA
DICKER-BRANDEIS, FREDERIKE
DINE, JIM
DONATI, ENRICO
DONATI, LAZZARO
EILSHEMIUS, LOUIS
ENGELSBERG, LEON
ESTEVENS, DAVID
EZEKIEL, ABRAHAM EZEKIEL
FEIBUSCH, HANS
FEIGL, BEDRICH (Friedrich)
FENYES, ADOLF
FEUERRING, MAXIMILIAN
FIMA
FOX, EMANUEL PHILIPS
FRAENCKEL, LIEPMANN
FRANKENTHALER, HELEN
FREEDMAN, BARNETT
FRENKEL (Frenel), ITZHAK
FREUD, LUCIAN
FREUNDLICH, OTTO
FRIEDLAENDER, JOHNNY
FRITTA
GARBUZ, YAIR
GERSHUNI, MOSHE
GERTLER, MARK
GIKOW, RUTH
GILBERT, INA
GLUCK, HANNAH
GOLUB, LEON
GOTTLIEB, ADOLPH
GOTTLIEB, MAURYCY
GROSS, MICHAEL
GRUNDIG, LEA AND HANS
GRUNDMAN, ZWI
GUSTON, PHILIP
GUTMAN, NAHUM
GUTTMANN, ROBERT
HAAN, MEIJER DE
HAAS, LEO
HALEVY, YOSEF
HALTER, MAREK
HART, SOLOMON ALEXANDER
HAYDEN, HENRI
HENSCHEL BROTHERS
HERDAN, KURT LUCIAN
HERLINGEN, AARON WOLF
HERMAN, JOSEF
HERMAN, OSKAR
HILLMAN, DAVID
HIRSCH, JOSEPH
HIRSCHFELD-MACK, LUDWIG
HIRSHENBERG, SAMUEL
HIRSHFIELD, MORRIS
HOROVITZ, LEOPOLD
IBN HAYYIM, JOSEPH
INLANDER, HENRY
ISER, JOSIF
ISKOWITZ, GERSHON
ISRAELS, JOZEF
IVANYI-GRUNWALD, BELA
JANCO, MARCEL
JUSTER, GEORGE
JUSTITZ, ALFRED
KADISHMAN, MENASHE
KAHAN, LOUIS
KAHANA, AHARON
KANOVITZ, HOWARD
KARAVAN, DANI
KARS, JIRI
KATZ, ALEX
KATZ, HANNS LUDWIG
KAUFMANN, ISIDOR
KEMPF, FRANZ MOSHE
KESTLEMAN, MORRIS
KIBEL, WOLF
KIKOINE, MICHEL
KIRSCHSTEIN, SALLI
KIRSZENBAUM, JESEKIEL DAVID
KISLING, MOISE
KITAJ, R. B.
KLEIN, YVES
KLINE FRANZ
KOLNIK, ARTHUR
KOPF, MAXIM
KOPPEL, HEINZ
KOSSOFF, LEON
KRAMER, JACOB
KRASNER, LEE
KRAYN, HUGO
KRESTIN, LAZAR
KUPFERMAN, MOSHE
KUZKOVSKI, JOSEPH
LASZLO, PHILIP ALEXIUS DE LOMBOS
LAVIE, RAFFI
LEVANON, MORDECAI
LEVINE, JACK
LEVITAN, ISAAC ILITCH
LEVY, RUDOLF

IV. JEWS IN THE WORLD

A. ART

3. Painting

BIOGRAPHIES (*continued*)

LEVY-DHURMER, LUCIEN
LICHTENSTEIN, ROY
LIEBERMANN, MAX
LIFSCHITZ, URI
LISMANN, HERMANN
LISSITZKY, EL (Lazar)
LITVINOVSKY, PINHAS
LOEVENSTEIN, FEDOR
LOUIS, MORRIS
LOZOWICK, LOUIS
MAGNUS, EDUARD
MAIROVICH, ZVI
MANE-KATZ
MANSO, LEO
MARCOUSSIS (Marcous), LOUIS
MARGO, BORIS
MARIL, HERMAN
MARYAN
MAXY, MAX HERMAN
MEIDNER, LUDWIG
MENINSKY, BERNARD
MENKES, ZYGMUNT
MILICH, ADOLPHE
MINTCHINE, ABRAHAM
MODIGLIANI, AMEDEO
MOHOLY-NAGY, LASZLO
MOISE, THEODORE SYDNEY
MOKADY, MOSHE
MONDZAIN, SIMON
MOPP
MOSKOVITZ, SHALOM
MOSLER, HENRY
MUHLSTOCK, LOUIS
MUTER (Mutermilch), MELA
NADELMAN, ELIE
NEIMAN, YEHUDAH
NEWMAN, BARNETT
NICHOLS, JACK
NIERMAN, LEONARDO
NIKEL, LEA
NUSSBAUM, FELIX
NUSSBAUM, JAKOB
OFEK, AVRAHAM
OLITSKI, JULES
OPPENHEIM, MORITZ DANIEL
OPPENHEIMER, JOSEPH
ORLIK, EMIL
OTTA, FRANCISCO
PACHTER, CHARLES
PAILES, ISAAC (Jacques)
PALDI, ISRAEL
PANN, ABEL
PAOVLOTZKY, RAUL
PASCIN, JULES
PASTERNAK, LEONID OSIPOVICH
PEARLSTEIN, PHILIP
PERLMUTTER, IZSAK
PICART, BERNARD
PILICHOWSKI, LEOPOLD
PISSARRO, CAMILLE
PRESSMANE, JOSEPH
PROBST-KRAID, RIZA
RABIN, OSCAR
RABIN, SAM
RAPHAEL, WILLIAM
RASKIN, SAUL
RATTNER, ABRAHAM
RAY, MAN
REDER, BERNARD
REISS, LIONEL
REMBRANDT VAN RIJN
RIVERS, LARRY
ROGERS, CLAUDE MAURICE
ROSE, HERMAN
ROSENBERG, LAZAR
ROSENTHAL, MAX
ROTHENSTEIN, SIR WILLIAM
ROTHKO, MARK
RUBIN, REUVEN
RYBACK, ISSACHAR
SAFDIE, SYLVIA
SALAMAN
SALOMON, CHARLOTTE
SALOMON, GESKEL
SCHAMES, SAMSON
SCHANKER, LOUIS
SCHATZ, BORIS
SCHOR, ILYA
SCHWARTZ, MANFRED
SEBBA, SHALOM
SEGAL, ARTHUR
SEGALL, LAZAR
SELIGMANN, KURT
SEROV, VALENTIN
SHAHN, BEN
SHEMI, MENAHEM
SIMA, MIRON
SIMON, SIDNEY
SOLOMON, SIMEON
SOLOMON, SOLOMON JOSEPH
SOUTINE, CHAIM
SOYER, MOSES
SOYER, RAPHAEL
SPERO, NANCY
SPIRO, EUGEN
STEINER-PRAG, HUGO
STEINHARDT, JAKOB
STEMATSKY, AVIGDOR
STERN, IRMA
STERNE, HEDDA
STERNE, MAURICE
STREICHMAN, YEHEZKIEL
STRUCK, HERMANN
SUTTON, PHILIP
SZALIT-MARCUS, RACHEL

SZOBEL, GEZA
SZYK, ARTHUR
TAGGER, SIONA
TATLIN, VLADIMIR E.
TICHO, ANNA
TIVOLI, SERAFINO DA
TOPOLSKI, FELIKS
TOWNE, CHARLES
TWORKOV, JACK
UHLMAN, FRED
ULLMANN, ERNEST
URY, LESSER
VARLIN (Guggenheim, Willy)
WALKOWITZ, ABRAHAM
WEBER, MAX
WEILL, SHRAGA
WILSON, "SCOTTIE"
WILSON, SOL
WOLF, GUSTAV
WOLLHEIM, GERT
WOLMARK, ALFRED
ZAK, EUGENE
ZARITSKY, YOSSEF
ZHITNITSKI, MARK
ZIEGLER, ARCHIBALD
ZUCKER, JACQUES

4. PHOTOGRAPHY

Biographies

ARBUS, DIANE NEMEROV
ARNOLD, EVE
AVEDON, RICHARD
BAR-AM, MICHA
BING, ILSE
BOURKE-WHITE, MARGARET
BRENNER, FREDERIC
CALLE, SOPHIE
CAPA, CORNELL
CAPA, ROBERT
CARVALHO, SOLOMON NUNES
EISENSTAEDT, ALFRED
ERWITT, ELLIOTT
ETTLINGER, MARION
FRANK, ROBERT
FREUND, GISELE
FRIEDLANDER, LEE
GIDAL, TIM
GOLDIN, NAN
HALSMAN, PHILIPPE
HEARTFIELD, JOHN
IZIS
JACOBI, LOTTE
KAGAN, ELIE
KERTESZ, ANDRE
LEIBOVITZ, ANNIE
LEVITT, HELENE
MARK, MARY ELLEN
MEYEROWITZ, JOEL
NEWMAN, ARNOLD
NEWTON, HELMUT
PENN, IRVING
PLACHY, SYLVIA
RINGL & PIT (STERN, GRETE; ROSENBERG AUERBACH, ELLEN)
RUBIN, GAIL
RUBINGER, DAVID
SALOMON, ERICH
SEYMOUR, DAVID
SISKIND, AARON
STIEGLITZ, ALFRED
STRAND, PAUL
VISHNIAC, ROMAN
WEEGEE
WINOGRAND, GARRY

5. SCULPTURE

Biographies

ANTOKOLSKI, MARK (Mordecai)
ARONSON, NAUM LVOVICH
ASTRUC, ZACHARIE
BAIZERMAN, SAUL
BASKIN, LEONARD
BEER, SAMUEL FRIEDRICH
BEN-ZVI, ZEEV
BERNSTEIN-SINAIEFF, LEOPOLD
BLAZKO, MARTIN
BLOC, ANDRE
BOKROS-BIRMAN, DEZSO (Desiderius)
BOROFSKY, JONATHAN
CARO, SIR ANTHONY
DA COSTA, JOSEPH MENDES
DANZIGER, ITZHAK
DAVIDSON, JO
EHRLICH, GEORG
ELKAN, BENNO
ENGEL, JOZSEF
EPSTEIN, SIR JACOB
ETROG, SOREL
EZEKIEL, MOSES JACOB
FEIGIN, DOV
FERBER, HERBERT
FREIFELD, ABRAHAM
FRENKEL, VERA
GLICENSTEIN, ENRICO
GLID, NANDOR
GORDON, WILLY
GROSS, CHAIM
GUENZBURG, ILYA YAKOVLEVICH
GUTFREUND, OTTO
HABER, SHAMAI
HANNEMANN, PABLO
HARKAVY, MINNA
ISENSTEIN, KURT HARALD
KOENIG, GHISHA
KOGAN, MOYSE
KORMIS, FRED
KOSICE, GYULA
KOTTLER, MOSES
KREMEGNE, PINCHAS
LASSAW, IBRAM

IV. JEWS IN THE WORLD

A. ART

5. Sculpture

Biographies (*continued*)

LEVINE, LES
LEWITT, SOL
LIPCHITZ, JACQUES (Chaim Jacob)
LIPSHITZ, ISRAEL LIPPY
LIPTON, SEYMOUR
LISHANSKY, BATYA
MARGOULIES, BERTHA
MELNIKOFF, AVRAHAM
MEYEROWITZ, HERBERT VLADIMIR
NEIZVESTNY, ERNST
NEMON, OSCAR
NEVELSON, LOUISE
NOSSIG, ALFRED
ORLOFF, CHANA
PALOMBO, DAVID
PEVSNER, ANTON AND NAUM NEHEMIA (Gabo)
RAPAPORT, NATHAN
ROTHSTEIN, IRMA
SCHOEFFER, NICOLAS
SCHOTTLANDER, BERNARD
SCHOTZ, BENNO
SEGAL, GEORGE
SERRA, RICHARD
SHEMI, YEHIEL
SINGER, YVONNE
STERNSCHUSS, MOSHE
TEVET, NAHUM
TEWI, THEA
TUMARKIN, IGAEL
ULLMAN, MICHA
VOGEL, KAREL
WAGNER, SIEGFRIED
WALD, HERMAN
WERNER, MICHAEL
ZADIKOW, ARNOLD
ZADKINE, OSSIP
ZORACH, WILLIAM
ZVIA

6. OTHER

Biographies

ABRAMSON
ADLER, FRIEDRICH
ARON
BRENNER, VICTOR
COHEN, ELISHEVA
GAMES, ABRAM
GRILICHES, AVENIR
HEINE, THOMAS THEODOR
JESI, SAMUEL
JOEL BEN SIMEON
JOSEPH HA-ZAREFATI
KALMAN, MAIRA
KALMAN, TIBOR
KAPLAN, ANATOLI LVOVICH
KRUGER, BARBARA
LASANSKY, MAURICIO
LE BE, GUILLAUME
LE WITT, JAN
LILIEN, EPHRAIM MOSES
MARIANOS
MERZER, ARIEH
MOREH, MORDECAI
MYERS, MYER
OFIR, ARIE
OSTROWER, FEYGA
PINS, JACOB
RIE, DAME LUCIE
ROTHENSTEIN (WILLIAM), MICHAEL
SIMON, JEAN HENRI
SOLDI (-Colbert), EMILE-ARTHUR
SONNABEND, YOLANDA
SZIGETI, IMRE
TEMPLO, JACOB JUDAH (ARYEH) LEON
TREBITSCH, MOSES LOEB BEN WOLF
VINCZE, PAUL
WIENER
WOLPERT, LUDWIG YEHUDA

Scholars, Critics, Collectors, Dealers

AMISHAI-MAISELS, ZIVA
BARASCH, MOSHE
BARTHOLDY, JACOB
BERENSON, BERNARD
BERSOHN, MATTHIAS
BIHALJI MERIN, OTO
CASSIRER, PAUL
COHN-WIENER, ERNST
DAVIS, SIR EDMUND
DUVEEN
DUVEEN, JOSEPH, LORD
ETTINGHAUSEN, RICHARD
FLECHTHEIM, ALFRED
GAMZU, HAYYIM
GOMBRICH, SIR ERNST
GUTMANN, JOSEPH
HALLO, RUDOLF
HAMMER, ARMAND
HIRSHHORN, JOSEPH HERMAN
IBN HAYYIM, ABRAHAM BEN JUDAH
KAHNWEILER, DANIEL-HENRY
KOLB, LEON
NAMENYI, ERNEST (Erno)
NARKISS, BEZALEL
NARKISS, MORDECHAI
OPPE, ADOLPH
OSBORN, MAX
PANOFSKY, ERWIN
ROSENBERG, HAROLD
SCHAPIRO, MEYER
SPITZER, FREDERICK
TALPIR, GABRIEL JOSEPH
WERTHEIMER, ASHER
WILDENSTEIN
WITTKOWER, RUDOLF J.

B. LITERATURE

1. BULGARIAN LITERATURE

MAIN SURVEYS

BULGARIAN LITERATURE

BIOGRAPHIES

PETROV, VALERY
WAGENSTEIN, ANGEL

2. CZECHOSLOVAK LITERATURE

MAIN SURVEYS

CZECHOSLOVAK LITERATURE

BIOGRAPHIES

ASKENAZY, LUDVIK
BONN, HANUS
BOR, JOSEF
DAGAN, AVIGDOR
DOSTAL, ZENO
EISNER, PAVEL (Paul)
FISCHER, OTOKAR
FRÝD, NORBERT (Nora)
GELLNER, FRANTIŠEK
GOLDFLAM, ARNOST
GOLDSTUECKER, EDUARD
GOTTLIEB, FRANTIŠEK
GROSMAN, LADISLAV
HOFFMANN, CAMILL
HOSTOVSKY, EGON
KAFKA, FRANTIŠEK
KAPPER, SIEGFRIED (Vitezslav)
KLIMA, IVAN
KNIEZA, EMIL
KOHN, SALOMON
KRAUS, FRANTIŠEK R.
KRAUS, IVAN
KRAUS, OTA
LANGER, FRANTIŠEK
LANGER, JIŘÍ MORDECHAI
LAUB, GABRIEL
LEDA, EDUARD
LISTOPAD, FRANTISEK
LUSTIG, ARNOST
OLBRACHT, IVAN
ORNEST, OTA
ORTEN, JIRI
PAVEL, OTA
PICK, JIŘĪ ROBERT
POLACEK, KAREL
RAKOUS, VOJTECH
ROTTOVA, INNA
SALUS, HUGO
SIDON, KAROL EFRAIM
SPITZER, JURAJ
UHDE, MILAN
VOHRYZEK, JOSEF
VRCHLICKÝ, JAROSLAV
WEIL, JIŘĪ
WEINER, RICHARD
ZEYER, JULIUS

3. DUTCH LITERATURE

MAIN SURVEYS

DUTCH LITERATURE

BIOGRAPHIES

BRUGGEN, CARRY VAN
CAMPEN, MICHEL HERMAN VAN
CORREA, ISABEL REBECCA DE
COSTA, ISAAC DA
DE LIMA, JOSEPH SUASSO
HAAN, JACOB ISRAËL DE
HEIJERMANS, HERMAN
HERTZVELD-HIJMANS, ESTELLA
HERZBERG, ABEL JACOB
LOGGEM, MANUEL VAN
MINCO, MARGA
MULISCH, HARRY
PRAAG, SIEGFRIED EMANUEL VAN
QUERIDO, ISRAËL
VAN VRIESLAND, VICTOR EMANUEL
VROMAN, LEO

4. ENGLISH LITERATURE

MAIN SURVEYS

ENGLISH LITERATURE
SOUTH AFRICAN LITERATURE
UNITED STATES LITERATURE

GENERAL ENTRIES

CHILDREN'S LITERATURE

BIOGRAPHIES

AARONSON, LAZARUS LEONARD
ABSE, DANNIE
ADAMS, HANNAH
AGUILAR, GRACE
ALTER, ROBERT B.
ALVAREZ, ALFRED
ANGOFF, CHARLES
ANTIN, MARY
APPLE, MAX
ASIMOV, ISAAC
AUSLANDER, JOSEPH
AUSTER, PAUL
BARON, JOSEPH ALEXANDER
BAUM, VICKI
BEHRMAN, SAMUEL NATHANIEL
BELLOW, SAUL
BERCOVICI, KONRAD
BERCOVITCH, SACVAN
BLAKE, WILLIAM
BLANKFORT, MICHAEL S.
BLOOM, HAROLD
BOAS, FREDERICK SAMUEL
BODENHEIM, MAXWELL
BRINIG, MYRON
BRODY, ALTER
BRONER, ESTHER M.

IV. JEWS IN THE WORLD

B. LITERATURE

4. English Literature

Biographies (*continued*)

BROOKNER, ANITA
BROWNING, ROBERT
BRUSTEIN, ROBERT SANFORD
BUKIET, MELVIN JULES
BUSCH, CHARLES
BYRON, GEORGE GORDON, LORD
CAHAN, ABRAHAM
CALISHER, HORTENSE
CANADIAN LITERATURE
CECIL, HENRY
CHABON, MICHAEL
CHARLES, GERDA
CHAUCER, GEOFFREY
CHAYEFSKY, PADDY
CHODOROV, EDWARD
CHODOROV, JEROME
COHEN, ARTHUR A.
COHEN, JOHN MICHAEL
COHEN, LEONARD
COHEN, MATT
COHEN, ROSE GOLLUP
COURNOS, JOHN
CUMBERLAND, RICHARD
DAHLBERG, EDWARD
DAICHES, DAVID
DALESKI, HILLEL
DAVENPORT, MARCIA
DAVIDSON, LIONEL
DE CASSERES, BENJAMIN
DEUTSCH, BABBETTE
DICKENS, CHARLES
D'ISRAELI, ISAAC
ELIOT, GEORGE
ELKIN, STANLEY
ELLMANN, RICHARD
EMANUEL, WALTER LEWIS
EPHRON, NORA
EPSTEIN, LESLIE
EPSTEIN, MORRIS
EPSTEIN, SEYMOUR
EZEKIEL, NISSIM
FADIMAN, CLIFTON
FALK, BERNARD
FALK, MARCIA
FARHI, MORIS
FARJEON, BENJAMIN LEOPOLD
FAST, HOWARD MELVIN
FEARING, KENNETH
FEINSTEIN, ELAINE
FELDMAN, IRVING
FERBER, EDNA
FIEDLER, LESLIE AARON
FINEMAN, IRVING
FISCH, HAROLD
FISH, STANLEY
FRANK, WALDO DAVID
FRANKAU
FRANKEN, ROSE
FRANKS, BILHAH ABIGAIL LEVY
FREEMAN, JOSEPH
FRIEDMAN, BRUCE JAY
FUCHS, DANIEL
GABRIEL, GILBERT W.
GAMORAN, MAMIE
GASSNER, JOHN
GELBER, JACK
GEORGE, WALTER LIONEL
GERSHON, KAREN
GINSBERG, ALLEN
GLASS, MONTAGUE MARSDEN
GLUCK, LOUISE
GOLD, HERBERT
GOLD, MICHAEL
GOLDBERG, ISAAC
GOLDEN, HARRY LEWIS
GOLDING, LOUIS
GOLDMAN, WILLIAM
GOLDSTEIN, REBECCA
GOLLER, IZAK
GOODMAN, ALLEGRA
GORDIMER, NADINE
GORDON, SAMUEL
GREEN, GERALD
GREENBERG, JOANNE
GREENBERG, SAMUEL BERNARD
GROSS, JOHN JACOB
GROSSMAN, ALLEN
HALL, OWEN
HALPER, ALBERT
HAMBURGER, MICHAEL
HARRIS, MARK
HART, MOSS
HECHT, BEN
HELLER, JOSEPH
HELLINGER, MARK
HELLMAN, LILLIAN FLORENCE
HENRY, EMMA
HINDUS, MAURICE GERSCHON
HIRSCH, ERIC DONALD
HOBSON, LAURA Z.
HOLLANDER, JOHN
HOROVITZ, ISRAEL
HOWE, IRVING
HUDSON, STEPHEN
HURST, FANNIE
IGNATOW, DAVID
ISAACS, JACOB
ISAACS, SUSAN
JACOB, NAOMI ELLINGTON
JACOBSON, DAN
JACOBSON, HOWARD
JAFFE, RONA
JHABVALA, RUTH PRAWER

JONG, ERICA
JOSIPOVICI, GABRIEL
JUDAH, SAMUEL BENJAMIN HELBERT
KALMAN, MAIRA
KANIN, GARSON
KANOVICH, GRIGORY
KAPLAN, JOHANNA
KARMEL, ILONA
KAUFMAN, BEL
KAUFMAN, GEORGE SIMON
KAZIN, ALFRED
KELLERMAN, FAYE
KELLERMAN, JONATHAN
KEMELMAN, HARRY
KERSH, GERALD
KINGSLEY, SIDNEY
KINROSS, ALBERT
KLEIN, ABRAHAM MOSES
KLEPFISZ, IRENA
KOBER, ARTHUR
KOCH, KENNETH
KOESTLER, ARTHUR
KOMROFF, MANUEL
KOPIT, ARTHUR
KOPS, BERNARD
KOSINSKI, JERZY
KRAMER, LARRY
KRAMM, JOSEPH
KRANTZ, JUDITH
KREISEL, HENRY
KREYMBORG, ALFRED
KRONENBERGER, LOUIS
KROOK, DOROTHEA
KUNITZ, STANLEY JASSPON
KUSHNER, TONY
LAURENTS, ARTHUR
LAWSON, JOHN HOWARD
LAYTON, IRVING
LAZARUS, EMMA
LEAVIS, QUEENIE DOROTHY
LEE, SIR SIDNEY
LEFTWICH, JOSEPH
LEVERSON, ADA
LEVERTOV, DENISE
LEVIANT, CURT
LEVIN, HARRY
LEVIN, IRA
LEVIN, MEYER
LEVINE, NORMAN
LEVINSON, OLGA
LEVY, AMY
LEVY, BENN WOLFE
LEWIS, LEOPOLD DAVIS
LEWISOHN, LUDWIG
LIBERMAN, SERGE
LIEBERMAN, ELIAS
LITVINOFF, EMANUEL
LOWENTHAL, MARVIN
LYONS, ALBERT MICHAEL NEIL
MAILER, NORMAN
MALAMUD, BERNARD
MALTZ, ALBERT
MAMET, DAVID
MANDEL, ELI
MANKOWITZ, WOLF
MARCUS, FRANK
MARLOWE, CHRISTOPHER
MARTIN, DAVID
MAYNARD, FREDELLE BRUSER
MERRICK, LEONARD
MEYERSTEIN, EDWARD HARRY WILLIAM
MICHAELS, ANNE
MIKES, GEORGE
MILLER, ARTHUR
MILLIN, SARAH GERTRUDE
MILTON, JOHN
MOÏSE, PENINA
MULLER, ROBERT
NASSAUER, RUDOLF
NATHAN, GEORGE JEAN
NEMEROV, HOWARD
NEUGEBOREN, JAY
NISSENSON, HUGH
ODETS, CLIFFORD
OLSEN, TILLIE
OPPEN, GEORGE
OPPENHEIM, JAMES
ORNITZ, SAMUEL BADISCH
OSTRIKER, ALICIA SUSKIN
OZICK, CYNTHIA
PALEY, GRACE
PARKER, DOROTHY
PERELMAN, SIDNEY JOSEPH
PHILLIPS, WILLIAM
PINSKY, ROBERT
PINTO, VIVIAN DE SOLA
PLAIN, BELVA
PODHORETZ, NORMAN
POTOK, CHAIM
POUND, EZRA LOOMIS
PROSE, FRANCINE
PYE, JAEL HENRIETTA
RAGEN, NAOMI
RAHV, PHILIP
RAND, AYN
RAPHAEL, FREDERIC
RAPHAEL, JOHN N.
RAPHAELSON, SAMSON
REZNIKOFF, CHARLES
RICE, ELMER LEOPOLD
RICH, ADRIENNE
RICHLER, MORDECAI
ROBBINS, HAROLD
RODKER, JOHN
ROSEN, NORMA
ROSENBERG, ISAAC
ROSENFELD, ISAAC
ROSENFELD, PAUL

IV. JEWS IN THE WORLD

B. LITERATURE

4. English Literature

BIOGRAPHIES (*continued*)

ROSS, LILLIAN
ROSTEN, LEO CALVIN
ROTH, HENRY
ROTH, PHILIP MILTON
RUBENS, BERNICE
RUBENS, PAUL ALFRED
RUBINSTEIN, HAROLD FREDERICK
RUKEYSER, MURIEL
SALINGER, JEROME DAVID
SAMPTER, JESSIE ETHEL
SAMUEL, MAURICE
SASSOON, SIEGFRIED LORRAINE
SCHISGAL, MURRAY
SCHULBERG, BUDD WILSON
SCHWARTZ, DELMORE
SCHWARZ, LEO WALDER
SCOTT, SIR WALTER
SEGAL, ERICH
SEID, RUTH
SERLING, ROD
SHAFFER, SIR PETER
SHAKESPEARE, WILLIAM
SHAPIRO, KARL JAY
SHAW, IRWIN
SHELDON, SIDNEY
SHEVELOVE, BURT
SHULMAN, MAX
SHULMAN, MILTON
SILKIN, JON
SIMON, KATE
SIMON, NEIL
SINCLAIR, CLIVE
SINGER, HOWARD
SKLAREW, MYRA
SOLOTAROFF, THEODORE
SONTAG, SUSAN
SPEWACK, BELLA
SPIEGELMAN, ART
SPIELVOGEL, NATHAN
SPINGARN
STEELE, DANIELLE
STEIN, GERTRUDE
STEIN, JOSEPH
STEINER, GEORGE
STEINFELD, JJ
STERN, BERTHA GLADYS
STERN, STEVE
STINE, R. L.
STONE, IRVING
STRAUS, RALPH
STRAUSS, GUSTAVE LOUIS MAURICE
SUSANN, JACQUELINE
SUTRO, ALFRED
SYMONS, JULIAN
TARN, NATHANIEL
TAYLOR, SIDNEY
TOBENKIN, ELIAS
TORGOV, MORLEY
TRILLIN, CALVIN, ESSAYIST
TRILLING, DIANA
TRILLING, LIONEL
TUROW, SCOTT
UNTERMEYER, LOUIS
URIS, LEON
WADDINGTON, MIRIAM (DWORKIN)
WALEY, ARTHUR
WALLACE, IRVING
WALLANT, EDWARD LEWIS
WASSERMAN, DALE
WASSERSTEIN, WENDY
WATEN, JUDAH
WEIDMAN, JEROME
WEINZWEIG, HELEN
WELLER, MICHAEL
WESKER, ARNOLD
WEST, NATHANAEL
WOLFE, HUMBERT
WOLFERT, IRA
WOUK, HERMAN
YARMOLINSKY, AVRAHM (Abraham)
YEZIERSKA, ANZIA
ZANGWILL, ISRAEL
ZUKOFSKY, LOUIS

5. FRENCH LITERATURE

MAIN SURVEYS

CANADIAN LITERATURE (French)
FRENCH LITERATURE

BIOGRAPHIES

ABECASSIS, ELIETTE
AREGA, LEON
ARGENS, JEAN BAPTISTE DE BOYER
BENICHOU, PAUL
BERL, EMMANUEL
BERNARD, TRISTAN
BERNSTEIN, HENRI-LEON
BERRI, CLAUDE
BLANCHOT, MAURICE
BLOCH, JEAN-RICHARD
BLOCH-MICHEL, JEAN
BLOY, LEON
BOBER, ROBERT
BOSCO, MONIQUE
CHATEAUBRIAND, FRANÇOIS RENÉ, VICOMTE DE
CIXOUS, HELENE
CLAUDEL, PAUL
COHEN, ALBERT
CREMIEUX, BENJAMIN
CROISSET, FRANCIS DE
DUVERNOIS, HENRI
EYDOUX, EMMANUEL
FEJTO, FRANCOIS

FINBERT, ELIAN-J.
FLEG, EDMOND (Flegenheimer)
FOA, ESTHER EUGÉNIE REBECCA
FONDANE, BENJAMIN
FRANCK, HENRI
GARY, ROMAIN
GIVET, JACQUES
GOLL, YVAN
GRAY, MARTIN
GRUMBERG, JEAN-CLAUDE
HALEVY
HALEVY, ELIE HALFON
HALTER, MAREK
HARRY, MYRIAM
HERTZ, HENRI
IKOR, ROGER
IONESCO, EUGENE
ISOU, ISIDORE
JABÈS, EDMOND
JACOB, MAX
JEHOUDA, JOSUE
KAHN, GUSTAVE
KATTAN, NAÏM
KESSEL, JOSEPH
LACRETELLE, JACQUES DE
LAHARANNE, ERNEST
LANGFUS, ANNA
LAZARE, BERNARD
LEVY, BERNARD-HENRI
LUNEL, ARMAND
LUNEL, JACOB DE
MANDEL, ARNOLD
MAUROIS, ANDRÉ
MEMMI, ALBERT
MENDES, CATULLE
MIKHAËL, EPHRAÏM
MILBAUER, JOSEPH
MILOSZ, OSCAR
MODIANO, PATRICK
MONTAIGNE, MICHEL DE
MORHANGE, PIERRE
NEMETH, ANDOR
NEMIROWSKY, IRENE
NEYRAC, PIERRE
PÉGUY, CHARLES-PIERRE
PEREC, GEORGES
PORTO-RICHE, GEORGES DE
PROUST, MARCEL
RACINE, JEAN
ROBIN, REGINE
RYVEL
SACHS, MAURICE
SARRAUTE, NATHALIE
SCHEINERT, DAVID
SCHULSINGER, JOSEPH
SCHWARZ-BART, ANDRE
SEE, EDMOND
SPERBER, MANES
SPIRE, ANDRÉ
SUARÈS, ANDRÉ
THARAUD, JEROME AND JEAN
THEMANLYS, PASCAL
TZARA, TRISTAN
VERCORS
VIGÉE, CLAUDE
VORONCA, ILARIE
WEILL, ALEXANDRE ABRAHAM
ZOLA, EMILE

6. GERMAN LITERATURE

Main Surveys

GERMAN LITERATURE

Biographies

ADLER, HERMANN
ADLER, PAUL
AICHINGER, ILSE
ALTENBERG, PETER
AMERY, JEAN
ANDERS, GUNTER
AUERBACH, ERICH
AUERNHEIMER, RAOUL
AUSLAENDER, ROSE
AVIGDOR BEN SIMHAH HA-LEVI OF GLOGAU
BAB, JULIUS
BAUM, OSCAR
BECK, KARL ISIDOR
BECKER, JUREK
BEER, MICHAEL
BEER-HOFMANN, RICHARD
BEHR, ISSACHAR FALKENSOHN
BEN-CHORIN, SHALOM
BEN-GAVRIEL, MOSHE YA'AKOV
BENJAMIN, WALTER
BERENDSOHN, WALTER A.
BERG, LEO
BERMANN, RICHARD ARNOLD
BETTAUER, HUGO
BIEBER, HUGO
BIRNBAUM, URIEL
BLUMENTHAL, OSKAR
BORCHARDT, RUDOLF
BRAUN, FELIX
BROCH, HERMANN
BROD, MAX
BRUCKNER, FERDINAND
CALE, WALTER
CANETTI, ELIAS
CELAN, PAUL
DOEBLIN, ALFRED
DOMIN, HILDE
DONATH, ADOLPH
EHRENSTEIN, ALBERT
EINSTEIN, CARL
ELOESSER, ARTHUR
FEUCHTWANGER, LION
FRAENKEL, JONAS
FRANK, BRUNO

IV. JEWS IN THE WORLD

B. LITERATURE

6. German Literature

Biographies (*continued*)

FRANKL, LUDWIG AUGUST
FRANZOS, KARL EMIL
FRIED, ERICH
FRIEDELL, EGON
FRISCH, EFRAIM
FULDA, LUDWIG
GEIGER, LUDWIG
GOETHE, JOHANN WOLFGANG VON
GOLDSTEIN, MORITZ
GOLL, CLAIRE
GOLL, YVAN
GRONEMANN, SAMUEL (Sami, Sammy)
GUMPERT, MARTIN
GUNDOLF, FRIEDRICH
GUTZKOW, KARL FERDINAND
HAAS, WILLY
HABE, HANS
HASENCLEVER, WALTER
HAY, GYULA (Julius)
HEILBORN, ERNST
HEIMANN, MORITZ
HEINE, HEINRICH
HERMANN, GEORG
HERMLIN, STEPHAN
HESSEL, FRANZ
HEYM, STEFAN
HEYMANN, WALTHER
HEYSE, PAUL
HILDESHEIMER, WOLFGANG
HILSENRATH, EDGAR
HIRSCHFELD, GEORG
HITZIG, JULIUS EDUARD
HOCHHUTH, ROLF
HOCHWAELDER, FRITZ
HOFMANNSTHAL, HUGO VON
HOLITSCHER, ARTHUR
HOLLAENDER
HONIGMANN, BARBARA
HUGO, KAROLY
JACOB, HEINRICH EDUARD
JACOBOWSKI, LUDWIG
JELINEK, ELFRIEDE
KAFKA, FRANZ
KAHANE, ARTHUR
KALEKO, MASHA
KALISCH, DAVID
KARPELES, GUSTAV (Gershon)
KAUFMANN, FRITZ MORDECAI
KAYSER, RUDOLF
KERR, ALFRED
KESTEN, HERMANN
KLEIN, JULIUS LEOPOLD
KOLMAR, GERTRUD
KOMPERT, LEOPOLD
KOREFF, DAVID FERDINAND
KORNFELD, PAUL
KRAFT, WERNER
KRAMER, THEODOR
KRAUS, KARL
KROJANKER, GUSTAV
KUH, EPHRAIM MOSES
LANDSBERGER, ARTHUR
LASKER-SCHUELER, ELSE
LAZARUS, NAHIDA RUTH
LEONHARD, RUDOLF
LESSING, GOTTHOLD EPHRAIM
LEWALD, FANNY
LIPINER, SIEGFRIED
LISSAUER, ERNST
LORM, HIERONYMUS
LOTHAR, ERNST
LOTHAR, RUDOLF
LUBLINSKI, SAMUEL
LUDWIG, EMIL
MANN, THOMAS
MARCUSE, LUDWIG
MARGUL-SPERBER, ALFRED
MAUTHNER, FRITZ
MEHRING, WALTER
MEYER, RICHARD MORITZ
MOMBERT, ALFRED
MORGENSTERN, SOMA
MOSENTHAL, SALOMON HERMANN
MUEHSAM, ERICH
NADEL, ARNO
NEUMANN, ALFRED
NEUMANN, ROBERT
PAULI, JOHANNES
PERUTZ, LEO
PICARD, JACOB
POLGAR, ALFRED
REHFISCH, HANS JOSE
REICH-RANICKI, MARCEL
ROBERT, LUDWIG
RODA RODA, ALEXANDER
RODENBERG, JULIUS
ROESSLER, CARL
ROTH, JOSEPH
RUBINER, LUDWIG
SACHS, NELLY
SALTEN, FELIX
SAPHIR, MORITZ (Moses) GOTTLIEB
SCHERLAG, MARK
SCHILLER, FRIEDRICH VON
SCHNITZLER, ARTHUR
SCHWIEFERT, PETER
SEGHERS, ANNA
STERNHEIM, CARL
STRICH, FRITZ
STURMANN, MANFRED
SUESSKIND VON TRIMBERG
SUSMAN, MARGARETE
TABORI, GEORGE

TOLLER, ERNST
TORBERG, FRIEDRICH
TREBITSCH, SIEGFRIED
TUCHOLSKY, KURT
URY, ELSE
VAN HODDIS, JAKOB
VIERTEL, BERTHOLD
WALDEN, HERWARTH
WALDINGER, ERNST
WASSERMANN, JAKOB
WEISS, ERNST
WEISS, PETER
WENGEROFF, PAULINE
WERFEL, FRANZ
WIHL, LUDWIG
WINDER, LUDWIG
WOLF, FRIEDRICH
WOLFENSTEIN, ALFRED
WOLFSKEHL, KARL
WOLFSOHN-HALLE, AHARON
ZUCKERMANN, HUGO
ZUCKMAYER, CARL
ZWEIG, ARNOLD
ZWEIG, STEFAN

7. GREEK LITERATURE

Main Surveys
GREEK LITERATURE, MODERN

Biographies
ELIYIA, JOSEPH
MATSAS, NESTORAS
MOISSIS, ASHER

8. HUNGARIAN LITERATURE

Main Surveys
HUNGARIAN LITERATURE

Biographies
ACSÁDY, IGNÁC
ACZÉL, TAMÁS
ÁGAI, ADOLF
BALÁZS, BÉLA
BÁNÓCZI
BENJÁMIN, LÁSZLÓ
BIRÓ, LAJOS
BRÓDY, LÁSZLÓ
BRÓDY, LILI
BRÓDY, SÁNDOR
BRÓDY, ZSIGMOND
CSERGŐ, HUGO
CSERMELY, GYULA
DÉRY, TIBOR
DÓCZY, LAJOS
ELEK, ARTUR
EMŐD, TAMAS
FALUDY, GYÖRGY
FENYŐ, LÁSZLÓ
FENYŐ, MIKSA
FÖLDES, JOLÁN
FUST, MILAN
GÁBOR, ANDOR
GELLÉRI, ANDOR ENDRE
GELLÉRT, OSZKÁR
GISZKALAY, JÁNOS
HAJNAL, ANNA
HELTAI, JENŐ
HEVESI, LAJOS (Ludwig)
HEVESI, SÁNDOR
HUGÓ, KÁROLY
IGNOTUS, HUGÓ
ILLÉS, BÉLA
KACZÉR, ILLÉS
KARÁCSONY, BENŐ
KARDOS, ALBERT
KARDOS, LÁSZLÓ
KARINTHY, FERENC
KEMÉNY, SIMON
KERTÉSZ, IMRE
KESZI, IMRE
KISS, JÓZSEF
KÓBOR, TAMÁS
KOMLÓS, ALADÁR
KOMOR, ANDRAS
KONRÁD, GYÖRGY
KÖRMENDI, FERENC
LAKATOS, LÁSZLÓ
LENGYEL, JÓZSEF
LENGYEL, MENYHÉRT (Melchior)
LENKEI, HENRIK
LUKÁCS, GEORG (György)
MAKAI, EMIL
MARKOVITS, RODION (Jakab)
MOHÁCSI, JENÖ
MOLNÁR, AKOS
MOLNÁR, FERENC
NAGY, ENDRE
ORMÓDY, BERTALAN
OSVÁT, ERNÖ
PALÁGYI, LAJOS
PAP, KÁROLY
RADNÓTI, MIKLOS
REICHARD, PIROSKA
RÉVÉSZ, BÉLA
SALAMON, ERNO
SIMON, TAMÁS
SOMLYÓ, ZOLTÁN
SPIRO, GYÖRGY
SZABÓ, IMRE
SZABOLCSI, LAJOS
SZÁNTÓ, GYÖRGY
SZENES, BÉLA
SZENES, ERZSI
SZÉP, ERNŐ
SZERB, ANTAL
SZILÁGYI, GÉZA
SZOMORY, DEZSŐ
TURÓCZI-TROSTLER, JÓZSEF

IV. JEWS IN THE WORLD

B. LITERATURE

8. Hungarian Literature

Biographies (*continued*)

UJVÁRI, PÉTER
VÁNDOR, LAJOS
VÁRNAI, ZSENI
VAS, ISTVÁN
VÉSZI, ENDRE
ZELK, ZOLTAN
ZSIGMOND, EDE
ZSOLDOS, JENÖ
ZSOLT, BÉLA

9. ITALIAN LITERATURE

Main Surveys
ITALIAN LITERATURE

Biographies
ASCARELLI, DEBORAH
BASSANI, GIORGIO
BEDARIDA, GUIDO
CAMERINI, EUGENIO SALOMONE
CASTELNUOVO, ENRICO
DA VERONA, GUIDO
DANTE ALIGHIERI
DE BENEDETTI, ALDO
DEBENEDETTI, GIACOMO
DEL MONTE, CRESCENZO
FIORENTINO, SALOMONE
FUBINI, MARIO
GINZBURG, NATALIA
LEVI, CARLO
LEVI, EUGENIO
LEVI, GIULIO AUGUSTO
LEVI, PAOLO
LOPEZ, SABATINO
LUZZATTO, GINO
MOMIGLIANO, ATTILIO
MORAVIA, ALBERTO
MORPURGO, GIUSEPPE
ORVIETO, ANGIOLO
PITIGRILLI
REVERE, GIUSEPPE PROSPERO
SVEVO, ITALO
VIVANTI CHARTRES, ANNIE

10. POLISH LITERATURE

Main Surveys
POLISH LITERATURE

Biographies
ADALBERG, SAMUEL
BIEGELEISEN, HENRYK
BRANDSTAETTER, ROMAN
BRANDYS, KAZIMIERZ
BRAUN, MIECZYSLAW
BRZECHWA, JAN
DRZEWIECKI, HENRYK
FELD, ISAAC
FELDMAN, WILHELM
GORSKA, HALINA
GRYDZEWSKI, MIECZYSLAW
GRYNBERG, HENRYK
HEMAR, MARIAN
HERTZ, BENEDYKT
HIRSCHHORN, SAMUEL
JASIEŃSKI, BRUNO
JASTRUN, MIECZYSLAW
JUNOSZA, KLEMENS
KLACZKO, JULIAN (Judah)
LEC, STANISLAW JERZY
LESMIAN, BOLESLAW
MICKIEWICZ, ADAM
NOWACZYNSKI, ADOLF
ORZESKOWA (Orzesko), ELIZA
PEIPER, TADEUSZ
RÓŻEWICZ, TADEUSZ
RUDNICKI, ADOLF
SCHULZ, BRUNO
SLONIMSKI, ANTONI
STANDE, STANISLAW RYSZARD
STERN, ANATOL
STRYJKOWSKI, JULJAN
SZENWALD, LUCJAN
TUWIM, JULIAN
WAT, ALEXANDER
WAZYK, ADAM
WINAWER, BRUNO
WITTLIN, JÓZEF
WOROSZYLSKI, WIKTOR
WYGODZKI, STANISLAW

11. ROMANIAN LITERATURE

Main Surveys
ROMANIAN LITERATURE

Biographies
ADERCA, FELIX
AXELRAD, AVRAM
BALTAZAR, CAMIL
BANUŞ, MARIA
BARANGA, AUREL
BENADOR, URY
BLECHER, MARCEL
BONCIU, H.
BRESLASU, MARCEL
CĂLUGĂRU, ION
CASSIAN, NINA
CORNEA, PAUL
COSAŞU, RADU
CROHMALNICEANU, OVID S.
DAN, SERGIU
DOBROGEANU-GHEREA, CONSTANTIN
DOMINIC, ALEXANDRU
DORIAN, DOREL
DORIAN, EMIL

DUDA, VIRGIL
FERARU, LEON
FONDANE, BENJAMIN
FURTUNĂ, ENRIC
GALACTION, GALA
GURIAN, SORANA
HEFTER, ALFRED (Hidalgo)
IACOBESCU, D.
IOSIFESCU, SILVIAN
LAZAR, SAMSON
LĂZĂREANU, BARBU
LUCA, B.
LUDO, ISAC IACOVITZ
MAIORESCU, GEORGE TOMA
MILIAN, MAXIMIN
MIRODAN, ALEXANDRU
MONDA, VIRGILIU
MUGUR, FLORIN
NEMTEANU, BARBU
PANĂ, SAŞA
PELTZ, ISAC
PORUMBACU, VERONICA
RELGIS, EUGEN
ROMAN-RONETTI, MOISE
RUDICH, MAYER
SANIELEVICI, HENRIC
SEBASTIAN, MIHAIL
SERBU, IERONIM
SERGHI, CELLA
SEVER, ALEXANDRU
SILVIU, GEORGE
SOARE, IULIA
STEUERMAN, ADOLF RODION
TERTULIAN, NICOLAE
TOMA, A.
TRIVALE, ION
VEREA, ADRIAN
VORONCA, ILARIE
WEISS, AURELIU

12. RUSSIAN LITERATURE

Main Surveys
RUSSIAN LITERATURE

Biographies
AGURSKY, SAMUEL
AIKHENVALD, YULI ISAYEVICH
AIZMAN, DAVID YAKOVLEVICH
ALDANOV, MARK
ALIGER, MARGARITA YOSIFOVNA
ALTAUZEN, YAKOV MOYSEYEVICH
ANTOKOLSKI, PAVEL GRIGOREVICH
AVERBAKH, LEOPOLD LEONIDOVICH
BAAZOV, HERZL
BABEL, ISAAC EMMANUILOVICH
BAGRITSKI, EDUARD GEORGIYEVICH
BELINKOV, ARKADII VIKTOROVICH
BELOV, A.
BEN-ADIR
BEN-AMMI, MORDECAI
BILL-BELOTSERKOVSKI, VLADIMIR NAUMOVICH
BOGROV, GRIGORI ISAAKOVICH
BRIK, OSIP MAKSIMOVICH
BRODSKI, YOSIF
BYADULYA-YASAKAR, ZMITROK
CHAKOVSKI, ALEXANDER BORISOVICH
CHERNY, SASHA
DANIEL, YULI MARKOVICH
DOLMATOVSKI, YEVGENI ARONOVICH
DOMALSKY, I.
DUBNOW-ERLICH, SOPHIA
EHRENBURG, ILYA GRIGORYEVICH
EICHENBAUM, BORIS MIKHAILOVICH
FRIEDLAENDER, SOLOMON JUDAH
FRUG, SHIMON SHMUEL
GALICH, ALEXANDR ARKADYEVICH
GEKHT, SEMEN GRIGOREVICH
GERSHENZON, MIKHAIL OSIPOVICH
GINSBURG, EVGENIA SEMIONOVNA
GOLODNY, MIKHAIL
GORKI, MAXIM
GRANIN, DANIEL ALEKSANDROVICH
GROSSMAN, LEONID PETROVICH
GROSSMAN, VASILI SEMYONOVICH
GUKOVSKY, GRIGORY ALEKSANDROVICH
ILF, ILYA
ILIN, M.
INBER, VERA MIKHAILOVNA
ISBAKH, ALEXANDER ABRAMOVICH
KANNEGISER, LEONID AKIMOVICH
KASSIL, LEV ABRAMOVICH
KAVERIN, BENJAMIN ALEKSANDROVICH
KAZAKEVICH, EMMANUIL GENRIKHOVICH
KHODASEVICH, VLADISLAV FELITSIANOVICH
KIPEN, ALEKSANDR ABRAMOVICH
KIRSANOV, SEMYON ISAAKOVICH
KIRSHON, VLADIMIR MIKHAILOVICH
KNUT, DOVID
KOROLENKO, VLADIMIR GALAKTIONOVICH
KOZAKOV, MIKHAIL EMMANUILOVICH
KRYMOV, YURI
KUSHNER, ALEKSANDER SEMENOVICH
LERNER, JOSEPH JUDAH
LESKOV, NIKOLAY SEMYONOVICH
LEVANDA, LEV (Leo; Yehudah Leib) OSIPOVICH
LIBEDINSKI, YURI NIKOLAYEVICH
LIVSHITS, BENEDIKT KONSTANTINOVICH
LUNTS, LEV NATANOVICH
MAMISTABOLOB, ABRAHAM
MANDELSHTAM, NADEZHDA YAKOVLEVNA
MANDELSHTAM, OSIP EMILYEVICH
MINSKI, NIKOLAI MAXIMOVICH
NADSON, SEMYON YAKOVLEVICH
NOTOVICH, OSIP KONSTANTINOVICH
NUSINOV, ISAAC
OSIPOVICH, NAHUM
PARNAKH, VALENTIN YAKOVLEVICH
PASTERNAK, BORIS LEONIDOVICH

IV. JEWS IN THE WORLD

B. LITERATURE

12. Russian Literature

Biographies (*continued*)

RABINOVICH, OSIP ARONOVICH
SELVINSKI, ILYA LVOVICH
SHKLOVSKI, ISAAC VLADIMIROVICH
SLONIM, MARC
SLONIMSKI, MIKHAIL LEONIDOVICH
SLUTSKI, BORIS ABRAMOVICH
SOBOL, ANDREY MIKHAILOVICH
SVETLOV, MIKHAIL
SVIRSKI, ALEXEY IVANOVICH
TUR BROTHERS
TYNYANOV, YURI NIKOLAYEVICH
UTKIN, JOSEPH PAVLOVICH
WENGEROFF, SEMYON AFANASYEVICH
YEVTUSHENKO, YEVGENI ALEXANDROVICH
YUSHKEVICH, SEMYON SOLOMONOVICH

13. SCANDINAVIAN LITERATURE

Main Surveys

SCANDINAVIAN LITERATURE

Biographies

ABRAHAMS, NICOLAI CHRISTIAN LEVIN
ELKAN, SOPHIE
GOLDSCHMIDT, MEIR ARON
KAUFMANN, HANNE
LEVERTIN, OSCAR IVAR
LEVIN, POUL THEODOR
LEVY, LOUIS
MUNK, KAJ
NATHANSEN, HENRI
SCHUCK, JOHAN HENRIK EMIL
WARBURG, KARL JOHAN
WARRENS, ROSA
WERGELAND, HENRIK ARNOLD

14. SPANISH AND PORTUGUESE LITERATURE

Main Survey

SPANISH AND PORTUGUESE LITERATURE

Biographies

AGUINIS, MARCOS
CERVANTES SAAVEDRA, MIGUEL DE
CONSTANTINI, HUMBERTO
COSTA, URIEL DA
COTA DE MAGUAQUE, RODRIGO DE
CHOCRON, ISAAC
DINES, ALBERTO
EICHELBAUM, SAMUEL
ENRÍQUEZ, ISABEL
ENRÍQUEZ GÓMEZ, ANTONIO
ESPINOZA, ENRIQUE
FEIERSTEIN, RICARDO
FUTORANSKY, LUISA
GELMAN, JUAN
GERCHUNOFF, ALBERTO
GLANTZ, MARGO
GODÍNEZ, FELIPE
GOLDEMBERG, ISAAC
GOLOBOFF, GERARDO MARIO
GRUNBERG, CARLOS M.
ISAACS, JORGE
ISAACSON, JOSE
KOVADLOFF, SANTIAGO
KOZER, JOSE
LAGUNA, DANIEL ISRAEL LOPEZ
LEÓN, LUIS DE
LIACHO, LÁZARO
LISPECTOR, CLARICE
MUÑIZ-HUBERMAN, ANGELINA
PECAR, SAMUEL
PIZARNIK, ALEJANDRA
RABINOVICH, JOSE
RAWET, SAMUEL
RIBEIRO DOS SANTOS, ANTONIO
ROSENCOF, MAURICIO
ROSENMANN-TAUB, DAVID
ROVINSKY, SAMUEL
ROZENMACHER, GERMAN
SATZ, MARIO
SCLIAR, MOACYR
SELIGSON, ESTHER
SHUA, ANA MARIA
SILVA, ANTÓNIO JOSÉ DA
SNEH, SIMJA
STEIMBERG, ALICIA
SVERDLIK, ODED
TARNOPOLSKY, SAMUEL
TIEMPO, CÉSAR
TOKER, ELIAHU
VERBITZKY, BERNARDO
WECHSLER, ELINA

15. YUGOSLAV LITERATURE

Main Surveys

YUGOSLAV LITERATURE

Biographies

ALBAHARI, DAVID
DAVIČO, OSCAR
DAVID, FILIP
DEBRECENJI, JOZEF
FELDMAN, MIROSLAV
GOTTLIEB, HINKO
IVANJI, IVAN
JUN-BRODA, INA
KIŠ, DANILO (Daniel)
KONFINO, ZAK
LEBOVIČ, DJORDJE
NAHMIJAS, DANILO
NAJMAN, JULIJA
ROMANO, SAMUEL
SAMOKOVLIJA, ISAK
ŠINKO, ERVIN
TIŠMA, ALEKSANDAR

C. MUSIC & DANCE

Main Surveys

DANCE
MUSIC

General Entries

AMERICAN SOCIETY FOR JEWISH MUSIC
BATSHEVA AND BAT-DOR DANCE COMPANIES
BEN SIRA, WISDOM OF
BIBLE – IN THE ARTS
CANTATAS AND CHORAL WORKS, HEBREW
CANTILLATION
CHOIRS
DIBBUK
HASIDISM
HA-TIKVAH
HAZZAN
HORAH
INBAL DANCE THEATER
ISRAEL CHAMBER ORCHESTRA
LADINO
MAQAM
ORGAN
RECORDS, PHONOGRAPH
SHTAYGER
SOCIETY FOR JEWISH FOLK MUSIC
TALMUD, MUSICAL RENDITION
TANZHAUS

Communities

AFRICA, NORTH: MUSICAL TRADITIONS
ALEPPO
AMSTERDAM
FRANKFURT ON THE MAIN
GREECE
INDIA
IRAN, MUSICAL TRADITION
IRAQ
ITALY
KARAITES
KURDISTAN
SAMARITANS
TURKEY
YEMEN
YUGOSLAVIA

Ritual

ADDIR HU
ADON OLAM
AHOT KETANNAH
ALEINU LE-SHABBEAH
AMEN
AMIDAH
AVODAH
BAKKASHAH
EL MALE RAHAMIM
HALLELUJAH
KADDISH
KOL NIDREI
LEKHAH DODI
MA'OZ ZUR
MASORETIC ACCENTS (MUSICAL RENDITION)
MI-SINAI NIGGUNIM
NUSAH
YIGDAL
ZEMIROT

Bible in Music

ABRAHAM
ABSALOM
ADAM
AKEDAH
ATHALIAH
BABEL, TOWER OF
BELSHAZZAR
CAIN
COSTA, URIEL DA
DANIEL
DAVID
DEBORAH
ELIJAH
ESTHER
EZEKIEL
GIDEON
HABAKKUK
HASMONEANS
HEROD I
HEZEKIAH
ISAAC
ISAIAH
JACOB
JEPHTHAH
JEREMIAH
JERUSALEM
JOB, BOOK OF
JOEL
JONAH, BOOK OF
JOSEPH
JOSHUA
LAMENTATIONS, BOOK OF
MOSES
NEBUCHADNEZZAR (Nebuchadrezzer)
NOAH
PSALMS, BOOK OF
RACHEL
SAMSON
SAMUEL
SAUL
SCROLLS, THE FIVE
SODOM AND GOMORRAH
SOLOMON
SONG OF SONGS

Biographies

ABELIOVICH, LEV MOYSSEYEVICH
ABER, ADOLF
ABILEAH, ARIE
ABRAHAM, GERALD

IV. JEWS IN THE WORLD

C. MUSIC & DANCE

BIOGRAPHIES (*continued*)

ABRAHAM, OTTO
ABRASS, OSIAS (Joshua)
ABRAVANEL, MAURICE (DE)
ACHRON, JOSEPH
ACKERMAN, SHABTAI
ADASKIN, MURRAY
ADLER, GUIDO
ADLER, HUGO CHAIM
ADLER, ISRAEL
ADLER, LARRY (Lawrence)
ADLER, RICHARD
ADMON, YEDIDYAH
AGADATI, BARUCH
AGUILAR, EMANUEL ABRAHAM
AHARON, EZRA
ALDEMA, GIL
ALEXANDER, HAIM
ALGAZI, ISAAC BEN SOLOMON
ALGAZI, LEON (Yehudah)
AL-GHARĪD AL-YAHŪDĪ
AL-HARIZI, JUDAH BEN SOLOMON
ALKAN (Morhange), CHARLES HENRI-VALENTIN
ALMAN, SAMUEL
AL-MANSŪR AL-YAHŪDĪ
ALPERT, HERB
ALSHVANG, ARNOLD ALEKSANDROVICH
ALTER, ISRAEL
ALTSCHUL, JOSEPH
ALTSCHULER, MODEST
AMAR, LICCO
AMIRAN, EMANUEL
AMRAM, DAVID
ANCERL, KARL
ANCONA, MARIO
ANHALT, ISTVÁN
ANTHEIL, GEORGE
APEL, WILLI
APPLEBAUM, LOUIS
ARBATOVA, MIA
ARGOV, ALEXANDER (Sascha)
ARGOV, ZOHAR
ARIE, RAFAEL
ARLEN, HAROLD
AROM, SIMHA
ARONI (Aharoni), TSVI
ARONOVICH, YURI MIKHAYLOVICH
ARPA, ABRAMO DALL
ARTZI, SHLOMO
ASHKENAZY, VLADIMIR DAVIDOVICH
ATZMON, MOSHE
AUER, LEOPOLD
AVENARY, HANOCH
AVIDOM, MENAHEM
AVNI, TZEVI
AVSHALOMOV, AARON
AVSHALOMOV, JACOB
AX, EMMANUEL
BABBITT, MILTON
BABILÉE, JEAN
BABIN, VICTOR
BACHARACH, BURT
BACHAUER, GINA
BACHMANN, JACOB
BACON, HIRSCH LEIB
BACON, ISRAEL
BACON, SHLOMO REUVEN
BACON, YIDEL
BAER, ABRAHAM
BAGLEY, DAVID
BAR, SHLOMO
BARDANASHVILI, YOSEF
BARENBOIM, DANIEL
BAR-ILAN, DAVID
BARMAS, ISSAY
BARNEA, EZRA
BARNETT, JOHN
BARNETT, JOHN FRANCIS
BARSHAI, RUDOLPH
BART, LIONEL
BAUER, JACOB
BAUER, MARION EUGENIE
BAYER, BATHIA
BEDA
BEER, AARON
BEER, RAMI
BEIMEL, JACOB
BEKKER, PAUL
BELL, JOSHUA
BELLISON, SIMEON
BELY, VICTOR ARKADYEVICH (Aronovich)
BENATZKY, RALPH
BENDIX, OTTO
BENDIX, VICTOR EMANUEL
BENEDICT, SIR JULIUS (Isaac)
BEN-HAIM, PAUL
BEN-HAIM, YIGAL
BEN-SHABETAI, ARI
BEREGOVSKI, MOSHE
BERGEL, BERND
BERGER, ARTHUR VICTOR
BERGGRÜN, HEINRICH
BERGSON, MICHAEL
BERK, FRED
BERLIJN, ANTON (Aron Wolf)
BERLIN, IRVING
BERLINSKI, HERMAN
BERNSTEIN, ABRAHAM MOSHE
BERNSTEIN, ELMER
BERNSTEIN, LEONARD
BERTINI, GARY
BERTONOFF, DEBORAH
BIE, OSCAR
BINDER, ABRAHAM WOLF
BIRNBAUM, ABRAHAM BAER
BIRNBAUM, EDUARD
BLANES, JACOB

BLANTER, MATVEY ISAAKOVICH
BLAUSTEIN, ABRAHAM
BLECH, LEO
BLINDMAN, YERUHAM
BLITZSTEIN, MARC
BLOCH, ANDRE
BLOCH, CHARLES
BLOCH, ERNEST
BLOCH, ROSINE
BLOOMFIELD-ZEISLER, FANNY
BLUM, RENÉ
BLUMENFELD, FELIX MIKHAYLOVICH
BLUMENTHAL, NISSAN,
BODANZKY, ARTHUR
BODKY, ERWIN
BOEHM, YOHANAN
BOGHEN, FELICE
BOLAFFI, MICHELE
BOLM, ADOLPH RUDOLPHOVICH
BORGE, VICTOR
BORIS, RUTHANNA
BOROVSKY, ALEXANDER
BOSCOVITCH, ALEXANDER URIYAH
BOTSTEIN, LEON
BOUZAGLO, DAVID
BRAHAM, JOHN
BRAILOWSKY, ALEXANDER
BRANDON, OHEB ISAAC
BRANT, HENRY DREYFUS
BRAUDO, YEVGENI MAXIMOVICH
BRAUN (BROWN), ARIE
BRAUN, YEHEZKIEL
BRAUNER, HARRY
BRECHER, GUSTAVE
BRECKER BROTHERS
BRÉVAL, LUCIENNE
BROD, DOVIDL
BROD, MAX
BRODER SINGERS
BRODSKY, ADOLF
BRONFMAN, YEFIM
BROOK, BARRY SHELLEY
BROWNING, JOHN
BRUELL, IGNAZ
BRUSSILOVSKY, YEVGENI GRIGORYEVICH
BUCHWALD, THEO
BUKOFZER, MANFRED
BURLE MARX, WALTER
CACERES, ABRAHAM
CAHN, SAMMY
CAREGAL, HAYYIM MOSES BEN ABRAHAM
CARLEBACH, SHLOMO
CARP, PAULA
CASTELNUOVO-TEDESCO, MARIO
CERVETTO, JACOB BASEVI
CHAGRIN, FRANCIS
CHAGY, BERELE
CHASINS, ABRAHAM
CHERKASSKY, SHURA
CHERNEY, BRIAN
CHERNIAVSKY
CHUJOY, ANATOLE
CHURGIN, BATHIA
CIVITA, DAVIT (David)
COHEN, HARRIET
COHEN, JACOB RAPHAEL
COHEN, LEONARD
COHEN, SELMA JEANNE
COHEN, YARDENA
COHEN MELAMED, NISSAN
COLEMAN, CY
COLONNE, JULES (Judah) EDOUARD
COMISSIONA, SERGIU
CONRIED, HEINRICH
CONSOLO, FEDERICO
COOPER, EMIL ALBERTOVICH
COPLAND, AARON
COSTA, SIR MICHAEL
COWEN, SIR FREDERIC HYMEN
CRANKO, JOHN
DA PONTE, LORENZO
DAMARI, SHOSHANA
DAMROSCH
DANTO, LOUIS
DA-OZ, RAM
DAUS, AVRAHAM
DAVIČO, LUJO
DAVID, ERNEST
DAVID, FERDINAND
DAVID, SAMUEL
DAVYDOV, KARL YULYEVICH
DE PHILIPPE, EDIS
DESSAU, PAUL
DEUTSCH, MORITZ
DEUTSCH, OTTO ERICH
DIAMOND, DAVID
DICHTER, MISHA
DI-ZAHAV, EPHRAIM
DOBROVEN, ISSAY ALEXANDROVICH
DONALDA, PAULINE
DORATI, ANTAL
DORFMAN, JOSEPH
DRESDEN, SEM
DU PRÉ, JACQUELINE
DUKAS, PAUL
DUNAYEVSKI, ISAAC OSIPOVICH
DUQUE, SIMON DAVID
DUSHKIN, SAMUEL
EDEL, YIZHAK
EDEN-TAMIR
EHRLICH, ABEL
EIFMAN, BORIS
EINSTEIN, ALFRED
EISENSTEIN, JUDITH KAPLAN
EISLER, HANNS
ELLSTEIN, ABRAHAM (Abe)
ELMAN, MISCHA
EMSHEIMER, ERNST
ENGEL, JOEL (Yuli Dimitriyevich)
EPHROS, GERSHON

IV. JEWS IN THE WORLD

C. MUSIC & DANCE

Biographies (*continued*)

ERLANGER, CAMILLE
ESHEL, YITZHAK
ESPINOSA, EDOUARD
EULENBURG, ERNST
EVEN-OR, MARY
FALL, LEO
FANO, GUIDO ALBERTO
FARBER, VIOLA
FEIDMAN, GIYORA
FEINBERG, SAMUEL YEVGENYEVICH
FEINSINGER, JOSHUA
FELDMAN, MORTON
FEUERMANN, EMANUEL
FIEDLER, ARTHUR
FISCHER, ANNIE
FISCHOFF, JOSEPH
FISHER, DUDU
FITELBERG, GRZEGORZ (Gregor)
FLEISCHER, TSIPPI
FLEISHER, LEON
FLESCH, CARL
FOGELBERG, DAN
FOSS, LUKAS
FRANKEL, BENJAMIN
FREED, ISADORE
FREEDMAN, HARRY
FRIED (-BISS), MIRIAM
FRIEDE, SHALOM
FRIEDLAENDER, MAX
FRIEDMAN, DEBORAH LYNN
FRIEDMAN, KINKY
FRIEDMANN, ARON
FRIEDMANN, MORITZ
FROMM, HERBERT
FUCHS, LILLIAN
GABRIELOVITCH, OSIP SOLOMONOVICH
GANCHOFF, MOSES
GANTMAN, JUDAH LEIB (LEO)
GASKELL, SONJA
GEBIRTIG, MORDECAI
GEDALGE, ANDRE
GEIRINGER, KARL
GELBRUN, ARTUR
GERBER, MAYNARD
GERNSHEIM, FRIEDRICH
GEROVICH, ELIEZER MORDECAI BEN ISAAC
GERSON-KIWI, EDITH (Esther)
GESHURI, MEIR SHIMON
GETZ, STAN
GIBBS, TERRY
GIDEON, MIRIAM
GILBOA, JACOB
GILÈLS, EMIL GRIGORYEVICH
GIOVANNI MARIA
GLANZ, LEIB
GLASS, PHILIP
GLICK, IRVING SRUL
GLIÈRE, REINHOLD MORITZEVICH
GLUCK, ALMA
GNESIN, MIKHAIL FABIANOVICH
GODOWSKY, LEOPOLD
GOLDBERG, SZYMON
GOLDFARB, ISRAEL
GOLDMAN, EDWIN FRANKO
GOLDMARK, KARL
GOLDSCHMIDT, HUGO
GOLDSTEIN, JOSEF
GOLDSTEIN, RAYMOND
GOLINKIN, MORDECAI
GOLSCHMANN, VLADIMIR
GOODMAN, BENNY
GOTTSCHALK, LOUIS MOREAU
GOULD, MORTON
GRADENWITZ, PETER EMANUEL
GRAF, HERBERT
GRAFFMAN, GARY
GRAZIANI, YIZHAK
GREENBERG, NOAH
GREENBLATT, ELIYAHU
GRUENBERG, LOUIS
GUGLIELMO DA PESARO
GUSIKOW, JOSEPH MICHAEL
HAENDEL, IDA
HAHN, REYNALDO
HAINOVITZ, ASHER
HAJDU, ANDRÉ
HALÉVY, JACQUES (Francois) FROMENTAL ÉLIE
HALPRIN, ANN
HAMDI, LEVI BEN YESHUAH
HAMMERSTEIN
HARRAN, DON
HASKELL, ARNOLD LIONEL
HASKIL, CLARA
HAST, MARCUS
HAUBENSTOCK-RAMATI, ROMAN
HAUSER, EMIL
HAYDEN, MELISSA
HEIFETZ, JASCHA
HEILLMANN, YITZHAK
HELLER, STEPHEN
HEMAN
HEMSI, ALBERTO
HENLE, MORITZ
HENSCHEL, SIR GEORGE (Isidor Georg)
HERRMANN, BERNARD
HERSCHMAN, MORDECHAI
HERSKOVITS, BELA
HERSTIK, NAPHTALI
HERTZKA, EMIL
HERZ, HENRI (Heinrich)
HERZOG, GEORGE
HESKES, IRENE
HESS, DAME MYRA
HILLER, FERDINAND
HINRICHSEN
HIRSH, NURIT

HIRSHBERG, JEHOASH
HOLDHEIM, THEODOR
HOLLAENDER
HORENSTEIN, JASCHA
HORNBOSTEL, ERICH MORITZ VON
HOROWITZ, VLADIMIR
HUBERMAN, BRONISLAW
HUROK, SOLOMON
IBN ABĪ AL SALT
IDELSOHN, ABRAHAM ZVI
INBAL, ELIAHU
ISSERLIS, STEVEN
ISTOMIN, EUGENE
JACOBI, ERWIN R.
JACOBI, FREDERICK
JACOBI, GEORG
JACOBI, HANOCH (Heinrich)
JACOBS, ARTHUR (David)
JACOBSTHAL, GUSTAV
JADASSOHN, SALOMON
JADLOWKER, HERMANN
JAFFE, ELI
JANOWSKI, MAX
JAPHET, ISRAEL MEYER
JASSINOWSKY, PINCHAS
JOACHIM, JOSEPH
JOCHSBERGER, TZIPORAH
JONAS, EMILE
JUDAH BEN ISAAC
KADMAN, GURIT
KAHN, ERICH ITOR
KAISER, ALOIS
KALIB, SHALOM
KALICHSTEIN, JOSEPH
KALMAN, EMMERICH (Imre)
KARACZEWSKI, HANINA
KAREL, RUDOLF
KARLINER, BARUCH
KARMON, ISRAEL
KARNIOL, ALTER YEHIEL
KATCHEN, JULIUS
KATZ, ISRAEL
KATZ, MINDRU
KATZ, RUTH
KATZ, SHOLOM
KAYE, NORA
KENT, ALLEGRA
KENTNER, LOUIS
KERN, JEROME DAVID
KERTESZ, ISTVAN
KESTENBERG, LEO
KIDD, MICHAEL
KINSKY, GEORG LUDWIG
KIPNIS, ALEXANDER
KIPNIS, MENAHEM
KIRCHNER, LEON
KIRSCHNER, EMANUEL
KIRSTEIN, LINCOLN
KLEMPERER, OTTO
KLETZKI, PAUL
KOGAN, LEONID BORISSOVICH
KOHN, MAIER
KOLISCH, RUDOLF
KOLODIN, IRVING
KOPYTMAN, MARK RUVIMOVICH
KORNGOLD, ERICH WOLFGANG
KORNITZER, LEON
KOSHETZ, NINA
KOSTELANETZ, ANDRE
KOUSSEVITZKY, MOSHE
KOUSSEVITZKY, SERGE
KOWALSKI, MAX
KRAUS, GERTRUD
KRAUS, LILI
KRAUS, MOSHE
KREIN, ALEXANDER ABRAMOVICH
KREISLER, FRITZ
KREMER, ISA
KRIPS, JOSEF
KROSHNER, MIKHAIL YEFIMOVICH
KURTH, ERNEST
KURZ, SELMA
KUWAETI, SALEH
KWARTIN, ZAVEL
LACHMANN, ROBERT
LAKNER, YEHOSHUA
LAMM, PAVEL ALEKSANDROVICH
LANDOWSKA, WANDA
LANG, PEARL
LAPSON, DVORA
LAVRY, MARC
LEAR, EVELYN
LEBERT, SIGMUND
LEEF, YINAM
LEFKOWITZ, DAVID
LEIBOWITZ, RENE
LEICHTENTRITT, HUGO
LEIGH, ADELE
LEINSDORF, ERICH
LEONI, MYER
LERER, JOSHUA
LERER, SHMUEL
LERT, ERNST
LEVI-AGRON, HASIA
LEVI, HERMANN
LEVI, LEO
LEVI, YOEL
LEVINE, JAMES
LEVINSON, ANDRE
LEVI-TANNAI, SARA
LEVITSKY, MISCHA
LEVY
LEVY, LAZARE
LEVY, MARVIN DAVID
LEWANDOWSKI, LOUIS
LEWENTHAL, RAYMOND
LEWITZKY, BELLA
LHEVINNE, JOSEF
LICHINE, DAVID
LIEBERMANN, ROLF

IV. JEWS IN THE WORLD

C. MUSIC & DANCE

Biographies (*continued*)

LIEBERSON, GODDARD
LIEBLING, ESTELLE
LIFSHITZ, NEHAMAH
LIGETTI, GYORGI
LIPSCHITZ, SOLOMON BEN MOSES
LISSA, ZOFIA
LIST, EMANUEL
LIST, GEORGE
LITINSKI, GENRIKH ILYICH
LIUZZI, FERNANDO
LOCKSPEISER, EDWARD
LOESSER, FRANK
LOEWE, FREDERICK
LOEWENSTEIN-STRASHUNSKY, JOEL DAVID
LONDON, GEORGE
LOURIE, ARTHUR (Vincent)
LOVY, ISRAEL
LOWINSKY, EDWARD
LUBIN, ABRAHAM
LUBOSHUTZ
LUCCA, PAULINE
MAAYANI, AMI
MAAZEL, LORIN
MACHABEY, ARMAND
MAHLER, GUSTAV
MAJOR, ERVIN
MAJOR, JULIUS (Gyula, Jacob)
MALAVSKY, SAMUEL
MALOVANY, JOSEPH
MANDEL, SHELOMOH
MANNES
MANNES, LEOPOLD
MANOR, EHUD
MARKOVA, ALICIA
MARX, ADOLF BERNHARD
MASLOW, SOPHIE
MASSARANO, JACCHINO OR ISACCHINO
MATZENAUER, MARGARETE
MAYER, SIR ROBERT
MAYKAPAR, SAMUIL MOYSEYEVICH
MEDINA, AVIHU
MEDVEDEV, MIKHAIL
MEHTA, ZUBIN
MEISELS, SAUL
MENDEL, ARTHUR
MENDEL, HERMANN
MENDELSON, JACOB BEN-ZION
MENDELSON, SOLOMON
MENDELSSOHN, ARNOLD
MENDELSSOHN, FELIX (Jakob Ludwig Felix)
MENDELSSOHN HENSEL, FANNY CAECILIE
MENKEN, ALAN
MENUHIN, HEFZIBAH
MENUHIN, YEHUDI
MERRILL, ROBERT
MESSERER, ASAF MIKHAILOVICH
METZGER, OTTILIE (Metzger-Latterman)
MEYER, ERNST HERMAN
MEYERBEER, GIACOMO
MILHAUD, DARIUS
MILLER, BEN-ZION
MILLER, MITCH
MILNER, MOSES MICHAEL
MILSTEIN, NATHAN
MINKOWSKI, PINCHAS
MINTZ, SHLOMO
MIRON, ISSACHAR
MIZRAHI, ASHER
MLOTEK, CHANA
MOISEIWITSCH, BENNO
MONTEUX, PIERRE
MORAWETZ, OSCAR
MOROGOWSKI, JACOB SAMUEL
MOSCHELES, IGNAZ
MOSZKOWSKI, MORITZ
MOTTL, FELIX JOSEF
MULLER, BENJAMIN
NACHEZ, TIVADAR
NADEL, ARNO
NAHARIN, OHAD
NARDI, NAHUM
NATHAN, ISAAC
NATRA, SERGIU
NAUMBOURG, SAMUEL
NAVON, ISAAC ELIYAHU
NE'EMAN, YEHOSHUA LEIB
NETTL, PAUL
NEWMAN, ALFRED
NIKOVA, RINA
NOWAKOWSKI, DAVID
NOY, MEIR
NULMAN, MACY
OBADIAH, THE NORMAN PROSELYTE
OCHS, SIEGFRIED
OFFENBACH, ISAAC
OFFENBACH, JACQUES
OISTRAKH, DAVID FEDOROVICH
OLIVERO, BETTY
ORDMAN, JEANETTE
ORENSTEIN, ARBIE
ORGAD, BEN ZION
ORMANDY, EUGENE
OSTFELD, BARBARA
OVED, MARGALIT
OYSHER, MOISHE
PANOV, VALERY
PARTOS, OEDOEN
PASTA, GUIDITTA
PAULY, ROSA
PEERCE, JAN
PELLEG, FRANK
PERAHIA, MURRAY
PERGAMENT, MOSES
PERLMAN, ITZCHAK
PETERS, ROBERTA
PIATIGORSKY, GREGOR

PINCHERLE, MARC
PINCHIK, PIERRE
PISK, PAUL AMADEUS
PLAMENAC, DRAGAN
PLISETSKAYA, MAYA
POLACHEK, SENDER
POLLACK, EGON
POLLAK, ZALMAN
POLLINI, BERNHARD
POPPER, DAVID
PORGES, HEINRICH
POSTOLSKY, SHALOM
PRESSLER, MENAHEM
PREVIN, ANDRE (George)
PRUEWAR, JULIUS
PUTTERMAN, DAVID
QUELER, EVE
RABINOVICH, HAIM BEN ZION
RABINOVICZ, PINCHAS
RADZYNSKI, JAN
RAISA, ROSA
RAMBERT, DAME MARIE
RAN, SHULAMIT
RAPPAPORT, JACOB
RASKIN, JUDITH
RATHAUS, KAROL
RAVINA, MENASHE
RAVITZ, SHELOMO
RAZUMNI, EPHRAIM ZALMAN (Solomon)
REDLICH, HANS FERDINAND
REICH, STEVE
REINER, FRITZ
REISENBERG, NADIA
REIZENSTEIN, FRANZ
REMENYI, EDUARD
RESNIK, REGINA
RÉTI, RUDOLF
RICARDO, DAVID
RIETI, VITTORIO
RINGER, ALEXANDER
RIVLIN, SHELOMO ZALMAN
ROBBINS, JEROME
ROCHBERG, GEORGE
RODAN, MENDI
RODGERS, MARY
RODGERS, RICHARD
RODZINSKY, ARTUR
ROGERS, BERNARD
ROITMAN, DAVID
ROLAND-MANUEL
ROLL, MICHAEL
ROMANOS MELODOS
ROMBERG, SIGMUND
RONLY-RIKLIS, SHALOM
ROSE, ARNOLD JOSEF
ROSE, LEONARD
ROSEN, CHARLES
ROSENBLATT, JOSEF
ROSENFELD, ABRAHAM ISAAC JACOB
ROSENSTOCK, JOSEPH
ROSENTHAL, HAROLD (David)
ROSENTHAL, MANUEL (Emmanuel)
ROSENTHAL, MORIZ (Maurycy)
ROSOWSKY, SOLOMON
ROSS, HERBERT
ROSSI, MADAMA EUROPA DE'
ROSSI, SALAMONE DE
ROTHMUELLER, AARON MARKO
ROZSAVOLGYI, MARK
RUBIN, RUTH
RUBINSTEIN, ANTON GRIGORYEVICH
RUBINSTEIN, ARTUR
RUBINSTEIN, IDA
RUDEL, JULIUS
RUDINOW, MOSHE
RUDOLF, MAX
RUSSELL (Levy), HENRY
SACERDOTE, DAVID
SACHS, CURT
SADAI, YIZHAK
SADIE, STANLEY (John)
SAINT-LEON, ARTHUR MICHEL
SALAMAN
SALMON, KAREL (Karl Salomon)
SALZMAN, PNINA
SAMBURSKY, DANIEL
SAMINSKY, LAZARE
SAMUEL, HAROLD
SANDERLING, KURT
SANDLER, JACOB KOPPEL
SCHACHTER, CARL
SCHAECHTER-GOTTESMAN, BEYLE
SCHALIT, HEINRICH
SCHENKER, HEINRICH
SCHIDLOWSKY, LEON
SCHIFF, ANDRAS
SCHIFRIN, LALO
SCHILLINGER, JOSEPH
SCHINDLER, KURT
SCHLAMME, MARTHA
SCHLESINGER
SCHMIDT, JOSEPH
SCHNABEL, ARTHUR
SCHNEIDER, ALEXANDER
SCHOENBERG, ARNOLD
SCHOENE, LOTTE
SCHORR, BARUCH
SCHORR, FRIEDRICH
SCHREKER, FRANZ
SCHUBERT, LIA
SCHULHOF, MOSHE
SCHULHOFF, JULIUS
SCHULLER, GUNTHER
SCHUMAN, WILLIAM HOWARD
SCHWARTZ, STEPHEN
SCHWARZ, RUDOLF
SECUNDA, SHOLOM
SEGAL, URI
SEIBER, MATYAS GYORGY
SENDREY, ALFRED

IV. JEWS IN THE WORLD

C. MUSIC & DANCE

BIOGRAPHIES (*continued*)

SERKIN, PETER
SERKIN, RUDOLF
SETER, MORDECHAI
SEVITZKY, FABIEN
SHAHAM, GIL
SHALLON, DAVID
SHAPERO, HAROLD
SHARETT, YEHUDAH
SHARLIN, WILLIAM
SHAW, ARTIE
SHELEM, MATTITYAHU
SHEMER, NAOMI
SHERIFF, NOAM
SHESTAPOL, WOLF
SHILOAH, AMNON
SHLONSKY, VARDINA
SHMUELI, HERZL
SHULSINGER, BEZALEL
SIEGMEISTER, ELIE
SILBERMANN, ALPHONS
SILLS, BEVERLY (Belle Silverman)
SINGER, GEORGE
SINGER, JOSEF
SINGER, KURT
SINIGAGLIA, LEONE
SIPRUTINI, EMANUEL
SIROTA, GERSHON
SLATKIN, LEONARD
SLONIMSKY, NICOLAS
SLONIMSKY, SERGEI MIKHAILOVICH
SMOIRA-COHN, MICHAL
SOBOL, MORDECHAI
SOKOLOW, ANNA
SOLOMON
SOLTI, GEORG
SONDHEIM, STEPHEN
SPECTOR, JOHANNA
SPIVACKE, HAROLD
SPIVAK, NISSAN
SPIVAKOVSKY, TOSSY
STARER, ROBERT
STARK, EDWARD
STEIN, ERWIN
STEINBERG, MAXIMILIAN OSSEJEVICH
STEINBERG, WILLIAM
STENN (STEEN), REBECCA
STERN, ISAAC
STERN, JULIUS
STERN, MOSHE
STERNBERG, ERICH-WALTER
STEUERMANN, EDWARD
STOLYARSKI, PETER SOLOMONOVICH
STRAKOSCH, MAURICE
STRANSKY, JOSEF
STRAUS, OSCAR
STRAUSS, JOHANN
STUTSCHEWSKY, JOACHIM
STYNE, JULE
SULITEANU, GISELA
SULZER, SOLOMON
SUSSKIND, WALTER
SZABOLCSI, BENCE
SZELL, GEORGE
SZERMAN, PINCHAS
SZERYNG, HENRYK
SZIGETI, JOSEPH
TAL, JOSEF
TALMON, ZVI
TAMIRIS, HELEN
TANSMAN, ALEXANDER
TARUSKIN, RICHARD
TAUBE, MICHAEL
TAUBE, MOSHE
TAUBE, SAMUEL BARUCH
TAUBER, RICHARD
TAUSIG, KARL
TEMIANKA, HENRI
TERTIS, LIONEL
THALBERG, SIGISMUND
THOMAS, MICHAEL TILSON
TISCHLER, HANS
TOCH, ERNST
TOUREL, JENNIE
TSFASSMAN, ALEXANDER NAUMOVICH
TUCKER, RICHARD
TUGAL, PIERRE
TURECK, ROSALYN
ULLMAN, VIKTOR
UNGAR, BENJAMIN
UNGER, MAX
VALABREGA, CESARE
VARDI, ARIEH
VEINBERG, MOISSEY SAMUILOVICH
VEPRIK, ALEXANDER MOISEYEVITCH
VICOL, ADRIAN
VIGODA, SAMUEL
VINAVER, CHEMJO
VOGEL, WLADIMIR
VOLPE, ARNOLD
WAGHALTER, IGNATZ
WAGNER, RICHARD
WALDMAN, LEIBELE
WALDTEUFEL, EMIL
WALLENSTEIN, ALFRED
WALTER, BRUNO
WASSERZUG (Lomzer), HAYYIM
WEILL, KURT
WEINBERG, JACOB
WEINBERGER, JAROMIR
WEINER, LAZAR
WEINER, LEO
WEINSTOCK, HERBERT
WEINTRAUB, SOLOMON
WEINZWEIG, JOHN
WEISGAL, ABBA JOSEPH
WEISGALL, HUGO

WEISSBERG, JULIA LAZAREVNA
WEISSENBERG, ALEXIS
WEISSER, ALBERT
WEISSER, JOSHUA
WEISSMANN, ADOLF
WELLESZ, EGON JOSEPH
WERNER, ERIC
WERTHEIM, ROSALIE MARIE
WIENER, JEAN
WIENIAWSKI, HENRI
WILENSKY, MOSHE
WILLIAMS, CHARLES
WINTERNITZ, EMANUEL
WITTGENSTEIN, PAUL
WOHLBERG, MOSHE
WOLFF, ALBERT LOUIS
WOLFF, HERMANN
WOLFSOHN, JULIUSZ
WOLFSTHAL, CHUNE
WOLPE, STEFAN
WORMSER, ANDRÉ (Alphonse-Toussaint)
YAMPOLSKY, BERTA
YASSER, JOSEPH
YELLIN-BENTWICH, THELMA
ZALUDKOWSKI, ELIJAH
ZEFIRA, BRACHAH
ZEHAVI, DAVID
ZEIRA, MORDECHAI
ZEMACH, BENJAMIN
ZHITOMIRSKI, ALEXANDER MATVEYEVITCH
ZILBERTS, ZAVEL
ZIMBALIST, EFREM
ZUKERMAN, PINCHAS
ZUKOFSKY, PAUL
ZUR, MENAHEM

D. SCIENCE

Main Surveys

CHEMISTRY
COMPUTER SCIENCE
ENVIRONMENTAL SCIENCES
LIFE SCIENCES
MATHEMATICS
MEDICINE
PHYSICS
PSYCHIATRY

General Entries

AERONAUTICS, AVIATION, AND ASTRONAUTICS
ALCHEMY
NOBEL PRIZES
TECHNOLOGY AND HALAKHAH

1. BIOLOGY

General Entries

GENETIC ANCESTRY, JEWISH

Biographies

ABIR (ABRAMOVITZ), DAVID
ABULAFIA, SAMUEL HA-LEVI
AHARONI, ISRAEL
ALTMAN, SIDNEY
ALTSCHUL, AARON MEYER
ANFINSEN, CHRISTIAN B.
ARNON, DANIEL ISRAEL
ARNON, ISAAC
ARNON, RUTH
ARTOM, CESARE
ASCHERSON, PAUL FRIEDRICH AUGUST
ASCHNER, MANFRED
ASHBEL, DOV
ASIMOV, ISAAC
ASKENASY, EUGEN
ATLAN, HENRI
AUERBACH, LEOPOLD
AVIV, HAIM
AXELROD, JULIUS
BALTIMORE, DAVID
BERG, PAUL
BLOCH, MARCUS (Mordecai) ELIEZER
BODENHEIMER, FREDERICK SIMON
BODMER, SIR WALTER
BOGORAD, LAWRENCE
BRESSLAU, ERNST
CEDAR, CHAIM
COHEN, STANLEY N.
COHEN, YIGAL RAHAMIM
COHN, FERDINAND JULIUS
CHET, ILAN
DUVDEVANI, SHMUEL
EDINGER, TILLY
EIG, ALEXANDER
ENRIQUES, PAOLO
EPHRUSSI, BORIS
ERRERA, LEO
EVENARI, MICHAEL
EZEKIEL, MOSES
FAHN, ABRAHAM
FEINBRUN-DOTHAN, NAOMI
GILBERT, WALTER
GOLDSCHMIDT, RICHARD BENEDICT
GOULD, STEPHEN
GURWITSCH, ALEXANDER GAVRILOVICH
HAAS, FRITZ
HAAS, GEORG
HABERLANDT, GOTTLIEB
HAFFKINE, WALDEMAR MORDECAI
HALEVY, ABRAHAM
HA-REUBENI, EPHRAIM
HORWITZ, H. ROBERT
HYMAN, LIBBIE HENRIETTA
JACOB, FRANCOIS
LEDERBERG, JOSHUA
LURIA, SALVADOR EDWARD
LWOFF, ANDRE MICHEL
MAGNUS, PAUL WILHELM
MARMOREK, ALEXANDER
MENDELSSOHN, HEINRICH
MESELSON, MATTHEW

IV. JEWS IN THE WORLD

D. SCIENCE

1. Biology

Biographies (*continued*)

METCHNIKOFF, ELIE
OPPENHEIMER, HILLEL (Heinz) REINHARD
PINCUS, GREGORY GOODWIN
RAGER, BRACHA
RAYSS, TSCHARNA
REICHERT, ISRAEL
ROTHSCHILD, NATHANIEL MAYER VICTOR, LORD
SACHS, JULIUS
SACHS, LEO
SEMON, RICHARD WOLFGANG
SORAUER, PAUL KARL MORITZ
SPIEGELMAN, SOL
STEINACH, EUGEN
STENT, GUNTHER SIEGMUND
STRASBURGER, EDUARD
VARMUS, HAROLD ELIOT
WAKSMAN, SELMAN ABRAHAM
WALD, GEORGE
WARBURG, OTTO
WIESNER, JULIUS VON
ZENKEVICH, LEV ALEKSANDROVICH
ZILBER, LEV ALEKSANDROVICH
ZOHARY, MICHAEL

2. CHEMISTRY

General Entries

CHEMICAL CRAFTS AND INDUSTRIES
CHEMISTRY

Biographies

ABEL, EMIL
ASKENASY, PAUL
BACHARACH, ALFRED LOUIS
BAEYER, ADOLF VON
BAMBERGER, EUGEN
BECHHOLD, JACOB HEINRICH
BERGMANN, ERNST DAVID
BERGMANN, FELIX ELIEZER
BERGMANN, MAX
BERL, ERNST
BERNSTEIN, HAROLD JOSEPH
BIKERMAN, JACOB JOSEPH
BIRK, YEHUDITH
BLAU, FRITZ
BLOCH, HERMAN SAMUEL
BLOCH, KONRAD
BLOCH, MOSES RUDOLPH
BOBTELSKY, MORDEKHAI (Max)
BODANSKY, OSCAR
BORSOOK, HENRY
BRAUDE, ERNEST ALEXANDER
BROWN, HERBERT C.
CALVIN, MELVIN
CARO, HEINRICH
CARO, NIKODEM
CHAIN, SIR ERNST BORIS
CHARGAFF, ERWIN
CIECHANOVER, AARON J.
COHEN, ERNST JULIUS
COHEN, JULIUS BEREND
COHEN, SIR PHILIP
COHEN, PHILIP PACY
COHEN, SEYMOUR STANLEY
COHEN, STANLEY
COHN, EDWIN JOSEPH
COHN, LASSAR
COHN, MILDRED
COPISAROW, MAURICE
DEUEL, HANS ERWIN
DISCHE, ZACHARIAS
DJERASSI, CARL
DONATH, EDUARD
DORFMAN, RALPH ISADORE
DREYFUS BROTHERS
DROSDOFF, MATTHEW
DUSHMAN, SAUL
EDELMAN, GERALD MAURICE
EHRLICH, PAUL
ELIEL, ERNEST LUDWIG
EMBDEN, GUSTAV
FAJANS, KASIMIR
FALK, KAUFMAN GEORGE
FARKAS, LADISLAUS (Wilhelm)
FEIGL, FRITZ
FEINGOLD, DAVID SIDNEY
FEUER, HENRY
FISCHER, EDMOND
FISHMAN, WILLLAM HAROLD
FLEISCHER, MICHAEL
FODOR, ANDOR
FOX, SIR JOHN JACOB
FRANK, ALBERT RUDOLPH
FREIDLINA, RAKHIL KHATSKELEVNA
FREUND, MARTIN
FRUMKIN, ALEKSANDR NAUMOVICH
FUNK, CASIMIR
GERHARDT, CHARLES FREDERIC
GINSBURG, DAVID
GLICK, DAVID
GOLDBERG, ALEXANDER
GOLDSCHMIDT, GUIDO
GOLDSCHMIDT, HANS
GOLDSCHMIDT, HEINRICH JACOB
GOLDSTEIN, RICHARD FRANK
GOMBERG, MOSES
GREEN, DAVID EZRA
GREENBERG, DAVID MORRIS
GREENSTEIN, JESSE PHILIP
GRINBERG, ALEKSANDER ABRAMOVICH
GRUEN, ADOLF
GRUENSTEIN, NATHAN
HABER, FRITZ
HALPERN, JACK
HANDLER, PHILIP
HARRIS, MILTON

HASSID, WILLIAM ZEV
HEIDELBERGER, MICHAEL
HEILBRON, SIR IAN MORRIS
HERSHKO, AVRAM
HERZOG, REGINALD OLIVER
HESTRIN, SHLOMO
HEVESY, GEORGE CHARLES DE
HIRSHBERG, YEHUDAH
HOFFMANN, ROALD
JACOBSON, KURT
JACOBSON, PAUL HEINRICH
JELLINEK, KARL
JOLLES, ZVI ENRICO
JORTNER, JOSHUA
KABACHNIK, MARTIN IZRAILOVICH
KALNITSKY, GEORGE
KATZIR, AHARON
KATZIR, EPHRAIM
KAUFMAN, JOYCE JACOBSON
KAZARNOVSKI, ISAAC ABRAMOVICH
KEDEM, ORA
KHARASCH, MORRIS SELIG
KLUG, AARON
KOLTHOFF, IZAAK MAURITS
KORNBERG, ARTHUR
KORNBERG, HANS LEO
KREBS, SIR HANS ADOLF
KROTO, SIR HAROLD W.
LADENBURG, ALBERT
LEVENE, PHOEBUS AARON THEODOR
LEVI, GIORGIO RENATO
LEVI, MARIO GIACOMO
LEVINE, RAPHAEL
LEVINSTEIN, HERBERT
LEVITZKI, ALEXANDER
LEVY, LOUIS EDWARD
LEWKOWITSCH, JULIUS
LIEBEN, ADOLPH
LIEBERMANN, CARL THEODOR
LIPMAN, JACOB GOODALE
LIPMANN, FRITZ ALBERT
LIPPMANN, EDMUND OSKAR VON
LIPPMANN, EDUARD
LOEB, JACQUES
LOEB, MORRIS
LUNGE, GEORG
MARCKWALD, WILLY
MARCUS, RUDOLPH ARTHUR
MECHOULAM, RAPHAEL
MELDOLA, RAPHAEL
MENDEL, LAFAYETTE BENEDICT
MEYER, HANS JOHANNES LEOPOLD
MEYER, RICHARD JOSEPH
MEYER, VICTOR
MEYERHOF, OTTO
MEYERSON, EMILE
MICHAELIS, LEONOR
MOISSAN, HENRI
MOND
MUSHER, SIDNEY
NEUBERG, GUSTAV EMBDEN CARL
NEUBERGER, ALBERT
NIRENBERG, MARSHALL WARREN
OLAH, GEORGE
OPPENHEIMER, CARL
PANETH, FRIEDRICH ADOLF
PARNAS, YAKUB KAROL
PERLZWEIG, WILLIAM ALEXANDRE
PERUTZ, MAX FERDINAND
PINNER, ADOLF
POLANYI, JOHN
POLANYI, MICHAEL
PRINGSHEIM, HANS
PTASHNE, MARK
QUASTEL, JUDAH HIRSCH
RABINOWITCH, EUGENE
RACKER, EFRAIM
RAPHAEL, RALPH ALEXANDER
RAPKINE, LOUIS
RAZIN, AHARON
REICHINSTEIN, DAVID
REICHSTEIN, TADEUS
REIFENBERG, ADOLF
RITTENBERG, DAVID
RODBELL, MARTIN
ROGINSKI, SIMON ZALMANOVICH
RONA, PETER
ROSE, IRWIN
ROSENHEIM, ARTHUR
ROSENHEIM, OTTO
SACKUR, OTTO
SCHIFF, HUGO
SCHMERLING, LOUIS
SCHOENBERG, ALEXANDER JULIUS WILHELM
SCHOENHEIMER, RUDOLPH
SELA, MICHAEL
SHAPIRO, BENJAMIN
SHARON, NATHAN
SHEAR, MURRAY JACOB
SHEDLOVSKY, THEODORE
SILVERMAN, ALEXANDER
SIMON, ERNST
SOBOTKA, HARRY HERMAN
SONDHEIMER, FRANZ
SPIEGEL-ADOLF, MONA
SPIRO, KARL
STEIN, WILLIAM HOWARD
STERN, KURT GUNTER
STIEGLITZ, JULIUS OSCAR
STRAUSS, EDUARD
STROMINGER, JACK
SURE, BARNETT
SYRKIN, YAKOV KOVOVICH
SZWARC, MICHAEL
TALMUD, DAVID L.
TISCHLER, MAX
TOCH, MAXIMILIAN
TRAUBE, ISIDOR
TRAUBE, MORITZ
TRAUBE, WILHELM

IV. JEWS IN THE WORLD

D. SCIENCE

2. Chemistry

Biographies (*continued*)

- VOET, ANDRIES
- VOGEL, ARTHUR ISRAEL
- WALLACH, OTTO
- WARBURG, OTTO HEINRICH
- WEIGERT, FRITZ
- WEINHOUSE, SIDNEY
- WEISS, JOSEPH JOSHUA
- WERTHEIMER, CHAIM ERNST
- WESTHEIMER, FRANK HENRY
- WILLNER, ITAMAR
- WILLSTAETTER, RICHARD
- WINSTEIN, SAUL
- WINTERSTEIN, ALFRED
- WISE, LOUIS ELSBERG
- YONATH, ADA
- ZAMENHOF, STEPHEN

3. ENGINEERING (INCL. INVENTORS)

Biographies

- ADLER, CHARLES
- ARCO, GEORG WILHELM ALEXANDER HANS, GRAF VON
- BERLINER, EMILE
- BLOK, ARTHUR
- CARVALLO, JULES
- COHEN, MORRIS
- DRUCKER, DANIEL CHARLES
- FELD, JACOB
- FONDILLER, WILLIAM
- FREUDENTHAL, ALFRED MARTIN
- FROHMAN, DOV
- GAUNSE, JOACHIM
- GOLDBERG, EMANUEL
- GOLDMARK, PETER CARL
- GUREVICH, MIKHAIL IOSIFOVICH
- HARARI, OVADIAH
- HEYMAN, MOSES DAVID
- ISAACS, JACOB
- JAFFE, LEONARD
- JUDA, WALTER
- KATZ, ISRAEL
- KITSEE, ISADOR
- KURREIN, MAX
- LAND, EDWIN H.
- LEDEEN, HYMAN
- LEDERER, JEROME F.
- LEES, LESTER
- LEEUW, AVRAHAM DE
- LIBAI, AVINOAM
- LIEBEN, ROBERT VON
- LILIENTHAL, OTTO
- LIPSKI, ABRAHAM
- LITMAN, SAMUEL
- LOCKSPEISER, BEN, SIR
- MAGINO, MEIR
- MARCUS, SIEGFRIED
- MICHEL-LEVY, AUGUSTE
- MILLMAN, JACOB
- NAGIN, HARRY S.
- OLLENDORFF, FRANZ
- PINKEL, BENJAMIN
- RABINOVICH, ISAAK MOSEYEVICH
- RAM, MOSHE
- REINER, MARKUS
- RESNIK, JUDITH
- ROM, YOSEF
- RUEDENBERG, REINHOLD
- SAMOILOVICH, RUDOLPH LAZAREVICH
- SCHLESINGER, GEORG
- SCHWARZ, DAVID
- SERBIN, HYMAN
- SHALON, RAHEL
- SHAPIRO, ASCHER HERMAN
- SHECHTMAN, DAN
- SILVERMAN, LESLIE
- SILVERSTEIN, ABE
- SINGER, JOSEF
- SLEPIAN, JOSEPH
- SPORN, PHILIP
- STRAUSS, BENNO
- WEIL, JOSEPH
- WEIL, R. ADRIENNE
- WIESNER, JEROME BERT
- WOLMAN, ABEL
- YOUNG, ALEC DAVID
- ZARCHIN, ALEXANDER
- ZIV, JACOB
- ZUCROW, MAURICE JOSEPH

4. GEOLOGY

Biographies

- ANCONA, CESARE D
- BEN-ABRAHAM, ZVI
- BENIOFF, HUGO
- BENTOR, JACOB
- BERENDT, GOTTLIEB MICHAEL
- BLANCKENHORN, MAX
- COHEN, EMIL WILHELM
- GOLDSCHMIDT, VICTOR
- GOLDSCHMIDT, VICTOR MORITZ
- LOEWINSON-LESSING, FRANZ YULYEVICH
- OPPENHEIM, PAUL LEO
- PICARD, LEO
- ROSENBUSCH, KARL HARRY FERDINAND
- SALOMON-CALVI, WILHELM
- SHIFTAN, ZEEV
- SUESS, EDUARD
- VROMAN, AKIVA

5. MEDICINE & PHYSIOLOGY

General Entries

- ANATOMY
- ARTIFICIAL INSEMINATION
- AUTOPSIES AND DISSECTION
- BLINDNESS
- BLOODLETTING

GENETIC DISEASES IN JEWS
HERBS, MEDICINAL
HYGIENE
MEDICINE AND THE LAW
SICKNESS
TAY-SACHS DISEASE
TRANSPLANTS

Biographies

ABRAHAM BEN SOLOMON OF SAINT MAXIMIN
ABRAHAM, KARL
ABRAHAMS, ISAAC
ABRAMOWITZ, EMIL
ABT, ISAAC ARTHUR
ACKORD, ELIAS
ADAM, LAJOS (Louis)
ADLER, ALFRED
ADLER, SAUL AARON
ALBU, ISIDOR
ALI IBN SAHL IBN RABBAN AL-TABARI
ALTSCHUL, EMIL
AMATUS LUSITANUS
ANGRIST, ALFRED ALVIN
ARDUT
ASAPH HA-ROFE
ASTRUC, SAUL HA-KOHEN
AXEL, RICHARD
BAKST, NICOLAI (Noah) IGNATYEVICH
BALINT, MICHAEL
BALLIN, SAMUEL JACOB
BAMBERGER, HEINRICH VON
BÁRÁNY, ROBERT
BARNETT, SIR LOUIS EDWARD
BARUK, HENRI
BENACERRAF, BARUJ
BENCHETRIT, AARON
BENDER, MORRIS BORIS
BENEDIKT, MORITZ
BENEVENUTUS GRAPHEUS HIEROSOLYMITANUS
BENZER, SEYMOUR
BERENBLUM, ISAAC
BERNHEIM, HIPPOLYTE
BERNSTEIN, JULIUS
BERNSTEIN, NATHAN OSIPOVICH
BESREDKA, ALEXANDER
BESSELS, EMIL
BILLROTH, THEODOR
BLOCH, IWAN
BLUMBERG, BARUCH SAMUEL
BODIAN, DAVID
BRENNER, SYDNEY
BREUER, JOSEPH
BROWN, MICHAEL STUART
BUCKY, GUSTAV
BUERGER, LEO
CALAHORA
CANNSTADT, KARL FRIEDRICH
COHEN, ELIZABETH D. A.
COHEN, HARRY
COHEN, HENRY BARON
COHNHEIM, JULIUS
CORI, GERTY THERESA
CYON, ELIE DE
DAMESHEK, WILLIAM
DAVIDOFF, LEO MAX
DAVIDSOHN, ISRAEL
DE LEE, JOSEPH B.
DE VRIES, ANDRE
DEUTSCH, FELIX
DEUTSCH, HELENE
DIAMOND, LOUIS KLEIN
DONNOLO, SHABBETAI
DORON, HAIM
DOSTROVSKY, ARYEH
DRESSLER, WILLIAM
EDINGER, LUDWIG
EINHORN, MAX
EINHORN, MOSES
EISSLER, KURT R.
EITINGER, LEO S.
EITINGON, MAX
ELDAR, REUVEN
ELIAKIM, MARCEL
ELIJAH BEN SHABBETAI BEER
ELION, GERTRUDE BELL
ERIKSON, ERIK HOMBERGER
ERLANGER, JOSEPH
ERLIK, DAVID
FALAQUERA, NATHAN BEN JOEL
FARAJ BEN SOLOMON (Salim) DA AGRIGENTO
FEDERN, PAUL
FEIGENBAUM, ARYEH
FENICHEL, OTTO
FERENCZI, SÁNDOR
FINKELSTEIN, HEINRICH
FISHBEIN, MORRIS
FISHBERG, MAURICE
FLORETA CA NOGA OF ARAGON
FOLKMAN, JUDAH
FRANKENTHAL, KATE
FRANKL, VIKTOR E.
FRANZBLAU, ABRAHAM NORMAN
FREUD, ANNA
FREUD, SIGMUND
FRIEDEMANN, ULRICH
FRIEDENWALD
FRIEDLANDER, KATE
FRIEND, CHARLOTTE
FRIGEIS, LAZARO DE
FROEHLICH, ALFRED
FROLKIS, VLADIMIR VENIAMIOVICH
FROMM, ERICH
FROMM-REICHMANN, FRIEDA
FURCHGOTT, ROBERT F.
GARLOCK, JOHN HENRY
GASSER, HERBERT SPENCER
GILMAN, ALFRED G.
GOLD, HENRY RAPHAEL
GOLD, PHILIP
GOLDBERGER, JOSEPH

IV. JEWS IN THE WORLD

D. SCIENCE

5. Medicine & Physiology

BIOGRAPHIES (*continued*)

GOLDBLUM, NATAN
GOLDSTEIN, JOSEPH LEONARD
GOLDSTEIN, KURT
GOTTLIEB, BERNHARD
GREENACRE, PHYLLIS
GREENGARD, PAUL
GRINKER, ROY RICHARD SR.
GROSSMAN, MORTON IRVING
GRUBY, DAVID
GUMPERT, MARTIN
GUTMAN, ALEXANDER B.
GUTTMACHER, ALAN F.
GUTTMANN, SIR LUDWIG
HAJEK, MARKUS
HALBERSTAEDTER, LUDWIG
HALPERN, LIPMAN
HANNOVER, ADOLPH
HART, ERNEST ABRAHAM
HART, JOEL
HARTMANN, HEINZ
HAVA OF MANOSQUE
HAYS, ISAAC
HEIDENHAIN, RUDOLF
HELPERN, MILTON
HENLE, JACOB
HESTRIN-LERNER, SARAH
HIRSCH, AUGUST
HIRSCH, RACHEL
HIRSCHBERG, JULIUS
HIRSCHFELD, ISADOR
HIRSCHFELD, MAGNUS
HIRSCHLER, IGNAC
HIRSZFELD, LUDWIK
HITSCHMANN, EDWARD
HOFF, HANS
HOFFER, WILLI
HOLLANDER, FRANKLIN
HORWITZ, PHINEAS JONATHAN
HYDE, IDA HENRIETTA
IBN BIKLĀRISH, JUNAS (Jonah) BEN ISAAC
ISAAC BEN TODROS
JACOBI, ABRAHAM
JACOBSON, LUDVIG LEVIN
JADASSOHN, JOSEF
JANOWITZ, HENRY D.
KAGAN, HELENA
KANDEL, ERIC R.
KANNER, LEO
KANTROWITZ, ADRIAN
KAPOSI, MORITZ
KARDINER, ABRAM
KARPLUS, HEINRICH
KATZ, SIR BERNARD
KISCH, BRUNO ZECHARIAS
KLEIN, GEORGE
KLEIN, MELANIE REIZES
KLEMPERER, PAUL
KLIGLER, ISRAEL JACOB
KLINE, NATHAN S.
KOCH, ADELHEID LUCY
KOLLER, CARL
KOPLIK, HENRY
KOREFF, DAVID FERDINAND
KORINE, EZRA
KRIM, MATHILDE
KRISTELLER, SAMUEL
KRONECKER, HUGO
KUBIE, LAWRENCE
LACHMANN, SIR PETER JULIUS
LANDAU, LEOPOLD
LANDSTEINER, KARL
LANGER, ROBERT
LASSAR, OSCAR
LEIBOWITZ, JOSHUA O.
LEVI, GIUSEPPE
LEVI-MONTALCINI, RITA
LEVINE, PHILIP
LEVINSON, ABRAHAM
LEWI, MAURICE J.
LEWIS, SIR AUBREY JULIAN
LOEB, LEO
LOEWENSTEIN, RUDOLPH MAURICE
LOEWI, OTTO
MACHT, DAVID
MAGNUS, RUDOLPH
MAHLER, MARGARET
MAIMONIDES, MOSES
MALZBERG, BENJAMIN
MA'OR KATAN
MARCUSE, MOSES
MASIE, AARON MEIR
MASSERMAN, JULES HYMAN
MASTER, ARTHUR M.
MER, GIDEON
MEYERHOF, MAX
MICHAELSON, ISAAC CHESAR
MILLER, EMANUEL
MILLER, LOUIS
MILSTEIN, CESAR
MINKOWSKI, EUGENE
MIROWSKI, MICHEL
MORGENTALER, HENRY
MULLER, HERMAN JOSEPH
MUNK, HERMANN
NASSY, DAVID DE ISAAC COHEN
NATHANS, DANIEL
NEUFELD, HENRY
NOSSAL, SIR GUSTAV
NUNBERG, HERMAN
OLITZKI, ARYEH LEO
OPPENHEIM, HERMANN
ORENSTEIN, ALEXANDER JEREMIAH
PADEH, BARUCH
PAGEL, JULIUS LEOPOLD
PAPO, IZIDOR JOSEF

PENN, JACK
PERLSTEIN, MEYER A.
PICK, ALOIS
PICK, ERNST PETER
PLAUT, HUGO CARL
POLAK, JACOB EDUARD
POLITZER, ADAM
PRESSMAN, DAVID
PREUSS, JULIUS
PRUSINER, STANLEY B.
PRYWES, MOSHE
RACHMILEWITZ, MOSHE
RADO, SANDOR
RAHAMIMOFF, RAMI
RAHBAR, SAMUEL
RAMOT, BRACHA
RANK, OTTO
RAPAPORT, DAVID
RAPPAPORT, HENRY
REDLICH, FREDERICK C.
REIK, THEODOR
REMAK
REVEL, MICHEL
RIGLER, LEO GEORGE
ROMBERG, MORITZ HEINRICH
ROSEN, FRED
ROSEN, SAMUEL
ROSENHEIM, MAX (Leonard), BARON
ROTH, SIR MARTIN
ROTHSCHILD, FRIEDRICH SALOMON
SABIN, ALBERT BRUCE
SACHS, BERNARD
SAKEL, MANFRED JOSHUA
SALAMAN, REDCLIFFE NATHAN
SALITERNIK, ZVI
SALK, JONAS EDWARD
SALOMONSEN, CARL JULIUS
SANDGROUND, JACK HENRY
SCHALLY, ANDREW V.
SCHICK, BELA
SCHILDER, PAUL FERDINAND
SCHRIRE, VELVA
SCIALOM, DAVID DARIO
SELDIN, HARRY M.
SEMON, SIR FELIX
SENATOR, HERMANN
SEQUEYRA, JOHN DE
SHEBA, CHAIM
SIMON, PIERRE
SPITZ, RENE A.
STARKENSTEIN, EMIL
STEG, ADOLPHE
STEIN, RICHARD
STEIN, YEHEZKIEL
STEINBERG, AVRAHAM
STEINBERG, MARTIN R.
STEKEL, WILHELM
STENGEL, ERWIN
STERN, ARTHUR C.
STERN, ERICH
STERN, LINA SOLOMONOVNA
STILLING, BENEDICT
STRAUS, RAHEL
SZASZ, THOMAS STEPHEN
TANDLER, JULIUS
TARNOPOLSKY, SAMUEL
TAUSK, VIKTOR
TELLER, ISSACHAR BAER
TEMIN, HOWARD MARTIN
TENDLER, MOSES D.
TENENBAUM, JOSEPH L.
TOBIAS, PHILLIP VALLENTINE
TRAMER, MORITZ
TRAUBE, LUDWIG
UNNA, PAUL GERSON
VALENTIN, GABRIEL GUSTAV
VAN DER HOEDEN, JACOB
VANE, SIR JOHN R.
VORONOFF, SERGE
WALLACH, MOSHE (Moritz)
WASSERMANN, AUGUST VON
WATTERS, LEON LAIZER
WECHSLER, ISRAEL
WEIDNER, PAULUS
WEIGERT, CARL
WEISENBURG, THEODORE H.
WIDAL, FERNAND
WIENER, ALEXANDER S.
WINNIK, HENRY ZVI
WINSTON, ROBERT, BARON
WINTROBE, MAXWELL MYER
WOLBERG, LEWIS ROBERT
WOLF, ABNER
WOLFF, CHARLOTTE
WOOLF, MOSHE
WORMS, ASHER ANSHEL
YALOW, ROSALYN SUSSMAN
YUDKIN, JOHN
ZACUTUS LUSITANUS
ZAIZOV, RINA
ZIFF, MORRIS
ZILBOORG, GREGORY
ZIMMERMAN, HARRY M.
ZONDEK
ZUCKERKANDL, EMIL
ZUCKERMAN, SOLLY, LORD

6. PHYSICS & MATHEMATICS (INCL. ASTRONOMY & METEOROLOGY)

Biographies

ABELMANN, ILYA SOLOMOVITCH
ABRAHAM, MAX
ABRAHAM BAR HIYYA
AGMON, SHMUEL
AHARONOV, YAKIR
ALFEROV, ZHOREZ I.
AMIRA, BINYAMIN
AMITSUR, SAMSON ABRAHAM
ANDRADE, EDWARD NEVILLE DA COSTA
ARONS, LEO

IV. JEWS IN THE WORLD

D. SCIENCE

6. Physics & Mathematics (incl. Astronomy & Meteorology)

BIOGRAPHIES (*continued*)

ATLAS, DAVID
AYRTON, HERTHA
BACHER, ROBERT FOX
BAGINSKY, ADOLF ARON
BAUER, SIMON HARVEY
BEER, WILHELM
BEMPORAD, AZEGLIO
BERNAL, JOHN DESMOND
BERNSTEIN, JOSEPH
BERSON, ARTHUR JOSEPH STANISLAV
BESICOVITCH, ABRAM SAMOILOVITCH
BETHE, HANS ALBRECHT
BLOCH, FELIX
BOHM, DAVID
BOHR, NIELS HENRIK DAVID
BONDI, SIR HERMANN
BONFILS, IMMANUEL BEN JACOB
BONJORN, BONET DAVI(D)
BORN, MAX
BOROWITZ, SIDNEY
BREDIG, GEORGE
BRODETSKY, SELIG
BROWN, HAROLD
CANTOR, MORITZ BENEDICT
CHARPAK, GEORGES
COHEN TANNOUDJI, CLAUDE
COHEN, PAUL JOSEPH
COHN, BERTHOLD
COHN, FRITZ
COHN, TOBIAS BEN MOSES
CONRAD, VICTOR
COOPER, LEON N.
COURANT, RICHARD
CREIZENACH, MICHAEL
CROHN, BURRILL BERNARD
DEMBER, HARRY L.
DE-SHALIT, AMOS
DESSAU, BERNARDO
DESSAUER, FRIEDRICH
DICKSTEIN, SAMUEL
DOMNINUS OF LARISSA
DOSTROVSKY, ISRAEL
DVORETSKY, ARYEH
EHRENFEST, PAUL
EINSTEIN, ALBERT
EISENSTEIN, FERDINAND GOTTHOLD
EPSTEIN, PAUL SOPHUS
ESTERMANN, IMMANUEL
FEJER, LEOPOLD
FEKETE, MICHAEL
FEYNMAN, RICHARD PHILLIPS
FINLAY-FREUNDLICH, ERWIN
FINNISTON, SIR HAROLD MONTAGUE (Monty)
FRAENKEL, ABRAHAM ADOLF
FRANCK, JAMES
FRANK, ILJA MIKHAILOVICH
FRANK, PHILIPP
FRANKEL, HEINRICH WALTER
FRANKLIN, ROSALIND ELSIE
FRENKEL, JACOB ILICH
FRIEDMAN, JEROME ISAAC
FRISCH, OTTO ROBERT
FROHLICH, HERBERT
FUBINI, GUIDO
FURSTENBERG, HILLEL (Harry)
GABOR, DENNIS
GANS, DAVID BEN SOLOMON
GELFAND, IZRAIL MOISEVICH
GELFOND, ALEKSANDR OSIPOVICH
GELL-MANN, MURRAY
GINSBURG, JEKUTHIEL
GINZBURG, VITALY LAZAREVICH
GLASER, DONALD ARTHUR
GLASHOW, SHELDON LEE
GLAUBER, ROY J.
GOLDSCHMIDT, HERMANN
GOLDSTEIN, EUGEN
GOLDSTEIN, SIDNEY
GROSS, DAVID J.
GUTENBERG, BENO
HADAMARD, JACQUES SALOMON
HAIMOVICI, MENDEL
HANANI, HAIM
HANNOVER, RAPHAEL LEVI
HARARI, HAYYIM
HAREL, DAVID
HASSAN IBN (Mar) HASSAN
HAUPTMAN, HERBERT A.
HAURWITZ, BERNHARD
HAUSDORFF, FELIX (Paul Mongre)
HECHT, SELIG
HEEGER, ALAN J.
HENSEL, KURT
HERTZ, GUSTAV
HOFSTADTER, ROBERT
HURWITZ, ADOLF
IBN SAʿĪD, ISAAC
INFELD, LEOPOLD
ISRAEL, EDWARD
ISRAELI, ISAAC BEN JOSEPH
JACOBI, KARL GUSTAV JACOB
JACOBI, MORITZ (Moses) HERMANN
JAMMER, MAX
JAMMER, MOSHE
JOFFE, ABRAHAM FEODOROVICH
JOSEPHSON, BRIAN DAVID
KANTOROVICH, LEONID
KANTROWITZ, ARTHUR
KAPLAN, JOSEPH
KARLE, JEROME
KARMAN, THEODORE VON
KOGAN, ABRAHAM
KOHN, WALTER
KORN, ARTHUR
KRONECKER, LEOPOLD

LANDAU, EDMUND
LANDAU, LEV DAVIDOVICH
LEDERMAN, LEON MAX
LEE, DAVID M.
LEFSCHETZ, SOLOMON
LESS, EMIL
LEVI-CIVITA, TULLIO
LEVITSKY, JACOB
LEVY, HYMAN
LEVY, LUCIEN
LICHTENFELD, GABRIEL JUDAH
LIFSON, SHNEIOR
LIPKIN, YOM TOV LIPMAN
LIPPMANN, GABRIEL
LIPSCHITZ, RUDOLF OTTO SIGISMUND
LOEW, MORITZ
LOEWE, FRITZ PHILIPP
LOEWY, MAURICE
LONDON, FRITZ
LOW (Lev), WILLIAM ZE'EV
MACHTA, LESTER
MAGNUS, HEINRICH GUSTAV
MANDELBROT, BENOIT
MANDELSHTAM, LEONID ISAAKOVICH
MARGULES, MAX
MĀSHĀ'ALLAH B. ATHAN
MEITNER, LISE
MENDELSSOHN, KURT ALFRED GEORG
MICHELSON, ALBERT ABRAHAM
MINKOWSKI, HERMANN
MORDELL, LOUIS JOEL
MOTTELSON, BENJAMIN R.
NAMIAS, JEROME
NE'EMAN, YUVAL
NEUGEBAUER, OTTO
NEUMANN, JOHANN (Johnny) LUDWIG VON
NOETHER
OPPENHEIMER, J. ROBERT
ORNSTEIN, LEONARD SALOMON
OSHEROFF, DOUGLAS DEAN
PAULI, WOLFGANG
PEIERLS, SIR RUDOLF ERNST
PEKERIS, CHAIM LEIB
PENZIAS, ARNO ALLAN
PEPPER, JOSEPH
PERL, MARTIN
PIROGOV, NIKOLAI
POLITZER, H. DAVID
PONTECORVO, BRUNO
PRAGER, RICHARD
PRESS, FRANK
PRIGOGINE, ILYA
RABI, ISIDOR ISAAC
RABIN, MICHAEL OSER
RACAH, GIULIO (Yoel)
REINES, FREDERICK
RICHTER, BURTON
ROSEN, MOSHE
ROSENHEAD, LOUIS
ROTBLAT, SIR JOSEPH
ROTENBERG, MATTIE
ROTH, KLAUS FRIEDRICH
RUBENSON, ROBERT
RUBIN, MORTON JOSEPH
SAGAN, CARL EDWARD
SAMBURSKY, SAMUEL
SCHAWLOW, ARTHUR L.
SCHLESINGER, FRANK
SCHUR, ISSAI (Isaiah)
SCHUSTER, SIR ARTHUR
SCHWARTZ, LAURENT
SCHWARTZ, MELVIN
SCHWARZSCHILD, KARL
SCHWINGER, JULIAN SEYMOUR
SEGRÈ, BENIAMINO
SEGRÈ, CORRADO
SEGRÈ, EMILIO GINO
SHELAH, SAHARON
SIMON, SIR FRANCIS EUGENE
STEINBERGER, JACK
STEINHAUS, HUGO DYONIZY
STERN, ABRAHAM JACOB
STERN, OTTO
SYLVESTER, JAMES JOSEPH
SZILARD, LEO
TABOR, DAVID
TABOR, HARRY ZVI
TALMI, IGAL
TAMM, IGOR YEVGENYEVICH
TARSKI, ALFRED
TELLER, EDWARD
TEPPER, MORRIS
THRASYLLUS OF MENDES
TOEPLITZ, OTTO
TOLANSKY, SAMUEL
ULAM, STANISLAW MARCIN
VEKSLER, VLADIMIR
WEIL, ANDRE
WEINBERG, STEVEN
WEISSKOPF, VICTOR F.
WEXLER, HARRY
WHITE, ROBERT MAYER
WIENER, NORBERT
WIGNER, EUGENE P.
WILCHEK, MEIR
ZACHARIAS, JERROLD REINACH
ZACUTO, ABRAHAM BEN SAMUEL
ZARISKI, OSCAR
ZELDOVICH, YAKOV BORISOVICH

7. OTHER

Biographies

AVIDOV, ZVI
BONDI, ARON
COSTA, EMANUEL MENDES DA
DEMALACH, YOEL
EFRAT, YAACOV
GRUNBAUM, ADOLF
HALPERIN, HAIM
LOWDERMILK, WALTER CLAY

IV. JEWS IN THE WORLD

D. SCIENCE

7. Other

BIOGRAPHIES (*continued*)

NEUBURGER, MAX
PNEULI, AMIR
SINGER, CHARLES JOSEPH
SLONIMSKI, HAYYIM SELIG
SOSKIN, SELIG EUGEN
STOLLER, SAMUEL
SUSSMAN, ABRAHAM
WAHL, ISAAK
WINIK, MEIR

V. WOMEN

MAIN SURVEYS

WOMAN

GENERAL ENTRIES

AGGADAH
ANUSIM
ASCETICISM
BANKING AND BANKERS
BARRENNESS AND FERTILITY
BIRTH
COOKBOOKS
DOMESTIC PEACE
DOMESTIC VIOLENCE
FEMINISM
HALUKKAH
HASIDISM
HISTORIANS
HISTORIOGRAPHY
LESBIANISM
LETTERS AND LETTER-WRITERS
ORPHAN, ORPHANAGE
PROSTITUTION
PSYCHOLOGY
REBBETZIN
SALONS
SHEKHINAH
SHTETL
SOCIALISM
SOCIOLOGY
STUDY
THEOLOGY

WOMEN IN BIBLE

ABIGAIL
ABISHAG THE SHUNAMMITE
ASENATH
ATHALIAH
BATH-SHEBA
BILHAH
DEBORAH
DELILAH
ELISHEBA
EN-DOR, WITCH OF
ESTHER
EVE
HAGAR
HANNAH
HULDAH
JAEL
JEZEBEL
JOCHEBED
KETURAH
LEAH
MAACAH
MERAB
MICHAL
MIRIAM
NAAMAH
NAOMI
PENINNAH
RACHEL
RAHAB
REBEKAH
RIZPAH
SARAH
SHIPHRAH AND PUAH
SHULAMMITE
TAMAR
VASHTI
ZILPAH
ZIPPORAH

WOMEN IN TALMUD AND SECOND TEMPLE PERIOD

BERURYAH
CLEOPATRA OF JERUSALEM
CYPROS
DORIS
HANNAH AND HER SEVEN SONS
HERODIAS
HOMA
HOVAH
IMMA SHALOM
JUDITH
MARTHA
SALOME
SALOME ALEXANDRA
YALTA

WOMEN IN JEWISH RITUAL

AUFRUFEN
BAR MITZVAH, BAT MITZVAH
BLOOD
CANDLES
DIETARY LAWS
ESHET HAYIL
FESTIVALS
FIRZOGERIN
HAGGADAH, PASSOVER
HALLAH
HEAD, COVERING OF THE
KADDISH

NEW MOON
NIDDAH
PASSSOVER
PRAYER
SEMIKHAH
SHEHITAH
SYNAGOGUE
TKHINES

ORGANIZATIONS

AMIT: MIZRACHI WOMEN'S ORGANIZATION OF AMERICA
BNAI BRITH WOMEN
EMMA LAZARUS FEDERATION OF JEWISH WOMEN'S CLUBS
EMUNAH
HADASSAH, THE WOMENS ZIONIST ORGANIZATION OF AMERICA
HEVRAH, HAVURAH
INTERNATIONAL COUNCIL OF JEWISH WOMEN
INTERNATIONAL LADIES GARMENT WORKERS UNION
JUEDISCHER FRAUENBUND
NATIONAL COUNCIL OF JEWISH WOMEN
NATIONAL FEDERATION OF TEMPLE SISTERHOODS
WIZO
WOMEN'S LEAGUE FOR CONSERVATIVE JUDAISM

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DIE DEBORAH
JEWISH WOMAN, THE
LILITH

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ABRAMOWICZ, DINA
ADLERBLUM, NIMA
ARENDT, HANNAH
ASKOWITH, DORA
BADINTER, ELIZABETH
BASKIN, JUDITH
BAUMGARTEL, ELISE J.
BENEDEK, THERESE F.
BERNARD, JESSIE
BIEBER, MARGARETE
BILDERSEE, ADELE
BOAS, HENRIETTE
BONDY, RUTH
BUHLER, CHARLOTTE
BUNZEL, RUTH LEAH
BUTLER, JUDITH
CALIN, VERA
CARLEBACH, ELISHEVA
CHALIER, CATHERINE
CHATZKELS, HELENE
CHESLER, PHYLLIS
COHEN, NAOMI W.
COHEN, RUTH LOUISA
COSER, ROSE LAUB
DALVEN, RACHEL
DAVIS, NATALIE ZEMON
DAWIDOWICZ, LUCY
DENMARK, FLORENCE LEVIN
DINER, HASIA
DONIGER, WENDY
DOTHAN, TRUDE
ENGELMANN, SUSANNE CHARLOTTE
EPSTEIN, CLAIRE
ERLICH, VERA STEIN
FRYMER-KENSKY, TIKVA
GAVISON, RUTH
GILLIGAN, CAROL
GOLDMAN, HETTY
GORNICK, VIVIAN
GUGGENHEIM-GRUENBERG, FLORENCE
GUTMANN, AMY
HEILBRUN, CAROLYN G.
HELLMAN, CLARISSE DORIS
HERSCH, JEANNE
HIMMELFARB, GERTRUDE
HIMMELWEIT, HILDEGARD
HYMAN, PAULA E.
INSDORF, ANNETTE
JACOBSON, ANNA
JAHODA, MARIE
JOSEPH, NORMA BAUMEL
KOMAROVSKY, MIRRA
KOTARBINSKA, JANINA
KRIEGEL, ANNIE
LANDES, RUTH
LAPIDOT, RUTH
LEIBOWITZ, NEHAMA
LERNER, GERDA
LEVIN, NORA
MANHEIM, BILHAH
MARCUS, RUTH BARCAN
MARKEL-MOSESSOHN, MIRIAM
MEDNICK, MARTHA TAMARA SCHUCH
MEYER, ANNIE NATHAN
MYERHOFF, BARBARA
NAUMBURG, MARGARET
NEUGARTEN, BERNICE L.
NOVITCH, MIRIAM
PEIXOTTO, JESSICA BLANCHE
PORZEKANSKI, TERESA
POWDERMAKER, HORTENSE
PRINGLE, MIA
RAJAK, TESSA
RICHTER, ELISE
ROBISON, SOPHIA
RODIN, JUDITH
RUTLAND, SUZANNE
SALOMON, ALICE
SCHWARTZ, ANNA JACOBSON
SHAHAR, SHULAMIT
SHUVAL, JUDITH
STEIN, EDITH
STEIN, JANICE
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TUCHMAN, BARBARA WERTHEIM

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WEIL, SIMONE
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WEISS-ROSMARIN, TRUDE
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WUNDERLICH, FRIEDA
YEFET, SARAH

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ARBUS, DIANE NEMEROV
ARNOLD, EVE
BERNSTEIN, THERESA
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BLAU, TINA
BOURKE-WHITE, MARGARET
CAISERMAN-ROTH, GHITTA
CALLE, SOPHIE
CASSAB, JUDY
CENTERSZSWER, STANISLAWA
CHICAGO, JUDY
COHEN, ELISHEVA
COSTA, CATHERINE DA
DAVIDSON, JO
DELAUNAY-TERK, SONIA
DICKER-BRANDEIS, FREDERIKE
EIZENBERG, JULIE
FRANKENTHALER, HELEN
FRENKEL, VERA
FREUND, GISELE
GAD, DEVORAH
GIKOW, RUTH
GILBERT, INA
GLUCK, HANNAH
GOLDIN, NAN
GRUNDIG, LEA AND HANS
HARKAVY, MINNA
JACOBI, LOTTE
KOENIG, GHISHA
KRUGER, BARBARA
LAMBERT, PHYLLIS
LEIBOVITZ, ANNIE
LEVITT, HELENE
LISHANSKY, BATYA
MARGOULIES, BERTHA
MARK, MARY ELLEN
MUTER (Mutermilch), MELA
NEVELSON, LOUISE
NIKEL, LEA
ORLOFF, CHANA
OSTROWER, FEYGA
PLACHY, SYLVIA
RIE, DAME LUCIE
RINGL & PIT (Stern, Grete; Rosenberg Auerbach, Ellen)
ROTHSTEIN, IRMA
RUBIN, GAIL
SAFDIE, SYLVIA
SALOMON, CHARLOTTE
SINGER, YVONNE
SONNABEND, YOLANDA
SPERO, NANCY
STERN, IRMA
STERNE, HEDDA
SZALIT-MARCUS, RACHEL
TAGGER, SIONA
TEWI, THEA
TICHO, ANNA
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ADAMS, HANNAH
ADLER, RENATA
AGUILAR, GRACE
AICHINGER, ILSE
ALIGER, MARGARITA YOSIFOVNA
ALMOG, RUTH
AMIR, ANDA
ANTIN, MARY
ASCARELLI, DEBORAH
AUERBAKH, ROKHL
AUSLAENDER, ROSE
AVIGUR-ROTEM, GABRIELA
BANUS, MARIA
BARON, DEVORAH
BASMAN BEN-HAYIM, RIVKE
BAT-MIRIAM, YOKHEVED
BAUM, VICKI
BEJERANO, MAYA
BEN-YEHUDA, HEMDAH
BEN YEHUDA, NETIVA
BERGER, LILY
BERGSTEIN, FANIA
BOSCO, MONIQUE
BRONER, ESTHER M.
BROOKNER, ANITA
BRUGGEN, CARRY VAN
CALISHER, HORTENSE
CALOF, RACHEL
CASSIAN, NINA
CASTEL-BLOOM, ORLY
CHAGALL, BELLA ROSENFELD
CHARLES, GERDA
CIXOUS, HELENE
COHEN, ROSE GOLLUP
COHN, CILLA CYPORA
CORREA, ISABEL REBECCA DE
DAVENPORT, MARCIA
DEUTSCH, BABBETTE
DOMIN, HILDE
DROPKIN, CELIA
DUBNOW-ERLICH, SOPHIA

ELISHEVA
ELKAN, SOPHIE
ENRIQUEZ, ISABEL
EPHRON, NORA
EYTAN, RACHEL
FALK, MARCIA
FEINSTEIN, ELAINE
FERBER, EDNA
FEYGENBERG, RAKHEL
FOA, ESTHER EUGENIE REBECCA
FRANKEL, NAOMI
FRANKEN, ROSE
FRANKS, BILHAH ABIGAIL LEVY
FREHA BAT AVRAHAM OF MOROCCO
FUTORANSKY, LUISA
GAMORAN, MAMIE
GERSHON, KAREN
GINSBURG, EVGENIA SEMIONOVNA
GINZBURG, NATALIA
GLUCK, LOUISE
GLUECKEL OF HAMELN
GOLDBERG, LEA
GOLDSTEIN, REBECCA
GOLL, CLAIRE
GORDIMER, NADINE
GORSHMAN, SHIRA
GORSKA, HALINA
GREENBERG, JOANNE
GREENBLATT, ALIZA
GUR, BATYA
GURFEIN, RIVKA
GURIAN, SORANA
HABAS, BRACHA
HAJNAL, ANNA
HAREVEN, SHULAMIT
HARRY, MYRIAM
HELLMAN, LILLIAN FLORENCE
HENDEL, YEHUDIT
HENRY, EMMA
HERTZVELD-HIJMANS, ESTELLA
HOBSON, LAURA Z.
HONIGMANN, BARBARA
HURST, FANNIE
INBER, VERA MIKHAILOVNA
ISAACS, SUSAN
JACOB, NAOMI ELLINGTON
JAFFE, RONA
JELINEK, ELFRIEDE
JHABVALA, RUTH PRAWER
JONG, ERICA
JUN-BRODA, INA
KAHANA-CARMON, AMALIA
KALEKO, MASHA
KALMAN, MAIRA
KAPLAN, JOHANNA
KARMEL, ILONA
KATZIR, JEHUDIT
KAUFMAN, BEL
KELLERMAN, FAYE
KLEPFISZ, IRENA
KOLMAR, GERTRUD
KORN, RACHEL HARING
KRANTZ, JUDITH
KROOK, DOROTHEA
LANGFUS, ANNA
LAPID, SHULAMIT
LASKER-SCHUELER, ELSE
LAZARUS, EMMA
LAZARUS, NAHIDA RUTH
LEE, MALKE
LEVERSON, ADA
LEVERTOV, DENISE
LEVINSON, OLGA
LEVI-PEROTTI, GIUSTINA
LEVY, AMY
LEWALD, FANNY
LIEBRECHT, SAVYON
LISPECTOR, CLARICE
LOCKER, MALKE
MANDELSHTAM, NADEZHDA YAKOVLEVNA
MARGOLIN, ANNA
MATALON, RONIT
MAYNARD, FREDELLE BRUSER
MAZE, IDA
MERECINA OF GERONA
MICHAELS, ANNE
MILLIN, SARAH GERTRUDE
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MISHOL, AGI
MOISE, PENINA
MOLODOWSKY, KADIA
MORPURGO, RACHEL
MUÑIZ-HUBERMAN, ANGELINA
NAJMAN, JULIJA
NEMIROWSKY, IRENE
OLSEN, TILLIE
ORZESKOWA (Orzesko), ELIZA
OSTRIKER, ALICIA SUSKIN
OZICK, CYNTHIA
PALEY, GRACE
PARKER, DOROTHY
PIZARNIK, ALEJANDRA
PLAIN, BELVA
PORUMBACU, VERONICA
PORZEKANSKI, TERESA
PROSE, FRANCINE
PYE, JAEL HENRIETTA
RAAB, ESTHER
RABINOWITZ, ZINA
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RAND, AYN
RAVIKOVITCH, DALIA
REBECCA BAT MEIR TIKTINER
RICH, ADRIENNE
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RUBIN, HADASSAH
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SAMPTER, JESSIE ETHEL
SARRAUTE, NATHALIE
SEGAL, ESTHER
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SOARE, IULIA
SONTAG, SUSAN
SPEWACK, BELLA
STEELE, DANIELLE
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STERN, BERTHA GLADYS
SULLAM, SARA COPPIO
SUSANN, JACQUELINE
SUSMAN, MARGARETE
SZENES, ERZSI
TAYLOR, SIDNEY
TCHERNOWITZ-AVIDAR, YEMIMAH
TRILLING, DIANA
TUSSMAN, MALKA
ULIANOVER, MIRIAM
URY, ELSE
VIVANTI CHARTRES, ANNIE
WADDINGTON, MIRIAM (DWORKIN)
WARRENS, ROSA
WASSERSTEIN, WENDY
WECHSLER, ELINA
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WISEMAN, ADELE
YALAN-STEKELIS, MIRIAM
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ZELDA (MISHKOVSKY)
ZYCHLINSKA, RAJZEL

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ARBATOVA, MIA
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BAUER, MARION EUGENIE
BAYER, BATHIA
BERTONOFF, DEBORAH
BLOCH, ROSINE
BLOOMFIELD-ZEISLER, FANNY
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BORIS, RUTHANNA
BREVAL, LUCIENNE
CARP, PAULA
CHURGIN, BATHIA
COHEN, HARRIET
COHEN, SELMA JEANNE
COHEN, YARDENA
DE PHILIPPE, EDIS
DONALDA, PAULINE
DU PRÉ, JACQUELINE
EDEN-TAMIR
EISENSTEIN, JUDITH KAPLAN
EVEN-OR, MARY
FARBER, VIOLA
FISCHER, ANNIE
FLEISCHER, TSIPPI
FRIED (-BISS), MIRIAM
FRIEDMAN, DEBORAH LYNN
FUCHS, LILLIAN
GASKELL, SONJA
GERSON-KIWI, EDITH (Esther)
GIDEON, MIRIAM
GIOVANNI MARIA
GLUCK, ALMA
HAENDEL, IDA
HALPRIN, ANN
HASKIL, CLARA
HAYDEN, MELISSA
HAZZAN
HESKES, IRENE
HESS, DAME MYRA
HIRSH, NURIT
JOCHSBERGER, TZIPORAH
KADMAN, GURIT
KATZ, RUTH
KAYE, NORA
KENT, ALLEGRA
KOSHETZ, NINA
KRAUS, GERTRUD
KRAUS, LILI
KREMER, ISA
KURZ, SELMA
LANDOWSKA, WANDA
LANG, PEARL
LAPSON, DVORA
LEAR, EVELYN
LEIGH, ADELE
LEVI-AGRON, HASIA
LEVI-TANNAI, SARA
LEWITZKY, BELLA
LIEBLING, ESTELLE
LIFSHITZ, NEHAMAH
LISSA, ZOFIA
LUCCA, PAULINE
MARKOVA, ALICIA
MASLOW, SOPHIE
MATZENAUER, MARGARETE
MENDELSSOHN HENSEL, FANNY CAECILIE
MENUHIN, HEFZIBAH

METZGER, OTTILIE (Metzger-Latterman)
MLOTEK, CHANA
NIKOVA, RINA
OLIVERO, BETTY
ORDMAN, JEANETTE
OSTFELD, BARBARA
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PASTA, GUIDITTA
PAULY, ROSA
PETERS, ROBERTA
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QUELER, EVE
RAISA, ROSA
RAMBERT, DAME MARIE
RAN, SHULAMIT
RASKIN, JUDITH
REISENBERG, NADIA
RESNIK, REGINA
RODGERS, MARY
ROSSI, MADAMA EUROPA DE'
RUBIN, RUTH
RUBINSTEIN, IDA
SALZMAN, PNINA
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SCHLAMME, MARTHA
SCHOENE, LOTTE
SCHUBERT, LIA
SHEMER, NAOMI
SHLONSKY, VARDINA
SILLS, BEVERLY (Belle Silverman)
SMOIRA-COHN, MICHAL
SOKOLOW, ANNA
SPECTOR, JOHANNA
STENN (STEEN), REBECCA
SULITEANU, GISELA
TAMIRIS, HELEN
TOUREL, JENNIE
TURECK, ROSALYN
WEISSBERG, JULIA LAZAREVNA
WERTHEIM, ROSALIE MARIE
YAMPOLSKY, BERTA
YELLIN-BENTWICH, THELMA
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ALBERSTEIN, HAVA
ALBERT, MILDRED
ALCOTT, AMY
ALEXANDER, MURIEL
ALMAGOR, GILA
ARAD, YAEL
ARNOLD, PAULA
BACALL, LAUREN
BARA, THEDA
BARBARA
BARR, ROSEANNE
BEN, ZEHAVA
BERENSON, SENDA
BERG, GERTRUDE
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BERGMAN, ALAN & MARILYN
BERGNER, ELIZABETH
BERNHARD, SANDRA
BERNHARDT, SARAH
BERNSTEIN, ALINE
BERNSTEIN-COHEN, MIRIAM
BLOOM, CLAIRE
BRICE, FANNY
BRODY, JANE
BROTHERS, JOYCE
BUXTON, ANGELA
CARTER, NELL
CHOPRA, JOYCE
CLAYBURGH, JILL
COHEN, NATALIE
COHEN, SASHA
COHN, LINDA
COLLINS, LOTTIE
COMDEN, BETTY
COPELAND, LILLIAN
CURTIS, JAMIE LEE
DAMARI, SHOSHANA
DARVAS, LILI
DEREN, MAYA
ELLIOT, "MAMA" CASS
EPSTEIN, CHARLOTTE
FRIEDMANN, JANE
GABOR, JOLIE, MAGDA, ZSA ZSA, EVA
GERSTEN, BERTA
GIEHSE, THERESE
GILBERT, MELISSA
GINGOLD, HERMIONE
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GUZIK, HANNA
HADDAD, SARIT
HANBURY, LILY
HARRIS, BARBARA
HART, KITTY CARLISLE
HAWN, GOLDIE
HAZA, OFRA
HEAD, EDITH
HECKERLING, AMY
HELD, ANNA
HELDMAN, GLADYS
HENDEL, NEHAMA
HERSHEY, BARBARA
HOLLIDAY, JUDY
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KAVNER, JULIE
KAZAN, LAINIE
KELETI, AGNES
KEMPNER, AVIVA
KING, CAROLE
KIRSZENSTEIN-SZEWINSKA, IRENA
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LAMARR, HEDY
LANSING, SHERRY
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LAWRENCE, STEVE AND GORME, EYDIE
LEACHMAN, CLORIS
LEDERER, ESTHER PAULINE
LEIBOWITZ, KEREN
LEONTOVICH, EUGENIE
LEVIEN, SONYA
LEWIS, SHARI
LIEBERMAN, NANCY
LORTEL, LUCILE
LOUIS-DREYFUS, JULIA
MANNHEIM, LUCIE
MATLIN, MARLEE
MAY, ELAINE
MENKEN, ADAH ISAACS
MERON, HANNA
MEYERS, NANCY JANE
MIDLER, BETTE
MITCHELL, YVONNE
MONROE, MARILYN
NAZIMOVA, ALLA
NEILSON, JULIA
NEUWIRTH, BEBE
NEVINS, SHEILA
NEWTON-JOHN, OLIVIA
NORSA, HANNAH
PALMER, LILLI
PALTROW, GWYNNETH
PARKER, SARAH JESSICA
PATINKIN, MANDY
PICON, MOLLY
PORAT, ORNA
PROOPS, MARJORIE
RACHEL
RADNER, GILDA
RAINER, LUISE
RIVERS, JOAN
ROSENFELD, FANNY
ROTH-SHACHAMOROV, ESTHER
ROVINA, HANNA
RUDNER, RITA
RYDER, WINONA
SELDES, MARIAN
SEYMOUR, JANE
SHAPIRO, ESTHER
SHEARER, NORMA
SHORE, DINAH
SIDNEY, SYLVIA
SIGNORET, SIMONE
SILVER, JOAN MICKLIN
SIMON, CARLY
SINGERMAN, BERTA
SLUTSKAYA, IRINA
STREISAND, BARBRA
STRUG, KERRI
SUZMAN, JANET
SYLVIA, SARAH
TAYLOR, ELIZABETH
TAYMOR, JULIE
THOMASHEFSKY, BESSIE
TUCKER, SOPHIE
WASSERMAN, DORA AND BRYNA
WEIGEL, HELENE
WEISSLER, BARRY AND FRAN
WEST, MAE
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WINGER, DEBRA
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ZOHAR, MIRIAM

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ABRABANEL, BENVENIDA
ABZUG, BELLA
ACKERMAN, PAULA
ALEXANDER, BEATRICE
ALIAV, RUTH
ALONI, SHULAMIT
ALTER, ELEANOR (Breitel)
AMERICAN, SADIE
AMSTERDAM, BIRDIE
APPELMAN, HARLENE
AUERBACH, BEATRICE FOX
AZARKH, RAISA MOYSEYEVNA
BADT-STRAUSS, BERTHA
BALABANOFF, ANGELICA
BARRON, JENNIE LOITMAN
BARSHEFSKY, CHARLENE
BEER, RACHEL (Richa)
BEINISCH, DORIT
BEN-ISRAEL, RUTH
BEN-PORAT, MIRIAM
BEN-ZVI, RAHEL YANAIT
BERKLEY, ROCHELLE

BONNER, ELENA GEORGIEVNA
BORCHARDT, LUCY
BOXER, BARBARA
BRANDEAU, ESTHER
BRENNER, ROSE
BRUCKMAN, HENRIETTA
CAPLAN, ELINOR
CARDIN, SHOSHANA
CARNEGIE, HATTIE
CARR, JUDY FELD
COHEN, FANNIA M.
COHEN, GE'ULAH
COHEN, MARY MATILDA
CORCOS, STELLA
CURRIE, EDWINA
DAVIS, SUSAN
DAYAN, YAEL
DREIFUSS, RUTH
DUGDALE, BLANCHE ELIZABETH CAMPBELL
DULCEA OF WORMS
DUNKELMAN, ROSE
EPSTEIN, JUDITH
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ESTHER
ETTENBERG, SYLVIA
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FAIRSTEIN, LINDA
FARKAS, RUTH
FEINSTEIN, DIANNE
FELDMAN, SANDRA
FERRIS, IRIS
FINESTONE, SHEILA
FISCHER, RUTH
FISHELS, ROIZEL OF CRACOW
FLEISCHMANN, GISI
FRANK, ANNE
FRANK, RAY
FREIER, RECHA
FREUND-ROSENTHAL, MIRIAM KOTTLER
FRIEDAN, BETTY
FUERTH, HENRIETTE
GAER, FELICE
GAMUS GALLEGOS, PAULINA
GANS, BIRD STEIN
GINOSSAR, ROSA
GINSBURG, RUTH JOAN BADER
GIROUD, FRANCOISE
GOLDBERG, JEANNETTE MIRIAM
GOLDMAN, EMMA
GOLDSCHMIDT, HENRIETTE
GOLDSCHMIDT, JOHANNA SCHWABE
GOLDSTEIN, FANNY
GOTSFELD, BESSIE GOLDSTEIN
GRATZ, REBECCA
GROSSINGER, JENNIE
GRUBER, RUTH
GRUENBERG, SIDONIE MATSNER
GUBER, RIVKA
HALPRIN, ROSE LURIA
HANDALI, ESTHER
HANDLER, RUTH MOSKO
HARMAN, JANE
HASSENFELD, SYLVIA
HAUSER, RITA
HAUTVAL, ADELAIDE
HEILBRON, ROSE
HELFMAN, HESSIA MEYEROVNA
HELMSLEY, LEONA
HERSTEIN, LILLIAN
HERZ, HENRIETTE
HERZOG, SHIRA
HILLESUM, ETTY
HILLMAN, BESSIE ABRAMOWITZ
HIMMELSTEIN, LENA
HOLTZMAN, ELIZABETH
IDELSON, BEBA
ITZIK, DALIA
JACOBS, ALETTA
JACOBS, FRANCES WISEBART
JACOBS, ROSE GELL
JAGLOM, RAYA
KAHN, DOROTHY C.
KAHN, FLORENCE PRAG
KANDLEIN OF REGENSBURG
KARMINSKI, HANNAH
KATZNELSON, RAHEL
KATZNELSON, SHULAMIT
KAYE, JUDITH
KLARSFELD, BEATE AUGUSTE
KLEIN, GERDA WEISSMAN
KNOPF, BLANCHE WOLFE
KORCZAK-MARLA, ROZKA
KRAVITCH, PHYLLIS A.
KROSS, ANNA
KUNIN, MADELEINE MAY
LANDAU, ANNIE
LAUDER, ESTÉE
LEIBER, JUDITH
LEICHTER, KAETE PICK
LEVITT, ESTHER
LICORICIA OF WINCHESTER
LIEBMANN, ESTHER SCHULHOFF ARON AND JOST
LINDHEIM, IRMA LEVY
LINGLE, LINDA
LIVNAT, LIMOR
LIVNI, TZIPI
LOW, MINNIE
LOWEY, NITA
LUBETKIN, ZIVIA
LUXEMBURG, ROSA
MAGNIN, MARY ANN COHEN
MAIMON, ADA
MALCHI, ESPERANZA
MALKIEL, THERESA SERBER
MALSIN, LANE BRYANT
MAOR, GALIA
MARIA THERESA
MEIR, GOLDA
MELTON, FLORENCE ZACKS
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INTRODUCTION TO THE INDEX

Creating a comprehensive book index for a work with the scope and depth of the *Encyclopaedia Judaica (EJ)* is a worthy challenge for any team of indexers. This is especially true because of the ambitious standard set by the first edition's index by Prof. Raphael Posner. I am confident that users of the second edition's index will agree that this index has risen to that challenge for a new generation of users.

A good reference index is not a concordance, a mere listing of every instance in which a person or a place is mentioned in print. An index's purpose is to help the user find relevant information as quickly and easily as possible. To do this, the index must do two things well. It must point a user toward those places where useful information is to be found. And it must gather those pointers in a single, easily found place, so that a user need not search here and there about the index, gathering references as if on a scavenger hunt of arcana. An index that does both of these things will help a user to quickly and confidently find all of the relevant information about a topic.

To create this index a large team of indexers from around the globe has read and re-read essays, seeking to ensure that our coverage of terms, themes, and concepts is both comprehensive and useful. Many headings and subheadings have been consolidated to ensure that all of the significant information about a topic or an aspect of a topic has been gathered in a single place.

We have consulted frequently with the first edition's index as we built the index for the second edition. The valuable *See* and *See Also* cross-references created by Prof. Posner for the first edition have been carried over wherever possible, and enhanced with additional references for the many new topics that appear in the second edition. We have also incorporated many of the first edition's headings and subheadings in the second edition's index. Great thanks are due to the help provided by that singular reference. Users will find two other avenues for accessing information in this edition as described below: the thematic outline and the online e-book version of this reference.

THE THEMATIC OUTLINE

An index is not a thematic outline, nor is a thematic outline an index. Instead, the two tools are designed to work together. The thematic outline that precedes this introduction arranges all the entries under logically structured main categories. It is an excellent tool for researchers seeking an overview of the encyclopedia's coverage. The alphabetical index is an excellent tool for researchers seeking specific information. Using the two together can greatly enhance any research effort. A reader who finds an essay of interest in the thematic outline would be well served to check the index for a sense of the encyclopedia's specific coverage of the topic. A user of the index who finds a topic of interest would be well served to consult the thematic outline for a handy overview of that topic's place in the encyclopedia.

Where practical the structure of the index's headings and subheadings has been coordinated with the thematic outline to help users move smoothly from one to the other. I strongly encourage readers and researchers alike to use both tools.

SEARCHING THE E-BOOK VERSION OF ENCYCLOPAEDIA JUDAICA

A print index is designed to be a complete and independent reference source for that print edition, and this is the case with the index for *Encyclopaedia Judaica.* However, it is worth noting that this second edition of *Encyclopaedia Judaica* will be released in both a print and an e-book format available as part of the Gale Virtual Reference Library. Many purchasers of this edition will have access to both versions of the encyclopedia. Electronic references provide search tools that simply can not exist in the printed version of a book. A user seeking additional ways to search the *Encyclopaedia Judaica* would do well to consult the electronic version.

Every effort has been made to use both the index and the thematic outline to enhance the searchability of the electronic version of this reference. In the e-book version page references in the index and main entries in the thematic version are hyperlinked to the entry and page to which they refer. Users who scroll to the end of an essay in the e-book version will see a list of the indexing terms that point to the essay. In those terms at the bottom, page references that point to other essays are hyperlinked to those essays to provide users with direct access to other information on a topic.

For general searching of the e-book version of *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, headings from the print index are included in the keyword search. Should a concept or name appear nowhere in either the thematic outline or the index, or should a user wish to conduct an exhaustive search for *all* mentions of a name or a concept, a convenient full-text search of the entire *Encyclopaedia Judaica* is available for the e-book.

CONVENTIONS OF THE INDEX

Alphabetization: This index is sorted letter-by-letter to reflect the arrangement of essays in the encyclopedia itself. To find headings the user should search alphabetically as if there are no spaces between words. Diacritical marks such as "Ḥ" or "ā" are ignored for sorting purposes. The sort stops at the period, comma, colon, and semi-colon punctuation marks. Words that break at those marks will sort above words that carry through, e.g. Rubin, Solomon comes before Rubiner, Ludwig.

Numbers, including Roman numerals, will appear at the top of lists. Parenthetical modifiers are not included in the sorting. Initial articles in both English and foreign languages – e.g. the, a, der, or la – are ignored for sorting purposes.

Page References: The volume number precedes the page reference the first time that the volume number is used, e.g. 8:123, 157 or 12:15-27, 145. Bolded page references refer to a main essay on a topic, e.g. Lee, Stan, 12:**598** or Kirby, Jack, 12:**183-184.**

Italicized page references refer to an image or map, e.g. A (letter), 1: *207* or Israel (ancient), 10: *101.* Page references followed by an italicized *t* indicate a table or genealogical chart, e.g. Kibbutz festivals, 12:120*t* or Rothschild family, 17:488*t.* Color inserts have been identified by the volume to which they belong, e.g. *Maus* (Spiegelman), vol. 2: color insert or Mint, vol. 16: color insert.

Person Names: Person names with surnames are generally inverted and appear as they have been listed in their main essay in the encyclopedia, e.g. Kane, Bob, 11:760-761. Person names consisting of forenames only are in natural order as Caecilius of Calacte, 4:331-332. Where advisable – especially with names containing *bar, ben,* or *ibn* – a *See* cross-reference has been created from the alternate inversion. *See* references have also been created for alternate names, so that all of the page references for a person are gathered under a single heading.

Work Names: Titles of works such as novels, newspapers, monographs, and other longer works have been italicized, e.g. *Diary of a Young Girl* (Frank), or *The Spirit* (comic strip). Short works such as poems, short stories, or songs appear in quote marks, e.g. "Frailach in Swing" (Elman).

Most work names have received a parenthetical qualifier to distinguish them from similarly titled works, e.g. *Sefer ha-Musar* (Aknin) and *Sefer ha-Musar* (Kaspi). Books of the Bible appear in this format: Exodus, Book of.

In the case of works known by both foreign-language and English-language titles, the language of original publication has generally been preferred, with *See* references pointing to that name, from the English-language variant.

Place Names: Most place names have received a modifier to specify their location, e.g. Fort Michilimackinac (MI) or Eshtemoa (ancient Israel). Modifiers generally favor the current place unless a place name is only relevant within the context of its ancient location, e.g. Jahaz (Moab). Postal abbreviations for states and provinces have been used for place names within the U.S. and Canada, e.g. NY for New York and QC for Quebec. A list of geographic and other abbreviations used in the index follows this introduction.

Term Selection, Inversions and Natural Word Order: The terms selected for headings and subheadings in this index reflect the terms and concepts used in the essays themselves and seek to replicate them as closely as possible. Wherever practical, concept terms appear in natural word order, e.g. "Jewish philosophy" instead of "Philosophy, Jewish". *See* references have been created from the inverted term in many cases to avoid confusion and direct the user to the correct term.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Finally, in addition to thanking Prof. Posner for the guidance provided by the index for the first edition, great thanks are due to Trish Yancey of Factiva and her team of indexers. They worked many long hours to create this index and bring it to a successful and timely conclusion. I would also like to thank the many Thomson Gale editors and staff members who have contributed to this index, especially indexing specialists Lynne Maday, Amy Jerome, and Cathy Fisher, without whose help this index would simply not exist.

John Magee
Manager, Book and Database Indexing
Thomson Learning

ABBREVIATIONS OF THE INDEX

The following standard abbreviations have been used in this index.

AB	Alberta
AK	Alaska
AL	Alabama
AS	American Samoa
AR	Arkansas
AZ	Arizona
BC	British Colombia
B.C.E	Before Common Era
c.	century
CA	California
CO	Colorado
CT	Connecticut
d.	died
DC	District of Columbia
DE	Delaware
fl.	flourished
FL	Florida
FM	Federated States of Micronesia
GA	Georgia
GU	Guam
HI	Hawaii
IA	Iowa
ID	Idaho
IL	Illinois
IN	Indiana
Inc.	Incorporated
Jr.	Junior
KS	Kansas
KY	Kentucky
LA	Louisiana
Ltd.	Limited
MA	Massachusetts
MB	Manitoba
MD	Maryland
ME	Maine
MH	Marshall Islands
MI	Michigan
MN	Minnesota
MO	Missouri
MP	Northern Mariana Islands
MS	Mississippi
MT	Montana
NB	New Brunswick
NC	North Carolina
ND	North Dakota
NE	Nebraska
NH	New Hampshire
NJ	New Jersey
NL	Newfoundland and Labrador
NM	New Mexico
NS	Nova Scotia
NT	Northwest Territories
NU	Nunavut
NV	Nevada
NY	New York
OH	Ohio
OK	Oklahoma
ON	Ontario
OR	Oregon
PA	Pennsylvania
PE	Prince Edward Island
PR	Puerto Rico
PW	Palau
QC	Quebec
RI	Rhode Island
SC	South Carolina
SD (Nazi intelligence unit)	Sicherheitsdienst
SD (place)	South Dakota
SK	Saskatchewan
Sr.	Senior
SS	Schutzstaffel
TN	Tennessee
TX	Texas
U.K.	United Kingdom
UN	United Nations
U.S.	United States of America
USSR	United Soviet Socialist Republics
UT	Utah
v.	versus in legal citations
VA	Virginia
VI	Virgin Islands
vol.	volume
vs.	versus
VT	Vermont
WA	Washington
WI	Wisconsin
WV	West Virginia
WW I	World War I
WW II	World War II
WY	Wyoming
YT	Yukon

INDEX

Page numbers in bold indicate main entries. Page numbers in italic indicate illustrations or maps. A "t" following a page number indicates a table or chart. References to color inserts include the pertinent volume number. Please see the "Introduction to the Index" for a full explanation of the conventions used in this index.

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